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by

Geoffrey Khan

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For the Assyrian Christian community of Barwar

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PREFACE

The complete destruction of the villages of Barwar in northern Iraq in 1988 brought to an end the world of an Assyrian Christian community that spoke a dialect of neo-Aramaic. The dispersal of the villagers to the Iraqi towns and to a diaspora outside Iraq has considerably threatened the survival of their dialect. Many of its distinctive morphological features and numerous items of vocabulary relating to the traditional agricultural life of the community are in danger of being lost. Also endangered is the rich tradition of oral folklore that existed in the community in former times but, for the most part, is now falling into oblivion.

Over the last five years I have worked with informants who grew up and lived in the villages. In this book I attempt to capture the world of their community as they knew it in former times. It has been my privilege to have met some of the oldest surviving members of this community who still remember well their neo-Aramaic dialect and the oral folkloric traditions. On the basis of the material gathered from numerous fieldtrips, I present here a detailed linguistic description of their dialect, an extensive corpus of transcribed recordings and a glossary of lexical items.

I should like to express thanks to all my informants without whose kind collaboration this work could never have been undertaken. These include Yuwəl Yuḥanna, Nanəs Bənyamən, Bənyamən Bənyamən, Bibe Bənyamən, Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena, Dawiδ Adam, Mišayel Barčəm, Awiko Sulaqa, Blandina Barwari, Guliza Barwari, Dawiδ Gwərgəs, Gwərgəs Dawiδ, ʾAwiya ʾOdišo, Xošebo ʾOdišo, Kena Kena, Nawiya ʾOdišo, Leya ʾOraha, Andreus Yaʿaqov, Gwərgəs Bakus, Dawiδ Bakus, Naze ʾIsrayel, ʾOdišo ʾƎnwiya, Siranoš Xaməs, Šəmmun Barwari, Jəbrayəl Gwərgəs Bakko, Gwərgəs Zaya, Munir ʾOšana and Yuwarəš Hɛdo. I was first introduced to the neo-Aramaic dialect of the Assyrians of Barwar by Nabil Barwari, who helped me with my initial questionnaire of the morphology and subsequently answered many other questions. Thanks are due also to Fabrizio Pennacchietti for arranging the meeting with the informant Jəbrayəl Gwərgəs Bakko. I have a particular debt of gratitude to Mišayəl Barčəm and Rev. Dr. Xošăba Georges, both of whom offered me many hours of their time and warm hospitality in their home. I should also like to register my thanks to my students, interaction with whom at our neo-Aramaic seminars was a great stimulus to me in my research.

I am grateful to the British Academy which generously offered me a Research Readership for two years (2005–2007), during which period the majority of the book was written.

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Geoffrey Khan
Cambridge, January 2008

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INTRODUCTION

0.1. Barwar and Its Assyrian Christian Communities

This work is a description of the neo-Aramaic dialect spoken by Assyrian Christians from a district in the Dihok province of Iraq lying adjacent to the border of Turkey known as Barwari Bala. It is a Kurdish name meaning 'Upper Barwar', the epithet being used to distinguish it from a region known as Bawari Žēr 'Lower Barwar', which lies further to the south. The Assyrians frequently use the shorter term Barwar rather than Barwari Bala to refer to this district and regularly refer to those whose families originate from there as *Barwarnaye*. The shorter term will be used throughout this book.[1]

Barwar borders to the North on the Turkish province of Hakkari, from which it is separated by the Širani chain of mountains. To the South it borders on the district of Ṣapna, from which it is separated by the Matina mountain chain. On the East it borders on the district of Nerwa-w Rekan, from which it is separated by the Great Zab river. On the West it is bounded by the Xabur river, a tributary of the Tigris, which divides it from the district of Gulli-w Səndi. The mountain chain North of Barwar was called by the Assyrians 'the one in shadow' (*ṭalana*) and the one to the South 'the one in the sun' (*ba-rožа*). This was because when the sun rose it would strike first the southern mountains, leaving the northern mountains in shade.

Two rivers run through the area. The river Nənne flows from South-East to North-West into the Xabur. To the North of this the river Be-Xelape flows North-West to South-East into the Great Zab. The land is fertile and wooded.

In the twentieth century the life of the Assyrians of Barwar underwent a series of devastating upheavals. The greatest physical destruction took place in the 1970s and 1980s, when the Iraqi army destroyed all of the Kurdish and Assyrian villages of the area, as well as hundreds of other

[1] The word *barwār* is a Kurdish common noun meaning 'slope (of a hill)', spelt 'berwar' according to the conventional Kurdish orthography (Chyet 2003: 45). It is used in association with several other geographical names, all of which are in south-eastern Turkey, e.g. Barwar of Qudshanes, Barwar of Sevine, Barwar of Shwa'uta (Fiey 1964: 446).

villages along the Turkish border region, as part of the so-called *ʾAnfāl* campaign against the Kurds. The final wave of destructions took place in 1988, which included the Assyrian village of ʾƐn-Nune ('Spring of Fishes'), also known as Kani Masi, the administrative centre of the district, lying approximately ten miles North-North-West of Amedia. All the Assyrians of the area were evacuated to refugee camps and subsequently they either settled in the Iraqi towns or left Iraq and joined the Assyrian diaspora communities in North America, Europe and Australia. When the 'No-Fly-Zone' was established in northern Iraq in 1991 after the Gulf War, some Assyrians began to return to the site of their villages and rebuild them. The majority of the Assyrian families who originated in the villages, however, remain to this day scattered around the world.

Before the *ʾAnfāl* campaign the major upheavals suffered by the Assyrians of Barwar took place during the Kurdish rebellion against the Iraqi government by Muṣṭafa Barzani from 1961 to 1970 and during the massacre and displacement of the Assyrians during the First World War.

In the Kurdish—Iraqi war beginning in 1961 large numbers of the Assyrians in Barwar abandoned their villages and fled to the Iraqi towns. A few villages were permanently taken over by the Kurds at this time, but in 1970 the majority of the Assyrian population returned.

In the First World War the Assyrians of Barwar suffered the fate of the Christian communties of south-eastern Turkey. The Assyrians sided with the Russians against the Turks. In 1915 the Turks undertook an ethnic cleansing of the Hakkari. The vali of Mosul, Haydar Bey, was put in charge of operations. His force consisted of Turkish reserves and local Kurdish tribes. The Kurdish chief of Barwar, Rashid Bek, was given the task of marching on the villages in the local area with Turkish troops. The majority of the Assyrian villages of Barwar were destroyed and many of their inhabitants were massacred. The villagers with their antiquated rifles were unable to withstand the modern weaponry with which the Turks and Kurds were supplied. Those who managed to escape fled into the mountains. The Assyrians from Barwar joined the thousands of Assyrian refugees from Hakkari and sought safety behind Russian lines in the region of Salamas and Urmi.[2] At the end of the war in 1918, decimated further by starvation and disease, they were transferred under the protection of the British from Iran to a camp in Baquba, North of Baghdad. In 1920 most of the surviving families from Barwar returned to their villages,

[2] Gaunt (2006: 142–145).

where they remained after Barwar was incorporated into the territory of the newly founded state of Iraq in 1925. They did not suffer the same degree of displacement at this period as the surviving Assyrians of Hakkari who could not continue to live in their original villages after the fixing of the borders between Iraq and Turkey. As a result of this continuation of life in their native villages after the end of the First World War, the neo-Aramaic dialect of the Assyrians of Barwar has been fully preserved by the older generation of speakers who are alive today.

During the Ottoman period before the First World War the Assyrians of Barwar were nominally subject to the Turkish government. They did not have the independence of the Assyrian mountain tribes of the Hakkari, but were under the overlordship of a local Kurdish chief. They suffered at various periods from the aggression of these local Kurdish chiefs. In the first decade of the twentieth century they were subject to the oppression of Rashid Bek, the Kurdish emir of Barwar. In 1907 they were relieved from this by the intervention of the Ottoman vali of Mosul, Xalil Pasha, after the intercession of the Chaldean patriarch of Mosul, Mar ʾAmmanuʾel.[3] At a time of Ottoman weakness in the 1840s Badr Khan Bek, the Kurdish emir of Bohtan, led a confederation of Kurdish tribes that attempted to eliminate the independent Assyrian tribes of Ṭiyare and Hakkari in a series of devastating massacres. Although not belonging to these tribes, the Assyrian villages of Barwar were also the victim of these attacks[4] and, according to the testimony of the bishop of Barwar to Badger in 1850, one half of the population was either slaughtered or driven away from their homes.[5]

There were close relations between the Assyrian communities of Barwar and the independent Assyrian tribes (*ʾaširatte*) of Ṭiyare before the First World War. The connections with Ašiθa in Lower Ṭiyare were especially close. A large proportion of the trade of Ašiθa was with Barwar. Furthermore, due to lack of sufficient fodder in the mountains, each Spring the people of Ašiθa would bring down their flocks to graze in Barwar and Ṣapna. The Assyrians of Barwar shared many of the customs of the Ṭiyare communities. Indeed a large number of the villagers had family

[3] Pennacchietti (1976: 649).
[4] Binyamin (1982: 12).
[5] Badger (1852: vol. 1, 381–382).

ties with Ṭiyare and people alive today tell stories of their ancestors migrating from there.[6]

The livelihood of the Assyrians of Barwar was largely based on agriculture and the grazing of sheep and goats. The fertile lands of the area sustained crops in corn, such as wheat, barley, millet, sorghum, maize, paddy fields of rice, various vegetables, tobacco and numerous fruit trees. After the Kurdish—Iraqi war in the 1960s the growing of corn and rice became uneconomical and the villagers concentrated on the cultivation of fruit, especially apples.

Until the First World War there were approximately thirty-five villages in Barwar that were inhabited by Assyrians. A large proportion of these continued to have Assyrian inhabitants after the return of the Assyrians to the area in 1920 down to their final destruction in the Iraqi campaign against the Kurds in the late 1970s and the 1980s. The material for this book was gathered from informants who were inhabitants of a group of villages that were situated in close proximity to one another along the Be-Xelape river. These include the largest village of Barwar and administrative capital ʾƐn-Nune, and the neighbouring villages of Dure, Dɛrəške, Bəšmiyaye, ʾIyyət, and Maye. At the time of their destruction the Assyrian Christian population of these villages was as follows:[7]

	Year of destruction	Number of families
ʾƐn-Nune	1988	140
Dure	1978	100
Dɛrəške	1988	50
Bəšmiyaye	1978	50
ʾIyyət	1978	40
Maye	1978	35

The villages of ʾƐn-Nune, Dure, Bəšmiyaye and ʾIyyət were inhabited only by Assyrian Christians. Parts of Dɛrəške and Maye, known as Dɛrəške Islam and Maye Islam, were populated by Muslim Kurds.[8]

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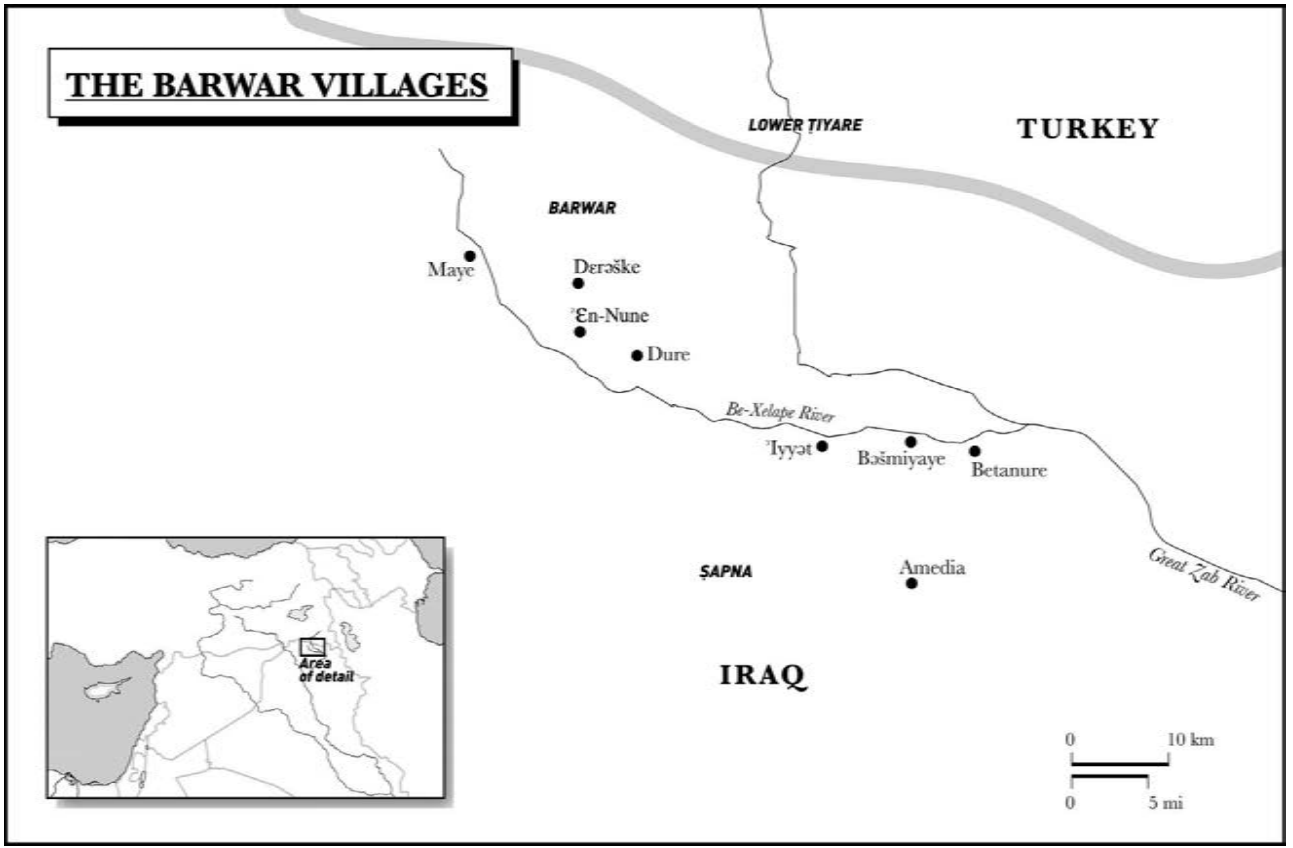
[6] Binyamin (1982: 34–35) and the family history recorded in the text corpus of the present book (B3:12–18, B4:3–18, B8:1–5).

[7] Source: International Federation for Human Rights, Report, *Iraq: Continuous and Silent Ethnic Cleansing. Displaced Persons in Iraqi Kurdistan and Iraqi Refugees in Iran* (http://www.fidh.org/magmoyen/rapport/2002/iq350a.pdf).

[8] Other villages inhabited by Assyrian Christian villages in Barwar include Bebaluk, ʾƎqri, Maləxθa, Sardašte, Halwa, Daštane, Xwara, Maxrabiya, Butara, Čallək, Jədida,



MAP OF BARWAR

The majority of the Assyrians of Barwar belong to the Church of the East. In the first half of the twentieth century a few families became Catholic, following the adoption of Catholicism by their bishop, Mar Isho Yawalaha in 1904.[9]

The villages had churches that were built with solid fortifications since they were intended for defensive purposes as well as worship. They were dedicated to various saints, whose annual festival (*šera*) was celebrated in the village. In ʾƐn-Nune stood the church of St. Sawa, which, according to informants, was an old structure that was probably built between 600 to 800 years ago. According to tradition St. Sawa was an Iranian convert to Christianity who was buried in Upper Ṭiyare in the church of Čamba d-malək on the Great Zab.[10] The foundation stone of the church dedicated to him in ʾƐn-Nune is said to have been taken from his original sanctuary in Ṭiyare.[11] In Dure there were four churhes, viz. those of Saint Qayyoma, Saint George, Saint Apius and Saint Mary. The first two of these continued in use until the destruction of the village in 1978. According to local tradition the church of Saint George was built in the middle of the first millennium A.D. The church of Saint Qayyoma, which was believed to be the earliest Christian sanctuary in the area, was the seat of the bishops of Barwar. It was built into a rock in the hillside overlooking the village and housed a tomb containing the bodies of the bishops.[12] The churces of St. Apius and St. Mary were only visited on memorial days of the saint. Bəšmiyaye had two churches, the church of Bne Šmoni and that of St. Aprəm. The village of ʾIyyət had a church dedicated to St. George. All of the churches of the villages were razed to the ground by the Iraqi army in the *ʾAnfāl* campaign. Since 1991 a few have been rebuilt by Assyrians who have returned to the site of their villages.

0.2. The Neo-Aramaic Dialect

This grammar is a description of the neo-Aramaic dialect spoken by the Assyrian Christian communities in the group of villages ʾƐn-Nune, Dure,

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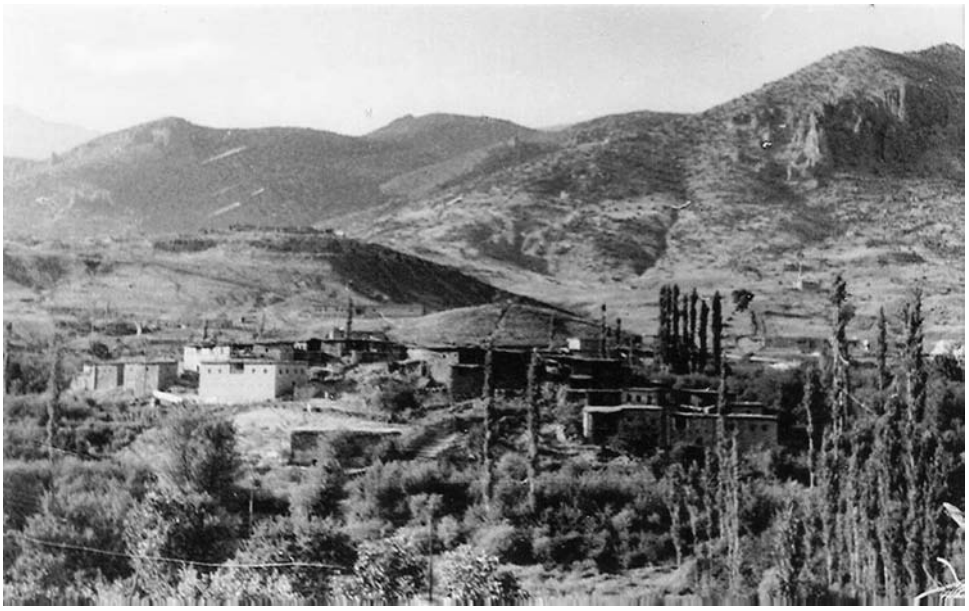
Tašiš, Čaqala, Čammәkke, Hayyis, Margajiya, Mamadoka, Zəvinge, Maglana, Dargale, Musăka, Čammət Bəllo, Tuθe Šemaye, Bāz, Kani Balave, Čam Dastine, Hurke, Tərwanəš, Bazive, Bekozanke, Betanure (also inhabited by Jews).

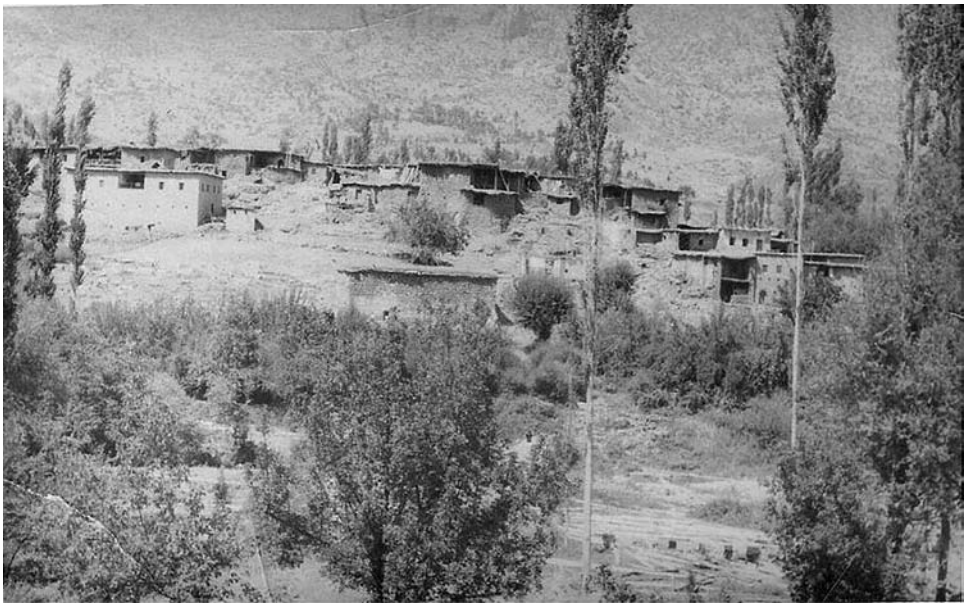
[9] Mar Aprem Mooken (2003: 111).

[10] According to Fiey (1964: 443–445) he should be identified with a monk called Sawa Gūshnazdād who died in 485 or 488 A.D.

[11] B6:27–32.

[12] Grant (1841: 51–52), Badger (1852: vol. 1, 381–382).





The village of ʾƐn Nune before its destruction in 1988

ʾIyyət, Dərəške, Bəšmiyaye and Maye, which are situated along the river Be-Xelape. There are a few differences in the neo-Aramaic spoken in these villages, mainly in the lexicon, but they are very minor and the speech of the villages should be treated as a single dialect, which will be referred to as Christian Barwar (henceforth abbreviated to C. Barwar).

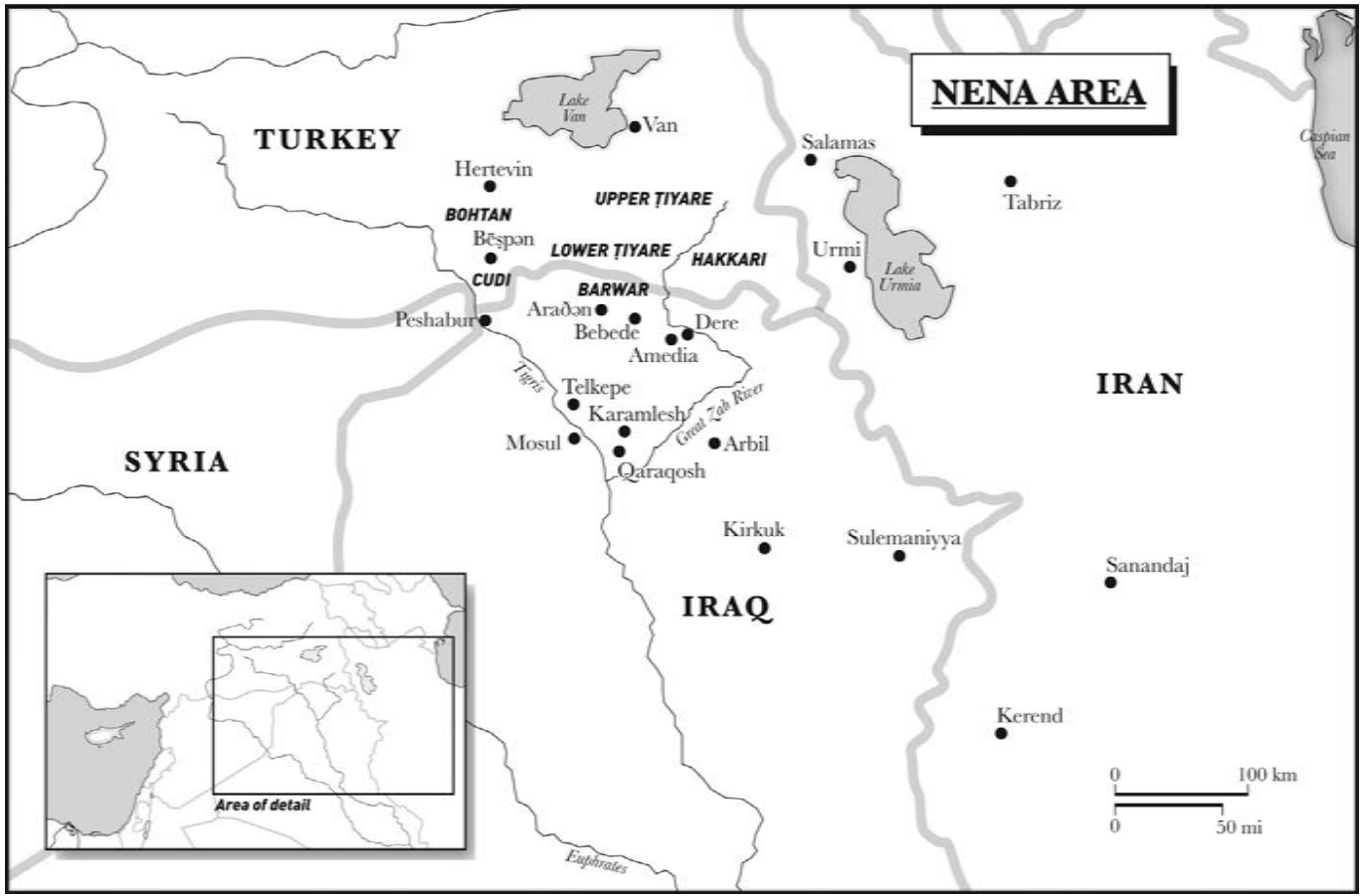
The C. Barwar dialect belongs to North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA), which is a very diverse group of dialects spoken by Christians and Jews in an area lying to the East of the Tigris river that includes northern Iraq, south-eastern Turkey, north-western and western Iran. There are differences among these dialects not only according to geographical region but also according to religious community, in that Christians and Jews of the same geographical area spoke different dialects. In what follows an assessment will first be made of the position of the C. Barwar dialect among the Christian dialects of the group and subsequently the features that distinguish it from the neighbouring Jewish dialects will be examined.

0.2.1. *The Position of the C. Barwar Dialect among the Christian NENA Dialects*

In general the degree of relationship of the C. Barwar dialect to other Christian NENA dialects depends on geographical proximity. It shares more grammatical and lexical features with the dialects of the neighbouring region than with those that were spoken at more remote locations. Its closest relations are the Christian dialects of the Ṭiyare region to the North of Barwar, in south-eastern Turkey, and those of the region of Amedia in northern Iraq to the South of Barwar. In many cases the dialects from these regions share features that differ from what is found in other NENA dialects. This situation is not, however, completely clear-cut since these dialects share some features that are not general to NENA also with more remote dialects. Of particular significance for establishing affiliation to sub-groups is the sharing of features that can be identified as innovations.

In the tables below a selection of grammatical and lexical features are presented from, on the one hand, the dialects of C. Barwar, Ṭiyare and the region of Amedia, and, on the other hand, more remote dialects lying on the periphery of the NENA area. The first of these groups includes, in addition to C. Barwar, the dialects of Ašiθa in Lower Ṭiyare,[13] Bne Rumta

[13] Source: R. Borghero, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Ašiθa*, Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 2006.



MAP OF THE NENA AREA

in Upper Ṭiyare[14] and Bebede,[15] which lies two miles West of Amedia. In the following tables these will be referred to, for the sake of convenience, as 'local dialects'. The second group, which will be referred to as 'peripheral', includes the Christian dialects of Qaraqosh near Mosul on the south-western periphery of the NENA area,[16] Peshabur near the Turkish–Iraqi border on the Tigris,[17] Bēṣpən in the Cudi area of south-eastern Turkey,[18] various other dialects of south-eastern Turkey including Bohtan,[19] Hertevin[20] and Van,[21] Urmi in north-western Iran[22] and Sanandaj in western Iran.[23]

The C. Barwar dialect preserves the interdental realization of the fricative consonants *$\underline{t}$ and *$\underline{d}$. It shares this feature with most local dialects and dialects in the south-western zone of the NENA area such as Qaraqosh. The interdental realization has, however, been lost in other peripheral dialects, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1

		Interdental reflex of *$\underline{t}$	Interdental reflex of *$\underline{d}$
Local	Barwar	*θ*	*ð*
	Ašiθa	*θ*	*ð*
	Bne Rumta	*θ*	*ð*
	Bebede	*θ*	*ð*
Peripheral	Qaraqosh	*θ*	*ð*
	Peshabur	*s*	*z*
	Bēṣpən	*t*	*d*
	Bohtan	*t*	*d*
	Hertevin	*t*	*d*
	Van	*Ø*	*d*
	Urmi	*t*	*d*
	Sanandaj	*s*	*d*

[14] Source: S. Talay (2008).
[15] Source: Fieldwork by G. Khan (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).
[16] Source: Khan (2002).
[17] Source: Fieldwork by E. Coghill (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).
[18] Source: Sinha (2000).
[19] Source: S. Fox (p.c.).
[20] Source: Jastrow (1988) and fieldwork by G. Khan.
[21] Source: Fieldwork by G. Khan (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).
[22] Source: Fieldwork by G. Khan (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).
[23] Source: Panoussi (1990).

In Table 2 various affixes are compared. These include the 3ms. and 3fs. pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions, the 3pl. L-suffixes and the indicative habitual particle that is prefixed to the present base of verbs.

Table 2

		3ms. suffix	3fs. suffix	3pl. L-suffix	indicative particle
Local	Barwar	*-e*	*-a*	*-lɛ*	*i-*
	Ašiθa	*-e*	*-a*	*-lɛ*	—
	Bne Rumta	*-e*	*-a*	*-lɛ*	*i-*
	Bebede	*-e*	*-a*	*-lɛ*	*i-*
Peripheral	Qaraqosh	*-əḥ*	*-aḥ*	*-lhən, -hən*	*k-*
	Peshabur	*-əḥ*	*-aḥ*	*-lɛy*	*k-*
	Bēṣpən	*-u*	*-aw*	*-lɛhən*	*i-*
	Bohtan	*-əw*	*-aw*	*-lā*	*i-*
	Hertevin	*-əw*	*-o*	*-lehən*	—
	Van	*-ə*	*-a*	*-le*	*i-*
	Urmi	*-u*	*-o*	*-lun*	*č-*
	Sanandaj	*-e*	*-e*	*-lu*	*k-*

It can be seen that there is considerable diversity in the forms of the suffixes across the NENA area. Outside of the local area, C. Barwar exhibits a close relationship in the 3ms. and 3fs. suffixes with Van, *-ə* being a phonetically reduced form of *-e*. In Sanandaj the *-e* has been generalized also to the 3fs. The proto-forms of these suffixes can be reconstructed as **-eh* and **-ah*, so the forms *-e* and *-a* would have arisen by loss of the final */h/*. In Qaraqosh and Peshabur the original final */h/* has been strengthened to a pharyngal and in other dialects innovative forms have developed by adding a labial element.

The form of the 3pl. L-suffix *-lɛ* in the local dialects is a contraction of the proto-form **layhən* (§8.3.1.). Several of the other dialects exhibit various degrees of contraction of the same proto-form. The suffixes in Qaraqosh, Urmi and Sanandaj, on the other hand, must have a different historical background.

The prefixed indicative particle *i-*, which is common to most of the local dialects, is found also in some other dialects of south-eastern Turkey, such as Bēṣpən and Van. Other dialects have suffixes containing a */k/* element (palatalized to *č* in Urmi), or no preverbal indicative particle (Hertevin).

The C. Barwar dialect has two types of compound verbal forms. One combines the resultative participle (*qṭila*) with the copula to express the perfect (§15.4.1.). The other combines the infinitive with the copula to express progressive aspect (§8.8.5.–8.8.7.). Both of these constructions are innovative developments in NENA that appear to have been induced by contact with other languages. C. Barwar shares these features with the local dialects and also some other dialects in the peripheral group. The compound verbal forms, however, exhibit different properties across the subgroups of dialects that possess them. One difference is the way the pronominal object is expressed. In C. Barwar and the local group of dialects it is expressed with suffixes that are used to mark the object on other verbal forms (§8.19.4.1., §8.19.4.4.). Most other dialects use the form of suffix that is attached to nouns. Table 3 shows the distribution of the compound forms and the form of pronominal object across the dialects.

Table 3

		Perfect compound	Progressive compound	pronominal object
Local	Barwar	yes	yes	verbal
	Ašiθa	yes	yes	verbal
	Bne Rumta	yes	yes	verbal
	Bebede	yes	yes	verbal
Peripheral	Qaraqosh	yes	no	nominal
	Peshabur	yes	yes	nominal
	Bēṣpən	yes	yes	verbal
	Bohtan	no	no	—
	Hertevin	no	no	—
	Van	yes	yes	nominal
	Urmi	yes	yes	nominal
	Sanandaj	no	no	—

The expression of the perfect by a compound construction consisting of the resultative participle (*qṭila*) and the copula is widespread across the NENA group, but is not found in the north-western periphery (Bohtan and Hertevin) or in the south-eastern periphery (Sanandaj). This suggests that it is an innovation of the other dialects. The compound verbal construction consisting of an infinitive and copula for the expression of the progressive aspect is also an innovation that is not found in Bohtan, Hertevin and Sanandaj. Its distribution, however, is less widespread than

the resultative participle construction. It is not found in Qaraqosh, nor in various other dialects in the southern half of the NENA area in the Arbīl and Sulemaniyya provinces of Iraq (e.g. Ankawa, Shaqlawa, villages in the region of Aqra, Bədjəl, Koy Sanjak, Sulemaniyya), all of which express the progressive with constructions based on the present base of the verb (*qaṭəl*).[24]

The close relationship of C. Barwar with the local group of dialects is reflected also in shared lexical items that are not used across the entire NENA group. A few representative examples are given in table 4:

Table 4

		'tomorrow'	'to descend'	'to speak'
Local	Barwar	*təmməl*	*ṣly*	*ṣwθ* II
	Ašiθa	*təmməl*	*ṣly*	*ṣwθ* II
	Bne Rumta	*təmməl*	*ṣly*	*ṣwθ* II
	Bebede	*təmməl*	*ṣly*	*ṣwθ* II
Peripheral	Qaraqosh	*ršoma*	*šťr*	*ḥky* I, III
	Peshabur	*ṣapra*	*nxt*	*ḥky* III
	Bēṣpən	*ṣapra*	*nxt*	*xky* III
	Bohtan	*ṣpeda*	*nxt*	*xky* III
	Hertevin	*kidamta*	*nḥt*	*ḥky* III
	Van	*təmmal*	*ṣly*	*hmzm*
	Urmi	*qudme*	*ṣly*	*hmzm*
	Sanandaj	*qome*	*kwš*	*ḥky* III

Among these lexical items, the extension of the semantic range of the form *təmməl/təmmal* to include not only its original meaning of 'yesterday' but also the meaning of 'tomorrow' is a clear innovation.

In general, outside the local region C. Barwar has a greater affiliation with dialects in the region of the north-eastern and south-western peripheries than with those on the north-western and south-eastern peripheries. It exhibits the greatest affiliation with dialects in the region of the north-eastern periphery. These relationships are reflected most clearly in the distribution of shared innovations, such as the development of compound verbal forms and the innovative lexical features.

[24] For further details see Khan (2007).

0.2.2. *The Relationship of the C. Barwar Dialect with Other Christian Dialects in the Local Region*

The Christian dialects in the Ṭiyare and Amedia areas are closely related to the C. Barwar dialects but exhibit a number of differences. The alignment of the C. Barwar dialect with the other dialects differs across various structural features and so its relationship with the surrounding dialects is complex. A few selected differences within the group are presented below. In addtion to C. Barwar, the dialects in the tables include Lower Ṭiyare dialects (Ašiθa, Mne Maθa and Mne Be-laθa),[25] Upper Ṭiyare dialects (Bnerumta and Walṭo),[26] and various dialects in the Amedia area (Araðən,[27] Bebede,[28] Dere[29]).

Various words that exhibit phonological differences across the dialects are brought together in Table 5:

Table 5

	'land'	'hand'	'bed'	'stomach'	'soul'	'summer'	'fast'
Barwar	*ʾaθṛa*	*ʾiða*	*šwiθa*	*kʸasa*	*gʸana*	*qɛṭa*	*ṣawma*
Ashitha	*ʾaθṛa*	*ʾiða*	*šwiθa*	*časa*	*jana*	*qɛṭa*	*ṣoma*
Mne Maθa	*ʾaθṛa*	*ʾiða*	*šwiša*	*časa*	*jana*	*qɛṭa*	*ṣoma*
Mne Belaθa	*ʾaθṛa*	*ʾiða*	*šwiša*	*časa*	*jana*	*qayṭa*	*ṣawma*
Bne Rumta	*ʾaθṛa*	*ʾiða*	*šwiša*	*časa*	*jana*	*qɛṭa*	*ṣawma*
Walṭo	*ʾaṭṛa*	*ʾida*	*šwiša*	*časa*	*jana*	*qɛṭa*	*ṣawma*
Araðən	*ʾaθṛa*	*ʾiða*	*šwiθa*	*kʸasa*	*gʸana*	*qɛṭa*	*ṣawma*
Bebede	*ʾaθṛa*	*ʾiða*	*šwiθa*	*kʸasa*	*gʸana*	*qeṭa*	*ṣawma*
Dere	*ʾaθṛa*	*ʾiða*	*šwiθa*	*kʸasa*	*gʸana*	*qeṭa*	*ṣawma*

The first two columns containing the forms corresponding to C. Barwar *ʾaθṛa* 'land' and *ʾiða* 'hand' illustrate the fact that the interdentals are generally preserved throughout all dialects of the region. It is significant to note, however, that in the Upper Ṭiyare dialect Walṭo, spoken on the eastern side of the Ṭiyare region, the interdentals in these words have shifted to stops.

[25] Sources for Mne Maθa and Mne Be-laθa: Fieldwork by G. Khan (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).
[26] Source: Talay (2008).
[27] Source: Krotkoff (1982).
[28] Source: Fieldwork by G. Khan (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).
[29] Source: Fieldwork by R. Borghero (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

The reflexes of the C. Barwar form *šwiθa* 'bed' show that in many Lower and Upper Ṭiyare dialects a **ṯ* after a high vowel has shifted to */š/*. C. Barwar does not have this feature and so aligns with Ašiθa and the dialects of the Amedia area.

In C. Barwar the velar stops */k/* and */g/* are often pronounced with a palatalized offset before non-rounded front vowels, as in *kʸasa* 'stomach' and *gʸana* 'soul'. It aligns in this respect with the dialects of the region of Amedia. In the Ṭiyare dialects, including Ašiθa, the palatalization is further advanced in this environment resulting in the shifts *k* > *č* and *g* > *j*.

The C. Barwar forms *qɛṭa* 'summer' and *ṣawma* 'fast' illustrate the typical reflex of the diphthongs **ay* and **aw* in nouns as */ɛ/* and */aw/* respectively. This feature is shared with some Ṭiyare dialects and also Arаðən. Other dialects exhibit other sets of reflexes.

Table 6 presents various morphological features that exhibit differences across the group:

Table 6

	3pl. suffix	genitive particle	'what is it?'	'he wants'	'he knows'
Barwar	*-ay, -ɛy, -ey*	*diye*	*modile?*	*bă̱ye*	*y̆ăðe*
Ashitha	*-ɛha*	*diye*	*modile?*	*bă̱ye*	*y̆ăðe*
Mne Maθa	*-aha*	*diðe*	*modile?*	*p̂e*	*če*
Mne Belaθa	*-eya*	*dide*	*modile?*	*p̂e*	*če*
Bne Rumta	*-ɛha*	*diðe*	*modile?*	*p̂ɔ̆'e*	*če*
Walṭo	*-ɛha*	*dide*	*modile?*	*pɔ̆'e*	*če*
Arаðən	*-ɛhən*	*diye*	*mɛle?*	*baye*	*y̆ăðe*
Bebede	*-ay*	*diye*	*mandile?*	*bă̱ye*	*y̆ăðe*
Dere	*-ehi, -ehən*	*diye*	*ma-məndile?*	*yəppe*	*y̆ăðe*

There is considerable diversity in the form of the 3pl. pronominal suffix. The closest to C. Barwar in this feature is Bebede in the Amedia area. The C. Barwar form of the genitive particle *diye* corresponds to the form found in all dialects in the Amedia area but differs from the form that is used in the Ṭiyare dialects (*diðe, dide*) with the exception of Ašiθa. In the form of the interrogative 'what', on the other hand, C. Barwar aligns with the Ṭiyare dialects rather than with those in the Amedia area. The verbs 'to want' and 'to know' conjugate regularly in C. Barwar whereas they have an irregular inflection in several other dialects. In these verbs C. Barwar aligns most closely with Ašiθa, Bebede and Dere.

There are a few features that are exclusive to the C. Barwar dialect and not found in neighbouring dialects. These include the raising of */a/* to */ɛ/* before */r/* in non-emphatic environments (§2.5.3.), e.g. *dawɛ̈ra* 'mule' (other dialects: *dawara*), and the augmentive suffixes *-ga, -gən, -gena* that are attached to imperative forms (§8.6.5., e.g. *pluṭga!* 'Go out!') and the existential particles (§8.20.1., e.g. *ʔiθga* 'there is').

0.2.3. *The Relationship of the C. Barwar Dialect with the Jewish NENA Dialects in the Local Region*

Until 1951 there were various Jewish communities who spoke NENA dialects in and around the Barwar region. One such community was that of the village of Betanure, which was situated immediately adjacent to the Christian villages of Barwar on the river Be-xelapa. There were also Aramaic speaking Jews in Amedia and the nearby village of Nerwa. Despite the geographical proximity of these communities, their NENA dialect exhibited numerous differences from that of C. Barwar and the other Christian dialects of the area. The three aforementioned Jewish dialects (distinguished in what follows by the prefix J.), on the other hand, are all closely related to each other. This communal cleavage is reflected by the fact that the Assyrian Christians use the term *surəθ* to refer to the NENA spoken dialect of the Assyrian Christian communities but the Jews of Betanure refer to their dialect as *lišana deni* 'our language' or *lišān huðaye* 'language of the Jews'. Some examples of differences between the Christian and Jewish dialects in grammatical and lexical features are as follows:[30]

	C. Barwar	J. Betanure	J. Amedia	J. Nerwa
laryngal	*balota* 'throat'	*baloʾta*	*baloʾta*	*baloʾta*
**ay*	*lɛ̈ša* 'dough'	*leša*	*leša*	*leša*
**aw*	*tawra* 'ox'	*tora*	*tora*	*tora*
2s independent pronoun	*ʾati*	*ʾahət* ms. *ʾahat* fs.	*ʾahi*	*ʾahət* ms. *ʾahat* fs.
3pl. pron. suffix	*-ay, -ɛ̈y, -ey*	*-u, -ohun*	*-u, -ohun*	*-u, -ohun*
genitive particle	*diye*	*dide*	*dide*	*dide*
reciprocal pronoun	*ġðaðe*	*ʾəxðe*	*ʾəġde*	*ʾəxde*

(*continued on next page*)

[30] Sources: J. Betanure (Mutzafi 2008); J. Amedia (J. Greenblatt, Ph.D. thesis Cambridge 2008); J. Nerwa (fieldwork by H. Mutzafi, NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

Table (*cont.*)

	C. Barwar	J. Betanure	J. Amedia	J. Nerwa
deictic copula	*hole*	*wəlle*	*wəlle*	*wəlle*
indicative prefix	*i-*	*k-*	*k-*	*k-*
'tomorrow'	*təmməl*	*bənhe*	*qadöme*	*qadome*
'now'	*diya, hadiya*	*ʾatta*	*ʾatta*	*ʾatta*
'last year'	*šetət wirra*	*šətqel*	*šətqel*	*šətqel*
'quickly'	*jalde*	*hayya*	*hayya*	*hayya*
'big'	*goṛa*	*ʾəṛwa*	*ʾuṛwa*	*ʾuṛwa*
'to descend'	*ṣly*	*kwš*	*kwš*	*kwš*
'to stand'	*kly*	*ḥml*	*ḥml*	*ḥml*
'to sleep'	*ṭlʾ*	*ṭwʾ*	*ṭwʾ*	*ṭwʾ*
'to grow up'	*qrn* II	*ṛwy*	*ṛwy*	*ṛwy*
'to speak'	*ṣwθ* II	*ḥky* II	*ḥky* II	*ḥky* II
'he wants'	*băye*	*gbe*	*gbe*	*gbe*
'he knows'	*yăðe*	*kiʾe*	*kiʾe*	*kiye*

0.2.4. *Influence on the Dialect from the Koine Language and the Language of Literature*

The dialect spoken by some by the Assyrian Christian informants from Barwar occasionally exhibits features that originate in the C. Urmi NENA dialect. These may have entered the speech of the families of the informants when they were refugees in Urmi during the first half of the 20th century. Alternatively they may have come from the koine dialect of the Assyrian Christian refugee communities of the Iraqi towns, which was based on the C. Urmi dialect. The inhabitants of Barwar had close contact with these towns during the 20th century, especially during the Kurdish uprising in the North during the 1960s.

This influence is reflected by several lexical items distinctive of the C. Urmi dialect that are used side by side with the original C. Barwar forms, e.g. *gšq* II 'to look' (= C. Barwar *xyr* I) (see §20.1.2.1. for further details).

The influence from C. Urmi is seen also in some phonological and morphological forms that are occasionally used by C. Barwar speakers. These include:

(i) A historical **ay* diphthong is sporadically contracted to */e/*, as in C. Urmi, rather than */ɛ/*, which is normal in C. Barwar, e.g. *mxurdéθa* 'surrounded' (B1:15).

(ii) The omission of initial */m/* in first */ʾ/* verbs in stem II, e.g. *ʾŭjəble* 'He was amazed' (A40:13 = C. Barwar *mŭjəble*).
(iii) The 3pl. L-suffix *-lun* or *-lu* rather than the normal C. Barwar form *-lɛ / -la*, e.g. *plìṭlun* 'They went out' (B1:17), *ʾíθwalu qənyàneˡ* 'They had cattle' (B3:13).

Certain forms that are used by educated C. Barwar speakers are clearly taken from the literary neo-Aramaic language known as *swadaya*. This language, which is widely used in the Assyrian Christian communities, is based on the C. Urmi dialect, but contains many elements from Classical Syriac that do not occur in vernacular speech. One example of this is the ending *-ayiθ*, which is occasionally used by educated speakers to form adverbials, e.g. *prišáyiθ* 'specifically' (B1:10), *šotapayìθˡ* 'socially' (B15:72) (§13.2.).

It has been shown above that the C. Barwar dialect is closely related to the dialects of Ṭiyare, but exhibits several points of difference. Distinctively Ṭiyare forms are, however, found in some popular songs that were sung in the Barwar communities, since they were originally composed in Ṭiyare, e.g. *ṗawa* (C2:23) 'she wanted' (= C. Barwar *băyawa*), *lali* (C2:38) 'to me' (= Ĉ. Barwar *ṭlali*).

0.2.5. *Influence from Other Languages*

The Assyrian Christians of Barwar spoke in addition to their NENA dialect also Kurdish and Arabic. Kurdish was the language of the Muslim population in the Barwar region. Arabic was spoken in the Iraqi towns and was the language of school education.

The influence from the Iranian language Kurdish has been particularly extensive. There are numerous features of the NENA dialect that exhibit parallels with Kurdish and appear to be the result of borrowing and convergence. The high degree of Kurdish influence on the lexicon of the dialect is reflected by its large stock of Kurdish loanwords in all grammatical categories (nouns, verbs and particles). All the verbs and many of the nouns have been adapted to Aramaic inflectional morphology (for further details see §20.1.2.2.).

Also several features of phonological and grammatical structure appear to have developed under the influence of Kurdish. In most cases these are calques that imitate Kurdish but use NENA grammatical material.

Some examples of features that have parallels in Kurdish and are likely to have arisen under its influence are the following:[31]

(i) In the Kurdish dialects of the area the consonants */k/* and */g/* are palatalized before a following front vowel (Mackenzie 1961: 32) as is the case in the C. Barwar dialect (§1.2.1.)

(ii) In vocative expressions in Kurdish the stress shifts to the beginning of the word (Mackenzie 1961: 157). The same shift is found in C. Barwar nouns when used vocatively (§5.3.), e.g.

Kurdish	*kúrīnô*	'boys!'
C. Barwar	*ʾálaha*	'God!'

(iii) A particle that is in origin the cardinal numeral 'one' is used to express indefiniteness of a noun in Kurdish. This structure is paralleled in the C. Barwar dialect in the use of the cardinal numeral with the same function (§14.1.):

Kurdish	C. Barwar	
mirôv-ak	*xa-gawṛa*	'a man'

This indefinite particle is used in indefinite numerical expressions (Mackenzie 1961: 152) as is the case with the corresponding particle in the C. Barwar dialect (§14.12.):

Kurdish	C. Barwar	
čār pēnǰ daf'a-kā	*xa ʾarba xamša gaye*	'four or five times'

Kurdish	C. Barwar	
čand rôž-akā	*xa-kma yome*	'some days'

(iv) The common Kurdish practice of forming compound adjectives by combining the preposition *p* with a noun (MacKenzie 1961:216) has a direct parallel in compounds in the C. Barwar dialect with the NENA preposition *b-*, e.g.

[31] The main source for the Kurdish material presented here is the description of the Kurdish dialects of north-western Iraq in MacKenzie (1961). I have adopted his transcription rather than convert it into the conventional orthography of written Kurdish.

Kurdish	C. Barwar
p-čak 'armed'	*b-šrara* 'truthful'
p-hawas 'happy'	*b-xamme* 'worried'

(v) In both the C. Barwar and Kurdish dialects the copula verb 'to be' is expressed by an enclitic that is inflected for person and number like a verb. Although there are signs of the emergence of such a clitic in earlier Eastern Aramaic, its full development and acquisition of verbal inflection are apparently due to the influence of Kurdish:

Kurdish	C. Barwar	
aw kurd-a	*ʾaw qurðayɛle* (< *qurðaya-ile*)	'He is Kurdish'
tô kurd-ī	*ʾati qurðayɛwət* (< *qurðaya-iwət*)	'You (ms.) are Kurdish'

Kurdish inflectional morphological material is occasionally incorporated into Aramaic words. This is the case, for example, with hypocoristic vocative forms of names. In the C. Barwar dialect these take the endings *-o* and *-e*, the latter being characteristic of female names (§20.2.22.), which are the Kurdish inflectional endings of vocatives (MacKenzie 1961: 156).

In some cases there is a convergence of the phonetic form of an item in the NENA dialect with a corresponding item in Kurdish without there necessarily being a borrowing of morphological material. Such phonetic convergence is found, for example, in the demonstrative pronouns. In C. Barwar there are three categories of demonstrative, viz. near to speaker, in the distance, and absent. The Kurdish dialects of the region not only have the same tripartite demonstrative system but also have demonstrative pronouns of a strikingly similar form. Those from among the sets listed by MacKenzie (1961: 174) that are of the greatest similarity are shown in the following table. Despite this resemblance, the pronouns in C. Barwar can be explained as having an internal Aramaic etymology (§7.4.):

C. Barwar		Kurdish
ʾawwa	'this (ms.)'	*awa*
ʾăwaha	'that (ms.) over there'	*awēhē*
ʾaw	'that (absent)'	*aw*

The verbal system of C. Barwar and the NENA dialects in general has undergone fundamental changes from what is found in the earlier literary forms of Aramaic. The two finite verbal forms of earlier Aramaic, known as the suffix conjugation (*qṭal*) and the prefix conjugation (*yiqṭol*,

liqṭol, *niqṭol*) have been completely replaced by participles, which have acquired verbal properties and verbal inflection. Broadly speaking, the erstwhile active participle serves as the base for verbal forms expressing present and future tenses or the past tense with an imperfective aspect whereas the erstwhile passive participle serves as the base of past tenses with a perfective aspect.

Several features of the verbal system that is found in C. Barwar have parallels with Kurdish and must be considered to be contact induced. These include the ergative type of construction of the perfective past verbal base *qṭil-*, whereby past actions are expressed by a passive construction with the patient being presented as the grammatical subject rather than by an active construction with the agent as the grammatical subject (§8.3.), e.g. *baxta qṭila-le* 'He killed the woman' (literally 'The woman was killed by him'). This type of ergative construction with perfective past verbs, which is common to the whole NENA group, has parallels in Kurdish (MacKenzie 1961: 193–194). Another innovation of C. Barwar, which is found only in a subgroup of NENA, is the use of a compound construction consisting of the combination of an originally passive participle *qṭila* (referred to in this grammar as the resultative participle) and the verb 'to be' to express the perfect (§15.4.1.). Again, this appears to have arisen by influence from Kurdish, which has a parallel type of compound construction (MacKenzie 1961: 187–189).

It is important to observe, however, that there are some differences between the C. Barwar dialect and the local Kurdish dialects in these two verbal forms. In Kurdish the ergative type construction of the past perfective with the patient of the action being the grammatical subject and the agent expressed by an oblique agentive phrase ('by X') is naturally restricted to transitive verbs. In the C. Barwar dialect and most other NENA dialects, however, the ergative type of inflection with an agentive phrase ('by X') expressed by the preposition *l-* has been extended by analogy to intransitive verbs, e.g. *qim-le* 'He has risen'. This has not happened in Kurdish or any other Iranian language in the NENA area. In fact, in some Iranian languages the precise opposite has happened, namely the active intransitive construction with the verb agreeing with the grammatical subject has been extended by analogy to the transitive past conjugation. This is the case, for example, in Modern Persian. The extension of the ergative inflection to intransitives seems, rather, to be a development internal to NENA. Vestiges of the original system in which the ergative inflection is restricted to transitive verbs has survived in a

few Jewish dialects on the eastern periphery of the NENA area (e.g. J. Sulemaniyya, J. Kerend and J. Sanandaj).[32]

Another difference between C. Barwar and Kurdish is the fact that in C. Barwar the compound perfect construction is not ergative. The grammatical subject of transitive verbs is the agent rather than the patient. In Kurdish, on the other hand, the corresponding compound construction, which appears to have been the model for the NENA construction, is ergative in form when the verb is transitive. The loss of the ergative inflection in C. Barwar and most other NENA dialects is again a development internal to NENA. The original ergative type of construction has survived only in a few Jewish dialects on the eastern periphery.[33]

These developments suggest that the influence from Iranian on the Aramaic verbal system must have had a considerable time depth. In fact, traces of ergative inflection of past tense verbs is found in Aramaic as early as the 5th century B.C. and also in the main literary languages, Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic and Mandaic, in the first millennium A.D. This must have arisen by contact with earlier forms of Iranian, such as Old Persian and Middle Persian, where ergative constructions are found. It is significant that in Classical Syriac texts a number of cases are found where the ergative inflection is used with intransitive verbs, e.g. *qīm l-eh* (Nöldeke 1904, §279). This is presumably the result of interference from the vernacular and shows that the analogical extension of the ergative inflection to past intransitives had taken place many centuries ago in the vernacular.[34]

The influence of Arabic on the C. Barwar dialect is largely restricted to the lexicon (§20.1.2.2.) and has not had a discernible effect on the phonological and grammatical structure. In the twentieth century the speakers of C. Barwar were immersed in an Arabic speaking environment, both due to their residence in the Iraqi towns and also due to the use of Arabic in schools. The fact, however, that Arabic influence has not penetrated the grammatical structure of the dialect in the same way as Kurdish and its Iranian predecessors suggests that this intensive contact with Arabic is a relatively recent phenomenon. Indeed many of the Arabic loanwords that are established in the lexicon entered the dialect through Kurdish rather coming directly from contact with Arabic (§10.11., §20.1.2.2.).

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[32] Hopkins (1989), Khan (2004: 6–7, 85–93).
[33] Hopkins (2002), Khan (2007).
[34] For further details see Khan (2004; 2007a).

Only a relatively small number of Turkish loanwords can be identified in the lexicon of the C. Barwar dialect. They are much less numerous than the Turkish loanwords in NENA dialects of north-western Iran that are in intensive contact with Azeri Turkish. It appears, however, that Turkish has had some influence on the structure of the C. Barwar verbal system. This applies to the use of a compound construction consisting of an infinitive and copula to express progressive aspect (§8.8.5.–8.8.7.).

Such progressive constructions are used in several dialects in the northern region of the NENA area whereas in dialects in the southern region of this area the progressive aspect is express by constructions consisting of the present base of the verb. It is not found, however, in the dialects of Bohtan and Hertevin in the north-western periphery. It is an innovation that extends from the north-eastern periphery, in dialects such as Urmi, Salamas and Van, through the Hakkari, Ṭiyare and Cudi mountainous regions and into the villages of north-western Iraq as far South as Telkepe. The geographical location of the dialects correlates to some extent with differences in the relative degree of use of the infinitive based progressive in the dialects. In some dialects in the southern NENA area the construction is available, but is used far less regularly than in dialects further North. This applies, for example, to J. Sulemaniyya and C. Karamlesh which make only marginal use of the infinitive based progressive.

The original form of the progressive construction based on the infinitive was locative, with the locative preposition *b-* being attached to the infinitive (*b-grašaɛle* 'He is in the state of pulling'). No clear parallels to this are found in the Kurdish dialects of the region or in Arabic but equivalent progressive constructions based on an infinitive are used in Turkish, e.g. *almak-ta-sın* 'You are taking' (TAKING-IN-BE.2s.). Similar constructions are found also in Eastern Armenian[35] and some Iranian dialects belonging to the Tati group spoken in north-western Iran (e.g. Chali),[36] which indicates that it is an areal feature that has influenced not only NENA but also other languages of the region.

Since in the Barwar region in northern Iraq NENA speakers have not had in recent times the intensive contact with Turkish that would be necessary for it to influence the grammatical structure of the dialect in this way, the development of this contact induced feature must have a

[35] Cf. Pennacchietti (1988: 101), Chyet (1995: 246), Goldenberg (2000: 84), Heinrichs (2002: 259–60).

[36] Cf. Yar-Shater (1969: 225).

very considerable time depth. Indeed it is likely that there never was a sufficiently intense exposure to Turkish in situ and the feature was brought into the NENA speech of the area by migrations, the ultimate origin of which is likely to have been in the north-eastern periphery areas.

Another possible influence of Turkish on the C. Barwar verbal system can be identified in the narrative usage of the compound present perfect, which appears to be an imitation of the use of Turkish verbal forms with the *-miş* affix in fictional narratives (§15.4.1.3.). Again, it is likely that the time depth of the development of this feature is considerable and that the feature was brought into the NENA speech of the Barwar region by migrations.

0.3. Informants and Texts

The material for this grammar was gathered from informants who were born in the Barwar villages of ʾƐn Nune, Dure, Dɛrəške, ʾIyyət, Bəšmiyaye and Maye, the majority coming from ʾƐn Nune and Dure. All left Iraq after the destruction of their villages in the late 1970s and 1980s and have now settled in Europe, North America and Australia, where I conducted my fieldwork. They are men and women, most over 60 years old, who lived and worked in the villages when they were younger. The majority spent some time in the Iraqi towns, especially during the Kurdish uprising in the 1960s. Both in the Iraqi towns and also in their new places of residence outside Iraq they have always lived in family groups in close proximity to other speakers of the C. Barwar dialect. The informants, therefore, have preserved the original form of the dialect in their speech. Most of them still remember almost the full stock of vocabulary relating to the life, agriculture and natural surroundings of the Barwar villages and this has been collected together in the lists of semantic fields (§20.2.) and in the glossaries.

Some received no formal education in Iraq. Those who did attend schools in Iraq were taught for the most part in Arabic. A few informants learnt to read and write the modern literary form of language that is widely used today by educated Assyrians (known as *swadaya*). Within the last few decades there has been an increase in the production of literature written in this literary language, which is largely due to two developments. Firstly, in 1972 the government of Iraq granted cultural rights to the Assyrian Christians to publish literature in their own language. These cultural rights, however, were rather short-lived. Secondly, since the end of the Gulf War

in 1991, Assyrians in northern Iraq under Kurdish control have been free to publish in their own literary language.

This language is based on the C. Urmi dialect and sporadically interferes in their C. Barwar speech. Such interference from the high register literary language, however, is only minimal and largely occurs in factual expository texts rather than popular folktales. There is no tradition of recording the C. Barwar dialect in written form.

The texts that were recorded are divided into four categories: stories (A), history and culture (B), songs (C) and riddles and proverbs (D).

The stories in section A are all folktales and fables that used to be told in the Barwar villages, especially during the long winter evenings. Many of these stories belong to the common popular culture of the region and exist in versions in a variety of different languages. Several were originally composed in Kurdish, in some cases in the form of songs. In the Assyrian villages storytellers told several such stories in their original Kurdish versions as well as in the NENA dialect. The majority of the folktales in the corpus are told in prose form, with occasional poetic sections that were sung. The stories from the Qaṭina legend contain a large number of sung sections since this was originally transmitted almost entirely in poetic form. The oral tradition of folktales that is documented in this section is now on the verge of oblivion and is not being transmitted by younger generations.

The texts in section B contain descriptions of the life and culture of the Assyrian communities of the Barwar villages and narratives of historical events, some relating to the personal experiences of the informants.

Section C presents a selection of songs that were sung in Barwar. Some of these were originally composed elsewhere, notably in the Ṭiyare region, and this is reflected by the occasional occurrence of forms that are distinctive of the Ṭiyare dialects. This applies especially to the *lɛ̈liyana* wedding songs and the *rawe* songs, which existed in rich oral traditions in the Ṭiyare region before the destruction of the communities in the First World War. The *lɛ̈liyana* songs (C1) were sung by women at various points in the celebrations of a wedding, such as the washing of the groom and the selling of the tree to raise money for the bride and groom. The *rawe* songs (C2) are largely amorous in nature and are traditionally sung by men in two competing groups, usually at weddings, in alternative stanzas. Each stanza consists of three monorhyme verses.[37] As is the case with the

[37] Pennacchietti (1976: 646–648). The corpus of *rawe* songs brought together in section C2 include those originally published by Pennacchietti in this article.

folktales, also the traditional songs collected in this corpus are now in the process of falling into oblivion.

The riddles and proverbs in section D exhibit a few linguistic peculiarities, some of which are due to the fact that they use lexical items that are not commonly used in conversational speech.

The original recordings of some of the texts can be heard at the website of the NENA database project in Cambridge (nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

0.4. The Grammar and Lexicon

The grammar follows the general format of my previous grammars of NENA dialects (J. Arbel 1999, C. Qaraqosh 2002, J. Sulemaniyya 2004). Sections are devoted to a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the dialect. The syntax is largely based on material published in the text corpus. As in my previous grammars, the transcription of the texts indicates intonation group boundaries and distinguishes between nuclear and non-nuclear stress. In many cases these details are necessary to understand the syntax fully. Volume 2 contains chapters on the lexicon, as is found in my grammars of C. Qaraqosh and J. Sulemaniyya. Chapter 21 arranges a selection of the lexicon into semantic fields to facilitate future comparative research on the lexicon of the NENA dialects. Full glossaries of all recorded lexical items from the dialect are found in the remainder of the volume. These include all material that was gathered during the fieldwork. Verbs are presented in a glossary arranged by root and the remaining lexical items are put in a general glossary arranged alphabetically. Where possible, the origin of loanwords is indicated, this being mainly Kurdish or Arabic. In some cases, however, their origin cannot be identified in available dictionaries of Kurdish, Arabic or Turkish and no source is indicated, even where from their form they appear not to be of Aramaic origin. The size of the lexicon that has been gathered is greater than in my previous grammars. This is due to the large size of the text corpus and long periods of fieldwork among speakers with a rich lexical knowledge the dialect.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER ONE

CONSONANTS

1.1. Phoneme Inventory

	Labials	Dental/ Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal	Laryngal
Stops/affricates							
Unvoiced aspirated	*p*	*t*	*č*	*k*	*q*		*ʾ*
Unvoiced unaspirated	*p̲*	*t̲*	*č̲*	*k̲*			
Voiced	*b̂*	*d̂*	*j̇̂*	*ġ̂*			
Emphatic	*ṗ*	*ṭ*	*č̣*				
Fricatives							
Unvoiced	*f*	*θ*		*x*		*ḥ*	*h*
		s	*š*				
Voiced	*v*	*ð*					
		z	*ž*	*ġ*			
Emphatic		*ṣ*					
		ẓ					
Nasal							
Plain	*m*	*n*					
Emphatic	*ṃ*						
Lateral							
Plain		*l*					
Emphatic		*ḷ*					
Tap		*r*					
Trill		*ṛ*					
Approximant	*w*		*y*				

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

/v/, which is found in loans from Kurdish, e.g. *šăvana* 'shepherd', *dərvana* 'frying pan', *kerova* 'storm', *zvara* 'to turn', *vădo!* 'Move aside!', *ʾažvana* 'miller'.
/ž/, which is found in loans from Kurdish, e.g. *bažər* 'town', *qarežе* 'sweepings, rubbish', *mgežone* 'to be dizzy', *mpaqožе* 'to clean'.
/č/, which is found in loans from Kurdish, e.g. *čol* 'countryside', *čamča* 'spoon', *čangəl* 'fork', *čale* 'pit'.
/f/, which is found in loans from Kurdish and Arabic, e.g. *maxfurta* 'carpet', *šəftiya* 'watermelon', *făqira* 'poor', *farquθa* 'difference', *ləhefa* 'duvet'.
/j/, which is found in loans from Kurdish and Arabic, e.g. *dăbanja* 'pistol', *ʾojəx* 'tribe', *julla* 'cloth', *jmaʾa* 'to gather', *mjarobe* 'to try'.
The unaspirated stops */p̂/*, */t̂/*, */k̂/* and the unaspirated affricate */č̂/*, which are found in loans from Kurdish, e.g. *ṣop̂a* 'stove', *qot̂iya* 'mirror', *k̂oma* 'crowd', *č̂ənnək̂ər-* 'around'.

A number of consonants in this list, however, are occasionally found in words of Aramaic origin, where they have developed by phonetic processes, no doubt facilitated by their existence in the contact languages. This applies, for example, to the affricates */č/*, e.g. *măčoxe* 'to find', *čeri* 'autumn' (§1.4.6.), and */j/*, e.g. *jawətta* 'chopping tool' (< **gʿd* < **gdʿ* 'to hew off'). It should be noted also that there is a certain degree of overlap between the unaspirated series of unvoiced stops and the emphatic stops. This often results in emphatic stops in words of Aramaic origin losing their velarization and being pronounced as simple unaspirates (§1.2.3.).

1.2. Notes on the Phonetic Realization of the Consonants

1.2.1. *Palatalization of* /k/ *and* /g/

The stops */k/* and */g/* are often palatalized before non-rounded vowels. This results in their being articulated in the region of [c] and [ɟ] respectively and having a clearly audible palatal offset */y/* before the following vowel segment e.g. *kʸasa* [ˈcʸæːsæ] 'stomach', *kʸalo* [ˈcʸæːlo] 'bride', *kʸɛrma* [ˈcʸɛɾmæ] 'vineyard', *kʸepa* [ˈcʸeːpæ] 'stone', *gʸawṛa* [ˈɟʸæwræ] 'man', *gʸɛrma* [ˈɟʸɛɾmæ] 'bone', *pragʸe* [ˈpræːɟʸe] 'millet', *zawgʸe* [ˈzɑwɟʸe] 'pairs'. This palatalization does not, however, regularly occur in these contexts and the velar stops in the words in the foregoing list are sometimes articulated without a palatal offset: *kasa, kalo, kɛrma, kepa, gawṛa, gɛrma, prage, zawge*.

The variability of palatalization is sometimes exploited to distinguish between two otherwise homophonous words, e.g.

kʸasa 'stomach'	*kasa* 'chalice'

This distinction is not, however, made regularly by all speakers and the pairs are often pronounced as homophones.

The articulation of the stops is occasionally fronted to that of palato-alveolar affricates by a more advanced degree of palatalization, e.g. *čalo* 'bride', *čɛrma* 'vineyard'. This advanced palatalization, which is regular in some NENA dialects, is a relatively rare allophonic variant in Barwar. The voiced palato-alveolar affricate */j/* resulting from fronting of a velar **g* is, however, a fixed feature of a few isolated words, e.g. *jawda* 'water skin' (< **gawda*), *jawətta* 'chopping tool' (< **gʿd* < **gdʿ* 'to hew off'), *jwina* 'side (in a game)', *jlw* 'to abduct (a woman)'. The first two may possibly be loans from neighbouring dialects in Lower Ṭiyare, where such advanced palatalization is a more widespread feature. The */j/* in the last two words may have arisen as a means of distinguishing them from homophonous, or near homophonous, words containing the velar */g/*:

jwina 'side'	*gwina* 'eyebrow'
jlw 'to abduct'	*gnw* 'to steal'

1.2.2. *Unaspirated Stops*

The unvoiced stops */k/*, */p/* and */t/* are pronounced with a certain degree of aspiration when they stand at the beginning of a syllable before a vowel, e.g. *koma* [ˈkʰoːmæ] 'black', *pele* [ˈpʰeːlɛ] 'he baked', *tela* [ˈtʰeːlæ] 'fox'. Unvoiced unaspirated stops and also the unaspirated affricate */c̭/* occur in this position in a number of loanwords from Kurdish. These sometimes contrast phonemically with aspirated stops in Aramaic words that are otherwise homophonous, e.g.

koma 'black'	*c̭oma* 'pile'
kura 'furnace'	*c̭ura* 'one year old goat'
kawe 'window'	*c̭awe* 'may it be'

In some cases the Kurdish loanword with the unaspirated stop in such pairs is listed in Kurdish dictionaries as having an aspirated stop, e.g. *c̭oma* 'pile' < Kurd. k'om (Rizgar 1993, Chyet 2003). In such a case the unaspirated

articulation may have arisen within the Aramaic dialect as a means of distinguishing it from an otherwise homophonous native Aramaic word.

The unaspirated stops */k͡/*, */p͡/* and */t͡/* are pronounced with a greater degree of muscular tension than the corresponding aspirated stops. This is sometimes accompanied by a certain amount of velarization and consequent backing of the point of articulation, resulting in their pronunciation as emphatic consonants, e.g., *laṭṭa* 'shallow' (Kurd. lat), *saqqaṭ* 'crippled' (Kurd. seqet), *t̰anga* ~ *ṭanga* 'saddle-girth' (Kurd. teng), *č̰anga* 'leather gloves used in harvesting' (Kurd. çeng).

By the aforementioned process, the point of articulation of unaspirated */k͡/* is sometimes moved back to that of the uvular stop */q/*, e.g. *qaška* 'cake of dried yoghurt curds' (Kurd. keşk), *gisqa* 'young male goat' (Kurd. gîsk). This development, which appears to be internal to the Aramaic dialect, does not occur regularly. Conversely an original uvular */q/* in Kurdish is sometimes brought forward to a velar */k͡/*, e.g. *k͡aška* 'wheat husk' (Kurd. qaşik). In this case the stimulus for the shift may have been the need to distinguish the word from *qaška* 'cake of dried yoghurt curds', which acquired the */q/* by a backing of the place of articulation.

The unaspirated unvoiced stops contrast phonemically with the corresponding voiced stops, as shown by such pairs as:

k͡wina 'tent'	*gwina* 'eyebrow'
k͡oma 'pile'	*goma* 'basement'
k͡awe 'may it be'	*gawe* 'in it'
t͡-awra 'that she enters'	*dawra* 'wooden bolt'

1.2.3. *Emphatic Consonants*

The emphatic consonants */č̰/*, */r̰/*, */s̰/*, */t̰/*, */l̰/*, */m̰/*, */p̰/* and */z̰/* are in principle pronounced with velarization rather than pharyngalization, i.e. the back of the tongue is moved towards the velum during the articulation of the consonants rather than being moved back further into the pharynx. In the case of the consonants */s̰/*, */t̰/ /č̰/* and */l̰/* the place of the primary articulation by the tongue is retracted slightly in comparison to that of their non-emphatic counterparts. The emphatic */r̰/* is articulated as a trill with a slight retroflexion of the tongue tip. This differs from non-emphatic */r/*, which is realized as non-retroflexed tap [ɾ] or a trill with a shorter duration. All of the emphatics are pronounced with greater muscular tension than the corresponding non-emphatics. The unvoiced stops */t̰/* and */p̰/* and the affricate */č̰/* are unaspirated.

Minimal pairs can be identified that demonstrate that */ṣ/*, */ṭ/*, */ṛ/* and */č̣/* contrast phonemically with their non-emphatic counterparts, e.g.

/s/ : /ṣ/

srapa 'to slurp'	*ṣrapa* 'to smart, to sear'
swaʾa 'to be sated'	*ṣwaʾa* 'to colour'
msaya 'to wash clothes'	*mṣaya* 'to be able'
ʾəsər 'ten (f.)'	*ʾəṣər* 'intense cold'

/t/ : /ṭ/

tura 'stick'	*ṭura* 'mountain'
tare 'it gets wet'	*ṭare* 'he drives'
tlele 'he hung'	*ṭlele* 'he slept'
mate 'his grape'	*maṭe* 'he arrives'

/r/ : /ṛ/

ʾamra 'she says'	*ʾamṛa* 'wool'
ʾamure 'thickly planted'	*ʾamuṛe* 'tools'
bera 'well'	*beṛa* 'light'
dare 'he puts'	*daṛe* 'generations'
dɛre 'he puts'[1]	*dɛṛe* 'he returns'
dwara 'threshing'	*dwaṛa* 'rest area for sheep'
gawra 'she marries'	*gawṛa* 'man'
gwara 'to marry'	*gwaṛa* 'to become big'
mara 'to say'	*maṛa* 'spade'
mare 'he patches'	*maṛe* 'he pastures'
nera 'river'	*neṛa* 'vision'
para 'bran, fine dust'	*paṛa* 'lamb'
sera 'moon'	*seṛa* 'goat's hair'

/č/ : /č̣/

čara 'solution'	*č̣ara* 'black bird'
čita 'type of fabric'	*č̣ita* 'cream of yoghurt'
čəčča 'breast'	*č̣əč̣č̣a* 'shoulder-blade'
čappe 'left hand'	*č̣appe* 'applause'
ʾəčča 'nine' (f.)	*ʾəč̣č̣a* 'nine' (m.)

[1] The forms *dare* and *dɛre* are variants of the same form (see §2.5.3.).

The phonemic status of the emphatic consonants */p̣/*, */ḷ/* and */ṃ/* is marginal. A minimal pair can be identified for */p/* : */p̣/*:

pəqqa 'frog'	*p̣əqqa* 'crack'

Elsewhere */p̣/* occurs in contrastive pairs together with */ṛ/* or */ḷ/*:

prama 'to slaughter'	*p̣rama* 'to understand'
parma 'she slaughters'	*p̣aṛma* 'type of oak tree'
mpăloye 'to share'	*mp̣ăḷoye* 'to imitate'

In these pairs it is not clear whether */p̣/* should be regarded as having the status of a primary emphatic or as having arisen secondarily by the suprasegmental spread of emphasis (see below). It is worth noting that speakers are conscious of the fact that the emphatic */p̣/* is one of the features that distinguish the second members of the pairs from the first.

Emphatic */ḷ/* occurs in some words independently of other emphatic consonants, e.g. *ḷaya* 'upper', *ʾuḷḷuḷ* 'above'. It is, however, only found in minimal pairs in association with other emphatic consonants, e.g.

ma-leʔ 'What is the matter with him?'	*ṃaḷe* 'he fills'
t-la 'without'	*ṭḷa* 'three'

The only minimal pair containing emphatic */ṃ/* is the first of the two just cited, where it occurs together with emphatic */ḷ/*.

The emphatic consonant */z̧/* is found only in a few loanwords from Arabic, e.g. *z̧lama* 'to act unjustly'.

The velarization that is associated with emphatic consonants tends to spread to other segments in the syllable in which the consonant is situated. In some cases this suprasegmental spread of emphasis extends beyond the syllable to the entire word. As a result of the velarization, the vowel phonemes are realized with allophones that lie further back than the allophones that are characteristic of non-velarized articulation, e.g. *paṛa* [ˈʱpɑːrɑ] 'lamb' vs. *para* [ˈpʰæːɾæ] 'dust', *ʾəč̣̌a* [ʱʾəčːɑ] 'nine' (m.) vs. *ʾəčča* [ˈʾčʰːæ] 'nine' (f.).

The velarization of the emphatic consonants is sometimes weakened, in that the back of the root of the tongue is retracted with lessened approximation to the velum. A certain degree of muscular tenseness is retained and unvoiced stops continue to be unaspirated, e.g. *ṭaxən* [ʱtɑːxən ~ tɑːxən]

'he mills'. In cases of weakening of velarization, emphatic */ṛ/* usually retains some degree of its trilled retroflex character, which distinguishes it from the tap */r/*, e.g. *paṛa* [ˈpɑːrɑ] 'lamb'. This articulatory difference between the two rhotic segments is not, however, always clearly discernible. In general, the most perceptible residual feature of velarization is the retracted quality of the vowel allophones and this often becomes the clearest distinctive feature in minimal pairs, e.g.

para [ˈpʰæːɾæ] 'dust'	*paṛa* [ˈpɑːrɑ] 'lamb'
ʾamra [ˈʾæmɾæ] 'she says'	*ʾamṛa* [ˈʾɐmrɐ] 'lamb'
ʾəčča [ˈʾɪʧʰːæ] 'nine' (f.)	*ʾəčˌča* [ˈʾəʧːɑ] 'nine' (m.)
pəqqa [ˈpʰɪqqæ] 'frog'	*ṗəqqa* [ˈpəqqɑ] 'crack'
ʾəsra [ˈʾɪsɾæ] 'basket'	*ʾəṣra* [ˈʾəsɾɑ] 'ten'

There is a particular tendency for velarization to be weakened in the pronunciation of emphatic */ṛ/*. This has led to the levelling of minimal pairs in the speech of some speakers. Some of my informants, indeed, pronounced both members of several of the pairs for */r/* : */ṛ/* listed above in the same way and judged them to be homophonous. This was the case with the pairs *dwara* 'threshing': *dwaṛa* 'rest area for sheep' and *sera* 'moon': *seṛa* 'goat's hair'.

In the transcription the marking of the emphatic consonants has been normalized for the sake of orthographic consistency and does not reflect the suprasegmental spread of velarization or its intermittent weakening. Where a word contains an emphatic consonant in earlier Aramaic, it is this consonant that is marked as emphatic in the transcription, even though the velarization may spread to other segments of the word, e.g. *mtaraṣ* [ˈˠmtɑːrəs] 'he repairs' (cf. Syr. *mṯāreṣ*), *ṣliwa* [ˈˠsl̪iwɑ] 'cross' (cf. Syr. *ṣlīwā*). In words in which there was no emphatic consonant in earlier Aramaic, the primary emphatic consonant is marked, as far as this can be determined, but not secondary emphatics that may have acquired emphasis by suprasegmental spread of velarization, e.g. *paṛa* [ˈˠpɑːrɑ] 'lamb', *ʾəčˌča* [ˈˠʾəʧːɑ] 'nine' (m.). In the few cases where the primary emphatic cannot be established with any certainty, more than one consonant is marked as emphatic. This applies to words containing */ṗ/*, */ṃ/* and */l̥/*, e.g. *ṗuṛmeli* [ˈˠpʊrmɛ̰ːli] 'I have understood', *ṃl̥ele* [ˈˠmleːle] 'it became full'. The marking of emphatic consonants in the way just described is applied consistently in the transcription and does not reflect the occasional weakening of velarization.

1.2.4. *Affricates*

The offset of the unvoiced affricates */č/, /c̭/, /č̭/,* is usually the palato-alveolar sibilant [ʃ], e.g. *čeri* [ˈtʃʰeːri] 'autumn', *č̭ənnək̭ɛre* [ˈtʃənːəkɛːɾe] 'around him', *ʾəč̭a* 'nine' [ˈˀʾətʃːɑ]. Some speakers pronounced the offset of the emphatic affricate */č̭/* as an alveolar sibilant, e.g. *č̭lapa* [ˈˠtslɑːpɑ] 'to tear apart', *mač̭moye* [ˈˠmɑtsmoye] 'to extinguish'.

1.2.5. /n/

The phoneme */n/* is normally realized as an alveolar nasal. When in contact with a velar consonant, however, it is sometimes realized as a velar nasal [ŋ], e.g. *pànxa* [ˈpɪŋxæ] 'mill-stone' (B5:90).

1.2.6. /m/

Before */u/* the consonant */m/* sometimes has an offglide */w/*, e.g. *mù* [mʷuː] *y-oðíwaʔ*ˈ 'What were they doing?' (A8:28)

1.2.7. /w/

The consonant */w/* is generally realized as a bilabial glide [w]. The labio-dental sound [v] is largely restricted to Kurdish loanwords, where it is represented by */v/* in the transcription. The word *jvoṭa* 'straight', which has an Aramaic etymology (§1.4.6.), is exceptonal in that it is regularly pronounced with a labio-dental. In the words *niwa* 'molar tooth' and *gawana* 'boundary', which also are of Aramaic stock, the */w/* is realized as either a bilabial or a labio-dental: [niːwɑ] ~ [niːvɑ], [gɑːwɑːnɑ] ~ [gɑːvɑːnɑ].

1.3. Phonetic Processes

1.3.1. *Assimilation*

Various types of assimilations take place between consonants. Not all of these are represented in the transcription.

There is a certain tendency for an unvoiced consonant to become voiced when in direct contact with a following voiced consonant by a process of partial regressive assimilation, e.g. *xzáda* [ˈɣzæːdæ] 'harvesting' (B5:95), *xzátta* [ˈɣzættæ] 'harvest' (B5:141), *xðìrtɛla* [ˈɣðiˑɾtɛˑlæ] 'she searched'

(A25:37), *xzì* [ɣziː] ‘see!’ (A24:27), *xðàyɛle* [ˈɣðæːyɛˑle] ‘he is happy’ (A46:8), *muxbàrtalle* [mʊɣˈbəɾtəlle] ‘she notified him’ (A12:53), *léla ṣbára* [ˈʶzbɑːrɑ] ‘they do not dare’ (A27:40), *kut-qálma ʾìθba* [ˈᵖiˑðbæ] ‘every louse that was in it’ (A28:17), *š-zeðàye* [ˈʒ-zeˑðæːye] ‘on the flat breads’ (A30:21).

Similarly voiced consonants are sometimes devoiced when in direct contact with unvoiced ones, e.g. *šàbθa* [ˈʃæpθæ] ‘week’ (B5:46), *bšìle* [ˈpʃiːle] ‘ripe’ (A43:2), *krìbta* [ˈkɾiˑptæ] ‘angry’ (A51:10), *dúka mruzágta* [mruˑˈzæktæ] *qa-sàtwa* ‘a place prepared for the winter’ (B5:98), *ʾáy blìgtɛla* [ˈbliˑktɛlæ] ‘she is busy’ (A26:78), *madqárre* [mætˈqərːe] ‘he values him’ (A10:13), *b-šatɛ́xi* [p-ʃæˑˈtʰɛːxi] ‘we shall drink’ (A15:28).

These processes sometimes take place across word boundaries, e.g. *páyəš gòṛa* [ˈpæːyɪʒ ˈgoːɾɽɑ] ‘he becomes great’ (A27:5), *brátux zìlla* [ˈbræːtʊɣ ˈzilːæ] ‘your daughter has gone’ (A27:30).

Such partial assimilation between two contiguous consonants is generally not marked in the transcription. The justification for this is that in some cases it does not occur, e.g. *mubsə́mli* [mʊbˈsəmli] ‘I enjoyed myself’ (A2:8). Marking it would, therefore, introduce an orthographic inconsistency into the transcription. Moreover in most cases the voicing or devoicing of the consonant concerned has not been extended by analogy to all morphological inflections of the word or root in all contexts, e.g. *blíga* [ˈbliːgæ] ‘busy’ (m.)—*blígta* [ˈbliˑktæ] ‘busy’ (f.), *bášəl* [ˈbæːʃəl] ‘it ripens’—*bšíla* [ˈpʃiːlæ] ‘ripe’, *šábθa* [ˈʃæpθæ] ‘week’—*šabbáθa* [ʃæbˈbæːθæ] ‘weeks’, *brátux zìlla* [ˈbræːtʊɣ ˈzilːæ] ‘your daughter has gone’—*brátux θèla* [ˈbræːtʊx ˈθeːlæ] ‘your daughter has come’. For the sake of clarity, therefore, the consonant is transcribed consistently in all inflections.

This type of partial assimilation has, however, become a fixed feature of some words in all inflections, so that a transcription that represents the historically original form without assimilation would be artificially archaizing. This applies, for example, to *kθɛθa* ‘chicken’ (cf. Syr. *kḏaytā*), *ġðaðe* ‘each other’ (< **xðaðe*, cf. Syr. *ḥðāðē*), *gəsta* ‘fleece’ (< **gəzta*, cf. Syr. *gezṭā*) and *gupta* ‘cheese’, which is derived historically from the root **gbn* (cf. Syr. *gḇettā* < **gḇentā*). In some verbal roots, moreover, a partial assimilation that originally took place between two contiguous consonants has been extended by analogy to all inflections of the root, including those where the consonants concerned are not contiguous. This applies, for example, to *spr* ‘to wait’ (< **sbr*), in which the devoicing of the second radical arose historically by contact with the unvoiced first radical */s/* in forms such as *spára* ‘to wait’. It now, however, occurs in all inflections, e.g. *sápər* ‘he waits’, *sápri* ‘they wait’. Another case is *txr* ‘to remember’ (< **dkr*), in which the unvoiced */t/* has been fixed lexically. Note also the

verbal root *xzd* 'to harvest' (< **ḥṣd*), in which the voicing of the second radical due to contact with the voiced final radical has been extended to all inflections of the form, e.g. *xázdi* 'they harvest', *xázəd* 'he harvests'. All such cases of regularization of partial assimilation are represented in the transcription.

The alveolar nasal continuant */n/* is sometimes realized as a labial nasal continuant [m] by partial assimilation to a following labial consonant, e.g. *npílle* [ˈmpiˑlːe] fell' (cf. *nápəl* [ˈnæːpəl] 'he falls'). This often occurs across word boundaries, e.g. *ʾu-ʾan-baxtàθa* [ʾæm-bæxˈtæːθæ] 'and those women' (B5:85), *qa-t-yámṣən xázən* [ˈxæːzəm] *bəṛ-našúθa* 'so that I may see people' (A24:2), *lán-mṣayа* [ˈlæm-ˠmsɑyɑ] 'I cannot' (A26:21), *bə̆́yən* [ˈbæyəm] *pálxən kàslux* 'I want to work with you' (A24:4). Conversely, the labial nasal */m/* is occasionally realized as an alveolar nasal [n] when in contact with a following alveolar consonant, *taqríban mṭéle* [ˈn̪t̪ɛːle] 'he has almost reached' (A24:1), e.g. *nāš-díyən mtúnyela* [ˈntʊnyelæ] 'our people have told' (B4:3). In these examples this process has no doubt been facilitated by the presence of */n/* before the */m/* at the end of the preceding word. These cases of assimilation affecting the nasals */n/* and */m/* are not marked in the transcription. In some sporadic cases, however, the assimilation has become a fixed feature of the word and so is marked, e.g. *dambusta* 'small tail' (< **danb-usta*).

Total assimilation sometimes occurs between two adjacent consonants, resulting in a geminated consonant. In contexts where this is a sporadic phenomenon and does not occur systematically, it is not represented in the transcription. One such context is the affixation of L-suffixes to verbs. The */l/* of these suffixes does not generally assimilate to the final consonant of the verbal root with which it is in contact, unless this is */n/* or */r/*. In fast speech, however, such regressive assimilation to consonants other than */n/* and */r/* does sporadically occur, e.g., *píšla* [ˈpiˑʃːæ] 'it has become' (B10:94), *píšlɛ* [ˈpiˑʃːɛ] 'they have become' (A38:22), *b-nayə̀sli* [bnæˑˈyəsːi] 'it will bite me' (A1:17). When the final consonant of the verb is */n/* or */r/*, the assimilation regularly occurs and so it is marked in the transcription, e.g. *kpínne* 'he became hungry', *gamárre* 'he tans it'. In contexts where assimilated and unassimilated forms occur more or less in free variation both are represented in the transcription. This applies, for example, to L-suffixes on the 1pl. verbal suffix *-əx*: *qaṭlə́xle* ~ *qaṭlə́xxe* 'we kill him', e.g. *nablə́xle* 'we shall take him' (A4:3), *y-amrə́xle* 'we call it' (B10:100), *šɛrə́xxe* 'we shall stoke it up' (A34:12), *maqimə̀xxe* 'we shall resurrect him' (A4:48).

Total regressive assimilation also occasionally takes place across word boundaries, e.g. *ʾan-zòre* [ʾæzˈzoːɾe] 'the small ones' (B10:83), *ʾap-míya* [ʾæmˈ miːjæ] 'even water' (B16:15), *rēš-ṣàwma* [ɻęˑʂˈṣɋwmɑ] 'the beginning of the fast' (B16:7). This is not represented in the transcription.

Occasionally assimilation takes place not between adjacent consonants but rather between adjacent syllables, in that a syllable assimilates some of the properties of the following syllable. This typically takes place where the two syllables already share some properties and the assimilation increases their resemblance. It can sporadically be found across word boundaries, e.g. *ríqən qam-màmi* [ˈɾiːqəm qəm-ˈmæːmi] 'I ran before my uncle' (A25:42), *zílla ta-t-máθya kθéθa* [tætˈmɛːθæ ˈkθɛːθæ] 'She went to fetch a chicken' (A47:7). This occurs only in a few isolated instances in this context and is not marked in the transcription. In some contexts, however, it takes place regularly. This is the case, for example, in the plural form *ʾiθaθa* 'hands' (< **ʾiðaθa*), where the first */θ/* can be explained as arising by the assimilation of the syllable */*ða*/ to the following syllable */θa/*. Since this is a fixed feature of the word form, it is marked in the transcription.

1.3.2. *Devoicing of Word Final Consonants*

In some cases a word final voiced consonant is devoiced. This is the case with the genitive/relative particle *D*, which is devoiced when cliticized to the end of a word, e.g. *ʾánna waríðət qðàle* (< *wariðe d-qðale*) 'these veins of his neck' (A26:81), *ṣáwθa gu-púmmət màrɛle šəklánta*ˈ (< *pumma d-marɛle*) 'A word is beautiful in the mouth of its owner' (A26:40).

Kurdish loanwords that have final voiced */z/* in the source language often have voiceless */s/* in the Aramaic dialect, e.g.

dūs 'right, true'	Kurd. dûz
marrəs 'hair of angora goat'	Kurd. merez

The final consonant remains unvoiced when clitics are added, e.g. *dūs-iwət* 'you are right'. When, however, morphological affixes are attached and the consonant is no longer word final, the original voicing is maintained, e.g. *duzuθa* 'truth'.

1.4. Historical Background of the Consonants

1.4.1. *The* BGDKPT *Consonants*

1.4.1.1. *b

The reflex of the fricative allophone of **b* in earlier Aramaic is the semivowel */w/*. This is found after both vowels and consonants, e.g.

genawa	'thief'	< **gannāḇā*
sawa	'grandfather'	< **sāḇā*
ṣliwa	'cross'	< **ṣlīḇā*
ʾərwa	'sheep'	< **erḇā*
šwawa	'neighbour'	< **šḇāḇā*
dawa	'gold'	< **dahḇā*
gʸawṛa	'man'	< **gaḇrā*
zawna	'time'	< **zaḇnā*
xawra	'friend'	< **ḥaḇrā*
šawqa	'she leaves'	< **šāḇqā*

When **ḇ* was preceded by **u*, the sequence **uḇ* contracted to */u/*, e.g.

gure	'men'	< **guḇrē*
tuna	'straw'	< **tuḇnā*
duša	'honey'	< **duḇšā*
ruta	'Friday'	< **aruḇtā*

On some occasions the sequence */aw/* that derives from **aḇ* or **āḇ* contracts to */o/* before a consonant, e.g.

gota	'side'	< **gaḇtā*

In a number of words of native Aramaic stock, the stop */b/* occurs after a vowel. These may be classified as follows:

(i) Cases where the */b/* was originally geminated, e.g.

xabuša	'apple'	< **ḥabbūšā*
dabaša	'bee'	< **dabbāšā*
šabθa	'week'	< **šabbʾṯā*
mzabən	'he sells'	< **mzabben*

In the word *ṣabota* 'finger' the stop */b/* may have arisen by secondary gemination of an original **b* in order to prevent the elision of the preceding vowel after the insertion of an epenthetic vowel after it: *ṣabota* < **ṣabbəʾtā* < **ṣabʿəṯā*. Compare J. Amedia *ṣaboʾta*, Qaraqosh *ṣubəʾθa*. The gemination has been preserved in some dialects, e.g. Dɛre *ṣəbbota*.

(ii) When the preceding vowel is an epenthetic, e.g.

kaləbθa	'bitch'	cf. *kalba* 'dog'

(iii) Where a word beginning with */b/* has been bonded with a preceding element that ends in vowel, e.g.

xo-bɛθa	'under the house'
gu-bɛθa	'in the house'

We can include here verbal roots that have */b/* as their first radical. The stop remains through all inflections, including when prefixes that end in a vowel are attached to it, e.g. *brq* 'to shine', *barəq* 'it shines', *mabrəq* 'it causes to shine'; *bny* 'to build', *bane* 'he builds', *mabne* 'he causes to build'. This invariability is also exhibited by most noun forms, e.g. *kalba* 'dog', *kaləbθa* 'bitch'. The plural form of this word constitutes an exception to this principle: *kalba* 'dog' vs. *kalwe* (< **kalb̰ē*) 'dogs'.

(iv) Where the */b/* was originally preceded by a vowelless consonant, which has now been elided, e.g.

sebuθa	'old age'	< **saʾbuθa*
mšaboðe	'to enslave'	< **mšaʿboðe*

(v) Forms arising by analogy with words that have preserved */b/* for one of the reasons listed above. Examples of this include *dabəš* 'it sticks', which is a stem I verb and so the middle radical would not have been geminated historically, and *zəbla* 'manure' (cf. Syr. *zeb̰lā*). In both cases the source of the analogy appears to have been stem II verb forms (historical *paʿʿel*), in which the middle */b/* was originally geminated, viz. *mdabəš* 'he makes stick' (originally 'he makes like honey') and *mzabəl* 'he lays manure'. Elsewhere a stop */b/* occurring as the middle radical of a stem II verb is not extended by analogy to stem I forms that belong historically to the same root. This is found mainly where there is considerable semantic distinction between the two stem forms, e.g.

zwana 'to buy'	*mzabone* 'to sell'
gwaya 'to beg'	*mgaboye* 'to elect'
qwaya 'to scoop'	*mqaboye* 'to swell'

Likewise, the stop of stem II is not elsewhere extended by analogy to nominal forms as in the case of *mzabole: zəbla*; cf. *mšaboxe* 'to glorify' vs. *šuxa* 'praise'.

(vi) In some cases the stop */b/* rather than the expected */w/* occurs as the second radical of a stem I verbal root apparently in order to avoid homophony between two roots, e.g.

ṭbele 'he sank' (< **ṭbʿ*)	*ṭwele* 'it roasted' (< **ṭwy*)
gbaya 'to froth' (< **gbb*)[2]	*gwaya* 'to beg' (< **gby*)

A historical **b* is sometimes devoiced to */p/* when it has been adjacent to a laryngal **ʾ*, which often, but not always, derives historically from pharyngal **ʿ*, e.g.

ʾarpa	< **ʾarbʾā* < **ʾarbʿā*	'four'
ṣəppa	< **ṣəbʾā* < **ṣəbʿā*	'finger'
p-aqle	< **b-ʾaqlē* < **b-ʿaqlē*	'by foot'
p-ape	< **b-ʾappē*	'beyond'

The first two of these examples have alternative forms without devoicing, viz. *ʾarba* 'four' and *ṣabota* 'finger'. It is possible that the forms with devoicing have entered the speech of some informants under the influence of the Christian dialect of Urmi, in which this process of devoicing is regular.

As remarked in §1.3.2., devoicing has sometimes been conditioned by an adjacent unvoiced consonant, e.g. *gupta* 'cheese' (cf. Syr. *gb̲ettā* < **gb̲entā*).

1.4.1.2. **p*

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

kepa	'stone'	< **kēp̄ā*
ʾupra	'soil'	< **ap̄rā*
səpθa	'lip'	< **sep̄θā*

[2] Cf. Syr.. *gb̲īb̲ā* 'gibbous'.

ṭəpra	'fingernail'	< **ṭe$\bar{p}$rā*
xəpyaya	'barefoot'	< **xe$\bar{p}$yāyā*
napəl	'he falls'	< **nā$\bar{p}$el*

A few exceptions to this are found, e.g. *ṭlawxe* 'lentils' (< **ṭla$\bar{p}\vec{h}\bar{e}$*), *ruša* 'shoulder, arm' (< **ru$\bar{p}$šā* cf. Syr. *ra$\bar{p}$šā* 'shoulder blade') in which a post-vocalic **$\bar{p}$* behaves like a post-vocalic **$\underline{b}$*. Note also *ṭuṣa* 'example', which has an original stop **p* deriving ultimately from Greek *pi* (< **ṭupsā* < Greek τύπος). A further case may be *swana* 'projecting edge of a roof', which appears to be cognate with Ṭuyoro *sfarno* of the same meaning, both being derived from Syr. *sp̄ārā* 'edge' (cf. Tezel 2003: 238).

The stop */p/* often appears in Arabic and Kurdish loanwords where the source language has the fricative */f/*, reflecting a process analogous to that of hardening the fricative **$\bar{p}$* in Aramaic words, e.g.

šapra	'large knife'	< Arab. *šafra*
mtalope	'to ruin'	< Arab. *tallafa*
pərṣət	'opportunity'	< Arab. *furṣa*
qəppo	'foam'	< Kurd. kef

Some loans exist in two variant forms, one with the original */f/* and one with */p/*, e.g.

feka ~ peka	'fruit'	< Arab. *fākiha*

1.4.1.3. **t*

The original interdental fricative allophone of this consonant has been preserved as an independent phoneme and is represented in the transcription by the symbol /θ/. The phonemic contrast between */θ/* and */t/* is demonstrated by minimal pairs such as:

θela	'she came'	*tela*	'fox'
maθa	'village'	*mata*	'grape'
marθa	'mistress'	*marta*	'saying'

The fricative */θ/* occurs in all positions, after both vowels and consonants, and also at the beginning of a word, e.g.

ʾaθṛa	'land'
xaθa	'sister'

xmaθa	'mother-in-law'
kθawa	'book'
šabθa	'week'
qarθa	'cold'
θele	'he came'

When */θ/* occurs as a radical consonant in a root, it is used throughout all inflections of the root, irrespective of the phonetic environment, e.g. *rθx* 'to boil': *raθəx* 'it boils', *marθəx* 'he causes to boil'; *kθw* 'to write': *kaθwa* 'she writes', *kθawa* 'book', *kaθawa* 'writer'.

In a few isolated cases the articulation of the fricative */θ/* is weakened after a vowel and is elided. This applies to the numeral *ṭ̬la* 'three', which is a variant of the form *ṭ̬laθa*. It also sporadically occurs in the inflections of the verb *m-θy* 'to bring', e.g. *mayéwa* 'They used to bring' (< *mɛθéwa*, B5:157), *mɛyə́nna* 'I shall bring her' (< *mɛθə́nna* A4:9).

On some occasions the stop */t/* is found after vowels in words of native Aramaic stock. The occurrences may be classified as follows:

(i) Cases where the */t/* was originally geminated, e.g.

brata	'daughter'	< **brattā*
mðita	'town'	< **mðīttā* < **mðīntā*
šeta	'year'	< **šattā* < **šantā*

(ii) Where the */t/* was originally separated from the preceding vowel by a pharyngal or a laryngal, which have now been elided, e.g.

qaṭ̬ota	'break in channel'	< **qaṭ̬oʾta* < **qāṭ̬ōʿtā*
garruta	'pile of leaves'	< **garruʾta* < **garruʿtā*
beta	'egg'	< **beʾta* < **bēʿtā*
šmita	'heard (fs.)'	< **šmiʾta* < **šmīʿtā*
tata	'crest' (of bird)	< **taʾta* < **tag̱tā*
nita	'(party until) dawn'	< **ng̱ihtā*

(iii) Where the stop */t/* was originally preceded by the consonant **b̲*, which has subsequently become contracted

gota	'side'	< **gab̲tā*
šwota	'neighbour (f.)'	< **šb̲āb̲tā*
ruta	'Friday'	< **ʿarub̲tā*

The sequences **ab̲* and **āb̲* more frequently develop into the diphthong */aw/* than contract completely to */o/*. The stop */t/* occurs after */aw/*

diphthongs with this background, in contrast to */aw/* diphthongs containing an original */w/*, which are followed by the fricative */θ/*:

sawta	'old woman'	< **sāḇtā*
xlawta	'milking'	< **ḥlāḇtā*
kaθawta	'writer (f.)'	< **kaθθāḇtā*
mawθa	'death'	< **mawθā*
ṣawθa	'voice, sound'	< **ṣawθā*

(iv) The fricative */θ/* shifts to the stop */t/* when it is in contact with a following */l/* or */n/*. This is abundantly attested in verbs with a final */θ/* radical when they have a pronominal suffix beginning with */l/* (L-suffix) attached to them, e.g.

mitle	'he died'	< *myθ*
qitle	'he hit'	< *qyθ*
ditle	'he sweated'	< *dyθ*
tpitle	'he sneezed'	< *tpθ*
muṣyətle	'he listened'	< *m-ṣyθ* III
mxuθxətle	'he renewed'	< *m-xθxθ*

It takes place when an L-suffix is added to the existential particle *ʾiθ* 'there is', e.g. *ʾitle* 'he has' (< *ʾiθ* + *le*).

It also occurs when */θ/* comes into contact with */l/* within a root, e.g.

patli	'they turn'	< *pθl*

Examples of the shift of the fricative */θ/* before */n/* include:

xətna	'groom'	< **xəθna*
ʾašitnaya	'man from Ashitha'	< *ʾAšiθa*

This shift of alveolar fricatives before */l/* and */n/* occurs regularly.

(v) Various cases of the stop */t/* after a vowel that cannot easily be explained by the historical phonology of the word have apparently arisen by analogy with cases of the stop that can be explained historically.

A few verbal roots contain the stop */t/* throughout all inflections, even when occurring after vowels, e.g. *šty* 'to drink', *ʾtw* 'to sit'. The explanation for the existence of the stop */t/* in these seems to be that at an earlier

historical period the stop allophone was used in some of their inflections where there was no preceding vowel and that this was then generalized by analogy to all inflections. In the case of *šty*, the initial sequence of sibilant + stop in certain inflections of the verb, such as the imperative or forms derived from the past base, is pronounced with ease as a cluster, without an intervening epenthetic, e.g. *šti* 'drink!', *šteli* 'I drank'. This is reflected by the prosthetic vowel that is indicated in the orthography of some forms of earlier Aramaic, e.g. Syr. *ʾeštī*. After the distinction between */t/* and */θ/* had become phonemicized, the stop would have been generalized to all inflectional forms, including those where it was preceded by a vowel, e.g. *šate* 'he drinks'. The stop in *ʾtw* 'to sit' may have been generalized from inflections of this verb that have initial */t/*, e.g. *tiwle* 'he sat down', *tiwa* 'sitting'. Mention should also be made of the noun *sətwa* 'winter', where the stop */t/* occurs after a vowel. It is likely that here also the explanation is the initial sequence of *s* and *t*. These would have formed a cluster in the absolute form **staw* at some earlier historical period.

The feminine singular resultative participle of the verb *hwy* 'to be' is *wita* with the stop */t/*, whereas other final */y/* verbs have */θ/* in the corresponding form, e.g. *xziθa* (*xzy* 'to see'). The stop seems to have arisen by analogy with final */ʾ/* verbs, where the stop is historically explicable by the original presence of a preceding pharyngal. This is due to the resemblance between the masculine singular resultative participles:

	Resultative participle ms.	Resultative participle fs.
šmʾ 'to hear'	*šmiya*	*šmita*
hwy 'to be'	*wiya*	*wita*

In the inflection of verbs and the existential partial *ʾiθ* a stop */t/* resulting from contact with */l/* is sometimes extended by analogy to inflections where they are not in direct contact with */l/*, e.g.

patli	'they turn'	*patəl* ~ *paθəl*	'he turns' (*pθl*)
mitle	'he died'	*mitwale* ~ *miθwale*	'he had died' (*myθ*)
ʾitle	'he has'	*ʾitwale* ~ *ʾiθwale*	'he used to have'

1.4.1.4. *d

The original interdental fricative allophone of this consonant has been preserved as an independent phoneme and is represented in the transcription by the symbol */ð/*. The phonemic distinction of */ð/* from */d/* is demonstrated by minimal pairs such as:

guða ‘churn’ *guda* ‘wall’

The consonant */ð/* occurs after both vowels and consonants, and also at the beginning of a word, e.g.

ʾiða	‘hand’
huðaya	‘Jew’
qðala	‘neck’
məðita	‘town’
rawðana	‘earthquake’
ðile	‘he knew’

When */ð/* occurs as a radical in a root, it is used in all inflections of the root, irrespective of the phonetic environment, e.g. *rqð* ‘to dance’: *raqəð* ‘he dances’, *raqði* ‘they dance’, *rəqða* ‘a dance’; *šðy* ‘to card (wool)’: *šaðe* ‘he cards’, *šðele* ‘he carded’, *šaðaya* ‘carder’.

A diphthong */aw/* in which the */w/* is the reflex of an original **ḇ* is followed either by the stop */d/* or the fricative */ð/*, e.g.

kawda	‘liver’	< **kaḇdā*
ʾawða	‘she does’	< **ʿāḇḏā*

The fricative */ð/* in *ʾawða* occurs since it has been generalized throughout the root from contexts where it occurs after a vowel, e.g. *ʾawəð* ‘he does’.

On some occasions the stop */d/* is found after vowels in words of native Aramaic stock. The occurrences may be classified as follows:

(i) Words that originally contained geminated */d/*, e.g.

guda	‘wall’	< **guddā*
šlada	‘corpse’	< **šladdā*
bədra	‘threshing-floor’	< **be* + *ʾəddʾrā*
mšadər	‘he sends’	< **mšaddər*

In some cases the gemination was a secondary development consequent upon a resyllabification. This explains, for example, the */d/* in the form *xadə́ssər* ‘eleven’, which appears to have been secondarily geminated in order to allow an */a/* vowel to follow the initial letter, presumably by force of analogy with the form for one, *xa: xadə́sser* < **xaddə́ʾsər* < **ḥəḏaʿsar*.

(ii) The stop */d/* occurs after a vowel when it is in contact with a following */l/* or */n/*, e.g.

ridle	'he darned'	< *ryð*
qidle	'he burnt'	< *ʾqð*
gridle	'he scrubbed'	< *grð*
mpuqədle	'he commanded'	< *m-pqð* II
gadləx	'we plait'	< *gðl*
gədla	'plaited fence'	< *gðl*
yadli	'they lay (eggs)'	< *yðl*
mugədla	'frozen'	< *m-gðl* III
kawədna	'ass'	cf. *kawðənta* 'she ass'

This shift of alveolar fricatives before */l/* and */n/* occurs regularly, with only very few exceptions (e.g. *mù wiðlέxu?* 'What have you done' B5:2). In a number of verbs a final stop */d/*, which originally arose by this phonetic process by contact with the */l/* of L-suffixes, has become generalized to all inflected forms of the root, e.g. *xzada* 'to plough', *ɣgada* 'to tremble', *mxazode* 'to blame, reproach', *mašxode* 'to congratulate'.

(iii) The fricative */ð/* occasionally shifts to the stop */d/* by a dissimilatory process when the fricative */θ/* occurs at the beginning of the next syllable, e.g.

xaduθa ~ *xaðuθa*	'joy'	< *xðy* 'to be joyous'
mamodiθa	'baptism'	< *m-mð* 'to baptize'

(iv) The stop */d/* after the vowel in the word *didwa* 'fly' appears to have developed by a form of syllabic assimilation. The syllabification of the word is evidently *di-dwa* and the onset of the second syllable has been assimilated to the initial stop */d/* of the first. Similar developments are found in other NENA dialects, e.g. C. Qaraqosh *deda* 'breast' (cf. Syr. *tʾḏā*), *didi* 'mine' < **dili*.

(v) The stop */d/* occurs as the second radical in the verbal roots *zdy* 'to throw' and *zdʾ* 'to fear', where it does not seem to be derived historically from a geminate */dd/*. In the case of *zdy*, which is cognate with Syr. *šḏā*, the */d/* is likely to have originated in an initial cluster *zd-* in certain inflections and was extended to all inflections by analogy. The verb *zdʾ* appears to be derived historically from **ʾizdawwaʿ*, the *ʾetpaʿal* form of the root *zwʿ* in earlier Aramaic (cf. Nöldeke 1868: 195).

(vi) When the stop */d/* is the first radical of a root, it is retained in all inflections, including cases where the first radical is preceded by the vowel of a prefix, e.g. *dmx* 'to sleep': *daməx* 'he sleeps', *madməx* 'he puts to sleep'.

(vii) When the vowel preceding */d/* is prosthetic, it remains a stop. In some cases a prosthetic vowel has become a fixed feature of the word, as in the forms *ʾə́dyo* (< **dā-yōm*) 'today' and *ʾə́dlɛle* (< **dā-laylyā*) 'tonight' where it bears the stress.

(viii) A */d/* at the beginning of a word is not affected by a vowel at the end of a preceding word. This includes the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *xóna d-o-málka* 'the brother of that king' (A25:1), *málka d-áyya bàžər* 'the king of this town' (A32:5), *réša-reša d-o-gàre* 'onto that roof' (A23:14). This particle may be cliticized to the preceding word, but it still remains a stop and is generally devoiced, e.g. *bábət bráta* 'the father of the girl' (A29:43), *tắrət gə̀ppa* 'entrance of the cave' (A31:7), *šə́klət bəṛ-náša* 'the form of a human' (A8:31), *ʾu-garšíle b-ó-qɛsət y-áwe bi-dìye*ˡ 'and they pull it with the (handle of) wood that is attached to it' (B5:194).

The occurrence of the stop */d/* in words such as *hadiya* 'now' and *hodəx* 'beyond' may have a similar explanation, in that these can be analysed historically as composite units, the first syllable of which is a presentative element, i.e. *ha-diya*, *ho-dəx*. The form *diya* 'now', without the initial *ha-* is, in fact, also used in the dialect. We can include here also the form *hatxa* 'thus', in which the */d/* has become devoiced due to contact with the following unvoiced */x/* (cf. the related word *hadəx*).

1.4.1.5. *k

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

ʾaxəl	'he eats'	< **ʾāk̲el*
baxe	'he weeps'	< **bāk̲ē*
naxraya	'stranger'	< **nak̲rāyā*
buraxa	'blessing'	< **burrāk̲ā*
kuraxa	'shroud'	< **kurrāk̲ā*

The fricative */x/* occurs also where a diphthong has contracted to a vowel, e.g.

kəxwa	'star'	< **kawkʾb̲ā*

The stop */k/* sometimes occurs after a vowel in words of Aramaic stock. These cases may be classified as follows:

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

kaka	'tooth'	< **kakkā*
ʾakara	'farmer'	< **ʾakkārā*
rakixa	'soft'	< **rakkīḵā*
səkθa	'ploughshare'	< **sekkʾθā*
dukθa	'place'	< **dukkʾθā*

(ii) When the preceding vowel is an epenthetic, e.g.

maləkθa	'queen'	cf. *malka* 'king'

(iii) When the preceding vowel belongs to an originally separate particle that has become bonded onto a word beginning with */k/*, e.g.

xakma	'some'	< **xa* + *kma*

The word *ʾɛka* 'where' may possibly fall into this category (< **ʾay-kā*). Compare the variant form *kɛleʔ* 'where is he' (§8.20.4.).

(iv) In various verbal roots, e.g.

raku	'he rides'	< **rāḵeḇ*
rakəx	'it softens'	< **rāḵeḵ*
lakəx	'he licks'	< **lāḵeḥ*
gaxək	'he laughs'	< **gāḥeḵ*
xakək	'he laughs'	< **gāḥeḵ*

The */k/* has been generalized throughout all inflections of these verbal roots. The */k/* in the first two roots may have arisen by analogy. In the root *rkw* 'to ride' the stop may have arisen by analogy with the form *rakawa* 'rider', in which the */k/* is a reflex of an originally geminated consonant (< **rakkāḇā*). The */k/* in the root *rkx* 'to soften' is likely to be based on the analogy of the adjective *rakixa*, in which the medial */k/* was originally geminated (< **rakkīḵā*). Another possibility is that the stop arose originally in inflections of the root where the */k/* clustered with the initial */r/* without an intervening vowel, e.g. in the past form *rkule* 'he rode'. It is worth noting that such consonantal clustering took place in Syriac in words with initial */r/*, as is reflected by the writing of prosthetic *alaph* in the orthography in words such as ܐܪܚܝܡܐ = ܪܚܝܡ 'beloved ones' and ܐܪܓܘܢܐ = ܪܓܘܢ 'upper garment' (Nöldeke 1904: 37). The stop */k/* in the

other roots appear to have arisen by a dissimilation process preventing the sequence of two velar fricatives. In *xkk*, a variant of *gxk*, there has been metathesis and subsequent devoicing of the initial /*g*/.

1.4.1.6. *g

The velar fricative allophone of **g* has in most cases been weakened to zero when in contact with another consonant, e.g.

năra	'axe'	< **narḡa* (cf. Syr. *nārḡā*)
zăra	'yellow'	< **zarḡa* (cf. Syr. *zārḡā*)
lena	'furrow'	< **lḡena* (cf. Syr. *lḡettā*)
lina	'jar'	< **lḡina* (cf. Syr. *lḡīnā*)
nita	'party until dawn'	< **nḡīhtā*
pela	'radish'	< **paḡlā* (cf. Syr. *puglā*)
laməkka	'jaw of an animal'	< **laḡma* + *əkka* (cf. Syr. *luḡmā*)

When it occurred between vowels, it is generally replaced by the glide /*y*/ or, when the following vowel is rounded, by the glide /*w*/, e.g.

ṛayəš	'he wakes up'	< **rāḡeš*
šayər	'he stokes'	< **šāḡer*
rawola	'valley'	< **rāḡōlā*

When it occurred between two /*a*/ vowels, its reflex is either the laryngal /ʾ/ or the glide /*y*/, e.g.

syaʾa ~ *syaya*	'fence'	< **syāḡā*
plaʾa ~ *playa*	'to divide'	< **plāḡā*
šraʾa ~ *šraya*	'oil-lamp'	< **šrāḡā*

The laryngal /ʾ/ is occasionally found between other vowels, e.g.

yaʾisa	'wife's sister's husband'	< *ʾaḡīsā*

As shown by Tsereteli (1990), the passage of the velar fricative **ḡ* to /ʾ/ or zero underwent an intermediate stage in which **ḡ* shifted to the pharyngal fricative *ʿ. A vestige of this pharyngal can be identified in the emphatic /*ṛ*/ of *ṛayəš* 'he wakes' (< **ṛaʾəš* < **raʿeš* < **rāḡeš*). Some NENA dialects preserve an emphatic articulation also in other words, e.g. C. Urmi ⁺*lina* [ˠlɯːnɑ] 'jar'. The pharyngal consonant is preserved in a number of words

in a few NENA dialects, e.g. J. Amedia *ṛaʿola* 'valley', *jaʿoda* 'hatchet (cf. C. Barwar *rawola, jawətta*).

The velar fricative realization is preserved in a few isolated words. There is a tendency to devoice this to */x/*, though the original voiced realization */ġ/* is preserved in some words:

paxra	'body'	< **pagrā*
sxaða ~ *sġaða*	'to worship'	< **sgāḏa*
šxaša ~ *šġaša*	'to be disturbed'	< **šgāšā*
ləxxawa	'bit, bridle'	cf. Syr. *lgāmā*, J. Amedia *laġma*

A similar devoicing of an original voiced velar fricative */ġ/* to */x/* takes place in loanwords from Arabic, many of which may have entered the language through Kurdish, where this devoicing also occurs, e.g.

xam	'worry'	< Arab. *ġamm*
xădaya	'lunch'	< Arab. *ġadāʾ*
xulama	'servant'	< Arab. *ġulām*
xəlṭa	'mistake'	< Arab. *ġalaṭ*
xerətta	'zeal'	< Arab. *ġēra*
xlaqa	'to lock'	< Arab. *ġlq*

The stop */g/* is retained after a vowel in the following circumstances:

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

zaga	'bell'	< **zaggā*
nagara	'carpenter'	< **naggārā*
daglana	'liar'	< **daggʾlānā*
magla	'scythe'	< **maggʾlā*
prage	'millet'	< **praggē*

(ii) When the preceding vowel is an epenthetic, e.g.

xurəgθa 'stepdaughter' (cf. *xurga* 'stepson')

(iii) When the /g/ originally stood at the beginning of a word that has become bonded with a preceding word that ends in a vowel, e.g.

be-gwina 'eyebrow' < **be-gḇīnā* ('place of the eyebrows')

The stop */g/* occurs after the diphthong */aw/*, e.g. *zawga* 'pair'. In many NENA dialects where this diphthong contracts to */o/* the reflex of

the original **g* in this word is that of a fricative rather than a stop, e.g. C. Qaraqosh, J. Sulemaniyya *zoʾa*, J. Urmi *zoa*.

1.4.2. *Pharyngals and Laryngals*

1.4.2.1. *ḥ

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

xmara	'ass'	< **ḥmārā*
xawra	'friend'	< **ḥaḇrā*
ʾurxa	'road'	< **ʾurḥā*
pθx	'to open'	< **pṯḥ*
šlx	'to strip'	< **šlḥ*

The pharyngal has been retained in the environment of */q/* in the word *rəḥqa* 'distant', but the articulation of this as a pharyngal is not consistent and speakers sometimes pronounce it as a velar fricative *rəxqa*. The original pharyngal is likewise sporadically retained in *ḥawla* 'rope' (< **ḥabla*) as a variant of the normal form *xawla*. Here the preservation of the pharyngal is likely to have been conditioned by the fact that the other consonants of the word have an intrinsic tendency to attract an emphatic articulation. A further case where a pharyngal is occasionally retained is in the verbal root *gxk* ~ *gḥk* 'to laugh'.

Elsewhere the pharyngal appears only in Arabic loanwords, a large proportion of which are likely to have come into the language through Kurdish. In many of these, however, the pronunciation of the pharyngal is often weakened to the laryngal */h/*, e.g. *ḥeywən* ~ *heywən* 'animal', *ḥajətta* ~ *hajətta* 'tool, instrument', *ḥawše* ~ *hawše* 'sheep-pen', *ḥuta* ~ *huta* 'whale', *ḫyr* ~ *hyr* 'to be confused', *ḥammam* 'wash-room', *ḥakima* 'doctor', *ləḥefa* 'quilt', *taḥela* 'spleen', *ḥaqquθa* 'right'. In a few Arabic loanwords a */ḥ/* has shifted to the velar fricative */x/* as in words of Aramaic stock, e.g. *mazaxa* 'area below millstones in a water-mill' < Arab. *masāḥa*, *xmy* 'to keep, to guard' < Arab. *ḥmy*.

The presence of */ḥ/* in Arabic loans may give rise to minimal pairs in which the */ḥ/* constrasts phonemically with a */x/* that derives historically from **ḥ*, e.g.

ḫyr 'to be confused' : *xyr* 'to look'

An exceptional development of **ḥ* > */h/* is found in the Aramaic words *həššɛ* 'senses' (< **ḥaššē*) and *hašya* 'chive' (cf. Syr. *ḥaššā, ḥāšā*). This has probably come about in order to distinguish them from the word *xašša* 'suffering' (< **ḥaššā*), which appears to be a doublet of *həššɛ*.

1.4.2.2. *ʿ

The voiced pharyngal fricative *ʿ has been weakened to the pharygnal /ʾ/ before a vowel at the beginning of words, e.g.

ʾupra	'soil'	< **ʿap̄rā*
ʾalma	'people, world'	< **ʿalmā*
ʾazola	'weaver'	< **ʿāzōlā*
ʾawəð	'he does'	< **ʿāḇeḏ*

This applies also to words containing */q/* or an emphatic, which in some NENA dialects condition the preservation of the pharyngal, e.g.

ʾaqərwa	'scorpion'	< **aqrʾḇa*
ʾaqla	'leg'	< **aqlā*
ʾaṗṣa	'gallnut'	< **aṗṣā*
ʾaṭma	'side, thing'	< **ʿaṭmā*

The original phonemic contrast between *ʿ and *ʾ in the pair **ʿamra* 'wool' and **ʾamra* 'she says' has been replaced by a contrast between emphatic */ṛ/* and non-emphatic */r/*:

ʾamṛa	'wool'	*ʾamra*	'she says'

Even in Arabic loanwords, an initial pharyngal before a vowel is generally weakened to the laryngal /ʾ/, e.g.

ʾaṣərta	'evening'	< Arab. *ʿaṣr*
ʾašəq	'in love'	< Arab. *ʿāšiq*
ʾaskar	'army'	< Arab. *ʿaskar*
ʾălīq	'fodder'	< Arab. *ʿalīq*

The pharyngal *ʿ in all other positions is generally reduced to zero, e.g.

raqa	'to run'	< **ʿrāqā*
pala	'workman'	< **paʿlā*

saṛe	'barley'	< **saʿrē*
balota	'throat'	< **bālōʿtā*
tăra	'door'	< **tarʿā*
ʾarbe	'four (f.)'	< **ʾarbaʿ*

When it is elided between vowels it is usually replaced by a glide. If one of the vowels is */i/* and the other is */a/*, the glide is */y/*, e.g.

mṛiya	'ill'	< **mrɪʿā*
ṭliya	'asleep'	< **ṭlɪʿā*

If one of the vowels is */o/* and the other is */a/*, the glide is generally */y/*, e.g.

mayoya	'bar of a churn'	< **māyōʿā*
layosa	'jaw'	< **lāʿōsā*
ṣawoya	'painter'	< **ṣāb̲ōʿā*
loyaθa	'cheeks'	< **lōʿāṯā*

Occasionally the glide is */w/*, e.g.

mṭawole	'to play'	< **mṭaʿʿōlē*

If one of the vowels is */u/* and the other is */a/*, the glide is */w/*, e.g.

garuwa	'pile of sticks'	< **gārūʿā*
nabuwa	'spring (of water)'	< **nābūʿā*
ṭabuwana	'tick'	< **ṭābūʿānā*
lawusta	'jaw'	< **lāʿūstā*

If the pharyngal **ʿ* occurred between two */a/* vowels, it is either weakened to the laryngal */ʾ/* or is replaced by the glide */y/*. Forms with the laryngal and forms with the glide often exist in free variation, e.g.

draʾa ~ draya	'span'	< **drāʿā*
šmaʾa ~ šmaya	'to hear'	< **šmāʿā*
zaṛaya	'cultivator'	< **zarrāʿā*
qulaya	'clod (of earth)'	< **qūlāʿā*
maʾarwa	'West'	< **maʿarb̲ā*

The lack of a variant form with a glide for the word *maʾarwa* is no doubt on account of the fact that this word is only used by educated speakers under the influence of the modern literary language.

An original pharyngal *ʿ in many loanwords from Arabic are weakened in the same way as it is in Aramaic words, e.g.

šăma	'wax'	< Arab. *šamʿ*
majəb	'he is astonished'	< **maʿjəb* < Arab. *ʿjb*
leba	'trick'	< Arab. *ləʿb*
šera	'poem'	< Arab. *šəʿr*
jmeta	'gathering'	< **jmaʿta* < Arab. *jmʿ*
jmaʾa ~ *jmaya*	'to gather'	< **jmaʿa* < Arab. *jmʿ*

Some, presumably more recent, loans from Arabic preserve the pharyngal. This applies not only to Arabic words that are unadapted morphologically to the Aramaic dialect, but also to some verbal forms that are given Aramaic inflection, e.g.

mʿăqəm	'he sterilizes'	< Arab. *ʿaqqama*
mʿajəz	'he becomes senile'	< Arab. *ʿajaza*

1.4.2.3. /h/

The laryngal **h* is elided when in contact with another consonant, e.g.

dawa	'gold'	< **dahwā*
saða	'martyr'	< **sāhðā*
nera	'river'	< **nahrā*
sera	'moon'	< **sahrā*
ṣewa	'thirst'	< **ṣahwā*
ṭera	'noon'	< **ṭahrā*
qiya	'blunt'	< **qhīyā*

The word *dawa* 'gold' has an alternative form *dawha*, which is peculiar both on account of the metathesis of the */w/* and the */h/* and also on account of the preservation of the */h/* after the consonant.

Between vowels **h* is sometimes preserved, e.g.

šaharta	'vigil'
sahaða	'witness'
ʾawahaθa	'parents'

On some occasions it is elided and replaced by a glide, e.g.

duwana	'oil, fat'	< **dūhānā*

The */h/* in many Arabic loanwords undergoes the same weakening, in that it is elided when in contact with a consonant, e.g.

sama	'portion'	< Arab. *sahm*
qawa	'coffee'	< Arab. *qahwa*

An exceptional development of **h* > */x/* is found in the word *ṭuxma* 'type, kind', which appears to be the reflex of Syr. *ṭuhmā* 'race, stock'. It is possible that this word was taken from Syriac rather than being an original vernacular word and that the */x/* arose out of an effort to preserve the consonantal */h/*.

1.4.2.4. */ʾ/*

Laryngal /'/ is elided when in contact with a consonant in word initial position, e.g.

θaya	'to come'	< **ʾθaya*
sara	'to bind'	< **ʾsara*
xille	'he ate'	< **ʾxille*

The stop */ʾ/* interchanges freely with the fricative */h/* at the beginning of some words. As far as the etymology of such words can be established, the stop */ʾ/* is primary and the */h/* is a secondary development, e.g.

ʾarnuwwa ~ harnuwwa	'rabbit'	< **ʾarnʾb̲ā*
ʾurwa ~ hurwa	'raven'	< **ʿurb̲ā*
ʾuðala ~ huðala	'pile of grass'	

1.4.3. *Emphatic* /ṭ/ *and* /ṣ/

The emphatic consonants */ṭ/* and */ṣ/* in words of Aramaic stock are mostly reflexes of original **ṭ* and **ṣ* Some cases of */ṭ/* and */ṣ/*, however, have arisen by secondary development. This is found, for example, in the words *pərṭana* 'flea' (< **purtaʿnā*), *ṭlaθa* 'three' (< **tlāṯā*), *ʾəṣra* 'ten' (< **ʿesrā*) in which they have developed, it seems, due to an adjacent pharyngal or emphatic.

In a few words, an originally emphatic letter is regularly pronounced without velarization, e.g. *kawsa* 'hair' (cf. Syr. *qawṣtā* 'curl'), *ʾəsra* 'storage basket' (cf. Syr. *ʾawṣrā*). The loss of emphasis in *ʾəsra* may have been motivated by a desire to distinguish the word from *ʾəṣra* 'ten', in which, as we have seen, the emphasis is an innovation.

1.4.4. *Emphatic* /ṛ/

A phonetic explanation can be found for the development of emphatic */ṛ/* in some words.

It has sometimes arisen due to the original presence of the pharyngal **ʿ*, e.g.

ʾamṛa	'wool'	< **ʿamrā*
seṛa	'goat's hair'	< **saʿrā*
ṛayəš	'he wakes'	< **raʿəš* < **raḡeš*

It can also arise adjacent to a labial, e.g.

bəṛ-naša	'human being'
daṛmana	'medicine'

In some minimal pairs in which */ṛ/* contrasts with */r/*, the emphatic */ṛ/* is a reflex of an originally geminated consonant, whereas the non-emphatic */r/* is a reflex of a ungeminated consonant, e.g.

paṛa	'lamb'	< **parrā*
para	'dust'	< **ʾpārā*
maṛa	'spade'	< **marrā*
mara	'to say'	< **ʾmārā*

In several cases, however, the emphatic */ṛ/* is not motivated primarily by a phonetic cause but rather has developed as means of distinguishing a word from a homophone with a different meaning, e.g.

bera	'well'	< **bəʾrā*
beṛa	'light'	< **bəhrā*
nera	'river'	< **nahrā*
neṛa	'vision'	< **nahrā*

dare	'he puts'	< **dārē*
daṛe	'generations'	< **dārē*
parma	'she cuts'	< **pārmā*
ṗaṛma	'type of oak tree'	

The is no phonetic reason why one member of these pairs should develop the */ṛ/* rather than the other. Indeed some such pairs have a common etymological root, e.g.

gawra	'she marries'	< **gābrā*
gawṛa	'man'	< **gabrā*
prama	'to slaughter'	< **prāmā*
ṗrama	'to understand'	< **prāmā*

A trend is discernible with regard to the distribution of this type of emphatic */ṛ/* across word categories. Where a verb and a noun are being distinguished by this means, it is the noun rather than the verb that acquires the emphatic */ṛ/*:

Verb		Noun	
dare	'he puts'	*daṛe*	'generations'
parma	'she cuts'	*ṗaṛma*	'oak tree'
gawra	'she marries'	*gawṛa*	'man'
dwara	'threshing'	*dwaṛa*	'rest area for sheep'

1.4.5. *Emphatic* /ṗ/ *and* /ḷ/

The development of the marginal emphatic phonemes */ṗ/* and */ḷ/* has in some cases been motivated by an etymological pharyngal **ʿ* in the word in question, e.g.

ḷaya	'upper'	< **ʿlāyā*
ṗəqqa	'crack'	< **pəqʿā*
mṗăḷoye	'to imitate'	< **m-plʿ* < **m-plḡ*

The word *ṗəqqa* 'frog' appears also to be derived from a form with an original pharyngal (cf. Syr. *peqʿā*, NENA C. Qaraqosh *pəqʾa*). The verb *mṗăḷoye*, furthermore, appears to be a doublet of *mpăloye* 'to share' (< *m-plḡ*). The absence of emphasis in these words is likely to be moti-

vated by the desire to distinguish them from *p̣əqqa* 'crack' and *mp̣ăḷoye* 'to imitate' respectively.

The emphatic */p̣/* in *p̣arma* 'type of oak tree' and *p̣rama* 'to understand' has developed as a means distinguishing the word from homophones of different meaning, as is the case with the */ṛ/* in these words (cf. §1.4.4.).

1.4.6. *Affricates* /č/, /c̣/ *and* /j/ *in Aramaic Words*

As has been remarked in §1.2.1., the non-emphatic */č/* occasionally occurs in words by an advanced form of palatalization of */k/*, e.g. *čalo* 'bride' < *kalo*, *čɛrma* 'vineyard' < *kɛrma*. This, however, takes place only sporadically and is not the normal form of these words, which are usually pronounced with an initial palatalized velar, viz. *kʸalo, kʸɛrma*.

The non-emphatic */č/* in the verb *čraxa* 'to surround' may be derived by advanced palatalization, if this root is derived historically from **krk* (cf. Syr. *krak̲*). Unlike *čalo* and *čɛrma*, the */č/* here is a stable, fixed feature. The development of the affricate may have been stimulated by the presence of an affricate at the beginning of the preposition *c̭ənnək̭ɛr-* 'around', although the latter is of Kurdish origin. Another possible case of a */č/* deriving by affrication from **k* is the verb *čyd* 'to invite'. This is likely to have developed from a form with the preverbal particle *k-*, viz. **k-ʿyd*, the root of this being ultimately related to Syr. *waʿʿed* 'to invite'. This would be a fossilized vestige of the *k-* prefixed particle, the *ʾi-* prefix being the normal indicative habitual particle in the C. Barwar dialect. In several Ṭiyare dialects other verbs have similar fossilized vestiges, e.g. *če* 'He knows' < **k-yaḏəʿ*, *čazəl* 'He goes' < *k-ʾazəl*.[3]

Some cases of the non-emphatic affricate */č/* have developed from a fusion of **t* and **š*. This applies to *čeri* 'autumn' < **tšeri* < **tešri* and *ʾəčča* 'nine' (f.) < **ʾətšaʿ* < **tšaʿ*. The */č/* in the verb *nčala* 'to pick (fruit, flowers), to tear off' may also fall into this category, if the historical root of this is identified as *ntš* (cf. Syr. *ntaš* 'to pluck, to tear') with the addition of a non-etymological */l/*. The affricate also in the verb *măčoxe* 'to find' should be explained in this way, although the **š* clustered originally with a **k* rather than with a **t* in the root (cf. Syr. *ʾeškaḥ*). It must be assumed that the cluster **šk* shifted to **št* by partial assimilation of the velar **k* to the palato-alveloar **š*. This is, indeed, what is found in the J. Urmi form of

[3] See Talay (2008).

this root, viz. *maštoxe*. The cluster **šṭ* would then have been metathesized to */tš/* resulting in *mǎčoxe*.

The emphatic */č̣/* has developed by affrication of an original **ṭ* or emphatic palato-alveolar **ṣ̌*.

Verbs containing */č̣/* deriving from an etymological **ṭ* include *nč̣apa* 'to drip', *qč̣a'a* 'to cut' and *qč̣apa* 'to cut down, harvest', all of which have doublets with the same meaning that preserve the original emphatic stop, viz. *nṭapa*, *qṭa'a* and *qṭapa*. It can be identified in *mxač̣xoč̣e* 'to poke, prod' < *ḥṭḥṭ* (cf. Syr. *ḥaṭ* 'to dig out', *ḥaṭṭeṭ* 'to excavate, gouge') and in *zrač̣a* 'to draw a line, to scribble', which derives from **sraṭa* (cf. Syr. *sraṭ*). The stop */ṭ/* is preserved in the doublet of the same root *sraṭa* 'to tear, lacerate'. The verb *grač̣a* 'to scratch' has possibly developed by a lexical blend between *zrač̣a* and *graða* 'to scratch, scratch off'. Note also *mqarmoč̣e* 'to crumple', which has the doublet *mqarmoṭe* with the original */ṭ/*. To be included here are also the verbs *č̣yama*, *č̣maya*, *č̣aya* (*ʾč̣m*), *mǎč̣ome* and *mač̣moye* 'to close', all of which have an etymological connection with Syr. *ṭam* 'to close' and *ʾaṭīm* 'closed'. The stop is preserved in C. Qaraqosh *ṭym* 'to close'. The verb *mč̣alboxe* 'to beat (with a stick)' appears to be related to Syr. *ṭbaḥ* 'to strike' with an */l/* augment. The word *boč̣a* 'seed (eaten as snack), stone in a fruit' appears to be cognate with Jewish Babylonian Aramaic בועתא 'abcess' (Mutzafi 2005). The original non-emphatic stop */t/* is preserved in J. Amedia *boʾta*. It must be assumed that this shifted to **ṭ* under the influence of the adjacent pharyngal *ʿ before shifting to */č̣/* in the C. Barwar form.

In other words emphatic */č̣/* derives historically from the palato-alveolar **ṣ̌*. The velarization of the consonant had various causes.

In some cases it was brought about by contact with an adjacent pharyngal *ʿ, which can be reconstructed in the word. This applies to *č̣uwa* 'smooth' < **šʿūʿā*, *č̣ita* 'cream of yoghurt' < **šʿīʿtā*, *mǎč̣oye* 'to smooth' (< **maššōyē*), all of which are connected historically with the root **šʿ* (cf. Syr. *šaʿ* 'to smooth'), and *ʾəč̣č̣a* 'nine' (m.) < **təšʿā* (contrast the f. form *ʾəčča*, where the **š* was not in contact with the pharyngal: **tša*ʿ). The etymology of the word *č̣ena* 'mosquito' is uncertain. It may have originally denoted the sound the insect made and be connected with the verb *mč̣anč̣one* 'to whine; buzz'. This verb is connected etymologically with Arab. *ṭanṭana* with the same meaning, which indicates that the */č̣/* is a reflex of an etymological **ṭ*.

In other cases the velarization derives from an adjacent labial and/or */l/*, which have a tendency to develop this feature. This applies to *pč̣ala* 'to be crooked', *pč̣ila* 'crooked', which are derived from **pšl* (cf. Syr. *pšal*

'to twist'), *č̣lapa* 'to tear off (meat)' < **šlp* (cf. Syr. *šlap̄* 'to pull out', Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *šalleṗ* 'to tear off'). The verb *č̣laxa* 'to flay, tear apart' can be identified as a doublet of *šlaxa* 'to tear out, pull up' and *mšaloxe* 'to strip', the historical root of all of which being **šlḥ*. The verb *mrač̣a* 'to crush' can be connected with Syr. *mraštā* 'pestle'. The root of the Syriac word is *ršš* 'to crush', the initial */m/* being a prefix, which has become part of the verbal root in the later dialect. The second */č̣/* in the verb *č̣mač̣a* 'to wither' is derived from the palato-alveolar **š* in its etymological root **kmš*. The initial */č̣/* has developed by palatalized fronting of the velar stop **k*, no doubt stimulated by the affricated third radical.

It has been shown in §1.2.2. that the voiced affricate */j/* occurs in a few words by palatalization of an original **g*, e.g. *jawda* 'water container' (< **gawda*), *jawətta* 'chopping tool' (< **gʿd* < **gdʿ* 'to hew off'). In a few cases, however, it appears to have arisen by affrication of a sibilant. This applies to *nqaja* 'pinch, peck' < **nqz* (cf. Syr. *nqaz* 'to peck'), *jvoṭa* 'straight' (cf. Syr. *šabbeṭ* 'to straighten') and *rəjba* 'crawling creature' < **rəšpa* (cf. Syr. *rušpā*). Other possible cases are *mjaloye* 'to extract (roots)', which may be derived historically from the root **šly* (cf. Syr. *šlā* 'to draw out', *mašlyā* 'extracting fork'), *jalla nune* 'fish-eating bird, stork', the first element of which is possibly derived from the same root (< **šālyaθ nune* 'extractor of fish'), *myaja* 'to crush with the hands', the etymological root of which may be **mʿas* (Syr. *mʿas* 'to bruise, crush') and *jwaja* 'to move', which may be derived from **šwš* (cf. Syr. *šawweš* 'to disturb').

1.4.7. /n/

In a few words the nasal consonant */n/* is the result of a shift from an original labial **m* by a process of partial dissimilation from a labial consonant at the onset of the following syllable, e.g. *nabəl* 'He takes away' < **mabəl* < **mawbəl* (cf. C. Qaraqosh *mobəl*), *nepoxta* 'raisin syrup' < **mepoxta* (cf. J. Amedia *mepuxta*).

CHAPTER TWO

VOWELS

2.1. Phoneme Quality Oppositions

The following vowel qualities are distinguished in the transcription:

/i/ */u/*

/e/ */ə/* */o/*

/ɛ/

/a/

These qualities contrast phonemically, as is demonstrated by minimal pairs such as the following:

/i/ : /e/

ʾiða	'hand'
ʾeða	'festival'
rkiwa	'ridden'
rkewa	'stirrup'
šati	'they drink'
šate	'he drinks'

/i/ : /ə/

nixla	'she rested'
nəxla	'sieved bran'
pixla	'she became cold'
pəxla	'uncastrated sheep/calf'
ṭaxin	'tahini'
ṭaxən	'he mills'

/e/ : /ɛ/

deθa	'sweat' (noun)
dɛθa	'she sweats'
ṭema	'taste' (noun)
ṭɛma	'she tastes'
šate	'he drinks'
šatɛ	'they drink'

/e/ : /ə/

gera	'arrow'
gəra	'hill'

/ɛ/ : /a/

bɛza	'she pours'
baza	'jump'
mɛθa	'she dies'
maθa	'village'
ʾɛna	'eye'
ʾana	'I'

/a/ : /ə/

qaṭlənne	'I (m.) kill him'
qaṭlanne	'I (f.) kill him'
qaṭlətle	'you (m.) kill him'
qaṭlatle	'you (f.) kill him'
qəpla	'lock'
qapla	'bundle'
qərša	'refuse'
qarša	'strip of wood'
məra	'she said'
mara	'to say'

/ɛ/ : /ə/

pɛrma	'she cuts'
pərma	'thurible'

/o/ : /u/

koza	'shelter for sheep'
kuza	'red herb'
qopa	'hunchback'
qupa	'basket'
boṭa	'wooden channel'
buṭa	'penis'

/u/ : /ə/

gusta	'ball of dough'
gəsta	'fleece'
qurša	'frozen snow'
qərša	'refuse'

/u/ : /i/

šuša	'glass'
šiša	'bar'

In closed unstressed syllables both */e/* and */a/* tend to be replaced by */ə/*. The vowel */ə/* in unstressed closed syllables, therefore, stands in complementary distribution with */e/* and */a/* in open syllables. This can be seen in pairs of inflected forms of the same word such as the following:

qáṭlət	'you (ms.) kill' (short form)
qáṭleti	'you (ms.) kill' (long form)
qáṭlət	'you (fs.) kill' (short form)
qáṭlati	'you (fs.) kill' (long form)
qáṭlən	'I (m.) kill' (short form)
qáṭlena	'I (m.) kill' (long form)

qáṭlən	'I (f.) kill' (short form)
qáṭlana	'I (f.) kill' (long form)
ʾatnábəl	'car'
ʾatnabéle	'cars'
ʾótəx	'room'
ʾotáxe	'rooms'

In general the vowel */e/* tends to be restricted to open syllables and the vowel */ə/* to closed syllables. Also in closed stressed syllables, therefore, */e/* tends to be replaced by */ə/*, e.g.

bə́nta	'time'	< **benta* (cf. *bena* 'time')
qaṭlátle	'you kill him'	< **qaṭlétle*
qaṭlə́nne	'I kill him'	< **qaṭlénne*

This complementary distribution between open and closed syllables is, however, a tendency and not an absolute rule. The vowel */e/* is occasionally found in closed syllables, e.g. *ténta* 'fig', *hémza* 'an edible herb', and the vowel */ə/* is found in open syllables, e.g. *mtămə́ma* 'she completes', *šə́mu!* 'Hear! (pl.)'. On account of this it is possible to find some isolated minimal pairs for the qualities */e/* : */ə/*, such as *gera* 'arrow' : *gəra* 'hill', which is cited above.

The vowel */a/* regularly occurs in closed syllables that are stressed and may contrast phonemically with */ə/* in this position, as seen in the examples for */a/* : */ə/* above.

The vowel */o/* tends to be restricted to open syllables and is frequently replaced by */u/* in a closed syllable, e.g. *dəbbora* 'hornet' vs. *dəbburta* 'horsefly'. It has not been possible, therefore, to identify minimal pairs for */o/* and */u/* in closed syllables. The vowel */o/* does, however, occasionally occur in closed syllables, e.g. *romta* 'hill', *xaṭorta* 'washing board', *šəlloxta* 'shed skin (of a snake)'.

2.2. Vowel Length

The length of vowels is determined by various factors. It is conditioned to a large extent by syllable structure and stress position. Another important

factor is the speed of utterance and the position of the word in an intonation group or sense unit. The length of vowels in all words is reduced as the speed of delivery is increased. At the end of an intonation group (marked in the transcription by the symbol ˡ) or sense unit there is often a tendency to slow down the speed of delivery, which results in an extension of the length of the vowels, especially the one in the final syllable of the word. It should be noted that there is no clear-cut distinction between short and long vowels in terms of their physical duration, which can be measured instrumentally in milliseconds. The short vowels have a typical duration of 50–70 milliseconds. They are rarely less than 50 milliseconds. When a vowel is pronounced longer than this, its duration is anything from 70 milliseconds to around 300 milliseconds. The typical duration of a long vowel, however, is from about 120 to 180 milliseconds.

2.2.1. *Open Syllables*

2.2.1.1. *Stressed Non-Final Open Syllables*

A vowel in a stressed open syllable that occurs within a word tends in principle to be pronounced long. In the following examples the figure after the vowel indicates its duration in milliseconds that has been measured instrumentally. Since there is a certain amount of overlap between the physical articulation of a vowel segment and an adjacent consonant segment, these measurements must be regarded as approximations.

(1) *péšən* [ˈpɛː(100)ʃə(60)n] ‘I shall remain’ (A24:4)
(2) *zílɛle* [ˈziː(105)lɛ(70)le(70)] ‘he went’ (A24:6)
(3) *xázən bəŗ-našúθa* [ˈxæː(110)zə(55)m bˌəˌ(45)ŗ-næː(110)ˈʃuː(110)-θæ(55)] ‘I see people’ (A24:2)
(4) *ʾo-góŗa* [ʾoː(130)-ˈgoː(120)ŗˌqˌ(50)] ‘the elder one’ (A24:5)
(5) *xzóli* [ˈɣzoː(140)li(70)] ‘find for me’ (A24:2)
(6) *bnóneˡ* [ˈbnoː(150)neː(115)] ‘sons’ (A24:1)
(7) *ʾo-gòŗaˡ* [ʾoː(130)ˈgoː(160)rɑː(240)] ‘the elder one’ (A24:4)
(8) *smèliˡ* [ˈsmeː(165)li(70)] ‘I have become blind’ (A24:2)
(9) *ʾèniˡ* [ˈʾɛː(190)niː(140)] ‘my eyes’ (A24:2)
(10) *hàleˡ* [ˈhæː(220)leː(110)] ‘circumstances’ (A24:2)

As can be seen from these examples, the duration of the stressed syllables tends to be longer in words occurring at the end of an intonation group (5–10) than in those occurring before the end of the intonation group

(1–5). The duration of the vowel in words in the middle of an intonation group is, indeed, sometimes considerably reduced, e.g.

(11) *píšele* [ˈpi(65)ʃɛ(70)le(40)] *ʾo-zòra*ˈ ‘the young one remained’ (A24:7)
(12) *šuréle* [ʃʊˑ(110)ˈɾeˑ(80)leˑ(80)] ‘he began’ (A24:19)

2.2.1.2. *Stressed Final Open Syllables*
When stress falls on a final open syllable of a word that is not at the end of an intonation group, the vowel tends to be short. This includes words bearing the stress that are combined with a following word in a stress group (chapter 6):

(1) *kəmà t-yátli:ʔ*ˈ [kʰə(25)ˈmæ(55) ˈt-yæ(55)tliː(140)] ‘How much will you give me?’ (A24:5)
(2) *là-šoqət* [ˈlæ(65)-ʃoˑ(115)qə(35)t] ‘do not allow’ (A24:11)
(3) *gu-ðá* [gʊ(60)ˈðæ(70)] *məìta*ˈ ‘in a town’ (A24:4)
(4) *(ʾu)mmà* [—ˈmːæ(85)] ‘hundred’ (A24:3)
(5) *tərtè bnáθa*ˈ [tə(35)ɾˈte(65) ˈbnæːˑ(130)θæ(65)] ‘two girls’ (A24:13)
(6) *mò ṯ-óðət:ʔ*ˈ [ˈmoːˑ(85) ˈtoːˑ(105)ðə(50)t] ‘What will you do?’ (A24:4)
(7) *tmanì-šənne*ˈ [tmæˑ(100)ˈni(60)-ʃə(35)nːe(80)] ‘eighty years’ (A24:9)
(8) *ʾarbí* [ʾæ(100)ɾˈbiˑ(90)] *malàpe*ˈ ‘forty sheets’ (A24:17)

In some cases, however, they have a longer duration, e.g.

(9) *mənná* [mənˈnæːˑ(110)] ‘from them’ (A24:3)
(10) *ʾəsrì ʾotáxe*ˈ [ʾəsˈɾiːˑ(170) ʾoːˑ(140)tɑːˑ(140)xeˑ(125)] ‘twenty rooms’ (A24:16)

When the word occurs at the end of an intonation group, there is a greater tendency for the stressed final vowel to be long, e.g.

(11) *hé qá-mo là:ʔ*ˈ [ˈheːˑ(105) ˈqɑˑ(75)moˑ(75) ˈlæːˑ(240)] ‘Yes, why not?’ (A24:4)
(12) *ʾan-trè*ˈ [ʾæn-ˈtɾeːˑ(190)] ‘those two’ (A24:5)
(13) *ṭa̰yela*ˈ *ʾal-d-ò*ˈ [ʾælˈdoːˑ(315)] *daṛmána* ‘they search for that remedy’ (A24:3)

2.2.1.3. *Posttonic Open Syllables*
Vowels in syllables following the stressed syllable tend to be short in words occurring in the middle of an intonation group. This applies both to syllables at the end of the word and also to those in penultimate position, e.g.

(1) *láxxa* [ˈlæ(60)xːæ(60)] ‘here’ (A24:4)
(2) *ʾána* [ˈʾæː(120)næ(60)] ‘I’ (A24:4)
(3) *mə́ndi* [ˈmə(50)ndi(65)] ‘thing’ (A24:2)
(4) *zílela mə́tye* [ˈmə̟tye(70)] *gu-ðá məìta*ˈ ‘they went and arrived at a town’ (A24:4)
(5) *píšle* [ˈpi(50)ʃle(75)] ‘he remained’ (A24:5)
(6) *mɛ́θo* [ˈmɛː(130)θo(90)] ‘bring’ (A24:3)
(7) *qímela* [qiː(120)me(70)læ(60)] ‘they got up’ (A24:3)
(8) *mbáqrena* [ˈmbɑqre(75)næ(55)] ‘I shall ask’ (A24:6)
(9) *zílɛle* [ˈziː(105)lɛ(70)le(70)] ‘he went’ (A24:6)
(10) *šqílɛle* [ˈʃqiː(100)lɛ(80)le(65)] ‘he took’ (A24:21)

Vowels in the final syllable of words occurring at the end of an intonation group are often pronounced long, e.g.

(11) *xa-šùla*ˈ [xæ(75)-ˈʃuː(140)læː(190)] ‘a job’ (A24:4)
(12) *kut-yàrxa*ˈ [kʊ(35)d-ˈyæ(70)ɾxæː(150)] ‘every month’ (A24:5)
(13) *làxxa*ˈ [ˈlæ(55)xːæ(170)] ‘here’ (A24:6)
(14) *məìta*ˈ [ˈməiː(150)tʰæː(220)] ‘town’(A24:4)
(15) *zùze*ˈ [ˈzuː(150)zeː(140)] ‘money’ (A24:3)
(16) *kəmà t-yátli?*ˈ [kʰə(25)ˈmæ(55) ˈt-yæ(55)tliː(140)] ‘How much will you give me?’ (A24:5)

In some cases, however, the final vowel remains short at the end of an intonation group, e.g.

(17) *gu-d-áyya məìta*ˈ [ˈməiː(110)tɐ(40)] ‘in this town’ (A24:4)
(18) *ʾummà dináre*ˈ [diː(100)ˈnæː(115)ɾe(65)] ‘a hundred dinars’ (A24:3)
(19) *ʾénət bàbi*ˈ [ˈʾɛː(150)nə(50)d ˈbæː(160)bi(50)] ‘the eyes of my father’ (A24:4)

Where the final vowel is lengthened, a penultimate posttonic vowel is sometimes also lengthened, e.g.

(20) *zìlela*ˈ [ˈziː(165)leː(130)læː(110)] ‘they went’ (A24:3)

On other occasions, however, a penultimate posttonic vowel remains short when the final vowel is lengthened, e.g.

(21) *xàzyɛle*ˈ [ˈxə(60)zyɛ(60)leː(180)] ‘he found’ (A24:6)
(22) *zìlela*ˈ [ˈziː(110)le(80)læː(210)] ‘they went’ (A24:3)

Vowels in unstressed final syllables occurring in words attached to a following word in a stress group are usually pronounced with relatively short duration, e.g.

(23) *xa-šùla*ˡ [xæ(75)-ˡʃuː(140)læː(190)] 'a job' (A24:4)
(24) *la-hàru*ˡ [læ(70)-ˡhæː(170)ɾuː(180)] 'it will not speak' (A24:18)
(25) *tre-p̀ənxe* [tɾe(75)-ˡpə(55)ŋxe(80)] 'two mill-stones' (A24:13)
(26) *xo-réša* [xo(90)-ˡɾeː(110)ʃæ(70)] 'under her head' (A24:17)
(27) *qu-dùqle* [qʊ(60)-ˡdʊ(75)qle] 'get up and seize him' (A24:25)
(28) *so-méθo* [soː(100)-ˡmɛː(130)θo(90)] 'go and bring' (A24:3)

The duration of these vowels is, however, sometimes extended, especially in words at the end of an intonation group, e.g.

(29) *ʾo-gòṛa*ˡ [ʾoː(130)-ˡgoː(160)rɑː(240)] 'the elder one' (A24:4)

2.2.1.4. *Pretonic Open Syllables*
Vowels in pretonic open syllables, immediately preceding the stressed syllable, are generally pronounced long, e.g.

(1) *ʾatíqta* [ʾæː(110)ˡti(55)qtæ(70)] 'ancient' (A24:6)
(2) *manìxəx* [mæː(115)ˡni(115)xə(50)x] 'let us rest' (A24:24)
(3) *šuréla* [ʃʊˑ(115)ˡreː(105)læ(70)] 'they began' (A24:26)
(4) *xabùše* [xæː(120)ˡbuː(120)ʃe(85)] 'apples' (A24:24)
(5) *guṛùθux*ˡ [guː(120)ˡṛuː(140)θuː(160)x] 'your bravery' (A24:21)
(6) *ʾixàla*ˡ [ʾiː(150)ˡxæː(150)læː(180)] 'food' (A24:16)
(7) *ʾarbí ʾotàxele*ˡ [ʾoː(150)ˡtɑː(160)xeː(130)le(60)] 'it is forty rooms' (A24:14)

In words occurring in the middle of an intonation group, however, the duration of the vowel is often reduced somewhat, e.g.

(8) *muθélɛxu* [mʊˑ(80)ˡθeː(110)lɛ(90)xu(60)] *ṭèraʔ*ˡ 'Have you brought the bird?' (A24:26)
(9) *moθéli* [moˑ(90)ˡθeː(100)li] 'I have brought' (A24:21)

Vowels occurring in syllables two places before the stressed syllable tend to be pronounced relatively short, though their duration is usually slightly greater than short vowels in closed syllables, e.g.

(10) *mapəlxàtli*ˈ [mæ(75)pʰə(25)lˈxə(50)tli(200)] ‘you employ me’ (A24:4)
(11) *paloxáye*ˈ [pʰæː(90)loː(80)ˈxæ(50)j] ‘workers’ (A24:5)

2.2.2. *Closed Syllables*

Vowels in closed syllables are in principle pronounced short, both when they are stressed and also when they are unstressed, e.g.

(1) *làxxa*ˈ [ˈlæ(55)xːæ(170)] ‘here’ (A24:6)
(2) *màlkɛ́le*ˈ [ˈmæ(65)lkɛː(130)leː(190)] ‘he is the king’ (A24:9)
(3) *plúx* [ˈplʊ(55)x] ‘work!’ (A24:5)
(4) *yaqùrta*ˈ [yæˑ(100)ˈqʊ(65)ɾtæː(220)] ‘pregnant’ (A24:13)
(5) *píšle* [ˈpi(50)ʃle(75)] ‘he remained’ (A24:5)
(6) *ʾatíqta* [ʾæː(110)ˈti(55)qtæ(70)] ‘ancient’ (A24:6)
(7) *pánxe* [ˈpə(55)ŋxe(80)] ‘mill-stones’ (A24:13)
(8) *kúlle skinyàθɛle*ˈ [ski(55)nˈjæ(200)θɛː(110)le(88)] ‘it is all knives’ (A24:11)
(9) *pɛ́šən* [ˈpɛː(100)ʃə(60)n] ‘I shall remain’ (A24:4)
(10) *bud-daṛmána* [də̣(45)ṛˈmæː(110)næ(80)] ‘concerning a remedy’ (A24:4)

The duration of a vowel in a closed syllable is sporadically increased in the final syllable of a word at the end of an intonation group. This increased in duration, however, is far rarer than it is in final open syllables in this position, e.g.

(11) *gu-čàntux*ˈ [ˈtʃæ(55)ntuː(180)x] ‘in your bag’ (A24:18)
(12) *gurùθux*ˈ [guː(120)ˈɾuː(140)θuː(160)x] ‘your bravery’ (A24:21)

On some occasions the duration of the vowel is lengthened by various degrees before */r/*, e.g.

(13) *mən-d-án-parre* [pʰæ(80)rːe(60)] ‘from those feathers’ (A24:9)
(14) *ʾàrya*ˈ [ˈʾæ(100)ɾjæː(200)] ‘a lion’ (A24:15)
(15) *ʾarbí* [ʾæ(100)ɾˈbi(125)] ‘forty’ (A24:14)
(16) *ʾàrbi* [ˈʾæː(150)ɾbi(70)] ‘forty’ (A24:17)

2.2.3. *Transcription Conventions*

It may be stated, therefore, that a vowel in all types of open syllable is either regularly pronounced long or, at least, has a tendency to be pronounced long in certain conditions, whereas a vowel in a closed syllable is in principle pronounced short.

In sum, vowel length is in principle conditioned by syllable structure and position in the word. On account of this high degree of predictability of vowel length it is possible to adopt an economical type of transcription that minimizes the use of diacritical marks. Vowels in open and closed syllables with the vowel length that is described above are transcribed without diacritics. This can be regarded as the default, predictable, type of vowel length. Another justification for dispensing with diacritical marks is that, as shown above, the physical duration of vowels in similar syllable structures varies considerably according to the speed of utterance and position within an intonation group. This especially applies to the duration of long vowels, which is reduced to what is characteristic of a short vowel in some contexts. Likewise the duration of short vowels in closed syllables is in some rare cases extended.

Exceptions to the general principles of vowel length described above are found in some words of the dialect. Such cases, which deviate from the default, are marked in the transcription with diacritics. These include the following.

2.2.4. *Exceptions to the General Principles*

2.2.4.1. *Short* /a/ *in Open Syllables*

Short */a/* occurs in a stressed open syllable in a number of nouns and verbs of Aramaic stock that originally contained a pharyngal *ʿ after a closed syllable. After the elison of the pharyngal at the onset of the following syllable, the first syllable became open, but the vowel remained short, as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *tăra* 'door' < **tarʿa*, *šăma* 'she hears' < **šamʿa*. Where the pharyngal originally closed a syllable, on the other hand, its elision resulted in the lengthening of the vowel of the syllable, e.g. *nala* 'horseshoe' < **naʿlā*, *ṭana* 'load' < *ṭaʿnā*.

In verbs the short vowel in forms such as *šăma* has been extended by analogy throughout the paradigm so that it occurs also in 3ms. forms such as *šăme* 'he hears', in which the syllable was never closed (< **šamaʿ*). The existence of several minimal pairs demonstrates that this short vowel contrasts phonemically with long */a/*, e.g.

bắza	'she bores, punctures'
báza	'type of fabric'
gáre	'roof'
gắre	'he shaves'
mắra	'illness'
mára	'master'
mắxe	'he revives'
máxe	'he hits'
nắwe	'it emerges'
náwe	'nits'
pắla	'she divides'
pála	'workman'
qắre	'tops of gourds'
qáre	'chickencoop'
šắma	'wax'
šáma	'mole (on skin)'
xắme	'it ferments'
xáme	'he dwells'
zắde	'he fears'
záde	'he throws'

Short */a/* occurs in an open syllable in a number of verbal forms after an originally closed syllable has been opened by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel. As in the previous category of words, the vowel remains short by a historical drag effect, behaving as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *mtămáma* 'she completes' < *mtamma*, *mălápa* 'she teaches' < *malpa*, *mnăwáli* 'they shoe (a horse)'. This short vowel is extended by analogy into the 3ms. where there is no inserted epenthetic: *mtắməm* 'he completes', *mắləp* 'he teaches', *mnắwəl* 'he shoes'.

Short */a/* regularly occurs in open pretonic syllables before */w/* in the plural form *-ăwaθa*, e.g. *ʾeðăwaθa* 'festivals', *xonăwaθa* 'brothers', *bɛθăwaθa* 'houses'.

Short */a/* occurs in open syllables in several loanwords, e.g. *ʾăraq* 'arak', *ʾəškăra* 'clear', *băṭăna* 'inner side of a wall', *došăka* 'mattress', *kamăra* 'woman's belt'.

2.2.4.2. *Short* /u/ *in Open Syllables*

Short */u/* occurs in an open syllable in the past base and resultative participle of several verbal forms after an originally closed syllable has been opened by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, e.g. *mtŭməmíle* 'he completed them' < *mtummíle*, *mtŭməmɛle* 'he has completed' < *mtúmmɛle*. The short */ŭ/* has then been extended by analogy to forms where there is no inserted epenthetic, e.g. *mtŭmámle* 'he completed' < *mtumámle*, *mtŭmámtɛla* 'she has completed < *mtumámtɛla*.

Short */u/* is found in open syllables in a few loanwords, e.g. *tŭ́tun* 'tobacco', *tŭ́tur* 'a type of insect'.

2.2.4.3. *Short* /ə/ *in Open Syllables*

The vowel */ə/* occasionally occurs in open syllables of words of Aramaic stock. In these contexts it is pronounced short, as it is in closed syllables. Since */ə/* is pronounced short in all contexts, a breve mark is dispensed with in the transcription when this vowel occurs in an open syllable.

The vowel */ə/* sometimes occurs in an open syllable as an epenthetic vowel. This is found in several verbal forms, many of which have been cited already above, viz. *mtămáma* 'she completes', *mălápa* 'she teaches', *mtŭməmíle* 'he completed them'. Further cases include *mapláxa* 'she uses', *mkankáša* 'she drags'.

It may be left in an open syllable after resyllabification. This applies to the enclitic genitive suffix *-əd/-ət*, the consonant of which is often syllabified with the following word, e.g. *bábə d-o-yàla* 'father of that boy' (A9:3), *ʾíðə d-áy-baxta* 'the hand of that woman' (A10:10), *ʾán-naθyáθə d-àn hambišáye* 'the ears of those giants' (A12:16). When the following word begins with a consonant, the consonantal element is often elided, e.g. *ða-kértə qésa* 'a bundle of wood' (A10:6), *ʾotáxə gàwṛəx* 'the room of your husband', (A10:13), *ʾénə mìya* 'the spring of water' (A11:17). The elision of a pharyngal from the middle of a word may open up a syllable containing */ə/*, e.g. *šámu* 'hear (pl.)!' < **šəmʿu*. We may also include in this category the irregular past form of the verb 'to say', which contains */ə/* in an open syllable,

e.g. *mə́re* 'he said'. This has developed by weakening the gemination of the */r/* < **mirre* < **mirle*.

The vowel */ə/* is also sporadically found in an open syllable in loanwords, e.g. *gəra* 'hill'.

Minimal pairs can be found in which short */a/* and */ə/* contrast in open syllables, e.g.

gắra	'she shaves'
gəra	'hill'

The vowel */ə/* only contrasts with */e/* when there is a difference in length, e.g. *gəra* 'hill' : *gera* 'arrow'. The vowel quality */e/* is in principle always long. It occurs as a short vowel in an closed syllable in a few rare instances. These are all forms with the feminine ending *-ta*, e.g. *tenta* 'fig', *kepta* 'small stone', *telta* 'vixen', where the */e/* quality may be retained by analogy with forms of the word without the ending (cf. *tene* 'figs', *kepa* 'stone', *tela* 'fox'). There are, in fact, some cases where */ə/* in an open syllable becomes lengthened, but in all such cases the vowel changes to */e/*, e.g. *mére* 'he said' < *mə́re* (A49:6). It has been shown above, however, that */ə/* in an unstressed syllable also exhibits a certain degree of complementarity with short */a/* in a stressed syllable and with long */a/* in an open syllable, e.g.

qáṭlət	'you (fs.) kill' (short form)
qaṭlátle	'you (fs.) kill him' (short form)
qáṭlati	'you (fs.) kill' (long form)

Taking all this into account, it has been decided to transcribe the vowel as */ə/*, reflecting closely its phonetic realization, rather than treating it simply as a short form of */e/*.

2.2.4.4. *Long Vowels in Closed Syllables*

The vowels */a/*, */ɛ/*, */e/*, */i/*, */o/* and */u/* on some occasions are long in closed syllables. In words of Aramaic stock this is sometimes found when an originally open syllable has been closed by the elision of the vowel in the following syllable. The vowel remains long as if it were still in an open syllable. Examples of this are annexed nouns or prepositions that have lost a following genitive clitic *-ət* or at least the vowel of this clitic (§10.16.), e.g.

brōn-málka 'the son of the king' < *bronət malka* (A14:43)
xāṣ-sùsux 'the back of your donkey' < *xaṣət susux* (A14:67)
*bēl-d-ánna dèwe*ˡ 'between these wolves' < *belət ʾanna dewe* (A14:49)
ʾƐ̄n-Nune 'the Spring of Fishes (name of village)' < *ʾƐnət Nune*.

Long vowels are found in closed syllables of various loanwords, e.g. *glā́s* 'glass', *párzūn* 'back-pack', *qumā́rči* 'gambler', *dūs* 'truth, true', *dēm* 'unirrigated land'.

A minimal pair exists in which a long */u/* in the closed syllable of a loanword stands in opposition to a short */u/* in a word of Aramaic stock:

dus	'thrust!'
dūs	'truth'

Taking into account quality and quantity, the phonemic inventory of vowels may be summarized as follows:

Long		Short	
/i/	*/u/*		*/ŭ/*
/e/	*/o/*		
			/ə/
/ɛ/			
/a/		*/ă/*	

2.3. The Phonetic Quality of the Vowels

2.3.1. /i/

This is in principle realized as a high front vowel [i]. In a closed syllable it is short, although derived historically from a long vowel, e.g. *píšle* [ˈpi(50)ʃle)] 'he remained' (A24:5), *ʾatíqta* [ʾæːti(55)qtæ] 'ancient' (A24:6). In the environment of back and emphatic consonants, its articulation is sometimes retracted to the region of [ɨ] or [ɯ], e.g. *dmíxta* [ˈdmɨxtɐ] 'sleeping' (A26:11), *č̣ímtəlle* [ˈtʃɯmtəlle] *tắra* 'she closed the door' (A22:30), *t́ína* [ˈtɯːnɑ] 'mud' (A27:28).

2.3.2. /ə/

The phonetic realization of */ə/* is generally in the region of [ə], [ɔ] or [ɪ]. The centralized quality [ə] is characteristically found in the environment of emphatic consonants, e.g. *pàləṭ* [ˈpɑːləṭ] 'it is coming out' (A8:6). When the velarization of emphatics is weakened, the vowel still retains its centralized quality. This can result in pairs in which the central realization contrasts with the higher realization [ɪ], e.g.

pəqqa [pʰɪqqæ] 'frog' *pəqqa* [pəqqɑ] 'crack'

In the transcription, the difference between such words is represented as the presence or absence of emphasis, even if it is only vestigial (§1.2.3.). When followed by a sibilant, the realization of */ə/* is particularly high, sometimes even in the region of [i], e.g. *gəšra* [gɪʃɾæ] ~ [giʃɾæ] 'bridge', *məšxa* 'oil' [mɪʃxæ] ~ [miʃxæ], *ʾəšta* [ʾɪʃtæ] ~ [ʾiʃtæ]. Such words are transcribed consistently with */ə/* despite this occasional overlap with the allophonic spread of */i/*. In the environment of labials */ə/* sometimes has a rounded realization in the region of [ɵ], e.g. *xa-qáṣṣət rába mapšəmàntɛla*ˈ [mɑpʃɵˈmɑntɛlæ] 'It is a very sad story' (A4:31). Before the consonant */r/*, where the duration of vowels tends to be extended somewhat (§2.2.2.1.), the realization */ə/* is sometimes fronted to the region of [e], e.g. *ʾərbe* [ˈʾeɾbe] 'sheep' (A25:26). This is in conformity with the general tendency of */ə/* to shift to */e/* when it is lengthened (§2.1.).

2.3.3. /e/

This vowel is generally realized with a front close-mid quality [e]. When shorted in final unstressed syllables it is occasionally centralized to [ɔ] or [ə], e.g. *wírre* [ˈwirːɔ] *b-ʾùmṛa*ˈ 'he became advanced in age' (A24:1), *ʾímət pìdle* [ˈpidlə] *ṭúra*ˈ 'when he passed the mountain' (A24:12). The centralization is only a sporadic phenomenon in this position. When word final */e/* is preceded by the glide */y/*, the vowel occasionally merges with the glide, e.g. *mən-d-ànna paloxáye*ˈ [pʰæːloːxæ(50)j] 'with these workers' (A24:5). The transcription is normalized in these cases of centralization and attenuation and such words are represented with final */e/*.

2.3.4. /ɛ/

This is generally realized with an open-mid quality [ɛ]. When the vowel is derived historically from the diphthong **ay*, which applies to most occurrences of it (§2.4.1.), there is a tendency to lower it to the region of [æ] if its duration is reduced. The realization [æ] belongs to the allophonic spread of */a/*. This lowering takes place in posttonic open syllables, e.g. *xìlɛle*ˡ [ˡxiːlæle] 'he ate' (A14:76), *ʾèkɛle*ˡ [ˡʾɛːkæle] 'where it is' (A12:37), *bas-lè-y-yənna bnáθi-llɛxu*ˡ [ˡbnæːθilˑæxu] 'but I shall not give you my daughters' (A12:17). The lowering is especially common when the vowel occurs in a word final open syllable. This is because it is the norm for a vowel in such syllables to be short when the word occurs in the middle of an intonation group (§2.2.1.3.), e.g. *šáta* 'they drink' < *šátɛ, ʾə́θyela* 'they have come' < *ʾə́θyelɛ, xazéla* 'he sees them' < *xazélɛ, béθa* 'their house' < *béθɛ*. Since the lowering is very frequent in this context, such final syllables are transcribed with */a/* rather than */ɛ/* when the lowering takes place. In posttonic non-final syllables, such as *xílɛle, ʾékɛle* etc, where the shortening and lowering is less regular, the */ɛ/* has been normalized in the transcription. Since the vowel in stressed word-final open syllables is generally short (§2.2.1.2.), it is the norm for */ɛ/* to be lowered to */a/* also in this context. This is found, for example, in the feminine singular imperative of final */y/* verbs, e.g. *štá!* 'Drink! (fs.)' < **štɛ́*. If a pronominal suffix is added, the syllable is non-final and the vowel is pronounced long (§2.2.1.1.), so the */ɛ/* is not lowered, e.g. *štɛ́la* 'Drink it! (fs.)'.

The lowering of */ɛ/* also takes place in closed syllables, when the vowel is shortened, e.g. *lat* 'you are not' < *lɛt, bɛθ-qòra* [bæθ-ˡqoːɾæ] 'cemetery' (A25:89). Where this is very common, as in negative copula forms such as *lat*, it is marked in the transcription. When */ɛ/* is lowered in a final unstressed closed syllable, the resulting vowel */a/* sometimes undergoes subsequent centralization to */ə/*, which is a common phonetic process that affects this vowel (§2.3.5.), e.g. *ʾə́θyət* 'you have come' < *ʾəθyɛt*.

This distribution of lowered */ɛ/* is, however, a tendency rather than an absolute rule. Exceptions are occasionally found to the principles just described. In some isolated cases, for example, */ɛ/* deriving from **ay* retains its low-mid quality when short in a closed syllable, e.g. *ʾɛ́nta* [ˡʾɛntæ] 'airhole in an oven', where the vowel quality may have be retained by analogy with the corresponding form *ʾɛna* [ˡʾɛːnæ] 'eye'. Conversely a semi-long */ɛ/* in a pretonic open syllable and even a stressed long */ɛ/* in an open syllable deriving form **ay* are sporadically realized with a lowered quality,

e.g. *ṣlɛθèy* [ʂlæˑθeˑy] ‘their coming down’ (A4:53), *ʾu-ta-t-maxzéle* [mæxˈzæːle] ‘in order to show it’ (A24:38).

In *lɛle* ‘night’ and the homophonous negative copula form *lɛle* ‘he is not’ the */ɛ/* is sometimes raised to the region of [e], i.e. [ˈlɛ̝ːle ~ ˈle̝ːle], by a process of assimilation to the phonetic form of the following syllable. This quality is occasionally extended by analogy to other forms in the negative copula paradigm, e.g. *lɛla* [ˈlɛ̝ːlæ ~ ˈle̝ːlæ] ‘they are not’. In all these cases the transcription has been normalized with */ɛ/*.

2.3.5. /a/

This is often realized in the region of [a] or [æ], e.g. *tmanì* [tmaːˈni] ‘eighty’ (A24:9), *màgla* [ˈmæglæ] ‘sickle’ (B5:141), *láxxa* [ˈlæxːæ] ‘here’ (A24:4), *bnáθaˈ* [ˈbnæːθæ] ‘girls’ (A24:13).

In the environment of */y/* the realization is sometimes raised, e.g. *lá bǎyàtte?ˈ* [bɛˈjɛtte] ‘Don’t you want it?’ (A30:33), *ṭ̬laθà yomáθaˈ* [ṭ̬laˈθɛ joːˈmæːθæ] ‘three days’ (A29:2).

In the environment of the uvular */q/* and emphatic consonants it generally has the back quality [ɑ], e.g. *mbáqrena* [ˈmbɑqrenæ] ‘I shall ask’ (A24:6), *qá-mo là?ˈ* [ˈqɑˑmoˑ ˈlæː] ‘Why not?’ (A24:4), *ʾo-góṛa* [ʾoː-ˈgoːr̝ɑ] ‘the elder one’ (A24:5), *qərṭ̬ála* [qərˈṭ̬ːlɑ] ‘saddle basket’ (B5:135).

When the velarization of emphatics is weakened, the vowel still retains its back quality. This can result in pairs in which the back realization contrasts with the front realization [æ], e.g.

para [pʰæːɾæ] ‘dust’ *paṛa* [pɑːr̝ɑ] ‘lamb’

In the transcription, the difference between such words is represented as the presence or absence of emphasis.

The back quality [ɑ] is also found in the environment of the labio-velar glide */w/*, e.g. *xonăwáθi* [xoˑnɑˈwæːθi] ‘my brothers’ (A24:24). When preceding this glide, it sometimes acquires also a lip-rounding and is realized in the region of [ɑ] or even [ɔ], e.g. *zawn-*[zɑwn] ‘time’ (A1:26), *ʾáwwa* [ʾɔwːɑ] *nàšaˈ* ‘this man’ (A8:4).

Short */a/* vowels in unstressed syllables exhibit a tendency to be centralized. We may refer to this as a process of attenuation, which is associated with more laxness of muscular tension than is the case in the articulation of the quality */a/*. This is the norm in posttonic closed syllables, such as the 1fs. and 2fs. endings of present base verbs, e.g. *qáṭlən* ‘I (f.) kill’ < *qáṭlan*,

qáṭlət 'you (fs.) kill' < *qáṭlat*, and in loanwords ending in a consonant such as *čángəl* 'fork' < *čángal*, *mánzəl* 'room' < *manzal*. In such cases the vowel is regularly transcribed as */ə/*. When the stress shifts onto the vowel, the */a/* quality is preserved, e.g. *qaṭlánne* 'I (f.) kill him', *čangále* 'forks'. The centralization also regularly occurs when the genitive/relative particle *D* is clitized to the end of a noun ending in *-a*, e.g. *béθət málka* 'the house of the king' < *béθa-d málka*. Here too the vowel is transcribed as */ə/*.

On some occasions centralization takes place in pretonic or propretonic syllables. Since, however, in most words it does not occur regularly in this position, it is generally not represented in the transcription, e.g. *bṯ̂-áwət maṭróye* [məṭˈɪ̣ọːje] 'you will ride' (A8:46), *ʾána qaryánne* [qəɾˈjænn-] *ʾo-qálət ṭ̣làθa*ˈ 'I shall cry the third cry' (A8:75). In a few words, on the other hand, centralization is the norm and it is represented by the vowel */ə/* in the transcription. The regular occurrence of centralization in some words rather than others has arisen from the fact that it is not a blind phonetic process but correlates with grammatical function or has become lexicalized. The past converter prefix *qəm-*, for example, is regularly pronounced with the vowel */ə/*, which has arisen by centralization of an original **a* (< **qam-* < **q̲dam*). The preposition *qam* 'before', on the other hand, generally preserves the */a/* quality. This results in minimal pairs such as:

qəm-maxéle	'he hit him'
qam-maxéle	'before he hits him'

It sporadically occurs with short */a/* vowels also in other environments, such as in unstressed final open syllables, e.g. *məìta*ˈ [ˈməiːtə] 'town' (A24:4), *wáða* [ˈwæːðə] *kăbàbe*ˈ 'making kebabs' (A24:4), and even in stressed syllables, e.g. *ṯ̂-átwən* [ˈtətwən] 'that I sit' (A6:8), *yắðət* [ˈjəðət] *mèlaʔ* 'Do you know what it is?' (A16:10). In most cases such as these, where the centralization is not regular, the transcription has been normalized and the vowel is transcribed as */a/* or */ă/*.

2.3.6. /o/

This is realized in the region of [o] when long and in an open syllable, e.g., *bnóne* [ˈbnoːneː] 'sons' (A24:1), *xzóli* [ˈɣzoːli] 'find for me' (A24:2), *ṯ̂-oðáxxe* [toːˈðəxːe] 'that we do it' (A4:48). It sometimes maintains this quality also when pronounced short in an unstressed open syllable, e.g. *méθo*

[ˈmɛːθo] ‘bring! (pl.)’ (A24:3), or in a stressed closed syllable, e.g. *mandòrta* [mænˈdoɾtæ] ‘roller’ (B5:145). When the duration of */o/* is shortened, however, there is a general tendency for it to be raised and centralized to the region of [ʊ], e.g. *payóxa* [pʰæˑˈjoːxæ] ‘cool’ (ms.) vs. *payóxta* [pʰæˑˈjʊxtæ] ‘cool’ (fs.). In pretonic open syllables, the duration of which tends to fluctuate according to the position of the word in an intonation group, the qualities [o] and [ʊ] often interchange in the same word, e.g. *moθéli* [moˑ(90)ˈθeːli] ‘I have brought’ (A24:21) vs. *muθélɛxu* [mʊˑ(80)ˈθeːlɛxu] *ṭèra?ˡ* ‘Have you brought the bird’ (A24:26). These quality fluctuations are represented in the transcription.

2.3.7. /u/

When pronounced long this is realized in the region of [u], e.g. *šùla* [ˈʃuːlæː] ‘job’ (A24:4), *zùze* [ˈzuːzeː] ‘money’ (A24:3), *la-hàru* [læ-ˈhæːɾuː] ‘it will not speak’ (A24:18). When its duration is shortened, it tends to be centralized somewhat to the region of [ʊ], e.g. *plúx* [ˈplʊ(55)x] ‘work!’ (A24:5), *qu-dùqle* [qʊ(60)-ˈdʊ(75)qle] ‘get up and seize him’ (A24:25), *šuréla* [ʃʊˑ(115)ˈreːlæ] ‘they began’ (A24:26). In a few cases short */u/* is fronted to the region of [ʏ], e.g. *jùlla* [ˈʤʏlːæ] ‘cloth’ (B5:80); *dùnye* [ˈdʏnyeː] ‘world’ (A10:11).

2.4. Diphthongs

2.4.1. *ay

The original diphthong **ay* has in most cases contracted to the low-mid vowel */ɛ/*, e.g.

bɛ́θa	‘house’	< **bayṯā*
qɛ́ṭa	‘summer’	< **qayṭā*
xazɛ́li	‘they see me’	< **ḥāzaylī*
štɛ́la	‘drink (fs.) it!’	< **štāylah*

As remarked above (§2.3.4.), this vowel tends to be lowered to */a/* in positions where it is shortened, e.g.

štéla	'they drank'	< *štelɛ* < **štelay*
šáta	'they drink'	< *šátɛ* < **šātay*
štá	'drink! (fs.)'	< **štɛ* < **štāy*
lát	'you are not'	< *lɛt* < **lā-it*

In a few cases an original **ay* diphthong is not fully contracted. This applies, for example, to the 3pl. pronominal suffix and several quadriliteral verbs with second radical */y/*. In these the diphthong normally has the form */ey/*, in which the vowel is raised to */e/*:

maθéy	'their village'
mšéyðən	'he goes mad'
mhéymən	'he believes'

On some occasions, however, the vowel in these forms retains the low quality */a/* or is raised only to */ɛ/*, e.g.

maθáy, maθéy	'their village'
mháymən	'they believe'

The */ay/* diphthong is found in the feminine singular personal and demonstrative pronoun *ʾay*, which has developed historically from **hā-hī*, e.g. *ʾay-ṣrìxla* 'She cried out' (A4:4), *ʾay-bàxta* 'that woman' (A4:9). When functioning as an attributive demonstrative, however, it is often contracted to *ʾɛ* and this may be lowered to *ʾa* when its duration is shortened, e.g. *ʾɛ-bráta* 'that girl' (A4:11), *ʾɛ-kusíθa* 'that hat' (A7:19), *ʾa-bráta* 'that girl' (A14:1), *ʾa-yalɔ́xθa* 'that scarf' (A4:17). The contraction, therefore, is dependent on its syntactic function.

2.4.2. *aw

The diphthong **aw* remains uncontracted in numerous words, e.g.

màwθa	'death' (A21:35)
ṣàwma	'fast' (B7:5)
ṣáwθa	'voice' (A21:18)
záwna	'time' (B2:1)
qáwra	'grave' (B2:6)
xáwla	'rope' (B7:16)
gáwṛa	'man' (A21:31)

háwya	'(that) she be' (B12:2)
ʾáwði	'they make' (A26:43)
ʾàwra	'she enters' (B12:2)
záwnən	'I buy' (A22:16)

Contraction of the */aw/* to */o/* also takes place. In many words this contraction is optional and both forms with */aw/* and forms with */o/* are used, e.g.

hóya (A21:44)
háwya (B12:2) '(that) she be'

y-oðíwa (B7:1)
y-awðíwa (B2:5) 'they used to do'

lá gawrèn (A16:5)
là-gorən (A16:5) 'I shall not marry'

qəm-doqále (A17:26)
qəm-dawqàle (A22:19) 'she seized him'

biz-zóda (A8:44)
biz-zàwda (B5:3) 'more'

This contraction is not a purely phonetic phenomenon that is blind to the grammatical category and function of the word. Although it is attested in all categories of word, it does not take place evenly across all categories. The optional contraction of */aw/* occurs far more frequently in verbs than in nouns.

In most nouns the diphthong is stable and regularly occurs, e.g.

gawṛa	'man'
tawra	'ox'
gawza	'wallnut'
qawra	'grave'
kawda	'liver'
sawta	'old woman'
kaθawta	'writer (f.)'

Only sporadic contraction is attested in nouns in the text corpus, e.g. *gòze* 'walnuts' (B16:10) < *gawze*, *xoránux* 'your companions' (A8:47) < *xawranux*.

On account of the stability of the diphthong */aw/* in nouns, some minimal pairs exist in which the diphthong */aw/* in a noun stands in contrastive opposition to */o/*, e.g.

gawṛa	'man'
goṛa	'big'
dawla	'drum'
dola	'mountain pass'
kawsa	'hair'
kosa	'beardless, effeminate'
qawla	'promise'
qola	'animal trap'

In a small set of nouns an original **aw* is regularly contracted to */o/*. These include the following:

yoma	'day'	< **yawma*
roma	'hill, height'	< **rawma*
gota	'side'	< **gawta* < **gaḇta*

The explanation for the regular contraction in these words may be linked to the syntactic context in which they typically occur. The words *yoma* 'day' and *gota* 'side' are frequently attested in the text corpus and in virtually all cases they occur in phrases that have adverbial function, temporal or spatial respectively, e.g.

(1) *šárye̱la gu-d-é ʾotél ʾo-yòma.* 'They stayed in that hotel that day.' (A2:2)
(2) *yóma mən-duzúθa qìdle bέθa.*ˈ 'One day the house really burnt.' (A17:5)
(3) *ʾárya hóle l-xà-gota*ˈ *ʾu-nə́mra xà-gota.*ˈ 'The lion was on one side and the tiger on the other side.' (A27:21)
(4) *xa-pə́čča píša l-ày-gota,*ˈ *xa-l-ày-gota.*ˈ 'A piece remained on that side and one on the other side.' (A51:18)

The word *roma* 'hill, height' is far less commonly used in the dialect, but, historically at least, it is likely to be associated with spatial adverbial expressions (cf. Syriac expressions such as *ba-mrawme* 'on high').

The relevance of syntactic function for contraction is also demonstrated by the word *šawpa* 'place, trace', since the diphthong */aw/* in this word is generally contracted when it is used with an adverbial function, e.g.

(5) *de-puš-šôpux!*ˡ 'Stay in your place (where you are).' (A14:20)
(6) *ʾáwwa píšle málka šópət bábe dìye.*ˡ 'He became king in place of his father.' (A12:70).

We could perhaps also include here the temporal adverbials *bázzune* 'last/next year', *bzúne* 'two years ago' and *tábzune* 'three years ago', all of which contain an element derived from *zawna* 'time' with the diphthong regularly contracted to */u/*.

Contraction of */aw/* regularly occurs in adjectives, e.g.

goṛa	'big'	< **gaḇrā*
koṗa	'low'	< **kawpā*
koma	'black'	< **kawmā*

These words are of the same historical pattern as nouns such as *gawza* 'nut' and *gawṛa* 'man' and historically they no doubt functioned as nouns; cf. Syr. *kawpā* 'bending' (Brockelmann 1928: 323). Indeed the word *goṛa* 'big' appears to be a doublet of *gawṛa* 'man', both being derived from **gaḇrā*. Their different formal developments reflect their different functions, the contracted form being used when the word was used as an adjective to express an attribute and the uncontracted form remaining when it was used as an entity term.

It is relevant to note that some compound nominal phrases also exhibit regular contraction of a diphthong in their second element, which has a functional status similar to that of attributive adjectives, e.g.

bɛθ-qora	'cemetery'	cf. *qawra* 'grave'
zaqra-qode	'spider' ('weaver of fetters')	cf. *qawda* 'fetter'

Differences in the pattern of contraction of the 3ms. demonstrative pronoun *ʾaw* can likewise be correlated with syntactic function. In principle its contraction to *ʾo* is restricted to cases where it functions as an attributive pronoun. When it functions as an independent pronoun it regularly remains uncontracted. This is illustrated in the following examples, in which the pronoun is in all cases unstressed:

ʾaw-mə̀re	'he said' (A23:19)
ʾaw-tíwɛle xaràya	'he sat down last' (A17:31)
ʾaw-gàrele	'that is the roof' (A23:14)

ʾo-tə́ra	'that door' (A17:20)
ʾo-tèla	'that fox' (A20:1)
ʾo-ʾixàla	'that food' (A21:19)

In a few cases the attributive demonstrative remains uncontracted, but these are very much exceptional to the normal rule, e.g.

ʾaw-téla	'that fox' (A20:5)

Other monosyllabic words ending in an original **-aw* regularly exhibit contraction of the diphthong, e.g.

xzó	'see!'	< **xzaw*
mó?	'what?'	< **maw*?

2.5. The Historical Background of the Vowels

2.5.1. /i/

(i) In most cases this vowel derives from long **ī*, e.g.

sawi	'grandfather'	< **sābī*
xazyali	'she sees me'	< **ḥāzyālī*
šaqli	'they take'	< **šāqlīn*
ṭ̣laθi	'thirty'	< **tlāṯīn*
basima	'pleasant (ms.)'	< **bassīmā*
basimta	'pleasant (f.)'	< **bassīmtā*
pθixa	'open'	< **pṯīxā*
pθixle	'he opened'	< **pṯīxleh*

As has been shown above (§2.2.2.1.), */i/* in closed syllables, as in *basimta* and *pθixle*, is generally pronounced short.

(ii) Before */y/* in an open syllable, it sometimes derives from a short high vowel in syllables that were originally closed by a pharyngal or laryngal but became open after the elision of these consonants. For the sake of convenience, this vowel can be represented here as **ɔ*, e.g.

ṣiya	'thirsty'	< **ṣəḥyā*
ṭiya	'searched'	< **ṭəʾyā* < **ṭəʿyā*

Some cases of */i/* before */y/* in an open syllable originated as epenthetic vowels, e.g.

tawriyáθa	'cows'	< **tawryaθa*
zawriyáθa	'water pots'	< **zawryaθa*
manšíya	'she forgets'	< **manšya*

Compare the singular noun forms *tawərta* 'cow', *zawərta* 'water pot' and the alternative 3fs. verbal form *manəšya* 'she forgets', in which the epenthetic is placed before the preceding consonant.

(iii) In a few words */i/* has developed by raising from an original **a* before the palatal glide */y/*, e.g.

miya	'water'	< **maya*
riyana	'rain'	< **rayana*
diya	'now'	< **daya* < **daha*
ṛiya	'shepherd'	< **ṛaya* < **rāʿyā*

The word *ṛiya* may have undergone an intermediate stage **ṛeya* in accordance with the shift **aʾC* > **eC* described below (§2.5.2.).

The raising of **a* to */i/* before a glide */y/* applies also to a few cases where the glide is inserted between a final */a/* vowel of loanwords and the Aramaic inflectional ending, e.g.

panjăriya	'window'	< Kurd. pencere
wastiyaθa	'dresses'	< sing. *wasta*
titiye	'silver ornaments'	< sing. *tita*

2.5.2. /e/

(i) In some cases this derives from original long **ē*, e.g.

reša	'head'	< **rēšā*
kepa	'stone'	< **kēpā*
kθawe	'books'	< **kṯāḇē*
xaze	'he sees'	< **ḥāzē*
xzelən	'we saw'	< **ḥzēlan*

(ii) In several words it derives from short **a* that was originally in a syllable closed by following a laryngal **ʾ* or **h*, e.g.

tela	'fox'	< **taʾla* < **taʿlā*
ṭena	'load'	< **ṭaʾna* < **ṭaʿnā*
pərṭena	'flea'	< **purtaʾnā* < **purtaʿnā*
zreta	'cultivation'	< **zraʾta* < **zraʿtā*
ʾarbe	'four (f.)'	< **ʾarbaʾ* < **arbaʿ*
nera	'river'	< **nahrā*
sera	'moon'	< **sahrā*
beṛa	'light'	< **bahrā*
ṣewa	'thirst'	< **ṣahwā*
ṭera	'noon'	< **ṭahrā*

As can be seen from the examples above, the laryngal **ʾ* is generally derived ultimately from the pharyngal **ʿ*. The vowel shift, however, appears to have been conditioned by the laryngal rather than the original pharyngal. This is shown by the occurrence of the shift in words originally containing the laryngal **h*. Furthermore it is found also in words containing an original **ʾ* that cannot be reconstructed as deriving from the pharyngal **ʿ*, e.g.

sebuθa 'old age' < **saʾbuθa* (cf. Syr. *sʾb* 'to become old')

In some words the raising of **a* to */e/* in this context is not completely fixed, in that forms with */e/* are used alongside with forms with */a/*, e.g.

tela ~ tala	'fox'	< **taʾlā*
ṭena ~ ṭana	'load'	< **ṭaʾnā*
nera ~ nara	'river'	< **nahrā*
seṛa ~ saṛa	'goat's hair'	< **saʾrā*
zreta ~ zrata	'cultivation'	< **zraʾtā*
pərṭena ~ pərṭana	'flea'	< **purtaʾnā*

In some words, furthermore, the shift does not take place at all. There is no clear phonetic conditioning that blocks the shift in these cases, which suggests that its occurrence has become lexicalized, e.g.

nala	'horse-shoe'	< **naʾla* < **naʿlā*
pala	'labourer'	< **paʾla* < **paʿlā*
saða	'martyr'	< **sahðā*
dawa	'gold'	< **dahwā*

Conversely the shift is occasionally found in words that contain no etymological laryngal, e.g.

šeta	'year'	< **šattā*
xušeba	'Sunday'	< **xa-b-šabbā*

The explanation seems to be that in such cases the sequence **CaCC* evolved initially into the sequence **CaʾC* and then this conditioned the vowel raising. So the development would be *šeta* < **šaʾta* < **šattā*, *xušeba* < **xuša'ba* < *xa-b-šabbā*. This reconstruction is supported by the existence in the Qaraqosh dialect of the form *šaʾta* as an alternative to *šata* 'year' (Khan 2002: 43).

(iii) In some words the */e/* is more easily reconstructed as deriving from a short high vowel **ə* before a laryngal. This applies to cases where the vowel before the original laryngal is an epenthetic, e.g.

ʾăreta	'layer of algae'	< **ʾarəʾta* < **arʾ-* + *ta*
tăreθa	'small door'	< **tarəʾta* < **tarʾ-* + *ta*
qăreθa	'gourd'	< **qarəʾθa* < **qarʾ-* + *ta*
năreθa	'small axe'	< **narəʾθa* < **narʾ-* + *ta*

It also applies to other words that have */ə/* in their original morphological pattern, e.g.

deθa	'sweat'	< **dəʾθa*
magreta	'shaving knife'	< **magrəʾta*
mpŭqele	'he exploded (tr.)'	< **mpuqəʾle*

(iv) The vowel */e/* in a pretonic open syllable has sometimes developed by lengthening of an original short **ə* in other contexts. This applies, for example, to some cases where the **ə* developed by centralization of an original short **a* in an unstressed syllable that was closed by a geminated consonant. After the gemination was weakened the syllable became open and the **ə* vowel was lengthened to */e/*, e.g.

genawa	'thief'	< **gənnawa* < **gannāb̲ā*
gewaya	'beggar'	< **gəwwaya* < **gawwāyā*
meqora	'hole'	< **məqqora* < **maqqōrā*
nepoxta	'date syrup'	< **nəppoxta* < **nappoxta*

For all of these examples variant forms exist with */a/* in the first syllable. These have developed directly from forms without centralized **ə*:

ganawa	'thief'	< **gannāḇā*
gawaya	'beggar'	< **gawwāyā*
maqora	'hole'	< **maqqōrā*
napoxta	'date syrup'	< **nappoxta*

The vowel */e/* in an open syllable at the end of adverbials such as *qamaye* 'at first', *gawaye* 'inside' and *baraye* 'outside', also developed by lengthening of a short **ə* that had resulted by attenuation of **a*. In this case the short **a* was in an unstressed syllable that was originally closed by final **t*, as in Syr. *qaḏmāyaṯ* 'at first'. We may reconstruct as follows *qamaye* < **qamayət* < **qaḏmāyaṯ*.

In some cases a short **ə* was original in the pattern of the word in an unstressed closed syllable before a geminated consonant. The vowel was lengthened to */e/* when the gemination was weakened. Most words of this type have variants that retain the gemination, e.g.

ʾeliθa ~ *ʾəlliθa*	'fat of a tail'
mesukta ~ *məssukta*	'gizzard (of a bird)'
gepona ~ *gəppona*	'small cave'

Short */ə/* is lengthened to */e/* is some other contexts, e.g. *mére* 'he said' < *mə́re* (A49:6).

(v) Final *–e* in singular nouns is generally derived from an original **-yā*, e.g.

lɛle	'night'	< **laylyā* (Syr. *lelyā*)
ʾore	'manger'	< **ʾoryā* (Syr. *ʾuryā*)
ʾərxe	'water-mill'	< **raḥyā* (Syr. *raḥyā*)
xuwwe	'snake'	< **xəwyā* (Syr. *ḥewyā*)

2.5.3. /ɛ/

Most cases of */ɛ/* have developed by contraction of an original diphthong **ay*, as has been described above (§2.4.1.). It normally occurs in open syllables, e.g. *bɛθa* 'house' < **bayṯā*, *xazɛli* 'they see me' < **ḥāzaylī*, but on a few occasions is found in closed syllables, e.g. *ʾɛnta* 'air-hole' < **ʾayntā*.

The vowel /*a*/ is often raised to /*ɛ*/ before /*r*/ in non-emphatic environments. This applies both to short /*a*/ in closed syllables and long /*a*/ in open syllables. The process does not occur completely regularly in the speech of all informants. Since, however, this is a distinctive feature of the pronunciation of the C. Barwar dialect, it has been decided to represent it in the transcription where it is heard rather than conceal it by a completely normalized orthography, e.g.

dɛrta ~ darta	'courtyard'
sɛrga ~ sarga	'saddle'
yɛrxa ~ yarxa	'month'
gʸɛrma ~ gʸarma	'bone'
pɛršəx ~ paršəx	'we divide'
dɛre ~ dare	'he puts'
šɛre ~ šare	'he begins'
dawɛ́ra	'mule'

The raising is blocked in emphatic environments, cf.

pɛrma ~ parma	'she cuts'
paṛma	'she understands'

2.5.4. /a/

(i) This derives in most cases from an original short **a* or long **ā*, though the length of the vowel in the dialect is determined by syllable structure and stress and not by its historical derivation from an original short or long vowel, e.g.

páθxa [ˈpæθxæ]	'she opens'	< **pāṯḥā*
kʸásа [ˈcʸæːsæ]	'stomach'	< **karsā*

(ii) As we have seen (§2.3.4.), in some cases a short */a/* in the transcription derives by lowering from */ɛ/*, which in turn is a reflex of the diphthong **ay*.

2.5.5. /ə/

(i) This may derive from an original short high vowel, which, for the sake of convenience we may represent here with the same symbol **ə*, e.g.

gárəš	'he pulls'	< **gārəš*
ləbba	'heart'	< **ləbba*

(ii) In some cases it is the result of attenuation of an original */a/*, */e/* or */ɛ/* in a closed syllable, e.g.

gáršət	'you (fs.) pull'	< **gāršā-t*
gáršət	'you (ms.) pull'	< **gāršē-t*
gríšət	'you have pulled'	< *grišɛt*

(iii) The reflex of an original long **ī* is in principle */i/*. An exception to this is the past form of the verb to say, which has */ə/*, e.g. *mə́re* 'he said' < **mīrrēh* < **mīr* + *lēh*.

(iv) The vowel */ə/* is found in both open and closed syllables as an epenthetic vowel, e.g.

mapə́lxi	'they use'
matămə́mi	'they finish'

2.5.6. /o/

(i) In many cases this derives from an original long **ō*, e.g.

naṭora	'guard'	< **nāṭōrā*
dəbbora	'hornet'	< **dəbbōrā*
l-xoðe	'by himself'	< **ḫōḏēh*
mšadore	'to send'	< **mšaddōrē*

(ii) Occasionally it has arisen by lengthening of an original short **u*. This has occurred when a closed syllable containing a short **u* has become open by the elision of a consonant or the weakening of gemination, e.g.

mpoləṭle	'he brought out'	< **mpullətlēh*
ṣabota	'finger'	< **ṣabbuʿtā*

(iii) In several cases it has arisen by contraction of the diphthong **aw* (see §2.4.2.).

2.5.7. /u/

(i) This is may be derived from an original short or long **u*, e.g.

ʾurxa	'road'	< **ʾurḥā*
dukθa	'place'	< **dukkʾṯā*

xabuša	'apple'	< **ḥabbūšā*
duwana	'oil, fat'	< **dūhānā*

(ii) On some occasions it has arisen in closed syllables by the shortening of an original long **ō*, e.g.

dəbburta	'horsefly'	< **dəbbōrtā*

(iii) Before labial consonants it has sometimes developed from other vowels, e.g.

gumla	'camel'	< **gamlā*
šumaša	'deacon'	< **šammāšā*
ṭuwalta	'game'	< **mṭawwaltā*
tuna	'straw'	< **tuwna* < **təb̲nā*
xuwwe	'snake'	< **xəwyā*

CHAPTER THREE

CONSONANT GEMINATION

3.1. Phonetic Realization and Transcription

The physical duration of a consonant that is marked as geminate in the transcription varies considerably. As a general rule the duration of a geminate consonant that is preceded by a stress is longer than one that lacks a preceding stress. This can be seen by comparing the range of durations of */ll/* in the following examples, in which the approximate duration of the geminate consonant is measured in milliseconds:

(1) *máxəlla* [ˈmæːxəlˑ(70)æ] *ġðàðe*ˈ 'He knocks them together' (A24:13)
(2) *zə́dyəlla* [ˈzɪdyəlˑ(80)æ] *tàma*ˈ 'They threw down it there' (A24:25)
(3) *mùrrɛ-lli*ˈ [ˈmʊrːɛːlː(115)i] 'Tell them to me' (A24:11)
(4) *zílle* [ˈzilˑ(75)e] 'He went' (A24:4)
(5) *kúlle* [ˈkʊlː(130)e] 'all of it' (A24:11)
(6) *šqúlle* [ˈʃqʊlː(155)e] 'Take it!' (A24:15)
(7) *gə́lla*ˈ [ˈgɪlː(190)æː] 'grass' (A24:15)

In words with the same stress position a geminate consonant is still realized with a wide range of durations, as can be seen in (8)–(12), which illustrate various attested durations for the geminate consonant */xx/* in the word *laxxa* 'here':

(8) *láxxa* [ˈlæx(50)æ] (A24:51)
(9) *láxxa* [ˈlæxˑ(80)æ] (A24:4)
(10) *làxxa*ˈ [ˈlæxː(95)æ] (A24:6)
(11) *làxxa*ˈ [ˈlæxː(125)æ] (A24:6)
(12) *làxxa*ˈ [ˈlæxː(185)ɐ] (A24:49)

As can be seen, there is a considerable difference in the duration with which the sequence */xx/* is realized in this word. It tends to be longer at the end of an intonation group, though even here there is a large variety of realizations. The duration is reduced in forms that occur inside an intonation group. Indeed this lower range of durations, as attested in (8)

and (9), overlaps with the durations attested for instances of the same consonant that are represented in the transcription as non-geminate, as can be seen in (13)–(17) below. In some cases, in fact, a non-geminate */x/* in these examples has a longer phonetic duration than geminate */xx/* in examples (8)–(12):

(13) *xa-daṛmána* [x(60)æ-dəˌɽˈmæːnæ] 'a remedy' (A24:2)
(14) *ʾan-tre-xéne* [ˈx(70)eːneˑ] 'the other two' (A24:5)
(15) *xa-šùla*ˈ [x(75)æ-ʃuːlæː] 'a job' (A24:4)
(16) *xa-màlka*ˈ [x(80)æ-ˈmælkæː] 'a king' (A24:1)
(17) *ʾixàla*ˈ [ʾiːˈx(90)æːlæː] 'food' (A24:16)

The transcription of gemination that is adopted in this grammar does not attempt to reflect the phonetic diversity of individual occurrences of words that has just been described. The general principle that has been followed is that a geminate consonant is consistently marked in a particular lexical item or inflectional form, even where, on the phonetic level, the duration of the consonant is reduced in some utterances of it. The choice as to which words gemination should be marked in is based on relative rather than absolute phonetic duration. In general, all other factors being equal, certain lexical items or inflectional forms exhibit a more consistent tendency for a consonant to be pronounced long than others and it is in such cases that the consonants are marked as geminate. Consonants that are marked as geminate would be expected to be pronounced long consistently when the word occurs in pausal position at the end of an intonation group, though the precise duration of this length may vary. Of course, the term 'gemination' or 'doubling' strictly refers only to the double marking of the letter in the orthography. As seen above in the instrumental measurements, there is no question of exact doubling in phonetic duration.

The marking of consonant gemination in certain words in the transcription is further justified by the existence of a number of minimal pairs in which two words are distinguished only by the length of a consonant. The absolute duration of the consonants in each member of the pair may be increased or reduced according to the contextual position of the word, but, all other factors being equal, there is clearly a relative difference in length that has significance for meaning and for the morphological pattern to which the words are assigned:

bălе ‘he swallows’	*balle* ‘sheep with erect ears’
pălе ‘he divides’	*palle* ‘burning embers’
gărе ‘he shaves’	*garre* ‘pools’
šărе ‘wet cow dung’	*šarre* ‘battle’

3.2. The Distribution of Gemination in the Consonant Inventory

Examples can be identified for the gemination of the majority of consonants:

/b/	*ləbba* ‘heart’
/č/	*xačča* ‘a few’
/č̣/	*ʾəč̣č̣a* ‘nine’
/d/	*gədda* ‘thread’
/g/	*xəgga* ‘dance’
/j/	*məjja* ‘paste of dried yoghurt’
/k/	*gərsəkka* ‘wild pear’
/l/	*ṭəlla* ‘shade’
/m/	*šəmma* ‘name’
/n/	*qənna* ‘nest’
/p/	*quppe* ‘brooding hen’
/q/	*zəqqa* ‘water-skin’
/r/	*garra* ‘pool’
/s/	*massa* ‘ox-goad’
/ṣ/	*qəṣṣət* ‘story’
/š/	*məššara* ‘paddy-field’
/t/	*gutta* ‘ball’
/ṭ/	*qəṭṭa* ‘piece’
/θ/	*qəθθurta* ‘knapsack’
/w/	*xuwwe* ‘snake’
/x/	*laxxa* ‘here’
/y/	*ʾayya* ‘this (f.)’
/z/	*ʾəzza* ‘nanny-goat’
/ž/	*gəžže* ‘raised hand’

Examples for some consonants in the phoneme inventory have not been identified. It should be noted, however, that the list above includes

consonants from all articulatory areas with the exception of laryngal and pharyngal consonants.

3.3. The Origin of Consonant Gemination

3.3.1. *Gemination Inherited from Earlier Aramaic*

Gemination inherited from morphological patterns of earlier Aramaic is preserved in various words. This is the case when the geminate consonant is preceded by the short vowel */ə/* in a stressed syllable, e.g.

ləbba	'heart'
qənna	'nest'
ʾəzza	'nanny-goat'

In some words it is preserved after */ə/* also in unstressed syllables, e.g.

dəbbóra	'hornet'	cf. Syr. *debbōrtā*
səmmála	'bundle'	cf. Syr. *semmālā*

In other words, however, it is normally weakened in this context, e.g.

gezara	'carrot'	cf. Syr. *gezzārā*
lišana	'tongue'	cf. Syr. *leššānā*

The distribution of gemination in these patterns, therefore, has become largely lexicalized.

The original gemination has usually been weakened after an original */a/* or */u/* in both stressed and unstressed syllables, e.g.

káka	'tooth'	< **kakkā*
xabúša	'apple'	< **ḥabbūšā*
basíma	'pleasant'	< **bassīmā*
mšadóre	'to send'	< **mšaddōrē*
gúda	'wall'	< **guddā*
buqára	'question'	< **buqqārā*
mšuləxle	'he stripped'	< **mšullax-lēh*

There are some exceptions to this principle. The consonant */r/*, for example, tends to preserve vestiges of gemination in contexts where it is lost in other consonants. This is the case, for example, in some nominal patterns with an originally geminated medial radical, such as **CaCCūCā*, **CaCCūCtā* and **CaCCāCtā*, in which */r/* is often heard geminate, though in free variation with non-geminate forms. The gemination is regularly lost, by contrast, in other consonants, e.g.

garruwa ~ *garuwa*	'pile of twigs'
garruta ~ *garuta*	'small pile of twigs'
parrušta ~ *parušta*	'smooth pebble'
qarraṣta ~ *qaraṣta*	'crowbar'
ṭarraša ~ *ṭaraša*	'bush'

Contrast:

xabuša	'apple'	< **ḥabbūšā*
tanura	'oven'	< **tannūrā*
šabuqta	'wooden rod'	< **šabbūqtā*
nasarta	'saw'	< **nassārtā*

It should also be noted that words with an original geminate **r* in the historical pattern **CaCCā* have emphatic */ṛ/*, which is pronounced with a longer trill than non-emphatic */r/*, e.g.

maṛa	'spade'	< **marra*
paṛa	'lamb'	< **parrā*

Gemination of other consonants is occasionally heard after */a/* in words deriving from the historical patterns **CaCCāCā* and *CaCCīCā*, e.g.

gabbara	'hero'
ṭannaxa	'miller'
bannaya	'builder'
qaddiša	'saint'

In some cases these may have been influenced by literary Syriac or by loans from Arabic with the same pattern that preserve the gemination, e.g. *ḥaddada* 'blacksmith', *fassada* 'corrupt person'. In the words of Aramaic

stock, however, the forms with gemination are generally used in free variation with forms that lack it, e.g. *bannaya* ~ *banaya* 'builder'.

Gemination occurs after */u/* in the word *pumma* 'mouth'. Here the explanation seems to be that the */u/* has developed from an original **ə* under the influence of the following labial.

Gemination is preserved after */a/* in the word *xaššа* 'sadness' < **ḥaššā* and its derivative *xaššana* 'sad' and also in the word *šmayya* 'heaven'. This may be due to the association of these words with the language of the liturgy and so could be explained as due to the influence of literary Syriac.

Note also the preservation of the geminated */m/* in the numeral *xammәš* 'five' (f.) < **ḥammәš*.

3.3.2. *Gemination after Stressed Short Vowels*

Gemination has developed in a number of cases after a stressed syllable containing a short vowel that has become open due to the elision of a consonant at the beginning of the next syllable. In some words where the vowel in question is */ə/* or */u/* the gemination regularly occurs, e.g.

dә́mme	'tears'	< **dә́me* < **dəmʿē*
pә́qqa	'split'	< **pә́qa* < **pəqʿā*
qә́ṭṭa	'piece'	< **qә́ṭa* < **qəṭʿā*
xúwwe	'snake'	< **xŭwe* < **xuwyā*

In words contaning the low vowel */a/*, such secondary gemination does not occur regularly and in most words is in free variation with forms without it, e.g.

tắra ~ *tárra*	'doors'	< **tarʿā*
mắra ~ *márra*	'illness'	< **marʿā*

The gemination is stable, however, after an */a/* vowel in the numeral 'seven':

šáwwa	'seven'	< **šăwa* < **šaḇʿā*

We may include here perhaps the demonstrative pronouns *ʾáwwa* 'this' (m.) and *ʾáyya* 'this' (f.) and the adverbial *támma* 'here', in which gemination is

a stable feature. It may have developed secondarily by a similar process due to the elision of a laryngal:

ʾáwwa	'this' (m.)	< **ʾăwa* < **ʾawhā*
ʾáyya	'this' (f.)	< **ʾăya* < **ʾayhā*
támma	'here'	< **tăma* < **támhā*

Another exceptional form is the word *ʾaxxa* 'here' < **ʾāxā* and its variant *láxxa* 'here' < **l-āxā*, in which the gemination appears to have developed on account of the incidence of stress in the preceding syllable, despite the fact that the vowel was originally long.

3.3.3. *Gemination in the Environment of Epenthetic Vowels*

A similar type of secondary gemination has developed after a stressed short epenthetic */ə/* in nouns and particles, where it is a fixed feature of the word, e.g.

də́mma	'blood'	< **də́ma*	< **dmā*
šə́mma	'name'	< **šə́ma*	< **šmā*
ṭə́ḷḷəθ	'three' (f.)	< **ṭə́ḷəθ*	< **ṭḷāθ*

Such gemination is also heard after stressed epenthetics in some verbal forms, though it is not stable and occurs in free variation with forms without the gemination, e.g.

măláppa ~ *măláppa*	'she teaches'
mzăwə́ggi ~ *mzăwə́ggi*	'they pair together'
muryə́za ~ *muryə́zza*	'standing in a row'

A geminated consonant after an unstressed */ə/* syllable in some nominal patterns may have developed secondarily after the insertion of an epenthetic either before it or after it, e.g.

dəqqə́nθa	'chin'	< **dəqənθa* < **dəqnθa* < m. *dəqna*
šəddə́lta	'lullaby'	< **šədəlta* < **šədlta* < pl. *šədle*
xəmmə́rta	'bead'	< **xəmərta* < **xəmrta* < pl. *xəmre*
ləxxə́wa	'bridle'	< **lə́gāwā* < **lgāmā*

The gemination in the word *ʾə́mma* 'hundred' may have developed due to stress falling on a prosthetic vowel: *ʾə́mma* < **má* (cf. Syr. *mā*). It is more likely, however, that it developed originally in compound forms such as *xamšá-mma* 'five hundred' due to the incidence of stress on the last syllable of the first numeral. After the development of gemination in such compounds, the word for 'hundred' was reanalysed as *ʾəmma*.

3.3.4. *Gemination Resulting from Elision*

Gemination has developed in some words due to the elision of a vowel between two syllables with the same consonant at their onset, e.g.

qúppe	'brooding hen'	cf. Syr. *quppāp̄ā*
mássa	'ox goad'	cf. Syr. *massāsā*, C. Qaraqosh *masasa*

3.3.5. *Gemination in Kurdish Loanwords*

Kurdish loanwords that end in a consonant after a short vowel often have their final consonant geminated after the addition of an Aramaic inflectional vowel, e.g.

šákka	'male sheep (2–3 years old)'	< Kurd. şek
pálle	'embers of wood'	< Kurd. pel
gərsákka	'wild pear'	< Kurd. girsik
k̂awə́lla	'ruin'	< Kurd. kavil

In Kurdish loanwords */r/* is regularly geminated by this process when it is a reflex of the Kurdish trilled *r̄*, e.g.

k̂arra	'deaf'	< Kurd. keř
šarre	'war'	< Kurd. šeř
garra	'pool'	< Kurd. geř
parra	'feather'	< Kurd. peř
k̂avərra	'young male sheep'	< Kurd. kavir̄

It does not always take place, however, when it is a reflex of the non-trilled Kurdish *r*, e.g.

gəra	'hill'	< Kurd. gir

3.3.6. *Gemination Resulting from Assimilation*

Gemination has sometimes resulted from the assimilation of consonants in affixes. This occurs, for example, when the */l/* of pronominal suffixes is assimilated in certain contexts. This gemination takes place irrespective of the quality of the preceding vowel, e.g.

qaṭlánne	'I (m.) kill him'	< **qaṭlən* + *le*
qaṭlánne	'I (f.) kill him'	< **qaṭlan* + *le*
twínne	'He went numb'	< **twin* + *le*
mšadárre	'He sends it'	< **mšadər* + *le*
xírre	'He looked'	< **xir* +*le*

Gemination that resulted as a result of assimilations within the interior of words at an earlier historical period has now mostly been weakened, e.g.

mðita	'town'	< **mðīttā*	< **mðīntā*
šeta	'year'	< **šattā*	< **šantā*

CHAPTER FOUR

SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

4.1. Syllabic Patterns

The following types of syllable pattern are found:

CV	***bɛ***.*θa*	'house'
CCV	***smo***.*qa*	'red'
CVC	*pa*.***θəx***	'he opens'
CCVC	***praq***.*ta*	'the end'

In principle, the laryngal */ʾ/* may stand at the onset of the syllables CV and CVC but not in other syllabic contexts, e.g.

/ʾ/	***ʾa***.*mər*	'he says'
	ʾaθ.*ṛa*	'land'

The only exceptions to this principle are the demonstrative pronouns *ʾăwaʾha* (ms.) and *ʾăyaʾha* (fs.) 'that far over there', the adverb *tămaʾha* 'far over there' and the negative exclamation *laʾ!* 'no!', which contain a syllable with */ʾ/* in its coda. These are intensive variants of forms with */a/* in an open syllable: *ʾăwáha* (ms.), *ʾăyáha* (fs.) 'that over there', *tămáha* 'over there', *la!* 'no!'. As has been remarked in §2.5.2., the secondary development of a laryngal must be reconstructed as occurring in other words of the language at some earlier historical period, e.g. *šeta* < **šaʾta* < **šattā* 'year'.

Similarly the occurrence of the laryngal */h/* is largely restricted to the onset of the syllables CV and CVC. It does, however, occasionally occur as the second consonant of the syllable onset cluster CC-, e.g.

/h/	***ha***.*diya*	'now'
	har.*nuwa*	'rabbit'
	mha.*yər*	'he helps'

In a few forms metathesis has taken place that removes the */h/* from the coda of a syllable and thus preserves it from elision, e.g.

harwa	'she speaks'	< **rahwa*
dawha	'gold'	< **dahwa*

A syllable does not have a vowel as its onset but always begins with at least the laryngal /ʾ/, e.g. *ʾá.na* 'I', *ʾá.ti* 'you', *ʾi.lána* 'tree'. This is demonstrated by the fact that two vowel syllable nuclei cannot follow one another within a word without an intervening consonant, e.g. *šmaʾa* 'to hear' (not *šmaa*) < **šmāʿā*, *mašmoye* 'to listen' (not *mašmoe*) < *mašmōʿē*. This justifies the transcription of word initial syllables with /ʾ/ before the vowel. In some NENA dialects, such as the Jewish dialects of Iran, two vowel nuclei can follow one another within a word without an intervening laryngal or glide, e.g. J. Urmi *hudaa* 'Jew', *mašmoe* 'to make hear'. In such a dialect, the transcription of word initial syllables with a vowel onset is justifiable, e.g. *ana* 'I', *ilana* 'tree'.

In some circumstances a vowel is augmented by splitting it into two syllable nuclei by a laryngal /ʾ/ rather than simply increasing its duration. This is found especially in the numerals *xa* 'one' > *xáʾa* and *tre* 'two' > *tréʾe*. It is sporadically heard also elsewhere, e.g. *kmέle?* 'How much is it?' > *kmέʾɛle?*

4.2. Word Initial Clusters of Consonants

Clusters of two consonants often occur at the beginning of a word.

The cluster is sometimes pronounced without being broken by an epenthetic vowel. This is generally the case if the first consonant is a sibilant and/or the second is a sonorant continuant such as /l/ or /y/, e.g. *štèla* 'they drank' (A32:25), *ṣlígən* 'Go down!' (A26:46), *xlùla* 'wedding' (A32:25), *plìṭɛle* 'He went out' (A26:53), *pyášɛla* 'It is remaining' (A26:91).

Initial clusters are often broken by pronouncing an ultra-short epenthetic vowel between them, which is not represented in the transcription, e.g. *mšuréla* [mˀʃuˑˈɾeːlæ] 'She began' (A4:6), *kpìnne* [ˈkˀpinːe] 'He became hungry' (A14:24), *qṭilálən* [qˀṭiːˈlələn] gànən 'We killed ourselves' (A26:16), *pqíle* [pˀˈqiːle] 'It split' (A12:45). This splitting of an initial cluster by an epenthetic vowel is a permanent feature of several words that are historically monosyllabic. The epenthesis is exploited to augment the word to two syllables. Secondary gemination develops after the inserted vowel (§3.3.3.), e.g.

də́mma	'blood'	< **də́ma* < **dmā*

This type of augmentation of syllables is mainly restricted to nouns. Monosyllabic words with initial clusters are widely tolerated in other categories of word such as particles, e.g. *ṭla* 'to', and imperative verbal forms, e.g. *šqul!* 'Take!', *xzi!* 'See!'.

Another way in which the cluster is broken is by prefixing a prosthetic vowel, which generally has the central quality of */ə/*. This also is not marked in the transcription, e.g. *mjárbu* [ˀəmˈʤɛɾbu] 'Try!' (A8:32), *smèleˈ* [ˀəsˈmeːle] 'He became blind' (A24:1), *bnòniˈ* [ˀəbˈnoːni] 'my sons' (A24:2), *rwèle* [ˀərˈweˑle] 'He became drunk' (A17:26), *b-lɛ̀le* [ˀəbˈlɛːle] 'at night' (A26:3). The prefixing of a prosthetic vowel is a permanent feature of several words that are historically monosyllabic. The prosthesis is exploited to augment the word to two syllables. These prosthetic vowels, which bear the stress, are represented in the transcription, e.g.

ˀə́rxe	'water-mill'	< **rxe* < **raḥyā*
ˀə́šta	'six' (m.)	< **štā*
ˀə́ltəx	'below'	< **l-tēx*

Occasionally the stress is moved onto a prosthetic syllable also in other words. In such cases the stressed prosthetic syllable is indicated in the transcription, e.g. *ˀəġðaðe* (A26:1).

An initial */w/* in clusters generally shifts to *ˀu-*, which arises by the contraction of the */w/* with a prosthetic vowel: *ˀu* < **ˀuw*. This is the normal realization of the conjunctive particle *w-* before a consonant, e.g. *ˀu-rìqle* 'and he ran' (A31:8), *ˀu-mbašlə̂xla* 'and we shall cook them' (A32:2), *ˀu-ṣlèla* 'and she went down' (A32:32).

In some cases a word initial cluster may be broken by eliding the first consonant completely. This is not a blind phonetic process that operates on all clusters, but tends to be restricted to word initial inflectional prefixes. The initial */m/* of stem II and quadriliteral verbal forms is frequently omitted by this process, e.g.

šúrela	'She began' (A1:3)	< *mšurela*
barbə̀rwa	'He was bleating' (A34:23)	< *mbarbərwa*
ṗuṛmèlux?	'Have you understood?' (A24:18)	< *mṗuṛmelux*

Also elided on some occasions are vowelless particles, especially *b-* and the subordinating particle *D* on words bearing the nuclear stress, e.g.

(1) *čù-ʾurxa* (< *b-ču-ʾurxa*) 'in no way' (A11:16)
(2) *ʾína ʾən-háwe ṭḷà ʾaqláθaˡ* (< *b-ṭḷa*) 'If it is with three legs' (A22:3)
(3) *pθíxla tắra qðìlaˡ* (< *b-qðila*) 'She opened the door with a key' (A18:3)
(4) *mádam bráti wéla pəlxànaˡ* (<*b-pəlxana*) 'If my daughter has been at work' (A21:32)
(5) *ða-kértə qésa* (< *kɛrtə t-qɛsa*) 'a bundle of wood' (A10:6)
(6) *ʾotáxə gàwṛəx* (< *ʾotáxə t-gàwṛəx*) 'the room of your husband' (A10:13)
(7) *ʾénə mīya* (< *ʾénə t-mīya*) 'the spring of water' (A11:17)

In some cases the initial syllable of a cluster at the beginning of particle is elided, e.g.

(8) *ma-t-wéwa gòṛaˡ* (< *kma-t-wewa*) 'so big was he' (A29:3)

When a word beginning with a cluster is closely connected to a preceding word that ends in a vowel, the first consonant of the cluster is sometimes syllabified with the preceding vowel. There is a particular tendency for this to occur when the initial consonant is a prefixed particle, e.g.

(9) *képa qítle b-gàwzaˡ* [ˈqit.le b.ˈgɑw.zæ] 'The stone has hit the walnut tree' (A1:5)
(10) *hóla jnána b-dargùštaˡ* [ˈʤnæɪ.næ b.dærˈgʊʃ.tæ] 'She was singing a dirge over the cradle' (A38:6)
(11) *mṭéla l-dărajyàθaˡ* [ˈmṭeɪ.læ l.dæ.ræʤ.ˈjæɪ.θæ] 'They reached the steps' (A40:12)
(12) *zílla l-bɛθèyˡ* [ˈzil.læ l.bɛɪ.ˈθej] 'They went to their home' (A18:31)

This frequently occurs with the subordinating particle *D* and it is written with the preceding word in the transcription. The particle is generally realized as a voiceless *t* in this context before a voiceless consonant and sometimes also before one that is voiced. This can be regarded as its default realization and the transcription has been normalized with /*t*/, e.g.

(13) *tắrət béθa* (< *tăra d-bɛθa*) 'the door of the house' (A26:10)
(14) *ṣoṣiyáθət Ƶìneˡ* (< *ṣoṣiyaθa d-Ƶine*) 'the tresses of Zine' (A26:50)
(15) *gu-réšət ṭùraˡ* (< *gu-reša d-ṭura*) 'the top of the mountain' (A26:22)
(16) *ʾánna waríðət qðàle* (< *wariðe d-qðale*) 'these veins of his neck' (A26:81)

(17) *ku-nášət ʾàwər* (< *naša d-ʾawər*) 'Every person who enters' (A14:50)
(18) *kú-dukθət xazìtu*ˡ *qaṭlìtula!*ˡ (< *dukθa d-xazitu*) 'Everywhere that you find (them), kill them' (A14:57)
(19) *ʾa-dánət mɛ́θeti qàwa*ˡ (< *ʾa-dana d-mɛθeti*) 'at the time that you bring coffee' (A29:46)

The conjunctive particle *w* is frequently syllabified with the preceding word, e.g.

(20) *zmára-w rqáða* 'singing and dancing' (A13:11)
(21) *sépa-w qə́šta-w gèra*ˡ 'a sword and a bow and an arrow' (A13:44)
(22) *xíšla-w xìšla-w xìšla*ˡ 'he went and went and went' (A14:38)

When a word begins with an open syllable containing a short vowel, the short vowel is occasionally elided and the initial consonant is syllabified with the final vowel of the preceding word. In such cases the transcription is normalized and does not reflect this restructuring, e.g.

(23) *ʾan-heywáne hóla tămàha.*ˡ [ˡhoː.læ t.ˡmæːhæ] 'The animals are over there' (A27:4)

4.3. Word Internal Clusters of Consonants

The sequence *VCCCV* in word internal position is found in certain inflections of stem III and quadriliteral verbs. It may be syllabified *VCC.CV* or *VC.CCV*. An epenthetic vowel is usually inserted between the *CC* cluster in the coda of *VCC* or the onset of *CCV*. This epenthetic bears the stress if it is in penultimate position, e.g.

mapə́l.xa ~ map.lə́xa	'She uses'	< *maplxa*
mkanə́k.ša ~ mkan.kə́ša	'She drags'	< *mkankša*
mašə́m.ya ~ maš.mə́ya	'She listens'	< *mašmya*

Occasionally a *VC.CCV* syllabification has no epenthetic in the onset of the *CCV* syllable. This is found where the first consonant of this syllable is a sibilant and/or the second is a sonorant continuant, e.g.

mqáž.drət	'You interfere'
mún.šya	'forgotten'

If the last two consonants in the sequence *VCCCV* are identical, these are obligatorily split by an epenthetic. A stressed epenthetic may also be inserted between the first two consonants, by analogy with the syllabification pattern *mapə́l.xa* of other verbs. This results in the two alternate syllabifications *VCə́.Cə.CV* ~ *VC.Cə́CV*, e.g.

mapə́.rəra ~ *map.rə́ra*	'She widens' < *maprra*

In some stem III verbs in which a weak radical has been elided the word internal sequence *VCCV* is optionally split by an epenthetic vowel. There seems no phonotactic reason for this, since the *CC* sequence is not clustering at the coda or onset of a syllable. Such a pattern of syllabification has apparently developed by analogy with the syllabification of *VCCCV* in strong verbs, e.g.

mámði ~ *mămə́ði*	'They baptize'
máčya ~ *măčə́ya*	'She smoothes'

In a similar manner, a word internal sequence *VCCV* is optionally split by an epenthetic vowel also in some stem II verbs. Again this is likely to have arisen by analogy with the syllabification of strong stem III and quadriliteral verbs. It is found mainly in verbs with weak radicals, e.g.

mnawli ~ *mnăwə́li*	'She shoes'
mqawla ~ *mqăwə́la*	'She promises'
mšɛna ~ *mšăyə́na*	'She becomes tame'
mšarya ~ *mšărə́ya*	'She begins'

In stem II verbs where the cluster *VCCV* contains two identical consonants the insertion of the epenthetic vowel between them is obligatory, as is the case with stem III forms with identical second and third radicals such as *mapə́rəra* ~ *maprə́ra* 'she widens', e.g.

mtămə́ma	'She completes'

In stem I verbs, by contrast, the sequence of identical second and third radicals without an intervening vowel is permissible. The explanation may be that the stem I verbs are in the process of being reanalysed as middle weak verbs involving the collapsing together of the final two consonants.

In the stem II and stem III, on the other hand, there is a greater effort to keep the two radicals distinct. Indeed, some stem I verbs with identical second and third radicals have alternative middle /*y*/ inflections where the two radicals are in contact, e.g. *jnn* 'to sing a dirge':

janna (*jnn*) ~ *jɛna* (*jyn*) 'She sings a dirge'

4.4. The Elision of Laryngals

As has been shown in §1.4.2.2, §1.4.2.4., a historical laryngal *ʾ is elided when in contact with another consonant, e.g.

pala	'worker'	< **paʾla* < **pāʿlā*
tăra	'door'	< **taʳʾa* < **taʳʿā*

The form *tăra* must have undergone resyllabification on account of the aforementioned principle of not having a vowel as a syllable onset, i.e. **taʳ.ʾa* > *tă.ra*. The shortness of the vowel in the first syllable must be regarded as a fossilized vestige of the period when the syllable was closed, indicating that vowel lengthening is not always in step with changes in syllable structure.

A laryngal /*ʾ*/ between vowels is sometimes elided. This is attested between two /*a*/ vowels, which coalesce into one vowel nucleus. If it is stressed, this vowel is pronounced long, even if in word final position, where according to the normal rules of vowel length it would generally be expected to be short, at least when in the middle of an intonation group (§2.2.1.2.). As far as vowel lengthening is concerned, it is treated as if it were still in an open non-final syllable. Since this type of contraction does not regularly occur it is treated as an allegro form and not represented in the transcription, e.g. *hóle zdáʾa* [ˈzdæː] 'he is afraid'.

The laryngal /ʾ/ at the beginning of a word is often elided when a vowelless particle is prefixed to it, e.g.

(1) *b-áyya dúkθa* (< *b-ʾayya*) 'in this place' (A13:6)
(2) *b-áwwa dúša* (< *b-ʾawwa*) 'with this honey' (A14:15)
(3) *w-ána šaqlə̀nna* (< *w-ʾana*) 'and I shall take it' (A14:52)
(4) *w-ánna* (< *w-ʾanna*) 'and they' (A29:50)
(5) *m-áxxa l-tămàha* (< *m-ʾaxxa*) 'from here to there' (A13:11)

The subordinating particle *D* is devoiced in some cases. This devoicing is not a blind phonetic process but is conditioned by the grammatical category of the word to which the particle is prefixed. In principle the devoicing takes place only when the word is a verb or a copula. The devoicing results in an unaspirated /t̰/, e.g.

(6) *ʾáwwa dúxa t̰-íle* (< *d-ʾile*) *prìma*ˡ 'the sacrifice that has been slaughtered' (B5:71)
(7) *ʾáyya bráta šapìrtə t̰-íla* (< *d-ʾila*) *dmíxta kəsliˡ* 'this beautiful girl who slept with me' (A26:6)
(8) *qáša ʾu-šamáše t̰-íwa* (< *d-ʾiwa*) *tàma*ˡ 'the priest and the deacons who were there' (B5:45)
(9) *ʾáw ʾakàra*ˡ *t̰-íθwale pθánət tàwre*ˡ 'the farmer who had the pair of oxen' (B5:74)
(10) *bə̆́yən t̰-àzən*ˡ (< *d-ʾazən*) 'I want to go' (A8:65)
(11) *la-ṣábrəx t̰-òrəx*ˡ (< *d-ʾorəx*) 'We do not dare enter' (A14:40)

The lack of aspiration of the unvoiced particle in these words is marked in the transcription since it may contrast phonemically with the usual aspirated /*t*/ before a vowel, as shown by minimal pairs such as:

t̰-aza	'that she goes'	:	*taza*	'beautiful'
t̰-awra	'that she enters'	:	*tawra*	'bull'
t̰-arya	'that it rains'	:	*tarya*	'it becomes wet'
t̰-iwa	'who was'	:	*tiwa*	'sitting'

When the word is a demonstrative or the interrogative pronoun *ʾɛni*, it remains in its voiced form *d-*:

(12) *rəš-kúlla d-áni* (< *d-ʾani*) 'above all of them' (A25:22)
(13) *lɛ́wət d-áwwa* (< *d-ʾawwa*) *ʾàθṛa*ˡ 'you are not from this country' (A25:82)
(14) *xóna d-o-málka* (< *d-ʾo*) 'the brother of the king' (A25:1)
(15) *bábə d-á-brata* (< *d-ʾa-*) 'the father of the girl' (A29:35)
(16) *yíwtəlle ta-d-án* (< *d-ʾan*) *xulàme*ˡ 'She gave it to the servants' (A28:26)
(17) *gu-d-ɛ́ni* (< *d-ʾɛni*) *mðíta xə̆́ye?*ˡ 'In which town does he live in?' (A28:23)
(18) *ʾu-yaláxta d-ɛ̀nila?*ˡ (< *d-ʾɛnila*) 'and whose handkerchief is it?' (A26:12)

On account of this variation in the phonetic realization of the particle it will be convenient to refer to it as *D*, which should be understood as an abstract representation including both the voiced and unvoiced realizations.

Occasionally a *b-* particle is devoiced to *p-* when the following laryngal is elided. This is restricted to a few fixed expressions where the consonant after the vowel is unvoiced, e.g.

(19) *p-àqla* (< *b-ʾaqla*) 'on foot' (B5:37)
(20) *hóla p-ápe šawrwà yamáθaˈ* (< *b-ʾape*) 'They are beyond seven seas' (A12:21)

The elision of the laryngal /ʾ/ sometimes occurs also when a word with its own vowel nucleus is combined in a stress group with a word beginning with /ʾ/, e.g.

(21) *mən-an-məndiyàneˈ* (< *mən-ʾan*) 'some of those things' (A32:2)
(22) *qəm-axə́lle* 'he ate it' (A31:5)

In such cases the final consonant of the preceding word is syllabified with the beginning of the word that has lost the /ʾ/, since a syllable cannot begin with a vowel. This resyllabification does not result in any change in vowel length, just as the vowel in words such as *tăra* (< **tarʾa* < **tarʿā*) remains short. It has, however, sometimes motivated the lengthening of the final consonant, allowing it to act as onset of the following syllable while remaining also the coda of the preceding one. This lengthening is not marked in the transcription:

(23) *qəm-axlíla* [qəm.mæx.ˈliː.læ] (< *qəm-ʾaxlila*) 'They ate them' (A23:35)
(24) *qam-énux* [qæm.mˈɛː.nʊx] (< *qam-ʾɛnux*) 'before your eyes' (A15:15)
(25) *ta-t̂-axlíwale* [tæt.tæx.ˈliː.wæˠ.le] 'in order to eat it' (A14:68)

An initial /ʾ/ is sometimes elided also when a preceding stressed word ends in a consonant and the vowel forms a syllable with this consonant across the word boundary. In such cases the elision of the /ʾ/ is not represented in the transcription, e.g.

(26) *fə́llən ʾàtiˈ* [ˈfəllən ˈæːtiː] 'you so-and-so' (B5:9)
(27) *qémən ʾàzənˈ* [ˈqɛmən ˈæːzən] (A1:4)
(28) *də-šqúl ʾanna-zùze.ˈ* [də-ˈʃqʊl ænːæ-ˈzuːze] (A1:27)

The elision of the */ʾ/* is not obligatory in any of these contexts and in many cases it is retained, e.g.

(29) *mən-ʾəsrí dináre* [mən-ʾəsˈri] 'from twenty dinars' (B5:8)
(30) *bas-ʾíθwa* [bæs-ˈʔiθwɑ] 'but there was' (A8:2)
(31) *ʾán ʾamrə̀nnux*ˈ [ˈʔən ʾæmˈrɪnnʊx] 'If I tell you' (A1:12)
(32) *muθélux ʾánna zúze*ˈ [muˑˈθɛːlʊx ˈʔænnæ] 'You have brought these coins' (A1:27)

The laryngal also occurs sometimes after vowelless particles, but in such cases the particle does not cluster with the laryngal in the onset of the syllable, since the sequence */C'/* is not permissible as a syllable onset. Rather it is syllabified with the preceding word or the cluster is broken by a prosthetic or epenthetic vowel, e.g.

(33) *báxte díye láwa píšta b-ʾùrxa*ˈ [ˈpiʃ.tæb. ˈʔʊrxæ] 'His wife was not on the way (to having a child)' (A8:4)
(34) *qímela mšoxálpe b-ʾisəqyàθa*ˈ [mʃoː.ˈxəl.pɔb.ʾiː.səq.ˈjæː.θæ] 'They exchanged rings' (A26:7)
(35) *ta-t̂-áxlən b-ʾùrxa*ˈ [ʾəb.-ˈʔʊrxæ] 'so that I could eat (it) on the way' (A23:8)

Resyllabification does not take place across intonation group boundaries, so at the beginning of an intonation group such a cluster is always broken by a prosthetic or epenthetic vowel, e.g.

(36) *móra dʾùs*ˈ *bábi.*ˈ *b-ʾùrxa*ˈ [ʾəb.ˈʔʊɾ.xæ] *lát-xila xa-láxma-w xa-bèta.?*ˈ 'She said "(He's) right, father. On the way did you not eat a loaf of bread and an egg?"' (A17:15)

A laryngal */h/* within the interior of a word is sometimes elided. This is attested between two */a/* vowels, which coalesce into one vowel nucleus. If it is stressed, this vowel is pronounced long, even if in word final position, where according to the normal rules of vowel length it would generally be expected to be short, at least when in the middle of an intonation group (§2.2.1.2.). As far as vowel lengthening is concerned it is treated as if it were still in an open non-final syllable.

(37) *tămàha*ˈ [tæˈmæː] 'over there' (A2:5)
(38) *ʾăwáha* [ʾɑˈwɑː] 'that one over there' (A27:5)
(39) *b-álaha* [ˈbæːlæ] 'by God' (A1:5)

It also takes place in fast speech when in contact with a preceding consonant, e.g.

(40) *múrra tóti t̂-áθya mhɛ̀ràli*ˡ [mɛˡʗæːli] 'Tell my grandmother to come and help me' (A7:25)

Since these two aforementioned types of elision of */h/* do not take place regularly they are not marked in the transcription.

A laryngal */h/* is elided at the beginning of a word after a vowelless prefixed particle in some cases. This is regularly the case with the verb *hwy* 'to be', e.g. *y-áwe* 'he is' (< *ʾi-hawe*), *t̂-awe* 'he will be' (< *bəd-hawe*). Note the contraction and devoicing of the future particle.

It is occasionally elided when the previous word ends in a consonant. As with the elision of */ʾ/* in such a context, this is not marked in the transcription, e.g.

(41) *xáčča xéna biš-hódəx* [bi.ˡʃoːdəx] 'a little further on' (A7:22)
(42) *hā́l qə́ṣṣat hàtxɛla*ˡ [ˡqəṣ.ṣəˑtæt.xɛlæ] 'The situation is like this' (A24:32)

The sequence *CV* + *ʾV* sometimes contracts to *CV* at the juncture between words. For the sake of orthographic consistency, this contraction is not represented in the transcription. It occurs both where the two vowels are the same and also where they are different qualities.

(i) Contraction of two vowels of the same quality.

This is attested particularly frequently in the text corpus when the vowels have the quality of */a/*, e.g.

(43) *qímɛle mkúpšəlla kúlla ʾànna*ˡ [ˡkʊl.ˡlæn.næ] 'He gathered them all up' (A7:5)
(44) *kúlla-ʾani* [ˡkʊl.læːni] *qəm-qaṭlìla*ˡ 'They killed all of them' (A13:9)
(45) *mɛyə́nna ʾay-bàxta*ˡ [mɛʳjɪn.n æj.-ˡbæx.tæ] 'I shall bring that woman' (A4:9)
(46) *dìṛtɛla ʾáy*ˡ [ˡdiṛ.tɛ.læj] 'She returned' (A24:50)
(47) *xa-bəṛ-náša xéna lá-ʾamaṣ* [ˡlæːˑ-ṃəṣ] *xáya tàma*ˡ 'Another person cannot live there' (A8:48)
(48) *ʾé-ga ʾana-mèθən.*ˡ [ˡʾɛːˑ-gæːˑnæ] 'when I die' (A12:41)
(49) *ʾána mò-ʾoðən.*ʔˡ [ˡmoːˑðən] 'What should I do?' (A23:23)

(ii) Vowels of different quality

In general the final vowel of the first word tends to be elided if it is an unstressed */e/* or */a/*, e.g.

(50) *mpìlle-ʾăra* [ʾəm.ˈpil.læ.ɾæ] *gáwza*ˈ 'The walnut has fallen on the ground' (A1:5)
(51) *čŕkəlle ʾaw-bèθa*ˈ [ˈʧriː.kəl.l æw.ˈbɛːθæ] 'They surrounded that house' (A4:53)
(52) *hadíya măṛəššánne ʾáwwa* [mæ.ɻə.ˈʃæn.ˈnɑw.wɑ] *ʿafŕt qaṭəllɛxu*ˈ 'Now I shall wake this demon and he will kill you' (A13:12)
(53) *ʾítle ʾárbi* [ˈʾit.ˈl æɾ.bi] *bnàθa*ˈ 'He has forty daughters' (A12:2)
(54) *ʾarbí-ʾotaxe ʾìθwaləx*ˈ [ʾoˑ.tɑˑˈx.iθ.wɑˑ.ləx] 'You had forty rooms' (A24:34)
(55) *ʾána wáðən*ˈ *be-baxtùθa ʾállux*ˈ [beˑ.-bæxˈtuː.θ əl.lʊx] 'I am performing treachery against you' (A13:8)
(56) *muxzélux ʾáwwa xăzìna-ʾəlli*ˈ [xæ.ˈziː.n əl.li] 'You showed this treasure to me' (A14:23)
(57) *b-àyya ʾúrxa*ˈ [ˈbæj.ˈj ʊɾ.xæ] 'in this way' (A9:4)
(58) *támməl ʾana-ʾəθyən*ˈ [ʾæˑ.ˈnɪθ.jɪn] 'I came yesterday' (A12:66)

Unstressed */i/*, */u/* and */o/* at the end of the first word, on the other hand, tend to be preserved, e.g.

(59) *ʾáti ʾən-yawállux* [ˈʾæː.ti n-] *ðà-tawərta*ˈ 'If he gives you a cow' (A3:4)
(60) *ʾáp-ʾati ʾəθyət*ˈ [ˈʾæp-ʾæː.ˈti θ.yət] 'You also came' (A2:9)
(61) *šárṭən gu-ʾiθáθə* [gu.-ˈθæː.θə] *d-áwwa nàša*ˈ 'I shall escape from the hands of this man' (A31:30)

If the final vowel of the first word is stressed, it is generally the one that is retained after the contraction irrespective of its quality, e.g.

(62) *kút-yum xá ʾərbe-díye* [ˈxæ ɾ.be] *talàqwa*ˈ 'Every day a sheep of his was lost' (A10:1)
(63) *mò-ʾawəð* [ˈmoː.-wəð] *b-gʸáneʔ*ˈ 'What should he do with himself?' (A30:28)

In a few cases the */ʾ/* in the sequence *CV* + *ʾV* is replaced by a glide consonant when the two vowels are of a different quality, e.g.

(64) *mo-ʾìbaʔ*ˈ [moː.ˈjiː.bæ] 'What is in it?' (A13:1)

The sequence *CV + hV*, with the laryngal */h/*, is sometimes contracted to *CV* across a word boundary. This contraction is not marked in the transcription, e.g.

(65) *ʾána háwən* [ˈʾæɪ.ˈnæɪ.wən] *Gozàli*ˈ 'I should be Gozali' (A8:55)
(66) *ʾána mo-hoyàliʔ*ˈ [moɪ.ˈjæɪ.li] 'What could she be to me?' (A32:12)
(67) *lá-hawət* [ˈlæɪ.wət] *šeðàna*ˈ 'Don't be mad' (A10:8)

4.5. Other Contractions and Elisions

Various other contractions of syllables take place in natural fast speech. These can be categorized as follows:

4.5.1. *Syllables Beginning with Identical Consonants*

In a sequence of two syllables beginning with the same consonant, the first is sometimes elided. This generally takes place where the first consonant is preceded by a vowel and the second occurrence of the consonant is geminate thus:

VCVCCV > VCCV

Such contractions occur mainly in the endings of verbal forms with pronominal suffixes. It regularly takes placed when a pronominal object L-suffix is bonded to a compound verbal form ending in a 3rd person copula:

qṭíləlle	'He has killed him'	< *qṭílɛle + lle*
grášəlle	'He is pulling him'	< *grášɛle + lle*

Since the contraction in this context is the norm, it is represented in the transcription. The endings of 3rd person compound verbal forms with pronominal suffixes are sometimes contracted further in verbs whose third radical is */l/*, e.g.

(1) *xìləlle*ˈ [ˈxiːlːle] 'They ate him' (A14:22)
(2) *šqíləlla* [ˈʃqiːlːæ] *ʾálpa dàwe*ˈ 'He took the thousand gold pieces' (A1:15)
(3) *ʾáp-xa lá-θele šqàləlle* [ˈʃqæːlːe] 'Nobody came to buy it' (A22:9)

(4) *ʾa-sústət yamàθaˡ nabòləllaˡ* [næːboːlːæ] *Čəlkǎzeˡ* 'The mare of the seas is taking away Čəlkăze' (A12:34)

The stressed vowel in these contracted forms remains long, as if it were still in an open syllable. The contracted compound past forms with suffixes are, therefore, distinguished from the non-compound past forms only by the length of the vowel:

šqílle [ˡʃqilːe]	'He took'
šqíləlle [ˡʃqiːlːe]	'He has taken it'

Since, however, this type of contraction does not regularly take place, it is treated as an allomorph of the normal uncontracted form and is not represented in the transcription.

A syllabic contraction of the type *VCVCCV* > *VCCV* occasionally occurs when the 1st person singular verbal inflection *-ən* follows an */n/* that belongs to the verbal root, e.g.

(5) *hálli banənni* [bæːnːi] *xa-bέθa*ˡ 'Let me build myself a house' (A11:10)
(6) *hadíya mtánənnux* [ˡmtæːnːʊx] *ða-qəṣṣətta*ˡ 'Now I shall tell you a story' (A45:1)

4.5.2. *Elision of* /l/

The articulation of the consonant */l/* occurring after a vowel in the copula or L-suffixes attached to a verb is occasionally weakened in the speech of a number of informants and is elided outside the contexts described in §4.4.1. If the vowels on either side of the */l/* are homorganic or closely related they coalesce into a single vowel, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-twírwala* [ˡtwiːɾwɑ] *tə́rna* 'If both have broken' (B5:59)
(2) *ʾíθwalan* [ˡʾiˑθwɑn] 'we had' (B5:206)
(3) *θéle* [ˡθeː] 'He came' (A34:5)
(4) *qəm-daryála* [qəm-dəɾˡjæː] 'She has put it' (A34:6)
(5) *léðəx ʾèkɛla* [ʾɛːkɛ] 'We do not know where she is' (A34:7)
(6) *ʾu-zeðáye šwíqile* [ˡʃwiːqi] 'He left the flat breads' (A30:12)

If the two adjacent vowels are not homorganic the elided */l/* is replaced by a glide, e.g.

(7) *mòdila* [ˈmoːdijæ] 'What is it?' (A4:14)
(8) *t̂-íla* [ˈt-iːjæ] *tàma* 'which are there' (A14:70)
(9) *hóle* [ˈhoːje] 'behold him' (A10:3)

More rarely a radical consonant */l/* is weakened, e.g.

(10) *kʸɛlánna* [kʸɛˈjɪnnæ] *zùziˈ* 'I shall measure my money' (A32:8)

It may even be elided after a consonant, resulting in the opening of a closed syllable. The vowel of the syllable remains short as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g.

(11) *mpatlìleˈ* [mpæˈtiˑle] 'They span it' (B10:79)

This weakening and elision of */l/*, which is a sporadic phenomenon and is not general to the speech of all informants, is not represented in the transcription.

4.5.3. *Intervocalic* /y/

The glide */y/* between vowels is sometimes elided and the two adjacent syllable nuclei coalesce. This occurs in some cases in the infinitive of final */y/* verbs when used in compound verbal forms. As with the contractions described in §4.4.1. above, the vowel remains long even when this results in being in a closed syllable, e.g.

(1) *bábi hòleˈ xzàyəllaˈ* [ˈxzæːlːæ] 'My father could see them' (B9:6)
(2) *ʾáw hox-šqálalle zdáyəlle* [ˈzdæːlːe] 'We take it and throw it away' (B9:21)
(3) *xzáyət* [ˈxzæːt] *ʾănáha naše-t̂-íla ráqa bàθri?ˈ* 'Do you see those people who are running after me?' (A7:17)
(4) *lán-ðaya* [ðæː] 'I do not know' (B5:10)
(5) *hé b-álaha hole-ràyaˈ* [hoˑ-ˈræː] 'Yes, by God, it is raining' (A34:5)
(6) *hóle šmíyəlla* [ˈʃmiːlːæ] *Rustằmoˈ* 'Rustam has heard it' (A29:11)

This contraction does not regularly take place in the constructions described above and is not represented in the transcription. Where it is the norm, however, it is represented in the transcription. This applies, for example, to negative expressions containing the verb 'to know', e.g.

léðən	'I do not know'	< **la yăðən*
míðən	'I do not know'	< **mo yăðən*

In the sequence */aye/*, */ayi/* and */ayə/* an unstressed */e/*, */i/* or */ə/* occasionally loses its status as a syllable nucleus and coalesces with the syllable marginal */y/*. This is not represented in the transcription, e.g.

(7) *kpíšela maymúne b-ʾalpàye*ˡ [bˈʾælˈpæːj] 'The monkeys gathered in thousands' (A14:53)
(8) *tərté-kθaye* [kθæj] 'two chickens' (A2:3)
(9) *rába bə́yewale* [ˈbæjwɑle] *ʾaw-bróna dìye*ˡ 'He loved that son of his a lot' (A8:2)
(10) *léle gnàyi* [gⁿˈnæːj] 'It is not my fault' (A23:23)
(11) *bróne díye páyəš* [ˈpæːjʃ] *šàwpe díye*ˡ 'His son will become (king) in his place' (A8:2)

4.5.4. *Elision of Word Final /ə/*

As has been described above (§4.2.), the particle *D* of annexation constructions is sometimes elided. The annexed noun is then left with a final */ə/* vowel, e.g. *ʾénə mìya* 'the spring of water' (A11:17). In some cases also the */ə/* is elided. As a result the preceding syllable, which was originally open, becomes closed. The vowel, however, retains its length as if it were still in an open syllable. The elision of the */ə/* in this context is represented in the transcription, e.g.

(1) *brōn-málka* 'the son of the king' (A14:43)
(2) *xāṣ-sùsux* 'the back of your donkey' (A14:67)
(3) *ʾɛ̄n-Nune* 'the Spring of Fishes (name of village)'

Sporadically a final */ə/* is elided in other contexts at the juncture of two words. Note, for example, the following:

(4) *ʾu-mbáqrən xàzən*ˡ [ˈmbæqər ˈxæːzən] 'I shall ask in order to find' (A24:4)

Here the final */n/* of *mbaqrən* has been elided, presumably due to its clustering with the initial consonant of the following word, by the process described in §4.2. The final */ə/* is then elided, resulting in a syllable

ending in a cluster, which is resolved by the insertion of an epenthetic: [mbæqrən] > [mbæqrə] > [mbæqər]. These types of sporadic contraction across word junctions are not represented in the transcription.

4.5.5. *Allegro Forms of the Past Copula*

Various contractions take place in the past enclitic copula in fast speech that are not represented in the transcription. These include the elision of the final *-wa* element in the 3rd person forms *-wewa* 'he was', *-wawa* 'she was' *-wɛwa* 'they were', e.g.

(1) *xzéle ʾékə t-wèwa*ˈ [ˈtweː] 'He saw where he was' (A14:92)
(2) *kúlla tunīθa*ˈ *d-ɛ-bráta qəm-mtanèla*ˈ…*ʾu-ʾèni-wewa* [ˈʾɛːniwe] *twírəlle réše díye*ˈ 'He narrated all the story of the girl…and who had broken his head' (A29:12)
(3) *ʾu-xa-mašmóye-wewa* [mæʃˈmoːjwe] *ʾəllèni lázəm*ˈ 'Somebody must have been listening to us' (A35:19)
(4) *reša-réša d-a-dudə̀kθa,*ˈ *t-wawa* [t-waː] *rəš-d-à-masta*ˈ 'across the pipe that was over the yoghurt' (A11:5)
(5) *ʾánna xákma náše gabbàre-wɛwa*ˈ [gæbˈbæɾewɛ] *xɛlàne*ˈ 'These were mighty heroic warriors' (A29:1)
(6) *ʾáni xá-yoma ṣ́ólye xyàpa-wɛwa*ˈ [ˈxjæːpawɛ] 'One day they went down to bathe' (A34:27)

On some occasions the initial */w/* of these clitic forms is elided after a consonant, e.g.

(7) *gu-d-ay šwíθa t-wewa-dmíxa* [ˈteːwɑ] *xònəx*ˈ 'In the bed in which your brother had slept' (A8:68)
(8) *ma-t-wéwa* [ˈteːwɑ] *mù̯yəlle*ˈ 'so much had he fortified it' (A11:16)
(9) *ʾímə t-wewa-mára* [t-eː-maːra] *ṭ́la-ʾÙmmo*ˈ 'when he was saying to ʾUmmo…' (A23:25)

4.5.6. *Miscellaneous Other Allegro Forms*

In fast speech one occcasionally hears various other contractions that are not included in the categories described above. None of these are represented in the transcription, e.g.

(1) *čɛ̆dátla* [ˈʧætːæ] *kúlla nášət màθa*ˈ ‘You should invite all the people of the village’ (A7:2)
(2) *bábi šqìlətle*ˈ [ˈʃqiːltle] ‘You have taken my father’ (A14:23)
(3) *yǎ̆ðət b-gànux*ˈ [ˈjəðt ˈgæːnʊx] ‘You know, by your soul’ (A1:11)

CHAPTER FIVE

WORD STRESS

5.1. Preliminary Remarks

The position of word stress is largely predictable. Since, however, there is some variation, the place of stress is marked in the transcription on all words that bear it. The transcription of the recorded texts also marks the boundaries of intonation groups by a short vertical sign ˈ. Intonation contours are not represented, but a distinction is made between the nuclear stress of the intonation group and non-nuclear stress. The nuclear stress, which is the most prominent stress of the intonation group, is marked by a grave accent (*ù*) and the non-nuclear stress is marked by an acute accent (*ú*), e.g.

(1) *ʾáwwa qímɛle qedàmta,*ˈ *šqíləlle xa-mən-súsət xàle,*ˈ *tíwa l-xáṣe dìye,*ˈ *ʾu-ṣàlya.*ˈ
'He got up in the morning, took one of his father's horses, sat on its back and went down.' (A25:40)

In principle, there is only one nuclear stress in an intonation group. Occasionally, however, two intonation groups are linked together without any perceptible boundary by a process of sandhi and two nuclear stresses occur in what appears to be a single intonation group (cf. Cruttenden 1986: 43), e.g.

(2) *ʾàtit θíθa kàsli.*ˈ *lán ʾàna-ʾəθya kàsləx.*ˈ '*You* came *to me*. *I* did not come *to you*.' (A4:4)
(3) *ʾaw-lèwa qázde díye ta-ṯ-ázət ʾawðátle xaprátle ṭùra*ˈ 'It was not his intention that you should go and dig the mountain.' (A17:19)

In words that consist of more than one syllable, the general position for the placement of stress is on the penultimate syllable. Deviations from this canonical position occur for a number of reasons. The various grammatical categories of words exhibit some differences in stress patterns, so they will be dealt separately in what follows.

5.2. Independent Pronouns

Independent personal and demonstrative pronouns regularly take the stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

ʾána	'I'
ʾáwwa	'this'
ʾăwáha	'that over there'

As remarked in §4.4., the laryngal */h/* in the sequence */aha/* in forms such as *ʾăwáha* is sometimes elided and the two syllable nuclei coalesce. In such cases the stress does not shift back a place and so it falls on what is now the final syllable of the word: [ʾɑˈwɑː]. This contraction is not marked in the transcription.

5.3. Nouns and Adjectives

In principle the stress falls on the penultimate syllable in both singular and plural forms, e.g.

bέθa	'house'
xwára	'white'
basíma	'pleasant'
ʾilána	'tree'
ʾilanáne	'trees'

This applies also to forms with pronominal suffixes, with the exception of the 3pl. suffix, which often takes the stress, resulting in the placement of the stress on the final syllable of the word, e.g.

bέθi	'my house'
bɛθέxu	'your (pl.) house'
bɛθέy ~ bɛθέ	'their house'

The word final stress in the forms with the 3pl. suffix can be explained by the fact that this suffix has developed historically from a form ***-áyhən***, with stress on the penultimate (§7.2.). The final syllable has been elided but the stress has remained in its historical position, which is now the final syllable. The stress is not, however, completely fixed in this position and it

is sometimes moved back to the penultimate syllable, in conformity with the synchronic syllable structure, e.g.

(1) *ʾap-xmárey šqìləlla*ˡ *dawέrey ṭrìðəlla*ˡ 'They also took their asses and drove away their mules' (A7:15)
(2) *kúlla dáryəlla xáṣət dawὲrey*ˡ 'They put everything on the back of their mules' (B4:15)

This retraction to the penultimate is, in fact, the norm when the suffix has the form of the monophthong *-ε*, though cases of word final stress are occasionally attested, e.g.

(3) *daríwala l-ganὲ*ˡ 'They used to put it on themselves' (B15:28)

Loanwords that are stressed on the final syllable in the source language and have not been adapted to Aramaic morphology by attaching an inflectional ending are nevertheless usually adapted to the canonical Aramaic stress pattern by retracting the stress to the penultimate syllable. This applies also to nouns that in the source language have a long vowel in the final syllable. After the stress shift, this vowel is pronounced short, e.g.

wắzir	'minister'	< Arab. *wazī́r*
ḥắkim	'doctor'	< Arab. *ḥakī́m*
ʾájib	'amazing'	< Arab. *ʿajī́b*
ḥŭ́dud	'borders'	< Arab. *ḥudū́d*
hŭ́jum	'attack'	< Arab. *hujū́m*
pážgir	'towel'	< Kurd. pêjgîr
múxtər	'village head'	< Arab. *muxtā́r*
ʾÍrən	'Iran'	< Pers./Arab. *ʾĪrā́n*
ʾótəx	'room'	< Kurd. otáx
čángəl	'fork'	< Kurd. çengál
díwən	'social gathering'	< Kurd. dîwán
tálən	'plunder'	< Kurd. talán

In some cases nouns and adjectives that normally take the stress on the penultimate syllable are stressed on another syllable. The purpose of this stress shift to a non-canonical position has a functional explanation.

In trisyllabic nouns the stress is shifted to the antepenultimate syllable when it is functioning as a vocative. This is the case with the word *ʾalaha* 'God', e.g.

(4) *ya-ʾálaha šqùlli*ˈ 'Oh God, take me!' (A15:19)
(5) *ya-ʾàlaha*ˈ *hal-róxa qa-d-ánna náše ṯ̂-ila píše kèpa*ˈ 'Oh God, give spirit to these people who have become stone' (A8:82)
(6) *mára yá-marya ʾàlaha*ˈ *mára ga-mù*ˈ *qwála ṭla-ʾalàha,*ˈ *ya-ʾàlaha*ˈ *mára ʾána bàryən?*ˈˈ 'He said "Oh Lord God", he said complaining to God "Oh God, why was I born?"' (A14:23)

In (6) it can be seen that a distinction is made between the vocative forms of *ʾalaha* with antepenultimate stress and the non-vocative form that has the canonical penultimate stress. In many cases, however, the antepenultimate stress is retained also when the word does not have a vocative function, e.g.

(7) *ʾálaha mšúdrəlle malàxa*ˈ 'God sent an angel to him' (A15:5)
(8) *mára šaqláxle broney ta-t-taxríle ʾálaha xá-ga xèta*ˈ 'He told us to take their son so that they remember God again' (A15:17)
(9) *har-ʾúrxət ʾálaha dóqən b-ìði*ˈ 'I shall always keep firmly to God's way (literally: keep in my hand)' (A15:21)

The explanation appears to be that due to the frequent use of the vocative form *ʾálaha* there is a tendency to treat the vocative stress placement as the norm and extend it to non-vocative occurrences of the word. It should be noted that the stress is regularly retracted when it has an exclamatory function, as in the oath *b-álaha* 'by God'.

Retraction of the stress in trisyllabic words used in vocative function may result in contraction of weak consonants. This is the case, for example, in the word *xwarzáya* 'nephew', which is attested as a vocative with the form *xwàrza* (A29:17).

In disyllabic words, where the stress cannot be moved back further, it is occasionally shifted from the canonical penultimate position to word final position in vocative expressions that involve particularly emotive engagement on the part of the speaker, e.g.

(10) *mára babì,*ˈ *yăðət ʾádyo módi wídle Fárxo bìyən?*ˈˈ 'She said "Father. Do you know what Farxo did to us?"' (A25:19)

Elsewhere, shift of stress in nouns and adjectives from the canonical position is attested in phrases to which the speaker wishes to attract particular attention and give prominence. In (11), for example, the prominence given to the expression 'the first time' is due to the fact that it is placed

in contrastive opposition to the second and third times that the character had come:

(11) *ʾo-gáya qə̀mɛθa θélux l-kásli,*ˈ *mári ṭlàlux*ˈ *málka xázyɛle b-xálme dúnye ráya tèle.*ˈ 'The first time you came to me, I said to you that the king saw in his dream that it was raining foxes.' (A1:22)

One could, in fact, regard also the vocative and exclamatory functions as manifestations of a general function of the stress shift from the canonical position to attract particular attention to the word.

There is, however, one context where stress is shifted from the canonical position for rhythmic rather than discourse functional reasons. This is found in bisyllabic nouns placed after words that are stressed on the final syllable. In such cases the stress of the noun is sometimes moved to the end of the word, presumably to avoid the occurrence of stress in two consecutive syllables, e.g.

(12) *ʾəštà yarxéˈ xamšà yarxéˈ* 'six months, five months' (B5:3)
(13) *wírre mən-əsri-w-xamšà šənnéˈ* 'He passed twenty-five years' (A8:33)
(14) *xá malkàˈ* 'a king' (A8:2)
(15) *xá bronàˈ* 'a son' (A8:3)
(16) *ʾáw malkàˈ* 'that king' (A8:2)

5.4. Verbs

Different patterns of stress are exhibited by (i) verbal forms derived from present and past bases, (ii) imperative forms and (iii) compound verbal forms containing a copula enclitic.

5.4.1. *Verbal Forms Derived from Present and Past Bases*

In principle the stress is placed in the canonical position on the penultimate syllable in such forms, e.g.

qáṭəl	'he kills'
qáṭlən	'I kill'
qaṭlítu	'you (pl.) killed'
mšádra	'she sends'
mtămáma	'she completes'

qṭílle	'he killed'
mšudárre	'he sent'

As can be seen in forms such as *mtămáma*, the stress is placed on an epenthetic vowel if this is in a penultimate syllable. On some occasions, however, the epenthetic is ignored and the stress is place on the preceding syllable, e.g. *mtágəbrən* 'I look after' (A1:8).

When additional suffixes are added to such forms, the stress shifts accordingly and remains on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

qaṭə́lwa	'he used to kill'
qaṭə́lle	'he kills him'

There is a constraint, however, that prevents the stress shifting onto one of these additional suffixes, which causes it to remain in antepenultimate position in some forms. This applies to the attachment of the element *wa* followed by a pronominal suffix, e.g.

qṭílwale	'he had killed him'
qṭiláwale	'he had killed her'
qaṭə́lwale	'he used to kill him'

The 2pl. forms also deviate from the canonical stress position in that the stress is constrained to remain on the penultimate syllable of the subject inflection suffix *-ítu* even when additional suffixes are added, e.g.

qaṭlítuwa	'you (pl.) used to kill'
qaṭlítule	'you (pl.) kill him'
qaṭlítuwale	'you (pl.) used to kill him'

These two constraints can be collapsed into one, namely that the stress has to remain on a syllable that contains a radical of the verbal base.

Deviations from these principles of stress placement are found in some verbal forms where the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to the expression, e.g.

(1) *lá gawrèn!* 'I shall not marry!' (A16:5)
(2) *rəmyàθa hawetúwa!*[1] 'Oh that you would be cursed!' (A26:27)

Stress is shifted from its normal position also in some constructions where a verbal form is repeated, the second occurrence exhibiting a variation in stress position from the first occurrence, e.g.

(3) *marəqðə̀xwale.*ˈ *marəqðiwalə̀,*ˈ *ta-t-náše yawíwale yabìše,*ˈ *gòze.*ˈ 'Then we made him dance. They made him dance so that people would give him raisins, walnuts.' (B16:10)
(4) *kúlla-hatxa dorìwala.*ˈ *doriwalà,*ˈ *pɛ́šiwa pràge.*ˈ 'They would thresh all of it. They would thresh it and it would become millet.' (B16:28)

5.4.2. *Imperative Forms*

In imperative forms of verbs the stress is generally placed on the initial syllable of the form irrespective of how many syllables back it is from the end of the word, e.g.

qṭúl	'kill!' (sing.)
qáṭlu	'kill!' (pl.)
qáṭlule	'kill (pl.) him!'
mšádər	'send! (sing.)'
mšádərre	'send (sing.) it!'
mápəlxu	'use! (pl.)'
mápəlxule	'use (pl.) it!'

This principle of stress placement on imperative forms in some cases distinguishes them from an otherwise homophonous form derived from the present base, e.g.

mšádərre	'send it!' (imperative)
mšadárre	'he sends it' (present base)

5.4.3. *Compound Verbal Forms*

In compound verbal forms, which are a combination of a resultative participle or infinitive base with an auxiliary copula element, the stress placement only takes account of the base and falls on the penultimate syllable of the base irrespective of any additional elements, e.g.

qtílɛle	'he has killed'	< *qtíla* + *ile*
qṭíltɛla	'she has killed'	< *qṭílta* + *ila*

qṭílawewa	'he had killed'	< *qṭíla* + *wewa*
mšúdrɛle	'he has sent'	< *mšúdra* + *ile*
mšudártɛla	'she has sent'	< *mšudárta* + *ila*
qṭíləlle	'he has killed him'	< *qṭíla* + *ile* + *le*
mšudártəlle	'she has sent it'	< *mšudárta* + *ila* + *le*
hóle qṭíləlle	'he has killed him'	< *hóle qṭíla* + *əlle*
hóla mšudártəlle	'she has sent it'	< *hóla mšudárta* + *əlle*

This stress placement may distinguish a compound form from an otherwise homophonous form derived from a present base, e.g.

yáwəlle	'he is giving him' (compound)
yawə́lle	'he gives him' (present base)

5.5. Numerals

When numerals occur independently they regular have penultimate stress, e.g.

ṭláθa	'three'
xadássər	'eleven'
ʾárbi	'forty'
ʾúmma	'a hundred'

When they qualify a following noun, however, the stress is sometimes placed on the final syllable, e.g.

(1) *xamšî yománe*ˡ 'fifty days' (B16:12)
(2) *šawwà xonăwáθa* 'seven brothers' (B4:7)
(3) *ʾummà dináre*ˡ 'a hundred dinars' (A24:3)
(4) *qúrbət ṭlaθî šənnéle*ˡ 'He is nearly thirty years old' (A8:33)
(5) *ʾarbá-mma-w xamšî ʾisəqyáθa* 'four hundred and fifty rings' (A13:13)

The motivation for this shift from the canonical stress position appears to be to give prominence to the numeral. This is shown by the fact that there is a particular tendency to shift the stress position when the nuclear stress of the intonation group falls on the numeral. As has been remarked in §5.3., when a bisyllabic noun follows numerals that are stressed on the

final syllable, the stress of the noun is sometimes shifted to the end to avoid the occurrence of stress in two consecutive syllables.

5.6. Adverbial Particles

Several adverbial particles that stand as independent words follow the canonical rules of stress placement and take the stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

baráye	'outside'
gawáye	'inside'
qamáye	'at first'
hadíya	'now'

Some adverbs, however, retract the stress to the antepenultimate syllable on certain occasions. This is found mainly in some temporal adverbs, e.g.

qédamta	'early in the morning, the next day'
bázzune	'last/next year'
ʾódlɛle	'tonight'
ʾóššeta	'this year'

This retraction does not regularly take place in all occurrences of the words. They are also used with penultimate stress. The retraction to the antepenultimate syllable is motivated to some extent by discourse function. There is a clear tendency for the forms with antepenultimate stress to be used when the word functions as a sentence adverbial in a prominent position at the front of the sentence whereas the form with canonical penultimate stress is generally used later in the clause after the verb. This is illustrated below for the adverb *qedamta* 'the early morning, the next day', e.g.

(1) *qédamta híwɛle xàbra*ˡ *sìqela*ˡ 'The next day he gave word and they went up' (A26:45)
(2) *qédamta qímɛle xále dìye,*ˡ *ʾína xázyəlla ʾán ʾaskaràye,*ˡ *kúlla xðìrta*ˡ *ʾAmedìa*ˡ 'The next morning his maternal uncle got up and saw those soldiers and (saw that) Amedia was completely surrounded' (A25:79)
(3) *qédamta màre*ˡ 'The next day he said…' (A1:2)

(4) *ʾu-qímli qedàmta,*ˈ *la-xəzyàli*ˈ 'I got up in the early morning and did not find her' (A26:11)
(5) *bína qémi qedámta nàše*ˈ *ʾu-jə̀mi*ˈ 'The people get up the next morning and gather together' (B5:46)

The non-canoncial antepenultimate stress has the function of giving particular prominence to the sentence adverbial, which typically marks the onset of a new section of discourse. On some occasions *qedamta* occurs with antepenultimate stress after the verb. In also these cases the motivation for the stress retraction generally appears to be motivated by an intention by the speaker to give prominence to the particle. This is shown by the fact that the particle is often presented in its own intonation group in such cases, e.g.

(6) *síqla qəm-mṭamrìla,*ˈ *qèdamta*ˈ 'They went up and buried her in the morning' (A25:86)
(7) *qìmtɛla,*ˈ *qèdamta*ˈ *léla mírta ṭla-xmáθa-w xəmyána-w ʾáxxa-w tàmma*ˈ 'She got up in the morning, but did not tell her mother-in-law and father-in-law, and so forth' (A19:7)

The motivation for giving it prominence is sometimes to set it up in a contrastive opposition with another item in the adjacent context, e.g.

(8) *Mə́mo mítle qèdamta-w*ˈ *ʾána méθən ʾaṣə̀rta*ˈ 'Mămo died in the morning and I shall die in the evening' (A26:83)

CHAPTER SIX

STRESS GROUPS

6.1. Preliminary Remarks

Occasionally a short word is combined with another word in a single stress group and only one of the words bears stress. The stress may fall on either the first or second word, depending on the nature of the component words and on their relative informational importance. Such stress groups occasionally consist of more than two words. In most cases each of the component words can bear its own stress and examples of this can be found in other contexts. If the stress falls on the final word of the group, its position in this word is normally the same as it would have been if the word stood independently. If, on the other hand, the stress falls on the first word of the group and this word consists of more than one syllable, the stress is often placed on the final syllable of the word, rather than on the penultimate one, where it would be placed if the word stood independently.

When the words that are combined in such stress groups retain their full form without contraction, they are joined in the transcription by a hyphen. When, however, one word is contracted and coalesces in some way phonetically with another word no hyphen is used, e.g. *dūs-ile* (*dūs* + *ile*) 'He is right', but *xəðyɛle* (*xəðya* + *ile*) 'He is happy'.

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

6.2. Numeral + Counted Nominal

The stress falls either on the nominal following the numeral or on the numeral. When the numeral is 'two' and above it is more frequently placed on the numeral than on the noun. The distribution of the stress in groups containing the numeral 'one' (*xa* m., *ða* f.) depends on various factors such as whether the numeral is functioning as a cardinal or as an indefinite article and what information value is conveyed by the noun. These will be discussed in greater detail in §14.1. Suffice it to say here

that if the numeral functions as a cardinal it tends to take the stress, as is the case with the other cardinals. When numerals contain more than one syllable, the stress is regularly put on the final syllable:

6.2.1. *Stress on the Nominal*

Examples: *xa-màlka* 'a king' (A1:2), *ða-ʾótəx* 'a room' (A4:43), *tre-ʾumràne* 'two churches' (B1:6), *ṭ̣laθa-yóme* (A3:6).

6.2.2. *Stress on the Numeral*

Examples: *xá-yoma* 'one day' (B5:25), *ðá-kθɛθa* 'one chicken' (A2:3), *trè-yome* 'two days' (A50:8), *tərté-kθaye* 'two chickens' (A1:3); *ʾarbà-yarxe* 'four months' (A30:37), *xamšà-juwale*ˡ 'five sacks' (B5:86), *šawwà-qəfle* 'seven locks' (A13:11), *xamšî-guṛe* 'fifty men' (A52:20), *šawwí-zəvre* 'seventy spins' (A52:2).

6.2.3. *Stress on Both Components*

Examples: *xá maláxa* 'an angel' (A8:23), *tré malàxe*ˡ 'two angels' (A4:2), *ṭ̣là bnóne* 'three sons' (A24:1), *xamšà ʾotáxe*ˡ 'five rooms' (B5:187).

6.3. Predicate + Copula

The stress regularly falls on the predicate. The presence of the copula is ignored with regard to the rules of stress placement and the stress is put on the penultimate syllable of the first word, e.g.

*xàwrən-ile*ˡ 'He is our friend' (A46:61)
dìyux-ile 'It is yours' (A26:38)
ʾána bàxtux-ìwən 'I am your wife'
*dûs-iwa.*ˡ 'He was right' (A14:71)
*bábət Mắmo gòṛa-wewa*ˡ 'The father of Mămo was a great man' (A26:13)
gwírta-wawa 'She was married' (A26:22)

On a few sporadic occasions the copula following the predicate has its own stress, e.g.

*lᾰ̋ʿat ʾàw ʾíle*ˡ ‘Surely it is him’ (A25:47)
*xá gáwṛa xɛlána-w zàxma wéwa*ˡ ‘He was a powerful, tough man’ (A27:1)
*dmìxa wéwa*ˡ ‘He was asleep’ (A8:3)

6.4. Negator + Verb/Nominal/Adverbial

The default position of the stress is on the negated item. In certain circumstances, however, it is retracted onto the negator. The distribution of stress in negative constructions is examined in more detail in §17.7.14.1.

6.4.1. *Stress on the Negated Item*

*la-ṣábrəx ṯ̂-òrəx*ˡ ‘We do not dare enter’ (A14:40)
*la-sáqði bìya*ˡ ‘They are not unhappy with it’ (B5:197)
*lə́mo la-qìmlux?*ˡ ‘Why did you not stand?’ (A26:48)
*la-bàba ʾítle,*ˡ *la-yə̀mme ʾítle*ˡ ‘He has neither a father nor a mother’ (A14:16)

6.4.2. *Stress on the Negator*

*xoššéba lá-palxi nàše*ˡ ‘On Sunday people do not work’ (B5:130)
*là-jwíjle súsa*ˡ ‘The horse did not move’ (A26:28)
*lá-mṣən mtanə́nnəx kùlla*ˡ ‘I cannot tell you everything’ (A14:33)
*là-daqrət bíye*ˡ ‘Do not touch him!’ (A26:73)
*lá-mur hàtxa!*ˡ ‘Do not say that!’ (A26:52)
*là-kulley yapáwa*ˡ ‘Not all of them used to bake’ (B5:17)

6.4.3. *Stress on Both Components*

lá taxmə́nnən ‘I do not think’ (A26:44)
ʾáwwa là hummə́nne ‘He did not believe’ (A26:79)
*ʾu-réšəx là parmə́nne*ˡ ‘and I shall not cut off your head’ (A14:35)
*là maṣíθət*ˡ ‘Do not listen’ (A26:11)
là kúlla náše ‘not everybody’ (B10:88)

6.5. Attributive Demonstrative + Nominal

These demonstratives are often combined with the nominal, especially when the demonstrative is in its 'default' form (§7.4.), which is morphologically least complex. The stress is put either on the nominal or on the demonstrative pronoun. This is determined by syntactic and discourse factors that will be discussed in §14.3.3.

6.5.1. *Stress on the Nominal*

Examples: *ʾaw-màlka* 'that king' (A14:3), *ʾo-tā́ra* 'that door' (A17:20), *ʾay-dùkθa* 'that place' (A17:27), *ʾa-bràta* 'that girl' (A16:6), *ʾan-ʾárwe* 'those sheep' (A10:1), *ʾawwa-náša* 'this person' (A8:3), *ʾanna-náše* 'these people' (A11:18).

6.5.2. *Stress on the Demonstrative*

Examples: *ʾó-malka* 'that king' (A24:1), *ʾò-yoma* 'that day' (B15:93), *ʾé-ga* 'at that time' (A30:27), *ʾán-julla díya* 'those clothes of hers' (A14:99).

6.5.3. *Stress on Both Components*

This is found only sporadically when the attributive demonstrative is in its short default form, but is the norm when it is one of the longer morphologically heavier sets: *ʾáw malkà*[1] 'that king' (A8:2), *ʾáw kawsèy* 'that hair of theirs' (A8:14), *ʾán naθyáθə d-àn hambišáye* 'those ears of those giants' (A12:16), *ʾáwwa náša* 'this man' (A8:3), *ʾáyya bàxta* 'this woman' (A14:4), *ʾánna məndiyàne* 'these things' (B5:73).

6.6. Quantifier + Nominal

Stress groups of this type are mainly found with the monosyllabic quantifier *ku(t)* 'each, every'. The stress is put either on the nominal or on the quantifier pronoun.

6.6.1. *Stress on the Nominal*

Examples: *kut-béθa* 'each house' (B5:64), *kut-ṭéna* 'each load' (B5:181), *kut-másta* 'each hair' (A27:10), *kut-béna* 'each time' (B10:63), *kut-báze* 'each jump of his' (A52:6), *kulla-náše* 'everybody' (B10:22).

6.6.2. *Stress on the Quantifier*

Examples: *kùt-yoma* 'every day' (B5:158), *kút-yum* 'every day' (B10:85), *kú-šŝət* 'every year' (A12:1), *kú-məndit bə̆yət* 'anything you want' (A25:14), *kùl-tə̆hər* 'every kind' (A27:4), *kùl-naše* 'everybody' (B10:51).

6.6.3. *Stress on Both Components*

This is found mainly with the bisyllabic quanitifer *kulla* 'all, the whole': *kùlla máθa* 'all the village' (B6:14), *kúlla məðíta* 'all the town' (B6:17), *kúlla tunīθa* 'the whole story' (A29:12), *kúlla dukàne* 'all places' (B3:17), *kút yaṣílət qàṣra* 'every corner of the palace' (A12:24).

6.6.4. *Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases*

Monosyllabic prepositions are regularly combined with the item that follows them in a single stress group and the stress is placed on the second item, e.g.

Examples: *mən-ṣɛ̀da* 'from the hunt' (A26:54), *max-šeðàna* 'like a madman' (A26:9), *qam-ʾènəx* 'before your eyes' (A4:36), *bar-ṣùpa* 'behind the stove' (A32:32), *gu-ŝəmša* 'in the sun' (A2:4).

Prepositional phrases consisting of *ʾəll-* + pronominal suffix are often attached to a preceding verb or noun in a stress group. In such cases the stress falls on the first item, in most cases on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

*məri-llux*ˡ 'I said to you' (A26:78)
mhuymánni-llux 'I have trusted you' (A1:18)
*šlàma-llux*ˡ 'greetings to you' (A1:11)
*masímən bə̀l-ʾəlla*ˡ 'I shall look after them' (A8:18)
*zodànta-llɛxu*ˡ 'an extra one for you' (A5:6)

Occasionally the stress is shifted to the end of the first word of the group, e.g.

*hóya brixtà-llux*ˡ 'Congratulations to you' (A25:69)
*ʾáxni ṯ̂-amrəxlux qəṣṣəttən-əllux*ˡ 'We shall tell you our story' (A24:51)

Examples of the occurrence of stress on both components contain usually the preposition with 2pl. or 3pl. pronominal suffixes, e.g.

*dére šlàma ʾəlléxu*ˈ ‘He offers you a greeting’ (A25:47)
*qímle mŭrísle hátxa míya ʾəllèy*ˈ ‘He sprinkled water on them like this’ (B6:11)
*sab-y-áwe qalə̀pθa ʾəlléy*ˈ ‘since there is a peel on them’ (B5:216)

6.7. Stress Groups Consisting of More Than Two Words

*gu-ʾayya-maθèni*ˈ ‘in this village of ours’ (B11:16)
*qam-ðà-ʾərxe*ˈ ‘before a mill’ (A32:1)
*gu-xa-quṣxáne gòṛta*ˈ ‘in a big pan’ (B6:13)
xa-l-d-o-xréna ‘one on the other’ (B6:10)
ta-ʾap-o-yóma ‘to also that day’ (B5:68)

MORPHOLOGY

CHAPTER SEVEN

PRONOUNS

7.1. Independent Personal Pronouns

3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾaw*	*(ʾawən)*
	fs.	*ʾay*	*(ʾayən)*
	pl.	*ʾáni*	
2nd pers.	ms.	*ʾáti*	*(ʾat)*
	fs.	*ʾáti*	*(ʾat)*
	pl.	*ʾáxtu*	
1st pers.	sing.	*ʾána*	
	pl.	*ʾáxni*	

Some of these pronominal forms have undergone historical development, largely by the force of analogy.

The 3rd person singular pronouns *ʾaw* (ms.) and *ʾay* (fs.) are conservative in form, being derived from **haw* < **hā-hū* and **hay* < **hā-hī* respectively. The forms *ʾawən* 'he' and *ʾayən* 'she' with an augmented *-ən* suffix are sporadically used by speakers. This augment regularly occurs on the pronouns in some other NENA dialects, e.g. *ʾawən, ʾayən* (C. Baṭnaya, C. Darbant, C. Karimlesh, C. Tisqopa); *ʾawun, ʾayun* (C. Ankawa), *ʾawwən, ʾayyən* (C. Shosh-u-Sharmən).

The 3pl. form *ʾani* is abundantly attested across the NENA area. The final *-i* no doubt developed by analogy with the 3pl. *-i* inflection of present base verbs, e.g. *qaṭli* 'they kill'. In some other NENA dialects the ending is formed by analogy with the 3pl. inflectional endings that occur on past base verbs and nouns, e.g. C. Ankawa *ʾanu* (cf. *qṭəllu* 'they killed', *beθu* 'their house'), C. Qaraqosh *ʾanhən* (cf. *qṭəlhən* 'they killed', *beθhən* 'their house').

The 2nd person singular form *ʾati* has developed by attaching an augment suffix *-i* to the base *ʾat*. The base form *ʾat* itself is sporadically used by speakers. The motivation for the augment was probably to increase the form to two syllables in conformity with the other pronouns in the paradigm. It may be related to the augment *-ən*, which is attested on the

2nd personal suffix in some NENA dialects, e.g. *ʾatən* (C. Urmi, C. Jilu, C. Darbant). The final */n/* of the *-ən* augment would have been elided. In some dialects the final vowel is *-ə* or *-e* after the elision of the */n/*, e.g. *ʾatə* (C. Mar-Yaqo), *ʾate* (C. Bēṣpən, C. Mēr, C. Peshabur, C. Umra d-Shish). Alternatively the *-i* may be the original form of the augment. One may compare the interrogative pronouns *mă̈ni* 'who?' (< **man*), and *dáxi* ~ *dəx* 'how?', also the final *-i* augment in secondary long forms of various pronominal suffixes, e.g. on present base verbs: *-ət* ~ *-eti* (2ms.), *-ət* ~ *-ati* (2fs.), *-əx* ~ *-exi* (1pl.); on nouns and prepositions: *-ən* ~ *-ɛni* (1pl.). This *-i* augment is used in C. Urmi and related dialects in middle */y/* verbs, e.g. *qayəm* ~ *qemi* 'he rises'.

The initial *ʾax-* element in the 2nd person plural form *ʾaxtu* has apparently developed by analogy with the 1st person plural form *ʾaxni*.

7.2. Pronominal Suffixes on Nouns and Prepositions

The pronominal suffixes are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	*-e*
	fs.	*-a*
	pl.	*-ay*, *-ɛy*, *-ey*, *-ɛ*, *-a*
2nd pers.	ms.	*-ux*
	fs.	*-əx*, *-ax*
	pl.	*-ɛxu*, *-axu*
1st pers.	sing.	*-i*
	pl.	*-ən*, *-an*, *-ɛni*

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

3rd pers.	ms.	*bɛ́θe*
	fs.	*bɛ́θa*
	pl.	*bɛθáy*, *bɛθɛ́y*, *bɛθéy*, *bɛθɛ́*, *bɛ́θa*
2nd pers.	ms.	*bɛ́θux*
	fs.	*bɛ́θəx*, *bɛ́θax*
	pl.	*bɛθɛ́xu*, *bɛθáxu*

1st pers.	sing.	*béθi*
	pl.	*béθən*, *bɛθéni*

These suffixes are added to both singular and plural nouns. If, therefore, singular and plural forms are distinguished only by the final nominal inflectional vowel, the suffixed forms of both are identical, e.g. *képa* 'stone', *képe* 'stones', but *képux* 'your (ms.) stone/stones'.

The 3rd person singular suffixes derive historically from **-eh* and **-ah* with final */h/*. The original form of the suffixes with final */h/* has been preserved in the suffixes in several NENA dialects, e.g. C. Ankawa, C. Barəṭle, C. Baṭnaya. The endings *-e* and *-a* are homophonous with the nominal plural and singular endings respectively. A form such as *képe*, therefore, could mean 'stones', 'his stone' or 'his stones'. Likewise, *képa* could mean 'stone', 'her stone' or 'her stones'. The meaning is often clarified by combining a noun ending in a 3rd singular pronominal suffix with the corresponding independent genitive particle (§7.3.), e.g. *képe díye* 'his stone(s)', *képa díya* 'her stone(s)'. In some cases, however, where the interpretation is not ambiguous the suffix is used alone, e.g.

(1) *kút-yăðe mòdile xázya b-xálme* 'whoever knows what he has seen in his dream…' (A1:5)
(2) *mára ṭla-bàxte*ˈ 'He said to his wife' (A1:10)
(3) *mšuréla sráṭa júlla mšeðòne*ˈ 'She began to tear her clothes out of madness' (A4:6)
(4) *max-d-an-gúmle t-wéwa núbla mánne díye max-d-áni xéne híwle bába ṭlála dìya*ˈ 'Like the camels that he had brought with him, her father gave her others like these' (A4:27)

The 3pl. suffix exhibits a considerable diversity in its form. It derives historically from **-áyhən*. This earlier form has been preserved in various degrees in other NENA dialects, e.g. *-éyhən* (C. Billin, C. Mar-Yaqo), *-éhən* (C. Aradhin, C. Tən), *-éhən* (C. Baṭnaya, C. Derabun, C. Dɛre, C. Hertevin, C. Umra d-Shish). Since **ay* in principle contracts to */ɛ/* in C. Barwar, the */y/* element in the forms *-ey*, *-ɛy* and *-ay* is likely to be the vestige of the vowel of the elided **-hən* element. The form **-ayhən* was originally the form of the pronominal suffixes that was attached to plural nouns. In the C. Barwar dialect, as in most NENA dialects, no distinction is made in the form of suffixes according to whether the noun is singular or plural and one form has been generalized. The distinction is still preserved in C. Qaraqosh and C. Barəṭle with the 3pl. suffix, e.g. C. Qaraqosh *tórhən* 'their ox': *toréhən* 'their oxen'. In the C. Barwar dialect the **-hən* element

has been elided, but the stress generally remains on the final syllable, contrary to the canonical rules of stress placement, by a historical drag effect (§5.3.). It is occasionally retracted to the penultimate syllable, the canonical position for stress, e.g.

(5) *ʾap-xmárey šqìləlla*ˈ *dawɛ́rey ṭrìðəlla*ˈ 'They also took their asses and drove away their mules' (A7:15)

The vowel in the final diphthong is pronounced with a variety of different qualities ranging from the open vowel */a/* to the close mid vowel */e/*. The diphthong may even be contracted to the monophthong *-ɛ*. When the stress is retracted this is generally lowered to */a/* according to the usual process (§2.3.4.). This results in an ending that is homophonous with the singular nominal ending *-a* and tends to be used only where the suffix is unambiguous, e.g.

(6) *daríwala l-ganè*ˈ 'They used to put it on themselves' (B15:28)
(7) *príməlla ṣoṣiyàθa,*ˈ *dárryəlla réše dìye*ˈ 'They had cut their locks and laid them on him' (A31:10)
(8) *xákma ṭɛnɛ́wa xàṣa*ˈ *masqíwale bàdra*ˈ 'Some carried it on their back and brought it up to the threshing floor' (B5:81)

A rare variant of the 3pl. suffix with the form *-éyən* is attested in the text corpus, e.g.

(9) *ʾay-píšla xáθa ṭlalèyən*ˈ 'She became a sister for them' (A34:8)

This is likely to have been formed by a secondary development whereby an augment suffix *-ən* has been attached to the suffix *-éy*. The informant for this text exhibits a tendency to add this augment suffix also to other pronominal forms.

The 2ms. singular suffix *-ux* developed from the original form **-ox*, which still exists in many NENA dialects. The 2fs. suffix *-əx* has developed from the original form *-ax* by the common process of centralization of */a/* vowels in unstressed closed syllables (§2.3.5.). The original */a/* vowel is occasionally preserved when the duration of the final syllable is extended at the end of an intonation group.

The 2pl. form *-ɛxu* derives historically from the form **-ayxon*, which was attached originally only to plural nouns but has now been generalized for both singular and plural nouns. In some conservative NENA dialects such

as C. Qaraqosh the reflex of this form is still restricted to plural nouns, e.g. *torxun* 'your ox' : *torexun* 'your oxen'. The */ɛ/* vowel of the suffix *-ɛxu* is occasionally pronounced lower in the region of */a/* by some speakers, e.g. *babáxu* 'your father' (A14:84), *xaθáxu* 'your sister' (A14:85).

The 1pl. suffix has two alternative forms. The form *-ən* has developed from **-an* by the normal process of centralization of an */a/* vowel in an unstressed closed syllable. The original */a/* vowel is preserved on some rare occasions when the duration of the final syllable is extended at the end of an intonation group. The longer variant *-ɛni* may be derived historically from the form of the suffix that was attached to plural nouns, while the shorter form *-ən* (< **-an*) would be derived from the suffix that was originally attached to singular nouns. In conservative NENA dialects such as C. Qaraqosh the distinction is still maintained between the suffixes, e.g. *toran* 'our ox': *torenan* 'our oxen'. In C. Barwar, as in most dialects, this distinction has broken down. The original two distinct forms of the suffix are preserved, but are used interchangeably on singular and plural nouns. For further remarks on the distribution of the two forms see §14.5.1. The final */i/* vowel of the form *-ɛni* probably developed by analogy with the ending of the 1pl. independent pronoun *ʾaxni*. The original form of the suffix may have been **-ayn*, as in Syriac. Long variant forms of the 1pl. suffix, which are attached to singular and plural nouns, are attested in several other NENA dialects. Most of these can be reconstructed as **-ayn* + *i*, e.g. *-ayni* (C. Challək), *-eni* (C. Urmi, C. Dɛre, C. Mar-Yaqo, C. Umra d-Shish, J. Amedia). The J. Sanandaj dialect, by contrast, has the two variant forms *-an* and *-ani*, the latter being derived from the form *-an* with the addition of an augment.

The pronominal suffixes replace the final inflectional vowels *-a* and *-e*, whether these be on singular or plural nouns:

kθáwa (sing.)	'book'	*kθáwi*	'my book'
kθáwe (pl.)	'books'	*kθáwi*	'my books'
káwe (sing.)	'window'	*káwi*	'my window'
kawáθa (pl.)	'windows'	*kawáθi*	'my windows'

Final *-i*, which occurs only in loanwords, is retained before the pronominal suffixes and connected to them by a */y/* glide, e.g.

ṭúrši	'pickled vegetable'	*ṭuršíyi*	'my pickled vegetable'

Nouns ending in *-o* cannot take suffixes. The independent genitive particle must be used, e.g.

kʸálo	'bride'	*kʸálo díyi*	'my bride'
xəppo	'wedding veil'	*xə́ppo díyi*	'my wedding veil'

The explanation for this is that these endings derive historically from the diminutive ending ***-ōn** in the absolute state and pronominal suffixes cannot be added to the absolute state of nouns (§10.6.). The word *qáṭu* 'female cat' is an exceptional case. This form, which is used when the noun is indefinite, is also a vestige of the absolute state. Unlike nouns ending in *-o*, however, it has also a form deriving from the determined state of earlier Aramaic, which is used when the noun is definite, viz. *qaṭúθa*, and pronominal suffixes can be added to this latter form in the regular way:

qáṭu	'a cat'	*qaṭúθa*	'the cat'	*qaṭúθi*	'my cat'

Loanwords ending in a consonant can in principle take pronominal suffixes, e.g.

párzun	'bag'	*parzúni*	'my bag'
ṣábun	'soap'	*ṣabúni*	'my soap'
tŭ̆tun	'tobacco'	*tŭ̆túni*	'my tobacco'
ṭáxin	'tahini'	*ṭaxíni*	'my tahini'

If an */a/* or */e/* vowel has been centralized to */ə/* in the final unstressed closed syllable, the vowel is restored when the stress shifts onto this syllable after the addition of the suffix, e.g.

mánzəl	'room'	*manzáli*	'my room'
čángəl	'fork'	*čangáli*	'my fork'
čéypəs	'teapot'	*čeypási*	'my teapot'
kúlpət	'family'	*kulpáti*	'my family'
ʾatnábəl	'car'	*ʾatnabéli*	'my car'

There is, however, a tendency to avoid using suffixes on some loanwords ending in a consonant. This applies mainly to nouns containing an original short high vowel in the final syllable. The suffix is attached to a juxtaposed independent genitive particle, e.g.

habrésəm	'silk' (Kurd. hevrîşim, Arab. *ʾibrīsim*)
habrésəm díyi	'my silk'
máššməš	'apricot' (Kurd. mişmiş, Arab. *mišmiš*)
máššməš díyi	'my apricot'
fə̀lfəl	'pepper' (Arab. *filfil*)
fə̀lfəl díyi	'my pepper'

7.3. The Independent Genitive Particle

3rd pers.	ms.	*díye*
	fs.	*díya*
	pl.	*díyay*, *díyɛy*, *díyey*, *díyɛ*, *díya*
2nd pers.	ms.	*díyux*
	fs.	*díyəx*, *díyax*
	pl.	*diyéxu*
1st pers.	sing.	*díyi*
	pl.	*díyən*, *díyɛni*

This particle consists of the base *diy-* which is inflected with the pronominal suffixes. Other forms of the base of this particle that are attested in the NENA dialects include *did-*, *dið-* and *d-*. The */y/* glide element has arisen by weakening of an original */d/* or */ð/*, i.e. *díyi* < **dídi/díði*. An alternative explanation is that the original base was *d-*, which was extended to *diy-*. Several NENA dialects have the base *d-* in at least some of the paradigm of the genitive particle, e.g. *dohun* 3pl., *doxun* 2pl., *deni* 1pl. (J. Amedia), *d-o* 3s., *d-oni* 3pl. (J. Sanandaj, J. Sulemaniyya). It is also relevant to note by way of comparison that in the C. Barwar dialect the preposition *b-* has the extended base *biy-* when pronominal suffixes are attached, e.g. *bíye* 'in him', *bíya* 'in her', etc. (§13.3.2.).

A rare variant of the 2pl. form with a final *-n* is attested in text A34:

(1) *qəm-daryála b-ay-káwe diyèxun*[1] 'It put it in your window' (A34:6)

This is best analysed as having arisen by the attachment of an augment suffix *-n* rather than as a conservative form preserving the original *-n*. The

informant for this text has a tendency to add this augment to pronominal forms.

7.4. Demonstrative Pronouns

There are three series of demonstrative pronouns, which can be designated 'speaker deixis', 'far deixis' and 'default'. These labels refer to the use of the pronouns to refer to entities in the extra-linguistic situation. The system is 'hearer orientated', in that the deictic centre for all pronouns is the hearer. The speaker deixis forms are used to direct the hearer's attention to items that are near to the speaker. The far deixis forms are used to direct the hearer's attention to items that are in sight but far from both the speaker and the hearer. The default forms are used when the item is with the hearer in the deictic centre. They do not point the hearer's attention to anything remote from him in the surrounding environment. The demonstrative pronouns are also used anaphorically to refer back to items that have been mentioned in the preceding discourse rather than to refer to items that exist in the extra-linguist environment. The default pronoun is the one that is most commonly used in this function (for further details see §14.3.2.).

All three series of demonstratives can be used independently or attributively in combination with a noun. The independent and the attributive forms are identical throughout most the paradigm, the only exception being in the default forms, where the singular forms are liable to contract and the plural form is shortened.

Independent forms

	Speaker deixis	Far deixis	Default
ms.	*ʾáwwa*	*ʾăwáha ~ wáha*	*ʾaw*
fs.	*ʾáyya*	*ʾăyáha ~ yáha*	*ʾay*
pl.	*ʾánna*	*ʾănáha ~ náha*	*ʾáni*

Attributive forms

	Speaker deixis	Far deixis	Default
ms.	*ʾáwwa*	*ʾăwáha ~ wáha*	*ʾaw ~ ʾo*
fs.	*ʾáyya*	*ʾăyáha ~ yáha*	*ʾay ~ ʾey ~ ʾɛ ~ ʾa*
pl.	*ʾánna*	*ʾănáha ~ náha*	*ʾan*

Examples: *ʾáwwa kθawa* 'this book (near the speaker)', *ʾăwáha kθawa* 'that book (over there)', *ʾáw kθawa* ~ *ʾo-kθawa* 'that book (that is with you)'.

The default forms are structurally the least complex. The independent forms are identical to the independent personal pronouns. A rare variant of the singular attributive forms with an augmented *-ən* suffix is attested in text A34: *ʾáwən, ʾáyən*, e.g.

(1) *bṯ-ázən xázyən ʾáwən-nura ʾèkɛle*ˡ 'I shall go and see where that fire is' (A34:9)
(2) *xázyəlla ʾáyən bráta l-gàre*ˡ 'They saw that girl on the roof' (A34:6)

The speaker deixis pronouns appear to have been formed historically by suffixing a **-ha* element to the default form. The development would have been as follows:

ms.	*ʾáwwa*	< **ʾăwa*	< **áwha*
fs.	*ʾáyya*	< **ʾăya*	< **áyha*
pl.	*ʾánna*	< **ʾăna*	< **ánha*

After the elision of the larygnal */h/* the vowel in the preceding syllable remained short (§2.2.2.2.) and the gemination of the medial consonant developed secondarily after this stressed short vowel (§3.3.2.). In some NENA dialects the diphthongs */aw/* and */ay/* in the singular forms have contracted and the following */h/* is preserved, e.g. *ʾoha* and *ʾeha* (C. Derabun, J. Dohok).

The far deixis pronouns have been formed by suffixing a further *-ha* element to the speaker deixis forms without the secondary gemination. The unstressed initial short *ʾă-* is sometimes elided. Furthermore the */áha/* sequence sometimes contracts to */a/* in accordance with the tendency of the laryngal */h/* to be elided between vowels (§4.4.). This contraction is not marked in the transcription, e.g.

(3) *ʾu-ʾáp-yaha* [yæː] *bráta xéta* 'also that other girl' (A28:37)
(4) *réšux mattánne gu-d-yàha* [yæː] *káweˡ ṯ-íla pyàša*ˡ 'I shall put your head in that hole that is remaining' (A25:62)

Intensive variants of the far deixis forms exist with the long stressed vowel */á/* being replaced by the sequence */aʾ/*:

ms.	*ʾăwáʾha ~ wáʾha*
fs.	*ʾăyáʾha ~ yáʾha*
pl.	*ʾănáʾha ~ náʾha*

These intensive forms are used to refer to an item that lies a considerable distance from the interlocutors.

Another demonstrative element with the form *ʾəd-* has been preserved in the adverbial expressions *ʾədyo* 'today', *ʾədlɛle* 'tonight' and *ʾášše̱ta* (< **ʾəd̲šeta*) 'this year'. This is not used productively in other contexts. It is probably derived historically from **da-* or **ha-d-*. In some NENA dialects similar forms, with an alveolar or interdental consonant, are used productively as speaker deixis attributive demonstratives, e.g. *ʾad* (C. Ankawa, C. Baṭnaya, C. Hertevin, C. Tisqopa), *ʾaθ ~ ʾað* (C. Alqosh), *ʾaθ* (C. Telkepe).

Some speakers sporadically use the form *ʾa-* as a singular attributive demonstrative with speaker deixis, e.g. *ʾá-naša* 'this man' (A8:4), *ʾa-šùpra*[1] 'this beauty' (A8:41). This should be interpreted as interference from the koine dialect of Urmi origin.

7.5. Interrogative Pronouns

ʾéni	'who?'
mắni	
ʾéni	'which?'
mo, mu, maw	'what'
mut	
módi, máwdi	
ma	

Out of the two forms used for 'who?', *ʾéni* is the more frequent. It is identical with the form for 'which'. This is cognate with Syriac *ʾaynā*. Unlike in Syriac, however, it is invariable and does not inflect for gender or number, e.g. *ʾénile?* 'Who is he?', *ʾénila?* 'Who is she/Who are they?', *ʾéni mán d-an-baxtáθa?* 'which of those women?', *ʾéni gʸáwṛa?* 'which man?', *ʾéni báxta* 'which woman?', *ʾéni náše?* 'which people?' The final *-i* appears to have developed by analogy with the presence of final *-i* in the other interrogative pronouns *mắni* and *módi*.

The form *mǎ̀ni* is derived from **man* (cf. Syriac *man*) with the addition of a final augment *-i*. In many dialects this is the normal form for 'who?' but in C. Barwar it is used only sporadically, e.g.

(1) *ʾan-náše mǎ̀nila?*ǀ 'Who are those people?' (A14:78)
(2) *mǎ̀niwət?*ǀ 'Who are you?' (A23:26)
(3) *ʾánna tre-yále mǎ́nile mášya dəryólla gu-šaqìθa?*ǀ 'Who could have put these two children in the stream?' (A8:15)

The most primitive form of the inanimate interrogative pronoun 'what?' is *ma*, but this is only used sporadically in the dialect, e.g.

(4) *xúwwe mà ṭ̂-áwəð b-an-álpa dáwe*ǀ 'What will the snake do with those thousand gold coins?' (A1:8)
(5) *xáθi mà-ləx?*ǀ 'Sister, what is the matter with you?' (A34:12)

The form *mo* has developed historically from a combination of the interrogative *ma* with the 3ms. demonstrative pronoun *ʾaw*, thus: *mo* < *maw* < **ma* + *ʾaw*. The uncontracted form *maw*, in fact, is occasionally used in the dialect. By a similar process in some NENA dialects (e.g. J. Arbel, J. Sulemaniyya, C. Qaraqosh) this interrogative pronoun has the form *may*, which developed from a combination of *ma* with the demonstrative pronoun *ʾay* (cf. Khan 1999: 86; 2002: 83; 2004: 77). One may compare also the Syriac forms *mānā* and *mān*, which arose by the coalescence of *mā* with the demonstrative element *dnā* (Nöldeke 1904: 47) and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *may*, which developed by combining *mā* with the demonstrave *hāy* (Epstein 1060: 23, 28). In fast speech the /*o*/ vowel of *mo* is sometimes raised to /*u*/, e.g.

(6) *mò-bǎyət?*ǀ 'What do you want?' (A13:13)
(7) *mò ʾóðən ʾána?*ǀ 'What should I do?' (A25:37)
(8) *ṭla-mò θéləx drangèθa?*ǀ 'Why (literally: for what) have you come late?' (A25:57)
(9) *mú bṭ̂-àwe?*ǀ 'What will it be?' (= what does it matter?) (A18:33)
(10) *mù-y-amri?*ǀ 'What do they say?' (A25:64)

It is combined with 1st and 2nd person copula elements in compound verbal constructions, but is not combined with 3rd person copula forms, e.g.

(11) *ʾáti mòt wáða táma.*ʔ| 'What are you doing here?' (A25:60)
(12) *qa-mòt hátxa wáða bíyi*| 'Why (literally: for what) are you doing this to me?' (A25:42)
(13) *ʾána mùn wíða.*ʔ| 'What have I done?' (A14:23)

The most frequently used form of the inanimate demonstrative is *módi*, e.g.

(14) *mòdi wídle.*ʔ| 'What did he do?' (A25:19)
(15) *šə́mmə d-ɛ-bráta mòdile.*ʔ| 'What is the name of the girl?' (A25:4)
(16) *qurṭána m-mòdi mtúrṣa.*ʔ| 'What is the cloth made out of?' (B5:127)
(17) *mòdit mára.*ʔ| 'What do you say?' (A25:60)

One possible explanation for the presence of the */d/* element in this form would be to identify it with the relative particle *D*, which would have arisen in copula constructions such as *mo-d-ile* 'What (is it) that it is?' There is a problem, however, in this reconstruction in that the relative particle is elsewhere regularly devoiced to *ṯ* before the copula (§4.4.), e.g.

(18) *ʾáwwa dúxa ṯ-íle prìma*| 'this sacrifice that has been slaughtered' (B5:71)
(19) *ʾáyya bráta šapìrtə ṯ-íla dmíxta kàsli*| 'this beautiful girl who has slept with me' (A26:6)
(20) *ʾo-ṯ-ile-bənya*| 'whoever has built' (B10:52)

A more likely explanation, therefore, is that the form *módi* is a contraction of *mo-məndi* 'what thing'. This is supported by the fact that some NENA dialects (e.g. C. Bebede, C. Ɛnəške, C. Kharjawa) have the interrogative form *mándi*, which can be reconstructed as **ma-məndi*. The neighbouring dialect C. Shōsh-u-Sharmən has *mádi* with contraction of the */n/* as in the form *modi*. A similar development may lie behind the Upper Ṭiyari form *ʾédi* 'which?', 'who?' < *ʾay-məndi*. Speakers of the C. Barwar dialect occasionally use the uncontracted form *mawdi* instead of the normal form *modi*, e.g. *màwdile.*ʔ| 'What is it?' (A31:9).

Occasionally the final vowel of *módi* is elided and the form is shortened to *mut* with devoicing of the final */d/*, e.g.

(21) *mút qála dìyi.*ʔ| 'What is my voice?' (A25:44)
(22) *mùt ṯ-óðət b-masə́rqa.*ʔ| 'What will you do with the comb?' (A32:3)
(23) *ʾaṣə́rta mùt ṯ-áwəð.*ʔ| 'In the evening what does he do?' (A30:22)

Finally, we should mention in this context the contracted interrogative pronoun of the construction *míðən* 'I do not know'. This derives historically from *mo yăðən* 'What do I know?' It has now, however, lost its interrogative sense and functions as a negator, as shown by phrases such as *míðən mòdi*ˡ 'I don't know what'.

7.6. Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are formed by attaching pronominal suffixes to the Kurdish loan-word *gana* (often pronounced with palatalization of the */g/*: *gʸana*), which literally means 'soul' or 'person':

3rd pers.	ms.	*gáne*
	fs.	*gána*
	pl.	*ganáy*, *ganéy*, *ganéy*, *gánɛ*, *gána*
2nd pers.	ms.	*gánux*
	fs.	*gánəx*, *gánax*
	pl.	*ganéxu*
1st pers.	sing.	*gáni*
	pl.	*gánən*, *gánan*, *ganéni*

The reciprocal pronoun is the invariable form *ġðaðe*. The historical development of this is < **xðaðe* < **ḥðaðe*. The initial consonant is regularly pronounced voiced by partial assimilation to the adjacent voiced fricative */ð/*.

7.7. Pronoun of Isolation

The base *xoð-* with pronominal suffixes is used for expressions such as 'by himself' denoting isolation:

3rd pers.	ms.	*xóðe*
	fs.	*xóða*
	pl.	*xoðáy*, *xóðéy*, *xoðéy*, *xóðɛ*, *xóða*

2nd pers.	ms.	*xóðux*
	fs.	*xóðəx*, *xóðax*
	pl.	*xoðéxu*
1st pers.	sing.	*xóði*
	pl.	*xóðən*, *xóðan*, *xoðéni*

CHAPTER EIGHT

VERBS

8.1. Verbal Stems

Verbs with triliteral roots are used in one of three stems with distinctive patterns of inflection. In addition to these there are a number of quadriliteral verbs. The various parts that are used in the formation of verbal forms in each of these four categories are given below:

Stem I

pθx I 'to open'

Present base:	*paθəx-*
Past base:	*pθix-*
Resultative participle:	*pθixa*
Imperative:	*pθux*
Infinitive:	*pθaxa*
Verbal noun:	*pθaxta*

Stem II

m-šlx II 'to strip'

Present base:	*mšaləx-*
Past base:	*mšoləx-* ~ *mšuləx-*
Resultative participle:	*mšulxa*
Imperative:	*mšaləx*
Infinitive:	*mšaloxe*
Verbal noun:	*mšalaxta*

Stem III

m-plx III 'to use'

Present base:	*mapləx-*
Past base:	*mupləx-*
Resultative participle:	*mupəlxa*
Imperative:	*mapləx*
Infinitive:	*maploxe*
Verbal noun:	*maplaxta*

Quadriliteral

m-knkš 'to drag'

Present:	*mkankəš-*
Past:	*mkunkəš-*
Resultative participle:	*mkunəkša*
Imperative:	*mkankəš*
Infinitive:	*mkankoše*
Verbal noun:	*mkankašta*

The three triliteral stems are the descendants of the *pʿal*, *paᶜel* and *ʾapᶜel* stems respectively in earlier Aramaic. As in most NENA dialects, the forms of the imperative and infinitive in stems II and III have been adapted to conform to the structure of the present and past bases, which are the descendants of the active and passive participles of earlier Aramaic. This has resulted in the analogical extension of the *m-* prefix of the erstwhile *paᶜel* and *ʾapᶜel* participles to the imperative and the infinitive. The original forms of the *paᶜel* and *ʾapᶜel* imperative and infinitive without the *m-* prefix are preserved only in a few dialects on the Moṣul plain, such as C. Qaraqosh:

	C. Barwar	C. Qaraqosh
Stem II		
Imperative	*mqaṭəl*	*qaṭəl*
Infinitive	*mqaṭole*	*qaṭolə*
Stem III		
Imperative	*maqṭəl*	*ʾaqṭəl*
Infinitive	*maqṭole*	*ʾaqṭolə*

In fast speech in the Barwar dialect the */m/* in the initial sequence */mC/* of stem II and quadriliteral verb forms is sometimes elided (§4.2.). This is a secondary phonetic process and affects all bases. The */m/* of quadriliteral verbs is particularly prone to be elided in this way:

Stem II

m-šlx II 'to strip'

Present base:	*šaləx-*
Past base:	*šoləx-* ~ *šuləx*
Resultative participle:	*šulxa*

Imperative:	*šaləx*
Infinitive:	*šaloxe*
Verbal noun:	*šalaxta*

Quadriliteral

m-knkš 'to drag'

Present:	*kankəš-*
Past:	*kunkəš-*
Resultative participle:	*kunəška*
Imperative:	*kankəš*
Infinitive:	*kankoše*
Verbal noun:	*kankašta*

8.2. Inflection of the Present Base

8.2.1. *Inflectional S-Suffixes*

The present base is derived historically from the active participle of earlier Aramaic. As is usual in the NENA dialects, it is inflected for person and number by a series of suffixes. The suffixes of the 1st and 2nd persons are in origin enclitic pronouns. Most of the suffixes of the 1st and 2nd persons have two variants, which will be designated 'default' and 'long' forms respectively. The suffixes on verbs with a strong final radical are as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	—	
	fs.	*-a*	
	pl.	*-i*	
2nd pers.	ms.	*-ət*	*-eti*
	fs.	*-ət*	*-ati*
	pl.	*-itu*	
1st pers.	ms.	*-ən*	*-ena*
	fs.	*-ən*	*-ana*
	pl.	*-əx*	*-exi*

For convenience this set of suffixes, which express the subject of the verb, will be referred to as S-suffixes.

8.2.2. *Stem I Verbs*

When these suffixes are added to the present base of stem I verbs, the */a/* vowel of the base form *paθəx-* is in a stressed open syllable only in the 3ms. form, which has zero inflection. In accordance with the rules of vowel lengthening, the */a/* in the 3ms. is long. When inflection suffixes for the other forms are attached, the vowel after the second radical of the base is elided and the preceding syllable becomes closed. As result of this, the long vowel is shortened. The full paradigm of the inflection of present base *paθəx-* is as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*páθəx*	
	fs.	*páθxa*	
	pl.	*páθxi*	
2nd pers.	ms.	*páθxət*	*paθxeti*
	fs.	*páθxət*	*paθxati*
	pl.	*paθxítu*	
1st pers.	ms.	*páθxən*	*paθxena*
	fs.	*páθxən*	*paθxana*
	pl.	*páθxəx*	*paθxexi*

The long forms of the 1st and 2nd persons differ from the corresponding default forms in the augment of a final vowel. In the long forms the position of stress is variable. It may fall on the */a/* vowel of the base as in the default forms: *páθxeti*, *páθxati*, *páθxena*, *páθxana*, *páθxexi*. Alternatively it may be shifted to the penultimate vowel of the suffix: *paθxéti*, *paθxáti*, *paθxéna*, *paθxána*, *paθxéxi*. In the 1st and 2nd person singular there is a distinction in gender only in the long forms. The gender distinction has been levelled in the default forms. This has taken place by a process of vowel attentuation in which the original */e/* and */a/* in the unstressed closed syllables of the suffixes have been centralized to */ə/* (§2.3.5., §2.5.5.):

2ms.	**páθxet*	>	*páθxət*
2fs.	**páθxat*	>	*páθxət*

1ms.	**páθxen*	>	*páθxən*
1fs.	**páθxan*	>	*páθxən*

An original **a* is preserved when the stress shifts onto the closed syllable after the addition of further inflectional suffixes. An original **e*, however, is not preserved in this environment but also here is centralized to */ə/*:

2ms.	**paθxétwa*	>	*paθxátwa*
2fs.	**paθxátwa*	>	*paθxátwa*
1ms.	**paθxénwa*	>	*paθxánwa*
1fs.	**paθxánwa*	>	*paθxánwa*

In accordance with this process, we can reconstruct an original **e* in the inflectional ending of the 1pl., since the centralized vowel */ə/* occurs even when it is stressed:

1pl.	**páθxex*	>	*páθxəx*
	**paθxéxwa*	>	*paθxáxwa*

In some sporadic cases when the vowel duration is extended at the end of an intonation group an original **e* is preserved in inflectional suffixes, e.g. *là-gawrēn!* 'I (m.) shall not marry!' (A16:5), *ʾána màṣlēn*[1] 'I shall deduct' (B5:9).

The long forms of the 1st person singular suffixes *-ena* (1ms.) and *-ana* (1fs.) are archaic forms, which preserve the original final vowel of the 1st personal pronoun. Since it is an open syllable the vowel is long and it does not undergo attenuation.

The final *-i* of the long 2s. and 1pl. suffixes *-eti* (2ms.), *-ati* (2fs.) and *-exi* (1pl.) is an innovative augment. It can be compared to the *–i* augment that has been attached to the independent 2s. pronoun *ʾáti* (< *ʾat*) and the interrogative pronouns *mắni* 'who?' (< **man*) and *dáxi* ~ *dax* 'how?'

As is the case in the other NENA dialects, some of the inflectional endings of the present base of verbs with strong radicals appear to have been transferred by analogy from the inflection of final weak verbs.[1] This applies to the 1s., 2s. forms. These analogical relationships are shown in the following table, which shows the corresponding forms in Classical Syriac:

[1] Cf. Hoberman (1988: 567–568, 571–572) and Khan (1999: 91).

	Syriac Strong verb	Syriac Final weak	C. Barwar Strong verb	C. Barwar Final weak
2ms.	*qāṭlat*	*ḥāzēt*	*qáṭlət ~ -eti*	*xázət ~ -eti*
2fs.	*qāṭlat*	*ḥāzyat*	*qáṭlət ~ -ati*	*xázyət ~ -ati*
2pl.	*qāṭlīttōn*	*ḥāzēttōn*	*qaṭlítu*	*xazétu*
1ms.	*qāṭəlnā*	*ḥāzēnā*	*qáṭlən ~ -ena*	*xázən ~ -ena*
1fs.	*qāṭlānā*	*ḥāzyānā*	*qáṭlən ~ -ana*	*xázyən ~ -ana*
1pl.	*qāṭlīnnan*	*ḥāzēnnan*	*qáṭləx ~ -exi*	*xázəx ~ -exi*

The relationship of the 1st and 2nd person suffixes of the C. Barwar verbs to the suffixes of the Syriac final weak verb is clearest in the alternative long forms, which preserve the original vowel. In the default forms the vowel has been attenuated to */ə/*. The distinction between the forms of the 2pl. suffixes of the Syriac strong and final weak verbs has been preserved in the C. Barwar suffixes. The fact that Syriac has an *e* quality vowel in this suffix in the final weak verb whereas C. Barwar has the */ɛ/* vowel (*-ɛtu*) reflects a different phonetic development of an original diphthong **ay* in the plural active participle: Syriac **ḥāzayn* > *ḥāzē(n)*; C. Barwar **ḥāzayn* > *xazɛ* (see §2.4.1.). The long form of the 1pl. suffix on strong and final weak verbs *–exi*, however, has an */e/* vowel and, as remarked above, an original **e* must be reconstructed for the default form of the suffix *-əx*. This vowel could not have developed by contraction of **ay*. It may have arisen by analogy with the */e/* in the 1ms. long form *–ena* and the original **e* in short form **en* > **ən*. The */x/* in the 1pl. suffix corresponds to the */x/* of the independent pronoun *ʾaxni*. Note that the original phonetic shape of the suffix has been preserved in the J. Amedia form *qaṭlaxni*. This reflects a different historical development from that of the enclitic pronoun in Syriac, in which the equivalent consonant has been elided.

8.2.3. *Stem II Verbs*

The same inflectional endings are attached to the present base of stem II verbs that have a strong final radical. As in stem I, when inflectional vowels are added, the short */ə/* of the second syllable of the base is elided. The stress remains on the first syllable of the present base, with the exception of the 2pl. form, e.g.

m-šlx II ‘to strip’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mšáləx*	
	fs.	*mšálxa*	
	pl.	*mšálxi*	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mšálxət*	*mšalxeti*
	fs.	*mšálxət*	*mšalxati*
	pl.	*mšalxítu*	
1st pers.	ms.	*mšálxən*	*mšalxena*
	fs.	*mšálxən*	*mšalxana*
	pl.	*mšálxəx*	*mšalxexi*

This stem is the descendant of the *paʿʿel* of earlier Aramaic, but there is no vestige of the original gemination of the second radical. Even in the 3ms. form *mšáləx*, where the middle radical is followed by a vowel, the gemination has been lost and the preceding vowel lengthened as a result of a general phonetic process in the language (see §3.3.1.).

As remarked above, the initial */m/* in the opening cluster *mC-* of this stem is frequently elided: *šaləx*, *šalxa*, *šalxi*, etc.

The forms with long suffixes may take the stress either on the */a/* vowel of the base or on the penultimate vowel of the suffix, e.g. *mšálxeti* ~ *mšalxéti*, *mšálxati* ~ *mšalxáti*, etc.

In a few verbs a paradigm with a slightly different syllabic structure is used. It has a short */a/* vowel throughout and has a stressed epenthetic vowel between the final two radicals in forms with inflectional endings. This variant type of inflection will be referred to as stem IIa, e.g.

m-tmz IIa ‘to clean’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mtắməz*	
	fs.	*mtămə́za*	
	pl.	*mtămə́zi*	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mtămə́zət*	*mtămə́zeti*
	fs.	*mtămə́zət*	*mtămə́zati*
	pl.	*mtămə́zítu*	

1st pers.	ms.	*mtăməzən*	*mtăməzena*
	fs.	*mtăməzən*	*mtăməzana*
	pl.	*mtăməzəx*	*mtăməzexi*

On some occasions the consonant following the short vowels in this conjugation, especially when preceded by a stress, is geminated by a secondary process, e.g. *mtámməz* 'he cleans', *mtăməzza* 'she cleans'.

The verbs that have the stem IIa type of conjugation fall into two categories. The first includes verbs that are derived from adjectives and nouns containing a short */a/* in the first syllable. Verbs in this category include *m-tmz* 'to clean' (< *tăməz* 'clean'), *m-zrn* 'to become yellow' (< *zărin* 'yellow, golden'), *m-qrn* 'to become big' (< *qărana* 'big'), *m-qlm* 'to crop protruding branches' (< *qălama* 'protruding branch'). The adjectives *tăməz* and *zărin* are loanwords from Kurdish. The second category are loaned Arabic form II verbs (*faʿʿala*) or form V verbs (*tafaʿʿala*), both of which are conjugated as stem II in the Aramaic dialect. The short */a/* of this type of stem II conjugation preserves the short vowel of the verbal form in the source language, e.g. *mʿăqəməxwale* 'We used to sterilized it' < Arab. *ʿaqqama* (B10:77), *ta-t-ṭăbəqàwa* 'so that it was pressed' < Arab. *taṭabbaqa* (B10:23).

8.2.4. *Stem III Verbs*

In the conjugation of the present base of stem III, *maCCəC*, the short */ə/* in the second syllable is elided when inflectional endings are added. The resulting cluster *CCC* is broken by the insertion of a short epenthetic */ə/* either between the first and second consonants or between the second and third consonants. The epenthetic takes the stress when it is in penultimate position:

m-plx III 'to use'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mápləx*	
	fs.	*mapə́lxa*	
		mapləxa	
	pl.	*mapə́lxi*	
		mapləxi	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mapə́lxət*	*mapəlxeti*
		mapləxət	*mapləxeti*

	fs.	*mapálxət*	*mapəlxati*
		mapláxət	*mapləxati*
	pl.	*mapəlxítu*	
		mapləxítu	
1st pers.	ms.	*mapálxən*	*mapəlxena*
		mapláxən	*mapləxena*
	fs.	*mapálxən*	*mapəlxana*
		mapláxən	*mapləxana*
	pl.	*mapálxəx*	*mapəlxexi*
		mapláxəx	*mapləxexi*

The consonant following a stressed epenthetic in an open syllable is occasionally geminated by a secondary process, e.g. *mapláxxa* 'she uses' < *mapláxa*. The forms with long suffixes take the stress either on the vowel before the second radical, as in the default forms (e.g. *mapálxeti*, *mapálxati*, etc.), or on the penultimate vowel of the suffix (e.g. *mapəlxéti*, *mapəlxáti*, etc.).

8.2.5. *Quadriliteral Verbs*

The present base of quadriliteral verbs has a syllabic structure that is similar to that of stem III present bases, viz. *mCaCCəC-*. When the inflectional endings are added, the */ə/* of the final syllable of the base is elided, which results in the cluster *CCC*. The resulting cluster *CCC* is broken by the insertion of a short epenthetic */ə/* either between the first and second consonants or between the second and third consonants. The epenthetic takes the stress when it is in penultimate position:

m-knkš 'to drag'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mkánkəš*	
	fs.	*mkanákša*	
		mkankáša	
	pl.	*mkanákši*	
		mkankáši	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mkanákšət*	*mkanəkšeti*
		mkankášət	*mkankəšeti*
	fs.	*mkanákšət*	*mkanəkšati*
		mkankášət	*mkankəšati*

	pl.	*mkanəkšítu*	
		mkankəšítu	
1st pers.	ms.	*mkanə́kšən*	*mkanəkšena*
		mkankə́šən	*mkankəšena*
	fs.	*mkanə́kšən*	*mkanəkšana*
		mkankə́šən	*mkankəšana*
	pl.	*mkanə́kšəx*	*mkanəkšexi*
		mkankə́šəx	*mkankəšexi*

When the stressed epenthetic occurs in an open syllable between the third and fourth radicals, the fourth radical is sometimes geminated, e.g. *mkankə́šši* 'they drag'. The forms with long suffixes take the stress either on the vowel before the third radical, as in the default forms (e.g. *mkanə́kšeti*, *mkanə́kšati*, etc.), or on the penultimate vowel of the suffix (e.g. *mkanəkšéti*, *mkanəkšáti*, etc.). Occasionally epenthetic vowels do not occur in the inflections. This is found where a cluster of the third and fourth radicals in syllable initial position is tolerated, e.g. *mqážḍrət* 'You interfere' (*m-qžḍr*).

8.3. Inflection of the Past Base

8.3.1. *Inflectional L-Suffixes*

As indicated above, the past base derives historically from the ertswhile passive participle in the absolute state. The subject of the past base is expressed by the following inflectional endings:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*-le*	
	fs.	*-la*	
	pl.	*-lɛ, -la*	*-ley, -lay*
2nd pers.	ms.	*-lux*	
	fs.	*-ləx*	
	pl.	*-lɛ́xu*	
1st pers.	s.	*-li*	
	pl.	*-lən*	*-lɛ́ni*

For convenience this series of suffixes will be referred as the L-suffixes.

The 3pl. suffix has the same features and historical background as the 3pl. suffix that is attached to nouns and prepositions (§7.2.). The default form *-lɛ* is heard in slow, deliberate speech. In natural, fast speech the final */ɛ/* vowel is usually lowered to */a/*, resulting in a form that is homophonous with the 3fs. form *-la*. It is derived from a form such as **-léhən* < **-láyhən*, with the elision of the */hən/* element. The long form *–ley* ~ *-lay* sometimes takes the stress: *qṭillέy* 'they killed'. This preserves the original stress position of **-láyhən*. On other occasions, however, the stress is retracted: *qṭílley*.

The */ə/* vowel in the 2fs. and 1pl. forms is the result of attenuation of an original */a/: -ləx* < *-lax*, *-lən* < *-lan*. The */ɛ/* vowel of the long 1pl. form *-léni* appears to have developed by analogy with the */ɛ/* of the 2pl. suffix *-ɛ́xu*.

The L-suffixes are in origin pronominal suffixes combined with the preposition *l-*, which were originally agentive phrases in a passive construction ('by him', 'by her', etc.). This construction is characteristic of the NENA dialects. It is significant that in the C. Barwar dialect the preposition *l-* can be used with an agentive sense also when it is prefixed to nouns (§16.2.1.5.). In many NENA dialects, by contrast, the agentive sense of the preposition *l-* is restricted to the L-suffixes, which are attached to the past base of verbs.

Originally the inflection of the past base by L-suffixes was used only with transitive verbs, the agent being expressed by the agentive prepositional phrase and the patient being construed as the grammatical subject of the passive participle. In the C. Barwar dialect, as is generally the case with the Christian NENA dialects, the use of the construction has been extended to intransitive verbs. In several Jewish dialects in the eastern NENA area, it is still restricted to transitive verbs.[2]

8.3.2. *Stem I Verbs*

The full inflection of the past base of the stem I verb *pθx* 'to open', *pθix-*, is as follows:

[2] See Hopkins (1989), Khan (2004).

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*pθíxle*	
	fs.	*pθíxla*	
	pl.	*pθíxlɛ*	*pθíxley*
		pθíxla	
2nd pers.	ms.	*pθíxlux*	
	fs.	*pθíxləx*	
	pl.	*pθíxlɛxu*	
1st pers.	s.	*pθíxli*	
	pl.	*pθíxlən*	*pθíxlɛni*

The */i/* vowel of the base is derived historically from a long vowel **ī*, the original pattern being **qṭīl-*, but is pronounced short in the closed syllable in accordance with the general principles of vowel lengthening (§2.2.2.1.).

When the final consonant of the verbal base is */n/* or */r/*, the */l/* of the inflectional suffix regularly assimilates to this, e.g.

kpn 'to hunger'	*kpínne* 'He hungered'
špn 'to level (ground)'	*špínne* 'He levelled'
šxn 'to become warm'	*šxínne* 'He became warm'
tpn 'to become moudy'	*tpínne* 'It became mouldy'
ṭxn 'to grind'	*ṭxínne* 'He ground'
bðr 'to scatter'	*bðírre* 'He scattered'
bṣr 'to reduce'	*bṣírre* 'It reduced, became less'
gmr 'to tan (skin)'	*gmírre* 'He tanned'
nðr 'to dedicate'	*nðírre* 'He dedicated'
nqr 'to inscribe'	*nqírre* 'He inscribed'
nsr 'to saw'	*nsírre* 'He sawed'
nθr 'to fall (leaves)'	*nθírre* 'It fell'
nṭr 'guard'	*nṭírre* 'He guarded'
pšr 'to melt'	*pšírre* 'It melted'
spr 'to wait'	*spírre* 'He waited'
ṣbr 'to dare'	*ṣbírre* 'He dared'
txr 'to remember'	*txírre* 'He remembered'
zmr 'to sing'	*zmírre* 'He sang'
zqr 'to weave, knit'	*zqírre* 'He wove'

An interdental fricative */θ/* or */ð/* that is the final radical of the root shifts to the corresponding stops */t/* or */d/* when in contact with the */l/* or the L-suffix, e.g.

tpθ 'to sneeze'	*tpítle* 'He sneezed'
grð 'to scrub'	*grídle* 'He scrubbed'
ṭrð 'to chase away'	*ṭrídle* 'He chased away'
sqð 'to be bored'	*sqídle* 'He was bored'

In addition to the default form of the past base, transitive verbs also have a feminine and a plural form that express 3fs. and 3pl. patients respectively. In verbs with a strong final radical these have the endings *-a* (fs.) and *-i* (pl.), which are vestiges of the fs. and pl. endings in the absolute state of earlier Aramaic and correspond to the 3fs. and 3pl. S-suffixes of the present base. The past bases of *qṭl* 'to kill', for example, are:

Default	*qṭil-*
fs.	*qṭila-*
pl.	*qṭili-*

The fs. and pl. forms are used to express 3fs. and 3pl. patients as follows: *qṭilále* 'He killed her' (originally: 'She was killed by him'), *qṭilíle* 'He killed them' (originally: 'They were killed by him'). The default form of the base can be used to express a 3ms. patient, e.g. *qṭílla* 'She killed him', *qṭílli* 'I killed him'. 1st and 2nd person pronominal patients, however, cannot be expressed in this way by S-suffixes on the verbal base.

The */l/* of the suffix is retained on the fs. and pl. form of bases ending in the consonants */n/* and */r/* and not assimilated, since there is an intervening vowel, e.g. *ṭxiníle* 'He ground them', *bðiríle* 'He scattered them', *txirále* 'He remembered her'. Similarly, an interdental occurring at the end of the root is retained on the fs. and pl. past bases since the consonant is not in direct contact with the */l/* of the suffix, e.g. *ṭriðále* 'He chased here away', *ṭriðíle* 'He chased them away'.

8.3.3. *Stem II Verbs*

The past base of stem II verbs has the pattern *mqoṭəl-* or *mquṭəl-*, the latter being the more usual in fast speech. The inflection of the past base of the stem II verb *m-šlx* 'to strip' is as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mšoláxle*	
		mšuláxle	
	fs.	*mšoláxla*	
		mšuláxla	
	pl.	*mšoláxlɛ, mšoláxla*	*mšoláxley*
		mšuláxlɛ, mšuláxla	*mšuláxley*
2nd pers.	ms.	*mšoláxlux*	
		mšuláxlux	
	fs.	*mšoláxlax*	
		mšuláxlax	
	pl.	*mšoláxlɛxu*	
		mšuláxlɛxu	
1st pers.	s.	*mšoláxli*	
		mšuláxli	
	pl.	*mšoláxlan*	*mšoláxlɛni*
		mšuláxlan	*mšuláxlɛni*

The original *pa“el* passive participle, from which the stem II past base is descended, had the form **mquṭṭal* or **mqaṭṭal*. The gemination of the middle radical has been reduced and the */a/* vowel in the final syllable has been replaced by */ə/*. This loss of the */a/* vowel may have come about by analogy with the pattern of the present base *mqaṭəl*. The */ə/* is elided in the fs. and pl. forms of the base: *mšulxa-* (fs.), *mšulxi-* (pl.), e.g. *mšulxále* ‘He stripped her’, *mšulxíle* ‘He stripped them’.

If the */l/* of the suffix is in contact with a final */n/* or */r/* of the verbal base, it assimilates to it, e.g.

m-zbn ‘to sell’	*mzubánne* ‘He sold’
m-bðr ‘to scatter’	*mbuðárre* ‘He scattered’
m-bqr ‘to ask’	*mbuqárre* ‘He asked’
m-šdr ‘to send’	*mšudárre* ‘He sent’

Verbs belonging to the variant stem IIa (§8.2.2.) have a short */u/* vowel after the first radical, e.g.

m-tmz II ‘to clean’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mtŭmázle*	
	fs.	*mtŭmázla*	
	pl.	*mtŭmázlɛ*	*mtŭmázley*
		mtŭmázla	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mtŭmázlux*	
	fs.	*mtŭmázləx*	
	pl.	*mtŭmázlɛxu*	
1st pers.	s.	*mtŭmázli*	
	pl.	*mtŭmázlən*	*mtŭmázlɛni*

In this variant conjugation the */ə/* is retained in the fs. and the pl. form of the base: *mtŭməza-* (fs.), *mtŭməzi-* (pl.), e.g. *mtŭməzále* ‘He cleaned it (f.)’, *mtŭməzíle* ‘He cleaned them’.

8.3.4. *Stem III Verbs*

The inflection of the past base of the stem III verb *m-plx* ‘to use’, *mupləx-*, is as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mupláxle*	
	fs.	*mupláxla*	
	pl.	*mupláxlɛ*	*mupláxley*
		mupláxla	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mupláxlux*	
	fs.	*mupláxləx*	
	pl.	*mupláxlɛxu*	
1st pers.	s.	*mupláxli*	
	pl.	*mupláxlən*	*mupláxlɛni*

The original *ʾap̄ʿel* passive participle, from which the stem III past base is descended, had the form *muqṭal* with an */a/* vowel in the final syllable. The */ə/* of the past base, therefore, is an innovation that probably developed by analogy with the */ə/* in the pattern of the present base *maqṭəl*. As we have

seen, this process of analogy affected also the past base of stem II verbs. There is resyllabification in the fs. and pl. forms of the base: *mupəlxa-* (fs.), *mupəlxi-* (pl.), e.g. *mupəlxále* 'He used it (f.)', *mupəlxíle* 'He used them'.

If the */l/* of the suffix is in contact with a final */n/* or */r/* of the verbal base, it assimilates to it, e.g.

m-bṣr 'to reduce'	*mubṣárre* 'He reduced'
m-pšr 'to melt'	*mupšárre* 'He melted'
m-ṭmr 'to bury'	*muṭmárre* 'He buried'
m-xbr 'to telephone'	*muxbárre* 'He telephoned'

8.3.5. *Quadriliteral Verbs*

The inflection of the past base of the quadriliteral verb *m-knkš* 'to drag', *mkunkəš-*, is as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mkunkášle*	
	fs.	*mkunkášla*	
	pl.	*mkunkášlɛ*	*mkunkášley*
		mkunkášla	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mkunkášlux*	
	fs.	*mkunkášləx*	
	pl.	*mkunkášlɛxu*	
1st pers.	s.	*mkunkášli*	
	pl.	*mkunkášlən*	*mkunkášlɛni*

There is resyllabification in the fs. and pl. forms of the base: *mkunəška-* (fs.), *mkunəški-* (pl.), e.g. *mkunəškále* 'He dragged her', *mkunəškíle* 'He dragged them'.

8.3.6. *Past Base without L-Suffixes*

The past base is used without L-suffixes in passive constructions with 3rd person subjects. The ms., fs. and pl. forms of the base may be used in this way:

Stem I

qṭl ‘to kill’

3rd pers.	ms.	*qṭil*	‘He was killed’
	fs.	*qṭíla*	‘She was killed’
	pl.	*qṭíli*	‘They were killed’

The */i/* vowel in the 3ms. form *qṭil* is pronounced short, as it is in the past base before L-suffixes (*qṭille*), in accordance with the general principles of vowel lengthening, although historically it was long (**qṭīl*).

Stem II

m-ṭmr ‘to bury’

3rd pers.	ms.	*mṭómər*	‘He was buried’
	fs.	*mṭúmra*	‘She was buried’
	pl.	*mṭúmri*	‘They were buried’

Stem III

m-dbš ‘to stick’

3rd pers.	ms.	*múdbəš*	‘He was stuck’
	fs.	*mudə́bša*	‘She was stuck’
	pl.	*mudə́bši*	‘They were stuck’

Quadriliteral

m-šxlp ‘to exchange’

3rd pers.	ms.	*mšúxləp*	‘He was exchanged’
	fs.	*mšuxə́lpa*	‘She was exchanged’
	pl.	*mšuxə́lpi*	‘They were exchanged’

A passive construction with this form is only available for the 3rd person. It cannot be inflected to express 1st or 2nd person subjects. This corresponds to the restriction of the inflection of the past base with L-suffixes to the 3rd person (*qṭil-le, qṭila-le, qṭili-le*).

8.4. Inflection of the Resultative Participle

In addition to the past base, all verbs also have a resultative participle, which is used in some compound verbal forms. This is the descendant of

the passive participle of earlier Aramaic with nominal inflectional endings corresponding to the original determined state. It designates a state that has resulted from an action in the past. This form is available for both transitive and intransitive verbs. Moreover in the modern dialect it can be used with active diathesis when derived from transitive verbs. The term 'resultative' participle, therefore, is preferable to 'passive' participle.

The nominal inflection distinguishes the three categories of masculine singular, feminine singular and plural. The various forms are as follows:

Stem I

ms.	*pθíxa*
fs.	*pθíxta*
pl.	*pθíxe*

Stem II

ms.	*mšúlxa*
fs.	*mšuláxta*
pl.	*mšúlxe*

Stem IIa

ms.	*mtŭmáza ~ mtŭmázza*
fs.	*mtŭmázta*
pl.	*mtŭmáze ~ mtŭmázze*

Stem III

ms.	*mupálxa ~ mupláxa ~ mupláxxa*
fs.	*mupláxta*
pl.	*mupálxe ~ mupláxe ~ mupláxxe*

Quadriliteral

ms.	*mkunákša ~ mkunkáša ~ mkunkášša*
fs.	*mkunkášta*
pl.	*mkunákše ~ mkunkáše ~ mkunkášše*

The resultative participle of stems II and III retains the original */a/* after the second radical in the fs. form. The same applies to quadriliteral verbs, which have */a/* after the third radical in the fs. form. This contrasts with the past bases of these stems, in which the original */a/* has been replaced by */ə/* by analogy with the present base. The corresponding vowel in the ms. and pl. forms has been elided and the stress shifted to the preceding syllable.

8.5. Inflection of the Imperative

The inflection of the various forms of the imperative is as follows.

Stem I

sing.	*pθux*
plural	*pθúxu, páθxu*

Stem II

sing.	*mšáləx*
plural	*mšálxu*

Stem IIa

sing.	*mtắməz*
plural	*mtắməzu*

Stem III

sing.	*mápləx*
plural	*mắpəlxu ~ mápəlxu ~ mápləxu*

Quadriliteral

sing.	*mkánkəš*
plural	*mkắnəkšu ~ mkánəkšu ~ mkánkəšu*

The stress is generally placed on the first syllable of imperative forms, even where this is the antepenultimate, as is the case with the plural imperatives of stem III and quadriliteral verbs. Note that in one of the variant plural forms of the stem III and quadriliteral imperatives where the */a/* vowel is in an open syllable due to the insertion of a following epenthetic, the */a/* vowel remains short. Another variant form exists with the same syllabic structure in which this */a/* vowel is pronounced long.

Although in the majority of verbs no gender distinction is made in either the imperative singular or the imperative plural, this distinction is expressed in the imperative singular of weak verbs with a final */y/* radical, e.g. *šty* 'to drink': *šti* 'Drink (ms.)!', *šta* 'Drink (fs.)!', *što* 'Drink (pl.)!' (see §8.12.8.).

8.6. Particles Attached to Verbal Forms

Various particles may be attached to the inflections of the present and past bases. We give the most common of these here. More details concerning their function can be found in chapter 15.

8.6.1. ʾi-

Verb forms derived from the present base sometimes have the particle *ʾi-* prefixed to them, e.g. *ʾi-qaṭəl* 'He kills'. This is associated with the mood expressed by the verb. Forms on which the particle occurs are always indicative in mood. Those that express an irrealis mood regularly lack the particle. The particle is not found, however, in a large proportion of indicative forms in the text corpus. The form *qaṭəl* without the particle should, therefore, be regarded as the default, unmarked form with regard to mood, since it is not restricted to a specific mood. The form *ʾi-qaṭəl*, on the other hand, is the marked form, in that its use is restricted to forms expressing the indicative mood.

A rare variant form of the *ʾi-* prefix is *yi-*, e.g. *yi-măyīle* 'They churn it' (B6:38).

When the verb begins with the laryngal */ʾ/*, this is generally elided and the particle has the form of the glide *y-* forming the onset of the first syllable of the verb, e.g. *y-axəl* 'He eats' (< *ʾi* + *ʾaxəl*). On a few rare occasions the */ʾ/* is retained, e.g. *ʾi-ʾóði* 'They do' (B15:92).

An initial */h/* is not elided after the particle, with the exception of the irregular verb *hwy* 'to be' (§8.16.1.), e.g. *ʾi-hayər b-gane* 'He is confused', *ʾi-harwət mənni* 'You speak with me'. In the very *hwy* the */h/* is generally elided, e.g. *y-awe* 'He is' (< *ʾi-hawe*). Sporadically, however, the */h/* is retained, e.g. *ʾi-háwe* 'It is' (B15:50).

The limited use of verbal forms with the *ʾi-* prefix suggests that the particle is in the process of falling into disuse. It is relevant to note that in closely related Christian NENA dialects in the Lower Ṭiyari region present base verbs have no corresponding prefixed particle. The distribution of the *ʾi-* particle on indicative verbs in C. Barwar is not, however, entirely random and certain principles can be identified. These will be examined in §15.1.3.

In origin the particle is likely to be a reduced form of the verb 'to be' and so related morphologically to the copula. The vowel */i/* is a morphological component of the copula in many of its inflections. Indeed the

3ms form of the copula is sometimes reduced to this component alone without any inflection (§8.7.1.).

8.6.2. bəd-

The particle *bəd-* is prefixed to an inflected form of the present base when it expresses a future action or an apodosis of a condition and in some other syntactic contexts (see §15.1.5.),[3] e.g. *bəd-yawèmne* 'I shall give him' (A1:2), *bəd-šáqəl* 'He will take' (A1:5), *qaṭúθi bəd-mnagràlux* 'My cat will gnaw you' (A37:16).

The foregoing cases are examples of the particle used in its full form, which are not very frequently found in the text corpus. In most cases where the particle occurs it is phonetically reduced.

Before verbs beginning with a consonant other than */ʾ/, /h/, /y/, /l/* and */x/*, the */d/* segment is generally elided and the particle is reduced to *b-*, e.g. *b-tàrəṣ* 'He will be cured' (A8:33), *b-tàlqət* 'You will be lost' (A8:92), *šàwpi b-šaqlíle* 'He will take my place' (A8:7), *b-qáryən* 'I (f.) shall call' (A8:72). When the initial consonant is unvoiced, the particle is sometimes devoiced by partial assimilation, e.g. *b-šatèxi* [p-ʃæːˈteːxi] 'We shall drink' (A22:28). This devoicing is not represented in the transcription.

When the particle is placed before verbs from roots beginning with */ʾ/*, the initial */ʾ/* is usually elided and the particle has the form *b̥t-* with devoicing of the */d/* or simply *t̥-* with devoicing of the */d/* and elision of the */b/*. e.g. *b̥t-ázən* ~ *t̥-ázən* 'I shall go' (< *bəd-ʾazən*). The transcription distinguishes here the devoiced consonant as unaspirated */t̥/* since before a vowel it can contrast phonemically with aspirated */t/*, e.g. *t̥-aza* 'She will go': *taza* 'new'. The */t̥/* forms the onset of the first syllable of the verb and so is protected from elision. The form *b̥t-* tends to occur where the verb is closely connected with the preceding word ending in a vowel and the */b/* is syllabified with the final syllable of this word, e.g. *ʾána b̥t-àzən*ˈ 'I shall go' (A8:51), *ʾáti b̥t-àzet* 'You shall go' (A8:46), *ʾáyya b̥t-amràlux*ˈ 'She will tell you' (A8:92), *ʾu-b̥t-amrànnux*ˈ 'and I shall say to you' (A8:44), *kúlla b̥t-oðànna-llux*ˈ 'I shall do everything for you' (A8:38). The form *t̥-* occurs in all contexts, e.g. at the beginning of an intonation group: *t̥-azítu* 'You shall go' (A8:27), *t̥-àzət* 'You shall go' (A8:46), *t̥-ámrət* 'You shall say' (A8:48); in

[3] This particle, which is widespread in the NENA dialects, has usually be regarded as a phonetically attentuated form of the verbal construction **baʿe d-* 'he wants to', or **bʿe d-* 'it is desired that' (Nöldeke 1868: 294–296; Pennacchietti 1994a: 281, 1994b: 137; Cohen 1984: 520).

the middle of an intonation group after a preceding vowel: *ʾu-xárθa ṯ-àzən*ˈ 'and then you shall go' (A8:43), *políse mù ṯ-óði?*ˈ 'What will the policemen do?' (A8:9), *hátxa ṯ-óðən b-xàbrux*ˈ 'You shall act on my instructions thus' (A8:50); in the middle of an intonation group after a preceding consonant: *yán ṯ-áθya Bə́lbəl Hazàr*ˈ 'or Bəlbəl Hazar will come' (A8:74), *ʾu-baʿdḕn ṯ-áwrən gu-màθa*ˈ 'and then you will enter the village' (A25:34), *lāʿat kúllən ṯ-àxləx*ˈ 'So we shall all eat' (A21:21).

A similar development of the particle is found when it is prefixed to the verb *hwy* 'to be', the initial */h/* of which is elided, e.g. *bṯ-awe* ~ *ṯ-awe* 'He will be' (< *bəd-hawe*). As with initial */ʾ/* verbs, the form *bṯ-* tends to occur when the verb is closely connected to a preceding word and the */b/* is syllabified with this word in speech, e.g. *ʾána bṯ-áwən mànnax*ˈ 'I shall be with you' (A8:68), *mú bṯ-àwe?*ˈ 'What will it be?' (= what does it matter?) (A18:33), *tre-ṭlá yománe xéne bṯ-áwət maṭróye xāṣ-sùsa*ˈ 'You shall ride for two or three more days on horseback' (A8:46).

In other verbs that begin with */h/*, the particle *bəd-* contracts to *b-*, e.g. *hrw* 'to speak (harshly)': *ʾána b-hérwən* 'I shall speak'. The */h/* may be elided and the */b/* devoiced to */p/*, e.g. *p-aqànna* (< *b-haqənna*) 'I shall tell it' (B3:12).

Before */y/* *bəd-* generally contracts to *t-*, no doubt because the cluster */ty/* easily forms a syllable onset, e.g. *t-yawàllux* 'He will give you' (A3:4), *t-yawə́nnux* 'I shall give you' (A1:10), *t-yánnux* 'I shall give you' (A22:37). The */t/* is written without a diacritic, since before a consonant */t/* is always pronounced unaspirated. On some occasions the *bəd-* particle contracts to *b-*, e.g. *b-yawə́lle* 'He will give him' (A1:2), *b-yawə́nnəx* 'I shall give you' (A40:3). The contraction of *bəd-* to *t-* is also found before */l/* and */x/*, e.g. *t-lawšánna* 'I shall wear them' (A14:89), *míθe t-xə̆yi*ˈ 'The dead will live' (A50:4), which, as is the case with */y/*, has come about since */tl/* and */tx/* easily form a syllable onset.

8.6.3. qəm-

This is attached to the present base when it has a pronominal object suffix and gives it a past time reference, e.g. *qəm-paθə́xle* 'He opened it'. The particle derives historically from **qðam*, a fossilized form of a past tense *qṭal* form verb in earlier Aramaic. The vowel is regularly pronounced */ə/*, which has developed by attenuation from */a/*: *qəm* < **qam* < **qðam*. This contrasts with the particle *qam* 'before' (< **qðām*), which generally retains the */a/* unattenuated (§2.3.5.). As a result one finds minimal pairs such as:

qəm- paθɔ́xle	'he opened it
qam-paθɔ́xle	'before he opens it'

The more advanced degree of phonetic attentuation of the particle *qəm-* reflects a greater degree of morphological and semantic bonding to the following verbal form. It cannot be used independently in other contexts, but is indissolubly bound to its position before present base verbal forms. The particle *qam* 'before', by contrast, exhibits greater independence of distribution, in that it can be used also before nouns, in a temporal or spatial sense, e.g. *qam-xa-šábθa* 'a week before', *qam-málka* 'before the king'.

The pronominal suffix may express either a direct or an indirect object, e.g.

(1) *qəm-xazyále gu-dàšta*ˈ 'She saw him on the plain' (A18:24)
(2) *záwna qəm-ʾawɔ́dlux lebàna*ˈ 'The time made you a trickster' (A1:22)
(3) *ʾaláha qəm-yawálla xa-bròna*ˈ 'God gave them a son' (A4:57)
(4) *qəm-hawéla xáθa yaḵ̂ànta*ˈ 'An only sister was born to them' (A18:1)

8.6.4. wa

The particle *wa* may be affixed to verbal forms derived from the present and past bases. This is an invariable fossilized form that is derived historically from the past tense verb **hwā* of earlier Aramaic. It gives present tense verbs a past time reference and past tense verbs a time reference that is remoter in the past. The combination of *-wa* with the future form expressed by the prefix *bəd-* is used in the apodosis of a counterfactual condition and in other syntactic contexts. For details of the various functions of these verbal forms see chapter 15. Examples:

pálaṭ	'He leaves'
palɔ́ṭwa	'He used to leave'
qəm-paθɔ́xle	'He has opened it/he opened it'
qəm-paθɔ́xwale	'He opened it/he had opened it'
bəd-pálaṭ	'He will leave'
bəd-palɔ́ṭwa	'He would have left'
plítle	'He has left/he left'
plíṭwale	'He left/he had left'

The *wa* is infixed before the L-suffixes in forms derived from the past base and in present base forms with the prefixed particle *qəm-*. Stress placement is governed by the general constraint that it must fall on a syllable that contains a radical of the verbal base (§5.4.1.), so it is not moved onto the *wa* particle even when this constitutes the penultimate syllable.

Full paradigms of the *palәṭwa* and *plíṭwale* forms are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	*paθə́xwa*
	fs.	*paθxáwa*
	pl.	*paθxíwa*
2nd pers.	ms.	*paθxə́twa*
	fs.	*paθxátwa*
	pl.	*paθxítuwa*
1st pers.	ms.	*paθxə́nwa*
	fs.	*paθxánwa*
	pl.	*paθxə́xwa*

The original */a/* vowel of the 1fs and 2fs suffixes are retained in the stressed syllable and so they are distinguished from the 1ms and 2ms forms in the paradigm. The long forms of the 1st and 2nd person inflectional suffixes of the present base, i.e. *-ena* (1ms), *-ana* (1fs), *-exi* (1pl), *-eti* (2ms) *-ati* (2fs), are not used before the *wa* particle.

3rd pers.	ms.	*pθíxwale*	
	fs.	*pθíxwala*	
	pl.	*pθíxwalɛ*	*pθíxwaley*
		pθíxwala	
2nd pers.	ms.	*pθíxwalux*	
	fs.	*pθíxwalәx*	
	pl.	*pθixwalɛxu*	
1st pers.	s.	*pθíxwali*	
	pl.	*pθíxwalәn*	*pθíxwalɛni*

Verbs ending in the interdental */θ/* or */ð/*, which shift to the stops */t/* and */d/* in contact with L-suffixes, generally retain these interdentals when they are separated from the L-suffixes by the *wa* particle, e.g.

tpθ 'to sneeze'	*tpitle*	*tpiθwale*
ṭrð 'to chase'	*ṭridle*	*ṭriðwale*

On some occasions, however, the interdental shifts to a stop by analogy with the *plíṭle* form, e.g.

ṭrð 'to chase'	*ṭrídle*	*ṭrídwale*

8.6.5. *Particles Attached to the Imperative*

Various particles may be attached to imperative forms to give the command that they express added force. These include:

(i) The prefixed particle *də-*, e.g. *də-pluṭ!* 'Go out (sing.)!', *də-plúṭu* 'Go out (pl.)!' The */ə/* vowel of this is sometimes lengthened to */e/*, e.g. *de-pluṭ!*
(ii) An assortment of suffixes, which can be classifed as follows:

With the singular imperative:

Default form	Long form
-ga	
-ən	*-ena*
-gən	*-gena*

With the plural imperative

-gu

The stress remains on the first syllable of the imperative form when these suffixes are added, e.g.

Singular imperative:

Default form	Long form
plúṭga	
plúṭən	*plúṭena*
plúṭgən	*plúṭgena*

Plural imperative:

plúṭugu
pə́lṭugu

The prefixed particle *də-* can be combined with an imperative with a supplementary suffix, e.g. *də-pluṭga, də-pluṭən*.

8.7. The Copula

The dialect has two categories of copula, the basic copula and the deictic copula. The basic copula has both a present and a past form, whereas the deictic copula has only a present form. In what follows the basic copula will be referred to simply as 'the copula'.

8.7.1. *Present Copula*

The full form of the various inflections of the present copula are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾile*
	fs.	*ʾila*
	pl.	*ʾilɛ, ʾila, ʾiley*
2nd pers.	ms.	*ʾiwət*
	fs.	*ʾiwət*, *ʾiwat*
	pl.	*ʾiwɛtu*
		ʾiwitu
1st pers.	ms.	*ʾiwən*
	fs.	*ʾiwən*, *ʾiwan*
	pl.	*ʾiwəx*

The 3rd person forms are inflected with L-suffixes, whereas the 1st and 2nd person forms are inflected with S-suffixes like the present base of verbs. Only the default form of these suffixes are normally used with the copula and not the long forms that can be used with verbs. Long forms are, however, occasionally used in poetic texts, e.g. *ʾo sɛpa, sɛpɛwena* 'I am the same sword' (A52:22).

Some speakers sporadically use the 3pl. form *-ina* with */n/* rather than *-ila*, e.g. *ṭuránə ṯ-ína bēl-ʾIrā́q ʾu-Tùrkiya*ˡ 'the mountains that are between Iraq and Turkey' (B3:3). This is due to the influence of the C. Urmi dialect.

The copula is most commonly placed after the predicate in a clause, though in certain circumstances it is put before the predicate. The conditions that determine its position in the clause are examined in §15.3.1. and §17.1.1.

When it is placed after the predicate, it does not bear its own stress but is attached to the predicate as an enclitic. This enclitic is ignored by the stress placement rules and the stress remains on the predicate. If the predicate ends in a consonant, the copula may retain its full form, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	*dű́s-ile*	'He is right'
	fs.	*dű́s-ila*	'She is right'
	pl.	*dű́s-ila*	'They are right', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	*dű́s-iwət*	
	fs.	*dű́s-iwət*	
	pl.	*dű́s-iwitu*	
1st pers.	ms.	*dű́s-iwən*	
	fs.	*dű́s-iwən*	
	pl.	*dű́s-iwəx*	

If the predicate ends in a vowel, various contractions of the copula take place. If the final vowel is */a/*, the */a/* and the initial */i/* of the copula contract to the vowel */ɛ/*. This is seen in the following paradigm, in which the copula is cliticized to the predicate *gu-maθa* 'in the village':

3rd pers.	ms.	*gu-máθɛle*	'He is in the village'
	fs.	*gu-máθɛla*	'She is in the village'
	pl.	*gu-máθɛla*	'They are in the village', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	*gu-máθɛwət*	
	fs.	*gu-máθɛwət*	
	pl.	*gu-máθɛwitu*	
1st pers.	ms.	*gu-máθɛwən*	
	fs.	*gu-máθɛwən*	
	pl.	*gu-máθɛwəx*	

When the interrogative particle *ma* is combined with the copula, the sequence */a-i/* in some cases contracts to */ɛ/* and in others remains uncontracted e.g.

(1) *sállət míya yə̌ðət mèla?*ˈˡ (< *mà-ila*) 'Do you know what a basket of water is?' (A16:10)
(2) *ràbbənˡ yə̌ðət-mà-yle?*ˈˡ 'Do you know what a monk is?' (A15:4)

If the predicate ends in any vowel other than */a/*, the initial */i/* of the copula is elided and the vowel of the predicate retained, e.g.

babi + *ile*	→	*bábile*	'He is my father'
xoni + *iwət*	→	*xóniwət*	'You are my brother'
rəpye + *ila*	→	*rə́pyela*	'They are lazy'
xəðye + *iwəx*	→	*xəðyewəx*	'We are happy'
kʸalo + *ila*	→	*kʸálola*	'She is the bride'
Mixo + *iwət*	→	*Míxowət*	'You are Mixo'
diyɛxu + *ile*	→	*diyéxule*	'It is yours (pl.)'
babɛxu + *iwən*	→	*babéxuwən*	'I am your (pl.) father'

The copula may be contracted still further in some circumstances, whereby the */w/* of the 1st and 2nd person forms is elided. When this occurs, the sequence */iwə/* and */iwi/* both contract to the close vowel */i/*, e.g.

2nd pers.	ms.	*dű́s-it*	'You (ms) are right'
	fs.	*dű́s-it*	'You (fs) are right'
	pl.	*dű́s-itu*	'You (pl) are right', etc.
1st pers.	ms.	*dű́s-in*	
	fs.	*dű́s-in*	
	pl.	*dű́s-ix*	

When the predicate ends in an */a/* vowel, this contracts with the */i/* of the copula inflection to the vowel */ɛ/*, e.g.

2nd pers.	ms.	*gu-máθɛt*	'You (ms.) are in the village'
	fs.	*gu-máθɛt*	'You (fs.) are in the village'
	pl.	*gu-máθɛtu*	'You (pl.) are in the village', etc.

1st pers.	ms.	*gu-máθɛn*
	fs.	*gu-máθɛn*
	pl.	*gu-máθɛx*

In fast speech, the */ɛ/* in a closed syllable (i.e. all forms except the 2pl.) is often attenuated to */ə/*, e.g. *gu-máθət*, *gu-máθən*, *gu-máθəx*. The contracted form of the copula occurs also when the predicate ends in other vowels. In such cases the */i/* of the copula is elided, e.g.

kʸalo + it	→	*kʸálot*	'You are the bride'
babɛxu + in	→	*babéxun*	'I am your (pl.) father'
babɛ́ni + it	→	*babénit*	'You are our father'
xəðye + ix	→	*xáðyex*	'We are happy'

An */e/* vowel in a final closed syllable of such constructions is sometimes attenuated to */ə/*, e.g. *xáðyəx* < *xáðyex*.

The 3rd person copula occasionally has the short form *-i* without the L-suffix. When the predicate ends in an */a/* vowel, the combination *a + i* contracts to the vowel */ɛ/*. This short form is most easily explained as resulting from the weakening of the articulation of the */l/* and the subsequent coalescence of the remaining vowels. The weakening of the */l/* of L-suffixes both in this and in other contexts is a sporadic phonemenon that is found in the speech of some informants. For the sake of clarity it has been decided to retain the uncontracted form in the transcription when this occurs (§4.5.2.), e.g.

(3) *ʾən-ila zawdàne*ˡ [ʾən-i] 'If they are left over' (B5:219)
(4) *ʾáwwa xa-nišànqɛle*ˡ [niˑˡʃanqɛ] 'This is a symbolic act' (B5:153)
(5) *léðəx ʾèkɛla* [ʾɛːkɛ] 'We do not know where she is' (A34:7)

8.7.2. *Past Copula*

The past copula has the *wa* particle as a suffix. It has a number of variant forms. These can be categorized into those that have a */w/* element in the base and those that lack this */w/* element. The forms with a */w/* base are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾiwéwa*	*wéwa*
	fs.	*ʾiwáwa*	*wáwa*
	pl.	*ʾiwɛ́wa*	*wɛ́wa*

2nd pers.	ms.	*ʾiwə́twa*	*wə́twa*
	fs.	*ʾiwátwa*	*wátwa*
	pl.	*ʾiwɛ́tuwa*	*wɛ́tuwa*
		ʾiwítuwa	*wítuwa*
1st pers.	ms.	*ʾiwə́nwa*	*wə́nwa*
	fs.	*ʾiwánwa*	*wánwa*
	pl.	*ʾiwə́xwa*	*wə́xwa*

In fast speech these forms are sometimes reduced by the elision of the final *-wa* element or of the initial */w/* when in contact with a preceding consonant. These are treated as allegro forms and are not represented in the transcription (§4.5.5.), e.g.

(1) *xzéle ʾékə t-wèwa*ˡ [ˡtweː] 'He saw where he was' (A14:92)
(2) *ʾánna xákma náše gabbàre-wɛwa*ˡ [gæbˡbæɾewɛ] *xɛlàne*ˡ 'These were mighty heroic warriors' (A29:1)
(3) *gu-d-ay-šwíθa t-wewa-dmíxa* [ˡteːwɑ] *xònax*ˡ 'In the bed in which your brother had slept' (A8:68)

The forms lacking the */w/* base have two alternant sets for the 3rd person. One set is inflected for gender and number and the other set is not inflected for these and has the same form for the 3ms, 3fs and 3pl.

3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾiwa*	*ʾiyéwa*
	fs.	*ʾiwa*	*ʾiyáwa*
	pl.	*ʾiwa*	*ʾiyɛ́wa*
2nd pers.	ms.	*ʾitwa*	
	fs.	*ʾitwa*	
	pl.	*ʾituwa*	
1st pers.	ms.	*ʾinwa*	
	fs.	*ʾinwa*	
	pl.	*ʾixwa*	

As is the case with the present copula, the past copula is frequently attached to the end of the predicate as an enclitic. This applies to the forms *wéwa*, *ʾiwa* and *ʾiyéwa* in their various inflections. The form *ʾiwéwa* and its inflections, however, is generally restricted to a non-clitic position before the predicate. When not stressed, the */ɛ/* of the 3pl. forms *-wɛwa*

and *-iyɛwa* and the 2pl. forms *-wɛtuwa* and *-iyɛtuwa* is often lowered to */a/*, in accordance with a common phonetic process (§2.3.4.).

When cliticization takes place and the predicate ends in a vowel, the following phonotatic rules regarding the initial */i/* of the copula apply. A distinction should be made between (i) the copula forms that have an open initial syllable, on the one hand, and (ii) those that have a closed initial syllable. If the predicate ends in */a/*, the combination of this with the initial */i/* of group (i) coalesces to the vowel */ɛ/*, e.g.

ʾáw gu-máθɛyewa	(< *gu-maθa* + *iyewa*)	'He was in the village'
ʾáw gu-máθɛwa	(< *gu-maθa* + *iwa*)	
ʾáy gu-máθɛyawa	(< *gu-maθa* + *iyawa*)	'She was in the village'
ʾáy gu-máθɛwa	(< *gu-maθa* + *iwa*)	
ʾáni gu-máθɛyɛwa	(< *gu-maθa* + *iyɛwa*)	'They were in the village'
ʾáni gu-máθɛwa	(< *gu-maθa* + *iwa*)	
ʾáxtu gu-máθɛtuwa	(< *gu-maθa* + *ituwa*)	'You (pl.) were in the village'

The combination of the final */a/* with the */i/* of the copula forms in group (ii) coalesces to */ə/*, e.g.

2nd pers.	ms.	*gu-máθətwa*	'You (ms.) were in the village'
	fs.	*gu-máθətwa*	'You (fs.) were in the village', etc.
1st pers.	ms.	*gu-máθənwa*	
	fs.	*gu-máθənwa*	
	pl.	*gu-máθəxwa*	

When the predicate ends in */e/*, the combination of this with the */i/* of the copula forms in group (i) coalesces to the vowel */e/*, whereas its combination with the */i/* of copula forms in group (ii) coalesces to the vowel */ə/*, e.g.

ʾáni zórewɛwa	(< *zore* + *iwɛwa*)	'They were small'
ʾáni zóreyɛwa	(< *zore* + *iyɛwa*)	'They were small'
ʾáni zórewa	(< *zore* + *iwa*)	'They were small'
ʾáxtu zóretuwa	(< *zore* + *ituwa*)	'You (pl.) were small'
ʾáxni zórəxwa	(< *zore* + *ixwa*)	'We were small'

If the predicate ends in any other vowel, the initial */i/* of the copula forms in both groups is elided, e.g.

ʾáy kʸáloyawa	(< *kʸalo + iyawa*)	'She was the bride'
ʾáy kʸálowa	(< *kʸalo + iwa*)	'She was the bride'
ʾati kʸálotwa	(< *kʸalo + itwa*)	'You (fs.) were the bride'
ʾáw bɛθéxuyewa	(< *bɛθɛxu + iyewa*)	'That was your (pl.) house'
ʾáw bɛθéxuwa	(< *bɛθɛxu + iwa*)	'That was your (pl.) house'
ʾana xoréxunwa	(< *xorɛxu + inwa*)	'I was your (pl.) friend'
ʾáw ʾaθṛéniyewa	(< *ʾaθṛɛni + iyewa*)	'That was our land'
ʾáw ʾaθṛéniwa	(< *ʾaθṛɛni + iwa*)	'That was our land'
ʾati gu-ʾaθṛénitwa	(< *gu-ʾaθṛɛni + itwa*)	'You were in our land'

When the past copula is placed after the predicate, it sporadically carries its own stress, e.g.

(4) *xá gáwṛa xɛlána-w zàxma wéwa*ˡ 'He was a powerful, tough man' (A27:1)
(5) *dmìxa wéwa*ˡ 'He was asleep' (A8:3)

8.7.3. *Deictic Copula*

The deictic copula is formed by combining the presentative element *ho-* with the enclitic present copula. The most commonly used forms are the following:

3rd pers.	ms.	*hóle*	(< *ho + ile*)
	fs.	*hóla*	(< *ho + ila*)
	pl.	*hólɛ*	(< *ho + ilɛ*)
		hóla	
2nd pers.	ms.	*hot*	(< *ho + it*)
	fs.	*hot*	(< *ho + it*)
	pl.	*hótu*	(< *ho + itu*)
1st pers.	ms.	*hon*	(< *ho + in*)
	fs.	*hon*	(< *ho + in*)
	pl.	*hox*	(< *ho + ɔx*)

Two further alternative sets of forms exist. In one of these the enclitic copula element has a less contracted form, with a glide */w/* being inserted between the *ho-* and the enclitic:

3rd pers.	ms.	*hówile*	(< *ho* + *ile*)
	fs.	*hówila*	(< *ho* + *ila*)
	pl.	*hówilɛ*	(< *ho* + *ilɛ*)
		hówila	
2nd pers.	ms.	*hówət*	(< *ho* + *wət*)
	fs.	*hówət*	(< *ho* + *wət*)
	pl.	*hówitu*	(< *ho* + *witu*)
1st pers.	ms.	*hówən*	(< *ho* + *wən*)
	fs.	*hówən*	(< *ho* + *wən*)
	pl.	*hówəx*	(< *ho* + *wəx*)

In the second alternative set, the 1st and 2nd person forms are inflected with L-suffixes like the 3rd person forms:

2nd pers.	ms.	*hólux*
	fs.	*hóləx*
	pl.	*hólɛxu*
1st pers.	s.	*hóli*
	pl.	*hólən*
		holɛni

There is a yet another variant set of forms in which the */o/* vowel is replaced by */oˀ/*. These forms are used to point to a very distant item. One may compare the distinction between the two variant far deixis demonstrative forms *ˀăwáha* 'that one over there' and *ˀawáˀha* 'that one far over there':

3rd pers.	ms.	*hóˀle*
	fs.	*hóˀla*
	pl.	*hóˀlɛ, hóˀla* etc.

The presentative particle *ho-* is occasionally used alone without being combined with a copula element, e.g. *hó ˀan-ṭ̓lá gerə-qə̀šta*[1] 'Here are the three arrows of a bow' (A12:46).

8.8. Compound Verbal Forms

Various compound verbal forms are constructed by combining the verb 'to be' with the resultative participle or with the infinitive. The verb 'to be' takes the form of a copula or of the verb *hwy*. The copula is the normal form in indicative clauses and the verb *hwy* is restricted mainly to subordinate irrealis clauses. When the copula is used, this is either the basic copula or the deictic copula. The basic copula has the status of an enclitic. This is generally attached to the resultative participle or the infinitive, but on some occasions it is attached to some other element in the clause. The deictic copula is placed before the participle or infinitive. Broadly speaking, the function of the compound form containing a resultative participle is to express a state resulting from a past action whereas the function of the construction containing an infinitive is to express an imperfective progressive action. A detailed description of their functions is given in §15.4.

8.8.1. *Deictic Copula + Resultative Participle*

The most commonly used paradigm of compound forms constructed with the deictic copula and the resultative participle is the following. Note that the participle is inflected for number and gender with the inflectional endings of nouns:

prq I 'to finish'				
	3rd pers.	ms.	*hóle príqa*	'He has finished'
		fs.	*hóla príqta*	'She has finished'
		pl.	*hóla príqe*	'They have finished', etc.
	2nd pers.	ms.	*hót príqa*	
		fs.	*hót príqta*	
		pl.	*hótu príqe*	
	1st pers.	ms.	*hón príqa*	
		fs.	*hón príqta*	
		pl.	*hóx príqe*	

The deictic copula series with L-suffixes in the 1st and 2nd person forms is also used in this construction:

2nd pers.	ms.	*hólux príqa*
	fs.	*hóləx príqta*
	pl.	*hólɛxu príqe*
1st pers.	s.	*hóli príqa*
	pl.	*hólən príqe*

8.8.2. *Resultative Participle + Present Enclitic Copula*

The forms of the present copula that are cliticized to the resultative participle correspond to the various series that are described in §8.7.1. These are shown in the following paradigm. Note that the stress remains on the participle throughout:

3rd pers.	ms.	*príqɛle*	'He has finished'
	fs.	*príqtɛla*	'She has finished'
	pl.	*príqelɛ* *príqela*	'They have finished', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	*príqɛwət*	*príqɛt*
	fs.	*príqtɛwət*	*príqtɛt*
	pl.	*príqewitu*	*príqetu*
1st pers.	ms.	*príqɛwən*	*príqɛn*
	fs.	*príqtɛwən*	*príqtɛn*
	pl.	*príqewəx*	*príqex*

The */ɛ/* and */e/* vowels in the closed final syllable of the forms in the second column are often attenuated to */ə/* in fast speech, which results in the endings merging in form with the inflectional endings of the present base:

2nd pers.	ms.	*príqɛt*	~	*príqət*
	fs.	*príqtɛt*	~	*príqtət*
1st pers.	ms.	*príqɛn*	~	*príqən*
	fs.	*príqtɛn*	~	*príqtən*
	pl.	*príqex*	~	*príqəx*

8.8.3. *Resultative Participle + Past Enclitic Copula*

The past copula series with the */w/* base may be cliticized to resultative participles from all verbs:

pθx I 'to open'

3rd pers.	ms.	*pθíxa-wewa*	'He had opened'
	fs.	*pθíxta-wawa*	'She had opened'
	pl.	*pθíxe-wɛwa*	'They had opened', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	*pθíxa-wətwa*	
	fs.	*pθíxta-wətwa*	
	pl.	*pθíxe-wɛtuwa*	
1st pers.	ms.	*pθíxa-wənwa*	
	fs.	*pθíxta-wənwa*	
	pl.	*pθíxe-wəxwa*	

The constructions containing forms of the past copula without the */w/* base (cf. §8.7.2.) exhibit a difference in one detail between transitive and intransitive verbs. Intransitive verbs have the expected forms, e.g.

prx I 'to fly'

3rd pers.	ms.	*príxɛyewa*	'He had flown'
		príxɛwa	
	fs.	*príxtɛyawa*	'She had flown'
		príxtɛwa	
	pl.	*príxeyɛwa*	'They had flown', etc.
		príxewa	
2nd pers.	ms.	*príxətwa*	
	fs.	*príxtətwa*	
	pl.	*príxetuwa*	
1st pers.	ms.	*príxənwa*	
	fs.	*príxtənwa*	
	pl.	*príxəxwa*	

Transitive verbs insert an */l/* in the past copula ending by analogy with the */l/* of the present copula, e.g. *qṭílәlwale* 'He had killed him'. This has

evolved in forms of transitive verbs with pronominal object suffixes, so will be dealt with together with the pronominal suffixes below (§8.19.4.2.).

8.8.4. *Verb* hwy + *Resultative Participle*

The verb *hwy* is regularly placed before the resultative participle:

3rd pers.	ms.	*háwe príqa*	'He has finished'
	fs.	*háwya príqta*	'She has finished'
	pl.	*háwɛ príqe*	'They have finished', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	*háwət príqa*	
	fs.	*háwyət príqta*	
	pl.	*hawétu príqe*	
1st pers.	ms.	*háwən príqa*	
	fs.	*háwyən príqta*	
	pl.	*háwəx príqe*	

8.8.5. *Deictic Copula + Infinitive*

The most commonly used paradigm of compound forms constructed with the deictic copula and the infinitive is the following. The infinitive remains invariable without inflection:

xpr I 'to dig'

3rd pers.	ms.	*hóle xpára*	'He is digging'
	fs.	*hóla xpara*	'She is digging'
	pl.	*hólɛ xpara*	'They are digging', etc.
		hóla xpara	
2nd pers.	ms.	*hót xpára*	
	fs.	*hót xpára*	
	pl.	*hótu xpára*	
1st pers.	ms.	*hón xpára*	
	fs.	*hón xpára*	
	pl.	*hóx xpára*	

The alternative series of the deictic copula with L-suffixes in the 1st and 2nd persons is also used:

2nd pers.	ms.	*hólux xpára*
	fs.	*hóləx xpára*
	pl.	*hólɛxu xpára*
1st pers.	s.	*hóli xpára*
	pl.	*hólən xpára*

On some occasions the preposition *b-* is placed before the infinitive:

3rd pers.	ms.	*hóle b-xpára*	'He is digging'
	fs.	*hóla b-xpara*	'She is digging'
	pl.	*hóla b-xpara*	'They are digging', etc.

8.8.6. *Infinitive + Present Enclitic Copula*

The forms of the present copula that are cliticized to the infinitive correspond to the various series that are described in §8.7.1. These are shown in the following paradigm:

3rd pers.	ms.	*xpárɛle*	'He is digging'
	fs.	*xpárɛla*	'She is digging'
	pl.	*xpárɛlɛ*	'They are digging', etc.
		xpárɛla	
2nd pers.	ms.	*xpárɛwət*	*xpáret*
	fs.	*xpárɛwət*	*xpáret*
	pl.	*xpárɛwitu*	*xpáretu*
1st pers.	ms.	*xpárɛwən*	*xpáren*
	fs.	*xpárɛwən*	*xpáren*
	pl.	*xpárɛwəx*	*xpárex*

The */ɛ/* vowel in the closed final syllable of the forms in the second column is often attenuated to */ə/* in fast speech:

2nd pers.	s.	*xpáret*	~	*xpárət*

1st pers.	s.	*xpárɛn*	~	*xpárən*
	pl.	*xpárɛx*	~	*xpárəx*

The preposition *b-* is occasionally placed before the infinitive in the various forms given above:

3rd pers.	ms.	*b-xpárɛle*	'He is digging'
	fs.	*b-xparɛla*	'She is digging'
	pl.	*b-xparɛla*	'They are digging', etc.

8.8.7. *Infinitive + Past Enclitic Copula*

All series of the past copula described in §8.7.2. may be cliticized to infinitives:

3rd pers.	ms.	*xpára-wewa*	'He was digging'
		xpárɛyewa	
		xpárɛwa	
	fs.	*xpára-wawa*	'She was digging'
		xpárɛyawa	
		xpárɛwa	
	pl.	*xpára-wɛwa*	'They were digging', etc.
		xpárɛyɛwa	
		xpárɛwa	
2nd pers.	ms.	*xpára-wətwa*	
		xpárətwa	
	fs.	*xpára-wətwa*	
		xpárətwa	
	pl.	*xpára-wɛtuwa*	
		xpárɛtuwa	
1st pers.	ms.	*xpára-wənwa*	
		xpárənwa	
	fs.	*xpára-wənwa*	
		xpárənwa	
	pl.	*xpára-wəxwa*	
		xpárəxwa	

The preposition *b-* is occasionally prefixed to these forms, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	*b-xpára-wewa*	'He was digging'
	fs.	*b-xpára-wawa*	'She was digging'
	pl.	*b-xpára-wɛwa*	'They were digging', etc.

8.9. Negation of Verbal Forms

Verbal forms are negated by the particle *la*. This is placed before verbs derived from the present and past bases and also before the imperative. It is frequently linked to the verb in the same stress group, the stress falling either on the negator or on the verb, e.g.

la-pálə̣t ~ lá-palə̣t	'He does not go out'
la-plíṭle ~ lá-pliṭle	'He did not go out'
la-plúṭ ~ lá-pluṭ	'Do not go out!'

The negated imperative may be combined with the various supplementary suffixes that are used to strengthen its force (§8.6.5.), e.g.

la-plúṭga!	'Do not go out!'
la-plúṭən!	
la-plúṭgena!	

The particle *la* may be combined with the pre-verbal particles *ʾi-* (§8.6.1.) and *qəm-* (§8.6.3.). When the particle *ʾi-* occurs before a verb beginning with a consonant, the */i/* vowel is syllabified with the */a/* of the preceding negator. In most cases the sequence */lay/* shifts to */ley/* or contracts to *lɛ*, in accordance with the usual phonetic process that is undergone by the diphthong */ay/*, e.g.

le-y-palə̣t
lɛ-palə̣t

Examples from the text corpus:

(1) *ʾan-náše le-y-mbáqri mən-ʾárxa ʾáti m-ɛ̀kɛwət*[l] 'Those people do not ask from a guest "Where are you from?"' (A29:45)
(2) *bás le-y-mabyə̀nwa*[l] 'but it did not show' (B10:57)
(3) *le-y-máxi prə́zla l-ʾáqlət dawɛ̀re?*[l] 'Don't people put metal on the feet of mules?' (B4:12)

(4) *lɛ-xàru*ˡ ‘It does not go off’ (B5:119)
(5) *míya lɛ́-ṣale bíye dìye*ˡ ‘Water does not flow down into it’ (B5:192)
(6) *lɛ́-qɛmi ràba*ˡ ‘They do not grow much’ (B5:215)

Note (7) in which the negator bears its own stress and the */y/* is separated from the verb:

(7) *lè-y ʾamrátli qá-mo θéləx.*ʔˡ ‘Won’t you tell me why you have come?’ (A8:77)

Since the vowel */ɛ/* has a tendency to be lowered to */a/*, especially in unstressed syllables (§2.3.4.), the form *lɛ-páləṭ* is sometimes pronounced *la-páləṭ*, in which all trace of the indicative particle has been lost.

When the particle *ʾi-* has the form of *y-* at the onset of the first syllable of verbs of initial */ʾ/* roots, the */y/* generally remains when the negator is prefixed. The */a/* sometimes remains unchanged, but usually is raised to the region of */ɛ/* or */e/*, e.g.

la-y-áxəl ‘He does not eat’
lɛ-y-áxəl
le-y-áxəl

The initial */ʾ/* of the verb is sometimes retained, e.g.

la-y-ʾáxəl
lɛ-y-ʾáxəl
le-y-ʾáxəl

Examples from the text corpus:

(8) *là-y-awra*ˡ ‘She will not enter’ (B8:35)
(9) *là-y-asqən*ˡ ‘I shall not go up’ (A32:29)
(10) *ʾə́rwe lɛ́-y-asqi ṭúra xàla*ˡ ‘The sheep do not go up into the mountains to eat’ (B5:108)
(11) *lɛ́-y-axəl xàtna*ˡ ‘The groom will not eat’ (B5:32)
(12) *le-y-áxləx b-čàngəl*ˡ ‘We do not eat with a fork’ (B10:96)
(13) *le-y-ʾamrónne ṭlàlux*ˡ ‘I shall not tell you’ (A24:45)

Examples of the negator used before the particle *qəm-*:

(14) *là qəm-qaṭə́lla ʾaqə́rwa*ˡ 'He did not kill the scorpion' (A9:5)
(15) *lá qəm-xazìle*ˡ 'They did not see him' (B9:6)
(16) *lá qəm-basmále ʾayyà* 'This did not please him' (A8:5)

The particle *bəd-* together with its various phonetic variants (§8.6.2.), one of several functions of which is to express a future action, is not combined with the negator *la*. In the negation of constructions with *bəd-*, the latter is omitted and the negator is placed before the verb:

bəd-páləṭ 'He will leave' → *la-páləṭ* 'He will not leave'

On some occasions a negated future form has the particle *ʾi-*, e.g.

t̂-áxléna 'I shall eat' → *lɛ-y-axléna* 'I shall not eat'

8.10. Negative Copula

8.10.1. *Negative Present Copula*

The present copula is negated by prefixing to it the particle *la*. The combination of the */a/* of the negator with the */i/* of the copula coalesces to */ɛ/*. The 1st and 2nd person forms exist in two alternants, a longer one formed by the combination of the negator and the copula with a *iw-* base (*ʾiwən, ʾiwət* etc.) and a shorter one formed from the abbreviated copula without */w/* (*ʾin, ʾit* etc.):

3rd pers.	ms.	*lə́le*	
	fs.	*lə́la*	
	pl.	*lə́lɛ*	
		lə́la	
2nd pers.	ms.	*lə́wət*	*lɛt*
	fs.	*lə́wət*	*lɛt*
	pl.	*lə́wɛtu*	*lə́tu*
		lə́witu	
1st pers.	ms.	*lə́wən*	*lɛn*
	fs.	*lə́wən*	*lɛn*
	pl.	*lə́wəx*	*lɛx*

In natural, fast speech the */ɛ/* of the forms in the second column is often lowered to the region of */a/*: *lat* (2s), *lan* (1s.), *lax* (1pl.). In the speech of some informants the */l/* between the two vowels of the 3rd person negative copula is occasionally weakened and the vowels coalesce. This is not represented in the transcription: *léle* [lɛː], *léla* [lɛː], *lélɛ* [lɛː]. In fast speech the quality of the vowel may be lowered to [a], resulting in a form that is homophonous with the simple negative particle *la*.

Unlike the positive copula, the negative copula is regularly placed before the predicate, e.g. *léle gu-máθa* 'He is not in the village', *lέwɜn xáðya* 'I am not happy', *lat-xáwri* 'You are not my friend'.

8.10.2. *Negative Past Copula*

The negative past copula is formed by combining *la* with the past copula series *ʾíwa, ʾiwéwa* and *wéwa*. When combined with the first two series with initial *ʾi-*, this vowel contracts with the */a/* vowel of *la* to */ɛ/*: *léwa* < *la* + *ʾiwa*, *léwewa* < *la* + *ʾiwewa*. The stress normally falls on the initial syllable. Full paradigms of these two negated series are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	*léwa*
	fs.	*léwa*
	pl.	*léwa*
2nd pers.	ms.	*létwa*
	fs.	*létwa*
	pl.	*létuwa*
1st pers.	ms.	*lénwa*
	fs.	*lénwa*
	pl.	*léxwa*
3rd pers.	ms.	*léwewa*
	fs.	*léwawa*
	pl.	*léwɛwa*
2nd pers.	ms.	*léwətwa*
	fs.	*léwətwa*
	pl.	*léwituwa*

1st pers.	ms.	*léwənwa*
	fs.	*léwənwa*
	pl.	*léwəxwa*

The */ɛ/* in the closed syllables of the forms *létwa*, *lénwa* and *léxwa* is often lowered to */a/*: *látwa*, *lánwa*, *láxwa*.

8.11. Negation of Compound Verbal Forms

Compound verb forms consisting of a combination of the copula with a resultative participle or an infinitive are negated by replacing the positive copula with the negative copula. The negative copula is regularly placed before the participle or infinitive:

8.11.1. *Negative Present Copula + Resultative Participle*

prq I 'to finish'

3rd pers.	ms.	*léle príqa*		'He has not finished'
	fs.	*léla príqta*		'She has not finished'
	pl.	*lélɛ príqe*		'They has not finished', etc.
		léla príqe		
2nd pers.	ms.	*léwət príqa*	~	*lét/lát príqa*
	fs.	*léwət príqta*	~	*lét/lát príqta*
	pl.	*léwɛtu príqe*	~	*létu príqe*
		léwitu príqe		
1st pers.	ms.	*léwən príqa*	~	*lén/lán príqa*
	fs.	*léwən príqta*	~	*lén/lán príqta*
	pl.	*léwəx príqe*	~	*léx/láx príqe*

8.11.2. *Negative Past Copula + Resultative Participle*

3rd pers.	ms.	*léwa príqa*	'He had not finished'
	fs.	*léwa príqta*	'She had not finished'
	pl.	*léwa príqe*	'They had not finished', etc.

2nd pers.	ms.	*létwa príqa*
	fs.	*létwa príqta*
	pl.	*létuwa príqe*
1st pers.	ms.	*lénwa príqa*
	fs.	*lénwa príqta*
	pl.	*léxwa príqe*

8.11.3. *Negative Present Copula + Infinitive*

xpr I 'to dig'

3rd pers.	ms.	*léle xpára*		'He is not digging'
	fs.	*léla xpára*		'She is not digging'
	pl.	*lélɛ xpára*		'They are not digging', etc.
		léla xpára		
2nd pers.	ms.	*léwət xpára*	~	*lét/lát xpára*
	fs.	*léwət xpára*	~	*lét/lát xpára*
	pl.	*léwɛtu xpára*	~	*létu xpára*
		léwitu xpára		
1st pers.	ms.	*léwən xpára*	~	*lén/lán xpára*
	fs.	*léwən xpára*	~	*lén/lán xpára*
	pl.	*léwəx xpára*	~	*léx/láx xpára*

8.11.4. *Negative Past Copula + Infinitive*

3rd pers.	ms.	*léwa xpára*	'He was not digging'
	fs.	*léwa xpára*	'She was not digging'
	pl.	*léwa xpára*	'They were not digging', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	*létwa xpára*	
	fs.	*létwa xpára*	
	pl.	*létuwa xpára*	
1st pers.	ms.	*lénwa xpára*	
	fs.	*lénwa xpára*	
	pl.	*léxwa xpára*	

8.12. Weak Verbs in Stem I

8.12.1. *Verba Primae /ʾ/*

Verbs in this category include:

ʾc̓m 'to close', *ʾmð* 'to be baptized', *ʾmr* 'to say', *ʾqð* 'to burn (intr.)', *ʾqr* 'to dig up, to plough; to cost, be expensive', *ʾrq* 'to run', *ʾsq* 'to ascend', *ʾšq* 'to be in love', *ʾsṛ* 'to tie', *ʾxl* 'to eat', *ʾzl* 'to weave'.

The present base is inflected regularly like a verb with strong consonants, e.g. *ʾxl* 'to eat': *ʾáxəl* 'He eats', *ʾáxla* 'She eats', *ʾáxli* 'They eat', etc. The initial */ʾ/* is elided after prefixed particles. The *ʾi-* prefix takes the form of the glide */y/*, e.g. *y-áxəl* 'He eats'. The particle *bəd-* generally takes the form *bṭ̂-* or simply *ṭ̂-* (§8.6.2.), e.g. *bṭ̂-áxəl, ṭ̂-áxəl* 'He will eat'.

The initial */ʾ/* is elided in all other bases. The past base has the pattern *CiC* (ms.), *CiCa* (fs.), *CiCi* (pl.), e.g. *xil-* (*ʾxl* 'to eat'): *xille* 'He ate', *xílli* 'I ate', *xíllux* 'You (ms.) ate', etc. The */l/* for the L-suffixes is assimilated to a final */r/*, e.g. *síṛṛe* 'He tied' (< **siṛ-le*).

The verb *ʾmr* 'to say' exhibits some irregularities in the past base in that the gemination of the */r/* is usually weakened and the vowel has the central quality */ə/* rather than */i/*, e.g. *mə́re* 'he said'. The regular form *mirre* is sporadically found, as well as some other rare variants such as *míre* and *mére*, the latter with the */ə/* vowel lengthened to */e/* (§2.1., §2.3.2.). The usual past base form of this verb *mə́re* has been normalized in the transcription.

The final */ð/* of the verb *ʾqð* 'to burn (intr.)' shifts to the stop */d/* when in contact with an L-suffix, e.g. *qidle* 'He burnt'.

The fs. and pl. forms of the past base are formed in the regular manner by adding *-a* and *-i* respectively to the default ms. base, e.g. *ʾxl: xilále* 'He ate her', *xilíle* 'He ate them'.

The resultative participle has the pattern *CiCa* (ms.), *CiCta* (fs.), *CiCe* (pl.), e.g. *ʾxl* 'to eat': *xila* (ms.), *xilta* (fs.), *xile* (pl.). Compound forms: *xílɛle* 'He has eaten', *xíltɛn* 'I (f.) have eaten', *xílex* 'We have eaten'.

The imperative has the pattern *CuC* (sing.), *CuCu* (pl.), e.g. *xul!* 'Eat!' (sing.), *xúlu* 'Eat!' (pl.).

The infinitive has the pattern *CaCa*, e.g. *xála* 'to eat'. Compound form: *hóle xála* 'He is eating', *xálɛx* 'We are eating'. Verbal noun: *CaCta*, e.g. *xalta* 'eating'.

The elision of the /ʾ/ in all bases other than the present applies to all initial /ʾ/ verbs, irrespective of whether the /ʾ/ is derived historically from a laryngal *ʾ or a pharyngal *ʿ, e.g. *ʾmr* < *ʾmr* 'to say': *ʾamər, mər-, mira, mur, mara; ʾsṛ* < *ʾsr* 'to tie': *ʾasəṛ, siṛ-, siṛa, suṛ, saṛa; ʾrq* < *ʿrq* 'to run': *ʾarəq, riq-, riqa, ruq, raqa*; *ʾzl* < *ʿzl* 'to weave': *ʾazəl, zil-, zila, zul, zala.* This applies also to loan words from Arabic in which the Arabic source has a pharyngal, e.g. *ʾšq* < Arab. *ʿšq* 'to be in love': *ʾašəq, šiq-, šiqa, šuq, šaqa.* The verbs *ʾqð* 'to burn (intr.), *ʾqr* 'to be expensive' and *ʾsq* 'to ascend' are not historically initial /ʾ/ but rather have developed from initial /y/ roots (*yqð, yqṛ, ysq*). The verb 'to ascend' had the root **slq* at an earlier period in Aramaic, but the initial /y/ form of the root is found in several other NENA dialects. Their treatment as initial /ʾ/ verbs may have come about by a false analysis of *qaṭəl* forms such *yaqəð* 'it burns', *yaqər* 'it costs' as *y-aqəð, y-aqər*, in which the initial /y/ was interpreted as the particle *ʾi-* rather than the root letter.

The verb *ʾčm* has a doublet middle /y/ form *čym*. Many of the inflected forms of the two are identical, due to the elision of the /ʾ/ in the inflections of initial /ʾ/ verbs.

The initial /ʾ/ is preserved in a few nominal forms that are infinitives or verbal nouns in origin, e.g. *ʾixala* 'food', *ʾitawa* 'sitting' (*dúkθət ʾitàwa*ˈ 'a sitting place, a seat' B6:7), *ʾisaqta* 'ascension' (*ʾisáqtət Mšíxa l-šmàyya*ˈ the ascension of Christ to Heaven' B6:7).

8.12.2. *Verba Tertiae* /ʾ/

Verbs in this category include:

blʾ 'to swallow', *bzʾ* 'to cleave, make a hole', *grʾ* 'to shave', *jmʾ* 'to collect, *mrʾ* 'to be ill; to hurt', *mzʾ* 'to mix liquids', *plʾ* 'to divide', *pqʾ* 'to split, explode', *prʾ* 'to pay; to burst', *qṭʾ* 'to cut, decide', *swʾ* 'to be sated', *šmʾ* 'to hear', *ṭbʾ* 'to sink', *ṭlʾ* 'to sleep', *xðʾ* 'to roll up, wrap, bind', *xmʾ* 'to ferment', *zdʾ* 'to fear', *zlʾ* 'to crack', *zrʾ* 'to cultivate'.

The /ʾ/ in these verbs is derived historically from a pharyngal *ʿ, which existed at some stage in their diachronic development. In some cases the original final consonant was **g*, which shifted to a voiced pharyngal *ʿ in post-vocalic position (§1.4.1.6.), e.g. *plʾ* 'to divide' < **plʿ* < **plg*.

The inflection of these verbs is in the process of being assimilated to the paradigms of final /y/ verbs. Various features that are characteristic of final /y/ verbs exist as alternative forms of inflection or have totally

replaced the original inflection of this category of verb. Several features of inflection, nevertheless, remain distinct from that of final */y/* verbs, and so these verbs should be classified as a separate group.

The labelling of this group as final */ʾ/* is somewhat of an anachronism, since the */ʾ/* has been elided in all forms with the exception of one variant of the infinitive. In those forms that have not assimilated to the inflection of final */y/* verbs, the morphophonology remains largely unaffected by the elision of the */ʾ/* and has the same pattern that it would have had if the */ʾ/* were still present.

The inflection of the present base is as follows:

šmʾ 'to hear'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*šə̆́me*	
	fs.	*šə̆́ma*	
	pl.	*šə̆́mi*	
2nd pers.	ms.	*šə̆́mət*	*šămeti*
	fs.	*šə̆́mət*	*šămati*
	pl.	*šămítu*	
1st pers.	ms.	*šə̆́mən*	*šămena*
	fs.	*šə̆́mən*	*šămana*
	pl.	*šə̆́məx*	*šămexi*

With the exception of the 3ms. form *šə̆́me*, all the forms in this paradigm have the vocalic pattern of verbs with strong consonants. Even the */a/* vowel of the base is short, as if it were still in a closed syllable. The */ʾ/* has been elided but the vocalic pattern remains unaltered:

**šamʾa*	>	*šăma*
**šamʾi*	>	*šămi*, etc.

The ending *-e* in the 3ms. form *šə̆́me* has developed from **-ə*ʾ, the short **ə* being lengthened to */e/* after the elision of the laryngal (§2.1., §2.3.2.). The shortness of the */a/* in the 3ms. form could not have been conditioned by historical syllable structure, since in the 3ms. form the */a/* would have been in an open syllable at all stages of its historical development. The explanation seems to be that the vowel came to be pronounced short by analogy with the shortness of the */a/* in the rest of the paradigm.

The 3pl. form occasionally has the ending *-ɛ* by analogy with the paradigm of final *-y* verbs, e.g. *šə̆́mɛ* 'They hear': *xázɛ* 'They see'.

The consonant after the short */ă/* in the present base paradigm is sometimes geminated when it is preceded by the stress, e.g. *šámme* 'He hears', *šámma* 'She hears'.

The past base exists in two variant forms, viz. *CCi-* (ms.), *CCiya-* (fs.), *CCiyi-* (pl.), on the one hand, and *CCe-* (ms.), *CəCya-* (fs.), *CCɛ-*, on the other. The form *CCi-* and its inflections has the pattern of the past base of strong verbs *qṭil-*, except that the */i/* vowel has been lengthened after the elision of the final */ʾ/*, e.g. *šmíle* 'He heard (him)' (< **šmiʾle*), *šmiyále* 'He heard her', *šmiyíle* 'He heard them', *ṭbíli* 'I sank' (< **ṭbiʾle*). The alternative form *CCe-* and its inflections is the pattern of past bases from final */y/* verbs, e.g. *šméle* 'He heard (him)', *šəmyále* 'He heard her', *šméle* 'He heard them'. The sequence */iyi/* tends to be contracted to */i/* in the plural form of the base *CCiyi-*, making it homophonous with the singular form. For this reason, the alternative final */y/* type inflection *CCɛ-* is generally used to distinguish a plural pronominal object.

One set of forms for the resultative participle corresponds in pattern to strong verbs except for the elision of the third radical: *šmiya* (ms.), *šmita* (fs.), *šmiye* (pl.). The glide */y/* has been inserted between the two adjacent vowels in the ms. and pl. forms. The */t/* of the feminine ending in the fs. form remains a stop since at an earlier stage of development it was separated from the preceding vowel by the */ʾ/* consonant (**šmiʾta* > *šmita*). A variant set of forms has the pattern of the resultative participle of final */y/* verbs: *šəmya* (ms.), *šmiθa* (fs.), *šəmye* (pl.).

The imperative has forms with a pattern corresponding to that of strong verbs. The imperative singular has the form *šmu* (< **šmuʾ*). The final */u/* vowel is generally pronounced long, although historically it occurred in a closed syllable. The plural imperative either has the form *šə́mu* (< **šə́mʾu*) or *šmu* (< **šmúʾu*) like the singular. An alternative set of forms correspond to the pattern of imperatives from final */y/* verbs: *šmi* (ms.), *šma* (fs.) and *šmo* (pl.). Note that there is a distinction in gender in the singular of final */y/* imperatives. When a supplementary suffix or pronominal object suffix is attached to the fs. form, it has an */ɛ/* vowel rather than an */a/*, e.g. *šméga* 'Hear (fs.)!', *zdéle* 'Fear (fs.) him!' (*zdʾ*).

The infinitive, likewise, exists in two alternative forms. One form retains the original final */ʾ/* of the root: *šmaʾa, zdaʾa, zraʾa*. The other corresponds to that of final */y/* verbs: *šmaya, zdaya, zraya*. Compound forms: *zdáʾɛle/zdáyɛle* 'He is afraid', *zráʾɛx/zráyɛx* 'We are cultivating', *zdáʾa-wawa/zdáya-wawa* 'She was afraid'.

The verbal noun has various patterns. These include *CCeta* and *CCata*, which have developed from **CCa'ta* (§2.5.2.), e.g. *jmeta* 'gathering', *zrata* 'agriculture', and *CCɛθa*, which is the pattern of final /y/ verbal nouns, e.g. *šmɛθa* 'hearing'.

The verbal root *zdˀ* 'to fear' has an alternative form *zdl* with final /l/. This is likely to have arisen by reanalysis of a form such as *zda'əlle* 'He fears him'. In fast speech this sometimes contracts to [zdalle] by the elision of the laryngal /ˀ/ (§4.4.) The form [zdalle] could also be interpreted as the result of the contraction of a form such as *zdaləlle*, by the process whereby the first of a sequence of two syllables beginning with the same consonant is elided (§4.5.1.).

8.12.3. *Verba Primae* /y/

This category includes the verb *yðl* 'to give birth, to lay (eggs)'.

The /y/ of the root is retained in the inflections of the present base: *yádla* 'She gives birth', *yádli* 'They give birth'. Note that the fricative /ð/ of the root shifts to the stop /d/ when in contact with the /l/.

The /y/ is elided in other bases. Past base: *ðilla* 'She gave birth'. Resultative participle: *ðílta* (fs.), *ðíle* (pl.). Compound form: *hóla ðílta* 'She has given birth'. Imperative: *ðúl* (sing.), *ðúlu* (pl.). Infinitive: *ðála*. Compound form: *hóla ðála* 'She is giving birth'. Verbal noun: *ðalta*.

Most initial /y/ roots have shifted to the category of initial /ˀ/ verbs, e.g. **yqð* > *ʾqð* 'to burn', **yqr* > *ʾqr* 'to be expensive', **ysq* > *ʾsq* 'to ascend' (§8.12.1.).

8.12.4. *Verba Primae* /y/, *Tertiae* /ʾ/

This category includes the verb *yðˀ* 'to know'.

The initial /y/ is preserved in the present base, which is inflected like other final /ˀ/ verbs with a short /a/ throughout the paradigm (§8.12.2.): *yǎ́ðe* 'He knows, *yǎ́ða* 'She knows', *yǎ́ði* 'They know'. The short /a/ of the first syllable is sometimes attenuated to short /ə/, though this is not represented in the transcription. The attenuation is particularly common in the 1st and 2nd person forms, e.g. *yǎ́ðən* [ˈjəðən] 'I (m. and f.) know', *yǎ́ðət* [ˈjəðət] 'You (ms. and fs.) know'. When combined with the negative particle *la*, the vowel of this particle and the initial syllable of the verb contract to /ɛ/. This is especially common in the 1st sing. form *lɛ́ðən* 'I do not know' < *la-yǎ́ðən*. An alternative negative form is *míðən* 'I do not

know', which has resulted from contraction of an interrogative particle: *míðən* < *mo yǎðən* (§7.5.).

The initial */y/* is elided in other bases, which are otherwise inflected like final */ʔ/* verbs. Past base: *ði-* (ms.), *ðiya-* (fs.), *ðiyi-*, e.g. *ðíle* 'He knew him', *ðiyále* 'He knew her', *ðiyíle* 'He knew them'. Resultative participle: *ðíya* (ms.), *ðíta* (fs.), *ðíye* (pl.). Compound forms: *ðíyɛle* 'He has known', *ðítɛla* 'She has known'. The imperative has the form *ðu*, which is used for singular and plural, or alternatively forms with endings that are characteristic of final */y/* verbs: *ði* (ms.), *ða* (fs.), *ðo* (pl.). The infinitive has the form *ða'a* or *ðaya*. This sometimes contracts in negative compound forms, e.g. *lán-ða'a* [læn-ðæ] 'I do not know'. Verbal noun: *ðeta* 'knowing'.

8.12.5. *Verba Mediae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

byx 'to overflow', *byz* 'to pour, spill', *čyd* 'to invite', *čyk* 'to jam, pierce', *čyl* 'to sprout', *čyr* 'to turn away from, to become alienated', *čym* 'to close', *dyl* 'to see', *dyn* 'to judge', *dyp* 'to fold', *dyq* 'to crush', *dyṛ* 'to return', *dys* 'to thrust', *dyš* 'to tread', *dyθ* 'to sweat', *dyx* 'to die down (fire)', *fyd* 'to be of use', *gyð* 'to finish off an edge', *hyr* 'to be confused', *jyl* 'to go around, go for a walk', *jyq* 'to tear', *jyr* 'to urinate', *kyl* 'to measure', *kym* 'to become black', *kyp* 'to bow', *kyš* 'to deflate', *lyp* 'to learn', *lyq* 'to get stuck, get caught', *lym* 'to blame', *lys* 'to chew', *lyṣ* 'to be spoilt, ruined', *lyš* 'to knead (dough)', *lyṭ* 'to curse', *myj, myč* 'to knead and crush (dried yoghurt in hands)', *myn* 'to become watery', *myṣ* 'to suck', *myθ* 'to die', *myx* 'to smell', *nyd* 'to move, shake', *nym* 'to doze', *nys* 'to bite, sting', *pyč* 'to squash', *pyð* 'to pass', *pyš* 'to become, remain', *pyx* 'to cool', *qym* 'to rise', *qyp* 'to brood (hen)', *qyr* 'to cool', *qyṣ* 'to cut; bruise', *qyθ* 'to hit', *qyx* 'to fade, become yellow (grass)', *ryθ* 'to inherit', *ryð* 'to darn', *rym* 'to rise up', *ryp* 'to attack', *ryq* 'to spit', *rys* 'to sprink', *ryš* 'to wake, feel', *ryx* 'to become long', *syl* 'to copulate', *sym* 'to ordain', *syd* 'to hunt', *sym* 'to fast', *syn* 'to burn, spoil (food)', *syr* 'to prepare ground for cultivation', *šyl* 'to cough', *šyp* 'to rub, erase', *šyr* 'to stoke (fire)', *šyš* 'to rock, shake', *tyk* 'to have a bad name; to give a bad name', *tym* 'to finish', *tym* 'to taste', *tyn* 'to carry', *typ* 'to float', *tyš* 'to besmear', *xyk* 'to scratch', *xym* 'to become hot', *xyp* 'to wash', *xyr* 'to watch', *xyṭ* 'to sew', *zyd* 'to increase (intr.)', *zyn* 'to stand', *zyp* 'to push', *zyr* 'to visit' (on pilgrimage).

In the present base the medial */y/* is regularly retained only in the 3ms. form, e.g. *dyq* 'to crush': *dáyəq* 'He crushes'. In the rest of the paradigm the sequence */ay/* is contracted to */ɛ/*: *déqa* 'She crushes', *déqi* 'They crush', etc.

The */y/* is contracted in the past base, resultative participle and imperative.

Past base: *diq-* (ms.), *diqa-* (fs.), *diqi-* (pl.), e.g. *diqle* 'He crushed (him)', *diqále* 'He crushed her', *diqíle* 'He crushed them'. If the verbal root ends in an interdental */θ/* or */ð/*, these shift to the stops */t/* and */d/* respectively when in contact with the */l/* of the L-suffixes (cf. §8.3.2.), e.g. *ditle* 'He sweated' (*dyθ*), *ridle* 'He darned' (*ryð*).

Resultative participle: *diqa* (ms.), *diqta* (fs.), *diqe* (pl.), e.g. *hóle diqa* 'He has crushed', *hóla diqta* 'She has crushed', *hóla díqe* 'They have crushed', etc. *qímɛle* 'He has risen', *qímtɛla* 'She has risen', *qímela* 'They have risen', etc.

Imperative: *duq* (sing.), *dúqu* (pl.) 'Crush!' The verb *qym* 'to rise' has the singular imperative form *qu*, in which the final radical has been elided. Various alternatives are available for the expression of the plural imperative. It may have the regular form *qúmu*. Other forms, however, are constructed from the singular base *qu*. These include the emphatic form *qúgu*, with the suffix *-gu* (§8.6.5.), and the phrase *qu-qíme*, in which the plural is expressed morphologically in the inflected form of the resultative participle *qime*. Similar phrases are used for the singular, in which a gender distinction is marked by the participle: *qu-qíma* (ms.), *qu-qímta* (fs.).

The */y/* is preserved in the infinitive: *dyaqa, qyama*. Compound forms: *hóle dyaqa* 'He is crushing', *qyámɛle* 'He is rising'. Verbal noun: *dyaqta, qyamta*.

This category of weak verb has been expanded by the absorption of verbs that originally belonged to other categories. The category of medial */y/* verbs includes both verbs that were medial */y/* and also those that had a weak medial */w/* in earlier Aramaic. Some verbs in this category were originally final geminate, e.g. *gyð* 'to finish off an edge' (< **gdd*), *kyp* 'to bow' (< **kpp*), *myṣ* 'to suck' (< **mṣṣ*), *nyd* 'to move' (< **ndd*), *qyp* 'to brood (hen)' (< **qpp*), *qyr* 'to cool' (< **qrr*), *qyṣ* 'to cut; bruise' (< **qṣṣ*), *qyθ* 'to hit' (< **qtt*), *ryq* 'to spit' (< **rqq*), *xym* 'to become hot' (< **xmm*). These include loans from Arabic, e.g. *tym* 'to finish' (< Arab. *tmm*). Others had a medial pharyngal **ʿ* at some point in their historical development. This would have been weakened to a laryngal **ʾ*, which was subsequently elided, e.g. *dyθ* 'to sweat' (< **dʾθ* < **dʿθ*), *dyx* 'to die down (fire)' (< **dʾx* < **dʿx*), *lys* 'to chew' (< **lʾs* < **lʿs*), *myj, myč* 'to crush' (< **mʾṣ* < **mʿs*), *šyl* 'to cough' (< **šʾl* < **šʿl*), *ṯym* 'to taste' (< **ṯʾm* < **ṯʿm*), *ṯyn* 'to carry' (< **ṯʾn* < **ṯʿn*), *zyp* 'to push' (< **zʾp* < **zʿp*), *ṛyš* 'to wake up; to feel' (< **ṛʾš* < **rʿš* < **rġš*),

šyš 'to rock (a child)' (< **šʾšˁ* < **šˁšˁ* < **šǧšˁ*). A few middle */y/* verbs are derived historically from roots with an initial weak radical. The verbs *lyp* 'to learn', *ryθ* 'to inherit' and *ryx* 'to become long', for example, developed from initial */y/* roots (**ylp, *yrθ, *yrx*), some of which were ultimately initial */ʾ/* (**ʾlp, *ʾrx*). Note also the verb *lyq* 'to get stuck, caught', which is a loan from the Arabic root *ʿlq*, the development being no doubt *ʿlq* > **ʾlq* > *lyq*.

8.12.6. *Verba Primae* /ʾ/, *Mediae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

ʾyd 'to weed', *ʾyq* 'to be narrow, tight (clothes); to be in distress'

The present base has the regular inflection of middle */y/* verbs: *ʾáyəd* 'He weeds', *ʾédа* 'She weeds', *ʾédi* 'They weed', etc.

The initial */ʾ/* is elided in the other bases. Past base: *yid-* (ms.), *yida-* (fs.), *yidi-* (pl.), e.g. *yídle* 'He weeded (it)', *yidále* 'He weeded it (f.)', *yidíle* 'He weeded them'. Resultative participle: *yida* (ms.), *yitta* (fs. < *yidta*), *yide* (pl.), e.g. *hóle yída* 'He has weeded', *yíttɛla* 'She has weeded', *yídela* 'They have weeded'. Imperative: *yud* (sing.), *yúdu* (pl.) 'Weed!'. Infinitive: *yada*. Compound forms: *hót yáda* 'You are weeding', *yádɛle* 'He is weeding'. Verbal noun: *yatta*.

8.12.7. *Verba Mediae* /y/, *Tertiae* /ʾ/

Verbs in this category include:

myʾ 'to churn', *syʾ* 'to build a fence', *s̱yʾ* 'to get stuck', and *šyʾ* 'to plaster; smooth'

In the inflection of the present base, the medial */y/* radical is retained throughout the paradigm. The vocalic pattern of the inflections is that of final */ʾ/* verbs, with a short */a/* vowel in the base:

myʾ 'to churn'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mă̆ye*	
	fs.	*mă̆ya*	
	pl.	*mă̆yi*	

2nd pers.	ms.	*mə̆̄yət*	*mə̆yeti*
	fs.	*mə̆̄yət*	*mə̆yati*
	pl.	*mə̆yítu*	
1st pers.	ms.	*mə̆̄yən*	*mə̆yena*
	fs.	*mə̆̄yən*	*mə̆yana*
	pl.	*mə̆̄yəx*	*mə̆yexi*

The past base has the forms *mi-* (ms.), *miya-* (fs.), *miyi-* (pl.), which correspond to the forms *šmi-*, *šmiya-* and *šmiyi-* of final */ʾ/* verbs, e.g. *míle* 'He churned (it)', *miyálux* 'You churned it (f.)', *miyíwali* 'I had churned them'. The base may also have the endings of final */y/* verbs: *me-* (ms.), *miya-* (fs.), *mɛ-* (pl.).

The resultative participle has the forms *míʾa* (ms.), *míta* (fs.), *míʾe* (pl.). The */ʾ/* in the ms. and pl. forms is often replaced by the glide */y/*. Examples: *hóle míʾa* ~ *míya* 'He churned', *míʾɛt* ~ *míyɛt* 'You (ms.) have churned', *mítɛla* 'She churned', *míʾe-wɛwa* ~ *míye-wɛwa* 'They had churned'.

The imperative singular has the form *myu* (sing. < **myuʾ*). The plural imperative either has the form *míyu* (< **míyʾu*) or *myu* (< **myuʾu*) like the singular. All of these forms are sometimes contracted to *mu* in fast speech. The plural is distinguished from the singular when a supplementary suffix (§8.6.5.) is added to strengthen the command: *múga* (sing.), *múgu* (pl.). Alternative forms of the imperative exist that have the ending of imperatives from final */y/* verbs: *mi* (ms.), *ma* (fs.), *mo* (pl.). Note the gender distinction in the singular. The */a/* of the fs. form shifts to */ɛ/* when a supplementary suffix or a pronominal object suffix is attached to it, e.g. *mɛ́ga!* 'Churn (fs.)!', *mɛ́le!* 'Churn (fs.) it!

The infinitive has the form *myaʾa*. Compound forms: *hóle myáʾa* 'He is churning', *myáʾɛn* 'I am churning'. Verbal noun: *myeta*.

8.12.8. *Verba Tertiae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

bly 'to wear out', *bny* 'to build', *bry* 'to happen, be born, grow', *bxy* 'to weep', *c̆my* 'to be extinguished', *dmy* 'to resemble, to seem', *dry* 'to put', *gby* 'to froth, foam', *gly* 'to reveal', *gny* 'to set (sun)', *gsy* 'to vomit', *hny* 'to please', *jry* 'to flow', *kc̆y* 'to pick (fruit)', *kly* 'to stop, stand', *kry* 'to strike, attack; to become short', *lty* 'to lap', *m̥ly* 'to fill', *msy* 'to wash (clothes)', *mny* 'to count', *mšy* 'to wipe', *mty* 'to arrive', *mxy* 'to beat', *nd̆y* 'to leap',

nšy ‘to forget’, *ply* ‘to remove lice’, *pry* ‘to get light; to channel (water)’, *qly* ‘to fry’, *qmy* ‘to scorch, burn’, *qny* ‘to gain, earn’, *qpy* ‘to catch’, *qry* ‘to call’, *qsy* ‘to cut (bread)’, *rmy* ‘to grieve; put ash on (oneself)’, *rpy* ‘to throw’, *smy* ‘to become blind’, *sny* ‘to hate’, *spy* ‘to grasp’, *sxy* ‘to swim, bathe’, *sly* ‘to descend’, *spy* ‘to be pure’, *sry* ‘to rend, cut open’, *sty* ‘to dart, swoop’, *šðy* ‘to card (wool)’, *šky* ‘to complain’, *šly* ‘to calm down’, *šny* ‘to anaesthetize’, *šry* ‘to untie, solve; to lodge’, *šty* ‘to drink’, *tly* ‘to hang’, *tny* ‘to repeat, follow suit’, *tpy* ‘to catch up; infect’, *try* ‘to become wet’, *tsy* ‘to copulate (birds)’, *try* ‘to drive’, *xðy* ‘to rejoice, be happy’, *xmy* ‘to dwell’, *xny* ‘to honour; be honoured, be lucky’, *xpy* ‘to crouch, huddle’, *xry* ‘to defecate’, *xsy* ‘to castrate’, *xty* ‘to sin’, *xzy* ‘to see, find’, *zdy* ‘to throw’, *zny* ‘to commit adultery’.

The final */y/* is retained in feminine singular inflections of the present base, e.g. *xzy* ‘to see, find’: *xazya* ‘She sees’, *xazyət* ‘You (fs.) see’, *xazyən* ‘I (f.) see’. In other inflections of the present, the */y/* has been contracted. The full paradigm of the present base inflections is as follows. In addition to the usual long forms, alternant inflections exist for the 3pl. and the 2pl.:

xzy ‘to see’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*xáze*	
	fs.	*xázya*	
	pl.	*xázɛ*	
		xáza	
		xázi	
2nd pers.	ms.	*xázət*	*xazeti*
	fs.	*xázyət*	*xazyati*
	pl.	*xazétu*	
		xazítu	
1st pers.	ms.	*xázən*	*xazena*
	fs.	*xázyən*	*xazyana*
	pl.	*xázəx*	*xazexi*

The 3pl. form *xáza* is an allegro variant of *xázɛ*, whereby the original final *-ɛ* is lowered to */a/* in fast speech (§2.3.4). The alternative forms *xázi* (3pl.) and *xazítu* (2pl.) have developed by analogy with the corresponding

inflections of the strong verb (*qaṭli* and *qaṭlitu*). The forms *xázɛ* (3pl.) and *xazétu* (2pl.) are the original final */y/* inflections. The */ɛ/* vowel has resulted from the contraction of the diphthong **ay* in the plural ending of the final */y/* active participle at an earlier stage of the language: *xázɛ* < **xazayn*, *xazétu* < **xazay-tūn*. The remainder of the paradigm, including the long inflections of the 1st and 2nd person singular, is derived from the singular final */y/* active participle. The */e/* vowel of the long form of the 1pl. inflection *-exi* appears to have developed by analogy with the */e/* of the long 1ms. suffix (*-ena*) (§8.2.2.). The same applies to the short 1pl. form *-əx*, the proto-form of which is **-ex* with */e/* by analogy with the 1ms. short proto-form **-en*. The full reconstructed paradigm would be as follows:

		Proto-form	Actual form
3rd pers.	ms.	**xaze*	*xáze*
	fs.	**xazya*	*xázya*
	pl.	**xazayn*	*xázɛ*
2nd pers.	ms.	**xaze-t*	*xázət*
		**xaze-t-i*	*xazeti*
	fs.	**xazya-t*	*xázyət*
		**xazya-t-i*	*xazyati*
	pl.	**xazay-tun*	*xazétu*
1st pers.	ms.	**xaze-n*	*xázən*
		**xaze-na*	*xazena*
	fs.	**xazy-an*	*xázyən*
		**xazy-ana*	*xazyana*
	pl.	**xaze-x*	*xázəx*
		**xaze-x-i*	*xazexi*

As shown in §8.2.2., the endings of the 1st and 2nd person singular were extended by analogy to the strong verb. In the speech of one informant an infixed */n/* appears in the 3ms. form with the *-wa* suffix, e.g. *baxènwa* 'He used to weep' (= *baxewa* A34:29). An augment of this type is regularly used in some NENA dialects, e.g. the Baz and Jilu dialects.

The past base has the form *CCe-* (ms.), *CəCCa-* (fs.), *CCɛ-* (pl.), e.g. *xzéle* 'He saw (him)', *xəzyále* 'He saw her', *xzéle* 'He saw them'.

Resultative participle: *CəCya* (ms.), *CCiθa* (fs.), *CəCye* (pl.), e.g. *hóle xə́zya* 'He has seen', *hóla xzíθa* 'She has seen', *hóla xə́zye* 'They have seen', *náðyɛle* 'He has jumped', *bxíθɛla* 'She has wept', *šə́tyela* 'They have drunk'.

The imperative distinguishes between gender in the singular: *xzi* (ms.), *xza* (fs.), *xzo* (pl.) 'See!' When a supplementary suffix or pronominal object suffix is attached to the fs. form, it has an */ɛ/* vowel rather than an */a/*, e.g. *xzéga* 'See!', *štéle* 'Drink it!'. This indicates that the proto-form of the fs. imperative *xza* is **ḥzay* with a final diphthong (§2.4.1.).

The */y/* is preserved in the infinitive: *CCaya*, e.g. *xzaya*. Compound forms: *hóle štáya* 'He is drinking', *hóx bnáya* 'We are building', *ṭráyɛle* 'He is driving', *xzáyɛt* 'You see'. In fast speech the */y/* is sometimes contracted in compound forms (§4.4.), e.g. *xzàyəlla* [ˈxzæːlːæ] 'he sees them' (B9:6), *xzáyət* [ˈxzæːt] 'Do you see?' (A7:17); *lán-mṣaya* [lam-mṣa] 'I cannot (A7:25).

8.12.9. *Verba Primae* /ʾ/, *Tertiae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

ʾry 'to curdle; to rain', and *ʾṣy* 'to resist, get stuck'

The initial */ʾ/* is retained in the present base without prefixes, e.g. *ʾáṣe* 'It (ms.) gets stuck', *ʾáṣya* 'It (fs.) gets stuck', *ʾáṣɛ* 'They get stuck'. The */ʾ/* is elided before prefixed particles, e.g. *y-áṣe* 'It (ms.) gets stuck', *bṯ-árya* 'It will rain'.

The */ʾ/* is elided in the other bases where the pattern has an initial cluster *CC*, elsewhere it is retained. Past base: *ṣéle* 'It (ms.) got stuck', *réla másta* 'The yoghurt curdled'. Resultative participle: *ʾə́ṣya* (ms.), *ṣíθa* (fs.), *ʾə́ṣye* (pl.). Imperative: *ṣi* (ms.), *ṣa* (fs.), *ṣo* (pl.). Infinitive: *ṣáya*. Verbal noun: *ṣéθa*.

8.12.10. *Verbs with a Zero Medial Radical and Final* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

by 'to want, to like', *čy* 'to be tired', *ny* 'to breath last breath; to dawn', *qy* 'to be blunt', *ṛy* 'to graze; to crush', *ṣy* 'to be thirsty', *ṭy* 'to search'.

At some stage of development these roots had a medial laryngal *ʾ or *h, the *ʾ being derived ultimately from the pharyngal *ʿ: *by* 'to want' < **bʿy*, *ny* 'to breath last breath' < **nʿy*, *ny* 'to dawn' (< **nʿy* < **ngh*), *ṛy* 'to graze'

< *ɾʕy, *ɾy* 'to crush' < *ɾʕy < *ɾʿʿ, *ṭy* < *ṭʕy, *čy* < *čhy, *qy* < *qhy, *s̱y* < *s̱hy*. The laryngal, however, does not appear in any of the bases of these verbs.

The endings of the present base are those of final */y/* verbs. One would have expected there to be long */a/* vowels in the open syllable after the first radical given the original historical form of the inflected paradigm. In the ms. and pl. forms the vowel is historically in an open syllable (e.g. **ba'e* 'He wants', **ba'et* 'You (ms.) want', **ba'ayn* 'They want'). Also in the fs. forms (e.g. **ba'ya* 'She wants'), the elision of the laryngal led to the opening of a syllable and according to the usual rule when a laryngal in the coda of a syllable is elided, the preceding vowel is long (§2.2.4.1.), e.g. *pála* 'worker' < **pa'la*. The */a/* vowel, however, is pronounced short throughout the paradigm. This has arisen by the assimilation of this paradigm to that of verbs with medial */y/* and final */ʔ/* (§8.12.7.), where the short vowel is explicable historically. The glide */y/* occurs in all forms in place of the elided laryngal before the inflectional ending:

ṭy 'to search'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*ṭă̋ye*	
	fs.	*ṭă̋ya*	
	pl.	*ṭă̋yɛ*	
		ṭă̋ya	
		ṭă̋yi	
2nd pers.	ms.	*ṭă̋yət*	*ṭăyeti*
	fs.	*ṭă̋yət*	*ṭăyati*
	pl.	*ṭăyétu*	
		ṭăyítu	
1st pers.	ms.	*ṭă̋yən*	*ṭăyena*
	fs.	*ṭă̋yən*	*ṭăyana*
	pl.	*ṭă̋yəx*	*ṭăyexi*

The past base has the form *Ce-* (< **Cʔe*), e.g. *ṭéle* 'He searched', *s̱éle* 'He became thirsty'.

Resultative participle: *Cíya* (ms. < **Ci'ya*), *Cíθa* (fs. < **Cʔiθa*), *Cíye* (pl. < **Ci'ye*), e.g. *hóle ṭíya* 'He has searched', *s̱íya-wewa* 'He was thirsty', *hóla ṭíθa* 'She has searched', *s̱íθa-wawa* 'She was thirsty', *hóla ṭíye* 'They have searched', *s̱íye-wɛwa* 'They were thirsty'.

The imperative can have the form *ṭi* (ms.), *ṭa* (fs.), *ṭo* (pl.), which has the regular inflectional endings of final */y/* verbs, or the form *ṭu* (sing. and pl.). The latter form has arisen by analogy with roots with medial */y/* and final */ʔ/* (§8.12.7.).

The infinitive is *ṭăya*, with a short */a/* after the first radical, apparently by analogy with the present base paradigm. Verbal noun: *ṭɛθa*.

The verb *lhy* 'to kindle (intr.)' is exceptional. Throughout most of its inflections the medial */h/* is elided in conformity with the behaviour of the verbs in this category, e.g. *lăye* 'It kindles (tr.)', *léle* 'It kindled', *líyɛle* 'It has kindled'. In the infinitive, however, the */h/* is sometimes retained: *lhăya* ~ *lăya*.

8.12.11. *Verba Primae* /y/, *Tertiae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

ymy 'to swear', *ypy* 'to bake'.

The initial */y/* is retained in the inflections of the present base, e.g. *yápe* 'He bakes', *yápya* 'She bakes', *yápɛ* 'They bake'.

The initial */y/* is elided in the other bases where the pattern has an initial cluster *CC*, elsewhere it is retained. Past base: *péle* 'He baked (it)', *yəpyále* 'He baked it (fs.)', *pɛ́le* 'He baked them'. Resultative participle: *yápya* (ms.), *píθa* (fs.), *yápye* (pl.), e.g. *hóle yápya* 'He has baked', *píθɛla* 'She has baked', *yápyela* 'They have baked'. Imperative: *pi* (ms.), *pa* (fs.), *po* (pl.). Infinitive: *paya*. Verbal noun: *pɛθa*.

8.12.12. *Verba Mediae* /w/

Verbs in this category include:

čwr 'to spin; to roll (eyes)', *dwq* 'to hold, catch', *dwr* 'to close; to turn on the threshing floor', *dwx* 'to sacrifice, dedicate', *gwr* 'to marry', *jwj* 'to move, walk', *kwš* 'to pack tightly', *lwš* 'to wear (clothes)', *lwx* 'to catch fire, to blaze', *nwr* 'to shy away', *nwx* 'to bark', *qwl* 'to complain', *qwr* 'to bury', *šwq* 'to leave', *šwr* 'to jump, leap', *twn* 'to become numb', *twr* 'to break', *ṭwx* 'to shatter', *xwq* 'to hug', *xwr* 'to become white', *xwš* 'to shut in, confine', *xwṭ* 'to mix', *xwx* 'to mix', *zwn* 'to buy'.

The medial */w/* in this category of verbs often derives historically from postvocalic **b*, e.g. *dwq* < **dbq*, *kwš* < **kbš*, *lwx* < **lbk*, *xwš* < *ḥbš*, *xwṭ* < **ḥbt*, *xwx* < **ḥbk*, *zwn* < **zbn*. On some occasions, however, the */w/* is etymologically **w*, e.g. *nwr* < **nwr*. *šwr* < **šwr*. In the present base the diphthong */aw/* in a closed syllable is often contracted to */o/*: *záwən* 'He buys', *záwna* ~ *zóna* 'She buys', *záwni* ~ *zóni* 'They buy', etc. The */ə/* in the 3ms. form often shifts to the rounded vowel */u/* under the influence of the preceding */w/*: *záwun*.

The remaining bases have inflectional patterns like those of strong verbs. Past base: *xwíṭle* 'He mixed (it)', *xwiṭále* 'He mixed it (f.)', *xwiṭíle* 'He mixed them'. The */i/* after the */w/* in this base is sometimes realized with lip-rounding in the region of [y]. Final */r/* and */n/* of verbal roots assimilate to the */l/* of the L-suffix when it is in contact with it, e.g. *dwírre* 'He closed', *zwínne* 'He bought'. Resultative participle: *zwína* (ms.), *zwínta* (fs.), *zwíne* (pl.). In the imperative the sequence */wu/* is contracted to */u/*: *zun* (sing.), *zúnu* (sing.) 'Buy!' Infinitive: *zwana*. Verbal noun: *zwanta*.

8.12.13. *Verba Primae* /ʾ/, *Mediae* /w/

Verbs in this category include:

ʾwð 'to do, make', *ʾwr* 'to pass, enter'.

The */ʾ/* is retained in the present base when it has no prefixed particles. The diphthong */aw/* in a closed syllable is sometimes contracted to */o/*: *ʾáwəð* 'He does', *ʾáwða* ~ *ʾóða* 'She does', *ʾáwði* ~ *ʾóði* 'They do', etc. The */ə/* of the 3ms. form often shifts to the rounded vowel */u/*: *ʾáwuð*. The */ʾ/* is elided before prefixed particles such as *ʾi-* and *bəd-*: *y-áwəð* 'He does', *bṭ̂-áwəð* 'He will do'.

The initial */ʾ/* is elided in all other bases. Past base: *wið-* (ms.), *wiða-* (fs.), *wiði-* (pl.). The */ð/* of the verb *ʾwð* shifts to the stop */d/* when in contact with the */l/* of an L-suffix: *widle* 'He made (it)', *wíðale* 'He made it (f.)', *wiðíle* 'He made them'. The */r/* of the verb *ʾwr* assimilates the */l/* of an adjacent L-suffix: *wírre* 'He entered'.

Resultative participle: *wíða* (ms.), *wíðta* (fs.), *wíðe* (pl.), e.g. *hóle wíða* 'He has done', *wíðɛt* 'You (ms.) have done', *mòdi-t wíða:ʔ* 'What have you done?' Imperative: *wúð* (sing.), *wúðu* (pl.) 'Do!'. Infinitive: *wáða*. Compound forms: *hóle wáða* 'He is doing', *wáðɛt* 'You are doing', *mòdi-t wáða:ʔ* 'What are you doing?' Verbal noun: *waðta*.

8.12.14. *Verba Mediae* /w/, *Tertiae* /ʾ/

Verbs in this category include:

nwʾ 'to emerge, well up', *swʾ* 'be sated', *ṣwʾ* 'to colour, paint'.

These verbs combine the features of middle */w/* and final */ʾ/* roots. Present base: *ṣə́we* 'He paints', *ṣə́wa* 'She paints', *ṣə́wi* 'They paint', etc. Past base: *ṣwíle* 'He painted (it)', *ṣwiyále* 'He painted it (f.)', *ṣwiyíle* 'He painted them'. Resultative participle: *ṣwiya* (ms.), *ṣwita* (fs.), *ṣwiye* (pl.). Infinitive: *ṣwaʾa* or *ṣwaya*. Verbal noun: *ṣweta*.

The past base and resultative participle of these verbs are sometimes given the inflectional patterns of final */y/* verbs, e.g. *swéli* 'I have become sated', *səwyɛn* 'I (m.) am sated', *swiθɛn* 'I (f.) am sated'.

8.12.15. *Verba Mediae* /w/, *Tertiae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

gwy 'to beg', *kwy* 'to scorch, sear', *qwy* 'to scoop', *rwy* 'to become drunk', *šwy* 'to spread out (bed)', *ṭwy* 'to roast' (intr.); to be worth', *xwy* 'to become faint; to become dark, bring (animal) into shelter'.

The medial */w/* in these roots is derived historically either from **w* (e.g. *kwy* < **kwy*, *rwy* < **rwy*, *šwy* < **šwy*, *ṭwy* < **ṭwy*) or from **b* (e.g. *gwy* < **gby*, *qwy* < **qby*, *xwy* < **ḥby*).

The verbs of this group combine the features of middle */w/* and final */y/* roots. In the present base the diphthong */aw/* in the closed syllable of the fs. forms is occasionally contracted to */o/*: *káwe* 'He scorches', *kawya* ~ *kóya* 'She scorches', *káwɛ* 'They scorch', *qáwət* 'You (ms.) scoop', *qáwyət* ~ *qóyət* 'You (fs.) scoop'.

Past base: *kwele* 'He scorched (him)', *kəwyále* 'He scorched (her)', *kwɛ́le* 'He scorched (them)'. Resultative participle: *kəwya* (ms.), *kwiθa* (fs.), *kəwye* (pl.). Imperative: *gwi* (ms.), *gwa* (fs.), *gwo* (pl.) 'Beg!' Infinitive: *kwaya*. Verbal noun: *kwɛθa*.

8.12.16. *Verba Tertiae* /w/

Verbs in this category include:

gnw 'to rob', *grw* 'to become ravenous', *jlw* 'to kidnap', *kθw* 'to write', *nṣw* 'to plant (in ground)', *qrw* 'to approach', *rkw* 'to ride, copulate with', *srw* 'to deny, reject', *xlw* 'to milk', *xrw* 'to be destroyed, spoilt', *xšw* 'to think'.

The final radical in verbs of this category derives historically from post-vocalic **b*, e.g. *kθw* < **ktb*, *nṣw* < **nṣb*, *qrw* < **qrb*, *rkw* < **rkb*, *xrw* < **ḥrb*.

In the present base the sequence */əw/* in the 3ms. form contracts to the vowel */u/*, e.g. *káθu* 'He writes'. Elsewhere in the paradigm the */w/* is generally retained when the inflection ends in a vowel, e.g. *káθwa* 'She writes', *káθwi* 'They write', *kaθwítu* 'You (pl.) write'. The sequence */wə/* sometimes contracts to */u/* when the inflection ends in a consonant. The preceding */a/* remains short as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *káθwət* ~ *kắθut* 'You (ms.) write', *káθwəx* ~ *kắθux* 'We write'.

The sequence */iw/* is often contracted to */u/* in the ms. past base, e.g. *kθúle* 'He wrote (it)'. On some occasions it remans uncontracted, in which case the */i/* is generally realized with lip-rounding in the region of [y] and the */w/* as a labio-palatal glide [ɥ], e.g. *kθíwle* [kθyɥle]. In the fs. and pl. forms of the past base the */w/* remains uncontracted, e.g. *jliwále* 'He kidnapped her', *jliwíle* 'He kidnapped them'.

Resultative participle: *kθíwa* (ms.), *kθiwta* / *kθúta* (fs.), *kθíwe* (pl.). The feminine ending in the fs. form has the stop */t/* after the */u/*, since at an earlier historical period it was preceded by the consonant **b* rather than a vowel (§1.4.1.3.).

The singular imperative has the form *kθu* 'Write!', in which the */w/* has been contracted (< **kθuw*). Of the two plural imperative patterns available for strong verbs, *qṭúlu* and *qə́ṭlu*, the pattern *qə́ṭlu* is preferred in verbs of this category: *káθwu* 'Write!' The form *kθu* (< **kθúwu*), which is identical with the singular form is, however, also available. This plural form can be distinguished from the singular by attaching the supplementary imperative plural suffix *-gu* (§8.6.5.): *kθúgu*.

The infinitive: *kθawa*. Verbal noun *kθawta*.

8.12.17. *Verba Primae* /ʾ/, *Tertiae* /w/

The verb *ʾtw* 'to sit' belongs to this category, though it is derived historically from an initial */y/* root (**ytw*). The initial */ʾ/* is retained in the inflections

of the present base, e.g. *ʾátu* 'He sits', *ʾátwa* 'She sits', *ʾátwi* 'They sit'. It is elided when a preverbal particle is attached to these forms, e.g. *y-átu* 'He sits', *t̂-átu* 'He will sit'. Some speakers retain the original initial */y/* radical in the root, e.g. *t-yátu* 'He will sit'. In fast speech the */w/* sometimes assimilates to */t/* in the sequence */tw/*, e.g. *y-átti* (< *y-átwi*) 'They sit'.

The */ˀ/* is regularly elided in all other bases. Past base: *tiw-* or, with contraction of the */w/*, *tu-*, e.g. *tíwle* / *túle* 'He sat down'. Resultative participle: *tíwa* (ms.), *tíwta* / *túta* (fs.), *tíwe* (pl.). The singular imperative is *tu* 'Sit!' (< **tuw*). The form *tu* may also be used for the plural imperative (< **túwu*). The singular and plural forms of the imperative may be distinguished by the addition of the plural imperative supplementary suffixes *-ga -gən* on the singular and *-gu* on the plural: *túga*, *túgən* 'Sit!' (sing.): *túgu!* 'Sit' (pl.). An alternative method of disinguishing them is to combine the imperative form with the resultative participle inflected for number and gender, e.g. *tu-tíwa!* 'Sit!' (ms.), *tu-tíwta!* 'Sit!' (fs.), *tu-tíwe!* 'Sit!' (pl.). Infinitive: *tawa*. Verbal noun: *tawta*.

8.12.18. *Verba Tertiae* /w/, *Mediae* /y/

The verb *syw* 'to become old' belongs to this category.

In the present base the contractions characteristic of the final */w/* and middle */y/* verbs take place: *sayu* 'He becomes old', *sɛ́wa* 'She becomes old', *sɛ́wi* 'They become old', etc.

The past base is *syiw-*, in which both the */y/* and the */w/* are retained. The */i/* is generally realized with lip-rounding in the region of [y] and the */w/* as a labio-palatal glide [ɥ], e.g. *syiwle* [ˈsjyɥle] 'He grew old'.

Resultative participle: *síwa* (ms.), *syíwta* (fs.), *síwe* (pl.). The sequence */yi/* in the open syllable of the ms. and pl. forms has been contracted to the long vowel */i/*, whereas the */y/* remains uncontracted in the closed syllable of the fs. form, in which the */i/* is a short vowel, pronounced with lip-rounding [ˈsjyɥta].

Imperative: *syu* (sing. and pl.). Infinitive: *syawa*. Verbal noun: *syawta*.

8.12.19. *Verbs with Identical Second and Third Radicals*

Verbs in this category include:

jnn 'to sing a dirge', *ṣnn* 'to burn (food)'.

The present base of these verbs has two alternative paradigms. They may be conjugated like a strong verb, e.g. *ṣánən* (3ms.), *ṣánna* (3fs.), *ṣánni* (3pl.), etc. Alternatively they may be conjugated as if they were medial */y/* verbs, e.g. *ṣáyən* (3ms.), *ṣéna* (3fs.), *ṣéni* (3pl.), etc. In the remaining inflections they are regularly conjugated as strong verbs.

8.13. Weak Verbs in Stem II

8.13.1. *Verba Mediae /ʾ/*

Verbs in this category include:

m-gʾr 'to belch', *m-lʾm* 'to weld', *m-nʾl* 'to shoe (a horse) / 'to curse'; *m-pʾr* 'to yawn', *m-rʾd* 'to quake (earth)', *m-ṣʾr* 'to curse, insult', *m-ṭʾl* 'to play'.

It is necessary to distinguish this category due to the morphology of various of its inflections that can be explained as reflections of the presence of a medial laryngal **ʾ* at some stage in their historical development. The laryngal would, in turn, have been a development of an earlier pharyngal **ʿ*. In the present state of the dialect, however, no pharyngal */ʿ/* or laryngal */ʾ/* is attested in any of the inflections forms.

These verbs are in the process of assimilating to the category of medial */w/* verbs (§8.13.5.) and most of the inflections are identical. As has been noted in §8.12.7., there are no grounds for distinguishing a category of medial */ʾ/* verbs in stem I, since these have entirely merged with medial */y/* verbs, e.g. *dyθ* 'to sweat' (< **dʾθ* < **dʿθ*), *lys* 'to chew' (< **lʾs* < **lʿs*), etc. The stem II medial */ʾ/* verbs have the appearance of medial */w/* verbs in many of their inflections, but they have not entirely merged with this class.

The 3ms. of the present base regularly has medial */w/*, e.g. *mnawəl* 'He shoes'. The */ə/* often shifts to the rounded vowel */u/*: *mnawul*. In the rest of the paradigm three alternative forms exist. In one set of forms the middle radical is zero, reflecting the elision of a laryngal **ʾ*: *mnála* 'She shoes' (< **mnaʾla*), *mnáli* 'They shoe' (< **mnaʾli*), etc. The alternative two sets of forms have */w/* as the medial radical and are identical to those of medial */w/* verbs. One set has the diphthong */aw/* in a closed syllable, e.g. *mnáwla* 'She shoes'. In the other set a short epenthetic vowel is placed between the */w/* and the third radical in the sequence */awC/*. The stress is generally placed on this epenthetic when it is in penultimate

position. The */a/* vowel of the base remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *mnăwə́la* 'She shoes'. The */a/* vowel of the 3ms. form is also sometimes pronounced short, by analogy with the shortness of the */a/* in open syllables in the rest of this alternative paradigm. This type of paradigm has apparently arisen by analogy with the vocalic pattern of stem III verbs (*máqṭəl*, *maqṭə́la*, *maqṭə́li*, etc.). The various paradigms are as follows:

m-n'l 'to shoe'

		1	2	3
3rd pers.	ms.	*mnáwəl*	*mnáwəl*	*mnắwəl*
	fs.	*mnála*	*mnáwla*	*mnăwə́la*
	pl.	*mnáli*	*mnáwli*	*mnăwə́li*
2nd pers.	ms.	*mnálət*	*mnáwlət*	*mnăwə́lət*
	fs.	*mnálət*	*mnáwlət*	*mnăwə́lət*
	pl.	*mnalítu*	*mnawlítu*	*mnăwəlítu*
1st pers.	ms.	*mnálən*	*mnáwlən*	*mnăwə́lən*
	fs.	*mnálən*	*mnáwlən*	*mnăwə́lən*
	pl.	*mnáləx*	*mnáwləx*	*mnăwə́ləx*

There appears to be a certain amount of lexical variation in the use of these alternative paradigms. The paradigms with medial */w/* throughout are used more frequently with some verbs of this category than with others, indicating that the assimilation to the category of medial */w/* verbs is more advanced in some verbs than in others.

The past base has the form *mnuwəl-*. The glide */w/* has arisen after the rounded vowel */u/* following the elision of a laryngal: *mnuwəl-* < **mnuʾəl-* < **mnuʿəl*. The */ə/* vowel in this form often shifts to */u/* under the influence of the phonetic context, e.g. *mnuwə́lle / mnuwúlle* 'He shoed'. The fs. and pl. forms of the past base are *mnula-* and *mnuli-* respectively, which have developed from **mnuʾla* and **mnuʾli*.

There are two alternative forms of the ms. and pl. resultative participle. In one of these the */w/* is contracted: *mCúCa* (ms. < **mCuʾCa*), *mCúCe* (pl. < **mCuʾCe*). In the other the stress is shifted onto a short epethetic */ə/*, with the */w/* being retained and the */u/* remaining short as if it were in a closed syllable: *mCŭwə́Ca* (ms.), *Cŭwə́Ce* (pl.). The fs. form has the vocalic pattern of the strong verb and regularly has medial */w/*. The two sets of forms are illustrated below:

	1	2
ms.	*mnúla*	*mnŭwə́la*
fs.	*mnuwálta*	*mnuwálta*
pl.	*mnúle*	*mnŭwə́le*

The singular imperative has the form *mnáwəl*, with medial */w/*. The plural imperative has two alternative forms. One with a zero medial radical, resulting from the elision of the medial radical *ʾ: *mnálu* (< **mnaʾlu*). The other has medial */w/*: *mnáwlu*.

The infinitive form *mnawole* has developed from **mnaʾole*. Verbal noun: *mnawalta*.

The development of the medial */w/* glide replacing an original pharyngal *ʿ would most likely have taken place originally in the forms where it is adjacent to */u/*, e.g. *mnuwəlle* < **mnuʿəlle* (cf. §1.4.2.2.). The */w/* would then have spread to other areas of the paradigm by analogy.

8.13.2. *Verb Tertiae /ʾ/*

Verbs in this category include:

m-gr̥ʾ 'to strip off (twigs and branches)', *m-jmʾ* 'to gather', *m-plʾ* 'to share, distribute', *m-pl̥ʾ* 'to imitate', *m-pqʾ* 'to inflate; to explode, blow up (tr.)', *m-qt̥ʾ* 'to remove stones from grain', *m-šmʾ* 'to apply wax', *m-t̥mʾ* 'to covet'.

The inflection of the present base exhibits the distinctive features of final */ʾ/* verbs in stem I. The paradigm is as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mpə̆́qe*	
	fs.	*mpə̆qa*	
	pl.	*mpə̆́qi*	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mpə̆́qət*	*mpə̆qeti*
	fs.	*mpə̆qət*	*mpə̆qati*
	pl.	*mpə̆qítu*	
1st pers.	ms.	*mpə̆́qən*	*mpə̆qena*
	fs.	*mpə̆qən*	*mpə̆qana*
	pl.	*mpə̆qəx*	*mpə̆qexi*

The */ʔ/* has been elided in the sequence **C*ʔ but the preceding */a/* vowel remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *mpắqa* < **mpaqʾa* < **mpaqʿa*. In the 3ms. form *mpắqe* the */a/* vowel is short by analogy with the rest of the paradigm. The final *-e* of this form has arisen from an original final **-ə*ʾ < **ə*ʿ. After the elision of the final laryngal, the **ə* was lengthened to */e/*.

The fs. and pl. past bases correspond to the pattern of strong verbs with the elision of the */ʔ/*: *mpŭqa-* < **mpuqʾa-* (fs.), *mpŭqi-* < **mpuqʾi-* (pl.). The */u/* remains short as if it were still in a closed syllable. The ms. past base has the ending *-e: mpŭqe-*. As in the present base, this has developed historically from **-ə*ʾ. The */u/* is short in the ms. form by analogy with the fs. and pl. forms, e.g. *mpŭqéle* 'He exploded (it)'.

The resultative participle has the form: *mpŭqa* (ms.), *mpŭqéθa* (fs.), *mpŭqe* (pl.). The ms. and pl. forms correspond to the pattern of strong verbs with the elision of the */ʔ/*: *mpŭqa* < **mpuqʾa, mpŭqe* < **mpuqʾe*. The */u/* remains short as if it were still in a closed syllable. The fs. form has the ending *-εθa*, by analogy with the paradigm of final */y/* verbs but its */u/* vowel remains short by analogy with the ms. and pl. forms of the participle.

The imperative forms have the endings of final */y/* verbs, with a distinction of gender in the singular: *mpắqi* (ms.), *mpắqa* (fs.), *mpắqo* (pl.). The short */a/* vowel in the singular form has arisen by analogy with other inflections of the verb where it was originally in a closed syllable.

The infinitive has the form *mpăqoye*. The */y/* replaces the original laryngal between the */o/* and */e/* vowels, The */a/* vowel is short by analogy with other inflections of the verb. Indeed, the short */a/* has been generalized in all inflections of all paradigms. The verbal noun has the ending that is characteristic of final */y/* verbs: *mpăqεθa*.

8.13.3. *Verba Mediae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

m-byn 'to appear', *m-hyr* 'to help', *m-šyn* 'to become tame', *m-syd* 'to hunt', *m-zyx* 'to celebrate (a festival)'.

Two alternative paradigms exist for the inflection of the present base. One of these corresponds to that middle */y/* verbs in stem I, with contraction of the */y/* in all forms except the 3ms. In the other paradigm the */y/* is preserved in all forms, with an epenthetic vowel being inserted after the */y/* throughout the paradigm except in the 3ms. This epenthetic is

stressed when in penultimate position. After the insertion of the epenthetic, the */a/* vowel remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable. The */a/* vowel is short also in the 3ms. form, by analogy with the rest of the paradigm. This alternative paradigm is based on the vocalic pattern of stem III verbs:

m-hyr 'to help'

		1	2
3rd pers.	ms.	*mháyər*	*mhăyər*
	fs.	*mhéra*	*mhăyára*
	pl.	*mhéri*	*mhăyári*
2nd pers.	ms.	*mhérət*	*mhăyárət*
	fs.	*mhérət*	*mhăyárət*
	pl.	*mhɛrítu*	*mhăyərítu*
1st pers.	ms.	*mhérən*	*mhăyárən*
	fs.	*mhérən*	*mhăyárən*
	pl.	*mhérəx*	*mhăyárəx*

In the past base the */y/* is treated like a strong radical. An epenthetic */ə/* vowel is inserted between the */y/* and the third radical in the fs. and pl. forms and the */u/* in the open syllable remains short, as if it were in a closed syllable, and this feature is extended by analogy to the ms. form: *mCŭCəC-* (ms.), *mCŭCəCa-* (fs.), *mCŭCəCi-* (pl.), e.g. *mhŭyárre* 'He helped (him)', *mhŭyərále* 'He helped her', *mhŭyəríle* 'He helped them'.

An epenthetic */ə/* vowel is inserted before the third radical in the ms. and pl. forms of the resultative participle. This epenthetic is stressed when in penultimate position. The */u/* remains short, as if it were in a closed syllable, and this feature is extended by analogy also to the fs. form: *mhŭyára* (ms.), *mhŭyárta* (fs.), *mhŭyáre* (pl.).

An epenthetic */ə/* is inserted before the third radical in the pl. imperative. After the insertion of the epenthetic the */a/* vowel remains. By analogy this latter feature is extended also to the sing. imperative: *mhăyər* (sing.), *mhăyəru* (pl.).

The infinitive has the pattern of a strong verb: *mhayore*. Verbal noun: *mhayarta*.

The */h/* in the verb *m-hyr* 'to help' is often elided in fast speech, e.g. *mhayər* [ma꞉yər], *mhayore* [ma꞉yo꞉re]. This elision, however, is not represented in the transcription.

8.13.4. *Verba Tertiae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

m-bny 'to prepare food', *m-dry* 'to winnow', *m-dxy* 'to brand', *m-gby* 'to chose, elect', *m-gly* 'to uncover', *m-jly* 'to prize up (roots)', *m-jzy* 'to tax', *m-kpy* 'to cover', *m-ksy* 'to cover', *m-pθy* 'to spread out', *m-pšy* 'to break wind silently', *m-qby* 'to swell', *m-rpy* 'to release', *m-spy* 'to hand over, deliver', *m-ṣly* 'to pray', *m-ṣpy* 'to purify, strain', *m-šny* 'to move, change place', *m-šqy* 'to joke; to take trouble', *m-šry* 'to begin', *m-šty* 'to convey, to give', *m-tny* 'to recount', *m-tšy* 'to hide (tr. and intr.)', *m-vdy* 'to move aside', *m-xmy* 'to keep'.

The predominant paradigm for the present base of this category has inflectional endings that are the same as those of final */y/* verbs in stem I (§8.12.8.):

m-ṣly 'to pray'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mṣále*	
	fs.	*mṣálya*	
	pl.	*mṣálɛ*	
		mṣála	
		mṣáli	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mṣáləṭ*	*mṣaleti*
	fs.	*mṣályəṭ*	*mṣalyati*
	pl.	*mṣalɛ́ṭu*	
		mṣalítu	
1st pers.	ms.	*mṣáləṇ*	*mṣalena*
	fs.	*mṣályəṇ*	*mṣalyana*
	pl.	*mṣáləx*	*mṣalexi*

An alternative paradigm for the inflection of the present base exists with an epenthetic vowel */i/* inserted before the */y/* of the fs. forms. This epenthetic generally receives the stress when in penultimate position. The */a/* preceding the epenthetic remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable. By analogy with such forms, the */a/* is pronounced short also in the open syllables of the ms. and pl. forms. This alternative paradigm is

based on the vocalic pattern of stem III verbs, e.g. *mákle* 'he stops', *maklíya* 'she stops', etc. (§8.14.4.). It appears to be lexically restricted. It is not available for all verbs of the category. It is most commonly used with the verb *m-šry* 'to begin', which may be inflected with both paradigms:

		1	2
3rd pers.	ms.	*mšáre*	*mšắre*
	fs.	*mšárya*	*mšăríya*
	pl.	*mšárɛ*	*mšắrɛ*
		mšára	*mšắra*
		mšári	*mšắri*
2nd pers.	ms.	*mšárət*	*mšắrət*
	fs.	*mšáryət*	*mšăríyət*
	pl.	*mšarétu*	*mšărétu*
		mšarítu	*mšărítu*
1st pers.	ms.	*mšárən*	*mšắrən*
	fs.	*mšáryən*	*mšăríyən*
	pl.	*mšárəx*	*mšắrəx*

The verb *m-vdy* 'to move aside' is regularly conjugated with paradigm no. 2 with a short */a/* vowel after the first radical. The verb appears to be a loan from Kurdish ve dan (pronounced [va-da꞉n]). By conjugating it with paradigm no. 2 the short */a/* of the Kurdish source form is preserved, e.g. *mvắde, mvădíya, mvắdɛ*. Feminine singular forms from paradigm no. 1 are also used, since the */a/* is short in the closed syllable: *mvádya, mvádyət, mvádyən*.

The past base has the pattern *mCoCe ~ mCuCe-* (ms.), *mCuCya-* (fs.) and *mCoCɛ ~ mCuCɛ-* (pl.), e.g. *mkuséli* 'I covered (him)', *mkusyáli* 'I covered her', *mkusɛ́li* 'I covered them'. There is an alternative fs. base with the form *mCŭCiya-*, with a short epenthetic */i/* inserted before the */y/* radical. The preceding */u/* remains short, as if it were in a closed syllable. This is used most commonly for the verb *m-šry* 'to begin': *mšuryáli ~ mšŭriyáli* 'I began it (f.)'.

The resultative participle in most verbs has the pattern: *mCúCya* (ms.), *mCoCéθa ~ mCuCéθa* (fs.), *mCúCye* (pl.), e.g. *hóle mṣúlya* 'He has prayed', *hóla mṣuléθa* 'She has prayed', *hóla mṣúlye* 'They have prayed'. The verb *m-šry* has alternative ms. and pl. forms with a short epenthetic */i/* vowel between the sequence *Cy*, which generally takes the stress. The preced-

ing */u/* remains short as if it were still in a closed syllable: *hóle mšúrya* ~ *mšŭríya* 'He has begun', *hóla mšúrye* ~ *mšŭríye* 'They have begun', *mšúryət* ~ *mšŭríyət* 'You have begun'.

As is the case with final */y/* in stem I, gender is distinguished in the singular of the imperative: *mṣáli* (ms.), *mṣála* (fs.), *mṣálo* (pl.) 'Pray!' When a supplementary suffix or a pronominal object suffix is attached to the fs. form, the final */a/* shifts to */ɛ/*, e.g. *mṣaléga* 'Pray!', *mkaséle* 'Cover it!'. An alternative inflection of the imperative exists in which the */a/* vowel is short, as in the alternative paradigm of the present base. This is regularly used for the verb *m-vdy: mvă̆di* (ms.), *mvă̆da* (fs.), *mvă̆do* (pl.) 'Move aside!'. It is available for *m-šry* 'to begin', e.g. *mšă̆ri* 'Begin!', and also occasionally for other verbs, e.g. *mră̆pi* (ms.) 'Throw! (ms.).

In the infinitive the */y/* of the root remains uncontracted: *mkasóye* 'to cover'. An alternative form of the infinitive exists with a short */a/*, e.g. *mvă̆dóye* 'to move aside'. Verbal nouns: *mkasɛθa*, *mvă̆dɛθa*.

8.13.5. *Verba Mediae* /w/

Verbs in this category include:

m-dwr 'to thresh', *m-jwb* 'to reply', *m-jwd* 'to argue', *m-kwr* 'to distil', *m-qwd* 'to put on handcuffs', *m-qwl* 'to promise', *m-qwm* 'to happen, befall', *m-qwr* 'to bury' *m-swq* 'to go shopping', *m-ṣwθ* 'to speak', *m-šwr* 'to cause to jump', *m-twb* 'to repent', *m-zwg* 'to pair together'.

The medial */w/* in these verbs in most cases derives historically from **w*. Original medial **b* in stem II remains the stop */b/* due to its gemination at an earlier period, e.g. *mzábən* 'He sells' < **mzabbən*.

The present base may be inflected like a strong verb, with the */w/* uncontracted, e.g. *mṣáwəθ* 'He speaks', *mṣáwθa* 'She speaks', *mṣáwθi* 'They speak', etc. The unstressed */ə/* of the 3ms. form sometimes shifts to the

rounded vowel */u/*: *mṣáwuθ*. An alternative pattern of inflection, based on the vocalic pattern of stem III verbs, is to place a short epenthetic between the */w/* and the third radical in the sequence */awC/*. The stress is generally placed on this epenthetic when it is in penultimate position. The */a/* vowel of the base remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *mqăwə́la* 'She promises', *mpăwə́ri* 'They yawn'. The */a/* vowel of the 3ms. form is also sometimes pronounced short, by analogy with the shortness of the */a/* in open syllables in the rest of this alternative paradigm. The two paradigms are as follows:

m-qwl 'to promise'

		1	2
3rd pers.	ms.	*mqáwəl*	*mqə̆́wəl*
	fs.	*mqáwla*	*mqăwə́la*
	pl.	*mqáwli*	*mqăwə́li*
2nd pers.	ms.	*mqáwlət*	*mqăwə́lət*
	fs.	*mqáwlət*	*mqăwə́lət*
	pl.	*mqawlítu*	*mqăwəlítu*
1st pers.	ms.	*mqáwlən*	*mqăwə́lən*
	fs.	*mqáwlən*	*mqăwə́lən*
	pl.	*mqáwləx*	*mqăwə́ləx*

The third radical after the stressed epenthetic in paradigm no. 2 is sometimes pronounced geminated, e.g. *mzawággi* 'They pair together'.

The past base has the pattern *mCuCəC-*, e.g. *mquwə́lle* 'He promised', *mṣuwə́tlux* 'You spoke'. Note the shift of the interdental */θ/* to the stop */t/* before the L-suffix in the verb *m-ṣwθ*.

There are two alternative forms of the ms. and pl. resultative participle. In one of these the */w/* is contracted: *mCúCa* (ms. < **mCuwCa*), *mCúCe* (pl. < **mCuwCe*). In the other the stress is shifted onto a short epethetic */ə/*, with the */w/* being retained and the */u/* remaining short as if it were in a close syllable: *mCŭwə́ra* (ms.), *Cŭwə́re* (pl.). The fs. form sometimes has a short */u/* by analogy with these two forms. The two sets of forms are illustrated below:

m-qwl 'to promise'

	1	2
ms.	*mqúla*	*mqŭɯɔ́la*
fs.	*mquɯálta*	*mqŭɯálta*
pl.	*mqúle*	*mqŭɯɔ́le*

The imperative is formed according to the regular pattern: *mṣáwəθ* (sing.), *mṣáwθu* (pl.) 'Speak!'

Infinitive: *mṣawóθe*. Verbal noun: *mṣawaθta*.

8.13.6. *Verba Mediae /w/, Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include:

m-šwy 'to furnish, lay out bed', *m-ṭwy* 'to roast'.

The medial */w/* in these verbs is derived historically from **w*. It remains stable throughout the inflection of all bases. Present base: *mšáwe, mšáwya, mšáwɛ*. Past base: *mšuwe-* (ms.), *mšuwya-* (fs.), *mšuwɛ-* (pl.). Resultative participle: *mšúwya* (ms.), *mšuwéθa* (fs.), *mšúwye* (pl.). Imperative: *mšáwi* (sing.), *mšáwo* (pl.). Infinitive: *mšawóye*. Verbal noun: *mšawɛθa*.

8.13.7. *Verba Tertiae /w/*

This category includes the verb *m-qrw* 'to approach', in which the final */w/* is derived historically from the fricative allophone of **b*. The */w/* is contracted in the same contexts as in stem I verbs. Present base: *mqáru* 'He approaches', *mqárwa* 'She approaches', *mqárwi* 'They approach', etc. Past base: *mqúrule* 'He approached'. Resultative participle: *mqurwa* (ms.), *mqurawta* (fs.), *mqurwe* (pl.). Imperative: *mqáru* (sing. and pl.). Infinitive: *mqarowe*.

8.13.8. *Verbs with Identical Second and Third Radicals*

Verbs in this category include:

m-bdd 'to poke (a fire)', *m-btt* 'to investigate', *m-dll* 'to plant crops with spaces in between; to spoil, pamper', *m-jss* 'to spy', *m-kll* 'to ululate', *m-qdd* 'to cut up (meat)', *m-ṣll* 'to become sober; to neigh', *m-šll* 'to sew a row of stitches', *m-tmm* 'to complete', *m-xll* 'to wash (vessels)'.

Two types of inflection are attested in verbs of this category. The first type is the regular inflection of the strong verb, e.g. *m-xll* 'to wash'. Present base: *mxaləl, mxalla, mxalli*. Past base: *mxuləlle, mxullále, mxullíle*. Resultative participle: *mxulla, mxulalta, mxulle*. Imperative: *mxaləl, mxallu*. Infinitive: *mxalole*.

The second type of inflection is based on the vocalic pattern of stem III verbs. It differs from the usual inflection of strong verbs in that the clustering of the second and third radicals is avoided by inserting a short epenthetic */ə/* vowel, which generally takes the stress when it occurs in penultimate position. The consonant after a stressed short epenthetic */ə/* is occasionally pronounced geminated: *CáCV* > *CáCCV*. The vowel in the syllable preceding the epenthetic remains short, as if it were in a closed syllable. The shortness of the vowel after the first radical is extended by analogy to all inflections, including those where no phonetic process has taken place to shorten the vowel.

In the present base the */a/* vowel after the first radical is short in all forms, including the 3ms. form where the shortness has arisen by analogy with the rest of the paradigm:

m-tmm 'to complete'

3rd pers.	ms.	*mtắməm*
	fs.	*mtămáma*
	pl.	*mtămámi*
2nd pers.	ms.	*mtămámət*
	fs.	*mtămámət*
	pl.	*mtăməmítu*
1st pers.	ms.	*mtămámən*
	fs.	*mtămámən*
	pl.	*mtămáməx*

As remarked, the consonant after the stressed short epenthetic */ə/* is sometimes geminated, e.g. *mtamámma* (3fs.), *mtamámmi* (3pl.), etc. Gemination sometimes develops also after the stress short */a/* in the 3ms form: *mtámməm*.

The past base has the form *mtŭməm-* (ms.), *mtŭməma-* (fs. < **mtumma-*), *mtŭməmi-* (pl. < **mtummi-*). The */u/* of the ms. base is pronounced short by analogy with the fs. and pl. bases and also with the general shortness of the vowel after the first radical in all paradigms of the verb, e.g. *mtŭmámle* 'He completed (it m.)', *mtŭməmále* 'He completed it (f.)', *mtŭməmíle* 'He completed them'.

Resultative participle: *mtŭmáma* (ms. < **mtumma*), *mtŭmámta* (fs.), *mtŭmáme* (pl. < **mtumme*). The */u/* of the fs. form is shortened by analogy rather than by phonetic process.

Imperative: *mtắməm* (sing.), *mtắməmu* (pl.) 'Complete!' The unstressed epenthetic vowel in the plural form is sometimes elided in fast speech: *mtámmu*.

The infinitive has a short */a/* vowel by analogy with the general shortness of the vowel in this position in the inflections of the verb: *mtămóme*. Verbal noun: *mtămámta*.

8.14. Weak Verbs in Stem III

8.14.1. *Verbs with a Zero First or Second Radical*

A number of verbs that derive historically from roots with a weak first or second radical are conjugated with the morphological pattern of stem III verbs but do not preserve the weak radical in any of their inflections. These include verbs with corresponding stem I forms from initial */ʔ/* roots and from medial */y/* roots, though at some earlier historical period the roots sometimes had a different configuration, e.g. initial or medial pharyngal, initial */y/* or final geminate (§8.12.1., §8.12.5.). There are also some verbs with no extant stem I form, but these can all be assumed to have been at some stage of development initial */ʔ/* or medial */y/* roots. Stem III verbs with these backgrounds exhibit the same patterns of inflection when the weak radical has a zero reflex. These patterns can be classified into two alternative paradigms, one in which the two radicals cluster and one in which the cluster is broken by a short epenthetic */ə/* vowel. The second paradigm is based on the vocalic pattern of strong verbs in stem III. The epenthetic in this paradigm is generally stressed when it occurs in penultimate position. The consonant after a stressed short epenthetic */ə/* is occasionally pronounced geminated: *Cə́CV* > *Cə́CCV*. The vowel in the syllable preceding the epenthetic is short, as if it were in a closed syllable. The shortness of the vowel in this syllable is extended by analogy through all paradigms of this group by analogy.

	1	2
Present base:		
3ms.	*máCəC*	*mắCəC*
3fs.	*máCCa*	*măCə́Ca*
3pl.	*máCCi*	*măCə́Ci*

Past base		
ms.	*muCəC-*	*mŭCəC-*
fs.	*muCCa-*	*mŭCəCa-*
pl.	*muCCï-*	*mŭCəCï-*
Resultative participle		
ms.	*múCCa*	*mŭCə́Ca*
fs.	*muCáCta*	*mŭCáCta*
pl.	*múCCe*	*mŭCə́Ce*
Imperative		
sing.	*máCəC*	*mắCəC*
plural	*máCCu*	*mắCəCu*
Infinitive		
	maCóCe	*măCóCe*
Verbal noun		
	maCáCta	*măCáCta*

These two sets of inflections are to some extent interchangeable, in that some verbs are conjugated with both. The interchangeability may be restricted to the inflection of one base. If this is the case, it is usually the present base that exhibits variant inflections. Some verbs, on the other hand, use mainly or, in some cases, exclusively one set of inflections rather than another. Some linkage can be identified between the tendency to use one type of inflection and the morphological background of the verb. The choice between the two types is, however, also lexically determined, since verbs from the same morphological background sometimes exhibit different trends in inflection.

Verbs in this category with a corresponding initial /ʾ/ verb in stem I include: *m-mð* 'to baptize' (*ʾmð* I < **ʿmð*), *m-sq* 'to cause to ascend' (*ʾsq* I), *m-qð* 'to burn (tr.)' (*ʾqð* I), *m-rq* 'to cause to run, smuggle away' (*ʾrq* I), *m-xl* 'to feed' (*ʾxl* I). Verbs derived historically from initial /ʾ/ roots but with no corresonding stem I forms include: *m-jb* 'to be astonished' (**ʾjb* < **ʿjb*), *m-čz* 'to be in pain, to be vexed; to vex, annoy' (< **ʾjz* < **ʿjz* ?), *m-rṭ* 'to break wind loudly' (**ʾrṭ* < **ʿrṭ*).

Verbs in this category with a corresponding medial /y/ verb in stem I include: *m-dṛ* 'to return (tr.); vomit' (*dyṛ* I), *m-kp* 'to knock down, shoot (a gun)' (*kyp* I 'to bend down, bow'), *m-lp* 'to teach' (*lyp* I), *m-rm* 'to raise' (*rym*

I), *m-ṛš* 'to wake (tr.)' (*ṛyš* I), *m-ṭm* 'to cause to taste' (*ṭym* I), *m-ṭn* 'to load' (*ṭyn* I), *m-zn* 'to cause to stand' (*zyn* I). The medial */y/* in several of these stem I forms was a secondary development: *dyṛ* < **dʾṛ*, *lyp* < **ylp* < **ʾlp*, *ṛyš* < **ṛʾš*, *ṭym* < **ṭʾm*, *ṭyn* < **ṭʾn*. Most medial */y/* verbs have a stem III form that retains the */y/* in its inflections. The verb *m-kp* has a doublet root with middle */y/: m-kyp*. The meaning of the verb *m-kyp* 'to lower' corresponds more directly to that of the stem I form *kyp* 'to become low, bend down'. Perhaps at some stage of their development the originally middle */y/* roots were construed as initial **ʾ* (*m-ʾrm*, *m-ʾzn*, *m-ʾkp*). One may compare a root such as *ʾčm* 'to close', which has a middle */y/* doublet *čym*.

In a few cases verbs in this category were historically final geminate. This applies, for example, to the verb *m-xb* 'to love', which is derived historically from the root **ḥbb*. Note also *m-xn* 'to yearn for' (< **ḥnn*), which is optionally conjugated as a verb of this category in some of its inflections, though is more frequently construed as final */y/* (*m-xny*). The verb *m-ks* 'to close' appears to be derived historically from the final */y/* root **ksy* 'to cover'. It is possible that at some stage of their development these three verbs were treated as having an initial **ʾ* radical (**m-ʾxb*, *m-ʾxn*, *m-ʾks*). One may compare again the stem I form *ʾčm* 'to close', which derives historically from the final geminate root **ṭmm* (§1.4.6.).

An exceptional case, as regards its historical derivation, is the verb *m-čx* 'to find', which has developed from the *ʾafʿel* form of the root **škḥ* in earlier Aramaic. The sequence **šk* has become the affricate */č/*.[4]

Type 1 inflection is exhibited by the verbs: *m-kp*, *m-ks*, *m-sq*, *m-qð*, *m-xl*:

8.14.1.1. m-kp *'to knock down'*
Present base: *mákəp*, *mákpa*, *mákpi*. Past base: *mukə́ple*, *mukpále*, *mukpíle*. Resultative participle: *múkpa*, *mukápta*, *múkpe*. Imperative: *mákəp*, *mákpu*. Infinitive: *makópe*. Verbal noun: *makápta*.

8.14.1.2. m-ks *'to close'*
Present base: *mákəs*, *máksa*, *máksi*. Past base: *mukə́sle*, *muksále*, *muksíle*. Resultative participle: *múksa*, *mukásta*, *múkse*. Imperative: *mákəs*, *máksu*. Infinitive: *makóse*. Verbal noun: *makásta*.

[4] This development appears to have been brought about by an initial shift of **šk* to **št*, as is found in the form of this verb in some other NENA dialects such as Jewish Urmia *m-štx*. The affricate */č/* would then have developed by metathesis from **št*.

8.14.1.3. m-sq *'to cause to ascend'*
Present base: *másəq, másqa, másqi*. Past base: *musáqle, musqále, musqíle*. Resultative participle: *músqa, musáqta, músqe*. Imperative: *másəq, másqu*. Infinitive: *masóqe*. Verbal noun: *masáqta*.

8.14.1.4. m-qð *'to burn'*
Present base: *maqəð, máqða, máqði*. Past base: *muqádle, muqðále, muqðíle*. Resultative participle: *múqða, muqáðta, múqðe*. Imperative: *máqəð, máqðu*. Infinitive: *maqóðe*. Verbal noun: *maqáðta*.

8.14.1.5. m-xl *'to feed'*
Present base: *máxəl, máxla, máxli*. Past base: *muxálle, muxlále, muxlíle*. Resultative participle: *múxla, muxálta, múxle*. Imperative: *máxəl, máxlu*. Infinitive: *maxóle*. Verbal noun: *maxálta*.

Type 2 inflection is exhibited by other verbs, in many cases as an optional alternative to type 1 inflection.

8.14.1.6. m-čx *'to find'*
Present base: *máčəx ~ mǎ́čəx, máčxa ~ mǎčə́xa, máčxi ~ mǎčə́xi*. Past base: *mǔčə́xle, mǔčəxále, mǔčəxíle*. Resultative participle: *mǔčə́xa, mǔčáxta, mǔčə́xe*. Imperative: *mǎ́čəx, mǎ́čəxu*. Infinitive: *mǎčóxe*. Verbal noun: *mǎčáxta*.

8.14.1.7. m-čz *'to vex, be vexed'*
Present base: *mǎ́čəz, mǎčə́za, mačázi*. Past base: *mǔčə́zle*. Resultative participle: *mǔčə́za, mǔčázta, mǔčə́ze*. Imperative: *mǎ́čəz, mǎ́čəzu*. Infinitive: *mǎčóze*. Verbal noun: *mǎčázta*.

8.14.1.8. m-dṛ *'to return (tr.)*
Present base: *mǎ́dəṛ, mǎdə́ṛa, mǎdáṛi*. Past base: *mǔdə́ṛṛe, mǔdəṛále, mǔdəṛíle*. Resultative participle: *mǔdə́ṛa, mǔdáṛta, mǔdə́ṛe*. Imperative: *mǎ́dəṛ, mǎ́dəṛu*. Infinitive: *mǎdóṛe*. Verbal noun: *mǎdáṛta*.

8.14.1.9. m-jb *'to be astonished'*
Present base: *májəb ~ mǎ́jəb, májba ~ mǎjə́ba, májbi ~ majábi*. Past base: *mǔjə́ble*. Resultative participle: *mǔjə́ba ~ mujba, mǔjábta ~ mujabta, mǔjə́be ~ mujbe*. Imperative: *mǎ́jəb, mǎ́jəbu*. Infinitive: *mǎjóbe*. Verbal noun: *mǎjábta*.

8.14.1.10. m-lp *'to teach'*
Present base: *máləp ~ mǎ́ləp, málpa ~ mǎlə́pa, málpi ~ mǎlə́pi*. Past base: *mǔlə́ple, mǔləpále, mǔləpíle*. Resultative participle: *mǔlə́pa, mǔlápta, mǔlə́pe*. Imperative: *mǎ́ləp, mǎ́ləpu*. Infinitive: *mǎlópe*. Verbal noun: *mǎlápta*.

8.14.1.11. m-mð *'to baptize'*
Present base: *mámәð ~ mămәð, mámða ~ mămáða, mámði ~ mămáði*. Past base: *mŭmádle, mŭmәðále, mŭmәðíle*. Resultative participle: *mŭmáða, mŭmáðta, mŭmáðe*. Imperative: *mắmәð, mắmәðu*. Infinitive: *mămóðe*. Verbal noun: *mămáðta*.

8.14.1.12. m-rm *'to raise'*
Present base: *márәm ~ mắrәm, márma ~ mărәma, mármi ~ mărәmi*. Past base: *mŭrámle, mŭrәmále, mŭrәmíle*. Resultative participle: *mŭrәma, mŭrámta, mŭrәme*. Imperative: *mắrәm, mắrәmu*. Infinitive: *măróme*. Verbal noun: *mărámta*.

8.14.1.13. m-rq *'to cause to run'*
Present base: *mắrәq, măráqa, mărәqi*. Past base: *mŭrәqle, mŭrәqále, mŭrәqíle*. Resultative participle: *mŭráqa, mŭráqta, mŭrәqe*. Imperative: *mắrәq, mắrәqu*. Infinitive: *măróqe*. Verbal noun: *măráqta*.

8.14.1.14. m-ṛš *'to wake'*
Present base: *mắṛәš, mărṛáša, mărṛáši*. Past base: *mŭṛәšle, mŭṛәšále, mŭṛәšíle*. Resultative participle: *mŭṛáša, mŭṛášta, mŭṛáše*. Imperative: *mắṛәš, mắṛәšu*. Infinitive: *mărṛóše*. Verbal noun: *mărṛášta*.

8.14.1.15. m-rṭ *'to break wind loudly'*
Present base: *mắrәṭ, mărṛәṭa, mărṛәṭi*. Past base: *mŭrṛәṭle*. Resultative participle: *mŭrṛәṭa, mŭrṛáṭṭa, mŭrṛәṭe*. Imperative: *mắrәṭ, mắrәṭu*. Infinitive: *mărṛóṭe*. Verbal noun: *mărṛáṭṭa*.

8.14.1.16. m-ṭm *'to cause to taste'*
Present base: *mắṭәm, mărṭәma, mărṭәmi*. Past base: *mŭṭәmle, mŭṭәmále, mŭṭәmíle*. Resultative participle: *mŭṭәma, mŭṭámta, mŭṭәme*. Imperative: *mắṭәm, mắṭәmu*. Infinitive: *mărṭóme*. Verbal noun: *mărṭámta*.

8.14.1.17. m-ṭn *'to load'*
Present base: *mắṭәn, mărṭәna, mărṭәni*. Past base: *mŭṭәnle, mŭṭәnále, mŭṭәníle*. Resultative participle: *mŭṭәna, mŭṭánta, mŭṭәne*. Imperative: *mắṭәn, mắṭәnu*. Infinitive: *mărṭóne*. Verbal noun: *mărṭánta*.

8.14.1.18. m-xb *'to love'*
Present base: *máxәb ~ mắxәb, máxba ~ măxába, máxbi ~ măxábi*. Past base: *mŭxáble, mŭxәbále, mŭxәbíle*. Resultative participle: *mŭxába, mŭxábta, mŭxábe*. Imperative: *mắxәb, mắxәbu*. Infinitive: *măxóbe*. Verbal noun: *măxábta*.

8.14.1.19. m-xn *'to yearn for'*
Present base: *mǎ́xən, mǎxə́na, mǎxə́ni.* Resultative participle (ms.): *mŭxə́na.* In other inflections the verb is construed as final */y/*.

8.14.1.20. m-zn *'to cause to stand'*
Present base: *mǎ́zən, mǎzə́na, mǎzə́ni*. Past base: *mŭzə́nne, mŭzənále, mŭzəníle*. Resultative participle: *mŭzə́na, mŭzə́nta, mŭzə́ne*. Imperative: *mǎ́zən, mǎ́zənu*. Infinitive: *mǎzóne*. Verbal noun: *mǎzə́nta.*

8.14.2. *Verba Tertiae /'/*

Verbs in this category include: *m-šm'* 'to listen', *m-zd'* 'to frighten', *m-ṭl'* 'to put to sleep'.

There is a considerable diversity of forms in the inflection of the present base of this group of verbs:

m-šm' 'to listen'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*máše*	
	fs.	*máša*	
		mašmíya	
		mǎšə́mya	
	pl.	*máši*	
		mášɛ	
		máša	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mášət*	*mašmeti*
		mašmíyət	*mašmiyeti*
	fs.	*mášət*	*mašmati*
		mašmíyət	*mašmiyati*
		mǎšə́myət	*mǎšəmyati*
	pl.	*mašmítu*	
		mašmétu	
		mašmiyítu	
1st pers.	ms.	*mášmən*	*mašmena*
		mašmíyən	*mašmiyena*
	fs.	*mášmən*	*mašmana*
		mašmíyən	*mašmiyana*
		mǎšə́myən	*mǎšəmyana*

pl.	*máššəx*	*mašmexi*
	mašmíyəx	*mašmiyexi*

Some of these inflections reflect a direct development from a form with final /ʾ/ whereas others are based on the analogy of final /y/ verbs. The feminine singular forms have three variant inflections. One reflects a development from a final /ʿ/, ultimately final *ʿ, form:

3fs.	*mášma*	< *máššʿa*	< *máššʿa*
2fs.	*mášmət*	< *máššʿa-t*	< *máššʿa-t*
1fs.	*mášmən*	< *máššʿa-n*	< *máššʿa-t*

The second may reflect a development from a final /ʿ/ form or a final /y/ form with a stressed epenthetic after the second radical. If it is a development from a final /ʿ/ form, the /y/ in the form would have arisen as a glide after the elision of the /ʿ/:

3fs.	*mašmíya*	< *mašmə́ʿa*	< *mašmə́ʿa*
		< *mašmya*	
2fs.	*mašmíyət*	< *mašmə́ʿa-t*	< *mašmə́ʿa-t*
		< *mašmya-t*	
1fs.	*mašmíyan*	< *mašmə́ʿa-n*	< *mašmə́ʿa-n*
		< *mašmya-n*	

The third reflects a development from a final /y/ form with an epenthetic placed before the second radical. Note that the /a/ vowel in the preceding syllable is short, as if it were still in a closed syllable:

3fs.	*mášə́mya*	< *mašmya*
2fs.	*mášə́myət*	< *mašmya-t*
1fs.	*mášə́mya*	< *mašmya-n*

The 2ms., 1ms., and 1pl. inflections have two variants, one with a glide /y/ reflecting a derivation from a final /ʾ/ form and the other without the glide reflecting a derivation from a final /y/ form:

2ms.	*mašmíyət*	< *mašmə́ʾət*	< *mašmə́ʿət*
	máššmət		
1ms.	*mašmíyən*	< *mašmə́ʾən*	< *mašmə́ʿən*
	máššmən		

1pl.	*mašmíyəx* *mášməx*	< **mašmə́ʾəx*	< **mašmə́ʿəx*

The 2pl. form has three variants, one with a glide /*y*/ reflecting a derivation from a final /*ʾ*/ form and the other two without the glide reflecting a derivation from a final /*y*/ form:

2pl.	*mašmiyítu* *mašmítu* *mašmétu*	< **mašməʾítu*	< **mašməʿítu*

The 3ms. and 3pl. forms have the endings of final /*y*/ forms.

The other bases have the pattern of final /*y*/ verbs. Past base: *muCCe-* (ms.), *muCəCya-* (fs.), *muCCɛ-* (pl.), e.g. *muzdéle* 'He frightened (him)', *muzədyále* 'He frightened her', *muzdéle* 'He frightened them'. Resultative participle: *muCəCya* (ms.), *muCCéθa* (fs.), *muCə́Cye* (pl.). Compound forms: *hóle mušə́mya* 'He has listened', *mušmétθela* 'She has listened', *mušə́myəx* 'We have listened'. Imperative: *mášmi* (ms.), *mášma* (fs.), *mášmo* (pl.) 'Listen!'. Infinitive: *mašmóye*. Compound forms: *hóle mašmóye* 'He is listening', *mašmóyən* 'I am listening'. Verbal noun: *mašmɛθa*.

8.14.3. *Verba Mediae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

m-byn 'to appear; to come to visit', *m-byc̣* 'to give birth to a bastard', *m-čyl* 'to sprout', *m-dyn* 'to owe', *m-dyx* 'to dampen down (fire)', *m-jyr* 'to cause to urinate', *m-kym* 'to make black', *m-kyp* 'to lower, bow (tr.)', *m-kyš* 'to deflate, defray', *m-lyṣ* 'to spoil, ruin', *m-lyz* 'to hurry', *m-myl* 'to become green/blue', *m-myṣ* 'to give suck, nurture', *m-myθ* 'to cause to die', *m-myx* 'to let (somebody) smell (something)', *m-nyx* 'to rest', *m-pyð* 'to cause to cross', *m-qym* 'to raise; to evacuate', *m-qyṣ* 'to cut (with scissors)', *m-rys* 'to sprinkle', *m-ryx* 'to make long', *m-ryz* 'to stand in a row; put in a row', *m-sym bala* 'to pay attention', *m-ṣyx* 'to examine, test (sth.); to visit (the sick)', *m-ṣyθ* 'to listen', *m-zyd* 'to add'.

Two alternative types of inflection are used for this category of verb. In the type 1 inflection the medial /*y*/ is retained in all bases whereas in type 2 the /*y*/ coalesces with the vowel that follows it.

In the type 1 inflection of the present base, the */y/* clusters with the preceding consonant. In forms other than the 3ms., a short epenthetic */ə/* is inserted after the */y/*, which is stressed when in penultimate position in the word.

m-zyd 'to add'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mázyəd*	
	fs.	*mazyə́da*	
	pl.	*mazyə́di*	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mazyə́dət*	*mazyədeti*
	fs.	*mazyə́dət*	*mazyədati*
	pl.	*mazyədítu*	
1st pers.	ms.	*mazyə́dən*	*mazyədena*
	fs.	*mazyə́dən*	*mazyədana*
	pl.	*mazyə́dəx*	*mazyədexi*

The consonant after the stressed short epenthetic */ə/* is occasionally pronounced geminated, e.g. *mazyə́dda, mazyə́ddi*, etc.

In the type 2 inflection, in which the */y/* coalesces with the following */i/* vowel, the */a/* vowel is sometimes pronounced long and sometimes remains short as if it were in a closed syllable: *mázid* ~ *mā́zid, mazída* ~ *măzída, mazídi* ~ *măzídi*, etc.

The type 1 inflection of the past base has the form: *muzyəd-* (ms.), *muzyəda-* (fs.), *muzyədi-* (pl.), e.g. *muzyə́dle* 'He added (it)', *muzyədále* 'He added it (f.)', *muzyədíle* 'He added them'. In the type 2 inflection the */y/* coalesces with the following */i/* in the way described regarding the present base: *muzídle* ~ *mŭzídle, muzidále* ~ *mŭzidále, muzidíle* ~ *mŭzidíle.*

The type 1 form of the resultative participle is: *muzyə́da* (ms.), *muzyə́dta* (fs.), *muzyə́de* (pl.). The consonant after the stressed short epenthetic */ə/* in the ms. and pl. forms is occasionally pronounced geminated: *muzyə́dda*, *muzyə́dde*. In the type 2 form of inflection the sequence */yə/* contracts to */i/*, but */ya/* of the fs. form remains unchanged: *muzída* ~ *mŭzída* (ms.), *muzíde* ~ *mŭzíde* (pl.).

The forms of the imperative are in the type 1 inflection *mázyəd* (sing.), *mázyədu* (pl.) and the type 2 inflection *mázid* ~ *mā́zid* (sing.), *mázidu* ~ *mā́zidu* (pl.).

Type 1 infinitive: *mazyóde*. Type 2 infinitive: *mazóde* ~ *măzóde*. Type 1 verbal noun: *mazyátta*. Type 2 verbal noun: *maqámta* ~ *măqámta* (*m-qym*).

8.14.4. *Verba Tertiae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

m-bry 'to give birth to', *m-č̣my* 'to extinguish', *m-jry* 'to leak', *m-kly* 'to stop (tr.)', *m-kry* 'to make short', *m-ldy* 'to cheat', *m-lhy* 'to kindle', *m-nšy* 'to forget', *m-nty* 'to succeed', *m-rḏy*/*m-rḏ̣y* 'to reconcile', *m-ṣly* 'to bring down', *m-šty* 'to give to drink, irrigate; arrange the warp (weaving)', *m-ṯpy* 'to cause to catch, to kindle', *m-ṭry* 'to drive', *m-xly* 'to give a gift', *m-xny* 'to yearn for', *m-xzy* 'to show'.

The inflectional endings of the present base are the same as those of final */y/* verbs in stem I (§8.12.8.) and stem II (§8.13.4.). A short epenthetic is generally inserted in the feminine singular forms. This is placed either before the second radical or before the */y/* radical. In both cases it is stressed when in penultimate position, e.g. *maklíya* ~ *makə́lya* 'She stops'. The feminine singular inflections also have alternative forms without a */y/* radical, e.g. *mákla* 'She stops'. These forms may have arisen by analogy with the inflection of stem III final */ʾ/* verbs such as *m-šmʾ* 'to listen', e.g. *mašma* 'She listens' (§8.14.2.), or by the phonetic process of the elision of the */y/* after the consonant:

m-kly 'to stop'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mákle*	
	fs.	*maklíya*	
		makə́lya	
		mákla	
	pl.	*máklɛ*	
		mákla	
		mákli	
2nd pers.	ms.	*máklət*	*makleti*
	fs.	*maklíyət*	*makliyati*
		makə́lyət	*makəlyati*
		máklət	*maklati*
	pl.	*maklɛ́tu*	
		maklítu	

1st pers.	ms.	*máklən*	*maklena*
	fs.	*maklíyən*	*makliyana*
		makə́lyən	
		máklən	
	pl.	*mákləx*	*maklexi*

In the past base the */y/* of the fs. form is optionally elided: *mukle-* (ms.), *mukliya-* ~ *mukəlya-* ~ *mukla-* (fs.), *muklɛ* (pl.), e.g. *mukléli* 'I have stopped (him)', *mukəlyáli* ~ *mukliyáli* ~ *mukláli* 'I have stopped her', *mukléli* 'I have stopped them'.

In the resultative participle the */y/* is optionally elided in the ms. and pl. forms: *muklíya* ~ *mukə́lya* ~ *múkla* (ms.), *muklɛ́θa* (fs.), *muklíye* ~ *mukə́lye* ~ *múkle* (pl.).

As in other final */y/* verbs, gender is distinguished in the singular of the imperative: *mákli* (ms.), *mákla* (fs.), *máklo* (pl.). When a supplementary suffix or pronominal object suffix is attached to the fs. form, it has an */ɛ/* vowel rather than an */a/*, e.g. *maklɛ́ga* 'Stop!', *mukléle* 'Stop him!'.

Infinitive: *maklóye*. Verbal noun: *maklɛθa*.

The verb *m-xny* 'to yearn for' has alternative forms for some of its inflections which belong to the category of verbs with a zero first or second radical (§8.14.1.). These include the present base (*mə̆́xən, mə̆xə́na, mə̆xə́ni*) and the ms. resultative participle: *mə̆́xə́na*. In all other forms only final */y/* type of inflections are available.

8.14.5. *Verbs with a Zero First or Second Radical and a Final* /y/

These verbs resemble the category of verbs described in §8.14.1. with the additional weakness of a final */y/* radical. Most are derived historically from verbs with initial or medial *ʾ in their roots at some stage of their historical development. The *ʾ is generally derived from an original pharyngal *ʿ. Verbs with historically initial */ʾ/* roots are: *m-by* 'to swell' (**ʾby* < **ʿby*), *m-ry* 'to patch, repair clothes; to put rennet in cheese' (**ʾry* < **ʿry*), *m-ṣy* 'to fortify' (**ʾṣy* < **ʿṣy*). We should also include *m-my* 'to swear', which, although originally from an initial */y/* root, appears to be treated as an initial */ʾ/* root. Verbs with historically medial */ʾ/* roots are: *m-čy* 'to smooth' (**šʾy* < **šʿy*), *m-ny* 'to dawn' (**nʾy* < **ngh*), *m-ṛy* 'to graze (tr.)' (**ṛʾy* < **ṛʿy*). This inflectional category also includes the verb *m-ðy* 'to inform', which is historically initial */y/* and final */ʾ/* (< *ʿ), as in the corresponding stem I form *yðʾ* 'to know'.

As in verbs with a strong final radical described in §8.14.1., the inflections of verbs in this category fall into two alternative groups, one in which the strong radical clusters with the consonantal */y/* and another in which this cluster is broken by an epenthetic vowel */i/* before the */y/*. The epenthetic is generally stressed when it occurs in penultimate position. The vowel in the syllable preceding the epenthetic is short, as if it were in a closed syllable. The shortness of the vowel in this syllable is extended by analogy through all paradigms of this group by analogy.

	1	2
Present base:		
3ms.	*máCe*	*mắCe*
3fs.	*máCya*	*măCíya*
3pl.	*máCɛ*	*mắCɛ*
	máCa	*mắCa*
	máCi	*mắCi*
Past base		
ms.	*muCe-*	*mŭCe-*
fs.	*muCya-*	*mŭCiya-*
pl.	*muCɛ-*	*mŭCɛ-*
Resultative participle		
ms.	*múCya*	*mŭCíya*
fs.	*muCéθa*	*mŭCéθa*
pl.	*múCye*	*mŭCíye*
Imperative		
ms.	*máCi*	*mắCi*
fs.	*máCa*	*mắCa*
plural	*máCo*	*mắCo*
Infinitive		
	maCóye	*măCóye*

According to the rules of historical phonology in the dialect, pattern 1 would be expected with roots with an original initial *ʾ and pattern 2 with roots with an original medial *ʾ, e.g. *mare* 'He patches' (< **maʾre*), *măṛe* 'He grazes (tr.)' (< **marʾe*). This distinction is, indeed, generally maintained in the inflection of these roots. Note that they also have different *r* phonemes:

	m-ry ‘to patch	*m-ɾy* ‘to graze’
Present base:		
3ms.	*máre*	*mǎ́ɾe*
3fs.	*márya*	*mǎɾíya*
3pl.	*márɛ*	*mǎ́ɾɛ*
	mára	*mǎ́ɾa*
	mári	*mǎ́ɾi*
Past base		
ms.	*mure-*	*mŭɾe-*
fs.	*murya-*	*mŭɾiya-*
pl.	*murɛ-*	*mŭɾɛ-*
Resultative participle		
ms.	*múrya*	*mŭɾíya*
fs.	*muréθa*	*mŭɾéθa*
pl.	*múrye*	*mŭɾíye*
Imperative		
ms.	*mári*	*mǎ́ɾi*
fs.	*mára*	*mǎ́ɾa*
plural	*máro*	*mǎ́ɾo*
Infinitive		
	maróye	*mǎɾóye*
Verbal noun		
	maréθa	*mǎɾéθa*

The division between the two patterns is not, however, completely consistent with the historical root of the verb and indeed the patterns generally alternate in the same root, e.g. *mábya* ~ *mǎbíya* ‘She swells’, *mámya* ~ *mǎmíya* ‘She swears’, *máčya* ~ *mǎčíya* ‘She smoothes’.

Verbs with a medial radical */h/* and a final radical */y/* are sometimes conjugated with the pattern of the verbs in this category, in that the medial */h/* is elided, e.g. *m-lhy* ‘to ignite’: *mǎ́le* ‘He ignites’, *mǎlíya* ‘She ignites’, *mǎ́li* ‘They ignite’. In careful speech, however, the */h/* is sometimes retained: *málhe, malhíya, málhi.*

8.14.6. *Verba Mediae* /w/

Verbs in this category include:

m-dwq 'to cause to hold', *m-gwr* 'to cause to marry', *m-gwṛ* 'to make big'; *m-jwj* 'to cause to walk, move', *m-lwš* 'to dress', *m-qwx* 'to make a noise', *m-xwr* 'to make white'.

The sequence */əw/* in the various inflected forms of this verb sometimes contacts to */u/* and the sequence */wo/* in the infinitve sometimes contracts to */o/*. Otherwise the */w/* remains uncontracted.

Present: *májwəj* (3ms.), *majə́wja* ~ *majúja* ~ *majwə́ja* (3fs.), *majə́wji* ~ *majúji* ~ *majwə́ji* (3pl.), etc.

Past base: *mujwəj-* (ms.), *majəwja-* ~ *mujuja-* (fs.), *majəwji-* ~ *mujuji-* (pl.), e.g. *mujwə́jle* 'He made (him) move', *mujujále* 'He made her move', *mujujíle* 'He made them move'.

Resultative participle: *majəwja* ~ *mujúja* (ms.), *mujwə́jta* (fs.), *majəwje-* ~ *mujúje* (pl.).

In the imperative the */a/* vowel in the initial syllable sometimes remains short even where it is open in the pl.: *májwəj* (sing.), *májəwju* ~ *mə̆́jəwju-* ~*mə̆́juju* (pl.).

Infinitive: *majwóje* ~ *majoje* . Verbal noun: *majwajta*.

8.14.7. *Verbs with a Zero First Radical and Medial* /w/

The verb *m-wr* 'to bring in' falls into this category. It is derived historically from the root **ʿbr* with an initial pharyngal.

The */w/* is generally retained throughout the inflection of the present base: *máwər, máwra, máwri*. The sequence */aw/* in a closed syllable is occasionally contracted to */o/*: *móra, móri*.

Past base: *muwər-* (ms.), *mura-* (fs.), *muri-* (pl.), e.g. *muwə́rre* 'He brought (him) in', *murále* 'He brought her in', *muríle* 'He brought them in'. Resultative participle: *múra* (ms.), *muwə́rta* (fs.), *múre* (pl.). Imperative: *máwər* (sing.), *máwru* (pl.). Infinitive: *mawóre*. Verbal noun: *mawə́rta*.

8.14.8. *Verba Tertiae* /w/

Verbs in this category include:

m-jlw 'to elope (woman)', *m-kθw* 'to register', *m-xrw* 'to damage, destroy'

In general the */ə/* in the sequence */əw/* is rounded by assimilation to the labial */w/*, resulting either in a rounded front realization [y] or in the back vowel */u/*. When the vowel shifts to */u/*, the */w/* of the sequence is elided before a consonant or at the end of a word.

Present: *mákθu* (3ms.), *makáθwa* ~ *makθŭwa* (3fs.), *makáθwi* ~ *makθŭwi* (3pl.), etc.

Past base: *mukθu-* (ms.), *mukəθwa-* (fs.), *mukəθwi-* (pl.), e.g. *mukθúle* 'He registered (him)', *mukəθwále* 'He registered her, *mukəθwíle* 'He registered them'.

Resultative participle: *mukáθwa* (ms.), *mukθáwta* (fs.), *mukáθwe* (pl.).

The imperative exhibits a contraction of the sequence */əw/* > */u/* in the singular and of the sequence */wu/* > */u/* in the plural. The */a/* vowel in the initial syllable sometimes remains short even where it is open in the pl.: *mákθu* (sing. < *makθəw*), *mákəθu* ~ *măkəθu* (pl. < *măkəθwu*).

Infinitive: *makθówe*. Verbal noun: *makθáwta*.

8.14.9. *Verbs with a Zero First or Second Radical and a Final* /w/

The verb *m-dw* 'to be able, to manage to' belongs in this category.

The sequence */əw/* in the patterns of the various inflections contracts to */u/*, otherwise the */w/* remains uncontracted. Present: *mádu* (3ms.), *mádwa* (3fs.), *mádwi* (3pl.), etc. Past base: *mudu-*, e.g. *mudúle* 'He managed to'. Resultative participle: *múdwa* (ms.), *mudáwta* (fs.), *múdwe* (pl.). The singular and plural forms of the imperative are the same: *mádu* (sing. < *madəw*, pl. < *madwu*). Infinitive: *madówe*. Verbal noun *madáwta*.

8.14.10. *Verbs with Identical Second and Third Radicals*

The verb *maprore* 'to widen' belongs to this category. The inflection of the bases of this verb corresponds to the patterns that are applied to strong verbs, except that an additional epenthetic is inserted between the second and third radicals if the pattern brings them together in a cluster.

Present base:

3rd pers.	ms.	*máprər*	cf. *mápləx*
	fs.	*mapárəra*	cf. *mapálxa*
		maprára	cf. *mapláxa*
	pl.	*mapárəri*	cf. *mapálxi*
		maprári	cf. *mapláxi*

Past base: *muprər-* (ms.), *mupərəra-* (fs.), *mupərəri-* (pl.), e.g. *muprárre* 'He widened (it ms.)', *mupərərále* 'He widened it (fs.)' (cf. *mupəlxále*), *mupərəríle* 'He widened them' (cf. *mupəlxíle*). Resultative participle: *mupárəra* (ms.), *muprárta* (fs.), *mupárəre* (pl.); cf. *mupálxa, mupláxta, mupálxe.* Imperative: *máprər* (sing.), *mápərəru* ~ *măpərəru* (pl.). Infinitive: *mapróre*. Verbal noun: *maprárta*.

8.15. Weak Quadriliteral Verbs

8.15.1. *Verba Primae* /ʾ/

Verbs in this category include *m-rml* 'to become a widow/widower', *m-rql* 'to be late', *m-ršn* 'to become mirky, make mirky (water); to become numb'.

These verbs are conjugated with the pattern of stem III of strong verbs with triliteral roots. Since their roots, however, can be reconstructed as having an initial *ʾ at some stage in their historical development, they are classifed here as quadriliteral verbs: *m-rml* < **ʾrml* (cf. *ʾarəmla* 'widower'), *m-rql* < **ʾrql* < **ʿrql* (cf. Syr. *ʿarqel* 'to bind, to hinder'), *m-ršn* < *ʾršn* (cf. *ʾəršana* 'mirky', *ʾərša* 'mirkiness').

Present base: *márqəl* 'He is late', *maráqla* 'She is late', *maráqli* 'They are late', etc. Past base: *murqálle* 'He was late'. Resultative participle: *muráqla* (ms.), *murqálta* (fs.), *muráqle* (pl.). Imperative: *márqəl* (sing.), *máraqlu* (pl.). Infinitive: *marqóle*. Verbal noun: *marqalta*.

8.15.2. *Verba Secundae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

m-gyžn 'to become dizzy', *m-nyšn* 'to hit a target', *m-šyðn* 'to become mad', *m-hymn* 'to believe'.

The differing inflections of these verbs require these verbs to be divided into two distinct groups:

Group 1: *m-gyžn, m-nyšn, m-šyðn*
Group 2: *m-hymn*

(i) *Verbs in Group 1*

The present base of verbs in this group has the diphthong */ey/*, which may be interpreted as a development of the sequence */ay/*. This development of an original */ay/* is found elsewhere in the dialect (§2.4.1.), albeit rather marginally. The occurrence of the diphthong */ey/*, with the */e/* vowel nucleus, in the verbs *m-gyžn* and *m-šyðn* is likely to be influenced by the fact that they are derived respectively from the adjectives *gežana* 'dizzy' (< Kurd. gêj) and *šeðana* 'mad', which have an */e/* after their first radical.

In the inflection of the present base a short epenthetic */ə/* breaks the cluster of the second and third radicals in all forms except the 3ms. This is placed either before or after the third radical. It is often stressed when in penultimate position:

3rd pers.	ms.	*mgéyžən*
	fs.	*mgeyážna*
		mgeyžána
	pl.	*mgeyážni*
		mgeyžáni

In the past base and resultative participle the */y/* remains uncontracted before the */u/* of the pattern, e.g. *mguyžánne* 'He became dizzy', *mšuyðánne* 'He went mad'. The */u/* of this base is usually fronted to the region of [y] by assimilation to the following */y/*. Resultative participle: *mguyážna* ~ *mguyžána* (ms.), *mguyžánta* (fs.), *mguyážne* ~ *mguyžáne* (pl.). The */u/* of this base is usually fronted to the region of [y] by assimilation to the following */y/*.

The imperative and infinitive forms exhibit the same development of the sequence */ay/* to */ey/* as the inflection of the present. Imperative: *mšéyðən* 'Become mad!' (sing.), *mšéyəðnu* 'Become mad' (pl.). Infinitive: *mšeyðóne*. Verbal noun: *mšeyðanta*.

(ii) *The Verb* m-hymn *'to believe'*

The inflection of this verb differs from that of the verbs in group 1 with regard to developments of the second radical */y/*. Furthermore, two types of inflection should be distinguished for this verb.

In the type 1 inflection the */y/* radical is retained in all bases. The vocalic patterns of these are the same as in the verbs *m-gyžn, m-ŋyšn* and *m-šyðn*, except that the sequence */ay/* in the present base, imperative and

infintive exhibits a variety of different developments. It may be preserved as */ay/*, shift to */ey/* or contract to */ɛ/*:

Present base:

3rd pers.	ms.	*mháymən*
		mhéymən
		mhɛ́mən
	fs.	*mhaymə́na*
		mhayə́mna
		mheymə́na
		mheyə́mna
		mhɛmə́na
	pl.	*mhaymə́ni*
		mhayə́mni
		mheymə́ni
		mheyə́mni
		mhɛmə́ni

Past base: *mhuymə́nne* 'He believed'. Resultative participle: *mhuyəmna* ~ *mhuymə́na* (ms.), *mhuymánta* (fs.), *mhuyə́mna* ~ *mhuymə́ne* (pl.). Imperative: *mháymən* ~ *mhéymən* ~ *mhɛ́mən* 'Believe!' (sing.), *mháyəmnu* ~ *mhéyəmnu* 'Believe!' (pl.). Infinitive: *mhaymóne* ~ *mheymóne* ~ *mhɛmóne*. Verbal noun: *mhaymánta* ~ *mheymánta* ~ *mhɛmánta*.

The second type of inflection of the verb *m-hymn* has a vocalic pattern corresponding to that of stem III verbs with a zero first or second radical (§8.14.1.). The */y/* radical is absent and the vowel of the first syllable is short:

Present base:

3rd pers.	ms.	*mhə̆́mən*
	fs.	*mhə̆mə́na*
	pl.	*mhə̆mə́ni*

Past base: *mhŭmə́nne* 'He believed (him)', *mhŭmənále* 'He believed her', *mhŭməníle* 'He believed them'. Resultative participle: *mhŭmə́na* ~ *mhúmna* (ms.), *mhŭmánta* (fs.), *mhŭmə́ne* ~ *mhúmne* (pl.). Imperative: *mhə̆́mən* (sing.), *mhə̆́mənu* (pl.). Infinitive: *mhə̆móne*. Verbal noun: *mhə̆mánta*.

The */m/* radical after the short vowel in these patterns is sometimes secondarily geminated, especially when preceded by the stress, e.g. *mhámmən* 'he believes', *mhummə́nne* 'he believed'.

8.15.3. *Verba Quartae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

m-blby 'to search (inside a container)', *m-bsty* 'to become an ally', *m-črqy* 'to fire (gun), spring (a trap)', *m-čṛčy* 'to dirty, to soil', *m-ṛmy* 'to understand', *m-prpy* 'to rinse', *m-sxsy* 'to examine, test', *m-ṣrby* 'to drench', *m-šršy* 'to tilt, slope; to languish', *m-tlty* 'to hang', *m-trsy* 'to sustain, provide sustenance for', *m-xldy* 'to dig, excavate', *m-xrdy* 'to surround', *m-zrzy* 'to suffer, be in a predicament'.

The present base has the regular endings of final /y/ verbs. In the feminine singular forms a short epenthetic is placed either before the third radical or before the final /y/ radical. This epenthetic generally takes the stress when in penultimate position. The feminine singular inflections also have alternative forms without a /y/ radical:

m-prpy 'to rinse'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mpárpe*	
	fs.	*mparpíya*	
		mparə́pya	
		mpárpa	
	pl.	*mpárpɛ*	
		mpárpa	
		mpárpi	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mpárpət*	*mparpeti*
	fs.	*mparpíyət*	*mparpiyati*
		mparə́pyət	
		mpárpət	
	pl.	*mparpítu*	
1st pers.	ms.	*mpárpən*	*mparpena*
	fs.	*mparpíyən*	*mparpiyana*
		mparə́pyən	
		mpárpən	
	pl.	*mpárpəx*	*mparpexi*

Past base: *mpurpe-* (ms.), *mpurpiya-* ~ *mpurəpya-* ~ *mpurpa-* (fs.), *mpurpɛ-* (pl.), e.g. *mpurpéle* 'He rinsed (it m.)', *mpurpiyále* ~ *mpurəpyále* 'He rinsed it (f.)', *mpurpɛ́le* 'He rinsed them'.

Resultative participle: *mpurpíya* ~ *mpurə́pya* (ms.), *mpurpɛ́θa* (fs.), *mpurpíye* ~ *mpurə́pye* (pl.).

As with other final */y/* forms, gender is distinguished in the singular: *mpárpi* (ms.), *mpárpa* (fs.), *mpárpo* (pl.). When a supplementary suffix or pronominal object suffix is attached to the fs. form, it has an */ɛ/* vowel rather than an */a/*, e.g. *mparpéga!* 'Rinse (fs.)!', *mparpéle* 'Rinse (fs.) it!'

Infinitive: *mparpoye*. Verbal noun: *mparpɛθa*.

8.15.4. *Verbal Secundae* /w/, *Quartae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

m-bwby 'to howl (wolf)', *m-čwčy* 'to chirp', *m-nwny* 'to meow (cat)', *m-s̩ws̩y* 'to twitter, chirp', *m-qwqy* 'to bark (fox)'.

The present base is inflected with the same pattern as the final */y/* quadriliteral verbs described in §8.15.3:

m-čwčy 'to chirp'

3rd pers.	ms.	*mčáwče*	
	fs.	*mčawčíya*	
		mčawə́čya	
		mčáwča	
	pl.	*mčáwčɛ*	
		mčáwča	
		mčáwči	etc.

In the past base and the resultative participle the */w/* radical is contracted. Past base: *mčuče-*, e.g. *mčučéle* 'It chirped'. Resultative participle: *mčučíya* ~ *mčúčya* (ms.), *mčučɛ́θa* (fs.), *mčučíye* ~ *mčúčye* (pl.).

The */w/* is usually preserved after */a/* in the other inflections. Imperative: *mčáwči* (ms.), *mčáwča* (fs.), *mčáwčo* (pl.). Infinitive: *mčawčóye*. Verbal noun: *mčawčɛθa*. On some occasions, however, the diphthong */aw/* is contracted to */o/*.

8.16. Irregular and Defective Verbs

8.16.1. hwy *'to be'*

This verb is suppletive to the copula. It has the full range of verbal inflections and supplies various functions that are not expressed by the copula (§15.3.9.).

Its inflections have the pattern of other stem I verbs from roots containing medial */w/* and final */y/* (§8.12.15.), except that the initial */h/* is elided in many forms.

In the present base the initial */h/* is preserved when there are no prefixed particles. The diphthong */aw/* in a closed syllable is sometimes contracted to */o/*: *háwe* (3ms.), *háwya* ~ *hóya* (3fs.), *háwɛ* ~ *háwi* (3pl.), *háwət* (2ms.), *háwyət* ~ *hóyət* (2fs.), etc. The */h/* is elided after a prefixed particle, e.g. *y-awe* (3ms. < *ʾi-hawe*), *y-áwya* ~ *y-óya* (3fs.), *y-áwɛ* ~ *y-áwi* (3pl.), etc. The future particle *bəd-* has the form *bt̂-* or, more frequently, is reduced to *t̂-* (§8.6.2.), e.g. *bt̂-áwe, t̂-áwe, t̂-óya, t̂-áwɛ*.

The initial */h/* is regularly elided in other bases. Past base *we-*, e.g. *wéle, wéwale*. Resultative participle: *wíya* (ms.), *wíta* (fs.), *wíye* (pl.). Note that the fs. form has the stop */t/* rather than the fricative */θ/*, which would be expected in final */y/* verbs. This has arisen by analogy with the resultative participle of final */ʾ/* verbs (§8.12.2), which the ms. and pl. forms resemble due to the elision of the */h/*; cf. *šmiya, šmita, šmiye*. On some rare occasions the form *wiθa* with the interdental */θ/* is used. Imperative: *wi* (ms.), *wa* (fs.), *wo* (pl.). Infinitive: *wáya*. Verbal noun: *wɛθa*.

8.16.2. ʾzl *'to go'*

This verb follows the inflectional patterns of initial */ʾ/* verbs (§8.12.1.) in most of its bases, but exhibits a few irregular features. In the present base the final */l/* is elided in all forms except the 3ms.: *ʾázəl* 'He goes', *ʾáza* 'She goes' (< **ʾazla*), *ʾázi* 'They go' (< **ʾazli*), etc. The */a/* vowel of the base in the forms from which the */l/* has been elided is pronounced long due to its occurrence in an open syllable. This should be contrasted with final */ʾ/* verbs, in which the */a/* remains short after the elision of the */ʾ/*: *šăma* 'She hears' < **šamʾa* (§8.12.2.).

Past base: *zil-*, e.g. *zílle* 'He has gone', *zíllux* 'You (ms.) went'. Resultative participle: *zíla* (ms.), *zílta* (fs.), *zíle* (pl.). Compound forms: *zílɛle* 'He has gone', *zílɛt* 'You have gone', *zíla wéwa* 'They had gone'. Infinitive: *zála*.

Compound forms: *hóle zála* 'He is going', *zálɛt* 'You are going'. Verbal noun: *zalta*.

The imperative has the irregular forms *si* (ms.), *sa* (fs.), *so* (pl.). These have inflectional endings that are characteristic of final /*y*/ forms.

8.16.3. ʾθy *'to come'*

In all of its inflections except the imperative, this verb follows the pattern of other verbs with initial /ʾ/ and final /*y*/ (§8.12.9.). Present base: *ʾáθe, ʾáθya, ʾáθɛ ~ ʾáθi*, with prefixes: *y-áθe* 'He comes', *t-áθe* 'He will come'. Past base: *θéle* 'He has come'. Resultative participle: *ʾəθya* (ms.), *θíθa* (fs.), *ʾíθye* (pl.). Infinitive: *θaya*. Verbal noun: *θɛθa*.

The imperative has the irregular form *háyyo*, which is used for both the singular and plural. In some cases where the imperative is connected to a following word it is shortened to *hay*, e.g. *hay-làxxa!* 'Come here!' (A8:35), *hay-wùr!* 'Come in!' (A27:23). The plural form can take the supplementary suffix *-gu* (§8.6.5.): *hayyógu*.

8.16.4. m-θy *'to bring'*

The causative of *ʾθy* 'to come' is a stem III form verb. Unlike other stem III verbs from initial /ʾ/ roots, this verb has *mɛ-* rather than *ma-* in the present base, imperative and infinitive, e.g. *méθe* 'He brings' (cf. *máxəl* 'He feeds'). This reflects a development from an original diphthong **ay*, indicating that, in this stem, the verb was construed as initial /*y*/ (< **mayθe*), as was indeed the case with the *ʾap̄ʿel* of this verb in several dialects of earlier Aramaic (cf. Syriac *ʾaytī*). In the feminine singular forms of the present base inflection, in which the initial syllable is closed, the /*ɛ*/ is lowered to /*a*/:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*méθe*	
	fs.	*máθya*	
	pl.	*méθɛ*	
		méθa	
		méθi	
2nd pers.	ms.	*méθət*	*mɛθeti*
	fs.	*máθyət*	*maθyati*
	pl.	*mɛθétu*	
		mɛθítu	

1st pers.	ms.	*méθən*	*mɛθena*
	fs.	*máθyən*	*maθyana*
	pl.	*méθəx*	*mɛθexi*

Past base: *moθe-* ~ *muθe-* (ms.), *muθya-*(fs.), *moθɛ-* ~ *muθɛ-* (pl.), e.g. *muθéli* 'I brought (him)', *muθyáli* 'I brought her', *muθéli* 'I brought them'.

Resultative participle: *múθya* (ms.), *muθéθa* (fs.), *múθye* (pl.). Compound forms: *hóle múθya* 'He has brought', *muθéθela* 'She has brought', *muθyétu* 'You (pl.) have brought'.

Imperative: *méθi* (ms.), *méθa* (fs.), *méθo* (pl.) 'Bring!' When a supplementary suffix or pronominal suffix is added to the fs. form, the inflectional ending is */ɛ/* rather than */a/*: *méθɛga* 'Bring!', *méθɛle* 'Bring it!'

Infinitive: *mɛθóye*. Compound forms: *hóle mɛθóye* 'He is bringing', *mɛθóyela* 'She is bringing', *mɛθóyɛt* 'You are bringing'. Verbal noun: *mɛθɛθa*.

In fast speech the medial */θ/* radical is occasionally elided and replaced by the glide */y/*, e.g. *mayéwa* 'They used to bring' (< *mɛθéwa*, B5:157), *mɛyánna* 'I shall bring her' (< *mɛθánna* A4:9).

8.16.5. mṣy *'to be able'*

This verb has the regular inflections of stem I final */y/* verb (§8.12.8.) in all its paradigms: Present base: *máṣe, máṣya, máṣɛ* ~ *máṣi*. Past base: *mṣéle*. Resultative participle: *máṣya, mṣíθa, máṣye*. Imperative: *mṣi, mṣa, mṣo*. Infinitive: *mṣáya*. The */a/* vowel in the present base is sometimes elided in fast speech when the verb is combined in a stress group with a stressed negative particle, e.g. *lá-mṣe* 'He cannot' (< *la maṣe*), *lá-mṣən* 'I cannot' (< *la maṣən*).

In addition to the regular present base forms, the verb has an alternative paradigm, in which the root is construed as *ʾmṣ* rather than *mṣy*. This probably arose through reinterpretion of forms such as *lá-mṣən* 'I cannot' as being contractions of *la ʾamṣən* rather than *la maṣən*. This alternative root is attested mainly with the indicative preverbal particle *ʾi-*, e.g. *y-ámaṣ* 'He is able', *y-ámṣa* 'She is able', *y-ámṣi* 'They are able', etc.

8.16.6. xyʾ/xy *'to live'*

The inflections of this verb exhibit parallels both with stem I medial */y/*, final */ʾ/* verbs (§8.12.7.) like *myʾ* 'to churn' and also stem I medial zero (< **ʾ*), final */y/* verbs (§8.12.10.) like *ṭy* (< **ṭʾy*) 'to search'.

The present base has a short */a/* throughout the paradigm and is inflected like *my'* and *ty*: *xắye* 'He lives', *xắya* 'She lives', *xắyi* 'They live', etc. The */y/* is sometimes geminated when preceded by the stress: *xáyye, xáyya, xáyyi*, etc.

The past base is *xe-*, which is a pattern used for both *my'* and *ty*, or *xye-*, e.g. *xéle, xyéle* 'He lived'.

The resultative participle has the forms *xíya* (ms.), *xíθa* (fs.), *xíθe* (pl.), which have the pattern of those of *ty*.

The imperative forms are *xyu* (sing.) and *xáyu* (pl.), the patterns of which are characteristic of final */'/* roots.

The infinitive is *xyá'a*, which has the pattern of final */'/* verbs such as *my'* (*mya'a*), or *xyaya*. Compound forms: *hóle b-xyá'a* 'He is living', *xyá'ɛt* 'You are living'. The word *xayuθa* 'life' is used in place of a regularly derived verbal noun.

8.16.7. yhw *'to give'*

The medial */h/* of this verb is elided throughout the inflection of the present base: *yáwa* 'She gives' (< **yahwa*), *yáwi* 'They give' (< **yahwi*), *yáwət* 'You (sing.) give' (< **yahwət*), etc. The 3ms. has the form *yawəl* 'He gives', with a an additional */l/* element, which is treated as part of the root. This is likely to have arisen by a false morphological division of a combination of the verb with a pronominal L-suffix. Variant contracted forms exist for the inflections that end in a consonant, in which the */w/* is elided, e.g. *yal* 'He gives', *yat* 'You (ms. and fs.) give', *yan* 'I (ms. and fs.) give', *yax* 'We give'.

The */y/* is elided and the */h/* preserved in the past base and resultative participle. Past base: *hiw-* (ms.), *hiwa-* (fs.), *hiwi-* (pl.). The */i/* in the */iw/* sequence in the closed syllable of the ms. form is generally realized with lip-rounding in the region of [y] and the */w/* as a labio-palatal glide [ɥ], e.g. *híwle* [hyɥle] 'He gave (it)'. Resultative participle: *híwa* (ms.), *híwta* [hyɥta] (fs.), *híwe* (pl.). Compound forms: *hówət híwa* 'You have given', *híwɛle* 'He has given', *híwtɛt* 'You (fs.) have given'. Variant past bases and resultative participle exist with initial */y/* in place of the */h/*, e.g. *yiwle* 'He gave (it)', *yíwɛle* 'He has given'.

The imperative drops the */y/* radical and is formed with an additional */l/* element, which is treated like a third radical: *hál* (sing.), *hắlu, hállu* (pl.). The pl. form has a short */a/* by analogy with the singular and the */l/* is usually geminated when this vowel takes the stress. As with the 3ms. form

of the present base, the origin of the */l/* is likely to be a false morpological division of the verb combined with pronominal L-suffixes.

The */h/* is elided in the infinitive: *yáwa*. Compound forms: *hóle yáwa* 'He is giving', *yáwɛt* 'You are giving'. Verbal noun: *yawta*.

8.16.8. rhw *'to speak, to speak agitatedly'*

This verb is inflected like other final */w/* verbs. Its irregular feature is that the initial two radicals are in some cases metathesized. This is regularly the case in the present base, e.g. *háru* 'He speaks', *hárwa* 'She speaks', *hárwi* 'They speak'. In other bases the metathesis generally does not occur and the root has the original order of radicals (cf. Syriac **rhb*): Past base: *rhiw-*, e.g. *rhíwle* 'He spoke'. Resultative participle: *rhíwa* (ms.), *rhíwta* (fs.), *rhíwe* (pl.). Imperative: *rhu* (sing. and pl.). Infinitive: *rháwa*. Metathesis is sporadically attested in some of these bases, e.g. *léle hràwa* 'He does not speak' (A4:36). The motivation for the metathesis in the present base appears to be to avoid the elision of the laryngal */h/* at the end of syllables in forms such as **rahwa* 'she speaks'. Metathesis in other bases such as the infinitive has developed by analogy with the present base.

8.16.9. m-xy *'to cause to live, give birth'*

The inflections of the causative of the verb 'to live' exhibits features of stem III verbs that are historically medial *ʾ (§8.14.1.) and also of stem III verbs that are historically final *ʾ (§8.14.2.).

Present base:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*mă̆xe*	
	fs.	*mă̆xíya*	
		mă̆̆xa	
	pl.	*mă̆xíyi*	
		mă̆̆xi	
2nd pers.	ms.	*mă̆xíyət*	*mă̆xiyeti*
		mă̆̆xət	
	fs.	*mă̆xíyət*	*mă̆xiyati*
		mă̆̆xət	
	pl.	*mă̆xiyítu*	
		mă̆xítu	

1st pers.	ms.	*mă̆xíyən* *mắxən*	*mă̆xiyena*
	fs.	*mă̆xíyən* *mắxən*	*mă̆xiyana*
	pl.	*mă̆xíyəx* *mắxəx*	*mă̆xiyexi*

Past base: *mŭxe-* (ms.), *mŭxiya-* (fs.), *mŭxiyi-* (pl.). Resultative participle: *mŭxíya* (ms.), *muxéθa* (fs.), *mŭxíye* (pl.). Imperative: *mắxi* (ms.), *mắxa* (fs.), *mắxo* (pl.). Infinitive: *măxóye*.

8.16.10. m-ty *'to put'*

This verb is in origin the stem III causative form of *ytw / 'tw* 'to sit'. In the inflections of the present base, the */w/* is assimilated by the preceding */t/* when in contact with it, resulting in a geminate */tt/*, e.g. *mátta* 'She puts' (< *matwa*), *mátti* 'They put' (< *matwi*). In the 3ms. there is historically no assimilation of the */w/* radical, since this is not in contact with the */t/* (**matuw*), but the initial sequence *matt-* has been extended to this form by analogy with the rest of the paradigm: *máttu* 'He puts'.

Past base: *muttu-* (ms.), *mutta-* (fs.), *mutti-* (pl.), e.g. *muttúle* 'He put (him)', *muttále* 'He put her', *muttíle* 'He put them'. Note that the */t/* is geminated in all forms, including in the ms. form, which is historically derived from **mutuw*.

Resultative participle: *mútta* (ms.), *muttéθa* (fs.), *mútti* (pl.). The most frequently used fs. form has the ending of stem II and stem III final */y/* verbs (§8.13.4, §8.14.4). Occasionally the form *muttawta/muttota* is used.

The imperative has the form *máttu* both in the singular and the plural.

The infinitive generally has the form *mattóye*, with */y/* rather than */w/*. Occasionally the form *mattówe* is used. Verbal noun: *mattεθa*.

8.16.11. nbl *'to take (away)'*

This verb is historically a causative stem of a verb with an initial weak radical (cf. the Syriac *'ap̄el* form *'awbel*). The */n/* has developed from an original */m/*, by a process of dissimilation from the labial feature of the medial */b/* (§1.4.7.), and the verb is inflected with the patterns of a stem III verb such as *m-xl* 'to feed'

The present base has the appearance of a stem I verb throughout the paradigm: *nábəl* 'He takes', *nábla* 'She takes', *nábli* 'They take', etc. In other bases, however, it is inflected with the pattern of a stem III verb. Past base: *nobəl / nubəl-* (ms.), *nubla-* (fs.), *nubli-* (pl.), e.g. *nubálle* 'He took (him)', *nublále* 'He took her', *nublíle* 'He took them'. Resultative participle: *núbla* (ms.), *nubálta* (fs.), *núble* (pl.). Compound forms: *hóle núbla* 'He has taken', *nubáltɛla* 'She has taken', *núblax* 'We have taken'. Imperative: *nábəl* (sing.), *náblu* (pl.) 'Take!' Infinitive: *nabóle*. Compound forms: *hóle nabóle* 'He is taking', *nabóləx* 'We are taking'.

8.16.12. kyz *'to try'*

This verb has an inflection of the present base that is irregular for middle */y/* verbs (§8.12.5.): *káze* (3ms.), *káza* (3fs.), *kázi* (3pl), *kázət* (2ms. and 2fs.), etc., which exhibits features of both final */'/* and final */y/* verbs (§8.12.2, §8.12.8.).

The remaining forms in use have the regular inflection for middle */y/* verbs. Past base: *kiz-*, e.g. *kízle* 'He attempted', *kízla* 'She attempted'. Resultative participle: *kiza* (ms.), *kizta* (fs.), *kize* (pl.), e.g. *kizɛle* 'He has attempted', *kiztɛla* 'She has attempted', *kizela* 'They have attempted'. Infinitive: *kyaza*.

8.16.13. kyr *'to try'*

This synonym of *kyz* is used only in inflections of the past base forms in the phrase *kizle ʾu-kirre* (3ms.), *kizla ʾu-kirra* (3fs.), etc.

8.17. General Remarks Concerning Stems II and III

8.17.1. *Stem II*

When stem I and stem II forms exist for the same verbal root, as a general rule the two forms differ in transitivity. There is sometimes a difference in valence between the two forms, in that stem I takes only a subject participant whereas the stem II form has both a subject and object participant. In some such cases the stem II form is a causative of the action expressed by the stem I form. This applies to the following:

braza 'to dry (intr.)'	*mbaroze* 'to dry (tr.)'
bṭala 'to stop (intr.)'	*mbaṭole* 'to cause to stop'
bsama 'to be pleasant, healthy'	*mbasome* 'to cure'
bšala 'to cook (intr.)'	*mbašole* 'to cook (tr.)'
dbaša 'to stick' (intr.)	*mdabože* 'to stick (tr.), join'
jma'a 'to gather (intr.)'	*mjămoye* 'to gather (intr. and tr.)'
plaṭa 'to come out'	*mpaloṭe* 'to cause to come out'
praða 'to flee (sleep)'	*mparoðe* 'to cause (sleep) to flee'
plama 'to become bent'	*mpalome* 'to bend'
pšama 'to be sad'	*mpašome* 'to be sad; to make sad'
pšara 'to melt (intr.)'	*mpašore* 'to melt (tr.)'
pqa'a 'to crack, explode (intr.)'	*mpăqoye* 'to blow up'
rzaga 'to be ready'	*mrazoge* 'to make ready, prepare'
spaqa 'to become empty'	*msapoqe* 'to empty' (*spiqa*)
ṣpaya 'to be pure'	*mṣapoye* 'to purify'
ṣqala 'to be decorated'	*mṣaqole* 'to decorate'
šwara 'to jump'	*mšawore* 'to cause to jump, smuggle'
šxana 'to become hot'	*mšaxone* 'to heat'
traṣa 'to recover'	*mtaroṣe* 'to repair, cure; prepare'
ṭmara 'to fill a hole'	*mṭamore* 'to bury = to cause to fill a hole'
xmaya 'to dwell'	*mxamoye* 'to keep, cause to dwell'
zwana 'to buy'	*mzabone* 'to sell'

In some verbs the stem II form differs in valence from the stem I form but it does not function as a causative. This applies, for example to the root *tlq*:

tlaqa 'to be lost'	*mtaloqe* 'to lose (tr.)'

The semantic role of the grammatical subject of the stem I of the verb is the undergoer of the action, e.g. *tliqli* 'I have become lost', 'I am lost'. The semantic role of the grammatical subject of the stem II verb is not that of an agent causing an action but rather an experiencer of the action, e.g. *mtulqali kisti* 'I have lost my purse'. The motivation for the use of the stem II form, therefore, can be said to be syntactic rather than semantic. It is motivated by the syntactic valence of the verb, in that it takes a grammatical direct object, rather than the semantic role of the grammatical subject.

Difference in valence corresponds to the traditional concept of the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs. In several cases, however, stem I and stem II forms from the same verbal root have the same valence, i.e. they both lack objects or they both take objects. These pairs of verbal forms often seem to be semantically equivalent and to be used interchangeably. Closer examination reveals, however, that a difference in transitivity can in some cases be discerned between the two forms. This is possible if we adopt the view of transitivity as a multifactorial continuum that was proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). According to this view there is no absolute dichotomy between intransitive and transitive, but rather transitivity is a scalar phenomenon. The degree of transitivity is determined not only by the valence of the verb but also by numerous other parameters relating to the nature of the participants and of the activity. Let us now examine some of the differences between stem I and stem II verbs that have the same valence and take into account other parameters that would be expected, according to Hopper and Thompson's model, to bring about differences in degrees of transitivity.

In some cases where both the stem I and the stem II forms take objects, the stem II form expresses an activity that is more extensive, generally requiring greater energy, and what is affected by the activity is of a greater extent. This applies to the following:

glaya 'to reveal (sth. abstract)'	*mgaloye* 'to uncover (sth. physical)'
graʾa 'to shave (one's face)'	*mgăroye* 'to strip and chop sticks'
lmaṣa 'to suck'	*mlamoṣe* 'to absorb'
plaʾa 'to divide, share'	*mpălọye* 'to distribute'
pθaxa 'to open'	*mpaθoxe* 'to open out, to spread out'
qṭaʾa 'to cut'	*mqăṭọye* 'to separate stones from grains'
šlaxa 'to pull out (hair, plant)'	*mšaloxe* 'to strip'
šwaya 'to spread out a bed'	*mšawoye* 'to furnish (a house)'
tnaya 'to repeat'	*mtanoye* 'to recount (a tale)'
ṭraxa 'to flatten' (in one act)'	*mṭaroxe* 'to flatten wool (by repeated combing)'

The extent of the affectedness of the object is one of the parameters that, according to the model of Hopper and Thompson, contribute to the transitivity and so the stem II forms in this list can be regarded as being more transitive than the stem I forms.

Where both the stem I and the stem II form are used without direct objects, the semantic difference between the two can in some cases be identified as relating to the degree of control of the action by the grammatical subject. This applies, for example, to

xmala 'to enjoy oneself' *mxamole* 'to put on festive clothes'

It can be said that in the activity of putting on smart clothes in order to become festive (*mxamole*) the subject is the agent of the action and has control over the action. In the event of 'enjoying oneself' (*xmala*), on the other hand, the grammatical subject is less of a controlling agent and often may be simply an experiencer of the event. Agency of the grammatical subject and control of the action by the agent are parameters that increase the transitivity of the verb according to the Hopper and Thompson model.

There are, nevertheless, several pairs of stem I and stem II forms that do not express any identifiable difference in meaning or transitivity, e.g.

bðara 'to scatter'	*mbaðore* 'to scatter'
dwara 'to thresh'	*mdawore* 'to thresh'
grača 'to scratch'	*mgaroče* 'to scratch'
jraga 'to snatch'	*mjaroge* 'to snatch'
ngara 'to tear bite from bone'	*mnagore* 'to bite meat from bone'
npaša 'to tease (wool, cotton)'	*mnapoše* 'to tease (wool, cotton)'
pšama 'to be sad'	*mpašome* 'to be sad, regret'
qrawa 'to approach'	*mqarowe* 'to approach'
qwara 'to bury'	*mqawore* 'to bury'
sxaya 'to swim'	*msaxoye* 'to swim'
šðaya 'to card (wool, flax)'	*mšaðoye* 'to card (wool, flax)'
šraṭa 'to escape'	*mšaroṭe* 'to escape'
ṣlaxa 'to split (wood)'	*mṣaloxe* 'to split (wood)'
tlaxa 'to destroy'	*mtaloxe* 'to destroy'

It is possible that the stem II form of these pairs originally expressed enhanced transitivity due to such features as the iterativity of the action, e.g. *npaša* 'to tease' vs. *mnapoše* 'to tease repeatedly', *šðaya* 'to card' vs. *mšaðoye* 'to card repeatedly', *ṣlaxa* 'to split' vs. *mṣaloxe* 'to split repeatedly', the energy input of the subject, e.g. *sxaya* 'to bathe' vs. *msaxoye* 'to swim', or the degree of affectedness of the subject, e.g. *pšama* 'to be sad' vs.

mpašome 'to be very sad'. These semantic distinctions, however, seem now to have become blurred.

One difference in transitivity that some of the stem I forms of this list do exhibit from the corresponding stem II forms is that they can function as both as transitives and unaccusative intransitives. When used as a transitive verb they take the agent as subject, whereas in their unaccusative intransitive use the undergoer is made the subject. This semantic alternation does not exist in the stem II form, which is only transitive, e.g.

ʾaw ṣlixle qɛsa	'He split the wood'	*qɛsa ṣlixle* 'The wood split'
ʾaw mṣuləxle qɛsa	'He split the wood'	—
ʾaw tlixle bɛθa	'He destroyed the house'	*bɛθa tlixle* 'The house collapsed'
ʾaw mtuləxle bɛθa	'He destroyed the house'	—

In the case of some stem II verbs, there is a stem I form from a homophonous root that has no direct semantic connection, although in several cases there is an etymological connection, e.g.

bnaya 'to built'	*mbanoye* 'to prepare food'
draya 'to put, pour'	*mdaroye* 'to winnow'
gbaya 'to froth'	*mgaboye* 'to elect'
nqara 'to inscribe'	*mnaqore* 'to scrap, fight'
praqa 'to finish'	*mparoqe* 'to save'
qwala 'to complain'	*mqawole* 'to promise'
sraqa 'to comb'	*msaroqe* 'to pour out'
ṣlaya 'to descend'	*mṣaloye* 'to pray'
šdala 'to plant'	*mšadole* 'to sing a lullaby'
šnaya 'to faint'	*mšanoye* 'to move'
šraya 'to untie/lodge'	*mšaroye* 'to begin'
šyana 'to smart'	*mšayone* 'to become tame'
traṣa 'to recover (from illness)'	*mtaroṣe* 'to make, to construct'
ṭwaya 'to be worth'	*mṭawoye* 'to roast'
xzada 'to harvest'	*mxazode* 'to blame'

The majority of stem II verbs have no corresponding stem I form. These include both verbs that typically take an object complement and those that typically are used without such a complement. The classification of

the verbs into one of these two groups is in some cases not completely clear-cut, since some verbs can be used with a semantic range including both activities that require an object complement and those that do not require one (e.g. *mṭašoye* 'to hide (oneself)' ~ 'to hide (something)', *mdagole* 'to lie' ~ 'to make lie'). Furthermore some verbs take a complement in the form of a prepositional phrase rather than a direct object. The following two lists offer a broad division into the two categories:

Verbs taking an object complement

mbădode	'to poke (a fire)'
mbaloqe	'to fix (eyes), stare'
mbaqore (mən)	'to ask'
mbaroxe	'to bless'
mbaxole (b-)	'to envy (s.o.)'
mbaxoše	'to stir'
mčaroke	'to surround'
mčaxose	'to insult (so.)'
mdabore	'to repair; complete'
mdalole	'to spoil, pamper; to plant thinly'
mdaxoye	'to brand'
mfaṣole	'to cut out'
mgaroče	'to scratch'
mḥaṣole	'to give birth to'
mjarobe	'to try (to do sth.)'
mjazoye	'to tax'
mkaloče	'to peel'
mkapoše	'to gather'
mkapoye	'to cover, shade'
mkaroxe	'to shroud'
mmatole	'to tell a maxim, tale'
mnagore	'to bite (meat from a bone)'
mnaqoše	'to embroider'
mpadome	'to stop up'
mpăḷoye	'to imitate'
mpaqoðe	'to command'
mpaqože	'to clean'
mparoje (b-)	'to look (at)'
mparoze	'to crumble (bread)'
mpašoqe	'to stretch out', 'to explain'
mpaxole	'to forgive'

mqadore ‘to reckon’
mqadoše ‘to sanctify’
mqalope ‘to peel’
mqapose ‘to compress, to push down (pile)’
mqazode ‘to approach, to pick a fight with, challenge’
msajole ‘to record’
msapoye ‘to deliver, hand over’
msaroge ‘to saddle’
mṣapoye ‘to purify, strain’
mṣaqole ‘to decorate’
mṣarofe ‘to spend’
mṣawore ‘to insult’
mšaboðe ‘to enslave’
mšaboxe ‘to glorify’
mšadore ‘to send’
mšahoye ‘to have an appetite’
mšaloše ‘to try (to do sth.)’
mšamoše ‘to perform burial rites for a dead person’
mšămoye ‘to apply wax to’
mšapore ‘to praise sycophantically’
mšatore ‘to spoil, pamper’
mšaṭoye ‘to convey, give (something to somebody)’
mtalope ‘to ruin, destroy’
mtalome ‘to discipline’
mtămome ‘to finish’
mtămoze ‘to clean’
mtaroṣe ‘to prepare, construct; repair’
mṭašoye ‘to hide’
mṭaloze ‘to indulge’
mxaboðe ‘to bury’
mxalole ‘to wash (vessels)’
mxaroxe ‘to burn, scorch’
mxašoke ‘to darken, to blind’
myaqore ‘to respect’
mzabole ‘to lay manure’

Verbs that typically do not take an object complement

mbaroṭe ‘to roll over (in sleep)’
mbătote ‘to investigate’
mbayone ‘to appear’

mdagole	'to lie'
mdalope	'to leak'
mjagore	'to contend'
mjasose	'to spy'
mjawode	'to argue'
mkălole	'to ululate'
mnaqore	'to scrap, fight'
mpašore	'to chew the cud'
mpašoye	'to fart silently'
mpawore	'to yawn'
mqaboye	'to swell; blister'
mqahore	'to grieve'
mqarowe	'to approach'
mqawole	'to promise'
mqawome	'to befall, happen'
mqazode	'to approach, move towards'
mrazole	'to be paralyzed'
msarobe	'to argue'
mṣălole	'to neigh (horse, mule); to become sober'
mṣawoθe	'to speak'
mṣaxoye	'to become clear (sky)'
mšadole	'to sing a lullaby'
mšahore	'to make night vigil, pray in the night'
mšanoye	'to move'
mšaroke	'to be partners'
mšaθone	'to have a fever'
mšayone	'to become tame'
mtanoxe	'to sigh'
mṭašoye	'to hide'
mtawobe	'to repent'
mzawoge	'to pair together'

These lists contain a number of verbs that are continuations of *paʿel* forms in earlier Aramaic. Three other sub-groups can be identified:

(i) Intransitive verbs that correspond in meaning to verbs in the *ʾeṯpaʿal*, *ʾeṯpaʿal* or *ʾettaf̄al* stems in Syriac rather than to verbs in the *paʿel*, e.g.

mqaboye	'to swell', cf. Syr. Ethpe. *ʾeṯqabbī* 'to be collected (liquids)'
mqarowe	'to approach', cf. Syr. Ethpa. *ʾeṯqarrrab* 'to approach'
mṣălole	'to become sober', cf. Syr. Ethpa. *ʾeṣṭallal* 'to be purified'

mšayone 'to become tame', cf. Syr. Ethpa. *ʾeštayyan* 'to become tame'
mtanoxe 'to sigh', cf. Syr. Ettaph. *ʾettanaḥ* 'to sigh' (root *ʾnḥ*)
mṭašoye 'to hide oneself', cf. Syr. Ethpa. *ʾeṭṭašš̄* 'to hide oneself'

The *pʿal* stem of some of these has the same intransitive meaning, e.g. *qḇā* 'to be collected together (liquids)', *qreb* 'to approach', *ṭšā* 'to hide oneself'. It is structurally more straightforward, however, to reconstruct the development of these stem II verbs from original *ʾetpʿel*, *ʾetpaʿʿal* or *ʾettapʿal* stems. This is demonstrably the case with *mtanoxe*, in which the */t/* has been preserved and has been reinterpreted as a root letter. In other forms the */t/* element has been lost.

(ii) Verbs that are derived from nouns, adjectives or particles, e.g.

mčaroke	'to surround'	< *čənnəkɛr* < *čɛrnəkɛr* 'around'
mqawode	'to handcuff'	< *qawde* 'handcuffs'
mtămoze	'to clean'	< *tăməz* 'clean'
mkawore	'to distill'	< *kura* 'kiln, furnace'
mzabole	'to lay manure'	< *zəbla* 'manure'
msaroge	'to saddle'	< *sarga* 'saddle'
mṣawoθe	'to talk'	< *ṣawθa* 'voice, sound'
mṣaxoye	'to become clear (sky)'	< *ṣəxwa* 'clear sky'
mšaθone	'to have a fever'	< *šaθa* 'fever'
mšămoye	'to apply wax to'	< *šăma* 'wax'
mšaqoye	'to joke, have fun'	< *šăqa* 'fun, joke'

(iii) Verbs loaned from verbal roots in another language, mainly Arabic, e.g.

mbayone	'to appear, be seen'	< Arab. *tabayyana*
mfaṣole	'to cut out'	< Arab. *faṣala*, *faṣṣala*
mḥaṣole	'to give birth'	< Arab. *ḥaṣṣala*
mjarobe	'to try (to do sth.)'	< Arab. *jarraba*
mlawome	'to weld, solder'	< Arab. *laḥḥama*
mnaqoše	'to embroider'	< Arab. *naqaša*, *naqqaša*
mdabore	'to manage'	< Arab. *dabbara*
mdalole	'to pamper'	< Arab. *dallala*
mparoje b-	'to look at'	< Arab. *tafarraj*
mqadore	'to reckon'	< Arab. *qaddara*
mqazode	'to pick a fight with'	< Arab. *qaṣada*
msajole	'to record'	< Arab. *sajjala*

msawoqe	'to go shopping'	< Arab. *tasawwaqa*
mṣarofe	'to spend'	< Arab. *ṣarafa, ṣarrafa*
mtalope	'to ruin, destroy'	< Arab. *tallafa, ʾatlafa*
mtafoqe	'to agree'	< Arab. *ʾittafaqa*
mjasose	'to spy'	< Arab. *tajassasa*
mjawode	'to argue'	< Arab. *tajādala*
mšaroke	'to be partners'	< Arab. *šāraka, ʾištaraka*
mxaloṣe	'to save'	< Arab. *xallaṣa*
mšaqoye	'to take trouble'	< Arab. *šaqqa*
mharoke	'to move'	< Arab. *taḥarraka*
mnaṣoḥe	'to advise'	< Arab. *naṣaḥa*

Loans from Arabic may preserve the original short vowel after the first radical, sometimes together with the original gemination, e.g.

mʿăqome ~ *mʿaqqome* 'to sterilize'	< Arab. *ʿaqqama*
mhădoye ~ *mhaddoye* 'to calm down'	< Arab. *haddaʾa*
mqărore ~ *mqarrore* 'to decide'	< Arab. *qarrara*

8.17.2. *Stem III*

The number of stem III verbs that function as the causative of a corresponding stem I verb is far higher than the number of stem II verbs that have this function. This reflects a higher degree of productivity of stem III for this purpose. Examples of causative stem III forms include:

bnaya 'to build'	*mabnoye* 'to have built'
braqa 'to shine'	*mabroqe* 'to cause to shine'
braya 'to be born'	*mabroye* 'to give birth'
braza 'to dry (intr.)	*mabroze* 'to dry (tr.)'
bṣara 'to diminish'	*mabṣore* 'to cause to diminish, to reduce'
č̣maya 'to be extinguished'	*mač̣moye* 'to extinguish'
dmaxa 'to lie down, sleep'	*madmoxe* 'to cause to lie down, sleep'
dqara 'to be worth'	*madqore* 'to cause to be worth, to evaluate'
gwara 'to marry'	*magwore* 'to cause to marry'
jlawa 'to abduct (a woman)'	*majlowe* 'to cause (a man) to abduct' = 'to elope (with a man)'

j̱yara ‘to urinate’	*maj̱yore* ‘to cause to urinate’
klaa ‘to stop (intr.)’	*makloye* ‘to cause to stop’
kraa ‘to become short’	*makroye* ‘to make short’
kyama ‘to become black’	*makyome* ‘to make black’
kyapa ‘to bow (intr.)’	*makyope* ‘to lower, bow (tr.)’
kčaxa ‘to tire (intr.)’	*makčoxe* ‘to tire (tr.)’
lhaa ‘to glow, be kindled’	*malhoye* ‘to cause to glow, kindle’
lkaxa ‘to lick’	*malkoxe* ‘to cause (sheep) to lick (salt)’
lwaša ‘to wear’	*malwoše* ‘to cause to wear, to dress’
lxama ‘to fit’	*malxome* ‘to cause to fit, compose’
lyaṣa ‘to be spoilt, ruined’	*malyoṣe* ‘to spoil, ruin’
mṭaya ‘to arrive’	*mamṭoye* ‘to cause to arrive’
mxaya ‘to strike’	*mamxoye* ‘to cause to strike’
myaṣa ‘to suck’	*mamyoṣe* ‘to give suck, nurture’
myaxa ‘to smell’	*mamyoxe* ‘to cause to smell; to smell’
myaθa ‘to die’	*mamyoθe* ‘to cause to be (or to seem) dead’
nšapa ‘to drip’	*manšope* ‘to cause to drip’
nšaqa ‘to kiss’	*manšoqe* ‘to allow (so.) to kiss’
npala ‘to fall’	*manpole* ‘to cause to fall, drop’
nqaja ‘to pinch; peck at seeds’	*manqoje* ‘to give (a hen) seeds to peck’
nxapa ‘to be ashamed’	*manxope* ‘to shame (tr.)’
pčala ‘to become bent’	*mapčole* ‘to bend’
praxa ‘to fly’	*maproxe* ‘to cause to fly’
pšama ‘to be sad’	*mapšome* ‘to cause to be sad’
plaša ‘to fight’	*maploše* ‘to make fight’
plaxa ‘to work’	*maploxe* ‘to cause to work, use’
pyaða ‘to pass’	*mapyoðe* ‘to cause to cross’
pyaša ‘to remain’	*mapyoše* ‘to cause to remain’
qraxa ‘to become white’	*maqroxe* ‘to whiten’
qraa ‘to read’	*maqroye* ‘to cause to read, to teach’
qṭala ‘to kill’	*maqṭole* ‘to cause to kill’
qaða ‘to burn (intr.)’	*maqoðe* ‘to burn (tr.)’
qrama ‘to win’	*maqrome* ‘to cause to win, to lose’
qwaya ‘to become strong’	*maqwoye* ‘to cause to become strong’
qyama ‘to rise’	*maqyome* ‘to raise’
rθaxa ‘to boil (intr.)’	*marθoxe* ‘to boil (tr.)’

rkaxa 'to become soft'	*markoxe* 'to cause to become soft'
rqaða 'to dance'	*marqoðe* 'to cause to dance'
ryaxa 'to become long'	*maryoxe* 'to cause to be long'
spara 'to wait'	*maspore* 'to cause to wait'
sqaða 'to become annoyed'	*masqoðe* 'to annoy'
šnaya 'to faint; be anaesthetized'	*mašnoye* 'to anaesthetize'
šraṭa 'to escape'	*mašroṭe* 'to cause to escape, to rescue'
šraya 'to lodge'	*mašroye* 'to offer lodging to'
štaya 'to drink'	*maštoye* 'to cause to drink, irrigate'
tpaqa 'to meet'	*matpoqe* 'to cause to meet'
txara 'to remember'	*matxore* 'to cause to remember, mention'
ṭpaya 'to reach, catch'	*maṭpoye* 'to cause to catch, kindle'
ṭrasa 'to become fat'	*maṭrose* 'to make fat'
xðara 'to go around'	*maxðore* 'to cause to go around'
xjala 'to be terrified'	*maxjole* 'to terrify'
xlaya 'to become sweet'	*maxloye* 'to make sweet'
xmara 'to ferment'	*maxmore* 'to cause to ferment'
xrapa 'to become sharp'	*maxrope* 'to sharpen'
xraṭa 'to bore, chisel; trim'	*maxroṭe* 'to cause to bore, chisel, trim'
xrama 'to be banned'	*maxrome* 'to ban, forbid'
xrawa 'to be damaged'	*maxrowe* 'to damage'
zvara 'to turn'	*mazvore* 'to cause to turn'
zyada 'to increase'	*mazyode* 'to cause to increase'
zyana 'to stand'	*mazyone* 'to cause to stand'

When the stem I form of these pairs is transitive and takes a direct object, the stem III causative can have an active or passive diathesis, e.g. *qṭala* 'to kill (s.o.)': *maqṭole* 'to cause (s.o.) to kill ~ to cause (s.o.) to be killed (§15.9.7.).

Several stem III verbs are used intransitively without an object complement. These include the following:

măboye	'to swell'
mabsome	'to enjoy o.s.'
mabyone	'to appear, seem'

măčoze	‘to be vexed’
mačyole	‘to sprout’
magðole	‘to freeze’
majroṭe	‘to slip’
majroye	‘to leak’
malhoðe	‘to pant’
malqoṭe	‘to peck (at food)’
malyoze	‘to hurry’
mamyole	‘to become green/blue’
mamžole	‘to delay, postpone’
mangole	‘to hop, limp’
mantoye	‘to succeed’
manṭope	‘to drip’
manyoxe	‘to rest’
manzole	‘to fester’
maqwoxe	‘to make a noise’
măroṭe	‘fart loudly’
maryoze	‘to stand in a row’
mašmoye	‘to listen’
mašxoðe	‘to give good news (*šəxða*)’
maṣyoxe	‘to visit (the sick)’
maṣyoθe l-	‘to listen’
maxbore	‘to telephone’
maxšoxe	‘to decide’
mazloqe	‘to shine’

For a few of the intransitive stem III verbs there is a corresponding stem I form of related but not identical meaning:

bsama ‘to be pleasing, healthy’	*mabsome* ‘to revel, to make merry’
myaxa ‘to smell’ (experiencer)	*mamyoxe* ‘to sniff; to smell (agent)’
nyaxa ‘to have relief, to die’	*manyoxe* ‘to take a rest’
šma’a ‘to hear’	*mašmoye* ‘to listen’

In the examples above the stem III form does not express a causative of stem I. The semantic distinction between the two stems is rather that in stem III the subject is in control of the activity whereas this is not the case in stem I. According to traditional terminology both the stem

I and stem III forms are intransitive. If, however, we adopt the concept of transitivity in the broader sense that was proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), the stem III forms can be shown to be higher in transitivity. Among the parameters identified by Hopper and Thompson that condition high transitivity are the potency of the agent and the control of the action by the agent. Lack of control by the agent, conversely, is a feature of low transitivity.

Many of the stem III forms without object complements listed above can also be used as causatives that take an object complement, e.g.

măboye	'to swell'	'to cause to swell'
mabsome	'to make merry'	'to entertain'
mabyone	'to appear'	'to cause to appear'
magðole	'to freeze'	'to cause to freeze'
majroṭe	'to slip'	'to cause to slip'
majroye	'to leak'	'to shed (e.g. tears)'
maryoze	'to stand in a row'	'to make stand in a row'
măčoze	'to be vexed'	'to vex'
mačyole	'to sprout'	'to cause to sprout'
mamyole	'to become green'	'to make green'
mamžole	'to delay (intr.)'	'to delay (tr.)'
manzole	'to fester'	'to cause (pus) to flow'
manṭope	'to drip'	'to cause to drip'
mazloqe	'to shine'	'to cause to shine, to polish'

In some cases stem I and III forms have what appear to be the same or overlapping meaning, e.g.

čyala 'to sprout'	*mačyole* 'to sprout'
jraṭa 'to slip'	*majroṭe* 'to slip'
jraya 'to flow, leak'	*majroye* 'to leak'
lhaða 'to pant (animal)'	*malhoðe* 'to pant (animal)'
maya 'to swear'	*mamoye* 'to swear'
nsara 'to saw'	*mansore* 'to saw'
nšaya 'to forget'	*manšoye* 'to forget'
qraṭa 'to bite, gnaw'	*maqroṭe* 'to cut (with scissors), clip'
qyaṣa 'to cut (tr. and intr.)'	*maqyoṣe* 'to cut with scissors'
rgada 'to tremble, shiver'	*margode* 'to tremble, shiver'
rpaya 'to throw'	*marpoye* 'to throw'
ryasa 'to sprinkle'	*maryose* 'to sprinkle'

šṭaxa 'to spread out'	*mašṭoxe* 'to spread out'
ṭraya 'to ride (*b-* on an animal)'	*maṭroye* 'to ride (an animal)'

As we have seen, where the stem III form has an intransitive meaning, it usually can also have a causative meaning. This alternative causative meaning is, however, not available for the corresponding intransitive stem I form. In some cases the non-causative use of the stem III form can be shown to be higher in transitivity than the stem I form with regard to the parameters of Hopper and Thompson, such as the extent of the action, the degree of energy input, degree of control by the agent and degree of affectedness of the object. The pair *nsara* I and *mansore* III 'to saw', for example, are typically not used in identical contexts. The stem I form *nsara* is used when one man is using a small saw whereas the stem III form *mansore* is prefered when referring to the use of a large two handled saw by two men. It can be said that the agent of *mansore* is more potent than that of *nsara* and more energy is put into the action. In the pair *ṭraya* and *maṭroye*, both of which can be rendered into English as 'to ride', the stem III form, which takes a direct object, involves greater control by the agent of the animal. A distinction in transitivity according to such parameters is likely to have originally existed between the other pairs of verbs, but now these have become blurred.

Some of the stem III forms may be denominal derivations from nouns with an initial *m-* affix, e.g.

maqyoṣe 'to cut with scissors'	< *maqaṣta* 'scissors'
mašṭoxe 'to spread out (to dry)'	< *məšṭaxa* 'area for spreading out fruit and vegetables to dry'

In the case of several stem III forms, a stem I form with a homophonous root exists that is unrelated in meaning, though in some cases there may be an etymological connection, e.g.

gðala 'to plait; wrestle'	*magðole* 'to freeze'
dyana 'to judge'	*madyone* 'to owe (money)'
syama 'to ordain'	*masyome bala* 'pay attention'
štaya 'to drink'	*maštoye* 'to arrange threads on warp beam'

There is a small residue of transitive stem III verbs that have no corresponding stem I forms:

malxome	'to compose'
mašxode	'to congratulate'
mazloqe	'to polish'
madrose	'to straighten'
mabyoče	'to give birth to a bastard'
makyoše	'to deflate, defray (tr.)'
magyoše	'to fumble'
manxose	'to rebuke'
masloye	'to despise'

Verbal roots that are used in all three stems are rare. Examples include the following:

I	*bsama* 'to be pleasant, healthy'
II	*mbasome* 'to cure'
III	*mabsome* 'to make merry'
I	*pšama* 'to be sad'
II	*mpašome* 'to be sad, regret'
III	*mapšome* 'to make sad'
I	*sxaya* 'to swim, to bathe'
II	*msaxoye* 'to swim'
III	*masxoye* 'to cause to bathe'
I	*šnaya* 'to faint, be anaesthetized'
II	*mšanoye* 'to move (to a different place)'
III	*mašnoye* 'to anaesthetize'
I	*šraya* 'to loosen, untie', 'to lodge'
II	*mšaroye* 'to begin'
III	*mašroye* 'to cause to lodge, give hospitality to'
I	*braza* 'to be dry'
II	*mbaroze* 'to dry (tr.)
III	*mabroze* 'to dry (tr.)'
I	*rpaya* 'to become weak; to throw'
II	*mrapoye* 'to throw'
III	*marpoye* 'to throw'

It can be seen that forms II and III have different meanings in the roots *bsm, pšm, sxy, šny* and *šry*, but in the roots *brz* and *rpy* forms II and III are of the same meaning.

8.18. General Remarks Concerning Quadriliteral Verbs

The quadriliteral roots in the dialect exhibit various patterns of radical sequence, which may be classified as follows:

(i) $C_aC_bC_aC_b$ *(1st radical identical with 3rd and 2nd radical identical with 4th)*

mbajboje	'to move'
mbalbole	'to ruffle, dishevel'
mbaqboqe	'to gurgle (water)'
mbarbore	'to bleat (sheep); to low (cattle)'
mčakčoke	'to chatter together; to clatter; to prick'
mčakčoke	'to talk garrulously'
mčančone	'to whine; buzz'
mčarčore	'to talk garrulously; screech'
mčazčoze	'to crackle (frying food)'
mdabdobe	'to beat (heart)'
mdamdome	'to beat up; cause to cry out'
mdandone	'to hum'
mdaqdoqe	'to chop into small pieces'
mdardore	'to natter, gossip; to protract, procrastinate'
mdaxdoxe	'to tickle, prod'
mfalfole	'to become very hot'
mfasfose	'to snivel, sniffle'
mgajgoje	'to shuffle along, move slowly'
mgalgole	'to clean grain by moving around by hand'
mgamgome	'to strike hard'
mgapgope	'to boast'
mgargore	'to hull (rice); to make a noise'
mgažgaže	'to pelt down (rain)'
mgazgoze	'to shiver'
mhalhole	'to ululate, to celebrate'
mkafkofe	'to hiss'
mkalkole	'to ululate'
mkarkore	'to bleat (goats); cluck (hen)'
mkaškoše	'to make threatening noises'; 'to shoo away'

mlajloje 'to smart (tongue)'
mlaplope 'to twinkle'
mlaqloqe 'to be loose; waver'
mmačmoče 'to suck, kiss'
mmašmoše 'to sniff about'
mnaqnoqe 'to knock back (drink)
mnarnore 'to make threatening noises (before a fight)'
mnaznoze 'to make sucking noises; to breath last breath'
mpačpoče 'to chop into pieces; mince (meat)'
mpakpoke 'to chatter; to boast'
mparpore 'to plead; to wave, brandish; to fall, dive down'
mpašpoše 'to whisper'
mpatpote 'to become rags, fall apart (clothes); to tear apart'
mpaxpoxe 'to snooze (with light snoring)'
mqadqode 'to cut up finely'
mqamqome 'to have flatulence; to buzz'
mqarqore 'to squeak'
mqaṣqoṣe 'to creak'
mqašqoše 'to rustle (leaves)'
mqaṭqoṭe 'to cut into small pieces; to cluck (hen)'
mqazqoze 'to prepare'
mragroge 'to quiver, shake (out of old age)'
mraprope 'to hover; palpitate'
mṣapṣope 'to feel severe pain (in joints)'
mṣarṣore 'to whimper, twitter; to howl, screech (animals)'
mšamšome 'to fall (water in a waterfall)'
mšapšope 'to feel weakened, intimidated'
mšaqšoqe 'to clatter'
mšaršore 'to splash, plash (sound made by flowing water)'
mtamtome 'to stutter'
mtantone 'to smoke'
mtaqtoqe 'to cackle'
mtaštoše 'to whisper (secrets)'
mtaxtoxe 'to prod, tickle'
mṭapṭope 'to tap, bang; knock bread dough against hands alternately'
mṭaqṭoqe 'to knock (at the door)'
mvalvole 'to sprout'
mvarvore 'to croak' (frog)
mwanwone 'to twitter, chatter (birds, insects)'

mwaqwoqe 'to croak (frogs)'
mwarwore 'to roar'
mwaswose 'to twitter (birds)'
mwaṣwoṣe 'to squeak (mouse)'
mxaạ̌xoạ̌e 'to poke, prod (the ground)'
mxamxome 'to become hot, feverish'
mxapxope 'to be faint'
mxarxore 'to snore'
mxasxose 'to grind (teeth)'
mxaθxoθe 'to renew'
mxaṭxoṭe 'to plan'
mzamzome 'to hum, plash (water); to ring, sound; whistle (wind)'
mzanzone 'to buzz; throb (wound)'
mzanzore 'to bray (donkey); to lose flavour'
mzaqzoqe 'to twitter (birds)'

(ii) *$C_aC_bC_aC_c$ (1st radical identical with 3rd)*
mbalboye 'to search (inside a container)'
mbarboqe 'to shake'
mbarboṭe 'to shudder'
mbarboze 'to scatter; be distributed'
mčančole 'to egg on (a straggler)'
mč̣arč̣oye 'to dirty, to soil'
mdandole 'to dangle'
mgangoze 'to shiver (in fright), to squirm (in disgust)'
mgargome 'to thunder; to buzz'
mjanjore 'to be exhausted; to torture'
mkankoše 'to drag'
mparpole 'to supplicate, entreat'
mparpose 'to scatter; pull apart'
mparpoṭe 'to pluck (a chicken)'
mparpoye 'to rinse'
mqarqoze 'to prepare, to put in order'
msaxsoye 'to examine, test'
mṣanṣole 'to trickle; to nod (head when dozing)'
mšaršoṭe 'to become baggy (clothes)'
mšaršoye 'to slope, tilt; relax; to be exhausted, languish'
mtaltoye 'to hang'
mtantore 'to shake; crave'
mtantose 'to drizzle'

mtartoxe ‘to be angry, irritated’
mṭarṭome ‘to grumble’
mxarxoč̣e ‘to scribble’
mzanzore ‘to lose taste’
mzarzoč̣e ‘to scribble’
mzarzope ‘to push’
mzarzoye ‘to suffer, be in a predicament’

(iii) *$C_aC_bC_cC_b$ (2nd radical identical with 4th)*
mbaṣloṣe ‘to shine, to glitter’
mčalwole ‘to wail’
mjangone ‘to jangle’
mpartore to stagger, totter
mṣaplope ‘to feel severe pain (in joints)’
mṣaxloxe ‘to feel pains of an incipient fever’
mšakloke ‘to sew by hand with large loose stitches’
mšaplope ‘to shiver, shudder’
mšaqloqe ‘to boil; to scald (in hot water)’
mxaprope ‘to dig about, poke about’
mzaqloqe ‘to reflect, to shine’

(iv) *CwCy (second radical* /w/ *and fourth radical* /y/*)*
mbawboye ‘to howl (wolf)’
mčawčoye ‘to chirp’
mnawnoye ‘to meow (cat)’
mqawqoye ‘to bark (fox)’
mṣawṣoye ‘to twitter, chirp’

(v) *Other roots*
mbahrone ‘to shine’
mbardome ‘to mumble, mutter’
mbartole ‘to bribe’
mbarxoše ‘to mix’
mbazmore ‘to nail’
mčaḵbone ‘to arm (with weapons)’
mčalmose ‘to be sore, to sting (eyes)’
mč̣alboxe ‘to beat with a stick’
mčambole ‘to hook (sth. onto sth.)
mčangole ‘to roll’
mčarqoye ‘to fire (gun), to spring (a trap)’

mc̣awrone 'to be sleeply'
mdarbone 'to injure'
mdarmone 'to treat with medicine'
mdaštone 'to level, flatten'
mgambole 'to roll'
mgampore 'to be arrogant'
mgarmoze 'to shrink'
mhandose 'to practice engineering'
mhargome 'to bang, to make a loud sound; to roar (lion)'
mjangore 'to rust'
mkalboče 'to put on handcuffs'
mkamboxe 'to collapse, to be utterly destroyed'
mkarboðe 'to grapple with'
mgandore 'to roll'
mkarmoše 'to shrink, shrivel'
mmandore 'to flatten (the roof)'
mmardone 'to be cultured'
mmaškone 'to be covered with mud brought by rains'
mneyšone 'to hit a target'
mpačkone 'to be useless; to lose (in gambling)'
mparčome 'to rivet'
mparṣome 'to grin'
mparṣone 'to grin'
mparšone 'to pave'
mpartole 'to stagger, twist, to throw'
mpartone 'to winnow (corn)'
mpartore 'to stagger, to totter'
mpartoxe 'to break up (a clod of earth), to crumble (bread)'
mpaṭrome 'to graft'
mqalboze 'to turn over'
mqalṣone 'to smart' (due to sting or prick of a thorn)
mqantole 'to mate (animals)'
mqarbone 'to approach'
mqarc̣ope 'to cut down, harvest (fruit)'
mqardoše 'to make a clattering noise'
mqardoxe 'to shatter (with a loud noise)'
mqarmoče 'to crumple'
mqarmoṭe 'to tie in a bundle'
mqarmoxe 'to crush, crumble (in hands)'
mqarnoze 'to shiver (from cold or fever)'

mqarpoče 'to hit, to beat'
mqarpoxe 'to slap, to hit hard'
mqarṣone 'to sting'
mqarṭone 'to put cloth on back of animal'
mqarṭope 'to break off'
mqašmore 'to make fun of'
mqaždore 'to interfere; to take control of'
msarbose 'to gather wool together (on a *msarbəs*)'
msaxbore 'to visit'
msazgore 'to reconcile o.s., to agree'
mṣandole 'to be disorientated; detached'
mṣarboye 'to drench'
mṣaxwone 'to become clear (sky)'
mšahwote 'to desire'
mšalqone 'to boil'
mšalṭone 'to take control'
mšaprone 'to praise sycophantically'
mšarboqe 'to whip'
mšarboṭe 'to whip, to strike (animal) with a pliant stick (*šarbəṭana*)'
mšarmoṭe 'to be entangled'
mšarqoṭe 'to break off heads of millet (*prage*)'
mšarṭoxe 'to die in masses (due to epidemic)'
mšaxlope 'to exchange'
mšaxrone 'to make black (with smoke)'
mšaxtone 'to become dirty'
mštawhore 'to be proud'
mtagbore 'to look after, to adminster'
mtalpoše 'to whisper'
mtandole 'to sling, to hang'
mtargole 'to trip'
mtarkose 'to build up embers of a fire to keep it burning'
mtarmoze 'to bruise (skin); wilt'
mtarpoθe 'to blink' (< *tarapθa*)
mtarqoðe 'to frolic, gambol'
mtarqole 'to stumble, trip; to fail (to do sth.)'
mtarsoye 'to sustain, provide sustenance for'
mtašboxe 'to praise'
mtaslome 'to hand over'
mtaxmone 'to think, consider'

mxaldoye	'to dig, excavated'
mxanzore	'to become fuming with anger, make a scene'
mxarboqe	'to knot together'
mxardoye	'to surround'
mxarmoše	'to give food (to animals), let them feed on grass'
mxarpoše	'to search (for something, especially food)'
mxaršone	'to be without fruit (tree)'
mxarzope	'to push'
mxažbone	'to make account, calculate'
mzampore	'to swell, to swagger'
mzanfore	'to act pompously'
mzangore	'to ring (bell); to sound (musical instrument); to echo'
mzanjore	'to rust'
mzaprone	'to add animal fat to food'
mzaqnobe	'to eat (said of an unwelcome guest in your house)'
mzarbone	'to become strong, to grow'
mzarmoṭe	'to be aggressive towards s.o.; to swell (skin)'
mzaxmone	'to become strong, grow'

It can be seen that a large proportion of the verbs in group (i) denote some kind of sound. All verbs of group (iv) denote animal noises. There is, therefore, some correlation between root pattern and class of meaning.

Some quadriliteral roots are related to triliteral roots of similar meaning. Roots of pattern $C_aC_bC_aC_b$ sometimes share the first two strong radicals of a related triliteral root. e.g.

mragroge	'to quiver'	cf. *rgada*	'to tremble, shiver'
mraprope	'palpitate (eye)'	cf. *rpaθa*	'to blink'
mkalkole	'to ululate'	cf. *mkălole*	'to ululate'
mdaqdoqe	'to chop up'	cf. *dyaqa*	'to crush'

Roots of the patterns $C_aC_bC_aC_c$ and $C_aC_bC_cC_b$ may share all three radicals of a related triliteral root and repeat one of them, e.g.

mparpose	'to pull apart'	cf. *prasa*	'to pull apart'
mparpoṭe	'to pluck off'	cf. *praṭa*	'to tear'
mtaltoye	'to hang'	cf. *tlaya*	'to hang'
mxaprope	'to dig about'	cf. *xpara*	'to dig'

Some quadriliteral roots have arisen by augmenting a triliteral root by an */r/* before the second radical. The related triliteral root either exists in the dialect or can be found in earlier forms of Aramaic, e.g.

mbarxoše	'to mix'	cf. Syr. *bḥaš* 'to agitate'
mkarmoše	'to shrivel'	cf. *č̣mač̣a* 'to shrivel' (< Syr. *kmš*)
mpartole	'to stagger, twist'	cf. *pθala* 'to twist'
mqarč̣ope	'to cut down'	cf. *qč̣apa* 'to cut down'
mqarmoṭe	'to crumple'	cf. *qmaṭa* 'to bundle up'
mqarmoxe	'to crush, crumble'	cf. Jewish Bab. Aram. *ʾaqmeḥ* 'to pulverize'
mqarpoxe	'to slap, hit hard'	cf. Syr. *qpaḥ* 'to strike'
mqarṭope	'to cut down'	cf. *qṭapa* 'to cut down'
msarbose	'to wind wool'	cf. Syr. *sb̰as* 'to be compacted', *sabbes* 'to increase, compact'
mšarboṭe	'to strike a stick'	cf. Syr. *šabṭā* 'rod'
mtarqole	'to trip'	cf. Syr. *tqal* 'to trip'
mxarboqe	'to knot together'	cf. Syr. *ḥabbeq* 'to embrace'
mzarzope	'to push':	cf. *z̰yapa* 'to push'

Some quadriliteral roots extend a triliteral root by the addition of an initial */t/*, e.g.

mtarpoθe	'to blink'	cf. *rpaθa* 'to blink'
mtarqoðe	'to frolic, gambol'	cf. *rqaða* 'to dance'
mtašboxe	'to praise'	cf. Syr. *šabbaḥ* 'to praise'
mtagbore	'to nurture, look after'	cf. *magwoṛe* 'to make big'; Syr. Jewish Bab. Aram. *gbr* 'to be strong'
mtargole	'to trip'	cf. Syr. *rgl* Ethpa. 'to come on foot', Eshtap̄. 'to trip'
mtaslome	'to hand over'	cf. Arab. *sallama* 'to hand over'
mtaxmone	'to think'	cf. Arab. *xammana* 'to assess'

Verbs with this structure appear to be based on verbal nouns with a *t*-prefix. One may compare *mtašboxe* with Syr. *tešbūḥtā* 'praise' and *mtaslome* and *mtaxmone* with Arab. *taslīm* and *taxmīn*. Verbal nouns from the other roots in the list are not attested.

Occasionally triliteral roots have been extended by other consonants, e.g.

mqalboze	'to turn over'	cf. *maqlobe* 'to turn over'
mšalqone	'to boil'	cf. *šlaqa* 'to boil'
mčawrone	'to be sleepy'	cf. *čwara* 'to roll (eyes)
mčalboxe	'to beat (with stick)< **ṭlbx*	cf. Syr. *ṭbaḥ* 'to strike'

Several quadriliteral roots are derived from nouns or adjectives, e.g.

mbartole	'to bribe'	< Kurd. bertîl 'bribe'
mbazmore	'to nail'	< *bəzmara* 'nail'
mčakbone	'to arm (with weapons)'	< Kurd. çekband 'armour'
mdarmone	'to treat with medicine'	< *darmana* 'medicine'
mkalboče	'to put on handcuffs'	< *kalabča* 'handcuff'
mneyšone	'to hit a target'	< Kurd. nîşan 'mark, target'
mqarṣone	'to sting'	< *quraṣina* 'nettle'
mqarṭone	'to lay a cloth on animal'	< *qurṭana* cloth for animal's back'
mqašmore	'to make fun of'	< Kurd. qeşmer 'clown'
mšahwote	'to desire'	< Arab. *šahwa* 'desire'
mšamšome	'to fall (water)'	< *šamšuma* 'waterfall'
mxažbone	'to calculate'	< Syr. *ḥušbānā* 'account'
mšaxtone	'to become dirty'	< *šəxtana* 'dirty'
mxaršone	'to be without fruit'	< *xəršana* 'not bearing fruit (tree)'

When the noun or adjective does not have four consonants, the root is extended to four consonants. The reduplicated pattern $C_aC_bC_aC_b$ is used to extend roots containing only two distinct consonants, e.g.

mtantone	'to smoke'	< *tənna* 'smoke'
mxamxome	'to be hot (with fever)'	< *xəmma* 'heat'
mxaθxoθe	'to renew'	< *xaθa* 'new'

When the root of the noun or adjective consists of three consonants, the root is extended by a final /*n*/ radical, e.g.

mdarbone	'to injure'	< *darba* 'blow, injury'
mdaštone	'to level, flatten'	< *dašta* 'plain'

mpartone	'to winnow (corn)'	< *parta* 'chaff'
mparšone	'to pave, lay flat stones'	< *parše* 'flat stones'
mqarbone	'to approach'	< *qurba* 'near'
mṣaxwone	'to become clear (sky)'	< *ṣəxwa* 'clear sky'
mšaprone	'to be sycophantic'	< *šapira* 'beautiful'
mšaxrone	'to make sooty'	< *šəxra* 'soot'
mzaprone	'to add animal fat'	< *zəpra* 'animal fat'
mzaxmone	'to become strong'	< *zaxma* 'large'

8.19. Pronominal Objects

8.19.1. *Pronominal Direct Objects on Present Base Verbs*

Pronominal direct objects are generally expressed on verb forms derived from the present base by L-series pronominal suffixes. The forms attached to a 3ms. verb are as follows:

		Default	Long	
3rd pers.	ms.	*qaṭ́lle*		'He kills him'
	fs.	*qaṭ́lla*		'He kills her'
	pl.	*qaṭ́llɛ* *qaṭ́lla*	*qaṭ́lley*	'He kills them'
2nd pers.	ms.	*qaṭ́llux*		'He kills you (ms.)'
	fs.	*qaṭ́llɔ́x*		'He kills you (fs.)'
	pl.	*qaṭ́llɛxu*		'He kills you (pl.)'
1st pers.	sing.	*qaṭ́lli*		'He kills me'
	pl.	*qaṭ́llən*	*qaṭ́llɛni*	'He kills us'

The 2pl. form and the 3pl. and 1pl. long forms may take the stress either on the last syllable of the base (*qaṭ́llɛxu, qaṭ́lley, qaṭ́llɛni*) or on the penultimate syllable of the suffix (*qaṭəllɛ́xu, qaṭəllɛ́y, qaṭəllɛ́ni*).

When the final consonant of the verbal base is */n/* or */r/*, the */l/* of the object suffix generally assimilates to this when the verb is in the 3ms. form, e.g.

špn	'to level (ground)'	*šapə́nne*	'He levels it'
ṭxn	'to grind'	*ṭaxə́nne*	'He grinds it'
zwn	'to buy'	*zawə́nne*	'He buys it'

bðr	'to scatter'	*baðárre*	'He scatters it'
txr	'to remember'	*taxárre*	'He remembers it'
zqr	'to weave, knit'	*zaqárre*	'He weaves it'

The */l/* of the suffix remains in all verbs in the 3fs., 3pl. and 2pl. forms, in which it is preceded by a vowel, e.g.

ṭaxnále	'She grinds it'	*baðrále*	'She scatters it'
ṭaxníle	'They grind it'	*baðríle*	'They scatter it'
ṭaxnítule	'You (pl.) grind it'	*baðrítule*	'You (pl.) scatter it'

When the verb base ends in the interdentals */θ/* or */ð/*, these shift to the corresponding stops */t/* and */d/* when in contact with the */l/* of the object suffix in the 3ms. form of the verb, e.g.

ṭárəð	'He chases'	*ṭarádle*	'He chases him'
mxáθxəθ	'He renews'	*mxaθxátle*	'He renews it'

When in contact with the */t/* of the 2nd person singular inflections, the */l/* of the object suffix generally remains unassimilated. The vocalic distinction between the 2ms. (*-ət*) and the 2fs. (*-at*) inflections is retained due to the incidence of the stress on the inflection, whereas in forms without suffixes the 2fs. form is regularly attenuated to *-ət* (§2.3.5.):

2ms.	*qáṭlət*	*qaṭlátle*	'You (ms.) kill him'
2fs.	*qáṭlət*	*qaṭlátle*	'You (fs.) kill him'

Sporadically the */l/* of the object suffix is assimilated to the */t/*, e.g. *qaṭlátte* 'You (ms.) kill him'.

The */l/* of the object suffix is regularly assimilated to the */n/* of the 1st person singular suffixes. As with the second person singular suffixes, the stress generally preserves the vocalic distinction between 1ms. and 1fs. inflections:

1ms.	*qáṭlən*	*qaṭlánne*	'I (ms.) kill him'
1fs.	*qáṭlən*	*qaṭlánne*	'I (fs.) kill him'

The */l/* is optionally assimilated to the */x/* of the 1pl. suffix:

1pl.	*qaṭláxle* ~ *qaṭláxxe*	'We (ms.) kill him'

The object suffixes are added after the *wa* particle in the *qaṭəlwa* form of the verb. The position of the stress is not changed when the object suffix is attached:

qaṭə́lwa	*qaṭə́lwale*
qaṭláwa	*qaṭláwale*
qaṭlíwa	*qaṭlíwale*
qaṭlə́twa	*qaṭlə́twale*
qaṭlə́nwa	*qaṭlə́nwale*, etc.

8.19.2. *Pronominal Direct Objects on Past Base Verbs*

Various options are available when one wishes to express a pronominal direct object on verb forms derived from the past base (*qṭille, qṭilwale*).

When the pronominal object is 3rd person, it may be expressed by the inflection of the past base: *qṭil-* (ms.), *qṭila-* (fs.), *qṭili-* (pl.), e.g.

qṭílle	'He killed him'	*qṭílwale*	'He had killed him'
qṭilále	'He killed her'	*qṭiláwale*	'He had killed her'
qṭilíle	'He killed them'	*qṭilíwale*	'He had killed them'

This option is not available, however, when the pronominal object is 1st or 2nd person. An alternative construction is to express the pronominal object by attaching pronominal suffixes to the preposition *ʾəll-*. This may be joined with the verb in the same stress group, in which case the initial vowel is generally elided. Pronominal objects of all persons can be expressed in this way:

qṭílle ʾə́lle	*qṭílle-lle*	'He killed him'
qṭílle ʾə́lla	*qṭílle-lla*	'He killed her'
qṭílle ʾə́llɛ	*qṭílle-llɛ*	'He killed them'
qṭílle ʾə́llux	*qṭílle-llux*	'He killed you (ms.)'
qṭílle ʾə́lli	*qṭílle-lli*	'He killed me'

Far more commonly, the past base verb is replaced by a present base verb form with the past converter prefix *qəm-*, whereby *qəm-qaṭəl* corresponds to *qṭille* and *qəm-qaṭəlwa* to *qṭilwale*, e.g.

qəm-qaṭə́lle	'He killed him'	*qəm-qaṭə́lwale*	'He had killed him'
qəm-qaṭə́lla	'He killed her'	*qəm-qaṭə́lwala*	'He had killed her'

qəm-qaṭállɛ	'He killed them'	*qəm-qaṭálwalɛ*	'He had killed them'
qəm-qaṭállux	'He killed you'	*qəm-qaṭálwalux*	'He had killed you'
qəm-qaṭálli	'He killed me'	*qəm-qaṭálwali*	'He had killed me'

8.19.3. *Pronominal Direct Objects on Imperatives*

The L-suffixes are added to imperative forms to express the pronominal object. A distinctive feature of imperative forms with pronominal suffixes is that they generally retain the stress on the initial syllable, e.g.

qṭul	'Kill (sing.)!'	*qṭúlle*	'Kill (sing.) him!'
qáṭlu	'Kill (pl.)!'	*qáṭlule*	'Kill (pl.) him!'
mšáləx	'Strip (sing.)!'	*mšáləxle*	'Strip (sing.) him!'
mšálxu	'Strip (pl.)!'	*mšálxule*	'Strip (pl.) him!'
mápləx	'Use (sing.)!'	*mápləxle*	'Use (sing.) it!'
mápəlxu	'Use (pl.)!'	*mápəlxule*	'Use (pl.) it!'
mkánkəš	'Drag (sing.)!'	*mkánkəšle*	'Drag (sing.) it!'
mkánəkšu	'Drag (pl.)!'	*mkánəkšule*	'Drag (pl.) it!'

On some occasions the stress is shifted to penultimate position, in conformity with the general rules of stress placement, e.g. *mpălòla* 'Distribute it!' (B17:11). The supplementary suffixes that are attached to imperative forms to strengthen the command (*-ga, -ən, -gən, -gena, -gu* §8.6.5.) are not used before pronominal object suffixes.

8.19.4. *Pronominal Direct Objects on Compound Verbal Forms*

In compound verbal constructions consisting of a form of the verb 'to be' and the resultative participle or infinitive, the direct pronominal object is expressed by L-suffixes consisting of the preposition *l-*, as in other verbal forms, or by a pronominal suffix attached to the longer preposition *ʾəll-*. The use of L-suffixes reflects the treatment of these compound forms as fully verbal in nature.

8.19.4.1. *Resultative Participle + Present Enclitic Copula* (qṭilɛle)
The normal position of the L-suffix is after the enclitic copula. The forms of the construction with the 3ms. L-suffix are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	*qṭíləlle* (*qṭílɛlele*)	'He has killed him'
	fs.	*qṭíltəlle* (*qṭíltɛlale*)	'She has killed him'
	pl.	*qṭíləlle* (*qṭílelɛle*)	'They have killed him'
2nd pers.	ms.	*qṭílətle*	'You (ms.) have killed him'
	fs.	*qṭíltətle*	'You (fs.) have killed him'
	pl.	*qṭíletule*	'You (pl.) have killed him'
1st pers.	ms.	*qṭílənne*	'I (ms.) have killed him'
	fs.	*qṭíltənne*	'I (fs.) have killed him'
	pl.	*qṭíləxle* *qṭíləxxe*	'We have killed him'

The enclitic copula before the object suffix regularly has a contracted form (*qṭilət* < *qṭilɛwət*, *qṭilən* < *qṭilɛwən*, etc.). Contraction of the 3rd person copula also takes place, which results in the elision of the final vowel before the L-suffix. Forms such as *qṭilɛlele* in which the 3rd person copula retains its shape are used, but so rarely that they have been put in brackets in the paradigm. The stress generally remains on the participle in the same position as it would occur without the object suffixes. Occasionally, however, it is moved onto the inflectional suffix, e.g. *qṭilə́tle, qṭilə́nne*. This movement of stress is more frequently found with 1st and 2nd person subjects than with 3rd person subjects.

The L-suffix is occasionally replaced by the long preposition *'əll-*, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	*qṭílɛləlle*	'He has killed him'
2nd pers.	ms.	*qṭílətəlle*	'You (ms.) have killed him'
1st pers.	ms.	*qṭíləməlle*	'I (ms.) have killed him'

Examples: *rə̀pyɛləlla*ˡ 'He threw it down' (A25:33), *rípeləlle* 'They attacked him' (A35:21); *múttətəlle* 'You put him' (A22:39), *qṭìləməlle*ˡ 'I killed him' (A12:18), *prìməməlla*ˡ 'I cut it' (A22:9).

When the grammatical subject expressed by the copula is 3rd person, the *ʾəll-* phrase expressing the object is often placed before the copula element. This ordering is not used when the copula is 1st or 2nd person, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	*qṭíləllɛle* (< *qṭila-əlla-ile*)	'He has killed her'
3rd pers.	fs.	*qṭíltəllela* (< *qṭilta-əlle-ila*)	'She has killed him'
3rd pers.	pl.	*qṭíləlluxila* (< *qṭila-əllux-ila*)	'They have killed you'

8.19.4.2. *Resultative Participle + Past Enclitic Copula*

When object suffixes are attached to the construction consisting of a resultative participle and past enclitic copula, the inflectional endings that are generally used are based on the first paradigm in the previous section (§8.19.4.1.), in which object suffixes are combined with the present enclitic copula, rather than directly on forms with the past enclitic copula. The particle *wa* is simply added before the L-suffix throughout the paradigm. The most conspicuous result of this is in the 3rd person, in which the */l/* element of the present copula is retained, although this element does not occur in any form of the past copula.

3rd pers.	ms.	*qṭíləlwale*	'He had killed him'
	fs.	*qṭíltəlwale*	'She had killed him'
	pl.	*qṭíləlwale*	'They had killed him', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	*qṭíləṯwale*	
	fs.	*qṭíltəṯwale*	
	pl.	*qṭíleṯuwale*	
1st pers.	ms.	*qṭíləṉwale*	
	fs.	*qṭíltəṉwale*	
	pl.	*qṭíləxwale*	

The 3rd person forms with the */l/* element are sometimes used also with a transitive verb without a pronominal object suffix, e.g. *ʾáy šwíqtəlwa májma tàma*[1] 'She had left a tray there' (A4:53).

Occasionally the expected form of the 3rd past copula is used, without the */l/* element, e.g. *šítɛwəlle* 'She had plastered it' (A23:36), which can be analysed as *šita* + *ɨwa* + *əlle*. In the attested cases of this construction the pronominal object element is attached to the long preposition *ʾəll-* rather than the short preposition *l-* (i.e. in an L-suffix):

3rd pers.	ms.	*qṭílɛwəlle* (< *qṭila-iwa-əlle*)	'He had killed him'
	fs.	*qṭíltɛwəlle* (< *qṭilta-iwa-əlle*)	'She had killed him'
	pl.	*qṭílewəlle* (< *qṭile-iwa-əlle*)	'They had killed him'

8.19.4.3. *Non-Enclitic Copula or hwy + Resultative Participle*
When a non-enclitic type of copula, such as the deictic or negative copula, or the verb *hwy* precedes the resultative participle, the pronominal object suffixes are attached to the preposition *ʾəll-*, which in turn is suffixed to the end of the participle:

Deictic copula

3rd pers.	ms.	*hóle qṭíləlle*	'He has killed him'
	fs.	*hóla qṭíltəlle*	'She has killed him'
	pl.	*hóla qṭíləlle*	'They have killed him', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	*hót qṭíləlle*	
	fs.	*hót qṭíltəlle*	
	pl.	*hótu qṭíləlle*	
1st pers.	ms.	*hón qṭíləlle*	
	fs.	*hón qṭíltəlle*	
	pl.	*hóx qṭíləlle*	

Negative copula

3rd pers.	ms.	*lɛ́le qṭíləlle*	'He has not killed him'
	fs.	*lɛ́la qṭíltəlle*	'She has not killed him'
	pl.	*lɛ́la qṭíləlle*	'They have not killed him', etc.

Verb hwy

3rd pers.	ms.	*háwe qṭíləlle*	'He has killed him'
	fs.	*háwya qṭíltəlle*	'She has killed him'
	pl.	*háwɛ qṭíləlle*	'They have killed him', etc.

8.19.4.4. *Infinitive + Present Enclitic Copula*
When the pronominal object suffixes are added to this construction, the endings are the same as in the corresponding construction with a resultative participle:

3rd pers.	ms.	*qṭáləlle*	'He is killing him'
	fs.	*qṭáləlle*	'She is killing him'
	pl.	*qṭáləlle*	'They are killing him', etc.

2nd pers.	ms.	*qṭálətle*
	fs.	*qṭálətle*
	pl.	*qṭáletule*
1st pers.	ms.	*qṭálənne*
	fs.	*qṭálənne*
	pl.	*qṭáləxle*
		qṭáləxxe

The L-suffix is occasionally replaced by the long preposition *ʾəll-*, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	*qṭálɛləlle*	'He is killing him'
2nd pers.	ms.	*qṭálətəlle*	'You (ms.) are killing him'
1st pers.	ms.	*qṭálənəlle*	'I (ms.) am killing him'

When the grammatical subject expressed by the copula is 3rd person, the *ʾəll-* phrase expressing the object is often placed before the copula element, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	*qṭáləllɛle* (< *qṭala-əlla-ile*)	'He is killing her'
3rd pers.	fs.	*qṭáləllela* (< *qṭala-əlle-ila*)	'She is killing him'
3rd pers.	pl.	*qṭáləlluxila* (< *qṭala-əllux-ila*)	'They are killing you'

8.19.4.5. *Infinitive + Past Enclitic Copula*

As is the case with the resultative participle + past enclitic copula construction (§8.19.4.2.), when object suffixes are attached to the construction consisting of an infinitive and past enclitic copula, the inflectional endings are based on the paradigm in which object suffixes are combined with the present enclitic copula (§8.19.4.4.), rather than directly on forms with the past enclitic copula. The particle *wa* is simply added before the L-suffix throughout the paradigm. As a result of this, the */l/* element of the present copula is retained in the 3rd person forms, although this element does not occur in any form of the past copula:

3rd pers.	ms.	*qṭáləlwale*	'He was killing him'
	fs.	*qṭáləlwale*	'She was killing him'
	pl.	*qṭáləlwale*	'They were killing him', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	*qṭáləṭwale*	
	fs.	*qṭáləṭwale*	
	pl.	*qṭáletuwale*	

1st pers.	ms.	*qṭálənwale*
	fs.	*qṭálənwale*
	pl.	*qṭáləxwale*

Occasionally the pronominal object is expressed by a phrase consisting of the long preposition *ʾəll-* rather than the short preposition *l-*. In such cases the expected form of the 3rd past copula is used, without the */l/* element, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	*qṭálɛwəlle* (< *qṭala-iwa-əlle*)	'He was killing him'
3rd pers.	fs.	*qṭálɛwəlle* (< *qṭala-iwa-əlle*)	'She was killing him'
3rd pers.	pl.	*qṭálɛwəlle* (< *qṭala-iwa-əlle*)	'They were killing him'

8.19.4.6. *Non-Enclitic Copula or hwy + Infinitive*
When a non-enclitic type of copula, such as the deictic or negative copula, or the verb *hwy* precedes the infinitive, the pronominal object suffixes are attached to the preposition *ʾəll-*, which in turn is suffixed to the end of the infinitive:

Deictic copula

3rd pers.	ms.	*hóle qṭáləlle*	'He is killing him'
	fs.	*hóla qṭáləlle*	'She is killing him'
	pl.	*hóla qṭáləlle*	'They are killing him', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	*hót qṭáləlle*	
	fs.	*hót qṭáləlle*	
	pl.	*hótu qṭáləlle*	
1st pers.	ms.	*hón qṭáləlle*	
	fs.	*hón qṭáləlle*	
	pl.	*hóx qṭáləlle*	

Negative copula

3rd pers.	ms.	*léle qṭáləlle*	'He is not killing him'
	fs.	*léla qṭáləlle*	'She is not killing him'
	pl.	*léla qṭáləlle*	'They are not killing him'

Verb hwy

3rd pers.	ms.	*háwe qṭáləlle*	'He is killing him'
	fs.	*háwya qṭáləlle*	'She is killing him'
	pl.	*háwɛ qṭáləlle*	'They are killing him', etc.

8.19.5. *Pronominal Indirect Object*

A pronominal indirect object may be expressed on a present base verb form by the same series of pronominal suffixes as those that express the direct object, i.e. the L-series, so long as a direct pronominal object suffix is not attached to the same verb:

		Default	Long	
3rd pers.	ms.	*yawə́lle*		'He gives to him'
	fs.	*yawə́lla*		'He gives to her'
	pl.	*yawə́llɛ*	*yawəlley*	'He gives to them', etc.
		yawə́lla		
2nd pers.	ms.	*yawə́llux*		
	fs.	*yawə́llə́x*		
	pl.	*yawə́llɛxu*		
1st pers.	sing.	*yawə́lli*		
	pl.	*yawə́llən*	*yawəllɛni*	

As is the case with pronominal direct objects, L-suffixes expressing the indirect object are generally avoided on verbs derived from past bases. The most common practice is to substitute a present base form with the past converted prefix *qəm-*, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	*qəm-yawə́lle*		'He gave to him'
	fs.	*qəm-yawə́lla*		'He gave to her'
	pl.	*qəm-yawə́llɛ*	*qəm-yawəlley*	'He gave to them' etc.
		qəm-yawə́lla		
2nd pers.	ms.	*qəm-yawə́llux*		
	fs.	*qəm-yawə́llə́x*		
	pl.	*qəm-yawə́llɛxu*		
1st pers.	sing.	*qəm-yawə́lli*		
	pl.	*qəm-yawə́llən*	*qəm-yawəllɛni*	

On some occasions a 3rd person indirect pronominal object is expressed by the inflection of the past base. This usage tends to be restricted to verbs

that do not generally take a direct object together with an indirect object, such as *ʾmr* 'to say', e.g. *mirále* 'He said to her', *miríle* 'He said to them'.

Indirect pronominal objects on imperative and compound verbal forms with an enclitic copula are expressed by L-suffixes in the same way as pronominal direct objects:

Imperative:

hálli	'Give (sing.) to me!'
hálluli	'Give (pl.) to me!
méθili	'Bring (sing.) to me!'
méθoli	'Bring (pl.) to me!'
múrri	'Say (sing.) to me!'
múruli	'Say (pl.) to me!'

Compound forms:

híwəlli	'He has given to me'
yáwəlli	'He is giving to me'

The indirect pronominal object may also be expressed by an independent prepositional phrase. This may consist of the preposition *ṭla-* 'to', which, when pronominal suffixes are attached, has the base *ṭlal-* (§13.3.22.):

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	*ṭlále*	
	fs.	*ṭlála*	
	pl.	*ṭlálɛ*	*ṭlaley*
		ṭlála	
2nd pers.	ms.	*ṭlálux*	
	fs.	*ṭláləx*	
	pl.	*ṭlalɛ́xu*	
1st pers.	sing.	*ṭláli*	
	pl.	*ṭláln*	*ṭlalɛni*

Alternatively an independent phrase consisting of the preposition *ʾəll-* may be used:

3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾə́lle*	
	fs.	*ʾə́lla*	
	pl.	*ʾə́llɛ*	*ʾəlley*
		ʾə́lla	
2nd pers.	ms.	*ʾə́llux*	
	fs.	*ʾə́llәx*	
	pl.	*ʾəllɛ́xu*	
1st pers.	sing.	*ʾə́lli*	
	pl.	*ʾə́llәn*	*ʾəllɛni*

More rarely a pronominal phrase consisting of the preposition *qa-* is used, e.g. *qa-diye* 'to him', *qa-diya* 'to her', etc.

These prepositional phrases often have their own stress and need not be placed immediately adjacent to the verb. They may be used to express the indirect object with all forms of the verb:

mšádər ṭláli / ʾə́lli	'He sends to me'
mšudə́rre ṭláli / ʾə́lli	'He sent to me'
mšádər ṭláli / ʾə́lli!	'Send (sing.) to me!'
mšúdrɛle ṭláli / ʾə́lli	'He sent to me'
mšadórele ṭláli / ʾə́lli	'He is sending to me'
léle híwəlli	'He has not given to me'
léle yáwəlli	'He is not giving to me'

8.19.6. *Combination of Pronominal Suffixes*

When a verb has both a pronominal direct object and a pronominal indirect object, the direct object is generally expressed by an L-suffix attached to the verb and the indirect object by one of the prepositional phrases desribed in §8.19.5. When the suffix of the direct pronominal object ends in a vowel, the initial syllable of the *ʾəll-* phrase is often elided and the phrase is linked to the verb in the same stress group:

yawə́lle ṭláli	'He gives it to me'
yawə́lle ʾə́lli	
yawə́lle-lli	

qəm-hawálle ṭláli	'He gave it to me'
qəm-hawálle ʾálli	
qəm-hawálle-lli	
hálle ṭláli	'Give it to me!'
hálle ʾálli	
hálle-lle	
híwəlle ṭláli	'He has given it to me'
híwəlle ʾálli	
híwəlle-lli	

8.20. Pseudo-Verbs

8.20.1. *The Existential Particles* ʾiθ *and* liθ

As elsewhere in NENA, the C. Barwar dialect expresses predications of existence ('there is', 'there are') by an existential particle. The basic form of this is *ʾiθ*. On some occasions the form is extended by attaching various supplementary suffixes as follows:

Default	Long
ʾíθən	*ʾíθena*
ʾíθga	
ʾíθgən	*ʾíθgena*

These supplementary suffixes are the same as those that are attached to imperative forms.

The negative form of the existential particle is *liθ*, which has developed historically by the merger of the elements *la* + *iθ*. The coalescence of the vowels */a/* + */i/* to */i/* rather than to the expected */ɛ/* is likely to have arisen by analogy with the */i/* vowel in the positive form *ʾiθ*. The negative particle may also be extended by supplementary suffixes:

Default	Long
líθən	*líθena*
líθga	
líθgən	*líθgena*

The existential particles can be given past time reference in the manner of verbs by attaching the particle *-wa* to their basic forms: *ʾíθwa, líθwa*.

The L-series suffixes are added to the basic forms of the particles to express possession. The final fricative */θ/* generally shifts to a stop */t/* when in direct contact with the */l/* of the suffix (cf. §1.4.1.3.), e.g. *ʾítli* (< *ʾiθ + li*) 'I have (literally: there is to me)', *lítli* (< *liθ + li*) 'I have not'. A few isolated cases are attested in which this shift does not take place, e.g. *ʾíθli* 'I have' (A7:9). The fricative regularly remains when the */l/* is separated from the */θ/* by the past tense marker *-wa*, e.g. *ʾíθwali* 'I had', *líθwali* 'I had not'. The full paradigms of these forms are as follows:

Present:			
3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾítle*	*lítle*
	fs.	*ʾítla*	*lítla*
	pl.	*ʾítlɛ*	*lítlɛ*
		ʾítla	*lítla*
		ʾitley	*litley*
2nd pers.	ms.	*ʾítlux*	*lítlux*
	fs.	*ʾítlǝx*	*lítlǝx*
	pl.	*ʾitlɛxu*	*lítlɛxu*
1st pers.	sing.	*ʾítli*	*lítli*
	pl.	*ʾítlǝn*	*lítlǝn*
		ʾitlɛni	*litlɛni*
Past:			
3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾíθwale*	*líθwale*
	fs.	*ʾíθwala*	*líθwala*
	pl.	*ʾíθwalɛ*	*líθwalɛ*
		ʾíθwala	*líθwala*
		ʾiθwaley	*liθwaley*
2nd pers.	ms.	*ʾíθwalux*	*líθwalux*
	fs.	*ʾíθwalǝx*	*líθwalǝx*
	pl.	*ʾiθwalɛx*	*líθwalɛx*
1st pers.	sing.	*ʾíθwali*	*líθwali*
	pl.	*ʾíθwalǝn*	*líθwalǝn*
		ʾiθwalɛni	*liθwalɛni*

The existential particle may also be combined with pronominal suffixes that are attached to the preposition *b-*. The inflection of such suffixes introduced by *b-* corresponds to that of L-suffixes and differs from the inflection of this preposition when it occurs in an independent prepositional phrase (§13.3.2.):

		Suffix	Independent phrase
3rd pers.	ms.	*-be*	*ʾə́bbe, bíye*
	fs.	*-ba*	*ʾə́bba, bíya*
	pl.	*-bɛ*	*ʾə́bbɛ, bíyɛ*
		-ba	*ʾə́bba, bíya*
		-bey	*ʾə́bbey, biyey*
2nd pers.	ms.	*-bux*	*ʾə́bbux, bíyux*
	fs.	*-bəx*	*ʾə́bbəx, bíyəx*
	pl.	*-bɛxu*	*ʾəbbéxu, bíyɛxu*
1st pers.	sing.	*-bi*	*ʾə́bbi, bíyi*
	pl.	*-bən*	*ʾə́bbən, bíyən*
		-bɛni	*ʾə́bbɛni, biyɛni*
Present:			
3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾíθbe*	*líθbe*
	fs.	*ʾíθba*	*líθba*
	pl.	*ʾíθbɛ*	*líθbɛ*
Past:			
3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾíθwabe*	*líθwabe*
	fs.	*ʾíθwaba*	*líθwaba*
	pl.	*ʾíθwabɛ*	*líθwabɛ*

The */θ/*of the present form of the existential particle is often elided, e.g.

Present:			
3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾíbe*	*líbe*
	fs.	*ʾíba*	*líba*
	pl.	*ʾíbɛ*	*líbɛ*

Past:

3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾíwabe*	*líwabe*
	fs.	*ʾíwaba*	*líwaba*
	pl.	*ʾíwabɛ*	*líwabɛ*

8.20.2. bas-

Expressions such as 'He has had enough', 'She has had enough', etc. are formed by conjugating the particle *bas* 'enough' with L-suffixes. The */l/* regularly assimilates to the /s/, e.g. *básse* (< **basle*). The full paradigm is as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	*básse*	'He has had enough'
	fs.	*bássa*	'She has had enough'
	pl.	*bássɛ*	'They have had enough', etc.
		bássa	
		basséy	
2nd pers.	ms.	*bássux*	
	fs.	*bássəx*	
	pl.	*bassɛ́xu*	
1st pers.	sing.	*bássi*	
	pl.	*bássən*	
		bassɛni	

This construction may be used in combination with the past affix *wa*, which is inserted before the L-suffixes. The */l/* of the L-suffixes is retained, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	*báswale*	'He had had enough'
	fs.	*báswala*	'She had had enough'
	pl.	*báswalɛ*	'They had had enough', etc.

8.20.3. k̂ɛw-, k̂aw-

The base *k̂ɛw-* or *k̂aw-* is inflected with the series of pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions to form optative expressions 'May he be', 'May she be', etc.:

3rd pers.	ms.	*k̂éwe*	'May he be'
	fs.	*k̂éwa*	'May she be'
	pl.	*k̂éwɛ*	'May they be', etc.
		k̂éwa	
		k̂ɛwéy	
2nd pers.	ms.	*k̂éwux*	
	fs.	*k̂éwəx*	
	pl.	*k̂ɛwéxu*	
1st pers.	sing.	*k̂éwi*	
	pl.	*k̂éwən*	
		k̂ɛwɛni	

In origin this construction appears to be a combination of the Kurdish particle qey 'perhaps' with the present base of the verb *hwy*: **qay-hawe*. The uvular */q/* of the Kurdish particle has shifted to an unaspirated velar */k̂/*, as is attested in some other loans, e.g. *k̂aš̲k̂a* 'wheat husk' < Kurd. qaşik (§1.2.2.). The combined sequence *k̂ɛw-* has become reinterpreted as a particle rather than verb and is now inflected like a preposition. The trigger for this process was no doubt the 3ms. form *k̂ɛwe*, which is the most frequently used and has an ending that could be interpreted either as a verbal inflection or a 3ms. suffix.

8.20.4. kɛ- *'Where?'*

Interrogative expressions 'Where is he?', 'Where is she?', etc. are formed by conjugating the particle *kɛ-* with L-suffixes:

3rd pers.	ms.	*kéle*	'Where is he?'
	fs.	*kéla*	'Where is she?'
	pl.	*kélɛ*	'Where are they?', etc.
		kéla	
		kɛléy	
2nd pers.	ms.	*kélux*	
	fs.	*kéləx*	
	pl.	*kɛléxu*	

1st pers.	sing.	*kɛ́li*
	pl.	*kɛ́lən*
		kɛlɛni

The inflection of this expression with L-suffixes appears to have developed by analogy with the L-suffix conjugation of the deictic copula and presentative expression *hole* 'There he is' (§8.7.3.). The construction is used only to refer to the present. If the time reference is past or future, the particle *ʾɛ́ka* 'where' must be used with the appropriate form of the enclitic copula or verb *hwy*, e.g. *ʾɛ́kɛwaʔ* 'Where was he?', *ʾɛ́ka t̰-áweʔ* 'Where will he be?'

8.20.5. ṣad-

In addition to the verb *zdʾ* 'to fear', which is fully inflected, there is an invariable base *ṣad-* which is conjugated with L-suffixes to express the actual present 'He is afraid', etc.:

3rd pers.	ms.	*ṣádle*	'He is afraid'
	fs.	*ṣádla*	'She is afraid'
	pl.	*ṣádlɛ*	'They are afraid', etc.
		ṣádla	
		ṣadléy	
2nd pers.	ms.	*ṣádlux*	
	fs.	*ṣádləx*	
	pl.	*ṣadlɛ́xu*	
1st pers.	sing.	*ṣádli*	
	pl.	*ṣádlən*	
		ṣádlɛni	

These forms can take the habitual verbal prefix *ʾi-*, e.g. *ʾi-ṣádle* 'He is (habitually) afraid'. They may also function as deontic forms, e.g. *la-ṣàdlux*[1] 'Do not be afraid' (B9:26). The base *ṣad-* is also used in combination with the past converter affix *wa* before the L-suffixes to express the imperfective past:

3rd pers.	ms.	*ṣádwale*	'He was afraid'
	fs.	*ṣádwala*	'She was afraid'
	pl.	*ṣádwalɛ*	'They were afraid', etc.

The *ʾi-* prefix may also be prefixed to this form: *ʾi-ṣádwale* 'He was afraid'.

CHAPTER NINE

VERB PARADIGMS

The purpose of these paradigms is to present a summary of the inflectional forms of verbs in their present and past bases. A representative selection of the various categories of verbs is made. For the sake of economy the alternative 'long' forms of inflectional endings are not given nor the full range of alternative base forms that exist in some categories.

9.1. *qaɬɬ* Form

pθx I 'to open' (1), *šmˀ* I 'to hear' (2), *qym* I 'to rise' (3), *myˀ* I 'to churn' (4)

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
3rd pers.	ms.	*páθəx*	*šắme*	*qáyəm*	*mắye*
	fs.	*páθxa*	*šắma*	*qɛ́ma*	*mắya*
	pl.	*páθxi*	*šắmi*	*qɛ́mi*	*mắyi*
2nd pers.	ms.	*páθxət*	*šắmət*	*qɛ́mət*	*mắyət*
	fs.	*páθxət*	*šắmət*	*qɛ́mət*	*mắyət*
	pl.	*paθxítu*	*šămítu*	*qɛmítu*	*măyítu*
1st pers.	ms.	*páθxən*	*šắmən*	*qɛ́mən*	*mắyən*
	fs.	*páθxən*	*šắmən*	*qɛ́mən*	*mắyən*
	pl.	*páθxəx*	*šắməx*	*qɛ́məx*	*mắyəx*

xzy I 'to see' (5), *by* I (**bʕy*) 'to want' (6), *dwq* I 'to hold' (7), *kθw* I 'to write' (8)

		(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
3rd pers.	ms.	*xáze*	*bắye*	*dáwəq*	*káθu*
	fs.	*xázya*	*bắya*	*dáwqa*	*káθwa*
	pl.	*xázɛ*	*bắyɛ*	*dáwqi*	*káθwi*
		xáza	*bắya*		
		xázi	*bắyi*		

2nd pers.	ms.	*xázət*	*bă̆yət*	*dáwqət*	*káθwət*
	fs.	*xázyət*	*bă̆yət*	*dáwqət*	*káθwət*
	pl.	*xazétu*	*băyétu*	*dawqítu*	*kaθwítu*
		xazítu	*băyítu*		
1st pers.	ms.	*xázən*	*bă̆yən*	*dáwqən*	*káθwən*
	fs.	*xázyən*	*bă̆yən*	*dáwqən*	*káθwən*
	pl.	*xázəx*	*bă̆yəx*	*dáwqəx*	*káθwəx*

m-šlx II ‘to strip’ (9), *m-ṭ’l* II ‘to play’ (10), *m-pl’* II ‘to share’ (11), *m-dry* II ‘to winnow’ (12)

		(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
3rd pers.	ms.	*mšáləx*	*mṭáwəl*	*mpă̆le*	*mdáre*
	fs.	*mšálxa*	*mṭála*	*mpă̆la*	*mdárya*
	pl.	*mšálxi*	*mṭáli*	*mpă̆li*	*mdáɾɛ*
					mdára
					mdári
2nd pers.	ms.	*mšálxət*	*mṭálət*	*mpă̆lət*	*mdárət*
	fs.	*mšálxət*	*mṭálət*	*mpă̆lət*	*mdáryət*
	pl.	*mšalxítu*	*mṭalítu*	*mpălítu*	*mdarítu*
1st pers.	ms.	*mšálxən*	*mṭálən*	*mpă̆lən*	*mdárən*
	fs.	*mšálxən*	*mṭálən*	*mpă̆lən*	*mdáryən*
	pl.	*mšálxəx*	*mṭáləx*	*mpă̆ləx*	*mdárəx*

m-plx III ‘to use’ (13), *m-xl* III ‘to feed’ (14), *m-ṛš* III ‘to wake’ (15), *m-šm’* III ‘to listen’ (16)

		(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
3rd pers.	ms.	*mápləx*	*máxəl*	*mă̆ṛəš*	*mášme*
	fs.	*mapálxa*	*máxla*	*mă̆ṛášа*	*mášma*
		mapləxa			*mašmíya*
					mašəmya
	pl.	*mapálxi*	*máxli*	*mă̆ṛáši*	*mášmi*
		mapləxi			*mášmɛ*
					mášma

2nd pers.	ms.	*mapálxət* *mapláxət*	*máxlət*	*măṛášət*	*mášmət* *mašmíyət*
	fs.	*mapálxət* *mapláxət*	*máxlət*	*măṛášət*	*mášmət* *mašmíyət* *mašámyət*
	pl.	*mapəlxítu* *mapləxítu*	*maxlítu*	*măṛəšítu*	*mašmítu* *mašmétu* *mašmiyítu*
1st pers.	ms.	*mapálxən* *mapláxən*	*máxlən*	*măṛášən*	*mášmən* *mašmíyən*
	fs.	*mapálxən* *mapláxən*	*máxlən*	*măṛášən*	*mášmən* *mašmíyən* *mašámyən*
	pl.	*mapálxəx* *mapláxəx*	*máxləx*	*măṛášəx*	*mášməx* *mašmíyəx*

m-zyd III ‘to add’ (17), *m-kly* III ‘to stop’ (18), *m-ry* III ‘to graze’ (19), *m-jwj* III ‘to move (tr.)’ (20)

		(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
3rd pers.	ms.	*mázyəd* *măzid*	*mákle*	*măṛe*	*májwəj*
	fs.	*mazyáda* *măzída*	*mákla* *maklíya* *makálya*	*măṛíya*	*majáwja* *majúja* *majwája*
	pl.	*mazyádi* *măzídi*	*mákli* *máklɛ* *mákla*	*măṛi* *măṛɛ* *măṛa*	*majáwji* *majúji* *majwáji*
2nd pers.	ms.	*mazyádət* *măzídət*	*máklət*	*măṛíyət*	*majáwjət* *majújət* *majwájət*
	fs.	*mazyádət* *măzídət*	*máklət* *maklíyət* *makályət*	*măṛíyət*	*majáwjət* *majújət* *majwájət*
	pl.	*mazyədítu* *măzidítu*	*maklétu* *maklítu*	*măṛiyítu*	*majəwjítu* *majujítu* *majwəjítu*

1st pers.	ms.	*mazyə́dən* *mə̃zídən*	*máklən*	*mə̆ŕíyən*	*majə́wjən* *majújən* *majwə́jən*
	fs.	*mazyə́dən* *mə̃zídən*	*máklən* *maklíyən* *makə́lyən*	*mə̆ŕíyən*	*majə́wjən* *majújən* *majwə́jən*
	pl.	*mazyə́dəx* *mə̃zídəx*	*mákləx*	*mə̆ŕíyəx*	*majə́wjəx* *majújəx* *majwə́jəx*

m-knkš Q ‘to drag’ (21), *m-šyðn* Q ‘to become mad’ (22), *m-hymn* Q ‘to believe’ (23), *m-prpy* Q ‘to rinse’ (24)

		(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
3rd pers.	ms.	*mkánkəš*	*mšéyðən*	*mháymən* *mhéymən* *mhɛ́mən* *mhə̆́mən*	*mpárpe*
	fs.	*mkanə́kša* *mkankáša*	*mšeyə́ðna* *mšeyðə́na*	*mhaymə́na* *mhayə́mna* *mheymə́na* *mheyə́mna* *mhɛmə́na* *mhə̆mə́na*[1]	*mpárpa* *mparpíya* *mparə́pya*
	pl.	*mkankáši* *mkankáši*	*mšeyə́ðni* *mšeyðə́ni*	*mhaymə́nu*	*mpárpi* *mpárpɛ* *mpárpa*
2nd pers.	ms.	*mkanə́kšət* *mkankášət*	*mšeyə́ðnət* *mšeyðə́nət*	*mhaymə́nət*	*mpárpət*
	fs.	*mkanə́kšət* *mkankášət*	*mšeyə́ðnət* *mšeyðə́nət*	*mhaymə́nət*	*mpárpət* *mparpíyət* *mparə́pyət*
	pl.	*mapəlšítu* *mkankəšítu*	*mšeyəðnítu* *mšeyðənítu*	*mhaymənítu*	*mparpítu*

[1] These variant bases are available for the inflection of all further persons but are not repeated in the rest of the paradigm.

1st pers.	ms.	*mkanə́kšən* *mkankášən*	*mšeyə́ðnən* *mšeyðə́nən*	*mhaymə́nən*	*mpárpən*
	fs.	*mkanə́kšən* *mkankášən*	*mšeyə́ðnən* *mšeyðə́nən*	*mhaymə́nən*	*mpárpən* *mparpíyən* *mparə́pyən*
	pl.	*mkanə́kšəx* *mkankášəx*	*mšeyə́ðnəx* *mšeyðə́nəx*	*mhaymə́nəx*	*mpárpəx*

ʾzl I ‘to go’ (25), *m-θy* III ‘to bring’ (26), *yhw* I ‘to give’ (27), *m-ty* III ‘to put’ (28)

		(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)
3rd pers.	ms.	*ʾázəl*	*méθe*	*yáwəl* *yal*	*máttu*
	fs.	*ʾáza*	*máθya*	*yáwa*	*mátta*
	pl.	*ʾázi*	*méθi* *méθɛ* *méθa*	*yáwi*	*mátti*
2nd pers.	ms.	*ʾázət*	*méθət*	*yáwət* *yat*	*máttət*
	fs.	*ʾázət*	*máθyət*	*yáwət* *yat*	*máttət*
	pl.	*ʾazítu*	*mɛθétu* *mɛθítu*	*yawítu*	*mattítu*
1st pers.	ms.	*ʾázən*	*méθən*	*yáwən* *yan*	*máttən*
	fs.	*ʾázən*	*máθyən*	*yáwən* *yan*	*máttən*
	pl.	*ʾázəx*	*méθəx*	*yáwəx* *yax*	*máttəx*

9.2. *qɪɪlle* Form

pθx I 'to open' (1), *ʾxl* I 'to eat' (2), *šmʾ* I 'to hear' (3), *qym* I 'to rise' (4)

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
3rd pers.	ms.	*pθíxle*	*xílle*	*šmíle*	*qímle*
	fs.	*pθíxla*	*xílla*	*šmíla*	*qímla*
	pl.	*pθíxlɛ*	*xíllɛ*	*šmílɛ*	*qímlɛ*
		pθíxla	*xílla*	*šmíla*	*qímla*
		pθíxley	*xílley*	*šmíley*	*qímley*
2nd pers.	ms.	*pθíxlux*	*xíllux*	*šmílux*	*qímlux*
	fs.	*pθíxləx*	*xílləx*	*šmíləx*	*qímləx*
	pl.	*pθíxlɛxu*	*xíllɛxu*	*šmílɛxu*	*qímlɛxu*
1st pers.	s.	*pθíxli*	*xílli*	*šmíli*	*qímli*
	pl.	*pθíxlən*	*xíllən*	*šmílən*	*qímlən*
		pθíxlɛni	*xíllɛni*	*šmílɛni*	*qímlɛni*

xzy I 'to see' (5), *ṭy* I (**ṭʿy*) 'to search' (6), *ypy* I 'bake' (7), *kθw* I 'to write' (8)

		(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
3rd pers.	ms.	*xzéle*	*ṭéle*	*péle*	*kθúle*
	fs.	*xzéla*	*ṭéla*	*péla*	*kθúla*
	pl.	*xzélɛ*	*ṭélɛ*	*pélɛ*	*kθúlɛ*
		xzéla	*ṭéla*	*péla*	*kθúla*
		xzéley	*ṭéley*	*péley*	*kθúley*
2nd pers.	ms.	*xzélux*	*ṭélux*	*pélux*	*kθúlux*
	fs.	*xzéləx*	*ṭéləx*	*péləx*	*kθúləx*
	pl.	*xzélɛxu*	*ṭélɛxu*	*pélɛxu*	*kθúlɛxu*
1st pers.	s.	*xzéli*	*ṭéli*	*péli*	*kθúli*
	pl.	*xzélən*	*ṭélən*	*pélən*	*kθúlən*
		xzélɛni	*ṭélɛni*	*pélɛni*	*kθúlɛni*

m-šlx I ‘to strip’ (9), *m-ṭ’l* II ‘to play’ (10), *m-pqˀ* II ‘to explode’ (11), *m-hyr* II ‘to help’ (12)

		(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
3rd pers.	ms.	*mšuláxle*	*mṭuwálle*	*mpŭqéle*	*mhŭyárre*
	fs.	*mšuláxla*	*mṭuwálla*	*mpŭqéla*	*mhŭyárra*
	pl.	*mšuláxlɛ*	*mṭuwállɛ*	*mpŭqélɛ*	*mhŭyárrɛ*
		mšuláxla	*mṭuwálla*	*mpŭqéla*	*mhŭyárra*
		mšuláxley	*mṭuwálley*	*mpŭqéley*	*mhŭyárrey*
2nd pers.	ms.	*mšuláxlux*	*mṭuwállux*	*mpŭqélux*	*mhŭyárrux*
	fs.	*mšuláxlax*	*mṭuwálləx*	*mpŭqéləx*	*mhŭyárrəx*
	pl.	*mšuláxlɛxu*	*mṭuwállɛxu*	*mpŭqélɛxu*	*mhŭyárrɛxu*
1st pers.	s.	*mšuláxli*	*mṭuwálli*	*mpŭqéli*	*mhŭyárri*
	pl.	*mšuláxlən*	*mṭuwállən*	*mpŭqélən*	*mhŭyárrən*
		mšuláxlɛni	*mṭuwállɛni*	*mpŭqélɛni*	*mhŭyárrɛni*

m-dry II ‘to winnow’ (13), *m-plx* III ‘to use’ (14), *m-xl* III ‘to feed’ (15), *m-ṛš* III ‘to wake’ (16)

		(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
3rd pers.	ms.	*mduréle*	*mupláxle*	*muxálle*	*mŭṛášle*
	fs.	*mduréla*	*mupláxla*	*muxálla*	*mŭṛášla*
	pl.	*mdurélɛ*	*mupláxlɛ*	*muxállɛ*	*mŭṛášlɛ*
		mduréla	*mupláxla*	*muxálla*	*mŭṛášla*
		mduréley	*mupláxley*	*muxálley*	*mŭṛášley*
2nd pers.	ms.	*mdurélux*	*mupláxlux*	*muxállux*	*mŭṛášlux*
	fs.	*mdurélax*	*mupláxlax*	*muxálləx*	*mŭṛášləx*
	pl.	*mdurélɛxu*	*mupláxlɛxu*	*muxállɛxu*	*mŭṛášlɛxu*
1st pers.	s.	*mduréli*	*mupláxli*	*muxálli*	*mŭṛášli*
	pl.	*mdurélən*	*mupláxlən*	*muxállən*	*mŭṛášlən*
		mdurélɛni	*mupláxlɛni*	*muxállɛni*	*mŭṛášlɛni*

m-zyd III ‘to add’ (17), *m-šmˀ* III ‘to listen’ (18), *m-ry* III ‘to graze’ (19), *m-kθw* III ‘to register’ (20)

		(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
3rd pers.	ms.	*muzyádle*	*mušméle*	*mŭṛéle*	*mukθúle*
	fs.	*muzyádla*	*mušméla*	*mŭṛéla*	*mukθúla*
	pl.	*muzyádlɛ*	*mušmélɛ*	*mŭṛélɛ*	*mukθúlɛ*
		muzyádla	*mušméla*	*mŭṛéla*	*mukθúla*
		muzyádley	*mušméley*	*mŭṛéley*	*mukθúley*
2nd pers.	ms.	*muzyádlux*	*mušmélux*	*mŭṛélux*	*mukθúlux*
	fs.	*muzyádlǝx*	*mušméləx*	*mŭṛéləx*	*mukθúləx*
	pl.	*muzyádlɛxu*	*mušmélɛxu*	*mŭṛélɛxu*	*mukθúlɛxu*
1st pers.	s.	*muzyádli*	*mušméli*	*mŭṛéli*	*mukθúli*
	pl.	*muzyádlǝn*	*mušmélǝn*	*mŭṛélǝn*	*mukθúlǝn*
		muzyádlɛni	*mušmélɛni*	*mŭṛélɛni*	*mukθúlɛni*

m-knkš Q ‘to drag’ (21), *m-hymn* Q ‘to believe’ (22), *m-prpy* Q ‘to rinse’ (23)

		(21)	(22)	(23)
3rd pers.	ms.	*mkunkášle*	*mhuymánne*	*mpurpéle*
	fs.	*mkunkášla*	*mhuymánna*	*mpurpéla*
	pl.	*mkunkášlɛ*	*mhuymánnɛ*	*mpurpélɛ*
		mkunkášla	*mhuymánna*	*mpurpéla*
		mkunkášley	*mhuymánney*	*mpurpéley*
2nd pers.	ms.	*mkunkášlux*	*mhuymánnux*	*mpurpélux*
	fs.	*mkunkášlǝx*	*mhuymánnǝx*	*mpurpéləx*
	pl.	*mkunkášlɛxu*	*mhuymánnɛxu*	*mpurpélɛxu*
1st pers.	s.	*mkunkášli*	*mhuymánni*	*mpurpéli*
	pl.	*mkunkášlǝn*	*mhuymánnǝn*	*mpurpélǝn*
		mkunkášlɛni	*mhuymánnɛni*	*mpurpélɛni*

ˀzl I ‘to go’ (24), *m-θy* III ‘to bring’ (25), *yhw* I ‘to give’ (26), *nbl* I ‘to take away’ (27)

		(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)
3rd pers.	ms.	*zílle*	*muθéle*	*híwle*	*nubálle*
	fs.	*zílla*	*muθéla*	*híwla*	*nubálla*

	pl.	*zíllɛ*	*muθélɛ*	*híwlɛ*	*nubállɛ*
		zílla	*muθéla*	*híwla*	*nubálla*
		zílley	*muθéley*	*híwley*	*nubálley*
2nd pers.	ms.	*zíllux*	*muθélux*	*híwlux*	*nubállux*
	fs.	*zílləx*	*muθéləx*	*híwləx*	*nubálləx*
	pl.	*zíllɛxu*	*muθélɛxu*	*híwlɛxu*	*nubállɛxu*
1st pers.	s.	*zílli*	*muθéli*	*híwli*	*nubálli*
	pl.	*zíllən*	*muθélən*	*híwlən*	*nubállən*
		zíllɛni	*muθélɛni*	*híwlɛni*	*nubállɛni*

CHAPTER TEN

NOUNS

10.1. Preliminary Remarks

Nouns of Aramaic stock and loanwords that have been adapted to Aramaic morphology have in the singular one of the following basic inflectional endings:

(i) *-a*, which is the reflex of the masculine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic.
(ii) *-ta* or *-θa*, which are the reflexes of the feminine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic.
(iii) *-o*, which is a feminine or diminutive ending.
(iv) *-e*.

A classification is given below of the various morphological patterns of nouns in the dialect that have one of these inflectional endings in the singular.

10.2. Nouns with *-A* Inflection

10.2.1. *Bisyllabic Patterns*

(1) *CaCCa*

ʾaθṛa	'land, country'
ʾaqla	'leg'
čamča	'spoon'
danwa	'tail'
kalba	'dog'
maglа	'sickle'
malka	'king'
massa	'ox-goad'
palga	'half'

qalma	'louse'
qazba	'date'
sahða	'martyr'
talga	'snow'
talma	'water-jar'
xašša	'sadness'
yalma	'face'

In the category of *CaCCa* we should also include words with */r/* as the second radical in which the */a/* is raised to */ɛ/* (§2.5.3.):

ʾɛrya	'lion'
gɛrma	'bone'
kɛrma	'orchard'
tɛrba	'fat'
yɛrxa	'month'

Nouns of the pattern *CaCCa* that are derived from the determined form of the active participle of early Aramaic (**CāCCā*) mostly refer to inanimate objects, e.g.

ʾarxa	'guest'
daqra	'long pole' (< *dqr* 'to touch')
parma	'blade'
qamṣa	'grasshopper'
sahða	'martyr'
samxa	'post supporting a vine'
sanda	'support, prop'
šapna	'instrument for levelling the ground'
šaqla	'carrying pole'
xalqa	'button, press-stud' (< *xlq* 'to close')
xasla	'bit; mouth cover used in weaning animal'
xatma	'muzzle'

(2) *CawCa*

bawsa	'wooden piece connecting yoke to the plough'
dawra	'wooden bolt'
gawna	'colour'
gawṛa	'man, husband'

gawza	‘walnut’
kawda	‘liver’
kawsa	‘hair’
kawša	‘handle of a plough’
pawxa	‘air, wind’
ṣawma	‘fast’
šawba	‘head cold, influenza’
šawpa	‘footprint, place’
tawra	‘ox’
xawla	‘rope’
xawra	‘friend’
xawxa	‘peach’
yawna	‘dove; pigeon’
zawga	‘pair’
zawna	‘time’

The medial diphthong */aw/* in this pattern is stable and is only rarely contracted to */o/* by speakers. Two exceptions to this are the words *yoma* ‘day’ (< **yawmā*) and *roma* ‘hill’ (< **rawmā*), which are regularly pronounced with the diphthong contracted to */o/* and so assigned to the pattern *CoCCa* (§2.4.2.).

(3) *CəCCa*

ʾəðma	‘brother of husband’
ʾənwa	‘grape’
bərka	‘knee’
bəṣla	‘onion’
bəsra	‘meat’
dəqna	‘beard’
gərwa	‘sock’
gəšra	‘bridge’
kəxwa	‘star’
ləxma	‘bread’
məšxa	‘butter, oil’
məṭra	‘rain’
pərma	‘thurible’
pəṣla	‘kind, type’
qəpla	‘lock’
qəṭma	‘ash’
qəṭwa	‘wooden needle’

sətwa	'winter'
šəlxa	'swarm (of bees)'
šəmša	'sun'
šərma	'buttock'
šəxta	'dirt'
xəlma	'dream'
xəlya	'milk'
xətna	'bridegroom; son-in-law'

Several words with this pattern have a geminate middle radical, e.g.

ʾəzza	'nanny-goat'
dəmma	'blood'
gədda	'string, strand'
gəppa	'cave'
ləbba	'heart'
qəṭṭa	'piece'
qənna	'nest'
šəmma	'name'
ṭəlla	'shade, shadow'
xəmma	'heat'
yəmma	'mother'

The pattern is used for various deverbal nouns. These are mainly derived from stem I verbs. They can be divided into (i) those that refer to actions and states and (ii) those that refer to concrete entities:

(i) Actions and states

bəxya	'weeping'	< *bxaya* 'to weep'
gədša	'slaughter'	< *gdaša* 'to slaughter'
jənna	'dirge'	< *jnana* 'to sing a dirge'
kəčxa	'tiredness'	< *kčaxa* 'to tire'
qəbla	'donation'	< *qbala* 'to donate'
qəṭla	'murder'	< *qṭala* 'to kill'
rəqða	'dance, dancing'	< *rqaða* 'to dance'
zəmra	'song'	< *zmara* 'to sing'

(ii) Concrete entities

bəθqa (< *bəðqa*)	'scattered (sweets)'	< *bðaqa* 'to scatter'
nəqša	'embroidery'	< *nqaša* 'to embroider'

nəxla	'sieved grain'	< *nxala* 'to sieve'
pəqxa	'blossom'	< *pqaxa* 'to blossom'
qəθra	'knot'	< *qθara* 'to knot'
šədla	'seedling'	< *šdala* 'to plant'
təpna	'mould'	< *tpana* 'to go mouldy'
zəqra	'woven product'	< *zqara* 'to weave'

A few such nouns have no corresponding stem I verb form, but are related to verbs from stems II or III, e.g.

nəxsa	'rebuke'	< *manxose* 'to rebuke'
ṣəqla	'decoration'	< *mṣaqole* 'to decorate'
šədla	'lullaby'	< *mšadole* 'to sing lullabies'
šəxda	'joy'	< *mašxode* 'to congratulate'
xəzda	'reproach'	< *mxazode* 'to reproach'

(4) *CuCCa*

ʾumqa	'depth'
ʾupra	'earth, soil'
ʾurxa	'road'
ʾurza	'man, male'
bubra	'thorny pod'
burra	'pot for preserving yoghurt'
dugla	'lie'
gujma	'bunch (of grapes)'
gulpa	'wing'
gumla	'camel'
pumma	'mouth'
purya	'light'
ṣudra	'shirt'
šupra	'beauty'
tuxma	'way'
xubba	'love'
yuqra	'weight'

(5) *CaCa*

baba	'father'
dana	'time'
dara	'generation, century'
dawa	'gold'

kaka	‘tooth’
kasa	‘stomach’
mama	‘paternal uncle’
mara	‘master’
maṛa	‘shovel’
nala	‘horse-shoe’
pala	‘workman’
paṛa	‘lamb’
qaša	‘priest’
qala	‘voice’
qana	‘horn’
sama	‘portion’
sawa	‘old man, grandfather’
šana	‘honeycomb’
šaqa	‘thigh’
taqa	‘branch’
ṭana	‘load’
ṭaxa	‘pile’
xaṣa	‘back’
xapa	‘wooden peg’
yala	‘child’
yama	‘sea, lake’
zaga	‘bell’

Some of the nouns of Aramaic stock had this as their pattern in an earlier stage of Aramaic, e.g.

dara	< **dārā*	‘generation’
qala	< **qālā*	‘voice’
sawa	< **sāḇā*	‘old man’
šaqa	< **šāqā*	‘thigh’

Many nouns, however, have acquired this pattern by the loss of a consonant. These can be classified as follows:

(i) Weakening of gemination of the second consonant

kaka	< **kakkā*	‘tooth’
maṛa	< **marra* (cf. Syr. *marrā*)	‘spade’
paṛa	< **parrā*	‘lamb’

qaša	< **qaššā* < **qašīšā*	'priest'
yama	< **yammā*	'sea'
zaga	< **zaggā*	'bell'

(ii) Loss of a medial laryngal or pharyngal

nala	< **naʾla* < **naʾlā*	'horse-shoe'
pala	< **paʾla* < **paʾlā*	'labourer'
ṭana	< **ṭaʾna* < **ṭaʿnā*	'load'
saða	< **sahðā*	'martyr'
dawa	< **dahwā*	'gold'

(iii) Loss of a medial **r*

kasa	< **karsā*	'stomach'
qana	< **qarnā*	'horn'
xaṣa	< **ḫarṣā*	'back'

(iv) Ellipsis of an initial syllable

dana	< **ʿiddānā*	'time'

(6) *CăCa*

ʾăra	'ground'
măra	'illness'
năra	'axe'
qăra	'pumpkin'
šăma	'wax'
tăra	'door'

All nouns of this pattern had at an earlier period the pattern **CaCCa* with a pharyngal **ʿ* as the third radical. In some cases the pharyngal was a development of a fricative **ḡ*. The pharyngal has been elided but the preceding vowel remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable: e.g. *ʾăra* < **ʾarʿā*, *măra* < **marʿā*, *năra* < **narḡā*. This process also operated on Arabic loanwords such as *šăma* < Arab. **šamʿ*. The consonant after the short */a/* is sometimes geminated secondarily in these words when the first syllable bears the stress, e.g. *márra* 'illness', *qárra* 'pumpkin', *tárra* 'door'.

(7) *CiCa*

ʾiða	'hand'
diga	'cock'
kima	'the Pleiades'

lina	‘pot’
nira	‘yoke’
rixa	‘smell’
šima	‘catastrophe’
ziqa	‘neck of a shirt’

(8) *CoCa*

boya	‘hole’
dona	‘animal fat’
moja	‘calf’
moxa	‘brain’
roma	‘hill’
roxa	‘spirit’
yoma	‘day’
zoma	‘summer hut’

The */o/* in *roma* ‘hill’ and *yoma* ‘day’ has developed by contraction of an original diphthong **aw* (< **rawmā*, **yawmā*; cf. §2.4.2.). Other words in this category did not have a diphthong at an earlier stage of the language, e.g. *moxa* < **muxxā*, *dona* < **duhnā*, *boya* < **boʾa* < **boga* < **burgā* (cf. C. Qaraqosh *burga* ‘hole’), or are loanwords, e.g. *moja* (Kurd. moz), *zoma* (Kurd. zom).

(9) *CɛCa*

ʾɛna	‘eye’
ʾɛwa	‘cloud’
bɛθa	‘house’
dɛna	‘debt’
lɛša	‘dough’
mɛša	‘scarlet oak’
qɛma	‘stand, stake’
qɛsa	‘wood’
qɛṭa	‘summer’
sɛpa	‘sword’
šɛna	‘peace’
xɛla	‘strength’
zɛθa	‘olive oil’

The medial */ɛ/* in this pattern derives historically from the diphthong **ay*, e.g. *bɛθa* < **bayθā* (§2.4.1).

(10) *CeCa*

ʾeða	‘festival’
beṛa	‘light’
bera	‘well’
feka	‘fruit’
geba	‘side’
gera	‘arrow’
jeba	‘pocket’
kepa	‘stone’
nera	‘river’
reša	‘head’
sela	‘griddle for making bread’
sera	‘moon’
ṣewa	‘thirst’
šeða	‘almond’
šera	‘festival (of a saint)’
tela	‘fox’
ṭema	‘taste; value’
tena	‘fig’
ṭena	‘load’
ṭera	‘noon’

Nouns of Aramaic stock with this pattern have different backgrounds. These include:

(i) Nouns that had medial **ē* in earlier Aramaic, e.g.

ʾeða	< **ʿēðā*
kepa	< **kēp̄ā*
reša	< **rēšā*

(ii) Nouns that in earlier Aramaic had the pattern *CaCCa* with a laryngal **h* or pharyngal **ʿ* as the second consonant, which has now been elided. The pharyngal **ʿ* would have shifted first to the laryngal **ʾ* before being lost. The medial **a* is likely to have been raised to */e/* while still in a syllable closed by the laryngal:

nera	< **nehra*	< **nahrā*
sera	< **sehra*	< **sahrā*
tela	< **teʾla*	< **taʾla* < **taʿlā*
ṭema	< **ṭeʾma*	< *ṭaʾma* < *ṭaʿmā*

This reconstruction is supported by the retention of the laryngal after the raised vowel in some NENA dialects with a more archaic structure, e.g. J. Amedia *teʾla* 'fox' < **taʿlā*.

It should be noted that also several words in category (i) had a medial laryngal **ʾ* at some pre-historical period and in some cases the original pattern was *CaCCa*. The forms in category (ii), therefore, are a continuation of this process:

reša	< **rešā*	< **raʾšā*

(11) *CuCa*

buma	'owl'
duna	'sheep pen'
duša	'honey'
duxa	'sacrifice'
guða	'churn'
guda	'wall'
kura	'furnace'
nura	'fire'
ruša	'shoulder'
susa	'horse'
ṣula	'manure'
šuqa	'market'
šura	'wall (fortification)'
šuša	'glass; bottle'
šuxa	'praise'
tuma	'garlic'
tuna	'straw'
tura	'stick'
ṭura	'mountain'
xuya	'darkness'

Nouns of Aramaic stock with this pattern have different backgrounds. These include:

(i) Nouns that had this pattern in earlier Aramaic, e.g.

nura	< **nūrā*
šura	< **šūrā*
tuma	< **tūmā*
ṭura	< **ṭūrā*

(ii) Nouns with an original geminated second consonant, e.g.

guda	< **guddā*

(iii) Nouns with an original **b* as second consonant, which has been contracted, e.g.

duša	< **duḇša*	< **dəḇšā* (Syr. *deḇšā*)
duxa	< **duḇḥa*	< **dəḇḥā* (Syr. *deḇḥā*)
šuxa	< **šuḇḥā* (Syr. *šuḇḥā*)	
tuna	< **tuḇna*	< **təḇnā* (Syr. *teḇnā*)
xuya	< **ḥuḇya* (Syr. *ḥuḇyā*)	

(12) *CCaCa*

byaṭa	'pickaxe'
gnaya	'fault'
klama	'wooden collar of ox'
kθawa	'book'
prasa	'cloth spread on floor'
praza	'cultivated field'
psasa	'permission'
pθana	'pair (of oxen)'
qðala	'neck'
šlama	'peace'
šwawa	'neighbour'
xmara	'ass'
xmaṭa	'needle'

The pattern *CCaCa* is also that of stem I infinitives, e.g. *pθaxa* 'to open', *zqara* 'to weave', *šmaʾa* 'to hear'.

(13) *CCiCa*

gðila	'ice'
gwina	'boundary'
jwina	'side (in a game, conflict)'
pxiša	'paste of flour and oil'
ṣliwa	'cross'
xmira	'yeast'

(14) *CCuCa*

gnuna	‘wedding band’
stuna	‘wooden post’
txuma	‘boundary’
ṭxuna	‘grist’
xlula	‘wedding’
xzura	‘pig’

(15) *CCoCa*

glola	‘circle’
troṣa	‘truth’

(16) *CCeCa*

rkewa	‘stirrup’

10.2.2. *Trisyllabic Patterns*

(1) *CaCaCa* ~ *CaCCaCa* ~ *CeCaCa*

The reflex of the pattern **CaCCāCa* in earlier Aramaic with a geminate medial consonant is usually *CaCaCa*. The vowel of the first syllable is in principle pronounced long, in accordance with the normal rules of vowel lengthening in pretonic open syllables (§2.2.1.4.), although the duration is reduced in fast speech.

The most common use of this pattern is to form nouns denoting the human performer of an activity. It usually refers to an activity that is performed habitually or one that is a permanent property or profession of the referent. Nouns with this pattern are formed productively from existing verbal roots. There appears, however, to be a certain lexical restriction on its derivation:

ʾamara	‘sayer, teller’
ʾaraqa	‘fugitive’
ʾawaða	‘doer’
baxaya	‘weeper’
dagala	‘liar’
kanaša	‘sweeper’
kaθawa	‘writer’
palaxa	‘worker’
rakawa	‘rider’
raqaða	‘dancer’

rawaya	‘drunkard’
raxaša	‘walker’
sahaða	‘witness’
ṣawaya	‘dyer’
ṭaxana	‘miller’
ṭayana	‘porter’
xaṭaya	‘sinner’
xazada	‘harvester’
zamara	‘singer’
zaqara	‘weaver’
zaraya	‘cultivator’

Occasionally the form is derived from a noun rather than a verbal root, e.g.

baqara	‘minder of cattle’ < *bəqra* ‘cattle’

In the case of a few nouns denoting professions or characteristic activities, no corresponding verbal root is in use in the dialect, but rather they are a heritage from earlier Aramaic or are loanwords:

ʾakara	‘farmer’
karaxa	‘irrigation manager’ (cf. C. Shiyuz *karxa* ‘irrigation basin’)
najara	‘carpenter’

In some isolated instances the pattern is used as the name of an animal or an insect to designate their characteristic activity, e.g.

dabaša	‘bee (honey-maker)’

This must be derived from the noun *duša* (< **dəbš*) ‘honey’, since the verbal root *dbš* denotes ‘to stick’ in the dialect. More frequently, however, names of animals or insects that denote their characteristic activity have the pattern *CaCCa* deriving from the fs. active participle in earlier Aramaic (**CāCCaṯ*), e.g. *zaqra-qode* ‘spider (weaver of traps)’, *ʾazla-kuše* ‘dragonfly (spinner of spindles)’ (§10.17.1.).

Some words preserve the gemination of the middle radical and have the form *CaCCaCa*, which in most cases is used in free variation with *CaCaCa*.

gabbara	'hero'
šammaša ~ šamaša	'deacon'
bannaya ~ banaya	'builder'
karraxa ~ karaxa	'irrigation manager'

The phonetic properties of the medial radical in these words may have facilitated the preservation. This certainly applies to */r/*, which exhibits a tendency to preserve gemination also in other patterns. In the word *gabbara* 'hero' the gemination is a fixed lexicalized feature of the word, but cf. *gebare* 'Orion'.

Gemination of the medial radical regularly occurs in this pattern in a number of loans from Arabic:

xaddama	'servant'
fassada	'corrupt person'
ḥaddada	'metalworker'

A few words of Aramaic origin derived from the pattern **CaCCaCa* have the pattern *CeCaCa* with */e/* in the first syllable. This has developed by the attenuation of the */a/* vowel in the originally closed syllable to */ə/* and its subsequent lengthening to */e/* after the gemination was weakened and the syllable was opened (*CeCaCa* < *CəCCaCa* < *CaCCaCa*). The pattern is lexically restricted and is only found in a small set of words:

genawa	'thief'
gewaya	'beggar'
geyasa	'penitent thief (at crucifixion)'
gebare	'Orion'

In some words derived from the pattern **CaCCaCa* that have a medial labial consonant the vowel in the first syllable is sometimes pronounced */u/* (*CuCaCa* < *CəCCaCa* < *CaCCaCa*):

guwaya	'beggar'
šumaša	'deacon'

The pattern *CaCaCa* is found also in a number of other nouns, which do not clearly fit the category of nouns of activity described above:

balaya	‘problem, disaster’
kawaza	‘water pot’
mašana	‘beam of a plough’
qadaša	‘goat with a dewlap’
sarada	‘sieve (with large holes)’
saxara	‘brass dish’
ṭaraša	‘bush, shrub’
xanana	‘goat with a brown face’

In some cases a variant form is heard with gemination of the middle radical. This is commonly the case with the */r/* in *ṭaraša* ~ *ṭarraša*.

(2) *CaCiCa*
Most words of this pattern are derived from an original pattern **CaC-CiCa* with a geminated medial radical. The */a/* vowel in the first syllable of *CaCiCa* is either pronounced long or is treated as if it were still in a closed syllable and is pronounced short.

nahira	‘lamp oil’
naxira	‘nose’
qadida	‘dried salted meat’
qadiša	‘saint’
qariwa	‘best man (at a wedding)’
qaṭira	‘wooden beam joining a pair of oxen’
wariða	‘vein, artery; root’
xaṣira	‘mat’

The original gemination of the middle radical is often retained in the word *qadiša* ~ *qaddiša* under the influence of the language of the church liturgy, which is based on literary Syriac. In some words the */a/* in the initial closed syllable of the original **CaCCiCa* pattern has been attenuated to */ə/* and the gemination of the following consonant preserved, as is the normal rule after the vowel */ə/* (see §3.3.1.):

gəddiša	‘pile’ (< **gaddiša*)

(3) *CaCuCa*

ʾamuṛa	‘tool’
baluṭa	‘acorn’

kanuna	'small fireplace'
nabuwa	'spring (of water)'
tanura	'oven'
yatuma	'orphan'
xabuša	'apple'

Many words of this pattern are derived from the pattern ***CaCCuCa* with gemination of the medial consonant. As in *CaCaCa* and *CaCiCa*, the vowel in the initial syllable of *CaCuCa* varies between long and short. If the word contains a medial */r/*, the original gemination is sometimes preserved:

garuwa ~ *garruwa*	'pile of twigs'

(4) *CaCoCa*
This pattern is used predominantly in nouns denoting animate agents and inanimate instruments. It overlaps semantically with the *CaCaCa* pattern, in that it designates the characteristic activity of the referent. In many cases there is a corresponding verbal root, from which the noun has been derived. In some cases, however, no corresponding verb is in existence in the present state of the dialect, e.g.

ʾaxola	'(big) eater'	< *ʾxl* 'to eat'
badoda	'poker (for fire)'	< *m-bdd* II 'to poke'
baxoya	'weeper'	< *bxy* 'to weep'
čadoda	'inviter'	cf. *čyd* 'to invite'
kapora	'infidel'	
kaθowa	'writer'	< *kθw* 'to write'
layosa	'jaw'	< *lys* 'to chew'
mayoya	'handle of churn'	< *myʾ* 'to churn'
naqoša	'bell'	
naṭora	'guard'	< *nṭr* 'to guard'
paṭoša	'patch'	
qaroya	'reader'	< *qry* 'to read'
qaṭola	'murder'	< *qṭl* 'to kill'
raxoša	'crutch'	< *rxš* 'to walk'
ṣawoya	'painter'	< *ṣwʾ* 'to paint'
ṭapoya	'kindling (for fire)'	< *ṭpy* 'to catch (fire)'
xayoṭa	'sewing machine'	< *xyṭ* 'to sew'
zaloma	'tyrant'	< *zlm* 'to act unjustly'

This pattern is also found in a number of nouns that do not express agents or instruments, e.g.

ʾamoma	'scarecrow'
ʾalola	'alley'
baroqa	'shooting pain'
barora	'roll (of fabric)'
dalopa	'drip (leaking from roof)'
nagoza	'bite'
paṭoxa	'flat piece of animal excrement used as fuel'
rawola	'valley'
saxora	'sty in the eye'
šaqola	'shin'

(5) *CaCeCa*

gameša	'buffalo'

(6) *CəCCoCa*

dəbbora	'hornet'
pəddoma	'cloth stopper of a vessel'
qəllora	'bread made of maize flour'
šəppola	'edge of clothing'
xərroza	'string of dried fruit'
zəqqora	'woven cloth'

The gemination of the medial radical is sometimes weakened: *dəbora*, *xəroza*, etc. Since this is not regular, the transcription with gemination has been normalized.

If the middle radical is /*y*/, this pattern has the form *CiyoCa*:

kiyola	'measure, quantity'
diyopa	'pleat'
xiyoṭa	'sewing, sewn product'

(7) *CəCCiCa*

gəddiša	'pile'

This word is derived from an original pattern **gaddiša* (see §10.2.2. pattern 2 above). The gemination is sometimes weakened: *gədiša*.

(8) *CiCaCa*

ʾilana	'tree'
ʾiqara	'honour'
ʾisara	'large rock'
ʾixala	'food'
kiwara	'thorny herb'
lišana	'tongue'

The majority of words with this pattern have initial */ʾ/*. The noun *lišana* is derived historically from the pattern *CəCCaCa* with a geminated medial radical (cf. Syr. *leššānā*). The long */i/* vowel developed after the gemination was weakened. The fact that it developed into */i/* rather than */e/* (cf. *gezara* < **gəzzārā*, Syr. *gezzārā*) is likely to be due to the raising of the vowel in the environment of the sibilant */š/* (cf. §2.3.2.)

(6) *CəCCaCa*

The original gemination in the middle radical of this pattern is generally preserved and so is represented in the transcription:

ləxxawa	'bit/bridle of horse'
məššara	'section of a paddy field'
qəṭṭana	'lace (for tying clothes)'
šəbbaqa	'belt'
səmmala	'small bundle of grass'

The gemination is, however, often weakened in fast speech: *ləxawa*, *məšara*, etc.

(9) *CeCaCa*

This is derived from the pattern *CəCCaCa*. The gemination has been weakened and the */ə/* lengthened to */e/*:

gezara	'carrot'

Note also nouns such as *genawa* 'thief', *gewaya* 'beggar', which are reflexes of an original **CaCCaCa* pattern (see §10.2.2. pattern 1).

(10) *CəCCeCa*

xəllepa	'beehive'
šəllela	'waterfall'
xəzzema	'nose-ring'

(11) *CuCaCa*
Some words with this pattern are deverbal nouns expressing an activity, e.g.

buqara	'question'
buraxa	'blessing, wedding ceremony'
bušala	'stew'
busama	'enjoyment'
judala	'argument'
nuhara	'explanation, clarification'
šubaða	'slavery'
xulaṣa	'end; summary'
xumala	'festivity'

This pattern is found also in various nouns referring to concrete entities, some of which are loanwords:

dulaba	'wheel of water-mill'
duwana	'paste put in cakes'
huðala	'store of grass'
juwala	'sack'
kuraxa	'shroud'
kutana	'shirt'
nuwala	'water channel'
qulaya	'clod (of earth)'
xulama	'servant'

Note also *xusɛra* 'dew' in which */a/* is raised to */ɛ/* in the environment of */r/* (§2.5.3.)

(12) *CuCiCa*

dudiya	'cradle'
gugiya	'tassel'
sulina	'section of a pipe'

10.2.3. *Patterns Containing Four Consonants*

(1) *CVCCVCa*

(i) Forms with reduplication of two consonants

čakčaka	'grain dispenser in water mill'

zəmzŭma	'waterfall'
bazbuza	'small bird'
šamšuma	'large waterfall'

The word *didwa*, with an originally long */i/* in the first syllable (cf. BJA *dīḏḇā*), could be included here, since it appears to derive historically from a reduplicated form **dəbdəb*.

(ii) Other patterns

bambula	'spout'
narduma	'muzzle of a sheep'
naqruza	'beak (of bird)'
parṣupa	'physiognomy, personality'
bəzmara	'nail'
qərṭala	'pannier basket on pack-animal'
šərwala	'trousers'
pərṭana	'flea'
pərṭena	'flea'
šəryoxa	'shoe-lace'
bəṣliṣa	'ray of light'

(2) *CVCVCCa*

ʾaqubra	'mouse'
ʾaqərwa	'scorpion'
ʾurədxa	'large needle'
kawədna	'mule'
səxurra	'water-rat'

In the following words the second vowel has the status of an epenthetic and is generally not stressed. The stress, therefore, falls on the first syllable:

gárəbya	'North'
táyəmna	'South'

(3) CCVCCa

prəzla	'iron'
ṭlawxa	'lentil'

(4) CCVCVCa

qraqipa	'turtle'

10.2.4. *Forms Containing Five or More Consonants*

quraṣina	‘nettle’
gəngəryasa	‘lime tree’
šalgəmma	‘turnip, swede’

10.3. Nouns with -*ta* Inflection

10.3.1. *Bisyllabic Patterns*

(1) *CaCta*

ʾamta	‘paternal aunt’
darta	‘courtyard’
marta	‘mistress, lady’
naqta	‘young female goat’
parta	‘residue in sieve’
sawta	‘old woman’
ṭamta	‘breakfast’
xalta	‘maternal aunt’
yalta	‘girl’

(2) *CiCta*

ʾipta	‘leather strap connecting yoke to the plough’
kista	‘bag’
linta	‘small pot’
pista	‘bag for jajik’
riqta	‘spit’

(3) *CuCta*

gupta	‘cheese’
gusta	‘ball of dough’
gutta	‘ball’
qumta	‘stature, height (of a man)’
rušta	‘small spade’
susta	‘mare’
ṭunta	‘fruit of a tree’

(4) *CoCta*

qoqta	‘small pot’
romta	‘hill’

(5) *Cita*

čiṭa	‘butter made from curds’
niṭa	‘all night wedding party’

(6) *Ceta*

ʾeta	‘church’
beta	‘egg’
šeta	‘year’

The */e/* vowel in the word *šeta* has developed from an attenuated form of an original **a* vowel (< **šətta* or **šəʾta* < **šatta*); cf. §2.5.2.

(7) *Cota*

gota	‘side’
lota	‘cheek’

(8) *CCata*

brata	‘daughter’

(9) *CCita*

mðita	‘town’

(10) *CCota*

šwota	‘neighbour (f.)’

(11) *CCuta*

zruta	‘cultivation’

(12) *CCaCta*

šwalta	‘edible herb’
xmarta	‘she ass’

The most common use of this pattern is for stem I verbal nouns, e.g. *dyapta* ‘a fold’ < *dyapa* ‘to fold’ (§10.5.2.2.).

(11) *CCiCta*

kništa	'synagogue'
qðilta	'key'
skinta	'knife'
šxinta	'sanctuary, altar'

10.3.2. *Trisyllabic Patterns*

(1) *CaCaCta*

This pattern is used productively to refer to women by denoting their characteristic or professional activity. It corresponds to the masculine patterns *CaCaCa* and *CaCoCa*. The feminine pattern *CaCoCta* is rarely used for nouns with human referents but is largely restricted to nouns denoting instruments, e.g.

ʾaraqta	'fugitive (f.)'
ʾaxalta	'big eater (f.)'
kaθawta	'writer (f.)'
palaxta	'worker (f.)'
xadamta	'servant girl'
zaqarta	'weaver (f.)'

It is occasionally used elsewhere in words with inanimate referents:

mararta	'gall bladder'
napaxta	'measure for corn put in a water-mill'
nasarta	'saw'
qaraṣta	'crowbar'
šaharta	'vigil'
xalaqta	'earring'

The original gemination of the second radical is occasionally retained, especially when this is */r/*, e.g. *qarraṣta* ~ *qaraṣta* 'crowbar'.

(2) *CeCaCta*

genawta	'thief (f.)'
semalta	'ladder'

The historical pattern of both of these words had an originally geminated medial radical and the */e/* developed by the lengthening of an */ə/* vowel: *genawta* < *gənnawta* < *gannawta*, *semalta* < *səmmalta* (cf. Syr. *sebbelṯā*).

(3) *CuCaCta*

quṣarta	'cooking pot'
gumarta	'piece of glowing charcoal'
ṣuwarta	'wide mountain pass'

(4) *CaCəCta*

ʾarəxta	'female guest'
ʾaṣərta	'late afternoon, evening'
basəsta	'crushed wheat'
jawətta	'chopping tool'
jaxəšta	'young f. mule'
načəpta	'drop'
šadəsta	'family party before wedding'
tarəqta	'button'
tawərta	'cow'
yaləxta	'scarf'

(5) *CaCiCta*

gaðilta	'plaited strap'
yabišta	'raisin'

(6) *CaCuCta*

parušta	'smooth pebble'
šabuqta	'wooden strip, shuttle'
tanurta	'oven'

Words of this pattern are derived historically from the pattern **CaCCuCta* with a geminated medial consonant (cf. Syr. **šabbuqtā*, **tannurtā*). The gemination is sometimes retained in the medial */r/* of *parušta* and the word is pronounced *parrušta*.

(7) *CaCoCta*

Most nouns with this pattern are instruments. Feminine equivalents of masculine nouns of the pattern *CaCoCa* referring to humans are generally expressed by the suppletive pattern *CaCaCta*, e.g. *ʾaxola* 'big eater (m.)' : *ʾaxalta* 'big eater (f.)'.

ʾaqolta	‘rope tightener’
baxošta	‘large spoon, ladle’
garomta	‘stone rolling pin’
garosta	‘handmill’
kanošta	‘brush’
naðorta	‘pipe’
paṭorta	‘mushroom’
xaṭorta	‘washing board’

The */o/* vowel is often raised to */u/* or even centralized to */ə/*, e.g. *kanošta* ~ *kanušta* ~ *kanəšta*. The */o/* has been normalized in the transcription.

(8) *CəCCəCta*

gərrəsta	‘dandruff’
nəṭṭəpta	‘drop’
xəppərta	‘mud pit’
xəzzəmta	‘nose-ring’

(9) *CəCCoCta*

bəllorta	‘pipe (on cradle)’
čəlloxta	‘scrap of bread’
sənnorta	‘shoot (of corn)’
šəlloxta	‘shed skin of snake’

(10) *CeCoCta*

nepoxta	‘date syrup’

This is likely to have developed historically from **nəppoxta*, with lengthening of the */ə/* after the weakening of the gemination of the medial radical.

(11) *CəCCuCta*

məssukta	‘craw, gizzard (of a bird)’
dəbburta	‘horsefly’
šəxxurta	‘piece of (cold) charcoal’
qərrušta	‘crust (of yoghurt)’
qəθθurta	‘knapsack’

The gemination of the medial radical is sometimes weakened and the initial syllable reduced, e.g. *qərrušta* ~ *qrušta* ‘crust’.

(12) *CəCCəCta ~ CCəCta*

šəbbəlta	'head of corn'
šəddəlta	'lullaby'
xəmmərta	'bead'

The gemination of the medial radical is sometimes weakened and the initial syllable reduced, e.g. *xəmmərta ~ xmərta* 'bead'.

(13) *CəCCiCta*

xəzzinta	'storage pot, treasure chest'
gəddišta	'stook (of corn or rice)'

The gemination of the medial radical is sometimes weakened and the initial syllable reduced, e.g. *gəddišta ~ gdišta* 'stook'. In the word *xəzzinta* (< Arabic *xăzina*) the gemination has been geminated secondarily after the central vowel */ə/* (*xəzzinta < xəzinta < xăzina*).

(14) *CaCeta*

ʾareta	'water weed'
gareta	'shaving knife'
jareta	'food bag'
zareta	'cultivator (f.)'

Most words of this pattern originally had a geminated medial radical. This is often retained in the */r/* of *jareta* and the word is pronounced *jarreta*.

(15) *CaCuta*

garuta	'stack of twigs (against a tree)'
pasuta	'pace'
qaruta	'bridesmaid'

These are derived historically from a pattern *CaCCuta* with a geminated medial radical and a short */a/* vowel in the first syllable. The gemination is often retained in the */r/* of *garuta* and the word is pronounced *garruta*.

(16) *CəCCeta*

xəlleta	'gift'

(17) *CəCCota*

qəmmota	'husks of wheat remaining in a sieve'

(18) *CaCota*

balota	'throat, hole in millstone'
paqota	'dish of wheat dumplings'
qaṭota	'dam in a channel'

(19) *CoCiCta*

ṣoṣinta	'azerole tree'
qodišta	'small bunch of grapes'

10.3.3. *Patterns Containing Four Consonants*

(i) Forms with reduplication of two consonants

gərgərta	'wheel'
qulqulta	'component of door lock'

The word *šišəlta* 'chain, boundary wall' could be included here, since it derives historically from a reduplicated form **šəlšəltā*.

(ii) Other forms

mandorta	'instrument for flattening roof'
xarbuqta	'knot'
kurtəxta	'lower back'
quršəlta	'elbow'
šənduxta	'smooth stone used for polishing'
bərmalta	'outer jacket'
paṛmɛθa	'knowledge, wisdom'

10.4. Nouns with -*θA* Inflection

10.4.1. *Bisyllabic Forms*

(1) *CaCθa*

ʾarθa	'rival wife'
danθa	'water jar'
dapθa	'strip of wood'
kalθa	'daughter-in-law'
paṛθa	'lamb'

qarθa	‘cold’
šabθa	‘week’
šarθa	‘navel’
xamθa	‘young woman’

(2) *CəCθa*

gənθa	‘garden’
məlθa	‘twine made of gut’
qənθa	‘walnut kernal’
səkθa	‘peg’
səpθa	‘lip’
šənθa	‘sleep’
təkθa	‘trouser-cord’

(3) *CuCθa*

dukθa	‘place’
xumθa	‘anger’

(4) *Caθa*

naθa	‘ear’
paθa	‘face’
šaθa	‘fever’

(5) *Ceθa*

deθa	‘sweat; chewing-gum’

(6) *CCaCθa*

xwarθa	‘friend’ (f.)

(7) *CCəCθa*

nxəpθa	‘shame’
ṣləmθa	‘form’

(8) *CCuCθa*

squpθa	‘lintel’

(9) *CCaθa*

xmaθa	‘mother-in-law’

(10) *CCɛθa*

gnɛθa	'setting (of the sun)'
kθɛθa	'chicken'
rmɛθa	'udder'
štɛθa	'drink'

(11) *CCiθa*

kliθa	'kidney'
pqiθa	'blister'
šliθa	'membrane of newborn calf'
šwiθa	'bed'
xṭiθa	'sin'

10.4.2. *Trisyllabic Patterns*

(1) *CaCəCθa*

kaləbθa	'bitch'
maləkθa	'queen'
qaləpθa	'peel'
qayəmθa	'monument'
taləmθa	'small water-jar'
ṭarəpθa	'leaf'
xadəmθa	'servant girl'

(2) *CuCəCθa*

xurəgθa	'step-daughter'

(3) *CiCaCθa*

ʾiðamθa	'wife of husband's brother'

(4) *CiCəCθa*

ʾisəqθa	'ring'

(5) *CəCCəCθa*

šəbbərθa	'bracelet'
ṣəppərθa	'sparrow'
dəqqənθa	'chin'
məttəlθa	'tale, maxim'

The gemination of the medial consonant is sometimes weakened in pronunciation, e.g. *šəbbərθa* ~ *šəbərθa*. In some words of this pattern the gemination has developed secondarily after an */ə/* in an open syllable, e.g. *dəqqənθa* < **dəqnəθā* 'chin'.

(6) *CaCɛθa*

ʾapɛθa	'cloth cover for bread'
baxɛθa	'weeper (f.)'
kasɛθa	'lid, cover'
qalɛθa	'cell'
qarɛθa	'reader (f.)'
šatɛθa	'big drinker (f.)'
xaṭɛθa	'sinner (f.)'
yapɛθa	'baker-woman'

This pattern is equivalent to the pattern *CaCaCta* (§10.3.2. pattern 1) in nouns with a strong final radical.

(7) *CəCCɛθa*

kəssɛθa	'lid, cover'

This is a variant of the pattern *CaCɛθa* (< **CaCCɛθa*) in which the original gemination has been retained.

(8) *CaCeθa*

qareθa	'gourd'

(9) *CaCiθa*

ʾariθa	'lionness'
ʾašiθa	'avalanche'
daliθa	'vine'
dariθa	'beam'
šaqiθa	'irrigation channel'
rapiθa	'instrument for flattening ground'
taniθa	'line (for hanging things)'
zawiθa	'corner'

(10) *CaCoθa*

maṣoθa	'rennet'

(11) *CaCuθa*

ʾaθuθa	‘letter’
maɣuθa	‘crown (of the head)’
šaruθa	‘breakfast’
xanuθa	‘loom for weaving’

(12) *CuCiθa*

tuniθa	‘story’

The medial radical of this word is sometimes pronounced geminated: *tunniθa*.

(13) *CoCiθa*

kosiθa	‘hat’
ṣoṣiθa	‘plait’
ṣopiθa	‘outhouse’

(14) *CeCiθa*

ʾeliθa	‘fat tail of sheep’

(15) *CCVCiθa*

snoniθa	‘swallow’

10.4.3. *Patterns Containing Four Consonants in the Root*

The only noun in this category that has been identified is the following:

qarqupθa	‘skull’

10.5. Remarks on the Feminine Endings *-TA* and *-θA*

10.5.1. *The Distribution of* -ta *and* -θa

In principle the feminine ending *-ta* with the stop */t/* is attached to bases ending in a consonant and the ending *-θa* with the fricative */θ/* to bases ending in a vowel. This is a reflex of the stop and fricative allophones of **t* in earlier Aramaic. Subsequent developments in the phonology of the language, however, have sometimes resulted in a number of deviations from this principle, whereby *-ta* occurs after vowels and *-θa* after consonants.

In most of these cases, nevertheless, the *-ta* ending occurs in words that ended in a consonant at some earlier historical period and, likewise, *-θa* occurs where at some earlier historical period it was preceded by a vowel. Since the consonants */t/* and */θ/* became phonemicized in the dialect and ceased to be allophones conditioned by context, they became fossilized in the feminine endings of words irrespective of subsequent phonological development. Indeed minimal pairs can be identified that are disinguished only by the form of the feminine ending, e.g.

marθa	'mistress'	*marta*	'saying'

10.5.1.1. *The Ending* -ta *after a Vowel*
Cases of *-ta* occurring after vowels fall into the following categories:

(a) Where the */t/* of the ending was originally geminated, usually on account of having assimilated a preceding consonant (see §1.4.1.3.), e.g.

šeta	'year'	< **šattā*
brata	'daughter'	< **brattā*
mðita	'town'	< **mðīttā*

(b) Where the root of the noun originally ended in the pharyngal consonant **ʿ*, which was weakened to the laryngal **ʾ* and has now been completely elided (see §1.4.1.3.), e.g.

balota	'throat'	< **bālōʿtā*
beta	'egg'	< **bəʿtā*
čʹita	'yoghurt cream'	< **šʿʿīʿtā* (**šʿʿ* 'to smooth')
garuta	'stack of twigs'	< **garrūʿtā*
þasuta	'pace'	< **þassūʿtā*
qaṭota	'dam in channel'	< **qāṭōʿtā*
zruta	'cultivation'	< **zrūʿtā*

(c) Where the stop */t/* was originally preceded by the consonant **b̲*, which has subsequently become contracted (see §1.4.1.3.), e.g.

gota	'side'	< **gab̲tā*
šwota	'neighbour (f.)'	< **šb̲āb̲tā*
ruta	'Friday'	< **ʿarub̲tā*

The form *kxuθa* 'a star' (cf. Syr. *kawkaḇtā*) is an apparent exception. It can be explained as being the result of a secondary morphological development based on the plural form *kəxwe* 'stars', which took place after the shift of **ḇ* > *w* had occurred.

10.5.1.2. *The Ending* -θa *after a Consonant*
Most cases of *-θa* that occur after a consonant can be explained as having originally followed an epenthetic vowel that has now been lost. The occurrences may be classified as follows:

(a) The preceding consonant was originally geminated but subsequently the gemination was weakened and the epenthetic vowel following it was elided, e.g.

dukθa	'place'	< **dukkəθā*
paṛθa	'lamb'	< **parrəθā*
kalθa	'daughter-in-law'	< **kalləθā*
qənθa	'walnut kernel'	< **qənnəθā*
səkθa	'peg'	< **səkkəθā*
šabθa	'week'	< **šabbəθā*

In slow deliberate speech the consonant is indeed sometimes still pronounced geminate, e.g. *səkkθa* 'peg'.

(b) An epenthetic originally preceded the feminine ending but was subsequently moved before the preceding consonant by a process of resyllabification, e.g.

kaləbθa	'bitch'	< **kalbəθā*
maləkθa	'queen'	< **malkəθa*
dəqqənθa	'chin'	< **dəqnəθā*
nxəpθa	'shame'	< **naxpəθā*
ṣləmθa	'form'	< **ṣalməθā*
squpθa	'lintel'	< **suqpəθā*
xwarθa	'friend (f.)'	< **ḥaḇrəθā*

This process did not regularly take place. Contrast the forms listed above with forms such as *tawərta* 'cow' (< **tawr* + *tā*), which exhibits similar resyllabification.

10.5.2. *Function of the Feminine Marker Suffixes* -ta *and* -θa

When a corresponding masculine form of a word exists, the addition of the feminine endings *-ta* or *-θa* serves various functions.

10.5.2.1. *Marking Female Gender*
In the case of animate referents, it may designate the female counterpart of the masculine form, e.g.

ʾaraqa 'fugitive (m.)'	*ʾaraqta* 'fugitive (f.)'
ʾəðma 'brother of husband'	*ʾiðamθa* 'sister of husband'
barəxmaya 'brother of wife'	*barəxmɛθa* 'sister of wife'
čuka 'chick (m.)'	*čukta* 'chick (f.)'
gameša 'buffalo (m.)'	*gaməšta* 'buffalo (f.)'
kaθawa 'writer (m.)'	*kaθawta* 'writer (f.)'
mara 'master'	*marθa* 'mistress'
nawaga 'grandson'	*nawagta* 'granddaughter'
tawra 'ox'	*tawərta* 'cow'
xaṭaya 'sinner (m.)'	*xaṭɛθa* 'sinner (f.)'
zaqara 'weaver (m.)'	*zaqarta* 'weaver (f.)'

This distinction based on biological gender has been extended by analogy to the inanimate objects *xašola* 'pestle' and *xašolta* 'mortar'.

10.5.2.2. *Expressing Singularity and Specificity*
In some cases, the feminine ending expresses singularity and specificity. The addition of the feminine ending to the infinitive form of a verb, for example, forms the verbal noun, which expresses a single event or specific performance of the activity referred to by the verb, or some entity or quality that results from the performance of the action. The infinitive without the feminine ending, on the other hand, expresses the abstraction of the activity. It should be noted that even when the infinitive does not have the feminine morphological ending, it is still often construed as feminine in gender, e.g.

dyapa 'to fold'	*dyapta* 'a fold'
fṭara 'to breakfast'	*fṭarta* 'breakfast'
gnaya 'to set (sun)'	*gnɛθa (t-yoma)* 'sunset'
jmaʾa 'to gather'	*jmeta* 'a gathering (of people)'
mara 'to say'	*marta* 'a saying'

mṣaya 'to be able'	*mṣɛθa* 'ability'
praqa 'to finish'	*praqta* 'the end'
saqa 'to ascend'	*saqta* 'ascent'
syama 'to ordain'	*syamta* 'ordination'
šya'a 'to plaster'	*šyɛθa* 'plastering'
tawa 'to sit'	*tawta* 'a sitting, social gathering'
xala 'to eat'	*xalta* 'food'
xlawa 'to milk'	*xlawta* 'milking'
xšawa 'to think'	*xšawta* 'a thought'
zraqa 'to rise (sun)'	*zraqta (t-yoma)* 'sunrise'
zraya 'to cultivate'	*zrata* 'cultivating'

When the feminine ending is added to infinitives from stem II, stem III and quadriliteral verbs, the */o/* in the vocalic pattern is replaced by */a/*, e.g.

mkapoše 'to gather'	*mkapašta* 'gathering'
majwoje 'to move'	*majwajta* 'a movement'
mčakčoke 'to clatter'	*mčakčakta* 'clattering'

The shape of stem II and quadriliteral feminine infinitives is often changed by the elision of the initial */m/*, e.g.

paxalta 'forgiveness'	< *mpaxalta*
paṛmɛθa 'wisdom'	< *mpaṛmɛθa*
hayarta 'help'	< *mhayarta*

Another function of the feminine ending that falls in this category is its use to express a single item of an entity that is usually referred to as a collectivity in the plural, e.g.

bəṭme 'terebinth nuts'	*bəṭəmθa* 'a terebinth nut'
čaroxe 'leather shoes'	*čaroxta* 'a shoe'
čəkkalle 'slippers'	*čəkkalta* 'a slipper'
čəlloxe 'scraps of bread'	*čəlloxta* 'a scrap of bread'
čučəkke 'sparrows'	*čučəkθa* 'a sparrow'
dəndəkke 'grains'	*dəndəkθa* 'a grain'
gazgoze 'goose pimples'	*gazgozta* 'a goose pimple'
gəndore 'melons'	*gəndorta* 'a melon'
harmone 'pomegranates'	*harmonta* 'pomegranate'

kəxwe 'stars'	*kxuθa* 'a star'
kursəlle 'animal dung'	*kursəlta* 'a piece of dung'
lastike 'rubber shoes'	*lastikta* 'a rubber shoe'
marquze 'type of flowers'	*marqusta* 'one such flower'
məzze 'hair'	*məsta* 'a hair'
nune 'fish'	*nunta* 'a fish'
pampule 'large shoes'	*pampulta* 'a large shoe'
pəškəlle 'sheep droppings'	*pəškəlta* 'a single dropping'
pilawe 'shoes'	*pilawta* 'shoe'
qənne 'walnut kernels'	*qənθa* 'a walnut kernel'
qundăre 'leather shoes'	*qundarta* 'a leather shoe'
šalgəmme 'turnips'	*šalgəmta* 'a turnip'
šarniye 'sweets'	*šarnita* 'a sweet'
ṣawle 'shoes'	*ṣawəlta* 'a shoe'
šəkwane 'ants'	*šəkwanta* 'an ant'
ṣəmmame 'hooves'	*ṣəmθa* 'hoof'
šəxxore 'charcoals'	*šəxxorta* 'a piece of charcoal'
ṭarpe 'leaves'	*ṭarəpθa* 'leaf'
ṭəlme 'large flat breads'	*ṭləmθa* 'one bread'
tene 'figs'	*tenta* 'a fig'
ṭəppe 'drops'	*ṭəpθa* 'a drop'
tuθe 'mulberries'	*tuθta* 'a mulberry'
xartmane 'chickpeas'	*xartmanta* 'a chickpea'
xəlxale 'bangles'	*xəlxalta* 'a bangle'
xəmre 'beads'	*xəmmərta* 'a bead'
yabiše 'raisins'	*yăbišta* 'a raisin'
yaṣile 'corners'	*yaṣilta* 'corner'
zargule 'sheep skin boots'	*zargulta* 'a boot'
zəvre 'spins'	*zvərta* 'a spin'

In some cases a second plural exists that is derived from the feminine singular, e.g.

ṭarpe 'leaves'	*ṭarəpθa* 'a leaf'	*ṭarəpyaθa/ṭarpaθa* 'leaves'
tuθe 'mulberries'	*tuθta* 'a mulberry'	*tuθyaθa* 'mulberries'
dəndəkke 'seeds'	*dəndəkθa* 'a seed'	*dəndəkyaθa* 'seeds'
jənne 'dirges'	*jnənta* 'a dirge'	*jnənyaθa* 'dirges'

If a masculine singular exists of words of this type, this generally has a slightly different meaning. In the case of fruits, for example, the mas-

culine singular form sometimes denotes the tree that bears the fruit in question:

bəṭma 'terebinth tree'	*bṭəmθa* 'terebinth nut'
tuθa 'mulberry tree'	*tuθta* 'mulberry'

Tree names, however, are sometimes feminine, e.g. *harmonta* 'pomegranate tree/fruit', *xabušta* 'apple tree' (*xabuša* 'apple').

Sometimes the meaning of the masculine singular and feminine singular form of the noun is the same, e.g.

banjane 'tomatoes'	*banjanta* 'a tomato'	*banjana* 'a tomato'
kəxwe 'stars'	*kxuθa* 'a star'	*kəxwa* 'a star'
šəkwane 'ants'	*šəkwanta* 'an ant'	*šəkwana* 'an ant'
ṭəppe 'drops'	*ṭəpθa* 'a drop'	*ṭəppa* 'a drop'

In the case of *ṭarpe* 'leaves', the masculine singular expresses a collectivity, like the plural:

ṭarpa 'leaves'	*ṭarpe* 'leaves'	*ṭarəpθa* 'a leaf'

10.5.2.3. *Expressing a Diminutive*

The addition of the feminine ending sometimes denotes the diminutive of the corresponding masculine form, e.g.

ʾilana 'tree'	*ʾilanta* 'small tree'
ʾisara 'rock'	*ʾisarta* 'gravel'
bola 'head of millet'	*bulta* 'small head of millet'
čakala 'pruning hook'	*čakalta* 'small pruning hook'
čakuč 'hammer'	*čukučta* 'small hammer'
dalopa 'drip'	*dalupta* 'small drip'
dapa 'plank'	*dapθa* 'small board'
dəbbora 'hornet'	*dəbburta* 'horsefly'
dəprana 'juniper tree'	*dəpranta* 'small juniper tree'
dəqna 'beard'	*dəqqənθa* 'chin'
došăka 'mattress'	*došəkθa* 'cushion'
garoma 'stone rolling pin'	*garomta* 'small stone rolling pin'
garuwa 'pile of twigs'	*garuta* 'small pile against a tree'
gəddiša 'pile of wood'	*gəddišta* 'stook (of corn or rice)'
gəzra 'pile (of stones)'	*gzərta* 'small pile'

juwala 'sack'	*juwəlta* 'small sack'
kaka 'tooth'	*kakta* 'small tooth of a comb'
kanoša 'broom'	*kanošta* 'small broom, brush'
kisa 'large bag'	*kista* 'small bag'
lawora 'valley'	*lawurta* 'small valley'
lina 'pot'	*linta* 'small pot'
marəgla 'pan'	*margəlta* 'small pan'
masərqa 'large carding comb'	*masrəqθa* 'comb for hair'
nuwa 'edible herb'	*nuta* 'small form of *nuwa*'
parša 'large flat stone'	*parəšta* 'small flat stone'
qaṣxane 'pan'	*qaṣxanta* 'small pan'
qərṭala 'pannier'	*qərṭalta* 'small pannier'
qoqa 'water pot'	*qoqta* 'small water pot'
qraqipa 'turtle'	*qraqəpta* 'small turtle'
roma 'hill'	*romta* 'small hill'
saṭana 'devil'	*saṭanta* 'demon, evil spirit'
šəndoxa 'smooth stone'	*šənduxta* 'small smooth stone'
stuna 'post'	*stunta* 'small post'
talma 'water-jar'	*taləmθa* 'small water-jar'
tanura 'oven'	*tanurta* 'small oven'
ṭapaya 'slope (of a mountain)'	*ṭapɛθa* 'small slope (of a hill)'
taqa 'branch'	*taqta* 'twig'
tăra 'door'	*tăreθa* 'small door'
xawla 'rope'	*xawəlta* 'small piece of rope'
yama 'sea'	*yamθa* 'lake'

In some cases where a masculine and feminine form of a noun exist, the referent of the feminine form is a figurative or virtual form of the entity denoted by the masculine noun. The feminine form is not necessarily physically smaller than that of the corresponding masculine form, but is nevertheless a derivative, secondary form. This applies to the following pairs of forms:

năra 'axe'	*năreθa* 'piece in shape of an axe at the end of the rotating shaft that fits into the upper millstone'
masərqa 'comb'	*masrəqθa* 'comb for filtering the water passing through a pipe leading to a water-mill'
ruša 'shoulder'	*rušta* 'spade with a head resembling a shoulder blade'
ʾɛna 'eye'	*ʾɛnta* 'hole at the bottom of an oven for the intake of air'

ʾăra 'ground'	*ʾăreta* 'layer of stagnant algae on the surface of water'
salla 'basket'	*salθa* 'large basket used to catch fish in a river'
qăra 'gourd'	*qăreθa* 'vessel made from a gourd'

In a few cases there appears to be no difference in meaning between pairs of masculine and feminine nouns, e.g.

ʾalola 'alley'	*ʾalulta* 'alley'
rawola 'small valley'	*rawulta* 'small valley'

10.5.2.4. *Expressing a Whole Inclusive of Parts*
There is a small set of items in which the feminine form expresses a whole of which the corresponding masculine form is a part, e.g.

daliθa 'vine'	*dalya* 'tendril of vine'
sulta 'dunghill'	*sula* 'dung'

Perhaps in this category belongs the pair:

dabašta 'beehive'	*dabaša* 'bee'

10.6. Nouns with *-o* Inflection

A number of nouns of feminine gender have the ending *-o*. This is sometimes pronounced higher in the region of */u/*. For the sake of orthographic consistency, however, it is here regularly transcribed *-o*. Nouns with this ending generally refer to inanimate entities or small animals. They are attested in the following patterns:

(1) *CaCCo*

ʾatko f.	'stomach lining of ruminant'
garšo f.	'tool used to stir up mud in paddy fields'
naqro f.	'woodpecker'
patlo f.	'(hot) whirlwind (of sand)'
qapyo f.	'blockage in water channel'
šalqo f.	'measles'
xapro f.	'trowel'

Several nouns of this pattern are derived historically from active participles with the base **CāCC-*, e.g. *naqro* 'woodpecker' ('borer' < *nqr* 'to bore'), *patlo* 'whirlwind' ('twister' < *pθl* 'to twist'), *qaṗyo* 'blockage' ('catcher' < *qṗy* 'to catch'), *šalqo* 'measles' ('boiler' < *šlq* 'to boil'), *xapro* 'trowel' ('digger' < *xpr* 'to dig'). It should be noted that the base pattern is not *CaCaC-* (< **CaCCāC-*), which is the productive pattern for forming nouns denoting human performers of habitual activities, e.g. *zaqara* 'weaver', *kaθawa* 'writer'.

(2) *CəCCo*

gəbbo f.	'foam, froth'
gərðo f.	'dish consisting of yoghurt and cracked wheat'
qəppo f.	'foam, froth'
sərmo f.	'herb put in *jajik* and cheese'
xəppo f.	'bridal veil'

(3) *CaCo*

garo f.	'rat'
kʸalo f.	'bride'
majo f.	'trough for kneading dried yoghurt'

(4) *CăCo*

bălo f.	'whirlpool'

Nouns with this pattern are derived historically from the active participle base **CāCC-* of verbs from roots with a final pharyngal **ʿ*: *bălo* < **balʿo* 'to swallow'. The pharygnal has been dropped but the first vowel remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable.

(5) *CoCCo*

This occurs only in the word *solho* f. 'peace, reconciliation', which is a loan from Arabic.

The historical origin of the ending *-o* is likely to be the diminutive ending **-ōn* in the absolute state. The final **n* has been elided, as is regularly the case in absolute state endings that survive elsewhere in the dialect, e.g. in the 3pl. present base of the verb (*qaṭli* < **qāṭlīn*) and in numerals (*ʾəsri* 'twenty' < *ʿəsrīn*).

The diminutive sense of the ending is still evident in most of the nouns listed above. Historically, however, the ending **-ōn* (absolute state of **-ōnā*) is a masculine rather than a feminine form. It has apparently acquired

feminine gender by a semantic association between feminine gender and diminutives, which is reflected elsewhere in the dialect (§10.5.2.3.). It should be noted, however, that in some NENA dialects this ending is developing into a general feminine inflection. This is the case, for example, in C. Alqosh, where the feminine active participle regularly ends in *-u* (< **ō*), e.g. *xɛṭu* 'dressmaker' (f.), *yapyu* 'baker-woman', *gaðlu* 'knitter-woman' (Coghill 2003: §7.8.5.). These are feminine equivalents of the masculine active participle *CaCaCa* but are derived historically from the participle base **CāCC-*, as is the case with nouns such as *patlo, naqro, xapro* etc. in C. Barwar.

The diminutive sense of *-o* may relate to novelty, as in *kʾalo* 'bride', who is a 'new daughter-in-law' (*kalθa*).

It can also be used to express endearment rather than physical smallness. It is used productively in this way to create hypocoristic forms of personal names. These are shortened forms that generally have the bisyllabic pattern *CVCo* or *CVCCo*. Hypocoristic names of this type are those of both men and women (for a full list see §21.22.), e.g.

(i) Men's names

Bənno	< *Bənyamən*
Čăbo, Šăbo	< *Xošăba*
K̂anno	< *Yuxanna*
M̂ixo	< *Mixayil*

(ii) Women's names

Bebo	< *Xošebo*
Mayyo	< *Maryam*
Xəzzo	< *Xənzada*
ʾƎššo	< *ʾEləšwa*

The kinship term *ṭoṭa* is frequently used with the hypocoristic ending: *ṭoṭo* 'granny'. Note also the form *šətro* 'beautiful woman', a hypocoristic form of *šətranta.*

The ending *-o* is also used in names given to individual domesticated animals (for a full list see §21.23.). In this usage, however, it is restricted to male animals, e.g.

(i) Oxen

Xămo
Ɲiso

(ii) Asses
ʾƎnšăro

10.7. Nouns with *-e* Inflection

This ending is found in a number of nouns of Aramaic stock. These are of both genders. In some cases it appears to be derived historically from the absolute state of a noun with a final **y* radical, e.g.

ʾarxe, ʾərxe f.	'water-mill' (Syr. *raḥyā*)
ʾore f.	'manger' (Syr. *ʾuryā*)
xuwwe m.	'snake' (Syr. *ḥewyā*)
lɛle m.	'night' (Syr. *līlyā*, pl. *laylē*)

In other cases the historical origin is likely to be a plural form, e.g.

gare m.	'roof' (Syr. *ʾeggārā*, pl. *ʾeggārē*)
kawe f.	'small window' (Syr. *kawṯā*, pl. *kawwē*)

The use of an original plural form to denote a singular is found elsewhere, e.g. *naθa* 'ear' (< **ʾeðnāθā*). The explanation may be that the referent in question most commonly occurs as a collectivity. The roofs of houses in the villages were generally contiguous and interconnecting. A building generally had several of the small windows in question. All of these originally plural nouns have acquired a new plural form (*garăwaθa* 'roofs', *kăwaθa* 'windows', *naθyaθa* 'ears').

The final *-e* in the form *yamne* 'right (hand/side)' probably developed by analogy with the Kurdish loanword *čappe* 'left'. The form *yamne* is presumably derived ultimately from a form such as **yammīnā* as in Syriac. The analogy with *čappe*, therefore, affected not only the inflectional ending but also the morphological pattern.

The final *-e* in stem II and stem III infinitives (*mqaṭole, maqṭole*) is derived historically from final **-ē*.

The ending *-e* also occurs on numerous Kurdish loanwords that are feminine in gender, e.g.

beriye f.	'milkmaid'	< Kurd. bêrî f.
čale f.	'pit'	< Kurd. çal f.
čappe f.	'left (hand/side)'	< Kurd. çep f.

dunye f.	'world, weather'	< Kurd. dinya f.
hawše f.	'sheep-fold'	< Kurd. hewş f.
hézuke f.	'swing'	< Kurd. hêzok f.
juwarre f.	'nosebag'	< Kurd. cuher m.
maqle f.	'cooking pot'	< Kurd. meqle f., Arab. *maqlā*
qarəkke f.	'crow'	< Kurd. qiřik f.
quṣxane f.	'saucepan'	< Kurd. qûşxane f.
saršoye f.	'washing place'	< Kurd. serşo f.
senike f.	'metal plate'	< Kurd. sênîk f.
sərrəkke f.	'plughole, drain'	< Kurd. serik f./m.
ṭāp̂əkke f.	'bird trap'	< Kurd. ṭepik f.
ṭâšte f.	'brass bowl'	< Kurd. teşt f.
taxe f.	'neighbourhood'	< Kurd. tax f.
topе f.	'gun'	< Kurd. top f.

It is possible that the origin of this is the Kurdish feminine singular oblique nominal inflection *-ê*. The ending, however, is added as a feminine singular inflectional ending to some words of Aramaic origin, e.g. *quppe* 'brooding hen' (cf. Syr. *quppāpā*). Some other NENA dialects inflect this word with the *-o* / *-u* ending (cf. C. Qaraqosh: *qipu*).

The ending *-e* is also found in feminine loanwords of Arabic origin, in which it can be identified as the Arabic feminine ending corresponding historically to the *tāʾ marbūṭa*, e.g.

bərke	'pool'	< Arab. *birka*

In some cases a noun is used alternatively with either final *-e* or final *-a*, e.g.

xuwwe ~ *xuwwa*	'snake'
ṭašte ~ *ṭašta*	'brass bowl'

The *-e* ending is also used to form hypocoristic personal names of men and women, as is the case with *-o*. This is attached to shortened forms of names with the bisyllabic structure *CVCe* or *CVCCe*:

(i) Men's names

Čaqqe	< *ʾIsḥaq*
Čope	< *Yawsəp*
Xaye	< *Mixayəl*

(ii) Women's names

Čebe	< *Xošebo*
Məlle	< *Məryam*
Nane	< *Helen*

It is found also in other women's names that are not abbreviations of a longer form, e.g.

Bibe
Guhare
Guzze
Naze
Xamme
Xoxe

The ending *-e* is used in the names of female domesticated animals (for a full list see §21.23.), e.g.

(i) Names of female goats and sheep
Xənne
Pošе

(ii) Names of cows
Ġazale
Nisane

(iii) Names of female mules
Surme
Gurje

10.8. Further Endings

10.8.1. -ana

The suffix *-ana* is found in a number of nouns. It is added to the present base of verbs of all stems to denote the performer of an activity. The construction often refers to habitual action or action performed as a profession. It is a productive inflection and may be regarded as a form of active participle. The patterns are as follows:

Stem I	*CaCCana*
Stem II	*mCaCCana*
Stem III	*maCCəCana* ~ *maCəCCana*
Quadriliteral	*mCaCCəCana* ~ *mCaCəCCana*

Nouns with the function of active participles are not formed productively from the present base by the addition of the basic inflectional ending *-a*. A small set of such nouns derived from stem I verbs with the pattern *CaCCa* are listed above (§10.2.1. pattern 1). The stem I pattern *CaCCana* overlaps semantically with the *CaCaCa* pattern, which is also used productively to form active participles. The corresponding feminine ending is *-anta*. Examples:

Stem I

ʾaxlana	(f. *ʾaxlanta*)	'big eater'
baxyana	(f. *baxyanta*)	'weeper'
dawqana	(f. *dawqanta*)	'setter of bones'
qaṭlana	(f. *qaṭlanta*)	'murderer'
qarmana	(f. *qarmanta*)	'winner'
qaryana	(f. *qaryanta*)	'reader'
raxšana	(f. *raxšanta*)	'walker'
saxðana	(f. *saxðanta*)	'worshipper'
ṣawyana	(f. *ṣawyanta*)	'painter'
šăyana	(f. *šăyanta*)	'plasterer'
šatyana	(f. *šatyanta*)	'big drinker'
xašlana	(f. *xašlanta*)	'crusher' (using a *xašola*)
yaṗyana	(f. *yaṗyanta*)	'baker'
zaqrana	(f. *zaqranta*)	'weaver'
zonana	(f. *zonanta*)	'buyer'

Stem II

mbašlana	(f. *mbašlanta*)	'cook'
mšadrana	(f. *mšadranta*)	'sender'
mxamyana	(f. *mxamyanta*)	'guard'
mzabnana	(f. *mzabnanta*)	'seller'

Stem III

maxlana	(f. *maxlanta*)	'feeder'
maṗšəmana	(f. *maṗšəmanta*)	'trouble-maker'
maryana	(f. *maryanta*)	'repairer of clothes'
măṛiyana		'pasturer'

Quadriliteral

mčakčəkana	(f. *mčakčəkanta*)	'garrulous person'
mčarčərana	(f. *mčarčəranta*)	'garrulous person'
mgamprana	(f. *mgampranta*)	'arrogant person'
mpaṛəmyana	(f. *mpaṛəmyanta*)	'wise person'
mṭarṭəmana	(f. *mṭarṭəmanta*)	'grumbler'

In some cases active participles with one of these patterns has a more specific meaning than the verb from which it is derived, e.g. *dawqana* 'setter of bones' (< *dwq* 'to grasp, stick together').

Some nouns with inanimate referents with the ending *-ana* or *-anta* are likewise formed from present bases, e.g.

kɛlana	'measure'	< *kyl* I 'to measure'
parmanta	'cutting tool'	< *prm* I 'to cut'
rawðana	'earthquake'	< *rwð* I 'to quake'
šɛpanta	'rubber, eraser'	< *šyp* I 'to erase'
mdabqana	'glue'	< *dbq* II 'to stick'
mxallana	'cleaning cloth'	< *xll* II 'to wash'
mṣapyana	'strainer'	< *m-ṣpy* II 'to purify'
maqərxana	'whitewash'	< *m-qrx* III 'to whitewash'
marmana	'lever'	< *m-rm* III 'to raise'
mšarbəṭana	'whip'	< *m-šrbṭ* 'to whip'
mtarkəsana	'wooden poker'	< *m-trks* 'to build up fire'

The *-ana* ending is added to a past base in the following:

mubyana	'swelling (on skin)'	< *m-by* 'to swell'

Occasionally nouns in *-ana* derive from a identifiable noun base, e.g.

ʾamədyana	'Amedia stitching'	< *ʾAmediya* 'Amedia'
drana	'arm'	< *draʾa, draya* 'span'
duglana	'liar'	< *dugla* 'lie'
gawzana	'walnut-tree'	< *gawza* 'walnut'
kasana	'glutton'	< *kasa* 'stomach'
kepana	'gravel'	< *kepa* 'stone'
məšxana	'paste'	< *məšxa* 'clarified butter'
parranta	'comb of bird'	< *parre* 'feathers'
šišmanta	'sesame grass'	< *šišme* 'sesame'
ṣliwana	'knot'	< *ṣliwa* 'cross'

Some nouns with this ending have the function of verbal nouns, e.g.

ʾəryana	'rainfall'	< *ʾry* 'to rain'
ʾawqana	'distress'	< *ʾyq* 'to be tight, to be distressed'
duxrana	'memorial'	< **dxr* (= *txr*) 'to remember'
pəlxana	'work, cultivation'	< *plx* 'to work, cultivate'
pəšmanta	'sorrow'	< *pšm* 'to be sorry'
puqdana	'command'	< *pqð* 'to command'
xumlana	'merriment'	< *xml* 'to be merry'
yulpana	'learning'	< **ylp* 'to learn' (cf. *lyp*)

The ending *-ana* or its feminine form *-anta* is sometimes used to produce a diminutive of a noun ending in *-a*, e.g.

kepa	'stone'	*kepana*	'gravel'
guða	'churn'	*guðanta*	'small churn'

There is a sizeable group of other nouns ending in *-ana* or *-anta* that are not derived from a clearly identifiable verbal or nominal base that exists in the dialect. They may be classified as follows:

(i) Human referents

rabbana	'monk'
rabbanta	'nun'
turgamana	'interpreter'
xəmyana	'father-in-law'
yaḵana	'only son'

(ii) Animals

čučana	'magpie'
qənyane	'cattle, sheep'
qəqwana	'partridge' (f. *qəqwanta*)
sarəṭlana	'crab'
šəkwana	'ant'
ṭabuwana	'tick'

(iii) Inanimate entities

daṗrana	'juniper'
dərvana	'frying pan'
kuṗrana	'wooden hut, trellis'

nəsyana	‘experience’
qurbana	‘holy communion’
səndana	‘large pot’
ṭawpana	‘flood’
xumlana	‘merriment’
zirana	‘slap’

Some of these nouns can be identified as loanwords with the Aramaic ending *-ana* added to them, e.g. *yaḵana* ‘only son’ (< Kurd. yek ‘one’), *kuprana* ‘wooden hut’ (< Kurd. kepir).

10.8.2. -aya

The suffix *-aya* is found in gentilic nouns expressing geographical origin or affiliation to a religious or ethnic community, e.g.

suraya	‘Assyrian Christian’
mšixaya	‘Christian’
huðaya	‘Jew’
ʾarabaya	‘Arab’
turkaya	‘Turk’
ʾaramnaya	‘Armenian’
ʾiranaya	‘Iranian’
handawaya	‘Indian’
komaya	‘negro’
qărăčaya	‘Gypsy’
daštaya	‘dweller on the plain’

We should include here also *naxraya* ‘stranger’.

A more common and productive gentilic ending is *-naya*, with an added */n/*. This is used with gentilics relating to villages and towns and also with some that relate to nationalities, e.g.

ʾalqošnaya	‘man from Alqosh’
ʾiyyətnaya	‘man from Iyyət’
dohuknaya	‘man from Dohuk’
moṣulnaya	‘man from Moṣul’
zaxonaya	‘man from Zakho’
ʾəngləznaya	‘Englishman’

If the place name ends in *-e*, this vowel is elided before the addition of the *-naya* affix, e.g.

baġdednaya	'man from Qaraqosh (Baġdede)'
durnaya	'man from Dure'
telkepnaya	'man from Telkepe'

When the place name ends in *-n* or *-ne*, the gentilic ending *-aya* rather than *-naya* is added, e.g.

ʾēn-nunaya	'man from ʾƐn-Nune'

Note also the form *slemanaya* 'man from Sulemaniyya (Slemani)'.

The feminine forms of the suffixes *-aya* and *-naya* are *-εθa* and *-nεθa* respectively, e.g.

surεθa	'Assyrian Christian woman'
huðεθa	'Jewess'
ʾalqošnεθa	'woman from Alqosh'
durnεθa	'woman from Dure'
ʾēn-nunεθa	'woman from ʾƐn-Nune'

The ending *-aya* (f. *-εθa*) is used in a few nouns that do not denote geographical origin or religious affiliation, e.g.

ʾaqraya	'turtle, tortoise'
ʾəṣraya	'udder'
barəxmaya	'brother of wife'
barəxmεθa	'sister of wife'
paloxaya	'labourer'
ṭalobaya	'a man who arranges a betrothal (*ṭalobe*)'
xwarzaya	'nephew (son of sister)'
xwarzεθa	'niece (daughter of sister)'

In some isolated cases the feminine ending *-εθa* is used to derive a feminine form from a masculine noun that does not have the ending *-aya*, e.g.

ṭaxana 'miller' *ṭaxanεθa* 'miller woman'

10.8.3. -uθa

(i) Abstractions
This ending is used productively to form nouns referring to abstractions. The majority of such nouns are derived from an existing adjectival form, e.g.

ʾazəduθa	'permission'	< *ʾazəd* 'permitted'
ʾəršanuθa	'mirkiness'	< *ʾəršana* 'mirky'
ʾiquθa	'distress'	< *ʾiqa* 'distressed, narrow'
basimuθa	'pleasantness'	< *basima* 'pleasant'
baxiluθa	'envy'	< *baxila* 'envious'
dəžmənayuθa	'enmity, hostility'	< *dəžmənaya* 'hostile'
duzuθa	'truth'	< *dūs* 'true'
heymanuθa	'faith'	< *heymana* 'faithful, trusted'
kom-paθuθa	'disgrace'	< *kōm-paθa* 'disgraced'
kumuθa	'blackness'	< *koma* 'black'
maǰburuθa	'necessity'	< *maǰbur* 'necessary, forced'
milanuθa	'blueness'	< *milana* 'blue'
ramuθa	'height'	< *rama* 'high'
sănayuθa	'easiness'	< *sănayi* 'easy'
ṣarupuθa	'spiciness'	< *ṣarupa* 'spicy, smarting'
šaxinuθa	'heat'	< *šaxina* 'hot'
smoquθa	'redness'	< *smoqa* 'red'
sniquθa	'need'	< *sniqa* 'needy'
spayuθa	'goodness'	< *spay* 'good'
šumuθa	'naughtiness'	< *šumana* 'naughty'
taliluθa	'wetness'	< *talila* 'wet'
tăməzuθa	'cleanliness'	< *tăməz* 'clean'
xarayuθa	'finality, end'	< *xaraya* 'last, final'
xəðyuθa	'joy'	< *xəðya* 'joyful'
xwar-paθuθa	'innocence'	< *xwār-paθa* 'innocent'
xwaruθa	'whiteness'	< *xwara* 'white'
zamətuθa	'difficulty'	< *zamət* 'difficult'
zăruθa	'yellowness'	< *zăra* 'yellow'
zoruθa	'smallness, youth'	< *zora* 'small, young'

In some cases the base of the derived form is a noun, e.g.

bəṛ-našuθa	'mankind'	< *bəṛ-naša* 'man'
dostuθa	'friendship'	< *dost* 'friend'

farquθa	'difference'	< Arab. *farq* 'difference'
genawuθa	'theft, stealth'	< *genawa* 'thief'
guṛuθa	'bravery'	< *guṛe* '(brave) men'
ḥaqquθa	'right'	< Arab. *ḥaqq* 'right'
jwanquθa	'youth'	< *jwanqa* 'young man'
kʲaluθa	'bridehood'	< *kʲalo* 'bride'
msaṗyanuθa	'tradition'	< *msaṗyana* 'tradent'
mušəlmanuθa	'Islam'	< *mušəlmana* 'Muslim'
našuθa	'humanity'	< *naša* 'person'
saðuθa	'martyrdom'	< *saða* 'martyr'
surayuθa	'Christianity'	< *suraya* 'Christian'
waduθa	'promise'	< Arab. *waʿd*
wajəbuθa	'duty'	< Arab. *wājib*
xətnuθa	'state of a groom'	< *xətna* 'groom'
xonuθa	'brotherhood'	< *xona* 'brother'

In a few cases an */ay/* infix is added between the base and the *-uθa* suffix, e.g.

xərbayuθa	'evil'	< *xərba* 'bad'
xəzmayuθa	'kinship relationship'	< *xəzme* 'relatives'

In the case of a few nouns with the ending *-uθa* that express abstractions the base cannot be identified as an existing adjective or noun, e.g.

marduθa	'education'
sarastuθa	'honesty, frankness'
sebuθa	'old age'
təxruθa	'memory'
xaðuθa	'joy'

The suffix is also used to express professions by attaching it to nouns referring to practitioners of the profession in question, e.g.

najaruθa	'carpentry'
zaqaruθa	'weaving'
karaxuθa	'the profession of the *karaxa* (irrigation administrator)'

In a few cases the suffix *-uθa* forms a noun that denotes a diffuse or collective entity rather than an intangible abstraction, e.g.

bɛθuθa	'household, family'
xɛpuθa	'fog'
bəṛ-našuθa	'mankind'

Occasionally it occurs in words referring to a tangible entity, e.g.

xəlyuθa	'sweet foods'
xwaruθa	'dairy products'
milanuθa	'greens, vegetables'

(ii) Feminine marker
Some feminine nouns referring to concrete entities that do not have a final */w/* element in their root have the ending *-uθa*, e.g.

maṛuθa	'wooden spade for moving snow'
qaṭuθa	'(female) cat'

The suffix here should be distinguished from the suffix that expresses abstraction and should be analysed as a feminine marker. The nouns *maṛuθa* and *qaṭuθa* have masculine counterparts, viz. *maṛa* '(metal) spade' and *qaṭa* 'tomcat'. The distinction between *qaṭa* and *qaṭuθa* is one of biological gender. In the pair *maṛa* : *maṛuθa*, on the other hand, the *-uθa* can be regarded as having a diminutive function. A *maṛuθa* is less robust than a *maṛa*, although it is not necessarily smaller.

The noun *qaṭuθa* is exceptional in that the *-θa* is sometimes omitted when it is indefinite in status: *qaṭu* 'a cat', *qaṭuθa* 'the cat'. This is a vestige of the absolute state of earlier Aramaic (§10.9.).

10.8.4. -iθa

In some cases, when a masculine form of a word exists, the corresponding feminine form is constructed by adding the ending *-iθa*, with a supplementary */i/*. This forestalls any consequential resyllabification. It is commonly attached to masculine nouns with the pattern *CVCV* or those whose base ends in a geminate consonant. As with the *-ta*/*-θa* ending, the *-iθa* ending is used to express singulars of collectives and diminutives:

(i) Singulars of collectives

dəmme 'tears'	*dəmmiθa* 'a tear'
gerwe 'socks'	*gərwiθa* 'a sock'
ṭəppe 'drops'	*ṭəppiθa* 'a drop'
xəṭṭe 'wheat'	*xəṭṭiθa* 'a grain of wheat'

(ii) Diminutives

gare 'roof'	*gariθa* 'small roof'
gəppa 'cave'	*gəppiθa* 'small cave'
goja 'stock of tree'	*gojiθa* 'small stock of tree'
goma 'stable'	*gomiθa* 'small stable'
qəčča 'piece of rope'	*qəččiθa* 'small piece of rope'
qupa 'basket'	*qupiθa* 'small basket'
rapa 'gate of pen'	*rapiθa* 'small gate of pen'
ṣlawa 'tether'	*ṣlawiθa* 'small tether'
xuwwe 'snake'	*xuwwiθa* 'small snake'

It is found in a few words that have no corresponding masculine form, e.g.

ʾurṭiθa	'fart'
qunjiθa	'corner'
qurniθa	'corner'
ṣopiθa	'porch'
zarzariθa	'small ant'

In a few words the suffix is used to express an abstraction or intangible entity, like the ending *-uθa*, e.g.

mamodiθa	'baptism'
ḥaqqiθa	'due'
xănăqiθa	'whooping cough'

10.8.5. -əlta

This ending, which is found in a few nouns that have a corresponding masculine form, has a diminutive function, e.g.

gawza	'walnut tree'	*gawzəlta*	'small walnut-tree'
biba	'pupil (of eye)'	*bibəlta*	'(small) pupil'

It occasionally interchanges with the ending *-iθa*, e.g.

qunjəlta ~ *qunjiθa* 'corner' < Kurd. qunc

A similar ending is probably to be identified in the word *beðulta* 'sleeve', which is in origin a compound form consisting of *be* + *ʾiða* 'place of the arm'.

10.8.6. -usta, -əsta

This feminine ending can be identified in a few nouns with a diminutive function:

danwa	'tail'	*dambusta*	'small tail'
gərra	'leprosy, psoriasis'	*gərrəsta*	'dandruff'

10.8.7. -əšta

This ending also has a diminutive function:

margəšta	'small meadow'	cf. *marga*	'meadow'
pəqqəšta	'blister'	cf. Kurd. peq, peqik	'blister'

10.8.8. -ənta

This ending is found sporadically in feminine nouns that have a masculine counterpart. In all known cases the masculine form is a loanword. The feminine form, however, is an internal development within the Aramaic dialect:

čulla	'mountain peak'	*čullənta*	'small mountain peak'
moja	'calf'	*mojənta*	'heiffer'
parra	'feather'	*parrənta*	'comb of a bird'

These feminine forms exhibit different types of semantic relationship to the masculine form, including diminutive (*čullənta, parrənta*) and biological gender difference (*mojənta*).

10.8.9. -ona

The diminutive ending *-ona* is found as a fixed component of the kinship terms *brona* 'son' (< **br* + *ona*) and *xona* 'brother' < (**'aḥ* + *ona*). It is sporadically found elsewhere, mainly in poetic contexts, e.g.

gəppona 'small cave' (A51:16)	< *gəppa* 'cave'
čarxona 'small walk' (A51:12)	< *čarxa* 'turn, walk'
bəxyona 'crying (of a baby)' (A38:7)	< *bəxya* 'crying'
laqṭona 'a small morsel'	< *laqṭa* 'a morsel'

The feminine form of the suffix is either *-oniθa* or *-onta*. The former is a fixed element in the insect name *parxoniθa* 'butterfly' (cf. *parxa* 'bird'), the flower name *wardoniθa* 'type of small flower' (cf. *warda* 'flower') and possibly also in the bird name *snoniθa* 'swallow' (cf. *sona* 'type of duck'). The latter is used to form diminutives from an existing base form, mainly in poetic contexts, e.g.

k̲əčče	'girl'	*k̲əččonta*	'little girl'
qarəkke	'crow'	*qarəkθonta*	'little crow' (A34:3)
masrəqθa	'comb'	*masrəqθonta*	'little comb' (A34:3)

The diminutive plural ending can perhaps be identified as a fixed element in *xəšxəšone* 'skating, skiing'.

10.8.10. -una

This is identifiable as a derivative suffix in the following:

paṛuna	'sheepskin bag'	< *paṛa*	'lamb'

10.8.11. -unya

The suffix *–unya* is found in a few abstract nouns, e.g.

pəršunya	'difference'
təxrunya	'memory, memorial'

10.8.12. -ola

This is identifiable as a derivative suffix in the following:

šaqola ‘shin’ cf. *šaqa* ‘legging (worn on shin)’

10.8.13. -us, -əs

An ending with the form *-us* with no final vowel can be indentified as a derivational ending in *murčanus* f. ‘mashed potato’, which is derived from the Aramaic verbal root *mrč* ‘to crush’, and perhaps also in *dambus* f. ‘a plant resembling a horse’s tail’; *limandus* f. ‘lemon juice’. A related ending appears to be the *-əs* of the form *kundarəs* f. ‘chain stitch’. All these words are feminine in gender. The ending may be related to the diminutive ending *-usta/-əsta* (§10.8.6.). Note the pair *dambus* f. ‘plant like a horse’s tail’: *dambusta* f. ‘small tail’.

10.8.14. *Pronominal Suffix Treated as a Nominal Ending*

In the noun *rabi* ‘teacher’ the original pronominal suffix has lost its original attributive function and is treated as the basic ending of the word. It meant originally ‘my master’, but now is used in the sense of ‘teacher’ in general. The ending *-i* is a fixed component of the word and is retained in all circumstances, including in the plural, e.g. *rábi díyux* ‘your teacher’, *rabíye* ‘teachers’.

10.9. Nouns with No Inflectional Ending and the Absolute State

It has been remarked in §10.6. and §10.7. that nouns ending in *-o* and some nouns ending in *-e* derive historically from nouns in the absolute state. There are a few other cases of this phenomenon. These include the common word *məndi* ‘thing’ (< **mənda*ʿ < **mədda*ʿ). Another case is the form *duka* f. ‘place’, which is used, apparently in free variation, as an alternative to *dukθa* ‘place’ with the ending *-θa*. Due to the feminine gender of *duka* it is most easily interpreted as the absolute form of *dukθa*. We should also mention the two names of instruments *manquš* ‘metal instrument for striking fire on flint’ and *msarbəs* ‘wooden instrument on which balls of wool are wound’. These seem to have Aramaic etymologies (< **nqš* ‘to strike’, < **sbs* ‘to be compact’).

In addition to the aforementiond nouns, which are fossilized relics of the absolute state, there are some that lack the inflectional vowels only in certain syntactic contexts. In such cases the erstwhile functional distinction between absolute and determined state has been preserved. The absolute

form *qaṭu* 'cat', for example, is used when indefinite and definite, but the form *qaṭuθa*, which is historically the determined form, is only used when definite. The nouns *yoma* 'day' and *šeta* 'year' are used without the final vowel in certain adverbial expressions, such as *kut-yom* 'every day', *ʾədyo* 'today' (< *ʾəd-yom*), *kúššət* 'every year' (< *kut-šat*). The noun *geb* 'side' is attested in the absolute state form *gēb* in distributive constructions, e.g. *kút-xa xíša l-xà-gēbˈ* 'Everybody went in one (= a different) direction' (B1:8).

10.10. Nouns with Prefixed *m-*

In addition to infinitives, verbal nouns and participle forms (e.g. *mbašlana* 'cook', *maryana* 'repairer'), there are a number of other nouns of other patterns that have been derived historically by the prefixing of a *m-* element. In a large proportion of cases the root is not used in the current dialect as a verbal form. These can be divided into the following categories:

(i) Spatial locations

maʾarwa	'West'
madənxa	'East'
meqora	'hole'
məṣṭaqa	'place in a chicken-coop where chickens sit'
məšṭaxa	'place where fruit and vegetables are spread out to dry'

(ii) Instruments

masərqa	'comb'
maqara	'gouge'
masəxθa	'poker; griddle, frying pan'
mazreta	'yoyo'
məlxawa	'fork used in threshing'
mziða	'bag (for storing grain)'

(iii) Others

maxmore	'jewels'
mbadla	'morning'
mɛxolta	'food, meal'

10.11. The Morphological Adaption of Loanwords

The vast majority of loanwords in the dialect originate in Kurmanji Kurdish. There are also loans from other languages used in the region, such as Arabic and Turkish, though many of these may have entered the dialect through Kurdish. Loanwords that end in a consonant in the source language are generally adapted to Aramaic morphology by adding a final *-a* inflectional vowel. This applies to nouns of both genders, e.g.

barana	'adult male sheep'	Kurd. beran m.
čura	'angora goat'	Kurd. çûr m.
čuxa	'broadcloth'	Kurd. çox m.
galaveža	'Sirius, Dog Star'	Kurd. gelavêj f.
garra	'turn'	Kurd. geŗ f.
gəra	'hill'	Kurd. gir m.
gisqa	'male goat (1–2 years)'	Kurd. gîsk m.
ḥakima	'doctor'	Kurd. ḥekîm m. < Arab. *ḥakīm* m.
həlma	'breath'	Kurd. hilm f.
jeba	'pocket'	Kurd. cêb f. < Arab. *jēb* m.
juwala	'sack'	Kurd. çewal m.
kaža	'pine tree'	Kurd. kaj f.
kulənga	'pickaxe'	Kurd. kuling m.
kura	'male goat (2–3 years)'	Kurd. kûr m.
pəškoža	'bud; tastle'	Kurd. pişkoj f.
qayiša	'belt'	Kurd. qayîş f.
razwana	'guard of orchard'	Kurd. ŗezvan m.
šămala	'candle'	Kurd. şemal f.
šəxxaṭa	'match'	Arab. *šixxāṭ* m.
ṭanga	'saddle girth, strap'	Kurd. ṭeng m./f.
tasa	'bowl, basin'	Kurd. tas f.
xiza	'sand'	Kurd. xîz m./f.

When the source form ends in a closed syllable with a short vowel followed by a single consonant, the vowel remains short but the final consonant is generally geminated due to the incidence of stress:

balle	'sheep with erect ears'	Kurd. bel 'erect (ears)'
ferəssa	'hero'	Kurd. fêris m. < Arab. *fāris*
gərsəkka	'wild pear'	Kurd. girsik m.

hogəčča	'male sheep (3 years)'	Kurd. hogiç m.
ḵavərra	'male sheep (1–2 years)'	Kurd. kavir̂ m.
ḵawəlla	'ruin'	Kurd. kavil m.
palle	'embers of wood'	Kurd. pel m./f.
šakka	'male sheep (2–3 years)'	Kurd. şek m.
sayəssa	'male goat (3 years)'	Kurd. sayis m.

In a few cases the gemination does not take place, e.g.

došăka	'mattress'	Kurd. doşek f.
wardăka	'duck'	Kurd. werdek f.

When the Kurdish source form ends in a vowel, a glide is inserted before the added *-a* inflectional vowel. After unrounded vowels this is */y/* and after rounded vowels it is */w/*, e.g.

găliya	'valley'	Kurd. gelî m.
neriya	'male goat'	Kurd. nêrî m.
parsuwa	'rib'	Kurd. parsû m./f.
pošiya	'head kerchief'	Kurd. poşî m.
qamčiya	'whip'	Kurd. qamçî m.
qoṭiya	'mirror'	Kurd. qotî f.
šəftiya	'watermelon'	Kurd. şiftî m.
xădaya	'lunch'	Arab. *ġadāʾ* m.
xaliya	'carpet'	Kurd. xalî f.

In a few sporadic cases a loanword of feminine gender is adapted by attaching the Aramaic feminine ending *-ta/-θa*, e.g.

qapaxta	'lid'	Kurd. qapaẍ f.
ṣəmθa	'hoof'	Kurd. sim f.
ṭuštirta	'young female goat'	Kurd. ṭuşt̂ir f.

The Aramaic feminine ending is sometimes used to derive a feminine form from a masculine loanword that has no corresponding feminine form in the source language, e.g.

gisəqθa	'1–2 year old female goat'	Kurd. gîsk 'male goat'
ḵavərta	'1–2 year old female sheep'	Kurd. ḵavirra 'male sheep'

Occasionally a final *-a* vowel in the source form of a loanword is interpreted as the Aramaic inflectional ending. Likewise the sequence */ta/* at the end of a loan-word is sometimes interpreted as the Aramaic feminine ending. This is shown by the plural forms of such words, in which these endings are removed when the Aramaic plural inflections are added:

darga (pl. *dargę*)	'door'	Kurd. dergeh
parča (pl. *parče*)	'cloth, fabric'	Kurd. perçe
parda (pl. *parde*)	'cloth blind'	Kurd. perde
ṭašta (pl. *ṭašyaθa*)	'bowl'	Kurd. teşt
čanta (pl. *čanaθa*)	'bag'	Kurd. cente

Note also the word *masta* which is construed as feminine in gender although the Kurdish source word mast is masculine.

10.12. Unadapted Loanwords

Numerous loanwords in the dialect do not have Aramaic inflectional endings added to them in the singular. Most of these, nevertheless, take Aramaic plural endings (§10.15.8.). These unadapted loans tend to end in a consonant. Most words with a source form ending in a vowel are adapted. If the word in the source language ends in a closed syllable with a short or long *a* vowel, this is generally raised, when unstressed, to the region of */ə/* by a process of attenuation that is normal in the dialect, e.g.

bahər	'Spring'	Kurd. bihar
manzəl	'room'	Kurd. mezel f.
ṭabəq	'floor, storey'	Arab. *ṭabaq* m.
čangəl	'fork'	Kurd. çengal f.
ʾotəx	'room'	Kurd. otax f.
tăhər	'type'	Kurd. teher
heywən	'animal'	Kurd. ḥeywan m./f. < Arab.
diwən	'social gathering'	Kurd. dîwan f.
čakuč	'hammer'	Kurd. çakûç m.
danbus	'pin'	Arab. *dabbūs*
fəstəq	'pistachio'	Kurd. fistiq f.
pažgir	'towel'	Kurd. pêjgîr f.
brin	'wound'	Kurd. birîn f.

A consonant after a stressed short vowel in an open syllable is generally geminated in the target form, e.g.

kalləš	'corpse, carrion'	Kurd. keleş m.
marrəs	'hair of angora goat'	Kurd. merez f.

An *a* vowel that is attenuated in an unstressed syllable is restored when stress shifts onto the syllable after the addition of a suffix and it becomes open, e.g. *mánzəl* 'room', *manzáli* 'my room'.

A few loanwords with a source form that ends in an *a* vowel can be classified as unadapted, in that the final vowel is not interpreted as the Aramaic inflectional vowel but rather is treated as belonging to the base of the word. This applies to the word *panjăra* 'window' (Kurd. pencere), the plural form of which is *panjăriyaθa* (< **panjărayaθa*) with a vestige of the original final vowel. A singular form *panjăriya* has developed by back-formation from this plural.

Morphological adaptation is inconsistent across the lexicon and also in individual lexical items, since some words are used both in an adapted and also in an unadapted form, e.g.

ʾotəx ~ ʾotaxa	'room'
barbi ~ barbiya, barbiye	'bride's female companion'
čangəl ~ čəngala	'fork'
čeydən ~ čeydana	'teapot'
panjăra ~ panjăriya	'window'
parzūn ~ parzuna	'back-pack' (Kurd. parzûn)
qayiš ~ qayiša	'belt'
qazəd ~ qazədda	'messenger'
sənjəq ~ sənjaqa	'crotchet hook'
xəlləṯ ~ xəlleta	'gift'

10.13. Nouns with Kurdish Derivational Suffixes

10.13.1. *Diminutive Suffixes*

Various suffixes containing the Kurdish diminutive element */k/* are attested. The vast majority of these are attached to nouns of Kurdish origin. It appears, however, that these suffixes are used productively in the Aramaic dialect. This is shown by the fact that several of the nouns bearing these

suffixes are not recorded as having diminutive suffixes in the Kurdish dictionaries. In a few cases, furthermore, they have been attached to nouns of Aramaic or Arabic origin.

10.13.1.1. -əkka

This is composed of the Kurdish diminutive ending *-ək* and the Aramaic inflectional ending *-a*, with the */k/* geminated after the short vowel due to the incidence of stress. The */ə/* is elided if the base of the noun ends in a vowel, e.g.

badəkka	'small house, hut'	
bazəkka	'little jump'	cf. *baza* 'jump'
čezəkka	'spark'	
dəndəkka	'grain'	
halukka	'plum'	
jaməkka	'twin'	
kavəkka	'funnel'	
maməkka	'breast of a young woman'	
tannəkka	'tin'	
ziləkka	'small reed'	cf. *zala* 'reed'

The ending *-əkka* is attached also to words of Aramaic and Arabic origin, e.g.

ṣawməkka	'little fast' (custom in fast of Lent)	cf. *ṣawma* 'fast'
miθəkka	'little dead man' (custom at Christmas)	cf. *miθa* 'dead'
xorəkka	'little friend'	cf. *xawra* 'friend'
lifəkka	'flannel'	
zarpəkka	'insect bite'	cf. *zarba* 'blow'

In a few isolated cases the suffix has */gg/* instead of */kk/*, e.g.

nawəgga	'great-grandson'

10.13.1.2. -əkke

This is a variant of the *-əkka* ending with final *-e* in the singular rather than final *-a*. These nouns are feminine in gender, e.g.

sorəkke f.	‘open water pipe’
pozəkke f.	‘nozzle’ (Kurd. poz ‘nose’)
rawəkke f.	‘little rawe’
saləkke f.	‘small basket of beehive’

10.13.1.3. -əkθa

This suffix is composed of the Kurdish diminutive ending *-ək* and the Aramaic feminine ending *-θa*.

In a few cases, the *-əkθa* suffix is used to express the female counterpart of a masculine form, e.g.

čurra m. ‘angora goat’	*čurrəkθa* f. ‘angora goat’

Several nouns ending in *-əkθa* form a diminutive of a corresponding noun ending in *-a*, e.g.

băra ‘sheet’	*bărəkθa* ‘small sheet’
gəra ‘hill’	*gərəkθa* ‘hillock’
kəppa ‘ankle’	*kəppəkθa* ‘bottom of the ankle’
lappa ‘palm of the hand’	*lappəkθa* ‘small hand, paw’
paččа ‘large handful’	*paččəkθa* ‘small handful’
palla ‘burning coal’	*palləkθa* ‘small burning coal, ember’
sulina ‘pipe’	*suləkθa* ‘small pipe’
tulla ‘hound’	*tulləkθa* ‘a small hound’

The ending is attached to some words of Aramaic origin with a diminutive sense, e.g.

ʾɛna ‘eye’	*ʾɛnəkθa* ‘small hole in a shoe’
ʾəzza ‘female goat’	*ʾəzzəkθa* ‘small female goat’

The suffix is used to express the singular of some plural nouns ending in *-e*. These refer to entities that naturally occur as a collectivity, e.g.

palle ‘burning embers’	*palləkθa* ‘an ember’
k̂ərme ‘worms’	*k̂ərməkθa* ‘a worm’

Such nouns may also have a secondary plural that is derived from the singular form. This is the case, for example, with *k̂ərməkθa*:

k̂ərme ‘worms’ > *k̂ərməkθa* ‘worm’ > *k̂ərməkyaθa* ‘worms’

In some cases a singular noun ending in *-əkθa* is derived from a plural ending in *-əkke*, e.g. *dəndəkke* 'grains': *dəndəkθa* 'grain'; *čučəkke* 'sparrows': *čučəkθa* 'sparrow'. Such nouns can be classified with nouns that form singulars of collectives by the suffix *-ta* / *-θa* (§10.5.2.2.). The ending *-əkke* is the plural of the diminutive inflection *-əkka*. The form *dəndəkka* is, indeed, also used as the singular for *dəndəkke*. Note also *čučəkke* 'sparrows': *čučəkka* ~ *čučəkθa* 'sparrow'.

The majority of nouns ending in *-əkθa* are not derivative of another noun that exists in the dialect, e.g.

čəlləkθa	'milking pot; vessel for yoghurt'
k̂unnəkθa	'woman's headscarf'
ḥ̂abbəkθa	'tablet'
julləkθa	'milk pail'
koləkθa	'chicken coop'
ləməkθa	'jaw (of an animal)'
mučəkθa	'small dry measure'
rapəkθa	'cup measure for grain'
zarrəkθa	'detergent made of wood ash'
ṭ̂ăp̂əkθa	'lid; trap for sparrows'
d̂ăbbəkθa	'lid; trap for sparrows' (variant form of *ṭ̂ăp̂əkθa*)
jalləkθa	'rabbit trap'
yarəkθa	'female concubine'

10.13.1.4. -unka

This ending can be analysed as the Aramaic diminutive element *-un*, which is related to *-ona* (§10.8.9.), combined with a Kurdish diminutive element */k/*, e.g.

yalunka	'young child'
sawunka	'old man'

10.13.1.5. -ka

This suffix is composed of the Kurdish diminutive element */k/* and the Aramaic inflectional suffix *-a*, e.g.

baqurka	'piglet'
haluka	'black plum' (Kurd. ḧilû)
nawčərka	'great-great-grandson' (Kurd. nevîçîrk)
qălunka	'pipe' (Kurd. qelûn)
salaməška	'beehive'

A few isolated nouns have */g/*, */q/* or */č/* instead of */k/* in the suffix, e.g.

jwanqa	'young man'
nawaga	'grandson' (Kurd. nevî)
baqča	'vegetable garden'

10.13.1.6. -ăka, -akka

A variant of the *-ka* ending is *-ăka* or *-akka* with the */k/* geminated after the stress, e.g.

gozăka	'ankle'
halučakka	'black plum' (< *haluka* < Kurd. ĥilû)

10.13.1.7. -ika

Another rare variant is *-ika*, with a long */i/* bfore the *-ka* ending, e.g.

pərtika	'splinter' (cf. Syr. *prt* 'to split')

10.13.1.8. -ke

This consists of the Kurdish */k/* element and the ending *-e*, which is probably the Kurdish feminine oblique ending in origin, e.g.

pəqqəške f.	'bubble, blister' (cf. *pəqqəšta* 'bubble')
xamiṣoke f.	'a bitter herb'

10.13.2. -či

This expresses professions or habitual activities. Nouns with the *-či* suffix are never adapted:

dəkkanči	'shopkeeper'	< *dəkkana* 'shop'
čayxanči	'teashop owner'	< *čayxana* 'teashop'
qumārči	'gambler'	< *qumār* 'gambling'

10.13.3. -dan

This occurs in loanwords denoting containers. These are sometimes adapted to Aramaic morphology by the addition of the ending *-a*:

qawadən	'coffee pot'
čeydən, čeydana	'kettle'

10.13.4. -i

This Kurdish suffix is used to form nouns expressing abstractions. Loanwords with this ending are never adapted by the addition of Aramaic inflectional endings:

rəqqi	'stubbornness'

10.14. Gender

10.14.1. *Feminine Nouns Ending in* -a

Nouns of Aramaic stock ending in the nominal inflections *-ta*, *-θa* and *-o* are feminine in gender. The small number of nouns of Aramaic origin ending in *-e* are of either gender without one clearly predominating. Nouns ending in the inflection *-a* are generally masculine in gender. A few nouns ending in *-a*, however, are feminine. Feminine nouns of Aramaic stock ending in *-a* can be classified as follows:

(i) Parts of the body

ʾaqla	'leg'
ʾaṭma	'side, thigh'
ʾɛna	'eye'
ʾəqba	'heel'
ʾiːða	'hand'
bərka	'knee'
kʷasa	'stomach'
kawda	'liver'
naθa	'ear'
nəšma	'soul'
qana	'horn'
raθa	'lung'
roxa	'spirit'
səmmala	'left handful, small bundle held in left hand'
šərma	'buttock'

ṭəpra	'fingernail, toenail'
šlada	'corpse'

Numerous nouns referring to other parts of the body are masculine in gender, e.g. *biba* 'pupil', *ʦ̣əʧ̣ʧa* shoulder-blade, *kaka* 'tooth', *kawsa* 'hair', *lappa* 'palm', *lišana* 'tongue', *naxira* 'nose', *šaqa* 'thigh', *šaqola* 'lower leg', *reša* 'head', *ruša* 'shoulder', *wariða* 'vein', *xəðya* 'breast', *ɟalma* 'face'.

(ii) Small animals

ʾaqərwa	'scorpion'
buma	'owl'
ʧ̣ena	'mosquito'
dəbba	'bear'
dɛda	'hawk'
harnuwa	'rabbit'
nama	'ostrich'
pəqqa	'frog'
qalma	'louse'
ʂəmawla	'squirrel'
ʂəpra	'sparrow'
ʂəʂra	'cockroach'
sona	'type of duck'
ṭabuwana	'tick'
ɟawna	'dove'

(iii) Female animals

ʾəzza	'nanny-goat'
wana	'ewe'

(iv) Various inanimate nouns

Many of the residue of feminine nouns refer to natural phenomena, locations, containers or weapons:

ʾərbala	'medium sized sieve'
ʾəryana	'rainfall'
ʾərzala	'portable bed'
ʾəsra	'large storage basket'
ʾɨlana	'tree'
ʾurədxa	'large needle'
ʾurxa	'road'

barða	'hail'
bədra	'threshing floor'
bera	'well'
bəṭma	'terebinth tree'
bzara	'plough'
dana	'time'
gərwa	'sock'
gorna	'baptismal font'
gurza	'club'
halwasna	'raspberry'
kawuθra	'lunch'
masina	'earthenware pot'
məlxa	'salt'
məšna	'whetstone for sharpening blades'
məššara	'paddy-field basin'
məṭra	'rain'
murza	'ball and chain weapon'
pawxa	'wind'
praza	'harvested field'
punda	'wick'
qawra	'grave'
qənna	'nest'
qərṭala	'pannier bag'
qutana	'shirt'
rumxa	'spear'
swana	'eaves of roof'
ṣamərma	'a thorny tree'
šana	'honeycomb'
šapna	'instrument for smoothing ground after ploughing'
šəmša	'sun'
šmayya	'sky'
šraʾa, šraya	'oil-lamp'
ṭəlla	'shade'
xaqla	'field'
xmaṭa	'needle'
yama	'sea'
zeðaya	'flat bread'
zəqqa	'water-skin'

Some issues regarding the morphophonology of feminine nouns in *-a* should be noted here.

In a few feminine words with the *-a* ending an original feminine inflection has been reanalysed as part of the root. Such a development is reflected by the fact that the plural is formed by replacing only the *-a* and not the whole ending. This applies to the words *šədda* f. 'demon', *ʾarda* f. 'floor, bottom', and *rəzda* f. 'line of stones', the ending *-da* of which, although originally the feminine affix (cf. *šeđa* m. 'demon', *ʾăra* f. 'ground', *reza* m. 'line'), is now no longer interpreted as such and the plurals are formed by replacing the final *-a* by *-aθa* or *-e*: *šəddaθa*, *ʾardaθa*, *rəzde*. Likewise *raθa* f. 'lung' and *naθa* n.f., although derived historically from plural forms with the feminine plural ending **-āθā*, the */θ/* is now interpreted as part of the root of the words, their plurals being *raθe* and *naθyaθa* respectively. Conversely, the word *ṣawθa* 'word, speech' from the root *ṣwθ* is feminine since the ending *-θa* has been interpreted as the feminine inflectional suffix, although */θ/* is originally a radical. This is reflected in the plural form *ṣăwaθa*, in which the *-θa* ending is replaced by *-aθa*.

When two nouns in *-a* are distinguished only by emphasis and one is feminine in gender, there is a tendency for the emphasis to be present in the masculine word of the pair, e.g.

bera f. 'well'	*beṛa* m. 'light'
pəqqa f. 'frog'	*p̣əqqa* m. 'crack'
čəčča f. 'breast'	*ċ̣əċ̣̇ča* m. 'shoulder-blade'

In at least the first two pairs the emphasis distinction appears to have developed secondarily to distinguish meaning (§1.4.4., §1.4.5.) so gender is likely to have been a factor determining phonological form.

10.14.2. *Infinitives*

The infinitive form of verbs, which does not have a feminine ending, is sometimes construed as feminine in gender, e.g.

zraʾa f.	'to cultivate'
mzabone f.	'to sell'
maštoye f.	'to irrigate'

10.14.3. *Loanwords*

Loanwords that are feminine in the source language are generally feminine in the Aramaic dialect. There are a few discrepancies between the gender of the loanword and the gender indicated in Kurdish dictionaries. This

may be due to a certain degree of instability of gender assignment in Kurdish. Arabic loanwords that are masculine in Arabic are frequently assigned feminine gender in Kurdish and these generally appear in the Aramaic dialect as feminine. Examples of nouns loaned from Kurdish that have feminine gender are:

ʾăraq	'arak'
ʾaskar	'army' (Arab. *ʿaskar* m.)
ʾotəx	'room'
bena	'breath, time (instance)'
brīn	'wound'
čay	'tea'
dĭwən	'social gathering'
dəkkana	'shop' (Arab. *dukkān* m.)
ga	'time'
juwala	'sack' (Kurd. çewal m.)
kalləš	'corpse' (Kurd. keleş m.)
qarwən	'caravan' (Kurd. karwan m.)
k̂olana	'street'
k̂uprana	'wooden hut'
manzəl	'room' (Arab. *manzil* m.)
panjăriya	'window'
šarṭ	'condition' (Arab. *šarṭ* m.)
ṭasa	'bowl'
xădaya	'lunch' (Arab. *ġadāʾ* m.)
xaliya	'carpet'
xanjər	'dagger'

10.15. Plural Forms

The plural of nouns is generally expressed by attaching a plural inflectional ending. The plural endings that are used in the dialect are the following: *-e, -ane, -aθa,-ăwaθa, -waθa, -yaθa*. These replace the singular nominal inflections *-a, -ta, -θa,* and *-e*. In the case of nouns ending in *-o*, the plural ending is added to the singular form without replacing the *-o* inflection. The correspondence between the various plural endings and the singular endings is not one-to-one. For this reason the plural inflection is not predictable for a singular form. If a singular form with one of the feminine endings *-ta* or *-θa* takes a plural ending beginning with a vowel,

there is generally some consequential resyllabification, e.g. *ṭarəpθa* 'leaf' > *ṭarpe* 'leaves'. This tends to be avoided, however, by the predominant use of the plural inflection *-yaθa*. Since this begins with a consonant, no resyllabification takes place, e.g. *gdišta* 'stook of corn' > *gdišyaθa* 'stooks of corn'.

In what follows the various plural endings are classified according to the form of the singular inflection that they replace. It will be seen that some nouns have more than one plural form. In some cases, there is a semantic distinction between the different plurals, e.g.

ʾɛna	'eye'	pl. *ʾɛne*
ʾɛna	'hole in shoe-strap'	pl. *ʾɛnaθa*
ʾɛna	'spring'	pl. *ʾɛnaθa*, *ʾɛnăwaθa*
reša	'head (of a man)'	pl. *rešăwaθa*
reša	'head (of a tool)'	pl. *rešaθa*
reša	'top (of a village)'	pl. *rešane*
lappa	'palm, sole'	pl. *lappape*
lappa	'wave'	pl. *lappe*
parra	'feather'	pl. *parre*
parra	'fin (on propeller)'	pl. *parrane*

Some alternations of plural forms do not, however, entail a semantic distinction, e.g.

ʾilana	'tree'	pl. *ʾilane*, *ʾilanane*
ʾiða	'hand'	pl. *ʾiθaθa*, *ʾiðăwaθa*
pəqqa	'frog'	pl. *pəqqe*, *pəqqaθa*

When one of these alternative plurals ends in *–e*, this tends to be used with low numerals (see §14.12.), e.g. *tre pəqqe* 'two frogs', *raba pəqqaθa* 'many frogs'.

10.15.1. *The Plural Ending* -e

10.15.1.1. *Plurals in* -e *from Singulars in* -a

This category includes singular nouns in *-a* of both genders:

(i) Masculine

Singular	Plural	
ʾənɯa	*ʾənɯe*	‘grape’
boya	*boye*	‘hole’
čamča	*čamče*	‘spoon’
dabaša	*dabaše*	‘bee’
dugla	*dugle*	‘lie’
garma	*garme*	‘bone’
genaɯa	*genaɯe*	‘thief’
gəšra	*gəšre*	‘bridge’
gədda	*gədde*	‘string, strand’
gərɯa	*gərɯe*	‘sock’
gumla	*gumle*	‘camel’
jeba	*jebe*	‘pocket’
kaka	*kake*	‘tooth’
kepa	*kepe*	‘stone’
kəxɯa	*kəxɯe*	‘star’
ləbba	*ləbbe*	‘heart’
naxira	*naxire*	‘nose’
pərṭana	*pərṭane*	‘flea’
punda	*punde*	‘wick’
qaša	*qaše*	‘priest’
qazba	*qazbe*	‘date’
qəṭɯa	*qəṭɯe*	‘wooden needle’
susa	*suse*	‘horse’
šămala	*šămale*	‘candle’
šaɯpa	*šaɯpe*	‘footprint’
šəftiya	*šəftiye*	‘watermelon’
taqa	*taqe*	‘branch’
taɯra	*taɯre*	‘ox’
tena	*tene*	‘fig’
ṭlaɯxa	*ṭlaɯxe*	‘lentil’
xabuša	*xabuše*	‘apple’

(ii) Feminine

ʾɛna f.	*ʾɛne*	‘eye’
ʾilana f.	*ʾilane*	‘tree’
čena f.	*čene*	‘mosquito’
čeydən f.	*čeydane*	‘teapot’
čeypəs f.	*čeypase*	‘small teapot’

darjăma f.	*darjăme*	'screen used by hunters'
harnuwa f.	*harnuwe*	'rabbit'
kawaza f.	*kawaze*	'earthenware pot'
lagna f.	*lagne*	'thorny plant'
mašana f.	*mašane*	'beam of plough'
qalma f.	*qalme*	'louse'
qawadən f.	*qawadane*	'coffeepot'
qərṭala f.	*qərṭale*	'pannier bag'
šarba f.	*šarbe*	'earthenware jug'
sarməjanka f.	*sarməjanke*	'hook of plough beam'
səmmala f.	*səmmale*	'small bundle of grass'
səsra f.	*səsre*	'cockroach'
ṭabuwana f.	*ṭabuwane*	'tick'
yasmina f.	*yasmine*	'jasmin'
zeðaya f.	*zeðaye*	'flat bread'

10.15.1.2. *Plurals in* -e *from Singulars in* -ta *or* -θa
This includes the nouns listed in §10.5.2.2., where a referent is usually referred to as a collectivity by the plural form and the singular with a feminine ending is used to denote a single item of the collectivity:

Singular	Plural	
beta	*beʾe*	'egg'
nunta	*nune*	'fish'
bṭəmθa	*bəṭme*	'terebinth nut'
ṭarəpθa	*ṭarpe*	'leaves'

The word *raθa*, which is historically a plural form with the plural ending **-āθā*, has been reinterpreted as a singular form 'lung' and the */θ/* is treated as part of the root. The plural is formed by replacing the final *-a* with *-e*:

raθa	*raθe*	'lung'

10.15.2. *The Plural Ending* -ane

Nouns that take this plural ending almost all have inanimate referents.

10.15.2.1. *Plurals in* -ane *from Singulars in* -a
This include nouns of both genders:

(i) Masculine

Singular	Plural	
ʾumra	*ʾumrane*	'church'
ʾupra	*ʾuprane*	'land, soil'
bura	*burane*	'unirrigated field'
darmana	*darmanane*	'drug, medicine'
drana	*dranane*	'arm'
gawza	*gawzane*	'walnut tree'
geba	*gebane*	'side'
gewana	*gewanane*	'border of field'
gulpa	*gulpane*	'wing'
gwina	*gwinane*	'boundary'
jeba	*jebane*	'pocket'
karma	*karmane*	'orchard'
kuprana	*kupranane*	'trellis, bower'
măra	*mărane*	'illness'
marga	*margane*	'meadow'
pəlxana	*pəlxanane*	'work'
rasa	*rasane*	'grass used for animal fodder'
reša	*rešane*	'top (of a village)'
ruša	*rušane*	'shoulder'
stuna	*stunane*	'post'
syaʾa	*syaʾane*	'fence'
šəmma	*šəmmane*	'name'
šula	*šulane*	'job'
šuqa	*šuqane*	'market'
talma	*talmane*	'water pot'
taqa	*taqane*	'branch'
tăra	*tărane*	'door'
ṭura	*ṭurane*	'mountain'
tuθa	*tuθane*	'mulberry tree'
yoma	*yomane*	'day'

(ii) Feminine

ʾilana f.	*ʾilanane*	'tree'
dəkkana f.	*dəkkanane*	'shop'
qana f.	*qanane*	'horn'

qənna f.	*qənnane*	'nest'
šana f.	*šanane*	'honeycomb'
swana f.	*swanane*	'overhanging eaves of roof'

Most nouns ending in the singular nominal inflectional ending *-a* that have a plural in *-ane* can also form a plural with the shorter ending *-e*, e.g. *ʾilana* 'tree' (pl. *ʾilanane, ʾilane*), *ʾumra* (pl. *ʾumrane, ʾumre*), etc. For the usage of these variant plurals see §14.12.

10.15.2.2. *Plurals in* -ane *from Singulars in* -θa

dukθa	*dukane*	'place'
gənθa	*gənnane*	'garden'
kənθa	*kənnane*	'kidney'

10.15.3. *The Plural Ending* -aθa

10.15.3.1. *Plurals in* -aθa *from Singulars in* -a

Nearly all nouns in this category are feminine in gender, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
ʾaqla f.	*ʾaqlaθa*	'leg'
ʾaṭma f.	*ʾaṭmaθa*	'thigh, side'
ʾəqba f.	*ʾəqbaθa*	'heel'
ʾəsra f.	*ʾəsraθa*	'storage basket'
ʾiða f.	*ʾiθaθa*	'hand'
barbiya f.	*barbiyaθa*	'bride's female companion'
baxta f.	*baxtaθa*	'woman'
bədra f.	*bədraθa*	'threshing floor'
bera f.	*beraθa*	'well'
beriya f.	*beriyaθa*	'milkmaid'
buma f.	*bumaθa*	'owl'
bzara f.	*bzaraθa*	'plough'
dəbba f.	*dəbbaθa*	'bear'
dudiya f.	*dudiyaθa*	'cradle'
gana f.	*ganaθa*	'person'
guniya f.	*guniyaθa*	'sack'
gutta f	*guttaθa*	'ball'
kasa f.	*kasaθa*	'stomach'
kawda f.	*kawdaθa*	'liver'

mbadla f.	*mbadlaθa*	‘morning’
məṭra f.	*məṭraθa*	‘rain’
pəqqa f.	*pəqqaθa*	‘frog’
pošiya f.	*pošiyaθa*	‘festive headscarf’
qaɯra f.	*qaɯraθa*	‘grave’
qənna f.	*qənnaθa*	‘nest’
qatta f.	*qattaθa*	‘handle of a knife’
salla f.	*sallaθa*	‘basket’
šapna f.	*šapnaθa*	‘instrument for smoothing ground’
šarba f.	*šarbaθa*	‘jug’
šərma f.	*šərmaθa*	‘buttock’
ṣəṣra f.	*ṣəṣraθa*	‘cockroach’
šlada f.	*šladaθa*	‘corpse’
sona f.	*sonaθa*	‘type of duck’
ṣudra f.	*ṣudraθa*	‘shirt’
suta f.	*sutaθa*	‘partridge trap’
ṭəpra f.	*ṭəpraθa*	‘fingernail, toenail’
xaliya f.	*xaliyaθa*	‘carpet’
xaqla f.	*xaqlaθa*	‘field’
xmaṭa f.	*xmaṭaθa*	‘needle’
yama f.	*yamaθa*	‘sea’
yaɯna f.	*yaɯnaθa*	‘dove, pigeon’
yəmma f.	*yəmmaθa*	‘mother’
yubqa f.	*yubqaθa*	‘skirt’
zəqqa f.	*zəqqaθa*	‘waterskin’
zorna f.	*zornaθa*	‘pipe’

An exception is the masculine noun *reša*, which has the plural *rešaθa* when it is used in the secondary sense of ‘head of a tool’.

Most nouns ending in the singular nominal inflectional ending *-a* that have a plural in *-aθa* can also form a plural with the shorter ending *-e*, e.g. *ʾaqla* ‘leg’ (pl. *ʾaqlaθa*, *ʾaqle*), *ʾaṭma* ‘thigh’ (pl. *ʾaṭmaθa*, *ʾaṭme*), etc. For the usage of these variant plurals see §14.12. Exceptions to this are the nouns *baxta* ‘woman’ and *yəmma* ‘mother’, which have plurals only in *-aθa*.

In a few feminine nouns with the singular feminine ending *-ta* the plural *-aθa* is added after the ending without replacing it, as if the */t/* were part of the root, e.g.

xəlleta f.	*xəlletaθa*	‘gift’
yamta f.	*yamtaθa*	‘lake’

Note also the word *šədda* f. 'demon', the ending *-da* of which, although originally the feminine affix (cf. *šeđa* m. 'demon'), is now no longer interpreted as such and forms a plural by replacing the final *-a* by *-aθa*:

šədda	*šəddaθa*	'demon'

10.15.3.2. *Plurals in* -aθa *from Singulars in* -e
All nouns in this category are feminine in gender:

Singular	Plural	
ʾarxe f.	*ʾarxaθa*	'water-mill'
beriye f.	*beriyaθa*	'milkmaid'
hawše f.	*hawšaθa*	'sheep-fold'
kawe f.	*kawaθa*	'small window'
kore f.	*koraθa*	'hole in the ground'
pəqqəške f.	*pəqqəškaθa*	'bubble, blister'
qəlle f.	*qəllaθa*	'hawk'
ṭašte f.	*ṭaštaθa*	'brass bowl'
ṭoke f.	*ṭokaθa*	'type of bird'
tope f.	*topaθa*	'gun'

10.15.3.3. *Plurals in* -aθa *from Singulars in* -ta

Singular	Plural	
čanta	*čanaθa*	'bag'
karta	*karaθa*	'load of wood'
mđita	*mđinaθa*	'town'
quṣarta	*quṣraθa*	'cooking pot'
ṣabota	*ṣabaθa*	'finger'
šəbbəlta	*šəblaθa*	'head of corn'
šišəlta	*šišlaθa*	'chain
tawərta	*tawraθa*	'cow'
taxərta	*taxraθa*	'small pitta bread'

Some nouns also have plurals in *-yaθa*, which is the more common plural inflection for nouns with singulars in *-ta*, e.g. *tawərta* pl. *tawriyaθa*, *quṣarta* pl. *quṣariyaθa*.

Note the appearance of the */n/* in the plural form *mđinaθa*, which has been lost in the singular form through a process of assimilation: *mđita*

< **mðīntā*. The plural *ṣabaθa* 'fingers' has developed from an original **ṣabʿāθā*. The historical background of the singular *ṣabota* is < **ṣabuʾta*.

Some feminine nouns retain the /*t*/ of the feminine singular ending after the attachment of the plural inflection:

ʾamta	*ʾamtaθa*	'paternal aunt'
gota	*gotaθa*	'side'
lota	*lotaθa*	'cheek'
nita	*nitaθa*	'all night wedding celebration'
qulta	*qultaθa*	'animal trap'
ruta	*rutaθa*	'Friday'
šətta	*səttaθa*	'bottom'
tata	*tataθa*	'crest of a bird'
xalta	*xaltaθa*	'maternal aunt'

The nouns *gota*, *lota* and *qulta* also have the plural forms *goyaθa*, *loyaθa* and *qulyaθa* respectively.

10.15.3.4. *Plurals in* -aθa *from Singulars in* -θa

Singular	Plural	
ʾapɛθa	*ʾapayaθa*	'cloth put over bread'
daliθa	*dalyaθa*	'vine'
kalθa	*kalaθa*	'daughter-in-law'
kliθa	*kəlyaθa*	'kidney'
kutəlθa	*kutlaθa*	'cutlet'
kθɛθa	*kθayaθa*	'chicken'
mɑɯmiθa	*mɑɯmaθa*	'oath'
paṛθa	*paṛaθa*	'female lamb'
qalθa	*qalaθa*	'basket'
qăreθa	*qăraθa*	'gourd'
səpθa	*səppaθa*	'lip'
šabθa	*šabbaθa*	'week'
šəkθa	*šəkkaθa*	'testicle'
šmɛθa	*šămaθa*	'report'
šwiθa	*šəɯyaθa*	'bed'
xamθa	*xamaθa*	'young woman'

The plural forms *səppaθa*, *šabbaθa* and *šəkkaθa* exhibit gemination of the second consonant, which has prevented the elision of the preceding vowel.

Note the syllabic restructuring in some of the plural forms, viz. *kəlyaθa*, *šămaθa* (< **šamʿaθa*), *šəwyaθa*.

10.15.3.5. *Plurals in* -aθa *from Singulars in* -o

Singular	Plural	
t̂o t̂o f.	*t̂o t̂aθa*	'old woman'

Most words of feminine gender ending in *-o* form a plural in *-owaθa* (§10.15.5.2.).

10.15.4. *The Plural Ending* -ăwaθa

10.15.4.1. *Plurals in* -ăwaθa *from Singulars in* -a
This plural ending is commonly found with masculine nouns, many of which have human referents, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
(i) Masculine nouns with human referents		
ʾəðma m.	*ʾəðmăwaθa*	'brother of husband'
baba m.	*babăwaθa*	'father'
mama m.	*mamăwaθa*	'paternal uncle'
mara m.	*marăwaθa*	'master, owner (pl. family)'
sawa m.	*sawăwaθa*	'grandfather, ancestor'
xala m.	*xalăwaθa*	'maternal uncle'
xawra m.	*xawrăwaθa*	'friend'
xaθa f.	*xaθăwaθa*	'sister'
xətna m.	*xətnăwaθa*	'son-in-law'
xona m.	*xonăwaθa*	'brother'
(ii) Other masculine nouns		
ʾaθṛa m.	*ʾaθṛăwaθa*	'country, place'
ʾeða m.	*ʾeðăwaθa*	'festival'
bɛθa m.	*bɛθăwaθa*	'house'
koza m.	*kozăwaθa*	'cave for sheltering sheep'
nera m.	*nerăwaθa*	'river'
pumma m.	*pummăwaθa*	'mouth'
reša m.	*rešăwaθa*	'head, summit'

susa m.	*susăwaθa*	'horse'
kursa m.	*kursăwaθa*	'chair'
mez m.	*mezăwaθa*	'table'
xɛla m.	*xɛlăwaθa*	'force'
zoma m.	*zomăwaθa*	'summer camp'
čəčča m.	*čəččăwaθa*	'teat, breast'
xəðya m.	*xəðyăwaθa*	'breast'

It is used with a few feminine nouns with *-a* in the singular, e.g.

ʾiða f.	*ʾiðăwaθa*	'hand'
ʾɛna f.	*ʾɛnăwaθa*	'spring (of water)'
gurza f.	*gurzăwaθa*	'club'
murza f.	*murzăwaθa*	'ball and chain weapon'

The */θ/* of the noun *xaθa* 'sister', although historically a feminine marker suffix, is treated as part of the root and retained in the plural *xaθăwaθa*.

10.15.4.2. *Plurals in* -ăwaθa *from Singulars in* -e
Nouns in this category are of both genders:

Singular	Plural	
gare m.	*garăwaθa*	'roof'
lɛle m.	*lɛlăwaθa*	'night'
maqle m.	*maqlăwaθa*	'cooking pot'
xuwwe m.	*xuwwăwaθa*	'snake'
ʾore f.	*ʾorăwaθa*	'manger'
baste f.	*bastăwaθa*	'expanse of stones in river'
čale f.	*čalăwaθa*	'pit'
kore f.	*korăwaθa*	'hole'
šarre f.	*šarrăwaθa*	'battle'
t̂aražoke f.	*t̂aražokăwaθa*	'small blue bird

10.15.5. *The Plural Ending* -waθa

10.15.5.1. *Plurals in* -waθa *from Singulars in* -a
Nouns in this category are of both genders:

Singular	Plural	
bɛθa m.	*bɛθwaθa*	'house'
xona m.	*xonwaθa*	'brother'
xulama m.	*xulamwaθa*	'servant'
maθa f.	*maθwaθa*	'village'
paθa f.	*paθwaθa*	'face'
xaθa f.	*xaθwaθa*	'sister'
zəbbara f.	*zəbbərwaθa*	'group of workers'

The plural ending *-waθa* is an abbreviated form of the ending *-ăwaθa* and, indeed, some nouns in this group also have an alternative plural in *-ăwaθa*, e.g. *bɛθăwaθa, xonăwaθa, xaθăwaθa*.

10.15.5.2. *Plurals in* -waθa *from Singulars in* -o
All nouns in this category are feminine. The *-o* is retained after the attachment of the plural ending:

ʾatko	*ʾatkowaθa*	'stomach lining of ruminant'
bălo	*bălowaθa*	'whirlpool'
garo	*garowaθa*	'rat'
garšo	*garšowaθa*	'tool used in paddy fields'
kʾalo	*kʾalowaθa*	'bride'
majo	*majowaθa*	'crushing bowl'
naqro	*naqrowaθa*	'woodpecker'

10.15.5.3. *Plurals in* -waθa *from Singulars in* -uθa
Feminine nouns with the singular ending *-uθa* form the plural by replacing the *-θa* with *-waθa*:

ʾaθuθa	*ʾaθuwaθa*	'letter (of the alphabet)'
malkuθa	*malkuwaθa*	'kingdom'
maṛuθa	*maṛuwaθa*	'snow spade'
qaṭuθa	*qaṭuwaθa*	'(female) cat'

10.15.6. *The Plural Ending* -yaθa

This is the usual plural ending of singulars in *-ta* and *-θa*.

10.15.6.1. *Plurals in* -yaθa *from Singulars in* -ta

Singular	Plural	
ʾaqulta	*ʾaqulyaθa*	‘piece used to tighten rope’
ʾiðamta	*ʾiðamyaθa*	‘sister of husband’
ʾiṗta	*ʾiṗyaθa*	‘leather strap’
barəšta	*barəšyaθa*	‘pillow’
baxošta	*baxošyaθa*	‘large spoon, ladle’
gdišta	*gdišyaθa*	‘stook of corn’
genawta	*genawyaθa*	‘thief (f.)’
gawzəlta	*gawzəlyaθa*	‘small walnut tree’
gusta	*gusyaθa*	‘ball of dough’
gərgərta	*gərgəryaθa*	‘wheel’
koðənta	*koðənyaθa*	‘mule’
kurtəxta	*kurtəxyaθa*	‘lower back’
margəlta	*margəlyaθa*	‘small pan’
məssukta	*məssukyaθa*	‘craw, gizzard (of a bird)’
mojənta	*mojenyaθa*	‘heiffer’
parošta	*parošyaθa*	‘smooth pebble’
paṭorta	*paṭoryaθa*	‘mushroom’
pəqqəšta	*pəqqəšyaθa*	‘bubble’
pista	*pisyaθa*	‘bag for jajik’
qalta	*qalyaθa*	‘basket’
qedamta	*qedamyaθa*	‘morning’
qursəlta	*qursəlyaθa*	‘elbow’
quṣarta	*quṣaryaθa*	‘pot’
romta	*romyaθa*	‘small hill’
skinta	*skinyaθa*	‘knife’
susta	*susyaθa*	‘mare’
šənduxta	*šənduxyaθa*	‘smooth stone’
tarəqta	*tarəqyaθa*	‘button’
tuθta	*tuθyaθa*	‘berry’
xalaqta	*xalaqyaθa*	‘earring’
xazəmta	*xazəmyaθa*	‘nose-ring’
yaləxta	*yaləxyaθa*	‘scarf’
jareta	*jareyaθa*	‘lunch box’
gota	*goyaθa*	‘side’
garuta	*garuyaθa*	‘stack of branches’
lota	*loyaθa*	‘cheek’
pasuta	*pasuyaθa*	‘pace’
zruta	*zruyaθa*	‘cultivation’

In a few cases the vowel */i/* is inserted before the ending. This sometimes involves resyllabification of the noun base:

tawərta	*tawriyaθa*	'cow'
zawərta	*zawriyaθa*	'clay water pot'
xorta	*xoriyaθa*	'willow tree'

10.15.6.2. *Plurals in* -yaθa *from Singulars in* -θa

Singular	Plural	
ʾašiθa	*ʾašiyaθa*	'avalanche'
ʾeliθa	*ʾəlyaθa*	'fat tail (of sheep)'
ʾisəqθa	*ʾisəqyaθa*	'ring'
dapθa	*dapyaθa*	'strip of wood'
gərəkθa	*gərəkyaθa*	'small hill'
ḥabbəkθa	*ḥabbəkyaθa*	'tablet'
kusiθa	*kusiyaθa*	'hat'
laməkθa	*laməkyaθa*	'jaw (of an animal)'
naθa	*naθyaθa*	'ear'
qariθa	*qariyaθa*	'beam'
qarqupθa	*qarqupyaθa*	'skull'
qurniθa	*qurniyaθa*	'corner'
šaqiθa	*šaqiyaθa*	'irrigation channel'
šəbbərθa	*šəbbəryaθa*	'bracelet'
snoniθa	*snoniyaθa*	'swallow'
ṣoṣiθa	*ṣoṣiyaθa*	'plait'
squpθa	*squpyaθa*	'lintel'
xṭiθa	*xṭiyaθa*	'sin'

The plural of *naθa* 'ear' is formed irregularly in that the */θ/* is retained when the *-yaθa* ending is attached, resulting in the form *naθyaθa*. Historically the singular form *naθa* is, in fact, a plural form (< **ʾəðnaθa*).

10.15.6.3. *Plurals in* -yaθa *from Singulars in* -e

pozəkke	*pozəkyaθa*	'nozzle'
qarəkke	*qarəkyaθa*	'crow'
quṣxane	*quṣxanyaθa*	'pan'

A few bisyllabic nouns retain the final /*e*/ vowel in the plural:

qare	*qareyaθa*	'chicken coop'
quppe	*quppeyaθa*	'brooding hen'

10.15.7. *Plurals with Reduplication of the Final Syllable*

Most nouns that have this type of plural have in the singular the bisyllabic pattern *CVCCa*. The reduplication consists of the repetition of the final radical. In the case of nouns with a geminated final radical, it is repeated ungeminated. Reduplicative plurals are found both in nouns of Aramaic stock and also in loanwords. None have human referents.

Singular	Plural	
ʾaqra	*ʾaqrare*	'stock, stem'
boya	*boyaye*	'hole'
čəmma	*čəmmame*	'split hoof'
garra	*garrɛre*	'pool'
gəlla	*gəllale*	'herb'
gəppa	*gəppape*	'cave'
gəra	*gərare*	'hill'
lappa	*lappape*	'palm, sole'
məxra	*məxrare*	'small water channel'
pəqqa	*pəqqaqe*	'frog'
qəṭṭa	*qəṭṭaṭe*	'piece'
təlpa	*təlpape*	'eyelash'
ṭiya	*ṭiyaye*	'mountain peak'
ṭuwa	*ṭuwawe*	'coloured gem'
xərṭa	*xərṭaṭe*	'line (of palm)'
xuwwe	*xuwwawe*	'snake'

Occasionally reduplicative plurals are formed from feminine singular nouns ending in *-ta* or *-θa*:

ʾaṣərta	*ʾaṣrare*	'evening'
səkθa	*səkkake*	'peg'
ṣəmθa, ṣəmma	*ṣəmmame*	'hoof'
təkθa	*təkkake*	'trouser cord'

Some of these nouns also have plurals without reduplication, e.g. *boya* 'hole', pl. *boye* 'holes'. In the case of *lappa*, the plural form *lappe* means 'waves' rather than 'palms'.

10.15.8. *Plural Endings on Loanwords with Unadapted Singulars*

Most loanwords that are unadapted in the singular form a plural by attaching an Aramaic plural inflection. This is normally the inflection *-e* irrespective of the gender of the noun.

Where the original vowel of the final syllable is attenuated in the singular due to its occurrence in an unstressed closed syllable, this is retained unattenuated in the plural, in which it occurs in a stressed open syllable, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
ʾatnábəl	*ʾatnabéle*	'car'
ʾótəx	*ʾotáxe*	'room'
čángəl	*čangále*	'fork'
čéypəs	*čeypáse*	'small teapot'
derúbər	*derubáre*	'wood, forest'
dắrəj	*dăráje*	'step'
héywən	*heywáne*	'animal'
kəlbáttən	*kəlbəttáne*	'pincers'
márkən	*markáne*	'pot'
qárwən	*qarwáne*	'caravan'
táhər	*tahɛ́re*	'type'
ṭábəq	*ṭabáqe*	'floor, storey'

If the original vowel in the final closed syllable is a short */ə/*, this remains short in the plural, even though it is in an opened stressed syllable, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
fə́lfəl	*fəlfə́le*	'pepper'
mə́šməš	*məšmə́še*	'apricot'

In some cases the consonant after the short vowel is geminated when a plural ending is added, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
šab	*šábbe*	'alum'
xam	*xámme*	'worry'

xə́llət	*xəllátte*	‘gift’
qaráwət	*qarawə́tte*	‘bed’

When the loanword ends in a vowel, a glide */y/*, */w/* or */ʾ/* is inserted before the *-e* plural ending, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
ga	*gaye*	‘time’
ṭurši	*ṭuršiye*	‘pickled vegetable’
kilo	*kiloye ~ kiloʾe*	‘kilo’

A final *-a* vowel in a loanword is, however, sometimes interpreted as the Aramaic singular inflection *-a* and the plural is formed by replacing the *-a* with *-e*, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
parča	*parče*	‘cloth, fabric’ (Kurd. perçe)

Occasionally other plural endings are used on loanwords with unadapated singulars, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
brīn f.	*brinane*	‘wound’
ʾadət f.	*ʾadətaθa*	‘custom’
jamm f.	*jammaθa*	‘glass; green-house’
ʾaskar f.	*ʾaskaryaθa*	‘army’
barbi f.	*barbiyaθa*	‘bridesmaid’
čəlluri f.	*čəlluriyaθa*	‘small lizard’
barju f.	*barjuwaθa*	‘channel in a paddy field’

When the singular ends in *-a*, a glide */y/* is inserted before the plural ending and the preceding */a/* has a tendency to shift to */i/* through assimilation to this, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
panjăra	*panjăriyaθa*	‘window’
wasta	*wastiyaθa*	‘woman’s dress’

The sequence */ta/* at the end of an unadapted singular form is sometimes interpreted as the Aramaic feminine inflection and it is replaced by the plural endings *-aθa* or *-yaθa*, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
čanta	*čanaθa*	'bag' (Kurd. cente f.)
ṭašta	*ṭašyaθa*	'brass bowl' (Kurd. teşt f.)

A few unadapted loanwords are invariable and have no inflectional endings in the plural, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
qaṭ	*qaṭ*	'floor, storey'

10.15.9. *Irregular Plurals*

Singular	Plural	
šeta	*šənne*	'year'
bɛθa	*bate*	'house'
brata	*bnaθa*	'daughter'
brona	*bnone*	'son'
gʾawṛa	*guṛe, guṛane*	'man, gentleman'
kalba	*kalwe*	'dog'
ʾərba	*ʾərwe ~ ʾərbe*	'sheep'
yala	*ʾayale*	'child'

The irregular plural forms *bate, bnaθa, bnone* and *guṛe* have their roots in earlier Aramaic, except that the word *bnone* has a diminutive suffix. The plural *guṛe* derives from **guḇrē* whereas the singular *gawṛa* derives from **gaḇrā*. The plural *kalwe* with */w/* has developed from **kalḇē* with the fricative **ḇ*, whereas the singular *kalba* is derived historically from **kalbā* with the stop **b*. This differs from other words in the dialect that are derived historically from the pattern **CVCC* with a *BGDKPT* letter as third radical, since all of these extend the stop pronunciation of the *BGDKPT* letter in the singular to the plural, e.g. *malka*, pl. *malke* 'king' (< **malkā*, pl. **malk̲ē*). The word *bɛθa* also has the regular plural form *bɛθăwaθa*.

10.15.10. *Pluralia Tantum*

This category includes plural nouns for which no singular form appears to be available. They are mainly nouns of mass:

ʾawahaθa	'parents' (rare)
ʾawahe	'parents' (rare)
ʾəxre	'excrement'
dawwe	'yoghurt mixed with water'
čakke	'weapons; jewels'
həššе	'senses'
miya	'water'
parpiṭe	'brushwood'
prage	'millet'
pode	'pus from nose'
ṛiṛe	'slobber, drivel'
šăre	'wet cattle dung'
šəmme	'sky'
xaye	'life'
xroriye	'sorghum'
xəšxəšone	'skating, skiing'

The form *miya* 'water' has developed from the plural form **mayyā*.

10.16. The Annexation of Nouns

A noun may be syntactically annexed to a following noun or clause by means of the particle *D* (§4.4.), which has the phonetic realization of *t* or *d*. Although historically this particle is derived from **d* of earlier Aramaic, with a voiced consonant, there are grounds for considering the unvoiced realization *t* to be the basic form in annexation constructions in the C. Barwar NENA dialect, with *d* now being a secondary form that is conditioned by the environment. The abstract representation *D* is used to refer to both phonetic realizations. We shall be concerned here with the annexation of a noun to a another noun. The annexation of a noun to a clause will be dealt with in §19.1.

When a noun is annexed to a following noun, the first noun functions as the head of the phrase and the second has the function of a modifier which stands broadly in a genitive relation to the head. The *D* particle is

normally cliticized to the head noun rather than to the following dependent modifier noun. The final inflectional vowels *-a* or *-e* of the head noun are reduced to */ə/* in the resulting closed syllable. Other vowels retain their quality:

-a + t	>	*-ət*
-e + t	>	*-ət*
-i + t	>	*-it*
-u + t	>	*-ut*
-o + t	>	*-ot*

If the singular and plural forms of the noun are distinguished only by the inflectional vowels *-a* and *-e*, this distinction is lost. Examples: *xá-gəldət tàwra* 'a skin of an ox' (A11:10), *tré-gəldət tàwre* 'two skins of oxen' (A11:11), *kértət qèse* 'a load of wood' (A15:13), *dánət kawùθra* 'time of lunch' (A22:22), *ṭəppəryáθət heywàne*ˡ 'the claws of animals' (A19:2).

When the first consonant of the dependent noun is voiced, the *D* particle sometimes becomes voiced by assimilation. This voice assimilation is not marked in the transcription, e.g. *béθət* [bɛːθəd] *duglàna* 'the house of the liar' (A48:7), *bábət* [bɑːbəd] *bráta* 'the father of the girl' (A17:20), *nášət* [naːʃəd] *màθa* 'the people of the village' (A48:3). On numerous occasions, however, this assimilation does not take place before a voiced consonant and the particle retains its default unvoiced form, e.g. *brónət* [broːnət] *màlka* 'the son of the king' (A32:21), *ða-qónnət* [qənnət] *dəbbòre* 'a nest of hornets' (A20:6), *ʾánna nášət* [naːʃət] *màθa* 'these people of the village' (A48:2).

An unadapted loanword that has a final vowel that it has retained from the source language sometimes has the annexation suffix *-ət* connected to it by the glide */y/*, e.g. *ḥabbayət xəṭṭəθa* 'a seed (*ḥabba*) of grain'.

When the dependent noun begins with a laryngal */ʾ/* followed by a vowel, the laryngal is generally retained and not elided, e.g. *mástət ʾàrye* 'the yoghurt of lions' (A33:2), *xa-káwtət ʾərwe* 'a flock of sheep' (A32:14), *b-úrxət ʾalàha* 'on the path of God' (A15:19).

When the item dependent on the head noun is a demonstrative pronoun, however, the phonotactics are different, in that the particle is regularly syllabified with the demonstrative pronoun and replaces the initial larygnal. The head noun may end in the centralized vowel */ə/* or the original */a/* or */e/* vowel may be retained. A further difference is that the particle in such contexts is regularly pronounced voiced as *d*, e.g. *málka d-áyya bàžər* 'the king of this town' (A32:5), *gu-ṣádrə d-áwwa sùsa*ˡ 'in the chest of this horse' (A14:67), *čádra d-ò-malka* 'the tent of that king' (A4:2), *ríxə d-o-xámra*

'the smell of that wine' (A12:47), *manáyə d-áyya ṭàsa* 'the meaning of this goblet' (A15:17), *xadámta d-ɛ-bráta* 'the servant of that girl' (A4:50), *šə́mmə d-ɛ-bráta* 'the name of that girl' (A25:4), *qam-ʾénə d-ánna botanàye* 'before the eyes of these Botan people' (A26:72). The same applies to nouns annexed to independent demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *čánta d-àwwa* 'the bag of this one' (A14:5), *féka d-ăwàha* 'the fruit of that one' (A14:7), *bɛ́θa d-àw* 'his house' (A8:24), and also to those annexed to interrogative pronouns, e.g. *ʾan-ʾə́rwe d-ènila?*ǀ 'Whose sheep are those?' (A32:16), *ʾáyya bə́rke d-ènila?*ǀ 'Whose pool is this?' (A25:61).

The regular voicing of the particle before demonstratives and the syllabification of the particle with the demonstrative rather than with the head noun has the appearance of an archaism. It is likely, however, to have arisen by analogical association with constructions containing the independent genitive particle, which begins with */d/*:

bɛθa diya : bɛθa d-ay 'her house'

When the demonstrative pronoun is 3ms the head noun sometimes has a 3ms suffix, as does the construction with the independent genitive particle:

bɛθe diye : bɛθe d-aw 'his house'

The base of the analogy was presumably in constructions with independent demonstratives, as above, and this was then extended to nominal phrases beginning with attributive demonstratives.

On some occasions the annexation particle is separated from the head noun and attached to the dependent noun even when it is not combined with a demonstrative. In such cases the particle has its usual unvoiced form *t*. It is often preceded by a prosthetic vowel, though this is not marked in the transcription, e.g. *t-ə̄rxe* [ʾət-ʾərxe] 'of the mill' (A19:4). Examples of this type of annexation are found where the head noun is an unadapted loanword with an inflectional vowel, e.g. *múxtər t-Bàrwər* 'the chief of Barwar' (B15:20), *mánquš t-prə̀zla* 'a sparking tool made of metal' (B7:19) *púwuš t-ʾilàna* 'hay kindling of a tree' (B7:19), *qáṣṣət t-Fárxo diyèxu* 'the story of your Farxo' (A25:21). It is also found after words of Aramaic stock with an inflectional vowel, which retains its original quality in the annexation, e.g. *də́mma t-tèla* 'the blood of a fox' (A32:21), *xa-málka t-Yă̆man* 'a king of Yemen' (A14:36), *brátət málka t-Màġrəb* 'the daughter of the king of Morocco' (A28:17). When the dependent noun begins with a laryngal,

this is occasionally elided, in which case the *D* particle is syllabified with the following word and realized as an unvoiced unaspirated /t̂/ before the vowel, e.g. *tre-pə́nxe t̂-ə́rxe* 'two stones of a water-mill' (A24:13).

A dependent noun that has the particle prefixed to it is sometimes put in a separate intonation group. In some cases this is the result of hesitation or correction by the speaker, e.g. *ṭə́ḷḷəθ bnáθa xène*| *t-Bə̆kùrku*| 'three other girls, of Bə̆kurku' (A26:24), *rìxa*| *t-xa-kàlləš*| 'the scent of carrion' (C8:5), *šíšət prà̀zla*| *t-ʾə́rxe*| 'The bars of iron, of the mill' (A19:4), *ða-gótət màθa,*| *t-məðìta*| 'one side of the village, of the town' (A29:54), *qúwwət… t-ʾurusnàye*| 'the force…of the Russians' (B7:8), *pə̀nxa,*| *t-ʾə́rxe,*| *pə́nxət ʾə́rxe*| 'the stone, of the mill, the mill stone' (B5:90), *də̄́n-t pàlgət yóma,*| *kawùθra,*| *t-xə̆dàya*| 'the time of midday, lunch, of lunch' (B11:34).

In some sporadic cases the annexation particle occurs twice in the construction, being affixed both to the head noun and to the dependent nominal, e.g. *qurṭánət t-xmàre*| 'the blankets of the mules' (A23:13), *bába-w yámmət… t-yàla*| 'the father and the mother of the boy' (A25:10), *qam-tə̆́rət*| *d-ó-boyət tèle*| 'before the door of the hole of the foxes' (A20:6), *ʾahwáltət d-ò naša*| 'the condition of that person' (B5:8).

In some loanwords a final /ət/ syllable in their base is interpreted as the annexation particle. This applies to annexation constructions of the nouns *qəṣṣət* 'story' and *saʾəta* 'hour' such as *qáṣṣət xóni* 'the story of my brother' (A8:65), *sáʾət ʾárpa* 'the hour of four (= four o'clock)' (A17:27).

Occasionally the /ə/ vowel of the *-ət* ending on the head noun is elided and the /t/ clusters with the final consonant of the noun. This is found where the final consonant is a sonorant or sibilant. A long vowel in an originally open syllable generally remains long despite the fact that it has been closed by this syllabic contraction, e.g. *díwən-t málka* 'the audience chamber of the king' (A17:31), *guðə́n-t ʾàrye*| 'a churn of lions' (A33:13), *də̄́n-t pàlgət yóma*| 'the time of midday' (B11:34), *xə̄́ṣ-t dawə̀ra* 'the back of a mule' (B5:125), *rēš-t-kʾàlo* 'the head of the bride' (B5:49).

More frequently the /t/ in the ending *-ət* of the head noun is elided, with the result that the head noun ends in the vowel *-ə*, e.g. *ʾénə mìya* 'the spring of water' (A11:17), *ʾɛnáθə mìya* 'springs of water' (A12:9), *núrə šmàyya* 'the fire of heaven' (A12:31), *yománə šàbθa* (A17:15), *nášə ʾàskar* 'the people of the army' (A11:14).

In some cases the contraction of the head noun is further advanced, in that the entire ending *-ət* is elided. If the preceding syllable originally contained a long vowel, this is usually retained in the resultant closed syllable, e.g. *brōn* < *bronət* 'son of'. If the elision brings about a final cluster, the cluster is often broken by an epenthetic vowel, e.g. *bə̆xət* < *baxtət*

'the wife of'. A distinction should be made between this contracted form of annexation and compound nominal constructions (§10.17.). Unlike compound nominals, which are fixed phrases with an invariable form, contracted annexation is an optional process and interchanges with less contracted annexation of the same word in the same or similar contexts, e.g. *brōn mami* ~ *bronət mami* 'the son of my uncle (my cousin)', *băxət babi* ~ *baxtət babi* 'the wife of my father (my step-mother)'. When the word *baxta* is used outside of expressions relating to kinship relationships to the speaker, it is generally not contracted, e.g. *báxtət ʾáġa Ǯāl* 'the wife of the Agha of Ǯāl' (A19:29), *báxtət ʿAbda-Raḥmā̀n-bēk* 'the wife of ʿAbda-Raḥmān-bēk' (A23:26). Further examples from the text corpus: *rš-ắqəl bàxta* 'onto the leg (*ʾaqla*) of the woman' (A16:11, but *ʾáqlət màlla* 'the leg of the mullah' A22:38), *ʾắθəṛ dèwele*ˡ 'It is the land of the wolves' (A14:55, but *ʾáθṛət bàbux* 'the land of your father' A14:89), *ʾáw šēr-Màyele*ˡ 'That is the festival (*šera*) of Maye' (B5:229, but *šérət Dúre* 'the festival of Dure' B5:228), *zawn-šlàmɛle*ˡ 'It is the time (*zawna*) of peace' (A1:26, but *záwnət qə̀ṭla* 'the time of killing' A1:25), *xāṣ-sùsux* 'the back of your horse' (A14:67, but *xáṣə súse dìye* 'the back of his horse' A25:54). The contraction is commonly found in some place names, e.g. *ʾƐ̄n-Nune* 'Spring of Fishes' (name of village, but *ʾƐnə-Nùne* B3:3) and *Rōm-Dibo* 'Hill of Dibo' (locality in ʾƐn-Nune).

The annexation particle is always retained on a demonstrative that occurs in the dependent nominal phrase, e.g. *brōn-d-o-náša* 'the son of that man' (A9:2).

The gender of the phrase with contracted annexation is that of the head noun, as is the general rule in annexation. The plural is formed by putting the head noun in the plural, like other forms of annexation, e.g. *bnōn mami* ~ *bnonət mami* 'the sons of my uncle (my cousins)'.

10.17. Compound Nominal Phrases

10.17.1. *General Remarks*

Compound nominal phrases consist of two nouns linked together, but differ from annexation constructions in a number of respects.

The first noun does not have the morphophonological shape of a noun in annexation. In most cases it exhibits a more advanced degree of phonetic contraction than the head noun in contracted annexation constructions described above. This is reflected by the shortening of an originally long vowel in a closed syllable, e.g. *bɛθ-qora* ~ *bəθ-qora* 'cemetery'

<*bēθ-qora*, and the elision of consonants, e.g. *xa-ramša* 'dinner' < **xal-ramša* ('eating of evening').

In some cases the second noun of the construction also undergoes contraction. In the second element of *bɛθ-qora*, for example, the original diphthong */aw/* is regularly contracted to */o/*, whereas the diphthong is preserved when the word *qawra* 'grave' is used independently (§2.4.2.). In a few cases consonants are elided, e.g. *barša* 'namesake' (< **bar-šma* 'son of the name'), *šəmmaxta* 'palate' (< **šəmme-ḥaḵta* 'sky of the palate').

The first noun sometimes has the form of the construct of earlier Aramaic, e.g. *bəṛ-zăra* 'seed' (< **bar-zarʿā* 'son of a seed'), *mare bena* 'tolerant person' ('owner of breath'; cf. Syriac construct *mārē*). This applies to various originally feminine singular construct forms in which the ending **-aθ* has been contracted to *–a*, which include compounds with the element *bra-* (< **braθ* 'daughter of'), e.g. *bra-ṣəppa* 'thimble' < **braθ-ṣəppa* ('daughter of the finger'), and compounds with an original feminine singular participle, mainly names of insects and small animals, e.g. *ʾazla-kuše* 'dragonfly' (literally: 'spinner of spindles' < **ʿāzlaθ kuše*), *zaqra-qode* 'spider' (literally: 'weaver of traps' < **zāqraθ qode*), *taqla-šəkke* 'spider' (literally: 'weigher of testicles' < **tāqlaθ šəkke*), *marčʿa-xuwwe* 'chameleon' (literally: 'squasher of snakes' < **mārčʿaθ xuwwe*), *mɛṣa-ʾəzze* 'lizard' (literally: 'sucker of goats' < **māyṣaθ ʾəzze*), *parxa-lɛle* 'bat' (literally: 'flyer of the night' < **pārxaθ lɛle*), also *pašxa rase* 'late snow' (literally: 'breaker of *rasa* grass' < **pāšxaθ rasa*). The construct state of masculine participles can be identified in forms such as *mayəṣ-ʾəzze* 'lizard' (literally: 'sucker of goats'), *makrəb čučane* 'late snow' (literally: 'the one that angers the magpies'), *gambəl-ʾəxre* 'dung-beetle' (literally: 'roller of dung'), *ʾaxəl-qarṣa* 'the devil' (literally: 'the eater of a morsel').

The original meaning of the first element of compound phrases is generally not maintained in the meaning of the phrase as a whole. This is particularly the case with compounds containing the initial elements *bəṛ* (< **bar* 'son of'), *bra* (< **braθ* 'daughter of') and *be-* (< *beθ* 'house of'), e.g. *bəṛ-gare* 'plateau' (< *bəṛ* 'son' + *gare* 'roof'), *bra-qala* 'echo' (< *bra* 'daughter' + *qala* 'voice'), *be-təkke* 'waist' (< **beθ* 'house' + *təkke* 'trouser cords'), *be-yalda* 'Christmas' (< **beθ* 'house' + *yalda* 'birth'). The meaning of the first element is occasionally completely lost, e.g. *be-dyuθa* (< **beθ* 'house' + *dyuθa* 'ink'), which is generally used with the meaning 'ink' rather than 'inkpot', and *be-gwine* 'eyebrows', sing. *be-gwina* (< **beθ-gbīnē* 'space between the eyebrows').

The plural of a compound nominal is formed by attaching a plural ending to the end of the phrase rather than to the first noun, viz. *bɛθ-qorăwaθa* 'cemeteries' and *xa-ramšaθa* 'dinners'. If the basic singular form of

the compound has a plural noun as its second element, the plural form of the phrase has the same form as the singular. This applies to the names of insects and small animals mentioned above, e.g. *ʾazla-kuše* sing. and pl. 'dragon-fly' (*kuša* 'spindle'), and other compounds with this features, e.g. *be-tune* sing. and pl. 'store-room for straw' (*tuna* 'straw').

The gender of a compound nominal phrase is sometimes taken from that of the second noun, e.g. *bra-qala* m. 'echo' (< **braθ* f. 'daughter' + *qala* m. 'voice'), *xa-ramša* f. 'dinner' (< *xal* m. 'eating' + *ramša* f. 'evening'). In some cases, on the other hand, the gender is that of the first noun, e.g. *bεθ-qora* 'cemetery' m. (*bεθa* m. + *qawra* f.), *be-ʾεna* 'forehead' m. (< **beθ* m. + *ʾεna* f. 'eye'). We could include here the names of insects and small animals such as *ʾazla-kuše* f. 'dragon-fly', *zaqra-qode* f. 'spider', *taqla-šəkke* f. 'spider', the feminine gender of which was presumably taken from the original feminine singular initial element. The insect name *gambəl-ʾəxre* m. 'dung-beetle' (literally: 'roller of dung') is masculine since the first element is derived from a masculine singular participle. Note, however, *jalla nune* m. 'fish-eating bird, stork', (< **šālyaθ nune* 'extractor of fish'?), which is masculine. When the basic singular form of other compounds has a plural noun as its second element and the phrase refers to an inanimate entity, the gender of the phrase is feminine, e.g. *be-tune* f. 'store for straw', *be-qanke* f. 'chancel', *be-təkke* f. 'waist', *be-ḷaye* f. 'upper room', *be-xənxe* f. 'oesophagus', *makrəb ǩuǩane* f. 'late snow falling at the beginning of Aðar' (literally: 'the one that angers the magpies'), *mkase qərṭale* f. 'late snow falling at the end of Aðar (literally: the coverer of panniers)'. We may include here also the compound *bəṛ-gare* f. 'plateau', the word *gare* 'roof' being historically a plural, although it is now interpreted as singular (§10.7.).

On account of these features, the two elements in such compound nominal phrases should not be analysed as head noun + dependent noun, as in annexation constructions, but rather as a single head. The first element cannot be considered to be a head since, in principle, it cannot stand independently of the second element and it does not control the number and gender of the phrase.

Certain initial elements are attested recurrently in a series of compound phrases, these include *be-* (< **beθ* 'house of'), *bəṛ* (< **bar* 'son of'), *bra* (< **braθ* 'daughter of'), *mare* (< *mare* 'owner of'), *məl* (< **māl* < **maʿlā* 'eve of' a day or festival, literally 'entrance of'),[1] *sar* (Kurd. 'head'). Full inventories of the compounds containing these elements are given below.

[1] The word has the form *māl* in the J. Betanure dialect (Mutzafi, p.c.).

10.17.2. be-

This is used productively to denote the family or household of somebody, e.g. *be-Hɛ̀do* 'the family of Hɛdo' (B3:12), *be-xòni* 'the family of my brother' (B8:9), *be-mámi Čùna* 'the household of my uncle Čuna' (B8:19), *be-šwàwən* 'household of our neighbour' (A5:3), *be-kʸàlo* 'the family of the bride' (B5:4). It does not, in principle, mean 'house' in the sense of a physical building, which is expressed by the noun *bɛθa*. The two may be combined, e.g. *nášət xátna y-azìwa*ˡ *l-bɛ̄θ-be-kʸàlo*ˡ 'The relatives of the groom would go to the house of the family of the bride' (B5:1).

The form *be-* is also used in the following fixed phrases, where its meaning has been generalized to being a marker of location, which may be spatial or temporal:

(i) Spatial

be-gwina m.	'eyebrow' (< **beθ-gb̲īnē* 'space between the eyebrows')
be-l̥aye f.	'upper room'
be-palga m.	'(the place) in the middle' (< **beθ-palgā*)
be-qanke f.	'chancel' (*be* + *qanke* 'sanctuary of the church')
be-təkke f.	'waist' (*be* + < *təkke* 'trouser cords')
be-tune f.	'store for straw' (*be* + *tuna* 'straw')
be-xənxe f.	'oesophagus'
be-xtaye f.	'lower room'
be-ʾɛ̀na m.	'forehead' (*be* + *ʾɛ̀na* 'eye')
be-dyuθa f.	'ink' (< * *beθ-dyūt̲ā* 'inkpot')

In some compounds, the initial element *be-* has contracted or changed its phonetic shape, e.g.

beðulta f.	'sleeve' (*be* + *ʾìða* 'hand' + diminutive suffix §10.8.5.)
beθaθa	'sleeves' (*be* + *ʾìθaθa* 'hands')
barəšta f.	'pillow' (< *beθ* + *reša* 'head'+*-ta*)
bədra f.	'threshing floor' (*be* + **ʾəddəra* 'threshing floor')

(ii) Temporal

be-yalda m.	'Christmas' (*be* + *yalda* 'birth')
be-qyamta m.	'Easter' (*be* + *qyamta* 'resurrection')
be-dənxa m.	'Epiphany' (*be* + *dənxa* 'rising, appearance')
be-nisane m.	'Spring' (*be* + *nisən*)

Note the use of plural forms in the second element of several of these compounds, viz. *be-ḷaye, be-xtaye, be-tune, be-təkke, be-nisane*.

10.17.3. baṛ-, bəṛ-

This element originally meant 'son of'. The vowel is regularly attenuated to */ə/* in most forms, but in some words the original */a/* is retained. It is used with various senses. It has a sense that is close to its original meaning of offspring in the phrases:

bəṛ-naša m.	'person, human' (*bəṛ* + *naša* 'person')
bəṛ-gawṛa m.	'young sheep/goat' (*bəṛ* + *gawṛa* 'man')
bəṛ-zăra f.	'seed' (*bəṛ* + *zăra* 'seed')

The following kinship terms are ms. and fs. back-formations of **bar* + **xmāhē* 'son of parents-in-law':

barəxmaya	'brother of wife'
barəxmɛθa	'sister of wife'

The sense of offspring is sometimes generalized to denote something similar to the item designated by the second noun, e.g.

bəṛ-gare f.	'plateau' (*bəṛ* + *gare* 'roof')
bəṛ-qatta f.	'type of worm' (*bəṛ* + *qatta* 'stick, handle')
baṛ-xoxa m.	'thorny pod' (*baṛ* + **xoxa* 'thorn')
bəṛ-zoma m.	'cool storeroom' (*bəṛ* + *zoma* 'cool summer-camp')

It may also express possession of some property, e.g.

bəṛ-ʿăqəl	'wise man' (*bəṛ* + *ʿăqəl* 'mind')
baṛ-xəlya	'fennel' (*baṛ* + *xəlya* 'milk, sap')

10.17.4. bra-

In most cases compounds with this element express something that is closely associated with the item designated by the second noun:

bra-ʾïða f.	'glove' (*bra* + *ʾïða* 'hand')
bra-qala m.	'echo' (*bra* + *qala* 'voice')

bra-qaple m./f.	'babe in arms' (*bra* + *qaple* 'arms')
bra-qðala m.	'collar' (*bra* + *qðala* 'neck')
bra-qənna f.	'egg placed in chicken's nest' (*bra* + *qənna* 'nest')
bra-ṣəppa f.	'thimble' (*bra* +*ṣəppa* 'finger')
bla-mandora m.	'shaft of a roller' (< *bra* + *mandora*)
bla-jorta f.	'bladder'

Note the shift *r* > *l* in the last two words.

10.17.5. mare

mare-ʾarxe	'hospitable man' (*mare* + *ʾarxe* 'guests')
mare-bena	'tolerant person' (*mare* + *bena* 'breath')
mare-janga	'contentious person' (*mare* + *janga* 'fight, contention')

10.17.6. məl-

məl-xošeba	'eve of Sunday = Saturday'
məl-trušeba	'eve of Monday = Sunday'
məl-ṭlaθušeba	'eve of Tuesday = Monday'
məl-ʾarbušeba	'eve of Wednesday = Tuesday'
məl-xamšušeba	'eve of Thursday = Wednesday'
məl-ruta	'eve of Friday = Thursday'
məl-šabθa	'eve of Saturday = Friday'

10.17.7. sar-

The Kurdish word *sar* 'head' is not used as an independent word in the C. Barwar dialect, but it occurs in the following compounds. In the first four the second noun is Aramaic, while in the remainder both elements are Kurdish:

sar-amoða	'the first child to be baptized'
sar-bari	'my first born child'
sar-dɛra	'the head of a monastery'
sar-qənna	'firstborn (literally: head of the nest)'
sar-bar	'front row'
sar-dər	'lintel'
sar-gera	'(animal) taking the lead'

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ADJECTIVES

11.1. Preliminary Remarks

Adjectives of Aramaic stock and loanwords that have been adapted to Aramaic morphology are inflected for gender and number. In addition to the basic masculine singular form they are inflected for the feminine singular and the plural. They are closely related morphologically to nouns. There is, however, a case on syntactic grounds for distinguishing the categories of noun and adjective (see §14.7.). The attributive function of adjectives is reflected not only by their syntactic function of a modifier of a head noun but also by their inflection, in that attributive adjectives, unlike referential nouns, do not exhibit a large diversity of plural endings but generally have only the ending *-e* irrespective of whether the plural noun is masculine or feminine (for some isolated exceptions see §14.7.), e.g.

ʾurza sniqa	'a needy man'
baxta sniqta	'a needy woman'
ʾurze sniqe	'needy men'
baxtaθa sniqe	'needy women'

11.2. Bisyllabic Patterns

(1) *CaCa* (ms.), *CaCta*, *CaCθa* (fs.), *CaCe* (pl.)

paxa (ms.)	*paxta* (fs.)	*paxe* (pl.)	'insipid'
raba (ms.)	*rabθa* (fs.)	*rabe* (pl.)	'large, numerous'
rama (ms.)	*ramta* (fs.)	*rame* (pl.)	'high'
xaθa (ms.)	*xaθta* (fs.)	*xaθe* (pl.)	'new'

(2) *CoCa* (ms.), *CoCta* (fs.), *CoCe*

goṛa (ms.)	*goṛta* (fs.)	*goṛe* (pl.)	'big'
koma (ms.)	*komta* (fs.)	*kome* (pl.)	'black'
kopa (ms.)	*kopta* (fs.)	*kope* (pl.)	'low'
zora (ms.)	*zorta* (fs.)	*zore* (pl.)	'small'

The */o/* vowel in the fs. forms of this pattern is often centralized to the region of [ʊ], e.g. *zorta* [zʊɾtæ]. This tends not to occur, however, in the form *goṛta*, in which the */o/* generally remains in a back position due to the adjacent pharyngalized */ṛ/*.

(3) *CCaCa* (ms.), *CCaCta* (fs.), *CCaCe* (pl.)

xwara (ms.)	*xwarta* (fs.)	*xware* (pl.)	'white'

(4) *CCiCa* (ms.), *CCiCta* (fs.), *CCiCe* (pl.)
Most adjectives with this pattern are in origin resultative participles of stem I verbal roots:

bliga (ms.)	*bligta* (fs.)	*blige* (pl.)	'busy'
brika (ms.)	*brikta* (fs.)	*brike* (pl.)	'kneeling'
briza (ms.)	*brizta* (fs.)	*brize* (pl.)	'dry'
dwira (ms.)	*dwirta* (fs.)	*dwire* (pl.)	'closed'
gðila (ms.)	*gðilta* (fs.)	*gðile* (pl.)	'frozen'
kčixa (ms.)	*kčixta* (fs.)	*kčixe* (pl.)	'tired'
kriba (ms.)	*kribta* (fs.)	*kribe* (pl.)	'angry'
pčila (ms.)	*pčilta* (fs.)	*pčile* (pl.)	'bendy'
prisa (ms.)	*prista* (fs.)	*prise* (pl.)	'spread, famous'
pšima (ms.)	*pšimta* (fs.)	*pšime* (pl.)	'sad'
psixa (ms.)	*psixta* (fs.)	*psixe* (pl.)	'happy'
sniqa (ms.)	*sniqta* (fs.)	*sniqe* (pl.)	'needy'
špina (ms.)	*špinta* (fs.)	*špine* (pl.)	'level (ground)'
spisa (ms.)	*spista* (fs.)	*spise* (pl.)	'worn out, rotten'
štixa (ms.)	*štixta* (fs.)	*štixe* (pl.)	'flat'
tpina (ms.)	*tpinta* (fs.)	*tpine* (pl.)	'mouldy'
trisa (ms.)	*trista* (fs.)	*trise* (pl.)	'fat'
xlima (ms.)	*xlimta* (fs.)	*xlime* (pl.)	'thick'
xliṣa (ms.)	*xliṣta* (fs.)	*xliṣe* (pl.)	'tight'
xmiqa (ms.)	*xmiqta* (fs.)	*xmiqe* (pl.)	'rotten'
xšiwa (ms.)	*xšiwta* (fs.)	*xšiwe* (pl.)	'respected'

(5) *CiCa* (ms.), *CiCta* (fs.), *CiCe* (pl.)
This is the equivalent to pattern (4) from middle */y/* roots or initial */ʾ/* roots:

ʾiqa (ms.)	*ʾiqta* (fs.)	*ʾiqe* (pl.)	'narrow'
dipa (ms.)	*dipta* (fs.)	*dipe* (pl.)	'bent'

miθa (ms.)	*miθta* (fs.)	*miθe* (pl.)	'dead'
nixa (ms.)	*nixta* (fs.)	*nixe* (pl.)	'slow'
pixa (ms.)	*pixta* (fs.)	*pixe* (pl.)	'cool'
qixa (ms.)	*qixta* (fs.)	*qixe* (pl.)	'faded'
rixa (ms.)	*rixta* (fs.)	*rixe* (pl.)	'long'
šima (ms.)	*šimta* (fs.)	*šime* (pl.)	'huge'
šipa (ms.)	*šipta* (fs.)	*šipe* (pl.)	'worn down, erased'

We should include here the form *qirθa* 'barren, infertile' which occurs only in the fs. and pl., e.g. *tawərta qirθa* 'a barren cow', *tawriyaθa qire* 'barren cows'.

(6) *CəCya* (ms.), *CCiθa* (fs.), *CəCye* (pl.)
This is equivalent to pattern (4) from final */y/* roots or final */'/* roots that have adopted the pattern of final */y/* roots:

dəxya (ms.)	*dxiθa* (fs.)	*dəxye* (pl.)	'pure'
kəlya (ms.)	*kliθa* (fs.)	*kəlye* (pl.)	'standing'
kərya (ms.)	*kriθa* (fs.)	*kərye* (pl.)	'short'
ṃəlya (ms.)	*ṃliθa* (fs.)	*ṃəlye* (pl.)	'full'
mərya (ms.)	*mriθa* (fs.)	*mərye* (pl.)	'ill'
mətya (ms.)	*mtiθa* (fs.)	*mətye* (pl.)	'ripe'
pərya (ms.)	*priθa* (fs.)	*pərye* (pl.)	'much, abundant'
pəθya (ms.)	*pθiθa* (fs.)	*pəθye* (pl.)	'wide'
rəmya (ms.)	*rmiθa* (fs.)	*rəmye* (pl.)	'woeful'
rəpya (ms.)	*rpiθa* (fs.)	*rəpye* (pl.)	'lazy'
səmya (ms.)	*smiθa* (fs.)	*səmye* (pl.)	'blind'
ṣəpya (ms.)	*ṣpiθa* (fs.)	*ṣəpye* (pl.)	'pure'
tərya (ms.)	*triθa* (fs.)	*tərye* (pl.)	'wet'
xəðya (ms.)	*xðiθa* (fs.)	*xəðye* (pl.)	'joyful, happy'
xəlya (ms.)	*xliθa* (fs.)	*xəlye* (pl.)	'sweet'

When the medial radical is */w/*, the vowel in the first syllable of the ms. and pl. forms is generally rounded with the quality of */u/* by assimilation, e.g.

quwya (ms.)	*qwiθa* (fs.)	*quwye* (pl.)	'strong, tough'
ṣuwya (ms.)	*ṣwiθa* (fs.)	*ṣuwye* (pl.)	'hard'

When the initial radical is /ʾ/, this is elided in the fs. form, e.g.

ʾəṣya (ms.)	*ṣiθa* (fs.)	*ʾəṣye* (pl.)	‘stuck, trapped’

(7) *Ciya* (ms.), *Ciθa* (fs.), *Ciye* (pl.)
This is equivalent to pattern (4) from final /y/ roots that had a laryngal as their medial radical at some stage of development (§8.12.10.) or medial /y/ and final /ʾ/ roots (§8.12.7.), e.g.

čiya (ms.)	*čiθa* (fs.)	*čiye* (pl.)	‘tired’
ṣiya (ms.)	*ṣiθa* (fs.)	*ṣiye* (pl.)	‘stuck, trapped’
qiya (ms.)	*qiθa* (fs.)	*qiye* (pl.)	‘blunt’

(8) *CCiya* (ms.), *CCita* (fs.), *CCiye* (pl.)
This is equivalent to pattern (4) from final /ʾ/ roots (§8.12.2.), e.g.

mriya (ms.)	*mrita* (fs.)	*mriye* (pl.)	‘ill’
ṭliya (ms.)	*ṭlita* (fs.)	*ṭliye* (pl.)	‘asleep’
zliya (ms.)	*zlita* (fs.)	*zliye* (pl.)	‘cracked’

(9) *CCoCa* (ms.), *CCoCta* (fs.), *CCoCe* (pl.)

glola (ms.)	*glolta* (fs.)	*glole* (pl.)	‘round’
prora (ms.)	*prorta* (fs.)	*prore* (pl.)	‘open (space)’
pṭoxa (ms.)	*pṭoxta* (fs.)	*pṭoxe* (pl.)	‘wide’
rpoxa (ms.)	*rpoxta* (fs.)	*rpoxe* (pl.)	‘loose’
smoqa (ms.)	*smoqta* (fs.)	*smoqe* (pl.)	‘red’
xloṣa (ms.)	*xloṣta* (fs.)	*xloṣe* (pl.)	‘tight’

The /o/ vowel in the fs. forms of this pattern is often centralized to the region of [ʊ], e.g. *smoqta* [smʊqtɑ]. Some roots may form adjectives with both this pattern and also the resultative participle pattern *CCiCa*, e.g. *xliṣa* ‘tight’, *xloṣa* ‘tight’. There is a slight difference in sense, in that *xliṣa* denotes the final resultant state of the action of tightening whereas *xloṣa* denotes an inherent, charateristic property of an entity.

(10) *Cuwa* (ms.), *Cuta* (fs.), *Cuwe* (pl.)

čuwa (ms.)	*čuta* (fs.)	*čuwe* (pl.)	‘smooth’

This appears to be equivalent to pattern (9). The historical root of *čuwa* is likely to be **šʿoʿa* (ms.), **šʿoʿta* (fs.), **šʿoʿe* (pl.). The original pharyngals

have been elided. The two vowels in the ms. and pl. forms are separated by the glide */w/*, which probably brought about the raising of the vowel to */u/*. In the fs. form the original presence of the pharyngal before the feminine ending prevented the */t/* of this ending from being pronounced as a fricative.

(11) *Caya* (ms.), *Cɛθa* (fs.), *Caye* (pl.)

xaya (ms.)	*xɛθa* (fs.)	*xaye* (pl.)	'living, alive'

The fs. form *xɛθa* is used as an attribute of a woman who is giving birth, or has recently given birth, e.g. *baxta xɛθa*.

11.3. Trisyllablic Patterns

(1) *CaCiCa* (ms.), *CaCiCta* (fs.), *CaCiCe* (pl.)

This pattern is derived historically from **CaCCiCa* with gemination of the middle radical. The vowel in the first syllable is in principle pronounced long, in accordance with the normal rules of vowel lengthening in pretonic open syllables (§2.2.1.4.), although the duration is reduced in fast speech.

ʾatiqa (ms.)	*ʾatiqta* (fs.)	*ʾatiqe* (pl.)	'ancient'
basima (ms.)	*basimta* (fs.)	*basime* (pl.)	'pleasant'
baṭila (ms.)	*baṭilta* (fs.)	*baṭile* (pl.)	'idle'
dalila (ms.)	*dalilta* (fs.)	*dalile* (pl.)	'thin, fine'
marira (ms.)	*marirta* (fs.)	*marire* (pl.)	'bitter'
naqiða (ms.)	*naqiðta* (fs.)	*naqiðe* (pl.)	'thin'
qarira (ms.)	*qarirta* (fs.)	*qarire* (pl.)	'cold, cool'
rakixa (ms.)	*rakixta* (fs.)	*rakixe* (pl.)	'soft'
raqiqa (ms.)	*raqiqta* (fs.)	*raqiqe* (pl.)	'thin'
talila (ms.)	*talilta* (fs.)	*talile* (pl.)	'wet'
sapiqa (ms.)	*sapiqta* (fs.)	*sapiqe* (pl.)	'empty'
ṣalila (ms.)	*ṣalilta* (fs.)	*ṣalile* (pl.)	'sober'
šapira (ms.)	*šapirta* (fs.)	*šapire* (pl.)	'beautiful'
šarira (ms.)	*šarirta* (fs.)	*šarire* (pl.)	'true, truthful'
šaxina (ms.)	*šaxinta* (fs.)	*šaxine* (pl.)	'hot'
xamima (ms.)	*xamimta* (fs.)	*xamime* (pl.)	'hot'

In the form *qaddiša* 'holy' the original gemination is usually preserved due to the influence of the language of the church liturgy, which is based on literary Syriac.

(2) *CaCuCa* (ms.), *CaCuCta* (fs.), *CaCuCe* (pl.)
This also is derived historically from a pattern with an originally geminated middle radical (**CaCCuCa*). Adjectives of this pattern typically denote permanent, characteristic properties:

ʾamuqa (ms.)	*ʾamuqta* (fs.)	*ʾamuqe* (pl.)	'deep'
ʾamura (ms.)	*ʾamurta* (fs.)	*ʾamure* (pl.)	'dense'
bahura (ms.)	*bahurta* (fs.)	*bahure* (pl.)	'shining'
baruza (ms.)	*baruzta* (fs.)	*baruze* (pl.)	'dry'
gamura (ms.)	*gamurta* (fs.)	*gamure* (pl.)	'sour'
jaruṭa (ms.)	*jaruṭṭa* (fs.)	*jaruṭe* (pl.)	'slippery'
paruða (ms.)	*paruðta* (fs.)	*paruðe* (pl.)	'coarse (grain)'
paruxa (ms.)	*paruxta* (fs.)	*paruxe* (pl.)	'able to fly'
qalula (ms.)	*qalulta* (fs.)	*qalule* (pl.)	'light, quick'
qaruṭa (ms.)	*qaruṭṭa* (fs.)	*qaruṭe* (pl.)	'tough (food)'
rapuxa (ms.)	*rapuxta* (fs.)	*rapuxe* (pl.)	'loose'
ṣarupa (ms.)	*ṣarupta* (fs.)	*ṣarupe* (pl.)	'smarting'
tawuna (ms.)	*tawunta* (fs.)	*tawune* (pl.)	'lukewarm'
xamuṣa (ms.)	*xamuṣta* (fs.)	*xamuṣe* (pl.)	'sour'
xarupa (ms.)	*xarupta* (fs.)	*xarupe* (pl.)	'sharp'
yaðuwa (ms.)	*yaðuwta* (fs.)	*yaðuwe* (pl.)	'knowledgeable'
yaqura (ms.)	*yaqurta* (fs.)	*yaqure* (pl.)	'heavy'

Some roots may form adjectives with both this pattern and also the resultative participle pattern *CCiCa*, e.g. *briza* 'dry', *baruza* 'dry'. The form *briza* denotes the final resultant state of the action of drying whereas *baruza* denotes an inherent, charateristic property of an entity. This can be interpreted as a difference of degrees of intensity, in that *briza* denotes 'completely dried out' whereas *baruza* is used as an attribute of something that is 'habitually dry' but not necessarily completely dried out at any specific point in time.

(3) *CaCoCa* (ms.), *CaCoCta* (fs.), *CaCoCe* (pl.)
Adjectives of this pattern typically denote permanent, characteristic properties:

karoba (ms.)	*karobta* (fs.)	*karobe* (pl.)	'angry'
laxoma (ms.)	*laxomta* (fs.)	*laxome* (pl.)	'handsome'
mayoθa (ms.)	*mayoθta* (fs.)	*mayoθe* (pl.)	'mortal'
payoxa (ms.)	*payoxta* (fs.)	*payoxe* (pl.)	'cool'
naxopa	*naxopta* (fs.)	*naxope* (pl.)	'shy'
paroxa	*paroxta* (fs.)	*paroxe* (pl.)	'flying'

The */o/* vowel in the fs. forms of this pattern is often centralized to the region of [ʊ], e.g. *karobta* [kæːrʊbtæ].

11.4. Adjectives with Derivative Affixes

11.4.1. -ana *(ms.)*, -anta *(fs.)*, -ane *(pl.)*

This ending is used productively to form attributive adjectives from nouns, e.g.

ʾəršana	'mirky'	< *ʾərša* 'mirkiness'
ʾɛwana	'cloudy'	< *ʾɛwa* 'cloud'
beṛana	'light'	< *beṛa* 'light'
dəmmana	'bloody'	< *dəmma* 'blood'
denana	'owing'	< *dena* 'debt'
didwana	'full of flies'	< *didwa* 'fly'
dunana	'fatty'	< *duna* 'fat'
gazəndana	'moaning'	< *gazənda* 'complaint'
hawnana	'clever'	< *hawna* 'intelligence'
lebana	'tricky'	< *leba* 'trick'
ləbbana	'brave'	< *ləbba* 'heart'
mărana	'ill'	< *măra* 'illness'
məlxana	'salty'	< *məlxa* 'salt'
milana	'blue/green'	< *mila* 'blue/green colour'
miyana	'watery, wet'	< *miya* 'water'
puryana	'light'	< *purya* 'light (noun)'
raxmana	'merciful'	< *raxme* 'mercy'
rəqqiyana	'stubborn'	< *rəqqi* 'stubbornness'
šawbana	'ill with a cold'	< *šawba* 'head-cold'
šaθana	'feverish'	< *šaθa* 'fever'
šeðana	'mad'	< *šeðe* 'demons'
šəklana	'beautiful'	< *šəkla* 'form'
šəxtana	'dirty'	< *šəxta* 'dirt'

šumana	'badly behaved'	< *šumuθa* 'bad behaviour'
ṭemana	'valuable'	< *ṭema* 'value'
xaššana	'sad'	< *xašša* 'sadness'
xɛlana	'strong'	< *xɛla* 'strength'
xəlyana	'producing milk'	< *xəlya* 'milk'
xəmmana	'hot'	< *xəmma* 'heat'
xumθana	'angry'	< *xumθa* 'anger'
xuyana	'dark'	< *xuya* 'darkness'
zduwana	'fearful'	< *zduθa* 'fear'

The suffix is attached productively to the present base of verbs to form active participles (§10.8.1.). Sometimes these forms are used primarily as attributes rather than nouns, e.g.

ṃalyana	'enough'	< *ṃly* I 'to fill'
malyəzana	'hasty'	< *m-lyz* III 'to hasten'
maqhərana	'sad'	< *m-qhr* III 'to sadden'
maṣyana	'capable'	< *mṣy* I 'to be able'
maxjəlana	'terrifying'	< *m-xjl* III 'to terrify'

In some cases the ending is attached to an existing adjective. The forms with *-ana* in principle express permanent, characteristic properties, whereas the forms without the suffix can be regarded as unmarked with regard to permanence, in that they may denote a property of an entity on one particular occasion or a permanent property, e.g.

čuwana	'smooth'	< *čuwa* 'smooth'
kopana	'low'	< *kopa* 'low'
quwyana	'tough'	< *quwya* 'strong, tough'
ramana	'high'	< *rama* 'high'
zawdana	'excessive'	< *zawda* 'major, largest'
zalmana	'unjust'	< *zaləm* 'unjust'

The base of the word may be a Kurdish loanword, e.g.

gežana	'dizzy'	< Kurd. gêj

There is a residue of adjectives with this affix that do not have a base that is a functional word in the dialect, e.g.

nimana	'damp'
šeðana	'mad'
šəṭrana	'beautiful'
xaršana	'non-fruit-bearing (tree)'
xarsupana	'rough'

Verbs are derived from some adjectives with the *-ana* ending. In such cases the verbs are quadriliteral with */n/* as the fourth radical, e.g. *m-xršn* 'to become barren, non-fruit-bearing', *m-ʾršn* 'to become mirky', *m-šyðn* 'to go mad', *m-gyžn* 'to become dizzy'.

11.4.2. -aya *(ms.)*, -ɛθa *(fs.)*, -aye *(pl.)*

In some cases the base form of these adjectives is used in the dialect as an independent word. These base forms are either nouns or adverbs, e.g.

čappaya	'left-handed'	< *čappe* 'left'
drangaya	'late'	< *drang* 'late (adverb)'
rangaya	'colourful'	< *rang* 'colour'
rešaya	'first class, excellent'	< *reša* 'head'
šəmšaya	'sunny'	< *šəmša* 'sun'
šɛnaya	'tame'	< *šɛna* 'tameness'
yamnaya	'right-handed'	< *yamne* 'right'

The *-aya* affix is combined with the *-ana* affix in some such forms, e.g.

ʾetanaya	'ecclesiastical'	< *ʾeta* 'church'
taš̌ʿiθanaya	'historical'	< *taš̌ʿiθa* 'history'

In the majority of cases the *-aya* ending can be identified as an affix on etymological grounds, but the base form cannot stand alone as a separate word, e.g.

ʾəl̩laya, l̩aya	'upper'
naxraya	'foreign, strange'
qamaya	'first'
suraya	'Assyrian Christian'
šluxaya	'naked'
xaraya	'last'
xəpyaya	'barefoot'
xtaya	'lower'

Gentilic forms with the *-aya* ending, such as *suraya* 'Christian', are classified as nouns (§10.8.2.). When qualifying another noun in constructions such as *gawṛa suraya* 'a Christian man', they are best interpreted as nouns in apposition rather than adjectives (§14.7.).

11.4.3. -naya *(ms.)*, -nɛθa *(fs.)*, -naye *(pl.)*

The ending *-naya* also is commonly used in gentilic nouns (§10.8.2.), e.g. *durnaya* 'a man from Dure'. Within the category of adjectives, it is added to those denoting colours in order to give them the connotation of approximation, e.g.

gawrnaya	'greyish'	< *gawra*
kasknaya	'greenish'	< *kaska*
komnaya	'blackish'	< *koma*
milannaya	'bluish'	< *milana*
smoqnaya	'reddish'	< *smoqa*
xwarnaya	'whitish'	< *xwara*
zarnaya	'yellowish'	< *zăra*

11.4.4. *Adjectival Participles with the* m- *Prefix*

Active and resultative participles of stems II and III from some verbal roots and also those derived from some quadriliteral verbs are used predominantly as adjectives rather than referentially as nouns. These have an *m-* prefix in their pattern. In the stem II and quadriliteral participles, in which the *m-* is in contact with the initial radical, the prefix is often elided, unless the root begins with the laryngal /ʾ/, e.g.

Stem II

məʾajbana	'amazing'
mbaxlana ~ *baxlana*	'envious'
mšuṭra	'spoilt (child)'

Stem III

makəčxana	'tiring'
mapšəmana	'sad'
mugədla	'frozen'

Quadriliteral

mpaṛmyana ~ paṛmyana	'knowledgeable, wise'
mhumna ~ humna	'faithful, trustworthy'

11.5. *XƐNA* 'OTHER'

The adjective *xena* 'other' exhibits a certain irregularity, in that the */n/* of the base is elided with the attachment of the *-ta* ending in the feminine singular form. Note also the free alternation between forms with */r/* after the initial consonant and those lacking it. The forms with */r/* preserve a more archaic form:

xena ~ xrena (ms.)
xeta ~ xreta (fs.)
xene ~ xrene (pl.)

11.6. INVARIABLE ARAMAIC ADJECTIVES

A few adjectives of Aramaic stock are invariable in inflection. These are in origin nouns, which have come to be used as adjectives (§14.7.). They include the following:

rəḥqa	'distant'
qurba	'near, nearby'
xərba	'bad'
šɛna	'tame'

Examples:

bɛθa rəḥqa	'a distant house'
maθa rəḥqa	'a distant village'
maθwaθa rəḥqa	'distant villages'
bɛθa qurba	'a nearby house'
maθa qurba	'a nearby village'
maθwaθa qurba	'nearby villages'
ʾurza xərba	'a bad man'
baxta xərba	'a bad woman'
naše xərba	'bad people'

susa šɛna	'a tame horse'
susta šɛna	'a tame mare'
susawaθa šɛna	'tame horses'

The adjective *ṭawa* 'good' is invariable in the singular, in that it does not take a feminine inflection, but it takes the usual plural inflection *-e*, as is seen in the following examples:

(1) *ʾáwwa náša sáwa rába ṭàwa-wewa*ˈ 'This old man was very good' (A15:19)
(2) *ramšéxu ṭàwa*ˈ 'Good evening (*ramša* f.)'
(3) *nə́mu ʾánna là-biš ṭáwe m-áwwa Gozáli xóni!*ˈˈ Surely they are not better than Gozali, my brother! (A8:72)

11.7. Compound Forms

Several attributive phrases are formed by combining a preposition with a noun. These include phrases introduced by *b-* 'with' and those introdcued by *be-* 'without':

(i) *b-*

b-xamme	'sad'
b-xaye	'alive'
b-ṭali	'ill (with a disease)'
b-šrara	'truthful'
b-pəlxana	'busy, hard-working'

The adjectival form *šarira* is synonymous with *b-šrara*. There is not, however, always complete semantic overlap between the compound adjectival form and a corresponding simple form. The compound form *b-xaye* 'alive', for example, is used for both male and female referents, whereas the simple fs. form *xɛθa* does not mean 'alive' but rather 'giving birth' or 'having recently given birth'.

(ii) *be-*

be-bă̆xət	'lacking in honour, dishonest'
be-nxəpθa	'shameless'

11.8. Adapted Loans

Some adjectives that are loanwords have been fully adapted to Aramaic inflectional morphology, e.g.

zangina (ms.)	*zanginta* (fs.)	*zangine* (pl.)	'rich'	< Turk. zengin
făqira (ms.)	*făqirta* (fs.)	*făqire* (pl.)	'poor'	< Arab. *faqīr*
băxila (ms.)	*băxilta* (fs.)	*băxile* (pl.)	'miserly'	< Arab. *baxīl*

11.9. Partially Adapted Loans

Some adjectives that are loaned from Kurdish are inflected with the Aramaic ms. ending *-a* and pl. ending *-e*, but in the fs. have the ending *-e*, which is in origin the Kurdish feminine singular oblique nominal inflection *-ê*, e.g.

gawra (ms.)	*gawre* (fs.)	*gawre* (pl.)	'grey'	< Kurd. gewr
kăčăla (ms.)	*kăčăle* (fs.)	*kăčăle* (pl.)	'bald'	< Kurd. keçel
k̂arra (ms.)	*k̂arre* (fs.)	*k̂arre* (pl.)	'deaf'	< Kurd. keř
kaska (ms.)	*kaske* (fs.)	*kaske* (pl.)	'green'	< Kurd. kesk
k̂ora (ms.)	*k̂ore* (fs.)	*k̂ore* (pl.)	'blind'	< Kurd. kor
lala (ms.)	*lale* (fs.)	*lale* (pl.)	'dumb'	< Kurd. lal
laṭṭa (ms.)	*laṭṭe* (fs.)	*laṭṭe* (pl.)	'shallow'	< Kurd. lat ('flat')
lənga (ms.)	*lənge* (fs.)	*lənge* (pl.)	'crippled'	< Kurd. ling ('leg')
marda (ms.)	*marde* (fs.)	*marde* (pl.)	'generous'	< Kurd. merd
qopa (ms.)	*qope* (fs.)	*qope* (pl.)	'hunchbacked'	< Kurd. qop
qutta (ms.)	*qutte* (fs.)	*qutte* (pl.)	'tailless'	< Kurd. qut
sark̂ola (ms.)	*sark̂ole* (fs.)	*sark̂ole* (pl.)	'bare-headed'	< Kurd. ser-kol
zăra (ms.)	*zăre* (fs.)	*zăre* (pl.)	'yellow'	< Kurd. zer
zaxma (ms.)	*zaxme* (fs.)	*zaxme* (pl.)	'huge, mighty'	< Kurd. zexm

A few loaned adjectives retain the source form without inflection in the ms. and fs. but take the Aramaic plural inflection *-e*, e.g.

krēt (ms.)	*krēt* (fs.)	*krete* (pl.)	'bad'	< Kurd. kirêt
krehət (ms.)	*krehət* (fs.)	*krehətte* (pl.)	'bad'	variant of *krēt*
saqqaṭ (ms.)	*saqqaṭ* (fs.)	*saqqaṭe* (pl.)	'crippled'	< Kurd. seqqet

sāx (ms.)	*sāx* (fs.)	*saxe* (pl.)	'healthy, alive'	< Kurd. sax
taza (ms.)	*taza* (fs.)	*taze* (pl.)	'beautiful'	< Kurd. taze

11.10. Unadapted Loans

Several loaned adjectives are left unadapted without Aramaic morphological endings and remain invariable for number or gender. Examples of such adjectives include:

ʾarzən	'cheap'
ʾaṣi	'difficult (terrain)'
ʾašəq	'in love'
ʾəškăra	'clear'
bista	'familiar (with)'
brindar	'injured'
dūs	'right, just'
gărən	'expensive'
həšyər	'careful'
maqul	'acceptable, respectable'
qăləs	'miserly'
sănayi	'easy'
šarəz	'familiar, knowledgeable'
tambəl	'lazy'
zăbun	'weak'

CHAPTER TWELVE

NUMERALS

12.1. Cardinals

12.1.1. *Numerals 1–10*

	With masculine noun	With feminine noun
1	*xa*	*ða*
2	*tre*	*tərte* ~ *tátte*
3	*ṭḷláθa* ~ *ṭḷla*	*ṭəḷḷəθ*
4	*ʾárba* ~ *ʾárpa*	*ʾárbe*
5	*xámša*	*xámməš*
6	*ʾəšta*	*ʾəššət*
7	*šáwwa*	*ʾəšwa*
8	*tmánya*	*tmáne*
9	*ʾəčča*	*ʾəčča*
10	*ʾəṣra*	*ʾəssər*

Examples: *xa ʾurza* 'one man', *ða baxta* 'one woman'; *tre ʾurze* 'two men', *tərte baxtaθa* 'two women'; *ṭḷaθa ʾurze* ~ *ṭḷa ʾurze* 'three men', *ṭəḷḷəθ baxtaθa* 'three women', etc.

The feminine form *ða* has developed from an original **ḥðā* by elision of the initial consonant. The feminine forms *ṭəḷḷəθ* and *ʾəssər* have developed from original monosyllabic forms **tlāθ* and **ʿsar* by the insertion of a stressed epenthetic vowel between the first two consonants, as is the case with forms such as *dámma* < **dmā* 'blood', *šə́nne* < **šnē* 'years' (§3.3.3). The development of the masculine forms *ʾárba* and *ʾárpa* is **ʾarbʾa* < **ʾarbʿā*. The */p/* in *ʾarpa* has arisen by the devoicing of */b/* due to contact with the laryngal (**ʾarbʾa* > *ʾarpa*), as in *p-aqle* 'by foot (< **b-ʿaqlē*). The feminine form *ʾárbe* derives from **ʾárbaʿ*. An intermediary stage would have been **ʾárbəʾ*, in which the */a/* of the final syllable was attenuated. The */e/* in the final syllable of the form *ʾárbe* has developed by the lengthening of the attenuated vowel after the elision of the final laryngal. The feminine form *ʾəššət* has resulted from the stressing of a prosthetic vowel, which was attached

to the form by analogy with the masculine *ʾəšta*. The development of the masculine form *šáwwa* is < **šə́wa* < **šawʾa* < **šaḇʿā*, with the secondary gemination of the */w/* after the stressed short */a/* vowel. The feminine form *ʾə́šwa* has developed from an original **šḇaʿ* by the acquisition of a stressed prosthetic vowel. Unlike *ʾarbe* the final vowel remains */a/*, probably since it was stressed in the original monosyllabic form *šḇaʿ*.

The masculine form *ʾəṣčʿa* is distinguished from the feminine form *ʾəčča* only by the emphatic articulation of the medial consonants. As is commonly the case with such minimal pairs (§1.2.3.), the pharyngalization of the emphatic */čʿ/* is sometimes weakened and the two words are distinguished by a difference in the general setting of the body of the tongue rather than the position of the root of the tongue. The vowel segments are more susceptible to such a difference in setting, with the result that the most perceptible distinction between *ʾəṣčʿa* and *ʾəčča* is in the relative position of the vowels, which is more retracted in the former than in the latter, i.e. [ˀəʃʧɑ] vs. [ˀɪʃʧa].

Although distinct masculine and feminine forms exist for the cardinal numerals, there is an incipient tendency to use the masculine forms with all nouns. As a result, there is an inconsistent use of the feminine forms, even within the speech of an individual informant, e.g.

ða-màθa 'a village' (A48:1)—*xa-máθa* (A15:10)
tə́rte bnàθa 'two girls' (A25:1)—*tre-bnàθa* (A24:20)
ṭə́ḷḷəθ gə̀ye 'three times' (A28:36)—*ṭḷà-gaye* (A24:47)

The usage of the feminine forms is rarer for the cardinals 4–10 than for the cardinals 1–3.

When the cardinals are used without a following counted nominal, the monosyllabic numerals *xa* / *ða* and *tre* often have the extended forms *xáʾa* / *ðáʾa* and *treʾe*. In these circumstances the long form *ṭḷáθa* is preferred to the short form *ṭḷa*. If the cardinals are used for counting in a series without reference to a specific referent, only the masculine forms are used, e.g. *xáʾa, tre, ṭḷáθa, ʾárba*, etc.

When the cardinal *xa* occurs in predicative position with an enclitic copula, it sometimes has the form *xat*. The final */t/*, which may be a reflex of the original final consonant of the numeral (**ḥaḏ*), acts as a buffer between its vowel and that of the copula. It is pronounced unaspirated before the following vowel, e.g.

(1) *ʾána-w ʾáw xa̰ṯ-ix*| 'What I and he are [is] one (= We are the same) (A30:55)

The fact that it has the stop */t/* rather than the expected fricative */ð/* (< **ḥad̲*) may be due to a false morphological division whereby the sequence **ḥad̲-ile* was analysed as **ḥa-d-ile*, the original **d̲* being interpreted as the subordinating particle. If this *xat* form is not used, the numeral has the long form *xaʾa* in predicative position, e.g. *xàʾɛla*| 'They are one'.[1] The use of the form *xat* has been extended to predications with the past copula and the verb *hwy*, e.g. *xàt-wɛwa*| 'They were one', *xàt bṯ-áwa* 'They will be one'.

12.1.2. *Numerals 11–19*

Cardinals from 11 onwards have one invariable form, which is used with nouns of both genders. The numerals 11–19 are as follows:

11	*xadássər* ~ *xadéssər*
12	*trássər* ~ *tréssər*
13	*təltássər*
14	*ʾarbássər*
15	*xamšássər*
16	*ʾəštássər*
17	*šwássər*
18	*tmanəssər* ~ *tmanéssər*
19	*ʾəččássər*

The */s/* in the 'ten' component of these forms is geminated. The historical forms **treʾsar*, **tlaθaʾsar* etc. would be expected to develop into **trésər*, *təltásər*. The gemination may have arisen by analogy with the feminine form *ʾəssər*. Another possible explanation is that these forms were treated as stress groups consisting of two words, i.e. *təltá-ssər*, *ʾarbá-ssər* etc. When numerals 1–10 ending in *-a* are combined with the counted nominal in a stress group and the stress is placed on the final syllable of the numeral, the stressed vowel is generally not lengthened, e.g. *xá-naša* (A1:4), *ðá-kista* (A4:15), *ʾəštá-maθwaθa* (B1:3), *šawwá-šənne* (A25:23). This may be the reason why the stressed */a/* in forms such as *təltá-ssər*, *ʾarbá-ssər* remained short. The gemination of the */s/* would have developed secondarily after the stressed short vowel. This gemination could have been extended to the

[1] Some NENA dialects block contraction of a diphthong in this context without the buffer consonant, e.g. J. Urmi *xaylu* 'They are one', in which the */ay/* diphthong does not undergo the usual contraction to */e/*; cf. Garbell (1965: 64).

forms *xadássər, trássər* and *tmanássər* by analogy. In slow speech the latter numerals have */e/* in the stressed syllable, viz. *xadéssər, tréssər, tmanéssər*.

The stop */d/* after the vowel in *xadássər* probably developed from an originally geminated **dd*. This seems to have been secondarily geminated in order to allow an */a/* vowel to follow the initial letter, presumably by analogy with the form for *xa* 'one', i.e. *xadássər* < *xadə́ʾsər* < **xaddə́ʾsər* < **ḥʿðaʿsar*.

12.1.3. *Tens*

20	*ʾə́sri*
30	*ṭḷáθi*
40	*ʾárbi*
50	*xámši*
60	*ʾə́šti*
70	*šáwwi*
80	*tmáni*
90	*ʾə́č̣̌i*

12.1.4. *Hundreds*

100	*ʾə́mma*
200	*tré ʾə́mma* ~ *tré-mma*
300	*ṭḷáθa ʾə́mma* ~ *ṭḷaθá-mma, ṭḷá ʾə́mma* ~ *ṭḷá-mma*
400	*ʾárba ʾə́mma* ~ *ʾarbá-mma*, etc.

In natural speech the phrases for 200 and above are usually combined into a single stress group and the initial *ʾə-* of *ʾəmma* is elided. In these phrases the numeral preceding *ʾəmma* is a masculine form numeral, although historically *ʾəmma* is feminine. When it is combined with another numeral, the noun remains in the singular form. When standing independently and designating an unspecified number of 'hundreds', it has the plural form *ʾəmmaye*.

12.1.5. *Thousands*

1,000	*ʾalpa*
2,000	*tré ʾálpe*

3,000	*ṭḷáθa ʾálpe*
4,000	*ʾárba ʾálpe*, etc.

Unspecified plural: *ʾalpaye.*

12.1.6. *Combination of Numerals*

Cardinals are combined by the conjunction *w* in descending order, e.g. *ʾálpa-w ʾəštà-mma šənne* 'one thousand six-hundred years' (B1:7), *ʾəšti-w xàmša šére* 'sixty-five poems' (B1:15), *ʾəmma-w xamsî-fəlse* 'a hundred and fifty fils' (B1:20), *ʾálpa-w ʾəčč́á-mma-w ʾəšti-w tré* '1962'.

12.1.7. *Cardinals with Pronominal Suffixes*

Distinct forms of the cardinals 2-10 are used when they are combined with a pronominal suffix. There are two alternative forms for the numeral '2' in these constructions:

2	*tərwə́θnən*	'the two of us'
	tərwəθnéxu	'the two of you'
	tərwəθnéy	'the two of them'
	tráθnən	'the two of us'
	traθnéxu	'the two of you'
	traθnéy	'the two of them'
3	*ṭḷáθnən*	'the three of us'
	ṭḷaθnéxu	'the three of you'
	ṭḷaθnéy	'the three of them'
4	*ʾarbáθnən*	'the four of us'
	ʾarbaθnéxu	'the four of you'
	ʾarbaθnéy	'the four of them'
5	*xamšáθnən*	'the five of us'
	xamšaθnéxu	'the five of you'
	xamšaθnéy	'the five of them'

6	*ʾəštáθnən*	‘the six of us’
	ʾəštaθnéxu	‘the six of you’
	ʾəštaθnéy	‘the six of them’
7	*šawwáθnən*	‘the seven of us’
	šawwaθnéxu	‘the seven of you’
	šawwaθnéy	‘the seven of them’
8	*tmanyáθnən*	‘the eight of us’
	tmanyaθnéxu	‘the eight of you’
	tmanyaθnéy	‘the eight of them’
9	*ʾəc̣č̣áθnən*	‘the nine of us’
	ʾəc̣č̣aθnéxu	‘the nine of you’
	ʾəc̣č̣aθnéy	‘the nine of them’
10	*ʾəṣraθnən*	‘the ten of us’
	ʾəṣraθnéxu	‘the ten of you’
	ʾəṣraθnéy	‘the ten of them’

In these constructions the stress is often moved forwards to the place it occupies in the isolated form of the numeral, e.g. *ʾárbaθnən* (cf. *ʾárba*), *xámšaθnən* (cf. *xámša*), etc.

12.2. Ordinals

A distinct ordinal form is used for ‘first’, viz. *qamáya*, fs. *qaméθa*, pl. *qamáye*. The remaining ordinals are expressed by combining the cardinal with the genitive particle *D.* The cardinals 2–10 have the appropriate form in accordance with the gender of the noun:

	With ms. nouns	With fs. nouns	With pl. nouns
1st	*qamáya*	*qaméθa*	*qamáye*
2nd	*t-tre*	*t-tártə*	*t-tre*
3rd	*t-ṯláθa*	*t-ṯálləθ*	*t-ṯláθa*
4th	*t-ʾárba*	*t-ʾárbe*	*t-ʾárba*
5th	*t-xámša*	*t-xámməš*	*t-xámša*
6th	*t-ʾášta*	*t-ʾáššat*	*t-ʾášta*
7th	*t-šáwwa*	*t-ʾášwa*	*t-šáwwa*

8th	*t-tmánya*	*t-tmáne*	*t-tmánya*
9th	*t-ʾəčč̣a*	*t-ʾəčča*	*t-ʾəčč̣a*
10th	*t-ʾəṣra*	*t-ʾəssər*	*t-ʾəṣra*

The feminine forms of the cardinals 2–10 in these constructions are used inconsistently. There is a tendency to generalize the use the masculine forms after all nouns. The genitive particle is usually bonded with the preceding noun.

Examples: *ʾúrza qamáya* 'the first man', *báxta qaméθa* 'the first woman', *ʾárxe qamáye* 'the first guests', *ʾúrzət tré* 'the second man', *báxtət tárte* ~ *báxtət tré* 'the second woman', *ʾárxət tré* 'the second guest'; *ʾúrzət ṭ̣láθa* 'the third man', *báxtət ṭ̣əl̩l̩əθ* ~ *báxtət ṭ̣láθa* 'the third woman', *ʾárxət ṭ̣láθa* 'the third guest', etc.

Ordinals from 11th onwards are, likewise, expressed by the particle *D* and the appropriate cardinal:

11th	*t-xadássər*
12th	*t-trássər*
13th	*t-təltássər*, etc.

12.3. Fractions

The words for 'half' and 'quarter' are as follows:

'half'	*pálga*
'quarter'	*čárək*

Constructions such as 'one and a half', 'two and a half' etc. are formed by attaching the 3ms. suffix *-e* to the word *palga* thus: *xa-w palge, tre-w palge* (Literally: 'one and its half', 'two and its half'). Although in origin the 3ms. pronoun, the ending *-e* has become fossilized in this context and is used also when the preceding item is feminine, e.g. *xa-kista-w palge* 'one and a half bags'.

The word *čárək* is a loan from Kurdish. It is usually given an Arabic plural pattern, e.g. *ṭ̣láθa čăwárək* 'three quarters'.

Other fractions may be expressed by the structure *xa mən* + cardinal, e.g. *xá mən-ṭ̣lá* 'a third', *xá mən-xámša* 'a fifth'.

12.4. Days of the Week

xošéba (m.)	'Sunday'
trušéba (m.)	'Monday'
ṭlaθušéba (m.)	'Tuesday'
ʾarbušéba (m.)	'Wednesday'
xamšušéba (m.)	'Thursday'
rúta (f.)	'Friday'
šábθa (f.)	'Saturday'

The days Sunday—Thursday are derived historically from the phrases **xa b-šabba* 'the first in the week', **tre b-šabba* 'the second in the week', etc. The */e/* vowel in the component *-šeba* has apparently arisen by the following development **šabba* > **ša'ba* > **šə'ba* > *šéba* (see §2.5.2.).

12.5. Names of Months

kánun qamáya	'December'
kánun xaráya	'January'
ʾəšwəṭ	'February'
ʾáðər	'March'
nísən	'April'
yār	'May'
xzírən	'June'
támuz	'July'
ṭábbəx	'August'
ʾilul	'September'
čéri qamáya	'October'
čéri xaráya	'November'

12.6. The Seasons

sátwa	'Winter'
báhər, bé-nisane	'Spring'
qɛ́ṭa	'Summer'
čéri	'Autumn'

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

PARTICLES

13.1. Preliminary Remarks

The term 'particle' is used in a broad sense to include all items that do not fall into the categories of noun, pronoun, adjective or verb. Some of the particles take nouns as their complement to express relations between elements in a clause, others take clauses as their complement to express relations between clauses. These two classes of particles are termed 'prepositions' and 'clausal conjunctions' respectively. The large residue of particles that do not fall into one of these two classes have various disparate functions, including adverbs, quantifiers, determiners, connectives and interrogative particles. Apart from the prepositions, most particles are uninflected. We bring together here all the particles except the quantifiers and determiners, which are discussed in the chapter concerning the syntax of nominals §14.9.

13.2. Adverbs

There is no productive adverbial inflectional ending that can be used freely to create adverbs from nouns or adjectives. The ending *-ayiθ* is occasionally used by educated speakers to form adverbials, e.g. *prišáyiθ* 'specifically' (B1:10), *šotapayìθ*ˡ 'socially' (B15:72). This inflection, however, must be considered a literary borrowing from Classical Syriac rather than a living feature of the spoken dialect. A phonetically reduced reflex of the Syriac ending may, nevertheless, be tentatively identified in the spoken dialect in the words referring to languages such as *surəθ* 'in Sureth' (< **sūrāʾīθ*) and *qurdəθ* 'in Kurdish'. These words, however, are now often treated syntactically as nouns rather than adverbs, e.g. *y-ámrəx ʾáxni b-súrəθ*ˡ 'We say in Sureth' (A8:23), where the word is governed by a preposition.

Several adverbs and adverbial phrases of Aramaic origin are nouns in the absolute state without an inflectional vowel, e.g. *ʾədyo* 'today' (< **ʾədyom*). Some adverbs have the ending *-aye*, e.g. *qamáye* 'formerly', *baráye* 'outside', *gawáye* 'inside', *šuraye* 'at first'. In fast speech the final */e/* is sometimes

elided, resulting in the forms *qamáy, baráy, gawáy*. It is possible that this ending has evolved from the absolute state of the feminine singular: *qamáye* < **qamayəθ* < **qaðmayaθ* (cf. Syr. *qaḏmāyaṯ* 'at first').

Some spatial adverbs have endings that are related to those of demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *támma* 'here', *tămáha* 'over there' (in sight), *táma* 'there' (out of sight); cf. *ʾáwwa* 'this', *ʾăwáha* 'that' (in sight), *ʾaw* 'that' (out of sight).

In a number of cases, an adverb is a noun with a nominal inflectional ending or a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition and noun. Adverbs such as these are not particles and are best referred to as 'adverbial expressions'. This category is open ended and will be exemplified in more detail in the chapter on the syntax of nominals (§14.13.).

We give here a full inventory of adverb particles and a selection of the basic adverbial expressions that complement these.

(i) *Spatial adverbs*

ʾáxxa, láxxa	'here'
ʾaxxáne, laxxáne	'here, hereabouts'
támma	'here'
tămáha, tămáʾha	'there (in sight)'
táma	'there (out of sight)'
hódəx	'beyond'
húdxa	'beyond'
baráye, baráy	'outside'
qam-tă̊ra	'outside'
wă̊dər	'outside'
gawáye, gawáy	'inside'
ʾúḷḷuḷ	'above'
ʾáltəx	'below'
rama	'above'
reša	'above'
xóθa	'below'
bár-eli	'upwards'
bár-təxti	'downwards'
qámθa, qáma	'in front'
báθra, bára	'behind'
la-qámθa, la-qáma	'in front, forwards'
la-báθra, la-bára	'behind, backwards'
réša xtáya	'upside down'
l-xárxəθ	'upside down, back to front'

(ii) *Temporal adverbs*

hadíya, díya	'now'
ʾə́dyo	'today'
ʾə́dlɛle	'tonight'
ʾə́šše̱ta	'this year'
kúš-šət	'every year'
bázzune	'last year', 'next year'
bzúne	'two years ago' (rarely used)
tábzune	'three years ago' (rarely used)
táltalune	'four years ago' (rarely used)
tə́mməl	'yesterday; tomorrow'
b-óma xéna	'the day before yesterday; the day after tomorrow'
təmməl b-lɛle	'last night'
qédamta	'in the morning'
mbádla	'in the morning'
m-lɛ́le	'early morning, before dawn'
ʾaṣə́rta	'in the evening' (approx. 5–8 pm)
bə́rmaše	'evening'
jálde	'early'
qedámta jálde	'early in the morning'
qamáye	'at first'
qámθa	'formerly'
xárθa	'afterwards'
gá-gaθa	'sometimes'

(iii) *Interrogative adverbs*

ʾɛ́ka	'where? whither? how? (marginal)'
m-ɛ́ka	'from where?'
ʾíman	'when?'
dax, dáxi	'how?'
kəmá	'how much, how many?'
ta-mó, ṭla-mó, qa-mó	'why?'

(iv) *Adverbs of manner*

hádəx	'like that'
hátxa	'like this'
hatxáne	'(approximately) like this'
jálde	'quickly'
níxa	'slowly'

pánde	'slowly'
spay	'well'

13.3. Prepositions

Prepositions are either placed directly before the following word or are linked to it by an annexation construction containing the subordinating particle *D*. The practice of combining the preposition with *D* is not completely consistent and is not found at all with some prepositions. There is a greater tendency to use *D* before demonstratives and the interrogative pronoun *ʾɛni* than before other words. Monosyllabic prepositions are frequently linked with their nominal complement in one stress group. This is always the case with those that have a base consisting of a single consonant, such as *b-* 'in', *l-* 'to'.

Most prepositions can take pronominal suffixes. In some cases a different allomorph of the preposition is used before the suffixes, e.g. *max* 'like', but *maxwáθi* 'like me'.

13.3.1. ʾax *'like'*

This preposition is normally combined with the following word in the same stress group, e.g. *ʾax-bràta*ˡ 'like a girl' (B7:1), *ʾax-tré ṭabàqe*ˡ 'like two floors' (B2:3), *ʾax-qamàye*ˡ 'like before' (A4:34). The */a/* vowel is often centralized to [ə] by a process of attenuation (§2.3.5.). This is not represented in the transcription, e.g. *ʾax-nàša*ˡ [ʾəx-ˡnæːšæ] 'like a human' (A19:1), *ʾax-nə̀šra*ˡ [ʾəx-ˡnəʃɾæ] 'like an eagle' (A24:56).

It is linked to a following demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *ʾɛ́ni* by the particle *D*, e.g. *ʾax-d-àwwa*ˡ 'like him' (A26:34), *ʾax-d-ə̀yya*ˡ 'like this one' (A21:6), *ʾax-d-ó-dewa k̂òra*ˡ 'like that blind wolf' (A10:5), *ʾax-d-an-ṯ̂-íla míθe tàma*ˡ 'like those who have already died there' (A14:70), *ʾax-d-ɛ́ni?* 'like whom?'

When it is combined with pronominal suffixes, two constructions are available. The suffixes may be attached to the base form *ʾaxwaθ-*, e.g. *ʾaxwáθi* 'like me' (A26:48). Third person suffixes may be extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g *ʾaxwáθe dìye*ˡ 'like him.' (A25:44). Alternatively the base *ʾax-* may be combined with suffixes by means of the independent genitive particle *diy-* without taking the suffixes directly, e.g. *ʾax-díye* 'like him' (A4:3), *ʾax-dìyux*ˡ 'like you (ms.)' (A4:26), *ʾax-dìyax*ˡ 'like you (fs.)' (A8:77).

13.3.2. b- *'in, at, on, by means of'*

This particle is regularly prefixed to the following word, e.g. *b-lèle* 'at night' (A15:8), *b-semàlta* 'by a ladder' (A23:28). When the word to which it is prefixed begins with */ʾ/*, this is sometimes elided, e.g. *b-iθàθi* 'with my hands' (A17:32), *b-aqláθa dìya* 'with its feet' (A23:19). This elision is regular before demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *b-o nə̀ra* 'with that axe' (A30:23), *b-áyya dána* 'at this time' (A15:7), *b-ánna čaḵàlle* 'in these slippers' (A6:7) and also before the noun *ʾalaha* in the oath *b-álaha* 'by God'. The */ʾ/* at the beginning of many nouns, however, is retained, e.g. *b-ʾùrxaˈ* 'on the road' (A15:1), *b-ʾíðe díye* 'in his hand' (A22:30), *b-ʾaṣə̀rtaˈ* 'in the evening' (A22:31).

When the particle stands before a consonant, the cluster is often broken by an epenthetic vowel, which is placed either after the particle or in front of it. This is not represented in the transcription, e.g. *b-ġðàðe* [bəɣˈðæːðe] 'with each other' (A4:50), *b-lèle* [ˈəbˈleːle] 'at night' (A26:3).

When in contact with an unvoiced consonant, the preposition is often devoiced to [p], e.g. *b-súrəθ* [p-ˈsuːrəθ] *ʾatíqta* 'in ancient Syriac' (A24:6), *b-kú-mənna* [p-kuː-mənnæ] 'by any of them' (A41:8). Devoicing takes place before a vowel in a few fixed expressions including *p-àqla* (< *b-ʾaqla*) 'on foot' (B5:37) and *p-ápe* (< *b-ʾape*) 'beyond' (A12:21). In such cases the devoicing is represented in the transcription.

The preposition sometimes undergoes total assimilation to the labial consonants */m/* and */p/*, e.g. *b-màlla* [m-ˈmællæ] 'against the mullah' (A22:34), *b-mašîna* [m-mæːʃiːnæ] 'with a machine' (B10:59), *b-panjarìye* [p-pænʤæˈɾiːje] 'at the window' (A4:38).

In some cases the preposition loses all phonetic realization. This occurs before labial consonants, probably by weakening of an initial gemination, e.g. *màšxa* [< m-məʃxæ < b-məʃxæ] 'with oil' (B5:40), *məlxàwa* [< m-məlˈxɑːwɑ < b-məlˈxɑːwɑ] 'with a threshing fork' (B5:85), and also elsewhere, especially on words bearing the nuclear stress, e.g. *pθíxla tə̆ra qðìlaˈ* (< *b-qðila*) 'She opened the door with a key' (A18:3), *har-gubbə̀n-ix* (< *b-gubbān-ix*) *wíðəlle.*ˈ 'We made it exactly according to a spirit-level' (A17:20), *ʾən-háwe ṭḷà* (< *b-ṭḷà*) *ʾaqláθa*ˈ 'if it is with three legs' (A22:3). On strongly stressed words in focus it may be omitted even before initial */ʾ/*, e.g. *kut-ʾə́rba ʾaqlət-gàne páyəš tə́lya*ˈ 'Every sheep is hung up by his own legs' (D2:55).

When the preposition takes pronominal suffixes, these are usually attached to the base form *biy-*, which stands independently with its own stress, e.g. *bíyi*, *bíyux*, *bíyəx*, etc. A third person suffix may be extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g. *bíye díye* 'with him' (A14:8), *bíya díya*

'with her' (A4:26). Sometimes the first component is contracted and the suffix is expressed only on the genitive particle, e.g. *bi-díye* (B5:126). If the independent genitive particle is used with 1st and 2nd person suffixes, no corresponding suffix occurs on the preposition base, e.g. *bi-diyi, bi-diyux*.

An alternative, less commonly used, base form for suffixes is *ʾəbb-*, which stands independently, e.g. *qéθa ʾəbbux*ˡ 'It hits you' (D1:8). The pronominal suffix is attached to the basic form *b-* in constructions with the existential particle, e.g. *ʾíθbe, ʾíbe* 'There is in it', *líθbe, líbe* 'There is not in it' (§8.20.1.). In such cases the phrase has the status of a suffix.

Before demonstrative pronouns the preposition *b-* is sometimes combined with the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *b-d-ó-qɛsa* 'with that wood' (B5:145), *ràba xðéle b-d-a-bràta*ˡ 'He was very happy with that girl' (A14:96), *moríwa dána b-d-àwwa móndi*ˡ 'They spent time in this' (B15:72).

Sporadically the prosodically independent base form *biy-* is used for constructions where the preposition occurs before a noun. In such cases the *biy-* base is combined with the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *kúlla mpurpəssela*ˡ *bíyət plàše*ˡ 'They were all scattered by wars' (B4:5).

A phrase with the form *bəd-* or *bud-* is used before nouns or demonstratives. This appears to be in origin a combination of the preposition *b-* with the particle *D*, but now is treated as a separate preposition. This is reflected by the fact that it is not used in complete free variation with the basic preposition *b-* (§16.1.11). It normally has the sense of 'about, concerning' before a noun or demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *bəd-bròni* 'about my son' (A14:92). It, moreover, keeps its phonetic shape in all contexts and exhibits distinct phonotactic properties, in that an initial /ʾ/ of a demonstrative is sometimes not elided after the /d/ of the phrase, e.g. *bəd-ʾáwwa náša* 'concerning this man' (A30:41). Pronominal suffixes are attached by combining the phrase with the independent genitive particle, e.g. *bəd-díye* 'about him'.

13.3.3. bahs, bas *'about, concerning'*

This is in principle connected to a noun by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *báhsət šúli* 'about my job'. Forms with the subordinating particle contracted are also used, e.g. *bahs-šúli.* The subordinating particle regularly occurs, however, before a demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *ʾéni*, e.g. *báhs d-áwwa móndi* 'about this thing', *bahs-d-éni?* 'about whom? Pronominal suffixes are attached by combining the preposition with the independent genitive particle, e.g. *bas-díyux* 'about you' (A8:41).

13.3.4. baθər, bar *'behind, after'*

This may be used in a spatial or temporal sense. It is generally placed before the following word without the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *báθər qðàle* 'behind his neck' (A22:38), *báθər tằra* 'behind the door' (A23:25), *báθər ṭḷá-yarxe* 'after three months' (A17:28), *bar-tre-yòme*ˡ 'after two days' (A22:17). When it has a temporal sense, it is sometimes combined with *mən*, e.g. *m-báθər xámša daqìqe*ˡ 'after five minutes' (A22:23), *m-báθər Mằmo* 'after Mămo (= after his death)' (A26:89). The preposition is occasionally attached to a following word by annexation with the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *kályɛle báθrət xàwri*ˡ 'He is standing behind my friend'. The subordinating particle is regularly used after the preposition before a demonstrative pronoun and the interrogative pronoun *ʾɛni*, e.g. *báθər d-è-maθa*ˡ 'behind that village' (A24:30), *ʾu-báθər d-èni ṭắyən?*ˡ 'and who should I look for?' (A26:9).

Pronominal suffixes are added directly to the preposition, e.g. *ʾay-mṭúšyəlla bàre*ˡ 'He hid her behind him' (A26:47), *qímɛle xóne dìye*ˡ *Čə̀kko*ˡ *báθre* 'His brother Čəkko stood up after him' (A26:69), *mxáðrən bàrux*ˡ 'I shall search after you' (A25:64). Third person suffixes are often extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g. *ʾu-ṣáṭyɛle bára dìya*ˡ 'and he swooped after her' (A24:56). In such constructions the suffix on the preposition may be contracted, e.g. *kálɛle báθər dìye*ˡ 'He is standing behind him'.

13.3.5. barqul- *'opposite'*

This is joined in an annexation relation to a following nominal, e.g. *ʾáw kályɛle barqúlət bàbe*ˡ 'He is standing opposite his father', *ʾáw kályɛle barqúlə d-o-xèna*ˡ 'He is standing opposite the other'. The annexation ending is usually contracted, e.g. *dmíxɛle bárqūl d-ay-kàwe*ˡ 'He slept opposite that hole' (A10:4), *plíṭe bárqūl məitèy*ˡ 'They came out opposite their town' (A4:28). It takes pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʾáw kályɛle barqùli*ˡ 'He is standing opposite me', *hon-láxxa barqùlux*ˡ 'I am here opposite you' (A52:19).

13.3.6. bēn, bēl *'between'*

The preposition regularly has the form *bēn*, with the original final */n/*, when it is used before a plural nominal without a co-ordinated component, e.g. *bēn-ʾìsàre*ˡ 'between the rocks' (B9:4), *bēn-trè ṭuráne*ˡ 'between two mountains' (B4:1). The vowel is sometimes shortened, e.g. *bən-nắθ sùsta*ˡ 'between the ears of the horse' (A12:5). When a pair of items are coordinated

('between A and B'), the preposition may have the form *bēn* or *bēl*. The second item may be introduced simply by the connective particle *w*, e.g. *bēn-ʾarbá-mma-w ʾəštá-mma šənne*ˡ 'between four-hundred and six-hundred years' (B6:31), *ṭuránə ṯ-ína bēl-ʾIrấq ʾu-Tùrkiya*ˡ 'the mountains that are between Iraq and Turkey' (B3:3). The preposition may be repeated before the second item, e.g. *bḗn ʾaturàye*ˡ *ʾu-bḗn barzanàye*ˡ 'between the Assyrians and the people of Barzan' (B19:1). The second item may be introduced by the preposition *l-*. In such cases the form *bēl* is generally used before the first item, no doubt by assimilation to the *l-*, e.g. *bēl-pánxa l-pànxa*ˡ 'between one grinding wheel and the other' (B5:91), *bēl-šə́dla l-šə̀dla*ˡ 'between one sapling and the other' (B5:103), *bēl-ʾắra*ˡ *l-ʾə̀ra*ˡ 'between one plot of land and the other' (B5:131), *bēl-túra l-ṭùra*ˡ 'between one mountain and another' (B5:147), *bēn-Sətt́iye l-Fàrxo*ˡ 'between Sətt́iye and Farxo' (A25:29).

Pronominal suffixes are added to the base *bēn-/bēl-* in co-ordinated constructions, e.g. *ʾáwwa ḥákəm béni ʾu-bènəx*ˡ 'He will arbitrate between me and you' (A47:3), *béli ʾəllux*ˡ 'between you and me' (A4:7). Plural pronominal suffixes in constructions without a co-ordinated member are generally attached to the base *benaθ-*, e.g. *benàθən* 'between us' (A17:9), *benaθéy* 'between them'.

The subordinating particle *D* is used before a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *bēl-d-áyya l-d-àyya*ˡ 'between this and that' (B5:115), *bélən ʾu-bēl-d-ánna dèwe*ˡ 'between us and these wolves' (A14:49). This is not the case, however, if the co-ordinated member is introduced only by the connective particle *w*, e.g. *bēn-ʾáskar-t málkət ʾÌrən*ˡ *ʾu-ʾàw*ˡ 'between the army of the king of Iran and him' (A11:16).

The sense of 'in between' without any explicit complement is expressed by *be-palga*, e.g. *ʾu-yatáxwa xāṣ-koðánta rēš-d-án qərṭàle,*ˡ *be-pàlga*ˡ 'We would sit on the back of the mule on top of those baskets, in between (them)' (B5:138). This expression can also be used in constructions with two co-ordinated members, e.g. *ʾáw kályele be-pálgət kúrsi ʾu-mḕz*ˡ 'He is standing between the chair and the table'.

13.3.7. ç̌ənnək̲ɛr- *'around'*

This preposition, which is a loan from Kurdish (çarnikar), is connected to the following word by annexation, e.g. *ç̌ənnək̲érət gùda*ˡ 'around the wall' (B5:191), *ç̌ənnək̲érət swàna*ˡ 'around the eves' (B5:195). Pronominal suffixes are attached directly to it, e.g. *ç̌ənnək̲ére* 'around it (m.)' (B5:183), *ç̌ənnək̲èra*ˡ 'around them' (B5:202). Third person suffixes may be extended by the

independent genitive particle, e.g. *ʔənnəʔére díye* 'around him' (A8:71), *ʔənnəʔéra dìya*ˡ 'around it (f.)' (B5:105).

13.3.8. darqul- *'against'*

This preposition, which resembles *barqul-* 'opposite' in form, is used in a more abstract sense to express opposition and enmity. It is joined in an annexation relation to a following nominal, e.g. *ʾáw darqúlət màlkɛle* 'He is against the king'. The annexation ending is usually contracted, e.g. *dárqūl d-a-məndìla*ˡ 'They are against that thing' (A12:55). It takes pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʾu-xákma darqúle dìye*ˡ 'and some were against him' (A7:20).

13.3.9. gu *'in'*

This is always connected to the following word in the same intonation group, e.g. *gu-yàma* 'in the sea' (A13:10), *gu-ða-lawùrta*ˡ 'in a valley' (A14:17), *gu-ʾìlàna*ˡ 'in the tree' (A13:12), *síqle gu-šmàyya*ˡ 'He went up into the sky' (A13:10). It is linked to a following demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *ʾéni* by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *gu-d-o-qàṣra*ˡ 'in that palace' (A14:41), *gu-d-áyya ṭàrma*ˡ 'in this porch' (A13:6), *gu-d-ánna gùde*ˡ 'in these skins' (A14:18), *gu-d-éni máθa?* 'in which village?'

Pronominal suffixes are attached to the related base form *gaw-* rather than to *gu-*, e.g. *ʾənwe ʾíθ gáwe*ˡ 'There are grapes in it (m.)' (A12:9), *ʾána hon-sxáya gàwa*ˡ 'I am swimming in it (f.)' (A25:61), *mattíwala xabúše gawèy*ˡ 'They would put the apples in them' (B15:51). When the suffix is third person, the form is sometimes extended by combining it with the independent genitive particle, e.g. *ʾíθ ða-yàwna gáwe díye*ˡ 'There is a dove in it' (A12:24), *npílle ʾáp-aw gáwa dìya*ˡ 'He also fell in it' (A25:90).

13.3.10. hal *'until, as far as'*

Examples: *hal-ʾaṣə́rta plìxɛle*ˡ 'He worked until evening' (A16:5), *hal-yómət ʾàrpa*ˡ 'until the fourth day' (A21:39), *hál yomət-mɛ̀θi*ˡ 'until the day they die' (A26:7), *hal-hadíya* 'until now' (A26:91), *hal-ʾìman* 'until when?' (A26:56), *hal-làxxa*ˡ 'up to here' (A20:3), *m-áxxa hál qaṣrət-mìra*ˡ 'from here until the palace of the amir' (A26:68), *mən-yále zóre ʾu-hal-gòṛe*ˡ 'from young children to old people' (B16:4), *hal-gu-réšət ṭúra* 'up to the top of the mountain' (A14:49).

It is sometimes connected to a demonstrative pronoun by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *hál d-ɛ-dánət mṭéla l-yàla*ˡ 'until the time that she

came to the boy' (A25:4), *hal-d-o-yómə qárya ṯôḵe*ˡ 'until the day when the *ṯoḵe* bird sings' (A30:3). It is often, however, followed by a demonstrative pronoun without this particle, e.g. *hál ʾo-yómət ʾáp-ʾana mèθən*ˡ 'until the day that I also die' (A4:43), *hál-ʾɛ-gət ʾána mátyən ʾɔ́lle dìye*ˡ 'until the time I reach him' (A26:80).

It does not take pronominal suffixes directly, but must be combined with another preposition, e.g. *zílli hal-kàslux*ˡ 'I went as far as you'.

13.3.11. kəs- *'by, at the home of'*

This is connected directly to a following nominal, e.g. *mattátla xa-kawázət míya kəs-réša* 'Put out for her a jar of water by her head' (A21:7), *díṛɛle kəs-bábe dìye*ˡ 'He returned to his father's home' (A4:7), *wírre kəs-bràta*ˡ 'He went into the home of the girl' (A17:24).

It is connected to demonstrative pronouns and the interrogative pronoun *ʾɛni* by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *ʾáwwa nabláxle kəs-d-ày*ˡ *yan-ʾáy nabláxla kəs-d-àwwa?*ˡ 'Should we take him to her or take her to him?' (A4:3), *múttəlla kəs-d-ó Kărim-addìn.*ˡ 'He put it next to Karimaddin' (A14:31), *ríqle kəs-d-à ʾilána*ˡ 'He ran to the tree' (A14:27), *qu-sé kəs-d-anna-šwàwən*ˡ 'Go to these neighbours of ours' (A5:1), *kəs-d-éni?* 'at whose home?'

Pronominal suffixes are attached to the base form *kəsl-*, e.g. *kásle, káslux, kásli*, etc. Forms with the third person suffixes may be extended by the independent genitive pronoun, e.g. *kásle díye, kásla díya*, etc.

13.3.12. l- '*to, for, upon*'

This preposition is derived from two different prepositions in earlier Aramaic, namely **l-*'to, for' and **ʿal* 'upon'. Examples: *si-dúṛ l-šòpux*ˡ 'Go back to your place' (A15:20), *masqánne l-bèθa*ˡ 'I shall take it up to the house' (A22:19), *šuxa-l-šə́mme* 'praise be to his name' (A6:10), *hóle tíwa l-kèpa*ˡ 'He is sitting on a stone' (A15:13). When the nominal to which it is attached begins with a consonant, an epenthetic vowel is often inserted either before or after the particle. These are not reprepresented in the transcription, e.g. *Čúxo híwle bále l-bèθa*ˡ [lə-bɛːθæ] 'Čuxo set off for home' (A7:12), *mosáqtəlla bráta l-bèθa*ˡ [ʾəl-bɛːθæ] 'She took the girl up to the house' (A25:7). On some rare occasions the stress is retracted onto the preposition with a following epenthetic, in which case the epenthetic is represented in the transcription, e.g. *jmíla lə-ǧðaðe*ˡ 'They gathered together' (A26:1).

Occasionally the */l/* is assimilated completely to the consonant, e.g. *ṣaléwa gàwṛa*ˡ *l-šùqa*ˡ [ʾəʃ-ʃuːqɑ] 'Her husband would go down to the market'

(A22:1). In the adverbials *la-qáma* 'forwards' and *la-bára* 'backwards' the initial *la-* element is unlikely to be the preposition *l-* but rather should be identified as the Kurdish word 'side, direction', which is used in some other adverbial expresssions, e.g. *la-zràqət yóma*ˡ 'in the direction of the rising of the sun' (A8:22).

The laryngal consonant /ʾ/ at the beginning of a word is usually not elided when the preposition is attached, e.g. *θéla ṣlèla*ˡ *l-ʾárxət be-Xàmmo*ˡ 'She came down to the water-mill of the family of Xammo' (A19:1), *mattíwala l-ʾə̀ra*ˡ 'They would put it onto the ground' (A12:3), *šqúl ʾáwwa qésa l-ʾîðux*ˡ 'Take this stick in your hand' (A22:26). It is only sporadically elided from the beginning of nouns, e.g. *dəqne díye mṭáya l-ə̀ra*ˡ 'His beard reached the ground' (A15:13). It is regularly elided, however, before demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *ṯ-ásqəx l-áwwa ṭùra?*ˡ 'Shall we go up to this mountain?' (A17:4), *xulamwáθa l-áy-gota ʾu-l-àyya*ˡ 'servants on that side and this one' (A4:37), *mṭéle l-án tre-képe t-qítla b-ĝðàðe*ˡ 'He reached the two stones that knocked together' (A24:20).

The preposition is sometimes linked to demonstrative pronouns by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *máṯye l-d-o-nèra*ˡ 'They arrived at that river' (A14:58), *ʾəθyɛle l-d-ay-ʾílàna*ˡ 'He came to that tree' (A13:10), *brōn-málka tíwɛle l-d-a-tàxta*ˡ 'The son of the king sat on the throne' (A14:43).

When the preposition is combined with pronominal suffixes, these are either attached directly to the *l-* base or are attached to a longer base form *ʾəll-*. The phonotactic distribution of these two pronominal forms is different. The lighter forms with the *l-* base are the so-called L-suffixes, which form inseparable affixes of verbs or the existential particle *ʾiθ/liθ*. The heavier form with the base *ʾəll-* is generally prosodically independent and bears its own stress, e.g. *hàtxa mjuwáble ʾálli málka*ˡ 'The king replied to me in this way' (A17:34), *mattí ʾíða ʾəlle*ˡ 'They place a hand on it' (B5:100). They are often combined with the independent genitive pariticle, especially when the suffix is third person, e.g. *ʾáxni t-yawáxla xa-b-ṭḷàθa ʾálle díye*ˡ 'We shall give him threefold (if it is lost)' (A7:10), *mamṭátla ʾálla dìya*ˡ 'Deliver them to her' (A4:16). The two pronominal forms also differ in their functional distribution (for further details see §16.2.2.).

In some marginal cases the preposition has the form *ʾal-* when it has the sense of 'upon', preserving more conservatively the original phonetic shape **ʿal-*, e.g. *ʾal-ʾə̀ra*ˡ 'on the ground' (A21:5), *ʾal-rùše díye*ˡ 'on his shoulder' (A22:18), *ʾal-ṭúrət Ǯazíra Bòta*ˡ 'on the mountain of Jazira Bota' (A26:19). This may be the result of influence from the C. Urmi dialect, where the preposition 'upon' regulary has this form.

13.3.13. max *'like'*

This is a common variant of *ʾax*, which has evolved historically by prefixing the relative particle *ma* ('what, that which'). It is normally combined with the following word in the same stress group, e.g. *max-tàla*ˡ 'like a fox' (A17:35), *max-qə̀šta*ˡ 'like a bow' (A25:28). The */a/* vowel is often centralized to [ə], though this is not represented in the transcription, e.g. *max-šeðàna*ˡ [məx-ʃeˑˡðæːnæ] 'like a madman' (A26:9).

It is linked to a following demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *ʾéni* by the particle *D*, e.g. *max-d-áy* 'like that one' (A4:16), *max-d-ó-t Lelìθa*ˡ 'like that of Leliθa' (A52:15), *max-d-éni?* 'like whom?' When it is combined with pronominal suffixes, these are either attached to the base form *maxwaθ-*, e.g. *maxwáθi* 'like me', *maxwáθux* 'like you', or are linked to the base *max* by means of the independent genitive particle *diy-*, e.g. *max-díyi* 'like me', *max-díyux* 'like you'.

13.3.14. mən, m- *'from, with'*

This preposition represents the merging together of two prepositions that were distinct in earlier Aramaic, viz. **men* 'from' and **ʿam* 'with'. It is used either in its full form *mən*, e.g. *mən-máθa*ˡ 'from the village' (A48:1), *xa-mən-zaráye* 'one of the farmers' (A4:31), *mən-xuráne díye* 'with his friends' (A4:2), or in the abbreviated form *m-*, e.g. *m-yə́mma dìya* 'from her mother' (B10:22), *m-kérbi* 'out of my anger' (A2:11), *m-tàma* 'from there' (A20:7). The full form is more frequently used when it has the comitative sense of 'with'. An epenthetic vowel is sometimes pronounced after the */m/* of the short form, especially when the following word begins with a consonantal cluster, e.g. *m-ġðàðe* [mə-ɣˡðæːðe] 'with each other' (A25:65), *m-yabìše* [mə-yæːbiːʃeˑ] 'from raisins' (B5:12).

Before nouns beginning with the laryngal */ʾ/* there is a tendency to retain the laryngal and use the long form *mən*, e.g. *mən-ʾə̀rba*ˡ 'from a sheep' (B7:20), *mən-ʾilàne*ˡ 'from the trees' (A25:44), *mən-ʾằra*ˡ 'from the ground' (A25:43). When the laryngal is elided, which is commonly the case before adverbial particles such as *ʾaxxa* 'here' and *ʾɛ́ka* 'where', and also expressions with the word *ʾalaha* 'God', the short form of the preposition is used, e.g. *qu-plúṭ m-àxxa!*ˡ 'Get out of here!' (A16:11), *m-ɛ́ka?* 'from where?' (A17:3), *m-alàha*ˡ 'from God' (A3:3).

The preposition is connected to a demonstrative pronoun in two ways. It is sometimes used in its full form and connected to the pronoun by the particle *D*, e.g. *mən-d-ɛ-ṭàsa* 'from that bowl' (A15:11), *xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra*

'Some of the soot' (A4:60), *mən-d-ánna bnàθi* 'with these daughters of mine' (A25:15), *m-áwwa náša* 'with this man'. Alternatively it is connected in its short form directly to the pronoun with elision of the initial laryngal, e.g. *m-ó-yoma* 'from that day' (A26:75), *ðà-m-aw* 'one from that one' (A7:19), *m-an-kòče* 'some of those hornless sheep' (A7:24), *m-an-képe ṯ-íla tàma*ˡ 'some of the stones that are there' (A14:70).

Before pronominal suffixes, the preposition has the base *mənn-* with a geminated */n/*, e.g. *qəm-šaqə̀lle mə́nnux*ˡ 'He took it from you' (A17:35), *y-oðíwa yabìše mə́nna*ˡ 'They would make raisins from them' (B5:210), *la-hérwət mə̀nni*ˡ 'Do not speak angrily with me' (A1:18), *ʾítli šúla mə̀nnux*ˡ 'I have business with you' (A21:33). Forms with pronominal suffixes are sometimes combined with the independent genitive particle when the suffix is third person, e.g. *nèxət mánne díye*ˡ 'You will be relieved of him' (A10:10), *ʾu-pìšɛle mánne díye*ˡ 'and he stayed with him' (A14:76), *dàməx mánna díya*ˡ 'Let him sleep with her' (A13:2). Occasionally these constructions are contracted with the suffix being elided from the preposition base, e.g. *xa-yasáqwa mən-díye* 'Somebody went up with him' (B5:158). If the independent genitive particle is used with 1st and 2nd person suffixes, no corresponding suffix occurs on the preposition base, e.g. *mən-dìyux*ˡ (A12:35).

The base form *mənn-* is occasionally used before a noun in combination with the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *xaṣìre*ˡ *y-awa-zqíre mánnət zàle*ˡ 'The mats were woven from reeds' (B5:201), *ṣálənwa mánnət xóni* 'I used to go down with my brother' (B5:170).

13.3.15. qa- *'to, for', object marker*

Examples: *qa-brònux*ˡ 'for your son' (A21:8), *qa-šə̀ra*ˡ 'for the festival' (B5:69), *qa-ʾálaha*ˡ 'to God' (A15:17), *maláxa mŭṛə̀šle*ˡ *qa-ràbbən*ˡ 'The angel woke the monk' (A15:8). It is connected to a demonstrative or the interrogative pronoun *ʾɛni* by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *qa-d-áwwa ʾixála* 'for this food' (A22:31), *qa-d-áyya bráta* 'to this girl' (A21:2), *qa-d-ánna heywàne*ˡ 'to these animals' (A27:33), *qa-d-ə̀y*ˡ 'to her' (A4:22), *qa-d-àni*ˡ 'to them' (A27:8).

Pronominal suffixes may be attached in two ways. The independent genitive particle *diy-* may be combined with *qa-* and bear the suffix, e.g. *qa-dìyi*ˡ 'to me' (A22:31), *qa-dìyux*ˡ 'to you (ms.)' (A8:36). Alternatively the suffixes may be attached to the base form *qal-*, e.g. *qàlux*ˡ 'for you (ms.)' (A26:62), *qàləx* 'to you (fs.)' (A18:13), *qàlən*ˡ 'to us' (B15:42).

13.3.16. qam *'before'*

This preposition is usually attached directly to the following word in the same intonation group. It may be used either in a spatial or temporal sense. Examples with a spatial sense: *qam-tă̆rət bòya*ˡ 'before the door of the hole' (A20:9), *qam-ʾénux*ˡ 'before your eyes' (A15:15), *qam-ʾaqlaθèy*ˡ 'in front of their legs' (A16:9). Temporal sense: *qam-mxéθət madənxa*ˡ 'before the rise of dawn' (A8:51), *qam-dàna*ˡ 'beforehand' (A4:30).

Sporadically it is connected to a following nominal by annexation, e.g. *qámət gəppa*ˡ 'in front of the cave' (A12:7). Before a demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *ʾéni* the subordinating particle *D* is regularly used, e.g. *qam-d-o-gəppa*ˡ 'before that cave' (A8:28), *qam-d-àwwa déwa*ˡ 'before this wolf' (A10:3), *qám d-áyya qəṣṣət*ˡ 'before this story' (A16:5), *qam-d-éni?* 'before whom?'

Pronominal suffixes are added directly to the preposition when it has a spatial sense, e.g. *qáme* 'before him' (A25:50), *qámux* 'before you (ms.)' (A15:20), *qàməx* 'before you (fs.)' (A22:20), *qámi* 'before me' (A24:33). Third person suffixes are often extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g. *qáme díye*ˡ 'before him' (A25:50). When used in a temporal sense, pronominal suffixes are generally not added directly to the base *qam-* but rather on the preposition *mən* that is combined with it, e.g. *ʾáw qam-mənnux hóle ʾəθya l-áxxa*ˡ 'He has come back here before you' (A22:39), *ʾu-xoránux ṯ-íla qám-mənnux zíle mɛθóye Bə́lbəl Hazàr*ˡ 'your friends who went before you to bring Bəlbəl Hazar' (A8:47).

13.3.17. qamθ-

The form *qamθ-* expresses the spatial relation 'in front of'. It has a narrower distribution than *qam-* and is used mostly after verbs of movement to express the sense of 'meeting' somebody. It is connected to a nominal by annexation or takes pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ríqa qímle plíṭle qámθət bróne dìye*ˡ 'He ran out to meet his son' (A14:95), *ṣlí qamθə-d-áwwa nàša*ˡ 'Go down to meet this man' (A15:6), *módre xúwwe plíṭɛle qàmθe*ˡ 'Again the snake came out before him' (A1:11), *ṣə́lyɛle qámθe dìye*ˡ 'He came down to meet him' (A15:6). Occasionally it is used in other contexts, e.g. *l-qámθe dìye*ˡ *ʾíθ xa-čòl*ˡ 'Before it lies barren countryside' (A8:21).

13.3.18. qamoθ-

The form *qamoθ-* is used like *qamθ-* after verbs of movement to express the sense of 'meeting', e.g. *xúwwe plíṭɛle l-qamòθe*ˡ 'The snake came out to

meet him' (A1:18), *ʾàxni ṣáləx qamóθe díye*ˡ 'We shall come down to meet him' (A4:25), *yáwəx xàbra*ˡ *ta-t-pálṭi l-qamòθən*ˡ 'We give word for them to come out to meet us' (A4:30).

13.3.19. reš- *'upon'*

In origin this preposition is the noun *reša* 'head' used as a locative adverbial and attached to a following nominal in a contracted annexation construction without the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *rēš-bə́rka dìya*ˡ 'on her knees' (B5:175). The vowel of the preposition is often shorted to */ə/*, e.g. *rəš-ṭùra*ˡ 'on a mountain' (A20:2), *rəš-qaràwəṭ*ˡ 'on the bed' (A21:6), *rəš-rúše dìye*ˡ 'on his shoulders' (A13:10).

It is connected to a following demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *ʾəni* by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *rəš-d-ò-dapa*ˡ 'on that board' (A22:27), *rəš-d-ay-ʾílána* 'on that tree' (A13:11), *rəš-d-ɛ-ʾèna*ˡ 'on that spring' (A15:1), *rēš-d-án qərṭàle*ˡ 'on those baskets' (B5:138), *ʾu-xá-wə̆zir díye rəš-d-áwwa-kursa*ˡ *xa-rəš-d-ə̆wàha*ˡ 'one minister sitting on a chair and one on another chair' (A14:43), *rəš-d-éni?* 'on whom?'

The form of the preposition is sometimes contracted further to *rš-* or *š-*, e.g. *ʾo-rábbən múttəlla ʾáqle díye rš-ə́qəl bàxta*ˡ 'The monk put his leg onto the leg of the woman' (A16:11), *múttəlla rš-d-àn bəzmáre*ˡ 'He placed them on the nails' (A17:28), *dáryəlla š-qaràwəṭ*ˡ 'They put her on the bed' (A21:7), *mátti š-nùra* 'They put it on the fire' (B5:65).

When the */š/* of the preposition is in contact with a following voiced consonant, it is often pronounced voiced. This is not represented in the normalized transcription, e.g. *š-gùda*ˡ [ʒ-ˈguːdæ] 'on the wall' (B5:192), *š-d-ó* [ʒ-d-oː] *huðàla*ˡ 'on that fodder stack' (B5:113).

Pronominal suffixes are added to the base *reš-*, e.g. *réše* 'on him', *réšux* 'on you (ms.)', *réši* 'on me'. Third person suffixes may be extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g. *réše díye* 'on him', *réša díya* 'on her'. In such constructions the suffix on the preposition is sometimes contracted, e.g. *rēš-dìye* 'on it' (B5:67). When used with the pronominal suffixes, it is sometimes combined with the preposition *b-*, e.g. *b-réša* 'over them' (A25:48), *b-rèša* 'on it' (A12:47).

The use of the word 'head' as a preposition is no doubt influenced by the semantic range of the equivalent word in Kurdish ser, which may mean both 'head' and 'upon'.

13.3.20. šawp-, šop- *'instead, in the place of'*

This is the noun *šawpa* 'place, trace' used adverbially. When used with this adverbial function the diphthong is frequently contracted to /o/ (§2.4.2.). It is combined with the following nominal in an annexation relation, e.g. *dáx páyəš málka šáwpət brὸni?*ˡ 'How will he become king in place of my son?' (A8:4), *múttəlle šópe dὶye*ˡ 'He put him in his place' (A25:51), *hálli básra šópət ləxma*ˡ 'Give me meat instead of bread', *šópə d-áw* 'instead of him'. It takes pronominal suffixes, e.g. *šópux* 'instead of you', *šópən* 'instead of us'.

13.3.21. t-la *'without'*

Examples: *t-la-zὺze*ˡ 'without money' (A24:23), *t-lá mὶya*ˡ 'without water' (B5:14), *t-lá mɛxὸlta*ˡ 'without food' (B5:114), *t-lá marăwὰθɛle ʾo-márga?*ˡ 'Is the meadow without owners?' (A25:60). It is connected to a following demonstrative pronoun by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *t-lá d-o-náša* 'without that man', *t-lá d-áw* 'without him'. Pronominal suffixes are expressed by combining it with the independent genitive particle, e.g. *t-lá díyi* 'without me', *t-lá díyux* 'without you'. Occasionally the preposition *b-* is placed before the genitive particle, e.g. *t-la-b-dὶyi* 'without me' (A24:9).

13.3.22. ṭla-/ta- *'to, for', object marker*

Either of the two variant forms of the preposition, *ṭla-* or *ta-*, are used before nominals, e.g. *maláxa móre ṭla-ràbbən*ˡ 'The angel said to the monk' (A15:7), *ʾáwwa qṭὶlle ṭla-ʾárya*ˡ 'He killed the lion' (A11:1), *hίwəlla quṣárta ta-màlla*ˡ 'They gave the pot to the mullah' (A5:8), *dáṛṛa ta-ʾaθrὲy*ˡ 'They returned to their land' (A4:27).

They are connected to demonstrative pronouns and the interrogative pronoun *ʾɛni* by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *mtúnyəlla qəṣṣátte kúlla ṭla-d-o-sàwa*ˡ 'He told all his story to the old man' (A14:76), *pálga ṭla-d-áy ʾu-pálga ṭla-d-àw*ˡ 'half for her and half for him' (A4:46), *bronət-málka móre ta-d-an-wăzὶre*ˡ 'The son of the king said to the ministers' (A14:40), *ʾo-bába sáwa móre ta-d-ànι*ˡ 'The old timer said to them' (A14:85), *ṭla-d-ɛ́ni?* 'for whom?'

Pronominal suffixes are added to the base form *ṭlal-*, e.g. *ṭlále* 'to him', *ṭlálux* 'to you (ms.)', *ṭláli* 'to me', etc. Forms with the third person suffixes may be extended by the independent genitive pronoun, e.g. *ṭlále díye* 'to him', *ṭlála díya* 'to her'. The form *ta-* may be combined with pronominal

suffixes by means of the independent genitive particle, e.g. *ta-dìyi*ˡ 'to me' (A25:84).

13.3.23. xo-, xoθ- *'under'*

This is generally attached directly to the following word in the short form *xo-*, e.g. *xo-kosìθe*ˡ 'under his hat' (A23:6), *xo-réša dìya*ˡ 'under her head' (A24:17), *xo-ðà ʾilána*,ˡ 'under a tree' (A35:12). Occasionally the longer form *xoθ-* is used, e.g. *ʾáxni xoθ-tagbártət màlkəx*ˡ 'We are under the administration of the king' (A8:80).

The subordinating particle *D* is sporadically used to connect the preposition to a nominal without a demonstrative, e.g. *xó-t máθa* 'under the village'. It is regularly used before a demonstrative, e.g. *xo-d-áwwa jùlla*ˡ 'under this cloth' (A25:49), *xo-d-ò-kepa*ˡ 'under that stone' (A12:27), *xo-d-à ʾilána*ˡ 'under that tree' (A35:12).

Pronominal suffixes are attached to the base form *xoθ-*, e.g. *xóθe* 'under him', *xóθux* 'under you (ms.)', *xóθi* 'under me'. Third person suffixes may be extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g. *xóθe díye* 'under him', *xóθa díya* 'under her'.

Sometimes *xo-/xoθ-* is combined with the preposition *mən* even when static location is intended, e.g. *ʾu-m-xòθe*ˡ *y-oðíwa nùra*ˡ 'and under it they would put fire' (B5:183).

The original initial */t/* of this preposition is preserved in some proverbial sayings, e.g. *ʾíði txo-kèpɛla*ˡ 'My hand is under a stone' (D2:20), *míya txo-tùna*ˡ '(He is like) water under straw' (D2:42).

13.4. Miscellaneous Uninflected Particles

These may operate within a clause or may function as clausal conjunctions.

ʾap, ʾup	'also', connective particle (§18.1.3.)
ʾaxčí	'just'
ʾəlla	'if not, except, but' (§19.5.5.)
ʾən	'if' (§19.5.)
ʾína	'but', presentative particle (§18.1.5.)
ʾo	vocative particle
balki	'perhaps'
bas	'only'
biš	'more' (§14.8.1.)

ču	'none'
ga	'almost', connective particle (§15.1.1.11., §18.1.6.)
hade	'just, hardly'
hala	'still (not)' (§15.11.1.)
halbat	'of course'
ham	'also, even, again'
hammaše, hammaša	'always'
har	'just, still, always, again' (§15.11.)
hatta	'even'
he	'yes'
heš, həš	'still; (not) yet; (no) longer' (§15.10.)
hič	'none' (§14.9.18.)
ka-	'while' (§19.3.14.)
ḵačune	'at least'
la	'no, not'
lo	'or'
mədre	'again'
məǰǰəd	'really'
nagəstən	'suddenly'
nəmu, ləmu	asseverative particle, 'why?' (§17.9.1.)
săbab, sab	'because'
w	'and' (§14.11., §18.1.1.)
xaṭər	'because'
xo-, xu-	intensifying particle (§17.9.2.)
yan	'or'
ye, yehe	'yes'
zor	'hardly, barely'
-ži	'also', connective particle (§18.1.4.)

SYNTAX

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE SYNTAX OF NOMINALS

14.1. Expression of Definiteness

14.1.1. *Preliminary Remarks*

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

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

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

14.1.2. *The Distribution of the Cardinal Indefinite Particle*

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

ða-bráta (A25:25)	*xa-bráta* (A4:32)	'a girl'
ða-màθa (A48:1)	*xa-máθa* (A15:10)	'a village'
ða-dùkθa (A12:54)	*xa-dùkθa* (A10:1)	'a place'
ða-qàṭu (A14:2)	*xa-qàṭu* (A23:19)	'a cat'
ða-káwe (A18:22)	*xa-kàwe* (A10:4)	'a window'
ða-yáma (A11:7)	*xa-yàma* (A12:30)	'a sea'
ða-lawùrta (A14:17)	*xa-lawùrta* (A22:38)	'a valley'
ða-kɛ́rtə qɛ́sa (A10:6)	*xa-kɛ́rtə qɛ̀sa* (A12:69)	'a bundle of wood'
ða-qəṣṣət (A14:35)	*xa-qáṣṣət* (A4:31)	'a story'

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

(1) *málla Naṣrádin xá-ga bə̆yéwa mbaš̆əlwa pàča.*ˡ 'Once mullah Naṣradin wanted to cook pača.' (A5:1)
(2) *xá-ga xéta plíṭṭɛla Lelìθa.*ˡ 'Again Leliθa came out.' (A51:12)
(3) *málka hóle xə́zya xá-ga xéta xəlma.*ˡ 'The king has had a dream again.' (A1:12)
(4) *šuréla xá-bena xéta bxàya.*ˡ 'They began to cry again.' (A25:7)
(5) *tíwela xá-bena hàdəx.*ˡ 'They sat for a while like that.' (A26:17)
(6) *zàlɛwa,*ˡ *xá-bena xzéle m-rə̀ḥqa xá-mdi xwàra.*ˡ 'He was going along and (after) a while he saw in the distance something white.' (A14:28)

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

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

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

14.1.2.1. *Particle Used*

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

(i) Nominals with a topically prominent referent

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

(7) *ʾíθwa* ***xa-nàša***ˈ *gu-ða-màθa,*ˈ *rába rába duglàna-wewa.*ˈ *mdagálwa mənnàše,*ˈ *y-ámər hàtxɛle wíða fəllən,*ˈ *hàtxɛle wíða fəllən.*ˈ *rába məndiyáne y-awàðwala,*ˈ *béna náše là hămənáwa ʾálle díye.*ˈ ‘There was a man in a village who was a great liar. He would tell lies about people, saying so-and-so did such-and-such, so-and-so did such-and-such. He would do all kinds of (deceptive) things to them and people did not believe him.’ (A48:1)

(8) ***xa-nàša***ˈ *sìqɛwa*ˈ *l-ṭùra*ˈ *qtála ʾərwe.*ˈ ‘A man had gone up into the mountains to kill sheep.’ (A31:1)

(9) *ʾíθwa* ***xa-màlka***ˈ *ʾáwwa málka xzéle xa-xàlma.*ˈ *ʾu-qédamta mára*ˈ… ‘There was (once) a king. This king had a dream. In the morning he said…’ (A1:2)

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

(10) ***xa-náša*** *y-azəlwa*ˈ *ʾíθwa maθwáθa qurbèni.*ˈ *šaqálwa* ***čánta*** *mənne-u*ˈ *máttu láxma gàw,*ˈ *y-azálwa čyàda,*ˈ *béθa bèθa.*ˈ ‘A man would go to villages that were near us. He would take a bag with him, in which he put bread, and would go from house to house making invitations.’ (B5:20)

(11) *ʾasqáxwa márzə Žàwa.*ˈ *šaqláxwa* ***xa-ʾə̀rba*** *mánnən,*ˈ *ʾu-ʾurxa-ʾùrxa,*ˈ *ʾu-parməxwale har-táma l-márzə Žàwa.*ˈ *ʾu-y-oðáxwa nùra.*ˈ *mṭawə̀xwale táma.*ˈ ‘We would go up to the banks of the Zab. We would take a sheep with us and slaughter it there, on the trip, on the banks of the Zab. We would make a fire and roast it there.’ (B3:6)

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

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

(12) *ʾíθwa xa-gáwṛa-w bàxta.*ˈ *ʾíθwala bnòne.*ˈ ‘There was a husband and wife. They had children.’ (A 22:1)

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

(13) *xá-yoma qə́ryɛle márе ṭla-réšət màθa*ˈ *ʾáwwa šə̂mma mšaxəlpùle.*ˈ ‘One day he appealed to the head of the village saying “Change this name.”’ (A7:2)

(14) *xa-yóma síqe-wawa l-ṣèda.*ˈ ‘One day they had gone up (the mountains) hunting.’ (A25:2)

(15) *xa-yòma*ˈ *qímla zílla màra*ˈ *ṯ-ázəx l-ʾərwe.*ˈ ‘One day they set off and said “Let’s go to the sheep.”’ (A25:23)

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

(16) *xá-yoma ʾíθwa xá-qaša ʾu-xà-malla.*ˈ 'One day there was a priest and a mullah.' (A2:1)

(ii) Contrasted members of a set

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

(17) *ʾap-ánna péši trè jwíne.*ˈ ***xa-jwìna***ˈ *gawàye,*ˈ *xà*ˈ *qam-tə̀ra.*ˈ 'They again form two teams, one team inside and one outside.' (B11:11)

(18) *qímɛle ʾap-Fárxo šqílalle zòrna,*ˈ *mxáya zòrna,*ˈ *bejíye hóla* ***xa-gòta***ˈ *ʾárwa* ***xa-gòta.***ˈ 'Farxo also took up the pipe and played pipe music, the young lambs were one side and the sheep on one (other) side.' (A25:31)

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

(19) *qəm-mpatpə̀tla*ˈ *kút-xa qəm-xaššálle* ***ða-gòta.***ˈ 'He tore them apart and threw everybody down to one side.' (A25:56)

(20) *kút-yum* ***ðà-brata*** *gawárwa.*ˈ 'Every day he would marry a girl.' (A14:1)

(21) *bɛθ-qòra,*ˈ *ʾan-náše mìθe*ˈ *ʾáni y-amrə́xxa bɛθ-qòra.*ˈ *fa-y-azìwa.*ˈ *kút-xa ʾítle* ***xa-mìθa.***ˈ 'The cemetery, (in which were) the dead people, we call the place they lie (literally: we call them) the cemetery. The people would go (there). Each person has a dead (family member).' (B5:56–57)

(22) *díya kút-bɛθa ʾítle* ***xa-tanùra.***ˈ 'Now every house has an oven.' (B10:93–94)

(23) *θáni yómət ʾéða y-oðə́xwa duxràna.*ˈ *kút-xa maṣléwa* ***xà-lagă̆na.***ˈ 'On the second day of the festival (of Easter) we would make a memorial. Everybody would take down a pan (of food).' (B10:2)

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

(24) *xá-b-xa béθa y-orə̀xwa gáwe mbarxə̀xwa ʾéða.*ˡ ‘We would go into one house after another and offer festival blessings.’ (B6:15)
(25) *xa-xá-ga márət béθa mbašólwa ʾixála ʾímə-t hóya dànət ʾixála.*ˡ ‘Sometimes (i.e. on one occasion and on another occasion) the owner of the house would cook food when it was time for food.’ (B6:16)

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

(26) *palṭíwa mən-bèθa*ˡ *y-oríwa gu-**xa-béθa xèna**.*ˡ ‘They would leave one house and enter another house.’ (B15:7)
(27) *ʾáp-xa lìθ láxxa gu-béθa.*ˡ *ʾayále díye hóle mšùdrəlla **xa-dúkθa xéta**.*ˡ ‘There is nobody here in the house. He has sent his children to another place.’ (A22:28)
(28) *ʾíman ṯ-àθyət,*ˡ ***ða-kəsta-xéta** max-d-áy yawə̀nnəx.*ˡ ‘When you come back, I’ll give you another purse like that one.’ (A4:16)

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

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

(29) *qàša*ˡ *ʾu-šamàša*ˡ *ʾi-mṣàli*ˡ *b-réše-u béθa dérɛ míye b-réše dìye.*ˡ *ʾu-máxa **xa-mášxa** gu-be-ʾéne dìye.*ˡ ‘The priest and the deacon pray over him and his family and they put water on his head. They put some oil on his forehead.’ (B6:36)
(30) *màsta*ˡ *xálya mɛθəxxe,*ˡ *marəθxə̀xxe.*ˡ *qàyər xánčí.*ˡ *dérəx **xa-màsta** gáwe,*ˡ *péša màsta.*ˡ ‘Yoghurt—we would fetch milk and boil it. It would cool slightly. We would put a portion of yoghurt in it and it would become yoghurt.’ (B10:26)
(31) *ʾu-talíle b-**xa-qèsa**.*ˡ ‘They hang it onto a piece of wood.’ (B6:38)

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

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

(32) *ʾíθwa xa-ʾùpra| mašxàna,| ʾúpra smòqa.|* 'There was an oily clay, red clay.' (B10:68)

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

(33) *ʾíθwalən šawwá ʾabòne| gu-máθa dìyən.| píšela mútte gu-Mar-Qiyóma kúlla gu-ðà qáwra.|* 'We had seven bishops in our village. They were all laid in one grave in (the church of) Saint Qiyoma.' (B2:6)
(34) *ʾána xà-yoma kə́slux la-pə́šən.|* 'I won't stay with you a single day (longer).' (A12:40)
(35) *ʾána ðà-bratɛn.|* 'I am an only daughter.' (A34:7)

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

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

(1) ***xa-náša sàwa**| ʾúmre díye…, yáʿni dáqne díye mṭáya l-ăra,| hóle ṭína **kə́rtət qèse**| l-xàṣe.| hóle tíwa l-**kèpa**,| hàtxa.| ʾánna pìðəlla mànne díye,| ʾap-šlàma lə́la dáryəlle.|* 'An old man, whose age…that is his beard reached the ground, was carrying a load of wood on his back. He was sitting on a stone, like this. They passed by him, but did not even greet him.' (A15:13)

(2) *mšádrən mɛxòlta ʾálle díye,*| *ʾixàla.*| *qìmtɛla,*| *šlìqta*| *bèʾe,*| *šàwwa béʾe.*| *ʾu-muttéθɛla ṭláθi làxme*| *gu-***čànta**.| *màra bábi nábəlla gu-jàma*| *hálle!*| ‘“I shall send food to him, some food.” She boiled eggs, seven eggs, and put thirty loaves of bread in a basket. She said “Father, take them to the mosque and give them to him.”’ (A17:11)

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

(3) *ʾáθət ʾána mbàšlən* ***mándi***.| ‘Come and I shall cook something.’ (A22:14)
(4) *tìwle,*| *xílle* ***màndi***| ‘He sat down and ate something.’ (A15:1)
(5) *ʾána ʾáxxa nšéli* ***xa-màndi***.| ‘I have forgotten something here.’ (The speaker then goes on to talk about the thing he had forgotten to mention earlier) (B5:35)
(6) *ʾámər ʾálla dìya*| *ṯ-amrənnəx* ***xa-màndi***.| *móra mùr.*| ‘He said to her “I shall tell you something.” She said “Tell (me).”’ (A16:7)

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

(7) *zílle xa-béna* ***ʾárya*** *θéle ṭálbe dìye,*| *ʾáwwa qṭìlle ṭla-ʾárya,*| *ʾína ʾárya ʾíðe díye qəm-axəlla.*| ‘A lion once attacked him. He killed the lion, but the lion ate his hand.’ (A11:1)

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

(8) *qímle* ***ʾáqla xéta****… qəm-parə̀mla.*ˡ ‘He cut off another leg (one of a series).’ (A22:5),

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

(9) *la-****bàba*** *ʾítle,*ˡ *la-****yə̀mma*** *ʾítle.*ˡ ‘He has neither a father nor a mother.’ (A14:16)

(10) *har-ʾàwwɛle*ˡ *ʾən-ʾítle nawàge,*ˡ *ʾən-ʾítle* ***bàba****,*ˡ *ʾən-ʾítle* ***yə̀mma****,*ˡ *ʾən-ʾítle xonăwàθa?*ǁ ‘Is he alone or does he have grandchildren, does he have a father, does he have a mother, does he have brothers?’ (A17:16)

(11) *m-ɛ́ka mɛθənnux* ***nasàrta***ˡ *ta-t-nasrənnux qèse t̂-oðənnux* ***gəšra****,*ˡ *šáwrəx réše réše dìye?*ǁ ‘From where should I bring you a saw so that I could saw the wood to make a bridge, over which we could cross?’ (A17:3)

(12) *Mar-Yuḥánna lá-mṣele kút-xa dréle* ***qáwwət míya*** *b-rèše.*ˡ ‘Saint John could not put a scoop of water over everybody.’ (B6:10)

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

(13) *mɛθíwa səryòqe,*ˡ *ṭárpa qăṭíwa y-azìwa.*ˡ *mɛθíwa ʾan-qése naqìðe.*ˡ *kúlla torə̀xwala.*ˡ *ʾáxni la-morə̀xwa* ***xa-səryóqa*** *gu-bɛ́θa ʾən-la-torə̀xwale.*ˡ *torə̀xwala kúlla barə̀ye.*ˡ ‘They would bring thin pieces of wood. We would break them all. We would not bring a single twig into the house without breaking it. We would break everything outside.’ (B10:70)

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

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

(14) *ʾìθwa*ˈ ***xa-ràbbən***,ˈ *tíwɛwa gu-xa-gəppìθa.*ˈ… ***ràbbən***ˈ *yǎðət-mà-yle?*ˈ ***ràbbən***ˈ *ʾáwwa t̲-i-sàxəð l-ʾálaha*ˈ *ʾu-t̲-i-mṣàle-u*ˈ *lé-y-ʾaxəl bəsra-w*ˈ *ʾáw y-amríle* ***ràbbən***.ˈ 'There was once a monk who lived in a cave.… Do you know what a monk is? A monk is somebody who worships God, who prays and does not eat meat. He is called a monk.' (A15:1–4)

(15) *múttela* ***xa-sállət mìya***.ˈ *múttela qam-ʾaqlaθèy.*ˈ ***sállət míya*** *yǎðət mèla?*ˈ *béna míya kə́lye gu-sàlla?*ˈ 'They had put out a basket of water, they put it in front of their legs. Do you know what a basket of water is? But, can water stay in a basket?' (A16:9–10)

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

(16) *síqela gu-****xa-ṭùra***,ˈ ***ṭúra*** *ʾisáre ramàne.*ˈ 'They went up into a mountain, a mountain (with) high rocks.' (A15:13)

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

(17) *qímɛle mtúrṣəlla* ***xa-tàxta***,ˈ *wíðəlla* ***semàlta***.ˈ 'He constructed a board and made it into a ladder.' (A17:23)

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

(18) ***báxta*** *xáčča zàbbun-ila.*ˈ 'A woman is rather weak.' (A10:12)

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

(19) *ʾǎraq—ʾíθwa* ***masìna.***ˈ ***masína*** *mturáṣtɛwa m-ʾùpra.*ˈ 'As for arak, there was (a pot called a) *masina*. A *masina* was made from clay.' (B5:14)

(20) *ʾàxni*ˈ *kàslən*ˈ ***šàbθa***ˈ *ʾíla šawwà-yome*ˈ *ʾu-yàrxa*ˈ *ʾíle ṭlaθì-yome.*ˈ 'A week for us is seven days and a month is thirty days.' (A17:13)

(21) *ʾína wírɛle gáwe díye* ***ʾàrya***ˈ *ʾu-plíṭɛle* ***tèla.***ˈ 'A lion entered it and a fox came out (i.e. he entered proudly like a lion but came out stealthily like a fox).' (A17:34)

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

(22) *ʾáwwa-ži* ***zamàrɛle.***ˈ 'He is a singer.' (A11:4)

(23) *ʾána ʾədléle* ***ʾárxa*** *ṯ-áwən láxxa kàsləx.*ˈ 'Tonight I shall be a guest in your home.' (A17:24)

(24) *ʾu-****xátna*** *l-béθa pèšena.*ˈ 'I shall become a son-in-law in the house.' (A17:35)

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

(25) ***bəllòrta*** *ʾítla.*ˈ *mattə̀xla qa-yála zòra,*ˈ *mattáxxa* ***wàṣla,***ˈ ***xa-wáṣla rakìxa.***ˈ 'It had a pipe. We set it up for a young child, we set up a joining piece, a soft joining piece.' (B10:77)

(26) *ʾáti* ***xa-náša xaràmət.***ˈ 'You are a villainous man.' (A16:11)

(27) *dáwla ʾíle* ***xa-sandùqa***ˈ ***réše pθíxɛle dɛ́rɛ xàṭṭe gáwe.***ˈ 'The *dawla* is a box the top of which is open and in which they put wheat.' (B6:54)

14.1.3. *Stress Placement*

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

(1) *ʾíθwa xá-ʾotəx yan-trè.*ˈ 'There was one room or two.' (B5:199)

(2) *xalmìwa*ˈ *xà-siṭa*ˈ *yan-trè-siṭe*ˈ 'They become one span or two spans thick.' (B5:207)

(3) *pɛšíwa xá-lɛle trè.*ˈ 'They stayed for one night or two.' (B5:234)

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

(i) Temporal or spatial adverbial expressions:
(4) *xàrθa*ˡ *xá-yoma síqa l-gàre.*ˡ 'Then, one day, he went up onto the roof.' (A14:87)
(5) *ʾáyya xá-šeta hóla támma láxxa lɛ́la mbaqorə̀llux.*ˡ 'They have been here for a year but have not asked for you.' (A26:78)
(6) *ʾáw máṣli xá-dukθa ṯ̂-óya šaxínta y-amrə́xwa gòma.*ˡ 'They deposit it in a warm place that we called a *goma*.' (B5:211)
(7) *málla Naṣrádin xá-ga bə̆yéwa mbašə́lwa pàča.*ˡ 'Once mullah Naṣradin wanted to cook *pača*.' (A5:1)
(8) *tíwela xá-bena hàdəx.*ˡ 'They sat for a while like that.' (A26:17)

(ii) Before nouns that are annexed to a following noun:
(9) *xá-zawgət xoṛiyàθa*ˡ 'a pair of willow trees' (A26:90)
(10) *xá-palgət sàʾət*ˡ 'half an hour' (A10:5)
(11) *xá-boyət xùwwe*ˡ 'a snake's hole' (A9:6)
(12) *xá-borət kèpe*ˡ 'a pile of stones' (A11:5)

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

(13) *xá-ṭena qɛ́sa* 'a load of wood' (A14:9)
(14) *xá-reša tùma*ˡ 'a head of garlic' (B10:19)

(iii) Nouns qualified by the modifier 'other':
(15) *ʾə́θyɛle xá-naša xèna.*ˡ 'Another man came.' (A12:9)
(16) *xàrθa*ˡ *ṯ̂-áθe xá-ʾeða xréna zòra*ˡ 'Afterwards comes another small festival.' (B6:8)

(iv) Before the word *məndi* 'thing':
(17) *hálli xá-məndi ṯ̂-àxlən.*ˡ 'Give me something to eat.' (A26:57)
(18) *bə̆yəx xá-məndi gu-tə̆̀ra qablítula.*ˡ 'We want you to pledge something for her at the door.' (B10:36)

(19) *ʾat-yə́ðət xá-məndi bas-dìye.*ʔ‖ 'Do you know something about it?'
(20) *xá-mdi xwàra*‖ 'something white' (A14:28)

14.1.4. *Suffixed Cardinal Indefinite Particle*

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

(1) *ʾáw-w bàxta,*‖ *Čəlkə̆ze*‖ *ʾo-yàla,*‖ *wídla xàbra-xa.*‖ 'He and the woman, that is Čəlkăze and the young man, made an agreement.' (A12:37)

14.1.5. *Pronominal Use of Indefinite Particle*

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

(1) *bə́nyət-əlla ʾótəx tàma,*‖ *qá-t mabàsma kút-yom xà.*‖ 'You have built her a room there in order for her to entertain somebody everyday.' (A4:52)
(2) *ʾəθyɛle xàʾa.*‖ 'A certain person came.' (A7:24)
(3) *ʾu-ʾíθwa ṭawáltət bərràne,*‖ *xa-ráqa báθər d-ò-xena.*‖ 'There was the game of "groups", one person running after the other.' (B7:6)
(4) *béna xá-mənna máre de-yàlla.*‖ 'Then one of them said "Go for it!"' (A44:3)
(5) *múθyɛle trè susə̆wáθa.*‖ *xa-múxləlle màlxa.*‖ *ʾu-xá har-múšətyɛle mìya.*‖ 'He brought two horses. He fed one salt. One he only gave water to drink.' (A34:31)

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

(6) *xa-gòṛɛle.*‖ 'He is a great one (a great person).' (A26:72)
(7) *də-mxíli xa-xèna.*‖ 'Strike me another one (another blow)!' (A52:24)

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

(8) *ʾína brónət málka θèleˈ ʾu-ðà mánne díye.*ˈ ‘Behold the son of the king has come and a girl is with him.’ (A14:93)

(9) *dawqíwa bnáθa b-ʾíðət ġðáðe hàtxa,*ˈ *yáʿni ràbe doqíwa,*ˈ *ða-dwíqta ʾíðə d-a-xèta.*ˈ ‘The girls held each other’s hand like this. Many held (hands), one holding the hand of the other.’ (B12:1)

(10) *ʾáyya Ẓíne ʾíθən trèʾe.*ˈ *ða-xàθela*ˈ *ʾu-ða-bàxtela.*ˈ ‘There are two of such (women called) Zine. One is his sister and one is his wife.’ (A26:61)

(11) *šqíləlla mən-d-ɛ-dɛ̀rta,*ˈ *núbləlla zədyəlla gu-ða-xèta.*ˈ ‘They took it from that enclosure, took it away and threw it into another one.’ (A15:12)

(12) *muttéθəlla ṭəḷḷəθ xəmməryáθa,*ˈ *m-an-xməryáθə tabzìye.*ˈ *muttéθəlla rəš-pàršət ʾèna,*ˈ *ða-smòqta,*ˈ *ða-xwàrta,*ˈ *ða-milànta.*ˈ ‘She laid down three beads, beads of a rosary. She put them on the stone slab of the spring, one red, one white and one blue.’ (A25:34)

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

(13) *ðà-b-ða šáqla-w*ˈ *mattá xa-xèta.*ˈ ‘She takes them (*guttaθa* f. balls of dough) one by one and puts another in.’ (B5:102)

(14) *ʾap-xa-xéta ʾaxlàla.*ˈ ‘She eats another one (another leg *ʾaqla* f.).’ (A18:21)

14.2. Gender

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

14.2.1. *Discourse Anaphora*

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

(1) *ʾən-ʾáwəð hàtxa,*ˈ *lèla spáy.*ˈ ‘If he does this, it is not good.’ (A14:6)

(2) *ʾáyyət miràli ʾəllux*ˈ *kùlla wiðále.*ˈ ‘What I have told you—all of this he has done.’ (A24:20)

(3) *mxéli sépa ʾəlle,*| *čú-məndi la-wìdla.*| 'I struck a sword into him, but that (action) did nothing.' (A12:36)
(4) *xamláxwa bìya.*| 'We enjoyed the occasion.' (B5:33)
(5) *m-kəs-gàne qəm-mdabárra*| *mxalóṣe xàye díye.*| 'He fabricated it (what he had just said) to save his life.' (A39:6)
(6) *plìṭṭɛla*| *gu-màθa,*| *kút-xa qṭála ġðàðe.*| 'It (what had happened) got about in the village and everyone fought with one another.' (A7:14)
(7) *hátxa la-hàwya.*| 'This cannot be.' (A21:32)
(8) *šwiqáli táma-w θéli làxxa.*| 'I have left it (the situation of the narrative) there and come here' (formula marking the end of a narrative). (A26:91)
(9) *b-àyyət mšúdrəlli?*| 'Did you send for me because of this?' (A21:35)
(10) *módi mquma ʾəllux?*| *ʾo-qamáya miràle,*| *ʾo-t-tré miràle.*| '"What has befallen you?" The first one told it (= the event) to him, the second one told it to him.' (A17:31)

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

(11) *ʾáyya mə́ndi lɛ̀-ʾaθya l-manšóye.*| 'This thing is unforgettable.' (B15:8)
(12) *rába gáye wítɛla ʾánna məndiyàne.*| 'Many times such things happened.' (B5:163)

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

(13) *ʾən-bábux ʾu-yə́mmux gu-bɛ̀θɛla,*| *léla šəklánta ṯ-ásqət l-gàre.*| 'If your father and mother are in the house, it is not pleasant for you to go up onto the roof.' (D2:7)
(14) *ʾu-píštɛla ʾan-dəbbòre*| *har-zála-w θàya.*| 'The hornets continued going back and forth.' (A20:8)

(15) *mìr-e-mən*| *zàwdɛla mánni,*| *ʾána ṯ-amrənnèxu*| *mšáxəlpu dukàne.*| 'My lord, may I humbly suggest you change places (Literally: It is too much for me, let me say to you, change places).' (A26:65)

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

(16) *tré-gaye tré wíta ʾàrba.*| 'Two times two equals four.'
(17) *xámša gáye xámša wáyɛla ʾə́sri-w xàmša.*| 'Five times five is twenty-five.'

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

(18) *qráya zàmət-ila.*| 'Reading is difficult.'
(19) *mdaróye modìla?*|| 'What is winnowing?' (B5:97)

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

(20) *mo-ṯ-áθya b-rešɛ̀ni?*|| 'What will come upon us?'

14.2.2. *General Speech Situation*

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

(1) *ʾáxxa biš-salàmət-ila.*| 'Here it is safer.' (A30:51)
(2) *há xèr,*| *mòdila?*|| 'Is everything all right? What is it? (= What is the matter?)' (A17:29)
(3) *ṣrìxɛle*| *hàwərila!*|| *hàwərila! béθi qìdle!*|| 'He cried "Woe! Woe! (literally: It is woe) My house has burnt down."' (A48:2)
(4) *xwíṭla ʾəlli.*| 'I am confused (literally: It is mixed up for me).'

14.2.3. *Temporal Expressions*

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

(1) *b-lèlela,*ˈ *plíṭṭɛla zìltɛla*ˈ *xzíθəlle xa-nàša.*ˈ '(When) it was night, she went out and found a man.' (A22:36)
(2) *wítɛla b-lèle*ˈ *maláxa mŭṛášle qa-ràbbən.*ˈ 'In the night (literally: It became in the night) the angel woke the monk.' (A15:11)
(3) *písla b-lèle,*ˈ *sìqɛle*ˈ *l-gàre.*ˈ 'In the night (literally: It became in the night), he went up onto the roof.' (A25:52)
(4) *kpìnna*ˈ *yómə ṭḷàθela.*ˈ 'She went hungry when the third day came.' (A21:16)
(5) *wítɛla bar-ʾo-náša sáwa ṣályɛle mtămòzalla ʧ̂ənnəkéra díya,*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾaw ṣályɛle mhayóre ta-d-o-sàwa.*ˈ 'After the old man went down to clean around it (literally: It became after…), he also went down to help the old man.' (A14:77)
(6) *hánṭ-ila ṭ̂-àθe*ˈ 'He will come very soon (literally: It is a little he will come).
(7) *ʾu-šaqláwa qúrbə l-ʾárbi, xamšî yomáθa.*ˈ 'It would take about forty or fifty days.' (B5:12)
(8) *mádre ʾi-zamríwa-w šatèwa*ˈ *hál y-oráwa gu-lèle.*ˈ 'They again sang and drank until it was night (literally: until it passed into night).' (B5:18)
(9) *zílta láxxa tre-ṭḷà-yarxe,*ˈ *ʾarbà-yarxe,*ˈ *máre xa-béna xéta mjarbənna.*ˈ 'Two or three months, four months passed. He said "I'll test them again."' (A48:4)
(10) *písla qúrbət xà-yarxa*ˈ *ʾé-ga málka máre ṭla-bàxte*ˈ 'Almost a month went by and then the king said to his wife…' (A4:38)
(11) *y-oráwa káma yàrxe.*ˈ 'Several months would pass.' (B5:18)
(12) *palṭa-bàhər*ˈ *y-oðáxwa ʾùpra.*ˈ 'When Spring came, we would collect the mud.' (B10:68)

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

14.2.4. *Object Pronoun*

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

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

(1) *bíš-yăðe mtagbə̀rra.*ˡ 'He knows better how to deal with things.' (A30:2)
(2) *qáṭu krìbla,*ˡ *qəm-jarála gu-nùra.*ˡ 'The cat was angry and urinated in the fire.' (A34:8)
(3) *kúṯ-ile xíləlla xa-ràmši-məndi*ˡ *gu-bèθi*ˡ *ʾáθe xarèla gu-béθi.*ˡ 'Everyone who has eaten my dinner or the like (i.e. any food) in my house, let him come and defecate in my house.' (A7:5)
(4) *lá qəm-mattúla qam-màlka.*ˡ 'He did not surrender to the king.' (A27:1)
(5) *m-xúwwe hon-muxə̀rwəlla.*ˡ 'I have wrecked it with the snake' (i.e. I have wrecked my relationship). (A1:10)

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

(6) *ʾána zála har-zílən bìya.*ˡ 'I have absolutely gone with it!' (i.e. I am finished!) (A14:25)

14.2.5. *Meteorological Expressions*

In some expressions relating to the weather a 3fs. inflection is used without any explicit subject, e.g. *támməl rìtɛla*ˡ 'Yesterday it rained', *bṯ̂-àrya*ˡ 'It will rain', *ʾə́dyo šaxìnta*ˡ 'Today it is hot'. In such cases the subject should be understood as the feminine noun *dunye* 'world, weather', which is used in other meteorological expressions such as *dúnye rày*a ˡ 'It is raining', *dúnye šaxìnta*ˡ 'It is hot', *dúnye xəmmànta*ˡ 'It is hot'. Note also expressions of temperature such as (1)–(3), where the implicit subject again can be interpreted as *dunye*:

(1) *qəm-xăðíla hátxa t-la-qɛralèy.*ˡ 'They wrapped them up, like this, so that they would not be cold.' (A8:12)
(2) *wítɛla xáčča b-yóma xə̀mma.*ˡ 'It became rather hot during the day.' (A14:68)

(3) *ta-ṯ-óya šaxínta b-sátwa ʾəllèy.*ˡ ‘So that it will be warm for them in the winter.’ (B14:9)

14.3. Demonstrative Pronouns

14.3.1. *Preliminary Remarks*

The demonstrative pronouns may qualify a noun or stand independently. When they qualify a noun, they are regularly placed before the noun, e.g. *ʾáwwa gáwṛa* ‘this man’, *ʾáyya báxta* ‘this woman’, *ʾánna náše* ‘these people’, etc. They may be combined with nouns that have possessive pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʾáwwa ʾərbi* ‘this sheep of mine’ (A10:3), *ʾáwwa bèθux* ‘this house of yours’ (A11:11), *ʾáw kawsèy* ‘that hair of theirs’ (A8:14), *ʾaw-nằre* ‘that axe of his’ (A14:12), *ʾo-qése dìye* ‘its wood’ (B5:84), *ʾáy bráti* ‘that daughter of mine’ (A40:10), *ʾɛ-braténi* ‘that daughter of ours’ (A21:25), *ʾáyya róxi* ‘this soul of mine’ (A26:82), *qu-sé kəs-d-anna-šwàwəni* ‘Go to these neighbours of ours’ (A5:1).

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

(i) Subject
- (1) *ʾaw-tíwɛle xaràya.*ˡ ‘He sat last (in the queue).’ (A17:31)
- (2) *xa-bèna,*ˡ *dmìxɛle ʾáw.*ˡ ‘Then he went to sleep.’ (A24:40)
- (3) *ʾay-θéla dmíxla gu-ʾótəx dìya.*ˡ ‘She came back and went to sleep in her room.’ (A17:26)
- (4) *klìθɛla-ay.*ˡ ‘She stood.’ (A31:10)
- (5) *ʾáwwa zílɛle b-ʾùrxa.*ˡ ‘He went on his way.’ (A17:12)
- (6) *w-áyya šurèla*ˡ *ṭlába mən-ʾálaha ta-t-méθa ʾup-ày.*ˡ ‘She began to ask God to let her also die.’ (A26:87)
- (7) *hadíya lèla ʂyáməlla ʾáni.*ˡ ‘Now they do not fast.’ (B16:12)
- (8) *sằbab*ˡ *ʾăwáha škèle*ˡ ‘because that one complained’ (A25:32)

(ii) Predicate
- (9) *ʾítwa náše šulέy ʾàwwɛle líθən?*ˡ ‘There were people whose job was this, is that not so?’ (B5:135)
- (10) *ʾànnɛla ʾeðăwáθə diyéni.*ˡ ‘Our festivals are these.’ (B6:16)

(iii) Direct object

(11) *ʾaw-y-oðəxwa.*| 'We would do that.' (B10:49)

(12) *ʾu-hóla mšuyðánta mən-d-ó-yoma ṯ-íla xzíθəlle ʾàw.*| 'and she has been mad from the day that she saw him.' (A4:12)

(13) *ʾáwwa xá-ga xéta dɛréle gu-mìya.*| 'They put it again in water.' (B6:44)

(14) *dáx pɛrmə́nne ʾàwwa?*| 'How can I slaughter him?' (A15:9)

(15) *ṯ-awðətla ʾàyya?*| 'Will you do this?' (A25:75)

(16) *ʾáxčə muθéli ʾànna.*| 'I have only brought these.' (A7:22)

(17) *pálšəx ʾáni* 'Let us fight them.' (A14:52)

(iv) Complement of a preposition or particle

(18) *b-xa-ʾúrxa t-ʾày*| 'in a way of her own' (A8:48)

(19) *pálga ṭla-gàwṛa*| *pálga ṭla-d-ày*| 'half for her husband and half for her' (A10:6)

(20) *ḵáwa ṭla-d-àni.*| 'Let it be for them.' (A15:18)

(21) *yawəlla qa-d-ày.*| 'He gives it to her.' (A4:22)

(22) *mút farqùθɛla,*| *gu-d-áyya dérta ʾaw-gu-d-ăyàha?*| 'What is the difference (whether it is) in this enclosure or that one?' (A15:12)

(23) *ṯ-áθe xa-ʾárxa ʾax-d-àwwa*| *gu-bèθi.*| 'A guest comes like this into my house.' (A26:34)

(24) *kúlla ʾaqára gắrəg máxe m-d-àw.*| 'The whole farm must spread some of this (on the crops).' (B5:138)

(25) *ʾa-d-áy ṃl̥áyəlla kùlle míya*| *ʾa-d-áw har-ṃə̀l̥ya.*| 'She fills hers all with water. His was continuously full.' (A17:25)

(26) *ʾàna*| *dárdi léla d-àyya.*| *dárdi ʾíla t-ʾá-t gu-panjărìye.*| 'My suffering is not from this (game), my suffering is from that one at the window.' (A26:66)

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

14.3.2. *The Function of the Demonstrative Pronouns*

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

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

'speaker deixis'	*ʾáwwa kθáwa* 'this book (near me)'
'far deixis'	*ʾăwáha kθáwa* 'that book (remote from me and you)
'default'	*ʾo-kθawa* 'that book (with you)'

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

Examples from the text corpus:

(1) *qu-šqúlla ʾáyya skìnta.*ˈ 'Get up and take this knife.' (A15:8)
(2) *yába là dámxəx gu-d-áwwa qáṣra.*ˈ *dámxəx l-wə̆dəṛ.*ˈ 'Let's not sleep in this palace. Let's sleep outside.' (A12:11)
(3) *y-ásqəx méθəx míya mən-d-ăwàha ṭúra.*ˈ 'We shall go up and fetch water from that mountain over there.' (A39:9)
(4) *réšux mattánne gu-d-yàha káweˈ ṯ̂-íla ṗyàša.*ˈ 'I shall put your head in that opening over there that remains.' (A25:62)
(5) *mára kèle béθa díya.*ʔˈ *ʾaw-xášu xa-badəkkɛ́le.*ˈ *məra ʾăwáʾha qáṣra ṯ̂-it-xzàyəlle.*ˈ 'He said "Where is her house?" He thought it was a hut. They said "That villa that you can see over there."' (A40:11)
(6) *máṭyɛ́le xa-káwtət ʾərwe,*ˈ *ʾíbe tre-ṭ̣láθa ʾálpa rēš-ʾərwe.*ˈ *qəm-qaréla ʾan-šavàne*ˈ *mára d-ènila ʾan-ʾərwe?*ˈ 'He came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep. He called the shepherds and said "Whose are those sheep (which are in your keeping)?"' (A32:14)
(7) *šqíləlla qamáye ðá-kista dàwe.*ˈ *mára ʾáy ṭ̣làləxˈ . . . mjunəgníla hàtxa.*ˈ *. . . mára . . . ʾíman ṯ̂-àθyət,*ˈ *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawənnəx.*ˈ 'He first took out a purse of gold pieces. He said "This is for you" . . . She shook them like this . . . He said . . . "When you come back, I'll give you another purse like that one (you are holding)."' (A4:15–16)
(8) *kúlla ʾan-waríðəx qăṭ̣ənna.*ˈ 'I shall cut all those roots of yours.' (A25:64)
(9) *ʾay-mòdila?*ˈ 'What is that (by you)?' (A21:8)

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

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

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

Speaker deixis	Default
ʾi̯yya	*ʾo*

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

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

(10) *ʾíθwa* ***xa-málka*** *gu-ða-màθa.*| ***ʾo-màlka***| *ʾíθwale tàrte bnáθa.*| ‘There was a king in a village. That/the king had two daughters.’ (A25:1)

(11) *ṣálət xázət* ***xa-képa*** *l-márzət yàma.*| *dérət ʾíðux xo-d-****ò-kepa.***| ‘Go down and you will find a stone on the shore of the sea. Put your hand under that/the stone.’ (A12:27)

(12) *b-ʾúrxa tʃíqɛle* ***xá-xuwwe*** *bìye.*| ***ʾo-xúwwe*** *máre*| *hà-naša*| *lèkət zála?*| ‘On the road a snake met him. The snake said “Hey, man, where are you going?”’ (A1:4–5)

(13) *ṭaxnìwala,*| *péši* ***qàmxa.***| ***ʾo-qàmxa***| *mɛθéwale bèθa.*| ‘They would grind it and it would become flour. They would bring the flour home.’ (B5:15–16)

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

(14) *ʾo-Barzákko zíla dmìxa.*| ‘Barzəkko went and slept.’ (A12:10)

(15) *ʾaw-mtunéle ʾaw-xálma qa-d-ó Xáno Lapzèrin.*| ‘He told the dream to Xano the Golden Hand.’ (A10:9)

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

(16) *ʾína m-báθər maqðàli*| ***ʾaw-qàṭma***| *šaqlìtule*| *mxamìtule.*| ‘After she burns me, take the ashes and keep them.’ (fire typically produces ashes) (A26:85)

(17) *qímta zílta kəs-d-****aw-šwawèy.***| ‘She went to their neighbour.’ (people located at home typically have a neighbour) (A10:9)

(18) *mátyɛle xa-káwtət ʾərwe,*| *ʾíbe tre-ṭláθa ʾálpa rēš-ʾərwe.*| *qəm-qaréla* ***ʾan-šavàne***| *máre*… ‘He came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep. He called the shepherds and said…’ (A32:14)

(19) *ʾína… xa-qáṣra rába šapìra.*|*… brōn-málka tíwɛle l-d-****a-tàxta.***| ‘Behold a beautiful palace…The son of the king sat on the throne’. (A14:42–43)

(20) *ʾáy šwíqtəlwa májma tàma.*| *qáṭu wìrtɛla,*| *npílta gu-d-**án panjàne***| *mqurəd̀xela.*| ‘She (the servant) had left a tray there. A cat came in, fell into the glasses and they shattered.’ (A4:53)

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

(21) *ʾíθwa **xa-màlka**.*| ***ʾáwwa málka** xzéle xa-xə̀lma.*| ‘There was a king. This king had a dream.’ (A1:2)

(22) *ʾíθwa **xá bàxta**,*| *ʾìtwala*| *xa-bróna šəmme díye Kărìm-addin.*|*…**ʾáyya bàxta***| *kùt-yum*| *goyàwa,*| *maxláwa ṭla-bróna dìya.*| ‘There was a woman, who had a son called Karimaddin.…Everyday the woman would beg to feed her son.’ (A14:4)

(23) *xa-màlka*| *kút-yum ðà-brata gawə̀rwa.*| *mbádla qayə̀mwa qaṭə̀lwala.*| ***wăzī̀r***| *xðírre xðìrre,*| *bnáθa prìqla.*| *kút-yum ðà,*| *lìθ.*| ***ʾáwwa wăzī́r** ʾíθwale ða-bràta.*| ‘A king would marry a girl everyday. In the morning he would get up and kill her. The minister searched and searched, but the girls had run out. Every day (he had killed) one and there were no more. The minister had a daughter.’ (A14:1)

(24) ***súla** modìle?*| *ʾáwwa yáʿni zə́blət haywàne.*|*…**ʾáwwa súla** dax-maṣlɛ̀wale?*| ‘What is manure? It is the muck of animals.…How did they take the manure down?’ (B5:134–135)

(25) *ṯ-amrə̀nnux ða-xéta šə́mma Čùxole.*| *ʾáwwa Čúxo xa̋ye gu-xà-maθa.*| ‘I shall tell you another (story) called Čuxo. This Čuxo lives in a village.’ (A7:1)

(26) *sìqɛle*| *ʾərxe,*| *síqɛle gu-kotằla,*| *rəš-kota̋la dəryə̀lle gu-mìya.*| *ṣə̀lyɛle*| ***ʾáwwa ʾažvàna.***| ‘He went up to the water-mill, he went up to the water duct (of the mill) and placed him on the water duct in the water. The mill caretaker came down.’ (a water-mill is typically administered by a caretaker) (A22:42)

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

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

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

(27) *ʾaw-məl̩yále tópe díye spày.*ˈ 'He loaded his gun well.' (A31:7)
(28) *ʾay-θéla dmíxla gu-ʾótəx dìya.*ˈ 'She came back and went to sleep in her room.' (A17:26)
(29) *xárθa ʾáni mə́tyela tàma*ˈ *l-márzət yàma.*ˈ 'Then they arrived there, by the shore of the sea.' (A14:37)

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

(30) *ʾáwwa plíṭɛle gu-ða-dúnye xèta,*ˈ *šəmša milànta,*ˈ *ʾa̋ra milànta.*ˈ 'He opened it and he came out into another world, with a blue sun and a blue land.' (A14:26)
(31) *ʾáyya rìqtɛla*ˈ *ṣlìθɛla*ˈ *hàwərila!*ˈ 'She ran and went down (crying) "Beware!"' (A24:42)
(32) *ʾánna pìðela mə́nne díye,*ˈ *ʾap-šlàma lɛ́la dəryə́lle.*ˈ 'They passed by him, but did not even greet him.' (A15:13)

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

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

(33) *hadìya*ˈ *ʾíθwa xa-Lelíθa θíθa mən-Č̣ā̀l.*ˈ *θéla ṣlèla*ˈ *l-ʾárxət be-Xàmmo.*ˈ *xa-náša ʾíθwale ʾàrxe*ˈ *šə́mme díye Xàmmo-wewa.*ˈ *ʾíθwale kàlθa,*ˈ *ʾíθwale bnòne.*ˈ ***ʾáyya*** *[1] ṣlèla,*ˈ *dréla šlə́ma ʾəllə̀y.*ˈ…*ʾu-****ʾáyya*** *[2] gu-dyàṛta*ˈ *mòdi wídla?*ˈ *qìmla,*ˈ *qəm-ʾač̣màle tắra.*ˈ *ʾu-b-pálgət bétθa wídla nùra.*ˈ…*ʾu-****ʾɛ-Lelíθa*** *θèla.*ˈ ***ʾáy*** *[3] kúlla dònɛ́la,*ˈ *dòna,*ˈ *mə̀šxa.*ˈ…*ʾu-****ʾáyya*** *[4] har-šaqláwa mən-d-àn šíše*ˈ *mattàwa*ˈ *ʾə́lla dìya*ˈ *hál ʾé-gət qəm-qaṭlàla.*ˈ *qəm-qaṭlàla,*ˈ ***ʾáy*** *[5] píšla tàma.*ˈ ‘Now, there was a Leliθa who came from Č̣āl. She came down to the water-mill of the family of Xammo. A man had a water-mill and his name was Xammo. He had a daughter-in-law. He had sons. **She** (Leliθa) came down and greeted them.…What did **she** (the daughter-in-law) do on her return? She closed the door and in the middle of the house she made a fire.…**The Leliθa** came. **She** was all (made of) fat, fat, oil.…**She** (the daughter-in-law) was constantly taking the iron bars and putting them into her, until she killed her. She killed her, and **she** (Leliθa) remained there.’ (A19:1–6)

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

(34) ***ʾaw****-[1]mtunéle ʾaw-xə́lma qa-d-ó Xáno Lapzèrin.*ˈ ***ʾáwwa*** *[2] máre b-àlaha*ˈ *har-xá-məndi ʾìθ b-áyya dúkθa ṭ-íle wìra.*ˈ ***ʾáw*** *[3] xzèle ʾo-dídwa ʾéka wìrre.*ˈ ‘**He** (the king) told the dream to Xano the Golden Hand. **He** (Xano) said (to himself) ‘By God, there must be something in this place where it entered’. **He** (Xano) had seen where the fly had entered.’ (A11:9)

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

(35) ***ʾárwwa*** *[1] b-léle qìmɛle.*| *gáwṛa díya mqulábzəlle dáryəlle gawàya.*| ***ʾárw*** *[2] píša b-áy-gota xètɛle.*| 'He got up in the night. He rolled over her husband and put him in the middle. He came to be on the other side.' (A30:53)

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

(36) *ʾɛ-dánə ṯ-ìla ṛíše,*| *kút-xa gu-šwíθət gàne,*| ***ʾáyya*** *gu-qáṣrət bába dìya,*| ***ʾárw*** *gu-čádre dìye*| 'When they woke up, each in their own bed, she in the palace of her father and he in his tent…' (A4:5)

(37) *bróna díya gu-mədrása kút-yum y-awéwa mxáya l-****arw****-yàla,*| *šqála čánta d-****àrwwa****,*| *šràṭa məndiyáne.*| 'Her son everyday in school would beat one child, take the bag of another, tear things.' (A14:5)

(38) *holá-ʾəθye tìwe,*| *báxta tíwta l-****àyya****-gotət mẽš,*| *ʾu-gáwṛa tíwa l-****ày****-gota.*| 'They came and sat down, the wife sitting on this side of the table and the husband sitting on the other side.' (A4:57)

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

(39) *díwən t-xále díye hóla dwìqta.*| *ʾáyya díwən làxxɛla*| *ʾaw-gàrele.*| 'The meeting room of his uncle is full. The meeting room is here and that is its roof.' (A23:14)

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

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

(40) *ʾáyya xmàrta.*ǀ 'That she-ass!' (A10:10)
(41) *mo-čára ṯ-óðəx ṭla-d-áyya qáṭu t-la ʾaxlàlɛni?*ǀ 'What solution can we find for this cat so that it does not eat us?' (A44:1)
(42) *b-álaha hóle híwəlle rəsqa d-áwwa gáwṛa* 'By God, he has provided the sustenance of this husband (of mine).' (A10:7)

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

(43) *xàli*ǀ *lá ʾawðáxle* ***ʾáwwa gəšra***ǀ *šáwrəx réša réša d-ánna mìya?*ǀ 'Uncle, should we not make a bridge for it so that we can cross over this water?' (A17:3)
(44) *xá-dukθa hon-xzíθa hátxa dàwe,*ǀ ***ʾáyya*** *qadáltə dàwe.*ǀ 'In a certain place I have found gold coins like this, a/this pot of gold coins.' (A10:9)

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

(45) *θéli hó ʾan-ṭlá gerə-qəšta.*ˈ 'I've come back and here are the three arrows of a bow (to which reference was made earlier).' (A12:46)

(46) *ʾína ʾáyya ʾisə́qθa ʾu-yaləxta d-ènila?*ˈˈ *hóla ʾisəqθa,*ˈ *hóla yaləxta.*ˈ *máṭo mda-glánna gàni*ˈ *ṯ-ámrən ʾánna léla ʾàni.*ˈ 'But whose is this ring and scarf? Here is a ring and here is a scarf. How can I make myself lie and say that these are not those (belonging to the girl I mentioned)?' (A26:12)

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

(47) *mattíwala gu-d-é məššára xá, tré, ṭlàθa.*ˈ *manéwa hal-ʾəṣra.*ˈ *ʾə́ṣra gu-d-àyya,*ˈ *ʾə́ṣra gu-d-**yàha,***ˈ *ʾə́ṣra gu-d-**yáha** xèta,*ˈ *hàtxa.*ˈ 'They would plant them in the paddy field, one, two, three and count up to ten. Ten in this (row), ten in that one, ten in that other one, and so forth.' (B7:13)

(48) *gu-măḥàll-žiˈ kút-yum gánu kθéθa d-àwwa,*ˈ *ʾé-ga y-azə́lwa féka d-**ăwàha.***ˈ 'Every day in the neighbourhood he would steal the chicken of one person, then go (and steal) the fruit of another.' (A14:7)

(49) *brōn-málka tíwɛle l-d-a-tàxta.*ˈ *ʾu-xá-wăzīr díye rəš-d-áwwa-kursa*ˈ *xa-rəš-d-**ăwàha.***ˈ 'The son of the king sat on the throne, one minister (sat) on this chair and one on that one.' (A14:43)

(50) *zílla dwíqla náwba l-**ăyàʾha** qunjə́lta t-hódəx,*ˈ *ʾáyya gu-d-ɛ-qunjə́lta xèta.*ˈ 'They went and kept a guard in that far corner, and one in that other corner.' (A18:3)

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

(51) *kút-xa ṭla-gáne šuréle dwàqa.*ˈ *ṣúdrət Səttìye*ˈ *ʾáwwa xálqa nčìlle,*ˈ *Fárxo qəm-xazéle ṣàdra. Čixàlo,*ˈ *m-**ya-góta xèta,***ˈ *qəm-xazéla ʾína xzéle ṣádra dìya,*ˈ *krìble.*ˈ 'Each of them started grasping the other. The button of the blouse of Səttiye was torn off and Farxo saw her breast.

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

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

(52) *mə́ra Fárxo tu-tămà'ha.*ˡ *Fárxo tíwɛle rəš-d-wá'ha kèpa.*ˡ 'She (Naze) said "Farxo sit far over there." Farxo sat on that far stone (i.e. far from Naze).' (A25:17)

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

(53) *Səttìye*ˡ *šmìla*ˡ *bába díya hóle mùtta*ˡ *jallàde,*ˡ *b-jáldi réšət Fàrxo.*ˡ *sə̀bab*ˡ ***'ă̆wáha*** *škèle,*ˡ *mə́re lìθba fáyda.*ˡ 'Səttiye heard that her father had appointed executioners, who would cut off the head of Farxo. This was because he (i.e. Čixalo not Farxo) had complained. He (the king) said "It is no use" (he should be executed).' (A25:32)

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

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

(54) *(i) xálya t-heywàne*| *t-ʾárwe ʾən-tawràθa,*| *xálya marəxθìle*| *ʾu-šoqíle péša dă̋raj ḥărára díye taqríban ʾàrbi.*| *(ii) déri marèθa bíya.*| *ʾi-mxamèla.*| *déri xa-júlla b-réša qá-t hár-hawe šaxìnta*| *múddət tmánya sa̋ʾăte.*| *ʾi-páyəš ʾo-xàlya*| *páyəš* ***màsta (1).***| *(iii)* ***ʾɛ-màsta (2)***| *ʾi-dɛríla gu-gùða.*|*…ʾi-dɛréla gáwe dìye*| *ʾu-yi-măyìle*|*…xa-rŭbaᶜ sáʾa,*| *ʾəsrí daqìqe,*| *pálgə sàʾa.*| *ʾi-šɛšíla ʾi-šɛšíla*| *hal-****másta (3)*** *ʾi-péša ʾax-mìya.*| *(iv)* ***màšxət (1)*** *gu-d-****á-masta (4)*** *ʾi-jă̋mi l-ġðàðe.*| *ʾi-jă̋mi l-ġðàðe,*| *ʾi-mpalṭìle.*| ***màšxa (2)*** *páyəš xòðe.*| *ʾu-dáwwe dɛréla gu-xa-quṣxáne gòṛta.*| *(v)* ***ʾáwwa mášxa (3)*** *y-amráxle ʧ̌ìta.*|

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

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

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

(55) *ʾáθyɛle* ***ʾo-yáləṯ*** *băyàwale.*ˈ 'The young man whom she loved came.' (A12:42)

(56) ***ʾa-pálla*** *t-wawa-rəš-qalùnka*ˈ *wíðtəlla hátxa ṣlìθɛla.*ˈ 'She moved the burning coal that was in the pipe like this and it fell.' (A11:21)

(57) *ʾəθyɛle*ˈ *wíðɛle ʾa-dúkθa nišànqa,*ˈ ***ʾa-dúkθa*** *t-wéwa ʾo-dídwa wíra tàma.*ˈ 'He came and marked the place, the place where the fly had entered.' (A11:10)

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

(58) *hál* ***ʾo-yómət*** *mèθənˈ har-ʾúrxət ʾálaha dóqən b-ìðiˈ.*ˈ 'Until the day I die I shall always keep to God's way.' (A15:21)

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

(59) *mən-sab-****ʾé-ʾotəx*** *t-là-hawe gáwa ṣópa,*ˈ *yáʿni pɛšáwa tàlga hal-qedámta,*ˈ *ʾáp-xa le-maṣéwa damáxwa gáwa dìya.*ˈ 'Since a room that did not have a stove in it would become icy by the morning and nobody would be able to sleep in it.' (B15:26)

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

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

(60) *šášma həš-lèla mxíθa l-ṭuráne.*ˡ 'The sun has not yet struck the mountains.' (A26:37)

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

(61) *ʾo-t̂-íle plíxa ʾàw bt̂-áxəl.*ˡ 'He who has worked will eat.' (A21:15)
(62) *ʾo-t-maṣèwa*ˡ *ʾítwale ʾórwe ràbe.*ˡ 'Whoever had the means, had many sheep.' (B10:54)
(63) *ʾo-t-ʾítle ʾərwe,*ˡ *ʾo-t-ʾítle tàwre*ˡ *y-áwe xzída gə̀lla.*ˡ 'Somebody who has sheep or somebody who has cattle has harvested grass.' (B5:108)
(64) *ʾa-t-la-ṣaléwa kawsa-díya* 'she whose hair did not come down (when combed)' (B10:68)
(65) *ʾan-t-wɛ́wa gu-Lèvi*ˡ 'those who were in the Levies' (B10:52)

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

(66) *ʾu-qɛ̀ṭa,*ˡ *bár ṭ̂-ila-dwàqa,*ˡ *qám t-màṭi*ˡ *gə̆́rəg maxə́tla darmàna,*ˡ *qá-t ʾan-márre la-ʾáθi ʾálla dìya,*ˡ *mtarə̀mza,*ˡ *yán ṭarpáθa díya xàrwi,*ˡ *xabúšta xàrwa.*ˡ 'In summer, after it bears fruit, before (the apples) become ripe, you must apply chemical (insecticide), so that the diseases do not afflict it, (whereby) it wilts or its leaves are harmed and the apple tree is harmed.' (B5:106)

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

(67) *ʾíθwa xa-màlka.*| *ʾìθwale*| *ṭlà bnóne.*|…***ʾo-gòṛa***| *máre*…'There was a king. He had three sons.…The elder one said…' (A24:4)

(68) *θéle xa-náša swarìyya,*| *rakáwa.*| *ṣléle rəš-xa-ʾèna.*|… *θéle xá rakáwa xèna,*| *swarìyya.*| *zílle rəš-ʾèna.*|…***ʾo-qamàya***| *ʾámər ʾòh*| *zúzi munšìli.*| 'A horseman, a rider came. He alighted at a spring.…Another rider came, a horseman. He went to the spring.…The first one said "Oh, I have forgotten my money."' (A15:1–2)

(69) *fa-náše kúlla pàlṭi*| *xa-maryóse* ***ʾo-xréna*** *mìya.*| 'All the people go out and scatter water on one another.' (B6:10)

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

(70) *ʾo-t biš-daqìqa.*| 'the one that (is) thinner' (B10:49)

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

(71) *púwuš m-éni mənnèle?*| *ʾo-t rəzza.*| 'What type of hay is it? That of rice.' (B5:113)

(72) *ʾína mástət ʾərwe rába biš-basimtéla biš-príštela mən-d-a-t-tàwre.*| 'But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle.' (B5:173)

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

(73) *núbləlle kəs-xá m-ánna ṯ̂-óði tásmə sàwle.*| 'He took it to one of those people who make shoelaces.' (A11:12)

(74) *ga-béna ʾánna kúlla ṯ-íla zála léla mṣáya b-an-ʾárbi bnàθa?*ˈ 'Well, cannot all these people who are going (to fight) prevail against the forty girls?' (A12:58)

(75) *ʾáyya smóqta ʾíla dəmmi*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáyya miránta ʾíla ròxi,*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáyya xwárta ʾíla nəšmi.*ˈ 'This red one (bead) is my blood. This blue one is my spirit. This white one is my soul.' (A25:35)

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

(76) *šaqlíle-har-ʾo-ləxma.*ˈ 'They take the same bread.' (B6:49)

(77) *tárwəθna mubrèla*ˈ *hàr ʾo-yóma.*ˈ 'The two of them gave birth on the same day.' (A25:4)

(78) *híwɛle xábra ṭla-wăzə̀r*ˈ *har-b-ò-lɛle.*ˈ 'He gave word to the minister on the same night.' (A4:34)

(79) *dìya*ˈ *ʾahwalátte šuxlə́pla,*ˈ *lɛla-ʾax-qàmθa,*ˈ *ʾína šèra*ˈ *har-ʾo-šèra,*ˈ *har-o-ʾiqàra.*ˈ 'Now circumstances have changed. It is not like formerly, but the festival is the same festival, the same respect (is shown).' (B5:72)

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

(80) *ʾap-ʾáni har-ʾó-mdi-t xabùšela.*ˈ 'They are the same thing as apples.' (B5:218)

(81) *ʾap-ʾána b-ay-ʾúrxa d-ànnən ʾə́θya.*ˈ 'I have come on the same way as these people.' (A8:58)

14.3.3. *Stress Position in Stress Groups*

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

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

(1) *ʾu-díṛɛle ṣályɛle rəš-d-ɛ̀-ʾɛna.*ˡ 'He went back down to that spring.' (A26:32)

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

(2) *ʾánna bnáθe díye rəš-d-ɛ-ʾèna-wawa.*ˡ 'His daughters were by that spring.' (A26:25)

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

(3) *qímɛle zìlɛle*ˡ *múθya xákma gə̀lde,*ˡ *síṛəlla b-gàne.*ˡ *wíðəlla gān-díye ʾax-dəbba,*ˡ *ʾò-naša.*ˡ 'He went and brought some skins and tied them on himself. He made himself like a bear, that man.' (B18:5)
(4) *ʾína yómət ʾéðə ṣlìwa*ˡ *təltássər b-ʾəčč̣a*ˡ *ʾé-šetət wìrra*ˡ *qúrbət tré-ʾalpe ʾu-xamš-əmmà-naše*ˡ *ʾítwa ḥðìre*ˡ *ʾò-yoma.*ˡ 'On the day of the Festival of the Cross, the thirteenth of September last year, about two thousand five hundred people were present, on that day.' (B15:93)

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

(5) *ʾó-məndit ʾàna xílli*ˡ 'the thing that I ate' (A2:8)
(6) *ʾó-yomət xázya dúnye ráye tèle*ˡ *záwnət lèbewa.*ˡ 'The day he saw that it was raining foxes, it was the time of tricks.' (A1:24)
(7) *ʾé-šetət mèθi*ˡ 'the year they were to die' (A4:57)

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

(8) *ʾékɛla ṭɛ́ra díya θíθa tíwta báθər d-è-maθa.*ˈ 'Where her bird had come—she settled behind that village (= She settled behind the village where her bird had come)' (A24:30)

(9) *là-palṭət,*ˈ *hal-ṯ̌-amrànnux plùtgena*ˈ *ʾè-ga pálṭət.*ˈ 'Do not come out, until when I say to you "Come out!", at that time you should come out' (A14:67)

14.3.4. *Discourse Anaphora*

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

(1) *ʾap-ʾáyya qbilàli.*ˈ 'I accept also this.' (A15:17)

(2) *ʾàyya*ˈ *kùlla*ˈ *b-lèlela.*ˈ 'All this is at night.' (A25:67)

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

(3) *fa-l-d-áw ṭùxsa,*ˈ *ʾáxni ʾó-yoma y-óðexi ʾáp-ʾaxni musàrde.*ˈ 'In this manner we perform (the festival of) *musarde* on that day.' (B6:11)

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

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

ms.	*ʾó-xa* ~ *ʾo-xáha*
fs.	*ʾá-ġða* ~ *ʾa-ġðáha*
pl.	*ʾán-xa* ~ *ʾan-xáha*

Examples: *ʾó-xa náša, ʾo-xáha náša* 'the man', *ʾá-ġða baxta, ʾa-ġðáha báxta* 'the woman', *ʾán-xa náše, ʾan-xáha náše* 'the people'.

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

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

(1) *θéle ʾo-xa-náša ṯ̂-in mírəllux təmməl ṯ̂-aθe ʾədyo?*ǀ 'Has that man come who I said to you yesterday would come today?'
(2) *θéle ʾo-xa-náša ṯ̂-ít xəzyəlle təmməl?*ǀ 'Has the man whom you saw yesterday come?'
(3) *txárət ʾo-xa-náša t-wéwa láxxa qam-šàbθa?*ǀ 'Do you remember the man who was here a week ago?'
(4) *txárət ʾa-ġða-báxta ḳ̂óre t-wáwa gu-màθa?*ǀ 'Do you remember the blind woman who was in the village?'
(5) *txárət ʾán-xa xonăwáθa ḳ̂óre t-wéwa gu-màθa?*ǀ 'Do you remember the blind brothers who were in the village?'

Examples from the text corpus:

(6) *txárət* ***ʾan-xa****-tré t-mutəpqíwalən b-ġðàðe?*ǀ 'Do you remember the couple that we brought together?' (A4:45)
(7) *ʾána* ***ʾo-xà qáša***ǀ *ṯ̂-ín ʾóθya gu-Ṭiyàre,*ǀ *qəm-doqátli xošátli gu-gòma.*ǀ 'I am the priest who (you remember) came to Ṭiyare, whom you seized and confined in the basement stable.' (B17:15)
(8) *ʾu-hádəx ʾíθwa* ***ʾán-xa*** *sobáθət kàslən,*ǀ *buxɛ̀rìyewa.*ǀ 'The stoves (you remember) in our community were thus, they were smoke ducts.' (A4:60)
(9) ***ʾo-xá****-məndi ʾíle xàzwa ʾóθyəlli*ǀ *léle xàlma.*ǀ 'The thing (that I remember seeing) is a vision that came to me, it is not a dream.' (A8:7)

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

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

(10) *qəm-qaṭlíle b-xaṭoryàθa,*ˈ ***ʾan-xá xaṭoryáθa*** *ṯ-ínwa màrəllux*ˈ *másiˈ jùlle bíya.*ˈ 'They killed him with washing-boards, the washing-boards which I was telling you they used to wash clothes with.' (B19:9)

(11) *xá-yoma mbuqárra mára mòdi m-áyya qə́ṣṣət díye ʾo-déwa ḵ̂óra?*ˈ *mərre*ˈ *ʾərwən*ˈ ***ʾo-xá-dewa ḵ̂óra*** *dmìxa gu-ṭúra.*ˈ *kút-yum xá-ʾərwən y-arə́qwa y-ásəq qám… d-o-dèwa,*ˈ *ʾaw y-axəlwale.*ˈ 'One day she asked saying "What is this story about the blind wolf?" He said "Our sheep—the blind wolf (you remember me talking about) is sleeping in the mountains. Every day one of our sheep would run up to that wolf and he would eat it."' (A10:5)

14.4. Annexation Constructions

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

(i) Item—possessor, e.g. *ṣáwlət màlka*ˈ 'the shoe of the king' (A17:28), *ʾárxət be-Xàmmo*ˈ 'the water-mill of the family of Xammo' (A19:1).

(ii) Part—whole, e.g. *yománət yàrxa*ˈ 'the days of the week' (A17:15), *kotə́ləṯ ʾərxe*ˈ 'the channel of the water-mill' (A22:45).

(iii) Vessel—contents, e.g. *xa-kawázət mìya*ˈ 'a pot of water' (A21:10), *ða-qə́nnət dəbbòre*ˈ 'a nest of hornets' (A20:6).

(iv) Item—affiliation, e.g. *ʾágət Č̣̂ə̀l* 'the lord of Č̣̂āl' (A19:2), *málkət Màġrəb*ˈ 'the king of Morocco' (A28:37), *ʾánna nášət màθa*ˈ 'these people of the village' (A48:2), *brónət màlka* 'the son of the king' (A32:21).

(v) Item—material, e.g. *xa-ṭásət dàwa*ˈ 'a goblet of gold' (A15:11), *šíšət prə̀zla* 'bars of iron' (A19:4).

(vi) Time—event, e.g. *dánət kawùθra* 'lunch-time' (A22:22).

(vii) Item—attribute, e.g. *xále díye t-ḥaqqùθa*ˈ 'his real uncle' (A23:28).

(viii) Item—identification, e.g. *ʾáθṛət Bàrwər* 'the land of Barwar' (B4:1), *máθət ʾƐ̃n-Nune* 'the village of ʾƐn-Nune' (B1:9).
(ix) Evaluation—item, e.g. *qaṭòle*ˡ *t-mušəlmàne*ˡ 'murderers of Muslims, murderous Muslims' (B2:2)
(x) Action—participant, e.g. *qyámtət màran*ˡ 'the resurrection of our Lord' (B5:55), *xyáptət xàtna*ˡ 'the washing of the groom' (B15:74).

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

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

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

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

(1) *le-y-basə́mli ʾo-bɛ́θa zórət yəmmi.*ˡ 'I do not like the small house of my mother.'

Examples from the text corpus: *ʾɛ-káwe díye zórtə ṣòpa*ˡ 'this small window of the stove' (B15:25), *ʾúmra ʾatíqa t-Màr-Sawa*ˡ 'the ancient church of Saint Sawa' (B3:19), *ʾúmra xáθət Mar-Sàwa*ˡ 'the new church of Saint Sawa' (B3:23), *l-a-páθa xétət nèra*ˡ 'on the other side of the river' (A14:50), *ṭlá šarbəṭáne xéne t-qɛ̀se*ˡ 'three other wooden canes' (A24:53).

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

(2) *le-y-basámli ʾo-bέθa zòrət yámmi,*ˈ *bás basámli ʾo-gòṛa*ˈ 'I do not like the *small* house of my mother, but I like the *big* one.'

Example from the text corpus: *m-d-ay-góta xètə šaqíθa*ˈ 'from the other side of the channel' (A9:4).

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

(3) *le-y-basámli bέθət yámmi ʾo-zòra,*ˈ *bás basámli bέθa díya ʾo-gòṛa.*ˈ 'I do not like the *small* house of my mother, but I like her *big* house.'

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

(4) *díya xzéli xa-bóya góṛət dəbba.*ˈ 'I have just now seen a big hole of a bear.'
(5) *díya xzéli xa-bóyət dábba gòṛa.*ˈ 'I have just now seen a big hole of a bear.'

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

(6) *díya xzéli xa-bóyət dəbba*ˈ *gòṛa.*ˈ 'I have just now seen a hole of a bear, which was big.'

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

qaša construction, but this is possible in the case of one in a *kθawa t-qaša* construction, e.g. *rìxa*ˡ *t-xa-kàlləš*ˡ 'the scent of carrion' (C8:5), *ṭə́ḷḷəθ bnáθa xène*ˡ *t-Băkùrku*ˡ 'three other girls, of Băkurku' (A26:24).

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

(7) *mjămí náše kúlla t-màθa.*ˡ 'All the people of the village gather together.' (B5:110)

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

(8) *ʾíθwa xa-málka t-Yăman.*ˡ 'There was a king of Yemen.' (A14:36)
(9) *xazéla xá parizàda,*ˡ *xá šapìrta,*ˡ *brátət málka t-Màġrəb.*ˡ 'They saw a princess, a beautiful one, the daughter of the king of Morocco.' (A28:17)
(10) *ʾúmra ʾatíqa t-Màr-Sawa,*ˡ *ʾáwwa píšɛle bánya qúrbə qam-šaww-ə́mma xámši tmany-əmmà-šənne.*ˡ 'The old church of Saint Sawa was built about seven hundred and fifty or eight hundred years ago.' (B3:19)

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

(11) *ʾu-ʾáp-yaha bráta xéta ṭ-íla brátət málkət Màġrəb*ˡ *ʾáp-ʾay qəm-šaqə̀lla Bèjəm,*ˡ *qəm-mɛθèla.*ˡ 'The other girl, who was the daughter of the king of Morocco, Bejəm took her also and brought her back.' (A28:37)

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

(12) *lɛ-šàwqən*ˈ *máttu bəsra*ˈ *t-ʾázza ʾɛ-Núne gu-pùmme.*ˈ ‘I shall not let him put the meat of the nanny-goat Nune in his mouth.’ (C7:6)

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

(13) *wítɛla b-lèle,*ˈ *dána t-dmàxa,*ˈ *xílela màndi.*ˈ *wítɛla dána t-dmàxa,*ˈ *xəmmərθa,*ˈ *xəmmárθə šənθa,*ˈ *šqìltəlla,*ˈ *muttéθəlla rəš-ṣádrət xmáθa dìya.*ˈ ‘At night, the time of sleep, they ate something. At the time of sleep, she (Leliθa) took a bead, a bead of sleep, and put it on the chest of her mother-in-law.’ (A19:3)

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

(14) *ṭáḷḷəθ bnáθa xène*ˈ *t-Băkùrku*ˈ ‘three other girls, (who were those) of Băkurku’ (A26:24)

(15) *sab-šqíllux xa-xabùšta*ˈ *m-gu-d-àwwa*ˈ *mànа*ˈ *t-málka-w malə̀kθa.*ˈ ‘Since you took an apple from this plate, which belongs to the king and queen.’ (B15:71)

(16) *qímela zíle xə́zye ʾína dɨ̀s*ˈ *xa-képa hàtxa*ˈ *ʾu-ða-yàdde gáwe díye,*ˈ *t-prə̀zla.*ˈ ‘They went and saw that it was true, there was a stone like this, with a handle in it, which (was) of iron.’ (A14:13)

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

(17) *ʾáwwa xa-nišànqɛle*ˈ *t-ʾáθṛa d-è-ga.*ˈ ‘This is a symbolic act of the country at that time.’ (B5:153)

(18) *zmaryáθa basímewa t-ʾáθṛa tàma.*ˈ ‘The songs of the land there were beautiful.’ (B5:11)

(19) *ʾína ḥurrə́s ʾíθwa t-málka ṯ-ila múttе tàma.*ˈ ‘But there were guards of the king who were posted there.’ (A14:92)

(20) *kúlla píše qalíbe hátxa t-gùpta.*ˈ ‘They would all turn into cheese moulds.’ (B16:25)
(21) *ʾɛ-kosíθa múṣləlla gu-ʾɛ́ne díye t-Čùxo.*ˈ ‘He lowered the hat of Čuxo over his eyes.’ (A7:19)

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

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

(22) *šəxtət ḥaywàne,*ˈ *t-tàwre,*ˈ *koðənta,*ˈ *t-ʾərwe*ˈ ‘the muck of animals, of oxen, a mule, of sheep’ (B5:105)

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

(23) *ʾíθwa tré màlke,*ˈ *xonăwàθa.*ˈ *xá gu-Bàbəl-wewa,*ˈ *xá gu-Nînwe.*ˈ *ʾo-t-Bábəl muxánna mən-xóne díye gu-Nînwe.*ˈ ‘There were once two kings, brothers. One was in Babylon and one in Nineveh. The one in Babylon missed his brother in Nineveh.’ (A13:1)
(24) *ʾo-t-Nínwe mə́re*… ‘The one (= the king) of Nineveh said…’ (A13:14)
(25) *lá-mɛθət m-an-t-qanàne.*ˈ ‘Don’t bring those with horns.’ (A7:24)
(26) *ʾína mástət ʾə́rwe rába biš-basimtɛ́la biš-príštɛla mən-d-a-t-tàwre.*ˈ ‘But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle.’ (B5:173)

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

(27) *ʾánna-t ʾárxe har-y-oðíwa nùra gu-bɛ́θa.*ˈ ‘People who had mills would always make a fire in the house.’ (A19:4)

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

(28) *xóne díye ʾo-t-Nînwe*ˈ *mára*… ‘His brother from Nineveh said…’ (A13:3)
(29) *márɛle xóne díye xá-ga xéta ʾo-t-Bàbəl*ˈ ‘His brother from Babylon once more says…’ (A13:7)
(30) *y-oðáxwa nahìra,*ˈ *ṭàxin,*ˈ *ʾa-t-šìšme.*ˈ ‘We used to make lamp oil, *tahini*, which is from sesame.’ (B10:82)

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

(31) *béθa ʾo-t-xáli gòṛɛle*ˈ *bas-béθa ʾo-t-mámi zòrɛle.*ˈ ‘The house of my maternal uncle is big but the house of my paternal uncle is small.’
(32) *yále ʾan-t-xáli gòṛela*ˈ *bás-yále ʾan-t-mámi zòrela.*ˈ ‘The children of my maternal uncle are big but the children of paternal uncle are small.’

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

(33) *mára ʾan-ʾárwe d-ènila?*ˈ *mára t-ʾÁjdən tèla.*ˈ ‘They said “Whose are those sheep?” They said “(They are the sheep) of Ajdən the fox.”’ (A32:16)
(34) *trè ʾɛnáθa ʾítlən.*ˈ *ʾáyya y-amráxwa t-šáttət tàxela*ˈ *ʾáyya t-réšət máθa dìyən-ila.*ˈ ‘We have two springs. One we call the one of the lower district, the other the one of the upper district of our village.’ (B10:61)
(35) *gáre y-awéwa yáʿni t-ʾúpra, ṭìna.*ˈ ‘A roof was of earth, mud.’ (B5:145)
(36) *lɛ́wət d-áwwa ʾàθṛa.*ˈ ‘You are not of this country.’ (A25:82)
(37) *dárdi lɛ́la d-àyya.*ˈ *dárdi ʾíla t-ʾá-t gu-panjărìye.*ˈ ‘My suffering is not from this (game). My suffering is from that woman who is at the window.’ (A26:66)
(38) *záwna wíyɛle t-šlàma.*ˈ ‘The time has become one of peace.’ (A1:26)

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

(39) *búrra t-xmìra.*ˡ ‘The *burra* pot is for yeast.’ (B10:76)
(40) *qariyáθa y-áwi hàtxa.*ˡ *ʾanna t-mìya.*ˡ ‘Gourds are like this. They are for water.’ (B10:75)
(41) *sátwa tàlga*ˡ *màrkən*ˡ *ʾáwwa t-dùša,*ˡ *ʾáwwa t-màšxa,*ˡ *ʾáwwa t-jàjək,*ˡ *ʾáwwa t-gùpta.*ˡ ‘In the winter (we had containers known as a) *markən*, one was for honey, one was for butter, one was for *jajək*, one was for cheese.’ (B8:11)

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

In some cases apposition rather than annexation is used also in phrases expressing containers and their contents, e.g. *xa-qadálta dàwe*ˡ ‘a pot of gold’ (A10:7), *jarréta láxma zeðàye*ˡ ‘a bag of pitta breads’ (A30:5), *xa-marágla gòṛa*ˡ *xὰlya*ˡ ‘a big pan of milk’ (A28:10).

14.5. Pronominal Suffixes

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

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

	Short form	Long form
1pl.	*-ən*	*-ɛni*
3pl.	*-a, -ɛ*	*-ay, -ɛy, -ey*

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

(1) *ʾáxni šabθèni*ˈ *šawwà yománela*ˈ *ʾu-yarxéni ṭḷaθì yómele.*ˈ … *ʾáxtu šabθéxu ʾíla ʾəštà-yome*ˈ *ʾu-yarxéxu ʾíle ʾəsri-w-ʾəčč̣à-yome.*ˈ 'Our week is seven days and our month is thirty days. … Your week is six days and your month is twenty-nine days.' (A17:14)

(2) *y-amríwa ʾáxni bə̌yəx*ˈ *ṭalbáxxa bratèxu*ˈ *qa-d-ó bronèni.*ˈ 'We want to ask (for the hand of) your daughter for our son.' (B5:1)

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

(3) *ʾu-y-azìwa*ˈ *šaqlìwa,*ˈ *mən-kùl béθa*ˈ *šaqlíwa rəzza,*ˈ *šaqlíwa qàlya,*ˈ *šaqlíwa lə̀xma,*ˈ *mən-kùlla béθə maθéni.*ˈ 'Then they went and took from every house rice, they took meat fat, they took bread, from every house in our village.' (B7:1)

(4) *hal-ʾaṣə́rta ʾáw háwe šulèni.*ˈ 'Until evening this is our job.' (B6:11)

(5) *ʾáxni bɛθèni*ˈ *har-ṭìna-wɛwa.*ˈ 'Our houses were only made of mud.' (B10:57)

(6) *qaplèni mattə́xwa l-gáre.*ˈ 'We put our bundles (armfuls of bedding) on the roof.' (B10:60)

(7) *dukáne líθən rába dášta qamèni.*ˈ 'There are not many places with open fields that are available for us (in Barwar).' (B11:31)

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

(8) *ʾay-xá-yoma har-t-yǎ̀ða*ˈ *t̰-íle míθa brònən.*ˈ… *péša ʾáy ʾàxxa,*ˈ *b-šópət brònən.*ˈ
'She will surely know one day that our son is dead.… Let her stay here in the place of our son.' (A4:39)

(9) *lá xazáxle brònən.*ˈ 'We shall not see our son.' (A25:11)

(10) *maqðə̀xle béθən.*ˈ 'Let's burn our house.' (A26:51)

(11) *qu-sé kəs-d-anna-šwàwən.*ˈ 'Get up and go to these neighbours of ours.' (A5:1)

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

(12) *ʾáxni léle šùlən.*ˈ *har-sa-xúpla ʾáti b-gànəx!*ˈ 'It is not our job. Go and wash her yourself!' (A27:25)

(13) *máxyəxəlla máθən kúlla l-míla-w l-kóma m-báθre dìye.*ˈ 'We have covered all our village with blue and black after he left.' (A4:32)

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

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

(14) *ʾu-šwiqála mðíta-w dárra ta-ʾaθrèy.*ˈ 'They left the town and returned to their land.' (A4:27)

(15) *tá-t šaqlíle nəšmèy*ˈ 'so that they could take away their soul' (A4:59)

(16) *bálki ʾadətéy hàtxɛla.*ˈ 'Perhaps their custom is that.' (A4:36)

(17) *bratéy gwìrtɛla.*ˈ 'Their daughter is married.' (A30:29)

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

(18) *ʾap-xmárey šqìlalla*ˈ *dawérey ṭrìðəlla.*ˈ 'They also took their asses and drove away their mules.' (A7:15)

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

(19) *príməlla sosiyàθa,ˈ dáryəlla réše díye.ˈ* 'They had cut their locks and laid them on him.' (A31:10)
(20) *xákma ṭɛníwa xàṣaˈ masqíwale bàdra.ˈ* 'Some carried it on their back and brought it up to the threshing floor.' (B5:81)
(21) *xayúθa qəm-mšaxəlpìla.ˈ* 'They changed their livelihood.' (B5:75)
(22) *ʾu-xákma mxulṣàla gána.ˈ* 'Some saved themselves.' (B6:18)

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

14.5.2. *Suffixes on the Independent Genitive Particle*

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

3rd pers.	ms.	*béθa díye ~ béθe díye*	'his house'
	fs.	*béθa díya*	'her house'
	pl.	*béθa diyéy*	'their house'
2nd pers.	ms.	*béθa díyux*	'your (ms.) house'
	fs.	*béθa díyəx*	'your (fs.) house'
	pl.	*béθa diyéxu*	'your (pl.) house'
1st pers.	s.	*béθa díyi*	'my house'
	pl.	*béθa díyən ~ bɛθa diyéni*	'our house'

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

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

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

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

(1) *máxyəlla ʾíðe hátxa gu-narṭómə sùsa.*ˈ 'He put his hand like this on the snout of the horse.' (A12:65)
(2) *ʾáwəð ʾíðe xo-d-ò képa.*ˈ 'He put his hand under the stone.' (A12:30)
(3) *ṣléla də́mme rəš-pàθe.*ˈ 'Blood flowed down onto his face.' (A24:40)
(4) *ʾáwwa náša lábbe pqìle.*ˈ 'This man—his heard burst.' (A31:2)
(5) *ʾéne pθìxtɛ́la.*ˈ 'His eye is open.' (A31:6)
(6) *šqíltəlla kosíθa díya hátxa m-rèša.*ˈ 'She took off her hat from her head.' (A25:82)
(7) *ʾáwwa mə́xyɛle sépe l-qðálə d-o-súsa.*ˈ 'He drove his sword into the neck of the horse.' (A12:61)
(8) *ʾo-yála zóra žàre*ˈ *šqíla ʾaw-nə̀re mánne díye.*ˈ 'The poor young boy took that axe of his with him.' (A14:12)

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

(9) *ʾína ʾárya ʾíðe díye qəm-axə̀lla.*ˡ 'The lion ate his hand.' (A11:1)

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

(10) *de-qíma mtúnyəlla qəṣṣə́tte kúlla ṭla-d-o-sàwa.*ˡ 'He told all his story to the old man.' (A14:76)
(11) *mtagbə́rwala gʸān-díye xayùθe.*ˡ 'He would support his life himself.' (B5:74)

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

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

(12) *ʾáwwa málka xzéle xa-xə̀lma.*ˡ*…kút yǎ̆ðe…mòdile xə́zya b-**xə́lme díye***ˡ *b-yawə́lle ʾə̀mma dáwe.*ˡ*…ʾo-xúwwe mə̀re*ˡ *hà-naša*ˡ *lə̀kət zála?*ˀˡ *máre b-álaha hon-zála kəs-màlka.*ˡ *málka hóle xə́zya xa-xə̀lma.*ˡ *màra*ˡ *kút-yǎ̆ðe mòdile xə́zya b-**xə́lme** w-amə̀rre*ˡ *bəd-šáqəl ʾálpa dàwe.*ˡ 'This king had a dream.…Anybody who knows…what he saw in his dream, he will give him a hundred gold coins.…The snake said "Hey, man, where are you going?" He said "By God, I am going to the king. The king has had a dream and says that anybody who knows what he saw in his dream and tells him will have a thousand gold pieces."' (A1:2–5)

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

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

(13) *qəm-maxéla ʾáqla biš-xɛ̀làna,*| *qəm-parèla ʾáqla dìya.*| 'He struck her leg harder and burst her leg.' (A33:12)
(14) *ʾó Kářìm,*| *bábe mìtle.*| *bábe díye mìtle.*| 'Now, the father of Karim died. His father died.' (A14:4)
(15) *dwíqəlle, nšíqəlle, múttəlle šòpe.*| *múttəlle šópe dìye.*| 'He held him, kissed him and put him in his place. He put him in his place.' (A25:51)

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

The particle is often used when the head noun is an unadapted loanword, e.g. *bă̋lam diyéy* 'their boat' (A14:39), *ḥàðð díyi* 'my luck' (A1:4), *quwāt-díyən* 'our forces' (A14:53), *qàṣṣət díyux* 'your story' (A14:33). They are also generally used after a proper name, e.g. *Fárxo diyèxu* 'your Farxo' (A25:21), *be-Hɛ́do diyèni* 'our family of Hɛdo' (B8:1).

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

(16) *ʾíθwalən šawwá ʾabòne*| *gu-máθa díyən.*| 'We had seven bishops in our village.' (B2:6)
(17) *klá klá làxxa!*| *ʾáwwa ʾă̋θəṛ díyən-ile.*| 'Stop, stop here! This is our land.' (A14:91)

(18) *ʾu-gníwəlla ʾərwe*ǀ *ʾu-mupíðəlla b-ḥŭdùd*ǀ *yáʿni ʾáθṛa d-áy-gotət diyèni.*ǀ 'They stole the small cattle and took them over the border, that is (the border of) the country on our side.' (B5:161)

(19) *har-mədre-táma xzélən nāš-dìyən.*ǀ 'Again we saw our relatives.' (B15:9)

(20) *ʾáxni ʾax-ṯ-íx bányəlle ʾúmra díyən gu-ʾƐ̄n-Nùne*ǀ 'When we built our church in ʾƐn-Nune…' (B6:31)

(21) *ʾáti díya píšlux málka dìyən,*ǀ *málkət maymùne.*ǀ 'You have now become our king, the king of the monkeys.' (A14:45)

(22) *sab-áxni xluláne dìyən*ǀ *hammáše y-oðəxwala*ǀ *čeriyăwàθa.*ǀ 'because we always used to hold our weddings in Autumn.' (B5:18)

(23) *ʾu-rába pšîṭṭɛwa xayúθa díyən gu-maθwáθa.*ǀ 'Our life in the villages was very simple.' (B15:12)

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

(24) *ʾànnɛla ʾeðăwáθə diyéni.*ǀ 'These are our festivals.' (B6:16)

(25) *náše diyèni*ǀ *ʾi-ṣémi ṭḷá yomàne.*ǀ 'Our people fast for three days.' (B6:21)

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

(26) *máx gášrə Zàwa d-o-dìyən*ǀ 'like the bridge over our Zab' (A30:51)

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

(27) *ʾu-qále díye rába basìmɛwa.*ǀ *mút qála dìyi?*ǀ 'His voice is very beautiful. What is *my* voice (in comparison)?' (A25:43–44)

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

(28) *bắyən xáðrən gu-ʾúpra díyi xazànne.*ǀ 'I (the king) want to go around my own land to see it.' (A14:47)

(29) *mumèθɛwən,*ǀ *kámət ʾúrzət dúnye ʾáθa báθri le-y-azàna*ǀ *ṭla-hič-ʾurza.*ǀ *bas-ʾán ʾáθya xá-baxta nabláli qa-kut-t-bắya,*ǀ *yən-qa-xóna dìya,*ǀ *ʾána bṯ-azàna.*ǀ

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

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

(30) *xəzmayúθa ʾíla manáy ʾən-xá náša dìyux*| *yan-xá bráta díyux hot-híwəlla qa-ðà-maθa,*| *píše xàzme.*| *ʾən-ʾàti*| *mǎθălan xa-xàzmux*| *ʾán xa-nāš-dìyux*| *ʾán xa-gwíra m-ðá-maθa xéta ʾáθye kàslux,*| *ʾánna y-amríla xàzme yáʿni.*| ‘The meaning of family relationship is (as follows). If you have given somebody of your family or a daughter of yours to a certain village (in marriage), (the two families) become relatives. If a relative of yours, a person of your family or somebody married (into your family) comes to you, they call these people family relatives.’ (B5:232)

(31) *ku-brónət bə́ṛ-naša ʾáθe l-d-áy jăzíra qamàye,*| *ʾáwwa ṯ̂-áwe málka diyèxu.*| ‘Whichever human being comes to the island first, he will be your king.’ (A14:46)

(32) *liθ bəṛ-náša hátxa b-aw-pə̀sla díyux.*| *m-hàdəx qəm-yăðə́nnux.*| ‘There is nobody with that figure of yours (i.e. it is unique to you). That is how I knew you.’ (A8:41)

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

(33) *ʾáwwa rèši*| *ṯ̂-áθe xá-yoma pràma*| *bəd-ʾiθáθa dìyux.*| *ʾàti parmátle réši.*| ‘This head of mine will one day be cut off by your own hands. *You* will cut off my head.’ (A14: 35)

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

(34) *ʾánna ʾálpa-w xamšá-mma dìyuxila*ˡ *ʾánna ʾálpa-w xamšá-mma dìyila.*ˡ 'These one thousand five-hundred are yours and these one thousand five-hundred are mine.' (A1:20)
(35) *ʾáp ʾanna-júlle ṯ-ilà-llux*ˡ *ʾu-ʾáyya xmárta dìyila.*ˡ 'Also the clothes that are on you and this donkey are mine.' (A6:12)
(36) *ʾáwwa béθa dìyəxile bráti?*ˡ 'Is this house yours, my daughter?' (A40:13)
(37) *bəxyóna léle dìyux.*ˡ 'Crying is not for you.' (A38:7)

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

(38) *ʾan-díyən tíwla tàma.*ˡ 'Those (people) of ours settled there.' (B8:5)
(39) *ʾánna dìyən*ˡ *wídla tàgbir.*ˡ 'These (people) of ours made a plan.' (B19:5)
(40) *rába xá-mdi prìšɛla júllux gu-d-ánna diyéni.*ˡ 'Your clothes are something special compared to ours.' (A35:10)
(41) *b-àlaha*ˡ *ʾána har-ʾa-díyi zála xìšta.*ˡ 'By God, that (fate) of mine has gone (= I'm doomed).' (A14:29)

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

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

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

14.6. Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns

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

(1) *ʾən-lá-ʾawðət b-xábra dìyi*ˈ *gánux šaqlə̀nna.*ˈ 'If you do not do as I tell you, I shall take away your life.' (A15:20)
(2) *y-aθéwa m-bár hàdəx*ˈ *xámša ʾəštà ganáθa.*ˈ 'Afterwards, five or six people would come.' (B5:77)
(3) *ʾína xa-senìye*ˈ *dáwa xaṣe-díye xá-xuwwe zòra,*ˈ *réšət nàša*ˈ *ʾu-gánət xùwwe*ˈ 'He saw a gold tray on which there was a small snake with the head of a man and the body of a snake.' (A14:31)

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

(4) *ha-gàni,*ˈ *lə̀kət zála?*ˈ 'Hey, my dear, where are you going?' (A15:6)
(5) *háyyo ya-gáni ṯ-amràννux.*ˈ 'Come, my dear, let me tell you something.' (A22:36)

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

(i) Direct object
(6) *zdíθəlla gána dìya*ˈ *kəsle-dìye.*ˈ 'She threw herself down beside him.' (A37:18)
(7) *ʾáp-ʾaw qəm-qaṭə́lle gān-dìye,*ˈ *zadéle gān-díye tàma.*ˈ 'He also killed himself and threw himself there.' (A38:15)
(8) *mtugbəràli gáni.*ˈ 'I have looked after myself.' (A1:11)
(9) *mrázgət gànux.*ˈ 'Prepare yourself.' (A6:4)
(10) *gáwṛi θéle mṭáši gànux!*ˈ 'My husband has come, hide yourself!' (A22:29)
(11) *xúš šqúl gànux*ˈ *si-l-bə̀θa.*ˈ 'Go, take yourself off, go home.' (A23:39)

(ii) Complement of a preposition

(12) *wídla ʾixála ʾáy b-gàna*ˈ *ʾu-b-pəlxána b-gána zála-w θáya gu-bèθa.*ˈ 'She made the food by herself and did the chores by herself, going to and fro in the house and she ran the house.' (A21:40)

(13) *ʾáwwa ʾərbi*ˈ *m-gáne díye θéle ríqle l-ṭùra.*ˈ 'This sheep of mine has come and run to the mountain of its own accord.' (A10:3)

(14) *bašlǝ́xla b-gànən.*ˈ 'Let's cook them by ourselves.' (A2:2)

(15) *ma-lat-ðáya b-gánəx qàrθɛla?*ˈ 'Don't you know yourself that it is cold?' (A20:1)

(16) *ʾay-gu-gána mtuxmànna.*ˈ 'She thought to herself.' (A21:19)

(17) *la qémən jàlde*ˈ *ta-ṯ̂-óðən pəlxàna*ˈ *ṭla-gàni*ˈ *ta-ṯ̂-àxlən.?*ˈ 'Should I not get up early to work for myself, so that I can eat?' (A21:19)

(18) *m-kəs-gàne qəm-mdabárra*ˈ *mxalóṣe xàye díye.*ˈ 'He made this up by himself (literally: from himself) to save his life.' (A39:6)

(iii) Complement of a noun in annexation

(19) *maxbánət gàne-wewa.*ˈ 'He was a lover of himself (= selfish).' (A3:1)

(20) *ʾɛ–dánə ṯ̂-ìla ṛíše,*ˈ *kút-xa gu-šwíθət gàne*ˈ… 'When they woke up, each one in his own bed…' (A4:5)

(21) *šqílle dǎbánjə gáne dìye.*ˈ 'He took his pistol.' (A27:2)

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

(22) *gu-ʾáθṛət gʸànənˈ ràbəxwa xǎ́ðye ṗsíxe.*ˈ 'In our own land we were very happy and cheerful.' (B16:6)

(23) *ʾíθwalən ʾurxáθət gʸànən.*ˈ 'We used to have our own (customary) ways.' (B5:1)

(iv) Apposition

(24) *ʾítli gáni šéra hon-wìðəlle*ˈ 'I have myself a poem that I composed.' (B1:14)

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

(25) *qémən šaqlánni xákma màndi mánni b-ʾìði.*ˈ 'I shall get up and take for myself a few things, with me in my hand.' (A23:5)
(26) *bắyánni ʾə́mma bnàθa.*ˈ 'I want for myself a hundred girls.' (A25:74)
(27) *si-bnílux dúkθət tré-gəldət tàwre.*ˈ 'Go and build for yourself in a place (the size of) two ox skins.' (A11:11)
(28) *dwíqle ʾàskar ʾə́lle díye.*ˈ 'He recruited an army for himself.' (A11:15)
(29) *y-áθe mzabánwa ṭla-d-àw-u yámme díye.*ˈ 'Then he would come back and sell them for himself and his mother.' (A14:10)
(30) *ṭla-d-áy dráyɛla xàčča*ˈ *ṭla-d-áw râba.*ˈ 'For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot.' (A17:25)

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

(31) *ʾay-lwíštəlla júlla dìya.*ˈ 'She put on her clothes.' (A14:91)
(32) *máxyəlla ʾíðe hátxa gu-narṭómə sùsa.*ˈ 'He put his hand like this on the snout of the horse.' (A12:65)

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

(33) *xá-paṛa ʾawə́dla gáne ʾax-qàšta,*ˈ *maxéla bēn-Səttíye l-Fàrxo.*ˈ 'One lamb made itself like a bow and pushed itself between Səttiye and Farxo' (A25:29)

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

(34) *líθ ʾáp-xa gu-bèθa?*ˈ *mə́ra là*ˈ *har-ʾàna,*ˈ *xòðiwən.*ˈ 'He said "There is nobody in the house?" She said "No, only me. I am alone." (A22:32)
(35) *pìšela*ˈ *har-ʾàni-tre l-xoðéy.*ˈ 'Only those two remained by themselves.' (A20:9)
(36) *xá-naša l-xóðe lítle la-bába la-yə́mma la-ʾàp-xa,*ˈ *ʾáw y-amrìle*ˈ *lìtle náše.*ˈ 'A man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody, they say that he has no relatives.' (A17:17)

(37) *ʾárwe b-xoðèy,ˈ ʾína tawráθa ʾu-táwre ʾáni kút-xa b-xòðey.ˈ* 'Sheep were by themselves, cows and oxen, they were all by themselves.' (B10:55)

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

(38) *ʾáw xa-l-xóðe díye tămàha.ˈ* 'He is all alone there.' (A27:5)

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

(i) Direct object

(39) *bróni ʾu-brátux xázyela ġðàðe.ˈ* 'My son and your daughter saw each other.' (A4:26)

(40) *muxə́bla ġðàðe.ˈ* 'They loved (i.e. fell in love with) each other.' (A4:4)

(41) *ʾu-ʾə́θyela xpíqe ġðàðe,ˈ nšáqa ġðàðe.ˈ* 'They came and hugged each other, kissing each other.' (A4:55)

(ii) Complement of a preposition

(42) *mṣawθítu m-ġðàðe,ˈ ta-t-ṭúra ja-jálde pàrəq.ˈ* 'You should speak with one another, so that the mountain would finish quickly.' (A17:19)

(43) *ʾu-xílləˈn kúlləˈn m-ġðàðeˈ* 'and we all ate together' (A21:39)

(44) *xə̆́yi m-ġðàðeˈ ṭḷáθi sə̀nne-uˈ méθi m-ġðàðe.ˈ* 'They will live together thirty years and die together.' (A4:46)

(45) *xá-bena ʾan-tre-maláxe t-wə́wa ʾə́θye bìya,ˈ t-wə́wa mutə́pqəlla b-ġðàðe,ˈ θéla pyáða táma tàma.ˈ* 'Then, those two angels who had brought her, who had caused them to meet each other, came passing by.' (A4:44)

(46) *ʾu-ʾìtləˈn ʾəštá-maθwaθa qúrba l-ġðàðela.ˈ* 'We have six villages that are near to one another.' (B1:3)

(47) *píšla nepúxta ʾu-práge gu-ġðàðe.ˈ* 'The syrup and the millet seed were mixed together.' (A23:21)

(48) *sìqəˈn mjămòyəlla qə́se,ˈ dráya rəš-ġðàðe.ˈ* 'I went up and collected the wood and piled them up.' (A23:34)

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

(49) *tắra čìmtɛla barév.*| *xùyɛle.*| *xa-mxàyɛle l-o-xéna.*| *xa-mxàyɛle l-o-xéna.*| 'She had closed the door after them and it was dark. One was beating the other, one was beating the other.' (A22:35)

(50) *ʾu-ʾíθwa ṭawáltət bərràne,*| *xa-ráqa báθər d-ò-xena.*| 'There was the game of "groups", (in which) one person runs after the other.' (B7:6)

(51) *dawqíwa bnáθa b-ʾíðət ġðáðe hàtxa,*| *yáʿni ràbe doqíwa,*| *ða-dwíqta ʾíðə d-a-xèta.*| 'The girls held each other's hand like this. Many held (hands), one holding the hand of the other.' (B12:1)

(52) *y-amrə́xxe mxáya bə̀ʾe.*| *yáʿni šmáṭa bə̀ʾe xa-d-o-xèna.*| 'We call this "striking eggs", that is breaking the eggs of one another (literally: breaking eggs, one (breaking that) of the other).' (B5:58)

(53) *xa-maryóse ʾo-xréna mìya.*| *maryástət míya xa-l-d-o-xréna mòdila?*| 'All the people go out and scatter water on each other. What is (the significance of) scattering water over each other?' (B6:10)

(54) *ʾáni píšela màra*| *ða-ṭla-ða-xèta*| 'They started saying to one another…' (A12:60)

14.7. Adjectives and Appositives

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

ʾurza sniqa	'a needy man'
baxta sniqta	'a needy woman'
ʾurze sniqe	'needy men'
baxtaθa sniqe	'needy women'

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

xa-sniqa	'a needy one (ms.)'
ʾo-sniqa	'the needy one (ms.)'
ða-sniqta	'a needy one (fs.)'

ʾɛ–sniqta	'the needy one (fs.)'
xakma sniqe	'some needy ones' (pl.)
ʾan-sniqe	'the needy ones' (pl.)

These pronominal heads are closely related to relative clause heads and, indeed, the constructions can be regarded as contracted relative clauses (*ʾo-sniqa* < *ʾo-ṭ-ile sniqa* 'the one who is needy'). If the adjective is extended by an intensifier or by the comparative particle *bíš*, the relative particle is sometimes used in the phrase, e.g.

(1) *ʾo-t bíš-daqìqa*ˈ 'The one that (is) thinner' (B10:49)

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

(2) *ṭláθna bnóne díye zìlela*ˈ *gu-dùnye,*ˈ *ṭăyela*ˈ *ʾal-d-ô*ˈ *daṛmána ta-t-xázi qa-ʾénət… babèy.*ˈ *zílela máṭye gu-ðá məìta.*ˈ *ʾo-gòṛa*ˈ *mə́re ʾána pə́šən láxxa gu-d-áyya məìta.*ˈ 'The three sons of his went on their way in the world, searching in order to find the remedy for the eyes of their father. They travelled and arrived in a certain town. The eldest one said "I shall remain here in this town."' (A24:3–4)
(3) *zòre-wɛwa ʾánna xonăwáθi.*ˈ *ʾa-góṛta ʾànənwa.*ˈ 'These brothers of mine were young. The edler one (of the children) was me.' (B8:13)
(4) *ʾé-ga xázət yále zòre*ˈ *ráqa báθər d-àn məndyáne*ˈ *…ʾáp ʾan-gòṛe*ˈ *mjăməìwa.*ˈ 'Then you would see small children running after those things.…Also the older people would gather them.' (B15:69)
(5) *ʾánna kúlla xìpla*ˈ *ʾan-zòre-w ʾan-ràbe-w*ˈ 'They all washed, young and old.' (B10:69)

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

(6) *ʾárya héywən maxjəlàna y-áwe.*ˡ ‘The lion is a terrifying animal.’

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

(7) *ʾo-góṛa gă̊rəg lá-maxe ʾo-zòra.*ˡ ‘A big (person) should not hit a small (person).’
(8) *ʾan-góṛe gă̊rəg lá-maxi ʾan-zòre.*ˡ ‘Big (people) should not hit small (people).’
(9) *ʾo-k̂óra xa-záwga ʾène bă̊ye.*ˡ ‘A blind man wants a pair of eyes.’ (D2: 62)

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

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

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

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

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

(10) *muttéθəlla ṭəlḷə̀θ xəmməryáθa,*ˡ *m-an-xməryáθə tabzìye.*ˡ *muttéθəlla rəš-pàršət ʾèna,*ˡ *ða-smòqta,*ˡ *ða-xwàrta,*ˡ *ða-milànta.*ˡ 'She laid down three beads, beads of a rosary. She put them on the stone slab of the spring, a red one, a white one and a blue one.' (A25:34)

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

(11) A: *gu-sálla ʾíθ bêʾe xwáre ʾu-bêʾe smòqe.*ˡ B: *ʾána šáqlən ða-smòqta.*ˡ 'A: In the basket there are white eggs and red eggs. B: I shall take a red one'

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

(12) *la-hálli ʾo-xabúša zòra,*ˡ *ʾána bă̆yən gòṛa.*ˡ 'Don't give me that small apple, I want a big one.'

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

(13) *góṛa lìθ.*ˡ 'There is no big one.'
(14) *ʾíθwa-w lìθwa*ˡ *bíš m-álaha gòṛa*ˡ *líθwa gòṛa.*ˡ 'There was and there was not, there was no great one greater than God.' (A8:2)

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

(15) A: *gu-sálla ʾíθ bé̱ʾe xwáre ʾu-bé̱ʾe smòqe.*ˈ B: *ʾána šáqlən xakma-smòqe.*ˈ 'A: In the basket there are white eggs and red eggs. B: I shall take some red ones.'

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

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

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

(19) *b-núrət rašíye y-áqði məskène.*ˈ 'By the fire of wicked people the poor burn.' (D2:73)

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

(20) *ʾən-lìθ biš-zlíme mánnən,*ˈ *har-ṯ̱-àzəx.*ˈ 'If there are none more wronged than us, we shall continue on our way.' (A13:9)

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

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

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

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

(22) *bálki mabárya tərtè-xene.*[1] 'Perhaps it will give birth to two others.' (A5:8)

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

ʾurza suraya	'a Christian man'
baxta surɛθa	'a Christian woman'
ʾurze suraye	'Christian men'
baxtaθa surayaθa	'Christian women'

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

Specific indefinite	Anaphoric definite	Generic definite
xa-sniqa	*ʾo-sniqa*	*ʾo-sniqa*
(xa-)suraya	*(ʾo-)suraya*	*suraya*

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

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

baxtaθa huðayaθa	'Jewish women'
baxtaθa durnayaθa	'women from Dure'
baxtaθa ʾɛn-nunayaθa	'women from ʾƐn-Nune'
baxtaθa naxrayaθa	'foreign women'

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

baxtaθa šulxayaθa	'naked women'
baxtaθa xayaθa	'women who have recently given birth'

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

baxtaθa xəƥyaye	'barefooted women'
baxtaθa komaye	'black women'
baxtaθa qamaye	'the first women'
tawriyaθa rešaye	'the highest quality cows'

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

baxtaθa zamaryaθa	'singer women'
baxtaθa raqaðyaθa	'dancer women'

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

baxtaθa xamaθa	'beautiful women'

The attribute of a noun is sometimes expressed by appositives consisting of other types of nouns, e.g. *súsa šɛ́na* 'a tame horse', *ʾúrza gáwṛa* 'a brave man' (A29:27), *xabúšta ʾixàla*ˡ 'an apple tree bearing edible fruit' (B5:104).

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

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

baxtaθa ʾaxlanyaθa ~ ʾaxlane	'gluttonous women'
baxtaθa palxanyaθa ~ palxane	'hard-working women'
tawriyaθa maxjəlanyaθa ~ maxjəlane	'frightening cows'
baxtaθa hawnanyaθa ~ hawnane	'clever women'

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

(23) *rəmyàθa hawetúwa!*ǁ 'May you (fpl.) be cursed ones!' (A26:27)

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

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

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

(24) *ʾíθwa xa-màlka*ǀ *ʾíθwale ʾárbi bnône.*ǀ ***brṓn-diye ʾo-zòra***ǀ *ʾítwale ʾarbì šə́nne.*ǀ…***xóna ʾo-góṛa*** *mə́re čŭ-məndi lax-xə̀zye.*ǀ 'There was a king. He had forty sons. His little son was forty years old.…The elder brother said…' (A12:1/17)

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

(25) *ʾíθ tré-yale làxxa,ˈ xa-suràyaˈ ʾu-xa-huðàya.ˈ yála ʾo-suráya diyènile.ˈ* 'There are two children here, one Christian and one Jewish. The Christian child is ours'.

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

(26) *bə̌ yən pɛrmə́tli ʾə́zza ʾɛ-Nùne.ˈ* 'I want you to slaughter for me the nanny-goat Nune.' (C7:3)

(27) *ta-mòdiˈ ʾə́lla ʾáy ʾə́zza ʾɛ-Nùne?ˈ šqúl ða-xèta.ˈ* 'Why (do you want) only that nanny-goat Nune? Take another one.' (C7:6)

The name *Nune* in phrases such as *ʾəzza ʾɛ-Nune* is treated like an attributive adjective and is given a head in the form of a default demonstrative. As in a phrase such as *xona ʾo-goṛa*, the attributive appositive *ʾɛ-Nune* picks out one member from a set, namely the flock of 'nanny-goats'. Further examples: *tawri ʾo-Xammo* 'my ox called Xammo', *tawərti ʾa-Ġazale* 'my cow called Ġazale'.

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

(28) *y-oðə́xwa gə̀rðo,ˈ bušàla.ˈ* ***ʾay-gə́rðo ʾa-qšìθa,***ˈ *ta-duxràne,ˈ ʾína bušála t-ʾoðə́xwala ṭlàlən,ˈ xánči miyànta,ˈ la-ràba.ˈ* 'We would make *gərðo* and

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

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

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

(29) *Náze ʾɛ-gòṛta*ˈ *mɔ́re Fàrxo,*ˈ *máttu xa-képa làxxa.*ˈ 'Naze, the elder one,—Farxo said (to her) "Place a stone here."' (A25:16)
(30) *ʾé-ga xáθi hàqya,*ˈ—*Jénni ʾɛ–gòṛta*ˈ—*ʾámra*… 'Then my sister tells me—Jenny, the older one—she says…' (B15:39)

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

(31) *ʾən-xátta pc̃ille,*ˈ *gnáyət táwra d-o-gòṛa.*ˈ 'If the line (drawn by the plough) is crooked, it is the fault of the big ox.' (D2:19)
(32) *təxrúθa dìyi*ˈ *ʾu-t-xóni d-o-gòṛa.*ˈ 'They memory of myself and of my elder brother.' (B8:10)
(33) *bəsrət ʾəzzi d-ɛ-Nune* 'the flesh of my goat (called) Nune' (C7:13)
(34) *guði t-ʾəzzi d-ɛ-pošе* 'my churn of my goat (called) White Spotted' (C5:3)

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

(35) *yə́mma d-an-hambišàye*ˈ *márɛla ṭla-brṓn d-o-zòra*ˈ ‘The mother of the giants said to the young son…’ (A12:7)

(36) *ʾó-xona zóra ʾámər ṭla-xonăwáθa d-an-xène*ˈ ‘The young brother said to the other brothers…’ (A12:23)

(37) *báθər ʾéða gòṛa*ˈ *y-áθe ʾarbì-yome*ˈ *báθər ʾéða d-o-gòṛa*ˈ *ʾìθena*ˈ *ʾéðət sulàqa.*ˈ ‘After the Great Festival, forty days after the Great Festival, the festival of Ascension occurs.’ (B6:5)

(38) *xo-túθa d-o-čúwa hox-xyàpəlle Šə́mmo.*ˈ ‘We wash Šəmmo under the smooth mulberry tree.’ (B8:27)

(39) *mára ʾáp-ʾana dáqrən ʾax-déwa d-o-ḵòra.*ˈ ‘He said “I am worth as much as that wolf, which is blind.” (A10:5)

(40) *híwəlle bála l-gə́ppa d-o-ḷáya ʾu-qàryɛle*ˈ ‘He directed his attention to the cave, which was above, and cried…’ (A8:57)

(41) *ʾu-tíwɛle xá-ga xéta xāṣ-súse díye d-o-kòma.*ˈ ‘He sat once again on the back of his horse, which was black.’ (A8:52)

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

(42) *ʾáti ʾo-zóra lá ʾazèti.*ˈ ‘You, the younger one, don’t go.’ (A30:2)

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

(43) *hon-zàla*ˈ *yàwənna*ˈ *mattóyənna ks-ʾáyya xàθi*ˈ *ʾɛ-gòṛta.*ˈ ‘I went and delivered them to this sister of mine, the elder one.’ (B15:89)

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

(44) *m-yàmmin šmítalla ʾáyya,*ˈ *m-bnōn-mámi ʾan-t-wɛ́wa gòṛe.*ˈ ‘I heard this from my mother, from my cousins, who were older.’ (B8:5)

(45) *béna ʾíθ linyàθa,*| *lìne,*| *linyáθa ʾan-ṯ-íla ʾàxḏar.*| 'There were pots, pots, pots, which are green.' (B10:75)

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

(46) *w-áyya tullə̀kθa,*| *tullə́kθa zórta mə̀nnux,*| *kʾálba zóra mánnux ṯ-àwe.*| 'This hound, small hound, small dog, will be with you.' (A30:4)

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

(47) *ʾáy ʾítla xa-bə̀rke*| *gòṛta hátxa.*| 'She has a pool, which is large like this.' (A25:56)
(48) *wírɛle gu-xà-ʾotəx xéta*| *gòṛta.*| 'He entered another room, which was big.' (A14:30)
(49) *hóle xa-kullìxa*| *xa-bɛ̀θa*| *zóra táma hàtxa.*| 'There was a hut, a house, which was small, (standing) there like this.' (A8:40)
(50) *xzéli xa-xə̀lma*| *rába mazdiyàna.*| 'I had a dream, which was very frightening.' (A11:6)

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

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

(51) *qìmtɛla,*| *šqílta xa-nerìya,*| *neríya gòṛa.*| 'She took a male goat, a large goat.' (A28:26)

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

(52) *ʾína ʾəθyɛle xa-yàla,*| *xa-ʾaṣòṭa.*| 'But a tiresome youth came (literally: a youth, a tiresome one).' (A17:7)

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

(53) *páyəšwa ʾax-xàlwa,*| *brìza hádəx.*| 'It would become *xalwa*, which was dry, like this.' (B7:22)

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

(54) *ʾáw məskéna nàšɛle.*| 'He is a poor person.'
(55) *ʾáw spáy nàšɛle.*| 'He is a good person.'
(56) *ʾáw xárba nàšɛle.*| 'He is a bad person.'
(57) *ʾáw táza mbašlànɛle.*| 'He is a good cook.'

The subjective evaluative sense is sometimes ironic in nature, as is typcially the case with the adjective *hawnana* 'clever' in constructions such as (58):

(58) *ʾáw hawnána nàšɛle.*| 'He is a clever person.'

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

(59) *ʾáw spày nášɛle.*| 'He is a good person.'
(60) *ʾána gă̆rəg hawə́nwa spày zúze šqíla.*| 'I should have got a good sum of money.' (B1:19)

(61) *xòš-zuzəx wíðe.*| 'We have made good money.' (A14:18)

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

(62) *ʾáw náša hawnànɛle.*| 'He is an intelligent man.'
(63) *ʾáw náša spày-ile.*| 'He is a good man.'
(64) *ʾáw mbašlána tàzɛle.*| 'He is a good cook.'

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

(65) *bábux spày-našɛle.*| *xàwrən-ile.*| 'Your father is a good man. He is our friend.' (A14:61)
(66) *hálli xa-súsa spày.*| 'Give me a good horse.' (A12:62)

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

(67) *ʾáw xoš-nàšɛle.*| 'He is a good man.'
(68) *ʾáyya b-álaha xòš-məndila.*| 'This, by God, is a good thing.' (A14:9)

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

(69) *ʾo-məskénət xóni mṭéwale tàmməl.*| 'My poor brother arrived yesterday.'
(70) *ʾo-šeðánət xóni mṭéwale tàmməl.*| 'My mad brother arrived yesterday.'

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

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

(71) *ʾo-goṛət xonăwaθa* 'the elder of the brothers'

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

(72) *w-áti θèləx,*ˈ *ʾa-qamèθa báxta θéləx.*ˈ 'Now, you have come. You are the first woman to come (literally: You have come, the first woman).' (A8:79)

(73) *ʾəsrì ʾotáxe*ˈ *hòla*ˈ *ĉ̣ime.*ˈ *ʾáni paθxətla.*ˈ *ʾan-ṯ̂-íla pθìxe*ˈ *ʾac̣̆mətla.*ˈ *máṭət ʾɛ-xarétθət ʾòtəx.*ˈ 'Twenty rooms are closed. You should open these. Close the ones that are open. You will reach the last room.' (A24:16)

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

priše məndiyane	'various things'
məndiyane priše	'different/various things'
rabe məndiyane	'many things'
məndiyane rabe	'great/many things'

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

(74) *ʾáyya dúkθe díye… qíθtət kèpe.*ˈ 'This place on him was wounded by the stones.' (B9:25)

Such constructions often exhibit tightly-knit asyndetic annexation, e.g. *kōm-paθa* 'black-faced, disgraceful', *xwār-paθa* 'white-faced, innocent', *xwār dəqna* 'white bearded = senior', *pθīx ʾɛna* 'open-eyed' (in the expression *miθa pθīx ʾɛne* 'dead with his eyes open'), *prīṭ-dína* 'destroyed of religion =

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

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

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

(75) *gilándi rába gòṛɛle.*ˈ 'A scythe is very big.' (B5:143)
(76) *y-áwa hátxa zòre.*ˈ 'They are small like this.' (B6:52)
(77) *maštèwala*ˈ *qá-t xáčča péšawa rakìxta.*ˈ 'They would irrigate it so that it would become rather soft.' (B5:76)

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

bɛθa qurba/rəḥqa	'a nearby/distant house'
maθa qurba/rəḥqa	'a nearby/distant village'
maθwaθa qurba/rəḥqa	'nearby/distant villages'

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

(78) *xá-bena xzéle m-ráḥqa xá-mdi xwàra.*ˈ 'He suddenly saw from afar something white.' (A14:28)
(79) *mátyela l-qùrbət béθa.*ˈ *mátyela l-qúrbət qáṣrət màlka.*ˈ 'They came near to home. They came near to the palace of the king.' (A24:24)
(80) *mṭíθɛla qúrbət qàṣra.*ˈ 'He came close to the palace.' (A27:31)

(81) *qímtɛla šqíltɛla xa-bròna*| *ʾu-nobàltəlle*| *ta-ṯ-axlàle.*| *muttéθəlle rəḥqa*| *mən-màθa.*| ‘She got up and took a son (of hers) and took him for her to eat. She put him down far away from the village.’ (A19:3)

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

(82) *rəḥqɛle qáṣra.*| ‘The palace is in the distance [locative]’ > ‘The palace is far [attribute].’ (A24:48)
(83) *kúlla náše díye t-wɛ́ɛwa qùrba.*| ‘All his relatives who were in the vicinity [locative]’ > ‘All his relatives who were near [attribute].’ (B8:38)

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

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

(84) *ṭăṭíye y-oðə́xwa gòṛe.*| ‘We made big rugs.’ (B10:79)
(85) *bálkət qámθa ʾíθwa núne gáwa díya gòṛe.*| ‘Perhaps formerly there were large fish in it.’ (B3:11)
(86) *b-álaha hóle xa-púrya láxxa zòra.*| ‘By God there is a small light here.’ (A14:25)
(87) *ʾína ðá qoṭíya hátxa zòra.*| ‘Behold a box, small like this.’ (A12:51)
(88) *píšɛle màjbur*| *hà-ṯ-ile*| *ríxa ʾə́θya mánne díye spìsa.*| ‘He remained like that, of necessity, until a rotten smell came from him.’ (A27:43)
(89) *ʾu-xá káxwa gu-be-ʾéne díye kòma*| ‘with a black star on its forehead’ (A8:62)
(90) *ʾánna zmaryàθəx*| *m-ékət líptəlla hátxa basìme?*| ‘Where did you learn those songs of yours, which are so beautiful?’ (A35:8)

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

(91) *ʾáy xwàra*| *mṭalbále sùsa.*| ‘She requests a *white* horse (whereas her brother requested a black one).’ (A8:62)

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

(92) *yə́mmi zòrta mítla.*ˡ 'My mother died (when she was) young.' (B8:14)
(93) *dəqnáy găréwale bríza m-àxxa.*ˡ 'He would shave their beard (while it was) dry from here.' (A11:14)
(94) *ṣléla xaššàne l-bɛ́θa.*ˡ 'They went down to their home (while they were) sad.' (A14:20)
(95) *ʾu-qímɛle màlka*ˡ *xə̀ðya*ˡ *gu-gàne-w*ˡ 'The king left, (while he was) cheerful in spirits.' (A21:30)
(96) *ʾáy hár mšeyðòne*ˡ *šwára nðáya gu-d-án ʾotáxe šluxɛ̀θa.*ˡ 'She (the princess) is continually acting madly, leaping and jumping around (while she was) naked in the rooms.' (A4:17)
(97) *koðánta b-ìðiyawa*ˡ *šulxɛ̀θa.*ˡ 'The mule was in my hand, (while it was) bare-backed.' (B5:130)
(98) *dráya képe ʾáxni sxàya*ˡ *šluxayàθa.*ˡ 'He threw stones when we were swimming (while we were) nude.' (A25:20)
(99) *qəm-qabɔ́lle šláme tíwa l-ʾằra.*ˡ 'He received his greetings (while he was) seated on the ground.' (A26:47)
(100) *Səttíye tu-láxxa xarɛ̀θa.*ˡ 'Səttiye, sit here (while being) the last (i.e. in the last place).' (A25:16)
(101) *xánči ṯ-amrə́nna qalùlta*ˡ *qa-t-pàrqa.*ˡ 'I'll tell it (the story) to you quickly (= it being quick) so that it will finish.' (A4:5)

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

(102) *ʾàna*ˡ *ʾíwənwa jásūs ʾə́θya tàma.*ˡ 'I was a spy, (who had) come there'. (B17:16)
(103) *ʾíθwa xa-Lelíθa θíθa mən-Č̣ā̀l.*ˡ 'There was a Leliθa, (who had) come from Č̣āl.' (A19:1)
(104) *ʾu-ʾən-íθən náše ʾə́θye m-maθwáθa xène*ˡ 'If there are people (who have) come from other villages…' (B5:60)

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

(105) *kúlla ʾə́θye ʾitléy šăráṭe ṯ-amríla qa-màlka.*ˈ 'All (those who have) come have cases to tell the king.' (A17:31)

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

(106) *díwən-t málka hóle ṃlíθa náše ràbe.*ˈ 'The audience chamber of the king is full of many people.' (A17:31)
(107) *ʾən-háwe pláṭa mən-ʾə́rxe ṭíša qàmxa,*ˈ *lá hămánət ʾə̀lle.*ˈ 'If he is coming out of the water-mill covered in flour, do not trust him.' (D2:61)
(108) *ʾaqára hóle dwíqa sə̀llər.*ˈ 'The farm land is packed hard with frost.'

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

(109) *ʾu-náše gu-mðíta kúlle mèθula.*ˈ 'Bring all the people in the town.' (A8:32)
(110) *máθət Dùre*ˈ *gu-Bárwər Bàla*ˈ *m-záwna qamáya ʾìθwala*ˈ *ʾarbà ʾumráne.*ˈ 'The village of Dure in Barwari Bala from ancient times had four churches.' (B2:1)
(111) *xzíθəlle bába dìya*ˈ *ʾu-ʾup-wa̋zīr mànne.*ˈ 'She saw her father and also the vizier with him.' (A21:26)
(112) *ʾə́θyəx xa-néra benàθən.*ˈ 'We came to a river between us (and the town).' (A17:9)
(113) *díya ʾə́lla xá-mdi dàwa ba̋yi,*ˈ *ya-ṣlíwa,*ˈ *ya-šəbbə̀rθa,*ˈ *ʾisáqθa mən-d-án yaqùre,*ˈ *m-an-tàze.*ˈ 'Now they only want something made of gold, a cross, bracelet, a heavy, fine quality ring.' (B10:40)

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

(114) *mrázəgli xa-súsa xwàra,*| *ʾaqláθe díye kòme,*| *ʾu-xá kəxwa gu-b-ɛ́ne díye kòma.*| ‘Prepare a white horse for me, with black legs and a black star in its forehead.’ (A8:62)
(115) *mabyóne ṭúra gu-čól ramànɛle.*| ‘It seems it is a high mountain in the countryside.’ (A8:70)

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

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

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

(117) *ʾu-ʾáni l-xáṣe díye mrùpyəlla gu-díwən-t xále.*| ‘He threw those things on his back into the meeting room of his uncle.’ (A23:14)
(118) *ʾáxni gu-ʾáθṛət Bàrwər*| ‘we in the land of Barwar’ (B7:1)
(119) *ʾáxni gu-maθwàθa*| ‘we in the villages’ (B5:52)

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

(120) *ʾu-kút-xa ʾo-t-qáme díye qaṭəlle.*| ‘Everybody should kill the one in front of him.’ (B19:6)
(121) *ʾá-t gu-ʾaqàra*| ‘the one (sowing place) in the farm land’ (B5:95)
(122) *ʾa-t-bàθra*| ‘the one after her’ (A25:17)
(123) *ʾá-t gu-panjărìye*| ‘the one at the window’ (A26:66)

14.8. Comparative Constructions

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

14.8.1. biš

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

14.8.1.1. *With Adjectives*

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

(1) *ʾína mástət ʾárwe rába biš-basimtéla biš-príštɛla mən-d-a-t-tàwre.*ˡ 'But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle.' (B5:173)

(2) *xázəx ʾən-ʾìθ náše biš-zlíme mánnən,*ˡ *dɛ̀ṛəx.*ˡ *ʾən-lìθ biš-zlíme mánnən,*ˡ *har-ṯ̂-àzəx.*ˡ 'If we find that there are people more wronged than us, we shall return. If there are none more wronged than us, we shall continue on our way.' (A13:9)

(3) *ʾo-xéna biš-basìmɛle.*ˡ 'The other is more tasty.' (B15:55)

(4) *ʾaṣárta mɛθéwala ða-dúkθa bíš-qurba t-y-awéwa mìya táma.*ˡ 'In the evening they would bring them to a closer place where there was water.' (B5:160)

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

(5) *ʾíθən… biš-xoš-gùṛe.*ˡ 'There are better men.' (A26:79)

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

(6) *qá-t béθa bùš ṯ̂-awéwa qúwya*ˡ 'so that the house would be stronger' (B15:16)

(7) *ʾíθwa lìθwa*ˡ *biš-m-álaha góṛa čú-mdi lìθwa.*ˡ 'There was, there was not, there was nothing greater than God.' (A30:1)

(8) *ʾáxni béθət be-bábi ʾatìqa-wewa.*ˡ *ʾína ramánɛwa biš-mən-qáṣrət kùl-naše.*ˡ 'The house of the family of my father was old, but it was higher than the villas of everybody.' (B10:51)

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

(9) *zílta zílta dax-ṯ̂-ìwa*ˡ*… máṭu Gozáli xona-díya zìla*ˡ *hár biš-biš-xelántɛwawa m-àw*ˡ 'She went, she went, as Gozali her brother had gone, though she was even faster than him.' (A8:63)

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

(10) *múr ʾèni-mənnən*ˡ *biš-šapìrtɛla.*ˡ 'Say which of us (three) is most beautiful.' (A25:17)

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

(11) *ʾáy biš-xámθɛla m-kùlla.*ˡ 'She is more beautiful than all (= the most beautiful of all).' (A25:26)
(12) *ʾáw biš-spáy-ile m-kùlla.*ˡ 'He is better than all of them (= the best of all).'
(13) *ʾáw biš-xárbɛle m-kùlla.*ˡ 'He is worse than all of them (= the worst of all).'

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

(14) *Səttíye ʾɛ-gòṛta-wawa*ˡ *ʾu-Nàze*ˡ *gawèθa*ˡ *ʾu-Ẓíne ʾɛ-zòrtət kúlla.*ˡ 'Səttiye was the oldest one, Naze the middle one and Zine the youngest.' (A26:20)

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

(15) *ʾo-baṣórət béθa ʾíwa trè ʾotáxe.*ˡ 'The smallest house was two rooms.' (B15:20)

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

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

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

(18) *t-lá-hawənwa mbúqrəllɛxu biš-spày.*ˡ 'It would have been better if I had not asked you (literally: that I had not asked you is better).' (A26:27)

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

(19) *bíš m-áyya dúkθa ʾèka xázəx.*ˀ‖ ‘Where could we find (something) better than this place.’ (A12:4)

14.8.1.2. *With Adverbs*

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

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

(1) *xáčča biš-šlèla.*‖ ‘She became a little more calm.’ (A4:17)
(2) *ʾay-hádəx biš-bǎ̀ya.*‖ ‘She wants this more (= She prefers this).’ (A8:75)
(3) *bíš madqárre mən-d-ó déwa ṯ̂-axálwa ʾárbe dìye.*‖ ‘He (God) valued him more than the wolf that ate his sheep.’ (A10:13)
(4) *dɛrɛ́wa xáčča tùna,*‖ *biš-dawùqwa.*‖ ‘They put down a little straw, so that it became more compact.’ (B5:146)

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

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

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

(7) *y-amríwa ʾáw bíš la-mzànzər*‖ *yáwəl ṭéma pàyəšwa.*‖ ‘They said that it does not lose its taste at all. It keeps its taste.’ (B10:76)
(8) *ʾáp-xa lá-biš-ile-mṣaya mqarów-əlla dìya.*‖ ‘Nobody was able to go near her at all.’ (A4:6)
(9) *b-qèṭa*‖ *bíš liθ-məṭràθa,*‖ *ʾu-bíš liθ-tàlga.*‖ ‘In summer there are no rains at all and there is no snow at all.’

14.8.2. zawda, zoda

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

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

(1) *y-oráwa… xákma dána… xá-sa'ət biz-zòda,*ˈ *qayàmwa.*ˈ 'Then, after some time had passed, one hour more, the resurrection would be celebrated (literally: he would arise).' (B5:54)
(2) *bă̆yən 'álaha t-yawálli mándi zàwda.*ˈ 'I want God to give me something more.' (A3:1)
(3) *'ána bă̆yən 'aláha t-yawálli kùl-məndi bi-záwda.*ˈ 'I want God to give me more of everything.' (A3:3)

To express an excess of something ('too much…') constructions such as (4) are used:

(4) *qəm-hawátli zúze záwda mən-làzəm.*ˈ 'You have given me more money than necessary (= too much money).'

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

(5) *y-oráwa šaqláwa dànaˈ rába gàyeˈ 'ə̀štà yarxéˈ xamšà yarxéˈ biz-zàwda.*ˈ 'It would take time. Often it would take five or six months, or more.' (B5:3)
(6) *šaqálwa mă̆θă̆lan xamší kilo'é bi-zòda.*ˈ 'They would take, for example, fifty kilos or more.' (B5:125)

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

(7) *'u-bréle díya b-xšáwən biz-záwda mən-'əčč́á-mma 'álpa nàše.*ˈ 'By now there have been born, I think, more than nine-hundred thousand people.' (B2:10)

(8) *záwda m-əmmà-kilo'e| yúqra d-ɛ-gúrze dìye-wawa.|* 'The weight of that club of his was more than one hundred kilos.' (A29:14)
(9) *záwda mən-'arbá-mma šənnele.|* 'It is more than four hunrdred years old.' (B6:31)

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

(10) *hállule bìš-zawda mən-kúlla náše.|* 'Give him more (food) than (you give) anybody else.' (B17:16)
(11) *yăðíwa mo-qádra dɛrèwa| t-lá-hawewa biz-zàwda| yá'ni t-la xarùwwa.|* 'They knew how much to put on, so that it was not too much and it spoilt.' (B5:191)
(12) *zàwdɛla mánni.|* 'It is too much for me (to tell).' (A26:65)

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

(13) *lá maspərəxləx bi-zàwda.|* 'We shall not make you wait any more.' (A4:42)
(14) *xăyiwa biz-zàwda.|* 'They survived longer.' (B5:190)
(15) *məra b-qáryən 'u-hèš-biš záwda.|* 'I shall call still more.' (A8:72)

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

(16) *xákma har-damxíwa l-ăra| 'ína sáma zóda 'iyɛ́wala qaràwət.|* 'Some would even sleep on the floor (of the roof). Most people, however, had a bed.' (B5:204)
(17) *'ína sáma zòda| y-oðíwa 'ăraq.|* 'Most people, however, would make arak.' (B5:213)

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

(18) *yá'ni zɛpíwa tàlga|…'ima-t-y-aθéwa tàlga| sáma zóda b-yárxət trèssər| yárxət xà.|* 'They would push off the snow…when it snowed, mainly in December and January.' (B5:196)

14.8.3. *Equality of Degree*

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

(1) *ʾən-háwɛ ʾəṣrà ṭiyáre xéneˈ ʾaxwáθux hawnàne,ˈ la-maṭétuwa l-àwwa láxma,ˈ ʾu-ʾattítuwa láxxa pɛšítuwa hátxa snìqe.*ˈ 'If ten other men from Ṭiyare were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this (necessity to beg for) bread and you would not be sitting here and become so poor.' (B17:16)

14.9. Non-Attributive Modifiers

14.9.1. kut *'each, every'*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4) *kut-mɛθéli xábra bəd-bròni,*ˡ *ʾən-míθa ʾən-ṣàxi,*ˡ *pálgət dáwi de-t-yánne ʾálle dìye.*ˡ ‘Whoever brings me word about my son, whether he is dead or alive, I’ll give him half of my gold.’ (A14:92)
(5) *kút mèθela*ˡ *t-yánne zúze ràba.*ˡ ‘Whoever brings her, I shall give him a lot of money.’ (A27:18)
(6) *kút y-azə́lwa záyənwa gótə d-o-xèna.*ˡ ‘Everybody who went (there) stood next to another one.’ (A8:31)

14.9.2. kul, kulla

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

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

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

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

(1) *ʾáxni béθət be-bábi ʾatìqa-wewa.*ˡ *ʾína ramánɛwa biš-mən-qáṣrət kùl-naše.*ˡ ‘The house of the family of my father was old, but it was higher than the villas of anybody (anywhere).’ (B10:51)

(2) *ʾu-har-d-ɛ-dána štéθa prìθɛwa-w*ǀ *kul-náše tre-ṭlá-yomane šatìwa.*ǀ 'At that time drink was abundant. Everybody (as a general principle) would drink and eat for two or three days.' (B15:64)

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

(i) Before a singular definite noun *kulla* has the sense of 'the whole of, all (of)', e.g. *kùlla máθa* 'the whole village' (B6:14), *kúlla tunìθa* 'the whole story' (A29:12), *kúlla Bɛ̀rwər* 'the whole of Barwar' (B10:100), *kúlla dùnye* 'the whole world' (B6:1), *kúlla záwni* 'all of my time' (A4:43). In some isolated cases the particle is annexed to the noun by means of the *D* particle, e.g. *kúllət yóma* 'all of the day' (A14:15). When the noun is masculine, the quantifier sometimes has an anticipatory 3ms. pronominal suffix *-e*, e.g. *kúlle tàlga* 'all of the snow' (A25:43), *kúlle ʾo-nerìya*ǀ 'all of that goat' (A31:5), *kúlle ʾó-nura* 'all of the fire' (A31:8), *kúlle yòma* 'the whole of the day' (B7:4).

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

(ii) When *kulla* is placed after a singular noun, the noun is always definite and the meaning of the quantifier is 'the whole of, all (of)', e.g. *ʾo-béθa kúlla* 'the whole of that family' (B5:21), *qəṣṣátte kúlla* 'the whole of his story' (A14:76), *ṭéni kúlla* 'all of my load' (A7:11). After a masculine noun, the quantifier sometimes has a co-referential 3ms. pronominal suffix *-e*, e.g. *ʾo-rázza kúlle* 'all of that rice' (B5:89), *qéṭa kúlle* 'all of the summer', (B5:107), *ʾixála kúlle* 'all of the food' (B6:5), *ʾaw-qáṣra kúlle* 'all of the palace' (A25:53). It may be placed after an independent demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *ʾaw-kúlla* 'all of that' (B10:91). The postposed quantifier may be separated from the noun by intervening material, e.g.

(3) *máxe ʾo-mášxa l-ġðáðe kùlle.*ǀ 'All the butter gathers together.' (B7:24).

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

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

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

(4) *ʾánna xaqlàθa*ˈ *zărźwala kùlla.*ˈ 'They would plough all these fields.' (B7:10)
(5) *ʾánna píšla gu-lábbe díye kùlla.*ˈ 'All these (words) weighed on his heart.' (A38:13).

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

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

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

(9) *kúlle lwíša smòqa.*ˈ 'All of him was dressed in red.' (A12:19)
(10) *kùlley*ˈ *ta-t-máṭa míya ʾəllèy.*ˈ 'so that the water would reach all of them.' (B6:11)

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

(11) *kúlli b-xá-gaya péšən kèpa.*ˈ 'All of me will become stone at once.' (A8:75)

(12) *b-tanúra kùllən yapə́xwa.*ˡ 'We all used to bake with an oven.' (B10:95)
(13) *kúllux péšət kèpa.*ˡ 'The whole of you (ms.) will become stone.' (A8:48)
(14) *kúllɛxu dmùxu.*ˡ 'All of you go to sleep.' (A14:56).

14.9.3. raba

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

14.9.3.1. *Quantifier of a Noun*

It is placed either before or after the noun:

(i) Before the noun: *rába tàlga* 'much snow' (B10:47), *rába šlàm-əlləx* 'much peace to you' (A22:31), *ràba dána* 'a long time' (A28:2), *ràba ʾéba* 'a lot of shame' (B4:9), *rába xyàṭṭa*ˡ 'much sewing' (B10:45), *ʾan-yomáθa ṯ-awéwa ràba séra*ˡ 'the days when there was a lot of moonlight' (B11:3), *rába mándi ṭemàna* 'a lot of valuable stuff' (A7:9), *rába náše* 'many people' (B5:66), *rába məndiyáne* 'many things' (A48:1), *rába gàye* 'many times' (B5:70). The particle may be separated from the following noun by intervening material, e.g.

(1) *qámθa rába y-áθe tàlga.*ˡ 'In the old days a lot of snow would fall.' (B6:147)
(2) *rába ʾíθwa zálta-w θéθa maθwàθa.*ˡ 'There was a lot of coming and going among the villages.' (B5:234).

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

(3) *xálya ʾi-mjăməxwa ràba.*ˡ 'We would collect a lot of milk.' (B10:21)
(4) *y-áθi náše m-wă̊dər ràba.*ˡ 'Many people come from outside.' (B5:69)
(5) *ʾu-náše y-áwa rába ʾáθye m-maθwàθa.*ˡ 'Many people have come from the villages.' (B5:70)
(6) *líθwa məndiyáne t-zonízwa ràba.*ˡ 'There were not many things that they bought.' (B5:73)

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

(1) *ʾáθyele xa-máymun ràba.*ˡ 'A big monkey came.' (A14:45)
(2) *píšla máθa ràbθa.*ˡ 'It has become a big village.' (B10:94)
(3) *ʾašírət ràbθa-wawa Jazíre Bóta.*ˡ 'Jazire Bota was a large community.' (A26:59)
(4) *bíš yáwi ṭúnta ràbθa.*ˡ 'They will give more abundant produce.' (B5:103)
(5) *ʾíθwa qáṣre ràbe.*ˡ 'There were big villas.' (B10:52)
(6) *ʾíwa bíye xmaṭáθa ràbe.*ˡ 'It had many needles in it.' (B10:49)

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

(7) *rábe məndiyáne šmìli.*ˡ 'I have heard many things.' (A38:13)
(8) *rábe gúṛe y-awðìwala.*ˡ 'Many men (were needed to) make it.' (B10:79)

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

(i) Uninflected Quantifier:
(1) *ʾəští-šənne ràbɛla.*ˡ 'Sixty years are a lot.' (A4:48)
(2) *šáwwa xmáre ràbɛla.*ˡ 'Seven asses are a lot.' (A23:13)
(3) *mtagbárta díya biš-ràbɛla.*ˡ 'Its maintenance is more (= It requires more maintenance).' (B5:105)

(ii) Inflected adjective:
(4) *bár ṯ-iyáwa ràbθa*ˡ 'after it became abundant' (B5:168)
(5) *heywáne ràbe-wawa.*ˡ 'The animals were numerous.' (A27:36)
(6) *ma-t-wɛ́wa ràbe.*ˡ 'so numerous were they.' (B6:10)
(7) *ʾítwala mašína t-wɛ́wa ràbe.*ˡ 'Those who were many (had large families) had a machine.' (B10:59)

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

(1) *ṭla-d-áy dráyɛla xàčča*| *ṭla-d-áw ràba.*| 'For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot.' (A17:25)

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

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

14.9.3.5. *Intensifier of an adjective*
It is placed either before or after the adjective.

(i) Before the adjective:
(1) *xa-yála rába šapìra*| 'a very handsome youth' (A25:58)
(2) *rába šapìrtɛwət.*| 'You are very beautiful.' (A25:18)
(3) *rába hawnànɛle.*| 'He is very clever.' (A17:21)

The particle is also used with active participle forms:

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

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

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

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

(8) *ràbəxwa xáðye pṣíxe.*| 'We were very merry and joyful.' (B16:6)

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

(9) *rába ʾítley xayúθa basímta bəd-àyya.*ˈ 'They have a very fine life in this.' (B5:106)

(ii) After the adjective:
(10) *ʾó-læša páyəš raqíqa ràba.*ˈ 'The dough becomes very fine.' (B6:46)
(11) *basíma ràba* '(May you be) very well (= Thank you very much).'

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

(12) *zə́dyəlle gu-xa-dúkθa ʾamùqta rába.*ˈ 'He threw him in a very deep place.' (A22:40)
(13) *sab-ʾáxtu hótu kə̂xe rába.*ˈ 'because you are very tired.' (A14:56)

14.9.3.6. *Instensifier of a Verb*
It is placed either before or after the verb. In both constructions the nuclear stress is placed either on the intensifier or on the verb.

(i) Intensifier before the verb:
(1) *ʾáti ràba bə̆yánnux.*ˈ 'I love you a lot.' (A22:19)
(2) *ràba xðéle b-d-a-bràta.*ˈ 'He was very happy with the girl.' (A14:96)
(3) *rába zalə̀mwa.*ˈ 'He acted very unjustly.' (A27:1)
(4) *gə̆́rəg rába ʾáxlət xàm.*ˈ 'You must be very careful.' (B5:105)

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

(5) *l-garə̆wàθa biš-rába mṭalíwala.*ˈ 'They played it most often on the roofs.' (B11:29)

(ii) Intensifier after the verb:
(6) *xáyəm ràba.*ˈ 'It becomes very hot.' (B6:48)
(7) *ṭrìsla rába.*ˈ 'She became very fat.' (A21:1)
(8) *paxlətli rába.*ˈ 'Forgive me greatly (= I'm very sorry).' (A1:11)

14.9.4. baṣora

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

(1) *ʾap-dəndɔ́kka baṣòra.*ˡ ‘Just a small piece.’ (A18:27)
(2) *zrúta rába baṣórta ʾìθena.*ˡ ‘There is very little cultivation.’ (B5:75)
(3) *b-kúlla yóma zór maṣìwa*ˡ *xàzdi*ˡ *xá-mdi rába baṣòra.*ˡ ‘In the whole day they can barely harvest something very little.’ (B5:144)
(4) *ʾé-ga zúze baṣòrewa.*ˡ ‘At that time money was scarce.’ (B5:5)

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

(5) *baṣóra mənnèy*ˡ *ʾi-pɛšíwa yáʿni t-la maṭíwa ʾékɛle bɛθèy.*ˡ ‘A few of them remained without arriving at their house.’ (B15:44)

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

(6) *ʾo-baṣórət béθa ʾíwa t-trè ʾotáxe.*ˡ ‘The minimum amount (of rooms) of a house was two rooms.’ (B15:20)

The expression *biš baṣora*, with the comparative particle, expresses the sense of ‘less’ or ‘least’:

(7) *hálli zúze biš-baṣòre.*ˡ ‘Give me less money.’
(8) *hálli biš-baṣòra.*ˡ ‘Give me less.’
(9) *qəm-hawánne biš-baṣóra mən-kullèy.*ˡ ‘I gave him less than all of them (= I gave him the least).’
(10) *taqríban ʾo-bíš-baṣora ʾànənwa šqíla.*ˡ ‘It was I who received almost the least.’ (B1:19)

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

(11) *rába baṣòre xazánne.*ˡ ‘I rarely see him.’
(12) *ʾína biš-kəslɛ́ni xámra lè-y-oðiwa rába.*ˡ *yáʿni xàncí,*ˡ *baṣòre.*ˡ ‘In general in our community they did not make wine much, only rarely.’ (B5:213)

14.9.5. ḵēm

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

(1) *xa-ḵə́́m y-óði hàtxa.*ˡ ‘A few do this.’

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

(2) *gə́lla ḵə̀̀m hawéwa.*ˡ ‘Grass was scarce.’

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

(3) *bálki bíš-ḵēm mən-ʾəštà-mma šə́nnela.*ˡ ‘Perhaps it is less than six-hundred years old.’ (B6:31)

14.9.6. ḵatte

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

14.9.7. xačča

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

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

(1) *ṭla-d-áy dráyɛla xàčča.*ˡ ‘She serves a small amount for herself.’ (A17:25)

It may be used predicatively:

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

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

(3) *xáčča zàmət ɨyáwa.*ˡ 'It was a little difficult.' (B5:3)
(4) *xáčča màrya xónəx.*ˡ 'Your brother is rather ill.' (A32:27)
(5) *bɛ́θe díye xáčča rə̀ḥqa-wewa mən-máθa.*ˡ 'His house was rather distant from the village.' (A48:1)

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

(6) *xáčča plìšela.*ˡ 'They fought a little.' (B5:163)
(7) *tu-manɨ́xəx xàčča.*ˡ 'Sit let us rest a little.' (A26:17).

14.9.8. xanči

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

(1) *ṣále xánči ʾúpra gu-réšət kʷàlo.*ˡ 'A little earth falls on the head of the bride.' (B8:34)
(2) *xánči qámxa m-àxxa,*ˡ *xánči m-àxxa.*ˡ '(We put) a little flour here and a little here.' (B10:89)
(3) *xánči halúke ṯ̂àrre*ˡ 'a few fresh plums' (B8:19)

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

(4) *qá-t ʾap-xánči maṭewalèy.*ˡ 'so that they would gain a little.' (B5:135).

It may be used predicatively, e.g.

(5) *sab-xànči y-áwe xə́lya.*ˡ 'because milk was scarce.' (B10:22)
(6) *ʾən-wɛ́ɛwa xànči*ˡ 'If they were few…' (B10:6)

It may modify an adjective, e.g.

(7) *ʾína bušála t-ʾoðə́xwala ṭlàlən,*ˡ *xánči miyànta.*ˡ 'But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was a little watery.' (B10:17).

It frequently functions as an adverb, e.g.

(8) *šaxánwa xànčə.*| 'It heated up a little.' (B5:154)
(9) *hal-qayàrwa xánčə.*| 'until it cooled a little.' (B5:164)
(10) *xánčə šoqáxwale gu-margèlta.*| 'We left it a little in the pan.' (B10:10)

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

(11) *ṣála xánča xànča.*| 'They go down little by little.' (B6:56)

14.9.9. kəma

This is a quantifier that is used as follows.

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

(1) *ʾína kəmà-gaye zíllux ʾu-šqíllux ʾáyya?*| 'How many times have you gone and taken it?' (B15:90)
(2) *ʾawwa ʾaskaríya dìye*| *ṭlà-kəma dánɛla?*| 'For what time is this army of his for?' (A17:22)

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

(3) *qá-t yăðíwa kút-xa məššáre kəma b-ṣále míya gáwa dìya.*| 'so that everybody would know much water would go into his paddy field.' (B5:77)

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

(4) *kəmà t-yátli?*| 'How much will you give me?' (A24:5)
(5) *kəmá ṯ-àxlət?*| 'How much will you eat?' (B5:33)

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

(6) *sáʾət kəmèla?*| 'The time is how much? (= What time is it?)' (A26:27)
(7) *bă̆yən t-xazə́nne ʾúpra dìyi*| *kəmèla.*| 'I want to see how big my land is.' (A14:47)

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

(8) *kəmà zonátle?*‖ 'For how much will you buy him?' (A24:23)
(9) *xzi-kəmà ṯ-ázəl ʾáwwa táwra.*| 'See how much this ox will go for.' (A22:1)

Variants of these expressions have *b-* before the particle, e.g. *b-kəmà zonətle?*

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

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

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

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

(1) *ʾána kəmà dána ṯ-in-mṣalóye ṭla-márya ʾàlaha*| *ta-t-yawálli ʾəmma dáwe.*| 'I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins.' (A6:10)

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

(2) *kəma-basìmtɛla ʾixála!*‖ 'How delicious the food is!' (A21:31)
(3) *baxtáθa kəma zădíwa mən-xuwwàwe!*‖ 'How much the women feared snakes!' (B5:78).

14.9.10. xakma

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

(1) *hálli xákma mə̀ndi*ˈ *masqánne l-bə̀θa.*ˈ 'Give me some stuff to take up to the house.' (A22:19)

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

(2) *xákma doqíwale xúwwa qaṭlìwale.*ˈ *xákma zə̌dìwa.*ˈ 'Some took hold of the snake and killed it. Some used to be afraid.' (B5:78)
(3) *xákma la-ṣə̀mi.*ˈ *xákma ṣə́mi ṭḷá yomàne.*ˈ 'Some do not fast. Some fast for three days.' (B6:21)
(4) *xákma dwáqa xáṣe dìye*ˈ *ʾu-xákma darqúle dìye.*ˈ 'Some (villagers) supported him and others were against him.' (A7:20)
(5) *náše mšuréla xnàqa,*ˈ *xàkma náše,*ˈ *ʾu-xákma mxulṣàla gána.*ˈ *ʾu-xákma síqla garə̆wáθət bàte.*ˈ *ʾu-xákma síqla dukáne ramáne qa-t-la-máṭi míya ʾə̀lla.*ˈ 'People began to drown—some people, some saved themselves. Some went up onto the roofs of houses. Some went up onto high places so that the water would not reach them.' (B6:18)

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

(6) *yápəxwale xámka yomàne.*ˈ 'We would bake for a few days.' (B10:91)
(7) *xámka bə̀nya*ˈ *ʾu-xámka là.*ˈ 'Some built (such houses), some did not.' (B10:52)

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

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

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

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

(1) *mattúli xá-šəmma xèna.*| 'Give me another name.' (A7:2)
(2) *m-ya-góta xèta*| 'from the other side' (A25:30)
(3) *ʾáwwa plíṭɛle gu-ða-dúnye xèta.*| 'He came out in another world.' (A14:26)
(4) *w-an-xonăwáθa xéne mára* 'the other brothers said…' (A12:17)
(5) *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawə̀nnəx.*| 'I shall give you another bag like that one.' (A4:16)
(6) *xa-béna xéta mjarbə̀nna.*| 'I shall test them another time (= again).' (A48:4)

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

(7) *čú-mdi xéna lìθən.*| 'There is nothing else.' (A4:43)

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

(8) *qímle ʾáqla xéta… qəm-parə̀mla.*| 'He cut off another leg (one of the four).' (A22:5)
(9) *zílle ʾu-xyèle gu-mðíta xéta.*| 'He went and lived in another town.' (A18:11)

The head of the phrase may be an interrogative pronoun: *módi xèna?*| 'What else?' (A23:35), *ʾéni xèna?*| 'Who else?'

Indefinite plural nouns may have the indefinite determiner *xakma* 'some, a few' or a numeral: *xákma šánne xène*| 'a few more years' (B5:208), *trè-məndi-yane xéne*| 'two other things' (A39:8), *ʾəṣrà ṭiyáre xéne*| 'ten other people from Ṭiyare' (B17:16), *ʾəští-šənne xène*| 'sixty more years' (A4:48). It is, however, often left without any determiner:

(10) *ʾo-tájər núblɛle náše xène.*| 'The merchant brought other people.' (A14:72)

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

(11) *xzéli xa-bɛ́θa xéna zòra.*| 'I saw another house, (which was) small.'
(12) *xàrθa*| *t̰-áθe xá-ʾeða xréna zòra.*| 'Then comes another festival, (which is) small' (B6:8)

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

(13) *xzéli xa-bɛ́θa zóra xèna.*| 'I saw another small house (another one of the set of small houses).'

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

(14) *qayə́mwa xéna t̰-amərwa*| 'Another man (from the group) would get up and say…' (B5:9)
(15) *ʾáy y-oya-prìqta,*| *mátta xéta šópa dìya.*| '(When) that is finished, she puts in another in its place.' (B5:102).

It can act as the modifier of an interrogative pronoun in constructions such as *ʾu-mòdi-xenət xə́zya?*| 'What else have you seen?' (A17:8).

14.9.11.2. *Adverbial*
The particle *xena* may be used adverbially with the sense of 'more, again':

(1) *ʾána xéna šúla la-pàlxən.*| 'I shall not work any more.' (A23:40)
(2) *xéna r̰ìšɛle.*| 'He woke up again.' (A14:95)
(3) *xéna téla tèlɛle.*| 'The fox was a fox again.' (A32:26)

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

(4) *xéna políse mù ṯ-óði.*ʔ| 'Well, what should the police do?' (A8:9)
(5) *xéna ʾána qémən ʾázən ʾùmra.*| 'Well, I shall go to church.' (A37:2)
(6) *xéna ṣlìθɛla.*| 'Well, she went down.' (A4:37)

14.9.11.3. *Modifier of Quantifier*
On some occasions the particle is placed after a quantifier:

(1) *šqíləwa xáčča xéna qàlya*| *ta-ṯ-axlánne b-ʾùrxa.*| 'I took a little more roasted meat to eat on the way.' (A23:10)
(2) *ʾən-hawɛ́tuwa dəryəlli xáčča xéna biš-hódəx*… 'If you had thrown me a little further along…' (A7:22)
(3) *xáčča xéna mumžəlla.*| 'She delayed a little more.' (A18:21)

14.9.12. mo, mu, mut, modi

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

(1) *ʾáwwa mò-tăhər nášɛle.*ʔ| 'What kind of man is he?' (A25:31)
(2) *mo-čára ṯ-óðəx ṭla-d-áyya qáṭu t-la ʾaxlàlɛni.*ʔ| 'What solution can we find for this cat so that it does not eat us?' (A44:1)
(3) *ʾáwwa mò-qalət báxyɛle.*ʔ| 'What sound of screaming is this?' (A4:44)
(4) *ʾáwwa mut-qàlɛle.*ʔ| 'What noise is this?' (A26:53)
(5) *ʾáyya mòdi məítɛla.*ʔ| 'What town is this?' (A26:26)

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

(6) *ʾína mù-brata!*| 'But what a girl!' (A13:11)

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

(7) *mò-băyət.*ʔ| 'What do you want?' (A13:13)
(8) *mòdi wídle.*ʔ| 'What did he do?' (A25:19)

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

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

14.9.13. ma-

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

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

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

(3) *ʾu-Bálbəl Hazár yăðátla ma-báxta xàmθɛla.* ‘You know what a beautiful woman Bəlbəl Hazar is.’ (A8:65)

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

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

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

14.9.14. ʾɛni

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

(1) *ʾéni báxtɛla mubrèθa?* ‘Which woman has given birth?’ (A25:6)
(2) *ga-léðəx ʾɛkèla, b-éni dùkθɛla.* ‘But we do not know where she is, in which place she is.’ (A26:18)

(3) *ga-ʾéni Ẓîne*ˈ *ʾáxni lèðəx.*ˈ 'Now, which Zine we do not know.' (A26:61)

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

(4) *ʾéni ʾítlɛxu t-náše t-máṣi mšáwθi mənna.*ˈ 'What people do you have who can talk with her?' (A4:13)

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

(5) *pənxa ʾéni mənnèle?*ˈ 'Which of the (types of) grind wheel is it? (literally: a grind wheel which of them is it?)' (B5:92)

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

(6) *ʾènile?*ˈ 'Who is he?' (A2:7)
(7) *ʾèni híwle-llax?*ˈ 'Who gave it to you?' (A4:19)
(8) *ʾénile qṭìlalle?*ˈ 'Who has killed him?' (A15:16)
(9) *ʾéni b-záwən tàwra?*ˈ 'Who will buy an ox?' (A22:2)

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

(10) *ʾéni mənnéxu ṯ-àzəl?*ˈ 'Which of you will go?' (A30:1)
(11) *múr ʾèni-mənnən*ˈ *biš-šapìrtɛla.*ˈ 'Say which of us is the most beautiful.' (A25:17)

14.9.15. hatxa

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

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

(4) *hátxa pəlxána pàlxeti.*‖ 'Do you do such work as this?' (A23:32)
(5) *málka krìble*ˈ *bud-hàtxa məndiyáne.*ˈ 'The king became angry about such things.' (A25:8)

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

(6) *hátxa la-hàwya.*ˈ 'Such a thing should not be.' (A21:32)
(7) *si-hátxa múrgən ṭla-màlka.*ˈ 'Go, say thus to the king.' (A17:30)
(8) *qa-mòt hátxa wáða bíyi.*‖ 'Why are you doing this to me?' (A25:42)

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

(9) *ʾána gə̆́rəg ʾámrən hatxàne.*ˈ 'I must tell such things.' (A39:7)

It is used predicatively, e.g.

(10) *hàtxɛla qə́ṣṣət.*ˈ 'The story is this.' (A13:5)
(11) *ta-módila ʾáyya mðíta hàtxa.*‖ 'Why is the town like this?' (A4:31)

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

(12) *ʾíman ṯ-íle xəzyəlla,*ˈ *hátxa šəṭránta-w šapìrta,*ˈ *ʾay-ṣrìxla.*ˈ 'When he saw her, so beautiful and good-looking, she screamed.' (A4:4)
(13) *ʾu-parošyáθa hátxa glòle*ˈ 'pebbles, round like this' (A23:17)
(14) *hátxa faqìra*ˈ 'so poor' (A40:4)

It is frequently used adverbially, e.g.

(15) *mjunəgníla hàtxa.*ˈ 'She shook them like this.' (A4:15)
(16) *dwíqəlla hátxa gu-ʾíðe dìye.*ˈ 'He took her like this in his hand.' (A13:25)
(17) *šišále gáne hàtxa.*ˈ 'He rocked himself like.' (A31:7)

14.9.16. hodəx

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

(1) *m-támma hódəx ṭùra ʾáθṛə d-ánna dèwele.*ˈ 'From here to yonder mountain is the land of the wolves.' (A14:48)

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

(2) *m-táma hódəx ṯ-ázət máṭət xa-nèra.*ˡ 'Go onwards from there and you will reach a river.' (A14:50)

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

(3) *m-táma hòdəx*ˡ *ʾáxtu ʾu-gʸanèxu.*ˡ 'From then onwards you are by yourselves.' (A8:27)

14.9.17. ču

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

(1) *ʾu-ṭlálux lan-šwíqa čù-məndi.*ˡ 'and for you I have not left anything.' (A2:11)
(2) *ʾána bsìmli*ˡ *čú-mdi liθ-bìyi.*ˡ 'I am cured, nothing is the matter with me.' (A4:20)
(3) *ta-t-čú-mdi là-ʾaθe bíye dìye.*ˡ 'so that nothing will happen to it.' (A7:9)
(4) *čù pəlxána la-pálxət ʾáti.*ˡ 'You shall do no work.' (A23:32)
(5) *hon-dáryəlle gu-xa-čále ʾamúqta lá-ʾaməṣ čù-ga čú-ga palaṭ.*ˡ 'I have put him in a deep hole and he will never be able to come out.' (A22:41)

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

(6) *la-har-ču-dúkθa lìθwa.*ˡ 'She was nowhere at all (to be found).' (A27:26)

14.9.18. hič

The particle *hič* is used with the same function as *ču* by some speakers, e.g. *hič-nàša*ˡ 'nobody' (A8:2). It may be combined with the indefinite article, e.g.

(1) *híč xa-náša lá-maṣe mɛθéla Bə́lbəl Hazàr.*ˡ ‘Nobody could bring back Bəlbəl Hazar.’ (A8:25).

14.9.19. la

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

14.9.20. fəllən, pəllən, flan

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

(1) *sí-mur ta-pə́llən wăzə̀r.*ˡ ‘Go and tell such-and-such a minister.’ (A4:38)
(2) *ʾána síqli fə́llən dùkθa.*ˡ ‘I went up to such-and-such a place.’ (A10:9)
(3) *só l-bɛ́θət flàn-naša.*ˡ ‘Go to the house of such-and-such a man.’ (A8:8)

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

(4) *mó-t mára fə́llən ʾàti?*ˡ ‘What do you, so-and-so, say?’ (B5:9)

It may be used independently, e.g.

(5) *hàtxɛle wíða fə́llən.*ˡ ‘So-and-so did such-and-such.’ (A48:1)
(6) *hà-pə́llən*ˡ *lɛ̀kət zála?*ˡ ‘Hey so-and-so, where are you going?’ (A1:11)

14.9.21. ʾay

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

(1) *ʾáti xázət ʾày-mənna bă̆yət.*ˡ ‘See which one you like.’ (A14:80)

14.10. Repetition of Constituents

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

14.10.1. *Intensity*

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

(1) *mágləṭ gilándi xá-mdi gòṛɛle… ṭla-d-án mɛrgáne góṛe gòṛe.*| 'The scythe is something big…for the very big meadows.' (B5:144)
(2) *ʾíθwa ṭawalyáθa rábe ràbe.*| 'There were very many games.' (B7:4)
(3) *pálṭi wèrde,*| *béhɛr y-áwɛ príše prìše.*| 'Flowers come out, in Spring there are lots of different kinds.' (B5:176)
(4) *y-aθáwa baxtáθət màθa,*| *ʾi-mbašlìwa,*| *m-qúrbə qúrbət márət xlùla.*| 'Women of the village who were close (relatives of) the head of the wedding would come and cook.' (B15:63)
(5) *lwíša júlle hátxa jálde jàlde.*| 'He put on his clothes very quickly.' (A4:55)

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

(6) *mṣawθítu m-ġðàðe,*| *ta-t-ṭúra ja-jálde pàrəq.*| 'You should speak with one another, so that the mountain (journey) would finish very quickly.' (A17:19)

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

(7) *ʾánna ʾánna šazàde*| *ʾánna jwànqe,*| *ʾánna náše kulla-ʾəθye ṭlàbəlləx.*| 'These many princes, these young men, these people have all come to seek your hand.' (A8:77)

14.10.2. *Increment*

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

(1) *t-la-nápəl ʾo-rázza ʾurxà-w-urxa.*| 'so that the rice does not fall along the road.' (B5:80)

(2) *ṣléle ʾurxa-ʾúrxa xzéle ʾína pyáša dəbbòre.*ˡ ‘He went down and along the way saw that they were becoming hornets.’ (A10:10)
(3) *y-àθi*ˡ *góta góta d-è-maθa.*ˡ ‘They come alongside that village.’ (B18:2)
(4) *bălάwala yabíšta xərqá xərqá gu-qðála díya mabyənwa.*ˡ ‘When she swallowed a raisin, it could be seen, ring by ring in her neck (as it went down).’ (A8:63)
(5) *qímɛle sáryəlle b-réšət ʾilanáne ʾilanàne.*ˡ ‘He tied it to the tops of the trees (one after the other).’ (A39:12)
(6) *ṣléla bêʾe ʾàx-ʾaxxe díye.*ˡ ‘The eggs ran down him here and here.’ (A23:8)
(7) *ʾan-tre-maláxe… θéla pyáða táma tàma.*ˡ ‘Those two angels…came passing by.’ (A4:44)
(8) *garšíle níxa nìxa-w.*ˡ ‘They gradually pull it out.’ (B5:178)
(9) *fa-jămíwa nàše,*ˡ *níxa níxa níxa nìxa,*ˡ *pɛšíwa xámša-w ʾəṣra-w hál xamšôssər.*ˡ ‘The people would gather and would gradually become five, ten, up to fifteen.’ (B5:61)
(10) *xánči xànči*ˡ *pɛrmáxwa bi-dìye.*ˡ ‘We would cut down with it little by little (a little at a time).’ (B5:144)

14.10.3. *Distribution*

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

(1) *qíma kút-yoma yóma ṣlàya.*ˡ ‘Everyday he would get up to go down (to the pool).’ (A14:79)
(2) *y-azálwa čyàda,*ˡ *bɛ́θa bɛ̀θa.*ˡ ‘He would go to make an invitation, at each house.’ (B5:20)
(3) *kút y-azálwa zayənwa,*ˡ *píše xá ʾarb-ámma xamš-ámma náše réza rèza.*ˡ ‘Everybody who went would stand, about four or five hundred people, in rows.’ (A8:31)

14.11. Conjoining of Nouns in a Nominal Phrase

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

(1) *xá-yoma ʾíθwa xá-qaša ʾu-xà-malla.*| 'Once there was a priest and a mullah.' (A2:1)
(2) *lát-xila xa-lə́xma-w xa-bèta?*| 'Have you not eaten a loaf of bread and an egg?' (A17:15)
(3) *ṯ-ámrəx ʾána w-àti*| *xóna-w xàθa.*| 'Let's say I and you (we are) brother and sister.' (A16:8)
(4) *sab-kʸálo-w xə́tna ʾíwa málka-w malə́kθa.*| 'since the bride and groom were the king and queen.' (B15:71)

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

(5) *xá-gaya y-asqə̀xwa*|*…kút-xa-w táxte dìye.*| 'Sometimes we went up (onto the roof)…everybody with his bed.' (B10:58)

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

(6) *kə́lyɛle gu-tắrət béθa ʾáw ʾu-ʾày.*| 'He stood at the door of the house together with her.' (A4:55)

When three or more items are linked in a chain, the connective particle is usually attached to each item before the one at the end of the chain, e.g.

(7) *ʾíwa záwnət qə́ṭla-w dámma-w pràma.*| 'It was a time of killing, blood and slaughter.' (A1:24)
(8) *qə́ryəlle wazīr-díye ʾu-xákma guṛàne*| *ʾu-báxte dìye.*| 'He called his minister, a few courtiers and his wife.' (A4:40)
(9) *bắyən lá-ʾaθi b-xàššа*| *ʾu-bxáya-w jnàna.*| 'I do not want them to come in sadness, weeping and singing dirges.' (A4:33)

The connective particle is used in some contexts as an intensifier of a gradable relation or quality. In (10), for example, it intensifies the comparative adverbial:

(10) *b-qáryən ʾu-hèš-biš záwda.*| 'I shall call yet louder.' (A8:72)

It is used in constructions expressing a range of items with the prepositions *mən…ʾu-hal* 'from…to' in order to express increased extension, e.g.

(11) *kùlləndˈ mən-yále zóre ʾu-hal-gòṛeˈ* ‘all of us, from young children all the way to old people’ (B16:4)
(12) *m-ó-yoma dwíqəlle Mắmo gu-hàbsa,ˈ ʾu-hàl-ʾədyo.ˈ* ‘From that day he has held Mămo in prison, all the way until today.’ (A26:75)

Lists of items, which are presented individually rather than linked together in a composite whole, are in some cases expressed without any connective particles, e.g.

(13) *gərwe,ˈ ṣàwle,ˈ júlle rìxe,ˈ júllə jərjèt* ‘stockings, shoes, long clothes, clothes of purple fabric’ (B10:30)
(14) *y-awéwa wásta bra-qðàla,ˈ brɛθáθe rìxeˈ y-oðəxwala.ˈ* ‘There was the chest (of the blouse), the collar, long sleeves, which we would make.’ (B10:45)
(15) *ʾu-kúl-məndi y-áwe pərya,ˈ xàlta,ˈ štèθa,ˈ m-kùl-məndi.ˈ* ‘Everything was in abundance, food, drink, (something) of everything.’ (B15:63)

A noun may be repeated to make the class denoted by it more general. In most cases the second occurrence of the noun is introduced by the particle *ma-*. The connective particle *w* may optionally occur before the *ma-* particle (*X ma-X ~ X ʾu-ma-X*), e.g.

(16) *jawə́tta ṭla-pràmaˈ ʾanna qése ma-qèse.ˈ* ‘A chopper was for chopping wood and the like.’ (B5:141)
(17) *ʾáxxa xuwwáwe ma-xuwwáwe lè-y-aθɛ l-d-áwwa gə́šra.ˈ* ‘Here snakes and the like will not come onto this bridge.’ (A30:49)
(18) *kúl-məndi dɛrɛ́wa bìya.ˈ harmòneˈ ʾu-ma-harmòne,ˈ hɛrmìye,ˈ sparə̀gle.ˈ* ‘They would put everything on it. Pomegranates and the like, pears, quinces.’ (B8:31)
(19) *xóna mənnèxule,ˈ léla ta-t-ʾamráti ṭlíba ma-ṭlìba.ˈ* ‘He is your brother, you should not say (that he) is a fiancé or something.’ (A25:22)

On some occasions, instead of prefixing the *ma-* particle, the first consonant of the second occurrence of the noun is replaced by a different consonant, resulting in a word that has no meaning in isolation, e.g.

(20) *ʾána háwən Qára Tèždin,ˈ maθyánət xárje-w bárjət boṭanàye.ˈ* ‘I am Qara Teždin, the collector of taxes and the like of the people of Botan.’ (A26:34)

A related strategy is to repeat the word with a change of internal vocalic pattern, e.g.

(21) *bráte díye muttúla qáṣre ʾu-qaṣòre.*ˈ 'His daughter established villas and palaces.' (A40:7)

We may include here the combination of stem I and stem II resultative participles in order to express intensity in contexts such as (22) and (23):

(22) *bəd-pɛ́šət b-šòpi,*ˈ *bríxta mburàxta.*ˈ 'You will stand in my place, (you are) greatly blessed. (A40:15)
(23) *pàqəð bába ʾazíza,*ˈ *xqìra,*ˈ *gu-d-áyya dúnye mxùqra.*ˈ 'Welcome dear, esteemed father, honoured in this world.' (A40:12)

In (24) the second resultative participle is from a cognate quadriliteral verb:

(24) *qčipewəx mqorəčpewəx.*ˈ 'We are cut down and harvested.' (A51:8)

Another practice is to place the generic word *məndi* 'thing' in apposition to the noun, e.g.

(25) *kúṯ-ile xíləlle xa-ràmši-məndi*ˈ *gu-bèθi*ˈ *ʾáθe xarèla gu-bɛ́θi.*ˈ 'Everyone who has eaten my dinner or the like (i.e. any food) in my house, let him come and defecate in my house.' (A7:5)

14.12. Numerals

Cardinal numerals are placed before the counted nominal, which follows in apposition. The nominal is in the plural after all numerals above 'one', unless it is a loanword that has not been adapted to Aramaic morphology and does not take plural inflection. The only exception to this is the word *ʾəmma* 'hundred', which remains singular when preceded by numerals, e.g. *tré ʾə́mma* 'two-hundred', *ṭláθa ʾə́mma* 'three-hundred', *ʾárba ʾə́mma* 'four-hundred'. The word *ʾalpa* 'thousand', by contrast, is made plural after numerals, e.g. *tré ʾálpe* 'two-thousand', *ṭlaθa ʾalpe* 'three-thousand', *ʾárba ʾálpe* 'four-thousand'. The word *ʾəmma* is plural in expressions such as *ʾəmmàyət šə́nne*ˈ 'hundreds of years' (B15:92).

In principle, the cardinal numerals from 1 to 10 exist in both masculine and feminine forms in agreement with the gender of the noun they are combined with. In practice, the masculine form is in the process of becoming the default form in the dialect and is used with both masculine and feminine nouns (§12.1.1., §14.1.2.). It is worth noting that the levelling is regular in certain common multiplicative expressions. These include phrases containing the word *ʾəmma* 'hundred', which is historically feminine, but regularly takes the masculine form of numeral. We should also mention expressions containing the feminine nouns *gaya* and *bena* 'time, instance', which regularly take the masculine cardinal *xa* rather than *ða*, viz. *xa-gaya, xa-bena* 'once' (§14.1.2.).

Most nouns ending in the singular nominal inflectional ending *-a* that have a plural in *-ane* or *-aθa* can also form a plural with the shorter ending *-e*, e.g. *tăra* m. 'door' (pl. *tărane, tăre*), *qawra* f. (pl. *qawraθa, qawre*). In exceptional cases all three plural endings are used, e.g. *yoma* m. 'day' (pl. *yomane, yomaθa, yome*). In the case of most such nouns, the shorter plural form with the *-e* ending tends to be used after numerals, whereas the long form is used for plurals denoting groups of an unspecified number of items. There is a particular tendency for the short form to be used with the numeral 'two'. In all cases, however, these are only tendencies and not absolute rules, e.g.

tăra	'door'
tre tăre	'two doors'
ṭ̣la tărane	'three doors'
raba tărane	'many doors'
pəqqa	'frog'
tre pəqqe	'two frogs'
ṭ̣la pəqqaθa	'three frogs'
raba pəqqaθa	'many frogs'
yoma	'day'
tre yome	'two days'
ṭ̣la yome ~ yomane ~ yomaθa	'three days'
raba yomane ~ yomaθa	'many days'
gaya	'time'
tre gaye	'two times'
ṭ̣la gaye	'three times'
raba gayaθa	'many times'

The *-e* plural ending of *ʾiða* 'hand' and *ʾaqla* 'foot' is regularly used in the fixed expression *ʾiðe ʾu-ʾaqle* 'arms and legs' / *ʾaqle ʾu-ʾiðe* 'legs and arms', whereas the plurals *ʾiθaθa* and *ʾaqlaθa* are normal elsewhere, e.g.

(1) *dawɛ́ra ʾíðe-w ʾàqle.*| 'A mule (is a man's) arms and legs.' (B5:124)
(2) *šáryəlla ʾáqle w-iðe.*| 'He untied the legs and arms.' (A10:13)

The nouns *baxta* 'woman' and *yəmma* 'mother', which have human referents, have the feminine plural ending *-aθa* in all contexts.

This alternation between short and long plurals is rare in nouns ending in the singular feminine endings *-ta* and *-θa*. A few nouns with the femining ending *-ta* or *-θa* in the singular that have a plural in *-aθa* may be given the plural ending *-e* after numerals, e.g.

kθɛθa	'chicken'
tərte kθaye	'two chickens'
raba kθayaθa	'many chickens'

Nouns that form a plural by reduplication of the final consonant in many cases use a simple plural in *-e* after numerals, e.g.

pəčča	'piece'
tre pəčče	'two pieces'
raba pəččače	'many pieces'

Numerals are sometimes repeated in order to express distribution, either within one event (3) or across different events (4):

(3) *kút-xa mánnən ṯ-ámrəx máttəx ṭḷàθa ṭḷáθa tebálle.*| 'We each put down, let's say, three marbles.' (B11:25)
(4) *xa-xá-ga márət bɛ́θa mbašə́lwa ʾixála ʾímət hóya dànət ʾixála.*| 'Sometimes the owner of the house would cook food when it was time for food.' (B6:16)

Numerals may be used independently of a head noun as an argument in a clause, e.g.

(5) *xà-qaṭlitu,*| *trè-qaṭlitu,*| *mò bṯ-óðəx b-ánna?*|| 'You may kill one, you may kill two, but what will we do with (all the rest of) them?' (A14:44)

(6) *ʾáyya kìsta*ˈ *hóle mxožə́bnəlla max-xà.*ˈ ‘He has reckoned this bag as one.’ (A6:3)
(7) *ʾaṣə̀rta*ˈ *tre-ṣléla.* ‘In the evening two men went down.’ (A14:15)
(8) *ʾánna tré*ʾ*e zərə̀k-ila.*ˈ ‘These two are strong.’ (B11:4)
(9) *pɛ́šət làxxa*ˈ *gu-bɛ̀θa*ˈ *xòna*ˈ *mən-d-ánna bnàθi.*ˈ *ʾítli ṭə̀ḷḷəθ.*ˈ ‘Stay here in the house, brother, with these daughters of mine. I have three.’ (A25:15)

When an ordinal number is used independently of a head noun, it generally takes a pronominal head in the form of a demonstrative, e.g.

(10) *ʾo-qamáya miràle,*ˈ *ʾo-t-tré miràle.*ˈ ‘The first one said it, the second one said it.’ (A17:31)

These phrases may be used in apposition to a nominal with the same function as appositives consisting of a demonstrative head and an adjective (§14.7.). They are either non-restrictive appositives, e.g. *Ẑìne,*ˈ *ʾa-t-tə̀rte*ˈ ‘Zine, the second one’ (A25:20), or restrictive appositives with a contrastive function, e.g. *ʾé-ga ʾɛ-t-tré* ‘the second time (as opposed to the first), secondly’ (B15:19).

When the number of times is left imprecise, two or more numerals are placed together asyndetically, e.g. *xa-tré-yarxe xéne* ‘one or two months later’ (A1:16), *tre-ṭḷà-yarxe*ˈ ‘two or three months’ (A48:4), *xámša ʾəštà ganáθa*ˈ ‘five or six people’ (B5:77), *ʾášta šàwwa manzàle*ˈ ‘six or seven rooms’ (B10:52), *qám šáwwi tmáni šə̂nne* ‘seventy or eighty years ago’ (B5:179), *yómə ṭḷáθa ʾárba* ‘on the third or fourth day’ (A14:91).

A group of numbered items may be presented as a single whole by placing *xa* before the phrase, e.g.

(11) *mattìwa*ˈ *ṯ-ámrəx xá xámša dinàre.*ˈ ‘They would deposit let’s say a sum of five dinars.’ (B5:6)

This construction is particularly common when two or more numerals are juxtaposed to express approximation, e.g. *xa-ʾárba xamšà bé*ʾ*e*ˈ ‘four or five eggs’ (A23:6), *xa-tmánya ʾəṣrà-maθwaθa*ˈ ‘a (group of) eight or ten villages’ (B15:61), *xa-ʾášta šáwwa yòme*ˈ ‘a (period of) six or seven days’ (A24:48).

Distributive expressions relating to groups of numbered items may be formed by combining the particle *kut/ku* with the numeral phrase, e.g. *ku-tmánya yománe* ‘every eight days’ (B7:15), *kút xamšássər yomàne*ˈ ‘every fif-

teen days' (B10:73), *kút-ṭ́la šánne xa-béna* 'once every three years' (A14:61), *ʾu-kut-šéta xa-gáya* 'once every year' (B10:68).

When a cardinal qualifies a definite noun, the numeral generally takes an anticipatory suffix in constructions such as *ṭ́láθna t-bnóne dìye*ˡ or *ṭ́láθna bnóne díye* 'His three sons (literally: the three of them, [of] his sons)' (A24:3).

The following examples illustrate various ways in which multiples ('*x*-fold', '*x* times as much') are expressed:

(12) *ʾína qəm-xazánnəx ʾáti rába hawnànta,*ˡ *biš-mánni xa-tàrte.*ˡ 'I see that you are very clever, twice as much as me.' (A40:16)
(13) *ʾən-háwe dàwa-žiˡ ʾáxni t-yawə́xla xa-b-ṭ́làθa ʾálle díye.*ˡ 'Even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold.' (A7:10)
(14) *ṭarpána biš-góṛa tárte gáye mən-màglɛ́wa.*ˡ 'A scythe was twice as big as a sickle.'
(15) *ʾo-qáṣra ʾo-náša hàdəx-ile wíðəlle,*ˡ *ʾəṣrà-gaye béna qamáya.*ˡ 'The man made the palace in such a way (that it was) ten times (bigger than) before.' (A12:22)

Expressions relating to the clock: *sáʾət kəmèla?*ˡ 'What time is it?', *sáʾət ʾàrbɛla*ˡ 'It is four o'clock', *sáʾət ʾáṣra b-lɛ̀le*ˡ 'ten o'clock at night', *sáʾət xa-w-pàlgʸe*ˡ 'half past one', *sáʾət xa-w čàrək*ˡ 'a quarter past one', *sáʾət tré ʾu-ʾəṣra*ˡ 'ten past two', *čárək ṭ́la-ʾəṣra*ˡ 'a quarter to ten', *xámša ṭ́la-ṭ́làθa*ˡ 'five to three', *ʾáṣra pyáša xámša daqìqe*ˡ 'five to ten'.

Numerical expressions relating to the calendar: *yárxət trè*ˡ 'February', *yárxət ʾəčč̣a*ˡ 'September', *təltássər b-ʾəčč̣a*ˡ 'the thirteenth of September' (B15:92), *təltàssər b-yérxa*ˡ 'the thirteenth of the month' (B16:22); *b-ʾarbìye* 'In the (19)40s' (B5:161), *šə́t ʾarbíye-u l-àxxa*ˡ 'from the (19)40s onwards' (B5:179).

Numerical expressions relating to age:

(16) *kəmá šənne-wət?*ˡ 'How old are you?'
(17) *ʾána ʾásri šənnewən.*ˡ 'I am twenty years old.'
(18) *ʾáni qúrbət ʾáṣra trésər šənnèwa.*ˡ 'They were around ten or twelve years old.' (B15:32)
(19) *ʾé-gə ʾána ʾűmur díyi ʾəštà-šənnewa*ˡ 'when I was six years old' (B15:32)
(20) *záwda mən-ʾarbá-mma šənnele.*ˡ 'It (the church) is more than four-hundred years old.' (B6:31)
(21) *ʾìwabi*ˡ *ʾəṣrá šənne.*ˡ 'I was ten years old.' (B5:130)
(22) *brő̄n-diye ʾo-zòra*ˡ *ʾítwale ʾarbì šánne.*ˡ 'His youngest son was forty years old.' (A12:1)

(23) *mṭéle ʾášti šáwwi šə̂nne.*ˡ ‘He reached sixty or seventy years old.’ (A24:1)
(24) *ʾàna*ˡ *šawwà-šənne,*ˡ *ʾəštá-šənne šáwwa plíṭɛwən mən-tàma.*ˡ ‘I left there when I was seven or six years old.’ (B15:30)
(25) *taqríban ʾánna xamší-šənne ʾùmri*ˡ *ʾána làn-mirəlla.*ˡ ‘I have not told it (the story) for almost fifty years.’

‘Ago’ is expressed by the preposition *qam-* ‘before’, e.g. *qám šáwwi tmáni šənne*ˡ ‘seventy or eighty years ago’ (B5:179), *qúrbə qam-šaww-əmma xámši tmany-əmmà-šənne*ˡ ‘about seven hundred and fifty or eight hundred years ago’ (B3:19). Occasionally *qam-* is omitted, e.g.

(26) *ʾáwwa yála yíwəlle ʾálaha ʾálla díya ʾəštà yárxe.*ˡ ‘God gave this baby to them six months ago.’ (A15:9)

Other numerical expressions relating to periods of time:

(27) *ʾánna ṭlà yománela mátye.*ˡ ‘They arrived in three days.’ (A25:76)
(28) *píšla ṭla-yàrxe.*ˡ ‘They stayed for three months.’ (A14:84)
(29) *ʾána tré-yome làxxɛwən.*ˡ ‘I have been here for two days.’
(30) *hóle tíwa gu-xa-gəppìθa*ˡ *ʾarbì-šənne.*ˡ ‘He has been dwelling in a cave for forty years.’ (A15:4)
(31) *ʾána ʾanna-šawwá-šənne hon-θàya.*ˡ ‘I have been been travelling (on my way here) for these (last) seven years.’ (A37:17)
(32) *ʾánna xamšassár-šənne ṣópa lánwa xəzya.*ˡ ‘I had not seen a stove for fifteen years.’ (B15:23)
(33) *hál xámši-w xámša šə̂nne*ˡ *y-awɛ́wa sxáða ʾalàha.*ˡ ‘For fifty-five years they were worshipping God (and then stopped doing so).’ (A15:17)
(34) *xá-saʾət qam-dàna*ˡ ‘an hour beforehand’ (B5:119)
(35) *m-díya ʾarpà-saʾəte*ˡ ‘in four hours from now’ (B1:13)

Mathematical operations:

(36) *xámša záyəd tré y-áwði šàwwa.*ˡ ‘Five plus two makes seven.’
(37) *xámša náqəṣ tré y-áwði ṭlàθa*ˡ ‘Five minus two makes three.’
(38) *xámša gáye ṭláθa y-áwði xamšəssər*ˡ ‘Five times three makes fifteen.’
(39) *tré-gaye tré wíta ʾàrba.*ˡ ‘Two times two is four.’
(40) *xámša gáye xámša wáyɛla ʾəsri-w xàmša.*ˡ ‘Five times five is twenty-five.’
(41) *ʾəṣra qa-tré y-áwði xàmša*ˡ ‘Ten divided by two makes five.’

(42) *píšela mnáyəlla l-xà-xa.*ˈ 'They began counting them one by one.' (A6:3)

Percentages are expressed thus: *xámši mən-ʾəmma*ˈ 'fifty percent', *ʾámma mən-ʾəmma*ˈ 'a hundred percent'.

14.13. Adverbial Expressions

Many nominals are used with the function of adverbials without an explicit marking of their relation by a preposition.

The majority of these are temporal expressions, e.g. *xa-yóma* 'one day' (A25:2), *yóma qamàya* 'on the first day' (A25:14), *hàr ʾo-yóma* 'on the same day' (A25:4), *yómət trè* 'on the second day' (A21:14), *yómət xyáptət xàtna*ˈ 'on the day of the washing of the groom' (B15:74), *yòma*ˈ 'during the day' (B5:27), *qédamta* 'in the morning' (A1:2), *pálgət yòma*ˈ 'at midday' (B5:62), *ʾaṣárta* 'in the evening' (A21:12), *šábθa* 'on Saturday' (A25:90), *dánət kawùθra* 'at lunchtime' (A22:22), *dánət xa-rámša* 'at dinner time' (A21:12), *xá-xa-gaya* 'sometimes' (B3:9), *xá-ga xèta* 'another time' (A48:4), *ʾánna šánne xaráye* 'in recent years' (B3:9), *ʾé-šetət wìrra* 'last year' (B15:93), *qéṭa* 'in the summer' (B5:107), *sátwa* 'in winter' (B5:107), *qàmθa* 'formerly' (B5:179), *xàrθa* 'afterwards, then' (A13:15).

The adjectives *qamaya* 'first' and *xaraya* 'last', when used adverbially, have the adverbial ending *-e:* *qamaye* 'at first', *xaraye* 'finally' (< **qamayəθ*, **xarayəθ*; see §13.2.). Note the phrases *bánta qamàye* 'for the first time' (B5:1), *ʾax-d-é-ga qamàye*ˈ 'as before' (A27:31), *bánta xaráye* 'finally' (A29:65), and *béna xaràye*ˈ 'finally' (B5:43), in which the noun is modified by the adverbial forms rather than by adjectives that agree with the head noun. Elsewhere the adjectival form is used, e.g. *béna qamáya* (A12:22), *béna xaráya* (A12:47).

In a few such temporal adverbials the nominal is in the absolute state with no inflectional vowel, e.g. *kut-yom* 'every day', *ʾədyo* 'today' (< *ʾəd-yom*), *kúššət* 'every year' (< *kut-šat*).

Temporal adverbial expressions with prepositions are also used. Some of these are parallel to the phrases cited above, e.g. *b-qéṭa* 'in summer' (B5:19), *b-sátwa* 'in winter' (B5:145). The sense of 'in the day(time)' and 'in the night(time)' are regularly expressed by phrases with the preposition *b-*, e.g.

(1) *ʾó dewərrəš b-yóma y-azálwa l-ṭùra,*ˈ *b-lèle y-aθéwa.*ˈ 'The vagabond used to go to the mountains in the day and come back at night.' (A12:46)

Occasionally nouns are used without prepositions as adverbials expressing static spatial location, e.g.

(2) *ʾíman-t y-awíwa bèθa*ˡ ‘when they were at home’ (B5:128)
(3) *ʾasṛ̀təla xa-dúkθa.*ˡ ‘Tether her in some place.’ (A12:29)
(4) *tíwtɛla márzət yàma.*ˡ ‘She sat on the sea shore.’ (A13:12)
(5) *béθe díye šáttət màθa-wewa.*ˡ ‘His house was at the bottom of the village.’ (A29:15)

Note also the expression *be-pàlga* (< **beθ-palgā*) ‘in the middle’ (A24:24). The noun *šawpa* ‘place’ is often used adverbially without a preposition. In such cases the diphthong */aw/* is generally contracted (§2.4.2.), e.g.

(6) *de-puš-šòpux!*ˡ ‘Stay in your place (where you are).’ (A14:20)
(7) *ʾáwwa píšle málka šópət bábe dìye.*ˡ ‘He became king in place of his father.’ (A12:70)

A further example is *xaṣa* ‘back’ in constructions such as

(8) *ʾu-yatáxwa xāṣ-koðánta.* ‘We would sit on the back of the mule.’ (B5:138)

We may include here also the nouns *rəḥqa* ‘distance’ and *qurba* ‘vicinity’, which are used adverbially and attributively (§14.7.), e.g.

(9) *muttéθəlle rə̀ḥqa*ˡ *mən-màθa.*ˡ ‘She put him down far away from the village.’ (A19:3)
(10) *kúlla náše díye t-wéwa qùrba*ˡ ‘all his relatives who were in the vicinity’ (B8:38)

The adjective *rama* ‘high’ may be used as a locative adverbial, e.g.

(11) *bíš y-awéwa ráḥat ràma.*ˡ ‘It was more comfortable above.’ (B5:204)

The adjectives *baraya* ‘external’ and *gawaya* ‘internal’ have the adverbial ending *-e* when used adverbially: *baraye* ‘outside’, *gawaye* ‘inside’.

More frequently a noun without a preposition is used to express an adverbial denoting movement towards a place, e.g. *kút-xa y-áθe bēθ-dìye*ˡ ‘Everybody returns home’ (B5:155), *mɛθéle bèθa*ˡ ‘They bring it back home’ (B5:164), *zílɛle šúle dìye*ˡ ‘He went to his work’ (A21:16), *xákma*

*síqla garăwáθət bàte*ˡ ‘Some went up onto the roofs of the houses’ (B6:18), *maṣléwala ʾəṛxe*ˡ ‘They took it down to the water-mill’ (B5:15), *ṣláya npála ʾằrɛle*ˡ ‘It falls onto the ground’ (A10:11), *qəm-xašálle ʾằra*ˡ ‘He threw him on the ground’ (A28:36), *ʾaw-ʾéne díye npíltɛla ʾisəqθe*ˡ ‘His eye fell onto his ring (= he noticed his ring)’ (A26:31). Movement towards can also be expressed by a preposition in these contexts, e.g. *díṛṛa l-bèθa*ˡ ‘She returned home’ (A22:47), *si-l-bèθa!*ˡ ‘Go home!’ (A23:39), *qédamta y-ázi náše l-ʾùmra*ˡ ‘In the morning people go to church’ (B6:23).

Adjectives are occasionally used as adverbials of manner, e.g. *qəm-maxéla ʾáqla biš-xɛlàna*ˡ ‘He struck her leg harder’ (A33:12), *ʾína ṣláya xɛlànɛle*ˡ ‘It (the river) is flowing down in spate’ (A14:58), *ṭríθa qə̀wya*ˡ ‘She rode hard’ (A8:70), *qa-t xă̆yən spáy ʾàxxa*ˡ ‘so that I can live well here’ (A3:3).

The adverbs *ʾaxxa* ‘here’ are *tama* ‘there’ in some contexts are treated syntactically like nouns, in that they may take pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʾáxxi hóle mràya*ˡ ‘It hurts me here (literally: My here hurts)’, *ṣléla bé ʾe ʾàx-ʾaxxe díye.*ˡ ‘The eggs ran down him here and here (literally: his here and here) (A23:8), or occur in an annexation construction, e.g. *déwe ʾu-haywáne ṯ̂-áxxa ṯ̂-axlìlən.*ˡ ‘The wolves and the animals here (literally: of here) will eat us’ (B9:11), *xayúθət táma dàx-ila?*ˡ ‘What is the life there like? (literally: the life of there)’ (B5:107).

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE SYNTAX OF VERBS

15.1. The Function of the Verbal Forms Derived from the Present Base

The verbal forms are categorized here according to their structure. The stem I root *qṭl* 'to kill' is used to illustrate these. The forms derived from this root given below will be used as general labels to designate all variations and inflections of forms that fall within the category. The label '*qaṭəl* form', for example, will be used to designate all verb forms that consist of the present base without prefixed or suffixed particles, including not only stem I verbs with strong consonants, such as *garəš* 'He pulls', *ṣarəx* 'He shouts', etc., but also stem II, stem III and quadriliteral verbs as well as all weak and irregular verbs, e.g. *mšadər* 'He sends, *mapləx* 'He uses', *mkankəš* 'He drags', *qayəm* 'He rises', *xaze* 'He sees', *mšare* 'He begins', *maṣle* 'He brings down', *mčawče* 'He twitters', etc.

When discussing the function of forms derived from the present base *qaṭəl-*, a distinction must be made between verbs with an initial laryngal */'/* and verbs with an initial strong radical. The reason for this is that the distribution of preverbal particles such as *'i-* and *bəd-* on initial */'/* verbs is different from their distribution on verbs with a strong initial radical. Initial */'/* verbs are in general consistent and conservative in their use of the particles whereas in verbs with initial strong consonants the particles are frequently elided. The divergent distribution of the prefixed particles in the two groups of verbs has arisen from differences in phonetic structure rather than any semantic distinction. The crucial difference, it would seem, is that in initial */'/* verbs the particle normally replaces the */'/* and becomes the onset of the first syllable of the word, e.g. *'i + 'azəl* > *y-azəl* 'He goes', *bəd + 'azəl* > *ṯ-azəl* 'He will go'. Since the particle is the onset of the syllable, it is protected from elision. Another factor is that the number of syllables in the form has not been increased. When the particles are attached to a verb with an initial strong consonant, on the other hand, they constitute a separate syllable, adding to the morphological weight of the form. In this environment they have become more vulnerable to elision. In the description of the function of forms derived

from the present base, therefore, these two groups of verbs will be treated separately. Initial /ʾ/ verbs will be designated as group A and other verbs as group B. Since group A is the more conservative one with regard to the preverbal particles, the main classification of functions will be based on the distribution of the particles in verbal forms from this group.

15.1.1. qaṭəl

The form *qaṭəl* has a wide range of functions. These include the expression of both realis and irrealis. It can be regarded as the default, unmarked form in relation to the forms with prefixed particles such *ʾi-qaṭəl* and *bəd-qaṭəl*, which have more specific functions.

15.1.1.1. *Narrative Present (Realis)*

One realis function of the *qaṭəl* form is to denote foreground events in a narrative. These express a perfective aspect and present the actions as punctual events with their deictic temporal centre in the present. They should not be interpreted as expressing imperfective progressive aspect, which is a function that is in principle not expressed by the *qaṭəl* form.

Examples from groups A and B:

(1) *ṣàlya,*ˈ *ʾap-xa-xéta ʾaxlàla.*ˈ ‘She goes down and eats also another one.’ (A18:21)

(2) *ʾu-ʾáyya zánjir ʾáwra ʾánna warîðət qðàle,*ˈ *kasxàla*ˈ *ʾu-nàpəl.*ˈ ‘The chain goes into the veins of his neck and cuts them. He falls down.’ (A26:81)

(3) *ʾáwwa bíye bə-b-sùse*ˈ *ʾáwər gu-xa-gəppa.*ˈ ‘He together with his horse enters a cave.’ (A28:3)

(4) *ʾàzəl,*ˈ *ʾàzəl,*ˈ *ʾàzəl,*ˈ *ʾu-màṭe,*ˈ *máṭe l-čádrət bábe dìye.*ˈ ‘He goes, goes and goes and arrives, arrives at the tent of his father.’ (A28:33)

(5) *yátu l-xáṣət dawéra,*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾaw ʾàzəl.*ˈ *ʾázəl di-di-di*ˈ *ṭapéle xále dìye*ˈ *gu-d-ày-maθa.*ˈ ‘He sits on the back of a mule and he also sets off. He goes along and catches up with his uncle in that village.’ (A28:11)

(6) *mən-lábbe díye qìða,*ˈ *dére xèla,*ˈ *načəlle ʾo-šəryóxa.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáθe šaqálla xa-ʾáqrət bàṭma.*ˈ *šaqàlla*ˈ *ʾu-šamàṭla*ˈ *taqàne.*ˈ ‘Out of his fervour, he applies force and pulls the tether apart. He goes and takes the stock of a terebinth tree. He takes it and breaks off the branches.’ (A28:20)

(7) *ʾàsqi,*ˈ *ʾína xazèla*ˈ *qáwra pθìxta.*ˈ ‘They go up and find the open grave.’ (A25:91)

15.1.1.2. *Performative Present (realis)*
Another perfective use of the *qaṭəl* is to express the performative present, i.e. the action denoted by the verb is performed by the act of uttering it. The form is not, however, regularly used with all verbs that have performative function. Clear performative usage has been indentified in the verbs *qbl* 'to accept, permit' and *ymy* 'to swear', e.g.

(1) *qáblən ʾàzət.*ˡ 'I permit you to go.'
(2) *là-qablən ʾázət.*ˡ 'I forbid you to go.'
(3) *yamyannux b-ʾumrət Čamme.* 'I swear to you by the church of Čamme.' (C2:19)

The performative *qaṭəl* verb may be preceded by the particle of immediacy *də-/de-*, e.g.

(4) *də-yamyannux b-awwa kəxwa.* 'I swear to you by this star.' (C2:25)
(5) *də-yamyannux b-aw Mar Sawa.* 'I swear to you by Saint Sawa.' (C2:42)

With other verbs speakers express performative function by the compound infinitive + copula construction (§15.4.2.), which is the normal means of denoting progressive action, e.g. *mqawólən ṯ-àθən*ˡ 'I promise I shall come'.

15.1.1.3. *Habitual Action (Realis)*
In class A verbs imperfective habitual action that includes the present is normally expressed by the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form with the *ʾi-* prefix in main clauses. The *qaṭəl* form, however, is sporadically found with this function in main clauses in the text corpus, e.g.

(1) *ʾu-máxa xa-mášxa gu-be-ʾéne dìye*ˡ *ʾoðíle rúšma ʾax-ṣlìwa.*ˡ 'They put some oil on his forehead and make the sign of the cross.' (B6:36)

The *qaṭəl* form of class B verbs, on the other hand, is frequently used to express the present habitual, e.g.

(2) *kut-bɛ́θa mbášəl xa-màndi.*ˡ 'Every household cooks something.' (B5:64)

(3) *náše jǎ́mi qa-šèra.*ˈ ‘People gather for the saint’s festival.’ (B5:69)
(4) *šáqli lèša,*ˈ *mattíle š-xá párša pṭòxa.*ˈ ‘They take the dough and put it on a wide stone.’ (B6:46)
(5) *xálya mɛθəxxe,*ˈ *marəθxəxxe.*ˈ *qàyər xánčï.*ˈ *dérəx xa-màsta gáwe,*ˈ *péša màsta.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾey-màsta*ˈ *péša xamùṣta.*ˈ ‘Yoghurt—we fetch milk and boil it. It cools slightly. We put a portion of yoghurt in it and it becomes yoghurt. That yoghurt becomes sour.’ (B10:26)

The *qaṭ́al* form of class A verbs is more frequently used in verbs expressing habitual aspect that are in subordinate protasis clauses of temporal sentences, e.g.

(6) *ʾímət ʾàθya,*ˈ *mzàngər zága.*ˈ ‘When it (the cat) comes, the bell will sound.’ (A44:2)
(7) *fa-l-gàre*ˈ *ʾíman ṯ-aryáwa dùnye,*ˈ *ʾíθwalən mandòrta.*ˈ ‘On the roof, when it rained, we had a roller.’ (B5:145)
(8) *ímət ʾàza másta,*ˈ *qéθa b-è-ʾaqla*ˈ *ta-t-dèra.*ˈ ‘When the yoghurt (churn) moves, it strikes her leg and returns back.’ (B7:24)

15.1.1.4. *Actual Present (Realis)*
The *qaṭ́al* form is in some cases used imperfectively to refer to a situation that holds in the present but is not necessarily a permanent, habitual property of the subject of the verb. This usage is restricted lexically to a few verbs that have a non-dynamic actionality. They include verbs expressing mental processes or states and verbs of perception, viz. *by* ‘to want’, *txr* ‘to remember’, *yð* ‘to know’, *xšw* ‘to think’, *zdʾ/zdl* ‘to fear’, *ṣbr* ‘to dare’, *mṣy/ʾmṣ* ‘to be able’, *xzy* ‘to see’. The only class A verb in this set is the variant form *ʾmṣ* ‘to be able’, which is attested in the *qaṭ́al* form without a *y-* prefix in the contracted negated forms *la-məṣ* (< *la-ʾaməṣ*) ‘He cannot’, *la-mṣət* (< *la-ʾamṣət*) ‘You cannot’, etc. Examples:

(1) *mô bǎ́yət?*ˈ ‘What do you want?’ (A26:73)
(2) *ʾáp-ʾana bǎ́yən mtanə́nnux ða-qəṣṣə́t*ˈ *dìyi.*ˈ ‘I also want to tell you a story of mine.’ (A14:35)
(3) *kut-bǎ́ye páləš mánni páləš mànni.*ˈ ‘Whoever wants to fight with me, let him fight with me.’ (A12:60)
(4) *lá-bǎyən dèrən.*ˈ ‘I do not want to return.’ (A4:43)
(5) *tàxrena*ˈ *kúlla náše qìmela*ˈ *síqe l-hàwar.*ˈ ‘I remember that all the people got up and went up (the mountain) at the alarm.’ (B5:162)
(6) *yǎ́ðət ʾaw-ʾènile?*ˈ ‘Do you know who he is?’ (A4:2)

(7) *lèle-xəzya čù-náša*ˈ *bas-yǎðəx hóla tlíxe ʾánna bàte.*ˈ ‘Nobody has been seen, but we know that the houses have been destroyed.’ (A29:52)
(8) *la-yǎðət mo-qálət bàxyɛle?*ˈˈ ‘Do you not know what the sound of weeping it is?’ (A4:45)
(9) *léðən* (< *la yǎðən*) *kʾèle.*ˈ ‘I do not know where he is.’ (B9:9)
(10) *míðən* (< *mo yǎðən*) *ʾo-béθa ʾèkɛle.*ˈ ‘I do not know where that house is.’ (A12:63)
(11) *ʾu-ʾána xášwən ʾáp-brōn-málka b-tàrəṣ.*ˈ ‘I think, furthermore, that the son of the king will be cured.’ (A8:88)
(12) *mə́re la-zə̌ðət?*ˈˈ *mə́re la-zə̌ðən.*ˈ ‘He said “Are you not afraid?” He said “I am not afraid.”’ (A11:2)
(13) *la-ṣábrəx ṯ-òrəx.*ˈ ‘We do not dare enter.’ (A14:40)
(14) *mə́re máṣyət mtányət tunítθa t-la-xàṣla?*ˈˈ *mə́ra hɛ-màṣyən.*ˈ ‘He said “Can you tell a story that does not end?” She said “Yes, I can.”’ (A36:2)
(15) *šùqli.*ˈ *lá-maṣən díya tanànna.*ˈ ‘Leave me alone. I cannot tell (the story) now.’ (A18:32)
(16) *lá-məṣ* (< *la-ʾaməṣ*) *xónux daréli gu-səndàna.*ˈ ‘Your brother cannot put me in prison.’ (A26:44)
(17) *lá-mṣən ṯ-ásqən xazyànnux.*ˈ ‘I cannot go up and find you.’ (A34:29)
(18) *bábi tə́mməl ʾáyya mðíta xu-kòmta-wawa?*ˈˈ *xázəx ʾədyo hóla xwə̀rta.*ˈ ‘Father, was this town not black yesterday? We see today that it is white.’ (A4:36)

The default time reference of such *qaṭəl* forms is the present. They may also be used in clauses that are dependent on clauses containing past verbs either syntactically or at least in the discourse structure. In such circumstances they have a relative time deixis and refer to the past, e.g.

(19) *ʾan-wə̌zíre gríšela sépa-w qášta-w gèra*ˈ *bə̌yi máxi ṭla-d-an-maymùne.*ˈ ‘The ministers drew their sword as well as their bow and arrow, intending to strike the monkeys.’ (A14:44)
(20) *Mir-Ẓándin qìmɛle*ˈ *bə̌ye qaṭə̀lle.*ˈ ‘Mir-Zandin got up, wanting to kill him.’ (A26:67)
(21) *θéle b-léle xðàra*ˈ *bə̌ye ṯ-áxəl xà-məndi.*ˈ ‘He came at night searching, wishing to eat something.’ (A43:1)
(22) *jírtɛla gu-qàwwa*ˈ *ʾu-yìwtəlle ʾə́lle díye.*ˈ *ŝətyəlle.*ˈ *ʾaw-mìðe.*ˈ ‘She urinated in a pot and gave it to him. He drank it. He did not know.’ (A24:37)

(23) *qəm-šawúqla xa-bóya zòra hátxa,ˈ bás mujárrad šəkwánta másya ṯ-áwra-w pàlṭa.ˈ* ‘He left a small hole like this, through which only an ant could go in and come out.’ (A36:4)

When used to express a temporary state in the actual present or with past time reference the *qaṭəl* forms of these verbs never take the *ʾi-* prefix. The verbs are occasionally used in these contexts in the compound infinitive + copula form, which is the usual form for the expression of progressive action in other verbs (§15.4.2.).

15.1.1.5. *Deontic Future (Irrealis)*

Among the various forms of irrealis expressed by the *qaṭəl* form is deontic modality. In such cases while occurring in a main clause without being subordinated to another verb, it conveys an element of will and expresses various degrees of intention, obligation, request, and permission regarding a future action. In this function the verb in principle has perfective aspect. In most cases it presents the action as a complete event with a start and endpoint. Sometimes it does not have a clearly delimited endpoint, but it must have a start point future to the present moment.

Main clause verbs in the first person used in a deontic function generally express the intention of the speaker, e.g.

(1) *ʾázən ʾóðən qázəd d-àwwa gáppa.ˈ* ‘I shall go and make towards this cave.’ (A39:3)
(2) *ʾána qémən ʾázən ʾùmra.ˈ* ‘I shall go to church.’ (A37:2)
(3) *ʾána har-ṣálən məðìtaˈ méθən ʾixàlaˈ ʾu-ʾàθena.ˈ* ‘I shall just go down to the town to bring food and shall come back.’ (A26:30)

In the verb *ʾmr* ‘to say’ the modality can be interpreted as expressing either intention or a request for permission from the hearer:

(4) *ʾamrənnəx xá-məndi.ˈ* ‘I shall tell you something./Let me tell you something.’ (A4:15)
(5) *ʾamrə́xlux xà-mdi xéna.ˈ* ‘We shall tell you something else./Let us tell you something else.’ (A39:8)

Questions in the *qaṭəl* forms such as (6–9) are deontic expressions whereby the speaker addresses the hearer expecting him to impose an obligation (deontic necessity) or give permission (deontic possibility):

(6) *mó ʾamràna.ʔ*‖ 'What should/can I say?' (A26:33)
(7) *mò ʾawðéna ʾána hadíya.ʔ*‖ 'What should/can I do now?' (A26:13)
(8) *mó ʾàwəð.ʔ*‖ 'What should/can he do?' (A28:20)
(9) *lèka ʾazéxi.ʔ*‖ 'Where should we go?' (A26:18)

Such questions in the 1st person can be transposed into the 3rd person in indirect questions, e.g.

(10) *léðe gu-d-éni kúrsi ʾàtu.*| 'He does not know in which chair he should sit.' (A40:14)
(11) *léði mò ʾáwði.*| 'They do not know what they should do.'

Deontic *qaṭəl* forms in the 2nd and 3rd person express a variety of types of will on the part of the speaker, including request, recommendation and permission, e.g.

(12) *ʾáxtu kúllɛxu ʾazítu bèθa.*| 'All of you should go home.' (A8:85)
(13) *yába hàyyo,*| *ʾaθìtu.*| *čîdetu.*| 'Come, you (are requested to) come. You are invited.' (A7:3)
(14) *ʾámrət ṭla-màlka.*| 'You should say to the king…' (A1:6)
(15) *ʾázət táwrux pɛrmətle.*| 'You should go and slaughter your ox.' (A7:2)
(16) *xúwwe ʾázəl dúke dìye.*| 'Let the snake go to its place.' (A1:8)
(17) *xà-bena ʾázi náše.*| 'People should go (only) once.' (B15:91)
(18) *kút-yom pálṭət ʾu-xàðrət,*| *ʾáṣərta ʾáθət bèθa.*| 'Every day go out and wander about and then in the evening come back home.' (A14:62)
(19) *hàtxa ʾoðéti b-náše!*‖ 'This is what you should do to people!' (A22:47)

This type of deontic *qaṭəl* may occur in indirect speech in a subordinate clause, e.g.

(20) *múr ṭla-xònəx*| *qa-t ʾədyo*| *ʾáwði tàgbir*| *ʾásqi l-ṣèda.*| 'Tell your brother that today they should make a plan to go out hunting.' (A26:43)

The use of the form to express iterative actions as in (18) and (19) above can be accommodated in the interpretation of it as a perfective form, in that the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation.

The various deontic expressions described above can be negated, e.g.

(21) *ʾána là-ʾaθən mánnux.*ˡ ‘I shall not come with you.’ (A6:6)
(22) *là-ʾawrən gu-máθa.*ˡ ‘I shall not go into the village.’ (A25:34)
(23) *là-mṣawθət!*ˡ ‘Do not speak!’ (A26:89)
(24) *là-daqrət bíye.*ˡ ‘Do not touch him.’ (A26:74)
(25) *la-ʾáθət ṯ-áwðət čù-məndi.*ˡ ‘(There is no requirement for) you to come and do anything.’ (A28:22)
(26) *ʾáp-xa mənnéxu la-ʾàmər:*ˡ *ʾána múθyənna Bə́lbəl Hazàr.*ˡ ‘None of you should say “I have brought back Bəlbəl Hazar.”’ (A8:82)
(27) *ʾáp-xa la-jáwəj mən-gu-ʾAmedìa.*ˡ ‘Let nobody move from Amedia.’ (A25:27)

Deontic *qaṭə́l* forms may be preceded by various preverbal particles:

(i) *xoš*
The particle *xoš* is in origin the imperative of the verb *rxš* ‘to go’. It is most frequently attested with verbs with 3rd person subjects, though it can be used with all persons. Examples:

(28) *ʾu-béθux xoš-ʾàqəðˡ* ‘and may your house burn down.’ (A17:6)
(29) *xoš-ʾáθa ʾàp-annaˡ* ‘Let them also come back.’ (B8:4)
(30) *bas-ʾéni t-xzéla ʾày xoš-ʾáza gu-jahànnam.*ˡ ‘But let my eye, which saw her, go to hell.’ (A16:2)
(31) *ku-mándi bə́yi xoš-ʾòði.*ˡ ‘Let them do whatever they want.’ (A14:46)
(32) *xoš-ʾáwər ʾu-ʾáxəl ʾu-šáte gu-pərdèsa-wˡ* ‘Let him enter and eat and drink in Paradise.’ (A2:8)
(33) *kúlla xoš-dàmxi.*ˡ ‘Let everybody sleep.’ (A14:56)
(34) *ʾáxči xoš-qàyəmˡ xazyánne xàmša daqíqe.*ˡ ‘Let him rise for me to see him for only five minutes.’ (A4:49)
(35) *suràyeˡ xoš-ʾámrəx ʾánna ʾùrze,*ˡ *xà b-nošéyˡ ʾu-ʾi-zamríwa ràwe.*ˡ ‘The Christians, let’s say the men, by themselves, would sit in a reception room and sing *rawe*.’ (B15:75)

It is placed before the negative particle *la* in negative deontic expressions, e.g.

(36) *xóš la-ʾàθe!*ˡ ‘Let him not come!’

(ii) *də-, de-*
The particle *də-/de-* may be related to the adverbial particle *diya* ‘now’. It is more frequently attested as a prefix to imperative forms than to deontic *qaṭə́l* forms.

(37) *də-mjăməxlən jarrèta.*| *ʾázəx xá-mdita xèta.*| 'Let's put together a food-bag for ourselves. Let's go to another town.' (A30:41)
(38) *ʾu-ʾáti də-ráqðət šɛšátla gànəx.*| 'You should dance and shake yourself.' (A27:11)

It may be used in deontic questions such as (39), in which the speaker addresses the hearer expecting him to impose an obligation or give permission:

(39) *de-maxəxle?*|| 'Should we beat him?' (A14:8)

It is placed before the negative particle *la* in negated deontic expressions, e.g.

(40) *ʾáti də-la-dàmxeti!*|| 'Do not sleep!' (A29:19)
(41) *ʾámər ham-ma-yxàləf,*| *ʿAbda-Raḥmắn də-la-ʾàrəq.*| 'He said "That's all right, (only) don't let ʿAbda-Raḥmān get away."' (A23:30)
(42) *ʾálaha də-là-ʾawəð!*|| 'God forfend!' (A27:37)

The particle may be combined with *xoš*, e.g.

(43) *də-xoš-gàwra.*| 'Let her marry.' (A26:79)

(iii) *šut*
As with the other particles, this occurs in both positive and negative deontic expressions, e.g.

(44) *ʾən-maṣya šut-ʾoðala.* 'If she can, let her do it.' (C1:11)
(45) *šút la-ʾàθe!*|| 'Let him not come!'

15.1.1.6. *Predictive Future (Irrealis)*
The *qaṭəl* is used to predict a future event. In class A verbs that are not negated this is restricted to predictions that the speaker is not completely certain about and that he is not guaranteeing will be fulfilled. This can be designated as a modal future, e.g.

(1) *bálki ʾàθya.*| 'Perhaps she will come.' (A8:49)
(2) *bálki ʾáθe xa-yóma ʾɛ-bráta kɛ̀rba mánni.*| 'Perhaps a day will come when that girl will be angry with me.' (A14:98)

(3) *ʾàp-təmməl ʾáxləx mánna.*ˡ ‘We may (perhaps) eat them also tomorrow.’ (A2:2)
(4) *qa-mò ʾóðət ʾatxa-šùla?*ˡ ‘Why would you do this thing?’ (A8:17)

The form is perfective, since it presents actions delimited with a start and end point or at least with a start point. The form may also express iterative aspect. In this context the form can still be interpreted as perfective, in that the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation, e.g.

(5) *bálki ʾáθe kùt-yum*ˡ ‘Perhaps he will come everyday.’

Non-modal future verbs, by which the speaker asserts that something will take place and is committed to the truth of this assertion, are expressed by the *bəd-qaṭəl* form with the prefixed future particle (cf. §15.1.5.). When negated, however, the *qaṭəl* form in group A verbs is used to express both the modal predictive future, where the action is uncertain (6–7), and also the non-modal future, which predict events that the speaker is certain will take place (8–10), e.g.

(6) *bálki lá-ʾawðən xàbrux.*ˡ ‘Perhaps I shall not do as you say.’ (A21:43)
(7) *dàx la-yăðənne?*ˡ ‘How could I not know?’ (A14:90)
(8) *ʾáti xúwwe là ʾaxálləx.*ˡ ‘The snake will not eat you.’ (A24:39)
(9) *málla ṯ̂-axálla ʾaw-lá-ʾaxəl čú-mdi sab-rùtɛla.*ˡ ‘The mullah will eat it and he will eat nothing because it is Friday.’ (A2:4)
(10) *qázi ṯ̂-awádla ṭlàlux,*ˡ *lá-ʾawədla ṭlàli.*ˡ ‘The judge will make a decision in your favour, he will not make it in my favour.’ (A6:8)

In class B verbs the *qaṭəl* form is used to express the modal and non-modal future in both positive and negated clauses, e.g.

(11) *qaṭlənnux.*ˡ ‘I shall kill you.’ (A15:4)
(12) *ʾàna maθyánne.*ˡ ‘I shall bring her back.’ (A27:30)
(13) *bálki qàrmən.*ˡ ‘Perhaps I shall win.’ (A1:4)
(14) *brátət màlka*ˡ *pálṭa l-gàre.*ˡ ‘The daughter of the king will come out onto the roof.’ (A27:11)
(15) *ʾaw-máyəθ ʾu-ʾùpra páyəš bíyi.*ˡ ‘He will die and his land will remain for me.’ (A26:25)
(16) *ʾo-Mar-Mùše*ˡ *xɛlànɛle,*ˡ *maxèlɛxu.*ˡ ‘Saint Muše is strong. He will strike you.’ (B18:7)

When expressing the future, the *qaṭəl* form may have its deictic centre in the past, as is the case with (17) where it occurs in the context of a past narrative:

(17) *hádəx m-bar-t-gwìrra,*| *ʾaláha qəm-yawə́lla xa-bròna.*| *ʾìma?*‖ *ʾé-šetət mèθi.*| *ʾé-šetət méθi qəm-yawə́lla xa-bróna zòra.*| 'So, after they married, God gave them a son. When? The year they would die. The year they would die, He gave them a small son.' (A4:57)

15.1.1.7. *Conditional Constructions (Irrealis)*
The *qaṭəl* form is used in the protasis of conditional sentences referring to present or future time, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-ʾána ʾamrónnux módile xázya málka b-xèlme,*| *ʾánna ʾálpa dáwe pằlətla,*| *pálga ṭlàli*| *pálga ṭlàlux?*‖ 'If I tell you what the king saw in his dream, will you divide those thousand gold pieces, half for me and half for you?' (A1:6)
(2) *bas-ʾə́n ʾáθya xá-baxta nabláli qa-kut-t-bằya,*| *yən-qa-xóna dìya,*| *ʾána bṯ-azàna.*| 'But, if a woman comes to take me to anyone she wants, or to her brother, I shall go.' (A8:78)
(3) *ʾən-lá-ʾoðət b-xábrət ʾalàha,*| *b-talqèti.*| 'If you do not do the word of God, you will be obliterated.' (A8:97)
(4) *ʾən-lá-ʾazən mšàyðən.*| 'If I do not go, he will go mad.' (A4:27)

The *qaṭəl* form occurs in the apodosis when there is a degree of uncertainty concerning the occurrence of the situation. This is attested in contexts where two possible alternative situations are referred to, e.g.

(5) *ʾən-íle mìθa,*| *gắrəg mèθən.*| *ʾu-ʾən-ʾàθe*| *ʾáθyən mànne.*| 'If he is dead, I must die. If he comes back, I shall come back with him.' (A8:61)
(6) *ʾən-ʾóðət xàbri,*| *ʾòðət.*| *ʾən-lá ʾòðət,*| *kliθà-llux-ila.*| 'If you do as I say, you will do so (so be it). If you do not do so, it is up to you.' (A8:44)

15.1.1.8. *Irrealis Complement Clauses*
The *qaṭəl* form occurs in subordinate clauses that are complements of various verbs and expressions when the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is as yet unrealized. It is used after verbs expressing desire and permission (e.g. *by* 'to want', *šwq, qbl* 'to permit'), and also in complements of various other verbs and predications where the action is as yet unrealized relative to the main clause. The *qaṭəl* form in the subordinate

clause expresses perfective aspect, in that it presents the action as an event with start and endpoint or at least one that is delimited by a start point future to the present moment. It may also be used to denote an iterative activity. In this function it is still perfective, since the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation.

The verb of such subordinate clauses is sometimes introduced by the subordinating particle *D*. This particle is, however, often omitted. Its omission is particularly common after the verb *by* 'to want', e.g.

(1) *ʾáp-ʾana bə̆yən ʾàzən.*ˡ 'I also want to go.' (A1:5)
(2) *bə̆yən ʾamrənnəx.*ˡ 'I want to tell you.' (A4:41)
(3) *bə̆ye ʾáθe xazèlux.*ˡ 'He wants to come and see you.' (A4:24)
(4) *ʾána bə̆yən mənnəxˡ ʾàwwa xóniˡ ʾoðátle xá-ga xéta mădəṛátle nášma dìye.*ˡ 'I want you to make my brother (alive) again and return his breath to him.' (A8:80)
(5) *bə̆yəx xá-məndi gu-tə̆ra qablítula.*ˡ 'We want you to pledge her something on the doorstep.' (B10:36)

On some occasions, the particle occurs before the verb of the complement clause, e.g.

(6) *bə̆yən ṯ̂-àzən.*ˡ 'I want to go.' (A8:65)
(7) *bə̆yən ʾálaha t-yawálli móndi zàwda.*ˡ 'I want God to give me something more.' (A3:1)

Examples with other verbs:

(8) *ʾáp-xa la-qáblət ṯ̂-áwər gu-bèθa.*ˡ 'You should not allow anybody to come into the house.' (A23:25)
(9) *də-šúqlən dàmxəx.*ˡ 'Allow us to us sleep.' (A15:8)
(10) *ʾu-hálle ṣàle,*ˡ *šámaṭ qðále dìye.*ˡ 'Let him go down (the mountain) and break his neck.' (A15:13)
(11) *léle ṣbára ṯ̂-áwər xà.*ˡ 'Nobody dares enter.' (A32:32)
(12) *ʾo-t-léle plíxa là sápər ṯ̂-áxəl.*ˡ 'Whoever has not worked should not expect to eat.' (A21:15)

The negative particle *la* is sometimes used in clauses that are the complement of the verb *zdʾ* 'to fear', reflecting a negative deontic dimension to the situation, e.g.

(13) *hon-zála réšə d-ò gášra,*| *ʾína ràba zdáʾa*| *t-là-naplən gu-d-a-yáma.*| 'I went over the bridge, fearing greatly that I would fall into the sea (= wishing that I would not fall).' (A11:7)

The *qaṭəl* form occurs in complements of expressions of obligation consisting of the impersonal forms *gărəg, lazəm, băye* ('it is necessary'), the former of these being the most common one. The complement clause is not introduced by the particle *D*, e.g.

(14) *gărəg ʾàmrəx.*| 'We must say.' (A4:38)
(15) *gărəg ʾàθət.*| 'You must come.' (A7:9)
(16) *gărəg ʾázi bēθ-be-xàtna.*| 'They must go to the house of the groom.' (B5:36)
(17) *gărəg rába ʾáxlət xàm.*| 'You have to be very careful.' (B5:105)
(18) *bēl-šə́dla l-šə̂dla*| *gărəg mátteti xa-xamšá ʾaqlàθa.*| 'Between the saplings you must leave about five steps.' (B5:103)
(19) *lázəm ʾaxlənne.*| 'I must eat him.' (A47:5)
(20) *hadíya bắye mpalṭə̀tle.*| 'Now you must take him out.' (A26:77)

The negative particle is placed before the verb in the complement clause, e.g.

(21) *gărəg là-ʾamrət hátxa.*| 'You must not say that.' (A18:10)

The *qaṭəl* form occurs in complements of the verb *mṣy* 'to be able' and also of various other expressions denoting possibility (or lack of it). The particle *D* is used in these constructions, though not consistently, e.g.

(22) *máṣəx ṯ-àmrəx.*| 'We can say.' (B4:3)
(23) *máṣəx ʾàmrəx.*| 'We can say.' (B15:16)
(24) *máṣi mṭàli gáwa.*| 'They can play in it.' (B11:30)
(25) *har-là-mṣən ṯ-amránnux.*| 'I just cannot tell you.' (A11:2)
(26) *ʾáp-xa lélle mṣáya ʾɛ-šărəṭ ṯ-awədla.*| 'Nobody can fulfil the condition.' (A25:70)
(27) *ʾána bi-zóda m-hódəx là-maṣən ʾoðánnux*| *čù məndí.*| 'I cannot do anything more for you than that.' (A8:44)
(28) *lax mṣáya ʾázəx ʾamrə̀xla.*| 'We cannot go and tell her.' (A4:39)
(29) *le-y-bárya ʾáyya ʾo-šúla ʾoðə̀xle.*| 'It is not possible for us to do this thing.' (A8:10)
(30) *lá-hoya yóma qamáya xátna t-xazéla kʷàlo.*| 'On the first day it is not possible for the groom to see the bride.' (A4:36)

15.1.1.9. *Irrealis Clauses Introduced by Prepositions*
The *qaṭəl* form is sometimes used in a clause introduced by the prepositional phrases *qam* 'before', *ha-t, hal ʾɛ-gət, ta* 'until' or *t-la* 'without', which refer to an event that has not yet taken place from the perspective of the verb in the main clause, e.g.

(1) *qam-t̰-àθi*ˈ *mpáləṭle mən-hàbsa.*ˈ 'Before they return, release him from prison.' (A26:72)
(2) *qám t-qáre ʾax-dìga,*ˈ *šáqlət mən-d-ó ʾixàla.*ˈ 'Before it calls out like a cock, take some of the food.' (A24:16)
(3) *qam-máṭe šéta ʾúmre dìye,*ˈ *ʾi-nablíle l-ʾùmra.*ˈ 'Before he reaches a year in age, they take him to the church.' (B6:35)
(4) *wúr gu-d-áwwa bɛ̀θa,*ˈ *ʧ́úmle taw̌ra bàrux*ˈ *… ha-t-gáwṛi ʾàzəl.*ˈ 'Go into this room and close the door behind you … until my husband goes.' (A22:26)
(5) *ya-ʾàlaha,*ˈ *háwe ṣáxi hál-ʾɛ-gət ʾána mátyən ʾálle dìye.*ˈ 'Oh God, let him be well until I reach him.' (A26:80)
(6) *mára də-klìgən!*ˈ *pàlṭən m-gáwe.*ˈ *máre là*ˈ *ta-t̰-óðən qápəx ʾàp ṭla-réšəx,*ˈ *baʿdɛ̀n pàlṭət.*ˈ 'She said "Stop! I (want to) get out of it." He said "No, not until I make a lid also for your head, then you come out."' (A20:3)
(7) *ʾu-màsta*ˈ *ʾáxlət mánna qrúšta díya t-la-xàrwa.*ˈ 'You should eat the yoghurt without the crust being spoilt.' (A30:5)
(8) *Qaṭina xətnɛ́le t-la-mbarxile.* 'Qaṭina is a groom without being wed.' (A50:15)

15.1.1.10. *Purpose Clauses (Irrealis)*
The *qaṭəl* form is used in clauses expressing purpose. These clauses are sometimes introduced simply by the particle *D.* In many cases, however, this is combined with the particles *qa* or *ta*, e.g.

(1) *ʾána paqðənnɛ́xu*ˈ *t̰-azítu b-ʾúrxa maṭítu ʾəlla.*ˈ 'I shall instruct you so that you go on the road and reach her.' (A8:27)
(2) *ʾáti qam-ʾénə d-ánna botanàye*ˈ *mšádərra t̰-ázi méθi xàrje.*ˈ 'Before the eyes of these people of Botan, send them in order to go and collect taxes.' (A26:72)
(3) *xonăwáθi mvằdo mvằdo*ˈ *t-la-ʾazítu b-míya ʾap-àxtu.*ˈ 'My brothers, move out of the way so that you do not go with the water (i.e. so that you are not carried away by the water).' (A39:12)

(4) *xánčı ṯ-amrə́nna qalùlta*ˈ *qa-t-pàrqa.*ˈ ‘I’ll tell it to you quite quickly so that it will finish.’ (A4:5)
(5) *ṣráxɛle qa-t-šə̃̀ma*ˈ *brátət màlka.*ˈ ‘He is shouting so that the daughter of the king hears.’ (A21:16)
(6) *dɛrə́tla sùla líθən*ˈ *qá-t šéta b-šéta biš-mqărə́na tàza.*ˈ ‘You put manure on it, you see, in order that from year to year it grows better.’ (B5:105)
(7) *mšaxnánne ʾixàla*ˈ *ta-ṯ̂-áxləx ʾána-w ʾáti m-ġðàðe.*ˈ ‘I shall heat the food so that you and I may eat together.’ (A22:31)
(8) *mṭamrə́tle spáy ta-t-là dáyəṛ.*ˈ ‘Bury him well so that he does not return.’ (A22:37)
(9) *ʾáwwa ṭéni páyəš nṭìra*ˈ *ta-t-čú-mdi là-ʾaθe bíye dìye.*ˈ ‘This saddle bag will be guarded so that nothing will happen to it.’ (A7:9)
(10) *la qɛ́mən jàlde*ˈ *ta-ṯ̂-óðən pəlxàna*ˈ *ṭla-gàni*ˈ *ta-ṯ̂-àxlən?*ˈ ‘Should I not get up early to work for myself, so that I can eat?’ (A21:19)

Occasionally the *D* particle is elided before the initial consonant of class B verbs, e.g.

(11) *bə̆yánna bìya*ˈ *b-sùsa*ˈ *b-rášən diyéy kùlla,*ˈ *ta-ṣályən maθyànne.*ˈ ‘I want them all with their horse and rations, in order for me to go down to bring him back.’ (A25:75)
(12) *táxtɛla mútte hàtxa*ˈ *ta-ṣáli tàma.*ˈ ‘They have put a board like this in order to go down there.’ (A22:10)

15.1.1.11. *After Particle of Imminent Future* ga-

The element *ga-*, most likely in origin the noun *gaya* ‘time, instance’, takes a verb in the *qaṭə́l* form introduced by the subordinator *D* as its complement to express the imminent future (‘is about to…’), e.g.

(1) *ga-ṯ̂-àθən.*ˈ ‘I am about to come.’

The subordinator *D* is often elided before consonants:

(2) *ga-t-pàrqən*ˈ ~ *ga-pàrqən.*ˈ ‘I am about to finish.’
(3) *ga-t-màṭəx*ˈ ~ *ga-màṭəx.*ˈ ‘We are about to arrive.’

The construction is attested in the text corpus in (4):

(4) *ʾə́θyɛla ʾàrye.*ˈ *ʾəθye,*ˈ *ʾəθye,*ˈ *š-lɛ́wa mə́ṯye ʾəlle-dìye,*ˈ *há há ga-mə́ṯya ṯ̂-axlàle,*ˈ *dáryəlla bòčˇe.*ˈ *dáryəlla bòčˇe,*ˈ *qíme tre-xùre.*ˈ ‘The lions came. They came,

but they had not yet reached him. "Hah, hah" she is about to eat him. So, he cast the seeds. When he cast the seeds, two willow trees grew up.' (A18:26)

15.1.1.12. *Generic Relative Clauses*
The *qaṭəl* form is used in a relative clause that has a non-specific antecedent rather than one referring to a specific referent, e.g.

(1) *ʾalpá-dáwe bəd-yáwəl ṭla-kút ʾamárre mòdile xálme.*ˈ 'I shall give a thousand gold pieces to whomsoever tells me what my dream is.' (A1:12)
(2) *kút ʾásəq qamáya xazéla ʾɛ-dalíθa brìθəll-aniˈ parəmla.*ˈ 'The first one who goes up and sees the vine growing on those (trees) cuts it down.' (A26:91)
(3) *kút-dukθa ʾáza ʾàwraˈ ʾáp ʾayya-xéta bàra lázəm háwya.*ˈ 'Every place that she goes to and enters, the other has to follow after her.' (B12:2)
(4) *ʾan-ṯ̂-óði koðənta,*ˈ *ṯ̂-awéle tùna.*ˈ 'Those who keep (literally: do) mules have hay.' (B5:108)

15.1.1.13. *In Subordinate Clauses with Past Time Reference*
On numerous occasions, the *qaṭəl* form is used in subordinate clauses in the contexts described above also when the main clause contains a past form verb. Such *qaṭəl* forms have past time reference, with their deictic centre in the tense of the main clause, e.g.

(1) *ʾu-bə̆yéwa palə́ṭ-u plìṭle.*ˈ 'He wanted to come out and he did come out.' (A22:45)
(2) *ṣəlyɛleˈ ta-t-ʾázəl ʾùrxa.*ˈ 'He went down to set off on the road.' (A15:5)
(3) *ʾu-tə̆́ra ṭ́íməlle ta-t-lá-ʾawər ʾáp-xa náša gàwa.*ˈ 'They closed the door so that nobody would go into it.' (A23:24)
(4) *qímtɛla šqíltɛla xa-bròna*ˈ *ʾu-nobàltəlle*ˈ *ta-ṯ̂-axlàle.*ˈ 'She got up and took a son (of hers) and took him in order for her to eat him.' (A19:3)
(5) *ʾu-síqle ta-ṯ̂-áxəl màndi.*ˈ 'He went up to eat something.' (A21:8)
(6) *ʾáy wela-ʾá-bráta xarɛ́θət mṭúmra gu-Dùre,*ˈ *qam-maqimìlən.*ˈ 'That was the last girl to be buried in Dure before they evacuated us.' (B1:12)
(7) *ʾu-zílela ha-ṯ̂-ázi máti l-ʾáθrət… d-áw… bábə d-a-bràta.*ˈ 'They travelled until they reached the land of the girl's father.' (A29:36)

15.1.2. qaṭəlwa

The *qaṭəlwa* form, with the past verbal affix *-wa*, always has past time reference. It has both realis and irrealis functions.

15.1.2.1. *Narrative Past (Realis)*

In a few cases the *qaṭəlwa* form is used in narrative perfectively to express an event in the past. The clauses in which it occurs can be interpreted as having a background function, preliminary to an ensuing foreground section of the narrative. In (1), for example, the event of the woman going to church and her kidnap by Arab horsemen is part of the preliminary section of the narrative, which sets the scene for the following foregrounded events. In (2) the event of the baby Leliθa going out to eat a child is presented as the setting for the following foregrounded scene in which the people of the village come to the king in panic. In (3) the main prominence in the speaker's narration of events is on the reaction of the other man to the speaker's blows, the act of the speaker striking him being preliminary to this. Similarly in (4) the main prominence is given to the event resulting form the Leliθa's biting of the man's leg:

(1) *ʾazáwa ʾúmra qa-t-qarwàwa,*ˈ *dášta ṃaḷyáwa rakáwe ʾarabàye.*ˈ 'She went to church to take communion and the plain filled with Arab horsemen.' (A37:2)

(2) *gu-dargúšta qɛmàwa,*ˈ *šaryáwa bănúda dìya*ˈ *ʾu-ʾazáwa gu-màθa,*ˈ *ʾaxláwa xa-bròna,*ˈ *ʾaθyàwa,*ˈ *damxàwa.*ˈ *ʾáp-xa lè-y-yăðewa bíya díya.*ˈ *y-aθɛ́wa škáya qa-màlka.*ˈ *málka ṯ-áwət basìma,*ˈ *ʾáyya mut-máθɛla?*ˌˈ *ʾánna mut-ḥàrs-it mat-tóye?*ˌˈ *bróni hóle xíla ʾədlèle,*ˈ *gu-dargúšta dmìxa.*ˈ 'She (the baby Leliθa) stood up in the cradle, untied her bands, went into the village, ate a child, then came back and went to sleep. Nobody knew about her. They came (repeatedly) to complain to the king. "King, may you be healthy, what kind of village is this? What kind of guard are you appointing? My son was eaten tonight while asleep in his cradle."' (A18:1)

(3) *maxánwale sɛ́pa gu-xàṣe.*ˈ *yáha máre mù-mxelux gu-xáṣi.*ˈ *tabzìya qítla bíyux.*ˈ *maxánwale rúmxi ʾɔ́lle dìye*ˈ *mù-qítle bíyi?*ˌˈ 'I struck a sword on his back and he said "What did you strike on my back", (I said) "A rosary has hit you". I struck my spear into him (and he said) "What has hit me?"' (A12:20)

(4) *xá-ʾaqle ʾaxlàwale,*ˈ *qə́ṭma kúlle ṣléle gu-páθa dìya.*ˈ 'She (the Leliθa) bit (literally: ate) one of his legs and the ash all fell into her face.' (A18:23)

This perfective narrative use of the *qaṭəlwa* form can be regarded as standing in a relationship to the narrative *qaṭəl* form (§15.1.1.1.) that is similar to the relationship of *qṭilwale* to *qṭille* in narrative (§15.2.2.). In both cases the form of the pair with the explicit marking of the past with the *-wa* particle denotes a prior event that is off the line of the main narrative foreground. Although the form *qaṭəlwa* when used in this function may in some cases be felicitously translated by the English pluperfect (e.g. 'She had gone to church…) , it is important to note that it expresses an event and not a resultant state. Any resultant state is only an implicature not a component of its meaning. When the speaker wishes to express a resultant state directly, the compound construction consisting of the resultative participle and the past copula is used (§15.4.1.).

15.1.2.2. *Past Habitual (Realis)*
The *qaṭəlwa* form is occasionally used with class A verbs to refer to habitual actions in the past, expressing an imperfective aspect in the past indicative, though in the majority of cases the past habitual of this class of verb is expressed by the *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form with the *ʾi-* prefix. Examples from the text corpus in main and subordinate clauses include the following:

(1) *kút-yum ʾazáwa l-ṭúra maθyáwa ða-kértə qésa l-xáṣa dìya.*ˈ 'Everyday she would go to the mountains and bring a bundle of wood on her back.' (A10:6)
(2) *tǔtun-žigən*ˈ *zărìwala*ˈ *ʾánna xaqlàθa*ˈ *zăríwala kùlla.*ˈ *ʾawðíwala zrùta.*ˈ 'They would cultivate tobacco. They would plough all the fields and make them into ploughed land.' (B7:10)
(3) *ʾasṛíwala dàsta.*ˈ 'They would bind it (the tobacco) in bundles.' (B7:16)
(4) *mən-ʾəmmàyət šánne*ˈ *duxránət Mar-Sáwət ʾoðìwale*ˈ *ʾíwa təltássər b-ʾəčča.*ˈ 'For hundreds of years the memorial of Saint Sawa which they observed was on the thirteenth of September.' (B15:92)
(5) *ʾína bušála t-ʾoðáxwala ṭlàlən,*ˈ *xánči miyànta,*ˈ *la-ràba.*ˈ 'But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was somewhat watery, though not too much.' (B10:17)
(6) *ʾimət-ʾaθíwa barzanáye kəsle,*ˈ *y-ámər*… 'When the people of Barzan came to him, he would said…' (B19:1)

In class B verbs the *qaṭəlwa* form without the prefix is very frequently used to express past habitual action, e.g.

(7) *bašlíwa rəzza.*ˈ *bašlíwa šorba.*ˈ 'They would cook rice. They would cook soup.' (B7:3)
(8) *qɛmíwa mṭalìwa,*ˈ *raqðìwa,*ˈ *zamrìwa.*ˈ 'They would get up and play, dance and sing.' (B7:4)
(9) *ʾan-šədle*ˈ *šalxìwala mən-táma*ˈ *maxéwala gu-məššàra.*ˈ 'They would uproot the seedlings from that place and plant them in the paddy field.' (B7:11)
(10) *béna halbát mɛθéwa štèθa-w,*ˈ *yáʿni ʾărraq,*ˈ *ʾu-m-xàmra-w*ˈ *zamrìwa-w*ˈ *xamlìwa.*ˈ 'Then they would, of course, bring drink, arak together with wine, and they would sing and enjoy themselves.' (B5:62)
(11) *kút-xa šáqəlwa xákma xəzmān-dìye,*ˈ *masə́qla kəsle-díye ṭla-fṭàrta.*ˈ 'Each person would take some of his relatives and take them up to his home for breakfast.' (B5:60)

The form may be used also to express iterative action that took place over a short interval of time, e.g.

(12) *máre ʾána bắyən Səttìye.*ˈ *ʾáy biš-šapìrtɛla Səttíye*ˈ *ʾu-dɛréwa képe hátxa biyèni.*ˈ 'He said "I love Səttiye. Səttiye is the most beautiful" and threw stones (repeatedly) at us.' (A25:20)
(13) *xà-gaya,*ˈ *daríwa xà-fəlsa.*ˈ *ʾɛnéy yawíwala l-ṭùra*ˈ *ʾu-xaṣéy ʾəl-gàrra.*ˈ 'On one occcasion they were throwing a coin (repeatedly). They turned their eyes to the mountain and their backs to the pool.' (B15:33)

15.1.2.3. *Continuous Situation in the Past*

We have seen in §15.1.1.4. that a small set of verbs denoting mental processes or states are used in the *qaṭə́l* form to express a situation that holds in the actual present but is not necessarily a habitual property of the subject. When such verbs are used in the *qaṭə́lwa* form, they may denote, accordingly, a continuous situation at a particular period in the past rather than a habitual property of the subject, e.g.

(1) *ʾu-bắyéwa palə́ṭ-u plìṭle.*ˈ 'He wanted to come out and he came out' (A22:45)
(2) *ʾap-qtála bắyə́nwa qaṭlə̀nwale.*ˈ 'I even wanted to to kill him.' (A1:17)
(3) *ʾáyya Čəlkắze Bắdal Sahàre*ˈ *yăðàwa*ˈ *ʾáwwa hóle θàya.*ˈ 'This Čəlkăze Bădal Sahare knew that he was coming.' (A12:33)

The *qaṭəlwa* form is used with these verbs also to express a habitual situation, e.g.

(4) *ʾu-mdi băyəxwa zaqrəxwa ʾàxni.* 'Whatever we wanted we used to knit.' (B10:46)
(5) *yăðíwa mo-qádra dɛrèwa.* 'They knew how much (soil) to put on.' (B5:191)

15.1.2.4. *Conditional Constructions*

The *qaṭəlwa* form is used in the protasis of conditional constructions. These may refer to real iterative situations in the past (1–3). Alternatively, the *qaṭəlwa* form may be used to refer to a hypothetical condition in the past, which was not fulfilled, or to a hypothetical condition in the present or future, which the speaker assesses to be impossible to fulfil (4–6). Such hypothetical conditions refer to a single event or an iterative event. The verb can be interpreted as expressing perfective aspect, presenting the action as an event delimited by a start and end point, or at least with a start point. In the case of iterative actions, the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation. Verbs expressing mental processes and states such as *by* 'to want' in (3) are exceptions. In main clauses the *qaṭəlwa* form of these verbs are used imperfectively to express a continous situation in the past and this applies also to their usage in the syntactic context under discussion here. Examples:

(1) *ʾu-ʾən-xàčča xáčča xa-béna ʾaryàwa-dunye dɛréwa xáčča tùna, biš-dawùqwa.* 'If it rained, they put down a little straw, so that it was more compact.' (B5:146)
(2) *ʾən-paráqwa ʾÄšwuṭ, ʾáw ʾəsrí-tmanya yomáθa yan-ʾəsrí-ʾəčča yomànɛle, y-azáxwa ṭùra.* 'If February was finished—it is twenty-eight or twenty-nine days long—we would go to the mountains.' (B5:152)
(3) *ʾən-băyáxwa tùma, ṭla-mbašàlta, kèfən-ile.* 'If we wanted (to use) garlic for cooking, it was up to us.' (B10:24)
(4) *ʾən-maxéwala xa-xéna xaθmàwa ṯ-axlàwale.* 'If he had hit another (blow), she would have healed and eaten him.' (A50:14)
(5) *ʾən-maṣéwa ṯ-axàlwala, lèla xamúṣe.* 'If he could have eaten them, (he would not have said that) they were sour.' (A43:4)
(6) *ʾən-maṣànwa, ṯ-aθənwa.* 'If I could, I would come.'

Note the usage of the *qaṭəlwa* form to refer to a hypothetical perfective event in the past that did not actually take place in contexts such as (7)–(10) or a hypothetical condition in the future, which the speaker assesses to be unlikely to take place (11)–(12):

(7) *ʾó-yomət goràwa,*| *ʾə́θyɛle ʾáwwa ʿafrít gnìwəlli.*| 'The day I would have got married, this demon came and stole me away.' (A13:14)
(8) *ʾap-ʾàti*| *m-gə́b ṯ-aθə́twa mə́θətwali zùze,*| *šqíllux xa-šəndòxa.*| 'So you, instead of coming and bringing me money, took a rock.' (A1:25)
(9) *m-ɛ́ka ṭăyənwalux ʾána?*| 'From where could I have sought this for you?' (A30:23)
(10) *ṭúwe t-xazənwale!*| 'If only I had seen him!'
(11) *bas-xáθi Nozáli xazənwala.*| 'If only I could see my sister Nozali.' (A8:57)
(12) *pɛšənwa mevan diya.* '(If only) I could become her guest.' (C2:1)

15.1.2.5. *Other Subordinate Clauses*
The *qaṭəlwa* form is used in the various other types of subordinate clauses that the *qaṭəl* form is used in. It has past tense reference and is dependent, in principle, on a past verb, which may express perfective or imperfective aspect, e.g.

(1) *bắyéwa palə́ṭwa.*| 'He wanted to come out.' (A22:45)
(2) *lá-qabəlwa ʾáxni saxə̀xwa.*| 'He did not allow us to swim.' (A25:20)
(3) *lé y-šawqíwa mṭàlənwa mənnéy.*| 'They did not let me play with them.' (B15:33)
(4) *ràqənwa*| *ta-t-mbašlánwa-w qítli bìyux.*| 'I was running in order to cook and I knocked into you.' (A27:42)
(5) *pɛrmə́xwala qá-t ʾɛ-qálya mbarzə̀xwale.*| 'We would slaughter them in order to dry the fat tail.' (B5:139)
(6) *qam-ṯ-asə́qwa mə́re ṭla-bnàθe.*| 'Before he went up he said to his daughters…' (A26:85)
(7) *ʾi-pɛšíwa yáʿni t-la maṭíwa ʾɛ́kɛle bɛθèy.*| 'Only a few of them remained without arriving at (the place) where their house was.' (B15:44)

On some sporadic occasions the *qaṭəlwa* form is used in a subordinate clause that is dependent on a main clause containing a *qaṭəl* form. In such cases the *qaṭəl* form of the main has past time reference. This is attested in constructions with the verbs *by* 'to want' and *msy* 'to be able' in the main clause, e.g.

(8) *bắye qaṭə̀lwale.*ˈ ‘He wanted to kill it.’ (A10:2)
(9) *lá-bắye ṯ-awə́ðwa lèbe.*ˈ ‘He did not want to play tricks.’ (A29:36)
(10) *ʾu-láxma t-la-qṣáya là-mṣən ṯ-axlánwale.*ˈ ‘I could not eat the bread without breaking it.’ (A30:13)

It is far more common for a *qaṭə́l* form with past time reference to occur in a subordinate clause dependent on a past tense verb (§15.1.1.13.).

15.1.2.6. *After Particle of Imminent Future*
The *qaṭə́lwa* form is used after the particle *ga-* to express imminent future in the past in expressions such as the following:

(1) *ga-ṯ-aθə̀nwa.*ˈ ‘I was about to come.’

15.1.3. ʾi-qaṭə́l

15.1.3.1. *Habitual*
The function of this form is, in principle, to express an imperfective habitual aspect with present tense reference, i.e. the deictic centre of the tense is the time of speaking. The action of the verb is presented as a characteristic and sometimes permanent property of the subject of the clause.

In class A verbs the *ʾi-qaṭə́l* form is regularly used when the speaker wishes to express this type of imperfective aspect, e.g.

(1) *qédamta y-ázi náše l-ʾùmra,*ˈ *y-óði qurbàna.*ˈ ‘In the morning the people go to church and take communion.’ (B6:23)
(2) *xə́ṭṭe y-ázi ðá gòta*ˈ *ʾu-túna y-ázəl ðá gòta.*ˈ ‘The wheat grains go onto one side and the straw goes onto the other.’ (B5:97)
(3) *ʾáyya y-amráxla mămaðta.*ˈ ‘We call this “baptism.”’ (B6:8)
(4) *qam-dàna,*ˈ *y-áxli kawùθra.*ˈ ‘Beforehand they eat lunch.’ (B5:36)
(5) *xàrθa*ˈ *y-aθélɛni ʾèða*ˈ *ʾéðət be-yàlda.*ˈ ‘Then we have a festival (literally: a festival comes to us), the festival of Christmas.’ (B6:12)
(6) *y-asṛíle b-xàwla.*ˈ ‘They tie it with a rope.’ (B6:38)
(7) *y-átwi fáṭri qamàye.*ˈ ‘They sit and have breakfast first.’ (B5:71)
(8) *ʾu-y-ačmíla hátxa qa-t-là-napli m-gáwe díye.*ˈ ‘They close them like this so that they do not fall out.’ (B6:51)

As we have seen (§15.1.1.3.), the present habitual of class B verbs beginning with a strong consonant is often expressed by the *qaṭə́l* form without

the *ʾi-* prefix. Habitual action of verbs of this class is on many occasions also expressed by the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form. The choice of the speaker to use the *qaṭəl* form or the *ʾi-qaṭəl* is not completely random but is motivated to a large extent by differences in discourse prominence. In general the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form tends to be used in clauses denoting situations to which the speaker wishes to draw particular attention in a section of discourse. Consider the following passage:

(9) *[1] ṭəlme*ˈ *ʾíman-t qámxa* ***lɛšíle*** *lɛ̀šaˈ ʾu-*ʾ***i-xə̀me****,*ˈ ***dɛ́rɛ*** *xmíra gáwe* ʾ***i-xə̀me****,*ˈ ʾ***i-mɛ́θi*** *sèla.*ˈ *sèla*ˈ *pràzlɛle.*ˈ *ʾáw dax-ṭ-ámrəx ʾax-ṣinìyele*ˈ *bas-gòṛa.*ˈ ʾ***i-mattíle*** *š-kèpe,*ˈ *xóθe díye y-óði nùra.*ˈ *ʾo-séla* ʾ***i-xàyəm****.*ˈ *[2]* ***šáqli*** *lɛ̀ša,*ˈ ***mattíle*** *š-xá párša pṭòxa,*ˈ *š-xa-mɛ́z hátxa pṭòxa.*ˈ *xa-qèsa*ˈ *glòla*ˈ ʾ***i-zɛpíle*** *rèše díye,*ˈ ***nablíle*** *ʾu-****mɛθɛ́le*** *hàl-ɛ-gət* ***páyəš*** *raqíqa.*ˈ *ʾó-lɛša* ***páyəš*** *raqíqa ràba.*ˈ *[3]* ʾ***i-šaqlíle*** *b-gʸèra,*ˈ *yáʿni xa-qèsa,*ˈ *ʾu-****dɛrɛ́le*** *rəš-d-ó-sela ṭ-íle núra xóθe xamìma.*ˈ ʾ***i-bàšəl****.*ˈ ʾ***i-bàšəl****.*ˈ ***maxəðríle*** *xá-ga l-ày-gota,*ˈ *xá-ga l-ày-gota,*ˈ *hal-d-é-gət* ***bàšla****.*ˈ *ʾáwwa y-ámrile ṭəlme,*ˈ *ṭləmθa.*ˈ

> ‘*Ṭəlme*: When they knead the dough and it rises, they put yeast in it and it rises, they bring a griddle. The griddle is made of iron. We could say that it is like a tray, but bigger. They put it on stones and make a fire under it. The griddle becomes hot. They take the dough and put it on a wide stone, on a wide table like this. They push a round stick of wood on it, moving back and forth, until it becomes thin. The dough becomes very thin. They take it with a rolling pin, that is a stick of wood, and put it on the hot griddle with fire under it and it cooks. It cooks, they turn it on one side and on the other, until it cooks. They call this *ṭəlme*, *ṭləmθa* (sing.).’ (B6:45–47)

This passage contains a description of the various actions that are undertaken and events that take place in the preparation of the flat breads known as *ṭəlme*. Both *qaṭəl* and *ʾi-qaṭəl* forms of class B verbs are used to express these actions and events (marked in bold). The clauses containing the *ʾi-qaṭəl* forms can be interpreted as denoting the ones that the speaker is inviting the hearer to pay particular attention to.

In section [1] of the passage all class B verbs are in the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form except *lɛšíle* and *dɛ́rɛ*. In the preparation of the dough, its rising (*ʾi-xə̆me*) is presented as the crucial event that will allow the process of baking to advance. This importance is expressed also by the repetition of the verb. The kneading (*lɛšíle*) and adding of yeast (*dɛ́rɛ xmíra gáwe*) are auxiliary

activities. The bringing onto the scene of a griddle (*ʾi-méθi sèla*) and the activities associated with setting it up (*ʾi-mattíle š-kèpe*, *ʾi-xàyəm*) are presented as noteworthy features of the preparation of this type of bread.

In section [2] only the verb in the phrase *xa-qèsa*ˈ *glòla*ˈ *ʾi-zɛpíle rèše díye*ˈ ('They push a round stick of wood on it') is in the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form. This is being presented as the central and most noteworthy activity in this section. The taking of the dough and placing it on a flat surface are preparatory to this. The description of the moving of the stick back and forth until the dough becomes thin is an elaboration of the central activity.

In [3] the activity of using the rolling-pin (*gʸera*), which is a noteworthy referent that is here newly introduced into the discourse, is expressed by a *ʾi-qaṭəl* form (*ʾi-šaqlíle*). The *ʾi-qaṭəl* form is used also to express the event of cooking, which is the climax of the preparation of the bread (*ʾi-bàšəl*). This event is given additional prominence by repeating the mention of it. The acts of putting the dough on the griddle and the turning the dough over on the griddle, which are expressed by *qaṭəl* forms, are preparatory to this event.

Some further examples are the following:

(10) *ʾáni xə́ṭṭe huwèdi sáma zóda*ˈ ***ʾi-zə̆ríla*** *t-là maštóye*,ˈ *y-amrə́xxa dèmi.*ˈ *ʾáni* ***zə̆ri*** *gu-ṭùra.*ˈ 'The *huwedi* wheat they generally sow without irrigation, they call it "unirrigated" (*demi*). They sow it in the mountains.' (B5:94)

(11) *ʾən-ʾíθ pàwxa*,ˈ ***ʾi-marmíle*** *gu-hàwa.*ˈ *xáṭṭe y-ázi ðá gòta*ˈ *ʾu-túna y-ázəl ðá gòta.*ˈ ***párši*** *m-ġðàðe.*ˈ 'If there is wind, they raise it in the air. The wheat grains go onto one side and the straw goes onto the other. They separate.' (B5:97)

(12) ***ʾi-doqíla*** *šàna.*ˈ *ʾu-sulámməš* ***doqíle*** *lóši xa-jùlla*ˈ *qa-t-lá nɛsìla-w*ˈ *ʾu-****dɛ́rɛ*** *gu-ʾamàna*,ˈ ***garšíle*** *níxa nìxa-w.*ˈ 'They (the beekeepers) would take hold of the honeycomb. They would hold the hive whilst wearing a cloth so that the bees would not sting them. They put it into a vessel and took it way slowly.' (B5:178)

These consist of series of clauses containing both realis *qaṭəl* and *ʾi-qaṭəl* forms of class B verbs. The *ʾi-qaṭəl* forms can be interpreted as occurring in the clauses to which the speaker wishes to draw particular attention, whereas the *qaṭəl* forms are ancillary to these. In (10) the main point the speaker is making is that *huwedi* wheat is cultivated without irrigation. The statement that they sow it in the mountains is an elaboration to this central point. In (11) the raising (*ʾi-marmíle*) of the threshed harvest

in the air is a central activity of the process of winnowing that is here newly introduced into the discourse and is of high information value. The clause with the *qaṭəl* form 'They separate' (*párši*), on the other hand, is an elaborative repetition of the preceding statement that 'The wheat grains go onto one side and the straw goes onto the other'. In (12) the key activity that the speaker draws attention to is the taking hold of the honeycomb (*ʾi-doqíla*). The following clauses containing *qaṭəl* forms offer a supplementary elaboration on the details of this activity.

The *ʾi-qaṭəl* form may be used to express imperfective habitual actions in the past. This is found where there is a past tense verb in the adjacent context expressing an action that is closely connected, either syntactically or on a discourse level, with that of the *ʾi-qaṭəl* verb. The *ʾi-qaṭəl* verb takes the tense of the past verb as its deictic centre. In most cases the *ʾi-qaṭəl* verb occurs in a clause that follows the clause(s) containing a past tense verbs, e.g:

(13) *kut-qedàmta*ˈ *xadámta d-ɛ-bráta mɛθyáwala čày*ˈ *ʾu-ṭàmta,*ˈ *ʾu-y-àsqa.*ˈ 'Every morning the servant of that girl brought her tea and breakfast, then would go back.' (A4:50)

(14) *zonìwala,*ˈ *xálət xàtnɛle.*ˈ *zabə́nwa ʾilàna,*ˈ *b-é-ga náše xéne ʾi-zòni.*ˈ 'They would buy it—it was the uncle of the groom (who bought it first). He would sell the tree. Then other people would buy it.' (B10:28)

(15) *y-azə́lwa l-bèθa-w*ˈ *y-ámər čìdetu.*ˈ 'He would go to the house and say "You are invited."' (B5:22)

(16) *ʾu-bár mtămə́zíwale rəzza,*ˈ *béna níxa nìxa,*ˈ *hál qayəmwa.*ˈ *ʾíθwale xà-yarxa,*ˈ *trè-yarxe hatxáne,*ˈ *ṭ̬làθa,*ˈ *béna ʾi-sàməq.*ˈ 'After they cleaned the rice, …(they did this) until it gradually grew. It took one month, two or three and then it would become brown.' (B5:79)

The past tense verb occasionally follows the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form. This is found where the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form and the past tense verb form a particularly closely knit unit, as in (17), where the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form is a verb of movement:

(17) *ʾúrza y-áθe y-asə̀ṛwale.*ˈ 'Another man would come and tie it up.' (B5:85)

15.1.3.2. *Persistent Situation*

Verbs of non-dynamic actionality from the set listed in §15.1.1.4., which are used in the *qaṭəl* form when expressing the actual present, may be used

in the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form to express the temporal persistence of a situation. The situation is not a permanent, habitual property of the subject referent. This construction is found where the verb is modified by the particle *har* 'still' in which the speaker asserts the persistence a situation where there is some expectation that it will not persist, e.g.

(1) *har-xáθe ʾi-bă̈yela.*[1] 'He still loves his sister.' (A18:16)

The motivation for using the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form rather than the *qaṭəl* form would, therefore, again be to draw particular attention to the situation, in this case due to its unexpectedness.

15.1.3.3. *Narrative Present*

The *ʾi-qaṭəl* form is used on a few sporadic occasions as a narrative present referring to a single specific event and not a repeated habitual action. This is only attested in the text corpus with the verb *ʾmr*. The normal form of expressing the perfective narrative present is by the *qaṭəl* form without the *ʾi-* prefix (§15.1.1.1.). Examples:

(1) *plíṭla šamála šéve lhàya.*[1] *y-ámər bàbi,*[1] *bràti,*[1] *ʾáyya dŭ̈s-ila.*[1] 'She came out glowing like a night candle. He said "My dear, my girl, it is true."' (A38:14)
(2) *y-ámər ya-ʾàlaha,*[1] *qa-mòt hátxa wáða bíyi?*[1] 'He said "Oh God, why have you done this to me?"' (A25:42)
(3) *kúlla musə̀qle.*[1] *béna y-ámər Tóma:* 'He took it all up. Then Toma said…' (A52:25)

This perfective use of *y-amər* cannot be reconciled with the basic habitual function of the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form in all other contexts. A possible explanation is that this usage of *y-amər* is an archaism, preserving a vestige of an earlier function of *ʾi-qaṭəl*. It is likely that the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form originally had a progressive function.[1] The form *y-amər* could, therefore, be survival of the progressive used as a narrative present. The new progressive form based on the infinitive, which has supplanted the progressive use of the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form in the present state of the dialect, is sometimes used with this narrative function (§15.4.2.3.). It is relevant to note that the verb *ʾmr* 'to say' exhibits another conservative feature in narrative, in that it is regu-

[1] Cf. Khan (2007b).

larly used in the *qṭille* form to express the preterite and is in principle not used in the narrative resultative form *qṭilɛle* (§15.4.1.3.) The *qṭille* form, which is used in all NENA dialects, can be regarded as the earlier type of narrative preterite.

15.1.4. ʾi-qaṭəlwa

In class A verbs the *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form is the normal means of expressing repeated, habitual activities in the past, e.g.

(1) *nášət xátna y-azìwa*ˈ *l-bēθ-be-kʸàlo.*ˈ 'The family of the groom would go to the house of the bride's family.' (B5:1)
(2) *ʾá mɛxólta nášət kʸàlo y-oðíwala.*ˈ 'The family of the bride would make that food.' (B5:7)
(3) *kúlle náše y-aθɛ́wa y-atwíwa bɛ́θət xàtna.*ˈ 'Everybody would come and sit in the house of the groom.' (B5:25)
(4) *y-atwíwa ʾəsri,*ˈ *ṭḷàθi*ˈ *ʾárbi náše y-atwíwa zmára rqàða.*ˈ 'Twenty, thirty, forty people would sit singing and dancing.' (B5:13)
(5) *ʾíθwa dáwla-w zòrna y-amrə́xwale.*ˈ 'There was (what) we used to call the drum and pipe.' (B5:24)
(6) *y-oráxwa gu-ʾùmra.*ˈ 'We would go into the church.' (B15:2)

The *ʾi-* prefix is only sporadically omitted from verbs of class A that have this function. In class B verbs, on the other hand, the past habitual is frequently expressed by the *qaṭəlwa* form without the *ʾi-* prefix (§15.1.2.2.). The *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form in verbs of this class tends to be used when the speaker wishes to give it discourse prominence.

The *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form of a class B verb is often used in a clause that is the main point of a particular section of discourse, whereas clauses that elaborate on the assertion made by this clause have *qaṭəlwa* forms, e.g.

(7) *ʾáxnən zòrəxwa,*ˈ *ʾi-zădə́xwa ʾap-mən-rabíye dìyən.*ˈ *ʾé-gət y-azə́xwa xa-xlùla,*ˈ *xazáxwala rabíye díyən tíwe mən-ʾawahàθən,*ˈ *mən-babăwàθən,*ˈ *lé-y-maṣəxwa ṣabrə́xwa ʾazə̀xwa*ˈ *qarbənə́xwa ʾəllə̀y.*ˈ *qa-mò?*ˈ *sàb*ˈ *rába mattáxwa ʾiqára ʾəllə̀y*ˈ *zădə́xwa mənnə̀y.*ˈ '(When) we were young, we were afraid of our teachers. When we went to a wedding and we saw our teachers sitting with our parents, with our fathers, we did not dare approach them. Why? Because we felt great respect for them and we feared them.' (B15:10)
(8) *[GK: zaqrituwa?] zqára ʾi-zaqrə́xwa ʾàxni,*ˈ *hè.*ˈ *zaqrə́xwa bluzə̀t,*ˈ *zaqrə́xwa gə̀rwe.*ˈ *b-gànən zaqrə́xwa,*ˈ *ʾu-mdi bə̆yə̀xwa*ˈ *zaqrə́xwa ʾàxni.*ˈ '[GK: Did

you knit?] We used to knit, yes. We knitted blouses, we knitted socks. We knitted by ourselves. Whatever we wanted we knitted.' (B10:46)

(9) *ʾi-zaqráxwa šàle.*| *ʾašitnàye*| *qəm-mpalṭíla ʾáwwa šálət qðàla,*| *hàšya,*| *ʾána hon-zqìrta mánne.*| *ʾáni zaqráxwa táma bèθa.*| *kúlla b-ʾìðən zaqráxwa,*| *b-ʾìðən.*| 'We would knit shawls. The people from Ashitha produced the neck shawl, out of lace. I have knitted with this. We used to knit these at home. We knitted everything by hand.' (B10:50)

In (7) the general statement that 'we were afraid (*ʾi-zădáxwa*) of our teachers' is the main point of the section. The subsequent clauses elaborate on this by offering an illustration and explanation. In (8) the main assertion that 'we used to knit' has the *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form (*ʾi-zaqráxwa*). This is followed by a series of clauses with *qaṭəlwa* forms (*zaqráxwa*) that expand on this by giving examples of the kind of clothes that were knitted. The *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form in (9) introduces a section about shawls by asserting the main point of the section, namely that 'we would knit (*ʾi-zaqráxwa*) shawls'. The following clauses elaborate on this general statement by presenting further details about the process.

Two verbs that are set up in a contrastive opposition are sometimes given prominence by using the *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form, as is the case in (10), where the 'sowing' is set up in contrast to the 'harvesting':

(10) *ʾan-xáṭṭe zăríwala… čèri zăríwala.*| *ʾíθwa rába ʾi-zăríwala čèri.*| *bèhɛr,*| *b-yárxət xámša, ʾəšta,*| *ʾi-xazdìwala.*| 'They would sow the wheat…in Autumn they would sow it. Many people sowed it in Autumn. In Spring, in May or June, they would harvest it.' (B5:15)

In some cases the clause that contains a *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form does not have greater discourse prominence than adjacent clauses with *qaṭəlwa* forms by virtue of its content. Rather, its prominence arises from its position in the structure of a section of discourse. The speaker sometimes gives prominence to a clause by using the *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form to flag the clause as a boundary in a section of discourse. In the text corpus a number of examples are found where the *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form is used in this way to mark a clause that occurs at the onset of a discourse unit. Consider the following passages:

(11) *zìlɛla*| *ʾəmmáyət náše maθóye Bálbəl Hazàr.*| *ʾi-maṭíwa tàma.*| *qála qamàya,*| *xɛríwa b-áqlət susèy,*| *píša hal-bárkət súsa kèpa.*| *qálət trè,*| *ʾó Bálbəl Hazàr!*|

*xɛríwa Bálbəl Hazár lìθ.*ˈ *mattíwa bála b-áqlə susèy,*ˈ *ʾìna,*ˈ *ʾap-aqlə-d-àw,*ˈ *hál be-palge-díye píša kèpa,*ˈ *ʾáxči rešət-sùsa*ˈ *ʾu-palge-díye bàr-eli*ˈ *léle píša kèpa.*ˈ *ʾu-qarɛ́wa qálət ṭḷàθa.*ˈ ‘Hundreds of people went to bring back Bəlbəl Hazar. They would arrive there. At the first cry, they would look at the legs of their horse (and see that the part) up to the knees of the horse had become stone. On the second cry “Bəlbəl Hazar!,” they looked but Bəlbəl Hazar was not there. They checked the leg of their horse and behold, the leg itself, until the middle of the horse had become stone. Only the head of the horse and its upper half had not become stone. They would cry a third cry.’ (A8:30–31)

(12) *xà-gaya,*ˈ *daríwa xà-fəlsa,*ˈ *ʾɛnéy yawíwala l-ṭùra*ˈ *ʾu-xaṣéy l-gàrra.*ˈ *ʾi-daríwa xà-fəlsa*ˈ *ʾu-ṣalíwa xárθa gu-gárra xázi ʾó-fəlsa ʾèkɛle.*ˈ *kú-t šaqəlwale*ˈ *ʾaw-qrìmwale.*ˈ ‘Once they were throwing a coin, turning their eyes to the mountain and their backs to the pool. They threw a coin then went down into the pool to find where the coin was. Whoever picked it up had won it.’ (B15:33)

(13) *y-amríwala čáppe bùke.*ˈ *ʾáyya mpalṭíwala kʾàlo*ˈ *ʾu-mattíwala xáṣət koðə̀nta,*ˈ *sab-qámθa lìθwa rába susyáθa.*ˈ *xáṣət koðə́nta ʾi-mattìwala,*ˈ *ʾu-y-azíwa xaðrìwa*ˈ *barəbárət màθa*ˈ *hal-é-gət mamṭíwala béθət gáwṛa dìya.*ˈ ‘They called this *čappe buke*. They would bring the bride out and put her on the back of a mule, since in the old days there were not many horses. They would put her on the back of a mule and they would go and take her around the village, until they brought her to the house of her husband.’ (B15:65–66)

(14) *ʾan-t-naplíwa l-ʾàrra,*ˈ *ʾáni lè-y-axliwala náše.*ˈ *ʾáni daríwala qam-qənyàne.*ˈ *ʾi-mjə̆míwala gu-gunìya*ˈ *ʾu-daríwala gu-gòma,*ˈ *qa-mpalṭíwa mənnèy*ˈ *daríwa qam-tawriyàθa*ˈ *qam-qənyàne*ˈ *qa-t-ʾaxlíwa mənnèy.*ˈ ‘People did not eat those that fell on the ground. They gave these to the animals. They gathered them in a sack and put them in the basement stable, so that they could take from them and give them to the cows and animals for them to eat.’ (B15:50)

In (11) the arrival of the participants on the scene is expressed by a *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form but the speaker uses *qaṭəlwa* forms to describe their subsequent actions on the scene. The intention is not to present the act of arrival as the most prominent one from the point of view of its content. Rather the purpose of the *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form is to signal that it has prominence from the point of view of the discourse structure in that it marks the onset of a span of discourse describing the actions of the suitors at the scene of Bəlbəl Hazar’s cave.

In (12) the second mention of the act of throwing the coin is expressed by a *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form (*ʾi-daríwa*). The purpose is not to present this act as more noteworthy than the acts that follow it. Rather it is used to mark a boundary in discourse structure, namely the onset of a sequence of clauses describing the game at the pool. Similarly in (13) the second mention of the placing of the bride on the back of a mule, which is expressed by a *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form, marks the onset of a sequence of clauses that describe the event known as *čappe buke*.

The *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form in (14) marks the beginning of a span of discourse that elaborates and expands on the previous general statement that they gave the fallen apples to the animals. It coincides with a shift from general to specific perspective.

On some occasions the *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form is used to signal the closure of a discourse section. Again, the primary purpose is not to give particular prominence to the semantic content of this final action in the section, but rather to use it as a boundary marker in the discourse structure. This is the case, for example, in (15), where the man's going to sleep is the final event of his working day, but is not intended to be interpreted as the most important one:

(15) *kút-yum šúle díye mòdi-wewa.*ʔ *šaqəlwale táwre díye*ˈ *ʾu-šaqəlwa xmáre díye*ˈ *qèdamta*ˈ *y-azə́lwa zărèwa*ˈ *ʾu-y-aθéwa l-bèθa,*ˈ *y-axə́lwa mə́ndi ʾi-damə̀xwa.*ˈ
'Everyday what was his job? He would take his ox and take his ass early in the morning and go to cultivate (his field). He would then come back home, eat something and go to sleep.' (A21:4)

15.1.5. bəd-qaṭəl

The prefixed particle *bəd-* in this form is generally phonetically reduced in natural fast speech to *bt-*, *t-* or *b-* (cf. §8.6.2.), e.g. *ʾána bṯ-àzən*ˈ 'I shall go' (A8:51), *ṯ-azítu* 'You shall go' (A8:27), *b-tàrəṣ* 'He will be cured' (A8:33).

15.1.5.1. *Predictive Future*

One of the basic functions of the *bəd-qaṭəl* form is to express the future tense. In cases where the subject of the verb is 3rd person or where it is a non-agentive 1st or 2nd person, this is generally a predictive future, e.g.

(1) *b-nayə̀sli*ˈ *ṯ-axə̀lli.*ˈ 'He will bite me. He will eat me.' (A1:17)
(2) *ʾáp-ʾana b-qaṭə̀lli.*ˈ 'He will kill me also.' (A42:3)
(3) *ʾáy hóla dmìxta.*ˈ *yómət ʾàrbi b-qə́ma.*ˈ 'She is asleep. On the fortieth day she will get up.' (A24:17)

(4) *táma b-xázət xa-ṭúra ramàna.*ˈ 'There you will see a high mountain.' (A8:47)
(5) *b-qlábtux b-xazónna Bə́lbəl Hazàr mə́nnux.*ˈ 'When you return I shall see Bəlbəl Hazar with you.' (A8:52)
(6) *ʾáy šaqíθa bṭ-áza.* 'The channel will flow.' (A8:11)
(7) *kút-yom ṭ-áθi làxxa.*ˈ 'They will come here every day.'

The form is perfective, since it presents actions delimited with a start and end point or at least with a start point. The form may also express iterative aspect (7). In this context the form can still be interpreted as perfective, in that the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation.

The predicted events may be about to occur in the very near future, as is shown by (8) and (9), where the verb is used with the adverb 'now':

(8) *hadíya ṭ-àθya Zíne,*ˈ *ʾarbí bɛrbiyáθa mànna.*ˈ 'Now Zine is going to come with forty bridesmaids.' (A26:78)
(9) *díya ṭ-áθi pɛrmìlən.*ˈ 'Now they are going to come to slaughter us.' (A4:54)

The expression of imminence may be intensified by the phrase *hənṭ-ila* 'It is a little' (Kurd. hind), e.g.

(10) *hə́nṭ-ila ṭ-àθe*ˈ 'He will come very soon'

The *bəd-qaṭə́l* form is used as a future tense in direct or indirect interrogative clauses, e.g.

(11) *ʾéka b-kále Gozàli?*ˈ 'Where will Gozali stay?' (A8:51)
(12) *xázəx mò-ṭ-awəð.*ˈ 'Let's see what he will do.' (A4:21)
(13) *xázən mó bṭ-amərri.*ˈ 'I'll see what he'll say to me.' (A8:43)

15.1.5.2. *Deontic Future*

When the verb has an agentive 1st singular subject the *bəd-qaṭə́l* form generally has a modal sense expressing deontic intention, e.g.

(1) *b-ṣàlyənˈ b-tápqən bìye.*ˈ 'I shall go down to meet him.' (A4:21)
(2) *ʾàp-ʾana bṭ-ázən šúlaˈ pàlxən.*ˈ 'I also shall go and work.' (A23:1)
(3) *b-zonə́nne b-xamšî dináre.*ˈ 'I shall buy it for fifty dinars.' (A24:23)
(4) *t-yawə́nnux zùzux.*ˈ 'I shall give you your money.' (A1:10)

The intention may be to perform the action in the immediate future, e.g.

(5) *hadíya b-zadrànna gáni.*ˡ 'Now I am going to shake myself.' (A24:27)

When expressing deontic intention the *bəd-qaṭəl* form is occasionally combined with the particle of immediacy *də-/de-*, e.g.

(6) *ʾána də-ṯ̂-amránnox ʾó-mdi-t taxrànne.*ˡ 'I shall tell you what I remember.' (B15:1)
(7) *pálgət dáwi de-t-yánne ʾálle dìye.*ˡ 'I shall give him half of my gold.' (A14:92)

When the verb has an agentive 1st plural subject, the form often has a cohortative modal sense (Let's…), e.g.

(8) *bṯ̂-àrqexi.*ˡ 'Let's flee.' (A30:41)
(9) *bas-ṯ̂-ázexi ṭalbáxla m-bába dìya.*ˡ 'But let us go and ask her father for her hand.' (A29:38)
(10) *b-súrəθ léðən mú y-amrìle,*ˡ *ṯ̂-ámrəx mtagəbràna.*ˡ 'I do not know what they call it in *surəθ*, let's say "governor."' (B6:47)

The form may express deontic obligation. In such cases the verb generally has an agentive 2nd person subject, e.g.

(11) *ʾati bṯ̂-àzet.*ˡ 'You should go.' (A8:46)
(12) *ṯ̂-azítu qam-d-o-gàppa,*ˡ *ʾaw-gáppa rába ramànɛle.*ˡ *b-qarìtu:*ˡ *ʾó Bálbəl Hazàr!*ˡˡ 'You should go to the cave, the cave is very high. You should cry "Oh Bəlbəl Hazar."' (A8:28)
(13) *b-zènət*ˡ *gótət d-an-xoránux xène*ˡ *ʾu-b-qàrət.*ˡ *ṯ̂-ámrət ʾó Bálbəl Hazàr!*ˡˡ 'You should stand next to the others, your friends, and call out. You should say "Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!"' (A8:48)

Occasionally the form expresses deontic obligation also in other persons, e.g.

(14) *ṯ̂-ázəl ṭalábla m-be-bába diya.*ˡ 'He should go and ask her father's family for her hand.' (A29:39)
(15) *ʾálla b-šaqlənna*ˡ *xáθət Mir-Ẓándin barxànna-llux.*ˡ 'But I must first take the sister of Mir Zandin to marry her to you.' (A26:39)

When used in questions the form can sometimes be interpreted as expressing deontic obligation ('What should he do?') or deontic possibility ('What can he do?'), whereby the speaker addresses the hearer expecting him to impose an obligation or give permission, e.g.

(16) *políse mù ṯ-óði.*ʔ| 'What should/can the police do?' (A8:9)
(17) *mó ṯ-oðèna.*ʔ| 'What should/can I do?' (A1:17)
(18) *mò ṯ-ámrən ʾána.*ʔ| 'What should/can I say?' (A26:34)

It is occasionally used to express deontic possibility in other contexts, for example in the expression *ṯ-amrət* 'you could say', which is used to introduce comparative descriptions as in (19) and (20):

(19) *rqàðɛla,*| *ʾu-píšla ṯ-ámrət xlùlɛle táma.*| 'They danced and you could say that (= it seemed that) there was a wedding there.' (A35:7)
(20) *ʾo-kàlša*| *rába qùwyɛwa,*| *yáʿni m-bár xá ʾəṣrá yomàθa,*| *yáʿni ṯ-amrátte dabàšwa,*| *kúlla ṯ-amrátte dabášwa xá kèpa yáʿni,*| *képa-w kàlša.*| 'After about ten days, you could say concerning it (= it seems) that it stuck together, you could say concerning it (= it seems) that the gypsum all stuck together in a single stone.' (B5:185)

15.1.5.3. *Conditional Constructions*

The *bəd-qaṭəl* form is used in the apodosis of conditional sentences. In the majority of cases it expresses an action that is temporally sequential to a hypothetical situation in the future. As elsewhere the form should be interpreted as perfective, expressing a complete action with start and end point or an action that is at least delimited with a start point that is sequential to the situation described in the protasis, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-háwe t-tàrte ʾaqláθa,*| *ʾána b-zawnànne.*| 'If it were two legged, I would buy it.' (A22:5)
(2) *ʾən-hawéli bràta*| *t-yánna qa-bronèxu.*| 'If I were to have a daughter, I would give her to your son.' (A25:8)
(3) *ʾən-kpìnni,*| *ṯ-axlənne.*| 'If I am hungry, I shall eat it.' (A23:5)
(4) *ʾən-šăr̆əṭ díyi qəm-yăðətla,*| *xo-b-gawrànnux.*| 'If you know (the answer to) my test, I shall indeed then marry you.' (A25:62)
(5) *ʾən-ʾamránnux ʾáp-ʾati b-šànət.*| 'If I tell you, you will faint.' (A11:2)
(6) *ʾən-ʾánna mtămə̀mətla,*| *ʾána t-yànna-llux.*| 'If you fulfil these (conditions), I shall give them to you.' (A12:2)
(7) *ʾən-ʾaxlílən šəkwáne ṯ-axlìlən.*| 'If the ants eat us, they shall eat us.' (A14:52)

In some cases it expresses a future action that follows logically from a given, real situation in the present denoted by the protasis clause, e.g.

(8) *ʾən-íle xwarzàyi,ˈ t̰-áθe t-yăðéla ʾánna mòdila.*ˈ ‘If he is my nephew, he will come and he will know what these are.’ (A25:49)
(9) *ʾən-réšət bábe díye ʾax-ṭùra,*ˈ *ʾu-hóle qṭíla l-Tătár-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi,*ˈ *lèka bt̰-ázəl?*ˈ ‘If the head of his father is like a mountain and he has been killed by Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi, where will he go?’ (A28:8)

15.1.5.4. *Discourse Dependency*

In conditional constructions such as those illustrated in §15.1.5.3. the action in the apodosis is presented from the viewpoint of the situation in the protasis and always has a future reference relative to this viewpoint. On some occasions the *bəd-qaṭə̀l* form expresses dependency on a preceding clause outside of conditional constructions. In such cases the action in the *bəd-qaṭə̀l* clause is not presented from the viewpoint of the preceding clause and so does not necessarily have future time reference. It may have present time reference. The form is perfective, delimited either by a start and end point or at least by a start point that is sequential to what precedes. It may also express iterative aspect, but still should be interpreted as perfective, in that it expresses one occurrence of an event that is representative of the iterated situation. The *bəd-* prefix in these constructions has lost the function of future temporal reference but expresses only dependency. This dependency make take the form of temporal sequentiality as in (1)–(5), e.g.

(1) *ʾárbe máxe l-ġðàðe,*ˈ *t̰-ázi xa-fàtra,*ˈ *ʾal-salíqə zòrna.*ˈ *máxe zórna xa-salíqa xèna,*ˈ *ʾárbe b-dɛ̀ri,*ˈ *b-ganèy.*ˈ ‘He gathers the sheep together and they go off for a while according to the tune of the pipe. He plays another tune on the pipe and the sheep return, by themselves.’ (A25:27)
(2) *ʾu-zílɛle t̰-ázəl ʾáθrət bàbə d-ɛ-bráta.*ˈ ‘He set off and went to the land of the girl’s father.’ (A29:34)
(3) *b-lɛ́le qímla šárya bănúda dìya,*ˈ *t̰-àza,*ˈ *pθíxla tắra qðìla.*ˈ ‘At night she got up, untied her bands, then went and opened the door with a key.’ (A18:3)
(4) *ʾu-šuréle ʿajòze*ˈ *yáʿni kčàxa.*ˈ *ʾu-t-lá xàlaṭ*ˈ *t̰-ámər ya-ʾálaha šqùlli.*ˈ ‘He had started to get incapable and tired and, in order for him not to commit an error, he says “Oh God, take me!”’ (A15:19)
(5) *báθər ʾéða gòṛa*ˈ *y-áθe ʾarbì-yome*ˈ *báθər ʾéða d-o-gòṛa*ˈ *ʾìθena*ˈ *ʾéðət sulàqa.*ˈ *… xàrθa*ˈ *t̰-áθe xáʾeða xréna zòra,*ˈ *y-amríle ʾéðət musàrde.*ˈ ‘After the Great

Festival, forty days after the Great Festival, the festival of Ascension takes place.… Afterwards comes a small festival, which is called *musarde*.' (B6:5–8)

In some cases the *bəd-qaṭəl* form does not express temporal sequentiality but only some kind of relevance to a preceding clause. Consider (6) and (7):

(6) *báwθə Ninwàye*| *ʾáp-ʾay ʾìtwa.*| *ṣɛmìla.*| *ṯ-ámri díge-w kθàye*| *ʾáp ʾan-zóre xtàye.*| 'The Rogation of the Ninevites was also observed (in our community). They would fast during it. They would say "The cocks and the chickens, and also the small lowly creatues (should observe the fast)."' (B16:15)

(7) *ʾána háwən Qára Tèždin,*| *maθyánət xárje-w bárjət boṭanàye.*| *ṯ-áθe xa-ʾárxa ʾax-d-àwwa*| *gu-bèθi*| *ʾu-páləṭ léðən lèkɛle zála,*| *léka là!*| 'I am Qara Težḍin, the collector of all taxes of the people of Botan, and a guest comes like this into my house and leaves without me knowing where on earth he was going!' (A26:34)

In (6) the clause introduced by the verb *ṯ-ámri* consitutes an elaboration of the preceding statement that people would hold a fast, which could be paraphrased 'with regard to this fasting they say.…' In (7) the *bəd-qaṭəl* form verb *ṯ-áθe* denotes an action that is to be interpreted in the context of the speaker having a high social position, which is expressed by the statement 'I am Qara Težḍin, the collector of all taxes of the people of Botan'. In (6) and (7) the *bəd-qaṭəl* verbs do not express sequentiality but nevertheless they are in some way dependent on what precedes. In (6) it may be said that the clause with the *bəd-qaṭəl* form introduces background to the preceding foreground, whereas in (7) the form introduces a foregrounded statement that is to be interpreted against the preceding background.

The fact that the use of the *bəd-qaṭəl* form may be motivated by the broad property of relevance to what precedes implies that it could be used anywhere within a section of discourse, since, in principle, all clauses would be in some way relevant to what precedes. This is how we should understand its use with the verb *ʾmr* 'to say' within sections of expository discourse such as (8) and (9), where they have habitual aspect:

(8) *m-lɛle mbàdla táma,*| *yáʿni mbarxìwa.*| *y-aθéwa qàša.*| *har-gu-bèθa*| *y-asṛíwale gnùna-w*| *yáʿni ṯ-ámrəx mbarxìwale.*| 'In the early morning they would perform the blessing (of the wedding ceremony) there. A priest

would come. In the house they would tie the band. We say "They blessed it."' (B5:30)

(9) *béna bálki ʾo-nàša,*| *ʾo-xàtna ṯ-ámrəx,*| *ʾo-ʾùrza,*| *lè-y-awe táma.*| 'Perhaps the person, we say the groom, the man, was not there.' (B5:18)

These *bəd-qaṭəl* forms of *ʾmr* are used interchangeably with the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form, e.g.

(10) *y-atwíwa b-dawère,*| *ʾé-ga b-dawère,*|… *koðənta y-amrə́xxa.*| 'They would sit on mules, at that time (they sat) on mules, .. a *koðənta* ('female mule') we call it.' (B5:28)

In (11) the *bəd-qaṭəl* form is used in clauses that depend on what precedes in that they have the status of non-restrictive relative clauses qualifying a head noun in the first clauses. This is similar to the elaborative function in (6) above:

(11) *kút-naša gu-ʾƐ̄n-Núne ʾítle xaqlàθa,*| *b-zărèla*| *zrùta,*| *ʾən-ṯ-awə́dla bustàne,*| *ʾən-ṯ-awə́dle kù-mdi-t bə̆́ye.*| 'Everybody in ʾƐn-Nune has fields, which he cultivates, or he makes into an orchard or whatever he wants.' (B4:2)

15.1.5.5. *Negation of* bəd-qaṭəl *Forms*

The negative particle cannot be combined with the *bəd-qaṭəl* form. To express the negative, the negated form of the *qaṭəl* or *ʾi-qaṭəl* form is used, viz. *la-qaṭəl* or *la-y-qaṭəl* respectively. As described in §8.9., there are various phonetic variants of the *la-y-qaṭəl* form, which exhibit various degrees of contaction, viz. *le-y-qaṭəl, lɛ-qaṭəl*, e.g.

(1) *ʾána là-ʾaθən mə́nnux.*| *ṭla-mò la-ʾáθət mə́nni?*| *sí là-ʾaθən mə́nnux ʾána.*| '"I shall not come with you." "Why won't you come with me?" "Go away, I shall not come with you."' (A6:6)

(2) *qázi ṯ-awə́dla ṭlàlux,*| *lá-ʾawədla ṭlàli.*| 'The judge will make a decision in your favour, he will not make it in my favour.' (A6:8)

(3) *lá maspərə́xləx bi-zàwda.*| 'We shall not make you wait more.' (A4:41)

(4) *lè-y-axlena.*| 'I shall not eat.' (B5:35)

(5) *ʾána m-axxa-húdxa lè-y-azən.*| 'I shall not go beyond here.' (A12:23)

(6) *ʾána là-y-asqən.*| 'I shall not go up.' (A32:29)

(7) *bas-lê-y-yənna bnáθi-llɛxu.*ˈ 'But I shall not give my daughters to you.' (A12:17)

The *ʾi-qaṭəl* form is used elsewhere to express imperfective habitual aspect. As remarked above, however, the positive *bəd-qaṭəl* form is intrinsically perfective. The explanation appears to be that the positive future perfective form asserts that a specific action will take place at a particular point in time whereas its negated form should properly be interpreted as expressing an enduring property of the subject referent rather than referring to an event that is bound to a particular point in time. When a speaker says *ṯ-axlən* 'I shall eat', he is asserting that there will be a particular point in time when he will eat. When he says *le-y-axlən*, on the other hand, the sense is 'I have the property of not eating'. The salience of the particular point in time of an action is diffused when it is negated to the extent that an imperfective form is used. The use of the negated *qaṭəl* form, viz. *la-qaṭəl*, should, likewise, be interpreted as expressing a non-punctual habitual imperfective aspect.

A parallel to this diffusion of the salient temporal punctuality of a perfective form by negation is found in the imperative. Imperative forms express a more salient, immediate command than deontic *qaṭəl* forms. Although imperatives can be negated, there is a greater tendency for negated commands to be expressed by *qaṭəl* forms than is the case with positive commands (for further details see §15.7.). In some NENA dialects, furthermore, a negated command can only be expressed by a *qaṭəl* form.

15.1.6. bəd-qaṭəlwa

15.1.6.1. *Conditional Constructions*

The *bəd-qaṭəlwa* form, with the past converter suffix *-wa*, is used in the apodosis of conditional sentences that refer to a hypothetical condition in the past, which was not fulfilled (1–2), or to a hypothetical condition in the present or future, which the speaker assesses to be impossible to fulfil (3–4). The verb form expresses an action that is temporally or logically sequential to the situation expressed in the protasis. Since it is delimited by a starting point that is sequential to what precedes, it is inherently perfective, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-mbaqrətwa,*ˈ *ṯ-yawánwalux zùze,*ˈ *bás là mbuqárrux.*ˈ 'If you had asked, I would have given you money, but you did not ask.'

(2) *ʾən-yăðánwa manay-díye mòdiwa,ˈ t̂-amrə̀nwalux,ˈ bas-là yăðəńwa.ˈ* ‘If I had known what its meaning was, I would have told you, but I did not know.’
(3) *ʾən-maṣə̀nwa,ˈ t̂-aθə̀nwa,ˈ bás lè-y-maṣən.ˈ* ‘If I could, I would come, but I cannot.’
(4) *ʾən-hawátwa gu-ʾáθṛa dìyi,ˈ kú-məndi bắyátwa t-yànwalux.ˈ* ‘If you were in my country, I would give you whatever you wanted.’ (A26:57)

The form may also express iterative aspect. In this context the form can still be interpreted as perfective in that the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation, e.g.

(5) *ʾən-maṣánwa t-yawánwalux zúze kùt-yum,ˈ t-yawə̀nwalux,ˈ bás le-y-maṣə̀nwa.ˈ* ‘If I had been able to give you money every day, I would have given it to you, but I could not.’
(6) *ʾən-maṣánwa t-yawánwalux zúze kùt-yum,ˈ t-yawə̀nwalux,ˈ bas le-y-màṣən.ˈ* ‘If I could give you money every day, I would give it to you, but I cannot.’

15.1.6.2. *Deontic Constructions*
The *bəd-qaṭəlwa* form is used in questions relating to counterfactual situations in the past. They are of a deontic nature, in that the speaker addresses the hearer expecting him to impose an obligation (deontic necessity: ‘What should I have done?’) or give permission (deontic possibility: ‘What could I have done?’), e.g.

(1) *ʾína m-ə̀kaˈ t̂-óðənwale gə́šra.ʔˈ* ‘But from where could I have made him a bridge?’ (A17:18)
(2) *gúrzə šə́rmux xo-ʾána t̂-azánwa bìya.ʔˈ* ‘(Why) should I have been finished off by your stupid club (literally: the club of your behind)?!’ (A52:17)

15.1.6.3. *Discourse Dependency*
The *bəd-qaṭəlwa* form is used outside of conditional constructions in clauses that are in some way dependent on the preceding discourse. In such cases the verb always expresses an iterative action. Various types of discourse dependency are attested in the text corpus. In (1) and (2) the *bəd-qaṭəlwa* verbs are temporally sequential to what precedes:

(1) *čɛrxìwala máθa*ˈ *xáṣə dawère.*ˈ *y-amríwa čáppe bùkela.*ˈ *ʾay-t̂-aθyàwa,*ˈ *t̂-oràwa,*ˈ *maxyáwa… màšxa*ˈ *ʾu-t̂-oðáwa ṣlìwa,*ˈ *màšxa,*ˈ *gu-tə́rət qàṣra.*ˈ ‘They would take her (the bride) round the village on the back of mules. They called it *čappe buke*. (Then) she would come back, enter (the house) and make with oil…and make (the sign of) the cross in oil on the door of the house.’ (B10:34–35)

(2) *la-θéle rēš-ṣàwma?*ˈ *b-šaqlə́xwa kúlla ʾamànən,*ˈ *kùlla b-šaqlə́xwala*ˈ *dérəxwa qə́ṭma mxallə̀xwala.*ˈ ‘When the beginning of the (Lent) fast came, we would take all our vessels, we would take them all and put ash on them to clean them.’ (B16:7)

Other types of dependency are exhibited by the verb forms in the following examples:

(3) *qam-ṣàwma*ˈ *ʾíθ xošébə bnàθa.*ˈ *bnáθa kúlla bt̂-azíwa bèθa,*ˈ *b-šaqlíwa ʾixála mən-d-áwwa d-áwwa d-àwwa,*ˈ *t̂-azíwa gu-xa-ṭùra,*ˈ *t̂-atwìwa,*ˈ *t̂-axlìwa,*ˈ *b-šatìwa.*ˈ ‘Before the fast (of Lent) was Girls’ Sunday. All the girls went home, took food from here and from there, then went to a mountain, where they sat, ate and drank.’ (B16:18)

(4) *ʾa-ʾilána mzabnìwala y-amráxxa.*ˈ *t̂-aθéwa xə́zme dìye*ˈ *t̂-amə̀rwa*ˈ *hé gállək nàše,*ˈ *ʾéni záwən ʾilàna?*ˈ *xa-náša díye t̂-ámərwa ʾána zonə́nna b-ʾə̀ṣra,*ˈ *šaqlíwa ʾə́ṣra dinàre.*ˈ *ʾu-xéna t̂-ámərwa zonə́nna b-xamšàssər,*ˈ *šaqlíwa xamšàssər.*ˈ ‘They sold the tree, as we say. His relatives would come and (one) said “Hey, everybody, who will buy the tree?” One relative of his would say “I shall buy it for ten” and they would receive ten dinars. Another would say “I shall buy it for fifteen” and they would receive fifteen.’ (B5:42)

(5) *ʾíθwalən ʾùmra*ˈ *Mar-Gwìrgis*ˈ *…ʾu-réše dìye*ˈ *ʾiwàwa*ˈ *wíðta ṭla-plàša.*ˈ *t̂-awríwa nàše*ˈ *gáwa gáwət ʾùmra,*ˈ *rèše,*ˈ *xazíwala kùlla dukáne,*ˈ *palšìwa.*ˈ ‘We had the church of Saint George…The top of it was designed for war. People would enter into the church, (go up) on top of it, and they would see all places, when there was fighting.’ (B2:3)

(6) *lá-mṣəxwa t̂-óðəxwa čú-mdi qam-tàlga.*ˈ *ma-t-y-aθéwa tàlga,*ˈ *y-aθèwa,*ˈ *lá-mṣiwa ʾàp-axxa palṭíwa.*ˈ *t̂-attə́xwa béna gu-bèθa.*ˈ ‘We could not do anything on account of the winter. So much snow fell that people could not go out even to here. We sat in the house.’ (B16:27)

In (3) the clause containing the first *bəd-qaṭəlwa* verb, *bt̂-azíwa*, opens a section of discourse that elaborates on the preceding general statement that

the festival of Girls' Sunday took place. The dependency expressed by the verbal form binds it semantically to what precedes signalling that the description of the specific event in the clause is intended to be understood as a component of the festival. This example also contains a subsequent chain of *bəd-qaṭəlwa* forms (*b-šaqlíwa*…*ṯ-azíwa*…*ṯ-atwìwa*…*ṯ-axlìwa, b-šatìwa*). The clauses containing these verbs are also elaborative of the initial general statement. Most of them can also be interpreted as temporally sequential to the clause immediately preceding it. The semantic dependency in these clauses consists of both the relation of specific to general and also temporal sequence.

Example (4) is similar to (3). The first *bəd-qaṭəlwa* verb, *ṯ-aθéwa*, occurs in a clause at the onset of a section of discourse that describes the specific events of the general event of selling the tree. The discourse dependency, therefore, is the relationship of specific to general. The subsequent *bəd-qaṭəlwa* verbs (*ṯ-ámərwa*…*ṯ-ámərwa*) are, likewise, specifying this general event, but also are temporally sequential to what immediately precedes them.

The clause containing the *bəd-qaṭəlwa* verb in (5) occurs at the onset of a section that elaborates on the preceding statement concerning the roof of the church.

The relationship of the verb *ṯ-attáxwa* in (6) to what precedes is one of effect to cause, i.e. people could not go out on account of the snow and for this reason we sat in the house.

15.1.6.4. *Negation of* bəd-qaṭəlwa *Forms*

There is a similar constraint against combining the negative particle with the *bəd-qaṭəlwa* as there is with the *bəd-qaṭəl* form. To express negation, the negated *qaṭəlwa* and *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* forms are used suppletively, e.g.

(1) *xà-mənnɛxu b-taréwa*ˈ *ʾu-xéna là taréwa.*ˈ 'One of you would get wet and the other would not get wet.' (A17:18)

(2) *ʾən-háwɛ ʾəṣrà ṭiyáre xéne*ˈ *ʾaxwáθux hawnàne,*ˈ *la-maṭétuwa l-àwwa láxma,*ˈ *ʾu-ʾattítuwa láxxa pɛšítuwa hátxa snìqe.*ˈ 'If ten other men from Ṭiyare were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this miserable condition, you would not be sitting here and have become so poor.' (A17:16)

(3) *ʾáp-ʾən mbaqrətwa,*ˈ *le-y-yawánwalux zùze.*ˈ 'Even if you had asked, I would not have given you money.'

15.1.7. qəm-qaṭəl

15.1.7.1. *Preliminary Remarks*

This form is used before pronominal L-suffixes, i.e. *qəm-qaṭəlle*, *qəm-qaṭəlla*, *qəm-qaṭəllɛ*, etc. The L-suffixes may express the direct object or the indirect object. It expresses a past perfective aspect. As has been remarked (§15.1.1.1.), the *qaṭəl* form without additional affixes may express a present perfective. The *qəm-qaṭəl* form has been formed by attaching the prefix *qəm-* to this perfective *qaṭəl* base. The *qəm-* prefix is likely to be a fossilized form of the old suffix conjugation form **qaddəm* 'He did (something) beforehand'.[2] In some isolated cases before initial /'/ verbs, the subordinating *D* particle is inserted between the *qəm* and the verb, e.g. *qəm-ṯ-amárra* 'He said to her' (A4:4).

There is no functional difference between the *qəm-qaṭəl* form and the *qṭille* form, which also expresses past perfective aspect. The *qəm-qaṭəl* form is used as a more versatile means of expressing the past perfective with L-suffixes. Direct or indirect pronominal objects of the 3rd person may be expressed by incorporation into the past base *qṭille* form, e.g. *qṭille* 'He killed him', *qṭilale* 'He killed her', *qṭilile* 'He killed them'. The *qəm-qaṭəl* form is the usual means of expressing pronominal objects of the 1st and 2nd person on a past perfective verb and it expresses 3rd person objects interchangeably with the *qṭille* form with object incorporation.

15.1.7.2. *Recent Past Events*

In conversational discourse the normal function of the *qəm-qaṭəl* form is to express with perfective aspect the occurrence of a punctual event in the recent past. The margin of the recent past may extend up to the present moment. The form may be used, therefore, when the endpoint of the event is witnessed in the present moment. It is appropriate to translate the form in such contexts by the English perfect of recent past. Examples of this are found in the text corpus, mainly in sections of direct speech, e.g.

(1) *'áti qəm-xalṣàtli*[1] *mən-d-áwwa mòθa.*[1] 'You have saved me from death.' (A14:35)

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[2] In many NENA dialects the prefix has an /a/ vowel (*qam-*). In Barwar the attenuation of the /a/ to /ə/ is regular and the form contrasts with the particle *qam* 'before', which generally preserves the /a/ (§2.3.5.). In the C. Sulemaniyya and C. Sanandaj dialects the auxiliary verb **qaddəm* has developed into the form *tam-* with the elision of the first syllable and devoicing of the medial **d*.

(2) *xzi-ʾaláha lá qəm-msapélən l-iθàθa.*ˈ ‘See, God has not delivered us into their hands.’ (B9:26)
(3) *ʾáwwa Màr-Múše qəm-mayéla ʾáyya biyéxu.*ˈ ‘St. Muše has brought this upon you.’ (B18:17)
(4) *qəm-jarbətlɛniˈ xázəx ṯ̂-áθəx hayorəxlux lo-là.*ˈ ‘You have tested us to see whether we would come to help you or not.’ (A48:6)

When it has this function, it is sometimes combined with the deictic copula, which refers to the grammatical subject of the verb, e.g.

(5) *hóla qəm-qaṭlìle.*ˈ ‘They have killed him.’ (A28:27)

The results of such events that occur in the very recent past are likely to have some relevance in the present. It is important to note, however, that the *qəm-qaṭəl* form does not assert the existence of a resultant state in the present, rather it is only an implicature. If the speaker wishes to assert that such a resultant state holds at present, the compound form consisting of resultative participle and copula is used (§15.4.1.). This applies also to constructions with verbs with stative actionality such as *yð* ‘to know’, where the *qəm-qaṭəl* form is most appropriately translated by the English present, e.g.

(6) *máre ʾèkɛle bɛθéxu?*ˈ *mára fəllən dùkθa.*ˈ *máre qəm-yăðənne.*ˈ ‘He said “Where is your house?” She said “In such-and-such a place.” He said “I see” (literally: I have (now) know it).’ (A22:14)

15.1.7.3. *Past Perfective in Narrative*

The *qəm-qaṭəl* form is used in narrative as a preterite to refer to punctual events in the past with a perfective aspect, e.g.

With direct pronominal object suffixes:

(1) *θéla qəm-mparqíli m-gu-ʾiθàθux.*ˈ ‘They came and saved me from your hands’ (B17:15)
(2) *záwna qəm-ʾawádlux lebàna.*ˈ ‘The time made you a trickster.’ (A1:22)
(3) *qəm-ṭarədle θéle zìlle*ˈ *be-ʾámte dìye.*ˈ ‘He drove him away and he went back to his aunt’s house.’ (A23:33)
(4) *ʾàna*ˈ *ṭ̣là-yome*ˈ *qəm-mjarbànna.*ˈ ‘I tested her for three days.’ (A21:36)
(5) *θéle xa-náša qəm-šaqálle ʾo-kàrmi.*ˈ ‘A man came and took away my orchard.’ (A17:30)
(6) *qəm-ʾaḵmàle tắra.*ˈ ‘She closed the door’ (A19:4)

With indirect pronominal object suffixes:

(7) *ʾá-dana qəm-amàrra.*ˈ 'Then he said to them.' (A52:3)
(8) *ʾáw qəm-mjawàbla.*ˈ 'He replied to her.' (A25:65)
(9) *qəm-hawíla xáčča ʾixàla.*ˈ 'They gave them some food.' (A8:12)
(10) *qəm-yálli šùla.*ˈ 'He gave me a job.' (A23:34)

On some occasions in a narrative the *qəm-* prefix is omitted from the form in verbs that follow an initial *qəm-qaṭəl* form in a closely knit sequence. The resulting reduced forms consist only of the *qaṭəl* base and L-suffixes, but still have past time reference, e.g.

(11) *θéla jə̀nne,*ˈ *qəm-šaqlìle,*ˈ *nablìle,*ˈ *mattìle*ˈ *ʾal-ṭúrət Jazíra Bòta.*ˈ 'Jinn came and took him. They took him away and put him on the mountain of Jazira Bota.' (A26:19)
(12) *rwèle*ˈ *qəm-doqále p-àqle,*ˈ *xrrr garšále nablále gu-čàčma.*ˈ 'He became drunk and she grasped him by his legs, dragged him along and took him to the bathroom.' (A17:26)
(13) *qəm-čarxíle dawqìle.*ˈ 'They surrounded him and caught him.' (A28:24)
(14) *qəm-šaqálla mɛθèla.*ˈ 'He took her and brought her back.' (A28:37)
(15) *ʾáti qəm-asṛátla ʾáqli w-iθàθi,*ˈ *mrapátli làxxa.*ˈ 'You bound my legs and hands and left me here.' (A10:12)
(16) *kúlla qəm-mɛθíla qaṭlìla.*ˈ 'He brought them all and killed them.' (A12:70)
(17) *qəm-doqátli xošátli gu-gòma.*ˈ 'You seized me and confined me in the basement.' (B17:15)

15.1.7.4. *Conditional Constructions*

The *qəm-qaṭəl* form may be used in the protasis of a conditional construction. In such contexts it may have not only past, but also present or future time reference, e.g.

(1) *ʾən- kúlla qəm-maxíla bərrèy*ˈ *ʾáw qəm-dawqíle ʾo-qésa ṯ̂-íle be-pàlga,*ˈ *θèla*ˈ *xá mən-d-ánna ṯ̂-íla qam-tằra,*ˈ *θéle qəm-dawə̀qle,*ˈ *xsìrra ʾan-gawáye.*ˈ 'If they have broken up all their group or have seized the piece of wood that is in the middle, if one of those who are outside has come and seized it, those inside have lost.' (B11:9)
(2) *ʾən-šắrəṭ díyi qəm-yăðə̀tla,*ˈ *xo-b-gawrànnux.*ˈ *ʾən-šắrəṭ díyi là qəm-yăðátla,*ˈ *réšux mattánne gu-d-yàha káwe*ˈ *ṯ̂-íla pyàša.*ˈ 'If you know (the answer

to) my challenge, I shall indeed marry you. If you do not know (the answer to) my challenge, I shall put your head in that opening that remains.' (A25:62)

15.1.8. qəm-qaṭəlwa

The *qəm-qaṭəl* form may be augmented with the past suffix *-wa*. As is the case with the *qəm-qaṭəl* form, the *qəm-qaṭəlwa* is used only with L-suffixes.

The basic function of the *qəm-qaṭəlwa* form is to denote an event in the past with the deictic temporal reference point in the present, just as is the case with the *qəm-qaṭəl* form. The difference between the two forms is that in conversational discourse *qəm-qaṭəl* refers to the recent past, the margin of which may extend up to the present moment, whereas the *qəm-qaṭəlwa* form is detached temporally from the present. The action expressed by the *qəm-qaṭəlwa* form, however, is not necessarily in the remote past. It may have occurred a few minutes prior to the present moment. There is, in fact, a degree of overlap between the absolute temporal reference of *qəm-qaṭəl* and *qəm-qaṭəlwa*. Informants, however, tend to judge that it is not felicitous to use the *qəm-qaṭəl* form to refer to an event that took place on the previous day or prior to it, whereas the time reference of *qəm-qaṭəlwa* can be extended indefinitely into the past. The relationship between *qəm-qaṭəl* and *qəm-qaṭəlwa* in conversational discourse may be summarized as follows:

(i) Immediate past temporal reference
qəm-qaṭəl:
'I have just now seen him' *diya qəm-xazənne*

(ii) Recent past temporal reference
qəm-qaṭəl:
'I saw him five minutes ago'[3] *qəm-xazənne qam xamša daqiqe*
qəm-qaṭəlwa:
'I saw him five minutes ago' *qəm-xazənwale qam xamša daqiqe*

[3] It should be noted that in English the present perfect is not used in a clause containing certain time adverbials although the event has relevance for the present moment.

(iii) Remote past temporal reference
qəm-qaṭəlwa:

'I saw him yesterday'	*qəm-xazənwale təmməl*
'I saw him a year ago'	*qəm-xazənwale qam-xa šeta*

Examples (1) and (2) below from expository texts contain *qəm-qaṭəlwa* forms functioning as a preterite. Note that in (2) the preterite form *qəm-ʾoðánwale* is used with the same time reference as the adjacent form *qəm-ʾoðánne*, which is also used as a preterite, as is usual in narrative:

(1) *ʾína báte qámθa ṭìna-wɛ́wa.*| *ʾu-píšwala ṯ-amráxwa qàṣre,*| *béna ʾáwwa lɛ́ y-amráxwa bàte*| *y-amráxwa qàṣra.*| *sab-bíš muntèwalɛ*| *šámma díya qəm-mšaxəlpìwale.*| 'Formerly, however, houses were made of mud. They (the houses) became villas, as we called them. We did not call them houses, we called them villas. Since (people) were more prosperous, (they built bigger houses) and they changed the name of them.' (B5:198)

(2) *ʾáyya šètə*| *t-zílli l-ʾàθṛa,*| *ʾƐ́nə Nùne,*| *ʾáxči là gu-ʾƐ́nə Núne qəm-ʾoðánne ʾéða,*| *qəm-ʾoðánwale gu-Dòhok,*| *har-mədre-táma xzélən nāš-dìyən,*| *maplášlən bɛ́ʾe smòqe*| *sáʾət ʾárba-w pálge qèdamta.*| *ʾu-mən-táma zílwalən xílwalən ṭàmta.*| 'This year, when I went to the land, ʾƐn-Nune—but I did not spend the festival in ʾƐn-Nune, I spent it in Dohok—again we saw our relatives, we knocked red eggs together at half past four in the morning. Then we went and ate breakfast.' (B15:9)

The *qəm-qaṭəlwa* form is rarely found in narrative sections of stories in the text corpus. When it is used in this context, it tends to be used to denote an event that took place at a point in the past that is detached temporally from that of the events in the surrounding narrative line, in that it took place at some period in the remoter past. It does not denote a resultant state that acts as the background against which the narrative takes places and so should not be characterized as a pluperfect or past perfect. Such a state, however, may be an implicature and it is often appropriate to translate the form by the English pluperfect, e.g.

(3) *béna ʾurxa-ʾùrxa,*| *qəm-jayərwala.*| *ṣlèla*| *jòre.*| *máre məšxàne!*| *káde məšxàne!*| *ṣléla b-júlle dìye,*| *šqálalla mšàyəlla.*| 'Now, on the way, he urinated (at a point detached from the immediate situation) / he had urinated. The urine flowed down. He said "They're oily! The *kade* cakes are oily." It ran down onto his clothes.' (A30:46)

15.1.9. ṣadle

The irregular form *ṣadle* 'He is afraid', which is conjugated with L-suffixes, is used to express imperfective aspect to refer to the actual present. It is treated like verbs derived from the present base and can take the prefix *ʾi-* and the affix *wa* in a variety of forms with imperfective function. The *ʾi-* prefix is optionally added when it has a habitual imperfective aspect. The *wa* affix gives the form a past time reference:

ṣadle	'He is afraid (now)'	= *qaṭəl*
(ʾi-)ṣadle	'He is afraid (habitually)	= *ʾi-qaṭəl*
ṣadwale	'He was afraid'	= *qaṭəlwa*
(ʾi-)ṣadwale	'He was afraid (habitually)	= *ʾi-qaṭəlwa*

The forms without the *ʾi-* prefix may also be used deontically, e.g. *la-ṣàdlux* 'Do not be afraid!' (B9:26). Perfective past or future tenses can only be expressed by the regular verb *zaʾ*.

15.2. The Function of the Verbal Forms Derived from the Past Base

15.2.1. qṭille

15.2.1.1. *Recent Past Events*

In conversational discourse the normal function of the *qṭille* form is to express with perfective aspect the occurrence of a punctual event in the recent past. The margin of the recent past may extend up to the present moment. The form may be used, therefore, when the endpoint of the event is witnessed in the present moment. It is appropriate to translate the form in such contexts by the English perfect of recent past. Examples of this are found in the text corpus, mainly in sections of direct speech, e.g.

(1) *gáwṛi θéle mṭáši gànux.*‖ 'My husband has come back. Hide yourself!' (A22:29)
(2) *xázəx mŭdəṛìlux,*| *ṭla-mò?*‖ 'I see you have brought them back. Why?' (A17:14)
(3) *mu-ṣtímlux bɛ̀θi,*| *ʾáti wídlux hátxa hátxa bìyi?*‖ 'Why have you ruined my house and done such a thing to me?' (A15:14)
(4) *txírri xá-məndi xèna.*| 'I have (just) remembered something else.' (B15:45)

(5) *šwiqáli táma ʾu-θéli l-àxxa.*ˈ 'I have left it there and come here' (closing formula of a story). (A4:60)

The results of such events that occur in the very recent past are likely to have some relevance in the present. It is important to note, however, that the *qṭille* form does not assert the existence of a resultant state in the present, rather it is only an implicature. If the speaker wishes to assert that such a resultant state holds at present, the compound form consisting of the resultative participle and copula is used (§15.4.1.). This applies also to constructions with verbs with stative actionality such as *yð* 'to know', where the *qṭille* form is most appropriately translated by the English present, e.g.

(6) *ʾu-hadíya ðíli ʾána manáy díyux mòdila*ˈ *ʾu-t-màlka.*ˈ 'Now I know what you mean and what the king means.' (A17:35)
(7) *har-šúqla tàma.*ˈ *la-bǎyən ʾo-qàṣra.*ˈ *ʾámər hé xàli*ˈ *ðìli díya.*ˈ '"Leave it alone over there. I don't want (anything to do with) that palace." He said "Well, uncle. Now I know."' (A25:53)
(8) *rábe məndiyáne šmìli.*ˈ *ʾáti làt-glaya ṭlálì,*ˈ *ʾána ðìli.*ˈ 'I have heard many things. You are not revealing (the truth) to me. I know (the truth).' (A38:13)

The basic meaning of the *qṭille* form here is ingressive, expressing the event of entering into the state denoted by the verbal lexeme in the recent past ('I have just come to know'). The existence of a resultant state is an implicature. Verbs that acquire this ingressive sense in the *qṭille* form characteristically express a continuous state rather than iterative action in the imperfective *qaṭəl* base forms, e.g. *yǎðe* 'He knows', *yǎðewa* 'He used to know'. They should be distinguished from verbs that express the entering into a state in their basic lexical meaning, e.g. *ʾtw* 'to sit down', *kly* 'to stand up', *kpn* 'to become hungry'. The latter type of verb can be interpreted as having an ingressive sense in the *qṭille* form, e.g. *tiwle* 'He has sat down' (= he has entered the state of sitting), *klele* 'He has stood up' (= he has entered the state of standing), *kpinne* 'He has become hungry'. This ingressive sense, however, arises from the telic lexical meaning of the verb rather than from the *qṭille* form, as is shown by the fact that the imperfect *qaṭəl* base forms of these verbs characteristically express iterative rather than continuous action, e.g. *y-atwənwa tama* 'I used to sit there', *ʾi-kalewa tama* 'He used to stand there', *har ʾi-kapənwa* 'He was always becoming hungry'.

The function of the *qṭille* form is occasionally exploited to denote an event that is about to take place in the immediate future by presenting it as if it has just happened, e.g.

(9) *mítli m-kəpna.*ˡ 'I have (almost) died of hunger = I am dying of hunger.' (A27:31)
(10) *ʾána zìlli kəs-bábi.*ˡ 'I have (almost) gone to my father = I am going just now to my father.' (A14:102).
(11) *ṣríxɛle yàba*ˡ *qídle bɛ̀θi!*ˡˡ *qídle bɛ̀θi!*ˡˡ 'He cried "Oh my house has (almost) burnt down! = My house is burning down."' (A48:4)

The *qṭille* form is sometimes used to express a perfective event that overlaps with the present moment in that it takes place by virtue of the utterance of the clause, i.e. in a performative function. The verbs in (12) and (13) can be interpreted in this way:

(12) *mə́re bə̆́yən ṭalbə́nna brátux ṭla-xòni.*ˡ *mə́re hiwə̀li.*ˡ 'He said "I want to ask for the hand of your daughter for my brother." He said "I give her to you."' (A32:11–12)
(13) *xa-zawə́nwala ʾamə̀rwa*ˡ *ʾána puxlə̀li ṭlálux.*ˡ 'One would buy it and say "I (hereby) relinquish it (and give it back) to you."' (B8:38)

When the endpoint of the past event is adjacent to the present moment, the *qṭille* form is sometimes combined with the deictic copula, which refers to the grammatical subject of the verb, e.g.

(14) *hóle dìṛṛe.*ˡ 'He has returned.' (A22:39)
(15) *Mir-Ẓándin hóle θèle.*ˡ 'Mir-Zandin has come.' (A26:46)

15.2.1.2. *Past Perfective in Narrative*

In narratives the *qṭille* form is used as a preterite to refer to punctual events in the past with a perfective aspect. This usage is abundantly attested in the narratives of the text corpus, e.g.

(1) *θéle xa-náša swarìyya*ˡ *rakáwa.*ˡ *ṣléle rəš-xa-ʾɛ̀na.*ˡ *tìwle,*ˡ *xílle mə̀ndi,*ˡ *štéle mìya.*ˡ 'A horseman, a rider came. He alighted at a spring. He sat down, ate something and drank some water.' (A15:1)
(2) *b-lɛ̀le,*ˡ *zìlla,*ˡ *síqla xa-máθa xèta.*ˡ 'At night they went off, and went up to another village.' (A15:10)

(3) *zílla báre báre dìye.*| *wírre gu-xa-bòya.*| 'She went after him. He entered a hole.' (A20:5)
(4) *mṭéle gárre dìye*| *wírre kəs-màlka.*| 'His turn came and he entered into the presence of the king.' (A1:7)
(5) *ʾáwwa málka xzéle xa-xəlma.*| 'This king had a dream' (A1:2)
(6) *bréla ðá xadúθa gu-d-ò-ʾalma.*| 'A (great) joy arose among the people.' (A4:56)
(7) *ʾaw-bxéle ʾu-mquhərre.*| *tíwle bxàya.*| 'He wept and became sad. He sat down weeping.' (A37:6)

The event that is referred to by the *qṭille* form may extend over a long period of time. The crucial feature is that the speaker presents the event with perfective aspect, i.e. a complete, delimited event. This applies to cases such as the following:

(8) *píšla xà-šabθa,*| *tré šabbàθa,*| *kpìnna.*| 'A week, two weeks went by and they became hungry.' (A20:9)
(9) *píšla yóma ṭla-yòma,*| *yóma ṭla-yòma,*| *píšla b-šənne.*| 'She went on (like this) from day to day, day to day, she went on for years.' (A21:1)

The *qṭille* form is occasionally used in contexts where the action is iterative, consisting of a series of punctual events in the past. The speaker uses the perfective *qṭille* form to focus on one of these punctual events as representative of the series. The iterativity of the event is an implicature of the context, e.g.

(10) *mxéla l-ġðàðe*| *ha-t-ṭlátθna mìtla.*| 'They beat one another until the three of them died.' (A22:35)

Conversely, a series of *qṭille* forms are sometimes used in narrative to express a gradual execution of a single event, each form expressing a component phase of the event, e.g.

(11) *ʾu-sìqla-w*| *ʾu-sìqla-w*| *ʾu-sìqla-w*| *ʾu-sìqla-w*| 'She (gradually) came up and up and up and up.' (A4:17)

15.2.1.3. *Future Perfect*
The *qṭille* form is occasionally used with the function of a future perfect, i.e. it refers to a future event that occurs prior to another future event. In

such constructions, the form expresses past time, in accordance with its normal usage, but its deictic centre has been shifted from the present to some point in the future, e.g.

(1) *har-qítla bìyux,*ˈ *qaṭlílux ṯ-axlìlux.*ˈ ‘As soon as they hit you, they will kill you and eat you.’ (A22:29)
(2) *dánət kawùθra,*ˈ *har-wéla dánət kawùθra,*ˈ *xzélux xa-náša θàya,*ˈ *málla bṯ-àθe,*ˈ *ṯ-áwər gu-bèθa,*ˈ *yáʿni xamšá daqíqela hal-ʾəṣraˈ ʾáti ʾàθeti.*ˈ ‘At lunchtime, as soon as lunchtime has come and you have seen a man coming—the mullah will come and enter the house—after five or ten minutes you should come back.’ (A22:22)

15.2.1.4. *Conditional Constructions*

A function of the *qṭille* form that is related to that of the future perfect is its use in the protasis of conditional constructions to express a possible event in the future that is temporally and/or logically anterior to the situation described in the apodosis, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-kpìnni,*ˈ *ṯ-axlənne.*ˈ ‘If I get hungry, I shall eat it.’ (A23:5)
(2) *ʾən-mpŭqèli*ˈ *garšátli ṭla-gére mánne dìye.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾən-là mpŭqéli,*ˈ *ʾána pálxən b-réše bălâš.*ˈ ‘If I split it, you will produce for me three arrows from it. If I do not split it, I shall work over it for free.’ (A12:44)
(3) *ʾən-báxtux muθéla bràta*ˈ *ʾu-báxti muθéla bròna,*ˈ *brátux qa-bròni.*ˈ *ʾən-báxti muθéla bràta*ˈ *ʾu-báxtux muθéla bròna,*ˈ *ʾa-bráti qa-brònux.*ˈ ‘If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to a boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son. If my wife gives birth to a daughter and your wife gives birth to a son, my daughter (will be married) to your son.’ (A25:2–3)
(4) *ʾən-θèli*ˈ *xó bàxtiwət.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾən-là-θeli,*ˈ *kú-məndit ʾáwðət wùð.*ˈ ‘If I come back, then you are my wife. If I do not come back, do anything you want.’ (A25:66)
(5) *qrèla!*ˈ *ʾən-mjuwəbla,*ˈ *xo-ʾànən ʾəθya kásləx.*ˈ *ʾən-là mjuwəbla,*ˈ *ʾàtit θíθa kəsli.*ˈ ‘Call them! If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you. If they do not answer you, you have come to me.’ (A26:4)
(6) *ʾən-θéla ṣláya ʾàxxa,*ˈ *xákma náše ʾàxxa,*ˈ *ʾən-mboqərra mánnux,*ˈ *ʾánna d-ènila,*ˈ *múr ga-ʾánna t-ʾÁjdən tèlɛla.*ˈ ‘If they come down here, some people (come down) here, if they ask you “Whose are these?”, say “Well, these belong to Ajdən the fox.”’ (A32:17)

15.2.1.5. *Possible Events in the Future*

The *qṭille* form is occasionally used in other contexts expressing a possible event in the future. It is found, for example, in constructions with *balki* 'perhaps'. Here there is no necessary implication of anteriority to a subsequent event:

(1) *bálki zílli b-ʾùrxa*ˈ *ʾu-kpìnni.*ˈ 'Perhaps I shall go on the road and shall become hungry.' (A23:5)

(2) *ṯ̂-àzən*ˈ *xàzəx*ˈ *bálki lá-hawe tàma,*ˈ *bálki là-pliṭle l-úrxi.*ˈ 'I shall go. Let's see, perhaps he will not be there, perhaps he will not go out onto the road to meet me (literally: onto my road).' (A1:10)

It is also used in the contexts of oaths to refer to an event that has not yet taken place, e.g.

(3) *b-rèšux*ˈ *b-réšət bàbux,*ˈ *ʾàxa.*ˈ *la-tíwle páška gu-púmmux blìlux*ˈ *d-áy ʾəzza-a-Nùne,*ˈ *lá-xillux bəsra.*ˈ '(I swear) by your head and the head of your father, Agha, (that) a piece of the goat Nune will not enter (literally: settle in) your mouth and you will not swallow it, you will not eat its meat.'

15.2.2. qṭilwale

The *qṭilwale* form, which is augmented by the past tense affix *wa*, has the same distribution as that of the *qəm-qaṭəlwa* form described in §15.1.8. The basic function of the *qṭilwale* form is to denote the occurrence of an event in the past with the deictic reference point in the present. The difference between the *qṭille* form and the *qṭilwale* form in conversational discourse is that *qṭille* refers to the recent past, the margin of which may extend up to the present moment, whereas *qṭilwale* is detached temporally from the present. The action expressed by the *qṭilwale* form, however, is not necessarily in the remote past. It may have occurred a few minutes prior to the present moment. There is, in fact, a degree of overlap between the absolute temporal reference of the *qṭille* and the *qṭilwale*. Informants, however, tend to judge that it is not felicitous to use the perfect *qṭille* to refer to an event that took place on the previous day or prior to it, whereas the time reference of *qṭilwale* can be extended indefinitely into the past.

It is misleading to interpret the *qṭilwale* form as a pluperfect or past perfect, since its basic meaning is not to denote a state that held at the time of a past action as a result of an event further in the past. It denotes

an event rather than a resultant state, although such a state may be an implicature of the verb form.

The relationship between *qṭille* and *qṭilwale* in conversational discourse may be summarized as follows:

(i) Immediate past temporal reference
qṭille:
'He has just now come' *diya θele*

(ii) Recent past temporal reference
qṭille:
'He came five minutes ago'[4] *θele qam xamša daqiqe*
qṭilwale:
'He came five minutes ago' *θewale qam xamša daqiqe*

(iii) Remote past temporal reference
qṭilwale:
'He came yesterday' *θewale təmməl*
'He came a year ago' *θewale qam-xa šeta*

In some expository discourse or direct speech in the text corpus the *qṭilwale* form is used as a narrative preterite interchangeably with *qṭille* narrative preterites, e.g.

(1) *ʾáyya šètəˈ t-zílli l-ʾàθṛa,ˈ ʾƐ́nə Nùne,ˈ ʾáxči là gu-ʾƐ́nə Núne qəm-ʾoðánne ʾéða,ˈ qəm-ʾoðánwale gu-Dòhok,ˈ har-mədre-táma xzélən nāš-dìyən,ˈ muplášlən bé'e smòqeˈ sáʾət ʾárba-w pálge qèdamta.ˈ ʾu-mən-táma* ***zílwalən xílwalən*** *ṭàmta.ˈ* 'This year, when I went to the land, ʾƐn-Nune—but I did not spend the festival in ʾƐn-Nune, I spent it in Dohok—again we saw our relatives, we knocked red eggs together at half past four in the morning. Then we went and ate breakfast.' (B15:9)

(2) *ʾána gšìqli,ˈ* ***xzéwali*** *qa-t-ʾó-fəlsa ʾéka npìlle.ˈ* 'I looked and saw where that coin fell.' (B15:34)

(3) *ʾu-hadíya* ***zilwàli***ˈ ***xzéwali*** *qá-t ʾo-ʾúmra tlìxɛle kúlla.ˈ* 'Recently I went and saw that the church was completely destroyed.' (B3:20)

[4] It should be noted that in English the present perfect is not used in a clause containing certain time adverbials although the event has relevance for the present moment.

(4) *mə́ra ṭ́laθá dèwe,*| *tré-mənna qṭ́ìləlla*| *ʾu-ʾo-xéna mṣurbíyəlle gu-dəmma*| *ʾu-rìqɛ́le m-qáme díye.*| *ʾu-ʾáy hal-hadíya ʾə́θya l-bàli,*| *sáb* ***plíṭ́walən*** *qàmθe díye.*| *yále zóre qáme qàme.*| ‘They said “(There were) three wolves, it killed two and drenched the other in blood and it (the wolf) ran away from it.” I remember this until now, since we children went out to meet it.’ (B15:49)

(5) *ʾáp-ʾanna məndyáne taxrənna mə́jəd.*| *yáʿni y-áθi l-bàli*| *ʾu-ʾána zòra*| *ʾu-ʾúp ʾɛ-ga-****píšwalən*** *gòṛe.*| ‘Indeed I remember also these things. I recall them (from the time when) I was young and also when we grew up.’ (B15:73)

(6) *ʾána táxrən hal-hadìya*| *zòrəxwa ʾáxni,*| *y-azə́xwa kaləxwa m-qamàye*| *sab-yalúnke zòre*| *ʾímə* ***klíwala*** *gu-ʾúmrə dìyən,*| *yáʿni táxsət ʾétə dìyən,*| *maklílən qamàye.*| ‘I remember until today that we were young and we went and stood at the front, for when young children stood in the church, it was a rule of our church that they would make us stand at the front.’ (B15:82)

(7) *txárət ʾan-xa-tré t-****mutəpqíwalən*** *b-ġ̊ðàðe?*| *hè.*| *máre ʾu-xaráye ṭ́líba díya qəm-šaqlə́xle.*| *ʾáy pìšla.*| ‘“Do you remember the couple that we brought together?” “Yes”. He said “and in the end we took her betrothed and she remained alive.”’ (A4:45)

Examples of *qṭ́ilwale* preterites are found also in some poetry texts of the corpus, e.g.

(8) *xa-čarxona čríxwala*| *kribta kribta l-ṣadrət gəppa wirwala*| *ču məndi la xzewala*| ‘She took a short turn around. Very angry she went back into the cave. She saw nothing.’ (A51:12)

The *qṭ́ilwale* form is rarely found in the narrative sections of the stories of the text corpus. In cases where it is used, it expresses an event that is not sequential to the verb in the main narrative line that precedes it. It occurred prior to it (9–10) or, in some cases, overlapped with it temporally (11). Although the form can often be felicitously translated by the English pluperfect, it is important to note that it expresses an event and not a resultant state. Any resultant state is only an implicature not a component of its meaning. When the speaker wishes to express a resultant state directly, the compound construction consisting of the resultative participle and the past copula is used (§15.4.1.):

(9) *dərya ʾíðe b-brōn-dìye.*| *brōn-díye qìmwale.*| *máre ha-bábi mò bə́ʾyət?*| 'He put his hand on his son. His son had woken up (at some point prior to this, implying that he was at that point awake). He said "Hey, father, what do you want?"' (A9:6)

(10) *kút-yoma ṣàle,*| *wíðwale xa-dúkθa mṭašéwa tàma.*| 'Every day he would go down—he had made (at some prior point) a place to hide in (implying that it was in existence for him to use).' (A14:81)

(11) *nčíltəlle rèše-w*| *rùše-w*| *kúlla rupèθəlla.*| *ʾáp-ʾaw mìtwale*| *har-a-dàna.*| 'She pulled its head and its shoulder apart and threw everything down. At the same time he also died.' (A12:53)

15.3. The Verb 'to be'

The verb 'to be' can be expressed in various ways. These include the basic copula, the deictic copula, the existential particle and a form of the verb *hwy*. In general, these perform different functions. The factors that determine which particular form is used include the semantic and information status of the predicate and subject components and the communicative salience of the proposition expressed by the clause as a whole.

15.3.1. *The Present Basic Copula*

The present basic copula exists in two forms, enclitic and independent. These must be distinguished when determining its function. The position of the enclitic copula in the clause must also be taken into account. In the majority of cases the enclitic form is attached to the end of the predicate, e.g. *brónux spày-ile*| 'Your son is good', though in some circumstances it is attached to the subject, e.g. *ʾáw-ile spày*| 'He is good'. The independent form bears its own stress and typically occurs between the subject and predicate, e.g. *brónux ʾíle xàwri*| 'Your son is my friend'.

15.3.1.1. *Enclitic Copula Attached to the Predicate*

The enclitic copula attached to the predicate may be regarded as the functionally unmarked form of the basic copula. It is used irrespective of the time stability of the predicate. The predicate may express a permanent property of the subject, e.g. *brónux spày-ile*| 'Your son is good'. It may identify the referent of the subject with that of the nominal of the predicate, which is typically a permanent relationship, e.g. *ʾăwáha gáwṛa brònən-ile*| 'That man is our son'. The predicate may also express a contin-

gent situation that is not necessarily a permanent property of the subject, e.g. *brónux kpìnɛle*ˡ 'Your son is hungry'. Examples from the text corpus:

(1) *ʾáθṛa rába basìmɛle.*ˡ 'The country is very beautiful.' (B5:148)
(2) *ʾána ṭaxànɛwən.*ˡ 'I am a miller.' (A32:10)
(3) *bráta zamàrtɛla.*ˡ 'The girl is a singer.' (A25:68)
(4) *hadíya ʾáti màlkən-it*ˡ 'Now you are our king.' (A14:46)
(5) *ṣíwən dìyən-ile.*ˡ 'It is our border.' (A14:48)
(6) *ʾána ʿAbda-Raḥmā̀n-iwən.*ˡ 'I am Abda Raḥmān.' (A23:26)
(7) *rába kčìxɛwən.*ˡ 'I am very tired.' (A18:32)
(8) *xòðiwən.*ˡ 'I am by myself.' (A22:32)
(9) *čdɛwət ʾaṣə́rta ṭla-xa-ràmša.*ˡ 'You are invited in the evening to dinner.' (A22:17)

The predicate may be combined with the particles *heš* 'still' and *har* 'already, still', which demonstrate that the situation is not permanent, implying an end-point or starting-point, e.g.

(10) *brónux héš kpìnɛle.*ˡ 'Your son is still hungry.'
(11) *brónux hár kpìnɛle.*ˡ 'Your son is already hungry.'
(12) *ʾáw héš màlkɛle.*ˡ 'He is still king.'
(13) *ʾáw hár màlkɛle.*ˡ 'He is already king.'

When expressing a contingent situation the enclitic copula is occasionally combined with the deictic copula, e.g.

(14) *hóle qúrbət nùrɛle.*ˡ 'He is near to the fire.' (A23:9)

It is unmarked with regard to the referential nature of the subject argument, in that it is used both with subjects that have a specific referent, as is the case in examples adduced so far, and also with those that denote a generic class, as in (15)–(16):

(15) *gilándi rába gòṛɛle.*ˡ 'The scythe is very big.' (B5:143)
(16) *jawə́tta t-prə̀zlɛla.*ˡ 'The sickle is made of iron.' (B5:140)

The construction exhibits functional unmarkedness with regard to the topical status of the subject. The subject is normally definite, i.e. its referent is identifiable, but there is no restriction on the topicality of the subject referent. The topicality of this referent depends on the degree to which it

has been evoked in the immediately preceding discourse or in the speech situation. If it has been explicity mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, it is high in topicality, e.g.

(17) *ʾána xzéli brònux.*| *brónux spày-ile.*| 'I have seen your son. Your son is good.'

Such nominals can be pronominalized, e.g.

(18) *ʾána xzéli brònux.*| *ʾáw spày-ile.*| 'I have seen your son. He is good.'

A nominal may also be definite, with an identifiable referent, by virtue of the fact that it is anchored to the preceding discourse by a some element within it, such as a pronominal suffix or an annexed noun with a referent that has been evoked previously, although the referent of the nominal itself has not been evoked. In such cases the nominal is lower in topicality and cannot be pronominalized, e.g.

(19) *kut-šéta y-ázən l-màθa.*| *nášət máθa spày-ila.*| *yawíli féke mən-kɛrmàne.*| 'Every year I go to the village. The people of the village are good. They give me fruit from the orchards.'

A nominal may also be definite by virtue of the fact that it is inferable as being a component associated with the situation evoked in the preceding discourse, although it is not specifically mentioned in it. Also in such cases it is lower in topicality, arguably lower even than when anchored, and cannot be pronominalized, e.g.

(20) *kut-šéta y-ázən l-màθa.*| *náše spày-ila.*| *yawíli féke mən-kɛrmàne.*| 'Every year I go to the village. The people are good. They give me fruit from the orchards.'

This topicality scale of definite nominals may be summarzied by the following hierarchy, in which the symbol > denotes 'of higher topicality than':

Explicitly mentioned > Anchored > Inferable

First and second person pronouns are high in topicality by virtue of the fact that their referents are given in the speech situation, e.g.

(21) *ʾána spày-iwən.*ˈ 'I am good.'
(22) *ʾáti spày-iwət.*ˈ 'You are good.'

It can be seen, therefore, that the construction in which the enclitic copula is attached to the predicate is used irrespective of the topicality of the subject nominal.

The construction is also unmarked with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition of the clause as a whole. This is reflected by its usage irrespective of the factivity of the proposition. It is used both in factive and non-factive propositions. Clauses expressing assertive, factive propositions are high in communicative salience in that the speaker is committed to its factuality. Non-factive propositions do not involve such commitment and are low in communicative salience. This applies, for example, to interrogative clauses, in which the proposition is being questioned, e.g.

(23) *bróne díye spày-ile*ˈ 'His son is good'
(24) *bróne díye spày-ile?*ˈ 'Is his son good?'

The present enclitic copula sometimes has a past tense reference in clauses that are syntactically subordinated to or closely associated with a clause with a past verb form, e.g.

(25) *Fárxo mərə*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾana mṭálən mənnèxu.*ˈ *zòrɛle.*ˈ 'Farxo said "I also shall play with you." He was young.' (A25:87)
(26) *ʾu-ʾɛ-Lelíθa θèla.*ˈ *ʾáy kúlla dònɛla,*ˈ *dòna,*ˈ *məšxa.*ˈ *ʾína θéla l-tằra.*ˈ 'The Leliθa came. She was all (made of) fat, fat, oil. She came to the door.' (A19:4)
(27) *ṣlèla,*ˈ *tfíqla muʿàlləm.*ˈ *muʿàlləm,*ˈ *dəkkána gòṛtɛla.*ˈ 'She went down and met the teacher. The teacher—the shop (he was in) was big.' (A22:18)
(28) *qìmtɛla*ˈ *wíðtəlle ʾixàla,*ˈ *bèʾe.*ˈ *qèdamtɛla.*ˈ 'She made him food, some eggs. It was early morning.' (A23:4)

15.3.1.2. *The Independent Basic Copula*

The independent basic copula is marked with regard to the nature of the predicate and subject and also with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition expressed by the clause.

There are restrictions with regard to the type of predicate and subject that occur in this construction. The predicate is identificatory or expresses

a permanent property of the subject, which is typically an intrinsic defining property rather than an acquired property. It is not used when the predicate denotes a contingent situation. The subject of the construction is always high in topicality. There is no restriction, however, regarding the referential status of the subject, in that it may have a specific referent or denote a generic class. This is illustrated in the following examples,

(1) *ʾána ʾíwən Rustắmo brōn-t-Zàlo.*ˈ 'I am Rustam son of Zāl.' (A29:63)
(2) *ʾána ʾíwən Yúwəl Yuḥànna.*ˈ 'I am Yuwəl Yuḥanna.' (A1:1)
(3) *ʾáxni ʾíwəx màlke.*ˈ 'We are kings.' (A18:8)
(4) *ʾáwwa ʾíle sulàqa.*ˈ 'This is the (festival of) Ascension.' (B6:7)
(5) *béθət Qára Téždin qìdle.*ˈ *Qára Téždin ʾíle xàtne díye.*ˈ 'The house of Qara Teždin has burnt down. Qara Teždin is his brother-in-law.' (A26:55)
(6) *ʾíθwaln ṣàwma,*ˈ *yáʿni ʾéða y-aθéwa mən-ṣàwma.*ˈ *ṣáwma ʾíle xamšì yomáθa.*ˈ 'We had a fast, that is the festival came after a fast. The fast is fifty days.' (B5:52)
(7) *ʾáxxa ʾíθena dàwla.*ˈ *dáwla ʾíle xa-sandùqa*ˈ *réše pθíxɛle dérɛ xàṭṭe gáwe.*ˈ 'Here there is a drum. The drum is a box, with an open top, in which they put wheat.' (B6:54)
(8) *θáyɛle qàša*ˈ *ʾu-sáṛa gnùnɛle.*ˈ *ʾó gnúna ʾíle nišànqa.*ˈ 'The priest comes and ties the band. The band is a symbol.' (B5:44)
(9) *ʾu-kùt-xa*ˈ *ʾítle gómət gʸàne,*ˈ *ʾítle dúka mruzágta y-amráxla dùna.*ˈ*…góma ʾíle gawàye,*ˈ *dúna ʾíle qam-tắra.*ˈ 'Everybody has his own basement stable and a place prepared (for feeding), which we call a *duna* (feeding pen).… The basement stable is inside and the feeding pen is outside.' (B5:110)
(10) *xàrθa*ˈ *y-aθélɛni ʾèða*ˈ *ʾéðət be-yàlda.*ˈ *ʾéðət be-yálda ʾíle wéθət Mšîxa.*ˈ 'Then we have (another) festival, the festival of Christmas. The festival of Christmas is (in commemoration of) the birth of Christ.' (B6:12)

The high topicality of the subject item in (4)–(10) arises from the fact that its referent has been referred to in the immediately preceding discourse, where it is an item of central concern. In the case of full nominal subjects, moreover, the nominal itself has typically been mentioned in the preceding clause, as can be seen in the examples. Constructions such as (1)–(3) with 1st person pronominal subjects, however, often occur at the beginning of speech. One factor contributing to the high topicality of the subject referent could be that the referent of the pronoun is present and observable by the hearer in the speech situation. Another factor is that

such clauses are typically used at the beginning of a speech in which the first person referent plays a prominent role in the subsequent clauses. We may call this forward pointing topicality. This is the case, for example, with the discourse following the clause adduced in (1) above, which is reproduced below:

(11) *ʾána ʾíwən Rustắmo brōn-t-Ẓàlo,*ˈ … *hon-ʾə́θya ṭlábəlla bràtux,*ˈ *nablə́nna ṭla-bàbi.*ˈ 'I am Rustam son of Zāl … I have come seeking the hand of your daughter, in order to take her to my father.' (A29:63)

A construction with an independent copula is marked with regard to communicative salience. It is used in clauses expressing assertive, factive propositions, which are high in communicative salience in that the speaker is committed to their factuality, but it is not used to express non-factive propositions such as interrogative clauses, in which the proposition is being questioned. If the clause is interrogative, the enclitic copula on the predicate is used. This is illustrated in (12), which contains assertive and interrogative clauses:

(12) *ʾàxniˈ kəsləˈ šàbθaˈ ʾíla šawwà-yomeˈ ʾu-yàrxaˈ ʾíle ṭlaθì-yome.*ˈ *ʾáxtu šabθéxu ʾəštà-yomela?*ˈ *yarxéxu ʾəsri-w-ʾəčč̣à-yomele?*ˈ 'A week for us is seven days and a month is thirty days. Is your week six weeks? Is your month twenty-nine days?' (A17:13)

The communicative salience of the construction gives the clause a degree of independence from the preceding discourse. This is often exploited to express some kind of reorientation in the discourse. When the subject is a 3rd person pronoun or a nominal that has been mentioned in the preceding discourse, the construction is generally used to express some kind of elaborative background on what precedes. It can be seen as a device to mark a boundary or discontinuity in the flow of the discourse. This is a common discourse usage of contructions with communicative salience. Alternatively communicative salience of the construction is sometimes exploited to give prominence to a statement deemed to be of particular importance. This applies especially to clauses with a 1st or 2nd person pronominal subject (1–3). These often occur at the beginning of a section of discourse.

When the subject of the independent copula is pronominal, in some cases it is expressed only by the inflection of the copula and is not realized by an independent pronoun, e.g.

(13) *ʾɛ-màsta*| *ʾi-dɛríla gu-gùða.*| *gúða màdile?*|| *ʾíle gə́ldət xa-hèywən.*| ‘They put the yoghurt in a churn. What is a churn? It is an animal skin.’ (B6:38)
(14) *xɛ́la díya màdile*| *t-mazvàrra?*|| *ʾíla mìya.*| ‘What is its power, which turns it? It is water.’ (B6:53)
(15) *baʾúθət ninwàye*|*… lɛ́le ʾéða diyàna.*| *ʾíle ʾéða qàwmi.*| ‘The Rogation of the Ninevites is not a religious festival. It is a national festival.’ (B6:17)

Occasionally the independent copula with its own stress is placed after the predicate, e.g.

(16) *ʾána Qára Tèždin ʾíwən.*| ‘I am Qara Teždin.’ (A26:68)
(17) *ʾána brònux ʾíwən.*| ‘I am your son.’ (A18:7)
(18) *ʾáw har-xá-mdi ʾìle.*| ‘It is something.’ (A14:25)

15.3.1.3. *Enclitic Copula Attached to the Subject*
When the subject of the clause is high in topicality, the copula in some instances does not stand independently with its own stress but rather is cliticized to the subject, e.g.

(1) *ʾáyyɛla c̣ìta.*| ‘This is butter.’ (B6:41)
(2) *ʾu-ʾáyyɛla kùlla.*| ‘This is all (the story).’ (A4:24)
(3) *ʾáw-ile síṛa bìya.*| ‘It is tied to it.’ (B6:55)
(4) *xúwwele qṭìla!*|| ‘The snake is killed!’ (A24:42)

These constructions share with the independent copula construction the feature of having subjects with topical prominence. In the examples cited above, the referent of the subject has been referred to in the immediately preceding discourse where it is of central concern. The clauses are, however, unmarked with regard to the nature of the predicate, in that they may express either a contingent or a permanent property of the subject. They are also unmarked with regard to the communicative salience and assertiveness of the proposition of the clause as a whole. This is shown by the fact that the construction is used in interrogative clauses containing interrogative words that are in the subject position, e.g.

(5) *ʾénile gu-bèθa?*|| ‘Who is in the house?’
(6) *ʾénile zaqàra?*|| ‘Who is a weaver?’

Such constructions, therefore, are close in function to clauses with the copula cliticized to the predicate, which are likewise unmarked with regard to the nature of the predicate and the communicative salience of the clause. They differ only in the marked status of the subject referent, in that this must be an item that is topically prominent. The placement of the copula on the interrogative subject as in (5) and (6) can be interpreted as a reflection of the topical prominence of the interrogative word. It is not topically prominent by virtue of being informationally given, but rather since it is what the question primarily requests information about.[5] Moreover it has a feature analogous to what has been described above as forward pointing topicality. This is because the referent of the interrogative constituent is typically expected to be identified in the subsequent discourse.

The notion of forward pointing topicality also explains the attachment of the copula in (7) to the adverbial *hádəx*, which is linked as a correlative to the following prepositional phrase:

(7) *ʾítli ðá bratət-màma*ˡ *hádəx-ila šṭrànta*ˡ *max-d-àwwa yóma.*ˡ 'I have a cousin. She is as beautiful as this sun (lit. She is thus beautiful, like this sun).' (A7:17)

15.3.2. *The Deictic Copula*

As is the case with the independent basic copula, the deictic copula exhibits certain restrictions with regard to the nature of the predicate and subject and also with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition expressed by the clause. It is generally used when the predicate expresses a contingent situation that is not necessarily a permanent property of the subject. It may be used without any other clause constituents to draw attention to the location of a referent in the current speech situation, e.g.

(1) *mə́re kɛ̀la ṭóṭo?*ˡ *mə́re hòla.*ˡ 'He said "Where is grandma?" He said "There she is (as we speak)."' (A7:24)

In many cases it is combined with a locative adverbial in the predicate. Examples from the text corpus:

(2) *yonáθa hóla reše-reše-dìye.*ˡ 'Doves are over him.' (A25:58)

[5] For the topicality of interrogative words see Steedman (2000: 659).

(3) *hóla skínta mànne.*ˡ ‘A knife is with him (= he has a knife).’ (A30:21)
(4) *ʾu-hóla wajjúwe díya làxxa.*ˡ ‘and her personal effects are here.’ (A21:9)
(5) *baxtáθən hóla yaqúre tərwèθna.*ˡ ‘Our wives are both pregnant.’ (A25:2)
(6) *xətna hóle zína l-gàre.*ˡ ‘The groom is standing on the roof.’ (B8:34)

Examples (2)–(6) all express contingent situations that hold at the moment of speaking, but are not presented as permanent. The subjects are of various different types of informational value including newly introduced referents (2)–(3), referents that are anchored by a pronominal suffix to the a previously mentioned referent (4) or to the participants of the speech situation (5) and a referent that is explicitly given in the preceding discourse (6).

The construction with the deictic copula is occasionally used where the predicate is intended to express a permanent property of the subject. In such cases the subject is generally a referent that has been newly introduced into the discourse, e.g.

(7) *xa-bráta hóla tàma.*ˡ ‘A girl is there.’ (A25:68)
(8) *ʾƐ̄n-Nùne*ˡ *hóla npílta gu-ʾáθṛət Bàrwər.*ˡ ʾƐn-Nune lies in the land of Barwar.’ (B4:1)
(9) *qìmɛle,*ˡ *šəmmət máθa díye wéwa Barwòre.*ˡ *ʾámte dìye*ˡ *hóla gu-Sàrzar*ˡ *ʾu-xále dìye*ˡ *hóle gu-Daštàne.*ˡ ‘The name of his village was Barwore. His aunt is in Sarzar and his uncle is in Daštane.’ (A23:1)
(10) *ʾíθən xàʾa*ˡ *hóle gu-Kàrkuk.*ˡ ‘There is a person, he is in Kirkuk.’ (A16:1)
(11) *kúlla pəlxàna,*ˡ *pəlxánət bɛ́θa hóle b-qðàli.*ˡ ‘All the work, the work of the house is my duty (literally: is on my neck).’ (A21:27)

The deictic copula may be used to express a permanent property in a clause that has a topical, informationally given, subject. In such cases the speaker draws special attention to the proposition expressed by the clause rather than to the referent of the subject, e.g.

(12) *ʾaw-ʾɛ́ne díye npíltɛla ʾisəqθe*ˡ *ʾámər hà!*ˡˡ *hóla gwìrta!*ˡˡ ‘His eye fell on his ring and he said “Ah, she is married!”’ (A26:31)

In (12) the deictic copula gives particular prominence to the proposition that ‘she is married’ due to the fact that the speaker is surprised by the discovery of this unexpected situation.

In principle the subject of a deictic copula has a specific referent and does not denote a generic class. Examples are sometimes encountered that appear to go against this principle, such as (6) above where the subject *xə́tna* ('the groom') is referring generically to the groom in any wedding. In such cases the speaker is no doubt presenting the subject as if it were a specific case of the class concerned for the sake of vividness.

Constructions with the deictic copula are marked with regard to communicative salience, as is the case with the independent basic copula. It is used in clauses expressing assertive, factive propositions, which are high in communicative salience in that the speaker is committed to their factuality, but it is not used to express non-factive propositions such as interrogative clauses, in which the proposition is being questioned. If the clause is interrogative, the enclitic copula on the predicate is used.

(13) *baxtáθən hóla yaqùre.*| 'Our wives are pregnant.'
(14) *baxtáθən yaqùrela?*| 'Are our wives pregnant?'

If a question does not relate to the factuality of a proposition, the deictic copula may be used, e.g.

(15) *qa-mó brónux hóle gu-bèθa?* 'Why is your son in the house?'

The deictic copula is also used in an assertion that is embedded in a question, e.g.

(16) *lá-mərɛxu ʾáyya quṣárta hóla b-ʾùrxa?*| 'Did you not say that this cooking pot is on the way (to giving birth)?' (A5:5)

In general the deictic copula is a device for drawing the particular attention of the hearer to something in the immediate speech situation. This may be a property of the subject expressed in the predicate that is observable in the immediate situation, but not necessarily a permanent property, or a permanent property that is unexpected. Alternatively it may be a referent that is newly introduced into the discourse and, therefore, worthy of particular attention. In some cases, both of these conditioning factors may be operative. The ultimate decision as to whether a basic copula or a deictic copula is used, however, depends on the degree of prominence that the speaker wishes to give to the subject referent or the predication in a particular discourse context. Consider, for example, (17):

(17) *xa-šaqòlɛle*ˈ *mkùlčɛle*ˈ *ʾu-xa-xèna*ˈ *ða-ʾàṭma*ˈ *hóla sàxi.*ˈ *mɔ́re ʾáyya ʾàṭma*ˈ *nablɔ́tla ʾəlla-dìya.*ˈ ‘One is a shank, it is stripped (of its meat). Another, a thigh, is in good condition. He said (to the servant) “Take this thigh to her.”’ (A30:30)

Here both the ‘shank’ and the ‘thigh’ are newly introduced referents and the predications concerning them both denote contingent situations that exist at the time of speaking. The narrator, however, wishes to give greater prominence in the discourse to the ‘thigh’ since this is the concern of the following speech.

The deictic copula may be used to draw attention to the situation as a whole expressed by a clause when this marks the onset of a section of discourse and provides the background for what follows. Consider the wider context of (5) cited above:

(18) *málka mɔ́re ṭla-d-o-xóne fǎqìra,*ˈ *mɔ́re xòni*ˈ *baxtáθən hóla yaqúre tərwəθna.*ˈ *ʾən-báxtux muθéla bràta*ˈ *ʾu-báxti muθéla bròna,*ˈ *brátux qa-bròni.*ˈ *ʾən-báxti muθéla bràta*ˈ *ʾu-báxtux muθéla bròna,*ˈ *ʾa-bráti qa-brònux.*ˈ ‘The king said to the poor brother, he said “My brother, our wives are both pregnant. If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son. If my wife gives birth to a daughter and your wife gives birth to a son, my daughter (will be married) to your son.”’ (A25:2–3)

The predicate of the independent basic copula, on the other hand, expresses that a certain property is a permanent feature of the subject but does not specify whether this property is observable in the immediate speech situation. Similarly the independent basic copula does not draw attention to the subject of the clause, since it is already activated in the consciousness of the hearer due to its high degree of topicality.

It is likely that the basic copula originated as a presentative construction, similar in function to the deictic copula that is in use today. This explains the use of the L-suffixes in the 3rd person, which originally expressed the object of the presentative. At some stage this old presentative would have lost its presentative function and been cliticized to the predicate, in conformity with the syntactic position of verbal inflection. This would have been accompanied by the emergence of a new presentative device in the form of the deictic copula. The construction with the basic independent copula placed before the predicate, e.g. *brónux ʾíle xàwri*ˈ ‘Your son is my

friend' is likely to reflect a transitional stage of this development which has survived in the modern dialect. As remarked, this construction does not have an attention-drawing function to the same degree as the deictic copula, but it nevertheless has greater communicative salience than the construction with the enclitic copula.

The deictic copula may be used with past tense reference in the context of clauses with past verb forms, e.g.

(19) *xa-pàṛa,*ˈ *wiðále gáne max-qàšta.*ˈ *Fárxo ʾu-Sətt́iye hóla kəs-ġðàðe.*ˈ 'One lamb made itself like a bow. Farxo and Sətt́iye were together.' (A25:28–29)

(20) *qímɛle ʾap-Fárxo šqíləlle zòrna,*ˈ *mxáya zòrna,*ˈ *bejíye hóla xa-gòta*ˈ *ʾərwa xa-gòta.*ˈ 'Farxo also took up the pipe and played pipe music, the young lambs were one side and the sheep the other.' (A25:31)

(21) *hóla ʾiθáθa gu-lèša,*ˈ *lyáša kùbbe,*ˈ *ʾu-ʾəθyɛle*ˈ *bába dìya*ˈ *ʾu-wǎ̈zīr.*ˈ 'Her hands were in dough, while kneading the meat-balls, and her father and the vizier came.' (A21:26)

(22) *múṣlyəlla dìwən.*ˈ *díwən t-xále díye hóla dwìqta.*ˈ 'He brought them down to the meeting room. The meeting room of his uncle was full.' (A23:14)

The deictic copula may be combined with the expressions *heš* 'still', *hal-díya* 'until now', and *har* 'already, still', which imply that the situation has an end-point or starting-point and is not permanent, e.g.

(23) *ʾáy heš-hóla gu-gòma.*ˈ 'She is still in the basement stable.' (A18:22)

(24) *jullə́kθa hóla hár qrúšta rèša.*ˈ 'As for the bowl (of yoghurt)—here, its crust is still on it.' (A30:24)

(25) *ʾáp-ʾo-ṭ́laθa qəm-pɛrmìle.*ˈ *ʾu-dəbbóre hár-hola qam-tə́ṛət bòya.*ˈ 'They slaughtered also the third one. The hornets were still before the door of the hole.' (A20:9)

(26) *hal-díya hóla gu-móxən ʾáyya ʾáxni.*ˈ 'Until now this is in our memory.' (B16:12)

Occasionally the deictic copula is placed after the predicate, e.g.

(27) *ʾárye dìye*ˈ *kəs-báxte dìye hóla.*ˈ 'His lions are with his wife.' (A18:19)

(28) *ʾéne pθìxtɛla,*ˈ *bas-ṭ́lìya hóle.*ˈ 'His eye is open, but he is asleep.' (A31:6)

The deictic copula is sometimes used to present a nominal, denoting its existence without ascribing any property to it in a predicate, e.g.

(29) *hóla ʾisáqθa dìya.*| 'Here is her ring.' (A25:69)
(30) *hóla zeðàye.*| 'Here are the breads.' (A30:24)
(31) *hóʾla mìya.*| 'Here is some water.' (A28:18)

15.3.3. *The Copula in Subordinate Clauses*

The distinction between the various copula constructions described above are neutralized in subordinate clauses that are introduced by the conditional particle *ʾən* and the general subordinating particle *D*. The latter has various functions, such as a relativizer and complementizer, and is often combined with other particles. If a copula clause occurs in such clauses, the enclitic copula is always used, rather than the independent or deictic copula, and this is attached to the particle at the head of the clause, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-íle mìθa,*| *gắrəg mèθən.*| 'If he is dead, I must die.' (A8:61)
(2) *ʾən-ít xonèni,*| *háyyo tu-ʾáxxa kəslèni.*| 'If you are our brother, come and sit here with us.' (A39:7)
(3) *ʾən-íle xwarzə̀yi,*| *t̂-áθe t-yắðéla ʾánna mòdila*| *ʾu-módi lèla*| *xo-d-áwwa jùlla.*| 'If he is my nephew, he will come and know what these are or are not under this cloth.' (A25:49)
(4) *si-prúmle ʾáwwa yála zòra*| *t̂-íle gu-dudìya.*| 'Go and slaughter this baby boy who is in the cradle.' (A15:8)
(5) *xìləlle ʾo-ʾixála t̂-íle kàsle.*| 'He ate the food that was in front of him.' (A23:5)
(6) *xáðrəx xázexi xa-nàša*| *t̂-íle palàxa.*| 'Let's look for a man who is a hard worker.' (A21:3)
(7) *ʾánna yắði t̂-íle duglàna.*| 'They know that he is a liar.' (A48:3)
(8) *lɛt-xzáya bíye díye t̂-íle mìθa?*| 'Don't you see that he is dead?' (A17:2)

15.3.4. *Copula on Focused Elements*

The distinction between the various types of copula is neutralized also when the speaker wishes to place a particular focus on one argument of the clause. In such circumstances only the enclitic copula is used, even where in equivalent clauses without such argument focus the deictic or

independent copula occurs. The enclitic copula is attached to the focused element, whether this be the subject or a component of the predicate of the clause. The focused element bears the nuclear stress and is typically moved to the front of the clause if is not already situated there. This type of construction is used when the speaker wishes to put a contrastive focus on one argument. In what follows the focus is represented in the translation with italics:

(1) A: *bróni hóle gu-bèθa.*ˈ B: *là,*ˈ *bàbux-ile gu-béθa,*ˈ *lá bròˑnux.*ˈ 'A: "My son is in the house". B: "No, *your father* is in the house, not your son."'
(2) A: *bróni hóle dmíxa gu-bèθa.*ˈ B: *là,*ˈ *gu-kèrmɛle dmíxa,*ˈ *lá gu-bèθa.*ˈ 'A: "My son is asleep in the house". B: "No, he is asleep *in the orchard*, not in the house."'
(3) A: *ʾáwwa ʾíle xətna.*ˈ B: *là,*ˈ *qrìwɛle ʾáwwa,*ˈ *lá xətna.*ˈ 'A: "This is the groom". B: "No, this is the *best-man*, not the groom."'
(4) A: *ʾáwwa ʾile mtúrṣa mən-kèpa.*ˈ B: *là,*ˈ *mən-qèsɛle mtúrṣa,*ˈ *lá mən-kèpa.*ˈ 'A: "This is made of stone". B: "No, this is made of *wood*, not of stone."'

Examples from the text corpus:

(5) *ʾáwwa lèle kálba.*ˈ *ʾàtit kálba.*ˈ 'He is not a dog. *you* are a dog' (A11:2)
(6) *ʾáni xšíwela dəbbɛla táma.*ˈ 'They thought the bear (not the bees) was there.' (A10:7)

The contrastive focus may be an informationally given referent, as in the following:

(7) A: *ʾədyo xzéli xónət Dawíð ʾu-brōn-màme. brōn-máme ʾíle zaqàra.*ˈ B: *là,*ˈ *xònele zaqára,*ˈ *lá brōn-màme.*ˈ 'A: "Today I saw the brother of David and his cousin. His cousin is a weaver". B: "No, *his brother* is a weaver, not his cousin."'

This neutralization applies only to strong focus, as is the case with contrastive focus. It is not necessarily used with a simple new information focus, as is seen in constructions such as the following:

(8) A: *ʾénile gu-bèθa?*ˈ B: *bròˑnux hóle gu-béθa.*ˈ 'A: "Who is in the house?" B: "Your son is in the house"'.
(9) A: *ʾènile?* B: *ʾáw ʾíle xòni*ˈ 'A: "Who is he?" B: "He is my brother"'.

15.3.5. *Past Copula Placed after the Predicate*

The past copula may be placed after or before the predicate. Constructions with the copula after the predicate are unmarked with regard to the nature of the subject and predicate and also with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition expressed by the clause. The predicate may express a permanent situation in the past (1–6) or one that is contingent to a particular moment or space of time and exists only temporally (7–9). The subject may have a specific referent or denote a generic class. In most cases the copula is cliticized to the predicate:

(1) *yə́mme díye yə̀mmi-wawa*ǀ … *bábe díye bàbiwa.*ǀ 'His mother was my mother … His father was my father.' (A32:31)
(2) *ʾÁšwuṭ rába krèt-iwa gu-ʾàθṛa.*ǀ 'February was very bad in our country.' (B5:152)
(3) *maṛúθa mturáṣtɛwa m-qèsa.*ǀ 'The snow shovel was made of wood.' (B5:196)
(4) *ʾína báte qámθa ṭìna-wɛwa.*ǀ 'Formerly, however, houses were made of mud.' (B5:198)
(5) *fa-xayuθéy b-dawèrɛwa.*ǀ 'Their livelihood was in the mule.' (B5:126)
(6) *xóne díye fă̆qìra-wewa.*ǀ 'His brother was poor.' (A25:1)
(7) *gu-bèθa wéwa,*ǀ *har-zála-w θàya.*ǀ 'He was in the house, walking back and forth.' (A6:1)
(8) *b-yárxət šàwwɛwa,*ǀ … *xošèbɛwa.*ǀ … *koðə́nta b-ìði-yawa*ǀ *šulxèθa.*ǀ … *ʾána šobànənwa xáčča.*ǀ 'It was in the month of July … it was a Sunday … The mule was in my hand … I was suffering from a bit of a cold.' (B5:130)
(9) *w-áw xamìmɛwa,*ǀ *pšìra,*ǀ *ṣə́lya gu-tàlga.*ǀ 'It was warm, (the snow) melted and it dropped down into the snow.' (B5:154)

The unmarkedness of the construction with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition it expresses is shown by the fact that it is used both in assertive, factive clauses and also in non-factive, interrogative clauses, e.g.

(10) *xónux gu-bèθɛwa.*ǀ 'Your brother was in the house.'
(11) *xónux gu-bèθɛwa?*ǀ 'Was your brother in the house?'

On some occasions the copula bears its own stress, e.g.

(12) *ʾáni milàne ʾiyɛ́wa.*ˡ ‘They were green.’ (B5:218)
(13) *xá gáwṛa xɛlána-w zàxma wéwa.*ˡ ‘He was a powerful, tough man.’ (A27:1)
(14) *sab-qyámta b-lèle ʾiyáwa.*ˡ ‘because Easter was at night.’ (B5:53)

15.3.6. *Past Copula Placed before the Predicate*

Constructions with the copula placed before the predicate are likewise unmarked with regard to the nature of the predicate, in that it may express a permanent (1–7) or contingent (8–9) situation. There is no past form of the deictic copula and the construction Subject—*ʾiwa*—Predicate, therefore, corresponds to both that of the independent present copula (Subject—*ʾile*—Predicate) and that of the deicitc copula (Subject—*hole*—Predicate).

(1) *məlxáwa ʾíwa mtúrṣa m-qèsa.*ˡ ‘The winnowing fork was made from wood.’ (B5:87)
(2) *w-áw ʾiwéwa malàxa.*ˡ *ʾáw yăðéwala ʾáyya tunítθət Bəlbál Hazàr.*ˡ ‘He was an angel. He knew the story of Bəlbəl Hazar.’ (A8:25)
(3) *gáʾat tárte xzéle málka dúnye ráya dèwe.*ˡ *xálmət málka ʾíwa ʾúp-ʾaw zàwna.*ˡ ‘The second time the king saw (in his dream) that it was raining wolves. Also that dream of the king was (like) the time.’ (A1:24)
(4) *ʾu-ʾáy ʾiyéwa qáṣṣət yáʿni rəzza.*ˡ ‘That was the story of rice’ (B5:87)
(5) *dawèra*ˡ *ʾíwa xa-móndi ʾax-ṯ-ámrəx ʾíðe-w ʾàqle y-amrə́xla*ˡ ‘The mule was something that was (as important to somebody as) “his hands and his legs,” as we say.’ (B5:124)
(6) *Nìnwe*ˡ *ʾiwáwa pétəxt ʾaθoràye.*ˡ ‘Nineveh was the capital of the Assyrians.’ (B6:17)
(7) *ʾíθwa xa-Xáno Lapzèrin.*ˡ *b-ʾắṣəl díye ʾiwéwa qărăčàya.*ˡ ‘There was a certain Xano the Golden Hand. In origin he was a gypsy.’ (A11:1)
(8) *hadíya mšárəx qəṣṣə́ttət Mắmo-w Ẓìne.*ˡ *Mà̀mo*ˡ *ʾíwewa gu-ʾAlà̀n*ˡ *ʾu-Ẓíne ʾiwáwa gu-Ǯazíre Bòta.*ˡ ‘Now we shall begin the story of Mămo and Zine. Mămo was in ʾAlān and Zine was in Jazire Bota.’ (A26:1)
(9) *m-bar-hàdəx*ˡ *qɛmìwa*ˡ *mzabóne ʾilàna.*ˡ *náše ʾíwa kòpa.*ˡ ‘After that they would sell the tree. The people were below.’ (B5:42)

When the clause expresses a permanent situation, the subject typically has topical prominence, as is the case in Subject—*ʾile*—Predicate constructions. In the examples occurring in the text corpus, the topical prominence generally results from the fact that the referent has been evoked in the

immediately preceding context. Note that in (5), however, the referent has not been previously activated, but it plays a central role in the following context.

When the copula is placed before the predicate, the clause has some kind of communicative salience. This is reflected by the fact that it is restricted to assertive, factive clauses and is not used in non-factive, interrogative clauses. The communicative salience in the examples occurring in the text corpus can in most cases be shown to have a discourse function. The clauses generally mark some kind of semantic boundary in the discourse. In (1) and (2) the copula clauses constitute an explanatory elaboration concerning a referent that has been evoked in the preceding context that breaks the flow of the discourse. Also in (3) the construction is used in a clause that is explanatory of what precedes. The clause in (4) is a summarizing remark, which marks the end of a section. The constructions in (5)–(7) occur at the beginning of a section of discourse that supply important preliminary material. The same applies also to (8), where the construction is used to express a contingent situation. In (9) the copula clause denotes a contingent situation that is circumstantial to the event referred to in the previous clause and does not carry the narrative line forward.

In (10) the past copula is used in a different type of function, namely to introduce a time adverbial at an episodic boundary of discourse. The copula here gives morpological weight to the initial adverbial expression and is not translatable directly into idiomatic English:

(10) *ʾíwa sáʾət tmánya qédamta xzéli xákma náše θàya*ˈ *mən-ʾƐ̈n-Nune ta-Dùre.*ˈ
'At eight o'clock in the morning I saw some people coming from ʾƐn-Nune to Dure.' (B1:11)

15.3.7. *The Negative Copula*

The present and past negative copula forms refer to states, both permanent (1–3) and contingent (4–6), in the present and past respectively. They correspond, therefore, to both the basic and deictic forms of the positive copula:

(1) *ʾáwwa lèle kálba.*ˈ 'He is not a dog.' (A11:20)
(2) *léwət d-áwwa ʾàθṛa.*ˈ 'You are not from this land.' (A25:82)
(3) *xu-léwa ṭaxxána brōn-taxxanèθa?*ˈ 'Was he not a miller the son of a miller-woman?' (A32:28)

(4) *dárdi léla d-ạyya.*ˈ 'My suffering is not from this.' (A26:66)
(5) *lèwa yómət šábθa.*ˈ 'It was not Saturday.' (A14:58)
(6) *ʾína léwa mádre gnàyux.*ˈ 'But it was not your fault again.' (A1:25)

15.3.8. *The Existential Particles*

The existential particle *ʾiθ*, together with its variant forms (§8.20.1.), expresses either a permanent (1–3) or a contingent (4–6) situation:

(1) *ʾíθən xa-ṭùra.*ˈ 'There is a mountain.' (A24:11)
(2) *ʾíθən bíš-gùṛe mánni.*ˈ 'There are better men than me.' (A26:79)
(3) *ʾítli ðá bratət-màma.*ˈ 'I have a cousin.' (A7:17)
(4) *ʾíθən tàma*ˈ *ṭáḷḷəθ bnáθa xène.*ˈ 'There are there three other girls.' (A26:24)
(5) *ʾána ʾíθ šùla qámi.*ˈ 'There is work in front of me (to do).' (A24:45)
(6) *ʾítli xákma xabráne ṯ̂-amrənnəx.*ˈ 'I have a few words to say to you.' (A4:40)

The existential particle is sometimes combined with the deictic copula, e.g.

(7) *hóla ʾíθən jənne gáwa!*ˈ 'There are jinn in it!' (A22:33)
(8) *hóle ʾíθən xà*ˈ *kəs-ṯòṯo*ˈ *sàwta.*ˈ 'There is somebody at the home of the old woman.' (A24:44)
(9) *qam-ʾárya hóle ʾíθən*ˈ *gə̀lla.*ˈ *ʾu-qam-ʾázza hóle ʾíθən*ˈ *bàsra.*ˈ *šqúl bàsra*ˈ *m-qam-ʾəzza*ˈ *dríle qam-ʾàrya.*ˈ *ʾu-gə̀lla*ˈ *šqúlle m-kəs-ʾàrya*ˈ *drìle*ˈ *qa-ʾəzza.*ˈ 'Before the lion there is grass and before the she-goat there is meat. Take the meat from before the goat and put it before the lion. Take the grass from the lion and offer it to the she-goat.' (A24:15)
(10) *qàwra*ˈ *ʾíθən xa-káwe gàwa*ˈ *ʾu-hóle ʾíθən jawə̀tta,*ˈ *jawáttət práma qèse.*ˈ *ʾi-qéma xa-dalíθət xùwwe*ˈ *ʾi-xắðа l-án tre-xoriyàθa.*ˈ *kút ʾásəq qamáya xazéla ʾɛ-dalíθa brìθəll-ani*ˈ *parə̀mla.*ˈ 'There is a hole in the grave. There is a chopper, a chopper to cut wood. A wild vine grows up and winds around those two willow trees. The first to see the vine growing on those (trees) cuts it down.' (A26:91)
(11) *hóle ʾíθən bóya zòra.*ˈ 'There is a small hole.' (A20:5)
(12) *hóle ʾíθən làxxa*ˈ *stə̀rra.*ˈ 'There is here a storeroom.' (A23:17)

These examples express both contingent (7–9) and permanent (10–12) situations. The crucial conditioning factor for the use of the deictic copula

is not the nature of the situation expressed by the predicate, but rather the discourse prominence that the speaker wishes to give to the referent introduced by the clause. In (7) the force of the deictic copula is to express the unexpectedness of the existence of jinn. In the remaining examples the referent introduced plays a prominent role in the ensuing discourse. In (8) the man at the home of the old woman is the protagonist of the following narrative. In (9) the grass and the meat are in the centre of attention in what follows. In (10) the deictic copula is used with the clause introducing the 'chopper' but not in the one introducing the 'hole' in the grave. It is the activity associated with the chopper that is the concern of the following discourse, as shown in the cited example, whereas the 'hole' is only an incidental referent. In (11) and (12) the referent introduced acts as the spatial setting for the following section of discourse.

The past existential particle (*ʾiθwa*) and the negative existential particle (*liθ, liθwa*) are, likewise, used to express a permanent (13–15) or contingent (16–18) situation. They are not, however, combined with the deictic copula:

(13) *ʾíθwa xa-màlka.*ˈ 'There was a king.' (A1:2)
(14) *lìθən dăràje,*ˈ *ta-ṣáli gu-gòma.*ˈ 'There are not steps for them to go down into the basement stable.' (A22:10)
(15) *ʾé-ga líθwa bərqa.*ˈ 'At that time there was not electricity.' (B10:45)
(16) *ʾíθwa bráta dmíxta kásle dìye.*ˈ 'There was a girl sleeping with him.' (A26:6)
(17) *líθ ʾáp-xa gu-bèθa?*ˈ 'Is there nobody in the house?' (A22:32)
(18) *lìθwale quṣàrta.*ˈ 'He did not have a cooking-pot.' (A5:1)

The noun that is introduced by an existential particle may refer to a specific item, as in the majority of the examples above, or to a class (18). Further examples of constructions with class nouns:

(19) *ʾíθən bə̀ṭma.*ˈ 'There is the terebinth tree.' (B5:220)
(20b) *ʾíθwa ʾə̀̆raq.*ˈ 'There was arak.' (B5:11)
(21) *ʾíθwa láxma y-amrə́xwa zeðàye.*ˈ 'There was bread that we called *zeðaye.*' (B5:15)
(22) *ʾíθwa xyáptət xə̀tna.*ˈ 'There was the washing of the groom.' (B5:25)

There is no clear functional distinction between the short and long variants of the existential particles. They appear to be in free variation. In

a series of two parallel clauses containing the particles, however, a short variant is often followed by a long variant, giving the final clause of the pair end-weighting, e.g.

(23) *xùyɛle,*| *púrya lìθ,*| *bərqa lìθən.*| 'It is dark. There is no light and there is no electricity.' (A23:29)
(24) *čù-qala líθ.*| *čú-qala líθən mənnèy.*| 'There is no sound. There is no sound of them.' (A18:15)

On many occasions the present existential particles (*ʾiθ, liθ*) occur in the context of past form verbs and have past tense reference, sharing their deictic centre with these verbs.

(25) *qímela xìlela.*| *qímela šqílela xa-ʾamána xànči zóra.*| *múttəlla kəs-réša dìya.*| *ṣáwθa lìθən.*| 'They ate. Then they took a small container and put it at her head. There was no speech (with this).' (A21:17–18)
(26) *múttəlla gu-ʾaṭnàbəl*| *ʾu-nùbləlla.*| *ʾáw ʾítle ða-ʾótəx ʾax-d-àyya,*| *zùrtɛla,*| *qaráwət d-àwwa*| *ʾu-t-yə́mme díye,*| *ʾu-ʾal-ʾə̀ra*| *líθ čù-məndi,*| *lá kursìya*| *ʾu-la-čù-məndi.*| 'They put her in a car and took her off. He had one room like this one, it was small, his bed and his mother's, on the floor there was nothing, no chair, nothing.' (A21:5)

15.3.9. *The Verb* hwy

In addition to the various copulas and the existential particles, the verb 'to be' may be expressed by the verb *hwy*, which is inflected in all verbal bases. Many of the inflections of this verb supply functions that are not expressed by the copulas or existential particles, though in some cases there is functional overlap.

15.3.9.1. qaṭəl

15.3.9.1.1. *Realis*

The *qaṭəl* form of *hwy*, without any prefixed particle, is occasionally used in a realis sense, referring imperfectively to a situation in the present, e.g.

(1) *ʾu-zeðàya*| *ʾíla biš-xlìmta.*| *xlìmta hóya.*| 'A *zeðaya* bread is thicker. It is thick.' (B6:49)
(2) *ʾu-xàkma dukáne*| *xà-yoma háwe ʾéða.*| 'In some places the festival is for one day.' (B6:2)

(3) *hal-ʾaṣárta ʾáw háwe šulèni.*ˈ ‘This is our activity until the evening’ (B6:11)
(4) *yómət ʾásri-w xámša háwe ʾèða.*ˈ ‘The twenty-fifth day is the festival’ (B6:13)
(5) *ʾína ʾáyyət xúmṣa har-xúmṣa háwe xwarnàya.*ˈ ‘But the dish consisting only of *xumṣa* is whitish.’ (B10:16)
(6) *ʾè-ga*ˈ *Rustám ʾo-mtánɛ mənne y-ámri ʾé-gə damàxwa,*ˈ *ṭḷaθà yomáθa*ˈ *ʾu-ṭḷaθà lɛlᾶwáθa háwe dmìxa.*ˈ ‘Now, they say of Rustam that when he slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights.’ (A29:2)
(7) *har-dmáxta dìyən*ˈ *biz-zóda gu-bɛθwàθa hóya.*ˈ ‘Our sleeping is mostly in the houses.’ (B15:27)
(8) *qedámta hál bar-kawùθra*ˈ *šə́mša y-óya bàθər ṭúra,*ˈ *fa-ṭə̀lla háwe*ˈ *qam-ṭùra.*ˈ ‘In the morning, until after lunch, the sun is behind the mountain and there is shade at the front of the mountain.’ (B3:2)

These examples exhibit differences regarding the referential status of the subject and the nature of the predicate. They may be divided into three categories.

(i) In (1)–(5) the subject has generic reference and the predicate denotes a permanent situation.
(ii) In (6) the subject has a specific referent and the predicate refers to a habitual, iterative situation.
(iii) In (7)–(8) the subject has generic reference and the predicate refers to a habitual, iterative situation.

The functional profile (i) may also be expressed by the basic copula. Indeed, in (1) the independent basic copula is used in a parallel clause. As we shall see, in this profile the predicate may also have the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form of *hwy*. Clauses with the profiles (ii) and (iii), with habitual iterative predicates, are usually expressed by the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form of *hwy* rather than the copula. A parallel to (6) with *y-áwe* rather than *háwe* is, in fact, used by the speaker later in the same text (*ṭḷaθà yomáθa*ˈ *ʾu-ṭḷaθá lɛlᾶwáθa y-áwe dmíxa* A29:19). Also in (8), the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form *y-óya* is used in a preceding parallel clause. All the occurrences of the *qaṭəl* form of *hwy* cited above, therefore, can be regarded as variants of the more usual *ʾi-qaṭəl* form. They are unlikely to have arisen by the phonetic elision of the *ʾi-* prefix, since the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form is *y-awe* (< *ʾi-hawe*), in which the prefix is followed by a vowel and so is protected from elision. The *qaṭəl* form here is more likely to be an extension of the irrealis *qaṭəl* (§15.3.9.1.2.). The crucial feature

of the example above is that the predications lack specificity either due to the subject being a generic class term or due to the predicate being habitual. A predicate with this lack of specificity and distinctness is closer semantically to an irrealis predicate than a more individuated one that denotes a specific situation relating to a specific referent.

The form occurs more frequently in verbs expressing habitual aspect in subordinate temporal clauses. The subordinating particle *D* of the temporal conjunction is usually prefixed to the verb, e.g.

(9) *lé-y-maṣi mṭáli b-ɛ-dắn ṯ-áwe yòma.*ˡ 'They cannot play when it is daytime.' (B11:2)
(10) *ʾáyya ṭawálta mṭalíwala rába b-sàtwa,*ˡ *ʾɛ-gə ṯ-áwe tàlga,*ˡ *š-garăwàθa.*ˡ 'They played this game a lot in the winter, when there was snow, on top of the roofs.' (B11:16)
(11) *ʾáp-xa la-xazèla,*ˡ *ʾa-dánə ṯ-áwe ṭlìya yála.*ˡ 'Nobody sees it, when the child is asleep.' (B10:77)
(12) *ʾu-ʾégət ṯ-áwe xá mənnéni qúrbə d-o-xèna,*ˡ *har-maxənne*ˡ *tăbálli l-tăbálle dìye,*ˡ *ʾaw-mìtle,*ˡ *ʾaw-prìqle,*ˡ *ʾaw-xsìrre.*ˡ 'When one of us is near to the other, I strike my marble against his marble and he dies, he is finished, he has lost.' (B11:27)
(13) *ʾé-gət háwi náše ràba*ˡ *hálbat búš náša b-ṛáyəš b-gáne dìye.*ˡ 'When there are many people, of course a person feels himself more.' (B15:15)

15.3.9.1.2. *Irrealis*

The most usual function of the *qaṭəl* form of *hwy* is to express irrealis, which cannot be expressed by any of the copula forms or existential particles. It occurs in the same irrealis contexts as the *qaṭəl* form of other verbs, which have been described in §15.1.1.5–10.

The form may be used in a main clause, where it often expresses deontic modality, e.g.

(1) *háwət basíma ràba.*ˡ 'May you be very well.' (A5:7)
(2) *háwət hášyər ʾítlən jənne.*ˡ 'Be careful, we have jinn.' (A22:26)
(3) *ya-ʾàlaha,*ˡ *háwe ṣáxi hál-ʾɛ-gət ʾána máṯyən ʾálle dìye.*ˡ 'Oh God, let him be well until I reach him.' (A26:80)
(4) *hóya mxíθa l-mìla.*ˡ 'Let it be (= let's say it was) covered in blue.' (A4:29)

This also applies to the expression *la hoya* 'It should not be', 'It is not allowed', 'It is not possible', e.g.

(5) *lá-hoya yóma qamáya xátna t-xazéla kʸàlo.*ˈ ‘It is not allowed for the groom to see the bride on the first day.’ (A4:36)
(6) *yəmmi la-hòya*ˈ *ʾàna*ˈ *xàθi lá-ʾazən xazánna.*ˈ ‘It is impossible for me not to go and find my sister.’ (A37:9)
(7) *sab-lá-hoya biš-pθìθa.*ˈ ‘It (the space between the beams) should not be wider.’ (B5:189)

Questions in the *qaṭəl* forms such as (8) and (9) are deontic expressions whereby the speaker addresses the hearer expecting him to impose an obligation (deontic necessity) or give permission (deontic possibility):

(8) *de-màṭo hóya?*ˈˈ ‘How can it be/should it be?’ (A30:21)
(9) *mô-hoyali gwárta-w?*ˈˈ ‘What can marriage be to me?’ (A16:5)

On some occasions the modality is epistemic, in that it expresses a less than complete commitment to the truth of the proposition by the speaker. Examples (10)–(11) fall into this category, in which the speakers express disbelief that the situation could exist:

(10) *ʾána háwən Qára Tèždin,*ˈ *maθyánət xárje-w bárjət boṭanàye,*ˈ *ṭ-áθe xa-ʾárxa ʾax-d-àwwa*ˈ *gu-bèθi*ˈˈ *ʾu-páləṭ léðən lèkele zála,*ˈ *léka là?*ˈˈ ‘(How could it be that) I am Qara Teždin, the collector of all taxes of the people of Botan, and a guest comes like this into my house and leaves without me knowing where on earth he was going!’ (A26:34)
(11) *ʾána háwən šĕx d-áyya hənna*ˈ *ʾu-náše lá-ʾaθa l-diwàni,*ˈ *ʾu-lá-hawa ʾàrxi,*ˈ *yátwi háwa rəḥqa.*ˈ ‘(How could it be that) I am the sheikh of this place and people do not come to my reception and do not become my guest, but sit far away.’ (A7:7)

The form is used in the protasis of conditional sentences referring to present or future time, e.g.

(12) *ʾən-háwe t-tərte ʾaqláθa,*ˈ *ʾána b-zawnənne.*ˈ ‘If it were two legged, I would buy it.’ (A22:5)
(13) *ʾən-hawéli bràta*ˈ *t-yánna qa-bronèxu.*ˈ ‘If I were to have a daughter, I would give her to your son.’ (A25:8)
(14) *ʾən-hóya rázi šánna díya pălàla,*ˈ *pálga ṭla-d-áy ʾu-pálga ṭla-d-àw,*ˈ *maqimàxle.*ˈ ‘If she will be happy to share her years, half for her and half for him, we shall resurrect him.’ (A4:46)

In (15) it takes the past time reference of the verb of the main clause as its deictic centre:

(15) *ʾən-háwe yále ràbe,*| *máre ʾéni máxe sar-amòða?*| 'If there were many children, he (the priest) said "Who will be the first to be baptized?"' (B8:44)

It is used in subordinate clauses that are complements of various verbs and expressions denoting deontic obligation, when the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is as yet unrealized, e.g.

(16) *bă̆yən ṯ-áwət láxxa b-sáʾət tmànya.*| 'I want you to be here at eight o'clock.'
(17) *hammáše míya gă̆rəg háwa ʾálle dìye.*| 'Water must be on it constantly.' (B5:78)
(18) *kút-dukθa ʾáza ʾàwra*| *ʾáp ʾayya-xéta bàra lázəm háwya.*| 'Every place that she goes to and enters, the other has to be (i.e. to follow) after her.' (B12:2)

Contrast (19) in which the expression *lazəm* expresses epistemic necessity, in which the subordinate clause expresses what the speaker believes is a real situation, rather than one that has not yet been realized:

(19) *lázəm ʾawwa-ràba ferássɛle.*| 'He must be a heroic warrior.' (A29:43)

In such cases the word *lazəm* is sometimes placed at the end of the clause, e.g.

(20) *ʾu-xa-mašmóye-wewa ʾəllèni lázəm.*| 'Somebody must have been listening to us.' (A35:19)

The form is used in clauses expressing purpose, e.g.

(21) *ʾána bă̆yən ʾaláha t-yawálli kùl-məndi bi-záwda,*| *ta-t-xayúθi hóya spày.*| 'I want God to see more of everything, so that my life will be good.' (A3:3)
(22) *ʾíθwa kočɛrnáyət qurðàye*| *ʾánna ʾi-ṣáli dàšta*| *šaxínta háwi b-sàtwa.*| 'There were Kurdish nomads, who went down to the plain in order to be warm in Winter.' (B18:1)

(23) *ʾu-mkasɛ̀wala-w*ˈ *mattíwala xa-dúkθa šaxìnta*ˈ *ṯ-amráxxa gòma.*ˈ *ṯ-óya šaxínta mkasɛ̀wala.*ˈ ‘Then they would cover them and place them in a warm place, which we call a basement-stable. In order for it to be warm they would cover them.’ (B5:12)

As can be seen in several of the examples cited above, *qaṭəl* forms may be used in clauses that have past form verbs in the surrounding context and in such cases they have past time reference, with their deictic centre in the tense of the adjacent verbs.

15.3.9.1.3. *Generic Relative Clauses*

The *qaṭəl* form of *hwy* is used in a relative clause that has a generic antecedent rather than one referring to a specific referent, e.g.

(1) *hézuke mòdila?*ˈ *táli xàwla*ˈ *b-xa-ʾilána ṯ-óya góṛta rába ramànta.*ˈ ‘What is swinging? They hang a rope on a tree that is large and very high.’ (B6:7)
(2) *kúl naša ṯ-awéle xa-bròna.*ˈ ‘Everybody who has a son.’ (B6:35)
(3) *ʾo-ṯ-awéle ʾərwe*ˈ *y-áwe xzida ṭàrpa.*ˈ ‘Anybody who had sheep, would harvest leaves.’ (B5:108)
(4) *ʾáw máṣli xá-dukθa ṯ-óya šaxínta y-amráxwa gòma.*ˈ ‘They bring them down to a place that is warm, which we called a “basement stable.”’ (B5:211)
(5) *kút-dukət ṯ-óya bis-senàẏ*ˈ *sab-ràba-ʾiyewa tálga.*ˈ ‘In whatever place was easiest, since there was a lot of snow.’ (B5:195)

15.3.9.2. qaṭəlwa

The *qaṭəlwa* form of *hwy* is occasionally used as a realis past form, referring imperfectively to a situation in the past, e.g.

(1) *ʾotáxe gòṛe hawéwa.*ˈ ‘The rooms were big.’ (B10:51)
(2) *kút-xa hawéwale xà.*ˈ ‘Everybody used to have one.’ (B10:11)
(3) *ʾáxni lá raba-ʾi-mapəlxàxwala.*ˈ *ʾína hawèwalən.*ˈ ‘We did not use it (raisin syrup), but we used to have it.’ (B10:18)
(4) *mqarbəníwa l-màθa*ˈ *sab-tàlga hawéwa,*ˈ *lìθwaley ʾixála.*ˈ ‘They would come near to the village, since there was snow and they did not have food.’ (B15:37)
(5) *kul-máθət ʾítla ʾùmra*ˈ *ʾan-maθwáθa hawéwaley šèra.*ˈ ‘Every village that had a church—these villages had a saint’s festival.’ (B6:22)

In these examples from the text corpus the subject refers to a class rather than to a specific referent in the class. Examples (1)–(3) refer to a permanent situation, whereas (4)–(5) may be interpreted as having a predicate with habitual/iterative aspect. The verb 'to be' in clauses with the profile of (1)–(3) may also be expressed by the past copula (§15.3.5.–6.) or past existential particle (§15.3.8.).

The *qaṭəlwa* form is also attested as a realis past form in the protasis of temporal clauses (generally with the subordinating particle *D* attached to it), e.g.

(6) *ʾé-gə ṯ̂-awéwa mắθălan báwθə Ninwàye| yapáxwa làzəm háwɛ ṭ̂álme.|* 'When it was, for example, the fast of Nineveh, we had to bake ṭəlme.' (B10:95)

Elsewhere the *qaṭəlwa* form is used to express irrealis, which cannot be expressed by the past copula or existential particle, e.g.

(7) *xéna ʾən-hawéwa bàsra,|… dèrəxwa básra.|* 'If there was meat, …we would serve meat.' (B10:19)
(8) *ʾa-šábθa qaméθa dɛrɛ́wa gu-məššàra| qa-t-rə́zza ṯ̂-awéwa spày.|* 'During the first week they would put it in the paddy field in order for the rice to be (grow) well.' (B5:135)
(9) *hátxa y-asṛ̀wa baxtáθa,| ḥátta lá-hawɛwa sarḵ̂òle.|* 'Women tied them (on their head) so that they did not have an uncovered head.' (B10:42)
(10) *ʾó-bena ʾa-ʾilàna| ta-zonìwa náše.| ta-zonìwala,| ta-t-hawéwa hayàrta| ta-xə̀tna.|* 'This was so that people would buy the tree, so that they would buy it, so that it would be a help for the groom.' (B8:36)

15.3.9.3. ʾi-qaṭəl

When the *ʾi-* prefix is added to the *qaṭəl* form of *hwy*, the initial */h/* is generally elided, e.g. *y-awe* < *ʾi-hawe*. Occasionally, however, speakers use the forms without the elision of the */h/*.

This form is used in place of the copula or existential particle when the proposition expressed by the clause has a generic property. This is conditioned by the generic nature of the subject argument or of the predicate. The *ʾi-qaṭəl* form is used when the subject argument is a generic class term without a specific referent, e.g. *tálga xwàra y-áwe|* 'Snow is white.' In this example it is the subject that contributes to the generic nature of

the proposition. The predicate expresses a permanent property. The form is also used when the subject argument has a specific referent and the predicate expresses a habitual, iterative situation, e.g. *kút-yom brónux làxxa y-áwe*ˡ 'Everyday your son is here.' In such cases it is the predicate that contributes to the generic nature of the proposition rather than the subject. In many cases where the form is used both of these factors are operative, in that the subject is a generic class term and the predicate expresses a habitual, iterative situation, e.g. *kut-šéta tálga gu-ṭùra y-áwe*ˡ 'Every year there is snow in the mountains.'

Examples from the text corpus with generic class terms as subjects and predicates expressing a permanent property:

(1) *láxma prìša y-áwe.*ˡ 'Bread is different.' (B5:99)
(2) *lawàše*ˡ*…ʾi-maxéla l-tanùra.*ˡ *tanùra*ˡ *y-áwe xamìma.*ˡ 'They put *lawaše* in the oven. The oven is hot.' (B6:48)
(3) *ʾáw qəqwána gu-ṭùra y-áwe.*ˡ 'The partridge is in the mountains.' (B5:147)
(4) *ʾítlɛni halùke,*ˡ *ʾap-ʾáni har-gu-ʾaqàra y-áwa.*ˡ *ʾap-ʾáni rába basìme y-áwa.*ˡ *ʾap-ʾáni y-áwa smòqe*ˡ *zère*ˡ *basìme.*ˡ 'Plums, we have plums. These are only in the farmland. These are also very tasty. They are red and yellow, (they are) delicious.' (B5:222)
(5) *fa-ʾáw qunjìyáθe dìye*ˡ *d-áy mandòrta*ˡ *y-áwa bàzye*ˡ *y-áwe bóya bìye.*ˡ 'The ends of the roller are bored, there are holes in them' (B5:193)

As is shown by (4), generic class terms may be pronominalized. The subject may be distributive denoting 'each one' of the class concerned, e.g.

(6) *kút-xa y-áwe gu-bèθe*ˡ *ʾu-heywáne y-áwa mánne dìye.*ˡ 'Everybody is in his home and his animals are with him.' (B5:116)

Examples containing a subject with a specific referent and a predicate expressing a habitual, iterative situation:

(7) *béna Rustắmo ʾé-gət dàməx*ˡ *ṭlaθà yomáθa*ˡ *ʾu-ṭlaθá lɛlăwáθa y-áwe dmíxa lɛ-ṛàyəš.*ˡ 'Now, when Rustam slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights and not wake.' (A29:19)
(8) *b-šəryăwáθa šaxìnta y-óya dúnye.*ˡ 'During the festivals the weather (literally: the world) is hot.' (B6:25)

Examples with both generic subjects and habitual, iterative predicates:

(9) *sab-ʾáxni xluláne kəslən šàbθa y-áwa.*ˡ 'since in our community weddings are on a Saturday (i.e. each time there is a wedding it takes place on a Saturday).' (B5:46)
(10) *ʾap-ʾərxe b-gàrre y-áwa.*ˡ 'Also the water-mills are by turns (i.e. each time people use a water-mill they take it in turns).' (B5:90)

As we have seen, constructions with the basic copula may also be used to express the permanent property of a generic subject. In this profile, therefore, there is free variation between *y-awe* and the copula. This is seen in cases such as (11), where both forms are used in the same context:

(11) *mandórta ʾíle kèpa*ˡ *gòṛa y-áwe,*ˡ *yáʿni y-áwe mtúrṣa xāṣ-d-ó-məndi.*ˡ 'A roller is a stone, which is large and is made specially for this thing.' (B5:193)

15.3.9.4. ʾi-qaṭəlwa

The *ʾi-qaṭəlwa* form of *hwy* is used as a realis past form, referring imperfectively to a situation in the past. It is attested in the text corpus in clauses with a variety of profiles.

(i) Clauses with a subject argument referring to a specific referent and with a predicate expressing a permanent property, e.g.

(1) *Mar-Sáwa y-awéwa xa-qaddìša.*ˡ 'St. Sawa was a saint.' (B6:27)
(2) *ʾúmra qúrbət bɛθ-qorayàθa y-awéwa.*ˡ 'The church was near the cemetery.' (B5:56)

(ii) Clauses with a subject that is a class term and a predicate expressing a permanent property, e.g.

(3) *qălúnka bazə́kka díya rìxa y-awéwa.*ˡ 'The stem of the pipe was long.' (B7:19)
(4) *ṭaxníwa y-oðíwa qámxa daqìqa y-awéwa.*ˡ 'They would grind it and make it into flour that was fine.' (B10:88)
(5) *ʾa-t-la-ṣaléwa kaws-díya y-awéwa rába xɛlàna-w*ˡ *xlìma,*ˡ *dɛríwa ʾúpra.* '(A woman) whose whose hair would not (comb) down, (since) it was very abundant and thick,—they would apply the (oily) mud.' (B10:68)

(iii) Clauses with a subject that is a class term and a predicate that can be interpreted as expressing habitual/iterative aspect, e.g.

(6) *ʾu-réšət púnda ʾùḷḷul y-awéwa.*ˡ ‘The top of the wick was upwards (on each of these occasions).’ (B15:83)
(7) *qéṭa xəmma y-awéwa rába.*ˡ ‘Summer was very hot (each year)’ (B11:34)
(8) *rába gáye ráya paləṭwa,*ˡ *…palə̀ṭwa*ˡ *qèsa y-awéwa b-íðe díye.*ˡ ‘On many occasions the shepherd went out…He went out with a wooden stick in his hand.’ (B15:48)

The verb ‘to be’ in clauses with profiles (i) and (ii) may also be expressed by the past copula.

15.3.9.5. bəd-qaṭəl

When the prefix *bəd-* is attached to *hawe*, the */h/* is elided and the prefix reduced to a voiceless stop resulting in the form *ṯ-awe*. This form is used to denote a situation in the future, which cannot be expressed by the copula forms or the existential particle. The aspect expressed by the form is either perfective, e.g. *tə́mməl ṯ-áwən láxxa sáʾət tmànya*ˡ ‘Tomorrow I shall be here at eight o’clock’, or habitual, e.g. *kút-yom ṯ-áwən láxxa sáʾət tmànya*ˡ ‘Everyday I shall be here at eight o’clock,’ which can be still interpreted as perfective in that the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation. Examples from the text corpus:

(1) *ʾáwwa náša fằqìra*ˡ *ṯ-awéle xá bronà.*ˡ ‘This poor man will have a son.’ (A8:3)
(2) *ṭla-d-èni ṯ-óya béta?*ˡ ‘The egg will be for whom? (D1:3)
(3) *ʾáyya dàx-ṯ-awya?!*ˡ ‘How will this be?!’ (A7:7)
(4) *mó-ṯ-oya ʾàyya?*ˡ ‘What will become of her?’ (A4:38)

With a 1st person subject it is often used to express intention, e.g.

(5) *ʾàxxa ṯ-óyən*ˡ *hál-o-yoma mèθən.*ˡ ‘I shall be here until the day I die.’ (A4:45)
(6) *ʾána bṯ-áwən mànnəx.*ˡ ‘I shall be with you.’ (A8:68)

With 2nd and 3rd person subjects it may have a deontic sense, e.g.

(7) *ʾína Nozáli ʾu-Gozàli| bṯ̂-áwi m-gēb-brònux| gu-d-áwwa bèθux.|* 'But Nozali and Gozali will be in place of your son in this house of yours.' (A8:95)
(8) *ʾàxxa ṯ̂-óyət.|* 'You will be here.' (A30:20)
(9) *málka ṯ̂-áwət basìma.|* 'King, you will (I hope) be well.' (A1:14)

15.3.9.6. qəm-qaṭəl

The *qəm-qaṭəl* form, which functions as a perfective past tense, is used only with pronominal suffixes as an alternative to the *qṭille* form. It may be used with the verb *hwy* when the verb takes an indirect object suffix, e.g.

(1) *qəm-hawéla xáθa yaḵ̂ànta.|* 'An only sister was born to them (literally: was to them).' (A18:1)

15.3.9.7. bəd-qaṭəlwa

This is attested in contexts where it is used to express the future in the past, i.e. a perfective action that is in the future from the perspective of some point in the past, e.g.

(1) *ʾána bíθənnux θíθən bàθrux.| w-ana-léðən ṯ̂-awátwa ʾáti xàyən palṭátwa mánni.| júlli mattátwala gu-gùda| ʾu-bánətwa ʾo-gúda b-rèša.|* I loved you and followed you, while not knowing that you would turn out to be treacherous to me, that you would put my clothes in the wall and build the wall over them.' (A14:101)

In (2) it is used to express discourse dependency, which is a function exhibited by other verbs in the *bəd-qaṭəlwa* form (cf. §15.1.6.3.). The clause is an elaboration of what is stated in the clause before it:

(2) *ʾíθwalən ʾùmra| Mar-Gwìrgis| ʾax-tré ṭabàqe| t-bàte| ʾíθwabe yáʿni xàmši,| tmaní mètre ṯ̂-awéwabe,| ʾámma mètre| ramùθe.|* 'We had the church of Saint George, which had what was similar to two floors of a house, that is it was fifty, it was eighty metres, even a hundred metres in height.' (B2:3)

15.3.9.8. qṭille

The *qṭille* form of *hwy* denotes the occurrence of a specific event in the past with perfective aspect.

It may refer to a situation as a complete event in the past, having a finite duration with a starting-point and end-point, which may be followed by another event that is sequential to, e.g.

(1) *tre-ṭlá yománe wéla b-ʾúrxa t-là-xala,*| *ʾu-t-là-štaya.*| *xuláma Bangína máre ṭla-Mǎmo*| ‘For two or three days they were on the road without food and without drink. (Then) the servant Bangina said to Mǎmo…’ (A26:16)
(2) *tmánya yománe wéle táma xlùla.*| ‘The wedding took place there (during a period of) eight days.’ (A32:25)

It is used to report the birth of a child, e.g.

(3) *Zā̆l wéle ʾálle díye bròna.*| ‘A son was born to Zāl.’ (A28:2)

The form may have a present perfect sense in that it expresses a past event with present relevance. In such cases the endpoint of the event coincides with or is close to the present, e.g.

(4) *malkúθi péša ṭlàlax,*| *wélax hawnànta,*| *b-ʾiqárat ṣáwθa basìmta,*| *ʾu-màqul.*| ‘My kingdom will be for you, since you have been (up until this moment) clever, with the honour of sweet and fine words.’ (A40:16)
(5) *dáx šaqlítuley yàlən.ʔ*| *dáx bárya ʾàyya.ʔ*| *mòdi wéle.ʔ*| ‘How can you take our children away? How can that come about? What has happened?’ (A8:9)

Rather than denoting a complete event bounded by a start and an end, the form is sometimes used ingressively to denote the start of a situation without any definite endpoint. Another event mentioned in the ensuing discourse, therefore, may take place while this situation still holds rather than sequential to its completion, e.g.

(6) *dí zìlla dána*| *θèla dána*| *ʾu-saʾətɛla*| *wéla ʾaṣàrta.*| *b-áyya dàna,*| *ʾáθyéle fā̆qih.*| ‘Time passed, the hours passed, and it became evening. At that time (i.e. during the evening) the jurist came.’ (A22:28)
(7) *wéla hádəx xàðye.*| *qímela músqəlla b-dáwla-w zòrna,*| *drέθət tòpe*| *ʾu-hádəx wídla xlùla.*| ‘They became so happy. (In their happiness) they brought them up (to the palace) with drum and pipe, the firing of rifles, and so held the wedding.’ (A4:56)

(8) *wéla máṭra xɛ̀lànta*ˈ *máṭra màṭra.*ˈ *ʾáni-ži mòdila wíðe?*ˈ *qìmela*ˈ *kúlla wíre gu-xa-gə̀ppa.*ˈ *mə́ra kálya màṭra.*ˈ ‘There was heavy rain (i.e. it started raining heavily), a lot of rain. What did they do? They all went into a cave (while it was raining). They said “Let the rain stop.”’ (A14:11)

(9) *yómət ṭìàθa*ˈ *kúl-məndi wéle hàzər*ˈ *ʾu-Gozáli tíwɛle tràb xaṣ-súsa.*ˈ ‘On the third day everything was (= became) ready. (When this situation held) Gozali sat, thump, on the back of the horse.’ (A8:38–39)

(10) *wéla dánət mḥaṣòle.*ˈ *ʾáy báxta mḥuṣə̀lla.*ˈ ‘It became the time of giving birth and the woman gave birth.’ (A8:6)

(11) *šqíllux zúze wélux lebána ʾàx-zawna.*ˈ ‘You took the money and became tricky like the time.’ (A1:22)

Conversely it may denote a situation with an endpoint without specifying the onset. In (12) the speaker uses the *qṭille* form to express the fact that his name was still the same at the end of a party during which he had expected it to be changed.

(12) *táwri xìllux.*ˈ *məndi xìllux,*ˈ *kúlla xìllɛxu,*ˈ *štèlɛxu,*ˈ *mubsə̀mlɛxu*ˈ *hár šə́mmi wele-Čùxo.*ˈ ‘You ate my ox. you ate such-and-such. You ate everything. You drank. You enjoyed yourselves. But my name was still Čuxo (at the end of the party).’ (A7:4)

15.4. Compound Verbal Constructions

15.4.1. *The Resultative Participle Combined with the Verb ‘to be’*

15.4.1.1. *General Remarks*

The resultative participle (*qṭila* I, *mquṭla* II, *muqəṭla* III) relates to a situation that results from a past event. It exhibits a semantic profile that includes both dynamicity and stativity. In this respect it shares features with verbs, which typically express dynamic events, and with adjectives, which denote properties with a degree of durability and stability in time. The morphological form should be regarded as indeterminate with regard to dynamism and stativity in that it may have a dynamic (verbal) or stative (adjectival) interpretation according to the context in which it is used.

The resultative participle occurs in the predicate of a clause with the basic copula or the deictic copula. The interpretation of the participle

with regard to dynamicity depends on (i) the actionality of the verb by virtue of its lexical meaning and (ii) the transitivity of the clause.

It is convenient to adopt here the classification of the actionality of verbal events proposed by Vendler (1957, 1967). These include statives, activities, achievements and accomplishments. Verbs with stative actionality denote a durative, homogeneous state, e.g. *to believe*. Activities are durative, homogeneous dynamic events, e.g. *to run*. The homogeneity of states and activities is shown by the fact that any interval during which they take place can be divided into homogeneous sub-intervals. They are said to be 'atelic' events, in that they do not have an inherent, internal endpoint. Achievements and accomplishments, by contrast, are 'telic' since they have an inherent endpoint by virtue of their meaning. They contain an internal boundary, whereby they are non-homogeneous at two sub-intervals of the action. They include a dynamic component and an endpoint (*telos*) attained by the completion of the event. The difference between achievements and accomplishments lies in the feature of durativity. The dynamic component of achievements is not durative, e.g. *to sit down*, whereas durativity is present in the dynamic interval of accomplishments and can be quantified by a temporal adverbial indicating a period of time, e.g. *to boil* ('The water boiled in five minutes'). A further type of actionality is that of 'punctual' verbs, which denote atelic dynamic events that have only minimal duration. As with other types of atelic events, punctual events are homogeneous and do not result in a clear state that is defined by the event, e.g. *to sneeze*.

This scheme of classification may be summarized in the following table:

	durative	dynamic	homogeneous
stative	+	–	+
activity	+	+	+
achievement	–	+	–
accomplishment	+	+	–
punctual event	–	+	+

The resultative participle may occur in a predicate of an intransitive clause. Such constructions contain only a subject argument, which is the affected participant in the event. The participle in these clauses may have a verbal or adjectival interpretation. The crucial conditioning factor is the actionality of the verb.

If the actionality of the verb is telic, the resultative participle can have both a verbal and an adjectival interpretation. In the verbal interpretation, the predicate expresses the telic event including both its dynamic and final static endpoint, the subject of the clause being either the agent or the experiencer of the event. In the adjectival interpretation, it expresses only the resultant state of the endpoint. Verbs of this nature falling into the category of achievements, according to the classification described above, include, for example, *ʾtw* 'to sit down', *kly* 'to stand up', *ṭlʾ* 'to go to sleep', *dmx* 'to lie down, go to sleep', *rkw* 'to mount (an animal)', *mṭy* 'to arrive', *npl* 'to fall down', *pqʾ* 'to split', *sps* 'to rot', *ʾṣy/ṣy* 'to get stuck', *gðl* 'to become frozen':

(1)	*ʾáw hóle tìwa*ˡ	'He has sat down' (verbal)
		'He is seated' (adjectival)
(2)	*ʾáw hóle ṭlìya*ˡ	'He has gone to sleep' (verbal)
		'He is asleep' (adjectival)
(3)	*ʾáw hóle npìla*ˡ	'He has fallen' (verbal)
		'He is (lying) fallen' (adjectival)

The adjectival function of the resultative participle of such verbs is demonstrated by the fact that it can function as an attributive modifier of the participant that is affected by the event, i.e. the subject noun, e.g.

(4)	*ʾaw-náša hóle tìwa*ˡ	'The man is seated'
	*xzáyənne ʾaw-náša tìwa*ˡ	'I see the seated man'
(5)	*ʾaw-yála hóle ṭlìya*ˡ	'The child is asleep'
	*xzáyənne ʾaw-yála ṭlìya*ˡ	'I see the sleeping child'
(6)	*ʾaw-yála hóle npìla.*ˡ	'The child is (lying) fallen'
	*xzáyənne ʾaw-yála npìla.*ˡ	'I see the fallen child'

Furthermore the adjectival interpretation of the copula predicate is shown by the fact that it can be combined with the adverbial *heš* 'still' in cases where the resulting state is not permanent, e.g. *héš hóle tìwa*ˡ 'He is still seated', *héš hóle ṭlìya*ˡ 'He is still asleep'.

The category of telic achievements include various verbs that denote ingressiveness into a state. The subject of these is typically an experiencer rather than an agent, e.g. *ṗṣx* 'to become merry', *xðy* 'to become happy', *krb* 'to become angry', *myθ* 'to become dead, die':

(7)	*ʾáw hóle xə̀ðya*ˡ	'He has become happy' (verbal)
		'He is happy' (adjectival)
	naša xəðya	'A happy man' (adjectival attribute)
(8)	*ʾáw hóle mìθa*ˡ	'He has died' (verbal)
		'He is dead' (adjectival)
	naša miθa	'A dead man' (adjectival attribute)

Various telic intransitive verbs have a dynamic component with some degree of quantifiable durativity and so should be classified as accomplishments, although in some cases the subject is inanimate. These include, for example, *m-qrn* 'to grow up', *m-nty* 'to succeed', *rθx* 'to boil', *c̣mc̣* 'to wither', *qry* 'to study (i.e. to apply one's mind purposefully to the acquisition of knowledge), be educated':

(9)	*bróni hóle mqŭrə̀na*ˡ	'My son has grown up' (verbal)
		'My son is grown up' (adjectival)
	brona mqŭrəna	'A grown-up son' (adjectival attribute)
(10)	*míya hóla rθìxe*	'The water has boiled' (verbal)
		'The water is boiling' (adjectival)
	mìya rθixe	'Boiling water' (adjectival attribute)
(11)	*ʾáw hóle qə̀rya*ˡ	'He has studied' (verbal)
		'He is educated' (adjectival)
	naša qərya	'An educated man' (adjectival attribute)

If the resultative participle in an intransitive clause is from an atelic verb, which by its nature does not express an event with an inherent resultant state, only a verbal interpretation is possible. The participle does not function as an adjective expressing a state, as shown by the fact that it cannot serve as an attributive adjectival modifier of the affected participant of the event nor can it be combined with the adverbial *heš* 'still'. Attested atelic intransitive verbs include those classified as activities and statives.

Activity verbs include, for example, *zmr* 'to sing', *bxy* 'to weep', *spr* 'to wait', *plx* 'to work':

(12)	*ʾaw-náša hóle zmìra*ˡ	'The man has sung' (verbal)
	**naša zmira*	
(13)	*ʾaw-náša hóle plìxa*ˡ	'The man has worked' (verbal)
	**naša plixa*	

Punctual activities include such verbs as *tpθ* 'to sneeze', *m-tnx* 'to sigh'

(14) *ʾaw-náša hóle tpìθa*ˡ 'The man has sneezed'
**naša tpiθa*
(15) *ʾaw-náša hóle mtùnxa*ˡ 'The man has sighed'
**naša mtunxa*

Stative verbs include, for example, *zdʾ* 'to fear, be afraid':

(16) *ʾaw-náša hóle zdìya*ˡ 'The man has feared'
**naša zdiya*

The resultative participle is combined with the copula also in the predicate of transitive clauses, which contain an argument in addition to that of the subject. In such constructions the participle always has a verbal interpretation. The participle and the copula agree with the subject, e.g.

(17) *ʾaw-náša hóle dwíqa bàxta.*ˡ 'The man has seized a woman.' (verbal)

Perfective transitive events are typically telic, in that they result in a state which constitutes an inherent endpoint. The affected participant in the event is generally the goal of the action, in (17) 'a woman', rather than the subject referent. A resultative participle can only be used adjectivally when it is a predicative or attributive adjective of the affected participant of a telic event. It follows that the participle can be used adjectivally in a passive construction such as (18), in which the affectee of the event is subject. This is shown by the fact that it can be combined with the adverb *heš* 'still', which can only be used in relation to states, e.g.

(18) *ʾay-báxta hóla dwìqta*ˡ 'The woman is seized' (adjectival)
*ʾay-báxta héš hóla dwìqta*ˡ 'The woman is still seized' (adjectival)
ʾay-baxta dwiqta 'The seized woman' (attributive adjective)

Such passive constructions can also have a perfective verbal interpretation, e.g.

(19) *ʾay-báxta hóla dwìqta*ˡ 'The woman has been seized'

The agent is optionally expressed in a phrase introduced by the preposition *l-* or *mən*. This can be used both when the participle has a verbal interpretation and also when it is adjectival, e.g.

(20) *ʾaw-qðíla hóle mtúrṣa l-baznàye*ˡ 'The key has been made by Baz people' (verbal)
*ʾaw-qðíla hóle mtúrṣa l-baznàye*ˡ 'The key is made by Baz people' (adjectival)
qðila mturṣa l-baznaye 'A key made by Baz people' (adjectival attribute)

In transitive clauses such as (17) the resultative participle and the copula agree grammatically with the subject of the clause, which refers to the agent, rather than the object, which refers to the affectee, so only a verbal interpretation is possible. Furthermore, the grammatical agreement with the subject, which is the agent of the event, forces the participle to be interpreted with an active rather than passive voice. This active interpretation is further demonstrated by the fact that pronominal objects are expressed by attaching L-suffixes, which are used elsewhere to express the pronominal object of active verbs, e.g.

(21) *ʾaw-náša hóle dwìqəlla*ˡ 'The man has seized her'
cf. *ʾaw-náša b-dawàqla*ˡ 'The man will seize her'

The behaviour of the resultative participle in the various structural configurations discussed above may be summarized in the table below:

	Function	*Grammatical agreement*
Intransitive telic	Verbal/adjectival	Grammatical subject
Intransitive atelic	Verbal	Grammatical subject
Transitive active	Verbal	Grammatical subject
Transitive passive	Verbal/adjectival	Grammatical subject

The following historical development of the construction may be hypothesized. The resultative participle was originally an adjectival form qualifying the affectee of an event, denoting the resultant state of the affectee in a telic intransitive event or a transitive event. When used predicatively an ambiguity developed between the interpretation of the function of the construction as the expression of the resultant stative property (adjecti-

val) or the verbal event that brought about the state (verbal). The verbal interpretation was extended by analogy to intransitive atelic predicates, which do not result in any state and could not by themselves provide the semantic basis required for the formation of the resultative participle. It was also extended by analogy to transitive active predicates. The feature of agreement with the grammatical subject was extended by analogy from the original intransitive/passive construction to the transitive active construction.

Regarding the copula component of constructions with the resultative participle, this can be either the deictic copula or the basic copula. As has been shown in §15.3.1.–§15.3.2., one of the conditioning factors for selecting one particular type of copula is the nature of the predicate. The enclitic basic copula and the deictic copula are used with predicates expressing either contingent or permanent properties but the independent basic copula is used only with predicates expressing permanent properties that, typically, are intrinsic to the nature of the subject referent and have not been acquired. It follows that it is in principle not appropriate to use the independent copula with the resultative participle, which, whether adjectival or verbal, expresses an acquired property of the subject. There are sporadic exceptions to this principle, such as (22), where the speaker appears to have used the independent copula in order to present the property of being betrothed as a permanent property of the woman in question:

(22) *léðeti ʾàyya*ˡ *ṯ-íla mən-háš t-la-bràya*ˡ *ʾáyya ʾíla yíwta qa-dìyi?*ˡ *bàxtila.*ˡ
'Don't you know that she has been betrothed to me since before she was born? She is my wife.' (A25:39)

15.4.1.2. *Function in Non-Narrative Discourse*

We shall now examine in greater detail the function that these resultative constructions have when used verbally.

It is important to make a distinction between its usage in narrative texts and its usage in non-narrative discourse.

In non-narrative discourse the resultative form is used to denote the result of a past verbal event that is in existence in the present. It is generally appropriate to translate it with the English present perfect. The deictic copula is used with the participle to draw particular attention to a current situation. There is a certain amount of subjectivity in the use of the deictic copula, but it is generally employed in assertive clauses to draw attention to a resultant state that has some kind of relevance to the

immediate present moment in time, e.g. *hole ʾəθya* 'He has come'. In interrogative clauses the enclitic copula is used, e.g. *ʾəθyɛleʔ* 'Has he come?' The construction is negated in both assertions and questions by the negative copula, e.g. *lɛle ʾəθya* 'He has not come', *lɛle ʾəθyaʔ* 'Has he not come'.

The expression *hole ʾəθya* 'He has come' denotes that the subject has the property of 'having come', which is the result of a prior event of coming. It asserts the existence in the present of the result of an event without referring directly to any specific event that brought about this result. Therefore, without further specification by a time adverbial in the clause or by the discourse context, the statement *hole ʾəθya* denotes that he has the property of 'having come' as a result of some unspecified event of coming that occurred some time in the past. There is no restriction on when the event occurred other than that it was some time before the present. The *qṭille* form,[6] by contrast, refers directly to a specific event in the past and not to its result. The event has typically occurred in the recent past and this may extend up to the present moment. The expression *dìya θéle*ˡ 'He has come just now' would be used to assert the occurrence of a specific event that has just taken place. Likewise the *qṭilwale* form *θewale* denotes the occurrence of a specific event in the more remote past.

It may be the case that the result of the actions of *qṭille* and *qṭilwale* have some kind of relevance in the present. This is especially the case with regard to *qṭille*, which, in conversational discourse, is often translated most appropriately with the English 'perfect of recent past'.[7] Such resultant present relevance is, however, an implicature of their use rather than a component of their meaning. As remarked, the endpoint of an event expressed by *qṭille* may be the present moment. The *qṭille* form *θele* 'He has come' would be used by a speaker when he sees a person walking through the door of his home and the greeting said to the visitor on his arrival would be *b-šɛ̀na θélux!*ˡ 'You have come in peace!' The resultative form refers to a resultant state that holds at a period that is not adjacent temporally with the endpoint of the event. The resultant state is disconnected from the event temporally in that the resultative form is typically used after some time has elapsed after the event, crucially when none of the event can be witnessed directly. The resultative form *hole ʾəθya* 'He has come', for example, would be used when a guest is sitting in the house

[6] For the sake of conciseness we shall dispense with noting in all cases the fact that the *qəm-qaṭəl* and *qəm-qaṭəlwa* forms are suppletive variants of transitive perfective *qṭille* and *qṭilwale* forms when pronominal suffixes are added.

[7] For this type of English perfect see Comrie (1976: 60).

and nothing of the event of his coming is to be seen. The form *θele* would be used if any phase of the event of coming can be seen directly by the speaker, even if this is only the static endpoint of his standing at the door. One says *dìya θéle*ˡ 'He has come just now' referring explicitly to the fact that the endpoint of the event coincides with the present moment, but the expression **diya hole ʾəθya* would not be felicitous. The resultative form is disconnected from the event also referentially in that it does not make any direct reference to the specific event that caused the result in question.

The result expressed by the resultative form may be an actual perceptible situation or an experiential property of the subject referent, e.g.

(1) *hón xíla gə̀rðo.*ˡ 'I have eaten stew.'
(2) *xílli gə̀rðo.*ˡ 'I have eaten the stew.'

Example (1) may be interpreted as asserting that at the present moment there is a perceptible result of my having eaten stew at some unspecified time in the past, e.g. I had a large stew for lunch and cannot eat much dinner. This construction could also be interpreted as asserting that I have the permanent property of being in the state of having eaten stew, i.e. it has been part of my life experience. In this interpretation it denotes that on some occasion, possibly on more than one occasion, I have eaten stew, though not necessarily recently. The purpose of the deictic copula in both interpretations would be to draw attention to the relevance of the past event to the present moment in time. In both cases there is a degree of indeterminateness concerning the event. The verbal form implies the existence of at least one unspecified member of the set of past events of eating. In the first interpretation the implication from the discourse context in which it is used (e.g. in response to the question 'Why do you not want to eat your dinner?') is that there was only one unspecified event. In the experiential interpretation the possibility remains open that there were more than one. In example (2) the *qṭille* form, by contrast, refers to the occurrence of one specific event that occurred at a specific point in time in the recent past. In such a construction the noun *gə̀rðo* would, therefore, normally be definite with a specific identifiable referent.

The context may force a definite interpretation of an object nominal of a resultative construction, e.g.

(3) A: *ʾékɛle gə̀rðo?*ˡ B: *hón xíləlle gə̀rðo.*ˡ 'A: "Where is the stew?" B: "I have eaten the stew."'

(4) A: *ʾékɛle gə̀rðo.ʔ*| B: *xílli gə̀rðo.*| 'A: "Where is the stew?" B: "I have eaten the stew."'

The difference between these is as follows. The resultative construction in (3) asserts a present state that is disconnected temporally from the event that caused it, so the event must have happened at some time in the past that is not adjacent to the present moment, e.g. several hours ago or yesterday. The *qṭille* form would be used as in (4) when the endpoint of the past event is adjacent to the present, i.e. I have just now eaten it, where a translation with the English perfect of recent past would be appropriate.

The indeterminateness of the event signified by the resultative form means that the individual referents of plural nouns or nouns of mass in the clause can be interpreted as being distributed over more than one event during a particular duration of time, e.g.

(5) *ʾə́dyo hón xíla rába xabùše.*| 'Today I have eaten many apples.'
(6) *ʾə́dyo hóla ʾə́θye rába nàše.*| 'Today many people have come.'
(7) *ʾə́dyo hón xíla lə̀xma.*| 'Today I have eaten bread.'

Example (5), with a plural patient argument 'apples', can be interpreted as meaning that during the course of today up to the present moment there have been various occasions on which I have eaten apples. The consumption of 'many apples' may have been distributed over various events, with a few apples being eaten on each occasion. It could also be interpreted as denoting the result of a single event of apple eating. Likewise example (6), which has a plural subject argument, can be interpreted as meaning either that the 'many people' came separately in a series of discrete events or that they arrived together. The construction reports only that 'many people' are in the resultant state of 'having come', without denoting that this was the result of one or of a series of events. The interpretation of (7), which has a noun of mass 'bread' as an object argument, could be that I have eaten some bread on various occasions today or on only one occasion. Contrast this with the equivalent clauses with *qṭille* forms:

(8) *ʾə́dyo xílli rába xabùše.*| 'Today I ate many apples.'
(9) *ʾə́dyo θéla rába nàše.*| 'Today many people came.'
(10) *ʾə́dyo xílli lə̀xma.*| 'Today I ate bread.'

The *qṭille* form denotes a specific event and (8)–(10) must be interpreted as referring to single events. The adverbial *ʾədyo* 'today' would normally

force the interpretation that the endpoint of these events occurred before the present moment and so they must be translated with the English preterite.

In some circumstances the context indicates the specific event that caused the present result. If, for example, the clause contains a punctual time adverbial binding the event to a particular point in time with no duration, the event is fully specified. Clauses containing the resultative form combined with such time adverbials, therefore, assert the existence of a present state and the context signals that it has been caused by this specific event. These would still differ from corresponding clauses with the *qṭille* form, which assert the occurrence of the event but the existence of a present state is only a possible implicature, which may be cancelled. Note that in English the present perfect is not used when the clause contains such time adverbials, e.g.

(11) *xóni hóle ʾáθya ʾádyo b-sáʾət ʾáčča-w pàlge.*ˡ 'My brother came today at half past nine.'
(12) *xóni θéle ʾádyo b-sáʾət ʾáčča-w pàlge.*ˡ 'My brother came today at half past nine.'

The construction (11) with the resultative form asserts that my brother is currently in the state of 'having come' and so would be the natural construction to use if he is still here. Construction (12) could be interpreted as implying that he is still here, but this implicature could be cancelled and the form would still be felicitous (13). Any corresponding denial of the existence of the present result with the resultative construction would not be felicitous (14), e.g.

(13) *xóni θéle ʾádyo b-sáʾət ʾəčča,*ˡ *bás plíṭle báθər pàlgət-saʾət.*ˡ 'My brother came today at nine o'clock, but left after half an hour.'
(14) ?? *xóni hóle ʾáθya ʾádyo b-sáʾət ʾəčča,*ˡ *bás hóle plíṭa báθər pàlgət-saʾət.*ˡ 'My brother came today at nine o'clock, but left after half an hour.'

The functional features of the resultative that have been described above are also discernible in its negated form *lǽle qṭila*. The negative form *lǽle ʾəθya* 'He has not come' can be analysed as meaning that he is currently not in a state of 'having come'. Thus no specific event is negated. The implication is that no event of coming has occurred at any time. The negative *la qṭille* form, on the other hand, negates the occurrence of a specific event in the recent past. The event has its specificity and definiteness

by being bound to a particular point in time in the discourse context. Consider (15):

(15) *lat-nxàpa!?ǀ xá ʾaxwáθi mìraǀ dráya šlámi ʾəllux ǀ ʾu-ʾáti tíwa l-ṭìzux!ǀ lámo la-qìmlux?ǀ* 'Are you not ashamed!? A prince like me greets you and you sit on your bum. Why did you not get up?' (A26:48)

Here the question with the negated *qṭille* form *la-qìmlux* is intended to ask why the addressee did not get up specifically at the time that the speaker greeted him. The translation of such negated *qṭille* forms by the English perfect of recent past is appropriate in a context where an event was expected to occur and the endpoint of its occurrence was expected to be adjacent with the present. If somebody is expected to arrive at a house at a particular time, somebody in the house may say *θèle?* 'Has he come?' The response to this could be *là θéle* 'He has not come', which would deny that he has come at this expected specific point in time in the recent past, with no necessary implication that he will come in the future. After uttering this, it would be appropriate to assert an action that is sequential to this specific point in time, e.g. *là θéle.ǀ ʾàzəx.ǀ* 'He has not come. Let's go'. The negated *qṭille* form *là-θela* in (16) from the text corpus should be interpreted in this way:

(16) *xéna ʾána qɛ́mən ʾázən ʾùmra,ǀ ʾánna xonăwáθa là-θela.ǀ* 'Well, I shall go to church. These brothers have not come back (now when I expected them to come).' (A37:2)

Note also (17), in which the absence of expectation that the man will come in the future is made explicit:

(17) *xóni zílle ʾu-lá θèle.ǀ ʾu-díya ʾána hon-xšáwa leš-ʾàθe.ǀ* 'My brother has gone and has not come back, and now I think he will no longer come back.' (A8:60)

The negated *qṭille* form can be combined with the temporal adverbial particles referring to the present moment, such as *heš* 'still' and *hal-diya* 'until now'. These underscore that the action that is negated was expected to happen at a point in the immediate past adjacent to the present moment, e.g. *heš-là θéle,ǀ ʾàzəx!; hal-díya là θéle,ǀ ʾàzəx!ǀ* These could be paraphrased: We have waited for him until the present moment, when he was expected to come, but he has not come at the expected time, so now let's go.

It would not be appropriate to use the negated *qṭille* form *là θéle* if there is still an expectation that the person will come. If there is such an expectation the negated resultative form *lɛle ʾəθya* would be used. The latter form asserts that he is currently not in a state of 'having come' but it does not assert that this state is permanent. This is because, as remarked in §15.3.7., the negative copula does not specify the permanency of the state. It may denote either a permanent or a contingent state. The form *lɛle ʾəθya*, therefore, could be used if the speaker expects this state to be temporary and assumes he will come at some point in the future. If the construction is combined with the particle *heš* 'still, yet' (e.g. *heš lɛle ʾəθya* 'He has not yet come'), the scope of the assertion is narrowed to the present moment, i.e. at the present moment he is not in a state of 'having come', which implies that he may come at some point in the future.

Since a negative resultative such as *lɛle ʾəθya* 'He has not come' has generic temporal reference ('at no time in the past'), it is normal to use this construction with negative generic time adverbials such as *ču-ga* 'never', e.g.

(18) *čú-ga lɛ́le ʾəθya.*ˡ 'He has never come.'
(19) *čú-ga lát xàzyəlle?*ˡ 'Have you not ever seen him?'

In what follows we shall present various examples from direct speech in the text corpus that contain resultative forms and *qṭille/qəm-qaṭəl* forms that should be translated by the English present perfect. The reasons that led the speaker to choose one form rather than the other will be examined in the light of the foregoing discussion.

(20) *sígən ʾáti bɛ́θi* ***muxrùlux.***ˡ|ˡ … *mára* ***hàtxət wíða.***?ˡ *mára* ***hot-ṣṭìməlle*** *bɛ́θət xálux.*ˡ 'Go away! You have destroyed my house! [*This is said to the culprit when still on the scene of the event. The endpoint of the event is the present moment*]' (A23:32)…'She said "Have you done this?" She said "You have ruined the house of your uncle. [*Said by the mother of the culprit after an interval of time has passed since the endpoint of the event and the culprit has moved away spatially from the scene of the event*]"' (A23:39)
(21) *mára málka ṯ̂-áwət basìma,*ˡ *brátux* ***hóla číttəllux*** *ṯ̂-ázət kəslèni.*ˡ *ʾáxni maxzə̀xxe bɛ́θa,*ˡ *ʾáti ṯ̂-áθət mənnèni.*ˡ *mára ʾáy bráti* ***híwənna*** *ta-xánaša špìla.*ˡ *gu-tanúra* ***qəm-čɛdàli.***ˡ 'They said "King, may you be healthy, your daughter has invited you to come to us. [*The event of the daughter's issuing the invitation is temporally and spatially detached from the present speech situation*] We shall show you the house. You

will come with us." He said "I have given this daughter of mine to a paralysed man. [*This event took place some time ago, at a temporal and spatial distance from the speech situation*] She has invited me to an oven (house) [*i.e. she has just invited me, I have just received the invitation now, here in temporal and spatial proximity to the speech situation*]"' (A40:9–10)

(22) *ʾo-qamàya*ˡ *ʾámər ʾòh*ˡ *zúzi* ***munšìli.***ˡ *qémən dèṛən*ˡ *ʾázən šáqlən zùzi*ˡ *m-rəš-ʾènа.*ˡ *. . . . . ʾàmər*ˡ *mpáləṭla zùzi!,*ˡ *ʾámma dináre ʾána* ***hon-mùnšəlla*** *láxxa.*ˡ *lázəm yawàtla.*ˡ 'The other said "Oh, I have forgotten my money. [*i.e. 'I have just now forgotten', said while he is still on the road leading away from the place where the money was left, so the event is temporally and spatially close to the speech situation*] I'll return and go to take my money from on top of the spring." . . . He said "Bring out my money! I have forgotten one hundred dinars here. [*This is said after a longer interval of time has intervened between the present moment and the occurrence of the event*] You must give it (to me)."' (A15:2–3)

(23) *mára xàli*ˡ *xmàre,*ˡ *šáwwaθna* ***hóla xíle*** *l-dèwa,*ˡ *mára* ***qəm-mɛθánna*** *qurṭanèy.*ˡ 'He said "Uncle, the asses, the seven of them have been eaten by wolves." [*The event happened some time ago, temporally and spatially remote from the speech situation*]. He said "I have brought their blankets. [*i.e. just now, referring to an event that is temporally and spatially adjacent to the speech situation*]"' (A23:15)

(24) *Žíne màra*ˡ *qà-mo* ***wídlux*** *hátxa?*ˡ *ʾámər ʾána čú-məndi* ***lan-wìθa.***ˡ 'Zine said "Why have you done this? [*referring to a specific event that has just taken place in the recent past*]" He said "I have done nothing. [*since the resultative form does not have a specific time reference, the implication here is that I have not done anything untoward at any time. No doubt this lack of specific temporal reference is exploited by the speaker to make a more emphatic denial*]"' (A26:86)

(25) *θéla baxt-xále dìye*ˡ *mára ha-ʾÚmmo* ***mùt wíða.***ʔˡ 'The wife of his uncle came and said "Ummo, what have you done?" [*an interval of time has intervened between the event and the speech situation. The arrival of the woman does not coincide with the endpoint of the event*]' (A23:22)

(26) *míya ṣályela b-rešèy.*ˡ *máre há xàzəx*ˡ *mù* ***wídlux*** *rábbən.?*ˡ 'The water came down onto their heads. He said "Oh look, what have you done, monk? [*i.e. what have you just done? The endpoint of the event is close to the speech situation*]"' (A16:11)

(27) *gaʾət-tré mádre y-azìwa*ˡ *y-amríwa mù* ***wiðlèxu.***ʔˡ *hal-lèka yáʿni*ˡ *xəyálɛxu mù-****qṭila.***ʔˡ 'Again they (the family of the boy) would go and say "What have you done? [*i.e. what have you done up to this point in time?*

What is your latest news?] How far (have you got with your thoughts)?" That is "What decision have you made? [*i.e. What are your most recent thoughts on this matter. What is the latest news?*]"' (B5:2)

(28) *šlâma llèxu!*‖ *b-šéna b-ṭawàθa!*‖ *máre páqəð tù!*‖ *tìwle.*| *máre há xèr,*| *mòdi bǎ̆yat?*‖ *máre b-álaha* ***hon-ʾàθya***| *ʾána bǎ̆yən ʾítli xáčča šùla mánnux.*| "'Greetings to you!" "You are welcome!" He said "Please sit down!" He sat down. He said "Now, what do you want?" He said "By God, I have come [*time has elapsed since the endpoint of the event of his coming. He is now seated*], since I have some business I'd like to do with you."' (A16:4)

(29) *mára ha-ʾÚmmo* ***dìṛṛux!***‖ 'She said "Hey, Ummo, you have returned! [*This is said as Ummo comes into the house immediately after the endpoint of the event*]"' (A23:33)

(30) *wáy b-šèna,*| *š-rèši,*| ***qəm-paqðàtli.***| 'Goodbye, I'm grateful, you have instructed me (well). [*i.e. the event of your instructing me extended up to the end of the speaker's visit, which is the speech situation*]' (A8:50)

In the assertive clauses in the foregoing examples the resultative compound forms all have the deictic copula, which draws the hearer's attention to a resultant state. In some cases, however, the enclitic copula is used in assertions. This generally occurs in contexts where the assertion is for some reason less informative. In many cases the enclitic copula is used when the speaker wishes to give greater relative prominence to the contents of an adjacent clause and so reduces the attention drawn to the clause with the resultative construction. In (31) the speaker wishes to draw attention to the purpose of her coming, expressed in the following dependent clause, more than the fact that she has come. This applies also to the reply of her interlocutor, in which the resultative also has an enclitic copula. Example (32) exhibits a similar construction, in which the purpose clause is more informative than the main verb:

(31) *ʾáy jal-jálde wírra ʾálle dìye*| *mára lá-dri xélət gànux.*| ***ʾána θíθən*** *mpalṭánnux m-gu-sàjən.*| *máre lát-θiθa ʾána mpalóṭəlli m-gu-sàjən.*| ***θíθət*** *šqála ʾáyya róxi mən-gu-gàni.*| 'She quickly entered (and found) him. She said "Do not struggle. I have come to bring you out of the prison." He said "You have not come to bring me out of the prison. You have come to take my spirit from me."' (A26:82)

(32) *ʾámra mòt ʾáθya Qaṭína?*‖ *máre* ***ʾáθyən*** *bǎ̆yən sisisàmbər.*| 'She said "Why have you come Qaṭina?" He said "I have come to seek the sisi-sambər."' (A50:11)

In (33) and (34), likewise, the speaker wishes to give less prominence to the main verbs than to the content of their complement clauses:

(33) *mə́ra* ***xzíθən b-xàlmi***ˡ *xóni dàwəqlux*ˡ *darélux gu-səndàna,*ˡ *gu-hàbsa.*ˡ
'She said "I have seen in my dream that my brother will seize you and put you into a cell, in jail.'" (A26:43)

(34) *ʾu-ʾána* ***mìθɛwən***ˡ *yáʿni* ***mumέθɛwən*** *b-ʾalàha,*ˡ ***mumèθɛwən,***ˡ *kə́mət ʾúrzət dúnye ʾáθa báθri le-y-azàna*ˡ *ṭla-hìč-ʾurza.*ˡ *bas-ʾə́n ʾáθya xá-baxta nabláli qa-kut-t-bə̂ya,*ˡ *yən-qa-xóna dìya,*ˡ *ʾána bṭ̂-azàna.*ˡ 'I have sworn, that is taken an oath by God, I have taken an oath that however many men in the world may come after me I shall not go to any man. But, if a woman comes to take me to anyone she wants, or to her brother, I shall go.' (A8:78)

In (35) the main prominence is put on the circumstantial clause, which expresses a new tragic realization, rather than on the resultative verbs 'I have fallen in love with you' and 'I have followed you', which are presupposed facts:

(35) *mə́ra ʾána* ***bíθənnux θíθən*** *bàθrux*ˡ *w-ana-léðən ṭ̂-awə́twa ʾáti xàyən palṭə́twa mə́nni.*ˡ 'She said "I have fallen in love with you and followed you, while not knowing that you would turn out to be treacherous to me."' (A14:101)

In (36) and (37) the lack of a deictic copula in the second clause reflects the fact that these function as elaborations of the previous clause, rather than prominent pieces of independent information:

(36) *ʾàna*ˡ *hon-ʾəθya,*ˡ ***ríqən*** *qam-màmi.*ˡ 'I have come, running away from my paternal uncle.' (A25:42)

(37) *b-óma xéna ʾáθeti ṭla-kawùθra,*ˡ ***čídət*** *kəslèni.*ˡ 'The day after tomorrow come to lunch, you are invited to our home.' (A22:14)

A different reason for a reduced level of informativeness of the resultative construction is illustrated by (38). Here the clause 'I have put the house in order' refers to an activity that the speaker performs every day and so would be expected to perform:

(38) *ʾámər hà yə́mmi*ˡ *mùt mára?*ˡ *ʾènile plíxa ʾádyo?*ˡ *mə́ra bábi har-ʾàtit plíxa,*ˡ *ʾu-xmára-w tàwra,*ˡ *ʾu-ʾána mquzqáztən bèθa.*ˡ 'He said "So, mother, what do you say? Who has worked today?" She said "My dear,

only you have worked, the ass and ox, and I have put the house in order."' (A21:15)

15.4.1.3. *Function in Narrative*

In the narrative sections of folktales in the text corpus the resultative form is frequently used with the function of a preterite to relate a specific punctual event in the past without any assertion of the existence of a resultant state in the present. When it has this function, it is normally used with the enclitic copula rather than the deictic copula. Since in narrative it denotes a punctual event rather than a durable resultant state, it may be used to express a chain of sequential events, e.g.

(1) *qìmela| b-lèle| ṭrípəlla Ẓ̀ine| ʾu-mùθyəlla,| núbləlla kəs-M̆ămo.| núbləlla kəs-M̆ămo.| dmìxela.| ṛ̀ištɛla,| zìptəllela| ṭla-M̆ămo.|* 'At night they went and seized Zine and brought her, they took her to Măмo. They took her to Măмo. They slept. She woke up and pushed Măмo (out of bed). (A26:3)

(2) *nùbləlle| súsət Qára Tèždin,| gríšəlle m-rəš-gə̀lla| m-xàla,| síṛəlle ʾo-d-áw šópe dìye| ʾu-sìqɛle.| síqɛle məxyɛle l-tă̆ra.|* 'He took the horse of Qara Teždin. He pulled it from the grass he was eating and tied his own in its place, then went up. He went up and knocked on the door.' (A26:29)

(3) *šqíləlla ṭása b-lèle| ʾu-núbləlla zə́dyəlla gu-ða-dè̀rta.| šqíləlla mən-d-ɛ-dè̀rta,| núbləlla zə́dyəlla gu-ða-xèta.|* 'They took the bowl in the night, took it away and threw it into a house enclosure. They took it from that enclosure, took it away and threw it into another one.' (A15:12)

(4) *ʾáp-ʾawwa sìqɛle gu-ṭúra,| mən-xuráne díye píšɛle gu-ṭúra xá-yoma yóme trè.| dmìxela| b-lèle xá-ga| ʾə́θyela tré malàxe.|* 'So, he went up into the mountains with his friends and remained in the mountains one or two days. One night they went to sleep and two angels came.' (A4:2)

The copula is sometimes omitted from the participle when it has this narrative preterite function. This typically occurs in a series of clauses that open with a verb with the copula. The clause or clauses without the copula express events that are closely sequential to that of the opening clause. The purpose of the speaker is to present these as components of one overall event rather than as a series of discrete events. The initial verb in the chain is often a verb of movement or the verb *qym* 'to arise', which in narrative frequently loses its original meaning and is used simply to mark the onset of a new event, e.g.

(5) *ʾə́θyela jmìye.*ˈ 'They came and gathered together.' (A22:2)
(6) *ʾə́θyɛle wìra.*ˈ 'He came and entered.' (A26:47)
(7) *qímɛle ʾə́θya síqa l-gàre.*ˈ 'He got up, came and went up onto the roof.' (A26:40)
(8) *qímɛle múθya tùre.*ˈ 'He got up and fetched twigs.' (A20:3)
(9) *ʾay-qìmtɛla,*ˈ *wíðta qàwa.*ˈ 'She got up and made coffee.' (A26:31)

Normally in such chains of events the clause with the participle without the copula has the same subject as the preceding clause, as is the case in the examples above. When there is a change in subject a copula is generally used, e.g.

(10) *síqɛle máxya l-tă̆ra*ˈ *ʾu-plíṭṭɛla Sətt̀ye.*ˈ 'He went up and knocked on the door and Sətt̀iye came out.' (A26:29)
(11) *ʾə́θyɛle tíwa b-dìwən*ˈ *ʾu-náše kúlla tìwela*ˈ *gu-dìwən.*ˈ 'He came and sat down in the reception room, and everybody else sat down in the reception room.' (A26:63)

These are not, however, absolute rules. The copula is occasionally omitted when there is a change of subject in a chain of events (12) and even in the first clause in a narrative sequence after direct speech (13)–(14):

(12) *ʾu-sìqɛle*ˈ *súse kə́lya tàma.*ˈ 'He went up and his horse stopped there.' (A26:28)
(13) *mə́ra mɛθítule kə̀sli!*ˈ *múθye Bakúrko kə́sla dìya.*ˈ 'She said "Bring him to me". They brought Bakurko to her.' (A26:84)
(14) *ʾo-náša sàwa*ˈ *mə́re*ˈ *ṭla-d-ó-yala zòra,*ˈ *mə̀re*ˈ *ʾɛ̀ka ṯ̂-ázət.?*ˈ *ʾána čǔ-dukθa lìtli.*ˈ *ṯ̂-ázən gu-jàma.*ˈ *xámən gu-jàma.*ˈ *ʾáwwa qíma zíla l-bɛ̀θe díye*ˈ *ʾo-náša gòṛa.*ˈ 'The old man said to the youth, he said "Where will you go?" "I have nowhere to go. I'll go to the mosque. I'll stay in the mosque." The elderly man got up and went to his house.' (A17:5–6)

In the case of a sequence of two verbs that are closely related and presented as a tightly knit unit in the same intonation group, the copula is sometimes put only on the second participle of the sequence. This is most often found where the first verb of the sequence expresses movement, e.g.

(15) *ʾáwwa gáwṛa díya síqɛle l-Nînwe,*ˈ *díṛa ʾə̀θyɛle.*ˈ 'Her husband went up to Nineveh, then returned and came back.' (A13:2)

(16) *ʾaw-ʾáθya wìrɛle.*| 'He came and entered.' (A34:14)
(17) *ʾáp ʾo-lɛ́le ʾáθye ʃ̌ə̀kyela.*| 'Also that night they came and complained.' (A18:7)
(18) *qlíba ṣə̀lyɛle.*| 'He went back down.' (A30:32)
(19) *dmíxe-u ṭlìyela.*| 'They lay down and slept.' (A4:50)

In narratives the preterite *qṭilɛle* form is used interchangeably with the *qṭille/qəm-qaṭə̀l* form, which is the other main narrative verb form. The narrator constantly shifts from one form to the other. These shifts often coincide with some kind of reorientation in the narrative, especially where there is a change in subject and the narrator directs attention to another character, e.g.

(20) *qímɛle lɛ̀le šátya qáwa.*| *tíwɛle l-xáṣə súse dìye*| *ʾu-díṛɛle ṣályɛle rəš-d-ɛ̀-ʾɛna.*| *ʾɛ-ʾéna ṯ-ìle ʾáθya qamáye réša.*| *Qára Téždin dìṛṛe*| *θéle bɛ̀θa*| *ʾámər hà*| *báxta kéle ʾàrxa?*| 'He got up and did not drink the coffee. He sat on the back of his horse and went back down to the spring, the spring to which he had come previously. Qara Teždin returned home and said "Ah, wife, where is the guest?"' (A26:32–33)
(21) *síqɛle l-gàre*| *maxzóyəlle Jazíra Bòta.*| *Zìne*| *ʾu-ʾán-xaddamyáθa díya ṣléla rəš-ʾɛ̀na.*| 'He went up onto the roof to show him Jazira Bota. Zine and her maid-servants went down to the spring.' (A26:40)
(22) *ʾəθyɛle,*| *qam-tắrət béθa tíwɛle hàdəx.*| *bábe díye θèle.*| 'He came and sat down in front of the door of the house. His father came.' (A26:10)
(23) *Qára Téždin zìlɛle,*| *yíwəlla ʾíðe gu-ʾíðət Mə̀mo.*| *Mə́mo qəm-šaqálla ṣoṣiyáθət Zìne*| *mattúla gu-ʾíðət Qára Tèždin.*| 'Qara Teždin went and put his hand in the hand of Mămo. Mămo took the locks of Zine and put them in the hand of Qara Teždin.' (A26:50)

On some occasions there is no change in subject across the transition from one verbal form to the other. In such cases some kind of reorientation on another dimension of the discourse can usually be discerned. In (24), for example, the shift from *qṭilɛle* for *qṭille* coincides with the start of a chain of clauses that narrate a new event, i.e. the eating of the third fox cub. In (25) the clause 'In this way they held the wedding' containing the *qṭille* form *wídla* is not presented as an event that is sequential to the previously mentioned events of 'bringing them up with drum and pipe' and 'firing rifles' but rather it recapitulates these preceding specific

events by a general statement. In (26) the section beginning 'They played three times and Mir-Zandin lost', which contains *qṭille* forms, may also be regarded as constituting a break in the tight chain of events of the previous clauses. Its function is to elaborate on the event of playing chess rather than to carry the discourse forward with new events. In a similar manner the clause with the resultative form in (27) elaborates on the preceding clause with the *qṭille* form:

(24) *qímela ʾap-ʾo-tré prìməlle,ˈ xìləlle.ˈ ʾímət xílla ʾap-ʾo-trè,ˈ píšla xà-šabθa,ˈ tré šabbàθa,ˈ kpìnna.ˈ ʾáp-ʾo-ṭlaθa qəm-pɛrmìle.ˈ* 'They slaughtered also the second one and ate him. After they ate the second one, a week, two weeks went by, they became hungry and slaughtered also the third one.' (A20:9)

(25) *qímela músqəlla b-dáwla-w zòrna,ˈ drɛ́θət tòpe.ˈ ʾu-hádəx wídla xlùla.ˈ* 'They brought them up (to the palace) with drum and pipe and the firing of rifles. In this way they held the wedding.' (A4:56)

(26) *qìmɛleˈ qáryɛle qa-Mằmo,ˈ ʾəθyɛle tíwa b-dìwənˈ ʾu-náše kúlla tiwelaˈ gu-dìwən.ˈ šúryela mṭawóle b-šətrənjàne.ˈ ṭlá-gaye mṭuwəlla,ˈ ríqle Mir-Zàndin.ˈ lá-mṣele b-Mằmo.ˈ* 'Now, he called for Mămo and he came and sat in the reception room, and everybody else sat down in the reception room. They began playing chess. They played three times and Mir-Zandin lost (literally: ran away) and was unable to beat Mămo.' (A26:63)

(27) *wírre gu-bòye.ˈ gu-bóye díye mṭúšyəlla gáne dìye.ˈ* 'He went into his hole. He hid himself in his hole' (A1:15)

The transition in the narrative between the two verbal forms is also attested where the narrator repeats the mention of an event of particular importance in the story. The shift of verbal form is no doubt exploited in such circumstances to mark off the repeated clause more sharply from what precedes in order to give it prominence, e.g.

(28) *ʾó-yomə ṯ-íle plíṭa málka m-bɛ̀θa,ˈ ʾó-yoma bróne díye mìθɛle.ˈ ʾó-yoma mìtle bróne díye.ˈ* 'On the day that the king left home, on that day his son died. On that day his son died.' (A4:10)

(29) *ʾáyya ʾaqárwa θìθaˈ gu-réšə d-o-bòyaˈ qṭìltəlle.ˈ qəm-qaṭlále ʾo-xùwwe.ˈ* 'The scorpion came to the opening of the hole and killed it. It killed the snake.' (A9:6)

(30) *ʾáwwa zdìlɛle.ˈ zdìlle,ˈ mára…ˈ* 'He became afraid. He became afraid and said…' (A21:33)

Certain verbs exhibit a clear tendency to have the preterite expressed by *qṭille* rather than the resultative in narrative. A common feature of this set of verbs is that they are typically matrix verbs that have a clause as their complement. The most conspicuous of these verbs is *ʾmr* 'to say'. When this introduces direct speech, which may be considered to be its complement, the verb is regularly in the *qṭille* form: *mára* 'He said', *mára* 'She said', etc. Other matrix verbs that are generally put in the *qṭille* form when preterite in narratives include:

m-šry 'to begin':

(31) *mšuréla bxàya.*ˡ 'She began to weep.' (A4:42)
(32) *šuréla ṣràxa.*ˡ 'She began to shout.' (A25:82)

ṣbr 'to dare':

(33) *lá ṣbírra mṣuwàtla.*ˡ 'She did not dare to speak.' (A24:40)
(34) *ʾáp-xa mánna lá-ṣbirre rhíwle gu-dìwən.*ˡ 'Nobody dared speak to him in the reception room.' (A26:70)

mṣy 'to be able':

(35) *lá-mṣela mṣuwàtla.*ˡ 'She could not speak.' (A21:26)
(36) *ʾáyya bàxta*ˡ *lá-mṣela mxumèla ʾírwe.*ˡ 'The woman could not keep the sheep.' (A10:6)

kaze 'to attempt without success':

(37) *kízle mxàya*ˡ *goyáθət sùsa,*ˡ *súsa la-jwìjle.*ˡ 'He tried to strike the sides of the horse, but the horse did not move.' (A28:33)
(38) *kízle mparpóle bìye:*ˡ *nàša,*ˡ *ʾánna xonăwàθila.*ˡ 'He tried (to dissuade him) by begging him "Man, these are my brothers."' (A12:10)
(39) *kízla bróni lá-wuð hátxa màndi.*ˡ 'She tried (to stop him by saying) "Son, don't do such a thing."' (A14:6)
(40) *kízle də-mxíli xa-xèna!*ˡ 'He tried (to persuade him by saying) "Strike me again!"' (A52:24)

The deictic copula is sometimes used with the resultative participle in narratives. In such cases the form has its usual non-narrative function of denoting a resultant state. It is generally used to present the background

to the main narrative line against which the punctual narrative events occurred. The deictic copula here takes the past time reference of the surrounding context. It is often appropriate to translate such background clauses with the English pluperfect. Examples:

(41) *ʾu-dəryále gàne*ˈ *gu-bərke,*ˈ *sxàyɛle.*ˈ *súse díye* ***hóle mrúpyəlle*** *gu-màrga.*ˈ
'He immersed himself in the pool and swam. He had released his horse in the meadow.' (A25:56)

(42) *ʾína ʾáw kéfe basìmta.*ˈ ***hóle dáryəlle*** *gáne gu-mìya.*ˈ *ṣríxtɛla m-gu-barbèhn.*ˈ 'He was enjoying himself. He had immersed himself in the water. She shouted from the casement.' (A25:59)

(43) *dwíqɛle qa-ʾàrya*ˈ *ʾu-mùθyəlle.*ˈ *dáryəlle gu-bèθa.*ˈ *ʾítle qàṣra.*ˈ ***hóle mubányəlle*** *qáṣra góṛa trè ṭabáqe.*ˈ 'He caught the lion and brought it back. He put it in the house. He had a villa. He had built a large villa with two storeys.' (A27:3)

(44) *zílla bára dìya*ˈ *ta-t-xazèla,*ˈ *ʾína la-har-ču-dúkθa lìθwa.*ˈ ***hóla príxta*** *zìlta.*ˈ 'They went after her to find her, but she was nowhere. She had flown and gone away.' (A27:26)

(45) *xa-náša sàwa*ˈ … ***hóle ṭína*** *kértət qèse*ˈ *l-xàṣe.*ˈ ***hóle tíwa*** *l-kèpa,*ˈ *hàtxa.*ˈ *ʾánna pìðəlla mánne díye,*ˈ *ʾap-šlàma léla dáryəlle.*ˈ 'An old man … was carrying a load of wood on his back. He was sitting on a stone, like this. They passed by him, but did not even greet him.' (A15:13)

(46) ***hóle tíwa*** *gu-xa-gəppìθa*ˈ *ʾarbì-šənne.*ˈ *qìmɛle*ˈ *máre mádam hàtxɛla*ˈ *ṯ-ázən ṭa̋yən báθər ḥaqqùθa*ˈ *ʾu-na-ḥaqqùθa.*ˈ 'He had been dwelling in a cave for forty years. He arose and said "If (the world) is like that, I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful."' (A15:4–5)

(47) *hadìya,*ˈ *ʾó-lɛlət mèθi,*ˈ ***holá-ʾəθye tìwe,***ˈ *báxta tíwta l-ày̆ya-gotət mẽ́s,*ˈ *ʾu-gáwṛa tíwa l-ày-gota.*ˈ *ʾo-yála zóra* ***hóla múttəlle*** *be-pàlga.*ˈ … *maláxe* ***holá-ʾəθye tíwe*** *l-kàwe.*ˈ … *ʾu-hádəx ʾíθwa ʾán-xa sobáθət kəslən,*ˈ *buxɛrìyewa.*ˈ *síqɛle xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra,*ˈ *wírɛle gu-naxírət xa-m-malàxe.*ˈ *ʾu-wíðɛle pəθyo!*ˈ *tpìθɛle.*ˈ *ʾó-yala zóra máre b-ràxme!*ˈ *ʾax-ṯ̂-íle míra ʾo-zóra b-ràxme,*ˈ *ʾámər b-ráxme l-bàbux*ˈ *l-yəmmux.*ˈ *kút-xa mánna xámši šánne xéne xa̋yèla.*ˈ *qímela maláxe dìṛe.*ˈ 'Now, the night they were to die, they had come and sat down, the wife sitting on this side of the table and the husband sitting on the other side. They had put the small child in the middle.… The angels had come and sat by the window.… There were those stoves in our community that were smoke ducts. Some of the soot went up and entered the nose of

one of the angels. He went "achoo!" He sneezed. The little boy said "Bless you!" When the little one said "Bless you", he (the angel) said "Bless your father and mother. May each live another fifty years." The angels got up and returned.' (A4:57–60)

Occasionally the deictic copula is used when the construction expresses a punctual event that is sequential to what precedes. The effect of this is to draw particular attention to the event and mark it off distinctly from what precedes. In (48) the main motivation appears to be to give particular attention to the event due to its unexpectedness. It is not usual for a barber to have to bring a ladder to cut a person's hair. In (49) the deictic copula is used to mark the onset of a section narrating a battle between the hero and his enemy. The section begins with the narrative formula *mara* '(The story) says', which is generally used as a device to mark boundaries in the discourse (§15.4.2.3 examples 19–23).

(48) *tíwɛle Ẓàlo*ˈ *qəm-tắrət qáṣre dìye*ˈ *ʾo-ḥallàqa*ˈ *hóle múθyəlla xa-semàlta*ˈ *mútt*ə*lla baθrə̀t rušáne díye.*ˈ 'Zāl sat before his palace. The barber brought a ladder and placed it behind his shoulders.' (A29:2)

(49) *pìšɛle*ˈ *kízle mparpóle bìye:*ˈ *nàša,*ˈ *ʾánna xonắwàθila,*ˈ *ʾáxxa l-tàmma.*ˈ *mára màrənnux*ˈ *ʾáti grùš gánux*ˈ *ʾánna dìya*ˈ *kúlla parqə̀nna.*ˈ *mára ʾáp-ʾaw hóle plìša.*ˈ *ʾáw-w ʾó-naša plàša,*ˈ *plàša,*ˈ *plàša*ˈ *hál gu-mbadlàθa.*ˈ *gu-mbadláθa mxéθət yóma ʾó-naša tlìqɛle.*ˈ 'He tried to dissuade him by begging him "Man, these are my brothers" and so forth. "I'm telling you, go away. I shall finish off all of these people here." Now, he fought also him. He and that man fought. They continued fighting until dawn. At dawn, the break of day, he disappeared.' (A12:10)

The use of the *qṭilɛle* construction in narratives to express sequential events in the past seems *prima facie* to be unusual. It is unlikely that the normal function of *qṭilɛle* to express present resultant states has been here exploited to give vividness to past events. More effective means of expressing such vividness are available to the narrator in the *qṭille* form, which expresses events in the immediate past, or the perfective *qaṭə́l*, which expresses punctual events taking place in the present moment. The resultant states expressed by the present perfect *qṭilɛle*, moreover, are temporally unbounded and would more naturally be used to express temporally overlapping states rather than be concatenated to express sequential situations.

A more satisfactory explanation is to regard this function of the *qṭilɛle* form in narratives to have originated in the use of the present perfect as an evidential verbal form. In many languages present perfect verb forms have developed the function of expressing past events for which the speaker has no direct evidence. Such forms are used when the speaker has not witnessed the event first hand, but has acquired knowledge of the event only by hearsay report or by inference from indirect evidence. The propensity of the present perfect to develop this function in languages is due to the fact that it does not present an event directly but only through its results (Comrie 1976: 108–110; Aikhenvald 2004: 112–115). The stimulus for the C. Barwar NENA present perfect to have its function extended in this way was probably given by language contact. A likely candidate for the source of this influence is Turkish. This language has an evidential verbal form (distinguished by the affix *-miş*), which is associated morphologically and functionally with the perfect. A relevant feature of the Turkish evidential form is that it is used in fictional narratives with no basis in reality, such as myths and folktales (Slobin and Aksu 1982; Aksu and Slobin 1986; Aksu-Koç 1988: 25), which are the type of narrative text where the *qṭilɛle* preterite is most often encountered in the C. Barwar dialect. A perfect verb form extended to express the evidential denotes perfective events rather than present states and so can be used felicitously to express sequential narrative events.

It should be noted, however, that in the C. Barwar NENA dialect, it appears that the *qṭilɛle* perfect form is not used with an evidential function outside of narrative contexts. In contexts that would typically trigger an evidential form, informants use both *qṭille* and *qṭilɛle* with their usual distinction in temporal-aspectual function, e.g.

(50) *márɛle xóni ʾźθyɛle qedàmta.*[1] 'He says that my brother came this morning.'
(51) *mabyónela xóni ʾźθyɛle qedàmta.*[1] 'It seems that my brother came this morning.'
(52) *márɛle xóni dìya θéle.*[1] 'He says that my brother has just come.'
(53) *mabyónela xóni dìya θéle.*[1] 'It seems that my brother has just come.'

Furthermore speakers use 1st person *qṭilɛle* forms in narratives. This is difficult to reconcile with an evidential function, which is characteristically used when a speaker has indirect evidence of an event in which he/she has not participated, e.g.

(54) *mára zílən l-tắrət pərdèsa*ˡ … *xìlən*ˡ *ʾu-šə̀tyən.*ˡ … *ʾu-ʾámər qáša ʾu-ʾànaʔ*ˡ *ʾámər də-klì!*ˡ *ʾámər hádəx ʾáp-ʾati ʾə̀θyət.*ˡ *ʾámər ʾə̀θyɛt.*ˡ *mátyət kəslə̀y.*ˡ ‘He says “I went to the door of Paradise … I ate and drank.” … The priest says “And me?” He says “Wait!” He says “Meanwhile you also came.” He says “You came and went up to them.” (A2:7–9)

(55) *ʾána-ži m-kérbi ʾə́θyən ʾá-kθɛθa múttənna rəš-núra ʾu-xìlənna.*ˡ ‘I, out of my anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it.’ (A2:11)

(56) *ṣríxən hátxa biya-dìya.*ˡ *ʾáyya qəm-patlála gʸā̀n-dìya*ˡ *ʾána xšíwən là maxyáli.*ˡ *qəm-patlála gʸā̀n-dìya*ˡ … *qəm-maxyála ðà-pena.*ˡ ‘I shouted at it like this. It turned itself round. I thought it would not strike me. It turned itself round … It gave me a kick.’ (B5:131–132)

In the light of the foregoing, it is easiest to regard the *qṭilɛle* preterite as a narrative verbal form, characteristic of fictitious discourse, which originally developed in imitation of the use of the Turkish evidential verbal forms with *-miş* in fictitious narrative. It did not, however, come to be used as a fully functional evidential form that could be used outside of narrative.

15.4.1.4. *Movement of the Enclitic Copula*

As remarked, positive assertive resultative constructions can have the enclitic or the deictic copula. If special prominence is given to a particular constituent of the clause, however, only the enclitic copula is used. In such circumstances this is moved from the participle and attached to the prominent constituent in question. In most cases the constituent that is given prominence in this way is placed before the participle, whatever its grammatical function in the clause, and so the movement of the enclitic is leftwards. In some constructions in narrative the enclitic moves rightwards and is attached to a constituent that occurs after the participle in the clause.

15.4.1.4.1. *Leftward Movement of the Enclitic*

In constructions where the enclitic copula is moved leftwards it is important to distinguish cases where the constituent that is given prominence bears the nuclear stress and cases where the nuclear stress is placed elsewhere in the clause. As a general rule, prominent items bearing the nuclear stress are clausal arguments expressing some kind of information focus, by which the speaker wishes to draw the hearer’s attention to important new information. This may be termed ‘narrow’ focus, in that attention is drawn to one particular argument in the clause and not to the predicate or overall proposition as a whole. The normal default position for the

nuclear stress is at the end of the intonation group. Since the focused item is placed at the beginning of the clause the nuclear stress is in a marked position. Items given prominence that do not bear the nuclear stress, on the other hand, are generally not a focus of new information.

(i) *Narrow New Information Focus*

One type of narrow new information focus that is expressed by the attachment of the enclitic copula is contrastive focus. This is used when the speaker wishes to correct a misunderstanding by strongly asserting that one particular item should be selected for the role in question rather than the one currently entertained by the hearer, e.g.

(1) A: *xónux hóle xíla xabùša*ˡ B: *là,*ˡ *brònux-ile xíla xabúša.*ˡ 'A: "Your brother has eaten an apple." B: "No, *your son* has eaten an apple."'
(2) A: *xónux hóle xíla xabùša*ˡ B: *là,*ˡ *xàwxɛle xíla xóni.*ˡ *léle xabùša xíla.*ˡ 'A: "Your brother has eaten an apple." B: "No, my brother has eaten *a peach*. He has not eaten *an apple*.'"
(3) A: *xóni hóle xázya bratéxu qedàmta*ˡ B: *léle qedàmta xázya brátən,*ˡ *tàmməl-ile xázyəlla.*ˡ 'A: "My brother saw your daughter this morning." B: "He did not see our daughter *this morning*, he saw her *yesterday*."'

Examples from the text corpus:

(4) *léwən θíθa b-xabrə dìye.*ˡ *ʾáyya xáθe dìyela.*ˡ *b-xábrət xáθə dìyən θíθa.*ˡ 'I did not come at his word. She is his sister. I came at the word of his sister.' (A8:85)
(5) *ʾànən múθyəlle.*ˡ '*I* (and not my brother) have brought it back.' (A24:31)
(6) *yába ʾànən mšúdrəlla!*ˡ '*I* (not God) have sent them!' (A6:4)
(7) *ʾànən xázyəlle,*ˡ *dìyile.*ˡ '*I* (and nobody else) have found it. It is mine.' (A14:15)
(8) *ʾànna*ˡ *Sətti yela muttéθəlla láxxa.*ˡ '*Sətti ye* (not anybody else) put these here.' (A25:36)

In principle when the speaker expresses a narrow focus on one particular argument of the clause, the proposition of the clause is presupposed to be known to the hearer and activated in his mind with the exception of the identity of the argument in question. In (1), for example, the clause *brònux-ile xíla xabúša*ˡ is used by the speaker when he presupposes that the hearer knows that somebody has eaten an apple, i.e. the presuppositional

background is '*x* has eaten an apple'. What the speaker is asserting, i.e. the new information that he is conveying, is that *x* is to be identified as 'your son'.[8] In many languages this type of argument focus can be expressed by a cleft sentence, e.g. 'It is your son who has eaten an apple', in which the assertion of the identity of the argument in focus is expressed by an identificatory predicate and the presupposition is placed in a subordinate relative clause. The constructions with copula movement such as *brònux-ile xíla xabúša*ˡ are not cleft sentences since the presupposition is not in a relative clause and, moreover, the copula agrees with the subject, even if this is the asserted argument, e.g. *ʾànən múθyəlle*ˡ '*I* have brought it' (= It was *me* who has brought it). The attachment of the copula to the focused argument and the placement of the nuclear stress on this argument are, nevertheless, properties of the predicate of a copula clause. It may be said, therefore, that the construction possesses some properties of a cleft sentence but does not have all the components of its structure.

Clauses exhibiting leftward movement of the copula may have two foci of contrast, in which case the subject is given preference for the attachment of the enclitic, e.g.

(9) *ʾàtit θíθa kəsli.*ˡ *lán ʾàna-ʾəθya kàsləx.*ˡ '*You* came *to me*. *I* did not come *to you*.' (A4:4)

(10) *yà-baxta*ˡ *lan-ʾàna ʾəθya dmíxa gu-šwìθəx.*ˡ *ʾàtit θíθa dmíxta gu-šwìθi.*ˡ 'Woman, *I* have not come to sleep *in your bed*. *You* have come to sleep *in my bed*.' (A26:4)

The presuppositional background of these constructions would have two unknown variables, e.g. '*x* came to *y*' and the speaker is asserting the identity of both of these.

The intention of the new information focus may be to express exclusivity, e.g.

(11) *har-ʾàtit plíxa*ˡ 'Only *you* have worked.' (A21:15)

(12) *kúlla hóla qṭìle.*ˡ *bas-ànən šríṭa.*ˡ 'They have all been killed. Only *I* have escaped.' (B19:8)

The presuppositional background of these examples would be '*x* has worked' and '*x* has escaped' respectively.

[8] Cf. Lambrecht (1994: 228–233).

The leftward movement of the copula to express focus on one argument of a clause may be used in responses to questions concerning a particular argument, e.g.

(13) A: *ʾénile ʾáθya qedàmta.*ʔ| B: *xònile ʾáθya qedámta.*| ‘A: “Who has come this morning?” B: “*My brother* has come this morning.”’
(14) A: *módit xə́zya gu-bèθa.*ʔ| B: *kθàwux-in xə́zya gu-béθa.*| ‘A: “What have you seen in the house?” B: “I have seen *your book* in the house.”’

Example from the text corpus:

(15) *ʾánna zmaryáθa m-èkət líptəlla.*ʔ| *biš-basímela m-ănàha.*| *ʾána gu-Hàlmun-in líptəlla.*| ‘“Where did you learn these songs from? They are more beautiful than the others.” “I learnt them in Halmun.”’ (A35:9)

The presuppositional background of the questions in (13) and (14) is ‘*x* has come this morning’ and ‘You have seen *x* in the house’ respectively. The response to such questions concerning a particular argument, however, may also be expressed without fronting of the item in focus and leftward movement of the copula. An alternative type of response would put the item in focus at the end of the clause with the nuclear stress, e.g.

(16) A: *ʾénile ʾáθya qedàmta.*ʔ| B: *ʾáθyɛle qedámta xòni.*| ‘A: “Who has come this morning?” B: “*My brother* has come this morning.”’
(17) A: *módit xə́zya gu-bèθa.*ʔ| B: *xə́zyɛwən gu-béθa kθàwux.*| ‘A: “What have you seen in the house?” B: “I have seen *your book* in the house.”’

This shows that narrow focus of new information alone does not necessarily bring about a construction with leftward copula movement. Rather it is used subjectively by the speaker to communicate information that is not only new but that he wishes to present as worthy of particular attention. It is more regularly used in contrastive constructions such as (1)–(8), where the speaker wishes to correct a misapprehension, than in responses to constituent questions.

It should also be noted that the leftward copula movement only occurs when the focus is exhaustive, i.e. when the item in focus is unique for the role in question. It is not used when the focused item constitutes one of a list of items that perform the role, e.g.

(18) *mə́re yə́mmi ʾénile plìxa?*| *mə́ra bábi plíxɛt ʾàti,*| *ʾu-xmə́ra-w tàwra*| *ʾu-ʾána mtugbártən bɛ̀θa.*| ‘He said “Mother, who has worked?” She said “My dear, you have worked, (also) the ass and the ox, and I have attended to the house.”’ (A21:13)

Observe that in the responses of (16) and (17) the copula that occurs with the resultative participle is an enclitic rather than a deictic copula. This reflects a tendency to use the enclitic copula in conversational discourse when the verbal form is in the presupposition of the clause and is not asserted. This is typically the case in responses to constituent questions when the verb is repeated.

The construction is sometimes used elsewhere in a more subjective fashion, in places where the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to an item, due to its unexpectedness or its importance in the context, e.g.

(19) *b-àyyət mšúdrəlli?*| ‘Have you sent for me *for this reason*?’ (A21:35)
(20) *ʾabàyele dárya b-réša.*| ‘He put *his cloak* over her.’ (A26:50)
(21) *ʾàmər*| *ʾáwwa tărɛ́xu pṭ̄lɛ̀le.*| *bábət bráta màra*| *m-ɛ̀kɛle pṭ̄íla?*| *har-gubbə̂n-ix wíðəlle.*| ‘He said “This door of yours is crooked.” The father of the girl said “How can it be crooked? We made it *exactly according to a spirit-level*.”’ (A17:20)
(22) *mə́ra màlka ṯ̂-áwət basíma.*| *ʾáwwa náša hàtxɛle wáða.*| *màra*| *mú ṯ̂-àwəð?*| *xa-dúkθət gə́ldət tàwrən híwəlle báne bɛ́θa.*| ‘They said “King, may you be well. That man is doing such-and-such (i.e. building the fortress of Dəmdəma).” He said “What could he do? I have given him *the space of an ox skin* to build a house.”’ (A11:15)
(23) *Qára Téždin ʾíle xàtne díye.*| *yáʿni xáθət Mir-Ẓàndin-ile šqíla Qára Tèždin.*| ‘Qara Teždin is his brother-in-law, that is Qara Teždin has married *the sister of Mir-Ẓandin*.’ (A26:55)
(24) *ʾu-suráye lɛ̀la jráṭa*| *sab-zargùlela lwíše.*| ‘The Christians were not slipping since they were wearing *sheepskin shoes*.’ (B19:7)
(25) *xòš-zuzəx wíðe.*| ‘We have made *good money*.’ (A14:18)

Constructions such as those in (19)–(25) are not making contrastive assertions to correct a misapprehension nor are they responses to an explicit constituent question. The section of the clause that is not in focus is not strictly a presupposition, i.e. it is not necessarily assumed to be a proposition that is active in the mind of the hearer. It is part of the assertion of the clause but with a lesser degree of prominence than the focused item. Its lack of communicative pronominence relative to the focused item is a

property that it shares with presuppositional material. The basic function of the leftward focus movement can, therefore, be identified as a means of marking an enhancement of prominence on the item in question without necessarily implying that the remainder of the clause is presuppositional. In (19)–(22) the motivation for the construction is that the argument in the clause is deemed by the speaker to be unexpected in the general situation described. In (23) it draws particular attention to the identity of the person whom Qara Teždin married, since this is the crucial point that defines the term *xətna* 'brother-in-law'. Likewise in (24) the speaker gives enhanced prominence to the 'sheepskin shoes' since these were the crucial reason why the Christians did not slip and so were the key to their success. In (25) prominence is given to an evaluative expression 'good money' in order to enhance the degree of evaluation.

Temporal adverbial expressions may be put into focus with the construction in order to convey immediacy, e.g.

(26) *bálki qam-xa-šàbθɛle ʾáθya.*ˡ 'He has come perhaps just a week ago.' (A8:56)

The focusing of a gradable quantifier or intensifier with the leftward copula movement conveys an enhanced degree, e.g.

(27) *ʾána ràbɛwən plíxa gu-kɛ́rma.*ˡ 'I have worked very much in the orchard.'
(28) *ʾáw hàdele bárya.*ˡ 'He has just been born.'

In constructions such as (27) and (28) the elements that come after the focus are not necessarily presuppositional, but may be part of the assertion of the clause with a lesser degree of prominence than the focused item. In such constructions with quantifiers and intensifiers the nuclear stress is sometimes placed at the end of the intonation group rather than on the item bearing the copula, e.g.

(29) *ʾána rábɛwən plíxa gu-kɛ̀rma.*ˡ 'I have worked very much in the orchard.'
(30) *yóma hádele zrìqa.*ˡ 'The sun has just now risen.' (A26:37)
(31) *xúwwe ʾáxčile múdwa rìqa.*ˡ 'The snake just managed to escape.' (A1:15)

In constructions such as (29)–(31) the material after the item bearing the copula is part of the assertion. These examples show that the copula and

the nuclear stress placement may operate independently in the marking of prominence. The nuclear stress is in the default position at the end of the intonation group and signals that the predicate as a whole is asserted new information. The copula is used to give particular prominence to one item in this assertion. In such constructions the copula marks a weaker level of prominence than when it is combined with the nuclear stress. The item with the copula is, nevertheless, given more prominence than when there is no leftward copula movement at all, as in (32).

(32) *ʾána rába plíxɛwən gu-kèrma.*| 'I have worked very much in the orchard.'

Conversely the nuclear stress is occasionally moved forward to give particular prominence within the intonation group without the copula moving from its default position, e.g.

(33) *xzáyət-əlle ʾáwwa qàṣra?*‖ *kúlle b-qarqupyàθa bányɛle.*| 'Do you see this palace? It is all built *of skulls*.' (A24:51)

(ii) *Topically Prominent Constituent*

A leftward moving copula may also be attached to a topically prominent constituent. A constituent with topical prominence has a referent that has been mentioned in the immediately prior discourse, with the result that it is not only assumed to be familiar to the hearer but also activated in his consciousness. It serves as the topic of the clause. Unlike an item in focus, the topic is not part of the assertion of the clause, rather it is the remainder of the clause that is asserted and that conveys new information about this topic.

Topical items with a leftward moving copula do not bear the nuclear stress. They are, therefore, given a weaker level of prominence than focused items that have both the copula and the nuclear stress.

Not all items that serve as a clause topic have the leftward moving copula attached to them. This construction is restricted to topics that the speaker wishes to give particular prominence. One context in which the construction is attested is where the item has been activated in the immediately preceding discourse and is repeated in consecutive clauses. This is the case in (1) and (2), in which the second occurrence of the item in question has a copula attached to it:

(1) *ʾáti rába wíðət spayùθa*| *ʾu-ʾátit pqiðəllən.*| 'You did a lot of good and you instructed us.' (A8:87)

(2) *mátti táxta hàtxa*ˈ *ta-t-ʾàzi,*ˈ *líθən dăràje,*ˈ *ta-ṣáli gu-gòma.*ˈ *táxtɛla mútte hàtxa*ˈ *ta-ṣáli tàma.*ˈ 'They placed a board like this, so that they could go (there)—there are no steps—so that they can go down to the basement. They placed a board like this, so that they could go down there.' (A22:10)

These constituents are anaphorically bound to the immediately preceding discourse and function as the informational starting point, i.e. topic, of the ensuing propositions. These can be regarded as two aspects of a broader notion of topic as a current item of concern in the discourse. The constituents would have this status even if they did not have the copula enclitic. The copula gives added coding, which enhances the prominence of this status. This 'heavy' coding of the clause initial topic is often used as a strategy to signal a boundary in the discourse. The purpose of signalling the boundary may be to mark the clause off distinctly from what precedes in order to give prominence to the content of the clause, which appears to be the motivation in (1) and (2). In (3) the strategy of boundary marking is used to mark a clear opposition between the actions of the subject referents in two adjacent clauses:

(3) *mbàdla,*ˈ *qyàmɛla,*ˈ *kúlla bə̌yi ṭ-àzi,*ˈ *ʾáwwɛle dmìxa Barzə́kko.*ˈ 'In the morning they got up and all wanted to go, but he, Barzəkko, was asleep.' (A12:8)

The construction may also be used to give topical prominence to the anaphoric element *hatxa* 'thus', which refers back to a situation in the preceding discourse. In (4) the purpose is to set the two clauses apart and present them as expressing separate events:

(4) *hátxən wíða be-xàli,*ˈ *hátxən wíða be-ʾàmti*ˈ 'I did such-and-such in the house of my uncle, I did such-and-such in the house of my aunt.' (A23:40)

(iii) *Other cases of leftward movement*

It is necessary to distinguish some other categories of construction which exhibit leftward movement of the copula enclitic. These include interrogative constituents, adverbials and certain subordinating particles.

(a) *Interrogative constituents*

The copula element of the resultative is generally attached to interrogative constituents. In some cases the interrogative constituent bears

the nuclear stress and it can be classified as the expression of a type of narrow focus. The remainder of the clause is presuppositional and the focus is put on the interrogative item. Unlike assertive clauses, however, the identity of the interrogative item is not being asserted but rather questioned. Examples:

(1) *ʾènile plíxa ʾədyo.*ʔ| 'Who has worked today?' (A21:15)
(2) *ʾènile qṭíləlle.*ʔ| 'Who has killed him?' (A28:7)
(3) *mòdit wíða.*ʔ| 'What have you done?' (A23:34)
(4) *yómə tré ʾèkɛtu dmíxe.*ʔ| 'Where did you sleep on the second day?' (A12:19)
(5) *m-èkət ʾáθya láxxa*| *ʾu-dàx-it ʾáθya.*ʔ| 'From where have you come here and how have you come?' (A14:33)
(6) *dàx-it xíla kúlla.*ʔ/| 'How have you eaten all of it?!' (A2:11)

Such constructions are analogous to interrogative clauses such as (7) and (8) in which the question concerns one constituent:

(7) *ʾàtit qṭíləlle xúwwe.*ʔ| 'Was it you who killed the snake?' (A24:45)
(8) *ʾàtit múθyəlle ṭéri.*ʔ| 'Was it you who brought back my bird?' (A24:32)

In many cases, however, the nuclear stress is placed on the final word of the intonation group rather than on the interrogative constituent, e.g.

(9) *ʾénile plìxa.*ʔ| 'Who has worked?' (A21:13)
(10) *ʾénile qṭìləlle.*ʔ| 'Who has killed him?' (A15:16)
(11) *mə̌nile mə́sya zədyəlléy laxxàne.*ʔ| 'Who could have thrown them here?' (A8:15)
(12) *módit xə́zya qam-ènux.*ʔ| *módit xə̀zya.*ʔ| 'What have you seen before your eyes? What have you seen?' (A24:31)
(13) *módin xə́zya b-xə̀lmi.*ʔ| 'What have I seen in my dream?' (A1:14)
(14) *ʾéni báxtɛla mubrèθa.*ʔ| 'Which woman has given birth?' (A25:6)
(15) *ṭla-módit ʾáθya dmìxa*| *gu-šwìθi.*ʔ| 'Why have you come to sleep in my bed?' (A26:3)
(16) *ʾu-lé-y-yə̌ðən m-ékət ʾəθya.*| 'And I do not know from where you have come.' (A14:76)
(17) *yə̌ðət ʾékən dəryəlle.*ʔ| 'Do you know where I have put him?' (A22:44)

Such constructions, in which the nuclear stress is not on the interrogative constituent, have a different information structure, in that the question

is not focused exclusively on the interrogative constituent but rather on the proposition as a whole. The attachment of the copula enclitic to the interrogative constituent, therefore, cannot be motivated by its being in narrow focus. The interrogative constituent, nevertheless, is what the question primarily requests information about and so is given prominence by the copula, but this is a weaker level of relative prominence than constructions in which the constituent is marked both by the copula and by the nuclear stress.

(b) *Adverbials*

Narrow focus is sometimes given to an anaphoric adverbial by attaching the copula to it and giving it the nuclear stress. As in some of the examples of narrow focus on nominals cited above, the remainder of the clause is not always necessarily a presupposition. The purpose of giving the adverbial a high degree of prominence is to enhance its anaphoric function and bind it closely with what precedes, e.g.

(1) *muttéθəlle púmma gu-pùmmət*ˈ *Fàrxo,*ˈ *šuréla myàṣa*ˈ *ʾè-danɛla kálye.*ˈ ‘She put her mouth on the mouth of Farxo and began sucking. At that time they stopped (crying).’ (A25:5)

(2) *ṭalána yáʿni ṭalàna,*ˈ *sab-šámša ʾé-gət maxyàwa*ˈ *ṭuráne ʾàtxɛna wíye.*ˈ ‘(The word) *ṭalana* means “shady”, since when the sun rose, the mountains became like that (i.e. became shady).’ (B3:2)

(3) *bábi muttúle táma bèθa.*ˈ *zìllɛni,*ˈ *təxrúθa dìyi*ˈ *ʾu-t-xóni d-o-gòṛa.*ˈ *ʾáwwa xóni tàmɛle bárya.*ˈ ‘My father set up home there. We went, as far as I remember, together with my older brother. This brother of mine was born there’. (B8:10)

In (4) this device of enhancing the force of the anaphoric binding of the adverbial is used in a clause that has the status of a relative clause. The effect is to bind the clause clearly to the preceding head noun:

(4) *ʾɛ-dúkθət mămədìwalən,*ˈ *ʾax-xa-bányo zòra,*ˈ *ʾátxa gu-ʾúpra nqìra,*ˈ *kúllən tàmɛwəx mŭmáðe ṭ-íwəx bárye*ˈ—*ʾáwən pìšɛwa.*ˈ ‘The place in which they used to baptize us, like a small bath, dug into the earth, where all of us who were born were baptized—that has survived.’ (B3:20)

An adverbial that does not bear the nuclear stress may have the copula attached to it, as in (5), where the copula is moved leftwards onto the tem-

poral adverbial in the clause *ʾé-gɛla ḥŭdúde mùrme*ˈ. This may be regarded as a type of topical prominence, which is a weaker level of prominence than the prominence expressed by both the copula and the nuclear stress. The effect, as is generally the case with clauses with initial topically prominent items, is to signal a boundary in the discourse. Although the initial item is anaphorically bound to what precedes, its status as a communicative starting point is enhanced. This is the case here, in which the clause in question offers a piece of incidental information about the general historical situation, which is not directly connected to the event of the wedding discussed in what precedes. This should be contrasted with the function of the construction occurring earlier in the passage *ʾè-ga-wewa gwíra xóni Šə́mmo*ˈ, in which the adverbial is given a stronger degree of prominence by both copula movement (in this case a past copula) and by nuclear stress. The speaker intends this clause to be bound closely with what precedes, since it relates directly to the wedding.

(5) *taxránne ṭla-xlúlət xóni Šə̀mmo*ˈ *ʾé-gə t-wə́wa ríqe nàše*ˈ *ṣálye Badɛrə̀ške,*ˈ *ʾáskar t-lə́wi síqta gu-ʾƐ̀n-Nùne,*ˈ *ʾè-ga-wewa gwíra xóni Šə́mmo.*ˈ *ʾəngləznàye*ˈ *ʾáskar-t lə́wi tàxrən.*ˈ *ʾé-gɛla ḥŭdúde mùrme,*ˈ *gu-Tùrki músqe.*ˈ 'I remember the wedding of my brother Šəmmo, when people had fled and come down to Badɛrəške. The Levy army went up to ʾƐn-Nune. It was then that Šəmmo married. I remember the English, the Levy army. At that time the borders were moved, they were moved up to Turkey.' (B9:21)

A similar strategy is exhibited by (6)–(8). Here the adverbs with an enclitic copula but without the nuclear stress are linked correlatively to the following clause rather than being bound to what precedes. In (6) the following clause specifies the content of the adverb. Examples (7) and (8) are adversative constructions. The initial adverbials set up an expectation that is reversed in the second clause:

(6) *bróni hátxɛla qaḍìya*ˈ *málka hóle múθyəlla bráte dìye.*ˈ 'My son, the situation is like this. The king has brought his daughter.' (A21:8)
(7) *zílɛle ṭə̆́ya bràtux.*ˈ *hádəx-ile wìða,*ˈ *bás lèle xə́zyəlla.*ˈ 'He went to look for your daughter. He acted thus, but did not find her.'
(8) *kəmá-gayəx tíwe m-ġðə̀ðe,*ˈ *har-lán màṣya ʾaxwáθe dìye.*ˈ 'However many times we have sat together, I still cannot be like him.' (A25:44)

(c) *Subordinating Conjunctions*

In subordinate clauses opening with the general subordinating conjuction *D* or the conditional particle *ʾən* the copula is attached to the conjunction at the front of the clause.

The subordinating conjunction *D* may serve as the head of a relative clause (1–3) or the subordinative operator of other types of clause, e.g.

(1) *mqawòlɛwən,*| *ʾap-ʾan-zúze kúlla ṯ-in šqìləlla*| *pălánna pàlge.*| 'I promise, I'll divide into halves also all the money that I took.' (A1:17)

(2) *la-bă̆yən ʾáyya bráta ṯ-in-múθyəlla t-yă̆ða qá-t ṭlíba díya hóle mìθa.*| 'I do not want this girl whom I have brought to know that her betrothed has died.' (A4:33)

(3) *t-lá mară̆wàθɛle ʾo-márga*| *ṯ-it-súsux dáryəlle tàma?*| 'Is the meadow in which you have put your horse without owners?' (A25:60)

(4) *ʾáx-ṯ-it-ʾáti šə̂tya,*| *ʾáp-ʾaw hàdəx.*| 'As you have drunk, he also (has been treated) in the same way.' (A26:33)

(5) *dáx ṯ-in-muθéθəlla ʾa-béna xèta,*| *ʾay-béna ʾàna maθyánna.*| 'Just as I brought her before, so this time I shall bring her.' (A27:30)

(6) *ʾímə ṯ-íla múθyəlla ʾa-bráta ʾálle díye,*| *mbùrxəlla.*| 'When they brought that girl to him, they wedded her (to him).' (A16:6)

(7) *xá-xeta qímela zìlela,*| *ha-ṯ-íla zíle ʕə̂myɛle.*| 'They went (to help) once again, but by the time they had gone, it was put out.' (A48:4)

(8) *lɛt-xzáya bíye díye ṯ-íle mìθa?*| 'Don't you see that he is dead?' (A17:2)

On many occasions the copula bears the nuclear stress of the intonation group, e.g.

(9) *ʾu-díṛɛle ṣ́ályɛle rəš-d-ɛ̀-ʾɛna,*| *ʾɛ-ʾéna ṯ-ìle ʾáθya qamáye réša.*| 'He went back down to the spring, the spring to which he had come previously.' (A26:32)

(10) *ʾó-yōm ṯ-ìle plíṭa*| *bróne díye mìθɛle.*| 'The day that he went out, his son died.' (A4:32)

(11) *ʾánna dax-ṯ-ìla zíle,*| *Mă̆́mo dáryəlle gu-zəndàna.*| 'When they had gone, they put Mămo in jail.' (A26:74)

(12) *ʾax-ṯ-ìle wíra,*| *ʾíθwa dúkθa ta-t-kalèwa.*| 'When he entered, there was space for him to stand.' (A22:30)

The placement of the copula on the subordinate particle in relative clauses can be related to the use of leftward copula movement to mark topically

prominent items. The referent represented by the *D* particle, which is that of the antecedent noun in the adjacent main clause, is clearly the main topical concern of the relative clause. Although such copula movement to mark topical prominence is an optional strategy in main clauses, it has been formalized as a fixed rule in subordinate relative clauses. It would appear that this was further generalized to other types of subordinate clause opening with the particle *D*.

Examples of leftward movement of the copula in protasis clauses opening with *ʾən*:

(13) *ʾən-in ʾàna ʾáθya gu-šwíθəx,*ˈ *qrégən xaddàməx.*ˈ 'If I have come to sleep in you bed, call your servants.' (A26:4)

(14) *ʾən-it ʾáθya šúlət qaḥbùθa,*ˈ *kəs-bábən Bằku.*ˈ 'If you have come to fornicate, then (lodge) with our father Bằku.' (A26:26)

The movement of the copula onto the conditional particle *ʾən* is likely to have arisen from the fact that the particle was originally followed by *D*, as is still the case in some NENA dialects.

15.4.1.4.2. *Rightward Movement of the Enclitic*

The default position for the nuclear stress of an intonation group is on the last item in the group. When the nuclear stress occurs in this position, therefore, it does not necessarily express 'narrow focus' on this one item but frequently expresses a 'broad focus' which includes the whole predicate of the clause.[9] The copula element may be shifted rightwards onto this word with nuclear stress at the end of the intonation group. This is done, however, only when the nuclear stress is expressing broad focus. The purpose of the construction, therefore, is not to express narrow information focus on the word, with the remainder of the clause presupposed. Rather, the clitic gives the item in question an enhanced prominence within the broad focus of the predicate, due to its importance or unexpectedness. In example (1) a group of men are transformed into sheep, which is presented as a surprising and pivotal development by the placement of the copula on the nouns at the end of the intonation groups. In (2) the rightward shift of the copula highlights the royal clothes, by which the king's son identifies himself, and this is an important turning point in the narrative.

[9] For the distinction between 'narrow focus' and 'broad focus' see Lambrecht (1994: 222).

As in (1), the importance of the event is expressed also by repetition. Similarly (3) puts prominence on the item *jănaza* 'funeral, death', which denotes an unexpected and portentous situation:

(1) *kúlla píše pàṛela,*| *ʾərwe.*| *kúlla píše ʾərwela.*| 'They all became lambs, sheep. They all became sheep.' (A34:19)
(2) *ʾu-qímɛle lwíša júllə brónət màlkɛle.*| *lwíšɛle jùlle.*| *ʾu-sìqɛle.*| 'Then he put on the clothes of the son of a king. He put on his clothes and went up.' (A24:35)
(3) *hadíya gáwṛəx píša jănàzɛle.*| *móra yá mút jănàza?!*‖ '"Your husband is now dead." She said "Why is he dead?"' (A10:13)

A subject argument that is not within the broad focus of the predicate is in some circumstances postposed at the end of the clause after the nuclear stress in the intonation group. This is the case in (4), which highlights the surprising achievement of financial success, but does not draw particular attention to the fact that it was the old woman rather than somebody else who was the agent of this action:

(4) *wíðta šùlɛla ṯóṯo.*| 'The old woman made (good) business.' (A4:22)

In some cases the construction appears to be primarily intended to give prominence to the clause as a whole in order to act as a discourse boundary marker rather than to only the item bearing the clitic. Such clauses with enhanced prominence are often used to mark the boundary of a section of discourse. The boundary may be at the beginning or the closure of a section. In (5), for example, the construction opens a section of the narrative that is set in the cave of Leliθa. In (6) the construction occurs at the end of a series of clauses that is presented as a closely-knit sequence of events. This is followed by a section of direct speech, which is introduced by repeating the clause that closed the preceding section. In (7) the construction likewise marks the end of a chain of clauses that culminates in the arrival of the protagonist at a new spatial location:

(5) *qəm-maqàdla*| *ʾawádla tărəkka,*| *qṭilàle.*| *wíra gu-gáppət Lelìθɛle.*| *ḥátta čámče t-dàwa!*‖ *čəngále t-dàwa!*‖ *kúbə čáy t-dàwa!*‖ 'He burned her (Leliθa), made her a corpse, killed her. He went into the cave of Leliθa. There were even spoons of gold, forks of gold, tea cups of gold!' (A32:23–24)
(6) *qìmtɛla*| *šəryálla ʾáqle w-ìðe*| *ʾu-ṣálya l-bèθɛle.*| *ṣálya bèθɛle,*| *də-súq sùq*|… 'She got up. He released her feet and hands and he went down to

his home. He went down to his home (and he said) "Go up…"' (A10:13)

(7) *bronət-málka šríṭɛle l-a-gōt-hòdəx*ˈ *nèra.*ˈ *zíla níxa níxa wíra gu-d-a-màθɛle.*ˈ 'The son of the king escaped to the other side of the river. He went along slowly and entered the village.' (A14:58)

Two events that are set up in opposition to each other may be given enhanced distinctness by rightward movement of the copula onto the nuclear stress bearing item. In (8) a mother lion stands back while her cubs go down to a pool to drink water. These are presented as two opposing events that occurred simultaneously. The prominence expressed by the copula on the noun *mìyɛla* (< *miya-ila*) is not intended to put particular informational prominence specifically on this item of the clause but rather is intended to give an enhanced prominence and so distinctness to the clause as a whole. This distinctness expressed in the syntax is motivated by the desire of the speaker to present the two events in a clear opposition. The same applies to (9), in which the attack on the horse is set up in opposition to the attack on the ox:

(8) *klìθɛla-ʾay.*ˈ *bnóna díya ṣálye šátye mìyɛla.*ˈ 'She stood. Her young went down and drank water.' (A33:10)

(9) *xazéle xa-tàwra,*ˈ *ʾÙmmo*ˈ *xazéle tàwra*ˈ *ʾu-parəmle réšə táwra.*ˈ*… zíla máṭya l-sùsele,*ˈ *ʾap-súsa prìməlle.*ˈ 'He saw an ox. Ummo saw an ox and cut off the head of the ox.… He went and came to the horse. He slaughtered also the horse.' (A23:30)

15.4.1.5. *Resultative Participle Combined with the Past Copula*

The resultative participle may be combined with the past copula (for the morphology of this compound form see §8.8.3. and §8.19.4.2.). This construction, which may be designated as the past resultative, denotes a state that existed in the past as the result of a prior event. It is typically used to express the background against which a past event took place, e.g.

(1) *xa-ʾàġa,*ˈ *ʾÙsman šámme díye,*ˈ *θèle,*ˈ *ʾárxa píšle kəs-Xošăba margáya.*ˈ *ʾáwwa* ***šámyɛwa*** *bud-dìye*ˈ *ʾíθwale ʾárwe ràbe.*ˈ 'An agha, whose name was Usman, came and became the guest of Khoshaba from Marga. He had heard concerning him that he had many small cattle.' (C7:1)

(2) *baxt-xáli* ***šítɛwəlle*** *bèθa.*ˈ *ʾu-θéla qáṭu wírra tàma.*ˈ *ʾu-dəryáli šəndùxta,*ˈ *qítla gu-nepùxta.*ˈ 'The wife of my uncle had plastered a room. A

cat came and entered. I threw a stone, but it hit some date syrup.' (A23:36)

(3) *mára ha-bròni,*ˈ *Mə̀mo,*ˈ *mà-lux*ˈ *tíwət xaššàna?*ˈ *mára bábi hə́l ʾu-qəṣṣət hàtxɛla.*ˈ *mára ʾədlɛle*ˈ *xa-bráta* ***θíθɛwa*** *dmíxta kəsli.*ˈ *ʾu-qímli qedàmta,*ˈ *la-xəzyàli.*ˈ 'He said "Ah, my son, Mămo, why are you sitting (looking so) sad?" He said "Father, the situation is like this". He said "Last night a girl came and slept with me. I got up in the morning and did not find her."' (A26:10–11)

(4) *xá-yoma* ***plíṭewa*** *ṣèda.*ˈ *zíle xa-dùkθa,*ˈ *málka dmìxɛle.*ˈ 'One day they had gone out hunting. They went to a place and the king fell asleep.' (A11:4)

Like the present resultative construction, the past resultative does not denote a specific event, but rather the existence of a state resulting from some event that took place at some unspecified time in the past. This may have been one single event taking place at one particular time or a series of iterative events. If it is one specific event, in principle it could have been presented as an event in a narrative sequence in a narrative verbal form such as *qṭille* or *qəm-qaṭəl*. The speaker, however, chooses to disjoin the events and background the first event by presenting its resultant state rather than the event itself, and thereby give more prominence to the temporally sequential foregrounded event that is expressed by the narrative verbal form. In (2) the speaker is explaining why his uncle had thrown him out of the house. This was because of an incident in which a cat entered a newly plastered room. The plastering of the room was not in itself the crucial event that brought about his expulsion. In (3) the reason Mămo is sad is not because a girl came to him in the night, but rather because he could not find her in the morning. As can be seen, in most cases it is appropriate to translate the past resultative with the English pluperfect, which expresses backgrounding. In some cases, however, this is not the case, as in (3), where it is not idiomatic due to the presence of a temporal adverbial.

When the verb has telic actionality, the resultative participle in the construction normally has an adjectival sense, e.g.

(5) *ʾìθwa*ˈ *xa-ràbbən.*ˈ *tíwɛwa gu-xa-gəppìθa.*ˈ *θéle xa-náša swarìyya,*ˈ *rakáwa.*ˈ 'There was once a monk. He was dwelling in a small cave. A horseman, a rider came.' (A15:1)

The disjunction between the past resultative form and the foreground verb may be adversative in nature, especially when the past resultative form is negated, e.g.

(6) *xu-lanwa-mírəllux maxzátli xăzìna.| muxzélux ʾáwwa xăzìna-əlli.|* 'Indeed I had not asked you to show me a treasure, but you showed this treasure to me.' (A14:23)

Since the construction expresses a background state rather than an event in a sequence, it may be placed after the clause expressing the event that is temporally posterior to it, e.g.

(7) *ʾup-ʾáyya šéta xzéli ṣòpa.| ʾánna xamšassár-šənne ṣópa lánwa xàzya.|* 'Also this year I saw a stove. I had not seen a stove for fifteen years.' (B15:23)

In the foregoing examples, the past tense verbal forms in the foreground clause(s) are either *qṭille* or *qəm-qaṭəl*. These may express a recent event with an endpoint that coincides with the present moment, which are translated idiomatically with an English perfect of recent past, e.g.

(8) *gáwṛi θèle.| zílɛwa be-šwàwe.| xzi-θèle.|* 'My husband has come back. He had gone to our neighbours' house. Look he has come back.' (A22:32)

In narratives the foreground event may be expressed by the compound *qṭilɛle* form, which in such contexts is used with the same function as *qṭille* and *qəm-qaṭəl* to denote an event rather than a resultant state (§15.4.1.3.), e.g.

(9) *ʾáwwa síqa-wewa l-ṭùra| l-ṣèda.| ʾəθyɛle Tătár-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi| mən-ʾÌrən.| ʾəθyɛle gu-ṭùra| xəzyɛle| plíšela m-ġðàðe.|* 'He had gone up into the mountains to hunt. Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi came from Iran. He came into the mountains, found him and they fought together.' (A28:1)

(10) *qìmela,| ʾàw zílɛwa l-pəlxàna,| zràya.| qímela múttəlla gu-ʾatnàbəl.| ʾu-waǰǰ-úwa díya kùlla,| ʾɛ-ʾótəx dìya.|* 'They set off, he had gone to work, to cultivate (his field). They put her in a car, with all her effects, (the contents) of her room.' (A21:5)

(11) *gu-d-é ṣlεθèy*ˈ *qáṭu wìrtεla*ˈ *ʾáy šwíqtəlwa májma tàma.*ˈ *qáṭu wìrtεla*ˈ *npílta gu-d-án panjàne.*ˈ ‘While they were going down, a cat came in. She (the servant) had left a tray there. A cat came in, fell into the glasses.’ (A4:53)

The construction is sometimes used in narratives in combination with a *qaṭəl* form that expresses a perfective historical present, e.g.

(12) *ʾu-ʾáwwa jắket d-o-Kărim-addìn*ˈ *píštεwa wə̀dəṇ,*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾay ṭεšíla dəmma.*ˈ ‘The jacket of Karimaddin had remained outside. They daubed it in blood.’ (A14:20)

The past resultative may also be used in combination with a compound *qṭilεle* form that functions as a present resultative (present perfect). In such cases the past resultative expresses the background state against which the event of the present resultative took place. As discussed in §15.4.1.2., the present resultative does not primarily assert this event, but rather asserts the resultant state with the event itself being an implicature. In these contexts it is not appropriate to translate the past resultative into English by a past perfect, e.g.

(13) *ʾána muttéθənwa yománə šàbθa*ˈ *ʾu-muttéθənwa yománət yàrxa.*ˈ *ʾáti xa-béta hot-šqíləlla mən-šàbθa*ˈ *píše ʾəštà-yome.*ˈ *ʾu-xa-láxma hot-šqíləlle mən-yàrxa,*ˈ *hóla píše ʾəsri-w-ʾəc̣̈à-yome.*ˈ ‘I put (in the basket the number of) the days of the week and I put (the number of) the days of the month. You have taken an egg from the week and they have become six days. You have taken a loaf of bread from the month, and they have become twenty-nine days.’ (A17:15)

The construction may be used in combination with a form expressing habitual action in the past. Here it must be interpreted as having a distributive sense, denoting the background state of each of the set of actions denoted by the habitual verb, e.g.

(14) *ʾáni bədráθa tàma náše ʾi-raqðíwa.*ˈ *sab-wíðəlwala ʾắra dàšta*ˈ *ʾu-maṣíwa náše doqíwa ṭḷà*ˈ *ʾarbà-reze xá-xa-gaye.*ˈ ‘The people would dance on those threshing floors. This was because they had made the ground level and the people could form three or four rows at once.’ (B15:78–79)

As is the case with the present copula in the present resultative construction, the past copula is moved in certain circumstances.

In the text corpus examples are found of the leftward movement of the past copula to a gradable quantifier in (15), and to an interrogative constituent (16):

(15) *ʾíθwale xa-kàrma.*| *zríyənwale b-iθàθi*| *ʾu-rábənwa kčíxa bíye dìye.*| *ha-t-qa-mamṭánna ṭúnte dìye.*| *ʾímət mṭéla ṭúnte dìye,*| *θéle xa-nàša,*| *qəm-šaqàlla ʾɛ-ṭúnte díye.*| ‘He had an orchard. (He said) “I had cultivated it with my hands and had very greatly toiled in it in order to make it produce its fruit. When its fruit became ripe, a man came and took its fruit.”’ (A17:32–33)

(16) *ʾína ʾána l-mòdinwa ṣálya?*| ‘Why had I gone down?’ (A26:35)

Note that in (15) the nuclear stress remains at the end of the intonation group, marking a broad focus of the whole predicate. The effect of the copula movement onto the quantifier (*rábənwa*) is to give this quantifier particular prominence within this broad focus for the sake of intensifying it.

In (17) the copula is attached to the object *xəṭṭa* ‘plan’ also without the nuclear stress. In this case the function of the copula is to express topical rather than focal prominence. The item has forward pointing topical prominence in that it is linked to the following complement clause:

(17) *xáṭṭa-wewa mùtta*| *yáʿni tré qəqwáne b-xà-kepa maxéwa.*| ‘He had set a plan to kill two birds with one stone.’ (A8:35)

The leftward movement of the copula is also attested in relative and other subordinate clauses introduced by the particle *D*, e.g.

(18) *xá-bena ʾan-tre-maláxe t-wɛ́wa ʾáθye bìya,*| *t-wɛ́wa mutáṗqəlla b-ġðàðe,*| *θéla pyáða táma tàma.*| ‘Then, those two angels who had brought her, who had caused them to meet each other, came passing by there.’ (A4:44)

(19) *hat-šmíṭle ʾɛ-sála t-wéwa zqìrəlla.*| ‘Until the basket that he had woven shattered.’ (A20:4)

(20) *ʾáθyɛle ʾo-gàwṛa díya,*| *ʾo-t-wéwa mùθyəlla.*| ‘Her husband, who had brought her, came back.’ (A12:53)

(21) *ʾəθyɛle| wíðɛle ʾa-dúkθa nišànqa,| ʾa-dúkθa t-wéwa ʾo-dídwa wíra tàma.|* 'He came and made a sign in that place, the place where the fly had entered.' (A11:10)

(22) *dɛ́ri míya rèše| ʾax-t-wéwa Mar-Yuḥánna dárya mìya| b-réšə Mšîxa.|* 'They put water over him, as Saint John had put water on the head of Christ.' (B6:9)

(23) *mə́re bɛ́θi ṣtìmla dábba.| ṭlá-bnone xilìli,| báxta xilàli,| xáṭər ṯ-ínwa mḵonə́-drəlla.|* 'The bear has ruined my house. I have eaten the three children, I have eaten the wife, all because I had rolled him (down the hill).' (A20:12)

Rightward movement of the past copula is attested in (24). The purpose of this construction is to give particular prominence to the predicate as a whole. The action of the hound is pivotal, in that it prevents the man performing his day's work:

(24) *tullə́kθa síqta š-xà-ʾisarɛwa.|* 'The hound had gone up onto a rock.' (A30:8)

15.4.1.6. *Resultative Participle Combined with the Verb* hwy

15.4.1.6.1. y-awe qṭila

This construction is used to express a state resulting from a prior action that is of habitual occurrence. It is frequently found in the descriptive text B5. In this text the speaker generally uses it to elaborate on a habitual situation that has been referred to in the immediately preceding discourse, e.g.

(1) *y-asqíwa malwəšíwale jull-dìye| ʾu-y-atwìwa.| y-áwa wíðe xa-rámša yòma.| y-áwa wíðe dùxwa.|* 'They would come up (from the river) and dress him in his clothes. Then they would sit down. They would have made the evening meal during the day. They would have made *duxwa*'. (B5:26–27)

(2) *bína qɛ́mi qedámta nàše| ʾu-jə̀mi.|… m-maθwáθa y-áwa ʾəθye| maθwáθa kúlla y-áwa lwíše júlle šàlla,| y-áwa mxùmle,| kusyàθa,| ʾu-mútte párre gu-rèša.|* 'The people get up the next morning and gather together.… They have come from the villages, from the villages. All have put on the *šalla*. They have dressed up, with hats, in which they have put feathers.' (B5:46–47)

In (1) the *ʾi-qaṭəlwa/qaṭəlwa* verbs in the first half of the passage express habitual actions in the past that occurred in temporal sequence. In (2) *qaṭəl*

forms are used to express sequential habitual actions in the present. In the second half of the passages the *y-awe qṭila* forms express states resulting from previous events that habitually exist when the aforementioned habitual actions take place. They are used to elaborate on the scene that has been evoked. By virtue of being states they must be interpreted as attendant circumstances rather than dynamic events that are temporally sequential to what precedes. It should be noted that the speaker uses the present auxiliary *y-awe* even when the preceding verbs are past tense forms, as in (1). In such cases it takes the past tense reference of the preceding verbal forms as its deictic centre. This reflects the dependency of the construction on the preceding discourse. Further examples:

(3) *béna mɛθéwa mɛxòlta.*| *mɛxólta y-áwa mbúšle qawúrma-w rəzza,*| *ʾu-kəftàne.*|
'Then they would bring the food. As for the food, they would have cooked *qawurma*, rice, meat-balls.' (B5:14–15)

(4) *ʾu-dɛṛìwa,*| *ʾu-y-óriwa mədre gu-ʾùmra,*| *šɛríwa rázət qurbàna.*| *ʾu-hál qedàmta*|*—béna gu-d-ɛ-dàna*| *kút-xa y-áwe múθya bèta mənne.*| 'Then they returned, went back into the church and began the communion mass. The next day—at that time everybody would have brought an egg with him.' (B5:58)

(5) *ʾé-ga qèse*| *mattíwa qésa y-atwíwa réše dìye.*| *ʾan-xoriyáθa y-amrəxxa qèse,*| *y-atwíwa rēš-dìye.*| *ʾu-y-áwa mríze kúlla mɛxòlta,*| *kút-xa mútta gotə-ġðàðe.*|
'On this occasion they would put out wood and sit down on it. They would sit down on wood of poplar trees, as we called them. They would have lined up all the food, each (item) placed beside the other.' (B5:67)

(6) *yáʿni maxəðríla ʾa-kʾàlo*| *qúrbət bèθa,*| *y-áθi máṭi l-bèθa.*| *m-bár máṭi l-bèθa*|*—qam-dàna*| *y-áwa mrúzge xá ʾìlàna.*| 'That is, they take the bride around towards her house and come to her house. After they arrive at the house—beforehand they have prepared a tree.' (B5:38)

The resultative participle of telic intransitive verbs may have a verbal or adjectival interpretation, as is the case with *tiwe* in (7) and *dmixa* in (8):

(7) *fa-kul-náše kút-xa mɛθéwa xăðáye díye ʾu-mattúwa tàma.*| *ʾu-y-áwa tíwe nàše*|
y-áwa mrúzge dùka.| 'Everybody used to bring his own lunch and set it out there. People would have sat down / would be sitting there and would have prepared space (for the food).' (B5:66)

(8) *béna Rustắmo ʾé-gət dàməx*| *ṭḷaθà yomáθa*| *ʾu-tḷaθá lɛlăwáθa y-áwe dmíxa lɛ-ṛàyəš.*| 'Now, when Rustam slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights and not wake.' (A29:19)

The resultative participle of a transitive verb in the *y-awe qṭila* form may be used as a passive predicative adjective, e.g.

(9) *ʾíθwa tanùra,*ˈ *ʾáx t-y-àmrəx,*ˈ *hár ṭlá d-ò-məndi y-áwe mtúrṣa.*ˈ 'There was an oven, as we say, which used to be made specially for this.' (B5:17)

(10) *fa-ʾáw qunǰíyáθe díye*ˈ *d-áy mandòrta*ˈ *y-áwa bəzye.*ˈ 'The corners of the roller are bored (with holes).' (B5:193)

15.4.1.6.2. y-awewa qṭila

The examples of this construction that are attested in the text corpus mostly contain a resultative participle that functions as a predicative adjective. The construction expresses a state that habitually existed in the past. It often presents the attendant circumstances or background of a habitual event that is expressed by a *ʾi-qaṭəl/qaṭəl* form, e.g.

(1) *ʾi-bašálwa y-awáxwa tíwe mbarxòše,*ˈ *ʾúmma šənne!*ˈ 'It would cook (while) we would be sitting stirring it, for a hundred years!' (B10:12)

(2) *qayəmwa*ˈ *qáša y-awéwa zína qamàye.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾó-t šamáše báθre bàθre.*ˈ '(When) the resurrection was celebrated (literally: He arose), the priest would be standing at the front and the deacons behind him.' (B5:55)

(3) *képa mɛθéwa m-gu-ṭùra.*ˈ *y-azíwa l-ṭùra*ˈ *y-awéwa ṭəšya ʾaw-képa*ˈ *mattíwa darmàna.*ˈ 'They would bring the stone from the mountains. They would go to the mountains. The stone used to be hidden, so they would plant gunpowder.' (B5:179)

It expresses a habitual property of the subject referent rather than an event and so does not express sequentiality. This is shown in (4), where the form *y-oyáwa dmìxta* expresses a habitual property that is not presented as sequential to that of eating, whereas the series of *qaṭəlwa* forms *y-axlàwa-w*ˈ *damxàwa*ˈ may be interpreted as denoting sequential events:

(4) *ʾíθwale xa-bràta.*ˈ *gu-bɛ́θa har-y-oyáwa dmìxta*ˈ *ʾu-xàla,*ˈ *dmíxta-w xàla.*ˈ *ʾítwala xa-qaráwət gòṛta.*ˈ *mɛθíwala xadamyáθa díya ʾixàla,*ˈ *y-axlàwa-w*ˈ *damxàwa*ˈ 'He had a daughter. She would always be asleep and be eating in the house, asleep and eating. She had a big bed. Her servants would bring her food, she would eat then go to sleep.' (A21:1)

15.4.1.6.3. hawe qṭila

This form is attested only sporadically in the text corpus. In (1) it is found in a construction with the word *balki* 'perhaps', in (2) it occurs in a relative clause with a generic antecedent and in (3) in a purpose clause:

(1) *bálki háwe ʾáθya l-bɛθ-qòra.*ˈ 'Perhaps he has gone to the cemetery.' (A25:91)
(2) *mrázgi kúlla mɛxòlta,*ˈ *mă̊θălan xə̀ṭṭe,*ˈ *rəzza,*ˈ *pràge,*ˈ *šìšme,*ˈ *kúlla ʾan-ṯ̂-áwa zərə̀lla.*ˈ 'In the same way they prepare all the food, for example wheat, rice, millet, sesame, everything that they have sown.' (B5:114)
(3) *bar-hàdəx,*ˈ *y-aθéwa mdarə̀walɛ*ˈ *qa-t-lá-hawa píše šə̂xte.*ˈ 'Then they would come and winnow it, so that impurities did not remain.' (B5:86)

15.4.1.6.4. hawewa qṭila

This construction is attested mainly in conditional sentences. It may denote a state resulting from a single perfective event, in which case it has a counterfactual sense (1–2). It is also used in factual conditions to denote a habitual state resulting from habitual, iterative events (3):

(1) *ʾən-ʾána hawə́nwa qṭíləlla ʾăyáha ʾaqə̀rwa,*ˈ *ʾáwwa xúwwe ṯ̂-awéwa qṭíla ṭla-bròni.*ˈ 'If I had killed that scorpion, that snake would have killed my son.' (A9:6)
(2) *ʾən-hawétuwa dáryəlli xáčča xéna biš-hódəx biš-ʾamòqta,*ˈ *táma mpulṭəllɛ́xu mən-d-ànna*ˈ *pazesór b-ʾəlyàθa,*ˈ *hátxa b-qanàne.*ˈ 'If you had thrown me a little further along, (where it is) deeper, I would have brought out for you from there some of those big sheep with fat tails and horns (big) like this.' (A7:22)
(3) *xéna ʾən-hawéwa bàsra,*ˈ *ʾən-háwəxwa príme ʾərwe,*ˈ *dèrəxwa básra.*ˈ 'If there was meat, if we had slaughtered sheep, we would serve meat.' (B10:19)

It is also used in counterfactual contexts outside of conditional constructions, e.g.

(4) *ʾána gă̊rəg hawə́nwa spày zúze šqíla.*ˈ 'I should have got a good sum of money.' (B1:19)
(5) *t-lá-hawənwa mbúqrəllɛxu biš-spày.*ˈ 'It would have been better for me not to have asked you.' (A26:27)

It is attested in deontic constructions expressing an unfulfilled wish, which is related to its function in counterfactual conditions, e.g.

(6) *ḵáwa xoš-ṯ̂-awéwa pìša.*ˡ 'He should have remained alive.' (A7:20)

15.4.1.6.5. ṯ̂-awe qṭila *(future)*
In the text corpus there are some examples of the future form of *ṯ̂-awe* (< *bəd-hawe*) combined with the resultative participle of intransitive telic verbs. The function of such constructions is to express an imperfective future, denoting a continuous state, e.g.

(1) *hát ʾálaha yálli rásqi b-áyya kàwe,*ˡ *ʾàxxa ṯ̂-áwən dmíxa.*ˡ 'Until God gives me my sustenance through this window, I shall sleep here.' (A10:5)
(2) *ʾəští-šənne xéne ṯ̂-óya rəš-d-é-qora tíwta bxàya.*ˡ 'She will sit for another sixty years weeping over that grave.' (A4:45)

15.4.1.6.6. ṯ̂-awewa qṭila
This is attested in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals denoting a hypothetical perfective event in the past, e.g.

(1) *ʾo-šəndóxa ʾán-hawewa qíθa bìyi*ˡ *ṯ̂-awátwa qṭìləlli.*ˡ 'If that rock had hit me, you would have killed me.' (A1:25)

15.4.1.6.7. wele qṭila
The combination of the resultative participle with the *qṭille* form of *hwy* is found only sporadically. It is attested in (1), where the speaker appears to be using it to give some degree of temporal limitation to the resultant state of a past action, i.e. it was the case that they made a fence, but now they want to make something else:

(1) *hadíya ʾɛ-dùkθa*ˡ *wéla wíðəlla xa-šùra,*ˡ *ʾáxči bă̆yi ʾoðìla*ˡ *xa-šúra bìš-goṛa.*ˡ 'Now as for that place, they made a fence for it, but they want to make a bigger fence for it.' (B3:22)

15.4.1.7. *The Resultative Participle of the Verb* hwy
The resultative construction may contain the resultative participle of the verb *hwy*. Various functions of this can be distinguished.

(i) *'to become'*
When used with an ascriptive or identificatory predicate, it has an ingressive sense of 'becoming', expressing a present resultative state, e.g.

(1) *lɛt-ʾáti wíya xoš-náša ṯ̂-it-múθyəlla ʾánna zùze.*| *záwna wíyɛle t-šlàma.*| 'You have not become a good man and brought these coins. The time has become one of peace.' (A1:26)
(2) *bálki qam-dána háwa wíye xəzme m-ġðàðe.*| 'Perhaps beforehand they have become relatives of one another.' (B5:5)
(3) *ṭalána yáʿni ṭalàna,*| *sab-šəmša ʾé-gət maxyàwa*| *ṭuráne ʾàtxɛna wíye.*| '(The word) *ṭalana* means 'shady', since when the sun would strike the mountains, they became like that.' (B3:2)

Note that in (3) the resultative form is used in an apodosis of a temporal sentence that contains a habitual verb in the first clause (*maxyàwa*). The resultative must have a distributive sense, i.e. on each occasion when the sun struck the mountains, they became like that. Furthermore, since the resultative expresses a state, it cannot be interpreted as a sequential event but rather as an temporally overlapping situation (literally: 'At the time when the sun struck the mountains, they have become like that').

(ii) *Existential Function*
The form may be used to express the coming into existence of the subject. When the subject is inanimate, the verb has the sense of 'happening', e.g.

(1) *ʾáp-ʾayya p-aqánna ʾəllux,*| *sab-wítɛla b-réši ʾup-àyya.*| 'I shall tell you also about this, since this also happened to me.' (B15:85)
(2) *rába gáye wítɛla ʾánna məndiyàne.*| 'Many times such things happened.' (B5:163)
(3) *hadíya mtánəx xa-qəṣṣət*| *ṯ̂-íla wíta gu-Ṭiyàre*| *qám-plaša qamàya.*| 'Now we'll tell a story that happened in Ṭiyare before the First World War.' (B17:1)
(4) *ʾɛ̀-ga*| *ʾánna məndiyáne wìyela.*| 'Those things happened at that time.' (A19:9)

In (1) and (2) the events in question took place at a time that is remote from the present, but they are presented from the perspective of the speaker at the present moment. They can be interpreted as 'experiential perfects', i.e. events that are part of the speaker's life experience or at

least events that he has heard about in his life. Examples (3) and (4) are narrative uses of the resultative construction that are equivalent in function to the *qṭille* form (§15.4.1.3.).

When the subject of the verb is animate, it has the sense of 'to be born', e.g.

(5) *šetə-ṭáḷḷəθ wìtɛla*ˈ *Səttìye.*ˈ 'In the third year Səttiye was born.' (A25:25)
(6) *ʾímə ṯ-íla wíta Səttìye,*ˈ *ʾáy bíš-xámθɛla m-kùlla.*ˈ 'When Səttiye was born, she was the most beautiful of all.' (A25:26)
(7) *b-ay-dána lànwa wíθa.*ˈ 'At that time I was not born.' (B10:45)

(iii) *Temporal Expressions*

In narratives, the construction sometimes takes a nominal denoting a period of time as its subject in clauses that set the temporal frame for what follows. The subject nominals are placed after the verbal form, e.g.

(1) *wíyɛle yómət ṭḷàθa*ˈ *ʾáwwa fṭìrɛle*ˈ *ʾu-plìṭɛle.*ˈ '(When) the third day came, he had breakfast and went out.' (A22:24)
(2) *wítɛla qèdamta,*ˈ *jánne ʾəθyela,*ˈ *šqìləlla Zíne*ˈ *nùbləlla Jazíra Bóta.*ˈ 'In the morning, the jinn came and took Zine, took her away to Jazira Bota.' (A26:8)
(3) *wítɛla qedámta sáʾət ʾárpa b-lèle,*ˈ *ṛìšɛle*ˈ *màlka.*ˈ '(When) the morning came, four o'clock in the morning, the king woke up.' (A17:27)
(4) *wítɛla dánət mabròye,*ˈ *tárwəθna mubrèla*ˈ *hàr ʾo-yóma.*ˈ '(When) the time of giving birth came, they both gave birth on the same day.' (A25:4)
(5) *wítɛla dàna,*ˈ *mìṣela ʾárbe,*ˈ *páṛe mən-yəmmaθèy,*ˈ *máre…*ˈ '(When) the season came and the sheep sucked, the lambs sucked from their mothers, he said…' (A25:26)

As has been discussed in §15.4.1.3., the resultative form can be used in narrative with the function of a preterite rather than a present perfect. Judging by cases such as (4) above, however, where the following clause is in the *qṭille* form, it would appear that the resultative forms *wiyɛle* and *witɛla* here have their basic function of expressing a resultant state rather than an event, i.e. the state against the background of which the event described in what follows took place. In (1)–(5) the verbs can be interpreted as existential forms of *hwy*, correponding to the previous category ('the third day happened'). The gender agreement between the initial verb

form and the following temporal noun demonstrates that the noun is the grammatical subject.

Various examples are attested that exhibit a development of the aforementioned construction, whereby the resultative of the verb *hwy* is used before an adverbial prepositional phrase or an adverbial clause, which cannot function as the grammatical subject. In such cases the verb has a 3fs. form, which must be an impersonal subject, with the adverbial functioning as the predicate, e.g.

(6) *wítɛla b-lèle*ˈ *maláxa mŭṛášle qa-ràbbən.*ˈ 'In the night the angel woke the monk.' (A15:11)
(7) *wítɛla b-lèle*ˈ *xúwwe θèle.*ˈ 'In the night the snake came.' (A24:40)
(8) *xa-béna wítɛla hádəx b-lèle*ˈ *máxyɛle taq-taq-táq l-tă̆ra.*ˈ 'Then, at night, there was a knock at the door.' (A23:26)
(9) *wítɛla bar-ʾo-náša sáwa ṣályɛle mtă̆mòzəlla ʃ̌ənnəḵéra díya,*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾaw ṣályɛle mhayóre ta-d-o-sàwa.*ˈ 'After that old man went down to clean around it, he also went down to help the old man.' (A14:77)

In (10) the two constructions are combined, in that it contains both a prepositional phrase and a nominal without a preposition:

(10) *wítɛla b-lèle,*ˈ *dána t-dmàxa,*ˈ *xílela màndi.*ˈ *wítɛla dána t-dmàxa,*ˈ *xəmmə̀rθa,*ˈ *xəmmárθə šənθa*ˈ *šqìltəlla,*ˈ *muttéθəlla rəš-ṣádrət xmáθa dìya.*ˈ 'At night, the time of sleep, they ate something. At the time of sleep, she (Leliθa) took a bead, a bead of sleep, and put it on the chest of her mother-in-law'. (A19:3)

In the discourse structure of narratives, constructions with initial adverbials discussed in this section are disjunctive in function and mark the onset of new episode.

(iv) *Combined with the Existential Particle*

When the verb has an existential function, the copula is sometimes replaced by the existential particle (*ʾiθ, liθ*), e.g.

(1) *líθ wíya čù-məndi.*ˈ 'Nothing has happened.' (A29:22)
(2) *lìθ hátxa mándi wíya gu-mðíta.*ˈ 'Nothing like that has happened in the town.' (A22:2)

Such constructions may refer to a situation that arises through a series of recurrent events, e.g.

(3) *ʾíθwa rába xlulàne| wíye gu-màθa.|* 'Many weddings took place in the village.' (B15:73)

15.4.2. *The Infinitive Combined with the Verb 'to be'*

15.4.2.1. *General Remarks*

The infinitive may be combined with the various copulas and inflections of the verb *hwy* to form a compound verbal form.

This construction originated historically as a locative predication, with the locative preposition *b-* 'in' attached to the infinitive. In some NENA dialects this preposition is still regularly used with the infinitive in the construction, e.g. C. Urmi *b-grašelə* 'he is pulling', but in C. Barwar the preposition is normally elided and is only heard sporadically. Examples attested in the text corpus include:

(1) *hóle b-θáya ʾaxəllɛxu.|* 'He is coming to eat you.' (A13:14)
(2) *ṭɛ̀re| hóla b-θáya l-qàle.|* 'The birds are coming at (the sound of) his voice.' (A25:43)
(3) *ʾu-ṭárpət dɛrúbər hóla b-nθàra.|* 'The leaves of the wood are falling.' (A25:46)
(4) *b-xyára b-zeðàye.|* 'He looks at the pitta breads.' (A30:11)
(5) *b-txárən* 'I remember' (B15:84)

The *b-* is regularly used only in the fixed phrase *b-xšawɛn* 'I think'.

15.4.2.2. *Progressive Function*

The infinitive may be combined with the deictic copula, the basic copula or the negative copula. When the basic copula is used, this is in its enclitic form. As has been shown in §15.3.1–§15.3.2., the enclitic basic copula and the deictic copula are used with predicates expressing either contingent or permanent properties but the independent basic copula is used only with predicates expressing permanent properties that, typically, are intrinsic to the nature of the subject referent and have not been acquired. As will be shown below, the infinitive compound construction expresses a transient activity that is not a permanent property of the subject and so it is in principle not appropriate to use the independent copula in the construction.

The basic function of the infinitive compound construction is to express progressive aspect, i.e. it denotes an activity that is taking place at the present moment but is not necessarily a permanent, habitual property of the subject of the verb.

In positive clauses the deictic or enclitic copula may be used with the infinitive. The copula may also be omitted altogether. In principle these three different constructions are used by the speaker to endow the clause with varying degrees of communicative salience. This salience scale may be represented as follows, in which the construction with the deictic copula is highest in salience and the form with no copula is lowest:

hole qṭala > *qṭalɛle* > *qṭala*

In negative clauses only two degrees of communicative salience are expressed, one with the negative copula and one with the negative particle *la* alone:

lɛle qṭala > *la qṭala*

The degree of salience depends on various factors. One consideration is the factivity of the proposition. Clauses expressing assertive, factive propositions are high in communicative salience in that the speaker is committed to its factuality. Non-factive propositions do not involve such commitment and are low in communicative salience. This is reflected by the fact that the deictic copula is normally used with the infinitive in conversation when the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to an activity that exists in the current speech situation, e.g. *hole θaya* 'He is coming'. In interrogative clauses, on the other hand, the enclitic copula is used, e.g. *θayɛle?* 'Is he coming?' In negative main clauses there is no formal distinction between assertive and interrogative propositions: *lɛle θaya* 'He is not coming', *lɛle θaya?* 'Is he not coming?' Examples from the text corpus:

(1) *hóla ṣláya rəš-ʾèna.*| 'She is going down to the spring.' (A26:40)
(2) *hon-wáða ʾixàla.*| 'I am making food.' (A21:27)
(3) *hóla dwáqa nàše.*| 'They are seizing people.' (A25:80)
(4) *ʾáti hot-wáða xákma šulàne*| *báxta mən-gáwṛa hot-šqàləlla*| *ʾu-hot-baróxəlla l-gànux.*| 'You are doing (bad) things, you are taking a woman from her husband and wedding her to yourself.' (A25:81)
(5) *dúnye hóla ràya.*| 'It is raining.' (A26:46)
(6) *ṭa̋yət xònəx?*| 'Are you searching for your brother?' (A8:64)
(7) *hár-dwaqət ràqqi?*| 'Are you still insisting?' (A40:4)

(8) *ʾu-ʾə́dyo ʾáti lat-wáða b-xàbri.*ˡ ‘Today you are not doing as I said (you should).’ (A22:43)
(9) *lat-mtaxmóne mən-nàše?*ˡ ‘Are you not thinking of the people?’ (A25:60)

Another factor that contributes to communicative salience is the actionality of the verb. Verbs that have a non-dynamic actionality, which express mental processes rather than perceptible activities, exhibit a greater tendency to have the enclitic copula when being used with progressive aspect than do verbs with a dynamic actionality, with which the deictic copula is used to a greater degree, e.g.

(10) *b-xšáwən gáwṛi θèle.*ˡ ‘I think my husband has returned.’ (A39:18)
(11) *ʾana-txárən y-aθέwa xo-túθa ʧ̌ùwa.*ˡ ‘I remember they would come (and sit) under the smooth mulberry tree.’ (B5:203)
(12) *ʾána xzáyən ʾan-maymúne… hóla xálələlla qṭàləlla.*ˡ ‘I see that they are eating and killing the monkeys.’ (A14:52)
(13) *zdàləx.*ˡ ‘We are afraid.’ (A14:40)
(14) *pšàmən rába.*ˡ ‘I am very sorry.’ (A1:11)
(15) *ʾána mštawhórən m-bnòni.*ˡ ‘I am proud of my children.’

The degree of communicative salience also depends on the nature of the grammatical subject. In some expressions with impersonal subjects the infinitive is used without a copula. This applies to the verb *m-byn* ‘to appear’, e.g.

(16) *mabyóne ṭúra gu-čól ramànɛle.*ˡ ‘It seems it is a high mountain in the countryside.’ (A8:70)
(17) *mabyóne ʾìθ-xa-məndi gu-qə́ṣṣət.*ˡ ‘It appears that there is something in the story.’ (A4:18)

Note also the regular omission of the copula on the infinitive in meteorological expressions such as *dunye raya* ‘It is raining’ or *raya talga* ‘It is snowing. The grammatical subject *dunye* (literally: ‘the world’) refers to the general situation.

For some of the verbs expressing mental processes the *qaṭə́l* form is often used to express the progressive aspect rather than the infinitive construction. This applies to the verbs *by* ‘to want’, *yð* ‘to know’, *zdˀ/zdl* ‘to fear’, *ṣbr* ‘to dare’, *mṣy / ʾmṣ* ‘to be able’ and *xzy* ‘to see’ (§15.1.1.4.). The infinitive construction is used in some circumstances to express the

progressive, but its distribution differs with each verb. It is rarely used at all with *by* 'to want, to like'. With *zaˀ* 'to fear' and *xzy* 'to see' it is used interchangeably with the *qaṭəl* form. With the verbs *yðˀ*, and *mṣy* there is a tendency to use it with negated forms of the verb rather than positive forms. Examples from the text corpus:

(18) *hon-bə̆̌yəllux,*| *t̂-amrənnux.*| 'I like you so I shall tell you.' (A14:78)
(19) *lèla bə̆̌yəlle?*| 'Doesn't she want it?' (A30:32)
(20) *ʾána ʾəllux-in zdáʾa.*| 'I am afraid for you.' (B9:27)
(21) *lɛn-zdáʾa ʾap-dəndə̀kθa.*| 'I am not afraid, even a little.' (B9:17)
(22) *xzáyət ʾănáha naše-t̂-íla ráqa bàθri?*| 'Do you see those people who are running after me?' (A7:17)
(23) *lɛt-xzáya bíye díye t̂-íle mìθa?*| 'Don't you see that he is dead?' (A17:2)
(24) *làn-ðaʾa lékɛla zílta.*| 'I do not know where she has gone.' (A26:11)
(25) *lát-ðaʾa ʾo-ʾènile?*| 'Do you not know who that is?' (B15:81)
(26) *lán-mṣaya jwàja.*| 'I cannot move.' (A24:2)
(27) *lán-mṣaya mattánna b-ʾìði.*| 'I cannot put it on my hand.' (A26:21)

A further factor that affects the communicative salience of the infinitive construction is its information status. This is reflected in the tendency for the enclitic copula rather than the deictic copula to be used when the verbal form is low in information value and the main information focus is on its complement. This is seen in (28) in which the verb *xðárən* 'I am going around, I am searching' in the answer to the question is presupposed to be known to the hearer, the main point of the utterance being the complement 'after my sustenance', which indicates the purpose of the bear's action:

(28) *ʾo-tèla*| *máre há lèkət zála,*| *ya-gáni dəbba?*| *b-álaha xðárən báθər rəsqi.*| 'The fox said "Hey, where are you going, my dear bear?" 'By God, I'm going around (searching) after my sustenance.' (A20:1)

The compound infinitive is used to express a continuing situation that has been in existence for a specified period of time. Such constructions are translated by the English present perfect, e.g.

(29) *ʾu-ʾána ʾanna-šawwá-šənne hon-θàya.*| 'I have been travelling (literally: coming) for these (last) seven years.' (A37:17)

15.4.2.3. *Function in Narrative*

The infinitive construction is used in narrative discourse. In such contexts the infinitive has either the deictic, the enclitic copula or the copula is omitted altogether.

When the deictic copula is used with the infinitive in narrative contexts, the construction generally has its usual progressive sense. Its function is to express an event that is in progress and overlaps temporally with an adjacent punctual event. It is negated in the usual way by the negative copula. The copula takes the past time reference of the adjacent narrative as its deictic centre. The construction may be placed after the verb(s) with which it overlaps temporally. It may have the same subject referent as the preceding verb (1–2) or a different subject referent (3–5), e.g.

(1) *plíṭɛle zílɛle hóle gašòqe.*ˈ ‘He went out, went off, watching.’ (A22:24)
(2) *zílle kléle xóðe tămàha.*ˈ *har-hóle xyára b-ó-ðabət ʾəngləznàya.*ˈ *hóle zdàʾa.*ˈ ‘He went to stand alone far away. He kept looking at that English officer. He was afraid.’ (B17:13)
(3) *sìqtɛla,*ˈ *ʾo-pàṛa*ˈ *hóle mbarbòre,*ˈ *har-mbarbòre,*ˈ *léle klàya.*ˈ ‘She went up, while the lamb bleated and bleated, incessantly.’ (A34:28)
(4) *ʾə́θyɛle xá-naša xèna,*ˈ *lwíša lwíšta smòqta,*ˈ *súsa smòqa,*ˈ *rúmxa smòqta.*ˈ *b-léle rúmxe díye hóla mxáya kizə̀kke,*ˈ *ma-ṯ́-íle ʾo-náša ràba xɛlàna.*ˈ ‘Another man came, dressed in red clothing, with a red horse, a red spear. In the night his spear was giving off sparks, so powerful was that man.’ (A12:9)
(5) *ʾu-murízela mbádla jàlde*ˈ *síqela ʾəstəqbā́l t-màlka,*ˈ *xéna ʾax-ṯ́-óði ʾəstəqbā́l t-màlke,*ˈ *b-iqàra-w*ˈ *ʾáyya hóla mparòje,*ˈ *káza xyára hàtxa*ˈ *ta-t-xazyále ṭlíba dìye,*ˈ *lə̀la xzayəlle.*ˈ ‘They lined up in the early morning and went up to receive the king, as they (customarily) receive kings, with honour, while she was watching, peering like this to see her betrothed, but she does not see him.’ (A4:35)

The construction with the deictic copula is used to express an event that is discovered to be in progress on the arrival on the scene of a character in the narrative, e.g.

(6) *ṣə̀lyɛle*ˈ *ʾína Mắmo-w Ẓ̀ine*ˈ *hóla nšáqa ġðàðe.*ˈ ‘He came down and (found) Mămo and Zine kissing each other.’ (A26:46)
(7) *ʾína xazə̀la*ˈ *Ẓ́íne-w Mə̀̀mo*ˈ *hóla mə̀-ġðaðe mṣawóθe.*ˈ ‘He sees Zine and Mămo while they were speaking with one another.’ (A26:57)

The activities may be a sequential series of events that are not all existing simultaneously, but rather the overall event expressed by the series of individual events is presented as temporally overlapping with the main narrative, e.g.

(8) *ʾítwale xa-xurzàya,ˈ béθe díye šáttət màθa-wewa.ˈ šámme díye Bèžəm-wewa.ˈ qəm-xazéle xále díye Rustắmo zàla.ˈ máre xáli lèkɛt zála?ˌ máre ʾáw lèle šúlux.ˈ Béžəm módile wàða?ˌ* ***hóle dwáqəlle réšət xórta makyòpəlle,ˈ yalúnke zóre hola-θáya ʾu-sáqa b-à-xorta,ˈ marpòyəlle réšət xórta,ˈ xórta hóla zyàna,ˈ ʾan-yalúnke zóre kùt-xa hóle zdáyəlle bar-ðá-gotət dúnye.*** *Rustắmo màreˈ xwàrza,ˈ lá-wuð hàtxa.ˈ* 'He had a nephew, whose house was at the bottom of the village. His name was Bežəm. He saw his uncle Rustam going off. He said "Uncle, where are you going?" He said "That is not your business." What was Bežəm doing? He was holding the top of a poplar tree and bending it down, young children were coming and going up the poplar, he was letting the top of the poplar go, the poplar was springing up and he was flinging the young children in all directions. Rustam said "Nephew, don't do that."' (A29:15–17)

The infinitive construction with a deictic copula may denote an ongoing event that overlaps temporally with a resultant state expressed by a resultative participle, e.g.

(9) *ʾánna ṣàliˈ ʾína mò ṣáli!ˌ hóla susắwàθaˈ jəmye b-réše díyeˈ wáða hàlmaˈ b-réše dìye.ˈ* 'They went down but what (a surprise when) they went down. The horses were gathered over him, blowing onto him.' (A25:13)

(10) *hóle l-ɛ-gōt-hòdəx,ˈ dárya ða-kùlla,ˈ dmíxa tàma,ˈ muṭəlya-gʸáne dìye.ˈ ʾáni hóla wáða tàgbir.ˈ* 'He was on the other side. He had put up a mosquito net and was lying there, pretending to be asleep, while they were making a plan.' (A30:42)

The construction with the deictic copula is used in a section of discourse that presents a preliminary section that provides the background against which a following series of punctual events in the foreground of the narrative take place. In (11), for example, the forms *hóla nšàqəlle* and *hóla spára* occur in a section of discourse that sets the scene for the main foreground

event of the passage, namely that one of the angels sneezed because of the soot. It is noteworthy that the resultative participles in this preliminary background section also have the deictic copula (§15.4.1.3.):

(11) *ʾo-yála zóra hóla múttəlle be-pàlga.*| *ʾáy* ***hóla nšàqəlle,***| *nšàqəlle,*| *nšàqəlle,*| *xpáqəlle gu-ṣádra dìya.*| *ʾu-yáwəlle ṭla-bábe dìye.*| *ʾáp-aw nšàqəlle,*| *nšàqəlle,*| *nšàqəlle.*| *maláxe holá-ʾəθye tíwe l-kàwe.*| ***hóla spára*** *l-kàwe,*| *tá-t ʾímət párqa dàna,*| *tá-t mattíle ʾo-yàla*| *tá-t šaqlíle nəšmèy.*| *ʾu-hádəx ʾíθwa ʾán-xa sobáθət kàsləṇ,*| *buxɛrìyewa.*| *síqɛle xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra,*| *wírɛle gu-naxírət xa-m-malàxe.*| *ʾu-wíðɛle pàθyo!*| *tpìθɛle.*| 'They put the small child in the middle. She is kissing and kissing and kissing him and hugging him to her breast. Then she gives him to his father. He also kisses and kisses and kisses him. The angels have come and have sat by the window. They are waiting by the window for the time to finish, for them to put down the child so that they could take away their soul. There were stoves in our community that were smoke ducts. Some of the soot went up and entered the nose of one of the angels. He went "achoo!" He sneezed.' (A4:58–60)

The infinitive construction is often used in narrative with a perfective aspect to express an event that is sequential to what precedes. In such cases the infinitive generally has the enclitic copula or the copula is omitted altogether. Aspect, therefore, is a further factor that conditions the type of copula marking on the construction.

The copula is typically omitted in a chain of clauses expressing closely knit events after the subject of the verb chain has been identified by the copula in the first clause. The copula is used when there is a change in subject referent. This can be seen in examples (12)–(14) below. It should be noted that the infinitive with a 3rd person enclitic copula followed by a 3rd person pronominal suffix is identical in form to the equivalent construction without the copula (e.g. *qṭaləlle* < *qṭalɛle* + *-əlle* or *qṭala* + *-əlle*). The presence of the copula cannot, therefore, be discerned in these forms.

(12) *yómə ṭḷàθa*| *márɛle xóne díye xá-ga xéta ʾo-t-Bàbəl*| *yáwəlle xábra ṭla-náše dìye*| *mára ṯ-ázəx ṣèda.*| *ʾánna plàṭɛla,*| *kúlla zála ṣèda,*| *m-a-góta xéta málka gnàwəlla gān-dìye.*| 'On the third day his brother, the one from Babylon, says, again he makes an announcement to the people, he says "Let's go hunting." They go out, they all go hunting, but the king hides somewhere else.' (A13:7)

(13) *muθéθɛla tré glàse.*| *ṭla-d-áy dráyɛla xàčča*| *ṭla-d-áw ràba.*| *ʾa-d-áy ṃláyəlla kùlle míya*| *ʾa-d-áw har-ṃàlya.*| *štáyɛla-w práqɛla bíya dìya.*| 'She brought two glasses. Into hers she pours a little and into his a lot. She fills hers all with water. His was continuously full. They drink and finish it.' (A17:25)

(14) *yámma d-an-hambišàye*| *márɛla ṭla-brőn d-o-zòra*|*…plàṭɛle,*| *ʾáp-ʾaw qṭàləlle.*| *wárɛle Barzə́kko ṭáləb d-ày,*| *yəmmət hambišàye.*|*…ʾáp-ʾay qṭàləlla.*| *ʾo-ṣlàyɛle.*| *ʾítwale xolàma.*| *súse díye mtaslóməlle ṭla-xolàma.*| *wára gu-čádre dìye,*| *dmáxa hal-mbàdla.*| *mbàdla,*| *qyàmɛla,*|*…mára də-mărušúle Barzəkko!*| *hal-ʾímə dàməx?*| *măróšəlle…qyáma zàla.*| *zála, zàla,*| *mṭáya,*| *mṭáya kàrma.*|*…mṭáyɛle xa-náša xèna.*| 'The mother of the giants said to the youngest son…He went out and he (Barzəkko) killed also him. Barzəkko went in attacking her, the mother of the giants.… He killed also her. He went down. He had a servant. He handed over his horse to the servant. He entered his tent and slept until morning. In the morning they got up…They said "Wake Barzəkko! For how long will he sleep?" They woke him…and went on their way. They went a long way and arrived at an orchard.… Another man arrived.' (A12:6–9)

On some occasions a chain of clauses opens with an infinitive without the copula when the subject is identifiable from the context and the opening clause is closely connected semantically with what precedes. This is the case, for example, in (15), in which the infinitive chain begins after direct speech:

(15) *hállule xa-sùsa.*| *tə́mməl mbádla ʾàzəl.*| *šqála dárt-yoma xà-susa*| *táwa xáṣe díye zàla.*| '"Give him a horse. Let him go tomorrow morning."' The next day he took a horse, sat on its back and went off.' (A12:59–60)

In some tightly knit verb sequences two infinitives are juxtaposed with the copula on the second one, reflecting the fact that they are treated as a single unit. This is attested where the first verb is *qym* (16) or a verb of movement (17), or where two verbs of similar meaning are juxtaposed (18):

(16) *qyáma sàqɛla.*| 'They rise and go up.' (A13:1)

(17) *ráqa θàyɛle.*| 'He runs and comes back.' (A29:50)

(18) *čarčóre ʾu-ṣráxɛla ʧ̂ənnəḵ̂èra*ˈ ‘She screams and cries all around.’ (A51:15)

We should include here the use by narrators of the infinitive form *mára* without a copula at various points in the text. The literal meaning of this is ‘It says’, the subject being the story itself. It is sequential to what precedes, in that it marks an advance of the narrative. The narrator typically inserts this formula at the beginning of new episodic sections, especially where there is a change in spatio-temporal location. It is more idiomatically translated into English by a discourse connective such as ‘now’, e.g.

(19) *mára yómət trè*ˈ *ʾay-là xílla.*ˈ ‘Now the next day she did not eat.’ (A21:14)
(20) *mára qìmɛle*ˈ *qédamta híwɛle xàbra.*ˈ ‘Now, the next day he gave word.’ (A26:45)
(21) *mára ṣ́ályɛle rəš-ʾèna.*ˈ *ʾáw ʾu-súse díye ṣ́ályela rəš-ʾèna,*ˈ *xázyəlla xákma baxtáθa tàma.*ˈ ‘Now, he went down to the spring. He and his horse went down to the spring. He saw some girls there.’ (A26:23)
(22) *mára qímɛle ʾə́θya síqa l-gàre.*ˈ ‘Now, he came and he went up onto the roof.’ (A26:40)
(23) *mára Qára Téždin zìlɛle,*ˈ *yíwəlla ʾíðe gu-ʾíðət Mə̀mo.*ˈ ‘Now, Qara Težd in went and put his hand in the hand of Mămo.’ (A26:50)

On some occasions an infinitive construction that functions as a narrative present with a perfective aspect has a deictic copula. In such cases the intention of the speaker is to draw particular attention to the event in question for some reason. The construction sometimes expresses an event that was unexpected as a sequel to the preceding event. In (24) and (25), for example, the speaker is astounded by what another character in the narrative said after the event that is reported in the preceding clause. The event of the horse bolting in (26) is also a sudden, unanticipated event. In (27) the deictic copula signals the extraordinary action of the hero, which ordinary men would not have been expected to carry out.

(24) *ʾə́θyəx xa-néra benàθən*ˈ ***hóle màra***ˈ *bábi ʧ̂-óðəxle gəšra.*ˈ *mári m-éka mɛθə́nne qèse,*ˈ *m-éka mɛθə́nne bəzmàre*ˈ *ʾu-nasàrta,*ˈ *ta-ʧ̂-oðə́nne gəšra*ˈ *šàwər réše réše.*ˈ ‘We came to a river between us (and the continuation of our journey). He says “My friend, let’s make a bridge for it.” I asked from where I should bring him wood, from where I should

bring him nails and a saw so that I could make a bridge for him to cross over!' (A17:9)

(25) *nublìli*| ***hóle mára*** *ṭlàli*| *lè y-axlánna.*| 'I took them, but he says to me "I shall not eat them."' (A17:14)

(26) *mbádla tíwa xáṣe díye ʾu-plìṭɛle.*| *ʾé-ga súsa kəmá-dana léle-xəzya šəmša,*| ***hóle pràxa.***| 'In the morning he sat on its back and went out. Since the horse had not seen the sun for so long, it bolted (literally: flew off).' (A12:66)

(27) *kú-ṭ-ile ṣláya tàma*| *lèla mṣáya bíye díye*| ***hóle qṭàləlla.***| *Rustắmo feràssɛle.*| 'All those who went down there could not defeat him and he killed them. Rustam was a mighty warrior.' (A29:60)

The deictic copula is also found where the narrator wishes to express some kind of boundary in the narrative. This may coincide with a shift in scene and subject referent. In (28), for example, the narrator shifts attention to the character Bežəm at a different location in the village. The chain of sequential clauses recounting his activities opens with an infinitive with a deictic copula. Subsequent events in the scene that are expressed by the infinitive construction have the enclitic copula or zero copula. In (29) the attention shifts to the character Zine in a different location from that of the preceding narrative. The adverbial *ʾaxxa* 'over here' is used by the narrator to indicate a shift in scene. The clause expressing the opening event of this scene has a deictic copula (*hola ṭlaba*). The following clause, which can be considered to be an elaboration of the first, also has the deictic copula (*hola mara*). In (30) the clause with the deictic copula coincides with a change in subject. This clause may also be interpreted as the resumption of the main narrative foreground, the two preceding clauses being a preliminary background section. In (31) the speaker narrates the events of a dream. The deictic copula is used to mark the crossing of the bridge as a boundary in the discourse, presenting it as the onset of a chain of clauses that constitute a distinct overall event from what precedes. The clause is also presented as a new section of direct speech. Similarly in (32) the speaker uses the deictic copula to present the series of clauses narrating the second attempt to fire the bullets as a separate overall event from what precedes.

(28) *Béžəm hóle šáttət máθa mòdile wáða?*| ***hóle zàla***| *ða-gótət màθa*| *mxáyəlla ʾé-xòrta*| *gu-d-an-bàte,*| *kúlla tlàxəlla,*| *b-lèle*| *b-rəš-nàše,*| *ʾu-ráqa θàyɛle.*| 'Bežəm was at the bottom of the village. What does he do? He

goes to one side of the village and batters the houses with the poplar tree and destroys them all, at night, on the heads of the people, then he runs back.' (A29:50)

(29) *ʾɛ́-bena*ˈ *ʾàxxa*ˈ *Ẓíne* ***hóla ṭlába*** *mən-ʾalàha,*ˈ ***hóla màra***ˈ *ya-ʾàlaha,*ˈ *háwe ṣáxi hál-ʾɛ-gət ʾána mátyən ʾálle dìye.*ˈ *ṣlàyɛla Ẓíne*ˈ *m-qúrbət hàbsa*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáw xzàyəlla*ˈ *ʾárbi bnáθa mánna dìya.*ˈ 'Then, over here, Zine pleads to God and says "Oh God, let him be well until I reach him." Zine comes down near to the prison and he sees her and forty girls with her.' (A26:80)

(30) *xá-yoma mumiθále gáne b-dùgle,*ˈ *Ḥásan ʾÀġa.*ˈ *lɛ́la ṣbára jáwji m-qáme dìye.*ˈ *ʾárya* ***hóle mára*** *ṭla-dəbba*ˈ *de-ʾáti ṭabbàxtət.*ˈ *sa-wuð-ʾixàla.*ˈ 'One day Ḥasan Aġa pretended to be dead. They dare not leave him. The lion says to the bear "You are the cook. Go and make food."' (A27:40)

(31) *mára b-xálmi zála reša-réša ða-yáma rába gòṛta,*ˈ *yáma xwàrta.*ˈ *ʾíθwa tre-xoriyàθa,*ˈ *gàšra.*ˈ *mára* ***hon-zála*** *réšə d-ò gášra,*ˈ *ʾína ràba zdáʾa*ˈ *t-là-naplən gu-d-a-yáma.*ˈ *m-táma zálən wárən gu-xa-gàppa,*ˈ *xa-ṭùra.*ˈ 'He said "In my dream I went across a great sea, a white sea. There were two poplars (forming) a bridge." He said "I went over the bridge, in great fear that I would fall into the sea. From there I went into a cave, a mountain."' (A11:7)

(32) *kú pušánga ṭ̂-íx mattóyəlle gu-d-ay-tòpe*ˈ *čŭruk-ile pláṭa.*ˈ *ʾáw* ***hox-šqáləlle*** *zdáyəlle mattóye xa-xèna,*ˈ *ʾap-áwwa čŭruk-ile pláṭa.*ˈ *har-mattóyəxəlle l-xáṣa qaṭlə̀xxa*ˈ *har-pušánga čŭruk-ile pláṭa.*ˈ 'Every bullet that we put in this gun comes out (as a blank) with a bang. We take it out and throw it away, then put in another one, but also that one comes out (as a blank) with a bang. We point it at her back to kill her, but the bullet comes out (as a blank) with a bang.' (B9:21)

It is relevant to note here that the narrative formula 'it (the story) says' is sometimes used with the deictic copula at the beginning of the story, whereas in the body of the narrative it is used without a copula (*mara*), e.g.

(33) *hóla màra:*ˈ *ʾíθwa xa-màlka.*ˈ 'It says: There was a king…' (A1:1–2)

Another context in which the deictic copula is used when the infinitive construction has perfective aspect is where the construction expresses an event that is off the main narrative line and provides background information. This event is not necessarily sequential to what precedes. In (34)

and (35), for example, the construction with the deictic copula clarifies the identity of the speaker:

(34) *zílle màre*ˈ—*ʾáwwa Čixàlo hóle mára*ˈ—*zílle màre*ˈ *málka ʾáti har-t-yàtli brátux?*ˈ 'He went and said—it is Čixalo who says this—he went and said "King, will you still give me your daughter?"' (A25:24)

(35) *màre ʾána mò,*ˈ *xo-là pɛ́šən šăwána-llux.*ˈ *Fàrxo hóle mára.*ˈ *màre ʾána bṭ̂-àzena.*ˈ 'He (Farxo) said "What am I? I shall not become a shepherd for you"—Farxo says (this). He said "I shall go."' (A25:32)

15.4.2.4. *Habitual Function*

On some occasions the infinitive construction expresses an activity that is of habitual recurrence but may not necessarily be taking place at the time of speech. It is used to express an iterative rather than a permanent durative situation. This differs from the *(ʾi-)qaṭəl(wa)* form, which may express either an iterative or a permanent situation. The iterative function can be considered to be an extension of the perfective narrative present function described above, which would be appropriate to describe each individual occurrence of the iterated situation.[10] It is relevant to note that when the construction has this function, the infinitive is occasionally replaced by the verbal noun, which expresses a single occurrence of an action (§15.6.3.).

The iterative events may be presented as sequential to one another. In such cases the copula, if it is not attached to some other item in the clause, is usually cliticized to the infinitive or omitted altogether, as is the case with the perfective narrative present usage, e.g.

(40) *bár hàdəx,*ˈ *bár ṭ̂-ila-báxta pyáša rásmi tàma*ˈ *yáʿni wára gu-l-bèθa,*ˈ *θáyɛle qàša*ˈ *ʾu-sáṛa gnùnɛle.*ˈ 'After the woman becomes official there, that is she enters the house, the priest comes and ties the band.' (B5:44)

(41) *ʾíman-ṭ̂-ile náša mqărònе*ˈ *mjaròbele*ˈ *qa-t-xáze xayúθa biš-spày.*ˈ 'When somebody grows up, he tries to find a better life.'

This iterative function of the infinitive construction expressing the perfective present is indeed found in narrative discourse itself, e.g.

[10] For perfective iterative forms in other languages see Comrie (1976: 31).

(42) *qímtɛla dábba zìlta,*ˈ *muθéθa ða-qánnət dəbbòre.*ˈ *muθéθəlla muttèθəlla*ˈ *qamtə̀rət*ˈ *d-ó-boyət tèle.*ˈ *har-dəbbóre zálɛla-w θáya dúrr dúrr dùrr.*ˈ ‘The bear went off and brought back a hornets’ nest. She brought it and put it before the door of the fox’s hole. The hornets went constantly back and forth (literally: went and came back), durr, durr, durr.’ (A20:6)

Further examples from non-narrative discourse in the text corpus are presented in (43)–(48), in most of which the copula is negative or is a clitic attached to a subordinating particle. Note that in (45)–(47) the construction is used in combination with the *qaṭəlwa* form and in (48) with the resultative form.

(43) *ʾən-la-ṣɛ́məxla mə̀rəx.*ˈ *ʾáxni gòṛe,*ˈ *bas-ʾánna bnóne zòre*ˈ *hadíya lèla ṣyáməlla ʾáni.*ˈ ‘If we do not fast, we shall become ill. We older ones (still fast), but these young children now do not fast.’ (B16:12)

(44) *háyyo làxxa,*ˈ *b-áyya dúkθa ṯ-ìn táwa*ˈ *gu-d-áyya ṭàrma.*ˈ ‘Come here, in the place where I sit, in the porch.’ (A13:6)

(45) *ʾíman ṯ-íx nabóle ʾan-tàwre,*ˈ *ṣalwə̀xwala.*ˈ ‘When we took the oxen, we would tether them.’ (B5:83)

(46) *ʾíman ṯ-ila-nabólle bə̀dra*ˈ *m-gu-ʾə̀ra,*ˈ *mattíwa xá y-amráxle… xa-jùlla*ˈ *ʾabàya y-amráxwale.*ˈ ‘When they took it to the threshing floor from that ground, they would lay down what we called a “cloth”—we called it a “cloak.”’ (B5:80)

(47) *kú-mdit láyəp náša yála zòra*ˈ *ʾáyya pyàša gu-réšət náša.*ˈ ‘Anything a person learns as a young child, this remains in the mind of somebody.’ (B8:22)

(48) *ʾə́dyo kú-məndi ṯ-íwən šmáʾa ʾàxxa,*ˈ *yə́mmi mtunèθəlle ṭláli,*ˈ *yə̆ðànne.*ˈ ‘Today, everything that I hear here, my mother has told me and I know it.’ (B8:15)

On some occasions the deictic copula is used with the infinitive when it has an iterative usage. As with the narrative usage, the motivation for the deictic copula is generally to direct particular attention to a clause that occurs at some kind of boundary in the discourse. In (49)–(51) the deictic copula occurs at the onset of a segment of discourse. Example (49) is the opening of a section of direct speech and (50) coincides with a shift in subject referent and also a temporal shift marked by the adverb ‘now’. In (51) the deictic copula occurs at the onset of a chain of clauses in which there is a shift in subject referent. The situation described in this chain

of clauses also has prominence in the overall narrative, and this may be an additional motivation for drawing attention to it by the deictic copula. In (52) the deictic copula gives weight to the closing clause in a section describing the iterative situation in which a certain character in the narrative sings. The infinitive here has the *b-* preposition, the motivation for which here may also be to give the clause additional morphological end weighting.

(49) *kúlla náša hóle zála l-šùla.*ˈ *ʾàp-ʾana bṭ̂-ázən šúla*ˈ *pàlxən.*ˈ ‘Everybody goes to work. I also shall go to work and work.’ (A23:1)
(50) *hadíya hon-nšàyəlla*ˈ *ʾína d-é-ga taxrànna rába.*ˈ ‘Now I forget things, but I remember well what (I learnt) then.’ (B8:20)
(51) *mo-čára ṭ̂-óðəx ṭla-d-áyya qáṭu t-la ʾaxlàlɛni?*ˈ *ʾáxni pláṭa gu-bèθa,*ˈ *bə̆́yəx ṭə̆́yəx xá-məndi ṭ̂-àxləx,*ˈ *hóla xzáyəllən qáṭu ráqa báθrən xàləllɛni.*ˈ ‘What solution can we find for this cat so that it does not eat us? When we go out into the house searching for something to eat, the cat sees us, runs after us and eats us.’ (A44:1)
(52) *ʾímə ṭ̂-íle zmàra,*ˈ *bulbúle jmáʾela l-qàle.*ˈ *ʾu-ṭárpət dɛrúbər hóla b-nθàra.*ˈ ‘When he sings, nightingales gather at his voice and the leaves of the wood fall.’ (A25:46)

15.4.2.5. *Performative Function*

The infinitive construction is used in some performative verbs, which perform an action by their utterance rather than make a truth-evaluable description of a situation. In this function the construction has a perfective aspect, as in the narrative present and iterative functions. Characteristically of its perfective use elsewhere, there is a greater tendency to use the enclitic copula than when it expresses progressive aspect. Performative usage is attested in the verb *mqawole* ‘to promise’, e.g.

(1) *mqawòlɛwən,*ˈ *ʾap-ʾan-zúze kúlla ṭ̂-in šqìləlla*ˈ *pălə́nna pàlge.*ˈ ‘I promise, I’ll divide into halves also all the money that I took.’ (A1:17)

The expression ‘I say to you’ in contexts such (2)–(4) also has a performative function, which no doubt explains why it is used with an enclitic copula:

(2) *márənnux plúṭ m-àxxa.*ˈ ‘I say to you: Leave here!’ (A12:5)
(3) *màrənnux*ˈ *ʾáti grùš gánux.*ˈ ‘I say to you: Go away!’ (A12:10)

(4) *w-áti mò ṯ̂-amrə́tli?*ǀ *mə́re ʾána marən-ə̀llux*ǀ *hé dù̀s,*ǀ *ʾíθwalux ʾo-kə̀rma.*ǀ
'"What will you say to me?" He said "I say to you: Yes, it's true, you had that orchard."' (A17:33–34)

15.4.2.6. *Movement of the Enclitic Copula*
The positive clitic copula of the construction may be moved to a constituent that occurs before or after the infinitive in the same types of environment that condition the movement of the copula in the resultative construction described in §15.4.1.4. This can be seen in several of the examples cited already above. Further examples classified into their various functional types are:

15.4.2.6.1. *Leftward Movement of the Enclitic*

(i) *Narrow Information Focus*

(1) *ʾàtit wáða ʾixála?*ǁ 'Are *you* making food (not somebody else)?' (A21:27)
(2) *ʾána spayùθən wáða.*ǀ 'I am doing *good* (not bad).' (A14:34)
(3) *ʾáw xšíwa mə̀šxɛle ṣláya mən-káde.*ǀ 'He thought that *oil* (not urine) was running down from the *kade* cakes.' (A30:47)
(4) *m-ə̀kət θáya?*ǁ *b-álaha m-bə̀θən θáya.*ǀ 'Where are you coming from? By God, I am coming from home.' (A23:2)
(5) *ʾána míya m-ʾə̀wən štáya.*ǀ 'I drink water (even) from the clouds.' (A26:34)
(6) *díya bìš-ila maθóyəlla,*ǀ *bìš-ila hawə́lla.*ǀ 'Now they bring them more, they give them more.' (B10:40)
(7) *ʾána hàden pláṭa*ǀ 'I am just now going out (to work)'. (A23:11)

(ii) *Topically Prominent Constituent*

(1) *lat-mtaxmóne ʾáwwa qàṣra*ǀ *ṯ̂-íle kúlle qarqupyàθa?*ǁ *xa-qarqúpθɛla pyáša qarə̀šux.*ǀ 'Don't you think about this palace, which is all skulls. One (space for) a skull is remaining for your head.' (A25:60)
(2) *ʾáxnix pyáša xə̀zme.*ǀ 'We are becoming relatives.' (B5:9)

(iii) *Interrogative Constituents*

(1) *lə̀kax zála?*ǁ 'Where are we going?' (A26:16)
(2) *lékɛwət b-zàla?*ǁ 'Where are you going?' (A8:64)

(3) *ʾáti mòt wáða táma?*ǀ 'What are you doing there?' (A25:60)
(4) *ʾáyya mə̀nile mtanóyəlla?*ǀ 'Who is telling this?' (A14:53)
(5) *ta-mòt mára hátxa?*ǀ 'Why are you saying that?' (A40:2)

(iv) *Subordinating Conjunctions*

(1) *ʾána ʾap-dìya*ǀ *ʾáyya ʾúrxa ṯ-ín ʾána zála bíya dìya*ǀ *lè-y manšə́nna hál yomət-màwθa.*ǀ 'I shall not abandon until the day I die the way that I am following now.' (A21:35)
(2) *ʾo-kə́lša dɛrɛ́wale gu-juwàle,*ǀ *mɛθɛ́wale l-màθa,*ǀ *xzí ʾɛ́kɛle bɛ́θux ṯ-it-bnàyəlle.*ǀ 'They put the gypsum in sacks and brought it to the village, wherever (literally: see where) your house that you were building was situated.' (B5:184)
(3) *ʾu-béna ʾíman ṯ-ila-pyáša gòṛe*ǀ *xáčča šúla biš-zàmət-ile.*ǀ 'When they become big, the work is a little more difficult.' (B5:105)

15.4.2.6.2. *Rightward Movement of the Enclitic*

This is found only where the construction is used with a perfective aspect, either to express a narrative present or an iterative event, i.e. where it is common to have an enclitic rather than a deictic copula. As in the resultative construction, the purpose of the rightward movement onto the final item of the predicate is to give prominence, but not narrow information focus, either to the item to which it is attached or to the clause as a whole. In the examples attested in the text corpus, the construction is used to give added prominence to the clause in order to signal some kind of boundary in the discourse, marking off the clause from what precedes or follows. In (1) the clause describing the tying of the bands marks the closure of the chain of events in the marriage ceremony. In (2) the construction occurs at the beginning of a segment of discourse that presents elaborative information on what precedes. In (3) the construction separates the second clause distinctly from the first to express a contrastive opposition between the action of Barzəkko and that of his companions.

(1) *bár ṯ-ila-báxta pyáša rásmi tàma*ǀ *yáʿni wára gu-l-bɛ̀θa,*ǀ *θáyɛle qàša*ǀ *ʾu-sáṛa gnùnɛle.*ǀ 'After the woman becomes official there, that is she enters the house, the priest comes and ties the band.' (B5:44)
(2) *ʾu-béna ʾíman ṯ-ila-pyáša gòṛe*ǀ *xáčča šúla biš-zàmət-ile.*ǀ *lə́ʾannahu pyáša gòṛtɛla*ǀ *mtagbárta díya biš-ràbɛla,*ǀ *ʾu-gə̆́rəg rába ʾáxlət xàm.*ǀ 'When they become big, the work is a little more difficult. This is because, when

they become big, the job to maintain them is bigger, and you must be very careful.' (B5:105)

(3) *ʾánna kúlla dmàxɛla.*ˈ *Barzə́kko pyáša ḥàrəs-ile.*ˈ 'They all went to sleep. Barzəkko became the guard.' (A12:9)

15.4.2.7. *Infinitive Combined with the Past Copula*

The infinitive may be combined with the past copula (for the morphology of this compound form see §8.19.4.5.). This expresses the past progressive. It is typically used in narrative to denote an action or situation that was in progress in the past and overlapped temporally with the occurrence of a punctual event, e.g.

(1) *zàlɛwa,*ˈ *xá-bena xzéle m-rə́ḥqa xá-mdi xwàra.*ˈ 'As he was going along, he suddenly saw from afar something white.' (A14:28)

(2) *xà-yoma*ˈ *də́bba xðára-wawa gu-ṭuràne.*ˈ *tfíqla b-xa-tèla.*ˈ 'One day a bear was wandering around the mountains. She met a fox.' (A20:1)

(3) *xðárənwa l-ày-goti,*ˈ *ʾáqli tíwla š-ʾáqlət bàxta.*ˈ 'I was turning over to my (other) side and my leg settled on the leg of the woman.' (A16:11)

(4) *márəx ʾə́lla mtanìla*ˈ *ʾu-xa-mašmóye-wewa ʾəllɛ̀ni lázəm.*ˈ 'You said "You must tell it" and somebody must have been listening to us.' (A35:19)

(5) *mǎṛòyənwala,*ˈ *gu-ðà-ʾǎra.*ˈ… *qəm-maxyále púmma díya l-rəzza*ˈ 'I was grazing it in a certain piece of land.… It put its mouth in the rice.' (B5:131)

Note the preposing of the copula before the infinitive when the construction is combined with the particle *har* 'still' in (6). This can be compared to the leftward movement of the copula onto initial adverbials in other types of compound verbal constructions (e.g. *yóma hádele zrìqa*ˈ 'The sun has just now risen' §15.4.1.4.1. example 30):

(6) *píšle yòma*ˈ *hár-wewa xðàra,*ˈ *xzéle xa-bəṣlíṣa zòra.*ˈ 'Day came and he was still searching about, when he saw a small ray of light.' (A14:24)

If two or more infinitives are concatenated, the copula may be omitted after its use on the first one of the series, e.g.

(7) *zílla xákma šənne,*ˈ *málka hár xzàya-wewa,*ˈ *b-xzáya mbaqóre l-d-ò-naša.*ˈ 'Several years went by (during which) the king was investigating and inquiring concerning the man.' (A8:5)

(8) *xéna ʾánna kúlley,ˈ lá baxtáθa pyáša-wɛwa yaqùre,ˈ lá bnòneˈ ʾəzze maθòye,ˈ lá ʾarxàθa.ˈ* ‘But all of these—the women were not becomng pregnant, the goats were not producing young, the mills were not (producing).’ (A38:1)

The temporal overlap function of the form is used in (9) to present an explanation of a previous statement of a character in the narrative:

(9) *màrɛwaˈ har-ʾàwwɛleˈ ʾən-ʾítle nawàge.ˈ* ‘He was saying (he meant by this) “Is he just him (alone) or does he have grandchildren?”’ (A17:16)

The construction is used in non-narrative discourse to express the temporal overlap of an action with iterative events in the past. In the cases where this is attested in the text corpus the copula is placed before the infinitive. In §15.3.6. it has been shown that clauses in which the past copula is placed before the predicate express in principle some kind of communicative salience. This is likely to be the case here, since in both examples two clauses with the infinitive construction are set up in opposition. The preposing of the copula is used to mark off the two clauses distinctly from one another. Another factor for the preposing of the copula in the phrase *har-iwa-práma* of (10) may be the particle *har*, as is the case in (6) above:

(10) *ʾáy mòdi qṭáʾa ṭárpa?ˈ qăṭìwale,ˈ xá har-iwa-práma zdáya l-ǎ̀ra-wˈ ʾan-xéne ʾiyáwa báθre báθre wáða ṭàxeˈ* ‘What is the cutting down of leaves? They cut them down, one person cutting and throwing them on the ground, while others were behind him making small piles.’ (B5:118)

(11) *m-bar-hàdəxˈ qɛmìwaˈ mzabóne ʾilàna.ˈ náše ʾíwa kòpaˈ kùlla,ˈ ʾu-ʾáwwa gárewa ràma.ˈ ʾáwwa náše ʾiyéwa kúlla spára kòpa.ˈ ʾa-ʾilána mzabnìwala y-amrə́xxa.ˈ* ‘After that they would sell the tree. The people were all below and he (the groom) was high up on the roof, all the people were waiting below. They sold the tree, as we say.’ (B5:42)

Note also (12), in which the temporal overlap function with an ongoing situation is used to express a concessive sense. The ongoing negated situation can be considered to be iterative (‘on no occasion have they asked for you’):

(12) *hadíya xonăwàθux,ˈ márətwa xonăwàθi,ˈ ʾáyya xá-šeta hóla támma láxxa léla mbaqorə̀llux.ˈ* ‘Now your brothers—(although) you called (them)

"my brothers", it has been a year that they have been here but have not (even once) asked for you.' (A26:78)

As is the case with the present copula, the motivation for the preposing of the past copula is sometimes to cliticize it to constituents of the clause that stand before the infinitive. In (13) and (14), for example, it is cliticized to the subordinating particle *D*:

(13) *ʾán-zuzət ʾaθíwa mən-mzabántət ʾilàna| ʾíwa hayàrta| qa-kʸálo-w xàtna| ṯ-íwa gwàra.|* 'The money that was received from the sale of the house was assistance for the bride and groom who were getting married.' (B15:67)

(14) *madàm ṯ-iwátwa pláxa ʾátxa məndiyáne| ṯ-amránnux mò-ʾoðət?|* 'Since you have been doing such things, should I tell you what to do?' (A14:79)

15.4.2.8. *Infinitive Combined with the Verb* hwy

The copula in the infinitive construction may be replaced by various inflections of the verb *hwy* in certain contexts. The following forms are attested in the text corpus.

15.4.2.8.1. hawe qṭala

This form is found in the protasis of conditional constructions referring to a progressive action that overlaps temporally with that of the apodosis, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-háwe pláṭa mən-ʾárxe ṭíša qàmxa,| lá hămánət ʾálle.|* 'If he is coming out of the water-mill covered in flour, do not trust him.' (D2:61)

15.4.2.8.2. y-awe qṭala

This is found in (1), where it expresses a habitual progressive, denoting an activity that was habitually in progress and overlapping temporally with another activity or situation. The construction here has past time reference by taking the past reference of the verbs in the preceding context as its deictic centre:

(1) *sab-xa-xa-gáye ʾi-maxéwa tmanyà saʾətte| bar-ġðáðe t-là-klɛθa.| tmanyá saʾátte y-áwa mxàya| ʾu-náše dwìqe.|* 'For, sometimes, they played for eight hours continuously without stopping. They would be playing for eight hours while the people held (each other).' (B15:77)

15.4.2.8.3. y-awewa qṭala

This form expresses a habitual progressive in the past. In (1)–(3) it is used to denote an activity that habitually overlapped with another activity or situation:

(1) *ṣalə́nwa y-awéwa rxàθa.*ˡ 'I would go down while it was fermenting.' (B5:212)
(2) *ʾíθwa ṭawalyáθa rábe ràbe*ˡ *mṭalìwa.*ˡ *ʾò yóma*ˡ *kúlle yòma*ˡ *y-awáwa mṭawòle*ˡ *ʾu-nášət máθa kùlla*ˡ *síqe mparóje biyèy.*ˡ 'There were many games that they played. They would be playing all that day and (while they were doing so) all the people of the village would go up to look at them.' (B7:4)
(3) *béna bálki ʾo-nàša,*ˡ *ʾo-xətna ṭ-ámrəx,*ˡ *ʾo-ʾùrza,*ˡ *lèwe táma.*ˡ *y-awéwa pláxa gu-məḭnàθa mă̆θălan.*ˡ 'Perhaps the person, that is the groom, the man, was not there. He was working (at that time) in the towns, for example.' (B5:18)

In (4) and (5) it is used to express a habitual activity that was temporally delimited. The end of this activity is mentioned in the context. In (4) the people in question ceased to worship God when they had a son. In (5) the habitual bad behaviour of the child at school was short-lived since we are told in the following context that he was expelled:

(4) *hál xámši-w xámša šənne*ˡ *y-awéwa sxáða ʾalàha,*ˡ *y-ámər ya-ʾalàha,*ˡ *yawə́tlən xa-bròna.*ˡ *ʾímət ʾaláha yíwle ʾálléy bròna*ˡ *šuréla manšóyəlle ʾalàha,*ˡ *là txára ʾálaha,*ˡ *ʾu-là-mṣalɛwa qa-ʾálaha.*ˡ 'For fifty-five years they were worshipping God, he (the man) would say "Oh God, give us a son." When God gave them a son, they began to forget God, they did not remember God and did not pray to God.' (A15:17)
(5) *qímla mšodárra brōn-díya mədràsa.*ˡ *bróna díya gu-mədrása kút-yum y-awéwa mxáya l-aw-yàla,*ˡ *šqála čánta d-àwwa,*ˡ *šrà̤ṭa məndiyáne.*ˡ 'She sent her son to school. Her son everyday in school would beat one child, take the bag of another, tear things.' (A14:5)

15.4.2.8.4. ṭ-awe qṭala

This construction is formed by combining the future *bəd-qaṭ̤əl* form of *hwy* with the infinitive. In most cases it expresses a future progressive. It may be used to denote an activity that will be in progress when a perfective future action takes place, e.g.

(1) *ʾíman mát̩ən tə̀mmə̀l,*| *ʾáw t̂-áwe pláxa gu-bə̀θa.*| ‘When I arrive tomorrow, he will be working in the house.’
(2) *qa-d-áwwa ʾáwəð xa-čə̀ra,*| *ʾən-t̂-áwe ràqa,*| *qa-t-ʾáwəð xa-čə̀ra qa-gáne.*| ‘so that he could find a solution, so that, if he had to flee, he could find for himself a solution.’ (A18:17)

It may denote a perfective future action that has a quantifiable duration. This differs from the *bəd-qat̩əl* form, which is unmarked with regard to the durability of the action, e.g.

(3) *tre-t̩lá yománe xéne bt̂-áwət mat̩róye xāṣ-sùsa.*| ‘You shall ride on horse back two or three more days.’ (A8:46)

The *t̂-awe qt̩ala* form may also be used to express a temporally delimited habitual activity in the future. In (4) the existence of an endpoint is implied by the question ‘until when?’ In (5) the sense is that the horse will be screeching during each interval of time in which the salt strikes his legs:

(4) *hal-ʾìman t̂-áwət hátxa mdagóle?*| ‘For how long will you be telling lies?’ (A26:56)
(5) *málxa maxéla ʾaqláθe dìye,*| *t̂-áwe súsa mṣarṣòre.*| ‘Salt will strike his legs and the horse will screech.’ (A24:12)

In (6) it is used as a modal progressive, expressing deontic possibility in a question, which is one of the functions of the *bəd-qat̩əl* form (§15.1.5.2. examples 16–18):

(6) *ʾə̀ka t̂-áwe mašmóye?*| ‘Where could he be listening?’ (A35:20)

In (7) the form is used to express an iterative activity in the past that is temporally limited, which, as we have seen (§15.4.2.7.3.), is expressed elsewhere with the *y-awewa qt̩ala* form. The purpose of using the *t̂-awe* form of *hwy* is to express sequentiality to what precedes, which is one of the functions of the *bəd-qat̩əl* form (§15.1.5.4.):

(7) *wírra šəkwánta qaméθa šqilála ða-ḥábba ʾu-plìt̩la.*| *wírra t-tárte šqilála ða-ḥábba-w plìt̩la.*| *wírra t-t̩ə́l̩ləθ ða-ḥábba-w plìt̩la.*|*…ha-t-xáṣli ʾan-xə̀t̩t̩e,*| *ʾan-šəkwáne t̂-áwɛ ðà-ða wára.*| ‘The first ant went in and took one grain, then went out. The second went in and took a grain and went out. The third went in (and took) a grain and went out…and the ants were going in one by one until the wheat finished.’ (A36:5)

15.4.2.8.5. wele qṭala

The perfective *qṭille* form of *hwy* is combined with the infinitive to express a complete event in the past that has a finite duration with a starting-point and end-point. The distinction between *wele qṭala* and other narrative verbal forms such as *qṭille* and *qṭilɛle* is that this infinitive form explicitly expresses duration in the past whereas the others do not specify this. Since the event expressed by this form has an endpoint, it can be followed by sequential actions, as is the case in (3) and (4):

(1) *mən-d-ɛ́-danət brèla*ˈ *hál d-ɛ-dánət mṭéla l-yàla,*ˈ *wéla bxàya.*ˈ 'From the time she was born until the time that she came to the boy she wept.' (A25:4)

(2) *ʾána kəmà dána ṯ-in-mṣalóye ṭla-márya ʾàlaha*ˈ *ta-t-yawálli ʾəmma dáwe.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáwwa huðáya wéle maṣyóθe nṭára ʾálli l-gàre.*ˈ 'I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins. This Jew was listening and watching me on the roof (during this time period).' (A6:10)

(3) *har-wéla taq-táq mxàya*ˈ *ʾu-taq-tàq,*ˈ *xá-bena-w trè,*ˈ *w-áwwa sqìdle.*ˈ 'They made a taq-taq knocking noise, taq-taq, once, then twice, then he became fed up.' (A14:68)

(4) *ʾàwwa*ˈ *Xáno xzéle ʾo-dídwa plíṭle mən-naxírət málka mujəble.*ˈ *wéle spàra,*ˈ *xárθa xá-ga xéta xzèle*ˈ *ʾo-dìdwa*ˈ *plíṭle mən-d-ó bórət kèpe.*ˈ 'Xano saw the fly come out of the nose of the king and was astonished. He waited (for some time) and then he saw the fly come back out of the pile of stones.' (A11:5)

Rather than denoting a complete event bounded by a start and an end, the form is sometimes used ingressively to denote the start of a situation without any definite endpoint. Another event mentioned in the ensuing discourse, therefore, may take place while this situation still holds rather than being sequential to its completion, e.g.

(5) *ʾána síqa l-ṣèda,*ˈ *dúnye wéla ràya,*ˈ *ʾána wírri gu-xa-gəppa.*ˈ 'I went up hunting, it started raining and so I went into a cave.' (A28:6)

(6) *xá-ga xéta ṭlíbla mən-márya ʾàlaha,*ˈ *kúlla wéla bráka ṭlìbla,*ˈ *ṣléla màṭra.*ˈ 'Then they made a request from the Lord God, they all started kneeling and made a request, and (as a consequence) rain fell.' (A11:18)

(7) *ʾa-políse wéla pyáša b-xəmmèy.*ˈ 'The policemen began to become worried.' (A8:10)

15.4.2.8.6. wiyɛle qṭala

This form is attested in (1), where it is used to express an enduring but complete event in the past that has a finite duration with a starting-point and end-point. As we have seen, the same function is performed by *wele qṭala*. This arises from the fact that the *qṭille* and *qṭilɛle* forms are used interchangeably in narrative.

(1) *ʾáθyɛle xa-nàša*ˈ *xa-súsa smòqa,*ˈ *kúlle lwíša smòqa,*ˈ *wíyəx pláša m-ʾaṣárta hal-gu-mbadlàθa.*ˈ *lan-máṣya bíye díye.*ˈ ‘A man came, on a red horse, all dressed in red. We fought from evening until morning. I could not prevail against him.’ (A12:19)

15.4.2.9. *Combined with Existential Particle*

The infinitive form *pyaša* is sometimes combined with the existential particle when the verb has the sense of ‘to remain’. All the attested examples have the negative particle:

(1) *čú məndí lítla pyàša.*ˈ ‘She no longer had anything.’ (A26:59)
(2) *lítlux pyáša pàrṣət,*ˈ *dìya qaṭláxlux.*ˈ ‘You no longer have any opportunity (for escape), we shall kill you right now.’ (A26:76)
(3) *liθ-pyáša ʾánna ṯ-amráxxa bòla díye.*ˈ ‘No more of its heads, as we call them, remain.’ (B5:97)

15.5. Other Constructions with the Infinitive

15.5.1. *General Remarks*

In some sections of the foregoing treatment of the compound infinitive construction with the verb ‘to be’ mention has been made of some contexts in which the auxiliary verb is omitted. Most examples of this omission cited above are infinitive constructions in narrative occurring after a preceding infinitive bearing the copula, or occasionally before a following infinitive bearing the copula. In such cases the infinitive without the copula expresses an event that is closely connected with that of the preceding or following clause respectively, in that they are presented as being components of the same overall event. In this section we shall examine further contexts in which an infinitive lacking a copula or form of the verb *hwy* is used.

With regard to the subject referent of an infinitive, this is in principle either explicitly expressed together with the infinitive or, if not expressed, it is the continuation of the subject referent of the preceding clause. An exception to this is where the infinitive has an impersonal subject. This is seen, for example, in (1), in which the infinitive *ṭăya* has an impersonal, unspecified 3pl. subject, which is not the subject of the preceding clause. This infinitive, moreover, is the first of a sequence of two infinitives, the preceding clauses having *qṭille* form verbs. The plural resultative participles in the following clauses demonstrate that the subject of the infinitive is 3pl.:

(1) *pílle šnèle.*ˈ *ṭắya báθre díye la-xzàyəlle.*ˈ *xárθa tfíqe bíye xə́zyəlle ʾína šə̀nya,*ˈ *npìla.*ˈ ‘He fell and fainted. They searched for him but did not find him. Then they came across him and found that he had fainted and fallen.’ (A14:87)

In addition to narrative sequence, the infinitive is used in the contexts described below. When the infinitive lacks the verb ‘to be’ in these contexts, it is still treated as a verb with regard to its syntactic relation to the participants in the clause. The subject and direct object are combined with the infinitive as they are with verbs, the infinitive never being linked to these clausal participants by nominal annexation with the particle *D*.

15.5.2. *Temporally Overlapping Activity*

The infinitive may be used to express an activity that was being performed at the same time as that of the preceding verb. If the subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the preceding verb, the infinitive is normally used without any pronominal subject, e.g.

(1) *xa-núra ʾə́θyɛle b-lèle*ˈ *ʾax-ʾáxxa sàqa.*ˈ ‘A light came in the night, coming up right here.’ (A29:23)
(2) *ʾàw*ˈ *šaqə́lla gána Bakúrko ràqa,*ˈ *ṣàle*ˈ *kəs-Mằmo.*ˈ ‘He, Bakurko, took himself off running and went down to Mămo.’ (A26:78)
(3) *xzégən xònəx*ˈ *ʾu-Mă̆mo ṭ̂-íla tíwe mṭawóle b-sətrənjàne.*ˈ ‘See your brother and Mămo who are sitting playing chess.’ (A26:64)
(4) *síqle l-bèθa*ˈ *pšîma-w*ˈ *bxáya mxáya l-gáne dìye*ˈ *bnóne díye t-la-ʾixàlɛla.*ˈ ‘He went up to the house, sad, weeping, beating himself (thinking that) his children would be without food.’ (A22:7)

(5) *xa-béna ʾəθyɛle xa-ʾaqúbra xāṣ-sùsa,ˈ maṭròye,ˈ ʾu-lwíša júllət xumàla,ˈ ʾu-maṭróye xāṣ-súse dìye,ˈ pyáða táma tàma.*ˈ 'Then a mouse came on the back of a horse, riding, dressed in fine clothes, riding on the back of his horse, passing by.' (A35:4)

In such contexts the infinitive is generally negated by the particle *t-la* 'without', e.g.

(6) *máxe zórna xa-salíqa xèna,ˈ ʾárbe b-dèri,ˈ b-gʸanèy,ˈ t-la-mădóṛe la-šăvànaˈ ʾu-la-ʾàp-xa.*ˈ 'He played another tune on the pipe and the sheep returned, by themselves, without a shepherd driving them back or anybody.' (A25:27)

(7) *zeðàyeˈ ʾáxlət mánna t-là-qṣaya.*ˈ 'You should eat the pittas without breaking them.' (A30:5)

(8) *ʾáni xáṭṭe huwèdi sáma zóda*ˈ *ʾi-zăríla t-là maštóye.*ˈ 'The *huwedi* wheat they generally sow without irrigating.' (B5:94)

(9) *qəm-dárila ʾan-dáwwe heš-t-là bráza,ˈ xánči t-la-bráza mɛθíwa xa-gálla y-amríle sàrmo.*ˈ '(When) they have poured out the *dawwe* while it is not yet dry, shortly before it becomes dry, they would fetch a herb called *sərmo.*' (B14:1)

In (10), from a poetic passage, a finite verb rather than an infinitive is used after *t-la*, in order to rhyme with the end of the preceding clause:

(10) *xámši yóme ṣimìla*ˈ *qurbáne t-la qriwìla.*ˈ 'She fasted for fifty days without taking communion.' (A37:4)

The infinitive construction is also used when it has a different subject from that of the preceding verb. In such cases the subject is expressed by a nominal or independent pronoun, e.g.

(11) *xázyəlla náše jə̀myeˈ qúrbət qáṣrət màlka,ˈ kút-xa mṣawóθe xà-məndi,ˈ kút-xa mára xà-məndi.*ˈ 'He saw the people gathered near the palace of the king, each one saying something, each one telling something.' (A4:11)

(12) *sìqtɛla.*ˈ *ʾáy hár mšeyðòne*ˈ *šwára nðáya gu-d-án ʾotáxe šluxèθa.*ˈ 'She (the old woman) went up (to see her). She (the princess) is continually acting madly, leaping and jumping around naked in the rooms.' (A4:17)

(13) *w-ána qəm-maxèli*ˈ *w-áti xyára bìyi.*ˈ ‘They beat me while you were looking at me.’ (A2:10)

Again, the infinitive is generally negated by the particle *t-la* ‘without’, e.g.

(14) *qímɛle jálde madə́nxa t-la-mxàya.*ˈ ‘He rose early while the dawn was not breaking (= before dawn broke).’ (A8:51)

We have seen that also the infinitive with the deictic copula can be used to express an event that overlaps temporally with that of an adjacent clause (§15.4.2.3.). In principle this expresses a greater degree of independent duration. The infinitives in the foregoing examples, by contrast, are typically more closely knit with the activities expressed by the adjacent verbs with a lesser degree of independent duration.

In the foregoing examples the infinitive supplies a further description of the event. In some cases the infinitive may have an epexegetical relationship to a preceding clause, in that it supplies further explanatory information that is necessary for its interpretation. This applies to the following:

(15) *ʾána wídli spayùθa,*ˈ *maxzóyəllux dàwa.*ˈ ‘I did a kindness by showing you the gold.’ (A10:12)
(16) *ʾáwwa mò-tăhər nášɛle?*ˈ *là-ʾamrətti?*ˈ *zála škáya ʾəlli?*ˈ ‘What kind of person is he (Čixalo)—won’t you tell me?—going complaining about me?’ (A25:31)
(17) *qa-mòt hátxa wáða bíyi,*ˈ *mɛθóye dwáqəlla ʾùrxi?*ˈ ‘Why have you done this to me, bringing (snow) and blocking my road?’ (A25:42)

An infinitive may be used in a clause preceding the main clause, expressing an activity or situation that was in existence when the event of the main clause took place, e.g.

(18) *ʾánna kút-danət jràṭa,*ˈ *suráye dwaqə̀lla.*ˈ ‘Each time they slip, the Christians grab them.’ (B19:7)
(19) *ʾáni xyàpa,*ˈ *zílɛle yàwna*ˈ *zdíθəlle lɛka-Sətt̀iye.*ˈ ‘While they were bathing, the dove went and threw it by Sətt̀iye.’ (A25:72)
(20) *ʾáxni pláṭa gu-bɛ̀θa,*ˈ *bắyəx ṭắyəx xá-məndi ṯ-àxləx,*ˈ *hóla xzáyəllən qáṭu ráqa báθrən xàləllɛni.*ˈ ‘(When) we go out into the house and search for something to eat, the cat sees us, runs after us and eats us.’ (A44:1)

(21) *š-lá-praqa ʾo-pék dìye*ˈ *ʾo-xáwri hádəx gabbàra,*ˈ *xázəx wírre gawàye.*ˈ ‘(While) my friend, who was a huge man, had not yet finished his measure (of whiskey), we saw him go inside.’ (B15:58)

Also in these contexts an infinitive with a deictic copula may be used. The difference again is that the copula makes the clause less tightly knit with the adjacent clause and presents it as having a greater degree of independent duration.

15.5.3. *Cognate Infinitive*

On some occasions a finite verb is combined with an infinitive from the same root and stem. Such infinitives are placed either before or after the verb. The general purpose of this construction is to give prominence to the verbal predicate. It is found in a variety of different contexts.

The verbal predicate is sometimes given prominence in order to set it in contrastive opposition to a situation mentioned in the adjacent context, e.g.

(1) *ʾáwwa béθa xălàla-wewa*ˈ *bás ʾáyya ṭása dàwa*ˈ *gnàwa-wawa gnúta.*ˈ ‘That house was pure, but the bowl had been stolen.’ (A15:18)
(2) *kusìθa,*ˈ *har-ʾàmṛa-wewa,*ˈ *gamríwa gmàra.*ˈ ‘A hat was only wool. They pressed it (they did not knit it).’ (B10:50)
(3) *ʾína bróna lèla xíltəlle.*ˈ *har-nobáltəlle muttéθəlle mattòye.*ˈ ‘But she did not eat the boy. She had just taken him and put him down.’ (A19:7)
(4) *b-qéṭa lá-mṣəx doqə̀xle,*ˈ *ʾəlla-qṭála qaṭlìwa náše.*ˈ ‘In summer we could not catch them, but rather people would kill them.’ (B5:147)

The construction is used when the situation described is deemed by the speaker to be unexpected in the context, e.g.

(5) *ʾap-qṭála bắyə́nwa qaṭlə̀nwale.*ˈ ‘I even wanted to to kill him.’ (A1:17)
(6) *ʾé-ga lánwa brìθa ʾána bráya.*ˈ ‘At that time I was not even born.’ (B8:5)
(7) *práxa prìxle?*ˈˈ ‘Has he flown away?’ (B9:6)

In many cases the cognate infinitive is used with a verb denoting an action that has particular importance. This is often reflected also by the repetition of the verb within the section of discourse in question, e.g.

(8) *ʾáyya y-amríla mandòrta,*ˈ *yáʿni mandrále gàre*ˈ … *qa-t-lá-ṣala dalòpe.*ˈ *ʾu-b-sətwa*ˈ *ʾíθena ʾíma t-y-áθe ʾəryàna*ˈ *ʾáy mandòre mándəri.*ˈ ‘They call this a roller, that is it rolls the roof … so that leaking water does seep down (into the house). In the winter, when it rains, they would roll it.’ (B5:193–194)

(9) *qayámwa bábət xàtna,*ˈ *dawáqwala ʾíðə bábə kʾàlo.*ˈ *yaʿni dwáqa dawáqwa ʾíðə-dìye*ˈ *qá-t ʾó-məndi wèle.*ˈ ‘The father of the groom would rise and shake the hand of the father of the bride. He would shake his hand (to confirm) that this has taken place.’ (B5:10)

(10) *tre-šabbáθa qam-dána čèdi.*ˈ *y-ázi maθwàθa,*ˈ *čyàda čɛdíwa.*ˈ ‘Two weeks beforehand they would invite (people). They would go to the villages and make invitations.’ (B5:20)

(11) *har-t̂-órən làxxa.*ˈ *qṭála har-qaṭlìli.*ˈ *t̂-árqən b-o-kəndála hár qaṭlìli.*ˈ ‘I shall go in here. They will kill me. If I run down the slope, they will kill me.’ (B9:4)

The construction is used as an intensifier to express the extensive or far-reaching nature of the action, e.g.

(12) *ʾána zála har-zílən bìya*ˈ ‘I have absolutely gone with it! (i.e. I am finished!)’ (A14:25)

(13) *maṭréwa maṭróye xɛlàna.*ˈ ‘He was riding hard.’ (A8:39)

In (14) it is used to express the slow drawing out of the action:

(14) *šqílta réše mattóye mtútəlle l-ăra.*ˈ ‘She took his head and slowly put it on the ground.’ (A13:12)

In (15) and (16) the cognate infinitive is used to give prominence to the descriptive content of the action of the verb:

(15) *kút-xa y-amráxxe yáʿni ʾən-íle náša spày,*ˈ *ʾó-yoma basímta t̂-óya šəmša.*ˈ *xàðexi.*ˈ *ʾó-yoma hàtxa yáʿni*ˈ *y-amráxla màra.*ˈ ‘We would say to each person, if he was a good man, that on that day the sun will shine. We were having fun. It was like that on that day, we would just say such things (but not really mean it).’ (B5:150–151)

(16) *ʾáy lɛ̀wa zwána zwánəlla.*ˈ ‘They were not really buying it.’ (B15:68)

In (17) the construction is used to make a forceful assertion to dispel the doubt of a question posed by the interlocutor:

(17) *zaqrituwa? zqára ʾi-zaqrə́xwa ʾàxni,*ˈ *hè.*ˈ 'Did you knit? We indeed used to knit, yes.' (B10:46)

In the foregoing examples the cognate infinitive is the same stem as the finite verb. In (18), by contrast, a stem I infinitive is combined with a stem II verb. The stem II verb (*m-brz* 'to dry') is transitive whereas the stem I form (*brz* I 'to become dry') is intransitive. The infinitive, therefore, does not simply intensify the verb but expresses a telic outcome 'they dry the rice so that it becomes dry', i.e. 'they dried the rice out':

(18) *bar-hádəx rə́zza mbárzi bràza.*ˈ *masqíwale gàre,*ˈ *masqíwa gə́r-t bèθa.*ˈ *mpaθèwale.*ˈ *barə́zwa tàza.*ˈ 'After that they dry the rice out. They would take it up to the roof, take it up to the roof of the house. They spread it out. It became thoroughly dry.' (B5:88)

15.5.4. *Purpose*

On some occasions an infinitive is used to extend the description of an action in a preceding clause by denoting the purpose of the action rather than an action that actually takes place during its time interval. This is particularly common after verbs expressing movement, taking and fetching, e.g.

(1) *Žíne zílla dwáqəlla prìxla.*ˈ 'Zine went to grab it, (but) it flew off.' (A25:72)
(2) *y-azíwa baxtáθa yàda.*ˈ 'The women would go to weed.' (B5:78)
(3) *kùt-yum*ˈ *ṣaléwa gàwṛa*ˈ *l-šùqa*ˈ *msawòqe.*ˈ 'Every day the man would go down to the market to do shopping.' (A22:1)
(4) *ʾáp-ʾaw qímɛle šqíləlle tàwra*ˈ *ṣ̀ləyɛle*ˈ *mzabònəlle.*ˈ 'So, he took the ox and went down to sell it.' (A22:2)
(5) *mə́ra lá-dri xélət gànux.*ˈ *ʾána θíθən mpalṭánnux m-gu-sə̀jən.*ˈ *mə́re lát-θiθa ʾána mpalóṭəlli m-gu-sə̀jən.*ˈ *θíθət šqála ʾáyya róxi mən-gu-gàni.*ˈ 'She said "Do not struggle. I have come to bring you out of the prison." He said "You have not come to bring me out of the prison. You have come to take my spirit from me."' (A26:82)
(6) *ʾáy kút-yom mpalṭáwala mə̆ṛòyəlla.*ˈ 'She took them out every day to pasture them.' (A34:20)

(7) *ʾána šqìlənne*ˈ *ʾáwwa qaṭíya mxáya ʾálle dìye.*ˈ ‘I took this stick to strike at it.’ (A29:23)

15.5.5. *Complement of Verbs*

The infinitive is used in the complement of verbs of perception, in which it expresses the action of the referent that is perceived. The perceived referent may be placed directly after the verb or is introduced by the presentative particle *ʾina*, e.g.

(1) *xzélux xa-náša θàya.*ˈ ‘You saw a man coming.’ (A22:22)
(2) *wírre kəslèy*ˈ *xírre mtúle bàla*ˈ *kút-xa mənnèy*ˈ *réše mṭáya l-ṭùra.*ˈ ‘When he went in to meet them, he looked and noticed that the head of each of them reached the (top of) the mountain.’ (A39:5)
(3) *qímɛle plìṭa*ˈ *xázya ʾína béθət Qára Téždin qàða.*ˈ ‘He went out and saw that the house of Qara Teždin was burning.’ (A26:53)

Object agreement pronouns on the verb, as in (4), indicate that the perceived item is raised into the matrix clause when there is no *ʾina* particle:

(4) *là hummə́nne.*ˈ *ha-t-xazèla*ˈ *bráta θàya.*ˈ ‘He did not believe it, until he saw the girl coming.’ (A26:79)

The verb of perception may be omitted with only the presentative particle being used, e.g.

(5) *mátti bála gu-yàma,*ˈ *ʾìna*ˈ *ʾa-sústət yamàθa*ˈ *nabòləlla*ˈ *Čəlkə̆ze.*ˈ ‘They looked at the sea and saw the mare of the seas taking away Čəlkə̆ze.’ (A12:34)

The infinitive is also used as the complement of various other verbs including those having the sense of ‘beginning’, ‘learning’, ‘being busy’ and the irregular verb *kyaza* ‘to try’, e.g.

(6) *šúryela mṭawóle b-šətrənjàne.*ˈ ‘They started to play chess.’ (A26:63)
(7) *šurèla*ˈ *jnàna*ˈ *ʾu-bxàya*ˈ *ʾu-mṣawóre ṭla-xóna-w Bakùrko.*ˈ ‘She began to lament, weep and curse her brother and Bakurko.’ (A26:83)
(8) *šuréle là-draya bála l-sətrənjàne.*ˈ *šuréle gašòqe*ˈ *b-Žìne.*ˈ ‘He began not to pay attention to the chess. He began to look at Zine.’ (A26:66)

(9) *ʾu-táwra píšle mangóle ʾáxxa l-tàmma.*ˈ 'The ox began to limp back and forth.' (A22:3)
(10) *píštəla mtanóye ða-qəṣṣətˈ ṭla-qàṭu.*ˈ 'She started to tell a story to the cat.' (A14:2)
(11) *qímla zráʾa xabùše.*ˈ 'They began to cultivate apples.' (B5:75)
(12) *ʾáy hár-lipla dmàxaˈ ʾu-xàla.*ˈ 'She learnt only how to sleep and to eat.' (A21:1)
(13) *m-táma hòdəxˈ kúlla ʾan-ʾárba yàrxe,ˈ xámša yàrxe,ˈ y-áwɛ náše blíge mjămòye,ˈ mjămóye qa-sətwa.*ˈ 'From this time onwards, throughout four or five months, people are busy gathering, gathering for winter.' (B5:107)
(14) *kízle qràya.*ˈ 'He tried calling.' (A48:5)
(15) *kízle mxàyaˈ goyáθət sùsa,ˈ súsa la-jwìjle.*ˈ 'He tried to strike the sides of the horse, but the horse did not move.' (A28:33)
(16) *kazíwa prámalla har-palṭìwa.*ˈ 'They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up.' (A38:15)

Past forms of the verb *šry* II 'to begin' may also be followed by a finite verb rather than an infinitive, e.g.

(17) *šuréle zmírre b-súsa smòqa.*ˈ 'He started singing to a brown horse.' (A25:11)
(18) *šuréla xrìṭla.*ˈ 'She started to gouge it out.' (A19:6)
(19) *šúryela xílela m-ġðàðe.*ˈ 'They began to eat together.' (A21:21)
(20) *šuréle ta-t-ʾàxəl.*ˈ 'He began to eat' (A21:12)

15.5.6. *Complement of a Noun*

On some occasions the infinitive is the complement of a noun, e.g.

(1) *ʾíθwa rába ʾurxáθa mṭawòle.*ˈ 'There were many ways to play.' (B15:5)

15.5.7. *Complement of an Adjective*

(1) *ʾáti mùdit har-blíga ṭlába m-alàhaˈ ta-t-yawəllux.*ˈ 'Why are always busy asking God to give (things) to you.' (A3:3)
(2) *lɛ́la senáyi xzàyəlle.*ˈ 'It is not easy to see him.'
(3) *zámətila wàðəlle.*ˈ 'It is difficult to do it.'

15.5.8. *Syntactic Position of a Nominal*

The infinitive is attested in various syntactic positions that are normally occupied by nominals. These include:

(i) *The Subject of a Clause*

(1) *qráya zàmət-ila.*| 'Reading is difficult.'
(2) *mdaróye modìla?*| 'What is winnowing?' (B5:97)
(3) *ʾáθela myáθa ʾup-ʾày.*| 'Death comes upon also her.' (A26:89)

(ii) *The Complement of a Naming Expression, e.g.*

(1) *ʾáwwa y-amrə́xxe wáða hɛ̀rìke.*| 'We call this "making soft mud beds."' (B5:76)
(2) *y-amrə́xxe mxáya bɛ̀ʾe.*| *yáʿni šmáṭa bɛ́ʾe xa-d-o-xɛ̀na,*| *twàra.*| 'We call this "striking eggs," that is knocking eggs together and breaking them.' (B5:58)

(iii) *The Complement of a Preposition*

(1) *pláxa bìš-spáyila mən-dmàxa.*| 'Working is better than sleeping.'
(2) *xa-béna xə́zya ʾə́θyɛle xa-xùwwe*| *ʾax-pràxa.*| 'Then he saw a snake come, as if flying.' (A14:31)
(3) *máme dɨ́ye t-wéwa max-qṭàləlle.*| 'His uncle who had almost killed him.' (A25:70)
(4) *ʾána mjə̆móye qɛ̀se,*| *déwe blíge b-xmáre xàla.*| 'While I was collecting wood, wolves were busy eating the asses.' (A23:35)

(iv) *The Complement of a Nominal in Annexation*

(1) *jawáttət práma qɛ̀se*| 'a chopper for cutting wood' (A26:91)

(v) *The Complement of the Existential Particle*

(1) *ʾína gu-d-ɛ-dàna*| *har-ʾíθ rqàða-w*| *zmàra-w*| *mɛθóye štɛ̀θa,*| *ʾàraq-u*| *xumlàna.*| 'At that time there is constantly dancing, singing, serving of drinks, arak, and jollity.' (B5:71)

Although the infinitive in these constructions is in a syntactic slot appropriate for a nominal, the infinitive is still treated like a verb with regard to its own internal complemetation. This is seen in (ii1), (ii2) and (iv1), where the objects of the infinitives are juxtaposed (*wáða hɛ̀rìke* 'making soft mud beds', *mxáya bɛ̂'e* 'striking eggs', *šmáṭa bɛ̂'e* 'knocking eggs', *práma qɛ̀se* 'cutting wood') rather than the infinitive being connected to it by a nominal annexation with the particle *D*. In (iii4), furthermore, the object is fronted before the infinitive (*b-xmáre xàla*). Note also that when the infinitive functions as the subject of a clause, it is often construed as feminine in gender (i1–2).

15.6. The Verbal Noun

The verbal noun, which is formed by adding the feminine ending to the infinitive, in principle denotes a single occurrence of an activity (§10.5.2.2.) and so is inherently perfective in aspect. It may also be used to refer to an iterative activity by denoting a single representative occurrence of this iterated situation.

15.6.1. *The Nominal Nature of the Verbal Noun*

The verbal noun is treated syntactically in most respects like other nouns. It may be used in a clause in positions that are appropriate for nouns, such as subject position (1–2) or the complement of a preposition (3–5):

(1) *dánət plíṭla qyàmta.*| *šahárta qa-t-qyàmta pálṭa.*| 'The time when the resurrection has come. They keep vigil until the resurrection comes out.' (B5:54)
(2) *bár parqáwa qyàmta.*| 'After the resurrection (ceremony) had finished…' (B5:56)
(3) *ʾu-ʾáyya gu-dyàṛta*| *mòdi wídla?*| 'What did she do on her return?' (A19:4)
(4) *ʾən-bə̌yə́xwa tùma,*| *ṭla-mbašàlta,*| *kɛ̀fənile.*| 'If we wanted (to use) garlic for cooking, it was up to us.' (B10:24)
(5) *mhàyərri*| *bəd-taxmàntux.*| 'Help me with your thought (on this matter).' (A21:2)

A nominal denoting the subject or object participant of the activity expressed by the verbal noun must be combined with the verbal noun

by nominal annexation. This differs from infinitives, which are treated as verbs in this respect and have their participants juxtaposed. Examples:

(i) *Subject*

(1) *qyámtət màran*ˈ 'the resurrection of our Lord' (B5:55)
(2) *gu-práqtət ʾaṣ̀rta,*ˈ *bar-prìqla,*ˈ *mεθéwa juwàla.*ˈ 'At the end of the evening, after they finished, they would bring a sack.' (B5:86)
(3) *b-zòr-ṃaḷe*ˈ *ṭla-mapláxtət bèθa.*ˈ 'It is scarcely enough for the household to use.' (B5:215)

(ii) *Object*

(1) *xyáptət xàtna*ˈ 'the washing of the groom' (B15:74)
(2) *zrétət rə̀zza*ˈ 'the cultivating of rice' (B5:76)
(3) *paláṭṭət ʾă̆raq*ˈ 'the production of arak' (B5:12)
(4) *mtaráṣtət xálya* 'the preparation of milk' (B5:173)
(5) *ʾu-qaḏ́axwa yóma qamáyət ʾèða,*ˈ *baráxtət ʾéða xa-d-o-xèna.*ˈ 'We would spend the first day of the festival offering festival blessings to one another.' (B15:8)

15.6.2. *Cognate Verbal Nouns*

Verbal nouns are used with their cognate verbs in various contexts. It is found in anaphoric expressions such as those in (1) and (2), which express a perfective and iterative activity respectively:

(1) *ʾu-píšεle gu-d-ε-pyàšta*ˈ *há-ṯ̂-ila θíθa ʾámte dìye.*ˈ 'He remained in that situation until his aunt came.' (A23:7)
(2) *ʾu-ʾan-baxtàθa*ˈ *kapšə̀wale,*ˈ *napṣ́iwale gu-d-a-npàṣta*ˈ *ʾu-mattíwale l-qóma báθər xàṣey.*ˈ 'The women would gather it and shake it with the shaking (just mentioned) and put it into a pile behind their back.' (B5:85)

Similar anaphoric constructions are used in which the finite verb occurs in a preceding clause, e.g.

(3) *mára qú ṣli-xzì!*ˈ *…gu-d-é ṣlεθèy*ˈ *qáṭu wìrtεla.*ˈ 'She said "Go down and see!" While they were coming down (like this), a cat came in.' (A4:52–53)

A verbal noun is used with a cognate finite verb to express the intensity of a single perfective action, e.g.

(4) *θéle tálga xa-θèθa.*ˡ 'Snow came with a (great) coming' (i.e. it snowed heavily).' (A25:41)

The use of a cognate verbal noun can be used to give additional morphological coding to a perfective event to mark a boundary in the discourse. This is the case with (5), in which the clause in question marks a an episodic boundary:

(5) *qlábta díya qlìbla*ˡ *ʾu-kúlle bə̀rya*ˡ *y-amrə́xxe xa-kerábso* 'She returned her return (= When she returned) and it had all grown into (the plant) we call *kerabso.*' (A34:17)

15.6.3. *The Verbal Noun Combined with the Verb 'to be'*

On some occasions the verbal noun is combined with the verb 'to be' following the model of compound verbal forms with the infinitive. This construction expresses an iterative action, by presenting one representative occurrence of the action. The compound infinitive construction can express the same iterative sense (§15.4.2.4.). Examples from the text corpus:

(1) *hár mkapáštət kisyáθət dàwela ṭóṭo.*ˡ 'The old woman is all the time collecting bags of gold.' (A4:22)
(2) *rqàðtɛla-w*ˡ *xálta-w štèθɛla.*ˡ 'They are dancing, eating and drinking.' (A14:46)
(3) *warwàrtɛla-w*ˡ 'It (the bear) roars.' (A27:29)
(4) *maplàštɛwəlley*ˡ *yə́n mattə́xwaley gu-ṣàwle.*ˡ 'They would knock them together or we would put them in shoes.' (B15:5)
(5) *ʾən-ṭ-áwe jwə̀jta,*ˡ *b-šàxən.*ˡ 'If he moves (on one occasion), he warms up.' (B11:16)

Note that the verbal noun in (4) *maplàštɛwəlley* expresses the pronominal object with an *ʾəll-* phrase.

In (6) a verbal noun construction is juxtaposed with an infinitive construction. The former can be interpreted as expressing the iterated single events of the animal's roaring and the latter as denoting a continuous activity of singing:

(6) *ʾay-wàðtɛla*ˈ *nă̆ra-nắra dìya*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáw zmàrɛle bíya.*ˈ 'She is giving off her roar and he is singing along with her.' (A27:14)

In (7), where the subject in the English translation is non-volitional, the copula takes the verbal noun as its grammatical subject:

(7) *qarqárte dìyela*ˈ 'He made a squeaking noise (literally: there is his squeaking).' (A30:9)

In (8) the form *jnanyaθa* can be interpreted as the plural of the verbal noun *jnanta* and, therefore, expresses a plurality of individual actions:

(8) *qímela ʾəθye.*ˈ *ʾé-bena ʾáxxa kúlla jnanyàθɛla.*ˈ *ʾé-ga zmárɛla b-tábut dìye.*ˈ 'They came and there they all lamented and sang (dirges) over his coffin.' (A26:83)

15.7. The Imperative Form

In most cases the imperative form is used perfectively to command the performance of a single delimited action with a clear start and endpoint, e.g.

(1) *prúmu rèše!*ˈ 'Cut off his head!' (A24:31)
(2) *hallúle ʾálpa dàwe!*ˈ 'Give him a thousand gold pieces!' (A1:14)
(3) *šqúlla yalə̀xθa!*ˈ 'Take the scarf!' (A4:18)
(4) *diya-méθu júlli malušùla!*ˈ 'Now bring my clothes and put them on (me)!' (A4:20)
(5) *wúð ða-spayúθa mènni!*ˈ 'Do me a favour!' (A7:17)
(6) *háyyo ṣlí Kă̆rī́m ʾáti gu-d-áwwa balùʿa.*ˈ 'Come Karim, go down into this conduit!' (A14:16)

Prohibitions may be expressed by negating an imperative form by the negative particle *la*. If this particle is combined with the verb in a stress group it typically takes the stress, e.g.

(7) *lá-wuð qàla!*ˈ 'Do not make a noise!' (A30:44)
(8) *lá-mur hàtxa!*ˈ 'Do not say that!' (A26:52)
(9) *bróni là qəṭlúle!*ˈ 'Do not kill my son!' (A33:6)
(10) *là maštóla míya*ˈ 'Do not give them water to drink!' (A25:9)

On some occasions the imperative is used to command or prohibit a less clearly delimited action. In (11) and (12), for example, the imperatives 'work!' and 'search!' respectively clearly command the inception of the action but do not necessarily imply an endpoint. In (13) the actions commanded by the imperatives are most easily interpreted as iterative. The speaker is referring to the annual custom of Kurds to bring sheep into the village during transhumance and intends his command to apply to all future years.

(11) *xuš-plùxən.*ˡ *ta-mú-t baṭíla tíwa gu-bèθa.*ʔˡ 'Go and work! Why are you sitting idly in the house?' (A39:1)
(12) *ṭó-lɛxu xa-šúla ta-t-xa̋yitu bìye.*ˡ 'Search for a job for yourselves by which you may make a living!' (A30:1)
(13) *lá-masqu l-gárət ʾùmra.*ˡ *m-gu-gárət ʾúmra hóla náblula tămáha rəḥqa.*ˡ *ṭla-mótu mɛθóyəlla gárət ʾùmra.*ʔˡ 'Don't take them onto the roof. Take them far away from the roof of the church. Why do you bring them on the roof of the church?' (B18:7)

In (14) and (15) the imperatives are negated by the particle *bassa* 'enough!' and command the end of an activity that is already in progress without any implied starting point:

(14) *bássa bxègən*ˡ *bássa wuð-tàzi.*ˡ 'Do not weep any more! Do not mourn any more!' (A26:88)
(15) *bássa ští ʾu-rwì.*ˡ 'Don't drink any more and get any more drunk!'

On numerous occasions the imperative is preceded by the particle of immediacy *də-/de-*. Most attested examples are positive commands, e.g.

(16) *də-šqúl ʾanna-zùze.*ˡ 'Take these coins!' (A1:27)
(17) *də-šùqla.*ˡ 'Leave it!' (A5:7)
(18) *de-mùrri.*ˡ 'Tell me!' (A4:26)
(19) *de-wúr gu-d-áwwa gùrba.*ˡ 'Go into this torso!' (A14:67)

The particle may be placed before an adverb of immediate time reference, such as 'today' in (20):

(20) *de-ʾədyo,*ˡ *qu-pégən kàde.*ˡ 'Today, get up and bake *kade* cakes!' (A30:41)

In (21) the particle is placed before a 2nd person pronoun:

(21) *də-ʾáti xùš!*ǀ 'You go!' (A39:1)

As has been discussed in §15.1.1.5., also the 2nd person of the *qaṭəl* form can be used deontically to express commands or prohibitions. This may be used perfectively to express single delimited actions, e.g.

(22) *súsux bə̆́ye t-kàle.*ǀ *là-šoqət t-kále.*ǀ *máxət ʾálle díye ta-t-ʾásəq pàyədle ʾo-ṭúra.*ǀ 'Your horse will want to stop. Do not let him stop. Strike him so that he will go up and cross over that mountain.' (A24:11)

(23) *xazátla tərtè bnáθa*ǀ *ṯ̂-áθi méθi qàhwa.*ǀ *là-šaqlətle qáhwa mənna.*ǀ *maxátle sépux ʾəl-qðalèy*ǀ *pɛrmàtle rešéy.*ǀ 'You will see two girls, who will come and bring coffee. Do not accept the coffee from them. You should strike your sword into their neck and cut off their head.' (A24:13)

(24) *ʾázət táwrux pɛrmàtle.*ǀ 'You should go and slaughter your ox.' (A7:2)

It may also be used imperfectively to express general commands or prohibitions that are not delimited to a single action, e.g.

(25) *hàtxa ʾoðéti b-náše!*ǀ 'This is what you should do to people!' (A22:47)

(26) *là-qablət*ǀ *là bəṛ-náša ṯ̂-áwər gáwa*ǀ *ʾu-là hɛ́wən.*ǀ 'Don't allow any person or animal to enter it.' (A23:18)

(27) *là maṣíθət*ǀ *ʾàni*ǀ *saṭanyàθɛla*ǀ 'Don't listen (to such things), they are little demons.' (A26:11)

The distinction between the imperative form and the deontic *qaṭəl* form, therefore, is not primarily one of aspect, although this may have some bearing on the choice between the two. The main factor is rather the communicative profile of the command. In principle a speaker uses the imperative when he wishes to give the command a high degree of salience. The deontic *qaṭəl* form is used when it has a lesser degree of salience. Various features contribute to this salience. One feature is immediacy. All other things being equal, an imperative expresses the will of the speaker for an action to be performed closer to the present moment than the *qaṭəl* form. Consider, for example, the pair of constructions (28) and (29), both of which are perfective in aspect. In (28) the speaker invites the addressee

to come immediately and join him swimming. In (29) the request relates to an action of coming at a point further in the future:

(28) *ʾána hon-sxáya gàwa.*| *bă̊yət ṯ-áθyət sàxyət?*| *də-háyyo sxà!*‖ 'I am swimming in it. Do you want to swim? Come and swim!' (A25:61)
(29) *yómət ṯḷàθa,*| *ʾáθət kəslɛ̀ni.*| 'In three days time come to us.' (A22:17)

It is relevant to note that the particle of immediacy *də-/de-*, which is commonly used with imperatives but only sporadically with deontic *qaṭəl*, is likely to be related etymologically to the adverbial *diya* 'now'. In some NENA dialects it is used in progressive contructions that express actions that are taking place at the present moment (e.g. C. Ankawa *də-k-šatən* 'I am drinking').

As we have seen in (11) and (12), the action commanded by an imperative may extend indefinitely into the future. In (14) the action has no definite starting point. The relevant feature in all these cases is that the speaker commands the action to begin or end immediately.

The use of the imperative to express the command of iterative actions cannot be motivated by temporal immediacy. The salience of the command arises from its high degree of force, which is greater than in corresponding iterative deontic expressions with *qaṭəl* forms such as (30):

(30) *kút-yom pálṭət ʾu-xàðrət,*| *ʾáṣərta ʾáθət bɛ̀θa.*| 'Every day go out and wander about and then in the evening come back home.' (A14:62)

Another feature that contributes to salience appears to be the positiveness of the command. All other things being equal, there is a greater tendency to use the deontic *qaṭəl* form with a negative command than with a positive one, as reflected in (31) and (32), in which positive commands and prohibitions with perfective aspect referring to immediate actions are used side by side:

(31) *mára hàyyo,*| *hàyyo!*‖ *madam-ṯ-íwət ʾàti,*| *hàyyo!*‖ *là-ʾazət.*| 'Come, come. Since it is you, come, don't go!' (A24:36)
(32) *ʾáti là pálxət.*| *ʾáti tù.*| *ʾàna pálxən.*| 'Don't you work. You sit down. I shall work.' (A21:23)

Indeed, in some NENA dialects, such as C. Qaraqosh, negative commands can only be expressed by negating the *qaṭəl* form (cf. Khan 2002: 351). In C. Barwar, as in many other NENA dialects, negation has been

extended to imperative forms, but the distribution of negated commands is still less than that of positive commands on account of the inherently lower degree of salience of a negated command. The fact that the particle *də-/de-*, which gives added salience to a command, is largely restricted to positive commands may also be a reflection of this inherently lower salience of negated commands.

All the uses of the imperative described above can be reconciled with the claim that the form is perfective. As already remarked, cases such as (11), (12) and (14) can be regarded as having an ingressive or terminative sense, which are features exhibited by other perfective forms. The occurrence of the imperative in iterative expressions can be explained as being the use of a perfective form appropriate to command an individual occurrence of the iterated action to command, by implication, the iterated action as a whole. It is relevant to note that in (13) the speaker uses in an adjacent clause the compound infinitive construction to refer to an iterative action (*ṭla-mótu mɛθóyəlla gárət ʾùmraʔ*! 'Why do you bring them on the roof of the church?'). As we have seen (§15.4.2.4.), the use of the infinitive construction to express an iterative action is an extension of its use to express a perfective narrative present. It can be said that the basic perfectivity of the form, which gives the commanded action delimited boundaries, results in its salience and it is this perfectivity that gives the sense of greater force in the command. The deontic *qaṭəl* form, on the other hand, may express either perfective or imperfective aspect. We may summarize the features contributing to the salience in imperative forms in the scales below, in which the symbol > should be read as 'more salient than'. All other things being equal, a command with the features on the lefthand side of the scales would be more likely to be expressed by an imperative than those with the features on the righthand side:

Perfective	>	Imperfective
Positive	>	Negative
Immediate	>	Non-immediate

The imperative may be extended by a variety of suffixes (§8.6.5.). Informants feel that these add additional force to the command like the prefixed particle *də-/de-*. In the text corpus they are attested only with positive commands, which is likely to be a reflection of the inherently lower salience of the negative commands. Another factor that determines the distribution of the imperative forms with added suffixes is their position within a section of discourse. When there are two or more imperatives in a sequence,

forms with added suffixes tend to be placed at the end of the sequence. The heavy morphological coding of the forms is used in such contexts to mark a final boundary of a discourse unit. The sequence may consist of two or more different imperatives in a closely knit unit as in (33–35) or the repetition of the same imperative as in (36) and (37), e.g.

(33) *dúṛu sógena kəs-babàxu.*ˡ 'Return, go to your father.' (A14:85)
(34) *xuš-plùxən.*ˡˡ 'Go and work!' (A39:1)
(35) *qu-pégən kàde*ˡ 'Get up and bake *kade* cakes.' (A30:41)
(36) *sí-mur ta-pállən wazə̀r*ˡ *múrgena málka θèle.*ˡ 'Go and say to the minister so-and-so, say the king has come back.' (A4:33)
(37) *xùl!*ˡˡ *dànɛla.*ˡ *qìrra.*ˡ *xùlena!*ˡˡ 'Eat! It is time. It has got cold. Eat!' (B5:34)

In a few cases the imperative is used in narrative as a substitute for a perfective narrative verbal form. These are addressed to the person performing the action and are typically used when there is a transition between spatial locations that involves a verb of movement. The clause containing the imperative may open with a 3rd person subject pronoun as in (38) and (39):

(38) *qímtɛla zìlta,*ˡ *muθéθəlla quṣárta dìya.*ˡ *ʾa-zórta muttáθəlla gu-d-é quṣártət šwàwe*ˡ *ʾu-nubàltəlla.*ˡ *hadìya,*ˡ *ʾáw* ***qu-šqúlla*** *quṣàrta-w*ˡ *sí be-šwàwux.*ˡ *šláma-llɛxu šwàwe.*ˡ 'She went and brought her cooking pot. She put the small one in the cooking pot of the neighbours and took it (to her husband). Now, he—get up and take the cooking pot and go to the house of your neighbour! "Greeings to you neighbours."'
(A5:4)
(39) *qáyəm yawálle ʾálpa dáwe xène.*ˡ *ʾáw xá-reša m-táma* ***qú-si*** *l-bɛ̀θa.*ˡ *ʾáp ʾan-tre-ʾálpe dáwe xéne* ***mɛ̀θila.***ˡ *ʾu-****háyyo*** *šláma-llux xóni xùwwe!*ˡˡ 'He gives him another thousand gold pieces. He—directly from there get up and go home. Bring back also those two thousand pieces of gold and come back "Greetings my brother snake! Peace and blessings!"' (A1:19–20)

Example (40) illustrates the use of an imperative for another type of narrative strategy. The negated imperative of the verb to say *lá-mur* 'Do not say!', which is presumably addressed to the hearer of the narrative, has the function of drawing special attention to what follows.

(40) *ʾu-lá-mur qáyəθ b-o-t̂-íle dəʾpne.*ˈ 'Guess what, (literally: Don't say) he knocked into the one next to him.' (A22:34)

The imperatives of the verbs *qym* 'to get up' and *ʾtw* 'to sit down' are often combined with the resultative participle: *qu-qíma!* 'Get up (ms.)!', *qu-qímta!* (fs.), *tu-tíwa!* 'Sit down (ms.)!', *tu-tíwta!* 'Sit down (fs.)!' In the plural, the plural inflection is used only on the participle: *qu-qíme!* 'Get up (pl.)!'; *tu-tíwe!* 'Sit down (pl.)'. In some cases in the plural the imperative element *qu-* or *tu-* is dispensed with altogether and the plural participle is used alone with imperative function, e.g.

(41) *páqðu tìwe.*ˈ 'Please, sit down.' (A15:8)
(42) *mə́ra de-tìwe.*ˈ 'She said "Sit down."' (A21:28)
(43) *qíme so-mèθole ʾəlli-díyi.*ˈ 'Get up and go and bring him to me.' (A7:7)

15.8. The Verb *pyš*

This verb is used either with the sense of continuity ('to remain') or with an ingressive sense ('to become').

15.8.1. *Continuity*

(i) When it has the sense of 'remaining', it can be used absolutely, without any complement except for an optional adverbial, e.g.

(1) *péši xə́tna-w kʾálo tàma*ˈ *hal-xušèba.*ˈ 'The groom and bride stay there until Sunday.' (B5:51)
(2) *ʾáwwa y-asə́qwa mən-léle hal-ʾaṣə̀rta*ˈ *ʾu-ʾə́rwe pɛšíwa gu-ṭùra.*ˈ 'He (the shepherd) would go up in the morning (and work) until evening. The small cattle would remain in the mountains.' (B5:158)
(3) *ʾu-napṣìwale,*ˈ *qá-t ʾan-rázza la-páyəš gàwe.*ˈ 'They shook it so that the rice did not remain in it.' (B5:84)
(4) *bə̆́ya pèša,*ˈ *péša ʾáy ʾàxxa,*ˈ *b-šópət brònən.*ˈ 'If she wants to stay, let her stay here, in place of our son.' (A4:39)

A perfective past form in narrative may express a situation enduring for a delimited period of time, e.g.

(5) *píšla ṭḷa-yàrxe.*ˈ ‘They stayed three months.’ (A14:84)
(6) *píšɛle gu-ṭúra xá-yoma yóme trè.*ˈ ‘He remained in the mountains one or two days.’ (A4:2)

In narrative the verb is sometimes used with the anaphoric adverbial *hadəx* ‘like this, thus’ to express a passage of time and a transition between episodes, e.g.

(7) *šáryela gu-d-é ʾotél ʾo-yòma-wˈ píšela hàdəx.*ˈ *ʾaṣárta θìθɛlaˈ bă̊yi ṯ-áxli xa-ràmša.*ˈ ‘They put up in the hotel that day and remained like that. The evening came and they wanted to eat dinner.’ (A2:2)
(8) *ʾu-xílela ʾáni màndi-wˈ susăwaθéy dáryəlla mándi ʾixàla.*ˈ *píšela hàdəx.*ˈ *ʾàmər…*ˈ *xuláma ʾámər ṭla-mìra.*ˈ ‘They ate something and gave their horses some food. They remained like that. The servant said to the master…’ (A26:17–18)

The verb in the *qṭille* form may express the onset of a situation with no definite endpoint, which is sequential to a preceding situation, e.g.

(9) *ðá-kθɛθa xilàla,*ˈ *ðá pìšla.*ˈ ‘He ate one chicken and one remained.’ (A2:3)
(10) *hár šə́mme píšle Čùxo.*ˈ ‘His name still remained Čuxo (after the preceding event).’ (A7:4)

When the subject is human, the verb can have the sense of ‘remaining alive’, e.g.

(11) *ʾu-xaráye ṭlíba díya qəm-šaqlə̀xle.*ˈ *ʾáy pìšla.*ˈ ‘In the end we took her betrothed but she remained alive.’ (A4:45)
(12) *kə́wa xoš-ṯ-awéwa pìša.*ˈ ‘He should have remained alive.’ (A7:20)

(ii) Finite inflections of *pyš* can be combined with an infinitive to express the uninterrupted continuity of an event or situation over a period of time, e.g.

(1) *ʾo-bróna ṯ-íle zíla ða-bážər xèta,*ˈ *yáʿni ða-mðìta,*ˈ *ða-màθa,*ˈ *píšle rába mparòje,*ˈ *maṣyóθe l-béθət bábe dìye.*ˈ ‘The son who had gone to another town, that is a town, a village, remained watching intently, listening (for news) about his father’s family.’ (A18:12)

(2) *ʾu-píštɛla bxàya.*ˈ *píštɛla bxàya,*ˈ *ʾu-bxàya,*ˈ *ʾu-bxàya,*ˈ *xà-yoma-w*ˈ *trè-u*ˈ *xa-yàrxa-w*ˈ 'She continued weeping. She continued weeping and weeping and weeping, one day, two, one month.' (A4:44)
(3) *ʾo-píštɛla ʾan-dəbbòre*ˈ *har-zála-w θàya.*ˈ 'The bees continued to go back and forth.' (A20:8)
(4) *píšla béna gráša kúllət yóma mən-d-o-dùša*ˈ *hál ʾaṣərta.*ˈ 'All day they continued to draw out that honey, until evening.' (A14:15)

In (5) the infinitive coming after the verb *pyš* is negated by the negative copula:

(5) *píšla bábe-u yə́mme-u xonăwáθa lèla hămóne.*ˈ 'His father and mother and her brothers continued not to believe it.' (A18:11)

It may also be combined with a resultative participle of a stative verb to express a similar sense, e.g.

(6) *ʾu-xílela ʾixàla*ˈ *ʾu-píše dmìxe.*ˈ 'They ate food and remained there asleep (i.e. they stayed the night there).' (A15:8)

15.8.2. *Ingressive*

(i) When it has the sense of 'to become', it is combined with a complement expressing an identity or property that is acquired by the subject, e.g.

(1) *m-bár ṭaxnìle,*ˈ *páyəš qàmxa*ˈ *masqíle bèθa.*ˈ 'After they grind it and it becomes flour, they take it up to the house.' (B5:99)
(2) *maštèwala*ˈ *qá-t xáčča pɛ́šawa rakìxta.*ˈ 'They would irrigate it so that it would become rather soft.' (B5:76)
(3) *ʾána píšli bàxtux.*ˈ 'I have become your wife.' (A25:65)
(4) *málla píšla quṣárta ta-màlla.*ˈ 'As for the mullah, the pot became the mullah's'. (A5:10)
(5) *Bárwər píštɛla kúlla m-Ẓáwa l-Xawóra t-là-maθwaθa.*ˈ 'All of Barwar, from the Zab to the Khabur became (a land) without villages.' (B1:10)

When an ingressive *pyš* is combined with a resultative participle from a transitive verb, the construction expresses a passive action. This will be discussed in greater detail in §15.9.3. below, e.g.

(6) *b-é-šeta píšla Dúre muqyàmta-w*ˈ ‘In that year Dure was evacuated.’ (B1:8)

(ii) The verb *pyš* with an ingressive function can be combined with an infinitive and have the sense of beginning the action in question, e.g.

(1) *ʾu-táwra píšle mangóle ʾáxxa l-tàmma.*ˈ ‘The ox began to limp back and forth.’ (A22:3)
(2) *píštɛla mtanóye ða-qəṣṣətˈ ṭla-qàṭu.*ˈ ‘She started telling a story to the cat’. (A14:2)
(3) *píšela mnáyəlla l-xà-xa.*ˈ ‘They began to count them, one by one.’ (A6:3)
(4) *ʾáyya məškánta píštɛla mxàyaˈ dráya qáṭma gu-réša dìya.*ˈ ‘The poor woman began to beat (herself) and put ash on her head.’ (A14:22)

(iii) Ingressive *pyš* is occasionally combined with a perfective verbal form to convey the sense that the event in question is the final outcome of a chain of events. This is the case in (1), where it is combined with a perfective future *qaṭəl* form:

(1) *bas-tàmaˈ qáṣṣət dìyəxˈ ʾu-t-xònəxˈ péša màṭyaˈ l-xarayúθa dìya.*ˈ ‘There your story and that of your brother will (finally) reach its end.’ (A8:88)

A similar function is sometimes performed by a construction in which *pyš* is combined with the resultative participle of a telic intransitive verb, e.g.

(2) *tíwela tàmaˈ ʾu-xílela ʾixàlaˈ ʾu-píše dmìxe.*ˈ ‘They sat there, ate food, then (in the end) went to sleep.’ (A15:8)

(iv) Ingressive *pyš* is sometimes used in narrative before expressions of time to mark the beginning of a new episodic section. It may be used to denote the onset of a point in time, e.g.

(1) *píšle yòmaˈ hár wewa-xðàra.*ˈ ‘Day came and he was still searching about.’ (A14:24)
(2) *píštɛla ʾaṣàrta.*ˈ *gu-sáʾət ʾášta ʾaṣárta šáwwa gu-gnéθət yòma,*ˈ *hóle θéle Čùxo,*ˈ *xa-bárra ʾárwe bàθre.*ˈ ‘The evening came. At six or seven o’clock in the evening, at dusk, Čuxo came, with a flock of sheep following him.’ (A7:21)
(3) *píšta mbàdla.*ˈ *mbádla qìmɛle.*ˈ ‘Morning came. In the morning he got up.’ (A14:66)

In (1)–(3) above the expression of time can be construed as the grammatical subject of the verb. The expression of time may also be a prepositional phrase, as in (4). Here the grammatical subject of the verb, which is 3fs., must be impersonal:

(4) *píšla b-lèle,*ˡ *sìqɛle*ˡ *l-gàre.*ˡ 'At night he went up onto the roof.' (A25:52)

The verb *pyš* may also be used to denote the passage of an interval of time. In such contexts it has 3ms or 3fs inflection. The time expression appears not to be construed as the grammatical subject, judging by constructions such as (7), in which a 3ms. verb is followed by a feminine nominal phrase, and (8), where a 3fs. verb is followed by a masculine nominal phrase:

(5) *píšele xà-yarxa*ˡ *málka xzéle xa-xálma xèna.*ˡ 'A month later the king had another dream.' (A1:9)
(6) *píšle šánne rábe ʾárbe xámməš ʾáššət šánne la-zìlle.*ˡ 'For many years, four, five six years, he did not go there.' (A18:12)
(7) *píšele ða-šábθa xèta,*ˡ *ʾámər ṭla-báxta*… 'A week later, he said to his wife…' (A5:8)
(8) *pɛšáwa xa-yóma trè,*ˡ *hál baràzwa.*ˡ 'One or two days would go by until it became dry.' (B5:167)

15.9. The Expression of the Passive

Various constructions are used to express the passive of a transitive verb.

15.9.1. qṭil

The dialect exhibits a vestigial use of the past base stem *qṭil* to express a passive action. This is only used sporadically and is restricted to the 3rd person. As is the case with the *qṭille* form, the *qṭil* form expresses a specific event occurring in the past at a particular point in time, e.g.

(1) *mára prúmu rèše!*ⁿ *ʾáwwa prìm réše.*ˡ 'She said "Cut off his head!" He—his head was cut off.' (A24:31)
(2) *báθər t-gníw Mar-Qayòma,*ˡ *qəm-dawríle tằra.*ˡ 'After (the church of) St. Qayoma was plundered, they closed the door.' (D2:66)

(3) *móθi júlla dìya.*| ‘Her clothes were brought.’ (A4:20)
(4) *brátux mùθya.*| ‘Your daughter has been brought back.’ (A29:42)
(5) *ʾáy wela-ʾá-bráta xaréθət mṭúmra gu-Dùre.*| ‘That was the last girl who was buried in Dure.’ (B1:12)
(6) *ʾína ʾan-tre-xéne píšela hál-danət ṯ-íxwa ʾáxni tàma,*| *hál-šēt ʾálpa ʾəčč́á-mma-w šáwwi tmànya,*| *ʾíman t-moqìma Dúre.*| ‘But the other two remained until the time that we were there, until the year 1978, when Dure was evacuated.’ (B1:5)

There are other signs of the fossilization of this construction in addition to the extreme infrequency of its use. The 3ms. form *qṭil* can be used also with 3fs. and 3pl. nominal subjects:

gawṛa qṭil	‘The man was killed’
baxta qṭila ~ *qṭil*	‘The woman was killed’
naše qṭili ~ *qṭil*	‘The people were killed’

Example from the text corpus:

(7) *prim-ʾərwe.*| ‘Sheep were slaughtered.’ (B10:40)

If the agent of the action is expressed in the clause by a nominal phrase, this is not necessarily introduced by any preposition, e.g.

(8) *múθyəlla qaráwət dìya*| *mùttəlla.*| *béθa dwìq*| *qaráwət dìya.*| ‘They brought her bed and laid it down. The house was filled by her bed.’ (A21:7)

Both these features reflect a certain degree of opacity regarding the status of the patient argument as the grammatical subject of the verb. Lack of agreement of a verb with its grammatical subject would not in principle be possible elsewhere in the verbal system, but lack of agreement with a grammatical object would be permissible, especially with indefinite nominals as in (7). The lack of the preposition on the agent nominal in examples such as (8) is a property of a grammatical subject, suggesting that it is competing for this status with the patient nominal.

15.9.2. *Resultative Participle Combined with the Verb 'to be'*

As has been discussed in §15.4.1.1., the resultative participle of a transitive verb combined with the copula, or with the suppletive verb *hwy*, can express the passive. It denotes the result of a past verbal event without referring directly to any specific event that brought about this result. The construction has an inherent ambiguity in that in many contexts the participle may have a dynamic verbal interpretation or a stative adjectival interpretation, e.g.

(1) *xuwwe qṭìlɛle!*‖ 'The snake has been killed / the snake is killed!' (A24:42)
(2) *ʾán baxtáθa barzanáye màra*| *kèla ʾan-gúre xéne?*‖ *máre kúlla hóla qṭìle.*| 'The Barzan women said "Where are the other men?" He said "They have all been killed / They are all killed."' (B19:8)
(3) *bróni hóle xíla ʾədlèle.*| 'My son has been eaten tonight.' (A18:2)
(4) *yába čídetu xlúlə brōn-fəllən b-flàn-yoma.*| 'You have been invited / you are invited to the wedding of the son of so-and-so on such-and-such a day.' (B5:21)
(5) *kúl máθa ṭ-íla tlíxta ʾíθ ʾùmra gáwa.*| 'Every village that has been / is destroyed and has a church in it' (B6:34)
(6) *párša t-wéwa mútta b-rəš-Xuldəkka.*| 'A flat stone that had been placed / was placed on top of Xuldəkko' (A51:20)

The agent may be expressed in such passive resultative constructions. This is usually marked by the preposition *l-*, e.g.

(7) *ʾən-réšət bábe díye ʾax-ṭùra,*| *ʾu-hóle qṭíla l-Tătár-i Slemán-i Səndi,*| *lèka bṭ-ázəl?*‖ 'If the head of his father is like a mountain and he has been killed by Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi, where will he go?' (A28:8)
(8) *šáwwaθna hóla xíle l-dèwa.*| 'The seven of them have been eaten by wolves.' (A23:15)
(9) *xabúša smóqa l-dəbbɛle xíla.*| 'The red apple has been eaten by the bear.' (D2:65)
(10) *nísa l-xúwwe m-xàwla ṣádle.*| 'He who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of a rope.' (D2:39)
(11) *čídət l-bràtux.*| 'You have been invited by your daughter.' (A40:12)
(12) *xáθux Nasímo jlíwtɛla l-ʾarabàye.*| 'Your sister Nasimo has been kidnapped by Arabs.' (A37:5)

(13) *mxuzdɛwən l-Tomən xali.* 'I have been shamed by Toman my uncle.' (A52:4)

On fronted agents in focus bearing the nuclear stress the preposition is sometimes omitted, which results in an opacity of coding, in that both the patient nominal and the agent nominal have the coding appropriate for the grammatical subject, e.g.

(14) *ʾáyya yalʾəxta| bàbila zqírta| ʾu-xáθi Nasìmola mnuqášta.|* 'This handkerchief was woven by my father and embroidered by my sister Nasimo.' (A37:12)

15.9.3. *Resultative Participle Combined with* pyš

The most productive means of forming the passive of a transitive verb is by combining a form of the verb *pyš* with the resultative participle. The tense and aspect of the construction are determined by the form of *pyš*. It is frequently used in historical narratives with a perfective aspect to refer to a specific event in the past. In such cases the verb *pyš* is in the *qṭille* form or the *qṭilɛlɛ* form, which here is used in its narrative sense of a preterite equivalent to *qṭille*, e.g.

(1) *rába mən-d-ánna maθwàθa| píšla prìme|…píšla qṭìle.| ʾu-píšla mšuxálpe maθwáθət qurðáye mušəlmàne.|* 'Many (of the inhabitants of) these villages were slaughtered.… They were killed. They (the villages) were then changed into Muslim Kurdish villages.' (B1:2)

(2) *b-é-šeta píšla Dúre muqyàmta-w| kúlla máθwaθət Bèrwər,| sáma zóda t-maθwàθa,| píšla moqìme,| ʾu-tlìxe,| ʾumráne tlìxe,| ʾu-bustanáne mùqðe,| ʾu-máθa šwíqta xăràba-w| náše ṭrìðe.|* 'In that year Dure was evacuated. All the villages of Barwar, or most of the villages, were evacuated and destroyed. The churches were destroyed, the orchards were burnt, the village was left a ruin and the people were driven away.' (B1:8)

(3) *ʾíθwalən šawwá ʾabòne| gu-máθa dìyən.| píšela mútte gu-Mar-Qayyóma kúlla gu-ðà qáwra.|* 'We had seven bishops in our village. They were all laid in one grave in (the church of) Saint Qayyoma.' (B2:6)

If a nominal expressing the agent is mentioned in the clause it is introduced by the preposition *l-*, e.g.

(4) *ʾu-Dùre*ˈ *píštɛla muqyàmta*ˈ *muxràwta*ˈ *šawwà gáye*ˈ *l-xànpe*ˈ *qaṭòle*ˈ *t-mušəlmàne.*ˈ 'Dure was evacuated and destroyed seven times by pagan murderers of Muslims.' (B2:2)

Constructions with a past perfective of *pyš* such as *pišle qṭila* or its equivalent in narrative *pišɛle qṭila* correspond in function to the obsolescent *qṭil* form.

In (5) the resultative participle of *pyš* is combined with the past copula:

(5) *ʾéða góṛa ʾíle xa-ṭùxsa*ˈ *qyámtət Mšíxa báθər t-wéwa píša qṭìla.*ˈ 'The Great Festival is a ceremony (commemorating) the resurrection of Christ after he had been killed.' (B6:1)

In (6) a future form of *pyš* is used, in (7)–(8) an irrealis form and in (9) a past habitual form:

(6) *kú nəšma*ˈ *t-màṭya*ˈ *rəš-gášrət Dalàle*ˈ *ʾɛ-nášma bəd-pèša*ˈ *prìmta,*ˈ *qṭìlta.*ˈ 'Any soul that comes onto the bridge of Dalale—that soul will be slaughtered, killed.' (C8:5)

(7) *yába ʾána ṭ-àθən,*ˈ *ʾáxči ʾən-yáwul ðămắnˈ šẽxˈ ʾáwwa ṭéni páyəš nṭìra*ˈ *ta-t-čŭ-mdi là-ʾaθe bíye dìye.*ˈ 'Well, I'll come, only if the sheikh gives a guarantee that this saddle bag will be guarded so that nothing will happen to it.' (A7:9)

(8) *kúl-xa náša . . . yalúnka zórət bàre*ˈ *gắrəg páyəš mŭmáðða gu-ʾùmra.*ˈ 'Everybody . . . when a young child is born, he must be baptized in the church.' (B6:9)

(9) *hadíya mtánexi xa-tuníθa ʾatìqta*ˈ *pɛšáwa mtunɛ́θa gu-maθwàθa.*ˈ 'Now we shall tell an old story, which used to be told in the villages.'

Constructions with the resultative forms of *pyš* such as *hole piša qṭila / pišɛle qṭila* 'He has been killed / He is killed' and *pišɛwa qṭila* 'He had been killed / He was killed' are equivalent in function to the passive resultative forms *hole qṭila / qṭilɛle* and *qṭilɛwa*. The difference is that forms with *pyš* can only function as passives whereas the forms with the copula could in principle have a passive or active interpretation according to context. Speakers use the constructions with *pyš* to eliminate this opacity of diathesis. In (10) the motivation for using the unambiguously passive form *pišewa čide* may have been to distinguish it clearly from the active form *čɛdiwaley* in the immediately preceding discourse:

(10) *kúlla maθwáθa čədìwaley.*| *mən-kúlla maθwáθə ṯ-íla marzabánət ʾƐ̄n-Nùne,*| *xa-tmánya ʾəṣrà-maθwaθa*| *náše píšewa čìde.*| ‘They invited all the villages. From all the villages that were adjacent to ʾƐn-Nune, eight or ten villages, the people were invited.’ (B15:61)

Occasionally *pyš* is used with the resultative participle of intransitive verbs. Such constructions are used to convey the sense that the subject referent is non-volitional and the event is caused to take place by an external agent. This is in conformity with the *pyš qṭila* passive construction, which in principle has a non-volitional subject who is the undergoer of the action. In (11), for example, the construction *pišla riqe* is used to express the fact that the inhabitants of the villages were forced to flee against their will. The ‘active’ form *riqla* ‘they fled’, by contrast, would in principle be interpreted as having a volitional subject.

(11) *rába mən-d-ánna maθwàθa*| *píšla prìme*| *ʾu-xákma píšla rìqe-u*| *píšla qṭìle.*| ‘Many (of the inhabitants of) these villages were slaughtered. Some (were forced to) flee and were killed.’ (B1:2)

15.9.4. *Resultative Participle Combined with* ʾθy

On some sporadic occasions the passive is expressed by a construction consisting of a finite form of the verb *ʾθy* ‘to come’ with the undergoer as subject and a resultative participle, e.g.

(1) *b-rəš-d-àyya bráta*| *réšət bábe díye t-Ẓàlo*| *θéle twíra ràbe gáye.*| ‘On account of this girl, the head of his father Zāl was broken many times.’ (A29:39)

15.9.5. *Infinitive Combined with* ʾθy

In another type of periphrastic construction the verb *ʾθy* ‘to come’ is combined with the infinitive of the verbal stem that expresses the action. This construction is of more restricted use than that the *pyš* + resultative participle construction. In most of the recorded examples the verb is negated. The infinitive may be preceded by the preposition *l-*, e.g.

(1) *har-Dúre lə̀-ʾaθya l-manšóye.*| ‘Dure will never be forgotten.’ (B2:7)
(2) *ʾu-hál hadíya ʾáwwa məndiyáne píšela l-bàlən*| *ʾu-lə̀-ʾaθi l-manšóye.*| ‘Until now these things remain in my mind and will not be forgotten.’ (B15:1)

The *l-* preposition is sometimes omitted, e.g.

(3) *lágne lé-y-aθɛ xzàda.*| 'Lagne are not harvested.'
(4) *lá-kulla danáne kúlla ṭawalyáθa ṯ-aθíwa mṭawòle.*| 'Not all games would be played at all times.' (B11:1)
(5) *ʾáθe maxròpe.*| 'It is sharpened.' (B11:17)

In (6) the instrument of the action is introduced by the preposition *b-*:

(6) *ʾána hon-màra*| *ʾáwwa rèši*| *ṯ-áθe xá-yoma ṗràma*| *bəd-ʾiθáθa dìyux.*| 'I say that this head of mine will one day be cut off by your hands.' (A14:35)

The construction may be used deontically to express deontic possibility or obligation, e.g.

(7) *ʾáy qəṣṣátta rìxtɛla.*| *la-ʾáθya l-mtanòye.*| 'It is a long story. It cannot be told.' (A25:52)
(8) *móra mòdi qáṣṣət?*| *tànilɛni!*| *móre là*| *lɛ-ʾáθya mtanòye*| *xā́f náše šmàʾəllɛni.*| 'They said "What is the story? Tell us!" He said "No. It cannot/must not be told, lest people are listening."' (A35:10–11)

15.9.6. *Unaccusative Intransitive Verbs*

Numerous verbal forms exhibit an alternation of transitive and unaccusative intransitive usage. These can be used transitively with a volitional subject and an object complement that is the undergoer of the action or alternatively can be used intransitively with the non-volitional undergoer being made the grammatical subject. They are found in all verb stems (for a set of such verbs in stem III see §8.17.2.).

The translation equivalent in English may be a verb that exhibits a similar alternation, e.g.

ʾáw šmíṭle kupàle.| 'He broke his stick.'
ʾo-kupála šmìṭle.| 'The stick broke.'

ʾáw ṣlíxle qèsa.| 'He split the wood.'
ʾo-qɛ́sa ṣlìxle.| 'The wood split.'

núra qəm-qaméla ṣùdri.| 'The fire scorched my shirt.'
ṣúdri qmèla.| 'My shirt scorched.'

*ʾáni qəm-xanqìle.*ˡ ‘They drowned him.’
*ʾáw xnìqle.*ˡ ‘He drowned.’

*ʾáw mkuwə́rre ʾə̀raq*ˡ ‘He distilled arak’
*ʾə́raq mkuwə̀rra.*ˡ ‘The arak distilled.’

*ʾáw mukíšle gùða.*ˡ ‘He deflated the skin.’
*gúða mukìšle.*ˡ ‘The skin deflated.’

In some cases the transitive alternative must be translated by supplying the matrix verb ‘to cause’ or a different lexical item, e.g.

*ʾáw mujrə́ṭle yàla.*ˡ ‘He caused the child to slip.’
*ʾo-yála mujrə̀ṭle.*ˡ ‘The child slipped.’

*ʾáw ṭríxle nàša.*ˡ ‘He caused the man to lie flat.’
*ʾo-náša ṭrìxle.*ˡ ‘The man lay down flat.’

*ʾáw tlíxle bèθa.*ˡ ‘He destroyed the house.’
*ʾo-béθa tlìxle.*ˡ ‘The house collapsed.’

In many cases an unaccusative intransitive alternative of a transitive verb is rendered idiomatically by an English passive. This applies, for example, to the verbs *qṭaʾa* ‘to cut’, *šqala* ‘to take’, which are normally used transitively:

(1) *mən-ə̀dyo*ˡ *malkùθa*ˡ *m-bnónux qə̀ṭa.*ˡ ‘From today the kingship will be cut off from your sons.’ (A8:96)
(2) *mðíta bə̆yə́nna mbádla jálde kúlla ʾax-qamàye,*ˡ *muxwàrta.*ˡ *ʾáwwa kóma šàqəl.*ˡ ‘(By) early morning I want all the town as (it was) before, made white. Let the black be taken away.’ (A4:34)

Numerous other verbs exhibit this alternation, e.g.

*gəlyále duzùθa.*ˡ ‘He revealed the truth.’
*duzúθa glèla.*ˡ ‘The truth was revealed.’

*páwxa qəm-mbalbə́lle kàwse.*ˡ ‘The wind ruffled his hair.’
*káwse mbulbə́lle qam-pàwxa.*ˡ ‘His hair was ruffled by the wind.’

*máwθət mámi qəm-mzarzèli.*ˡ ‘The death of my uncle shook me.’
*mzurzèli.*ˡ ‘I was shaken.’

*qəm-qaṭárre gə̀šra.*ˡ 'He complete the arch of the bridge.'
*gášra qṭə̀rre.*ˡ 'The arch of the bridge was completed.'

*ṣṭimlux bə̀θi.*ˡ 'You have devastated my house.'
*ʾána ṣṭìmli.*ˡ 'I am devastated.'

*burbəzíli zùze.*ˡ 'I scattered the money.'
*zúze burbə̀zla.*ˡ 'The money was scattered.'

*qəm-mxaθxáθla xəzmayùθa.*ˡ 'He renewed the family relationship.'
*xəzmayúθa mxuθxə̀tla.*ˡ 'The family relationship was renewed.'

The alternations described above are not restricted to past pefective forms, as in the examples above, but apply also to forms with present or future time reference and imperfective aspect.

Even when an unaccusative intransitive usage is available, a transitive verb is sometimes made intransitive by the *pyš qṭila* construction, e.g.

(3) *ʾína kupáli píšla šmìṭṭa*ˡ *ʾu-piláwe píšla šmìṭe.*ˡ 'But my staff has broken and my shoes have broken.' (A37:17)

15.9.7. *Diathesis of Causative Verbs*

Causative forms of transitive verbs exhibit alternating diathesis. These may either take as their grammatical object the agent of the action that is being caused with the undergoer expressed as a second object or alternatively may take the undergoer of the action as the only grammatical object, e.g.

qṭala 'to kill': *maqṭole* 'to cause to kill'

(1) *qəm-maqṭə́lli xə̀wri.*ˡ 'He [AGENT$_1$] caused me [AGENT$_2$] to kill my friend [UNDERGOER].'
(2) *qəm-maqṭə́lle xə̀wri.*ˡ 'He [AGENT$_1$] caused my friend [UNDERGOER] to be killed.'

When the grammatical object is the undergoer, as in (2), the caused action is presented with passive diathesis. The agent who is caused to perform the action need not be specified. If it is specified, it must be expressed in a prepositional phrase, as is the case in (4), unless it is a reflexive construction (5):

(3) *bàxta*ˡ *be-bǎxət-ila.*ˡ *maqəṭlàle gáwṛa.*ˡ ‘A woman is treacherous. She will cause her husband to be killed.’ (A26:2)
(4) *ʾáwwa náša sáwa ṭla-mó qəm-maqəṭlə́tle bìyi?*ˡ ‘Why did you cause that old man to be killed by me?’ (A15:18)
(5) *tre-ṭlá-gaye mamxə̀xwala gánən.*ˡ ‘We used to cause ourselves to be struck two or three times.’ (B5:84)

15.9.8. *Diathesis of Infinitives*

An infinitive of a transitive verb that is subordinate to a matrix verb can have active or passive diathesis. Examples of infinitives presented with passive diathesis are (1)–(4), in which the agents of the action denoted by the infinitive are not specified:

(1) *θíθɛla xa-bràta*ˡ *mxáya ṣáwla díya darmàna.*ˡ ‘A girl came in order for her shoes to be rubbed with polish.’ (A16:2)
(2) *muttúla ʾixála xàla.*ˡ ‘They served food to be eaten.’ (A15:11)
(3) *ʾáni kúlla bǎyíwa maxóle ʾu-maštòye.*ˡ ‘They all needed to be fed and given drink.’ (B16:62)
(4) *ʾu-lɛwəx naše t-manxope.* ‘We are not people to be shamed.’ (C1:14)

15.9.9. *Impersonal 3pl. Subject*

When the agent of a transitive action is not specified, an active verb may be given a 3pl. impersonal subject. Such constructions are often translated idiomatically into English as passives, e.g.

(1) *qəm-ṭarðíli mən-bèθa.*ˡ ‘They drove me from the house = I was driven from the house.’
(2) *gu-Zàxo*ˡ *bnáya wɛ́wa xa-gə̀šra.*ˡ ‘In Zakho they were building a bridge (= a bridge was being built).’ (C8:1–2)
(3) *ʾu-har-bənyàla xá-gaya xéta.*ˡ ‘They have already built it (the village of Dure) again (= It has already been built again).’ (B2:7)
(4) *Qaṭína xətnɛle t-la-mbarxile.* ‘Qaṭina is a groom without them wedding him (= without being wed).’ (A50:15)
(5) *be-palge sarxi dəmma.* ‘They defile its middle with blood (= Its middle is defiled by blood).’ (A52:22)

This use of an impersonal 3pl. subject is common in naming expressions with the verb *ʾmr* ‘to say’, e.g.

(6) *ʾáxni y-amrílən be-Hɛ̀do ʾáxni.*ˈ 'We—they call us (= we are called) the house of Hɛdo.' (B4:7)

15.10. Verbal Constructions with the Particle *heš*

15.10.1. heš *in Positive Clauses*

The particle *heš*, which is of Kurdish origin, is used to modify the verbal predicate in various ways. In positive clauses *heš* is used with the sense of 'still', expressing the persistence of an enduring situation. The form of the verb is one that can express such a situation, e.g.

(1) *ʾáy heš-hóla gu-gòma.*ˈ 'She is still in the basement stable.' (A18:22)
(2) *héš xúya xùyɛle.*ˈ 'It is still very dark.' (A30:36)
(3) *heš-hóle plàxa.*ˈ 'He is still working.'
(4) *heš-hóle dmìxa.*ˈ 'He is still asleep'.
(5) *heš-máṣe jàwəj.*ˈ 'He can still move.'

It may also be used with a verb expressing the persistence of an iterative situation, e.g.

(6) *ʾáw náša sàwɛle,*ˈ *bás heš-y-ázəl šúla kùt-yum.*ˈ 'He is an old man, but he still goes to work every day'.

15.10.2. heš + *Negator*

When the particle *heš* precedes a negator, the construction denotes the persistence of a negated situation and the sense of 'not yet'. This is in principle used with the negative copula or with a negated form of a verb that expresses an enduring or iterative situation. These are most commonly compound constructions with the resultative participle or infinitive, all of which express an enduring negated situation. It is generally cliticized to the negator and is often contracted to the form *š-*, e.g.

(1) *heš-léle làxxa.*ˈ 'He is not here yet.'
(2) *heš-léle ʾəθya.*ˈ 'He has not come yet.'
(3) *xalwála-w ʾap-xáčča xéna šóqa ṭla-mòja.*ˈ *qá-t ʾap-ʾáw zòrɛle,*ˈ *sab-qá-t š-léwa mšúrya xála gə̀lla.*ˈ 'Then she milks it and leaves a little more for the calf. This is because it is small and had not yet started to eat grass.' (B5:175)

(4) *ʾáθyɛla ʾàrye.ˈ ʾəθye,ˈ ʾəθye,ˈ š-léɛwa máṭye ʾəlle-dìye.ˈ* ‘The lions came. They came, but they had not yet reached him.’ (A18:26)

It may be used with infinitive constructions in subordinate clauses that lack the copula. In such cases the infinitive is often negated by the particle *t-la* ‘without’, e.g.

(5) *qəm-dári ʾan-dáwwe heš-t-là brázaˈ.* ‘They have poured out the *dawwe* while it is not yet dry.’ (B14:1)
(6) *léðeti ʾàyyaˈ ṯ-íla mən-háš t-la-bràyaˈ ʾáyya ʾíla yíwta qa-dìyi?ˈ* ‘Don’t you know that she has been betrothed to me since before she was born?’ (A25:39)
(7) *š-lá-praqa ʾo-pék dìyeˈ ʾo-xáwri hádəx gabbàra,ˈ xázəx wírre gawàye.ˈ* ‘Before my friend, a huge man, had finished his measure (of whiskey), we saw him go inside.’ (B15:58)

15.10.3. *Negator* + heš

When the negator precedes the particle, it has the sense of ‘no longer’, in that it expresses the end of an enduring or iterative situation that was previously in existence. It is attested with *qaṭəl* base forms expressing the end of an iterative situation in the future. The sequence *la-heš* generally contracts to *leš, lɛš, laš* or *ləš*, e.g.

(1) *léš-ʾaθəx hayoràxlux.ˈ* ‘We shall no longer come to help you.’ (A48:6)
(2) *qìmɛle,ˈ màðyaˈ ʾu-wíða tawqíˀ ʾu-kúl məndì,ˈ qá-t ʾáyya leš-dáre bas-dìya.ˈ* ‘He signed and authorized it, and so forth, (pledging) that he would never again talk about it.’ (A8:97)
(3) *leš-faydáləx qáṭlət gànəx.ˈ* ‘It will no longer be of any use to you to kill yourself.’ (A38:16)

It is found with the *qaṭəl* form of the verb *mṣy* ‘to be able’, used with habitual aspect and with future reference, e.g.

(4) *sab-ʾən-wèle šxánta ràba,ˈ léš-maṣət ʾatwət ṭ̣laθà-metreˈ ráḥqa mən-ṣùpa.ˈ* ‘For if it has become very hot, you can no longer sit three metres from the stove.’ (B15:25)
(5) *léš-maṣe-náša paláṭle qále dìye.ˈ* ‘A person can no longer utter his voice.’ (B15:39)
(6) *ʾáqlət susɛ́xu ʾən-píšla kèpa,ˈ léš maṣítu jawjìtu.ˈ* ‘If the legs of your horses have become stone, you will no longer be able to move.’ (A8:28)

When the construction is used with the negative copula, the particle *heš* is inserted between the negator *la* and the copula, viz. *la-heš-ile*, e.g.

(7) *léš-ile gu-bèθa.*ˡ 'He is no longer in the house.'

In the text corpus this is attested in compound verbal forms consisting of the copula and the resultative participle or infinitive, e.g.

(8) *mo-t-àwəð?*ˡ *léš-ile màṣya.*ˡ 'What can he do? He can no longer do anything.' (A8:96)
(9) *léš-in xzàya,*ˡ *lán-mṣaya jwàja.*ˡ 'I can no longer see and I cannot walk.' (A24:2)
(10) *láš-it ðà'əlli?*ˡ 'Don't you know me any more?' (A12:65)
(11) *láš-iyewa mṣáya xǎyewa.*ˡ 'He could no longer make a living.' (A30:1)

In (12) the particle is used in a compound infinitive construction in which the copula has been omitted:

(12) *léš-awwa mṣáya máṭe čù-dukθa.*ˡ 'He can no longer reach any place.' (A37:14)

15.11. Verbal Constructions with the Particle *har*

The particle *har* is combined with verbs to perform numerous functions. These functions can be classified broadly into two opposing semantic domains, viz. extension and narrowing.

15.11.1. *Extension*

Under this head can be included various uses of the particle to express the extension and continuity of a situation.

The particle can be used as an intensifier to underscore the enduring nature of a situation, e.g.

(1) *har-dəbbóre zálɛla-w θáya dúrr dúrr dùrr.*ˡ 'The hornets constantly flew back and forth.' (A20:6)
(2) *har-bxàya-wawa.*ˡ 'They were constantly crying.' (A25:5)

(3) *har-ʾúrxət ʾálaha dóqən b-iði.*ˈ ‘I shall constantly keep to God’s way.’ (A15:21)
(4) *ʾu-ʾáti har-háwət baràyeˈ ʾu-sáprət ku-ṯ-áθe làxxa.*ˈ ‘You be outside all the time and wait for whoever comes here.’ (A22:23)
(5) *har-blígət b-kàsux.*ˈ ‘You are always busy with your stomach.’ (A23:10)
(6) *har-xwàrta wáwa.*ˈ ‘It was always white.’ (A4:36)

It occurs in this sense in clauses in which the copula is omitted, e.g.

(7) *ʾu-là-mṣalɛwa qa-ʾálaha.*ˈ *har-dbíše b-bronèy.*ˈ ‘They did not pray to God. They were constantly attached to their son.’ (A15:17)
(8) *ʾa-d-áy ṃláyəlla kùlle míyaˈ ʾa-d-áw har-ṃ̀lya.*ˈ ‘She fills hers all with water. His was constantly full.’ (A17:25)

It may be combined with verbs denoting habitual or iterative activities to express an intensified frequency. The verb is either in the *(ʾi-)qaṭ̀əl* or *wele qṭala* form, e.g.

(9) *ʾánna-t ʾárxe har-y-oðíwa nùra gu-bɛ́θa.*ˈ ‘People who had mills would always make a fire in the house.’ (A19:4)
(10) *xə́lma náša hár ʾi-xàze.*ˈ ‘People always dream.’ (A4:7)
(11) *ʾu-ʾáyya har-šaqláwa mən-d-àn šíše*ˈ *mattàwa*ˈ *ʾálla dìya*ˈ *hál ʾɛ́-gət qəm-qaṭlàla.*ˈ ‘She (the daughter-in-law) was constantly taking the iron bars and putting them into her, until she killed her.’ (A19:6)
(12) *kazíwa práməlla har-palṭ̀wa.*ˈ ‘They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up.’ (A38:15)
(13) *har-wéla taq-táq mxàya*ˈ *ʾu-taq-tàq,*ˈ *xá-bena-w trè,*ˈ *w-áwwa sqìdle.*ˈ ‘They continually made a taq-taq knocking noise, taq-taq, once, then twice, then he became fed up.’ (A14:68)

When used with a verb expressing a non-iterative perfective action, it expresses the sense of repetition of the action and can usually be translated ‘again’, e.g.

(14) *yómət ṭ̀ḷàθa*ˈ *har-ṣlèla.*ˈ ‘On the third day she went down again.’ (A22:18)
(15) *ʾən-lìθ biš-zlíme mánnən,*ˈ *har-ṯ-àzəx.*ˈ ‘If there are none more wronged than us, we shall again go (on our way).’ (A13:9)

The particle may have the sense of 'still', expressing the temporal persistence of a situation in contexts where there is typically some expectation that the situation would not persist. The clause either contains a copula or a compound infinitive verbal form, which expresses action in progress, e.g.

(16) *har-xàθila.*| 'She is still my sister.' (A18:27)
(17) *ʾu-dəbbóre hár-hola qam-tă̆rət bòya.*| 'The hornets were still before the door of the hole.' (A20:9)
(18) *hár-dwaqət rəqqi?*| 'Do you still insist (on what you said)?' (A40:4)

When, however, the clause contains one of the set of verbs denoting mental processes which express the progressive by the *qaṭəl* form rather than the compound infinitive form (§15.1.1.4.), the verb is generally put in the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form, e.g.

(19) *har-xáθe ʾi-bă̆yela.*| 'He still loves his sister.' (A18:16)

In this sense the particle may be used together with a verb negated by *la* or the negative copula. The final */r/* sometimes shifts to */l/* by assimilation to the initial */l/* of the negator, e.g. *hal-la* (< *har-la*), *hal-lɛ̀le* (< *har-lɛ̀le*), e.g.

(20) *ʾáy har-là-yawəlla.*| 'It still does not give it back.' (A34:4)
(21) *hal-lɛ̀la gláya.*| 'She (the mother) still does not reveal (the truth).' (A38:6)

It occurs with this sense in clauses from which the copula has been elided, e.g.

(22) *har-m-rəš-gàre,*| *məra*| 'While still on the roof, she said…' (A26:75)
(23) *bénə ṭə́ḷḷəθ mòdi wídle?*| *hár mdagòle gu-máθa,*| *ʾáwwa hàtxɛ̀le wíða-w*| *ʾáwwa hàtxɛ̀le míra-w*| *ʾáwwa hàtxɛ̀le,*| *dráya búxtən l-xá l-d-o-xèna*| 'What did he do the third time? He continued to tell lies in the village "He did such-and-such. He said such-and-such," slandering this one and that one.' (A48:5)

The particle is used with a perfective verb as an intensifier to underscore sequentiality. It expresses the occurrence of an action that may not be expected to occur in sequence to what precedes. In most cases it is

appropriate to translate the particle in such contexts by 'still' (in a logical sense) or 'nevertheless', e.g.

(24) *kəmàt ṯ-árqena| tópe har-ṭapyàli.|* 'However much I run, a gun will still reach me.' (B9:3)
(25) *mqáwlət goràtle,| t-yálla jùlla.| ʾən-là,| har-t-yálla júlləx b-kèfəx.|* 'If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes. If not, he will still give you the clothes, if you want them.' (A14:83)
(26) *málka ʾáti har-t-yàtli brátux?|* 'King, will you still give me your daughter?' (A25:24)
(27) *mə́re hár ṯ-azèna.| mə́re hár ṯ-azèt?| mə́re hè!|* 'He said "I'll still go." He said "Will you still go?" He said "Yes!"' (A8:45)
(28) *ʾáwwa qṭílle xmàre,| ʾu-qṭílle sùsa,| qṭílle tàwra,| ʾánna kúlla qṭilìle,| har-mə́re ma-yxàləf.|* 'He had killed the asses, killed the horse, killed the ox. He had killed them all. He (the uncle) still said "That is all right."' (A23:31)

It may be used with a negated verb with a similar function, e.g.

(29) *har-là-wela rázi.|* 'She was still not satisfied.' (A30:34)
(30) *kəmá-gayəx tíwe m-ġðàðe,| har-lán màṣya ʾaxwáθe dìye.|* 'However many times we have sat together, I still have not been able to be like him.' (A25:44)
(31) *hal-la xzeli ʾu-hal-la swili.* 'I, nevertheless, have not found (anybody) and I, nevertheless, have not been satisfied.' (C3:8)

On some occasions *har* is replaced by the particle *hala*, which is attested in a few cases in the text corpus before a negative copula or negative existential particle, e.g.

(32) *síqɛle gu-réšət ʾAmedìya,| ʾìna| núrət xàle| ṯ-íwa síqa l-tàma| gu-zòma| hála lèle ʿə́mya.|* 'He went up to the top of Amedia and saw that the fire in the summer house of his maternal uncle, where he was making for, had still not gone out.' (A25:40)
(33) *ʾáwwa nàša| hála lìtwale.|* 'This man still did not yet have (a son).' (A8:5)

15.11.2. *Narrowing*

Under this head can be included the use of *har* to express temporal immediacy of sequence, as in (1)–(4), in which it is combined with a perfective verb with the sense of 'as soon as', e.g.

(1) *har-ðìlɛxu príqlən mən-ṭúra,ˈ dérən tòpe,ˈ kút-xa maxèlaˈ xánjər dìye,ˈ ʾo-t̂-íle qáme díye qaṭə̀lle.ˈ* 'As soon as you know that we have finished (coming over) the mountain, I shall fire a gun and everyone will strike with his dagger and kill the man in front of him.' (B19:6)

(2) *har-wéla dánət kawùθra,ˈ xzélux xa-náša θàya,ˈ málla bt̂-àθe,ˈ t̂-áwər gu-bèθaˈ yáʿni xamšá daqíqela hal-ʾəṣraˈ ʾáti ʾàθeti.ˈ* 'As soon as lunchtime has come and you have seen a man coming—the mullah will come and enter the house—after five or ten minutes you come back.' (A22:22)

(3) *har-qítla bìyux,ˈ qaṭlílux t̂-axlìlux.ˈ* 'As soon as they hit you, they will kill you and eat you.' (A22:39)

(4) *ʾu-hadíya brátət màlkaˈ har-xázya ʾáxni zmára-w rqàðaˈ ʾáy jal-jálde t̂-ásqa l-gàre.ˈ* 'Now, as soon as the daughter of the king sees that we are singing and dancing, she will quickly come up to the roof.' (A27:28)

Another form of temporal immediacy is illustrated in (5), in which the particle has the sense of 'directly':

(5) *har-ʾə́θyɛle mən-ṭúra réša-reša d-o-gàre.ˈ* 'He came directly from the mountain onto the roof.' (A23:14)

The particle may be used to express some kind of narrowing of the extent of action. In such cases it is usually appropriate to translate it 'just', e.g.

(6) *ʾína bróna lèla xíltəlle.ˈ har-nobáltəlle muttéθəlle mattòye.ˈ* 'She did not eat the boy. She just took him and put him down.' (A19:7)

(7) *ʾána har-ṣálən məðìtaˈ méθən ʾixàlaˈ ʾu-ʾàθena.ˈ* 'I'll just go down to the town to bring food and come back.' (A26:30)

(8) *har-ʾásqən gu-qáṣrət bàbi,ˈ har-šáqlən rìxa mánne.ˈ bálki xa-xóni, xáθi xázən,ˈ xa-nàšˈ.* 'I shall just go up to my father's palace, I'll just have a quick look (literally: take a smell of it), perhaps I shall find a brother of mine, my sister, a relative or mine.' (A18:16)

(9) *har-sa-xúpla ʾáti b-gànəx!ˈ* 'Just go and wash her yourself!' (A27:25)

(10) *har-šúqla tàma.ˈ* 'Just leave alone over there.' (A25:53)

Also under the head of 'narrowing' can be included the function of *har* to act as an intensifier of an assertion, e.g.

(11) *xà-yoma,*ˈ *har-mítle bə-duzùθa.*ˈ 'One day he indeed really died.' (A27:42)
(12) *b-álaha hóle xa-púrya láxxa zòra*ˈ *ʾáw har-xá-mdi ʾìle.*ˈ 'By God, there is a small chink of light here. It is surely something.' (A14:25)
(13) *har-xá-məndi ʾìθ b-áyya dúkθa ṯ-íle wìra.*ˈ 'There must surely be something in this place where it entered.' (A11:9)
(14) *ʾáxni har-xònən-it.*ˈ 'You are indeed our brother.' (A39:12)
(15) *gắrəg ʾàmrəx.*ˈ *ʾay-xá-yoma har-t-yắðа*ˈ *ṯ-íle míθa brònən.*ˈ 'We must tell (her). She will surely know one day that our son is dead.' (A4:38–39)
(16) *ya-ʾàlahi.*ˈ *xúya har-xùyɛle.*ˈ *har-déwe ṯ-axlìli.*ˈ *har-ṯ-ázən gu-d-ànna hambišáye*ˈ *har-hambišàye-ži ṯ-axlíli.*ˈ 'My God, it is very dark, either wolves are sure to eat me or I shall go to these giants and the giants are sure to eat me.' (A39:4)
(17) *mára ʾána zála har-zílən bìya.*ˈ 'I'm indeed finished!' (A14:25)

It is used also to intensify a negated assertion (18) and a prohibition (19), e.g.

(18) *har-là-mṣən ṯ-amránnux.*ˈ 'I cannot tell you.' (A11:2)
(19) *har-la-šqúlla biš-spày.*ˈ 'Do not take it off, it is better.' (A39:14)

15.12. The Distribution of the Long Endings of Verbs

Various long endings of verbs are optionally used for the first person singular and plural and second person singular inflections of *qaṭəl* base forms that do not have further suffixes attached (§8.2.1.). An examination of their distribution in the text corpus shows that these long verbal inflections are conditioned by the position of their occurrence in the intonation group. In the vast majority of cases they occur at the end of the intonation group, immediately before the group boundary. They should, therefore, be considered to be a type of prosodic pausal form. They, moreover, normally take the nuclear stress. Examples:

(1) *bắyən t-yắðən ʾána ʾíman* ***mὲθena.***ˈ 'I want to know when I shall die.' (A16:1)

(2) *ʾu-xátna l-béθa* ***pèšena***.| 'And I shall become a son-in-law in the house.' (A17:35)
(3) *ʾána* ***bṯ-àzena***.| 'I shall go.' (A25:32)
(4) *mó* ***ʾamràna***?| 'What should I say?' (A26:33)
(5) *dánɛla* ***jàwjexi***.| 'It is time for us to move.' (A30:44)
(6) *ṯ-ázət ʾaskarìya,| lázəm* ***ʾàzeti***.| 'You have to go to the army, you must go.' (A17:22)
(7) *xàrθa,|* ***pàlṭeti***| *ʾap-ʾaṣárta hàdəx.| ʾu-ʾáti har-háwət barə̀ye| ʾu-sáprət ku-ṯ-áθe làxxa.| m-báθər xámša daqìqe| ʾáti* ***ʾàwreti***.| 'Then, you go out, and in the evening (do) the same. You be outside all the time and wait for whoever comes here. After five minutes you should come in.' (A22:23)
(8) *xzí gàwṛa,| xzi-****maṣìθeti***.| 'Look husband, look listen!' (A22:15)
(9) *ʾáp-ʾati sì|* ***pàlxeti.***| 'You also go and work.' (A23:2)

Another factor that conditions the use of a long inflectional form is discourse structure, in that the heavy morphology of a long form is sometimes used to mark a boundary of a discourse section. This is seen in (10), where the narrator repeats a key statement of the protagonist. The second version of the statement differs from the first in the use of the long form *mèθena* in place of the short form *méθən*. Both occur at the end of the intonation group. The motivation to use the long form appears to be to mark the end of the section of speech:

(10) *máre bə̆́yən t-yə̆́ðən ʾána ʾìman méθən.| máre bə̆́yən t-yə̆́ðən ʾána ʾíman* ***mèθena***.| 'He said "I want to know when I shall die." He said "I want to know when I shall die."' (A16:1)

This can be seen also in (11), in which the verbal phrase 'you obey me' occurs three times, in two instances of which at an intonation group boundary. The long form, however, is used in only one of these instances. This coincides with a discourse boundary in that it occurs at the end of a conditional construction. The short form before an intonation group boundary, however, does not coincide with such a discourse boundary, but rather at the end of a protasis, which requires completion by the following clause:

(11) *ʾən-ʾàti| mášmət ʾəlli|* ***mašəmyàti***.| *ʾən-là mašámyət,| sá méθɛle xònəx| ʾu-xza-ʾèkɛle.*| 'If you (want to) obey me, obey me. If you do not obey me, go and bring your brother and find where he is (yourself).' (A8:64)

In the exceptional cases where the long inflection does not occur at the intonation group boundary, discourse structure appears to be the primary motivation for the use of the long form, in that it occurs in a clause that closes a section of discourse. This is the case in (12), in which the clause in question occurs at the end of a section of speech:

(12) *šuréla mjawóde m-ġðääe*ˈ *ʾéni nábləx kəs-d-èni.*ˈ *Ẑìne nábləx kəs-Mắmo*ˈ *lo-Mằmo nábləx kəs-Ẑíne.*ˈ *mə́ra là,*ˈ *bàxta*ˈ *be-bằxət-ila.*ˈ *maqəṭlàle gáwṛa*ˈ ***nabléxi*** *Ẑìne kəs-Mắmo.*ˈ ‘They started arguing with one another regarding whom to take to whom. “Should we take Zine to Mămo or Mămo to Zine?’ They said “No, a woman is treacherous. She will have her husband killed. Let us take Zine to Mămo.”’ (A26:2)

The long inflection is virtually without exception avoided in the first of a series of two or more verbs in a single intonation group. This applies both to cases where a verb is followed by a complement clause and also to sequential series of verbs, e.g.

(13) *ʾána ʾàxxa* ***bắyən*** *zăréna.*ˈ ‘I want to plough here.’ (A30:8)
(14) *ʾáxni ṭla-mò* ***ṣáləx*** *ʾáxni mpalṭáxle?*ˈ ‘Why should we go down and release him?’ (A26:77)
(15) ***qémən*** *torənnɛ̀y.*ˈ ‘I’ll get up and break them up.’ (A30:22)

The optional long form of the 1pl. L-suffix *-lɛni*, which marks the pronominal subject of the *qṭille* form, or a pronominal object, exhibits a similar pattern of distribution. It is predominantly used at the end of an intonation group, e.g.

(16) *kúlla xarə̀ye,*ˈ *təxrùθi,*ˈ ***plìlɛni.***ˈ ‘In the end, I remember, we separated.’ (B8:9)
(17) *ʾáwwa b-****tayə̀mlɛni.***ˈ ‘He will finish us off.’ (A30:41)
(18) *hóla xzáyəllən qáṭu ráqa báθrən* ***xàləllɛni.***ˈ ‘The cat sees us, runs after us and eats us.’ (A44:1)
(19) *sparə́gle* ***ʾìtlɛni.***ˈ ‘We have quinces.’ (B5:218)
(20) *ṣlăwáθa kúlla* ***maləpwalɛ̀ni.***ˈ ‘He taught us all the prayers.’ (B8:16)

The exceptional occurrences of the long form before the end of the intonation group often occur in clauses that mark the boundary of a section

of discourse. In (21), for example, the long form occurs in a clause that constitutes the opening of a section of discourse concerning Christmas:

(21) *xàrθa*ˈ ***y-aθélɛni*** *ʾèða*ˈ *ʾéðət be-yàlda.*ˈ 'Then we have (another) festival, the festival of Christmas.' (B6:12)

The 3pl. L-suffix has short forms with monophthong (*-la, -lɛ*) and long forms with a diphthong (*-ley, -lay*). The long forms with a diphthong exhibit a similar pattern of distribution to that of other long suffixes and can be considered to be prosodic pausal forms. They are attested predominantly at the end of an intonation group, e.g.

(22) *npílela-w néra* ***nùbəlley.***ˈ 'They fell and the river carried them away.' (B3:9)
(23) *ʾé-gə* ***θèley,***ˈ *zílla l-d-é-maθə qurðàye.*ˈ 'When they came back, they went to that village of Kurds.' (B3:14)
(24) *ʾu-políse xzéla ʾan-yále jwànqe,*ˈ *qəm-mattíla b-sandùqe,*ˈ *qəm-hawíla xáčča ʾixàla-w*ˈ *qəm-xăðíla hátxa t-la-****qɛralèy***ˈ *ʾu-qəm-dɛréla gu-mìya.*ˈ 'The policemen found the two beautiful children, put them in a chest, gave them some food, wrapped them up, like this, so that they would not be cold, and put them in the water.' (A8:12)

Exceptional cases often occur in clauses that mark the boundary of a section of discourse. In (25), for example, it occurs at the end of an episodic section in a narrative:

(25) *fa-qímla šqílla ganèy.*ˈ *dawɛ́rə diyèy*ˈ *nálət ʾáqlə dawèra*ˈ *prìzlɛle.*ˈ *qəm-mattíla bə-l-ʿǎ̀kəs.*ˈ *qəm-ʾasṛìla.*ˈ *ʾu-****plíṭley*** *mən-tàma.*ˈ 'So, they took themselves off. Their mules—the shoe of their mules' feet was made of iron. They put it on backwards. They tied them (the shoes) on and set off from there.' (B3:15–16)

It should be noted that this distribution of the long form of the 3pl. L-suffix differs from that of the long, diphthongal variants of the 3pl. suffix that is attached to nouns, which are used more regularly. One reason may be that the short form of the latter *-a* is identical with the singular nominal ending *-a*. It tends to be used mainly in contexts where the attribution of the noun to the 3pl. referent is highly predictable, such as inalienable possessions of the subject (see §14.5.1.).

15.13. The Expression of the Direct Object of Verbal Forms

15.13.1. *Pronominal Direct Object*

The expression of the pronominal object on the various verb forms has been described in §8.19. We may recap here as follows. The direct pronominal object on verb forms derived from the present and imperative bases is expressed by L-series suffixes. These suffixes derive historically from phrases consisting of the preposition *l-*, used in this context as an object marker, and the pronominal suffix, e.g.

qaṭlále	'She kills him'
qaṭláli	'She kills me'
qṭúlle	'Kill (sing.) him!'
qṭúlule	'Kill (pl.) him!'

When the pronominal object is 3rd person, it may be expressed by the inflection of the past base: *qṭil-* (ms.), *qṭila-* (fs.), *qṭili-* (pl.), e.g.

qṭílle	'He killed him'
qṭilále	'He killed her'
qṭilíle	'He killed them'

In practice, the form *qṭílle* with the incorporated 3ms. object, tends to be avoided. Most examples in the text corpus of pronominal objects incorporated into the past base are 3fs. and 3pl. objects, e.g.

(1) *muttále xāṣ-súsa báθre dìye.*ˡ 'He put her on the back of the horse behind him.' (A29:37)
(2) *la-xəzyàli.*ˡ 'I did not see her.' (A26:11)
(3) *qímle šqilìle.*ˡ *muttìle*ˡ *rəš-d-ɛ-ʾèna.*ˡ 'He took them and put them on top of the spring.' (A15:1)
(4) *mŭdəṛìlux.*ˡ 'You have brought them back.' (A17:14)

When the pronominal object is 3ms, the functionally equivalent *qəm-qaṭəl* form with an object L-suffix tends to be used, e.g.

(5) *qəm-dawqàle.*ˡ 'She took hold of him.' (A22:19)
(6) *qəm-ṭarə́dle θéle zìlle*ˡ *be-ʾámte dìye.*ˡ 'He drove him away and he went back to his aunt's house.' (A23:33)

The *qṭille* form with an incorporated 3ms. object tends to be used in clauses that are closely connected to the preceding clause. In such contexts pronominal objects sometimes have zero realization in other verbal forms (see examples 8–17 below), so this may also be the case here. In (7), for example, the clause in question is an elaboration of the previous clause and does not advance the discourse:

(7) *nìxlən m-Čúxo,*ˡ *drélən l-Ƶàwa.*ˡ 'We have got rid of Čuxo. We've put him in the Zab.' (A7:19)

The *qəm-qaṭəl* form with an L-suffix is also used as an optional alternative to *qṭille* to express a 3fs. and 3pl. pronominal object and as an obligatory suppletive form of *qṭille* to express 1st or 2nd person pronominal objects.

Compound verbal forms consisting of a resultative participle or an infinitive express a pronominal object either by L-suffixes or by a pronominal suffix attached to the preposition *ʾəll-*. The latter is obligatory when the participle or infinitive does not have a copula enclitic, e.g.

hóle qṭíləlle
y-áwe qṭíləlle

If the there is a copula enclitic, the most common means of expressing the pronominal object is by L-suffixes. The use of the longer *ʾəll-* phrase produces a heavier morphological form with a greater number of syllables. When the copula enclitic is 3rd person, the *ʾəll-* phrase is generally placed before the copula, e.g.

Default form with L-suffix	Heavy form with *ʾəll-*
qṭiləlle (qṭilɛle-le)	*qṭiləllele (qṭila-əlle-ile)*
qṭilətle (qṭilət-le)	*qṭilət-əlle*
qṭilənne (qṭilən-le)	*qṭilən-əlle*

On some occasions a pronominal direct object is not marked on a transitive verb, but it is appropriate to supply them in an English translation. Such zero object anaphora tends to be used when the speaker presents the clause as denoting an action that is closely related to what precedes, belonging together with it as part of the same overall event, e.g.

(8) *ʾa-másta marèla.*ˈ *mátti š-nùra-w*ˈ *šáxna-w dérɛ marèθa.*ˈ ‘They congeal the yoghurt, they put it on the fire, it warms up and they add a congealing agent (rennet).’ (B5:65)

(9) *ʾu-ʾáyya har-šaqláwa mən-d-àn šíše*ˈ *mattàwa*ˈ *ʾálla dìya.*ˈ ‘She (the daughter-in-law) was constantly taking the iron bars and putting them into her.’ (A19:6)

(10) *yáwəxley xáčča kèke*ˈ *madúqəx b-iðèy.*ˈ ‘We shall give them some cakes, making them hold them in their hands.’ (A8:11)

(11) *ta-t-kút-yom xà-maṣla kásla díya,*ˈ *madəmxa kásla*ˈ ‘in order that she could bring somebody to her every day and cause him to lie with her.’ (A4:51)

(12) *y-áwəð xà-ṭena,*ˈ *trè-ṭene qɛ́se,*ˈ *y-áθe mzabə́nwa ṭla-d-àw-u yə́mme díye.*ˈ ‘He made one or two loads of wood, and would come back and sell them for himself and his mother.’ (A14:10)

A pronominal direct object is often omitted on the verb ‘to give’ (*yawa*) when its referent is understood from the context, e.g.

(13) *bábi nábəlla gu-jàma*ˈ *hàlle!*ˈ ‘Father, take them to the mosque and give them to him!’ (A17:11)

(14) *mə́re xa-sùsa*ˈ *ʾánna xamšà šə́nne*ˈ *ʾáp-xa lɛ́le máṣya mátya ʾə́lle dìye.*ˈ … *də-hálli ʾàna ṭ̂-ásqən.*ˈ ‘He said “There is a horse that for these five years nobody has been able to get near.” … He said “King, may you be in good health, give it to me, I shall go up (and ride it).”’ (A12:62–63)

(15) *ʾána lɛ́-yawənne ʾàp-xa-fəlsa*ˈ … *xíšɛle l-bèθa*ˈ *lɛ́le-hiwa ʾàtxa.*ˈ ‘“I shall not give him a penny” … He went to the house and did not give (any of the money) and that was that.’ (A1:8–9)

(16) *qímtɛla báxta zílta ṭlìbtálla.*ˈ *hal-jálde jàlde mə́ra*ˈ ‘The wife went and requested it. “Give it quickly,” she said.’ (A5:8)

A pronominal object is generally omitted on the imperative of *šqala* ‘to take’ when the referent is perceptible in the speech situation, e.g.

(17) *ha-šqùl,*ˈ *máttula tămàha.*ˈ ‘Here, take them, put them over there.’ (A6:3)

15.13.2. *Direct Object Nominal*

When the object is a nominal, it is not usually combined with any object marker, but the verb frequently has a pronominal object that is co-referential with it. The occurrence of this pronominal object agreement is conditioned primarily by the status of the object nominal, the usual situation being that a definite object nominal has object agreement whereas an indefinite one lacks it. The distribution of the object agreement is also affected by the pragmatic relation of the nominal to the other elements in the clause and the status of the clause within the surrounding discourse.

15.13.2.1. *Definite Direct Object Nominals*

When the object nominal is definite, the verb normally has a pronominal object that agrees with it. This applies both to object nominals placed after the verb and those placed before the verb. Examples from the text corpus:

Present base verbs

(1) *mattúla kàrte.*ˡ 'He lays down his load.' (A15:3)
(2) *ʾína xazyála Lelìθa.*ˡ 'She sees Leliθa.' (A19:8)
(3) *máre šaqláxle bronéy ta-t-taxríle ʾálaha xá-ga xèta.*ˡ 'He told us to take their son so that they remember God again.' (A15:17)
(4) *ṯ̂-axlánne láxmi hál ʾo-yómət mèθən.*ˡ 'I shall eat my bread until the day I die.' (A15:21)
(5) *θéle xa-náša qəm-šaqálle ʾo-kàrmi.*ˡ 'A man came and took away my orchard.' (A17:30)
(6) *bás ṭəppəryáθa qəm-xazyàla kálθa.*ˡ 'But the daughter-in-law saw her finger-nails.' (A19:2)
(7) *ʾárbət xwáre pɛrmìwale-u*ˡ 'They used to slaughter the sheep.' (B5:7)
(8) *ʾən-lá-ʾawðət b-xábra dìyi*ˡ *gánux šaqlənna.*ˡ 'If you do not do as I tell you, I shall take away your life.' (A15:20)

Imperatives

(9) *qu-šqúlla ʾáyya skìnta.*ˡ *si-prúmle ʾáwwa yála zòra*ˡ *ṯ̂-íle gu-dudìya.*ˡ 'Get up and take this knife. Go and slaughter this baby boy who is in the cradle.' (A15:8)

(10) *wúr gu-d-áwwa bèθa.*| *ṭ́úmle tǻ́ra bàrux.*| 'Go into this room. Close the door behind you.' (A22:26)
(11) *mpáləṭla zùzi!*‖ 'Bring out my money!' (A15:3)

Past base forms

(12) *ʾàwwa*| *munšîle zúze díye.*| 'He forgot his money.' (A15:1)
(13) *mpulṭíla táwra-w xmàra.*| 'She got out the ox and the ass.' (A21:23)
(14) *ṭ́lá-bnone xilìli.*| *báxta xilàli*| 'I have eaten the three sons. I have eaten the wife.' (A20:12)
(15) *ʾáp-ay ʾáqla primàli*| 'I cut off also that leg.' (A22:9)

Compound verbal forms

(16) *šqíləlla ṭ́ása b-lèle.*| 'They took the bowl in the night.' (A15:12)
(17) *mxŭláltəlla ʾay-dùkθa.*| 'She cleaned that place.' (A17:27)
(18) *ʾína bróna lèla xíltəlle.*| 'But she did not eat the boy.' (A19:7)
(19) *šuréla manšóyəlle ʾalàha.*| 'They began to forget God.' (A15:17)
(20) *súse díye mtaslóməlle ṭ́la-xolàma.*| 'He handed over his horse to the servant.' (A12:8)

The pronominal agreement with a definite nominal object does not occur in certain situations, which may be classified as follows.

(i) *Inalienable Possession*
The agreement on the verb is occasionally omitted when the referent of the object nominal lacks distinctness from the subject referent due to its being an inalienable appurtenance or possession of the subject, usually a body part or the reflexive expression *gan-* 'self', e.g.

(21) *šámәṭ qðále dìye.*| 'Let him break his neck.' (A15:13)
(22) *si-mxi-ʾáqlux gu-xáṣe díye.* 'Go and kick his back.' (A15:13)
(23) *mṭáši gànux!*‖ 'Hide yourself!' (A22:29)
(24) *ʾána majbúr-iwən ṭ̂-ázən qáṭlən gáni pálxən w-áy dmíxta maxlənna?*‖ 'Was I obliged to kill myself working to feed her while she slept?' (A21:38)

This, however, is only a tendency and on several occasions the agreement pronoun occurs on the verb with such objects, e.g.

(25) *qəm-păréla ʾène.*ˈ ‘He burst his eye’ (A16:2)
(26) *ʾo-rábbən mútṯəlla ʾáqle díye rš-ắqəl bàxta.*ˈ ‘The monk put his leg onto the leg of the woman.’ (A16:11)
(27) *ʾu-ʾáti də-ráqðət šɛšátla gànəx.*ˈ ‘You should dance and shake yourself.’ (A27:11)

(ii) *Objects Lacking Distinctness from the Activity*
In some cases the explanation for the lack of agreement with a definite object nominal is that the nominal does not play a prominent role in the discourse but rather is presented as an incidental component of the activity. This applies to constructions such as those in (28)–(30) which have the word *bɛθa* ‘the house’ as the object complement of the verb:

(28) *ʾána mtugbártən bèθa.*ˈ ‘I have looked after the house (I have done housekeeping).’ (A21:13)
(29) *ʾána mquzqáztən bèθa.*ˈ ‘I have arranged the house (I have done housework).’ (A21:15)
(30) *qìmtɛla,*ˈ *mxulálta ʾamàne*ˈ *ʾu-knížta bèθa*ˈ *ʾu-mtugbàrta.*ˈ ‘She got up and washed the dishes, swept the house (did house-sweeping) and tidied it.’ (A21:20)

(iii) *Clauses with Reduced Discourse Prominence*
The omission of the agreement pronoun is conditioned in some cases by the reduced prominence of the clause as a whole due to its occurrrence in a section of the discourse supplying background material rather than in the prominent foreground. This applies to (31) and (32), which are extracts from narratives. In (31) the clauses referring to the cutting of Zāl’s hair without the object agreement are in a section that gives the preliminary background to the following foreground narrative section, in which the clause that recounts one specific event of the cutting of his hair has object agreement. In (32) the clause without object agreement ‘They did not know God’ supplies general information about the nature of idol worshippers, which supplies the background for the following foreground events. The foreground contains a key clause in direct speech with object agreement ‘I shall kill my son’:

(31) *bábe dìye,*ˈ *Zə̀l,*ˈ *ʾíθwale xà-naša*ˈ ***maqrə́ṭwa kázwse dìye***ˈ [background] *y-amríle ḥallàqa.*ˈ *… mattúwa semálta gu-xáṣe díye ʾu-y-asəqwa*ˈ *gu-réšə semàlta*ˈ ***maqrə́ṭwa kázwsət Zàlo.***ˈ [background] ***qəm-qayáṣle kázwse dìye***ˈ [foreground] *xírre gu-réšət Zàlo*ˈ *ʾíθwa šaqyàθa*ˈ

*brinàne,*ˈ *gòṛe rába.*ˈ ‘His father Zāl had a person who used to cut his hair, called a barber.… He would place a ladder on his back and climb up the ladder and cut the hair of Zāl. He cut his hair and looked at the head of Zāl. (He saw) that there were scars of enormous wounds.’ (A29:2–3)

(32) *màlka*ˈ *saġðánət sănằme-wewa.*ˈ *málkət ʾÌrən-wewa.*ˈ *ʾáni saġðíwa sănằme.*ˈ ***lè yăðíwa ʾálaha.***ˈ [background] *lé yăðíwa diyánət krəstyáne mòdile.*ˈ *fa-saġðíwa sănằme.*ˈ *béna qímle bábe màlka*ˈ *máre* ***qaṭlə́nne bròni.***ˈ [foreground] *bróne díye rìqle.*ˈ ‘The king was a worshipper of idols. He was king of Iran. They used to worship idols. They did not know God. They did not know what the religion of Christians was. They used to worship idols. (29) His father the king said “I shall kill my son”. His son fled.’ (B6:28–29)

In some cases of the omission of the object agreeement the clause in question is of reduced discourse prominence due to the fact that it repeats information that has been given previously rather than advancing the discourse, e.g.

(33) *qayámwa bábət xətna,*ˈ *dawáqwala ʾíðə bábə kʷàlo.*ˈ *yaʿni* ***dwáqa dawáqwa ʾíðə-dìye***ˈ *qá-t ʾó-məndi wèle.*ˈ ‘The father of the groom would rise and shake the hand of the father of the bride. He would shake his hand (to confirm) that this has taken place.’ (B5:10)

(34) *qamáye y-azáxwa l-ʾéðət qàša.*ˈ ***barxə́xwa ʾéðe dìye.***ˈ *xárθa y-azáxwa l-bétθət mùxtər,*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾaw barxáxwale ʾéðe dìye.*ˈ ‘First we would go and offer a festival blessing to the priest. We would offer him a festival blessing. Then we would go to the house of the village head and would offer also him a festival blessing.’ (B6:14)

(35) *dɛrə́xwale kìsa,*ˈ *kísa gòṛa,*ˈ *xɛṭáxwa xə̀ṣ*ˈ *qa-dàwwe.*ˈ ***dɛrə́xwa dàwwe,***ˈ *xánčï šoqáxwale gu-margə̀lta.*ˈ ‘We would put it (the *dawwe*) in a bag, a large bag, which we sewed specially for *dawwe*. We put in the *dawwe* and left a little in the pan.’ (B10:10)

(36) *ṭɛšáxle qurṭánət xmára dəmma.*ˈ *ṭ̂-àmrəx*ˈ *Kă̆rīm zìlle bar-xmáre díye*ˈ ***ṭla-mɛθéwa xmáre dìye,***ˈ *ʾə́θyela déwe gu-ða-lawùrta*ˈ *xíləlle ʾàw-u xmáre díye.*ˈ ‘We shall daub the donkey blanket with blood and say “Karim went after his donkey, in order to fetch his donkey, and wolves came into a valley and ate him and his donkey.”’ (A14:17)

In a stretch of foregrounded discourse the end of the section is sometimes given greater prominence than the body of the section to mark a clear boundary. This may be reflected in the distribution of object agreement. In (37), for example, the execution of two brothers is presented in a discourse section that may be interpreted as expressing a single overall event. The princess Parizada gives a command for the execution of each of the brothers. The command for the second execution, which closes the section, has the agreement but the first command lacks it:

(37) *síqɛle xóna ʾo-gòŗa,*| *. . . mára* ***prúmu rèše!***| *ʾáwwa prìm réše.*| *qímɛle ʾo-trè.*| *qímɛle ʾo-trè,*| *sìqɛle*| *. . . mára* ***prùmle réše díye!***| *ʾáp-aw réše díye prìma.*| 'The oldest brother came up . . . she said "Cut off his head!" His head was cut off. The second one got up. The second one got up and came up . . . she said "Cut off his head!" Also his head was cut off.' (A24:31)

(iv) *Pragmatic Relation of the Object to the Rest of the Clause*
Another factor relevant to object agreement is the pragmatic relation that the object has to the other components of the clause. Agreement with a definite direct object is generally omitted on the verb if the object constitutes a narrow focus which does not include the verb. The focus may be a new information focus, in which case the verb is in the presupposition of the clause, or the focus may be one of prominence, in which case the verb may be new information but is of reduced prominence. In (38), for example, the clauses marked in bold that have the proper names Zine and Mămo as direct objects, have the presupposition 'We shall take X to Y', the object slot X, therefore, is a narrow information focus whereas the verb is in the presupposition:

(38) *šuréla mjawóde m-ġðàðe*| *ʾéni nábləx kəs-d-èni.*| ***Zìne nábləx kəs-Mə̀mo***| ***lo-Mə̀mo nábləx kəs-Zìne.***| *mára là,*| *bàxta*| *be-bə̀xət-ila.*| *maqəṭlàle gáwŗa*| ***nabléxi Zìne kəs-Mə̀mo.***| 'They started arguing with one another regarding whom to take to whom. "Should we take Zine to Mămo or Mămo to Zine?" They said "No, a woman is treacherous. She will have her husband killed. Let us take Zine to Mămo." ' (A26:2)

As we have seen in §15.4.1.4.1. and §15.4.2.6.1., when the verb is a compound form with a copula clitic, the copula element is often moved leftwards onto the item in narrow focus. When the clitic is attached by

this process to a definite nominal object, there is no pronominal agreement on the verb, e.g.

(39) A: *módit xázya gu-bèθa.*ʔ| B: *kθàwux-in xázya gu-béθa.*| 'A: "What have you seen in the house?" B: "I have seen *your book* in the house."'

(40) *Qára Téždin ʾile xàtne díye.*| *yáʿni xáθət Mir-Zàndin-ile šqíla Qára Tèždin.*| 'Qara Teždin is his brother-in-law, that is Qara Teždin has married the sister of Mir-Zandin.' (A26:55)

(41) *ʾàyyən ʾána wíða bíya díya.*| 'I did this with her.' (A21:40)

When a narrow focus is put on some element of the clause other than the direct object, the agreement pronoun is used with a definite object, e.g.

(42) *ʾàtit múθyəlle ṭéri.*ʔ| *móre hè*| *ʾànən múθyəlle ṭérəx.*| '"Did *you* bring my bird?" He said "Yes, *I* brought your bird.'" (A24:32)

(43) *ʾàtit qṭíləlle xúwwe.*ʔ| 'Did *you* kill the snake?' (A24:45)

If, on the other hand, the object nominal is set up as a topic referent at the front of the clause rather than as a narrow focus, there is an increased tendency for object agreement to occur. This can be seen when this construction occurs in the contexts which have been identified above as reducing the tendency for the occurrence of object agreement. The passage in (44), for example, constitutes a preliminary background section to the narrative, which explains why the object agreement has been omitted in the clauses *masqíwa ʾərwèy*| ('They would bring up their sheep') and *mɛθɛ-ʾərwèy*| ('They bring their sheep'). By contrast, in the clause *ʾərwéy masqíla l-gárət ʾùmra*| ('They would take their sheep onto the roof of the church'), in which the object is placed at the front as a topic, there is object agreement, despite the fact that this is in the same background section of the discourse.

(44) *ʾu-ʾímə ṯ-áwe qèṭa,*| *bɛhèr,*| ***masqíwa ʾərwèy***| *maṣàyəf*| *gu-ṭuràne,*| *y-amríla zawzàne.*| *béna y-àθi*| *góta góta d-è-maθa,*| *ʾi-péši ʾárxe d-è-maθa.*| ***ʾərwéy masqíla*** *l-gárət ʾùmra.*| *sab-gárət ʾúmra l-báθre díye mṭíθɛla l-ṭùra,*| *hátxa ramànɛ ṭúra.*| *ʾu-gárət ʾúmra hàtxɛle.*| *y-áθi ṣàli,*|—*yáʿni máṣe náša ṯ-ásəq l-gáre b-sănày*| ***mɛθɛ-ʾərwèy***| *masqìla l-gáre.*| 'When it was Summer and Spring, they would bring their sheep up to the summer pastures in the mountains, which are called *zawzane*. So, they would come alongside that village and become guests of the village. They would take their sheep onto the roof of the church.

This was because the roof of the church at its back extended to the mountain, so high was the mountain. The roof of the church was like that. They would come and go down (the mountain),—a person could easily go onto the roof—bring their sheep and take them onto the roof.' (B18:1–2)

15.13.2.2. *Indefinite Direct Object Nominals*

As a general rule there is no pronominal agreement on the verb when the direct object is indefinite, e.g.

(1) *mára là*| *ta-ṯ-óðən qápəx ʾàp ṭla-réšəx.*| 'No, not until I make a lid also for your head.' (A20:3)
(2) *ya-ʾalàha,*| *yawátlən xa-bròna.*| 'Oh God, give us a son.' (A15:17)
(3) *xáðrəx xázexi xa-nàša*| *ṯ-íle palàxa*| *ʾu-t-yáxla ʾálle dìye.*| 'Let's look for a man who is a hard worker and give her to him.' (A21:3)
(4) *mšádrən mɛxòlta ʾálle díye.*| 'I shall send food to him.' (A17:11)
(5) *ʾána m-éka mɛθánnux qèse?*| *m-éka mɛθánnux bəzmàre?*| 'From where should I bring you wood? From where should I bring you nails?' (A17:3)
(6) *xəzyéla nèra.*| 'They saw a river.' (A17:3)
(7) *qímtɛla šqíltɛla xa-bròna.*| 'She got up and took a son (of hers).' (A19:3)
(8) *wúð ða-spayúθa mànni!*| 'Do me a favour!' (A7:17)

In certain circumstances, however, there is pronominal agreement with indefinite direct objects. In general this is found where the object has some kind of topical prominence in that it plays a central role in the immediately ensuing discourse, in which it is referred to pronominally. This is attested both where the indefinite object has a specific referent and also where it has a non-specific referent. Objects with non-specific referents are typically found with verbs expressing habitual activities. These typically do not have the same referent on each occurrence of the activity. What is important, however, is that within one particular sequence of events involving one occasion of this activity, one specific referent is durable across all events:

(9) ***xazéla xá parizàda***,| *xá šapìrta,*| *brátət málka t-Màġrəb,*| *hóle šqíləlla Déwa Zàr,*| *hóle múθyəlla gu-d-è gəppíθa.*| 'He finds a princess, a beautiful woman, the daughter of the king of Morocco, whom Dewa Zar had taken and brought to the cave.' (A28:17)

(10) *b-lèlela,*ˈ *plíṭṭɛla zìltɛla*ˈ ***xzíθəlle xa-nàša.***ˈ ‘At night she went out and found a man (this referent plays a central role in what follows).’ (A22:36)

(11) *qáša* ***šaqálle xa-qésa rìxa.***ˈ *b-ʾíðe díye dawùqle*ˈ *ʾi-rášəm hátxa gu-réšət nàše*ˈ *maxéle gu-réšət nàše,*ˈ *ʾáx burkàθa.*ˈ ‘The priest would take a long stick. He would take it in his hand and make a sign like this on the heads of the people, he would tap it on the heads of the people, as blessings.’ (B6:3)

(12) ***ṃaḷéla xa-ṣiníye gòṛta.***ˈ *maṣléla mattúla xà-dukθa.*ˈ ‘(Each) fills a large tray and brings it down and places it in a certain place.’ (B6:23)

(13) *xìrre*ˈ ***xəzyále ðà xúrta.***ˈ *xúrta ʾíla ʾilána rìxta.*ˈ *dalíθa xðíta-ʾəlla síqta ṃlíθa ʾənwe.*ˈ *ða-xúrta ramàntɛla.*ˈ ‘He looked and saw a poplar tree. A poplar is a tall tree. A vine full of grapes had grown up around it. It was a high poplar.’ (A43:1–2)

Such indefinite nominals with topically prominent referents are sometimes placed before the verb, e.g.

(14) ***xálya marəxθìle***ˈ *ʾu-šoqíle péša dă̋raj ḥărára díye taqríban ʾàrbi.*ˈ *déri marèθa bíya.*ˈ ‘They boil milk and let its heat become about forty degrees. They put rennet in it.’ (B6:37)

(15) ***sáṛe xašlə́xwala*** *b-xašùlta.*ˈ *ʾu-mpartənàxwala*ˈ *ʾu-qašṛàxwala.*ˈ ‘We would crush barley in a mortar. We winnowed it and removed the peel.’ (B10:12)

The very process of fronting the indefinite nominal before the verb to present it as the topic of the clause endows it with topical prominence and this alone can condition verb agreement, even if the referent does not play a central role in the immediately following discourse. This applies to the referents of the nominals qualified with the universal quantifier in (16) and (17), e.g.

(16) *kút-xa qəm-xašálle ða-gòta.*ˈ ‘He threw each one down to one side.’ (A29:56)

(17) *ʾu-kúl-xa tɛ́ra mṭalìwala.*ˈ ‘They played every type (of game).’ (B7:6)

When a fronted object nominal is a narrow focus, however, the verb does not have an agreement pronoun, e.g.

(18) A: *xónux hóle xíla xabùša*| B: *là,*| *xàwxɛle xíla xóni.*| *léle xabùša xíla.*| 'A: "Your brother has eaten an apple." B: "No, my brother has eaten *a peach*. He has not eaten *an apple*.'"

(19) *ʾu-suráye lèla jráṭa*| *sab-zargùlela lwíše.*| 'The Christians were not slipping since they were wearing sheepskin shoes.' (B19:7)

15.13.3. *Independent Pronouns*

Independent personal or demonstrative pronouns are occasionally used in the direct object position. In such cases there is generally agreement on the verb in the form of a coreferential pronominal element, except in the aforementioned circumstances where agreement tends to be omitted, e.g.

(1) *dáx pɛrmánne ʾàwwa?*| 'How can I slaughter him?' (A15:9)

(2) *ʾáwwa xá-ga xéta dɛréle gu-mìya.*| 'They put it again in water.' (B6:44)

(3) *lát-θiθa ʾána mpalóṭəlli m-gu-sèjən.*| 'You did not come to take me out of jail.' (A26:82)

In (4)–(6) the independent object pronoun is in narrow focus and the agreement is omitted:

(4) *ʾána ʾàti bă̆yən.*| 'I want *you*.' (A25:31)

(5) *ʾàyya bă̆yən.*| 'I want *her*.' (A8:91)

(6) *mɛ́θəx ʾày kəsle-díye.*| 'Let's take *her* to him.' (A4:3)

It should be noted, however, that there is a greater tendency for the agreement element to be omitted when the object is a 3pl. demonstrative pronoun than there is with other types of independent pronominal object, e.g.

(7) *pálšəx ʾáni.* 'Let's fight them.' (A14:52)

(8) *bár d-ày,*| *xá-tre yomàθa,*| *y-aθèwa*| *ṃaḷéwa ʾáni mìya.*| 'One or two days after that they would come and fill them with water.' (B5:77)

(9) *qímɛle šqìla-ani.*| 'He took them.' (A17:13)

15.13.4. *General Remarks Concerning Object Agreement*

Taking into account all the various factors discussed above, it appears that the basic motivation for object agreement is the existence of some kind of prominence of the verbal predicate. The tendency for the agreement to occur with definite direct objects rather than indefinite ones can be correlated with a high degree of transitivity according to Hopper and Thompson's scale of transitivity (1980), in which 'individuation' of the object is a factor bringing about high transitivity. This would also apply to the exceptions to this rule with regard to definite objects that are inalienable possessions of the subject and indefinite objects that play a prominent discourse role, which may be interpreted as having a reduced or enhanced degree of individuation respectively. This high transitivity can be said to give the verbal predicate a higher degree of prominence. The reduced likelihood of object agreement in verbal predicates that occur in background clauses is due to the reduced prominence of the clause as a whole due to its status in the discourse rather than the properties of its components. Similarly, the lack of agreement with objects that constitute a narrow focus arises from the consequential reduction in the prominence of the verb relative to that of the object due to the pragmatic relation between the object and the clause rather than the pragmatic property, i.e. definiteness, of the object. The explanation for the increased tendency for agreement to occur when the object is topicalized at the front of the clause is likely to be that constructions with fronted topical constituents are typically used as a strategy for disjoining in some way the clause from what precedes in order to mark a boundary in the discourse (§17.7.2.3., §17.7.5.2.). The function of boundary marker gives the clause, including the verb, a enhanced degree of prominence.

15.13.5. *The Distribution of Compound Verbal Forms with 'Heavy' Pronominal Objects*

As remarked above (§15.13.1.), compound verbal forms express the pronominal object by L-suffixes or by pronominal suffixes attached to the longer preposition *ʾəll-*. This is obligatory when the form does not have a copula enclitic but optional when there is a copula enclitic. When an *ʾəll-* phrase is used with a form that has a copula enclitic, the form is longer than one with an L-suffix. Most examples of such *ʾəll-* phrases combined with copula enclitics that are attested in the text corpus occur with 3rd person copula elements and their position is before the copula.

The *ʾəll-* + enclitic copula construction does not appear to be used totally randomly. An examination of the contexts in which it occurs shows that there is a clear tendency for it to be used at the end of a chain of clauses. It marks the boundary of a closely knit series of actions that are presented as a single overall event. This use of the construction to mark an end boundary in a span of discourse probably arises from the fact that it has a heavier morphological weight than the corresponding construction consisting of the enclitic copula + L-suffix.

The following examples are from narrative texts:

(1) *màxyəllux,* [Cop.—L-suffix]ˈ *màxyəllux,* [Cop.—L-suffix]ˈ *məxyəllux* [Cop.—L-suffix]ˈ *há-t̰-ila múbyəlle* [Cop.—L-suffix] *gəldux.*ˈ *ʾu-mŭdərəl-luxila.*ˈ [*ʾəll*-phrase—Cop.] ‘They beat you, they beat you, they beat you, until they made your skin swell, then they returned you.’ (A2:10)

(2) *dábba zìltɛla.*ˈ *dábba zìltɛla,*ˈ *zílta zìlta,*ˈ *xzíθɛla xa-ʾərba-w*ˈ *ʾu-muθèθəllɛla.*ˈ [*ʾəll*-phrase—Cop.] ‘The bear went off. The bear went, went, went, saw a sheep and brought it back’. (A27:9)

(3) *hóla màra*ˈ *xzíθəlle* [Cop.—L-suffix] *xa-bronət-xà-malka,*ˈ *láx-ðaʾa ʾèka,*ˈ *ʾu-bìθəllela.*ˈ [*ʾəll*-phrase—Cop.] ‘She says that she saw the son of a king—we do not know where—and fell in love with him.’ (A4:12)

(4) *qìmtɛla,*ˈ *šqílta xa-nerìya,*ˈ *neríya gòṛa*ˈ *ʾu-prìmtəllela.*ˈ [*ʾəll*-phrase—Cop.] ‘She got up, took a male goat, a large goat, and slaughtered it.’ (A28:26)

(5) *máre mo-t̰-òðəx.*ʔˈ *pɛrmáxle ʾo-zòra*ˈ *t̰-axləxle,*ˈ *hal-ʾé-gət t̰-áza dábba m-tàma.*ˈ *qímela ʾo-zóra prìməllela*ˈ [*ʾəll*-phrase—Cop.] *ʾu-xìləllela.*ˈ [*ʾəll*-phrase—Cop.] ‘He said “What shall we do? Let’s slaughter the young one and eat him, (and wait) until the bear goes away from there.” ’ They got up and slaughtered the young one and ate it.’ (A20:7–8)

(6) *ʾámər ʾána ʿAbda-Raḥmā̀n-iwən,*ˈ *pθúx tằra!*ˈ *pθìxəllele* [*ʾəll*-phrase—Cop.] *tằra.*ˈ ‘He said “I am ʿAbda-Raḥmān, open the door!” and he opened the door.’ (A23:26)

In (7) below, the *ʾəll*-phrase—Cop. construction *pθìxtəllela tằra* ‘She opened the door’ is in close sequence to the preceding clause *máxɛ l-tằra* ‘They knock on the door’. There then follows a chain of clauses beginning with a Cop.—L-suffix construction repeating a reference to the opening of the door: *pθíxtəlle tằra*. The objective meaning of the two references to the opening of the door is clearly the same. The use of the different constructions arises from the choice of the speaker as to how to present

the relationship between events. The first sequence ends with the opening of the door. The second sequence begins with the opening of the door.

(7) *ʾáy hóla wáða kùbbe.ˈ hóla ʾiθáθa gu-lèša,ˈ lyáša kùbbe,ˈ ʾu-ʾəθyɛleˈ bába dìyaˈ ʾu-wə̌zīr,ˈ ʾáθyela tərwə̀θna,ˈ màxɛ l-tə́ra.ˈ máxɛ l-tə̀ra,ˈ ʾiθáθa qàmxɛle,ˈ pθìxtəllela* [*ʾəll*-phrase—Cop.] *tə́ra.ˈ pθíxtəlle* [Cop.—L-suffix] *tə̀ra,ˈ xzíθəlle bába dìyaˈ ʾu-ʾup-wə́zīr mənne.ˈ* 'She was making meat-balls. Her hands were in dough, while kneading the meat-balls. Her father and the vizier came, the two of them came and knocked on the door. They knocked on the door and, while her hands were (covered in) flour, she opened the door. She opened the door and saw her father and also the vizier who was with him.' (A21:26)

Forms with an *ʾəll-* phrase placed after a 1st or 2nd person copula clitic are less frequently attested in the text corpus. They are generally used with the same function as 'heavy' boundary markers. In (8) the form occurs at the end of each of the series of discrete events that are described by the speaker. In (9) the form, likewise, is used at the end of a series of clauses that the speaker presents as closely-knit aspects of one overall event:

(8) *ʾíθwa xa-ṭúrət skinyàθa.ˈ muttéθətwa qámi xa-ṭúrət skinyàθa.ˈ* ***ʾáw pìðən-əlle.***ˈ *xa-ṭúra xéna t-məlxa,ˈ* ***ʾáw pìðən-əlle.***ˈ *tə́rte xamáθa ʾaxwáθəx ʾəθyela,ˈ* ***prìmən-əlle réša.***ˈ *ʾíθwa nàra,ˈ* ***ʾáp-ʾaw múklən-əlle*** *šwìrən.ˈ* 'There was a mountain of knives. You had placed before me a mountain of knives. I crossed it. There was another mountain of salt and I crossed that. Two young women like you came and I cut off their head. There was a river, I stopped it and jumped over.' (A24:33)

(9) *θéle báre dìyeˈ θéle muʿàlləm.ˈ mə́re ʾána b-zawnə́nne ʾən-háwe b-tə́rte ʾaqlàθa.ˈ qímən ða-xéta* ***prìmən-əlla.***ˈ 'After him a teacher came. He said "I shall buy it if it has two legs." I cut off another one.' (A22:9)

15.13.6. *Object Marker on the Direct Object Nominal*

On some sporadic occasions the direct object nominal has prefixed to it the preposition *qa-, ṭla-* or *l-*, which are normally used before nouns to express a dative relation. In the available examples, the preposition *qa-* is used before definite objects without an agreement pronoun on the verb, e.g.

(1) *ṣlíθɛla bàxta| xzíθa qa-màlla.|* 'The woman went down and saw the mullah.' (A22:11)
(2) *Tătár-i Slemán-i Sə́ndi qṭílɛle qa-Zə̀l.|* 'Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi killed Zāl.' (A28:1)
(3) *ʾána qa-Sittìye bə̆́yən.|* 'I love Səttiye.' (A25:22)
(4) *bə̆yéwa qa-ʾalàha.|* 'He loved God.' (A16:10)
(5) *dwíqɛle qa-ʾàrya| ʾu-mùθyəlle.|* 'He caught the lion and brought it back.' (A27:3)
(6) *maláxa mŭṛášle qa-ràbbən.|* 'The angel woke the monk.' (A15:11)
(7) *dáx bárya b-sèrwən| qa-xálwa xwàra?|* 'How could it happen that I reject the white milk (of my mother)?'
(8) *mə̆́xəb qa-bábux ʾu-yə̀mmux!|* 'Love your father and mother!'

The preposition *ṭla-/ta-* is attested before definite direct objects and is in some cases accompanied by an agreement pronoun on the verb, e.g.

(9) *taxránne ṭla-xlúlət xóni Šə̌mmo.|* 'I remember the wedding of Šəmmo my brother.' (B8:21)
(10) *ʾən-ʾána hawə́nwa qṭíləlla ʾə̆yáha ʾaqə̀rwa,| ʾáwwa xúwwe ṯ-awéwa qṭíla ṭla-bròni.|* 'If I had killed that scorpion, that snake would have killed my son.' (A9:6)
(11) *ʾáwwa qṭìlle ṭla-ʾárya.|* 'He killed the lion.' (A11:1)
(12) *zìptəllela| ṭla-Mə̆́mo.|* 'She pushed Mămo.' (A26:3)
(13) *díya ʾáwwa bə̆́ye ta-d-áyya bráta zùrta.|* 'Now he loves this young girl.' (A14:83)
(14) *zarqə́xwa ṭla-mázze max-ṣoṣìθa.|* 'We used to weave the hairs like a plait.'

The preposition *l-* is rarely used as a direct object marker on a nominal. An isolated example in the text corpus is (15):

(15) *ḥátta l-ʾumràne-žigən| tlìxəlla.|* 'He destroyed even the churches.' (B2:2)

15.13.7. *Double Objects*

The verbs *ʾwð* 'to do, to make', *ṃly* 'to fill', *dwq* 'to fill, pack' and certain causative verbs may take two direct objects, e.g.

(1) *y-oðíwale pùwuš.*ˡ *jămíwale y-oðíwale qàpla.*ˡ 'They made it into hay. They gathered it and made it into an armful.' (B5:84)
(2) *y-oðále zeðàye.*ˡ*…y-oðále guttáθa qamàye.*ˡ 'She makes it into pitta breads.… First she makes into balls.' (B5:101)
(3) *y-oðəxwale qəṭṭáṭe qəṭṭàṭe.*ˡ 'We made it into pieces.' (B5:139)
(4) *ʾu-ṃáḷəxxa čántux zùze.*ˡ 'We shall fill your bag with money.' (A39:14)
(5) *čánte díye dwíqla zwàðe.*ˡ 'She packed his bag with provisions.' (A21:22)
(6) *malwəšíwale jull-dìye*ˡ 'They would dress him in his clothes.' (B5:26)
(7) *maxəðríla ʾa-kʸàlo.*ˡ 'They caused the bride to go around (the village).' (B5:38)
(8) *madoqíla xə́tna-w kʸálo gota-ġðàðe.*ˡ 'They make the groom and bride hold each other's side.' (B5:50)
(9) *ʾə́dyo maštánnɛxu štéθa dìyənˡ ṯ̂-in-wíðəlla ʾàna.*ˡ 'Today I shall give you our drink to drink, which I have made.' (B15:57)
(10) *hátxa măləpə́tli ḥaqqúθa ʾu-na-ḥaqqùθa.*ˡ 'You should teach me what is lawful and what is unlawful.' (A15:10)

15.14. Indirect Objects

A nominal that has the function of the indirect object of an action, i.e. one that refers to a participant who is a recipient or beneficiary in the action, is expressed by attaching the preposition *ṭla-/ta-* or *qa-*. Unlike direct object nominals, indirect object nominals normally do not have any agreement element in the form of a pronominal copy on the verb, even when the noun is definite, e.g.

(1) *ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl tàrte tawriyáθa.*ˡ 'He will give to your neighbour two cows.' (A3:4)
(2) *támməl ṯ̂-ámrən ta-bàbi.*ˡ 'Tomorrow I shall tell my father.' (A18:7)
(3) *mə́rtɛla ṭla-d-áw-naša sáwa puš-b-šɛ̀na!*ˡ 'She said to that old man "Remain in peace!"' (A8:69)

On some rare occasions an agreement L-suffix is attested on the verb, e.g.

(4) *ʾána ṯ̂-àzənˡ tanyánne ða-tuníθa ṭla-màlka.*ˡ 'I shall go and tell a story to the king.' (A36:2)

As already described in §8.19.5., a pronominal indirect object of a verb may be expressed by an L-suffix or by an independent prepositional phrase consisting of the prepositions *ʾəll-*, *ṭla-* or *qa-* and a pronominal suffix. With past base verbs the pronominal indirect object may also be expressed by the inflection of the past base, e.g. *mirále* 'He said to her'. Here we shall examine in greater detail the distribution of these alternative devices in the text corpus.

When there is no direct object, the pronominal indirect object may usually be expressed either by an L-suffix or by an independent prepositional phrase. In such cases the 'heavier' prepositional phrase tends to be used at the end of an intonation group (7–9) and avoided in the middle of an intonation group following the verb (5–6). Included here are verbs of saying followed by direct or indirect speech:

(5) *ʾálaha yállux b-àyya dúnye*| *ʾu-b-ɛ-xèta.*| 'May God grant you (bounty) in this world and the next.' (A21:44)
(6) *xáli lá ʾamrátli qáṣṣət d-áwwa qáṣra mòdila?*‖ 'Uncle, will you not tell me what the story of this palace is?' (A25:67)
(7) *ʾámər ʾálle dìye.*| 'He says to him.' (A21:2)
(8) *ṯ-ámreti ṭlàli.*| 'Tell me.' (A21:43)
(9) *ʾána marən-àllux.*| 'I say to you.' (A17:34)

A compound verbal form consisting of a resultative participle or an infinitive without a clitic copula never takes L-suffixes. It usually takes a cliticized *ʾəll-*phrase, e.g. *hon híwəlle* 'I have given to him', *hon yawəlle* 'I am giving to him'. At the end of an intonation group this may be replaced by an independent prepositional phrase with its own stress, e.g.

(10) *hóle mára ṭlàli.*| 'He says to me.' (A17:10)
(11) *ʾáyya ʾíla yíwta qa-dìyi.*| 'She has been given to me.' (A25:39)

When the verb has both a pronominal direct object and a pronominal indirect object, the direct object is normally the primary object affix on the verb and the indirect object is expressed by a prepositional adjunct phrase, which in most cases follows the direct object affix, e.g.

(12) *xáðrəx xázexi xa-nàša*| *ṯ̂-íle palàxa*| *ʾu-t-yáxla ʾálle dìye.*| 'Let's look for a man who is a hard worker and give her to him.' (A21:3)
(13) *ʾána t-yànna-llux.*| 'I shall give them to you.' (A12:2)

(14) *ṃlóla sámma-w hallùle-lle.*| 'Fill it with poison and give it to him.' (A26:86)
(15) *b-zabnə́tle ʾə́lli ʾən-háwe b-ðà-ʾaqla?*|| 'Will you sell it to me if it has one leg?' (A22:5)
(16) *xúwwe mà t̂-áwəð b-an-álpa dáwe,*| *t̂-ázən hawə́nna ʾəlle-dìye?!*|| 'What will the snake do with the thousand gold coins that I should go and give them to him?!' (A1:8)
(17) *xàθi,*| *Ẑîne,*| *hiwála ʾə̀lli.*| 'My sister, Zine gave it to me.' (A26:38)
(18) *ʾána t̂-amrə̀nna-llux.*| 'I shall tell it to you.' (A21:35)

When the verb has a definite direct object nominal, this generally takes an agreement in the form of a direct object pronominal affix and a pronominal indirect object must be expressed by an independent prepositional phrase, which generally follows, e.g.

(19) *bas-yátla Náze ʾə̀lli.*| 'But you must give Naze to me.' (A25:23)
(20) *qá-mo le-yátla xáθux ʾə̀lle?*|| 'Why won't you give your sister to him?' (A26:72)
(21) *ʾána sámi t-yánne ṭlalə̀xu.*| 'I shall give my portion to you.' (A21:29)
(22) *tắra la-paθxə́tle ʾə́lle dìye.*| 'Do not open the door to him.' (A23:25)
(23) *ʾáwwa yála yíwəlle ʾálaha ʾə́lla díya ʾəštà yárxe.*| 'God gave them this child six months ago.' (A15:9)

In (24) there is a deviation from this usual rule, in that the indirect pronominal object is expressed by an L-suffix on the verb before the L-suffix that agrees with the direct object nominal:

(24) *hállila masrəqθònti*|| 'Give me my little comb' (A34:3)

Occasionally a textually prominent indefinite direct object nominal takes an agreement pronoun, e.g.

(25) *ʾáp-ʾawwa šaqə́lla ðá-kəsta qa-d-ày,*| *yawə́lla qa-d-ày.*| 'He also takes a purse for her and gives it to her.' (A4:22)

When a direct object nominal has no object agreement on the verb, the pronominal indirect object is the primary affix on the verb, which is an L-suffix in verb forms that take L-suffixes. The main circumstances in which the direct object agreement element is omitted include the following:

(i) An indefinite direct object nominal

(26) *ya-ʾalàha,*ˈ *yawə́tlən xa-bròna.*ˈ 'Oh God, give us a son.' (A15:17)
(27) *hállule xa-sùsa.*ˈ 'Give him a horse.' (A12:59)
(28) *mattúli xá-šəmma xèna.*ˈ 'Give me another name.' (A7:2)
(29) *qə́mən šaqlə́nni xákma mándi mánni b-ʾìði.*ˈ 'I shall get up and take for myself a few things, with me in my hand.' (A23:5)
(30) *bə̆yánni ʾə́mma bnàθa.*ˈ 'I want for myself a hundred girls.' (A25:74)

(ii) A definite direct object that is an inalienable possession or closely associated appurtenance of the referent of the indirect object

(31) *híwəlla jùlla.*ˈ 'He gave her clothes to her.' (A14:84)
(32) *hot-yàwəlle rə́sqe díye*ˈ *hóle xàla.*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾana ṣálən dámxən bə̀θa.*ˈ *ʾáti májbur t-yàtli rə́sqi.*ˈ 'You are giving to it its sustenance and it is eating it. I also shall go down and sleep at home. You will be obliged to give me my sustenance.' (A10:3)

(iii) A definite nominal that is a narrow focus
Agreement with a definite direct object is omitted on the verb if the object constitutes a narrow focus which does not include the verb. The focus may be a new information focus, in which case the verb is in the presupposition of the clause, or the focus may be one of prominence, in which case the verb may be new information but is of reduced prominence, e.g.

(33) *har-t-yàtli ða-bráta,*ˈ *là?*ˈ *mə́re hə̀.*ˈ *mə́re yátli Sə̀ttìye.*ˈ *mə́re ma-yxàlə̀f,*ˈ *t-yán-nux Sə̀ttìye.*ˈ '"You will still give me a daughter, is that not so?'" He said "Yes." He said "You should give me *Sə̀ttiye* (rather than one of the others)." He said "Fine. I'll give you *Sə̀ttiye*."' (A25:25)
(34) *ʾaláha hóle yíwəlli ʾáyya ʾùrxa.*ˈ 'God has given me *this way*.' (A21:42)

Even when there is no direct object agreement suffix on the verb, the indirect object can be expressed by an independent prepositional phrase. This is found at the close of an intonation group to act as end-weighting, e.g.

(35) *hátta mɛ́xólta b-kàwe dárəx ʾəlle-díye.*ˈ 'We even give food to it through the window.' (A12:62)

It is also found where the speaker fronts the phrase to give the indirect object prominence in order to set it in contrastive opposition to an indirect object in an adjacent clause, e.g.

(36) *ʾən-ṭlálux yáwəl xà xmára*ˈ *ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl trè xmáre.*ˈ 'If he gives to you one ass, he will give to your neighbour two asses.' (A3:4)
(37) *ʾu-ṭlálux lan-šwíqa čù-məndi.*ˈ 'I have left nothing for you (whereas I have taken everything for myself).' (A2:11)

At the end of a discourse unit the long alternative type of suffix construction for the expression of an indirect object is occasionally used on compound verbal forms, whereby the copula element is placed after the pronominal suffix. For the use of this construction with direct object suffixes for end-weighting see §15.13.5.:

(38) *ʾən-mjuwəbla,*ˈ *xo-ʾànən ʾáθya kəsləx.*ˈ *ʾən-là mjuwábla,*ˈ *ʾàtit θíθa kəsli.*ˈ *qríθɛla qála b-Šáləm ʾu-Sùrma,*ˈ *ču-jwába la-yìwəllɛla.*ˈ [< *yiwa* + *əlla* (3fs. indirect object) + *ila* (3pl. copula)] '"If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you. If they do not answer you, you have come to me." She called Šalem and Surma, but they did not give her any reply.' (A26:4–5)

If a past base verb is used in the clause, an indirect pronominal object tends to be expressed by an independent prepositional phrase in all circumstances, e.g.

(39) *yíwla xa-qɛ́sa xéna ʾálle dìye.*ˈ 'She gave another stick to him.' (A22:29)
(40) *ʾímət ʾaláha yíwle ʾəlléy bròna*ˈ 'When God gave them a son…' (A15:17)
(41) *mère ʾálle díye*ˈ 'He said to him' (A17:4)
(42) *máre ṭlàli*ˈ 'He said to me' (A22:8)
(43) *hàtxa mjuwáble ʾálli málka.*ˈ 'The king replied to me thus.' (A17:34)
(44) *wídla fṭárta ʾəlli.*ˈ 'She made breakfast for me.' (A21:35)

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE SYNTAX OF PREPOSITIONS

The morphology and basic uses of the prepositions have been described in §13.3. In this chapter we shall take a closer look at the syntax and semantic range of the main prepositions, particularly those that have multiple functions.

16.1. *b-*

The preposition *b-* has a variety of uses. When it takes pronominal suffixes, these are attached to a longer base with the form *biy-*.

16.1.1. *Spatial and Temporal Location*

It may express location in a perceptible space in contexts such as the following:

(1) *šqílɛ̀le qɛ́sa b-ʾíðe dìye.*ˡ 'He took the stick in his hand.' (A22:30)
(2) *ʾo-ẏála zóra hóla mútt*ə*lle be-pàlga.*ˡ 'They put the small child in the middle.' (A4:58)
(3) *w-ána b-ánna dašdàše-w*ˡ *b-ánna čaḵàlle-w*ˡ 'while I am in these plain clothes and slippers' (A6:7)
(4) *šwíqəlla xáye bìyəx.*ˡ 'He has left his life (which remained to him) in you.' (A4:42)

The preposition *gu-* is far more commonly used to express location within an enclosed physical space, e.g. *gu-xa-gəppìθa*ˡ 'in a cave' (A15:1), *gu-jèbe*ˡ 'in his pocket' (A15:2), *gu-Kàrkuk*ˡ 'in Kirkuk' (A16:1), *gu-ða-màθa*ˡ 'in a village' (A48:1), *gu-dudìya* 'in the cradle' (A15:8). When the preposition *b-* is used to refer to location in a physical space, this is generally less physically enclosed, as in (1)–(4). It is more frequently used for location in an abstract space, e.g. *b-šɛ́na b-ṭawàθa*ˡ '(You have come) in peace and blessings' (A15:8), *b-xə́lmi*ˡ 'in my dream' (A1:2), *b-šópət brònən*ˡ 'in the place of our son' (A4:39). The preposition *b-* expresses location within a state

or activity in progressive constructions with infinitives, e.g. *hóle b-θáya* 'He is coming' (A13:14), and occasionally other nouns.

It is used when a lesser degree of enclosure than in (1)–(4) is involved, such that there is only surface contact, e.g. *b-ʾùrxa*ˡ 'on the road' (A15:1), *b-rèšux*ˡ 'on your head' (A23:8), *b-miya šaxine* 'by warm waters' (C2:54), *b-qðàli*ˡ 'on my neck' (A21:27).

In some cases it is used in an ingressive (5–8) or occasionally egressive (9) sense:

(5) *míya ṣ́ályela b-rešèy.*ˡ 'The water came down onto their heads.' (A16:11)
(6) *síqela b-xa-ṭùra.*ˡ 'They went up onto a mountain.' (A17:4)
(7) *dríθa xəppo b-réša.*ˡ 'She had put a veil on her head.' (A19:2)
(8) *npíltɛla b-xùbba.*ˡ 'She has fallen in love.' (A4:14)
(9) *məšxət qálya plíṭle b-jebàne díye.*ˡ 'The oil of the roast meat came out of his pockets.' (A23:9)

The preposition *gu-* is likewise used in an ingressive or egressive sense, e.g.

(10) *wìrela gu-bɛ́θa.*ˡ 'They entered the house.' (A15:7)
(11) *zílela gu-ða-máθa xèta.*ˡ 'They went into another village.' (A15:10)
(12) *síqela gu-xa-ṭùra.*ˡ 'They went up into a mountain.' (A15:13)
(13) *zə́dyəlla gu-ða-dèrta.*ˡ 'They threw it into a house enclosure.' (A15:12)
(14) *šárṭən gu-ʾiθáθə d-áwwa nàša.*ˡ 'so that I escape from the hands of this man.' (A31:3)
(15) *ʾáti pálṭət gu-d-ànna.*ˡ 'You should depart from these people.' (A12:5)

Various nouns are used with *b-* in some contexts and with *gu-* in others, as can be seen in the examples cited above. This should not necessarily be interpreted as complete functional overlap, but rather is likely to reflect different conceptualizations of the degree of enclosure involved, e.g.

*b-xa-ṭùra*ˡ 'onto a mountain' (A17:4)
*gu-xa-ṭùra*ˡ 'into a mountain' (A15:13)
*gu-jèbe*ˡ 'in his pocket (hidden)' (A15:2)
*b-jebàne díye*ˡ '(from) in his pockets (revealed)' (A23:9)

*b-ʾíðe dìye*ˡ ‘in his hand’ (A22:30)
gu-ʾiθáθə ‘(from) in his hands (trapped)’ (A31:3).

The place through which one passes is also marked by *b-*, e.g.

(16) *b-tắra wìrtɛla.*ˡ ‘It (the cat) entered by the door.’ (A23:19)
(17) *táwre morə́tla b-kàwe.*ˡ ‘You should bring the oxen in through the window.’ (A30:22)

The preposition *b-*, rather than *gu-*, is used to express location in a time period, e.g. *b-áyya dána* ‘at this time’ (A15:7), *b-lɛ̀le* ‘at night’ (A15:8), *b-lɛ̀le b-yòma*ˡ ‘night and day’ (A21:2), *b-ʾaṣə̀rta*ˡ ‘in the evening’ (A22:31), *b-qɛ́ṭa* ‘in the summer’ (B5:19), *b-xarɛ̀θa*ˡ ‘at last’ (A22:5).

16.1.2. *Instrument*

It is often used in relation to the instrument or means by which an action is performed. The complement is usually an inanimate object or a part of the body, e.g.

(1) *b-o nắra*ˡ *ʾan-táwre dìye*ˡ *mqudəqdɛlelɛy.*ˡ ‘He chopped the oxen up with the axe.’ (A30:23)
(2) *xzáyətəlla b-dùrbin.*ˡ ‘You see it with binoculars.’ (A25:52)
(3) *bərzóma yáʿni ta-t-ṣáli gu-gòma,*ˡ *b-semàlta*ˡ ‘a hatch for them to go down into the basement stable, by a ladder’ (A23:28)
(4) *zríyənwale b-iθàθi.*ˡ ‘I had cultivated it with my hands.’ (A17:32)
(5) *ʾáyya kúlla qəm-maxərwàla*ˡ *b-aqláθa dìya.*ˡ ‘This (cat) has spoilt everything with its feet.’ (A23:19)

Occasionally the complement is an animate referent, e.g.

(6) *súq méθi qèsa biyéy.*ˡ ‘Go up and fetch wood with them (the asses).’ (A23:34)

The expression *waða b-xabra* ‘to do by, according to the word (of so-and-so)’ belongs here, e.g.

(7) *ʾu-ʾədyo ʾáti lat-wáða b-xàbri.*ˡ ‘Today you are not doing as I say.’ (A21:43)

Under this head can be included phrases with the base *b-gan-* 'by oneself', e.g.

(8) *ma-lat-ðáya b-gánəx qàrθɛla.*ˀ 'Don't you know yourself that it is cold?' (A20:1)
(9) *wídla ʾixála ʾáy b-gàna.*ˡ 'She made the food by herself.' (A21:40)
(10) *yǎ̆ðət b-gànux.*ˡ 'You know by yourself.' (A1:11)

Here also belong multiplicative expresses such as:

(11) *ʾáxni t-yawɔ́xla xa-b-ṭḷàθa ʾə́lle díye.*ˡ 'We shall give him threefold (if it is lost).' (A7:10)

16.1.3. *'with'*

On a number of occasions it is appropriate to translate the preposition by English 'with'. The relation may be comitative, e.g.

(1) *ʾáθi b-dáwla-w zórna-w tópe-w* 'Let them come with the drum and pipe and with guns.' (A4:33)
(2) *xázəx ṣ́ályɛle b-xà ṭena ʾə́xre*ˡ *ʾu-θéle b-ṭ́láθa ṭène.*ˡ 'We see that he went down with one saddle bag of excrement and he has come back with three saddle bags.' (A7:12)
(3) *ʾánna ma-ṯ́-íla xmíle b-ġ̆ðàðe!*ˡ 'How happy they were with each other (= together)!' (A4:50)
(4) *ʾáyya bráta la-pɛ́ša bìyux.*ˡ 'This girl will not remain with you.' (A29:33)
(5) *ʾi-xoṭíla b-məšxa.*ˡ 'They mix them with oil.' (B6:51)
(6) *ʾan-tre-maláxe t-wɛ́wa ʾə́θye bìya*ˡ 'those two angels who had come with her (= had brought her)' (A4:44)

It is also used to express various other types of association or linkage, e.g.

(7) *lìtlən šúla bíye.*ˡ 'We have no business with it (= It is not our business).' (A48:6)
(8) *ʾaláha hole-mìra*ˡ *t-yawàllux*ˡ *b-šàrṭ*ˡ *kú-mdit yawàllux*ˡ *ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl trè.*ˡ 'God has said that he will give to you with the condition that everything he gives to you he will give to your neighbour twofold.' (A3:4)

(9) *ʾána xa-náša gòṛɛwən,ˈ wíra b-šə̂nne.ˈ* 'I am an old man, advanced in age.' (A8:43)
(10) *moləxmáli… ʾáyya zmárta bíye dìye.ˈ* 'I composed this song about him.' (C4:2)
(11) *naša goṛa b-šənne* 'a man big with regard to years (= an elderly man)'

16.1.4. *Attributive*

The preposition sometimes has the function of linking a referent to a nominal that is presented as an attribute, in that it constitutes a component or property of it. e.g.

(1) *mən-d-ànnaˈ ṗazesór b-ʾəlyàθa,ˈ hátxa b-qanàneˈ* 'Some of those big sheep with fat tails and horns (big) like this' (A7:22)
(2) *ʾána làn b-xá-rešaˈ b-šàwwa rešăwáθən.ˈ* 'I do not have just one head, I have seven heads.' (A24:41)
(3) *ʾána b-zawnə́nne ʾən-háwe b-tárte ʾaqlàθa.ˈ* 'I shall buy it if it has two legs.' (A22:9)
(4) *w-aṣárta mɛθàtliˈ xá-qapla qɛ̀seˈ t-lá-hawa b-qàlpe.ˈ* 'In the evening bring me a bundle of pieces of wood that are without bark.' (A30:6)
(5) *wéləx hawnànta,ˈ b-ʾiqárət ṣáwθa basìmta,ˈ ʾu-màqul.ˈ* 'You have been clever, with the honour of sweet and fine words.' (A40:16)
(6) *b-ràxme!ˈ* '(May you be) with mercy! (= Bless you!)' (A4:60)
(7) *ṭ̣lá-mma xatáne b-xa xerìya.ˈ* 'Three hundred ladies with one veil.' (D1:9)
(8) *barða b-qanane* 'hail with horns (= heavy hail)'

We should classify here attributive expressions such as the following: *b-xamme* 'sad', *b-xaye* 'alive', *b-ṭ̣ali* 'ill', *b-palxana* 'busy' (§11.7.).

16.1.5. *Material*

It is occasionally used to denote the material out of which something is made, e.g.

(1) *ṯ̂-oðátli gášra b-qɛ̀sa.ˈ* 'Make me a bridge of wood.' (A17:18)

16.1.6. *Price*

It denotes the price at which an item is fixed either in an amount of money or a bartered object, e.g.

(1) *xá-kilo ʾáxre b-ṭláθa dàwɛ́le.*ˈ 'One kilo of dung sells for three gold pieces.' (A7:14)
(2) *ʾána zonánna b-ʾəṣra.*ˈ 'I shall buy it for ten (dinars).' (B5:42)
(3) *xálət xátna qəm-zawánna ʾilána b-xamšî dináre.*ˈ 'The maternal uncle of the groom has bought it (the tree) for a hundred dinars.' (B15:68)
(4) *l-Ɣawsəp zwinta b-neriya.* 'It has been bought by Yawsəp for a male goat.' (B8:28)

Conversely it is used before the item sold in expressions such as (5):

(5) *y-aθéwa zonàna,*ˈ *y-amàrwa*ˈ *ʾàyya*ˈ *ʾàtxa b-yawánnux bíya díya.*ˈ 'A purchaser would come and say "I shall give you such-and-such (an amount of money) for them (the apples)."' (B15:52)

16.1.7. *Manner*

It may express the manner in which an action is performed. In such cases it is generally combined with an abstract nominal, e.g.

(1) *maṣlélən b-iqàra.*ˈ 'They bring us down with honour.' (A4:30)
(2) *bă̆yən lá-ʾaθi b-xàššа.*ˈ 'I do not want them to come in sadness.' (A4:33)
(3) *ʾáni b-xéla bă̆yi mbarxíla ʾəlli.*ˈ 'They want to marry her to me by force.' (A7:18)
(4) *bás ʾamrətli*ˈ *b-duzùθa*ˈ *dàx ʾáyya bráta wiðálux brátət béθa.*ˈ 'Just tell me, in truth, how have you made this girl a housewife.' (A21:34)

16.1.8. *Causal Background*

Occasionally it expresses the cause or purpose of an action, e.g.

(1) *ʾámər b-àyyət mšúdrəlli?*ˈ 'Was it for this (reason) you sent for me?' (A21:32)
(2) *zílle b-ríxət kăbàbe,*ˈ *xzéle mdaxóye xmàre.*ˈ 'He went after the smell of kebabs, but he found the branding of asses.' (D2:30)

(3) *lɛ́wət ʾàti*| *ʾɛ-bráta ṯ̂-in-ʾána wíðəlla gáni ḵ̂óra b-rèšəx,*| *máxyəlla ʾurədxa*| *gu-ʾèni.*ʔ| ‘Are you not the girl on account of whom I made myself blind, by puttinng the needle into my eye?’ (A16:7)

16.1.9. *Oath*

The preposition is used in oaths or adjurations before the item by which the speaker is swearing, e.g.

(1) *mára b-rèšux.*| *ʾáti múttət-əlle tàma.*| ‘She said “(I swear) by your head. You put him there.”’ (A22:39)

The preposition is most frequently used with this function before the noun *ʾalaha* ‘God’ in the phrase *b-álaha*, which is usually stressed on the first syllable and often pronounced [b-aːla]. This expression is used in a variety of contexts. In general it strengthens an assertion, by committing the speaker fully to the truth of the statement, e.g.

(2) *b-álaha ʾáwwa xoš-yàlɛle.*| ‘By God, he is a good lad.’ (A21:5)
(3) *b-álaha dù̀s-it.*| ‘By God, you are right.’ (A17:19)

It is often used to introduce the response to a question, e.g.

(4) *ʾo-tèla*| *máre há lɛ̀kət zála,*| *ya-gáni dəbba.*ʔ| *b-álaha xðárən báθər rəsqi.*| ‘The fox said “Hey, where are you going, my dear bear?” “By God, I’m looking for my sustenance.”’ (A20:1)
(5) *há bròni,*| *m-ɛ̀kət θáya.*ʔ| *b-álaha m-bɛ̀θən θáya,*| *ʾàmti.*| “‘Hey, my son, where are you coming from?” “By God, I’m coming from home, aunt.”’ (A23:2)
(6) *mára mòdila qə́ṣṣət díya.*ʔ| *máre b-álaha qə́ṣṣət díya hàtxɛla.*| ‘She said “What is her story?” He said “By God, her story is like this.”’ (A4:14)

It is used to strengthen a remonstration expressed by a negative question, e.g.

(7) *b-álaha látwa mìrta*| *la-hɛ́wən ʾu-lá bəṛ-náša ʾáwər gu-ʾòtəx.*ʔ| ‘By God, did you not say that no animal and no person should enter the room?’ (A23:22)

16.1.10. *Complements of Verbs and Expressions*

The preposition *b-* is used as the complement of some verbs, e.g. *dbaša b-* 'to stick to', *dqara b-* 'to touch', *mbaxole b-* 'to envy', *mhaymone b-* 'to believe in', *mparoje b-* 'to look at', *tfaqa b-* 'to meet', *ṭpaya b-* 'to catch onto (fire)', *parpore b-* 'to plead to', *qyaθa b-* 'to hit', *tpara b-* 'to threaten', *xðaya b-* 'to rejoice in', *xkaka/gxaka b-* 'to laugh at', *xqara b-* 'to honour', *xyara b-* 'to look at'. It is also used as the obligatory complement of some attributive expressions, e.g. *bista b-* 'familiar with', *bliga b-* 'busy with', *xəðya b-* 'pleased with'.

Several verbs may take a direct object complement or a complement introduced by the preposition *b-*. In general the construction with the prepositional complement is used to express a situation in which the action affects the referent to a lesser extent than when a direct complement is used, or a situation in which the action is less directly associated with the referent. Some pairs are given below by way of illustration:

ðaya + object 'to know, understand (sth., so. by direct knowledge)', *ðaya b-*'to know about (sth. so. indirectly)', e.g.

(1) *yəðánne ʾáθṛət bàbi.*ˈ 'I know the land of my father.' (A14:90)
(2) *hé b-àlaha,*ˈ *qídle bɛ́θət duglàna-w*ˈ *ʾáxni là-ðiye bíye.*ˈ 'Oh, by God, the house of the liar has burnt down, without us knowing about it.' (A48:7)

mxaya + object 'to strike', *mxaya b-* 'to play (a musical instrument)', e.g.

(3) *lá maxə̀nnəx.*ˈ 'I shall not strike you.' (A51:19)
(4) *ʾAšebaṭàlo*ˈ *ʾáwwa máxe b-zòrna.*ˈ 'Ašebaṭalo played the pipe' (A25:26)

mšaxlope + object 'to change', *mšaxlope b-* 'to exchange', e.g.

(5) *ta-mšaxə́lpi šə́mmət Čùxo*ˈ 'in order for them to change the name Čuxo' (A7:3)
(6) *mšuxlə́pla b-isəqyàθa.*ˈ 'They exchanged rings.' (A4:5)

zmara + object 'to sing (a song)', *zmara b-* 'to sing to (so.)', e.g.

(7) *ʾi-zamríwa ràwe.*ˈ 'They used to sing *rawe*.' (B15:75)
(8) *zmírre b-Žìne.*ˈ 'He sang to Zine.' (A25:22)

xala + object 'to eat (completely)', *xala b-* 'to eat (parts of sth.)', e.g.

(9) *xílela xa-ràmša.*| 'They ate dinner.' (A16:9)
(10) *ʾu-rípeləlle kùlla,*| *nyása-w xàla ʾábbe-diye.*| 'They (the animals) all attacked him, biting and eating bits of him (= gnawing him).' (A35:21)

Some verbs can take a direct object or another preposition but use *b-* before a referent that is disadvantaged in some way by the action, e.g.

(11) *ṭla-mò wídlux hátxa bíyi?*| 'Why have you done this to me?' (A15:14)
(12) *xzi-málka bṯ-áwəð bìyi.*| 'See, the king will do (something) to me.' (A21:33)
(13) *ʾáp-ʾana šqiláli šəndùxta*| *dəryáli bìya.*| 'I picked up a small stone and threw it at it.' (A23:22)
(14) *ʾáp-xa lœle-mṣáya bíya dìya.*| 'Nobody could (do anything) against her (= nobody could defeat her).' (A25:68)
(15) *šuréla ṣráxa bíye dìye.*| 'She started shouting at him.' (A25:82)
(16) *bálki ṯ-íle xa-móndi θíθa bìya.*| 'Perhaps something has happened to her.' (A21:25)

The preposition with the sense of 'disadvantage' is found after the existential particle in expressions such as:

(17) *ʾána bsìmli*| *čú-mdi liθ-bìyi.*| 'I am cured. Nothing is the matter with me.' (A4:20)

With some verbs the preposition *b-* may be exchanged for other prepositions to express a different relationship to the complement. In (18), for example, the verb *xyara* 'to look' takes a complement with *b-* ('look at'), but in the second clause the complement has *gu-* to express 'looking into' the enclosed interior of the cave:

(18) *qamáye xírta b-áqlət súsa dìya,*| *la-xírra gu-gə̀ppa.*| 'At first she looked at the legs of her horse, she did not look into the cave.' (A8:72)

16.1.11. bəd-, bud-

The expression *bəd-* and its variant *bud-* is in origin a combination of the preposition *b-* and the subordinating particle *D.* It is not, however, used with exactly the same distribution as the basic preposition *b-*. It generally has the sense of 'about, concerning', which is not a meaning that is generally expressed by *b-* alone, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-xá-naša méθelaxu xàbra*ˈ *bəd-bròni,*ˈ *kut-mɛθéli xábra bəd-bròni,*ˈ *ʾən-míθa ʾən-ṣàxi,*ˈ *pálgət dáwi de-t-yánne ʾálle dìye.*ˈ 'If somebody brings you word about my son—whoever brings me word about my son, whether he is dead or alive, I'll give him half of my gold.' (A14:92)

(2) *ʾánna šámye-wawa bəd-Mắmo mən-Zìne.*ˈ 'They had heard about Mămo from Zine.' (A26:25)

(3) *šmìla bud-díye.*ˈ 'They heard about him.' (A21:5)

(4) *lá taxmánnən ʾána bəd-zəndàna.*ˈ 'I shall not think about prison (= I don't care about prison).' (A26:44)

(5) *náše spáy t-yắði bud-màrra*ˈ 'fine people who know about the illness' (A8:32)

(6) *qímən moláxmənna ʾánna šére bud-dìye.*ˈ 'I composed these verses about him.' (C4:3)

(7) *bəd-ʾáwwa náša tàlxəx.*ˈ 'Let's destroy with regard to this man (= let's get rid of this man).' (A30:41)

Elsewhere the phrase is occasionally used to denote relations that are expressed by the basic *b-* preposition, including causal ('because of, on account of'), instrumental ('through the means of') and comitative ('with'), e.g.

(8) *bud-àyya muθélux ʾánna zúze.*ˈ 'Because of this you have brought these coins.' (A1:27)

(9) *rába ʾítley xayúθa basímta bəd-àyya,*ˈ *yáʿni zrátət xabùše.*ˈ 'They had a very good life on account of this, that is the cultivation of apples.' (B5:106)

(10) *y-axlúwa láxma bàd-an qése.*ˈ 'They would eat bread through the means of (the sale of) this wood.' (A14:10)

(11) *ʾáwwa rèšiˈ ṯ̂-áθe xá-yoma pràmaˈ bəd-ʾiθáθa dìyux.*ˈ 'This head of mine will one day be cut off by your hands.' (A14:35)

(12) *qímla kθúla xa-kθàwa,*ˈ *mšudárra bəd-qàzəd.*ˈ 'She wrote a letter and sent it by a messenger.' (A11:17)

(13) *lɛšále bàxta,*| *bəd-míya mànne.*| 'A woman kneads it, together with water.' (B5:100)

In addition it is found in a few fixed expressions, e.g.

(14) *qímɛle híwəlla bnáθe dìye*| *ṭla-d-an-nàše,*| *bəd-xáṭər d-ó-xona zòra.*| 'He gave his daughters to those people on account of that young brother.' (A12:22)
(15) *har-dmíxtɛla bəd-lábba gu-béθət bába dìyɛla.*| 'She continued sleeping, thinking that she was in her father's house.' (A21:18)

16.1.12. *Combined with Other Prepositions*

The preposition *b-* is often combined with the locative preposition *reš-* 'upon', e.g.

(1) *hóle dárya jùlla b-réša.*| 'He put a cloth over them.' (A25:48)
(2) *qímɛle zíla mútta ʾán-julla díya gu-d-o-sandùqa,*| *múttəlla gu-ʾasàsət béθa,*| *ʾu-bányɛle gùda b-réše.*| 'He put her clothes in a box and placed it in the foundations of the house, then built a wall over it.' (A14:99)

16.2. *l-*

This preposition has a wide variety of functions. One reason for this is that it is derived from two different prepositions in earlier Aramaic, namely **l-*'to, for' and **ʿal* 'upon'. Generally the usage of *l-* in the dialect makes it clear from which of these two earlier prepositions it is derived in any one particular case. In some cases, however, the derivation is not completely certain. For this reason all the usages of *l-* are here treated together. It is important, furthermore, to make a distinction between the adnominal uses of *l-* and the adpronominal forms. Various possibilities exist for pronominalizing a phrase consisting of *l* + nominal. These include the L-suffixes and independent phrases consisting of *ʾəll-* + pronominal suffixes. Each of these pronominal forms has a restricted usage and is not found in all contexts that *l* + nominal phrases are used.

16.2.1. *Adnominal Uses*

16.2.1.1. *Destination*
The preposition *l-* is frequently used in the complement of a verb of movement to express the destination, e.g.

(1) *ʾáwwa qíma zíla l-bèθe díye.*ˈ 'He went to his house.' (A17:6)
(2) *ʾəθyɛle l-bèθa.*ˈ 'He came home.' (A17:20)
(3) *si-dúṛ l-šòpux.*ˈ 'Go back to your place.' (A15:20)
(4) *ha-t-ʾáθe ʾo-náša qamàya*ˈ *máṭe l-ʾèna*ˈ *ʾáθe xa-náša sàwa.*ˈ 'Before the first man reached the spring, an old man came.' (A15:3)
(5) *dəqne díye mṭáya l-ǎra.*ˈ 'His beard reached the ground.' (A15:13)
(6) *ṯ-ásqəx l-áwwa ṭùra?*ˈ 'Shall we go up to this mountain?' (A17:4)
(7) *masqánne l-bèθa.*ˈ 'I shall take it up to the house.' (A22:19)
(8) *θéla ṣlèla*ˈ *l-ʾárxət be-Xàmmo.*ˈ 'She came down to the water-mill of the family of Xammo.' (A19:1)
(9) *Čúxo híwle bále l-bèθa.*ˈ 'Čuxo set off for home.' (A7:12)

In some cases the movement has a purposive sense, e.g.

(10) *lá-ʾazət l-qése b-xáwlət xàwrux.*ˈ 'Do not go to (collect) wood with the rope of your friend.' (D2:71)

16.2.1.2. *Direction*
It may be used to express, broadly, the direction or objective of an action without any clear movement towards the complement of the preposition being invovled. It should be noted, however, that the relation of recipient or beneficiary is normally expressed by the prepositions *ta/ṭla-* or *qa-* when the complement is a nominal:

(1) *ràbbənˈ ʾáwwa ṯ-i-sàxəð l-ʾálaha.*ˈ 'A monk is somebody who worships God.' (A15:4)
(2) *dráya búxtən l-xá l-d-o-xèna*ˈ 'slandering this one and that one' (A48:5)
(3) *dréla šláma l-fǎ̀qih.*ˈ 'She greeted the jurist.' (A22:16)
(4) *ʾálaha šuxa-l-šə́mme* 'God—praise be to his name' (A6:10)
(5) *ʾána ṭlíbtənwa l-brónət màmi.*ˈ 'I was engaged to my cousin.' (A13:14)

16.2.1.3. *'Upon, On'*

In numerous cases *l-* has the sense of 'upon' or 'on', denoting a spatial location above or, at least, on the surface of the referent that it governs. The preposition in such cases is clearly derived from **ʿal*:

(1) *hóle tíwa l-kèpa.*ˈ 'He is sitting on a stone.' (A15:13)
(2) *brōn-málka tíwɛle l-d-a-tàxta.*ˈ 'The son of the king sat on the throne.' (A14:43)
(3) *ṭayə́nwale l-xàṣe.*ˈ 'He would carry him on his back.' (A17:18)
(4) *párxa ʾátwa l-gàre.*ˈ 'She flew up and sat on the roof.' (A14:101)
(5) *klíθa l-márzə d-a-jăzìra.*ˈ 'It came to rest on the shore of the island.' (A14:39)
(6) *máxewa darmànaˈ l-ṣàwle.*ˈ 'He used to put polish on shoes.' (A16:1)
(7) *míla l-hàlux!*ˈ 'Blue on your condition! (= Confound you!)' (A23:10)

In certain contexts, where the verb involves movement, the preposition has a sense of 'onto',

(8) *sìqɛleˈ l-gàre.*ˈ 'He went up onto the roof.' (A25:52)
(9) *ta-dɛ́rela l-xáṣət xmàre*ˈ 'in order that he puts them onto the back of his donkey' (A23:13)
(10) *mattíwala l-ʾằra.*ˈ 'They would put it onto the ground.' (A12:3)

In constructions with the verb *mxy* used with the sense of 'applying' a substance to something, the adnominal preposition *l-* may be used with the item upon which the substance is applied (11) or a transposition may take place as in (12), in which the preposition is placed on the nominal expressing the substance:

(11) *máxewa darmànaˈ l-ṣàwle.*ˈ 'He used to put polish on shoes.' (A16:1)
(12) *ʾu-mə́xyəxəlla máθən kúlla l-míla-w l-kóma m-báθre dìye.*ˈ 'and we have covered all our village with blue and black after him (= after his departure).' (A4:32)

In some cases where the preposition *l-* corresponds to **ʿal* in earlier Aramaic it has the sense of 'concerning, about', e.g.

(13) *mbaqóre l-d-ò-naša:*ˈ *ʾìtle bróna?*ˈ 'He was inquiring concerning the man: Has he a son?' (A8:5)

16.2.1.4. *General Spatial Location*
In some cases it denotes a static spatial location without any implication of being 'above' in a higher position, e.g.

(1) *hóle ʾàrya| l-àyya góta| ʾu-ʾəzza| hóla l-àyya góta.|* 'There is a lion on this side and a she-goat on the other side.' (A24:15)
(2) *ʾu-xmáre l-gòte-diye|* 'with his ass at his side' (A7:6)
(3) *l-a-páθa xétət nèra| ʾíθ xa-máθət huðàye.|* 'On the other side of the river there is a village of Jews.' (A14:50)
(4) *ʾu-xə́tna l-bέθa pὲšena.|* 'and I shall become a son-in-law in the house.' (A17:35)
(5) *šqúl ʾáwwa qέsa l-ʾìðux.|* 'Take this stick in your hand.' (A22:26)
(6) *ʾaw-l-ḥàmmam sáxe.|* 'He washes in the bathroom.' (A21:17)
(7) *hóla spára l-kàwe.|* 'They are waiting at the window.' (A4:59)
(8) *ʾu-qáre l-tằra.|* 'and he calls at the door.' (A6:5)
(9) *ʾu-šawqíwale l-šə́mša.|* 'and they would leave it in the sun.' (B7:20)

We could include here the adverbial *laxxa* 'here', which has been formed from *l-* + *ʾaxxa* and may be used to denote static location. The *l-* that is often used with the particle of isolation *xoð-* (§14.6.) also falls in this category, e.g.

(10) *pìšela| har-ʾàni-tre l-xoðéy.|* 'Only those two remained by themselves.' (A20:9)

16.2.1.5. *Expression of the Agent*
An adnominal *l-* is sporadically used to express the agent in constructions with resultative participles (cf. §15.9.2.–3.), e.g.

(1) *šáwwaθna hóla xíle l-dèwa.|* 'The seven of them have been eaten by wolves.' (A23:15)
(2) *ʾən-réšət bábe díye ʾax-ṭùra,| ʾu-hóle qṭíla l-Tằtár-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi,| lèka bṭ̂-ázəl?|* 'If the head of his father is like a mountain and he has been killed by Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi, where will he go?' (A28:8)
(3) *xáθux Nasímo jlíwtεla l-ʾarabàye.|* 'Your sister Nasimo has been kidnapped by Arabs.' (A37:5)
(4) *ʾu-Dùre| píštεla muqyàmta| muxràwta| šawwà gáye| l-xànpe| qaṭòle| t-mušəlmàne.|* 'Dure was evacuated and destroyed seven times by pagan murderers of Muslims.' (B2:2)

(5) *ʾu-síqɛle gu-d-ó sàrga*ˈ *mtúrṣa l-an-jaqsìye*ˈ *t-mðìta.*ˈ 'He went up onto the saddle, which was made by the town craftsmen.' (A8:52)

16.2.1.6. *Manner*
The use of the preposition *l-* in adverbials of manner is restricted to numerical expressions such as (1):

(1) *píšela mnáyəlla l-xà-xa.*ˈ 'They began counting them one by one.' (A6:3)

16.2.1.7. *Complement of Verbs and Expressions*
The preposition *l-* occurs as a complement to various verbs and expressions, e.g. *dmaya l-* 'to resemble', *masloye l-* 'to despise', *maṣyoθe l-* 'to listen to', *mhaymone l-* 'to believe in', *mqahore l-* 'to grieve for', *qrawa l-*, *mqarobe l-* 'to approach', *mraxome l-* 'to pity', *mṣawore l-* 'to curse', *mxaya l-* 'to hit, knock', *nṭara l-* 'to watch', *ṭăya l-* 'to search for'.

16.2.1.8. *Combined with other Prepositions*
The preposition *l-* may be combined with other prepositions. After verbs of movement, for example, it may be combined with *kəs-*, e.g.

(1) *ʾo-gáya qə̀mɛθa θélux l-kásli*ˈ 'the first time you came to me' (A1:22)

16.2.2. *Adpronominal Uses*

16.2.2.1. *L-suffixes*
The L-suffixes exhibit only a very restricted degree of functional overlap with the adnominal uses of *l-*. The most common uses of the L-suffixes include the expression of the subject of verb forms derived from the past base (*qṭille*, *qṭilwale*) and the expression of the direct and indirect object of transitive verbs.

The use of the L-suffixes to express the subject in forms such as *qṭille* originated historically as a marking of the agent in a passive construction (< *qṭil* 'He was killed' + *le* 'by him'). We have seen above that adnominal *l-* is still used to mark the agent of a passive. The L-suffixes have, however, been extended to the marking of the subject of past base intransitive verbs, where they clearly do not mark an agent. This can be explained as a result of the suffixes being reinterpreted as markers of the grammatical subject of the verb rather than markers of the agent.

The direct object function of the L-suffixes has no parallel in the use of the adnominal *l-*.

The use of the L-suffixes to express the indirect object is restricted for the most part to the marking of a human recipient or beneficiary. There is no clear parallel to this in the functional range of adnominal *l-*, the relation of recipient or beneficiary being normally expressed by the prepositions *ta/ṭla-* or *qa-* when the complement is a nominal.

Another use of L-suffixes, which is related to its indirect object function, is to express the possessor in possessive constructions formed with the existential particle *ʾiθ*, e.g. *ʾitli kθawa* 'I have a book'. There are no adnominal parallels to this function. When the possessor is a nominal, this is normally placed in extraposition and is resumed by an L-suffix, e.g. *xáwri ʾítle kθáwa* 'My friend has a book' (§17.8.1.2.).

In general, therefore, the functional correspondence between L-suffixes and adnominal uses of *l-* is considerably limited in the present state of the language.

16.2.2.2. ʾəll-

Pronominal prepositional phrases consisting of the particle *ʾəll-* correspond to a wide range of the adnominal uses of *l-*. As with adnominal *l-*, the particle *ʾəll-* represents the merging together of what were originally two separate prepositions, i.e. **l-* and **ʿal-*. The functional range of *ʾəll-* overlaps with those of L-suffixes and adnominal *l-*, but it is not completely parallel with either of these. It may be classified into the following categories:

(i) *Destination*

(1) *ʾáθyela máṭye ʾəlle.*ˈ 'They came up to him.' (A7:19)
(2) *muθéla yámme díye xa-rámša ʾálle dìye.*ˈ 'His mother brought dinner to him.' (A21:12)
(3) *zílɛle nùbləllaˈ ʾálle dìye.*ˈ 'He went and took them to him.' (A17:12)
(4) *mamṭátla ʾálla dìya.*ˈ 'Deliver them to her.' (A4:16)
(5) *mšádrən mɛxòlta ʾálle díye.*ˈ 'I shall send food to him.' (A17:11)

This usage is paralleled by adnominal *l-* with verbs of movement (e.g. 'to go', 'to come', 'to arrive'), but only marginally with verbs of conveyance (e.g. 'to send', 'to take', 'to bring'), which normally express the destination with *ta-/ṭla* or *qa-* when the complement is a nominal. Verbs of movement do not usually express destination by L-suffixes, but L-suffixes are used after verbs of conveyance.

(ii) *Direction*

(1) *ʾámər ʾálla dìya.*ˡ 'He says to her.' (A16:7)
(2) *hàtxa mjuwáble ʾálli málka.*ˡ 'The king replied to me in this way.' (A17:34)
(3) *qəm-yawálla yalə̀xθa ʾálli.*ˡ 'He has given me her scarf.' (A4:24)
(4) *wídla fṭárta ʾəlli.*ˡ 'She made me breakfast.' (A21:38)
(5) *dríθɛla šláma ʾálle dìye.*ˡ 'She offered a greeting to him.' (A22:12)
(6) *m-éka píšlux baláya ʾəlli?*ˡ 'From where (have you come) and become trouble for me?' (A17:4)
(7) *módi mqúma ʾəllux?*ˡ 'What has befallen you?' (A17:31)
(8) *t-lá-hoya qàrθ-əlləx*ˡ 'so that you are not cold' (A20:2)

Nominal complements of verbs of speech (1)–(2) and recipients or beneficiaries (3)–(4) are normally expressed by phrases containing the prepositions *ta-/ṭla-* or *qa-* rather than *l-*. The adnominal equivalents of constructions such as those in (5)–(8), however, generally have *l-*.

(iii) *'Upon, over, against'*
Location over a physical object is not normally expressed with a pronominal *ʾəll-* phrase, although *l-* as an adnominal preposition is often used with this sense. The normal means of expressing this relation with pronominal complements is by phrases consisting of the preposition *reš-* 'upon', e.g. *réša* 'on it (f.)' (A27:17), *réše dìye* 'on him' (A31:10), *b-réša* 'over them' (A25:48), *b-rèša* 'on it' (A12:47).

In a few contexts a pronominal *ʾəll-* phrase is, nevertheless, the historical reflex of a phrase with the preposition **ʿal-*. These tend to be restricted to relations of an abstract or non-physical nature, such as (1)–(7), or constructions such as (8)–(12), which express location on the surface but not necessarily above the item in question, often in relation to liquids (11)–(12):

(1) *šákən ʾəllux.*ˡ 'I'll make a complaint about you.' (A22:46)
(2) *hótu pšàma ʾálla díya.*ˡ 'You are sad over it.' (A5:10)
(3) *kúlla ʾəlli.*ˡ 'It is all on me (= I shall pay for everything).' (A8:38)
(4) *lɛle-ʾéba ʾəllì?*ˡ 'Would not that be a shame on me?' (A8:55)
(5) *kúlla qəm-malušíla ʾálla dìya.*ˡ 'They put all of them (her clothes) on her.' (A4:20)
(6) *lá-qɛmət ʾəllə̀y.*ˡ 'You will not rise against them.' (A8:95)
(7) *zríqɛle yóma ʾálle dìye.*ˡ 'The sun shone on him.' (A26:22)

(8) *ʾu-ʾanna baxtáθa yə̀ðə̀i,*ˈ *mattí ʾíða ʾəlleˈ ṛéšə̀i qá-t ʾáwwa məndə̀ˈ hóle xməʾa.*ˈ ‘The women know (about this), they place a hand on it and feel that it is…it is leavened.’ (B5:100)

(9) *šqíləlla xa-skínta xéta ʾálle dìye.*ˈ ‘He took another knife on him (i.e. with him).’ (A14:66)

(10) *ʾáxči gu-Már-Gwərgəs Dúre ʾíθwa xa-kèpa*ˈ *ʾáwwa kθíwta taš̰íθa ʾálle dìye.*ˈ ‘In Mar Gwirgis of Dure there was only a stone, on which its history was written.’ (B1:7)

(11) *bár baθqìwale,*ˈ *hammáše míya gə̆́rəg háwa ʾálle dìye.*ˈ ‘After they scattered it, water had to be on it constantly.’ (B5:78)

(12) *qímle murə́sle hátxa míya ʾəllə̀y.*ˈ ‘He sprinkled water on them like this.’ (B6:11)

We could include here a construction such as (13), which expresses an external quality:

(13) *šúprə dúnye hóle ʾəlla-dìya.*ˈ ‘She had the beauty of the world.’ (A13:11)

(iv) *Direct Object*

Compound verbal forms consisting of a resultative particle or an infinitive express a pronominal object either by L-suffixes or by a pronominal suffix attached to the preposition *ʾəll-*. The use of the *ʾəll-* phrase is obligatory when the participle or infinitive does not have a copula enclitic, e.g. *hóle qṭíləlle* ‘He has killed him’, but is optional if the construction has a copula enclitic. Details of the use of *ʾəll-* with the compound verbal forms are given in §8.19.4. On rare occasions it is used to mark the pronominal direct object of a *qṭille* form (§8.19.2.). It should be noted that this usage of the prepositional phrase differs from others in that the phrase is generally bound to the verbal form prosodically and does not stand independently with its own stress, e.g. *múttətəlle* ‘You put him’ (A22:39), *prìmənəlla* ‘I cut it (f.)’ (A22:9), *bìθəllela* (*biθa-əlle-ila*) ‘She loved him’ (A4:12). This is a property it shares with L-suffixes, which likewise cannot be used with prosodic independence from the verb. Furthermore, the adnominal preposition *l-* does not function as a direct object marker.

(v) *Complement of verbs*

Verbs that take *l-* as their complement before nouns have an *ʾəll-* phrase when the noun is pronominalized. This phrase has prosodic independence. Given what has been said in the previous section, this prosodic

feature should be regarded a reflection of the fact that they are not direct objects, e.g.

(1) *náše là hămənáwa ʾálle díye.*ˡ 'People did not believe him.' (A48:1)
(2) *ham-mṣawòre ʾálle díye.*ˡ 'He curses him again.' (A17:3)

16.3. *ṭla, ta-*

16.3.1. *Direction*

The most frequent usage of this preposition is to express the direction, objective or beneficiary of an action or situation without necessarily any movement being involved, e.g.

(1) *híwəlla quṣárta ta-màlla.*ˡ 'They gave the pot to the mullah.' (A5:8)
(2) *hálla júllux ṭlàli.*ˡ 'Give your clothes to me.' (A7:18)
(3) *maláxa mára ṭla-ràbbən.*ˡ 'The angel said to the monk.' (A15:7)
(4) *ʾu-θélux mdagóle ṭlàli.*ˡ 'and you came lying to me.' (A1:23)
(5) *wídla ʾixàla*ˡ *ṭla-yàla.*ˡ 'She made food for the young man.' (A21:22)
(6) *ʾu-ṭlálux lan-šwíqa čù-məndi.*ˡ 'and for you I have left nothing.' (A2:11)
(7) *bắyən msóqən xákma məndiyàne*ˡ *ṭla-bèθa.*ˡ 'I want to buy a few things for the house.' (A22:12)
(8) *ʾítlən xá-məndi bắyəx ṭ-oðáxxe ṭlàlax.*ˡ 'There is something that we want to do for you.' (A4:48)
(9) *ʾáyya šwíθa ṭláli ʾu-ṭlàlux-ila.*ˡ 'This bed is for me and you.' (A22:32)
(10) *lá pɛšəx ṭla-xădàya.*ˡ 'We shall not stay for lunch.' (A21:30)
(11) *málla píšla quṣárta ta-màlla.*ˡ 'The cooking pot became the mullah's.' (A5:10)
(12) *ṭla-mò wídlux hátxa bíyi?*ˡ 'Why (literally: for what) have you done this to me?' (A15:14)

16.3.2. *Destination*

It is occasionally used after verbs or movement or conveyance expressing destination, e.g.

(1) *dárṛa ta-ʾaθrèy.*ˡ ‘They returned to their land.’ (A4:27)
(2) *ʾən-bǎyət ʾázət déṛət ṭla-bέθət bàbəx*ˡ ‘If you want to go and return to the house of your father’ (A4:42)
(3) *ʾu-nábəlla ṭla-be-šwàwən.*ˡ ‘Take it to our neighbours’ house.’ (A5:3)

16.3.3. *Temporal Objective*

The preposition may be used to express a temporal objective in constructions such as (1)–(3):

(1) *ʾáni zílla ta-ṭlà-yomane.*ˡ ‘They went for three days.’ (A14:84)
(2) *ʾawwa ʾaskaríya dìye*ˡ *ṭlà-kəma dánɛla?*ˡ ‘For how long is this army of his?’ (A17:22)
(3) *píšla yóma ṭla-yòma,*ˡ *yóma ṭla-yòma.*ˡ ‘She went on (like this) from day to day, day to day.’ (A21:1)

16.3.4. *Object Marker*

It is occasionally used to mark the direct object (§15.13.6.). This is attested only before definite nominals, the majority of which have animate referents, e.g.

(1) *ʾáwwa qṭìlle ṭla-ʾárya.*ˡ ‘He killed the lion.’ (A11:1)
(2) *díya ʾáwwa bǎye ta-d-áyya bráta zùrta.*ˡ ‘Now, he loves this young girl.’ (A14:83)
(3) *taxránne ṭla-xlúlət xóni Šəmmo.*ˡ ‘I remember the wedding of my brother Šəmmo.’ (B8:21)
(4) *zìptəllela*ˡ *ṭla-Mǎmo.*ˡ ‘She pushed Mǎmo.’ (A26:3)
(5) *xá-xuwwe plíṭa táma bǎye nayásle ṭla-brőn d-ó fallȁḥ.*ˡ ‘A snake had come out of there wanting to bite the son of that peasant.’ (A9:6)

16.4. *QA-*

The preposition *qa-* has distribution that is broadly parallel with that of *ta-*/*ṭla-*.

16.4.1. *Direction*

In most cases it is used to express the direction, objective or beneficiary of an action or situation, e.g.

(1) *mə́re qa-yə́mme dìye*ˡ ‘He said to his mother’ (A21:10)
(2) *ʾu-là-mṣalɛ̀wa qa-ʾálaha.*ˡ ‘They did not pray to God.’ (A15:17)
(3) *ʾáp-ʾawwa šaqólla ðá-kista qa-d-ày,*ˡ *yawólla qa-d-ày.*ˡ ‘He takes a purse for her and gives it to her.’ (A4:22)
(4) *xa-čára xazèna*ˡ *qa-t-ʾáyya bràti.*ˡ ‘I should find a solution for this daughter of mine.’ (A21:2)
(5) *ʾu-hóle míra ʾáyya bráti qa-brònux.*ˡ ‘This daughter of mine is for your son.’ (A21:8)
(6) *háwət basíma ràba*ˡ *qa-d-áwwa ʾixála ṯ-it-yíwəlle qa-dìyi.*ˡ ‘Thank you very much for this food that you have given me.’ (A22:31)
(7) *náše jə́mi qa-šèra.*ˡ ‘People gather for the festival.’ (B5:69)
(8) *masqíle ʾítle dúka mruzágta qa-sə̀twa.*ˡ ‘They take it up to a place that has been prepared for it for the winter.’ (B5:98)
(9) *qá-mo là?*ˡ ‘Why not?’ (A23:2)

16.4.2. *Destination*

It is occasionally used after verbs of conveyance to express the destination of movement, e.g.

(1) *núbləlla qa-bráte dìye.*ˡ ‘He took them to his daughter.’ (A17:13)

16.4.3. *Temporal Objective*

In sporadic instances it expresses a temporal objective, indicating how long a situation lasts, e.g.

(1) *qa-ṭḷà-yarxe*ˡ ‘for three months’ (A17:22)

16.4.4. *Object Marker*

It is occasionally used to mark a noun as the direct object of a verb (§15.13.6.). This is attested only before nouns with definite animate referents. Note that the verb does not have a pronominal object agreement suffix, which is elsewhere the norm before direct object nominals, e.g.

(1) *bə̆yéwa qa-ʾalàha.*ˡ ‘He loved God.’ (A16:10)
(2) *maláxa mŭṛə̀šle*ˡ *qa-ràbbən.*ˡ ‘The angel woke the monk.’ (A15:8)
(3) *ṣlíθɛla bàxta*ˡ *xzíθa qa-màlla.*ˡ ‘The woman went down (to the town) and saw the mullah.’ (A22:11)

(4) *dwíqɛle qa-ʾàrya.*ˡ ‘He seized the lion.’ (A27:3)
(5) *taʾla čídle ʾárxa qa-làqləq.*ˡ ‘The fox invited the stork as a guest.’ (A45:1)
(6) *Tătár-i Slemán-i Sándi qṭílɛle qa-Ẓàl.*ˡ ‘Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi killed Zāl.’ (A28:1)

16.5. *MƎN, M-*

This preposition represents the merging together of two prepositions that were distinct in earlier Aramaic, viz. **men* ‘from’ and **ʿam* ‘with’ (§13.3.14.). The relations it expresses may be classified as follows.

16.5.1. *Separation or Removal*

(1) *šqíləlla mən-d-ɛ-dɛ̀rta.*ˡ ‘They took it from that enclosure.’ (A15:12)
(2) *qu-plúṭ m-àxxa!*ˡ ‘Get out of here!’ (A16:11)
(3) *hal-ʾé-gət ṯ-áza dábba m-tàma.*ˡ ‘until the bear goes away from there.’ (A20:7)
(4) *bɛ́θe díye xáčča rəḥqa-wewa mən-máθa.*ˡ ‘His house was quite far from the village.’ (A48:1)
(5) *nìxlən m-Čúxo.*ˡ ‘We are relieved of Čuxo.’ (A7:19)

16.5.2. *Source or Origin*

(1) *ʾən-kʸálo m-gu-màθa,*ˡ *čɛrxìwala máθa*ˡ *xáṣə dawɛ̀re.*ˡ ‘If the bride was from the village, they would take her round the village on the back of mules.’ (B10:34)
(2) *ʾu-léla šátye míya mən-d-ɛ-ṭàsa.*ˡ ‘They did not drink the water from that bowl.’ (A15:11)
(3) *mùdit har-blíga ṭlába m-alàha*ˡ *ta-t-yawəllux?*ˡ ‘Why are you always busy asking God to give (things) to you?’ (A3:3)
(4) *yámmi lípta m-yámma dìya.*ˡ ‘My mother learnt from her mother.’ (B10:22)
(5) *ʾay-m-ráḥqa hóla wáðəlla ʾa-yaláxθa hàtxa qam-ʾéna díya.*ˡ ‘She shakes the handkerchief before her eyes from a distance like this.’ (A4:17)

When the clause contains a verb of movement, this sense overlaps to some extent with the previous category.

(6) *ʾíθwa xa-Lelíθa θíθa mən-Č̣ʾàl.*ˡ ‘There was a Leliθa who came from Č̣ʾāl.’ (A19:1)
(7) *ʾána hadíya m-kàslen θáya.*ˡ ‘I am now coming back from him.’ (A4:24)
(8) *síqla naǰǰàre*ˡ *mən-ʾAmedìya.*ˡ ‘Carpenters have come up from Amedia.’ (B10:80)
(9) *ʾána m-éka mεθə́nnux qèse?*ˡ ‘From where should I bring you wood?’ (A17:3)

The complement of the preposition may be a temporal expression, e.g.

(10) *ʾu-hóla mšuyðánta mən-d-ó-yoma ṯ̂-íla xzíθəlle ʾàw.*ˡ ‘She has been mad from the day that she saw him.’ (A4:12)
(11) *ʾána m-díya m-bàθərˡ brátux bə̆yə̀nna.*ˡ ‘I from now on love your daughter.’ (A17:35)
(12) *xáṭṭe m-sənnòrta,*ˡ *yála m-qapə̀lta.*ˡ ‘Wheat (is seen to be good) from when it is a shoot. A child (is seen to be good) from the time of (his mother’s) embrace.’ (D2:36)

It indicates the beginning in a range of items (*mən…ʾu-hal* ‘from…to’), e.g.

(13) *kùllən,*ˡ *mən-yále zóre ʾu-hal-gòṛe*ˡ ‘all of us, from young children to old people’ (B16:4)

16.5.3. *Partitive*

On numerous occasions the preposition expresses a partitive relationship, i.e. a part of a larger group or class, e.g.

(1) *šqíltεla mən-dàwe.*ˡ ‘She took some of the gold coins.’ (A10:7)
(2) *ʾəθyεle xa-mən-zaràye.*ˡ ‘One of the farmers came.’ (A4:31)
(3) *kút-xa mánna šqíləlle xa-skínta rìxta.*ˡ ‘Each of them took a long knife.’ (A23:29)
(4) *síqεle xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra.*ˡ ‘Some of the soot went up.’ (A4:60)
(5) *lá-mεθət m-an-t-qanàne.*ˡ *méθət m-an-kòč̣e.*ˡ ‘Don’t bring ones with horns. Bring ones that are hornless.’ (A7:24)
(6) *ʾo-bəzmára xíla mən-dàwa,*ˡ *šqíla mən-dàwa.*ˡ ‘The nail ate the gold, took some of the gold.’ (A17:28)

(7) *ʾána b-gáni là-taxrən m-áy.*ˈ ‘I myself do not remember any of this.’ (B10:82)
(8) *pyášən m-d-áwwa bèθa.*ˈ ‘I am becoming part of this family.’ (B5:41)

16.5.4. *Comparison*

(1) *ʾína mástət ʾárwe rába biš-basimtɛ́la biš-príštɛla mən-d-a-t-tàwre.*ˈ ‘But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle.’ (B5:173)
(2) *ʾíθwa lìθwa*ˈ *biš-m-álaha góṛa čú-mdi lìθwa.*ˈ ‘There was, there was not, there was nothing greater than God.’ (A30:1)
(3) *ʾáy biš-xámθɛla m-kùlla.*ˈ ‘She is more beautiful than all (= the most beautiful of all).’ (A25:26)

For further details concerning the formation of comparative constructions see §14.8.

16.5.5. *Cause*

(1) *mítli m-kàpna.*ˈ ‘I have (almost) died of hunger.’ (A27:31)
(2) *ʾána-ži m-kérbi ʾáθyən ʾá-kθɛθa múttənna rəš-núra ʾu-xìlənna.*ˈ ‘I, out of my anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it.’ (A2:11)
(3) *ʾánna ríqela síqela rəš-d-ay-ʾilána m-zdùθa.*ˈ ‘They ran and climbed the tree out of fear.’ (A13:11)
(4) *šányɛle žáre mən-xaðùθe díye.*ˈ ‘He fainted, poor man, on account of his joy.’ (A14:95)
(5) *ʾáyya m-hàtxɛwa mára,*ˈ *bnóli ʾótəx rəš-qórət gàwṛi.*ˈ ‘It was for this reason that she said “Build me a room over the grave of my husband.”’ (A4:51)
(6) *ʾáwwa ʾərbi*ˈ *m-gáne díye θéle ríqle l-ṭùra.*ˈ ‘This sheep of mine has come and run to the mountain of its own accord.’ (A10:3)

16.5.6. *Material*

The preposition may express the material from which something is made, e.g.

(1) *məlxáwa ʾíwa mtúṛṣa m-qèsa.*ˈ ‘The winnowing fork was made from wood.’ (B5:87)

(2) *dúxwa ʾíle mtúrṣa mən-dàwwe-u*ˈ *sàṛe-u*ˈ ‘*Duxwa* is made from diluted yoghurt and barely.’ (B5:27)
(3) *ṭéni kúlla ʾíwa mən-dàwa.*ˈ ‘My load all consisted of gold.’ (A7:11)
(4) *ʾipyáθa mən-miròṭela.*ˈ ‘The yoke straps are made of gut.’

16.5.7. *Specification*

In some cases the preposition is used to specify a preceding expression, as in (1):

(1) *háwət basíma ràba*ˈ *qa-d-áwwa ʾixála ṯ-it-yíwəlle qa-dìyi*ˈ *mən-kθayàθa,*ˈ *mən-bàsra,*ˈ *mən-šékər-u čáy-u ṣàbun.*ˈ ‘Thank you very much for this food that you have given me, chicken, meat, sugar, tea, soap.’ (A22:31)

16.5.8. *Spatial Location*

On some occasions it is used to express a static location. This tends to be restricted to adverbial expressions containing locations that typically stand in contrastive opposition, especially sides, e.g.

(1) *ʾasṛíwala b-qésa ʾu-m-áy-gota qèsa*ˈ *ʾu-m-áy-gota qèsa.*ˈ ‘They would bind them to a stick, with a stick this side and a stick that side.’ (B7:16)
(2) *Čixàlo,*ˈ *m-yaha-góta xèta,*ˈ *qəm-xazéla ʾína xzéle ṣádra dìya.*ˈ ‘Čixalo, on the other side, saw them and saw her breast.’ (A25:29–30)
(3) *ʾína ʾáw tắra lá tắra mánne-mənnət tắrət nàše,*ˈ *m-àwwa bára.*ˈ ‘The door for this, however, was not together with the door for people on this side.’ (B10:53)
(4) *txúme díye ʾìla*ˈ *mən-madənxa*ˈ *Ẓàwa,*ˈ *ʾu-mən-màrwa*ˈ *ʾìla*ˈ *Xawòra.*ˈ ‘Its borders are on the East the Zab and on the West the Khabur.’ (B1:4)

We should include here the expression *m-gēb* ‘instead of, in place of’, which is literally ‘on the side of’, e.g.

(5) *ʾáyya béna hár-kulla ṭlàlux ʾən-bắyət,*ˈ *m-gēb-d-àni.*ˈ ‘This time everything is for you, if you want, in place of those (other coins).’ (A1:13)
(6) *ʾap-ʾàti*ˈ *m-gḗb ṯ-aθátwa méθətwali zùze,*ˈ *šqíllux xa-šəndòxa.*ˈ ‘So you, instead of coming and bringing me money, took a rock.’ (A1:25)

(7) *ʾálaha mxožə́bnəlla m-gēb-xà-dawa.*ˡ ‘God has reckoned this bag as corresponding to one gold coin.’ (A6:10)

16.5.9. *Temporal Location*

The preposition may denote a fixed temporal location. It is most commonly used in this function before *baθər/bar* ‘after’, e.g.

(1) *m-báθər xámša daqìqe*ˡ ‘after five minutes’ (A22:23)
(2) *ʾu-ʾáxni-ži láx muqíme m-báθre díye màlka.*ˡ ‘We have not installed (another) king after him.’ (A4:32)
(3) *m-báθər ʾána zílli šùla*ˡ ‘after I went to work’ (A21:38)
(4) *m-bar-t-gwìrra*ˡ ‘after they married’ (A4:57)

It is occasionally used in this way elsewhere, e.g.

(5) *ʾo-t-páyəš b-híwit nàše*ˡ *míθɛle mən-bərmàše.*ˡ ‘He who pins his hope on other people is dead by the evening.’ (D2:28)

16.5.10. *‘With’*

When it is appropriate to translate the preposition with English ‘with’, the relation is generally comitative, e.g.

(1) *mən-xuráne díye píšɛle gu-ṭúra xá-yoma yóme trè.*ˡ ‘With his friends he remained in the mountains one or two days.’ (A4:2)
(2) *núbla xulamwàθa mánne.*ˡ ‘He took servants with him.’ (A4:10)
(3) *ṣléla mánne gu-gòma.*ˡ ‘She went down with him into the basement stable.’ (A21:23)
(4) *qémən šaqlánni xákma mándi mánni b-ʾìði.*ˡ ‘I’ll take something for myself with me in my hand.’ (A23:5)
(5) *ʾítli šúla mànnux.*ˡ ‘I have business with you.’ (A21:33)
(6) *háyyo puš-mànni.*ˡ ‘Come, stay with me.’ (A21:43)

In (7) and (8) the preposition expresses the beneficiary of the action:

(7) *wúð ða-spayúθa mànni.*ˡ ‘Do me a favour.’ (A7:17)
(8) *ʾáyya ṯ-oðàtla mánni?*ˡ ‘Will you do this for me?’ (A8:62)

16.5.11. *Combined with Other Prepositions*

The preposition *mən* is sometimes used before other prepositions. In such cases it expresses separation or source, e.g.

(1) *ʾu-ṭríðəlle m-gu-bèθa.*ˡ 'He drove him from the house.' (A16:11)
(2) *ʾína plíṭɛle max-tàla*ˡ *m-gu-kàrma.*ˡ 'but he came out as a fox from the orchard.' (A17:35)
(3) *pàlṭən m-gáwe.*ˡ 'I shall get out of it.' (A20:3)
(4) *xa-qála ʾáθe m-qam-tắrət bèθa*ˡ 'A voice came from before the house.' (A22:29)
(5) *ʾázən šáqlən zùzi*ˡ *m-rəš-ʾèna.*ˡ 'I shall go to take my money from on top of the spring.' (A15:2)
(6) *dawqíwa tárte bnàθa*ˡ *xá m-rèše*ˡ *ʾu-xa-bráta mən-xóθe dìye.*ˡ 'Two girls held it, one from above it and one from below it.' (B7:24)

It is used after the preposition *qam-* when the latter has a temporal sense, e.g.

(7) *ʾáw qam-mànnux hóle ʾóθya láxxa.*ˡ 'He has come back here before you.' (A22:39)

16.5.12. *Complements of Verbs and Expressions*

The preposition *mən* is used as the complement of various verbs and expressions, e.g. *braya mən* 'to leave (so.), *bista mən* 'familiar with', *hrawa mən* 'to speak (angrily) with', *mbaqore mən* 'to ask (so.)', *mdagole mən* 'to lie about', *mjagore mən* 'to contend with', *mḷaya mən* 'to fill with', *mṣawoθe mən* 'to speak with', *mštawhore mən* 'to be proud of', *praqa mən* 'to finish with', *qwala mən* 'to complain about', *ṭlaba mən* 'to ask (so.)', *zdaʾa mən* 'to be afraid of', *wắdər mən* 'outside of'. It is used after some verbs to express an advantage or benefit, e.g. *waða mən* 'to do a good service to', *mqawole mən* 'to give a promise to', *maṣyoxe mən* 'to visit (the sick)'.

16.6. Repetition of Prepositions

In certain circumstances prepositions are repeated. In some cases the purpose of this is to express movement. It is commonly found with the preposition *reš-* 'upon', which, when repeated, has the sense of 'across' or 'over', e.g.

(1) *lá ʾawðáxle ʾáwwa gəšra*ˈ *šáwrəx réša réša d-ánna mìya.*ʔˈ ‘Should we not make a bridge for it so that we can go across this water?’ (A17:3)
(2) *m-éka mɛθánne bəzmàre*ˈ *ʾu-nasàrta,*ˈ *ta-ṯ-oðánne gəšra*ˈ *šàwər réše réše.*ˈ ‘From where should I bring you nails and a saw to make him a bridge over which he could cross?’ (A17:9)
(3) *har-ʾəθyɛle mən-ṭúra réša-reša d-o-gàre.*ˈ ‘He came straight from the mountain across that roof.’ (A23:14)
(4) *plíṭɛle xa-dídwa mən-naxìrət málka,*ˈ *reša-réša d-a-dudəkθa,*ˈ *t-wawa rəš-d-à-masta,*ˈ *zílle wírre gu-xá-borət kèpe.*ˈ ‘A fly came out of the nose of the king, (went) across the pipe that was over the yoghurt, and entered a pile of stones.’ (A11:5)
(5) *b-xálmi zála reša-réša ða-yáma rába gòṛta,*ˈ *yáma xwàrta.*ˈ ‘In my dream I went across a great sea, a white sea.’ (A11:7)

Note that in these constructions the preposition has a full nominal inflection in the form *reša* or has a pronominal suffix. This contrasts with its normal contracted form *rəš* before a noun.

Other prepositions are occasionally repeated to express movement. This is attested for the prepositions *gu-* ‘in’, *xo-* ‘under’, *qam-* ‘before’ and *baθər-/bar-* ‘after’, which in this construction are used with nominal inflection in the forms *gawa*, *xoθa*, *qama* and *baθra/bara*, e.g.

(6) *síqle gáwa-gawət ḥadìqa.*ˈ ‘He went up through the garden.’ (A17:24)
(7) *náša jawújwa gawe-gawe-dìye*ˈ *palàṭwa m-d-é-paθa xèta.*ˈ ‘A person could walk through it (the river) and come out the other side.’ (B3:9)
(8) *ʾu-gríšle mýa m-ṭùra*ˈ *muθéle xóθa-xoθət ʾùpra,*ˈ *muwárre gu-Dəmdəma.*ˈ ‘and he drew water from the mountain, bringing it under the ground and directing it into Dəmdəma.’ (A11:14)
(9) *ʾəθyela tré malàxe,*ˈ *pyáða qama-qámət čádra d-ò-malka.*ˈ ‘Two angels came, passing in front of the tent of the king.’ (A4:2)
(10) *ʾáw npílɛle báθra báθra tèla.*ˈ ‘He followed after the fox.’ (A35:13)
(11) *zílla báre báre dìye.*ˈ ‘She went after him.’ (A20:5)

The prepositions *b-* and *mən-*, which have multiple meanings, are sometimes repeated when they have a comitative sense. In the construction with *b-* the preposition is, in some cases, expressed three times (*biye bə-b* ‘together with’), e.g.

(12) *ṣályɛle bìye b-došákka*ˈ *gu-d-ó tanùra.*ˈ ‘He went down together with the mattress into the oven.’ (A34:15)
(13) *qəm-maxéle bə-b-qàtta.*ˈ ‘He struck it (the sword) together with the sheath.’ (A52:18)
(14) *ʾáwwa bíye bə-b-sùse*ˈ *ʾáwər gu-d-o-gəppa.*ˈ ‘He together with his horse entered a cave.’ (A28:3)
(15) *škíra šəmmux,*ˈ *márya ʾàlaha,*ˈ *ʾéni qəm-mɛθéli láxxa bíye bə-b-sùsi.*ˈ ‘May your name be praised, Lord God, who have brought me here together with my horse.’ (A26:22)
(16) *péšət mánni mànni*ˈ *ʾu-t-yánnux ʾúpra kəmàt bă̆yət.*ˈ ‘Stay with me and I shall give you as much land as you want.’ (A21:41)
(17) *kút-yoma gă̆rəg háwən mənnéy mənnèy.*ˈ ‘I must be with them everyday.’ (A8:18).
(18) *hálbət míya mánne mánne lɛšìwale.*ˈ ‘Of course they kneaded it together with water.’ (B5:16)
(19) *ʾína ʾáw tă̆ra lá tă̆ra mánne-mənnət tă̆rət nàše,*ˈ *m-àwwa bára.*ˈ ‘The door for this, however, was not together with the door for people on this side.’ (B10:53)

In (20) the preposition *mən* is used with the sense of spatial location and the repetition conveys the sense of extension that can be captured by the translation ‘along by’ or ‘alongside’:

(20) *ʾƐ̄n-Núne npíltɛla l-ṭúra l-ṭùra*ˈ *mənná-mənnət nèra*ˈ ʾƐn-Nune lies between one mountain and another alongside a river.’ (B5:148)

16.7. Genitive Particle with Prepositions

When a preposition has a pronominal suffix, it may optionally be extended with the independent genitive particle bearing the same pronominal suffix, e.g. *ʾəlle ~ ʾəlle diye*, *biye ~ biye diye*, *mənne ~ mənne diye*, *gawe ~ gawe diye*. The final syllable of the preposition with the suffix is occasionally contracted, with the result that the suffix is expressed only on the genitive particle, e.g. *bi-díye* (B5:126), *mən-díye* (B5:158). These extended types of construction should be contrasted with prepositions that cannot take pronominal suffixes directly and regularly use the genitive particle to carry them, e.g. *qa-diye* ‘to him’.

Prepositions with pronominal suffixes that are extended by the genitive particle are attested predominantly with third person suffixes. It is occasionally found with other suffixes, e.g. *ʾəlli-díyi* 'to me' (A7:7).

Since the preposition in these constructions itself carries a pronominal suffix, the use of the genitive particle is redundant. Such 'heavy' coding is often used as a type of end weighting in order to mark some kind of closure. This is reflected by the fact that the constructions are predominantly used at the end of intonation groups, e.g.

(1) *ʾo-náša y-azə́lwa ʾálla dìyey.*| 'The man would go to them.' (B5:21)
(2) *šúprə dúnye hóle ʾəlla-dìya.*| 'She had the beauty of the world.' (A13:11)
(3) *qá-t ʾan-márre la-ʾáθi ʾálla dìya.*| 'so that diseases do not afflict it.' (B5:106)
(4) *ṣ́ályɛle tfíqa bíye dìye.*| 'He went down and met him.' (A13:3)
(5) *mò-ʾoðəx bíye díye?*| 'What shall we do with him?' (A14:8)
(6) *ʾo-yála zóra žàre,*| *šqíla ʾaw-nə̀re mánne díye.*| 'The young boy, poor thing, took the axe with him.' (A14:12)
(7) *ʾína brónət málka θèle*| *ʾu-ðà mánne díye.*| 'Behold the son of the king has come and a girl is with him.' (A14:93)
(8) *báhər ṯ́-áθi xákma náše sáxi gáwa dìya.*| 'In Spring some people come and swim in it.' (A14:78)
(9) *ʾu-dérɛ xmìra gáwe díye.*| 'and they put leaven in it.' (B5:100)
(10) *mùtta*| *bəsra-w gèrme qáme díye.*| 'He put meat and bones before him.' (A25:50)
(11) *gə́rəg xaprátla ʔ́ənnəḵ́éra dìya.*| 'Each year you must dig around it.' (B5:105)

Equivalent constructions that lack the genitive particle and so are morphologically lighter often occur within an intonation group, e.g.

(12) *xárθa tfíqe bíye xázyəlle ʾína šə̂nya,*| *npìla.*| 'Then they came across him and found that he had fainted and fallen.' (A14:88)
(13) *ʾu-bar dɛrɛ́wa gáwe y-asṛ̀wala.*| 'After they put it in it, they tied it up.' (B5:166)
(14) *ʾína mútta qáme nále-w bəzmàre.*| 'But he put before him horseshoes and nails.' (A25:50)

When the genitive particle is omitted at the end of an intonation group, the clause is generally closely associated with what follows, in that it coheres

together with it in a closely knit series of clauses. In some of the examples below the closure of the series of clauses is signalled on a subsequent clause by a 'heavy' prepositional phrase containing a genitive partice:

(15) *malákθa màra*ˡ *kút-xa ṯ-íle rqáða mànna*ˡ *dàməx mánna díya.*ˡ 'The queen said that whoever danced with her would sleep with her.' (A13:2)

(16) *yála zòra*ˡ *xzi-màndi*ˡ *ʾíθwa skìnta mánne*ˡ *ʾo-nằra mánne díye.*ˡ '(He was) a young boy, you see, and he had a knife with him, or an axe with him.' (A14:25)

(17) *ʾu-ʾanna baxtáθa yằði,*ˡ *mattí ʾíða ʾàlle*ˡ *ṛéši qá-t ʾáwwa màndi*ˡ *hóle xmiʾa.*ˡ 'The women know (about this), they place a hand on it and feel that it is…it is leavened.' (B5:100)

(18) *ʾu-ʾítwala ʾánna júllət prìxla bíya,*ˡ *qəm-ṭɛnáli xáṣa dìya.*ˡ 'She had these clothes with which she flew and carried me on her back.' (A14:96)

(19) *šaqə́lwa čánta mànne-u*ˡ *máttu láxma gàwa,*ˡ *y-azə́lwa čyàda,*ˡ *béθa bèθa.*ˡ 'He would take a bag with him, in which he put bread, and would go from house to house making invitations.' (B5:20)

The genitive particle is regularly omitted on *ʾəll-* phrases that mark pronominal objects on compound verbal forms. It was noted above (§16.2.2.2. iv) that in this context the *ʾəll-* phrases resemble L-suffixes prosodically in that they are always bound to the verb in the same stress group. The lack of a genitive particle is compatible with this tendency for prosodic lightening of the suffix.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE CLAUSE

17.1. The Copula Clause

Many aspects of the function of the various copulas and the clauses in which they occur have already been dealt with at length in §8.7. The use of copulas in the predicate of compound verbal constructions has been presented in §8.8. Here we shall be concerned with some features of the word order of copula clauses. The clauses are divided into three groups according to the type of copula they contain: (i) enclitic copula (including present and past copula), (ii) independent copula (including present and past copula) and (iii) deictic copula.

17.1.1. *Enclitic Copula*

17.1.1.1. *Basic Predicate*

When the enclitic copula occurs in a clause consisting of a predicate without any independently standing subject constituent, it is suffixed to the predicate, e.g.

(1) *xòðìwən.*ˡ 'I am by myself.' (A22:32)
(2) *xàwrən-ile.*ˡ 'He is our friend.' (A14:61)
(3) *zòrɛle.*ˡ 'He is young.' (A25:87)
(4) *senàyile.*ˡ 'It is easy.' (B5:106)
(5) *ʾɛ-gòṛtɛla.*ˡ 'She is the elder one.' (A25:19)
(6) *xa-ʾilànɛle.*ˡ 'It is a tree.' (B5:152)
(7) *qùwyɛwa.*ˡ 'It was strong.' (B5:145)
(8) *zàxme-wawa.*ˡ 'It was huge.' (C7:2)

When the predicate is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, the copula agrees with the predicate, e.g. *ʾànɛwən*ˡ 'It is me', *ʾàti-wət*ˡ 'It is you'.

17.1.1.2. *Clauses Containing a Subject Constituent*

When the clause contains a subject constituent in the form of an independent pronoun or a nominal, the subject is normally placed before the

predicate and the copula is suffixed to the predicate with the nuclear stress occurring on the predicate, e.g.

(1) *ʾána màlkən.*ˡ 'I am a king.' (A4:30)
(2) *ʾáwwa nišànqɛle.*ˡ 'It is a symbol.' (B5:41)
(3) *bráta zamàrtɛla.*ˡ 'The girl is a singer.' (A25:68)
(4) *xáli zàngin-ile.*ˡ 'My uncle is rich.' (A23:3)
(5) *w-áw xamìmɛwa.*ˡ 'It was warm.' (B5:154)
(6) *xóne díye făqìra-wewa.*ˡ 'His brother was poor.' (A25:1)

When the predicate is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, the copula agrees with the predicate, e.g.

(7) *ʾáni xášwi ʾáti ʾànən.*ˡ 'They will think you are me.' (A7:18)

The subject constituent may occur in a separate intonation group. Constructions such as these often occur at some kind of boundary in the discourse. The clause in (8), for example, opens a section of discourse concerning the village saint's festival. The clause in (9) marks the onset of a concluding comment on the preceding foreground section of the discourse concerning the cultivation of apples. The clause in (10) occurs at the onset of a turn of speech:

(8) *šèra*ˡ *xa-təxrùnyɛle.*ˡ 'The festival is a memorial.' (B5:69)
(9) *ʾu-xayuθèy*ˡ *b-àyyɛwa.*ˡ 'Their livelihood was in this (profession).' (B5:106)
(10) *ʾána-w ʾàti*ˡ *xonăwàθɛwəx.*ˡ 'You and I are brothers.' (A26:49)

The copula is occasionally placed on the subject constituent. The motivation for such a construction is to express the prominence of the subject. This may be focal prominence or topical prominence (§15.4.1.4.1. i–ii). When it has focal prominence it functions as an information focus. This is signalled on the prosodic level by the placement of the nuclear stress on the subject constituent, e.g.

(11) *ʾáwwa lèle kálba,*ˡ *ʾàtit kálba.*ˡ 'He is not a dog, *you* are a dog.' (A11:20)
(12) *dəbbɛla táma*ˡ '*The bear* is there.' (A20:7)

In (11) and (12) the predicate belongs to the presuppositional background of the clause. In (11), for example, the presupposition is '*x* is a dog' and the subject constituent supplies the new information that *x* is to be identified with 'you'. The clauses are used in a context in which the speaker assumes that the hearer is entertaining another referent for the role in question and the purpose of the construction is to reverse this expectation.

In (13) the construction is used to express an exclusive focus after the particle *har*:

(13) *lámu har-àtit ʾárya?*ˡ 'Is it only *you* who are a lion? (literally: Only *you* are a lion?)' (A46:3)

When the subject constituent with the enclitic copula is topically prominent, the nuclear stress remains on the predicate. The topical prominence of the referent arises from the fact that it has been evoked in the immediately preceding discourse. This construction is not regularly used with all subject constituents that have been previously evoked. The purpose of the 'heavy coding' of the initial topical subject is to mark a boundary in the discourse, endowing the clause with a distinctness from what precedes. This may mark a new discourse section, as in (14) and (15), where the clauses are concluding comments on a preceding foreground section. The construction is also used to give a clause distinctness for the sake of making it more prominent, as is the case in (16):

(14) *ʾáwwa mášxa y-amráxle ʦ̌ìta.*ˡ *ʾáwwa ʾi-mapəlxìle*ˡ *ʾán y-axlíle b-ləxma,*ˡ *ʾán ʾi-dɛ́rile b-rə̀zza,*ˡ…*ʾáyyɛla ʦ̌ita.*ˡ 'We call this butter *ʦ̌ita*. They use it—either they eat it on bread or they put it in rice or, when they cook rice…This is butter.' (B6:40–41)

(15) *ʾo-yálət bə̆yàwale*ˡ *hóle ʾəθya-w*ˡ *qəm-yawálla yaləxθa ʾálli.*ˡ *ʾu-ʾáyyɛla kùlla.*ˡ 'The young man whom she loved has come and has given me her scarf. That is all.' (A4:24)

(16) *xúwwele qṭìla.*ˡ 'The snake is killed.' (A24:42)

The topical prominence marked by the copula may also be forward pointing, i.e. the item is marked as having relevance in the subsequent discourse. This is found in constructions with the deictic form *hatxa* or *hadəx* 'thus', when it has a forward pointing correlative function in that it relates to what is specified in the following clause, e.g.

(17) *hátxɛla qaḍìya*| *málka hóle múθyəlla bráte dìye*| *ʾu-hóle míra ʾáyya bráti qa-brònux.*| ‘This is the situation: the king has brought his daughter and said “This daughter of mine is for your son, that is she will become your wife.”’ (A21:8)

The enclitic copula, therefore, expresses a general prominence, which is unmarked with regard to its pragmatic nature. The nucleus of the intonation group, on the other hand, expresses a new information focus. The two devices usually coincide, in that the enclitic copula is generally placed on the element that is the new information focus of the clause. They may, however, operate independently, as in (14)–(17).

On some occasions the subject constituent is placed after the predicate. In such cases the enclitic copula and the nuclear stress are generally on the predicate, e.g.

(18) *ʾàwwɛle gɛyása.*| ‘The *gɛyasa* ceremony is this.’ (B6:4)
(19) *ʾànnɛla ʾeðăwáθə diyéni.*| ‘Our festivals are these.’ (B6:16)
(20) *y-ásqəx mέθəx míya mən-d-ăwàha ṭúra.*| *rába rə̀ḥqɛle ʾo-ṭúra.*| ‘We shall go up and fetch water from that mountain over there. That mountain is very far away.’ (A39:9)
(21) *mšadóre ʾə́lla dìya*| *ʾu-náše θèla*| *qəm-banέle bέθe dìye,*| *gu-ʾášta šáwwa yomàne,*| *ʾašírət ràbθa-wawa Jazíre Bóta.*| ‘She sent them to her and people came and rebuilt his house, in six or seven days. Jazire Bota was a large community (consisting of many people).’ (A26:59)
(22) *xzéle b-xə́lme dìye*| *ʾíθ xa-náša gu-d-áy mðìta*| *biš-fằqíra m-kúlla nàša.*| *rába fằqìra-wewa ʾawwa-náša.*| ‘He saw in his dream that there was a man in the town who was poorer than anybody else. The man was very poor.’ (A8:3)

Constructions with postposed subjects such as (18)–(22) are typically used to express an elaborative comment on something that has been talked about in the immediately preceding discourse. They are intended to be cohesive with what precedes more than with what follows. The subject is a topical referent and not part of the information focus of the clause.

This construction is used also in clauses that repeat information that has been given in what immediately precedes without advancing the discourse. This is the case in (23), where the postposed subject is placed in a separate intonation group:

(23) *mára gắrəg méθət sisisàmbər.*| *sáwən Tóma smèle, píšle ḳòra.*| *sisisàmbər*| *ʾèkɛla?*| *kəs-Leliθa.*| *ʾáp-xa lá-maṣe máṭe ʾálla dìya.*| *kəs-Leliθɛla*| *sisisàmbər.*| ‘They said “You must bring the sisisambər plant. Grandfather Toma has become blind.” “Where is the sisisambər?” “With Leliθa. Nobody can reach it. The sisisambər is with Leliθa.”’ (A50:1)

When the referent of the subject constituent has been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, the copula is occasionally placed on the postposed subject rather than on the predicate. The copula in such cases signals the topical prominence of the subject constituent, e.g.

(24) *mára kʸèle qáṣre díye?*|*…mára ʾăwàʾha qáṣre díyele.*| ‘He said “Where is his residence?” …He said “His residence is that (over there).”’ (A37:10)

The motivation for a construction with a postposed subject such as (24) is again to signal cohesiveness with what precedes, in this case supplying the answer to a preceding question. When, conversely, a topical subject constituent occurs at the front of a clause, this typically expresses a less cohesive connection with what precedes. As we have seen, the discourse boundary marking function may be enhanced by increasing the coding of the subject topic by means of the enclitic copula (14–16).

17.1.1.3. *Split Predicate*

When the predicate is a composite phrase consisting of several constituents, the copula is sometimes placed on the head of the predicate before the dependent elements.

This is frequently the case when the head of the predicate is modified by a dependent prepositional phrase, e.g.

(1) *ʾáyya qɛ́ṭɛla ṭla-ḥaywàne.*| ‘This is (the activity of) the summer for the animals.’ (B5:112)
(2) *ʾɛ̄n-Núne npíltɛla l-ṭúra l-ṭùra.*| ʾƐn-Nune lies between one mountain and another.’ (B5:148)
(3) *har-blígət b-kàsux.*| ‘You are always concerned about your stomach.’ (A23:10)
(4) *ʾan-markáne mtúrṣela m-ʾùpra.*| ‘The jars are made from clay.’ (B5:168)
(5) *ʾaw-zeðáya mtúrṣɛwa m-xə̀ṭṭe.*| ‘The flat-bread was made out of wheat.’ (B5:15)

(6) *ʾína ramánɛwa biš-mən-qáṣrət kùl-naše.*ˈ ‘But it was higher than the villa of anybody (else).’ (B10:51)

If the speaker wishes to give particular focal prominence to the dependent prepositional phrase, this may be fronted before the head of the predicate with the nuclear stress and copula placed on it, e.g.

(7) *ṣáwθa gu-púmmət màrɛla šəklánta.*ˈ ‘A word is beautiful (only) in the mouth of its master (= It is easier said than done).’ (A26:40)

The split of the predicate is regularly found when the head of the predicate is a noun with a subordinate clause as its dependent, e.g.

(8) *dánɛla qá-t dɛréla mɛrèθa.*ˈ ‘It is time to add the rennet.’ (B5:164)

It is occasionally found in nominal annexation constructions, whereby the copula is placed on the head noun, e.g.

(9) *ʾána málkən d-ày-bažər.*ˈ ‘I am the king of that town.’ (A32:9)
(10) *ʾáwwa xa-nišànqɛleˈ t-ʾáθṛa d-è-ga.*ˈ ‘This was a symbolic act of our country at that time.’ (B5:153)

In (9) the annexation particle is attached to a dependent phrase that begins with a demonstrative and in (10) the particle is attached to a dependent noun that is separated from its head by an intonation group boundary. In both cases, therefore, the connection between the head and dependent elements of the annexation are looser than in a construction in which the annexation particle is suffixed to the head noun (*kθawət qaša* ‘the book of the priest’). The copula does not split the head and dependent elements in the latter type of tight annexation, e.g.

(11) *ʾap-ʾána brónət màlkɛwən.*ˈ ‘I also am the son of a king.’ (A24:45)
(12) *čálθət qáša Hɛ̀dot?*ˈ ‘Are you the daughter-in-law of the priest Hɛdo?’ (B9:10)

A copula normally intervenes between a head noun and an adjective only when the adjective is in a separate intonation group. In such constructions the adjective can be regarded as a reduced form of a separate predication (see §14.7., examples 47–50), e.g.

(13) *xa-kàrmɛle*ˈ *rába gòṛa.*ˈ ‘It is an orchard (which is) very large.’ (A12:9)

When the adjective occurs in the same intonation group as the head noun, the copula is placed at the end of the phrase, e.g.

(14) *ʾána xa-náša gòṛɛwən.*ˈ ‘I am an old man.’ (A8:43)
(15) *ʾáy qəṣṣátta rìxtɛla.*ˈ ‘It is a long story.’ (A25:52)
(16) *xa-qə́ṣṣət rába mapšəmàntɛla.*ˈ ‘It is a very sad story.’ (A4:31)

On some sporadic occasions the copula is placed on a quantifier or intensifier particle that stands before the head of the predicate, e.g.

(17) *rábɛwa náše xə̀ðye.*ˈ ‘The people were very happy.’ (B15:12)
(18) *rábəxwa xə́ðye pṣìxe.*ˈ ‘We were very happy and cheerful.’ (B16:6)
(19) *tă̆rət ʾùmra*ˈ *rábɛwa kòpa.*ˈ ‘The door of the church was very low.’ (B15:2)
(20) *kúlla qumašắt ʾɛ́-ga bíš-wɛwa rešàye.*ˈ ‘All the material at that time was of the very best quality.’ (B10:45)

This retraction of the copula can be regarded as a device for expressing the prominence of the intensifier particle. The predicate as a whole expresses new information, so the particle is not being singled out as the only information focus in the clause. This is reflected also in the prosody, in that the nuclear stress is placed at the end of the predicate, which is intended to mark the whole phrase as new information. Rather, within the new information of the predicate, the intensifier is being given an enhanced prominence. This can be compared to a construction with a compound verbal form such as (21), in which the copula is moved back onto the quantifier *raba* to give it an enhanced prominence within the new information of the predicate:

(21) *zríyənwale b-iθàθi*ˈ *ʾu-rábənwa kčíxa bíye dìye.*ˈ ‘I had cultivated it with my hands and greatly toiled in it.’ (A17:32)

When the subject constituent is postposed, in some isolated cases it is placed after the head noun of the predicate but before a dependent modifier. This applies to (22), in which the independent subject pronoun intervenes between a noun and its adjective. As with other cases of postposed subjects, the clause has a status of a comment on what precedes it:

(22) *káze xoš-ṣlìgən| yalúnka ʾáti zòrɛwət.|* 'He tried (to persuade him to go) "Go down, you are a young child."' (A29:28)

17.1.2. *Independent Copula*

17.1.2.1. *Basic Predicate*

An independent standing copula without a subject constituent is attested in the text corpus in two contexts.

(i) *Present Copula before the Predicate*

These tend to occur as answers to rhetorical questions such as (1) and (2):

(1) *ʾɛ-màsta| ʾi-dɛríla gu-gùða.| gúða mòdile?|| ʾíle gəldət xa-hèwən.|* 'They put the yoghurt in a churn. What is a churn? It is an animal skin.' (B6:38)
(2) *xɛ́la díya mòdile| t-mazvàrra?|| ʾíla mìya.|* 'What is its power, which turns it? It is water.' (B6:53)

This type of question and answer structure has a similar function to clauses with an independent copula after the subject such as *guða ʾile gəldət heywən, xɛla diya ʾila miya* (§17.1.2.2.), which typically supply an explanatory or elaboratory comment on what precedes.

(ii) *Past Copula after the Predicate*

These constructions do not appear to be significantly different in function from corresponding ones with an enclitic copula. The 'heavier' coding brought about by the prosodic separation may have been exploited by the speaker to give the clause added prominence, e.g.

(1) *gu-bèθa wéwa.|* 'He was in the house.' (A6:1)
(2) *rába tàza ʾiyéwa.|* 'It was very good.' (B5:55)

17.1.2.2. *Clauses Containing a Subject Constituent*

Clauses containing an independent standing copula generally have a subject constituent in the form of an independent pronoun or a nominal. The constructions discussed in §17.1.2.1. which lack a subject constituent are far more rarely attested in the text corpus. The subject constituent is regularly placed at the front of the clause before the predicate. The copula is placed either before the predicate, immediately after the subject (1–6),

or is placed after the predicate (7–10). This applies both to the present and the past copula.

(1) *ʾána ʾíwən Rustám̓o brōn-t-Ẓàlo.*ˡ 'I am Rustam son of Zāl.' (A29:63)
(2) *ʾáxni ʾíwəx màlke.*ˡ 'We are kings.' (A18:8)
(3) *ʾáxxa ʾíθena dàwla.*ˡ *dáwla ʾíle xa-sandùqa*ˡ *réše pθíxɛle dérɛ xàṭṭe gáwe.*ˡ 'Here there is a drum. The drum is a box, with an open top, in which they put wheat.' (B6:54)
(4) *béθət Qára Téždin qìdle.*ˡ *Qára Téždin ʾíle xàtne díye.*ˡ 'The house of Qara Teždin has burnt down. Qara Teždin is his brother-in-law.' (A26:55)
(5) *məlxáwa ʾíwa mtúrṣa m-qèsa.*ˡ 'The winnowing fork was made from wood.' (B5:87)
(6) *w-áw ʾiwéwa malàxa.*ˡ 'He was an angel.' (A8:25)
(7) *ʾána Qára Tèždin ʾíwən.*ˡ 'I am Qara Teždin.' (A26:68)
(8) *ʾána brònux ʾíwən.*ˡ 'I am your son.' (A18:7)
(9) *sab-qyámta b-lèle ʾiyáwa.*ˡ 'because Easter was at night.' (B5:53)
(10) *tròṣa*ˡ *ʾáni milàne ʾiyéwa*ˡ 'In fact, they were green.' (B5:218)

The placement of the copula immediately after the subject in clauses such as (1)–(6) expresses the topical prominence of the subject. This reinforced coding of the topic in initial position functions as a discourse boundary marker. The construction is used either in statements that supply explanatory information concerning what precedes or in statements that open a section of discourse. When acting as explanatory comments on what precedes, they differ from constructions with postposed subjects such as (§17.1.1.2., examples 18–24) in their degree of independence and prominence. The postposed subject constructions are incidental comments that are tagged onto what precedes. The constructions with the initial subject and following copula are presented as important pieces of information, which typically have relevance for what follows as well as being explanatory of what precedes.

As remarked, the position of the copula after the subject expresses the topical prominence of the subject. The prosodic detachment of the copula as an independent word can be interpreted as a 'heavy' grammatical coding device intended to give the clause as a whole prominence and distinctness. Construction such as (7)–(10) which have have a prosodically independent copula after the predicate exhibit this latter device. They can, therefore, be regarded as expressing some degree of prominence. Indeed, they can all be interpreted as being intended as important statements in the contexts

in which they occur. They lack the additional device of reinforcing the topical prominence of the subject as a means of marking their distinctness. It should be noted, however, that in the attested examples of this construction a pronominal subject is always expressed by an independent pronoun (cf. 7, 8, 10) rather than zero anaphora. This in itself is a 'heavy' coding device designed to mark a boundary (see §17.7.4.).

The subject constituent in clauses with an independent copula is not postposed after the predicate. This can be explained by the fact that, as seen in §17.1.1.2, the postposition of a topic subject constituent, is typically used as a device to bind cohesively the clause with what precedes as a form of incidental tag. This is incompatible with the function of the independent copula as a marker of distinctness and independence from what precedes. An apparent exception to this is (11):

(11) *rəš-kúlla d-áni ʾíla Səttìye.*ˡ 'Above all of these is Səttiye.' (A25:22)

Here the inflection of the copula agrees with the noun Səttiye and in this respect the latter would normally be construed as the grammatical subject. In terms of information structure, however, the initial prepositional phrase containing the anaphoric pronoun is clearly more topical than the noun Səttiye, which is the asserted focus of new information.

The initial subject constituent is sometimes separated from the rest of the clause by an intonation group boundary. This is a further prosodic device to reinforce the prominence of the initial topic in order to give the clause as a whole distinctness in the discourse and disjoin it from what precedes, e.g.

(12) *ʾu-zeðàya*ˡ *ʾíla biš-xlìmta.*ˡ 'A flat-bread is thicker.' (B6:49)
(13) *Nìnwe*ˡ *ʾiwáwa pétəxt ʾaθoràye.*ˡ 'Nineveh was the capital of the Assyrians.' (B6:17)
(14) *Mǎ̀mo*ˡ *ʾíwewa gu-ʾAlǎ̀n*ˡ *ʾu-Zìne*ˡ *ʾiwáwa gu-Jazíre Bòta.*ˡ 'Mămo was in ʾAlān and Zine was in Jazire Bota.' (A26:1)

17.1.3. *Deictic Copula*

17.1.3.1. *Basic Predicate*

When the deictic copula occurs in a clause without a subject constituent, it is normally placed before the predicate (1–3).

(1) *hóla làxxa.*ˡ ‘They are here.’ (A14:100)
(2) *hóle gu-Kàrkuk.*ˡ ‘He is in Kirkuk.’ (A16:1)
(3) *hóla gwìrta.*ˡ ‘She is married.’ (A26:31)

On sporadic occasions deviations from this structure are found. In (4)–(6), for example, it is placed after the predicate. In (7) it is used in combination with an enclitic copula:

(4) *bas-ṭlìya hóle.*ˡ ‘But he is asleep.’ (A31:6)
(5) *ʾárye dìye*ˡ *kəs-báxte dìye hóla.*ˡ ‘His lions are with his wife.’ (A18:19)
(6) *šxàna hóli!*ˡ ‘I am getting hot!’ (A32:23)
(7) *hóle qúrbət nùrɛle.*ˡ ‘He is near the fire.’ (A23:9)

17.1.3.2. *Clauses Containing a Subject Constituent*
When the clause contains a subject constituent, the deictic copula is normally placed before the predicate. There is variation, however, regarding the position of the subject, in that it may be placed before or after the copula.

(i) *Subject—Copula*
When the subject is placed before the copula, the clause in principle marks some kind of discourse boundary. This construction often occurs at the beginning of a section of text that concerns the referent of the subject, e.g.

(1) ***xa-bráta hóla tàma***ˡ *ʾána mári ʾəllux,*ˡ *bráta zamàrtɛla.*ˡ *ʾáp-xa lɛlemṣáya bíya dìya.*ˡ ‘A girl is there. The girl is a singer—as I said to you. Nobody can prevail over her.’ (A25:68)
(2) ***baxtáθən hóla yaqúre tərwəθna.***ˡ *ʾən-báxtux muθéla bràta*ˡ *ʾu-báxti muθéla bròna,*ˡ *brátux qa-bròni.*ˡ *ʾən-báxti muθéla bràta*ˡ *ʾu-báxtux muθéla bròna,*ˡ *ʾa-bráti qa-brònux.*ˡ ‘Our wives are both pregnant. If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son. If my wife gives birth to a daughter and your wife gives birth to a son, my daughter (will be married) to your son.’ (A25:2–3)
(3) *ʾƐ̄n-Nùne*ˡ *hóla npílta gu-ʾáθrət Bərwər.*ˡ ʾƐn-Nune lies in the land of Barwar.’ (B4:1)

The construction is sometimes used to introduce a discourse section that is inserted within a larger section. This applies, for example, to (4), which

is an extract from a description of the activities of the bride in a wedding. The construction in question with the deictic copula marks a shift to a section concerned with the activities of the groom. The discourse subsequent shifts attention back to the bride:

(4) *y-amríla zawə́rtət kʸàlo.*| *ʾày*| *ta-t-toràla*| *kʸálo xaráye ṯ-óra gu-bə̀θa.*| *maxyàle ʾo-mə́šxa.*| ***xə́tna hóle zína l-gàre.***| *mən-gáre maxé-ʾaqle rəš-swána hàtxa,*| *ṣále xánči ʾúpra gu-réšət kʸàlo.*| *xaráye ṯ-àwra.*| 'They call it "the bride's pot." It was for the bride to break in order that she could finally enter the house. She would apply the oil, while the groom was standing on the roof. From the roof he strikes his foot on the eves like this and a little earth falls onto the head of the bride. Finally she enters.' (B8:33–34)

The inserted section may consist of only a clause, as in (5), in which the speaker uses the construction to turn attention to the activity of the doves. The effect is to present this as an activity with a degree of independence from the activity of the youth described in what precedes, which is concomitant with it rather than being a component of it:

(5) *xa-yála rába šapìra*| *hóle ʾəθya,*| *súse mrúpyəlle gu-màrgax.*| *hóle dáryəlla gáne gu-bárke dìyax.*| *hóle sxàya,*| ***yonáθa hóla reše-reše-dìye.***| *mút ʾáti tíwta làxxa?*| *qu-xzà!*| 'A very handsome youth has come and released his horse in your meadow. He has immersed himself in your pool and is swimming. Doves are (flying) over him. Why are you sitting here? Get up and see!' (A25:58)

The initial subject constituent is occasionally placed in a separate intonation group. This is the case in (6), in which the two clauses with the deictic pronouns distinguish between the situation of his aunt and uncle by presenting them in a contrastive opposition. The prosodic separation of the subject topic constituent enhances the distinctness of the two poles of the opposition:

(6) *qìmɛle,*| *šə́mmət máθa díye wéwa Barwòre.*| *ʾámte dìye*| *hóla gu-Sàrzar*| *ʾu-xále dìye*| *hóle gu-Daštàne.*| 'The name of his village was Barwore. His aunt was in Sarzar and his uncle was in Daštane.' (A23:1)

(ii) *Copula—Subject*

When the subject constituent is placed after the copula, the clause is presented with a greater cohesion with what precedes. In (1) and (2) the

construction gives descriptive detail concerning the preceding event. In (3) it describes a situation that is an immediate consequence of the preceding event. In (4) the clause introduces the instrument of the following activity of the cutting of the bread and in this sense is cohesive with what follows. The placement of the subject after the copula, however, has the effect of binding the whole section describing the cutting of the bread to what precedes and presenting it as a direct consequence of it.

(1) *wírɛle gu-xà-ʾotəx xéta*ˈ *gòṛta*ˈ ***hóla xákma kursăwàθa***ˈ ***m-ày-gota***ˈ ***xákma m-ày-gota.***ˈ ‘He went into another room, a large one. Some chairs are on one side and some on the other.’ (A14:29)

(2) *ʾáy hóla wáða kùbbe.*ˈ ***hóla ʾiθáθa gu-lɛ̀ša****,*ˈ *lyáša kùbbe.*ˈ ‘She is making meat-balls. Her hands are in dough, while kneading the meat-balls.’ (A21:26)

(3) *múθyəlla làxxa*ˈ *ʾáw-u wə̀zīr*ˈ *ʾu-****hóla wajjúwe díya làxxa****.*ˈ ‘He and his vizier brought her here, and her effects are here.’ (A21:9)

(4) *zeðàye*ˈ *t-la-qṣàya*ˈ *de-màṭo hóya?*ˈ ***hóla skínta mànne****.*ˈ *xaráṭla zeðàye*ˈ *b-pálga dìya.*ˈ ‘(He says) “Pitta bread without breaking it, how could that be?” He has a knife with him. He scores the pittas in their middle.’ (A30:21)

17.1.4. *Copula Clauses with an Interrogative Constituent*

The predicate of a copula clause may be an interrogative constituent, e.g. *mòdile?*ˈ ‘What is it?’ (A4:48), *ʾɛ̀nile?*ˈ ‘Who is it’ (A22:32), *ʾɛ̀kɛle?*ˈ ‘Where is he?’ (A4:19).

When the clause contains a subject constituent, the copula is always placed on the predicate. The subject is placed either before or after the predicate. The basic principle determining the position of the subject is the same as in indicative clauses. The placement of the subject in initial position before the predicate typically marks some kind of boundary in the discourse, whereas the subject is postposed after the predicate when the speaker wishes to present that clause as having greater cohesion with what precedes.

The construction with the subject before the predicate is frequently attested in the text corpus at the beginning of a section of discourse that supplies an explanatory comment on what precedes, e.g.

(1) *hóle ʾíθən làxxa*ˈ *stàrra.*ˈ *stárra mòdile?*ˈ *xàṭṭele*ˈ *ʾu-šĭšmele*ˈ *ʾu-pràge*ˈ *ʾu-sàṛe,*ˈ *kúlla dárye gu-mzìðe.*ˈ ‘There was a food store. What is a food store?

It is wheat, sesame, millet, barley, everything put in leather bags.' (A23:17)

(2) *ʾíθwalən mandòrta.ˈ mandórta mòdila?ˌ ʾáwwa kèpɛle,ˈ mən-gòte,ˈ m-ay-góta m-ay-gòtaˈ xríṭa xa-bòya.ˈ* 'We had a roller. What is a roller? It is a stone, bored with a hole in its side, on one side and the other side.' (B5:145)

(3) *ʾéða gòṛaˈ yómət trùšebaˈ y-áwe duxràna.ˈ y-áwe duxràna.ˈ ʾo-duxrána mòdile?ˌ ʾan-nàšeˈ kùlla báteˈ kut-béθa mbášəl xa-màndi.ˈ* 'During the "big festival," Monday was a (time of) memorial, it was a (time of) memorial. What is this memorial? The people, all the families, each family cooks something.' (B5:64)

The referent of the subject has not always been mentioned in the preceding discourse. In (4), for example, the subject 'his job' has not been mentioned. The crucial factor is that the narrator presents the interrogative clause as a boundary, introducing a section of discourse in which he describes the activities of his daily work:

(4) *ʾíθwale xa-tàwraˈ ʾu-xa-xmàra.ˈ kút-yum šúle díye mòdi-wewa?ˌ šaqàlwale táwre díyeˈ ʾu-šaqàlwa xmáre díyeˈ qèdamtaˈ y-azálwa zărèwaˈ ʾu-y-aθéwa l-bèθa,ˈ y-axálwa mándi ʾi-damàxwa.ˈ* 'He had an ox and an ass. Everyday what was his job? He would take his ox and take his ass early in the morning and go to cultivate (his field). He would then come back home, eat something and go to sleep.' (A21:3–4)

The construction with the subject before the predicate is sometimes used at the beginning of a speech turn, e.g.

(5) *ʾámər ʾáw ʾènile?ˌ* 'He says "Who is he?"' (A22:29)

(6) *ʾámər ʾáti ʾèniwət?ˌ* 'He says "Who are you?"' (A28:34)

When the subject is placed after the predicate, the nuclear stress is either placed on the predicate or on the subject. As remarked above, the subject is postposed in various contexts where the clause is presented by the speaker as cohesive with what precedes. In (7) and (8) the construction is used in the second of a series of two questions, the purpose of which is to elicit the same basic information and are presented as a unit:

(7) *yába ʾèkɛleˈ Dáwəð k̲òra?ˌ ʾékɛle maḥálle díye?ˌ* 'Where is blind David? Where is his place?' (A16:3)

(8) *mə́re ṭla-Žàlo:*ˈ *Žàlo*ˈ *ʾánna màdila gu-réšux,*ˈ *ʾánna šaqyàθa?*ǀ *módila ʾánna brinàne?*ǀ 'He said to Zāl "Zāl, what these on your head, these scars? What are these wounds?"' (A29:4)

In (9) the question 'What was her name?' is presented as cohering closely with the preceding clauses which introduce the referent of a woman into the discourse:

(9) *ʾíθwa xa-baxtàˈ rába xàmθɛwawa.*ˈ *módi-wewa šə́mma dìya?*ǀ *Bəlbə́l Hazàr.*ˈ 'There was a woman. She was very beautiful. What was her name? Bəlbəl Hazar.' (A8:21)

In (10) the subject is postposed in a question at the beginning of a speech turn. The effect of this is to present it as a tag to what precedes, eliciting a supplementary detail, rather than setting it up as the onset of a new section of discourse concerning 'your house':

(10) *b-óma xéna ʾáθeti ṭla-kawùθra,*ˈ *čə́dət kəslèni.*ˈ *mə́re ʾèkɛle bɛθéxu?*ǀ *mə́ra fəllən dùkθa.*ˈ '(She said) "The day after tomorrow come to lunch, you are invited to our home." He said "Where is your house?" She said "In such-and-such a place."' (A22:14)

If the interrogative constituent is the subject of the clause, this is normally placed at the front of the clause with the copula cliticized to it, e.g.

(11) *ʾénile gu-bèθa?*ǀ 'Who is in the house?'
(12) *ʾénile zaqàra?*ǀ 'Who is a weaver?'
(13) *módile rəš-mèz?*ǀ 'What is on the table?'

The nuclear stress is in principle put on the predicate. The placement of the copula on the subject can be explained as a reflection of the topical prominence of this constituent. It is not topically prominent in the sense that it is referentially bound to the preceding discourse, but rather due to the fact that it is the central concern of the clause which is typically expected to be talked about in the following discourse. This may be termed 'forward pointing' topical prominence (see §15.4.1.4.1. iiia).

The nuclear stress is generally placed on the interrogative subject constituent when the predicate is a component of the presuppositional background the clause. The prosodic pattern *ʾènile gu-bə́θa*ˈ, for example, would typically be used when the speaker assumes that the hearer is entertaining the presupposition that somebody is in the house.

When an adverbial interrogative expression meaning 'why' is placed at the front of a copula clause, the copula is, likewise, attached to this item rather than to the predicate, e.g.

(14) *ta-módila ʾáyya mðíta hàtxa.ʔ*ǀ 'Why is this town like this?' (A4:31)

17.1.5. *Existential Usage*

In a few cases the enclitic copula is used simply to predicate the existence of a referent rather than ascribe some property to it or identify it with another item. This is most commonly found in meteorological expressions, e.g.

(1) *xapùθɛla.*ǀ 'It is foggy (literally: There is fog).'
(2) *mə̀ṭrɛla.*ǀ 'It is rainy (literally: There is rain).'
(3) *xə̀mmɛle ʾálli.*ǀ 'I am hot (literally: There is heat is to me).'
(4) *qàrθɛla ʾálli.*ǀ 'I am cold (literally: There is cold is to me).'

Other examples:

(5) *gu-xa-gə́ppa hambišàye-wawa.*ǀ 'There were giants in a cave.' (A12:18)
(6) *há ríxət náša naxràyɛle!*ǀ 'Ha, there is the smell of a foreign man!' (A24:47)
(7) *ʾiθáθa qàmxɛle,*ǀ *pθìxtəllela tǎ́ra.*ǀ 'While there was flour on her hands, she opened the door.' (A21:26)

In principle the nuclear stress is placed on the existential subject in such constructions, which reflects its status as a new information focus. In (8) the copula is placed on a preceding quantifier. In such constructions the whole clause is a new information focus, including the existential subjects, which is reflected by the position of the nuclear stress on the subject at the end of the intonation group. The placement of the copula on the quantifier, therefore, does not express a narrow new information focus on the quantifier, but rather expresses a prominence or intensification of the quantifier within the broad information focus of the clause:

(8) *ʾÍšwuṭ rába krèt-iwa gu-ʾáθṛa.*ǀ *rábɛwa tàlga*ǀ *rábɛwa mə́ṭra ʾu-məndiyàne.*ǀ '(The month of) February was very bad in our country. There was a lot of snow. There was a lot of rain and so on.' (B5:152)

Sporadically the enclitic copula is found with an existential function with referentially definite subjects in other contexts, e.g.

(9) *har-Wɛ́rda-w Nɛ̀rgis-ila.ˡ làtla,ˡ lá bnòne,ˡ lá čù-məndi.ˡ* 'Only Wɛrda and Nɛrgis were there. They had no children, nothing.' (A24:51)

The independent copula is attested with existential meaning in clauses contaning indefinite subjects, e.g.

(10) *gu-d-ó qoṭ́ya ʾíla xa-ṣə̀pra.ˡ* 'In that box there is a sparrow.' (A12:40)

The deictic copula is used existentially with definite or indefinite subject constituents. It is placed either before or after the subject, e.g.

(11) *hóla ʾisə́qθa dìya.ˡ* 'Here is her ring.' (A25:69)
(12) *hó'la mìya.ˡ* 'Here is some water.' (A28:18)
(13) *xa-bɛ́θa hòle.ˡ* 'There is a house over there.' (A33:5)

17.2. Clauses Containing a Negative Copula

The negative copula is in principle placed before the predicate. The most basic construction consists of a simple nexus of copula and predicate, e.g.

(1) *léle dàwa.ˡ* 'It is not gold.' (A14:26)
(2) *léle pĉ̣la.ˡ* 'It is not crooked.' (A17:20)
(3) *léle gnàyi.ˡ* 'Its not my fault.' (A23:23)
(4) *lɛ́wət d-áwwa ʾàθr̥a.ˡ* 'You are not from this country.' (A25:82)
(5) *lɛ́wa rába gòr̥a.ˡ* 'It was not very big.' (B5:140)

When the clause contains a subject constituent, this is generally placed before the predicate, e.g.

(6) *ʾáwwa lɛ̀le qáša.ˡ* 'He is not a priest.' (B17:7)
(7) *ʾáw léle ʾùpri.ˡ* 'It is not my land.' (A25:52)
(8) *Yuwánəs lɛ̀le táma.ˡ* 'Yuwanəs is not there.' (A52:6)
(9) *dárdi léla d-àyya.ˡ* 'My suffering is not from this.' (A26:66)
(10) *yə́mmi lɛ́wa qrìθa.ˡ* 'My mother was not educated.' (B8:15)

The nuclear stress is placed either at the end of the predicate phrase or on the copula. It is typically placed on the copula when the predicate consists of an item that has been introduced in the preceding discourse, e.g.

(11) *mə́re má-ləx bráta ṯ̂-it-hátxa bxàya*ˈ *qam-d-ánna ʾərwe.ʔ*ˌ *mə́ra ʾánna lèwa ʾə́rwe,*ˈ *xonăwàθi wɛ́wa.*ˈ 'He said "What is the matter with you girl that you are weeping so much in front of these sheep?" She said "These used not to be sheep, they used to be my brothers."' (A34:20–21)

(12) *mə́re mùt kálba mubréθa ʾáti.ʔ*ˌ *…mə́ra ʾáwwa lèle kálba,*ˈ *ʾàtit kálba.*ˈ 'He said "What dog have you given birth to?" …She said "He is not a dog. *You* are a dog."' (A11:20)

(13) *ʾáw y-amrìle*ˈ *lìtle náše.*ˈ *ʾáwwa mìθɛle.*ˈ *ʾáwwa mádam ʾìθwale*ˈ *bàxta,*ˈ *ʾíθwale bnòne,*ˈ *ʾíθwale nàše,*ˈ *ʾáwwa lèle míθa.*ˈ 'They say that he has no relatives. He is dead (in this case). So long as he had a wife, he had sons, he had relatives, he is not dead.' (A17:17)

The subject constituent is sporadically placed after the predicate. As with positive copula clauses with postposed subjects, this construction is used to express close cohesion to what precedes. It is found in contexts such as (14), in which the clause is a comment that is presented as a tag to the preceding remark and not the onset of a new discourse section. Note that the subject is in a separate intonation group:

(14) *hot-qṭìləlle ʾažvána!*ˈ *mə̀re*ˈ *lèle ʾažvána*ˈ *ʾàwwa.*ˈ (She said) "You have killed the caretaker."'. He said "He is not the caretaker."' (A22:46)

The negative copula is placed after the predicate in idiomatic interrogative constructions such as (15) and (16). In these an interrogative clause with a negative copula echoes a preceding interogative clause with a positive copula, maintaining the same word order:

(15) *dréla šláma l-fə̀̂qih*ˈ *dàx-it.ʔ*ˌ *dax-lèwət.ʔ*ˌ 'She greeted the jurist "How are you? How are you not?" (A22:16)

(16) *ʾən-íle xwarzàyi,*ˈ *ṯ̂-áθe t-yăðéla ʾánna mòdila*ˈ *ʾu-módi lèla.*ˈ 'If he is my nephew, he will come and will know what these are and what they are not.' (A25:49)

This echoing of the word order of a preceding constituent question with a positive copula is also found in the answer to such questions, as in (17), in which the negative copula in the answer is placed after the predicate:

(17) *ʾàmər,*| *Fárxo ṭla-xále díye ʾàmər*| *xáli mòdila?*‖ *xázəx ʾaskaràye.*| *kúlla ʾAmedía píšla ʾaskaràye.*| *máre xá-məndi lèla.*| 'He said, Farxo said to his maternal uncle "What is the matter uncle? We can see soldiers. The whole of Amedia has become soldiers." He said "It is nothing."' (A25:79)

The 3fs. form of the negative copula *lɛla* is tagged onto the end of clauses in various contexts to refer to some general propositional content, e.g.

(18) *bă̆zəxwa tannàkka.*| *tannákka t-nùṭa lɛ́la?*‖ 'We would make a hole in the can, an oil can, is that not so?' (B10:86)
(19) *káma gàye*| *gu-xáṣa díya mútte tópe čŭ̆ruk,*| *lèla.*| 'Several times the guns were pointed at her back, bang, but it does not happen (i.e. the gun does not shoot).' (B9:18)

The negative particle *la* is occasionally used in a clause containing a positive copula in order to express asseveration rather than negation. In such cases the negative particle never bears the nuclear stress, e.g.

(20) *la-hóle mìθa.*| 'He is indeed dead.' (A17:2)
(21) *la-ʾaw-dŭ̀s-wewa.*| 'He was indeed right.' (A17:8)
(22) *la-málka màmi*| *hóle yámya b-rèš̆i.*| 'Indeed the king my uncle has sworn on my head (to execute me).' (A25:36)
(23) *la-ʾàxxa-wewa.*| 'He was indeed here.'

Such constructions have no doubt developed from the use of the negator as an interjection to contradict some statement or request of the interlocutor, as is seen in contexts such as (24):

(24) *máre ṣli-qàmθa*| *máre la-ʾàti ṣli-qámθa.*| 'He said "Go down and meet her." He (the other) said "No, you go down to meet her."' (A26:40)

17.3. The Existential Particles

The existential particles (*ʾiθ*, *ʾiθwa*, *liθ*, *liθwa* and their variants) are placed either before or after the nominal with which they are combined.

17.3.1. *Particle—Nominal*

In most constructions with the positive existential particle that are attested in the text corpus the nominal is placed after the particle. The function of such constructions is to introduce into the discourse new referents, which have not been mentioned previously. The nominal in most cases is indefinite with a specific referent, e.g.

(1) *ʾíθən xa-ṭùra.*ˈ ‘There is a mountain.’ (A24:11)
(2) *ʾíθwa xa-màlka.*ˈ ‘There was a king.’ (A1:2)
(3) *ʾíθ xa-párša b-réše dìye.*ˈ ‘There is a flat stone on him.’ (A39:13)
(4) *ʾíθən táma ðàʾa.*ˈ ‘There is a woman there.’ (A25:53)

In some cases the nominal denotes a generic class or is a proper name. Both of these types of nominal are definite in status, since their referent is identifiable from their description independently of context. The crucial feature, however, is not identifiability but rather the fact that they have not been mentioned previously and are being introduced into the discourse, e.g.

(5) *ʾíθwa ʾȁraq.*ˈ ‘There was arak.’ (B5:11)
(6) *ʾé-ga qam-lámpa ʾíθwa šràʾa.*ˈ ‘At that time instead of an (electric) lamp there was an (oil) lamp.’ (A33:1)
(7) *ʾé-ga ʾíθən Čixàlo*ˈ *ʾu-ʾAšebaṭàlo.*ˈ ‘At that time there were Čixalo and Ašebaṭalo.’ (A25:23)

When the particle is negative, the nominal is placed after the particle on several occasions, e.g.

(8) *líθ čù-məndi.*ˈ ‘There is nothing.’ (A21:5)
(9) *líθ ʾáp-xa gu-bèθa?*ˈ ‘Is there nobody in the house?’ (A22:32)
(10) *líθən dărȁje,*ˈ *ta-ṣáli gu-gòma.*ˈ ‘There are no steps for them to go down into the basement stable.’ (A22:10)
(11) *líθwa ʾánna qănȁfe-u məndiyáne.*ˈ ‘There were no armchairs and things (like that).’ (B5:200)

The nuclear stress is normally placed on the phrase that follows the particle. It is placed on the particle to express a narrow focus in contexts where the speaker asserts the existence of something when it may be presupposed that it does not exist, e.g.

(12) *mabyóne ʾìθ-xa-məndi gu-qə́ṣṣət.*ˡ 'It seems there really is something in the story.' (A4:18)

17.3.2. *Nominal—Particle*

Constructions with the positive existential particle that have the nominal before the particle are only sporadically attested. They are used when the nominal is modified by an interrogative particle, e.g.

(1) *kəmà ʿAbda-Raḥmā́n ʾíθ?*ˡ 'How many ʿAbda-Raḥmāns are there?' (A23:27)

The nominal is placed before the particle in contexts where the referent of the nominal has already been introduced in the immediately preceding context, e.g.

(2) *ṭalítuwa ṭawalyàθa?*ˡ *ṭawalyáθa ʾíθwa ràba*ˡ *ʾàxčì*ˡ *lá-raba ʾì-taxrə̀nna.*ˡ '"Did you play games?" "There were many games, but I do not remember them much."' (B15:30)

The preposed nominal may not have been explicitly mentioned, but is nevertheless bound to previously mentioned items in a set relation. This is the case in (3), in which the universal set term 'everything' includes the items 'fine grapes' and 'houris':

(3) *ʾìθ-táma ʾə́nwa ṭèpi*ˡ *ʾu-ḥuriyə̀t*ˡ *ʾu-kúlla-məndi ʾìθgena*ˡ 'There are there fine grapes and houris. There is everything.' (A2:8)

Constructions with the negative existential particle that have the nominal before the particle are frequently attested in the text corpus. On some occasions the referent of the nominal has been mentioned in the preceding discourse. The construction in such cases does not deny the existence of the referent but rather denies its presence on the scene, e.g.

(4) *ʾáza xázya jùlla,*ˡ *júlla lìθ.*ˡ 'She goes to find her clothes, but her clothes are not there.' (A14:99)

(5) *ʾo-xóna zóra lìθ.*ˈ ‘The young brother is not there.’ (A12:24)
(6) *Parizáda ṛìšla,*ˈ *ṭɛ́ra lìθ.*ˈ ‘Parizada woke up, but the bird is not there.’ (A24:30)
(7) *ṛíšela ʾánna maymùne,*ˈ *ʾína ʾáni lìθ.*ˈ ‘The monkeys woke up, but they (the men) were not there.’ (A14:57)

In some cases the referent of the nominal is linked to what precedes by associative anaphora, such as a set relationship, e.g.

(8) *xílle xáčca mən-d-o-dùša.*ˈ *ṣéle mìya,*ˈ *xa-ṭəppíθa míya lìθ.*ˈ ‘He ate some of the honey. He became thirsty for water, but there was not a drop of water.’ (A14:24)

In many cases, however, the preposed nominal has no clear anaphoric relationship with what precedes. The placement of the nominal in such cases is likely to be conditioned by its lack of referentiality. It would appear that referential nominals that introduce a referent into the discourse have a greater tendency to be placed after the nominal than negated, non-referential ones. In the attested examples the nuclear stress is placed either on the particle (9–11) or on the nominal (12–13). The placement of the nuclear stress on the nominal takes place where the negation of the nominal is reinforced by the negative particle *čʊ-* or, in the case of the indefinite pronoun *xa*, the particle *ʾaṗ*. The nucelar stress gives added force to these particles. These negative reinforcement particles may also be used where the nuclear stress is on the existential particle (10–11):

(9) *qímela xìlela.*ˈ *qímela šqílela xa-ʾamána xànčɪ zóra.*ˈ *múttəlla kəs-réša dìya.*ˈ *ṣáwθa lìθən.*ˈ ‘They ate. Then they took a small container and put it at her head. There was no speech (with this).’ (A21:17–18)
(10) *xzéle xa-qáṣra ràba góṛa.*ˈ *zílɛle máxya tə̀ra.*ˈ *čú-naša lìθ.*ˈ ‘He saw a very large palace. He went and knocked on the door. There was nobody.’ (A14:28)
(11) *qəm-šaqlàla kanóšta,*ˈ *daryála gu-nùra.*ˈ *čú-məndi lìθ.*ˈ ‘She took the broom and put it in the fire, but there was nothing (= nothing happened).’ (A12:39)
(12) *čʊ̀-qala líθ.*ˈ ‘There is no sound.’ (A18:15)
(13) *ʾàṗ-xa líθ.*ˈ ‘There is nobody.’ (A33:3)

When two or more negated existential clauses are conjoined, the negative particle *la* may be placed before each nominal. In such constructions the

nominals are presented as being linked in a set relationship. The existential particle may have either its positive or negative form, e.g.

(14) *la-bèθa ʾíθən,*| *ʾu-la-nàša ʾíθən.*| 'There is not a house and there is nobody there.' (A39:2)
(15) *líθ là-xmara mánne díye*| *la-čù-məndi.*| 'There is no ass with him, (there is) nothing.' (A22:25)

The negative particle *la* can be used before the positive existential particle with an asseverative function, e.g.

(16) *la-ʾíθwa manày.*| 'Indeed there was a meaning (to this).' (B8:33)

17.3.3. *Particle Alone*

In certain contexts the negative particle is used by itself, without any other clause constituents.

It may refer anaphorically to a referent in the previous discourse denoting the absence of this referent from the scene, e.g.

(1) *Ḥásan ʾÁġa spárɛle ta-t-dèṛa*| *ʾu-spárɛle ta-t-dèṛa,*| *lìθ.*| 'Ḥasan Aġa waits for her to return, waits for her to return, but she is not there.' (A27:26)

Speakers sometimes use the particle as an interrogative tag to receive confirmation from the interlocutor. This is generally used in contexts where the speaker is sure about what he is saying, but seeks confirmation as a device for drawing attention to a particular point. The sense can often be rendered in English by 'you see':

(2) *ʾo-šúla ʾáwwa y-amráxwale qàṛṭa líθən?*| 'We called this job trimming, you see.' (B5:141)
(3) *máglət gilándi xá-mdi gòṛɛle líθən?*| 'The scythe is something big, you see.' (B5:144)
(4) *ʾítwa náše šuléy ʾàwwɛle líθən?*| 'There were people whose job was this, you see.' (B5:135)
(5) *ʾíθwale qášta-w géra d-è-ga,*| *lìθ?*| 'He had a bow and arrow (typical) of that time, you see.' (A12:32)

In narrative it is occasionally used as a device to draw attention to an unexpected event, e.g.

(6) *ʾásqa t-paθxàle tắra*ˈ *ʾína gáwṛa díya mpắlóye gu-d-an-dàwe,*ˈ *lìθ?*ˈ ‘She went up to open the door and saw her husband sorting the gold coins!’ (A10:13)

17.4. Possessive Constructions

The existential particles are commonly used together with L-suffixes to express possession.

17.4.1. *Particle—Possessed Item*

The item possessed is normally placed after the particle. It is typically indefinite and bears the nuclear stress, e.g.

(1) *ʾítli ðá bratət-màma.*ˈ ‘I have a cousin.’ (A7:17)
(2) *ʾítli xákma xabráne ṯ̂-amrànnəx.*ˈ ‘I have a few words to say to you.’ (A4:40)
(3) *sab-ʾíθli rába mándi ṭemàna gáwe díye.*ˈ ‘because I have something very valuable in it.’ (A7:9)
(4) *ʾíθwalən xa-màlka.*ˈ ‘We had a king.’ (A4:31)
(5) *líθwale quṣàrta.*ˈ ‘He did not have a cooking-pot.’ (A5:1)
(6) *líθwala bnòne.*ˈ ‘They did not have children.’ (A15:9)

17.4.2. *Possessed Item—Particle*

The possessed item is occasionally fronted before the existential particle. The examples of this construction in the text corpus may be classified as follows.

(i) When the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to a newly introduced referent in the ‘item possessed’ slot. In such cases the fronted item bears the nuclear stress. In (2) the nominal is combined with the particle *bas*, which expresses exclusivity:

(1) *saṭàne ʾítlən*ˈ *gu-d-áwwa bèθa.*ˈ ‘We have demons in this house.’ (A22:26)
(2) *bas-yəmma ʾíθwale.*ˈ ‘He had only a mother.’ (A21:3)

(ii) In constructions with the positive existential particle, the possessed item is fronted without bearing the nuclear stress when it is definite and given in the previous discourse, e.g.

(1) *t-yánnux ʾúpra kəmà-t bə́ʹyətˈ ʾu-plóx gáwe díye ʾu-mápləx nàše.*ˈ . . . *ʾúpra ʾìtliˈ ṃalyànɛle.*ˈ ‘“I shall give you as much land as you want. Work on it and employ people.” . . . “I have land, (which) is sufficient.”’ (A21:41–42)

(iii) In constructions with the negative existential particle, the nominal is sometimes fronted without the nuclear stress where it is not anaphorically linked to the preceding discourse, e.g.

(1) *ʾána zúza lìtli,*ˈ *fãqìrtɛn.*ˈ ‘I do not have money. I am poor.’ (A22:19)

17.4.3. *Possessor Expressed by a Nominal*

If the possessor is expressed by a nominal or independent pronominal form, it is not made the complement of the preposition *l-* but rather is extraposed at the front of the clause and resumed by an L-suffix. This reflects the fact that the L-suffix is acquiring the properties of verbal inflection as is the case in the *qṭille* form of the verb. Examples:

(1) *ʾaw-málka ʾíθwale xa-bròna.*ˈ ‘That king had a son.’ (A4:1)
(2) *kul-máθa ʾíθwala qənyàne.*ˈ ‘Every village had domestic animals.’ (B15:43)
(3) *sab-kúlla lìθwale táwre.*ˈ ‘because everybody did not have oxen.’ (B5:73)

On some sporadic occasions the possessor is extraposed at the end of the clause, e.g.

(4) *hóle ʾíθən bóya zòra.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáp báxta díye hóla tàma,*ˈ *ʾu-ʾítle ʾayàle*ˈ *ʾo-tèla.*ˈ ‘There was a small hole (in it). His wife was there also, and the fox had children.’ (A20:5)

Constructions such as (4) with final extraposition are typically used when the clause is presented as an elaborative tag that is cohesively connected with what precedes. Constructions with initial extraposition such as (1)–(3), on the other hand, express a greater disjunction from what precedes and present the clause with more distinctness and independence.

17.5. Predications with the Verb *hwy*

In various contexts, which have been fully described in §15.3.9., the copula and existential particle are replaced by a form of the verb *hwy*. Here we shall restrict ourselves to some remarks concerning the word order of predications with this verb.

When the verb in the predicate of a main clause expresses a generic or habitual sense, it is often placed after the other constituents, e.g.

(1) *kálba gu-tắrət màre*ˈ *ləbbàna y-áwe.*ˈ 'A dog at the door of his owner is brave.' (D2:64)
(2) *láxma prìša y-áwe.*ˈ 'Bread is different.' (B5:99)
(3) *ʾotáxe gòṛe hawéwa.*ˈ 'Rooms were large.' (B10:51)
(4) *ʾáw qəqwána gu-ṭùra y-áwe.*ˈ 'The partridge is in the mountains.' (B5:147)
(5) *ʾítlɛni halùke,*ˈ *ʾap-ʾáni har-gu-ʾaqàra y-áwa.*ˈ *ʾap-ʾáni rába basìme y-áwa.*ˈ 'We have plums. These are only in the farmland. These are also very tasty.' (B5:222)
(6) *xlìmta hóya.*ˈ 'It is thick.' (B6:49)
(7) *har-dmáxta dìyən*ˈ *biz-zóda gu-bɛθwàθa hóya.*ˈ 'Our sleeping is mainly in the houses.' (B15:27)

The verb is also placed before the predicate constituents when it has this generic or habitual sense, e.g.

(8) *ʾína ʾáyyət xúmṣa har-xúmṣa háwe xwarnàya.*ˈ 'But the dish consisting only of *xumṣa* is whitish.' (B10:16)
(9) *qedámta hál bar-kawùθra*ˈ *šámša y-óya bàθər ṭúra,*ˈ *fa-ṭàlla háwe*ˈ *qam-ṭùra.*ˈ 'In the morning, until after lunch, the sun is behind the mountain and there is shade at the front of the mountain.' (B3:2)

The frequent posposition of the verb *hwy* to the end of the predicate in generic/habitual main clauses is no doubt by analogy with the position of the copula in main clauses. This has come about due to the semantic proximity between this generic/habitual function of the verb and the function of the copula.

When used in contexts other than these generic/habitual main clauses, the verb *hwy* is regularly placed before the predicate constituents, e.g.

(1) *háwət hášyər ʾítlən jənne.*| ‘Be careful, we have jinn.’ (A22:26)
(2) *ʾána bă̊yən ʾaláha t-yawə́lli kùl-məndi bi-záwda,*| *ta-t-xayúθi hóya spày.*| ‘I want God to give me more of everything, so that my life will be good.’ (A3:3)
(3) *hézuke mòdila?*| *táli xàwla*| *b-xa-ʾilána ṯ-óya góṛta rába ramànta.*| ‘What is swinging? They hang a rope on a tree that is large and very high.’ (B6:7)
(4) *ʾáw máṣli xá-dukθa ṯ-óya šaxínta y-amráxwa gòma.*| ‘They bring them down to a place that is warm, which we called a “basement stable.”’ (B5:211)

A predicate constituent is put before the verb only in a few sporadic cases, in which the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to the constituent, e.g.

(5) *kút-dukθa ʾáza ʾàwra*| *ʾáp ʾayya-xéta bàra lázəm háwya.*| ‘Every place that she goes to and enters, the other has to be (i.e. to follow) after her.’ (B12:2)

17.6. Verb ‘to be’ Omitted

In some cases the verb ‘to be’, in the form of a copula, existential particle or the verb *hwy*, is omitted from a clause. The majority of the attested examples can be classified into the following categories.

17.6.1. *Clauses Expressing Supplementary Information*

The verb ‘to be’ is sometimes omitted when the situation expressed by the clause is presented by the speaker as information that is supplementary to what is expressed in the adjacent clauses, e.g.

(1) *xa-náša díye ṯ-ámərwa ʾána zonə́nna b-ʾəṣra,*| *šaqlíwa ʾáṣra dinàre.*| *ʾu-xéna ṯ-ámərwa zonə́nna b-xamšàssər,*| *šaqlíwa xamšàssər.*| *qa-xumlàna ʾáwwa mándi.*| ‘One relative of his would say “I shall buy it for fifteen” and they would receive ten dinars. Another would say “I shall buy it for fifteen” and they would receive fifteen. This was for fun.’ (B5:42)
(2) *ʾáy y-amríla xă̊dáyət xàtna.*| *yáʿni xa-xəllèta ṭla-xátna ʾap-áyya.*| ‘This is called “the lunch of the groom.” This also was a gift for the groom.’ (B5:48)

(3) *y-azíwa mpalṭíwa kʸàlo,ˈ mɛθέwa be-xàtna.ˈ xlúla t-ṭlaθà yomáθa,ˈ xá-šabθa xlùla.*ˈ ‘They would go and bring out the bride and bring her to the house of the groom. A wedding is for three days or a wedding is for a week.’ (B8:22)

(4) *ʾíθwa xáṣət gómət ʾərwe,ˈ ʾu-t-xáṣət tàwreˈ ʾu-t-pàṛeˈ xòðey.ˈ ʾərwe b-xoðèy,ˈ ʾína tawráθa ʾu-táwre ʾáni kút-xa b-xòðey.*ˈ ‘There were special stables for sheep, special ones for oxen and for lambs, by themselves. Sheep were by themselves, cows and oxen, they were all by themselves.’ (B10:55)

(5) *sə́twa tàlgaˈ màrkənˈ ʾáwwa t-dùša,ˈ ʾáwwa t-mə̀šxa,ˈ ʾáwwa t-jə̀jək,ˈ ʾáwwa t-gùpta.*ˈ ‘In the winter (we had containers known as a) *markən*, one was for honey, one was for oil, one was for *jajək*, one was for cheese.’ (B8:11)

In (6) the speaker has omitted the copula in the first clause since it is presented as the background to the following statement concerning the main protagonist of the narrative. This can be captured in English by translating it with a subordinate construction such as one introduced by ‘whereas’ or ‘while’:

(6) *ʾína kúlla ʾan-xéne bnáθət guràne,ˈ ʾáyya Šóše brátət faqìre-wawa.*ˈ ‘Whereas all the others were daughters of gentlemen, this Šoše was the daughter of poor people.’ (A38:3)

The expression of the verb ‘to be’ is sometimes omitted in clauses describing a state that is circumstantial to an action expressed in an adjacent clause. Such clauses are sometimes introduced by the connective particle *w*, e.g.

(7) *bróni hóle xíla ʾədlèle,ˈ gu-dargúšta dmìxa.*ˈ ‘My son was eaten tonight while asleep in his cradle.’ (A18:2)

(8) *m-léle qìmɛle,ˈ ʾo-xuláme dìye.ˈ táwre mpúlṭəlla-w nùbləllaˈ ʾu-tullákθa mənne-dìye,ˈ ʾu-bzára mənne-dìye,ˈ ʾu-màsta-wˈ zeðàyeˈ zílɛle ta-t-zə̆́re.*ˈ ‘That servant of his got up early in the morning. He brought out the oxen, took them (with him) and went to plough, a hound (being) with him, a plough (being) with him, and also yoghurt and pitta breads.’ (A30:7)

(9) *ðiyìleˈ ʾo-párča b-rešèy.*ˈ ‘He knew them (while) the cloth (was) on them.’ (A25:50)

If the subject of the circumstantial clause is pronominal, this is regularly expressed by an independent pronoun when there is a change in subject from the preceding clause, e.g.

(10) *napṣə́nna kúlla b-réše dìye,*| *ṣáli tàma,*| *ʾáwwa dmíxa gu-d-áw ʾòtəx.*| 'I'll shake them all over him and they will go down there (in the house), while he is sleeping in that room.' (A10:10)

(11) *xazéla ʾánna júllux hàtxa,*| *kášxa-w ʾáyya xmàrtux*| *ʾu-sɛ̀rga-w*| *w-ána b-ánna dašdàše-w*| *b-ánna čaḵàlle-w*| *ʾu-šəxtàna-w*| *šárṭ qázi ṭ-yawə́lla ṭlàlux.*| 'They will see these clothes of yours like this, the smart suit and this donkey of yours, with the saddle, while I am in these plain clothes and slippers, all dirty, and the judge will make a sentence in your favour.' (A6:7)

When the subject of the circumstantial clause is the same as in the preceding clause, it is sometimes expressed by an independent pronoun, e.g.

(12) *y-azíwa zrà'a,*| *y-azíwa xzàda,*| *y-azíwa mɛθóye mə́ndi ta-bɛ̀θa*| *ʾáni ṣìme.*| 'They would go to cultivate (the fields), go to harvest, go and bring things for the house, while they were fasting.' (B16:17)

In some cases, however, there is no morphological expression of the subject, e.g.

(13) *ʾu-là-mṣalɛ̀wa qa-ʾálaha,*| *har-dbíše b-bronèy.*| 'They did not pray to God, being constantly attached to their son.' (A15:17)

Of a similar nature are imperative expressions such as *qu-qima!* 'Stand up!' (literally: 'Stand while being standing'), *tu-tiwa!* 'Sit down!' (literally: 'Sit while being seated'), *páqðu tìwe!*| 'Please sit down' (A15:8) (§15.7. examples 42–44).

The close connection of the reduced circumstantial clause to the main clause is sometimes expressed prosodically by combining the two in the same intonation group, e.g.

(14) *ʾána majbúr-iwən ṯ-ázən qáṭlən gáni pálxən w-áy dmíxta maxlə̀nna?*|| 'Was I obliged to kill myself working to feed her while she was asleep?' (A21:38)

(15) *kú-mdit láyəp náša yála zòra*| *ʾáyya pyàša gu-réšət náša.*| 'Everything that a person learns (while he is) a young child, this remains in the mind of person.' (B8:20)

The copula is sometimes omitted in questions. This is found in questions that are used as a device to introduce information that is supplementary to what precedes, e.g.

(16) *ʾay-ʾilána ʾèka?ˈ masqíwala gàre.ˈ* 'Where is the tree? They take it up to the roof.' (B5:39)
(17) *ʾo-Dáwiθ mòdi šúle díye?ˈ máxewa darmànaˈ l-ṣàwleˈ xáyəṭwa ṣàwle.ˈ* 'What is the profession of that David? He used to polish shoes and sew shoes.' (A16:1)

In (19) the copula is omitted in a clause expressing a supplementary piece of information that the speaker has previously forgotten:

(18) *bína ʾána ʾáxxa nšéli xa-mòndi.ˈ kʷàloˈ ʾíman ṯ̂-aθyàwaˈ páθa díya mkusèθa.ˈ kʷàloˈ páθa díya mkusèθa.ˈ* 'But I have forgotten something here. The bride, when she came, her face was covered. The bride's face was covered.' (B5:35)

17.6.2. *Gapping in a Series of Clauses*

The expression of the verb 'to be' is sometimes omitted also in a series of clauses of equivalent status in the discourse. In a series of closely related clauses, 'gapping' of the expression of the verb 'to be' may take place in the clauses that follow the first of the series. This is found, for example, in (1) and (2), in which clauses of parallel structure are linked together.

(1) *Səttíye ʾɛ-gòṛta-wawaˈ ʾu-Nàzeˈ gawèθaˈ ʾu-Ẑíne ʾɛ-zòrtət kúlla.ˈ* 'Səttiye was the oldest one, Naze the middle one and Zine the youngest.' (A26:20)
(2) *bejíye hóla xa-gòtaˈ ʾórwa xa-gòta.ˈ* 'The young lambs were one side and the sheep the other.' (A25:31)

Such gapping of the verb 'to be' is more commonly found in clauses containing compound verbal forms that consist of the verb 'to be' and the resultative participle or the infinitive. This occurs in narrative in clauses expressing an event that is presented as directly sequential to a preceding event (§15.4.1.3.):

(3) *ʾáθyɛle wìra.ˈ* 'He came and entered.' (A26:47)
(4) *ʾu-sìqɛleˈ súse kə́lya tàma.ˈ* 'He went up and his horse stopped there.' (A26:28)

(5) *ʾánna plàṭɛla,*ˈ *kúlla zála ṣèda.*ˈ ‘They go out and all go hunting.’ (A13:7)
(6) *súse díye mtaslóməlle ṭla-xolàma.*ˈ *wára gu-čádre dìye,*ˈ *dmáxa hal-mbàdla.*ˈ ‘He handed over his horse to the servant. He entered his tent and slept until morning.’ (A12:8)

17.6.3. *Presentative Constructions with the Particle* ʾina

The presentative particle *ʾina* is used in various contexts to introduce a referent or a proposition in place of the verb ‘to be’ (§18.1.5.1.), e.g.

(1) *qrúla qrúla kəsle dìye*ˈ *ʾína xa-bèθa,*ˈ *xa-qáṣra rába šapìra.*ˈ ‘They came near to it and behold a house, a very beautiful palace.’ (A14:42)
(2) *ʾína xa-senìye*ˈ *dáwa xaṣe-díye xá-xuwwe zòra,*ˈ *réšət nàša*ˈ *ʾu-gánət xùwwe,*ˈ *gu-d-à seníye.*ˈ ‘Behold a gold tray on which there was a small snake with the head of a man and the body of a snake.’ (A14:31)
(3) *qímela zíle xázye ʾína dûs*ˈ *xa-képa hàtxa*ˈ *ʾu-ða-yàdde gáwe díye,*ˈ *t-prèzla.*ˈ ‘They went and saw that it was true, there was a stone like this, with a handle of iron in it.’ (A14:13)
(4) *yámme dìye*ˈ *ʾu-báxte díye táma xázyəlle sùsa,*ˈ *ʾína sapìqa.*ˈ ‘His mother and his wife there saw that the horse was without a rider (literally: saw the horse behold empty).’ (A28:29)

17.6.4. *Presentative Constructions with Demonstratives*

In clauses with the speaker deixis demonstrative as subject which have the function of presenting an item to the hearer, the copula is usually omitted, e.g.

(1) *ʾáwwa qðìla.*ˈ ‘This is the key (= Here is the key).’ (A12:63)
(2) *ʾáwwa ʾixàla*ˈ *ṭlàlux.*ˈ ‘This is food for you (= Here is some food for you).’ (A17:12)

Of a similar nature is the phrase *ʾáyya xá-šeta* (literally: This is a year = Look it is a year) in (3):

(3) *ʾáyya xá-šeta hóla támma láxxa lɛ́la mbaqorəllux.*ˈ ‘It has been a year that they have been here but have not asked for you.’ (A26:78)

17.6.5. *Exclamatory Clauses*

When the clause expresses an exclamation, the verb 'to be' is often omitted, e.g.

(1) *ʾáti bìš-zlima mánni.*‖ 'You are more oppressed than me!' (A13:5)
(2) *ʾáwwa hambišàya.*‖ 'It is a giant!' (A31:2)
(3) *nə́mu ʾánna là-biš ṭáwe m-áwwa Gozáli xóni.*‖ 'Surely they are not better than Gozali, my brother!' (A8:72)

In various constructions expressing wishes, a deontic form of the verb *hwy* is omitted, e.g.

(4) *basíma ràba.*| 'Thank you very much.' (literally: 'May you be very healthy'; cf. *háwət basíma ràba*| A22:31)
(5) *qə́ṭma b-rèšux.*‖ 'May ash be on your head!' (A23:8)
(6) *ʾálaha šuxa-l-šə́mme* 'God—praise be to his name' (A6:10)
(7) *bríxta dudíya ṯ-iwət ʾáti qíma gàwa.*‖ 'Blessed be the cradle in which you grew up!' (A21:41)
(8) *y-azíwa mšamšíwa bɛθ-qòra,*| *rə́ḥqa mən-an-dukàne.*‖ 'They would go and hold a ceremony in the cemetery—(may death be) far from these places!' (B10:3)

The exclamation may be expressed in the form of a question, e.g.

(9) *mú-t qála dìyi?*| 'What is my voice (in comparison with his)?' (A25:44)

17.6.6. *Proverbs*

Expressions of the verb 'to be' are often omitted in proverbial contexts, e.g.

(1) *láxma šaxína darmánət náša kpìna.*| 'Hot bread is the medicine of a hungry man.' (D2:69)
(2) *lišáne rìxa*| *ʾu-xáṣe ṭwìxa.*| 'His tongue is long, but his back is broken.' (D2:67)
(3) *dárta l-yòma,*| *ʾə́rwe gu-gòma.*| *dárta l-sèra,*| *ʾə́rwe l-ṭèra.*| 'If the sun has a halo, the sheep will be in the basement stable. If the moon has a halo, the sheep will be in the noon sun.' (D2:15)

17.6.7. *Meteorological Expressions*

In some meteorological expressions that have the general term *dunye* 'world, weather' as subject or leave the subject unspecified, the copula tends to be omitted, e.g. *ʾə́dyo šaxìnta*ˡ 'Today it is hot'. In a similar manner the copula is omitted in meteorological expressions with an infinitive such as *dúnye ràya*ˡ 'It is raining' or *ráya tàlga*ˡ 'It is snowing.'

17.7. Verbal Clauses

17.7.1. *Basic Verbal Clauses*

A verbal clause may consist of a verbal form alone, with the participants of the activity expressed by affixes but without any other independently standing components, e.g.

(1) *ʾàzəl*ˡ 'He goes.' (A28:33)
(2) *ʾàθena.*ˡ 'I shall come back.' (A26:30)
(3) *damxàwa.*ˡ 'She would go to sleep.' (A18:1)
(4) *raqðìwa.*ˡ 'They would dance.' (B7:4)
(5) *tìwle.*ˡ 'He sat down.' (A15:1)
(6) *kpìnna.*ˡ 'They became hungry.' (A20:9)
(7) *t̂-axlənne.*ˡ 'I shall eat it.' (A23:5)

17.7.2. *Clauses with a Subject Constituent*

When the clause contains a subject constituent, this is placed either before or after the verb.

17.7.2.1. *Subject—Verb*
Most subjects that are placed before the verb are definite, e.g.

(1) *téla rìqle.*ˡ 'The fox ran.' (A20:5)
(2) *málka rwèle.*ˡ 'The king became drunk.' (A17:26)
(3) *kúlle bɛ́θe qìdle.*ˡ 'All of his house burnt.' (A48:7)
(4) *gáwr̥i θèle.*ˡ 'My husband has come back.' (A22:32)
(5) *dáƀba zíltɛla tàma.*ˡ 'The bear went there.' (A20:6)

In descriptive discourse, indefinite subject constituents introducing new referents are sometimes placed before the verb in foreground sections concerning a habitual activity or generic situation, e.g.

(6) *xa-náša y-azə̀lwa*ˡ *…y-azə́lwa čyàda,*ˡ *béθa bèθa.*ˡ 'A man would go… he would go from house to house making invitations.' (B5:20)
(7) *báxta y-àza*ˡ *mattála qaṣxàne*ˡ *rēš-bə́rka dìya.*ˡ 'A woman would go and place a pail on her knees.' (B5:175)

In narrative, indefinite subjects that introduce a specific referent tend to be placed before the verb in background rather than foreground sections of the discourse. The background may be presented as a perfective event or an imperfective situation. In (8) the clause expresses a punctual event that opens a background section of narrative that explains how the protagonist lost his hand. The clauses in (9)–(11) express a background resultative state and the construction in (12) denotes a background ongoing activity. The lack of the indefinite particle *xa* in (8) and (12) reflects the diminished tendency to use this particle in backgrounded sections of discourse (§14.1.2.2.).

(8) *ʾárya θéle ṭálbe dìye.*ˡ 'A lion attacked him.' (A11:1)
(9) *ʾəʾdlɛ́le*ˡ *xa-bráta θíθɛwa dmíxta kə̀sli.*ˡ 'Last night, a girl had come and slept with me.' (A26:10–11)
(10) *xa-nàša*ˡ *sìqɛwa*ˡ *l-ṭùra.*ˡ 'A man had gone up into the mountains.' (A31:1)
(11) *xa-náša hóle mìθa.*ˡ 'A man had died.' (A17:7)
(12) *xà-yoma*ˡ *də́bba xðára-wawa gu-ṭuràne.*ˡ 'One day a bear was wandering around the mountains.' (A20:1)

If, however, an indefinite subject constituent is a narrow information focus, it is fronted before the verb in all contexts, including where the verb expresses a punctual foreground action. The nuclear stress is placed on the subject in these circumstances. This construction is found in contrastive contexts where the speaker corrects a misapprehension of his interlocutor, e.g.

(13) A: *qəm-qaṭə́lle ʾàrya.*ˡ B: *là,*ˡ *də̀bba qəm-qaṭlále.*ˡ 'A: "A lion killed him." "No, *a bear* killed him."'

In such constructions, the verb is in the presupposition of the clause, which in this case is '*x* killed him'. The subject, therefore, is a narrow new information focus, which asserts the identity of *x*.

In (14) the indefinite noun in focus does not have a specific referent:

(14) *díga lè-yaðəl.*| *kθèθa yádla.*| 'A cock does not lay eggs. *A hen* lays eggs.' (D1:3)

Of a similar structure is (15), in which an indefinite subject with the nuclear stress on the subject occurs in initial position and the verb is repeated from the preceding discourse. The subject is not, however, intended to replace that of the preceding clause but rather it is a component of a separate, albeit related, event, e.g.

(15) *θéle màlla.*|...*muʿàlləm θéle.*| 'A mullah came...(then subsequently) a teacher came' (A22:3–5)

This again is a kind of new information focus on the subject. The verb is presented as a presupposition. It is not completely old information recoverable from the preceding clause, but rather is linked to it in a set relationship, i.e. the set of the acts of coming.

A subject that is a non-referential negated constituent is treated like definite constituents as far as order is concerned and freely occurs in foreground narrative sections in all contexts, e.g.

(16) *ʾáp-xa la-šqìlle.*| 'Nobody bought it.' (A22:6)
(17) *ʾáp-xa lá-ṣbirre ʾasàqle.*| 'Nobody dared to undertake it.' (A33:4)

A subject that is placed before the verb is sometimes presented in a separate intonation group, e.g.

(18) *náša diyèni*| *ʾi-ṣémi ṭḷá yomàne.*| 'Our people fast for three days.' (B6:21)
(19) *bábət bràta*| *xazéwa yə́mmət bràta.*| 'The father of the girl would see the mother of the girl.' (B5:2)
(20) *mìya*| *mazəvríle xa-parwàna.*| 'The water drives round a propellor.' (B6:53)
(21) *ʾó t-là páləx*| *lè y-áxəl.*| 'Whoever does not work does not eat.' (A21:13)

17.7.2.2. *Verb—Subject*

In clauses expressing a foreground punctual event the subject constituent is generally postposed after the verb if it introduces a new referent that has a prominent role in the discourse. In narrative this construction is typically used when a new protagonist character comes onto the scene, e.g.

(1) *θéle màlla.*| 'A mullah came.' (A22:3)
(2) *θíθɛla xa-bràta.*| 'A girl came.' (A16:2)
(3) *ʾína ʾəθyɛle xa-yàla,*| *xa-ʾaṣòṭa.*| 'But a tiresome youth came.' (A17:7)

The referent is not necessarily always indefinite. This construction is used also where the subject is definite, but newly introduced into the discourse. This is seen in (4), which is the report of an event uttered by the speaker in isolation without any preceding or immediate following context. The subject constituent 'my house' is definite in status, but newly introduced and prominent in the mind of the speaker:

(4) *ṣríxɛle yàba*| *qídle bèθi!*‖ 'He shouted "Oh, my house has burnt down!" ' (A48:4)

On many occasions, however, the postposition of the subject after the verb does not have this presentative function that is independent of a preceding context. Rather, the subject is familiar to the hearer from the previous context or is, at least, related in some way to the previous context. In such cases the motivation for the construction is to express the existence of a close semantic relationship of the clause with the preceding discourse. When it is used in narrative, the close relationship with what precedes may be one of close temporal sequence and spatial continuity. The effect is to present the series of clauses as components of the same overall event. The subject may be the same as that of the preceding main event clause (5–6) or it may be different (7–8):

(5) *mára gáwṛa ma-yxàlǝf.*| *ʾána b-ṣalyàna.*| ***ṣlíθɛla bàxta.***| 'She said "Husband, it's all right. I shall go down (to the town)." The woman went down.' (A22:11)
(6) *mɔ́re bráti lá là.*| *ʾáti ʾàxlət.*| *ʾáxni ṭ-àzexi.*| *lá pɛ̌šəx ṭla-xădàya.*| *ʾu-**qímɛle màlka.***| 'He said "My daughter, no, no. You eat. We shall go. We shall not stay for lunch" and the king got up (to leave).' (A21:30)
(7) *zìlɛle,*| *qedámta **qímtɛla bràta**-w*| *mxŭláltəlla ʾay-dùkθa.*| 'He went away and in the morning the girl got up and cleaned the place.' (A17:27)

(8) *xθìməlle.*| *kúlle zqìrəlle-w*| ***píštɛla hádəx dábba gàwe.***| 'He finished it. He wove it all and the bear remained inside it.' (A20:4)

As can be seen in the preceding examples, the nuclear stress is normally placed on the subject constituent. It is occasionally retracted onto the verb, especially where the speaker wishes to give prominence to a climactic or important event. In (9), for example, the fall of the fox is a climax:

(9) *mə́re díya mò ṯ̂-óðexi?*| *qú npila-xìla.*| *qú npila-xìla.*| *ṭ́ripela l-ġ̀ðàðe*| ***npìlle téla.***| 'He said "Now what shall we do? Come on (let's fight and) whoever falls (first) will be eaten." They attacked each other and the fox fell.' (A20:10)

The verb—subject construction is used in descriptive discourse in a similar manner to express the close temporal sequence of habitual events. This is seen in (10)–(12). In (11) and (12) the temporal anteriority of the first clause is explicitly marked by the conjunction *bar* 'after':

(10) *qɛ́mi mpálṭi kʸálo marqðìla.*| *bína* ***y-áθi náše*** *qamθèy,*| *šaqlíla maṣlèla*| *qam-tărət-béθa gòṛta y-óya.*| *maduqíla xátna-w kʸálo gotə-ġ̀ðàðe,*| *ʾu-béna náše ràqði.*| 'They bring the bride out and make her dance. Then people come up to them and take them down to a large space outside. They put the groom and bride together side by side and then people dance.' (B5:50)

(11) *bár hàdəx,*| *bár ṯ̂-ila-báxta pyáša rásmi tàma*| *yáʿni wára gu-l-bèθa,*| ***θáyɛle qàša***| *ʾu-sáṛa gnùnɛle.*| 'Afterwards, after the woman has become official there, that is she enters the house, the priest comes and ties the band.' (B5:44)

(12) *bár mbarxìwa,*| *ʾu-razgìwa*| *béna* ***y-atwíwa kʸálo-w xàtna-w***| 'Afterwards, after they performed the blessing and were finished, the bride and the groom would sit down.' (B5:30)

The postposition of the subject may express cohesiveness with what precedes in contexts where there is no temporal sequentiality. In (13) the construction follows the existential clauses that introduce the characters of the narrative. It coheres with these in that it continues to give background information that forms the setting for the main narrative. The verbs in this background setting express habitual rather than punctual actions. The same applies to the (14), which also occurs in a background section. In (15) the clause with the postposed subject coheres closely with what

precedes in a causal relationship. In (16) the construction supplies supplementary detail to the statement made in the preceding clause:

(13) *ʾíθwa xa-gáwṛa-w bàxta.*ˈ *ʾíθwala bnòne.*ˈ *kùt-yum*ˈ ***ṣaléwa gàwṛa***ˈ *l-šùqa*ˈ *msawòqe*ˈ *ʾu-čú-məndi lé mɛθèwa.*ˈ 'There was a man and a wife. They had children. Every day the man would go down to the market to do shopping, but would bring nothing back.' (A22:1)

(14) *ʾítwala xa-qaráwət gòṛta.*ˈ ***mɛθíwala xadamyáθa*** *díya ʾixàla,*ˈ *y-ax-làwa-w*ˈ *damxàwa.*ˈ 'She had a big bed. Her servants would bring her food, she would eat then go to sleep.' (A21:1)

(15) *xáze mòdila qə́ṣṣət*ˈ *míya lèla θáya.*ˈ ***hóle ṣə́lya ʾo-náša*** *gu-mìya.*ˈ 'He saw what the problem was. The water was not flowing (because) that man had come down into the water.' (A22:43)

(16) *šə́mša mxíθa l-ṭuràne,*ˈ ***hešlə́la kmìlta šə́mša.***ˈ 'The sunshine has struck the mountains, but the sunshine has not yet completely (spread).' (A26:37)

The coherence may be one of total overlap, in that the clause is no more than a reiteration of what precedes, e.g.

(17) *wírɛle tàma*ˈ *ʾu-də́bba zíltɛla tàma.*ˈ ***zíltɛla dəbba***ˈ *ʾu-dráyəlla ʾíða díya ʾə́lle dìye.*ˈ 'The fox entered there and the bear went there. The bear went there and put her paw into it.' (A20:6)

It is worth noting that this coherence principle can also be identified in the tendency for verb—subject order to be used in syntactically subordinate clauses, whose close semantic connection with what precedes is signalled by a subordinating particle. This applies, for example, to purpose clauses such as (18):

(18) *máttət qɛ́sa gáwe dìye,*ˈ *t-lóxi ʾánna qɛ̀se.*ˈ 'You put wood in it and the wood blazes up.' (B15:23)

17.7.2.3. *Further Remarks on the Function of Subject Position*

In general, it can be said that the verb—subject construction is 'event-orientated'. When, by contrast, the subject constituent is placed before the verb, the construction can be said to be 'topic-orientated'. The shift of attention from the event-line to a topic referent at the front of a topic-orientated clause causes it to be interpreted has having a lesser degree of cohesion with what precedes. In foreground narrative the placement of the

subject before the verb may be used to express the onset of a new section. The effect is that the clause is in principle forward looking, cohering with what follows, rather than cohering with what precedes. In (1) the clause 'The king became drunk' with an initial subject follows sequentially the preceding speech. It is not, however, presented as a tag to this speech but rather as the onset of an episodic section in which the woman disposed of his inebriated body. Similarly in (2) the clause 'The king was perplexed regarding her (i.e. his daughter)' is presented as the onset of a section of discourse that describes his worries about her.

(1) *mə́ra də-yàlla,*| *jàlde,*| *ští ta-t-dàmxəx.*| ***málka rwèle.***| *rwèle*| *qəm-doqále p-àqle,*| *xrrr garšále nablále gu-čàčma,*| *w-aʦ̌mále tă̆ra bàre.*| *ʾay-θéla dmíxla gu-ʾótəx dìya.*| *xlíqla tă̆ra,*| *dmìxla.*| 'She said "Come, quickly, drink so that we can go to sleep."' The king became drunk. He became drunk and she grasped him by his legs, dragged him along and took him to the bathroom, then closed the door behind him. She came back and went to sleep in her room. She closed the door and went to sleep.' (A17:26)

(2) *ṭrìsla rába.*| ***málka hírre*** *b-gáne díye bíya dìya.*| *ʾáp-xa léle gwàrəlla.*| *mə́re ʾána mò-ʾoðən?*| *xa-čára xazèna.*| 'She became very fat. The king was perplexed regarding her. Nobody would marry her. He said "What should I do? I should find a solution for this daughter of mine."' (A21:1–2)

A shift in subject from that of the immediately preceding discourse is not always the crucial factor that conditions the placement of the subject in initial position. This is shown by the fact the speaker in many cases opts for a verb—subject continuity construction where there is a change of subject (e.g. §17.7.2.2. examples 7–8). The crucial factor is rather that the speaker decides to present the clause as disjoined from what precedes in some way.

The disjoining expressed by the subject—verb construction sometimes reflects a lack of temporal sequentiality between the events expressed in clauses. This is clearly seen in (3) where subject initial clauses are used to present a listing of events that occurred in parallel. In (4) the subject—verb clauses expresses an action undertaken by Zine and her servants that overlaps temporally with that of the preceding clause. The important point is that in both cases the actions expressed by the subject—verb constructions are presented as distinct events rather than cohering together in a single overall event:

(3) *mára ʾána báxtət ʾáġət Ç̣ā̀l-iwən.*ˈ *ʾáyya xmáθa díya homànna.*ˈ *xəmyána homànne.*ˈ *bróna homànne.*ˈ *kúlla homànna.*ˈ *kálθa là hománna.*ˈ ‘She said “I am the wife of the aġa of Ç̣āl.” Her mother-in-law believed it. Her father-in-law believed it. The son believed it. Everybody believed it. The daughter-in-law, however, did not believe it.”’ (A19:2)

(4) *qímɛle ʾáθya síqa l-gàre.*ˈ *síqɛle l-gàre*ˈ *maxzóyəlle Jazíra Bòta.*ˈ *Zîne*ˈ *ʾu-ʾán-xaddamyáθa díya ṣléla rəš-ʾèna.*ˈ ‘Now, he came and he went up onto the roof. He went up onto the roof to show him Jazira Bota. Zine and her maid-servants went down to the spring.’ (A26:40)

In (5) the verb—subject clauses are temporally sequential with what precedes. The clause ‘The three hundred horsemen returned’, on the other hand, has a subject—verb structure. This reflects the fact that it is not directly sequential to what precedes but rather presents a final synopsis of the overall series of preceding events.

(5) *máre sò*ˈ *kut-qónəx yòma*ˈ *déṛi ʾámma mənnèxu.*ˈ [VS] *ʾamrítu ʾáxni là-mṭelən Jazíra Bóta.*ˈ *léðəx ʾèkɛla.*ˈ *zílela ṭla-ʾámma swarìye.*ˈ [VS] *kut-yòma*ˈ *deṛíwa ʾámma.*ˈ [VS] *kut-yóma deṛíwa ʾámma.*ˈ [VS] *ṭla-ʾámma swaríye dìṛṛa*ˈ [SV] *mára ʾàxni*ˈ *la-xəzyálən Jazíra Bóta ʾèkɛla.*ˈ ‘He said “Go and at every day’s stage (of the journey) a hundred of you will return. You will say: We have not reached Jazira Bota. We do not know where it is.” Three hundred horsemen went off. Every day a hundred returned. Everyday a hundred returned. The three hundred horsemen returned and said ‘We have not found where Jazira Bota is.”’ (A26:14–15)

On some occasions a subject-initial clause is used to introduce a new referent into a narrative. In such cases the referent generally does not play a prominent role in the discourse as a whole, although it may have topical continuity over a series of several clauses. Here the boundary marking function of the subject—verb construction overrides the presentative function of the verb—new subject construction, since the latter is used only to introduce referents of textual importance. This applies to (6)–(8), in all of which the referents of the subject constituents play only an incidental role in the discourse:

(6) *ʾəθyɛle,*ˈ *qam-tắrət béθa tíwɛle hàdəx.*ˈ *bábe díye θèle.*ˈ *máre ha-bròni,*ˈ *Mằmo*ˈ *mà-lux*ˈ *tíwət xaššàna?*ˈ ‘He came and sat down in front of the door of the house. His father came. He said “Ah, my son, Mămo, why are you sitting (looking so) sad?”’ (A26:10)

(7) *jənne*ˈ *t-šmàyya*ˈ *qímla wídla tàgbir.*ˈ 'The jinn of heaven made a plan.' (A26:1)
(8) *ʾárya θéle ṭálbe dìye.*ˈ 'A lion attacked him.' (A11:1)

In descriptive discourse expressing habitual or generic events, the subject is in principle placed before the verb in all contexts where the speaker wishes to present the clause as disjoined in some way from what precedes. In (9), for example, the subject initial clause 'The priest would take a long stick' opens the section of discourse that describes the *geyasa* ceremony. The verb initial clause 'The people would go and take communion', on the other hand, continues the introductory background section. In (10) the two subject initial clauses express two distinct events that occur in a parallel opposition:

(9) *ʾo-yómət trè t-ʾéða*ˈ *y-amríle geyàsa.*ˈ *geyàsa*ˈ *yómət trè*ˈ *t-ʾéða gòṛa.*ˈ *y-ázi náše l-ʾùmra*ˈ [VS] *y-óði qurbàna.*ˈ *qáša šaqálle* [SV] *xa-qésa rìxa.*ˈ *b-ʾíðe díye dawùqle*ˈ *ʾi-rášəm hátxa gu-réšət nàše*ˈ *maxéle gu-réšət nàše,*ˈ *ʾáx burkàθa.*ˈ 'The second day of the festival was called *geyasa* ('the [good] thief'). The *geyasa* was the second day of the festival. The people would go and take communion. The priest would take a long stick. He would take it in his hand and make a sign like this on the heads of the people, he would tap it on the heads of the people, as blessings.' (B6:3)
(10) *ʾan-ṭ̂-ìla qam-tằra ṭ̂-áθi gawàye,*ˈ *ʾan-gawáye pálṭi qam-tằra.*ˈ 'The ones that are outside come inside and the ones inside go outside.' (B11:9)

Generic and proverbial statements, which by their nature stand independently of a context, in principle have the subject in initial position, e.g.

(11) *miθéni dèṛi.*ˈ 'Our dead return.' (A22:37)
(12) *neríya b-gə́žže lè-mayəθ.*ˈ 'A male goat does not die (at the sight of a raised) hand.' (D2:12)
(13) *qála mən-qáwra lè-y-aθe.*ˈ 'A voice does not come from the grave.' (D2:13)
(14) *ʾó t-là páləx*ˈ *lè y-áxəl.*ˈ 'Whoever does not work, does not eat.' (A21:13)
(15) *xátna lè-xaze kʸálo.*ˈ 'The groom does not see the bride.' (B5:35)

17.7.3. *Subject Verb Agreement*

In principle, the inflection of the verb agrees in number, gender and person with the subject nominal. In a few cases, however, there is a discrepancy of agreement. The attested examples may be classified as follows.

In clauses with the verbs *hwy* and *pyš* that are used existentially with the subject placed after them, the verb sometimes remains in the 3ms even when the subject is 3fs. or 3pl., e.g.

(1) *píšɛle tàrte.*ˡ 'Two remained.' (A22:9)
(2) *píšele gèrme.*ˡ '(Only) bones remained.' (A2:5)
(3) *qəm-hawéla xáθa yaḵ̂ànta.*ˡ 'An only sister was born to them.' (A18:1)

In a few cases these verbs have 3fs. inflection when the following subject is plural, e.g.

(4) *rába gáye wítɛla ʾánna məndiyàne.*ˡ 'Many times such things happened.' (B5:163)
(5) *ʾu-píštɛla ʾan-dəbbòre*ˡ *har-zála-w θàya.*ˡ 'The hornets remained, flying back and forth.' (A20:8)

As discussed in §14.2.3., the feminine singular is used in some temporal adverbial expressions to refer to the general temporal situation in a narrative. This can result in some constructions in which 3fs. verb forms appear to take a following plural noun as their grammatical subject, e.g.

(6) *zílta láxxa tre-ṭ̣à-yarxe,*ˡ *ʾarbà-yarxe,*ˡ *mára xa-béna xéta mjarbànna.*ˡ 'Two or three months, four months passed. He said "I'll test them again."'
(A48:4)
(7) *y-oráwa káma yàrxe.*ˡ 'Several months would pass.' (B5:18)

In such cases, however, the 3fs. inflection should be interpreted as referring to the general temporal situation: '(Time) went by (for) two or three months, four months', etc.

In a few cases the verbal agreement is based on the sense rather than the form of the subject noun. In (8) and (9) the collective nouns *ʾaskar* 'army' and *bəṛ-našuθa* 'mankind' are construed as plural.

(8) *ʾu-kúlla ʾáskar qlíbela píše náše xa-ga-xèta.*ˡ 'All the army returned and became men again.' (A8:83)
(9) *bəṛ-našùθa*ˡ *zlìməlli.*ˡ 'Mankind has wronged me.' (A14:34)

A subject constituent consisting of a combination of a 1s. and a 2s. pronoun takes 1pl. agreement on the verb, e.g.

(10) *ʾána w-áti xonăwàθəx.*ˡ 'You and I are brothers.' (A15:7)
(11) *ʾána ʾu-ʾáti qṭélən l-d-áwwa šûla.*ˡ 'You and I decided on this matter.'

When the conjoining of the subject referent with another referent expresses a concomitative relationship, the verb sometimes agrees only with the first referent. This is found when two conjoined pronouns are placed after the verb, e.g.

(12) *kályɛle gu-tắrət béθa ʾáw ʾu-ʾày.*ˡ 'He stood at the door of the house together with her.' (A4:55)

17.7.4. *Independent Subject Pronouns*

A pronominal reference to the subject of the clause is contained within the inflection of a verb and so the additional occurrence of an independent subject pronoun is redundant with regard to the identification of the subject. The use of an independent pronoun does, nevertheless, have discourse functions. These functions are performed both by independent pronouns in verbal clauses and also by those that occur in copula clauses. The following discussion, therefore, will include examples from both verbal and copula clauses. The subject pronoun may be placed either before or after the verb/copula.

17.7.4.1. *Preposed Subject Pronouns*

When an independent subject is placed before the verb or copula, its function depends on the prosody. If it does not bear the nuclear stress, the motivation for the use of the pronoun is generally to mark some kind of semantic discontinuity in the discourse. The discourse function of such clauses, therefore, is similar to that of clauses with subject nominals in initial position. The various types of semantic discontinuities include the following.

(i) *Shift in Subject Referent*

An independent subject pronoun is used when there is a change in subject, e.g.

(1) *ʾárya θéle ṭálbe dìye,*ˈ *ʾáwwa qṭìlle ṭla-ʾárya.*ˈ 'A lion once attacked him. He killed the lion.' (A11:1)
(2) *téla rìqle,*ˈ *ʾáy hédi-hedi qìmla.*ˈ 'The fox ran. She (the bear) slowly got up.' (A20:5)
(3) *zìlela*ˈ *ʾay-qímtɛla wíðtɛla kùbbe-w*ˈ *ʾu-qlíθəlla gu-məšxa.*ˈ 'They went off and she made meat-balls and fried them in oil.' (A21:30)
(4) *ʾu-muttéθɛla ṭḷáθi ləxme*ˈ *gu-čànta.*ˈ *mára bábi nábəlla gu-jàma*ˈ *hàlle!*ˈˈ *ʾáwwa zílɛle b-ʾùrxa.*ˈ 'She put thirty loaves of bread in a basket. She said "Father, take them to the mosque and give them to him." He went off on the road.' (A17:11–12)
(5) *maymúne kúlla dmìxela.*ˈ *ʾu-xa-béna ʾáni qìmela,*ˈ *gníwəlla gàna,*ˈ *wíre gu-d-a-wádi-t šəkwàne.*ˈ 'All the monkeys slept. Then they (the men) got up and stole away and went into the valley of the ants.' (A14:56)
(6) *bắyət ʾàxlət,*ˈ *xùl.*ˈ *kpìnət.*ˈ *míya štì.*ˈ *ʾána la-qéθən b-čù məndí.*ˈ 'If you want to eat, eat! You are hungry. Drink some water. I shall not touch anything.' (A14:59)
(7) *ʾu-Mắmo mítle qèdamta-w*ˈ *ʾána méθən ʾaṣə̀rta.*ˈ 'Mămo died in the morning and I shall die in the evening.' (A26:83)

An independent pronoun is often used at the beginning of a turn in conversation, e.g.

(8) *mára ʾána ṯ-áθən mənnəx.*ˈ 'He said "I shall come with you."' (A24:39)
(9) *mára ʾána bắyən Səttìye.*ˈ 'He said "I love Səttiye."' (A25:20)
(10) *mára ʾáti yắðət ʾèkɛle?*ˈ 'He said "Do you know where he is?"' (A25:74)
(11) *mára ʾáxtu ʾasqítu ʾədyo.*ˈ 'He said "You go up today."' (A25:85)
(12) *mára ʾay-mòdila?*ˈ 'He said "What is that?"' (A21:8)
(13) *mára ʾáxni ṯ-àzəx. lá xazə́xle brònən.*ˈ 'He said "We should go. We shall not see our son."' (A25:11)

(ii) *Non-Sequential Actions*

On some occasions where an independent subject pronoun is used, there is no change in the subject referent. In such cases the use of the pronoun reflects a discontinuity on another level of the discourse. One such discontinuity is the lack of temporal sequence between the action of the

clause and that of the adjacent discourse. The action of the clause may overlap temporally with it, e.g.

(1) *zíltɛla bár ṯ-ile-bɛ́θa prìqa,*ˈ *ʾáza xázya jùlla,*ˈ *júlla lìθ.*ˈ *ʾáyya šaqlàwale ríxət júlle.*ˈ ‘After the house was finished, she went to find her clothes, but her clothes were not there. She could smell the scent of the clothes.’ (A14:99–100)

(2) *ʾána bíθənnux θíθən bàθrux.*ˈ *w-ana-lɛ́ðən ṯ-awátwa ʾáti xàyən palṭátwa mánni.*ˈ ‘I loved you and followed you, but I did not know that you would turn out to be treacherous to me.’ (A14:101)

Two clauses with different initial pronouns that are juxtaposed often express an opposition between two temporally overlapping events, e.g.

(3) *ʾáti ʾàxlət.*ˈ *ʾáxni ṯ-àzexi.*ˈ *lá pɛšəx ṭla-xădàya.*ˈ ‘You eat. We shall go. We shall not stay for lunch.’ (A21:30)

(4) *qímɛle Qára Tèždin*ˈ *ʾaw-ṣályɛle mðìta.*ˈ *ʾay-qìmtɛla,*ˈ *wíðta qàwa.*ˈ ‘Qara Teždin set off. He went down to the town. She got up and made coffee.’ (A26:31)

In (5) and (6) the independent pronoun is used in a clause that disrupts the temporal sequence by moving back on the time line to reiterate an event that occurred earlier:

(5) *xá mən-xúwwe gòṛe*ˈ *zílɛle šqíla senìye*ˈ *mùθyəlla.*ˈ *síqa sìqa*ˈ *múttəlla kəs-d-ó Kărim-addìn.*ˈ *ʾáwwa zíla híwəlla tíwa tàma.*ˈ ‘One of the large snakes went and took the tray and brought it. He came up and put it next to Karimaddin. He went and delivered it and sat down again.’ (A14:31)

(6) *ʾáwwa mə́re b-àlaha*ˈ *har-xá-məndi ʾìθ b-áyya dúkθa ṯ-íle wìra.*ˈ *ʾáw xzèle ʾo-dídwa ʾéka wìrre.*ˈ ‘He said (to himself) “By God, there must be something in this place where it entered.” He saw where the fly had entered.’ (A11:9)

(iii) *Other Discourse Shifts*

The discontinuity can sometimes be identified with the onset of a new section of discourse. This is seen in the following extracts from narrative, in which the construction signals the onset of an event that is distinct from what is recounted in the preceding clauses. In (1) the construction

marks the spatio-temporal shift in the event line in which the protagonists enters a different world. In (2) the clause marks a spatio-temporal boundary between the event of the woman's disposing of the king and the event of her returning to her room. In (3) the construction distinguishes between the event of the protagonist's laying the trap and the event of his setting himself in a hiding place.

(1) *ʾu-xzéle ʾína tə̀ra*ˈ *b-qèsa*ˈ *xa-kilòn*ˈ *sèma-w*ˈ *qðíla séma b-rèše*ˈ. *lɛ́le dàwa.*ˈ *pθìxəlle.*ˈ ***ʾáwwa plíṭɛle*** *gu-ða-dúnye xèta,*ˈ *šəmša milànta,*ˈ *ʾə́ra milànta.*ˈ 'He saw that the door was of wood and had a lock of silver with a silver key on it. It was not gold. He opened it. He came out into another world, with a blue sun and a blue land.' (A14:26)

(2) *málka rwèle.*ˈ *rwèle*ˈ *qəm-doqále p-àqle,*ˈ *xrrr garšále nablále gu-čə̀čma,*ˈ *w-aḉmále tə́ra bàre.*ˈ ***ʾay-θéla*** *dmíxla gu-ʾótəx dìya.*ˈ *xlíqla tə̀ra,*ˈ *dmìxla.*ˈ 'The king became drunk. He became drunk and she grasped him by his legs, dragged him along and took him to the bathroom, then closed the door behind him. She came back and went to sleep in her room. She closed the door and went to sleep.' (A17:26)

(3) *ʾáwwa-ži zàlɛle,*ˈ *nabòlalla*ˈ *xámra mánna dìya,*ˈ *l-d-à-dukθa.*ˈ *xzàyalla ʾéna.*ˈ *mdabòqalla*ˈ *mattóye qìra,*ˈ *ṭaṭíya-w qìra.*ˈ *míya ktàpɛla.*ˈ *dráyɛle biš-hódəx mánna díya xáčča xàmra.*ˈ ***ʾáw mattóyəlla gáne dìye.***ˈ *hóle xpírəlla xa-dùkθa*ˈ *mṭašòyəlla.*ˈ *mṭùšyəlla.*ˈ 'He went and took them, together with wine to that place. He saw the spring. He pressed it down, put down tar, the woolen mat and tar. The water stopped flowing. He put some wine further up from them. He positioned himself. He dug a place to hide. He hid.' (A12:49)

In some cases the main motivation to use an independent pronoun is to express the independence of the clause for the sake of giving it prominence. This appears to apply to the folowing:

(4) *làn-gwirta.*ˈ *ʾána spárən ʾəllux.*ˈ *ʾána lɛ̀-gorən.*ˈ 'I have not married. I am waiting for you. I shall not marry.' (A25:83)

(5) *málka ṯ-áwət basìma*ˈ *ʾáti díya píšlux málka dìyən.*ˈ 'King, may you be well, you have now become our king.' (A14:45)

Occasionally a 2nd person independent pronoun is used with an imperative form. The motivation for this is likewise to mark off the construction clearly from what precedes in order to enhance its prominence. In (6) the speaker also uses the particle of immediacy *də-* to increase the force of the imperative:

(6) *də-ʾáti xùš!*| 'You go!' (A39:1)

When the independent pronoun bears the nuclear stress, the function of the construction is generally different. The motivation for the use of the pronoun in such cases is normally to express an information focus on the pronominal referent, the remainder of the clause being presuppositional. The construction may be used to express contrastive assertion, e.g.

(7) *ʾáti là pálxət.*| *ʾáti tù.*| *ʾàna pálxən.*| 'Don't you work. You sit down. *I* shall work.' (A21:23)
(8) *ʾàti parmátle réši.*| '*You* will cut off my head.' (A14:35)

In some cases there is no clear contrastive opposition, e.g.

(9) *xáðrəx xázexi xa-nàša*| *t̂-íle palàxa*| *ʾu-t-yáxla ʾálle dìye.*| *ʾàw mtagbárra.*| 'Let's look for a man who is a hard worker and give her to him. *He* will look after her'. (A21:3)

In clauses containing a copula, the copula is placed on the focused pronoun, e.g.

(10) *ʾáwwa lèle kálba,*| *ʾàtit kálba.*| 'He is not a dog. *You* are a dog' (A11:20)
(11) *ʾànən xə́zyəlle,*| *dìyile.*| '*I* (and nobody else) have found it. It is mine.' (A14:15)

In (12) a nuclear stress occurs also on the predicate of the clause, which can be regarded as being the result of the bonding together of two intonation groups by sandhi:[1]

(12) *ʾàtit θíθa kàsli.*| *lán ʾàna-ʾəθya kàsləx.*| 'You came to me. I did not come to you.' (A4:4)

The information focus may be exclusive or inclusive. The intonation group in such cases may contain two nuclei, which can be interpreted as intonation group sandhi, e.g.

[1] For the notion of intonation group sandhi see Cruttenden (1986: 43).

(13) *har-ʾàtit plíxa.*ˡ ‘Only you have worked.’ (A21:15)
(14) *kúlla hóla qṭìle.*ˡ *bas-ànən šríṭa.*ˡ ‘They have all been killed. Only I have escaped.’ (B19:8)
(15) *har-ʾàxni bṭ̂-áxləx.*ˡ ‘Only we shall eat.’ (A21:15)
(16) *ʾap-ʾàna mj̀arbànna.*ˡ ‘Also I will try it.’ (A1:4)
(17) *ʾap-ʾàna hówən zála ṭa̋ya báθər ḥaqqúθa ʾu-na-ḥaqqùθa.*ˡ ‘I also am going to search for what is lawful and what is unlawful.’ (A15:6)

17.7.4.2. *Postposed Subject Pronouns*
Independent subject pronouns are on some occasions postposed after the verb or copula predicate. This construction expresses greater continuity and cohesion with the preceding discourse than the construction where the pronoun stands before the verb.

In many cases the motivation for this additional coding appears to be to give prominence to the clause as a whole, due to its importance or unexpectedness. Sometimes the prominent clause is the final one of a series, e.g.

(1) *ʾána spayùθən wáða,*ˡ *ʾu-ʾə́dyo mṭéli ʾána làxxa.*ˡ ‘I was doing good and today I have come here.’ (A14:34)
(2) *ʾày*ˡ *ʾu-xolamwàθa*ˡ *kúlla rqáða ġðáðe zmàra,*ˡ *mára xa-ʿắbi̋d kòma*ˡ *dmáxɛla mánne díye ʾày.*ˡ ‘She and her servants all danced and sang together. She slept with a black slave.’ (A13:8)
(3) *ʾíθ xa-yàla,*ˡ *ʾána mquwáltən mànne*ˡ *gắrəg gawrànne,*ˡ *gắrəg déṛən ʾána l-tàma.*ˡ ‘There is a young man. I gave him a promise and I must marry him, I must return there.’ (A14:86)
(4) *hey-nàša*ˡ *la-ʾàzət*ˡ *ʾáθe mtalə́xlux ʾàw.*ˡ ‘Don’t go, man. He will come and destroy you.’ (A14:65)
(5) *m-ɛ̀ka qəm-yăðátli ʾáti ṯ-íwən Gozáli?*ˡ ‘How did you know that I was Gozali?’ (A8:41)
(6) *xóni dàwəqlux*ˡ *darélux gu-zəndàna,*ˡ *gu-hàbsa.*ˡ *mára lá taxmánnən ʾána bəd-zəndàna.*ˡ ‘“My brother will seize you and put you in prison, in jail.” He said “I don’t care about prison.”’ (A26:43–44)

A postposed second person subject pronoun is used with imperatives to give added force to the command, e.g.

(7) *qu-plúṭ ʾàti*ˡ *xzi-mò-d-ila qáṣṣət.*ˡ ‘Go out and see what is happening.’ (A26:54)
(8) *túgən ʾáti gàwe*ˡ ‘Sit in it!’ (A20:3)
(9) *háyyo ṣlí Kắrə̄m ʾáti gu-d-áwwa balùʿa.*ˡ ‘Come Karim, go down into this conduit.’ (A14:16)

In some cases the pronoun is used to give prominence to the subject referent for contrastive purposes. This is not a narrow new information focus on the subject, since the predicate is not presuppositional. Rather it should be regarded as a form of topical prominence. The construction is used to give the subject added distinctness where the activity of the subject is set up in a contrastive opposition to that of another referent. In (10), for example, there are two characters on the scene, a man and a woman. The man goes to sleep whereas the woman remains awake. The construction *dmìxɛle ʾáw*ˡ with the postposed pronoun expresses cohesive temporal sequence to what precedes, but underscores the fact that the activity was undertaken by him and not her. In (11) the clause with the postposed pronoun is, likewise, cohesive with what precedes, but the activity of the subject (a lioness) is set up in opposition to the activity of her young, which is described in the following clause:

(10) *kut-dánət ʾáθe xùwwe*ˡ *mărəšàtli.*ˡ *mára spày.*ˡ *mára xa-bèna,*ˡ *dmìxɛle ʾáw.*ˡ *dmìxɛle,*ˡ *wítɛla b-lèle*ˡ *xúwwe θèle.*ˡ *ʾáy bxèla.*ˡ '(He said) "When the snake comes, wake me." She said "Fine" and he went to sleep. He went to sleep and during night the snake came. She wept.' (A24:39–40)

(11) *ṣlìθɛla ʾaríθa,*ˡ *ṣráxɛla, ṣràxa.*ˡ *ṣlíθa šmìyəlla.*ˡ *klìθɛla-ʾay.*ˡ *bnóna díya ṣálye šátye mìyɛla.*ˡ 'The lionness came down, yelling. She came down and he heard her. She stood and her young went down and drank the water.' (A33:10)

It could be argued that the opposition between the two activities in cases such as (10) and (11) is made distinct by increasing the prominence of the proposition expressed by the clause as a whole and so the function of the postposed pronoun is basically the same as in examples (1)–(9). It is worth noting that in (11) the copula of the compound verbal construction is postposed to the end of the clause, which is a device used to give prominence to the predicate as a whole (see §15.4.1.4.2.).

When the independent 1pl. subject pronoun is postposed, the intention is often to express a contrastive prominence that gives the pronoun an exclusive sense. This is typically used in clauses in which the pronoun refers to the community of the speaker, which is distinct from the community of the hearer. This may be compared to the use of the 'heavy coding' of the long 1pl. pronominal suffix *-ɛni* to express the exclusive 1pl. In (12) and (13) the clauses with postposed 1pl. pronouns are cohesive with what precedes:

(12) *ʾelíθa mən-ʾərbə xwára,ˈ pàṛa,ˈ ʾərbe,ˈ la-ʾəzze,ˈ lá ʾan-kòmeˈ y-amráxla ʾàxni.*ˈ ‘Tail fat is from white small cattle (sheep), a lamb, sheep, not goats, not black (small cattle), as we call them.’ (B10:5)

(13) *y-oðíwa páške hátxa zòre,ˈ ʾo-t băyéwa qăràne.ˈ páške y-oðəxwa ʾáxni,ˈ ta-xàla.*ˈ ‘They would make pieces of meat small like this or, if people wanted, thick. We would make meat pieces for eating.’ (B10:7)

In the constructions considered so far, the nuclear stress is often not placed on the pronoun, even when the pronoun occurs at the end of an intonation group. If, however, the postposed pronoun is a narrow focus of new information, it always bears the nuclear stress, e.g.

(14) *mára ṭla-xaθwàθa,ˈ xáθi ʾàna pálṭən.ˈ plíṭṭɛla ʾày.*ˈ ‘She said to her sisters “My sister, *I* shall go out.” *She* (not any of the others) went out.’ (A12:67)

(15) *ʾədyo péša ʾày maxóle ṭla-náše.*ˈ ‘Today *she* (not other people) has begun to feed people.’ (A21:32)

In many examples in the text corpus the narrow focus is inclusive, expressed by the particle *ʾap*, e.g.

(16) *t-yálli xa-šúla pálxən ʾàp-ana.*ˈ ‘He will give me a job so that also I can work.’ (A23:3)

(17) *xuš-péšən képa ʾap-ʾàna.*ˈ ‘Let me also turn into stone.’ (A8:55)

(18) *bróni qaṭlátli ʾap-àti.*ʔˈ ‘My son, would also you kill me?’ (A28:34)

(19) *xonăwáθi mvắdo mvằdo*ˈ *t-la-ʾazítu b-míya ʾap-àxtu.*ˈ ‘Brothers, move out of the way! Move out of the way, so that you also do not go with the water.’ (A39:12)

Pronouns are postposed in constructions such as the following where they are conjoined with other items:

(20) *ṭ̂-átwəx šátəx ʾána w-àti.*ˈ ‘so that we can sit and drink, you and me.’ (A17:25)

(21) *plíxɛt ʾàti,*ˈ *ʾu-xmára-w tàwra.*ˈ ‘You, the ass and the ox have worked.’ (A21:13)

(22) *ʾu-qíme ʾáw ʾu-brōn-díye ʾu-tre-wăzíre plíṭe ṣèda.*ˈ ‘He, his son and two ministers went out hunting.’ (A14:36)

17.7.5. *Clauses with a Direct Object Constituent*

17.7.5.1. *Verb—Direct Object*

The default position for the placement of a direct object nominal is after the verb, e.g.

(1) *šáqli lèša.*ˡ 'They take the dough.' (B6:46)
(2) *méθən ʾixàla.*ˡ 'I shall bring food.' (A26:30)
(3) *šaryáwa bănúda dìya.*ˡ 'She would untie her bands.' (A18:1)
(4) *bašlíwa rəzza.*ˡ 'They would cook rice.' (B7:3)
(5) *qəm-păréla ʾène.*ˡ 'He burst his eye.' (A16:2)
(6) *mxŭláltəlla ʾay-dùkθa.*ˡ 'She cleaned that place.' (A17:27)

In most cases the nuclear stress is put on the object, as in the examples above. When the object is definite in status, the speaker occasionally puts the nucleus on the verb. The purpose of this is usually to give prominence to the event expressed by the clause for some reason. In (7), for example, the event is a remarkable act of strength performed by one of the characters in the narrative. The clause in (8) has importance in the discourse structure, in that it marks the onset of the climactic section of the narrative in which the Leliθa monster is destroyed:

(7) *načəlle ʾo-šəryóxa.*ˡ 'He pulls the tether apart.' (A28:20)
(8) *qəm-ʾaḉmàle tắra.*ˡ 'She closed the door.' (A19:4)

17.7.5.2. *Object—Verb*

The object is sometimes placed before the verb. A distinction should be made between constructions where the fronted object is an information focus marked by the nuclear stress and those in which it is not an information focus and does not bear the nuclear stress.

The latter type of construction without the nuclear stress on the fronted object is used to perform two main functions, which may be designated as 'event-orientated' and 'topic-orientated' respectively. When it has an event-orientated function, it expresses an event or situation that has a close cohesion with what precedes. The object in such cases has some referential link with the preceding discourse, either by explicit previous mention or by some kind of associative anaphora. In narrative the construction presents an event as occurring in close spatio-temporal sequence to the preceding event, e.g.

(1) *ʾu-šwíqle zúze díye táma zìlle.*| *θéle xa-xèna,*| ***ʾan-zúze šqilíle*** *ʾu-zìlle.*|
'He left his money there and went off. Another man came, took the money and went off.' (A15:15)

(2) *yála θéle mən-zrùta,*| ***táwre mŭríle gu-gòma.***| *ʾu-síqle ta-ṯ-áxəl màndi.*|
'The young man came back from his cultivating, put the oxen in the basement stable and went up to eat something.' (A21:8)

(3) *ja-jálde qìmɛle*| *ʾu-zíla šqíləlle ʾo-qésa rìxa*| *ʾu-wírɛle gu-d-o-bèθa*| *rəš-d-ò-dapa*| ***ʾu-tắra ḉə̀mtəlle báre.***| 'He quickly got up, took the long stick and entered the room, by the board. She closed the door behind him.' (A22:27)

(4) *mə́re mo-ṯ-òðəx?*| *pɛrmáxle ʾo-zòra*| *ṯ-axlə̀xle,*| *hal-ʾé-gət ṯ-áza dábba m-tàma.*|
qímela ***ʾo-zóra prìmə̀llela***| *ʾu-xìlə̀llela.*| 'He said "What shall we do? Let's slaughter the young one and eat him, (and wait) until the bear goes away from there." They slaughtered the young one and ate it.' (A20:7–8)

The construction is also used to express close spatio-temporal cohesion of habitual events in descriptive discourse, e.g.

(5) *marəxθìla,*| *ʾu-ʾi-šoqíla tămàha,*| *míya ʾi-ṭépi b-rèša.*| ***míyət ṭépi b-réša bɛzìla.***| 'They boil it and put it aside. The water comes to the top. They pour off the water that comes to the top.' (B6:42)

The cohesion may be one of total overlap, in that the clause is a reiteration of what precedes. Although in such cases the clause is strictly not sequential to the preceding narrative, it often acts as a link between what precedes and a subsequent series of sequential clauses, e.g.

(6) *ʾu-dwíqtəlle ʾixála gu-čánte dìye,*| *jarrèta y-amráxla.*| ***jarréta dwìqtəlla***|
ʾu-másta gu-bùrra-w| *dríθəlle gu-čánte dìye.*| 'She packed food in his bag—we call it a *jarreta* ('lunchbag'). She packed the lunchbag, (put) yoghurt in a pot and placed it in his bag.' (A21:11)

The construction is sometimes used in clauses that are logically cohesive with what precedes in that they express the cause or the evidence for it, e.g.

(7) *ʾáp-xa lìθ láxxa gu-béθa.*| ***ʾayále díye hóle mšùdrəlla xa-dúkθa xéta.***| 'There is nobody here in the house. He has sent his children to another place.' (A22:28)

(8) *mə́re qaṭlə̀nnux.*| *mə́re qṭùl!*‖ *lìtli.*| ***zúze làn-xəzya.***| ‘He said “I’ll kill you.” He said “Kill (me). I have not got it. I have not found the money.” (A15:4)’

The preposed object in such event-orientated constructions may be a non-referential negative expression that has no anaphoric connection with what precedes, e.g.

(9) *kùt-yum*| *ṣaléwa gàwṛa*| *l-šùqa*| *msawòqe*| *ʾu-**čú-məndi lé̱ mɛθèwa.***| ‘Every day the man would go down to the market to do shopping, but would bring nothing back.’ (A22:1)

(10) *kúl-xa náša ṣàyəm.*| *ṣàyəm,*| ***híč-məndi lá-ʾaxəl ṭḷà yománe.***| ‘Everybody should fast. (Everybody) should fast and should not eat anything for three days.’ (B6:19)

When the construction is topic-orientated, the initial object is set up as a topic that is the main centre of concern in the clause. This strategy is used at the beginning of a section of discourse, in which the referent of the preposed object often retains its central topicality in what follows. The fronted referent is often a newly introduced referent, e.g.

(11) ***xə́lya marəxθìle***| *ʾu-šoqíle péša dă̆raj ḥărára díye taqríban ʾàrbi.*| *déri marèθa bíya.*| ‘They boil milk and let its heat become about forty degrees. They put rennet in it.’ (B6:37)

(12) ***sáṛe xašlə́xwala*** *b-xašòlta.*| *ʾu-mpartənə̀xwala*| *ʾu-qašrə̀xwala.*| ‘We would crush barley in a mortar. We winnowed it and removed the peel.’ (B10:12)

(13) *xá-məndi ṯ-amrànnɛxu.*| *xṭíθi b-quðalèxu*| ***bnóni qam-ʾéni là qaṭlítula.***| *báθər qaṭlìtuli,*| *xéna ʾap-bnòni qaṭlítula,*| *b-gòti qaṭlítula.*| ‘I say to you one thing. I implore you, do not kill my children before my eyes. After you kill me, then kill also my children, kill them by my side.’ (B9:13)

(14) *ʾíðux lá-darət gu-nùra*| *t-là-ʾaqða.*| ‘Do not put your hand in the fire, lest it burn’. (D2:8)

In some cases the newly introduced referent is not explicity referred to in the following clauses, but nevertheless it has some kind of relevance in what follows. In (14), for example, the lamp is needed to see the girl asleep. In (15) the living room is required to accommodate the guests on their return. The object *ʾurxa* ‘way’ in (16) is closely linked semantically

with the following clause, which should be analysed as its complement ('the way she learnt'):

(15) *xa-lámpa mɛ́θət b-ʾìðux,*| *ʾu-háyyo láxxa kàsli.*| *xzìgən*| *ʾáyya bráta šapìrtə ṯ̂-íla dmíxta kàsli.*| 'Bring a lamp in your hand and come here to me. Look at this beautiful girl who has fallen asleep with me.' (A26:5–6)

(16) *mur-ṭla-Ẑ̀ine*| *ḵ̂účke mtagəbràla,*| *ʾáxni dìṛṛən*| *la-mṣélən síqlən ṣèda.*| 'Tell Zine to prepare the living room. We have returned, we could not go out hunting.' (A26:46)

(17) *dáx ʾúrxa muxzélux ʾálla lípla ʾàwwa šúla?*| 'How did you show her the way to learn this work?' (A21:34)

The initial object that is set up as the topic of the clause may be a generic relative phrase, e.g.

(18) *kú-məndi bə̆́yət šqùl.*| 'Take whatever you want.' (A22:17)

(19) *kú-məndi-t ʾamrə́nnux gə̆́rəg ʾòðət.*| 'Everything I say you must do.' (A14:66)

The construction is used in direct speech where the referent has topicality due to its presence in the speech situation, e.g.

(20) *ʾáyya bràta*| *hox-múθyəlla ṭlàləx*| *ṭla-brònux.*| 'We have brought this girl for you, for your son.' (A21:6)

(21) *t-yánnux ʾəṣrà dináre.*| *bàs*| *ʾáwwa náša nablátle ṭamrətle.*| 'I shall give you ten dinars. Only, take away this man and bury him.' (A22:37)

When two or more such topic-orientated constructions are juxtaposed, they are presented as two parallel situations without being connected sequentially, e.g.

(22) *ʾap-šúlət banjáne har-hàdəx ʾawðíwale.*| *ʾap-šúlət xiyáre hàdəx ʾawðíwale.*| 'They carried out the cultivation of aubergines in the same way. They carried out the cultivation of cucumbers in the same way.' (B7:13)

(23) *ṭ̂lá-bnone xilìli.*| *báxta xilàli.*| 'I have eaten three sons. I have eaten the wife.' (A20:12)

(24) *ʾíθwali xa-kàrma.*| *zrìyənwale*| *mútta-wewa dalyáθa ʾu-xabúše ʾu-kúl xa-màndi.*| *mútta-wewa ʾixàla.*| *θéle xa-náša qəm-šaqálle ʾo-kàrmi.*| ***lá-karmi***

lɛ́le-mădòṛe*ˡ *ʾu-la-ḥáqqət kàrmi lɛ́le-yáwa.ˡ ‘I had an orchard. I had cultivated it. It was laid out with vines, apple-trees, everything. It was laid out with food. A man came and took away my orchard. He does not return my orchard nor does he pay the price.’ (A17:30)

The topic-orientated construction with a fronted object may be juxtaposed with a clause with an initial subject, which has the same effect of expressing parallel situations rather than sequentiality, e.g.

(25) *mə́šxa páyəš xòðe,*ˡ *ʾu-dáwwe dɛ́rɛ́la gu-xa-quṣxáne gòṛta.*ˡ ‘The butter remains by itself and they put the yoghurt water in a large pot.’ (B6:40)

The constructions discussed above should be distinguished from constructions with a fronted object that is an information focus marked by the nuclear stress, e.g.

(26) A: *xzéli bàbux*ˡ B: *là,*ˡ *màmi xzélux.*ˡ ‘A: “I saw your father.” B: “No, you saw *my uncle*.”’
(27) A: *xónux hóle xíla xabùša*ˡ B: *là,*ˡ *xàwxɛ́le xíla xóni.*ˡ *lɛ́le xabùša xíla.*ˡ ‘A: “Your brother has eaten an apple.” B: “No, my brother has eaten *a peach*. He has not eaten *an apple*.”’

In such cases the remainder of the clause belongs to the presuppositional background, i.e. it is assumed to be known to the hearer. What is unknown is the identity of the argument in question. In (25) the presuppositional background of the clause with the fronted object is ‘You saw *x*’ and in (26) it is ‘My brother has eaten *x*’. What the speaker is asserting, i.e. the new information that he is conveying, is the identity of *x* in each case. Note that in clauses with compound verbal forms, the copula is attached to the fronted object. Examples from the text corpus (see §15.4.1.4.1 i):

(28) *lɛ́wən θíθa b-xabrə dìye.*ˡ *ʾáyya xáθe dìyela.*ˡ *b-xábrət xáθə dìyən θíθa.*ˡ ‘I did not come at his word. She is his sister. I came at the word of his sister.’ (A8:85)
(29) *ʾànən múθyəlle.*ˡ ‘*I* (and not my brother) have brought it back.’ (A24:31)

The fronted object in focus may be introduced by an inclusive or restrictive particle ('also, only'), e.g.

(30) *ʾap-màlxa piðále.*ˡ 'He passed by also *the salt*.' (A24:19)
(31) *mári qa-yəmmi*ˡ *bas-mìya máttət qam-réša díya.*ˡ 'I said to my mother "Place only *water* by her head."' (A21:37)

The inclusive particle *ʾap* is also used with initial object constructions that have the nuclear stress on the verb and so do not express narrow focus on the object but rather a broader focus on the proposition as a whole, e.g.

(32) *hot-ṣtìməlle béθət xálux.*ˡ *ʾap-béθi bă̆yət ṣaṭmətle?*ˡ 'You have ruined the house of your uncle. Do you want to ruin also my house?' (A23:39)
(33) *ʾúp Mar-Sáwa qəm-taləxle.*ˡ 'He also destroyed (the church of) Saint Sawa.' (B6:33)
(34) *béna ʾàw*ˡ *ma-ṯ-íwa hal-hàdəx,*ˡ *bă̆yéwa qa-ʾalàha*ˡ *ʾu-ʾaláha bă̆yèwale,*ˡ *ʾap-míya muklèle gu-d-ɛ-sálla.*ˡ 'He was so (holy), he loved God and God loved him, that he could even hold water in the basket.' (A16:10)

17.7.6. *Double Objects*

In constructions that take two direct object nominal constituents these are normally both placed after the verb, e.g.

(1) *ʾáxni šaqláxxe ʾu-ṃáḷəxxa čántux zùze.*ˡ 'We shall take it and fill your bag with money.' (A39:14)
(2) *madoqíla xátna-w kʸálo gotə-ġðàðe*ˡ 'They make the groom and bride hold each other's side.' (B5:50)

The first object constituent may be fronted before the verb in contexts where single object constituents are fronted. In (3), for example, the fronting of the object 'his bag' occurs in a clause that is intended to be cohesive with what precedes in a close temporal sequence. In (4) the object is fronted in a topic-orientated construction that is presented as parallel with what precedes:

(3) *wídla ʾixàla*ˡ *ṭla-yàla.*ˡ *xìlle.*ˡ ***čánte díye dwíqla zwàðe.***ˡ 'She made food for the youth. He ate. She packed his bag with provisions.' (A21:22)

(4) *ṯ-óðən ʾixàla,*| *xáʾa mən-d-ánna kúbbe gòṛe.*| *xáʾa ṭla-xmàθila*| *ʾu-xá ṭla-gàwṛi.*| ***ʾa-ṯ-ìla ṭláli***| ***ʾawðánna trè-qəsme,***| *t-yánna xa-ṭlàlux*| *ʾu-xá ṭla-wə̀žīr.*| ‘I’ll make food, one of these big meat-balls. One is for my mother-in-law, one is for my husband. The one that is for me I’ll make into two parts and give one to you and one to the vizier.’ (A21:28)

17.7.7. *Subject—Object—Verb*

Occasionally the object is fronted before the verb when the clause has an initial subject constituent. Most attested cases of such constructions have independent pronouns as subject, e.g.

(1) *máre yába b-zabnátle ʾálli ʾən-háwe b-ðà-ʾaqla?*| *máre zílla θèla*| *ða-ʾàqla!*| ***ʾáti ʾáqla šqùlla***| ‘He said “Will you sell it to me if it has one leg?” He said “All this fuss (literally: they have gone, they have come), now one leg! Take the leg.”’ (A22:5)

(2) *ṯ-óðən ʾixàla,*| *xáʾa mən-d-ánna kúbbe gòṛe.*| *xáʾa ṭla-xmàθila*| *ʾu-xá ṭla-gàwṛi.*| *ʾa-ṯ-ìla ṭláli*| *ʾawðánna trè-qəsme,*| *t-yánna xa-ṭlàlux*| *ʾu-xá ṭla-wə̀žīr.*|… ***ʾána sámi t-yánne ṭlalə̀xu***| *ʾána lè-y-axlən.*| ‘I’ll make food, one of these big meat-balls. One is for my mother-in-law, one is for my husband. The one that is for me I’ll divide into two parts and give one to you and one to the vizier.… I shall give my share to you. I shall not eat.’ (A21:28–29)

(3) *sógən mə́θo xárj-u bárjət botanàye*| ***ʾu-ʾána xáθi t-yánna ṭla-Mə̀mo.***| ‘Go and collect the taxes of the people of Botan and I shall give my sister to Mămo.’ (A26:73)

In all cases the object is anaphorically bound to the preceding context and the clause is semantically cohesive with what precedes. As we have seen, clause initial subject pronouns are in principle used to signal some kind of disjoining from what precedes, so there appears to be some tension here. The main motivation to use the subject pronouns seems to be to give prominence to the clause as a whole.

17.7.8. *Independent Object Pronouns*

Occasionally an independent pronoun or anaphoric demonstrative pronoun is used to express a pronominal direct object. It is placed either before or after the verb. This construction is found in the following contexts.

When placed before the verb, on some occasions the pronoun is topical in status and the clause coheres closely with what precedes, e.g.

(1) *ʾaw-y-oðəxwa.*ˈ 'We would do that.' (B10:49)
(2) *ʾáti xúwwe là ʾaxálləx.*ˈ 'The snake will not eat you.' (A24:39)

The motivation to use the independent pronoun is in some cases to place the topical referent in contrastive opposition, e.g.

(3) *mára lá-dri xɛ́lət gànux.*ˈ *ʾána θíθən mpalṭánnux m-gu-sə̀jən.*ˈ *mára lát-θiθa* ***ʾána mpalóṭəlli*** *m-gu-sə̀jən.*ˈ *θíθət šqála ʾáyya róxi mən-gu-gàni.*ˈ *mára là'a.*ˌˈ *ʾána θíθən mpalṭànnux*ˈ *ʾáxxa l-tàmma,*ˈ *lá-dri xɛ̀la.*ˌˈ 'She said "Do not struggle. I have come to bring you out of the prison." He said "You have not come to bring me out of the prison. You have come to take my spirit from me."' (A26:82)

When an independent pronoun with topical status is placed after the verb in addition to or in place of an L-suffix, the motivation appears to be to give the construction morphological weighting to mark some kind of discourse boundary. In (4) and (5) the pronouns occur at an end boundary, whereas their occurrence in (6) and (7) coincide with an onset. The event in (6) marks the return to the narrative after direct speech. In (7) the clause marks the onset of a deontic section that is the main point of the speech, after an initial background section:

(4) *kúlla hon-xìləlla.*ˈ*…xíllux táma mubsə̀mlux.*ˈ *ʾána qəm-ṭarðìli.*ˈ *ʾə́θyən m-kérbi hon-xíləlla* ***ʾày.***ˈ 'I have eaten all of it…You ate there and enjoyed yourself. They drove me out and, out of my anger, I have come and eaten it.' (A2:11)
(5) *xzíθəlle xa-bronət-xà-malka,*ˈ *láx-ðaʾa ʾɛ̀ka,*ˈ *ʾu-bìθəllela-w*ˈ *ʾu-hóla mšuyðánta mən-d-ó-yoma ṯ-íla* ***xzíθəlle ʾàw.***ˈ 'She saw the son of a king, we do not know where, and fell in love with him, and she has been mad from the day that she saw him.' (A4:12)
(6) *là bə̆yánna.*ˈ *šqúl sì.*ˌˈ *qímɛle* ***šqìla-ʾani***ˈ *ʾu-mŭdərəlla.*ˈ *núbləlla qa-bráte dìye.*ˈ '"I don't want them. Take (them), go!" He took them and returned them. He took them to his daughter."' (A17:13)
(7) *mə̀re*ˈ *ʾána bə̆́yən ʾánna déwe maxə̀nna.*ˈ *máre dàxi?*ˈ *máre ʾána xzáyən ʾan-maymúne…hóla xáləlla qṭàləlla.*ˈ ***pálšəx ʾáni*** *w-ána šaqlə̀nna ʾáθṛa mənnéy.*ˈ 'He said "I want to attack these wolves." He said "How?" He said "I see that they are eating and killing the monkeys. Let us fight them and I shall take the land from them."' (A14:52)

The pronoun may have a narrow information focus, in which case it takes the nuclear stress and is often fronted before the verb,

(8) *ʾána ʾàti bə̆́yən*ˈ 'I love *you*' (A25:31)

The narrow focus may be inclusive, e.g.

(9) *qa-t-nablánne ʾap-ʾàw.*ˈ 'so that I take also *him*.' (A8:80)

An independent pronoun is used when its referent is conjoined with other items in the direct object phrase, e.g.

(10) *ʾə́θyela déwe gu-ða-lawùrta*ˈ *xíləlle ʾàw-u xmáre díye.*ˈ 'Wolves came into a valley and ate him and his donkey.' (A14:17)
(11) *ʾána mšúdrən Gúzali ʾu-ʾàti.*ˈ 'I sent you and Gozali.' (A8:91)

17.7.9. *Verb—Prepositional Phrase*

A prepositional phrase expressing an indirect object or some other complement of the verb is normally placed after the verb, e.g.

(1) *ʾámər ʾə́lle dìye.*ˈ 'He says to him.' (A21:2)
(2) *máṭe l-čádrət bábe dìye.*ˈ 'He arrives at the tent of his father.' (A28:33)
(3) *qéθa b-ɛ̀-ʾaqla.*ˈ 'It strikes the leg.' (B7:24)
(4) *ṣléle rəš-xa-ʾɛ̀na.*ˈ 'He alighted at a spring.' (A15:1)
(5) *wúr gu-d-áwwa bɛ̀θa.*ˈ 'Enter this room.' (A22:26)

The nuclear stress is generally placed on the prepositional phrase, unless this is pronominal, in which case the nucleus exhibits a greater tendency to be placed on the verb, e.g.

(6) *pàlṭən m-gáwe.*ˈ 'Let me come out of it.' (A20:3)
(7) *ʾu-də̀ryəlle gáwa díya.*ˈ 'He put him in it.' (A22:38)

17.7.10. *Verb—Object—Prepositional Phrase*

When the clause also contains a direct object nominal, this is normally placed before the prepositional phrase complement, e.g.

(1) *ʾu-máxa xa-mə́šxa gu-be-ʾéne dìye.*ˈ ‘They put some oil on his forehead.’ (B6:36)
(2) *mattíwa bála b-áqlə susèy.*ˈ ‘They directed their attention to the leg of their horse.’ (A8:30)
(3) *y-awðíwa sàdde gáwa.*ˈ ‘They would put partitions in them.’ (B7:10)
(4) *maθyáwa ða-kə́rtə qə́sa l-xáṣa dìya.*ˈ ‘He would bring a bundle of wood on her back.’ (A10:6)

A related construction is where an item is named by the expression ‘to say to it *x*’. The constituent expressing the name in principle takes the nuclear stress and is an information focus. It may be placed either after (5–6) or before (7–8) the verb, e.g.

(5) *mattíwala xa-dúkθa šaxìnta*ˈ *t̂-amrə́xxa gòma.*ˈ ‘They would place them in a warm place, which we call a *goma* (basement).’ (B5:12)
(6) *y-amríwala qàzbe.*ˈ ‘They called them *qazbe* (dates).’ (B5:12)
(7) *ʾən-bə̌yət*ˈ *zaqrènnəx*ˈ *xa-qurṭàla,*ˈ *sàla y-amrə́xle.*ˈ ‘I’ll weave you a large basket, we call it a *sala* (basket).’ (A20:2)
(8) *ʾu-dwíqtəlle ʾixála gu-čánte dìye,*ˈ *jarrèta y-amráxla.*ˈ ‘She packed food in his bag—we call it a *jarreta* (lunchbox).’ (A21:11)

17.7.11. *Prepositional Phrase—Verb*

A prepositional phrase is fronted before the verb in similar contexts to those in which a direct object constituent is fronted. A distinction should be made between constructions where the fronted phrase bears the nuclear stress and those in which it does not. The latter type of construction without the nuclear stress on the initial phrase may be ‘event-orientated’ or ‘topic-orientated’. Event-orientated constructions are closely cohesive with what precedes, e.g.

(1) *ʾi-mattíle š-kèpe,*ˈ *xóθe díye y-óði nùra.*ˈ ‘They put it on stones and make a fire under it.’ (B6:45)
(2) *ʾáw mattíle š-ġðàðe,*ˈ *y-amríle huðàla.*ˈ *mattíle š-ġðàðe*ˈ *y-amríle huðàla.*ˈ *qa-ʾìma?*ˈ *qa-sətwa,*ˈ *qa-haywáne diyèy.*ˈ *š-d-ó huðàla*ˈ *ʾi-mátti pùwuš,*ˈ *sab-púwuš la-ṣála míya bi-dìye.*ˈ ‘They stack it up. This is called a *huðala* (fodder stack). They stack it up, it is called a fodder stack. For when (is this prepared)? For the winter, for their animals. On top of this fodder stack they put hay, since water does not seep through hay.’ (B5:113)

In (3) the clause has both a fronted direct object and a fronted prepositional phrase:

(3) *ʾámər là-bǎyənna lá zùzəx*ˈ *ʾu-la-čù-məndi.*ˈ *ʾu-ya-ʾàlaha,*ˈ *zílɛle rìqɛle.*ˈ ***ʾan-zúze ṭla-d-àw,***ˈ ***ṭla-d-o-ḥammàla***ˈ ***là-yiwla.***ˈ 'He said "I don't want your money or anything" and he was off, he fled. She did not give the money to him, to that porter.' (A22:46)

Topic-orientated types of the construction are attested in contexts where two events are presented as occurring in parallel, e.g.

(4) *muθéθɛla tré glàse.*ˈ *ṭla-d-áy dráyɛla xàčča*ˈ *ṭla-d-áw ràba.*ˈ 'She brought two glasses. For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot.' (A17:25).

When the fronted prepositional phrase bears the nuclear stress, it expresses an information focus, the rest of the clause being presuppositional, or at least less prominent, e.g.

(5) *ʾána b-àrbe lánwa zwánəlle*ˈ *zawnánne b-ṭàl̩l̩əθ?*ˈ 'I would not buy it with *four* legs, would I buy it with *three*?' (A22:8)
(6) *ʾaw-t-lá-šaxən b-zráqtət šə̀mša*ˈ *b-gnèθa la-šáxən.*ˈ 'He who does not get warm with the rising of the sun, does not get warm at its setting.' (D2:21)
(7) *ʾána qa-Sətt̀iye bə̌yən.*ˈ 'I love *Sətt̀iyə* (not anybody else).' (A25:22)
(8) *dáx lítləx xáṭər bàxta,*ˈ *ʾu-bṭ̂-àθən*ˈ *gu-d-ànna ʾéni bṭ̂-áθən.*ˈ 'Of course, you are welcome, my lady. I shall come. *By these eyes* (of mine) I shall come.' (A22:20)

In such cases the short prepositions *b-* and *l-* are occasionally omitted on the focused item, e.g.

(9) *har-gubbànəx* (< *b-gubbanəx*) *wíðəlle.*ˈ 'We made it exactly according to a spirit-level.' (A17:20)
(10) *kut-ʾə́rba ʾaqlət-gàne* (< *b-ʾaqlət-gàne*) *páyəš tə́lya.*ˈ 'Every sheep is hung up by his own legs.' (D2:55)
(11) *ʾáyya yaləxta*ˈ *bàbila (< l-bàbila) zqírta*ˈ *ʾu-xáθi Nasìmola (< l-Nasimola) mnuqášta.*ˈ 'This handkerchief was woven by my father and embroidered by my sister Nasimo.' (A37:12)

17.7.12. *Placement of Adverbials*

The placement of adverbials in relation to other components in the clause is conditioned by a number of factors. We shall consider here both verbal and copula clauses, since the conditioning factors are the same. The majority of adverbials that occur in the text corpus are temporal or spatial expressions. The various positions can be classified as follows.

17.7.12.1. *In Clause Initial Position*

Temporal or spatial adverbials that stand at the front of a clause in principle mark a shift in the discourse and set the temporal or spatial frame for what follows. This frame often incorporates a series of clauses. Examples:

(1) *xá-yoma ṣlèle,*ˈ *ʾína šmíle xzéle ʾína ṭəlḷəθ-yawne tíwla táma.*ˈ 'One day he went down and heard (something) and saw that three doves had alighted there.' (A14:81)
(2) *xá-yoma ṣléla gu-gòma.*ˈ *ríxət júlla díya θèle.*ˈ *mára hóla làxxa.*ˈ 'One day she went down into the basement. The scent of her clothes came to her. She said "They are there."' (A14:100)
(3) *šúryɛle zráya hàl-ʾaṣərta.*ˈ *ʾaṣárta ʾáθe l-bèθa.*ˈ 'He began cultivating (and continued) until evening. In the evening he came home.' (A21:12)

The temporal frame may be set by a distributive adverbial expression, e.g.

(4) *kút yomət-šábθa míya là-hawe gu-néra.*ˈ 'Every Saturday there is no water in the river.' (A14:50)
(5) *ʾu-kut-šéta xa-gáya y-oðáxwa mən-d-o-ʾùpra.*ˈ 'Once every year, we would collect this mud.' (B10:68)
(6) *kut-yárxa t-yánnux xámši dinàre.*ˈ 'Every month I shall give you fifty dinars.' (A24:5)

In descriptive discourse, some kind of shift is often marked by a reidentification of the temporal frame by an anaphoric adverbial such as *ʾɛ-ga* 'at that time' or *tama* 'there'. In (7), for example, these adverbials are used in a clause that occurs at the beginning of a section of discourse concerning the churn. The reidentification is also used to mark a shift from the foreground discourse to a background comment (8):

(7) *ʾé-ga táma gu-maθwáθa kəslèni*| *ʾíθwalən gùða.*| ‘At that time, there in our community in the villages, we had a churn.’ (B7:20)
(8) *maxíwa ʾilàna.*| *ʾé-ga lìθwa kéka.*| *y-asqíwa l-gàre,*| *ʾɛ-dánə mɛθíwala kʸàlo,*| *napṣìwala.*| ‘They would set up the tree. At that time there was no cake. They would go up onto the roof, at the time when they brought the bride and shook it.’ (B10:27)

In narrative the initial adverbial may express the point at which an event takes place, e.g.

(9) *bár ṭlaθa-yóme dìṛre.*| ‘After three days he returned.’ (A3:6)
(10) *ṣàlyela.*| *yomət-ṭláθa màtyela*| *l-Amedìa.*| ‘They went down. On the third day they reached Amedia.’ (A25:77)

On some occasions the initial adverbial is placed in a separate intonation group. The effect of this is to disjoin more forcefully the clause from what precedes. Some of the examples of such adverbials in the text corpus are numerical expressions such as those in (13)–(15), which denote members of a limited set of points or periods in time. The added disjunctive effect of placing the adverbial in a separate intonation group marks these off distinctly in contrastive opposition:

(11) *xa-yòma*| *qímla zílla màra*| *ṯ-ázəx l-ʾərwe.*| ‘One day they set off and said “Let’s go to the sheep.”’ (A25:23)
(12) *ʾo-lèle*| *y-azə́xwa be-kʸàlo.*| ‘That night we would go to the house of the bride’s family.’ (B5:28)
(13) *bénə ṭəḷḷəθ*| *nàpla*| *bàxta.*| ‘The third time the wife fell.’ (A20:11)
(14) *yómət trè*| *ʾay-là xílla.*| ‘On the second day she did not eat.’ (A21:14)
(15) *yómət xàmša,*| *qímla ʾáy m-bắdal xmáθa dìya.*| ‘On the fifth day, she got up instead of her mother-in-law.’ (A21:22)

An initial adverbial that is not placed in a separate intonation group on some occasions takes the nuclear stress. This is used to put a narrow information focus on the adverbial. In clauses containing a copula, the copula is placed on the adverbial, e.g.

(16) *kúlla lèlela l-bálux?*| ‘Has it been on your mind *all night?*’ (A25:67)

When narrow focus is placed on anaphoric adverbial expressions, its function is to strengthen the anaphoric bond with what precedes. In (17) and (18) the adverbial 'at that time' binds the clause with what precedes rather than setting the temporal frame for what follows:

(17) *muttéθəlle púmma gu-pùmmət*ˡ *Fàrxo,*ˡ *šuréla myàṣa*ˡ *ʾè-danɛla kálye.*ˡ 'She put her mouth on the mouth of Farxo and began sucking. *At that time* they stopped (crying).' (A25:5)

(18) *taxránne ṭla-xlúlət xóni Šəmmo*ˡ *ʾé-gə t-wéwa ríqe nàše*ˡ *ṣálye Badɛrəške,*ˡ *ʾáskar t-léwi síqta gu-ʾƐn-Nùne,*ˡ *ʾè-ga-wewa gwíra xóni Šə́mmo.*ˡ 'I remember the wedding of my brother Šəmmo, when people had fled and come down to Badɛrəške. The Levy army went up to ʾƐn-Nune. *At that time* Šəmmo married.' (B8:21)

By contrast, in (19) the initial adverbial is not marked by the nucleus and it sets the temporal frame for what follows. The copula on the adverbial here signals topical rather than focal prominence (§15.4.1.4.1. ii):

(19) *ʾé-gɛla ḥŭdúde mùrme,*ˡ *gu-Tùrki músqe.*ˡ 'At that time the borders were moved, they were moved up to Turkey.' (B9:21)

When the anaphoric adverbial *hatxa* has narrow focus, it likewise links the clause to what precedes, e.g.

(20) *ʾína semàlta*ˡ *ʾáyya t-qèse,*ˡ *max-d-ánna ṯ-ásqi ʾăbu-bə̀rqa.*ˡ *ʾáxni hàtxɛwa semáltən ʾap-ʾáxni.*ˡ 'A ladder is made of wood, like the ones that the electricity workers climb up, our ladder was like *that*.' (B10:60)

(21) *hàtxa mjuwə́ble ʾə́lli málka.*ˡ 'The king repled to me *thus*.' (A17:34)

(22) *hàtxa ʾoðéti b-náše.*ˡ 'You should treat people *like this*.' (A22:47)

In (23), on the other hand, where it is does not have the nucleus, it is forward pointing:

(23) *bróni hátxɛla qaḍìya*ˡ *málka hóle múθyəlla bráte dìye.*ˡ 'My son, the situation is like this. The king has brought his daughter.' (A21:8)

A backwarding linking function is performed also by the focused spatial adverbials *ʾaxxa* 'here' and *tama* 'there' in (24)–(27). In (26) and (27) these occur after a subject constituent, but their function is the same:

(24) *dámxəx š-gəšra,*| *biš-salàmət-ile.*| *ʾáxxa xuwwáwe ma-xuwwáwe lè-y-aθɛ l-d-áwwa gášra.*| *ʾàxxa damxéxi.*| ‘Let’s sleep on the bridge. It is safer. Here—snakes and the like will not come onto this bridge. Let’s sleep *here*.’ (A30:49)

(25) *ʾéka ṣàṭqa*| *tàma zăréti.*| ‘Wherever she squats down, you should plough *there*.’ (A30:4)

(26) *bábi muttúle táma bèθa.*| *zìllɛni,*| *təxrúθa dìyi*| *ʾu-t-xóni d-o-gòṛa.*| *ʾáwwa xóni tàmɛle bárya.*| ‘My father set up home there. We went, as far as I remember, together with my older brother. This brother of mine was born *there*’. (B8:10)

(27) *ʾɛ-dúkθə ṯ-íxwa mŭmàðe,*| *hálbat sawăwáθən t-qámθa kúlla tàmɛwa mŭmáðe.*| ‘That place where we were baptized, of course all our ancestors were baptized *there*.’ (B3:21)

17.7.12.2. *Adverbial in Clause Final Position*

When temporal or spatial adverbials are placed at the end of the clause, they, in principle, do not mark a shift in the discourse by setting the temporal or spatial frame for what follows. Rather the clauses in which they occur are cohesively bound to what precedes. This is seen in (1) and (2), in which the adverbials are anaphoric. The clause with the adverbial ‘at that time’ in (1) develops the description of ‘mats’, which have been introduced in the preceding clause. In (2), from a narrative, the clause with the adverbial ‘on that day’ does not introduce a new episode, but rather recapitulates on an event that has already been related:

(1) *ʾíθwa y-amráxwa xaṣìra.*| *xaṣíre mɛθéwala m-məðinàθa ʾé-ga.*| ‘There was a mat, as we called it. They brought the mats from the towns at that time.’ (B5:199)

(2) *xá-yoma ʾíθwa xá-qaša ʾu-xà-malla.*|*…šáryela gu-xa-ʾotèl.*|*…šáryela gu-d-é ʾotél ʾo-yòma-w*| *píšela hàdəx.*| ‘One day there was a priest and a mullah.… They put up in a hotel.….. They put up in the hotel that day and remained there.’ (A2:2)

17.7.13. *Clauses with an Interrogative Constituent*

Interrogative particles that function as a subject, object or adverbial in the clause are in principle placed before the verb. The nuclear stress is placed either on the fronted particle or at the end of the intonation group. If the verb is a compound form containing a copula, the copula is attached to the interrogative particle:

(1) *módi wìdle?*ǀ 'What did he do?' (A20:5)
(2) *mó t̂-òðəx?*ǀ 'What shall we do?' (A14:47)
(3) *mó bə̌́yət?*ǀ 'What do you want?' (A12:62)
(4) *mòditu xə́zye?*ǀ 'What have you seen?' (A12:16)
(5) *ṭla-mò wídlux hátxa bíyi?*ǀ 'Why did you do that to me?' (A15:14)
(6) *ʾènile qṭíləlle?*ǀ 'Who has killed him?' (A15:16)
(7) *ʾénile plìxa?*ǀ 'Who has worked?' (A21:13)
(8) *ʾéka pə́šən ʾàrxa?*ǀ 'Where can I be a guest?' (A26:26)

When the clause contains a subject constituent, this is generally not placed between the interrogative particle and the verb, but rather is positioned either before the interrogative particle or after the verb. The decision to place the subject at the front or end of the clause is conditioned by the discourse factors that have been discussed above (§17.7.2.), e.g.

(9) *Barzə́kko módi wìdle?*ǀ 'What did Barzəkko do?' (A12:7)
(10) *xəyálɛxu mù-qṭíla?*ǀ 'What have you decided? (literally: What have your thoughts decided?)' (B5:2)
(11) *ʾána mò-ʾoðən?*ǀ 'What should I do?' (A21:2)
(12) *w-áti mò t̂-amrátli?*ǀ 'What will you say to me?' (A17:33)
(13) *ʾáxni mò t̂-áxlɔx?*ǀ 'What shall we eat?' (A10:5)
(14) *ʾáwwa mòdile wíða?*ǀ 'What did he do?' (A22:27)
(15) *mót mára ʾàti?*ǀ 'What do you say?' (A25:21)
(16) *mò ʾawðéna ʾána hadíya?*ǀ 'What should I do now?' (A26:13)
(17) *mùt kálba mubrə́θa ʾáti?*ǀ 'What dog have you given birth to?' (A11:20)

In a few sporadic cases the subject intervenes between the interrogative particle and the verb, e.g.

(18) *mút ʾáti tíwta làxxa?*ǀ 'Why are you sitting here?' (A25:58)

The interrogative particle *mo* is used to express exclamation in constructions such as (19), in which the verb is repeated:

(19) *qìmta*ˈ *mgašóqe hàtxa,*ˈ *mo-mgàšqa!*ǁ 'She got up and looked and what (a sight) she sees!' (A25:59)

This construction is used also with intransitive verbs, e.g.

(20) *ʾánna ṣàli| ʾína mò ṣáli!‖* 'They went and what (a surprise when) they went down! (A25:13)
(21) *dmíxɛle xá-bena ṛàyəš‖ ʾina mò ṛáyəš?‖* 'He went to sleep, then woke up, but what (a surprise when) he woke!' (A14:30)

The adverbial interrogative particle *dax* is used also in a longer form *daxi*. The occurrence of the longer form is prosodically conditioned, in that it occurs predominantly in pause at the end of an intonation group, as is the case with the long forms of verbal inflections (§15.12.), e.g.

(22) *dàxi?‖* 'How (could this be)?' (A25:69)
(23) *báxta dìya dáxi?‖* 'Wife, now how (can we solve the problem)?' (A20:9)

17.7.14. *Negated Verbal Clauses*

17.7.14.1. *Negative Particle before Verb*

When a verbal clause is negated, the negative particle *la* is normally placed immediately before the verb. Various stress patterns are attested in relation to this particle. In some cases it is stressed and in others it is unstressed (§6.4.). It takes the nuclear stress of the intonation group when the speaker wishes to give the negation particular prominence. This is found predominantly in the following circumstances.

(i) *Negated Deontic Expressions*

When the negated verb has a deontic modality, such as a prohibition addressed to the hearer or an expression of deontic intention by the speaker, the negator is often given prominence, e.g.

(1) *là mtalpətle‖ là-daqrət bíye.|* 'Do not harm him! Do not touch him!' (A26:73)
(2) *là maṣíθət!‖* 'Do not listen!' (A26:11)
(3) *là-mṣawθət!‖* 'Do not speak!' (A26:89)
(4) *bróni là qəṭlúle!‖* 'Do not kill my son!' (A33:6)
(5) *là maštóla míya!‖* 'Do not give them water to drink!' (A25:9)
(6) *ʾána là-ʾaθən mənnux!‖* 'I shall not come with you!' (A6:6)
(7) *là-ʾawrən gu-máθa!‖* 'I shall not go into the village!' (A25:34)

(ii) *Adversative Contexts*
The negator is given prominence when the clause defeats an expectation that arises from what precedes, e.g.

(1) *spírra spìrra*ˡ *bróna díya là θéle.*ˡ 'She waited and waited, but her son did not come.' (A14:21)
(2) *ták-tak mxáyəlla goyáθə sùsa*ˡ *ta-t-dàyəṛ súsa m-táma,*ˡ *là-jwijle súsa.*ˡ 'He struck the sides of the horse so that the horse would move away from there, (but) the horse did not move.' (A26:28)
(3) *móra ṯ-ásqən ta-ṯ-axálli xùwwe.*ˡ *móre ʾána ṯ-áθən mànnəx.*ˡ *ʾáti xúwwe là ʾaxálləx.*ˡ 'She said "I am going up in order for the snake to eat me." He said "I shall come with you. The snake will not eat you."' (A24:39)

(iii) *Contrastive Oppositions*
When the negated clause is set up in a contrastive opposition with what precedes, the negator, which is the focus of contrast, has the nucleus, e.g.

(1) *móra ʾána báxtət ʾáġət Č̣ā̀l-iwən.*ˡ *ʾáyya xmáθa díya homànna.*ˡ *xəmyána homànne.*ˡ *bróna homànne.*ˡ *kúlla homànna.*ˡ *kálθa là hománna.*ˡ 'She said "I am the wife of the aġa of Č̣āl." Her mother-in-law believed it. Her father-in-law believed it. The son believed it. Everybody believed it. The daughter-in-law, however, did *not* believe it."' (A19:2)
(2) *réši parmànne*ˡ *ʾu-réšəx là parmánne.*ˡ 'I shall cut off my head. I shall *not* cut off your head' (A14:35)

(iv) *Verb* mṣy *'to be able'*

(1) *ʾána là-mṣən ṯ-áθən mánnux hátxa.*ˡ 'I cannot come with you in that case.' (A26:18)
(2) *ʾána là-mṣən maθyánne.*ˡ 'I cannot bring him back.' (A25:75)
(3) *ṯ̣lá gáye súse dìye*ˡ *θéle ta-t-šâwər*ˡ *là mṣéle.*ˡ 'Three times his horse came up to jump but could not do so.' (A25:55)
(4) *zmìrra,*ˡ *là-mṣela bíyi.*ˡ 'She sang and could not beat me.' (A25:69)

(v) *Negator Combined with Intensifier*
In some cases a negator with the nuclear stress is combined with the intensifying particle *xo-/xu-*, e.g.

(1) *xo-là péšən šăvána-llux.*ˡ ‘I shall not become a shepherd for you.’ (A25:32)
(2) *ʾáxni băyáxwa ṯ-aθàxwa.*ˡ *xu-là-mṣaya ṯ-aθáxwa ṯ-amráxwalax.*ˡ ‘We wanted to come back, but we could not come back to tell you.’ (A14:21)
(3) *yába ʾan-ʾámma dàwe,*ˡ *xu-là mbaqrətálli.*ˡ ‘Well, do not ask me about those hundred gold coins.’ (A14:65)

17.7.14.2. *Negative Particle before Other Constituents*
The negative particle is sometimes placed before another component of the clause that intervenes before the verb. This is found in the following circumstances:

(i) *Verb Not in Scope of Negation*
One context where this is found is where the scope of the negator includes this item but not the verb. In order for it to be within the scope of the negation, it must be in the focus component of the clause. There is, therefore, a narrow focus on the negated item, with the verb being in the presupposition. The nuclear stress is sometimes, though not regularly, placed on the negator before the item in narrow focus, as in (1)–(4):

(1) *xzèla*ˡ *ʾína núra ṭápya b-béθe dìye,*ˡ *ʾína là-bɛθa qíða,*ˡ *xáčča qése ráḥqa mən-bèθe.*ˡ ‘They saw that fire had been kindled in his house, but his house had not burnt down, only a few sticks far from his house (had burnt).’ (A48:3)
(2) *ʾáθyela hìwalla*ˡ *ʾáy mára lèkət nabóləlli?*ˡ *máre ʾána làn ṭláli nabóləlləx.*ˡ *nabóləlləx ṭla-d-áwwa dewàrrəš.*ˡ ‘She said “Where are you taking me?” He said “I am not taking you for myself. I am taking you for this vagabond.”’ (A12:35)
(3) *là-kulley yapáwa.*ˡ ‘Not all of them used to bake.’ (B5:17)
(4) *ʾáxči là gu-ʾƐ́nə Núne qəm-ʾoðánne ʾéða,*ˡ *qəm-ʾoðánwale gu-Dòhok.*ˡ ‘But I did not spend the festival in ʾƐn-Nune, I spent it in Dohok.’ (B15:9)
(5) *lá kulla-náše yáǒi ṯ-oðìla.*ˡ ‘Not all people know how to make it.’ (B10:22)
(6) *ʾáxni lá raba-ʾi-mapəlxàxwala.*ˡ ‘We do not use it much.’ (B10:18)
(7) *ʾilanɛni t-xabušta. m-reša-w šətta mnoqašta. l-Yawsəp zwinta b-dabašta. námu ʾáxni xlúlət Gwárgəs la-xálti zwínna kéke dìye*ˡ *móra ða-dabàšta?*ˡ ‘“Our tree is an apple tree. It is decorated above and below. It has been bought by Yawsəp for a beehive.” [wedding song] At the wedding of Gwərgəs was it not my aunt who bought his cake and say “(I buy it) for a beehive?”’ (B8:29–30)
(8) *xo-lán har-ʾána gàwṛa.*ˡ ‘I am not the only man.’ (A26:79)

Constructions such as (9) and (10), in which the verb has been gapped, can be included here:

(9) *ʾáni maṣlə́xwa ʾərxe,*| *ṭaxnə̀xwala.*| *là kúlla náše.*| *bas-ʾàxni.*| 'We brought them down to the water-mill and ground them. Not everybody, but we did (this).' (B10:88)

(10) *mattátla xa-kawázət míya kəs-réša-w bàs,*| *la-ʾixàla,*| *la-lə̀xma.*| 'You should put out for her a jar of water by her head and that's all, not food, nor bread.' (A21:10)

In (11) the item in the scope of negation is placed after the verb, with the negative particle used both before this item and the verb:

(11) *lá dɛréle là rəš-séla*| *ʾi-maxíle gu-tanùra.*| 'They do not place it *on a griddle*, they place it *in the oven.*' (B6:49)

(ii) *Constituents Coordinated in a Set Relation*

The negative particle is placed before a subject constituent when the latter is placed at the front of a clause in order to establish it in a set relationship with an item in a coordinated adjacent clause and the scope of negation includes the subject, e.g.

(1) *la-kʷàsa măráwa*| *ʾu-la-xàṣa măréwa,*| *la-ḍáġaṭ y-awèwale.*| '(One's) stomach did not ache, (one's) back did not ache and one did not have (high blood) pressure.' (B5:31)

(2) *ʾána lɛ̀-gorən,*| *la-ʾàti gáwrət.*| 'I shall not marry, so long as you do not marry.' (A25:83)

(3) *la-ʾáxnix xàla*| *ʾu-lá susăwàθən xála.*| 'Neither are we eating nor are our horses eating.' (A26:16)

If the items that are coordinated in a set relationship across a series of two or more clauses are not subject constituents, a second negator is often placed before the item in question, in addition to a negator in the normal position in the clause, e.g.

(4) *lá-karmi lɛle-mădòṛe*| *ʾu-la-ḥáqqət kàrmi lɛle-yáwa.*| 'He does not return my orchard nor does he pay the price.' (A17:30)

Constituents that are coordinated in this way include the resultative participle and infinitive of compound verbal constructions, e.g.

(5) *ʾo-déwa léle lá plìxa*ˈ *ʾu-lá zə̀rya*ˈ *ʾu-lá xzìda.*ˈ 'That wolf has neither worked, nor cultivated, nor harvested.' (A10:3)

We see from (5) that the items are not necessarily placed at the front of the clause but may remain in their normal position.

The verb may be gapped after the first clause of the coordinated series, e.g.

(6) *ʾána lànwa wíða*ˈ *là xərbayúθa*ˈ *là spayúθa ṭla-čú-naša.*ˈ 'I have not done evil or good to anybody.' (A14:23)
(7) *ʾána làn dmíxa,*ˈ *là-b-lɛle,*ˈ *là-b-yoma.*ˈ 'I have not slept, neither at night nor during the day.' (A24:24)
(8) *lá-bə̆yəx la-mìya*ˈ *ʾu-la-čù-məndi.*ˈ 'We do not want water or anything else.' (A39:12)

A series of negated verbal predicates may be coordinated with this type of construction, e.g.

(9) *šuréle mtaxmòne.*ˈ *gu-d-áy taxmànta*ˈ *ṭḷá yomàne*ˈ *léle la-xíla-w la-šə̀tya*ˈ *ʾu-la-dmìxa.*ˈ 'He began to think. He was (immersed) in this musing for three days without eating or drinking or sleeping.' (A26:19)

In (10) the Arabic particle *walla* 'and not' is used by the speaker in this type of construction:

(10) *le-šóqən lá xolamwàθa*ˈ *wálla ʾàti*ˈ *wálla yə̀mmi*ˈ *wálla čw-nàša.*ˈ 'I shall not let servants, you, mother or anybody (look after them).' (A8:18)

Similar constructions are attested with existential particles, in which the negator is either repeated (11) or is placed only before the item in focus (12):

(11) *líθ là-xmara mə́nne díye*ˈ *la-čù-məndi.*ˈ 'There was not an ass with him, nor anything (else).' (A22:25)
(12) *la-bàba ʾítle,*ˈ *la-yə̀mma ʾítle.*ˈ 'He does not have a father and he does not have a mother.' (A14:16)

The unusual construction in (13) with the sequence *la ʾitle* rather than *litle* may perhaps be understood in this light. The noun *nxəpθa* 'shame' is established in a set relationship with what precedes in order to explain the meaning of the latter:

(13) *xzí hátxa be-nxàpθɛle.*ˡ *lá ʾítle nxàpθa*ˡ ‘Look, he is so shameless. He has no shame.’ (A6:11)

In certain circumstances a negative particle is placed before an infinitive that is the complement of a main verb if only the infinitive is in the scope of the negation, e.g.

(14) *ʾu-kút-xa mšuréle là-dwaqa míya.*ˡ ‘Everybody began (to agree) not to gather water.’ (A24:43)

(iii) *Asseveration*
The negative particle may be used to express asseveration rather than negation, especially to dispell possible doubt after questions. In such cases the particle never bears the nuclear stress, e.g.

(1) A: *štélux čàyux?*ˡ B: *la-štèli!*ˡ ‘A: “Have you drunk your tea?” B: “Indeed I have drunk it!”’

If the clause contains a compound verbal form with a copula, the copula is not replaced by the negative copula, e.g.

(2) A: *t̂-àθeti?*ˡ B: *la-hóli θàya!*ˡ ‘A: “Will you come?” B: “But I am coming!”’

The negative particle is used to express asseveration also before a negated clause, as seen in (3):

(3) *lá lɛ-zădə́nwa čᵘ-bèna.*ˡ ‘Indeed, I was never afraid.’ (B5:130)

17.7.14.3. *Negation of the Verb ‘to know’*
The present form of the verb to know exhibits some irregularities. When combined with the negator *la*, the first syllable of the verb is often contracted, e.g. *lɛðən* < *la-yăðən* ‘I do not know’, *lɛðəx* < *la-yăðəx* ‘We do not know’. An alternative negative form is formed by replacing the first syllable of the verb by *mi-*, e.g. *miðən* ‘I do not know’, *miðe* ‘He does not know’. This derives historically from a phrase containing the interrogative particle (< *mo yăðən* ‘What do I know?, *mo yăðe* ‘What does he know?’). It has now, however, lost its interrogative sense and functions as a negator, as shown by phrases such as *míðən mòdi*ˡ (A1:23) ‘I don’t know what’. Further examples from the text corpus:

(1) *míðən ʾo-béθa ʾèkɛle.*| ‘I don’t know where that house is.’ (A12:63)
(2) *kút-yum ʾáθya xàjətta daryáwa bíye díye*| *ʾáti xélux ʾèkɛle?*‖ *róxux ʾèkɛla-w?*‖ *ʾu-dáx-it xyàʾa?*‖ *mìðən mó.*| ‘Every day she came with a pretext (to ask him) “Where is your strength? Where is your spirit? How do you live?,” I don’t know what (else she asked).’ (A12:38)
(3) *míðət ʾáyya módila mṣòθe.*| ‘You do not know what she is saying.’ (A38:10)

17.8. Extrapositional Constructions

In many cases a referential participant in a clause is extraposed in initial position in syntactic isolation. This is normally resumed in the body of the clause by a coreferential pronominal element that indicates its syntactic function. In what follows we shall first examine the structural details of this type of construction and then discuss its function. This section will consider not only clauses with verbal predicates, but also those with a copula or existential particle.

17.8.1. *Structure*

17.8.1.1. *Extraposed Element*

The extraposed element may be a nominal or an independent pronoun, e.g.

(1) *ʾó-ʾeða y-amráxle šèra.*| ‘That festival—we call it a *šera*.’ (B6:22)
(2) *ʾo-Dáwið mòdi šúle díye?*‖ ‘That David—what is his profession?’ (A16:1)
(3) *ʾá mɛxólta náššət kʸàlo y-oðíwala.*| ‘The food—the family of the bride would make it.’ (B5:7)
(4) *ʾána šə́mmi Čùxole*| ‘I—my name is Čuxo.’ (A7:18)
(5) *ʾáti xélux ʾèkɛle?*‖ ‘You—where is your strength?’ (A12:38)
(6) *ʾáw mútːəlle šə́mme díye Mar-Sàwa.*| ‘That—they made its name Saint Sawa.’ (B6:30)

The extraposed nominal is sometimes uttered in a separate intonation group, e.g.

(7) *tàwra*ˈ *primále ðá ʾíðe dìye.*ˈ ‘The ox—he cut off one of its feet.’ (A22:3)
(8) *Dáwið ḳ̂òra*ˈ *dbíšla bábe-w yámme bìye.*ˈ ‘Blind David—his father and mother urged him.’ (A16:5)

An extraposed nominal is in principle definite with an identifiable referent. In some cases the nominal has not been explicity mentioned, but its referent is referentially anchored in some way to a nominal in the preceding context, as in (9), where the nominal ‘one room’ is a member of the set of ‘two rooms’ mentioned earlier. The referent of the nominal may be a class that is identifiable by its descriptive content alone (10)—(11):

(9) *ʾítla trè ʾotáxe.*ˈ *ða-ʾòtəx*ˈ *ʾáni dámxi gàwa.*ˈ *ʾɛ-xèta*ˈ *heywànela.*ˈ ‘They had two rooms. In one room they slept. The other one was (for) the animals.’ (A22:10)
(10) *ʾína semàlta*ˈ *ʾáyya t-qɛ̀se.*ˈ ‘But a ladder—it is made of wood.’ (B10:60)
(11) *kut-mɛθéli xábra bəd-bròni,*ˈ *ʾən-míθa ʾən-ṣàxi,*ˈ *pálgət dáwi de-t-yánne ʾálle dìye.*ˈ ‘Whoever brings me word about my son, whether he is dead or alive, I’ll give him half of my gold.’ (A14:92)

When the referent of the fronted nominal has the role of direct object in the clause, marked by a direct object pronominal suffix on the verb, as in (12)–(15), its syntactic status is ambiguous. This is because there is a general tendency for there to be a pronominal suffix on the verb agreeing with a definite direct object constituent irrespective of whether the object is placed before or after the verb (§15.13.2.1.).

(12) *ʾa-štɛ́θa šatɛ́wala t-lá mìya.*ˈ ‘They drink that drink without water.’ (B5:14)
(13) *ʾáy ʾilána mṣaqlìwala.*ˈ ‘They decorate that tree.’ (B5:39)
(14) *ʾa-štɛ̀θa*ˈ *har-tàma mpalṭáxwala.*ˈ ‘We produced that drink there.’ (B5:11)
(15) *ʾo-qàmxa*ˈ *mɛθɛ́wale bɛ̀θa.*ˈ ‘They would bring the flour back to the house.’ (B5:16)

Although there is ambiguity on the level of syntactic structure, certain object initial clauses possess the functional properties of extrapositional constructions. This applies to the type of construction that has been

referred to in §17.7.5.2. as 'topic-orientated' object initial clauses, in which the object sets the topical frame for the clause. As we shall see, this is a basic functional property of extraposition. It should also be noted that the prosodic isolation of the initial object in a separate intonation group, as in (14) and (15), is a feature common to 'topic-orientated' object initial clauses and extrapositional clauses, but is rarely found in 'event-orientated' object initial clauses. 'Topic-orientated' object initial constructions with a resumptive pronoun will be included together with extrapositional constructions in what follows.

17.8.1.2. *Resumptive Element*

The extraposed constituent is generally resumed in the clause by a pronominal suffix. The suffix may be on the verb (1), a noun (2) or a preposition (3):

(1) *ʾáw y-amríle xàppo.*ˡ 'That—they call it a *xəppo*.' (B5:35)
(2) *ʾána xéli hóle gu-xa-qésa xèna.*ˡ 'I—my strength is in another piece of wood.' (A12:39)
(3) *ʾàxni*ˡ *kəsləˈn*ˡ *šàbθa*ˡ *ʾíla šawwà-yome.*ˡ 'In our commuity a week is seven days.' (A17:13)

In some cases the resumptive element is an independent pronoun. In most of the attested cases this is the subject of the clause, e.g.

(4) *jawátta ʾáyya t-prèzlɛla.*ˡ 'The chopper—it is (made) of iron.' (B5:140)
(5) *ʾína semàlta*ˡ *ʾáyya t-qèse*ˡ 'But a ladder—it is (made) of wood.' (B10:60)
(6) *bas-ʾéni t-xzéla ʾày xoš-ʾáza gu-jahànnam.*ˡ 'Only my eye, which saw it—let that go to Hell.' (A16:2)
(7) *ʾo-t̂-íle plíxa ʾàw bt̂-áxəl.*ˡ 'Whoever has worked—he will eat.' (A21:15)

Occasionally the independent resumptive pronoun is the object of the verb, e.g.

(8) *táma ʾáti kut-bə̆́yət górət ʾàw.*ˡ 'There anybody you like—you can marry him (= You can marry anybody you like).' (A8:80)
(9) *ʾíθ pálṭa zùrta.*ˡ *ʾɛ-zúrta ʾáy zadìwala.*ˡ 'There was (some of the tobacco) that came out (as) small (pieces). This small stuff—they threw that away.' (B7:17)

The resumptive element may even be a full nominal, e.g.

(10) *málla píšla quṣárta ta-màlla.*ˡ 'As for the mullah, the cooking pot became the mullah's.' (A5:10)

In (11) where the extraposed element is a generic relative phrase, the resumptive noun has an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun:

(11) *kú nàšma*ˡ *t-màṯya*ˡ *rəš-gášrət Dalàle*ˡ *ʾɛ-nášma bəd-pèša*ˡ *prìmta,*ˡ *qṯìlta.*ˡ 'Any soul that comes onto the bridge of Dalale—that soul will be slaughtered, killed.' (C8:5)

In (12) an extraposed plural noun does not have any direct resumption, but is linked to a singular noun in the clause in a set relationship:

(12) *bàte*ˡ *ʾáxni qáṣra díyən mubnélən šétət xámši-w ṭlàθa,*ˡ *ʾu-xámši-w ʾàrpa.*ˡ 'As for houses, we had our villa built in the year fifty-three and fifty-four.' (B1:20)

An extraposed item may be left without any explicit resumption in the clause. In such cases the extraposed element sets the orientation of the clause, similarly to a clause initial adverbial, without playing a syntactic role in it.

(13) *ṭalòbe,*ˡ *béna y-oðíwa mɛxòlta.*ˡ 'As for the betrothal—they would make food.' (B5:7)
(14) *mɛxólta y-áwa mbúšle qawúrma-w rəzza,*ˡ *ʾu-kəftàne.*ˡ 'As for the food, they would have cooked *qawurma*, rice, meat-balls.' (B5:15)
(15) *paláṭṭət ʾə̀raq,*ˡ *ṯ-amrèxi,*ˡ *y-aθéwa mɛθéwa lìne ʾíθwa,*ˡ *dɛréwa lìne,*ˡ *ʾu-dɛréwa mìya gáwa.*ˡ 'As for the production of arak, as we would say, they used to bring pots, they would put down the pots and put water into them.' (B5:12)
(16) *sab-xlúla rába náše čɛdèwa.*ˡ 'Because the wedding—they invited many people.' (B5:23)

A speaker sometimes extraposes the 1pl. independent pronoun in this way when referring to activities in his own home or community.

(17) *ʾáxni b-sátwa mšéra dúnye rəya*ˡ *mən-yárxət ʾəṣra-w*ˡ *xadássər hòdəx.*ˡ 'We (= in our community)—in winter it starts raining from October and November onwards.' (B5:145)

(18) *ʾàxni*| *ʾƐ̄n-Núne npílta bel-ṭúra l-ṭùra.*| We—ʾƐn-Nune is situated between mountains.' (B5:148)
(19) *ʾáxni béθət be-bábi ʾatìqa-wewa.*| *ʾína ramánɛwa biš-mən-qáṣrət kùl-naše.*| 'We—the house of the family of my father was old, but it was higher than the villas of everybody (in our community).' (B10:51)

In (20) and (21) the resumptive independent pronoun itself stands extraposed from the clause:

(20) *xá-naša l-xóðe lítle la-bába la-yə́mma la-ʾàp-xa,*| *ʾáw y-amrìle*| *lìtle náše.*| 'A man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody—he—they say concerning him that he has no relatives.' (A17:17)
(21) *xzi-ʾánna ṭḷa-nàše*| *ṭ-íla prímə̀lle tàwra,*| *ṭḷáθna hon-yíwtə̀lla mòʿəd.*| 'Take note that the three people who slaughtered the ox—the three of them—I have given them an appointment.' (A22:21)

17.8.2. *Function*

17.8.2.1. *Discourse Boundary Marking*
The function of the extraposition of an item at the front of a clause is in most cases to express some kind of boundary and reorientation in the discourse. The initial nominal expresses the topic referent of the clause, which often has topical status also in the following clauses. When the initial topic is given added prominence by being prosodically separated from the rest of the clause in a different intonation group, the degree of disjunction from what precedes is in principle enhanced. As we have seen, subject initial clauses and 'topic-orientated' object initial clauses also have a disjoining function. In these constructions also the degree of disjoining is enhanced by the prosodic separation of the initial topical constituent. The subject constituent may be separated from the rest of the clause by an intonation group boundary, e.g.

(1) *šə̀ra*| *xa-təxrùnyɛle.*| 'The festival is a memorial.' (B5:69)
(2) *náša diyèni*| *ʾi-ṣə́mi ṭḷá yomàne.*| 'Our people fast for three days.' (B6:21)

In copula clauses another type of prosodic separation of the initial subject topic constituent is its detachment from the copula, resulting in a

construction such as (3). Example (4) has the same structure, with the copula after the subject, without the prosodic separation:

(3) *gárðo ʾíla mən-màsta.*| 'Gərðo is (made) of yoghurt.' (B5:64)
(4) *xúwwele qṭìla!*‖ 'The snake is killed.' (A24:42)

It is worth noting that in some other NENA dialects, constructions that correspond to (3) are extrapositional with an independent resumptive pronoun attached to the copula, e.g. C. Qaraqosh:

(5) *ʾójar ʾáhu-lə xa-məndi d-gárəšlə xmàra.*| 'The plough is something that an ass pulls.' (Khan 2002: 412)

The types of boundary that are expressed by extrapositional clauses in the text corpus can be classified as follows:

(i) *Beginning of Speech*
A speaker often opens a speech turn with a topic referent that is accessible to the hearer. If this is not the subject of the clause, it stands in extraposition, e.g.

(1) *mára yəmmi*| *ʾədyo*| *ṭlàθna*| *xonăwáθət Qára Tèždin*| *mopíšəlle ləbbèy.*| 'He said "Mother, today the three brothers of Qara Teždin—their hearts became (angry)."' (A26:71)
(2) *mára ʾáwwa náša făqìra*| *ṯ-awéle xá bronà.*| 'They said "This poor man—to him will be a son (= he will have a son)."' (A8:3)
(3) *máre xàli*| *xmàre,*| *šáwwaθna hóla xíle l-dèwe.*| 'He said "Uncle, the asses—the seven of them have been eaten by wolves."' (A23:15)
(4) *ṣlélux xá-bena xèna?*‖ *gúrzə šármux xo-ʾána ṯ-azánwa bìya?*‖ '"Have you come down again?" "Your stupid club (literally: the club of your behind)—would I have been finished off by it?"' (A52:17)

If the subject of the clause is a possession or attribute of the speaker or hearer, the speech turn often begins with an extraposed 1st or 2nd person independent pronoun respectively, e.g.

(5) *ʾána šəmmi Čùxole.*| 'I—my name is Čuxo.' (A7:18)
(6) *ʾána xéli hóle gu-xa-qésa xèna.*| 'I—my strength is in another piece of wood.' (A12:39)

(7) *ʾána ʾúrxi rába rìxtɛ́la.*| 'I—my way is very long (= I have a long way to go).' (A8:42)
(8) *ʾáxni ʾáti xàθən-iwət.*| 'We—you are our sister.' (A34:16)
(9) *ʾáti xɛ́lux ʾèkɛ́le?*| 'You—where is your strength?' (A12:38)

The choice of extraposed pronoun to open the speech turn depends on the topicality of the referent in the ensuing discourse. This is seen in (10), in which the first clause opens with the 2s. pronoun although the grammatical subject is 1fs., since the following clauses are 'hearer-orientated', containing various deontic expressions addressed to the hearer:

(10) *ʾáti ràba bə̆yánnux.*| *bas-msàʿədli xáčča.*| *hálli xákma màndi*| *masqánne l-bèθa*| *ʾu-ʾaṣárta b-lɛ́le ʾáθeti kàsli.*| 'I love you a lot. Only, help me a little. Give me something to take up to the house and tonight come to me.' (A22:19)

(ii) *New Section of Discourse*
On some occasions a construction with an initial extraposed topic referent occurs at the onset of a section of discourse that is disjoined in some way from what precedes. Various types of disjunction can be identified.

In (1) the extrapositional clause coincides with a shift in topic referent:

(1) *xíllux táma mubsə̀mlux.*| *ʾána qəm-ṭarðìli.*| *ʾəθyən m-kɛ́rbi hon-xíləlla ʾày.*| 'You ate there and enjoyed yourself. I—they drove me out and, out of my anger, I have come and eaten it.' (A2:11)

The construction is used when there is continuity of a topic referent from the preceding discourse but disjunction on some other level. In narrative it is used to signal the onset of an event section that is presented as separate from the previous one:

(2) *ʾímət pìdle ṭúra,*| *ṣàle*| *ʾəltəx.*| *réša xtáya kúlle màlxɛ́le.*| *sùsux*| *ʾaqláθe mdur-bə̀nnela.*| *málxa maxéla ʾaqláθe dìye,*| *ṯ-áwe súsa mṣarṣòre.*| 'When he has crossed over the mountain, he will go down. Down hill it is all salt. Your horse—(when) its legs have become wounded, salt will strike his legs and he will screech.' (A24:12)

In narrative the construction is used at the onset of a section that supplies some kind of elaboration on what precedes rather than carrying the narrative forward. In (3) it presents an event that is circumstantial to the

previously mentioned event. The extrapositional clause in (4) provides an evaluative comment on what precedes rather than an event that is presented as sequential to what precedes. In (5) the narrator opens a section that shifts to a point earlier in the time-line and recounts the events that led to the protagonist becoming blind.

(3) *qíme dwíqe xá b-aw-rùše*ˡ *xá b-aw-rùše*ˡ *nùblə̀lle.*ˡ *ʾáw lá snidíle ʾáqle dìye*ˡ *qəm-nablìle.*ˡ ‘They held him, one this shoulder and one the other, and took him away. His legs did not support him. They took him away.’ (B9:24)

(4) *qímla zráʾa xabúše.*ˡ *xabúše muntéwala bíya dìya.*ˡ ‘They began to cultivate apples. They were successful with apples.’ (B5:75)

(5) *qám d-áyya qə̀ṣṣət*ˡ *t-miràli*ˡ *Dáwið k̂òra*ˡ *dbíšla bábe-w yámme bìye*ˡ *mára ʾállahi magurə̀xlux.*ˡ ‘Before this story that I have told you (so far), the blind David—his father and mother pressed him and said “By God, we must marry you.”’ (A16:5)

In (6)–(8), from descriptive discourse, the extrapositional construction constitutes an explanatory supplement to what precedes:

(6) *béna gu-d-á-dana mɛθéwa štè̀θa.*ˡ *ʾa-štè̀θa*ˡ *har-tàma mpalṭáxwala.*ˡ ‘At that time they brought drink. That drink—we produced it there.’ (B5:11)

(7) *béna y-oðíwa mɛxòlta.*ˡ *ʾá mɛxólta nášət kʾàlo y-oðíwala.*ˡ ‘They would make food. The food—the family of the bride would make it.’ (B5:7)

(8) *ʾíθwa jawə̀tta.*ˡ *jawə́tta ʾáyya t-prə̀zlɛla.*ˡ ‘There was a chopper. The chopper—it is (made) of iron.’ (B5:140)

In (9) the construction is used in a clause that repeats the content of the preceding clause as a strategy to introduce elaborative material:

(9) *y-ázəxwa ʾáxni zóre mṭaláxwa k̂olàne.*ˡ *k̂oláne mṭaləxwa gáwa.*ˡ *mattáxwala bêʾe gu-ṣawə̀lta.*ˡ ‘We would paint eggs. We young people would go and play in the streets. The streets—we would play in them and would put eggs in a shoe.’ (B16:5)

In (10) the construction coincides with a shift from a general description of a habitual situation to the description of a specific event, which is offered as an illustration:

(10) *yawíwala xà-mdi.*| *ʾána xmáθi xá-dawa zə̆́ra muttéθəlli gu-ʾíðət xóni ʾÌshəq.*|
'They would give her (the bride) something. I—my mother-in-law put a yellow gold coin for me in the hand of my brother Ishəq.' (B8:35)

An extrapositional construction is used after a presentative clause with existential particles in (11) and (12). This is likely to be a strategy to mark off the presentative clause with enhanced distinctness in order to give the item presented added prominence:

(11) *ʾíθən xa-ṭùra.*| *ṭúra ṭ̂-ásqət bíye dìye,*| *kúlle skinyàθɛle.*| 'There is a mountain. The mountain—you should go up it, it is all (covered in) knives.' (A24:11)
(12) *ʾítlən ʾénət ʾùmra.*| *ʾay-čú-ga lá-qɛ́ṭa-w lá-sətwa bárzi míya dìya.*| *trè ʾɛnáθa ʾítlən.*| 'We have the spring of the church. It—its water never dries up, in summer or winter.' (B10:61)

Generic or proverbial statements, which have an inherent independence and distinctness from the preceding context, may open with an initial topic standing in extraposition, e.g.

(13) *ʾó-t šawə́rra šáwwa sə̀kke,*| *ða-qɛ́θa gu-be-tə̀kke*| 'He who jumps seven stakes—(one stake) will hit him in his waist.' (D2:1)
(14) *xá-naša l-xóðe lítle la-bábа la-yə́mma la-ʾàp-xa,*| *ʾáw y-amrìle*| *lìtle náše.*|
'A man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody—he, they say concerning him that he has no relatives.' (A17:17)

In clauses denoting an iterative action containing a constituent with a universal quantifier, the quantified phrase is often made the topic of the clause and placed in extraposition, e.g.

(15) *kut-mə̀sta*| *xa-zága dáryət bìya.*| 'Put a bell on every hair.' (A27:8)
(16) *kú-rešət xúwwe θèle,*| *qəm-maxèle.*| 'He struck each head of the snake that came (his way).' (A24:40)

(iii) *Opposition between Topics*
In some cases the motivation for the extrapositional construction is to set up an opposition or parallelism between two topic referents. Each topic

referent is placed at the front of the clause and stands in extraposition if it is not the subject referent, e.g.

(1) *ʾàxni*ǀ *kəslən*ǀ *šàbθa*ǀ *ʾíla šawwà-yome*ǀ *ʾu-yàrxa*ǀ *ʾíle ṭḷaθì-yome.*ǀ *ʾáxtu šabθéxu ʾəštà-yomela?*‖ 'We—a week for us is seven days and a month is thirty days. You—is your week six weeks?' (A17:13)

(2) *ʾítla trè ʾotáxe.*ǀ *ða-ʾòtəx*ǀ *ʾáni dámxi gàwa.*ǀ *ʾɛ-xèta*ǀ *heywànela.*ǀ 'They had two rooms. One room—they slept in it. The other one—it was (for) the animals.' (A22:10)

(3) *zeðàye*ǀ *ʾáxlət mənna t-là-qṣaya.*ǀ *ʾu-màsta*ǀ *ʾáxlət mənna qrúšta díya t-la-xàrwa.*ǀ 'The pittas—you should eat them without breaking them. The yoghurt—you should eat it without the crust being spoilt.' (A30:5)

(4) *ʾína júllux hálla ṭlàli.*ǀ *ʾu-xmártux ṯ̂-átwən ʾàna l-xáṣa.*ǀ 'Your clothes—give them to me. Your donkey—I shall sit on its back.' (A6:8)

In (5) and (6) the extraposition of the topical subject constituent by means of an independent pronoun is used to mark it off distinctly from a topic of an adjacent clause:

(5) *dăráje t-kèpɛla,*ǀ *ʾína semàlta*ǀ *ʾáyya t-qèse.*ǀ 'Steps are made of stone, but a ladder—it is made of wood.' (B10:60)

(6) *ʾánna qurðáye barzanàye*ǀ *ʾáni hóla jràṭa.*ǀ *ʾu-suráye lèla jráṭa.*ǀ 'The Barzan Kurds were slipping, but the Christians were not slipping.' (B19:7)

(iv) *Prominence of Clause*

In some cases the main motivation for an extrapositional construction with a clause initial topic is to mark it off distinctly from what precedes in order to give it prominence, e.g.

(1) *θéle xa-hambišàya.*ǀ *hambišàya*ǀ *ʾè-ga*ǀ *xírɛle bìye,*ǀ *ʾáwwa náša lábbe pqìle!*‖ 'A giant came. The giant looked at him. That man's heart burst (with fear).' (A31:2)

(2) *lá-băyəx la-mìya*ǀ *ʾu-la-čù-məndi.*ǀ *ʾáxni har-xònən-it!*‖ 'We do not want water or anything else. You are indeed our brother.' (A39:12)

In (3) the extrapositional clause marks the climactic point of the discourse section, the origin of the name of the church being the main point of the narrative:

(3) *gu-d-ò-ʾumra*ˈ *ṭùmrəlle*ˈ *ʾu-bə́nyela ʾúmra b-réše díye.*ˈ *ʾáw mútṭəlle šə́mme díye Mar-Sàwa.*ˈ 'They buried him in (the site of) that church and built the church over him. They gave it the name of Saint Sawa.' (B6:30)

17.8.2.2. *Topic Referents Obligatorily Resumed by L-Suffixes*
In certain clauses, an initial topic referent regularly stands in extraposition and is resumed on the verb by an L-suffix. These include the following:

(i) *'Naming' Constructions with the Verb* ʾmr

(1) *ʾó-ʾeða y-amrə́xle šèra.*ˈ 'That festival—we call it a *šera*.' (B6:22)
(2) *ʾáyya y-amrə́xla mămàðta.*ˈ 'This—we call it baptism.' (B6:8)
(3) *ʾáni xaṭoryàθa y-amríla.*ˈ 'They are called "washing-boards."' (B19:9)

(ii) *Possessive Constructions with the Existential Particle*

(4) *ṣlíθɛla bàxta*ˈ *xzíθa qa-màlla.*ˈ *málla ʾítle dəkkánət ʾaparùθa.*ˈ 'The woman went down (to the town) and saw the mullah. The mullah had a shop of household goods.' (A22:11)
(5) *ʾáw ʾítle ða-ʾótəx ʾax-d-àyya.*ˈ 'He has a room like this one.' (A21:5)
(6) *ʾàxni*ˈ *gu-ʾɛ̄n-Nùne*ˈ *ʾítlən šèra.*ˈ 'We in ʾɛn-Nune have a saint's festival.' (B5:72)

(iii) *Clauses Containing Verbs with Impersonal Subjects*

(7) *ʾăwáha ṯ̂-ile xóðe díye bắyéle bàxta.*ˈ 'The man who is alone needs a wife.' (A27:7)

17.8.2.3. *Narrow focus*
In some cases the nuclear stress is placed on an independent pronoun that resumes an extraposed nominal phrase. This puts narrow focus on the referent. The construction is typically used when the nominal is a long phrase, e.g.

(1) *kùt la-páləx*ˈ *gu-d-áwwa bɛ̀θa*ˈ *ʾixála lè y-áxəl.*ˈ *ʾo-t-pàləx*ˈ *ʾàw ṯ̂-áxəl.*ˈ 'Whoever does not work in this house will not eat food. Whoever works—*he* (and not anybody else) will eat.' (A21:13)
(2) *qa-mó gắrəg ʾázəl kúlla páxri gu-nùra,*ˈ *gu-jahànnam?*ˈ *bas-ʾéni t-xzéla ʾày xoš-ʾáza gu-jahànnam.*ˈ 'Why should all my body go to the fire, to Hell? Only my eye that saw it—let *it* go to Hell.' (A16:2)

17.9. Miscellaneous Clausal Particles

17.9.1. nəmu/ləmu

This particle gives an expostulatory or hortatory sense to questions. When used to introduce negative questions, which is its most frequent usage, the question is equivalent in function to an asseveration, e.g.

(1) *nə́mu la-mə́ri-llux dəyər̩,ˈ míθa dəyər̩?ǀ* 'Did I not tell you that he would return (= indeed I told you…), that the dead would return?' (A22:39)
(2) *nə́mu ʾáxni xlúlət Gwə́rgəs la-xálti zwínna kéke dìyeˈ mə́ra ða-dabàšta?ǀ* 'At the wedding of Gwərgəs did not my aunt buy his cake and say "(I buy it) for a beehive? (= indeed my aunt bought his cake…)"' (B8:29–30)
(3) *nə́mu la-ʾawðáxle ʾáwwa ṭùraˈ dărajyàθa,ˈ dăràje,ˈ ṭ̂-ásqəx l-áwwa ṭùra?ǀ* 'Should we not make for this mountain steps (= indeed let us make…), so that we can go up the mountain?' (A17:4)
(4) *lámu lá-ʾasqən ʾàna?ǀ* 'Should I not go? (= indeed I should go)' (A39:10)
(5) *lámu lax-xnìqəllux?ǀ* 'Have we not drowned you? (= surely we have drowned you)' (A7:22)

Occasionally the most appropriate translation of the particle is 'why?', e.g.

(6) *lat-nxàpa!?ǀ xá ʾaxwáθi mìraˈ dráya šlámi ʾəllux ʾu-ʾáti tíwa l-ṭìzux!ˈ lámu la-qìmlux?ǀ* 'Are you not ashamed!? A prince like me greets you and you sit on your bum. Why did you not get up?' (A26:48)

The particle is occasionally used in positive questions, where it has a remonstrating force, e.g.

(7) *nə́mu ʾáyya bárke d-ènilaˈ ṭ̂-it-ʾáti sxáya gàwa?ǀ* 'Whose is this pool in which you are swimming? (= surely it is mine not yours)' (A25:61)

17.9.2. xo-/xu-

This particle, which is related etymologically to Syriac *kḇar*, is used most frequently in negated clauses. When used in non-interrogative clauses, it intensifies the negation, often with a remonstrating force, e.g.

(1) *xo-la-méθən làxxa.*| 'I shall not die here.' (A20:11)
(2) *xo-là pɛ́šən šăvána-llux.*| 'I shall not remain a shepherd for you.' (A25:32)
(3) *xu-là-mṣaya ṯ-aθáxwa ṯ-amrə́xwaləx.*| 'We could not come to tell you.' (A14:21)
(4) *xu-lanwa-mírəllux maxzátli xăzìna.*| 'I had not told you to show me a treasure.' (A14:23)
(5) *ʾu-ʾə́mma dáwe d-ɛ́-ga xu-lèla xáčča.*| 'A hundred gold coins of that time indeed are not a little.' (A14:63)
(6) *yába ʾan-ʾə́mma dàwe,*| *xu-là mbaqrətəlli.*| 'Well, do not ask me about those hundred gold coins.' (A14:65)
(7) *ʾàna ṯ-ásqən,*| *xu-là ʾaxə́lli,*| *xu-lèle ʾárya.*| 'I shall go up (and ride the horse), surely it will not eat me, surely it is not a lion.' (A12:63)
(8) *xo-lán har-ʾána gàwṛa.*| 'I am not the only man (literally: Not only I am a man).' (A26:79)

It is also frequently used in negative questions, again often generally with remonstrating force, e.g.

(9) *xu-lɛ́wa ṭaxxána brōn-ṭaxxanèθa?*| 'Was he really a miller, son of a miller woman?' (A32:28)
(10) *xzéli xa-xálma dìya,*| *xu-lɛ́wa xàlma?*| *xázwa šk̀ăra wéwa.*| 'I have just now had a dream. Was it (really) a dream? It was a clear vision.' (A2:6)
(11) *xo-lat-mírta xà-məndi?*| 'Did you not say something? (= surely you said something?)' (A26:34)
(12) *bábi támməl ʾáyya mðíta xu-kùmta-wawa?*| 'Father, was this town not black yesterday? (= surely this town was black yesterday)' (A4:36)
(13) *xu-lɛwət l-xoðux rxima?* 'Are you alone not loved? (= surely you alone are loved) (C2:62)

It is attested in positive non-interrogative clauses that express deontic intention (14) or that are apodosis clauses in conditional constructions (15–16):

(14) *manixən ʾə́dlɛle làxxa.*| *xu-mbádla qémən ṣàlən.*| 'I shall rest tonight here. In the morning I shall (surely) get up and go down.' (A31:2)
(15) *ʾən-šə́rəṭ díyi qəm-yăðətla,*| *xo-b-gawrànnux.*| 'If you know (the answer to) my test, I shall indeed marry you.' (A25:62)

(16) *ʾən-mjuwàbla,*| *xo-ʾànən ʾəθya kàsləx.*| ‘If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you.’ (A26:4)

It is occasionally used in a positive interrogative clause that is remonstrating or expostulatory in tone.

(17) *mə́ra mòt ʾəθya xo-bábi?*‖ *mə́re ʾámti ʾəθyən masqə̀nnəx.*| ‘She said “Why have you come, my dear?” He said “Aunt, I have come to take you up (to your home).”’ (A52:9)

(18) *gúrzə šə́rmux xo-ʾána ṯ-azə́nwa bìya?*‖ ‘(Why) should I have been finished off by your stupid club (literally: the club of your behind)?!’ (A52:17)

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

CLAUSE SEQUENCES

18.1. Connective Particles

18.1.1. w

When functioning as a clausal conjunction, the particle *w* may be attached as a clitic either to the initial or final word of a clause. It is realized as *ʾu-* (< **ʾuw*) when in contact with a consonant at the beginning of a word, e.g.

(1) *ʾáti tú-tiwa làxxa.*ˡ *ʾu-súsi páyəš làxxa*ˡ *ʾu-ʾána bráta masqə́nna be-bába dìya.*ˡ 'You stay here and my horse will stay here and I shall take the girl up to the house of her father.' (A29:41)

(2) *ʾo-yáləṯ bə̆yàwale*ˡ *hóle ʾəθya-w*ˡ *qəm-yawə́lla yalə̀xθa ʾə́lli.*ˡ 'The young man whom she loved has come and has given me her scarf.' (A4:24)

Occasionally, the speaker attaches a particle as a suffix to the end of one clause and then repeats it as a prefix to the following clause, e.g.

(3) *mattíla gu-quṣárta mbašlìla-w*ˡ *ʾu-yátwi ʾàxli.*ˡ 'They put them in a pan and cook them, then sit down to eat them.' (A1:3)

(4) *mxúlləlla páθe dìye-w*ˡ *ʾu-zílɛle šúle dìye.*ˡ 'He washed his face and went to his work.' (A21:16)

The particle is used to express various types of semantic connection between clauses. In most cases such semantic connections may also be expressed by juxtaposing clauses asyndetically without the explicit linguistic expression of the connection in the form of the connective particle.

In narrative the particle is used to join clauses that express sequential events. The majority of sequential clauses in narrative are joined asyndetically. The usual strategy is to use the particle before the final clause of a chain of events. In this respect, therefore, it is a device for marking sections of discourse that are presented as expressing closely cohering events, e.g.

(5) *ṣléle gu-d-o-balùʿa.*ˈ *ʾáwwa dúša t-wéwa pyàša*ˈ *kúlla qəm-daréle gu-d-an-gudanyàθa*ˈ ***ʾu****-grìšla.*ˈ ‘He went down into the conduit. He put all the honey that was left into the skins and they pulled them up.’ (A14:19)

(6) *ʾə́θye xakma-dèwe,*ˈ *màxyəlle*ˈ *ʾáw ʾu-xmáre dìye*ˈ ***ʾu****-xìləlle.*ˈ ‘Wolves came and attacked him and his donkey and ate him.’ (A14:22)

The chain of sequential clauses may express habitual actions, future actions or commanded actions, e.g.

(7) *y-asqíwa malwəšíwale jull-dìye*ˈ ***ʾu****-y-atwìwa.*ˈ ‘They would come up (from the river), dress him in his clothes and sit down.’ (B6:26)

(8) *ʾaw-ṣále táma mrapáxle xáwla b-réše dìye*ˈ ***ʾu****-ʾáyya qăpáxta mattəxxa rəš-d-o-tắrət gə̀ppa.*ˈ ‘He will go down there, we shall throw the rope onto his head and shall put this cover onto the opening of the cave.’ (A14:16)

(9) *qù!*ˈ *šqúlla ʾáyya ṭàsa*ˈ ***ʾu****-háyyo mənni.*ˈ ‘Get up, take this bowl and come with me.’ (A15:11)

The chain of clauses that occurs before the connective particle is used can be of a considerable length. In (10), for example, the particle occurs for the first time on the verb *ʾu-zìlle*, which comes at the end of a long sequence of clauses. This passage occurs at the beginning of the story and the speaker presents the whole sequence has a coherent section, expressing a single overall situation that sets the scene for what follows.

(10) *θéle xa-náša swarìya,*ˈ *rakáwa.*ˈ *ṣléle rəš-xa-ʾènа.*ˈ *tìwle,*ˈ *xílle mə̀ndi,*ˈ *štéle mìya.*ˈ *ʾíθwale xákma zùze.*ˈ *qímle šqilìle.*ˈ *muttìle*ˈ *rəš-d-ɛ-ʾènа.*ˈ *ʾàwwa*ˈ *munšîle zúze díye.*ˈ *zìlle.*ˈ *ʾáwwa zílle b-ʾùrxa.*ˈ *θéle xá rakáwa xèna,*ˈ *swarìya.*ˈ *zílle rəš-ʾènа.*ˈ *qəm-xazèla*ˈ *ʾəmma dináre.*ˈ *šqilíle jal-jàlde*ˈ *muttíle gu-jèbe*ˈ ***ʾu-zìlle.***ˈ *ʾo-qamàya*ˈ *ʾámər ʾòh*ˈ *zúzi munšîli.*ˈ *qɛ́mən dɛ̀ṛən*ˈ *ʾázən šáqlən zùzi*ˈ *m-rəš-ʾènа.*ˈ ‘A horseman, a rider came. He alighted at a spring. He sat down, ate something and drank some water. He had some money. He took it and put it on top of the spring. He forgot his money. He went off. He went off on the road. Another rider came, a horseman. He went to the spring. He saw the hundred dinars. He quickly took them, put them in his pocket and went off. The first (rider) said “Oh, I have forgotten my money. I’ll return and go to take my money from on top of the spring.”’ (A15:1–2)

A chain of events that is marked off as a unit by the connective particle may be embedded as a component in a superordinate chain. Consider (11):

(11) *ʾaw-ṣále táma mrapáxle xáwla b-réše dìye*| ***ʾu****-ʾáyya qăpáxta mattə́xxa rəš-d-o-tắrət gə̀ppa.*| ***ʾu****-mṣáləx ṭla-yə́mme díye ʾáwwa qurṭánət xmàra.*| ‘He will go down there, we shall throw the rope onto his head and we shall put this cover onto the opening of the cave. Then we shall take down to his mother this donkey blanket’.’ (A14:16)

Here the first connective marks the end of a series of events that are planned to take place in a cave. They are presented as a unit, as it were a single overall activity. This activity at the cave is followed by another event in which the participants shift to another location. This subsequent event is joined by a connective particle, which can be regarded as linking the preceding chain as a whole rather than simply the immediately preceding clause. The particle, therefore, would mark the closure of the whole composite series of events, which can be represented thus [[A-B-*ʾu*-C] *ʾu*-D].

In some cases the connective is placed earlier than the final clause of a sequential chain. This may reflect a strategy of presenting the final clause as a supplementary tag to what precedes. This applies to the final clauses in (12) and (13), which contain the verb ‘to go’ and have the function of taking the participants off the scene. The connective is attached to the preceding clause, which is presented as the climax of the main chain of events:

(12) *θéle xa-náša swarìya,*| *θéle zílle rəš-ʾèna.*| *xílle mə̀ndi*| ***ʾu****-šwíqle zúze díye táma zìlle.*| ‘A horseman came, he came to a spring. He ate something and he left his money there. He went off.’ (A15:15)

(13) *mə́ra yába ʾáxni bắyáxwa ṯ-aθə̀xwa.*| *xu-làn-mṣaya ṯ-aθáxwa ṯ-amráxwaləx.*| *brònəx,*| *ʾáwwa xmáre díye zílle gu-ðà lawúrta,*| *ʾu-brónəx zílle ṭla-mɛθèwale.*| *ʾə́θye xakma-dèwe,*| *mə̀xyə̀lle*| *ʾáw ʾu-xmáre dìye*| *ʾu-xìlə̀lle.*| *ʾàxčï xə́zyəx ʾáwwa mə́ndi nišánqe díye.*| *ʾáyya məškánta píštɛla mxàya*| *dráya qə́ṭma gu-réša dìya.*| *bróna díya zìlle!*‖ ***ʾu****-ʾan-zúze plìla b-ġðáðe.*| *zìlla.*| ‘They said “Well, we wanted to come back, but we could not come back to tell you. Your son’s donkey went into a valley and your son went to fetch it. Wolves came and attacked him and his donkey and ate him. We only found this sign of him.” The poor woman began to beat (herself) and put ash on her head. Her son had gone! They divided the money among them. They went on their way.’ (A14:21–22)

In (14) and (15) the final clause, without the connective, is a supplementary recapitulation of the preceding clause, which is marked as the endpoint of the sequential chain by the connective:

(14) *Kə́rīm zìlle bar-xmáre díye*ˈ *ṭla-mεθéwa xmáre dìye,*ˈ *ʾəθyela déwe gu-ða-lawùrta*ˈ *xíləlle ʾàw-u xmáre díye.*ˈ ***ʾu****-làx-xəzye čú-məndi šuq-mən-d-ánna.*ˈ *ʾánna júlle dìye xə́zye bás.*ˈ ‘Karim went after his donkey, to fetch his donkey, wolves came into a valley, ate him and his donkey, and we did not find anything except these. We found only these clothes of his.’ (A14:17)

(15) *qímεle šqìla-ani*ˈ *ʾu-mŭdə̀rəlla.*ˈ *núbləlla qa-bráte dìye.*ˈ ‘He took them and returned them. He took them to his daughter.’ (A17:13)

Similarly in (16) the clause ‘Let him break his neck’, which does not have a connective, is appended to the preceding chain of sequential clauses as an elaborative comment and is not intended to be a component of this sequence:

(16) *si-mxi-ʾáqlux gu-xáṣe díye l-àyya kə́rta*ˈ ***ʾu****-hálle ṣàle.*ˈ *šámaṭ qðále dìye.*ˈ ‘Go and kick his back on the load (he is carrying) and let him go down (the mountain). Let him break his neck.’ (A15:13)

The connective particle is used to mark the closure of a chain of turns of direct speech introduced by the verb ‘to say’. These turns interlace their way through a story and are often separated by sections of narrative. The connective in the phrase *ʾu-mare* in (17) introduces a climactic speech at the end of the story in which one of the protagonists reveals himself as an angel. This is preceded by thirty-five occurrences of the direct speech formula ‘x said’ without the connective. There is clearly a consciousness on the part of the speaker that the turns in speech cohere together in a thread. The final speech of the story is not introduced by the connective (*ʾamər*). This can be regarded as an elaborative tag to what precedes, functioning as an final epilogue rather than a section in the main chain of speeches.

(17) *máre hé qəm-yăðənna.*ˈ ***ʾu-màre*** *si-dúṛ l-šòpux,*ˈ *ʾax-ʾarbí-šənne ṭ̂-it-ʾáti plíxa qa-ʾalàha,*ˈ *ʾu-pàlxeti.*ˈ *ʾána malàxən.*ˈ *ʾən-lá-ʾawðət b-xábra dìyi*ˈ *gánux šaqlənna.*ˈ *ʾámər xáṭər ʾalàha,*ˈ *ʾu-xáṭər mšîxa,*ˈ *bas-lá dáqrət bìyi.*ˈ *ṭ̂-ázən šòpi.*ˈ *ṭ̂-axlánne láxmi hál ʾo-yómət mèθən*ˈ *har-ʾúrxət ʾálaha dóqən b-ìði.*ˈ ‘He (the monk) said “Yes, I have understood them.” He (the angel) said “Go back to your place and continue to serve God as you

have served him for forty years. I am an angel. If you do not do as I tell you, I shall take away your life." He says "For the sake of God and the Messiah, do not touch me. I shall go to my place. I'll eat my bread (there) and until the day I die I shall always keep to God's way."' (A15:20–21).

In some cases the placement of the connective on a clause that is not final in a sequential chain reflects the fact that the action of the clause with the connective is felt to cohere closely with that of the following clause to the extent that the two express a single seamless event. This composite event, therefore, is the final event of the chain. It is relevant to note that such composite events generally occur in the same intonation group, which is a prosodic signal of coherence (§18.3.). They are often introduced by verbs of movement, such 'to come', 'to go', 'to take away', as in the following:

(18) *b-léle qímla šárya bănúda dìya,*| *t̰-àza,*| *pθíxla tắra qðìla.*| *zílla xílla xà-yala xéna*| *ʾu-θéla dmìxla.*| 'At night she got up, untied her bands, then went and opened the door with a key, went, ate another child and came back and went to sleep.' (A18:3)

(19) *ṣàlax,*| *zawnáxlən kθayàθa-w*| *t̰-áθax bašlə́xla b-gànən.*| 'Let's go down, buy for ourselves some chickens and come back and cook them ourselves.' (A2:2)

(20) *ja-jálde qìmɛle*| *ʾu-zíla šqíləlle ʾo-qésa rìxa.*| 'He quickly got up and went and took the long stick.' (A22:27)

(21) *šqíləlla ṭása b-lèle*| *ʾu-núbləlla zə́dyəlla gu-ða-dèrta.*| 'They took the bowl in the night and carried it away and threw it into a house enclosure.' (A15:11)

In general it may be said that the use of the connective particle constitutes heavy morphological coding of the semantic connection, in contrast to the light coding of asyndesis. This heavy coding is used at the end of sequences as end weighting to mark closure. Related to this function of halting a sequence, is its function of marking a lack of sequence between clauses. In (22) and (23), for example, events that take place simultaneously with the one preceding it are linked in each case by the connective particle:

(22) *ʾáti tú-tiwa làxxa.*| *ʾu-súsi páyəš làxxa*| *ʾu-ʾána bráta masqə́nna be-bába dìya.*| 'You stay here and my horse will stay here and I shall take the girl up to the house of her father.' (A29:41)

(23) *dmíxɛle Dáwið ḵóra làxxa*ˡ *ʾu-báxta dmíxtɛla làxxa*ˡ *ʾu-ʾo-rábbən dmíxɛle làxxa.*ˡ ‘Blind David slept here, the woman slept here and the monk slept here.’ (A16:9)

One may say that these passages express a slowing of the temporal line and so are more static than dynamic temporal sequences. Sometimes a series of clauses that express temporally sequential events are linked together by a repeated use of the connective particle. This is typically found in passages that do not belong to the main foreground of the narrative and do not crucially advance the narrative line. It can be regarded, therefore, as a strategy to express the slowing down of the progress of the narrative, e.g.

(24) *xílela xa-ràmša*ˡ *ʾu-prìqela,*ˡ *ʾu-dárɣalle šwìθa.*ˡ ‘They ate dinner and finished (the meal), then they (each) laid out a bed.’ (A16:9)
(25) *qɛ́mi ṣáli zoníla tərté-kθaye ʾu-mɛθèla-w*ˡ *mattíla gu-quṣárta mbašlìla-w*ˡ *ʾu-yátwi ʾàxli.*ˡ ‘They go down and buy two chickens and bring them back. They put them in a pan and cook them, then sit down to eat them.’ (A2:3)
(26) *tíwela tàma.*ˡ *ʾu-xílela ʾixàla*ˡ *ʾu-píše dmìxe.*ˡ ‘They sat there and they ate food and they stayed to sleep.’ (A15:7–8)

The narrator sometimes slows down the action expressed by verbs of movement by repeating the verb. The connective particle is often used to assist in this strategy, spinning out the action as it were. In (27), for example, the repeated series of the verb *siqla* ‘she went up’ has the effect of expressing gradual movement:

(27) *ʾu-sìqla-w*ˡ *ʾu-sìqla-w*ˡ*ʾu-sìqla-w*ˡ *ʾu-sìqla-w*ˡ *ʾɛ́-ga ṯ-ìla-qriwta ʾɔ́lla*ˡ… ‘She (gradually) came up and up and up and up. When she was near to her…’ (A4:17)

Similar constructions are used to express long journeys, which take a long time to complete, e.g.

(28) *θéla b-ʾùrxa-w*ˡ *θéla-w θéla-w θéla-w θèla.*ˡ *tre-ṭḷá yománe wéla b-ʾúrxa t-là-xala,*ˡ *ʾu-t-là-štaya.*ˡ ‘He came on the road. He came and came and came and came. He was on the road for two or three days, without food and without drink.’ (A26:16)
(29) *zílla b-šaqíθa, zílla-w zílla-w zìlla.*ˡ ‘They went along in the stream, they went and went and went.’ (A8:12)

(30) *xíšla-w xíšla-w xìšla,*| *ṭàryela gu-yáma.*| ‘They travelled and travelled and travelled, they sailed on the sea.’ (A14:38)

In passages describing a habitual situation speakers often join clauses or groups of clauses together with the connective particle when they do not intend these as sequential activities but rather as various aspects of the situation that come to mind, e.g.

(31) *mádre dɛréwa ʾa̋raq ṭla-xlùla,*| *sab-xlúla rába náše čedìwa.*| *ʾu-mɛθéwa ʾárwe pɛrmíwa y-oðíwa qàlya.*| *ʾu-mɛθéwa rázza ʾu-məndyàne*| *béna hál-yomət xlùla.*| ‘They would put aside arak for the wedding, since many people were invited. They would bring sheep, slaughter them and make *qalya*. They would bring rice and other things (and continue thus) until the day of the wedding.’ (B5:23)

(32) *y-oðáxwa lèbe-u,*| *gaxkàxwa-w*| *zamràxwa-w*| *xamláxwa bìya.*| *ʾu-y-amràxwa:*| *də-xùlena-w*| *y-ámər lɛn-kpìna-w*| *xàðya-w*| *m-án məndìyàne.*| ‘We would make tricks, laughed, sang and enjoyed the occasion. We would say “Eat!” and he would say “I am not hungry”, in fun, things like that.’ (B5:33)

Repetition of a clause given ballast by the particle may be used to present its content with added prominence, e.g.

(33) *léš-ʾaθəx hayoràxlux*| *ʾu-béθux xoš-ʾàqəð*| *ʾu-xoš-ʾàqəð.*| ‘We shall not come to help you any more. Let your house burn! Let it burn!’ (A48:6)

Likewise the motivation to use the connective before the negated clauses in (34) appears to be to enhance the force of the denial:

(34) *ʾána skínta mattánna l-qðàli*| *ʾu-lá mattánna l-qðàləx.*| *réši parmànne*| *ʾu-réšəx là parmánne.*| ‘I shall put the knife to my neck, I shall not put it to your neck! I shall cut off my head, I shall not cut off your head!’ (A14:35)

The heavy coding of the connective particle is sometimes used to mark the onset of the main narrative section of a story after the preliminary background section, e.g.

(35) *ʾíθwa xa-málka t-Yə̆man.*| *ʾítwale xa-bròna*| *yə̆kàna-wewa.*| *ʾu-qíme ʾáw ʾu-brōn-díye ʾu-tre-wə̆zíre plíṭe ṣèda.*| ‘There was a king of Yemen. He had a son who was an only child. He and his son together with two ministers went out hunting.’ (A14:36)

The connective particle is used to link a clause expressing an event and one that expresses a temporally overlapping state or ongoing activity.

(36) *qídle bɛ́θət duglàna-w*ǀ *ʾáxni là-ðiye bíye.*ǀ 'The house of the liar has burnt down, while we did not know about it.' (A48:7)
(37) *nə́mo ʾíθ xa-náša máṣe táwər réšət Ẓálo ʾu-Rustə́mo sàxi?*ǁ 'Is there somebody who can break the head of Zāl while Rustam is alive?' (A29:11)
(38) *w-ána qəm-maxèli*ǀ *w-áti xyára bìyi.*ǀ 'But they beat me while you were looking at me.' (A2:10)
(39) *ʾaw-ráqa ʾu-ʾaw-xéna šaqə́lla xa-kílo dàwe mə́nne díye,*ǀ *máxe gu-réše dìye.*ǀ 'While he was running, the other took a kilo of gold in his hands and hit him (with it) on his head.' (A14:94)

Note that in such stative or progressive clauses the copula is often omitted. This reflects a degree of dependency on the event clause (§17.6.1.) in that they have a function of an adverbial modifier.

In (40–43) the temporally overlapping state clause has an adversative or concessive sense, in that it is not the state that is expected to exist in combination with the event in question:

(40) *díya ṯ-àmər*ǀ *ʾáp ʾanna-júlle ṯ-ilà-llux*ǀ *ʾu-ʾáyya xmárta dìyila.*ǀ *w-áti xázyətli ʾána tíwa l-xàṣa.*ǀ 'He will say now that also these clothes that are on you and this ass are mine, but you have seen that I was sitting on its back.' (A6:12)
(42) *málka krìble*ǀ *ʾu-b-gáne málka mírɛwa ʾən-hawéli bràta*ǀ *t-yánna qa-bronèxu.*ǀ 'The king became angry, although the king himself had said "If I have a daughter I shall give her to your son."' (A25:8)
(43) *píšla dəžmànne,*ǀ *ʾu-ʾáni là-xəzye ġðáðe,*ǀ *ʾu-là-mṣuθe hátxa mə́ndi.*ǀ 'So, they became enemies, although they had not met each other and had not said (to each other) any such a thing.' (B19:2)

The same applies to (44), in which the question 'but what have I done?' is functionally equivalent to 'but I have done nothing (to deserve it)':

(44) *qəm-darátli gu-d-áwwa qùnya.*ǀ *ʾu-ʾána mùn wíða?*ǁ 'You have put me in this hole, but what have I done?' (A14:23)

Two co-ordinated copula clauses may be linked with the connective, e.g.

(45) *ʾàxni*ǀ *kàslən*ǀ *šàbθa*ǀ *ʾíla šawwà-yome*ǀ *ʾu-yàrxa*ǀ *ʾíle ṭlaθì-yome.*ǀ 'A week for us is seven days and a month is thirty days.' (A17:13)

(46) *rába hawnànɛle,*| *ʾu-ʾup-báxte dìye*| *ṯ̂-íle gwìrəlla*| *rába hawnàntɛla.*| ‘He is very clever and also his wife, whom he married, is very clever.’ (A17:21)
(47) *ʾáw brōn-málka rába šapìrɛle*| *ʾu-hawnànɛle.*| ‘That son of a king is very good-looking and is clever.’ (A4:3)

A copula clause that expresses a comment on a preceding statement may be introduced by the connective as in (48). This may be regarded as the use of heavy coding to express closure:

(48) *ʾo-yálət bă̆yàwale*| *hóle ʾəθya-w*| *qəm-yawálla yalə̀xθa ʾálli.*| *ʾu-ʾáyyɛla kùlla.*| ‘The young man whom she loved has come and has given me her scarf, and that is all.’ (A4:24)

In a few cases the connective particle *w* expresses logical sequence, e.g.

(49) *hadíya ʾáti màlkən-it*| *ʾu-hál ʾámra ṯ̂-óðəx xaðùθa.*| ‘Now you are our king, so give us an order for us to celebrate.’ (A14:46)
(50) *b-šɛ̀na θélux!*| *ʾədyo ʾàrxiwət*| *ʾu-là-zə̆dət.*| ‘Welcome! Today you are my guest, so you should not be afraid.’ (A14:32)

18.1.2. fa-

A few informants use the Arabic connective particle *fa-*. This, however, is by no means an established feature of the dialect. It is entirely absent in the speech of some informants. In the texts that contain this particle it is used in the following ways.

18.1.2.1. *Logical Sequence*

In expository texts it is sometimes used to express a logical consequence of a situation described in what precedes, e.g.

(1) *b-šəryă̆wáθa šaxìnta y-óya dúnye.*| ***fa****-y-átwi náše ṭ̀əlla,*| *ṭ́əllət ʾilanàne,*| *tuθàne,*| *gawzàne.*| ‘During the saint day festivals it is always hot, so people sit in the shade, the shade of trees, mulberry trees, walnut trees.’ (B6:25)
(2) *qále díye y-áθe čakčàkta,*| *mánne díye čák čák čák čàk.*| ***fa****-ʾáwwa qésa mút-təlle šə́mme díye čakčàka.*| ‘It makes a sound like *čak čak čak čak*. So they gave this stick the name *čakčaka*.’ (B6:57)
(3) *ma-t-wɛ́wa ʾə́θye nàše*| *ʧ̂ənnəq̂érət Mšîxa,*| *ma-t-wɛ́wa ràbe*| *Mar-Yuḥánna lá-mṣele kút-xa dréle qáwwət míya b-rèše.*| *qímle mŭrísle hátxa míya ʾəllèy*|

*yàˁni*ˡ *kùlley*ˡ *ta-t-máṭa míya ʾəllèy.*ˡ ***fa****-l-d-áw ṭùxsa,*ˡ *ʾáxni ʾó-yoma y-óðexi ʾáp-ʾaxni musàrde.*ˡ 'So many people came around Christ, so many, that Saint John could not put a scoop of water over everybody. He scattered water over them like this, so that the water would reach all of them. So, in this way we perform (the festival of) *musarde* on that day.' (B6:10–11)

In a narrative context, the consequence may also have an element of temporal sequentiality to what precedes, e.g.

(4) *náše mšuréla xnàqa,*ˡ *xàkma náše,*ˡ *ʾu-xákma mxulṣàla gána.*ˡ *ʾu-xákma síqla garăwáθət bàte.*ˡ *ʾu-xákma síqla dukáne ramáne qa-t-la-máṭi míya ʾəlla.*ˡ ***fa****-màlka,*ˡ *málka híwle ʾàmra*ˡ *máre kúl-xa náša ṣàyəm.*ˡ *ṣàyəm,*ˡ *híč-məndi lá-ʾaxəl ṭḷà yománe.*ˡ 'People began to drown—some people, some saved themselves. Some went up onto the roofs of houses. Some went up onto high places so that the water would not reach them. So, the king gave an order saying "Everybody should fast. (Everybody) should fast and should not eat anything for three days."' (B6:18–19)

18.1.2.2. *Division into Discourse Sections*

The particle is sometimes used to mark off sections of discourse, which are not necessarily logically or temporally sequential to one another. In (1), for example, the first *fa-* introduces a section that indicates the season of the cultivation of the rice. This does not follow what precedes sequentially but rather has the status of a parenthetical insertion. The second *fa-* signals the shift back to the description of the cultivation process, with a recapitulatory reference to irrigation:

(1) *zrétət rəzza,*ˡ *zrútət rəzza,*ˡ *ʾăra y-áwa sapìqta.*ˡ *qam-dàna,*ˡ *tré-yomaθa ṭḷàθa,*ˡ *maštèwala*ˡ *qá-t xáčča péšawa rakìxta.*ˡ ***fa****-ʾáyya ʾi-zăríwala šuráye b-yárxət ṭḷàθa,*ˡ *ʾàrba,*ˡ *xámša hatxàne,*ˡ *sab-ʾáwwa b-qèṭa y-áwe rázza.*ˡ ***fa****-dɛréwa mìya gáwa díya*ˡ *ʾu-mɛθéwa tàwre*ˡ *ʾu-zărìwala.*ˡ 'As for the sowing of rice, the cultivation of rice—the ground was (left) empty. Three or four days beforehand, they would irrigate it so that it would become quite soft. They cultivated this beginning in March, April or May, in such (months) as these, since by summer it would be rice. They would put water onto it. They would bring oxen and cultivate it.' (B5:76)

In (2) the *fa-* is placed at the beginning of a new section that recapitulates the statement 'My brother has gone' and so is not directly sequential to what precedes:

(2) *málka ṯ-áwət basìma.*| *xóni mšudərrux.*| *xóni zílle ʾu-lá θèle.*| *ʾu-díya ʾána hon-xšáwa leš-ʾàθe.*| *sab-ʾáy ʾúrxa hon-šmíta rába náše zílela bìya*| *w-áp-xa léle díṛa-w ʾəθya.*| ***fa****-xóni zìlle,*| *ʾu-ʾána gə̆ṛəg ʾázən bar-xòni.*| 'Oh King, may you be well. You have sent my brother. My brother has gone and not come back. Now I am thinking that he will not come back any more, since I have heard that many people have gone that way but nobody has returned and come back. My brother has gone and I must go after my brother.' (A8:60–61)

In (3) the particle introduces a section that does not convey any new information but repeats the content of what precedes for the sake of underscoring an important point:

(3) *dɛrɛ́wale-u šatɛ́wale t-là míya.*| ***fa****-ʾa-štɛ́θa šatɛ́wala t-lá mìya.*| 'They would serve it and drink it without water. They would drink that drink without water.' (B5:14)

18.1.3. ʾap/ʾup

The particle *ʾap*, which occasionally has the form *ʾup*, is normally combined with a following nominal or independent pronoun. Its function depends on the informational status of the item following it, namely whether it is topical or focal in status.

18.1.3.1. *Topical Function*

The combination of *ʾap* with a topical item is found in narratives. It typically occurs at the beginning of the clause followed by an independent subject pronoun with a referent that is accessible from the immediately preceding discourse and constitutes the topical pivot for the new information of the clause. This construction generally signals that the clause is linked sequentially to what precedes but constitutes a boundary in the discourse. It should be recalled that the use of an independent subject pronoun rather than zero anaphora is a strategy of 'heavy coding' to mark a boundary (§17.7.4.1.). The particle *ʾap* is an explicit marker of connection, which is combined with this boundary marking strategy. The particle cannot stand independently and must attach itself to a participant in the clause.

This construction often occurs at the beginning of a narrative section that follows direct speech, e.g.

(1) *mə́re ʾámrət ṭla-màlka*ˈ *xzélux b-xə̀lmux*ˈ *dúnye ráya tèle.*ˈ *ʾap-aw-zìlɛle*ˈ *xíša mə́tya kəs-màlka.*ˈ ‘It said “Say to the king: You saw in your dream that that it was raining foxes” So, he went and he entered into the presence of the king.’ (A1:6–7)

(2) *mə́re ṭla-bábe díye bə̆́yən pálṭən ṣèda,*ˈ *ʾána ʾu-xuràne,*ˈ *gu-ṭùra,*ˈ *ṯ̂-áwe ʾə́rwət wàla*ˈ *m-ánna məndiyàne,*ˈ *qəqwàne,*ˈ *ṭère,*ˈ *lɛ́dən-mòdi.*ˈ *ʾáp-awwa sìqɛle gu-ṭúra*ˈ *mən-xuráne díye píšɛle gu-ṭúra xá-yoma yóme trè.*ˈ ‘He said to his father “I want to go out hunting, I together with friends, in the mountains, where there were wild sheep, such things, partridges, birds, I don’t know what.” So, he went up into the mountains with his friends and remained in the mountains one or two days.’ (A4:1–2)

(3) *zìltɛla ṭ̂óṭ̂o*ˈ *mə́ra màlka,*ˈ *màlka,*ˈ *mbusmáli brà̀tux.*ˈ *ʾáp-awwa šaqə́lla ðá-kista qa-d-ày,*ˈ *yawə́lla qa-d-ày.*ˈ ‘The old woman went and said “Oh King, oh king, I have cured your daughter.” Then, he takes a purse for her and gives it to her.’ (A4:22)

(4) *ʾáwwa bə̆́ye ta-d-áyya bráta zùrta.*ˈ *mqáwlət goràtle,*ˈ *t-yálla jùlla.*ˈ *ʾən-là,*ˈ *har-t-yálla júlləx b-kèfəx.*ˈ *ʾáp-aw zíla múθya jùlle*ˈ *híwəlla jùlla.*ˈ ‘“He loves this young girl. If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes. If not, he will still give you the clothes, if you want them.” So, he went and brought the clothes and gave her clothes to her.’ (A14:83–84)

In (5) the topical pronoun at the front of the clause is a direct object:

(5) *mə́re nə́mu lɛ́t-mira ṯ̂-óðən b-xàbrux.*ʔˈ *ʾàyyɛla.*ˈ *bə̆́yət bə̆̀yət.*ˈ *la-bə̆́yət si-prúmle yàla.*ˈ *bába-w yə́mmət yàla*ˈ *xamší-šə́nne ʾíθwala ʾùmra*ˈ *líθwala bnòne.*ˈ *ʾáwwa yála yíwəlle ʾálaha ʾə́lla díya ʾə́štà yárxe.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáp-awwa qəm-parmìle.*ˈ *ʾu-zìlla.*ˈ ‘He said “Did you not say: I shall do as you say. That is that. Whether you want to do so or not, go and slaughter the baby. The father and mother of the baby did not have children for fifty years. God gave this baby to them six months ago.” So, they slaughtered him and went on their way.’ (A15:9–10)

In (6) the boundary is marked also by the narrative device *mara* (§15.4.2.3. examples 19–22):

(6) *mə́re mɛxólta hóla tămàha.*ˈ *bə̆́yət ʾàxlət,*ˈ *xùl.*ˈ *kpìnət.*ˈ *míya štì.*ˈ *ʾána la-qéθən b-čù məndí.*ˈ *sab-huðáye yomə-šábθa lè palxí.*ˈ *mára ʾáp-aw kpìnɛwa məskéna.*ˈ *də́ryɛle mɛxólta xìlɛle.*ˈ ‘He said “The food is over there. If you want to eat, eat! You are hungry. Drink some water. I shall not touch

anything." This is because Jews on Saturday do not work. Now he was hungry, the poor man. He put out some food and ate.' (A14:59–60)

In (7) and (8) the clause with initial *ʾap* opens a foreground narrative section after a section giving explanatory background information:

(7) *ʾu-ʾáwwa jǎ̋ket d-o-Kărīm-addȉn,*| *píštɛwa wə̏ădər,*| *ʾáp-ay ṭɛšíla dəmma*| *ʾu-məndiyàne,*| *ʾu-ṣléla ṭla-yə́mme dìye,*| *ṣléla xaššàne l-bɛ́θa.*| 'The jacket of Karimaddin had remained outside. They daubed it in blood and the like, then went down to his mother, went down, sad, to her house.' (A14:20)

(8) *ʾó-yomət mə́ri ṭlálux hádəx záwna lebàna-wewa.*| *ʾúp-ati xìšlux*| *mə́rux šqíllux zúze wélux lebána ʾàx-zawna.*| 'The day I said that to you, the time was tricky. So you went off, said (this to the king), took the money and became tricky like the time.' (A1:22)

The construction is occasionally used to give independence and hence prominence to a clause or clause group that expresses a climactic event at the end of a sequence, e.g.

(9) *zílɛle maxéla-ʾaqle ʾə́lle dìye*| *ʾap-ʾáw ṣàle*| *šáməṭle qðàle.*| 'He went and kicked him, and he went down (the mountain) and broke his neck.' (A15:14)

The *ʾap* particle is in a few cases used as a boundary marker to introduce a section that supplies background information to the preceding foreground narrative. This, therefore, has a semantic connection with what precedes but is not temporally sequential to it, e.g.

(10) *ríqɛle xàʾa.*| *ʾáp-ʾaw kǎčə̀la.*| 'One man ran away. He was bald.' (B19:8)

The particle *ʾap* is sporadically used with a topical independent pronoun that does not occur at the beginning of the clause. Such clauses have greater continuity with what precedes on account of the position of the topical item. This applies, for example, to (11), where the interpretation of the phrase *ʾap-ànna* as an inclusive focus ('also these') is not appropriate in the context. Rather the sense is rather topical ('so . . . these that we are talking about'):

(11) *huðáya l-gàre*ˡ *šwirέle l-pàlga,*ˡ *yába ʾànən mšúdrəlla.*ˡ *ʾáy kálba ʾámər táma l-gàre masyóθe,*ˡ *bă̆yət šaqlátla ʾap-ànna.*ˡ *mrázgət gànux.*ˡ *támməl ṭ-asqəx kəs-qàzi.*ˡ ‘The Jew on the roof jumped down into their midst “It was me who sent them!” “Oh (you) dog” he says “listening there on the roof. So you want to take these (coins). Prepare yourself. Tomorrow we shall go to the judge.” (A6:4)

18.1.3.2. *Focal Function*

When combined with an item in focus, the particle *ʾap* has the inclusive sense of ‘also’ or ‘even’ (‘not even’ when negated). The inclusive phrase may occur anywhere in the clause, though it is found predominantly in initial or final position. The item in focus often takes the nuclear stress, which is a prosodic marker of prominence, e.g.

(1) *ʾap-àna mjaṛbánna*ˡ *ḥàðˀð díyi.*ˡ ‘I also shall try my luck.’ (A1:4)
(2) *ʾàp-təmməl ʾáxləx mánna.*ˡ ‘We could eat them also tomorrow.’ (A2:2)
(3) *ʾap-šlàma léla dáryəlle.*ˡ ‘They did not offer him even a greeting.’ (A15:13)
(4) *xuš-pέšən képa ʾap-àna.*ˡ ‘Let me also become a stone.’ (A8:55)
(5) *sab-wítɛla b-réši ʾup-àyya.*ˡ ‘Because this also happened to me.’ (B15:85)
(6) *ʾána lέ-yawənne ʾàp-xa-fəlsa.*ˡ ‘I shall not give him even a penny.’

On numerous occasions, however, the phrase with *ʾap* does not bear the nuclear stress. In such cases the prosody signals a broad focus but the particle signals the informational focus on the phrase, a focus within a focus as it were, e.g.

(7) *ʾap-xmárey šqìləlla.*ˡ ‘They took also their asses.’ (A7:15)
(8) *ʾáp-aw táma mìtle.*ˡ ‘Also he died there.’ (A25:90)
(9) *ʾέ-ga ʾáp-ana bă̆yən ʾàzən.*ˡ ‘So I also want to go.’ (A1:5)
(10) *ʾap-míya muklèle gu-d-ε-sálla.*ˡ ‘He could hold even water in the basket.’ (A16:10)
(11) *hádəx ʾáp-ati ʾəθyət.*ˡ ‘Meanwhile you also came.’ (A2:9)
(12) *ʾáp-ani drìθəlla.*ˡ ‘She put also these onto it.’ (A13:13)
(13) *mεθέla ʾap-áni l-bàdra.*ˡ ‘They bring also these to the threshing-floor.’ (B5:96)
(14) *kú-mdit t-yáwəl ṭlàlux*ˡ *ʾáp ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl trè.*ˡ ‘Everything that he gives to you, he will give also to your neighbour, twofold.’ (A3:4)
(15) *ʾáp-ayya béna ðìlux.*ˡ ‘Also this time you knew it.’ (A1:19)

The phrase with *ʾap* may stand in a separate intonation group, e.g.

(16) *mqawòlɛwən,ˈ ʾap-an-zúze kúlla ṯ̂-in šqìləllaˈ pălánna pàlge.ˈ* 'I promise, I'll divide into halves also all the money that I took.' (A1:17)
(17) *max-ṯ̂-íla brátux mšuyðànta,ˈ ʾap-àw,ˈ ʾən-lá-ʾazən mšàyðən.ˈ* 'Just as your daughter has gone mad, he also, if I do not go back, will go mad.' (A4:27)

On some occasions a nominal that is within the inclusive focus of the particle is extraposed at the front of the clause and the particle is combined with a resumptive pronoun, e.g.

(18) *qaríwa y-áwe mánne díye ʾap-àwˈ* 'The best man also would be with him.' (B5:29)
(19) *láxma ʾíle ʾap-áw mən-xə̀ṭṭe,ˈ* 'Bread is also (made) from wheat.' (B5:98)
(20) *báṭme ʾap-ʾáni ʾiθena.ˈ* 'There are also terebinth nuts.' (B5:221)

The phrase *ʾap-xa* is used in negated clauses in the sense of 'nobody', e.g.

(21) *ʾáp-xa lɛle-mṣáya mbasəmla.ˈ* 'Nobody can cure her.' (A4:12)
(22) *ʾáp-xa lá-bíš-ile-mṣaya mqarów-əlla dìya.ˈ* 'Nobody was able to go near her at all.' (A4:6)
(23) *ʾàp-xa lɛ́la-xzaya.ˈ* 'She sees nobody.' (A4:38)

When combined with the preposition *mən* 'from', the phrase *ʾap-xa* has the sense of 'none' from a collective set or 'neither' from a set of two items, e.g.

(24) *ʾúp-xa mənnɛ́xu là-mqabəlle šláme.ˈ* 'None of you should accept his greeting.' (A25:47)
(25) *ʾúp-xa mánna lá-wewa klàya.ˈ* 'Neither of them had stopped (beforehand), but were constantly crying.' (A25:5)

18.1.4. –ži

The suffixed particle *–ži*, which sometimes occurs in the augmented form *-žigən*, has a function that is similar to that of the particle *ʾap*. As with *ʾap*, the function of *–ži* depends on the informational status of the item it is attached to, namely whether it is topical or focal.

18.1.4.1. *Topical Function*

The particle is often attached to a clause initial nominal or independent pronoun that has topical status, in that it has been referred to in the preceding discourse and is the pivot for the new information of the clause. The particle can be interpreted as enhancing the topical prominence of the initial item. This reinforces the boundary marking function of the clause initial topic. In most cases the initial topical item is the grammatical subject. This often constitutes a shift in subject referent from the preceding discourse, as in (1–4). The clause may be sequential to what precedes (1–3) or overlapping temporally with it (4):

(1) *mára yába hàyyo,*| *ʾaθìtu,*| *čùdetu*| *ta-mšaxálpi šámmət Čùxo*| *mattúle xá-šəmma xèna.*| *ʾánna-ži ʾəθyela.*| *xìlela-w*| *ŝətyela.*| ‘He said “Come, come, you are invited” in order for them to change the name Čuxo and give him a another name. They came. They ate and drank.’ (A7:3)

(2) *dmìxela.*| *xá-bena xéta qìmela*| *qèdamta.*| *yála-žigən qímɛle ftìrɛle*| *mxúlləlla páθe dìye-w*| *ʾu-zílɛle šúle dìye.*| ‘They went to sleep. Again they got up in the morning. The young man got up and had breakfast, washed his face and went to his work.’ (A21:16)

(3) *qímela mšuxálpe b-jùlle.*| *ʾawwá-ži zìlɛle.*| *ʾɛ-kusíθa múṣləlla gu-ʾéne díye t-Čùxo.*| ‘They exchanged clothes. He (the shepherd) went and lowered the hat of Čuxo over his eyes.’ (A7:19)

(4) *mubsàmlux,*| *ḥuriyyàt.*| *w-ána qəm-maxèli*| *w-áti xyára bìyi.*| *ʾána-ži m-kérbi ʾáθyən ʾá-kθɛθa múttənna rəš-núra ʾu-xìlənna.*| ‘You enjoyed yourself (with) houris. But they beat me while you were looking at me. I, out of my anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it.’ (A2:10–11)

The particle occurs in constructions where two topics are set up in a disjunctive opposition (‘either *x* or *y*’), as in (5), where the nuclear stress occurs on the subject constituent since the lexical content of the verb is given information:

(5) *har-déwe ṯ-axlìli.*| *har-ṯ-ázən gu-d-ànna hambišáye*| *har-hambišàye-ži ṯ-axlíli.*| ‘(Either) the wolves are sure to eat me (or) I shall go to these giants and the giants are sure to eat me.’ (A39:4)

In some cases the subject constituent continues that of the preceding discourse, but the construction nevertheless marks a boundary on some other level of the discourse. In (6), for example, the clause *ʾáwwa-ži qáryəlla*

('He called to them') marks the onset of a section where the protagonist engages directly with the inhabitants of the town, whereas in what precedes he surveys the scene:

(6) *xuláṣa ʾaláha mutápqəlle gu-d-a-məíta ṭ̂-íla ʾɛ-bráta d-o-màlka.*| *xázyəlla náše jə̀mye*| *qúrbət qáṣrət màlka,*| *kút-xa mṣawóθe xà-məndi,*| *kút-xa mára xà-məndi.*| *ʾáwwa-ži qəryəlla máre mòdila qəṣṣət?*| 'In the end God made him come across the town where the daughter of that king was. He saw the people gathered near the palace of the king, each one saying something, each one telling something. He called to them and said "What has happened?"' (A4:11)

If the clause with the initial topic is negated, it may stand in an adversative relationship to what precedes, e.g.

(7) *ʾó-yōm ṭ̂-ìle plíṭa*| *bróne díye mìθɛle.*| *ʾu-ʾáxni-ži láx muqíme m-báθre díye màlka.*| 'On the day he left, his son died. But we have not installed (another) king after him.' (A4:32)

18.1.4.2. *Focal Function*

When the particle is attached to a nominal constituent that is in focus it has the inclusive sense of 'also' or 'even'. The focused item, which may occur anywhere in the clause, generally takes the nuclear stress, e.g.

(1) *ʾána hadíya m-kàsləsuch θáya.*| *ʾu-bă̋ye ʾáθe xazèlux*| *ʾu-qa-t xazéla bràta-ži.*| 'I am now coming back from him and he wants to come to see you and to see also the girl.' (A4:24)
(2) *ʾu-b-lɛ́le t-yánne xa-bàxta-ži*| 'And at night I shall give him also a woman.' (A14:63)
(3) *ʾítle tắra gu-ḥadìqa*| *ʾu-ʾítle dàrga-žigən.*| 'There was a door in the garden and there was also a main gate.' (A17:23)
(4) *ʾən-háwe dàwa-ži*| *ʾáxni t-yawə́xla xa-b-ṭ̂ḥàθa ʾálle díye.*| 'Even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold (if it is lost).' (A7:10)

On a few occasions the nuclear stress is placed elsewhere in the intonation group, e.g.

(5) *dáryəlla š-qaràwət,*| *ʾánna wajjúwe díya-ži mútləlla tàma.*| 'They put her on the bed and they also put her effects there.' (A21:7)

The particle is occasionally attached to a verb in order to express the climax of a sequence of events. This may be regarded as a focal inclusive function, marking explicitly that the verb is to be included in the sequence, e.g.

(6) *síqɛle šqílle xa-kèpa*ˈ *múttəlla ʾàxxa*ˈ *kalə̀bθa,*ˈ *qtìləlla,*ˈ *də̀ryəlla,*ˈ *mqulə̀bzəlla-ži.*ˈ ‘He went up and took a stone, put the dog here, killed it and (finally) turned it upside down.’ (A30:20)

18.1.5. ʾina

The basic function of this particle is presentative, i.e. it draws attention to something. The item to which attention is directed may be a referent or a proposition. The contexts where it is most commonly used are as follows.

18.1.5.1. *In Association with Verbs of Perception*

It is used in narrative after a verb of perception, usually ‘to see’, to introduce what is perceived. In this context it introduces a proposition rather than a referent and so is equivalent to the English complementizer ‘that’. The proposition typically denotes a state or an imperfective progressive activity rather than a perfective action. The clause that expresses the proposition generally lacks a copula element, e.g.

(1) *ʾə́θyela xə̀zye*ˈ *ʾína ṭéna kúlle mə́lya ŝə̀xta.*ˈ ‘They came and saw that the saddle bag was completely full of filth.’ (A7:11)
(2) *qímɛle plìṭa*ˈ *xázya ʾína béθət Qára Téždin qàða.*ˈ ‘He went out and saw that the house of Qara Teždin was burning.’ (A26:53)
(3) *xzéli b-xə̀lmi*ˈ *ʾìna*ˈ *ʾána zíla l-pardè̀sa.*ˈ ‘I saw in my dream that I went to Paradise.’ (A2:7)
(4) *qímela zíle xázye ʾína dù̀s.*ˈ ‘They went and saw that it was true.’ (A14:13)
(5) *xárθa tfíqe bíye xázyəlle ʾína ŝə̀nya,*ˈ *npìla.*ˈ ‘Then they came across him and found that he had fainted and fallen.’ (A14:88)

In (6) a construction of this type is followed by a negated construction with the verb of perception and the presentative particle gapped after the negative particle *la*. The *ʾina* before the *la* in the negative construction here has an adversative function (see §18.1.5.3.):

(6) *xzèla*ˈ *ʾína núra ṭápya b-béθe dìye,*ˈ *ʾína là bɛθa-qíða.*ˈ ‘They saw that fire had been kindled in his house, but not that his house had burnt down.’ (A48:3)

Occasionally the complement clause has a deicitic copula in addition to the presentative particle, e.g.

(7) *wíra xázya ʾína kúl-xa mɛxólta hóla mbušle wíðe hàzər.*ˈ 'He went in and saw that all kinds of food were cooked and made ready.' (A14:29)

The particle is sometimes used before a verb of perception. This construction is used when the complement of the verb is an object referent rather than a proposition, e.g.

(8) *paθə̀xle tắra,*ˈ *ʾína xazéle ʾo-ʾažvána tàma.*ˈ 'He opened the door and saw the caretaker there.' (A22:43)
(9) *lə́xma pθìxle*ˈ *ʾína xáze ʾə́sri ʾə́ʦ̌a lə̀xme.*ˈ 'He opened (the basket of) bread and saw that there were twenty-nine loaves of bread.' (A17:12)
(10) *ʾáθya gàšqa*ˈ *ʾína xazyála Lelìθa.*ˈ 'She comes and looks. She sees Leliθa.' (A19:8)
(11) *qédamta qímɛle xále dìye,*ˈ *ʾína xə́zyəlla ʾán ʾaskaràye.*ˈ 'The next morning his maternal uncle got up and saw those soldiers.' (A25:79)
(12) *Sətt́íye xðìrtɛla*ˈ *ʾína xzìθəlle.*ˈ 'Sətt́iye searched and found him.' (A25:37)

When the complement of the verb 'to see' is a proposition the subject of the proposition is sometimes raised into the position of direct object of the verb. In such case the presentative particle is placed either after the verb (13–14), which is characteristic of constructions with proposition complements, or before the verb, which is characteristic of those with referent complements (15):

(13) *xazéle ʾína bɛ́θe ṃə̀lya.*ˈ 'He sees that his house is full.' (A21:8)
(14) *ʾímə ʦ̌-ìn prámə̀lle,*ˈ *xzáyən naθyàθe*ˈ *ʾína t-hɛwàne.*ˈ 'When I was slaughtering it, I saw that its ears were those of animals.' (A23:39)
(15) *ʾína qəm-xazə́nnəx ʾáti rába hawnànta.*ˈ 'I have seen that you are very clever.' (A40:16)

On some occasions the particle is used to introduce something that is perceived without the explicit expression of a verb of perception. What is perceived may be a proposition or a referent. If it is a proposition, this usually denotes a state or progressive activity, e.g.

(16) *qímela mbádla nàše*ˈ *ʾan-marăwáθa ʾína ʾərwéy kúlla npíle twíra qðalə̀y.*ˈ 'In the morning the people, the owners (of the sheep), got up (and saw) that they had all fallen and broken their necks.' (B18:7)

(17) *wídle hàtxa,*ˈ *ʾína kúlla ṭrìθa.*ˈ ‘He put (his hand here) like this (and felt it) was all wet.’ (A18:30)
(18) *mátti bála gu-yàma,*ˈ *ʾìna*ˈ *ʾa-sústət yamàθa*ˈ *nabòləlla*ˈ *Čəlkə̀ze.*ˈ ‘They looked at the sea (and saw) the mare of the seas taking away Čəlkăze.’ (A12:34)
(19) *ʾán-naše kúlla xìrra bíye díye*ˈ *ʾína qurṭánət xmáre tàma.*ˈ ‘All the people looked at it (and saw) that asses’ blankets were there.’ (A23:15)

Note that a 3rd person pronominal subject has zero expression in (20) and (21):

(20) *ṛìšɛle*ˈ *màlka*ˈ *ʾína gu-čàčma.*ˈ ‘The king woke up (and saw) that he was in the bathroom.’ (A17:27)
(21) *báxte díye xá-bena knàša-wawa,*ˈ *xírta hátxa ṭúwət ʾisə̀qθa,*ˈ *ʾína bdìla!*ˈˈ ‘While his wife was sweeping, she looked at the diamond of the ring and saw that it had changed colour!’ (A18:25)

In (22) it is used before a clause containing a *qṭille* verb form denoting an event that took place at a point immediately preceding the act of perception:

(22) *mə́ra ʾő́x ya-ʾalàhi!*ˈˈ *b-xšáwən gáwṛi θèle.*ˈ *pθíxle tə̆̀ra.*ˈ *ʾína θèle.*ˈ ‘She said “Oh, my God! I think my husband has come back.” She opened the door (and saw that) he had come back.’ (A39:18)

The perceived item may be a referent, e.g.

(23) *ʾo-xabúša pθìxtəlle,*ˈ *ʾína ʾisə́qθa dìya.*ˈ ‘She opened up the apple and (saw) her ring.’ (A4:19)
(24) *qímɛla bàbi,*ˈ *šqíləlla xonə̆wáθe díye ʾò-parša*ˈ *d-o-maġàra,*ˈ *ʾína xa-marə́gla gòṛa*ˈ *ṃ́ləya dàwe.*ˈ ‘He set off, my dear, and his brothers took off the flat stone, of that cavern (and they found) a large pot full of gold coins.’ (A39:15)
(25) *pθíxtəlla ʾína kúlla dàwe.*ˈ ‘She opened them (the bags) and saw all the gold coins.’ (A39:20)

When a nominal is followed by an non-restrictive attributive description the construction can sometimes be interpreted as a referent or a proposition. This is particularly the case when the noun is definite in status and so is suitable for functioning as a clause subject, e.g.

(26) *pθíxəlle tằra màlla,*| *ʾína huðáya lwíša kášxa-w júlle xàθe.*| ‘The mullah opened the door (and saw) the Jew wearing / that the Jew was wearing a smart suit and new clothes.’ (A6:6)

Observations of the non-existence of something are expressed either by the negator *la* or by the negative existential particle *liθ*, e.g.

(27) *ʾu-gášəq báre dìye*| *ʾìna*| *la-dəbba,*| *la-čù məndí.*| ‘He looked behind him (and saw) that there was no bear, nothing.’ (A20:12)
(28) *qímela šábθa qedàmta,*| *ʾína lá Fàrxo,*| *lá čw-məndì.*| *lìθ.*| ‘On Saturday morning they set off (to find him) but there was no Farxo or anything (associated with him to be found).’ (A25:90)
(29) *xa-béna hàdəx*| *ŕíšela ʾánna maymùne,*| *ʾína ʾáni lìθ.*| ‘After a while the monkeys woke up (and saw that) they (the others) were not there.’ (A14:57)

In some cases the presentative particle is combined with the deictic copula in constructions without explicit verbs of perception, e.g.

(30) *w-ánna báθər šmìṭəlla,*| *síqela gù-rəš-ṭura.*| *ʾína hóla xá-qayəmθa kθíwta tàma.*| ‘After they had defeated them, they went up into the mountain. They found there an inscribed monument.’ (A14:55)
(31) *zílən l-tằrət pardèsa*| *ʾína hóla Mšíxa ʾu-Muḥámmad kálye gu-tằrət pardèsa.*| ‘I went to the door of Paradise and (saw) the Messiah and Muḥammad standing in the door of Paradise.’ (A2:7)
(32) *zílɛle máxyɛle tằrə d-ò-gəppa.*| *ʾína hóla tìwe*| *šawwà hambišáye.*| ‘He went and knocked on the door of the cave. (He saw) seven giants sitting there.’ (A39:3–4)

18.1.5.2. *Introducing Preliminary Background Material*

In some cases the presentative particle *ʾína* is used to mark a situation that acts as the grounds for what follows. The effect of drawing particular attention to this is a device for setting it up as a boundary in the discourse, acting as the onset of what follows. In narrative, for example, it may mark an event that acts as the temporal background of a following foreground event. In such cases it is equivalent to an English ‘when’–clause, e.g.

(1) *ʾu-ʾɛ-Lelíθa θèla.*| *ʾáy kúlla dònɛla,*| *dòna,*| *màšxa.*| *ʾína θéla l-tằra,*| *mattóyəlla ʾíða pθáxa tằra,*| *qəm-maxyála ʾáyya prèzla*| *l-ʾíða díya qəm-maqðàla.*| ‘The

Leliθa came. She was all (made of) fat, fat, oil. Now, (when) she came to the door, as she put her hand to open the door, she (the daughter-in-law) struck the iron bar into her hand and burnt it.' (A19:4–5)

(2) *ṭ̓láθna hon-yíwtəlla mòʿəd.*ˈ *ʾína ṭ̂-áθi làxxa,*ˈ *ʾáti kúl fàtra*ˈ *mṭašátla gánux baràye.*ˈ 'I have made an assignation with the three of them. Now, (when) they come here, each time you hide yourself outside.' (A22:21–22)

The construction may be used to express the causal grounds for the following foreground event, e.g.

(3) *zìltɛla*ˈ *mára ʾèni qáṭ̓lən ya-ʾálaha bábi.ʔ*ˈ *ʾína kúlla ʾan-xéne bnáθət guṛàne,*ˈ *ʾáyya Šóše brátət făqìre-wawa.*ˈ *zílla qəm-qaṭ̓làla*ˈ *Šóšət Xère.*ˈ 'She went (home) and said "Whom should I kill, oh God?" Now, all the others were daughters of gentlemen, but this Šoše was the daughter of poor people. So, she went and killed Šošət Xere.' (A38:3)

It is used sometimes to introduce the causal grounds in a conditional type constructions and so can be rendered by an English 'if'–clause, e.g.

(4) *ʾína ʾánna xonăwàθi,*ˈ *ʾarbì xonăwáθi,*ˈ *kúššət magúrət xà,*ˈ *páyəš ʾúmri tmàni šánne.*ˈ 'If each year you marry off one of these forty brothers of mine, I'll be eighty years old (before I marry).' (A12:1)

In (5) the construction is used to offer the grounds supporting a following request:

(5) *ʾína kupáli píšla šmìṭ̓ta*ˈ *ʾu-piláwe píšla šmìṭ̓e.*ˈ *júlli lítli t-lošèna.*ˈ *bă̆yən xázən xáθi Nasìmo*ˈ *xúš mɛθèna!*ˈˈ 'Look, my stick has broken and my shoes have broken, I have no shoes to wear. I just want to see my sister Nasimo, then let me die!' (A37:17)

We may include in this category a construction such as (6), in which the presentative particle marks a section that cites the words of a wedding song. This is the basis for the following explanatory description, which is the main point the speaker wishes to make:

(6) *ʾína lát-šmaya y-amríwa: ʾilanɛni mxuršənna. ʾu-ʾiðət qariwa twinna. ʾu-kʲɛle xale zawənna. qamáya xàle zawə̀nwale*ˈ *ʾu-xaráye dɛréwa măzàde*ˈ *ʾéni bă̆ye t-zawə̀nna.ʔ*ˈ 'Don't you hear them saying: *Our tree has dried out. The hand of the best man is numb. Where is his uncle to buy it?* First his uncle would

buy it and then they would hold an auction "Who wants to buy it?"' (B8:36–38)

18.1.5.3. *Drawing Attention to Something Unexpected*
The presentative particle is used in a variety of contexts to introduce a clause that denotes a situation that is assumed to be unexpected following the preceding context or one that is contrastive with it. In such cases it is most idiomatically translated by the English adversative particle 'but', e.g.

(1) *ʾəθyela,ˈ plíṭe bárqul məditèy.ˈ ʾína məditéy kúlla mxíθa l-kòma.ˈ* 'They came out opposite their town. But, their town was all covered in black.' (A4:28)
(2) *zílela nášət màθa,ˈ ʾína ha-ṯ̂-íla zìle nášət máθa,ˈ ʾo-núra ʿə̂myɛle.ˈ* 'The people of the village went (to help), but as they were going, the fire was put out.' (A48:3)
(3) *rába ràḥatənwa,ˈ ʾína ʾáθyɛle xa-yàla,ˈ xa-ʾaṣòṭa.ˈ mŭčážəlla xəyàli.ˈ* 'I was very peaceful, but a tiresome youth came along and annoyed me.' (A17:7)
(4) *ʾána bă̆yənwa šaqlánwali xáčča màšxaˈ … ta-ṯ̂-áxlən b-ʾùrxaˈ xáčča mášxa-w ləxmaˈ ʾína ʾíði ṣéla gu-d-áwwa hánna lìnta.ˈ* 'I wanted to take a little oil to eat on the way, a little oil and bread, but my hand has got stuck in this thing, the pot.' (A23:8)
(5) *xzi-ʾána mṭuršàli gáni.ˈ ʾína léwa mádre gnàyux.ˈ* 'I hid myself. But again it was not your fault.' (A1:25)
(6) *ʾáxni t-yawáxla ʾína ṭlàlux.ˈ* 'We shall hand her over, but to you (not to your father).' (A29:64)
(7) *b-qéṭa lá-mṣəx doqàxleˈ … ʾína b-sàtwaˈ ma-t-yawéwa tàlgaˈ lá-mṣe jawə̀jwa.ˈ* 'In summer we could not catch it (the partridge)… but in winter, when there was snow, it could not walk (and we used to catch it).' (B5:147)

It is used in exclamatory constructions expressing something surprising such as those in (8)–(11):

(8) *ʾánna ṣàliˈ ʾína mò ṣáli.ˈ* 'They went and what (a surprise when) they went down!' (A25:13)
(9) *dmíxɛle xá-bena ṛàyəšˈ ʾina mò ṛáyəš!ˈ* 'He went to sleep, then woke up, but what (a surprise when) he woke!' (A14:30)
(10) *xá-bena plíṭṭɛla xa-bràta.ˈ ʾína mù-brata!ˈ* 'Then a girl came out, but what a girl!' (A13:11)

(11) *mṭèle l-o-qáṣra.*| *šúrə d-o-qàṣra*| *ʾína ʾamrə́nnux xamšì métrele,*| *xamší-metre ramùθe.*| ‘He reached the palace. Indeed, I tell you the wall of the palace was fifty metres, its height was fifty metres.’ (A25:54)

We may perhaps include in this section constructions such as the following:

(12) *yátla qa-d-àni*| *ʾína gə̀ldəx šalxə́nne.*| ‘Give it to them, (and all will be well) but (if not) I’ll flay *your* skin.’ (A27:8)

18.1.5.4. *Climactic Result*
Another identifiable usage of the presentative particle is to mark the climactic result of a chain of events. This is illustrated by (1) and (2), in both of which the narrative ends with injury:

(1) *ṣléla tàma*| *ʾína kúlla gérme díya šmìṭe.*| ‘She went down there and all her bones were broken.’ (A20:4)
(2) *qəm-patlá gʸān-dìya,*|*... qəm-maxyála ðà-ṗena.*| *b-ðá-ʾaqla díya ṗéna qəm-maxyáli ʾàxxa*| *rèši,*| *qəm-ṭarpáli gu-məššàra.*|*... ʾu-ṣrìxən*| *ʾu-θíθɛla xàθi,*| *ʾína réši šmíṭa ʾaxxàne.*| ‘It (the mule) turned itself round.... It kicked me. With one of its legs it kicked me here, on my head, and threw me in the paddy field.... I shouted and my sister came. My head was injured here.’ (B5:131–132)

18.1.5.5. *Commands*
Occasionally the speaker uses the particle to give force to a command, e.g.

(1) *ʾína m-báθər maqðàli*| *ʾaw-qə̀ṭma*| *šaqlìtule*| *mxamìtule.*| ‘Now, after she burns me, take the ashes and keep them.’ (A26:85)
(2) *ʾína tu-ṯ-amrə̀nnux.*| ‘Now, sit down and I’ll tell you something.’ (A1:21)
(3) *háwət hášyər ʾína ʾáyya sústa là marpátla.*| ‘Be careful not to let that horse go.’ (A12:29)

18.1.6. ga-

The particle *ga-* is used as a clausal connective with the following functions.

18.1.6.1. *Temporal Sequence*
It sometimes signals the temporal sequentiality of an event in relation to what precedes, e.g.

(1) *rə̆p̆ili m-an-képe ṯ-íla tàma,*| *ga-maxzə́nnux ʾúrxa ṣàlət.*| 'Throw me the stones that are there, then I shall show you the way down.' (A14:70)
(2) *híwɛle xábra ṭla-d-àn maymúne*| *ga-wírra xa-xaðùθa gáwa.*| 'He gave word to the monkeys and then they became very happy.' (A14:47)
(3) *ga-mə́re mo-sùsɛle?*|| 'Then he said "What horse is it?"' (A12:62)

18.1.6.2. *Introducing Comment*
It may introduce a clause that presents a comment on what precedes. This may be adversative in sense (1):

(1) *lá-mare bə̆́ye xàθux.*| *mə́re bə̆́ye Zîne.*| *ga-ʾéni Zîne*| *ʾáxni lèðəx.*| 'He did not say "He loves your sister." He said "He loves Zine." Now, we do not know (by this statement) which Zine (was meant).' (A26:61)
(2) *mə́re ṯ-ázəx qa-xàzəx*| *Zíne ʾɛkèla.*| *ga-léðəx ʾɛkèla,*| *b-éni dùkθela,*| *ʾénila ʾùrxa.*| 'He said "We shall go to find where Zine is. But we do not know where she is, in what place she is, what the road is."' (A26:18)

18.1.6.3. *Introducing Direct Speech*
It is used at the beginning of direct speech, predominantly questions, e.g.

(1) *mə́ra ga-mo-xə̀ðye b-áwwa dúša?*|| 'They said "Why are we so happy about this honey?"' (A14:15)
(2) *mə́re ga-béna ʾánna kúlla ṯ-íla zála léla mṣáya b-an-ʾárbi bnàθa?*|| 'He said "Well, cannot all these people who are going (to fight) prevail against the forty girls?"' (A12:58)
(3) *mə́re ga-mù*| *qwála ṭla-ʾalàha,*| *ya-ʾàlaha*| *mə́re ʾána bàryən?*|| 'He said "Oh Lord God," he said complaining to God "Oh God, why was I born?"' (A14:23)
(4) *ʾámər ga-ḳòra*| *ʾána mò yánnux?*|| 'He said "Now, blind man, what can I give you?" (A26:57)
(5) *ʾən-mboqə̀rra mánnux,*| *ʾánna d-ènila,*| *múr ga-ʾánna t-ʾÁjdən tèlɛla.*| 'If they ask you "Whose are these?", say "Well, these belong to Ajdən the fox."' (A32:17)

18.2. Negated Clauses

Here we shall examine two features of clause sequences containing negated clauses.

18.2.1. *Negated Interrogative Clauses Expressing Preliminary Background Material*

A negated clause that is pronounced with intonation patterns related to those of questions (§18.5.3.) is sometimes used to signal that the situation described in the clause should be taken as the grounds for what follows. The construction is a device to draw attention to the clause, in order to set it up as a boundary in the discourse, acting as the onset of a new section. It is most commonly used to express temporal background. This may express a situation that overlaps temporally with the following main event (1–2) or a preceding event that marks its onset (3–6):

(1) *ʾánna léla dmìxe,*ˈ *ʾo-rábbən múttəlla ʾáqle díye rš-ǎ́qəl bàxta.*ˈ 'While they were asleep, the monk put his leg onto the leg of the woman.' (A16:11)
(2) *lá y-ṣaláxwa ḥátta ʾùmra*ˈ *xṭìθɛwa ṣáləxwa sarḵóle.*ˈ 'When we went down to church, it was a sin to go bare-headed.' (B10:44)
(3) *lá mǎyáxwa gùða,*ˈ *palṭáxwala ĉ̣ita.*ˈ 'When we shook the churn, we would take out the curds.' (B10:9)
(4) *la-θéle rēš-ṣàwma,*ˈ *b-šaqláxwa kúlla ʾamànən,*ˈ *kùlla b-šaqláxwala*ˈ *dérəxwa qə́ṭma mxallə̀xwala.*ˈ 'When the beginning of the (Lent) fast came, we would take all our vessels, we would take them all and put ash on them to clean them.' (B16:7)
(5) *léle múttəlla ʾáqle díye*ˈ—*ṣáwlət màlka*ˈ *ʾiwɛ́wa dàwa*ˈ—*múttəlla rš-d-àn bəz-máre,*ˈ *ʾo-bəzmára xíla mən-dàwa,*ˈ *šqíla mən-dàwa.*ˈ 'When he placed his foot—the shoes of the king were made of gold—he placed them on the nails, the nail ate the gold, took some of the gold.' (A14:28)
(6) *ʾáyya másta la-qəm-daríla gu-d-aw-gùða,*ˈ *…heš-t-là bráza,*ˈ *xánčı̄ t-la-bráza mɛθíwa xa-gə́lla y-amríle sàrmo.*ˈ 'When they have put the yoghurt in the churn…while it is not yet dry, shortly before it becomes dry, they would fetch a herb called *sərmo*.' (B14:1)

Occasionally the construction is used to express the causal grounds for the situation described in what follows, e.g.

(7) *dúkθə d-ó-gəldət tàwra,*ˈ *lɛle-wíða gə́dda zòra,*ˈ *xzi-kəmá măsàḥa dwíqle.*ˈ 'Since he had made it into a fine thread, the place (enclosed by) the ox skin covered a great area.' (A11:13)

On sporadic occasions the negative construction expresses the background of a preceding rather than following clause, e.g.

(8) *maxíwale b-réšət nàše,*| *kúlla ʾáni là mbarxíwalɛ qáša-w šamàša.*| 'They tapped it on the head of people, while the priest and the deacon blessed them all.' (B16:24)

18.2.2. *Gapping of the Negator*

When a negated clause is followed by one or more clauses that are negated in sense and elaborate on the first clause, the negative particle *la* may be gapped. This applies to all verbal forms, including imperatives (3):

(1) *ʾən-háwɛ ʾəṣrà ṭiyáre xéne*| *ʾaxwáθux hawnàne,*| *la-maṭétuwa l-àwwa láxma,*| *ʾu-ʾattítuwa láxxa pɛšítuwa hátxa snìqe.*| 'If ten other men from Ṭiyare were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this (miserable condition of begging for) bread and would not be sitting here, in such a needy state.' (B17:16)
(2) *tùna dɛráxwale gáwe*| *qa-lá-ṣaliwa míya ʾəltəx,*| *qa-t-ṣáliwa míya hátxa b-rèšən.*| 'We would put straw in it, so that water would not flow down, so that water would not flow down on our head.'
(3) *lá-wuð hàtxa*| *qṭúl ʾanna-bnónə náše kùlla.*| 'Don't do that, don't kill all the people.' (A29:17)

In (4) the construction with the gapped negator is separated from the first by an intervening imperative. The gapping explains why the *ʾi-qaṭəl* form *y-asqən* is used with future reference (< *la-y-asqən* 'I shall not go up'):

(4) *lə́mu lá-ʾasqən ʾàna?*| *hálli ḥàwla.*| *y-ásqən kúlla qése mjămànna*| *ʾu-ʾúrxa paθxànna*| *qa-t-míya ṣála qam-tar-gə̀ppa?*| 'Why should I not go (alone)? Give me a rope. (Why should I not) gather all the wood and open up the way so that the water will come down to the door of the cave.' (A39:10)

18.3. Intonation Group Boundaries

When presenting a series of connected main clauses, the speaker may utter each clause in a separate intonation group, e.g.

(1) *jə́nne ʾəθyela,*| *šqìləlla Ẓíne*| *nùbləlla Jazíra Bóta.*| 'The jinn came and took Zine, took her away to Jazira Bota.' (A26:8)

(2) *ʾáwwa qímɛle qedàmta,*ˈ *šqíləlle xa-mən-súsət xàle,*ˈ *tíwa l-xáṣe dìye,*ˈ *ʾu-ṣə̀lya.*ˈ
'He got up in the morning, took one of his father's horses, sat on its back and went down.' (A25:40)

(3) *ʾu-zìlɛle,*ˈ *mútt*ə*lle réše dìye*ˈ *dmìxɛle.*ˈ 'He went, put down his head and slept.' (A25:43)

(4) *péšən xa-nàšra*ˈ *t-yátwən l-xàṣəx*ˈ *mṭamrənnəx gu-ʾúpra.*ˈ 'I shall become an eagle and sit on your back and bury you in the ground.' (A25:63)

In some cases more than one main clause is placed in the same intonation group. This is found particularly with short verbal clauses, often consisting of no more than the verbal form without any nominal complements. If there are nominal complements, these tend to occur in the final clause.

In general, the effect of placing two or more clauses together in the same intonation group is to present the activities expressed by the clauses as being closely related in that they can be interpreted as forming components of a single overall event. The clauses of the series, moreover, usually have the same subject. There is no formal syntactic subordination in the form of subordinating particles and the verbs in the series are, in principle, in the same form (e.g. *qṭille, qṭilɛle* etc.). There are, however, some formal signals of dependence, which reflect their close cohesion. The initial verb, for example, is combined directly with the following verbal clause in an asyndetic paratactic construction rather than being linked with the connective particle *w*, e.g.

(5) *zílle qítle b-xa-ṭùra.*ˈ 'It went and hit a mountain.' (A50:10)

(6) *táwra mítle npìlle táma.*ˈ 'The ox died and collapsed there.' (A22:9)

In a series of compound verbal forms in narrative sequences a conspicuous reflection of dependence is the omission of the copula element after the first verb (§15.4.1.3., §15.4.2.3.), e.g.

(7) *ʾə́θyɛle tíwa b-dìwən.*ˈ 'He came and sat down in the reception room.' (A26:63)

There is a particular tendency for the occurrence of prosodic bonding of clauses in a single intonation group after certain verbs (§18.3.1.– §18.3.8.) and in certain syntactic contexts (§18.3.9.– §18.3.11.).

18.3.1. qym

The basic meaning of this verb is 'to get up'. When the verb occurs in a separate intonation group, it frequently has this basic meaning, e.g.

(1) *ʾay-qìmtɛla,ˈ wíðta qàwa.ˈ* 'She got up and made coffee.' (A26:31)
(2) *Mir-Ẓándin qìmɛleˈ bə̌ye qaṭə̀lle.ˈ* 'Mir-Zandin got up and wanted to kill him.' (A26:67)

Also when combined with another verb in the same intonation group, the interpretation of the verb as having its basic meaning is appropriate in some contexts, e.g.

(3) *xa-màlkaˈ kút-yum ðà-brata gawə́rwa.ˈ mbádla qayə́mwa qaṭə̀lwala.ˈ* 'A king would marry a girl everyday. In the morning he would get up and kill her.' (A14:1)

In many cases, however, the verb is used with a less specific meaning and functions as a general marker of the onset of an activity or situation. In several cases the interpretation is ambiguous, since the onset of a series of actions in narrative often could be interpreted as coinciding with the act of 'getting up'. It is, indeed, this ambiguity that has led to the generalization of its meaning. In some contexts, nevertheless, the verb clearly does not admit being interpreted as denoting the physical act of 'getting up'. It is used, for example, before verbs denoting 'sitting down', e.g.

(4) *qímela tìwela,ˈ wíðela tàgbir.ˈ* 'They sat down and made a plan.' (A26:2)

It is attested before verbs denoting states, non-dynamic activities or passive constructions in which the grammatical subject has no dynamic role in the action, e.g.

(5) *qímɛle píšɛle màjburˈ Mə́́mo dìṛɛle.ˈ* 'Mămo was forced to return.' (A26:38)
(6) *ʾu-qímɛle mpúlṭɛle muʿàlləm.ˈ* 'The teacher was then brought out.' (A22:41)

When the verb *qym* acts as an onset marker, it is used to signal some kind of boundary in the discourse, dividing the discourse into sections that cohere together. In (7), for example, the construction occurs at the onset of a section concerning the jinn. In (8) the act of replying to the letter

is presented as separate from that of capturing the dove and reading the letter. In (9) the arrival at the mountain is presented as a shift in scene and an episodic boundary. In (10) it occurs at the beginning of a narrative section after direct speech. Note that here it coincides with the use of the particle *–ži*, which is also a boundary marker (§18.1.4.1.):

(7) *jə̀nne*| *t-šmə̀yya*| *qímla wídla tə̀gbir.*| 'The jinn of heaven made a plan.' (A26:1)

(8) *Sətt́iye zìltɛla*| *dwíqtəlla yáwna hə̀txa,*| *šqìltəlle.*| *kθáwa qrìθəlle.*| *ʾu-qímtɛla mjuwə̀btəlle*| *ʾu-yíwtəlle qa-yə̀wna.*| 'Sətt́iye went and grabbed the dove like this and took it. She read the letter. She answered it and gave it to the dove.' (A25:72)

(9) *qíma dart-yòma,*| *mjŭ́məlla maymùne*| *ʾu-xðìrɛle.*| *qímela mə̀tyela*| *xa-ṭùra.*| 'The next day he gathered the monkeys together and toured around. They arrived at a mountain.' (A14:48)

(10) *mə́re ʾáti ṭ̂-ázət t-yátwət tămàha.*| *ṣáli šalxíla jullέy t-yáwne tàmma.*| *ʾáti xázət ʾày-mənna bă̆yət*| *šaqlátla ʾánna jùlle,*| *mɛθətla-lli*| *lítlux šùla.*| *ʾáwwa-ži qímɛle ṣəlyɛle.*| 'He said "You go and sit over there. They will go down and take off their doves' clothes. See which one you like and take the clothes (belonging to her) and bring them to me, and all will be fine." He went down.' (A14:80–81)

Prosodic bonding of the verb *qym* occurs in imperative and other deontic constructions, e.g.

(11) *qu-plúṭ m-àxxa!*| 'Get out of here!' (A16:11)

(12) *qu-pégən kàde!*| 'Get up and bake *kade* cakes!' (A30:41)

(13) *qu-šqúlla ʾáyya skìnta!*| 'Take this knife!' (A15:8)

(14) *qu-qálbəx bέθa biš-spày.*| 'Let's return home—that's better.' (A30:55)

In (15) the resultative participle *qime* is combined with imperative forms:

(15) *qíme so-mèθole ʾəlli-díyi!*| 'Go and bring him to me!' (A7:7)

18.3.2. *Verbs of Movement*

These include verbs such as *ʾzl* 'to go', *ʾθy* 'to come', *dyṛ* 'to return', *ṣly* 'to go down', *ʾsq* 'to go up', which are commonly bonded prosodically with a following verb, e.g.

(1) *Səttíye zílla qəm-dawqàla.* 'Səttiye went and grabbed it.' (A25:72)
(2) *zílɛle máxya tə̀ra.*| 'He went and knocked at the door.' (A14:28)
(3) *ʾu-θéle náša qəm-šaqə̀lle mə́nnux.*| 'A man came and took it from you.' (A17:35)
(4) *ʾə̀dlɛle*| *xa-bráta θíθɛwa dmíxta kə̀sli.*| 'This night a girl came and slept with me.' (A26:11)
(5) *díṛṛe ʾo-qamáya qəm-qaṭálle ʾo-sàwa.*| 'The first man returned and killed the old man.'
(6) *ʾu-díṛɛle ṣályɛle rəš-d-è-ʾɛna.*| 'He went back down to the spring.' (A26:32)
(7) *ʾáxni ṭla-mô ṣáləx ʾáxni mpalṭáxle?*| 'Why should we go down and release him?' (A26:77)
(8) *síqle wírre kəs-bràta.*| 'He went up and entered the girl's home.' (A17:24)

Examples with imperatives:

(9) *sa-dùqla ʾayya-yáwna!*| 'Go and grab that dove!' (A25:72)
(10) *də-háyyo sxà!*| 'Come and swim!' (A25:61)
(11) *ṣli-mur-ʾə̀lle*| 'Go down and say to him…' (A26:37)

When the verbs *ṣly* 'to go down' or *ʾsq* 'to go up' occur in a tight sequence to a preceding verb, the sequences can often be rendered idiomatically by English phrasal verbs containing the elements 'down' and 'up' respectively, e.g.

(12) *zadéle ṣàle*| *gu-xa-čále gòṛta.*| 'He threw him down into a big pit.' (A22:40)
(13) *kút-yum xá-ʾərwən y-arə́qwa y-ásəq qám d-o-dèwa.*| 'Every day one of our sheep would run up to that wolf.' (A10:5)

18.3.3. mṣy/ʾmṣ *'to be able'*

When used in a past perfective form (*mṣele, məsyɛle*), this verb is often combined asyndetically in a paratactic relation with the verb that is dependent on it, in that the second verb is put in a past perfective form (*qṭille, qəm-qaṭə́l, qṭilɛle*), e.g. *mṣele θele* 'He was able to come'. The same applies to negated clauses, e.g. *la mṣele θele* 'He could not come', *la mṣele qəm-ʾawədla* 'He could not do it'. The second verb in a negative construction is semantically irrealis, since the action did not take place. In principle, therefore,

an irrealis form would be expected. The use of the realis perfective form has apparently arisen by morphological attraction. This, no doubt, is the background also of the positive construction. The majority of examples from the text corpus are negated or occur in interrogative clauses:

(1) *là-mṣeli muθyáli.*ˡ 'I could not bring her.' (A8:55)
(2) *ʾáyya bàxta*ˡ *lá-mṣela mxumèla ʾərwe.*ˡ 'The woman could not keep the sheep.' (A10:6)
(3) *la-mṣélən sáqlən ṣèda.*ˡ 'We could not go up to hunt.' (A26:46)
(4) *lá-mṣeli zrìli.*ˡ 'I could not cultivate.' (A30:13)
(5) *léla-məsye wíðe čù-məndi.*ˡ 'They could not do anything.' (A8:65)
(6) *dáx mṣéle ʾáyya bráta qəm-ʾawádla b-pəlxánət bèθa?*ˡ 'How could he have made this girl a hard-working housewife?' (A21:32)
(7) *ʾánna tre-yále mă̆nile másya dəryálla gu-šaqìθa?*ˡ 'Who could have put these two children in the stream?' (A8:15)

When the verb *msy/ʾmṣ* is in the *qaṭəl* form, expressing the present or future, the complement verb is in the irrealis form, sometimes introduced by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g.

(8) *máṣəx ṯ̂-àmrəx*ˡ 'We can say' (B4:3)

In (9) a perfective past verb is followed by another perfective verb but the latter is introduced by the subordinating particle *D*:

(9) *bráta làn-məsya ṯ̂-in-múθyəlla.*ˡ 'I could not bring back the girl.' (A29:8)

18.3.4. ṣbr *'to dare'*

A similar paratactic joining is found after perfective forms of *ṣbr* 'to dare', e.g. *ṣbirre θele* 'He dared to come', *la ṣbirre θele* 'He did not dare to come'. The examples attested in the text corpus are negated:

(1) *ʾáp-xa mánna lá-ṣbirre rhíwle gu-dìwən.*ˡ 'Nobody dared to speak in the reception room.' (A26:70)
(2) *lá ṣbírra mṣuwàtla.*ˡ 'She did not dare to speak.' (A24:40)

The irrealis form is also attested after the perfective past, e.g.

(3) *ʾáp-xa lá-ṣbirre ʾasə̀qle.*ˡ 'Nobody dared to go up (and do) it.' (A33:4)

18.3.5. qbl *'to permit'*

The verb *qbl* 'to permit' may be used in a similar syntactic structure. In the following example from the text corpus it is negated:

(1) *ʾáw là-qbille θéli.*ˡ 'He did not permit me to come.' (A46:3)

18.3.6. šry *II 'to begin'*

This verb is normally followed by an infinitive (§15.5.5.). When, however, it is in a perfective past form, it is sometimes followed by a perfective form of the verb linked to it paratactically in the same intonation group, e.g.

(1) *šuréle zmírre b-súsa smòqa.*ˡ 'He started singing to a brown horse.' (A25:11)
(2) *šuréla xrìṭla.*ˡ 'She started to gouge it out.' (A19:6)
(3) *šúryela xílela m-ġðàðe.*ˡ 'They began to eat together.' (A21:21)

18.3.7. prq *'to finish'*

Similarly, the verb *prq* 'to finish' is sometimes combined together with a verb in the same intonation group, e.g.

(1) *bar-príqla kúlla náše šqílla ʾarzə̀̄q.*ˡ 'After all the people had finished taking provisions…' (B17:12)

18.3.8. *pyš majbur* 'to become obliged'

This expression is used to express an obligation and is often prosodically bonded with the following verb, which expresses the lexical content of the action, e.g.

(1) *páyəš májbur béna xaráya šàte.*ˡ 'In the end it will be forced to drink.' (A12:47)
(2) *píšɛle májbur ṣə̀lyɛle.*ˡ 'He had to dismount.' (A28:33)

18.3.9. *Cirumstantial Clauses*

When a clause is dependent on another clause by virtue of the fact that it expresses the circumstances of the action of the other clause, this dependence is often expressed prosodically by combining the two clauses in the same intonation group, e.g.

(1) *kúlla ʾə́θye ʾitléy šə̌ráṯe ṯ-amríla qa-màlka.*| 'They had all come while having cases to present to the king.' (A17:31)
(2) *hadíya bə̌ye ṯ-áxəl mə́ndi kpìnɛ̀le.*| 'Now he wanted to eat something, since he was hungry.' (A30:11)
(3) *ʾu-sulámməš doqíle lóši xa-jùlla.*| 'They would hold the hive whilst wearing a cloth.' (B5:178)

18.3.10. *Temporal Adverbial Clauses*

Similarly, prosodic bonding between main clauses is often used when one clauses supplies the temporal adverbial setting of the action of the following clause. In such cases the first clauses is idiomatically translated by supplying a temporal particle such as 'after' or 'when', e.g.

(1) *barzíwa xáčča mkalčîwala.*| '(After) they (the logs) had dried a little, they would remove their bark.' (B5:187)
(2) *hadíya mkopə́šla ṣlèla.*| 'Now (after) they had gathered it, they went down (to the plain).' (A7:15)
(3) *bə̌láwala yabíšta xərqá xərqá gu-qðála díya mabyə̀nwa.*| '(When) she swallowed a raisin, it could be seen, ring by ring in her neck.' (A8:63)
(4) *mṭéle moθéθəlle xáčča mìya.*| '(When) he came, she brought some water.' (A22:28)
(5) *hátta Gozáli b-gáne mšudrə́tle lɛ̀n θíθa.*| 'Even (when) you sent Gozali himself, I did not come.' (A8:94)

18.3.11. *Complement of a Clause Constituent*

Another context in which clauses occur in a single intonation group due to their semantic connection is where the second clause functions as a complement of a constituent in the first clause. In (1), for example, the second clause should be analysed as the complement of the noun *ʾurxa* 'way' ('the way she learnt'):

(1) *dáx ʾúrxa muxzélux ʾálla lípla ʾàwwa šúla?*ǀ ‘How did you show her the way to learn this work?’ (A21:34)

This applies also to clauses that are formally marked as subordinate by by the particle *D*. When these are direct complements of a verb, they are typically in the same intonation group as the verb, e.g.

(2) *ʾánna yǎ̆ði ṯ̂-íle duglàna.*ǀ ‘They know that he is a liar.’ (A48:3)
(3) *bǎ̆yən ṯ̂-àzən.*ǀ ‘I want to go.’ (A8:65)
(4) *máṣəx ṯ̂-àmrəx.*ǀ ‘We can say.’ (B4:3)

If, however, the subordinate clause is not integrated into the main clause as the complement of a constituent, but rather is a complement of the clause as a whole and so is external to it, this looser relationship is sometimes expressed by putting the subordinate clause in a separate intonation group, e.g.

(5) *ʾána paqðənnɛxuǀ ṯ̂-azítu b-ʾúrxa maṭítu ʾàlla.*ǀ ‘I shall instruct you, so that you go on the road and reach her.’ (A8:27)

18.4. Repetition of Clauses to Mark a Discourse Boundary

Some types of repetition across clauses have been described already in relation to the connective particles (cf. §18.1.1., §18.1.2.). A further type of repetitive overlap across clauses is described in this section.

In narrative the narrator sometimes repeats the mention of an event that has already been narrated before recounting the event that is sequential to it. The informational status of the clause, therefore, may be compared to that of a topical referent. The purpose of ‘heavy’ coding of topical information at the front of a sentence is generally to mark some kind of boundary in the narrative. This is, indeed, the function of the construction under discussion since it is used to signal the onset of a section. It is a device used by the narrator to present an activity as a new event with a degree of independence from what precedes. This is usually a result of the subjective choice of the speaker as to how the narrative should be staged. The function of this construction is similar to that of subordinate ‘when’–clauses (§19.3.3.) and, indeed, they are often idiomatically rendered by supplying ‘when’ in an English translation. Examples:

(1) *kúlla twìre qðalέy,*ˈ *mìθela.*ˈ *mìθela,*ˈ *ʾáwwa rìqɛle,*ˈ *ṣályɛle mṭùšyəlla gáne.*ˈ ‘They all broke their necks and died. (When) they died, he fled, went down and hid himself.’ (B18:6)

(2) *xà-yoma*ˈ *sìqle*ˈ *l-ṣὲda,*ˈ *tfìqle*ˈ *xa-ʾàrya bíye díye.*ˈ *tfìqle xa-ʾàrya bíye díye,*ˈ *zílle ṭáləb ʾàrya.*ˈ ‘One day he went out hunting and a lion chanced to come his way. (When) a lion chanced to come his way, he went to attack the lion.’ (A27:3)

(3) *qímle qəm-ṭarὸdle.*ˈ *qəm-ṭaráḍle θéle zìlle*ˈ *be-ʾámte dìye.*ˈ ‘He drove him away. (When) he drove him away, he went back to his aunt’s house.’ (A23:32–33)

(4) *zílla qəm-qaṭlὰla*ˈ *Šóšət Xère,*ˈ *qəm-mṭamrála gu-ʾὸrət susᾰwáθa ʾáltəx.*ˈ *qəm-mṭamrála gu-ʾórət susᾰwὰθa,*ˈ *bróna díya θὲle.*ˈ ‘She went and killed Šošət Xere and buried her in the horses’ manger below. (When) she buried her in the horses’ manger, her son came back.’ (A38:3–4)

The repeated material is in some cases uttered with a different distribution of stress either across the words of a stress group (5) or within a single word (6):

(5) *mapərxálux šawwὰ yamáθa,*ˈ *mάṭət l-d-o-qὰṣra.*ˈ *mάṭət l-d-ὸ-qaṣra,*ˈ *háwət hášyər ʾína ʾáyya sústa là marpátla.*ˈ ‘She will fly you over the seven seas and you will reach that palace. (When) you arrive at that palace, be careful not to let that horse go.’ (A12:29)

(6) *ʾu-máty*ɛ*le qam-d-o-ṭùra.*ˈ *mətyέle qam-d-o-ṭùra,*ˈ *xirὲle,*ˈ *mùjbɛle.*ˈ ‘He arrived in front of the mountain. He arrived in front of the mountain, he looked and was amazed.’ (A8:53)

In cases where long morphological variants are available, the long form is used either in the first clause or in the repeated clause. This can be regarded as two alternative strategies whereby a heavy morphological form is used as a boundary marker to signal either closure or onset. In (7) the first clause has a long form of pronominal suffix on the resultative participle to mark closure (§15.13.5.), whereas the repeated clause has the shorter, default form. In (8), on the other hand, the long variant of the imperative is used in the repeated clause:

(7) *ʾiθáθa qàmxɛle,*ˈ *pθìxtəllela tᾰ́ra.*ˈ *pθíxtəlle tὰra,*ˈ *xzíθəlle bába dìya*ˈ *ʾu-ʾup-wᾰ́zīr mὰnne.*ˈ ‘While there was flour on her hands, she opened the door. She opened the door and saw her father and also the vizier who was with him.’ (A21:26)

(8) *só l-bέθət flàn-naša.*| *ságun l-bέθət flàn-naša,*| *ʾu-šə́qlula ʾan-trè-yale,*| *ʾu-mtàlquley.*| ‘Go to the house of such-and-such a man. Go to the house of such-and-such a man, and take away the two children. Get rid of them.’ (A8:8)

In (9)–(11) the repeated clause has more lexical material than the first clause. This again can be viewed as a strategy of using linguistic ballast to mark a boundary, which should be interpreted as the onset of what follows. In (9) the repeated clause also exhibits the use of the long alternative form of the 3pl. suffix *-lɛy* (cf. §15.12.):

(9) *ʾíθwa xá-nă̆ra tàma.*| *kut-táwra máxyəlle xá gu-réše dìye,*| *gu-be-ʾéne dìye.*| *dáryəlle l-ă̆ra tàwra.*| *mqudə́qdəlla kùlla.*| *b-o nă̆ra*| *ʾan-táwre dìye*| *mqudə̀qdɛlelɛy,*| *kúlla dáryəlla b-kàwe,*| *dáryəlla gu-gòma.*| ‘There was an axe there. He struck each ox a blow on its head, on its forehead and put it on the ground. He chopped them all up. He chopped the oxen up with the axe, put them all through the window and put them in the basement stable.’ (A30:23)

(10) *šqíləlle xmàra*| *ʾu-tàwra.*| *ʾu-zílɛle.*| *šúryɛle zràya.*| *šúryɛle zráya hàl-ʾaṣərta.*| *ʾaṣə́rta ʾáθe l-bèθa.*| ‘He took his ass and ox and went on his way. He began cultivating. He began cultivating (and continued) until evening. In the evening he went back home.’ (A21:12)

(11) *xéna políse mù ṯ̂-óði.*?| *šáqli ʾăwàmər.*| *màlka*| *mo-ṯ̂-ámərrey ṯ̂-óði hàdəx.*| *zìlla.*| *zílla políse b-lèle.*| *qəm-šaqlíla ʾán-tre yàle*| *mən-babéy ʾu-yəmmèy.*| ‘Now, what should the police do? They take orders. Whatever the king tells them they should do. They went off. The police went off at night and took the two children from their father and mother.’ (A8:9)

18.5. Intonation Patterns

The relationship between clauses is also signalled by the pitch contours associated with the nuclear stress in an intonation group. By means of intonation contours the speaker conveys to the hearer a wide range of signals, some of which belong to levels of expression that have no direct correlations in linguistic structure, such as numerous personal attitudes. For this reason it was decided not to mark the intonational pitch contours in the transcription of the texts. Here we shall restrict ourselves to a brief examination of some of the main intonational signals, with special attention to those that mark semantic continuity and discontinuity across

clauses. The semantic connection between clauses is an issue that has been discussed in numerous places in the foregoing discussion of syntactic structure.

We may distinguish two basic types of intonational contours that are relevant for the present discussion, namely a contour expressing disjunction and one expressing conjunction. Following the terminology that is customary in the field of intonation, we may refer to these as 'major juncture' and 'minor juncture' respectively.

18.5.1. *Major Juncture*

The intonation expressing major juncture is characterized by a low fall in pitch at the end of the intonation group. There is sometimes a slight rise in pitch on the nucleus. Any syllables occurring after the nucleus have decreasingly lower levels of pitch. This contour is represented by the symbol ↘. It expresses completeness and disjunction from what follows. As is the case with many syntactic expressions of disjunction, the decision as to where such a signal of disjunction should be placed is generally governed by the choice of the speaker as to how he wishes to present the discourse to the hearer. Examples:

(1) *ʾo-góṛa píšle tàma.*↘ˡ 'The eldest one remained there.' (A24:5)
(2) *xa-nắṣíyət t-yánna ṭlàlux.*↘ˡ 'I'll give you some advice.' (A24:9)
(3) *lá-ʾawðət xá-mdi xéna t-la-b-dìyi.*↘ˡ 'Do not do anything else without me.' (A24:9)

Speakers separate clauses with major juncture to express lack of sequentiality in a variety of contexts.

In (4) the major juncture is used to separate two clauses that are not connected in temporal sequentiality, but rather are overlapping temporally. The second clause does not complete the first so much as stand in parallel with it, giving a supplementary description of the same event. Similarly in (5) the second clause does not follow temporally or logically from the first but rather elaborates on it:

(4) *ʾan-míya péši trè-qəsme.*↘ˡ *kàli.*↘ˡ 'The water will become (divided into) two parts. It will stop.' (A24:14)
(5) *wúðuli xa-čàra.*↘ˡ *xzóli xa-darmána qa-ʾèni.*↘ˡ 'Cure me. Find a remedy for my eyes.' (A24:2)

In (6) the disjunctive prosody separates a prohibition from a following instruction, which is supplementary to the prohibition rather than sequential to it:

(6) *là-šoqət t-kále.*↘ˡ *máxət ʾálle díye ta-t-ʾásəq payədle ʾo-ṭúra.*↘ˡ 'Do not let him (the horse) stop. Strike him so that he will go up and cross over that mountain.' (A24:11)

When the clauses express temporally sequential events, the purpose of the major disjuncture is to make a clear division between the two and to signal that they are not seamlessly connected. This may coincide with a spatio-temporal shift, as in (7) in which the arrival at the palace is separated from the event of crossing the water in both place and time:

(7) *ʾu-pɛðətla ʾan-míya.*↘ˡ *máṭət l-qáṣrət Parizàda.*↘ˡ 'You should cross the water. Then you will arrive at the palace of Parizada.' (A24:14)

18.5.2. *Minor Juncture*

The intonational contour that are typically associated with minor juncture consists of a rise in pitch on the nucleus. This is typically followed by a mid fall on the syllables coming after the nucleus. Such a contour is represented here by the symbol ↗↘. Minor juncture contour signals incompleteness. It is regularly used on a clausal constituent that is uttered in an intonation group that is separate from that of the rest of the clause. This applies to the clause initial subjects and extraposed items in (1)–(4):

(1) *báxta yaqùrta,*↗↘ˡ *ʾi-màbra.*↘ˡ 'A pregnant woman will give birth.' (A24:13)
(2) *ʾo-gòṛa*↗↘ˡ *mə́re ʾána pɛ́šən láxxa gu-d-áyya mðìta.*↘ˡ 'The eldest one said "I shall remain here in this town."' (A24:4)
(3) *ʾan-šŭrūṭ*↗↘ˡ *lázəm yăðətla mòdila.*↘ˡ 'The conditions—you must know what they are.' (A24:10)
(4) *sùsux*↗↘ˡ *ʾaqláθe mdurbə̀nnela.*↘ˡ 'Your horse—his legs have become wounded.' (A24:12)

Likewise, if a constituent is placed at the end of the clause in a separate intonation group, the clause is connected to the postposed constituent by minor juncture. This applies to (5) and (6), which have a postposed subject and adverbial respectively:

(5) *ʾìθwale*↗↘ˡ *ṭḷà bnóne.*↘ˡ 'He had three sons.' (A24:1)
(6) *t-yáxlux xamšì dináre*↗↘ˡ *kut-yàrxa.*↘ˡ 'We'll give you fifty dinars every month.' (A24:7)

When the speech reported by the verb 'to say' is placed following it in a separate intonation group, the clause with this verb regularly has minor juncture, e.g.

(7) *qímɛle mə́re qa-bnóne dìye:*↗↘ˡ *bnòni*↗↘ˡ *wúðuli xa-čàra.*↘ˡ 'He said to his sons "My sons, cure me!"' (A24:2)

Minor juncture is typically used in clauses that occur in non-final position in a sequence, the final clause in the sequence being marked by a major juncture intonational contour. The clauses connected in this way may be temporally sequential, as in (8). The effect is to present the two events as closely linked together. Minor juncture is commonly used in clauses containing the verb *qym* (9) or a verb of movement (10–11). As we have seen in §18.3.1. and §18.3.2., these types of verbs also exhibit a tendency to be closely bound prosodically with what follows by being combined with a following verb in the same intonation group.

(8) *mə́lxa maxéla ʾaqláθe dìye,* ↗↘ˡ *ṯ̂-áwe súsa mṣarṣòre.*↘ˡ 'He will get salt on his legs and will screech.' (A24:12)
(9) *qímela ṭḷáθna t-bnóne dìye*↗↘ˡ *ʾu-zìlela.*↘ˡ 'The three sons of his set off and went on their way.' (A24:3)
(10) *zílela mə́tye gu-ðá mðìta.* ↗↘ˡ *ʾo-gòṛa*↗↘ˡ *mə́re ʾána pɛ́šən láxxa gu-d-áyya mðìta.*↘ˡ 'They travelled and arrived in a certain town. The eldest one said "I shall remain here in this town."' (A24:4)
(11) *ʾo-zóra zílle bˉʾùrxa.*↗↘ˡ *zílle, zílle, zìlle,* ↗↘ˡ *ʾɔ́šta šáwwa yomàne,*↗↘ˡ *mṭéle xa-náša sàwa.*↘ˡ 'The young one went on the road. He went along for six or seven days and came upon an old man.' (A24:7)

In constructions such as those described in §18.4., in which a boundary is expressed in the discourse by repeating the content of a clause, the first clause has major juncture and the repeated clause, which is presented as the onset of a new section, has minor juncture, e.g.

(12) *qímela ʾan-tre-xéne zìle.*↘ˡ *zílela ʾan-trè.* ↗↘ˡ *ʾap-o-gawàya*↗↘ˡ *mṭéle ða-mðìta.* ↗↘ˡ 'The other two went off. The two went off. Also the middle one came to a town.' (A24:5–6)

(13) *t-yánnux xámši dináre kut-yàrxa.*↘| *kut-yárxa t-yánnux xámši dinàre,*↗↘| *ʾu-plúx mən-d-ànna paloxáye.*↘| 'I shall give you fifty dinars each month. Each month I shall give you fifty dinars, now work with these labourers.' (A24:5)

Clauses containing the existential particle that introduce a referent into the discourse frequently have minor juncture. This is because such clauses are closely connected with what follows in that they typically create the expectation that the ensuing clauses will elaborate further on the newly introduced referent, e.g.

(14) *ʾíθwa xa-màlka.* ↗↘| *ʾìθwale*↗↘| *ṭlà bnóne.*↘| 'There was once a king. He had three sons.' (A24:1)

18.5.3. *Interrogative Clauses*

Interrogative clauses are uttered with a rise from a higher level of pitch than that of minor juncture (1–3). There is a short fall on syllables after the nucleus. The contour is represented here by the symbol ↗↘. Negative interrogative clauses that function as a device for drawing attention to preliminary background material (§18.2.1.) typically have a lower level of pitch than the normal interrogative contour (4). To distinguish these two levels of pitch the symbol of the lower level is qualified by the numeral 1 whereas the symbol for the regular interrogative contour has the numeral 2:

(1) *mò ṯ-óðət?*↗↘21 'What will you do?' (A24:4)
(2) *kəmà t-yátli?*↗↘21 'How much will you give me?' (A24:5)
(3) *mòdila?*↗↘21 'What are they?' (A24:11)
(4) *ʾánna lɛ́la dmìxe,*↗↘11 *ʾo-rábbən múttəlla ʾáqle díye rš-ǎ́qəl bàxta.*↘| 'While they were asleep, the monk put his leg onto the leg of the woman.' (A16:11)

When a question is rhetorical and does not expect an answer, it may have a low fall intonation characteristic of major juncture, e.g.

(5) *mə́re qá-mo là?*↘| 'He said "Why not?"' (A24:7)

18.5.4. *Asseverative Clauses*

Clauses that are intended to make a forceful asseveration are uttered by speakers with a very high level of pitch, higher than the interrogative pitch contour. It includes a rise and fall. This will be represented as pitch level 3 by the symbol ↗↘3. This type of pitch is typically used, for example, in asseverations containing the negative particle *la* (cf. §17.2. and §17.7.14.2. iii):

(1) *la-hóle mìθa.*↗↘31 'He is indeed dead.' (A17:2)
(2) A: *štélux čàyux?*↗↘21 B: *la-štèli!*↗↘31 'A: "Have you drunk your tea?" B: "Indeed I have drunk it!"'

CHAPTER NINETEEN

SYNTACTIC SUBORDINATION OF CLAUSES

19.1. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses may be attributive and modify a head nominal or they may stand independently of a head nominal and have themselves the status of a nominal. We shall refer to these types as attributive relative clauses and nominal relative clauses respectively.

19.1.1. *Attributive Relative Clauses*

Relative clauses that have attributive function are always placed after the nominal that they modify. They may be explicitly connected to the head nominal by the relative particle *D*, which is either prefixed to the first word of the clause or is suffixed to the end of the head nominal, e.g. *kut-yala ṯ̂-aθe laxxa* ~ *kut-yalət ʾaθe laxxa* 'Every child that comes here'. When the particle is prefix to the first word of the clause, the final */a/* vowel of the head noun is sometimes centralized to */ə/* as is the case when the particle is suffixed to it, e.g. *ʾáyya bráta šapìrtə ṯ̂-íla dmíxta kàsli* 'this beautiful girl, who has fallen asleep with me' (A26:6). The final */ə/* is occasionally elided, e.g. *ʾé-dān ṯ̂-áθya kʲàlo* 'at the time that the bride came' (B8:32). A *D* particle is sometimes elided, but the final vowel of the head nominal remains */ə/* rather than */a/* as if it were still present, e.g. *ʾɛ-dɛ́rtə zədyálux gáwa díya* 'the enclosure in which you threw it' (< *ʾɛ-dɛrtət* A15:18).

Constructions with the particle *D* may be termed syndetic relative clauses. Attributive relative clauses may also be placed after the head nominal asyndetically, without the particle. The distribution of syndetic and asyndetic attributive relative clauses is conditioned to a large extent by the definiteness of the head nominal. A distinction should also be made between restrictive relative clauses, which limit the reference of the head noun, and non-restrictive ones, which present supplementary information concerning a nominal without limiting its reference. This difference in function sometimes gives rise to distinct syntactic structures.

19.1.1.1. *Definite Head Nominal*

(i) *Restrictive Clauses*

When the head noun is definite, i.e. it has a specific identifiable referent or refers to an identifiable generic class, a restrictive relative clause is syndetic. The clause has the function of an attributive modifier that is embedded in the nominal phrase. It does not assert new information, as is the case with an independent clause, but rather expresses information that is presupposed to be known to the hearer. The clause supplies a description that allows the hearer to identify the referent of the head noun. The definite status of the head noun, therefore, is indissolubly bound with the relative clause. In principle such a definite head noun is introduced by an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun. This is usually the default demonstrative pronoun, the basic function of which is to signal that the referent of the noun is identifiable in the context to which it is anaphorically linked. The restrictive relative clause, which is intended to provide the means of identifying the referent, is sometimes the only source of identification. The anaphoric link, therefore, is clearly internal to the nominal phrase, e.g.

(1) *ʾan-suráye t-wáwa gu-Tùrkiya*ˈ *zílla l-ʾIrən.*ˈ 'The Christians who were in Turkey went to Iran.' (B2:8)
(2) *šə̂dla,*ˈ *gu-d-a-ʾắra t-bắyət mattə̀tle.*ˈ 'You put the sapling in the land that you like.' (B5:103)
(3) *ʾé-baxta ṯ-àθya*ˈ *bắyən gawrə̀nna*ˈ *lázəm mtanyáli ða-qəṣṣə̀tta.*ˈ 'The woman who comes and I shall marry must tell me a story.' (A36:1)

In these constructions it can be said that the demonstrative is a correlative with the relative particle. The demonstrative binds the head noun tightly with the relative clause. This is because the interpretation of the noun with the demonstrative depends on the relative clause and it cannot be interpreted successfully without it.

In some cases the referent of the head noun has been mentioned in the preceding context. Even here, however, the restrictive relative clause, with which the head noun is syntactically linked, can be regarded as the primary anaphor of the demonstrative and here also it has a correlative function, e.g.

(4) *ʾé-bratət malušíwala jùlle*ˈ *ṯ-oðíwala ʾax-kàlo.*ˈ 'They made the girl whom they dressed in clothes like a bride.' (B7:2)

(5) *ʾɛ-dértə zədyálux gáwa díya kúlla genàwela.*ˡ '(As for) the enclosure in which you threw it, they are all robbers.' (A15:18)

The relative clauses in (4) and (5) can be interpreted as restrictive, in that the head noun requires further description to ensure that the correct referent is distinguished from other possible members of the set of items named by the noun that are associated in some way with the context and are, therefore, available as possible referents for the noun. The purpose of the relative clause, therefore, is not to supply further information but rather to assist in the identification of the referent. The anaphoric demonstrative, which invites the hearer to seek the identification of the referent of the noun in the surrounding context, would naturally be interpreted in the first instance as linked to the relative clause that is embedded in the nominal phrase.

Restrictive relative clauses are used also after head nouns that have an adverbial function, e.g.

(6) *ʾé-šetət méθi qəm-yawálla xa-bróna zòra.*ˡ 'In the year they would die he gave them a small son.' (A4:57)
(7) *ʾáp-ana y-aθéwa b-rèši hátxa*ˡ *ʾo-yómə ṯ̂-ínwa zòra.*ˡ 'They would come into also my head when (literally: in the day that) I was young.' (A26:12)
(8) *ʾé-gət damàxwa,*ˡ *ṭ̣laθà yomáθa*ˡ *ʾu-ṭ̣laθà lɛlăwáθa háwe dmìxa.*ˡ 'When (literally: at the time that) he slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights.' (A29:2)
(9) *ʾé-dān ṯ̂-áθya kʷàlo,*ˡ *yawíwala màšxa.*ˡ 'When (literally: at the time that) the bride came, they would give her oil.' (B8:32)
(10) *hál ʾo-yómət mèθən*ˡ *har-ʾúrxət ʾálaha dóqən b-ìði.*ˡ 'Until the day I die I shall always keep to God's way.' (A15:21)

In some cases the head noun of a restrictive relative clause has a speaker deixis demonstrative, e.g.

(11) *ʾána ʾap-dìya*ˡ *ʾáyya ʾúrxa ṯ̂-ín ʾána zála bíya dìya*ˡ *lè-y manšánna hál yomət-màwθa.*ˡ 'I shall not give up until the day I die the way I am following now.' (A21:35)
(12) *qímli zílli šqílli ʾáwwa júlla ṯ̂-íle gu-púmmət mzíðət pràge.*ˡ 'I went and took the cloth that is in the mouth of the bag of millet.' (A23:23)
(13) *xzi-ʾánna ṭ̣la-nàše*ˡ *ṯ̂-íla príməlle tàwra,*ˡ *ṭ̣láθna hon-yíwtəlla mòʿəd.*ˡ 'Take note that the three people who slaughtered the ox—I have made an assignation with the three of them.' (A22:21)

In cases such as (11)–(13) the speaker deixis demonstrative should be interpreted as having an anaphoric rather than an ostensive, i.e. 'pointing', function. As shown in §14.3.2., the speaker deixis demonstrative is often used with an anaphoric function where the speaker wishes to present the referent in question with close perspective. The relative clause is restrictive since it expresses presuppositional information that is intended to assist with the identification of the head noun.

The correlative function of demonstrative pronouns in restrictive relative clause constructions whereby they are linked by anticipatory anaphora to the following relative clause (14) is likely to have been modelled on nominal relative clauses (15):

(14) *ʾo-gáwṛa ṭ̂-íle gu-bèθa*ˡ 'The man who is in the house'
(15) *ʾo-ṭ̂-íle gu-bèθa*ˡ 'He who is in the house'

In nominal relative clauses such as (15), which are always restrictive, the demonstrative occurs as the obligatory head of the clause, which cannot stand independently. The construction (14) can be regarded as an internal expansion of (15), whereby the nominal head is an extension of the pronominal head.

(ii) *Non-restrictive clauses*

Non-restrictive relative clauses following definite head nouns are semantically closer to independent clauses than attributive modifiers. Their purpose is to supply an additional description of a referent that is assumed to be already identifiable. They are, therefore, assertive rather than presuppositional, though the syntactically subordinate structure has the effect of presenting the information as backgrounded. Examples:

(1) *mə́re ṭla-Ẑ̂ine,*ˡ *t-bə̆yéla Mə̀̆mo*ˡ 'He said to Zine, whom Mămo loved' (A26:64)
(2) *zìlɛle*ˡ *mùklələla táwre t-wə́wa zráya.*ˡ 'He went and stopped the oxen, which were ploughing.' (A9:5)
(3) *qímle b-zdáya m-xə́lme díye t-wéwa xə̀zyəlle.*ˡ 'He began to be afraid of his dream, which he had dreamt.' (A8:19)
(4) *ʾu-ʾup-báxte dìye*ˡ *ṭ̂-íle gwìrəlla*ˡ *rába hawnàntɛla.*ˡ 'Also his wife, whom he had married, was very clever.' (A17:21)

It can be seen that in some cases the relative clause is separated from the head noun by an intonation group boundary. This feature, however, is not

exclusive to non-restrictive relative clauses, as can be seen in (13) in section (i) above, where it occurs in a construction with a restrictive clause.

In (5) it is separated from the head not only by an intonation group boundary but also by intervening components of the clause:

(5) *námu ʾáyya bárke d-ènila*| *ṯ̂-it-ʾáti sxáya gàwa.*?| 'Whose is this pool in which you are swimming?' (A25:61)

The non-restrictive relative clauses in constructions such as (1)–(5) may express information that is familiar to the hearer, but, crucially, the speaker is presenting them as assertions, albeit in some cases recapitulatory, rather than as presuppositions. Sentences with an embedded non-restrictive relative clause, therefore, contain two assertions, the truth of which can be assessed independently of one another. In (1), for example, there are two assertions, viz. (i) 'He said to Zine' and (ii) 'Mămo loved Zine'. In a sentence with an embedded restrictive relative clause, on the other hand, there is only one assertion. Example (i 1), for instance, only asserts 'The Christians who were in Turkey went to Iran'. It does not entail the assertion 'The Christians were in Turkey'. If an unidentified head noun requires further delimitation in order for its referent to be identified, it is natural to link it with a description based on a familiar, presupposed proposition ('There were Christians in Turkey') rather than one based on an as yet unknown proposition. When the head noun is identifiable in that it occurs in a context where there is judged to be no possible confusion with other members of the set of items named by the noun, any further description must be assertive. As remarked, however, the syntactically subordinate status of this assertion in the non-restrictive relative clause presents it as background information. The informativeness of the clause may, indeed, be very low, as in (4), where the hearer would naturally assume that if a man has a wife, he would have married her! The construction can, however, be interpreted as the assertion of an event that is added as an afterthought, which would be equivalent to a sequence of clauses such as 'He married a woman. His wife was also very clever'.

The distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives is based on the availability of other potential referents for the head noun in the particular context in which the construction occurs. In (6), for example, the clause can be interpreted as restrictive and presuppositional, since it occurs in a context where other girls are on the scene. In (7), on the other hand, there is only one basket on the scene, so the relative should be interpreted as non-restrictive and assertive.

(6) *ʾé-bratət malušíwala jùlle*ˈ *ṯ-oðíwala ʾax-kàlo.*ˈ 'They made the girl whom they dressed in clothes like a bride.' (B7:2)

(7) *hat šmíṭle ʾɛ-sála t-wéwa zqìrəlla.*ˈ 'Until the basket which he had woven was shattered.' (A20:4)

In the context preceding (7), it has already been stated that the character in question wove the basket. The assertion of the relative clause, therefore, must be expressing recapitulatory backgrounded information. An assertion with such a low degree of informativeness appears, indeed, to be closely related pragmatically to a presupposition. It is, no doubt, for this reason that a relative construction is used to express both types of clauses. Moreover the less informative the relative clause is, the more it serves as a device to recapitulate and refresh the identification of the noun, the closer it is in function to that of a restrictive relative clause. The pragmatic relationship between a presupposition and an assertion can be regarded as a continuum rather than a clear dichotomy, which one can represent thus:

Presupposition > Recapitulatory backgrounded assertion > backgrounded assertion > foregrounded assertion

It follows, therefore, that the relationship between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is a continuum rather than a distinct dichotomy.

A feature that is distinctive of many non-restrictive clauses is the absence of a correlative demonstrative on the head noun that binds the head to the relative clause. In examples (1)–(4) the head has no demonstrative. In some cases the head noun has a demonstrative, but this cannot be interpreted as having a correlative function. Consider the following cases:

(8) *xzìgən*ˈ *ʾáyya bráta šapìrtə ṯ-íla dmíxta kəsli.*ˈ 'Look at this beautiful girl, who has fallen asleep with me.' (A26:6)

(9) *ʾu-dɛréle rəš-d-ó-sela ṯ-íle núra xóθe xamìma.*ˈ 'They put it on the griddle, under which there is fire (and which is) hot.' (B6:47)

(10) *hat šmíṭle ʾɛ-sála t-wéwa zqìrəlla.*ˈ 'Until the basket which he had woven was shattered.' (A20:4)

In (8) the speaker deixis demonstrative is ostensive and points to the referent in the speech situation, the relative clause supplying an additional description of the girl, which is not essential for identifying the referent of the noun. In (9) and (10), already considered above, the head noun

has been mentioned previously and there are no competing referents in the context. The default demonstratives, therefore, can be interpreted as binding the noun anaphorically to the preceding context. Since, however, in both cases the relative clauses are low in informativeness and recapitulate information that has already been given, it can be said that they play a role of refreshing the identification of the head noun, especially since the head nouns have no other attributes that assist in identification. The demonstratives would, therefore, have some kind of anaphoric relationship also with the relative clause as well as with the mention of the noun in the preceding context.

In (11) the head noun has the demonstrative + indefinite article construction (*ʾan-xa*), which links the noun anaphorically with an earlier conversation in the memory of the interlocutor (§14.3.5.). The relative is non-restrictive, since the noun refers to the entire class and does not extract a sub-set of 'washing-boards' that is in contrast to another sub-set. As in (9) and (10), the content of the relative clause is recapitulatory in nature and is intended to assist refreshing the identification of the referent:

(11) *qəm-qaṭlíle b-xaṭoryàθa,*ˈ *ʾan-xá xaṭoryáθa ṯ̂-ínwa màrəllux*ˈ *másiˈ jùlle bíya.*ˈ 'They killed him with washing-boards, the washing-boards which I was telling you they used to wash clothes with.' (B19:9)

The head of a non-restrictive relative may be an adverbial expression, as in constructions such as (12) and (13):

(12) *ʾádyo ṯ̂-íla mìθta,*ˈ *hótu pšàma ʾálla díya.*ˈ 'Today, when it has died, you are sad about it.' (A5:10)

(13) *dìya*ˈ *t-xzéle málka dúnye ráya pàṛe*ˈ *zawn-šlàmɛ́le.*ˈ 'Now that the king has seen it raining lambs, it is the time of peace.' (A1:26)

A non-restrictive relative clause sometimes has the form of a nominal relative clause, with a pronominal head, placed in apposition to the antecedent noun, e.g.

(14) *ʾína bráta d-o-Xáno Lapzèrin,*ˈ *d-o-t-wéwa bánya Dəmdàma,*ˈ *bă̆yáwa ta-brōn-màlka.*ˈ 'But the daughter of that Xano the Golden Hand, who had built Dəmdəma, loved the son of the king.' (A11:17)

(15) *ʾáθyɛle ʾo-gàwṛa díya,*ˈ *ʾo-t-wéwa mùθyəlla.*ˈ 'That husband of hers came back, the one who had brought her.' (A12:53)

(16) *mára ṭla-xuláme dìye*ˈ *ʾo-t-wéwa ʾáθya mən-ṣèda*ˈ ‘He said to his servant, who had come from the hunt’ (A25:54)

(17) *m-yəmmin šmítəlla ʾáyya,*ˈ *m-bnōn-mámi ʾan-t-wéwa gòṛe.*ˈ ‘I heard this from my mother, from my cousins, who were older.’ (B8:5)

These types of construction typically occur where the referent of the head noun is unambiguously identifiable due to the noun being a proper noun (15) or a noun that is delimited by a pronominal suffix (16–17). The head noun is, therefore, not dependent on the relative clause either for primary identification (restrictive) or for a refreshment of identification as in (9) and (10) described above. The relative clause, therefore, can be said to be pragmatically more independent from the head nominal than is the case with restrictive constructions and constructions such as (9) and (10). This greater degree of pragmatic independence is reflected by a greater degree of syntactic independence, in that the nominal relative is potentially a free-standing item, which is in apposition to the preceding noun. An attributive relative clause without this opening demonstrative, on the other hand, is a dependent modifier and is linked indissolubly to the antecedent noun.

Note that in (14) and (15) the antecedent noun has a demonstrative, which refers anaphorically to the preceding context. In (14) the genitive particle that is attached to the head noun (*d-o-Xáno Lapzèrin*) is repeated on the appositive relative phrase (*d-o-t-wéwa bánya Dəmdəma*). For this phenomenon in other appositional constructions see §14.7.

In (18) an appositive type of non-restrictive relative clause follows a head noun whose referent is a generic class and so is assumed to be identifiable:

(18) *béna ʾíθ linyàθa,*ˈ *lìne,*ˈ *linyáθa ʾan-ṭ̂-íla ʾàxðar.*ˈ ‘There were pots, pots, pots, which are green.’ (B10:75)

In some cases clauses expressing supplementary background information which could be translated idiomatically into English by a non-restrictive relative clauses are presented as an independent clause juxtaposed asyndetically after a definite noun, e.g.

(19) *ṣléla yómət trè*ˈ *ʾal-fằqih,*ˈ *ʾítle dəkkàna.*ˈ ‘She went down the next day to the jurist, who had a shop.’ (A22:16)

(20) *módi bəd-manáyə d-áyya ṭàsa*ˈ *dàwa,*ˈ *šqilálən m-àxxa,*ˈ *nəblálən gu-d-yáha dɛ̀rta?*ˈ ‘What about the meaning of that golden bowl, which we took from here and took away to that house enclosure?’ (A15:17)

19.1.1.2. *Indefinite Head Nominal*

When the head nominal is indefinite, an attributive relative clause may be syndetic or asyndetic.

(i) *Restrictive Clauses*

When the relative clause after an indefinite head noun is restrictive, the construction is usually syndetic. Only an indefinite noun with a non-specific referent can have a restrictive relative clause. The restrictive relative clause does not assist in identification of the referent, since indefinite nominal phrases in principle have an unidentified referent. Rather the clause narrows the extension of the set denoted by the noun. In many cases the indefinite noun has a universal quantifier (*kut, kull*). The verb in the relative clause is either in a realis form (1–3) or in an irrealis form (4–6):

(1) *kú-dukə t̂-íla mɛθə̀tlali.*ˡ 'Bring her to me wherever she is.' (A4:8)
(2) *xáðrəx xázexi xa-nàša*ˡ *t̂-íle palàxa*ˡ *ʾu-t-yáxla ʾə́lle dìye.*ˡ 'Let's look and find a man who is a hard worker and give her to him.' (A21:3)
(3) *kú-məndi t̂-ítley t-yáwi ʾə̀llux.*ˡ 'They will give you everything that they have.' (B7:7)
(4) *ku-nášət ʾàwəɣ,*ˡ *ku-xayúθət ʾáwər gu-d-ay-wàdi*ˡ *ʾánna šəkwáne t̂-axlìla.*ˡ 'Any person who enters, every living thing that enters in this valley, the ants will eat it.' (A14:55)
(5) *hátxa xazə̀xwale*ˡ *ku-dùkθa t̂-awéwa.*ˡ 'We would see him wherever he could be.' (B9:29)
(6) *kúl-naša t̂-awéle xa-bròna,*ˡ . . . *ʾi-nablíle l-ʾùmra.*ˡ 'Anybody who has a son, . . . they take him to the church.' (B6:35)

The difference between the constructions with the realis form and those with the irrealis form relates to commitment of the speaker to the existence of the class denoted by the nominal phrase. As remarked, in all cases the nominal has a non-specific referent. When the realis is used, the speaker is committed to the existence of at least one referent in the class denoted by the phrase, although he is not referring to one particular member of this class. In (1) the speaker is committed to the existence 'a place where she is', i.e. that there is some place where she is to be found. In (2) the implication is that there is some man who is a hard worker, though the speaker is not referring to anyone particular in this class. In (3) the implication is that the people in question have some possessions that they can give. When, on the other hand, the irrealis is used, the speaker is not committed to the existence of any referent in the class. The existence

of such a referent is only hypothetical and the class may be empty.[1] In (4) the speaker is not committed to the existence of a person who enters the valley, but presents it as a hypothetical possibility. It is, therefore, equivalent to the hypothetical conditional construction 'If a person were to enter…'. In (5) the speakers are not committed to the existence of any place where the man in question is to be found, i.e. he has disappeared. In (6) the speaker presents the birth of a son to a person as a possibility (= If somebody has a son…) rather than a certainty (= When somebody has a son…). It is presented as a hypothetical case with regard to one representative individual of the set.

It should be noted that in some cases, particularly in subordinate clauses, the *qaṭə́l* or *qaṭə́lwa* forms are used in a habitual indicative sense and so are not formally distinguished from their irrealis usage (§15.1.1.3., §15.1.2.2.). The realis or the irrealis meaning of the verb in the relative clause must, therefore, be deduced from the context. In a construction such as (7), for example, where there is an explicit statement of the existence of referents of the class, the verb must be interpreted as realis:

(7) *ʾíθwa baxtáθa t-yə́ðə̀i t-yàpi.*[1] 'There were women who knew how to bake.' (B5:16)

The use of the realis copula in the relative clause modifier of the predicative noun in (8) commits the speaker to the fact that the person was a good man who brought the coins. What he is denying is that he became such a man of his own accord:

(8) *lɛ́t-ʾáti wíya xoš-náša t̂-it-múθyəlla ʾánna zùze.*[1] *záwna wíyɛle t-šlàma*[1] *ʾápati píšlux nášət šlàma.*[1] 'You have not become a good man who has brought those coins. Time became one of peace and so also you became a man of peace.' (A2:26)

A *t̂-* prefix attached to an initial /ʾ/ verb that has a future sense could, in principle, be interpreted as the future verbal prefix or the relative particle, e.g.

(9) *ku-bɛ́θa t̂-àzeti*[1] *ʾáni t-yawìlux.*[1] 'Every home that you go to will give you something.' (B7:7)

[1] This may be compared to the use of the subjunctive in relative clauses in Romance languages such as French (cf. Kleiber 1987: 69–75).

(10) *ṯ-áwðət b-xàbri,ˈ kú-məndi ṯ-amrənnux?ˈ* 'Will you act on my word, everything that I tell you?' (A15:5)

Occasionally the relative particle is omitted before a restrictive relative clause that modifies an indefinite head noun, e.g.

(11) *kút-dukθa ʾáza ʾàwraˈ ʾáp ya-xéta bàra lázəm háwya.ˈ* 'Every place that she goes to and enters, the other has to follow after her.' (B12:2)
(12) *kút-dana sanqìwa,ˈ ʾu-šaqlíwa mən-d-ɛ-tŭ̆tun.ˈ* 'Whenever they needed it, they took some of that tobacco.' (B7:18)
(13) *xá-naša l-xóðe lítle la-bába la-yə́mma la-ʾàp-xa,ˈ ʾáw y-amrìleˈ lìtle náše.ˈ* 'A man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody, they say that he has no relatives.' (A17:17)
(14) *ku-brónət bə́r-naša ʾáθe l-d-áy jăzíra qamàye,ˈ ʾáwwa ṯ-áwe málka diyèxu.ˈ* 'Whichever person comes to the island first, he will be your king.' (A14:46)

In some cases such an asyndetic clause occurs after a class term in predicative position, e.g.

(15) *mɛjíwale gu-míya šaxìne,ˈ pɛšíwa dàwweˈ y-oðíwa bušàla bíya díya,ˈ ʾu-ḳótəl dàwke bíya díya.ˈ* 'They crushed it in hot water and it became yoghurt water, with which they would make stew and yoghurt pasties.' (B7:23)

(ii) *Non-Restrictive Clauses*

Unlike restrictive relative clauses, non-restrictive relative clauses may occur both after indefinite nouns with specific referents and also after those with non-specific referents.

In the text corpus there are numerous occurrences of indefinite nouns with a specific referent followed by a clause that can be rendered into English by a non-restrictive relative clause. In such constructions the non-restrictive clause is, in principle, juxtaposed asyndetically to the noun, e.g.

(1) *ʾìθwaˈ xa-ràbbən,ˈ tíwɛwa gu-xa-gəppìθa.ˈ* 'There was once a monk who lived in a cave.' (A15:1)
(2) *ʾíθwa xa-nàšaˈ gu-ða-màθa,ˈ rába rába duglàna-wewa.ˈ* 'There was a man in a village who was a great liar.' (A48:1)
(3) *ʾíθwa xa-gə́ppa gáwe díye ʾàrbi hambišáye.ˈ* 'There was a cave in which there were forty giants.' (A24:54)

(4) *ʾíθwa xa-bustàna,*ˈ *ʾíθwa xabùše gáwa.*ˈ ‘There was a garden, in which there were apples.’ (A24:24)
(5) *ʾíθwa xa-ʾáġa gu-Bɛ̀rwər,*ˈ *šə́mme Rašȉd-bek.*ˈ ‘There was an agha in Barwar whose name was Rašid Bek.’ (B19:1)
(6) *qəm-xazéle xa-nàša*ˈ *mìθa*ˈ *nabóləlle mṭamòrəlle.*ˈ ‘He saw a dead person, whom they were taking to bury.’ (A17:1)
(7) *hon-dáryəlle gu-xa-čále ʾamúqta lá-ʾaməṣ čù-ga čú-ga pàləṭ.*ˈ ‘I put him in a deep hole from which he could never come out.’ (A22:41)
(8) *ʾína hóla xá-qaɣəmθa kθíwta tàma,*ˈ *málka Šlémun kθìwəlla.*ˈ ‘They found there an inscribed monument, which king Solomon had written.’ (A14:55)
(9) *šqíltɛla xa-čánta hátxa ṃlìθɛla.*ˈ ‘She took a basket that was full like this.’ (A22:13)
(10) *hón mquwálta m-xa-tèla*ˈ *qəm-xaláṣli m-nàmra.*ˈ ‘I have given a promise to a fox who has saved me from a tiger.’ (A47:7)

In the light of this pattern of construction, the *ṯ-* particle on the verb in (11) is best identified not as the relative particle but rather as a reduced form of *bəd-* in a *bəd-qaṭəlwa* functioning as a sequential habitual (§15.1.6.3.):

(11) *ʾíθ xá ṭawálta xéta ṯ-amríwala ʾòrṭa.*ˈ ‘There is another game, which is called *ʾoṛta*.’ (B11:25)

If the non-restrictive relative clause is a copula clause, the copula is sometimes omitted, which is a reflection of the semantic dependence of the clause on what precedes (§17.6.1.), e.g.

(12) *hóle θéle xa-nàša,*ˈ *rába qále basìma.*ˈ ‘A man has come, whose voice is very beautiful.’ (A25:46)

19.1.1.3. *Synopsis of Attributive Relative Structures*
The predominant trends in the distribution of the various attributive relative structures may be summarized as follows, where AN = Antecedent Noun, S = relative clause, *D* = relative particle:

(i) AN—*D*—S

Definite AN+ restrictive S
Definite AN + non-restrictive S
Indefinite AN + restrictive S

(ii) AN—*ʾo-D*—S

Definite AN + non-restrictive S

(iii) AN—S (asyndetic)

Indefinite AN + non-restrictive S
Indefinite AN + restrictive S
Definite AN + non-restrictive S

It can be seen that connection with *D* (i) and asyndetic connection (iii) are used for both definite and indefinite antecedent nouns. A connection with a demonstrative pronoun *ʾo-D* (ii) is available only for structures with a definite antecedent. The tendency to use a synthetic connection with *D* as opposed to an asyndetic connection depends on the definiteness of the antecedent and on the restrictiveness of the relative. There is a greater tendency to use the synthetic connection with the antecedent when it is definite than when it is indefinite and there is a greater tendency to do so when the relative is restrictive than when it is non-restrictive. These tendencies may be represented thus:

Definite > Indefinite
Restrictive > Non-restrictive

The operation of these tendencies results in the fact that the synthetic connection may be used with an indefinite antecedent, but this is limited to restrictive relatives. With definite antecedents, on the other hand, the synthetic connection has a wider distribution and may be used also with non-restrictive relatives. The appositional type of connection with *ʾo-D* is available only for non-restrictive relatives with a definite antecedent. The distribution of the various connection strategies may be represented in the following table, in which the line running to the right of an item (——|) indicates the extent of the distribution of this item:

	Restrictive > Non-restrictive
Definite AN:	*D*——————————|*ʾo-D* | *Ø* |
Indefinite AN:	*D*—| *Ø*———————————— |

From a comparative point of view, it is worth noting that the appositional type of relative clause with *ʾo-D* has a wider distribution in some NENA

dialects. In J. Arbel, for example, this type of structure is frequently used to express restrictive as well as non-restrictive relatives, e.g.

(1) *ḥéleq ʾo-t-la-yàlwa,*ˡ *ʾìtwa našé xeṭíwa ta-ġér našé.*ˡ 'Anyone who did not know (how to sew)—there were people who sewed for others.' (Khan 1999: 387)
(2) *kré ʾo-t-lošìlu*ˡ 'The suits that they wear' (Khan 1999: 388)
(3) *ʾiyyá məndixanòx ʾo-t-mírox baqí.*ˡ 'Here are the things of yours that you asked me for.' (Khan 1999:388)

The situation in C. Barwar, in which the appositional construction is restricted to non-restrictive relatives may be regarded as typologically more archaic. As remarked above, the looser syntactic connection of the appositive nominal relative corresponds iconically to the looser pragmatic connection of the non-restrictive relative to the antecedent noun. In J. Arbel the apposition construction has been generalized from non-restrictive to restrictive clauses. This has come about, no doubt, due to the aforementioned lack of clear pragmatic dichotomy between the two types of relatives.

19.1.2. *Nominal relative clauses*

Relative clauses that do not modify a head nominal but are themselves referential expressions with the status of a nominal can be classified as follows.

19.1.2.1. *Demonstrative Pronoun as Head*

A nominal relative clause that contains the relative particle *D* in principle must have some kind of pronominal head. The particle *D* itself, although historically a pronoun in origin, no longer functions as a pronoun and cannot act as the head of the relative clause. Nominal relative clauses often take pronominal heads in the form of an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun placed before the *D* particle. This is usually the default series of demonstratives, though occasionally speaker deixis demonstratives are used in this way. The anaphoric pronoun refers proleptically to the referent described in the relative clause and is not dependent on mention in the preceding context. All such constructions are restrictive relatives:

(1) *ʾo-ṯ̂-íle plíxa ʾàw bṯ̂-áxəl.*ˡ 'He who has worked will eat.' (A21:15)
(2) *ʾó-ṯ̂ là páləx*ˡ *lè y-áxəl.*ˡ 'He who does not work will not eat.' (A21:13)

(3) *ʾo-t-ṭáyən nàše,*| *ṭáyən màndi,*| *ʾáw y-amríle ḥammàla.*| 'Somebody who carries people, carries something, he is called a porter.' (A22:36)
(4) *ʾo-t̂-ítle dawèra*| *máṣle dawère.*| 'Whoever had a pack animal, would bring down his pack animal.' (B5:120)
(5) *ʾa-t̂-ìla ṭláli*| *ʾawðánna trè-qəsme.*| 'The one that is for me I'll divide into two parts.' (A21:28)
(6) *ʾan-t̂-íla qam-tắra t̂-áθi gawàye.*| 'The ones that are outside come inside.' (B11:9)
(7) *ràbbən*| *ʾáwwa t̂-i-sàxəð l-ʾálaha*| *ʾu-t̂-i-mṣàle-u*| *lé-y-ʾaxəl bàsra-w*| 'A monk (is) somebody who worships God, who prays and does not eat meat.' (A15:4)
(8) *ʾánna t̂-íla gawàye*| *plíṭela qam-gùtta.*| 'The ones who are inside went out after the ball.' (B11:11)
(9) *ʾánna kúlla t-wiðìli qámux*| *ðìlux módila?*| 'All these things that I have done in front of you—do you know what they are?' (A23:20)

In (10) the pronominal head is combined with a partitive expression:

(10) *ʾo-mənnéxu t-dàqər*| *b-Mắmo,*| *m-áxxa hál qaṣrət-mìra*| *t̂-oðáxle dəmma.*| 'Whoever of you touches Mămo, we shall scatter his blood from here until the palace of the prince.' (A26:68)

19.1.2.2. *Indefinite Pronoun as Head*
The cardinal particle *xa* may be used as an indefinite pronoun at the head of a relative clause. In such cases it generally refers to a human referent ('anybody', 'somebody'). As is the norm with indefinite antecedents, the construction is syndetic if the referent is non-specific (1) but asyndetic if it has a specific referent (2)–(3):

(1) *léle šwíqa xá t-xayáple ʾímət màyəθ.*| 'He has not left anybody who would wash him when he dies.' (D2:77)
(2) *ʾíθwa xá Pətto-wewa šə́mme.*| 'There was somebody whose name was Pətto' (B19:5)
(3) *ʾíθwa xa-honàna-wewa.*| 'There was a person who was wise.' (A14:8)

In a similar manner, the quantifier *raba* can be used pronominally as an indefinite head, as in (4):

(4) *ʾíθwa rába ʾi-zăríwala čèri.*ˡ 'There were many who sowed it in Autumn.' (B5:15)

19.1.2.3. *Quantifier* kut *as Head*

A nominal relative may be introduced by the quantifier *kut*, which has generic reference ('whoever…'). This is derived historically from the phrase **kul-xa-d* < **kull-ḥaḏ-d* 'each one that', which contains both the head of the relative clause **ḥaḏ* 'one' and also the relative particle:

(1) *kùt la-páləx*ˡ *gu-d-áwwa bèθa*ˡ *ʾixála lè y-áxəl.*ˡ 'Whoever does not work in this house will not eat food.' (A21:13)
(2) *kút ʾáθe gu-ʾúpra dìyi*ˡ *lázəm ʾáwəð ʾaskarìya.*ˡ 'Whoever comes to my land, must serve in the army.' (A17:22)
(3) *kút maṭéwa qamáya jàldəlle*ˡ *mɛθèwale.*ˡ 'Whoever was the quickest and reached it first would bring it back.' (B5:154)
(4) *kút šaqàlwale*ˡ *ʾaw-qrìmwale.*ˡ 'Whoever picked it up would win.' (B15:33)
(5) *kúṯ-ile ferə́ssa ʾáθe ʾàxxane.*ˡ 'Whoever is a warrior, let him come here.' (A29:59)
(6) *kut-bə̌yət*ˡ *t-yánnəx ʾə́lle dìye.*ˡ 'Whoever you love, I'll give you to him.' (A26:88)
(7) *kut-mɛ́θela ʾána t-yánne zùze.*ˡ 'Whoever brings her back, I'll give money to him.' (A27:30)
(8) *ʾalpá-dáwe bəd-yáwəl ṭla-kút ʾamə́rre mòdile xálme.*ˡ 'He will give a thousand gold pieces to whomsoever tells him what his dream is.' (A1:12)
(9) *ʾu-sáprət kuṯ-áθe làxxa.*ˡ 'Wait for whoever comes here.' (A22:23)

In (10) a nominal relative is used independently in a street call:

(10) *qréli hátxa kut-záwən tàwra?*ˡ 'I cried out like this "(Is there) anybody who will buy an ox?"' (A22:7)

19.1.2.4. *Interrogative Particle as Head*

A relative clause can be introduced by the interrogative particle *mo/modi* 'what'. When linked to a following relative clause, this produces a nominal phrase that refers to a class of entities. In a similar type of structure, the head of the clause may be an adverbial interrogative, such as *ʾɛ́ka* 'Where?,' which forms subordinate clauses with an adverbial function. Relative clauses with interrogative particles as heads often have a generic reference ('whoever, whatever, wherever, etc.), especially when they are placed at the beginning of the sentence.

(i) *mo/modi*

(1) *mo-bṯ-amrálux bṯ-àwðət.*ˡ 'You must do what she says.' (A8:92)
(2) *mšaróyela kθàwa*ˡ *bɛθwáθət nàše*ˡ *ʾu-mo-ṯ-itlèy.*ˡ 'They start registering the houses of people and what they have' (B1:16)

When such relative phrases are in clause initial position, they are sometimes resumed by a correlative element. In (3) and (4) this is the anaphoric adverbial *hadəx*. In (5) the correlative has the form of another interrogative pronoun:

(3) *màlka*ˡ *mo-ṯ-ámərrey ṯ-óði hàdəx.*ˡ 'Whatever the king tells them they should do.' (A8:9)
(4) *mo-ṯ-ámrət wúð hàdəx.*ˡ 'Do whatever you think best (literally: you say).' (A8:17)
(5) *módit snìqa*ˡ *mo-ṯ-óðəxxa ṭlàlux.*ˡ 'Whatever you want, (that is) what we shall do for you.' (A6:9)

In (1) and (5) the construction is asyndetic whereas in (2) it is syndetic. When the verb in the relative clause is an initial /ʾ/ verb used in a future sense, as in (3), (4) and the second phrase of (5), the status of the *ṯ-* is ambiguous, in that it may be interpreted either as the relative particle or the future particle.

Similar inclusive classes of entities can be expressed with relative phrases introduced by the word *məndi* 'thing', which is often combined with the universal quantifier *ku-* 'every'. These constructions are either synthetic or asyndetic, e.g.

(6) *ʾu-məndi-t pàyəšˡ ʾaṣárta xa-rámša xùlle.*ˡ 'Whatever is left eat in the evening for dinner.' (A42:4)
(7) *kú-məndi-t bă̆yət wùdli.*ˡ 'Do to me whatever you want.' (A25:14)
(8) *ku-məndi bă̆yi xoš-ʾòði.*ˡ 'They may do whatever they want.' (A14:46)
(9) *mɛθíwa lə̀xma*ˡ *yán bàsra,*ˡ *yán ku-mət-ʾìle.*ˡ 'They would bring bread or meat, or whatever there was.' (B15:87)

(ii) *ʾɛka*

The attested examples of this include both synthetic constructions with the *D* subordinator and also asyndetic ones without this particle, e.g.

(1) *gu-d-ɛ-dàna,*ˡ *ʾékɛyɛwa mùṯye*ˡ *pə́lgət yòma*ˡ *táma y-axlíwa kùlla.*ˡ 'At that time, wherever they had got to, at midday they all ate.' (B5:62)

(2) *ʾéka ṣàṭqa*ˈ *tàma zăréti.*ˈ 'Wherever it (the dog) squats, there you should cultivate.' (A30:4)
(3) *y-azíwa nablìwale*ˈ *l-šaqìθa*ˈ *yán l-hàmmam,*ˈ *ʾékət ʾile.*ˈ 'They went and took him to a channel or a wash house, wherever it was.' (B15:74)

A similar sense is expressed by relative clauses headed by the phrase *ku-dana* 'every time, any time':

(4) *ku-dána sànqət,*ˈ *maqðətla,*ˈ *ʾána ṯ-áθyən làxxa.*ˈ 'Whenever you need (me), burn them and I shall come here' (A24:49)

19.1.2.5. *No Head*
Nominal relatives with no explicit syntactic expression of the head are mainly found either after existential particles or in naming constructions with the verb *ʾmr.* In all cases the zero head has the sense of an indefinite pronoun with a specific referent ('some', 'something') and the relative clause is non-restrictive. In most cases the relative clause is asyndetic and is not introduced by the particle:

(i) *Existential Constructions*
These mainly refer to plural groups:

(1) *ʾíθwa zamríwa diwàne.*ˈ 'There were some who would sing *diwane*.' (B5:11)
(2) *ʾíθwa băyɛ́wa dɛrɛ́wa gə̀lla gáwa.*ˈ 'There were some who liked to put herbs in it.' (B5:167)
(3) *ʾíθwa gu-ʾáθṛa har-šulέy ʾàwwɛwa.*ˈ 'There were some in the country whose job was (to do) this.' (B5:168)

In (4) and (5) the referent is singular:

(4) *ʾíθ pálṭa zùrta.*ˈ *ʾɛ-zúrta ʾáy zadìwala.*ˈ 'There was something (of the tobacco) that came out (as) small (pieces). This small stuff—they threw that away.' (B7:17)
(5) *ʾáw brōn-málka rába šapìrɛle*ˈ *ʾu-hawnànɛle,*ˈ *ʾína ʾíθ ʾax-díye ʾáp-ay šapírta-w hawnánta brátət málkət maʾàrwa ṯ-ámrəx.*ˈ 'That son of a king is very good-looking and clever, but there is someone who is good-looking and clever like him, the daughter of the king of the West, let's say (i.e. we shall give her this name for the sake of the story).' (A4:3)

In (6) the relative clause is syndetic, with the particle *D*:

(6) *ʾíθwa ṯ-iwéwa ṣálye ḥabbanìyya*| *. . . múθye makàyən.*| 'There were some who had gone down to Ḥabbaniyya . . . and brought back machines.' (B10: 45)

(ii) *Naming Constructions*
The name of the item in question takes the nuclear stress and is placed either in the default position after the verb or is fronted before the verb to give it added prominence:

(1) *dɛrέwa ṯ-amrə́xxa guttàθa.*| 'They put (on it) what we call "balls."' (B5:39)
(2) *béna náše y-áwa múθye táma halbát ṯ-amrə́xxe kàde.*| 'People would have brought there what we call *kade*.' (B5:59)
(3) *ʾánna ʾíla prìsta y-amrúwala ʾé-ga.*| 'These things are what were called at that time "a spread."' (B5:201)
(4) *ʾíθwa hambišàye y-amrə́xla.*| 'There were what we call "giants."' (A24:54)

If the asyndetic relative phrase is the complement of a preposition, the preposition remains on the noun it relates to, even when this noun is not at the front of the phrase, e.g.

(5) *kút-xa y-áwe gu-bὲθe*| *ʾu-heywáne y-áwa mə́nne dìye,*| *har-gu-gòma y-amrə́xxe.*| 'Everybody is in his home and his animals are with him, in what we call "the basement stable."' (B5:116)
(6) *ʾáw ʾo-ṯ-ítle qàmxa*| *nabə́lle ṯ-ámrəx l-tanùra.*| 'Somebody who has flour takes it to what we call the oven.' (B5:117)

When the item that is named has been mentioned previously and is definite, it takes a demonstrative pronoun as the head of the relative phrase, e.g.

(7) *qa-t-lá-ṣala míya gàwe*| *d-ó ṯ-ámrəx huðàla.*| 'so that the water does not go down into what we call a fodder stack.' (B5:114)

(iii) *Other Cases*
Asyndetic nominal relatives are sporadically found in other contexts, e.g.

(1) *gu-máθa θéla mṭéla l-be-ʾabònɛwa.*| 'They came to the village and went to what was the house of the bishop.' (B1:17)

(2) *Bə́lbəl Hazàr*| *ʾíle múθyəlla lèle ʾúrza.*| ‘Bəlbəl Hazar—the one who brought her who was not a man.’ (A8:84)

19.1.3. *The Internal Structure of Relative Clauses*

In syndetic relative clauses, which open with the particle *D*, the enclitic copula is regularly attached to the particle. Ample illustration of this can be found among the examples that are cited above. The copula is always in its enclitic form. The emphatic copula is avoided in this syntactic context (§15.3.3.). The phenomenon whereby the copula is attached to the relative particle can be linked to the practice of moving the copula onto prominent items in main clauses (§15.4.1.4.1., §17.1.1.2.). The item may be a prominent focus of new information or may be topically prominent, in that it is the central concern of the speaker. In relative clauses it is the latter type of prominence that is involved. The referent of the antecedent noun, represented by the *D* particle in the embedded clause, is the main topical concern of the clause.

On some occasions the copula bears the nuclear stress of the intonation group, e.g.

(1) *ʾu-díṛɛle ṣə́lyɛle rəš-d-è-ʾɛna,*| *ʾɛ-ʾéna ṯ-ìle ʾə́θya qamáye réša.*| ‘He went back down to the spring, the spring to which he had come previously.’ (A26:32)
(2) *ʾó-yōm ṯ-ìle plíṭa*| *bróne díye mìθɛle.*| ‘The day that he went out, his son died.’ (A4:32)

If the relative clause is asyndetic, on the other hand, the copula is not placed in initial position. In the attested examples of these constructions, the copula is normally either attached to the predicate, e.g. §19.1.1.2. ii (1, 2, 8, 9), §19.1.2.2. (2, 3), or is omitted, e.g. §19.1.1.2. ii (5). An exceptional case is (3), in which the copula is placed at the front of the clause, as in syndetic constructions:

(3) *hadíya mtánənnux ða-qəṣṣə̀tta*| *tunìθa*| *ʾíle šə́mma dìya*| *tála ʾu-làqləq.*| ‘Now I shall tell a story, a story whose name is “The fox and the stork.”’ (A45)

When a syndetic relative clause contains a verb, this is regularly placed immediately after the relative particle *D*, with a subject or any other constituent following it, e.g.

(4) *ʾé-dān ṯ̂-áθya kʷàlo,ˈ yawíwala màšxa.*ˈ 'When (literally: at the time that) the bride came, they would give her oil.' (B8:32)
(5) *ʾo-mənnéxu t-dàqərˈ b-Mə̀moˈ* 'whoever of you touches Mămo…' (A26:68)

When the referent of a definite antecedent noun has the role of direct object in the relative clause it is resumed by a pronominal object pronoun, whether the clause is restrictive or non-restrictive, e.g.

(6) *ʾé-bratət malušíwala jùlleˈ ṯ̂-oðíwala ʾax-kàlo.*ˈ 'They made the girl whom they dressed in clothes like a bride.' (B7:2)
(7) *mára ṭla-Ẑîne,ˈ t-bə̆yéla Mə̀moˈ* 'He said to Zine, whom Mămo loved' (A26:64)

The resumptive pronoun may be in a clause embedded within the relative clause, e.g.

(8) *ʾé-baxta ṯ̂-àθyaˈ bə̆́yən gawrənnaˈ lázəm mtanyáli ða-qəṣṣàtta.*ˈ 'The woman who comes and I shall marry must tell me a story.' (A36:1)

In the relative clause of (9) the clause embedded under the verb *bə̆yət* 'you want' that would have contained the resumptive pronoun has been elided:

(9) *šədla,ˈ gu-d-a-ʾə́ra t-bə̆́yət mattə̀tle.*ˈ 'The sapling—you put it in the land that you want (to put it in).' (B5:103)

When the antecedent noun is indefinite with a non-specific referent and the relative clause is restrictive, there is generally no resumptive pronominal direct object, e.g.

(10) *hálli xá-məndi ṯ̂-àxlən.*ˈ 'Give me something to eat (literally: that I may eat).' (A26:57)
(11) *kú-mdit t-yáwəl ṭlàluxˈ ʾáp ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl trè.*ˈ 'Everything that he gives to you, he will give also to your neighbour, twofold.' (A3:4)
(12) *kú-məndit bə̆́yət,ˈ módi mərə́d lə̀bbuxˈ ṯ̂-oðànne!*ˈ 'Whatever you want, whatever your heart's desire is, I shall do it!' (A33:11)
(13) *ʾáwwa kú-mdit mṣawáθwa Čùxo,ˈ Čùxo,ˈ Čùxo.*ˈ 'Everything that he spoke (= on every occasion that he spoke) (people would say) Čuxo, Čuxo, Čuxo.' (A7:1)

When the interrogative pronoun *mo* 'what' functions as an indefinite pronoun at the head of a restrictive relative, there is likewise no resumptive object pronoun, e.g.

(14) *mo-t̂-ámrət wúð hàdəx.*ˈ 'Do whatever you say (= whatever you think best).' (A8:17)

When, on the other hand, an indefinite antecedent noun has a specific referent and the following clause is non-restrictive, a pronominal object suffix is used, e.g.

(15) *qəm-xazéle xa-nàša*ˈ *mìθa*ˈ *nabóləlle mṭamòrəlle.*ˈ 'He saw a dead person, whom they were taking to bury.' (A17:1)
(16) *ʾína hóla xá-qayəmθa kθíwta tàma,*ˈ *málka Šlémun kθìwəlla.*ˈ 'They found there an inscribed monument, which king Solomon had written.' (A14:55)
(17) *ʾítlən xá-məndi bă̆yəx t̂-oðáxxe ṭlàləx.*ˈ 'We have something (in mind) which we want to do for you.' (A4:48)

This distribution of resumptive pronominal suffixes can be interpreted as reflecting the different syntactic status of restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. In restrictive clauses the head nominal, or at least the relative particle *D*, is treated as the direct object of the verb in the clause. Since indefinite objects in principle do not take object agreement suffixes (§15.13.2.2.), there is no resumptive agreement suffix on the verb. The occurrence of the pronominal suffix in non-restrictive clauses reflects the fact that they have the status of independent clauses. Since, on the other hand, definite direct objects in principle regularly co-occur with pronominal agreement suffixes, this distinction in structure is not reflected in the suffixes and the pronominal suffix occurs in both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses.

If the referent of the head nominal is the complement of a noun in the relative clause, it is obligatorily represented by a resumptive pronoun, e.g.

(18) *ʾíθwa xa-ʾáġa gu-Bɛ̀rwəṇ,*ˈ *šámme Rašĭd-bek.*ˈ 'There was an agha in Barwar whose name was Rašid Bek.' (B19:1)
(19) *ʾáxtu kúllɛxu c̆̀detu*ˈ *l-béθət màlka*ˈ *t̂-íla Gozáli ʾu-Nozáli gu-bēθ-dìye.*ˈ 'You are all invited to the house of the king, in whose house Gozali and Nozali are staying.' (A8:89)

When the antecedent noun has the syntactic relation of an adverbial in the relative clause that could be expressed without a preposition, there is generally no pronominal resumption when the clause is restrictive. This is the case with temporal adverbials (20–22) and the destination of verbs of movement (23) (§14.13.):

(20) *hál ʾo-yómət mèθən*ˡ *har-ʾúrxət ʾálaha dóqən b-ìði.*ˡ 'Until the day I die, I shall always keep to God's way.' (A15:21)
(21) *ʾé-gət ʾan-yomáθa ṯ-awéwa ràba séra*ˡ *…jămíwa kúlla ʾùrze,*ˡ *jwànqe.*ˡ 'On days when there was a lot of moonlight…all the men and youngsters gathered together.' (B11:3)
(22) *hót m-ó-yomə ṯ-íx ʾaxni-zíle ʾáti dáryəlle gu-zəndàna.*ˡ 'From the day that we went away you have held him in prison.' (A26:76)
(23) *ku-bέθa ṯ-àzeti*ˡ *ʾáni t-yawìlux*ˡ *là ṭarðílux.*ˡ 'Every home that you go to will give you something.' (B7:7)

If the role of the head in the relative clause would be normally expressed by a locative preposition in an independent clause, the preposition is sometimes still omitted when the clause is restrictive. This is found where the locative role would be expected to be expressed by the preposition *gu-*, *b-* or *mən-*, e.g.

(24) *hátxa xazəxwale*ˡ *ku-dùkθa ṯ-awéwa.*ˡ 'We would see him wherever he could be.' (B9:29)
(25) *xuláṣa ʾaláha mutəpqəlle gu-d-a-mðíta ṯ-íla ʾε-bráta d-o-màlka.*ˡ 'In the end God made him come across the town where the daughter of that king was.' (A4:11)
(26) *də-púš làxxa*ˡ *gu-d-ay-šwíθa t-wewa-dmíxa xònəx.*ˡ 'Stay here, in the bed in which your brother slept.' (A8:68)
(27) *hon-dáryəlle gu-xa-čále ʾamúqta lá-ʾaməṣ čù-ga čú-ga palәṭ.*ˡ 'I put him in a deep pit from which he could never come out.' (A22:41)

In some cases, however, the preposition is used in a restrictive relative clause with a pronominal suffix resuming the head, e.g.

(28) *ʾε-dértə zədyálux gáwa díya kúlla genàwela.*ˡ '(As for) the enclosure in which you threw it, they are all robbers.' (A15:18)
(29) *mṭéle gu-tắrət ʾó-bεθa ṯ-íla-wirta gàwe.*ˡ 'He reached the door of the house in which she had entered.' (A34:11)

(30) *ʾána ʾap-dìya| ʾáyya ʾúrxa ṯ̂-ín ʾána zála bíya dìya| lè-y manšə́nna hál yomət-màwθa.*| 'I shall not give up until the day I die the way I am following now.' (A21:35)

If the clause is non-restrictive, a preposition with resumptive pronoun is regularly used, e.g.

(31) *ʾíθwa xa-gə́ppa gáwe díye ʾàrbi hambišáye.*| 'There was a cave in which there were forty giants.' (A24:54)

A preposition is regularly used in all types of clauses if this is other than the locative prepositions *gu-* or *b-*, e.g.

(32) *dáryɛle ʾan-bă̱ṭaníye xoθa-díya t-wewa-dmíxa Gozáli rèša.*| 'He placed under her the blankets that Gozali had slept on.' (A8:69)

A resumptive pronoun may be in a clause embedded within the relative clause, e.g.

(33) *qəm-qaṭlíle b-xaṭoryàθa,| ʾan-xá xaṭoryáθa ṯ̂-ínwa màrəllux| másiˇ jùlle bíya.*| 'They killed him with washing-boards, the washing-boards which I was telling you they used to wash clothes with.' (B19:9)

When the head nominal has the function of locative adverbial in the relative clause, it is occasionally resumed by the adverb *tama*, e.g.

(34) *t-lá marăwàθɛle ʾo-márga| ṯ̂-it-súsux dáryəlle tàma?*| 'Is the meadow in which you have put your horse without owners?' (A25:60)
(35) *wíðɛle ʾa-dúkθa nišànqa,| ʾa-dúkθa t-wéwa ʾo-dídwa wíra tàma.*| 'He made a sign in that place, the place where the fly had entered.' (A11:10)

When the head nominal of a relative clause is a predicate in a clause with a 1st or 2nd person subject and the referent of the head nominal is the subject of the relative clause, the verb of the relative clause is inflected in the 1st or 2nd person, in agreement with the subject of the main clause, e.g.

(36) *ʾána ʾo-xà qáša| ṯ̂-ín ʾə́θya gu-Ṭ̂iyàre.*| 'I am that priest who came to the Ṭiyare.' (B17:15)
(37) *lɛt-ʾáti wíya xoš-náša ṯ̂-it-múθyəlla ʾánna zùze.*| 'You have not become a good man who has brought these coins.' (A1:26)

19.2. Indirect Questions

19.2.1. *Polar Question*

Indirect polar questions (i.e., yes—no questions) are asyndetic with no explicit syntactic marker, e.g.

(1) *xázəx máṣət ṯ-amrə́tli módin xázya b-xə̀lmi.*ˡ 'Let's see whether you can tell me what I saw in my dream.' (A1:7)
(2) *xə̀zən*ˡ *mə̀ṣən*ˡ *ṯ-óðən xa-čə̀ra.*ˡ 'I shall see whether I can find a solution.' (A33:6)

In (3) the indirect question is negated:

(3) *xázəx lá-mṣət mamṭə́tla ʾiθáθux hátxa ġðə̀ðe?*ˡ 'Let's see whether you can (literally: cannot) bring your hands together like this.' (A28:15)

If the indirect question consists of two alternatives, these may be presented asyndetically (4–5) or the second alternative may be introduced by the conditional particle *ʾən* (6), e.g.

(4) *ʾo-mə́ndi la-ðíle sùsa-wewa*ˡ *náša-wewa l-xə̀ṣe.*ˡ 'He did not know whether that thing was a horse or whether there was a man on its back.' (A29:21)
(5) *ʾáwwa táwrət wála lán-ðaʾa módi ʾáθya bìye,*ˡ *npílɛle b-ʾisə̀ra,*ˡ *ʾawwa xə̀-məndile qíθa bíye.*ˡ 'I don't know what has happened to that wild ox, whether it has fallen on a rock or whether a thing such as that has happened to him.' (A12:52)
(6) *lɛ́la ðáʾa módi brə̀ya,*ˡ *hadíya pɛ́ša kɛ̀pa*ˡ *ʾə́n la-pɛ́ša kɛ̀pa.*ˡ 'She did not know what was happening, whether she would now turn to stone or not turn to stone.' (A8:73)

In (7) the conditional particle introduces a second indirect question that is an expansion of the first rather than an alternative:

(7) *lɛ́ðən b-xə̆́yən*ˡ *ʾən-b-dɛ́ṛən t-xazə̀nnəx.*ˡ 'I do not know whether I shall live, whether I shall return and see you.' (A8:56)

The alternative question may be reduced to the negative particle *la* (*laʾa*). This is introduced by *lo* or *ʾən*, resulting in the forms *lo-la* and *ʾəlla* (< *ʾən-la*), e.g.

(8) *xázəx mhayríli lo-là'a.*| 'Let's see whether they will help me or not.' (A48:2)
(9) *'áw léðe čádrət bábe díyila 'əlla.*| 'He does not know whether it is his father's tent or not.' (A28:33)

19.2.2. *Questions Introduced by an Interrogative Particle*

Various subordinate clauses that are introduced by interrogative particles may be classified as indirect questions. These are embedded under verbs such as 'to know', 'to see', 'to show', 'to say' and 'to write', e.g.

(1) *yǎðət 'ékən dəryəlle?*| 'Do you know where I put him?' (A22:44)
(2) *lá maxzátle 'əlli 'éka pàlət?*| 'Won't you show me where it comes out?' (A24:38)
(3) *xáze mòdila qəṣṣət.*| 'He sees what the problem is.' (A22:43)
(4) *làn-ða'a mo-qaríwale.*| 'I do not know what they called him.' (A12:20)
(5) *ga-léðəx…'énila 'ùrxa.*| 'But we do not know…which is the road.' (A26:18)
(6) *'ína 'ána léyðən b-éni dána ṯ-àθe xúwwe.*| 'But I do not know at what time the snake will come.' (A24:39)
(7) *síqɛle l-bɛθ-qòra,*| *gu-qawràθa,*| *xáze 'énila qáwra xàθta.*| 'He went down to the cemetery and among the graves he saw which (of them) was a new grave.' (A25:89)
(8) *múr 'èni-mənnən*| *biš-šapìrtɛla.*| 'Say which of us is the most beautiful.' (A25:17)
(9) *xzi-kəmà ṯ-ázəl 'áwwa táwra.*| 'See how much this ox will go for.' (A22:1)
(10) *bǎyən t-yǎðən 'ána 'íman mèθena.*| 'I want to know when I shall die.' (A16:1)
(11) *léla kθìwe*| *'ímə ṯ-íle bənya.*| 'They have not written when it was built.' (B6:31)

If an indirect question clause that is introduced by an interrogative particle contains a subject nominal or independent subject pronoun, this is often placed before the particle, e.g.

(12) *'úp 'aláha la-yǎðe 'áti 'ìman mɛθéti.*| 'Even God does not know when you will die.' (A16:11)
(13) *'áw xzèle 'o-dídwa 'éka wìrre.*| 'He saw where the fly entered.' (A11:9)
(14) *'u-šákrəx šə́mmət márya 'álaha xázəx 'úrxa 'èkɛla.*| 'We shall pray to the Lord God that we may find where the road is.' (A26:17)

(15) *ʾən-lá galətli| róxux gu-mòdila| ʾu-dáx-it xyàʾa| ʾána xà-yoma káslux la-pɛ́šən.|*
'If you do not reveal to me in what your spirit lies and how you live, I shall not stay with you a single day longer.' (A12:40)

The subject may be raised and made the object of the main verb. This process is reflected by the pronominal object in (16) and (17) and the object agreement pronoun in (18):

(16) *ʾan-šŭrŭ̀ṭ| lázəm yăðátla mòdila.|* 'You should know what these conditions are.' (A24:10)
(17) *ʾéni ʾítlɛxu t-náše t-máṣi mšáwθi mànna| xazéla màṭola?|* 'What people do you have who can speak with her and find out how she is?' (A4:13)
(18) *ṯ̂-áθe t-yăðéla ʾánna mòdila| ʾu-módi lɛ̀la| xo-d-áwwa jùlla.|* 'He will come and will know what these are (Literally: what these are and are not) under this cloth.' (A25:49)

A constituent that does not have the role of subject is occasionally extraposed before the interrogative particle, e.g.

(19) *yába ṯ-ázəx xàzəx| ʾɛ-bratɛ́ni mà mánna.|* 'Let's go and see what has become of that daughter of ours.' (A21:25)

In (20) the embedded interrogative clause is introduced by the complementiser *qa-t*:

(20) *xzéwali qa-t-ʾó-fəlsa ʾéka npìlle.|* 'I saw where the coin fell.' (B15:34)

Interrogative particles are also used to express embedded exclamations, e.g.

(21) *xzi-kəmɛ́le lxìma!|* 'Look how fit he is!' (A15:13)
(22) *xzi-ʾánna yále kəmà šəṭránela!|* 'Look how beautiful the children are!' (A8:16)

Some speakers have the practice of introducing new information that is regarded as worthy of particular attention by an interrogative word, to which the new information supplies the answer. This question and answer structure may sometimes be blended together and put in the same intonation group, with the result that the whole construction is most easily interpreted as an assertion, e.g.

(23) *ʾáy y-ámri má dánət plíṭla qyàmta.*ˈ ‘What do they call this?—the time when the resurrection has come (= ‘They call this the time when the resurrection has come).’ (B5:54)

We should mention here a few isolated cases in which the interrogative particle *ʾɛni* is idiomatically translated as an indefinite pronoun or a relative particle. These appear to have arisen by a blend between an interrogative and another construction, e.g.

(24) *ʾànaˈ kut-dax-ṯ-íla bràti,*ˈ *bă̆yən ʾèni méθela.*ˈ ‘Whatever has happened to my daughter, I want somebody to bring her back (I want—who will bring her back?).’ (A27:18)

(25) *škíra šəmmux,*ˈ *márya ʾàlaha,*ˈ *ʾéni qəm-mɛθéli láxxa bíyi bə-b-sùsi.*ˈ ‘May your name be praised, Lord God, who have brought me here together with my horse (who has brought me?).’ (A26:22)

19.3. Subordinate Content Clauses

A variety of subordinate clauses that are embedded as components of a higher clause will be brought together in this section under the broad classification of ‘content clauses’. These function either as direct object complements of a verb or are governed by clausal conjunctions consisting of prepositions, adverbials and quantifiers. In a large proportion of cases these subordinate clauses are introduced by the subordinating particle *D*, though this is omitted in some circumstances. As is the case with relative clauses, in this type of subordinate clause the enclitic copula is regularly attached to the subordinating particle *D* at the front of the clause.

19.3.1. *Direct Irrealis Complement*

When a clause that is the direct complement of a verb expresses an event that is unrealized, its verb is in the *qaṭəl* or *qaṭəlwa* form. The clause may be juxtaposed asyndetically to the main verb or it may be connected to it by the subordinating particle *D*. Some aspects of these constructions have been described in §15.1.1.8. and §15.1.2.5. Here we shall restrict ourselves to some remarks concerning the word order attested in irrealis complement clauses of the text corpus.

When the complement clause contains a subject nominal, this is placed before the verb and before the subordinating particle *D*, if this is used:

(1) *bə̌yən ʾálaha t-yawálli móndi zàwda.*| 'I want God to give me something more.' (A3:1)
(2) *la-bə̌yən ʾáyya bráta ṭ-in-múθyəlla t-yə̌ðə qá-t ṭlíba díya hóle mìθa.*| 'I do not want this girl whom I have brought to know that her betrothed has died.' (A4:33)

A direct object nominal is placed in various positions. It is found after the verb of the complement clause, e.g.

(3) *bə̌yi ṭ-áxli xa-ràmša.*| 'They want to eat dinner.' (A2:2)
(4) *bə̌yən ṭalbánna brátux ṭla-xòni.*| 'I want to ask for the hand of your daughter for my brother.' (A32:11)

It is sometimes placed before the verb of the complement clause and the *D* particle but after the main verb. In such cases the object has topical status due to its connection with what precedes (5) or due to its being set up as a contrastive topic with another item in an adjacent clause (6):

(5) *ʾána bə̌yən ʾánna déwe maxànna.*| 'I want to attack these wolves.' (A14:52)
(6) *bə̌yən mànnux*| *hélma t-yáwət b-rèši*| *ʾu-be-máʿna ṭízux yawátle l-gùda.*| 'I want you to blow breath on me and—excuse me[2]—turn your bum to the wall.' (A25:12)

The object may also be fronted before the main verb. In the attested examples of this the object is the complement of the particle *ʾap* and has focal prominence, e.g.

(7) *ʾap-béθi bə̌yət ṣaṭmàtle?*| 'Do you want to destroy my house as well?' (A23:39)
(8) *ʾáp-xa la-qáblət ṭ-áwər gu-bèθa.*| 'You should not allow anybody to come into the house.' (A23:25)

In (9) an irrealis clause stands in apposition to a demonstrative pronoun that refers to the propositional content of the clause. The whole construction is presented in a single intonation group:

[2] Literally: without meaning.

(9) *le-y-bárya ʾáyya ʾo-šúla ʾoðəxle.*ˈ ‘This is not possible—we do such a thing (= it is not possible for us to do such a thing).’ (A8:10)

19.3.2. *Direct Factive Complement*

Direct complement clauses may also be of factual content. These are typically found as complements of verbs such as ‘to say’, ‘to know’, ‘to remember’, ‘to swear’, ‘to forget’. Various constructions are attested.

19.3.2.1. *Zero Marking*

The factive complement clause may be embedded under the verb without any marking of subordination. This is regularly the case after the verb ‘to say’ when the clause expresses reported speech and is frequently found also after other verbs, e.g.

(1) *hóla màra*ˈ *xzíθəlle xa-bronət-xà-malka.*ˈ ‘She says that she saw the son of a king.’ (A4:12)
(2) *ʾána hon-màra*ˈ *ʾáwwa rèši*ˈ *ṯ-áθe xá-yoma pràma*ˈ *bəd-ʾiθáθa dìyux.*ˈ ‘I say that this head of mine will one day be cut off by your hands.’ (A14:35)
(3) *lá-mərɛxu ʾáyya quṣárta hóla b-ʾùrxa?*ˈ ‘Did you not say that this cooking pot is on the way (to giving birth)?’ (A5:5)
(4) *ʾána lán-mirəllux be-bǎ̀xət-iwət.*ˈ *ʾu-lán-mira qaṭòlɛwət.*ˈ *ʾu-lán-mira xòš-našɛwət.*ˈ *ʾu-lán-mira lebànɛwət.*ˈ ‘I did not say that you are dishonest. I did not say that you are a murderer. I did not say that you are a good man. I did not say that you are a trickster.’ (A1:21)
(5) *yǎðána mbádla qaṭə́lli ʾaw-màlka.*ˈ ‘I know that the king will kill me in the morning.’ (A14:3)
(6) *ʾáw lèle ðíya málkɛle.*ˈ ‘He did not know that he was the king.’ (A4:31)
(7) *ʾáxči b-txárən hal-hadíya tre-ṭlá-gaye mamxə̀xwala gánən.*ˈ ‘But I remember until now that we would have ourselves tapped (on the head) two or three times.’ (B15:24)
(8) *ʾáni xášwi ʾáti ʾànən.*ˈ ‘They will think that you are me.’ (A7:18)

19.3.2.2. D

The clause may be introduced by the subordinator *D*, e.g.

(1) *ʾánna yǎ́ði ṯ-íle duglàna.*ˈ ‘They know that he is a liar.’ (A48:3)
(2) *ʾay-xá-yoma har-t-yə̀ðа*ˈ *ṯ-íle míθa brònən.*ˈ ‘She will surely know one day that our son is dead.’ (A4:39)
(3) *nášya-wewa qáša t-wéwa yómət-tre rùta.*ˈ ‘The priest had forgotten that the next day would be Friday.’ (A2:4)

(4) *ʾay-lèða t̪-íle gáwr̥a dìya žáre.*| 'The poor thing did not know that he was her husband.' (A12:67)
(5) *ʾáti m-èka-yǎðət t̪-íx xonăwàθa?*| 'How do you know that we are brothers?' (A39:6)
(6) *pšámən ràba*| *t̪-in-màrəllɛxu*| *quṣartɛ́xu mìθtɛla.*| 'I am very sorry to tell you that your cooking pot is dead.' (A5:10)

19.3.2.3. *Raising of Subject*
In some cases the subject component of the embedded clause is raised into the main clause where it functions as the direct object of the verb. This is attested in (1)–(3), in which a pronominal copy of the subject of the subordinate clause is attached as an object suffix to the main verb:

(1) *ʾu-yǎðánne xónəx hole-gòtəx.*| 'I know that your brother is by your side.' (A8:79)
(2) *m-èka qəm-yǎðətli ʾáti t̪-íwən Gozáli?*| 'How did you know that I am Gozali?' (A8:41)
(3) *bálki yǎðálux ʾáti t̪-it-Gozàli.*| 'Perhaps she knows that you are Gozali.' (A8:49)

19.3.3. ʾiman

When the interrogative particle *ʾiman* 'when?' is used as the governor of a subordinate content clause, it has a temporal adverbial function. The combination of *ʾiman* + *D* is often reduced phonetically to *ʾimət*. The subordinate clause is normally placed before the main clause and, in most cases, is uttered in a separate intonation group from that of the main clause.

The main clause may express an action that is temporally sequential to the action in the subordinate clause or one that overlaps with it temporally.

19.3.3.1. *Temporally Sequential*
When the verb of the subordinate clause has a perfective aspect, expressing a complete event, the main clause denotes an event that is sequential to this, e.g.

(1) *ʾímə-t mt̪éla t̪únte dìye,*| *θéle xa-nàša,*| *qəm-šaqə̀lla ʾɛ-t̪únte díye.*| 'When its fruit became ripe, a man came and took its fruit.' (A17:33)
(2) *ʾíman t̪-àθyət,*| *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawə̀nnəx.*| 'When you come back, I'll give you another purse like that one.' (A4:16)

Similarly a sequential relation exists between clauses expressing a habitual series of events, e.g.

(3) *ʾíman-t y-aθέwa dwáṛa qúrba l-màθa,ˈ y-asqíwa berìye.*ˈ 'When they came to the pasture land near the village, milkmaids would come up.' (B5:159)

In narratives a temporal clause opening with *ʾiman* is often used to repeat the mention of an event that has already been narrated before narrating an event that is sequential to it. The informational status of the clause, therefore, may be compared to that of a topical referent. The purpose of 'heavy' coding of topical information at the front of a sentence is generally to mark some kind of boundary in the narrative. This is, indeed, the function of the construction under discussion since it is used to signal the onset of a section. It is a device used by the narrator to present an activity as a new event with a degree of independence from what precedes. This may involve a temporal separation, as in (4), or may simply be a result of the staging of the narrative. Note that in (5) the verb in the main clause is combined with the auxiliary verb *qym*, which is also a device for expressing the onset of a new event:

(4) *qímela ʾap-o-t-tré prìməlle,ˈ xìləlle.*ˈ *ʾímət xílla ʾap-o-t-trè,ˈ píšla xà-šabθa,ˈ tré šabbàθa,ˈ kpìnna.*ˈ 'They slaughtered also the second one and ate him. After they had eaten the second one, a week, two weeks went by and they became hungry.' (A20:9)

(5) *mxéla l-ġðàðeˈ ha-t-ṭ̣láθna mìtla.*ˈ *ʾímət mítla ṭ̣laθnèy,ˈ qímtɛla pθíxtɛla tă̈raˈ ʾína léla šmáya qálət ʾùp-xa.*ˈ 'They beat one another until the three of them died. When the three of them died, she opened the door and did not hear the voice of anybody.' (A22:35)

(6) *ʾu-políse qəm-maklíla bába-w yàmma,ˈ ʾu-šaqlìla ʾan-tre-yále.*ˈ *ʾímət qəm-šaqlíla políse ʾan-tre-yàle,ˈ ʾan-políse wéla pyáša b-xammèy.*ˈ 'The police stopped the father and mother (screaming) and took the two children. When the policemen took the two children, the policemen began to become worried.' (A8:10)

In (7) the main clause expresses an imperfective state rather than a dynamic perfective event, so it cannot be considered to be sequential to the *ʾiman* clause. The purpose of the construction, however, is to denote that the discovery of this state is sequential to the arrival of the father-in-law on the scene. This is reflected by the use of the deictic copula *hole*:

(7) *qímɛle xəmyána dìyeˈ zílle kəs-màlka.*ˈ *ʾímə zílle kəs-màlka,ˈ díwənt málka hóle ṃ̣líθa náše ràbe.*ˈ 'His father-in-law went to the king. When he went to the king, the audience chamber of the king was full of many people.' (A17:31)

A new event in a narrative sequence may be presented in a subordinate *ʾiman* clause. The purpose of this strategy is to downgrade the prominence given to this event and, as a result, give greater prominence to the event in the following main clause. The subordinate clause is non-assertive and presents the event as something that is presupposed to be known or inferrable from the context. This applies to (8), in which the act of waking is presented as less important than the act of becoming disturbed and worried:

(8) *málka xzéle b-xə́lme dìye*| *mə́ra ʾáwwa náša fə̃qìra*| *ṯ-awéle xá bronà*| *ʾáw páyəš málka šàwpət brònux.*| *lé-y-awe brónux màlka.*| *ʾu-ʾímət ṛíšle mən-šə́nθa màlka*| *rába šxìšle-u*| *rába pšìmle-u.*| 'The king saw in his dream that they said "This poor man will have a son and he will become king instead of your son. Your son will not become king." When the king woke from his sleep, he became very shaken and became very sad.' (A8:3–4)

19.3.3.2. *Temporally Overlapping*

When the action of the main clause overlaps temporally with that of the *ʾiman* clause, the verb of the *ʾiman* clause can generally be interpreted as having imperfective aspect without expressing any clear temporal boundaries, e.g.

(1) *ʾímə ṯ-íle zmàra,*| *bulbúle jmáʾela l-qàle.*| 'When he sings, nightingales gather at his voice.' (A25:46)
(2) *ʾímə ṯ-ìn práməlle,*| *xzáyən naθyàθe*| *ʾína t-hɛ́wàne.*| 'When I was slaughtering it, I saw that its ears were those of animals.' (A23:38–39)
(3) *fa-ʾíman-t y-awíwa bèθa,*| *y-azə́xwa mə̆ṛòye.*| 'When (the mules) were at home, we would go and graze them.' (B5:128)
(4) *ʾu-ʾíman garšíwa sùla,*| *dɛrɛ́wa xāṣ-dawèra.*| 'When they transported manure, they would put them (the panier baskets) on the back of a mule.' (B5:136)

On some occasions, however, the verb is clearly perfective, as in the future verb in (5),

(5) *t-yánna ʾárbi bnàθi*| *ṭla-ʾárbi bnònux,*| *ʾína ʾíman ṯ-aθítu láxxa ṭalòbe,*| *lá damxítu lá gu-kàrma,*| *ʾu-lá gu-màrga*| *ʾu-lá gu-qàṣra.*| 'I shall give my forty daughters to your forty sons, but when you come here to seek their hands in marriage, you must not sleep in an orchard, in a meadow or in a palace.' (A12:2)

Other cases of perfective verbs in the *ʾiman* clause are (6) and (7). In (6) the verb denotes a habitual event, but should be interpreted as expressing one perfective representative action of the habitual activity. In each case, the *ʾiman* clause denotes an event that has already been mentioned in the preceding discourse and the main clause gives supplementary details on this event rather than advancing the discourse. In (7) the elaborative main clause has a syntactic structure that is characteristic of clauses expressing supplementary information and temporally overlapping activity, in that it lacks the copula (§17.6.1.) and is introduced by the connective *w* (§18.1.1.):

(6) *ʾi-mbaqə́rwala nàše| lèketu zála:ʔ|…ʾímət ʾi-mbaqə̀rwa-ʾatxa,| y-amə́rwa la-sògun!| xṭiθèxula.|* 'He would ask the people "Where are you going?"…When he asked them in this way, he would say "Don't go! It is a pity for you, for if you go" (A8:24–26)

(7) *ʾu-kúlla ʾáskar qlíbela píše náše xa-ga-xèta.| ʾíman ṯ-ila-píše nàše,| ʾu-kút-xa ṣráxa b-o-xèna.|* 'All the army returned and became men once again. When they had become men, they were all shouting at one another.' (A8:83)

On some occasions the *ʾiman* clause is placed inside or after the main clause rather than before it. In constructions where it is placed inside the main clause, another topical constituent is placed at the front of the construction (8–10). If it is placed after the main clause without any topical item being placed in initial position, the construction has close pragmatic cohesion with what precedes (11–13):

(8) *ʾo-dewə̀rrəsˇ| ʾímə ṯ-ile-máxyəlle táwrət wàla| ṛìšɛle| mgunə̀gzɛle.|* 'The vagabond, when he (the other man) struck the wild ox, felt it and shivered.' (A12:52)

(9) *kʷàlo| ʾíman ṯ-aθyàwa| páθa díya mkusèθa.|* 'The bride, when she came, her face was covered.' (B5:35)

(10) *fa-l-gàre| ʾíman ṯ-aryáwa dùnye| ʾíθwalən mandòrta.|* 'On the roof, when it rained, we had a roller.' (B5:145)

(11) *masyòθe-wewa| ʾímə t-wewa-mára ṭla-ʾÙmmo|* 'He was listening when he said to Ummo…' (A23:25)

(12) *ṯ-óya malə́kθa b-šópi ʾímən-t-ʾána mèθən.|* 'She will be queen in my place when I die.' (A4:39)

(13) *xaddámθa dìya| ṣléla ʾímət qəm-xazyàle.|* 'Her maid-servant came down when she saw him.' (A25:56)

The subject of the *ʾiman* clause is sometimes extraposed before the subordinating particle. This applies to (14), in which the initial referent is clearly extracted from the subordinate clause and plays no role in the main clause. Note also that the extraposed subject and the subordinate clause are uttered together in the same intonation group:

(14) *sáb dúnye ʾiman-t̂-àrya,ˈ b-sətwa,ˈ ʾáni lítla xàm.ˈ* 'Since, when it rains in winter, they have no concerns.' (B5:120)

A temporal sentence with an initial subordinate *ʾiman* clause may be in turn embedded under a subordinating conjuction. This is attested in purposive constructions with the subordinating conjuctions *qa-D* or *ta-D*. Note that these are repeated (sometimes abbreviated to *D-*) before the main clause of the temporal construction, e.g.

(15) *mandrì gáreˈ qa-t-qàweˈ qa-t-ʾíma t̂-áθya ʾəryàna-wˈ t̂-áθe tàlgaˈ qa-t-lá-ṣala dalòpe.ˈ* 'They roll the roof so that it becomes tough, so that when the rain comes and the snow comes, leaking water does seep down (into the house).' (B5:194)

(16) *ʾu-ʾíθwale tàngaˈ y-asr̀ìwale,ˈ ʾu-bár qamàyaˈ qá-t ʾíma t̂-ásəqwa ṭùraˈ t-lá ʾo-qurṭána jawə̀jwaˈ ṣaléwa napə́lwa ṭèna.ˈ* 'and it had a strap, which they would tie, and (a belt known as) "the front end", so that when they went up into the mountains, the cloth would not move and the load fall off.' (B5:127)

(17) *maláxe holá-ʾəθye tíwe l-kàwe.ˈ hóla spára l-kàwe,ˈ tá-t ʾímət párqa dàna,ˈ tá-t mattíle ʾo-yàlaˈ tá-t šaqlíle nəšmèy.ˈ* 'The angels have come and have sat by the window. They are waiting by the window so that when the time finishes, they (the parents) would put down the child and they (the angels) would take away their soul.' (A4:59)

19.3.4. ʾax, max, dax

The comparative prepositions *ʾax* and *max* 'like, as' and the interrogative particle *dax* 'how?' are used as heads of comparative content clauses, e.g.

(1) *mə́θən ʾax-t̂-ila-ʾànna míθe.ˈ* 'I shall die like these people have died.' (A14:73)

(2) *banə́tli xa-bə̀θa,ˈ xa-bùrj,ˈ ʾáx-t ʾàna bə̆̀yən.ˈ* 'Build me a house, a tower, as I like.' (A14:97)

(3) *ʾáx-t̰-it-ʾáti šə̀tya,*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾaw hàdəx.*ˈ 'As you drank, he also (was treated) in the same way.' (A26:33)
(4) *kut-méθela ʾána t-yánne zù̀ze*ˈ *ʾax-t̰-in-híwəlle xa-béna xèta.*ˈ 'I'll give money to whoever brings her back, as I gave money before.' (A27:30)
(5) *ʾína léwa ʾax-t̰-íwa náše kθìwe.*ˈ 'but it was not like those people wrote.' (B1:19)
(6) *max-t̰-íla brátux mšuyðànta,*ˈ *ʾap-àw,*ˈ *ʾən-lá-ʾazən mšàyðən.*ˈ 'Just as your daughter has gone mad, he also, if I do not go back, will go mad.' (A4:27)
(7) *ʾàna maθyánne*ˈ *dáx t̰-in-muθéθəlla ʾa-béna xèta,*ˈ *ʾay-béna ʾàna maθyánna.*ˈ 'Just as I brought her before, so this time I shall bring her.' (A27:30)
(8) *dax-t̰-íwət ʾáti hátxa mṣuqàlta,*ˈ *ʾap-ʾáw daxwàθax-ile.*ˈ 'Just as you are pretty, so he is like you.' (A8:67)

In (9) the subject of the clause is placed in front of the *D* subordinator:

(9) *ʾax-ʾáxni zóre t̰-ix-šmìye*ˈ 'As we small children heard…' (B4:3)

The clause may be given generic scope by prefixing the universal quantifier *kut*, e.g.

(10) *ʾàna*ˈ *kut-dax-t̰-íla bràti,*ˈ *bə́yən ʾèni méθela.*ˈ 'Whatever has happened to my daughter, I want somebody to bring her back.' (A27:18)

The subordinating particle *D* is occasionally omitted, e.g.

(11) *ʾax-ʾána paqðə́nnux ʾàyyɛla ʾúrxa.*ˈ 'As I instruct you, so is the road (= I shall instruct you as to the road that you should take).' (A8:46)
(12) *dax-qúmmət* Everèst-*ile,*ˈ *hátxa ramàna.*ˈ 'Just as the summit of Everest is, so high (is it).' (A8:21)

When the clause denotes an unreal situation, the *qaṭə́l/qaṭə́lwa* form is used and the particle has the sense of 'as if', e.g.

(13) *mattə́xwa məndiyáne kúlla dax-t̰-óya kʸàlo.*ˈ 'We would put on her all kinds of things, as if she were a bride.' (B16:2)

A subordinate content clause governed by the comparative preposition *ʾax* sometimes has the function of a temporal 'when'—clause. Such clauses

are typically placed before the main clause, which expresses a sequential rather than a temporally overlapping event, e.g.

(14) *ʾax-ṯ́-íla plíṭṭa Səttìye,ˈ xzìθəlleˈ xrìwɛle lábba díya.ˈ* 'When Səttiye came out, she saw him and her heart was broken.' (A26:30)

(15) *ʾax-ṯ́-ìla mátye,ˈ Səttíye mèθa.ˈ* 'When they arrived, Səttiye died.' (A25:86)

(16) *ʾax-ṯ́-íle qìma,ˈ ʾu-šúryela pláša m-ǧðàðe,ˈ ʾàwwaˈ maxèleˈ sɛ̀peˈ l-qðála d-o-Déwa Zàrˈ ʾu-ṣále kəndàla.ˈ* 'When he got up and they started fighting with one another, he struck his sword into the neck of that Dewa Zar and he went down the slope.' (A28:19)

In narrative they are often used to recapitulate a previously mentioned event as a device for marking the boundary of a section of discourse, e.g.

(17) *maxéla skínta l-d-ó-gəldət wéwa xíṭəlle m-gàweˈ ʾu-pàlə̀ṭ.ˈ ʾax-ṯ́-íle plíṭa ʾo-simárxa prìxɛle,ˈ zìla.ˈ* 'He struck the knife into the skin that he had sewn from inside and came out. When he came out, the *simarxa* bird flew away.' (A14:69)

(18) *ʾó-yala zóra mɛ́re b-ràxme!ˈ ʾax-ṯ́-íle míra ʾo-zóra b-ràxme,ˈ ʾámər b-ráxme l-bàbuxˈ l-yə̀mmux.ˈ kút-xa mánna xámši šə́nne xéne xə̆yèla.ˈ* 'The little boy said "Bless you!" When the little one said "Bless you," he (the angel) said "Bless your father and mother. May each live another fifty years."' (A4:60)

Subordinate temporal clauses may also be introduced by the interrogative particle *dax*, e.g.

(19) *dax-ṯ́-ile xázyəlla θàya,ˈ hádəx ṣràxa-wˈ xumθàne,ˈ Čúxo rìqɛle,ˈ plíṭɛle gu-màθa.ˈ* 'When he saw them coming, shouting and angry, Čuxo ran out into the village.' (A7:16)

(20) *ʾánna zìlelaˈ xà-šeta.ˈ ʾánna dax-ṯ́-ìla zíle,ˈ Mə̆́mo dáryəlle gu-zəndàna.ˈ* 'They went away for a year. When they had gone, he put Mămo into prison.' (A26:74)

(21) *xa-bèna ˈ brátət màlkaˈ plíṭṭɛla l-gàre.ˈ dax-ṯ́-íla plíṭṭa l-gàre,ˈ ʾo-simárxa mxíθəlla gána ʾólla díya ʾu-muθɛ̀θəlla-wˈ kəs-Márza Pə̆̀mət.ˈ* 'Then the daughter of the king went out onto the roof. When she went out onto the roof, the *simarxa* bird made towards her and brought her back to Mərza Pămət.' (A27:15)

The subordinating particle *D* may be omitted, e.g.

(22) *ʾáw dax-páləṭ gu-tə̀ra*ˈ *xáze ʾína béθət Qára Téždin qàða.*ˈ 'When he went out into the doorway, he saw that the house of Qara Teždin was burning.' (A26:54)

The comparative prepositions are also used before infinitives, e.g.

(23) *xa-béna xə́zya ʾə́θyɛle xa-xùwwe*ˈ *ʾax-pràxa.*ˈ 'Then he saw a snake come, as if flying.' (A14:31)
(24) *máme díye t-wéwa max-qṭàləlle*ˈ 'his paternal uncle who was as if killing him (= almost killed him)' (A25:70)

19.3.5. kəma, ma

When the quantifier particle *kəma* governors a subordinate content clause, it generally quantifies the proposition in the embedded clause and expresses the sense of 'as much as' or 'however much', e.g.

(1) *xúl kəma-t-bə̆́yət.*ˈ 'Eat as much as you want.' (B15:56)
(2) *yawíwale kə́ma-t daqə̀r.*ˈ 'They would pay him however much it cost.' (B5:182)
(3) *kəmàt ṯ-árqena*ˈ *tópe har-ṭapyàlḭ.*ˈ 'However much I run, a gun will still reach me.' (B9:3)

In some constructions that contain a noun argument in the embedded clause, the quantification of the proposition is semantically equivalent to the quantification of the noun, e.g.

(4) *mqawólən kəmà-ṯ-in šqíla zúze*ˈ *mɛθə́nna pə̆́lənna.*ˈ 'I promise however much I have taken money (= however much money I have taken), I shall bring it and divide it.' (A1:18)
(5) *kəmá ṯ-ilá-ʾəθye nàše,*ˈ *kəmá ṯ-ilá-ʾəθye šazáde-u jwànqe,*ˈ *lén θíθa ʾu-le-y-ʾàθyən.*ˈ 'However much people came (= however many people came), however much princes and young men came (= however many princes and young men came), I did not come, and I shall not come.' (A8:94).

The subordinating particle *D* is occasionally omitted, e.g.

(6) *kə́ma maṣə̀wa*ˈ 'as much as they can' (B5:3)
(7) *kə́ma ʾiθwále mṣèθa*ˈ 'as far has they have ability' (B5:8).

The particle can have an exclamatory sense, in which case it is usually abbreviated to *ma*, e.g.

(8) *ʾánna ma-ṯ́-íla xmíle b-ġðàðe!*ǀ 'How happy they were together!' (A4:50)

This is most frequently used as a correlative in constructions such as the following:

(9) *ma-t-wɛ́wa ʾə́θye nàše*ǀ *č̣ənnəḵérət Mšîxa,*ǀ *ma-t-wɛ́wa ràbe*ǀ *Mar-Yuḥánna lá-mṣele kút-xa dréle qáwwət míya b-rèše.*ǀ 'So many people came around Christ, so many, that Saint John could not put a scoop of water over everybody.' (B6:10)
(10) *b-léle rúmxe díye hóla mxáya kizə̀kke,*ǀ *ma-ṯ́-íle ʾo-náša rába xɛlàna.*ǀ 'In the night his spear was giving off sparks, so powerful was that man.' (A12:9)
(11) *ʾu-ṭə̀lyela*ǀ *ma-t-wáwa kə̂ixe.*ǀ 'They slept, so tired were they.' (A14:43)
(12) *qəm-maqə̀dla mằḥálle,*ǀ *ma-t-wéwa šumàna.*ǀ 'He burnt his neighbourhood, so delinquent was he.' (A14:7)
(13) *ma-t-y-aθéwa tàlga,*ǀ *y-aθèwa,*ǀ *lá-mṣiwa ʾàp-ʾaxxa palṭíwa.*ǀ 'So heavily did the snow fall that, when it came, people could not go out even to here.' (B16:27)
(14) *hálli ma-t-kàlena?*ǀ 'Give it to me, shall I wait so long? (= I cannot wait any longer).' (A38:13).

The particle is used before a subordinate copula clause as a device for switching attention to a different topical referent ('as for…'), e.g.

(15) *kəmá ṯ́-íle Rùstam,*ǀ *ʾáw mbaqórəlle Tằtár-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi.*ǀ 'As for Rustam, he asked for Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi.' (A28:24)
(16) *kə̀mát-wawa yə́mme dìye,*ǀ *mṯuṛmèla.*ǀ 'As for his mother, she understood.' (A28:29)

Occasionally the particle is used to introduce a temporal clause. It is attested in this function in both its full form and its abbreviated form *ma-*. The temporal clause may have generic ('whenever') or specific reference ('when'), e.g.

(17) *kə̀mát ʾáwəð náša xəlmə̀tta,*ǀ *hár béna xaràye*ǀ *mxáyəlle l-máre dìye.*ǀ 'Whenever a man does a service, always in the end he strikes the man performing the service.' (A47:2)

(18) *ma-t-wéwa brōn-málka qáryəlle ʾo-kθàwa,ˈ máre spày.*ˈˈ 'When the son of the king had read the letter, he said "Good!"' (A11:18)

19.3.6. hatxa

The particle *hatxa*, which can function as a modifier of a nominal in the sense of 'such a' (§14.9.15.), occasionally governs a content clause, e.g.

(1) *šuréla mṣawòθeˈ hátxa t̂-ix-mṣawóθe ʾàxni.*ˈ 'She began to talk just as we are speaking.' (A19:2)

19.3.7. qam

Clauses that are complements of this particle contain the irrealis verb forms *qaṭəl* and *qaṭəlwa*, since they refer to an event that has not yet taken place from the perspective of the verb in the main clause. The subordinate clause may be placed either before or after the main clause. Examples:

(1) *qam-t̂-àθi,ˈ mpáləṭle mən-hàbsa.*ˈ 'Before they return, release him from prison.' (A26:72)
(2) *qam-šɛ́ríwa bnàya,ˈ y-azíwa y-oðíwa ʾatùna.*ˈ 'Before they began buildings, they went and set up a furnace.' (B5:182)
(3) *ʾáy y-óya muttɛ́θa gu-tắra qam-t̂-óra kʾàlo.*ˈ 'This is placed at the door before the bride enters.' (B5:40)
(4) *gu-góma mpalṭə̀xwaleˈ qam-zăríwa náše rə̀zza.*ˈ 'We took it out of the stable basement, before people sowed the rice.' (B5:134)

In (5) *qam* is connected to the clause by *ma*:

(5) *ʾən-ʾítla mója zòraˈ qám-ma xalwàla,ˈ măməṣála xàčča-wˈ* 'If it has a small calf, before she (the milkmaid) milks it, she allows it to give suck (to the calf) a little.' (B5:175)

19.3.8. baθər, (m-)bar

Subordinate content clauses introduced by the preposition *baθər* 'after' or its shorter variant *(m-)bar* are generally placed before the main clause, e.g.

(1) *m-bár t-y-óði núra gàwe,ˈ xáyəm ràba.*ˈ 'After they put fire in it, it heats up a lot.' (B6:48)

(2) *m-bar-t-y-àxli,*| *méθɛ dawèra.*| 'After they eat, they bring a mule.' (B5:37)
(3) *qìmɛle*| *báθər ṯ-íle príqa mən-ʾixàla,*| *qìmɛle*| *šqílɛle xa-ʾárba xamšà bêʾe.*| 'When he had finished the food, he took four or five eggs.' (A23:6)
(4) *bár ṯ-ila-ðíta qa-t-ʾàyyɛla θíθa kəsle-dìye,*| *muxábla ġðàðe.*| 'After she realized that she had come to him, they fell in love with each other.' (A4:4)
(5) *hádəx m-bar-t-gwìrra,*| *ʾaláha qəm-yawálla xa-bròna.*| 'So after they married, God gave them a son.' (A4:57)
(6) *ʾu-bár ṯ-àzəl,*| *déṛəx l-bèθa.*| 'After he goes away, we shall return to the house.' (A30:41)

The subordinating particle *D* is often omitted in verbal forms, e.g.

(7) *bar-píšla spày,*| *zìlla.*| 'After she had got better, she went on her way.' (A20:5)
(8) *ʾu-báθər priqálən qəṣṣàttən*| *réšux pɛrmàxle.*| 'After we have finished our story, we shall cut off your head.' (A24:51)
(9) *yómə ṭlàθa*| *m-báθər ʾána zílli šùla*| *qímla ṣléla knàša.*| 'On the third day, after I went to work, she went down (to the basement) to sweep.' (A21:38)
(10) *ʾína m-báθər maqðàli*| *ʾaw-qàṭma*| *šaqlìtule*| *mxamìtule.*| 'After she burns me, take the ashes and keep them.' (A26:85)
(11) *w-ánna báθər šmìṭəlla,*| *síqela gù-rəš-ṭura.*| 'After they had defeated them, they went up into the mountain.' (A14:55)

The subordinate clause is occasionally placed after the main clause, e.g.

(12) *zíltɛla bár ṯ-ile-béθa prìqa*| *ʾáza xázya jùlla.*| 'She went off after the house was finished, in order to go to find her clothes.' (A14:99)

In (13) the clause introduced by the preposition *bar* has a causal sense:

(13) *bár qəm-amrátla ʾanna-xabráne ʾəlli*| *qəm-paqðətli*| *hátxa ṯ-óðən b-xàbrux*
'Since you have said these things to me and have given me instructions, I'll do as you say.' (A8:50)

19.3.9. hal, ha-

When these two particles govern subordinate content clauses, they have the same functions, but their syntax is different, in that *ha-* is regularly

combined with the subordinator *D*, but this is generally omitted after *hal*. Their functions can be classified as follows. The form *ha-* is most likely a shortened form of the Arabic particle *ḥattā* and *hal* has developed by combining *ha-* with the preposition *l-*.

19.3.9.1. *'until'*

In most cases subordinate clauses with these particles express an action that marks the endpoint of an action expressed in a preceding main clause and is to be translated by English 'until', e.g.

(1) *mxéla l-ġðàðe*ˈ *ha-t-ṭ̬láθna mìtla.*ˈ 'They beat one another until the three of them died.' (A22:35)
(2) *péšət kásli làxxa,*ˈ *ʾu-mxamánnux ha-t̬̂-áθ̬ya tajərúθət bábux láxxa xá-ga xèta.*ˈ 'Stay with me here and I shall look after you until the merchants of your father come here again.' (A14:61)
(3) *kazíwa prámәlla har-palṭ̬ìwa,*ˈ *hál plíṭ̬la hàtxa.*ˈ 'They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up, until they grew like this.' (A38:15)
(4) *zílela hal-mát̬yela l-qàṣra,*ˈ *rəš-qàṣra.*ˈ 'They went until they arrived at the palace, on top of the palace.' (A24:49)

If the preceding action is a perfective, punctual event, the 'until'–clause explicitly signals that its event is temporally posterior to what precedes, e.g.

(5) *ʾo-qamáya miràle,*ˈ *ʾo-t-tré miràle,*ˈ *ha-t-mṭ̬éle gárra ʾə́lle dìye.*ˈ 'The first one told him (his case), the second one told him, until his turn came.' (A17:31)

In some cases the preceding action does not necessarily end with the action of the 'until'–clause but only reaches a particular point in its progression, e.g.

(6) *θéle tàlga,*ˈ *θéle, θéle, θèle,*ˈ *há-t kléle zàga*ˈ *t-rəš-čàdra.*ˈ 'More and more snow fell, until the bell that was over the tent stopped (ringing).' (A25:41)

Conversely, after a negated clause, the 'until'–clause marks the point at which the action that was negated finally takes place. Note that the *t̬̂-* prefix after *hal* in (8) should be interpreted as the future particle rather than the homophonous subordinating particle, e.g.

(7) *là hummánne.*ˈ *ha-t-xazèla*ˈ *bráta θàya.*ˈ 'He did not believe it, until he saw the girl coming.' (A26:79)
(8) *là-palṭət,*ˈ *hal-ṯ-amránnux plùtgena.*ˈ 'Do not come out, until I say to you "Come out!"' (A14:67)

The particle *hal* is often combined with adverbial temporal expressions such as *ʾɛ-gət* 'the time that', *ʾɛ-danət* 'the time that', *ʾo-yomət* 'the day that', e.g.

(9) *ʾu-ʾáyya har-šaqláwa mən-d-àn šíše*ˈ *mattàwa*ˈ *ʾálla dìya*ˈ *hál ʾé-gət qəm-qaṭlàla.*ˈ 'She (the daughter-in-law) was constantly taking the iron bars and putting them into her, until she killed her.' (A19:6)
(10) *ya-ʾàlaha,*ˈ *háwe ṣáxi hál-ʾɛ-gət ʾána mátyən ʾálle dìye.*ˈ 'Oh God, let him be well until I reach him.' (A26:80)
(11) *mən-d-é-danət brèla*ˈ *hál d-ɛ-dánət mṭéla l-yàla,*ˈ *wéla bxàya.*ˈ 'From the time she was born until the time that she came to the boy she wept.' (A25:4)
(12) *pálxət kásli hal-d-o-yómə qárya ṯ̂o̱k̂e.*ˈ 'Work with me until the day when the *ṯ̂o̱k̂e* bird sings.' (A30:3)

19.3.9.2. *'before'*

When the event in the main clause is perfective and is completed before the inception of the event in the subordinate clause, the appropriate translation of the particle is sometimes 'before' rather than 'until'. The crucial factor is the information status of the subordinate clause. If the subordinate clause is assertive the translation is 'until'. If, however, it is factive, i.e. it is presupposed that the hearer accepts it as a fact, it is more idiomatically translated by 'before'. In many cases such factive clauses are placed before the asserted main clause, e.g.

(1) *ha-t-ʾáθe ʾo-náša qamàya*ˈ *máṭe l-ʾèna*ˈ *ʾáθe xa-náša sàwa.*ˈ 'Before the first man reached the spring, an old man came.' (A15:3)
(2) *ha-ṯ-íle ʾəθya,*ˈ *mpuláṭṭɛla fə̂̀qih.*ˈ 'Before he came back, she took out the jurist.' (A22:39)
(3) *zílela nášət màθa,*ˈ *ʾína ha-ṯ-íla zìle nášət máθa,*ˈ *ʾo-núra ʾə̂̀myɛle.*ˈ 'The people of the village went (to help), but before the people of the village arrived, the fire was put out.' (A48:3)

Occasionally the factive subordinate clause is placed after the main clause, e.g.

(4) *ʾən-θéla píšla xằṭar ʾállux qúrba,*ˈ *dríla ʾan-bóčẹ l-ʾằra,*ˈ *qɛ́mi tre-xóre ṯ-ásqət rèša*ˈ *párqət xàyux,*ˈ *bálki ʾən-šálla hal-ʾɛ-gə-máṭa ʾàrye.*ˈ ‘If danger comes near to you, put these two seeds in the ground and two poplar trees will grow up, which you can climb and perhaps save your life before the lions arrive.’ (A18:14)

19.3.9.3. *‘until when’*

Occasionally the clause introduced by the particle is presented as being connected in sense to a greater degree with what follows it. The effect of this is that it expresses an action that is the endpoint of what precedes but at the same time the starting point of what follows. In such contexts the appropriate English translation is often ‘until when.…’, e.g.

(1) *klèle*ˈ *hal-tímla ṭlá*θ*a yomàθa*ˈ *Rustắmo ṛìšle.*ˈ ‘He stood until when three days had passed, Rustam awoke.’ (A29:22)
(2) *há-ṯ-ila prìqe*ˈ *ṣə́lyela gu-gallìya-w*ˈ *Pə́tto dáryɛle tòpe.*ˈ ‘Until when they had finished coming down the valley, Pətto fired his gun.’ (B19:7)
(3) *kut-yáwna maxə̀tla.*ˈ *máxətla yàwna,*ˈ *ʾaw-yaṣíla xéna xaðə̀r-əllux.*ˈ *mára há-t ʾánna šáwwa yawnáθa qaṭlə̀tla,*ˈ *mára qáṣra kàle.*ˈ ‘ ‘“Hit each dove. Hit a dove and another corner will turn round towards you.”’ He said “Until when you have killed the seven doves, the palace will stop.”’ (A12:25)
(4) *là-palṭə̀t,*ˈ *hal-ṯ-amrə́nnux plùṯgena*ˈ *ʾɛ̀-ga pálṭə̀t.*ˈ ‘Do not come out, until when I say to you “Come out!”, at that time you should come out.’ (A14:67)

19.3.9.4. *Purpose*

The particle *ha-* is sporadically used with a purposive sense, as in (1), in which it is combined with the particle *qa-*:

(1) *ʾíθwale xa-kàrma.*ˈ *zríyənwale b-iθàθi*ˈ *ʾu-rábənwa kčíxa bíye dìye.*ˈ *ha-t-qa-mamṭə́nna ṭúnte dìye.*ˈ ‘He had an orchard. (He said) “I had cultivated it with my hands and toiled greatly in it in order to make it produce its fruit.”’ (A17:32)

19.3.10. ṭla-, ta-

19.3.10.1. *Purpose and Result*

Subordinate clauses introduced by this preposition generally have a deontic modality and express purpose, their action being presented as unrealized from the perspective of the main clause, e.g.

(1) *mšaxnánne ʾixàla| ta-ṯ-áxləx ʾána-w ʾáti m-ġðàðe.|* 'I shall heat the food so that you and I may eat together.' (A22:31)
(2) *dáryɛle xɛ̀la| ta-t-šarəṭla gáne.|* 'He struggled in order to release himself.' (A26:81)
(3) *ʾáwwa ṭéni páyəš nṭìra| ta-t-čú-mdi là-ʾaθe bíye dìye.|* 'This saddle bag will be guarded so that nothing will happen to it.' (A7:9)

Occasionally the *D* subordinator is omitted. This is attested mostly where the preposition has its longer form *ṭla*, e.g.

(4) *Kə̌ə̌rīm zìlle bar-xmáre díye| ṭla-mɛθéwa xmáre dìye.|* 'Karim went after his donkey, in order to fetch his donkey.' (A14:17)

In (5), where the purposive particle is placed before a conditional sentence, the subordinator *D*, which belongs with the *ta-*, occurs both before the whole sentence and also before the main clause:

(5) *bnáya gúda ʾu-dráya rə̌ṣə̌ə̌ṣ,| tá-t ʾáp-ʾən maxíle màdfa¶| t-là-taləxwa gúda.|* 'He built the wall and put lead into it, so that, even if it was hit by artillery, it would not be destroyed.' (A11:13)

On some occasions a *ta-*clause denotes the final outcome or result of a preceding action, whereby the speaker presents the chain of events from the viewpoint of this outcome, e.g.

(6) *qa-mòt hátxa wáða bíyi,| mɛθóye dwáqəlla ʾùrxi| ta-t-lá-mṣən ṣálən be-xàli.|* 'Why have you done this to me, bringing (snow) and blocking my road, so that I cannot go down to the house of my maternal uncle?' (A25:42)
(7) *ṣlàya,| ṣálya šátya mìya,| ta-t-qàlba xá-bena xéna.|* 'She went down to drink water and then finally returned again.' (A33:8)

19.3.10.2. *'until'*
It is sometimes appropriate to translate *ṭla-/ta-* 'until', in which case the realis *ʾi-qaṭəl(wa)* form may be used in habitual contexts, e.g.

(1) *xallə́xwa ʾamáne bíye ʾu-hə̀nna| ta-t-y-awéwa ṣàwma.|* 'We would wash vessels in it and so forth, until it was the fast.' (B16:8)
(2) *ʾu-mṭašóyəlla gána hàtxa| tá-t brátət málka ṯ-ásqa rəš-gàre.|* 'She hid herself until the daughter of the king went onto the roof.' (A27:13)

(3) *mára də-klìgən!‖ pàlṭən m-gáwe.| mára là| ta-ṯ̂-óðən qǎ̋pəx ʾàp ṭla-réšəx,| baᶜdə̀n pàlṭət.|* 'She said "Stop! I (want to) get out of it." He said "No, not until I make a lid also for your head, then you come out."'
(A20:3)

19.3.10.3. *Direct Complement*
A content clause introduced by *ṭla-/ta-* sometimes functions as a factive object complement of verbs such as 'to say', 'to know', 'to inform'. This is related to its use as an object marker of object nominals (§16.3.4.).

(1) *ʾə́θyəx ta-t-mɛ́ðəxlɛxu| ta-t-m-díya ʾarpà-saʾətə| gə̌rəg kúlla nášət máθa pàlṭi m-gu-máθa.|* 'We have come to let you know that in four hours from now all the people of the village must leave the village.' (B1:13)

19.3.11. qa-

19.3.11.1. *Purpose and Result*
Clauses introduced by this particle generally are deontic in modality and express purpose, e.g.

(1) *xánči ṯ̂-amrə́nna qalùlta| qa-t-pàrqa.|* 'I'll tell it to you quite quickly so that it will finish.' (A4:5)
(2) *ṣ́ráxɛle qa-t-šə̀̌ma| brátət màlka.|* 'He is shouting so that the daughter of the king hears.' (A21:16)
(3) *bányət-əlla ʾótəx tàma,| qá-t mabə́sma kút-yom xà.|* 'You have built her a room there in order for her to entertain somebody everyday.' (A4:52)

Occasionally it expresses result without deontic modality, e.g.

(4) *ʾən-maxéwa xa-xèna,| ʾáp-ʾaw xónət Lelìθɛwa,| xaθə̀mwa| qa-ṯ̂-axə̀lwale.|* 'If he had struck again—he was the brother of Leliθa—he would heal and (as a result) would eat him.' (A52:25)
(5) *qímle b-zdáya m-bróne dìye| qa-t-là-ʾamər.|* 'He was afraid of his son and (as a result) did not tell (= He was afraid to tell his son).' (A8:17)

In (6) the verb of such a result clause is in the realis *ʾi-qaṭə́l* form:

(6) *xzóli xa-darmána qa-ʾɛ̀ni,| qa-t-y-ámṣən xázən bəṛ-našúθa mándi hàle.|* 'Find a remedy for my eyes, so that (as a result) I can see people and the things around me.' (A24:2)

In (7) it is used as a complement of an expression of 'keeping vigil':

(7) *šahárta qa-t-qyàmta pálṭa.*ˡ '(They keep) vigil for/until the resurrection comes out.' (B5:54)

19.3.11.2. *Direct Complement*

A content clause introduced by *qa-* sometimes functions as a factive object complement. Note that in (1) the copula is placed on the initial pronoun on account of its focal prominence rather than on the subordinating particle *D*:

(1) *bár ṯ-ila-ðíta qa-t-ʾàyyɛla θíθa kəsle-dìye,*ˡ *muxábla ġðàðe.*ˡ 'After she realized that she had come to him, they fell in love with each other.' (A4:4)
(2) *la-bə̌yən ʾáyya bráta ṯ-in-múθyəlla t-yə̌ða qá-t ṭlíba díya hóle mìθa.*ˡ 'I do not want this girl whom I have brought to know that her betrothed has died.' (A4:33)
(3) *dwáqa dawə́qwa ʾíðə-dìye*ˡ *qá-t ʾó-məndi wèle.*ˡ 'He would shake his hand (to confirm) that this has taken place.' (B5:10)

Such a clause may be the complement of an existential particle in constructions such as (4):

(4) *líθwa qá-t mbaqríwa bràta.*ˡ 'It was not the practice to ask the girl.' (B5:2)

In (5) the main verb takes a 3fs. pronominal suffix, which can be regarded as a type of anticipatory raising, in that it refers to the propositional content of the embedded clause:

(5) *ʾáwwa maxzóyəlla qá-t ḥə̌wáli ʾálpa-w ʾarbà-mma*ˡ *šə̂nne*ˡ *ṯ-íle píša bənya.*ˡ 'This shows that it was built about one thousand four hundred years ago.' (B1:7)

Such object complement clauses may also have deontic force, e.g.

(6) *múr ṭla-xònəx*ˡ *qa-t ʾədyo*ˡ *ʾáwði tàgbir*ˡ *ʾásqi l-ṣèda.*ˡ 'Tell your brother that today they should make a plan to go out hunting.' (A26:43)
(7) *b-xáðexi qá-t mxaθəxθə́xxa xəzmayùθa.*ˡ 'We would be very happy to renew the family relationship.' (B5:4)

The particle is also used to introduce a clause that is the direct complement of other expressions, e.g.

(8) *rába ʾɛbɛ̀le-lli qa-t kúlla ʾanna-jwánqe xéne šoqánna kèpa.*ˈ ‘It would be a great shame for me to leave all these other young men stone.’ (A8:81)
(9) *ʾən-ʾáti mwáfqət qa-t-goránne Gozàli,*ˈ *brónux b-tàrəṣ.*ˈ ‘If you agree for me to marry Gozali, your son will be cured.’ (A8:95)

19.3.12. mən

On some rare occasions the preposition *mən* governs a content clause rather than a nominal. This is attested where the preposition has a causal sense (§16.5.4.). The embedded clause is not introduced by the subordinator *D*:

(1) *ʾáyya tə̀kθa… t-xaddámθa nc̆ìlle*ˈ *mən-qəm-xazyále šapìra.*ˈ ‘The waist cord of the maid-servant snapped, because she saw that he was handsome.’ (A25:56)

19.3.13. xaṭər

Causal subordinate clauses are occasionally formed by the particle *xaṭər* followed by the subordinator *D*, e.g.

(1) *ṭlá-bnone xilìli,*ˈ *báxta xilàli,*ˈ *xáṭər ṯ-ínwa mk̂onədrəlla.*ˈ ‘I have eaten the three children, I have eaten the wife, because I rolled her (down the hill).’ (A20:12)

19.3.14. ka-

There are some marginal attestations in the text corpus of subordinate clauses introduced by the particle *ka-* ‘while, when’, which appears to be related to earlier Aramaic *kaḏ*. It is found at the head of reduced predications from which a copula element has been omitted. In some cases it is combined with the *D* subordinator, in the form *ka-t* (1–2), in other cases the *D* is not used (3):

(1) *dàx ʾáyya bráta wiðálux brátət bɛ́θa*ˈ *ʾu-palàxta-w*ˈ *mbašòle*ˈ *ʾu-xyàpa-w*ˈ *mšàya-w*ˈ *knàša-w*ˈ *mbašòle*ˈ *ʾu-kúl-xa mándi wàða,*ˈ *ká-t gu-bɛ́θi qímta brìθɛla,*ˈ *léla plìxta-w*ˈ *ʾu-hàl ʾədyo yóma?*ˈ ‘How have you made this girl a housewife, hard-working, cooking, washing, polishing, sweeping,

cooking and doing everything, while brought up my house (from the day) she was born without having worked until today?' (A21:34)

(2) *bə̌yən t-yə̀ðən*ˈ *ʾáwwa bəṛ-náša mòdile,*ˈ *dáx mṣéle ʾáyya bráta qəm-ʾawádla b-pəlxánət bɛ̀θa,*ˈ *ʾu-ká-t brátət màlka,*ˈ *ʾu-lípta har-dmàxa-w xála.*ˈ 'I want to know what (kind of person) this man is, how could he have made this girl a hard-working housewife, while (she is) the daughter of the king and is used to only sleeping and eating.' (A21:32)

(3) *mbúrxəllən l-ġðàðe*ˈ *ka-xóna ʾu-xàθa,*ˈ *lá ka-gáwṛa-w bàxta.*ˈ 'They have wed us together while (we are) brother and sister, and not while (we are) husband and wife.' (A16:8)

19.3.15. *Adverbial Content Clauses with No Introductory Particle*

Subordinated content clauses with a temporal adverbial function are occasionally used without an introductory particle. This is attested in (1) in the second of two *ʾiman* ('when')–clauses, where the omission of the particle may be explained as having arisen by gapping:

(1) *mandrìle gáre*ˈ *qa-t-qàwe*ˈ *qa-t-ʾíma ṯ-áθya ʾəryàna-w*ˈ *ṯ-áθe tàlga*ˈ *qa-t-lá-ṣala dalòpe.*ˈ 'They roll the roof so that it becomes tough, so that when the rain comes and the snow comes, leaking water does not seep down (into the house).' (B5:194)

In some cases, however, the omission of the *ʾiman* particle is not conditioned by gapping. This is attested both in clauses that provide temporal background either to what follows (2) or to what precedes (3):

(2) *ʾu-ṯ-aθéwa sətwa,*ˈ *zónəxwa ʾərwe,*ˈ *xámša réše ʾərwe,*ˈ *hənna.*ˈ *ʾérwe zonəxwala*ˈ *ʾu-pɛrməxwa.*ˈ 'When winter came, we bought sheep, five head of sheep or so. We would buy sheep and slaughter them.' (B16:27)

(3) *ʾən-wéla biš-pθìθa,*ˈ *y-ámrəxxa dàrpa,*ˈ *yáʿni ṣàlya,*ˈ *ṯ-áθe sətwa*ˈ *ṯ-áθya tàlga mə́ndi.*ˈ 'If it (the space between the beams) were to become wider, (the roof) would collapse, as we say, that is it would come down, when it was winter and the snow arrived.' (B5:189)

This lack of relational particles in temporal adverbial clauses can be compared to the frequent omission of prepositions before nominals in temporal adverbial phrases (§14.13.).

19.3.16. *Content Clauses Complements of Single Constituents*

In some cases a content clause introduced by the subordinator *D* is the complement of an operator phrase or pronominal element that stands alone and functions as a main clause predication. This applies to constructions such as the following:

(1) *jurábli ʾàna| qa-t-ʾána xazə́nwa hàwnəx dáx-wewa| là t-la-bắyə́nwaləx.|* 'I tested you to see how clever you are. It was not that I did not love you.' (A40:16)
(2) *ʾo-t-là páləx| na-múmkən ṯ-áxəl gu-bə̀θi.|* 'Whoever does not work, (it is) impossible for him to eat in my house.' (A21:40)
(3) *ʾáy ṯ-ix-ʾə́θye kə̂xe| hádəx qam-ʾə̀nəx mubyə́nna.|* 'It is because we were tired that it appeared like that to your eyes'. (A4:36)

The initial constituent may be interpreted as a reduced predication: '(It is) not…', '(It is) impossible', '(It is) this…'

19.4. Cleft Constructions

A cleft construction involves the splitting of a simple clause into two components that are linked in a predicative relationship, with part of the contents embedded in a subordinate clause. In English this syntactic restructuring is often used to express narrow focus on one constituent, e.g. *I want food* > *What I want is food* ~ *It is food that I want*. In the C. Barwar dialect cleft constructions are generally not used to express focus on a constituent in this way. Rather narrow focus is usually conveyed by the movement of the nuclear stress and/or the copula without the embedding of the non-focal material in a subordinate clause (see §15.4.1.4.1. i), e.g.

(1) *brònux-ile xíla xabúša.|* '*Your son* has eaten an apple (= It is your son who has eaten an apple).'
(2) *brònux xílle xabúša.|* '*Your son* has (just) eaten an apple (= It is your son who has (just) eaten an apple).'

Sporadically, however, a fully cleft construction is used with the non-focal material embedded under the subordinator *D*, e.g.

(3) *t̂-áθya t̂-óya ʾáxxa kəsləx*ˈ *… ta-t-lá-palxət ʾàti*ˈ *ʾày-ila t-pálxa.*ˈ 'She will come and be with you here … so that you will not work. It is *she* who will work' (A34:26)

A number of other cleft type constructions can be identified in the text corpus. The majority of these lack an explicit copula element that links the embedded clause to the other constituent or contain a copula but no explicit subordinating particle introducing the embedded clause. They are, therefore, better termed quasi-cleft constructions.

One form of quasi cleft structure is illustrated in (4) and (5)

(4) *ʾíθwa skìnta mə́nne*ˈ *ʾo-nə̌ra mə́nne díye.*ˈ *ʾa-skínta t-wéwa gráða dúša bìya,*ˈ *xpírre, xpírre, xpìrre.*ˈ 'He had a knife with him, (and had also) the axe. He scraped the honey with the knife (literally: The knife [is that] which he scraped honey with), digging, digging and digging.' (A14:25)

(5) *ʾáp-ʾaw qyàmɛ́le*ˈ *táwa xáṣət súse dìye-w*ˈ *ṣlàya.*ˈ *ṣlàya,*ˈ *ṣlàya*ˈ *ʾax-t̂-íle pqìðəlle.*ˈ *ʾáwwa t-wéwa ṣláya l-márzət xa-yàma,*ˈ *ʾax-t̂-íle pqìðəlle.*ˈ 'He sat on his horse and went down. He went down a long way, as he had instructed him. He went down to the shore of the sea (literally: He [is the one] who was going down to the shore of the sea), as he had instructed him.' (A12:30)

In constructions such as these the cleaving of the clause does not have the function of putting narrow information focus on the initial constituent. Rather the initial constituent has topical status, in that it has been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, and the new information is expressed in the predicate. This may be compared to constructions in which a copula is attached to an initial element to express its topical prominence (§15.4.1.4.1. ii), as in the second clause in (6):

(6) *ʾáti rába wíðət spayùθa*ˈ *ʾu-ʾátit pqiðəllən.*ˈ 'You did a lot of good and you instructed us.' (A8:87)

The purpose of the shift in the copula onto topical prominent items in constructions such as (6) is to enhance their topical prominence as a strategy to signal a boundary in the discourse. The occurrence of a topical constituent in initial position by its nature typically marks a discourse boundary and the enhancement of this topical status marks the clause off more distinctly from what precedes. One motivation for this distinctness is to give prominence to the content of the clause. This is the case in (6)

and it appears also to be the motivation in the quasi cleft constructions (4) and (5), in that these are presented as pivotal or climactic events. In (4) the act of scraping with the knife leads to the escape of the protagonist from his imprisonment. The clause in (5) marks the endpoint of a long journey. The quasi-cleft construction (4) and (5) resemble the copula shifting constructions also structurally and prosodically. The only difference is the presence of the *D* particle in (4) and (5) and its absence in (6).

A further example of this type of quasi-cleft construction is (7). Here the clause following it has a topical subject with a copula attached to it (*ho-nášela ʾəθye*ˈ). Both of the constructions mark off distinct sections of discourse. In this case the motivation appears to be to present the two activities as taking place in parallel rather than being linked in a sequence.[3]

(7) *ʾo-pəlxána ṯ-íle plìxəlle*ˈ *ho-nášela ʾəθye*ˈ *kásle dìye*ˈ *ʾu-qímela sìqe.*ˈ 'He did the work (literally: The work [is that] which he did). People came to him and went away.' (A16:5)

A quasi cleft construction with a topical subject can also be identified in (8), in which the subject is an asyndetic nominal relative. The fact that the phrase *t-wéwa ràbe* 'those who were many' lacks a demostrative head indicates that it should be construed as predicative. The discourse boundary marking function of the construction here is used to signal the onset of elaborative, background material:

(8) *xéṭəxwa məstíke ʾàxnḭ,*ˈ *b-ìðən xeṭə́xwa.*ˈ *b-mašìna xeṭə́xwa.*ˈ *ʾítwala mašína t-wéwa ràbe.*ˈ 'We used to sew mosquito nets. We sewed them by hand. We sewed them by machine. (The ones who) had a machine (were those families) that were large.' (B10:59)

In (9) and (10) the quasi-cleft construction has the pronominal adverbials *hatxa* and *hadəx* in the initial topically prominent position. The main purpose of the construction in these cases is to give prominence to the clause as a whole:

[3] A further conditioning factor for the types of cleft constructions illustrated in (4), (5) and (7) may have been the use in Kurdish of quasi cleft constructions with the so-called 'deictic *izafe*' to express the present progressive and the perfect (MacKenzie 1961: 205, 210–211).

(9) *léka hátxa ṯ-it-mxùmla-w*ˡ ‘Where (are you going) while so festively dressed? (literally: [It is] so much that you are festively dressed).” (A35:5)

(10) *hádəx ṯ-ítwa mčoḵəbna tə́mməl.*ˡ ‘You were so well decked out yesterday (literally: [It is] so much that you are decked out yesterday).’ (A35:18)

Quasi-cleft constructions can be identified also in cases where a content clause introduced by the subordinator *D* is the complement of an operator phrase that stands alone and functions as a main clause predication. This applies to constructions such as follows:

(11) *dàx ṯ-ile-dű́s?*ˡ ‘How is it that he is right?’ (A17:8)

(12) *xázəx màṭo-ṯ-itwa wíra.*ˡ ‘Let us see how it is that you entered.’ (A47:4)

(13) *bálki ṯ-íla mìθta,*ˡ *bálki ṯ-íle xa-mə́ndi θíθa bìya.*ˡ ‘Perhaps she is dead (literally: Perhaps [it is] that she is dead). Perhaps something has happened to her.’ (A21:25)

(14) *ʾána kəmà dána ṯ-in-mṣalóye ṭla-márya ʾálaha*ˡ *ta-t-yawə́lli ʾəmma dáwe.*ˡ ‘I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins (literally: [It is] so many times that…]).’ (A6:10)

These can be analysed as quasi-cleft constructions in that the initial constituent could be regarded as having the status of a reduced predicate, without a copula element, with the content clause as a constituent.

A further example of a quasi-cleft with a reduced predicate taking a content clause as a constituent is (15), in which a temporal adverbial is in focus:

(15) *ʾáwwa maxzóyəlla qá-t ḥăwáli ʾálpa-w ʾarbà-mma*ˡ *ʃə̂nne*ˡ *ṯ-íle píša bə̀nya.*ˡ ‘This shows that (it was) about one thousand four hundred years ago that it was built.’ (B1:7)

In (16) an initial temporal adverbial is linked to the rest of the clause by a copula, though there is no explicit embedding of the subsequent material under a subordinate particle:

(16) *mən-yárxət ṭḷà*ˡ *ʾíle náše mšə̀ri*ˡ *plàxa.*ˡ ‘From the third month it is that people begin to work.’ (B5:107)

The function of the construction is not to put narrow focus on the adverbial, since the verbal predicate is equally informative. Rather the purpose is to enhance the topical prominence of the adverbial, giving it ballast to mark a boundary of a discourse section. A similar interpretation can be applied to (17), in which the initial relative phrase has a cleft structure without a subordinate particle:

(17) *ʾo-ṯ̂-íle y-axálwala bnònəx*ˈ *hóle qṭìləlle.*ˈ 'The one who is [the one who] was eating your children—he has killed him.' (A24:47)

19.5. Conditional Constructions

Conditional constructions consist of two components, the protasis clause, which presents the condition, and the apodosis clause, which expresses the consequent to the condition. The protasis is normally placed before the apodosis, though in some circumstances this is reversed and a condition of an event or situation is added after the latter has been expressed.

In most cases the protasis is introduced by the conditional particle *ʾən* ('if'). Occasionally it is introduced by other particles such as *madam* (§19.5.7.) or *ʾɛ-ga* (§19.5.8.). In what follows, we shall classify the conditional constructions with *ʾən* according to the verb form of the protasis and the apodosis.

19.5.1. *Protasis*

19.5.1.1. qaṭəl

The *qaṭəl* form is commonly used in a protasis referring to a future situation the occurrence of which the speaker believes is a real possibility. The form is perfective, since it presents actions delimited with a start and end point or at least with a start point., e.g.

(1) *ʾən-ʾamránnux ʾáp-ʾati b-šànət.*ˈ 'If I tell you, you will faint.' (A11:2)
(2) *ʾən-ʾázəx ʾáθṛət bàbux,*ˈ *yăðətle?*ˈ 'If we go to the land of your father, will you recognize it?' (A14:90)
(3) *ʾən-pálšəx mən-d-áni qaṭlìlən.*ˈ 'If we fight with them, they will kill us.' (A14:44)
(4) *ʾən-ʾánna mtămə̀tla,*ˈ *ʾána t-yànna-llux.*ˈ 'If you fulfil these (conditions), I shall give them to you.' (A12:2)

(5) *ʾən-lá-ʾazən mšàyðən.*ˈ ‘If I do not go, he will go mad.’ (A4:27)
(6) *ʾən-lá-ʾoðət b-xábrət ʾalàha,*ˈ *b-talqèti.*ˈ ‘If you do not do the word of God, you will be obliterated.’ (A8:97)

In verbs denoting mental processes, which tend to avoid the compound progressive construction (§15.1.1.4.), the *qaṭəl* form is used imperfectively to express a possible situation in the present, e.g.

(7) *ʾən-bă̆yət ʾázət déṛət ṭla-béθət bàbəx,*ˈ *tə́mməl mădəṛə̀nnəx.*ˈ ‘If you want to go and return to the house of your father, I shall send you back tomorrow.’ (A4:42)
(8) *ʾə́n bă̆yətli,*ˈ *ʾáθət báθri ʾap-ʾàti.*ˈ ‘If you love me, you should follow me.’ (A14:102)

19.5.1.2. qaṭəlwa
This form is used where the protasis refers to a possible habitual situation in the past, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-bă̆yáxwa tùma,*ˈ *ṭla-mbašàlta,*ˈ *kèfənile.*ˈ ‘If we wanted (to use) garlic for cooking, it was up to us.’ (B10:24)
(2) *bár hàdəx*ˈ *ʾə́n qă̆ṭíwa xəyalèy*ˈ *y-amríwa ʾáxni ràziyəx.*ˈ ‘Afterwards, if they had made a decision, they would say “We agree.”’ (B5:4)

Sometimes it is used to refer to a real situation in the past. In such cases it is often appropriate to translate the conditional particle ‘when’, since it denotes a situation that the speaker knows to be true. The motivation to use a conditional construction here does not arise out of the degree of certainty regarding the event. Rather the construction is used here as a device to introduce the situation described in the protasis as a topical frame for what follows, it being a more powerful presentative device than a factive temporal clause, e.g.

(3) *ʾən-paráqwa ʾẔ̀šwuṭ,*ˈ *ʾáw ʾəsrí-tmanya yomáθa yan-ʾəsrí-ʾəčča yomànele,*ˈ *y-azáxwa ṭùra.*ˈ ‘If February was finished—it is twenty-eight or twenty-nine days long—we would go to the mountains (= As for when February was finished…).’ (B5:152)
(4) *fa-ʾən-maṭiníwale ʾíθwa xàwla.*ˈ ‘If they loaded it, there was a rope (= As for when they loaded it…).’ (B5:128)

The *qaṭəlwa* form may also be used in a protasis to express modal remoteness. It is used to refer to a counterfactual situation in the past, which the speaker knows did not take place in reality, or to a situation in the present or future that the speaker knows cannot or will not in reality take place. Such hypothetical conditions refer to a single event or an iterative event. The verb can be interpreted as expressing perfective aspect, presenting the action as an event delimited by a start and endpoint, or at least with a start point. In the case of iterative actions, the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation, e.g.

(5) *ʾən-maxéwala xa-xéna xaθmàwa*ˈ *t̂-axlàwale.*ˈ 'If he had hit another (blow), she would have healed and eaten him.' (A50:14)
(6) *ʾən-maṣéwa t̂-axàlwala,*ˈ *lèla xamúṣe.*ˈ 'If he could have eaten them, (he would not have said that) they were sour.' (A43:4)
(7) *ʾən-maṣànwa,*ˈ *t̂-aθànwa.*ˈ 'If I could, I would come.'
(8) *ʾən-mbaqràtwa,*ˈ *t-yawánwalux zùze,*ˈ *bás là mbuqárrux.*ˈ 'If you had asked, I would have given you money, but you did not ask.'
(9) *ʾən-yăðánwa manay-díye mòdile,*ˈ *t̂-amránwalux dìya,*ˈ *bas lèðən.*ˈ 'If I knew its meaning, I would tell you now, but I do not know.'
(10) *ʾən-maṣànwa,*ˈ *t̂-aθànwa,*ˈ *bás lê-y-maṣən.*ˈ 'If I could, I would come, but I cannot.'

19.5.1.3. qṭille / qəm-qaṭəl

The past perfective forms *qṭille* and *qəm-qaṭəl* are commonly used in the protasis to denote a possible situation in the future, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-kpìnni,*ˈ *t̂-axlənne.*ˈ 'If I get hungry, I shall eat it.' (A23:5)
(2) *ʾən-mpŭqèli*ˈ *garšátli ṭḷa-gére mánne dìye.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾən-là mpŭqéli,*ˈ *ʾána pálxən b-réše bălàš.*ˈ 'If I split it, you will produce for me three arrows from it. If I do not split it, I shall work over it for free.' (A12:44)
(3) *ʾən-šắrəṭ díyi qəm-yăðətla,*ˈ *xo-b-gawrànnux.*ˈ *ʾən-šắrəṭ díyi là qəm-yăðətla,*ˈ *réšux mattánne gu-d-yàha káwe*ˈ *t̂-íla pyàša.*ˈ 'If you know (the answer to) my challenge (literally: condition), I shall indeed marry you. If you do not know (the answer to) my challenge, I shall put your head in that opening that remains.' (A25:62)
(4) *ʾən-báxtux muθéla bràta*ˈ *ʾu-báxti muθéla bròna,*ˈ *brátux qa-bròni.*ˈ *ʾən-báxti muθéla bràta*ˈ *ʾu-báxtux muθéla bròna,*ˈ *ʾa-bráti qa-brònux.*ˈ 'If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son. If my wife gives birth to a daughter

and your wife gives birth to a son, my daughter (will be married) to your son.' (A25:2–3)

(5) *ʾən-θèli*ˈ *xó bàxtiwət.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾən-là-θeli,*ˈ *kú-məndit ʾáwðət wùð.*ˈ 'If I come back, then you are my wife. If I do not come back, do anything you want.' (A25:66)

(6) *qrèla!*ˈ *ʾən-mjuwəbla,*ˈ *xo-ʾànən ʾáθya kásləx.*ˈ *ʾən-là mjuwábla,*ˈ *ʾàtit θíθa kásli.*ˈ 'Call them! If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you. If they do not answer you, you have come to me.' (A26:4)

(7) *ʾən-θéle mbuqárre xa-nàša,*ˈ *máre d-èni?*ˈ *ʾámrət t-ʾÁjdən tèlɛla.*ˈ 'If somebody comes and asks saying "Whose are they?", say they belong to Ajdən the fox.' (A32:20)

These past forms are also used in protases that refer to possible habitual situations in the present. Several examples are found in the description of games in text B11, e.g.

(8) *ʾən-là-mxele ʾíðe-lle,*ˈ *w-áwwa θéle dwíqle ʾo-qésa ṯ-íle dúkθət mṭawàlta,*ˈ *xàsri.*ˈ 'If he does not strike him with his hand and he comes and holds the stick which is the place of the game, they lose.' (B11:14)

(9) *ʾən-là xsírrey*ˈ *ʾánna-t qrìmla*ˈ *mšaxàlpi.*ˈ 'If they do not lose, the ones that have won change (place).' (B11:9)

(10) *ʾən-kúlla qəm-maxíla bərrèy*ˈ *ʾáw qəm-dawqíle ʾo-qésa ṯ-íle be-pàlga,*ˈ *θèla*ˈ *xá mən-d-ánna ṯ-íla qam-tăra,*ˈ *θéle qəm-dawàqle,*ˈ *xsìrra ʾan-gawáye.*ˈ 'If they break up all their group or seize the piece of wood that is in the middle, if one of those who are outside comes and seizes it, those inside lose.' (B11:9)

19.5.1.4. qṭilwale

This form is attested only rarely in the protasis. In (1) it refers to a habitual situation in the past:

(1) *ʾən-twírwala tárna*ˈ *t-xa mənnèy*ˈ *y-awálwala qa-t-wáha šaqàlwa mánne.*ˈ 'If both (sides) of one of the eggs broke, he would give it to the other person to take it from him.' (B5:59)

19.5.1.5. *Present Copula*

The present copula is used in a protasis that denotes a possible situation in the present. The enclitic form of the copula is used and this is attached to the conditional particle *ʾən* rather than to the predicate of the clause. The explanation for this is probably that the construction *ʾən* + copula

has developed historically from *ʾən + D* + copula (e.g. *ʾən-ile* < *ʾən-ṯ-ile*). As we have seen, the subordinating particle *D* regularly attracts the copula enclitic. The conditional construction *ʾən + D* + copula is, in fact, the norm in several other NENA dialects. Examples:

(1) *ʾən-íle mìθa,*| *gắrəg mèθən.*| 'If he is dead, I must die.' (A8:61)
(2) *ʾən-íle xwarzàyi,*| *ṯ-áθe t-yăðéla ʾánna mòdila.*| 'If he is my nephew, he will come and he will know what these are.' (A25:49)
(3) *ʾən-ʾíle ʾúrza gáwṛa xoš-qàyəm,*| *mjarbənne.*| 'If he is a brave man, let him get up and I shall test my mettle with him.' (A29:27)
(4) *ʾən-ít xonèni,*| *háyyo tu-ʾáxxa kəslèni.*| 'If you are our brother, come and sit here with us.' (A39:7)
(5) *ʾən-ít ṣìya,*| *hóʾla mìya.*| *ʾən-it-kpìna,*| *hóʾle xùl.*| 'If you are thirsty, here is water. If you are hungry, here eat.' (A28:18)

Occasionally the present copula is omitted from the protasis, e.g.

(6) *ʾən-réšət bábe díye ʾax-ṭùra,*| *ʾu-hóle qṭíla l-Tătár-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi,*| *lèka bṭ-ázəl.*?| 'If the head of his father is like a mountain and he has been killed by Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi, where will he go?' (A28:8)

19.5.1.6. *Past copula*
The past copula is sporadically used in the protasis to express a habitual situation in the past, as is the case in (1). Since the situation is known by the speaker to have taken place, the primary function of the construction should be regarded as being to present a topical frame:

(1) *ʾən-wéwa šēr-Dùre,*| *kúlla náše ʾo-yóma y-azíwa šēr-Dùre.*| 'If there was a saint's day festival in Dure, everybody on that day would go to Dure.' (B5:228)

19.5.1.7. *Existential Particle*
The present existential particle is used to refer to possible situations in the present, either those that may actually exist or those that are habitual, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-ʾíθ pàwxa,*| *ʾi-marmíle gu-hàwa.*| 'If there is wind, they raise it in the air.' (B5:97)
(2) *ʾən-ʾítla mója zòra*| *qám-ma xalwàla,*| *mamə̣sála xàčča-w*| 'If it has a small calf, before she (the milkmaid) milks it, she allows it to give suck (to the calf) a little.' (B5:175)

(3) *ʾən-ʾítlux ferə́sse bə̌ yət pàlšət,ˈ hadíya ʾána hon-ʾəθyaˈ ṭlába bràtux,ˈ bə̌ yət yawə̀tla,ˈ bə̌ yət pálšət kə̀fux!*ˈ 'If you have warriors and you want to fight—now, I have come to ask for the hand of your daughter, whether you want to give her or whether you fight is up to you.' (A29:58)

The present existential particle, may have a past habitual function, as in (4). Alternatively the past existential particle may be used, as in (5):

(4) *ʾən-ʾíθ-qaša táma mṣalə̀wa-wˈ kúlley y-axlíwa.*ˈ 'If a priest was there, they would pray and everybody would eat.' (B5:68)
(5) *ʾən-ʾítwalən mànqal,ˈ dɛ́rəxwa gu-mànqal.*ˈ 'If we had a griddle, we would put it on the griddle.' (B10:6)

19.5.1.8. *Compound Verbal Forms with the Present Copula*
Compound forms consisting of the present copula + resultative participle or present copula + infinitive are occasionally used in a protasis to refer to a situation that possibly holds in the present. In some of the attested examples the copula element is attached to the conditional particle as expected (1–2), but in some cases it remains cliticized to the end of the verbal form (3–4):

(1) *ʾə́n-in ʾàna ʾə́θya gu-šwíθəx,ˈ qrégən xaddàməx.*ˈ 'If I have come to sleep in your bed, call your servants.' (A26:4)
(2) *ʾən-it ʾə́θya šúlət qaḥbùθa,ˈ kəs-bábən Bə̌ ku.*ˈ 'If you have come to fornicate, then (lodge) with our father Bə̌ ku.' (A26:26)
(3) *ʾən-ʾáyya ʾisə́qθi xə̀rət,ˈ ʾən-ṭúwət ʾisə́qθi bdìlɛle,ˈ mšadrátla ʾárye ṯ-àθa,ˈ ʾána gu-ʾawqànən.*ˈ 'If you watch this ring, if the diamond of my ring changes (in colour), send the lions so that they come (to me), for I am in trouble.' (A18:13)
(4) *ʾən-mə̌ xóbət péšət ʾàxxa,ˈ ʾáti péšət malə́kθa šòpi.*ˈ 'If you would like to stay here, you will become queen in my place in this land.' (A4:42)

In (5) the deictic copula is used with the resultative participle in a protasis referring to a representative case of an habitual event. The situation is certain to exist and the conditional particle could be appropriately translated 'when'. The protasis, therefore, has a topic presentative function. This is reflected in the use of the deictic copula, which has a presentative, attention drawing function:

(5) *ʾən-xá náša dìyux*ˈ *yan-xá bráta díyux hot-híwəlla qa-ðà-maθa,*ˈ *píše xàzme.*ˈ
'If/when you have given somebody of your family or a daughter of yours to a certain village (in marriage), (the two families) become relatives.' (B5:232)

19.5.1.9. hawe

The form *hawe* is used in place of the present copula to refer to a situation in the present that the speaker regards as being unlikely to be realized, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-háwɛ ʾəṣrà ṭiyáre xéne*ˈ *ʾaxwáθux hawnàne,*ˈ *la-maṭétuwa l-àwwa láxma.*ˈ
'If ten other men from Ṭiyare were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this (miserable condition of begging for) bread.' (B17:16)

It may be used in a protasis that refers to a present habitual situation, e.g.

(2) *ʾán har-hóya talìlta*ˈ *har-qítla ʾíðux bíya díya xàčča,*ˈ *kéma ʾíðət nàša,*ˈ *ʾi-ṣə̀wa y-amrə́xla.*ˈ 'If it is still wet, as soon as your hand touches it, the hand of the person (who touches it) becomes black, it is dyed, as we say.' (B5:216)

It is used to refer to a future situation that the speaker assesses to be a realistic possibility, e.g.

(3) *ʾən-hóya rázi šə́nna díya pə̆làla,*ˈ *pálga ṭla-d-áy ʾu-pálga ṭla-d-àw,*ˈ *maqimə̀xle.*ˈ
'If she will be happy to share her years, half for her and half for him, we shall resurrect him.' (A4:46)

(4) *ʾən-hawéli bràta*ˈ *t-yánna qa-bronə̀xu.*ˈ 'If I were to have a daughter, I would give her to your son.' (A25:8)

(5) *ʾən-háwe t-tə̀rte ʾaqláθa,*ˈ *ʾána b-zawnə̀nne.*ˈ 'If it were two legged, I would buy it.' (A22:5)

(6) *ʾən-hàwa*ˈ *ʾə́ṭṭi-u ʾə́ṭṭa maqəlbə̀nna.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾən-hàwa*ˈ *ʾə́mma-w-xà-ži,*ˈ *la-bə̆yə̀nna.*ˈ
'If they are ninety-nine, I shall return them. If they are even one hundred and one, I don't want them.' (A6:1)

19.5.1.10. hawewa

This form is used to express remote modality in a protasis. In (1) it has present time reference and denotes a situation that the speaker judges to be completely hypothetical and impossible to fulfil in the real world. In (2) it denotes a counterfactual situation in the past:

(1) *ʾən-hawátwa gu-ʾáθṛa dìyi,ˈ kú-məndi bắyátwa t-yànwalux.ˈ* 'If you were in my country, I would give you whatever you wanted.' (A26:57)
(2) *ʾána b-gáni ʾən-hawánwa tàmaˈ ta-t-taqlənwaleˈ là-mṣənwa taqlánwale.ˈ* 'If I myself were there (and tried) to lift it, I could not have lifted it.' (A51:20)

19.5.1.11. wela
In the protasis of (1) the *qṭille* form of *hwy* is used to describe a possible punctual event in the future:

(1) *sab-lá-hoya biš-pθìθa,ˈ ʾən-wéla biš-pθìθa,ˈ y-ámrəxxa dàrpa,ˈ yáʿni ṣàlya,ˈ t̂-áθe sàtwaˈ t̂-áθya tàlga mándi.ˈ* 'This was because (the space) must not be wider. If it were to become wider, (the roof) would collapse, as we say, that is it would come down, when it was winter and the snow arrived.' (B5:189)

19.5.1.12. hawewa qṭila
This compound verbal form is normally used in a protasis as a modally remote expression in order to denote a counterfactual perfective event in the past, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-ʾána hawánwa qṭíləlla ʾăyáha ʾaqərwa,ˈ ʾáwwa xúwwe t̂-awéwa qṭíla ṭla-bròni.ˈ* 'If I had killed that scorpion, that snake would have killed my son.' (A9:6)
(2) *ʾən-hawéwa kálba zíla qamàya,ˈ qaṭlíwa kàlba.ˈ* 'If the dog had gone first, they would have killed the dog.' (C8:5)
(3) *ʾən-hawétuwa dáryəlli xáčča xéna biš-hódəx biš-ʾamòqta,ˈ táma mpulṭəllέxu mən-d-ànnaˈ t̂-pazesór b-ʾəlyàθa,ˈ hátxa b-qanàne.ˈ* 'If you had thrown me a little further along, (where it is) deeper, I would have brought out for you from there some of those big sheep with fat tails and horns (big) like this.' (A7:22)
(4) *ʾo-šəndóxa ʾán-hawewa qíθa bìyiˈ t̂-awátwa qṭìləlli.ˈ* 'If that rock had hit me, you would have killed me.' (A1:25)
(5) *ʾən-hawátwa mìrəlliˈ t̂-awənwá-ʾəθya t̂-amránwala ʾan-šère* 'If you had told me, I would have come to recite these poems.' (B1:14)
(6) *ʾən-ʾána hawánwa wíða m-bàbi,ˈ ʾup-ʾáti t̂-oðətwa mánni.ˈ* 'If I had done a good service to my father, you also would have done a good service to me.' (A41:6)

In is occasionally used to denote a state resulting from a habitual action in the past, e.g.

(7) *xéna ʾən-hawéwa bàsra,ˈ ʾən-háwəxwa príme ʾərwe,ˈ dèrəxwa bə́sra.ˈ* 'If there was meat, if we had slaughtered sheep, we would serve meat.' (B10:19)

19.5.1.13. *Compound Forms Containing* t̂-awe

A few marginal cases are attested in which the protasis contains a compound verbal form consisting of an infinitive or verbal noun and the future form *t̂-awe* (< *bəd-hawe*), e.g.

(1) *ʾən-t̂-áwe jwə̀jta,ˈ b-šàxən.ˈ* 'If he moves (on one occasion), he warms up.' (B11:16)
(2) *mə́re báre xa-mə̀ndiˈ qa-d-áwwa ʾáwəð xa-čə̀ra,ˈ ʾən-t̂-áwe rə̀qa,ˈ qa-t-ʾáwəð xa-čə̀ra qa-gáne.ˈ* 'He said "(In case) something happens," so that he could find a way out (of trouble), so that, if he was fleeing, he could find for himself a way out (of trouble).' (A18:17)

19.5.2. *Apodosis*

Apodosis clauses contain various types of verbal form. These include a number of forms that contain the prefixed particle *bəd-*.

19.5.2.1. bəd-qaṭəl

This is the regular future form and is used as a future verb in apodoses that follow protases referring to the present or the future, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-íle xwarzə̀yi,ˈ t̂-áθe t-yăðéla ʾánna mòdila.ˈ* 'If he is my nephew, he will come and he will know what these are.' (A25:49)
(2) *ʾən-kpìnni,ˈ t̂-axlənne.ˈ* 'If I am hungry, I shall eat it.' (A23:5)
(3) *ʾən-hawéli brə̀taˈ t-yánna qa-bronə̀xu.ˈ* 'If I were to have a daughter, I would give her to your son.' (A25:8)
(4) *ʾən-lá-ʾoðət b-xábrət ʾalə̀ha,ˈ b-talqə̀ti.ˈ* 'If you do not do the word of God, you will be obliterated.' (A8:97)

19.5.2.2. bəd-qaṭəlwa

This form is used in the apodosis of conditional sentences that refer to a hypothetical condition in the past, which was not fulfilled (1), or to a hypothetical condition in the present or future, which the speaker assesses to be impossible to fulfil (2–3). It is perfective in aspect:

(1) *ʾən-mbaqrə̀twa,ˈ t-yawə́nwalux zùze,ˈ bás là mbuqə́rrux.ˈ* 'If you had asked, I would have given you money, but you did not ask.'

(2) *ʾən-maṣənwa,ˈ ṯ-aθənwa,ˈ bás lè-y-maṣən*ˈ 'If I could, I would come, but I cannot.'
(3) *ʾən-hawátwa gu-ʾáθṛa dìyi,ˈ kú-məndi bǎyátwa t-yànwalux.*ˈ 'If you were in my country, I would give you whatever you wanted.' (A26:57)

19.5.2.3. qaṭəl
This form is commonly used in apodoses after protases referring to possible events in the present or future, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-pálšax mən-d-áni qaṭlìlən.*ˈ 'If we fight with them they will kill us.' (A14:44)
(2) *ʾən-bǎyət ʾázət déṛət ṭla-béθət bàbəx,ˈ támməl mădəṛənnəx.*ˈ 'If you want to go and return to the house of your father, I shall send you back tomorrow.' (A4:42)
(3) *ʾən-mpŭqèli*ˈ *garšátli ṭla-gére mánne dìye.*ˈ 'If I split it, you will produce for me three arrows from it.' (A12:44)
(4) *ʾán bǎyətli,ˈ ʾáθət báθri ʾap-ʾàti.*ˈ 'If you love me, you should follow me.' (A14:102)

19.5.2.4. ʾi-qaṭəl
This is attested in apodoses after protases that refer to a real habitual situation in the present, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-ʾíθ pàwxa,ˈ ʾi-marmíle gu-hàwa.*ˈ 'If there is wind, they raise it in the air.' (B5:97)

19.5.2.5. qaṭəlwa
This form is attested in two types of constructions. It is used in apodoses that denote past habitual situations, e.g.

(1) *ʾu-ʾən-íθən náše ʾəθye m-maθwáθa xène,ˈ kút-xa šáqəlwa xákma xəzmān-dìye,ˈ masáqla kəsle-díye ṭla-fṭàrta.*ˈ 'If there are people who have come from other villages, each person would take some of his relatives and take them up to his home for breakfast.' (B5:60)

It also occurs in apodoses expressing counterfactual situations in the past, e.g.

(2) *ʾən-háwɛ ʾəṣrà ṭiyáre xéne*ˈ *ʾaxwáθux hawnàne,ˈ la-maṭétuwa l-àwwa láxma,ˈ ʾu-ʾattítuwa láxxa pɛšítuwa hátxa snìqe.*ˈ 'If ten other men from Ṭiyare

were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this (miserable condition of begging for) bread, you would not be sitting here and have become so poor.' (B17:16)

19.5.2.6. ʾi-qaṭəlwa

This is found in apodoses after protases with a topic presentative function that refer to a real habitual situation in the past, e.g.

(1) *bár hàdəx*ˈ *ʾə́n qăṭíwa xəyalèy*ˈ *y-amríwa ʾáxni ràziyəx.*ˈ 'Afterwards, if they had made a decision, they would say "We agree."' (B5:4)
(2) *ʾən-parə́qwa ʾƎšwuṭ,*ˈ *ʾáw ʾəsrí-tmanya yomáθa yan-ʾəsrí-ʾəčˌ́a yomànele,*ˈ *y-azə́xwa ṭùra.*ˈ 'If February was finished—it is twenty-eight or twenty-nine days long—we would go to the mountains (= As for when February was finished…).' (B5:152)
(3) *ʾən-wéwa šēr-Dùre,*ˈ *kúlla náše ʾo-yóma y-azíwa šēr-Dùre.*ˈ 'If there was a saint's day festival in Dure, everybody on that day would go to Dure.' (B5:228)

19.5.2.7. qṭille / qəm-qaṭəl

The past perfective *qṭille* form and its functionally equivalent alternant *qəm-qaṭəl* are rarely used in apodoses. It is attested in (1) and (2), which refer to a habitual situation in the present:

(1) *ʾən-ʾaxlənna kúlla,*ˈ *prìqla ṭawálta.*ˈ 'If I eliminate (literally: eat) them all, the game is finished.' (B11:22)
(2) *ʾən-kúlla qəm-maxíla bərrèy*ˈ *ʾáw qəm-dawqíle ʾo-qə́sa ṯ̂-íle be-pàlga,*ˈ *θèla*ˈ *xá mən-d-ánna ṯ̂-íla qam-tă̆ra,*ˈ *θéle qəm-dawə̀qle,*ˈ *xsìrra ʾan-gawáye.*ˈ 'If they break up all their group or seize the piece of wood that is in the middle, if one of those who are outside comes and seizes it, those inside lose.' (B11:9)

19.5.2.8. *Copula*

A form of the copula is used in the apodosis in various circumstances, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-bă̆yə́xwa tùma,*ˈ *ṭla-mbašàlta,*ˈ *kə̀fənile.*ˈ 'If we wanted (to use) garlic for cooking, it was up to us.' (B10:24)
(2) *ʾən-ít ṣ̀iya,*ˈ *hó'la mìya.*ˈ *ʾən-it-kpìna,*ˈ *hó'le xùl.*ˈ 'If you are thirsty, here is water. If you are hungry, here eat.' (A28:18)
(3) *ʾən-lá ʾòðət,*ˈ *kliθà-llux-ila.*ˈ 'If you do not do so, it is up to you.' (A8:44)

(4) *ʾən-lá zɛrə́nna Q̆ŭdus,*| *lɛ̀la qbílta ḥajjiyúθi.*| ‘If I do not visit Jerusalem, my pilgrimage is not accepted.’ (A2:1)

19.5.2.9. *Existential Particle*
The existential particle is attested in the apodosis in (1) after a protasis expressing a habitual situation in the past, which has a topic presentative function:

(1) *fa-ʾən-maṭiníwale ʾíθwa xàwla.*| ‘If they loaded it, there was a rope (= As for when they loaded it…).’ (B5:128)

19.5.2.10. *Resultative participle + present copula*
The compound form *qṭilɛle* with the present copula is attested in the apodosis of (1), the protasis of which denotes the possible evidence for the situation in the apodosis:

(1) *qrèla!*‖ *ʾən-mjuwə̀bla,*| *xo-ʾànən ʾə́θya kásləx.*| *ʾən-là mjuwə́bla,*| *ʾàtit θíθa kásli.*| ‘Call them! If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you. If they do not answer you, you have come to me.’ (A26:4)

19.5.2.11. ṯ-awewa qṭila
This form occurs in apodoses expressing the consequent of counterfactual events in the past, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-ʾána hawə́nwa qṭíləlla ʾə̆yáha ʾaqə̀rwa,*| *ʾáwwa xúwwe ṯ-awéwa qṭíla ṭla-bròni.*| ‘If I had killed that scorpion, that snake would have killed my son’. (A9:6)
(2) *ʾən-hawátwa mìrəlli*| *ṯ-awənwá-ʾəθya ṯ-amrə́nwala ʾan-šère.*| ‘If you had told me, I would have come to recite these poems.’ (B1:14)

19.5.2.12. *Imperative*
On several occasions the apodosis contains an imperative form:

(1) *ʾən-ít xonɛ̀ni,*| *háyyo tu-ʾáxxa kəslɛ̀ni.*| ‘If you are our brother, come and sit here with us.’ (A39:7)
(2) *ʾu-ʾən-là-θeli,*| *kú-məndit ʾáwðət wùð.*| ‘If I do not come back, do anything you want.’ (A25:66)
(3) *ʾə́n-in ʾàna ʾáθya gu-šwíθəx,*| *qrégən xaddàməx.*| ‘If I have come to sleep in you bed, call your servants.’ (A26:4)

(4) *ʾən-θéla píšla xa̱ṭar ʾállux qúrba,ˈ dríla ʾan-bóc̣e l-ʾa̱ra.*ˈ ‘If danger comes near to you, put these two seeds in the ground.’ (A18:14)

19.5.2.13. *Verb Omitted*

In some contexts the verb of the apodosis is omitted when it can be understood from the context, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-báxtux muθéla bràtaˈ ʾu-báxti muθéla bròna,ˈ brátux qa-bròni.*ˈ ‘If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son.’ (A25:2–3)
(2) *mára ʾéka péšən ʾàrxa?ˈˈ mára ʾən-ít xoš-gàwṛaˈ kəs-Qára Tèždin.*ˈ ‘He said “Where can I lodge as a guest?” They said “If you are a good man, (you can lodge with) with Qara Teždin.”’ (A26:26)

19.5.2.14. *Apodosis Introduced by Particle*

(i) *xo-/xu-*

On some occasions the apodosis is introduced by the intensifying particle *xo-/xu-* (§17.9.2.), e.g.

(1) *ʾən-šárəṭ díyi qəm-yáðətla,ˈ xo-b-gawrànnux.*ˈ ‘If you know (the answer to) my test, I shall indeed marry you.’ (A25:62)
(2) *ʾən-θèliˈ xó bàxtiwət.*ˈ ‘If I come back, then you are my wife.’ (A25:66)
(3) *qrèla.ˈˈ ʾən-mjuwəbla,ˈ xo-ʾànən ʾáθya kásləx.*ˈ ‘Call them! If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you.’ (A26:4)

(ii) *ʾap*

The connective particle *ʾap* is also used to introduce the apodosis when it opens with an independent topical subject pronoun. This can be identified with the discourse boundary marking function of *ʾap* (§18.1.3.1.), which is applied here to give added prominence to the apodosis, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-ʾamránnux ʾáp-ʾati b-šànət.*ˈ ‘If I tell you, you will faint.’ (A11:2)

19.5.3. *Protasis after the Apodosis*

A condition expressed in a protasis is occasionally placed after its consequent. The protasis in such cases generally has the status of a tag that elaborates on what precedes, sometimes as an afterthought, e.g.

(1) *máṣət ṯ-óðət rába məndiyáne mánne dìye,ˈ ʾən-ila zawdàne.ˈ* 'You can make make many (other) things from them, if they are left over.' (B5:219)
(2) *m-bár ṭaxnìle,ˈ páyəš qàmxa,ˈ masqíle bèθa,ˈ ʾax-t-məri mă̆θă̆lan ʾən-bă̆yi t-yápi láxma mənnéy zeðàye,ˈ mtárṣi mənnéy ṭ̀əlme.ˈ* 'After they grind it and it becomes flour, they take it up to the house, as I said, if they want, for example, to bake pitta breads from it or make thin breads.' (B5:99)
(3) *ʾána b-zawnə̀nneˈ ʾína ʾən-háwe ṭ̀là ʾaqláθa.ˈ* 'I shall buy it, but only if it has three legs.' (A22:3)

19.5.4. *Conditional after the Verb 'to wait'*

A conditional clause introduced by the particle *ʾən* may be used as the complement of the verb *spr* 'to wait', e.g.

(1) *sàprìˈ ʾən-háwe pàwxa.ˈ* 'They wait for there to be wind.' (B5:97)

19.5.5. ʾən-la *and* ʾəlla

The negation of a protasis that is placed before the apodosis is expressed by combining the conditional particle with the negator in the uncontracted phrase *ʾən-lá* with stress on the negator. This is typically used in contexts where the clause expresses a negative alternative to a situation described in the preceding context. As a result, the remaining content of the clause is given or at least inferrable from what precedes and the main information prominence is on the negator rather than the clause content, e.g.

(1) *ʾən-mpŭqèliˈ garšə̀tli ṭ̀la-gére mánne dìye.ˈ ʾu-ʾən-là mpŭqéli,ˈ ʾána pálxən b-réše bă̆lə̀š.ˈ* 'If I split it, you will produce for me three arrows from it. If I do not split it, I shall work over it for free.' (A12:44)
(2) *ʾən-θèliˈ xó bàxtiwət.ˈ ʾu-ʾən-là-θeli,ˈ kú-məndit ʾáwðət wùð.ˈ* 'If I come back, then you are my wife. If I do not come back, do anything you want.' (A25:66)
(3) *ʾá puqdánət ʾalàhɛ̆le.ˈ ʾən-lá-ʾoðət b-xábrət alàha,ˈ b-talqèti.ˈ* 'This is God's command (which you must obey). If you do not do the word of God, you will be obliterated.' (A8:97)

The content of the protasis clause indeed is sometimes gapped completely, e.g.

(4) *ră̆pili m-an-képe ṯ-íla tàma,ˈ ga-maxzə́nnux ʾúrxa ṣàlət.ˈ ʾən-lá tàma ṯ-áwət.ˈ* 'Throw me the stones that are there, then I shall show you the way down. If not, you will remain there.' (A14:70)

(5) *ʾən-hóya rázi šánna díya pălàla*ˈ *… maqimàxle.*ˈ *xă̆yi m-ġðàðe*ˈ *ṭḷáθi šənne-w*ˈ *méθi m-ġðàðe.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾən-làʾ,*ˈ *har-ʾàxxa ṯ-óya ʾášti šánne.*ˈ ‘If she is happy to share her years, … we shall resurrect him. They will live together thirty years and die together. If not, she will stay here for sixty years.’ (A4:46)

(6) *mqáwlət goràtle,*ˈ *t-yálla jùlla.*ˈ *ʾən-là,*ˈ *har-t-yálla júlləx b-kèfəx.*ˈ ‘If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes. If not, he will still give you the clothes, if you want them.’ (A14:83)

The particle *ʾálla*, which is a contraction of *ʾən-la* with the stress on the conditional particle rather than the negator, is used in clauses that come after a negated main clause. The content of the clause introduced by *ʾálla* has higher information value than a clause introduce by *ʾən-lá*. An *ʾálla* clause is typically not given in the prior discourse whereas the preceding main clause is bound to the preceding context in some way, e.g.

(7) *b-ču-ʾúrxa ʾo-Dəmdáma lé šaqlìtule*ˈ *ʾálla qăṭítula míyət Dəmdàma.*ˈ ‘By no means will you capture Dəmdəma unless you cut off the water of Dəmdəma.’ (A11:17)

(8) *xátna lè-y-axəl*ˈ *ʾálla qablíle xà-məndi.*ˈ ‘The groom would not eat unless they pledged something to him.’ (B10:40)

(9) *ʾána mírtɛwən le-y-ʾáθyən b-xábrət čù-ʾurza,*ˈ *ʾálla ṯ-áθya báxta maθyàli.*ˈ ‘I said that I would not come by the word of any man, unless a woman came to fetch me.’ (A8:94)

Occasionally a postposed protasis with *ʾən-lá* has a content that is not given in the preceding context. In such cases, however, the clause generally still does not have the same informational prominence as clauses introduced by *ʾálla*. This is seen in (10) where the protasis clause expresses an action that is circumstantial to the action of the main clause. The whole sentence may be paraphrased ‘We brought in sticks having broken them’:

(10) *ʾáxni la-moráxwa xa-səryóqa gu-bɛ́θa ʾən-lá torəxwale.*ˈ ‘We would not bring a single twig into the house without breaking it (literally: if we did not break it).’ (B10:70)

On some occasions the content of a clause introduced by *ʾálla* is given in the preceding context, but the speaker uses the construction to give the clause enhanced prominence. It is typically used when the speaker wishes to insist forcefully that something be done, e.g.

(11) *ʾən-lá galátli ʾánna šaqyáθa módi gu-rèšux,*| *ʾánna brinánət mòdila*|*…ʾən-là galátli,*| *ʾána lɛ̀-qɛṣənne káwsux.*|*… là qɛṣánne káwsux,*| *ʾálla ṯ-amrátli ʾánna ma-brinànela gu-réšux.*| ‘If you do not reveal what these scars on your head are, what these wounds are from…if you do not reveal this to me, I shall not cut your hair…I shall not cut your hair, unless you tell me what these wounds are on your head.’ (A29:5–6)

Clauses expressing insistence that open with *ʾálla* are sometimes used independently of a preceding main clause, e.g.

(12) *kízla bíye dìye,*| *mára ʾəlla gáwrət.*| ‘They tried (to persuade) him and said “You must marry.”’ (A16:6)
(13) *máre lá b-àlaha,*| *ʾálla maṣlánnəx ʾàna.*| ‘No, by God. I shall take you down.’ (A29:27)
(14) *là*| *ʾána har-bṯ̂-àzən.*| *ʾálla xazyánne xòni.*| ‘No. I shall still go. I must see my brother.’ (A8:66)

In (15) it is combinded with the expression of obligation *gărəg*:

(15) *ʾəlla gắrəg ʾáyya bráta goránna.*| ‘I must marry this girl.’ (A12:55)

The construction is sometimes used in the context of oaths, e.g.

(16) *la-málka màmi*| *hóle yámya b-rèši.*| *máttu jallàde*| *ʾálla b-qaṭə̀lli.*| ‘Indeed the king my uncle has sworn on my head (to execute me). He will appoint executioners and (has sworn) he will kill me.’ (A25:36)

The particle *ʾəlla* may be used to insist on the veracity of a factual statement, e.g.

(17) *ʾu-ʾáwwa-ži huðáya l-gàre*| *ʾəlla,*| *ʾánna dáwe ʾànən hiwə́llux.*| ‘But this Jew on the roof (said) “I insist that it was me who gave you these gold coins.”’ (A6:11)

Insistence on a prohibition may be expressed by using a construction opening with *ʾən-lá* independently of a main clause, paralleling the use of *ʾálla* to express insistence on a command, e.g.

(18) *ʾá-ṣəpra ʾíla ròxi,*| *ʾən-lá qaṭlíle ʾo-táwrət wàla,*| *šaqlíle ʾo-ṣə̀pra.*| ‘That sparrow is my spirit. They must not kill that wild ox and take that sparrow.’ (A12:41)

The insistent function of *ʾálla* is sometimes used to express the sense of 'only if', e.g.

(19) *ʾána míθənwa l-márya ʾalàha*ˈ *ʾálla ṯ̂-aθyáwa báxta bàθri,*ˈ *ṯ̂-azànwa.*ˈ 'I had sworn to the Lord God that only if a woman came after me would I go.' (A8:94)

An alternative way of expressing 'only if' is to use the particle *ʾaxčí* combined with *ʾən*, e.g.

(20) *nablánnux l-ʾáθṛət bàbux,*ˈ *ʾáxčí ʾən-yăðátla ʾàθṛa.*ˈ 'I shall take you to the land of your father, only if you know the land.' (A14:89)

The particle *ʾálla* may be used to express exclusivity also in other contexts, including before a nominal (22–23):

(21) *líθ bằjàra*ˈ *ʾálla bṯ̂-àzəx.*ˈ 'There is no alternative but that we go.' (A8:27)
(22) *w-ána hon-márta ṭla-Nozàli*ˈ *ʾána lɛ-gáwrən ʾálla xóna díya Gozàli.*ˈ 'I said to Nozali that I would only marry her brother Gozali.' (A8:95)
(23) *díya ʾálla xá-mdi dàwa bắyi.*ˈ 'Now they want only something made of gold.' (B10:40)

It is used also as a clausal connective in the sense of 'but', 'but rather', e.g.

(24) *ʾu-čú bəṛ-náša la-máṭe-lla ʾálla b-rzáyət gána-diya ṯ̂-àθya.*ˈ 'Nobody can reach her, but rather she comes of her own will.' (A8:65)
(25) *ʾu-ʾùp-ati pɛ́šət mánnən,*ˈ *ʾárpa xonăwàθəx.*ˈ *ʾálla b-šaqlə̀nna*ˈ *xáθət Mir-Ẓán-din barxə̀nna-llux.*ˈ 'You also should become (one) of us and (make) four brothers. But I must (first) take the sister of Mir Zandin to marry her to you.' (A26:39)

19.5.6. *Non-Conditional Uses of the Particle* ʾən

The particle *ʾən* is sometimes used outside of conditional contexts. These include the following.

19.5.6.1. *Disjunctive Particle ('either… or')*

Several speakers use *ʾən* as a disjunctive between items. It is used either before each item *ʾən… ʾən* ('either.… or') or only before the final item. The items may be clauses (1–2) or constituents of clauses (3–5)

(1) *ʾən-qaṭlánnux ʾáyya bráta šaqlənna*ˈ *ʾən-la-pálṭən m-àxxa.*ˈ ‘Either I shall kill you and take this girl or I shall not go out from here.’ (A29:28)
(2) *là-barya*ˈ *gànwi*ˈ *ʾən-sàlbi.*ˈ ‘They cannot steal or plunder.’ (A29:39)
(3) *ʾána hon-yəmya*ˈ *ʾáyya bráta hon-ʾə́θya nablənna*ˈ *ʾən-b-našùθa,*ˈ *ʾən-b-xɛ̀la,*ˈ *nablánna ṭla-bàbi.*ˈ ‘I have taken an oath. I have come to take this girl either humanely or by force to my father.’ (A29:65)
(4) *xàrθa*ˈ *ʾáxni gu-maθwàθa*ˈ *kúllɛni jămə́xwa m-ġðàðe,*ˈ *ʾən-qàša mánnən*ˈ *ʾən-múxtərət màθa,*ˈ *zavrə́xwa ʾeðăwàθa.*ˈ ‘Afterwards, all of us in the villages gather together, either with a priest with us or a head of the village, and we go around (offering) festival blessings.’ (B6:13)
(5) *xálya t-heywàne*ˈ *t-ʾə́rwe ʾən-tawràθa,*ˈ *xálya marəxθìle.*ˈ ‘They boil the milk of animals, of sheep or cows.’ (B6:37)

When the particle is used before a copula clause, the copula may be attached to it, as is the case when it has a conditional function (6), or the copula may remain in its normal position on the predicate (7–8):

(6) *ʾə́ox ʾáw gáwṛi m-jàlde hóle zíla*ˈ *lá-ʾəθya l-béθa žàre,*ˈ *ʾən-ile-qṭìla,*ˈ *ʾən-ile xìla.*ˈ ‘Oh, that husband of mine has gone out early and has not returned home, poor man. He has either been killed or he has been eaten (by wild animals).’ (A39:17)
(7) *y-azíwa be-kʸàlo.*ˈ *ʾən-d-à-maθɛle.*ˈ *ʾən-d-a-máθa xètɛle*ˈ *y-azíwa y-atwíwa táma be-kʸàlo.*ˈ ‘They went to the house of the bride. Whether it was in the village or in another village, they would go and sit there in the house of the bride.’ (B5:28)
(8) *šăvána modìle?*ˈ *kut-nášət ʾítle ʾərwe,*ˈ *ʾən-ʾə́rwət xwàrela,*ˈ *ʾə́rwət kòmela,*ˈ *yáʿni ʾəzzela,*ˈ *ʾən-wànela.*ˈ ‘What is a shepherd? Anybody who has small cattle, whether they are “white small cattle” or they are “black small cattle”, that is whether they are goats or are sheep.’ (B5:109)

19.5.6.2. *Interrogative Particle*

The particle *ʾən* is sporadically used at the front of direct polar (yes–no?) question, e.g.

(1) *ʾamrə́xlux ʾítlən xá zəqqa*ˈ *ràba góṛtɛla.*ˈ *y-ásqəx méθəx míya mən-d-ăwàha ṭúra.*ˈ *rába rə̀ḥqɛle ʾo-ṭúra.*ˈ *ràba ráḥqɛle.*ˈ *ʾə́n máṣət šaqlətla?*ˈ ‘We say to you that we have a water-skin that is very large. We shall go up and fetch water from that mountain over there. That mountain is very far away. It is very far away. Can you take it there?’ (A39:9)

19.5.7. *Conditionals with* madam

On some occasions constructions that can be rendered into English as conditionals have the particle *madam* in the protasis rather than the usual conditional particle *ʾən*. The use of *madam* is restricted to clauses describing a situation that the speaker knows is true. For this reason the particle in the protasis clause can usually be approprately translated also by an factive English subordinate clause such as 'since (it is the case that)…'. The particle *madam* is generally connected to the following clauses by the *D* subordinator, though this is omitted in some cases, e.g.

(1) *mádam hàtxɛla*ˈ *t̰-ázən t̰ə́yən báθər ḥaqqùθa*ˈ *ʾu-na-ḥaqqùθa.*ˈ 'If (the world) is like that, I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful.' (A15:5)
(2) *mádam t̰-íwət hàtxa*ˈ *háyyo láxxa t̰-awðánnux wə̀zīr.*ˈ 'If you are like this, come here and I shall make you the vizier.' (A21:41)
(3) *mádam bráti wéla b-pəlxàna*ˈ *ʾu-lípla pəlxàna*ˈ *bə́yən t-yə̀ðən*ˈ *ʾáwwa bəṛ-náša mòdile,*ˈ *dáx mṣéle ʾáyya bráta qəm-ʾawə́dla b-pəlxánət bèθa.*ˈ 'If my daughter has become hard-working and has learnt to work, I want to know what (kind of person) this man is, how could he have made this girl a hard-working housewife.' (A21:32)
(4) *ʾáwwa mádam ʾìθwale*ˈ *bàxta,*ˈ *ʾíθwale bnòne,*ˈ *ʾíθwale nàše,*ˈ *ʾáwwa lèle míθa.*ˈ 'If he had a wife, he had sons, he had relatives, he is not dead.' (A17:17)
(5) *madam-t̰-íwət ʾáyya wìðəlla kúlla,*ˈ *si-méθili qəṣṣáttət Wɛ́rda-w Nɛ̀rgis.*ˈ 'If you have done all of this, go and bring me the story of Wɛrda and Nɛrgis.' (A24:35)
(6) *hə̀yyo,*ˈ *hə̀yyo!*ˈˈ *madam-t̰-íwət ʾàti,*ˈ *hə̀yyo!*ˈˈ *là-ʾazət.*ˈ 'Come, come. If it is you. Come, don't go.' (A24:36)

19.5.8. *Conditionals with* ʾɛ-ga

Similarly a clause introduced by the adverbial *ʾɛ-ga* referring to a situation that the speaker knows is true may sometimes be rendered idiomatically by an English conditional, e.g.

(1) *ʾɛ́-gət mən-d-ánna hàwe,*ˈ *šúla bt̰-ázəl lă-qàma!*ˈˈ 'If there are these (gold pieces), the job will go ahead!' (A4:15)

19.5.9. *Asyndetic Conditional and Temporal Constructions*

On a number of occasions the semantic relation between a series of clauses is that of condition and consequent, but they are juxtaposed asyndetically without a conditional particle. It is often appropriate to translate such clauses by an English conditional sentence. They often contain verbal forms that are characteristic of *ʾən* conditional constructions., e.g.

(1) *ʾána támməl ʾàθena,*| *ʾáti mxazdətli.*| 'If I come tomorrow, you will blame me.' (A21:43)
(2) *ʾàti*| *díya ʾáθət gu-bέθi la-pàlxət,*| *lè-yannux ʾixála.*| 'If you come now, come to my house and do not work, I shall not give you food.' (A21:36)
(3) *xàzən*| *màṣən*| *ṯ-óðən xa-čàra.*| *là-amṣən,*| *maqàṭlu bróni,*| *mó ṯ-oðèna?*|| 'I shall see whether I can find a solution. If I cannot, have my son killed, what can I do?' (A33:6)
(4) *mqáwlət goràtle,*| *t-yálla jùlla.*| 'If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes.' (A14:83)
(5) *gúrza maxèle*| *ʾáy bážər kúlla ṯ-awədla mìya.*| 'If he struck with his club, he would make all of that town turn to water.' (A52:15)
(6) *léle jyàra,*| *šăyátle b-gùda.*| 'If he does not pass water, throw him against the wall.' (A30:40)
(7) *kút-dana ʾa-ṣápra mìtle,*| *ʾé-ga ʾana-mèθən.*| 'If ever that sparrow dies, then I shall die.' (A12:41)
(8) *támməl yámmi mìtla,*| *péšax ʾána-w bàxti.*| 'If my mother dies tomorrow, we shall remain, myself and my wife.' (A21:42)
(9) *muθyále Bálbəl Hazàr,*| *péša kàlθi.*| 'If he brings Bəlbəl Hazar back, she will become my daughter-in-law.' (A8:34)

Such asyndetic conditional constructions are commonly found with the verb 'to want' in the protasis, e.g.

(10) *bă̆yət ʾàxlət,*| *xùl!*|| 'If you want to eat, eat!' (A14:59)
(11) *ʾárwe hòla gu-ṭúra.*| *bă̆yət,*| *sε-mkàpašla!*|| 'The sheep are in the mountains. If you want, go and gather them up!' (A10:4)
(12) *bă̆ya pèša,*| *péša ʾáy ʾàxxa,*| *b-šópət brònən*| *ṯ-óya malákθa b-šópi ʾíman-t-ʾána mèθən.*| *ʾu-bă̆ya déṛa l-bέθət bába dìya,*| *mattánna xá-ga xèta,*| *ʾàna mădəṛánna.*| 'If she wants to stay, let her stay here in the place of our son and she will be queen in my place when I die. But, if she wants to return to her father's house, I shall put her again (on a camel) and return her.' (A4:39)

(13) *bə̌yət bə̀yət.*ˈ *là-bə̌yət,*ˈ *hóle Ṣaddə́m si-ški.*ˈ ‘If you want it, you want it (fine). If you do not want it, there is Saddam, go and complain (to him).’ (B1:22)

Such asyndetic conditional constructions generally have a rising intonation contour in the intonation group of the first clause, which typically expresses conjunction with what follows, e.g.

(14) *súsux bə̌ye t-kàle,*↗ˈ *là-šoqət t-kále.*↘ˈ ‘If your horse wants to stop, do not let him stop.’ (A24:11)

In (15) an asyndetic conditional is followed by a negative alternative condition that has the conditional particle, demonstrating the equivalence between the asyndetic and syndetic constructions:

(15) *mɛθətta-lli,*ˈ *šoqə́nnux ṯ-àzət.*ˈ *ʾən-la,*ˈ *là-šoqən ṯ-azítu.*ˈ ‘If you bring her here, I shall let you go. If not, I shall not let you go.’ (A12:21)

In (16) the presentative particle *ʾina* is used to introduce a protasis that lacks the conditional particle:

(16) *ʾína ʾánna xonăwàθi,*ˈ *ʾarbì xonăwáθi,*ˈ *kúššət magúrət xà,*ˈ *páyəš ʾúmri tmàni šə́nne.*ˈ ‘If each year you marry off one of these forty brothers of mine, I’ll be eighty years old (before I marry).’ (A12:1)

Conditional type constructions are sometimes expressed by imperative clauses, e.g.

(17) *la-xzì*ˈ *ʾu-la-xṭì.*ˈ ‘If you do not see, you will not sin.’ (D2:49)
(18) *wí mbaqràna,*ˈ *ṯ-áwət yaðùwa.*ˈ ‘If you are inquisitive, you shall be knowledgeable.’ (D2:11)

Expressions of a wish that appear unlikely to be fulfilled (‘if only…!) use the *qaṭəlwa* verbal form, which is characteristic of protases denoting an improbable situation in the future, e.g.

(19) *xuš-mèθən*ˈ *bas-xáθi Nozáli xazənwala.*ˈ ‘Let me die, but, if only I could see my sister Nozali.’ (A8:57)

An asyndetic conditional may lack verbal forms, especially in proverbial contexts, e.g.

(20) *dárta l-yòma,*| *ʾárwe gu-gòma.*| *dárta l-sèra,*| *ʾárwe l-ṭèra.*| 'If the sun has a halo, the sheep will be in the basement stable. If the moon has a halo, the sheep will be in the noon sun.' (D2:15)

(21) *tắra dwìra*| *qắda wìra.*| 'If the door is closed, trouble passes by.' (D2:47)

Asyndetic constructions are used also when a consequent follows a clause expressing a situation that is presupposed to be true and so has the function of a temporal 'when'–clause, e.g.

(22) *bábi màyəθ,*| *ʾána bṯ̂-áwən málka šòpe.*| 'When my father dies, I shall be king in his place.' (A14:88)

(23) *ṯ̂-ámrəx háyyo ṣlí Kắrĭm ʾáti gu-d-áwwa balùʿa*|*…ʾaw-ṣále táma mrapáxle xáwla b-réše dìye*| *ʾu-ʾáyya qăpáxta mattáxxa rəš-d-o-tắrət gə̀ppa.*| 'We shall say "Come Karim, go down into this conduit."…When he goes down there, we shall throw the rope onto his head and shall put this cover onto the opening of the cave.' (A14:16)

(24) *ʾà-dana*| *ʾáyya nablàlux,*| *mapərxálux šawwà yamáθa,*| *máṭət l-d-o-qàṣra.*| *máṭət l-d-ò qáṣra,*| *háwət hášyər ʾína ʾáyya sústa là marpátla.*| 'She will take you, she will fly you over the seven seas and you will reach that palace. When you arrive at that palace, be careful not to let that horse go.' (A12:29)

19.6. Concessive Constructions

The syntactic expression of concession is rarely found in the text corpus. Where this occurs, it tends to take the form of a protasis clause introduced by phrases denoting literally 'even if' (*ʾap-ʾən* / *ʾup-ʾən, ham-ʾən*), e.g.

(1) *ʾúp-ʾən-iwa xayúθa pšìṭṭa,*| *ʾánna náše rábɛwa xə̀ðye.*| 'Although the life was simple, people were very happy.' (B15:14)

(2) *hám-ʾən wídle hátxa ʾàp-aw,*| *ʾáp ʾaxni-xìləxwale táwre díye.*| 'Although he did such a thing, (we should take into account that that) we had eaten his ox.' (A7:20)

Note also the use of the Arabic conditional concessive *wă-law* in (3):

(3) *wắ-law ṯ-ín ʾanna-xámša šə́nne zíla b-dùnye,*| *nə́mu lat-ðàʾəlli?*| 'Although I have been away in the world for these five years, don't you know me any more?' (A12:65)

In these sentences, despite the conditional structure, the truth of the protasis is not in question. The concessive sense is that the situation described in the subordinate clauses might lead one to expect that the proposition of the main clause would be false but, in fact, this is not the case. A pure conditional 'even if' construction is related, in that it indicates that the situation of the main clause is not expected to follow from the condition but nevertheless will do so. The difference from a concessive construction is that the truth of the protasis is not certain. There are various ways of expressing pure conditional 'even if'–clauses, including clauses introduced by a conditional and one of the inclusive particles *ʾap/ʾup*, *ham* and *-ži*, e.g.

(4) *bnáya gúda ʾu-dráya rə̆ṣə̀ṣ,*| *tá-t ʾáp-ʾən maxíle màdfa*ᶜ| *t-là-talaxwa gúda.*| 'He built the wall and put lead into it, so that, even if it was hit by artillery, it would not be destroyed.' (A11:13)
(5) *hám-ʾən yawə́tli zùze,*| *lè-y-aθən.*| 'Even if you give me money, I shall not come.'
(6) *ʾən-háwe dàwa-ži*| *ʾáxni t-yawə́xla xa-b-ṭ̣làθa ʾə́lle díye.*| 'Even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold (if it is lost).' (A7:10)

In (7) it is expressed by a simple *ʾən* clause, but this is given prominence on a prosodic level by being uttered with a high pitch level:

(7) *là-b-alaha,*| *lá qɛṣə́nne rèšux,*| *ʾən-qaṭlə̀tli.*| 'No, by God. I shall not cut (the hair on) your head, even if you kill me.' (A29:6)

A concessive relationship sometimes exists between clauses that are linked paratactically. In such cases the grounds for the reversed expectation, equivalent to the subordinate 'although' clause, is usually conjoined after the other clause with the connective particle *w*, e.g.

(8) *málka krìble*| *ʾu-b-gáne málka mírɛwa ʾən-hawéli bràta*| *t-yánna qa-bronɛ̀xu.*| 'The king became angry, although the king himself had said "if I have a daughter I shall give her to your son."'

(9) *píšla dəžmə̀nne,ˈ ʾu-ʾáni là-xəzye ġðáðe,ˈ ʾu-là-mṣuθe hátxa mə́ndi.ˈ* 'So, they became enemies, although they had not met each other and had not said (to each other) any such a thing.' (B19:2)

Concession may be expressed by an asyndetic conditional type construction, e.g.

(10) *tú pčə̀la,ˈ mṣáwəθ də̀̃s.ˈ* 'Sit crooked (= even though you sit crooked), tell the truth.' (D2:60)

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CHAPTER TWENTY

REMARKS ON THE LEXICON

20.1. Historical Considerations

Many lexical items of Aramaic origin in the C. Barwar dialect have a meaning that corresponds directly to the meaning of their cognates in earlier forms of literary Aramaic. Several items, however, have undergone a semantic development from the meaning that was expressed by their literary cognates. It must be borne in mind, of course, that the NENA dialects are unlikely to be direct descendants of the classical Aramaic dialects and so some of the differences in meaning may have already existed in proto-NENA many centuries ago. It is, nevertheless, of interest to examine the types of semantic differences from the classical forms of the language that are exhibited by some of the lexical items in the dialect.

Lexical items in the dialect sometimes exhibit a meaning that is more specific than that of their cognates in Classical Syriac. In such cases, the basic meaning of the dialectal word is subsumed by the more general basic meaning of the Syriac word. This often arises since another lexical item is used in the dialect with a related meaning.

The word *ʾarxe* (pl. *ʾarxaθa*) in the C. Barwar dialect, for example, denotes specifically a 'water-mill', whereas the cognate in Classical Syriac *raḥyā* (pl. *rḥawāṯā*) refers to a 'mill' in general, including a hand-mill. The reason for the narrowing of the meaning range of *ʾarxe* in the dialect is likely to be the existence of another lexical item that denotes specifically a 'hand-mill', viz. *garosta* n.f. (pl. *garosyaθa*). The semantic range of the Syriac singular form *raḥyā*, moreover, includes also the sense of 'millstone,' which is a component of the mill, whereas the dialectal word *ʾarxe* refers only to the mill as a whole. A 'millstone' in the dialect is expressed by the word *pənxa*.

The noun *ʾəspa* n.m. (pl. *ʾəspe*) 'loan' is related to the Classical Syriac root *yzp* 'to borrow'. Whereas the Syriac root is used to refer to borrowing in general, the form *ʾəspa* is used only to denote borrowing in kind, in most cases consumable items of food, e.g. *šqílli xáṭṭe b-ʾəspa*ˈ 'I borrowed wheat'. The act of borrowing money must be expressed by a form of the root

dyn, e.g. *mudyə́nni zúze ṭla-Gwìrgis*ˈ I became indebted in money to Gwirgis (= I borrowed money from Gwirgis).

The cognate of Syriac *saʿrā* 'hair' (in general) is *seṛa*, but the dialectal word is restricted in sense to 'goat's hair'. Other words are used to refer to hair in general, viz. *kawsa* (collective), *məzze* (sing. *məsta*).

According to the Syriac dictionaries the nouns *ʿarbālā* and *meḥḥalṭā* (variant *maḥḥoltā*) both mean 'sieve'. The reflexes of these words in the dialect have a more specific meaning, in that they denote sieves with different sizes of hole, viz. *ʾərbala* n.f. (pl. *ʾərbale*) sieve with medium sized holes and *mxilta* n.f. (pl. *mxilyaθa*) sieve with small holes (for flour).

The adjective *šammīnā* in Syriac has a range of meaning including the senses of 'physically fat' and 'fertile', e.g. *ʿānā šammīnāṭā* 'fat sheep', *ʾarʿā šammīnā* 'fertile land'. In the dialect the word *šamina* is restricted to the more abstract sense of 'fertile', e.g. *ʾăra šaminta* 'fertile land'. The narrowing of the semantic range of the adjective in the dialect has arisen due to the existence of another adjective *ṭrisa*, which is used to express the sense of physically fat, e.g. *ʾərwe ṭrise* 'fat sheep'.

The verb *xll* II 'to wash' is more restricted in usage than its Syriac cognate *ḥallel*. The dialectal verb *xll* II is used to express the washing of individual parts of the body (such as hands, feet etc.) and various objects but not clothes. The Syriac verb, by contrast, is used to express also the washing of clothes. In the dialect another verb is used to express specifically the washing of clothes, viz. *msy*. To wash oneself by covering the body in water, in a bath or a shower, is expressed in the dialect by the verb *xyṗ* I.

Several verbs in the dialect that are restricted in their usage to activities relating to animals had a more general application in Syriac. The Syriac verb *ḥsl*, for example, was used to express 'weaning' both of animals and of humans, whereas the cognate dialectal form *xsl* is used only to denote the weaning of animals. The weaning of humans is expressed by phrases such as *qṭʾ mən-mămoṣe* 'to cut off from sucking' or *qṭʾ mən xəlya* 'to cut off from milk'. The Syriac verb *yld* 'to give birth' was used in relation to all living creatures, humans and animals, including the laying of eggs. The dialectal reflex of this *yðl*, however, is used only in relation to the birth of animals and the laying of eggs. The birth of humans is expressed by forms of the verbal *bry*. The verb *dwṛ* in the dialect is used to denote specifically the dwelling of sheep in a rest area during the summer. This appears to be the reflex of the verb *dwr* in Syriac and other literary Aramaic dialects, which has the generic sense of 'to dwell'.

In other cases, by contrast, a dialect word has a meaning that is wider than that of the Classical Syriac cognate and subsumes it. This has often arisen as a result of additions or losses in related areas of the lexicon.

The semantic range of the verb *xzy* in the dialect, for example, includes both the sense of 'to see' and 'to find', whereas the cognate in Syriac *ḥzy* denotes only 'to see'. This has arisen, no doubt, due to the loss of the Syriac verb *'eškaḥ* 'to find' in the dialect. A modern reflex of *'eškaḥ* can be identified in the verb form *m-čx* III, which is occasionally used by some speakers, but this is likely to be a loan from the C. Urmi dialect, where it is regularly used.

The verb *dry* is used in the C. Barwar dialect as a general word for 'to put', whereas the cognate verb in Syriac has the sense of 'to sprinkle, scatter'. It appears that the expression of the transference of location that was a semantic component of the Syriac verb became the dominant feature and the verb came to be used more generally without being associated with a specific manner of action. The specific action of 'scattering' is now expressed by other verbs, such as *bðq* or *bzq*. The verb *ṣym*, the cognate of which in Syriac is a general verb 'to put', has come to be restricted in the dialect to the sense of 'to ordain (a priest)' in stem I and to the fixed collocation with the object *bala* with the sense of 'to pay attention' in stem III. The verb *m-ṭy*, the irregular stem III for of *'ṯw*, is largely restricted to the sense of placing a stable object on a horizontal surface.

In some cases the shift in meaning involves an extension of control by the subject of a verb, i.e. an increase in transitivity. The verb *dbq* in Syriac, for example, means 'to stick to, to adhere' whereas the dialectal derivative of this *dwq* denotes the activity of 'holding' or 'keeping', which typically involves greater control over the object referent. This is reflected by the fact that the dialectal verb *dwq* 'to hold, to keep' takes a direct object, whereas the Syriac verb *dbq* 'to adhere' is connected to its complement by a preposition *b-* or *l-*. The verb *ṯʿy* in Syriac has the sense of 'to wander, to go astray', whereas the dialectal reflex *ṯy* normally has the more purposive sense of 'to search for', in which the subject has greater control over the action.

A further type of semantic change is where the basic meaning of the dialectal word does not directly subsume nor is subsumed by the basic Syriac meaning but rather is associated with some aspect of the contextual usage of the Syriac cognate. This is a broad category that includes various types of development, some examples of which are the following.

In the C. Barwar dialect word *ʾumra* denotes 'a church'. This is the reflex of Syriac *ʿumrā*, which included the semantic range 'life, way of life, monastic life, monastery'. The sense of 'church', i.e. a place of worship, is clearly associated with 'monastic life' and 'monastery'. In the dialect, however, the word *ʾumra* is no longer used in the sense of 'monastery', which is expressed rather by the noun *dɛra*.

The word *səmmala* in the dialect denotes a 'small bundle of grass or produce'. It is the reflex of the Syriac word *semmālā* 'left, left hand'. The association of 'small bundle' with the 'left hand' was that during harvesting people typically held a tool such as a sickle (*magla*) in the right hand and collected the produce in the left. The sense of 'left hand' is now expressed in the dialect by the Kurdish loanword *čappe*.

The word *xəgga* in the dialect refers to a type of dance that is associated with a festivity, whereas the Classical Syriac cognate *ḥaggā* denotes simply 'festivity or feast.'

The word *boya* 'hole' appears to be cognate with the C. Qaraqosh form *burga* of the same meaning, the **r* and **g* having been elided (*boya* < *boʾa* < *boġa* < *burga*). In Syriac *burga* means 'tower, turret; pigeon-cote' (< Greek *purgos*). The association here seems to be that such structures contained holes through which pigeons entered. The word then came to denote a pigeon-hole, i.e. a part of the original whole, and subsequently 'hole' in general.

The noun *šəxda* in the dialect has the sense of 'good news', whereas its Syriac cognate *šuḥdā* means 'bribe' or 'gift'. The semantic association is the transitional meaning of 'gift for the (good) news of arrival' which is attested in some NENA dialects (cf. Maclean 1901: 303).

The noun *xusɛra* 'dew' appears to be historically related to the Syriac root *ḥsr* 'to decrease, to diminish'. The semantic association evidently is that dew typically diminishes and evaporates. The Syriac root *ḥsr* has not survived as a verb in the dialect, which uses rather the verb *bṣr* to express the sense of 'to diminish'.

The adjective *xlima* in the dialect means '(physically) thick', whereas Syriac *ḥlīmā* denoted 'sound, firm, strong' in both a physical and spiritual sense. The feature of 'thickness', which is typically associated with an object that is physically robust, has become the basic meaning of the word.

The Syriac verb *pṣḥ* has the basic meaning of 'to rejoice', whereas its reflex in the C. Barwar dialect *pṣx* is generally used to denote the act of 'smiling', which is associated with joy. The sense of 'to rejoice, to become happy' is generally expressed by the verb *xðy*.

The Syriac verb *dʿk* has the sense of 'to be extinguished' and is used to denote that a fire has been put completely out. The dialectal reflex *dyx*, however, denotes the 'dying down' of a fire, which is a preliminary phase typically associated with the process of being extinguished. The sense of 'to be extinguished' is expressed in the dialect by the verb *čmy*.

The Syriac verb *ṣly* has the meaning of 'to incline, to lean towards', whereas in the dialect the verb *ṣly* denotes 'to descend'. The Syriac meaning is associated with the dialectal meaning in that it constitutes a typical preliminary phase of the act of descending.

The verb *jwaja* 'to move' is cognate with the Syriac root *šwš*, which has the sense of 'disturbing'. Some kind of movement is typically associated with the act of disturbing. In the dialect *jwaja* is now used to denote 'moving' in general, irrespective of whether it involves disturbance or not.

In some cases the association between the dialectal word and its Syriac cognate is metaphorical. The word *maqora, meqora* in the dialect, for example, denotes a 'hole dug out of the middle of a dish of stew to hold syrop'. The earlier Syriac form *māqōrā* denoted a 'canal' or 'cistern' dug in the ground. The verb *qrx* in the dialect has the senses of 'to become white, to make white' and 'to knock off (twigs, buds, blossoms)'. Both of these have a metaphorical association with the cognate Syriac root *qrḥ* 'to become bald'.

The meaning of a word sometimes shifts to the extent that it denotes a completely distinct meaning from the one denoted by the Syriac cognate, though in the same semantic field. This generally arises due to the use of another lexical item to express the meaning of the Syriac cognate.

The word *xalwa*, for example, denotes the 'fatless curds of boiled yoghurt water' rather than 'milk', which is the sense of the Syriac cognate *ḥalḇā*. 'Milk' in the dialect is expressed by the word *xəlya* (< **ḥalyā* 'sweet'). The word *dəbbora* in the dialect means 'hornet', whereas its Syriac cognate *debburtā* normally has the sense of 'bee'. A 'bee' is referred to in the dialect by the term *dabaša* (literally: 'honey-maker').

The verb *xml* in the dialect has the meaning 'to make merry' whereas its Syriac cognate *ḥml* means 'to withhold, to restrain'. This remarkable difference in meaning appears to have arisen by the following semantic shifts. The activity of withholding first developed into senses such as enduring, waiting, standing, which are attested for this verb in some NENA dialects. This then came to mean withholding sleep and waiting up in the night. The diverting social interaction of chatting and merriment that was the typical activity associated with such waiting up at night then became the

basic meaning. A parallel semantic develop may explain the semantic relationship between Arabic *smr* 'to chat at night' and Hebrew *šmr* 'to keep, guard', which from their form appear to be cognate.

Some nouns are derivatives of nouns or verbs which do not exist in the current state of the dialect but have been replaced by forms from other roots. The noun *karaxa* 'irrigation manager', for example, appears to be derived from a noun **karxa* 'irrigation basin', which in turn is a development of Syriac *karxa* 'enclosure, enclosed area'. The word *karxa* in this sense is still used in some NENA dialects (e.g. C. Shiyuz), but not in C. Barwar, where irrigation basins are denoted by the term *məššara*. The noun *samxa* 'post supporting a vine' is in origin an active participle of a verbal root **smx*, cognate with Syriac *smk* 'to support'. In the current state of the dialect, however, the activity of physically supporting is expressed by the verb *snd*, which is a loan from Arabic.

An interesting semantic development is exhibited by the adjectival form *kosa* 'beardless'. This appears to be derived from the noun *kawsa* 'hair', but is used to denote the lack of hair rather than its presence. A similar development has occurred with the Kurdish word 'qoç' 'horn'. This has been borrowed in the C. Barwar dialect as an adjectival attribute (*koǰa*) denoting 'hornless', e.g. *ʾərwe koǰe* 'hornless sheep'. Note also the adjective *lənga* 'crippled in the leg (i.e. legless)' which in origin is the Kurdish noun 'ling' 'leg'.

With regard to verbal roots, certain phonetic developments reflect the emergence of two separate roots from an original single root. This is seen in distinct developments of the *bgdkpt* consonants. In principle one particular reflex of these consonants becomes a fixed radical throughout all inflections of a root (§1.4.1.), e.g. */θ/* in *kθw* 'to write': *kaθwa* 'she writes', *kθawa* 'book', *kaθawa* 'writer'. Cases where the reflex of a *bgdkpt* consonant differs across verbal inflections of an original root should be interpreted as indicating that such inflections have come to be treated as separate roots. This splitting of a root is conditioned by the development of a clear semantic gap between inflections, e.g. Syriac *gby* 'to collect' > C. Barwar *gwy* I 'to beg' and *gby* II 'to elect', Syriac *qby* 'to collect (liquid)' > C. Barwar *qwy* I 'to scoop' and *qby* II 'to swell', Syriac *brk* > C. Barwar *brk* I 'to kneel' and *brx* II 'to bless', Syriac *zbn* > C. Barwar *zwn* I 'to buy' and *zbn* II 'to sell'.

Phonetic developments in the dialect can lead to the homophony of two verbal roots or two lexical items, e.g. *prx* 'to crush' (< **prk*) and *prx* 'to fly' (< **prḥ*), *dəmma* 'blood' (< **dma*) and *dəmma* 'tear' (< **dəmʿa*). In some cases such a development of homophony appears to have been the motivation for replacing one of the pair. For example, the introduction of the verbal root *qrn* II to express 'to grow up' in place of **rwy* (cf. Syriac *rby*), which is found in some other NENA dialects, may have been conditioned by the fact that after the development of the fricative **b* to /*w*/ in **rby*, the root would be homophonous with *rwy* 'to get drunk'. Conversely, dialects that retain the root *rwy* in the sense of 'to grow up', express 'to get drunk' by a different verb, e.g. C. Qaraqosh *rwy* 'to grow up': *skr* 'to get drunk'.

As already shown by Krotkoff (1985: 124–126), a number of lexical items in the NENA dialects, especially those relating to agriculture, can be traced back beyond Classical Aramaic to Akkadian or even Sumerian. These include words in the C. Barwar dialect that are found also in other NENA dialects such as *səkθa* 'ploughshare' (Syriac *sekkaṯa*, Akkadian *sikkatu*), *maṛa* 'spade' (Syriac *marrā*, Akkadian *marru*, Sumerian *mar*) and *bədra* 'threshing floor' (<*be* + *ʾədra*: Syriac *ʾeddəra*, Akkadian *idru*). The C. Barwar dialect also contains at least one such word that cannot be traced in earlier literary Aramaic, namely *məššara* 'paddy field basin', which is cognate with Akkadian *mūšaru* 'flower, vegetable bed, garden plot'.[1]

20.2. Loanwords

The loanwords in the C. Barwar dialect can be divided broadly into two categories: (i) words borrowed from other NENA dialects and (ii) words borrowed from other languages, mainly Kurdish and Arabic. In the lists of semantic fields and in the glossaries the origin of the loans from other languages is indicated where this has been possible to identify. In some cases the origin of a word is uncertain and its background is left unmarked.

20.2.1. *Loans from Other NENA Dialects*

The loanwords from other NENA dialects originate mainly in the C. Urmi dialect and the dialects of Ṭiyare. The villagers of Barwar came

[1] Black et al. (1999: 220).

into contact with the C. Urmi dialect when they were refugees in Urmi during the troubles of the First World War. The C. Urmi dialect furthermore became the basis of the koine that was used by refugee Christians who settled in Baghdad and the northern Iraqi cities. The inhabitants of Barwar had close contact with these cities during the 20th century, especially during the Kurdish uprising in the North during the 1960s. The lexical loans from C. Urmi do not completely replace the corresponding C. Barwar forms, but rather are used alongside them. Some examples that are attested in the recorded text corpus are the following:

C. Barwar	C. Urmi	
fṭarta	*ṭamta*	'breakfast'
xyr I	*gšq* II	'to look'
mbadla	*qedamta*	'morning'
zilɛle, zalɛle	*xišɛle. xašɛle*	'he went, he is going'
čučəkθa	*ṣəpra*	'sparrow'
gota	*dəpna*	'side'
twara	*šmaṭa*	'to break'

There were connections between the Christians of Barwar and the Ṭiyare region over many centuries. This is reflected in the close relationship in the general structure of the dialect with the Ṭiyare dialects, particularly those of Lower Ṭiyare (see introduction). Some lexical items of Ṭiyare origin, however, are used alongside the more usual C. Barwar forms. These are mainly found in the popular songs that were sung in the Barwar communities but were composed originally in Ṭiyare, e.g.

C. Barwar	Ṭiyare		
xaččа, xanči	*čəmma*	(C1:5)	'a small amount'

20.2.2. *Loans from Kurdish and Arabic*

The C. Barwar dialect contains numerous loanwords from Kurdish and Arabic, those from Kurdish clearly being in the majority. Such loans are attested in all grammatical categories, though most are nouns. They are found in all semantic fields. Their number is, however, very small in the core areas of the lexicon, such as parts of the body (§21.1), family relations (§21.2.), basic attributes and activities (§21.18., §21.20.1.), with a greater concentration being found in fields relating to cultural artefacts, especially clothes and fabrics (§21.10.).

As has been described in §10.11., many nouns borrowed from Kurdish are adapted to the nominal inflectional morphology of NENA. Loaned verbs are inflected according to the NENA verbal morphology. In general Kurdish loanwords are not used alongside NENA words with the same meaning. In some cases, however, a borrowed Kurdish word does not supplant an existing NENA word with the same meaning, but rather the meaning of the Kurdish word is adapted in some way to complement the NENA vocabulary. Kurdish poz 'nose', for example, is loaned into C. Barwar in the form *poza*. The latter, however, is not used in the sense of 'nose' in general, as in Kurdish, but denotes specifically the 'snout' of an animal. The dialect retains the NENA form *naxira* for 'nose'. Kurdish dest 'hand' comes into the dialect as *dasta*, which has the sense of 'bunch, handful', rather than 'hand', which is expressed by the NENA form *ʾiða*. Kurdish rēzvan 'caretaker or guardian of an vineyard' appears in the dialect in the form *razwana*, which is used in the sense not of a human caretaker but of a 'machine to frighten away birds in a vineyard'. A guard or guardian of a field or property is expressed by NENA *naṭora*. Kurdish çeng 'palm, handful' comes into the dialect as *ʧanga* with the meaning 'leather gloves used in harvesting', the NENA word for 'palm' (*lappa*) being retained. The same applies to Kurdish 'qoç' 'horn' and 'ling' 'leg', which, as remarked above, in the dialect are used as adjectives in the senses of 'hornless' and 'crippled in the leg' rather than substituting the NENA words for 'horn' (*qana*) and 'leg' *ʾaqla*.

In some cases the original meaning of the loan is supplied by another loanword in the dialect. This is the case, for example, with Kurdish stewl 'stable', the meaning of which is expressed by the loanword *goma* 'general animal shelter' (Kurdish gom 'sty, pen'). The word stewl, nevertheless, comes into the dialect in the form *stawla/stawla* and takes on the meaning of 'a wooden frame for carrying loads on pack animal', which presumably has some kind of figurative association with the structure of a stable. Kurdish kewt 'army' comes into the dialect as *kawta* with the meaning 'flock (of sheep)', the meaning of 'army' being expressed by the Arabic loanword *ʾaskar*.

In a few cases a Kurdish noun that expresses an abstract activity is used in a concrete sense. Kurdish bêrî 'sheepmilking', for example, comes into the dialect as *beriya* in the sense of 'milkmaid'.

The C. Barwar dialect exhibits a number of calques of Kurdish. Some of these are expressions consisting of a fixed collocation of verb and noun. In such cases the noun is typically a loanword whereas the verb is the NENA equivalent of the verb in the corresponding Kurdish expression, e.g.

C. Barwar	Kurdish	
mxaya ʧappe	çeple dan	'to clap hands in applause'
dwaqa rəqqi	rik girtin	'to be stubborn'
dwaqa qadra	qedir girtin	'to respect, honour'

Another type of calque is where the semantic range of a NENA word is extended in imitation of a corresponding Kurdish word. This applies for example to the verb *mxy*, which, in addition to its original meaning of 'to strike', is also used in the sense of 'to play (a musical instrument)'. This is no doubt due to the fact that the Kurdish verb 'to hit' lêdan also has this range of meaning. The verb *šql* means not only 'to take', its original historical meaning, but also 'to obtain, to buy'. This is an imitation of the meaning range of the Kurdish verb standin.

Of particular interest are some cases of calques where a NENA expression imitates not only the meaning of a Kurdish expression but also its phonetic form. This applies, for example, to the idiom *draya xɛla* 'to attempt, exert oneself', which corresponds to Kurdish hewl dan. The two expressions have no etymological connection, but there is a clear phonetic similarity between the two. Another case is *gambəl-əxre* 'dung beetle' (literally: roller of dung) which has a certain phonetic similarity to the corresponding Kurdish name for the insect gûgilêrk.

In some cases it is not completely clear whether a word is a calque or a loan since it resembles a Kurdish form of the same meaning while also having a possible Aramaic etymology. One case of this is the word *goṛa* 'big', which resembles phonetically the Kurdish word gurr̄ (variants gur, gir) 'big, large' but could also be derived from the Aramaic root *gbr*. The latter is, in fact, more likely since there is a corresponding verb *gwaṛa* 'to become big' (< **gb̠ārā*). Another case is the adjective *glola*, which *prima facie* could be interpreted as the Kurdish form gilol 'round', which has an Iranian etymology (cf. Chyet 2003: 212–213). It could, however, also be a derivative of the Aramaic root *gll* (cf. Syriac *glūlā* 'round') with the adjectival pattern *CCoCa* (§11.2. no. 9). It can be said that in both of these cases the form of the lexical item has arisen by multiple causation.

The Kurdish loanword *gana* 'soul' is used with suffixes to express the reflexive pronoun (§7.6.), but in the Kurdish dialects of the region the reflexive pronoun has the form xô/xwa (MacKenzie 1961: 173). The use of *gana* in the Aramaic dialect appears to be a calque of the Aramaic word *roxa* 'soul, spirit', which is used in more conservative NENA dialects such as C. Qaraqosh to express the reflexive pronoun (Khan 2002: 84).

The feminine gender of a number of nouns of Aramaic stock that are masculine in Syriac has probably arisen by influence of the feminine gender of the corresponding nouns in Kurdish, e.g.

C. Barwar	Kurdish	
ʾərbala f.	mifsik (etc.) f.	'sieve'
ʾilana f.	dar f	'tree'
barða f .	teyrok f.	'hail'
məṭra f.	baran f.	'rain'
šəmša f.	rōj f.	'sun'

With regard to Arabic elements in the dialect, some unadapted Arabic words that occur in the speech of informants can be regarded as the result of code-switching and do not constitute loanwords in the lexicon of the dialect. This is shown by the fact that in many such cases an Aramaic equivalent is available and has not been supplanted by the Arabic word. Most informants have lived during some period of their life in Arabic speaking Iraqi cities and those who went to school in Iraq would have received an education in Arabic. They would, therefore, be accustomed to speaking Arabic and occasional code-switching is inevitable.

Arabic loans that are adapted to Aramaic inflectional morphology and also those that have entered the dialect through Kurdish tend to be absorbed to a greater extent into the lexicon and they have generally taken the place of Aramaic lexical items of the same meaning. In some cases the supplanting of the Aramaic equivalents is of relatively recent occurrence, since informants still remember the original Aramaic word being used in their lifetime in the speech of the older generation of the community. This applies, for example, to the adapted Arabic loanword *xăḏaya*, which is now the most common word for 'lunch' in the C. Barwar dialect. This has replaced the original Aramaic word for this meal *šaruθa*, which is still remembered by some informants.

In some cases adapted Arabic loanwords have shifted in meaning. The adjective *băxila*, for example, means not only 'miserly', as in Arabic, but also 'envious'. In Arabic *xabar* means 'news', 'message', but in the dialect the adapted loan *xabra* is used with the sense of 'word'. The word *mazaxa* denotes specifically the 'area below millstones in a water-mill onto which the flour falls'. This appears to be an adaptation of the Arabic *masāḥa*, which denotes 'area' in general. The verb *xjl* I means 'to become terrified', whereas the Arabic source *xajila* denotes 'to be shy, timid'.

Some Arabic words that entered the dialect through Kurdish had already undergone such semantic shifts in Kurdish. This is the case, for example, with the words *kulfət, kulpət* 'family, wife' (< Arabic *kulfa* 'trouble, inconvenience') and *šart*, which in addition to the original meaning of 'condition' also has the sense of 'agreement' and 'test, ordeal'. Both of these Arabic loanwords occur in Kurdish with the same range of meaning.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

SEMANTIC FIELDS

In this chapter a selection of the lexical items of the C. Barwar dialect are arranged according to semantic fields. A full glossary of the lexical items of the dialect that I have gathered in the course of my fieldwork follows the chapter. This is divided into a glossary of verbs arranged according to verbal root and a general glossary, which contains all other items. The glossaries are followed by a series of sketches illustrating various artefacts and structures that were found in the Barwar villages.

21.1. The Human Body

paxra n.m. (pl. *paxre*) body
gəlda n.m. skin
reša n.m. (pl. *rešăwaθa*) head
qarqupθa n.f. (pl. *qarqupyaθa*) skull
kawsa n.m. hair
məsta n.f. (pl. *məzze*) a hair
pərčəmta n.f. (K.) forelock, front of hair
bəska n.m. (pl. *bəske*) (K.) lock of hair; tress of hair
ṣoṣiθa n.f. (pl. *ṣoṣiyaθa*) plait, lock of hair
jinika n.m. (pl. *jinike*) (K.) sideburn, side-whisker
mayuθa n.f. crown of the head
yalma n.m. (pl. *yalme*) face
paθa n.f. (pl. *paθwaθa*) face
qrəmṭa m. (pl. *qrəmṭe*) wrinkle
ʾɛna n.f. (pl. *ʾɛne*) eye
be-ʾɛna n.m. forehead
be-gwina n.m. (pl. *be-gwine*) eyebrow
garət ʾɛna eyelid
təlpa n.m. (pl. *təlpape*) eyelash
bibət ʾɛna n.m., *bibəltət ʾɛna* n.f. pupil of the eye
naxira n.m. (pl. *naxire*) nose; nostril
lota n.f. (pl. *lotaθa*) cheek

naθa n.f. (pl. *naθyaθa*) ear
pumma n.m. (pl. *pummăwaθa*) mouth
kaka n.m. (pl. *kake*) tooth
niwa m. (pl. *niwe*) canine tooth
garosta n.f. (pl. *garosyaθa*) molar tooth
səpθa n.f. (pl. *səppaθa*) lip
səmbele n.pl. moustache
šəmmaxta n.f. palate
dawranət kake n.pl. gums (of mouth)
lawusta n.f. jaw
lama n.m. lower jaw
dəqqənθa, dənnəqθa n.f. (pl. *dəqqənyaθa*) chin
qðala n.m. (pl. *qðale*) neck
ruša n.m. (pl. *rušane*) shoulder; upper arm; arm
drana n.m. (pl. *dranane*) lower arm
xo-ruša n.m. (pl. *xo-rušane*) shoulder-blade
č̣ə č̣č̣a n.m. (pl. *č̣ə č̣č̣e*) (K.) shoulder-blade
xo-šxawθa n.f. (pl. *xo-šxawyaθa*) armpit
qurṣəlta n.f. (pl. *qurṣəlyaθa*) elbow
bra-qðala n.m. (pl. *bra-qðale*) back of the neck
'iða n.f. (pl. *'iθaθa, 'iðăwaθa*) hand
ṣabota n.f. (pl. *ṣaboyaθa*) finger
ṣabota goṛta n.f. thumb
ṣabota zurta n.f. little finger
ṣabota gawɛθa n.f. middle finger
măṣixət šərmət kθayaθa n.m. little finger (literally: the tester of the behind of chickens)
ṭəpra n.f. (pl. *ṭəpraθa, ṭəppəryaθa*) fingernail, toenail
gušma n.m. (pl. *gušme*) fist
gučča n.m. (pl. *gučče*) (K.) fist
gozăkət 'iða wrist
lappa n.m. (pl. *lappape*) palm of hand, sole of foot
xərṭaṭət 'iða lines of the hand
čəčča n.f. (pl. *čəččăwaθa*) breast
rešət čəčča n.m. nipple
xaṣa n.m. (pl. *xaṣe*) back
kătɛra n.m. middle of the back
kurtəxta n.f. (pl. *kurtəxyaθa*) lower back, pelvis
be-təkke n.f. waist
ṣadra n.m. chest

šarθa n.f. (pl. *šaryaθa*) navel
šərma n.f. (pl. *šərmaθa*) buttocks
ṭiza n.m. (pl. *ṭize*) bottom, fundament
buṭa n.m. (pl. *buṭe*) penis
šəkθa n.f. (pl. *šəkkaθa*, *škaθa*, *šəkke*) testicle
quṭa n.m. (pl. *quṭe*) virgina
səbba n.m. hair of crotch
ʾaqla n.f. (pl. *ʾaqlaθa*) leg, foot
xaṣət ʾaqla top of the foot
ʾărdət ʾaqla bottom of foot
gozăka n.m./f. (K.) ankle
kəppa n.m. (pl. *kəppe*) (K./A.) ankle, anklebone
kəpθa n.f., *kəppəkθa* n.f. arch of the foot
ʾəqba n.f. (pl. *ʾəqbaθa*) heel
šaqola n.m. (pl. *šaqole*) lower leg
šaqa n.m. (pl. *šaqe*) lower leg
bərka n.f. (pl. *bərkake*) knee
ṣabunət ʾaqla kneecap
nɛ̈ka n.m. (pl. *nɛ̈ke*) thigh
gɛ̈rma n.m. (pl. *gɛ̈rme*) bone
čəkka n.m (pl. *čəkke*) (K.) joint (of bones)
xabūš paθa cheek-bone (literally: apple of the face)
ʾujaje n.pl. pelvis bones
kămaxe n.pl. (K.) pelvis bones
wariða n.m. (pl. *wariðe*) vein/artery
dəmma n.m. blood
moxa n.m. brain
balota n.f. (pl. *baloyaθa*) throat
kərkəroka n.m. (K.) adam's apple, larynx
paqərta n.f. (pl. *paqəryaθa*) tonsil
čəčč̣ət balota n.m. tonsil
be-xənxe n.f. oesophagus
tăreθa n.f. oesophagus
raθa n.f. (pl. *raθa*, *raθe*, *raθyaθa*) lung
kasa n.f. (pl. *kasaθa*) stomach
ləbba n.m. (pl. *ləbbe*) heart
kawda n.f. (pl. *kawdaθa*) liver
taḥela n.m. spleen
kənθa n.f. (pl. *kənnane*) kidney
kliθa n.f. (pl. *kəlyaθa*) kidney

miyora n.m. (pl. *miyore*) small intestine
jiðoqa n.m. (pl. *jiðoqe*) large intestine
bla-jorta n.f. (pl. *bla-joryaθa*) bladder
mararta n.f. gall bladder

21.2. Family Relations

ʾurza n.m. (pl. *ʾurze*) man, male
gawṛa n.m. (pl. *guṛe*) (married) man, husband
baxta n.f. (pl. *baxtaθa*) woman, wife
baba n.m. (pl. *babăwaθa*) father
yəmma n.f. (pl. *yəmmaθa*) mother
ʾawahaθa, *ʾawahe* n.pl. parents
marăwaθa, *marwaθa* n.pl. parents
brona n.m. (pl. *bnone*) son
brata n.f. (pl. *bnaθa*) daughter
xona n.m. (pl. *xonăwaθa*) brother
xaθa n.f. (pl. *xaθwaθa*) sister
yala n.m. (pl. *yale*) child
bra-qaple n.m./f. (pl. *bra-qaqle*) baby; babe in arms
bəspora n.m. (pl. *bəsporə*) young child (under 10 years)
bəspurta n.f. (pl. *bəspuryaθa*) young girl (under 10 years)
yalunka n.m. (pl. *yalunke*) youth (6–14 years)
jwanqa n.m. (pl. *jwanqe*) youth
xamθa n.f. (pl. *xamaθa*) young woman
xəmyana n.m. father-in-law
xmaθa n.f. mother-in-law
nawaga n.m. (pl. *nawage*) grandson
nawagta n.f. (pl. *nawagyaθa*) granddaughter
nawəgga n.m. (pl. *nawəgge*) great-grandson
nawəgta n.f. (pl. *nawəgyaθa*) great-granddaughter
nawčərka, *nawərčika* n.m. (pl. *nawčərke*, *nawərčike*) great-great-grandson
nawərčəkta n.f. (pl. *nawərčəkyaθa*) great-great-granddaughter
jaməkka n.m. (pl. *jaməkke*) twin
mama n.m. (pl. *mamăwaθa*) paternal uncle
ʾamta n.f. (pl. *ʾamtaθa*) paternal aunt
xala n.m. (pl. *xalăwaθa*) maternal uncle
xalta n.f. (pl. *xaltaθa*) maternal aunt

bronət mama n.m. (pl. *bnonət mamăwaθa*) cousin (first degree)
bratət mama n.f. (pl. *bnaθət mamăwaθa*) cousin f. (first degree)
brət-ama n.m. (pl. *brət-amwaθa*) cousin (second degree and more distant)
bratət ama cousin f. (second degree and more distant)
xətna n.m. (pl. *xətnăwaθa*) son-in-law; father-in-law; any husband of a relative, e.g. husband of paternal or maternal aunt (= *gawṛət ʾamta*, *gawṛət xalta*)
kalθa n.f. (pl. *kalaθa*) daughter-in-law
ʾəðma n.m. (pl. *ʾəðmăwaθa*) brother of husband
ʾiðamta n.f. wife of brother of husband, sister of husband; pl. *ʾiðamyaθa* wives of brothers
xwarzaya, *xwarza*, *xurzaya* n.m. (pl. *xwarzaye*) nephew (son of sister) (NB nephew, son of brother = *bronət xona*)
xwarzɛθa, *xurzɛθa* n.f. (pl. *xwarzayaθa*) niece (daughter of sister)
barəxmaya n.m. (pl. *barəxmaye*) brother of wife
barəxmɛθa n.f. (pl. *barəxmayaθa*) sister of wife
ya'isa n.m. (pl. *ya'ise*) husband of the sister of a wife
dada n.f. (Dure *deda*) sister or wife of a paternal uncle
zər-baba n.m. stepfather
baxtət baba, *băxət baba* n.f. stepmother
xurga n.m. (pl. *xurge*) stepson
xurəgθa n.f. (pl. *xurgaθa*) stepdaughter
kulfət, *kulpət* n.f. (pl. *kulfatte*, *kulpatte*) family, wife
ʾojəx n.m. (pl. *ʾojaxe*) extended family
ʾaširət n.f. (pl. *ʾaširatte*) (A./K.) tribe, community
ʾarəmla n.m. (pl. *ʾarəmle*) widower
ʾarməlθa n.f. (pl. *ʾarməlyaθa*) widow
yatuma n.m. (pl. *yatume*) orphan
yăk̂ana, *yek̂ana* n.m. only son
yăk̂anta, *yek̂anta* n.f. only daughter
buxrət bɛθa firstborn in the family
baspora n.m. (pl. *baspore*) only child; baby
baspurta n.f. baby
boni n.m. my little son (familiar form of *broni*)
bati n.f. my little daughter (familiar form of *brati*)
ʾarθa n.f. (pl. *ʾaraθa*) rival wife (only used in oaths)

21.3. Buildings and Structures

21.3.1. *Houses and Their Appurtenances*

bɛθa n.m. (pl. *bɛθăwaθa, bate*) house
qaṣra n.m. (pl. *qaṣre*) large house consisting of two storeys
darta, dɛrta n.f. (pl. *daryaθa*) courtyard, residential enclosure
gare n.m. (pl. *garăwaθa*) roof
qariθa n.f. (pl. *qariyaθa*) beam
nira n.m. (pl. *nire*) and *qarša* n.m. (pl. *qarše*) small wooden strip made of juniper laid across beams in a roof
kežurta n.f. (K.) fine pieces of wood put on roof after *nire/qarše*
sərsərra n.m. layer of powdered white clay put on roof
swana n.m. (pl. *swanane*) overhanging eaves of roof
səppaθət swana the lips of the eaves (of a house)
sorəkke n.f. (pl. *sorəkyaθa*) (K.) gutter of roof
marziwa n.m. (pl. *marziwe*) (K.) gutter
mandorta n.m. (pl. *mandoryaθa*) roller for flattening roof
guda n.m. (pl. *gudane*) wall
paθət guda front of wall facing outwards
kepət paθa stones of the facing (small white stones used to cover outer wall of house)
băṭăna n.m. inside of wall facing into the house
gyatta n.f. edge of house with protruding stones
tăra n.m. (pl. *tăre, tărane*) door; leaf of door
tăreθa n.f. (pl. *tărayaθa)* small door
ʾiðət tăra n.f. handle of a door
darga n.m. (pl. *darge*) (K.) main door (with two leaves)
qəṭra n.m. (pl. *qəṭre*) door arch; stone door frame
squpθa n.f. (pl. *squpyaθa*) lintel
dawra n.m. (pl. *dawre*) wooden bolt
xṣipta n.f. (pl. *xṣipyaθa*) wooden door lock
qulqulta n.f. (pl. *qulqulyaθa*) rods in wooden door lock
hezara n.m. (pl. *hezare*) wooden beam used to lock a door
qðilta n.f. (pl. *qðilyaθa*) key
qəpla, qəfla n.m. (pl. *qəple, qəfle*) metal lock
kilon n.f. (pl. *kilone*) (K.) metal lock of a door
panjăra, panjăriya n.f. (pl. *panjăriyaθa*) (K.) window
kawe n.f. (pl. *kawaθa*) small window without glass
barbehn n.m. (pl. *barbehne*) window
parda n.m. (pl. *parde*) (K.) curtain; cloth blind

doše n.pl. balcony, low structure attached to outside of house for people to sit on
bawa n.m. (pl. *bawe*) open balcony of house
barbēn, barbena n.f. (pl. *barbene*) open space in front of house
ṭabəq, ṭabaq n.m. (pl. *ṭabăqe, ṭabaqe*) (A.) storey
ʾarda n.f. (pl. *ʾardaθa*) floor
ʾasās n.m. (pl. *ʾasase*) (A.) foundation
ləbna n.m. (pl. *ləbne*) mud brick
be-ḷaye n.f. (pl. *be-ḷăwaθa*) upper room, room on first floor of a house
be-xtaye n.f. (pl. *be-xtaye*) lower floor in a house, basement
bərzoma n.m. (pl. *bərzome*) cool room for storage in the basement of a house
boyət bərzoma n.m. hatch giving access to storage room
stərra n.m. (pl. *stərre*) storeroom for food
goma n.m. (pl. *gome, gomăwaθa*) basement stable
gomiθa n.f. (pl. *gomiyaθa*) small basement stable
mola n.m. (pl. *mole*) partitioned storage area in a *goma* (basement stable)
ʾotəx, ʾotaxa n.f./m. (pl. *ʾotaxe*) (K./T.) room
manzəl n.f. (pl. *manzale*) room
manzəl tawa sitting room
k̂učke n.f. living room; hearth
čačma n.f. (pl. *čačmaθa*) bathroom, toilet
ḥammam n.m./f. (pl. *ḥammame, ḥammamaθa*) bath, bathroom
semalta n.f. (pl. *semalyaθa*) ladder
dăraje n.f. (pl. *dărajyaθa, dărayəj*) flight of steps, staircase
mēs, mēz n.m. (pl. *mezăwaθa, mezăwāt*) table
došăka, došakka n.m. (pl. *došăke, došakke*) mattress
došəkθa n.f. (pl. *došəkyaθa*) cushion
kursa, kursiya n.m. (pl. *kursăwaθa, kursiye*) chair
qănăpa, qănăfa n.f. (pl. *qănăpe, qănăfe, qănăpāt*) armchair, sofa, couch
šwiθa n.f. (pl. *šəwyaθa, šwiyaθa*) bed; bedding
barəšta, berəšta n.f. (pl. *barəšyaθa, berəšyaθa*) pillow, cushion
qarawət n.f. (pl. *qarawətte*) metal bed
taxta n.f. (pl. *taxtaθa*) wooden bed
ʾərzala n.f. (pl. *ʾərzale*) portable bed
məstik n.m. (pl. *məstike*) mosquito net
ṣupa, ṣopa n.f. (pl. *ṣupăwaθa, ṣupe, ṣopaθa*) stove
bûxɛri, ̂buxɛriya n.m.̂ (pl. *buxɛr̂iye*) stove, smoke duct
gunga n.m. (pl. *gunge*) chimney pipe
qurṣəltət gunga n.f. bend in chimney pipe on the roof (to prevent rain and snow entering)
ṣopiθa n.f. (pl. *ṣopiyaθa*) outhouse, shed

saršoye n.f. place for washing oneself; large basin for washing dishes, usually in an outhouse (*ṣopiθa*)
gariθa n.f. (pl. *gariyaθa*) small roof over outhouse
tanura n.m. (pl. *tanure*) oven (for baking bread)
ʾɛntət tanura n.f. (pl. *ʾɛnyaθa*) airhole of oven
kanuna n.m. (pl. *kanune*) hearth consisting of stones used for cooking
məšṭaxa n.m. (pl. *məšṭaxe*) area where fruit and vegetables were spread out to dry

21.3.2. *Church and Its Appurtenances*

ʾumra n.m. (pl. *ʾumre, ʾumrane*) church
be-qanke n.f. chancel
madəbxa n.m. altar
šxinta n.f. sanctuary, altar
gorna n.f. (pl. *gornaθa*) baptismal font
kawət punde holes in the wall in which burning wicks (*punde*) were placed
qəṭra n.m. arch, dome
suline n.pl. interlocking sections of dome
naxira n.m. (pl. *naxire*) projecting structure with a small orifice on the tower of a church
kasa n.m. (pl. *kase*) chalice
pərma n.m. (pl. *pərme*) thurible
raza n.m. (pl. *raze*) mass
qurbana n.m. holy communion; host
kuraza n.m. sermon, preaching
bəšra n.m. Gospel
buxra n.m. blessing
bɛθ-qora n.m. (pl. *bɛθ-qore, bɛθ-qorăwaθa, bɛθ-qorayaθa*) cemetery
qawra n.f. (pl. *qawre, qawraθa, qorăwaθa*) grave

21.3.3. *Water-Mill*

ʾarxe, ʾərxe n.f. (pl. *ʾarxaθa, ʾərxaθa*) water-mill
pənxa ḷaya n.m. upper grindstone
pənxa xtaya n.m. lower grindstone
năreθa n.f. (pl. *năreyaθa*) piece in shape of an axe at the end of the rotating shaft that fits into the upper grindstone
qaṭota n.f. break in an irrigation channel to divert water into the water-mill

kotăla n.m. (pl. *kotăla*) raised tank attached to a water-mill which fills with water from a channel and releases water flow at a high pressure to drive the mill.
bəšwele n.f. lower section of water-mill containing driving wheel and shaft.
boṭa n.m (pl. *boṭe*) large wooden channel that carries water at high speed to drive water-mill
masrəqθa n.f. (pl. *masrəqyaθa*) comb for filtering the water passing along the *boṭa*
pozəkke n.f. (pl. *pozəkyaθa*) nozzle at end of *boṭa*
parwana n.m. propeller
parrane n.pl. blades of propeller
dulaba n.m. wooden wheel to which propellers are attached
šabuðət ʾərxe n.m. driving rod that is turned by the propellors
marmana, marimana n.m. lever for engaging *dulaba* with the grindstones
dawla n.m. open box over a water-mill containing wheat, with a hole in the bottom through which wheat comes out onto the grindstone.
čakčaka n.m. wooden wheel shaking and dispensing slowly grain to be ground by a water-mill
balotət pənxa, ʾɛnəkθət balota n.f. hole of a grindstone into which grain is introduced
sorəkθa n.f. lip in the ridge of the lower grindstone of a water-mill where sesame oil pours off
mazaxa n.m. area below the grindstones in a water-mill onto which the flour falls
qačamiθa n.f. waste grains from a water-mill which do not fall onto the *mazaxa*
napaxta n.f. a large hollow measure for corn in the form of an open oblong wooden box
mučəkθa n.f. (pl. *mučəkyaθa*) dry measure in the form of a small bowl (used by the owner of the water-mill to measure out his share of the flour for his fee)

21.3.4. *Churn*

guða n.m. (pl. *guðe*) skin bag used for churning
mayoya n.m. (pl. *mayoye*) long wooden rod running the length of the frame carrying the churn bag
lawlaba n.m. (pl. *lawlabe*) wooden stick at the two ends of the frame carrying the churn bag
šarafta n.f. (pl. *šaraftyaθa*) rope attached to the shafts (*mayoye*) of the frame

21.3.5. *Cradle*

dudiya n.f. (pl. *dudiyaθa*) cradle
bănude n.pl. swaddling bands
šabuqta n.f. (*šabuqytaθa*) metal bar on the side of a cradle (to which the swaddling bands are tied)
xmarət dudiya n.m. round top of cradle
quṣriya n.m. (pl. *quṣriye*) pot for collecting urine and excrement of baby
bəllorta n.f. (pl. *bəlloryaθa*) pipe for taking away urine of baby

21.3.6. *Other Structures*

ʾatuna n.m. (pl. *ʾatune*) furnace, kiln
ʾore n.f. (pl. *ʾorăwaθa*) manger
badəkka n.m. (pl. *badəkke*) hut
be-tune n.f. store for straw
duna n.m. (pl. *dune*) pen for sheltering sheep and goats in winter
hawše, ḥawše n.f. (pl. *hawšaθa*) (K.) sheep-fold, animal pen
koləkθa n.f. (pl. *koləkyaθa*) chicken coop
kosta n.f. (pl. *kosyaθa*) pen for young lambs in basement stable
koxa n.m. (pl. *koxe*) (K.) hut
kullixa n.m. (pl. *kullixe*) (K.) hut
k̂uprana n.f. (pl. *k̂upranane*) wooden trellis affording cover, standing separately in field or built over roof of outhouse (*gariθa*)
kura n.m. (pl. *kure*) furnace, kiln
məšwanəkke n.f. (pl. *məšwanəkke*) beehive (the cover of the cylindrical baskets known as *sălămaške* in which the bees are kept)
qare n.f. (pl. *qareyaθa*) chicken coop
sălămaške, sŭlamməš, sălamməš, sallaméš n.f. (pl. *šălămaške*) beehive, cylindrical compartment of beehive (made of basket)
šwanəkke n.f. (pl. *šwanəkke*) small booth covering beehives
xəllepa n.m. (pl. *xəllepe*) beehive
zoma n.m. (pl. *zomăwaθa*) summer hut in the mountains

21.4. Containers

21.4.1. *Miscellaneous Vessels*

badiya n.m. (pl. *badiye*) brass vessel (for water and *dawwe*)
baṭila n.m. (pl. *baṭile*) horn container used to carry *čita* (butter) as a lubricant for sharpening implements on a *məšna* (whetstone)
burra n.m. (pl. *burre*) pot for preserving yoghurt (submerged in water to keep cool) or for storing date syrup (*nepoxta*) and yeast (*xmira*)
čəlləkθa n.f. (pl. *čəlləkyaθa*) earthenware pot (for milk or yoghurt)
danθa n.f. (pl. *daṇyaθa*) water jar
darpoše n.f. (pl. *darpošyaθa*) (K.) pan for cooking
dərvana n.m. (pl. *dərvane*) (K.) frying-pan
jarra n.m. (pl. *jarre*) (K./A.) jar
jawda n.m. (pl. *jawde*) water skin
juwiθa n.f. (pl. *juwiyaθa*) (K.) pot that is buried in the ground to make jajək
julləkθa n.f. (pl. *julləkyaθa*) pail for milk or yoghurt
kawaza n.f. (pl. *kawaze*) earthenware pot for water
kwara, *kwɛra* n.m. (pl. *kware*) storage bin for corn
lagăna n.m. (pl. *lagăne*) brass container for food
lina n.m. (pl. *line*) large conical-shaped pot
linta n.f. (pl. *linyaθa*) small conical-shaped pot
majma n.m. (pl. *majme*) (A.) tray
majo n.f. (pl. *majowaθa*) wide bowl for kneading dried yoghurt cakes (*qaške*)
maqle n.f. (pl. *maqlăwaθa*) (K./A.) cooking pot
marəgla n.m. (pl. *marəgle*) brass pan for heating water
margəlta n.f. (pl. *margəlyaθa*) small pan
markən n.m. (pl. *markane*) storage pot
masina n.f. (pl. *masine*) earthenware pot with spout
mučəkθa n.f. (pl. *mučəkyaθa*) small dry measure in the form of a small bowl (used by the owner of water-mill to measure out his share of the flour for his fee)
piṗa n.m. (pl. *piṗe*) cage for partridge chicks made from a gourd
qadalta n.f. (pl. *qadalyaθa*) earthenware pot
qoqa n.m. (pl. *qoqe*) water pot
qoqta n.f. (pl. *qoqyaθa*) small water pot
quṣarta n.f. (pl. *quṣraθa*, *quṣariyaθa*) cooking pot

quṣriya n.m. (pl. *quṣriye*) pot for collecting urine and excrement of baby under a cradle
rapəkθa n.f. (pl. *rapəkyaθa*) cup measure for grain
rawiya n.m. (pl. *rawiye*) large leather water bottle
saṭla n.f. (pl. *ṣaṭlaθa*) brass bucket
saxara n.m. (pl. *saxare*) large brass dish used for *gərðo* stew
senike, senəkke n.f. (pl. *senike*) (K./A.) metal plate
seniya n.f. (pl. *seniye*) (K./A.) metal tray
səndana n.m. (pl. *səndane*) large pot for *jajək*
stavla, stawla n.m. (pl. *stavle*) wooden frame for carrying loads on pack animal
šarba (pl. *šarbe*) earthenware jug
šuša n.m. (pl. *šuše*) bottle
talma n.m. (pl. *talme, talmane*) water pot
taləmθa n.f. (pl. *taləmyaθa*) small water pot
tannəkka n.m. (pl. *tannəkke*) tin
ṭasa n.f. (pl. *ṭase*) small bowl
ṭašta, ṭašte n.f. (pl. *ṭaštaθa, ṭašyaθa*) (K.) brass bowl (for kneading dough)
xumṣa n.m. (pl. *xumṣe*) large box (for storing grains)
zawərta n.f. (pl. *zawriyaθa*) earthenware container for water for cooking in house or carrying on a journey
bambula n.m. (pl. *bambule*) spout (on a pot)

21.4.2. *Cups and Glasses*

glās n.m. (pl. *glase*) (K./E.) glass
kasa n.m. (pl. *kase*) chalice (in church)
kuba n.m. (pl. *kube*) (A.) cup
panjana n.m. (pl. *panjane*) (K./A.) glass; cup
stăkana n.m. (pl. *stăkane*) (K.) glass
tărare n.f. (pl. *tărare*) (K.) small aluminium cup

21.4.3. *Bags and Baskets*

ʾarəkθa n.f. (pl. *ʾarəkyaθa*) bag (of rice)
ʿəllaga n.f. bag
ʾəsra n.f. (pl. *ʾəsraθa*) large storage basket
boqča n.m. (pl. *boqče*) (K.) knapsack (made of finer fabric than *parzun*)
čanta n.f. (pl. *čanaθa*) (K.) shoulder bag
guða n.m. (pl. *guðe*) skin bag (for churning or carrying liquids)

guðanta n.f. (*guðanyaθa*) small skin bag
guniya n.f. (pl. *guniyaθa*) sack (made of flax)
jareta, jarreta n.f. (pl. *jarṛeyaθa*) food bag
juwala n.m./f. (pl. *juwale*) (K.) sack (made of animal hair)
juwəlta n.f. (pl. *juwəlyaθa*) small sack
juwiθa n.f. (pl. *juwiyaθa*) pot (buried in ground to make jajək, covered with fig leaf [*ṭarpət tena*] and a small piece of fabric [*čəngərta*])
kista n.f. (pl. *kisyaθa*) small bag
mziða bag for storing grain (made of sheepskin)
paṛuna n.m. (pl. *paṛune*) sheepskin bag for clothes
parzūn, parzuna n.m. (pl. *parzune*) (K.) woolen knapsack worn by women
pista n.f. (pl. *pisyaθa*) leather bag (for carrying jajək and yoghurt)
qalta, qalθa n.f. (*qalaθa, qalyaθa*) basket (made of palm leaves made in towns)
qərṭala n.f. (pl. *qərṭale*) pannier bag on the back of an animal
qərṭalta n.f. (pl. *qərṭalyaθa*) small pannier bag
qəθθurta n.f. (pl. *qəθθuryaθa*) knapsack (= *boqča*)
qupa n.m. (pl. *qupe*) wicker basket used for storage
qupiθa n.f. (pl. *qupyaθa*) small basket
sala n.m. (pl. *sale*) storage basket used for dairy products
salla n.f. (pl. *sallaθa*) basket
salθa n.f. (pl. *sallaθa*) basket (for keeping bees or catching fish)
šalila n.m. (pl. *šalile*) large basket used for transporting straw from the threshing floor (*bədra*) to the storage bin (*zənja*)
xurja n.m. (pl. *xurje*) saddle-bag
zəqqa n.f. (pl. *zəqqe, zəqqaθa*) (A.) waterskin

21.5. Miscellaneous Instruments and Tools

badoda n.m. (pl. *badode*) long wooden poker for stirring up the fire of an oven
barxošta n.f. (pl. *barxošyaθa*) big stirring spoon, ladle
byaṭa n.m. (pl. *byaṭe*) pickaxe
čakala n.m. (pl. *čakale*) pruning hook; tool used for pulling down fruit and nuts from trees
čakalta n.f. (pl. *čakalyaθa*) small pruning hook
čakuč n.m./f. (pl. *čakuče*) (K.) hammer
čakučta n.f. (pl. *čakučyaθa*) (K.) small hammer
čamča n.f. (pl. *čamče*) (K.) spoon (made of wood); flat trowel

čangəl n.f. (pl. *čangale*) (K.) fork
garoma n.m. (pl. *garome*) large stone rolling pin
garomta n.f. (pl. *garomyaθa*) small stone rolling pin
garosta n.f. (pl. *garosyaθa*) handmill
garšo n.f. (pl. *garšowaθa*) tool used to stir up the mud in the water when planting rice in the paddy fields
garθa n.f. (pl. *garaθa*) large sledge for transporting sticks and fodder on snow
gazza n.m. tongs
gera n.m. (pl. *gere*) long thin rolling pin
gərəkθa n.f. (pl. *gərəkyaθa*) (K.) handmill used to remove husks from rice
gilandi, gilanda n.m. (pl. *gilandiye, gilande*) (K.) scythe
gubbān n.m. (A.) spirit-level
jawətta n.f. (pl. *jawəttaθa*) wood chopper
kanoša n.m. (pl. *kanoše*) broom
kanošta n.f. (pl. *kanošyaθa*) small broom, brush
karrəkka n.m. (pl. *karrəkke*) (K.) sheep shears
ḵawčo n.f. (pl. *ḵawče*) (K.) ladle
kəlbəttən n.m. (pl. *kəlbəttane*) (K./A.) pincers
kulənga n.m. (pl. *kulənge*) (K.) pickaxe
kuvəkka n.m. (pl. *kuvəkke*) (K.) funnel
kuṗala n.f. (pl. *kuṗale*) (K.) shepherd's stick; walking stick
maǧla n.m. (pl. *maǧle*) sickle
maǧəlta n.f. (pl. *maǧəlyaθa*) small sickle
maǧreta n.f. (pl. *maǧreyaθa*) shaving knife
maloka n.m. (pl. *maloke*) tool for hewing rock (smaller than a *murja*, which is used for the same purpose)
mandorta n.m. (pl. *mandoryaθa*) roller for flattening roof
maqara n.m. (pl. *maqare*) gouge, chisel
maqaṣta n.f. scissors, shears
maqərxana n.m. (pl. *maqərxane*) brush for whitewashing
maṛa, mɛra n.m. (pl. *maṛe, mɛre*) metal spade
maṛuθa n.f. (pl. *maṛuwaθa*) wooden spade for moving snow
marzaq n.m. (pl. *marzaqe*) wooden stick covered in wool used to stick bread to the oven
masəxθa n.f. (pl. *masəxyaθa*) metal poker for fire; branding iron;
massa n.m. (pl. *masse*) ox goad; pole
mawəlka n.m. (K.) type of small sledge hammer with fine head, smaller than a *murja*

maxətwa n.m. (pl. *maxətwe*) awl (with wooden handle)
məlxawa n.m. (pl. *məlxawe*) winnowing fork
məšna n.f. (pl. *məšnaθa*, *məšne*) whetstone for sharpening blades
mṣapyana n.m. (pl. *mṣapyane*) strainer
mtarəksana n.m. (pl. *mtarəksane*) wooden poker
murja n.m. (pl. *murje*) type of sledge hammer, larger than a *maloka* which is used for the same purpose
năra n.m. (pl. *năre*) axe
nasarta n.f. (pl. *nasaryaθa*) saw
qalwa n.m. (pl. *qalwe*) wooden mold in which fabric is pressed
qaṭita n.f. (pl. *qaṭiyaθa*) walking-stick
qaṭiya n.m. (pl. *qaṭiye*) stick, goad; whip
qurṣəlta n.f. (pl. *qurṣəlyaθa*) square (instrument used in carpentry)
randuš n.f. (pl. *randušyaθa*, *randuše*) plane (of carpenter)
razwana n.m. (pl. *razwane*) (K.) machine to frighten away birds in a vineyard or orchard
sanoya n.m. (pl. *sanoye*) poker for a fire
sariqana n.m. (pl. *sariqane*) rake
šapra n.m. (pl. *šapre*) (A.) large knife
ṭarpana n.m. (pl. *ṭarpane*) scythe
xapro n.f. (pl. *xaprowaθa*) small metal trowel for digging up vegetables
xaṣina n.f. (pl. *xaṣine*) axe
xašola n.m. (pl. *xašole*) hand-held grinding stone for grinding rice or wheat
xašolta n.f. (pl. *xašolyaθa*) grinding base with hole in centre in which *xašola* is turned
xaṭorta n.m. (pl. *xaṭoryaθa*) washing board
xayoṭa n.m. (pl. *xayoṭe*) sewing machine

21.6. Agriculture

21.6.1. *Cultivated Land*

ʾăra, *ʾarra* n.f. (pl. *ʾăraθa*) ground, land
ʾaqara n.m. (pl. *ʾaqare*) area of open farmland
ʾupra n.m. (pl. *ʾuprane*) soil, ground; land
bura n.m. (pl. *burane*) field cultivated without irrigation
čamma n.f. (pl. *čammane*) large field near river; plantation
gawana, *gewana* n.m. (pl. *gawanane*, *gewanane*) boundary; strip between fields with no cultivation marking boundary

gənθa n.f. (pl. *gənnane*) small garden
karma n.m. (pl. *karme, karmane*) vineyard; orchard
marga, mɛrga n.m. (pl. *marge, margane*) meadow
margəšta n.f. (pl. *margəšyaθa*) small meadow
praza n.f. (pl. *prazane*) stubble field
txuma n.m. (pl. *txume*) boundary
xaqla n.f. (pl. *xaqlaθa*) field (with irrigation)
zruta avi irrigated cultivation
zruta dēm unirrigated cultivation

21.6.2. *Paddy Fields*

barju n.f. (pl. *barjuwaθa*) (K.) channel connecting sections (*sadde*) of a paddy field
hɛrike n.pl. (K.) soft mud made in preparation for cultivation of rice
məššara n.f. (pl. *məššare*) section of a paddy field, paddy field basin
sadda n.m. (pl. *sadde*) (A.) dammed section of paddy field consisting of a row of basins (*məššare*)
garšo n.f. (pl. *garšowaθa*) tool used to stir up the mud in the water when planting rice

21.6.3. *Irrigation*

məxra n.m. (pl. *məxre, məxrare*) small water channel carrying water across field boundaries (*gewanane*)
qaṭota n.f. and *dărava* n.m. (pl. *dărave*) (K.) dam put in an irrigation channel (*šaqiθa*) to stop or redirect the flow of water
šaqiθa n.f. (pl. *šaqiyaθa, šaqyaθa*) irrigation channel
ʾɛnət xaqla n.f. (pl. *ʾɛnaθət xaqla*) aperture for irrigation water in a field boundary
naðorta n.f. (pl. *naðoryaθa*) pipe running out from an irrigation channel (*šaqiθa*)
karaxa, karraxa n.m. (pl. *karaxe*) irrigation adminstrator, who was concerned principally with regulating the flow of water in water channels (*šaqyaθa*).

21.6.4. *Harvest and Storage*

xzatta n.f. harvest
bədra n.f. (pl. *bədraθa*) threshing floor
darza n.m. (pl. *darze*) large tied bundle of grass or produce (usually wheat)

dwara (dwr) threshing of grains by animals on the threshing floor
garuwa, garruwa n.m. stack of twigs and leaves for animal fodder in winter
garuta, garruta n.f. (pl. *garruyaθa*) small stack of twigs or leaves for animal fodder in winter, built against a tree
gəddišta, gdišta n.f. (pl. *gəddišyaθa*) stook of corn, especially millet (*prage*), sorghum (*xroriye*) and sesame (*šišme*)
grawəzna n.m. (pl. *grawəzne*) load of harvested rice carried on the back in a piece of cloth
huðala n.m. (pl. *huðale*) stack of bundles of grass
dry II *m-dry* (*mdare, mdurele, mdaroye*) to thresh, to winnow
puwa n.m. hay from millet (*prage*)
puwuš n.m. hay from fibres of rice plant
qanaθe n.pl. metal finger covers worn by harvesters
č̣anga n.m. (pl. *č̣ange*) (K.) leather gloves used to grasp thorny plants when harvesting
qapla n.m. (pl. *qaple*) armful, bundle of produce
sar-gera n.m. leading ox on the threshing floor
səmmala n.f. (pl. *səmmale*) small bundle of grass or produce
ṭarpa n.m. gathering of leaves for winter
ṭaxa n.m. (pl. *ṭaxe*) pile, untied bundle of grass and leaves
zənja n.m. (pl. *zənje*) storage bin for straw

21.6.5. *Plough and Ploughing*

bzara n.f. (pl. *bzare, bzaraθa*) plough
klama n.m. (pl. *klame*) wooden collar of ox
qaṭira n.m. wooden beam joining oxen together
bawsa n.m. (pl. *bawse*) piece of matting (*xaṣira*) connecting *qaṭira* to remainder of the plough
nira n.m. yoke (*klama* + *qaṭira* + *bawsa*)
ʾipta n.f. (pl. *ʾipyaθa*) strap made of gut connecting yoke of animals to the plough
šəryoxe n.pl. strands used to tie collar of oxen that are pulling the plough
mašana n.f. (pl. *mašane*) (K.) beam connecting yoke to the main body of the plough
xapa n.m. (pl. *xape*) wooden peg used to connect the main body of a plough to the beam (*mašana*)
sarmajanke, sarmažanke n.f. (pl. *sarmajanke, sarmažanke*) (K.) small hook of wood connecting *bawsa* to *mašana*
səkθa n.f. (pl. *səkke, səkkake*) ploughshare

kawša n.m. (pl. *kawše*) handle of plough
lata n.f. (pl. *latatθa*) furrow
lena n.m. (pl. *lenane*) furrow made by plough used as outline marks to guide the ploughing
zrʾ I (*zăre, zrile, zraʾa*) to plough
ʾqr I (*ʾaqər, qirre, qara*) to plough
tny I (*tane, tnele, tnaya*) to plough a second set of furrows, perpendicular to the first set
šapna n.f. (pl. *šapnatθa*) instrument made of oak twigs (*taqanət ṗarma*) for smoothing ground after ploughing and sowing

21.6.6. *Sieves and Sieving*

mxilta n.f. (pl. *mxilyatθa*) sieve with small holes (for flour)
ʾərbala n.f. (pl. *ʾərbale*) sieve with medium sized holes
sarada n.m. (pl. *sarade*) (K./A.) sieve with large holes (for corn)
qəmmota n.f. dirt and stones remaining in sieve after sieving
parta, pərta n.f. husks remaining in sieve after sieving
nəxla n.m. sieved grain; flour that falls through a fine sieve (*mxilta*)

21.7. Sewing, Weaving and Spinning

21.7.1. *Sewing*

xyṭ I (*xayət, xiṭle, xyaṭa*) to sew
xayaṭa n.m. (pl. *xayaṭe*) tailor
xayoṭa n.m. (pl. *xayoṭe*) sewing machine
xmaṭa n.f. (*xmaṭatθa*) needle
ʾurədxa n.f. (pl. *ʾurədxe, ʾurədxatθa*) long needle
qaṭwa n.m (pl. *qaṭwe*) large wooden needle
sənjəq, sənjaqa (pl. *sənjaqe*) crotchet-hook
bra-ṣəppa n.f. (pl. *bra-ṣəppe*) thimble
gədda n.m. (pl. *gədde, gðaðe*) thread
šadda n.m. (pl. *šadde*) spool for thread made of cotton (*ktana*) or gut (*gədde*)
kundarəs, kundɛrəs n.f. chain stitch
ʾamədyana n.m. Amedia stitching, cross-stitch
šəkloka n.m. (pl. *šəkloke*) loose stitch used to join pieces of fabric together in a preliminary fashion before they are sewed with the final stitching

21.7.2. *Weaving*

zqr I (*zaqar, zqirre, zqara*) to weave, to knit
zaqara n.m. (pl. *zaqare*) weaver
zəqqora n.m. (pl. *zəqqore*) woven product
zəqra n.m. (pl. *zəqre*) weaving, woven product
šty III *m-šty* (*mašte, muštele, maštoye*) to arrange the warp (weaving)
šətya n.m. warp
xanuθa n.f. (pl. *xanuyaθa*) loom for weaving
makuk n.m. (pl. *makuke*) shuttle on loom
xewa n.m. (pl. *xewe*) hook used to adjust threads when weaving

21.7.3. *Spinning*

ʾzl I (*ʾazəl, zille, zala*) to spin (wool)
ʾəzla n.m. (pl. *ʾəzle*) yarn
xarnɛsa n.m. (pl. *xarnɛse*) hand-held distaff
kuša n.m. (pl. *kuše*) spindle (hanging from a distaff)
čarməkθa n.f. (pl. *čarməkyaθa*) leather strap along which the spindle (*kuša*) is run to start it spinning
gədda n.m. (pl. *gədde, gðaðe*) string; thread
masərqa n.m. (pl. *masərqe*) large comb for carding wool
msarbəs n.m. (pl. *msarbise*) wooden spool on which balls of wool are wound
gəgla n.m. (pl. *gəgle*) skein (of wool, thread) spun on a spool (*msarbəs*)
taqa n.m. (pl. *taqe, taqane*) strand (of wool)
kurənja n.m. (pl. *kurənje*) long stick used for carding flax or wool
bərgawa n.m. inferior quality wool
ləva n.f. (K.) lamb's wool
məlga n.m. wool plucked from sheepskin
kurənja n.m. (pl. *kurənje*) (K.) long stick used for carding flax or wool

21.8. Hunting

qəšta n.f. (pl. *qəštaθa*) bow; sling
darjămа n.f. (pl. *darjămе*) (K.) screen behind which hunters (shooting birds) hide
suta n.f. (pl. *sutaθa*) trap for partridges (*qəqwane*), consisting of trap doors over walls made of stone
gərkawe n.f. (K.) hunting of partridges

qola n.m. (pl. *qole*) metal springed animal trap
qulta n.f. (pl. *qulyaθa*, *qultaθa*) metal springed animal trap
ṯ̆ăp̆əkke, *ṯ̆ăp̆əkθa* n.f. (pl. *ṯ̆ăp̆əkke*, *ṯ̆ăp̆əkyaθa*) (K.) trap for small birds (such as sparrows)
čəldevana n.m. (K.), *qulčiva* n.m. (K.) trigger in the trap known as *ṯ̆ăp̆əkke*, *ṯ̆ăp̆əkθa*
jalləkθa n.f. (pl. *jallə̀kyaθa*) rabbit trap
dabuqana n.m. birdlime
nəšwa n.m. bird trap consisting of loops (*xarbuqyaθa*) of horse hair suspended on pruning hooks (*čakalyaθa*)

21.9. Fires

nura n.m. fire
ṭapoya n.m. kindling (for fire)
šišmanta n.f. sesame grass used as kindling for a fire
šəmməšta n.f. bark from juniper (*daprana*) or vine (*daliθa*) used as tinder
manquš n.m. (pl. *manquše*) metal instrument for striking fire on flint
barziva n.m flint used to strike fire with metal instrument known as *manquš*
lata n.f. pl. (*lataθa*) flame
bəṣliṣa n.m. (pl. *bəṣliṣa*) small flame
čezəkka n.m. (pl. *čezəkke*) (K.) spark
tənna n.m. smoke
palla n.m. (pl. *palle*) (K.) ember of burning wood
palləkθa n.f. (pl. *palləkyaθa*) (K.) small ember
šəmra n.m. soot
šəxra n.m. charcoal; soot
sanoya n.m. (pl. *sanoye*) poker for a fire
masəxθa n.f. (pl. *masəxyaθa*) metal poker for fire
badoda n.m. (pl. *badode*) long wooden poker for stirring up the fire of an oven
mtarəksana n.m. (pl. *mtarəksane*) small wooden poker
kanuna n.m. (pl. *kanune*) stones used for cooking; fireplace, hearth
dəgdin n.m. (pl. *dəgdine*) metal frame for cooking over a fire (with three legs);
lhy I (*lăye*, *lele*, *lhaya/lăya*) to burn, to be kindled, III *m-lhy* (*malhe/măle*, *mulhele/mŭlele*, *malhoye/măloye*) to kindle
ṭpy I (*ṭape*, *ṭpele*, *ṭpaya*) to kindle, II *m-ṭpy* (*mṭape*, *mṭupele*, *mṭapoye*) to kindle, III *m-ṭpy* (*maṭpe*, *mutpele*, *maṭpoye*) to kindle

dry I (*dare, drele, draya*) *nura b-* to set fire to
qðx I (*qaðəx, qðixle, qðaxa*) to kindle, to spark by striking flints or knocking a stone with a fire steel (*manquš*)
lwx I (*lawəx, lwixle, lwaxa*) to catch fire, to blaze
prpr Q *m-prpr* (*mparpər, mpurpərre, mparpore*) to blaze up
ʾqð I (*ʾaqəð, qidle, qaða*) to burn (intr.), III *m-qð* (*maqəð, muqədle, maqoðe*) to burn (tr.)
qmy I (*qame, qmele, qmaya*) to scorch (clothes) (tr. and intr.)
xrx I (*xarəx, xrixle, xraxa*) to singe
šyr I (*šayər, širre, šyara*) to stoke (fire)
trks Q *m-trks* (*mtarkəs, mturkəsle, mtarkose*) to build up embers of a fire to keep it burning
bdd II *m-bdd* (*mbăddəd, mbŭdədle, mbădode*) to stir a fire with a poker
dyx I (*dayəx, dixle, dyaxa*) to die down (fire), III *m-dyx* (*madyəx/măḍix, mudyəxle/mŭḍixle, madyoxe/măḍoxe*) to dampen down (fire)
ṭ̌my I (*ṭ̌ame, ṭ̌mele, ṭ̌maya*) to be extinguished, III *m-ṭ̌my* (*maṭ̌me, muṭ̌mele, maṭ̌moye*) to extinguish (tr.).

21.10. Clothes and Fabrics

21.10.1. *General Clothes*

beðəlta n.f. (pl. *beðəlyaθa, beθaθa*) sleeve
bərvana n.m. (pl. *bərvane*) apron (for cooking)
bra-qðala n.m. (pl. *bra-qðale*) collar
brɛθaθa n.pl. (sing. *bra ʾiða* f.) gloves
gərwe n.pl. (sing. *gərwiθa, gruθa, gərwa* f.) socks
gubba n.m. (pl. *gubbe*) inner pocket
gugiya n.m. (pl. *gugiye*) (K.) tassel
jeba, jɛba n.m. (pl. *jebe, jebane*) pocket
jərziya n.m. (pl. *jərziye*) jersey; sweater
kenapka n.m. (pl. *kenapke*) (K.) press-stud (to fasten clothes)
paškoža n.f. (pl. *paškože*) (K.) tassel, decorative stud, bead
ṣudra n.f. (pl. *ṣudraθa*) shirt, blouse
šala, šāl n.m. (pl. *šale*) (A.) shawl, kerchief; sash wrapped around waist
šarpa n.m. wrap worn around the neck, extending over front of body, usually with tastles (*gugiye*)
šəbbaqa n.m. (pl. *šəbbaqe*) belt (leather or woven)
šəppola n.m. (pl. *šəppole*) edge of clothing

tarəqta n.f. (pl. *tarəqyaθa*) button
ṭoṭiθa f. (pl. *ṭoṭiyaθa*) button
xalqa n.m. (pl. *xalqe*) fastener, press-stud
xərxaṣa n.m. (pl. *xərxaṣe*) thick sash belt
ziqa n.m. neck of a shirt

21.10.2. *Men's Clothes*

ʾabaya, ʾabbaya n.m. (pl. *ʾabaye, ʾabbaye*) cloak
kăpăna n.m. (pl. *kăpăne*) (K.) thick woolen cloak of shepherd
bərmalta n.f. (pl. *bərmalyaθa*) long jacket worn over other clothes
šalla n.m. (K.) trousers made from wool
šərwala n.m. trousers made from cloth
təkθa n.f. (pl. *təkke, təkkake*) cord for trousers
qayiš, qayiša n.m./f. (pl. *qayiše*) (K.) leather belt
lawandiye n.pl. long sleeves
ṣudrət lawandiye n.f. shirt with long sleeves
ʾilakka n.m. (pl. *ʾilakke*) (T.) waistcoat
qutana n.f. (pl. *qutane*) shirt
qaba n.m. (pl. *qabe*) (K.) waistcoat (= *ʾilakka*)
šala n.m. (pl. *šale*) (K.) sash wrapped around waist
kosiθa n.f. (pl. *kosyaθa*) hat
šaqa n.m. (pl. *šaqe*) legging (covering lower leg)

21.10.3. *Women's Clothes and Jewelry*

gardăna n.m. (pl. *gardăne*) (K.) necklace
habriya n.m. (pl. *habriye*) (K.) festive headscarf
kămăra n.f. (*kămăre*) (K.) belt
k̂unnəkθa n.f. (pl. *k̂unnəkyaθa*) (K.) woman's headscarf
mreriya n.m. (pl. *mreriye*) bangle, decoration
pošiya n.f. (pl. *pošiyaθa*) (K.) festive headscarf
šala, šāl n.m. (pl. *šale*) (K.) shawl, kerchief
k̂appurta n.f. (pl. *k̂appuryaθa*) (K.) waistcoat (worn by women)
maxmore n.pl. jewels
šəbbərθa, šəbbərta n.f. (pl. *šəbbəryaθa*) bracelet
qulba n.m. (pl. *qulbe*) (A.) bracelet
xalaqta n.f. (pl. *xalaqyaθa*) earring
xəzzəmta n.f. (pl. *xəzzəmyaθa*) nose-ring
xəlxale n.pl. (sing. *xəlxalta*) (K./A.) anklets

tanura n.m. (pl. *tanure*) section of women's blouse (*ṣudra*) that covers the legs
tita n.f. (pl. *titiye, tite*) silver tastle decorating head of the woman; little chain hanging from belt or bracelet
wasta n.f. (pl. *wastiyaθa*) chest section of women's blouse
qutna n.m. (pl. *qutne*) woman's vest
xəppo n.f. (pl. *xəppowaθa*) bridal veil
yaləxta, yaləxθa n.f. (pl. *yaləxyaθa*) handkerchief; scarf (waved around in *xəgga* dance, usually with decorative tassles)
yubqa n.f. (pl. *yubqaθa*) skirt

21.10.4. *Shoes*

čaroxe, čeroxe n.pl. (sing. *čaroxta*) leather boots (worn in Spring)
čəkk̂alle n.pl. (sing. *čəkk̂alta* f.) (K.) slippers
kə̂dde n.pl. (sing. *kə̂ddə*) snow shoes
kere n.pl. (sing. *kera*) (K.) wooden snow shoes
lastike (sing. *lastikta*) rubber shoes
pampule n.pl. (sing. *pampulta*) large shoes
pilawe n.pl. (sing. *pilawta*) (K.) plastic shoes
qundăre n.pl. (sing. *qundarta*) (K./T.) leather shoes with heals
ṣawle n.m. (sing. *ṣawəlta*) leather shoes
šəryoxa n.m. (pl. *šəryoxe*) shoe-lace
zargule n.pl. (sing. *zargulta*) sheep skin boots (worn in Winter)

21.10.5. *Fabrics*

băgəbăgi n.m. multicoloured embroidered fabric
băra n.m. (pl. *băre*) (K.) sheet
bărəkθa n.f. (K.) (small) sheet
barora n.m. (pl. *barore*) roll (of fabric)
baza n.m. type of fabric
beza n.f. muslin fabric
čəngərra n.m. (pl. *čəngərre*) (K.) piece of fabric
čəngərta n.f. (pl. *čəngəryaθa*) (K.) small piece of fabric (put on mouth of pot containing *jajək*)
čita n.m. (pl. *čite*) (K.) type of embroidered fabric
čuxa n.f. (K.) broadcloth, thick woolen fabric
grawa n.m. (K.) off-white cotton fabric
habresəm n.m. silk
hašya n.m. (pl. *hašye*) woven lace

jurjēt n.m. type of velvet fabric
ləhefa n.m. (pl. *ləhefe*) (K./A.) duvet
malapa n.m. (pl. *malape*) sheet
manṭo n.m. type of fabric
maydani n.m. type of red fabric
mxallana n.m. (pl. *mxallane*) cleaning cloth
naqša n.m. embroidery
parča n.m. (pl. *parče*) piece of cloth
prasa n.m. (pl. *prase*) cloth spread on floor on which food is laid
prista n.f. spread, covering for floor (such as rug or carpet)
ṭaṭiya n.f. (pl. *ṭaṭiyaθa*) mat made of compressed wool
xaliya n.f. (pl. *xaliye*, *xaliyaθa*) (K.) carpet
xaṣira n.f. (pl. *xaṣire*) (A.) mat
xiyoṭa n.m. (pl. *xiyoṭe*) sewn fabric
zargəf n.m. (K.) type of fabric
zəqqora n.m. (pl. *zəqqore*) woven fabric
zəqra n.m. (pl. *zəqre*) woven fabric

21.11. Ropes and Ties

xawla n.m. (pl. *xawle*) rope
xawəlta n.f. (pl. *xawəlyaθa*) short rope
qəčča n.m. (pl. *qəčče*) (K.) short rope tethering an animal to a stake, shorter than a *xawəlta*
qəččiθa n.f. (pl. *qəččiyaθa*) small piece of rope
ṣlawa n.m. tether to tie an animal to a post
ṣlawiθa n.f. small tether
qmaṭa n.m. (pl. *qmaṭe*) rope used for tightening, e.g. the two shafts of a stone roller (*mandorta*)
sarapsɛra, *sarbsara* n.m. (pl. *sarapsɛre*) (K.) rope for leading an animal
ʾaṣsara n.m. (K.) rope for leading an animal
gədda n.m. (pl. *gədde*, *gðaðe*) string; thread
šəryoxa n.m. (pl. *šəryoxe*) shoe-lace, cord
tasma n.m. (pl. *tasme*) shoe-lace, tie
taniθa n.f. (pl. *taṇyaθa*) line (for hanging things)
yasoṛa n.m (pl. *yasoṛe*) tether
qəθra n.m. (pl. *qəθre*) knot
xarbuqta n.f. (pl. *xarbuqyaθa*) knot (joining two pieces of rope)

21.12. Natural World

21.12.1. *Mountains and Hills*

ṭura n.m. (pl. *ṭure*, *ṭurane*) mountain
ʾəqrət ṭura the foot of the mountain
ṭalana n.m. side of mountains that remains in the shade at sunrise
ba-rožа n.f./adv. (K.) side of the mountains on which the morning sun shines
ʾisara n.m. (pl. *ʾisare*) large rock; cliff
qaṭra n.m. (pl. *qaṭre*) rock, boulder
ṭapaya n.m. slope (of a mountain)
ṭapɛθa n.f. small slope (of a hill)
saka n.m (pl. *sake*) mountain ridge
gərgara n.m. (pl. *gərgare*) (K.) smooth steep slope
leta n.f. (pl. *letaθa*) ridge on a mountain side
rəzda n.m. scree, row of rock debris on the side of a mountain
stanga n.m. (pl. *stange*) (K.) narrow mountain path
dola n.m. (pl. *dole*) (K.) deep valley, canyon
ṣuwarta n.f. (pl. *ṣuwaryaθa*) wide mountain pass
tăreθa n.f. (pl. *tărayaθa*) small mountain pass
găliya, *galliya*, *galli* n.m. (pl. *galliye*) (K.) valley
lawora n.m. (pl. *lawore*) valley
lawurta n.f. (pl. *lawuryaθa*) small valley
rawola n.m. (pl. *rawole*) ravine
rawulta n.f. (pl. *rawulyaθa*) small ravine
wala n.m. wide valley between mountains
găra, *gəra* n.m. (pl. *gărare*, *gărɛre*) (K.) hill
gărəkθa, *gərəkθa* n.f. (pl. *gărəkyaθa*) hillock, small hill; mound
roma n.m. (pl. *rome*) hill
romta n.f. (pl. *romyaθa*) small hill
kanda n.m. (pl. *kande*) hillock
gəzra n.m. (pl. *gəzre*) mound, pile (of stones)
bər-gare n.f. (pl. *bər-garăwaθa*) plateau
ʾašiθa n.f. (pl. *ʾašiyaθa*) avalanche
tiya n.m. (pl. *tiyaye*) (K.) mountain peak; hilltop
čulla n.m. (pl. *čulle*) (K.) large broad mountain peak
čullənta n.m. (pl. *čullənyaθa*) (K.) small sharp mountain peak
zənnara n.m. (pl. *zənnare*) (K.) cliff, precipice
lata n.f. (pl. *lataθa*) mountain path

21.12.2. *Water*

ʾareta n.f. (pl. *ʾarayaθa*) algae and detritus floating on stagnant water
ʾɛna (pl. *ʾɛnaθa*, *ʾɛnăwaθa*) spring of water
bălo n.f. (pl. *bălowaθa*) whirlpool
garra n.m. (pl. *garre*, *garrɛre*) (K.) pool in river created by constructing a dam
nabuwwa n.m. (*nabuwwe*) large spring of water
nera n.m. (pl. *nerăwaθa*) river
sela n.m. stream, river
swire n.f. (pl. *swiriyaθa*) (K.) stream, small tributary of a river
šallala n.m. (pl. *šallale*) waterfall
šamšuma n.m. (pl. *šamšume*) large waterfall
šaršura n.m. (pl. *šaršure*) small waterfall
šəllela n.m. (pl. *šəllele*) waterfall
yama n.f. (pl. *yamaθa*) sea; lake
yamta n.f. (pl. *yamtaθa*) lake
zəmzama n.m. (pl. *zəmzame*) deep natural pool
zəmzŭma n.m. (pl. *zəmzŭme*) waterfall

21.12.3. *Celestial Bodies*

šəmša n.f. sun
kəxwa n.m., *kxuθa* n.f. (pl. *kəxwe*) star
sera n.m. moon
šəmšət sera moonlight
ʾɛwa n.m. (pl. *ʾɛwe*) cloud
dəgdin n.m. Orion
gebare, *gabbare* n.pl. the constellation Orion
kima n.f. the Pleiades
dəbba n.f. the Great Bear

21.12.4. *Weather*

xəmma n.m. heat
kəlkăla n.m. (K.) intense heat (of summer)
məṭra n.f. (pl. *məṭraθa*) rain
ʾəryana n.f. rainfall, rain storm
păra n.m. first rain in autumn
ṭawpana n.m. deluge

bərqa n.m., *bərqiya* n.m. lightning
gargome n.pl. thunder
xɛpuθa n.f. fog
talga n.m. snow
qurša n.m. frozen snow
makrəb ǰuǰane n.f. late snow falling at the beginning of March (literally: the one that angers the magpies)
mkase qərṭale n.f. late snow falling at the end of March (literally: the coverer of panniers)
pašxa rase n.f. late snow falling in April (literally: breaker of *rasa* grass)
pəšpəšyaθa n.pl. the first flakes of snow that fall in a snow storm
gərgəra n.m. light snow falling in small round grains
məžməža n.m. (K.) light snow
šrape n.pl. sleet
dərədya n.m. (pl. *dərədye*) pile of snow that has fallen from a roof
barða n.m. hail; *barða b-qanane* heavy hail
qarθa n.f. cold
ʾəṣər n.f. intense cold (of winter)
gðila n.m. ice
səllər n.f. frost
pawxa n.m. (pl. *pawxe*) wind
patlo n.f. (hot) whirlwind
bəlbəllizək n.f. (K.) whirlwind, hurricane
kerova n.m. (K.) snow storm
bahogər, buhugar n.f. blizzard (of snow)

21.13. Flora

21.13.1. *Wild Species of Flowers and Plants*

warda, wɛrda n.m. (pl. *warde, wɛrde*) flower
gəlla n.m. (pl. *gəllale*) plant; herb; grass
ʾədda n.m. weed; weeds
ʾenir n.m. aromatic lily
bajoniya n.m. (pl. *bajoniye*) red lycium barbarum berry
balazeze n.pl. (sing. *balazeza* f.) yellowy white Spring flowers
barmiya n.m. water weed (growing in rice paddy fields)
baṛ-xəlya n.m. fennel
baybuna n.m. (pl. *baybune*) yellow and white flower

bibla n.m. (pl. *bible*) camomile
bizər n.m. herb put jajək
bukina n.m. (pl. *bukine*) red anemone flower
dambus n.f. type of herb resembling tail of horse
harun n.m. type of herb
hašya n.m. herb put in *jajək* and cheese (like chive)
hemza n.m. edible herb with pungent root and white sap
kerapso n.f. edible herb pungent to the taste
kəskənna n.m. yellow flower
kətwa bloka n.m. type of herb
kiwara, *kiwɛra* n.m. thorny plant
kizikizo n.f. edible herb
kuspa dəbbe n.m. plant with large leaves used for wrapping the filling of *dolma*
kuza n.m. edible red herb
lagna n.m./f. (pl. *lagne*) thorny plant producing seeds known as *ṣəṣṣe*
ləxmət maθ-Maryam n.m. St. Mary's bread (name of herb)
luwwəš n.m. edible herb (used in *dolma* dish)
mamačučək n.m. edible herb sweet to the taste
marquṣta n.f., *marquza* n.f. (pl. *marqoṣe*, *marquṣyaθa*, *marquze*) yellow narcissus flower
nuta n.f. edible herb (small form of *nuwa*)
nuwa n.m. edible herb
paṭiroke n.f. edible herb
poθa n.f. madder
purəpxina n.m. purslane (put in *jajək*)
qaqna n.f. (pl. *qaqne*) thorny plant producing gum (*deθa*)
qărama n.f. edible herb fed to sheep to make them give more milk
quraṣina n.m. (pl. *quraṣine*) nettle
saθra n.m. herb put in yoghurt
šəbbət n.m. (K./A.) dill
ṣəmmaðra n.m. (pl. *ṣəmmaðre*) violet
sərke n.pl. herb put in *jajək* (similar to mint)
sərmo n.f. herb put in *jajək* and cheese (like chive)
šošanθa n.f. (pl. *šošanne*) lily
šwalta n.f. edible herb (producing glue)
tawuzra n.f. edible herb with wide leaves, which is boiled and mixed with sumac berries (*smoqe*)
warde žeri n.m. wild flowers
wardət dəbba n.m. large red flower

wardoniθa n.f. (pl. *wardonyaθa*) type of small flower consisting of four petals
xamiṣoke n.f. bitter herb
xanqa-xona n.m. (pl. *xanqa-xone*) small white flower
xarədla n.m. mustard
xəbloke n.f. a type of green herb that is eaten by partridges
yasmin, yasmina n.f. (pl. *yasmine*) jasmin (yellow or white)
yunja n.m. (pl. *yunje*) type of green herb that is fed to animals

21.13.2. *Cultivated Crops*

daxla n.m. (pl. *daxle*) (K./A.) corn plant
xəṭṭe n.pl. wheat (sing. *xəṭṭiθa* a wheat grain) | Four types of wheat: *xwaraθa, huwedi, mərwəš* and *k̲oč̲a* (without long hairs)
saṛe n.pl. barley
prage n.pl. pearl millet
kurize n.pl. a type of millet that ripens slowly
xroriye n.pl. sorghum
xəṭṭət romaye, xəṭṭə romaye, xəṭ-romaye n.pl. maize
xəṭṭət šemaye n.pl. maize
šišme n.pl. sesame
tŭtun, tuttun n.f. (K.) tobacco

21.13.3. *Fresh and Dried Grasses*

gərgəra n.m. type of grass that is fed to sheep
kəxra n.m. grass fodder for animals
puwa n.m. hay from millet (*prage*)
puwuš n.m. hay from fibres of rice plant
qanθa n.f. wild grass eaten by sheep
qăratiθa, qarratiθa n.f. (pl. *qăratyaθa*) pieces of *rasa* grass fed to young lambs in a pen (*kosta*)
rasa n.m. (pl. *rase, rasane*) tall thick grass used as animal fodder
šišmanta n.f. sesame grass
tuna n.m. straw from wheat (*xəṭṭe*)

21.13.4. *Fruits and Vegetables*

feka, peka n.m. (pl. *feke, peke*) (A.) fruit
mewa n.m. (K.) fruit

ʾənjaṣa n.m. (pl. *ʾənjaṣe*) wild plum
ʾənwa n.m. (pl. *ʾənwe*) grape | *ʾənwe kome* black grapes; *ʾənwə baṣirana* type of grapes that are slow to ripen; *ʾənwe ṭefi/ṭepi* type of long grapes; *ʾənwe zarrək* type of yellow grape
bajəlla, baqəlla n.m. (pl. *bajəlle, baqəlle*) broad bean
banjana koma n.m. (pl. *banjane*) aubergine
banjana smoqa n.m. (pl. *banjane*) tomato
baqla n.m. (pl. *baqle*) red bean
bašila n.m. (pl. *bašile*) long melon
bərtaqala n.m. (pl. *bərtaqale*) orange
bəṣla n.m. (pl. *bəṣle*) onion
faṣuli n.m. (pl. *faṣuliye*) (A.) white bean
gasosa n.m. (pl. *gasose*) wild green bean
gezara n.m. (pl. *gezare*) carrot
gəndore n.pl. (sing. *gəndorta*) melons
gəngəryasa n.f. (pl. *gəngəryase*) lime
gərsəkka n.m. (pl. *gərsəkke*) wild pear
gərsəkθa n.f. (pl. *gərsəkke, gərsəkyaθa*) small wild pear
gilasa n.m. (pl. *gilase*) cherry
haluka, halukka, halučakka, halurašša n.m. (pl. *haluke, halukke, halučakke, halurašše*) (K.) black plum
halwasna n.m. (pl. *halwasne*) raspberry
harmiya, hɛrmiya n.m. (pl. *harmiye, hɛrmiye*) pear
harmone n.pl. (sing. *harmonta*) pomegranates
kălăma n.m. (pl. *kălăme*) (K.) cabbage
lablabi n.m (A.) hyacynth bean
lubya n.m. (pl. *lubye*) bean growing in pods *(šənqe)*
maše n.pl. black beans
mata n.f. (pl. *mayaθa, mataθa*) grape
məšməšša n.m. (pl. *məšməšše*) (K./A.) apricot
pătate n.pl. potatoes
patorta n.f. (pl. *patoryaθa*) mushroom
qazba n.m. (pl. *qazbe*) (K.) date
rəzza n.m. (pl. *rəzzane*) rice
sparəgla n.m. (pl. *sparəgle*) quince
šalgəmme n.pl. (sing. *šalgəmta* f.) turnips, swedes
šəftiya n.m. (pl. *šəftiye*) (K.) watermelon
səlqa n.m. chard
ṣoṣine n.pl. (sing. *ṣoṣinta*) azerole berries
tena n.f. *tenta/tənta* n.f. (pl. *tene*) fig

ṭlawxe n.pl. lentils (red or green)
tuθta n.f. (pl. *tuθe, tuθyaθa*) mulberry fruit | Types of berry include: *tuθe xware* white mulberries and *tuθe kome* black mulberries (the latter type is also know as *tuθə šemaye* or *tuθə šemi* Syrian mulberries.
tuma n.m. garlic
xabuša n.m. (pl. *xabuše*) apple
xabušət ʾupra n.m. sweet potato
xarṭmane (sing. *xarṭamta, xarṭamiθa*) chickpea
xawxa n.m. (pl. *xawxe*) peach
xiyara n.m. (pl. *xiyare*) cucumber
yamiṣa n.m. (pl. *yamiṣe*) rubbarb

21.13.5. *Trees and Shrubs*

ʾilana n.f. (pl. *ʾilane, ʾilanane*) tree
ʾilanta n.f. (pl. *ʾilanyaθa*) tree, small tree
ṭarraša n.m., *ṭarrašta* n.f. (pl. *ṭarraše*) bush, shrub
dala n.m. (pl. *dale*) thicket, undergrowth
derubər n.m. (pl. *derubɛre*) wood, forest
tərða n.m. thick bush, vegetation
bənduqqa n.m. (pl. *bənduqqe*) chestnut, chestnut tree
bəṭma n.f. (pl. *bəṭmaθa*) terebinth tree
čiqa n.m. thick cane; bamboo
daliθa n.f. (pl. *dalyaθa*) vine
daprana n.m. (pl. *daprane*) juniper bush
dəlba n.m. (pl. *dəlbe*) plane tree
gawza, gawzana n.m. (pl. *gawzane*) walnut tree
gawzəlta n.f. (pl. *gawzəlyaθa*) small walnut tree
gəngəryasa n.f. (pl. *gəngəryase*) lime tree
jullajena n.m. type of thorny shrub
jwanna n.m. (pl. *jwanne*) thorn tree
kaža n.m./f. (K.) pine tree
korašina n.m. shrub with small green leaves
mɛša n.f. (pl. *mɛše*) type of oak tree
ṗaṛma n.m. (pl. *ṗaṛme*) type of oak
parzena n.m. type of thorn tree
qərda n.m. tragacanth shrub
sunniθa n.f. (pl. *sunniyaθa*) thorny bush bearing raspberries (*halwasne*)
ṣalma n.m. (pl. *ṣalme*) small bush with small leaves and small sweet red berries

ṣamərma n.f. (pl. *ṣamərme*) thorn-bush with small edible berries
ṣoṣinta (pl. *ṣoṣine*) azerole tree
šakroke n.f. bush with thorny pods
šangabí n.m. (K.) weeping willow
tena n.f. (pl. *tene*) fig tree
ṯurḵa n.m. (pl. *ṯurḵe*) (K.) pollarded mulberry tree
tuθa n.m. mulberry tree | Types of tree include: *tuθa qazbi* large white berry, *tuθa turka* small yellow mulberry, *tuθa č̣uwa* smooth mulberry
xelapa n.m. (pl. *xelape*) willow tree
xura, xurta, xorta n.m. (pl. *xure, xuriyaθa, xoriyaθa*) white poplar
zala n.m. (pl. *zale*) thin cane, reed
zɛrăbi n.f. (K.) tall cane used to weave baskets
zədyana n.m. (pl. *zədyane*) a type of oak tree

21.13.6. *Components of Flora*

ʾaqra, ʾəqra n.m. (pl. *ʾaqrare, ʾəqrare*) trunk of a tree; stem of plant
baṛ-xoxa n.m. (pl. *baṛ-xoxe*) thorny pod
bola n.m. (pl. *bole*) seed head of millet (*prage*), sorghum (*xroriya*) or rice
bubra n.m. (pl. *bubre*) thorny pod
čələkka n.m. (pl. *čələkke*) small leaf stem; small twig
čərkənna n.m. (pl. *čərkənne*) kernel (of an onion)
dalya n.m. (pl. *dalye*) tendril of a vine
dasiya n.m. (pl. *dasiye*) (K.) awn, beard of head of corn
dəsqa n.m. (pl. *dəsqe*) (K.) stem of fruit
goja n.m. (pl. *goje*) (K.) stock of tree; large root of a tree
gojiθa n.f. (pl. *gojiyaθa*) (K.) small stock of tree
gujma n.m. (pl. *gujme*) bunch (of grapes, nuts)
kălama n.m./f. (pl. *kălame*) (K.) long thorn of *parzena* or *jwanna* tree
kata n.m. (pl. *kate*) leaf sprouting on felled tree or severed branch
kətwa n.m. (pl. *kətwe*) spike, thorn
kulliya n.m. (pl. *kulliye*) (K.) head of maize
parpiṭe n.pl. brushwood taken from bushes (*ṭarraše*)
pəqxa n.m. (pl. *pəqxe*) blossom
pəškoža n.f. (pl. *pəškože*) (K.) bud
qalpa n.m. bark; peal
qanṭopa n.m. (pl. *qanṭope*) bunch
qăsăla n.m. (pl. *qăsăle*) stem of corn plant
qɛsa n.m. (pl. *qɛse*) wood; piece of wood
qəllora n.m. (pl. *qəllore*) head of maize

qəθrət šeta annual growth ring of tree
qodəšta n.f. (pl. *qodəšyaθa*) small bunch of grapes, section of a *gujma* (large bunch)
sənnorta n.f. (pl. *sənnoryaθa*) shoot (of corn)
šaka n.m. (pl. *šake*) shoot of a vine growing from the tendrils (*dalye*)
šəbbəlta n.f. (pl. *šəblaθa*, *šəble*) head of wheat or barley
šəlloxta n.f. (pl. *šəlloxyaθa*) husk of grain
šənqa n.m. (pl. *šənqe*) pod containing seeds (*boč̣e*)
šira n.m. (K.) sap (of tree), resin (of plants)
taqa n.m. (pl. *taqe*, *taqane*) branch
taqta n.f. (pl. *taqyaθa*) twig, sprig
ṭarəpθa n.f. (pl. *ṭarpe*, *ṭarpaθa*, *ṭarəpyaθa*) leaf
ṭarxa n.m. (pl. *ṭarxe*) new shoot in a plant or tree
ṭaya n.m. (pl. *ṭayane*) leaf (of a plant); leafy branch (of a tree)
tura n.m. (pl. *ture*) pliable twig
ṭurxa n.m. (pl. *ṭurxe*) branch
wariða n.m. (pl. *wariðe*) root
zolala n.m. (pl. *zolale*) (K.) tendril of a plant; vein within a leaf

21.13.7. *Nuts, Seeds and Galls*

ʾaṗṣa n.m. (pl. *ʾaṗṣe*) gallnut of oak tree (*mɛša*)
ʾinta n.f. (pl. *ʾine*) small edible nut (small terebinth nut *bəṭəmθa*)
baluṭa n.m. (pl. *baluṭe*) acorn (fruit of oaks *mɛša*, *ṗaṛma*)
bəṭme n.pl. (sing. *bəṭəmθa*) terebinth nut
bibər n.f. pepper; *bibər smoqta* red pepper
fəlfəl n.m. (pl. *fəlfəle*) pepper
fəstəq n.f. (pl. *fəstəqe*) (K./A.) pistachio
gawza n.m. (pl. *gawze*, *gawzane*) walnut
gərse n.pl. crushed wheat
gisəkyaθa n.pl. (sing. *gisəkθa*) black pepper
gullira n.m. (pl. *gullire*) (K.) round oak apple gall
qaṭu n.f. (pl. *qaṭwaθa*) spiky type of oak gall
zərmaziya n.m. (pl. *zərmaziye*) small spiky type of oak gall
ṣəṣṣe n.pl. seeds of the *lagna* plant
šeða n.m. (pl. *šeðe*) almond

21.13.8. *Dried and Preserved Fruits*

kəčkaje n.pl. dried fruits (especially dried apples)
məžməžoke n.pl. dried mulberries
qaysi, qaysiya n.f. dried apricots
xərroza n.m. (pl. *xərroze*) string of dried fruit (e.g. figs, dates)
napoxta, nepoxta n.f. raisin or date syrup
xošave n.pl. sweet drink made of raisins

21.14. Fauna

21.14.1. *Sheep and Goats* (ʾərwət xware ʾu-ʾərwət kome)

21.14.1.1. *Stages of Growth of Male Goat*
1. *gəđya* newborn
2. *gisqa* (K.) one- to two-year old
3. *k̂ura* (K.) two- to three-year old
4. *sayəssa* (K.) three-year old
5. *neriya* (K.) adult

21.14.1.2. *Stages of Growth of Female Goat*
1. *naqta* newborn
2. *gisəqθa* (K.) one- to two-year old
3. *t̂uš̂tirta* (K.) two- to three-year old
4. *ʾəzza* adult

21.14.1.3. *Varieties of Goats*
koč̂a n.m. (f. *koč̂e*, pl. *koč̂e*) hornless goat
kərra n.m. (pl. *kərre*) (K.) goat with short ears
xanana n.m. (pl. *xanane*) goat with a brown face
qadaša n.m. goat with dewlap
poše n.f. goat with a white spot on the head
čura, čurra n.m. (K.) angora goat (with long, silky hair known as *marrəs*)
čurrəkθa n.f. (pl. *čurrəkyaθa*) female angora goat
bəṛ-gawṛa n.m. (pl. *bəṛ-gawṛe*) young goat

21.14.1.4. *Stages of Growth of Male Sheep*
1. *paṛa* lamb; *bečya* (K.) young lamb (one–three weeks old)
2. *k̂avərra* (K.) one- to two-year old

3. *šakka* (K.) two-year-old (gelding)
4. *hogəčča, gujja, gaza* (K.) three-year-old
5. *barana* (K.) adult

21.14.1.5. *Stages of Growth of Female Sheep*
1. *paṛθa* lamb
2. *k̂awərta* (K.) one- to two-year old
3. *ŵana* adult

21.14.1.6. *Varieties of Sheep*
balla n.m. (f., pl. *balle*) (K.) sheep with erect ears
bəṛ-gawṛa n.m. (pl. *bəṛ-gawṛe*) young sheep
hamdān, ḥamdani n.m. (pl. *hamdane*) sheep with long hanging ears
kərra n.m. (pl. *kərre*) (K.) sheep with short ears
koĉa n.m. (f. *koĉe*, pl. *koĉe*) hornless sheep
p̂azesor n.pl. (K.) large red eared sheep
p̂əxla n.m. (pl. *pəxle*) young sheep that has not yet been castrated

21.14.1.7. *Nurturing of Sheep and Goats*
šăvana n.m. (pl. *šăvane*) (K.), *ṛiya* n.m. (pl. *ṛiye*) shepherd
malgori n.m. (K.) assistant of a shepherd
kupala n.f. (pl. *kupale*) (K.) shepherd's stick
kăpăna n.m. (pl. *kăpăne*) thick woolen cloak of shepherd
măṛiya n.m. (pl. *măṛiye*) pasture place
koza n.m. (pl. *koze, kozăwaθa*) sheltered place for pasturing sheep and goats in inclement weather in Spring
dwaṛa n.m. (pl. *dwaṛe*) rest area for sheep and goats in the mountains (under the shade of trees)

21.14.2. *Oxen* (tawre)

1 *moja* (K.) calf
2. *pəxla* n.m. (pl. *pəxle*) young calf that has not yet been castrated
3. *nula, lula* (K.) young ox
4. *tawra* adult ox

21.14.3. *Cows* (tawriyaθa)

1. *mojənta* (K.) heifer
2. *nulta/lulta* (K.) young cow
3. *tawərta* adult cow

21.14.4. *Horses* (susăwaθa)

kurra (K.) foal
nawžina (K.) foal
mozina (m.), *mozinta* (f.) (K.) foal
susa m. *susta* f. adult horse

21.14.5. *Mules* (dawɛre)

dawɛra n.m./f. (pl. *dawɛre*) mule (generic)
kawədna n.m. (pl. *kawədne*) male mule
koðənta n.f. (pl. *koðənyaθa*) female mule
jaxša n.m. (pl. *jaxše*) (K.) young male mule
jaxəšta n.f. (pl. *jaxəšyaθa*) (K.) young female mule

21.14.6. *Other Mammals*

ʾarya, ʾɛrya n.m. (pl. *ʾarye, ʾɛrye*) lion
ʾariθa n.f. (pl. *ʾariyaθa*) lionness
ʾaqubra n.m. (pl. *ʾaqubre*) mouse
ʾəzzət wala wild goat, ibex
baqurka n.m. (pl. *baqurke*) piglet
bra-gðoða, bə-gðoða n.m. (pl. *bra-gðoðe, bə-gðoða*) hedgehog
dəbba n.f. (pl. *dəbbe, dəbbaθa*) bear
dewa n.m. (pl. *dewe*) wolf
dewta n.f. (pl. *dewyaθa*) female wolf
garo n.f. (pl. *garowaθa*) rat
gumla n.m. (pl. *gumle*) camel
gurya n.m. (pl. *gurye*) pup of dog
harnuwa n.f. (pl. *harnuwe*) rabbit
kalba n.m. (pl. *kalwe, kalbe*) dog
kaləbθa n.f. (pl. *kaləbyaθa*) bitch
kuddina n.m. (pl. *kuddine*) animal cub
kuddinta n.f. (pl. *kuddinyaθa*) female cub
nəmra n.m. (pl. *nəmre*) tiger
parxa lɛle, parxa b-lɛle, parxət lɛle, parəxtət lɛle, parxantət lɛle n.f. (pl. *parxa lɛle, parxanyaθət lɛle*) n.f. bat
qaṭa n.m. (pl. *qaṭe*) cat, tomcat
qaṭu n.f. (definite *qaṭuθa*) (pl. *qaṭwaθa*) female cat
quja n.m. (pl. *quje*) (K.) marten

qurrabaška n.m. (pl. *qurrabaške*) (K.) badger
səmmora n.m. (pl. *səmmore*) squirrel
sixurra n.m. (pl. *sixurre*) (K.) water-rat
ṣəmawla n.f. (pl. *ṣəmawle*) squirrel
tela n.m. (pl. *tele*) fox
tulla n.m. (pl. *tulle*) (K.) hound
tulləkθa n.f. (pl. *tulləkyaθa*) (K.) small hound
ṭoriya n.f. (pl. *ṭoriyaθa*) hyena
xalda-k̂ora n.m. (pl. *xalde-k̂ore*) mole
xmara n.m. (pl. *xmare*) ass
xmarta n.f. (pl. *xmaryaθa*) she-ass
xzura n.m. (pl. *xzure*) pig

21.14.7. *Reptiles*

rəjba m. (pl. *rəjbe*) crawling creature, reptile
xuwwe n.m. (pl. *xuwwawe, xuwwăwaθa, xuwwaθa*) snake | types of snake: *xuwwe təðya, xuwwe koma, xuwwe balakšənka*
xuwwiθa n.f. (pl. *xuwwiyaθa*) small snake
šəlya n.m. (pl. *šəlye*) viper
mɛṣa-ʾəzze, mɛṣantət ʾəzze n.f. (pl. *mɛṣa-ʾəzze, mɛṣanət ʾəzze*) lizard
kəmkəmma n.m. (pl. *kəmkəmme*) large lizard
čəlluri n.f. (pl. *čəlluriyaθa*) small lizard

21.14.8. *Birds*

ṭɛra n.m. (pl. *ṭɛre*) bird
bulbul n.f. (pl. *bulbule, bulbulyaθa*) nightingale
buma n.f. (pl. *bumaθa*) owl
č̣ara n.m. (pl. *č̣are*) (K.) type of black bird
čəġa n.m. (K.) type of bird
čərkənna n.m. type of small sparrow
čiqəlka n.m. (pl. *čiqəlke*) young cock
čučəkka n.m., *čučəkθa* n.f. (pl. *čučəkke*) sparrow
čuka n.m. (pl. *čuke*) chick
čukta n.f. (pl. *čukyaθa*) young chicken
č̂uč̂ana n.m. (pl. *č̂uč̂ane*) magpie
dɛda n.f. (pl. *dɛdaθa*) hawk
diga n.m. (pl. *dige*) cock
gesərra n.m. (K.) type of large sparrow

hapupka n.m. (pl. *hapupke*) (K.) hoopoe bird
jalla nune n.m./f. fish-eating bird with long beak
jarguma n.m. (pl. *jargume*) type of large dove
kθɛθa n.f. (pl. *kθayaθa, kθaye*) chicken
kθɛθət miya n.f. (pl. *kθayaθət miya*) moorhen
laqləq n.m. (pl. *laqlaqe*) (A.) stork
nama n.f. (pl. *name*) ostrich
naqro n.f. (pl. *naqrowaθa*) woodpecker
nəšra n.m. (pl. *nəšre*) eagle
qaza n.m (pl. *qaze*) (K.) goose
qəlle n.f. (pl. *qəllaθa*) hawk
qəqwana n.m. (pl. *qəqwane*) partridge
qulənga n.m (pl. *qulənge*) (K.) crane (bird)
quppe n.f. (pl. *quppaθa, quppeyaθa*) brooding-hen
qurta n.m. (pl. *qurte*) (K.) vulture
sivanoka n.f. (pl. *sivanoke*) (K.) type of small sparrow
sona n.f. (pl. *sonaθa*) type of duck
snoniθa n.f. (pl. *snoniyaθa*) swallow
šenəkka n.m (pl. *šenəkke*) a bird of prey
šəqraqa m./f. (pl. *šəqraqe*) small green bird that eats bees
šuṗšuṗina n.f. (pl. *šuṗšuṗine*) type of dove (grey in colour)
ṯaraž̂oke n.f. (pl. *ṯaraž̂okăwaθa*) small green bird
ṭɛra t-malka Šlemun n.m. hoopoe bird
totənta n.f. (pl. *totənyaθa*) type of small sparrow
ṭušṭuš n.f. (pl. *ṭušṭŭše*) type of sparrow
yawna n.f. (pl. *yawne, yawnaθa*) dove, pigeon

21.14.9. *Water Fauna*

nune n.pl. (sing. *nunta*) fish
pəqqa, pəqqe n.f. (pl. *pəqqe, pəqqaθa, pəqqaqe*) frog
qraqəpta n.f. (pl. *qraqəṗyaθa*) small turtle
qraqipa n.m. (pl. *qraqipe*) turtle
sarəṭlana n.m. (pl. *sarəṭlana*) crab, lobster
xərzət pəqqa n.m. (pl. *xərze*) frog-spawn, tadpole

21.14.10. *Insects*

bəjbaja n.m. (pl. *bəjbaje*) insect
ʾaqərwa n.f. (pl. *ʾaqərwe*) scorpion
ʾaxulka n.m. (pl. *ʾaxulke*) small fly that bites

baqa n.m. (pl. *baqe*) gnat
baqta n.f. small gnat
baṭibaṭo n.f. (sing. and collective, or pl. *baṭibaṭowaθa*) (K.) firefly
bəṛ-qatta n.f. (pl. *bəṛ-qatte, bəṛ-qatyaθa*) small white worm (found in butter and cheese)
čena n.f. (pl. *čene*) mosquito
čəlməsta n.f. (pl. *čəlməsyaθa*) small louse
dabaša n.m. (pl. *dabaše*) bee
dəbbora n.m. (pl. *dəbbore*) hornet
dəbburta n.f. (pl. *dəbburyaθa*) horsefly
didwa n.m. (pl. *didwe, didwane*) fly
gambəl-ʾəxre n.m. (pl. *gambəl-ʾəxre*) dung beetle
jubarrək n.f. (pl. *jubarrəkke*) mite that eats rice and flour
k̂ərməkθa n.f. (pl. *k̂ərme*) worm
madala n.m. (pl. *madale*) millipede
parxoniθa n.f. (pl. *parxonyaθa*) butterfly
pərṭena, pərṭana n.m. (pl. *pərṭene, pərṭana*) flea
qalma n.f. (pl. *qalme*) louse
qamṣa n.m. (pl. *qamṣe*) grasshopper
sənnək n.m. insect that eats wheat
sustət ʾabona n.f. ladybird
ṣəṣra n.f. (pl. *ṣəṣraθa, ṣəṣre*) cockroach
šəkwane (sing. *šəkwana* m., *šəkwanta* f.) ants
ṭabuwana n.f. (pl. *ṭabuwane*) tick
taqla-šəkke n.f. (pl. *taqla-šəkke*) spider
tŭtur, tuttur n.f. (pl. *tŭtur, tuttur*) caterpillar
zaqra-qode n.f. (pl. *zaqra-qode*) spider
zarəqta n.m. (pl. *zarəqte*) wasp
zarzar n.f. type of large red ant(s)
zarzariθa n.f. type of small brown ant(s)
zeruwa n.m. (pl. *zeruwe*) (K.) leech
zənzare n.pl. type of fly

21.14.11. *Parts of the Body of Animals*

gurba n.m. (pl. *gurbe*) torso (of an animal)
ʾamṛa n.m. wool
ʾeliθa n.f. (pl. *ʾəlyaθa*) fat tail of sheep; fat of the tail
ʾəṣraya n.m. (pl. *ʾəṣraye*) udder
bəsra n.m. (pl. *bəsre*) dewlap of goat
čəččāt tawərta n.f. teat of a cow

č̣əmma n.m. (pl. *č̣əmmame*) (K.) cloven hoof
dambusta n.f. (pl. *dambusyaθa*) small tail
danwa n.m. (pl. *danwe*) tail
gəsta n.f. (pl. *gəsyaθa*) fleece of sheep
gulpa n.m. (pl. *gulpane*) wing
kămaxe n.pl. (K.) rump, buttocks of an animal
laməkka n.m. (pl. *laməkke*) jaw (of an animal)
laməkθa n.f. (pl. *laməkyaθa*) jaw (of an animal)
lappəkθa n.f. (pl. *lappəkyaθa*) paw (of small animal)
ləva n.f. (K.) lamb's wool
maruta n.f. (pl. *maruyaθa*) fur (of animal)
məssukta n.f. (pl. *məssukyaθa*) craw, gizzard (of a bird)
naqruza n.m. (pl. *naqruze*) beak (of birds); proboscis (of flies, wasps, bees, etc.)
narṭoma n.m. snout (of an animal)
parra n.m. (pl. *parre, parrane*) (K.) feather
parranta n.f. comb of a bird
pištamasi n.m. (K.) long chine of meat on the back of sheep in the shape of a fish
poza n.m. (pl. *pozaze*) (K.) snout, nostrils (of a sheep)
qana n.f. (pl. *qanane*) horn
qalpət nune n.m. scales of a fish
qolaxine n.m. (sing. *qolaxina* n.m.) (K.) pelvis bones of an animal, above the rump (*kămaxe*)
səmma n.m. (pl. *səmmame*) (K.) hoof of an animal
seṛa n.m. hair of a goat
šaša n.m. (pl. *šaše*) comb of a bird
šəlloxta n.f. (pl. *šəlloxyaθa*) shed skin of a snake
tata n.f. (pl. *tataθa*) crest (of bird), cock's comb
təksa m. (pl. *təkse*) sting (of a bee)
xərza n.m. (pl. *xərze*) oviduct of a chicken
zəpra n.m. animal fat

21.14.12. *Groups of Animals*

kawtət ʾərwe, bərrət ʾərwe flock of sheep (*kawta* n.m., *bərra* n.m.)
bəqrət tawre herd of cattle (*bəqra* n.m.)
kallət gameše herd of buffaloes (*kalle* n.f.)
pθanət tawre pair of oxen (*pθana* n.m.)
ṣawade n.pl. domesticated animals (usually sheep and goats)
qənyane n.pl. domesticated animals; cattle

rapət ṭɛ̀re flock of birds (*rapa* n.m.)
šəlxət dabaše a swarm of bees (*šəlxa* n.m.)

21.14.13. *Animal Dung*

kursəlle n.pl. dung of horses, asses and mules (sing. *kursəlta* a piece of dung)
paṭoxa n.m. (pl. *paṭoxe*) flattened piece of cattle dung used for fuel
pəškəlle n.pl. (sing. *pəškəlta*) (K.) droppings of goats or sheep that have not been broken up by trampling
posa (pl. *pose*) dry cow dung
purta n.f. sheep's dung broken up by the trampling of their feet
šăre n.pl. wet cattle dung
sula n.m. dung, manure

21.14.14. *Appurtenances and Accoutrements of Animals*

ʾafsara n.m. rope for leading mule
ʾaqolta n.f. (pl. *ʾaqolyaθa*) rope lock used to tighten a rope holding the burden on the back of mule
bar-qamaya n.m. front strap for securing loads
bar-xaraya n.m. back strap for securing loads
juwarre n.f. (pl. *juwarriyaθa*) (K.) nosebag
ləxxawa n.m. (pl. *ləxxawe*) bit (of horse), harness
nala n.m. (pl. *nale*) horse-shoe
qəčča n.m. (pl. *qəčče*) (K.) short rope tethering an animal to a stake
qərṭala n.f. (pl. *qərṭale*) pannier bag on the back of mule
qurṭana n.m. (pl. *qurṭane*) blanket put on the back of mule
rkewa n.m. (pl. *rkewe*) stirrup
sarapsɛ̀ra n.m. (pl. *sarapsɛ̀re*) harness of an animal
sarga, sɛ̀rga n.m. (pl. *sarge, sɛ̀rge*) saddle
sarpəšta n.m. (pl. *sarpəšyaθa*) soft under-blanket, put under the *qurṭana*
ṯanga n.m. (pl. *ṯange*) (K.) saddle-girth for securing cloth
xasla n.m. (pl. *xasle*) cover put over mouth of small animals when they are weaned to prevent them from sucking
xatma n.m. (pl. *xatme*) muzzle

21.15. Minerals

21.15.1. *Stones*

baqloša n.m. (pl. *baqlošę*) pebble, small stone
barziva n.m flint
baste n.f. (pl. *bastăwaθa*) expanse of stones in a river
bəsqa n.m. (pl. *bəsqe*) small stone (in a river)
fălăke n.pl. (K.) stones of rapids in a river
kepa n.m. (pl. *kepe*) stone
mrariya n.f. (K./A.) marble
parəšta n.f. (pl. *parəšyaθa*) small flat stone
parša n.m. (pl. *parše*) large flat stone
parušta n.f. (pl. *parušyaθa*) smooth pebble
šəndoxa n.m. (pl. *šəndoxe*) large smooth stone
šənduxta n.f. (pl. *šənduxyaθa*) small smooth stone
šišəlta n.f. (pl. *šišlaθa, šišəlyaθa*) row of terraced stones (to prevent subsidence of earth)
tafša n.m. (pl. *tafše*) small stone put in cement (*jabla*)

21.15.2. *Metals*

dawa n.m. gold
polə́θ n.m. (K./A.) steel
prəzla n.m. iron
sema n.m. silver

21.16. Food

21.16.1. *Meals and Dishes*

ʃṭarta n.f. (pl. *ʃṭaryaθa*) breakfast
xădaya n.f. (pl. *xădayaθa*) (A.) lunch
šaruθa n.f. (pl. *šaruyaθa*) lunch
kawuθra n.f. (pl. *kawuθre, kawuθraθa*) lunch
xa-ramša n.f. (pl. *xa-ramšaθa*) dinner
basəsta n.f. crushed wheat
burrəš n.m. dish consisting of meat and grains
bušala n.m. stew

čaplapəske n.f. type of stew
čiče n.pl. dish consisting of meat, millet (*prage*) and yoghurt
gərđo n.f. dish consisting of yoghurt and cracked wheat
jəlja n.m. (pl. *jəlje*) slice of meat that is hung in the sun to dry
kepaye n.pl. (sing. *kepaya*) stuffed sheep's stomachs
k̲otəl n.m. (K.) meat pasty
kubbe n.pl. (sing. *kubba*) meat-balls
kutəlθa n.f. (pl. *kutlaθa*) cutlet
mazza n.m. (pl. *mazze*) (K.) snack before meal
pača n.m. (T.) dish consisting of the head and legs of an animal
paqota n.f. dish consisting of wheat dumplings and meat
qadida n.m. (pl. *qadide*) dried salted meat (usually lamb)
qalya n.m. cooked meat and fat preserved for winter
qawurma n.m. (T.) fried meat dish
qəṣqəṣta n.f. fine crushed rice
šorba n.f. (K./A.) stew (with beans)
xašiše n.pl. boiled wheat
xumṣa n.m. dish consisting of meat, rice and turnips
xwiṣa n.m. wheat flour mixed with butter and egg
yarqa n.m. vegetable stew
zwađa n.m. (pl. *zwađe*) provision for journey

21.16.2. *Bread and Baking*

ləxma n.m. (pl. *ləxme*) bread
lɛša n.m. dough
xmira n.m. yeast
gusta n.f. (pl. *gusyaθa*) ball of dough
parša n.m. (pl. *parše*) large flat stone for flattening dough
tanura n.m. (pl. *tanure*) oven
tanurta n.f. (pl. *tanuryaθa*) small oven
ʾɛntət tanura n.f. (pl. *ʾɛnyaθa*) airhole of oven
səryoqe n.pl. stalks of leaves burnt in oven as fuel
marzaq n.m. (pl. *marzaqe*) wooden stick covered in wool used to stick bread to the oven
sela n.m. concave metal iron griddle for making bread
ṭaryanta n.f. flat bread basket
ʾapɛθa n.f. (pl. *ʾapayaθa*) cloth put over bread when it is stored
qəllora n.m. (pl. *qəllore*) (K.) large loaf made from flour of maize (*xəṭṭə romaye*), sorghum (*xroriya*) or *prage* (millet); head of maize

baksăma n.m. (pl. *baksăme*) big loaf made from flour of wheat
taxərta n.f. (pl. *taxraθa*) small pitta bread cooked on the side of oven
ṭəlma n.m., *ṭləmθa* n.f. (pl. *ṭəlme*) large thin flat bread made on a griddle (*sela*)
ṭapṭapa n.m. (pl. *ṭapṭape*) small round unleavened bread on a griddle (*sela*)
lawaša n.m. (pl. *lawaše*) large thin bread baked in an oven
zeðaya n.f. (pl. *zeðaye*) round thick flat bread baked in an oven, made from wheat
samuna n.m. (pl. *samune*) loaf of bread
čəlloxe n.pl. (sing. *čəlloxta*) crispy pieces of baked bread remaining on the wall of the oven
kada n.m. (pl. *kade*) sweet pastry (made for festivals)
kuleča n.m. (pl. *kuleče*) small cake (made at festivals)

21.16.3. *Dairy Products*

xwaruθa n.f. dairy products
rečəl n.m. dairy products
xəlya n.m. milk
gupta n.f. (pl. *gupyaθa*) cheese
gupta mṭumarta cheese buried in the ground to mature
masta n.f. yoghurt
xumṣət masta n.m. sour remainder of yoghurt
qrušta, *qərrušta* n.f. (pl. *qrušyaθa*) crust (of yoghurt, milk)
čita n.f. butter made from yoghurt
məšxa n.m. vegetable oil; clarified butter
karra n.m. (P.) hard butter (brought from towns)
dawwe n.pl. (K.) yoghurt mixed with water
qaška n.m. (pl. *qaške*) (K.) dried cake of yoghurt
məjja n.m. yoghurt paste made by dissolving dried yoghurt cakes (*qaške*)
jajək n.m. (K./T.) yoghurt mixed with water (*dawwe*) and the herbs *sərmo*, *hašya*, *purəpxina* or *bizər*
xalwa n.m. fatless curds of boiled yoghurt water
marɛθa n.f. rennet
mṣoθa n.f. extract from the stomach of a young goat used as rennet for cheese

21.17. Illnesses

măra, marra n.m. (pl. *măre, marre*) illness
šaθa n.f. fever
ṭali n.m. (pl. *ṭaliye*) viral illness
baroqa n.m. (pl. *baroqe*) shooting pain in back
gazgoze pl. (sing. *gazgozta*) goose pimples
gərra n.m. leprosy, psoriasis
gərrəsta n.f. dandruff
jalṭa n.m. (A.) stroke, blood clot
mawθana n.m. plague
pukta n.f. hiccups
rapopta n.f. rash on skin
saxora n.m. (pl. *saxore*) sty, inflammation in the eye
šalqo n.f. smallpox
šalqo t-miya chickenpox
šanə parxe n.m. chickenpox
šəxna (pl. *šəxne*) inflammation, boil
xănăqiθa n.f. whooping cough
xəmxəma n.m. rash
xərsa leprosy; mange; eczema
zaṭe n.pl. measles

21.18. Basic Attributes

goṛa big
zora small

rixa long
kərya short

rama high
kopana low

pəθya wide
ʾiqa narrow

ṭrisa fat (person)
zăbun thin (person)

xlima thick (stick)
naqiða thin (stick)
daqiqa fine (flour)

xɛlana strong
zăbun weak

yaqura heavy
qalula light

rakixa soft
quwya hard

spay good
xərba bad

xəðya happy
xaššana sad

kpina hungry
ṣiya thirsty

xəlya sweet
marira bitter

čuwa smooth
xarsupana rough

talila wet
briza dry

šəxtana dirty
tămәz clean

xamuṣa sour
ṣarupa spicy hot (food)

ʾamuqa deep
laṭṭa shallow

šapira, *šəṭrana*, *šəklana* beautiful (person)
šəklana, *taza* beautiful (thing)

yaqurta pregnant (woman)
xɛθa (woman) who has given birth
qirθa barren (female animal)
baxta t-lɛ maθya yale a barren woman (literally: a woman who does not bear children)

kčixa tired
šənθi θaya I am sleepy

21.19. Colours

xwara white
koma black
smoqa red
milana green, blue
kaska (K.) green
zăra (K.) yellow
qahwayi (A.) brown
gawra (K.) grey, off-white
šənxurri grey
rəzyana dark in colour (especially colour of walnut peal)

21.20. Activities

21.20.1. *Basic Activities*

bry I (*bare*, *brele*, *braya*) to be born
ṛyš I (*ṛayəš*, *ṛišle*, *ṛyaša*) to wake up
ṭlʾ I (*ṭăle*, *ṭlile/ṭlele*, *ṭlaʾa/ṭlaya*) to sleep
dmx I (*daməx*, *dmixle*, *dmaxa*) to lie down
qym I (*qayəm*, *qimle*, *qyama*) to rise
xyp I (*xayəp*, *xiple*, *xyapa*) to bathe (immerse the whole body), to have a shower

xll II *m-xll* (*mxaləl/mxăləl, mxuləlle/mxŭləlle, mxalole/mxălole*) to wash (an item)
msy I (*mase, msele, msaya*) to wash (clothes)
lwš I (*lawəš, lwišle, lwaša*) to dress (oneself)
šlx I (*šaləx, šlixle, šlaxa*) to undress (oneself)
zwn I (*zawən, zwinne, zwana*), *šql* I (*šaqəl, šqille, šqala*) to buy
zbn II (*mzabən, mzubənne, mzabone*) to sell
'tw III *m-ty* (*mattu, muttule, mattoye*) to put (on solid surface)
dry I (*dare/dɛre, drele, draya*) to put (on non-solid surface)
šql I (*šaqəl, šqille, šqala*) to take
nbl III (*nabəl, nubəlle, nabole*) to take (so./sth. to some place), to take away
txr I (*taxər, txirre, txara*) to remember
nšy I (*naše, nšele, nšaya*), III *m-nšy* (*manše, munšele, manšoye*) to forget
ṭy I (*ṭăye, ṭele, ṭăya*) to search
xzy I (*xaze, xzele, xzaya*) to find
ṣwθ II *m-ṣwθ* (*mṣawəθ/mṣăwəθ, mṣuwətle, mṣawoθe*) to speak
qrn II *m-qrn* (*mqărən, mqŭrənne, mqărone*) to grow up

21.20.2. *Cutting and Tearing*

čkč Q *m-čkč* (*mčakčək, mčukčəkle, mčakčoke*) to prick
č̣lp I (*č̣aləp, č̣liple, č̣lapa*) to split; to tear apart; to tear (meat) from the bone
č̣lx I (*č̣aləx, č̣lixle, č̣laxa*) to tear apart
dqdq Q *m-dqdq* (*mdaqdəq, mduqdəqle, mdaqdoqe*) to chop into small pieces
grč̣ I (*garəč̣, grič̣le, grač̣a*) to scratch (with fingernails drawing blood)
jlx I (*jaləx, jlixle, jlaxa*) (K.) to cut (skin)
jrd I (*jarəd, jridle, jrada*) (A.) to peel, to strip off (leaves)
jrx I (*jarəx, jrixle, jraxa*) (K.) to scratch; to scrape
jyq I (*jayəq, jiqle, jyaqa*) (K.) to tear
klč II *m-klč* (*mkaləč, mkuləčle, mkaloče*) (K.) to peel; to strip
ksx I (*kasəx, ksixle, ksaxa*) to prune (a tree, a vine); to cut (a vein/artery)
lkz I (*lakəz, lkizle, lkaza*) to stab, to prick
ngr I (*nagər, ngirre, ngara*), II *m-ngr* (*mnagər, mnugərre, mnagore*) to bite (meat from a bone)
ngz I (*nagəz, ngizle, ngaza*) to bite
nsr I (*nasər, nsirre, nsara*) to saw
nšṭ I (*našət, nšiṭle, nšaṭa*) to flay, to skin (an animal)
nys I (*nayəs, nisle, nyasa*) to bite, to sting

pčpč Q *m-pčpč* (*mpačpəč, mpučpəčle, mpačpoče*) to chop into pieces; to mince (meat)
pr' I (*părе, prile/prele, pra'a/praya*) to cut off; to burst
prm I (*parəm, primle, prama*) to cut; to slaughter
pšx I (*pašəx, pšixle, pšaxa*) to cut down, to break
qč' I (*qăčе, qčile/qčele, qča'a/qčaya*) to cut; to pick (fruit)
qčp I (*qačəp, qčiple, qčapa*) to pick, to cut down
qdd II *m-qdd* (*mqadəd/mqădəd, mqudədle/mqŭdədle, mqadode/mqădode*) to cut up (meat)
qdqd Q *m-qdqd* (*mqadqəd, mqudqədle, mqadqode*) to cut up finely
qlm II *m-qlm* (*mqăləm*, 3fs. *mqăləma, mqŭləmle, mqălome*) to crop protruding branches (*qălame*) of a tree
qlp I (*qaləp, qliple, qlapa*) to peel, II (*mqaləp, mquləple, mqalope*) to peel, to strip
qrčp Q *m-qrčp* (*mqarčəp, mqurčəple, mqarčope*) to cut down, to harvest (fruit)
qrṭ I (*qarəṭ, qriṭle, qraṭa*) to bite; to gnaw; to trim (trees); to be tough
qrṭp Q *m-qrṭp* (*mqarṭəp, mqurṭəple, mqarṭope*) to break off
qrx I (*qarəx, qrixle, qraxa*) to knock off (twigs, buds, blossoms) | *máṭra qəm-qarxála pàqxe*[l] The rain has knocked off the blossoms.
qšr II *m-qšr* (*mqašər, mqušərre, mqašore*) to peal
qṣy I (*qaṣe, qṣele, qṣaya*) to cut (bread, fruit)
qṭ' I (*qăṭe, qṭile/qṭele, qṭa'a/qṭaya*) to cut
qṭp I (*qaṭəp, qṭiple, qṭapa*) to pick, to harvest (grapes)
qṭqṭ Q *m-qṭqṭ* (*mqaṭqəṭ, mqutqəṭle, mqaṭqoṭe*) to cut into small pieces
qyṣ I (*qayəṣ, qiṣle, qyaṣa*) to cut (with scissors) | *qəm-qayáṣle káwse dìye*[l] He cut his hair (A29:3)
srṭ I (*sarəṭ, sriṭle, sraṭa*) to tear (paper, cloth etc. with ones hands)
ṣlx I (*ṣaləx, ṣlixle, ṣlaxa*) to split (wood), II *m-ṣlx* (*mṣaləx, mṣuləxle, mṣaloxe*) to split (wood)
šmṭ I (*šamaṭ, šmiṭle, šmaṭa*) to break, to shatter
ṣry I (*ṣare, ṣrele, ṣraya*) to rend, to cut open
ṣṭp I (*ṣaṭəp, ṣṭiple, ṣṭapa*) to split in two
xrz I (*xarəz, xrizle, xraza*) to stab, to thrust

21.20.3. *Hitting and Harming*

bls I (*baləs, blisle, blasa*) to damage; to make jagged
člbx Q *m-člbx* (*mčalbəx, mčulbəxle, mčalboxe*) to beat with a stick
dmdm Q *m-dmdm* (*mdamdəm, mdumdəmle, mdamdome*) to beat up
dqš I (*daqəš, dqišle, dqaša*) to butt, to gore

drbn Q *m-drbn* (*mdarbən, mdurbənne, mdarbone*) to injure, to wound
dxdx Q (*mdaxdəx, mduxdəxle, mdaxdoxe*) to prod
gmgm Q *m-gmgm* (*mgamgəm, mgumgəmle, mgamgome*) to strike hard
gmš I (*gaməš, gmišle, gmaša*) to butt (with horns)
gmx I (*gaməx, gmixle, gmaxa*) to knock in, to punch in
mxy I (*maxe, mxele, mxaya*) to hit
nqj I (*naqəj, nqijle, nqaja*) to pinch, to nip
qrpč Q *m-qrpč* (*mqarpəč, mqurpəčle, mqarpoče*) to hit, to beat
qrpx Q *m-qrpx* (*mqarpəx, mqurpəxle, mqarpoxe*) to slap, to hit hard
qrṣ I (*qarəṣ, qriṣle, qraṣa*) to pinch; to burn (partially), to catch (food)
qrṣn Q *m-qrṣn* (*mqarṣən, mqurṣənne, mqarṣone*) to sting (nettle)
qṭl I (*qaṭəl, qṭille, qṭala*) to kill
qyθ I (*qayəθ, qitle, qyaθa*) to hit; to knock; to touch
ryp I (*rayəp, riple, ryapa*) to attack
šrbq Q *m-šrbq* (*mšarbəq, mšurbəqle, mšarboqe*) to whip
šrbṭ Q *m-šrbṭ* (*mšarbəṭ, mšurbəṭle, mšarboṭe*) to whip, to strike (animal) with a pliant stick (*šarbəṭana*)
tlx I (*taləx, tlixle, tlaxa*) to collapse; to destroy, II *m-tlx* (*mtaləx, mtuləxle, mtaloxe*) to destroy, to devastate
ṭpṭp Q *m-ṭpṭp* (*mṭapṭəp, mṭupṭəple, mṭapṭope*) to tap, to bang; to knock bread dough against hands alternately
ṭqṭq Q *m-ṭqṭq* (*mṭaqṭəq, mṭuqṭəqle, mṭaqṭoqe*) to knock (at the door)
txtx Q *m-txtx* (*mtaxtəx, mtuxtəxle, mtaxtoxe*) to prod
xrw III *m-xrw* (*maxru, muxrule, maxrowe*) to damage, to destroy; to do mischief
xṭr I (*xaṭər, xṭirre, xṭara*) to bang clothes on a washing board (*xaṭorta*); to batter

21.20.4. *Breaking and Crushing*

dyq I (*dayəq, diqle, dyaqa*) to crush
grs I (*garəs, grisle, grasa*) to grind; to crush
mrč I (*marəč, mričle, mrača*) to crush, to squash
mrs I (*marəs, mrisle, mrasa*) to squash (grapes)
mrx I (*marəx, mrixle, mraxa*) to crush
myj, myč I (*mayəj, mijle, myaja*) to knead and crush (dried yoghurt in hands)
nčl I (*načəl, nčille, nčala*) to pull apart; to tear off; to be torn off, to snap; to pick
nqr I (*naqər, nqirre, nqara*) to bore; to knock in, to stab; to inscribe; to dress (stone)

pqʾ I (*păqe, pqile/pqele, pqaʾa/pqaya*) to split (intr.), to explode (intr.); to burst (intr.). II *m-pqʾ* (*mpăqe, mpŭqele, mpăqoye*) to split (tr.); to inflate (tr.); to explode (tr.), to blow up (tr.).
prps Q *m-prps* (*mparpəs, mpurpəsle, mparpose*) to scatter; to pull apart
prpṭ Q *m-prpṭ* (*mparpəṭ, mpurpəṭle, mparpoṭe*) to pluck (a chicken); to pull out (hair); to tear up
prs I (*parəs, prisle, prasa*) to tear apart
prṭ I (*parəṭ, priṭle, praṭa*) to tear; to wear out; to cut off
prtx Q *m-prtx* (*mpartəx, mpurtəxle, mpartoxe*) to break up; to crumble
prx I (*parəx, prixle, praxa*) to crush (by rubbing together)
qrmx Q *m-qrmx* (*mqarməx, mqurməxle, mqarmoxe*) to crush, to crumble (in hands)
qṣf I (*qaṣəf, qṣifle, qṣafa*) (A.) to shatter, to cut to pieces
šlx I (*šaləx, šlixle, šlaxa*) to uproot; to strip
šrqṭ Q *m-šrqṭ* (*mšarqəṭ, mšurqəṭle, mšarqoṭe*) to break off heads of millet (*prage*); to crack open (an egg)
twr I (*tawər, twirre, twara*) to break
zlʾ I (*zăle, zlile/zlele, zlaʾa/zlaya*) to crack, to split

21.20.5. *Sounds*

ʾrṭ III *m-rṭ* (*mărəṭ, mŭrəṭle, măroṭe*) to break wind noisily
bqbq Q *m-bqbq* (*mbaqbəq, mbuqbəqle, mbaqboqe*) to gurgle (water)
brbr Q *m-brbr* (*mbarbər, mburbərre, mbarbore*) to bleat (sheep); to low (cattle)
brdm Q *m-brdm* (*mbardəm, mburdəmle, mbardome*) to mumble, to mutter
bwby Q *m-bwby* (*mbawbe, mbubele, mbawboye*) to howl (wolf)
čkčk Q *m-čkčk* (*mčakčək, mčukčəkle, mčakčoke*) to chatter; to clatter
člwl Q *m-člwl* (*mčalwəl, mčulwəlle, mčalwole*) to wail
čnčn Q *m-čnčn* (*mčančən, mčunčənne, mčančone*) to whine; to buzz
črčr Q *m-črčr* (*mčarčər, mčurčərre, mčarčore*) to screech
čwčy Q *m-čwčy* (*mčawče, mčučele, mčawčoye*) to chirp
čzčz Q *m-čzčz* (*mčazčəz, mčuzčəzle, mčazčoze*) to crackle (frying food)
dndn Q *m-dndn* (*mdandən, mdundənne, mdandone*) to hum; to ring (ears)
drdr Q *m-drdr* (*mdardər, mdurdərre, mdardore*) to natter, to gossip
fsfṣ Q *m-fsfṣ* (*mfasfəṣ, mfusfəṣle, mfasfoṣe*) to snivel, to sniffle
glj II *m-glj* (*mgaləj, mguləjle, mgaloje*) to prattle, to talk nonsense
grgm Q *m-grgm* (*mgargəm, mgurgəmle, mgargome*) to thunder; to buzz
gʾr II *m-gʾr* (*mgawər/mgăwər, mguwərre, mgawore*) to belch
hrgm Q *m-hrgm* (*mhargəm, mhurgəmle, mhargome*) to bang, to make a loud sound; to roar (lion)

kfkf Q *m-kfkf* (*mkafkəf, mkufkəfle, mkafkofe*) to hiss
klkl Q *m-klkl* (*mkalkəl, mkulkəlle, mkalkole*) to ululate
kll II *m-kll* (*mkaləl/mkăləl, mkuləlle/mkŭləlle, mkalole/mkălole*) to ululate
krkr Q *m-krkr* (*mkarkər, mkurkərre, mkarkore*) to bleat (goats); to cluck (hen)
kšks̆ Q *m-kšks̆* (*mkaškəš, mkuškəšle, mkaškoše*) to make threatening noises before fight (dogs); to shoo away (chickens, birds)
l̥sl̥s Q *m-l̥sl̥s* (*mla̱sl̥əs, mlu̱sl̥əsle, mla̱sl̥o̱se*) to squelch, to produce a squishing sound (when wet)
nwny Q *m-nwny* (*mnawne, mnunele, mnawnoye*) to meow (cat)
nznz Q *m-nznz* (*mnaznəz, mnuznəzle, mnaznoze*) to make sucking noises
qmqm Q *m-qmqm* (*mqamqəm, mqumqəmle, mqamqome*) to have flatulence; to buzz
qrdš Q *m-qrdš* (*mqardəš, mqurdəšle, mqardoše*) to make a clattering noise; to shatter (with a loud noise)
q̥sq̥s Q *m-q̥sq̥s* (*mqa̱sq̥əs, mqu̱sq̥əsle, mqa̱sq̥o̱se*) to creak, to crack
qšqš Q *m-qšqš* (*mqašqəš, mqušqəšle, mqašqoše*) to rustle (leaves)
qwqy Q *m-qwqy* (*mqawqe, mquqele, mqawqoye*) to bark (fox)
qwx III *m-qwx* (*maqwəx, muqwəxle, maqwoxe*) to make a noise
ṣll II *m-ṣll* (*mṣaləl/mṣăləl, mṣuləlle/mṣŭləlle, mṣalole/mṣălole*) to become sober; to neigh
šrš̆r Q *m-šrš̆r* (*mšaršər, mšuršərre, mšaršore*) to splash, to plash (sound made by flowing water)
ṣrṣr Q *m-ṣrṣr* (*mṣarṣər, mṣurṣərre, mṣarṣore*) to whimper, to twitter; to howl, to screech (animals); to swish
ṣrx I (*ṣarəx, ṣrixle, ṣraxa*) to shout; to scream; to cry
ṣwṣ I (*ṣawəs, ṣwi̱sle, ṣwa̱sa*) to twitter; to swish
ṣwṣy Q *m-ṣwṣy* (*mṣawṣe, mṣu̱sele, mṣawṣoye*) to twitter, chirp
tlpš Q *m-tlpš* (*mtalpəš, mtulpəšle, mtalpoše*) to whisper
tmtm Q *m-tmtm* (*mtamtəm, mtumtəmle, mtamtome*) to stutter
tqtq Q *m-tqtq* (*mtaqtəq, mtuqtəqle, mtaqtoqe*) to laugh loudly, to cackle
tštš Q *m-tštš* (*mtaštəš, mtuštəšle, mtaštoše*) to whisper (secrets)
vrvr Q *m-vrvr* (*mvarvər, mvurvərre, mvarvore*) to croak (frog)
wnwn Q *m-wnwn* (*mwanwən, mwunwənne, mwanwone*) to twitter, to chirp (birds, insects)
wqwq Q *m-wqwq* (*mwaqwəq, mwuqwəqle, mwaqwoqe*) to croak (frogs)
wrwr Q *m-wrwr* (*mwarwər, mwurwərre, mwarwore*) to roar
wsws Q *m-wsws* (*mwaswəs, mwuswəsle, mwaswose*) to twitter (birds)
wṣwṣ Q *m-wṣwṣ* (*mwa̱sw̱əs, mwu̱sw̱əsle, mwa̱sw̱o̱se*) to squeak (mouse)
xrxr Q *m-xrxr* (*mxarxər, mxurxərre, mxarxore*) to snore

zmzm Q *m-zmzm* (*mzamzəm, mzumzəmle, mzamzome*) to hum, to plash (water); to ring; to whistle (wind)
zngr Q *m-zngr* (*mzangər, mzungərre, mzangore*) to ring (bell); to sound (musical instrument); to echo
znzn Q *m-znzn* (*mzanzən, mzunzənne, mzanzone*) to buzz; to throb (wound)
zqzq Q *m-zqzq* (*mzaqzəq, mzuqzəqle, mzaqzoqe*) to twitter (birds)
zrzr Q *m-zrzr* (*mzarzər, mzurzərre, mzarzore*) to bray (donkey); to lose flavour

21.21. Phrases Used in Social Interaction

21.21.1. *Greetings*

*šlàma-llux!*ǁ Greetings!
*qedámtux brìxta!*ǁ Good morning!
*qedámtux ṭàwa!*ǁ Good morning!
*kawúθrux brìxta!*ǁ Good afternoon!
*kawúθrux ṭàwa!*ǁ Good afternoon!
*rámšux ṭàwa!*ǁ Good night!
*rámša brixà-llux!*ǁ Good night!
*b-šɛ̀na θélux!*ǁ You are welcome!
xəðyɛwən b-xzèθux.| I am pleased to see you.
*dàx-iwət?*ǁ / *màṭowət?* How are you?
spày-in.| I am well.
škìra-ʾalaha! Thanks be to God!
ʾítli híwi ṯ̂-áwət sáx ʾu-sălamətùθa.| I hope you will be fine and in good health.
drí šláma l-bàbux.| Give my regards to your father.
yáwət šláma l-bàbux.| Give my regards to your father.
púš b-šɛ̀na.| Goodbye.
ʾálaha ṯ̂-áwe mànnux.| May God be with you.

21.21.2. *Expression of Thanks*

*basíma ràba!*ǁ Thank you!
*basímta ràba!*ǁ Thank you (said to a woman)!
*ṯ̂-áwət basìma!*ǁ Thank you!
basíma ràba! lɛ-dàqra.| Thank you! Don't mention it.

*hon-tyána mánta mànnux*ˈ / *ʾána ṭɛnánət màntɛwən*.ˈ You have done me a favour (I am much obliged to you).
škìra-ʾalaha! Thanks be to God!

21.21.3. *Expressions Relating to Health*

ʾálaha mbasàmlux.ˈ May God cure you.
ʾálaha yawálllux basimùθa.ˈ God grant you good health.
*b-ràxme!*ˈ Bless you! (said to somebody who sneezes)
If somebody has a lot of work, you say:
qúwət ṯ̂-awèlux.ˈ May you have strength.
To which the reply is:
(gu-)pardésa bábux ʾu-yàmmux.ˈ May your father and mother be in paradise.

21.21.4. *Bereavement*

If there is a death in the family, you say:
réšux ṯ̂-áwe basìma.ˈ May you (literally: your head) be healthy (said to a person who has been recently bereaved).
Then when leaving the house of the bereaved, you say:
*ʾálaha manixle (gu-nóhra ʾu-pardèsa*ˈ*)*. May God grant him rest (in light and paradise).

21.21.5. *Hospitality*

When a guest is at your table, you say:
xmáθux bǎyàlux.ˈ Feel at home (eat as much as you can) (literally: Your mother-in-law loves you).
When a guest has eaten a meal, he says to his host:
ʾálaha mazyàdle.ˈ May God increase it (the food).
ʾálaha dére burkáθa gu-bèθux.ˈ May God bestow blessings on your house.
The host replies:
*nanèlux!*ˈ Enjoy it!
After finishing a drink you say:
(gu-)pardésa bábux ʾu-yàmmux.ˈ (May) your father and mother be in paradise.

21.21.6. *Congratulations*

*brìxa!*ˈ Congratulations!
*brìxe!*ˈ Congratulations (on your new clothes)!

ʾéðux brìxa!‖ Happy festival!
bríxa be-yàldux!‖ Happy Christmas!
réšət šétux brìxa!‖ Happy New Year!
xa̍yət!‖ Bravo!
xa̍ye gànux! Bravo!
gánux bàsma!‖ *básma gànux!* Well done!

After somebody washes, you say:
bríxta ḥammàmux.| I hope you feel better after your wash

21.21.7. *Polite Requests*

ʾən-zámət la-háwya ʾəllux| *hálli kθàwa.*| If it is not difficult for you, give me the book (= Please give me the book).
ʾən-lá-hoya zàmət,| *maḉmíle bàrqa.*| Please turn off the light.

If A requests something from B, B replies:
dáx lítlux xàṭər,| *rēš-ʾèni.*| Of course, by all means.

21.21.8. *Apologies*

paxàlta!‖ Sorry!
lìtla-xam.| That is fine.
mo-bṯ̂-àwe.| *mo-ʾì-ba.*| That is fine, that is nothing.

21.22. Personal Names Used in Barwar Villages

21.22.1. *Names of Men*

Full name	Hypocoristic
ʾAðam	
ʾAndreus	*ʾƎndo*
ʾAšur	*ʾAšo*
ʾAwraham	*ʾAwro*
ʾAxiqar	*ʾAxo*
ʾƎsxəq	*ʾƎqqo*
ʾIšo	
ʾOdišo	
ʾUšana	*Ĉ̌ana*
Bənyamən	*Bənno, Nono*
Daniʾel	*Danno*

Dawiđ	*Dodo*
Gəlyana	*Gəllo*
Gwirgis	*Ǯajjo, Ǯajji, Ǯaggo, Gaggo, Gičo*
Hormuz	*Humče*
Lazar	*Ǯajo*
Mišayel	
Mixayil	*Mixo, Nixo*
Nisən	
Pəθyo	
Puṭrus	*Pətto*
Sanxero	*Sanxo*
Sargun	*Saggo*
Šeba	
Šəmšun	
Šəm'on	*Šəmo*
Šəmona	
Šlemun	
Ṭemo	
Warda	
Xaməs	
Xošăba	*Čăbo, Šăbo, Xawšo*
Yaqo	
Yawsəp	*Ĉope, Ĉoĉo*
Yuwanəs	*Nanəs*
Yuwarəš	*'Ašo*
Yuwəl	
Yuxanna	*Ḵanno*
Zaraduš	
Žăya, Zayya	*Zɛko, Ĉăyo*

21.22.2. *Names of Women*

Full name	Hypocoristic
'Asmar	
'Asyət	
'Eləšwa	*'Əššo*
Bibe	
Guwɛre	
Guzze	

Helene	*Nene, Nane*
Kəsno	
Layya	
Marta	
Maryam	*Mayyo, Məlle*
Naze	
Sarra	
Šazo	
Šmoni	
Surma	
Xamme	
Xanna	
Xawa	
Xənzada	*Xəzzo*
Xošebo	*Bebo*

21.23. Names of Animals[1]

21.23.1. *Nanny Goats* (ʾəzze) *and Female Sheep* (wane)

Kɛmɛre	White-striped one
Koc̣e	Hornless one
Kxuθa	Star
Nune	One with smooth skin like a fish
Pošе	One with a white spot on the head
Xənne	Chestnut coloured one

21.23.2. *Oxen* (tawre)

Bazo
Čavrăšo
Čawrəš
Niso
Răšo

[1] Individual domestic animals were known by names in Barwar.

Xămo
Xăyo

21.23.3. *Cows* (tawriyaθa)

Ġazale
Nisane

21.23.4. *Male Mules* (kawədne)

Kurdo

21.23.5. *Female Mules* (koðənyaθa)

ʾAsmăre
Gurje
Ġazale
Surme
Xăje
Xande

21.23.6. *Asses* (xmare)

ʾƎnšăro

GLOSSARIES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE GLOSSARIES

I = stem I verb
II = stem II verb
III = stem III verb
Q = quadriliteral verb

A. = Arabic
adj. = adjective
adv. = adverb
annex. = annexation
anton. = antonym
C.Syr. = Classical Syriac
cs. = common gender singular
cst. = construct state
E. = English
f. = feminine
fs. = feminine singular
I. = Italian
imper. = imperative
interj. = interjection
intr. = intransitive
invar. = invariable
K. = Kurdish
m. = masculine
mod. = non-attributive modifier
ms. = masculine singular
n. = noun
num. = numeral
obj. = object
P. = Persian
part. = particle
pl. = plural
pl.tan. = pluralis tantum
prep. = preposition
pron. = pronoun
synon. = synonym
tr. = transitive
Ṭiy. = Ṭiyare dialects
Urm. = Christian Urmi dialect

/ʾ/

ʾby **III** *m-by* (*mabe/măbe, mubele/mŭbele, maboye/măboye*) **to swell; to cause to swell, to inflate** | *màxyəllux*ˡ *há-ṯ̂-ila múbyəlle gə̀ldux*ˡ They beat you, until they made your skin swell (A2:10); *ʾo-gə́lde mùbyəlle*ˡ They inflated its skin (A28:26)

ʾc̣̆m **I** (*ʾac̣̆əm, c̣̆imle, c̣̆ama*) **to close** → *c̣̆ym* | *qəm-ʾac̣̆màle tắra*ˡ She closed the door (A19:4).

ʾjb **III** *m-jb* (*majəb/măjəb, mŭjəble/ʾŭjəble, măjobe*) **to be astonished, to be amazed** (*b-* at) | *náše măjóbe biyèy*ˡ People were amazed at them (A8:6).

ʾmð **I** (*ʾamə̀ð, midle, maða*) **to be baptized** | *ʾíman mìdle?*ˡ When was he baptized?; *šqílle màða*ˡ He received baptism. **III** *m-mð* (*maməð/măməð, mŭməðle, măməðe*) **to baptize**

ʾmr **I** (*ʾamə̀r, mə̀re, mara*) **to say**

ʾmṣ **I** (*y-amə̀ṣ*) (§8.16.5.) **to be able** → *mṣ̀y*

ʾqð **I** (*ʾaqə̀ð, qidle, qaða*) **to burn (intr.)** | *ʾíðux lá-darə̀t gu-nùra*ˡ *t-là-ʾaqða*ˡ Do not put your hand in the fire lest it burns (D1:8); *bə́θi qìdle!*ˡ My house has burnt down (A48:2); *mə̀n-lábbe díye qìða,*ˡ *də́re xə̀la,*ˡ *nac̣̆ə̀lle ʾo-šə̀ryóxa*ˡ Out of his fervour, he applied force and pulled the tether apart (A28:19); *ʾáw prìqle m-ṭawálta,*ˡ *qìdle*ˡ He is finished with the game, he is out (B11:8). **III** *m-qð* (*maqə̀ð, muqə̀dle, maqoðe*) **to burn (tr.)** | *maqðánnux gu-šə́mšət šmə̀yya*ˡ I shall burn you in the sun of the sky (A12:28); *qəm-maqə̀dla măḥálle*ˡ He burnt down his neighbourhood (A14:7).

ʾqr **I** (*ʾaqə̀r, qirre, qara*) **to dig up, to dig out; to plough; to cost, to be expensive** | *zílle qára ʾă̆ra*ˡ He went to plough the land; *maqára ṣále gu-qə́sa y-aqə̀rre*ˡ A gouge goes down into the wood and digs it out.

ʾrml **Q** *m-rml* (*marmə̀l, murmə̀lle, marmole*) **to become a widow/widower**

ʾrq **I** (*ʾarəq, riqle, raqa*) **to run; to flee; to lose a game.** (1) **to run, to flee** | *Čúxo rìqɛle,*ˈ *plíṭɛle gu-màθa*ˈ Čuxo ran out into the village (A7:16); *kút-yum xá-ʾərwən y-aráqwa y-ásəq qám d-o-dèwa*ˈ Every day one of our sheep would run up to that wolf (A10:5); *ríqən qam-màmi*ˈ I have run away from my paternal uncle (A25:42); *qú ruq-m-tàma!*ˈ Get up and be gone from there! (A37:16); *ʾu-xákma píšla rìqe-u*ˈ *píšla qṭìle*ˈ Some (were forced to) flee and were killed (B1:2). (2) **to lose a game** | *šúryela mṭawóle b-šətrənjàne.*ˈ *ṭḷá-gaye mṭuwəlla,*ˈ *ríqle Mir-Ẓàndin.*ˈ They began playing chess. They played three times and Mir-Zandin lost. (A26:63) **III** *m-rq* (*mărəq, mŭrəqle, măroqe*) **to kidnap; to cause to lose a game.** (1) **to kidnap, to steal away** | *ʾo-ṯ̂-íle múrqəlla bráti rába gabbàra-wewa*ˈ The person who kidnapped my daughter was a great warrior (A29:43); *šqìltəlla masráqta dìya*ˈ *ʾu-muràqtəlla*ˈ (The crow) took her comb and stole it away (A34:2). (2) **to cause to lose a game** | *ʾày*ˈ *qəm-qaṭláli ʾu-marəqàli*ˈ She has killed me and made me lose (A26:66).

ʾrql **Q** *m-rql* (*marqəl, murqəlle, marqole*) **to be late**

ʾršn **Q** *m-ršn* (*maršən, muršənne, maršone*) **to become mirky; to make mirky (water); to become numb.** (1) **to become mirky; to make mirky (water)** | *xa-máršən qáma-qamət ràzzux*ˈ Somebody stirs up mud in the water in front of your rice (as you are planting out a paddy field). (2) **to become numb** | *muršánna ʾay-dùkθi*ˈ This place here on me has become numb (A18:29).

ʾrṭ **I** (imper. *ṭur*) **to break wind noisily** | only used in the imperative form *ṭur* in exclamations: *ṭúr ʾÀšwuṭ!*ˈ *θéle ʾÀðər*ˈ To hell with (literally: fart!) February. March has come (B5:153); *ṭúr Hòrmuz!*ˈ To hell with Hormuz! **III** *m-rṭ* (*mărəṭ, mŭrəṭle, măroṭe*) **to break wind noisily** → *ʾurṭiθa*

ʾry (i) **I** (*ʾare, rele, raya*) **to rain** | *dúnye hóla ràya*ˈ It is raining (A26:46); *dúnye wéla ràya*ˈ It started raining (A28:6); *támməl rìtɛla*ˈ Yesterday it rained; *bṯ̂-àrya*ˈ It will rain; *xá-gaya y-asqàxwa,*ˈ *ʾaryàwa dúnye*ˈ Sometimes we went up and it rained (B10:58); *xzélux b-xàlmux*ˈ *dúnye ráya tèle*ˈ You saw in your dream that it was raining foxes (A1:6).

ʾry (ii) **I** (*ʾare, rele, raya*) **to seize; to curdle.** (1) **to seize** | *qəm-ʾaryála pəšmànta*ˈ Sorrow seized her (A49:5). (2) **to curdle** | *másta rèla*ˈ The yoghurt has set. **III** *m-ry* (*mare, murele, maroye*) **to patch; to cause to curdle.** (1) **to patch, to repair clothes** | *qəm-maránne ʾo-bóya*

*t-wéwa gu-jùlli*ˡ I patched the hole that was in my clothes. (2) **to cause to curdle, to set with rennet** | *mšaxníwa xálya dìya-w*ˡ *marèwale-u*ˡ They would warm its milk and set it with rennet (B5:173).

ʾsq **I** (*ʾasəq, siqle, saqa*) **to go up; to go towards; to go off; to be descended (by genealogy).** (1) **to go up** | *xa-nàša*ˡ *sìqɛwa*ˡ *l-ṭùra*ˡ A man had gone up into the mountains (A31:1); *ʾáskar t-léwi síqta gu-ʾƐ̄n-Nùne*ˡ The Levy army went up to ʾƐn-Nune (B8:21); *síqɛle xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra*ˡ Some of the soot went up (A4:60); *síqela rəš-d-ay-ʾilána m-zdùθa*ˡ They climbed the tree out of fear (A13:11). Up country (northwards): *ṯ̂-ásqəx tápqəx b-xóni gu-Nìnwe*ˡ Let us go up (from Babylon) and meet my brother in Nineveh (A13:1). (2) **to go towards** | *ʾu-nášət máθa kùlla*ˡ *síqe mparója biyèy*ˡ All the people of the village would go to look at them (B7:4); *ʾáwwa-žì síqɛle tíwa tàma*ˡ He approached and sat there (A14:30); *də-sùq!*ˡ Off you go there! (A12:63); *y-ásəq ʾu-ṣàle*ˡ He goes back and forth. (3) **to be descended (by genealogy)** | *kθíwəlle kəmɛ́la síqe bar-d-àw-xona*ˡ He wrote down how many are descended from that brother (B8:2). **III** *m-sq* (*masəq, musəqle, masoqe*) **to take up; to bring towards; to load (a gun).** (1) **to take up** | *masqíwale l-ṭùra*ˡ The would take him up the mountain (A14:10). (2) **to bring towards** | *šqìləlla,*ˡ *mùsqəlla,*ˡ *híwəlla ṭla-Čəlkằze*ˡ He took it, brought it (down the mountain) and gave it to Čəlkăze (A12:51); *másqula láxxa màqðula!*ˡ Bring them here and burn them! (A12:70). (3) **to load (a gun)** | *musə́qle pišánga gu-tòpe*ˡ He loaded a bullet into the gun.

ʾsṛ **I** (*ʾasər, siṛṛe, saṛa*) **to tie** | *síṛela bắlam diyéy táma b-ðà ʾilána*ˡ They tied their boat there to a tree (A14:39); *y-áwa síṛe b-ġ̇ðàðe*ˡ They were tied together (B5:84); *xáθi síṛtəlle rešì*ˡ My sister bound my (injured) head (B5:132).

ʾṣy **I** (*ʾaṣe, ṣele, ṣaya*) **to resist, to get stuck** | *ʾékɛla ṣíθa gu-xà-ṭura*ˡ *gu-xà-gəppa*ˡ (You know) where she is shut away in a mountain, in a cave (A8:65). **III** *m-ṣy* (*maṣe/mắṣe, muṣele/mŭ́ṣele, maṣoye/mắṣoye*) **to fortify** | *b-čù-ʾurxa lɛ́wa mṣáya málka ṯ̂-áwər šaqálle Dəmdə́ma,*ˡ *ma-t-wéwa mùṣyəlle*ˡ Yet by no means could the king enter to capture Dəmdəma, so well had he (Xano) fortified it (A11:16).

ʾšq **I** (*ʾašəq, šiqle, šaqa*) (A.) **to fall in love**

ʾtw **I** (*ʾatu, tiwle, tawa*) **to sit; to dwell; to be situated; to settle; to drop.** (1) **to sit** | *lɛ́ðe gu-d-ɛ́ni kúrsi ʾàtu*ˡ He does not know in which chair he should sit (A40:14); *mbádla tíwa xáṣe díye ʾu-plìṭɛle*ˡ In the

morning he sat on its back and went out (A12:66); *maláxe holá-ʾəθye tíwe l-kàwe*ˈ The angels have come and have sat by the window (A4:59); *mšuxántɛla ʾu-tíwɛle rèša*ˈ It (the chicken) was heated and he sat down to (eat) it (A2:5); *tu-tìwa!*ˈ Sit down! (A8:43); *de-tìwe*ˈ Sit down (pl.)! (A21:28). (2) **to dwell** | *tíwɛwa gu-xa-gəppìθa*ˈ He was dwelling in a small cave (A15:1); *šáttət màθa-wewa tíwa ʾo-xóna făqíra*ˈ *málka tíwa gu-rèšət máθa*ˈ The poor brother lived at the bottom of the village. The king lived at the top of the village (A25:1). (3) **to be situated** | *maθwáθa gu-Bérwər tìwela*ˈ *gu-ṭuràne*ˈ The villages in Barwar are situated in the mountains (B11:31); *ʾárba xámša sádde y-atwíwa gu-ðà-xaqla*ˈ Four or five dammed sections (of a paddy field) would be situated in one field (B7:10). (4) **to settle** | *ʾánna xéne kúlla hóla tíwta tos-ʾəlla* Dust had settled on all the others (A8:56); *kúlle ṭína ṯ-átu raš-rəzza*ˈ All the mud settles on the rice. (5) **to drop, to fall** | *míya tìwla*ˈ The water dropped (B6:20); *ʾáqli tíwla š-ʾáqlət bàxta*ˈ My leg fell on the leg of the woman (A16:11); *gútta y-átwa ʾu-rèma*ˈ The ball drops and rises (= bounces); *ʾən-lé-matti ʾisàrta,*ˈ *gúda y-àtu.*ˈ If they do not lay down gravel (in the foundations), the wall would subside. **III** *m-ty* (*mattu, muttule, mattoye*) **to place; to lay down, to shed; to set up; to lay out; to put aside.** (1) **to place, to put** | *ʾa-zórta muttáθəlla gu-d-é quṣártət šwàwe*ˈ She put the small one in the cooking pot of the neighbours (A5:4); *ʾáw mattóyəlla gáne dìye*ˈ He positions himself (A12:49); *mattoye nəšwe* to lay bird traps. (2) **to lay down, to shed** | *mattúla kàrte*ˈ He lays down his load (A15:3); *ʾáwwa dámma mattùle*ˈ He sheds this blood (A11:20). (3) **to set up** | *bábi muttúle táma bèθa*ˈ My father set up home there (B8:10); *muttéθa margə́lta* She set up the pan (on the fire) (A34:1); *mattúli xá-šəmma xèna!*ˈ Give me another name! (A7:2). (4) **to lay out** | *muttále yalə̀xθa*ˈ He laid out the handkerchief (A4:16); *mútta-wewa dalyáθa ʾu-xabúše* It (the orchard) was laid out with vines and apple-trees (A17:30). (5) **to put aside** | *m-bár t-ráxəθ ʾo-xə̀lya,*ˈ *mattíwale hal-qayə̀rwa xánčï*ˈ After the milked boiled, they put it aside until it cooled slightly (B5:164). (6) Idiom: *lá qəm-mattúla qam-màlka*ˈ He did not yield to the king (i.e. he did not obey the king) (A27:1).

ʾθy **I** (*ʾaθe, θele, θaya*) **to come; to come back; to come to (do sth. eventually); to happen; to be told.** (1) **to come** | *θéle màlla*ˈ A mullah came (A22:3); *mòt ʾə́θya Qaṭína?*ˈ Why have you come Qaṭina? (A50:11); *hon-θíθa báθra dìya*ˈ I have come looking for it (A5:9); *háyyo làxxa*ˈ Come here! (A13:6); *hay-wùr!*ˈ Come in! (A27:23); *bálki ʾáθe*

*xa-yóma ʾɛ-bráta kɛ̀rba mánni*ˡ Perhaps a day will come when that girl will be angry with me (A14:98); *xàrθa*ˡ *y-aθélɛni ʾèða*ˡ *ʾéðət be-yàlda*ˡ Then we have a festival (literally: a festival comes to us), the festival of Christmas' (B6:12); *θéle tálga xa-θèθa*ˡ Snow fell heavily (A25:41); *brōn-dìye*ˡ *θéle šánθe dìye*ˡ His son became sleepy (A9:1); *ʾáθela myáθa ʾup-ʾày*ˡ Death befalls her also (A26:89). (2) **to come back, to return** | *ṯ̂-ázən ʾaṣ́rta ṯ̂-àθən*ˡ I shall go and come back in the evening (A14:65); *yála θéle mən-zrùta*ˡ The young man came back from working in the fields (A21:8); *qəm-ṭarádle θéle zìlle*ˡ *be-ʾámte dìye*ˡ He drove him away and he went back to his aunt's house (A23:33). (3) **to come to (do sth. eventually)** | *ʾáθe mtaláxlux ʾàw*ˡ He will eventually destroy you (A14:65); *ʾína ʾáxni kúbba ʾàxxa θélən dráya*ˡ But here we have come to put meat balls (in the *duxwa*) (B10:13). Impersonal subject: *ʾu-ṯ̂-áθe gáwra l-xa-xèna*ˡ She will marry somebody else (A26:78). In passive constructions (§15.9.4.–5.): *réšət bábe díye t-Zâlo*ˡ *θéle twíra ràbe gáye*ˡ The head of his father Zāl was broken many times (A29:39); *har-Dúre lè-ʾaθya l-manšôye*ˡ Dure will never be forgotten (B2:7); *ʾáwwa rèši*ˡ *ṯ̂-áθe xá-yoma pràma*ˡ *bəd-ʾiθáθa dìyux*ˡ This head of mine will one day be cut off by your hands (A14:35). (4) **to happen** | *bálki ṯ̂-íle xa-móndi θíθa bìya*ˡ Perhaps something has happened to her (A21:25). (5) **to be told, related** | *ʾáyya hóla θàya,*ˡ *hóla màra*ˡ It (the story) goes (like this) (A1:1). **III** *m-θy* (*mɛθe/mɛye, muθele, mɛθoye*) **to bring; to bring back; to collect (taxes); to give birth to.** (1) **to bring** | *mɛθíwala xadamyáθa díya ʾixàla*ˡ Her servants would bring her food (A21:1); *ʾáwwa Màr-Múše qəm-mayéla ʾáyya biyéxu*ˡ St. Muše has brought this upon you (B18:7). (2) **to bring back** | *kùt-yum*ˡ *ṣaléwa gàwṛa*ˡ *l-šùqa*ˡ *msawòqe*ˡ *ʾu-čú-məndi lé mɛθèwa*ˡ Every day the man would go down to the market to do shopping, but would bring nothing back (A22:1); *só mèθole!*ˡ Go and fetch it! (B5:154); *b-d-ó-qɛsa nabláxwala-w mɛθàxwala*ˡ With this piece of wood we would move it (the roller) to and fro (B5:145). (3) **to collect (taxes)** | *mšádərra ṯ̂-ázi méθi xàrje*ˡ Send them off to collect taxes (A26:72). (4) **to give birth to** | *ʾən-báxtux muθéla bràta*ˡ *ʾu-báxti muθéla bròna,*ˡ *brátux qa-bròni*ˡ If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to a boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son (A25:2).

ʾwð **I** (*ʾawəð, widle, waða*) **to do, to make; to treat (wound); to move, to put; to pick, to collect** | (1) **to do, to make** | *mùt wáða?*ˡ What are you doing? (A23:7); *hon-wáða ʾixàla*ˡ I am making food (A21:27); *ʾáti lat-wáða b-xàbri*ˡ You are not acting according to my

word (A21:43); *kú-məndit ʾáwðət wùð*ˡ Do anything you want (A25:66). Sound: *wíðɛle pəθyo!*ˡ He went "achoo!" With *b-* expressing disadvantage: *ṭla-mò wídlux hátxa bíyi?*ˡ Why have you done this to me? (A15:14); *hàtxa ʾoðéti b-náše!*ˡ That is how you should treat people! (A22:47). With *ta-/ṭla-* or *mən* expressing benefit: *ʾítlən xá-məndi bə̌yəx ṯ-oðə́xxe ṭlàləx*ˡ There is something that we want to do for you (A4:48); *wúð ða-spayúθa mànni*ˡ Do me a favour (A7:17); *làn wíða m-bábi*ˡ I have not done a good service to my father (A41:6). (A4:60). (2) **to treat (wound)** | *ʾa-ʾáqla díya lítla ʾáp-xa waðəlla*ˡ She had nobody to treat her leg (A33:8). (3) **to move, to put** | *ʾoðále rúše hàtxa*ˡ She moves its shoulder like this (A12:53); *ʾay-m-rə́ḥqa hóla wáðəlla ʾa-yaláxθa hàtxa qam-ʾéna díya*ˡ She waves the handkerchief before her eyes from a distance like this (A4:17); *súsa θáya wáða naθyáθe hàtxa*ˡ The horse came moving his ears like this (A12:64); *ʾa-pálla t-wawa-rəš-qalùnka*ˡ *wíðtəlla hátxa ṣlìθɛla*ˡ She moved the burning coal that was in the pipe like this and it fell (A11:21); *ʾáwəð ʾíðe xo-d-ò képa*ˡ He put his hand under the stone (A12:30); *ʾap-ṯóṯe ʾawádla qráb báθre dìye*ˡ He put also his grandmother after him, splash! (A7:25). (3) **to pick, to collect** | *wíðtɛla ʾo-gə̀lla*ˡ She picked that plant (A34:18); *wíðəxwa tré halùke*ˡ We had picked two plums (B8:19); *ṯ-óðəx qɛ̀se*ˡ We shall collect wood (A14:9); *ʾu-kut-šéta xa-gáya y-oðə́xwa mən-d-o-ʾùpra*ˡ and once every year, we would collect this mud (B10:68).

ʾwr **I** (*ʾawər, wirre, wara*) **to pass; to enter.** (1) **to pass, to pass by** | *wírre mən-ʾəsri-w-xamšà-šənne*ˡ He has passed twenty-five years (= more than twenty-five years old) (A8:33); *wíra b-šə̀nne*ˡ advanced in years (A8:43); *y-oráwa xa-dána bìš-hòdəx*ˡ Further time would pass (B5:6). (2) **to enter** | *wìrela gu-bɛ́θa*ˡ They entered the house (A15:7). **III** *m-wr* (*mawər, muwərre, mawore*) **to bring in; to pass (time).** (1) **to bring in** | *mawríle kəs-Səttìye*ˡ They brought him into the presence of Səttiye (A25:80); *ʾu-gríšle míya m-ṭùra*ˡ … *muwárre gu-Dəmdəma*ˡ He drew water from the mountain… and brought it into Dəmdəma (A8:14). (2) **to pass (time)** | *moríwa dána b-d-àwwa məndi*ˡ They passed time in (doing) this thing (B15:72).

ʾxl **I** (*ʾaxəl, xille, xala*) **to eat** | *bə̌yət ʾàxlət,*ˡ *xùl*ˡ If you want to eat, eat! (A14:59); *ʾó t-là pálax*ˡ *lè y-áxəl*ˡ Whoever does not work does not eat (A21:13). Idioms: *xílli là̀bbux*ˡ You are dear to me (A39:12); *xázəx məndi-yáne bràya,*ˡ *ʾu-lá-ʾaxləx xámma d-áyya bə̀̃lad,*ˡ *la-bàrya*ˡ If we see things happening and do not care for this country, it is not right (A18:8).

III *m-xl* (*maxəl, muxəlle, maxole*) **to let eat, to feed** | *ʾéka ʾíθwa dúkθa basímta maxlə̀xwale*ˡ We would let it (the mule) eat wherever there was a good place (for feeding) (B5:129); *ʾə́dyo péša ʾə̀y maxóle ṭla-náše*ˡ Today *she* has begun to feed people (A21:32); *ʾu-susə̆wə̀θa*ˡ *la-maxlùla*ˡ Do not feed the horses (A25:9); *léle múxləlle ču-ʾixàla*ˡ He did not feed him any food (A34:31).

ʾyd **I** (*ʾayəd, yidle, yada*) **to weed** | *y-azíwa baxtáθa yàda*ˡ Women would go to weed (the rice paddy-fields) (B5:78).

ʾyq **I** (*ʾayəq, yiqle, yaqa*) **to become narrow, to become tight; to become distressed.** (1) **to become narrow, to become tight (clothes)** | *díya júlli yìqla*ˡ My clothes have become tight. (2) **to become distressed, straitened** | *xayúθi yìqla*ˡ My life has become difficult.

ʾzl (i) **I** (*ʾazəl, zille, zala*) **to go; to go along, to flow; to go by (time); to go for (be sold); to perish.** (1) **to go, to travel** | *ʾána qémən ʾázən ʾùmra*ˡ I shall go to church (A37:2); *y-azəl ʾu-qaləb* He goes back and forth; *qunáxət ṭláθa yomáθa qəm-azə́lla b-xamšà daqíqe*ˡ He travelled a stage of three days (journey) in five minutes (A8:39). (2) **to go along, to flow** | *zíla níxa níxa wíra gu-d-a-màθɛle*ˡ He went along slowly and entered the village (A14:58); *zílla b-šaqíθa, zílla-w zílla-w zìlla*ˡ They went along in the stream, along, along and along (A8:12); *ʾáy šaqíθa bṭ̂-áza* The stream will flow along (A8:11). (3) **to go by (time)** | *zílta láxxa tre-ṭlà-yarxe,*ˡ *ʾarbà-yarxe,*ˡ *máre xa-béna xéta mjarbə̀nna*ˡ Two or three months, four months passed. He said 'I'll test them again' (A48:4); *xáčča xéna lɛ́la zìlta,*ˡ *ʾə́θyɛle xa-kàlba*ˡ Not long passed before a dog came (A35:3). (4) **to go for (be sold)** | *xzi-kəmà ṭ̂-ázəl ʾáwwa táwra*ˡ See how much this ox will go for (A22:1); *ʾu-zílle hăramə̀t*ˡ It went for nothing (A22:9). (5) **to perish** | *brónəx zìlle*ˡ Your son has perished (A38:16); *brōn-màlka*ˡ . . . *ṭ̂-àzəl*ˡ The son of the king will perish (A8:42); *zílle yála mə̀nna*ˡ She lost a baby (by miscarriage); *ʾána zála har-zílən bìya*ˡ I am finished! (A14:25).

ʾzl (ii) **I** (*ʾazəl, zille, zala*) **to spin (wool)** | *y-azlə́xwa kùša*ˡ We would spin (wool on a) spindle (B10:46).

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ʿjz **II** (*mʿajəz, mʿujəzle, mʿajoze*) (A.) **to become senile** | *šuréle ʿajòze*ˡ He began to get senile (A15:19).

ʿqm **II** *m-ʿqm* (*mʿăqəm, mʿŭqəmle, mʿăqome*) (A.) **to sterilize** | *mxalláxwale mʿăqəmə̀xwale-w*ˡ We would wash it and sterilize it (B10:77).

ʿyn **II** *m-ʿyn* (*mʿayən, mʿuyənne, mʿayone*) (A.) **to help**

/B/

bdd **II** *m-bdd* (*mbădəd, mbŭdədle, mbădode*) **to stir a fire with a poker** | *mbắdədle núra b-badòda!*ˡ Stir the fire with the poker! → *badoda*

bdl **I** (*badəl, bdille, bdala*) **to fade; to change (colour)** | *gáwna bdìlle*ˡ The colour has faded; *káxwe mšuréla bdála qam-ŝə̂mša*ˡ The stars began to fade in the sun; *m-šə̣tro badli dukane* the places fade (into the background) on account of the beautiful one (C2:56); *ʾən-ṭúwət ʾisáqθi bdìlɛle,*ˡ *mšadrátla ʾárye ṯ-àθa*ˡ If the gem of my ring changes (in colour), send the lions so that they come (to me) (A18:13).

bdy **I** (*bade, bdele, bdaya*) (A.) **to begin**

bðq **I** (*baðəq, bðiqle, bðaqa*) **to scatter (seed)** | *baðqíwa rə̀zza*ˡ They would scatter the rice (B5:78).

bðr **I** (*baðər, bðirre, bðara*) **to scatter; to spill** | *bðiríle mìya*ˡ He spilt the water. **II** *m-bðr* (*mbaðər, mbuðərre, mbaðore*) **to scatter; to spill**

bhrn **Q** *m-bhrn* (*mbahrən, mbuhrənle, mbahrone*) **to shine**

bjbj **Q** *m-bjbj* (*mbajbəj, mbujbəjle, mbajboje*) **to move, to budge** | *ʾíðe mbujbə̀jle*ˡ His hand moved.

blʾ **I** (*bằle, blile/blele, blaʾa/blaya*) **to swallow**

blbl **Q** *m-blbl* (*mbalbəl, mbulbəlle, mbalbole*) **to ruffle, to dishevel** | *páwxa qəm-mbalbə́lle kàwse*ˡ The wind ruffled his hair; *káwse mbulbə́lle qam-pàwxa*ˡ His hair was ruffled by the wind.

blby **Q** *m-blby* (*mbalbe, mbulbele, mbalboye*) **to search (inside a container)** | *mbulbéle ʾórə susă̆wàθa*ˡ He searched in the horses' manger (A38:14).

blq **II** *m-blq* (*mbaləq, mbuləqle, mbaloqe*) **to stare; to fix (eyes)** | *la mbalqátla ʾènux!*' Do not stare!; *mbulqíle ʾène*' He stared.

bls **I** (*baləs, blisle, blasa*) **to damage; to make jagged** | *képa qəm-balásle púmmət nă̆ra*' The stone damaged (and made jagged) the blade of the axe; *skinta blista* knife with damaged, jagged blade. **II** *m-bls* (*mbă̆ləs,* 3fs. *mbă̆ləsa, mbŭləsle, mbă̆lose*) **to tear apart with teeth or hands (food)**

bly **I** (*bale, blele, blaya*) **to wear out** | *kutáne blèla*' His shirt became worn out (A37:13).

bny **I** (*bane, bnele, bnaya*) **to build; to stack up** | *hóla bníθəlle ʾo-qáṣra kúlle b-qarqupyàθa*' She has built all that palace with skulls (A25:53); *ʾáw ṭárpa kúlla mjă̆mìwale,*' *banéwale bar-ðà ʾilána*' They gather up all the leaves and stack them behind a tree (B5:119). **II** *m-bny* (*mbane, mbunele, mbanoye*) **to prepare food for serving (without cooking)**. **III** *m-bny* (*mabne, mubnele, mabnoye*) **to cause to build, to cause to be built** | *hóle mubányəlle qáṣra góṛa trè ṭabáqe*' He had built a large villa with two storeys (A27:3); *ʾáxni qáṣra díyən mubnélən šétət xámši-w ṭlàθa*' We had our villa built in the year fifty-three (B1:20).

bqbq **Q** *m-bqbq* (*mbaqbəq, mbuqbəqle, mbaqboqe*) **to gurgle (water)**

bqr **II** *m-bqr* (*mbaqər, mbuqərre, mbaqore*) **to ask** | *baqrèxla*' Let's ask her (A4:46); *mboqárre mən-d-o-qamàya*' He (the king) asked the first one (A17:31); *mbáqrena bud-šùla*' I shall inquire about a job (A24:6); *ʾáw mbaqórəlle Tă̆tár-i Slemán-i Səndi*' He is asking for Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi (A28:24).

brbq **Q** *m-brbq* (*mbarbəq, mburbəqle, mbarboqe*) **to shake**

brbr **Q** *m-brbr* (*mbarbər, mburbərre, mbarbore*) **to bleat (sheep); to low (cattle)**

brbṭ **Q** *m-brbṭ* (*mbarbəṭ, mburbəṭle, mbarboṭe*) **to shudder**

brbz **Q** *m-brbz* (*mbarbəz, mburbəzle, mbarboze*) **to scatter; to be scattered** | *mšúryela mbarbòze*' They started to disperse (after a party) (A7:4); *burbázzelɛ kúlla dukàne*' They were dispersed to all places (B3:17).

brd **I** (*barəd, bridle, brada*) **to rub; to scour** | *brúdla quṣárta tàza!*' Scour the pot well!'

brdm **Q** *m-brdm* (*mbardəm, mburdəmle, mbardome*) **to mumble, to mutter**

brk **I** (*barək, brikle, braka*) **to kneel** | *kúlla wéla bráka ṭlìbla*ˡ They all knelt and made a request (A11:18); *bríkɛwa rəš-bàrke*ˡ He had knelt down on this knees (A29:48).

brq **I** (*barəq, briqle, braqa*) **to shine**. **III** *m-brq* (*mabrəq, mubrəqle, mabroqe*) **to cause to shine**

brtl **Q** *m-brtl* (*mbartəl, mburtəlle, mbartote*) **to bribe**

brṭ **II** *m-brṭ* (*mbarəṭ, mburəṭle, mbaroṭe*) **to roll over (in sleep)**

brx **II** *m-brx* (*mbarəx, mburəxle, mbaroxe*) **to bless; to sanctify a marriage, to marry; to greet.** (1) **to bless** | *barxíle qáše šamàše*ˡ The priests and deacons bless him (B6:9); *mbarxáxwale ʾéðət nàše*ˡ We would offer festival blessings to people (B6:14). (2) **to sanctify a marriage, to marry** | *ʾáni b-xéla bə́yi mbarxíla ʾəlli*ˡ They want to marry her to me by force (A7:18); *mbaróxəlla Bə́lbəl Hazàr*ˡ *l-Gozàli*ˡ They married Bəlbəl Hazar to Gozali (A8:98). (3) **to greet** | *mbùrxəlla*ˡ They greeted her (A27:22).

brxš **Q** *m-brxš* (*mbarxəš, mburxəšle, mbarxoše*) **to mix; to stir** | *šurétθa mbarxóše ʾixàla*ˡ She began to stir the food (A22:32)

bry **I** (*bare, brele, braya)* **to be born; to grow; to separate from; to happen; to be possible.** (1) **to be born, to come into being, to grow** | *ʾána báryən gu-ʾɛ̄n-Nùne*ˡ I was born in ʾɛn-Nune; *mən-yóma qamáyə brèla,*ˡ *ʾatxa-jwànqe-wɛwa*ˡ From the first day (after) they were born, they were so beautiful (A8:6); *mšére bráya ʾo-rəzza*ˡ The rice begins to grow (B5:78); *mən-báze bára bazbùze*ˡ *ʾu-m-bazbúze bára bàze*ˡ From great people little insignificant ones grow, and from insignificant ones great ones grow (D2:57); *ʾíman ṯ-árya dùnye*ˡ *báre ṭìna*ˡ When it rains, there is mud. (2) **to leave, separate from** | *là-barən mənne*ˡ I shall not leave him; *də-yamyannux… m-ǧðaðe t-la barəxwa* I swear to you… that we shall never leave one another (C2:25). (3) **to happen, to take place** | *módi brèle?*ˡ What has happened?; *xzí mo-bàre*ˡ See what happens (A13:6); *lɛ̀-yáðət módi bárya?*ˡ Don't you know what has happened? (A4:31); *bàrya*ˡ *ʾáθe tálga ràba*ˡ It sometimes happens that a lot of snow falls (B5:108); *ʾeðăwáθət barítwa gu-Bàrwər*ˡ The festivals that took place in Barwar (B6:1). (4) **to be possible** | *là bárya*ˡ That is not possible; *dáx bárya ʾàyya?*ˡ How could this be possible? (A8:9);

*dáx bàrya*ˡ *ʾána péšən làxxa*ˡ *ʾu-ʾáti t̂-àsqət?*ˡ How can it be possible for me to stay here and you to go up? (A28:15). **III** *m-bry* (*mabre, mubrele, mabroye*) **to give birth** | *báxta yaqùrta*ˡ *ʾi-màbra*ˡ A pregnant woman will give birth (A24:13); *mùt kálba mubréθa ʾáti?*ˡ What dog have you given birth to? (A11:20); *ʾéni báxtɛla mubrèθa?*ˡ Which woman has given birth? (A25:6); *wítɛla dánət mabròye*ˡ The time of giving birth arrived (A25:4).

brz **I** (*barəz, brizle, braza*) **to become dry** | *pešáwa xa-yóma trè,*ˡ *hál barəzwa*ˡ It took one or two days until it became dry (B5:167); *brízli mən-ṣèwa*ˡ I am parched with thirst. **II** *m-brz* (*mbarəz, mburəzle, mbaroze*) **to dry (tr.); to drain** | *mbùrzəlla,*ˡ *dáryəlla gu-xa-ṭèna*ˡ He dried them and put them in a saddle bag (A7:5); *bár mbarzíwa mìya,*ˡ *y-azíwa xazdìwale*ˡ After draining the water (from the paddy field), they would go and harvest it (the rice) (B5:79). **III** *m-brz* (*mabrəz, mubrəzle, mabroze*) **to dry (tr.)**

bsm **I** (*basəm, bsimle, bsama*) **to be pleasant, pleasing; to be healthy, to be cured; to become sharp.** (1) **to be pleasant, pleasing** | *xóni basàmwale dúša*ˡ My brother used to like honey (B8:12); *xálme díye lá qəm-basàmle*ˡ His dream did not please him (A8:5). (2) **to be healthy, to be cured** | *ʾána bsìmli*ˡ I am cured (A4:20), *ta-t-máxən ʾáp-ʾana b-ʾèni*ˡ *bàsmi*ˡ so that I also can put it in my eyes, so that they will be cured (A24:10); *básma gànux!*ˡ Well done! (literally: May you be well). (3) **to become sharp** | *skínta muxərpáli ʾu-bsìmla*ˡ I have sharpened the knife and it has become sharp. **II** *m-bsm* (*mbasəm, mbusəmle, mbasome*) **to cure; to make fit, to prepare.** (1) **to cure** | *ʾáp-xa lɛle-mṣáya mbasàmla*ˡ Nobody can cure her (A4:12); *ʾálaha mbasàmlux*ˡ May God cure you (said to a sick person). (2) **to make fit, to prepare** | *qaréθa mbasmíla ṭla-mìya*ˡ They prepare the pumpkin for (receiving) water. **III** *m-bsm* (*mabsəm, mubsəmle, mabsome*) **to enjoy o.s.; to cause to enjoy, to entertain** | *mubsàmlux*ˡ You enjoyed yourself (A2:10); *bányət-əlla ʾótəx tàma*ˡ *qa-t mabásma kút-yom xà*ˡ You have built her a room there for her to entertain somebody everyday (A4:52).

bsty **Q** *m-bsty* (*mbaste, mbustele, mbastoye*) **to become an ally; to feel comfortable, to feel at home** | *léle mbastóye t̂-ámər xa-ṣàwθa*ˡ He does not feel comfortable saying anything. → *bista*

bṣlṣ **Q** *m-bṣlṣ* (*mbaṣləṣ, mbuṣləṣle, mbaṣloṣe*) **to shine, to glow** | *xázyəlla ʾán tre-yàle*ˡ *mbaṣlòṣe*ˡ He saw the two children, glowing (with beauty)

(A8:14); *hátxa baṣlóṣe gu-lábbət nàša*ˡ (They) glow in the heart of man (= they captivate one's heart) (A8:16).

bṣr **I** (*baṣər, bṣirre, bṣara*) **to diminish, to become less, to deteriorate** | *mšixáye mšuréla bṣàra,*ˡ *ʾu-mušəlmanúθa zyàda*ˡ The Christians began to diminish (in number) and Islam began to increase (B1:2); *ʾu-ʾéni-žigən hóla bṣìre*ˡ and my eyes have also deteriorated (A24:10). **III** *m-bṣr* (*mabṣər, mubṣərre, mabṣore*) **to cause to diminish, to reduce, to subtract**

bšl **I** (*bašəl, bšille, bšala*) **to cook (intr.)** | *hédi hédi bašálwa ʾixàla*ˡ The food cooked slowly (B10:87); *ʾi-bašálwa y-awáxwa tíwe mbarxòše*ˡ It cooked while we sat stirring it (B10:12). **II** *m-bšl* (*mbašəl, mbušəlle, mbašole*) **to cook (tr.)** | *málla Naṣrádin xá-ga băyéwa mbašálwa pàča*ˡ Once mullah Naṣradin wanted to cook *pača* (A5:1).

btt **II** *m-btt* (*mbatət/mbătət, mbutətle/mbŭtətle, mbatote/mbătote*) **to investigate** | *mbŭtətɛle ʾáxxa-w tàmma*ˡ He investigated here and there (A16:1).

bṭl **I** (*baṭəl, bṭille, bṭala*) **to stop (intr.); to become idle, unproductive** | *kúlla bṭìlla*ˡ Everything stopped (producing) (A38:1). **II** *m-bṭl* (*mbaṭəl, mbuṭəlle, mbaṭole*) **to cause to stop; to eliminate, to get rid of** | *ʾána bắyən mbaṭlánne ʾáwwa náša mən-šùle*ˡ I want to stop this man working at his job; *mən-kúl-xa mən-d-ànna*ˡ *lázəm xa-mbàṭlət*ˡ You must get rid of one of each of these (C8:2).

bwby **Q** *m-bwby* (*mbawbe, mbubele, mbawboye*) **to howl (wolf)**

bxl **II** *m-bxl* (*mbaxəl, mbuxəlle, mbaxole*) **to become jealous, to envy** (*b-* s.o.) | *ʾána mbáxlən bìye*ˡ I am envious of him; *ʾáyya buxálla bìye*ˡ She became jealous of him (B15:80).

bxr **I** (*baxər, bxirre, bxara*) **to steam** | *míya hóla bxàra*ˡ The water is steaming.

bxy **I** (*baxe, bxele, bxaya*) **to weep** | *baxìwala rába*ˡ They would weep for her a lot (B7:3).

by **I** (*bắye, bele, bắya*) **to want, to need; to love, to like.** (1) **to want** | *mò bắyət?*ˡ What do you want? (A26:73); *lá-bắyən dɛ̀ṛən*ˡ I do not want to return (A4:43); *kut-dúkət bắyət nablànnux*ˡ I'll take you to any place you want (A4:15); *ʾax-bắyìtu*ˡ as you want (A24:52); *ʾay-hádəx biš-bắya*ˡ She prefers this (A8:75). (2) **to need** | *šərwala təkθa bắye* Her trousers need a cord (C2:46); *ʾána hírən b-gàni*ˡ *mò bắyən ṯ-oðéna*ˡ I am

confused as to what I need to do (A17:33). With impersonal subject: *ʾăwáha ṯ-ile xóðe díye bă̆yéle bàxta*ˡ That man who is alone needs a wife (A27:7); *bă̆yéle xáčča dána qá-t-taxàrre*ˡ He needs some time to remember it; *hadíya bă̆ye mpalṭàtle*ˡ Now you must take him out (A26:77). Verb agreeing with complement: *ʾáw bă̆yále xa-šêta*ˡ That requires one year (B5:104); *klȍš*ˡ *lá bă̆yáwala rába xyàṭṭa*ˡ A skirt did not require much sewing (B10:45). (3) **to love, to like** | *ʾáw màlka*ˡ *rába bă̆yewale ʾawbróne dìye*ˡ The king loved his son very much (A8:2); *har-xáθe ʾi-bă̆̀yela*ˡ He still loves his sister (A18:16); *ʾu-bèla ʾə́lle díye*ˡ She fell in love with him (A27:16); *bìθəllela*ˡ She fell in love with him (A4:12); *hon-bă̆̀yəllux*ˡ I like you (A14:78).

byč̣ **III** *m-byč̣* (*mabyəč̣/măbič̣, mubyəč̣le/mŭbič̣le, mabyoč̣e/măboč̣e*) **to give birth to a bastard** → *bič̣a*

byn **II** *m-byn* (*mbayən, mbuyənne, mbayone*) **to appear** | *m-xó-t ʾilána gáwze trè mbɛ́ni*ˡ From under the tree only two walnuts can be seen (D2:2). **III** *m-byn* (*mabyən/măbin, mubyənne/mŭbinne, mabyone/măbone*) **to appear; to cause to appear; to come to visit** | *mabyóne ṭúra gu-čól ramànɛle*ˡ It seems it is a high mountain in the countryside (A8:70); *mábyən! mabyánət!* (Come and) visit (us)!

byx **I** (*bayəx, bixle, byaxa*) **to overflow** | *míya bìxla*ˡ The water overflowed; *dréle míya gu-ʾamána hal-bìxle*ˡ He put water in the vessel until it overflowed.

byz **I** (*bayəz, bizle, byaza*) **to pour, to spill** | *míyə ṯ-ṭépi b-réša bɛzìla*ˡ They pour off the water that comes to the top (B6:42); *bízla nepúxta gu-bèθa*ˡ The date syrup spilt into the room (A23:20); *ʾúrxa ʾúrxa bìzle*ˡ It (the ash) spilt along the way (A34:17).

bzʾ **I** (*bă̆ze, bzile/bzele, bzaʾa/bzaya*) **to cleave, to make a hole; to be punctured, pierced** | *bzú xa-bóya gu-d-áwwa qèsa!*ˡ Make a hole in this wood!; *júlle díye kúlla bàzyəlla*ˡ He put holes in all his clothes (A25:33); *bă̆zéla jullákθa m-xòθa*ˡ He pierces the vessel from below (A30:21); *ʾáw bă̆̀ze,*ˡ *šàməṭ*ˡ It was pierced and broke (A23:20); *qunjïyáθe díye*ˡ *d-áy mandòrta*ˡ *y-áwa bàzye*ˡ The ends of the roller are bored (with holes) (B5:193).

bzmr **Q** *m-bzmr* (*mbazmər, mbuzmərre, mbazmore*) **to nail** → *bəzmara*

bzq **I** (*bazəq, bziqle, bzaqa*) **to scatter (seed)**

/č/

čfl **I** (*čafəl, čfille, čfala*) (A.) **to be startled** | *ʾórwe čfíle zdìyela*ˡ The sheep were startled and afraid (B18:6)

čk̂bn **Q** *m-čk̂bn* (*mčak̂bən, mču̇k̂bənne, mčak̂bone*) (K.) **to arm (with weapons); to deck out** | *hádəx t̂-ítwa mčok̂àbna támməl*ˡ You were so well-decked out (with festive clothes) yesterday (A35:18).

čkčk **Q** *m-čkčk* (*mčakčək, mčukčəkle, mčakčoke*) **to chatter; to clatter; to prick** → *čakčaka*

člms **Q** *m-člms* (*mčalməs, mčulməsle, mčalmose*) **to be sore, to sting (eyes)**

člwl **Q** *m-člwl* (*mčalwəl, mčulwəlle, mčalwole*) **to wail** | *qálət maymùne*ˡ *ṣràxa,*ˡ *mčalwòle*ˡ the sound of monkeys crying and wailing (A14:43).

čmbl **Q** *m-čmbl* (*mčambəl, mčumbəlle, mčambole*) (K.) **to hook (sth. onto sth.)**

čnčl **Q** *m-čnčl* (*mčančəl, mčunčəlle, mčančole*) **to egg on (a straggler)**

čngl **Q** *m-čngl* (*mčangole, mčungəlle, mčangole*) (K.) **to roll; to roll over;** | *zə́dyəlle b-tắrət gə́ppa-w ṣə̀lyɛle,*ˡ *mčonə́gla mčonə̀gla*ˡ He threw him from the entrance of the cave and he went down, rolling over as he went (A29:30); *qəm-mčangə́lle kèpa*ˡ He rolled the stone over.

črčr **Q** *m-črčr* (*mčarčər, mčurčərre, mčarčore*) **to talk garrulously; to screech** | *simɛ́rxa θìθɛla.*ˡ *θíθɛla čarčóre ṣràxa.*ˡ The *simɛrxa* came. She came, screeching and crying. (A24:47)

črk **II** *m-črk* (*mčarək, mčurəkle, mčaroke*) **to surround** | *čríkəlle ʾaw-bèθa*ˡ They surrounded the house (A4:53)

črqy **Q** *m-črqy* (*mčarqe, mčurqele, mčarqoye*) **to fire (gun); to spring (a trap)** | *mčurqéle qùlta*ˡ He set off the trap; *qúlta mčurqèθa*ˡ The trap is sprung; *tópe mčàrqila!* Fire the gun!

črx **I** (*čarəx, črixle, čraxa*) **to go around; to take around** | *xa-čarxona črixwala*ˡ She took a short turn around (A51:12); *čɛrxìwala máθa*ˡ They would take her (the bride) around the village (B10:34).

čwčy **Q** *m-čwčy* (*mčawče, mčučele, mčawčoye*) **to chirp**

čx **III** *m-čx* (*mačəx/măčəx, mŭčəxle, măčoxe*) (Urm.) **to find** | *bálki máčxət šùla*ˡ Perhaps you will find work (A39:1).

čxs **II** *m-čxs* (*mčaxəs, mčuxəsle, mčaxose*) **to insult**

čy **I** (*čāye, čele, čāya*) **to become tired**

čyd **I** (*čayəd, čidle, čyada*) **to invite** | *y-azə́lwa čyàda,*ˡ *bɛ́θa bɛ̀θa*ˡ He would go to invite (people to the wedding) from house to house (B5:20); *čídetu xlúlə brōn-fə́llən b-flàn-yoma*ˡ You are invited to the wedding of the son of so-and-so on such-and-such a day (B5:21); *čídɛle zóre-w gòṛe*ˡ He invited young and old (A7:3); *brátux hóla čittəllux ṯ-ázət kəslɛ̀ni*ˡ Your daughter has invited you to come to us (A40:9); *ta'la čídle 'árxa qa-làqləq*ˡ The fox invited the stork as a guest (A45:1).

čyk **I** (*čayək, čikle, čyaka*) **to jam; to wedge forcibly (into a tight space); to pierce** | *čúkle gàwe!*ˡ Jam it in!; *čayə́kwa xmáṭa b-šə́rme dìye*ˡ He pricked a needle into his buttocks (A30:39).

čyl **I** (*čayəq, čiqle, čyaqa*) **to sprout. III** *m-čyl* (*mačyəl/măčil, mučyəlle/mŭčille, mačyole/măčole*) **to sprout, to grow; to cause to sprout** | *tá-t măčíli pàrri*ˡ so that my feathers grow (A24:48).

čyr **I** (*čayər, čirre, čyara*) **to turn away in anger, to be offended, annoyed; to become alienated** | *'àyya*ˡ *Nàze,*ˡ *'ɛ-gòṛtɛla,*ˡ *čírra*ˡ Naze, the eldest, turned away in anger (offended by a remark) (A25:19).

čz **III** *m-čz* (*măčəz, mŭčəzle, măčoze*) **to vex, to be vexed** | *mŭčə́zəlla xəyàli*ˡ He annoyed me (A17:7); *la-bə́yən măčəzə́nna xəyalɛ̀xu*ˡ I don't want to bore you.

čzčz **Q** *m-čzčz* (*mčazčəz, mčuzčəzle, mčazčoze*) **to crackle (frying food)**

/ č̣ /

č̣lbx **Q** *m-č̣lbx* (*mč̣albəx, mč̣ulbəxle, mč̣alboxe*) **to beat with a stick**

č̣lp **I** (*č̣aləp, č̣liple, č̣lapa*) **to split; to tear apart; to tear (meat) from the bone** | *č̣alpə́nne pùmmux!*ˡ I shall split your mouth!

č̣lx **I** (*č̣aləx, č̣lixle, č̣laxa*) **to tear apart** | *č̣alxítula m-ġðàðe*ˡ You should tear her apart (A27:33)

č̣mč̣ **I** (*č̣aməč̣, č̣miči̇̀le, č̣mača*) **to shrink, to shrivel**

č̣my **I** (*č̣ame, č̣mele, č̣maya*) **to be extinguished** | *'o-núra č̣əmyɛ́le*ˡ The fire was extinguished (A48:3). **III** *m-č̣my* (*mač̣me, muč̣mele, mač̣moye*) **to**

extinguish (tr.); to close | *qəm-mač́méle nùra*ˡ He extinguished the fire; *múč́məlla ʾéne dìye*ˡ He closed his eyes (A24:50).

č́nč́n **Q** *m-č́nč́n* (*mč́anč́ən, mč́unč́ənne, mč́anč́one*) **to whine; to buzz** | especially with reference to the sound of mosquitoes (*č́ene*)

č́rč́y **Q** *m-č́rč́y* (*mč́arč́e, mč́urč́ele, mč́arč́oye*) **to dirty, to soil** | *mášxa qəm-mč́arč́éla jùlli*ˡ The oil has soiled my clothes.

č́wr **I** (*č́awər, č́wirre, č́wara*) **to spin; to roll (eyes); to rave** | *ʾénux hóla č́wàra*ˡ Your eyes are rolling (through tiredness).

č́wrn **Q** *m-č́wrn* (*mč́awrən, mč́uwrənne, mč́awrone*) **to be sleepy; to doze**

č́y **III** *m-č́y* (*mač́e/mắč́e, muč́ele/mŭ́č́ele, mač́oye/mắč́oye*) **to smooth**

č́ym **I** (*č́ayəm, č́imle, č́yama*) **to close (without locking)** | *č́úmle tắra bàrux*ˡ Close the door behind you (A22:26). **III** *m-č́ym* (*mač́yəm/mắč́im, muč́yəmle/mŭ́č́imle, mač́yome/mắč́ome*) **to close**

/D/

dbdb **Q** *m-dbdb* (*mdabdəb, mdubdəble, mdabdobe*) **to beat (heart)** | *lábbi hóle mdabdòbe*ˡ My heart is beating.

dbq **I** (*dabəq, dbiqle, dbaqa*) **to fall in, to cave in** | *gáre dbìqle*ˡ The roof fell in; *ʾắra dbìqla*ˡ The earth caved in. **II** *m-dbq* (*mdabəq, mdubəqle, mdaboqe*) **to press down** | *mdabòqəlla*ˡ He presses it (the mat) down (A12:49).

dbr **II** *m-dbr* (*mdabər, mdubərre, mdabore*) (A.) **to manage, to look after; to fabricate (story)** | *hóle mdabóre šúle dìye*ˡ He is managing his affairs; *m-kəs-gàne qəm-mdabárra*ˡ *mxalóṣe xàye díye*ˡ He made this up himself to save his life (A39:6).

dbš **I** (*dabəš, dbišle, dbaša*) **to stick to; to urge**. (1) **to stick to** (*b-* to) | *ṭabawáne ʾi-dabšíwa b-ʾərba*ˡ Ticks would stick to a sheep; *har-dbíše b-bronèy*ˡ They were constantly attached to their son (A15:17). (2) **to urge, to press** (*b-* s.o.)| *dbíšla bábe-w yámme bìye*ˡ *mára ʾálla magurəxlux*ˡ His father and mother pressed him and said 'We must marry you' (A16:5). **II** *m-dbš* (*mdabəš, mdubəšle, mdaboše*) **to stick, to join (tr.), to press down** | *malhéwa pùnda,*ˡ *mattúwale kəs-reše-dìye*ˡ *mdabəšwale*ˡ He would light a tallow candle and put it by his (the dead person's)

head and press it (down on the grave) (B5:57); *mdabšála ʾəlle-dìye*ˈ *kòpa*ˈ *gawàye,*ˈ *hal sàməq*ˈ She presses (the dough) onto it (the flat bread), down below, inside, until it becomes brown (B5:102).

dgl **II** *m-dgl* (*mdagəl, mdugəlle, mdagole*) **to tell a falsehood, to lie; to make lie** | *θélux mdagóle ṭlàli*ˈ You came lying to me (A1:23); *díya gu-pàθux*ˈ *mdàgəl*ˈ He will now lie to your face (A6:11); *mdagálwa mən-nàše*ˈ He would tell lies about people (A48:1); *máṭo mdaglánna gàni?*ˈ How can I make myself lie? (A26:12)

dlk **I** (*dalək, dlikle, dlaka*) **to press down, to flatten**

dll **II** *m-dll* (*mdaləl/mdăləl, mduləlle/mdŭləlle, mdalole/mdălole*) **to plant crops with spaces in between; to spoil, pamper**

dlp **II** *m-dlp* (*mdaləp, mduləple, mdalope*) **to leak; to drip** | *m-xo-máṭra xo-dalòpe*ˈ (He came into the house) from under the rain (but found himself) under leaking (water from the roof) (D2:31).

dmdm **Q** *m-dmdm* (*mdamdəm, mdumdəmle, mdamdome*) **to beat up; to cause to cry out**

dmx **I** (*daməx, dmixle, dmaxa*) **to lie down; to sleep; to become still (water-mill).** (1) **to lie down** | *har-dmíxle réša díya hàtxa*ˈ He has just lain down on her like this (A25:90). (2) **to sleep** | *dmíxɛle xá-bena ṛàyəs*ˈ He went to sleep, then woke up (A14:30). (3) **to become still (water-mill)** | *makipátle marimàna,*ˈ *ʾərxe dàmxa*ˈ You lower the lever and the water-mill becomes still. **III** *m-dmx* (*madməx, mudməxle, madmoxe*) **to cause to lie down, to put to sleep; to make still (water-mill).** (1) **to cause to lie down, to put to sleep** | *brōn-dìye*ˈ *θéle šənθe dìye,*ˈ *qəm-madmàxle*ˈ His son became sleepy and he laid him down to sleep (A9:1); *ta-t-kút-yom xà-maṣla kásla díya,*ˈ *madə̀mxa kásla*ˈ in order that she could bring somebody to her every day and cause him to lie with her (A4:51). (2) **to make still, to stop (water-mill)** | *mádməx ʾərxe!*ˈ Stop the water-mill.

dmy **I** (*dame, dmele, dmaya*) **to resemble; to appear** | *ʾáy ʾi-dámya l-xàθi*ˈ She resembles my sister; *dmáyɛle l-xa-rámšət baqàra*ˈ It resembles a cowherd's dinner (i.e. it is a hotchpotch—the cowherd's wife used to collect various different items of food from people around the village); *ʾu-ʾáwwa xálmi páləṭ hóle dmàya*ˈ My dream is coming true, it appears (A8:19). **II** *m-dmy* (*mdame, mdumele, mdamoye*) **to resemble** | *ʾən-qáləx mdáme ʾəlləx*ˈ *xa-xéna lit-daxwàθəx*ˈ If your voice resembles you

(in beauty), there is none other like you (A49:3). **III** *m-dmy* (*madme, mudmele, madmoye*) **to compare** | *hàtxa madmiwalév*ˈ They would compare them to this (A8:6).

dndl **Q** *m-dndl* (*mdandəl, mdundəlle, mdandole*) **to dangle**

dndn **Q** *m-dndn* (*mdandən, mdundənne, mdandone*) **to hum; to ring (ears)** | *ʾə́n xa-náša taxərrux,*ˈ *náθux mdanə̀dna*ˈ If somebody mentions you, your ear rings.

dqdq **Q** *m-dqdq* (*mdaqdəq, mduqdəqle, mdaqdoqe*) **to chop into small pieces**

dqr (i) **I** (*daqər, dqirre, dqara*) **to be worth** | *ʾáp-ʾana dàqrən*ˈ *ʾax-déwa k̂òra*ˈ I am worth the same as a blind wolf (A10:1); *xá dáqər ʾàlpa.*ˈ *ʾálpa ládaqri xà.*ˈ One is worth a thousand. A thousand does not cost one. (D2:54); *basíma ràba.*ˈ *lɛ-dàqra.*ˈ Thank you. Don't mention it. **III** *m-dqr* (*madqər, mudqərre, madqore*) **to cause to be worth, to evaluate** | *qəm-madqəríle kùlle*ˈ *ṭ̂láθa ʾàlpe dinàre*ˈ They valued it (the house) all as three thousand dinars (B1:21); *bíš qəm-madqə́rre mən-d-ó déwa t̂-axálwa ʾə́rbe dìye*ˈ He considered him worth more than the wolf that ate his sheep (A10:13).

dqr (ii) **I** (*daqər, dqirre, dqara*) **to touch** (*b-* sth./so.) | *lá dáqrət bìyi*ˈ Do not touch me (A15:21); *márəx ʾáti là-daqrət b-Mă̆mo*ˈ We said you should not touch Mămo (A26:76).

dqš **I** (*daqəš, dqišle, dqaša*) **to butt, to gore**

drbn **Q** *m-drbn* (*mdarbən, mdurbənne, mdarbone*) **to injure, to wound** | *sùsux*ˈ *ʾaqláθe mdurbə̀nnela*ˈ The legs of your horse have become wounded (A24:12).

drdr **Q** *m-drdr* (*mdardər, mdurdərre, mdardore*) **to natter, to gossip; to protract, to procrastinate** | *hóle mdardórəlle šùla*ˈ He is spinning out the job (unnecessarily).

dṛmn **Q** *m-dṛmn* (*mdaṛmən, mduṛmənne, mdaṛmone*) **to treat with medicine** | *mdaṛəmnánnux ʾàna*ˈ I shall treat you with medicine (A27:38)

drp **I** (*darəp, driple, drapa*) **to collapse (roof)**

drs **III** *m-drs* (*madrəs, mudrəsle, madrose*) (K.) **to straighten**

drš **I** (*darəš, drišle, draša*) **to discuss** | *tərte beriye xaša m-an ṣawaθa b-draša* Two milkmaids were walking, discussing some words (C2:17)

dry **I** (*dare/dɛre, drele, draya*) **to put; to serve (food); to throw; to shoot; to camp; to produce.** (1) **to put** | *šqíle ʾo-qə̀ṭma,*ˈ *kúlla dáryəlle gu-xa-jùlla*ˈ They took the ashes, put them all in a cloth (A26:87); *dríθa xə̀ppo b-réša*ˈ She put a veil on her head (A19:2); *xoš-Ẓ̂ine*ˈ *mṣaqlàla gána,*ˈ *dárya dáwa b-gàna*ˈ Let Zine make herself elegant, put gold on her (A26:77); *dɛ́rət ʾíðux xo-d-ò-kepa*ˈ You should put your hand under the stone (A12:27). (2) **to propose, to predict** | *ʾíma-t mšɛrə́xwa ṣyàma,*ˈ *dɛrə́xwa yómət Mar-Sàwa,*ˈ *yáʿni ʾo-yòma*ˈ *basìmɛle,*ˈ *ʾèwɛle,*ˈ *tàlgɛle*ˈ When we began fasting, we would predict on the day of Mar Sawa that the (Christmas festival) day would be fine, cloudy or snowy (B5:150). (3) **to serve (food)** | *dréle ʾixála qa-t̂-àxəl*ˈ He served food for him to eat (A45:1); *dríli xa-glɑ̃́s mìya* Pour me a glass of water. (4) **to throw** (*b-* at) | *dɛréle gu-Ẓ̂àwa*ˈ They throw him in the Zab (A7:19); *dɛréle ʾo-šəndòxa*ˈ *b-xùwwe*ˈ He threw the stone at the snake (A1:15); *héywən drèle*ˈ The animal miscarried; *susyáθa kúlla drèla*ˈ All the horses miscarried (A52:13). (5) **to shoot** | *ʾu-xa-béna Xošə̆́ba dɛ́rela tòpe*ˈ Then Khoshaba shot his gun (C7:8); *t-la-xazíwala t-lá dɛríwa-ʾəbba qaṭlìwa*ˈ so that they would not find people and shoot them and kill them (B14:3); *mən-táma dɛ̀rəx*ˈ From there we shoot (the marbles) (B11:21). (6) **to camp** | *hóla dárye náše tàma*ˈ Some people have set up camp there (A12:6). (7) **to produce** | *ʾíðe díye dáryəlla dàwa*ˈ He produced his hand out of gold (A11:3). (8) Idioms: *draya nura b-* **to set fire to** | *dáryɛle táma nùra bíya*ˈ He set fire to them (A48:2); *draya šwìθa* **to make a bed** | *dáryəlle šwìθa*ˈ He made him up a bed (A16:9); *draya xɛla* **to apply force, to struggle, to attempt** | *dáryɛle xɛ̀la*ˈ *ta-t-šarə̀ṭla gáne*ˈ He struggled to release himself (A26:81); *dári xɛ̀la*ˈ *di-di-dí šaqlìle*ˈ They applied force then took it away (A14:14); *draya šlama* **to greet** | *dréle šláma ʾə́lle dìye,*ˈ *šláma llèxu!*ˈ He greeted him (saying) 'Greetings to you!' (A16:4); *draya buxtən l-* **to slander, to accuse falsely** | *dráya búxtən l-xá l-d-o-xèna*ˈ (He was) slandering this one and that one (A48:5); *draya hawər* **to yell in anguish** | *mšúryɛle mxáya gu-réše dráya hàwər*ˈ He began beating his head yelling in anguish (A7:10); *draya bas-* **to discuss, to talk about** | *ʾáyya leš-dáre bas-dìya*ˈ He would never again talk about that (A8:97). **II** *m-dry* (*mdare, mdurele, mdaroye*) **to thresh, to winnow** | *bar-hàdəx,*ˈ *y-aθɛ́wa mdarɛ̀wale*ˈ *qa-t-lá-hawa píše ŝə̀xte*ˈ Then they would come and winnow it, so that impurities did not remain (B5:86). **III** *m-dry* (*madre, mudrele, madroye*) **to cause to put, to cause to throw** | *mtuxmánne t̂-áwəð nxìlθa*ˈ *ṭla-madréla b-xerə̀tta*ˈ He thought of doing a mischievous trick to make her throw it (the cheese) down in her excitement (A49:2).

drz **I** (*darəz, drizle, draza*) (K.) **to repair; to be repaired** | *kúlla šulánəx dàrzi*ˈ All your affairs will be put right (A38:2)

dštn **Q** *m-dštn* (*mdaštən, mduštənne, mdaštone*) (K.) **to level, to flatten**

dw **III** *m-dw* (*madu, mudule, madowe*) **to manage to; to have leisure to** | *la-mádwən ṯ-áθən tə̀mməlˈ* I shall not manage to come tomorrow; *xúwwe ʾáxc̆ale múdwa rìqa*ˈ The snake just managed to escape (A1:15); *qa-t-ʾáθya ʾàxla mánne*ˈ *ṣále gu-ʾènaˈ qa-d-áw mádu ʾàrəqˈ* so that when she comes to eat it, it will go into her eyes and he will manage to escape (A18:23); *ʾáwwa lèle múdwa*ˈ *ja-jálde pθíxəlle tə̆ra*ˈ He did not linger and quickly opened the door (A17:27).

dwq **I** (*dawəq, dwiqle, dwaqa*) **to hold; to seize, to catch; to engage; to be in charge of; to keep; to bear fruit; to fill, to jam.** (1) **to hold** | *dawqánnux rəš-ʾiθàθiˈ* I shall hold you in my hands (A27:41); *dwìqəlle tə́ra*ˈ He held the door fast (A12:66); *ʾíða hămánta doqìwala*ˈ They would hold (the ceremony of) the 'trusted hand' (B5:6). (2) **to seize, to catch** | *mxáðrən bàrux*ˈ *dawqànnux*ˈ I shall search for you and catch you (A25:64); *ʾo-t-dáwəq nùne*ˈ *tárya qùne*ˈ One who catches fish gets his buttocks wet (D2:26); *dwíqtəlle šàθa*ˈ He caught a fever (A28:4). (3) **to engage, to recruit** | *ʾána doqə́nnəx xa-xadə̀mθa*ˈ I shall take on a servant girl for you (A34:26); *ʾu-dwíqle béna ʾàskar*ˈ Then he recruited an army (A11:14). (4) **to be in charge of** | *gáwṛa dawə́qle bèθa*ˈ The man is in charge of the house (A40:1). (5) **to keep** | *dwíqla xəzzíne məndiyáne mìya*ˈ They kept the water in tanks and the like (A11:18); *har-ʾúrxət ʾálaha dóqən b-ìðiˈ* I shall always keep to the way of God (A15:21). (6) **to bear fruit** | *šétət ʾàrbeˈ xabúšta dòqa*ˈ In the fourth year the apple tree produces fruit (B5:104). (7) **to fill, to pack, to jam, to block, to compact** | *kúlla mðíta dwíqla mìya*ˈ The whole town became filled with water (B6:17); *béθa dwìqˈ qaráwət dìya.*ˈ The house was filled by her bed (A21:7); *ʾu-čánte díye dwíqla zwàðe*ˈ She packed his bag with provisions (A21:22); *ʾúrxa dwìqtɛ́la*ˈ The road is blocked; *ʾu-dúnye šuréθela dwíqta ràya*ˈ It began to be overcast (with clouds) and rain (A26:45); *dánət talìla y-áwe,*ˈ *y-áwe dwìqa*ˈ When it (the pile of leaves) is fresh, it is compact (B5:119); *ʾən-xàc̆c̆aˈ xáčča xa-béna ʾaryàwa-dunyeˈ dɛrɛ́wa xáčča tùna,*ˈ *biš-dawùqwa*ˈ If it rained a little, they put down a little straw, so that it (the roof) became more compact (B5:146). (8) Idioms: *dwíqla rəqqi*ˈ She insisted (A5:7); *xákma dwáqa xáṣe dìye*ˈ *ʾu-xákma darqúle dìye.*ˈ Some supported him and others were

against him (A7:20); *qəm-dawə́qle qádra dìya*ˡ He showed them respect (A12:37); *ʾáp-ʾən xálṭən gàwa,*ˡ *la-dawqìtula-llí*ˡ Even if I make mistakes, do not hold it against me; *dwíqəlle ʾíðe dìye*ˡ They shook (literally: held) his hand (A8:89); *kút-yom dawə́qwala ʾúrxe b-ʾìðe*ˡ Every day he went the same way (A34:29); *doqáxwa bàte*ˡ We would visit the houses (of the village to offer festival greetings) (B5:150). **III** *m-dwq* (*madwəq, mudwəqle, madwoqe*) **to cause to hold** | *yáwəxley xáčča kèke*ˡ *madúqəx b-iðèy*ˡ We shall give them some cakes, making them hold them in their hands (A8:11); *maduqíla xátna-w kʾálo gotə-ǧðàðe*ˡ They put the groom and bride together side by side (B5:50).

dwr **I** (*dawər, dwirre, dwara*) **to close; to thresh.** (1) **to close** | *dúr tằra!*ˡ Close the door!; *ʾu-ʾásri mánna dwìre-wawa,*ˡ *pθìxən-əlla*ˡ Twenty of them (the rooms) were closed and I opened them (A24:34). (2) **to thresh; to turn on the threshing floor** | *mæθɛ-táwre dorìla*ˡ They bring oxen to thresh it (the wheat) (B5:96). In the process known as *dwara* oxen are tied together and they walk round on the threshing floor (*bədra*), trampling the corn and rice to release the grain (B5:82ff.). **II** *m-dwr* (*mdawər, mduwərre, mdawore*) **to thresh**

dwṛ **I** (*dawər, dwiṛṛe, dwaṛa*) **to rest, to dwell (sheep in a rest area)** | *ʾíθ ḥáwše t-ṭùra,*ˡ *mturáṣta xa-dúkθa gu-ṭùra,*ˡ *képe y-áwa zàdyəlla,*ˡ *muráxməlla qa-t-ʾárwe dáwṛi tàma*ˡ There is a mountain sheep-fold, a place made in the mountains, in which they have removed the stones and which they have made suitable for the sheep to dwell in.

dwx **I** (*dawəx, dwirre, dwaxa*) **to sacrifice, to dedicate** | *y-áwa dwíxe gʾanèy,*ˡ *dwíxe xa-nišánqa ṭla-ʾùmra,*ˡ *xa-xə̀llət*ˡ They would have dedicated themselves, dedicated some symbolic item to the church, a gift (B5:69).

dxdx **Q** (*mdaxdəx, mduxdəxle, mdaxdoxe*) **to tickle, to prod**

dxy **II** *m-dxy* (*mdaxe, mduxele, mdaxoye*) **to brand (animal)** | *zílle b-ríxət kă̆bàbe,*ˡ *xzéle mdaxóye xmàre*ˡ He went after the smell of kebabs, but he found the branding of asses (D2:30).

dyl **I** (*dayəl, dille, dyala*) **to have vision, to see** | *léle dyàla*ˡ He does not see (he is blind); *ʾéni baṣòrela,*ˡ *lán dyála ràba*ˡ My eyes are faint, I do not see much; *babéy léle dyála m-áxxa l-àxxa*ˡ Their father did not see from here to here (A24:26); *hóli dyàla*ˡ I can see (I am not blind); *rába píšle zə̆́bun néṛət ʾène,*ˡ *b-xèlɛle dyála*ˡ His sight has become very weak, he can hardly see.

dyn (i) **I** (*dayən, dinne, dyana*) **to judge** | *ʾálaha b-dayànna*ˡ God will judge them (A15:18).

dyn (ii) **III** *m-dyn* (*madyən/mădin, mudyənne/mŭdinne, madyone/mădone*) **to owe (money); to borrow (money)** | *mudyánni zúze ṭla-Gwìrgis*ˡ I became indebted in money to Gwirgis (= I borrowed money from Gwirgis).

dyp **I** (*dayəp, diple, dyapa*) **to fold; to bend** | *gáre šəlmanáte kúlla dìpla*ˡ All the iron bars of the roof bent (A52:8).

dyq **I** (*dayəq, diqle, dyaqa*) **to crush**

dyṛ **I** (*dayəṛ, diṛṛe, dyaṛa*) **to return** | *bár ṭlaθa-yóme dìṛṛe*ˡ After three days he returned (A3:6); *gắrəg dé̱rən ʾána l-tàma*ˡ I must return there (A14:86); *Ḥásan ʾÁġa spárɛle ta-t-dè̱ra*ˡ Ḥasan Aġa waits for her to return (A27:26). **III** *m-dṛ* (*mădəṛ, mŭdəṛṛe, mădoṛe*) **to return (tr.); to vomit** | *xá-ga xéta mădəṛátle nášma dìye*ˡ You should return to him again his soul (A8:8); *lá-karmi lɛle-mădòṛe*ˡ *ʾu-la-ḥáqqət kàrmi lɛle-yáwa*ˡ He does not return my orchard nor does he pay the price of the orchard (A17:30); *mădə́ṛəmwale b-rèše*ˡ I put it (the tape) back to the beginning (C4:3).

dys **I** (*dayəs, disle, dyasa*) **to thrust**

dyš **I** (*dayəš, dišle, dyaša*) **to tread down, step on**

dyθ **I** (*dayəθ, ditle, dyaθa*) **to sweat**

dyx **I** (*dayəx, dixle, dyaxa*) **to die down (fire)** | *dìxle núra*ˡ The fire died down. **III** *m-dyx* (*madyəx/mădix, mudyəxle/mŭdixle, madyoxe/mădoxe*) **to dampen down (fire)**

/F/

fdy **I** (*fade, fdele, fdaya*) (A.) **to ransom, to sacrifice** | *ʾáyya gáni fadə́nna qa-brónux ṯ-áwe spày*ˡ I shall ransom myself in order for your son to get better (A8:36).

flfl **Q** *m-flfl* (*mfalfəl, mfulfəlle, mfalfole*) **to become very hot**

frq **I** (*farəq, friqle, fraqa*) (A.) **to leave** | *lɛ-farqənnèy*ˡ I shall not leave them (A8:18).

fsfṣ **Q** *m-fsfṣ* (*mfasfəṣ, mfusfəṣle, mfasfoṣe*) **to snivel, to sniffle** | *naxíre hóle mfasfòṣe*[l] His nose is siffling.

fṣl **II** *m-fṣl* (*mfaṣəl, mfuṣalle, mfaṣole*) (A.) **to cut out**

fṭr **I** (*faṭər, fṭirre, fṭara*) (A.) **to have breakfast**

fyd **I** (*fayəd, fidle, fyada*) (A.) **to be of use** | *lè fɛdáwale*[l] It was no use for him (C4:1)

/G/

gˀr **II** *m-gˀr* (*mgawər/mgăwər, mguwərre, mgawore*) **to belch**

gby (i) **I** (*gabe, gbele, gbaya*) **to froth, to foam**

gby (ii) **II** *m-gby* (*mgabe, mgubele, mgaboye*) **to choose, to elect** | *xazáda là-wele,*[l] *mágla mgubèle*[l] He has not harvested anything, but he has chosen his sickle (D2:27), i.e. a bad workman blames his tools; *gu-bɛ́θət mùxtər,*[l] *táwla lùjna,*[l] *mgubéla ṭḷà-naše xéne*[l] *ˀáp-ˀani ṯ-áwa mən-lùjna*[l] The committee sat in the house of the village head and elected three other people to be members of the committee (B1:18); *dɛrɛ́wa ṭárpa réše dìye,*[l] *ˀína m-ó mgùbya*[l] They would place the leaves on this, (using only) those that were selected (for good quality) (B5:190).

gdš **I** (*gadəš, gdišle, gdaša*) **to build stooks of corn; to strike, to gore (animal)** | *táwra qəm-gadəšle b-dəqše*[l] The ox gored him with butts.

gðl **I** (*gaðəl,* 3fs. *gadla, gðille, gðala*) **to plait; to wrestle** | *gadlíwala qamáye b-səryòqe*[l] They would weave it (the wash hut) first with twigs (B10:65); *xá-bena xéta gðìlela*[l] They wrestled again (A20:10). **III** *m-gðl* (*magðəl, mugðəlle, magðole*) **to freeze; to cause to freeze; to set** | *míya mugðə̀lla*[l] The water has frozen; *mxamáxwale magðálwa qa-sə̀twa*[l] We would keep it (the cooked meat fat) to set for the winter (B5:139).

gjgj **Q** *m-gjgj* (*mgajgəj, mgujgəjle, mgajgoje*) **to shuffle along, to move slowly**

glgl **Q** *m-glgl* (*mgalgəl, mgulgəlle, mgalgole*) **to separate husks and dirt from grains by moving grains around by hand** | *hóle mgalgóle dàxla*[l] He is cleaning the corn.

glj **II** *m-glj* (*mgaləj, mguləjle, mgaloje*) **to prattle, to talk nonsense** | *bássa mgàləj!*[l] Stop talking nonsense!

gly **I** (*gale, glele, glaya*) **to reveal; to be revealed** | *la-gàlyət!*‖ Don't tell! (A5:2); *ʾo-sárr ʾalàha yăðéle bás.*| *ʾu-maláxa yă̆ðe*| *bás lél̀e gláya qa-nàše.*| Only God knew that secret. Also the angel knew it, but he did not reveal it to people. (A8:25); *ʾína dù̀s galítu*| Tell me the truth (A27:37). **II** *m-gly* (*mgale, mgulele, mgaloye*) **to uncover, reveal (a physical object)** | *ʾay-là mgalóyəlla páθa ta-t-xazéla ʾáw*| She did not uncover her face so that he saw her (A34:28); *ʾáp-xa là mgaléwala*| Nobody uncovered her (the bride) (B10:32).

gmbl **Q** *m-gmbl* (*mgambəl, mgumbəlle, mgambole*) **to roll; to roll along**

gmgm **Q** *m-gmgm* (*mgamgəm, mgumgəmle, mgamgome*) **to strike hard**

gmpr **Q** *m-gmpr* (*mgampər, mgumpərre, mgampore*) **to be arrogant**

gmr **I** (*gamər, gmirre, gmara*) **to tan (leather); to compress** | *gə́lda gamríwale bíyət ʾàpṣa*| They would tan skin with gallnut; *kusìθa,*| *har-ʾàmṛawewa,*| *gamríwa gmàra*| A hat was only wool, they pressed it (they did not knit it) (B10:50); *ʾáxni gamràxwa*| *ʾu-ʾay-mṭapyàwa*| We would press it (the bread dough) down and she (the baker woman) would stick it (onto the oven) (B10:95).

gmṣ **I** (*gamə̀ṣ, gmiṣle, gmaṣa*) **to wring (wet clothes)** | *ʾu-gamṣə́tla ʾánna míyət pàrra*| *b-rešéy*| *tàza*| *ʾu-bàsmeti*| Then wring out well the water of the feather upon them (the eyes) and you will be cured (A24:27); *qá-t kəmá-t ʾiyéwa míya gawe-dìye*| *gamṣìwa*| in order to squeeze out whatever water it had in it (B5:166).

gmš **I** (*gamə̀š, gmišle, gmaša*) **to butt (with horns)**

gmx **I** (*gamə̀x, gmixle, gmaxa*) **to knock in, to punch in** | *tannə́kka qəmgamə̀xle*| He knocked in the tin; *la-mṣáwəθ t-lá gamxə́nne naxìrux!*‖ Don't speak or I'll knock your nose in!

gndr **Q** *m-gndr* (*mgandər, mgundərre, mgandore*) (K.) **to roll**

gngz **Q** *m-gngz* (*mgangəz, mgungəzle, mgangoze*) **to shiver (in fright), to squirm (in disgust)** | *ṛìšɛle*| *mgunə̀gzɛle*| He felt (it) and shivered (A12:52); *mgángəz mə̀nnux*| He is disgusted by you.

gnw **I** (*ganu, gnule/gniwle, gnawa*) **to steal, to rob** | *báθər t-gníw Mar-Qayòma,*| *qəm-dawríle tă̆ra*| After (church of) St. Qayoma was plundered, they closed the door (D2:66); *ʾə́θyɛle ʾáwwa ʿafŕ̄t gnìwəlli*| This demon came and stole me away (A13:14); *ʾu-b-ay- góta xéta gnù gánux*| Hide yourself elsewhere (A13:6); *qímɛle hedi-hédi gnìwəlla gáne díye,*| *zìla*| He

slowly went along, stealthily (A51:13); *qəm-ganwàle šánθa,*ˡ *ṭlìle*ˡ Sleep stole him away and he slept (A26:19).

gny **I** (*gane, gnele, gnaya*) **to set (sun); to lean.** (1) **to set (sun)** | *šámša gnèla* The sun set; *mṭàyɛlaˡ yóma gnàyɛle*ˡ They arrived when the sun was setting (A12:4); *gu-gnéθət yóma ʾáyya ríqtɛla wírtɛla gu-qàṣra*ˡ At sunset, she ran away and entered the palace (A12:61). (2) **to lean, to relax** | *gnéle l-ʾilàna*ˡ He leant on the tree; *gúda gnèle*ˡ The wall leant over; *berəšyáθə ṣűf y-oðìwaˡ mattíwa dormadár náše ganìwa*ˡ They would make cushions of wool and laid them around for people to lean on (B10:80).

gpgp **Q** *m-gpgp* (*mgapgəp, mgupgəple, mgapgope*) **to boast**

grʾ **I** (*gărе, grile/grele, graʾa/graya*) **to shave** | *dəqnáy găréwale bríza m-àxxa*ˡ He would shave their beard (while it was) dry from here (A11:14). **II** *m-grʾ* (*mgăre, mgŭrele, mgăroye*) **to strip off (twigs and branches)** → *garuwa, garuta*

grč **I** (*garəč, gričle, grača*) **to scratch (with fingernails drawing blood)**. **II** *m-grč* (*mgarač, mgurəčle, mgaroče*) **to scratch (with fingernails drawing blood)**

grð **I** (*garəð, gridle, graða*) **to scrape; to scratch off; to scrub** | *grídle ṭína mən-gəlde*ˡ He scraped the mud from his skin; *ʾa-skínta t-wéwa gráða dúša bìya*ˡ The knife was what he was scraping honey with (A14:25).

grgm **Q** *m-grgm* (*mgargəm, mgurgəmle, mgargome*) **to thunder; to buzz** | *dúnye hóla mgargòme*ˡ It is thundering.

grgr **Q** *m-grgr* (*mgargər, mgurgərre, mgargore*) **to hull (rice); to make a noise** | *músqəlle dáwla-w zòrna-w*ˡ *hósa ʾu-gargàrta*ˡ They brought him up (with) drum and pipe, and with clamour and shouting (A4:25).

grm **I** (*garəm, grimle, grama*) **to flatten (with a rolling pin known as *garoma*)** | *grúm gàwux!*ˡ Shut up (keep it to yourself)!

grmz **Q** *m-grmz* (*mgarməz, mgurməzle, mgarmoze*) **to shrink** | *párča mgurmázle gu-míya xamìme*ˡ The material shrank in the hot water.

grp **I** (*garəp, griple, grapa*) **to sweep up, to remove by sweeping** | *xáθi garpátte qàṭma*ˡ Sister, sweep up the ash (A34:16); *ʾu-b-àyˡ garpíwa gàre,*ˡ *yáʿni zɛpíwa tàlga*ˡ *qa-t-lá payášwa b-gàre*ˡ With this they would shovel the roof, that is they would push off the snow, so that it did not remain on the roof (B5:196).

grs **I** (*garəs, grisle, grasa*) **to grind; to crush**

grš **I** (*garəš, grišle, graša*) **to pull; to pull away; to transport; to smoke; to pass (time); to distill.** (1) **to pull, to draw, to drag** | *gríšle sèpa*ˈ He drew his sword (A13:9); *garšále nablále gu-čàčma*ˈ He dragged him and took him to the bathroom (A17:26); *gríšəlle kúrsət ṭaləbùθa*ˈ He pulled up the chair of suit (A32:11); *garšíwa ʾúpra gu-məššára b-gàršo*ˈ They used to drag up the mud in the paddy field basin with a dragging tool; *gríšle míya m-ṭùra*ˈ He drew water from the mountain (A11:14); *graša bena* to draw breath, inhale. (2) **to pull away; to withdraw** | *ʾáti grùš gánux*ˈ Take yourself away! (i.e. withdraw!) (A12:10); *y-oðəxwa nùra,*ˈ *ʾáwwəl ma-t-ràxəθ,*ˈ *garšəxla qèse,*ˈ *péšiwa pàlle*ˈ We made a fire. As soon as it boiled, we pulled away the wood and it became embers (B10:87). (3) **to transport** | *garšəxwa qése m-ṭúra qa-sàtwa*ˈ We would transport wood from the mountains for winter (B5:133). (4) **to smoke** | *garəšwa tu̯tun qalùnke*ˈ He used to smoke pipe tobacco (A10:9); *Rustu̯mo qalúnke díye grìšle*ˈ Rustam smoked his pipe (A29:47). (5) **to pass (time)** | *bàr*ˈ *ʾarbá-saʾəte grìšla,*ˈ *kúlla máθa kθiwàla*ˈ After four hours had gone by, they had registered the whole village (B1:19). (6) **to distill** | *garšəxwa ʾà̤raq*ˈ We used to distill arak.

grw **I** (*garu, grule/griwle, grawa*) **to become ravenous, very hungry**

gsy **I** (*gase, gsele, gsaya*) **to vomit, to eject from stomach** | Only used in reference to animals: *xúwwe gséle páqqa mən-kàse*ˈ The snake ejected the frog from his stomach.

gšq **I** (*gašəq, gšiqle, gšaqa*) and **II** *m-gšq* (*mgašəq, mgušəqle, mgašoqe*) **to look** (Urm.) | *gášəq làxxa!*ˈ Look here!; *mòt mgašóqe bíyi?*ˈ Why are you looking at me? (A25:39); *ʾína gu-panjára gášqa xàzya*ˈ *mòdile*ˈ *módi lèle*ˈ She could look and see what was happening through the window (A27:13).

gwr **I** (*gawər, gwirre, gwara*) **to marry** | *ʾəlla gáwrət*ˈ You must marry (A16:6); *ʾána gorànna*ˈ I shall marry her (A7:18); *gwìrtət*ˈ *ʾən-t-la-gwàra?*ˈ Are you married or are you unmarried? (A25:83). With *l-* before complement: *ʾu-ṯ-áθe gáwra l-xa-xèna*ˈ She will marry somebody else (A26:78); *gwìrela l-ġðáðe*ˈ They married one another (A17:21). **III** *m-gwr* (*magwər/magur, mugwərre, magwore*) **to give in marriage, to cause to marry (tr.)** | *qəm-magwàrrey*ˈ They married them (A4:56); *maguráxla ṭla-brònən*ˈ We shall marry her to our son (A8:24); *ta-t-maguráxla Márza Pă̤mət*ˈ in order for us to marry her to Mərza Pămət (A27:12).

gwṛ **I** (*gawəṛ, gwiṛṛe, gwaṛa*) **to become big. III** *m-gwṛ* (*magwəṛ/maguṛ, mugwəṛṛe, magwoṛe/magoṛe*) **to make big, to make proud** | *magúṛwa gʸān-dìye*ˡ He would act pompously (B5:33); *qa-mót magóṛe gànux?*ˡ Why are you being so arrogant?

gwy **I** (*gawe, gwele, gwaya*) **to beg**

gxk, gḥk **I** (*gaxək, gxikle, gxaka*) **to laugh; to be merry** | *la-gáxkət bìyi!*ˡ Do not laugh at me!; *gxìklux bíyi*ˡ You have mocked me (A12:39); *gxàkɛla mánne díye*ˡ She was merry with him (A22:18). **III** *m-gxk, m-gḥk* (*magxək, mugxəkle, magxoke*) **to make laugh, to entertain** | *t̂-aθɛ́wa náše magəḥkìle*ˡ People would come and entertain him (A40:1). → *xkk*

gyð **I** (*gayəð, gidle, gyaða*) **to finish; to finish off** | *gídla xzàtta*ˡ They finished harvesting; *gídla zqarta* They finished knitting; *xayáṭa gyáðəlla ṣùdra*ˡ The tailor is putting a finishing seam to the shirt; *banáye gyáðəlle gùda*ˡ The builders are putting the finishing top edge (*gyatta*) to the wall.

gyš **II** *m-gyš* (*magyəš/măgiš, mugyəšle/măgišle, magyoše/măgoše*) **to fumble to find; to feel by touch**

gyžn **Q** *m-gyžn* (*mgeyžən, mguyžənne, mgeyžone*) (K.) **to be dizzy** | *mguyžənne,*ˡ *lá-mṣaya kále p-àqle*ˡ He became dizzy and could not stand on his feet (B15:60).

gzgz **Q** *m-gzgz* (*mgazgəz, mguzgəzle, mgazgoze*) **to shiver; to tremble** | *mguzgázla lášše díye zdìle*ˡ His body trembled and he was afraid (A29:43).

gžgž **Q** *m-gžgž* (*mgažgəž, mgužgəžle, mgažgože*) **to pelt down (rain)** | *máṭra hóle mgažgòže*ˡ It is pelting with rain.

/H/

hdy **II** *m-hdy* (*mhăde/mhadde, mhŭdele/mhuddele, mhădoye/mhaddoye*) (A.) **to calm down (tr.)** | *ʾáwwa qəm-mhaddèle*ˡ He calmed him down (A8:43).

hlhl **Q** *m-hlhl* (*mhalhəl, mhulhəlle, mhalhole*) **to ululate, to celebrate**

hmzm **Q** *m-hmzm* (*mhamzəm, mhumzəmle, mhamzome*) (Urm.) **to speak**

hnds **Q** *m-hnds* (*mhandəs, mhundəsle, mhandose*) (A.) **to practice engineering**

hny **I** (*hane, hnele, hnaya*) **to please** | *dáx hanèle*ˡ as it pleases him; *la-hanéli qaṭlə̀nnux*ˡ I do not care to kill you (A29:28); *la-hanéli ṯ-amrə̀nnux*ˡ I do not care to tell you; *dáx hanélux máxət bàxtux!?*ˡ How could you hit your wife!?

hqy **II** (*haqe, huqele, haqoye*) (Urm.) **to tell** | *mnáxət bábi haqèwa*ˡ *qa-t-sáwi y-awúðwa təjarùθa*ˡ *mən-ʾAšìθa*ˡ My late father used to tell how my grandfather would conduct trade with Ashitha (B3:4).

hrgm **Q** *m-hrgm* (*mhargəm, mhurgəmle, mhargome*) **to bang, to make a loud sound; to roar (lion)** | *pawxa…gu-quprana mhurgəmle* the wind…roared in the hut (C2:50).

hrk → *ḥrk*

hrw → *rhw*

hwy **I** (*hawe, wele, waya*) **to be, to become; to be born** (§15.3.9.). (1) **to be, to become** | *háwət hášyər ʾítlən jə̀nne*ˡ Be careful, we have jinn (A22:26); *hammáše míya gə̆rəg háwa ʾə́lle dìye*ˡ Water must be on it constantly (B5:78); *ʾáw qəqwána gu-ṭùra y-áwe*ˡ The partridge is in the mountains (B5:147); *mó-ṯ-oya ʾàyya?*ˡ What will become of her? (A4:38); *mòdi wéle?*ˡ What has happened? (A8:9); *là-wi ʿə̆ṣə̆bi*ˡ Do not be hot-headed (C7:6). (2) **to be born** | *Zə́l wéle ʾə́lle díye bròna*ˡ A son was born to Zāl (A28:2); *šetə-ṭə́ḷḷəθ wìtɛla*ˡ *Sətti̇ye*ˡ In the third year Sətti̇ye was born (A25:25); *qəm-hawéla xáθa yaḵànta*ˡ An only sister was born to them (literally: was to them) (A18:1). (3) Idioms: *mo-bṯ-àwe*ˡ That's fine, no problem. *la hoya* it is not allowed: *lá-hoya yóma qamáya xátna t-xazéla kᵛàlo*ˡ It is not allowed for the groom to see the bride on the first day (A4:36).

hymn **Q** *m-hymn* (*mhaymən/mhɛmən/mheymən/mhə̆mən, mhuymənne/ mhŭmənne, mhaymone/mhɛmone/mheymone/mhə̆mone*) **to believe; to trust** (§8.15.2. ii) | *mhuymə́nne b-alàha*ˡ He believed in God; *náše là hə̆mənéwa ʾə́lle díye*ˡ People did not believe him (A48:1); *mhuymə́nni-llux* I trust you (A1:18).

hyr (i) **II** *m-hyr* (*mhayər/mhə̆yər, mhə̆yərre, mhayore*) (K.) **to help** | *múrra ṯóṯi ṯ-áθya mhɛràli*ˡ Tell my grandmother to come and help me (A7:25); *ʾáp-aw ṣə́lyɛle mhayóre ta-d-o-sàwa*ˡ He went down to help the old man (A14:77).

hyr (ii), *ḥyr* **I** (*hayər, hirre, ḥyara*) (A.) **to be confused; to be perplexed** | *ʾána hírən b-gàni*ˡ *mò bə̆ḵyən ṯ-oðéna*ˡ I am confused as to what I should do

(A17:33); *málka hírre b-gáne díye bíya dìya*ˡ The king was at his wits end regarding her (A21:2). **II** *m-ḥyr* (*mḥayər, mḥuyərre, mḥayore*) **to confound** | *ʾu-málka hóle mḥuyəra*ˡ The king is confounded (A12:55).

/Ḥ/

ḥkm **I** (*ḥakəm, ḥkimle, ḥkama*) (A.) **to judge, arbitrate** | *ʾáwwa ḥákəm béni ʾu-bènəx*ˡ He will arbitrate between me and you (A47:3).

ḥrk, ḥrk **II** *m-ḥrk, m-ḥrk* (*mḥarrək, mḥurrəkle, mḥarroke*) (A.) **to move**

ḥṣl **II** *m-ḥṣl* (*mḥaṣəl, mḥuṣəlla, mḥaṣole*) (A.) **to give birth to** | *báxtə d-ó náša făqìra*ˡ *píšla b-ʾùrxa*ˡ *qá-t mḥaṣálla yàle*ˡ The wife of the poor man was on the way to giving birth to children (A8:5).

ḥyr → *ḥyr* (ii)

/J/

jbl **I** (*jabəl, jbille, jbala*) (A.) **to make cement mix out of mud and straw known as *jabla*** | *hón jbála jàbla*ˡ I am making cement.

jgr **II** *m-jgr* (*mjagər, mjugərre, mjagore*) (K.) **to contend; to emulate** | *mjagra m-kima bahurta* She contends with the resplendent Pleiades (C2:74).

jld **I** (*jaləd, jlidle, jlada*) (A.) **to execute, to behead** | *b-jáldi réšət Fàrxo*ˡ They would behead Farxo (A25:32).

jlg, jrg **I** (*jarəg, jrigle, jraga*) (K.) **to snatch, to take away** | *ləbbi jligle-w nubəlle* He snatched my heart and took it away (C2:64). **II** *m-jrg, m-jlg* (*mjarəg, mjurəgle, mjaroge*) **to snatch**

jlw **I** (*jalu, jlule/jliwle, jlawa*) **to kidnap, to abduct** | *xáθət sáwən Tòma*ˡ *jliwàle*ˡ He kidnapped the sister of grandfather Toma (A52:1); *xáθux Nasímo jlíwtɛla l-ʾarabàye*ˡ Your sister Nasimo has been kidnapped by Arabs (A37:5). **III** *m-jlw* (3fs. *majəlwa/majlũwa, mujlula, majlowe*) **to elope (woman)** | *mujlúla báθər xa-ʾúrza xèna*ˡ She eloped with another man.

jlx **I** (*jaləx, jlixle, jlaxa*) (K.) **to cut (skin)** | *jlaxta* a cut (in the skin); a scar.

jly **II** *m-jly* (*mjale, mjulele, mjaloye*) **to prize up (roots)**

jmʾ **I** (*jăme, jmile/jmele, jmaʾa/jmaya*) (A.) **to collect, to gather (intr.)** | *hóla susăwàθa*ˡ *jəmye b-réše díye*ˡ The horses are gathered over him (A25:13); *bulbúle jmáʾela l-qàle*ˡ Nightingales gather at his voice (A25:46). **II** *m-jmʾ* (*mjăme, mjŭmele, mjămoye*) **to gather (tr.)** | *júmyela zùze*ˡ They gathered money (A14:10); *hal-é-gə mjăméla qése*ˡ until he gathers the wood (A23:13).

jngn **Q** *m-jngn* (*mjangən, mjungənne, mjangone*) **to jangle; to shake** | *mjunəgníla hàtxa*ˡ She jangled them (the gold coins) like this (A4:15).

jngr **Q** *m-jngr* (*mjangər, mjungərre, mjangore*) (K.) **to rust**

jnjr **Q** *m-jnjr* (*mjanjər, mjunjərre, mjanjore*) (K.) **to torture; to be exhausted**

jnn **I** (*janən/jayən, jninne, jnana*) **to sing a dirge** | *ʾu-šuréla hátxa jnána bíye díye*ˡ She began to lament over him like that (A26:84).

jrb **II** *m-jrb* (*mjarəb, mjurəble, mjarobe*) (A.) **to try; to test; to challenge** | *mjárbu méθu náše duxtùre*ˡ Try to bring doctors (A8:32); *qémən mjarbənne*ˡ I shall test him (to see if he is true to his word) (A6:2); *kú-ṯ-ile ferássa ʾáθe ʾàxxane,*ˡ *mjarəbla gáne*ˡ Whoever is a warrior, let him come here and test out his mettle (A29:59); *ʾən-ʾíle ʾúrza gáwṛa xoš-qàyəm,*ˡ *mjarbənne*ˡ If he is a brave man, let him get up and I shall challenge him (A29:27).

jrd **I** (*jarəd, jridle, jrada*) (A.) **to peel, to strip off (leaves)** | *jrídle ʾilàna*ˡ He stripped the tree of leaves.

jrg → *jlg*

jrṭ **I** (*jarəṭ, jriṭle, jraṭa*) **to slip** | *ʾáni hóla jràṭa*ˡ They are slipping (B19:7); *qámθa y-amrìwa*ˡ *t-náše xáčča ʾáqley jrìṭṭela*ˡ *npílela-w néra nùbəlley*ˡ Formerly they used to say that if the foot of people slipped a little, they would fall and the river would carry them away (B3:9). **III** *m-jrṭ* (*majrəṭ, mujrəṭle, majroṭe*) **to slip; to cause to slip**

jrx **I** (*jarəx, jrixle, jraxa*) (K.) **to scratch; to scrape**

jry **I** (*jare, jrele, jraya*) (A.) **to flow, leak** | *wáha ʾamána jràyɛle*ˡ That vessel is leaking; *naxíri jràya*ˡ My nose is running. **III** (*majre, mujrele, majroye*) **to shed, to leak** | *hóle majróye dəmme*ˡ He is shedding tears; *naxíri hóle majròye*ˡ My nose is running; *lína díyən majròyele*ˡ Our pot is leaking.

jss **II** *m-jss* (*mjasəs, mjusəsle, mjasose*) (A.) **to spy**

jvṭ **I** (*javəṭ, jviṭle, jvaṭa*) **to stick up; to shift, to budge**

jwb **II** *m-jwb* (*mjawəb/mjăwəb, mjuwəble, mjawobe*) (A.) **to reply** | *xzi-mò b-mjawə́blux málka*ˡ See what the king replies to you (A17:30).

jwd **II** *m-jwd* (*mjawəd, mjuwədle, mjawode*) (A.) **to argue** | *qímle mjawòde mən-ʾága*ˡ He started arguing with the agha (C7:6); *šuréla mjawóde m-ġðàðe*ˡ They started arguing together (A26:2).

jwj **I** (*jawəj, jwijle, jwaja*) **to move (intr.); to walk** | *léš maṣítu jawjìtu*ˡ You will no longer be able to move (A8:28); *lá-jawjət mən-kəs-xàlux*ˡ Do not move from the home of your uncle (A25:73); *qá-tʾíma ṯ-ásəqwa ṭùra*ˡ *t-lá ʾo-qurṭána jawə̀jwa*ˡ so that when they went up into the mountains, the cloth (on the back of the mule) would not move (B5:127); *xazátwalɛ qənyáne ʾé-gət y-aθìwa,*ˡ *kullέy jwája m-ġðàðe*ˡ You would see the cattle when they came back, all walking along together (B15:44); *lá-juj pàndux!*ˡ Don't walk so slowly!; *xa-čérək sáʾət b-jwə̀ja*ˡ a quarter of an hour on foot. **III** *m-jwj* (*majwəj, mujwəjle, majwoje*) **to cause to walk, to move (tr.)** | *majwoje reša* to shake the head; *majwajtət reša* a shake of the head; *t-la-ʾáθi láppət míya qa-t-majujìla*ˡ so that waves of water would not wash it away (B15:17).

jyl **I** (*jayəl, jille, jyala*) (A.) **to go around, to go for a walk**

jyq **I** (*jayəq, jiqle, jyaqa*) (K.) **to tear**

jyr **I** (*jayər, jirre, jyara*) **to urinate** | *qáṭu krìbla,*ˡ *qəm-jarála gu-nùra*ˡ The cat was angry and urinated in the fire (A34:8); *béna ʾurxa-ʾùrxa*ˡ *qəm-jayə̀rwala*ˡ Now, on the way, he had urinated (A30:46); *jiríle gu-šərwále žáre faqìra*ˡ The poor wretched man urinated in his trousers (A31:8). **III** *m-jyr* (*majyər/măjir, mujyərre/mŭjirre, majyore/măjore*) **to cause to urinate** | *ʾáwwa yalúnka brónən zóra mpalṭátte majirátle b-lèle*ˡ Take out this young boy, our young son, and make him pass water at night (A30:39).

jzy **II** *m-jzx* (*mjaze, mjuzele, mjazoye*) (A.) **to tax**

/K/

kbs **I** (*kabəs, kbisle, kbasa*) **to scold, to reprimand**

kčx **I** (*kačəx, kčixle, kčaxa*) **to tire (intr.); to toil** | *xárθa kčîxtɛla*ˈ In the end she became tired (A14:91); *rábənwa kčíxa bíye dìye*ˈ I had very greatly toiled in it (the orchard) (A17:32). **III** *m-kčx* (*makčəx, mukčəxle, makčoxe*) **to tire (tr.)**

kfkf **Q** *m-kfkf* (*mkafkəf, mkufkəfle, mkafkofe*) **to hiss**

klbč **Q** *m-klbč* (*mkalbəč, mkulbəčle, mkalboče*) (K./A.) **to put on handcuffs** → *kalabča*

klč **II** *m-klč* (*mkaləč, mkuləčle, mkaloče*) (K.) **to peel; to strip** | *xa-šaqòlɛleˈ mkùlčɛleˈ* One (piece) was a shank, which was stripped (of its meat) (A30:30); *barzíwa xáčča mkalčîwalaˈ* When they (the logs) had dried a little, they would strip them (of their bark) (B5:187).

klf **II** *m-klf* (*mkaləf, mkuləfle, mkalofe*) (A.) **to cost** | *kulífɛle ʾálləˈn šawwà-ʾalpe dinár̀ˈ* It cost us seven thousand dinars (B1:20).

klkl **Q** *m-klkl* (*mkalkəl, mkulkəlle, mkalkole*) **to ululate**

kll **II** *m-kll* (*mkaləl/mkăləl, mkuləlle/mkŭləlle, mkalole/mkălole*) **to ululate**

kly **I** (*kale, klele, klaya*) **to stop, to stand; to wait, to stay; to refrain.** (1) **to stop** | *klá klá làxxa!*ˈ Stop, stop here! (A14:91); *hát kléle zàgaˈ t-rəš-čàdraˈ* until the bell that was over the tent stopped (A25:41); *xáze ʾárxe klèlaˈ* He saw that the water-mill had stopped (A22:42); *ʾímə zamrànwala,ˈ kalèwaˈ* When I sang it, he stopped (crying) (C4:2); *klèle pláša*ˈ The war stopped (B17:9). (2) **to stand** | *kályɛle gu-tárət béθa ʾáw ʾu-ʾàyˈ* He stood at the door of the house together with her (A4:55); *ʾíθwa dúkθa ta-t-kalèwaˈ* There was space for him to stand (A22:30). (3) **to wait, to stay** | *klí mtaxàmnənˈ* Wait, let me think about it (A3:5); *ṭ-àzənˈ ʾána lè-kalən láxxaˈ* I shall go, I shall not stay here (A8:43); *míya kálye gu-sàlla?ˈ* Can water stay in a basket? (A16:10). (4) **to refrain, to forebear** | *bắye qaṭàlwaleˈ xá-ga xéta klèleˈ* He wanted to kill him, then he refrained (A10:3-4). (5) Idioms: *kliθà-llux-ilaˈ* It is up to you (A8:44); *kliθéla ʾahwáltə d-ò našaˈ* It depends what the condition of the man is (B5:8). **III** *m-kly* (*makle, muklele, makloye*) **to cause to stop; to cause to stand; to cause to stay.** (1) **to cause to stop** | *mùklàlla táwre t-wɛ́ɛwa zráyaˈ* He stopped the oxen, which were ploughing (A9:5); *ṭálbi mən-ʾálaha qa-t-ʾàwwaˈ făyaḏắn maklèleˈ* They ask for God

to stop this flood (B6:19). (2) **to cause to stand** | *maklílən qamàye*ˡ They make us stand first (at the front) (B15:82). (3) **to cause to stay** | *ʾap-míya muklèle gu-d-ɛ-sálla*ˡ He made even water stay in the basket (A16:10).

kmbx **Q** *m-kmbx* (*mkambəx, mkumbəxle, mkamboxe*) **to collapse, to be utterly destroyed**

kml **I** (*kaməl, kmille, kmala*) (A.) **to become complete** | *heš-lɛ́la kmìlta šámša*ˡ The sun has not completely risen (A26:37). **II** *m-kml* (*mkaməl, mkuməlle, mkamole*) **to complete** | *ʾàxčiˡ šoqətlənˡ ʾàxniˡ ṯ̂-ázəx ʾay-wajəbúθa mkamlə̂xla*ˡ Just let us go to complete this task (A12:14).

knkš **Q** *m-knkš* (*mkankəš, mkunkəšle, mkankoše*) **to drag**

knš **I** (*kanəš, knišle, knaša*) **to sweep; to wipe** | *kúlla-lampən y-awɛ́wa knìše*ˡ All our lamps were swept out (B10:85); *mən dəmmət ʾɛni pišli knaša* I began to wipe away the tears of my eyes (C3:8).

kpn **I** (*kapən, kpinne, kpana*) **to become hungry**

kpš **I** (*kapəš, kpišle, kpaša*) **to gather (intr.); to collect (tr.)** | *kpíšela maymúne b-ʾalpàye*ˡ The monkeys gathered in thousands (A14:53); *kúlla kpíše tàma*ˡ Everybody gathered there (A13:2); *ʾan-baxtàθa*ˡ *kapšiwale*ˡ The women gathered it (the rice hay) (B5:85). **II** *m-kpš* (*mkapəš, mkupəšle, mkapoše*) **to gather (tr.), to collect (tr.)** | *hár mkapáštat kisyáθət dàwela ṯ̂óṯ̂o*ˡ The old woman is all the time collecting bags of gold (A4:22); *kupəšlux ʾəlli kurtəxyaθa* You have gathered to me pelvises (of women) (A52:26).

kpy **II** *m-kpy* (*mkape, mkupele, mkapoye*) **to cover; to shelter** | *mkúpyɛle gáne mən-màṭra*ˡ He took shelter from the rain.

krb **I** (*karəb, krible, kraba*) **to become angry** | *málka krìble*ˡ *bud-hàtxa məndiyáne*ˡ The king became angry about these things (A25:8); *krìblun mən-qáša*ˡ They were angry with the priest (B1:17). **III** (*makrəb, mukrəble, makrobe*) **to make angry** | *makrəb ʾ̌uʾ̌ane* n.f. snow falling at the beginning of the month of March (literally: the one that angers the magpies)

krbð **Q** *m-krbð* (*mkarbəð, mkurbədle, mkarboðe*) **to grasp, to grapple with** | *qəm-karbàdle*ˡ He grasped him (in a fight).

krkr **Q** *m-krkr* (*mkarkər, mkurkərre, mkarkore*) **to bleat (goats); to cluck (hen)**

krmš **Q** *m-krmš* (*mkarməš, mkurməšle, mkarmoše*) **to shrink, to shrivel** | *xabúša mkurmàšle*ˡ The apple has shrivelled.

krx **I** (*karəx, krixle, kraxa*) **to bend** | *kraxa ʾiθaθa* to fold one's arms; *kraxa ʾaqlaθa* to fold, retract legs when sitting. **II** *m-krx* (*mkarəx, mkurəxle, mkaroxe*) **to shroud** | *ma sɛpa mkarxət ganux* Oh sword, you shroud yourself (A52:21)

kry (i) **I** (*kare, krele, kraya*) **to become short**. **III** *m-kry* (*makre, mukrele, makroye*) **to make short** | *ʾUsman mukreli zawne* I have shortened the time of Usman (C7:13).

kry (ii) **I** (*kare, krele, kraya*) **to strike, to attack** | *kréle gu-d-a-ʾàskar*ˡ He smote the army (A29:56).

krz **III** *m-krz* (*makrəz, mukrəzle, makroze*) **to preach; to announce**

ks **III** *m-ks* (*makəs, mukəsle, makose*) **to close (tr. and intr.)** | *də-mákəs tə̀ra!*ˡ Close the door! (A39:19); *ʾíman šárəṭ ḵulčíva,*ˡ *qóla ʾi-màkəs*ˡ When the trigger is sprung, the trap closes.

ksr **I** (*kasər, ksirre, ksara*) (A.) **to be shattered, to be exhausted**

ksx **I** (*kasəx, ksixle, ksaxa*) **to prune (a tree, a vine); to cut (a vein/artery)** | *ʾáyya zə́njir ʾáwra ʾánna waríðət qðàle,*ˡ *kasxàla*ˡ The chain went into the veins of his neck and cut them (A26:81).

ksy **II** *m-ksy* (*mkase, mkusele, mkasoye*) **to cover** | *har-mkusèθəlla páθa*ˡ She kept her face covered (A34:28).

kšk̆š **Q** *m-kšk̆š* (*mkaškəš, mkuškəšle, mkaškoše*) **to make threatening noises before fight (dogs)**; **to shoo away (chickens, birds)**

kšp **I** (*kašəp, kšiple, kšapa*) **to collapse (building)** | *kšiple bɛθa rəš-marăwaθe* The house collapsed over its owners; *kšiple bɛθa qam-talga* The house collapsed on account of the snow.

ktp **I** (*katəp, ktiple, ktapa*) **to stop flowing, to dry up (source of water, mother's milk)** | *ʾan-míya kàtpi*ˡ The water dried up (A12:47).

kθw **I** (*kaθu, kθule/kθiwle, kθawa*) **to write; to register** | *mšaróyela kθàwa*ˡ *bɛθwáθət nàše*ˡ They begin to register the houses of the people (B1:16). **III** *m-kθw* (*makθu, mukθule, makθowe*) **to register** | *mukθúli gu-Lèvi*ˡ I registered in the Levies.

kwn **II** (*mkawən, mkuwənne, mkawone*) (A.) **to form, to constitute** | *qímlən mkawóne gánən gu-maθwàθa*ˡ We began to form ourselves into villages (B4:5).

kwr **II** *m-kwr* (*mkawər/mkăwər, mkuwərre, mkawore*) **to distil (tr. and intr.)** | *ʾăraq mkuwàrra*ˡ The arak has distilled; *ʾən-lá mkàwra,*ˡ *lè-pɛša ʾăraq*ˡ If it does distill, it does not become arak.

kwš **I** (*kawəš, kwišle, kwaša*) **to pack tightly** | *kwíšli rába məndiyáne gu-juwàla*ˡ I packed many things into the sack.

kwy **I** (*kawe, kwele, kwaya*) **to scorch, to sear**

kxl **I** (*kaxəl, kxille, kxala*) **to blacken with kohl**

kyl **I** (*kayəl, kille, kyala*) **to measure** | *də-yátla rapàkθuxˡ kɛlánna zùzi*ˡ Give (me) your grain measure so that I can measure my money (A32:8); *kyála páwxa b-kusìθe*ˡ He is measuring the wind with his hat (D2:51), i.e. he is doing pointless work; *kú-məndit ʾoðátle bəd-páyəš kìla-ʾəllux.*ˡ *kílət kɛlátle bəd-páyəš kìla-llux.*ˡ Everything that you do will be measured against you. The measure you measure will be measured against you (A45:4).

kym **I** (*kayəm, kimle, kyama*) **to become black. III** *m-kym* (*makyəm/măkim, mukyəmle/mŭkimle, makyome/măkome*) **to make black**

kyp **I** (*kayəp, kiple, kyapa*) **to bow, to bend over; to be lowered; to throw.** (1) **to bow, to bend over** | *kípa qam-màlka*ˡ He bowed to the king (A14:45). (2) **to be lowered** | *marimána kàyəp*ˡ The lever is lowered. (3) **to throw** | *xázəx b-šəndóxe t-wátwa kípa bìyi*ˡ Let's look at the stones that you threw at me (A1:18). **III** *m-kyp* (*makyəp/măkip, mukyəple/mŭkiple, makyope/măkope*); *m-kp* (*makəp, mukəple, makope*) **to lower, to bow (tr.); to knock down; to throw, to shoot (gun)** | *makipátle marimàna*ˡ You lower the lever; *réšən măkípəxwala hàtxa*ˡ We would bow our head like this (B16:24); *hóle dwáqəlle réšət xórta makyòpəlle*ˡ He was holding the top of a poplar tree and bending it down (A29:16); *mŭkípli ʾəbbe*ˡ I knocked him down; *ʾáy qəm-šaqlála xa-gùrza*ˡ *mukpála l-Qaṭìna*ˡ She took a club and threw it at Qaṭina (A50:11); *mukpále gu-be-ʾɛ̀ne*ˡ He shot it (the gun) at his forehead (A31:7).

kyr **I** (*kirre* defective) **to attempt to achieve a goal by doing something but without success** | used in combination with *kyz: kízli*

*ʾu-kírri bíye qa-t-kalèwa,*ˈ *bas-là-klele*ˈ I did my best with him (to persuade him) to stop, but he did not stop.

kyš **I** (*kayəš, kišle, kyaša*) **to deflate. III** *m-kyš* (*makyəš/măkiš, mukyəšle/măkišle, makyoše/măkoše*) **to burst, deflate (tr. and intr.); to defray (a debt).** (1) **to burst, deflate** | *qəm-măkíšən gùða*ˈ We deflated the skin bag; *gúða mukišle* The skin deflated. (2) **to defray (a debt)** | *kúlla déne díye qəm-măkišla*ˈ He paid off all his debts.

kyz **I** (*kaze, kizle, kyaza* §8.16.12.) **to try, to attempt; to try to persuade (s.o.) without success.** (1) **to try, to attempt** | *kízle qràya*ˈ He tried calling (A48:5); *kízle mxàya*ˈ *goyáθət sùsa,*ˈ *súsa la-jwìjle*ˈ He tried to strike the sides of the horse, but the horse did not move (A28:33); *kazíwa práməlla har-palṯìwa*ˈ They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up (A38:15); *ʾaw-kízle b-lqàṭa*ˈ *čú-məndi là-mṭele*ˈ He (the stork) tried to peck at it (the food), but did not reach anything (A45:2). With *qa-: kázən qa-ṣàrxən*ˈ I tried to shout (B15:40). Followed by direct speech: *kìzle málka*ˈ *mòdila qáṣṣət?*ˈ *ʾáti klì!*ˈ The king tried (to ask) 'What is happening?' 'You stop (asking questions)' (A4:23). (2) **to try to persuade without success** (*b-* s.o.) | *kízla bíye dìye*ˈ They tried to persuade him (A16:6); *kízla bróni lá-wuð hátxa məndi*ˈ She tried (to persuade him by saying) 'Son, don't do such a thing' (A14:6). Combined with *kyr: kízli ʾu-kírri bíye qa-t-kalèwa,*ˈ *bas-là-klele*ˈ I did my best with him (to persuade him) to stop, but he did not stop.

/ḵ̂/

ḵ̂ndr **Q** *m-ḵ̂ndr* (*mḵ̂andər, mḵ̂undərre, mḵ̂andore*) **to roll along** | *qəm-ḵ̂andárra gùtta*ˈ He rolled the ball along; *xáṭər ṯ̂-ínwa mḵ̂onədrəlla*ˈ 'because I had rolled her (down the hill) (A20:12).

/l/

l̓m **II** *m-l̓m* (*mlawəm/mlăwəm, mluwəmle, mlawome*) **to weld; to solder**

ldm **I** (*ladəm, ldimle, ldama*) **to compress**

ldy **III** *m-ldy* (*malde, muldele, maldoye*) **to cheat**

lgz **I** (*lagəz, lgizle, lgaza*) **to gesture, to make a sign** (*l-* to) | *lgízli ʾálle qá-t ʾazə̀lwa*ˡ I made him a sign to go.

lhð **I** (*lahəð, lhidle, lhaða*) **to pant (animal). III** *m-lhð* (*malhəð, mulhədle, malhoðe*) **to pant (animal)**

lhy **I** (*lăye, lele, lhaya/lăya*) **to burn, to be kindled** | *xzéle xa-núra lháya gu-xa-gə̀ppa*ˡ He saw a fire burning in a cave. (A39:2); *hóle xázəx xa-làmpa lháya*ˡ We can see a lamp burning (A33:1); *ʾína-tópe díye lhàya*ˡ His gun was smoking (A31:9). **III** *m-lhy* (*malhe/măle, mulhele/mŭlele, malhoye/măloye*) **to kindle; to turn on (electricity, motor)** | *málhəxwa ṣòpa*ˡ We would light the stove (B10:71); *malhéwa pùnda*ˡ He would kindle a wick (B5:57); *bəd-málhən ʾatnabèli*ˡ I shall start my car.

ljlj **Q** *m-ljlj* (*mlajləj, mlujləjle, mlajloje*) **to smart (tongue)**

lkx **I** (*lakəx, lkixle, lkaxa*) **to lick. III** *m-lkx* (*malkəx, mulkəxle, malkoxe*) **to cause (sheep) to lick (salt)** | *malkəxə́xwala ʾə́rwe qa-ṯ́-áwe bə́sra díya qùwya*ˡ We caused our sheep to lick (salt) so that their flesh would be hard.

lkz **I** (*lakəz, lkizle, lkaza*) **to stab, to prick** (sth. *l-* into)| *lkízli l-táwra záqtət màssa*ˡ I stuck the point of the goad into the ox.

lmṣ **I** (*laməṣ, lmiṣle, lmaṣa*) **to suck; to absorb** | *ṭabuwáne ʾi-lamṣíwa mən-dámmət ʾə́rwe*ˡ Ticks would suck the blood of the sheep; *julla lmiṣa miya* a cloth soaked in water. **II** *m-lmṣ* (*mlaməṣ, mlumə́ṣle, mlamoṣe*) **to absorb**

lplp **Q** *m-lplp* (*mlapləp, mlupləple, mlaplope*) **to twinkle**

lqlq **Q** *m-lqlq* (*mlaqləq, mluqləqle, mlaqloqe*) **to be loose; to waver, to totter** | *ʾáwwa kúrsi lə́le drə̀st,*ˡ *hóle mlaqlòqe*ˡ This chair is not right, it is swaying.

lqṭ **I** (*laqəṭ, lqiṭle, lqaṭa*) **to pick; to peck up; to embroider.** (1) **to pick (fruit)** | *zílle lqáṭa xabùše*ˡ He went to pick apples; *čéri y-ázi laqṭìla*ˡ In the Autumn they would go and pick them (the walnuts) (B5:216). (2) **to peck up (grains)** | *kθéθa lqiṭla pə̀rðe*ˡ The chicken pecked up grains; *ʾaw-kízle b-lqàṭa*ˡ *čú-məndi là-mṭele*ˡ He (the stork) tried to peck at it (the food), but did not reach anything (A45:2). (3) **to embroider** | *zaqráxwa hàšye,*ˡ *laqṭàxwa*ˡ We would knit pieces of lacework and embroider them (B10:85). **III** *m-lqṭ* (*malqəṭ, mulqəṭle, malqoṭe*) **to lay grains for birds to peck; to peck (at grains)**

lṣlṣ **Q** *m-lṣlṣ* (*mlaṣləṣ, mluṣləṣle, mlaṣloṣe*) **to squelch, to produce a squishing sound (when wet)** | *ṣáwlux hóla mlaṣlòṣe*ˡ Your shoes (are wet and) are squelching.

lṭy **I** (*laṭe, lṭele, lṭaya*) **to lap**

lwš **I** (*lawəš, lwišle, lwaša*) **to put on clothes, to wear (clothes)** | *ʾána t-làwšən*ˡ I shall dress up (A27:27); *lwíšla jùlla*ˡ They got dressed (A14:83); *ʾàti*ˡ *lawšátle ʾáwwa gə̀lda*ˡ *l-gànəx*ˡ You put this skin on you (A27:11); *ʾəθyɛle xá-naša xèna,*ˡ *lwíša lwíšta smòqta*ˡ Another man came, dressed in red clothing (A12:9); *ʾánna suráye díyən ṭiyarə̀ye*ˡ *lwíše zargùle*ˡ Those Ṭiyare Christians of ours were wearing sheepskin boots (B19:4). **III** *m-lwš* (*malwəš, mulwəšle, malwoše*) **to dress; to put on (clothes)** | *malwəšíwale jull-dìye*ˡ They would dress him in his clothes (B5:26); *diya-méθu júlli malušùla*ˡ Now bring my clothes and put them on (me) (A4:20).

lwx **I** (*lawəx, lwixle, lwaxa*) **to catch fire, to blaze** | *lwìxɛle Dəmdə́ma*ˡ Dəmdəma burst into flames (A11:21); *t-lóxi ʾánna qèse*ˡ so that the wood would catch fire (B15:23); *là lóxət!*ˡ Do not be angry! (Calm down!).

lxm **I** (*laxəm, lximle, lxama*) **to be suitable; to fit; to take shape, to be composed** | *kú-benət laxmàwa*ˡ whenever it was convenient (B5:133); *léla lxáma hadìya*ˡ It is not suitable now; *ʾáy lxímla š-lišàni*ˡ This just tripped off my tongue (A32:31). **III** *m-lxm* (*malxəm, mulxəmle, malxome*) **to compose (song, poem); to deck out** | *mulxə́mle šère*ˡ He has composed poems; *moləxmáli…ʾáyya zmárta bíye dìye.*ˡ I composed this song about him (C4:2); *mulə̀xme…b-čàkka-žɨ*ˡ decked out also with weapons (A8:54).

lym **I** (*layəm, limle, lyama*) **to blame**

lyp **I** (*layəp, liple, lyapa*) **to learn** | *kú-mdit láyəp náša yála zòra*ˡ *ʾáyya pyàša gu-réšət náša*ˡ Everything that a person learns as a young child, this remains in the mind of person (B8:20); *ʾáy hár-lipla dmàxa*ˡ *ʾu-xàla*ˡ She learnt only how to sleep and to eat (A21:1); *kúlla ʾə̀rbe hóla lípe ʾə́lla dìya*ˡ All the small cattle follow her lead (C7:4). **III** *m-lp* (*maləp/mə̆ləp, mŭləple, mə̆lope*) **to teach** | *bábi malə́pwalən ṣlòθa*ˡ My father taught us prayers (B8:16).

lyq **I** (*layəq, liqle, lyaqa*) **to become caught, to become stuck; to be connected** | *hóla líqta ʾarnúwwa gu-qùlta*ˡ A rabbit is caught in the trap; *lìqley*ˡ *b-xákma taqyáθət xelápe ʾíθwa tàma*ˡ They became caught on

some branches of willows that were there (A8:13); *hám líqta b-àyyɛla*ˡ It is also related to this (A8:20).

ly **I** (*layəs, lisle, lyasa*) **to chew**

lyṣ **I** (*layəṣ, liṣle, lyaṣa*) **to be spoilt, to be ruined. III** *m-lyṣ* (*malyəṣ/mălis, mulyəṣle/mŭlisle, malyoṣe/mălose*) **to spoil, to ruin**

lyš **I** (*layəš, lišle, lyaša*) **to knead (dough)**

lyṭ **I** (*layət, liṭle, lyaṭa*) **to curse**

lyz **III** *m-lyz* (*malyəz/măliz, mulyəzle/mŭlizle, malyoze/măloze*) (K.) **to hurry**

/M/

mčmč **Q** *m-mčmč* (*mmačməč, mmučməčle, mmačmoče*) **to suck, to kiss**

mð̣y **I** (*maðe, mð̣ele, mð̣aya*) (A.) **to sign, to authorize**

mlg **I** (*maləg, mligle, mlaga*) **to pluck (wool from a sheepskin)**

mḷy **I** (*maḷe, mḷele, mḷaya*) **to fill, to become full; to be sufficient.** (1) **to fill, to become full** (d.o./*mən* with) | *máḷəxxa čántux zùze*ˡ We shall fill your bag with money (A39:14); *ʾaw-məḷyále tópe díye spày*ˡ He loaded his gun well (A31:7); *dášta maḷyáwa rakáwe ʾarabàye*ˡ The plain filled with Arab horsemen (A37:2); *ʾo-béθa mḷèle mənnéy*ˡ The room was filled with them (A23:21). (2) **to be sufficient** | *ṭla-ðà-šeta maḷílən*ˡ They are enough for us for one year (A12:6).

mndr **Q** *m-mndr* (*mmandər, mmundərre, mmandore*) **to flatten (the roof); to be flattened** | *mandòrta*ˡ…*mandrále gàre*ˡ a roller…flattens the roof (B5:193); *gáre qa-t mandərwa*ˡ so that the roof became flattened (B5:146) → *mandorta*

mny **I** (*mane, mnele, mnaya*) **to count** | *píšela mnáyəlla l-xà-xa*ˡ They began counting them one by one (A6:3); *manɛ́wa hal-ʾəṣra*ˡ They would count up to ten (B7:13).

mrʾ **I** (*măre, mrile/mrele, mraʾa/mraya*) **to be ill; to hurt** | *ʾən-la-ṣɛmáxla mă̆rəx*ˡ If we do not fast, we shall become ill (B16:12); *ʾálaha də-là-ʾawəð*ˡ *ʾán mrìli*ˡ *mòdi ṯ-oðítu?*ˡ God forfend, if I became ill, what would you do? (A27:37); *hòla ʾáqli mráʾa*ˡ My leg hurts (A13:3); *lan-mràʾa*ˡ I am not hurt (B9:18).

mrč **I** (*marəč, mričle, mrača*) **to crush, to squash** | *ta-t-ʾázi marčìle*ˡ so that they (the horses) will go and crush him (A25:9).

mrdn **Q** *m-mrdn* (*mmardən, mmurdənne, mmardone*) **to become cultured**

mrs **I** (*marəs, mrisle, mrasa*) **to squash (grapes)**

mrx **I** (*marəx, mrixle, mraxa*) **to crush** | *ʾán muttúlən pínxət kèpa,*ˡ *maráxle kúlla-w páyəš qàmxa*ˡ If we installed a stone grind wheel, it would crush everything and it would become flour (B5:92).

msy **I** (*mase, msele, msaya*) **to wash (clothes)** | *ʾána masyànwa*ˡ *ʾu-xáθi mparpyàwa*ˡ I washed (the clothes) and my sister used to rinse (B10:69); *qəm-xɛpàle,*ˡ *qəm-masyàle*ˡ She bathed him and washed his clothes (A40:5).

mṣy **I** (*maṣe, mṣele, mṣaya*) **to be able; to prevail** (§15.1.1.4., §18.3.3.)**.** (1) **to be able** | *máṣəx ṯ-àmrəx*ˡ We can say (B4:3); *lá-mṣən mtanánnəx kùlla*ˡ I cannot tell you everything (A14:33); *lán-mṣaya jwàja*ˡ I cannot move (A24:2); *là-mṣeli muθyáli*ˡ I could not bring her (A8:55); *léla-məṣye wíðe čù-məndi*ˡ They could not do anything (A8:65); *bráta làn-məṣya ṯ-in-múθyəlla*ˡ I could not bring back the girl (A29:8). (2) **to be able to prevail** (*b-* against) | *b-čù-ʾurxa léle mṣáya bíye.*ˡ He cannot prevail against him in any way (A12:13); *dàxi máṣəx bíye díye?*ˡ How shall we be able to prevail against him? (A12:37).

mškn **Q** *m-mškn* (*mmaškən, mmuškənne, mmaškone*) **to be covered with mud (brought by rains)** | *ʾắra mmuškànna*ˡ The ground has become covered with mud.

mšmš **Q** *m-mšmš* (*mmašməš, mmušməšle, mmamoše*) **to sniff; to sniff about (animals, when searching for food)**

mšn **I** (*mašən, mšinne, mšana*) **to sharpen (intr. and tr.) on a whetsone (*məšna*)** | *t-la mášxa skínta là mášna*ˡ Without grease a knife does not sharpen.

mšx **I** (*mašəx, mšixle, mšaxa*) **to rub** | *qumtux la mšuxla b-qumti* Do not rub your body against mine (C2:69).

mšy **I** (*maše, mšele, mšaya*) **to wipe; to polish**

mtl **II** *m-mtl* (*mmatəl, mmutəlle, mmatole*) **to tell, to narrate** | *mmátli màtle*ˡ They tell witty sayings.

mṭr **I** (*maṭər, mṭirre, mṭara*) **to rain** | *mə́ṭra mṭárɛla ràba*ˈ There is a lot of rain.

mṭy **I** (*maṭe, mṭele, mṭaya*) **to arrive, to reach; to become ripe, mature.** (1) **to arrive, to reach** | *ʾo-rábbən zílle mṭéle l-Kàrkuk*ˈ The monk went (on his way) and arrived in Karkuk (A16:3); *mə́tyɛle xa-gə̀ppa*ˈ He came to a cave (A30:1); *mṭéle gárre dìye*ˈ His turn came (A1:7); *har-díya mə́ṭyən ṭ-àθyən*ˈ I'll be there and back at once (A4:17); *ʾána ṭ-ásqən rúta maṭə̀nnɛxu*ˈ I shall come up on Friday and catch you up (A25:85); *dáqne díye mṭáya l-ə̀ra*ˈ His beard reaches to the ground (A15:13); *ʾap-réšə lišáne la-mṭele-ʾə̀lle*ˈ Even the tip of his tongue did not reach it (A45:1); *gu-Mòṣul*ˈ *ʾáxre léla mṭáya b-ʾìða*ˈ In Moṣul dung is not available (A7:14); *qá-t ʾap-xánči maṭewalèy*ˈ so that they would gain a little (extra income) (B5:135). (2) **to become ripe (fruit), mature (people)** | *b-čèri*ˈ *ʾíman t-màṭi,*ˈ *y-amríla gùjme*ˈ In the Autumn, when (their nuts) become ripe, (they have) what are called bunches (of fruit) (B5:220); *mšɛ́re bráya ʾo-rə̀zza,*ˈ *hál maṭéwa t-rayə̀mwa*ˈ The rice would start to germinate, until it matured and grew high (B5:78); *Qaṭína mqŭrə́nne mṭéle gàwṛa*ˈ Qaṭina grew up and became a man (A52:3). **III** *m-mṭy* (*mamṭe, mumṭele, mamṭoye*) **to convey; to cause to produce (fruit).** (1) **to convey, to bring** | *mamṭátla ʾə́lla dìya*ˈ Convey them to her (A4:16); *xázəx lá-mṣət mamṭátla ʾiθáθux hátxa ġðàðe?*ˈ Let's see whether you can bring your hands together like this (A28:15). (2) **to cause to produce (fruit)** | *ha-t-qa-mamṭə́nna ṭúnte dìye*ˈ in order to make it produce its fruit (A17:32).

mxy **I** (*maxe, mxele, mxaya*) **to hit; to put; to cover; to wipe (eyes); to play (a musical instrument).** (1) **to hit, to strike** | *qəm-maxèle*ˈ *ʾəṣrà-jalde*ˈ He struck him ten lashes (A30:14); *kú-rešət xúwwe θèle,*ˈ *qəm-maxèle*ˈ He struck every head of the snake that came (towards him) (A24:40); *maxátle sépux l-qðalèy*ˈ You should strike your sword into their neck (A24:13); *ʾu-maxéla ʾáqle díye ʾə̀lla*ˈ He kicks her (A20:4). Complement with *ṭla-*: *bə̆́yi máxi ṭla-d-an-maymùne*ˈ They want to strike the monkeys (A14:44). Complement with *l-*: *xárθa mšúrela mxáya l-nàše*ˈ Then they started beating people (A25:80); *šámša mxíθa l-ṭuràne*ˈ The sun has struck the mountains (A26:37). Complement with *gu-*: *mšúryɛle mxáya gu-réše* He started hitting his head (A7:10). (2) **to put, to apply** | *maxɛ́la l-tanùra*ˈ They put them in the oven (B6:51); *máxewa daṛmàna*ˈ *l-ṣàwle*ˈ He used to put polish on shoes (A16:1); *ʾə́rbe máxe l-ġðàðe*ˈ He gathers the sheep together (A25:27); *máxɛ ʾárba stúne*

*gu-ʾằra*ˡ They put four posts into the ground; *ʾána máxən qăláma xòθa*ˡ I'll draw a line with a pen under it; *hóle mxáya lenàne*ˡ He is marking out furrows; *bắyi dəmma t-tèla*ˡ *ʾu-dəmmət Lelìθa*ˡ … *t-maxɛ́le b-brónət màlka*ˡ They want the blood of a fox and the blood of Leliθa… to inject it into the son of the king (A32:21). (3) **to cover** | *ʾu-máxyəxəlla máθən kúlla l-míla-w l-kóma* We have covered all our village with blue and black (A4:32). (4) **to wipe (eyes)** | *bxə̀ya*ˡ *maṣlóyele dəmme*ˡ *mxáyɛle ʾɛ́ne dìye*ˡ weeping, shedding tears and wiping his eyes (A37:11). (5) **to play (a musical instrument)** | *ʾi-máxe šabìba*ˡ He plays a pipe; *ʾAšebaṭə̀lo*ˡ *ʾáwwa máxe b-zòrna*ˡ Ašebaṭalo plays the pipe (A25:26); *máxi musìqa*ˡ They play music. (6) Idioms: *plítle mxéle l-ṭùra*ˡ He went off to the mountains (A27:1); *har-máxəx b-dùnye*ˡ Let's just go away (A30:41); *ʾo-simárxa mxíθəlla gána ʾálla díya* The *simarxa* bird made towards her (A27:15); *málka máxyɛle ʾíθe l-gàne*ˡ *ʾu-zìlɛle*ˡ The king set off and went on his way (A4:10); *tré qəqwáne b-xà-kepa maxèwa*ˡ He would kill two birds with one stone (A8:35); *qímle xáčča lábbe-diye mxàya*ˡ His heart started pounding slightly (A8:55); *mxíθəlle ʾè̀na*ˡ She winked at him (A22:13); *máxa čə̀ppe*ˡ They clap hands (in applause) (B5:9); *mxéla šə̀mša* The sun came out; *qímɛle jálde madánxa t-la-mxàya*ˡ He rose early while the dawn was not breaking (= before dawn broke) (A8:51). **III** *m-mxy* (*mamxe, mumxele, mamxoye*) **to cause to strike, to cause to be struck** | *tre-ṭḷá-gaye mamxə̀xwala gánən*ˡ We used to cause ourselves to be struck two or three times (B5:84).

myʾ **I** (*mă̆ye, mile/mele, myaʾa*) **to churn**

myč → *myj*

myj, myč **I** (*mayəj, mijle, myaja*) **to knead and crush (dried yoghurt in hands)** | *mɛ́jiwa qáška b-míya šaxìne*ˡ They would knead and crush the dried yoghurt cake in warm water.

myl **III** *m-myl* (*mamyəl/mă̆mil, mumyəlle/mŭmille, mamyole/mă̆mole*) **to become green/blue; to make green/blue** | *mšuréla xaqláθa mamyòle*ˡ The fields began to become green; *mă̆milə́nne gə̀ldux!*ˡ I shall make you (black and) blue! (threat).

myn **I** (*mayən, minne, myana*) **to become watery**

mysr **Q** (*mmaysər, mmuysərre, mmaysore*) (A.) **to bind (so) with a magic spell** | *maysərə̀nnux*ˡ I shall bind you with a spell.

myṣ **I** (*mayəṣ, miṣle, myaṣa*) **to suck** | *kút-yom mayə́ṣwa xa-sabòta*ˡ Every day he would suck a finger (A34:11). **III** *m-myṣ* (*mamyəṣ/mămiṣ, mumyəṣle/mŭmiṣle, mamyoṣe/mămoṣe*) **to cause to suck, to give suck, to nurture** | *qímela zìle*ˡ*… mămóṣe pàṛe*ˡ They went to make lambs suck (from their mothers) (A25:26); *yə́mmi mumṣáli gu-ʾƐ̄n-Nùne*ˡ My mother nursed me in ʾƐn-Nune (B8:7); *qəm-qăṭále m-mămòṣe*ˡ She weaned him.

myθ **I** (*mayəθ, mitle, myaθa*) **to die; to be 'out' (in a game)** | *méθət ʾax-d-an-ṭ̂-íla míθe tàma*ˡ You will die like those who have already died there (A14:70); *npíltɛla mìθta šópa díya*ˡ She fell off from there and died on the spot (A30:37); *mítli m-kə̀pna*ˡ I am dying of hunger (A14:75); *ʾap-ʾáwwa màyəθ*ˡ He also is "out" (of the game) (B11:8). **III** *m-myθ* (*mamyəθ, mumyətle, mamyoθe*) **to cause to die** | *xá-yoma mumiθále gáne b-dùgle*ˡ One day he pretended to be dead (A27:40).

myx **I** (*mayəx, mixle, myaxa*) **to smell, to sniff** | *mayə̀xle ríxə d-o-xámra*ˡ It will smell the odour of the wine (A12:47). **III** *m-myx* (*mamyəx/mămix, mumyəxle/mŭmixle, mamyoxe/mămoxe*) **to let (s.o.) smell (sth.)**

mzʾ **I** (*măze, mzile/mzele, mzaʾa/mzaya*) **to mix liquids** | *mzíle ʾắraq ʾu-mìya*ˡ He mixed arak and water.

mžl **III** *m-mžl* (*mamžəl, mumžəlle, mamžole*) **to delay, to postpone (intr. and tr.)** | *hàyyo,*ˡ *lá mamžə̀llən!*ˡ Come one, don't delay us!; *xáčča xéna mumžə̀lla*ˡ She delayed a little (A18:21).

/N/

nʾl (i) **II** *m-nʾl* (*mnawəl/mnăwəl, mnuwəlle, mnawole*) **to shoe (a horse)** | *kúlla náše mɛθíwa dawɛ́re táma mnalɨ̀wala*ˡ Everybody brought mules there for them to shoe (B4:12).

nʾl (ii) **II** *m-nʾl* (*mnawəl/mnăwəl, mnuwəlle, mnawole*) **to curse** | *bábux mnalə̀nne!*ˡ I curse your father (A35:13).

nbl **III** (*nabəl, nubəlle, nabole*) **to take, to take away** | *ʾálpa dáwe xá-ga xéta nùbləlla*ˡ *ta-báxte dìye*ˡ He again took the thousand gold pieces to his wife (A1:16); *nábəlla ṭla-be-šwàwən*ˡ Take it to the neighbours' house (A5:3); *núbləlla Čəlkắze*ˡ He took Čəlkăze away (A12:34); *b-d-ó-qɛsa nabláxwala-w mɛθə̀xwala*ˡ With this piece of wood we would move it (the roller) to and fro (B5:145).

nčl **I** (*načəl, nčille, nčala*) **to pull apart; to tear off; to be torn off, to snap; to pick.** (1) **to pull apart; to tear, to tear off** | *nčíləlla čánte dìye*ˡ He pulled his bag apart (A25:33); *nčíltəlle rèše-wˡ rùše-wˡ* She pulled apart its (the sparrow's) head and its shoulder (A12:53); *qəmdaryále gu-xa-gunìya*ˡ *šátta díya nčílta*ˡ She put in a sack the bottom of which was torn (A34:17). (2) **to be torn off, to snap** | *ʾáwwa xálqa nčílle*ˡ This button was torn off (A25:29); *ʾáyya tàkθa… t-xaddámθa nčílle*ˡ The waist cord of the maid-servant snapped (A25:56). (3) **to pull down; to pick** | *nčílle gáwze b-čakàla*ˡ He picked walnuts with a pruning hook.

nčp **I** (*načəp, nčiple, nčapa*) (§1.4.6.) **to drip** | *načpìwa míya mənnéy*ˡ The water would drip down from it (B7:22); *ʾáyya ḥanafiyya hóla nčàpa*ˡ This tap is dripping.

nðr **I** (*naðər, nðirre, nðara*) **to dedicate; to make a charitable gift (to the church)**

nðy **I** (*naðe, nðele, nðaya*) **to leap** | *ʾáy hár mšeyðòne,*ˡ *šwára nðáya gu-d-án ʾotáxe šluxèθa*ˡ She (the princess) is continually acting madly, leaping and jumping around naked in the rooms (A4:17); *Qaṭína nðéle xo-bərqíyət šmàyya*ˡ Qaṭina jumped up under the lightning of the sky (A50:11).

nfʾ, npʾ **I** (*nǎfe, nfile, nfaʾa/nfaya*) (A.) **to benefit, to be of use** | *sí ʾat-lànǎfətli!*ˡ Go, you are of no use to me! (A30:14); *ta-čú-mdi la-nǎ̆fa*ˡ It is of no use for anything (B5:93).

ngl **III** *m-ngl* (*mangəl, mungəlle, mangole*) **to hop, to limp**

ngr **I** (*nagər, ngirre, ngara*) **to bite (meat from a bone). II** *m-ngr* (*mnagər, mnugərre, mnagore*) **to bite (meat from a bone)** | *hóle mnagóre gèrme*ˡ He is tearing meat from the bones; *bassa mnagárre gèrma!*ˡ Stop biting the bone!; *qaṭúθi bəd-mnagràlux*ˡ My cat will gnaw you (A37:16).

ngz **I** (*nagəz, ngizle, ngaza*) **to bite**

njḥ **I** (*najəḥ, njiḥle, njaḥa*) (A.) **to succeed, to be successful**

njr **II** (*mnajər, mnujərre, mnajore*) **to work as a carpenter; to craft, to dress (stone)** | *ʾi-banέwa báte b-képa mnùjra,*ˡ *mnújra bəd-ʾìða*ˡ They would build houses with dressed stone, dressed by hand.

nny **I to please** | *nanelux* May it please you! (< *hanelux* → *hny*). This is said when offering s.o. food (= Bon appetit!) and as a response to an expression of thanks such as *basima raba* (= You are welcome).

npʾ → nfʾ

npl **I** (*napəl, npille, npala*) **to fall; to occur; to be situated.** (1) **to fall** | *npìlle téla*ˡ The fox fell (A20:10); *npìlle-ʾăra gáwza*ˡ The walnut has fallen on the ground (A1:5); *ʾína ràba zdáʾa*ˡ *t-là-napləna gu-d-a-yáma*ˡ I was very afraid that I would fall into the sea (A11:7). (2) **to occur** | *musàrde*ˡ *nàpəl*ˡ *ṭàbbəx*ˡ (The festival) of Musarde occurs in August (B6:8). (3) **to be situated** | Resulative participle: *ʾƐ̆n-Núne npílta bēl-ṭúra l-ṭùra*ˡ ʾƐn-Nune lies between one mountain and another (B5:147). (4) Idioms: *npúlu bàθra!*ˡ Follow them! (A14:57); *léla npílta l-páθi m-jàlde*ˡ She has not come my way recently (literally: She has not fallen at my face) (A38:5); *ða ʾurxa npilta l-bali* A way has come to my mind (A50:9). **III** *m-npl* (*manpəl, munpəlle, manpole*) **to cause to fall, to drop; to fell (tree)** | *manpəlíle qésət gáwza ʾəššèta*ˡ *ta-bazzúne ṯ-oðíwa qănăpàt*ˡ They fell the walnut wood this year to make couches next year (B10:80)

npṣ **I** (*napəṣ, npiṣle, npaṣa*) **to shake** | *ʾilána napṣíla l-xətna*ˡ They shake the tree for the groom (A8:25); *napṣánna kúlla b-réše dìye*ˡ I'll shake them (the hornets) all over him (A10:10).

npš **I** (*napəš, npišle, npaša*) **to tease, to disentangle (wool, cotton); to spread out** | *ʾáw napášwala ʾan-rèzza*ˡ It (the winnowing fork) would spread out the rice (B5:87). **II** *m-npš* (*mnapəš, mnupəšle, mnapoše*) **to tease, to disentagle (wool, cotton)**

npx **I** (*napəx, npixle, npaxa*) **to blow; to boast.** (1) **to blow, inflate** | *npíxle b-nùra*ˡ He blew on the fire; *npíxle gùða*ˡ He inflated the skin; *npíxle bla-jòrta*ˡ He inflated the bladder; *nápxəx mən-d-an-dáwwe b-rèša*ˡ We blow some of the *dawwe* onto them (B14:11). (2) **to boast** | *bássa npùx!* Stop boasting!

nqj **I** (*naqəj, nqijle, nqaja*) **to pinch, to nip; to peck at seeds** | *nqaja baxtaθa* the thumb and index finger (literally: pinching women). **III** *m-nqj* (*manqəj, munqəjle, manqoje*) **to cause (a hen) to peck at seeds, to feed seeds**

nql **I** (*naqəl, nqille, nqala*) **to separate (water from dirt)** | referring to the process whereby dirt in water settles to the bottom and the water becomes clear: *šúq ʾánna míya nàqli*ˡ Let the water clear.

nqnq **Q** *m-nqnq* (*mnaqnəq, mnuqnəqle, mnaqnoqe*) **to knock back (drink)** | *hóle mnaqnóqe štàya*ˡ He is knocking back the drink.

nqr **I** (*naqər, nqirre, nqara*) **to bore; to knock in, to stab; to inscribe; to dress (stone)** | *naqrátla spèna*ˡ You knock in the wedge; *bəzmára nqùrre!*ˡ Knock in the nail!; *kepe nqire* dressed stones; *gu-ʾúpra nqìra*ˡ dug into the ground (B3:20). **II** *m-nqr* (*mnaqər, mnuqərre, mnaqore*) **to scrap, to fight**

nqṣ **I** (*naqəṣ, nqiṣle, nqaṣa*) (A.) **to decrease** | *mšuréla míya nqàṣa-w*ˡ The water began to subside (B6:20)

nqš **I** (*naqəš, nqišle, nqaša*) **to inscribe, to embroider. II** *m-nqš* (*mnaqəš, mnuqəšle, mnaqoše*) **to embroider; to decorate** | *ʾítle xa-yaláxta mnuqàšta*ˡ He has an embroidered handkerchief (A37:11); *ʾilanɛni t-xabušta m-reša-w šətta mnoqašta* Our apple tree is decorated from top to bottom (B8:29).

nqṭ **II** *m-nqṭ* (*mnaqəṭ, mnuqəṭle, mnaqoṭe*) **to drip**

nrnr **Q** *m-nrnr* (*mnarnər, mnurnərre, mnarnore*) **to make threatening noises before fight (animals**).

nsr **I** (*nasər, nsirre, nsara*) **to saw; to chop** | *m-ɛ́ka mɛθə́nnux nasàrta*ˡ *ta-t-nasránnux qèse?* From where should I bring you a saw so that I could saw for you the wood? (A17:3); *mɛθíwa xa-gə́lla y-amríle sàrmo.*ˡ *nasríwale ʾu-xoṭìwale.*ˡ They would fetch a herb called *sərmo*. They chopped it up and mixed it (with the yoghurt) (B14:1). **III** *m-nsr* (*mansər, munsərre, mansore*) **to saw (with a two-man saw)** (§8.17.2.)

nṣḥ **II** *m-nṣḥ* (*mnaṣəḥ, mnuṣəḥle, mnaṣoḥe*) (A.) **to advise**

nṣw **I** (*naṣu, nṣule/nṣiwle, nṣawa*) **to plant (in ground)**

nšm **I** (*našəm, nšimle, nšama*) **to breath, to inhale**

nšp **I** (*našəp, nšiple, nšapa*) **to leak; to drain off** | *talíle b-xa-sákθa hal-ɛ́-gət míye díye kúlla nàšpi*ˡ They hang it (the bag of yoghurt water) on a peg until all its water drains away (B6:42). **III** *m-nšp* (*manšəp, munšəple, manšope*) **to let (water) drip**

nšq **I** (*našəq, nšiqle, nšaqa*) **to kiss** | *qəm-našqíle m-ay-góta l-ày̆ya*ˡ They kissed him on this side and on that (A8:87). **III** *m-nšq* (*manšəq, munšəqle, manšoqe*) **to allow (so.) to kiss** | *manšəqle qðaləx xwara* Let him kiss your white neck (C2:12).

nšṭ **I** (*našəṭ, nšiṭle, nšaṭa*) **to flay, to skin (an animal)** | *ʾána yắðən dax-našṭánne gálde dìye*ˡ I know how to flay off his skin (A28:25).

nšw **I** (*našu, nšule, nšawa*) **to hunt birds with a bird trap known as a *nəšwa*** | *zílli nšàwa*ˡ I went hunting.

nšy **I** (*naše, nšele, nšaya*) **to forget** | *ʾána ʾáxxa nšéli xa-màndi*ˡ But I have forgotten something here (B5:35); *nášya-wewa qáša t-wéwa yómət-tre rùta*ˡ The priest had forgotten that the next day would be Friday (A2:4). **III** *m-nšy* (*manše, munšele, manšoye*) **to forget** | *ʾàwwa*ˡ *munšile zúze díye*ˡ He forgot his money (A15:1).

nty **III** *m-nty* (*mante, muntele, mantoye*) **to succeed; to grow strong; to cause to succeed** | *ʾálaha mànte*ˡ May God grant success; *xabúše muntéwala bíya dìya*ˡ They were successful with apples (B5:75); *ʾap-xáčča xéna šóqa ṭla-mòja*ˡ *… qa-t-mànte*ˡ She leaves a little more (milk in the udder) for the calf… so that it will grow strong (B5:175).

nṭp **I** (*naṭəp, nṭiple, nṭapa*) **to drip. III** *m-nṭp* (*manṭəp, munṭəple, manṭope*) **to drip; to cause to drip**

nṭr **I** (*naṭər, nṭirre, nṭara*) **to guard; to watch; to wait.** (1) **to guard** | *ʾáxči ʾən-yáwəl ḏ̣ámə̀n*ˡ *šə̀x*ˡ *ʾáwwa ṭéni páyəš nṭìra*ˡ only if the sheikh gives a guarantee that this saddle bag of mine will be guarded (A7:9). (2) **to watch** | *nṭìrre ʾəlla-díya*ˡ He watched her (A18:4). (3) **to wait** | *ʾána nṭarə̀nnəx kəma-dána*ˡ I have been waiting for you for a long time (A30:54).

nθr **I** (*naθər, nθirre, nθara*) **to fall (leaves, grains, hair)** | *ʾu-ṭárpət dɛrúbər hóla b-nθàra*ˡ The leaves of the wood are falling (A25:46); *xálṣi grawázna t-lá-naθər rə̀zza*ˡ They tie up the load tightly so that the rice does not fall out.

nwʾ **I** (*nằwe, nwile, nwaʾa/nwaya*) **to emerge, to well up** | *ʾítlən xa-nèra,*ˡ *nérət Bè-xelape ṯ-amríle.*ˡ *ʾi-nắwe mən-Bèdo*ˡ *ʾu-ʾÒra.*ˡ We have a river, it is called the river Be-xelape. It springs from Bedo and Ora. (B11:32); *ʾĒn Nune kəma nawwa!* How the Spring of Fishes springs up! (C2:8); *hole nwile gu-dwara* Behold he has appeared on the plain (C4:9).

nwny **Q** *m-nwny* (*mnawne, mnunele, mnawnoye*) **to meow (cat)**

nwr **I** (*nawər, nwirre, nwara*) **to shy away**

nwx **I** (*nawəx, nwixle, nwaxa*) **to bark**

nxl **I** (*naxəl, nxille, nxala*) **to sieve, to sift**

nxp **I** (*naxəp, nxiple, nxapa*) **to be ashamed** | *lat-nxàpa!?*ˡ Are you not ashamed!? (A26:48). **III** (*manxəp, munxəple, manxope*) **to shame (tr.), to make s.o. feel ashamed** | *ʾu-lɛ̆wəx naše t-manxope* We are not people to be shamed (C1:14).

nxs **III** *m-nxs* (*manxəs, munxəsle, manxose*) **to rebuke** | *qa-módit manxòsəlle?*ˡ Why are you rebuking him?

ny **I** (*nă̆ye, nele, nă̆ya*) **to breath last breath; to dawn** | *mbadlɛla ʾu-ha-ga-nă̆ya* It is morning and the dawn is about to break (C2:82). **III** *m-ny* (*mane/mă̆ne, munele/mŭ̆nele, manoye/mă̆noye*) **to dawn**

nyd **I** (*nayəd, nidle, nyada*) **to move, to shake** | *ʾáp-ʾaw nayədwa rúše díye*ˡ He also shook his shoulder (A12:53).

nym (i) **I** (*nayəm, nimle, nyama*) **to doze**

nym (ii) **I** (*nayəm, nimle, nyama*) **to become damp**

nys **I** (*nayəs, nisle, nyasa*) **to bite, to sting** | *xúwwe qəm-nayàsli*ˡ The snake has bitten me; *kálba qəm-nayàsli*ˡ The dog has bitten me.

nyšn **Q** *m-nyšn* (*mneyšən, mnuyšənne, mneyšone*) **to hit a target**

nyx **I** (*nayəx, nixle, nyaxa*) **to have rest, relief; to die; to be obliterated** | *nìxlən m-Čúxo*ˡ We have got rid of Čuxo (A7:19); *har-nɛ́xəx m-ánna xáye ṯ-ix-gàwa*ˡ We shall be relieved of this life that we are in (B9:17); *tré-mənna tlíxela nìxela*ˡ Two of them (the churches) were destroyed and obliterated (B1:5); *šúqle rázza náyəx gu-quṣàrta*ˡ Leave the rice to stand in the pan. **III** *m-nyx* (*manyəx/mă̆nix, munyəxle/mŭ̆nixle, manyoxe/mă̆noxe*) **to rest; to cause to rest** | *ṣlíθɛla munìxtɛla xa-dúkθa*ˡ She went down and rested somewhere (A14:91); *tíwle manyòxe*ˡ He sat down to rest (A15:3); *babi ʾalaha manixle* my father, God grant him rest.

nzl **III** *m-nzl* (*manzəl, munzəlle, manzole*) **to fester; to leak pus** | *ʾíði mšuréle manzòle*ˡ My hand has begun to fester → *nəzla*

nznz **Q** *m-nznz* (*mnaznəz, mnuznəzle, mnaznoze*) **to make sucking noises, to drool; to breath last breath** | *bas naznəzi b-dudiyaθa* Stop drooling over the cradles (C7:12).

/p/

p'r **II** *m-p'r* (*mpawər/mpăwər, mpuwərre, mpawore*) **to yawn**

pčkn **Q** *m-pčkn* (*mpačkən, mpučkənne, mpačkone*) **to be useless; to lose (in gambling)**

pčpč **Q** *m-pčpč* (*mpačpəč, mpučpəčle, mpačpoče*) **to chop into pieces; to mince (meat)**

pčl **I** (*pačəl, pčille, pčala*) **to become bent, crooked. III** *m-pčl* (*mapčəl, mupčəlle, mapčole*) **to bend**

pčlm **Q** *m-pčlm* (*mpačləm, mpučləmle, mpačlome*) **to bend**

pdm **II** *m-pdm* (*mpadəm, mpudəmle, mpadome*) **to stop up (hole)** → *pəddoma*

pkpk **Q** *m-pkpk* (*mpakpək, mpukpəkle, mpakpoke*) **to chatter; to boast**

pl' **I** (*păle, plile/plele, pla'a/playa*) **to divide; to share** | *mqawòlɛwən,*ˡ *'ap-'an-zúze kúlla ṯ-in šqìləllaˡ pălánna pàlgeˡ* I promise, I'll divide into half also all the money that I took (A1:17); *'ən-hóya rázi šánna díya pălàla,*ˡ *pálga ṭla-d-áy 'u-pálga ṭla-d-àw,*ˡ *maqimàxleˡ* If she will be happy to share her years, half for her and half for him, we shall resurrect him (A4:46); *plùla 'áyya ġăzălìya!*ˡ Divide up this gazelle! (A42:1). **II** *m-pl'* (*mpăle, mpŭlele, mpăloye*) **to share, to distribute** | *'ína gáwṛa díya mpălóye gu-d-an-dàweˡ* (She saw) her husband sorting out the gold coins (A10:13); *mpălítula qa-d-ánna heywàneˡ* Distribute her (dismembered body) to these animals (A27:33).

plm **I** (*paləm, plimle, plama*) **to become bent, crooked. II** *m-plm* (*mpaləm, mpuləmle, mpalome*) **to bend (tr.)**

plš **I** (*paləš, plišle, plaša*) **to fight** | *kut-bắye páləš mánni páləš mànniˡ* Whoever wants to fight with me, let him fight with me (A12:60). **III** *m-plš* (*mapləš, mupləšle, maploše*) **to make fight; to knock together** | *mapəlšáxwa bé'e smóqe b-ġðàðeˡ* We would knock red eggs together (B15:4).

plṭ **I** (*paləṭ, pliṭle, plaṭa*) **to go/come out; to appear; to turn out (as, like); to be realized.** (1) **to go/come out** | *xá-ga xéta plíṭṭɛla Leliθaˡ* Again Leliθa came out (A51:12); *'áwwa plíṭɛle gu-ða-dúnye xètaˡ* He came out into another world (A14:26); *plìṭṭɛlaˡ gu-màθaˡ* It (what had happened) got about in the village (A7:14); *qu-plúṭ m-àxxa!*ˡ Get out of here! (A16:11); *m-bár pálaṭ qurbànaˡ* After the communion mass has finished (literally: after the communion has come out, i.e.

the host has been distributed among the worshippers) (B5:58). (2) **to appear** *mxáyəlle nə̌ra,*ˡ *plíṭle xa-qərša*ˡ He strikes the axe, and a lid appeared (A14:12). (3) **to turn out (as, like)** | *píšela mnáyəlla l-xà-xa.*ˡ *plíṭla ʾəčči-u ʾəčča*ˡ They began counting them one by one. They turned out to be ninety-nine. (A6:3); *ʾáw plíṭle l-bàbe*ˡ He has turned out like his father; *quṣárta xsípla l-pùmma*ˡ *bráta plíṭla l-yəmma*ˡ A pot has been turned upside down—the girl has turned out like her mother (D2:35). (4) **to be realized, to become true** | *ʾu-málka mšuréle zdàya xáčča*ˡ *… xálme díye pàləṭ*ˡ The king began to be rather afraid… that his dream would come true (A8:6). **II** *m-plṭ* (*mpalət, mpuləṭle, mpaloṭe*) **to take out; to produce; to take off; to eliminate.** (1) **to take out** | *ʾáwwa yalúnka brónən zóra mpalṭátte majirətle b-lèle*ˡ Take out this young boy, our young son and make him pass water at night (A30:39); *mpuláṭṭela xa-zənjir*ˡ She took out (of the box) a chain (A13:13). (2) **to produce** | *ʾə̌raq mpalṭəxla*ˡ *m-yabìše*ˡ We produce arak from raisins (B5:12); *mpáləṭla zùzi.*ˡ Produce my money! (i.e. Give it back) (A15:3). (3) **to take off** | *mpúlṭəlla ʾisəqyáθa dìya*ˡ They took off their rings (A13:13). (4) **to eliminate** | *ʾáyya qəm-mpalṭəxla*ˡ *píše trè-məndiyane xéne*ˡ We have eliminated this one (from the list of conditions) and two things remain (A39:8).

plx **I** (*paləx, plixle, plaxa*) **to work; to function; to serve (in worship).** (1) **to work, to labour** | *ʾó-t là páləx*ˡ *lè y-áxəl*ˡ He who does not work will not eat (A21:13); *mò palxéti?*ˡ What work do you do? (A23:11). (2) **to work, to function** | *mə̌kína hóla plàxa*ˡ The machine is working; *ʾərxe*ˡ *ʾi-pálxa b-mìya*ˡ A mill operates by water (B6:53). (3) **to serve (in worship)** | *ʾax-ʾarbí-šənne ṯ̂-it-ʾáti plíxa qa-ʾalàha*ˡ as you have served God for forty years (A15:20). (4) Idioms: *ʾáqli plàxa*ˡ, *kási plàxa*ˡ I have diarrhoea. **III** *m-plx* (*mapləx, mupləxle, maploxe*) **to cause to work; to use** | *ʾu-plóx gáwe díye ʾu-mápləx nàše*ˡ Work in it and employ people (A21:41); *mapəlxə̀tli?*ˡ Will you employ me? (A24:4); *ʾáwwa súla mapəlxíwa ṭla-rà zza*ˡ They used to use this manure for (the cultivation of) rice (B5:138).

ply **I** (*pale, plele, playa*) **to remove lice** | *xa-báxta xámθa xámθa xámθa tíwta pláya qálme dìye*ˡ A very beautiful woman was sitting removing his lice (A34:10).

pqʾ **I** (*pə̌qe, pqile/pqele, pqaʾa/pqaya*) **to split (intr.), to explode (intr.); to burst (intr.)** | *ʾáwwa sadánət Máṣr-ži lá pə̀qe*ˡ This anvil of Egypt will not split (A12:42); *ʾáy lèwa pqíθa*ˡ That did not blow up (B3:21); *ʾáwwa náša lábbe pqìle*ˡ The heart of that man burst (= He was terrified)

(A32:2). **II** *m-pqʾ* (*mpăqe, mpŭqele, mpăqoye*) **to split (tr.); to inflate (tr.); to explode (tr.), to blow up (tr.)** | *ʾé-ga t̰-íwa mpŭ̊qəlle ʾùmra,*ˡ *ʾay-píštɛwa tàma*ˡ When they blew up the church, that (the baptismal font) remained (B3:21).

pqð **II** *m-pqð* (*mpaqəð, mpuqədle, mpaqoðe*) **to command; to instruct** | *ʾána paqðənnɛxu*ˡ I'll give you instructions (A8:27); *de-pàqəð malákθa*ˡ Please do so, queen (A14:35); *páqəð tù!*ˡ Please sit down! (A16:4); *páqðu tìwe!*ˡ Please sit down (pl.)! (A15:8).

pqx **I** (*paqəx, pqixle, pqaxa*) **to blossom**

pqž **II** *m-pqž* (*mpaqəž, mpuqəžle, mpaqože*) **to clean**

prʾ **I** (*păre, prile/prele, praʾa/praya*) **to pay; to cut off; to burst.** (1) **to pay** | *doqíwa šăvàna*ˡ *părɛ̀walɛ*ˡ They would hire a shepherd and pay him (B5:158). (2) **to cut off** | *prí míyət šaqíθa b-qaṭòta!*ˡ Cut off the water of the water channel with a stone dam! (3) **to burst** | *qəm-păréla ʾène*ˡ He burst his eye (A16:2); *préle xáčča ʾáqla dìya*ˡ He burst (the swelling of) her leg a little (A33:11).

prčm **Q** *m-prčm* (*mparčəm, mpurčəmle, mparčome*) **to rivet**

prð **I** (*parəð, pridle, praða*) **to flee (sleep)** | *prídla šənθi*ˡ I could not sleep. **II** *m-prð* (*mparəð, mpurədle, mparoðe*) **to cause (sleep) to flee** | *θela ða ʾəzzət wala, šənθət mbadla mpurðala* A wild goat came and disturbed my morning sleep (C2:53).

prj **II** *m-prj* (*mparəj, mpurəjle, mparoje*) (A.) **to look** (*b-* at) | *hóle mparóje bìyux*ˡ He is looking at you.

prm **I** (*parəm, primle, prama*) (A.) **to cut; to slaughter.** (1) **to cut** | Body or parts of a body: *prùmle*ˡ *m-áxxa-w bar-t̰əxti*ˡ Cut it (the body) from here downwards (A14:67); *ʾàti parmátle réši*ˡ You will cut off my head (A14:35); *príməlla ṣoṣiyàθa*ˡ They cut their locks (A31:10). Wood: *taqanèy*ˡ *hammáše pɛrmàxwala*ˡ We would always cut down their branches (B5:207). Stones: *ʾán kepe-xwáre pɛrmìwala*ˡ *y-oðíwa zóre zòre*ˡ They cut these white stones, making them very small (B5:180). (2) **to slaughter** | *prímla ʾərbe*ˡ They slaughtered sheep (A25:86); *prìməlle táwre díye*ˡ He slaughtered his ox (A7:3); *díya t̰-áθi pɛrmìlən*ˡ Now they will come to slaughter us (A4:54); *záwnət qáṭla-w dámma-w pràma*ˡ a time of killing, blood and slaughter (A1:24).

prpl **Q** *m-prpl* (*mparpəl, mpurpəlle, mparpole*) **to supplicate, to entreat** | *kízən mpuráplən bíye ta-šawàqlən*ˡ I entreated him to leave us (A12:20).

prpr **Q** *m-prpr* (*mparpər, mpurpərre, mparpore*) **to plead; to blaze; to brandish.** (1) **to plead** | *hón mparpóre bíyux mhɛ̀rətli*ˡ I am pleading with you to help me; *hón mparpóre b-àlaha*ˡ I am pleading to God (for help). (2) **to blaze up (fire)** | *ʾáyya látət núra hóla mparpòre*ˡ This flame of the fire is blazing up. (3) **to wave, to brandish** | *k̂unnəkθa mparəprawa* She was waving her head-scarf (C2:45).

prps **Q** *m-prps* (*mparpəs, mpurpəsle, mparpose*) **to scatter; to pull apart** | *kúlla mpurpàssela*ˡ *bíyət plàše*ˡ They were all scattered by wars (B4:5); *díya hóla mpurápsəlle Fàrxo*ˡ By now they have pulled Farxo apart (A25:12).

prpṭ **Q** *m-prpṭ* (*mparpəṭ, mpurpəṭle, mparpoṭe*) **to pluck (a chicken); to pull out (hair); to tear up** | *hóla mparpóṭe kθɛ̀θa*ˡ She is plucking a chicken; *šárrət qáṭe gu-gòmɛla,*ˡ *parpàṭṭɛla*ˡ It was a cat fight in the basement stable, (in which) they were tearing at each other (A30:25); *júlle díye kúlle mpurəpṭe*ˡ All his clothes were torn (A35:18).

prpy **Q** *m-prpy* (*mparpe, mpurpele, mparpoye*) **to rinse** | *ʾána masyànwa*ˡ *ʾu-xáθi mparpyàwa*ˡ I washed (the clothes) and my sister used to rinse (B10:69).

prq **I** (*parəq, priqle, praqa*) **to finish** | *hal-xá-ga xéta príqla miyèy*ˡ until their water ran out again (A11:18); *mṣawθítu m-ġðàðe,*ˡ *ta-t-ṭúra ja-jálde pàrəq*ˡ You should speak with one another, so that the mountain (journey) would finish quickly (A17:18); *parqánne šùli*ˡ I shall finish my work (A16:4); *bar-príqla kúlla náše šqílla ʾarzə̂q*ˡ after all the people had finished taking provisions (B17:12). With *mən: báθər ṯ̂-íle príqa mən-ʾixàla*ˡ when he had finished the food (A23:6); *ta-t-pàrqəx mánne díye*ˡ so that we can finish him off (A12:37). With *b-: štáyɛla-w práqɛla bíya dìya*ˡ They drink and finish with it (the drink) (A17:25). **II** *m-prq* (*mparəq, mpurəqle, mparoqe*) **to save, to rescue; to rid** | *θéla qəm-mparqíli m-gu-ʾiθàθux*ˡ They came and rescued me from your hands (B17:15); *mparqànnux m-áyya qáṣṣət*ˡ I shall rid you of this business (A14:1).

prr **III** *m-prr* (*maprər, muprərre, maprore*) **to open up (space), to widen** | *hóle maprórəlla ʾùrxa*ˡ He is widening the road.

prs **I** (*parəs, prisle, prasa*) **to tear apart**

prṣm **Q** *m-prṣm* (*mparṣəm, mpurṣəmle, mparṣome*) **to smile, to grin**

prṣn **Q** *m-prṣn* (*mparṣən, mpurṣənne, mparṣone*) **to smile, to grin**

pršˇ **I** (*parəšˇ, prišle, praša*) **to separate (tr. and intr.)** | *paršˇəxla m-ġðáðe*ˈ Let's separate them from one another (A25:26); *párši m-ġðàðe*ˈ They (the wheat and the chaff) separate from one another (B5:97); *prášˇela Ṭyáre xtéθa mən-Bèrwər*ˈ They (the mountains) divide lower Ṭiyare from Barwar (B1:4).

pršˇn **Q** *m-pršˇn* (*mparšˇən, mpuršˇənne, mparšˇone*) **to lay flat stones, to pave** → *parša*

prtl **Q** *m-prtl* (*mpartəl, mpurtəlle, mpartole*) **to stagger, to twist; to throw** | *mpurtálli xa-kèpa*ˈ I threw a stone.

prtn **Q** *m-prtn* (*mpartən, mpurtənne, mpartone*) **to winnow (corn)** | *sáṛe xašlášxwala b-xašùlta*ˈ *ʾu-mpartənàxwala*ˈ *ʾu-qašràxwala*ˈ We would crush barley in a mortar, we winnowed it and removed the peal (B10:12).

prtr **Q** *m-prtr* (*mpartər, mpurtərre, mpartore*) **to stagger, to totter** | *wáha náša hóle mpartòre*ˈ That man is tottering.

prtx **Q** *m-prtx* (*mpartəx, mpurtəxle, mpartoxe*) **to break up; to crumble** | *mparətxàxwale,*ˈ *dɛrášxwale gu-d-o-gùpta*ˈ We crushed it (the herb) and put it in the cheese (B16:26).

prṭ **I** (*parət, priṭle, praṭa*) **to tear; to wear out; to cut off** | *prúṭ bàbe!*ˈ Cut off his father! (curse); *prīṭ-dína* destroyed of religion = irreligious (A30:28), *prīṭ-baba* destroyed of father = bastard (C7:11). **II** *m-prṭ* (*mparət, mpurəṭle, maroṭe*) **to destroy, to cut off** | *bába díya mparṭánne* I shall destroy her father (= to Hell with her father) (A30:37); *mparṭánne bàbux*ˈ I shall cut off your father (= to Hell with you).

prṭm **Q** *m-prṭm* (*mparṭəm, mpurṭəmle, mparṭome*) **to graft**

prx (i) **I** (*parəx, prixle, praxa*) **to crush (by rubbing together)** | *kerápso parxíla b-smòqe*ˈ They crush the *kerapso* herb together with sumac berries; *báθər barzáwa tŭtun,*ˈ *qémi šaqlíwala dɛréwa rəš-xa-băṭănìya,*ˈ *parxìwala táza*ˈ After the tobacco dried, they took it, put it on a blanket and crushed it thoroughly (B7:17).

prx (ii) **I** (*parəx, prixle, praxa*) **to fly; to fly away** | *xa-béna xázya ʾáθyɛle xa-xùwwe*ˈ *ʾax-pràxa*ˈ Then he saw a snake come, as if flying (A14:31); *ʾo-simárxa prìxɛle*ˈ The *simarxa* bird flew away (A14:69). **III** *m-prx* (*maprəx, muprəxle, maproxe*) **to cause to fly** | *mapərxálux šawwà yamáθa*ˈ She will fly you over the seven seas (A12:29).

pry **I** (*pare, prele, praya*) **to get light, to dawn; to channel (water)** | *dúnye prèla*ˡ */ préle pùrya*ˡ It became light (i.e. dawn came).

prz **II** *m-prz* (*mparəz, mpurəzle, mparoze*) **to spread out (bread)** | *ʾi-mpárzət zeðáye ta-t-qèri*ˡ You spread out flat breads so that they cool.

p̣x **I** (*paṣəx, p̣ixle, p̣axa*) **to smile; to rejoice**

pšm **I** (*pašəm, pšimle, pšama*) **to become sad, sorry** | *pšámən ràba*ˡ *t̂-in-màrəllɛxu*ˡ *quṣartɛ́xu mìθtɛla*ˡ I am very sorry to tell you that your cooking pot is dead (A5:10); *ʾáwwa məskéna ràba pšímle*ˡ He, poor man, became very sad (A4:5). **II** *m-pšm* (*mpašəm, mpušəmle, mpašome*) **to become sad, to regret; to make sad, to upset. III** *m-pšm* (*mapšəm, mupšəmle, mapšome*) **to cause to be sad; to cause to regret**

pšpš **Q** *m-pšpš* (*mpašpəš, mpušpəšle, mpašpoše*) **to whisper**

pšq **I** (*pašəq, pšiqle, pšaqa*) **to stretch (material); to lie stretched out** | *pšìqtɛla*ˡ *mìθtɛla*ˡ She fell flat and died (A30:37). **II** *m-pšq* (*mpašəq, mpušəqle, mpašoqe*) **to stretch out; to explain** | *mpušə́qle pàxre*ˡ He stretched out his body; *mpašqə́xle ʾəllux*ˡ We shall explain it to you.

pšr **I** (*pašər, pširre, pšara*) **to melt (intr.); to dissolve (intr.). II** *m-pšr* (*mpašər, mpušərre, mpašore*) **to melt (tr.), to dissolve (tr.); to digest.** (1) **to melt (tr.), to dissolve (tr.)** | *ʾáwwa xá-ga xéta dɛrɛ́le gu-mìya,*ˡ *mpašrìle*ˡ They put it (the dried yoghurt cake) again in water and dissolve it (B6:44); *məšxa mpušra* clarified butter. (2) **to digest, to chew the cud (cows)** | *báθər t-y-áwa tawriyáθa xìle,*ˡ *y-áθa manìxi,*ˡ *mpàšri*ˡ After cows have eaten, they come and rest and chew the cud.

pšṭ **I** (*pašəṭ, pšiṭle, pšaṭa*) **to stretch out; to fit into; to set (s.o.) on a journey.** (1) **to stretch out** | *pšíṭla ʾíða-diya l-šmàyya*ˡ She stretched her hand to heaven (A8:82); *pšúṭla ʾàqlux*ˡ *qắdər bărəkθux*ˡ Stretch your legs according to your cloth (D1:6). (2) **to fit into** | *ʾu-dráyəlla ʾíða díya ʾálle dìye,*ˡ *léla pšàṭa,*ˡ *sab-bóya zòrɛle*ˡ She (the bear) put her paw into it, but it did not fit in, since the hole was small (A20:6). (3) **to set (s.o.) on a journey** | *ʾu-qəm-paṣṭále b-ʾúrxa-w* She set him on the way (A21:23). **III** *m-pšṭ* (*mapšəṭ, mupšəṭle, mapšoṭe*) **to set (s.o.) on a journey** | *mupáštəlla ʾan-nàše*ˡ *ʾu-ṭlíbela xáṭər mənnèy*ˡ The people escorted them (out of the town) and bade them farewell (A29:66).

pšx **I** (*pašəx, pšixle, pšaxa*) **to cut down, to break** | *pašxa rase* (f.) late snow in the month of April (literally: breaker of *rasa* grass).

pšy **II** *m-pšy* (*mpaše, mpušele, mpašoye*) **to break wind silently**

ptpt **Q** *m-ptpt* (*mpatpət, mputpətle, mpatpote*) **to become rags, to fall apart (clothes); to tear apart** | *kréle gu-d-a-ʾàskarˡ qəm-mpatpàtlaˡ* He smote the army and tore it apart (A29:56).

pṭš **I** (*paṭəš, pṭišle, pṭaša*) **to mark, to soil** | *šərwáli hóle pṭíša ṭìnaˡ* My trousers have been soiled by mud.

pθl, ptl **I** (*paθəl/patəl*, f. *patla*, *pθille/ptille, pθala/ptala*) **to spin, to twist; to make a round** | *ʾítla xa-qáṣra pàtəlˡ* She has a palace that spins round (A12:24); *pθíltəlle xá mən-káwsa dìyaˡ* She twisted off one of her hair locks (A12:42); *ʾáyya pθíltəlle xa-gàrraˡ* She took a turn around (A51:10); *patláxxa dukáne* We take her (the bride) around various places (B5:38).

pθx **I** (*paθəx, pθixle, pθaxa*) **to open; to release** | *pθúx tă̆ra!ˡˡ* Open the door! (A23:26); *ʾéne pθìxtɛ́la,ˡ bas-ṭlìya hóleˡ* His eye is open, but he is asleep (A31:6); *náše paθxíwala míya gu-ʾă̆raˡ* People would release water onto the land. **II** *m-pθx* (*mpaθəx, mpuθəxle, mpaθoxe*) **to open out, to spread out** | *mattáxwale gu-bə̀dra,ˡ mpaθə̀xwaleˡ* We would put it (the harvested rice) on the threshing floor and spread it out (B5:82).

pθy **II** *m-pθy* (*mpaθe, mpuθele, mpaθoye*) **to spread out** | *y-oðále guttáθa qamə̀ye,ˡ ʾu-mpaθyále tàzaˡ* First she makes it (the dough) into balls and then spreads it out well (B5:101).

pxl **II** *m-pxl* (*mpaxəl, mpuxəlle, mpaxole*) **to forgive; to forgo, to relinquish** | *paxlə̀tli rábaˡ* I am very sorry (A1:11); *paxàlta!ˡˡ* Forgive me!; *pùxlɛ́wətˡ* You are forgiven; *xa-zawánwala ʾamə̀rwaˡ ʾána puxlàli ṭlálux*ˡ One would buy it and say 'I relinquish it (and give it back) to you' (Said by a buyer of an item from the wedding tree when he returns it to the groom so that he can sell it again B8:38)

pxpx **Q** *m-pxpx* (*mpaxpəx, mpuxpəxle, mpaxpoxe*) **to snooze (with light snoring)**

pyč̣ **I** (*payəč̣, pičị̆le, pyača̤*) **to squash** | *píčị̆le gàwzeˡ* He crushed walnuts.

pyð **I** (*payəð, pidle, pyaða*) **to pass; to pass by, to cross** | *ʾánna pìðela mánne díyeˡ* They passed by him (A15:13); *ʾan-tre-maláxe… θéla pyáða táma tàmaˡ* Those two angels… came passing by (A4:44); *ʾánna šáwwa yamáθa pɛðə̀tlaˡ* You should cross those seven seas (A12:25); *ʾáp ʾo-ṭúra pɛðə̀tleˡ* You should cross also that mountain (A24:12); *míya pɛ́ði*

*rəš-parránət ʾərxe,*ˈ *lɛ-pàtla*ˈ The water passes over the propellers of the watermill and it does not turn; *pídla dàna*ˈ Time passed (A46:2); *ʾáp-ʾani pìdla*ˈ He got away also with these (lies) (A32:17). **III** *m-pyð* (*mapyəð, mupyədle, mapyoðe*) **to cause to cross** | *mupíðəlla b-ḥŭdŭ̀d*ˈ They took them over the border (B5:161).

pyš **I** (*payəš, pišle, pyaša*) **to remain; to remain alive; to continue; to become; to begin; to pass (period of time)** (§15.8.). (1) **to remain** | *péši xátna-w kʾálo tàma*ˈ *hal-xušèba*ˈ The groom and bride stay there until Sunday (B5:51); *píšla ṭla-yàrxe*ˈ They stayed three months (A14:84). (2) **to remain alive** | *ʾu-xaráye ṭlíba díya qəm-šaqlə̀xle,*ˈ *ʾáy pìšla*ˈ In the end we took her betrothed but she remained alive (A4:45). (3) **to continue** | *píštɛla bxàya*ˈ She continued weeping (A4:44); *píšla béna gráša kúllət yóma mən-d-o-dùša*ˈ *hál ʾaṣə̀rta*ˈ All day they continued to draw out that honey, until evening (A14:15). (4) **to become** | *m-bár ṭaxnìle,*ˈ *páyəš qàmxa*ˈ *masqíle bèθa*ˈ After they grind it and it becomes flour, they take it up to the house (B5:99); *ʾána píšli bàxtux*ˈ I have become your wife (A25:66); *málla píšla quṣárta ta-màlla*ˈ As for the mullah, the cooking pot became the mullah's (A5:10). Onset of phases of time: *píšle yòma*ˈ *hár wewa-xðàra*ˈ Day came and he was still searching about (A14:24). (5) **to begin** | *ʾu-táwra píšle mangóle ʾáxxa l-tàmma*ˈ The ox began to limp back and forth (A22:3). (6) **to pass (period of time)** | *píšɛle xà-yarxa*ˈ *málka xzéle xa-xálma xèna*ˈ A month passed and the king had another dream (A1:9); *pɛšáwa xa-yóma trè,*ˈ *hál barə̀zwa*ˈ One or two days would go by until it became dry (B5:167). (7) Idioms: *ʾána hóle píša ləbbi*ˈ I am angry; *ʾánna píšla gu-lábbe díye kùlla*ˈ All these (words) weighed on his heart (A38:13). **III** *m-pyš* (*mapyəš, mupyəšle, mapyoše*) **to cause to remain; to leave behind** | *mupíšəlle b-šə̀na*ˈ They bid him farewell (A14:91); *ṭlàθna*ˈ *xonăwáθət Qára Tèždin*ˈ *mopíšəlle ləbbèy*ˈ Today the three brothers of Qara Teždin became angry.

pyx **I** (*payəx, pixle, pyaxa*) **to cool** | *gə̆́rəg xáčča pèxa dúnye*ˈ The weather must be somewhat cool (B5:177).

/Ṗ/

pḷʾ **II** *m-pḷʾ* (*mpə̆ḷe, mpŭḷele, mpə̆ḷoye*) **to imitate** | *ʾaw-máṣe mpə́ḷe bábi b-ṣáwθe dìye*ˈ He can imitate my father with his voice.

ṗṛm **I** (*ṗaṛəm, ṗṛimle, ṗṛama*) **to understand** | *ʾána ṗṛímli módile qəṣṣət*ˡ I understand what the situation is (A8:44).

ṗṛmy **Q** *m-ṗṛmy* (*mṗaṛme, mṗuṛmele, mṗaṛmoye*) **to understand** | *ṗuṛmèlux:ʔ*ˡ *hè,*ˡ *ṗuṛmèli*ˡ Do you understand? Yes, I understand.

/Q/

qbl **I** (*qabəl, qbille, qbala*) **to permit; to accept; to agree; to donate, to dedicate.** (1) **to permit** | *ʾána qáblən ṯ-àwər*ˡ I permit him to enter; *ʾáp-xa la-qáblət ṯ-áwər gu-bèθa*ˡ You should not allow anybody to come into the house (A23:25); *lá-qabəlwa ʾáxni saxəxwa*ˡ He did not allow us swim (A25:20). (2) **to accept, to recognize, to tolerate** | *ʾap-ʾáyya qbilàli*ˡ I accept also this (A15:17); *ʾu-là-qbilla*ˡ *baxt-xàli*ˡ The wife of my uncle did not tolerate this (A23:36); *ʾən-qablála ṣabòta*ˡ *yáʿni dánɛla qá-t dɛrɛ́la marèθa*ˡ If the finger tolerated (the heat of the milk), it meant that it was time to add the rennet (B5:164). (3) **to agree** | *qbíllən xázəx ǧðàðe*ˡ We agreed to see each other; *lá qabláwa ṯ-oráwa kʷàlo*ˡ The bride did not agree to enter (B10:35). (4) **to donate, to dedicate (to a saint)** | *flan-gàwza*ˡ *qablə̀nne*ˡ *ṭla-Màr-Ƶaya*ˡ I shall donate such-and-such a walnut tree to St. Zaya (A31:3); *bắyəx xámandi gu-tằra qablítula*ˡ We want you to pledge her something on the doorstep (B10:36). **II** *m-qbl* (*mqabəl, mqubəlle, mqabole*) **to receive, to accept** | *ʾúp-xa mənnɛ́xu là-mqabəlle šláme*ˡ None of you should accept his greeting (A25:47); *mqubáltəlle šláme díye rəš-rèša*ˡ She accepted his greeting over her head (i.e. did not acknowledge it) (A26:42).

qby **II** *m-qby* (*mqabe, mqubele, mqaboye*) **to swell, to blister** | contrast *m-by* (*maboye*), which denotes swelling without the accumulation of pus and blood.

qč̣ **I** (*qă̆če, qč̣ile/qč̣ele, qč̣aʾa/qč̣aya*) (§1.4.6.) **to cut; to pick (fruit)**

qč̣p **I** (*qač̣əp, qč̣iple, qč̣apa*) (§1.4.6.) **to pick, to cut down**

qdd **II** *m-qdd* (*mqadəd/mqă̆dəd, mqudədle/mqŭdədle, mqadode/mqă̆dode*) **to cut up (meat)**

qdqd **Q** *m-qdqd* (*mqadqəd, mqudqədle, mqadqode*) **to cut up finely**

qdr **II** (*mqadər/mqaddə̀r, mqudərre/mquddərre, mqadore/mqaddore*) (A.) **to reckon, to assess** | *mqaddárwale kəmà daqráwa*ˡ He would calculate how

much they were worth (B15:52); *ʾáxni ʾax-t-mqadrəxla*ˡ according to our reckoning (B6:31).

qdš **II** *m-qdš* (*mqadəš, mqudəšle, mqadoše*) **to sanctify**

qðl **I** (*qaðəl, qðille, qðala*) **to lock**

qðx **I** (*qaðəx, qðixle, qðaxa*) **to kindle, to spark (by striking flints or knocking a stone with a metal *manquš*)** | *mánquš qáðəx nùra,*ˡ *márpe čezəkke*ˡ A *manquš* strikes fire and makes sparks; *qðíxəlla ʾan-trepàrre*ˡ He kindled the two feathers (A24:55).

qḏy **I** (*qaḏe, qḏele, qḏaya*) (A.) **to spend (time)** | *ʾu-ʾáy-ži qḏíθəlle ʾó-lɛla díya tàma*ˡ She also spent the night there (A8:69); *ʾu-qaḏáxwa yóma qamáyət ʾèða,*ˡ *baráxtət ʾéða xa-d-o-xèna*ˡ We would spend the first day of the festival offering festival blessings to one another (B15:8).

qhr **II** *m-qhr* (*mqahər, mquhərre, mqahore*) **to grieve** | *ʾaw-bxéle ʾu-mquhərre*ˡ He wept and grieved (A37:6); *mquhárre l-bábe díye t-wewa mìθa*ˡ He grieved for his father who had died.

qlb **I** (*qaləb, qlible, qlaba*) **to turn over (intr.); to turn round (intr.); to return** | *qlíbɛle màlka,*ˡ *ʾáθya zína qám Bálbəl Hazàr*ˡ The king turned round and went and stood before Bəlbəl Hazar (A8:93); *kut-y-ázəl le-y-qáləb b-ay-ùrxa*ˡ Everybody who goes on that road does not return (A8:34); *káze qlùb*ˡ *máre là*ˡ He tried (to persuade him and said) 'Go back!' He said 'No' (A29:18). **III** *m-qlb* (*maqləb, muqləble, maqlobe*) **to turn over (tr.); to turn away; to send back, to return (tr.)** | *băyánna muqlábta hàtxa*ˡ I want her turned over like this (A27:33); *maqəlbíwale l-áy-gota xèta*ˡ They turned it (the stone) in the other direction (away from the sight of the other team) (B11:6); *maqəlbùle!*ˡ Send him back! (A2:9); *ʾən-hàwa*ˡ *ʾáčč̣i-u ʾáčč̣a maqəlbənna*ˡ If they (the coins) are (only) ninety-nine, I shall return them (A6:1); *ṭuráne maqlóbəlle qálət tòpe* The mountains are echoing back the sound of the guns.

qlbz **Q** *m-qlbz* (*mqalbəz, mqulbəzle, mqalboze*) **to turn over (intr. and tr.); to roll over (intr. and tr.)** | *juwíθa mqaləbzíla réša xtàya*ˡ They turn the pot upside down; *mqaləbzáxxe gu-šàṭṭa*ˡ We shall roll him over into the river (A30:48); *t-la-mqaləbzèti*ˡ *ṣálət ʾàti*ˡ so that you do not roll down (A30:50).

qlm **II** *m-qlm* (*mqăləm*, 3fs. *mqăləma, mqŭləmle, mqălome*) **to crop protruding branches (*qălame*) of a tree** | *mqăləmíla xùrta*ˡ They remove the protruding branches of the poplar.

qlp **I** (*qaləp, qliple, qlapa*) **to peel. II** (*mqaləp, mquləple, mqalope*) **to peel, to strip** | *náša mùlpa*ˡ *max-qésa mqùlpa*ˡ A man who has been taught and is like a stripped piece of wood (D2:22), i.e. his education is worthless.

qlṣn **Q** *m-qlṣn* (*mqalṣən, mqulṣənne, mqalṣone*) **to smart (due to sting or prick of a thorn)**

qly **I** (*qale, qlele, qlaya*) **to fry** | *ʾelíθa qaləxwa*ˡ We used to fry the sheep's tail fat (B10:1); *qlíθəlla gu-məšxa*ˡ She fried them in oil (A21:30).

qmqm **Q** *m-qmqm* (*mqamqəm, mqumqəmle, mqamqome*) **to have flatulence; to buzz** | *mqumqə́mla kàsi*ˡ I had flatulence in my stomach; *mqumqə́mla nàθi*ˡ My ear buzzed (said when people are speaking about you).

qmṭ **I** (*qamət, qmiṭle, qmaṭa*) **to tie up, to bind up (wound); to tighten** | *qamṭála ʾáqle dìye*ˡ She tied up his legs (A50:7); *qmíṭəlla xáṣe ʾu-zìlɛle*ˡ He tied them (the sticks) onto his back and went off (A30:22).

qmy **I** (*qame, qmele, qmaya*) **to scorch (clothes) (tr. and intr.)** | *qméla ṣùdri*ˡ My shirt has scorched; *núra qəm-qaméla ṣùdri*ˡ The fire has scorched my shirt.

qntl **Q** *m-qntl* (*mqantəl, mquntəlle, mqantole*) **to mate (animals)** | *kálwe mqanàtli*ˡ Dogs mate.

qny **I** (*qane, qnele, qnaya*) **to gain, to earn; to possess** | *qanɛ́wa ʾərwe*ˡ They possessed sheep.

qnz **I** (*qanəz, qnizle, qnaza*) **to become crooked (old man); to bend over into a humped or crooked position, to hunch**

qpl **I** (*qapəl, qpille, qpala*) **to carry (a child, a load) in one's arms**

qps **II** *m-qps* (*mqapəs, mqupəsle, mqapose*) **to compress, to push down (pile)**

qpx **I** (*qapəx, qpixle, qpaxa*) **to cover, to possess (evil spirit)** | *saṭána qpìxəlle*ˡ The devil has possessed him; *qəm-qaqxála ʃ̂ədda*ˡ A demon has possessed her; *y-ámri ʾən-xáyər b-séra ràba,*ˡ *qapxále xwàrθe*ˡ They say that if he looks at the moon a lot his companion spirit will possess him.

qpy **I** (*qape, qpele, qpaya*) **to catch; to block (the flow of water)** | *qápela gùtta*ˡ He catches the ball; *ṭárpe qpáyəlla mìya*ˡ The leaves are blocking the water.

qrb **I** (*qarəb, qrible, qraba*) **to approach, to become near**

qrbn **Q** *m-qrbn* (*mqarbən, mqurbənne, mqarbone*) **to approach** | *lé-y-maṣəxwa ṣabrə́xwa ʾazə̀xwa*ˈ *qarbənáxwa ʾəllə̀y*ˈ We did not dare approach them (B15:10).

qrč̣p **Q** *m-qrč̣p* (*mqarč̣əp, mqurč̣əple, mqarč̣ope*) **to cut down, to harvest (fruit)**

qrdš **Q** *m-qrdš* (*mqardəš, mqurdəšle, mqardoše*) **to make a clattering noise; to shatter (with a loud noise)** | *qáṭu wə̀rtɛla,*ˈ *npílta gu-d-án panjàne*ˈ *mqurə̀dxela*ˈ *ʾánna ṛišela*ˈ A cat came in, fell into the glasses, they shattered and they woke up (A4:53).

qrm (i) **I** (*qarəm, qrimle, qrama*) **to win; to beat** | *bálki qàrmən*ˈ Perhaps I shall win (A1:4); *qəm-qarə̀mla* He has won it (the egg) (B5:59); *qəm-qarmə̀nnux*ˈ I have beaten you. **II** *m-qrm* (*mqarəm, mqurəmle, mqarome*) **to cause to win; to lose (a game)** | *ʾan-ṯ-íla mqùrme*ˈ *pé́ši gawàye*ˈ Those who have lost remain inside (B11:7). **III** *m-qrm* (*maqrəm, muqrəmle, maqrome*) **to cause to win, to lose (a game)**

qrm (ii) **I** (*qarəm, qrimle, qrama*) **to cover** | *qrúšta qrímla l-màsta*ˈ A crust covered the yoghurt; *qrámtət šə́rma darmánət bušàla*ˈ The cover of the buttocks (= the fat of a sheep's tail) is the substance of the stew (D1:13); *qarmáxla páθən ta-t-là nɛsílən dabáše*ˈ We cover our faces so that the bees do not sting us (B14:10).

qrmč̣ **Q** *m-qrmč̣* (*mqarməč̣, mqurməč̣le, mqarmoče*) (§1.4.6.) **to crumple**

qrmṭ **Q** *m-qrmṭ* (*mqarməṭ, mqurməṭle, mqarmoṭe*) **to crumple; to tie in a bundle** | *mqárməṭle b-xàwla!*ˈ Tie it up with rope!

qrmx **Q** *m-qrmx* (*mqarməx, mqurməxle, mqarmoxe*) **to crush, to crumble (in hands)**

qrn **II** *m-qrn* (*mqắrən, mqŭ́rənne, mqắrone*) **to grow up, to become big; to bring up** | *Qaṭína mqŭ́rənne mṭéle gàwṛa*ˈ Qaṭina grew up and became a man (A52:3); *hóli mqŭ́rənəlle*ˈ I have brought him up.

qrnz **Q** *m-qrnz* (*mqarnəz, mqurnəzle, mqarnoze*) **to shiver (from cold or fever)**

qrp **I** (*qarəp, qriple, qrapa*) **to throw, to fling** | *qrípəlle tămàha*ˈ He flung it away (A27:43).

qrpč **Q** *m-qrpč* (*mqarpəč, mqurpəčle, mqarpoče*) **to hit, to beat**

qrpx **Q** *m-qrpx* (*mqarpəx, mqurpəxle, mqarpoxe*) **to slap, to hit hard**

qrqr **Q** *m-qrqr* (*mqarqər, mqurqərre, mqarqore*) **to squeak** | *qarqárte dìyela*ˈ He made a squeaking noise (with the plough) (A30:9).

qrqz **Q** *m-qrqz* (*mqarqəz, mqurqəzle, mqarqoze*) **to prepare; to put in order**

qrr **II** *m-qrr* (*mqărər, mqŭrərle, mqărore*) (A.) **to decide**

qrṣ **I** (*qarəṣ, qriṣle, qraṣa*) **to pinch; to burn (partially), to catch (food)**

qrṣn **Q** *m-qrṣn* (*mqarṣən, mqurṣənne, mqarṣone*) **to sting (nettle)** → *quraṣina*

qrš **I** (*qarəš, qrišle, qraša*) **to cover; to roof (a house)** | *gáre díye ʾi-qaršìle*ˈ They build a roof on it; *bnéli gudánət bèθa*ˈ *pyáša qràša*ˈ I have built the walls of the house, the roofing remains to be done. → *qarše*

qrṭ **I** (*qarəṭ, qriṭle, qraṭa*) **to bite; to gnaw; to trim (trees); to be tough.** (1) **to bite, to gnaw** | *hóle qráṭa ṭəpràθe*ˈ He is biting his nails; *bárye m-ʾaqúbre qárṭi mzìðe*ˈ Those born of mice gnaw storage bags (D2:78). (2) **to trim (trees)** | *gu-qéṭa qarṭáxwala ʾilanàne*ˈ In the summer we used to trim the trees. (3) **to be tough** | *ʾánna ʾánwe qàrṭi,*ˈ *léla bšíle bšàla*ˈ These grapes are tough, they have not ripened fully. | **III** *m-qrṭ* (*maqrəṭ, muqrəṭle, maqroṭe*) **to cut with scissors (*maqaṣta*); to clip** | *maqráṭwa káwsət Z̃àlo*ˈ He used to cut the hair of Zāl (A29:3); *ʾu-tŭtun ʾímət pɛšáwa gòṛta,*ˈ *maqərṭìwala*ˈ When the tobacco became big, they would clip it down (B7:16).

qrṭn **Q** *m-qrṭn* (*mqarṭən, mqurṭənne, mqarṭone*) **to put a blanket on the back of animal** → *qurṭana*

qrṭp **Q** *m-qrṭp* (*mqarṭəp, mqurṭəple, mqarṭope*) **to break off**

qrw **I** (*qaru, qrule/qriwle, qrawa*) **to approach; to take communion.** (1) **to approach** | *qrúla kəsle dìye*ˈ They approached it (A14:42); *ʾé-ga ṭ-ìla-qriwta ʾálla,*ˈ *…xáčča biš-šlèla*ˈ When she came near to her…she became a little calmer (A4:17). (2) **to take communion** | *ʾazáwa ʾúmra qa-ṭ-qarwàwa,*ˈ *dášta ṃaḷyáwa rakáwe ʾarabàye.*ˈ She went to church to take communion and the plain filled with Arab horsemen (A37:2). **II** *m-qrw* (*mqaru, mqurele, mqarowe*) **to approach** | *ʾáp-xa lá-biš-ile-mṣaya mqarów-əlla dìya*ˈ Nobody was able to go near her at all (A4:6).

qrx (i) **I** (*qarəx, qrixle, qraxa*) **to become white; to make white** | *káwsət sáwa qrìxle*ˡ The hair of the old man became white; *mút qráxəlla kàkux?*ˡ Why are you showing your teeth (grinning)? **III** (*maqrəx, muqrəxle, maqroxe*) **to whiten; to whitewash; to polish (brass)** | *hóle maqróxe gudàne*ˡ He is whitewashing the walls (with white clay) → *maqərxana*

qrx (ii) **I** (*qarəx, qrixle, qraxa*) **to knock off (twigs, buds, blossoms)** | *máṭra qəm-qarxála pàqxe*ˡ The rain has knocked off the blossoms.

qry **I** (*qare, qrele, qraya*) **to call; to read; to study.** (1) **to call** | *qáryəlle xəmyáne dìye*ˡ He called his father-in-law (A17:29). With *b-*: *qréle b-wǎ̀zīr dìye*ˡ He called his minister (A21:2); *qréla b-o-gáwṛa dìya*ˡ She called her husband (A14:101). (2) **to read** | *kθáwa qrìθəlle*ˡ She read the letter (A25:72). (3) **to study** | *y-aθéwa ʾɛ̄n-Núne qarɛ̀wa*ˡ They used to come to ʾɛn-Nune to study. **III** *m-qry* (*maqre, muqrele, maqroye*) **to cause to read, to teach**

qsm **II** (*mqasəm, mqusəmle, mqasome*) (A.) **to divide** | *ʾíθ xa-dàšta*ˡ *mqusàmta*ˡ *xaqlàθa* There is a plain divided into fields (B4:1); *mqasmíwala qa-məššàre*ˡ They would divide them (the fields) into paddy field basins (B7:10).

qṣd **I** (*qaṣəd, qṣidle, qṣada*) (A.) **to move towards, to make for** (*l-*) | *θáya qṣáda l-béθe dìye*ˡ (It) was coming towards his house (A8:90).

qṣf **I** (*qaṣəf, qṣifle, qṣafa*) (A.) **to shatter, to cut to pieces**

qṣqṣ **Q** *m-qṣqṣ* (*mqaṣqəṣ, mquṣqəṣle, mqaṣqoṣe*) **to creak, to crack** | *gáre mšoréla mqaṣqòṣe*ˡ The roof began to creak.

qṣy **I** (*qaṣe, qṣele, qṣaya*) **to cut (bread, fruit)** | *ʾaw-xabúša qṣèle*ˡ He cut the apple (A4:16).

qšmr **Q** *m-qšmr* (*mqašmər, mqušmərre, mqašmore*) **to mock, to make fun of** | *la mqašmàrri!*ˡ */ la mqášmər ṭlàli!*ˡ Do not make fun of me!

qšqš **Q** *m-qšqš* (*mqašqəš, mqušqəšle, mqašqoše*) **to rustle (leaves)**

qšr **II** *m-qšr* (*mqašər, mqušərre, mqašore*) **to peal** | *sáṛe xašláxwala b-xašùlta*ˡ *ʾu-mpartənàxwala*ˡ *ʾu-qašrə̀xwala*ˡ We would crush barley in a mortar, we winnowed it and removed the peal (B10:12).

qṭ' **I** (*qăṭe, qṭile/qṭele, qṭaʾa/qṭaya*) **to cut; to be cut; to finish; to decide.** (1) **to cut, to be cut** | *kúlla waríðax qăṭ̀ənna*ˡ I shall cut all your roots (A25:64); *qăṭíwa ṭàrpe* They would cut down leaves (B5:118); *b-ču-ʾúrxa ʾo-Dəmdə́ma lɛ́ šaqlìtule*ˡ *ʾólla qăṭítula míyət Dəmdə́ma*ˡ By no means will you capture Dəmdəma unless you cut off the water of Dəmdəma

(A11:17); *qəm-qăṭále m-mămòṣe*ˡ / *qəm-qăṭále m-xə̀lya*ˡ She weaned him; *mən-ə̀dyo*ˡ *malkùθa*ˡ *m-bnónux qə̀ṭa*ˡ From today the kingship will be cut off from your sons (A8:96). (2) **to finish** | *qam-qăṭíwa məṭráθa*ˡ before the (season of) rains finished (B10:58). (3) **to decide** | *qṭéli ʾáθən lə̀xxa*ˡ I decided to come here; *ʾána ʾu-ʾáti qṭélən l-d-áwwa šùla*ˡ You and I decided on this matter. With obj. *xəyala* thought: *qṭíla xəyála dìya*ˡ She has made up her mind (A8:49); *xəyálɛxu mù-qṭila?*ˡ What decision have you made? (B5:2); *ʾo-yóma qăṭíwa nə̀qda*ˡ On that day they would decide on money (B5:8). **II** *m-qṭ'* (*mqăṭe, mqŭṭele, mqăṭoye*) **to separate stones from grains by tossing grains in the air**

qṭl **I** (*qaṭə́l, qṭille, qṭala*) **to kill** | *qaṭlə́nna yáha ʾaqə́rwa dìya*ˡ I'll kill that scorpion right now (A9:3); *ʾap-qṭála bə̆yə́nwa qaṭlə̀nwale*ˡ I even wanted to to kill him (A1:17). **III** *m-qṭl* (*maqṭə́l, muqṭə́lle, maqṭole*) **to cause to kill, to cause to be killed** | *ʾáwwa náša sáwa ṭla-mó qəm-maqəṭlátle bìyi?*ˡ Why did you cause that old man to be killed by me? (A15:18).

qṭp **I** (*qaṭə́p, qṭiple, qṭapa*) **to pick, to harvest (grapes); to separate (liquids)** | *raxθíwa dàwwe*ˡ *šoqə́xwala qaṭpìwa*ˡ The yoghurt boiled and we let it separate (from the water) (B10:9).

qṭqṭ **Q** *m-qṭqṭ* (*mqaṭqə́ṭ, mquṭqə́ṭle, mqaṭqoṭe*) **to cut into small pieces; to cluck (hen)**

qṭr **I** (*qaṭə́r, qṭirre, qṭara*) **to build an arch (of a bridge)** | *hóle qṭára qə̀ṭra*ˡ He is building an arch; *kə́mət baníwale ta-t-qaṭə́rwa ʾo-gə̀sra,*ˡ *là qaṭə́rwa*ˡ However much they built the bridge in order for its arch to be completed, its arch was not completed (C8:1).

qθr **I** (*qaθə́r, qθirre, qθara*) **to tie a knot; to be tied** | *ləbbə́t kačče bə́t-qaθər* the heart of the girl will be tied up (C2:71).

qwd **II** *m-qwd* (*mqawə́d, mquwə́dle, mqawode*) **to put on handuffs, to fetter**

qwl **I** (*qawə́l, qwille, qwala*) **to complain** | *hár y-awewa-qwála m-xayúθe dìye*ˡ He was always complaining about his life (A3:1); *qwála ṭla-ʾalàha*ˡ He was complaining to God (A14:23); **II** *m-qwl* (*mqawə́l/mqăwə́l, mquwə́lle, mqawole*) **to promise** | *mqawòlɛwən*ˡ *ʾap-an-zúze kúlla ṯ-in šqìlə́lla*ˡ *pə́lə́nna pàlge*ˡ I promise I'll divide into half also all the money that I took (A1:17); *ʾána mquwáltən mə̀nne*ˡ I have promised him (A14:86); *nə́mu lat-mqúla mə̀nni?*ˡ Have you not promised me? (A15:14).

qwm **II** *m-qwm* (*mqawə́m/mqăwə́m, mquwə́mle, mqawome*) **to happen, to befall** | *mquwə́mle ʾə́llən xa-mə̀ndi*ˡ Something has happened to us; *módi mqúma ʾə́llux?*ˡ What has befallen you? (A17:31).

qwqy **Q** *m-qwqy* (*mqawqe, mquqele, mqawqoye*) **to bark (fox)**

qwr **I** (*qawər, qwirre, qwara*) **to bury**. **II** *m-qwr* (*mqawər, mquwərre, mqawore*) **to bury**

qwx **III** *m-qwx* (*maqwəx, muqwəxle, maqwoxe*) **to make a noise**

qwy (i) **I** (*qawe, qwele, qwaya*) **to become strong, to become tough** | *mandrìle gáre*ˈ *qa-t-qàwe*ˈ They roll the roof so that it becomes tough (B5:194). **III** *m-qwy* (*maqwe, muqwele, maqwoye*) **to strengthen**

qwy (ii) **I** (*qawe, qwele, qwaya*) **to scoop** | *tiwta b-qwaya b-qawwa* She is sitting scooping with a scoop (C2:8).

qy **I** (*qăye, qele, qăya*) **to be blunt**

qym **I** (*qayəm, qimle, qyama*) **to rise, to get up; to grow; to begin; to be descended (by genealogy); marker of onset of action.** (1) **to rise, to get up** | *ʾay-qìmtɛla,*ˈ *wíðta qàwa*ˈ She got up and made coffee (A26:31); *qu-pɛ́gən kàde!*ˈ Get up and bake *kade* cakes! (A30:41); *brónux b-tàrəṣ*ˈ *ʾu-b-qàyəm*ˈ Your son will be cured and will get up (off his sickbed) (A8:95); *Mắmo qímɛle rəš-gàne*ˈ Mămo stood up (A26:5); *lá-qɛmət ʾəllèy*ˈ You will not rise against them (A8:95); *y-oráwa xá-saʾət biz-zòda,*ˈ *qayəmwa*ˈ After another hour had passed, the resurrection would be celebrated (literally: He [Christ] would rise) (B5:54). (2) **to grow (tall)** | *ʾu-mtắməzíwale rəzza,*ˈ *níxa nìxa,*ˈ *hál qayəmwa*ˈ They cleared the rice (of weeds) until it gradually grew (tall) (B5:79). (3) **to begin** | *qímla zráʾa xabùše*ˈ They began to cultivate apples (B5:75). (4) **to be descended (by genealogy)** | *ʾáxni yằðəx*ˈ *hal-díya kəmèla qíme*ˈ We know how many offspring there have been until now (B8:1). (5) **marker of the onset of an action or situation** (§18.3.1.) | *qímela tìwela,*ˈ *wíðela tàgbir*ˈ They sat down and made a plan (A26:2); *qímɛle píšɛle màjbur*ˈ *Mắmo dìṛɛle*ˈ Mămo was forced to return (A26:38). **III** *m-qym* (*maqyəm/măqim, muqyəmle/mŭqimle, maqyome/măqome*) **to raise, to resurrect; to bring up; to appoint; to remove** (1) **to raise, to resurrect** | *maqimə̀xle*ˈ We shall resurrect him (A4:46). (2) **to bring up** | *yə́mmi qəm-măqimàley,*ˈ *qəm-magurà̀la*ˈ My mother brought them up and married them off (B8:13). (2) **to appoint, to install** | *ʾu-ʾáxni-ži láx muqíme m-báθre díye màlka*ˈ We have not installed (another) king after him (A4:32). (3) **to remove, to deport, to evacuate** | *b-ɛ́-šeta píšla Dúre muqyàmta-w*ˈ *kúlla máθwaθət Bèrwər,*ˈ *sáma zóda t-maθwàθa*ˈ *píšla moqìme*ˈ In that year Dure was evacuated and all the villages of Barwar, or most of the villages, were evacuated (B1:8).

qyp **I** (3fs. *qɛpa, qipla, qyapa*) **to brood (hen)** | *kθɛθa qipta* booding hen

qyr **I** (*qayər, qirre, qyara*) **to cool, to become cold** | *xùl!ˡ dànɛla,ˡ qìrraˡ* Eat! It is time. It has got cold. (B5:34); *qəm-xăðíla hátxa t-la-qɛralèyˡ* They wrapped them (in clothes), like this, so that they would not be cold (A8:12). **III** *m-qyr* (*maqyər/măqir, muqyərre/mŭqirre, maqyore/măqore*) **to cool (tr.)**

qyṣ **I** (*qayəṣ, qiṣle, qyaṣa*) **to cut (with scissors)** | *qəm-qayáṣle káwse dìyeˡ* He cut his hair (A29:3).

qyx **I** (*qayəx, qixle, qyaxa*) **to fade, to become yellow (grass)**

qyθ **I** (*qayəθ, qitle, qyaθa*) **to hit; to knock; to touch** (*b-* sth./s.o.). (1) **to hit; to knock** | *bàlkiˡ képa qítle b-gàwzaˡ npìlle-ʾăra gáwzaˡ* Perhaps the stone has hit the walnut, and the walnut has fallen on the ground (= Perhaps I am in luck) (A1:5); *ʾáqli qítla b-kanòštaˡ* My foot hit the broom (A20:10); *qáyəθ b-o-t̂-íle dàpneˡ* He knocked into the one next to him (A22:34); *nčîla rēš-déwaˡ qíθa tămàhaˡ* He (the lion) tore off the head of the wolf and knocked it away (A42:2). (2) **to touch** | *ʾána la-qéθən b-čù məndíˡ* I shall not touch anything (i.e. I shall not eat) (A14:59).

qzd **II** *m-qzd* (*mqazəd, mquzədle, mqazode*) (K./A.) **to approach; to pick a fight with, to challenge** | *xwárza mquzádle kəs-xàlaˡ* The nephew went over to the uncle (A25:50); *qzídɛle ʾálla díya t̂-axəlwàlaˡ* He (the lion) made towards her (the rabbit) in order to eat her (A46:3).

qždr **Q** *m-qždr* (*mqaždər, mquždərre, mqaždore*) **to take control of, to seize; to interfere** | *quždárra b-xaθèyˡ* They seized their sister (B3:13); *mqáždrən gu-šúla dìyuxˡ* I shall interfere in your affairs.

qzqz **Q** *m-qzqz* (*mqazqəz, mquzqəzle, mqazqoze*) **to prepare; to put in order** | *ʾána mquzqáztən bèθaˡ* I have put the house in order (A21:15)

/r/

rʾð **II** *m-rʾð* (*mrawəð/mrăwəð, mruwədle, mrawoðe*) **to quake (earth)**

rḍy, rðy **III** *m-rḍy* (*marḍe/marðe, murḍele/murðele, marḍoye/marðoye*) (A.) **to satisfy; to reconcile**

rgd **I** (*ragəd, rgidle, rgada*) **to tremble, to shiver. III** *m-rgd* (*margəd, murgədle, margode*) **to tremble, to shiver**

rgrg **Q** *m-rgrg* (*mragrəg, mrugrəgle, mragroge*) **to quiver, to shake (out of old age)**

rḥq **I** (*raḥəq, rḥiqle, rḥaqa*) **to become distant, to move away** | *ʾánna rḥíqla mənnèy*ˈ They moved away from them (B9:22).

rhw **I** (*haru, rhule/rhiwle, rhawa/hrawa*) (§8.16.8.) **to speak; to speak agitatedly, angrily** | *mára kʷèle brónux.*ʔˈ *… léle hràwa*ˈ She says 'Where is your son?' … He does not speak (A4:36); *málka rhìwa xábra ṯ-ázi ṣ́éda*ˈ The king announced that they would go hunting (A13:4); *ʾu-ṭ̀èra*ˈ *la-hàru*ˈ The bird will not speak (in protest) (A24:18); *la-hɛ́rwət mànni*ˈ Do not speak angrily with me (A1:18).

rjm **I** (*rajəm, rjimle, rjama*) (A.) **to stone**

rkw **I** (*raku, rkule/rkiwle, rkawa*) **to ride; to copulate with**

rkx **I** (*rakəx, rkixle, rkaxa*) **to become soft** | *xáčča ʾi-ràkxa dúka*ˈ The place becomes quite soft (B5:95). **III** *m-rkx* (*markəx, murkəxle, markoxe*) **to cause to become soft** | *rázza xá-yoma qam-dána ʾiyéwa murə́kxa gu-juwàla*ˈ The rice one day beforehand was softened in a sack (with water) (B5:78).

rmy **I** (*rame, rmele, rmaya*) **to grieve; to put ash on (oneself out of grief)** | *mšúryela bxàya,*ˈ *mxáya l-ganèy*ˈ *ʾu-rmáya ganèy*ˈ They began weeping, beating themselves and putting ash on themselves (A4:37); *spéli ʾu-rmèli*ˈ I have grasped (ash) and put in (on myself) = I am in grief; *rəmyàθa hawetúwa.*ˈˈ May you (fpl.) be cursed ones (A26:27).

rprp **Q** *m-rprp* (*mraprəp, mrupraple, mraprope*) **to hover; to palpitate** | *ʾéni hóla mrapròpe*ˈ My eye is quivering.

rpy **I** (*rape, rpele, rpaya*) **to become weak, to droop; to throw down; to cast** | *rə́pyɛləlla*ˈ He threw it (the bag) down (A25:33); *rapéle ʾo-kèpa*ˈ He threw down the stone (A9:5); *ʾaṣ́ərta yoma gnele panya ṭalana rpele* In the evening the sun set and cast a shadow on the shadow side of the mountain (C2:5). **II** *m-rpy* (*mrape, mrupele, mrapoye*) **to release; to throw; to throw away; to lay (an egg); to let hand down; to produce; to divorce.** (1) **to release** | *súse díye hóle mrúpyəlle gu-màrga*ˈ He released his horse in the meadow (A25:56); *yamyannux … ʾíða t-la mrapyən mənne* I swear … I will not release him (C2:19). (2) **to throw**

| *mrúpyəlla qáme dìye*ˡ He threw them before him (A12:18); *rắpili m-an-képe ṯ-íla tàma*ˡ Throw me the stones that are there (A14:70). (3) **to throw away** | *rápile qðàle-diye!*ˡ Throw away its neck! (A14:67). (4) **to lay (an egg)** | *kθéθa mrupéla bèta*ˡ The chicken laid an egg. (5) **to let hang down, to let grow down** | *mrapyala tre bəskone* She lets two tresses grow down (C2:80). (6) **to produce** | *ʾawwa-gə́lla mrápe wàrde*ˡ This plant produces flowers. (7) **to divorce** | *qəm-mrapéla bàxte*ˡ He divorced his wife. **III** *m-rpy* (*marpe, murpele, marpoye*) **to let go; to let droop, hang down** | *háwət hə́šyər ʾína ʾáyya sústa là marpə́tla*ˡ Be careful not to let that horse go (A12:29); *márpo m-ġðàðe!*ˡ Leave go of each other! (A26:46); *marpáxxe bèθa*ˡ We shall abandon the house (A30:41); *kut-šáwwa yomàne*ˡ *xúwwe marpélən mìya*ˡ Every seven days a snake releases water for us (A24:38); *b-záwna qamáya kúlla marpéwala dəqnèy*ˡ In the old days everybody would let their beard grow down.

rpθ **I** (*rapəθ, rpitle, rpaθa*) **to quiver; to blink, to wink** | *bə́sri hóle rpàθa*ˡ My skin is quivering; *ʾéni hóle rpàθa*ˡ My eye is winking.

rqð **I** (*raqəð, rqidle, rqaða*) **to dance** | *ʾu-ʾáti də-ráqðət šɛšátla gànəx*ˡ You should dance and shake yourself (A27:11). **III** *m-rqð* (*marqəð, murqədle, marqoðe*) **to make dance** | *ʾu-ʾàna*ˡ *marəqðənnəx*ˡ I shall make you dance (A27:11).

ršm **I** (*rašəm, ršimle, ršama*) **to draw; to make a sign; to make the sign of the cross** | *qam-ʾíxala ʾu-báθər ʾixála rášməx ṣlìwa*ˡ Before food and after food we make the sign of the cross; *ʾi-rášəm hátxa gu-réšət nàše*ˡ He (the priest) makes a sign like this on the heads of the people (B6:3). **II** *m-ršm* (*mrašəm, mrušəmle, mrašome*) **to make a sign of the cross** | *mrašəmwala*ˡ He made a sign of the cross on them (B8:43).

rsm **II** *m-rsm* (*mrasəm, mrusəmle, mrasome*) (A.) **to make a sign of the cross**

rθx → *rxθ*

rwy **I** (*rawe, rwele, rwaya*) **to become drunk** | *mən-d-ó-xamra b-ràwe*ˡ It will become drunk from the wine (A12:47).

rxm **I** (*raxəm, rximle, rxama*) **to love; to copulate with** | *rximtanwale ṭla xewa* I fell in love with him for a weaving hook (C2:61); *rxìməlla*ˡ He copulated with her. **II** *m-rxm* (*mraxəm, mruxəmle, mraxome*) **to take pity** (*l-* on) | *mraxmət-əlli,*ˡ *ʾálaha mraxm-əllux*ˡ If you take pity on me, God will take pity on you (A14:75). **III** *m-rxm* (*marxəm, murxəmle, marxome*) **to**

make friendly, to make welcoming, comfortable | *muráxməlla dúkθa qá-t ʾárwe dàwṛi táma*ˡ They have made the place suitable for the sheep to dwell in.

rxq **I** (*raxəq, rxiqle, rxaqa*) **to become far, to move far away** | *kmá-t sàprətˡ ʾárwux b-ràxqi*ˡ The longer you wait, the further your sheep will move away (D2:29), i.e. do not procrastinate.

rxš **I** (defective, no present base: *xišle, xaša*) **to go** (Urm.); **to walk** | *xíšɛle l-bɛ̀θa*ˡ He went home (A1:9); *ʾána har-ʾa-díyi zála xìšta*ˡ I am done for (A14:29); *xášən b-šère*ˡ I am continuing with the poems (B1:15).

rxθ, rθx **I** (*raxəθ, rxitle, rxaθa*) **to boil (intr.); to ferment** | *míya hóla rxàθa/ rθàxa*ˡ The water is boiling; *raxθíwa dàwwe*ˡ The yoghurt water used to boil (B10:9). **III** *m-rxθ, m-rθx* (*marxəθ, murxətle, marxoθe*) **to boil (tr.)** | *xálya marəxθìle*ˡ They boil the milk (B6:37); *ʾan-dáwwe dìye*ˡ *marəθxìwala*ˡ They would boil that yoghurt water (B7:22).

ryð **I** (*rayəð, ridle, ryaða*) **to darn**

rym **I** (*rayəm, rimle, ryama*) **to rise up; to overspread, to cover** | *qáyəm qèdamta*ˡ *ʾína xɛpùθa*ˡ *ryáma mən-ʾa̰ra*ˡ He got up in the morning and saw that a mist was rising from the ground (A25:43); *míya mšuréla ryàma*ˡ The water began to rise (B6:17); *gútta y-átwa ʾu-rèma*ˡ The ball bounces; *ʾíθwa xa-móndi rayámwa rèše,*ˡ *y-amráxxa šəllùxta*ˡ There was something that covered them, which we call the 'husk' (B16:30). **III** *m-rm* (*marəm/mărəm, mŭrəmle, mărome*) **to raise** | *qəm-marmála ʾiða-díya raš-kullèy*ˡ She raised her hand over all of them (A8:84); *ʾé-gɛla ḥŭdúde mùrme,*ˡ *gu-Tùrki músqe*ˡ At that time the borders were raised, they were moved up to Turkey (B9:21).

ryp **I** (*rayəp, riple, ryapa*) **to attack** | *šawwà xonăwáθa,*ˡ *rìpe b-réše díye*ˡ *b-mɛ̀re*ˡ Her seven brothers, attacked his head with spades (A34:15); *rípeləlle kùlla*ˡ They all attacked him (A35:21).

ryq **I** (*rayəq, riqle, ryaqa*) **to spit**

rys **I** (*rayəs, risle, ryasa*) **to sprinkle** | *miyət warde rɛsəxle* Let us sprinkle him with rose water (B8:24). **III** *m-rys* (*maryəs/măris, muryəsle/mŭrisle, maryose/mărose*) **to sprinkle** | *náše kúlla pàlṭiˡ xa-maryóse ʾo-xréna mìya*ˡ All the people go out and sprinkle water on each other (B6:10).

ryθ **I** (*rayəθ, ritle, ryaθa*) **to inherit**

ryx **I** (*rayəx, rixle, ryaxa*) **to become long. III** *m-ryx* (*maryəx/mărix, muryəxle/mŭrixle, maryoxe/măroxe*) **to make long** | *lá măríxəxla gu-bərràne*ˡ We shall not dwell longer on (the game) *bərrane* (B11:9).

ryz **III** *m-ryz* (*maryəz/măriz, muryəzle/mŭrizle, maryoze/măroze*) (K.) **to stand in a row; to put in a row** | *ʾu-murízela mbádla jàlde*ˡ They lined up early in the morning (A4:35); *hóla muryázze tàma*ˡ They are lined up there (A8:47); *y-áwa mríze kúlla mɛxòlta*ˡ They would have lined up all the food (B5:67).

rzg **I** (*razəg, rzigle, rzaga*) **to be ready; to finish.** | *rzúgu ṣàləx*ˡ Get ready, we are going down (A12:6); *Rustắmo qalúnke díye grìšle.*ˡ *rzìgle,*ˡ *qəm-mattúle hátxa l-ʾằra.*ˡ Rustam smoked his pipe. He finished it and put it on the floor. (A29:47); *rázgi mbádla dàna*ˡ They finish (eating) in the early morning (B5:36). **II** *m-rzg* (*mrazəg, mruzəgle, mrazoge*) **to make ready, to prepare** | *mrázəgli xa-súsa xwàra*ˡ Prepare a white horse for me (A8:62); *mrázgət gànux*ˡ Prepare yourself (A6:4); *y-áwa mrúzge xùmṣa*ˡ They would have prepared *xumṣa* (B5:36).

rzl **II** *m-rzl* (*mrazəl, mruzəlle, mrazole*) **to be paralysed**

/Ṛ/

ṛy **I** (*ṛăye, ṛele, ṛăya*) **to graze; to crush. III** *m-ṛy* (*măṛe, mĭṛele, măṛoye*) **to pasture, to graze (tr.)**

ṛyš **I** (*ṛayəš, ṛišle, ṛyaša*) **to wake; to be aware; to feel.** (1) **to wake** | *ṭ̣laθà yomáθa*ˡ *ʾu-ṭ̣laθá lɛlắwáθa y-áwe dmíxa lɛ-ṛàyəš*ˡ He would be asleep for three days and three nights and not wake (A29:19); *dmíxɛle xá-bena ṛàyəš*ˡ *ʾína mò ráyəš!*ˡ He went to sleep, then woke up, but what (a surprise when) he woke! (A14:30). (2) **to be aware** | *hóle ríša biyèy*ˡ He has been aware of them (of what they said) (A30:52). (3) **to feel** | *mattí ʾíða ʾəlle*ˡ *ṛéši qá-t ʾáwwa məndì*ˡ *hóle xmìya*ˡ They place a hand on it and feel that it is leavened (B5:100); *ṛíšɛle*ˡ *mgunàgzɛle*ˡ He felt (it) and shivered (A12:52); *ʾo-ʾixála kúlla b-xá-daqiqa ṭ̣-axlənne*ˡ *la-ṛéšən gàni*ˡ I shall eat all the food in one minute without an effort (literally: while I do not feel myself). **III** *m-ṛš* (*măṛəš, mŭṛəšle, măṛoše*) **to wake** | *də-măṛəšúle Barzəkko!*ˡ Wake Barzəkko! (A12:8).

/s/

sʿd **II** (*msaʿəd, msuʿədle, msaʿode*) (A.) **to help** | *bas-msàʿədli xáčča*ˡ but help me a little (A22:19).

sjl **II** (*msajəl, msujəlle, msajole*) (A.) **to register, to record** | *xabúše kúlla msujlìley*ˡ They registered all the apple trees (B1:18).

slb **I** (*saləb, slible, slaba*) (A.) **to plunder** | *slibíle ʾərwèy*ˡ He plundered their sheep (A52:1).

sly **III** *m-sly* (*masle, muslele, masloye*) **to despise; to abuse** | *qa-módit maslòyəlli?*ˡ Why do you despise me? With *l-* before a noun: *la-máslət l-nàše*ˡ Do not despise people.

smq **I** (*saməq, smiqle, smaqa*) **to become red, to blush; to become brown** | *bustanàne*ˡ *t-xabùše*ˡ *xazátwala kúlla smìqe,*ˡ *npíle l-ʾàrra,*ˡ *xabùše*ˡ In the apple orchards you would see the apples all red and fallen on the ground (B15:50); *bar-sàməq,*ˡ *t̰-ámrəx dắn-t xzattɛ́la*ˡ After it (the rice) becomes brown, we say that it is harvest time (B5:79); *mdabšála ʾəlle-dìye*ˡ *kòpa*ˡ *gawàye,*ˡ *hal sàməq*ˡ She presses (the flat bread) onto it (the oven), down below, inside, until it becomes brown (B5:102).

smy **I** (*same, smele, smaya*) **to become blind** | *sáwən Tóma smèle*ˡ Grandfather Toma has become blind (A50:1); *smèli,*ˡ *lɛ́š-in xzàya*ˡ I have become blind, I can no longer see (A24:2).

snd **I** (*sanəd, snidle, snada*) (A.) **to lean; to support o.s.; to become strong, to recuperate** | *snídle l-gùda*ˡ He leant on the wall; *ʾáw lá snidíle ʾáqle dìye*ˡ His legs did not support him (B9:24); *ʾáxlət qá-t sàndət*ˡ You should eat to become strong.

sndl **Q** (*msandəl, msundəlle, msandole*) **to be disorientated; to be detached** | *módit msandòle?*ˡ Why are you so detached (not listening to me)?

snq **I** (*sanəq, sniqle, snaqa*) **to need** (*l-* sth.) | *sanqáxwa ʾálle dìye*ˡ We needed it (B5:206); *ʾímə sánqi nàše*ˡ *l-dàwwe*ˡ when people need yoghurt water (B6:44); *ku-dánə sànqət,*ˡ *maqðətla,*ˡ *ʾána t̰-áθyən làxxa*ˡ Whenever you have need, burn them and I shall come here (A24:49).

snsl **Q** (*msansəl, msunsəlle, msansole*) **to trickle (liquid); to nod (head when dozing)** | *hóle msansóle rèše*ˡ He is (dozing and) nodding his.

sny **I** (*sane, snele, snaya*) **to hate**

spq **I** (*sapəq, spiqle, spaqa*) **to become empty. II** *m-spq* (*msapəq, msupəqle, msapoqe*) **to empty; to empty out** | *súla msapqàtwale*ˈ You would empty out the manure (B5:137).

spr **I** (*sapər, spirre, spara*) **to wait; to expect.** (1) **to wait** | *spírra spìrra*ˈ *bróna díya là θéle*ˈ She waited and waited, but her son did not come (A14:21); *ʾu-sáprət ku-ṯ-áθe làxxa*ˈ Wait for whoever comes here (A22:23); *ʾána spárən ʾəllux*ˈ I am waiting for you (A25:83); *spárɛle ta-t-dèṛa*ˈ He is waiting for her to come back (A27:26); *sàpri*ˈ *ʾən-háwe pàwxa*ˈ They wait for there to be wind (B5:97); *y-awáxwa spára ʾíman parqíwa ràze*ˈ We would wait for the mass to finish (B15:3). (2) **to expect** | *ʾo-t-léle plíxa là sápər ṯ-áxəl*ˈ He who has not worked should not expect to eat (A21:15). **III** *m-spr* (*maspər, muspərre, maspore*) **to cause to wait** | *lá maspəráxləx bi-zàwda*ˈ We shall not make you wait more (A4:41).

sps **I** (*sapəs, spisle, spasa*) **to wear out; to rot**

spy **I** (*sape, spele, spaya*) **to grasp** | *spéli ʾu-rmèli*ˈ I have grasped (ash) and put it (on myself) = I am in grief. **II** *m-spy* (*msape, msupele, msapoye*) **to hand over, to deliver** | *ʾálaha lɛ́wa msapóyəlla l-iθaθèxu*ˈ God was not delivering her into your hands (B9:22).

sqð **I** (*saqəð, sqidle, sqaða*) **to become annoyed** (with *mən*); **to be have had enough** | *sqìdlux?*ˈ Have you had enough; *kúlla sqìðela mánne díye*ˈ They were all fed up with him (A27:39). **III** *m-sqð* (*masqəð, musqədle, masqoðe*) **to annoy; to harry** | *hóle masqóðe yálət mədràsa*ˈ He is annoying the children of the school (A14:6); *kút-yom ṯ-áθi masqəðìlən*ˈ They will come every day to harry us (B3:15).

srb **II** *m-srb* (*msarəb, msurəble, msarobe*) **to argue; to contest** | *ʾáw msurbènne mánni*ˈ I argued with me.

srbs **Q** *m-srbs* (*msarbəs, msurbəsle, msarbose*) **to wind up (wool)** → *msarbəs*

srg **II** *m-srg* (*msarəg, msurəgle, msaroge*) **to saddle** | *xmárte díye msúrgəlla-w wíðəlla tàza*ˈ He had saddled his donkey and groomed it well (A6:6) → *sarga*

srp **I** (*sarəp, sriple, srapa*) **to suck noisily, to slurp** | *sríple bèta*ˈ He sucked the egg; *sríple šòrba*ˈ He slurped up the sauce; *ʾáwwa qəm-mattúle naqrúze díye kúlla gáwa qəm-sarèple*ˈ He (the stork) put his beak in and sucked it all up (A45:3).

srq **I** (*sarəq, sriqle, sraqa*) **to comb; to strip leaves down to their stalks** (→ *səryoqe*) | *napšə̂xwale,*ˡ *sarqə́xwale hátxa tàza*ˡ We would tease it (the wool) and comb it (until it was) so beautiful (B10:49); *sqìdla náše*ˡ *ma-t̂-íla sríqe mbádla hal-dìya*ˡ The people are fed up with combing so much from morning until now (A32:7); *ʾárwe hóla sríqəlla ṭàrpe*ˡ *ʾu-píšela səryòqe*ˡ The sheep have stripped the leaves and they have become stalks. **II** *m-srq* (*msarəq, msurəqle, msaroqe*) **to pour out, to empty out** | *msarqə̀xwala-w*ˡ *dɛ́rə́xwa qə̀ṭma*ˡ *mxallə́xwala tàza*ˡ We emptied them (the cans) out, we put ash (in them) and cleaned them well (B10:62).

srṭ **I** (*sarəṭ, sriṭle, sraṭa*) **to tear (paper, cloth etc. with ones hands)** | *mšuréla sráṭa júlla mšeyðòne*ˡ She began to tear her clothes out of madness (A4:6).

srw **I** (*saru, srule/sriwle, srawa*) **to deny, to reject** | *díya gu-pàθux*ˡ *mdàgəl*ˡ *ʾu-sàru*ˡ Now he will lie to your face and deny it (A6:11).

srx **I** (*sarəx, srixle, sraxa*) **to defile, to corrupt** | *be-palge sarxi dəmma* Blood defiles its middle (A52:22).

swʾ **I** (*sə̆we, swile, swaʾa/swaya*) **to be sated** | *swìli*ˡ I am sated; *kəmət qawya la-sawwa* However much she scoops, she is not satisfied (C2:8).

swq **II** *m-swq* (*msawəq, msuwəqle, msawoqe*) (A.) **to go shopping** | *kùt-yum*ˡ *ṣaléwa gàwṛa*ˡ *l-šùqa*ˡ *msawòqe*ˡ Everyday he would go down to the market to do shopping (A22:1).

sxbr **Q** *m-sxbr* (*msaxbər, msuxbərre, msaxbore*) **to visit**

sxð, sġð **I** (*saxəð/saġəð, sxidle/sġidle, sxaða/sġaða*) **to worship** | *hál xámši-w xámša šə̂nne*ˡ *y-awɛ́wa sxáða ʾalàha*ˡ For fifty-five years they were worshipping God (A15:17); *ʾáni saġðíwa sə̆nə̀me*ˡ They used to worshp idols (B6:28). Object complement with *l-: ʾáwwa t̂-i-sàxəð l-ʾálaha*ˡ one who worships God (A15:4).

sxsy **Q** *m-sxsy* (*msaxse, msuxsele, msaxsoye*) **to examine; to investigate; to test**

sxy **I** (*saxe, sxele, sxaya*) **to swim; to bathe, to wash o.s.** (1) **to swim** | *ʾána hon-sxáya gàwa.*ˡ *bə̆́yət t̂-áθyət sàxyət?*ˡ *də-háyyo sxà!*ˡ I am swimming in it. Do you want to swim? Come and swim! (A25:61). (2) **to bathe, to wash o.s.** | *t̂-ázən sàxyən,*ˡ *lóšən jùlli*ˡ I'll go to wash and put on my clothes (A4:21). **II** *m-sxy* (*msaxe, msuxele, msaxoye*) **to swim** | *y-azə́xwa msaxə́xwa gu-d-ánna gàrre*ˡ We would go to swim in these pools

(B15:31). **III** *m-sxy* (*masxe, musxele, masxoye*) **to cause to bathe; to bath (tr.)** | *màsxola,*ˡ *malušúla jùlla-diya*ˡ Bath her and, dress her in her clothes (A4:22).

syʾ **I** (*sǎye, sile/sele, syaʾa*) **to build a fence**

syl **I** (*sayəl, sille, syala*) **to copulate**

sym **I** (*sayəm, simle, syama*) **to ordain. III** *m-sym bala* (*masyəm/mǎsim, musyəmle/mŭsimle, masyome/mǎsome*) **to pay attention; to look after** | *másyəm bàla!*ˡ *másyəm bàlux*ˡ Pay attention!; *másyəm bála l-gànux!* Look after yourself!; *ʾánna gǎrəg xamàxla-w*ˡ *masíməx bála ʾəlla*ˡ We must care for them and look after them (A8:15).

syw **I** (*sayu, syiwle, syawa*) **to become old**

syx **I** (*sayəx, sixle, syaxa*) **to surround with a fence or hedge** | *ʾi-sɛxíla sùta*ˡ They build a fence around the partridge trap.

szgr **Q** *m-szgr* (*msazgər, msuzgərre, msazgore*) **to reconcile o.s., to agree** | *hóla msazgóre m-ġðàðe*ˡ They are becoming reconciled with one another.

/ṣ/

ṣʾr **II** *m-ṣʾr* (*mṣawər/mṣǎwər, mṣuwərre, mṣawore*) **to curse; to scold; to insult** | *qəm-ṣarənne*ˡ I scolded him (A17:8); *mṣuwərri ʾálle díye*ˡ I scolded him (A17:9); *šurèla*ˡ *jnàna*ˡ *ʾu-bxàya*ˡ *ʾu-mṣawóre ṭ̂la-xóna-w Bakùrko*ˡ She started mourning and weeping and cursing her brother and Bakurko (A26:83).

ṣbr **I** (*ṣabər, ṣbirre, ṣbara*) **to dare** (§18.3.4.) | *la-ṣábrəx ṭ̂-òrəx*ˡ We do not dare enter (A14:40); *lá ṣbírra mṣuwàtla*ˡ She did not dare to speak (A24:40); *ʾáp-xa lá-ṣbirre ʾasàqle*ˡ Nobody dared to go up (and do) it (A33:4).

ṣll **II** *m-ṣll* (*mṣaləl/mṣǎləl, mṣuləlle/mṣŭləlle, mṣalole/mṣǎlole*) **to become sober; to neigh**

ṣlw **I** (*ṣalu, ṣlule/ṣliwle, ṣlawa*) **to tether (an animal); to tie a rope** | *súse díye ṣlíwəllɛle tàma*ˡ He tethered his horse there (A28:23); *ʾíman ṭ̂-íx nabóle ʾan-tàwre,*ˡ *ṣalwàxwala*ˡ When we took the oxen, we would tether them (B5:83); *ṣlíwəlla ʾiθaθèy*ˡ They tied their hands (B5:161).

ṣlx **I** (*ṣalax, ṣlixle, ṣlaxa*) **to split (wood). II** *m-ṣlx* (*mṣalax, mṣuləxle, mṣaloxe*) **to split (wood)**

ṣly (i) **I** (*ṣale, ṣlele, ṣlaya*) **to go down; to alight; to lodge.** (1) **to go down** | *ʾánna ʾi-ṣáli dàšta*ˈ *šaxínta háwi b-sàtwa*ˈ They go down to the plain in order to be warm in Winter (B18:1); *lìθən dăràje,*ˈ *ta-ṣáli gu-gòma.*ˈ There are not steps for them to go down into the basement stable (A22:10); *ṣléla màṭra*ˈ Rain fell (A11:18). To go down country (southwards): *ʾo-t-Nínwe máre ṣálən ʾána tápqən b-xóni gu-Bàbəl*ˈ The (king) of Nineveh said 'I shall go down and meet my brother in Babylon' (A13:3); *ʾáwwa ṭɛ́ra ṣále gu-sàtwa*ˈ This bird migrates (south) in the winter. Referring to combing down of hair: *ʾa-t-wáwa máre káwsa là ṣaléwa ṣábun,*ˈ *ʾína dɛríwa ʾùpre*ˈ As for a woman who had (long) hair, which would not comb down (literally: go down) with soap, they would apply mud (B10:67); *la-ṣále b-čú masràqθa*ˈ He cannot be combed down with any comb (D2:76). (2) **to alight (from horseback)** | *θéle xa-náša swarìya*ˈ *rakáwa.*ˈ *ṣléle rəš-xa-ʾɛ̀na.*ˈ A horseman, a rider came. He alighted at a spring. (A15:1); *ṣlí m-xāṣ-sùsux!*ˈ Get off your horse! (A14:67). (3) **to lodge, to stay** | *bắyən ṣálən kəs-xàli*ˈ I want to stay with my maternal uncle (A25:42). **II** *m-ṣly* (*mṣale, mṣulele, mṣaloye*) **to cause to go down** | *ʾu-mṣáləx ṭla-yámme díye ʾáwwa qurṭánət xmàra*ˈ We shall take down to his mother this donkey blanket (A14:16). **III** *m-ṣly* (*maṣle, muṣlele, maṣloye*) **to cause to go down; to deduct; to take away.** (1) **to cause to go down, to take down** | *ʾáθyən ʾáti maṣlə̀nnəx*ˈ I have come to take you down (A29:26); *ʾɛ-kusíθa múṣləlla gu-ʾɛ́ne díye t-Čùxo*ˈ He lowered the hat of Čuxo over his eyes (A7:19). (2) **to deduct** | *ʾána màṣlēn*ˈ *ʾáṣra dinàre*ˈ I shall deduct ten dinars (B5:8). (3) **to take away** | *ʾan-ʾə́mma dáwe maṣlíla ṭla-bàbux*ˈ Take those hundred gold coins to your father (A14:64).

ṣly (ii) **II** *m-ṣly* (*mṣale, mṣulele, mṣaloye*) **to pray** | *ʾána kəmà dána ṭ-in-mṣalóye ṭla-márya ʾàlaha*ˈ *ta-t-yawálli ʾə̀mma dáwe*ˈ I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins (A6:10); *là-mṣalɛwa qa-ʾálaha*ˈ They did not pray to God (A15:17).

ṣmr **I** (*ṣamər, ṣmirre, ṣmara*) **to inundate, to flood** | *ṣamrə́tla məššára mìya*ˈ You inundate the paddy field basin with water.

ṣmṭ (i) **I** (*ṣamə̀ṭ, ṣmiṭle, ṣmaṭa*) **to ache from the cold** | *ṣəppáθi ṣmáṭɛla mən-qàrθa*ˈ My fingers ache from the cold.

ṣmṭ (ii) **I** (*ṣamə̀ṭ, ṣmiṭle, ṣmaṭa*) **to fit together stones with cement known as *ṣəmṭa***

ṣnn **I** (*ṣanən/ṣayən, ṣninne, ṣnana*) **to burn (food)**

ṣnṣ **I** (*ṣanəṣ, ṣniṣle, ṣnaṣa*) **to emit smell (food)**

ṣplp **Q** *m-ṣplp* (*mṣapləp, mṣupləple, mṣaplope*) **to ache severely; to feel severe pain (in joints)** | *ʾáqli mṣaplòpela*ˡ My leg aches; *xáṣi mṣaplòpele*ˡ My back aches.

ṣpṣp **Q** *m-ṣpṣp* (*mṣapṣəp, mṣupṣəple, mṣapṣope*) **to feel severe pain (in joints)**

ṣpy **I** (*ṣape, ṣpele, ṣpaya*) **to be pure** | *xáčča ṣápi mìya*ˡ Shortly the water will become pure (A24:43). **II** *m-ṣpy* (*mṣape, mṣupele, mṣapoye*) **to purify, to strain** | *mṣapàwale-u*ˡ *ʾu-dɛrɛ́wa gu-quṣxàne*ˡ They used to strain it (the milk) and put it in a pan (B5:164).

ṣql **I** (*ṣaqəl, ṣqille, ṣqala*) **to be decorated. II** *m-ṣql* (*mṣaqəl, mṣuqəlle, mṣaqole*) **to decorate; to dress up; to put on make-up** | *ʾáy ʾilána mṣaqlìwala*ˡ They would decorate the tree (as part of wedding celebrations) (B5:39); *xətnɛni mṣuqla l-yəmme* Our groom is dressed up by his mother (C1:5); *hóla mṣuqàlta*ˡ She is wearing make-up, she is glamorous.

ṣqṭ, ṣṭq **I** (*ṣaqət, ṣqiṭle, ṣqaṭa*) **to squat; to sit (chickens)** | *kθayáθa ṣaṭqi gu-qáre rəš-məṣṭàqe*ˡ Chickens sit in a chickcoop on sitting places.

ṣrby **Q** *m-ṣrby* (*mṣarbe, mṣurbele, mṣarboye*) **to drench** | *ṭ̣laθá dèwe,*ˡ *tré-mənna qṭìləlla*ˡ *ʾu-ʾo-xéna mṣurbíyəlle gu-dəmma*ˡ (There were) three wolves, it (the guard dog) killed two and drenched the other in blood (B15:49).

ṣrf **I** (*ṣarəf, ṣrifle, ṣrafa*) (A.) **to spend** | *ʾáw ʾítle ʾúmma dináre gu-jèbe díye,*ˡ *léle ṣrìfəlla*ˡ He has the hundred dinars in his pocket, he has not spent them (A24:22). **II** *m-ṣrf* (*mṣarəf, mṣurəfle, mṣarofe*) **to spend**

ṣrp **I** (*ṣarəp, ṣriple, ṣrapa*) **to sting, to sear, to smart** | *ʾíman ṯ̂-áxlət nùta,*ˡ *lišánux ṣàrəp*ˡ When you eat the *nuta* herb, your tongue smarts.

ṣrṣr **Q** *m-ṣrṣr* (*mṣarṣər, mṣurṣərre, mṣarṣore*) **to whimper, to twitter; to howl, to screech (animals); to swish** | *málxa maxéla ʾaqláθe dìye,*ˡ *ṯ̂-áwe súsa mṣarṣòre*ˡ Salt will strike his legs and the horse will screech (A24:12); *mṣarṣòrəlle sépe díye*ˡ He makes his sword swish.

ṣrx **I** (*ṣarəx, ṣrixle, ṣraxa*) **to shout; to scream; to cry** | *là-ṣarxət!*ˡ Don't scream! (A4:4); *ṣlìθɛla ʾaríθa,*ˡ *ṣráxɛla, ṣràxa*ˡ The lionness came down, yelling (A33:10); *čarčóre ʾu-ṣráxɛla ṯ̂ənnəḵ̂èra*ˡ She screams and cries all around (A51:15).

ṣry **I** (*ṣare, ṣrele, ṣraya*) **to rend, to cut open**

ṣṭm **I** (*ṣaṭəm, ṣṭimle, ṣṭama*) **to devastate** | *ṣṭímlux bèθi*ˡ You have devasted me; *mu-ṣṭímlux bèθi?*ˡ Why have you ruined me? (A15:14); *hot-ṣṭìməlle béθət xálux.*ˡ *ʾap-béθi bə́yət ṣaṭmətle?*ˡ You have ruined your uncle. Do you want to ruin also me? (A23:39); *šímle ʾu-ṣṭìmle*ˡ He has suffered a devastating tragedy.

ṣṭp **I** (*ṣaṭəp, ṣṭiple, ṣṭapa*) **to split in two** | *ṣṭíple qésa b-spèna*ˡ He split the wood in the middle with a wedge; *ʾáwwa gúda hóle ṣtìpa*ˡ This wall is cracked.

ṣṭq → *ṣqṭ*

ṣṭy **I** (*ṣaṭe, ṣṭele, ṣṭaya*) **to dart, to swoop** | *ṣáṭyɛle bára dìya*ˡ He swooped after her (A24:56).

ṣwʾ **I** (*ṣə́we, ṣwile, ṣwaʾa/ṣwaya*) **to colour, to paint, to dye; to become coloured, to become dyed** | *ʾi-ṣə́wíwa beʾe*ˡ They used to paint eggs (at Easter) (B5:52); *kéma ʾíðət nàša,*ˡ *ʾi-ṣə̀́wa* The hand of person becomes black, it becomes dyed (B5:216).

ṣwṣ **I** (*ṣawəṣ, ṣwiṣle, ṣwaṣa*) **to twitter; to swish** | *xa-čeri mare ṣwaṣa* a swishing sash (C1:20)

ṣwṣy **Q** *m-ṣwṣy* (*mṣawṣe, mṣuṣele, mṣawṣoye*) **to twitter, chirp**

ṣwθ **II** *m-ṣwθ* (*mṣawəθ/mṣə́wəθ, mṣuwətle, mṣawoθe*) **to speak** | *bə́yən mṣáwθən mànnəx.*ˡ I want to speak with you (A4:40), *mṣawθítu m-ġðàðe*ˡ You should speak with one another (A17:19); *lɛ-ʾáθe mṣawòθe*ˡ It cannot be talked about.

ṣxlx **Q** *m-ṣxlx* (*mṣaxləx, mṣuxləxle, mṣaxloxe*) **to feel pains of an incipient fever**

ṣxwn **Q** *m-ṣxwn* (*mṣaxwən, mṣuxwənne, mṣaxwone*) **to become clear (sky)** → *ṣəxwa*

ṣxy **II** *m-ṣxy* (*mṣaxe, mṣuxele, mṣaxoye*) **to become clear (sky)** | *šmáyya mṣuxèle*ˡ The sky has become clear. → *ṣəxwa*

ṣy **I** (*ṣə́ye, ṣele, ṣə́ya*) **to become thirsty** | *ṣéle mìya*ˡ He became thirsty for water (A14:24).

ṣyʾ **I** (*ṣə́ye, ṣile/ṣele, ṣyaʾa*) **to get stuck** | *ʾu-ʾíðe díye ṣìθɛla gáwe*ˡ His hand got stuck in it (A23:7).

ṣyd **I** (*ṣayəd, ṣidle, ṣyada*) **to hunt. II** *m-ṣyd* (*mṣayəd/mṣăyəd, mṣayədle, mṣayode*) **to hunt**

ṣym **I** (*ṣayəm, ṣimle, ṣyama*) **to fast, to enter a state of fasting** | *xámši yóme ṣimìla*ˡ *qurbáne t-la qriwìla*ˡ She fasted for fifty days without taking communion (A37:4); *y-azíwa mɛθóye mándi ta-bɛ̀θa*ˡ *ʾáni ṣìme*ˡ They would go and bring things for the house, while they were fasting (B16:17).

ṣyn **I** (*ṣayən, ṣinne, ṣyana*) **to burn, to spoil (food)** | *dri-bálux t-la-ṣàyən*ˡ Make sure it (the food) does not burn.

ṣyr **I** (*ṣayər, ṣirre, ṣyara*) **to prepare ground for cultivation**

ṣyθ **III** *m-ṣyθ* (*maṣyəθ/măṣiθ, muṣyətle/mŭṣitle, maṣyoθe/măṣoθe*) **to listen** (*l-* to) | *mắsəθ ʾəlli!*ˡ Listen to me!; *píšle… maṣyóθe l-bɛ́θət bábe dìye*ˡ He remained… listening (for news) about his father's family (A18:12).

ṣyx **III** *m-ṣyx* (*maṣyəx/măṣix, muṣyəxle/mŭṣixle, maṣyoxe/măṣoxe*) **to check (sth.); to visit (the sick).** (1) **to check, to examine** | *bắyən măṣixə̀nne* I want to check it. (2) **to visit a sick person** (complement introduced by *mən*) | *zílle maṣyóxe mən-šwáwa màrya* He went to visit a sick neighbour; *ṯ-ázəx maṣyáxəx m-brōn-dìye*ˡ *ʾu-bróne díye šoqáxle bàsəm*ˡ We shall go and visit his son and we shall make his son get better (A8:85).

/š/

šbð **II** *m-šbð* (*mšabəð, mšubədle, mšaboðe*) **to enslave**

šbx **II** *m-šbx* (*mšabəx, mšubəxle, mšaboxe*) **to glorify; to praise**

šdl (i) **I** (*šadəl, šdille, šdala*) **to plant (seedling); to implant, to insert; to be implanted, inserted** | *màdre*ˡ *šadlə̀xwala y-amráxxa*ˡ *šə̀dle*ˡ We would plant them again (and they would become) what we call saplings (B5:208); *ć̣éne šádli naqruzéy gu-gáldət heywàne*ˡ Mosquitoes stick their proboscis into the skin of animals; *kátwe d-áyya ʾilána šádli gu-ʾìðux*ˡ The thorns of this tree penetrate your hand.

šdl (ii) **II** *m-šdl* (*mšadəl, mšudəlle, mšadole*) **to sing a lullaby** (*šədla, šəddəlta*) | *qáša qəm-šadə̀lle-w*ˡ The priest sang him a lullaby (B17:4).

šdr **II** *m-šdr* (*mšadər, mšudərre, mšadore*) **to send** | *mšodərre báθre díye*ˡ He sent for him (A11:2); *mšádrule ṯ-àθe*ˡ Send for him to come (A12:59).

šđy **I** (*šađe, šđele, šđaya*) (1) **to card (wool or flax)** | using a large comb (*masərqa*) or an instrument known as a *kurənja* or *šađaya*. (2) **to clear (snow from fodder)** | *šđéle tálga m-rəš-gə̀lla*ˈ He cleared the snow from the (fodder) grass. **II** *m-šđy* (*mšađe, mšuđele, mšađoye*) **to card (wool)**

šġš, šxš **I** (*šaġəš, šġišle, šġaša*) **to be flustered, disturbed** | *ʾu-ʾímət ɣíšle mən-šə́nθa màlka*ˈ *rába šxìšle-u*ˈ *rába pšîmle-u*ˈ When he woke from his sleep, he became very shaken and became very upset (A8:4); *šġìšɛle háwna-diya*ˈ Her mind was confused (A8:73).

šhr **II** *m-šhr* (*mšahər, mšuhərre, mšahore*) **to make night vigil, to pray in the night**

šhwṭ **Q** *m-šhwṭ* (*mšahwət, mšuhwəṭle, mšahwoṭe*) **to desire**

šhy **II** (*mšahe, mšuhele, mšahoye*) (A.) **to have an appetite** | *mšahéwa šə̆hìya*ˈ They had an appetite (B10:91).

škl **I** (*šakəl, škille, škala*) **to suit** | *xoni b-šaklíle čakke* The weapons (of the groom) will suit my brother (C5:22); *šaklíla* They suit her (C2:2).

šklk **Q** *m-šklk* (*mšaklək, mšukləkle, mšakloke*) **to sew by hand with large loose stitches known as *šəkloke* (as a trial run in making something)**

škr **I** (*šakər, škirre, škara*) (A.) **to thank; to bless; to praise** | *ʾu-šákrəx šə́mmət márya ʾálaha xázəx ʾúrxa ʾèkɛ́la*ˈ We shall pray to the Lord God for us to find where the road is (A26:17).

šky **I** (*šake, škele, škaya*) (A.) **to complain** | *šákən ʾəllux*ˈ I shall make a complaint about you (A22:46); *qímɛle zíla šəkya*ˈ *qa-màlka*ˈ He went and complained to the king (A25:30).

šll **II** *m-šll* (*mšaləl/mšə̆ləl, mšuləlle/mšŭləlle, mšalole/mšə̆lole*) **to sew a row of stiches**

šlp **I** (*šaləp, šliple, šlapa*) **to pull off, to slip off; to produce ears of seed.** (1) **to pull off, to slip off** | *šlípəlla jùlla*ˈ They slipped off their clothes (A14:81); *gu-ḥammàme*ˈ *šlìpla*ˈ In the washroom they stripped off (B10:69). (2) **to produce ears of seed** | *hál maṭéwa t-rayəmwa,*ˈ *qám… šalə̀pwa*ˈ until it (the rice) matures and grows high, but before it produces ears of seed (B5:78).

šlq **I** (*šaləq, šliqle, šlaqa*) **to boil** | *qìmtɛla,*ˈ *šlìqta*ˈ *bɛ̀ʾe*ˈ She boiled some eggs (A17:11).

šlqn **Q** *m-šlqn* (*mšalqən, mšulqənne, mšalqone*) **to boil**

šlš **II** *m-šlš* (*mšaləš, mšuləšle, mšaloše*) **to try (to do sth.)** | *hón mšalóše ʾoðənne*ˈ I am trying to do it.

šlṭn **Q** *m-šlṭn* (*mšalṭən, mšulṭənne, mšalṭone*) **to take control**

šlx (i) **I** (*šaləx, šlixle, šlaxa*) **to uproot; to strip, to undress.** (1) **to uproot (plant), to pull out (hair)** | *ʾan-šə̀dle*ˈ *šalxìwala mən-táma*ˈ They uprooted the seedlings from there (B7:11); *šlìxəlla xórta*ˈ He uprooted the poplar tree (A29:18). (2) **to strip, to flay** | *gə̀ldəx šalxánne*ˈ I shall strip off your skin (A27:8). (3) **to undress** | *ʾi-šaləx julle* He undresses; *ṣawlέy šalxìwala*ˈ They would take off their shoes (B5:202). **II** *m-šlx* (*mšaləx, mšuləxle, mšaloxe*) **to strip** | *t-la-mšalxìle*ˈ so that they would not strip him (of his money) (A39:16).

šlx (ii) **I** (*šaləx, šlixle, šlaxa*) **to swarm (bees)** | *šáləx šálxa b-áwwa yèrxa*ˈ A swarm forms in this month.

šly **I** (*šale, šlele, šlaya*) **to calm down** | *xáčča biš-šlèla*ˈ She became a little calmer (A4:17).

šmʾ (i) **I** (*šăme, šmile/šmele, šmaʾa/šmaya*) **to hear; to obey.** (1) **to hear** (*b-* about) | *šmíle qàle*ˈ He heard its voice (A14:31); *Səttìye*ˈ *šmìla*ˈ *bába díya hóle mùtta*ˈ *jallàde*ˈ Səttiye heard that her father had appointed executioners (A25:32); *málka šmíle b-àyya*ˈ The king heard about this (A8:7); *šmìla bud-díye*ˈ They heard about him (A21:4). (2) **to obey** (*l-* s.o./sth.) | *kúlla šmilà-lle*ˈ They all obeyed it (the decision) (A8:86); *šmú ʾəlli!* Obey me! **III** *m-šmʾ* (*mašme, mušmele, mašmoye*) **to listen; to cause to hear; to announce.** (1) **to listen** (*l-* to) | *mášmi ʾəlli!*ˈ Listen to me!; *mašmòyət?*ˈ Are you listening? (2) **to cause to hear** | *mašmola margayaθa* Let the women of Marga hear (C7:12); *mašmóye ʾəlla dìya*ˈ (He was saying this) for her to hear (= it was for her ears) (A21:13). (3) **to announce** | *ʾi-mašmɛ̀wala*ˈ *y-amríwa ʾáxni bə̌yəx*ˈ *ṭalbáxxa bratɛ̀xu*ˈ *qa-d-ó bronɛ̀ni*ˈ They would make an announcement to them saying 'We want to ask (for the hand of) your daughter for our son' (B5:1).

šmʾ (ii) **II** *m-šmʾ* (*mšăme, mšŭmele, mšămoye*) **to apply wax (to a crack in a pot)** | *qəm-mšăméle p̣áqqa gu-lìna*ˈ He applied wax to the crack in the water pot. → *šăma*.

šmš **II** *m-šmš* (*mšaməš, mšumәšle, mšamoše*) **to perform burial rites; to hold a memorial ceremony for the dead** | *qáša qəm-mšaməšle* The priest performed for him the last rites; *y-azíwa mšamšíwa bɛθ-qòra*ˡ They would go and hold a (memorial) ceremony for the dead in the cemetery (B10:3).

šmšm **Q** *m-šmšm* (*mšamšəm, mšumšəmle, mšamšome*) **to fall (water in a waterfall)** → *šamšuma*

šmṭ **I** (*šamәṭ, šmiṭle, šmaṭa*) **to break, to shatter; to be defeated.** (1) **to break, to shatter** | *ʾu-hálle ṣàle*ˡ *šámәṭ qðále dìye*ˡ Let him go down and break his neck (A15:13); *línta šmìṭla*ˡ The jar shattered (A23:22); *ʾína kupáli píšla šmìṭṭa*ˡ *ʾu-piláwe píšla šmìṭe*ˡ My stick has broken and my shoes have broken (A37:17). (2) **to be defeated** | *xa-béna déwe šmìṭela*ˡ Then the wolves were defeated (A14:55); *kúlla ʾáskar dìye*ˡ *šmìṭla*ˡ All his army was defeated (A28:36). (3) Idioms: *gàwze*ˡ *šmìṭe*ˡ cracked (i.e. shelled) walnuts (A25:48); *ʾɛne šmiṭe* (he is) frightened, intimidated.

šny **I** (*šane, šnele, šnaya*) **to faint; to be anaesthetized** | *ʾәn-ʾamránnux ʾáp-ʾati b-šànәt*ˡ If I tell you, you will faint (A11:2); *pílle šnèle*ˡ He fell unconscious (A14:87). **II** *m-šny* (*mšane, mšunele, mšanoye*) **to move, to transfer, to change place** | *ʾәn ʾàmәr*ˡ *ṭúra mšanéle m-àxxa*ˡ *mšanéle tămàha*ˡ If he says he will move a mountain from here, he will move it there (A16:3); *ʾu-gu-d-a-dàna*ˡ *ʾi-mšaníwa zála l-be-xàtna*ˡ At that time they move to the house of the groom (B5:38). **III** *m-šny* (*mašne, mušnele, mašnoye*) **to anaesthetize**

špl **I** (*šapәl, špille, špala*) **to become paralysed**

šplp **Q** *m-šplp* (*mšapləp, mšupləple, mšaplope*) **to shiver, to shudder**

špn **I** (*šapәn, špinne, špana*) **to level the ground with the instrument known as *šapna***

špr **II** *m-špr* (*mšapәr, mšupәrre, mšapore*) **to praise sycophantically**

šprn **Q** *m-šprn* (*mšaprәn, mšuprәnne, mšaprone*) **to praise sycophantically**

špšp **Q** *m-špšp* (*mšapšәp, mšupšәple, mšapšope*) **to feel weakened, to feel intimidated**

šql **I** (*šaqәl, šqille, šqala*) **to take; to receive; to take away, to remove; to take in marriage; to buy**. (1) **to take** | *ʾáp-aw qímɛle šqíləlle tàwra*ˡ *ṣ̀ləyɛle*ˡ *mzabònәlle*ˡ So, he took the ox and went down to sell it (A22:2); *dә-šqúl ʾanna-zùze!*ˡ Take these coins! (A1:27); *bróna díye šáqәl*

*šáwpe dìye*ˡ *bar-d-àw*ˡ His son would take his place after him (A8:2); *y-oráwa šaqláwa dàna*ˡ It would take time (B5:3). (2) **to receive, to obtain** | *ʾáxni šáqləx ḥáqqət ʾəjàra mánne díye*ˡ We shall receive wages from him (A14:15). (3) **to take away, to remove** | *wítɛla qèdamta,*ˡ *jánne ʾəθyela,*ˡ *šqìləlla Zíne*ˡ In the morning, the jinn came and took Zine away (A26:8); *ʾɛ-šəllóxte díye šaqlə̀xwala*ˡ We would remove that husk (B16:30); *ʾáwwa kóma šàqəl*ˡ Let the black be taken away (A4:34); *ʾáti xa-béta hot-šqíləlla mən-šàbθa*ˡ *píše ʾəštà-yome*ˡ You have taken an egg away from the week and they have become six days (A17:15); *šqul-gànux!*ˡ Be off with you! (A23:32). (4) **to take in marriage** | *xáθət Mir-Zàndin-ile šqíla Qára Tèždin*ˡ Qara Težding has married the sister of Mir-Zandin (A26:55). (5) **to buy** | *ʾáwwa sɛ́pi šqílənne b-əmmà-dawe*ˡ I have bought this sword of mine for a hundred gold coins (A26:69); *ʾáp-xa lá-θele šqàləlle-w*ˡ Nobody came to buy it (A22:9). (6) Idiom: *šqala rixa* to smell | *ʾáyya šaqlàwale ríxət júlle*ˡ She used to smell the clothes (A14:100).

šqlq **Q** *m-šqlq* (*mšaqləq, mšuqləqle, mšaqloqe*) **to boil; to scald (in hot water)**

šqšq **Q** *m-šqšq* (*mšaqšəq, mšuqšəqle, mšaqšoqe*) **to clatter**

šqy (i) **I** (*šaqe, šqele, šqaya*) **flee, run way** | *šqéle b-dùnye*ˡ He ran off aimlessly.

šqy (ii) **II** *m-šqy* (*mšaqe, mšuqele, mšaqoye*) (A.) **to joke, to have fun; to take trouble** | *máṭo mšuqèlux?*ˡ Why have you taken pains (to come)? (A18:18).

šrbq **Q** *m-šrbq* (*mšarbəq, mšurbəqle, mšarboqe*) **to whip**

šrbṭ **Q** *m-šrbṭ* (*mšarbəṭ, mšurbəṭle, mšarboṭe*) **to whip, to strike (animal) with a pliant stick** → *šarbəṭana*

šrk **II** (*mšarək, mšurəkle, mšaroke*) (A.) **to participate; to be partners** | *ʾáti mšàrkət mánni*ˡ You will be my partner.

šrmṭ **Q** *m-šrmṭ* (*mšarməṭ, mšurməṭle, mšarmoṭe*) **to become tangled** | *ʾázla mšurmàṭle*ˡ The thread has become tangled.

šrqṭ **Q** *m-šrqṭ* (*mšarqəṭ, mšurqəṭle, mšarqoṭe*) **to break off heads of millet (*prage*); to crack open (an egg)** | *mšárqəṭla bèta*ˡ Crack the egg!

šršr **Q** *m-šršr* (*mšaršər, mšuršərre, mšaršore*) **to splash, to plash (sound made by flowing water)**

šršṭ **Q** *m-šršṭ* (*mšaršəṭ, mšuršəṭle, mšaršoṭe*) **to be baggy (clothes)**

šršy **Q** *m-šršy* (*mšarše, mšuršele, mšaršoye*) **to be exhausted, to droop, to languish; to let droop, to loosen** | *mšuršéli m-kàpna*ˈ I languished from hunger; *šaršiyanna dranani* I loosen my arms (C5:6).

šrṭ **I** (*šarəṭ, šriṭle, šraṭa*) **to escape; to cause to escape; to spring (trap).** (1) **to escape** | *ʾasṛətla xa-dúkθa,*ˈ *t-la-šarṭa-w ʾàza*ˈ Tether her somewhere, so that she does not escape and go away (A12:29); *bas-ʾànən šríṭa*ˈ Only I have escaped (B19:8); *šártṣn gu-ʾiθáθə d-áwwa nàša*ˈ that I may escape from the hands of this man (A31:3); *šríṭle qăláma m-ʾìðə*ˈ The pen slipped out of my hand. (2) **to cause to escape** | *dəryɛle xɛ̀la*ˈ *ta-t-šarə̀ṭla gáne*ˈ He struggled to release himself (A26:81). (3) **to spring (a trap)** | *ʾíman šárəṭ k̲ulčìva,*ˈ *qóla ʾi-màkəs*ˈ When the trigger is sprung, the trap closes. **II** *m-šrṭ* (*mšarəṭ, mšurəṭle, mšaroṭe*) **to escape** | *b-áyya ʾúrxa mšàrṭəx*ˈ *m-àxxa*ˈ By this road we shall escape from here (A14:51). **III** *m-šrṭ* (*mašrəṭ, mušrəṭle, mašroṭe*) **to cause to escape, to rescue** | *bă̆ya t-yă̆ða*ˈ *dáx mašərṭála ʾayya-bràta*ˈ *t-màlka*ˈ She wanted to know how she could rescue that daughter of the king (A27:23).

šrṭx **Q** *m-šrṭx* (*mšarṭəx, mšurṭəxle, mšarṭoxe*) **to die in masses (due to epidemic)**

šry **I** (*šare, šrele, šraya*) **to untie, to solve; to lodge.** (1) **to untie, to solve** | *ʾa-báxta šárəlla ʾaqláθa dìya*ˈ He untied the legs of that woman (A10:11). (2) **to lodge** | *šáryela gu-xa-ʾotèl*ˈ They lodged in a hotel (A2:1). **II** *m-šry* (*mšare/mšăre, mšurele, mšaroye/mšăroye*) **to begin** (§8.13.4., §15.5.5.) | *šúryela mṭawóle b-šətrənjàne*ˈ They started to play chess (A26:63); *šuréle là-draya bála l-šətrənjàne*ˈ He began not to pay attention to the chess (A26:66); *šuréla xrìṭla*ˈ She started to gouge it out (A19:6); *šuréle ta-t-ʾàxəl*ˈ He began to eat (A21:12); *šoréla moθéla mìya*ˈ She began by bringing water (A22:25). **III** *m-šry* (*mašre, mušrele, mašroye*) **to offer lodging** | *mašrəx mire ʾu-ʾaġaye* We give hospitality to princes and aghas (C1:16).

šrz **I** (*šarəz, šrizle, šraza*) **to untie, to unravel; to unpick (stitching)** | *qəm-šarzánna gə̀rwi*ˈ I have unravelled my sock

štq **I** (*šatəq, štiqle, štaqa*) **to become silent. III** *m-štq* (*maštəq, muštəqle, maštoqe*) **to make silent** | *ʾaw káze maštòqəlla*ˈ *ṭla-šatqàwa,*ˈ *la-štìqla*ˈ He tries to silence her, so that she would be silent, but she did not become silent.

štwhr **Q** *m-štwhr* (*məštawhər, məštuhərre, məštawhore*) **to be proud** | *ʾána məštawhórən m-bnòni*ˡ I am proud of my children; *ʾána bəd-məštawhórən m-bnòni*ˡ I shall be proud of my children.

šty **I** (*šate, štele, štaya*) **to drink** | *míya štì*ˡ Drink some water! (A14:59); *ʾa-štɛ́θa šatɛ́wala t-lá mìya*ˡ They drink that drink without water (B5:14). **III** *m-šty* (*mašte, muštele, maštoye*) **to give to drink; to irrigate; to arrange the warp (weaving).** (1) **to give to drink** | *ʾədyo maštənnɛxu štɛ́θa dìyən*ˡ Today I shall give you our drink to drink (B15:57); *maštóye susə̆wáθa mìya*ˡ giving the horses water (A12:57). (2) **to irrigate** | *zə̆réwa wàrde*ˡ *ʾu-maštèwala-w*ˡ He planted flowers and watered them (A14:79); *ʾi-zə̆ríla t-là maštóye*ˡ They cultivated it without irrigation (B5:94). (3) **to arrange the warp (weaving)** | *maštéwale šə́tya b-xanùθa*ˡ He would arrange the warp on the loom.

štr **II** *m-štr* (*mšaṭər, mšuṭərre, mšaṭore*) **to spoil, to pamper; to cherish; to consider beautiful** | *lá mšaṭə̀rre!*ˡ Don't spoil him!; *hóle mšùṭra*ˡ He is spoilt; *šəṭro mšuṭarta l-yəmma* The beautiful girl is cherished by her mother (C2:76); *šəṭro šuṭarta lali* Beautiful one, sweet-heart of mine (C2:7).

štx **I** (*šaṭəx, štixle, štaxa*) **to spread out, to lay out** | *hóla štáxa jùlle*ˡ She is hanging out the washing. **III** *m-štx* (*mašṭəx, mušṭəxle, mašṭoxe*) **to spread out**

štn **II** *m-štn* (*mšaṭən, mšuṭənne, mšaṭone*) **to spend the night**

štθ **II** *m-štθ* (*mšaθən, mšuθənne, mšaθone*) **to have a fever; to languish** | *xamaθa t-lɛ́ley rime mšaθni b-miya šaxine* The girls who have not gone up (to the summer camps) languish by warm waters (C2:54).

šwq **I** (*šawəq, šwiqle, šwaqa*) **to leave; to allow; to cause.** (1) **to leave** | *ʾána šoqə́nnux b-šɛ̀na*ˡ I leave you in peace (= Goodbye) (A8:51); *šwiqáli táma-w θéli làxxa*ˡ I have left it there and come here (formula marking the end of a narrative) (A26:91); *šùqla*ˡ Stop it! Forget it!; *xa-məndi wìdle*ˡ *b-rəš-bnàθa*ˡ *har-šùqla*ˡ He has done something unmentionable to the girls (A25:30); *šuq-mən* except: *ḥăr̆ə́m-ile gáwṛa ʾəlli*ˡ *šúq mən-dìyux*ˡ Any man is forbidden to me except you (A12:35). (2) **to allow** | *šoqə́nnux ṯ-àzət*ˡ I shall let you go (A12:21); *də-šúqlən dàmxəx*ˡ Allow us to us sleep (A15:8); *lɛ-šàwqənˡ máttu bàsra*ˡ *t-ʾə́zza ʾɛ-Núne gu-pùmme*ˡ I shall not let him put the meat of the nanny-goat Nune in his mouth (C7:6). (3) **to cause** | *ʾu-bróne díye šoqə́xle bàsəm*ˡ We shall cause his son to get better (A8:85).

šwr **I** (*šawər, šwirre, šwara*) **to jump, leap; to cross (a river).** (1) **to jump, to leap** | *šwiréle l-pàlga*ˡ He jumped down into their midst (A6:4); *šáwər ʾup-o-xèna*ˡ He jumps also the other one (B11:15); *šwara baze* to jump repeatedly; *šwarət barane* (game of) leap-frog (literally: jumping sheep). (2) **to cross** | *bə̆́yi šóri xa-šàṭṭa*ˡ They needed to cross a river (A30:49); *lá ʾawðə́xle ʾáwwa gə̀šra*ˡ *šáwrəx réša réša d-ánna mìya.*ʔˡ Should we not make a bridge for it so that we can cross this water? (A17:3). **II** *m-šwr* (*mšawər/mšə̆wər, mšuwərre, mšawore*) **to cause to jump; to cause to cross; to smuggle** | *ʾína ʾərwe mšúre l-xá-ʾaθṛa xèna*ˡ but the small cattle had been smuggled to another country (B5:162). **III** *m-šwr* (*mašwər, mušwərre, mašwore*) **to cause to jump; to cause to cross** | *mašurála b-a-gōt-míya* It takes it across to the other side of the water (A9:2).

šwy **I** (*šawe, šwele, šwaya*) **to spread out (bed). II** *m-šwy* (*mšawe, mšuwele, mšawoye*) **to lay out bed; to furnish (with cushions and carpets); to dress (stone)** | *ðà-ʾotəx*ˡ *ʾáyya mšuwèθa*ˡ One room was furnished (B5:199); *ʾə̆rət-béθa y-áwa mšùwya*ˡ The floor of the house was furnished (B5:201); *mármar mšuwèθa*ˡ dressed marble (A40:8)

šxd **III** *m-šxd* (*mašxəd, mušxədle, mašxode*) **to give good news; to congratulate** | *ya-ṭara de-mašxədli* Oh bird, give me happy news (C2:22); *θéli mašəxdənnux*ˡ I have come to congratulate you.

šxlp **Q** *m-šxlp* (*mšaxləp, mšuxləple, mšaxlope*) **to exchange; to change** | *mšuxlápla b-isəqyàθa*ˡ They exchanged rings (A4:5); *ʾáwwa šə́mma mšaxəlpùle!*ˡ Change this name! (A7:2); *bás ʾáθṛa šuxlə̀pwale*ˡ But the country changed (B5:75); *píšla mšuxə́lpe maθwáθət qurðáye mušəlmàne*ˡ They were then changed into Muslim Kurdish villages (B1:2).

šxn **I** (*šaxən, šxinne, šxana*) **to become hot** | *šxínne qàlya*ˡ The meat fat became hot (A23:9). **II** *m-šxn* (*mšaxən, mšuxənne, mšaxone*) **to heat** | *mšaxnánne ʾixàla*ˡ I shall heat the food (A22:31); *ʾáwwa qímɛle mútt*ə*lla kθéθa rəš-núra mšaxònəlla*ˡ He put the chicken on the fire to heat it up (A2:5).

šxrn **Q** *m-šxrn* (*mšaxrən, mšuxrənne, mšaxrone*) **to make black (with smoke)**

šxš → *šġš*

šxtn **Q** *m-šxtn* (*mšaxtən, mšuxtənne, mšaxtone*) **to become dirty; to dirty** | *lá mšáxtən bə̀θa!*ˡ Don't dirty the house!

šyʾ **I** (*šăye, šile/šele, šyaʾa*) **to plaster; to smear** | *ʾáyya ʾótəx hox-šiyəlla*ˡ We have plastered this room (A23:18); *šăyáxle dúša ʾo-dàqra*ˡ We smear the stick with honey (B14:11); *léle jyàra,*ˡ *šăyətle b-gùda*ˡ (If) he does not pass water, throw him (literally: plaster him) against the wall (A30:40).

šyðn **Q** *m-šyðn* (*mšeyðən, mšuyðənne, mšeyðone*) **to become mad; to behave madly** | *ʾáy hár mšeyðòne,*ˡ *šwára nðáya gu-d-án ʾotáxe šluxèθa*ˡ She (the princess) is continually acting madly, leaping and jumping around naked in the rooms (A4:17).

šyl **I** (*šayəl, šille, šyala*) **to cough**

šym **I** (*šimle*) **to be devastated** | *šímle ʾu-ṣṭìmle*ˡ He has suffered a devastating tragedy.

šyn **I** (*šayən, šinne, šyana*) **to smart** | *káki hóla šyána m-mɛxólta xamùṣta*ˡ My teeth are smarting from the spicy food. **II** *m-šyn* (*mšayən/mšăyən, mšayənne, mšayone*) **to become tame** | *tərte yawne t-xa-qənna, xa prixla-w xa mšuyənna* Two doves of one nest, one flew away and one became tame (C2:28).

šyp **I** (*šayəp, šiple, šyapa*) **to rub, to erase, to delete** | *kúlla-mdi ṯ-ínwa kθíwa šìpəlla-w*ˡ They deleted everything that I had written (B1:19).

šyr **I** (*šayər, širre, šyara*) **to stoke (fire)**

šyš **I** (*šayəš, šišle, šyaša*) **to rock, to shake** | *ʾu-ʾáti də-ráqðət šɛšátla gànəx*ˡ You should dance and shake yourself (A27:11); *šyášɛle kàki*ˡ My tooth is loose.

/T/

tfq, tpq **I** (*tafəq/tapəq, tfiqle/tpiqle, tfaqa/tpaqa*) **to meet** (*b-* s.o.); **to come the way** (*b-* of s.o.); **to come across, to find (by chance).** (1) **to meet** | *tfíqle bìye* He met him; *b-tápqən bìye*ˡ I shall meet him (A4:21). (2) **to come the way of so.** | *bálki xa-mándi táfəq bìyi*ˡ Perhaps something will come my way (A20:1); *b-ʾúrxa tfíqɛle xá-xuwwe bìye*ˡ On the road a snake crossed his path (A1:4). (3) **to come across, to find** | *ʾána xá-bena tfíqən xa-kísa hátxa ṃəlyɛwa dáwa*ˡ Once I came across a bag that was full like this of gold (A35:12); *tfìqɛle rəš-d-ó sadánə Məṣr*ˡ He found that anvil of Egypt (A12:44). **II** *m-tfq* (*mtafəq, mtufəqle, mtafoqe*) **to make an agreement** | *ʾáw ʾu-báxte mtufəqla m-ġðàðe*ˡ He and his

wife made an agreement together (A18:13). **III** *m-tfq* (*matfəq, mutfəqle, matfoqe*) **to cause to meet; to cause to come across** | *ʾu-ʾaláha qəm-matfəqli bíya díya ʾàxxa*ˡ God caused me to find her here (A4:26); *ʾan-tre-maláxe… t-wɛ́wa mutəpqəlla b-ġðàðe*ˡ those two angels who had caused them to meet each other (A4:44); *xuláṣa ʾaláha mutəpqəlle gu-d-a-mðíta ṯ-íla ʾɛ-bráta d-o-màlka*ˡ In the end God made him come across the town where the daughter of that king was (A4:11).

tgbr **Q** *m-tgbr* (*mtagbər, mtugbərre, mtagbore*) **to look after, to administer** | *mtágəbrən bnòne*ˡ *mtágəbrən gàni*ˡ I shall look after my children and look after myself (A1:8); *mtagəbráwa qənyàni*ˡ She would look after my animals (A21:37); *šùqle-ʾəlli,*ˡ *ʾàna mtagəbránne*ˡ Leave him to me, I'll deal with him (A12:36); *bíš-yăðe mtagbərra*ˡ He knows best how to manage things (A30:2).

tjn **II** *m-tjn* (*mtajən, mtujənne, mtajone*) **to crown**

tjr **II** *m-tjr* (*mtajər, mtujərre, mtajore*) **to conduct business**

tlm **II** *m-tlm* (*mtaləm, mtuləmle, mtalome*) **to discipline** | *ʾáw lɛ́le mtùlma*ˡ He is undisciplined, he is badly behaved.

tlp **II** *m-tlp* (*mtaləp, mtuləple, mtalope*) **to ruin, to destroy, to harm** | *là mtalpátle,*ˡ *là-daqrət bíye*ˡ Do not harm him, do not touch him (A26:73).

tlpš **Q** *m-tlpš* (*mtalpəš, mtulpəšle, mtalpoše*) **to whisper**

tlq **I** (*taləq, tliqle, tlaqa*) **to be lost; to perish** | *tlìqli*ˡ I am lost; *kísti tlìqla* My purse is lost; *tálqi b-ganèy*ˡ They will perish by themselves (A8:11); *xáye-diye tàlqi*ˡ His life will be lost (A8:42). **II** (*mtaləq, mtuləqle, mtaloqe*) **to lose (tr.); to get rid of** | *mtulqáli kìsti*ˡ I have lost my purse; *ʾána gă̆rəg mtalqánna ʾanna-yàle*ˡ I have to get rid of these children (A8:7).

tlty **Q** *m-tlty* (*mtalte, mtultele, mtaltoye*) **to hang** | *hóle mtaltóye mən-ʾilàna*ˡ He is hanging from the tree.

tlx **I** (*taləx, tlixle, tlaxa*) **to collapse; to destroy.** (1) **to collapse** | *gúda tlìxle*ˡ The wall collapsed; *ʾax-t-šɛ̀šа,*ˡ *la-tàlxa*ˡ When it shakes, it will not (necessarily) collapse (D2:56). (2) **to destroy** | *kúl máθa ṯ-íla tlíxta ʾiθ ʾùmra gáwa*ˡ *ʾumráne kúlla tlixàlla*ˡ Every village that was destroyed and had a church in it, they destroyed all the churches (in them) (B6:34); *tré-mənna tlíxela nìxela*ˡ Two of them (the churches) were destroyed and obliterated (B1:5); *bəd-ʾáwwa náša tàlxəx*ˡ Let's destroy with regard

to this man (= let's get rid of this man) (A30:41). **II** *m-tlx* (*mtaləx, mtuləxle, mtaloxe*) **to destroy, to devastate** | *ʾáθe mtaláxlux ʾàw*ˡ He will eventually destroy you (A14:65).

tly **I** (*tale, tlele, tlaya*) **to hang** | *taláxle zága b-qðála dìya*ˡ Let us hang a bell on her (the cat's) neck (A44:2); *m-ánna mujawharàt*ˡ *t-wɛ́zwa tálye b-qðálə d-ɛ-bràta*ˡ some of the jewels which were hanging on the neck of the girl (A29:24).

tmm **II** *m-tmm* (*mtaməm/mtăməm, mtuməmle/mtŭməmle, mtamome/mtămome*) **to complete; to fulfil** | *ʾən-ʾánna mtăməmətla*ˡ If you fulfil (these conditions)… (A12:2).

tmtm **Q** *m-tmtm* (*mtamtəm, mtumtəmle, mtamtome*) **to stutter**

tmz **II** *m-tmz* (*mtămaz, mtŭmazle, mtămoze*) (K.) **to clean** | *ʾáwwa mtŭmàzəlle súse díye*ˡ He cleaned his horse (A12:65); *bar-ʾo-náša sáwa ṣályɛle mtămòzəlla ʧ̂ənnəǩ́ɛra díya*ˡ When that old man went down to clean around it (the pool)… (A14:77)

tndl **Q** *m-tndl* (*mtandəl, mtundəlle, mtandole*) **to sling; to hang**

tntn **Q** *m-tntn* (*mtantən, mtuntənle, mtantone*) **to smoke**

tntr **Q** *m-tntr* (*mtantər, mtuntərre, mtantore*) **to shake; to crave** | *ʾay-bráta zúrta hóla mtantóre ʾixàla*ˡ The young girl is craving food.

tnts **Q** *m-tnts* (*mtantəs, mtuntəsle, mtantose*) **to drizzle**

tnx **II** *m-tnx* (*mtanəx, mtunəxle, mtanoxe*) **to sigh; to sob**

tny **I** (*tane, tnele, tnaya*) **to repeat; to plough a second set of furrows.** (1) **to repeat, to follow suit** | *tníli xà-xena*ˡ (Hit) me again with another (blow) (A50:14). (2) **to plough a second set of furrows** | *ʾáw ʾi-zǎ́re ʾu-ʾi-tàne*ˡ He ploughs (the first set of furrows) and then ploughs the second set (perpendicular to them). **II** *m-tny* (*mtane, mtunele, mtanoye*) **to recount, to tell** | *píštɛla mtanóye ða-qəṣṣətˡ ṭla-qàṭu*ˡ She began to tell a story to the cat (A14:2); *ʾaw-mtunéle ʾaw-xálma qa-d-ó Xáno Lapzèrin*ˡ He told the dream to Xano the Golden Hand (A11:9).

tpn **I** (*tapən, tpinne, tpana*) **to become mouldy**

tpq → *tfq*

tpr **I** (*tapər, tpirre, tpara*) **to threaten, to be aggressive** (*b-* to) | *tpírre bìyi*ˡ He threatened me.

tpθ **I** (*tapəθ, tpitle, tpaθa*) **to sneeze**

tql **I** (*taqəl, tqille, tqala*) **to weigh; to lift up** | *tqílɛle réše dìye*ˡ He raised his head (A8:41); *tqìlə́lle,*ˡ *ṭínəlle l-xàṣe*ˡ He picked him up and put him on his back (A22:40); *ʾáp-xa là-mṣe taqə́lla*ˡ Nobody can lift it (B10:74); *kút-xa… hátxa taqə́lwale gàne*ˡ Everybody stood up straight (B16:24).

tqtq **Q** *m-tqtq* (*mtaqtəq, mtuqtəqle, mtaqtoqe*) **to laugh loudly, to cackle; to become fizzy** | *taqtaqyaθət baxtaθa* the cackling of the women; *másta ʾíman-t xámṣa mtaqtə̀qa*ˡ When yoghurt becomes sour, it becomes fizzy.

trgl **Q** *m-trgl* (*mtargəl, mturgəlle, mtargole*) **to trip** | *mturgáltɛla gána bìye*ˡ She made herself trip over him (A27:40)

trjm **Q** (*mtarjəm, mturjəmle, mtarjome*) (A.) **to translate**

trks **Q** *m-trks* (*mtarkəs, mturkəsle, mtarkose*) **to build up embers of a fire to keep it burning**

trmz **Q** *m-trmz* (*mtarməz, mturməzle, mtarmoze*) **to bruise (skin); to wilt** | *mturmə́zla ʾàqlì*ˡ My foot is bruised; *qá-t ʾan-márre la-ʾáθi ʾə́lla dìya,*ˡ *mtarə̀mza*ˡ so that diseases do not afflict it (the apple tree), and it wilts (B5:106).

trp **I** (*tarəp, triple, trapa*) **to blink; to quiver** | *ʾéne hóla tràpa*ˡ His eyes are blinking; *ʾénət yámne hóla tràpa*ˡ His right eye is quivering.

trpθ **Q** *m-trpθ* (*mtarpəθ, mturpətle, mtarpoθe*) **to blink** → *trapθa*

trq **I** (*tarəq, triqle, traqa*) **to button up** | *trúq zìqux*ˡ Wrap up well!

trqð **Q** *m-trqð* (*mtarqəð, mturqədle, mtarqoðe*) **to frolic, to gambol**

trql **Q** *m-trql* (*mtarqəl, mturqəlle, mtarqole*) **to stumble, to trip; to fail (to do sth.)**

trsy **Q** *m-trsy* (*mtarse, mtursele, mtarsoye*) **to sustain, provide sustenance for**

trṣ **I** (*tarəṣ, triṣle, traṣa*) **to be cured; to be made.** (1) **to be cured; to recover** | *brónux b-tàrəṣ*ˡ Your son will be cured (A8:95). (2) **to be made** | *bálki ṭ-íla mən-tàma tráṣa ʾánna xráwe*ˡ Perhaps it is from here that all this devastation is being wrought (A29:55). **II** *m-trṣ* (*mtaraṣ, mturəṣle, mtaroṣe*) **to repair, to cure; to prepare, to construct** | *ʾən-lɛ́le pláxa, ʾána mtarṣə̀nne*ˡ If it is not working, I shall repair it; *ʾánna Dɛrəšknàye… ʾáni mtarṣíwa nə̆̀re*ˡ These people from Dɛrəške… they used

to make axes (B5:142); *məlxáwa ʾíwa mtúrṣa m-qèsa*ˡ A winnowing fork was made out of wood (B5:87).

trtx **Q** *m-trtx* (*mtartəx, mturtəxle, mtartoxe*) **to be angry, irritated**

try **I** (*tare, trele, traya*) **to become wet** | *xà-mənnɛxu b-taréwa*ˡ *ʾo-xéna là taréwa*ˡ One of you would get wet and the other would not get wet (A17:18); *ʾo-t-dáwəq nùne*ˡ *tárya qùne*ˡ One who catches fishes gets his buttocks wet (D2:26); *tréle qam-mə̀ṭra*ˡ He was soaked in the rain.

tslm **Q** *m-tslm* (*mtasləm, mtusləmle, mtaslome*) (A.) **to hand over** | *súse díye mtaslóməlle ṭla-xulàma*ˡ He hands over his horse to the servant (A12:8); *tá-t mtasəlmánnux ṭla-bàbux*ˡ so that I can hand you over (safely) to your father (A14:61).

tsy **I** (*tase, tsele, tsaya*) **to copulate (birds)**

tšbx **Q** *m-tšbx* (*mtašbəx, mtušbəxle, mtašboxe*) **to praise**

tštš **Q** *m-tštš* (*mtaštaš, mtuštašle, mtaštoše*) **to whisper (secrets)** | *ʾánna náše hóla mtaštóše benaθèy*ˡ These people are whispering among themselves.

twb **II** *m-twb* (*mtawəb/mtăwəb, mtuwəble, mtawobe*) **to repent** | *mtuwáble qam-ʾàlaha*ˡ He repented to God.

twn **I** (*tawən, twinne, twana*) **to become numb** | *ʾiðət qariwa twinna* The hand of the best man is numb (holding the wedding tree) (B8:26).

twr **I** (*tawər, twirre, twara*) **to break** | *xéna ʾámrət màlkɛle*ˡ *lá-maṣa t-torìle*ˡ You see, it was the order of the king and they cannot disobey it (A8:9).

txmn **Q** *m-txmn* (*mtaxmən, mtuxmənne, mtaxmone*) (A.) **to think, to consider** | *klí mtaxə̀mnən*ˡ Wait, let me think about it (A3:5); *ʾay-gu-gána mtuxmə̀nna*ˡ She thought to herself (A21:19); *lat-mtaxmóne mən-nàše?*ˡ Do you not think of people? (A25:60); *lá taxmánnən ʾána bəd-zəndàna*ˡ I do not care about jail (A26:44).

txr **I** (*taxər, txirre, txara*) **to remember; to mention** | *taxránna xàbre*ˡ I remember the words (B9:33); *ʾax-txàra*ˡ as far as I remember; *ʾána b-gáni là-taxrən m-áy*ˡ I myself do not remember that (B10:82); *ʾó qašə-ṯ-ín b-txárən ʾálle dìye*ˡ the priest whom I remember (B15:83); *Šóšət Xére txirə̀lax*ˡ You mentioned Šošət Xere (A38:8). **III** *m-txr* (*matxər, mutxərre, matxore*) **to remind; to commemorate** | *matəxrúli ṭawalyáθa xène*ˡ Remind me of other games (B11:32); *náše mìθe*ˡ *kút-xa ʾítle xəzmáne matxə̀rre šə́mme*ˡ The dead people, each had relatives whose name he would commemorate (B16:23).

txtx **Q** *m-txtx* (*mtaxtəx, mtuxtəxle, mtaxtoxe*) **to prod, to tickle**

tyk **I** (*tayək, tikle, tyaka*) **to have a bad name; to give a bad name** | *ʾèbɛleˈ la-tùklənˈ* It's shameful. Don't give us a bad name! (B15:90).

tym **I** (*tayəm, timle, tyama*) **to finish** | *xzáyən xa-xəzzìnət dáwe,ˈ yáʿniˈ lìtle tyámaˈ* I saw a treasure of gold, (immense) without end (A11:7); *ʾáti tùmlaˈ šáwwa šənnux,ˈ ʾána t-yànnaˈ Zîne ʾállux*ˈ You finish your seven years (of service), and I shall give Zine to you (A25:24); *kúl ʾaskarwáθa d-o-málka qəm-tayàmlaˈ* He finished off all the armies of the king (A29:62).

/T̰/

ṯlz **II** *m-ṯlz* (*mṯaləz, mṯuləzle, mṯaloze*) (K.) **to indulge** | *ʾi-mṯàləz gáneˈ* He indulges himself.

/Ṭ/

ṭʾl **II** *m-ṭʾl* (*mṭawəl/mṭăwəl, mṭuwəlle, mṭawole*) **to play** | *yále zóre mṭawóle b-čəkke* The young children were playing with anklebones (A25:87); *šúryela mṭawóle b-šətrənjàneˈ* They started playing chess (A26:63).

ṭbʾ **I** (*ṭăbe, ṭbile/ṭbele, ṭbaʾa/ṭbaya*) **to sink; to make sink** | *ṭbíle gu-mìyaˈ* He sank in the water; *ṭăbánnux ṣàletiˈ l-šáttət… t-yamàθaˈ* I shall make you sink and go down to the bottom of the seas (A25:63).

ṭbq **II** *m-ṭbq* (*mṭăbəq, mṭŭbəqle, mṭăboqe*) (A.) **to be compressed** | *ʾíθwalən pàršeˈ trèˈ xa-xóθa xa-rèša,ˈ ta-t-ṭăbəqàwaˈ* We had flat stones, one beneath and one above, so that it (the cheese) was compressed (B10:23).

ṭlʾ **I** (*ṭăle, ṭlile/ṭlele, ṭlaʾa/ṭlaya*) **to sleep** | *málla hóle tíwa gu-kúrsa ṭlìleˈ* The mullah sat in a chair and fell asleep (A2:3); *béna ʾaw-ṭằle,ˈ xà-šabθa ṭá́leˈ* When he used to sleep, he used to sleep for a week (A31:6). **III** *m-ṭlʾ* (*maṭle, muṭlele, maṭloye*) **to put to sleep** | *muṭalya-gáne dìyeˈ* He pretended to be asleep (A30:42).

ṭlb **I** (*ṭaləb, ṭlible, ṭlaba*) **to ask, to request; to request betrothal, to betroth.** (1) **to ask, to request** | *hàr y-áwewa ṭlába mən-ʾálahaˈ* He was always making requests from God (A3:1); *mu-bắyət bas-ṭlùbənˈ* Whatever you want just ask (A8:38); *ṭalbànneˈ masárqe dìyeˈ* I shall ask him for his comb (A32:3). (2) **to request betrothal, to betroth** |

*ʾáyya ṭalbəxlà-llux*ˡ We shall ask for her to be betrothed to you (A16:6); *ʾána ṭlíbtənwa l-brónət màmi*ˡ I was betrothed to my cousin (A13:14). (3) Idiom: *ṭlíbɛle xáṭər mənna*ˡ He took his leave from her (literally: He sought respect from her) (A25:66). **II** *m-ṭlb* (*mṭaləb, mṭuləble, mṭalobe*) **to perform marriage betrothal** | *y-azíwa ṭalòbe*ˡ They would go to perform the betrothal (B5:6); *ṭ̂-oðéxi ṭalòbe*ˡ Let us perform the betrothal (B5:6).

ṭmʾ **II** *m-ṭmʾ* (*mṭăme, mṭŭmele, mṭămoye*) **to covet** | *náša gă̈rəg lá mṭă̈me*ˡ A man must not covet (A35:23).

ṭmr **I** (*ṭaməɾ, ṭmirre, ṭmara*) **to fill a hole in; to bury** | *bəxyóna t-Šóšət Xère*ˡ *ṭ̂-ila-qṭìlta*ˡ *ʾu-ṭmírta gu-ʾórət susăwàθa*ˡ Weeping is for Šošət Xere, who has been killed and buried in the horses' manger (A38:7). **II** *m-ṭmr* (*mṭaməɾ, mṭumərre, mṭamore*) **to bury** | *hola-zála mṭamòrəlle*ˡ They are going to bury him (A17:7); *ʾáwwa náša nablátle ṭamrətli*ˡ Take this man and bury him (A22:37); *ʾáy wela-ʾá-brata xaréθət mṭúmra gu-Dùre*ˡ That was the last girl who was buried in Dure (B1:12).

ṭmš **I** (*ṭaməš, ṭmišle, ṭmaša*) **to dip; to immerse** | *gu-d-an-míya ṭamšîwala*ˡ They (the priests) immersed them (the babies) in the water (of the baptismal font) (B8:43).

ṭpṭp **Q** *m-ṭpṭp* (*mṭapṭəp, mṭupṭəple, mṭapṭope*) **to tap, to bang; to knock bread dough against hands alternately**

ṭpy **I** (*ṭape, ṭpele, ṭpaya*) **to catch up; to kindle (fire); to infect.** (1) **to catch up** | *ṭapéle xále dìye*ˡ *gu-d-ày-maθa*ˡ He caught up with his uncle in that village (A28:11); *har-ṭapànne xlúla*ˡ I shall reach the wedding (before it finishes) (A35:6); *kəmàt ṭ̂-árqena*ˡ *tópe har-ṭapyàli*ˡ However much I run, a gun will still reach me (B9:3). (2) **to kindle (fire)** | *mṭapáxwa núra bìye*ˡ We would set fire to it (B5:153); *xzèla*ˡ *ʾína núra ṭápya b-béθe dìye*ˡ They saw that fire had been kindled in his house (A48:3). (3) **to infect, to afflict** | *ṭápya xàrsɛle*ˡ He is afflicted with leprosy (A32:21). **II** *m-ṭpy* (*mṭape, mṭupele, mṭapoye*) **to kindle (fire); to infect, to afflict.** (1) **to kindle (fire)** | *mṭapáxwa núra bìye*ˡ We would set fire to it (B5:153). (2) **to infect, to afflict** | *mṭúpyɛle xàrsa* He is afflicted with leprosy; *mṭúpyəlle zárba b-Qaṭìna*ˡ He dealt a blow against Qaṭina (A52:17); *Ɣuwánəs mṭupyále gúrza ʾólle díye*ˡ Yuwanəs struck him with his club (A52:19). **III** *m-ṭpy* (*maṭpe, muṭpele, maṭpoye*) **to kindle (fire)** | *maṭpə̀xle béθa*ˡ We shall set fire to the house (A26:52).

ṭqṭq **Q** *m-ṭqṭq* (*mṭaqṭəq, mṭuqṭəqle, mṭaqṭoqe*) **to knock (at the door)** | *la-mṭáqṭəq l-tǎ̆rət nàše*ˡ *ta-t-náše la-mṭáqṭəqi l-tǎ̆rux*ˡ Do not knock on people's door so that people do not knock on your door (D2:3).

ṭrð **I** (*ṭarəð, ṭridle, ṭraða*) **to drive away** | *ʾána qəm-ṭarðìli*ˡ They drove me out (A2:11); *ṭarðə́xle m-mədràsa*ˡ We shall expel him from school (A14:6).

ṭrn **I** (*ṭarən, ṭrinne, ṭrana*) **to twist** | *ṭarníwala hátxa ṭràna*ˡ They twisted it (the wick of the lamp) (B10:82).

ṭrp **I** (*ṭarəp, ṭriple, ṭrapa*) **to seize, to catch (prey); to attack; to fling**. (1) **to seize, to catch (prey)** | *ṭrípəlla Ẓ̌ine*ˡ They seized Zine (A26:3); *qaṭúθa ṭrípla ʾaqùbra*ˡ The cat has caught a mouse. (2) **to attack** (*l-*s.o.) | *ṭrìpɛle*ˡ *l-d-ò-kalba*ˡ It (the wolf) attacked the dog (B15:38); *ṭrípela l-ġðàðe*ˡ They attacked each other (A20:10). (3) **to fling, to throw** | *šqílɛle xa-šəndòxa*ˡ *ṭrípəlle l-gota-dìya*ˡ He took a smooth stone and threw it at her (A30:37); *qəm-ṭarpáli gu-məššàra*ˡ She (the mule) threw me into the paddy field basin (B5:132).

ṭrs **I** (*ṭarəs, ṭrisle, ṭrasa*) **to become fat** | *ʾə́rwe mtagbrə́xwala qa-t-ṭarsìwa*ˡ We would look after sheep so that they became fat (B5:139). **III** *m-ṭrs* (*maṭrəs, muṭrəsle, maṭrose*) **to make fat**

ṭrṭm **Q** *m-ṭrṭm (mṭarṭəm, mṭurṭəmle, mṭarṭome)* **to grumble** | *hár hole-mṭarṭóme ʾu-ṭlàba*ˡ He is always grumbling and asking (for things) (A3:2).

ṭrx **I** (*ṭarəx, ṭrixle, ṭraxa*) **to lie down flat; to flatten.** (1) **to lie down flat, to sprawl** | Typically used referring to somebody fast asleep: *hóle ṭrìxa*ˡ He is fast asleep. (2) **to cause to lie flat, to flatten** | *páwxa qəm-ṭaráxla xə̀ṭṭe*ˡ The wind has blown down the wheat; *máṭra hóla ṭráxəlla xáṭṭe l-ʾǎ̆ra*ˡ The rain is flattening the wheat on the ground. **II** *m-ṭrx* (*mṭarəx, mṭurəxle, mṭaroxe*) **to card, to flatten wool by combing; to grow shoots** | *ʾilána hóle mṭaróxe ṭàrxe*ˡ The tree is growing shoots.

ṭry **I** (*ṭare, ṭrele, ṭraya*) **to drive; to lead; to ride (on an animal); to sail; to run.** (1) **to drive, to lead** | *hóle ṭráya ʾə́rwe b-qɛ̀sa*ˡ He is driving the sheep with a stick; *yǎ̆ðət ṭráya ʾatnàbəl?*ˡ Do you know how to drive a car? (2) **to ride (on an animal)** | *hár hole-gu-čól b-ṭràya*ˡ He is still riding in the countryside (A8:40). (3) **to sail** | *gáni ṭrìθɛla*ˡ The boat sailed off (A14:38). (4) **to run** | *téla mo-ṭréle ʾəlla!*ˡ How the fox ran to it! (A49:4). (5) Idiom: *mábsəm ʾu-ṭáre kɛ̀f*ˡ He will enjoy himself and have a good time (A2:8). **III** *m-ṭry* (*maṭre, muṭrele, maṭroye*) **to ride (an animal)** | *hóle maṭróye sùsa*ˡ He is riding a horse; *maṭréwa maṭróye xɛlàna*ˡ He was riding hard (A8:39).

ṭšy **II** *m-ṭšy* (*mṭaše, mṭušele, mṭašoye*) **to hide (tr. and intr.)** | *gu-bóye díye mṭúšyəlla gáne dìye*ˈ It (the snake) hid itself in its hole (A1:15); *mṭašə́tla gánux baràye*ˈ You should hide outside (A22:22).

ṭwq **II** *m-ṭwq* (*mṭăwəq, mṭŭwəqle, mṭăwoqe*) (A.) **to encircle, to besiege** | *ʾAmedía mṭŭwəàqəlla*ˈ They encircled Amedia (A25:77).

ṭwx **I** (*ṭawəx, ṭwixle, ṭwaxa*) **to shatter** | *lišáne rìxa*ˈ *ʾu-xáṣe ṭwìxa*ˈ His tongue is long, but his back is broken (D2:67).

ṭwy (i) **I** (*ṭawe, ṭwele, ṭwaya*) **to roast (intr.)** | *ṭwèle lábba ʾálle díye*ˈ She felt sorry for him (A47:1). **II** *m-ṭwy* (*mṭawe, mṭuwele, mṭawoye*) **to roast** | *mṭawə́xwa bə̀sra*ˈ We used to roast meat (B10:6).

ṭwy (ii) **I** (*ṭawe, ṭwele, ṭwaya*) **to be worth** | *la ṭawɛ bəske diya* Her locks are indeed valuable, are greatly valued (C2:41). → *ṭuwe*

ṭxn **I** (*ṭaxən, ṭxinne, ṭxana*) **to grind, to mill** | *maṣlɛ́wala ʾərxe,*ˈ *ṭaxnìwala,*ˈ *pɛ́ši qàmxa*ˈ They would take it (the wheat *xəṭṭe*) down to the water-mill and grind it and it would become flour (B5:15).

ṭy **I** (*ṭăye, ṭele, ṭăya*) **to search; to wander.** (1) **to search** | *ṭăya ʾəlla*ˈ (She is) searching for her (A25:6); *ṭólɛxu xa-šúla* Search for a job for yourselves (A30:1); *ʾan-xéne pálṭi ṭăyi bàθra*ˈ The others go looking for them (B11:14). (2) **to wander** | *ríqle mən-ʾÍrən θèle,*ˈ *ṭéle gu-Ṭiyàre*ˈ He fled from Iran and came and wandered in Ṭiyare (B6:29).

ṭym **I** (*ṭayəm, ṭimle, ṭyama*) **to taste. III** *m-ṭm* (*măṭəm, mŭṭəmle, măṭome*) **to cause to taste** | *qəm-măṭəmìle*ˈ *xə̀lya*ˈ They gave him a taste of milk (A28:31).

ṭyn **I** (*ṭayən, ṭinne, ṭyana*) **to load, to carry; to become pregnant** | *xa-mənnɛ́xu ṭayə́nwa ʾo-xèna*ˈ One of you would carry the other (A17:18); *hóle ṭína kértət qɛ̀se*ˈ *l-xàṣe*ˈ He is carrying a load of wood on his back (A15:13); *qəm-ṭɛnáli xáṣa dìya*ˈ She carried me on her back (A14:96); *ṭìnna*ˈ She became pregnant. **III** *m-ṭn* (*măṭən, mŭṭənne, măṭone*) **to load**

ṭyp **I** (*ṭayəp, ṭiple, ṭyapa*) **to float** | *míya ʾi-ṭépi b-rèša*ˈ The water floats on the top (of the yoghurt) (B6:42).

ṭyš **I** (*ṭayəš, ṭišle, ṭyaša*) **to besmear, to cover** | *ṭɛšə́xle qurṭánət xmára də̀mma*ˈ We shall besmear the donkey blanket with blood (A14:17); *ʾən-háwe pláṭa mən-ʾərxe ṭíša qàmxa,*ˈ *lá hămánət ʾəlle*ˈ If he comes out of the water-mill covered in flour, do not trust him (D2:61).

/v/

vdy **II** *m-vdy* (*mvăde, mvudele, mvădoye*) **to move aside** | *mvắdo mvə̀do!*ˡ Move out of the way! (A39:12).

vlvl **Q** *m-vlvl* (*mvalvəl, mvulvəlle, mvalvole*) **to sprout**

vrvr **Q** *m-vrvr* (*mvarvər, mvurvərre, mvarvore*) **to croak (frog)**

/w/

wdy **III** (*mawde, mudele, mawdoye*) **to confess, to make confession** | *táwəxwa ʾána-w xóni mawdòye*ˡ *qáša Wárda mawdòye*ˡ I and my brother would sit and make confession, make confession to the priest Warda (B8:17).

wfq **II** *m-wfq* (*mwafəq, mwufəqle, mwafoqe*) (A.) **to agree** | *ʾən-ʾáti mwáfqət qa-t-goránne Gozàli,*ˡ *brónux b-tàrəṣ*ˡ If you agree for me to marry Gozali, your son will be cured (A8:95).

wnwn **Q** *m-wnwn* (*mwanwən, mwunwənne, mwanwone*) **to twitter, to chirp (birds, insects)**

wqwq **Q** *m-wqwq* (*mwaqwəq, mwuqwəqle, mwaqwoqe*) **to croak (frogs)**

wrθ **II** *m-wrθ* (*mwarəθ, mwurətle, mwaroθe*) (A.) **to inherit**

wrwr **Q** *m-wrwr* (*mwarwər, mwurwərre, mwarwore*) **to roar**

wswṣ **Q** *m-wswṣ* (*mwaswəṣ, mwuswəṣle, mwaswoṣe*) **to twitter (birds)**

wṣwṣ **Q** *m-wṣwṣ* (*mwaṣwəṣ, mwuṣwəṣle, mwaṣwoṣe*) **to squeak (mouse)**

/x/

xb **III** *m-xb* (*maxəb/măxəb, muxable/mŭxəble, maxobe/măxobe*) **to love; to fall in love; to like** | *muxə́bla ġðàðe*ˡ They fell in love with each other (A4:4); *ʾən-măxóbət pɛ́šət ʾàxxa,*ˡ *ʾáti pɛ́šət malə́kθa šòpi*ˡ If you would like to stay here, you will become queen in my place (A4:42).

xbð **I** (*xabəð, xbidle, xbaða*) **to embrace. II** *m-xbð* (*mxabəð, mxubədle, mxaboðe*) **to bury (dead)** | *də́rye qam-šə̂məša,*ˡ *t-lá mṭamòre,*ˡ *t-lá mxabòðe*ˡ They

(the corpses of the dead) are placed in the sun, without burial or funeral (B9:32).

xbl **II** (*mxabəl, mxubəlle, mxabole*) **to become cold**

xbr **III** *m-xbr* (*maxbər, muxbərre, maxbore*) **to telephone**

xč̣xč̣ **Q** *m-xč̣xč̣* (*mxač̣xəč̣, mxuč̣xəč̣le, mxač̣xoč̣e*) (§1.4.6.) **to poke, to prod (the ground)** | *hóle mxač̣xóč̣e gu-ʾǎra*ˡ He is poking in the ground; *hóle mxač̣xóč̣e kàke*ˡ He is picking his teeth.

xdm **I** (*xadəm, xdimle, xdama*) (A.) **to serve** | *ʾána xdímli gu-ʾàskar*ˡ I served in the army.

xðʾ **I** (*xǎðe, xðile/xðele, xðaʾa/xðaya*) **to roll up, to wrap, to twist.** (1) **to roll up, to wrap** | *qəm-xǎðíla hátxa t-la-qɛralèy*ˡ They wrapped them (in clothes), like this, so that they would not be cold (A8:12). (2) **to twist** | *dalíθa xðíta-ʾəlla síqta mḷíθa ʾənwe*ˡ A vine full of grapes had grown up and twisted around it (A43:2); *šaqíθa ʾi-xǎðàwa*ˡ The stream twisted (A8:13); *ʾi-qéma xa-dalíθət xùwwe*ˡ *ʾi-xǎða l-án tre-xoriyàθa*ˡ A wild vine grows up and winds around those two willow trees (A26:91).

xðr **I** (*xaðər, xðirre, xðara*) **to go around; to wander; to search; to turn round; to turn into.** (1) **to go around, to turn round** | *xaðráxwa bàte,*ˡ *ʾu-jǎmáxwa məndiyàne*ˡ We would go around the houses and collect various things (B5:156); *ʾaw-yaṣíla xéna xaðàr-əllux*ˡ The other corner will turn round towards you (A12:25); *kúlla xðìrta*ˡ *ʾAmedìa*ˡ Amedia was completely surrounded (A25:79). (2) **to wander** | *xà-yoma*ˡ *dábba xðára-wawa gu-ṭuràne*ˡ One day a bear was wandering around the mountains (A20:1); *ʾu-xìšɛle*ˡ *b-ùrxa*ˡ *xðàra*ˡ *m-máθa l-màθa*ˡ He went on the road, wandering from village to village (A4:10). (3) **to search** (*baθər* for) | *hon-zàla*ˡ *xðára báθər báxta ta-bròni*ˡ I am going looking for a wife for my son (A4:9). (4) **to turn round, to turn over** | *xðárənwa l-ày-goti,*ˡ *ʾáqli tíwla š-ʾáqlət bàxta*ˡ I was turning over to my (other) side and my leg settled on the leg of the woman (A16:11); *m-ða-gòta*ˡ *zɛpátwala l-d-ó-geba xèna*ˡ *qa-t xaðríwa qərṭàle-u*ˡ *súla msapqàtwale*ˡ You would push from one side to the other so that the baskets would turn round and so empty out the manure (B5:137). (5) **to turn into** (marginal) | *dámma la-xáðər l-mìya*ˡ Blood does not turn into water (D2:40). **III** *m-xðr* (*maxðər, muxðərre, maxðore*) **to cause to go around; to turn round** | *maxəðríla ʾa-kʷàlo*ˡ *qúrbət bɛ̀θa*ˡ They take the bride around (the village) towards her house (B5:38); *màxðərra!*ˡˡ Turn it (the egg) round! (B5:59).

xðy **I** (*xaðe, xðele, xðaya*) **to rejoice, to be happy** | *xðèlɛxu bíya*ˡ You were happy with it (A5:10). **III** (*maxðe, muxðele, maxðoye*) **to cause to rejoice; to make happy**

xjl **I** (*xajəl, xjille, xjala*) (A.) **to be terrified** | *xjìlli*ˡ I am terrified. **III** *m-xjl* (*maxjəl, muxjəlle, maxjole*) **to terrify**

xkk **I** (*xakək, xkikle, xkaka*) **to laugh** | *xkìkle bíyi*ˡ He laughed at me (A22:8); *qa-mòdit xkàka?*ˡ Why are you laughing? (A41:4). → *gxk*

xlʾ **III** *m-xlʾ* (*maxle, muxlele, maxloye*) **to give a gift** | *maxloye xəlleta* give a present

xḷʾ **I** (*xăḷe, xḷile, xḷaʾa*) **to bend, to stoop** | *xəgga xḷiya* type of *xəgga* dance in which dancers bend their knees

xldy **Q** *m-xldy* (*mxalde, mxuldele, mxaldoye*) **to dig, to excavate**

xll **II** *m-xll* (*mxaləl/mxăləl, mxuləlle/mxŭləlle, mxalole/mxălole*) **to wash** | *mxŭláltəlla ʾay-dùkθa*ˡ She washed that place (A17:27); *mxúlləlla páθe dìye-w*ˡ He washed his face (A21:15); *mxulálta ʾamàne*ˡ She washed the dishes (A21:20).

xlm (i) **I** (*xaləm, xlimle, xlama*) **to become thick** | *bár mqărəníwa xalmìwa*ˡ *xà-siṭa*ˡ *yan-trè-siṭe*ˡ *yan-ṭl̀à-siṭe*ˡ after they had grown up and become one, two or three spans thick (B5:207). **III** *m-xlm* (*maxləm, muxləmle, maxlome*) **to make thick** | *ʾi-maxəlmíwa ʾúpra taqríban xamšî santíye*ˡ They made the (layer of) mud about fifty centimetres thick.

xlm (ii) **I** (*xaləm, xlimle, xlama*) **to dream**

xlp **II** *m-xlp* (*mxaləp, mxuləple, mxalope*) **to exchange** | *mxoləplən ʾisəqyaθa* We exchanged rings (C2:20).

xlq (i) **I** (*xaləq, xliqle, xlaqa*) **to create** | *ʾána qəm-xaláqli ʾàlaha*ˡ God created me (A25:14); *ʾálaha qəm-xaləqli*ˡ *yóma qamàya*ˡ *rèša*ˡ God has created for me on the first day a head (A25:14).

xlq (ii) **I** (*xaləq, xliqle, xlaqa*) (A.) **to lock, to close with a lock; to button up** | *xlíqla tằra*ˡ She locked the door (A17:26).

xlṣ (i) **I** (*xaləṣ, xliṣa, xlaṣa*) (A.) **to finish; to save.** (1) **to finish** | *ʾu-ʾən-lá muθyàle,*ˡ *ham-zílle xlíṣli mənne-dìye*ˡ If he does not bring her back, (it would) also (be good since) he would perish and I would be free of him (A8:34). (2) **to save** | *ʾáti qəm-xalṣàtli*ˡ *mən-d-áwwa mòθa*ˡ You have saved me from death (A14:35). **II** *m-xlṣ* (*mxaləṣ, mxuləṣle, mxaloṣe*)

to save | *m-kəs-gàne qəm-mdabárra*ˡ *mxalóṣe xàye díye*ˡ He made this up himself to save his life (A39:6); *xákma mxulṣàla gána*ˡ Some saved themselves (B6:18).

xlṣ (ii) **I** (*xaləṣ, xliṣa, xlaṣa*) **to tighten, to squeeze** | *xá-ṣliwa xlíṣtənne gu-ʾìðiˡ m-zdùθiˡ* I gripped a cross in my hand out of fear (B9:12). synon. *qmaṭa*

xlṭ **I** (*xaləṭ, xliṭle, xlaṭa*) (A.) **to err, to make a mistake** | *ʾaláha là-xaləṭˡ* God does not make a mistake (A6:3); *léwewa xlìṭa*ˡ He had not erred (A15:19).

xlw **I** (*xalu, xlule/xliwle, xlawa*) **to milk** | *qèdamta*ˡ *xálwi tawərta*ˡ Early in the morning they milk a cow (B5:111).

xly **I** (*xale, xlele, xlaya*) **to become sweet. III** *m-xly* (*maxle, muxlele, maxloye*) **to make sweet**

xmʾ **I** (*xăme, xmile/xmele, xmaʾa/xmaya*) **to ferment; to rise (dough)** | *dɛrέwa xmíra gáwa dìye,*ˡ *xămèwa*ˡ They would put yeast in it (the dough) and it rose (B5:16). **II** *m-xmʾ* (*mxămе, mxŭmele, mxămoye*) **to leaven (tr.)** | *dέrɛ xmìra gáwe díye*ˡ *ʾu-mxămèle*ˡ They put yeast in it and leaven it (B5:100).

xml **I** (*xaməl, xmille, xmala*) **to enjoy oneself** | *ʾána w-áti xámləx hal-mbàdla*ˡ You and I will enjoy ourselves until the morning (A8:50); *píšla ṭla-yàrxe,*ˡ *ma-t-xmìlla mən-d-o-yála*ˡ They stayed three months, so much did they enjoy themselves with that young man (A14:84). **II** *m-xml* (*mxaməl, mxuməlle, mxamole*) **to put on festive clothes; to decorate festively** | *mxámli qa-xlùla*ˡ They dress up for a wedding (B10:31); *mxamlàla gána*ˡ Let her adorn herself with festive clothes (A26:77); *méθɛ…koðənta…mxamlìwala-w*ˡ They bring a mule and decorate it (B5:37); *lwíše mxùmle*ˡ *júllət ʾaθuràye*ˡ They were dressed up festively in Assyrian clothes (B15:79). **III** *m-xml* (*maxməl, muxməlle, maxmole*) **to cause to be merry, to entertain** | *ʾáp-xa mənnέxu léle l-zmárta xa-mèndi*ˡ *maxmálleni hox-tíwe ʾàxxa?*ˡ Is anyone of you for a song or something to entertain us while we sit here? (A35:7)

xmq **I** (*xaməq, xmiqle, xmaqa*) **to rot (food)**

xmr **I** (*xamər, xmirre, xmara*) **to ferment. III** *m-xmr* (*maxmər, muxmərre, maxmore*) **to cause to ferment**

xmṣ **I** (*xaməṣ, xmiṣle, xmaṣa*) **to go sour**

xmxm **Q** *m-xmxm* (*mxamxəm, mxumxəmle, mxamxome*) **to become hot, feverish**

xmy **I** (*xame, xmele, xmaya*) **to stay; to shelter; to dwell; to make a livelihood.** (1) **to stay** | *xámən gu-jàma*ˡ I shall stay in the mosque (A17:5). (2) **to shelter** | *líθ ču-dúkθa xáme gawe-dìye*ˡ There was no place to shelter (B9:3). (3) **to dwell, to live** | *xméle gu-ṭùra*ˡ He dwelt in the mountains (A27:2); *ʾu-náše xaméwa kúlla kúlfət m-ġðàðe*ˡ All the family lived together (B5:200). (4) **to make a livelihood** | *yawíwala xà-məndi,*ˡ *xà-ləxma,*ˡ *trè-ləxme,*ˡ *ʾap-ʾáyya xaṃyáwa biye-dìye*ˡ They gave her (the baker woman) something, a loaf of bread, two loaves, and she made a livelihood by this (B13:17). **II** *m-xmy* (*mxame, mxumele, mxamoye*) **to keep, to look after; to bury.** (1) **to keep, to look after** | *sátwa la-y-awéwa réčəl ràba*ˡ *fa-ʾánna mxamèwala*ˡ In winter there were not many dairy products, so they kept them (for consumption in winter) (B6:167); *ʾáyya bàxta*ˡ *lá-mṣela mxumèla ʾərwe*ˡ The woman could not keep the sheep (A10:6); *ʾən-mxamàtli,*ˡ *péšən xa-xulàma gu-béθux*ˡ If you take me in, I shall become a servant in your home (A14:59); *ʾánna gə̆rəg xamàxla-w*ˡ *masíməx bála ʾəlla*ˡ We must care for them and look after them (A8:15). (2) **to bury** | *méθəx ʾùpra*ˡ *mxamàxla*ˡ Let us bring soil and bury them (A37:19); *dúkθət xaméθət ʾaniðe*ˡ a place for burying the deceased (B3:19).

xnq **I** (*xanəq, xniqle, xnaqa*) **to strangle; to drown (tr and intr.)** | *díya xanqànnəx!*ˡ I'll throttle you right now (B4:19); *Čúxo hox-xnìqəlle!*ˡ We have drowned Čuxo (A7:21); *xníqle gu-mìya*ˡ He has drowned in the water; *náše mšuréla xnàqa*ˡ People began to drown (B6:18).

xny (i) **I** (*xane, xnele, xnaya*) **to honour; to be honoured, to be lucky** | *xnéli bìyux*ˡ I am honoured by you (i.e. I am honoured to meet you); *xnèla bráti.*ˡ *ʾan-ʾərwe šîme*ˡ *píšla d-ày*ˡ My daughter is lucky. These numerous sheep have become hers (A32:16).

xny (ii) **III** *m-xny* (*maxne/măxən, muxnele, maxnoye*) (§8.14.4.) **to yearn for, to miss** | *ʾo-t-Bábəl muxána mən-xóne díye gu-Nînwe*ˡ The one (i.e. the king) in Babylon missed his brother in Nineveh (A13:1).

xnzr **Q** *m-xnzr* (*mxanzər, mxunzərre, mxanzore*) **to become fuming with anger, to make a scene**

xpq **I** (*xapəq, xpiqle, xpaqa*) **to embrace; to catch in one's arms** | *šwírre ʾu-qəm-xapqànne*ˡ He jumped and I caught him in my arms.

xpr **I** (*xapər, xpirre, xpara*) **to dig** | *ʾən-bắyət zărətle,*ˡ *xaprátle šáwpe dìye*ˡ If you want to plant it, you dig its place (B5:103).

xprp **Q** *m-xprp* (*mxaprəp, mxuprəple, mxaprope*) **to dig about, to poke about**

xpxp **Q** *m-xpxp* (*mxapxəp, mxupxəple, mxapxope*) **to be faint** | *hóle mxapxópe ləbbi*ˡ My heart is faint.

xpy **I** (*xape, xpele, xpaya*) **to crouch, to huddle** | *kθéθa xpíθɛle rəš-bēʾe*ˡ The chicken is sitting on the eggs; *xa-šawərwa*ˡ *ʾo-xéna t-xapèwa*ˡ One person would jump and the other would crouch down (in game of *šwara barane* leap-frog).

xqr **I** (*xaqər, xqirre, xqara*) **to honour; to praise** | *xáqrən bìyux*ˡ I honour you; *xáqər b-gàne*ˡ He is conceited. **II** *m-xqr* (*mxaqər, mxuqərre, mxaqore*) **to honour** | *pàqəð bába ʾazíza,*ˡ *xqìra,*ˡ *gu-d-áyya dúnye mxùqra*ˡ Welcome dear, esteemed father, honoured in this world (A40:12).

xrbq **Q** *m-xrbq* (*mxarbəq, mxurbəqle, mxarboqe*) **to knot together**

xrdy **Q** *m-xrdy* (*mxarde, mxurdele, mxardoye*) **to surround** | *píšla mxurdéθa m-kúlla gewàna*ˡ It was surrounded on every boundary (B1:15)

xrj **I** (*xarəj, xrijle, xraja*) (A.) **to spend; to disburse**

xrm **I** (*xarəm, xrimle, xrama*) **to be banned.** III *m-xrm* (*maxrəm, muxrəmle, maxrome*) **to ban, to forbid; to consider unclean**

xrmš **Q** *m-xrmš* (*mxarməš, mxurməšle, mxarmoše*) **to feed (to animals), to let (animals) feed on grass**

xrp **I** (*xarəp, xriple, xrapa*) **to become sharp. III** *m-xrp* (*maxrəp, muxrəple, maxrope*) **to sharpen** | *ʾáθe maxròpe*ˡ It is sharpened (B11:17).

xrpš **Q** *m-xrpš* (*mxarpəš, mxurpəšle, mxarpoše*) **to search (for food); to mix up, to confuse** | *guði t-ʾəzzi d-ɛ-poše gu-ṭalana mxarpoše* My churn (made) from my goat called 'white spotted,' which looked for food on the shady mountain (C5:3); *qa-módit mxarpòšəlla?*ˡ Why are you making such a mess?

xršn **Q** *m-xršn* (*mxaršən, mxuršənne, mxaršone*) **to be without fruit (tree); to wither** | *ʾilanɛni mxuršənna* Our tree has withered (B5:26).

xrṭ **I** (*xarəṭ, xriṭle, xraṭa*) **to bore, to gouge; to chisel; to trim** | *xarṭáxla ʾéne dìye*ˡ Let's gouge out his eye (A24:25); *m-ay-góta m-ay-gòta*ˡ *xríṭa*

*xa-bòya*ˈ On one side and on the other side a hole is bored (B5:145). **III** *m-xrṭ* (*maxrəṭ, muxrəṭle, maxroṭe*) **to cause to bore, to chisel, to trim.**

xrw **I** (*xaru, xrule/xriwle, xrawa*) **to be destroyed, to be spoilt** | *xáru bèθəx,*ˈ *b-réšəx xàru!*ˈ May your house be destroyed, destroyed over your head! (A50:12); *qá-t ʾan-márre la-ʾáθi ʾálla dìya,*ˈ *mtarəmza,*ˈ *yán ṭarpáθa díya xàrwi,*ˈ *xabúšta xàrwa*ˈ so that diseases do not afflict it, whereby it wilts or its leaves are spoilt and the apple tree is spoilt (B5:106); *màsta*ˈ *ʾáxlət mánna qrúšta díya t-la-xàrwa*ˈ You should eat the yoghurt without the crust being spoilt (A30:5); *xríwla šə̂nθi*ˈ I could not sleep; *xrìwɛle lábba díya*ˈ Her heart was broken (out of love) (A26:30). **III** *m-xrw* (*maxru, muxrule, maxrowe*) **to damage, to destroy; to do mischief** | *ʾu-Dùre*ˈ *píštɛla muqyàmta*ˈ *muxràwta*ˈ *šawwà gáye*ˈ *l-xànpe*ˈ *qaṭòle*ˈ *t-mušəlmàne*ˈ Dure was evacuated and destroyed seven times by pagan murders of Muslims (B2:2); *ʾáti béθi muxrùlux!*ˈ You have destroyed my house! (A23:32); *m-xúwwe hon-muxərwəlla*ˈ I have wrecked (my relationship) with the snake (A1:10); *ʾáyya kúlla qəm-maxərwàla*ˈ She has messed it all up (the room) (A23:19); *ʾu-zála maxròwe*ˈ (You) are going and doing mischief (A25:81).

xrx **I** (*xarəx, xrixle, xraxa*) **to singe, to burn** | *pálgət pərc̆́mte dìye*ˈ *xríxla qam-yòma*ˈ Half of his sideburns was singed by the sun (A50:11). **II** *m-xrx* (*mxarəx, mxuruxle, mxaroxe*) **to burn, to scorch** | *káwdi-w ráθi mxurxàlax*ˈ You burnt my liver and my lungs (A38:8); *ʾUsman mxurxile jarge* He burnt the viscera of Usman (C7:10).

xrx̌ **Q** *m-xrx̌* (*mxarxəx̌, mxurxəc̆le, mxarxoc̆e*) **to scribble**

xrxr **Q** *m-xrxr* (*mxarxər, mxurxərre, mxarxore*) **to snore** | *málla mšúryɛle mxarxòre*ˈ The mullah started snoring (A2:3).

xry **I** (*xare, xrele, xraya*) **to defecate** | *kúṯ-ile xíləlla xa-ràmši-məndi*ˈ *gu-bèθi*ˈ *ʾáθe xarèla gu-béθi*ˈ Everyone who has eaten my dinner or the like (i.e. any food) in my house, let him come and defecate in my house (A7:5).

xrz **I** (*xarəz, xrizle, xraza*) **to stab, to thrust; to plant; to string together** | *qəm-xarázla xánjər gu-kàse*ˈ He stabbed the dagger into his stomach; *mɛθéwale šə̂dla,*ˈ *xarzìwale.*ˈ *xarzíle gu-d-é məššàra.*ˈ They would bring a seedling and plant it. They would plant it in the paddy field. (B7:12)

xrzp **Q** *m-xrzp* (*mxarzəp, mxurzəple, mxarzope*) **to push**

xsl **I** (*xasəl, xsille, xsala*) **to be finished; to wean (an animal).** (1) **to be finished, to come to an end** | *ha-t-xásli ʾan-xàṭṭe,*ˈ *ʾan-šəkwáne ṯ-áwɛ ðà-ða wára*ˈ Until the wheat came to an end, the ants were going in one by one (A36:5). (2) **to wean** | *bă̆yən xaslánne ʾáwwa pàṛa*ˈ I want to wean this lamb.

xsp **I** (*xasəp, xsiple, xsapa*) **to turn upside down, to invert** | *xsúple rəš-púmme dìye.*ˈ Turn it on its head!; *quṣárta xsípla l-pùmma*ˈ *bráta plíṭla l-yə̀mma*ˈ A pot has been turned upside down—the girl has come to resemble her mother (D2:35). Cf. *maqlobe* turn over, not necessarily turn on its head, e.g. a coin, a page of a book.

xsr **I** (*xasəṛ, xsirre, xsara*) **to lose** | *ʾaw-plìṭle m-ṭawálta,*ˈ *ʾaw-xsìrre*ˈ He leaves the game, he has lost (A25:24). **III** *m-xsr* (*maxsəṛ, muxsərre, maxsore*) **to lose (a game)** | *ṭlà-ʾiθaθa muxsárre Mă̆mo*ˈ Mămo lost three rounds (of chest) (A26:66).

xsxs **Q** *m-xsxs* (*mxasxəs, mxusxəsle, mxasxose*) **to grind (teeth)**

xṣy **I** (*xaṣe, xṣele, xṣaya*) **to castrate**

xš **I** (*xišle, xaša*) → *rxš*

xšk **II** *m-xšk* (*mxašək, mxušəkle, mxašoke*) **to darken (tr.), to blind** | *ʾálaha qəm-mxašə́kla ʾɛnèy*ˈ God blinded their eyes (B9:6).

xšl I (*xašəl, xšille, xšala*) **to crush with a pestle and mortar (*xašola-w xašolta*); to throw down** | *sáṛe xašlə́xwala b-xašòlta*ˈ We would crush barley with a mortar (B10:12); *šíšme xšîle*ˈ crushed sesame (B10:18); *qəm-xašə́lle ʾă̆ra*ˈ He threw him on the ground (A28:36).

xšw **I** (*xašu xšule/xšiwle, xšawa*) **to think; to opine**

xšx **I** (*xašəx, xšixle, xšaxa*) **to be necessary; to be suitable** | *dabáše ʾi-jă̆mi módi xášəx ṭla-dùša*ˈ Bees gather what is necessary for honey; *xšixla-llan gaya* It is urgent for us (C2:82); *ʾáyya xášxa qa-xàla*ˈ This is edible; *ʾánna míya xášxi ṭla-štàya?*ˈ Is this water drinkable? **III** *m-xšx* (*maxšəx, muxšəxle, maxšoxe*) **to decide** | *tráθna hátxa muxšəxla*ˈ They both decided (to do) thus (A2:2).

xṭm **I** (*xaṭəm, xṭimle, xṭama*) **to seal up**

xṭr **I** (*xaṭəṛ, xṭirre, xṭara*) **to bang clothes on a washing board** (→ *xaṭorta*); **to batter** | *mxòle*ˈ *ʾu-xə̀ṭrule*ˈ Beat him and batter him! (A2:9).

xṭxṭ **Q** *m-xṭxṭ* (*mxaṭxəṭ, mxuṭxəṭle, mxaṭxoṭe*) **to plan**

xṭy **I** (*xaṭe, xṭele, xṭaya*) **to sin**

xθm **I** (*xaθəm, xθìmle, xθama*) **to end, to seal, to finish; to heal.** (1) **to end, to finish, to seal** | *xaθmítu kèpa*ˡ You will end up as stone (A8:28); *xθìməlle*ˡ He finished it (the weaving) (A20:4). (2) **to heal** | *brn̂ xθìmla*ˡ The wound healed; *ʾən-maxéwala xa-xéna xaθmàwa*ˡ If he were to hit her with another (blow), she would heal (A50:14).

xθxθ **Q** *m-xθxθ* (*mxaθxəθ, mxuθxətle, mxaθxoθe*) **to renew; to be renewed** | *rába b-xáðexi qá-t mxaθəxθáxxa xəzmayùθa*ˡ We would be very happy to renew the family relationship (B5:4); *našúθa la-tàlqa*ˡ *mxaθxàθa*ˡ Humanity should not disappear but should be renewed (B5:233).

xwq **I** (*xawəq, xwiqle, xwaqa*) **to hug, to embrace**

xwr **I** (*xawər, xwirre, xwara*) **to become white. III** *m-xwr* (*maxwər, muxwərre, maxwore*) **to make white** | *ʾu-ʾé-ga maxuráxla ta-t-dàyəṛ*ˡ We shall make it (the town) white when he returns (A4:32).

xwš **I** (*xawəš, xwišle, xwaša*) **to confine; to store.** (1) **to confine, to incarcerate** | *qəm-xawášle táwre díye gu-gòma*ˡ He confined his ox in the basement stable; *qəm-xazyále xà-nəmra,*ˡ *xwíša gu-ràkka*ˡ She saw a tiger incarcerated in a cage (A47:1). (2) **to store** | *ʾup-ʾàni*ˡ *náše ʾi-xawšîwala*ˡ People would store these (B15:19).

xwṭ **I** (*xawəṭ, xwiṭle, xwaṭa*) **to mix** | *ʾi-xoṭíla b-màšxa*ˡ They mix them with butter (B6:51); *xwíṭla ʾəlli*ˡ I am confused, flustered.

xwx **I** (*xawəx, xwixle, xwaxa*) **to mix (solids)**

xwy **I** (*xawe, xwele, xwaya*) **to become faint; to become dark; to bring (animal) into shelter.** (1) **to become faint** | *xwéle ləbbe* He fainted. (2) **to become dark** | *xúya xwèle*ˡ It has become dark; *qám gnéθət šəmša,*ˡ *xwéθət xùya*ˡ before the setting of the sun and the coming of darkness (B5:110). (3) **to bring (animal) into shelter** | *xwéle táwre díye gu-gòma*ˡ He brought his oxen into the basement stable.

xy(ʾ) **I** (*xăye, xele, xyele, xyaʾa/xyaya*) **to live** | *láš-maṣəx xắyəx làxxa*ˡ We cannot live here any more (B3:15); *xíyən gu-Dùre*ˡ I lived in Dure (B1:1); *ʾàyya*ˡ *ʾəštì-šənne xéne xăyála*ˡ She will live another sixty years (A4:45); *ʾánna ʾəmmá-šənne hóle xìya*ˡ He has lived for a hundred years (A41:2);

*kút-yum xá-ṭena qɛ́sa xăyítu bìye*ˈ Everyday you will make a living by a bundle of wood (A14:9). **III** *m-xy* (*măxe, mŭxele, măxoye*) **to cause to live, to give birth**

xyk **I** (*xayək, xikle, xyaka*) **rub, scratch (without drawing blood)**

xym **I** (*xayəm, ximle, xyama*) **to become hot** | *ʾo-séla ʾi-xàyəm*ˈ The griddle becomes hot (B6:45).

xyp **I** (*xayəp, xiple, xyapa*) **to wash; to bathe, to shower** | *ʾánna ʾəštá-yarxe léla xìpta*ˈ She has not washed for six months (A27:24). Washing of the groom: *xá-yoma qám dàna*ˈ *y-amrəxla xyáptət xətna.*ˈ *xɛpíwa ʾó-naša šadəsta ʾo-yóma.*ˈ A day before there was what we call 'the bathing of the groom.' A group would wash the man on that day (B5:25). Washing of corpse: *léle šwíqa xá t-xayə́ple ʾímət màyəθ*ˈ He has not left anybody who would wash him when he dies (D2:77).

xyr **I** (*xayər, xirre, xyara*) **to watch; to look** (*b-* at, *gu-* into) | *w-ána qəm-maxèli*ˈ *w-áti xyára bìyi*ˈ They beat me while you were looking at me (A2:10); *ʾáyya hóla mparòje,*ˈ *káza xyára hàtxa*ˈ *ta-t-xazyále ṭlíba dìye*ˈ She was watching, peering like this to see her betrothed (A4:35); *qamáye xírta b-áqlət súsa dìya,*ˈ *la-xírra gu-gəppa*ˈ At first she looked at the legs of her horse, she did not look into the cave (A8:72); *ʾína málka b-xáyər biyèxu*ˈ *ʾáxtu pyáša b-šáwpe dìye*ˈ The king will watch you take his place (A8:88).

xyṭ **I** (*xayəṭ, xiṭle, xyaṭa*) **to sew**

xžbn **Q** *m-xžbn* (*mxažbən, mxužbənne, mxažbone*) **to make account, to calculate** | *ʾáyya kìsta*ˈ *hóle mxožə́bnəlla max-xà*ˈ He has reckoned this bag as (having the value of) one (coin) (A6:3).

xzd (i) **I** (*xazəd, xzidle, xzada*) **to harvest** | *bɛ̀hɛr,*ˈ *b-yárxət xámša, ʾəšta,*ˈ *ʾi-xazdìwala*ˈ In Spring, in May or June, they would harvest it (the wheat) (B5:15).

xzd (ii) **II** (*mxazəd, mxuzədle, mxazode*) **to blame, to reproach, to shame** | *ʾána tə́mməl ʾàθena,*ˈ *ʾáti mxazdətlì*ˈ If I come tomorrow, you will blame me (A21:43); *Qaṭìna*ˈ *qəm-mxazdìle*ˈ They reproached Qaṭina (A50:1); *mxuzdɛwən l-Tómən xali* I have been shamed by my uncle Toman (A50:9).

xzgd, xzdg **Q** *m-xzgd, m-xzdg* (*mxazgəd, mxuzgədle, mxazgode*) **to fail, to become corrupted** | *zrúta mxuzgə̀dla* the crops have failed.

xzy **I** (*xaze, xzele, xzaya*) **to see; to find**. (1) **to see** | *pθíxtəlle tằra,*| *xzíθəlle bába dìya*| She opened the door and saw her father (A21:26); *xzéle xa-núra lháya gu-xa-gə̀ppa*| He saw a fire burning in a cave (A39:2); *ʾə́θyela xə̀zye*| *ʾína ṭéna kúlle ṃál̩ya šə̂xta*| They came and saw that the saddle bag was completely full of filth (A7:11); *xzi-kəméle lxìma!*| See how fit he is! (A15:13); *xzi-kəmà ṯ-ázəl ʾáwwa táwra*| See how much this ox will go for (A22:1); *xzí ṯ-amrə̀nnux*| Look, I'll tell you (A15:17); *lɛt-xzáya bíye díye ṯ-íle mìθa?*| Don't you see that he is dead? (A17:2), *ʾáwwa málka xzéle xa-xə̀lma*| This king had a dream (A1:2). (2) **to find** | *xa-čára xazèna*| *qa-t-ʾáyya brà̀ti*| I should find a solution for this daughter of mine (A21:2); *ʾána xzéli dàwe*| I have found some gold coins (A10:12); *ʾu-xìšɛle*| *b-ùrxa*| *xðàra*| *m-máθa l-màθa*|*…xáze ʾèka b-xazéla*| He went on the road, wandering from village to village…to see where to find her (A4:10). (3) Idioms | Imperative *xzi: mɛθíwa ʾərbàla,*| *saràda,*| *xzí mo-bằyət*| They would bring a sieve, a large sieve, well, whatever you want (B7:17); *mɛθéwale l-màθa,*| *xzí ʾékɛle béθux ṯ-it-bnàyəlle*| They brought it to the village, wherever your house that you were building was situated (B5:184); *dúkθə d-ó-gəldət tàwra,*| *lɛle-wíða gə́dda zòra?*| *xzi-kəmá măsàḥa dwíqle*| Since he had made it into a fine thread, the place (enclosed by) the ox skin covered a great area (A11:13) *xzi-kəmá šə̂nne*| *ʾo-bróne díye píšle gàwṛa*| Now, after several years this son of his became a man (A28:2). 1pl. *xazəx: xázəx ʾiθáθəx ṭìše*| It seems that your hands are covered (in flour) (A21:27), *xázəx šămáxla mòdila*| Let's hear what it is (A25:52); *xázəx xzàyəlle*| Let's see him (A4:36); *xázəx b-šə̂ndóxe t-wátwa kípa bìyi*| What about the stones that you threw at me? (A1:18); *rába xzìθa ʾéne díye*| *m-d-ò-məndi*| He had suffered a lot from that affair (A18:32). **III** *m-xzy* (*maxze, muxzele, maxzoye*) **to show**

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yðʾ **I** (*yằðe, ðile, ðaʾa/ðaya*) **to know; to recognize; to understand.** (1) **to know** | *ʾáti yắðət ʾèkɛle?*| Do you know where he is? (A25:74); *lá kulla-náše yắði ṯ-oðìla*| Not all people know how to make it (B10:22); *lan-ðàʾəllux*| I do not know you (B17:14); *ʾánna m-éka qəm-yằðíle šə̀mmi?*| How did they know my name (A26:24); *léðən, míðən* I do not know; *lèðiwa bíye díye*| They did not know what was the matter with him (C4:1). (2) **to recognize** | *ʾáwwa ʾɛ-dánət qəm-xazèle,*| *qəm-yằðèle*| When he saw him, he recognized him (A29:32). (3) **to understand** | *ðìlux?*|

Do you understand?; *ʾáyya ðiyàliˈ* I have understood this (now) (A15:16). **III** *m-ð*y (*mǎðe, mŭðele, mǎðoye* §8.14.5) **to cause to know, to inform** | *ʾáθyəx ta-t-mǎðəxlɛxuˈ ta-t-m-díya ʾarpà-saʾəteˈ gə́rəg kúlla nášət máθa pàlṭi m-gu-máθa*ˈ We have come to let you know that in four hours from now all the people of the village must leave the village (B1:13).

yðl **I** (3fs. *yadla, ðilla, ðala*) **to give birth (animals); to lay (eggs)** | *bɛhɛrìye*ˈ *ʾərwe yadlìwa*ˈ In the Spring the sheep would give birth (B5:174); *ṣalíwa tawráθa ðàla*ˈ They would go down (into the basement stable) when the cows were giving birth (B10:84); *kθέθa ðílla bèta*ˈ The hen laid an egg.

yhw **I** (*yawəl, hiwle/yiwle, yawa*) **to give; to pay; to bowl (ball); to turn; to allow.** (1) **to give** | *ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl tàrte tawriyáθa*ˈ He will give to your neighbour two cows.' (A3:4); *ya-ʾalàha,*ˈ *yawátlən xa-bròna*ˈ Oh God, give us a son (A15:17); *hállule xa-sùsa*ˈ Give him a horse (A12:59); *ʾáyya ʾíla yíwta qa-dìyi*ˈ She has been given to me (A25:39). (2) **to pay** | *ʾu-la-ḥáqqət kàrmi lɛle-yáwa*ˈ nor does he pay the price of the orchard (A17:30); *yáwən dèni*ˈ I shall pay off my debts (A1:8). (3) **to bowl (ball)** | *xákma ṯ-àθi*ˈ *t-yáwi gùtta*ˈ Some come to bowl the ball (B11:11). (4) **to turn (part of the body)** | *ʾɛnéy yawíwala l-ṭùra*ˈ *ʾu-xaṣéy l-gàrra*ˈ They turned their eyes to the mountain and their backs to the pool (B15:33). (5) **to allow** | *hálli banənni xa-bɛ́θa*ˈ Allow me to build myself a house (A11:10); *ʾu-hálle ṣàle*ˈ *šámət qðále dìye*ˈ Let him go down and break his neck (A15:13). (6) Idiom: *yawa həlma* **to blow** | *bǎ́yən mànnux*ˈ *hálma t-yáwət b-rèšï*ˈ I want you to blow on me (A25:12).

ymy **I** (*yame, mele, maya*) **to swear** | *hóle yámya b-rèšux*ˈ He has sworn on your head (= he will kill you) (A25:37). **III** *m-my* (*mame/mǎme, mumele/mŭmele, mamoye/mǎmoye*) **to swear**

ypy **I** (*yape, pele, paya*) **to bake** | *t-yápəx ləxma*ˈ We shall bake bread (A34:12).

yqr **II** *m-yqr* (*myaqər, myuqərre, myaqore*) **to respect, to honour; to become heavy** | *ʾani myaqríle ṭla-ʾèta*ˈ They respect it (the festival) for the sake of the church (B5:72); *garpíwale ʾo-tàlga*ˈ *ta-t-lá myáqri šàmṭi*ˈ They sweep away the snow so that they (the beams of the roof) do not become heavy and break.

ysq **I** (*yasəq, siqle, saqa*) **to go up** | *qimta zoma t-yasqawa* She was preparing to go up to the summer camp (C2:23) → *ʾsq*

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zbl **II** *m-zbl* (*mzabəl, mzubəlle, mzabole*) **to lay manure**

zbn **II** (*mzabən, mzubənne, mzabone*) **to sell**

zď **I** (*zădе, zdile/zdele, zdaʾa/zdaya*) **to fear** | *zădáxwa mənnèy*ˡ We were afraid of them (B15:10); *qímle b-zdáya m-xə́lme díye* He began to be afraid of his dream (A8:19); *ʾána ʾəllux-in zdáʾa*ˡ I am afraid for you (B9:27); *lɛ̀n-zdáʾa ʾap-dəndə̀kθa*ˡ I am not afraid, even a little (B9:17); *ma-t-zdíle ṯ-axlàle*ˡ so afraid was he that she would eat him (A18:24); *hon-zála réšə d-ò gə́šra,*ˡ *ʾína ràba zdáʾa*ˡ *t-là-naplən gu-d-a-yáma*ˡ I went over the bridge, fearing greatly that I would fall into the sea (A11:7); *qímle b-zdáya m-bróne dìye*ˡ *qa-t-là-ʾamərˡ* He began to fear to tell his son (A8:17). **III** *m-zď* (*mazde, muzdele, mazdoye*) **to frighten** | *mázde qa-bróne dìye*ˡ He frightens his son.

zdl **I** (*zadəl, zdille, zdala*) **to fear, to be afraid** | *zdàləx* We are afraid (A14:40).

zdm **I** (*zadəm, zdimle, zdama*) **to be blocked; to be deafened (ears)** | *naxíri hóle zdìma*ˡ My nose is blocked; *zdímla naθyáθi b-qálət tòpe*ˡ My ears were deafened by a gunshot.

zdr **I** (*zadər, zdirre, zdara*) **to shake (tr. and intr.); to tremble** | *ʾắra zdìrra*ˡ The earth shook; *b-zadrànna gáni,*ˡ *ṣáli párre mànni*ˡ I shall shake myself and feathers will fall from me (A24:27).

zdy **I** (*zade, zdele, zdaya*) **to throw** | *zadə́tle hátxa gu-yàma*ˡ You should throw it in the sea like this (A12:27); *ʾan-yalúnke zóre kùt-xa hóle zdáyəlle bar-ðá-gotət dúnye*ˡ He was flinging the young children in all directions (A29:16); *kúlla zdéla zayèy*ˡ They (the horses) all miscarried their young (A52:13); *zdòle!*ˡ Throw him out! (A25:12).

zl̓ **I** (*zăle, zlile/zlele, zlaʾa/zlaya*) **to crack, to split** | *béta zàlla*ˡ *…y-axə́lla nàša*ˡ An egg cracks… and a person eats it (D1:4); *zílle madə́nxa t-la-zlàya*ˡ He went before day-break; *qimli madənxa zliya* I got up when the dawn had broken (C2:18).

zlm → *zlm*

zlq **III** *m-zlq* (*mazləq, muzləqle, mazloqe*) **to shine; to polish** | *ʾáwwa pə́rc̆e díye t-dàwa,*ˡ *hátxa mazlòqe,*ˡ *har-píša kèpa*ˡ *hár t-dàwɛle*ˡ His golden hair,

shining so much, even when turned to stone is still golden (A8:72); *muzílqɛt ṣàwlux?*ˡ Have you polished your shoes?

zmpr **Q** *m-zmpr* (*mzampər, mzumpərre, mzampore*) **to swell; to swagger**

zmr **I** (*zamər, zmirre, zmara*) **to sing** | *zmírre bíya dìya*ˡ He sang to her (A25:22); *šuréle zmírre b-súsa smòqa*ˡ He started to sing to a brown horse (A25:11).

zmzm **Q** *m-zmzm* (*mzamzəm, mzumzəmle, mzamzome*) **to hum, to plash (water); to ring; to whistle (wind)** | *pawxa t-zome mzumzəmle* The wind of the summer camp whistled (C2:50).

znfr **Q** *m-znfr* (*mzanfər, mzunfərre, mzanfore*) **to act pompously; to puff (oneself) up pompously** | *mádre mzanfərwala gʾān-dìye*ˡ He would pompously puff himself up again (B5:34).

zngr **Q** *m-zngr* (*mzangər, mzungərre, mzangore*) **to ring (bell); to sound (musical instrument); to echo** | *ʾímət ʾàθya,*ˡ *mzàngər zága*ˡ When she (the cat) comes, the bell will ring (A44:2); *mzangə̀rwa qála*ˡ It (the floor of the church) echoed the voice back (B14:5).

znjr **Q** *m-znjr* (*mzanjər, mzunjərre, mzanjore*) **to rust**

zny **I** (*zane, znele, znaya*) **to commit adultery**

znzn **Q** *m-znzn* (*mzanzən, mzunzənne, mzanzone*) **to buzz; to throb (wound)**

znzr **Q** *m-znzr* (*mzanzər, mzunzərre, mzanzore*) **to lose taste; to go stale** | *ʾáw bíš la-mzànzər*ˡ It does not lose its taste at all (B10:76).

zprn **Q** *m-zprn* (*mzaprən, mzuprənne, mzaprone*) **to add animal fat to food** → *zəpra*

zqlq **Q** *m-zqlq* (*mzaqləq, mzuqləqle, mzaqloqe*) **to reflect, to shine** | *šə́mša qítla b-šùša*ˡ *ʾu-qəm-mzaqzə́qla gu-ʾèni*ˡ The sunlight hit the glass and it reflected it in my eyes.

zqnb **Q** *m-zqnb* (*mzaqnəb, mzuqnəble, mzaqnobe*) **to eat, to scoff** | said of an unwelcome guest

zqr **I** (*zaqər, zqirre, zqara*) **to weave, to knit** | *ʾəzlɛle zqíra* It is knitted with yarn.

zqt **I** (*zaqət, zqitle, zqata*) **to prod with a goad** | *zqútla tàwre!*ˡ Goad the animals along!

zqzq **Q** *m-zqzq* (*mzaqzəq, mzuqzəqle, mzaqzoqe*) **to twitter (birds)**

zʾ **I** (*zăre, zrile/zrele, zraʾa/zraya*) **to plant, to sow, to cultivate; to work in the fields; to plough.** (1) **to plant, to sow, to cultivate** | *ʾáyya bă̆yən zăr̆ən ĉ̣ənnəḵ́éra díya xáčča wàrde*ˡ I want to plant around it some flowers (A14:77); *ʾáni xáṭṭe zăríla* They sow the wheat (B5:94); *qímla zráʾa xabùše*ˡ They began to cultivate apples (B5:75). (2) **to work in the fields** | *ʾáwwa zílle zràʾa*ˡ He went to work in the fields (A9:1). (3) **to plough** | *mùkləlla táwre t-wéwa zráya*ˡ He stopped the oxen, which were ploughing (A9:5); *zraʾa ʾu-tnaya* to plough a set of furrows then plough a second set perpendicular to these.

zrbn **Q** *m-zrbn* (*mzarbən, mzurbənne, mzarbone*) **to become strong, to grow**

zrč **I** (*zarəč, zriče, zrača*) **to draw a line, to scribble** | *zríče b-qăláma xíče xìče*ˡ He drew lots of lines with a pen.

zrdn **Q** *m-zrdn* (*mzardən, mzurdənne, mzardone*) **to become pale, to become yellow**

zrk **I** (*zarək, zrikle, zraka*) **to dive**

zrmṭ **Q** *m-zrmṭ* (*mzarməṭ, mzurməṭle, mzarmoṭe*) **to be aggressive towards s.o.; to swell (skin)**

zrn **II** *m-zrn* (*mzărən, mzŭrənne, mzărone*) **to become yellow** | *gu-čéri ṭárpe ʾi-mzărənni*ˡ In autumn the leaves become yellow.

zrq **I** (*zarəq, zriqle, zraqa*) **to rise (sun); to shine** | *ʾé-gət zaráqwa yòma,*ˡ *palṭáxwa xorăwáθa kúlla m-ğðàðe*ˡ When the sun rose, we friends would all go out together (B15:5); *yóma hóle zrìqa*ˡ *ʾu-gənya*ˡ *lè-y-zarəq*ˡ The sun has risen and (when) it has set, it will not rise (again) (A26:35); *zríqɛle yóma ʾálle dìye*ˡ The sun shone on him (A26:22).

zrzč **Q** *m-zrzč* (*mzarzəč, mzurzəčle, mzarzoče*) **to scribble**

zrzp **Q** *m-zrzp* (*mzarzəp, mzurzəple, mzarzope*) **to push**

zrzr **Q** *m-zrzr* (*mzarzər, mzurzərre, mzarzore*) **to bray (donkey); to lose flavour**

zrzy **Q** *m-zrzy* (*mzarze, mzurzele, mzarzoye*) **to shake with emotion (tr. and intr.)** | *máwθət mámi qəm-mzarzèli*ˡ The death of my uncle shook me; *mzurzèli*ˡ I was shaken.

zvr **I** (*zavər, zvirre, zvara*) (K.) **to turn, to spin; to go around** | *máxyəlle ʾáqle l-dudíyət Qaṭìna,*ˈ *šawwí-zəvre zvìrtəlla*ˈ He kicked the cradle of Qaṭina and span it round seventy times (A52:2); *zavráxwa ʾeðăwàθa*ˈ We used to go around (the village offering) festival blessings (B6:13). **III** *m-zvr* (*mazvər, muzvərre, mazvore*) **to cause to turn** | *mìya*ˈ *mazəvríle xa-parwàna*ˈ The water drives round a propeller (B6:53).

zwg **II** *m-zwg* (*mzawəg/mzăwəg, mzuwəgle, mzawoge*) **to pair together; to copulate**

zwn **I** (*zawən, zwinne, zwana*) **to buy**

zxmn **Q** *m-zxmn* (*mzaxmən, mzuxmənne, mzaxmone*) **to become strong, to grow**

zyd **I** (*zayəd, zidle, zyada*) **to increase (intr.); to be excessive, to be left over** | *dax-zédi ʾərwe?*ˈ How do sheep reproduce? (B5:174); *mšixáye mšuréla bṣàra,*ˈ *ʾu-mušəlmanúθa zyàda*ˈ The Christians began to diminish (in number) and Islam began to increase (B1:2); *ʾo-t-zayədwa*ˈ *… mò y-oðíwa?*ˈ *mən-d-o-xálya ʾu-mən-d-a-másta ʾi-mtarṣíwa gùpta*ˈ As for what was left over (of the yoghurt and milk)—what did they do? From the milk and the yoghurt they made cheese (B5:166). **III** *m-zyd* (*mazyəd/măzid, muzyədle/mŭzidle, mazyode/măzode*) **to add; to increase** | *qaríwti*ˈ *mazyád qàlax*ˈ My friend, raise your voice (A38:8); *ʾálaha mazyədle*ˈ May God increase it (said by a guest to the host as thanks for a meal).

zyn **I** (*zayən, zinne, zyana*) **to stand** | *kút y-azálwa záyənwa gótə d-o-xèna*ˈ Everybody who went (there) stood next to another one (A8:31); *mar-pòyalle réšət xórta,*ˈ *xórta hóla zyàna*ˈ He is letting the top of the poplar go and the poplar is springing up (A29:16); *zínna mázzət rèšì*ˈ My hair stood on end (out of fear). **III** *m-zyn* (*mazyən/măzin, muzyənne/mŭzinne, mazyone/măzone*) **to cause to stand** | *čálo măziníwala gu-tăra*ˈ They made the bride stand at the door (B8:32); *ʾilána măziníwa l-gàre*ˈ They stood the tree on the roof (B8:25); *kálba mŭziníle naθyàθe*ˈ The dog pricked up his ears.

zyp **I** (*zayəp, ziple, zyapa*) **to push** | *zìptəllela*ˈ *ṭla-Mămo*ˈ She pushed Măma (A26:3); *m-ða-gòta*ˈ *zɛpátwala l-d-ó-geba xèna*ˈ You would push them from one side to the other (B5:137).

zyr **I** (*zayər, zirre, zyara*) (A.) **to visit (on pilgrimage)** | *ʾína bă̆yən zérən ʾáp-ana Qŭdus*ˈ but I want to visit also Jerusalem (A2:1).

zyx **II** *m-zyx* (*mzayəx/mzăyəx, mzuyəxle, mzayoxe*) **to celebrate (a festival)**

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zlm, zlm **I** (*zaləm, zlimle, zlama*) **to oppress; to wrong** | *zlámət gànux*ˡ You are wronging yourself (A12:44); *ʾu-har-hádəx zlìməlla kúlla nášət màθa*ˡ They treated unjustly all the people of the village in the same way (B1:20); *qá-mo gə̌rəg zàlmət ʾálli?*ˡ Why must you do me such an injustice? (C7:4).

GENERAL GLOSSARY

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ʾabaya, ʾabbaya n.m. (pl. *ʾabaye, ʾabbaye*) (A.) **man's cloak** | *ʾabàyele dárya b-réša*ˈ He put his cloak over her (A26:50); *ʾé-ga kúlla ʾaġăwáθa šexìye*ˈ *kúlla b-ʾabbàye-wawa*ˈ At that time all aghas and elders wore the abbaya gown (A26:47); *ʾíman ṯ-ila-nabólle bədra*ˈ *m-gu-ʾăra,*ˈ *mattíwa… ʾabàya y-amrəxwale*ˈ When they took it (the rice) to the threshing floor from that ground, they would lay down what we called a cloak (B5:80).

ʾabona n.m. (pl. *ʾabone*) (A.) **bishop**

ʾabresəm → *habresəm*

ʾăbu part. **attributive particle** (A. literally: father of) | *ʾăbu-bərqa*ˈ electrician(s) (B10:50); *băyánni ʾəmma bnàθa*ˈ *ṯ-áwa ʾăbu tăj*ˈ I want for myself a hundred girls wearing crowns (A25:74). In expressions of age: *ʾo-yála zòra*ˈ *ʾábu ʾəsrì-šənne*ˈ the youth, who was twenty years old (A17:2).

ʾAðər n.m. **March**

ʾadət n.f. (pl. *ʾadətte, ʾadəttaθa*) **custom** | *ʾáxni ʾádət díyən hàtxɛla*ˈ Our custom is this (A4:30).

ʾafsara n.m. (pl. *ʾafsare*) (K.) **rope for leading a mule**

ʾaġa, ʾaxa n.m. (pl. *ʾaġaye, ʾaġăwaθa*) (K.) **nobleman** | *ʾàġay*ˈ My lord (A25:13); *ʾáxa ṯ-áwət basìma*ˈ Sir, if you please (A42:1).

ʾa-ġða, ʾa-ġðaha pron. fs. **demonstrative** (§14.3.5.) | Denoting the accessibility of a referent in memory: *txárət ʾa-ġða-báxta ḳóre t-wáwa gu-màθa?*ˈ Do you remember the blind woman who was in the village?

ʾahwāl n.f. (pl. *ʾahwalətte*) (A.) **circumstance, condition** | *xázəx ʾahwaláttət màlka*ˈ Let's see what the circumstances of the king are (A8:80); *dìya*ˈ *ʾahwalátte šuxləpla*ˈ Now circumstances have changed (B5:72).

ʾajəbuθa n.f. (A.) **wonder; marvel** | *xzéli xá-məndit ʾajəbùθa*ˈ I have found something amazing (A8:16); *xzélən ʾajəbùθa!*ˈˈ We have seen a miracle! (B9:21).

ʾajīb adj. invar. (A.) **amazing** | *ʾàjīb!*ˈ It was amazing! (A4:28).

ʾakara n.m. (pl. *ʾakare*) **farmer**

ʾăkīd adj. invar. (A.) **sure, certain**

ʾal- prep. (Urm.) **on, upon** | *ʾal-ʾăra*ˈ on the ground (A21:5), *ʾal-rùše díye*ˈ on his shoulder (A22:18).

ʾalaha n.m. **God** (§5.3.) | *škìra-ʾalaha*ˈ God be praised; *ʾálaha ṯ-áwe mənnèxu*ˈ May God be with you (A8:29); *b-àlaha*ˈ by God; *mára haʔ*ˈ *mára b-àlaha!*ˈ She said "Is it so?" They said "Yes" (A38:2); *ʾálaha mbasə̀mlux*ˈ May God cure you; *ʾálaha manìxle*ˈ May God grant him rest; *ʾálaha mazyə̀dle* May God increase it (the food in your house—said by a guest to the host after a meal); *ʾíθwa lìθwa*ˈ *biš-m-aláha góṛa lìθwa*ˈ There was or there was not, there was no greater than God (opening formula of a story) (A4:1); *xá-yoma mən-yománət ʾaláha* one fine day (literally: one of the days of God) (A48:2); *tíwɛle xáṣət súse dìye*ˈ *ʾu-ya-ʾálaha zìlɛle*ˈ He sat on the back of his horse and off he went off (A28:9).

ʾalahuθa n.f. **divinity; divine deed; miracle** | *xzígən ʾalahùθa*ˈ See what a miracle! (A51:21).

ʾălīq n.m. (A.) **fodder** | *súse b-gáne măzidle ʾălìqe*ˈ A horse by itself increases its fodder (D:34).

ʾalma n.m. **world; crowd of people** | *bréla ðá xadúθa gu-d-ò-ʾalma*ˈ A (great) joy arose among the people (A4:56); *ʾaw-ʾálma ṯ-íle jmíya tàma*ˈ The crowd of people that is gathered there (A26:64).

ʾalmās n.pl. (A.) **diamonds**

ʾalola n.m. (pl. *ʾalole*) **alley; narrow street**

ʾalpa n.m. (pl. *ʾalpe, ʾalpaye*) **thousand** | *tre ʾalpe* two thousand; *ṭlaθa ʾalpe* three thousand; *ʾína ʾalpàye maymúne píše táma*ˈ Thousands of monkeys had appeared there (A14:43); *m-ʾálpa ʾáxni lá raba-ʾi-mapəlxə̀xwala*ˈ We rarely used it (literally: in a thousand (times) we did not use it much) (B10:18).

ʾalqošnaya n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾalqošnaye*) **man from Alqosh**

ʾalulta n.f. (pl. *ʾalulyaθa*) **alley** (§10.5.2.3.)

ʾalwān → *lawn*

ʾama n.m. **paternal uncle** | only in: *brət ama* (pl. *bərtamwaθa*) (distant) cousin (m.) (second degree and more distant) and *bratət ama* (distant) cousin (f.).

ʾamana n.m. (pl. *ʾamane*) **vessel, container**

ʾamara n.m. (pl. *ʾamare*) **teller, recounter** | *ʾáyya mártət ʾamàre*ˈ This is what they say (literally: This is the saying of the sayers) (A32:24).

ʾamədyana n.m. **Amedia stitching, cross-stitch**

ʾamina adj. (f. *ʾaminta*, pl. *ʾamine*) **safe; reliable**

ʾaminuθa n.f. **safety**

ʾamoma n.m. **scarecrow**

ʾamra n.m. (pl. *ʾăwamər*) (A.) **order, command** | *ʾámrət màlkɛle*ˈ It is the order of the king (A8:9).

ʾamṛa n.m. **wool**

ʾamta n.f. (pl. *ʾamtaθa*) **paternal aunt**

ʾamuqa adj. (f. *ʾamuqta*, pl. *ʾamuqe*) **deep**

ʾamura adj. (f. *ʾamurta*, pl. *ʾamure*) **dense (vegetation); thickly planted (crops)** | *ṭəlla ʾamurta* deep shade

ʾamuṛa n.m. (pl. *ʾamuṛe*) **tool**

ʾana pron. cs. **I**

ʾănaha, naha; ʾănaʾha, naʾha pron. pl. **far deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *xzáyət ʾănáha naše-ṯ-íla ráqa bàθri.*ʔˈ Do you see those people who are running after me? (A7:17).

ʾanani adj. (A.) **selfish**

ʾanbar n.m. (pl. *ʾanbare*) **storeroom (for produce)**

ʾani, ʾan pron. pl. **default demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *kúlla ʾanwaríðəx qăṭànna*ˈ I shall cut all those roots of yours (A25:64). Used anaphorically: *šwíqle zúze díye táma zìlle.*ˈ *θéle xa-xèna,*ˈ *ʾan-zúze šqilíle ʾu-zìlle.*ˈ He left his money there and went off. Another man came. He took that money and went off (A15:15). *xárθa ʾáni máṭyela tàma*ˈ *l-márzət yàma*ˈ Then they arrived there, by the shore of the sea (A14:37).

ʾaniða n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾaniðe*) **deceased, dead** | *dúkθət xaméθət ʾanìðe*ˡ a place for burying the deceased (B3:19)

ʾanna pron. pl. **speaker deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *ʾánna ʾálpa-w xamšá-mma dìyuxila*ˡ *ʾánna ʾálpa-w xamšá-mma dìyila*ˡ These one thousand five-hundred are yours and these one thousand five-hundred are mine (A1:20). Used anaphorically: *rába gáye wítɛla ʾánna məndiyàne*ˡ Many times such things happened (B5:163).

ʾan-xa, ʾan-xaha pron. pl. **demonstrative** (§14.3.5.) | Denoting the accessibility of a referent in memory: *txárət ʾán-xa xonăwáθa ḵóre t-wɛ́wa gumàθa?*ˡ Do you remember the blind brothers who were in the village?; *txárət ʾan-xa-tré t-mutəpqíwalən b-ġðàðe?*ˡ Do you remember the couple that we brought together? (A4:45)

ʾap, ʾup part. **also, even**; **connective particle** (§18.1.3.). (1) **also** | *ʾap-àna mjaṛbánna*ˡ *ḥàðˀð díyi*ˡ I also shall try my luck (A1:4); *ʾàp-təmməl ʾáxləx mánna*ˡ We could eat them also tomorrow (A2:2); *ʾap-xmárey šqìləlla*ˡ They took also their asses (A7:15); *xuš-pɛ́šən képa ʾap-àna*ˡ Let me also become a stone (A8:55); *ʾap-šlàma lɛ́la dáryəlle*ˡ They did not offer him even a greeting (A15:13); *ʾáp-xa lɛle-mṣáya mbasəmla*ˡ Nobody (literally: even one) can cure her (A4:12). (2) **connective particle** | combined with a topical constituent at boundaries of discourse sections: *ʾap-aw-zìlɛle*ˡ *xíša mátya kəs-màlka*ˡ So, he went and he entered into the presence of the king (A1:6–7); *ʾáp-awwa sìqɛle gu-ṭúra*ˡ So, he went up into the mountains (A4:1–2); *ʾáp-awwa qəm-parmìle*ˡ So, they slaughtered him (A15:9–10).

ʾaparuθa n.f. **household goods** | *dəkkánət ʾaparùθa*ˡ general store (A22:11)

ʾapɛθa n.f. (pl. *ʾapayaθa*) **cloth put over bread when it is stored**

ʾapṣa n.m. (pl. *ʾapṣe*) **gallnut of oak tree (*mɛšа*)** | *ʾilanət ʾapṣe* oak tree (*mɛša*) bearing such gallnuts; *hot-píša ʾápṣa milàna*ˡ You have become a green gallnut (i.e. you have not been seen for a long time) (D1:4).

ʾaqall adj. invar. (A.) **less**

ʾaqara n.m. (pl. *ʾaqare*) **area of cultivated land** → *ʾqr* to dig up, to plough

ʾaqərwa n.f. (pl. *ʾaqərwe*) **scorpion**

ʾaqla n.f. (pl. *ʾaqlaθa, ʾaqle*) **leg; foot** | *xaṣṣət ʾaqla* top of the foot; *ʾărət ʾaqla* bottom of the foot; *dawéra ʾíðe-w ʾàqleˈ* A mule (is a man's) arms and legs (B5:124); *šăryəlla ʾáqle w-ìðeˈ* He untied the legs and arms (A10:13); *ða-ʾáqla rēš-d-àyya ʾénənˈ ʾu-ðá rēš-d-àyyaˈ* We shall treat you with respect (literally: one leg on this eye of ours and one on this other one B9:10).

ʾaqolta n.f. (pl. *ʾaqolyaθa*) **rope lock used to tighten a rope holding the burden on the back of an animal** | This consisted of a triangle of *ṗaṛma* wood through which the ends of the rope were threated and and then pulled tight.

ʾaqra, ʾəqra n.m. (pl. *ʾaqrare, ʾəqrare*) **trunk of a tree; stem of plant; bottom (of ear)** | *xəzyali l-ʾaqrət tena* I saw her by the trunk of the fig tree (C2:24); *ʾárya máxyəlle šaqqána l-ʾəqər-náθət dèwaˈ* The lion clouted the wolf on the root of his ear (A42:2); *ʾəṣrà ʾaqráreˈ* ten stems (of tobacco plants) (B7:13); *ʾəqrət ṭura* the foot of the mountain.

ʾaqraya n.m. (pl. *ʾaqraye*) (Ṭiy.) **turtle, tortoise**

ʾaqubra n.m. (pl. *ʾaqubre*) **mouse**

ʾăra, ʾarra n.f. (pl. *ʾăraθa*) **ground, land** | *ʾăráθe díye zărèwalaˈ* He cultivated his lands (B5:73); *măṛòyənwalaˈ gu-ðà-ʾăraˈ* I was grazing it (the mule) in a certain piece of land (B5:131); *ʾo-gawána bēl-ʾăraˈ l-ʾăraˈ* The boundary area is between one plot of land and another (B5:131); *xákma har-damxíwa l-ăraˈ* Some would sleep only the floor (B5:204).

ʾarabaya n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾarabaye*) **Arab**

ʾaramnaya n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾaramnaye*) **Armenian**

ʾăraq n.f. **arak** | *ʾăraq xɛlanta* strong arak; *ʾăraq mpalṭəxlaˈ m-yabìšeˈ* We produce arak from raisins (B5:12).

ʾaraqa n.m. (pl. *ʾaraqe*) **fugitive**

ʾaraqta n.f. (pl. *ʾaraqyaθa*) **fugitive (f.)**

ʾarba, ʾarpa num. (f. *ʾarbe*) **four** | *ʾurzət ʾarba* the fourth man; *baxtət ʾarbe* the fourth woman

ʾarbassər num. **fourteen**

ʾarbaθn- num. **four of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *ʾarbaθnən* the four of us; *ʾarbaθnɛxu* the four of you; *ʾarbaθnéy* the four of them.

ʾarbi num. **forty** | *b-ʾarbìye* in the (19)40s (B5:161)

ʾarbilnaya n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾarbilnaye*) **man from Arbil**

ʾarbušeba n.m. **Wednesday** | *ʾarbušeba xaška, ʾarbušeba b-lɛle* Wednesday night

ʾarda n.f. (pl. *ʾardaθa*) **bottom; floor** | *ʾardət ṣawle* sole of shoes; *ʾărəd ʾaqla* bottom of the foot; *ʾardət bɛθa* the floor of the house; *ʾárde díye kúlla képe góṛe pàrše*[1] Its (the church's) floor was all large flat stones (B14:5).

ʾarəkθa n.f. (pl. *ʾarəkyaθa*) **bag** | *ʾarəkθa t-rəzza* bag of rice

ʾarəmla n.m. (pl. *ʾarəmle*) **widower**

ʾareta n.f. (pl. *ʾaraya*θ*a*) **algae and detritus floating on stagnant water** | put in gaps between stones in a *garra* to seal in the water

ʾarəxta n.f. (pl. *ʾarəxyaθa*) **guest (f.)**

ʾarəšwɛrəš, ʾəšwɛrəš n.f. **commercial dealings** | *ʾíθwa ʾarəšwérəš benaθéy* There were dealings between them

ʾariθa n.f. (pl. *ʾariyaθa*) **lionness**

ʾarməlθa n.f. (pl. *ʾarməlyaθa*) **widow**

ʾarmonta → *harmonta*

ʾarnuwa → *harnuwa*

ʾarθa n.f. (pl. *ʾaraθa*) **rival wife** | only used in oaths: *hàtxa t̂-óðən b-ʾárθux*[1] (I swear) by your rival wife that I shall do it.

ʾarxa n.m. (pl. *ʾarxe*) **guest** | *mare ʾarxe* hospitable man; *də-háyyo puš-ʾàrxi ʾədléle*[1] Come, be my guest today (A8:42); *ʾéka péšən ʾàrxa?*[1] Where can I stay (A26:26); *ʾána hon-ʾəθya ʾárxa kəslux*[1] I have come as your guest (C7:3).

ʾarxe, ʾərxe n.f. (pl. *ʾarxaθa, ʾərxaθa*) **water-mill**

ʾarya, ʾɛrya n.m. (pl. *ʾarye, ʾɛrye*) **lion**

ʾarzāq → *rəsqa*

ʾarzən adj. invar. (K.) **cheap**

ʾasās n.m. (pl. *ʾasase*) (A.) **foundation**

ʾasbab n.m. (pl. *ʾasbabe*) (K./A.) **equipment, weapon**

ʾasira n.m. (pl. *ʾasire*) **captive** | *kulla dwiqe jundiye ʾasire* All (the grooms) were taken as captured soldiers (C3:4).

ʾaskar, ʾaskariya n.f. (pl. *ʾaskaryaθa*, *ʾaskarwaθa*) (A.) **army** | *ṯ-ázət ʾaskarìya*ˈ You shall go to the army (A17:22); *lázəm ʾáwəð ʾaskarìya*ˈ He must serve in the army (A17:22).

ʾaskăraya n.m. (pl. *ʾaskăraye*, fs. *ʾaskărɛθa*, fpl. *ʾaskărayaθa*) **solider** | *xázyəlla ʾán ʾaskărə̀yeˈ* He saw the soliders (A25:79); *xamša-ʾəmmà ʾaskărayáθa bnáθa kúllaˈ* five hundred soldiers, all girls (A25:74).

ʾasrār → *sərr*

ʾaswad adj. (A.) **black**

ʾaṣərta n.f. (pl. *ʾaṣrare*) **evening; late afternoon** | *ʾaṣə́rta θìθɛlaˈ bə̆́yi ṯ-áxli xa-ràmša*ˈ The evening came and they wanted to eat dinner (A2:2); *y-oðíwa ʾaṣràreˈ* They would hold evening celebrations (B5:18).

ʾaṣi adj. invar. (A.) **rebellious, rebel; difficult (terrain)** | *ʾánna hóla ʾàṣi ʾə́lle díyeˈ* They are rebelling against him (A12:58); *ṭúra ʾàṣileˈ* The mountain is difficult.

ʾaṣl, ʾăṣəl n.m. (A.) **origin**

ʾaṣli adj. invar. (A.) **original**

ʾaṣoṭa n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾaṣoṭe*) **delinquent; tiresome**

ʾaṣya n.m. **difficulty, embarrassment** | *jwanqone drɛla l-ʾaṣya* She has caused the young men embarrasment (C2:59).

ʾašəq adj. (invar.) (A.) **in love** | *ʾàšəq wéwa* He was in love (A8:33); *ʾáyya ʾášəq-ila l-áwwa gàwṛaˈ* She is in love with this man.

ʾašəquθa n.f. **love making; coquetry** | *kəmət jawja b-ʾašəquθa naše nabli šəkkuθa* Whenever she moves coquettishly, people become suspicious (C2:73).

ʾaširət n.f. (pl. *ʾaširatte*) (A./K.) **tribe, community**

ʾašitnaya n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾašitnaye*) **man from Ashitha**

ʾašiθa n.f. (pl. *ʾašiyaθa*) **avalanche**

ʾati pron. cs. **you**

ʾatiqa adj. (f. *ʾatiqta*, pl. *ʾatiqe*) **ancient** | *ʾaw-bányɛle m-jálde ʾatìqa*ˡ It was built in very ancient times (B14:2).

ʾatko n.f. (pl. *ʾatkowaθa*) **piece of stomach of a young goat used to make rennet**

ʾatkore n.m. **marble game** | The aim is to shoot marbles into a hole in the ground (B11:28).

ʾatnabəl n.m. (pl. *ʾatnabele*) **car**

ʾatuna n.m. (pl. *ʾatune*) **furnace, kiln** | *y-oðíwa ʾatùna,*ˡ *qá-t mtarṣíwa kə̀lša*ˡ They set up a furnace to make gypsum (B5:182).

ʾatwana n.m. (pl. *ʾatwane*) **one who sits** | *ʾatwánə xáṣə susăwàθa*ˡ horsemen (A12:58)

ʾaṭma n.f. (pl. *ʾaṭmaθa*) **side, thigh**

ʾaθoraya n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾaθoraye*), *ʾaturaya* (Urm.) **Assyrian**

ʾaθṛa n.m. (pl. *ʾaθṛăwaθa*) **land, country; homeland** | *gu-ʾaθṛa* in the home country; *lɛ́wət d-áwwa ʾàθṛa*ˡ You are not from this land (A25:82).

ʾaθuθa n.f. (pl. *ʾaθuwaθa*, *ʾaθwaθa*) **letter (of the alphabet)**

ʾavi adj. invar. (K.) **irrigated** | *zruta avi* irrigated cultivation, *xəṭṭe ʾavi* irrigated wheat (opposite of *dēm*, *demi*, *dema* unirrigated)

ʾaw part. **or**

ʾaw, ʾo pron. ms. **default demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *hálli ʾo-kθàwa*ˡ Give me that book (which you are holding). Used anaphorically: *ʾíθwa xa-málka gu-ða-màθa.*ˡ *ʾo-màlka*ˡ *ʾíθwale tə̀rte bnáθa*ˡ There was a king in a village. That/the king had two daughters (A25:1); *ʾo-Barzə́kko zíla dmìxa*ˡ Barzəkko went and slept (A12:10); *ʾaw-ṃəl̮yále tópe díye spày*ˡ He loaded his gun well (A31:7).

ʾawaða n.m. (pl. *ʾawaða*) **doer**

ʾăwaha, waha; ʾăwaʾha, waʾha pron. ms. **far deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *y-ásqəx méθəx míya mən-d-ăwàha ṭúra*ˡ We shall go up and fetch water from that mountain over there (A39:9); *mára kɛ̀le béθa díya?*ˡ … *mára ʾăwáʾha qáṣra ṯ-it-xzə̀yəlle*ˡ He said 'Where is her house?' … They said 'That villa that you can see over there'; (A40:11)

*gu-măḥàll-ži*ˈ *kút-yum gánu kθéθa d-àwwa,*ˈ *ʾé-ga y-azálwa féka d-ăwàha*ˈ Every day in the neighbourhood he would steal the chicken of one person, then go (and steal) the fruit of another (A14:7).

ʾawahaθa, ʾawahe n.pl. **parents** | *ʾawáhe dìyən*ˈ our parents (B16:24)

ʾawqana, ʾoqana n.m. (pl. *ʾawqane, ʾoqane*) **predicament, distress** | *Mắmo-w Ẑíne hóla npíle gu-ʾoqàna*ˈ Mămo and Zine are in a predicament (A26:51).

ʾawṣāf n.pl. (A.) **features, attributes**

ʾawwa pron. ms. **speaker deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *yába là dámxəx gu-d-áwwa qáṣra.*ˈ *dámxəx l-wắdər*ˈ Let's not sleep in this palace. Let's sleep outside (A12:11). Used anaphorically: *ʾíθwa xa-màlka.*ˈ *ʾáwwa málka xzéle xa-xàlma*ˈ There was a king. This king had a dream. (A1:2); *ʾáwwa zílɛle b-ʾùrxa*ˈ He went on his way (A17:12).

ʾawwal, ʾawwəl num. (A.) **first** | *ʾáwwəl dórta* the first round (B10:13); *ʾáwwəl ma-t-ràxəθ*ˈ as soon as it boiled (B10:87).

ʾax prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *ʾaxwaθe, ʾax-diye*) (§13.3.1., §19.3.4.) **like, as; when.** (1) Before a noun or clause **like, as** | *ʾáp-ana dàqrən*ˈ *ʾax-déwa ḵòra*ˈ I am worth the same as a blind wolf (A10:1); *hàtxɛwa,*ˈ *ʾax-màṛya*ˈ He was like this, as if he were ill (A12:52); *xwára ʾax-tàlgɛle*ˈ It is white as snow (A8:67); *mattìwa*ˈ *ṯ-ámrəx xá xámša dinàre*ˈ *ʾən-hàtxa mándi*ˈ *yáʿni ʾax-mṣèθa*ˈ They would deposit let's say a sum of five dinars, or thereabouts, according to their ability (B5:6); *ʾax-txàra*ˈ as (I) remember. Before a demonstrative: *ʾax-d-ó-dewa ḵòra*ˈ like that blind wolf (A10:5), *ʾax-d-an-ṯ-íla míθe tàma*ˈ like those who have already died there (A14:70). Before a clause: *méθən ʾax-ṯ-ila-ʾànna míθe*ˈ I shall die like these people have died (A14:73); *ʾáx ṯ-àmrət,*ˈ *xáčča bíš-šlèla*ˈ She seemed (literally: as you say) to become a little calmer (A4:17). (2) **when** | *ʾax-ṯ-íla plíṭṭa Sətìye,*ˈ *xzìθəlle*ˈ *xrìwɛle lábba díya*ˈ When Səttiye came out, she saw him and her heart was broken (A26:30); *ʾax-ṯ-íle qìma,*ˈ *ʾu-šúryela pláša m-ġðàðe,*ˈ *ʾàwwa*ˈ *maxèle*ˈ *sɛ̀pe*ˈ *l-qðála d-o-Déwa Ẑàr*ˈ *ʾu-ṣále kəndàla*ˈ When he got up and they started fighting with one another, he struck his sword into the neck of that Dewa Zar and he went down the slope (A28:19).

ʾaxala n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾaxale*) **big eater**

ʾaxalta n.f./adj. (pl. *ʾaxalyaθa*) **big eater (f.)**

ʾaxčï part. **just, only; but.** (1) **just, only** | *xúwwe ʾáxčile múdwa rìqa*ˡ The snake just managed to escape (A1:15); *ʾáxčï ʾáp ʾayya-béna múrri mòdile*ˡ Just one more time tell me what it is (A1:18); *malàxe yǎðï,*ˡ *ʾàxčï*ˡ Only the angels know (A4:9); *ʾáxčï xoš-qàyəm*ˡ *xazyánne xàmša daqíqe,*ˡ *ʾan-xéne kúlla ṭla-d-àw*ˡ Just let him rise for me to see him for five minutes, and all the other (sixty years) be for him (A4:49). (2) **but** | *ʾáčč̣ï-u ʾəčč̣a,*ˡ *ʾáxčï ʾána max-xšàwti,*ˡ *ʾáyya kìsta*ˡ *hóle mxožábnəlla max-xà*ˡ (There are) ninety-nine (coins), but according my opinion, he has reckoned this bag as one (A6:3)

ʾaxḍar adj. invar. (A.) **green**

ʾaxəl-qarṣa n.m. **the devil**

ʾaxlana n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾaxlane*) **big eater**

ʾaxlanta n.f./adj. (pl. *ʾaxlanyaθa*) **big eater (f.)**

ʾaxni pron. pl. **we**

ʾaxola n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾaxole*) **big eater**

ʾaxtu pron. pl. **you**

ʾaxulka n.m. (pl. *ʾaxulke*) **small fly that bites**

ʾaxxa adv. **here** | *ʾàxxa ṯ̂-áwən dmíxa*ˡ I shall sleep here (A10:5); *plúṯ m-àxxa!*ˡ Leave here! (A12:5); *ʾu-táwra píšle mangóle ʾáxxa l-tàmma*ˡ The ox began to limp back and forth (A22:3); *qedámta qímtəla bràta-w*ˡ *mxŭláltəlla ʾay-dùkθa*ˡ *ʾáxxa-w tàmma*ˡ In the morning the girl got up and cleaned the place, and so forth (A17:27). Repeated to express movement: *xa-núra ʾəθyəle b-lèle*ˡ *ʾax-ʾáxxa sàqa*ˡ A light came in the night, coming up here (A29:23). With temporal sense: *mu-ṯ̂-óðəx m-áxxa-w hàtxa?*ˡ What can we do from now on? (A8:59). Used with pronominal suffixes: *ʾáxxi hóle mrạ̀ya*ˡ It hurts me here (literally: My here hurts); *ṣléla bé̓e ʾàx-ʾaxxe díye*ˡ The eggs ran down him here and here (literally: his here and here) (A23:8).

ʾaxxane adv. **here, hereabouts** | *kú-ṯ̂-ile ferássa ʾáθe ʾàxxane*ˡ Whoever is a warrior, let him come here (A29:59); *ʾína réši šmíṭa ʾaxxàne*ˡ My head was injured around here (B5:132).

ʾay mod. **which?** | Marginally attested in indirect questions: *ʾáti xázət ʾày-mənna bǎ́yət*ˡ See which one you like (A14:80).

ʾay, ʾey, ʾɛ, ʾa pron. fs. **default demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawànnəx*ˈ I'll give you another purse like that one (you are holding) (A4:15–16). Used anaphorically: *ʾímət mṭéla ṭúnte díye,*ˈ *θéle xa-nàša,*ˈ *qəm-šaqàlla ʾɛ-ṭúnte díye*ˈ When its fruit became ripe, a man came and took its fruit (A17;33); *ʾu-ʾɛ-Lelíθa θèla*ˈ The Leliθa came (A19:4); *ʾáy píšla tàma*ˈ She remained there (A19:6).

ʾăyaha, yaha; ʾăya'ha, ya'ha pron. fs. **far deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *réšux mattánne gu-d-yàha káwe*ˈ *ṯ-íla pyàša*ˈ I shall put your head in that opening over there that remains (A25:62); *zílla dwíqla náwba l-ăyàʾha qunjálta t-hódəx*ˈ They went and kept a guard in that far corner (A18:3); *mattíwala gu-d-é məššára… ʾəṣra gu-d-àyya,*ˈ *ʾəṣra gu-d-yàha*ˈ They would plant them in the paddy field… ten in this (row), ten in that one (B7:13).

ʾayale n.pl. **children** → *yala*

ʾayya pron. fs. **speaker deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *qu-šqúlla ʾáyya skìnta*ˈ Get up and take this knife (A15:8). Used anaphorically: *ʾíθwa xá bàxta,*ˈ*… ʾáyya bàxta*ˈ *kùt-yum*ˈ *goyàwa,*ˈ *maxláwa ṭla-bróna dìya*ˈ There was a woman… Everyday this woman would beg to feed her son (A14:4); *ʾàyyɛla,*ˈ *čú-mdi xéna lìθən*ˈ That is it. There is nothing else (that is possible) (A4:43).

ʾazəduθa n.f. **permission; freedom consent** | *ʾána mbáqrən mánnux ʾazədúθa yàtwən*ˈ I ask you for permission to sit down.

ʾazəd adj. (invar.) (K./P.) **allowed, permitted**

ʾăzīz n.m./adj. **dear** (A.) | *yà ʾăzízi*ˈ my dear (A7:17); *ʾăzizət ləbbi* my dear; *ʾăzizət xone* beloved of his brother (C4:6)

ʾazla-kuše n.f. (pl. *ʾazla-kuše*) **dragonfly** | Literally: spinner of spindles, so-called because it rotates around water.

ʾazola n.m. (pl. *ʾazole*) **weaver** | *ʾazolət kuša* weaver who uses a spindle

ʾažvana n.m. (pl. *ʾažvane*) (K.) **miller, caretaker of a water-mill**

ʾeða n.m. (pl. *ʾeðăwaθa*) **festival; festival visit.** (1) **festival** | *ʾéðux brìxa!*ˈ May your festival be blessed!; *y-óði ʾèða*ˈ They hold a festival (B6:22); *ʾeða goṛa* the Great Festival (Easter); *ʾeðət qyamta* the festival of resurrection (Easter); *ʾeða zora* the Small Festival (Christmas); *ʾeðət be-yalda* Christmas; *ʾeðət musarde* festival commemorating the baptism of Christ

(100 days after Easter); *ʾeðət ṣliwa* Festival of the Cross (13th of September). (2) **festival visit** | *xaðríwa náše ʾeðăwàθa*ˡ People would go around (the village offering) festival blessings (B10:3); *zavrə́xwa ʾeðăwàθa*ˡ We used to go around (the village offering) festival blessings (B6:13); *mšərìwa*ˡ *. . . jwája l-ʾeðăwáθa d-an-xène*ˡ They would begin to go and make festival visits to other people (B5:63); *qamáye y-azə́xwa l-ʾéðət qàša*ˡ First we would go and offer a festival blessing to the priest (B6:14).

ʾeliθa n.f. (pl. *ʾəlyaθa*) **fat tail of sheep; fat of the tail** | *pazesór b-ʾəlyàθa*ˡ big red eared sheep with fat tails (A7:22); *ʾelíθa qaləxwa*ˡ We would fry the tail fat (B10:1).

ʾenir n.m. **aromatic lily** | *pɛšət ʾenir lɛle* You are (like) the lily of the night (C4:14).

ʾeta n.f. (pl. *ʾetaθa*) **church (as an institution)**

ʾetanaya adj. (f. *ʾetanɛθa*, pl. *ʾetanaye*) **ecclesiastical** | *gu-d-ánna tre-ʾumràne*ˡ *xálmət ʾetanéθa y-oðáxwala gáwe dìye*ˡ In these two churches we used to hold church services (B1:6).

ʾɛba n.m. **shame, wrong** | *ʾèbɛle*ˡ It is shameful; *lɛle-ʾéba ʾəllì?*ˡ Would not that be a shame on me? (A8:55).

ʾɛka (*ʾayka* marginal) **where? how?** (1) **where** | *ʾèkɛle?*ˡ 'Where is he?' (A4:19); *lé-y-yăðən ʾána ʾèkən*ˡ I do not know where I am (A14:88); *ʾáw xzèle ʾo-dídwa ʾéka wìrre*ˡ He saw where the fly had entered (A11:9); *ʾèkət zála?*ˡ Where are you going?; *m-èkət ʾəθya?* From where have you come? (2) **how?** | *ʾéka péšət xwàrθi?!*ˡ How will you become my friend?! (A52:5); *huðáya ʾáčči-u ʾáčča dáwe zìle mánne,*ˡ *ʾéka ṯ-áθya ŝənθe?!*ˡ The Jew has lost ninety-nine gold coins. How could he sleep!? (A6:3); *m-èkɛle pčíla?*ˡ How can it be crooked? (A17:20); *m-àyka*ˡ *har-là-mṣən ṯ-amrə́nnux*ˡ I cannot tell you how (A11:2).

ʾɛna n.f. **eye; aperture; spring of water**. (1) **eye** (pl. *ʾɛne*) | *murmálla ʾéne dìye* He raised his eyes, *ʾu-ʾéni-žigən hóla bṣìre*ˡ My eyes have deteriorated (A24:10); *xonăwáθi θéla qam-ʾèni*ˡ My brothers have come to mind (A18:12); *rába xzìθa ʾéne díye*ˡ *m-d-ò-məndi*ˡ He had suffered a lot from that affair (A18:32); *garət ʾɛna* eyelid. (2) **aperture** (pl. *ʾɛnaθa*) | in a field boundary for the introduction of irrigation water: *dwíqle ʾénət xáqla b-màssa*ˡ He closed the irrigation aperture of the field with a pole. (3) **spring of water** (pl. *ʾɛnaθa, ʾɛnăwaθa*) | *ʾéna hóla nwə̀ʾa*ˡ A spring is welling up, *ʾɛ̄n-Nune* Spring of Fishes (village name), *ʾénət*

*K̂ùtto*ˡ… *ʾénət ʾùmra*ˡ the spring of K̂utto… the spring of the church (the two water springs in ʾƐn-Nune B10:61); *ʾu-píšla rəš-ʾèna*ˡ She remained at the spring (A25:57); *zílle rəš-ʾèna*ˡ He went to the spring (A15:2). (4) Idioms: *gu-d-ànna ʾéni bṯ̂-áθən*ˡ (I promise) by these eyes (of mine) that I shall come (A22:20); *ða-ʾáqla rēš-d-àyya ʾénən*ˡ *ʾu-ðá rēš-d-àyya*ˡ We shall treat you with respect (literally: one leg on this eye of ours and one on this other one B9:10).

ʾɛnəkθa n.f. (pl. *ʾɛnəkyaθa*) **small hole** | in shoes, through which a strap (*gaðilta*) is inserted; in the middle of a grind-stone (*pənxa*).

ʾɛni part. **who?; which?** (§14.9.14.). (1) **who?** | *ʾènile?*ˡ Who is he? (A2:7); *ʾèni híwle-llɔx?*ˡ Who gave it to you? (A4:19); *ʾénile qṭìlɔlle?*ˡ Who has killed him? (A15:16). (2) **which** | *ʾéni mənnéxu ṯ̣-àzɔl?*ˡ Which of you will go? (A30:1); *ʾèni-mənnən*ˡ *biš-šapìrtɛla*ˡ Which of us is most beautiful (A25:17). Modifier of a noun: *ʾéni báxtɛla mubrèθa?*ˡ Which woman has given birth? (A25:6); *ga-ʾéni Zîne*ˡ *ʾáxni lèðɔx*ˡ Now, which Zine we do not know (A26:61); *pánxa ʾéni mənnèle?*ˡ Which of the (types of) grind wheel is it? (B5:92).

ʾēn-nunaya n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾēn-nunaye*) **man from ʾƐn-Nune**

ʾɛnta n.f. (pl. *ʾɛnyaθa*) **airhole of oven; hole in a wheat storage bin (*kwara*) to take out the wheat**

ʾɛra adj. (invar.) **fitting** | *ṣáwle ʾérɛla ṭla-ʾaqlàθi*ˡ The shoes fit my feet.

ʾɛwa n.m. (pl. *ʾɛwe*) **cloud** | *míya m-ʾèwe šáte*ˡ He drinks water from the clouds (= He is arrogant); in 1st person boasting about own power: *ʾu-ʾána míya m-ʾèwən štáya*ˡ I can drink water even from the clouds (I have such power) (A26:34).

ʾɛwana adj. (f. *ʾɛwanta*, pl. *ʾɛwane*) **cloudy** | *dúnye hóla ʾɛwànta*ˡ It is cloudy.

ʾəč̣̈ča num. (f. *ʾəčča*) **nine** | *ʾurzət ʾəč̣̈ča* the ninth man; *baxtət ʾəčča* the ninth woman

ʾəč̣̈čassər num. **nineteen**

ʾəč̣̈čaθn- num. **nine of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *ʾəč̣̈čaθnən* the nine of us; *ʾəč̣̈čaθnɛxu* the nine of you; *ʾəč̣̈čaθnéy* the nine of them

ʾəč̣̈či num. **ninety**

ʾədara n.f. (A.) **administration**

ʾədda n.m. **weed; weeds (collective)** | *ʾay-ʾắra máre ʾəddɛla*ˡ That ground is full of weeds.

ʾədlɛle adv. **tonight** | *ʾádlɛle dámxəx ʾàxxa*ˡ Let's sleep here tonight (A4:29).

ʾəðma n.m. (pl. *ʾəðmắwaθa*) **brother of husband**

ʾədyo, ʾədyoma (marginal) adv. **today** | *qámθa ʾu-ʾədyo yòma*ˡ formerly and nowadays

ʾəḥtəfāl n.m. (A.) **celebration**

ʾəjara n.f. (A.) **wages, hire** | *ʾáxni šáqləx ḥáqqət ʾəjàra mánne díye*ˡ We shall receive wages from him (A14:15).

ʾəjbona n.m. **will (of God)** | *hár ʾəjbóna dìyux-ile*ˡ It is your will (A9:4).

ʾəlla part. **unless, only if, except, but, particle of insistence; or not** (§19.5.5.). (1) **unless** | *b-ču-ʾúrxa ʾo-Dəmdáma lɛ́ šaqlìtule*ˡ *ʾálla qắṭítula míyət Dəmdəma*ˡ By no means will you capture Dəmdəma unless you cut off the water of Dəmdəma (A11:17); *xátna lè-y-axəl*ˡ *ʾálla qablíle xà-məndi*ˡ The groom would not eat unless they pledged something to him (B10:40); *là qɛṣ́ənne káwsux,*ˡ *ʾálla ṯ-amrátli ʾánna ma-brinànela gu-réšux*ˡ I shall not cut your hair, unless you tell me what these wounds are on your head (A29:5–6). (2) **only if** | *ʾána míθənwa l-márya ʾalàha*ˡ *ʾálla ṯ-aθyáwa báxta bàθri,*ˡ *ṯ-azànwa*ˡ I had sworn to the Lord God that only if a woman came after me would I go (A8:94). (3) **except** | combined with a negator = only: *w-ána hon-márta ṭla-Nozàli*ˡ *ʾána le-y-gáwrən ʾálla xóna díya Gozàli*ˡ I said to Nozali that I would only marry her brother Gozali (A8:95). (4) **but, but rather** | *ʾu-čú bəṛ-náša la-máṭəlla ʾálla b-rzáyət gána-diya ṯ-àθya*ˡ Nobody can reach her, but rather she comes of her own will (A8:65). (5) **particle of insistence** | *ʾəlla gáwrət*ˡ You must marry (A16:6); *ʾálla xazyánne xòni*ˡ I must see my brother (A8:66). (6) **or not** | *ʾáw lɛ́ðe čádrət bábe díyila ʾəlla*ˡ He did not know whether it was his father's tent or not (A28:33).

ʾəḻḻaya, ḻaya adj. (f. *ʾəḻḻɛθa*, pl. *ʾəḻḻaye*) **upper** | → *be-ḻaye* upper room

ʾəltəx adv. **below**

ʾəmma n.m. (pl. *ʾəmmaye*) **hundred** | *tre ʾəmma* ~ *tre-mma* two hundred; *ṭḻaθa ʾəmma* ~ *ṭḻaθa-mma* three hundred; *ʾáwwa ʾəmma mən-ʾəmma ʾíle Fàrxo*ˡ This is a hundred percent (= certainly) Farxo (A25:45); *zìlela*ˡ

*ʾəmmáyət náše mɛθóye Bálbəl Hazàr*ˈ Hundreds of people went to bring back Bəlbəl Hazar (A8:30).

ʾən part. **if** (§19.5.); **either/or** (§19.5.6.1.); **interrogative particle.** (1) **if** | *ʾən-pálšax mən-d-áni qaṭlílən*ˈ If we fight with them, they will kill us (A14:44); *ʾən-lá-ʾazən mšàyðən*ˈ If I do not go, he will go mad (A4:27); *ʾən-kpìnni,*ˈ *ṯ-axlənne*ˈ If I get hungry, I shall eat it (A23:5); *ʾən-íle mìθa,*ˈ *gắrəg mèθən*ˈ If he is dead, I must die (A8:61); *ʾən-ʾíθ pàwxa,*ˈ *ʾi-marmíle gu-hàwa*ˈ If there is wind, they raise it in the air (B5:97); *ʾán-in ʾàna ʾəθya gu-šwíθax,*ˈ *qrégən xaddàməx*ˈ If I have come to sleep in you bed, call your servants (A26:4); *máṣət ṯ-óðət rába məndiyáne mánne dìye,*ˈ *ʾən-ila zawdàne*ˈ You can make make many (other) things from them, if they are left over (B5:219). Complement of the verb 'to wait': *sàpri*ˈ *ʾən-háwe pàwxa*ˈ They wait for there to be wind (B5:97). (2) **either/or** | *là-barya*ˈ *gànwi*ˈ *ʾən-sàlbi*ˈ They cannot steal or plunder (A29:39); *ʾən-qaṭlánnux ʾáyya bráta šaqlənna*ˈ *ʾən-la-páltən m-àxxa*ˈ Either I shall kill you and take this girl or I shall not go out from here (A29:28); *ʾən-ile-qṭìla,*ˈ *ʾən-ile xìla*ˈ He has either been killed or he has been eaten (by wild animals) (A39:17); *léla ðáʾa módi bràya,*ˈ *hadíya péša kèpa*ˈ *ʾán la-péša kèpa*ˈ She did not know what was happening, whether she would now turn to stone or not turn to stone (A8:73). (3) **interrogative particle** | *ʾán máṣət šaqlətla?*ˈ Can you take it? (A39:9).

ʾəngaliyon n.f. **Gospel**

ʾəngləznaya n.m. /adj. (pl. *ʾəngləznaye*) **English**

ʾənjaṣa n.m. (pl. *ʾənjaṣe*) **wild plum**

ʾənwa n.m. (pl. *ʾənwe*) **grape** | *ʾənwe kome* black grapes; *ʾənwə baṣirana* type of grapes (slow to ripen); *ʾənwe zarrək* type of yellow grape

ʾəqba n.f. (pl. *ʾəqbaθa*) **heel** | *ʾəqbət ʾaqli* heel of my foot

ʾərba n.m. (pl. *ʾərbe, ʾərwe*) **sheep; goat** | *ʾərwət xware* sheep; *ʾərwət kome* goats; *ʾərwət wala* wild goats, ibexes

ʾərbala n.f. (pl. *ʾərbale*) **sieve with medium sized holes**

ʾəršana adj. (f. *ʾəršanta*, pl. *ʾəršane*) **mirky**

ʾəršanuθa n.f. **mirkiness**

ʾərwana n.m. (pl. *ʾərwane*) **charity; charitable gift, good deed** | *wídle xa-ʾərwàna*ˈ He did a good deed.

ʾərwe → *ʾərba*

ʾərxe → *ʾarxe*

ʾərxuθa n.f. **length**

ʾəryana n.f. **rainfall, rain storm** | *gu-ʾəryàne*ˈ in rain storms (B5:124); *bás l-ʾəryàna zăríla*ˈ They sow it relying only on rainfall (B5:94).

ʾərzala n.f. (pl. *ʾərzale*) **portable bed** | made of wood with bedding of grass and hay: *ṣlele m-ərzala čira* He got out of bed in a temper (C2:38).

ʾəspa n.m. (pl. *ʾəspe*) **loan (in kind)** | *šqílli zeðáye b-ʾəspa*ˈ I borrowed some flat-breads; *šqílli xáṭṭe b-ʾəspa*ˈ I borrowed wheat; *híwle zeðáye b-ʾəspa*ˈ I lent some flat-breads. Not used for the loan of money → *dyn* (III *m-dyn*).

ʾəsra n.f. (pl. *ʾəsraθa*) **large storage basket** | made of willow cane (*xelape*) or twigs from the mulberry tree (*tuθa*)

ʾəsri num. **twenty**

ʾəstaðta n.f. **mistress** | *mára:*ˈ *xadàmta!*ˈ *béna ʾəstàðti*ˈ She said 'Servant!' (The servant said) '(I am coming) at once, madam' (A37:13).

ʾəstəqbāl n.m. (A.) **reception**

ʾəṣər n.f. **intense cold (of winter)** | *ʾəṣərila* It is very cold; *ʾəṣər brizta* dry cold

ʾəṣra num. (f. *ʾəssər*) **ten** | *ʾurzət ʾəṣra* the tenth man; *baxtət ʾəssər* the tenth woman.

ʾəṣraya n.m. (pl. *ʾəṣraye*) **udder**

ʾəṣraθn- num. **ten of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *ʾəṣraθnən* the ten of us; *ʾəṣraθnɛxu* the ten of you; *ʾəṣraθnéy* the ten of them.

ʾəṣ̲ya adj. (f. *ṣiθa*, pl. *ʾəṣ̲ye*) **stuck, trapped**

ʾəškăra → *škăra*

ʾəšrāf n.m. (A.) **supervision** | *ʾána ṯ̲-óðən ʾəšrāf ʾəllèy*ˈ I shall look after them (A8:18).

ʾəššeta adv. **this year**

ʾəšta num. (f. *ʾəššət*) **six** | *ʾurzət ʾəšta* the sixth man; *baxtət ʾəššət* the sixth woman.

ʾəštassər num. **sixteen**

ʾəštaθn- num. **six of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *ʾəštaθnən* the six of us; *ʾəštaθnɛxu* the six of you; *ʾəštaθnéy* the six of them.

ʾəšti num. **sixty**

ʾəšwəṭ n.m. **February**

ʾəšwɛrəš → *ʾarəšwɛrəš*

ʾəttəfāq n.m. (A.) **agreement**

ʾəxre n.pl.tan. **excrement**

ʾəzla n.m. (pl. *ʾəzle*) **yarn** | *guttət ʾəzla* a ball of yarn; *ʾəzlɛle zqíra*ˡ It is knitted with yarn.

ʾəzza n.f. (pl. *ʾəzze*) **nanny goat**

ʾəzzəkθa n.f. **nanny goat**

ʾəzzət wala n.f. (pl. *ʾəzzət wala*) **wild goat (inhabiting mountains)**

ʾi- → *ʾiθ*

ʾiða n.f. (pl. *ʾiθaθa, ʾiðăwaθa ʾiðe*) **hand; handle; arm; foot (of an animal); round of a game.** (1) **hand** | *ʾíðux lá-darət gu-nùra*ˡ *t-là-ʾaqða*ˡ Do not put your hand in the fire, lest it burn (D2:8); *b-ʾíðe díye dawùqle*ˡ He would hold it in his hand (B6:3); *zríyənwale b-iθàθi*ˡ I had cultivated it with my hands (A17:32); *b-iðən xɛṭáxwa*ˡ We would sew by hand (B10:59); *hállule l-ʾiði*ˡ Hand him over into my custody (A28:25). (2) **handle** | *ʾiðət tăra* handle of a door; *ʾiðət magreta* the handle of the shaving knife. (3) **arm** | *dawɛ́ra ʾíðe-w ʾàqle*ˡ A mule (is a man's) arms and legs (B5:124); *šáryəlla ʾáqle w-ìðe*ˡ He untied the legs and arms (A10:13). (4) **foot (of an animal)** | *qímle tàwra*ˡ *primále ðá ʾíðe dìye*ˡ He cut off one of the feet of the ox (A22:3). (5) **round of a game** | *kəmà ʾiθáθa mṭáləx?*ˡ How many rounds shall we play?; *ṭìà-ʾiθaθa muxsárre Mă̆mo*ˡ Mămo lost three rounds (of chest) (A26:66). (6) Idiom: *l-ʾiθàθux*ˡ in your presence (A12:29).

ʾiðamta, ʾiðamθa n.f. (pl. *ʾiðamyaθa*) **sister of husband; wife of brother of husband** | pl. *ʾiðamyaθa* wives of brothers

ʾilakka, yă̆lək, yălakka n.m. (pl. *ʾilakke*) (T.) **waistcoat** | worn over a shirt (*ṣudra*)

ʾilana n.f. (pl. *ʾilane, ʾilanane*) **tree**

ʾilanta n.f. (pl. *ʾilanyaθa*) **tree, small tree**

ʾilul n.m. **September**

ʾimān n.m. (A.) **faith, trust**

ʾiman, ʾima part. **when.** (1) interrogative particle: *ʾíman ṯ-àθət?* When will come?; *hal-ʾíma dàməx?*ˈ Until when will he sleep? (A12:8); *bə́ʏən t-yə́ðən ʾána ʾíman mèθena*ˈ I want to know when I shall die (A16:1). (2) Governing temporal subordinate clause: *ʾíman ṯ-àθyət,*ˈ *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawànnəx*ˈ When you come back, I'll give you another purse like that one (A4:16). *ʾiman-t >ʾimə(t)*: *ʾímət xílla ʾap-o-t-trè,*ˈ *píšla xà-šabθa,*ˈ *tré šabbàθa,*ˈ *kpìnna*ˈ When they had eaten the second one, a week, two weeks went by and they became hungry (A20:9); *ʾímə zílle kəs-màlka,*ˈ *díwənt málka hóle ṃḷíθa náše ràbe*ˈ When he went to the king, the audience chamber of the king was full of many people (A17:31).

ʾina part. **presentative particle; but; otherwise** (§18.1.5.). (1) **presentative particle** | in association with verbs of perception: *ʾə́θyela xə̀zye*ˈ *ʾína ṭéna kúlle ṃ́ḷya šə̀xta*ˈ They came and saw that the saddle bag was completely full of filth (A7:11); *qímela zíle xə́zye ʾína dù̀s*ˈ They went and saw that it was true (A14:13); *xazéle ʾína bɛ́θe ṃ̀ḷya*ˈ He sees that his house is full (A21:8); *paθə̀xle tə̆́ra,*ˈ *ʾína xazéle ʾo-ʾažvána tàma*ˈ He opened the door and saw the caretaker there (A22:43). Implied verb of perception: *mátti bála gu-yàma,*ˈ *ʾìna*ˈ *ʾa-sústət yamàθa*ˈ *nabòləlla*ˈ *Čəlkə̆́ze*ˈ They looked at the sea (and saw) the mare of the seas taking away Čəlkăze (A12:34); *ʾo-xabúša pθìxtəlle,*ˈ *ʾína ʾisə́qθa dìya*ˈ She opened up the apple and (saw) her ring (A4:19). Introducing preliminary background material: *ṭḷáθna hon-yíwtəlla mòʿəd.*ˈ *ʾína ṯ-áθi làxxaʾ*ˈ *ʾáti kúl fàtra*ˈ *mṭašə́tla gánux barə̀ye*ˈ I have made an assignation with the three of them. Now, (when) they come here, each time you hide yourself outside (A22:21–22). Climactic result: *ṣléla tàma*ˈ *ʾína kúlla gɛ́rme díya šmìṭe.*ˈ She went down there and all her bones were broken (A20:4). In commands: *ʾína m-báθər maqðàli*ˈ *ʾaw-qə̀ṭma*ˈ *šaqlìtule*ˈ *mxamìtule*ˈ Now, after she burns me, take the ashes and keep them (A26:85). (2) **but** | drawing attention to something unexpected: *ʾána bə́ʏənwa šaqlánwali xáčča màšxa*ˈ *… ta-ṯ-áxlən bˉʾùrxa*ˈ *xáčča mášxa-w lə̀xma*ˈ *ʾína ʾíði ṣéla gu-d-áwwa hánna lìnta*ˈ I wanted to take a little oil to eat on the way, a little oil and bread, but my hand has got stuck in this thing, the pot (A23:8); *ʾə̀θyela,*ˈ *plíṭe bárqul məðitè.*ˈ *ʾína məðitéy kúlla mxíθa*

*l-kòma*ˡ They came out opposite their town. But, their town was all covered in black. (A4:28). In exclamatory constructions: *ʾánna ṣàli*ˡ *ʾína mò ṣáli*ˡ They went down and what (a surprise when) they went down! (A25:13); *xá-bena plíṭṭɛla xa-bràta.*ˡ *ʾína mù-brata!*ˡ Then a girl came out, but what a girl! (A13:11); *xílənna ʾína mòdi!*ˡ I have eaten it, so what! (A2:11). (3) **otherwise** | *ʾána hon-márəllux b-àyya šárṭ ʾaláha t-yawə́llux,*ˡ *ʾína là-yawəllux*ˡ I am telling you, God will give to you on this condition, otherwise he will not give to you (A3:5).

ʾinta n.f. (pl. *ʾine*) **small edible terebinth nut** | *ʾilanət ʾinta* a tree with bunches (*qonṭepe*) of such nuts

ʾipta n.f. (pl. *ʾipyaθa*) **strap made of gut connecting yoke of animals to the plough**

ʾiqa adj. (f. *ʾiqta*, pl. *ʾiqe*) **narrow; distressed** | *tắrət gómi ʾìqɛle*ˡ The door of my basement stable is narrow (A7:24); *yắðət b-gànux*ˡ *ʾìqənwa,*ˡ *danànənwa*ˡ You know, by your soul, that I was in trouble, I was in debt (A1:10).

ʾiqara n.m. **honour; respect; privilege** | *maṣlélən b-iqàra*ˡ They bring us down (to the town) with honour (A4:30); *ʾáwwa wéwa xa-ʾiqàra*ˡ This was a (sign of) respect (B5:68); *ʾána mattə́nnux ʾiqàra* I respect you; *rába mattə́xwa ʾiqára ʾəllèy*ˡ We felt great respect for them (B15:10); *mattə́xwa ʾiqára xa-qa-d-o-xèna*ˡ We used to show respect to one another (B5:229); *wéləx hawnànta,*ˡ *b-ʾiqárət ṣáwθa basìmta,*ˡ *ʾu-màqul*ˡ You have been clever, with the gift of sweet and fine words (A40:16).

ʾiquθa n.f. **distress** | *hóle npíla gu-ʾiqùθa*ˡ He has fallen into distress (A29:29).

ʾiranaya n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾiranaye*) **Iranian**

ʾisaqta n.f. **ascension** | *ʾisáqtət Mšíxa l-šmàyya*ˡ the ascension of Christ to Heaven (B6:7)

ʾisara n.m. (pl. *ʾisare*) **large rock; cliff** | *ṭúra ʾisáre ramàne*ˡ a mountain with high rocks (A15:13); *ma-ṯ́-íle ʾisára m-kúlla goyàθa*ˡ since there is such a huge rock on all sides (of the mountain) (A8:48).

ʾisarta n.f. **gravel** | put in foundations of a house

ʾisəqθa n.f. (pl. *ʾisəqyaθa*) **ring**

ʾitawa n.m. **sitting** | *dúkθət ʾitàwa*ˡ a sitting place, a seat (B6:7)

ʾixala n.m. (pl. *ʾixalyaθa*) **food, a meal**

ʾiyyətnaya n.m./adj. (pl. *ʾiyyətnaye*) **a man from ʾIyyət**

ʾiθ part. (variants: *ʾiθən, ʾiθena, ʾiθga, ʾiθgən, ʾiθgena*. past: *ʾiθwa*) **existential particle** (§8.20.1., §15.3.8., §17.3.) (1) Used without suffixes | *ʾíθən xa-ṭùra*ˡ There is a mountain (A24:11); *ʾána ʾíθ šùla qámi*ˡ There is work in front of me (to do) (A24:45); *hóla ʾíθən j̀nne gáwa!*ˡ There are jinn in it! (A22:33); *ʾíθwa xa-màlka*ˡ There was a king (A1:2). (2) With L-suffixes expressing possession: *ʾítle, ʾíθwale* | *ʾítli ðá bratət-màma*ˡ I have a cousin (A7:17); *ʾíθwalən xa-màlka*ˡ We had a king (A4:31). (3) With pronominal suffixes attached to *b-: ʾíθbe, ʾíθwabe, ʾíbe, ʾíwabe* | *mə́tyɛ́le xa-káwtət ʾərwe,*ˡ *ʾíbe tre-ṭláθa ʾálpa rēš-ʾərwe*ˡ He came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep (A32:14); *ʾìwabi*ˡ *ʾəṣrá šə̀nne*ˡ I was ten years old (B5:130); *mo-ʾìba!* What is there in it (= That is fine, OK) (A13:1).

ʾo part. **vocative particle** | *ʾó Dànno*ˡ Hey Danno!

ʾojəx n.m. (pl. *ʾojaxe*) **tribe** | *goṛət ʾojəx* head of tribe; *le-y-yawíwa mən-ʾójəx l-ʾòjəx*ˡ They did not give (brides) from one tribe to another (B5:3).

ʾore n.f. (pl. *ʾorăwaθa*) **manger** | *qəm-darɛ́le gu-ʾórət susăwàθa*ˡ They have put him in the horses' manger (A25:11).

ʾorta n.m./f. (K.) **marble game** | The aim is to dislodge marbles in a central target by shooting other marbles at them (B11:25ff.)

ʾosta → *hosta*

ʾotel n.f. **hotel**

ʾotəx, ʾotaxa n.f./m. (pl. *ʾotaxe*) (K./T.) **room**

ʾo-xa, ʾo-xaha pron. ms. **demonstrative** (§14.3.5.) | Denoting the accessibility of a referent in memory: *txárət ʾo-xa-náša t-wéwa láxxa qam-šàbθa?*ˡ Do you remember the man who was here a week ago?; *ʾána ʾo-xà qáša*ˡ *ṯ-ín ʾə́θya gu-Ṭiyàre,*ˡ *qəm-doqə́tli xošə́tli gu-gòma*ˡ I am the priest who (you remember) came to Ṭiyare, whom you seized and confined me in the basement stable (B17:15).

ʾuðala → *huðala*

ʾujaje n.pl. **pelvis bones**

ʾuḷḷuḷ adv. **above**

ʾumqa n.m. **depth** | *maṣlánnux gu-ʾúmqət yamàθa*ˡ I shall take you down into the depth of the seas (A12:31).

ʾumra n.m. (pl. *ʾumre, ʾumrane*) **church**

ʾumra, ʾŭmur n.m. **age** | *kméle ʾumrùx.?*ˡ How old are you?; *ʾána ʾŭmur díyi ʾəštà-šənnewa*ˡ I was six years old (B15:32).

ʾŭmur → *ʾumra*

ʾupra n.m. (pl. *ʾuprane*) **soil, ground; land** | *bă̆yən t-xazə́nne ʾúpra dìyi*ˡ I want to see my land (A14:47).

ʾurədxa n.f. (pl. *ʾurədxe, ʾurədxaθa*) **long needle** | *lá-maxət gúšma ʾurədxa*ˡ Do not punch a needle (D2:59).

ʾurṭiθa n.f. (pl. *ʾurṭiyaθa*) **noisy fart** → *m-rṭ, ṭur*

ʾurwa, hurwa n.m. (pl. *ʾurwe*) **raven**

ʾurxa n.f. (pl. *ʾurxaθa*) **road; way.** (1) **road, way (physical)** | *b-ʾúrxa tfiqele xá-xuwwe bìye*ˡ On the road a snake met him (A1:4); *ṣléle ʾurxa-úrxa xzéle ʾína pyáša dəbbòre*ˡ He went down and along the way saw that they were becoming hornets (A10:10); *kút-yom dawáqwala ʾúrxe b-ʾìðe*ˡ Every day he went the same way (A34:29); *bálki léla ʾúrxət dyàṛa*ˡ Perhaps it is the road of no return (A37:10); *ʾurxət genawe* the Milky Way; *ʾurxət šaqiθa* the track of a waterchannel. (2) **way (abstract), method** | *ʾíθwa rába ʾurxáθa mṭawòle*ˡ There were many ways to play (B15:5); *dáx ʾúrxa muxzélux ʾálla lípla ʾàwwa šúla.?*ˡ How did you show her the way to learn this work? (A21:34). (3) Idioms: *báxte díye hóla b-ʾùrxa díya*ˡ His wife is now pregnant (A8:5); *báxte díye láwa píšta b-ʾùrxa*ˡ His wife has not become pregnant (A8:5).

ʾurza n.m. (pl. *ʾurze*) **man; male** | *ʾúrzət bèθa*ˡ the man of the house, the householder (B5:117)

ʾustāð n.m. (pl. *ʾustaðe*) (A.) **teacher, master**

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ʿaʾəla n.f. (pl. *ʿăwaʾəl*) (A.) **family**

ʿabīd n.m. (A.) **slave, slaves**

ʿadi adj. invar. (A.) **ordinary**

ʿ*afrīt* n.m. (A.) **demon**

ʿ*aksa*, ʿ*aks*, ʿ*ăkəs* n.m. (A.) **contrary.** part. **opposite** | *xá l-ʿáks d-o-xèna*ˡ one opposite the other (A26:8).

ʿ*ălaqa* n.f. (A.) **connection, relation**

ʿ*alwa* n.f. (A.) **auction house**

ʿ*al-ʾasās* part. (A.) **in order that, because; that (complementizer)**

ʿ*ăqīd* n.m. (A.) **colonel**

ʿ*ărăbi* n.m. (A.) **Arabic (language)**

ʿ*ăṣăbi* adj. invar. (A.) **nervous, angry**

ʿ*ăšira* n.f. (pl. ʿ*ăšaʾər*) n.pl. (A.) **tribe**

ʿ*əllaga* n.f. (A.) **bag**

/B/

b- prep. (rare variant *biyət*; with pronominal suffixes, *biye, biye diye, bi-diye, ʾəbbe*) (§13.3.2., §16.1.) **in, at, on, with, by means of.** (1) Spatial and temporal location: *šqílɛle qésa b-ʾíðe dìye*ˡ He took the stick in his hand (A22:30); *b-lèle* at night (A15:8). (2) Instrument: *zríyənwale b-iθàθi*ˡ I have cultivated it with my hands (A17:32). (3) Comitative and associative: *ʾáθi b-dáwla-w zórna-w tópe-w* Let them come with the drum and pipe and with guns (A4:33); *lìtlən šúla bíye*ˡ We have no business with it (= It is not our business) (A48:6). (4) Attributive: *ʾána b-zawnánne ʾən-háwe b-tárte ʾaqlàθa*ˡ I shall buy it if it has one leg (A22:9). (5) Material: *ṯ-oðátli gášra b-qèsa*ˡ Make me a bridge of wood (A17:18). (6) Price: *xá-kilo ʾáxre b-ṭláθa dàwɛle*ˡ One kilo of dung sells for three gold pieces (A7:14). (7) Manner: *maṣlélən b-iqàra*ˡ They bring us down with honour (A4:30). (8) Cause: *ʾámər b-àyyət mšúdrəlli?*ˡ Was it for this (reason) you sent for me? (A21:32). (9) Oath: *b-álaha ʾáwwa xoš-yàlɛle*ˡ By God, he is a good lad (A21:5). (10) Combined with other prepositions: *hóle dárya jùlla b-réša*ˡ He put a cloth over them (A25:48). → *bəd, bud*

baʾuθət ninwaye n.f. **the Rogation of the Ninevites (Assyrian national festival)** | Three days fast commemorating the flood of Nineveh (B6:17ff.)

baʿd part. (A.) **then** | *báʿd módi xèna?*ˈ Then, what else? (A23:35)

baʿdēn part. (A.) **afterwards**

baba n.m. (pl. *babăwaθa*) **father; term of endearment.** (1) **father** | *bábi muttúle táma bèθa*ˈ My father set up home there (B8:10); *xá-naša l-xóðe lítle la-bába la-yámma la-ʾàp-xa,*ˈ *ʾáw y-amrìle*ˈ *lìtle náše*ˈ A man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody—he—they say concerning him that he has no relatives (A17:17); *bábe díye ʾu-d-áni ʾəθyela*ˈ His father and his father's family came (A4:55); *bábən t-šmàyya*ˈ our heavenly father (B8:16). (2) **term of endearment** | *babi* my dear (said by parent to child, or by a person to a friend); *ṭla-mòdi bábi?*ˈ Why my dear? (mother to son) (A26:71); *mòdi mára,*ˈ *bàbi?*ˈ What is he saying, my friend? (A7:25); *bábət yámmux* dear one of your mother (= my dear son) (A37:9).

bădal, m-bădal part. (A.) **instead of** | *qímla ʾáy m-bắdal xmáθa dìya*ˈ She got up instead of her mother-in-law (A21:22).

badəkka n.m. (pl. *badəkke*) **hut**

badiya n.m. (pl. *badiye*) **brass vessel (for water and *dawwe*)**

badoda n.m. (pl. *badode*) **long wooden poker for stirring up the fire of an oven**

baġdednaya n.m. (pl. *baġdednaye*) **man from Baghdad**

băgəbăgi n.m. **multicoloured embroidered fabric**

băḥar n.m. (A.) **sea**

băharāt n.pl. (A.) **spices**

bahər, bɛhər, bɛhɛri n.m (pl. *bahare, bɛhɛre, bɛhɛriye*) (K.) **Spring (season)**

bahogər, buhugar n.f. (K.) **blizzard (of snow)**

bahs, bas prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *bahs diye*) **about, concerning** | *bahsət šuli* about my job; *bahs d-awwa məndi* about his thing; *hon-šə̂mya bas-díye*ˈ I have heard about it (A8:41).

bahura adj. (f. *bahurta*, pl. *bahure*) **shining, resplendent** | *mjagra m-kima bahurta* She contends with the resplendent Pleiades (C2:74).

băjara n.m. (K.) **alternative, choice** | *líθ băjàra*ˈ *ʾálla bṯ-àzəx*ˈ There is no alternative, we must go (A8:27).

bajəlla n.m. (pl. *bajəlle*) **broad bean**

bajoniya n.m. (pl. *bajoniye*) **lycium barbarum berry** | edible red berry

baksăma n.m. (pl. *baksăme*) **big loaf made from flour of wheat**

bala n.m. **mind** | *másyəm bàla!*ˈ Pay attention!; *másyəm bála l-gànux!* Look after yourself!; *ʾánna gə̆́rəg xamàxla-w*ˈ *masíməx bála ʾəlla*ˈ We must care for them and look after them (A8:15); *mátti bála gu-yàma*ˈ They looked at the sea (A12:34); *máttu bála b-gáne dìye*ˈ *nubə́lle rəš-d-o-ṭùra*ˈ He realized that it had taken him onto the mountain (A14:69); *Čúxo híwle bále l-bɛ̀θa*ˈ Čuxo set off for home (A7:12); *kúlla lɛ̀lela l-bálux?*ˈ Has it been on your mind all night? (A25:67); *hál hadíya ʾáwwa məndiyáne píšela l-bàlən*ˈ Until now these things remain in our mind (B15:1); *b-álaha l-bàli*ˈ It just occurred to me (A8:41).

balakšənka | *xuwwe balakšənka* **type of snake**

bălam n.f. (pl. *bălame*) **boat**

bălāš adj. invar. (A.) **free, without charge**

balaya n.m. (pl. *balaye*) **problem; trouble; disaster** | *npílli gu-balàya*ˈ I am in trouble, I have a problem; *m-ɛ́ka píšlux baláya ʾəlli?*ˈ Why are you such a trouble to me? (A17:4)

balazeze n.pl. (sing. *balazeza* f.) **yellowy white Spring flowers** | with four stems (*taqane*)

balki part. **perhaps** | *bálki ʾàθya*ˈ Perhaps she will come (A8:49); *bálki lá-ʾawðən xàbrux*ˈ Perhaps I shall not do as you say (A21:43); *bálki qam-xa-šàbθɛle ʾáθya*ˈ He has come perhaps just a week ago (A8:56). Governing a clause introduced by *D*: *bálki ṯ-íla mìθta.*ˈ *bálki ṯ-íle xa-mə́ndi θíθa bìya.*ˈ Perhaps she is dead. Perhaps something has happened to her. (A21:25); *bálki yăðálux ʾáti ṯ-it-Gozàli*ˈ Perhaps she knows that you are Gozali (A8:49).

balla n.m./adj. (f. and pl. *balle*) (K.) **erect; sheep with erect ears** | *qumta rixana balla* Her figure is (that of) an erect odiferous basil (C2:44).

bălo n.f. (pl. *bălowaθa*) **whirlpool**

balota n.f. (pl. *baloyaθa*) **throat** | *balotət tope* muzzle of a gun; *balotət pənxa* hole of a millstone (into which grain is introduced)

baluʿa n.m./f. (A.) **drain, conduit, sewer**

baluṭa n.m. (pl. *baluṭe*) **acorn, nut of fruit that grows on oak trees (*mɛ̀ša*, *paṛma*) tree** | given to animals to eat

bambula n.m. (pl. *bambule*) **spout (on a pot)**

banaya, bannaya n.m. (pl. *banaye, bannaye*) **builder**

banda n.m. (pl. *bande*) (K.) **section of a song**

bandək n.m. (pl. *bandake*) (K.) **harness made of rope used to secure bundles of wood on back of animal**

banjane (sing. *banjanta* f., *banjana* m.) **tomatoes, aubergines** | *banjane smoqe* tomatoes; *banjane kome* aubergines

bănude n.pl. (K.) **swaddling bands (wrapped around baby in a cradle)** | *bănúde qmìṭela*ˡ The bands are tied; *šaryáwa bănúda dìya*ˡ She untied her bands (A18:1).

banyo n.m. (A./I.) **bath, bathtub**

baqa n.m. (pl. *baqe*) **gnat; small waterborn insect** | *ʾani-míya lɛ́la qaštɛ̀θa,*ˡ *ʾítla bàqe*ˡ This water is not for drinking, it has insects in it.

baqara n.m. (pl. *baqare*) **cowherd, keeper of cows** | *dmáyɛle l-xa-rámšət baqàra*ˡ It resembles a cowherd's dinner (i.e. it is a hotchpotch—the cowherd's wife used to collect various different items of food from people around the village)

baqča n.m. (pl. *baqče*) (K.) **vegetable garden, orchard**

baqla n.m. (pl. *baqle*) **red bean**

baqəlla n.m. (pl. *baqəlle*) **bean; broad bean**

baqloša n.m. (pl. *baqloše*) **pebble, small stone** | *tiwex xmala b-baqloše daxxurəkke* We sit and amuse ourselves (by playing with) small stones like friends (C2:31).

baqta n.f. **small gnat** | *dukθa raba mare baqta* a place with many gnats

baqurka n.m. (pl. *baqurke*) **piglet**

bar + numeral | *ʾaw-ríqle bar-ʾàrbe-u*ˡ *bar-xàmməš,*ˡ *bar-ʾəššət*ˡ He ran away with four, five or six bounds (A18:23)

bărа n.m. (pl. *bărе*) (K.) **sheet**

bara n.m. (pl. *bare*) (K.) **side** | *m-àwwa bára*ˡ on this side (B10:53); *xríwla m-kúlla bàre*ˡ It is utterly ruined.

barana n.m. (pl. *barane*) (K.) **adult male sheep (four years old and upwards)** | *šwara barane* jumping the rams (game similar to leap-frog B11:15ff.)

baraye, *baray* adv. **outside**

barbehn n.m. (pl. *barbehne*) **window** | *ṣríxtɛla m-gu-barbèhn*ˡ She called out of the window (A25:59).

barbēn, barbena n.f. (pl. *barbene*) **open space in front of house**

barbiya n.f. (pl. *barbiye, barbiyaθa*) **bridesmaid**

barða n.f. **hail** | *barða b-qanane* heavy hail; *ða gəmbəltət barða* a hailstone

bardi n.m. (A.) **canebrake**

barəbar- (K.) **around** | inside an area: *ʾu-y-azíwa xaðrìwa*ˡ *barəbárət màθa*ˡ They would go around the village (B15:66).

bărəkθa n.f. (K.) **(small) sheet** | *pšúṭla ʾàqlux*ˡ *qă̆dər bărəkθux*ˡ Stretch your legs according to your cloth (D1:6).

bar-eli adv. **upwards, on the upper side** | *m-pálgə d-áw ʾu-bàr-eli*ˡ from its middle and upwards (A8:58); *múrməlla ʾaqláθa l-bàr-eli*ˡ *ʾu-réša xtàya*ˡ They lifted her legs upwards and her head downwards (A27:34).

barəšta, berəšta n.f. (pl. *barəšyaθa, berəšyaθa*) **pillow, cushion**

barəxmaya n.m. (pl. *barəxmaye*) **brother of wife**

barəxmɛθa n.f. (pl. *barəxmayaθa*) **sister of wife**

bărìya n.f. (A.) **creation, creatures**

bariyya, bɛriyya n.f. (A.) **desert**

barje → *xarja*

barju n.f. (pl. *barjuwaθa*) (K.) **channel connecting sections (*sadde*) of a paddy field**

barmiya n.m. **water weed (growing in rice paddy fields)**

baṛ-našuθa, bəṛ-našuθa n.f. **humanity, people, population** | *baṛ-našuθət ʾɛ̄n-Nune* the people of ʾɛn-Nune

baroqa n.m. (pl. *baroqe*) **shooting pain in back** | *mxéla baróqe gu-xàṣi*ˡ I have shooting pains in my back.

barora n.m. (pl. *barore*) **roll (of fabric)**

ba-rožа n.f./adv. (K.) **side of the mountains on which the morning sun shines** | *ba-ròža*ˡ *ʾáy šəmšɛ̀θɛla*ˡ The *ba-rožа* side is sunny (B5:148); *ʾan-ṯ-íla ʾíða ʧàple*ˡ *ʾíla ba-ròža*ˡ The ones (mountains) on the left are (known as) the 'sunny side' (B3:1); *y-asqáxwa gu-ba-ròža*ˡ We would go up onto the 'sunny side'.

bar-qamaya n.m. **front strap on a mule** | This was tied round its front legs to prevent a load from falling backwards when it went up hill → *bar-xaraya.*

barqūl prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *barqule*) **opposite** | *plíṭe bárqūl məditèy*ˡ They came out opposite the town (A4:28); *ʾáw kályɛle barqúlət bàbe*ˡ He is standing opposite his father.

barriya n.f. (A.) **desert**

barša n.m. **namesake** | *barši* my namesake (mode of address to somebody of the same name as that of the speaker).

bar-təxti adv. **downwards; on the lower side** | *prùmle*ˡ *m-áxxa-w bar-tə̀xti*ˡ Cut it from here downwards (A14:67); *gášəq bàr-təxti*ˡ He looks downwards (A28:3).

barūd n.m. (K./T.) **gunpowder**

baruza adj. (f. *baruzta*, pl. *baruze*) **dry, dryish, characteristically dry** | cf. *briza* (completely) dry

bar-xaraya n.m. **back strap on a mule** | This was tied around its hind legs to prevent a load from falling onto its neck when it went down hill → *bar-qamaya.*

baṛ-xəlya n.m. **fennel** | This is put in arak

barxošta n.f. (pl. *barxošyaθa*) **big stirring spoon, ladle**

baṛ-xoxa n.m. (pl. *baṛ-xoxe*) **thorny pod**

barziva n.m **flint** | used to strike fire with metal instrument known as *manquš*

bas part. **only; no more; if only; only if; but.** (1) **only** | Governing clause constituent: *bas-yəmma ʾíθwale*ˈ He had only a mother (A21:3); *bas-ànən šríṭa*ˈ Only I have escaped (B19:8); *bas-mìya máttət qam-réša díya*ˈ Place only water by her head (A21:37); *bas-ʾéni t-xzéla ʾày xoš-ʾáza gu-jahànnam*ˈ Only my eye, which saw it—let that go to Hell (A16:2); *ʾánna júlle dìye xázye bás*ˈ We only found these clothes of his (A14:17). (2) **no more** | *mattátla xa-kawázət míya kəs-réša-w bàs*ˈ Put out for her a jar of water by her head and no more (A21:10). (3) **if only** | Clausal connective: *xuš-mèθən*ˈ *bas-xáθi Nozáli xazənwala*ˈ Let me die, if only I could see my sister Nozali (A8:57). (4) **only if** | *bas-ʾánna xonăwáθi bàsmi*,ˈ *gorànnux*ˈ Only if you cure these brothers of mine, shall I marry you (A34:22). (5) **but** | Clausal connective: *ʾéne pθìxtɛla*,ˈ *bas-ṭlìya hóle*ˈ His eye is open, but he is asleep (A31:6); *lɛ̀le-xəzya čù-náša*ˈ *bas-yắðəx hóla tlíxe ʾánna bàte*ˈ Nobody has been seen, but we know that the houses have been destroyed (A29:52). Before a reduced predication: *ʾax-sinìyele*ˈ *bas-gòṛa*ˈ It is like a tray, but (it is) bigger (B6:45).

base, buse n.pl. **scorn, mocking** | *base buse b-draya* He is making all kinds of disparaging remarks (A50:2)

basəsta n.f. **dish of crushed wheat cooked with husks**

basima adj. (f. *basimta*, pl. *basime*) **pleasant, beautiful; delicious; healthy; sharp.** (1) **pleasant, beautiful** | *dúnye basìmtɛla*ˈ The weather is pleasant; *ʾu-qále díye rába basìmɛwa*ˈ His voice was very beautiful (A25:43–44); *ʾáθṛa rába basìmɛle*ˈ It is a very pleasant place (B5:148); *rába ʾítley xayúθa basímta bəd-àyya*ˈ They had a very good life on account of this (B5:106). (2) **delicious, tasty** | *kəma-basìmtɛla ʾixála!*ˈ 'How delicious the food is!' (A21:31); *lɛ̀la basíme ṭla-xála*ˈ They are not good for eating (A43:3). (3) **healthy** | *málka ṯ-áwət basìma*ˈ King, may you be well (A1:14); *réšux ṯ-áwe basìma*ˈ May you (literally: your head) be healthy (said to a person who has been recently bereaved); *basima raba* Thank you very much (*basimta raba* said to a woman); *háwət basíma ràba*ˈ *qa-d-áwwa ʾixála ṯ̂-it-yíwəlle qa-dìyi*ˈ Thank you very much for this food that you have given me (A22:31); *ʾàyya basímta*ˈ She is the one to thank (A14:96); *gánux basìmta!*ˈ Well done! (A39:21). (4) **sharp** | *púmmət maqára basìmɛle* The mouth of the gouge is sharp.

basimuθa n.f. **pleasantness; health** | *ʾálaha yawállux basimùθa*ˡ God grant you good health.

basiṭa adj. (f. *basiṭṭa*, pl. *basiṭe*) (A.) **easy** | *basìṭɛla*ˡ That is easy (A16:9).

bassa part. **enough! stop!** | *yába dèṛəx.*ˡ *bàssa,*ˡ *wídlən ṣèda,*ˡ *bàssa.*ˡ Let's return. That's enough. We have done some hunting. That's enough. (A4:6); *bássa bxègən*ˡ *bássa wuð-tàzi*ˡ Do not weep any more! Do not mourn any more! (A26:88); *bássa mgàlǝj!*ˡ Stop talking nonsense!; *bássa ští ʾu-rwì!*ˡ Don't drink any more and get any more drunk! With pronominal suffixes (§8.20.2.): *bassi* I have had enough; *bassux* You (ms.) have had enough; *baswali* I had had enough; *bàssi m-xáye*ˡ I have had enough of life (A8:59); *bàssən mánne*ˡ We have had enough of him (A41:2); *ʾána ʾə́mma bàssi*ˡ A hundred is enough for me (A1:6).

baste n.f. (pl. *bastăwaθa*) **expanse of stones in dried up river**

baṣirana n.m. **type of grape** | *ʾə́nwə baṣírana qarùṭela*ˡ The *baṣirana* grapes are tough.

baṣora adj. (f. *baṣorta*, pl. *baṣorta*) **little, small (in quantity); a few.** (1) **little, small (in quantity)** | *zrúta rába baṣórta ʾìθena*ˡ There is very little cultivation (B5:75); *b-kúlla yóma zór maṣìwa*ˡ *xàzdi*ˡ *xá-mdi rába baṣòra*ˡ In the whole day they can barely harvest something very little (B5:144). (2) **a few** | *baṣóra mənnèy*ˡ *ʾi-pɛšíwa yáʿni t-la maṭíwa ʾékɛle bɛθèy*ˡ A few of them remained without arriving at their house (B15:44). (3) *biš-baṣora* **less** | *hálli zúze biš-baṣòre*ˡ Give me less money; *taqríban ʾo-bíš-baṣora ʾànənwa šqíla*ˡ It was I who received almost the least (B1:19).

baṣore adv. **rarely, seldom** | *rába baṣòre xazə́nne* I rarely see him.

bašila n.m. (pl. *bašile*) **long melon**

baška n.m. (pl. *bašk*e) (K.) **white mark on forehead of sheep or horse**

bašqəp n.f. (pl. *bašqape*) **saucer**

bati n.f. **my little daughter** | familiar form of *brati.*

băṭăna n.m. **inside of wall facing into the house** | as opposed to *paθət guda* front of wall, facing outwards

băṭaniya n.m. (pl. *baṭaniye*) (A.) **blanket**

baṭibaṭo n.f. (sing. and collective, or pl. *baṭibaṭowaθa*) (K.) **firefly**

baṭila adj. (f. *baṭilta*, pl. *baṭile*) **idle, without work** | *ta-mút baṭíla tíwa gu-bèθa?*ˈ Why are you idle sitting in the house? (A39:1); *sátwa baṭìle-wɛ̀wa náše*ˈ In winter people were unoccupied (B11:12).

baṭila n.m. (pl. *baṭile*) **horn container** | It is used to carry *č̣ita* (butter) as a lubricant for sharpening implements on a *mašna* (whetstone).

baṭiluθa n.f. **lack of work**

baṭman n.m. (pl. *baṭmane*) **batman (measure of weight, approx. 7 kilos)**

baṭoya n.m. (pl. *baṭoye*) (Urm.) **piece of baked bread crust that falls from the wall of the oven**

baθər, bar prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *baθre, bare*) **behind; after; through.** (1) **behind, after (locative)** | *báθər tǎra* behind the door (A23:25); *ʾaw-yála qímle npílle bàra*ˈ The boy went after her (A24:54); *kèla quṣárta?*ˈ *hon-θíθa báθra dìya.*ˈ Where is the cooking pot? I have come looking for it. (A5:9); *kú-ṯ̂-ile bàθri*ˈ *méθe xa-kértə qèsa*ˈ Whoever is behind me (= supports me), let him bring a bundle of wood (A12:69). (2) **after (temporal)** *báθər ṭ̣lá-yarxe* after three months (A17:28). Combined with *m-* when used with temporal sense: *m-báθər xámša daqìqe*ˈ after five minutes (A22:23); *ʾána m-díya m-bàθər*ˈ *brátux bǎyənna*ˈ I from now on love your daughter (A17:35). (3) **through** | *ʾo-gə́lda hàdəx ʾoðə́tle*ˈ *naqíða ta-t-ʾáwər bar-bóyət xmàṭa*ˈ Make this skin a fine (thread) so that it will go through the eye of a needle (A11:12).

baθra, bara adv. **behind** | *ʾána qamèθa*ˈ *ʾu-Ẓíne bàθra*ˈ *ʾu-Səttíye xarèθa.*ˈ 'me first, Zine behind and Səttiye last' (A25:19); *la-baθra, la-bara* backwards

bawa n.m (pl. *bawe*) **window without glass; open balcony of house** | In winter it was blocked with woven wicker (*gədla*)

bawar n.m. (K.) **trust** | *ʾána lítli báwar ʾəbbe*ˈ I do not trust him.

bawaruθa n.f. (K.) **trust** | *ʾána bawarúθi θáya biyèxula*ˈ My trust is in you (said by bride to the family of the groom) (B5:41).

bawsa n.m. (pl. *bawse*) **piece of matting (*xaṣira*) connecting the beam between the oxen (*qaṭira*) to the remainder of the plough**

baxaya n.m/adj. (pl. *baxaye*) **constantly weeping**

baxəra n.f. (A.) **steamship**

bă̆xət n.m. **fate, lot, trust** (K.) | *bă̆xət ʾaláha dìyux*ˡ I implore you (to forgive me) (A1:18); *bă̆xət ʾàlaha!*ˡ For God's sake! (do sth. for me/us).

bă̆xila adj. (A.) **miserly; envious**

baxiluθa n.f. **miserliness; envy**

baxlana → *mbaxlana*

baxoya n.m./adj. (pl. *baxoye*) **constantly weeping**

baxta n.f. (pl. *baxtaθa*) **woman; wife** | *baxtət babi, bă̆xət babi* my stepmother

baxyana adj. (f. *baxyanta*, pl. *baxyane*) **constantly weeping**

baybuna n.m. (pl. *baybune*) **yellow and white flower**

baybune n.pl. **type of game** (B7:6)

baza (i) n.m. **jump, bound** | *tre-bàze*ˡ *šwirìle Qaṭína*ˡ Qaṭina leapt two bounds (A50:10); *xa-báza rìqle*ˡ He ran with one bound.

baza (ii) n.m. (pl. *baze*) **falcon; great person** | *mən-báze bára bazbùze*ˡ *ʾu-m-bazbúze bára bàze*ˡ From great people little insignificant ones grow, and from insignificant ones great ones grow (D2:57); *bazi qṭille neriya* My lord (lover) killed a male goat (C2:18).

baza (iii) n.m. **type of fabric**

bazbuza n.m. (pl. *bazbuze*) **small bird, insignificant person** | *mən-báze bára bazbùze*ˡ *ʾu-m-bazbúze bára bàze*ˡ From great people little insignificant ones grow, and from insignificant ones great ones grow (D2:57).

bazəkka (i) n.m. (pl. *bazəkke*) **little jump** | *hóle sxáya b-bazə́kke*ˡ He is swimming the crawl.

bazəkka (ii) n.m. (pl. *bazəkke*) **stem of a pipe (*qắlunka*)** | *qắlúnka bazə́kka díya rìxa y-awéwa*ˡ The stem of the pipe was long (B7:19).

bažər n.f. (pl. *bažă̆re*) (K.) **town**

bázzune adv. **last year, next year**

bdila adj. (f. *bdilta*, pl. *bdile*) **changed in colour, faint**

b-ðăbəṭ adv. (A.) **exactly**

be- n.m. (cst.) **household of; family of** | *nábəlla ṭla-be-šwàwən*ˡ Take it to the neighbours' house (A5:3); *ʾáwwa zílɛle be-ʾámte dìye*ˡ He went to the home of his paternal aunt (A23:2); *be-Xàmmo*ˡ the family of Xammo (A19:1); *ṯ-ázən bɛ́θə be-xàli*ˡ I shall go to the house of my uncle's family (A25:66).

be-ʾɛna n.m. **forehead**

be-ʾilone **September** (C2:80) → *ʾilul*

be-bă̆xət adj. (K.) **untrustworthy; dishonest** | *báxta be-bă̆xət-ila*ˡ The woman is not trustworthy (A4:3); *ʾána lán-mirəllux be-bă̆xət-iwət*ˡ I did not say that you are dishonest (A1:21).

be-baxtuθa n.f. **unfairness; untrustworthiness** | *xzélux be-baxtùθa*ˡ You have seen something unfair (A2:10); *t-là-ʾamrət ʾána wáðən*ˡ *be-baxtùθa ʾəllux*ˡ Don't say that I am being deceitful to you (A13:8).

bečiya n.m. (pl. *bečiye*) (K.) **lamb (1–3 weeks old)** | *qá-t-yátwəx qam-bečiye*ˡ in order to look after the lambs (B5:226)

be-dənxa n.m. **Epiphany**

be-dyuθa n.f. **inkpot; ink**

beðəlta n.f. (pl. *beðəlyaθa, beθaθa*) **sleeve**

be-gwina n.m. (pl. *be-gwine*) **eyebrow**

be-kalo n.m. **the family of the bride**

belati | *xəgga belati* type of dance performed with a line of people in a row with linked arms. This is the same as the dance known as *xəgga xliya*.

be-ḷaye n.f. (pl. *be-ḷăwaθa*) **upper room, room on first floor of a house**

be-maʿna (K./A.) **without meaning** | formula used to soften an obscenity: *be-máʿna ṭízux yawə́tle l-gùda*ˡ excuse me — turn your bum to the wall (A25:12).

bēn, bēl prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *bene, bele, benaθən*) **between** | *bēn-ʾisàre*ˡ between the rocks (B9:4); *ʾə́θyəx xa-néra benàθən*ˡ We came to a

river between us (and the town) (A17:9); *ʾáwwa ḥákəm béni ʾu-bènəx*ˈ He will arbitrate between me and you (A47:3); *bēl-pánxa l-pànxa*ˈ between one grinding wheel and the other (B5:91).

bena n.f. (pl. *bene, benaθa*) (K.) **breath; time, instance; yes.** (1) **breath** | *graša bena* to take a breath; *gríšle béna rìxta*ˈ He took a deep breath; *tré-gaye gríšle bèna*ˈ He took two breaths; *hóle šqála bèna*ˈ He is breathing; *píšta bénux l-hàwa*ˈ You are panting. (2) **time, instance** | *tre bene* twice; *raba benaθa* many times; *xà-bena ʾázi náše*ˈ People should go (only) once (B15:91); *har-wéla taq-táq mxàya*ˈ *ʾu-taq-tàq,*ˈ *xá-bena-w trè,*ˈ *w-áwwa sqìdle*ˈ They made a taq-taq knocking noise, taq-taq, once, then twice, then he became fed up (A14:68); *ku-bénət šátən čáy dérən šékər gàwa*ˈ Every time I drink tea I put sugar in it; *ʾáyya bèna*ˈ *ʾán ʾamrànnux*ˈ *pălátla pálga màjjəd?*ˈ This time, if I tell you, will you really divide them in half? (A1:12); *čú-bena lat-ṭlíbta hátxa məndiyáne díya hot-ṭlàba.*ˈ You have never requested such things as you are requesting now (A26:45); *kut-méθela ʾána t-yánne zùze*ˈ *ʾax-ṯ-in-híwəlle xa-béna xèta*ˈ I shall give money to whoever brings her back, as I gave (money) once before (A27:30). *xa-bena* for a while, after a while, then | *tíwela xá-bena hàdəx*ˈ They sat for a while like that (A26:17); *zàlɛwa,*ˈ *xá-bena xzéle m-ráḥqa xá-mdi xwàra*ˈ He was going along and then he saw in the distance something white (A14:28). *xa-bena xeta/xena* again | *xá-bena xéta qìmela*ˈ *qèdamta*ˈ Again they got up in the morning (A21:16); *ṣlàya,*ˈ *ṣálya šátya mìya,*ˈ *ta-t-qàlba xá-bena xéna*ˈ She went down to drink water and then finally returned again (A33:8). (3) **yes** | *mára:*ˈ *xadàmta.*ˈ *béna ʾəstàðti*ˈ She said 'Servant!' (The servant said) 'Yes, madam' (A37:13); *qəryali mərra bena* I called her and she said 'Yes' (C2:24) → *mare bena*

be-nisane n.m. **Spring (season)**

be-nxəpθa adj. invar. **shameless**

benzīn n.m. (E.) **benzene**

be-palga → *palga*

be-qanke, beθ-qanke n.f. **chancel of church**

bera n.f. (pl. *beraθa*) **well, cistern**

berəšta → *barəšta*

beṛa n.m. **light** | *béṛɛle qam-tằra*ˈ It is light outside.

beṛana adj. (f. *beṛanta*, pl. *beṛane*) **light, lightsome**

beta n.f. (pl. *be'e*) **egg** | *be'e swiye* coloured eggs; *qémi mxáya be'e*ˡ They begin to knock eggs together (Easter custom) (B5:58); *betət saṭana* snail shell.

be-təkke n.f. **waist** | *'ó-t šawárra šáwwa sàkke,*ˡ *ða-qéθa gu-be-tàkke*ˡ He who jumps seven stakes, (one) will hit him in his waist (D2:1). → *təkθa* trouser cord

be-təlmən adj. invar. **without discipline, unruly** | *brónux be-tàlmənile*ˡ Your son is unruly. → *tlm*

be-tune n.f. **store for straw** | built of stones

beθaθa n.pl. (sing. *beðəlta*) **sleeves** | also plural *beðəlyaθa*

be-xelape | *nera be-xelape* **Willow River (running through Barwari Bala)**

be-xənxe n.f. **oesophagus**

be-xtaye n.f. (pl. *be-xtaye*) **lower floor in a house, basement**

be-yalda n.m. **Christmas**

beza n.f. **muslin fabric** | *xa-kísa xwára t-bèza*ˡ a white muslin bag (B6:42)

bɛθa n.m. (pl. *bate, bɛθăwaθa, bɛθwane*; cst. *be-*) **house; home; verse (of poetry/song)** | *mu-ṣṭímlux bèθi?*ˡ Why have you ruined me? (literally: Why have you destroyed my house?) (A15:14); *mapəlxíwa náše ṭla-gu-bèθa*ˡ People used it for their household (B5:171); *bábi muttúle táma bèθa*ˡ My father set up home there (B8:10); *bɛθət qəqwane* cage for partridges; *bēθ-mìθe* tomb (B6:1); *be-Bakus* the family of Bakus. Adverbial: *mɛθéle bèθa*ˡ They bring it back home (B5:164).

bɛθ-qora n.m. (pl. *bɛθ-qore, bɛθ-qorăwaθa, bɛθ-qorayaθa*) **cemetery**

bɛθuθa n.f. **household, family** | *sáma zóda ṭla-bɛθuθéy mapəlxìwala*ˡ *ṭla-našèy*ˡ Most people used it (the honey) for their household, for their family (B5:178).

bəd, bud prep. (§16.1.11.) **about, concerning; on account of; in, by.** (1) **about, concerning** | *'ánna šámye-wawa bəd-Mămo mən-Zine*ˡ They had heard about Mămo from Zine (A26:25); *qímən moláxmənna 'ánna šére bud-dìye*ˡ I composed these verses about him (C4:3). (2) **on account of, by means of** | *rába 'ítley xayúθa basímta bəd-àyya,*ˡ *yáʿni zrátət xabùše*ˡ

They had a very good life on account of this, that is the cultivation of apples (B5:106). (3) **in, by** | only in fixed expressions: *hɛr-dmíxtɛla bəd-lábba gu-bɛ́θət bába dìyɛla*ˈ She continued sleeping, thinking that she was in her father's house (A21:18); *ʾi-banɛ́wa báte b-képa mnʉ̀jra,*ˈ *mnújra bəd-ʾíða*ˈ They would build houses with dressed stone, dressed by hand; *báxta hóla yaqúrta bud-yàla*ˈ The woman is pregnant with a child.

bədra n.f. (pl. *bədraθa*) **threshing floor**

bəðya adj. (f. *bðiθa*, pl. *bəðye*) **luxuriant (plant)** | *xa ṭaqət rixana bəðya* (She is like) a sprig of luxuriant basil (C2:72).

bəjbaja n.m. (pl. *bəjbaje*) **insect** | *bəjbajət ʾəxrət tawre* dung beetle

bəlād n.f. (A.) **country**

bəlbala n.m. **chaos** | *wírre bəlbàla gawéy* They were in chaos.

bəlbəlawa n.m. **celebrations at the end of winter** | *xaðríwa bəlbəlàwa* They would go around (performing) *bəlbəlawa* (i.e. children go around the village asking for gifts B7:7).

bəlbəllizək n.f. (K.) **whirlwind, hurricane**

bəldozer n.m. (pl. *bəldozere*) (A./E.) **bulldozer**

bəllorta n.f. (pl. *bəlloryaθa*) **pipe; section of a reed** | connected to the genitals of a baby in a cradle to carry away its urine

b-əlʾaxīr adv. (A.) **in the end**

bənduqqa n.m. (pl. *bənduqqe*) **chestnut, chestnut tree**

bənyana n.m. **building** | *ʾáwwa ṃáḷe ṭla-bənyàna*ˈ That is sufficient (firing of the gypsum) for building (B5:184).

bəqqəm n.m. **red powder (prepared from herbs) used to cure eye diseases**

bəqra n.m. **cattle (horses, mules, oxen, cows); herd of cattle** | *m-lɛ́l mbàdla*ˈ *xalwíwa tawə̀rta*ˈ *y-asqáwa bə̀qra*ˈ Early in the morning they would milk the cow and it would go up to (join) the herd (B5:172).

bərbərrane → *bərra*

bəṛ-gare n.f. (pl. *bəṛ-garăwaθa*) **plateau**

bərgawa n.m. **inferior quality wool** | *qamáye ʾo-rešáya šaqlə̀xwale*ˈ *ta-jùlle.*ˈ *ʾo-xèna,*ˈ *y-amráxxa bərgə̀wa,*ˈ *ʾo-t biš-daqìqa.*ˈ First we took the best for clothes. The rest we called *bərgawa* (inferior quality wool), which was thinner. (B10:49)

bəṛ-gawṛa n.m. (pl. *bəṛ-gawṛe*) **young sheep; young goat**

beriya n.f. (pl. *beriye, beriyaθa*) (K.) **milkmaid**

beriyo n.f. **type of dance**

bərka n.f. (pl. *bərkake*) **knee**

bərke n.f. (A.) **pool** | *ða-bárkət mìya*ˈ a pool of water (A14:77)

bərmalta n.f. (pl. *bərmalyaθa*) (K.) **long jacket worn over other clothes** | *šalla ʾu-bərmalta* trousers and jacket

bármaše adv. **evening**

bəṛ-naša n.m. (pl. *bne-naše, bəṛ-naše, bnonət naše*) **person, human** | *xa-bəṛ-náša lə̀la xzáya*ˈ They do not see any human (A14:41); *ku-brónət bə́ṛ-naša ʾáθe l-d-áy jə̆zíra qamàye*ˈ Whichever person comes to the island first… (A14:46)

bəṛ-našuθa → *baṛ-našuθa*

bərqa n.m. **lightning; electricity** | *bárqe mxáya gu-šmàyyɛla*ˈ Lightning is striking in the sky; *ʾé-ga líθwa bə̀rqa*ˈ At that time there was no electricity (B10:45); *ʾə̆bu-bə̀rqa*ˈ electrician(s) (B10:50)

bəṛ-qatta n.f. (pl. *bəṛ-qatte, bəṛ-qatyaθa*) **small white worm (found in butter and cheese)**

bərqiya n.m. **lightning** | *Qaṭína nðéle xo-bərqíyət šmàyya*ˈ Qaṭina jumped up under the lightning of the sky (A50:11).

bərra n.f. (pl. *bərrane*) **group; flock; horde** | *hóle θéle Čùxo,*ˈ *xa-bárra ʾárwe bàθre*ˈ Čuxo came, with a horde of sheep following him (A7:21); *ʾən-kúlla qəm-maxíla bərrèy*ˈ If they have broken up all their group (B11:9); *bərrane* (groups), also *bərbərrane*, name of a game (B11:2ff.).

bərtamwaθa → *ʾama*

bərtaqala n.m. (pl. *bərtaqale*) **orange**

bərvana n.m. (pl. *bərvane*) **apron (for cooking)**

bəṛ-zăra n.f. (pl. *bəṛ-zăre*) **seed; offspring, children**

bərt → *brət*

bərzoma n.m. (pl. *bərzome*) **cool room for storage in the basement of a house** | *boyət bərzoma* hatch giving access to storage room

bəṛ-ʿăqəl adj. invar. **wise**

be-saruber adj. invar. (K.) **smashed, mutilated**

bəska n.m. (pl. *bəske*) (K.) **lock of hair; tress of hair** | *bəske rixe* long locks (C2:2)

bəsma n.m. **fragrance** | *bə́sma dérɛ gu-pə̀rma*ˡ They put fragrance in a thurible.

bəspora n.m. (pl. *bəspora*) **young child (under 10 years)** | *Bă̆giya m-bɛθa goṛa muqyamta max-bəspora* Bă̆giya of a great family, brought up like a little child (C6:8).

bəspurta n.f. (pl. *bəspuryaθa*) **young girl (under 10 years)**

bəsqa n.m. (pl. *bəsqe*) **small stone (in a river)**

bəsra n.m. (pl. *bəsre*) **meat; dewlap (of goat)** | *y-oðíwa*… *bə́sre* They would make meat dishes (B5:13).

bəṣla n.m. (pl. *bəṣle*) **onion**

bəṣliṣa n.m. (pl. *bəṣliṣa*) **ray of light; small flame** | *xzéle xa-bəṣlíṣa zòra*ˡ He saw a small ray of light (A14:24).

bəšra n.m. **Gospel; good news**

bəšwele n.f. **lower section of watermill containing driving wheel and shaft**

bəṭma n.f. (pl. *bəṭmaθa*) **terebinth tree; the nut from such a tree**

bəṭme n.pl. (sing. *bəṭəmθa*) **terebinth nuts**

bəθqa n.m. (pl. *bəθqe*) **sweets, rice scattered over newly weds**

bəxya n.m. **weeping** | *ʾáwwa mò-qalət báxyɛle?*ˡ What sound of weeping is this? (A4:44); *baxya bəxya marira* She weeps a bitter weeping (C2:58)

bəxyona n.m. **little weeping, weeping of a little child** | *bəxyóna lɛ́le dìyux*ˡ Weeping is not for you (A38:7)

bəzka n.m. (pl. *bəzke*) **leap** | *šwírre xa-bàzka*ˡ He made a little leap.

bəzmara n.m. (pl. *bəzmare*) **nail**

biba n.m. (pl. *bibe*) **pupil** | *bibət ʾɛna* pupil of the eye

bibəlta n.f. (pl. *bibəlyaθa*) **(small) pupil** | *bibəltət ʾɛna* pupil of the eye

bibər n.f. **pepper** | *bibər smoqta* red pepper

bibla n.m. (pl. *bible*) **camomile**

biṭa n.m. (pl. *biṭe*) **bastard, scoundrel**

biṭta n.f. (pl. *biṭyaθa*) **bastard daughter, bitch**

biš part. **more, most; (not) at all** (§14.8.1.) (1) **more, most** | With adjectives: *ʾína mástət ʾárwe rába biš-basimtɛ́la biš-príštɛla mən-d-a-t-tàwre*ˡ But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle. (B5:173); *ʾaṣárta mɛθéwala ða-dúkθa bíš-qurba t-y-awɛ́wa mìya táma*ˡ In the evening they would bring them to a closer place where there was water (B5:160); *ʾíθən… biš-xoš-gùṛe*ˡ There are better men (A26:79); *ʾíθwa lìθwa*ˡ *biš-m-álaha góṛa čú-mdi lìθwa*ˡ There was, there was not, there was nothing greater than God (A30:1); *qu-qálbəx béθa biš-spày*ˡ Come let's return home—(that is) better (A30:55); *múr ʾèni-mənnən*ˡ *biš-šapìrtɛla*ˡ Say which of us (three) is most beautiful (A25:17); *ʾáy biš-xámθɛla m-kùlla*ˡ She is more beautiful than all (= the most beautiful of all)' (A25:26). Adjective omitted: *bíš m-áyya dúkθa ʾèka xázəx?*ˡ Where could we find (something) better than this place? (A12:5). With adverbs: *qəm-maxéla ʾáqla biš-xɛlàna*ˡ He struck her leg harder (A33:12); *dráyɛle biš-hódəx mánna díya xáčča xàmra*ˡ He put some wine further up from them (A12:49). With verbs: *xáčča biš-šlèla*ˡ She became a little more calm (A4:17); *bíš madqárre mən-d-ó déwa ṯ-axálwa ʾárbe dìye*ˡ He (God) valued him more than the wolf that ate his sheep (A10:13). (2) **(not) at all**| intensifier of a negator: *y-amríwa ʾáw bíš la-mzànzəṛ*ˌˡ *yáwəl ṭéma pàyəšwa*ˡ They said that it does not lose its taste at all, it keeps its taste (B10:76); *ʾáp-xa lá-biš-ile-mṣaya mqarów-əlla dìya*ˡ Nobody was able to go near her at all (A4:6); *b-qèṭa*ˡ *bíš liθ-məṭràθa,*ˡ *ʾu-bíš liθ-tàlga*ˡ In summer there are no rains at all and there is no snow at all. → *zawda, zoda*

bista (adj. invar.) **comforable, at east, familiar** | *ʾána bístɛwən b-áwwa šùla*ˡ I am comfortable doing this job, I know how to do this job; *ʾána bístɛwən b-ṭràya*ˡ I know how to drive, *ʾána bístɛwən mànne*ˡ I am

at ease with him; *púš bìsta!*ˈ Feel at home!; *ʾíθən nàše*ˈ *ʾiðéy bìsta* There are skilled people (B5:176).

biša adj. (f. *bišta*, pl. *biše*) **bad** | *yala biša* bad boy (C2:68)

bišta n.f. (pl. *bišyaθa*) **bad woman; evil** | *šə́mša gànya*ˈ *ʾu-bíšta là-ganya*ˈ The sun sets, but evil does not set (with it) (D2:5)

bišuθa n.f. **evil, badness**

bizər n.m. **herb that is put in jajək**

biz-zawda, bi-zawda → *zawda, zoda*

biz-zoda, bi-zoda → *zawda, zoda*

bla-jorta n.f. (pl. *bla-joryaθa*) **bladder**

bla-mandora n.m. **shaft of a stone roller (*mandorta*)**

bliga adj. (f. *bligta*, pl. *blige*) **busy, occupied** | *m-táma hòdəx*ˈ *kúlla ʾan-ʾárba yàrxe,*ˈ *xámša yàrxe,*ˈ *y-áwɛ náše blíge mjə̆mòye,*ˈ *mjə̆móye qa-sàtwa*ˈ From this time onwards, throughout four or five months, people are busy gathering, gathering for winter (B5:107); *har-blígət b-kàsux*ˈ You are always occupied with your stomach (A23:10); *blígela b-ġðàðe*ˈ They were preoccupied with one another (A4:50).

bluza n.f. (pl. *bluzāt*) (A./E.) **blouse**

b-nəsba (l-) part. (A.) **with regard to; in accordance with**

boḍ̌a n.m. (pl. *boḍ̌e*) **seed**; **stone in a fruit** | *dáryəlla bòḍ̌e*ˈ He sewed the seeds (A18:26).

boksa n.m. **punch** | *maxə́nnux xa-bôksa*ˈ I'll punch you.

bola n.m. (pl. *bole*) **seed head of millet (*prage*), sorghum (*xroriya*) or rice** | Such heads do not have the long hairs characteristic of wheat and barley.

b-oma xena adv. **the day before yesterday; the day after tomorrow**

boni n.m. **my little son** | familiar form of *broni*.

boqa adj. (f. *boqta*, pl. *boqe*) **recalcitrant (bull)** | *tawra boqa* recalcitrant bull (that buts people)

boqč̌a n.m. (pl. *boqč̌e*) (K.) **knapsack** | made of finer fabric than *parzūn*.

boš adj. invar. (K.) **empty, vain** | *qála qamáya zílle bòš*ˡ The first cry was in vain (A7:74).

boṭa n.m (pl. *boṭe*) **large wooden channel made of poplar (*xorta*) that carries water at high speed to drive water-mill**

boṭla n.m. (pl. *boṭle*) **bottle**

boya n.m. (pl. *boye, boyaye*) **hole** | *xá-boyət xùwwe*ˡ a snake hole (A9:6); *qam-tă̆rət*ˡ *d-ó-boyət tèle*ˡ before the door of the fox's hole (A20:6); *boyət buma* Hole of the Owl (a small cave in the rock near the village of Dure); *bóyət xmàṭa*ˡ the eye of a needle (A11:12).

bra-ʾiða → *brɛθaθa*

bra-gðoða, b-ġðoða n.m. (pl. *bra-gðoðe, b-ġðoðe*) **hedgehog**

bra-qala n.m. **voice; echo**

bra-qaple n.m./f. (pl. *bra-qaple*) **baby; babe in arms**

bra-qðala n.m. (pl. *bra-qðale*) **collar; back of the neck**

bra-qənna n.m. (pl. *bra-qənne*) **egg that is placed under a chicken to stimulate it to lay more** | also *beta bra-qənna*

bra-ṣəppa n.f. (pl. *bra-ṣəppe*) **thimble**

brata n.f. (pl. *bnaθa*) **girl; daughter**

braye bar axră̆te n.pl. (K.) **half brothers**

brɛθaθa n.pl. (sing. *bra-ʾiða* f.) **gloves**

brət, bərt **son of** | Only in fixed expressions: *b-šɛna, bərt-xaθa* Welcome, son of (my) sister (A52:26); *brət ʾamti* the son of my paternal aunt, my cousin. In expressions of abuse: *kálba brət-kálba* dog son of a dog (A6:12); *kálbe bərt-kàlbe*ˡ dogs sons of dogs! (A7:15).

brika adj. (f. *brikta*, pl. *brike*) **kneeling**

brīn n.f. (pl. *brinane*) (K.) **wound** | *ʾánna ma-brinànela gu-réšux?*ˡ What wounds are these on your head? (A29:6).

brindar adj. invar. (K.) **injured** | *qəm-maxíli brìndar* They injured me; *máxyɛwən brìndar*ˡ I am injured; *Rústam píšle brìndar*ˡ Rustam was injured (A28:28).

brixa adj. (f. *brixta*, pl. *brixe*) **blessed** | *brixa!* Congratulations! (general); *brixe!* Congratulations (on your new clothes)!; *ʾéðux brìxa!* Happy festival!; *qedámtux brìxta*ˡ Good morning!; *rámša brixà-llux*ˡ Good night; *bríxta ḥammàmux*ˡ I hope you feel better after your wash; *hóya brixtà-llux*ˡ May she be blessed to you (said as a blessing on the marriage of a man) (A25:69).

briza (f. *brizta*, pl. *brize*) adj. **dry**

brona n.m. (pl. *bnone*) **son; young animal** | *brōn-màlka*ˡ the son of the king (A18:17); *lá bnòne*ˡ *ʾázze maθòye*ˡ The goats were not producing young (A38:1).

bšila adj. (f. *bšilta*, pl. *bšile*) **cooked; ripe** | *ʾənwe bšile* ripe grapes

b-šrara adj. **trustworthy** → *šrara*

b-ṭali adj. **ill** → *ṭali*

bubra n.m. (pl. *bubre*) **thorny pod** | grows on plants such as *lagna* and *ṣamərma*.

bukina n.m. (pl. *bukine*) **red anemone flower**

bulbul n.f. (pl. *bulbule, bulbulyaθa*) **nightingale** | *bulbúle jmáʾɛla l-qàle*ˡ Nightingales gather at his voice (A25:46).

bulta n.f. (pl. *bulyaθa*) **small head of millet (*prage*)**

buma n.f. (pl. *bumaθa*) **owl**

buqara n.m. (pl. *buqare*) **question**

buqta n.f. (pl. *buqyaθa*) **doll**

bura (i) n.m. (pl. *burane*) **field cultivated without irrigation** | The crops grown in such a field are said to be *dema*, e.g. *xəṭṭe dema* unirrigated wheat.

bura (ii) n.m. (pl. *burane*) **pile, mound** | *xá-burət kèpe*ˡ a pile of stones (A11:5)

buraxa n.m. (pl. *buraxe*) **blessing; wedding ceremony**

burəkθa n.f. (pl. *burkaθa*) **blessing** | After eating food a guest says to the host: *ʾálaha dére burkáθa gu-bèθux*ˡ May God bestow blessings on your house.

buri n.m. (pl. *băwari*) (A.) **metal pipe**

burj, burja n.m. (A.) **tower**

burnuṭ n.f. (K.) **snuff** | *wíðtənwalux bùrnuṭ!*ˈ I had made you (like) tobacco snuff! (A50:12).

burra n.m. (pl. *burre*) **pot for preserving yoghurt (submerged in water to keep cool) or for storing date syrup (*nepoxta*) or yeast (*xmira*)**

burrəš n.m. **dish consisting of meat and grains** | similar to *čče*, a dish of meat, millet (*prage*) and yoghurt.

busama n.m. **enjoyment** | *ʾó-məndit ʾàna xílliˈ ʾó busáma mubsámli tàmaˈ là-ʾaθi mtanóyeˈ* What I ate and the enjoyment I had there could not be related (A2:8).

buse → *base*

bustana n.m. (pl. *bustanane*) **garden, orchard**

bušala n.m. **stew**

buṭa n.m. (pl. *buṭe*) **penis**

buxara, buxɛra n.m. (A.) **steam** | *buxára máṭe l-qarùθa,ˈ páyəš ṭ́əpye ṭ́əpyeˈ* The steam becomes cool and turns into drops.

buxɛri, buxɛriya n.m. (pl. *buxɛriye*) **stove, smoke duct**

buxra n.m. (pl. *buxre*) **firstborn son** | *buxrət bɛθa* firstborn in the family

buxtən n.m. (K.) **slander, false accusation** | *dráya búxtən l-xá l-d-o-xènaˈ* (He was) slandering this one and that one (A48:5).

b-xamme adj. **worried** → *xam*

b-xaye adj. **alive** → *xaye*

byaṭa n.m. (pl. *byaṭe*) **pickaxe**

bzara n.f. (pl. *bzare, bzaraθa*) **plough** | *ʾánna bzàreˈ* these parts of the plough (A30:22)

bzúne adv. **two years ago**

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čačma n.f. (pl. *čačmaθa*) (K.) **bathroom, toilet**

čadoda n.m. (pl. *čadode*) **inviter; man who goes around villages to invite guests to a wedding** → *čyd*

čadra n.m./f. (pl. *čadre*) (K.) **tent** | made of fabric (cf. *k̂wina* bedouin tent made of goat's hair): *Səttìye*ˡ *qímtɛla čádra díya mxìθəlla*ˡ *be-pálgət ʾAmedìa*ˡ Səttiye pitched her tent in the middle of Amedia (A25:78).

čakala n.m. (pl. *čakale*) (K.) **pruning hook; tool used for pulling down fruit and nuts from trees**

čakalta n.f. (pl. *čakalyaθa*) (K.) **small pruning hook**

čakčaka n.m. **wooden wheel shaking and dispensing slowly wheat into a water-mill**

čakke (i) n.pl. (K.) **weapons** | *xoni b-šaklile čakke* The weapons suit my brother (C5:2)

čakke (ii) n.pl. (K.) **clothes and jewels of women**

čakuč n.m./f. (pl. *čakuče*) (K.) **hammer**

čakučta n.f. (pl. *čakučyaθa*) (K.) **small hammer**

čale n.f. (pl. *čalăwaθa*) (K.) **large hole in ground, pit** | *ṣléla ʾáqla díya gu-xa-čàle*ˡ Her foot went down into a hole (A10:7); *zadéle ṣàle*ˡ *gu-xa-čále gòṛta*ˡ He threw him down into a deep pit (A22:40); *ʾo-t-xápər čále ṭla-xàwre*ˡ *b-gàne ṣále gáwa*ˡ He who digs a hole for his friends will fall in it himself (D2:17).

čallaq adj. invar. (K.) **fast, agile**

čalo → *kalo*

čamča n.f. (pl. *čamče*) (K.) **spoon (made of wood); flat trowel**

čamma n.f. (pl. *čammane*) (K.) **large field near river; plantation**

čangala n.f. (K.) **fish-hook (connected to line)**

čangəl n.f. (pl. *čangale*) (K.) **fork**

čanta n.f. (pl. *čanaθa*) (K.) **shoulder bag**

čăpər n.f. (pl. *čăpɛre*) (K.) **ambush** | *ʾó-naša hóle tíwa gu-čằpər táma*ˡ That man was waiting in ambush there (A12:50).

čappa n.m. (pl. *čappe*) (K.) **bend** | *čappa l-yamne* a bend to the right; *čappa l-čappe* a bend to the left; *šaqíθa ʾi-xăðàwa*ˡ *čàppa wéwa hátxa*ˡ *lɛ́wa dórəst ràba*ˡ The stream twisted round, it was bendy like this, it was not straight (A8:13).

čappaya adj. (f. *čappɛθa*, pl. *čappaye*) **left-handed**

čappe buke (K.) **clapping hands for the bride when she is taken around the village on the back of a mule** | *máxa čáppe bùke*ˡ They clap hands for the bride (B5:38).

čappe n.f. (K.) **left (hand, side)** | *čappe ʾu-ĉure* zigzag; *ʾáyya ʾúrxa kúlla čáppe ʾu-ĉùrela*ˡ This path is very winding.

čaqmaq n.m. (pl. *čaqmaqe*) (T.) **trigger of a gun**

čara, čɛra, kʸɛr n.m. (pl. *čare, čɛre*) (K.) **solution; cure** | *qa-ṯ-oðíle xa-čàra*ˡ so that they cure him (A8:32); *xa-čára xazèna*ˡ *qa-t-ʾáyya bràti*ˡ I should find a solution for this daughter of mine (A21:2); *ʾáwəð xa-kʸɛ́r ʾəlli*ˡ (If only) he would find me a solution (A31:3).

čarək n.m. (pl. *čăwarək*) (K.) **quarter** | *ṭ!aθa čăwarək* three quarters; *sáʾət xa-w čàrək* a quarter past one; *saʾət xa-w čarək* a quarter past one; *čarək ṭ!a-ʾəṣ!ra* a quarter to ten.

čarməkθa n.f. (pl. *čarməkyaθa*) **leather strap along which the spindle (*kuša*) is run to start it spinning**

čaroxe, čeroxe n.pl. (sing. *čaroxta*) **leather boots (worn in Spring)**

čarxa n.m. (pl. *čarxe*) (K.) **circuit; circuitous route, detour** | *ʾu-zvírtɛla rēš-d-ó-ṭura rēš-d-ó-gəppa xa-čàrxa hátxa*ˡ She went round above the mountain, above the cave in a circuit, like this (A8:76); *mxélux xa-čárxa hál zíllux kəs-bàxtux*ˡ You went on a circuitous route and went to your wife (A1:23).

čarxona n.m. (pl. *čarxone*) (K.) **small turn** | *xa-čarxona črixwala* She took a short turn around (A51:12).

čawərre adv. (K.) **waiting (for arrival), expectation** | *tiwa wənwa nṭaraθa čawərrət beriyaθa* I was sitting in vigil, waiting for the milkmaids (C2:16).

čay n.f. **tea** | *méθili tre-čày!* Bring me two teas!; *čay quwya, čay ranganta, čay mare-ranga* strong tea; *čay zalalta* weak tea; *čáy léla šqílta rànga,*[1] *drí xačča-xéna rànga gáwa*[1] The tea is weak, make it a bit stronger; *čay silani* type of tea.

čayxana n.f. (pl. *čayxane, čayxanwaθa*) (K.) **teashop**

čayxanči n.m. (pl. *čayxančiye*) (K.) **teashop owner**

čeri (i) n.m. (pl. *čeriyăwaθa*) **Autumn** | *čeri qamaya* October; *čeri xaraya* November

čeri (ii) n.m. **sash** | *xa-čeri b-Surma zqira* a sash is woven by Surma (C1:19)

čeydən, čeydana n.f. (pl. *čeydane*) (K.) **large teapot**

čeypəs n.f. (pl. *čeypase*) (K.) **small teapot**

čezəkka n.m. (pl. *čezəkke*) (K.) **spark**

čəčča n.f. (pl. *čəččăwaθa*) (K.) **breast; nipple; teat (of udder)** | *rešət čəčča* nipple; *čəččət tawərta* teat of a cow; *čəččət naθa* lobe of the ear; *čəččət balota* tonsil

čəġa n.m. (K.) **type of bird**

čəkka n.m (pl. *čəkke*) (K.) **joint (of bones); ankle bone** | *yále zóre mṭawóle b-čəkke* The young children were playing with ankle bones (of sheep and goats) (A25:87).

čəkkalle n.pl. (sing. *čəkkalta* f.) (K.) **slippers**

čəklete n.pl. **chocolates**

čəldevana n.m. (K.) **trigger in the trap known as *ṯăpəkke, ṯăpəkθa***

čələkka n.m. (pl. *čələkke*) (K.) **small leaf stem; small twig**

čəlləkθa n.f. (pl. *čəlləkyaθa*) (K.) **earthenware pot (for milk or yoghurt)** | *xmaθa l-yaṣila zinta. čəlləkθa m-ʾiða šqilta.* The mother-in-law is standing by the corner. The pot (representing the household duties of the new bride) has been taken from her hand. (C1:10)

čəlloxe n.pl. (sing. *čəlloxta*) **crispy pieces of baked bread remaining on the wall of the oven**

čəlluri n.f. (pl. *čəlluriyaθa*) **small lizard**

čəngərra n.m. (pl. *čəngərre*) (K.) **piece of fabric**

čəngərta n.f. (pl. *čəngəryaθa*) (K.) **small piece of fabric (put on mouth of pot containing *jajək*)** (B14:1)

čərək, čŭruk interj. **bang, twang** | *dáryəlla xá čərək ʾu-màxyəlla*ˡ He shot one, twang, and hit it (A12:32); *har-wáða čŭruk*ˡ *lan-mràʾa*ˡ *čú-mdi lèle-θaya bíyi*ˡ It (the gun) just makes a bang, but I am not hurt, nothing happens to me (B9:18).

čərkənna (i) n.m. (pl. *čərkənne*) **kernel (of an onion)** | *čərkənnət bəṣla* kernel of an onion

čərkənna (ii) n.m. **type of small sparrow (*čučəkka*)**

čiče n.pl. **dish made from meat, millet and yoghurt**

čima → *kima*

čimanto n.f. **cement**

čiqa n.m. **thick cane; bamboo**

čiqəlka n.m. (pl. *čiqəlke*) **young cock**

čira adj. (f. *čirta*, pl. *čire*) **annoyed** | *ṣlele m-ərzala čira* He got out of bed in a temper (C2:38).

čita n.m. (pl. *čite*) (K.) **type of embroidered fabric**

čiya adj. (f. *čiθa*, pl. *čiye*) **tired**

čol n.f. (K.) **countryside, unsown land** | *plíṭɛle gu-čôl*ˡ He went out into the countryside (A8:90).

ču part. **not any** (K.) (§14.9.17.) | Negative determiner of a nominal: *ʾu-ṭlálux lan-šwíqa čù-məndi*ˡ and for you I shall not leave anything (A2:11); *čù pəlxána la-pálxət ʾáti*ˡ You shall do no work (A23:32); *hon-dáḕ ryəlle gu-xa-čále ʾamúqta lá-ʾaməṣ čù-ga čú-ga palət̩*ˡ I have put him in a deep hole and he will never be able to come out (A22:41); *la-har-čŭ-dúkθa lìθwa*ˡ She was nowhere at all (to be found) (A27:26).

čučəkka n.m., *čučəkθa* n.f. (pl. *čučəkke*) **sparrow** | *xá čučəkka gu-ʾíða biš-spáyile mən-ʾəṣra gu-ʾilàna*ˡ One sparrow in the hand is better than ten in the tree (D2:50).

čuka n.m. (pl. *čuke*) **chick** | *čukət qəqwanta* the chick of a partridge

čukta n.f. (pl. *čukyaθa*) **young chicken**

čulla n.m. (pl. *čulle*) (K.) **large broad mountain peak**

čullənta n.m. (pl. *čullənyaθa*) (K.) **small sharp mountain peak**

čura, čurra n.m. (pl. *čurre*) (K.) **angora goat** | with long, silky hair known as *marrəs*; also known as *čurrət marrəs* or *ʾərwət marrəs*.

čurrəkθa n.f. (pl. *čurrəkyaθa*) (K.) **female angora goat** | *čurrəkθət marrəs* female long haired angora goat

čŭrup interj. **thud** | *ṣályɛle čŭrupˈ* He came down, thud (A8:40).

čuxa n.f. (K.) **broadcloth, thick woolen fabric** | A coat from this material was worn by men in winter to protect their back when carrying loads and to protect their body from knife wounds when engaging in warfare. The material was also used for the cloth that was put on the back of a mule (*qurṭana*).

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č̣ənnara n.m. (pl. *č̣ənnare*) (K.) **yoyo**

č̣ənnəkɛr-, č̣ənnəkar- prep. (K.) (with pronominal suffixes: *č̣ənnəkɛre*) **around** | *θáyɛle xðárɛle č̣ənnəkérə d-an-nàšeˈ* He comes and rides around those people (A12:5); *xăðíle č̣ənnəkére díye gàddaˈ* They wind a thread around it (B11:18); *zadáwale kúlla m-gàreˈ č̣ənnəkérət swànaˈ l-yámne čàppeˈ* They would throw it all from the roof, around the eves, on the right and on the left (B5:195); *ma-t-wéwa ʾáθye nàšeˈ č̣ənnəkérət Mšîxaˈ… Mar-Yuḥánna lá-mṣele kút-xa dréle qáwət míya b-rèšeˈ* So many people came around Christ… that Saint John could not put a scoop of water over everybody (B6:10).

č̣uč̣ana n.m. (pl. *č̣uč̣ane*) **magpie** | *makrəb č̣uč̣ane* n.f. late snow falling at the beginning of the month of March (literally: the one that angers the magpies)

č̣ure | *čappe ʾu-č̣ure* **zigzag** | *ʾáyya ʾúrxa kúlla čáppe ʾu-č̣ùrelaˈ* This path is very winding.

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ǰanga n.m. (pl. *ǰange*) (K.) **leather gloves used to grasp thorny plants when harvesting**

ǰaplapəske n.f. **type of stew**

ǰaple n.f. **left (hand, side)** | *ʾan-ṯ̂-íla ʾíða ǰàple*ˡ *ʾíla ba-ròža*ˡ The ones (mountains) on the left are (known as) *ba-rožа* (in the sun) (B3:1).

ǰapola n.m. (pl. *ǰapole*) **slap**

ǰappe n.pl. **applause** | *mxaya ǰappe* to clap hands in applause

ǰara n.m. (pl. *ǰare*) (K.) **type of black bird**

ǰena n.f. (pl. *ǰene*) **mosquito**

ǰəlməsta n.f. (pl. *ǰəlməsyaθa*) **small louse**

ǰəmma (i) n.m. (pl. *ǰəmmame*) (K.) **cloven hoof (of animal)**

ǰəmma (ii) n.m. (pl. *ǰəmme*) (Ṭiy.) **small amount** | *banəx kanune ǰəmme ǰəmme* Let us build stoves (with) a little (fire) (C1:5).

ǰəǰ̣ǰa n.m. (pl. *ǰəǰ̣ǰe*) (K.) **shoulder-blade**

ǰ̣ita n.f. **butter made from yoghurt**

ǰ̣uwa adj. (f. *ǰ̣uta*, pl. *ǰ̣uwe*) **smooth** | *tuθa ǰ̣uwa* mulberry tree with smooth bark

ǰ̣uwana adj. (f. *ǰ̣uwanta*, pl. *ǰ̣uwane*) **smooth** | *xa-kepa ǰ̣uwana* a smooth stone

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D part. (realized phonetically as *d, t, ṯ̂* §4.4., §10.16.) **subordinating particle.** (1) **annexation particle introducing nominal complements of nominals** | *brónət màlka* the son of the king (A32:21); *ṭəppəryáθət heywàne*ˡ the claws of animals (A19:2); *málka d-áyya bàžər* the king of this town (A32:5); *béθa d-àw* the house of that one (A8:24); *ʾan-ʾárwe d-ènila*?ˡ Whose sheep are those (A32:16); *diy-* when combined with pronominal suffixes: *bábe díye* his father (A32:31); *gu-máθa dìyən*ˡ in our village (B2:6); predicative: *ʾáwwa béθa dìyəxile bráti*?ˡ Is this house

yours, my daughter? (A40:13) (2) **relative particle introducing clausal complements of nominals** | *ʾan-suráye t-wáwa gu-Tùrkiya*ˡ *zílla l-ʾÌrən*ˡ The Christians who were in Turkey went to Iran (B2:8); *ʾu-ʾup-báxte dìye*ˡ *ṯ-íle gwìrəlla*ˡ *rába hawnàntɛla*ˡ Also his wife, whom he had married, was very clever (A17:21); *ʾé-šetət méθi qəm-yawálla xa-bróna zòra*ˡ In the year they would die he gave them a small son (A4:57); *ʾo-ṯ-íle wíra ʾáw xaràmɛle*ˡ The one who has entered is cursed (A23:27). (3) **introducing nominal and clausal complements of adverbs and prepositions** | *dáx páyəš málka šáwpət bròni?*ˡ How will he become king in place of my son? (A8:4); *qámət gàppa*ˡ in front of the cave (A12:7); *ʾax-d-àwwa*ˡ like him (A26:34); *báθər d-è-maθa*ˡ behind that village (A24:30); *bēl-d-áyya l-d-àyya*ˡ between this and that (B5:115); *máṯye l-d-o-nèra*ˡ They arrived at that river (A14:58); *diy-* when combined with pronominal suffixes | *ʾax-díye* like him (A4:3); *bíye díye* with him (A14:8); *ʧ̂ənnəḵ́ére díye* around him (A8:71); clausal complements: *méθən ʾax-ṯ-ila-ʾànna míθe*ˡ I shall die like these people have died (A14:73); *qam-ṯ-àθi*ˡ *mpáləṯle mən-hàbsa*ˡ Before they return, release him from prison (A26:72); *m-bár t-y-óði núra gàwe,*ˡ *xáyəm ràba*ˡ After they put fire in it, it heats up a lot (B6:48). (4) **introducing clausal complements of verbs** | *ʾánna yắði ṯ-íle duglàna*ˡ They know that he is a liar (A48:3); *bắyən ṯ-àzən*ˡ I want to go (A8:65); *máṣəx ṯ-àmrəx*ˡ We can say (B4:3). (5) **introducing clausal complements of clauses** | normally expressing purpose: *ʾána paqðənnɛxu*ˡ *ṯ-azítu b-ʾúrxa maṭítu ʾəlla*ˡ I shall instruct you so that you go on the road and reach her (A8:27). → *t-la*

dăbanja n.f. (pl. *dăbanje*) (K.) **pistol**

dabaša n.m. (pl. *dabaše*) **bee** | *ʾíθwa gu-máθa doqíwa dabàše*ˡ *ṭla-dùša*ˡ Some people in the village used to keep bees for honey (B5:176).

dabašta n.f. (pl. *dabašyaθa*) **beehive; family of bees within a hive** | *l-Yawsəp zwinta b-dabašta* It has been bought by Yawsəp for a beehive (B8:29). A swarm of bees that leaves the hive is known as a *šəlxa*.

ḍabəṭ, ðabəṭ n.m. (pl. *ḍubbāṭ, ðubbāt*) (A.) **army officer**

dabra n.m. **supplies, sustenance** | *dabrət bɛθa* household supplies

dabuqana n.m. **parasitic plant growing in trees, from which a gluey substance is extracted to produce birdlime; birdlime extracted from this plant**

dabušana n.m. **glue**. adj. **sticky**

dada (ʾƐn-Nune), *deda* (Dure) n.f. **sister or wife of an uncle (paternal or maternal)**

dagala n.m./adj. (pl. *dagale*) **liar**

dahlīz n.m. (pl. *dahlize*) (A.) **corridor**

dala n.m. (pl. *dale*) **thicket, undergrowth**

dalila adj. (f. *dalilta*, pl. *dalile*) **thinly distributed with spaces in between** | *gəllále gu-məššára dalìlela,*ˡ *léla ʾamùre*ˡ The weeds in the rice paddy-field are thinly spaced, they are not densely spaced; *ṭəlla dalilta* light shade (with some sun shining through); *káwsi píšle dalìla*ˡ My hair has become thin.

daliθa n.f. (pl. *dalyaθa*) **vine** | *ṭarpət daliθa* vine-leaves; *xa-dalíθət xùwwe*ˡ wild vine (without fruit) (A26:91)

dalopa n.m. (pl. *dalope*) **drip (leaking from roof); drizzle** | *qa-t-dalòpe*ˡ *la-ṣálɛ b-sətwa*ˡ so that leaking drops did not seep through in the winter (B5:146); *ʾəθyewəx kope kope qam-məṭra ʾu-qam dalope* We have come bending down in rain and drizzle (C1:14).

dalupta n.f. (pl. *dalupyaθa*) **small drip (leaking from roof)**

dalya n.m. (pl. *dalye*) **tendril of a vine** | *dálya dáwəq gújmət ʾənwe*ˡ A tendril bears bunches of grapes.

dama n.m. **backgammon** | *mṭáləx dàma*ˡ Let us play backgammon; *kepət dama* backgammon counter

dambus n.f. **type of herb resembling tail of horse**

dambusta n.f. (pl. *dambusyaθa*) **small tail**

dana n.f. (pl. *danane, danaθa*) **time; point in time; period of time** | *mṭíθɛla dane-dìye*ˡ *wírre kəs-màlka*ˡ His time came and he entered into the presence of the king (A1:14); *dān-dìye*ˡ *ṭla-pàya*ˡ It (the dough) is ready for baking (B5:16); *dánɛla qarə́nna qálət ṭḷàθa*ˡ It is time for me to call the third cry (A8:59); *xá-saʾət qam-dàna*ˡ an hour beforehand (B5:119); *kəmà-dana péšət?* How long will you stay? *xálya ʾi-mjămə́xwa ràba,*ˡ *ʾárba dàne*ˡ We would collect a lot of milk, four times (B10:21); *har-dána b-danà y-oðíwala*ˡ They would make it from time to time (B10:22); *har-d-ɛ-dána* at that time (B15:64). Before a clause: *mən-d-*

*é-danət brèla*ˈ *hál d-ɛ-dánət mṭéla l-yàla,*ˈ *wéla bxàya*ˈ From the time she was born she started weeping, (and continued) until the time that she came to the boy (A25:4); *ʾɛ-dánə ṯ-ìla ríše,*ˈ… *ʾáwwa məskéna ràba pšímle*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáy mšuyðənna*ˈ When they woke up… he, poor man, became very sad and she became mad (A4:5).

danbus n.m. (pl. *danbuse*) (A.) **pin**

danθa n.f. (pl. *danyaθa*) **water jar** | The water contained in such jars was kept cool by wrapping them in wet grass. These were used in Dure, which did not have water springs inside the village.

danwa n.m. (pl. *danwe*) **tail**

dapa n.m. (pl. *dape*) **wooden board, plank; wooden beam used on a loom (*xanuθa*) for keeping the strands tight**

daprana n.m. (pl. *daprane*) **juniper bush, juniper shoot**

dapranta n.f. (pl. *dapranyaθa*) **small juniper tree**

dapθa n.f. (pl. *dapyaθa*) **small wooden board, strip; one of two leaves of a trap door in a partridge trap (*suta*)**

daqiqa adj. (f. *daqiqta*, pl. *daqiqe*) **fine; tiny** | *qamxa daqiqa* finely ground flour; *ṭmírtɛla ða-dúkθa daqìqta*ˈ She is buried in a tiny place (A38:10).

daqra n.m. (pl. *daqre*) **long pole**

daṛa n.m. (pl. *daṛe*) **generation; century** | *dáṛət xámša Már-Gwirgis píšele bànya*ˈ (The church of) Mar Gwirgis was built in the fifth century (B1:6).

dăraj n.m. (A.) **degree** | *dắraj ḥărára díye* its degree of heat, its temperature (B6:37)

dăraje n.f. (pl. *dăraǰyaθa, dărayəǰ*) **flight of steps, staircase** | *xa xalqa mən-dăraje* one step of a flight of steps.

dărava n.m. (pl. *dărave*) (K.) **mud dam used to direct irrigation water in a field**

daraya n.m. (pl. *daraye*) **shooter** | *b-tope kəmɛwa daraya!* What a skilled shooter he was! (C7:9)

darba n.m. (pl. *darbe*) (K./A.) **blow (of weapon)** | *la-máxəx tre-dàrbe*ˈ We do not strike two blows (A50:14) → *zarba*

darda n.f. (K.) **suffering, illness** | *ʾàna*ˈ *dárdi léla d-ày̆ya.*ˈ *dárdi ʾíla t-ʾá-t gu-panjarìye.*ˈ My suffering is not from this (game), my suffering is from that one at the window (A26:66).

darga n.m. (pl. *darge*) (K.) **main door (with two leaves)** | Only built in large houses (*qaṣre*); *ʾaqli l-darga maxyanna* I shall kick the door (C1:15).

dargušta n.f. (pl. *dargušyaθa*) (Urm.) **cradle**

darjăma n.f. (pl. *darjăme*) (K.) **screen behind which hunters (shooting birds) hide**

daṛmana n.f. (pl. *daṛmane, daṛmanane*) (K.) **drug, medicine; chemical; polish (for shoes); gunpowder; substance** | *hàtxa wídlən bíye,*ˈ *daṛmána dìyela*ˈ We have done such-and-such to him, its his comeuppance (A7:20); *máxewa daṛmàna*ˈ *l-ṣàwle*ˈ He used used to polish shoes (A16:1); *mattíwa daṛmàna*ˈ They would plant gunpowder (B5:179); *qrámtət šə́rma daṛmánət bušàla*ˈ The cover of the buttocks is the substance of the stew (i.e. the fat of the sheep's tail) (D1:13).

darpoše n.f. (pl. *darpošyaθa*) (K.) **pan for cooking**

darqūl prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *darqule*) **against** | *dárqūl d-a-məndìla*ˈ They are against that thing (A12:55); *xákma dwáqa xáṣe dìye*ˈ *ʾu-xákma darqúle dìye*ˈ Some supported him and others were against him (A7:20).

dars n.m. (A.) **lesson**

darta, dɛ̀rta n.f. (pl. *daryaθa*) **courtyard, residential enclosure; halo.** (1) **courtyard, residential enclosure** | *šqílalla ṭása b-lɛ̀le*ˈ *ʾu-núbləlla zə́dyəlla gu-ða-dɛ̀rta*ˈ They took the bowl in the night, took it away and threw it into a house enclosure (A15:12); *dártət ʾùmra*ˈ the churchyard (B1:12). (2) **halo** *dartət yoma* halo around the sun; *dárta l-yòma,*ˈ *ʾə́rwe gu-gòma.*ˈ *dárta l-sèra,*ˈ *ʾə́rwe l-ṭɛ̀ra.*ˈ If the sun has a halo, the sheep will be in the basement stable. If the moon has a halo, the sheep will be in the noon sun (D2:15).

dartət yoma, dart yoma adv. **next day** | *dártət-yoma zílla wídla hàdəx*ˈ The next day she went and did the same (A18:3).

darya n.m. (K.) **large number** | *xa-dárya nàše*ˈ many people (B5:135); *ʾu-ʾíθwa náše xa-dàrya*ˈ There were many people (B5:178).

darza n.m. (pl. *darze*) (K.) **large tied bundle of grass or produce** | cf. *ṭaxa* untied bundle

dasiya n.m. (pl. *dasiye*) (K.) **awn, hair of head of corn**

dasta n.f. (pl. *dastaθa*) (K.) **bunch, handful** | *dastət warde* a bunch of flowers; *xa dastət xəṭṭe* a bunch of wheat

daždaše n.pl. **long loose clothes (worn by men)**

dašta n.f. (pl. *daštaθa*) (K.) **plain; level ground** | *wíðəlwala ʾǎra dàšta*ˈ *ʾu-maṣíwa náše doqíwa ṭḷà*ˈ *ʾarbà-reze xá-xa-gaye*ˈ They had made the ground level and the people could form three or four rows at once (B15:79).

daštaya n.m./adj. (pl. *daštaye*) **dweller on the plain**

dăvăqa n.m. (pl. *dăvăqe*) (K.) **bite (from an animal)** | *kawə́dna mxéle dăvắqe bìyi*ˈ The mule bit me.

dawa n.m. (pl. *dawe*) **gold; gold coin** | *ṭéni kúlla ʾíwa mən-dàwa*ˈ My load all consisted of gold (A7:11); *ya-ʾàlaha,*ˈ *yawətli*ˈ *ʾámma dàwe*ˈ Oh God, give me a hundred gold pieces (A6:1); *ʾána xmáθi xá-dawa zǎ́ra muttɛ́θəlli gu-ʾíðət xóni ʾIshəq*ˈ My mother-in-law put a yellow gold coin for me in the hand of my brother Ishəq (B8:35).

dawba n.m. **pure liquid honey (without pieces of honeycomb)** | also *dawbət duša*

dawɛra, dawara n.m./f. (pl. *dawɛre*) **mule** | generic term used to refer to both male and female → *kawədna* (m.), *koðənta* (f.)

dawha n.m. **gold**

dawke | *k̂otəl dawke* n.m. (pl. *k̂otəl dawke*) (K.) **pasty with yoghurt** (B7:23)

dawla n.m. (pl. *dawle*) **drum**. (1) **drum (musical instrument)** | *dawla-w zorna* drum and pipe; *músqəlle dáwla-w zòrna-w*ˈ *hósa ʾu-gargàrta*ˈ They brought him up (with) drum and pipe, and with clamour and shouting (A4:25); *sabóti mubèla,*ˈ *píšla dàwla*ˈ My finger has swolen as large as a drum. (2) **drum containing the wheat at the top of a water-mill** | open box with a hole in the bottom through which wheat comes out onto the grindstone (B6:54).

dawlači n.m. (pl. *dawlačiye*) **drummer**

dawlatmand n.m./adj. (pl. *dawlatmande*) (Urm.) **rich**

dawqana n.m. (*dawqane*) **setter of bones**

dawra n.m. (pl. *dawre*) (1) **wooden door bolt.** (2) **turn (in a game)** | *ʾap-ʾáwwa pàrəq*ˈ *dáwre dìye*ˈ Also his turn is over (B11:8).

dawrane n.pl. **gums** | *dawranət kake* gums of the teeth; *dawrane ḷaye* the upper gums; *dawrane xtaye* the lower gums

dawsa n.m. (pl. *dawse*) **footprint** | *xzéli dáwsət déwa gu-tàlga*ˈ I saw the footprints of a wolf in the snow.

dawwe n.pl. **yoghurt mixed with water**

dax, daxi part., prep. **how? how could it be? like, just as; when** | (1) **how?** | *dáx ʾúrxa muxzélux ʾálla lípla ʾàwwa šúla?*ˈ How did you show her the way to learn this work? (A21:34); *dàx-it?*ˈ How are you? (A22:16); *hà bráti,*ˈ *dàx-it,*ˈ *dàx-lɛt?*ˈ My daughter, how are you? (said after long absence) (A21:27); *dàxi?*ˈ How (could this be)? (A25:69); *dàx-it mára?*ˈ What are you saying? (A7:14). (2) **how could it be?** | *nàša*ˈ *dàx la-pălánna?*ˈ Man, how could it be that I shall not divide them? (A1:13); *mára dàxi?*ˈ He said 'How could that be?' (3) **like, as** | Before clause or noun (with pronominal suffixes: *daxwaθe*): *dáx ṯ̂-in-muθéθəlla ʾa-béna xèta,*ˈ *ʾay-béna ʾàna maθyánna*ˈ Just as I brought her before, so this time I shall bring her (A27:30); *dax-ṯ̂-úwət ʾáti hátxa mṣuqàlta,*ˈ *ʾap-ʾáw daxwàθax-ile*ˈ Just as you are pretty, so he is like you (A8:67); *qa-t-là-hawe sérga spáy dax-d-áw*ˈ so that there will not be another saddle as fine as it (A8:37). (4) **when** | *dax-ṯ̂-ile xázyəlla θàya,*ˈ *hádəx ṣràxa-w*ˈ *xumθàne,*ˈ *Čúxo rìqɛle,*ˈ *plíṭɛle gu-màθa*ˈ When he saw them coming, shouting and angry, Čuxo ran out into the village (A7:16). (5) Idioms: *dàx lítlux xáṭər*ˈ By all means (I'll do as you say) (A21:11).

daxla n.m. (pl. *daxle*) (K./A.) **corn plant** | e.g. wheat (*xəṭṭe*), millet (*prage*), barley (*saṛe*), sesame (*šišme*)

dayəman, daʾəman adv. (A.) **always**

dbiša adj. (f. *dbišta*, pl. *dbiše*) **stuck (together)**

deda → *dada*

dekonta n.f. (K.) **little mother** | *t-la-maxyáli dekònti*ˈ lest my mummy beat me (A34:3).

dēn, demi, dema adj. invar. **unirrigated** | *zruta dēm* unirrigated cultivation, *xaṭṭe dema* unirrigated wheat (as opposed to *ʾavi* irrigated).

dena → *dɛna*

deráb interj. **woosh! (sound of sudden movement)**

derubər n.m. (pl. *derubɛre*) **wood, forest; vegetation** | *ʾán dɛrubɛ́re šuréla xá-bena xèta*ˡ The vegetation began again (to sing) (A51:10).

deθa n.f. (1) **sweat.** (2) **resin, gum formed from the sap of the *qaqna* plant** | This is softened in water then chewed; *deθət qərda* curative ointment produced from the black resin of the tragacanth shrub (*qərda*)

dewa n.m. (pl. *dewe*) **wolf**

dewərriš n.m. **vagabond**

dewta n.f. (pl. *dewyaθa*) **female wolf**

dɛda n.f. (pl. *dɛdaθa*) **hawk**

dɛna, dena n.m. (pl. *dɛne, dene*) **debt** | *yáwən dèni*ˡ I shall pay off my debts (A1:8); *zílli hiwíli dèni*ˡ I went and paid off my debts (A1:11); *tálga l-ṭùre*ˡ *ʾu-dɛ́na l-gùre*ˡ As snow is to mountains, so a debt is to men (D2:25).

dɛnana, danana, denana adj. (f. *dɛnanta*, pl. *dɛnane*) **owing a debt** | *yɑ̆́ðət b-gànux*ˡ *ʾìqənwa,*ˡ *danànənwa*ˡ You know, by your soul, I was in trouble. I was in debt (A1:10); *šmáyya ʾíla denánta ṭla-ʾɑ̆́ra tə́rte qərṭále t-ʾə̀pra*ˡ Heaven owes the Earth two baskets of dust (D1:9)

dɛra n.m. (pl. *dɛre*) **monastery**

dɛrweša n.m. (pl. *dɛrweše*) **vagabond**

də-, de- part. **particle expressing prominence** (§15.1.5.2., §15.7.) | (1) With imperatives and deontic verbs: *də-mjɑ̆́mə́xlən jarrèta*ˡ Let's put together a food-box for ourselves (A30:41); *də-šqúl ʾanna-zùze!*ˡ Take these coins! (A1:27); *de-ʾə̀dyo,*ˡ *qu-pégən kàde*ˡ Today, get up and bake *kade* cakes (A30:41); *ʾána də-ṯ̂-amrə́nnox ʾó-mdi-t taxrə̀nne*ˡ I shall tell you what I remember (B15:1). (2) In deontic questions: *de-maxə̀xle?*ˡ Should we beat him? (A14:8); *de-mà̀ṭo hóya?*ˡ How could that be? (A30:21). (3) With perfective verbs at boundaries and prominent points in narrative: *de-píšla ʾáp-ay báxtə d-àwwa dewə̀rrəš*ˡ Now, she became the wife of that vagabond (A12:38); *de-qíma mtúnyəlla qəṣṣə́tte kúlla ṭla-d-o-sàwa*ˡ

Now, he told all his story to the old man (A14:76); *ʾu-de-b-lèlela,*ˈ *zílɛle zílɛle* Now, while it was night, he went off (A22:38).

dəbba n.f. (pl. *dəbbe, dəbbaθa*) **bear; the constellation 'The Great Bear'**

dəbbora n.m. (pl. *dəbbore*) **hornet**

dəbboriθa n.f. **swarm of hornets**

dəbburta n.f. (pl. *dəbburyaθa*) **horsefly**

dəgdin n.m. (pl. *dəgdine*) **metal frame for cooking over a fire (with three legs); the three stars of the constellation Orion**

dəkkana n.f. (pl. *dəkkane, dəkkanane*) (K./A.) **shop**

dəkkanči n.m. (pl. *dəkkančiye*) (K./A.) **shopkeeper**

dəlba n.m. (pl. *dəlbe*) **plane tree**

dəmma n.m. **blood** | *ʾáwwa dámma mattùle*ˈ He sheds this blood (A11:20); *ʾáni zúzət bábe dìye,*ˈ *dəmmɛ́la*ˈ This is the money of his father, it is his blood (money) (A15:16).

dəmmana adj. (f. *dəmmanta*, pl. *dəmmane*) **bloody**

dəmme n.pl. (sing. *dəmmiθa*) **tears** | *dámmət ʾɛ̀na*ˈ the tears of her eyes (A34:5); *xa ṭəppət dəmma* a tear drop

dəndəkθa n.f., *dəndəkka* n.m. (pl. *dəndəkke, dəndəkyaθa*) **grain, small amount** | *xa dəndəkθət xaṭṭe* a grain of wheat; *xa dəndəkθət ṭlawxe* a single red lentil; *ʾaṗ-dəndə́kka baṣòra*ˈ just a tiny amount (A18:27); *lɛn-zdáʾa ʾaṗ-dəndəkθa*ˈ I am not afraid even a little (B9:17).

dənnəqθa → *dəqqənθa*

dəpna n.m. (pl. *dəpne*) (Urm.) **side** | *qáyəθ b-o-ṯ-íle dəpne*ˈ He knocked into the one next to him (A22:34)

Dəqlət n.m. **Tigris**

dəqna n.m. **beard** | *mṭéle xa-náša sàwa,*ˈ *dəqne*ˈ *hal-ʾǎra*ˈ *màṭya*ˈ He came upon an old man, whose beard reached the ground (A24:7); *dəqnət Nisan* the beard of Nisan, a custom whereby on the first day of Nisan (April) a woman pulls up a plant with mud on its roots and sticks it to the roof of the house.

dəqqənθa, dənnəqθa n.f. (pl. *dəqqənyaθa*) **chin**

dəqša n.m. (pl. *dəqše*) **butt, blow** | *táwra qəm-gamášle b-dəqše*ˡ The ox gored him with butts.

dərədya n.m. (pl. *dərədye*) **pile of snow that has fallen from a roof**

dərvana n.m. (pl. *dərvane*) (K.) **frying-pan**

dəsqa n.m. (pl. *dəsqe*) (K.) (1) **handle of a tool**. (2) **stem of fruit**

dəxya adj. (f. *dxiθa*, pl. *dəxye*) **pure (spiritually)** | *ləbba dəxya* a pure heart

dəžmən n.m. (pl. *dəžmánne*) (K.) **enemy** | *lišána dážmən gàna*ˡ The tongue is its own enemy (D2:32); *qáṭu-w ʾaqúbra dážmən t-ǧðàðela*ˡ A cat and a mouse are mutual enemies (A44:1).

dəžmənayuθa n.f. **enmity, hostility** | *ʾána béni ʾu-bénux dužmənayùθɛla*ˡ We are enemies.

didwa n.m. (pl. *didwe, didwane*) **fly** | *ʾáyya dúkθa máre didwànela*ˡ This place is full of flies.

didwana adj. (f. *didwanta*, pl. *didwane*) **full of flies** | *ʾáyya dúkθa didwàntɛla*ˡ This place is full of flies

diga n.m. (pl. *dige*) **cock** | *qám t-qáre ʾax-dìga*ˡ before it calls like a cock (A24:16)

dīn n.m. (A.) **religion**

dinamet n.m. (E.) **dynamite**

dipa adj. (f. *dipta*, pl. *dipe*) **bent**

diwən n.m./f. (pl. *diwane*) (K.) **gathering of people; reception; audience chamber; traditional song sung by men (usually at a wedding)** | *díwən dwìqtɛla* a gathering is being held

diwənxana n.f. (K.) **reception room**

diy- part. **independent genitive particle** (§7.3., §14.5.2.) → *D*

diya → *hadiya*

diyana n.f. (A.) **religion**

diyara n.pl. **houses** (A.) | *xrīw-diyára twirílux bzàre!*ˡˡ You scoundrel (literally: one whose houses are destroyed, i.e. may you have your houses destroyed), you have broken the parts of the plough!

diyopa n.m. (pl. *diyope*) **pleat**

dmixa adj. (f. *dmixta*, pl. *dmixe*) **asleep**

dohuknaya n.m./adj. (pl. *dohuknaye*) **man from Dohuk**

dola n.m. (pl. *dole*) (K.) **mountain pass**

dolma n.f. (pl. *dolme*) (T.) **dish of stuffed vine leaves; a stuffed vine leaf**

dona n.m. **animal fat, animal oil**

donana adj. (f. *donanta*, pl. *donane*) **fatty**

dormadār adv. (K.) **around** | *dormadā́r kúlla berəšyàθa*ˈ All around there were cushions (B10:80)

dorta n.f. (pl. *doryaθa*) **round, cycle** | *ʾáwwəl dórta* the first round (of sieving) (B10:13)

dost n.m. (pl. *doste*) (K.) **friend, mate** | *hà dostí!*ˈ Hey, my friend! (A1:18)

dostuθa n.f. **friendship**

doša n.m. (pl. *doše*) **balcony, low structure attached to outside of house for people to sit on; seats inside a booth (*quprana*)** | generally used in the plural form *doše*.

došăka, došakka n.m. (pl. *došăke, došakke*) (K.) **mattress**

došəkθa n.f. (pl. *došəkyaθa*) (K.) **cushion**

drana n.m. (pl. *dranane*) **lower arm** | cf. *ruša* upper arm, arm in general

drangaya adj. (f. *drangɛθa*, pl. *drangaye*) (K.) **late** | *ʾána drangàyɛwənˈ* I am late.

draya n.m. (pl. *draye*) **arm, cubit** | *ʾarbí dráye pàrčaˈ* forty yards of material (A28:10); *kul səmbəlti xa draya* Each (side) of my moustache is a cubit (A51:5)

drəst adj. (invar.) (K.) **straight; right, correct** | *ʾo-tắra drə̀st-ile,ˈ lɛ́le pčîlaˈ* The door is straight, it is not crooked (A17:20); *xelápa drə̀st-ileˈ* The willow is straight; *drə̀st-ila qə́ṣṣətˈ* The story is true (A4:23); *ʾəmma gắrəg háwa drə́stˈ* They must be exactly a hundred (A6:1).

dudəkθa n.f. (pl. *dudəkyaθa*) (K.) **pipe (musical instrument)**

dudiya n.f. (pl. *dudiyaθa*) (K.) **cradle** | *bríxta dudíya ṯ-iwət ʾáti qíma gàwa!*ˡ Blessed be the cradle in which you grew up! (A21:41)

dudu n.f. **type of game** (B11:29)

dugla n.m. (pl. *dugle*) **lie, falsehood; fiction**

duglana n.m./adj. (pl. *duglane*) **liar** | *rába rába duglàna-wewa*ˡ He was a great liar (A48:1); *ʾáti duglàntət*ˡ You (fs.) are a liar (A25:20).

duka → *dukθa*

dukθa, duka (§10.9.) n.f. (pl. *dukane*) **place, space.** (1) **place** | *mattíwala xa-dúkθa šaxìnta*ˡ They would place them in a warm place (B5:12); *bás šoqíwa dúkθət pálәṭwa tànna*ˡ They only left a place for the smoke to come out (B10:65); *ʾáni kút-xa b-ða-dùka*ˡ each had its place (B10:53); *kú-dukə ṯ-íla mεθàtlali.*ˡ Bring her to me wherever she is (A4:8); *mšáxəlpu dukàne*ˡ Change places (A26:65). (2) **space** | *xa-dúkθət gáldət tàwrən híwəlle báne bέθa*ˡ I have given him the space of an ox skin to build a house (A11:15); *ʾíθwa dúkθa ta-t-kalèwa*ˡ There was space for him to stand (A22:30) (B5:66). (3) Idiom: *y-azíwa mšamšíwa bεθ-qòra,*ˡ *rə́ḥqa mən-an-dukàne*ˡ They would hold a ceremony in the cemetery—may (death) be far from these places! (formula used when referring to a cemetery or death) (B10:3).

dulāb n.m. (pl. *dăwalīb*) (A.) **wardrobe**

dulaba n.m. (pl. *dulabe*) (K./A.) **wheel of water-mill**

dulabča n.m. (pl. *dulabče*) (K.) **small cupboard**

duna n.m. (pl. *dune*) **pen for sheltering sheep and goats in winter**

dunye n.f. **world, weather.** (K./A.) (1) **world** | *ʾáwwa plíṭεle gu-ða-dúnye xèta*ˡ He came out into another world (A14:26); *ʾálaha yállux b-àyya dúnye*ˡ *ʾu-b-ε-xèta*ˡ May God grant you (bounty) in this world and the next (A21:44). (2) **weather** | *dúnye hóla ràya*ˡ It is rainy; *dúnye hóla ʾεwànta*ˡ It is cloudy; *dúnye hóla mgargòme*ˡ It is thundering; *dúnye prèla*ˡ It became light. (3) Idioms: *ʾáy šaqíθa bṯ-áza bṯ-áza nabláley ðá-gotət dùnye*ˡ The stream will flow along and take them somewhere (A8:11); *har-máxəx b-dùnye*ˡ Let's go just go away (A30:41); *dùnye qəm-čεdíla*ˡ They invited many people (A12:23); *šúprə dúnye hóle ʾəlla-dìya*ˡ She was of a unique beauty (A13:11); *šqéle b-dùnye*ˡ He ran off aimlessly; *dùnyela!*ˡ That is life! (A40:13).

dūrbīn n.f. (K.) **binoculars**

durnaya n.m./adj. (pl. *durnaye*) **man from Dure**

dūs adj. (invar.) (K.) **right; true; straight** | *b-álaha dù̀s-iwət!*ˈ Indeed you are right (A1:19); *ʾína dù̀s galítu*ˈ Tell me the truth (A27:37); *ʾurxa dūs* a straight road; *har-ʾáxtu kálye dù̀s*ˈ *c̣alxítula m-ġðàðe*ˈ While standing erect, you shall tear her apart (A27:33); *tèla*ˈ *mríle ma-dù̀s*ˈ The fox became truly ill (A32:32).

duša n.m. **honey** | *šămət duša* beeswax

duwana n.m. **paste put in cakes made from flour, butter and salt (sometimes with the addition of honey and walnuts); oil (animal)**

duxa n.m. (pl. *duxe*) **dedicatory sacrifice** (B5:70)

duxrana n.m. (pl. *duxrane*) **memorial festival**

duxtur n.m. (pl. *duxture*) (E.) **doctor**

duxwa n.m. **dish made from yoghurt, barley and meat**

duzuθa n.f. **truth** | *yóma mən-duzúθa qìdle bέθa*ˈ One day his house really burnt down (A48:5); *xà-yoma,*ˈ *har-mítle b-duzùθa*ˈ One day he really died (A27:42).

dwaqta n.f. (pl. *dwaqyaθa*) **handle** | *dwaqtət sɛpa* the handle of a sword

dwaṛa n.m. (pl. *dwaṛe*) **rest area for sheep in the mountains (under the shade of trees)**

dwara n.m. **threshing of grains by animals on the threshing floor**

dwiqa adj. (f. *dwiqta*, pl. *dwiqe*) **seized, clasped; blocked (road)** | *ʾíðe dwìqta* He is miserly.

dwira adj. (f. *dwirta*, pl. *dwire*) **closed**

dyapta n.f. (pl. *dyapyaθa*) **a fold (in material or paper)**

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ḍăġat n.m. (A.) **(blood)-pressure**

ḍămān, ð̣ămān n.m. (A.) **guarantee**

/ð/

ðawq n.m. (A.) **taste, inclination**

ðeta n.f. **knowledge**

/f/

fafon n.f. (K.) **aluminium**

fălăke n.pl. (K.) **stones of rapids in a river** | *néra hóle šwára fălȁke*ˡ The river is flowing in rapids.

falita n.m. (f. *falitta*) (A.) **waster, spendthrift**

fallāḥ n.m. (A.) **peasant**

fanūs n.m. (pl. *fanuse*) (A.) **lamp**

făqih n.m. (A.) **jurist**

făqira adj. (f. *făqirta*, pl. *făqire*) (A.) **poor**

farde n.pl. (K.) **window blinds** | *máṣla fàrde!*ˡ Lower the blinds! (A39:19).

farquθa n.f. (A.) **difference; division** | *mút farqùθɛla?*ˡ What is the difference? (A15:12); *ʾáw-ile xa-dánət farqúθa bēl-d-áyya l-d-àyya*ˡ This is a time of division between this (season) and the other (B5:115).

farr adj. (invar.) (K.) **important** | *ṣúpa b-sátwa rába fàrr-ile gu-ʾƐ̄n-Núne*ˡ A stove in the winter is very important in ʾƐn-Nune.

farra n.f. (A.) **circuit; gulp** | *máxyɛle xa-fárra ʕ̌ənnəḵ́ərə d-o-qàṣra*ˡ He made a circuit around the palace (A12:66); *xa-fárra bəd-šatə̀nne*ˡ I shall drink it with one gulp (Qaṭina).

farsaya n.m./adj. (pl. *farsaye*) **Persian**

făsaduθa n.f. (A.) **mischief, trouble** | *ʾáwwa wídle făsadúθa bə́n ʾaturàye*ˡ *ʾu-bə́n barzanàye*ˡ He made trouble between the Assyrians and the people of Barzan (B19:1).

fassada adj. (A.) **corrupt, fraudulent**

faṣl n.m. (pl. *fŭṣūl*) (A.) **season**

faṣuli n.m. (pl. *faṣuliye*) (A.) **white bean**

fatra n.f. (A.) **short interval of time** | *zílela xa-fàtra*ˡ They went on awhile (A17:3).

făyaḏān n.m. (A.) **flood**

fayda, payda n.f. (A.) **benefit, use** | *lìθba fáyda*ˡ (A25:32), *líba fàyda*ˡ (A18:4) It is no use; *leš faydá-lləx qáṭlət gànəx*ˡ It will no longer be of any use to you to kill yourself (A38:16); *mùt paydéwa?*ˡ What was the use of it? (B15:40).

feka, peka n.m. (pl. *feke, peke*) (A.) **fruit** | *ʾítlən féka fərya*ˡ We have abundant fruit (B5:222).

ferəssa n.m. (pl. *ferəsse*) (K./A.) **hero, strongman** | *náše ferásse* heroic people (A29:7) → *pərsa*

fədwa n.f. (A.) **redemption** | *fədwa ʾəllux*ˡ (It was) a redemption for you (said when a catastrophe happens to others) (A23:16).

fəkra n.m. (pl. *fəkre*) (A.) **thought** | *ʾaw-xoš-fəkrɛle!*ˡ That is a good idea! (A39:11)

fəlfəl n.m. (pl. *fəlfəle*) (A.) **pepper**

fəlfəlta smoqta n.f. (A.) **red pepper**

fəllən, pəllən, flan pron. mod. **so-and-so; such-and-such** | *hà-pəllən*ˡ *lèkət zála?*ˡ Hey so-and-so, where are you going? (A1:11); *ʾána síqli fəllən dùkθa*ˡ I went up to such-and-such a place (A10:9); *sí-mur ta-pállən wăzə̀r*ˡ Go and tell such-and-such a minister (A4:38); *só l-bɛ́θət flàn-naša*ˡ Go to the house of such-and-such a man (A8:8); *mót mára fəllən ʾàti*ˡ What do you, so-and-so, say (B5:9).

fərya, friya pərya adj. (f. *friθa*, pl. *fərye*) (K.) **much, abundant** | *ʾítlən féka fərya*ˡ We have abundant fruit (B5:222); *ʾăráθa pèryewa*ˡ Plots of land were abundant (B10:54); *qṭilela raba friye* Very many were killed (C3:3).

fəstān n.f. (pl. *fəstane*) (A.) **dress**

fəstəq n.f. (pl. *fəstəqe*) (K./A.) **pistachio**

fətne n.pl. (A.) **trouble** | *ṯ̂-áwəð fətne*ˡ He will make trouble (A29:11).

flan → *fəllən*

friya → *fərya*

fṭarta n.f. (pl. *fṭaryaθa*) (A.) **breakfast**

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ga part. **almost, about to; connective particle** (§15.1.1.11., §18.1.6.). (1) **almost, about to** | Combined with verb: *ga-ṯ̂-àθən*ˡ I am about to come; *ga-mátya ṯ̂-axlàle*ˡ She is about to eat him (A18:26). (2) **connective particle** | Signalling temporal sequentiality: *rắpili m-an-képe ṯ̂-íla tàma,*ˡ *ga-maxzánnux ʾúrxa ṣàlət*ˡ Throw me the stones that are there, then I shall show you the way down (A14:70). Introducing a comment: *lá-məre bắye xàθux.*ˡ *mára bắye Ẑîne.*ˡ *ga-ʾéni Ẑîne*ˡ *ʾáxni lèðəx.*ˡ He did not say 'He loves your sister.' He said 'He loves Zine.' Now, we do not know (by this statement) which Zine (was meant) (A26:61). At the beginning of direct speech, predominantly questions: *ʾámər ga-ḳ̂òra*ˡ *ʾána mò yánnux?*ˡ He said 'Now, blind man, what can I give you?' (A26:57); *mára ga-mo-xàðye b-áwwa dúša?*ˡ They said 'Why are we so happy about this honey?' (A14:15)

ga, gaya n.f. (pl. *gaye, gayaθa, gaθa*) (K.) **time, instance** | *málla Naṣrádin xá-ga bắyéwa mbašálwa pàča*ˡ Once mullah Naṣradin wanted to cook pača (A5:1); *xa-xá-ga* (B6:16), *xa-xa-gáye* (B15:77), *gá-gaθa* sometimes; *b-xšàwənˡ ʾáyya quṣàrta*ˡ *hár gărəg-máṭe ʾəllì-xa-ga*ˡ I think this cooking pot should eventually belong to me (A5:2); *tré-gaye tré wíta ʾàrba*ˡ Two times two equals four; *xámša gáye xámša wáyɛla ʾásri-w xàmša*ˡ Five times five is twenty-five; *raba gayaθa* many times; *ʾo-gáya qắmɛθa θélux l-ḱásli*ˡ the first time you came to me… (A1: 22). *xa-ga xeta* another time, again: *xá-ga xéta plíṭṭɛla Lelìθa*ˡ Again Leliθa came out (A51:12); then: *bắye qaṭəlwale.*ˡ *xá-ga xéta klèle*ˡ He wanted to kill him. Then he refrained (A10:3–4). *ʾɛ-ga* at that time, then | *ʾé-ga zúze baṣòrewa*ˡ At that time money was scarce (B5:5); *kút-dana ʾa-ṣə́pra mìtle,*ˡ *ʾé-ga ʾana-mèθən*ˡ If ever that sparrow dies, then I shall die (A12:41); *là-paltət,*ˡ *hal-ṯ̂-amrə́nnux plùṯgena*ˡ *ʾè-ga pálṭət*ˡ Do not come out, until when I say to you 'Come out!', at *that* time you should come out (A14:67). Governing a temporal clause: *ʾé-gət damə̀xwa,*ˡ *ṭ̣laθà yomáθa*ˡ *ʾu-ṭ̣laθà lɛlắwáθa háwe dmìxa*ˡ When he slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights (A29:2). Expressing logical sequence: *ʾé-ga ʾáp-ana bắyən ʾàzən*ˡ So, I also want to go (A5:1). Governing a factual conditional (§19.5.8.): *ʾé-gət mən-d-ánna hàwe,*ˡ *šúla bṯ̂-ázəl la-qàma!*ˡ If there are these (gold pieces), the job will go ahead! (A4:15).

gabbara, gebara n.m. (pl. *gabbare, gebara*) **hero** | *náše gabbàre* heroic people (A29:1); *gabbare, gebare* Orion (constellation): *mbáqər kíma-w gabbàre*ˡ ask the Pleiades and Orion (A38:12).

gadoša adj. (f. *gadošta*, pl. *gadoše*) **butting, aggressive (animal)** → *gamaša, gamoša*

gaðilta n.f. (pl. *gaðilyaθa*) (1) **plaited strap of a shoe** | This passes through small holes (*ʾɛnaθa*) in the shoe. (2) **plaited material on the top part of shoes know as *lastike***

gala n.m. (pl. *gale*) **woolen rug**

galaja n.m. (pl. *galaje*) **prattler, somebody talking nonsense**

galaveža, gulavež n.f. (K.) **Sirius, Dog Star, morning star**

galaya n.m. **revealer** | *ḵurra xamra la-štile…galaya sərre ʾile* Boy, do not drink the wine.… It is the revealer of secrets (C2:10)

gălіya, galliya, galli n.m. (pl. *galliye*) (K.) **valley** | *b-ṣlaya galli galli tope šišale ʾəlli* While (I was) coming down the valley, he brandished his gun at me (C2:49).

gallək mod. (K.) **multitude; all** | Only in vocative expressions: *hé gállək nàše,*ˈ *ʾɛ́ni záwən ʾilàna?*ˈ Hey, everybody, who will buy the tree? (B5:42)

galθa n.f. | *tawə́rta npílla l-gàlθa*ˈ the cow allowed itself to be mounted by a bull (Betanure *galθa* stuffed fabric used for bedding)

gamaša adj. (f. *gamašta*, pl. *gamaše*) **butting, aggressive (animal)** | *tawərta gamašta* an aggressive cow

gambəl-ʾəxre n.m. **dung beetle** (literally: roller of dung)

gameša n.m. (pl. *gameše*) **buffalo**

gaməšta n.f. (pl. *gaməšyaθa*) **female buffalo**

gami n.f. (K./T.) **boat**

gamoša adj. (f. *gamošta*, pl. *gamoše*) **butting, aggressive (animal)** | *táwra gamóša ʾi-máxe də̀qše*ˈ An aggressive ox butts.

gamura adj. (f. *gamurta*, pl. *gamure*) **sour (e.g. apple that is not ripe, dry), pungent (taste remaining in mouth)**

gana, jana n.f. (pl. *ganaθa*) **soul, person; reflexive pronoun** (§7.6., §14.6.). (1) **soul, person** | *ʾən-lá-ʾawðət b-xábra dìyi*ˈ *gánux šaqlə̀nna*ˈ If you do not do as I tell you, I shall take away your life (A15:20); *ha-*

*gàni,*ˈ *lèkət zála?*ˈˈ Hey, my soul, (respectful form of address) where are you going? (A15:6); *háyyo ya-gáni ṯ-amràννux*ˈ Come, my dear, let me tell you something (A22:36); *dáryəxxa gʸánən gu-bɛθèxu*ˈ We have placed our soul in your house (= We beseech you) (B5:4); *gánux basìmta!*ˈˈ Well done! (A39:21); *gʸánən basìmta!*ˈ bravo! (B5:154); *y-aθέwa m-bár hàdəx*ˈ *xámša ʾəštà ganáθa*ˈ Afterwards, five or six people would come (A5:77). (2) **reflexive pronoun** | *zdíθəlla gána dìya*ˈ *kəsle-dìye*ˈ She threw herself down beside him (A37:18); *bašláxla b-gànən*ˈ Let's cook them by ourselves (A2:2); *ʾáwwa ʾərbi*ˈ *m-gáne díye θéle ríqle l-ṭùra*ˈ This sheep of mine has come and run to the mountain of its own accord (A10:3); *maxbánət gàne-wewa*ˈ He was a lover of himself (= selfish) (A3:1); *Mắmo qímɛle rəš-gàne*ˈ Mămo stood up (A26:5); *làn-ṛyaša b-gáni*ˈ I do not feel anything (is happening) to me (B9:19).

ganawa → *genawa*

gắra, gəra n.m. (pl. *gắrare, gắrɛre*) (K.) **hill**

garaya n.m. (pl. *garaye*) **barber**

gardắna, gərdắna n.m. (pl. *gərdắne*) (K.) **necklace** | *gərdắna šəklana* a beautiful necklace

gare n.m. (pl. *garắwaθa*) **roof** | *ʾən-bábux ʾu-yə́mmux gu-bèθɛla,*ˈ *léla šəklánta ṯ-ásqət l-gàre*ˈ If your father and mother are in the house, it is not pleasant for you to go up onto the roof (D2:11); *l-garắwàθa biš-rába mṭalíwala*ˈ They played it most often on the roofs (B11:29); *garət ʾɛna* eyelid; *š-gárət ʾèni!*ˈ by all means!

garəbya n.m. **North**

gắrəg part. (K./T.) **particle expressing necessity (deontic and epistemic)** | Deontic (must): *gắ́rəg ʾàmrəx*ˈ We must say (A4:38); *gắ́rəg ʾàθət*ˈ You must come (A7:9). Deontic (supposed to): *ʾáxtu mən-zoruθéxu gắ́rəg pɛšítu tlíqe b-ʾámrət màlka*ˈ In your childhood, indeed, you were supposed to disappear by the command of the king (A8:88); Epistemic: *gắ́rəg háwe làxxa,*ˈ *qəm-xazánne qam-xámša daqìqe*ˈ He must be here, I saw him five minutes ago.

gắrəkθa, gərəkθa n.f. (pl. *gắrəkyaθa*) (K.) **hillock, small hill; mound**

gắrən adj. invar. (K.) **expensive**

gargome n.pl. **thunder** | *šmáyya hóla mxáya gargòme*ˈ The sky is thundering.

gariθa n.f. (pl. *gariyaθa*) **small roof** | e.g. over a porch (*ṣopiθa*)

garma, gɛrma, gʾɛrma n.m. (pl. *garme*) **bone** | *gɛrmət xaṣa* backbone

garo n.f. (pl. *garowaθa*) **rat**

garoma n.m. (pl. *garome*) **large stone rolling pin**

garomta n.f. (pl. *garomyaθa*) **small stone rolling pin**

garosta n.f. (pl. *garosyaθa*) **hand-mill; molar tooth**

garra (i) n.m. (pl. *garre*) (K.) **turn** | *mṭéle gárre dìye*[1] His turn came (A1:7); *ha-t-mṭéle gárra ʾálle dìye*[1] until it was his turn (A17:31).

garra (ii) n.m. (pl. *garre, garrɛre*) (K.) **pool in river created by constructing a dam**

garšo n.f. (pl. *garšowaθa*) **tool used to stir up the mud in the water when planting rice in the paddy fields**

garθa n.f. (pl. *garaθa*) **large sledge for transporting sticks and fodder on snow**

garuta, garruta n.f. (pl. *garuyaθa, garruyaθa*) **small stack of twigs or leaves for animal fodder in winter, built against a tree**

garuwa, garruwa n.m. (pl. *garuwe, garruwe*) **stack of twigs and leaves for animal fodder in winter** | *garúwət ṭàrpa*[1] a heap of leaves (A32:22)

gasosa n.m. (pl. *gasose*) **wild green bean** | grows in pods (*šənqe*) in an uncultivated area (*čol*)

gaṣ n.m. (A.) **meat cooked over a fire on a skewer**

gawa gawa prep. **through** (§16.6.) | *síqle gáwa-gawət ḥadìqa*[1] He went up through the garden (A17:24); *náša jawújwa gawe-gawe-dìye*[1] *palátwa m-d-é-paθa xèta*[1] A person could walk through it (the river) and come out the other side (B3:9).

gawana, gewana n.m. (pl. *gawanane, gewanane*) **boundary; strip between fields with no cultivation marking boundary** | *ʾo-gawána bēl-ʾắra*[1] *l-ʾắra*[1] The boundary area is between one plot of land and another (B5:131); *píšla mxurdéθa m-kúlla gewàna*[1] It was surrounded on every boundary (B1:15).

gawaya adj. (f. *gawɛθa*, pl. *gawaye*) **inside; middle** | *ṣabota gawɛθa* middle finger; *mára ṭla-d-o-xóne gawàya*ˡ He said to his middle brother (i.e. middle of three) (A24:25); *ʾo-gawáyə šqilíle zùze*ˡ The middle one (of the group of three people), who took the money (A15:16).

gawaya n.m. **beggar** → *gewaya*

gawaye, *gawáy* adv. **inside**

gawna n.m. (pl. *gawne*) **colour**

gawra adj. (f. and pl. *gawre*) (K.) **grey, off-white**

gawṛa, *gʾawṛa* n.m. (pl. *guṛe*, *guṛane*) **man**; **married man, husband; gentleman, courtier; valiant man** | *gáwṛi θèle*ˡ My husband has come back (A22:32); *qáryəlle wăzīr-díye ʾu-xákma guṛàne*ˡ He called his minister and a few courtiers (A4:40); *bnáθət guṛàne*ˡ the daughters of gentlemen (A38:3); *náše gùṛe*ˡ valiant men (A11:14); *ʾíθən biš-gùṛe mánni*ˡ There are those who are better men than me (A26:79); *ʾən-ʾíle ʾúrza gáwṛa xoš-qàyəm*ˡ If he is a brave man, let him get up (A29:27); *ʾáwwɛle gáwṛa m-gùṛe*ˡ He is a man among men (= the best of men).

gawza n.m. (pl. *gawze*, *gawzane*) **walnut; walnut tree** | *bàlki*ˡ *képa qítle b-gàwza*ˡ *npìlle-ʾăra gáwza*ˡ Perhaps the stone has hit the walnut, and the wallnut has fallen on the ground (= Perhaps I am in luck) (A1:5); *gàwze*ˡ *šmìṭe*ˡ cracked (i.e. shelled) walnuts (A25:48).

gawzana n.m. (pl. *gawzane*) **walnut tree**

gawzəlta n.f. (pl. *gawzəlyaθa*) **small walnut tree**

gayasa, *geyasa* n.m. **penitent thief (at crucifixion); ceremony held on 2nd day of Easter** | In this ceremony the priest blesses the congregation with a long pole bearing candles; *yōm-gayàsa*ˡ the day of the *gayasa* ceremony (B10:2).

gaza n.m. (K.) **three-year-old male sheep**

gazənda n.m. (pl. *gazənde*) **complaint; grumble** | *la-ʾóðət mánni gazènda*ˡ Do not blame me.

gazəndana n.m. (pl. *gazəndane*) **whiner, grumbler**

gazgoze n.pl. (sing. *gazgozta*) **goose pimples**

gazza n.m. **tongs** | *gàzza*ˡ *šaqláxwa láxma bìye*ˡ *gu-tanùra*ˡ With tongs we would pick up the bread in the oven (B10:98).

gðaðe → *gədda*

gðalta n.f. **wrestling** | *gðaltət kore* wrestling with one foot in a small hole (If your opponent pushes you over and your foot comes out of the hole, you have lost the game).

gðila adj. (f. *gðilta*, pl. *gðile*) **frozen; braided, woven**

gðila n.m. **ice** | *míya mugðə̀lla,*ˈ *píšla gðìla*ˈ The water has frozen, it has become ice.

gðoða → *bra-gðoða*

geba n.m. (pl. *gebane*) **side** | *mən-kúl gebàne,*ˈ *ʾíθ xa-dàšta*ˈ On all sides there is a plain (B4:1); *mən-d-ó-geba xèna*ˈ on the other hand (B15:11); *kút-xa xíša l-xà-gēb*ˈ Everybody went in one (= a different) direction (B1:8). *m-gēb, gēb* in place of, instead of: *ʾáyya béna hár-kulla ṭlàlux ʾən-bắyət,*ˈ *m-gēb-d-àni*ˈ This time everything is for you, if you want, in place of those (other coins) (A1:13); *ʾálaha mxožə́bnəlla m-gēb-xà-dawa*ˈ God has reckoned this bag as corresponding to one gold coin (A6:10); *gēb xaθi holi ʾana* instead of my sister, it is me (C1:13); *ʾap-àti*ˈ *m-gə́́b ṭ-aθə́twa mə́́θətwali zùze,*ˈ *šqíllux xa-šəndòxa*ˈ So you, instead of coming and bringing me money, took a stone (A1:25).

gebara → *gabbara*

genawa, ganawa n.m. (pl. *genawe*) **thief** (§2.5.2. iv) | *ʾurxət genawe* The Milky Way

genawta n.f. (pl. *genawyaθa*) **thief (f.)**

genawuθa n.f. **theft, robbery; stealth** | *y-áwəðwa genawùθa*ˈ *ʾu-qačaxùθa*ˈ He engaged in robbery and brigandry (A27:1); *núbləlle b-genawùθa*ˈ He took it away in stealth.

gesa n.m. **gypsum plaster** | *mšurélɛ bnáyəlla batèy*ˈ *b-képa ʾu-gèsa*ˈ They began to build their houses with stone and gypsum plaster (B5:179)

gewaya, gawaya, guwaya n.m. (pl. *gewaye, gawaye, guwaye*) **beggar**

gezara n.m. (pl. *gezare*) **carrot**

gežana adj. (f. *gežanta*, pl. *gežane*) (K.) **dizzy**

gəbbo n.f. **foam, froth**

gədda n.m. (pl. *gədde*, *gðaðe*) **string; thread** | *zulli gðaðeˡ* Spin for me threads (A51:3)

gəddiša n.m. (pl. *gəddiše*) **pile, pile of wood**

gəddišta, *gdišta* n.f. (pl. *gəddišyaθa*) **stook of corn** | especially millet (*prage*), sorghum (*xroriye*) and sesame (*šišme*)

gədla n.m. (pl. *gədle*) **wattle of intertwined twigs used to make a fence and other structures** | *mxéli gádla qam-d-áwwa bàqčiˡ* I have built a fence in front of my garden.

gədša n.m. (pl. *gədše*) **momentous event; catastrophe**

gəðya n.m. (pl. *gəðye*) **newborn male goat**

gəgla n.m. (pl. *gəgle*) **skein (of wool, thread) spun on a spool (*msarbəs*)**

gəhana n.m. **Hell**

gəlda n.m. (pl. *gəlde*) **skin; carcass** | *xá-gəldət tàwraˡ* an ox skin (A11:10); *máxyɛle ʾáqle díye l-ò-gəldaˡ* He kicked the carcass (A27:43).

gəlla n.m. (pl. *gəllale*) **plant; herb; grass** | *gəllət čay* tea leaves

gəlya adj. (f. *gliθa*, pl. *gəlye*) **open, exposed** | *ʾap-ʾáxxa ʾisàraˡ réša har-gəlyaˡ* There was a rock here, the top of which was completely exposed (B9:3).

gəmbəlta n.f. (pl. *gəmbəlyaθa*) **small ball** | *gəmbəltət ʾupra* ball of earth; *gəmbəltət barða* hailstone

gəmgəmme n.pl. **delicious foods** | *banəx kanune ċəmme ċəmme ʾu-ʾəlla mbašləx gəmgəmme* Let us build stoves (with) a little (fire) and on them we shall cook delicious foods (C1:5).

gəmra n.m. **tanning**

gəndore n.pl. (sing. *gəndorta*) (K.) **melons**

gəngəryasa n.f. (pl. *gəngəryase*) **lime fruit, lime tree** | *ʾilanət gəngəryase* **lime tree**

gənθa n.f. (pl. *gənnane*) (**small) garden**

gəppa n.m. (pl. *gəppape*) **cave**

gəppiθa n.f. (pl. *gəppiyaθa*, *gəpyaθa*) **small cave**

gəra → *găra*

gera n.m. (pl. *gere*) **arrow; long thin rolling pin** | *qəšta-w gera* bow and arrow

gərdăna → *gardăna*

gərðo n.f. **dish consisting of yoghurt and cracked wheat**

gərəkθa (i) n.f. (pl. *gərəkyaθa*) (K.) **hand mill used to remove husks from rice**

gərəkθa (ii) n.f. **hillock** → *gărəkθa*

gərgara n.m. (pl. *gərgare*) (K.) **smooth steep slope**

gərgəra n.m. **type of grass with seed head that is fed to sheep; light snow falling in round grains like the seeds of this plant** | *dúnye hóla ráya gərgə̀ra*ˡ It is snowing in round grains.

gərgərta n.f. (pl. *gərgəryaθa*) **wheel**

gərkawe n.f. (K.) **hunting of partridges** | *y-azáxwa gərkə̀we*ˡ We used to go hunting partridges (B5:147).

gərra n.m. **leprosy, psoriasis** | *kút-xa hóle zíla b-xá-gərrət yə̀mme*ˡ Every one went off empty handed (B1:23).

gərrəsta n.f. **dandruff**

gərse n.pl. **crushed wheat** | *xa dəndəkθət gərsa* a grain of crushed wheat

gərsəkka n.m. (pl. *gərsəkke*) (K.) **wild pear**

gərsəkθa n.f. (pl. *gərsəkke, gərsəkyaθa*) (K.) **small wild pear**

gərwe n.pl. (sing. *gərwiθa, gruθa, gərwa* f.) **socks**

gesərra n.m. (K.) **type large sparrow**

gəsta n.f. (pl. *gəsyaθa*) **fleece of sheep**

gəšər n.m. (A.) **husk**

gəšra n.m. (pl. *gəšre*) **bridge**

gəxka n.m. **laughter; joke; fun** | *našət gəxka* a man who is the butt of jokes; *ʾay-ṭawálta mṭalíwala qa-gə̀xka*ˡ They play this game for fun (B12:2).

gəzra n.m. (pl. *gəzre*) **mound, pile (of stones)**

gəžže n.f. (K.) **raised hand** | *neríya b-gážže lè-y-mayəθ*ˈ A male goat does not die (at the sight of) a raised hand (D2:12).

gilandi, gilanda n.m. (pl. *gilandiye, gilande*) (K.) **scythe**

gilasa n.m. (pl. *gilase*) **cherry, cherry tree**

gira n.m. **limescale**; **tartar (on teeth)** | *képa dwíqle gírət mìya*ˈ The stone has become scaled from the water

gisəkyaθa n.pl. (sing. *gisəkθa*) **black pepper**

gisəqθa, jisəqθa (pl. *gisqaθa, jisqaθa*) (K.) **one- to two-year old female goat**

gisqa n.m. (pl. *gisqe*) (K.) **one- to two-year old male goat**

gista n.f./adj. **barren woman; wretched woman** | *ʾo gista xaθəx* Oh your poor sister (C3:3)

giša n.m. (pl. *gíše*) **target**

glās n.m. (pl. *glase*) (K./E.) **glass (for drinking)**

glola n.m. **circle.** adj. (f. *galolta*, pl. *galole*) **round**

glop n.m. (pl. *glope*) **lamp**

gmira adj. (f. *gmirta*, pl. *gmire*) **tanned (leather); compressed** | *ʾamṛa gmira* compressed wool

gnaya n.m. (pl. *gnaye*) **fault** | *léle gnàyi*ˈ It is not my fault; *ʾína léwa mádre gnàyux*ˈ But again it was not your fault (A1:25).

gnayət yoma, gnay-yoma **West** | Combined with *la* side: *hóle ʾáθya Déwa Zàr*ˈ… *m-la-gnay-yòma*ˈ Dewa Zar has come… from the West (A28:14).

gnɛθət yoma n.f. **setting of the sun, dusk** | *gu-sáʾət ʾášta ʾaṣárta šáwwa gu-gnéθət yòma,*ˈ *hóle θéle Čùxo*ˈ At six or seven o'clock in the evening, at dusk, Čuxo came (A7:21).

gnuna n.m. (pl. *gnune*) **band (tied at a wedding ceremony)** | *θáyɛle qàša*ˈ *ʾu-sáṛa gnùnɛle*ˈ The priest comes and ties the wedding band (B5:44).

goja n.m. (pl. *goje*) (K.) **stock of tree; large root of a tree**

gojiθa n.f. (pl. *gojiyaθa*) (K.) **small stock of tree**

goma n.m. (pl. *gome, gomăwaθa*) (K.) **basement stable**

gomiθa n.f. (pl. *gomiyaθa*) (K.) **small stable**

goṛa adj. (f. *goṛta*, pl. *goṛe*) **big; great; old.** (1) **big (in size)** | *gilándi rába gòṛɛle*ˈ A scythe is very big (B5:143); *ʾotáxe gòṛe hawéwa*ˈ Rooms were large (B10:51). (2) **great (in power or importance)** *ʾíθwa lìθwa*ˈ *biš-m-álaha góṛa čú-mdi lìθwa*ˈ There was, there was not, there was nothing greater than God (opening formula of stories) (A30:1); *ʾeða goṛa* the great festival = Easter. Used as nominal: *góṛət ʾAmedìya*ˈ The chief of Amedia (A25:45). (3) **old (person)** | *ʾána xa-náša gòṛɛwən,*ˈ *wíra b-šənne*ˈ I am an old man, advanced in years (A8:43); *naša goṛa b-šənne* an elderly person; *goṛət ʾumra* advanced in age; *xóna ʾo-góṛa* the eldest brother (A12:17); *Náze ʾɛ-gòṛta*ˈ Naze, the eldest one (A25:16); *kùlləna,*ˈ *mən-yále zóre ʾu-hal-gòṛe*ˈ All of us, from young children to old people (B16:4).

goriya n.m. (K.) **sacrifice (for redemption of s.o.)** | *hoyánwa gorìye*ˈ Let me be his redeemer, let me die instead of him. Used in devotional expressions in combination with names of saints: *Mar-Sàwa,*ˈ *goríyət xèle*ˈ Saint Sawa, a sacrifice for his strength.

gorna n.f. (pl. *gornaθa*) **baptismal font**

goša n.m. (pl. *gošе*) **side (of a shape); corner**

gota n.f. (pl. *goyaθa, gotaθa*) **side** | *ʾasṛíwala b-qɛ́sa ʾu-m-áy-gota qèsa*ˈ *ʾu-m-áy-gota qèsa*ˈ They would bind them to a stick, with a stick this side and a stick that side (B7:16); *holá-ʾəθye tìwe,*ˈ *báxta tíwta l-ày̆ya-gotət més,*ˈ *ʾu-gáwṛa tíwa l-ày-gota*ˈ They came and sat down, the wife sitting on this side of the table and the husband sitting on the other side (A4:57); *ṭ-ázət zénət góta d-o-xaràya*ˈ Go and stand by the side of the last one (A8:47); *šqílɛle xa-šəndòxa*ˈ *ṭrípəlle l-gota-dìya*ˈ He took a smooth stone and threw it at her (A30:37); *kúlla ṣalɛ́wa gota-xtèθa*ˈ They would all fall down (B5:43); *ṃaḷɛ́wa qərṭála m-ay-gőt tərnèy*ˈ They would fill the pannier basket on both sides (B5:137); *m-kúlla goyàθa*ˈ on all sides (A8:48); *kízle mxàya*ˈ *goyáθət sùsa,*ˈ *súsa la-jwìyle*ˈ He tried to strike the sides of the horse, but the horse did not move (A28:33).

gozăka n.m./f. (pl. *gozăke*) (K.) **ankle** | *gozăkət ʾiða* wrist

grawa n.m. (K.) **off-white cotton fabric** | used for lining clothes

grawəzna n.m. (pl. *grawəzne*) **load of harvested rice carried on the back in a piece of cloth**

griwa adj. (f. *griwta*, pl. *griwe*) **ravenous, very hungry**

gu- prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *gawe*) **in; concerning; compared with; by (oath).** (1) **in** | usually within an enclosed physical space: *gu-xa-gəppìθa*ˡ in a cave (A15:1); *gu-dudìya* in the cradle (A15:8); ingressive: *wìrela gu-bέθa*ˡ They went into the house (A15:7); *ʾənwe ʾíθ gáwe*ˡ There are grapes in it (the orchard). (2) **concerning** | *šníle gu-d-o-Dàwiðˑ*ˡ *ʾən ʾàmər*ˡ *ṭúra mšanéle m-àxxa*ˡ *mšanéle tămàha*ˡ The monk had heard concerning that David that if he says he will move a mountain from here, he will move it there (A16:3). (3) **compared with** | *rába xá-mdi prìšɛla júllux gu-d-ánna diyέni*ˡ Your clothes are something very special compared with ours (A35:10). (4) **by** | only in oaths: *gu-d-ànna ʾέni bṭ̂-áθən*ˡ (I promise) by these eyes of mine that I shall come (A22:20).

gubba n.m. (pl. *gubbe*) **inner pocket**

gubbān n.m. (A.) **spirit-level** | *har-gubbə̀n-ix wíðəlle*ˡ We made it exactly according to a spirit-level (A17:20).

gučča n.m. (pl. *gučče*) (K.) **fist** | *maxə́nnux xa-gùčča*ˡ I shall punch you.

guda n.m. (pl. *gudane*) **wall** | *gúda máre naθyàθɛle*ˡ The wall has ears (A29:6).

guða n.m. (pl. *guðe*) **skin bag (for churning or carrying liquids)**

guðanta n.f. (*guðanyaθa*) **small skin bag**

gugiya n.m. (pl. *gugiye*) (K.) **tassel**

gugiθa n.f. (pl. *gugiyaθa*) (K.) **small tree stump** | *ða-gugíθa b-šáwwa boyə̀ye.*ˡ *mòdile?*ˡ *rèša.*ˡ A small stump of a tree with seven holes—What is it? A head (D1:17).

gujja n.m. (pl. *gujje*) (K.) **three-year-old male sheep**

gujma n.m. (pl. *gujme*) **bunch (of grapes, nuts)**

gulavež → *galaveža*

gulbare n.f. **type of dance**

gullira n.m. (pl. *gullire*) (K.) **round oak apple gall** | grows on the *mɛša* and *ṗaṛma* trees; used for tanning (*gmara*).

gulṗa n.m. (pl. *gulṗane*) **wing** | *píšəlla xákma gulṗàne*ˡ *dáx d-an-t-ṭèra.*ˡ She had acquired some wings like those of a bird (A8:76).

gumarta n.f. **piece of glowing charcoal**

gumla n.m. (pl. *gumle*) **camel**

gunga n.m. (pl. *gunge*) (K.) **chimney pipe**

guniya n.f. (pl. *guniyaθa*) (K.) **sack** | made of flax, imported from towns. Sacks made in the villages out of animal hair are known as *juwala.*

gupta n.f. (pl. *guṗyaθa*) **cheese** | *gupta mṭumarta* cheesed buried in ground to mature

gurba n.m. (pl. *gurbe*) **torso (of an animal)**

gurj adj. invar. (K.) **tight; too short (rope)**

guršeni | *xəgga guršeni* **type of line dance**

guṛuθa n.f. **bravery** | *háwya bríxta guṛùθux*ˡ May your bravery be blessed (= bravo!) (A24:21).

gurya n.m. (pl. *gurye*) **pup of dog**

gurza n.f. (pl. *gurzăwaθa*) **club**

gusta n.f. (pl. *gusyaθa*) **ball of dough**

gušma n.m. (pl. *gušme*) **fist** | *lá-maxət gúšma ʾurədxa*ˡ Do not punch a needle (D2:59) → *gučča*

gutta n.f (pl. *guttaθa*) **ball** | *guttət ʾaqla* football

guwaya → *gawaya*

gwarta n.f. **marriage** | *mò-hoyali gwárta-w?*ˡ What good would marriage be to me? (A16:5)

gwina n.m. (pl. *gwinane*) **boundary, side (of field, paddy field basin)** | *marmíwa gwinánət məššàre*ˡ They would build up the sides of the paddy field basins.

gyatta n.f. **finish at top of a wall on which the roof is laid; finishing at edge of woven material**

gzərta n.f. **small pile**

/ġ/

ġaba n.f. (A.) **forest**

ġaləbuθa n.f. (A.) **achievement** | *w-àti*ˈ *qa-dìyux*ˈ *xa-ġaləbúθa gòṛtɛle*ˈ *ʾən-bróni tàrəṣ*ˈ It would be a big achievement on your part if my son is cured (A8:36).

ġăzăliya n.f. (pl. *ġăzăliyaθa*) **gazelle**

ġðaðe pron. **reciprocal pronoun** (§14.6.) | *bróni ʾu-brátux xázyela ġðàðe*ˈ My son and your daughter saw each other (A4:26); *ʾu-xíllən kúlləˈn m-ġðàðe*ˈ and we all ate together (A21:39); *ʾu-ʾìtlənˈ ʾəštá-maθwaθa qúrba l-ġðàðela*ˈ We have six villages that are near to one another (B1:3); *xa-xa-gáye ʾi-maxéwa tmanyà saʾətte*ˈ *bar-ġðáðe t-là-klɛθa*ˈ Sometimes, they played for eight hours continuously without stopping (B15:77).

/h/

ha part. **presentative particle** | *hàyyo!*ˈ *hóla hà!*ˈ *šqúlla yaləxθa*ˈ Come! Here it is! Take the handkerchief. (A4:18); *ha-šqùl*ˈ Here, take (them) (A6:3).

habresəm, ʾabresəm n.m. (K./A.) **silk**

habriya n.m. (pl. *habriye*) (K.) **festive headscarf** | *šəṭro marθət habriya* the beautiful woman who possesses the headscarf (C2:1)

habsa n.m. (A.) **prison**

haða-huwa (A.) **that is that, that is final**

hadayya → *hadiya*

hade part. **just now, hardly** | *yóma hádele zrìqa*ˈ The sun has just now risen (A26:37); *yále zóre háde bàrye*ˈ young children just born (A8:10);

*ʾána hàden pláṭa*ˈ I am just now coming out (A23:11). *hade m-hade* as just now, once again: *hade-m-háde píšlən xawràne*ˈ We became friends once again (B5:132); *zìla*ˈ *mtugəbrəlla*ˈ *háde m-hàde-w*ˈ They went and put it in order once again (A23:24).

hadəx adv. **thus; like that; the same; so much.** (1) **thus, like that** | *dax-ṯ̂-ile xázyəlla θàya,*ˈ *hádəx ṣràxa-w*ˈ *xumθàne,*ˈ *Čúxo rìqɛle*ˈ When he saw them coming, shouting like this and angry, Čuxo ran away (A7:16); *páyəšwa ʾax-xàlwa,*ˈ *brìza hádəx*ˈ It would become like curds, dry, (it was) like that (B7:22). (2) **the same** | *dártət-yoma zílla wídla hàdəx*ˈ The next day she went and did the same (A18:3); *xàrθa,*ˈ *pàlṭeti*ˈ *ʾap-ʾaṣárta hàdəx*ˈ Then, you go out, and in the evening (do) the same (A22:23); *har-hádəx ʾŭ̈mur Már Qayyòma*ˈ The age of Mar Qayyoma is the same (B1:7). (3) Marking temporal intervals in narrative: *šáryela gu-d-ɛ́ ʾotél ʾo-yòma-w*ˈ *píšela hàdəx,*ˈ *ʾaṣárta θìθɛla*ˈ *bă̆yi ṯ̂-áxli xa-ràmša*ˈ They put up in the hotel that day and remained like that (until) the evening came and they wanted to eat dinner (A2:2); *xa-béna wítɛla hádəx b-lèle*ˈ *máxyɛle taq-taq-táq l-tă̆ra*ˈ Then, at night, there was a knock at the door (A23:26); *bar-hàdəx,*ˈ *y-aθéwa mdarèwale*ˈ *qa-t-lá-hawa píše šəxte*ˈ Then they would come and winnow it (B5:86); *hádəx ʾáp-ati ʾəθyət*ˈ Meanwhile you also came (A2:9). (4) **so much** | *ʾo-xáwri hádəx gabbàra,*ˈ *xázəx wírre gawàye*ˈ We saw my friend, who was such a huge man, go inside (B15:58); *hàdəx-iwa xóš-naša*ˈ *hàdəx-iwa spày*ˈ He was such a good man, he was so good (A4:31).

hadiya, diya, hadayya (marginal) adv. **now** | *hadíya ðíli ʾána manáy díyux mòdila*ˈ Now I know what you mean (A17:35); *díya lèkət zála?*ˈ Now where are you going? (A1:12); *ʾána m-díya m-bàθər*ˈ *brátux bă̆yənna*ˈ I from now on love your daughter (A17:35); *dìya*ˈ *t-xzéle málka dúnye ráya pàṛe*ˈ *zawn-šlàmɛle*ˈ Now that the king has seen it raining lambs, it is the time of peace (A1:26); *ʾu-díya ṯ̂-àθyən*ˈ I shall be right back (A4:22); *har-díya máṭyən ṯ̂-àθyən*ˈ I shall go right now and come back (A4:17); *díya b-dìya*ˈ (A30:28), *di-b-dìya*ˈ right now (A30:35).

hădiya n.f. (pl. *hădaya*) (A.) **gift**

hāl n.f. (pl. *hawāl*) (A.) **condition, situation** | *hắl hawắl ʾàtxɛla*ˈ The situation is like this (A8:35); *hắl ʾu-hawắl hátxa xzèli*ˈ I saw such-and-such things (A4:7); *hắl-u qáṣṣət hàtxɛla*ˈ The situation is like this (A12:42); *ʾána háli m-halèxu*ˈ I shall live like you (A14:97); *líθ wíya čù-məndi,*ˈ *genáwe hàle?*ˈ Has anything happened? Thieves or the like? (A29:22); *ṯ̂-ázən*

máθyən xáčča štèθa,ˈ màzza,ˈ məndi-hàleˈ I shall go and bring some drink, nibbles, and the like (A17:25); *míla l-hàlux!ˈ* Confound you! (literally: Blue on your condition!) (A23:10)

hal, ha- prep. (§13.3.10., §19.3.9.) **until, up to; before; until when.** (1) **until, up to** | *hal-ʾaṣə́rta plìxɛleˈ* He worked until evening (A16:5); *ʾo-mənnéxu t-dàqərˈ b-Mə̀mo,ˈ m-áxxa hál qaṣrət-mìraˈ ṯ-oðə́xle dəmmaˈ* Whoever of you touches Mămo, we shall scatter his blood from here until the palace of the prince (A26:68); *yáʿni xamšá daqíqela hal-ʾə̀ṣraˈ ʾáti ʾàθetiˈ* after five or ten minutes you should come back (A22:22); *hal-ʾìman ṯ-áwət hátxa mdagóle?ˈ* For how long will you lie like this? (A26:56). Before a prepositional phrase: *wíyəx pláša m-ʾaṣə́rta hal-gu-mbadlàθaˈ* We fought from evening until morning (A12:19); *hal-gu-réšət ṭúra* up to the top of the mountain (A14:49). Combined with connective particle *w:* *m-ó-yoma dwíqəlle Mə́mo gu-hàbsa,ˈ ʾu-hàl-ʾədyoˈ* From that day he has held Mămo in prison, until today (A26:75); *kùllən,ˈ mən-yále zóre ʾu-hal-gòṛeˈ* all of us, from young children to old people (B16:4). Content clause as complement (often shortened to *ha-*): *zílela hal-mə́ṭyela l-qàṣraˈ* They went until they arrived at the palace (A24:49); *kazíwa prámə̀lla har-palṭìwa,ˈ hál plíṭla hàtxaˈ* They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up, until they grew like this (A38:15); *mxéla l-ġðàðeˈ ha-ṭ-ṭláθna mìtlaˈ* They beat one another until the three of them died (A22:35). (2) **before** | *ha-ṯ-íle ʾəθya,ˈ mpulátṭɛla fə̀qihˈ* Before he came back, she took out the jurist (A22:39); *pɛšáwa tàlga hal-qedámtaˈ* It would become ice before morning (B15:26). (3) **until when** | *là-palṭət,ˈ hal-ṯ-amrə́nnux plùṭgenaˈ ʾɛ̀-ga pálṭətˈ* Do not come out, until when I say to you 'Come out!', at that time you should come out (A14:67).

hala part. **still (not)** (§15.11.1.) | used before a negative copula or negative existential particle: *ʾìnaˈ núrət xàleˈ ṯ-íwa síqa l-tàmaˈ gu-zòmaˈ hála lɛ̀le ʿə́mya* The fire in the summer house of his maternal uncle, where he was making for, had still not gone out (A25:40); *ʾáwwa nàšaˈ hála lìtwale* This man still did not yet have (a son) (A8:5).

hălāl → *ḥălāl*

halbat part. (K./A.) **of course**

hălikoptər n.f. (E.) **helicopter**

hal-lɛle → *har*

halučakka n.m. (pl. *halučakke*) n.pl. (K.) **black plum**

haluka, halukka n.m. (pl. *haluke, halukke*) (K.) **black plum; black plum tree**

halurašša n.m. (pl. *halurašše*) (K.) **black plum**

halwasna n.m. (pl. *halwasne*) **raspberry** | It grows on a *sunniθa* tree

ham part. (K.) **also; even; again.** (1) **also** | *ʾap-m-d-áni y-óði muràbba,*ˈ *yáʿni ham-mən-sparàgle*ˈ They make jam also from these, that is also from quinces (B5:219). (2) **even** | in conditional constructions: *hám-ʾən yawə́tli zùze,*ˈ *lè-y-aθən*ˈ Even if you give me money, I shall not come. (3) **again** | *ham-zílɛle kásle dìye*ˈ He went again to him (A25:25); *ham-mṣawòre ʾə́lle díye*ˈ He curses him again (A17:3).

hămanta, haymanta n.f. **trust** | *ʾíða hămànta*ˈ a trusted hand (a deposit made by the groom's family to the bride's family as a token of securing the betrothal) (B5:5); *hămántət bèθa*ˈ trust in the family (B5:44).

hambišaya n.m./f. (pl. *hambišaye*) **giant**

hamdān, ḥamdani n.m. (pl. *hamdane*) **sheep with long hanging ears**

hammaše, hammaša adv. (K.) **always**

hanawe n.pl. **internal organs**

handawaya n.m./adj. (pl. *handawaye*) **Indian**

hapupka n.m. (pl. *hapupke*) (K.) **hoopoe bird**

har part. (K.) **always; again; still; as soon as; directly; just, only; the same; surely** (§15.11.). (1) **always, constantly** | *har-bxàya-wawa*ˈ They were constantly continued crying (A25:5); *ʾu-ʾáti har-háwət barày*ɛˈ *ʾu-sáprət ku-ṯ̂-áθe làxxa*ˈ You be outside all the time and wait for whoever comes here (A22:23); *har-blígət b-kàsux*ˈ You are always busy with your stomach (A23:10). (2) **again** | *yómət ṭlàθa*ˈ *har-ṣlèla*ˈ On the third day she went down again (A22:18). (3) **still** | Temporal persistence: *ʾu-dəbbóre hár-hola qam-tắrət bòya*ˈ The hornets were still before the door of the hole (A20:9); *har-xáθe ʾi-bă̆yela*ˈ He still loves his sister (A18:16); *ʾáy har-là-yawəlla*ˈ It still does not give it back (A34:4); *hal-lɛle* < *har-lɛle: hal-lèla gláya*ˈ She (the mother) still does not reveal (the truth) (A38:6). Logically unexpected: *kəmàt ṯ̂-árqena*ˈ *tópe har-ṭapyàli*ˈ However much I run, a gun will still reach me (B9:3). (4) **as soon as** | *har-ðìlɛxu príqlən mən-ṭúra,*ˈ *dérən tòpe,*ˈ *kút-xa maxèla*ˈ *xánjər dìye,*ˈ *ʾo-ṯ̂-íle*

*qáme díye qaṭəlle*ˡ As soon as you know that we have finished (coming over) the mountain, I shall fire a gun and everyone will strike with his dagger and kill the man in front of him (B19:6); *har-qítla bìyux,*ˡ *qaṭlílux ṯ-axlìlux*ˡ As soon as they hit you, they will kill you and eat you (A22:39). (5) **directly** | *har-ʾəθyɛle mən-ṭúra réša-reša d-o-gàre*ˡ He came straight from the mountain onto the roof (A23:14). (6) **just, only** | *har-ʾàna hon-zlíma*ˡ Only I am wronged (A13:5); *lá har-ʾáxni zlìme*ˡ Not only we are wronged (A13:16); *har-ʾàwwɛle*ˡ He is alone (A17:16); *har-ʾàti*ˡ you yourself (and nobody else) (A27:6); *hár-xa xále dìyele*ˡ It is his one and only uncle (A28:11). Narrowing the extent of an action: *ʾína bróna lèla xíltəlle.*ˡ *har-nobáltəlle muttéθəlle mattòye.*ˡ She did not eat the boy. She just took him and put him down. (A19:7); *ʾána har-ṣálən məìta*ˡ *méθən ʾixàla*ˡ *ʾu-ʾàθena*ˡ I'll just go down to the town to bring food and come back (A26:30). (7) **the same** | in combination with demonstratives: *hàr ʾo-yóma* on the same day (A25:4). (8) **surely, indeed** | *ʾáxni har-xònən-it*ˡ You are indeed our brother (A39:12); *ʾay-xá-yoma har-t-yăðа*ˡ *ṯ-íle míθa brònən*ˡ She will surely know one day that our son is dead (A4:39).

hăramāt → *ḥarām*

harmiya, hɛrmiya n.m. (pl. *harmiye, hɛrmiye*) (K.) **pear** | *harmiyət čeri* autumn pear; *harmiyət qɛṭa* summer pear

harmone, ʾarmone n.pl. (sing. *harmonta, ʾarmonta*) **pomegranates** | *ʾilanət harmone* pomegranate tree

harmonta, ʾarmonta n.f. **pomegranate tree**

harnuwa n.f. (pl. *harnuwe*) **rabbit**

harrəj n.m. (A.) **bargain price**

harun n.m. **type of herb**

hašya (i) n.m. (pl. *hašye*) **woven lace** | *ʾašitnàye*ˡ *qəm-mpalṭíla ʾáwwa šálət qðàla,*ˡ *hàšya*ˡ The people from Ashitha produced the neck shawl, (made of) lace (B10:50); *zaqráxwa hàšye,*ˡ *laqṭəxwa*ˡ We would weave works of lace and embroider them (B10:85); *xmaṭət hašya* needle for sewing lace.

hašya (ii) n.m. **herb put in jajək and cheese (like chive)**

hatta, hat part. **even** (A.) | *hátta Gozáli b-gáne mšudrátle lèn θíθa*ˡ Even (when) you sent Gozali himself, I did not come (A8:94); *hat-yəmméy wírən*

*ṭàlba*ˡ I entered attacking even their mother (A12:18); *hátta mɛxólta b-kàwe dárəx ʾəlle-díye*ˡ We even give food to it through the window (A12:62).

hatxa, ʾatxa part. **thus, like this, so, such** | *si-hátxa múrgən ṭla-màlka*ˡ Go, say thus to the king (A17:30); *hàtxɛla qə́ṣṣət*ˡ The story is like this (A13:5); *háyyo hátxa hátxa mànnux!*ˡ Come on you so-and-so! (curse) (A28:21). Adverb: *mjunəgníla hàtxa*ˡ She shook them like this (A4:15); *wíðɛle hó hátxa ʾax-dəbba*ˡ He behaved just like a bear (B18:5). Governing a nominal: *hátxa màndi*ˡ such a thing (A14:6); *čú-bena lat-ṭlíbta hátxa məndiyáne díya hot-ṭlàba!*ˡ You have never requested such things as you are requesting now (A26:45). Governing an adjective: *ʾíman ṭ̂-íle xàzyəlla,*ˡ *hátxa šəṭránta-w šapìrta,*ˡ *ʾay-ṣrìxla*ˡ When he saw her, so beautiful and good-looking, she screamed (A4:4). Expressing approximation: *ʾaṣə̀rta*ˡ *sáʾət ʾə́šta ʾàtxa*ˡ in the evening, around six o'clock (B15:43). End of discourse unit: *xíšɛle l-bɛ̀θa*ˡ *léle-hiwa ʾàtxa*ˡ He did not give (the money) and that was that (A1:9).

hatxane (pl. of *hatxa*) **such things; approximately like this** | *ʾána gə̆́rəg ʾámrən hatxàne*ˡ I must tell such things (A39:7); *záwda mən-ʾarbá-mma šənnele.*ˡ *bálki bíš-ḵ̂em mən-ʾəštà-mma šə́nnela,*ˡ *hàtxane*ˡ *ṭ̂-íle bənya tàma*ˡ It is older than four hunrdred years. Perhaps it is less that six hundred years ago, something like that, when it was built there (B6:31).

havrəkka n.m. (pl. *havrəkke*) (K.) **rival, opponent** | *tre yalone havrəkke šarreley rəš-mammə́kke* two rival children are fighting on the breasts (C2:39).

hawa n.m. (K./A.) **air**

hawar, hawər n.m. (pl. *haware*) (K.) **cry for help** | *haware!* Help!; *hàwar-ila*ˡ Help! (A32:21); *hàwər-ila*ˡ What a calamity! (A7:10); *píštɛla háwar gu-màθa*ˡ There was a cry of alarm in the village (B5:162); *draya hawar/hawər* to call in anguish, call for help: *šúryɛle mxáya gu-réše dráya hàwər*ˡ He began beating his head yelling in anguish (A7:10); *ʾáp-xa la-mṣèle*ˡ *θéle mṭéle hawàrən*ˡ Nobody could come to help us (B15:41).

hawd n.m. (pl. *hawde*) (A.) **basin; flower-bed** | *qumte rixana t-hawdi* His figure was (that of) a basil in my flower-bed (C2:65).

hawga n.m. (pl. *hawge*) (K.) **steam**

hawna n.m. (pl. *hawne*) **mind, intelligence** | *mɛθə̀nne háwni*ˡ I shall try to work it out (literally: I shall bring my intelligence) (A26:36).

hawnana, honana adj. (f. *hawnanta*, pl. *hawnane*) **clever**

hawše, ḥawše n.f. (pl. *hawšaθa*) (K./A.) **sheep-fold, animal pen** | constructed with wicker fencing (*gədla*), usually in the mountains, where the sheep spend the night: *ʾíθ ḥáwše t-ṭùra,*| *mturáṣta xa-dúkθa gu-ṭùra,*| *képe y-áwa zàdyəlla,*| *muráxməlla qa-t-ʾərwe dàwṛi táma*| There is a mountain sheep-fold, a place made in the mountains, in which they have removed the stones and which they have made suitable for the sheep to dwell in.

hayarta n.f. **help**

haymanuθa n.f. **faith**

hazər, hazər, haðər adj. invar. (K./A.) **ready, prepared** | *hazər qa-štaya* ready for drinking; *ʾánna məndiyáne ṯ-it-ṭlábəlla kúlla hàzərila*| All the things that you request are ready (A8:38); *simàrxa*| *wíðtɛla gána hàzər*| The *simarxa* bird prepared herself (A27:13).

he part. **yes** | *maṣítu mšadrítula kàsli?*| *mára hè*| He said 'Can you send her to me?' They said 'Yes' (A4:13).

hedi hedi adv. (K./A.) **slowly** | *ʾáy hédi-hedi qìmla*| She got up slowly (A20:5); *hédi hédi bašə́lwa ʾixàla*| The food cooked slowly (B10:87).

hemza n.m. **edible herb with pungent root and white sap**

heš, həš, š part. **still; (not) yet; (no) longer** (§15.10.). (1) **still** | *héš xúya xùyɛle*| It is still very dark (A30:36); *ʾáy heš-hóla gu-gòma*| She is still in the basement stable (A18:22). As an intensifier of a comparative: *heš-bìš qam-xóna díya qímtɛla*| She rose still earlier than her brother (A8:69); *b-qáryən ʾu-hèš-biš záwda*| I shall call yet louder (A8:72). (2) *heš* + negator = **not yet** | *heš-léle làxxa*| He is not here yet; *heš-léle ʾəθya*| He has not come yet; *š-lézwa mšúrya xála gə̀lla*| It had not yet started to eat grass (B5:175); *qəm-dárila ʾan-dáwwe heš-t-là bráza*| They have poured out the *dawwe* while it is not yet dry (B14:1). (3) *la* + *heš* (generally contracted to *leš, lɛš, laš, ləš*) = **no longer** | *léš-ʾaθəx hayorə̀xlux*| We shall no longer come to help you (A48:6); *leš faydáləx qáṭlət gànəx*| It will no longer be of any use to you to kill yourself (A38:16); *ʾáqlət susɛ́xu ʾən-píšla kèpa,*| *léš maṣítu jawjìtu*| If the legs of your horses have become stone, you will no longer be able to move (A8:28); *léš-ile gu-bèθa*| He is no longer in the house; *léš-in xzàya*| I can no longer see (A24:2).

hewən n.m. (pl. *hewane*) (K.) **season** | *ʾáyya ṭóḵe b-áwwa héwən, m-èka ṭóḵe díya?!* Is this a *ṭoḵe* bird in this season? Where has a *ṭoḵe* bird come from at this time? (A30:36); *hewənət xzada* the harvest season; *qčipewəx mqorəčpewəx t-la-b-hewən ʾu-t-la măjalən* We are cut down and harvested not in the season nor in our time (for cutting) (A51:8); *fa-y-áθe tàlga, ʾu-náše mšéri b-hèwaney maṣlɛ́wa karàθa* (When) the snow came, people would start bringing down loads (of leaves) as they needed them (literally: in their season) (B5:120); *hèwənile* Is is time (to take the honeycomb from the hive) (B5:177); *héwən-t gàre* the season of (sleeping on) the roof (B10:59).

heymanuθa n.f. **faith**

heywən, hɛwən, haywən, ḥeywən, ḥɛwən, ḥaywən n.m. (pl. *heywane* etc.) (K./A.) **animal**

hezara n.m. (pl. *hezare*) **wooden beam used to lock a door**

hezuke n.f. (K.) **swing** | *y-ázi y-óði hèzuke* They go and swing (on a swing) (B6:6).

hɛrike n.pl. (K.) **soft mud** | made in preparation for cultivation of rice: *tré-yomaθa ṭlàθa, maštèwala qá-t xáčča pɛ́šawa rakìxta.*…*ʾáwwa y-amráxxe wáða hɛrìke* Three or four days beforehand, they would irrigate it so that it would become quite soft.… We call this making 'soft mud beds' (B5:76).

həlma n.m. (K.) **breath** | *bắyən mànnux hálma t-yáwət b-rèši* I want you to blow on me (A25:12); *hóla susăwàθa jəmye b-réše díye wáða hàlma b-réše dìye* The horses were gathered over him, blowing onto him (A25:13).

hənd adv. **a little** (K.) | *hánd ṃaḷèwa* It was just enough (B10:6). Before the 3fs. copula (*hənṯ-ila*) in temporal expressions: *hənṯ-ila xázyəlla gane-díye tráb gu-ʾùrxa* All of a sudden (literally: it is a little) he found himself—bang—on a road (A8:40); *hánṯ-ila ṯ-àθe* He will come very soon; *hánṯ-ila rzígli m-šùla* I shall be finished with work very soon.

hənna n.m./f. (A.) **thing** | used as filler: *ʾána háwən šɛ́x d-áyya hànna* I am the sheikh of this thing (i.e. tribe) (A7:7).

həšše n.pl.tan. (K./A.) **senses** | *hóle zíla m-háššе dìye* He has lost his senses; *ʾáw l-háššе dìyele* He is conscious.

hašyər adj. invar. (K.) **careful** | *wi-hàšyər!* Be careful!; *háwət hášyər t-là-ʾaθi ʾállux*ˡ Be careful they do not accost you (A22:26); *háwət hášyər ʾína ʾáyya sústa là marpátla*ˡ Be careful not to let that horse go (A12:29); *daréle gu-yáma hàšyər*ˡ He put it in the sea carefully (A12:30).

hič part. (K.) **no, none** (§14.9.18.) | *ʾíθwa-w lìθwa*ˡ *bíš m-álaha gòṛa*ˡ *líθwa gòṛa*ˡ *hič-nàša*ˡ There was and there was not, there was no man greater than God (opening formula of a story) (A8:2).

hiwi n.f (pl. *hiwiye*) (K.) **hope** | *ʾitli hiwi ṯ-aθən* I hope to come; *ʾítli híwi ṯ-áwət sáx ʾu-sălamətt*ù*θa*ˡ I hope you will be fine and in good health; *ʾo-t-páyəš b-híwi-t nàše*ˡ *míθɛle mən-bərmàše*ˡ He who relies on other people is dead by the evening (D2:28); *žére Fàrxo*ˡ *ṯ-íwən ʾána b-hìwi díya*ˡ Poor (me), Farxo, who am waiting in hope for her (A25:18); *ʾáyya muttáwtəlla híwət bàbi*ˡ She had abandoned hope regarding my father (B9:11); *káze wáða hìwi mánne*ˡ *ʾána xulàmux*ˡ He tried to beg him (saying) 'I am your servant' (A29:33).

ho part. **presentative particle** | *hó ʾan-ṭḷá gerə-qəšta*ˡ Here are the three arrows of a bow (A12:46); *ho-θèli*ˡ Look I have come (A12:66); *ho-dəryənna gáni ʾup-ʾána gu-mìya*ˡ See I threw myself into the water (B15:34).

hodəx adv. **beyond; onwards** | *píðɛle hòdəx*ˡ He passed further on (A41:4); *xáčča xéna bìš-hódəx* a little further on (A7:22); *xáčča bìš hódəx mənna-díya*ˡ a little further along from them (A12:47); *m-táma hódəx ṯ-ázət máṭət xa-nèra*ˡ You go from there onwards and reach a river (A14:50); *m-táma hòdəx*ˡ *ʾáxtu ʾu-gʸanèxu*ˡ From then onwards you are by yourselves (A8:27); *ʾána ʾáwwa ʾíle bèθi*ˡ *m-díya hòdəx*ˡ This is my house from now on (B5:41); *l-ay-gōt-hòdəx t-šaqíθa*ˡ on the farther side of the channel (A9:1); *ʾána bi-zóda m-hódəx là-maṣən ʾoðánnux*ˡ *čù məndí*ˡ I cannot do anything more for you (A8:44). mod. **yonder** | *m-támma hódəx ṭùra ʾáθṛə d-ánna dèwele*ˡ From here to yonder mountain is the land of the wolves (A14:48).

hogəčča n.m. (pl. *hogəčče*) (K.) **three-year-old male sheep**

hosa n.f. (K.) **clamour, commotion** | *bréla hòsa*ˡ Panic broke out (C7:8); *músqəlle dáwla-w zòrna-w*ˡ *hósa ʾu-gargàrta*ˡ They brought him up (with) drum and pipe, and with clamour and shouting (A4:25).

hosta, ʾosta n.m. (pl. *hoste, ʾoste*) (K./A.) **craftsman; master craftsman**

hotxa adv. **aside** | *méθət tánna m-ày-gota,*ˈ *ṯ-ázi dabáše hòtxa*ˈ You put smoke on this side and the bees will go aside (B14:13).

hudxa adv. **beyond** | *ʾána m-axxa-húdxa lè-y-azən*ˈ I shall not go beyond here (A12:23)

huðala n.m. (pl. *huðale*) **stack of bundles (*darze*) of grass**

huðaya n.m./adj. (pl. *huðaye*) **Jew; Jewish**

huðayuθa n.f. **Judaism**

hŭjūm n.m. (A.) **attack**

humna → *mhumna*

hurwa → *ʾurwa*

huta, ḥuta n.m. (pl. *hute, ḥuta*) **whale** | *ʾáwwa náša hùtɛle*ˈ This man (eats like) a whale, he is greedy; *šámša qəm-băléla ḥùta*ˈ a whale has swallowed the sun (i.e. it is eclipsed).

huwedi n.m. **type of wheat**

/ḤḤ/

ḥabba n.f. (A.) **seed, grain**

ḥabbəkθa n.f. (pl. *ḥabbəkyaθa*) **grain, seed; tablet**

ḥaddād n.m. (A.) **blacksmith**

ḥaddād-xana n.f. (K./A.) **blacksmith's shop**

ḥădiqa n.f. (pl. *ḥădayəq*) (A.) **garden**

ḥafla n.f. (A.) **party**

ḥajətta, hajətta, hajət n.f. (K./A.) **pretext**; **tool, instrument** | *me-zome ṣlela b-hajjəttət maše* She came down from his summer pastures with the excuse of (fetching) black beans (C6:1); *jawátta ʾíla hájət šùla*ˈ The chopper is a work tool.

ḥajj n.m. (A.) **pilgrimage**

ḥajjiyuθa n.f. **pilgrimage** | *ʾən-lá zɛrɔ́nna Qṳ̀dus,*ˈ *lɛ̀la qbílta ḥajjiyúθi*ˈ If I do not visit Jerusalem, my pilgrimage is not accepted (A2:1).

ḥăkīm, ḥăkima n.m. (K./A.) **medical doctor**

ḥălāl, hălāl adj. (A.) **permitted** | *háwya halə̀l ṭlálux*ˈ Let her be permitted to you (A12:34); *ʾu-hoya ḥalalta ṭlala* and let it be permitted for her (C1:11).

ḥălăqa n.f. (A.) **ring**

ḥallaqa n.m. (A.) **barber**

ḥamās n.m (A.) **enthusiasm, zeal**

ḥamdani → *hamdān*

ḥammala n.m. (pl. *ḥammale*) (A.) **porter**

ḥammam n.m./f. (pl. *ḥammame, ḥammamaθa*) (A.) **bath, bathroom** | *ʾaw-l-ḥàmmam sáxe*ˈ He washes in the bathroom (A21:17).

ḥănăfiye n.f. (pl. *ḥănăfiyāt*) (A.) **tap**

ḥaqiqi adj. invar. (A.) **true**

ḥaqq n.m. (A.) **price; wage** | *kəmɛ́le ḥàqqe?*ˈ What is its price?; *ʾáxni šáqləx ḥáqqət ʾəjàra mɔ́nne díye*ˈ We shall receive wages from him (A14:15); *ʾu-la-ḥáqqət kàrmi lɛle-yáwa*ˈ nor does he pay the price of the orchard (A17:30).

ḥaqqiθa n.f. (A.) **cost, due (to be paid)**

ḥaqquθa n.f. (A.) **right; fee; what is lawful** | *ʾu-haqquθéxu le-y-tàlqa*ˈ Your right will not be lost (A8:88); *ʾína ʾítli ḥaqqùθi*ˈ but I (must) have my fee (A27:19); *ṯ-ázən ṭắyən báθər ḥaqqùθa*ˈ *ʾu-na-ḥaqqùθa*ˈ I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful (A15:5); *xále díye t-ḥaqqùθa*ˈ His real uncle (A23:28).

ḥărām, hărām adj. invar. (A.) **forbidden** | *ḥărā́m-ile gáwṛa ʾəlli*ˈ *šúq mən-dìyux*ˈ Any man is forbidden to me except you (A12:35); n.pl. *hăramāt* | *ʾu-zílle hăramə̀t*ˈ It was sold for nothing (A22:9).

ḥărara n.f. (A.) **heat**

ḥăras n.m. (A.) **guard, watch**

ḥarəs n.m. (pl. *ḥurrās*) (A.) **guard**

ḥarj n.m. (A.) **predicament**

ḥars n.m. (A.) **guard**

ḥasba l-ʾŭṣūl (A.) **according to principles, in order; as usual**

ḥaṣəl n.m. (A.) | in phrase *wa-l-ḥaṣəl* (A.) and in sum.

ḥăšīm adj. invar. (A.) **foolish, timid**

ḥḏira adj. (f. *ḥḏirta*, pl. *ḥḏire*) (A.) **present, attending**

ḥəmaya n.f. (A.) **protection**

ḥŭdūd n.m. (A.) **border**

ḥukma n.f. (A.) **the government**

ḥur adj. invar. (A.) **pure** | *mášxa ḥùr*ˡ pure butter (B5:31)

ḥurriya, hurriya n.f. (A.) **freedom**

ḥuta → *huta*

/J/

jabla n.f. (A.) **mud and straw mix acting as cement in the construction of houses**

jadda n.m. (pl. *jaddane*) (A.) **road**

jăhannam n.m. (A.) **hell**

jajək n.m. (K./T.) **yoghurt mixed with water (*dawwe*) and the herbs *sərmo, hašya, purəpxina* or *bizər***

jăkēt n.m., *jăketa* n.f. (pl. *jăkete, jăketaθa*) (E.) **jacket**

jalda n.m. (pl. *jalde*) (A.) **stroke (of a stick, whip)** | *qəm-maxèle*ˡ *ʾəṣrà-jalde*ˡ He struck him ten strokes (A30:14).

jalde adv. (K.) **quickly, early** | *y-awáðle jàlde*ˡ He does it quickly; *lwíša júlle hátxa jálde jàlde*ˡ He put on his clothes very quickly (A4:55); *šqilíle jal-jàlde*ˡ He quickly took them (A15:2); *kut-sámqa jàlde,*ˡ *šaqlàla*ˡ She takes

out whichever one (flat bread) is brown soonest (B5:102); *kút maṭéwa qamáya jàldəlle*ˡ *mɛθèwale*ˡ Whoever was the quickest and reached it first would bring it back (B5:154); *ʾána θéli jàlde*ˡ I am early; *qedamta jalde* early in the morning. *m-jalde* **recently; a long while ago** | *m-jàldela ʾáθye* They have come recently; *ʾáyya lɛ̀wa rába m-jálde,*ˡ *bálki ṯ-àwya*ˡ *ʾámma-w xámši šánne hàtxa*ˡ This was not very recently, perhaps it was something like a hundred and fifty years ago (B4:17); *ʾaw-bányɛle m-jálde ʾatìqa*ˡ It was built in very ancient times (B14:2).

jalduθa n.f. **speed, quickness** | *b-jalduθa* quickly

jal-jalde → *jalde*

jalla nune n.m./f. (pl. *jalla nune*) **fish-eating bird** | It has a long beak (*naqruza rixa*) and comes to the region in winter

jallada n.m. (pl. *jallade*) (A.) **executioner** | *bába díya hóle mùtta*ˡ *jallàde*ˡ Her father has appointed executioners (A25:32).

jallәkθa n.f. (pl. *jallәkyaθa*) **rabbit trap**

jallida n.m. (pl. *jallide*) (A.) **icicle**

jalṭa n.f. (A.) **stroke, blood clot**

jama n.m. (pl. *jame*) (A.) **mosque**

jamәkka n.m. (pl. *jamәkke*) (K.) **twin** | *mḥuṣálla jamàkke*ˡ She gave birth to twins (A8:6).

jamm n.f. (pl. *jammaθa*) (A.) **glass; green-house**

jamme n.f. (K.) **twin** | *xaθa jamme* twin sister

jănaza n.f. (A.) **coffin; burial** | *hadíya gáwrəx píša jănàzɛle*ˡ Your husband is now dead (A10:13).

janga n.m./f. (K.) **fight, contention** | *mare janga* contentious, difficult person

jaqsi n.m. (pl. *jaqsiye*) (K.) **craftsman** | *ʾu-síqɛle gu-d-ó sàrga*ˡ *mtúrṣa l-an-jaqsìye*ˡ *t-mðìta*ˡ He went up onto the saddle, which was made by the town craftsmen (A8:52); *sépe díye… qəm-nablále kəs-jàqši*ˡ She took his sword to a craftsman (A52:11).

jarāḥ n.m. (A.) **wound, sore**

jareta, jarreta n.f. (pl. *jarreyaθa*) (A.) **food for journey or work, food bag** | *mattánnux jarréta láxma zeðàye*ˡ I shall provide you with a food bag of pitta breads (A30:5); *də-mjăməxlən jarrèta*ˡ Let us put together a food bag for ourselves (A30:41).

jarge n.pl. (K.) **inner organs (lungs, heart etc**.) | *ʾUsman mxurxile jarge* He burnt the viscera of Usman (C7:10).

jarguma n.m. (pl. *jargume*) **type of large dove**

jariya n.f. (A.) **maid-servant**

jarra n.m. (pl. *jarre*) (K./A.) **water jar, pot**

jarriθa n.f. **small water jar, pot**

jaruṭa adj. (f. *jaruṭṭa*, pl. *jaruṭe*) **slippery**

jăwāb, jăwaba, jwaba n.m. (A.) **reply; report; message** | *ṯ-awéləx jăwā́b ʾàtiˡ* You will have an answer (A8:74); *ʾé-ga xárθa θéle xa-jăwāb qa-màlkaˡ* Then, in the end, a report came to the king (A8:5); *yíwɛle jăwába ṭla-yàlaˡ* He conveyed a message to the young man (A21:33).

jawda n.m. (pl. *jawde*) **water skin**

jawətta n.f. (pl. *jawəttaθa*) **wood chopper**

jaxəšta n.f. (pl. *jaxəšyaθa*) (K.) **young female mule**

jaxša n.m. (pl. *jaxše*) (K.) **young male mule**

jăzira n.f. (A.) **island**

jeba, jɛba n.m. (pl. *jebe, jebane*) (A.) **pocket**

jəlja n.m. (pl. *jəlje*) **slice of meat that is hung in the sun to dry** | When such slices dry, they are called *qadida* and stored in a bag known as *mziða*.

jənjara, jəngara n.m. (K.) **difficulty, hardship** | *npílewəx gu-jəngàra*ˡ We fell on hard times; *jənjarət sətwa* the hardship of the winter

jənna n.m. (pl. *jənne*) **dirge**

jənne n.pl. (K./A.) **demons**

jərziya n.m. (pl. *jərziye*) (E.) **jersey; sweater**

jēš n.m. (A.) **army**

jiðoqe n.pl. (K.) **innards of an animal** | eaten as a dish, stuffed and cooked

jigara, jigɛra n.m. (pl. *jigare, jigɛre*) (A./E.) **cigarette**

jəngara n.m. (K.) **rust**

jinika n.m. (pl. *jinike*) (K.) **sideburn, side-whisker**

jisəqθa (pl. *jisqaθa*) → *gisəqθa*

jmeta n.f. (pl. *jmayaθa*) **gathering (of people)**

jnanta n.f. (pl. *jnanyaθa, jənne*) **dirge**

jorta n.f. (pl. *jore*) **urine**

jubarrək n.f. (pl. *jubarrəkke*) (K.) **mite that eats rice and flour**

jŭda adj./adv. invar. (K.) **separate** | *ʾáwwa glās máttule jŭda*ˡ Put this glass aside; *ʾánna məndiyáne jŭdela*ˡ These things are different.

judala n.m. (A.) **argument** | *ʾáni ʾu-qáša Sérgun wírra b-judàla*ˡ These people and the priest Sargun entered into an argument (B1:17).

julla n.m. **cloth** | *hóle dárya jùlla b-réša*ˡ He put a cloth over them (A25:48).
julle n.pl. **clothes** | *julle ṭiyariyana* Ṭiyare style clothes (festive clothes worn by the groom at a wedding B10:33); *kúlley júlle díye y-áwa nčĭle*ˡ All his clothes were ragged (B16:10); *diya-méθu júlli malušùla*ˡ Now bring my clothes and put them on (me) (A4:20); *xamšá-mma bnàθa*ˡ *kúlla lwíše júllət ʾùrze*ˡ five hundred girls, all wearing men's clothes (A25:76).

jullajena n.m. **type of thorny shrub**

julləkθa n.f. (pl. *julləkyaθa*) (K.) **pail for milk or yoghurt**

jundi n.m. (pl. *jundiye*) (A.) **soldier**

jurjēt n.m. (A.) **type of velvet fabric** | *jurjēt zərqəf* decorated fabric, *jurjēt sada* fabric without decorations

jutyara n.m. (pl. *jutyare*) (K.) **farmer**

juwala n.m./f. (pl. *juwale*) (K.) **sack** | local produce made of goat's hair (*seṛət ʾərwət kome*), as opposed to the type of sack know as *guniya*, which is manufactured outside the villages

juwarre n.f. (pl. *juwarriyaθa*) (K.) **nosebag**

juwəlta n.f. (pl. *juwəlyaθa*) (K.) **small sack**

juwiθa n.f. (pl. *juwiyaθa*) (K.) **pot that is buried in the ground to make jajək** | It is covered with a fig leaf (*ṭarpət tena*) and a small piece of fabric (*čəngərta*).

jvoṭa adj. (f. *jvoṭṭa*, pl. *jvoṭṭe*) **straight** | *kawsa jvoṭa* straight hair (anton. *kawsa kərtana* curly hair), *qɛse jvoṭe* straight sticks

jwanna n.m. (pl. *jwanne*) **thorn; thorn tree** | Also *ʾilanət jwanne* thorn tree. The thorns of this are used to make fences. This type of tree is decorated and auctioned at wedding celebrations to raise money for the married couple (B5:39).

jwanqa n.m. adj. (K.) **young man; handsome** | *ʾa-parṣópa díyux hátxa jwànqa*ˈ This face of yours, which is so handsome (A8:41).

jwanqona n.m. (pl. *jwanqone*) **young man**

jwanquθa n.f. **youth**

jwina n.m. (pl. *jwine*) **side (in a game, conflict)**

/K/

ka- part. **while** (§19.3.14.) | *dáx mṣéle ʾáyya bráta qəm-ʾawádla b-pəlxánət bɛ̀θa,*ˈ *ʾu-ká-t brátət màlka*ˈ *ʾu-lípta har-dmàxa-w xála*ˈ How could he have made this girl a hard-working housewife, while (she is) the daughter of the king and is used to only sleeping and eating (A21:32); *mbúrxəllən l-ǧðàðe*ˈ *ka-xóna ʾu-xàθa,*ˈ *lá ka-gáwṛa-w bàxta*ˈ They have wed us together while (we are) brother and sister, and not while (we are) husband and wife (A16:8).

kăbabe n.pl. (K./T.) **kebabs**

kăčăla adj. (f. *kăčăle*, pl. *kăčăle*) (K.) **bald**

kada n.m. (pl. *kade*) (K.) **sweet pastry (made for festivals)** (B6:51)

kăfiyya n.f. (pl. *kăfiyyāt*) (A.) **handkerchief**

kaka n.m. (pl. *kake*) **tooth**

kakta (pl. *kakyaθa*) **small tooth (of a comb)** | *kakyaθət masərqa* teeth of a carding comb

kalabča n.m. (pl. *kalabče*) (K./A.) **handcuffs**

kălăma n.m. (pl. *kălăme*) (K.) **cabbage**

kălama n.m./f. (pl. *kălame*) (K.) **long thorn of *parzena* or *jwanna* tree |** used for building fencing (*sya'a*)

kalba n.m. (pl. *kalwe, kalbe*) **dog | *kálba brət-kálba*** dog son of a dog! (A6:12); *kálbe bərt-kàlbe*ˡ dogs sons of dogs! (A7:15).

kaləbθa n.f. (pl. *kaləbyaθa*) **bitch**

kăləma n.f. (A.) **word**

kalle n.f. (K.) **herd | *kállət gamèše***ˡ a herd of buffaloes (A32:17)

kalləš, kălaša n.m./f. (pl. *kălaše*) (K.) **corpse, carrion**

kalo, kʾalo, čalo n.f. (pl. *kalowaθa*) **bride; doll**

kaluθa n.f. **bridehood**

kalθa n.f. (pl. *kalaθa*) **daughter-in-law**

kămăra n.f. (*kămăre*) (K.) **belt (worn by women)**

kămaxa n.m. (pl. *kămaxe*) (K.) **pelvis bone; haunch of an animal**

kanaša n.m. (pl. *kanaše*) **sweeper**

kanda m. (pl. *kande*) (K.) **cliff, crag, precipice | *qaṣrux banyanne l-kanda*** I shall build your palace on a cliff top (C3:10).

kanoša n.m. (pl. *kanoše*) **broom**

kanošta n.f. (pl. *kanošyaθa*) **small broom, brush**

kanun qamaya n.m. **December**

kanun xaraya n.m. **January**

kanuna n.m. (pl. *kanune*) **stones used for cooking; fireplace, hearth |** This is either open or enclosed by a clay cover to trap the heat. It is located in house or outhouse (*ṣopiθa*).

kăpăna n.m. (pl. *kăpăne*) (K.) **thick woolen cloak of shepherd**

kapora n.m./adj. (pl. *kapore*) **infidel, scoundrel; cruel; awful (weather).** (1) **infidel, scoundrel | *ʾáwwa kapòrɛle.***ˡ *ʾána ʾəṣrà-jalde məxyálli.*ˡ He is a scoundrel. He beat me with ten strokes. (A30:15) (2) **awful (weather) |**

ʾéwe ʾən-θéla m-la-Zàwa,ˈ ṯ-áθe xa-yóma ṭàwa.ˈ ʾən-ʾéwe θéla m-Xawòra,ˈ ṯ-áθe xa-yóma kapòra.ˈ If the clouds come from the side of the Zab (i.e. the East), a good day will come. If the clouds come from the Khabur (i.e. the West), an awful day will come (D2:16).

kār, kēr n.m./f. (K.) **work, effect** | *ʾíθwa káma gəllále palṭíwa mən-d-ò-rəzza,ˈ qá-t la-ʾoðíwa kə̀rˈ* there were several plants that they took out of the rice, so that they did not have an effect (B5:78)

karafəs n.m. (A.) **celery**

karawəs n.m. **celery**

karaxa administrator of water channels (*šaqyaθa*). He redirected water channels when a field was sufficiently irrigated.

karaxa, karraxa n.m. (pl. *karaxe*) **irrigation adminstrator** | He was concerned principally with regulating the flow of water in water channels (*šaqyaθa*). → *karxa*

karaxuθa n.f. **the profession of irrigation administrator**

karba, kɛrba n.m. **anger** | *ʾána-ži m-kérbi ʾəθyən ʾá-kθɛθa múttənna rəš-núra ʾu-xìlənnaˈ* I, out of my anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it (A2:11).

kareza n.m. (pl. *kareze*) (K.) **deep channel for bringing subterranean water to the surface or conducting a spring from the hills to the plain**

karma, kɛrma, kʷɛrma n.m. (pl. *karme, karmane*) **vineyard; orchard**

karoba adj. (f. *karobta*, pl. *karobe*) **angry (by nature)**

karra n.m. (P.) **hard butter (brought from towns)**

karrəkka n.m. (pl. *karrəkke*) (K.) **sheep shears**

karrəkka adj. **unripe (mulberry)** | *tuθe karrəkke* unripe mulberries; *tuθta karrəkθa* an unripe mulberry

karta, kɛrta n.f. (pl. *karaθa*) (K.) **load of wood (tied together with rope)** | *kút-yum ʾazáwa l-ṭúra maθyáwa ða-kérta qésa l-xáṣa dìyaˈ* Everyday she would go to the mountains and bring a load of wood on her back (A10:6); *mattúla kàrteˈ* He lays down his load (A15:3).

karxa n.m. (pl. *karxe*) **basin in a paddy field** | This word is not generally used in Barwar (where *məššara* is the normal term for this), but its derivative *karaxa* irrigation administrator is widely current.

kasa, kʷasa n.f. (pl. *kasaθa*) **stomach; belly** | *naša mare kʷasa* a plump person

kasa n.m. (pl. *kase*) **chalice**

kasana n.m./adj. (pl. *kasane*) **glutton**

kasɛθa, kəssɛθa n.f. **lid, cover**

kašira adj. (f. *kaširta*, pl. *kašire*) **hard-working**

kaska adj. (f. and pl. *kaske*) (K.) **green**

kasknaya adj. (f. *kasknɛθa*, pl. *kasknaye*) **greenish**

kasrāt n.pl. (A.) **pleats (on clothes)**

kašxa n.m. (K./A.) **suit, smart clothes** | *ʾína huðáya lwíša kášxa-w júlle xàθeˈ* Behold the Jew was wearing a smart suit and new clothes (A6:6).

kata n.m. (pl. *kate*) **leaf sprouting on felled tree or severed branch**

kătɛra n.m. (pl. *kătɛre*) **middle of the back**

kawaza n.f. (pl. *kawaze*) **earthenware pot for water** | made of green clay

kawda n.f. (pl. *kawdaθa*) **liver**

kawe n.f. (pl. *kawaθa*) **small window without glass; small aperture; small hole in the wall of a church in which burning wicks (*punde*) are placed** | *ʾíθwa xa-kàweˈ l-gàreˈ* There was a window in the roof (A10:4); *kawət tăra* a small hole in a door. In winter the breezes were stopped blowing through such windows in houses by placing a woolen cloth (*jullət ʾamṛa*) in the hole.

kawədna n.m. (pl. *kawədne*) **male mule**

kawša n.m. (pl. *kawše*) **handle of a plough**

kawsa n.m. **hair**

kawta n.m. (pl. *kawte*) (K.) **flock (of sheep)** | *xa-káwtət ʾərweˈ* a flock of sheep (A32:14).

kawuθra n.f. (pl. *kawuθre, kawuθraθa*) **lunch; noon, early afternoon** | *b-óma xéna ʾáθeti ṭla-kawùθra*ˈ The day after tomorrow come to lunch (A22:14); *kawúθrux brìxta*ˈ Good afternoon.

kaža n.m./f. (K.) **pine tree**

kaθawa n.m. (pl. *kaθawe*) **writer**

kaθawta n.f. (pl. *kaθawyaθa*) **writer (f.)**

kaθowa n.m. (pl. *kaθowe*) **writer**

kčixa adj. (f. *kčixta*, pl. *kčixe*) **tired**

kēf n.f. (K./A.) **pleasure, enjoyment** | *kèfux-ila*ˈ It is up to you, do as you please; *har-m-kèfəx?*ˈ Is that really your wish (B9:13); *dáx-ile kèfux?*ˈ How are you doing? (A22:12); *ʾáwwa θéle kèfe*ˈ He became happy (A22:18); *mábsəm ʾu-ṭáre kēf*ˈ He will enjoy himself and have a good time (A2:8); *málla múttəlle réše dmìxa,*ˈ *ṭlìya,*ˈ *kéfe basìmta*ˈ The mullah lay down his head, lay down and slept contented (A6:5); *léla maxrówəlla kèfa*ˈ They do not disturb her (A21:9); *dawáqle xmára b-íðe qa-t-lá-ʾazəl kéfe dìye*ˈ He holds the ass by his hand so that it does not walk about freely; *mqáwlət goràtle,*ˈ *t-yálla jùlla.*ˈ *ʾən-là,*ˈ *har-t-yálla júlləx b-kèfəx*ˈ If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes. If not, he will still give you the clothes, if you want them (A14:83); *klè!*ˈ *ʿala-kèfəx!*ˈ Wait! calm down! (A4:19)

kēk, keka n.m. (pl. *keke*) (E.) **cake**

kenapka n.m. (pl. *kenapke*) (K.) **press-stud (to fasten clothes)**

kenaya n.m. **nature**

kepa, kʷepa n.m. (pl. *kepe*) **stone** | *kepət dama* backgammon counter; *mšáni kèpux!*ˈ Move your counter!

kepana n.m. **gravel**

kepaye n.pl. (sing. *kepaya*) **stuffed sheep's stomachs**

kepta n.f. (pl. *kepyaθa*) **small stone; bullet.** (1) **small stone** | used to refer to the small stone that is heated in the fire and thrown in the snow as a game played in the celebrations at the end of the winter month of March. (2) **bullet, lead head of the bullet cartridge** | *dréli tópe ʾu-képta la-qìtla*ˈ I fired the gun but the bullet did not hit (its mark); *keptət pišanga* head of the bullet cartridge.

kerapso n.f. **edible herb** | pungent to the taste, eaten crushed and mixed with red sumac berries (*smoqe*)

kere n.pl. (sing. *kera*) (K.) **wooden snow shoes**

kerova n.m. (K.) **snow storm, blizzard**

kežurta n.f. (K.) **fine pieces of wood put on roof** | Roofs were constructed with several layers in the following order: *qaryaθa* (large beams), *nire/qarše* (slats), *kežurta* (fine wooden pieces), *ṭarpa* (leaves), *jabla* (cement), *ʾupra* (clay), *ʾupra xwara* (white clay), *sərsərra* (powdered white clay)

kɛ- part. (inflected with L-suffixes §8.20.4.) **where?** | *kéle?* Where is he?; *kélux?* Where are you?; *kélən?* Where are we? etc. → *ʾɛka*.

kɛla n.m. (pl. *kɛle*) **measure** | *b-ó-kɛla péšət kìla*ˡ You will be measured by the same measure (A41:6).

kɛlana n.m. (pl. *kɛlane*) **measure**

kɛmɛre n.f./adj. **white-striped (name of a nanny goat)**

kɛra n.f. (K.) **preparedness for a fight** | *ʾaw-wíðəlla kére dìye*ˡ He prepared himself for a fight (A18:17); *wúdla kèrux!*ˡ Be prepared for a fight!

kɛrma → *karma*

kəčkaje n.pl. (K.) **dried fruits (especially dried apples)** | These were mainly eaten during Lent

kəčxa n.m. **tiredness**

kədbək n.m. (E.) **kit bag**

kədde n.pl. (sing. *kədda*) **snow shoes**

kəlbəttən n.m. (pl. *kəlbəttane*) (K./A.) **pincers**

kəlkăla n.m. (K.) **intense heat (of summer)**

kəlša n.m. **gypsum**

kəlya adj. (f. *kliθa*, pl. *kəlye*) **standing**

kəma mod. adv. **how many/much? some, several; so much/many; however much, as much as; when; as for** (§14.9.9., §19.3.5.) (1) **how many? how much?** (interrogative) | *ʾína kəmà-gaye zíllux ʾu-šqíllux ʾáyya?*ˡˡ How many times have you gone and taken it? (B15:90);

*ʾawwa ʾaskaríya dìye*ˈ *ṭlà-kəma dánɛla.ʔ*ˈˈ For what time is this army of his for? Used independently: *kəmà t-yátli.ʔ*ˈˈ How much will you give me? (A24:5). Used predicatively: *sáʾət kəmèla.ʔ*ˈˈ The time is how much? (= What time is it?) (A26:27). Adverb: *kəmà zonátle.ʔ*ˈˈ For how much will you buy him? (A24:23). (2) **some, several** | *kə́ma gàye*ˈ several times (B9:18); *y-oráwa kə́ma yàrxe*ˈ Several months passed (B5:18). (3) **so much, so many** (exclamatory) | *ʾána kəmà dána ṯ̂-in-mṣalóye ṭla-márya ʾàlaha*ˈ *ta-t-yawə́lli ʾəmma dáwe*ˈ I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins (A6:10); *kəma-basìmtɛla ʾixála.ˈˈ* The food is so delicious! (A21:31). Adverb: *baxtáθa kə́ma zə̆dáwa mən-xuwwàwe.ˈˈ* The women feared snakes so much! (B5:78). Governing a clause (usually abbreviated to *ma*): *ʾánna ma-ṯ̂-íla xmíle b-ġðàðe.ˈˈ* How happy they were together! (A4:50); *ʾu-ṭə̀lyela*ˈ *ma-t-wáwa kə̆̂xe*ˈ They slept, so tired were they (A14:43). (4) **however much, as much as** (governing a clause) | *kəmàt ṯ̂-árqena*ˈ *tópe har-ṭapyàli*ˈ However much I run, a gun will still reach me (B9:3); *xúl kəma-t-bə̆̀yət*ˈ Eat as much as you want (B15:56). (5) **when** | *ma-t-wéwa brōn-málka qáryəlle ʾo-kθàwa,*ˈ *máre spày.ˈˈ* When the son of the king had read the letter, he said 'Good!' (A11:18). (6) **as for** | *kəmá ṯ̂-íle Rùstam,*ˈ *ʾáw mbaqórəlle Tătár-i Slemán-i Səndi*ˈ As for Rustam, he asked for Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi (A28:24).

kəmkəmma, kərkəmma n.m. (pl. *kəmkəmme*) **large lizard**

kəndala n.m (pl. *kəndale*) (K.) **slope** | *ṣále kəndàla*ˈ He goes down the slope (A28:19); *táwre masóqəlla b-o-kəndàla*ˈ He took the oxen up the slope (A30:9); *ṯ̂-árqən b-o-kəndála hár qaṭlìli*ˈ If I run down the slope, they will kill me (B9:4).

kənθa n.f. (pl. *kənnane*) **kidney**

kəppa n.m. (pl. *kəppe*) (K./A.) **ankle, anklebone**

kəppəkθa n.f. (pl. *kəppəkyaθa*) (K./A.) **arch on the bottom of the foot (between heel and toes)**

kəpθa n.f. (*kəpyaθa*) **arch on the bottom of the foot (between the heel and toes)**

kərkəmma → *kəmkəmma*

kərkəroka n.m. (K.) **adam's apple, larynx** | *kərkərokət qðala* the adam's apple of the neck

kərra n.m./adj. (pl. *kərre*) (K.) **sheep or goat with short ears, crop-eared**

kərsəlle n.pl. **dung of horses, asses and mules** (sing. *kursəlta* a piece of dung)

kərtana adj. (f. *kərtanta*, pl. *kərtane*) **curly** | *kawsa kərtana* (anton. *kawsa jvoṭa* straight hair)

kərya adj. (f. *kriθa*, pl. *kərye*) **short**

kəs- prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *kəsle*) **at/to the home of (a person); to (object); with; next to.** (1) **at/to the home/presence of** | *čídət kəslèni*ˈ You are invited to our home (A22:14). Frequently after verbs of movement: *zílle kəs-màlka*ˈ He went to the king (A17:31); *xa-yála hóle ʾáθya táma kəslèy*ˈ a young man has come to their home (A17:21); *θíθɛla koðánta kàsli*ˈ The mule came up to me (B5:132); *ʾáni kályе kəs-bɛ̀θa*ˈ They all stayed at home (A39:12). (2) **to (an object)** after verbs of movement | *ríqle kəs-d-à ʾilána*ˈ He ran to the tree (A14:27), *qrúla qrúla kásle dìye*ˈ They came near to it (A14:42). (3) **with** | *dmíxɛle kəs-báxtət ʿAbda-Raḥmā̀n-bēk*ˈ He slept with the wife of ʿAbda-Raḥmān-bēk (A23:26). (4) **next to, by** | *múttəlla kəs-d-ó Kărim-addìn*ˈ He put it next to Karimaddin (A14:31); *mattátla xa-kawázət míya kəs-réša-w bàs*ˈ Put out for her only a jar of water by her head (A21:7).

kəsənθa n.f. (pl. *kəsənyaθa*) (A.) **jewel; treasure** | *max-kəsánθət dàwhɛla*ˈ She is like a golden jewel.

kəskənna n.m. **yellow flower**

kəsna n.m. (pl. *kəsne*) (A.) **jewel; treasure**

kəssɛθa → *kasɛθa*

kəštəvana n.m. (pl. *kəštəvane*) (K.) **cross piece of wood in the frame of a bed (*taxta*) made of poplar (*xorta*)**

kətwa n.m. (pl. *kətwe*) **spike, thorn**

kətwa bloka n.m. **type of herb**

kətwana adj. (f. *kətwanta*, pl. *kətwane*) **spiky; thorny** | *gəlla kətwana* thorny plant

kəxla n.m. **kohl (for eyes)**

kəxra n.m. **grass fodder for animals**

kəxwa n.m., *kxuθa* n.f. (pl. *kəxwe*) **star** | *káxwət gu-mbadlàθa*ˡ dawn star (A12:15). Mark on animal: *ʾu-xá káxwa gu-be-ʾéne díye kòma*ˡ with a black star on its forehead (A8:62); *xá-ðabəṭ ʾəngləznáya ṯ-ítwale ṭḷà káxwe*ˡ An English officer who had two stars (i.e. a captain) (B17:12); *kxuθa* goat with a white mark on its head.

kəzma n.m. (pl. *kəzme*) **wooden prop supporting vine in a vineyard**

kilo n.m. (pl. *kiloye, kiloʾe*) **kilo**

kilon n.f. (pl. *kilone*) (K.) **metal lock (of a door)**

kima, čima n.f. **the Pleiades (constellation)** | *mbáqər kíma-w gabbàre*ˡ ask the Pleiades and Orion (A38:12); *ṯ-asqa čima-w gabbare* Pleiades and Orion will rise (C2:3).

kisa n.m. (pl. *kise*) **large bag**

kista n.f. (pl. *kisyaθa*) **small bag**

kiwara, kiwɛra n.m. **thorny plant**

kiyola n.m. (pl. *kiyole*) **measure, quantity**

kizəkka n.m. (pl. *kizəkke*) (K.) **spark** | *b-léle rúmxe díye hóla mxáya kizəkke*ˡ In the night his spear was giving off sparks (A12:9).

kizikizo n.f. **edible herb**

klama n.m. (pl. *klame*) **wooden collar of ox; sacking tied over mouth of ox to prevent it from eating corn during threshing (*dwara*)**

kliča adj. (f. *kličta*, pl. *kliče*) **stripped, peeled; excoriated** | *šaqòla*ˡ *kúlle klìča*ˡ a shank completely stripped of its meat (A30:30); *ʾáyya dúkθe díye hátxa klíčta* This part of him was scratched (B9:25).

klila n.m. (pl. *klile*) **crown, coronet; coronet decorations on clothes** | *ma-yəmmux ʾazla klile* Oh your mother spins crowns (A50:15).

kliθa n.f. (pl. *kəlyaθa*) **kidney**

klōš n.m. **wide skirt**

kništa n.f. (pl. *knišyaθa*) **synagogue**

koǰa, qoǰa n.m./adj. (f. and pl. *koǰe*) (K.) **hornless (goat/sheep); type of wheat without hairs (*dasiye*)**

kočari n.m. (pl. *ǩočariye*) (K.) **nomadic pastoralist** | They would take sheep and goats up to the summer pastures (*zomăwaθa*) in the summer and bring them down to the plains (*dastaθa*) in the winter.

kočarnaya n.m./adj. (pl. *kočarnaye*) (K.) **nomad** | *kočarnáyət qurðàye*[1] nomadic Kurds (B18:1)

koðənta n.f. (pl. *koðənyaθa*) **female mule**

koḥol n.m. (A./E.) **alcohol**

koləkθa n.f. (pl. *koləkyaθa*) (K.) **chicken coop; wooden chamber of a partridge trap buried in the ground; shooting hut (used when hunting partridges)**

koma adj. (f. *komta*, pl. *kome*) **black** | *xáʾa lwíša kòma*[1] somebody dressed in black (A12:5); *kōm-paθa* disgraced

komaya n.m. **negro**

komnaya adj. (f. *komnɛθa*, pl. *komnaye*) **blackish**

kompaθuθa n.f. **disgrace**

kopa adj. (f. *kopta*, pl. *kope*) **low** | *ʾəθyewəx kope kope qam-məṭra ʾu-qam dalope* We have come bending down in rain and drizzle (C1:14). adv. **below** | *náše ʾíwa kòpa*[1] *kùlla,*[1] *ʾu-ʾáwwa gárewa ràma*[1] The people were all below and he (the groom) was high up on the roof (B5:42).

kopana adj. (f. *kopanta*, pl. *kopane*) **low**

korašina n.m. **wild plant**

kore n.f. (pl. *korăwaθa*) (K.) **hole (in the ground)** | This is narrower than a *čale*. Cheese and jajək are buried in a *kore*. *gðaltət kore, ṭawaltət kore* wrestling of the hole, game of the hole. One of the wrestlers has a foot in a hole. If the opponent pushes him over and his foot comes out of the hole, he loses the game.

kosa adj. (pl. *kose*) **beardless, immature** | *ʾən-lá doqátle dáqnux b-ìðux,*[1] *la-ʾámrət qa-xáwrux kòsa*[1] If you cannot hold your own beard in your hand, do not call your friend beardless (D2:54).

kosiθa n.f. (pl. *kosyaθa*) **hat (worn by men)** | *kosiθət parre* hat with feathers

kosta n.f. (pl. *kosyaθa*) (K.) **pen for young lambs in basement stable**

kotăla m. (pl. *kotăla*) (K.) **raised tank attached to a water-mill which fills with water from a channel and releases water flow at a high pressure to drive the mill.** | This structure was necessary when the water did not come from a natural height and did not have natural pressure.

koxa n.m. (pl. *koxe*) (K.) **hut**

koza n.m. (pl. *koze*, *kozăwaθa*) (K.) **sheltered place for pasturing in inclement weather in Winter and Spring**

krehət, *krēt* adj. cs. (pl. *krehətte*, *krete*) (K./A.) **bad** | *ʾÁšwuṭ rába krèt-iwa gu-ʾàθṛa*ˡ (The month of) February was very bad in our land (B5:152); *ʾap-ʾÁšwuṭ krèhət y-áwe*ˡ (The month of) February is also bad (B5:197).

krēt → *krehət*

krəstyana n.m./adj. (pl. *krəstyane*) **Christian**

kriba adj. (f. *kribta*, pl. *kribe*) **angry**

krihe n.pl. (C.Syr.) **suffering ones** | *rúšma t-krìhe*ˡ the sign of the suffering ones (made to an infant at baptism) (B6:36)

ktana n.m. **cotton**

kuba n.m. (pl. *kube*) (A.) **cup** | *kúbə čáy* tea cups (A32:24)

kubbe n.pl. (sing. *kubba*) (A.) **meat-balls**

kuddina n.m. (pl. *kuddine*) (K.) **cub (of animal)**

kuddinta n.f. (pl. *kuddinyaθa*) (K.) **female cub**

kul, *ku*, *kulla* mod. **every; all, all of** (§14.9.2.). (1) **every** | *kúl-naša* every person (B6:35); *kúl-məndi* everything (B10:64); *kúl-xa suràya* every Christian (B6:1); *ku-béθa* every house (B7:7); *kul-náše tre-ṭlá-yomane šatìwa*ˡ Everybody would drink and eat for two or three days (B15:64). (2) **all, all of** | *kúlla náše* all the people (B10:88); *míye díye kúlla* all its water (B6:42); *ʾáni kùlla* all of them (B7:17); *kúlla tunìθa* all of the story (A29:12); *kúlla Bèrwər* all of Barwar (B10:100); *ʾo-béθa kúlla* all of that family (B5:21); *ʾixála kúlle* all of the food (B6:5). Used independently: *zadáwale kúlla m-gàre*ˡ They throw all of it (the snow) from the room

(B5:195); *kúlla mṭéla tàma*ˡ They all arrived there (B2:8); *l-kúlla d-ày*ˡ overall, in general (B5:115).

kuleča n.m. (pl. *kuleče*) (K.) **small cake (made at festivals)** (B6:52)

kulənga n.m. (pl. *kulənge*) (K.) **pickaxe**

kulfət, kulpət n.f. (pl. *kulfatte, kulpatte*) (K./A.) **family; wife** | *ʾu-náše xaméwa kúlla kúlfət m-ġðàðe*ˡ All the family lived together (B5:200); *kulpət xətna* the family of the groom; *kulpatti* my family, my wife; *kúl kúlfət y-azáwa l-míθe dìye*ˡ Every family went to his (the head of the family's) dead (B5:57).

kulla n.f. (A.) **mosquito net**

kullixa n.m. (pl. *kullixe*) (K.) **hut**

kulliya n.m. (pl. *kulliye*) (K.) **head of maize (*xəṭṭe romaye, xəṭṭe šemaye*)**

kumuθa n.f. **blackness**

kun part. **deontic particle** | *kun ʾaθya t-la xoraθa* I hope she will come without her friends (C2:16).

kundarəs, kundɛrəs n.f. **chain stitch**

kupala n.f. (pl. *kupale*) (K.) **shepherd's stick; walking stick** | *ʾína kupáli píšla šmìṭṭa*ˡ My stick has broken (A37:17).

kura n.m. (pl. *kure*) **furnace, kiln**

kuraxa n.m. (pl. *kuraxe*) **shroud**

kuraza n.m. (pl. *kuraze*) **sermon, preaching**

kurdaya → *qurðaya*

kurdəθ → *qurdəθ*

kurənja n.m. (pl. *kurənje*) (K.) **long stick used for carding flax or wool**

kurize n.pl. **a type of millet (*prage*) that ripens slowly** | *prage kurize*

kurra n.m. (pl. *kurre*) (K.) **foal**

kursa n.m. (pl. *kursăwaθa*) **chair** | *málla hóle tíwa gu-kúrsa ṭlîle*ˡ The mullah sat in a chair and fell asleep (A2:3); *kúrsət ṭaləbùθa*ˡ the betrothal chair (A32:11)

kursiya n.m. (pl. *kursiye*) **chair**

kurta n.m. (pl. *kurte*) (K.) **vulture**

kurtəxta n.f. (pl. *kurtəxyaθa*) **lower back, pelvis** | *kupəšlux ʾəlli kurtəxyaθa* You have gathered to me pelvises (of women) (A52:26).

kuspa dəbbe n.m. **plant with large leaves** | used for wrapping the filling of *dolma*

kuša m. (pl. *kuše*) **spindle** | This hangs and pulls wool from the distaff (*xarnɛsa*). The wool is moistened. A large spindle (*kuša goṛa*) is used for making wool and a smalll spindle (*kuša zora*) for making thin threads. *ʾazla-kuše* dragonfly (spinner of spindles, so-called because it rotates around water)

kuššət adv. **every year**

kut mod. **each, every; whoever** (§14.9.1.) (1) **each, every** | *kut-yàrxa*ˡ each month (A24:5); *kut-ṭéna* each load (B5:181); *kút-xa y-azə́lwa bēθ-dìye*ˡ Every person went to his home (B5:18); *zonə́xwa kút-xa xə̀*ˡ We would each buy one (B10:76); *kút kəma-šə̀nne*ˡ every few years (B10:59); *kut-yom* every day; *kuššət* (< *kut-šat*) every year. (2) **whoever** | *kút mèθela*ˡ *t-yánne zúze ràba*ˡ Whoever brings her, I shall give him a lot of money (A27:18).

kutəlθa f. (pl. *kutlaθa*) **cutlet** | *kutlaθət bəsra* meat cutlets

kutto **name of spring in ʾƐn-Nune** | There are two springs in ʾƐn-Nune, the other being *ʾɛnət ʾumra* near the church.

kuwəkka n.m. (pl. *kuwəkke*) (K.) **funnel**

kuwi adj. invar. (K.) **wild; shy (of company)** | *ʾaw-yalúnka zòra*ˡ *kùwi-wewa*ˡ The young child was shy (B17:3).

kuza n.m. **edible red herb**

kwara, kwɛra n.m. (pl. *kware, kwɛre*) **storage bin for corn** | consisting of willow branches (*xelape*) covered with clay. It has a hole (*ʾɛnta*), plugged with a cloth, from which the wheat is taken.

kxila adj. (f. *kxilta*, pl. *kxile*) **blackened with kohl**

kxuθa → *kəxwa*

kʾɛr → *čara*

kθawa n.m. (pl. *kθawe*) **book; letter**

kθawta n.f. **writing**

kθɛθa n.f. (pl. *kθayaθa, kθaye*) **chicken** | *kθɛθət miya* n.f. moorhen

/ḵ/

ḵ̂ăbani n.f. (pl. *ḵ̂ăbaniye*) (K.) **housewife, cook (woman)** | *ḵ̂ăbanət bɛθa* housekeeper, woman in charge of house

ḵ̂ačune part. **at least** | *ḵ̂ačúne xá-gaya b-yárxa hàyyo*ˡ Come at least once a month.

ḵ̂appurta n.f. (pl. *ḵ̂appuryaθa*) (K.) **waistcoat (worn by women)**

ḵ̂arra adj. (f. *ḵ̂arre*, pl. *ḵ̂arre*) (K.) **deaf**

ḵ̂ašḵ̂a n.m. (K.) (§1.2.2.) **wheat with husks**

ḵ̂avərra n.m. (pl. *ḵ̂avərre*) (K.) **one- to two-year old male sheep**

ḵ̂avərta n.f. (pl. *ḵ̂avəryaθa*) (K.) **one- to two-year old female sheep**

ḵ̂awčo n.f. (pl. *ḵ̂awče*) (K.) **ladle** | This is used for serving butter (*məšxa*) on the dish known as *gərðo*. It is deeper than the spoon known as *barxošta*.

ḵ̂awəlla n.m. (pl. *ḵ̂awəlle*) (K.) **ruin** | *ma-píštət ḵ̂awə̀lla!*ˡ How you have become a ruin! (A16:18)

ḵ̂ēm mod. (K.) **a few; small (in quantity)** (§14.9.5.) | *ḵ̂ēm naše* a few people; *ḵ̂ə̀m baxtáθa* a few women (B10:22); *xa-ḵ̂ém y-óði hàtxa*ˡ A few do this; *gə́lla ḵ̂ə̀m hawéwa*ˡ Grass was scarce. With the comparative particle *biš*: *bálki bíš-ḵ̂ēm mən-ʾəštà-mma šə́nnela*ˡ Perhaps it is less than six-hundred years old (B6:31).

ḵ̂ɛw-, *ḵ̂aw-* part. (combined with pronominal suffixes §8.20.3.) **deontic particle** | *ḵ̂ɛ́we* May he be; *ḵ̂ɛ́wa* May she be, etc.; *ḵ̂ɛ́wux làxxa*ˡ You stay here; *ḵ̂áwa ṭla-d-àni*ˡ May they get (what they deserve) (A15:18); *ʾánna ḵ̂áwa xàmmi*ˡ Let them be my concern (A29:61).

k̲əčče n.f. (pl. *k̲əčyaθa*) (K.) **girl**

k̲əčconta n.f. (pl. *k̲əčconyaθa*) **little girl**

k̲ərməkθa n.f. (pl. *k̲ərməkyaθa, k̲ərme*) **worm**

k̲ətta n.f. (pl. *k̲ətte, k̲əttaθa*) (K.) **odd number** | *zawge ʾu-k̲ətte* even and odd numbers. mod. **odd** | *k̲ətte dukane* in the odd place, in a few places; *kút-ila k̲átte k̲átte laqṭətla*[1] Whatever is separate (fruits) you pick.

k̲olana n.m. (pl. *k̲olane*) (K.) **road**

k̲oma n.m. (pl. *k̲ome*) (K.) **pile**

k̲ora adj. (f. *k̲ore*, pl. *k̲ore*) (K.) **blind** | *Dáwið k̲òra*[1] blind David (A16:2); *ʾéne díye wíðəlla k̲òre*[1] He made his eye blind (A16:2); *ʾáp-ʾana dàqrən*[1] *ʾax-déwa k̲òra*[1] I am worth the same as a blind wolf (A10:1); Idioms: *k̲óre ʾàna*[1] May I (f.) be blind (= Oh woe to me, poor me!) (A18:25); *k̲óre brátət k̲òre*[1] poor girl (literally: blind girl, daughter of a blind girl) (A52:5); *má-lux k̲óra Xarəpša?*[1] What is the matter with you poor soul, Xarəpša? (A31:9).

k̲otəl n.m. (K.) **meat pasty** | *k̲ótəl dàwke* pasty with yoghurt (B7:23)

k̲učke n.f. (K.) **hearth; living room** | *mur-ṭla-Ẓîne*[1] *k̲účke mtagəbràla*[1] Go down and tell Zine to prepare the living room (A26:46).

k̲ulčiva n.m. (pl. *k̲ulčive*) (K.) **trigger for an animal trap** | piece of wood holding the trap open

k̲unnəkθa n.f. (pl. *k̲unnəkyaθa*) (K.) **woman's headscarf**

k̲uprana, quprana n.f. (pl. *k̲upranane, qupranane*) (K.) **booth, wooden trellis affording cover** | This stands separately in a field or is built over the roof of a porch (*gariθət ṣopiθa*).

k̲ura n.m. (pl. *k̲ure*) (K.) **two- to three-year old male goat**

k̲urra n.m. (pl. *k̲urre*) **boy** | *k̲urra xamra la-štile* Boy, do not drink the wine (C2:10)

k̲wina n.m. (pl. *k̲wine*) (K.) **tent** | made of goat's hair, used by bedouin Arabs (cf. *čadra* tent made of fabric): *máxyela k̲winày*[1] They pitched their tents (A29:40).

/L/

l- prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *le, ʾəlle*) (§13.3.12., §16.2.) **to, for, upon, at, by:** Adnominal uses (1) Destination: *si-dúṛ l-šòpux*ˈ Go back to your place (A15:20). (2) Objective without movement: *ʾálaha šuxa-l-šámme* God—praise be to his name (A6:10). (3) **upon**: *hóle tíwa l-kèpa*ˈ He is sitting on a stone (A15:13); occasionally with the form *ʾal-*: *ʾal-ʾằra*ˈ on the ground (A21:5). (4) General spatial location: *hóle ʾàrya*ˈ *l-àyya góta*ˈ *ʾu-ʾəzza*ˈ *hóla l-àyya góta*ˈ There is lion on this side and a she-goat on the other side (A24:15); *hóla spára l-kàwe*ˈ They are waiting at the window (A4:59). (5) Expression of the agent: *šáwwaθna hóla xíle l-dèwa*ˈ The seven of them have been eaten by wolves (A23:15). (6) Combined with other prepositions: *ʾo-gáya qằmεθa θélux l-kásli*ˈ The first time you came to me (A1:22). Use of *l-* + pronominal suffixes: (1) Inflection of past verbal base: *qṭille* He killed (him), *zille* He went. (2) Direct and indirect object: *qaṭəlle* He kills him; *hawəlle* He gives to him. (3) Possession: *ʾitli kθawa* I have a book. Use of *ʾəll-* + pronominal suffix: (1) Destination: *ʾáθyela máṭye ʾəlle*ˈ They came up to him (A7:19); (2) Direction (without movement), beneficiary: *ʾámər ʾálla dìya*ˈ He says to her (A16:7); *wídla fṭárta ʾəlli*ˈ She made me breakfast (A21:38). (3) on (surface): *mattí ʾíða ʾəlle*ˈ They place a hand on it (B5:100); *qímle murásle hátxa míya ʾəllèy*ˈ He sprinkled water on them like this (B6:11). (4) over (abstract relation): *hótu pšàma ʾálla díya*ˈ You are sad over it (A5:10). (5) direct object (bound to verb): *múttətalle* You put him (A22:39); *prìmənalla* I cut it (f.) (A22:9).

la n.f. (K.) **side, direction** | *ṣàlyela*ˈ *swánət ʾúmra la-qámθa díya ràmta-wawa*ˈ They (the sheep) went down over the eaves of the church, the front side of which was high (B18:6). Used mainly in adverbial expressions: *la-qáma* forwards; *la-bára* backwards; *kú mənná ṯ-íle pláṭa mən-gawàye,*ˈ *pláṭa la-qam-tằra*ˈ Each one who goes out from inside, going towards the outside (B11:8); *y-azíwa la-zràqət yóma*ˈ They would go in the direction of the rising of the sun (A8:22); *hóle ʾáθya Déwa Ẓàr*ˈ *… m-la-gnay-yòma*ˈ Dewa Zar has come… from the West (A28:14); *ʾéwe ʾən-θéla m-la-Ẓàwa,*ˈ *ṯ-áθe xa-yóma ṭàwa*ˈ If the clouds come from the side of the Zab (i.e. the East), a good day will come (D2:16); *hola θela m-la-Maye* Look she has come from the direction of Maye (C2:46).

la part. **no** (variants *laʾ, laʾa*)**, not; neither/nor; asseverative particle.** (1) **no** | *mára là*ˈ *ʾáti ṣli-be-màlka*ˈ They said 'No, you go down to the house of the king' (A25:87); *máre bráti lá là!*ˈ He said 'My daughter, no,

no!' (A21:30); *mára là'!* He said 'No!' (A1:6); *'ámər là'a!* He says 'No!' (A21:42). (2) **not** | *la-ṣábrəx ṯ-òrəx* We do not dare enter (A14:40); *lámu la-qìmlux?* Why did you not stand? (A26:48); *bróni là qəṭlúle!* Do not kill my son! (A33:6); *'ána lɛ̀-gorən, la-'àti gáwrət* I shall not marry, so long as you do not marry (A25:83); *'áni maṣlóxwa 'ərxe, ṭaxnə̀xwala, là kúlla náše bas-'àxni* We brought them down to the water-mill and ground them, not everybody, but we did (this) (B10:88). Negating an adjective: *fə̀lfəl… là-xšilta* uncrushed pepper (B10:21). (3) *la… la* **neither . . . nor** | *'ána làn dmíxa, là-b-lele, là-b-yoma* I have not slept, neither at night nor during the day (A24:24); *'ána lànwa wíða là xarbayúθa là spayúθa ṭla-čú-naša* I have done neither evil nor good to anybody (A14:23); *lá-bə̆yəx la-mìya 'u-la-čù-məndi* We want neither water nor anything else (A39:12). (4) **asseverative particle** | *la-hóle mìθa* He is indeed dead (A17:2); A: *štélux čàyux?* B: *la-štèli!* A: Have you drunk your tea? B: Indeed I have drunk it!

lă-ʿamri interj. (A.) **by my life, indeed**

lăʿat part. (A.) **so, in that case**

lablabi n.m. (A.) **hyacynth bean**

lagăna n.m. (pl. *lagăne*) **brass container for food** | *séra píšle lagə̆̀na* The moon is full.

lagna n.m./f. (pl. *lagne*) **thorny plant** | blue in colour, producing seeds known as *ṣəṣṣe* in thorny pods (*bubre, baṛ-xoxe*), both the seeds and the root being edible.

lala adj. (f. and pl. *lale*) (K.) **dumb**

lama n.m. (pl. *lame*) **lower jaw**

laməkka n.m. (pl. *laməkke*) **jaw of an animal**

laməkθa n.f. (pl. *laməkyaθa*) **jaw (of an animal)**

lampa n.m. (pl. *lampe*) (E.) **lamp** | *lámpət gúda… lámpət 'íða* wall lamp… hand lamp (B10:83)

lana n.m. (A.) **tune** | *ku-zmarta lana gana* Every song (has) a tune of its own (C1:13).

lappa n.m. (pl. *lappape*) **palm (of hand), sole (of foot)**. (pl. *lappe*) **wave**

lappəkθa n.f. (pl. *lappəkyaθa*) **paw (of small animal); foot/hand of small child**

laqləq n.m. (pl. *laqlaqe*) (A.) **stork**

laqqa n.m. (pl. *laqqe*) **bite** | *kálba mxéle láqqa bìyi*ˡ The dog snapped at me.

laqṭa n.m. **bird feed of grains**

lastike n.pl. (sing. *lastikta*) **rubber shoes**

lašša n.f. (pl. *lašša*θ*a*) (K.) **corpse, carcass** (which is cut up) (*gušma* = body of living person, animal)

lata (i) n.f. (pl. *lataθa*) (**mountain) path; furrow** | *síqli b-áyya làta*ˡ I went up on this path; *šəmša mxela gu-lata* The sun has shone on the mountain path (C1:23); *mxéle latàθa* He made furrows (with a plough to mark the outline of the ploughing area) → *lena*

lata (ii) n.f. pl. (*lataθa*) **flame**

laṭṭa adj. (f. and pl. *laṭṭe*) (K.) **shallow; flat** | *qəm-dɛrétuli ðá-duka làṭṭe*ˡ You threw me into a shallow place (A7:22); *dréle ʾixála qa-ṯ-àxəl*ˡ *gu-ʾamána làṭṭa*ˡ He served food for him to eat in a shallow vessel (A45:1).

lăvăna n.m. (pl. *lăvăne*) (K.) **cane pipe** | used to convey steam to a condenser in the distilling of arak.

law part. **conditional particle** (A.) | only used in concessive constructions: *wằ-law ṯ-ín ʾanna-xámša šánne zíla b-dùnye,*ˡ *námu lat-ðàʾəlli?*ˡ Although I have been away in the world for these five years, do you not know me any more? (A12:65)

lawandiye n.pl. **long sleeves**

lawaša n.m. (pl. *lawaše*) **large thin bread baked in an oven**

lăwaza n.m. (pl. *lăwaze*) **tune, music**

lawlaba n.m. (pl. *lawlabe*) (K.) **wooden stick at the two ends of the frame carrying the churn (*guða*); trigger of gun** | *l-ʾiðe drele lawlaba* He put his hand on the trigger (C7:11)

lawn n.f. (*ʾalwān*) (A.) **colour**

lawora n.m. (pl. *lawore*) **valley**

lawurta n.f. (pl. *lawuryaθa*) **small valley**

lawusta n.f. (pl. *lawusyaθa*) **jaw**

laxoma adj. (f. *laxomta*, pl. *laxome*) **pleasant, handsome; fitting** | *ṭla d-aw dosta laxoma* for that handsome friend of hers (C2:75)

laxxa adv. **here** | *hóla làxxa*ˡ They are here (A14:100); *mút ʾáti tíwta làxxa?*ˡ Why are you sitting here? (A25:58); *háyyo làxxa!*ˡ Come here! (A13:6); *ʾáyya xá-šeta hóla támma láxxa léla mbaqorəllux*ˡ It has been a year that they have been here without asking for you (A26:78).

laxxane adv. **here, hereabouts** | *mắnile máṣya zədyəllέy laxxàne?*ˡ Who could have thrown them here? (A8:15)

ḷaya → *ʾəḷḷaya*

layosa n.m. (pl. *layose*) **jaw**

lazəm part. (A.) **particle expressing necessity (deontic and epistemic)** | Deontic: *lázəm ʾaxlənne*ˡ I must eat him (A47:5). Epistemic: *ʾánna madám-ṯ̂-ila ʾátxa jwánqe w-átxa tàze,*ˡ *lázəm ʾaw-xálmi pàlaṭ*ˡ If they are so beautiful and so fine, that dream of mine must come true (A7:7); *ʾu-xa-mašmóye-wewa ʾəllèni lázəm*ˡ Somebody must have been listening to us (A35:19).

leba n.m. (pl. *lebe*) **trick, prank** | *záwnət lèbewa*ˡ It was the time of tricks (A1:24); *lá-bắye ṯ̂-awáðwa lèbe*ˡ He did not want to play tricks (A29:36).

lebana adj. (f. *lebanta*, pl. *lebane*) **tricky** | *záwna lebàna-wewa*ˡ…*wélux lebána ʾàx-zawna*ˡ The time was tricky…You became tricky like the time (A1:22).

lena n.m. (pl. *lenane*) **furrow made by plough used as an outline mark to guide the ploughing** | *mxaya lenane, draya lenane* to mark furrows → *lata*

leta n.f. (pl. *letaθa*) **ridge on a mountain side** | *letət kɛrma* terraced vineyard built on mountain side

lɛle (past *lɛwa*) **negative copula** | *ʾáwwa lèle kálba*ˡ He is not a dog (A11:20); *lèwa yómət šábθa*ˡ It was not Saturday (A14:58). Used as tag in conversation to seek confirmation: *ʾu-b-xšáwən mjárbət mɛθátle lèla?*ˡ I think you will try to bring her, is that not so? (A8:36).

lɛle n.m. (pl. *lɛlắwaθa*) **night** | *pɛšíwa xá-lɛle trè*ˡ They stayed for a night or two (B5:234); *ʾé-ga b-léle tíwəx kəs-xáli d-àni*ˡ That night we sat with my

uncle and his family (B15:57); *wítɛla b-lèle*ˈ *maláxa mŭṛášle qa-ràbbən*ˈ In the night (literally: It became in the night) the angel woke the monk (A15:11); *píšla b-lèle,*ˈ *sìqɛle*ˈ *l-gàre*ˈ In the night (literally: It became in the night), he went up onto the roof (A25:52); *mádre ʾi-zamrúwa-w šatèwa*ˈ *hál y-oráwa gu-lèle*ˈ They again sang and drank until it was night (literally: until it passed into night) (B5:18); *m-lɛle* early morning, before dawn; *ʾədlɛle* tonight.

lɛliyana n.m. (pl. *lɛliyane*) **wedding song sung by women**

lɛša n.m. **dough** | *ʾíman-t qámxa lɛšíle lèša*ˈ when they knead flour into a dough (B6:45)

laʾannahu part. (A.) **because**

ləbba n.m. (pl. *ləbbe*) **heart; kernel of fruit or berry** | Idioms: *yawa ləbba l-* to console (after death), to encourage: *híwɛle lábba ṭla-gʾáne dìye*ˈ He took heart (A8:58). *ləbbi zille l-d-ɛ qumta* I fainted at the sight of that figure (C2:55). *bəd-lábba gu-béθət bába dìyɛla*ˈ She thinks that she is in her father's house (A21:18). *gu-lábbe díye mtuxmànne*ˈ He thought to himself (A39:5). *lábbe biyáxu tlìqetu*ˈ He thinks you are lost (A14:85). *dwiqále b-lə̀bbe*ˈ He kept it in mind. *ʾáyya quṣárta ràba šapirta,*ˈ *rába zála ləbbì-ʾəlla*ˈ This cooking pot is very nice, I like it a lot (A5:2); *hóle zála lə̀bbi*ˈ *ṭ̂-ásqət ṣédət ʾárbət wàla*ˈ I would like you to go up and hunt for wild sheep (A26:44). *lábbi basìma*ˈ I am happy. *ʾáwwa náša lábbe pqìle*ˈ The heart of that burst (= He was terrified) (A32:2). *qìdle lábbi,*ˈ *xóni zòra-wewa*ˈ My heart yearned (for him), he was my young brother (A34:24); *mən-lábbe díye qìða,*ˈ *dére xèla,*ˈ *naʿə̀lle ʾo-šəryóxa*ˈ Out of his fervour, he applied force and pulled the tether apart (A28:20). *xílli ləbbux*ˈ My dear, you are dear to me (A39:12). *ʾána hóle píša ləbbi*ˈ I am angry; *t-la-páyəš lábbən b-ġðàðe*ˈ so that we do not feel anger at each other (B5:10); *ṭ̣làθna*ˈ *xonăwáθət Qára Tèždin*ˈ *mopíšəlle ləbbèy*ˈ The three brothers of Qara Težd̲in became angry (A26:71). *ʾánna píšla gu-lábbe díye kùlla*ˈ All these (words) weighed on his heart (A38:13). *ʾáyya lèða,*ˈ *lábba ṣ̀əpya žáre*ˈ She did not know, she was innocent, poor thing (A14:99). *hátxa baṣlóṣe gu-lábbət nàša*ˈ (They) glow in the heart of man (= they captivate one's heart) (A8:16). *m-kúlla lábbi bə̆yən ʾána qaṭ̣lìtuli*ˈ With all my heart I want you to kill me (B9:14).

ləbbana adj. (f. *ləbbanta*, pl. *ləbbane*) **brave, courageous** | *kálba gu-tə̆́rət màre*ˈ *ləbbàna y-áwe*ˈ A dog at the door of his owner is brave (D2:64).

ləbna n.m. (pl. *ləbne*) **mud brick**

ləhefa n.m. (pl. *ləhefe*) (K./A.) **duvet**

ləmu → *nəmu*

ləngа adj. (f. and pl. *ləngе*) (K.) **crippled in the leg; lame**

ləngo adv. (K.) **limping** | *xáθi θèli*ˈ *ʾítle ṭláθa ʾaqlàθa,*ˈ *lángo lə̀ngo*ˈ *hal-tàmma*ˈ Sister, I came here, while it (my horse) had three legs, limping up to here (A18:20).

ləva n.f. (K.) **lamb's wool**

ləxma n.m. (pl. *ləxme*) **bread; loaf of bread** | *láxma šaxína daṛmánət náša kpìna*ˈ Hot bread is the medicine of a hungry man (D2:69). *šáqla xa-lə̀xma*ˈ She would buy a loaf of bread (A10:6); *ʾína xáze ʾásri ʾáčča lə̀xme*ˈ He saw that there were twenty-nine loaves of bread (A17:12); *láxmən xaràmile*ˈ Our bread is outlawed (i.e. we are unpopular); *ləxmət maθ-Maryam, ləxmət maθ-Maryam* St. Mary's bread (name of herb).

ləxxawa n.m. (pl. *ləxxawe*) **bit (of horse), harness**

lifəkka n.m. (pl. *lifəkke*) (K.) **flannel**

limandus n.f. **lemon juice**

lina n.m. (pl. *line*) **large conical-shaped pot**

linta n.f. (pl. *linyaθa*) **small conical-shaped pot (for water)**

lipa adj. (f. *lipta*, pl. *lipe*) **learned, educated** | *náše lípe* learned people (A8:35)

lišana n.m. (pl. *lišane*) **tongue; language** | *lišana ʾarabaya* the Arabic language; *qəm-maxéle lišanèy*ˈ They licked him (A18:31); *npílle lišána b-sèpa*ˈ The sword started to talk (A52:22).

liθ part. (variants: *liθən, liθena, liθga, liθgən, liθgena*. past: *liθwa*) **negative existential particle** (§8.20.1., §15.3.8., §17.3.) (1) Used without suffixes | *líθ čù-məndi*ˈ There is nothing (A21:5); *líθ ʾáp-xa gu-bèθa?*ˈ Is there nobody in the house? (A22:32); *čú-qala líθən mənnèy*ˈ There is no sound of them (A18:15); *ʾé-ga líθwa bə̀rqa*ˈ At that time there was not electricity (B10:45); *líθwa qá-t mbaqríwa bràta*ˈ It was not the practice to ask the girl (B5:2). Used interrogatively to draw attention to a particular point: *ʾo-šúla ʾáwwa y-amráxwale qə̀rṭa líθən?*ˈ We called this job trimming, you see (B5:141). (2) With L-suffixes expressing possession: *ʾána zúza lìtli*ˈ I do not have money. (A22:19); *lítle la-bába*

*la-yámma la-ʾàp-xa*ˡ He does not have a father, a mother or anybody (A17:17); *lìθwale quṣàrta*ˡ He did not have a cooking-pot (A5:1); *lítla xàm*ˡ That's fine, no problem.

lo part. **or, either** | *Žìne nábləx kəs-Mắmo*ˡ *lo-Mắmo nábləx kəs-Žíne?*ˡ Should we take Zine to Mămo or Mămo to Zine? (A26:2); *xázəx mhayríli lo-làʾa*ˡ Let us see whether they will help me or not (A48:2); *lo-t̂-axláli dàbba*ˡ *lo-palṭèna*ˡ Either the bear will eat me or I shall get out (A20:11).

loḵanta n.f. (pl. *loḵanyaθa*) (T.) **restaurant**

lota n.f. (pl. *loyaθa, lotaθa*) **cheek; chewing gum**

lubya n.m. (pl. *lubye*) **bean growing in pods (*šənqe*)**

lujna n.f. (A.) **committee**

lula → *nula*

lulta → *nulta*

lutka n.f. (pl. *lutke*) **boat**

luwwəš n.m. **edible herb** | used to make *dolma*

lwišta n.f. (pl. *lwišyaθa*) **clothing**

l-xərxəθ → *xərxəθ*

lxima adj. (f. *lximta*, pl. *lxime*) **fit; well built** | *xzi-kəméle lxìma!*ˡ Look how fit he is! (A15:13)

/m/

ma part. pron. **what?** (§7.5., §14.9.13.)| *xúwwe mà t̂-áwəð b-an-álpa dáwe?*ˡ What will the snake do with those thousand gold coins? (A1:8); *xáθi mà-ləx?*ˡ Sister, what is the matter with you? (A34:12); *mà-lux zə́dya?*ˡ Why are you afraid? (A11:6); *má-lux mə́nne ʾàti?*ˡ What business is it of yours? (A32:3); *ʾána má-li mànnux?*ˡ What have I to do with you? (A32:22); *má-ləx bráta t̂-it-hátxa bxàya*ˡ What is the matter with you girl that you are weeping so much? (A34:20); *sállət míya yắðət mèla?*ˡ (< *mà-ila*) Do you know what a basket of water is? (A16:10). Modifier of a noun: *ʾánna ma-brinànela gu-réšux*ˡ What wounds are these on your head? (A29:6). Exclamatory modifier of a noun: *ʾu-Bálbəl Hazár yắðátla ma-báxta xàmθɛla*ˡ You know what a beautiful woman Bəlbəl Hazar

is (A8:65). Expressing an exclamatory proposition: *ma-píštət ḵawə̀lla!*ˈ How you have become a ruin! (A18:16). With remonstrating force in negated questions *ma-lat-ðáya b-gánəx qàrθela?*ˈ Don't you know yourself that it is cold?! (A20:1). Before imperatives: *ma-yəmmi pɛ́li zwaðe* Mother, bake me supplies! (A50:9). Before a repeated noun to express a more general class (§14.11.): *jawə́tta ṭla-pràma*ˈ *ʾanna qɛ́se ma-qɛ̀se*ˈ A chopper was for chopping wood and the like (B5:141).

maʾarwa, marwa n.m. **West** | *txúme díye ʾìla*ˈ *mən-madə̀nxa*ˈ *Ẓàwa,*ˈ *ʾu-mən-màrwa*ˈ *ʾìla*ˈ *Xawòra*ˈ Its borders are, on the East, the Zab and, on the West, the Khabur (B1:4).

maʾayša n.f. (A.) **livelihood, earnings** | *mút maʾáyša muttàli?*ˈ What earnings did I make? (A23:40)

maʿjūn n.m. (A.) **paste**

maʿmal n.m. (A.) **factory**

madala n.m. (pl. *madale*) **millipede**

madam part. **if, so long as** | introduces factual conditions (§19.5.7.): *mádam hàtxɛla*ˈ *ṭ-ázən ṭa̰yən báθər ḥaqqùθa*ˈ *ʾu-na-ḥaqqùθa*ˈ If (the world) is like that, I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful (A15:5).

madanus n.m. (K.) **parsley**

maðbəḥ n.f. (A.) **altar**

madəbxa n.m. **altar**

madənxa n.m. **East; sunrise** | *jálde qam-mxéθət madə̀nxa*ˈ early before sunrise (A8:51); *qímɛle jálde madə́nxa t-la-mxàya*ˈ He rose early while the dawn was not breaking (= before dawn broke) (A8:51); *txúme díye ʾìla*ˈ *mən-madə̀nxa*ˈ *Ẓàwa,*ˈ *ʾu-mən-màrwa*ˈ *ʾìla*ˈ *Xawòra*ˈ Its borders are, on the East, the Khabur (B1:4).

madfaʿ n.m. (A.) **artillery**

maḏira n.m. **dish made of *dawwe* and rice**

magəlta n.f. (pl. *magəlyaθa*) **small sickle**

magla n.m. (pl. *magle*) **sickle**

magreta n.f. (pl. *magreyaθa*) **shaving knife** | *măkinət magreta* razor

magriyana n.m. (pl. *magriyane*) **barber**

maġara n.m. (A.) **cavern, subterranean cave**

măḥalle n.f. (A.) **neighbourhood; place; shop** | *ʾap-a-măḥálle tlixàle*ˡ and he destroyed the district (A29:53); *ʾékɛle măḥálle dìye?*ˡ Where is his shop? (A16:3)

măjāl n.m. (A.) **space, period** | *măjál xa-ʾášta šáwwa yòme*ˡ *ṯ̂-axlánne xáčča bàsra*ˡ (Give me) the space of six or seven days, so that I can eat some meat (A24:48); *qčïpewəx mqorəčpewəx*ˡ *t-la-b-hewən ʾu-t-la măjalən*ˡ We are cut down and harvested not in the season nor in our time (for cutting) (A51:8).

majbur adj. invar. (A.) **obliged; forced** | *páyəš májbur béna xaráya šàte*ˡ In the end it will be forced to drink (A12:47); *píšɛle májbur ṣ̀alyɛle*ˡ He had to dismount (A28:33); *ʾáti májbur t-yàtli rəsqi*ˡ You will be obliged to give me my sustenance (A10:3).

majburuθa n.f. **necessity**

majma n.m. (pl. *majme*) (A.) **tray** | *ʾáy šwíqtəlwa májma tàma*ˡ She had left a tray there (A4:53).

majo n.f. (pl. *majowaθa*) **wide bowl for kneading dried yoghurt cakes (*qaške*)**

majwajta n.f. (pl. *majwajyaθa*) **a movement**

makəčxana adj. (f. *makəčxanta*, pl. *makəčxane*) **tiring**

măkina n.f. (pl. *măkine, măkayən*) (A.) **machine** | *măkinət xyaṭa* sewing machine

makrəb ĉ̂uĉ̂ane n.f. **late snow falling at the beginning March** | Literally: the one that angers the magpies

makšūf adj. invar. (A.) **uncovered**

makuk n.m. (pl. *makuke*) (K.) **shuttle on loom**

māl n.m./f. (A.) **wealth**

malapa n.m. (pl. *malape*) **sheet** | *hóla ʾarbí malàpe*ˡ There are forty sheets (A24:17).

malaxa n.m. (pl. *malaxe*) **angel**

malәkθa n.f. (pl. *malәkyaθa*) **queen** | *ṯ-óya malákθa b-šópi ʾíman-t-ʾána mèθәn*[1] She will be queen in my place when I die (A4:39).

malgori n.m. (K.) **assistant of a shepherd**

malka n.m. (pl. *malke*) **king** | *qɛsәt malka* wood of the king, a type of wood from which spoons were made (B10:100); *ʾilanәt malka* the tree from which such wood is taken.

malkuθa n.f. (pl. *malkuwaθa*) **kingdom; kingship** | *mәn-ədyo*[1] *malkùθa*[1] *m-bnónux qǎṭa*[1] From today the kingship will be cut off from your sons (A8:96).

malla n.m. (K./A.) **mullah**

mallaka n.m. (pl. *mallake*) (A.) **land owner**

maloka n.m. (pl. *maloke*) (K.) **type of small sledge hammer with fine head** | smaller than a *murja*, which is used for the same purpose → *mawәlka*

ṃalyana adj. (f. *ṃalyanta*, pl. *ṃalyane*) **sufficient** | *ṃalyànɛle* That is enough; *ṃalyànɛle ʾixálux?* Do you have enough food?

malyәzana adj. (f. *malyәzanta*, pl. *malyәzane*) **hasty** | *lá-hawәt malyәzàna!*[1] Do not be hasty! (A8:43)

mama n.m. (pl. *mamăwaθa*) (K.) **paternal uncle** | *bronәt mama* (first) cousin

mama interj. **mother**

mamačučәk, mawačučәk n.m. (K.) **edible herb sweet to the taste**

mămaðta n.f. **baptism**

mamðana n.m. **baptist** | *mar Ỿoḥanna mamðana* St. John the Baptist

mamәkka n.m. (pl. *mamәkke*) **breast of young woman** | *tre yalone havrәkke šarreley rәš-mammәkke* two rival children are fighting on the breasts (C2:39).

mamodiθa n.f. **baptism**

mana n.m. (pl. *mane*) **vessel, plate**

manay, manaya n.f. (K./A.) **meaning** | *hadíya ðíli ʾána manáy díyux mòdila*[1] Now I know what you mean (A17:35).

mandorta n.m. (pl. *mandoryaθa*) **roller for flattening roof**

mănu pron. **who?** (less frequently used than *ʾɛnu*) | *mă̆nuwət.ʔ*ˈ Who are you? (A23:26); *ʾánna tre-yále mă̆nile máṣya dəryálla gu-šaqìθa.ʔ*ˈ Who could have put these two children in the stream? (A8:15)

manqal n.m. (A.) **griddle**

manquš n.m. (pl. *manquše*) **fire steel, metal instrument for striking fire on flint**

manṭăqa n.f. (A.) **region**

manṭo n.m. **type of fabric**

manzəl n.f. (pl. *manzale*) (K./A.) **room** | *manzəl tawa* sitting room

mapšəmana n.m. (pl. *mapšəmane*, f. *mapšəmanta*) **trouble-maker.** adj. **miserable, sad** | *xa-qáṣṣət rába mapšəmàntɛlaˈ* It is a very sad story (A4:31).

măqamta n.f. **raising** | *măqámtət ʾərbe* the raising of sheep

maqara n.m. (pl. *maqare*) **gouge, chisel**

maqaṣta n.f. (A.) **scissors, shears**

maqərxana n.m. (pl. *maqərxane*) (1) **brush for whitewashing** | *hóle maqróxe gudáne b-maqərxànaˈ* He is whitewashing the wools with a brush. (2) **metal-polisher** | *kut-šayášla šə́rme lɛ́le makərxànaˈ* Everybody who shakes his buttocks is not a metal-polisher (D2:75).

maqhərana, maqḥərana adj. (f. *maqhəranta*, pl. *maqhərane*) (K.) **sad**

maqle n.f. (pl. *maqlă̆waθa*) (K./A.) **cooking pot** | made of red clay

maqlūb adj. invar. (A.) **reversed** | *nále l-koðənyaθéy máxyəlla bə̀-l-maqlūbˈ* They put on the shoes of their mules back to front (B4:13).

maqora, meqora n.m. (pl. *maqore, meqore*) **hole cut out of middle of stew to hold syrup (*napoxta, nepoxta*)** | *ʾó-t mɛθéwa bušàlaˈ be-pálge díye y-awáðwale maqòra y-amráxleˈ* Whoever brought stew would make what we call a 'hole' in the middle of it (B5:67).

maqrəṭana n.m. (pl. *maqrəṭane*) **cutter (of hair)** | *maqrəṭanət kawsa* barber

maqriyana n.m. (pl. *maqriyane*) **teacher**

maqul adj. invar. (A.) **acceptable, respectable; fine** | *wéləx hawnànta,*ˡ *b-ʾiqárət ṣáwθa basìmta,*ˡ *ʾu-màqul*ˡ You have been clever, with the gift of sweet and fine words (A40:16).

mara n.m. (pl. *marăwaθa, marwaθa*) **master, owner** | *marət bɛθa* householder, landlord; *kèle mára d-áyya?*ˡ Where is the owner of this (ring)? (A4:19); *t-lá marăwàθɛle ʾo-márga*ˡ *ṯ-it-súsux dáryəlle tàma?*ˡ Is the meadow in which you have put your horse without owners? (A25:60). Pl. **parents** | *ʾánna tre-yále qəm-xazə̀nna*ˡ *t-la marwàθa*ˡ I have found these two children, without parents (A8:16); *sáʾət ṭ̣làθa*ˡ *qèdamta*ˡ *măṛəšíwalən marăwàθən*ˡ At three o'clock in the morning our parents used to wake us (B15:2); *t-la-rzáyət marăwáθa dìya*ˡ without the consent of her parents.

măra, marra n.m. (pl. *măre, marre*) **illness**

maṛa, mɛra n.m. (pl. *maṛe, mɛra*) (§1.2.3.) **metal spade** | *maṛət kɛrma* spade for vineyards, *maṛət ʾaqara* spade for working on farmland

mărād n.m. (A.) **desire** | *mărádət ləbbux*ˡ *maməṯyànnux*ˡ I shall make you attain your heart's desire (A33:10).

mărana adj. (f. *măranta,* pl. *mărane*) **ill**

mararta n.f. **gall bladder**

marṛ̌a-xuwwe, marṛ̌a-xuwwawe, marṛ̌a-xuwwaθa n.f. (pl. same) **chameleon** | Literally: crusher of snakes

marda adj. (f. and pl. *marde*) (K.) **generous**

mardaθa n.f. **education**

mare cst. (§10.17.5.)| Element in compounds expressing property: *mare bena* tolerant; *mare janga* contentious; *mare ʾarxe* hospitable; *dukθa raba mare baqta* a place full of gnats.

marəgla n.m. (pl. *marəgle*) **brass pan for heating water**

marɛθa n.f. **rennet**

marga, mɛrga n.m. (pl. *marge, mɛrge, margane, mɛrgane*) **meadow**

margəlta n.f. (pl. *margəlyaθa*) **small pan for heating water**

margəšta n.f. (pl. *margəšyaθa*) **small meadow**

marimana n.m. (pl. *marimane*) **lever** | especially lever of a water-mill (*ʾərxe*) raised in order to control the turning of the millstone → *marmana*

marira adj. (f. *marirta*, pl. *marire*) **bitter**

mǎṛiya n.m. (pl. *mǎṛiye*) **pasture place** | *maṛiyət ʾərbe* pasture ground of sheep

mǎṛiyana n.m. **grazer, pasturer** | *mǎṛiyanət ʾərwe* pasturer of small cattle

markaz n.m. (A.) **centre**

markən n.m. (pl. *markane*) **storage pot**

marmana n.m. (pl. *marmane*) **lever** → *marimana*

marmar n.f. (K./A.) **marble** | *mármar mšuwìθa*ˡ dressed marble (A40:8)

marquṣta n.f. (pl. *marqoṣe, marquṣyaθa*) **yellow narcissus flower** | grows mainly among rocks

marquza n.m. (pl. *marquze*) **yellow narcissus flower** = *marquṣta*

marrəs n.m. (K.) **wool of the long haired angora goat (*čura, čurra*)** | *ʾərwət marrəs* goat with such hair

marta n.f. **saying** | *ʾáyya mártət ʾamàre*ˡ This is what they say (literally: This is the saying of the sayers) (A32:24).

marta, marθa n.f. (pl. *marwaθa*) **mistress, lady** | *marθət bɛθa* mistress of the house; *Mat Maryam* (< *Mart*) St. Mary. In attributive expressions: *šəṭro marθət habriya* the beautiful woman who possesses the headscarf (C2:1).

maruta n.f. (pl. *maruyaθa*) **fur (of animal)**

maṛuθa n.f. (pl. *maṛuwaθa*) **wooden shovel for moving snow**

marya n.m. **The Lord** | *márya ʾálaha* Lord God; *yá-marya ʾàlaha*ˡ O Lord God (A10:3).

maryana n.m. (f. *maryanta*, pl. *maryane*) **repairer of clothes** | *maryanət ṣawle* cobbler

marza n.m. (pl. *marzane*) (K.) **border; edge; bank; shore** | *marzət nera* the bank of a river; *márzət yàma*ˡ the shore of the sea (A12:27); *t-yatwanwa l-marzət gəšra* I would sit on the edge of the bridge (C3:2).

marzaban-, marzavan- prep. (K.) **around** | *kúlla maθwáθə ṯ-íla marzabánət ʾƐ̄n-Nùne*ˡ all the villages that were around ʾƐn-Nune (B15:61).

marzaq n.m. (pl. *marzaqe*) **wooden stick covered in wool used to stick bread to the oven**

marziwa n.m. (pl. *marziwe*) (K.) **gutter**

măsafa n.f. (A.) **distance**

măsaḥa n.f. (A.) **area**

masaθa n.pl. **balance (for weighing); the constellation Libra**

masərqa n.m. (pl. *masərqe*) **large comb for carding wool**

masəxθa n.f. (pl. *masəxyaθa*) **metal poker for fire; branding iron; frying pan**

masina n.f. (pl. *masine*) **earthenware pot with spout**

masrəqta, masrəqθa n.f. (pl. *masrəqyaθa*) **comb (for hair); comb for filtering the water passing through a pipe leading to a watermill** | *la-ṣále b-čú masrə̀qθa*[1] He cannot be combed down with any comb (D2:76).

masrəqθonta n.f. **little comb** | *hállila masrəqθò̀nti*[1] Give me my little comb (A34:3).

massa n.m. (pl. *masse*) **ox goad; pole**

masta n.f. (K.) **yoghurt**

măṣayəf n.pl. (A.) **summer pastures**

măṣīr n.m. (A.) **fate, outcome**

măṣixət šərmət kθayaθa n.m. **little finger** | Literally: the tester of the behind of chickens, i.e. the finger that one inserts into a chicken to test whether it is bearing an egg → *m-ṣyx* III.

maṣraf n.m. (A.) **expense**

maṣyana adj. (f. *maṣyanta*, pl. *maṣyane*) **capable**

mašana n.f. (pl. *mašane*) (K.) **beam connecting yoke to the main body of the plough**

maše n.pl. **black beans** | *xa dəndəkθət maše* a single bean; *šənqət maše* bean pod

mašhūr adj. invar. (A.) **famous**

maší adj. invar. (A.) **walking, on foot** | *mášila zála dəbba*ˡ The bear was walking (A27:13).

mašína n.f. (E.) **machine; train**

maška n.m. (K.) **skin (of sheep)**

mašura n.m. (p. *mašure*) **stepping stone**

ma-t → *kəma*

mata n.f. (pl. *mayaθa, mataθa*) **grape** | *hálli ða-máta mən-d-aw-gùjma*ˡ Give me a grape from that bunch.

maṭʿam n.m. (A.) **restaurant**

maṭlab n.m. (pl. *măṭaləb*) (A.) **request**

maṭo part. **how? how could it?** (1) **how?** | *máṭo mṭèlux?*ˡ How have you come? (A18:18); *de-màṭo hóya?*ˡ How could that be? (A30:21); *ʾána máṭo mṣárən ṭla-yəmme*ˡ *yəmme díye yəmmi-wawa?*ˡ How can I curse his mother, since his mother was my mother? (A32:31); *màṭowət?* How are you? (2) **How could it be?** | *quṣárta màṭo mabárya?!*ˡ How can it be that a cooking pot has given birth?! (A5:6)

maṭoya adj. **ripening quickly** | *prage maṭoye* a type of millet that ripens quickly

maṭuθa n.f. **quick ripening plant** | *prage maṭuθa* quick ripening millet

maθa n.f. (pl. *maθwaθa*) **village** | *maθət ʾƐ̄n-Nune* the village of ʾƐn-Nune (B1:9); *rešət maθa* the head of the village; *ʾíθwalən šawwá ʾabòne*ˡ *gu-máθa dìyən*ˡ We had seven bishops in our village (B2:6).

maθyana n.m. **collector (of taxes)** | *maθyánət xárje-w bárjət boṭanàye*ˡ the collector of taxes and the like of the people of Botan (A26:34).

mawačučək →*mamačučək*

mawəlka n.m. (K.) **type of small sledge hammer with fine head** | smaller than a *murja*, which is used for the same purpose → *maloka*

mawjūd adj. invar. (A.) **existing, available**

mawmiθa n.f. (pl. *mawmaθa*) **oath** | *méli rába mawmàθa*ˡ I swore many oaths

mawṭan n.m. (A.) **country, land**

mawʿəd n.m. (A.) **appointment**

mawθa, moθa n.m. **death**

mawθana n.m. **plague**

max prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *maxwaθe, ʾax-diye*) (§13.3.13., §19.3.4.) **like, as** | Before a noun or clause: *ʾína plíṭɛle max-tàla*ˈ He came out like a fox (A17:35); *xa-pàṛa*ˈ *wiðále gáne max-qəšta*ˈ A lamb made itself like a bow (A25:28); *max-d-áy* like that one (A4:16), *max-d-ó-t Lelìθa*ˈ like that of Leliθa (A52:15); *max-ṯ-íla brátux mšuyðànta,*ˈ *ʾap-àw,*ˈ *ʾən-lá-ʾazən mšàyðən*ˈ Just as your daughter has gone mad, he also, if I do not go back, will go mad (A4:27); *máme díye t-wéwa max-qṭàləlle*ˈ His uncle who had almost killed him (A25:70).

maxbana n.m. (pl. *maxbane*) **lover** | *maxbánət gàne-wewa*ˈ He was a lover of himself (= selfish) (A3:1).

maxðiyana adj. (f. *maxðiyanta*, pl. *maxðiyane*) **cheerful, causing joy**

maxətwa n.m. (pl. *maxətwe*) **awl (with wooden handle)**

maxfurta n.f. (pl. *maxfure*) **carpet**

maxjəlana adj. (f. *maxjəlanta*, pl. *maxjəlane*) **terrifying** | *wéle xa-xábra maxjəlàna*ˈ It was a terrifying piece of news (B1:13).

maxkɛθa n.f. **speech** | *la-mháymnət kul-maxkéθa basìmta*ˈ Do not believe every sweet speech (A49:6).

maxlana n.m. (pl. *maxlane*) **feeder**

maxmore n.pl. **jewels** | *xo-qðala maxmore* on her neck are jewels (C6:4).

maxyana n.m. **player (of an instrument)** | *maxyánət šabíba* pipe-player (A7:6)

maydani n.m. **type of red fabric** | *ṣudrət maydani* shirt of red fabric

mayl n.m. (pl. *mayle*) (E.) **mile**

maymun n.m. (pl. *maymune*) (K./A.) **monkey**

mayoya n.m. (pl. *mayoye*) **long wooden rod runnning the length of the frame carryng the churn (*guða*)** → *lawlaba*.

mayoθa adj. **mortal**

mayuθa n.f. **crown (anatomical)** | *mayuθət reša* crown of the head

ma-yxalǝf (A.) **That is fine**

măzada n.m. (pl. *măzade*) (A.) **auction** | *dɛrɛ́wa măzàde*ˡ They would hold auctions (B8:38).

ma-zāl (A.) **It is inevitable** | *ma-zāl qaṣe-llèy*ˡ He must break them (A30:11).

mazaxa n.m. (A.) **area below the millstones in a water-mill onto which the flour falls**

mazdiyana adj. (f. *mazdiyanta*, pl. *mazdiyane*) **frightening** | *xzéli xa-xàlma*ˡ *rába mazdiyàna*ˡ I had a very frightening dream (A11:6).

mazra n.m. (K.) **field**

mazreta n.f. **yoyo**

mazyatta n.f. **increase, bidding** | *mšɛrìwa… mazyàtta*ˡ They would start the bidding (B5:8).

mazza n.m. (pl. *mazze*) (K.) **snack before meal**

m-bădal → *bădal*

mbadla n.f. (pl. *mbadlaθa*) adv. **morning** | *m-lɛ́le mbadla* early morning; *mbadla jalde* early in the morning; *rázgi mbádla dàna*ˡ They finish (eating) in the early morning (B5:36). *mbadlaθa* dawn: *gu-mbadláθa mxéθət yóma ʾó-naša tlìqɛ́le*ˡ At dawn, the break of day, the man disappeared (A12:10).

mbaqrana adj. (f. *mbaqranta*, pl. *mbaqrane*) **inquiring, inquisitive** | *wí mbaqràna*,ˡ *ṯ̂-áwət yaðùwa*ˡ If you are inquisitive, you shall be knowledgeable (D2:11).

mbašlana n.m. (pl. *mbašlane*) **cook**

mbaxlana, baxlana adj. (f. *mbaxlanta*, pl. *mbaxlane*) **envious**

mčakčəkana n.m./adj. (f. *mčakčəkanta*, pl. *mčakčəkane*) **garrulous**

mčarčərana n.m./adj. (f. *mčarčəranta*, pl. *mčarčərane*) **garrulous**

mdabqana n.m. **glue**

məita n.f. (pl. *məinaθa*) **town**

meqora → *maqora*

merəkka n.m. (K.) **game played with stones** | the object of this is to hit a small stone as far as possible with a broad stone

mēs, mēz n.m. (pl. *mezăwaθa, mezăwāt*) (K.) **table**

metər n.m. (pl. *metre*) **metre**

mevan n.m. (pl. *mevane*) (K.) **guest** | *pešənwa mevan diya* (If only) I could become her guest (C2:1).

mewa n.m. (K.) **fruit**

meydān n.m. (pl. *meydane*) (A.) **flat area, plain** | *ṣadra meydān t-Barčalla* Her chest (is like) the plain of Barčalla (C2:44).

mərsər n.m. (K.) **head of household**

mɛṣa-ʾəzze, mɛṣantət ʾəzze n.f. (pl. *mɛṣa-ʾəzze, mɛṣanət ʾəzze*) **lizard** | Literally: goat-sucker.

mɛša n.f. (pl. *mɛše*) **type of oak tree** | produces *ʾapṣe* (gallnuts) and *baluṭe* (acorns); also known as *ʾilanət ʾapṣe* gallnut tree. It is related to the trees known as *ṭarma* and *zədyana*.

mɛxolta n.f. (pl. *mɛxolyaθa*) **food; nourishment**

məʾajbana adj. (f. *məʾajbanta*, pl. *məʾajbane*) **amazing** | *xa-məndi məʾajbàna!*ˡ (It was) something amazing! (A4:56).

mədrasa n.m./f. (pl. *mədrase*) **school**

mədre part. (K.) **again** | *mədre xzéle xàlma*ˡ He had a dream again (A1:9); *ʾína léwa mədre gnàyux*ˡ But again it was not your fault (A1:25).

məǰǰa n.m. **yoghurt paste made by dissolving dried yoghurt cakes (*qaške*)**

məǰǰəd part. (K.) **really** | *b-álaha xónən-it màǰǰəd*ˡ By God, you are really our brother (A39:8); *ʾáyya bèna*ˡ *ʾán ʾamrənnux*ˡ *pălátla pálga màǰǰəd?*ˡ This time, if I tell you, will you really divide them in half? (A1:12).

məlga n.m. **wool plucked from sheepskin**

məlka n.m. (pl. *məlke*) (A.) **property** | *málkət gáne dìyela*ˡ They were his property (B4:2).

məllatayuθa n.f. **nationalism**

məlləṯ n.f. (K./A.) **community, nation** | *mállət kúlla sqìdla*ˡ The whole community is fed up (A32:9); *mállət ʾaθoràye*ˡ the Assyrian nation (B6:21).

məlməlawa n.m. **celebrations at the end of winter** | custom practised at the end of the month of February, in which a bonfire is made and children go around the village asking for small gifts, also know as *bəlbəlawa*.

məlxa n.f. **salt**

məlxana adj. (f. *məlxanta*, pl. *məlxane*) **salty**

məlxawa n.m. (pl. *məlxawe*) **winnowing fork** | made of wood, including the teeth

ṃəlya adj. (f. *ṃlíθa*, pl. *ṃəlye*) **full** | *ṃálya dùša*ˡ full of honey (A14:14); *díwən-t málka hóle ṃlíθa náše ràbe*ˡ The audience chamber of the king is full of many people (A17:31); *ða-ʾilàna*ˡ *hóla rš-rúše dìye*ˡ *ṃlíθəla mən-rájbət ʾǎra*ˡ a tree is on his shoulder, full of wildlife (A12:3); *dúnye qímla ṃàlye* it is raining torrentially.

məlθa n.f. (pl. *məlyaθa*) **twine made of gut (*miroṭe*)**

mən, m- prep. (rare variant: *mənnət*; with pronominal suffixes: *mənne*) (§13.3.14., §16.5.) **from, with**: (1) Separation or removal: *šqíləlla mən-d-ɛ-dèrta*ˡ They took it from that enclosure (A15:12); *nìxlən m-Čúxo*ˡ We are relieved of Čuxo (A7:19). (2) Source or origin: *ʾən-kʷálo m-gu-màθa,*ˡ *čɛrxìwala máθa*ˡ *xáṣə dawɛ̀re*ˡ If the bride was from the village, they would take her round the village on the back of mules (B10:34). (3) Temporal starting point: *ʾu-hóla mšuyðánta mən-d-ó-yoma ṯ-íla xzíθəlle ʾàw*ˡ She has been mad from the day that she saw him (A4:12). (4) Partitive: *šqíltɛla mən-dàwe*ˡ She took some of the gold coins (A10:7). (5) Comparison: *ʾína mástət ʾərwe rába biš-basimtɛ́la biš-príštɛla mən-d-a-t-tàwre*ˡ But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle (B5:173). (6) Cause: *ʾána-ži m-kérbi ʾəθyən ʾá-kθɛθa múttənna rəš-núra ʾu-xìlənna*ˡ I, out of my anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it (A2:11). (7) Material: *məlxáwa ʾíwa mtúrṣa m-qèsa*ˡ The winnowing fork was made from wood (B5:87). (8) Stative spatial location: *ʾasṛíwala b-qésa ʾu-m-áy-gota qèsa*ˡ *ʾu-m-áy-gota qèsa*ˡ They would bind them to a stick, with a stick this side and a stick that side (B7:16). (9) Comitative: *mən-xuráne díye píšɛle gu-ṭúra xá-yoma yóme trè*ˡ With his friends he remained in the mountains

one or two days (A4:2). (10) Combined with other prepositions: *ʾu-ṭríðəlle m-gu-bèθa*ˡ He drove him from the house (A16:11); *xa-qála ʾáθe m-qam-tắrət bèθa*ˡ A voice came from before the house (A22:29); *ʾázən šáqlən zùzi*ˡ *m-rəš-ʾèna*ˡ I shall go to take my money from on top of the spring (A15:2).

məndi, mdi n.m. (pl. *məndiyane*) **thing** | *ʾána ʾáxxa nšéli xa-məndi*ˡ I have forgotten something here (B5:35); *ʾáθət ʾána mbàšlən mándi*ˡ Come and I shall cook something (A22:14); *rába mándi ṭemàna* a lot of valuable stuff (A7:9); *ʾíθwale mándi ràba*ˡ He had a lot (A26:63); *ʾu-xáčča ṭína məndi*ˡ and a little mud or the like (B5:190); *ʾaw-lá-ʾaxəl čú-mdi* He would eat nothing (A2:4); *ʾáp-xa mənnéxu léle l-zmárta xa-məndi?*ˡ Is anyone of you for a song or something? (A35:7)

mənta n.f. **favour** | *hon-ṭyána mánta mənnux*ˡ / *ʾána ṭɛnánət məntɛwən*ˡ You have done me a favour (I am much obliged to you).

mənya n.m. **stone weight on a balance (*masaθa*)**

mənyana n.m. (pl. *mənyane*) **number**

mərtoxa n.m. (Urm.) **filling made of wheat flour mixed with butter** | the more usual term used in Barwar is *duwana*.

mərwəš n.m. **type of wheat**

mərya adj. (f. *mriθa*, pl. *mərye*) **ill**

məskena n.m./adj. (f. *məskənta*, pl. *məskene*) **wretched, poor** | *b-núrət rašíye y-áqði məskène*ˡ By the fire of wicked people the poor burn (D2:73).

məssukta n.f. (pl. *məssukyaθa*) **craw, gizzard (of a bird)**

məstik n.m. (pl. *məstike*) **mosquito net** (supported by one pole or by four poles)

məṣṭaqa n.m. (pl. *məṣṭaqe*) **shelf in a chicken-coop (*qare*) on which chickens sit**

məšməššа n.m. (pl. *məšməšše*) (K./A.) **apricot**

məšna n.f. (pl. *məšnaθa, məšne*) **whetstone for sharpening blades** | *məšna ʾu-baṭila* a whetstone and horn (of butter for lubrication)

məššara n.f. (pl. *məššare*) **section of a paddy field, paddy field basin**

məšṭaxa n.m. (pl. *məšṭaxe*) **area where fruit and vegetables are spread out to dry**

məšwanəkke n.f. (pl. *məšwanəkke*) **beehive** | referring properly to the cover of the cylindrical baskets (*sălămaške*) in which the bees are kept.

məšxa n.m. **vegetable oil; clarified butter (from yoghurt or milk)** | *mášxa ḥùr*ˡ (B5:31), *mášxa hòr* (B16:12) pure butter; *máxa xa-mášxa gu-be-ʾéne dìye*ˡ (The priest and deacon) put some oil on his forehead (B6:36).

məšxana n.m. **paste made from oil.** adj. (f. *məšxanta*, pl. *məšxane*) **oily**

məṭra n.f. (pl. *məṭraθa*) **rain** | *ṣléla màṭra*ˡ Rain fell (A11:18); *màṭrɛla*ˡ It is rainy; *máṭra mṭárɛla ràba*ˡ There is a lot of rain; *məṭra xɛlanta* heavy rain.

məttəlθa n.f., *mətla* n.m. (pl. *mətle*) **story, folktale; riddle, maxim** | *ʾaw-mút màtlɛle?*ˡ What is (the meaning of) the riddle? (D1:14); *mátli màtle*ˡ They tell witty sayings.

mətxa n.m. (pl. *mətxe*) **period (of time)** | *gu-mátxət xa-daqìqa*ˡ *wéla lháya ʾan-qèse*ˡ Within the space of one minute those pieces of wood ignited (B15:24).

məṭya adj. (f. *mṭíθa*, pl. *məṭye*) **ripe**

məxra n.m. (pl. *məxre*, *məxrare*) **small water channel carrying water across field boundaries (*gewanane*)**

məzzana adj. (f. *məzzanta*, pl. *məzzane*) **hairy** | *xawxa məzzana* hairy peach

məzze pl. (sing. *məsta* f.) **hair** | *zínna mázzət rèšiˡ* My hair stood on end (out of fear); *kut-màstaˡ xa-zága dáryət bìya*ˡ Put a bell on every hair (A27:8).

məžməža n.m. (K.) **light snow**

məžməžoke n.pl. (K.) **dried mulberries**

mgamprana n.m. (pl. *mgamprane*) **arrogant person**

mgawarta n.f. **burp**

mhɛmənana, *mhamənana* n.m. **believer** | *mhamənána b-ʾalàha*ˡ a believer in God (A16:3).

mhumna, *humna* adj. (f. *mhumanta*, pl. *mhumne*) **faithful, trustworthy**

mila n.m. **blue/green colour** | *máxyəxəlla máθən kúlla l-míla-w l-kóma* We have covered all our village with blue and black (A4:32); *míla b-rešèxu!*ˡ Confound you! (literally: Blue on your head!) (A7:14); *míla l-hàlux!*ˡ Confound you! (literally: Blue on your condition!) (A23:10).

adj. (pl. *mile*, no f. form used) **blue/green**; *xa rapə yawne mile* A flock of blue doves (C2:35).

milana adj. (f. *milanta*, pl. *milane*) **blue/green**

milannaya adj. (f. *milannɛθa*, pl. *milannaye*) **bluish; greenish**

milanuθa n.f. **blueness; greenness; greens, vegetables**

mira n.m. (pl. *mire*) **lord, prince**

mirata n.m. **property without heirs** | *bɛ́θa d-áwwa náša píšle miràta*ˡ The house of this man has no heirs

mir-e-mən interj. (K.) **my lord!**

miroṭa n.m. (pl. *miroṭe*) **small intestine, gut** | *ʾipyáθa mən-miròṭela*ˡ The straps (of the plough) are made of gut

miruθa n.f. (K.) **nobility, the office of a lord**

miθa adj. (f. *miθta*, pl. *miθe*) **dead**

miθəkka n.m. **a child dressed up in white clothes who is taken around houses of the village at Christmas, or a model of a child dressed and carried in this way** (B16:13ff.)

miya n.pl.tan. **water** | *miya qarire* cold water; *míya hóla rθàxa*ˡ The water is boiling; *šalqo t-miya* chicken-pox.

miyana adj. (f. *miyanta*, pl. *miyane*) **watery, wet**

miyora n.m. (pl. *miyore*) **intestine**

mjunəgra adj. (f. *mjungarta*, pl. *mjunəgre*) **rusty**

mkase qərṭale n.f. **late snow falling at the end of March** | Literally: the coverer of panniers

m-lɛle adv. **early morning, before dawn**

mnaxa n.m. **rest; deceased, late** | *mnáxət bábi* my father, may he rest in peace; my late father (B3:4)

mnujra **fashioned, worked** | *kepa mnujra* dressed stone; *ʾi-banɛ́wa báte b-képa mnùjra*,ˡ *mnújra bəd-ʾìða*ˡ They would build houses with dressed stone, dressed by hand.

mo, mu, modi, maw, mawdi part. pron. (§7.5., §14.9.12., §17.1.4., §17.7.13., §19.1.2.4., §19.2.2.) **what; why?; how could it be? how (exclamatory)**. (1) **what** | Interrogative: *mò-bə̆yət?*| What do you want? (A13:13); *mòdi wídle?*| What did he do? (A25:19); *mú bṯ̂-àwe?!*| What will it be? (= That is fine, OK) (A18:33); *mo-ʾìba?!* What is there in it?! (= That is fine, OK) (A13:1); *màw-lux?*| What is the matter with you? (A31:9); *mút qála dìyi?*| What is my voice? (A25:44). Indirect question: *xáze mòdila qáṣṣət*| He sees what the problem is (A22:43); *làn-ðaʾa mo-qarúwale*| I do not know what they called him (A12:20); *ṯ̂-ázən xázən mòdi píše ʾan-náše*| I shall go to see what has become of those people (A18:12). Modifier of a noun: *ʾáwwa mò-tə̆hər nášɛle?*| What kind of man is he? (A25:31); *ʾáyya mòdi mðítɛla?*| What town is this? (A26:26). Exclamatory: *ʾína mù-brata!*| But what a girl! (A13:11). Head of a relative clause: *mšaróyela kθàwa*| *bɛθwáθət nàše*| *ʾu-mo-ṯ̂-itlèy*| They start registering the houses of people and what they have (B1:16). (2) **why?** | *mu-ṣtímlux bɛ̀θi?*| Why have you ruined me? (literally: Why have you destroyed my house?) (A15:14); *mút ʾáti tíwta làxxa?*| Why are you sitting here? (A25:58); *módit ʾəθya?*| Why have you come? (A17:31). (3) **how could it be?** | questioning possibility of sth., mainly with short forms *mu-, mut: ʾánna šáwwa yamàθa*| *ʾana mù pɛðə́nna?*| How could I cross these seven seas? (A12:26); *mùt hole-pčíla?*| How could it be that it is crooked? (A17:20); *mut-yə̀ðən ʾékɛla?*| How shall I know where she is? (A14:98). (4) **how (exclamatory)** | Before a verb: *téla mo-ṭréle ʾəlla!*| How the fox ran to it! (A49:4).

moʿəd n.m. (A.) **appointment** | *ṭláθna hon-yíwtəlla mòʿəd*| I have made an appointment with the three of them (A22:21).

modi → *mo*

moja n.m. (pl. *moje*) (K.) **calf**

mojənta n.f. (pl. *mojənyaθa*) **heifer**

mola n.m. (pl. *mole*) **partitioned storage area in a *goma* (basement stable)**

moṣulnaya n.m. (pl. *moṣulnaye*) **man from Mosul**

moxa n.m. **brain**

moza n.m. **must (unfermented juice) of grapes; residue of grapes after distillation of arak**

mozina (m.) (K.) **foal**

mozinta (f.) (K.) **foal**

mṗarəmyana, ṗarəmyana adj. (f. *mṗarəmyanta*, pl. *mṗarəmyane*) **knowledgeable, wise**

mqawăla n.f. (A.) **contract**

mqurəmṭa adj. (f. *mqurmaṭṭa*, pl. *mqurəmṭe*) **wrinkled**

mrariya n.f. (K./A.) **marble** | *gudane bani kepa xwara mrariya* They will build the walls with white stone and marble. (C3:9).

mraxmana adj. (f. *mraxmanta*, pl. *mraxmane*) **merciful**

mreriya n.m. (pl. *mreriye*) **bangle, decoration** | *qðalə kʾalo mreriye* On the neck of the bride there are bangles (C5:10).

mriya adj. (f. *mrita*, pl. *mriye*) **ill**

mrupya adj. (f. *mrupɛθa*, pl. *mrupye*) **free, untethered** | *heywáne mrùpyewa gu-góma*ˈ The animals were untethered in the basement stable.

m-săbab → *sab, săbab*

msapyanuθa n.f. (pl. *msapyanuyaθa*) **tradition**

msarbəs n.m. (pl. *msarbise*) **wooden instrument on which balls of wool are wound** → *srbs*

msɛθa n.f. **washing** | *ʾitla msɛθa* She is having a menstrual period (literally: She has washing, i.e. washing of the soiled clothes).

mṣapyana n.m. (pl. *mṣapyane*) **strainer**

mṣɛθa n.f. **ability** | *mattìwa*ˈ *ṯ-ámrəx xá xámša dinàre*ˈ *ʾən-hàtxa mándi*ˈ *yáʿni ʾax-mṣèθa*ˈ They would deposit let us say a sum of five dinars, or thereabouts, according to their ability (to pay) (B5:6).

mṣoθa n.f. **extract from *ʾatko* (piece of the stomach of a young goat) used as rennet (*marɛθa*) for cheese**

mšadrana n.m. (pl. *mšadrane*) **sender**

mšanyana n.m. (pl. *mšanyane*) **nomad**

mšarbəṭana → *šarbəṭana*

mšaxəlpana n.m. (pl. *mšaxəlpane*) **somebody who keeps changing his mind**

mšixaya n.m./adj. (f. *mšixɛθa*, pl. *mšixaye*) **Christian**

mšurəšya adj. (f. *mšuršɛθa*, pl. *mšurəšye*) **sloping; tilting** | *garíθa mšuršɛ̀θɛla*ˡ The roof (of the outhouse) is sloping.

mšuṭra adj. (f. *mšuṭarta*, pl. *mšuṭre*) **spoilt (child)**

mšuθna adj. (f. *mšuθanta*, pl. *mšuθne*) **feverish; afflicted with fever**

mtagbarta n.f. **maintenance**

mtagbərana n.m. (pl. *mtagbərane*) **regulator**

mtanaxta n.f. (pl. *mtanaxyaθa*) **sigh**

mtanyana n.m. (pl. *mtanyane*) **teller** | *mtanyanət tunayaθa* storyteller

mtarəksana n.m. **small wooden poker** | cf. *badoda* long wooden poker, *maṣəxθa* metal poker

mṭarṭəmana n.m. (pl. *mṭarṭəmane*) **grumbler**

mṭawalta → *ṭawalta*

mu, mut → *mo*

muʿallәm n.m. (A.) **teacher**

mubyana n.m. (pl. *mubyane*) **swelling (on skin)**

mučəkθa n.f. (pl. *mučəkyaθa*) **dry measure in the form of a small bowl (used by the owner of a water-mill to measure out his share of the flour for his fee)**

mudda n.f. (A.) **period**

mugədla adj. (f. *mugðalta*, pl. *mugədle*) **frozen** | *miya mugədle* frozen water

muhəmma n.f. (A.) **important matter, duty**

muḥkəm adj. invar. (A.) **solid, strong**

mujarrad adv. (A.) **only** | *bas-mjárrad mṣawθàwa*ˡ She was just talking (A19:9)

mujawharāt n.pl. (A.) **jewelry**

muka n.m. (pl. *muke*) **wooden post hammered into the ground to make a wattle fence**

munaḏḏəm n.m. (A.) **regulator, governor**

mĭnawăra n.f. (A.) **manoeuvre**

muntăḏam adj. invar. (A.) **controlled**

mŭqabəl prep. (A.) **opposite**

muqaṭăʿa n.f. (A.) **territory, province**

mur n.f. (pl. *muraθa*) (K./A.) **stamp, seal** | *məxyále mur-dìye*ˡ He put his stamp (on it).

murabba n.m. (pl. *murabbe*) (A.) **jam**

murčanus n.f. **mashed potato** → *mrč.*

murja n.m. (pl. *murje*) **type of sledge hammer** | used for breaking stones and hewing rock, larger than a *mawəlka/maloka* which is used for the same purpose

murza n.f. (pl. *murzăwaθa*) **iron ball and chain (weapon)**

musarde n.m. **festival commemorating the baptism of Christ (100 days after Easter)**

mušəlmana n.m./adj. (pl. *mušəlmane*) **Muslim**

mušəlmanuθa n.f. **Islam**

muškəla n.f. (pl. *măšakəl*) (A.) **problem**

muštărək adj. invar. (A.) **participating**

mθallaθ n.m. (pl. *mθallăθāt*) (A.) **triangle**

muxtăləf adj. invar. (A.) **different**

muxtər n.m. (A.) **village head**

mwafăqa n.f. (A.) **agreement**

mxamyana n.m. (pl. *mxamyane*) **guard**

mxallana n.m. (pl. *mxallane*) **cleaning cloth**

mxilta n.f. (pl. *mxilyaθa*) **sieve with small holes (for flour)**

mzabnana n.m. (pl. *mzabnane*) **seller**

mziða n.m. (pl. *miziðe*) **bag for storing grain (made of sheepskin)**

/N/

nabuwa n.m. (pl. *nabuwe*) **large spring of water**

naċ̣əpta n.f. (pl. *naċ̣əpyaθa*) **drop (of liquid)**

naðorta n.f. (pl. *naðoryaθa*) **pipe running out from a spring (*ʾɛna*) or an irrigation channel (*šaqiθa*)**

nắfă̆r n.m. (pl. *nắfă̆re*) (A.) **person, individual** | After numerals: *ʾəċ̣ċ̣ə̂ nắfă̆re*[1] ninety people (B2:10).

nafšə-šay (A.) **the same thing**

naftang n.m. (pl. *naftange*) (K.) **waist** | *ʾaqláθe díye píše kèpa*[1] *hál naftánge dìye*[1] His legs had turned to stone up to his waist (A8:58).

nagəstən adv. (K.) **suddenly**

nagoza n.m. (pl. *nagoze*) **bite** | *mxáyəlle xa-nagòza*[1] He bit it (B15:55).

na-ḥaqquθa n.f. (A.) **what is not lawful** | *ṯ-ázən ṯắyən báθər ḥaqqùθa*[1] *ʾu-na-ḥaqqùθa*[1] I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful (A15:5)

nahira n.m. **lamp oil** | used in the lamps of churches (*nuṭa* being used in house lamps); *nahirət šəšme* sesame oil for lamps, *nahirət gawze* walnut oil for lamps, *nahirət bəṭme* terebinth oil for lamps

naḥiya n.f. (A.) **district**

najara, najjara n.m (pl. *najare, najjare*) (A.) **carpenter**

najaruθa n.f. **carpentry**

nắjīb adj. (A.) **good, diligent**

nala n.m. (pl. *nale*) **horse-shoe**

nalbanda n.m. (pl. *nalbande*) (K.) **farrier**

nama n.f. (pl. *name*) **ostrich**

na-mumkən adj. invar. (K./A.) **impossible** | *ʾo-t-là páləx*ˈ *na-múmkən ṯ-áxəl gu-bɛ̀θi*ˈ Whoever does not work cannot eat in my house (A21:40).

na-paləx adj. (invar.) **lazy**

napaxta n.f. **a large hollow measure for corn in the form of open oblong wooden box**

napoxta, nepoxta n.f. **raisin or date syrup** | In the Barwar region it was always made of raisins.

naqiða adj. (f. *naqiðta*, pl. *naqiðe*) **thin, fine** | *qɛsa naqiða* thin wood; *zolale naqiðe* fine tendrils

naqoša n.m. (pl. *naqoše*) (Urm.) **bell**

naqro n.f. (pl. *naqrowaθa*) **woodpecker**

naqruza n.m. (pl. *naqruze*) **beak (of birds); proboscis (of flies, wasps, bees, etc.)** | *čɛ́ne šádli naqruzéy gu-gə́ldət heywàne*ˈ Mosquitoes stick their proboscis into the skin of animals.

naqta n.f. (pl. *naqyaθa*) **young female goat** | the male equivalent is *gəðya*

nara → *nera*

năra (i) n.m. (pl. *năre*) **axe**

năra (ii) n.m. **roar** | *ʾay-wàðtɛla*ˈ *năra-nắra dìya*ˈ She was roaring (A27:14).

nardumana adj. (f. *nardumanta*, pl. *nardumane*) **miserable, discontent** | *báxti nardumàntɛla,*ˈ *lá-băya ʾàrxe*ˈ My wife is miserable, she does not want guests.

năreθa n.f. (pl. *năreyaθa*) **small axe; piece in shape of an axe at the end of the rotating shaft that fits into the upper grindstone of a water-mill**

narṭoma n.m. **snout (of an animal)** | *narṭómə sùsa*ˈ the snout of the horse (A12:65)

nasarta n.f. (pl. *nasaryaθa*) **saw** | *nasartət ʾíða* hand saw; *nasartət dape* large saw used by two people for cutting planks (*dape*) from logs.

năṣiyət n.f. (A.) **advice** | *xa-năṣíyət t-yánna ṭlàlux*ˈ I'll give you some advice (A24:9).

naša n.m. (pl. *naše*) **man, person; family relative** | *bəṛ-naša* human being; *málla móre náša šùqla!*ˡ The mullah said 'Man, give me a break!' (A2:6); *nášət kʲàlo*ˡ the family of the bride (B5:36); *xa-nàšiˡ* a relative of mine (A18:16).

našuθa n.f. **humanity** | *ʾáyya bráta hon-ʾáθya nablànna*ˡ *ʾən-b-našùθa,*ˡ *ʾən-b-xèla*ˡ I have come to take this girl, either humanely or by force (A29:65).

naṭora n.m. (pl. *naṭore*) **guard**

naθa n.f. (pl. *naθyaθa*) **ear, handle** | *gúda máre naθyàθɛleˡ* The wall has ears (D2:43); *náθux lè-y-yatlaˡ l-hàtxa náše mṣáwθiˡ* Do not give your ear to such people speaking (A26:67); *zdímla naθyáθi b-qálət tòpeˡ* My ears were deafened by a gushot; *naθyaθət nunta* the gills of a fish, *naθyaθət tope* the sights of a gun (diagonal pieces attached to the barrel joined by a strip of animal hair).

navež̌e n.f. (K.) **ablution (for prayer)** | *lázəm ʾáθe ʾáwəð navèž̌eˡ* He must come to make ablutions (A25:33).

nawa n.m. (pl. *nawe*) **nit (in hair)**

nawaga n.m. (pl. *nawage*) (K.) **grandson, grandchild**

nawagta n.f. (pl. *nawagyaθa*) (K.) **granddaughter**

nawba n.f. (pl. *nawbe*) (A.) **turn; guard duty** | *nawbət miya* turn for a field to receive irrigation water, determined by the irrigation manager (*karaxa*); *so-dúqu nàwbaˡ* Go and keep guard (A18:3).

nawbadār n.m. (pl. *nawbadare*) (K./A.) **night guard**

nawərčəkka, nawərčika, nawčərka n.m. (pl. *nawərčəkke, nawərčike, nawčərke*) (K.) **great-great-grandson**

nawəgga n.m. (pl. *nawəgge*) (K.) **great-grandson**

nawəgta n.f. (pl. *nawəgyaθa*) (K.) **great-granddaughter**

nawəlka n.m. (pl. *nawəlke*), *nawəlta* n.f. (pl. *nawəlyaθa*) **bar used to stretch and tease strands of wool by turning**

nawəlta → *nawəlka*

nawčərka → *nawərčəkka*

nawərčəkta, nawərčəkθa n.f. (pl. *nawərčəkyaθa*) **great-great-granddaughter**

nawra n.m. (pl. *nawre*) **mirror**

nawžina n.m. (pl. *nawžine*) (K.) **foal of a horse**

naxira n.m. (pl. *naxire*) **nose; projecting structure with a small orifice on the tower of a church**

naxopa adj. (f. *naxopta*, pl. *naxope*) **shy**

naxraya n.m./adj. (f. *naxrɛθa, naxraye*) **foreigner, stranger; foreign, strange**

nazik adj. (pl. *năwazik*) (K.) **delicate** | *Nàze,*ˈ *ʾáti gánəx nàzik-iwət*ˈ Naze, you yourself are delicate (A25:18); *ʾárwe năwazìk-ila*ˈ Sheep are delicate (B10:56).

nčila adj. (f. *nčilta*, pl. *nčile*) **ragged, scruffy** | *y-oðə́xwale júlle nčile* We made for him ragged clothes (B16:10).

nera, nara n.m. (pl. *nerăwaθa*) **river**

neṛa n.m. **sight, vision** | *rába píšle zə́bun néṛət ʾène,*ˈ *b-xèlɛle dyála*ˈ His sight has become very weak, he can hardly see.

neriya n.m. (pl. *neriye*) (K.) **male goat four years old and upwards**

nɛ́ka n.m. (pl. *nɛ́ke*) **thigh**

nəčča n.m. (pl. *nəčče*) **small piece of meat**

nəhaya n.f. (A.) **end**

nəmra (i) n.m. (pl. *nəmre*) **tiger**

nəmra (ii) n.f. (A.) **number**

nəmu, ləmu part. **asseverative particle; why?; remonstrating particle** (§17.9.1.). (1) **asseverative particle** | In the context of negative questions: *nə́mu la-mə́ri-llux dàyər,*ˈ *míθa dàyər.ʔ*ˈ Did I not tell you that he would return (= indeed I told you…), that the dead would return? (A22:39); *nə́mu la-ʾawðə́xle ʾáwwa ṭùra*ˈ *dărajyàθa,*ˈ *daràje,*ˈ *ṯ̂-ásqəx l-áwwa ṭùra.ʔ*ˈ Should we not make steps for this mountain (= indeed let us make…), so that we can go up the mountain? (A17:4); *lə́mu lá-ʾasqən ʾàna.ʔ*ˈ Should I not go? (= indeed I should go) (A39:10). (2) **why?** |

*lámu la-qìmlux?*ˡ Why did you not get up? (A26:48). (3) **remonstrating particle** | In a positive question: *námu ʾáyya bárke d-ènila*ˡ *t̂-it-ʾáti sxáya gàwa?*ˡ Whose is this pool in which you are swimming? (surely it is mine not yours) (A25:61).

nənxa n.m. **mint** | *mtăməzə́xwa ʾaməne b-qə́ṭma-w nənxa*ˡ We used to clean vessels with ash and mint.

nəqda n.m. **money** | *ʾo-yóma qăṭíwa nəqda*ˡ On that day they would decide on money (B5:8).

nəqša n.m. (pl. *nəqše*) **embroidery, decorations** | *y-oðíwa nəqše gáwa*ˡ *t-ʾámṛa kòma*ˡ They made embroideries in them (the rugs) of black wool (B10:79).

nəsyana n.m. **experience**

nəsyət, nəsyətta n.f. (pl. *nəsyətte*) (A.) **advice; admonishment**

nəšma n.m./f. **soul** | *tá-t šaqlíle nəšmèy*ˡ so that they could take away their soul (A4:59); *píšle nəšma*ˡ It became a living being (A18:29); *kú nəšma*ˡ *t-màṭya*ˡ *rəš-gə́šrət Dalàle*ˡ *ʾɛ-nə́šma bəd-pèša*ˡ *prìmta,*ˡ *qṭìlta*ˡ Any soul that comes onto the bridge of Dalale—that soul will be slaughtered, killed (C8:5).

nəšra n.m. (pl. *nəšre*) **eagle**

nəšwa n.m. **bird trap** | *nəšwət qəqwane* traps for partridges, consisting of loops (*xarbuqyaθa*) of horse hair suspended on pruning hooks (*čakalyaθa*) that are stuck in the ground; *nəšwət čučəkke* traps for small birds, consisting of loops of horse hair hung up intertwined with a bunch of millet heads (*dastət bole*); *mattoye nəšwe* to lay bird traps.

nəṭṭəpta n.f. (pl. *nəṭṭəpyaθa*) **drop**

nəxla n.m. **sieved grain; flour that falls through a fine sieve (*mxilta*)** | *nəxlət qɛsa* sawdust, shavings

nəxsa n.m. **rebuke**

nəzla n.m. **pus**

nimana adj. (f. *nimanta*, pl. *nimane*) **damp** | *bɛθa nimana* a damp house; *julla nimana* a damp cloth; *hawa nimana* humid air; *ʾăra nimanta* damp ground

nira n.m. (pl. *nire*) **yoke of a plough; small wooden strip made of juniper laid across beams in a roof** (syn. *qarša*)

nisən n.m. **April**

nišan n.m. (K.) **target**

nišanqa n.m. (pl. *nišanqe*) (K.) **sign, symbol, symbolic act, token** | *wíðɛle ʾa-dúkθa nišànqa*ˡ He made a sign in that place (A11:10); *mattíwa nišànqe*ˡ They (the family of the groom) would deposit tokens (of betrothal, usually in the form of a deposit of money) (B5:5).

nita n.f. (pl. *nitaθa*) **dawning of the day, all night celebrations during a wedding** | *munéla nìta*ˡ Dawn has broken; *qaṭlə́xla nìta*ˡ We shall continue our celebrations until dawn.

niwa n.m. (pl. *niwe*) **canine tooth**

nixa adj. (f. *nixta*, pl. *nixe*) **slow; inactive; extinct, obliterated; deceased** | *nixa nixa* slowly, gently: *zíla níxa níxa wíra gu-d-a-màθɛle*ˡ He went along slowly and entered the village (A14:58); *pálxi plìxe,*ˡ *y-áxli nìxe*ˡ Those who have worked hard work but those who are inactive eat (D2:33); *tré-mənna tlíxela nìxela*ˡ Two of them (the churches) are destroyed and obliterated (B1:5); *ʾána ṣalánwa m-d-ó-nixət xòni*ˡ I used to go down with my late brother (B5:212).

niza n.m. (pl. *nize*) (K.) **bayonet**

nohra, nora n.m. **light** | *ʾálaha manírxle gu-nóhra ʾu-pardèsa*ˡ May God grant him rest in light and paradise (said after the death of somebody); *šabθət nora* The Saturday of Light. This is the Saturday before Easter, so named since the angels went down to the grave of Jesus and bathed it in light.

nošˇ- | *b-nošˇ-* adv. (Urm.) **by oneself** | *xà b-nošéy*ˡ by themselves (B15:75)

nqira adj. (f. *nqirta*, pl. *nqire*) **carved; dressed (stone)** | *képe nqìre*ˡ dressed stones (B15:22)

nṭarta n.f. **guard; vigil; waiting** | *tiwa wənwa nṭaraθa* I was sitting in vigil (C2:16).

nuhara n.m. (pl. *nuhare*) **explanation, clarification**

nula, lula n.m. (pl. *nule, lule*) (K.) **young ox**

nulta, lulta n.f. (pl. *nulyaθa, lulyaθa*) (K.) **young cow**

nune n.pl. (sing. *nunta*) **fish; smooth skinned like a fish (name of nanny goat)** | *ʾázza ʾε-Nùne* the nanny goat called Nune (C7:3)

nuniθa n.f. **fish**

nura n.m. **fire; Hell fire** | *qa-mó gə́rəg ʾázəl kúlla páxri gu-nùra?*ˡ Why should all my body go to Hell fire? (A16:2)

nuta n.f. **edible herb** | small form of *nuwa*, consists of a single leaf (*ṭaya*), which is bitter to the taste; *nuta balle* type of herb

nuṭa n.m. **oil, petroleum**

nuwa n.m. **edible herb** | large form of a *nuta*, consisting of several leaves (*ṭaye*)

nuwala n.m. (pl. *nuwale*) **water channel**

nxəpθa n.f. **shame** | *be-nxəpθa* shameless

nxiluθa n.f. **mischief**

nxilθa n.f. **mischievous trick** | *mtuxmánne ṭ-áwəð nxìlθa*ˡ He (the fox) thought of doing a mischievous trick (A49:2).

nyasa n.m. (pl. *nyase*) (K.) **acquaintance (among the Kurds)**

nyasta n.f. (pl. *nyasyaθa*) (K.) **acquaintance (among the Kurds)**

/P/

pača n.m. (T.) **dish consisting of the head and legs of an animal**

paččа n.m. (pl. *paččе*) **handful with two hands** | *štáyɛle b-pàččа*ˡ He is drinking with his hands

paččəkθa n.f. (pl. *paččəkyaθa*) **small handful with one hand**

pala (i) n.m. (pl. *pale*) **workman**

pala (ii) n.m. **fate, fortune** | *qəm-daryáli pàla*ˡ She presented my fortune to me; *dréla xa-pàla*ˡ She made a prediction of her fortune (A38:2) → *pela*

pălakka n.m. (pl. *pălakke*) (A.) **celestial sphere, star** | *marmanne qam-pălakke* I shall raise it (the churn) up to the stars (C5:2).

palaxa n.m./adj. (pl. *palaxe*) **worker; hard-working**

palga n.m. (pl. *palge*) **half; middle.** (1) **half** | *xa-w palge* one and a half; *hálli xa-láxma-w pàlge*ˡ Give me one and a half loaves of bread; *xa-kista-w palge* one and a half bags; *ʾánna ʾálpa dáwe pălə̀tla,*ˡ *pálga ṭlàlì*ˡ *pálga ṭlàlux?*ˡ Will you divide those thousand gold pieces, half for me and half for you? (A1:6); *ʾap-an-zúze kúlla ṯ-in šqìləlla*ˡ *pălánna pàlge*ˡ I'll divide into halves also all the money that I took (A1:17); *pálgət ʾùrxɛwəx*ˡ We are halfway (on our journey). (2) **middle** | *ʾu-b-pálgət béθa wídla nùra*ˡ She made a fire in the middle of the house (A19:4); *palgət yoma* midday; *kepət palga* middle stone (at the top of a door stone). *be-palga* adv. **in the middle** | *ʾo-yála zóra hóla múttəlle be-pàlga*ˡ They put the little boy in the middle (A4:58); n.m. **middle section** | *ʾap-aqlə-d-àw,*ˡ *hál be-palge-díye píša kèpa*ˡ Its leg, up to its middle had become stone (A8:30).

palkon n.m. (A.) **balcony**

palla n.m. (pl. *palle*) (K.) **ember of burning wood** | *y-oðáxwa nùra,*ˡ *ʾáwwəl ma-t-ràxəθ,*ˡ *garšáxla qɛ̀se,*ˡ *péšwa pàlle*ˡ We made a fire. As soon as it boiled, we pulled away the wood and it became embers. (B10:87)

palləkθa n.f. (pl. *palləkyaθa*) (K.) **small piece of burning coal, ember**

paloxaya n.m. (pl. *paloxaye*) **labourer** | *ʾu-plúx mən-d-ànna paloxáye*ˡ Work with these labourers (A24:5).

palpule n.pl. (sing. *palpulta*) **boot, large shoe** | *kul səmbəlti xa draya, kul zargulti palpulti* Each (side) of my moustache is a cubit, and each shoe of mine and each boot of mine (is a cubit) (A51:5).

pandana adj. **cunning** | *θéle téla pandàna*ˡ The cunning fox came (A49:2).

pande adv. **slowly** | *lá-juj pàndux*ˡ Don't be slow.

panjana n.m. (pl. *panjane*) (K./A.) **glass; cup** | *qáṭu wìrtɛla,*ˡ *npílta gu-d-án panjàne*ˡ *mqurədxela*ˡ *ʾánna ṛìšela*ˡ A cat came in, fell into the glasses, they shattered and they woke up (A4:53).

panjăra, panjara, panjɛra, panjăriya, panjăriye n.f. (pl. *panjăriyaθa*) (K.) **window**

panya n.m. (pl. *panye*) **shadow** | *ʾaṣərta yoma gnele panya ṭalana rpele* In the evening the sun set and cast a shadow on the shadow side of the mountain (C2:5).

papa n.m. **pope**

papaya n.m./adj. (pl. *papaye*) **Catholic**

p-ape prep. **beyond** | *hóla p-ápe šawwà yamáθa*ˈ She is beyond seven seas (A12:21); *qímtɛla musáqtəlle bróna dìya*ˈ *p-ápe xa-gə̀ra,*ˈ *prìmtəlle*ˈ She went and took up her young cub the other side of a hill and slaughtered it (A33:13).

papuka n.m. (f. *papukta*, pl. *papuke*) **miserable waif (with no family)**

paqərta n.f. (pl. *paqəryaθa*) **tonsil**

paqota n.f. **dish consisting of wheat dumplings and meat**

para (i) n.m. **fine dust** | *qaríwtux ʾúpra-w pàra*ˈ Your companion is earth and fine dust (A38:9).

para, pɛra (ii) n.m. (pl. *pare, pɛre*) **coin; silver disk decoration on the *tita* (string of decorative disks worn by women on the forehead)**

paṛa (i) n.m. (pl. *paṛe*) **male lamb**

paṛa (ii) n.m. (pl. *paṛe*) **odd number** | *zawge ʾu-paṛe* even and odd numbers

pằra n.m. **first rain in autumn** | *tìwle pằra* The first rain has settled (and the ground is muddy).

parča n.m. (pl. *parče*) (K.) **piece of woven cloth**; **patch**

parda n.m. (pl. *parde*) (K.) **curtain; cloth blind**

pardɛsa n.m. **paradise** | *xzéli b-xə̀lmi*ˈ *ʾìna*ˈ *ʾána zíla l-pardɛ̀sa*ˈ *l-á-dunye xèta*ˈ I dreamt that I went to Paradise to the next life (A2:7); *ʾálaha manívxle gu-nóhra ʾu-pardɛ̀sa*ˈ May God grant him rest in light and paradise (said after the death of somebody); *(gu-)pardésa bábux ʾu-yə̀mmux* May your father and mother be in paradise (said in thanks to somebody's good wishes).

parəšta n.f. (pl. *parəšyaθa*) **small flat stone**

parəxtət lɛle n.f. (pl. *parxaθət lɛle*) **bat**

parma n.m. (pl. *parme*) **blade**

parma adj. (f. *parəmta*, pl. *parme*) **cutting** | *skinta parəmtɛla* the knife cuts well (it is sharp)

parmanta n.f. (pl. *parmanyaθa*) **cutting tool**

paroxa adj. (pl. *paroxta*, pl. *paroxe*) **flying, able to fly** | *ṭéra paròxɛle*ˡ a bird is a flying creature.

parpiṭe n.pl. **brushwood taken from bushes (*ṭarraše*)**

parra n.m. (pl. *parre, parrane*) (K.) **feather; fin on water-wheel**

parranta n.f. (pl. *parranyaθa*) **comb of a bird**

parša n.m. (pl. *parše*) **large flat stone** | e.g. for flattening dough

parṣopa n.m. **physiognomy, face; personality** | *ʾa-parṣópa díyux hátxa jwànqa*ˡ This face of yours, which is so handsome (A8:41)

parsuwa n.m. (pl. *parsuwe*) (K.) **rib**

parta n.f. **husks of rice left after rice is hulled and ground; remains left in sieve after sieving; scraps of wool left on floor after carding** | *partət kawsa* dandruff

partəkka n.m. (pl. *partəkke*) **loose wisp of wool/hair (falling on ground after carding)** | *ʾámṛe díye partə̀kkɛle*ˡ Its wool is full of loose wisps; *káwse díye píšle partə̀kke*ˡ His hair has become dishevelled.

paruða adj. (pl. *paruðta*, pl. *paruðe*) **coarse** | *qamxa paruða* coarse flour, as opposed to *qamxa daqiqa* finely ground flour.

paṛuna n.m. (pl. *paṛune*) **sheepskin bag for clothes**

parušta, parrušta n.f. (pl. *parušyaθa, parrušyaθa*) **smooth pebble**

paruxa adj. (f. *paruxta*, pl. *paruxe*) **flying, able to fly** | *ṭéra parùxɛle*ˡ A bird is able to fly.

parwana n.m. (pl. *parwane*) (K.) **propeller** | *mìya*ˡ *mazəvríle xa-parwàna*ˡ The water drives round a propeller (of a water mill) (B6:53).

parxa lɛle, parxa b-lɛle, parxət lɛle n.f. (pl. *parxa lɛle*) **bat** | Literally: night-flyer → *parəxtət lɛle, parxantət lɛle*

parxantət lɛle n.f. (pl. *parxanyaθət lɛle*) **bat**

parxe n.pl. **peeling skin** | *šanə parxe* chicken-pox (literally: honeycomb of peeling skin)

parxoniθa n.f. (pl. *parxonyaθa*) **butterfly**

parxoniθət lɛle n.f. (pl. *parxonyaθət lɛle*) **bat**

parzəkka, parzəkθa n.f. (pl. *parzəkyaθa*) **spot on skin**

parzena n.m. **thorn tree** | its long thorns (known as *kălame*) are used for making fences.

parzūn, parzuna n.m. (pl. *parzune*) (K.) **woolen knapsack worn by women** | used for carrying everyday items and by bride to carry dowry

paṛθa n.f. (pl. *paṛaθa*) **female newborn sheep**

pasuta n.f. (pl. *pasuwe, pasuyaθa*) **pace** | *bēl-šə́dla l-šə̂dla*ˈ *gə́rəg mátteti xa-xamšá ʾaqlàθa,*ˈ *xamšá pasùwe*ˈ Between the saplings you must leave about five steps, five paces (B5:103).

pašxa rase n.f. **late snow in the month of April** | Literally: splitter of *rasa* grass

pătate n.pl. **potatoes**

patəsqa n.m. (K.) **type of fabric (white)**

patlo n.f. **(hot) whirlwind**

patorta n.f. (pl. *patoryaθa*) **mushroom**

paṭiroke n.f. **edible herb** | resembling *hemza* with tendrils (*zolale*) running along the ground and a pungent root

paṭoša n.m. (pl. *paṭoše*) **patch; mark** | *ʾən-ʾárdət ṣawə́lta xrùle,*ˈ *maxálla paṭòša*ˈ If the bottom of a shoe is damaged, they put a patch on it; *paṭošət ṭina* muddy mark (on clothes)

paṭoxa n.m. (pl. *paṭoxe*) **flattened piece of cattle dung used for fuel**

paθa n.f. (pl. *paθwaθa*) **face; front; upper surface; side (of river)**. (1) **face** | *mxúlla páθe dìye*ˈ He washed his face (A14:27); *ʾáp-xa mən-díyən léle máṣya kálya gu-páθe dìye*ˈ None of us can face him; *díya gu-pàθux*ˈ *mdàgəl*ˈ He will now lie to your face (A6:11); *rəḥqa mən-paθa* Let it be far from the face (said after mentioning something untoward or unpleasant); *xabūš paθa* cheek-bone (literally: apple of the face); *kōm-paθa* black-faced, disgraced, *xwār-paθa* white-faced, innocent; *šaqlanət paθwaθa* two-faced, deceitful. (2) **front** | *paθət guda* front of

wall facing outwards (as opposed to *bəṭ̌ăna* inside of wall), outside row of stones; *kepət paθa* stones of the facing (small white stones used to cover outer wall of house B5:180). (3) **upper surface** | *paθət miya* surface of water; *paθət ṣawle* top of shoes; *paθət mēz* table-cloth; *l-páθa d-o-gúpta dɛ́réwa matúwwa ṭàrpe*ˈ Over the surface of the cheese he would put leaves (B5:169). (4) **side (of river)** | *l-a-páθa xétət nèra*ˈ on the other side of the river (A14:50).

paθora n.m. (pl. *paθore*), *paθorta* n.f. (pl. *paθoryaθa*) **banquet, meal on special occasion**

pawxa n.m. (pl. *pawxe*) **wind, air** | *ṭ̂-óyən… waðə́llux pàwxa*ˈ I shall give you air (to keep cool) (A27:38).

paxa adj. (f. *paxta*, pl. *paxe*) **insipid; boring**

paxalta n.f. **forgiveness; sorry!** | *sí-ṭlub paxálta mánne dìye*ˈ Go and ask forgiveness from him (A1:10); *paxàlta,*ˈ *lá-mṣən ʾáθən ʾədyo*ˈ Sorry, I cannot come today.

paxra n.m. (pl. *paxre*) **body**

payda → *fayda*

payoxa adj. (f. *payoxta*, pl. *payoxe*) **cool**

pažgir n.f. (pl. *pažgire*) (K.) **towel**

pč̣ila adj. **bendy, crooked** | *ʾurxa pč̣ilta* winding road; *ʾáwwa tărɛ́xu pč̣ilɛle*ˈ This door of yours is crooked (A17:20); *tú pč̣ìla,*ˈ *mṣáwəθ dù̇s*ˈ Sit crooked, but tell the truth (D2:60).

pek n.m. **measure of whiskey**

peka → *feka*

pela (i) n.m. (pl. *pele*) **radish**

pela (ii) n.m. **fate, fortune** | *tálga lá mattúle pèle*ˈ The snow will not put aside its fate (D2:45), i.e. a person cannot change his character.

periya n.f. (pl. *periyaθa*) (K.) **beautiful girl** | *periyət yama* mermaid

peruzana n.m. (pl. *peruzane*) (K.) **gift given on the birth of child**

petəxt n.m. (P.) **capital city**

pɛra → *para* (ii)

pəčča n.m. (pl. *pəčče, pəččače*) (K.) **piece (of meat)** | *qəm-awáda tre-pàčče*ˡ He cut her into two pieces (A51:18).

pəčkana adj. (f. *pəčkanta*, pl. *pəčkane*) (K.) **insignificant; useless**

pəddoma n.m. (pl. *pəddome*) **cloth stopper of a vessel** | used to stop mouth of a *kwara* (storage basket), a *mziða* (storage bag) or a *guða* (skin)

pəllən → *fəllən*

pəlxana n.m. (pl. *pəlxanane*) **work; job; cultivation** | *ʾàw zílɛwa l-pəlxànaˡ* He had gone to work (A21:5); *lípla pəlxànaˡ* She has learnt how to work (A21:32); *ʾáp-ʾana ṯ-ázən pàlxənˡ xa-pəlxána ta-t-lèpenaˡ* I also shall go and work, so that I can learn (how to do) a job (A23:1); *kúlla pəlxàna,ˡ pəlxánət béθa hóle b-qðàliˡ* All the work, the work of the house is my duty (A21:27); *ʾína xabúše biš-senàyiwaˡ pəlxanèyˡ* but the cultivation of apples was easier (B5:75). *b-pəlxana* busy, hard-working: *ʾána b-pəlxànənˡ* I am hard-working (A21:27); *bráti wéla b-pəlxànaˡ* My daughter has become hard-working (A21:32).

pənxa n.m. (pl. *pənxe*) **millstone, grinding wheel** | *pənxa ḷaya* upper millstone; *pənxa xtaya* lower millstone; *mattíwa…pánxət ʾərxe.ˡ ʾíθwa ʾo-t-kʸépa ʾáw ʾo-t-xàṭṭe,ˡ y-oðíwa qàmxa,ˡ ʾína ʾáw t-ràzzaˡ ʾíwa t-qɛ̀saˡ* They would install a grinding wheel of a water-mill. There was one of stone, which was for wheat, with which they made flour, but the one for rice was of wood (B5:90); *mattále xa-pànxətˡ šáwwi šawwá párse rəš-ṣádre dìyeˡ* She put a millstone (capable of being lifted only by) seventy-seven heroic men onto his chest (A50:7).

pəqqa, pəqqe n.f. (pl. *pəqqe, pəqqaθa, pəqqaqe*) **frog**

pəqqəške n.f. *pəqqəškaθa* (K.) **blister; bubble**

pəqqəšta n.f. (pl. *pəqqəšyaθa*) **blister, bubble**

pəqxa n.m. (pl. *pəqxe*) **blossom**

pərç̣e n.pl. (K.) **hair**

pərç̣̂amta n.f. (pl. *pərç̣amyaθa*) (K.) **forelock; front of hair** | *pálgət pərç̣̂amte dìyeˡ xríxla qam-yòmaˡ* Half of his forelock was singed by the sun (A50:11); *xá pərç̣̂amta dìyeˡ…t-dáwa-w xa-t-sèma* one forelock of his…was of gold and one was of silver (sign of beauty) (A8:6).

pərma n.m. (pl. *pərme*) **thurible**

pərsa n.m. (pl. *pərse*) **hero, warrior** | *mattále xa-pànxət*ˈ *šáwwi šawwá párse rəš-ṣádre dìye*ˈ She put a millstone (capable of being lifted only by) seventy-seven heroic men onto his chest (A50:7) → *ferəssa*.

pərsange n.pl. **game in which players compete in the throwing of heavy stones**

pərṣət n.f. (pl. *pərṣətte*) (A.) **opportunity, chance** | *lítlux pyáša pàrṣət.*ˈ *dìya qaṭlə́xlux.*ˈ You have no chance (of escape). We shall kill you now. (A26:76)

pəršunya n.m. (pl. *pəršunye*) **difference**

pərtəkta n.f. (pl. *pərtəkyaθa*) **small splinter (of wood)**

pərṭena, pərṭana n.m. (pl. *pərṭene, pərṭana*) **flea**

pərtika n.m. (pl. *pərtike*) **splinter (of wood)**

pərtoxa n.m. (pl. *pərtoxe*) **crumb**

pərya → *fərya*

paṣla n.m. **type; form** | *liθ bər-náša hátxa b-aw-pàṣla díyux*ˈ There is nobody with such a (beautiful) figure as yours (A8:41); *ʾu-b-ó paṣlà*ˈ *ʾi-mtarṣíwa gùpta*ˈ In this way they used to make cheese (B5:171).

paška n.m. (pl. *paške*) **small piece (of meat)**

paškəlle n.pl. (sing. *paškəlta*) (K.) **droppings of goats or sheep that have not been broken up by trampling** | cf. *purta*

paškoža n.f. (pl. *paškože*) (K.) **bud; tassel, decorative stud, bead** | *xanjar t-xoni paškože* The dagger of my brother has (golden) decorations (C5:3).

pašmanta n.f. **sorrow** | *qəm-ʾaryála pašmànta*ˈ Sorrow seized her (A49:5).

pašpašyaθa n.pl. (sing. *pašpašta*) **the first flakes of snow that fall in a snow storm** | *ráya pašpašyàθa*ˈ the first flakes of snow are falling.

pəθwana n.m. (pl. *pəθwane*) **stride, wide step** | *pəθwane zɛdi l-xure* His strides exceed (in size those) of his friends (Qaṭina).

pəθya adj. (f. *pθiθa*, pl. *pəθye*) **wide**

pəθyo interj. **achoo! (noise of sneeze)** | *wíðɛle pəθyo!*ˈ He went 'achoo!' (A4:60).

pəxla n.m. (pl. *pəxle*) **young sheep or calf that has not yet been castrated**

pilawe n.pl. (sing. *pilawta*) (K.) **plastic shoes** | *ʾu-piláwe píšla šmìṭe*ˈ My shoes have become broken (A37:17).

pipa n.m. (pl. *pipe*) **cage for partridge chicks made from a gourd**

pista n.f. (pl. *pisyaθa*) **leather bag (for carrying jajək and yoghurt)**

pišanga, pušanga n.m (pl. *pišange, pušange*) (K.) **bullet, bullet cartridge** | *keptət pišanga* the lead head of the bullet; *masoqe pišanga gu-tope* to load a gun; *kú pušánga ṯ-íx mattóyəlle gu-d-ay-tòpe*ˈ *čŭruk-ile pláṭa*ˈ Every bullet that we put in this gun comes out with a bang (B9:21).

pištamasi n.m. (K.) **long chine of meat on the back of sheep in the shape of a fish**

pixa adj. (f. *pixta*, pl. *pixe*) **cool** | *b-yárxət ʾəṣra*ˈ *xaḏəssər*ˈ *y-óya pìxta dúnye*ˈ In October or November the weather is cool (B5:177).

plaša n.m. (pl. *plaše*) **fighting; war** | *wéle pláša bēn-ʾáskar-t málkət ʾÌrən*ˈ *ʾu-ʾàw*ˈ There was a war between him and the army of the king of Iran (A11:16); *qám-plaša qamàya*ˈ before the First World War (B17:1).

plima adj. (f. *plimta*, pl. *plime*) **crooked**

pode pl.tan. **pus from nose**

poləθ n.m. (K./A.) **steel**

polise n.pl. (K./A./E.) **police**

posa n.m. (pl. *pose*) **dry cow dung**

pošе n.f. **goat having a white spot on the head** | *guði t-ʾəzzi d-ɛ-pošе* My churn from my goat called 'white spotted' (C5:3).

pošiya n.f. (pl. *pošiyaθa*) (K.) **festive headscarf (worn by women)**

poθa n.f. **root of madder used to dye clothes and colour eggs red at Easter**

poza n.m. (pl. *pozaze*) (K.) **snout, nostrils (of a sheep)**

pozəkke, pozəkθa n.f. (pl. *pozəkyaθa*) (K.) **nozzle**

pqiθa n.f. (pl. *pəqyaθa*) **blister, wart**

prage n.pl. **pearl millet** | *xa dəndəkθət prage* a single millet seed; *prage maṭoye* a type of millet that ripens quickly; *prage kurize* a type of millet that ripens slowly

praġe, praxe, prɛxe n.pl. (T.) **stuffed vine leaves**

prāq interj. **bang**

praqta n.f. (pl. *praqyaθa*) **end**

prasa n.m. (pl. *prase*) **cloth spread on floor on which food is laid**

prasta n.f. (pl. *prasyaθa*) **goat's skin spread on the floor**

praza n.f. (pl. *prazane*) **stubble field**

prɛxe → *praġe*

prəzla n.m. **iron** | *xa-prèzla*ˡ a piece of iron (A14:12); *šíšət prèzla*ˡ iron bars (A19:4)

prisa adj. (f. *prista*, pl. *prise*) **spread out; famous**

prista n.f. **spread, covering for floor (such as rug or carpet)**

priša adj. (f. *prišta*, pl. *priše*) **different; special; various.** (1) **different** | *zrútət xáṭṭe prìštɛlaˡ* The cultivation of wheat is different (B5:94); *pálṭi wèrde,ˡ béhɛr y-áwɛ príše prìšeˡ* Flowers come out, in Spring there are lots of different kinds (B5:176). (2) **special, choice** | *rába xá-mdi prìšɛla júllux gu-d-ánna diyéniˡ* Your clothes are something very special compared with ours (A35:10); *ʾína mástət ʾárwe rába biš-basimtɛ́la biš-príštɛla mən-d-a-t-tàwreˡ* But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle (B5:173). (3) **various** | Placed before the nominal: *priše məndiyane* various things.

prišayiθ adv. **specifically, especially**

prora adj. (f. *prorta*, pl. *prore*) **open (space), spacious** | *dukθa prorta* an open place, *ʾurxa prorta* an open road; *ʾíθ dùkθa,ˡ pròrtɛla,ˡ máṣi mṭàli gáwaˡ* There is a place that is open, in which they can play (B11:30).

psasa n.m. **permission**

pṣixa adj. (f. *pṣixta*, pl. *pṣixe*) **glad, happy**

pšima adj. (f. *pšimta*, pl. *pšime*) **sad, regretful (of mistake)**

pšiqa adj. (f. *pšiqta*, pl. *pšiqe*) **explicit, specific**

pšiṭa adj. (f. *pšiṭṭa*, pl. *pšiṭe*) **simple, uncomplicated, sincere** | *rába pšiṭṭɛwa xayúθa díyən gu-maθwáθa*ˡ Our life in the villages was very simple (B15:12); *ʾáti náša pšiṭɛwətˡ* You are a fine person.

pṭoxa adj. (f. *pṭoxta*, pl. *pṭoxe*) **broad, flat** | *parša pṭoxa* a flat stone; *bəṛ-gare pṭoxta* a flat plateau

pθana n.m. (pl. *pθane*) **pair, team (of draught animals); plough** | *pθánət tàwreˡ* a pair of oxen (B5:73).

pθila n.m. (pl. *pθile*) **twisted thread** | *xaθux patla pθile* Your sister twists twisted threads (A50:15).

pθilta n.f. (pl. *pθilyaθa*) **wick** | *šráya ʾítle pθíltət ktànaˡ* A lamp has a wick of cotton.

pukta n.f. **hiccups** | *qəm-doqáli pùktaˡ* I had a bout of hiccups.

pumma n.m. (pl. *pummăwaθa*) **mouth (of body or vessel); end of a spade** | *pumma pṭoxa* wide end (of a spade)

punda n.f. (pl. *punde, pundaθa*) **thick wick (burnt in church ceremonies)** | *măláxwa pundàθaˡ* We would light wicks.

puqdana n.m. (pl. *puqdane*) **command**

puq-əlli **game of hide-and-seek** | Literally meaning: Come to me! → *ṭĭšĭ-ṭĭšo, ṭappu* (B11:12ff.)

Purāt n.m. **Euphrates**

purəpxina n.m. **purslane** | herb that is put in *jajək*

purta n.f. **sheep's dung that has been broken up (*mpurtəxa*) by the trampling of their feet**

purya n.m. **light** | *hóle xa-púrya láxxa zòraˡ* There is a small chink of light here (A14:25).

puryana adj. (f. *puryanta*, pl. *puryane*) **full of light, lightsome**

pušiθa n.f. (pl. *pušiyaθa*) **smelly fart made without noise**

puwa n.m. **hay from millet (*prage*)**

puwuš n.m. **hay from fibres of rice plant**

pxiša n.m. **paste made of flour and oil** | also known as *duwana*

/P̂/

p̂azesor n.pl. (K.) **large sheep with red ears** | *p̂azesór b-ʾəlyàθa,*ˈ *hátxa b-qanàne*ˈ red eared sheep with fat tails and hôrns like this (A7:22); *xa-ʾərbət pazesor* a red eared sheep

p̂ərruš adj. invar. (K.) **treacherous, unfaithful** | *m-o-kalbət p̂ərruš wele ṣlele rəš-kalləš klele xəmyanət Dalle bxele* On account of that dôg which was treacherous, which went down and stood over carrion, the father-in-law of Dalle wept (C8:9).

/Ṗ/

ṗaṛəmyana → *mṗaṛəmyana*

ṗaṛma n.m. (pl. *ṗaṛme*) **type of oak** | producing a sweet edible fruit called *baluṭe* (sing. *baluṭa*)

ṗaṛmæθa n.f. **knowledge, wisdom**

ṗaṛmyana →*mṗaṛmyana*

ṗena n.f. (pl. *ṗena, ṗenane*) (K.) **kick** | *mxaya ṗena* to kick: *qəm-maxyála ðà-ṗena*ˈ She gave me a kick (B5:132); *b-ðá-ʾaqla díya ṗéna qəm-maxyáli ʾàxxa*ˈ With one of its legs it kicked me here (A5:132); *ṗenàne maxyátli!*ˈ You kick me! (A27:41).

ṗəqqa n.m. (pl. *ṗəqqaqe*) **crack, split** | *ṗəqqət ʾaqla* arch of sole of foot

/Q/

qa- prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *qa-diye, qale*) (§16.4., §19.3.11.) **to, for; so that**. (1) Recipient, objective or beneficiary: *máre qa-yámme dìye*ˈ He said to his mother (A21:10); *ʾáp-awwa šaqálla ðá-kista qa-d-ày,*ˈ *yawálla qa-d-ày*ˈ He takes a purse for her and gives it to her (A4:22); *qa-mo? qa-modi?* why? (2) Destination: *núbləlla qa-bráte dìye*ˈ He took them to his daughter (A17:13). (3) Temporal objective: *qa-ṭḷà-yarxe*ˈ for three months (A17:22). (4) Object marker: *băyéwa qa-ʾalàha*ˈ He loved God (A16:10). (5) Before a clause expressing purpose or result: *ṣráxɛle qa-t-šăma*ˈ *brátət màlka*ˈ He is shouting so that the daughter of the king hears (A21:16); *qímle b-zdáya m-bróne dìye*ˈ *qa-t-là-ʾamər*ˈ He

was afraid of his son and (as a result) did not tell (= He was afraid to tell his son) (A8:17).

qaʾəd n.m. (A.) **leader**

qaba n.m. (pl. *qabe*) (K.) **waistcoat** | *Xasắdo t-šáwwa qábe ʾaw-bəṣlɛle*ˈ Xasădo who has seven gowns is an onion (D1:15).

qabūl adj. (invar.) (A.) **acceptable** | *ʾap-ʾáyya qabùl-ila*ˈ That is acceptable (A6:8).

qăbux interj. **battle cry** | *ʾáni qári qắbux l-ġðàðe*ˈ They challenged one another to fight (A29:59).

qačamiθa n.f. **waste grains falling from a water-mill** | These are swept up and given to animals to eat.

qačax n.m. (pl. *qačaxe*) (K.) **brigand**

qačaxuθa n.f. **brigandry**

qăda n.m./f. (pl. *qădaθa*) (K./A.) **calamity, trouble** | *tắra dwìra*ˈ *qắda wìra*ˈ If the door is closed, trouble passes by (D2:47).

qadalta n.f. (pl. *qadalyaθa*) **earthenware pot** | *xa-qadáltə dàwe*ˈ a pot of gold (A10:7)

qadaša n.m. (pl. *qadaše*) **goat with a dewlap**

qadax n.m. (pl. *qadaxe*) (K.) **stick, pole**

qaddiša n.m. (pl. *qaddiše*) **saint**

qaddišta n.f. (pl. *qaddišyaθa*) **saint (f.)**

qadida n.m. (pl. *qadide*) **dried salted meat (usually lamb)** | This is dried on the bone by hanging.

qădīm adj. (A.) **old, ancient**

qadra, qădər n.m. (A.) **amount; respect.** (1) **amount** | *yắðiwa mo-qádra dɛrɛ̀wa*ˈ They knew what quantity to put on (B5:191); *yáwa nišánqa ma-qádrɛla mkawòre,*ˈ *ma-qádrɛla qwìθa*ˈ It gives a sign as to how much (arak) is distilling, how strong it is; *pšúṭla ʾàqlux*ˈ *qắdər bărəkθux*ˈ Stretch your legs according to your cloth (D1:6). (2) **respect** | *qəm-dawáqle qádra dìya*ˈ He showed them respect (A12:37).

qaḍiya, qaẓiya n.f. (A.) **situation, affair** | *hátxɛla qaḍìya*ˈ The situation is like this (A21:8).

qaḥbuθa n.f. (A.) **whoredom**

qăhər n.m. (A.) **sadness** | *θéle qə̀hər-ʾəlle*ˈ Sadness came upon him (A14:87).

qahwayi adj. invar. **brown**

qala n.m. (pl. *qale*) **voice; utterance; song; sound.** (1) **voice** | *qále díye rába basìmɛwa*ˈ His voice was very beautiful (A25:43); *léš-maṣe-náša palə́ṭle qále dìye*ˈ A person can no longer utter his voice (B15:39); *ʾímə ṯ-íle zmàra,*ˈ *bulbúle jmáʾɛla l-qàle*ˈ When he sings, nightingales gather at his voice (A25:46). (2) **utterance, shout** | *ṣríxɛle xa-qála ràba xɛlána*ˈ He shouted a mighty shout (A11:3). (3) **song** | *zmírre xa-qála b-súse dìye*ˈ He sang a song to his horse (A25:55). (4) **sound** | *qálət maymùne*ˈ the sound of monkeys (A14:43); *qalət tope* gunshot; *ʾáwwa mò-qalət bə́xyɛle?*ˈ What sound of weeping is this? (A4:44); *ʾímət ʾàθya,*ˈ *mzàngər zága,*ˈ *ʾáxni šămə́xle qále ṯ-árqəx mṭàšəx*ˈ When it (the cat) comes, the bell will sound, we shall hear its sound and run and hide (A44:2).

qăla, qalla n.f. (A.) **citadel**

qălama n.m. (pl. *qălame*) (A.) **pen; protruding branch of a tree** | *qălamət xurta* the protruding branches of a poplar; *qălamət prəzla* chisel

qalaša n.m. (pl. *qalaše*) (K.) **corpse** | *ṭɛ́re xáləlla qalášət gùṛe*ˈ Birds are eating the corpses of men (B9:32).

qaləpθa n.f. **peal; rind**

qăləs adj. invar. (K.) **miserly**

qalɛθa n.f. (pl. *qalayaθa*) **cell** | *qaddištət qalayaθa* the Saint of the Cells (name of a church in Walto B9:30)

qaləb n.m. (pl. *qalibe*) (A.) **mold**

qalma n.f. (pl. *qalme*) **louse**

qalpa n.m. **peal; bark; shell** | *xá-qapla qɛ̀se*ˈ *t-lá-hawa b-qàlpe*ˈ a bundle of pieces of wood that are without bark (A30:6); *qalpət nune* scales of a fish

qalta, qalθa n.f. (*qalaθa, qalyaθa*) **basket (made of palm leaves)** | This was made in the towns rather than the villages

qalula adj. (f. *qalulta*, pl. *qalule*) **light, quick** | *xánči ṯ-amrə́nna qalùlta*ˡ *qa-t-pàrqa*ˡ I'll tell it (the story) to you quickly so that it will finish (A4:5).

qalunka n.m. (p. *qalunke*) (K.) **pipe** | *garášwa tŭ̆tun qalùnke*ˡ He used to smoke pipe tobacco (A10:9).

qalwa n.m. (pl. *qalwe*) **wooden mold in which fabric is pressed**

qalya n.m. (K./A.) **meat roasted in fat and preserved for winter**

qam prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *qame*) (§13.3.16.) **before (spatial and temporal); in (adversity), from (adversity); on account of (adversity); instead of.** (1) **before (spatial)** | *qam-ʾénux*ˡ before your eyes (A15:15). Obstacle: *muttéθətwa qámi xa-ṭúrət skinyàθa*ˡ You had placed before me a mountain of knives (A24:33), *hálli xá-məndi ṯ-àxlən*ˡ *t-lá-pɛšən kə́twa qam-ʾàqlux*ˡ Give me something to eat so that I am not a thorn in your foot (A26:57). Duty: *ʾána ʾíθ šùla qámi*ˡ I have a job to do (A24:45). Outside: *qam-tă̆ra* outside the door (of the house), *qámət gə̀ppa*ˡ outside the cave (A12:7). After verbs of movement: *ṯ-azítu qam-d-o-gə̀ppa*ˡ You should go to the cave (A8:28), *zíla, zíla zìla,*ˡ *qam-xákma ṭuràne*ˡ *rába ràme*ˡ He went a long way (and came) to some very high mountains (A14:66). At the disposal of, for the benefit of: *ʾáyya dəkkána qàməx*ˡ This shop is for you (to choose from as you wish) (A22:20); *ʾáni daríwala qam-qənyàne*ˡ They would put them out for the animals (to eat) (B15:50). Leading animals: *xa-šă̆vána…y-azólwa qam-ʾərwe*ˡ A shepherd used to go to look after sheep (A10:1), *qu-sí qam-ʾərwe!*ˡ Go and look after the sheep! (A10:5). In charge of: *ṭaxána qam-ðà-ʾarxe*ˡ a miller in charge of a water-mill (A32:1). (2) **before (temporal)** | with a nominal: *qám šáwwi tmáni šənne* seventy or eighty years ago (B5:179); *qam-dàna*ˡ beforehand (A4:30); *qam-mxéθət madənxa*ˡ before the rise of dawn (A8:51); *ʾáw qam-mə̀nnux hóle ʾəθya láxxa*ˡ He has come back here before you (A22:39). With a clause complement: *qam-ṯ-àθi*ˡ *mpáləṭle mən-hàbsa*ˡ Before they return, release him from prison (A26:72). (3) **in (adversity)** | *ʾup-ʾàni*ˡ *náše ʾi-xawšíwala*ˡ *mattíwale gu-gòme*ˡ *qá-t barzíwa,*ˡ *qa-t-là-hawíwa qam-mə́ṭra*ˡ People would store these (pieces of wood) and put them in the basement to dry, so that they would not be in the rain (B15:19); *ʾəθyewəx kope kope qam-məṭra ʾu-qam dalope* We have come bending down in rain and drizzle (C1:14); *maqðánnux qam-šmàyya*ˡ I shall burn you in the sun (A12:31). (4) **from (adversity)** | In contexts expressing escaping from or sheltering from: *ríqən qam-màmi*ˡ I have run away from my paternal uncle (A25:42); *léka b-šárṭət*

*qam-ʾiθàθi?*ˡ Where can you escape from my hands? (A28:21); *mṭášət qam-Lelìθa*ˡ Hide from Leliθa (A51:6); *mṭošéle qam-tàlga*ˡ He sheltered from the snow (A28:3). (5) **on account of (adversity)** | *ʾáskar kúlla mìtla*ˡ *qam-qàle*ˡ All the army died on account of his voice (A52:13); *šəlmanàtˡ dìpla*ˡ *qam-xèla*ˡ The bars have bent due to the force (put on them) (A52:9); *kšíple béθa qam-tàlga*ˡ The house collapsed on account of the snow; *tréle qam-mətṛa*ˡ He was soaked on account of the rain. (6) **instead of** | *ʾé-ga qam-lámpa ʾíθwa šrà'a*ˡ At that time instead of an (electric) lamp there was an (oil) lamp (A33:1).

qama qama prep. **in front of** | With actions involving movement: *ʾéθyela tré malàxe,*ˡ *pyáða qama-qámət čádra d-ò-malka*ˡ Two angels came, passing in front of the tent of the king (A4:2).

qamaya adj. (f. *qamɛθa*, pl. *qamaye*) **first** | *yóma qamàya* on the first day (A25:14); *har-ʾánna qamàyela*ˡ They are the same as the ones before them (A27:27).

qamaye adv. **at first** | *qamáye xírta b-áqlət súsa dìya*ˡ At first she looked at the legs of her horse (A8:72); *ku-brónət bár-naša ʾáθe l-d-áy jăzíra qamàye,*ˡ *ʾáwwa ṯ-áwe málka diyèxu*ˡ Whichever person comes to the island first, he will be your king (A14:46); *y-azə́xwa kalə́xwa m-qamàye*ˡ We went and stood at the front (in the first row of the congregation) (B15:82); *bə́nta qamàye* for the first time (B5:1).

qamčiya n.m. (pl. *qamčiye*) (K.) **leather whip** | imported to the villages from towns

qa-mó adv. **why?**

qamoθ- prep. **in front of** | only used in expressions of meeting: *xúwwe plíṭɛle l-qamòθe*ˡ The snake came out to meet him (A1:18); *yáwəx xàbra*ˡ *ta-t-pálṭi l-qamòθən*ˡ We give word for them to come out to meet us (A4:30).

qamṣa n.m. (pl. *qamṣe*) **grasshopper**

qam-tăra adv. **outside**

qamθa (1) adv. **formerly** | *qàmθa*ˡ *y-aθéwa tálga ràba*ˡ Formerly a lot of snow would fall (B5:146). (2) prep. **in front of** | *l-qámθe dìye*ˡ *ʾíθ xa-čôl*ˡ Before it lies barren countryside (A8:21); *m-qámθa díya ṭùrɛle*ˡ In front of it there is a mountain (B4:1). Frequently used in expressions of meeting: *ríqa qímle plíṭle qámθət bróne dìye*ˡ He ran out to meet his son

(A14:95), *ṣlí qamθə-d-áwwa nàša*ˡ Go down to meet this man (A15:6); *pálṭən qámθux qam-tằra*ˡ I'll come outside to meet you.

qamxa n.m. **flour** | *maṣléwala ʾərxe,*ˡ *ṭaxnìwala,*ˡ *péši qàmxa*ˡ They would take it (the wheat *xəṭṭe*) down to the water-mill and grind it and it would become flour (B5:15).

qana n.f. (pl. *qanane*) **horn; horn container used to carry grease (*məšxa*) for applying to the whetsone (*məšna*); peak of a mountain** | *lá-mɛθət m-an-t-qanàne*ˡ Do not bring those (sheep) with horns (A7:24); *parxəx l-qanət ʾAvraza* Let us fly up to the peak of Avraza (C2:83).

qănăpa, qănăfa n.f. (pl. *qănăpe, qănăfe, qănăpāt*) (A.) **armchair, sofa, couch**

qanaθe n.pl. **metal finger covers worn by harvesters**

qanṭopa, qanṭepa n.m. (pl. *qanṭope, qanṭepe*) **bunch** | *qanṭopət ʾənwe* bunch of grapes

qanθa n.f. **wild grass eaten by sheep**

qăpaxta n.f. (pl. *qăpaxyaθa*) (K./T.) **lid, cover**

qapəlta n.f. **embrace** | *xáṭṭe m-sənnòrta,*ˡ *yála m-qapə̀lta*ˡ Wheat (is seen to be good) from when it is a shoot. A child (is seen to be good) from the time of (his mother's) embrace. (D2:36)

qăpəx n.f. (pl. *qăpəxyaθa*) (K./T.) **lid, cover** | *ta-ṭ-óðən qă̂pəx ʾàp ṭla-réšəx*ˡ until I make a lid also for your head (A20:3).

qapla n.m. (pl. *qaple*) **armful; bundle carried in arms; arms** | *jămíwale y-oðíwale qàpla*ˡ They gathered it (the rice hay) and made it into an armful (B5:84); *xá-qapla qɛ̀se*ˡ a bundle of pieces of wood (A30:6); *qápli hóle ṃlàya*ˡ My arms are full (B15:89); *qəm-šaqlánne gu-qàpli*ˡ I took him in my arms (B9:25); *máxyəlle qáple bìye*ˡ *dwìqəlle*ˡ He put out his hands and caught him (A29:31).

qapyo n.f. (pl. *qapyowaθa*) **blockage; twigs and grass blocking flow of a water channel**

qaqna n.f. (pl. *qaqne*) **thorny plant** | This is yellow in colour and grows in the mountains. When the sap sets it produces a gum known as *deθa*, which is softened in water and then chewed.

qăra n.m. (pl. *qăre*) **pumpkin; gourd**

qărăbalux n.f. (K.) **din, noise**

qărăčaya n.m. (K.) **gypsy**

qărama n.f. **edible herb** | fed to sheep to make them give more milk

qărana adj. (f. *qăranta*, pl. *qărane*) **big; fully grown**

qărār n.m. (A.) **decision**

qaraṣta, qarraṣta n.f. (pl. *qaraṣyaθa, qarraṣyaθa*) **crowbar**

qăratiθa, qarratiθa n.f. (pl. *qăratyaθa*) **pieces of *rasa* grass fed to young lambs in a pen (*kosta*)**

qarawət n.f. (pl. *qarawətte*) (A.) **bed**

qare n.f. (pl. *qareyaθa*) (K.) **chicken coop** | *téla qəm-doqìle*ˈ *máre ku-mándit băyítu wúðu bìyi,*ˈ *bás gu-qáre t-kθayáθa là dɛrétuli!*ˈ They caught the fox and it said 'Do with me what you will, but do not put me in the chicken coop'.

qarəkke n.f. (pl. *qarəkyaθa*) (K.) **crow**

qarəkθonta n.f. (K.) **little crow** | *qarə́kke qarəkθònti*ˈ O crow, my little crow (A34:3)

qarɛθa n.f. (pl. *qarayaθa*) **reader**

qăreθa n.f. (pl. *qăreyaθa, qăraθa*) **vessel (for water and storage) made from a gourd**

qarežе n.pl. **sweepings, rubbish**

qarira adj. (f. *qarirta*, pl. *qarire*) **cold, cool**

qariwa n.m. (pl. *qariwe*) **close friend; best man (at a wedding), godfather** | *qariwi* my friend (said by a Christian to a Jew or vice versa).

qariwta n.f. (pl. *qariwyaθa*) **bridesmaid; female companion of bride and groom at a wedding**

qariθa n.f. (pl. *qariyaθa*) **beam**

qarmana n.m./adj. **winner**

qaroya n.m. (pl. *qaroye*) **reader**

qarqupθa n.f. (pl. *qarqupyaθa*) **skull** | *qarqúpθe sapìqtɛla*ˡ His head is empty (he is a fool).

qarṣa → *ʾaxəl qarṣa*

qarša n.m. (pl. *qarše*) **small wooden strip made of juniper laid across beams in a roof** | *kú ṯ-íle ṣláya xo-qárše ʾəltəx,*ˡ *pyáša dàwa*ˡ Everything that fell down under the beams became gold (A10:11). → syn. *nira*

qarθa n.f. **cold** | *qàrθɛla*ˡ It is cold; *t-lá-hoya qàrθa-ʾəlləx*ˡ so that you are not cold (A20:2).

qaruṭa adj. (f. *qaruṭṭa*, pl. *qaruṭe*) **tough (food)** | *ʾənwə baṣírana qarùṭela*ˡ The *baṣirana* grapes are tough.

qaruθa n.f. **coolness** | *buxára máṭe l-qarùθa,*ˡ *páyəš ṭəpye ṭàpye*ˡ The steam becomes cool and turns into drops.

qarwən n.f. (pl. *qarwane*) (K./A.) **caravan, convoy (of mules) that transports merchandise** | *y-azíwa qàrwən*ˡ They would go in a convoy (B5:124).

qaryana n.m. (pl. *qaryane*) **reader**

qăsăla n.m. (pl. *qăsăle*) (K.) **stem of corn plant**

qăṣāṣ n.m. (A.) **revenge, vendetta**

qaṣore → *qaṣra*

qaṣra n.m. (pl. *qaṣre*) **palace; large house (consisting of two storeys and made of dressed stones)** | *bráte díye muttúla qáṣre ʾu-qaṣòre*ˡ His daughter established villas and palaces (A40:7).

qaṣxane n.f. (pl. *qaṣxane, qaṣxanwaθa, qaṣxanyaθa*) **brass cooking pot** | used to warm milk to make yoghurt

qaṣxanta n.f. (pl. *qaṣxanyaθa*) **small pan**

qaša n.m. (pl. *qaše*) **priest**

qaška n.m. (pl. *qaške*) (K.) (§1.2.2.) **dried cake of yoghurt** (B6:42ff.)

qatta n.f. (pl. *qattaθa*) **stick; handle of a knife, hilt of a sword; sheath of a sword** | *qattət xanjare komta* The handle of his dagger was black (C2:55); *qəm-maxéle bə-b-qàtta*ˡ He struck it (the sword) together with the sheath (A52:18).

qatxa n.m. (pl. *qatxe*) (A.) **cup, goblet** | *ʾɛnile gawṛa m-guṛe… šatele qatxət šteli?* Who is the man amongst men… who could drink the glass I have drunk? (A50:3)

qaṭ n.m. (pl. *qaṭ*) (K.) **suit (of clothes); storey (of building)**

qaṭa n.m. (pl. *qaṭe*) **cat, tomcat**

qăṭifa n.f. (A.) **velvet**

qaṭira n.m. (pl. *qaṭire*) **wooden beam joining oxen together**

qaṭita n.f. (pl. *qaṭiyaθa*) **walking-stick**

qaṭiya n.m. (pl. *qaṭiye*) **stick, goad; whip**

qaṭlana n.m./adj. (f. *qaṭlanta*, pl. *qaṭlane*) **murderer, murderous**

qaṭola n.m. (pl. *qaṭole*) **murderer**

qaṭota n.f. (1) **break in an irrigation channel (*šaqiθa*) to stop or redirect the flow of water** | *prí míya b-qaṭòta!*ˈ Cut off the water flow! (2) **cutting down of leaves; leaves that have been cut down (and gathered for fodder)** | *lítli qaṭóta ʾəššeta*ˈ I do not have any gathered leaves this year. (3) **dirt left in a sieve after sieving** | cf. *qəmmoṭa*

qaṭra n.m. (pl. *qaṭre*) **rock, boulder**

qaṭu, qaṭuθa n.f. (pl. *qaṭwaθa*) (§10.9.) **female cat; spiky type of oak gall**

qaṭwa n.m (pl. *qaṭwe*) **large wooden needle**

qawa n.m. **coffee**

qawačï n.m. (pl. *qawačïye*) (K.) **man serving coffee**

qawadən n.f. (pl. *qawadane*) (K.) **coffee pot**

qăwanīn n.pl. (A.) **laws**

qawda, qoda n.m. (pl. *qawde, qode*) **shackle, bond** | *zaqra-qode* spider (literally: weaver of shackles §2.4.2., §10.17.1.)

qawla n.m. (pl. *qawle*) **word; promise; condition** | *ʾàwwɛle qawla-díyi*ˈ This is my word (A8:79); *dwíqla xa-qáwla m-an-qurðàye*ˈ She extracted a promise from the Kurds (B9:12); *b-ó-qawla b-ṣályən mənnèxu*ˈ *t-lá ʾamrítu púš qurðèθa*ˈ I shall go down with you on this condition that you do not say 'Become a Kurd' (B9:12).

qawmi adj. (A.) **national**

qawra n.f. (pl. *qawre, qawraθa, qorăwaθa*) **grave**

qawurma n.m. (T.) **fried meat dish**

qawwa n.m. (pl. *qawwe*) **scoop, jug** | *tiwta b-qwaya b-qawwa* She is sitting scooping with a scoop (C2:8).

qayəmθa n.f. (pl. *qayəmyaθa*) **monument; statue**

qayiš, qayiša n.m./f. (pl. *qayiše*) (K.) **man's belt made of leather** → *šəbbaqa*

qaysi, qaysiya n.f. (K.) **dried apricots**

qaza n.m (pl. *qaze*) (K.) **goose**

qazba n.m. (pl. *qazbe*) (K.) **date** | *ʾilanət qazbe* date palm tree

qazd n.m. **purpose, direction** (K./A.) | *yăðət módi-wawa qázde dìye.*ʔ| Do you know what his intention was? (A17:16); *wíðele qázd d-ò-bεθa*| He made his way towards that house (A14:75).

qazəd, qazəlda n.m. (pl. *qazədde*) (K./A.) **messenger; goal, objective** | *qímla kθúla xa-kθàwa,*| *mšudárra bəd-qàzəd* She wrote a letter and sent it by a messenger (A11:17); *ʾázən ʾóðən qázəd d-àwwa gə́ppa*| *ṯ-áwðən qázədde dìye*| I shall go and make for that cave. I shall make for it (A39:3).

qazi n.m. (A.) **judge**

qbila adj. (f. *qbilta*, pl. *qbile*) **accepted** | *ʾən-lá zεránna Qə̀̆dus,*| *lèla qbílta ḥajjiyúθi*| If I do not visit Jerusalem, my pilgrimage is not accepted (A2:1).

qðala n.m. (pl. *qðale*) **neck** | *pəlxánət bέθa hóle b-qðàli*| The housework is my responsibility (A21:27); *xṭíθi b-qðalèxu*| *bnóni qam-ʾéni là qaṭlítula*| I implore you (literally: my sin be on your neck), do not kill my children before my eyes (B9:13)

qðilta n.f. (pl. *qðilyaθa*) **key**

qedamta n.f. (pl. *qedamyaθa*) **morning** | *mən-sab-ʾé-ʾotəx t-là-hawe gáwa ṣópa,*| *yáʿni pεšáwa tàlga hal-qedámta*| Since a room that did not have a stove in it would become icy by the morning (B15:26); *hal-qedámta šánθe la-θèla*| Right up to the morning he did not sleep (A6:4). *qèdamtεla,*| *wíðtəlle ʾixàla*| (When) it was morning, she made him food (A24:4); *wítεla qedámta sáʾət ʾárpa b-lèle,*| *ṛìšεle*| *màlka*| (When) the morning

came, four o'clock in the morning, the king woke up (A17:27). Used adverbially: **in the morning** | *qédamta y-ázi náše l-ʾùmra*ˡ In the morning people go to church (B6:23); *ʾu-qímli qedàmta,*ˡ *la-xəzyàli*ˡ I got up in the morning and did not find her (A26:10–11); *qedamta jalde* early in the morning.

qeṭana n.m. **woven silk lace** | used to bind together pieces of fabric in clothing.

qɛma n.m. (pl. *qɛme*) **stand, stake; tree supporting pile of leaves (*garuta*)**

qɛsa n.m. (pl. *qɛse*) **wood; piece of wood** | *maṛúθa mturáṣtɛwa m-qèsa*ˡ The snow shovel was made of wood (B5:196); *xákma qèse*ˡ several pieces of wood (A48:2); *hóle síqa l-qèse*ˡ He has come to (fetch) wood (A22:25); *xa-qésa rìxa*ˡ a long piece of wood (A22:26); *qəm-maxèle*ˡ *…ʾəṣrá-qɛse gu-xáṣe dìye*ˡ He struck him ten strokes of a stick on his back (A30:14); *ʾítle xa-yalɨxta mnuqàšta*ˡ *l-bábe zqírta b-qèse*ˡ He had an embroidered handkerchief, which was woven by his father on the wood (of the loom) (A37:11); *qɛsət malka* type of wood used for making spoons; *qɛsət xu-rušane* crutch.

qɛṭa n.m. (pl. *qɛṭe*) **Summer**

qəbla n.m. (pl. *qəble*) **gift dedicated to the church at festivals (usually sheep or goat); meal in church dedicated to the memory of the dead** | *šawwí-qəble qbìlɛle* He made seventy donations (A52:2).

qəčča n.m. (pl. *qəčče*) (K.) **short rope** | e.g. the rope used to tether an animal to a stake or as a handle of bag. This is shorter than a *xawəlta*.

qəčči̱θa n.f. (pl. *qəčči̱yaθa*) **small piece of rope**

qəfla → *qəpla*

qəlle n.f. (pl. *qəllaθa*) (K.) **hawk**

qəllora n.m. (pl. *qəllore*) (K.) **large loaf made from flour of maize (*xəṭṭə romaye*), sorghum (*xroriya*) or *prage* (millet); head of maize**

qəm- part. **preverbal particle** | forms past perfective of *qaṭəl* and *qaṭəlwa* with pronominal suffixes: *qəm-qaṭəlle, qəm-qaṭəlwa* (§8.6.3.)

qəmina adj. (f. *qəminta*, pl. *qəmine*) **miserly**

qəmmota n.f. **dirt and stones remaining in a sieve after sieving**

qənna n.f. (pl. *qənne, qənnane, qənnaθa*) **nest**

qənne n.pl. (sing. *qənθa*) **walnut kernel**

qənyane n.pl. (sing. *qənyana*) **domesticated animals; cattle** | *ʾítli bas-xà qənyána*ˡ I have only one animal.

qənθa → *qənne*

qəpla, qəfla n.m. (pl. *qəple, qəfle*) (A.) **metal lock**

qəppo n.f. (K.) **foam, froth** | *smóqe dɛ́ráxwalɛ gu-mìye,*ˡ *marəθəxwalɛ́.*ˡ *y-áwe qə́ppo b-rèša.*ˡ We would put sumac berries in water and boil them. There was a froth on top. (B10:15)

qəqwana n.m. (pl. *qəqwane*) **partridge** | *tré qəqwáne b-xà-kepa maxéwa*ˡ He would kill two birds with one stone (A8:35).

qəqwanta n.f. (pl. *qəqwanyaθa*) **female partridge**

qərda n.m. **tragacanth shrub** | *deθət qərda* curative ointment produced from the black resin of this plant

qərrušta, qrušta n.f. (pl. *qrušyaθa*) **crust (of yoghurt, milk)** | *ʾo-xə̀lya*ˡ *dáwu-qwa qrùšta*ˡ The milk would set (form yoghurt) with a crust (B5:165); *qrúšte-diye rába basimtɛ̀wa.*ˡ Its crust was delicious (B5:165); *ʾu-màsta*ˡ *ʾáxlət mánna qrúšta díya t-la-xàrwa*ˡ You should eat the yoghurt without the crust being spoilt (A30:5).

qərša (i) n.m. (pl. *qərše*) **covering; lid; crust (of yoghurt)**

qərša (ii) n.m. **stalks and remnants of leaves; refuse**

qərṭa n.m. **trimming (of trees)** | *y-azə́xwa qə̀rṭa*ˡ We would go and trim (trees) (B5:140); *qə́rṭət ʾərwe*ˡ trimming (of trees to feed) small cattle (B5:206).

qərṭala n.f. (pl. *qərṭale*) **pannier bag on the back of an animal** | This was made of cane (*čiqa* thick cane and *zala* thin cane); *mkase qərṭale* n.f. late snow falling at the end of March (literally: the coverer of panniers).

qərṭalta n.f. (pl. *qərṭalyaθa*) **small pannier bag**

qərya adj. (f. *qriθa*, pl. *qərye*) **educated** | *yə́mmi lɛ́wa qrìθa*ˡ My mother was not educated (B8:15).

qəsm n.m. (pl. *qəsme*) (A.) **part** | *ʾawðánna trè-qəsme*ˈ I shall make it into two parts (A21:28); *ʾan-míya péši trè-qəsme*ˈ The water will become (divided into) two parts (A24:14).

qəsmətta n.f. (K./A.) **luck; fate** | *xázəx qəsmèttila,*ˈ *bálki qàrmən*ˈ Let's see (whether) I am lucky, perhaps I shall win (A1:4).

qəssa part. (A.) **almost** | *qássa pìdla*ˈ They have almost passed (A32:23).

qəṣqəṣta n.f. **fine crushed rice**

qəṣṣət, qəṣṣətta n.f. (A.) **story; affair** | *mòdila qáṣṣət?*ˈ What has happened? (A4:11); *máre mòdila qáṣṣət díya?*ˈ *móra b-álaha qáṣṣət díya hàtxɛ́la*ˈ He said 'What is her story? (= What has happened to her)' She said 'Well, her story is like this.' (A4:14); *mparqànnux m-áyya qáṣṣət*ˈ I shall rid you of this business (A14:1).

qəšta n.f. (pl. *qəštaθa*) **bow; sling** | *qəštət marən* rainbow; *qəšta-w gera* bow and arrow.

qəštaniθa n.f. | *qəštaniθət marən* **rainbow**

qəšya adj. (f. *qšiθa*, pl. *qəšye*) **hard; thick (liquid)** | *míya píšla qəšye*ˈ The water has become thick; *ʾay-gárðo ʾa-qšìθa,*ˈ *ta-duxràne,*ˈ *ʾína bušála t-ʾoðáxwala ṭlàlən,*ˈ *xánči miyànta,*ˈ *la-ràba*ˈ The *gərðo*, which is thick, is for church memorial festivals. But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was somewhat watery, though not too much (B10:17).

qəṭla n.m. **killing, murder** | *ʾáwwa záwna t-xzélux dúnye ráya dèwe*ˈ *ʾíwa záwnət qáṭla-w dámma-w pràma*ˈ This time when you saw it raining wolves, it was a time of killing, blood and slaughter (A1:24).

qəṭma n.m. **ash** | *ʾáyya məškánta píštɛla mxàya*ˈ *dráya qáṭma gu-réša dìya*ˈ The poor woman began to beat (herself) and put ash on her head (A14:22); *qáṭma b-rèšux!*ˈ Confound you! (A23:8); *qəṭma b-qaṣraθa* (putting) ash on cooking pots to clean them

qəṭra n.m. (pl. *qəṭre*) **arch; door arch; stone door frame** | *kepət qəṭra* keystone of arch

qəṭrana adj. (f. *qəṭranta*, pl. *qəṭrane*) **hunchbacked**

qəṭṭa n.m. (pl. *qəṭṭaṭe*) **piece** | *kúlla wíðəlla qəṭṭàṭe*ˈ He broke them all into pieces (A30:22); *qəṭṭaṭət lina šmiṭa* shards of a broken pot.

qəθra n.m. (pl. *qəθre*) **knot** | *qəθrət šeta* annual growth ring of tree.

qəθθurta n.f. (pl. *qəθθuryaθa*) **knapsack (consisting of tied cloth)** | synon. *boqča*

qima n.f (A.) **value**

qira n.f. (A.) **tar**

qirθa adj. f. **barren** | generally applied to animals, *ʾəzza qirθa* a barren goat, *tawərta qirθa* a barren cow, etc. *baxta qirθa* a barren women is unusual and a euphemism such as *baxta t-lɛ maθya yale* a woman who does not bear children is preferred.

qixa adj. (f. *qixta*, pl. *qixe*) **faded**

qiya adj. (f. *qiθa*, pl. *qiye*) **blunt** | *magla qiya* a blunt sickle, *skinta qiθa* a blunt knife

qmaṭa n.m. (pl. *qmaṭe*) **rope used for tightening** | e.g. the two shafts of a stone roller (*mandorta*)

qmiṭa adj. (f. *qmiṭṭa*, pl. *qmiṭe*) **tied up** | *qmiṭa b-ġðaðe* tied together

qoča → *koča*

qodəšta n.f. (pl. *qodəšyaθa*) **small bunch of grapes** | section of a *gujma* (large bunch)

qola n.m. (pl. *qole*) **metal springed trap (for animals)**

qolaxine n.pl. (sing. *qolaxina* m.) (K.) **pelvis bones of an animal, above the rump (*kamaxe*)**

qoma n.m. (pl. *qome*) **pile** | *ʾu-ʾan-baxtàθa*ˡ *kapšîwale,*ˡ *napṣíwale gu-d-a-npàṣta*ˡ *ʾu-mattíwale l-qóma báθər xàṣəy*ˡ The women would gather it (the rice hay) and shake it with the shaking (just mentioned) and put it into a pile behind their back (B5:85).

qonəx, qunəx, qunaxa n.m. (pl. *qonaxe, qunaxe*) (K./T.) **stage of journey; guesthouse; feast.** (1) **stage of journey, milestone** | *qunáxət ṭḷáθa yomáθa qəm-azálla b-xamšà daqíqe*ˡ He travelled a stage of three days (journey) in five minutes (A8:39); *ʾáp-ʾaw qúnəx ṭḷáθa máṭye l-qàṣra*ˡ and on the third day's stage (of the journey) they arrived at the palace (A12:11); *ʾékɛle qonàxux?*ˡ Where is your destination? (2) **guesthouse** | *xa-qúnəx wíðəlle tàza*ˡ He made a beautiful guesthouse (A12:22). (3) **feast, banquent** | *wúð qunáxa gòṛa*ˡ Make a big feast (A8:89).

qopa adj. (f. and pl. *qope*) (K.) **hunchbacked**

qoqa n.m. (pl. *qoqe*) **water pot**

qoqta n.f. (pl. *qoqyaθa*) **small water pot**

qoṯiya n.f./m. (pl. *qoṯiye*) (K.) **small box; mirror** | *qoṯiyət burnuṭ* snuff box

qramta n.f. **cover** | *qrámtət šárma darmánət bušàla*[1] The cover of the buttocks is the substance of the stew (D1:13).

qraqəpta n.f. (pl. *qraqəpyaθa*) **small turtle**

qraqipa n.m. (pl. *qraqipe*) **turtle**

qrəmṭa m. (pl. *qrəmṭe*) **wrinkle** | *npílla qrəmṭe gu-pàθe*[1] His face has wrinkles

qrixa adj. (f. *qrixta*, pl. *qrixe*) **white-haired; whitewashed**

qrušta → *qərrušta*

qudme adv. (Urm.) **tomorrow; yesterday**

qudša n.m. **holiness** | *róxət qúdša* The Holy Spirit (B6:8)

quja n.m. (pl. *quje*) (K.) **marten** | hunted for their fur

qujta n.f. (pl. *qujyaθa*) **female marten**

qulaya n.m. (pl. *qulaye*) **clod of earth**

qulba n.m. (pl. *qulbe*) (A.) **bracelet**

qulčwa n.m. (K.) **trigger in the bird trap known as *ṯăpəkke, ṯăpəkθa***

quləngа n.m (pl. *quləngе*) (K.) **crane (bird)**

qulqulta n.f. (pl. *qulqulyaθa*) **rods in wooden door lock** | These are raised by the key to release the bolt

qulta n.f. (pl. *qulyaθa*, *qultaθa*) **metal springed trap (for animals)** | This was mostly used to catch foxes and rabbits

qumārči n.m. (pl. *qumārčiye*) (K./A.) **gambler**

qŭmāš n.m. (pl. *qŭmāšāt*) (A.) **fabric**

qumma n.m. (pl. *qumme*) **peak (of a mountain)**

qumta n.f. (pl. *qumyaθa*) **stature, figure; height (of a man); mound of snow** | *qumta zala t-gu-Nērwa* Her figure is (that of) a reed in Nerwa (C2:43); *θéle tálga b-qumyàθa*[1] The snow came in mounds (= a great

quantity of snow fell); *gu-réšət ʾAmedíya y-aθéwa tálga qúmtət bəṛ-nàša*ˈ At the top of Amedia snow used to fall to the height of a man (A25:41); *síqɛwa tálga qúrbət tre-qumyàθa*ˈ The snow had almost reached twice the height of a man (B15:38).

quna n.f. (pl. *qune*) (K.) **buttocks** | *ʾo-t-dáwəq nùne*ˈ *tárya qùne*ˈ One who catches fishes gets his buttocks wet (D2:26).

qunaxa → *qonəx*

qundăre n.pl. (sing. *qundarta*) (K./T.) **leather shoes with heels**

qundaxa n.m (pl. *qundaxe*) (K.) **(wooden) butt of a rifle; bullet of a gun**

qunəx → *qonəx*

qunjəlta n.f. (pl. *qunjəlyaθa*) (K.) **corner** | *zílla dwíqla náwba l-ăyàʾha qunjə́lta t-hódəx*,ˈ *ʾáyya gu-d-ɛ-qunjə́lta xèta*ˈ They went and kept a guard in that far corner, and one in that other corner (A18:3).

qunjïθa n.f. (pl. *qunjïyaθa*) **corner; end** | *qunjïyáθe dìye*ˈ *d-áy mandòrta*ˈ *y-áwa bàzye*ˈ The ends of the roller are bored (with holes) (B5:193).

qunya n.m. (pl. *qunye*) **hole; well** | *qəm-darə́tli gu-d-áwwa qùnya*ˈ You have put me in this hole (A14:23); *Qučanəs qunye qunye, Mar Šəmʾon t-kulla dunye* Qučanəs of wells, wells, Mar Shimon (patriarch) of the whole world (C1:18).

qupa n.m. (pl. *qupe*) **wicker basket used for storage**

qupiθa n.f. (pl. *qupyaθa*) **small basket**

quppe n.f. (pl. *quppaθa, quppeyaθa*) **brooding-hen**

quprana → *k̲uprana*

quraṣ̲ina n.m. (pl. *quraṣ̲ine*) **nettle**

qurʾən n.m. **Qur'an**

qurba n.m. adv. adj. **vicinity; near, nearby; approximately.** (1) **vicinity** | *mə́ṭ̲yela l-qúrbət qáṣ̲rət màlka*ˈ They came to the vicinity of the palace of the king (A24:24). Used adverbially: *mṭíθɛla qúrbət qàṣ̲ra*ˈ He came to the vicinity of the palace (A27:31); *ʾə́θyɛle qùrba*ˈ He came up close (A4:55); *θéle qùrbi*ˈ He came near to me; *qùrbɛwa d-ɛ-xayúθə díyən*ˈ *ṭ̲-i-xăyáxwala gu-maθwàθa*ˈ It was similar to the life that we lived

in the villages (B15:9); *ʾan-ṯ-ìla qúrbi qúrbi*ˈ those who are very near me (B11:24). (2) Attributive adjective (§14.7.): **nearby** *qaṣra qurba* a nearby palace, *maθa qurba* a nearby village. (3) **approximately, about** | *ʾína palṭíwa qúrbət tre-ṭláθa ʾálpe nàše*ˈ About two thousand people would go out (B15:62), *ʾáni qúrbət ʾáṣra trésər šənnèwa*ˈ They were about ten or twelve years old (B15:32), *qúrbət trè-metre*ˈ around two metres (B15:31).

qurbana n.m. **holy communion; host** | *y-oðíwa qurbàna*ˈ They would take communion; *gu-d-ɛ-dána mšɛríwa wáða rázət qurbàna*ˈ Then they began to perform the communion ceremony (B5:56); *qurbánux brìxa!*ˈ Blessed communion (said at a saint's festival); *qurbána mattíwa gu-pummèy*ˈ They would put the communion host in their mouth (B16:16).

qurðaya, qurdaya n.m./adj. **Kurd, Kurdish** | *lišana kurdaya* Kurdish language.

qurdəθ, kurdəθ adv. **in Kurdish** | *kùrdəθ-ila*ˈ It is Kurdish (A12:15)

qurmuz n.m. (A.) **red, scarlet; wool dyed red**

qurniθa n.f. (pl. *qurniyaθa*) **corner** | *line spiqe l-qurniθa* The wine jars are empty in the corner (C2:27).

qurrabaška n.m. (pl. *qurrabaške*) (K.) **badger**

qurša n.m. **frozen snow** | *tálga lɛ́le šmàṭa*,ˈ *píšle qùrša*ˈ The snow does not break, it has become frozen; *qəm-daríle rəš-qùrša*ˈ They have neglected him (literally: they have put him on the ice).

quṣəlta n.f. (pl. *quṣəlyaθa*) **elbow; square (instrument used in carpentry); bend in chimney pipe on the roof (to prevent rain and snow from entering chimney)**

qurta n.m. (pl. *qurte*) (K.) **vulture**

quṛtana n.m. (pl. *quṛtane*) **blanket put on the back of an animal made of compacted wool** | a softer blanket known as *sarpəšta* was put under this

quṣarta n.f. (pl. *quṣraθa, quṣariyaθa*) **cooking pot** | *quṣárta xsípla l-pùmma*ˈ *bráta plíṭla l-yə̀mma*ˈ A pot has been turned upside down—the girl has come to resemble her mother (D2:35); *xošébə bnàθa*ˈ *qáṭma b-quṣràθa*ˈ On Girls' Sunday there was (washing) ash in the cooking pots (i.e. the people fasted and washed their pots rather than using them for cooking) (B7:5).

quṣriya n.m. (pl. *quṣriye*) **pot for collecting urine and excrement of baby under a cot**

qutana n.f. (pl. *qutane*) **shirt** | *qutáne blèla*ˡ His shirt was worn out (A37:13).

qutna n.m. (pl. *qutne*) **woman's vest**

qutta adj. (f. *qutte*, pl. *qutte*) (K.) **with a short tail or lacking a tail**

qutta n.m. (pl. *qutte*) (K.) **dwarf**

quṭa n.m. (pl. *quṭe*) **virgina**

quṭna kəri n.m. **tough plaster containing straw** | applied as first coating on wall

quwāt n.pl. (A.) **forces**

quwwət n.f. (K./A.) **force, strength** | *ʾána hon-muθéθa ʾáyya qùwwət láxxa*ˡ I have brought this (military) force here (A25:84).

quwya adj. (f. *qwiθa*, pl. *quwye*) **strong, hard, tough** | *xá-dukθa ṯ-íwa qwìθa*ˡ A place that was hard (i.e. had solid foundations) (B15:16); *réše qùwyɛle*ˡ He is stubborn; *ṭríθa qùwya*ˡ She rode hard (A8:70).

quwyana adj. (f. *quwyanta*, pl. *quwyane*) **hard, tough**

qyamta n.f. **resurrection; Easter, Easter vigil** | *šábθa ʾaṣərta*ˡ *mrazgíwa gʾána qa-ṯ-ṣálɛ qyàmta*ˡ On Saturday evening they prepared themselves to go down (to church) for the Easter (vigil) (B5:53); *dánət plíṭla qyàmta*ˡ The time when the resurrection has come out (point in Easter vigil when Christ's resurrection is celebrated) (B5:54); *qyámtət màrən*ˡ *qímle màrən*ˡ The resurrection of our Lord. Our Lord has risen (Easter blessing by priest to worshippers) (B5:55); *bàθər qyámta*ˡ after Easter (B10:2).

/R/

raʾsan adv. (A.) **immediately, directly**

raba mod. **much, a lot, many; very** (§14.9.3.). (1) **much, a lot, many** | *rába tàlga* much snow (B10:47); *ʾan-yomáθa ṯ-awéwa ràba séra*ˡ the days when there was a lot of moonlight (B11:3); *šúla ràba* a lot of work (B5:19); *zúze ràba*ˡ a lot of money (A27:18); *líθwa šuláne ràba*ˡ There

were not many jobs (B11:17). Used independently: *ṭla-d-áy dráyɛla xàčča*ˡ *ṭla-d-áw ràba*ˡ For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot (A17:25). Intensifier of a verb: *ʾáti ràba băyánnux*ˡ I love you a lot (A22:19); *ràba xðéle b-d-a-bràta*ˡ He was very happy with the girl (A14:96). (2) **very** | *xa-yála rába šapìra*ˡ a very handsome youth (A25:58); *ʾó-lɛša páyəš raqíqa ràba*ˡ The dough becomes very fine (B6:46); *basíma ràba* (May you be) very well (= Thank you very much). adj. **big, abundant, numerous, many** | *ʾəθyele xa-máymun ràba*ˡ A big monkey came (A14:45); *píšla máθa ràbθa*ˡ It has become a big village (B10:94); *ʾíθwa qáṣre ràbe*ˡ There were big villas (B10:52); *məndiyáne rábe* many things (A27:17); *rábe gúṛe y-awðìwala*ˡ Many men (were needed to) make it (B10:79); *heywáne ràbe-wawa*ˡ The animals were numerous (A27:36). Used independenly: *léðiwa ràbe*ˡ *Fárxo màṭole*ˡ Many people did not know what Farxo was like (A25:78).

rabbana n.m. (pl. *rabbane*) **monk**

rabbanta n.f. (pl. *rabbanyaθa*) **nun; type of black bird with red breast**

rabbən n.m. (pl. *rabbane*) **monk**

răbəṭ n.m. (A.) **rivet** | *qəm-awádle rə̀bəṭ.*ˡ *ʾánna t-maxɛ́-răbəṭ,*ˡ *rə́bəṭ, rə́bəṭ kúlla maxèle*ˡ *sɛ́pe díye ta-t-la-gàrəš*ˡ He riveted it. (He was one) of those people who did riveting. He riveted all his sword so that he could not draw it (A52:11).

rabi n.m. (pl. *rabiye*) **teacher**

răhan n.m. (A.) **pledge, bet** | *dàryəlla*ˡ *ʾar-rə̀han*ˡ They made a bet (B19:4).

raḥat, rahat adj. invar. (K./A.) **comfortable, at ease, content** | *ʾəθyət ràḥat,*ˡ *ʾən-là?*ˡ Have you had a comfortable journey? (A17:6); *kúlla heywáne píšla ràḥat*ˡ All the animals were content (A46:4); *bàbi*ˡ *ràhat!*ˡ My dear, be quiet, calm down (C7:6).

rakawa n.m. (pl. *rakawe*) **rider**

rakixa adj. (f. *rakixta*, pl. *rakixe*) **soft**

rakka n.m (pl. *rakke*) (K.) **cage**

rama adj. (f. *ramta*, pl. *rame*) **high** | *xá-dukθa ràmta*ˡ a high place (A14:87). adv. **above** | *bíš y-awéwa ráḥat ràma*ˡ It was more comfortable

above (B5:204); *ʾu-ʾáwwa gárewa ràma*ˡ He was high up on the roof (B5:42).

ramana adj. (f. *ramanta*, pl. *ramane*) **high** | *xa-ṭúra ramànа*ˡ a high mountain (A8:21); *ṣáwle… ramàne*ˡ high(-heeled) shoes (B10:41)

ramša n.f. (pl. *ramšaθa*) **evening** | *ramšéxu ṭàwa!*ˡ / *ramšéxu brìxta!*ˡ Good evening! *ṣloθət ramša* evening prayer; *xa-ramša* evening meal.

ramuθa n.f. **height** | *xamší-metre ramùθe*ˡ Its height was fifty metres (A25:54).

randuš n.f. (pl. *randušyaθa, randuše*) **plane (of carpenter)**

ranga n.m. (pl. *range*) **colour** | *čay mare-ranga* strong tea; *range-range* multicoloured; *rangət ʾumra* place near the church in ʾƐn-Nune where people hold social gathering

rangana adj. (f. *ranganta*, pl. *rangane*) **colourful** | *čay ranganta* strong tea

rangaya adj. (f. *rangɛθa*, pl. *rangaye*) **colourful**

rap interj. **swoosh (sound of sudden movement)**

rapa (i) n.m. (pl. *rape*) (K./A.) **flock (of birds)** | *rápət qəqwàne*ˡ a flock of partridges (B5:148); *barbiye rape rape* The bridesmaids are in flocks and flocks (B8:23).

rapa (ii) n.m. (pl. *rape*) **gate of animal pen**

rapəkθa n.f. (pl. *rapəkyaθa*) **cup measure for grain**

rapiθa n.f. (pl. *rapiyaθa*) **small gate of animal pen**

rapopta n.f. **rash on skin**

răqaba n.f. (A.) **observation point**

raqaða n.m./adj. (pl. *raqaðe*) **dancer** | *rába raqáðetu* You are good dancers (A51:19).

raqiqa adj. (f. *raqiqta*, pl. *raqiqe*) **thin** | *šála raqìqa*ˡ a thin veil (B10:32)

raqqa n.m. (pl. *raqqe*) **flat bread**

rasa n.m. (pl. *rase, rasane*) **tall thick grass used as animal fodder** | *šəprət rasa* plot of land on which *rasa* grass is grown; *pašxa rase* (f.) late snow in the month of April (literally: breaker of *rasa* grass); *ʾo-t-y-awéla ʾərwət xwàre,*ˡ *yáwilɛ ràsa*ˡ A person who has sheep gives them *rasa* grass (B5:123).

rasən adv. (A.) **directly**

rasmi adj. invar. (A.) **official**

rǎṣāṣ n.m. (A.) **lead**

rašən n.f. (E.) **ration; consignment of produce**

rašiya n.m./adj. (pl. *rašiye*) **wicked person; evil** | *b-núrət rašíye y-áqði məskène*ˈ By the fire of wicked people the poor burn (D2:73).

rašmevi n.m. (K.) **type of grape that ripens quickly** | *ʾənwət rašmevi*

rašwa n.f. (A.) **bribe**

raθa n.f. (pl. *raθa, raθe, raθyaθa*) **lung** | *raθət yamne ʾu-raθət čappe* the right lung and the left lung

rǎwatəb n.pl. (A.) **pay, salary**

rawaya n.m. (pl. *rawaye*) **drunkard**

rawðana n.m. (pl. *rawðane*) **earthquake** | *ʾǎ́ra mxéla rawðànaˈ* The earth quaked.

rawe, n.m. **traditional song sung by men**

rawəkke n.f. **little rawe**

rawiya n.m. (pl. *rawiye*) **large leather water bottle**

rawola n.m. (pl. *rawole*) **ravine, small valley**

rawulta n.f. (pl. *rawulyaθa*) **small ravine**

raxaša n.m. (pl. *raxaše*) **walker**

raxmana adj. (f. *raxmanta*, pl. *raxmane*) **merciful**

raxme n.pl. **mercy, compassion** (sing. *raxma* **act of mercy**) | *ṣléla ráxme gu-lə́bbə d-án polìseˈ* The policemen felt compassion in their hearts (A8:11); *b-raxme!* Bless you! (said to somebody who sneezes); *yá-babət ràxmeˈ* O father of mercies (addressing God) (A31:6); *wúdli xa-ráxma mən-d-àwwa náša*ˈ Perform an act of mercy for me with this man (A31:6).

raxoša n.m. (pl. *raxoše*) (1) **crutch, stilt.** (2) **large mixing tool shaped like a crutch**

raxšana n.m. (pl. *raxšane*) **walker**

ray n.f. (K./A.) **opinion** | *ráyux mòdila?*ˡ What is your opinion? (A27:7)

raza n.m. (pl. *raze*) **mass (in church)** | *y-awáxwa mašmòye*ˡ *ʾu-xzàya-w*ˡ *qàše-w*ˡ *wáða ràze*ˡ We used to listen and see the priests performing the mass (B15:3).

razi adj. (invar.) (K./A.) **pleased, happy, agreeable** | *razítu ʾən-la?*ˡ Do you agree or not? (B5:2); *ʾən-hóya rázi šánna díya pălàla,*ˡ *… maqimàxle*ˡ If she is agreeable to sharing her years,… we shall resurrect him (A4:46); *ràzi díye*ˡ his pleasure (A8:57).

razwana n.m. (pl. *razwane*) (K.) **machine to frighten away birds in a vineyard or orchard** | This makes a banging noise. It operates by water from an irrigation channel filling a tray. When the water evaporates the arm of the machine rises and hits a tin, which makes a noise.

rečəl n.m. **dairy products**

rēš-, rəš-, rš-, š- prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *reše*) (§13.3.19.) **upon** | *rēš-bárka dìya*ˡ on her knees (B5:175), *hóla rəš-ṭùra*ˡ She is on a mountain (A20:2), *dəryálla š-qaràwət*ˡ They put her on the bed (A21:7), *múttəlla rš-d-àn bəsmáre*ˡ He placed them on the nails (A17:28); *l-xóðe rəš-ʾèna*ˡ He is alone by the well (A28:11). After verbs of movement: *zílle rəš-ʾèna*ˡ He went to the spring (A15:2); *zílta š-tanùra*ˡ She has gone to the oven (A38:4); *ʾánna ríqela síqela rəš-d-ay-ʾilána mə-zdùθa*ˡ They ran and climbed the tree out of fear (A13:11); *wítɛla b-réši ʾup-ʾàyya*ˡ This also happened to me (B15:85). Idioms: *rəš-réši* by all means (expressing assent), *ʾáhlan wa-sáhlan rəš-rèši*ˡ You are very welcome (A22:24); *b-šèna,*ˡ *š-rèši*ˡ A hearty goodbye (A8:50). Combined with *b-*: *b-réša* over them (A25:48); *mút ṯ-áwəð b-rèše?*ˡ What will he do to him? (A30:27)

reša adv. **above; directly** | *ʾáw xá-reša m-táma qú-si l-bèθa!*ˡ He—directly from there get up and go home! (narrative imperatives §15.7.) (A1:19); *ṯ-ázəx xa-rèša*ˡ We shall go immediately (B9:15).

reša n.m. (pl. *reše, rešăwaθa*) **head; top; beginning.** (1) **head (of body)** | *dríθa xàppo b-réša*ˡ She had put a veil on her head; *ʾu-mútte párre gu-rèša*ˡ They have put feathers on their head (B5:47); *ʾáyya-ži šōp-rèšux-ila*ˡ That is the place of your head (A24:51). Referring by synecdoche to whole person: *réšux ṯ-áwe basìma*ˡ May you (literally: your head) be healthy (said to a person who has been recently bereaved). In oath: *b-rèšux*ˡ *mó ʾamràna?*ˡ By your head, what should I say? (A26:33). (2) **head (of**

animals) | *máṭyɛle xa-káwtət ʾərwe,*ˈ *ʾíbe tre-ṭláθa ʾálpa rēš-ʾərwe*ˈ He came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep (A32:14). (3) **head person, leader** (pl. *rešane*) | *rešət maθa* village leader. (4) **head** (**of an instrument)** (pl. *rešaθa*) | *rešət maṛa* the head of spade. (5) **head (of vegetables)** | *xá-reša tùma*ˈ a head of garlic (B10:19). (6) **round (of cheese)** | Produced by draining in a muslin bag: *šqílli mánni qə́ṭṭa m-réšət gùpta*ˈ I took with me a piece from the round of cheese. (7) **top, peak, tip** (pl. *rešə̃waθa*) | *ʾilanɛni t-xabušta m-reša-w šətta mnoqašta* Our apple tree is decorated from top to bottom (B8:29); *hóla gu-réšət xa-ṭúra ramàna*ˈ She is on the top of a high mountain (A8:21); *xazdə́xwa gəllále gu-rešə̃waθa bélən bēl Turkàye*ˈ We would would harvest herbs on the (mountain) tops between us and the Turks; *réšə lišáne* the tip of his tongue (A45:1). (8) **beginning** | Temporal: *rešət ṣawma* the beginning of the fast. Spatial: *málka tíwa gu-rèšət máθa*ˈ The king lived at the top (i.e. beginning) of the village (A25:1). (9) Idioms: *reša xtaya* upside down; downhill | *réša xtáya kúlle màlxɛle*ˈ Down hill it is all salt (A24:12); *ṣlíθɛla reša-xtàya*ˈ She went down head first (A8:76); *léwət ʾàti*ˈ *ʾɛ-bráta ṯ̂-in-ʾána wíðəlla gáni ḵ̂óra b-rèšəx*ˈ Are you not the girl on account of whom I made myself blind (A16:7); *twíra twíra réše díye m-rēš-d-ə̀yya-wawa*ˈ It was because of her that his head was all broken (A29:29); *b-rèšux*ˈ (I swear) by your head (that I am telling the truth) (A22:39).

reša reša prep. **over, across** | with actions involving movement: *har-ʾə́θyɛle mən-ṭúra réša-reša d-o-gàre*ˈ He came straight from the mountain across that roof (A23:14); *b-xálmi zála reša-réša ða-yáma rába gòṛta,*ˈ *yáma xwàrta*ˈ In my dream I went across a great sea, a white sea (A11:7); *m-ɛ́ka mɛθə́nne bəzmàre*ˈ *ʾu-nasàrta,*ˈ *ta-ṯ̂-oðánne gàšra*ˈ *šàwər réše réše*ˈ From where should I bring you nails and a saw to make him a bridge across which he could jump? (A17:9)

rešaya adj. (f. *rešɛθa*, pl. *rešaye*) **first class, excellent, special** | *zamára rešàya-wewa*ˈ He was a first class singer (A7:6); *píšle rešáya gu-máθa ʾàwwa*ˈ He became a leading figure in the village (A39:22); *qamáye ʾo-rešáya šaqlə̀xwale*ˈ *ta-jùlle*ˈ First we took the best (of the spun wool) for clothes (B10:49); *xa-bɛ́θa rába góṛa rešàya*ˈ a large luxurious house.

rexana, rixana n.m. (pl. *rexane, rixana*) **basil; odiferous herb; perfume** | *qumta rixana balla* Her figure is (that of) an erect odiferous basil (C2:44).

reza n.m. (pl. *reze*) (K.) **row** | *kút y-azə́lwa zaynwa,*ˈ *píše xá ʾarb-ə́mma xamš-ə́mma náše réza rèza*ˈ Everybody who went would stand, about four or five hundred people, in rows (A8:31); *hóla dwíqe kúlla rèza*ˈ They were all standing in a row (A25:29).

rəðya, rəḏya adj. (f. *rðiθa*, pl. *rəðye*) (A.) **content, satisfied**

rəḥqa n.m. adv./adj. **distance; distant.** (1) **distance** | *xá-bena xzéle m-ráḥqa xá-mdi xwàra*ˈ He suddenly saw in the distance something white (A14:28). Used adverbially: *muttéθəlle rə̀ḥqa*ˈ *mən-màθa*ˈ She put him down far away from the village (A19:3); *rə̀ḥqɛle qáṣra*ˈ The palace is in the distance/is distant (A24:48). (2) Attributive adjective: **distant, far** (§14.7.) | *qaṣra rəḥqa* a distant palace; *maθa rəḥqa* a distant village. (3) Idioms: *y-azíwa mšamšíwa bɛθ-qòra,*ˈ *ráḥqa mən-an-dukàne*ˈ They would hold a ceremony in the cemetery—may (death) be far from these places! (formula used when referring to a cemetery or death) (B10:3); *šáwpe ráḥqa m-áxxa jyára də̀mma*ˈ Pardon me (literally: may its place be far from here)—he was urinating blood (A18:24).

rəjba n.m. (pl. *rəjbe*) **crawling creature, reptile** | *rájbət ʾə̌ra*ˈ wildlife (A12:36).

rəmya adj. (f. *rmiθa*, pl. *rəmye*) **woeful; accursed** | *rəmyàθa hawetúwa.*ˈ May you be cursed! (A26:27)

rənga n.m. **ringing sound**

rəpθa n.f. (pl. *rpaθa*) **throb, pulse**

rəṗya adj. (f. *rpiθa*, pl. *rəṗye*) **lazy**

rəqða n.m. (pl. *rəqðe*) **dance, dancing**

rəqqi n.f. (K.) **stubbornness** | *dwíqla rə̀qqi*ˈ She insisted (A5:7); *ʾáni har-doqíwa ráqqi ṯ-azìwa*ˈ They still insisted on going (A8:26); *bas-ta-ráqqi b-yawánnəx qa-xa-náša špíla gu-tanùra*ˈ but out of stubbornness (= against your will), I am going to give you to a paralysed man (living) in an oven (house) (A40:3).

rəqqiyana adj. (f. *rəqqiyanta*, pl. *rəqqiyane*) **stubborn, obstinate**

rəsqa, rəzqa n.m. (pl. *ʾarzāq*) (A.) **sustenance**

rəšta n.f. (pl. *rəšyaθa*) **head of a slaughtered animal** | *rəšta-w ʾaqle* dish consisting of the cooked head and limbs of an animal

rəzda n.f. (pl. *rəzde*) **scree, row of rock debris on the side of a mountain**

rəzya n.m. **dye produced from walnut peel**

rəzyana adj. (f. *rəzyanta*, pl. *rəzye*) **dark in colour (especially colour of walnut peel)**

rəzza n.m. (pl. *rəzzane*) **rice** | *rázza smòqa*ˡ red rice (cooked with tomatoes) (B5:48); *rázza y-awéwa ʾo-t-ṭḷàθa*ˡ The rice was the third one (in the degree of fineness, i.e. after the third sieving) (B10:13).

rixa n.m. (pl. *rixe*) **smell** | *míxɛle ʾína ríxət xàmra*ˡ He sniffed and smelt the odour of wine (A12:50); *kálba šqílle rìxa*ˡ *t-xa-kàlləs*ʷˡ The dog smelt a carcass (C8:5); *har-ʾásqən gu-qáṣrət bàbi,*ˡ *har-šáqlən rìxa mánne*ˡ I shall just go up to my father's palace, I shall just have a quick look (literally: I shall take a smell of it) (A18:16); *šawqíwale l-šəmša*ˡ *barázwa ta-t-là-yawəlwa ríxa*ˡ They left it in the sun to dry, so that it would not give off a smell (B7:20).

rixa adj. (f. *rixta*, pl. *rixe*) **long**

rixana → *rexana*

riyaḍa n.f. (A.) **sport**

rkawta n.f. **riding; copulation**

rkewa n.m. (pl. *rkewe*) **stirrup**

rmɛθa n.f. (pl. *rmayaθa*) **udder**

roma n.m. (pl. *rome*) **hill**

romta n.f. (pl. *romyaθa*) **small hill** | *xzeli zina rəš-romta* I saw a person standing on the hill (C2:55)

roxa n.f. **spirit** | *ya-ʾàlaha*ˡ *hal-róxa qa-d-ánna náše ṯ-ila píše kèpa*ˡ Oh God, give spirit to these people who have become stone (A8:82); *ṣléle róxət qúdša mən-šmáyya* The Holy Spirit descended from Heaven (B6:8).

rpapa n.m. (pl. *rpape*) **blink, wink** | *rpapət ʾɛna* blinking of the eyes; *b-xá rpápa mṭéle tàma*ˡ He arrived there in a blink (of the eye).

rpoxa adj. (f. *rpoxta*, pl. *rpoxe*) **loose** | *šəbbaqa rpoxa* a loose belt (anton. *xloṣa* tight)

rŭbaʿ n.m. (A.) **quarter**

rubar n.m./f. (pl. *rubare*) (K.) **river** | *rubarət ʾAmediya* the river of Amedia (C2:41)

rumxa n.f. (pl. *rumxaθa, rumxe*) **spear** | *məxyále rúmxe díye gu-ṣádrət ʾáwwa Tăt̆ar-i Slemán-i Səndi*ˈ He drove his spear into the chest of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi (A28:36).

ruqta n.f. **spittle**

ruša n.m. (pl. *rušane*) **shoulder; arm; upper arm** | cf. *drana* lower arm

rušma n.m. (pl. *rušme*) **sign** | *ʾoðíle rúšma ʾax-ṣlìwa*ˈ They make for him a sign like a cross (B6:36).

rušta n.f. (pl. *rušyaθa*) **small flat spade (with a head resembling a shoulder blade)** | used, for example, for flattening paddy field basins (*məššare*)

ruta n.f. (pl. *rutaθa*) **Friday**

rutba n.f. (A.) **rank**

rzaya n.m. **will, consent** | *ʾu-čú bəṛ-náša la-máṭe-lla ʾálla b-rzáyət gána-diya ṭ-àθya*ˈ Nobody can reach her, but rather she comes of her own will (A8:65); *t-la-rzáyət marăwáθa dìya*ˈ without the consent of her parents.

/Ṛ/

ṛiṛe pl. tan. **slobber, drivel**

ṛiya n.m. (pl. *ṛiye*) (Ṭiy.) **shepherd**

/s/

saʾatta n.f. (pl. *saʾattaθa*) (K./A.) **watch**

saʾət, saʾta, saʾatta, saʾa n.m./f. (pl. *saʾatte*) (K./A.) **hour** | *sáʾət kəmèla?*ˈ What time is it?; *sáʾət ʾàrbɛla*ˈ It is four o'clock; *sáʾət ʾáṣra b-lèle*ˈ ten o'clock

at night; *sá'ət 'ə́šta mbàdla*| at six in the morning (A6:5); *xá-sa'ət xèna*| (after) another hour (A9:5); *pálgə sà'a*| half an hour (B6:15).

sab, săbab, m-săbab part. **because** | *'ắraq mpalṭə̀xla*| *m-yabìše,*| *sab-é-ga xúrme lìθwa táma*| They would produce arak from raisins, because at that time there were no dates there (B5:12); *šábθa 'aṣə̀rta*| *mrazgíwa gʸána qa-t-ṣálɛ qyàmta,*| *sab-qyámta b-lèle 'iyáwa*| On Saturday evening they prepared themselves to go down (to church) for the Easter (vigil), because Easter was at night (B5:53); *'ámər ṭla-mòdi bráti?*| *mára săbab 'áwwa yàla*| *'o-t-la-pàləx*| *lè y-áxəl*| He said 'Why, daughter?' She said 'Because this young man (has made a rule that) whoever does not work will not eat (A21:29); *m-săbab 'up-yárxət šáwwa-w tmànya,*| *m-bar-sá'at 'ə́č̣ča b-lélɛ,*| *mšắre xánči qàrθa wáya*| This was because even in July and August, after nine o'clock at night, it started to get rather cold (B15:27).

sabila n.m. (pl. *sabile*) **stem of a pipe (*qalunka*)**

sadana n.m. (pl. *sadane*) **anvil**

sadda n.m. (pl. *sadde*) **dammed section of paddy field consisting of a row of basins (*məššare*)**

saðuθa → *sahðuθa*

saġ̇ðana, saxðana n.m. (pl. *saġ̇ðane, saxðane*) **worshipper** | *saġ̇ðánət sănă̆me* worshipper of idols (B6:28)

sahaða n.m. (pl. *sahaðe*) **witness**

sahða, saða n.m. (pl. *sahðe*) **witness; martyr**

sahðuθa, saðuθa n.f. **evidence; martyrdom** | *qa-t-yáwi sahðùθa*| in order to give evidence (B1:18).

saka n.m (pl. *sake*) **mountain ridge**

sala n.m. (pl. *sale*) **storage basket** | used for dairy products, which are kept cool by flow of air

sălămaške, sŭlamməš, sălamməš, sallamé́š n.f. (pl. *šălămaške*) (K.) **beehive; cylindrical compartment of beehive (made of basket)**

sălamət n.f. **safety; good health** (K./A.) | *'áxxa biš-sălàmət-ila*| It is safer here (A30:51).

*săləmətt*u*θa* n.f. **safety; good health** (K./A.) | *ʾítli híwi ṯ-áwət sáx ʾu-săləmətt*ù*θa*ˈ I hope you will be fine and in good health

sələ̀kke n.f. (pl. *sələ̀kyaθa*) **small basket of beehive**

saliqa n.m. **tune** | *ṯ-ázi xa-fàtra,*ˈ *ʾal-salíqə zòrna*ˈ They went off for a while according to the tune of the pipe (A25:27); *máxe zórna xa-salíqa xènaˈ* He plays another tune on the pipe (A25:27).

salla n.f. (pl. *sallaθa*) **basket** | *sallət čamča* basket for storing spoons hanging on the wall

salθa n.f. (pl. *sallaθa*) **basket** | made of willow (*xelapa*) and mulberry (*tuθa*) twigs, chiefly used to refer to (1) small baskets used to keep bees in a beehive and (2) large baskets used to catch fish in a river.

sama n.m. **portion, share** | *ʾána sámi t-yánne ṭlalèxuˈ* I shall give you my share (A21:29); *sama zoda* the majority (n.), mostly (adv.): *ʾína sáma zóda ʾiyéwala qaràwətˈ* Most people, however, had a bed (B5:204); *ʾima-t-y-aθéwa tàlgaˈ sáma zóda b-yárxət trèssərˈ yárxət xàˈ* when it snowed, mainly in December and January (B5:196).

samma, sama n.m. **poison, venom** | *Žìneˈ maštáli sàmmaˈ* Zine will give me poison to drink (A26:85).

sammana adj. (f. *sammanta*, pl. *sammane*) **poisonous**

samuna n.m. (pl. *samune*) **loaf of bread**

samxa n.m. (pl. *samxe*) **large post around which vine grows** | used mainly for vines planted in farmland (*ʾaqara*)

săna n.m. (pl. *săne*) (A.) **labourer, builder**

sănam n.m (pl. *sănăme*) (A.) **idol** | *saġðánət sănə̀me* worshipper of idols (B6:28)

sănayi, senayi adj. (K.) **easy** | *léla senáyi xzə̀yəlleˈ* It is not easy to see him; *máṣe náša ṯ-ásəq l-gáre b-sănàyiˈ* A person can easily go onto the roof (B18:2).

sănayuθa n.f. **easiness**

sanda n.m. (pl. *sande*) (A.) **support; prop** | *xoθe maxi stune ʾu-ʾap-sanda* Under it they will build pillars and a support (C3:10).

sanduqa, ṣanduqa n.m. (pl. *sanduqe, ṣanduqe*) (A.) **box**

sanoya n.m. (pl. *sanoye*) **poker for a fire**

santən n.m. **satin** | *k̂unnəkyáθə sàntən*ˡ head-scarves of satin (B10:42)

santiya n.m. (pl. *santiye*) **centimetre** | *ʾi-maxəlmíwa ʾúpra taqríban xamšî santíye*ˡ They made the (layer of) mud about fifty centimetres thick.

sapiqa adj. (f. *sapiqta*, pl. *sapiqe*) **empty; not busy; riderless (horse).** (1) **empty** | *xázye ʾína qáṣra sapìqa*ˡ They found that the palace was empty (A12:34); *ʾắra ʾiyáwa sapìqta*ˡ The ground was (left) empty (without cultivation) (B5:76). (2) **unoccupied, not busy** | *ʾé-ga y-áwa bíš sapìqe,*ˡ *lá y-awéwa šúla ràba*ˡ Then at that time (in the Autumn) they were more free and there was not much work (B5:19). (3) **riderless (horse)** | *xázyəlle sùsa*ˡ *ʾína sapìqa*ˡ They saw that the horse was without a rider (A29:29).

sapoya n.m. **bite, mouthful** | *xá sapóya ṯ̂-axlənne*ˡ I shall eat it with one bite (Qaṭina).

saqawa n.m. **water-giver** | *saqáwa d-ánna susắwàθa*ˡ This water-giver of the horses (A12:59).

saqðana adj. (f. *saqðanta*, pl. *saqðane*) **tedious, exasperating** | *sə́twa saqðànɛle*ˡ Winter is harsh.

saqqaṭ adj. (f. *saqqaṭ*, pl. *saqqaṭe*) **crippled**

saṛa → *seṛa*

sarada n.m. (pl. *sarade*) (K./A.) **sieve with large holes (for corn)**

sar-amoða n.m. **the first child to be baptized**

sarapsɛra, *sarbsara* n.m. (pl. *sarapsɛre*) (K.) **chain or rope for leading horse**

sarastuθa n.m. (K./P.) **honesty, frankness**

sar-bar n.m. (pl. *sar-barre*) **front row** | *mgabyanni m-gu-sar-barre* I would choose for myself (one of them) from the first rows (C2:63).

sar-bari n.m. **my first born child**

sarbsara → *sarapsɛra*

sardəb n.m. (A.) **basement**

sardər n.m. (K.) **lintel** | *sardər tăra* the lintel of a door (on the outside of the house)

saṛe n.pl. **barley** | *xa dəndəkθət saṛe* a grain of barley

sarəṭlana n.m. (pl. *sarəṭlana*) **crab, lobster**

sarga, sɛrga n.m. (pl. *sarge, sɛrge*) **saddle** | *zwína sɛ́rga qam-sùsa*ˈ He has bought the saddle before the horse (D2:14).

sar-gera n.m. (K.) **leading ox on the threshing floor** | *sar-gèra,*ˈ *yáʿni ʾáwən majújwala ʾan-tàwre*ˈ The leader, that is it would make the (other) oxen walk around (B5:84).

sariqana n.m. (pl. *sariqane*) **rake** | *hóle sráqa kolána b-sariqàna*ˈ He is raking the street with a rake.

sarḵola adj. (f. *sarḵole*, pl. *sarḵole*) (K.) **having a bare head**

sarmajanke, sarmažanke n.f. (pl. *sarmajanke, sarmažanke*) (K.) **small hook of wood connecting the yoke to the beam (*mašana*) of the plough**

sarmor, sarmora (f. *sarmore*, pl. *sarmore*) adj. (K.) **sealed; unbreached**

sarpəšta n.f. (pl. *sarpəšyaθa*) **soft woolen blanket put on back of pack animal under the outer cover known as *qurṭana***

sarqafliya n.f. (K.) **deposit (on purchase)**

sarqənna n.m. (K.) **firstborn**

saršoye n.f. (K.) **place for washing oneself; large basin for washing dishes** | usually in an outhouse (*ṣopiθa*)

saṭana n.m. (pl. *saṭane*) **devil, demon** | *saṭána qpìxəlle*ˈ The devil has possessed him; *tíwɛle l-súsət saṭàna*ˈ He has become arrogant (literally: He is sitting on the horse of the devil); *saṭàne ʾítlən*ˈ We have demons (A22:26); *bəjbajət saṭana* snail; *betət saṭana* snail shell.

saṭanta n.f. (pl. *saṭanyaθa*) **demon, evil spirit**

saṭla n.f. (pl. *ṣaṭlaθa*) **brass pail** | used by milkmaids of sheep: *sáṭlət màsta*ˈ bucket of yoghurt (A11:4)

sawa n.m. (pl. *sawăwaθa*) **old (man); grandfather; ancestor** | *naša sawa* old man; *sáwən Tóma* grandfather Toma (A50:1); *sawət sawən* our

ancestors; *sawăwáθən t-qámθa kúlla tàmɛwa mŭmáðe*ˈ All our ancestors of former ages were baptized there (B3:21).

sawta n.f. (pl. *sawyaθa*) **old woman**

sawunka n.m. (pl. *sawunke*) **old man**

sāx adj. (f. *sāx*, pl. *saxe*) (K.) **healthy, alive** | *la-šawqítuley sàxe*ˈ Do not leave them alive (A8:8).

saxara n.m. (pl. *saxare*) **large brass dish** | used for *gərðo* stew

saxðana → *saġðana*

saxlam adj. invar. (K.) **fit, healthy**

saxora n.m. (pl. *saxore*) **sty, inflammation in the eye** | *plíṭle saxóra gu-ʾéne dìye*ˈ A sty formed in his eye.

sayəssa n.m. (pl. *sayəsse*) (K.) **three-year old male goat**

saθra n.m. **herb put in yoghurt**

sebuθa n.f. **old age**

sela (i) n.m. (K.) **concave metal iron griddle for making bread**

sela (ii) n.m. (A.) **stream, river** | *gəšrə Zaxo ramana selət xoθe milana* The high bridge of Zakho, the river under it is blue (with grief) (C8:7)

sema n.m. **silver**

semalta n.f. (pl. *semalyaθa*) **ladder**

senayi → *sănayi*

senike, senəkke n.f. (pl. *senike*) (K./A.) **metal plate**

seniya, ṣiniye, ṣiniya n.f. (pl. *seniye*) (K./A.) **metal tray, metal plate**

sentimeter n.m. (pl. *sentimetre*) (E.) **centimetre** | *ṭláθi sèntimetre ríxa*ˈ thirty centimetres long (B6:55).

sera n.m. **moon** | *séra hádele tràṣa*ˈ The moon is new, *séra píšle lăgằna*ˈ The moon is full (literally: has become a bowl), *šəmšət sera* moonlight; *sera poriyana* a bright moon; *ʾan-yomáθa ṭ-awéwa ràba séra*ˈ *qùwya*ˈ days when the moon was very bright (B11:3).

seṛa, saṛa n.m. **goat's hair**

serane n.f. (K.) **picnic**

serani adj. | *xawxa serani* white peach

sere n.pl. (A.) **magic** | *xá'a ṯóṯo sère*ˡ an old woman of magic (A27:18)

sɛpa n.m. (pl. *sɛpe*) **sword** | *mxìli xa-sépa xéna*ˡ Strike me another blow of the sword (A51:18).

sɛrga → *sarga*

səgola n.m. (Urm.) **dear person** | *səgoli* my dear; *'azíza səgóli xòna*ˡ my dear brother (A40:1)

səjən n.m. (A.) **prison**

səkra n.m. (pl. *səkre*) **dam** | *hóle dwáqa sákra gu-nèra*ˡ A dam is blocking the river.

səkθa n.f. (pl. *səkke, səkkake*) **peg, stake; ploughshare** | *'ó-t šawárra šáwwa sàkke,*ˡ *ða-qéθa gu-be-tàkke*ˡ He who jumps seven stakes, (one) will hit him in his waist (D2:1).

səllər n.f. **frost** | *'aqára hóle dwíqa sàllər*ˡ The farm land is hard with frost.

səlqa n.m. **chard**

səmbele n.pl. **moustache** | *səmbelət šəbbəltət saṛe* the hairs of a head of barley. Sing. *səmbəlta* one side of a moustache: *kul səmbəlti xa draya* Each (side) of my moustache is a cubit (A51:5).

səmma n.m., *səmθa* n.f. (pl. *səmmame*) (K.) **hoof of animal**

səmmala n.f. (pl. *səmmale*) **small bundle of grass or produce** | Four or five *səmmale* make up a *darza* large bundle. They are collected in the left hand (cf. C.Syr. *semmālā* 'left') with the sickle (*magla*) being held in the right.

səmmala adv. (C.Syr.) **left, to the left**

səmmora n.m. (pl. *səmmore*) **squirrel**

səmθa → *səmma*

səmya adj. (f. *smiθa*, pl. *səmye*) **blind**

səndana n.m. (pl. *səndane*) **large pot for jajək**

sənjane n.f. **type of dance**

sənjəq, sənjaqa (pl. *sənjaqe*) **crotchet-hook**

sənnək n.f. (collective) **insects that eat wheat** | *qəm-axlála xáṭṭe sànnək*ˡ The wheat has been eaten by *sənnək* insects; *sənnəkθa* a single one of these insects.

sənnorta n.f. (pl. *sənnoryaθa*) **shoot (of corn)** | *xáṭṭe m-sənnòrta,*ˡ *yála m-qapàlta*ˡ Wheat (is seen to be good) from when it is a shoot. A child (is seen to be good) from the time of (his mother's) embrace (D2:36).

səpθa n.f. (pl. *səppaθa, səpwaθa*) **lip** | *səppaθət swana* the lips of the eaves (of a house)

sərda n.m. **stalks (remaining after leaves are eaten by animals)** | synon. *səryoqe*

sərke n.pl. **herb put in jajək (similar to mint)**

sərmo n.f. **herb put in *jajək* and cheese (like chive)**

sərr n.m. (pl. *ʾasrār*) (A.) **secret**

sərra n.f. (K.) **turn (in a queue)** | *mṭéla sárrə d-áw ṭla-t-šàqəl*ˡ His turn came to take (supplies) (B17:11); *náše hóla zíne sàrra*ˡ The people are standing (waiting their) turn (B17:10).

sərri adj. invar. (A.) **secret**

sərsərra n.m. **layer of fine white powder put on roof** | This is made by sieving white clay (*ʾupra xwara*)

sərya adj. (f. *sriθa*, pl. *sərye*) **bad** | *šeta sriθa t-lɛ́la dwiqta daliθa* the bad year in which the vine did not yield (fruit) (C2:27).

səryoqe n.pl. (sing. *səryoqa*) **stalks of leaves remaining after leaves are eaten by animals** → *srq*

səttināt n.pl. (A.) **the (19)60s**

sətwa n.m. (pl. *sətwe*) **Winter**

seylo n.m. (E.) **silo**

səbba n.m. **hair of crotch**

simarxa, simɛrxa n.m. (pl. *simarxe*) **giant mythological bird** | cf. A24, A27

sisisambər n.m. **mythological plant** | cf. A50

sivanoka n.f. (pl. *sivanoke*) (K.) **type of small sparrow**

sixurra n.m. (pl. *sixurre*) (K.) **porcupine**

skinta n.f. (pl. *skinyaθa*) **knife**

skita adj. (f. *skitta*, pl. *skite*) (A.) **quiet, silent**

skolaya n.m. (pl. *skolaye*) **student**

slemanaya n.m. (pl. *slemanaye*) **man from Suleimaniyya**

smiqa adj. (f. *smiqta*, pl. *smiqe*) **red, reddened; red hot**

smoqa adj. (f. *smoqta*, pl. *smoqe*) **red; brown** | *šuréle zmírre b-súsa smòqa*ˈ He started to sing to a brown horse (A25:11).

smoqe n.pl. **red sumac berries** | *ʾilanət smoqe* sumac tree, with bunches (*qanṭope*) of red berries

smoqnaya adj. (f. *smoqnɛθa*, pl. *smoqnaye*) reddish

smoquθa n.f. **redness**

sniqa adj. (f. *sniqta*, pl. *sniqe*) **needy**

sniquθa n.f. **need**

snoniθa n.f. (pl. *snoniyaθa*) **swallow** | with a black body and a white breast

solho n.f. (A.) **peace, truce, reconciliation** | *wídlɛ sòlho*ˈ They made peace → *ṣoloh*

sona n.f. (pl. *sonaθa*) **type of duck**

sorəkke n.f. (pl. *sorəkyaθa*) (K.) **hollowed out open wooden pipe bringing water from a water channel (*šaqiθa*); gutter of roof; drain pipe**

sorəkθa n.f. (pl. *sorəkyaθa*) (K.) **lip in the ridge of the lower grindstone of a water-mill where sesame oil pours off**

sparəgla n.m. (pl. *sparəgle*) **quince**

spay adj. invar. (K.) **good, well.** (1) **good** | *hálli xa-súsa spày*ˈ Give me a good horse (A12:62); *bábux spày-našɛle,*ˈ *xàwrən-ile*ˈ Your father is a good man, he is our friend (A14:61). (2) **well** | *ʾéne dìye*ˈ *píšela spày*ˈ His eyes became well (A24:21); *dàx-it?*ˈ *spày-in*ˈ How are you? I am well.

adv. **well** | *qa-t-xáyən spáy ʾàxxa*ˡ so that I can live well here (A3:3); *qəm-awə́dle rába spày*ˡ He did it very well.

spayuθa n.f. **goodness; favour** | *ʾána spayùθən wáða*ˡ I am doing good (A14:34); *wúð ða-spayúθa mənni*ˡ Do me a favour (A7:17).

spena n.f. (pl. *spene, spenane, spenaθa*) (K.) **wedge** | *ṣṭíple qɛ́sa b-spèna*ˡ He split the wood in the middle with a wedge; *naqrə́tla spèna*ˡ You knock in the wedge.

spərto n.f. **alcoholic spirit**

spisa adj. (f. *spista*, pl. *spise*) **rotten, worn out** | *píšɛle màjbur*ˡ *hà-ṯ-ile*ˡ *ríxa ʾə́θya mánne díye spìsa*ˡ He remained like that, of necessity, until a rotten smell came from him (A27:43).

squpθa n.f. (pl. *squpyaθa*) **lintel**

stăkana n.m. (pl. *stăkane*) (K.) **glass (for drink)**

stanga n.m. (pl. *stange*) (K.) **narrow mountain path**

stavla, stawla n.m. (pl. *stavle, stawle*) (K.) **wooden frame for carrying loads on pack animal** | Each animal had four of these: *stavlət qɛse* type used for carrying wood; *stavlət kepe* reinforced type used for carrying stones.

stərra n.m. (pl. *stərre*) **storeroom for food** | contains bags made of dried skins (*guðe*)

stuna n.m. (pl. *stunane*) (K.) **post; pole; pillar**

stunta n.f. (pl. *stunyaθa*) **small post**

sula n.m. **dung, manure**

sulamməš → *sălămaške*

sulaqa n.m. **ascension** | *ʾeðət sulaqa* Festival of Ascension (40th day after Easter)

suləkθa n.f. **small pipe** | e.g. a pipe used to carry sesame oil running off millstones.

sulina n.m. (pl. *suline*) **clay pipe section (several of which are joined together to form a pipe); interlocking section of church roof**

sulta n.f. (pl. *sulyaθa*) **dunghill** | *mən-málka ṣála l-sùlta,*ˡ *mən-súlta ṣála màlke*ˡ From being king people descend to the dung heap and from the dung heap people rise to be kings (A40:13).

sunniθa n.f. (pl. *sunniyaθa*) **thorny bush bearing raspberries (*halwasne*)**

suraya n.m./adj. (pl. *suraye*) **Assyrian Christian**

surayuθa n.f. **Christianity**

surəθ n.f. **Assyrian language**

surgada n.m. **calendar**

susa n.m. (pl. *susăwaθa, suse*) **horse**

susta n.f. (pl. *susyaθa*) **mare** | *sustət ʾabona* ladybird

suta n.f. (pl. *sutaθa*) **trap for partridges (*qəqwane*)** | consisting of trap doors over walls made of stone

swana n.m. (pl. *swanane*) **overhanging edge of a roof, eaves of roof** | *swanáne palṭíwa m-gùda*ˡ *qa-t-lá-miya ṣále gu-gùda*ˡ The eaves protruded from the wall, so that the water would not run down the wall (B5:191).

swariya n.m. (pl. *swariye*) (K.) **horseman**

swata n.f. **surfeit; satiety** | *ʾu-bxíθa hál swáta dìya*ˡ She wept until she was sated (A8:71)

swire n.f. (pl. *swiriyaθa*) (K.) **stream, small tributary of a river**

sya'a n.m. (pl. *sya'ane*) **fence**

syamta n.f. **ordination**

/ṣ/

ṣabota n.f. (pl. *ṣabaθa, ṣaboyaθa*) **finger** | *ṣabotət ʾisəqθa* ring finger; *ṣabota goṛta* thumb; *ṣabota zurta* little finger; *ṣabota gawɛθa* middle finger

ṣabun n.m. **soap** | *ṣabun t-ragg*ʸ*e* type of soap made out of gallnuts (*aṗṣe*); *ṣabunət ʾaqla* kneecap

ṣad- part. (inflected with L-suffixes §8.20.5.) **afraid** | *ṣadli* I am afraid; *ṣadlux* You (ms.) are afraid; *ṣadlən* We are afraid; *ṣadwale* He was afraid; *nášət máθa ṣàdwala mənnéy*ˡ The people of the village were afraid of them (B18:3); *ma-t-ṣàdwalən*ˡ How we were afraid (B8:19).

ṣăda n.m. (A.) **echo**

ṣadra n.m. **chest, breast; front; middle** | *xpáqəlle gu-ṣádra dìya*ˡ She is hugging him to her breast (A4:58); *l-ṣadrət gəppa wirwala*ˡ She entered the front of the cave (A51:12); *tərte yawne šukraye tiwe ṣadrə be-ḷaye* Two white doves sitting in the middle of the upper room (C2:29).

ṣala n.m. (pl. *ṣale*) **goatskin or lambskin (spread on floor to sit on)**

ṣalila adj. (f. *ṣalilta*, pl. *ṣalile*) **sober**

ṣalma n.m. (pl. *ṣalme*) **small bush with small leaves and small sweet red berries; the berries of this bush**

ṣamərma n.f. (pl. *ṣamərma*) **thorn-bush with small edible berries** | It is gathered in mountains and used as fodder for animals in winter.

ṣanətta n.f. (A./K.) **skill, craftsmanship**

ṣanita n.f. (A.) **product, job; skill** | *ʾáwwa šəbbáqa ṣanìtɛla,*ˡ *ṣanítət xanăwàθɛle*ˡ This belt is manufactured, it is a product of looms; *lípwalən ṣanìta*ˡ We learnt a skill; *ʾáyya xoš-ṣanìtɛla!*ˡ That is a good plan! (A44:3)

ṣapra n.m. **morning** | only in: *ṣloθət ṣapra* morning prayer

ṣarupa adj. (f. *ṣarupta*, pl. *ṣarupe*) **smarting (food), spicy**

ṣarupuθa n.f. **spiciness**

ṣawade n.pl. **domesticated animals (usually sheep and goats)**

ṣawaya n.m. (pl. *ṣawaye*) **dyer**

ṣawle n.m. (sing. *ṣawəlta*) **leather shoes**

ṣawma n.m. (pl. *ṣawme*) **fast** | *rēš-ṣàwma*ˡ the beginning of the fast (of Lent) (B5:156)

ṣawməkka n.m. **a man dressed up in sheep skins who goes around the houses of the village at the beginning of the fast of Lent requesting gifts, or a model figure so dressed and carried around the village** (B5:156ff., B16:7ff.)

ṣawoya n.m. (pl. *ṣawoye*) **painter**

ṣawθa n.f. (pl. *ṣawaθa*) **speech; sound** | *ṣáwθa lèle mṣawóθe mánna díya*ˡ He did not speak to her at all (A21:18); *ṣawθət ʾaθuθa* the sound of a letter; *wélax hawnànta,*ˡ *b-ʾiqárət ṣáwθa basìmta,*ˡ *ʾu-màqul*ˡ You have been clever, with the honour of sweet and fine words (A40:16); *múrra ṣáwθa xà-gaya xéta*ˡ Repeat what you said again (A25:61); *ʾáyya ṣáwθi dù̀s-ila*ˡ What I say is true (A40:4).

ṣawyana n.m. (pl. *ṣawyane*) **painter**

ṣewa n.m. **thirst**

ṣɛ́da n.m. **hunt** | *bắyən pálṭən ṣɛ̀da*ˡ I want to go out hunting (A4:1).

ṣədfa n.m. (A.) **chance** | *b-ṣə̀dfa* (A8:14) by chance

ṣəmawla n.f. (pl. *ṣəmawle*) **brown squirrel**

ṣəmmaðra n.m. (pl. *ṣəmmaðre*) **violet** | *xwarθi ṯ-azəx ṣəmmaðre* My friend, let us go (and collect) violets (C2:14).

ṣəmṭa n.m. **type of cement** | It consists of *jabla* and stones.

ṣəppa n.f. (pl. *ṣəppaθa*) **finger; rod protruding from a stone wheel of a roller (*mandorta*)** → *ṣabota*

ṣəpra n.f./m., *ṣəppərθa* n.f. (pl. *ṣəpre*) **sparrow**

ṣəpya adj. (f. *ṣpiθa*, pl. *ṣəpye*) **pure**

ṣəqla n.m. **decoration; decorative occasion** | *y-oðíwale xa-ṣə̀qla*ˡ They made it a decorative occasion (B5:72).

ṣəṣra n.f. (pl. *ṣəṣraθa, ṣəṣre*) **cockroach**

ṣəṣṣe n.pl. **seeds of the *lagna* plant** | These grow in thorny pods. They are eaten as a snack.

ṣətpa n.m. (pl. *ṣətpe*) **crack**

ṣəxwa n.m (pl. *ṣəxwe*) **clear sky** | *ṣə̀xwɛla*ˡ It is clear (A34:5); *hóle sxáya b-ṣə̀xwe*ˡ He is swimming breast-stroke.

ṣiniye, ṣiniya → *seniya*

ṣiṭa n.m. (pl. *ṣiṭe*) **span**

ṣiwən n.m. (pl. *ṣiwane*) **border**

ṣiya adj. (f. *ṣiθa*, pl. *ṣiye*) **thirsty** | *ṣíya míya* thirsty for water (A14:27)

ṣlawa n.m. **tether to tie an animal to a post**

ṣlawiθa n.f. **small tether**

ṣləmθa n.f. (pl. *ṣləmyaθa*) **form, appearance** | *ṣləmθət paθa* facial expression; *ṣləmθéy náše gabbàre*ˈ their appearance (was that of) warriors (A8:54).

ṣliwa n.m. (pl. *ṣliwe, ṣliwane*) **cross** | *y-oðáwa ṣlíwa l-tă̆ra*ˈ She would make (the sign of) the cross on the door (B5:41); *y-oðáwa ṣlíwa màšxa*ˈ She (the bride) makes (the sign of) the cross in oil (B5:40).

ṣliwana n.m. (pl. *ṣliwane*) **knot; drawing of a cross** | *wúdli hàtxa*ˈ *ṣliwána b-tă̆rət bèθa*ˈ Draw a cross for me like this on the door of the house (B8:32).

ṣloθa n.f. (pl. *ṣloyaθa, ṣlă̆waθa*) **prayer** | *ṣloθət ramša* evening prayer; *ṣlă̆waθət xɛle* prayers for his strength, blessing prefixed to names of saints: *ṣlă̆waθət xɛle Mar-Sawa* the Blessed St. Sawa.

ṣoloh n.m. (A.) **truce, peace** | *wídle ṣóloh mánne dìye*ˈ He made a truce with him (A29:62).

ṣopiθa n.f. (pl. *ṣopiyaθa*) **outhouse, shed** | This contains the oven (*tanura*), the grindstone (*xašolta*), the cooking stones (*kanuna*) and the wash place (*saršoye*)

ṣoṣinta n.f. (pl. *ṣoṣine*) **azerole tree; azerole fruit (edible red berry)** | *ʾilanət ṣoṣine*

ṣoṣiθa n.f. (pl. *ṣoṣiyaθa*) **plait, lock of hair** | *príməlla ṣoṣiyàθa*ˈ they cut their locks (A31:10)

ṣṭipa adj. (f. *ṣṭipta*, pl. *ṣṭipe*) **split, cracked**

ṣŭbuġ n.m. (A.) **paint** | *kúlla mðíta máxyəlla ṣŭ̀buġ*ˈ They painted the whole town (A4:34).

ṣudra n.f. (pl. *ṣudraθa*) **shirt, blouse** | *ṣudrət lawindiye* shirt with long sleeves; *ṣudrət xoθa* blouse worn under other clothes; *ṣudrət jurjēt* velvet blouse

ṣūf n.m. (A.) **wool**

ṣupa, ṣopa n.f. (pl. *ṣupă̆waθa, ṣupe, ṣopaθa*) (K.) **stove**

ṣuwarta n.f. (pl. *ṣuwaryaθa*) **wide mountain pass**

ṣuwya adj. (f. *ṣwiθa*, pl. *ṣuwye*) **hard**

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šaʿb n.m. (A.) **people**

šab n.m. (A.) **alum**

šāb n.m./adj. (A.) **young, young man**

šăbăka n.f. (A.) **net**

šabθa n.f. (pl. *šabbaθa*) **Saturday; week**

šabuða n.m. (pl. *šabuðe*) **rod; skewer** | *šabuðət ʾərxe* driving rod in water-mill that is turned by the propellers, made of willow (*xelapa*) soaked in grease (*tarba*); *y-oðíwa… básre-u… šabùðe*[1] They would make meat dishes and kebabs (B5:13).

šabuqa n.m. (pl. *šabuqe*) **rod** | *bəska šabuqe t-dawa* Her locks are rods of gold (C2:78).

šabuqta n.f. (*šabuqyaθa*) **rod, shaft; shuttle (on a loom)** | *šabuqtət dudiya* wooden bar on the side of a cradle (to which the swaddling bands are tied); *šabuqtət tope* metal rod for cleaning the muzzle of a gun

šadda n.m. (pl. *šadde*) **spool** | for thread made of cotton (*ktana*) or gut (*gədde*)

šadəsta n.f. (pl. *šadəsyaθa*) **pre-wedding party (to which close family and friends are invited)**

šadlaxana n.f. **party, festivity**

šaðaya n.m. (pl. *šaðaye*) **carder (of wool)** | referring to a person doing the carding or the instrument used for carding

šaharta n.f. **prayer vigil (at Christmas and Easter)** | *y-awðíwa gáwe díye šahàrta*[1] They would hold vigil in it (the church) (B2:5); *sáma zóda náše y-ázi šahàrta*[1] Most people went to the vigil (B5:53); *šahárta qa-t-qyàmta pálṭa*[1] the vigil until the resurrection comes out (at Easter) (B5:54).

šaka n.m. (pl. *šake*) **shoot of a vine** | grows from the tendrils (*dalye*)

šakka n.m. (pl. *šakke*) (K.) **two-year-old male sheep (gelding)**

šakroke n.f. **bush with thorny pods**

šala, šāl n.m. (pl. *šale*) (A.) **shawl, kerchief; sash wrapped around waist** | *šalət xaṣa* back/waist kerchief; *šalət qðala* neck kerchief; *šalət turma* type of wide waist sash worn by men (in which a sword is held)

šalgəmme n.pl. (sing. *šalgəmta* f.) **turnips, swedes**

šalila n.m. (pl. *šalile*) **large basket** | used for transporting straw from the threshing floor (*bədra*) to the storage bin (*zənja*): *xánjər l-gótət xáwrux gu-šalílət tùna*[1] A dagger in the side of your friend (as if) into a basket of straw (D2:41), said when you do not care for your friend.

šalla n.m. (K.) **woolen trousers; suit of clothes; type of fabric made from wool** | *šalla ʾu-bərmalta* trousers and jacket; *jullət šalla* clothes made of *šalla* fabric

šallala n.m. (pl. *šallale*) (A.) **waterfall**

šalqo n.f. **smallpox** | *šalqo t-miya* chickenpox

šăma n.f. **wax** | *šămət duša* beeswax

šama n.m. (pl. *šame*) (A.) **mole (on skin)**

šămala n.f (pl. *šămale*) (K.) **candle** | *plíṭla šămála šắve lhàya*[1] She came out glowing like a night candle (A38:14).

šamaša, šumaša n.m. (pl. *šamaše, šumaše*) **deacon**

šambəs adj. invar. **recalcitrant, frisky (mule)** | *ʾáyya koðánta šàmbəs-ila*[1] This mule is frisky.

šamina adj. (f. *šaminta*, pl. *šamine*) **fertile** | *Bɛ́rwər ʾíla xa-ʾàθṛa*[1] *šamìnɛle*[1] Barwar is a land which is fertile (B1:5).

šamšuma n.m. (pl. *šamšume*) **large waterfall**

šana n.m. (pl. *šanane*) (K.) **honeycomb** | *šanə parxe* chickenpox (literally: honeycomb of peeling skin); *šanət zarəqte* section from a wasps' nest. This is put in the cage of partridge chicks (*piṗa*), since it contains worms, which the chicks feed on.

šangabí n.m. (K.) **weeping willow** | *ṭúrxət šangabí ʾi-ṣáli l-ắra*[1] The branches of the weeping willow hang down to the ground.

šapira adj. (f. *šapirta*, pl. *šapire*) **beautiful, pleasant** | *ʾa-zúrta ràba šapírtɛwa*ˡ The young one was very beautiful (A14:82).

šapna n.f. (pl. *šapnaθa*) **instrument for smoothing ground after ploughing and sowing** | This was made of oak twigs (*taqanət ṗaṛma*). It was connected by ropes to the beam that holds the oxen together (*qaṭira*); *maxe šapna* He uses the *šapna*.

šapra n.m. (pl. *šapre*) (A.) **large knife**

šăqa n.m. (A.) **joking, fun**

šaqa n.m. (pl. *šaqe*) **lower leg; legging (covering lower leg)**

šaqiθa n.f. (pl. *šaqiyaθa, šaqyaθa*) **irrigation channel; groove; scar.** (1) **irrigation channel** | *l-ay-gōt-hòdəx t-šaqíθa*ˡ the farther side of the channel (A9:1). (2) **groove** | *šaqyaθa xriṭe gu-xṣipta* grooves carved into wooden door lock, for rods (*qulqulyaθa*) that release and lock the bolt (*dawra*). (3) **scar** | *xírre gu-réšət Ẓàloˡ ʾíθwa šaqyàθaˡ brinàne,ˡ gòṛe rábaˡ* He looked at the head of Zāl (and saw) that there were scars, enormous wounds (A29:3).

šaqla n.m. (pl. *šaqle*) **supporting pole** | Such poles are attached to a bier (*tirta*) and have pieces of cloth (*julle*) tied between them. They are also used to support the roof of booths (*ḳuprane*).

šaqlanət paθwaθa n.m., adj. **two-faced, deceitful** | Literally: one who assumes faces.

šaqola n.m. (pl. *šaqole*) **lower leg; plumb line (used in building)**

šaqqa n.m. **game played with a bat and ball** (B11:10ff.)

šaqqana n.m. (pl. *šaqqane*) **slap, blow** | *ʾárya máxyəlle šaqqána l-ʾəqər-náθət dèwa*ˡ The lion clouted the wolf on the root of his ear (A42:2).

šarafta, šarapθa n.f. (pl. *šaraftyaθa*) **rope made of flax** | Used to hang the shafts (*mayoye*) of the churn (*guða*) on the frame.

šarba n.f. (pl. *šarbe, šarbaθa*) **earthenware jug** | synon. *kawaza*

šarbəṭana, šarəbṭana, mšarbəṭana n.m. (pl. *šarbəṭane*) **cane, pliant wooden stick for driving animals** | usually made of sticks from the pomegranate tree (*harmonta*); *máxyəlla ṭlá šarbəṭáne xéne t-qèse*ˡ He hit her with three other wooden canes (A24:53).

šăre n.pl. **wet cattle dung**

šarəz adj. (invar.) (K.) **familiar, knowledgeable (of an area)** | *ʾaw šárəz-ile b-ùrxa*ˡ He is familiar with the road; *ʾáy šárəz-ila b-ùrxa*ˡ She is familiar with the road.

šărīf adj. invar. (A.) **honourable, noble** | *ʾáti rába šărīf-nàšət*ˡ You are a very honourable person (A26:5).

šarīr n.m. (A.) **evil**

šarira adj. (f. *šarirta*, pl. *šarire*) **true, truthful; honourable** | *ʾárxən šarìra*ˡ our honourable guest (A26:30).

šărīṭ n.m. (A.) **tape (recording)**

šarniye, šɛrniye n.pl. (sing. *šarnita*) **sweets**

šarpa n.m. **wrap worn around the neck, extending over front of body** | usually with tastles (*gugiye*)

šarre n.f. (pl. *šarrăwaθa*) (K.) **battle; war** | *tre yalone havrəkke šarreley rəš-mam-məkke* two rival children are fighting on the breasts (C2:39).

šaršura n.m. (pl. *šaršure*) **small waterfall**

šarṭ, šărəṭ n.f. (pl. *šăraṭe, šŭrūṭ*) (K./A.) **condition; agreement; test, ordeal, challenge; court case; judgement, sentence; court; custom** (1) **condition** | *ʾaláha hole-mìra*ˡ *t-yawəllux*ˡ *b-šàrṭ*ˡ *kú-mdit yawəllux*ˡ *ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl trè*ˡ God has said that he will give to you on condition that everything he gives to you he will give to your neighbour twofold (A3:4); *šŭrūṭ-díyi mkumlìlux?*ˡ Have you fulfilled my conditions? (A12:16); *ha-t-dóqət šárṭ mən-d-ò*ˡ *nàša*ˡ until you agree on conditions with that man (A12:42). (2) **agreement** | *wídle šàrṭ*ˡ *ta-máxa l-ġðàðe*ˡ He made an agreement that they would strike each other (in a contest) (A52:15). (3) **test, ordeal, challenge** | *ʾən-šăŕəṭ díyi qəm-yăðətla,*ˡ *xo-b-gawrànnux*ˡ If you know (the answer to) my test, I shall indeed marry you (A25:62). (4) **court case** | *ʾitléy šăráṭe ṯ-amríla qa-màlka*ˡ They have cases (to present) to the king (A17:31). (5) **judgement, sentence** | *šárṭ qázi t-yawálla ṭlàlux*ˡ The judge will make a sentence in your favour (A6:7). (6) **court (proceedings)** | *wírela šarṭ-qàzi*ˡ They entered the court of the judge (A6:9). (7) **custom** | *w-áxni lìθ gu-šăŕəṭ dìyən*ˡ *bràta*ˡ *krəstyànta*ˡ *gáwra mušəlmàna*ˡ But it is not our custom that a Christian girl marries a Muslim (B4:9).

šaruθa n.f. (pl. *šaruyaθa*) **lunch**

šarθa n.f. (pl. *šaryaθa*) **navel**

šaša n.m. (pl. *šaše*) **comb of a bird** | *ʾáwwa mo-ṭɛ́rɛle b-šàša*ˈ What bird is this with a comb? (D1:7)

šašta n.f. (pl. *šašyaθa*) **turban**

šata n.f. **plaster** | *píšli bēl-šáta l-šəndùxta*ˈ I have come between the plaster and the polishing stone (D2:24), i.e. I am done for.

šatɛθa n.f. (pl. *šatayaθa*) **big drinker (f.)**

šatyana n.m. (pl. *šatyane*) **big drinker**

šaṭər adj. invar. **beautiful, handsome** | *xa-bróna šàṭərˈ* a handsome son (A8:22)

šaṭṭa n.m. (A.) **river**

šaθa n.f. **fever** | *b-xšáwən šáθa doqàli*ˈ I think I have caught a fever.

šaθana adj. (f. *šaθanta*, pl. *šaθane*) **feverish**

šăvana n.m. (pl. *šăvane*) (K.) **shepherd** | *dóqəx šăvànaˈ* We hire a shepherd (B5:109).

šăve n.f. (K.) **night** | *plíṭla šămála šăve lhàya*ˈ She came out glowing like a night candle (A38:14).

šawba n.m. (*šawbe*) **headcold, influenza** | *ṭápyɛn šàwba* I have caught a cold

šawbana adj. (f. *šawbanta*, pl. *šawbane*) **suffering from a headcold**

šawpa n.m. (pl. *šawpe*) **footprint; place** | *ʾánna ʾíla šáwpət ʾaqlaθèyˈ* These are their footprints; *bróna díye šáqəl šáwpe dìyeˈ bar-d-àwˈ* His son will take his place after him (A8:2); *(b-)šawp-, (b-)šop-* adv. **in place of, instead of** | *hálli bəsra šópət ləxmaˈ* Give me meat instead of bread; *dáx páyəš málka šáwpət bròni?*ˈ How will he become king in place of my son? (A8:4); *pɛ́ša ʾáy ʾàxxa,*ˈ *b-šópət brònənˈ* Let her stay here in place of our son (A4:39); *de-puš-šòpux.*ˈ Stay where you are! (A14:20); *xáṭṭe… šōp-rəzzaˈ* wheat sown after the harvest of rice (B5:95); *šlàma-lluxˈ sáwi šópət bàbiˈ* Greetings to you, my old man, (you have) a place (like that of) my father (in my respect) (A24:8).

šawwa num. (f. *ʾəšwa*) **seven** | *ʾurzət šawwa* the seventh man; *baxtət ʾəšwa* the seventh woman; *šawwa xaθwaθa* Seven Sisters (= the Pleiades constellation)

šawwaθn- num. **seven of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *šawwaθnən* the seven of us; *šawwaθnɛxu* the seven of you; *šawwaθnéy* the seven of them

šawwi num. **seventy**

šaxina adj. (f. *šaxinta*, pl. *šaxine*) **hot; warm** | *láxma šaxína darmánət náša kpìna*ˡ Hot bread is the medicine of a hungry man (D2:69).

šaxinuθa n.f. **heat, warmth**

šaxxa adj. (f. *šaxxe*, pl. *šaxxe*) (K.) **stupid**

šăyana n.m. (pl. *šăyane*) **plasterer**

šazada n.m. (pl. *šazade*) (P.) **prince** | *wírtɛla hátxa ʾína hóle xa-šazáda dmíxa kásla dìya!*ˡˡ She came in like this and there was a prince lying with her! (A4:51)

šazatta n.f. (P.) **princess**

šeða (i) n.m. (pl. *šeðe*) **almond, almond tree**

šeða (ii) n.m. (pl. *šeðe*) **demon**

šeðana adj. (f. *šeðanta*, pl. *šeðane*) **mad**

šekăro! interj. **call to stop an animal** | *hó šekȁro!*ˡˡ Wo there! (A22:25).

šekər n.f. **sugar**

šenəkka n.m (pl. *šenəkke*) **a bird of prey**

šera (i) n.m. (pl. *šere, šerane, šerăwaθa, šəryăwaθa*) **saint's festival**

šera (ii) n.m. (pl. *šere*) (A.) **poem; verse** | *qímən moláxmənna ʾánna šére buddìye*ˡ I composed these verses about him (C4:3).

šeta n.f. (pl. *šənne*) year | *kul šeta, kuššət* every year; *ʾəššeta* this year; *šetət wirra* last year; *šetə ṯ-ila b-θaya* next year; *xa naša wira b-šənne* an old person; *ʾáyya xá-šeta hóla támma láxxa léla mbaqorəllux*ˡ It has been a year that they have been here without asking for you (A26:78).

šēx n.m. (pl. *šexiye*) **Arab elder, sheikh**

šexani | *xəgga šexani* type of dance performed with a line of people in a row with linked arms

šɛna n.m. **peace** | *b-šɛ̀na θélux!*ᴵ Welcome; *b-šɛ́na b-ṭawàθa!*ᴵ Welcome and greetings!; *púš b-šɛ̀na!*ᴵ Goodbye! *xoš-ʾáθya b-šɛ̀na*ᴵ She is welcome (A21:10). adj. invar. **tame, domesticated; at ease** | *dawéra rába šɛ̀nɛle*ᴵ A mule is very tame (B5:132); *tawárta šɛ̀nɛla*ᴵ The cow is domesticated (B5:175); *ʾu-brōn-díye hádəx píša šɛ̀na mánne díye*ᴵ His son had become at ease with him (B17:5).

šɛnaya adj. (f. *šɛnɛθa*, pl. *šɛnaye*) **tame**

šɛpanta n.f. (pl. *šɛpanyaθa*) **rubber, eraser**

šəbbaqa n.m. (pl. *šəbbaqe*) **belt (leather or woven)** | worn by men and women

šəbbəlta n.f. (pl. *šəblaθa, šəble*) **head of wheat or barley** | *bréla xàṭṭe,*ᴵ *dwíqla šəblàθa*ᴵ The wheat grew and bore heads.

šəbbərθa, šəbbərta n.f. (pl. *šəbbəryaθa*) **bracelet**

šəbbət n.m. (K./A.) **dill**

šədda n.f. (pl. *šəddaθa*) **demon** | *šə́ddət Mar-ʾOdíšo ṭ-áθya ʾəllɛ̀xu*ᴵ The demon of Saint ʾOdišo will come to you (said to a child as a warning); *qəm-maxyála šədda*ᴵ A demon has hit her, *qəm-qapxála šədda*ᴵ A demon has possessed her (said of a woman who is afraid or acts emotionally).

šəddəlta n.f. (pl. *šəddəlyaθa, šədle*) **lullaby**

šədla (i) n.m. (pl. *šədle*) **lullaby**

šədla (ii) n.m. (pl. *šədle*) **seedling; sapling**

šəftiya n.m. (pl. *šəftiye*) (K.) **water melon**

šəkkuθa n.f. (A.) **doubt, suspcion** | *kəmət jawja b-ʾašəquθa naše nabli šəkkuθa* Whenever she moves coquettishly, people become suspicious (C2:73).

šəkla n.m. (pl. *šəkle*) **form, appearance; picture, image** | *yámmi ðítəlla b-šə́klɛ Bedwàye wɛ́wa*ᴵ My mother knew that they were from Bedu by their appearance (B9:5); *xírre qəm-xazéle šə́kle díye tàma*ᴵ He looked and saw his own image there (A46:4); *šqílli šə́kla dìya*ᴵ I took a picture of

it (B3:21); *ʾən-bə́ʸət šə̀kla,*| *ʾíttən šə́klət vìdeo*| If you want a picture, we have a video film (B15:93).

šəklana adj. (f. *šəklanta*, pl. *šəklane*) **beautiful; pleasant** | *mən-yóma qamáyə brèla,*| *ʾatxa-jwànqe-wɛwa,*| *ʾatxa-spáy ʾátxa šəkláne ʾu-xə̀lye*| From the first day (after) they were born, they were so beautiful, so fine, so bonny and sweet (A8:6); *rába šəklánta ʾiyáwa basìmta*| It (the occasion) was very beautiful and pleasant (B5:55); *ṣáwθa gu-púmmət màrɛla šəklánta*| A word is beautiful in the mouth of its master (= It is easier said than done) (A26:40); *ʾən-bábux ʾu-yə́mmux gu-bèθɛla,*| *lə́la šəklánta ṭ-ásqət l-gàre*| If your father and mother are in the house, it is not pleasant for you to go up onto the roof (D2:7).

šəkloka n.m. (pl. *šəkloke*) **loose stitch used to join pieces of fabric together in a preliminary fashion before they are sewed with the final stitching**

šəkθa n.f. (pl. *šəkkaθa, škaθa, šəkke*) **testicle** | The plural form *šəkke* is restricted to the insect name *taqla šəkke* spider (literally: weigher of testicles).

šəkwane (sing. *šəkwana* m., *šəkwanta* f.) **ants** | *šəkwanət qurðaye* red biting ants

šəllela n.m. (pl. *šəllele*) (K.) **waterfall**

šəlloxta n.f. (pl. *šəlloxyaθa*) **shed skin of a snake; husk of grain** | *ʾɛ-šəllóxte díye šaqlə̀xwala*| We would remove that husk (B16:30).

šəlmana n.f. (pl. *šəlmanāt*) (A.) **iron bar**

šəlxa n.m. (pl. *šəlxe*) **swarm (of bees)** | *dabaše šəlxa mubrela* The bees have made a swarm.

šəlya adj. (f. *šliθa*, pl. *šəlye*) **calm, silent**

šəlya n.m. (pl. *šəlye*) **poisonous snake, viper**

šəmma n.m. (pl. *šəmmane*) **name** | *ʾáw mútt*ə*lle šə́mme díye Mar-Sàwa*| They named it (the church) St. Sawa (B6:30); *ʾáti šə́mmux zìlɛle*| You are famous (A12:10); *ʾɛ̆́n Núne b-šəmmɛwa* ʾɛn-Nune was famous; *šə́myəx b-šə̆máθə šə̀mmux*| We have heard about you (A12:12); *ʾálaha šuxa-l-šə́mme* God, praise be to his name (A6:10); *yalúnka zòra-wewa b-šə́mma*| *ʾína ʾáp-aw ferə̀ssa-wewa*| He was a young child in name (only), but (in fact) he also was a great warrior (A29:25).

šəmmaxta n.f. **palate**

šəmme n.f. **sky** | marginal, the normal form is *šmayya*

šəmməšta n.f. **bark from juniper (*daprana*) or vine (*daliθa*) used as tinder**

šəmra n.m. **soot** | *síqɛle xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra,*ˈ *wírɛle gu-naxírət xa-m-malàxe*ˈ Some of the soot went up and entered the nose of one of the angels (A4:60).

šəmša n.f. **sun** | *šə́mša gnèla*ˈ The sun set; *šə́mša xrùle*ˈ The sun was eclipsed; *šə́mša qəm-bắléla ḥùta*ˈ A whale has swallowed the sun (i.e. it is eclipsed); *šəmšət sera* moonlight; *mattíle qam-šə̀mša,*ˈ *ʾi-bàrəz*ˈ They put it in the sun and it dries (B6:43); *ʾáwwa málla ṯ-axálla kθɛ̀θa*ˈ *ʾána bṯ-ázən gu-šə̀mša*ˈ This mullah will eat the chicken and I shall go without food (A2:4).

šəmšaya adj. (f. *šəmšɛθa*, pl. *šəmšaye*) **sunny**

šəndoxa n.m. (pl. *šəndoxe*) **large smooth stone** | *dɛréle ʾo-šəndòxa*ˈ *b-xùwwe*ˈ *qá-t qaṭə̀lle xúwwe*ˈ He threw the stone at the snake, to kill the snake (A1:15).

šənduxta n.f. (pl. *šənduxyaθa*) **small smooth stone** | used for smoothing plaster; *píšli bēl-šáta l-šəndùxta*ˈ I have come between the plaster and the polishing stone (D2:24), i.e. I am done for.

šənqa n.m. (pl. *šənqe*) **pod containing seeds (*boče*)** | This is a component of vegetables such as *maše, faṣuliye, lubye, gasose*.

šənθa n.f. **sleep** | *šənθux θàyɛla?* Are you sleepy?; *ʾéka ṯ-áθya šə̀nθe?!*ˈ *hal-qedámta šə́nθe la-θèla*ˈ How could he sleep!? Right up to the early morning he did not sleep. (A6:3); *qəm-ganwàle šə́nθa,*ˈ *ṯlìle*ˈ Sleep stole him away and he slept (A26:19).

šənxurri adj. invar. **grey**

šəppola n.m. (pl. *šəppole*) **edge of clothing** | *šəppolət ṣudra* the edge of the shirt.

šəpra n.m. (pl. *šəprane*) **area of land** | *šəprət rasa* an area of land on which *rasa* grass grows

šəqraqa m./f. (pl. *šəqraqe*) **small green bird that eats bees**

šərma n.f. (pl. *šərmaθa*) **buttocks** | The plural is used to refer to the two halves of the buttocks. *maqðáxwa šə́rmət ʾÙšwuṭ*ˡ We used to burn the buttocks of February (festivity at the end of winter in which a bonfire is lit → *məlməlawa*); *šərmət qamṣa* back of grasshopper fed to chick partridges when kept in a cage (→ *pipa*); *qrámtət šə́rma darmánət bušàla*ˡ The cover of the buttocks is the substance of the stew (i.e. the fat of the sheep's tail) (D1:13).

šərwala n.m. (pl. *šərwale*) **trousers made from cloth**

šəryoxa n.m. (pl. *šəryoxe*) **shoe-lace, cord** | used to tie up sheepskin boots (*zargule*) and the mouth of leather storage bags (*mziðe*); *šəryóxa báθər mzìða*ˡ (There is) a chord behind the bag (said of a man who is the puppet of his master) (D2:18). Also used to tie the collar of oxen that are pulling the plough.

šəšxana n.m. (K.) **old type of rifle (loaded from the barrel)**

šətrənje, šətrənjane n.pl. **chess** | *šúryela mṭawóle b-šətrənjàne*ˡ They started playing chess (A26:63)

šətta n.f. (pl. *šəttaθa*) **bottom** | *šəttət linta* the bottom of a jar; *šə́ttət màθawewa tíwa ʾo-xóna fə̆qíra*ˡ The poor brother lived at the bottom of the village (A25:1); *maṣə́lyannux šə́ttət yamàθa*ˡ I shall take you down to the bottom of the seas (A12:28); *ʾilanɛni t-xabušta m-reša-w šətta mnoqašta* Our apple tree is decorated from top to bottom (B8:29); *qəm-daryále gu-xa-gunìya*ˡ *šə́tta díya nc̆ílta*ˡ She put it in a sack the bottom of which was torn (A34:17).

šətya n.m. **warp** | → *maštoye* to arrange threads on warp beam

šəṭrana, štrana adj. **handsome, beautiful** | *ʾítli ðá bratət-màma,*ˡ *hádəx-ila štrànta*ˡ *max-d-àwwa yóma*ˡ I have a cousin, who is as beautiful as this sun (A7:17); *y-awə́ðwala štràne*ˡ He used to make them (the spoons) beautiful (B10:100); *ṭliba lɛle šəṭrana* Her betrothed is not handsome (C2:57); *šəṭrantux ʾɛna zroqe* Your sweetheart—her eyes are blue (C2:33).

šəṭro n.f. **beautiful woman** | *šəṭro marθət habriya* the beautiful woman who possesses the headscarf (C2:1); *šətro šuṭarta lali* Beautiful one, sweet-heart of mine (C2:7).

šəxda n.m. **good news**

šəxna (pl. *šəxne*) **inflammation, boil** | *šəxna gu-kasa* stomach ulcer

šəxra n.m. **charcoal; soot**

šəxta n.m. (pl. *šəxte*) **dirt, impurity** | *šəxtət naθyaθa* ear wax; *bar-hàdəx,*ˈ *y-aθέwa mdarèwale*ˈ *qa-t-lá-hawa píše ŝəxte*ˈ Then they would come and winnow it, so that impurities did not remain (B5:86); *mítla m-ŝəxta*ˈ She has died with dirt (= she is terribly dirty) (A27:24).

šəxtana adj. (f. *šəxtanta*, pl. *šəxtane*) **dirty**

šəxxaṭa n.m. (pl. *šəxxaṭe*) (A.) **match**

šəxxore (sing. *šəxxorta*) **charcoal** | sing. *šəxxorta* a piece of charcoal

šəlpa n.m. **blade**

šima n.m. **catastrophe** | *hay šima-lən* a catastrophe has come upon us (A51:8)

šima adj. (f. *šimta*, pl. *šime*) **huge; numerous** | *θélən b-áwwa ṭúra šîma*ˈ We came to this huge mountain (A17:10); *ʾan-ʾə́rwe šîme*ˈ those numerous sheep (A32:16).

šipa n.m. (pl. *šipe*) **volley** | *šipət topaθa* a volley of rifles

šipa adj. (f. *šipta*, pl. *šipe*) **worn down, erased**

šira n.m. (K.) **milk; sap (of tree), resin (of plants); paint** | *ṣawe šira guda* He paints the wall.

šiša (i) n.m. (pl. *šiše*) **iron bar, iron tip** | *šišət qɛsa* the iron tip of a wooden stick; *šišət bəsra*ˈ meat kebabs (B10:6).

šiša (ii) | *xəgga šiša* type of dance performed with a line of people in a row with linked arms

šišəlta n.f. (pl. *šišlaθa, šišəlyaθa*) **chain worn around neck; row of terraced stones** | Such stone terraces were built to prevent subsidence of earth in the foundation of a house and as a boundary marker on land; cf. *zənjir* chain for securing sth.

šišmanta n.f. **sesame grass** | used as kindling for a fire and also for stopping up holes in a wicker screen (B10:65)

šišme n.pl. **sesame**

škăra, ʾəškăra adj. invar. (K.) **clear, revealed; actual, real** | *xə́zwa škə̆ra wéwa*ˡ It was a clear vision (A2:6); *mṣáwəθ škə̆ra!*ˡ Speak clearly!; *gu-lə́bbət gàne márəlla*ˡ *lə́le-marəlla škə̆ra*ˡ He says it to himself, he does not say it openly; *lèle xə́lma,*ˡ *škə̆rəla*ˡ It is not a dream, it is real (A4:8); *məndi ṭə́šwa bət-páyəš škə̆ra*ˡ Any hidden thing will be uncovered (A38:15).

škira adj. (f. *škirta*, pl. *škire*) **thanked** | *škíra ʾaláha díya bsìmla*ˡ Thank God she has now recovered (A4:26); *škíra šə́mmux ya-ʾàlaha*ˡ Praise be your name, oh God (A9:4).

šlada n.f. (pl. *šlade, šladaθa*) **corpse**

šlama n.m. **peace; greeting** | *šlama-llux* greetings to you; *də́ryəlle šláma l-xa-báxta tàma*ˡ He greeted a woman there (B17:2).

šliθa n.f. **membrane of new-born calf that is ejected from the body by a cow when giving birth; sloughed skin of a snake**

šmayya n.f. **sky, heaven** | *šmáyya ʾíla denánta ṭla-ʾə́ra tə́rte qərṭále t-ʾəpra*ˡ Heaven owes the Earth two baskets of dust (the graves of Noah and Elijah) (D2:9); *síqle l-šmə̀yya*ˡ He went up to heaven (A1:27).

šmɛθa n.f. (pl. *šămaθa*) **report, rumour** | *šə́myəx b-šămáθə šəmmux*ˡ We have heard about you (A12:12).

šop- → *šawpa*

šor adj. invar. (K.) **loose, hanging down**

šoramiṭa n.m. (pl. *šoramiṭe*) **giant** | *hóle xa-šoramíṭa m-áxxa l-tămàha*ˡ *dmíxa kə́sla dìya*ˡ A giant from here to there (in size) is lying with her (A4:52).

šorba n.f. (K./A.) **stew (with beans)** | *rə́zza-w šòrba* rice and stew (B5:63)

šošanθa n.f. (pl. *šošanne*) **lily**

šotapaʾiθ adv. **socially**

špila adj. (f. *špilta*, pl. *špile*) **paralysed**

špina adj. (f. *špinta*, pl. *špine*) **level (ground)**

šraʾa, šraya n.f. (pl. *šraʾaθa, šrayaθa*) **oil-lamp** | *də-yamyannux b-ʾayya šraya* I swear to you by this lamp (C2:81).

šrape n.pl. **sleet** | *hóla ráya dúnye šràpe*ˡ It is sleeting

šrara n.m. **truthfulness** | *ʾáw b-šràrɛle*ˡ He is truthful.

štɛθa n.f. (pl. *štayaθa*) **drink** | *štɛθa-w xalta* food and drink

štiqa adj. (f. *štiqta*, pl. *štiqe*) **silent** | *štìqe!*ˡ Be quiet (pl.)!

ṣṭixa adj. (f. *ṣṭixta*, pl. *ṣṭixe*) **flat**

ṣṭrana → *šəṭrana*

šubaða n.m. **slavery**

šukraya adj. (f. *šukrɛθa*, pl. *šukraye*) **white** | *tərte yawne šukraye tiwe ṣadrə be-ḷaye* Two white doves sitting in the middle of the upper room (C2:29).

šula n.m. (pl. *šule, šulane*) **job, profession, business; affair, thing** | *ʾé-gət mən-d-ánna hàwe,*ˡ *šúla bṭ̂-ázəl la-qàma!*ˡ If there are these (gold pieces), the job will go ahead! (A4:15); *wíðta šùlɛla ṭ̂óṭ̂o*ˡ The old woman made (good) business (A4:22); *ʾítli šùla*ˡ I have something to do (A4:22); *ʾítli xáčča šùla mánnux*ˡ I have some business with you (A16:4); *ʾáti lítlax šùla*ˡ It is not your business (A5:2); *mur-ʾána šámmi Čùxole*ˡ *ʾu-lìtlux šúla*ˡ Say 'My name is Čuxo' and you will have no trouble (A7:18); *ʾɛ-dánə ṭ̂-íle wíðəlle ʾáwwa šùla*ˡ When he did this thing… (A29:48).

šulxaya adj. (f. *šulxɛθa*, m.pl. *šulxaye*, fpl. *šluxayaθa*) **naked, bare, bare-backed (animal)** | *dráya képe ʾáxni sxàya*ˡ *šluxayàθa*ˡ He threw stones when we (women) were swimming in the nude (A25:20); *koðánta b-ìðiyawa*ˡ *šulxèθa*ˡ The mule was in my hand, (while it was) bare-backed (B5:130).

šumana adj. (f. *šumanta*, pl. *šumane*) **badly behaved, naughty**

šumuθa n.f. **bad behaviour, naughtiness** | *ʾáw hóle wáða šumùθa*ˡ He is behaving badly.

šupra n.m. **beauty**

šuṗšuṗina n.f. (pl. *šuṗšuṗine*) **type of dove (grey in colour)**

šuq mən **except** → *šwq*

šuqa n.m. (pl. *šuqane*) **market** | *gə́rəg ʾázət šùqa*ˡ You must go to the market (A40:6).

šura n.m. (pl. *šure, šurane*) **fortification wall; protective fence** | *šúrə d-o-qàṣra*ˡ the wall of the palace (A25:53)

šuraye adv. **in the beginning, first of all** | *šùraye*ˡ *y-azəxwa*ˡ … *l-bēθ-be-kʸàlo*ˡ First of all we would go… to the house of the bride's family (B5:1).

šurela n.m. (pl. *šurele*) **party of close family after wedding**

šuša n.m. (pl. *šuše*) (K.) **glass; bottle** | *šušət panjăriya* window pane; *xa-šùša*ˡ a piece of glass (B11:20)

šut part. **deontic particle** (§15.1.1.5.) | *ʾən-maṣya šut-ʾoðala* If she can, let her do it (C1:11); *šút la-ʾàθe!*ⁿ Let him not come!

šuta n.f. (*šutăwaθa, šute*) **yoyo** (B11:17ff.)

šuxa n.m. **praise** | *ʾálaha šuxa-l-šámme* God, praise be to his name (A6:10)

šuxlapa n.m. (pl. *šuxlape*) **change**

šuxra n.m. **commandeering, commissioning** | *y-aθéwa šùxra*ˡ It would come by commissioned transport (B5:126).

šwalta n.f. **edible herb that produces glue; the glue extracted from this herb** | It turns yellow when cooked in rice

šwanəkke n.f. (pl. *šwanəkke*) **small booth covering beehives**

šwassər num. **seventeen**

šwawa n.m. (pl. *šwawe*) **neighbour** | *zílɛwa be-šwàwe*ˡ He had gone to the neighbour's house (A22:32).

šwawta, šwota n.f. (pl. *šwawyaθa*) **neighbour (f.)**

šwixa adj. (f. *šwixta*, pl. *šwixe*) **stupid**

šwiθa n.f. (pl. *šəwyaθa, šwiyaθa*) **bed; bedding** | *qedámta xzíθəlla gʸána gu-šwiyáθət gʸàna*ˡ In the morning she found herself in her own bed (A4:14); *šəwyáθa sə̆fări* travelling beds (A8:51).

šxinta (i) n.f. **sanctuary, altar**

šxinta (ii) n.f. **fever**

/T/

t → *D*

ta → *ṭla*

taʾla → *tela*

tăballa, teballa n.m. (pl. *tăballe, teballe*) (K.) **marble (glass ball)**

tabura n.f. (pl. *tabure*) (K./A.) **squadron, battalion** | *ʾu-ʾanna jwanqe tabure* and these young men are in squadrons (C1:21)

tabura adj. (f. *taburta*, pl. *tabure*) **modest, submissive** | *la duqrula qalulta kriθa, xliθa, taburta* Do not consider her to be small short, sweet and submissive (C2:74).

tabūt n.f. (pl. *tabute*) (A.) **coffin**

tabziya n.m. (pl. *tabziye*) (A./K.) **rosary** | *xməryáθə tabzìye*ˡ beads of rosaries (A25:34)

tábzune adv. **three years ago** | rarely used

tafša n.m. (pl. *tafše*) **small stone put in cement (*jabla*)**

tagbarta n.f. **administration** | *ʾáxni xoθ-tagbártət màlkəx*ˡ We are under the administration of the king (A8:80).

tagbir n.f. (pl. *tagbire*) **plan** | *qímla wídla tàgbir*ˡ They made a plan (A26:1).

taḥela n.m. (K.) **spleen**

tăhər, tăhəra, tɛra n.m. (pl. *tăhɛre, tɛre*) (K.) **type; kind** | *xa-tắhər t-šəkwána* a type of ant; *kùt-tăhər t-bắyitu*ˡ every kind you want (A7:23); *kúl xa-tắhər məndi ʾítle gàwa*ˡ He had every kind of thing in it (the shop) (A22:18); *mò-tăhər nášɛle?*ˡ What kind of person is he? (A25:31)

taḥqīq n.m. (A.) **investigation**

tajammuʿ n.m. (A.) **gathering, group**

tajər n.m. (A.) **merchant**

tajəruθa n.f. **trade; trade delegation, merchants** | *sáwi y-awúðwa tajərùθa*ˡ *mən-ʾAšìθa*ˡ My grandfather would conduct trade with Ashitha (B3:4); *zíltənwa tajərúθa tàma*ˡ I went on business there (A35:9); *tajərúθət bàbux*ˡ *kút-ṭla šánne xa-béna y-áθya làxxa*ˡ The merchants of your father come here every three years (A14:61).

tala → *tela*

taləmθa n.f. (pl. *taləmyaθa*) **small water pot**

talən n.m. (K.) **plunder, robbery** | *máxyət tàlən*ˡ *bážər dìyən*ˡ You have plundered our town (A52:14).

talga n.m. **snow; ice** | *ráya tàlga*ˡ It is snowing; *θéle tálga xa-θèθa*ˡ It snowed heavily (A25:41); *ʾu-míya ṣáli bíye díye páyəš tàlga*ˡ The water flows down it and becomes ice (B19:3).

tali n.f. (K./A.) **end, fate** | *ʾáyya táli dìyila*ˡ This is the end of me (A8:58).

talila adj. (f. *talilta*, pl. *talile*) **wet; fresh** | *julla talìla* a wet cloth; *dánət talìla y-áwe,*ˡ *y-áwe dwìqa*ˡ When it (the pile of leaves) is fresh, it is compact (B5:119).

taliluθa n.f. **wetness**

talma n.m. (pl. *talme, talmane*) **water pot**

táltalune adv. **four years ago** | rarely used

tama adv. **there** | Used to refer anaphorically to a location out of sight of speech situation: *bálki lá-hawe tàma*ˡ Perhaps he will not be there (A1:10); *sab-é-ga xúrme lìθwa táma*ˡ since at that time there were no dates there (in Barwar) (B5:12); *táxtɛla mútte hàtxa*ˡ *ta-ṣáli tàma*ˡ They have put a board like this in order to go down there (A22:10). Repeated to express movement: *ʾan-tre-maláxe… θéla pyáða táma tàma*ˡ Those two angels… came passing by (A4:44); *ʾáw brōn-málka θéle jwája tam-tàma*ˡ The son of the king came walking along there (A8:14). Temporal sense in expression *m-tama hodəx* from then onwards, afterwards: *xárθa m-táma hòdəx,*ˡ *xèri*ˡ *ʾína béθe díye kúlle qìða*ˡ Then, afterwards they look and see that all his house had burnt down (A48:7).

tămaha adv. **over there (in sight)** | *dáryəlla gu-qaṣxàne*ˡ *ʾu-múttəlla tămàha*ˡ He put them (the bones) in the pan and put it aside (A2:5); *hóle xa-šoramíṭa m-áxxa l-tămàha*ˡ *dmíxa kásla dìya*ˡ A giant from here to there (in size) is lying with her (A4:52).

tămaʾha adv. **far over there (in sight)** | *ʾu-xá-kepa muttéθəlle tămàʾha*ˡ She put a stone far away over there (A25:17); *tu-tămàʾha!*ˡ Sit way over there! (A25:17)

tambəl adj. (invar.) (K.) **lazy**

tămǝz adj. invar. (K.) **clean; clear** | *ʾíθ dukáne tắmǝz y-áwa ṭla-zrùta*ˡ There are places that are clear for sowing (B5:94).

tămǝzuθa n.f. **cleanliness**

tamma adv. **here** | *ʾáyya xá-šeta hóla támma láxxa léla mbaqorèllux*ˡ It has been a year that they have been here without asking for you (A26:78); *ʾu-táwra píšle mangóle ʾáxxa l-tàmma*ˡ The ox began to limp back and forth (A22:3); *qedámta qímtɛla bràta-w*ˡ *mxŭláltǝlla ʾay-dùkθa*ˡ *ʾáxxa-w tàmma*ˡ In the morning the girl got up and cleaned the place, and so forth (A17:27).

tamuz n.m. **July**

tăna adj. invar. (K.) **calm** | *lábbi píšle tắ̆na*ˡ I was relieved.

taniθa n.f. (pl. *tanyaθa*) **line (for hanging things)** | This was used to hang washing or to hang pieces of meat to dry

tannǝkka n.m. (pl. *tannǝkke*) (K.) **tin; gallon** | *ṭ̣là tannákke míya*ˡ three gallons of water (B5:211)

tanura n.m. (pl. *tanure*) **oven (for baking bread); section of women's blouse (*ṣudra*) that covers the legs**

tanurta n.f. (pl. *tanuryaθa*) **small oven**

taqa n.m. (pl. *taqe, taqane*) **branch; strand (of wool)** | *ʾáyya tunìθǝn*ˡ *mšaxlǝ́ppa mǝn-d-áwwa tàqa,*ˡ *ṯ̂-áza l-xa-táqa xèna hadíya*ˡ Now, our story will change from this branch and go to another branch (A8:20); *y-oðáxwa ṭ̣láθa táqe naqìðe* We would make three thin strands (of wool by spinning) (B10:46).

taqla-šǝkke n.f. (pl. *taqla-šǝkke*) **spider** (§10.17.1.)

taqlīm n.m. (A.) **pruning**

taqriban adv. (A.) **approximately**

taqṣīr-ḥāl n.m. (A.) **straitening of circumstances, impoverishment**

taqta n.f. (pl. *taqyaθa*) **twig, sprig** | *taqyáθǝt tŭ̆tun*ˡ (young) tobacco sprigs (B7:13)

tăra, tarra n.m. (pl. *tăre, tărane*) **door; leaf of large door (*darga*); beginning** | *dárga ʾítle tré tărane*ˡ A *darga* has two leaves; *ʾu-náše mapǝlxìwala*ˡ

*hal-tắrət sətwa*ˡ People would use it until the beginning of winter (B5:171).

tărare, tărɛre n.f. (pl. *tărare, tărɛre*) (K.) **small aluminium cup, small bowl**

tarba n.m. **grease**

tăreθa n.f. (pl. *tărayaθa*) **small door or opening in fence or hedge; oesophagus; small mountain pass**

tarəkka n.m. (pl. *tarəkke*) (K.) **corpse** | *ʾawə́dla tarə̀kka šáwpa díya*ˡ He made her into a corpse (A30:33).

tarəqta n.f. (pl. *tarəqyaθa*) **button** | *tráqəlle b-tarə̀qta*ˡ He is buttoning it up.

tarḥīl n.m. (A.) **evacuation**

tar-ʾIšo n.m. **a type of edible plant that grows in water** | similar to *kerapso*

tarīx n.m. (A.) **history**

tarjəmən n.m. (pl. *tarjəmane*) (A.) **interpreter, translator**

tasma n.m. (pl. *tasme*) **lace, tie** | *tásmə sə̀wle*ˡ shoe-laces (A11:12)

taščiθa n.f. **history**

tašciθanaya adj. (f. *taščiθanɛθa*, pl. *taščiθanaye*) **historical**

tata n.f. (pl. *tataθa*) **crest (of bird), cock's comb** | *tatət parre* comb of feathers; *tatət bəsra* comb of skin

taṭcīm n.m. (A.) **grafting**

tawba, toba n.f. (*tawbaθa*) **repentance; submission** | *ha-t̂-íla wíðta tóba l-iθáθe dìye*ˡ until she submitted to him (A12:31).

tawərta n.f. (pl. *tawraθa, tawriyaθa*) **cow** | *tawərti ʾa-Ġazale* my cow called Ġazale

tawqīᶜ n.m. (A.) **signature**

tawra n.m. (pl. *tawre*) **ox** | *tawri ʾo-Xammo* my ox called Xammo

tawta n.f. (pl. *tawyaθa*) **sitting, social gathering**

tawuna adj. (f. *tawunta*, pl. *tawune*) **lukewarm** | *miya tawune* lukewarm water

tawuzra n.f. **edible herb with wide leaves** | It is boiled and mixed with sumac berries (*smoqe*)

taxe n.f. (pl. *taxaθa*) (K.) **neighbourhood; district** | *šmili xa qalət zəmra l-a-taxət baθər ʾumra* I heard the sound of song in the neighbourhood beyond the church (C2:6).

taxərta n.f. (pl. *taxraθa*) **small pitta bread cooked on the side of an oven** | A larger form of this is called *zeðaya*

taxmanta n.f. (pl. *taxmanyaθa*) **thought, idea** | *háyyo xázəx mhàyərri*ˈ *bəd-taxmàntux*ˈ Come, let's see whether you can help me with any ideas (A21:2).

taxta n.f. (pl. *taxtaθa*) (K.) **board; wooden bed; throne.** (1) **board** | *mátti táxta hàtxa*ˈ *… ta-ṣáli gu-gòma*ˈ They would lay down a board like this… in order to go down into the basement stable (A22:10). (2) **wooden bed** | *damxáxwa b-gáre b-qèṭa.*ˈ *… kút-xa-w táxte dìye,*ˈ *táxtət qèsa*ˈ We would sleep on the roof in summer… everybody (would go up) with his bed, with his wooden bed (B10:58). (3) **throne** | *brōn-málka táwɛle l-d-a-tàxta*ˈ The son of the king sat on the throne (A14:43).

tayəmna n.m. **South**

taza adj. cs. (pl. *taze*) (K.) **good, fine, beautiful** | *xáyūθ-diye rába tàzɛyawa*ˈ His life was very good (B5:132); *xmárte díye msúrgəlla-w wíðəlla tàza*ˈ He had saddled his donkey and made it smart (A6:6); *barázwa tàza*ˈ It became thoroughly dry (B5:88).

tazi n.f. (K./A.) **mourning** | *hadíya gu-béθən tàzila*ˈ Now our house is in mourning; *bássa wuð-tàzi*ˈ Do not mourn any more! (A26:88).

tela, tala, taʾla n.m. (pl. *tele*) **fox**

televəzyōn n.m. **television**

telkefnaya n.m./adj. **man from Telkepe**

telta n.f. (pl. *telyaθa*) **vixen, female fox**

tena n.f. *tenta/tənta* n.f. (pl. *tene*) **fig; fig tree** | *xəzyali l-ʾaqrət tena* I saw her by the trunk of the fig tree (C2:24); *ṭarpət tena* fig leaves (put over pots of jajək)

təðya | *xuwwe təðya* **type of long snake**

təksa n.m. (pl. *təkse*) **sting (of a bee)** | *dabáša máxe tə̀ksa*ˈ A bee stings.

təkθa n.f. (pl. *təkke, təkkake*) **trouser cord**

təlpa, təlpapa n.m. (pl. *təlpape*) **eyelash**

təltassər num. **thirteen**

təmməl adv. **yesterday; tomorrow** | *təmməl b-lɛ́le* last night

təngər adv. **limping** | *hóle θéle téla tángər tə̀ngər*ˈ Then the fox came, limping (A35:18)

tənna n.m. **smoke** | *gu-yáma plíṭle xa-tə̀nna*ˈ A plume of smoke came out of the sea (A13:10).

təpna n.m. **mould**

təqna n.m. (K.) **grime** | *gáwət ṭína ʾu-tə̀qna*ˈ in the mud and grime (A27:28)

tərða n.m. **thick bush, vegetation**

tərwəθ- num. **two of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *tərwəθnən* the two of us; *tərwəθnɛxu* the two of you; *tərwəθnéy* the two of them.

tərya adj. (f. *triθa*, pl. *tərye*) **wet** | *julla tərya* a wet cloth

təxrunya n.m. (pl. *təxrunye*) **memory, memorial** | *ʾáxči ʾána təxrúnya dìyiˈ xázyɛn núne zòre*ˈ I have seen, as far as I remember, only small fish (B3:8); *xa-təxrúnya d-ó qadìša*ˈ a memorial of the saint (B5:69).

təxruθa n.f. **memory** | *kúlla xaràye,*ˈ *təxrùθi,*ˈ *plìlɛni*ˈ In the end, I remember, we all separated (B8:9).

tfaqta n.f. **meeting**

tiraka n.m. (pl. *tirake*) (K.) **wooden rod** | used as a spool for thread; used with metal tips as a component of a partridge trap (*suta*) holding up the trap doors (*dapyaθa*).

tirta n.f. (pl. *tiryaθa*) **bier, stretcher for carrying a corpse** | It consists of two carrying poles (*šaqle*) between which are tied pieces of cloth (*julle*).

tita n.f. (pl. *titiye, tite*) **silver tassel decorating head of a woman; small chain hanging from belt or bracelet**

tiwa adj. (f. *tiwta*, pl. *tiwe*) **sitting; inhabited** | *maθwaθa tiwe* inhabited villages

tiya n.m. (pl. *tiyaye*) (K.) **mountain peak**

t-la part. **without** | With nominal complement: *t-la-zùze*ˈ without money (A24:23); *t-lá mìya*ˈ without water (B5:14); *t-lá d-o-náša* without that man; *t-la-díyi* without me. With an infinitive: *zeðàye*ˈ *ʾáxlət mánna t-là-qṣaya*ˈ You should eat the pittas without breaking them. (A30:5); *ʾáni xáṭṭe huwèdi sáma zóda*ˈ *ʾi-zăríla t-là maštóye*ˈ The *huwedi* wheat they generally sow without irrigating (B5:94); *qímɛle jálde madə́nxa t-la-mxàya*ˈ He rose early while the dawn was not breaking (= before dawn broke) (A8:51); *qəm-dári ʾan-dáwwe heš-t-là bráza*ˈ They have poured out the *dawwe* without it yet being dry (B14:1).

tmanəssər, tmanessər num. **eighteen**

tmani num. **eighty**

tmanya num. (f. *tmane*) **eight** | *ʾurzət tmanya* the eighth man; *baxtət tmane* the eighth woman.

tmanyaθn- num. **eight of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *tmanyaθnən* the eight of us; *tmanyaθnɛxu* the eight of you; *tmanyaθnéy* the eight of them

to imper. pl. (Urm.) **come!** | *hár-to bàθri*ˈ Still come after me = Follow me further (A32:19).

tola n.m. (K.) **revenge** | *ṯ-ázən šáqlən tólət bàbi*ˈ I shall go to take revenge for my father (A28:8); *šqílla toléy xa-b-ʾəṣra*ˈ They took their revenge ten times over (B3:14).

tope n.f. (pl. *topaθa*) (K.) **gun, rifle** | *dɛríwa topàθa*ˈ They would fire guns (B10:34); *ʾaw-máxyəlla tópe gu-ṣádrət ʾàxa*ˈ He shot his gun at the chest of the agha.

toqe | *ʾəzza toqe* mottled coloured goat

tos n.f. (K.) **dust** | *ʾánna xéne kúlla hóla tíwta tos-ʾəlla* Dust had settled on all the others (A8:56).

totənta n.f. (pl. *totənyaθa*) **type of small sparrow**

totike n.f. **type of dance**

tpina adj. (f. *tpinta*, pl. *tpine*) **mouldy**

trab interj. **thud** | *ʾu-Gozáli tíwɛle tràb xaṣ-súsa*ˡ Gozali sat—thud—on the back of the horse (A8:39).

trapθa n.f. **blinking** | *trapθət ʾɛne* blinking of the eyes; *qəm-awádle b-trápθət ʾènе*ˡ He did it before you could bat an eyelid.

traθn- num. **two of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *traθnən* the two of us; *traθnɛxu* the two of you; *traθnéy* the two of them.

tre, treʾe num. (f. *tərte, tətte*) **two** | *ʾína qəm-xazə́nnəx ʾáti rába hawnànta,*ˡ *biš-mánni xa-tə̀rte*ˡ I see that you are very clever, twice as much as me (A40:16); *yómət trè* on the second day (A21:14); *ʾu-də-trè*ˡ and secondly, and moreover (B5:3).

trəssər, tressər num. **twelve**

troṣa n.m. **truth.** adv. **in truth, indeed**

truṗ interj. **thud**

trušeba n.m. **Monday**

tulla n.m. (pl. *tulle*) (K.) **hound**

tulləkθa n.f. (pl. *tulləkyaθa*) (K.) **small hound**

tuma n.m. **garlic**

tumbana n.m. **trousers**

tuna n.m. **straw from wheat (*xəṭṭe*)**

tuniθa n.f. (pl. *tuniyaθa*) **story**

tura n.m. (pl. *ture*) **pliable twig** | used for weaving baskets

turkaya n.m./adj. (pl. *turkaye*) **Turk, Turkish**

tŭtun, tuttun n.f. (K.) **tobacco**

tŭtur, tuttur n.f. (pl. *tŭtur, tuttur*) **caterpillar** | *tŭtur ṯ-abresəm* silk worm (which feeds on the mulberry tree *tuθa*)

tuθa n.m. (pl. *tuθe, tuθane*) **mulberry tree** | Types of tree include: *tuθa qazbi* large white mulberry, *tuθa turka* small yellow mulberry, *tuθa c̣uwa* smooth mulberry, *tuθət burane* field mulberry, *tuθət ʾərxe* mill mulberry.

tuθta n.f. (pl. *tuθe*, *tuθyaθa*) **mulberry fruit** | Types of berry include: *tuθe xware* white mulberries and *tuθe kome* black mulberries. The latter type is also know as *tuθə šemaye* or *tuθə šemi* Syrian mulberries. *tuθe karrəkke* unripe mulberries; *tuθta karrəkθa* an unripe mulberry.

twina adj. (f. *twinta*, pl. *twine*) **numb**

txo- prep. **under** (archaic form of *xo-* only found in proverbs) | *ʾíði txo-kèpɛla*[l] My hand is under a stone (D2:20); *míya txo-tùna*[l] (He is like) water under straw (D2:42).

txuma n.m. (pl. *txume*) **boundary**

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ṯolaza n.m./adj. (pl. *ṯolaze*) (K.) **self-indulging, libertine**

ṯanga n.m. (pl. *ṯange*) (K.) **saddle-girth, strap used to secure the cloth (*qurṯana*) on the back of an animal** | This was threaded through a metal ring.

ṯăpəkke, *ṯăpəkθa* n.f. (pl. *ṯăpəkke*, *ṯăpəkyaθa*) (K.) **trap for small birds; lid**

ṯar adj. (f. *ṯarre*, pl. *ṯarre*) (K.) **fresh, young** | *guṛe ṯarre* young men (C2:63)

ṯaražoke n.f. (pl. *ṯaražokăwaθa*) (K.) **small green bird** | It builds its nests in the eaves of houses

ṯarra adj. (f. *ṯarre*, pl. *ṯarre*) (K.) **fresh** | *xánči halúke ṯàrre*[l] some fresh plums (B8:19)

ṯoḳe n.f. (pl. *ṯoḳaθa*) **small bird with a distinctive song**

ṯoṯo n.f. (pl. *ṯoṯaθa*) **old woman; grandmother** | *ʾítlən ða-ṯóṯo y-óða xàrše*[l] We have an old woman who does magic (A4:13); *ṯoṯi* my grandmother; *kèla ṯóṯo?*[l] Where is grandma? (A7:24)

ṯurḳa n.m. (pl. *ṯurḳe*) (K.) **pollarded mulberry tree** | It is treated in this way in order that it produces twigs and wood for construction rather than fruit

ṯušṯirta n.f. (pl. *ṯušṯiryaθa*) (K.) **two- to three-year old female goat**

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ṭabăqa n.f. (A.) **layer**

ṭabʿan adv. (A.) **of course**

ṭabbaxta n.f. (*ṭabbaxyaθa*) (A.) **cook (f.)**

ṭabbəx n.m. **August**

ṭabəq, ṭabaq n.m. (pl. *ṭabăqe, ṭabaqe*) (A.) **floor, storey** | *músqəlla gu-ṭábaq t-ṭḷàθa*ˡ He took her up to the third floor (A4:37); *ṭabaq ḷaya* upper room; *ʾáwwa mən-tre-ṭabàqewa béθe díye*ˡ His house consisted of two storeys (B15:20).

ṭabli n.f. (pl. *ṭabliyāt*) (A.) **small table, side table**

ṭabuwana n.f. (pl. *ṭabuwane*) **tick**

ṭalana n.m. **side of mountains in Barwar that remains in the shade at sunrise** | *guði t-ʾəzzi d-ɛ-poše gu-ṭalana mxarpoše* My churn (made) from my goat called 'white spotted,' which looked for food on the shady mountain (C5:3).

ṭaləb prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *ṭalbe*) **towards; against (agressively)** | *ṭ-ázən ṣálən ṭáləb Yuwánəs ʾaramnàya*ˡ I shall go down to fight Yuwanəs the Armenian (A52:10); *ʾáwwa síqa ṭálba dìya*ˡ He went up towards her (A12:33); *wárɛle Barzə́kko ṭáləb d-ày*ˡ Barzəkko went in against her (attacking her) (A12:7); *zílle xa-béna ʾárya θéle ṭálbe díye*ˡ A lion once attacked him (A11:1).

ṭaləbuθa n.f. **betrothal** | *kúrsət ṭaləbùθa*ˡ the betrothal chair (A32:11)

ṭali n.m. (pl. *ṭaliye*) **viral illness** | *b-ṭali* ill (with disease) | *brōn-málka píšle b-ṭàli*ˡ The son of the king became ill (A8:32).

ṭalobaya n.m. (pl. *ṭalobaye*) **a person who performs *ṭalobe* (requesting the hand of a girl in marriage)**

ṭămaše n.pl. (K.) **joking, fun**

ṭamta n.f. (Urm.) **breakfast**

ṭana (i) n.m. **allusion; indirect criticism** | *mxaya ṭane l-* to make critical innuendoes against

ṭana (ii) → *ṭena*

ṭapaya n.m. (pl. *ṭapaye*) **slope (of a mountain)**

ṭapɛθa n.f. (pl. *ṭapayaθa*) **small slope (of a hill)**

ṭapoya n.m. **kindling (for fire)**

ṭappu **game of hide-and-seek** (B11:12ff.) → *ṭŭši-ṭŭšo, puq-əlli*

ṭapṭapa n.m. (pl. *ṭapṭape*) **small round unleavened bread on a griddle (*sela*)** | *ʾáw ṭapṭàpɛle*ˈ He is (like) unleavened bread (i.e. he lacks something).

ṭapθa n.f. (pl. *ṭapyaθa*) **drop (of liquid)**

ṭarəpθa n.f. (pl. *ṭarpe, ṭarpaθa, ṭarəpyaθa*) **leaf**

ṭarma n.f. (pl. *ṭarmaθa*) **porch, balcony; shelter (under a rock)** | *ṭ̂-awrəx xo-ṭármət ʾisàra*ˈ Let's shelter under the rock.

ṭarpa n.m. **leaves; gathering of leaves (for winter)** | *ʾo-t-hawéle ʾərwe*ˈ *y-áwe xzida ṭàrpa*ˈ A person who has sheep would have harvested leaves (B5:108); *hóle zíla ṭàrpa*ˈ He has gone to collect leaves.

ṭarpana n.m. (pl. *ṭarpane*) **scythe**

ṭarpe → *ṭarəpθa*

ṭarraša n.m., *ṭarrašta* n.f. (pl. *ṭarraše*) **bush, shrub**

ṭarxa n.m. (pl. *ṭarxe*) **new shoot in a plant or tree** | *ʾilána hóle mṭaróxe ṭàrxe*ˈ The tree is putting out shoots.

ṭaryanta n.f. (pl. *ṭaryanyaθa*) **flat bread basket** | woven out of willow fronds (*xelape*)

ṭasa n.f. (pl. *ṭase*) (A.) **small drinking bowl** | *xa-ṭásət dàwa*ˈ a golden bowl (A15:11); *xa-ṭásət mìya*ˈ a bowl of water (A26:42).

ṭašta, ṭašte n.f. (pl. *ṭaštaθa, ṭašyaθa*) (K.) **brass bowl (for kneading dough)**

ṭaṭiya n.f. (pl. *ṭaṭiyaθa*) **mat made of compressed wool**

ṭawa adj. (f. *ṭawa*, pl. *ṭawe*) **good** | *ʾáwwa náša sáwa rába ṭàwa-wewa*ˈ This old man was very good (A15:19); *ramšéxu ṭàwa*ˈ Good evening (*ramša* f.), *ʾéwe ʾən-θéla m-la-Ẓàwa,*ˈ *ṭ̂-áθe xa-yóma ṭàwa.*ˈ *ʾən-ʾéwe θéla m-Xawòra,*ˈ *ṭ̂-áθe xa-yóma kapòra.*ˈ If the clouds come from the side of the Zab (i.e. the East), a good day will come. If the clouds come from the Khabur

(i.e. the West), an awful day will come. (D2:16); *nə́mu ʾánna là-biš ṭáwe m-áwwa Gozáli xóni!*ˈ Surely they are not better than Gozali, my brother! (A8:72); *ʾay m-kulley buš ṭawa* She is the best of all (C2:42).

ṭawalta, ṭuwalta, mṭawalta n.f. (pl. *ṭawalyaθa, ṭuwalyaθa*) **game** | *lá-kulla danáne kúlla ṭawalyáθa ṭ-aθíwa mṭawòle*ˈ Not all games would be played at all times (B11:1).

ṭawaθa n.pl. **blessings, greetings** | *b-šɛ́na b-ṭawàθa!*ˈ Welcome and greetings!

ṭawpana n.m. **flood, deluge** | *dúnye hóla ráya ṭawpànaˈ* There is heavy rain.

ṭaxa n.m. (pl. *ṭaxe*) **pile, untied bundle (of grass and leaves)** | This was compressed with stones in order to facilitate it being carried as a bundle: *ʾan-xéne ʾiyáwa báθre báθre wáða ṭàxeˈ zóre qa-t máṣi mjămɛ̀walaˈ* The others were following behind him making small piles, so that they could gather them up (B5:118). Cf. *darza* tied bundle.

ṭaxana, ṭaxxana n.m. (pl. *ṭaxane, ṭaxxane*) **miller**

ṭaxanɛθa, ṭaxxanɛθa n.f. (pl. *ṭaxanyaθa, ṭaxxanyaθa*) **miller woman** | *ṭaxxána brōn-ṭaxxanɛ̀θaˈ* a miller the son of a miller woman (A32:27)

ṭaxime n.pl. **furniture**

ṭaxin n.f. **sesame oil**

ṭaxsa, ṭuxsa n.m. **ceremony; rite; way** | *l-d-áw ṭùxsaˈ* in this way (B6:11)

ṭaya n.m. (pl. *ṭayane*) **leaf (of a plant); leafy branch (of a tree)**

ṭayana n.m. (pl. *ṭayane*) **porter**

ṭayyara n.f. (pl. *ṭayyarāt*) (A.) **airplane**

ṭefi, ṭepi adj. (invar.) | *ʾənwa ṭefi/ṭepi* (pl. *ʾənwe ṭefi/ṭepi*) **type of long grape** | regarded as fine quality: *xoš-ʾáwər ʾu-ʾáxəl ʾu-šáte gu-pərdɛ̀sa-wˈ ʾiθ-táma ʾə́nwa ṭɛ̀piˈ ʾu-ḥuriyɔ̀tˈ* Let him enter, eat and drink in Paradise. There are there fine grapes and houris. (A2:8)

ṭema n.m. **taste; value**

ṭemana adj. (f. *ṭemanta*, pl. *ṭemane*) **valuable; tasty** | *képe ṭemàne* precious stones (A14:29)

ṭena, ṭana n.m. (pl. *ṭene*) **load (on the back of an animal)**

ṭera n.m. **noon, noonday sun** | *dān ṭera* noontime, *dárta l-yòma,*ˈ *ʾárwe gu-gòma.*ˈ *dárta l-sèra,*ˈ *ʾárwe l-ṭèra*ˈ If the sun has a halo, the sheep will be in the basement stable. If the moon has a halo, the sheep will be in the noonday sun. (D2:15)

ṭɛnana n.m. (pl. *ṭɛnane*) **bearer** | *ʾána ṭɛnánət mèntɛwən*ˈ You have done me a favour (I am much obliged to you).

ṭɛra, ṭara n.m. (pl. *ṭɛre*) **bird** | *ṭéra t-málka Šlèmun*ˈ hoopoe bird (D1:7)

ṭəfl n.m. (A.) **child**

ṭəlla n.f. **shade** | *ṭəlla ʾamurta* deep shade, *ṭəlla dalilta* light shade (with some sun shining through)

ṭəllaniθa n.f. **shade**

ṭəlma n.m., *ṭləmθa* n.f. (pl. *ṭəlme*) **large thin flat bread made on a griddle (*sela*)** | thinner than *zeðaye*

ṭəppa → *ṭəpθa*

ṭəpra n.f. (pl. *ṭəpraθa, ṭəppəryaθa*) **fingernail, toenail; claw (of bird, animal)** | *hóle qráṭa ṭəpràθe*ˈ He is biting his nails; *ṭəppəryáθət heywàne*ˈ animal claws (A19:2).

ṭəpθa n.f., *ṭəppiθa* n.f., *ṭəppa* n.m. (pl. *ṭəppe, ṭəppape*) **drop; dew; dot** | *lítlən ʾap-ṭəppa*ˈ We do not have a single drop; *xa-ṭəppíθa míya lìθ*ˈ There was not a drop of water (A14:24); *xa ṭəppət dəmma* a tear drop; *ʾən-qéra dúnye qedàmta,*ˈ *gə́lla dáwəq ṭəpθa*ˈ If it is cold in the early morning, a plant has dew on it.

ṭəšwa n.m. (pl. *ṭəšwe*) **something hidden, secret** | *məndi ṭə́šwa bət-páyəš šk̆ə̀ra*ˈ Any hidden thing will be uncovered (A38:15).

ṭima n.m. **value** | *mare ṭima* expensive

ṭina n.m. (pl. *ṭinane*) **mud** | *ʾáni qámθa báte bánye b-képa-w ṭìna*ˈ In the old days houses were built with stone and mud (B5:179).

ṭina adj. (f. *ṭinta*, pl. *ṭine*) **loaded** | *baxta ṭinta* a pregnant woman; *guði… mə̆yale ʾɛ-baxta ṭinta* My churn… which that pregnant woman churns (C5:4)

ṭəpša n.m. (pl. *ṭəpše*) **spot**

ṭiyariyana adj. (f. *ṭiyariyanta*, pl. *ṭiyariyane*) **relating to Ṭiyare** | *júlle ṭiyariyàne lóšiwa*ˈ They used to wear Ṭiyare clothes (B8:22).

ṭiza n.m. (pl. *ṭize*) **bottom, fundament** | *xá ʾaxwáθi mìra*ˈ *dráya šlámi ʾəllux*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáti tíwa l-ṭìzux!*ˈ A prince like me greets you and you are sitting on your bum! (A26:48)

ṭla-, ta- prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *ṭlale*) **to, for**. (1) Recipient, objective or beneficiary: *híwəlla quṣárta ta-màlla*ˈ They gave the pot to the mullah (A5:8); *wídla ʾixàla*ˈ *ṭla-yàla*ˈ She made food for the young man (A21:22). *ṭla-mo, ta-mo, ṭla-modi, ta-modi* why?: *ṭla-mò wídlux hátxa bíyi?*ˈ Why (literally: for what) have you done this to me? (A15:14). (2) Destination: *dáṛṛa ta-ʾaθrèy*ˈ They returned to their land (A4:27). (3) Temporal objective: *ʾawwa ʾaskaríya dìye*ˈ *ṭlà-kəma dánɛla?*ˈ For how long is this army of his? (A17:22). (4) Object marker: *ʾáwwa qṭìlle ṭla-ʾárya*ˈ He killed the lion (A11:1).

ṭlaba n.m. (pl. *ṭlabe*) **request** | *t-yawəllux kulla ṭlabe* He will give you all requests (C4:5).

ṭḷaθa, ṭḷa num. (f. *təḷḷəθ*) **three** | *ʾurzət ṭḷaθa* the third man; *baxtət təḷḷəθ* the third woman

ṭḷaθi num. **thirty**

ṭḷaθn- num. **three of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *ṭḷaθnən* the three of us; *ṭḷaθnɛxu* the three of you; *ṭḷaθnéy* the three of them; *ṭḷáθna t-bnóne dìye*ˈ His three sons (A24:3)

ṭḷaθušeba n.m. **Tuesday**

ṭlawxe n.pl. **lentils (red or green)** | *xa dəndəkθət ṭlawxe* a lentil seed

ṭliba n.m. (pl. *ṭlibe*) **fiancé, betrothed**

ṭlibta n.f. (pl. *ṭlibyaθa*) **fiancée, betrothed (f.)**

ṭliya adj. (f. *ṭlita*, pl. *ṭliye*) **asleep**

ṭolaza n.m. (pl. *ṭolaze*) (K.) **young man; womanizer** | *šəṭro ṭolaze baθra npile* (My) beautiful one (lover)—young men followed after her (C2:30).

ṭōq n.m. (A.) **necklace**

ṭoriya, ṭoriθa n.f. (pl. *ṭoriyaθa*) (K.) **jackal**

ṭoṭiθa n.f. (pl. *ṭoṭiyaθa*) **button** | synon. *tarəqta*

ṭrisa adj. (f. *ṭrista*, pl. *ṭrise*) **fat, obese**

ṭun n.m. (pl. *ṭunne*) (A./E.) **ton**

ṭunta n.f. **fruit of a tree** | *ʾímət mṭéla ṭúnte dìye*ˈ When its fruit became ripe (A17:33); *bíš yáwi ṭúnta ràbθa*ˈ They will yield more abundant fruit (B5:103).

ṭur → *ʾrṭ*

ṭura n.m. (pl. *ṭure, ṭurane*) **mountain; region of mountains** | *rešət ṭura* summit of a mountain; *palgət ṭura* middle, foothills of a mountain; *bə̌yən pálṭən ṣèda,*ˈ *ʾána ʾu-xuràne,*ˈ *gu-ṭùra*ˈ I want to go out hunting, I together with friends, in the mountains (A4:1).

ṭurši n.m. (pl. *ṭuršiye*) (A.) **pickled vegetable**

ṭurxa n.m. (pl. *ṭurxe*) **branch**

ṭusa n.m. **sign; example; ceremony; ritual** | *qa-ṭusa* for example

ṭŭši-ṭŭšo n.f. **the game of hide-and-seek** (B11:12ff.) → *ṭappu, puq-əlli*

ṭušṭuš n.f. (pl. *ṭušṭŭše*) **type of sparrow**

ṭuwa n.m. (pl. *ṭuwawe*) **coloured gem** | *ʾən-ṭúwət ʾisə́qθi bdìlɛle,*ˈ *mšadrátla ʾárye ṯ-àθa*ˈ If the gem of my ring changes (in colour), send the lions so that they come (to me) (A18:13).

ṭuwe part. **fortunate, blessed** | *ṭúwe l-d-o-yòma*ˈ How fortunate was that day. **if only** | *ṭúwe t-xazə̀nwale!*ˈ If only I had seen him!; *ṭuwe t-baryawa šarre* If only there would be war! (C2:63); *ṭuwe t-pɛšanwa nəšra* If only I were to become an eagle (C3:2); *ṭúwe l-ó yòma,*ˈ *b-xazə́nnəx ʾáti ʾə̀ni b-gáwrət*ˈ I look forward to the day when I see who you will marry (A25:18).

ṭuxma n.m. (pl. *tuxme*) **type; shape, form; way**

ṭxuna n.m. **milled produce**

/θ/

θaləθ adj. (A.) **third**

θallaja n.f. (A.) **fridge**

θani adj. (A.) **second** | *θáni yómət ʾéða* the second day of the festival (B10:2)

θarwa n.f. (A.) **wealth**

θəqa n.f. (A.) **trust** | *lítlux θə́qa bìyi*ˈ You do not trust me (A12:40)

θlaθa num. (A.) **three**

/v/

vərra adj. invar. (K.) **squint-eyed** | *vàrra píšle*ˈ He became squint-eyed (A24:28).

/w/

w, ʾu- part. **and** | Connective between clauses (§18.1.1.): *ʾáti tú-tiwa làxxa*ˈ *ʾu-súsi páyəš làxxa*ˈ *ʾu-ʾána bráta masqánna be-bába dìya*ˈ You stay here and my horse will stay here and I shall take the girl up to the house of her father (A29:41); *ʾo-yálət bə̆yàwale*ˈ *hóle ʾəθya-w*ˈ *qəm-yawə́lla yalə̀xθa ʾə́lli*ˈ The young man whom she loved has come and has given me her scarf (A4:24). Connective between nouns in a nominal phrase (§14.11.): *xá-yoma ʾíθwa xá-qaša ʾu-xà-malla*ˈ Once there was a priest and a mullah (A2:1); *lát-xila xa-lə́xma-w xa-bèta?*ˈ Have you not eaten a loaf of bread and an egg? (A17:15). Concomitative sense: *xá-gaya y-asqə̀xwa*ˈ *… kút-xa-w táxte dìye*ˈ Sometimes we went up (onto the roof)… everybody with his bed (B10:58). Before *hal* (until) expressing a range: *kùllən,*ˈ *mən-yále zóre ʾu-hal-gòṛe*ˈ All of us, from young children to old people (B16:4).

waʿd n.m. (A.) **promise** | *waʿdə ʿărab* (I give you an) Arab promise (A33:12)

waʾha → *ʾăwaha*

wădər adv. **outside** | *wădər mən-bɛθa* outside the house; *dámxəx l-wə̆dər*ˈ Let's sleep outside (A12:11); *ʾazítu palṭítu l-wə̆dər*ˈ You should go outside (B1:13).

wadi n.f. (A.) **valley**

waduθa, waʿduθa n.f. (A.) **promise** | *gə̌rəg mqàwlət*ˈ *ʾəlla*ˈ *kùllɛxu qaṭlənnɛ́xu.*ˈ *mə́re wadùθa.*ˈ ‘But you have to promise, otherwise I shall kill all of you.’ He said ‘It is a promise’ (A12:14–15); *waʿdùθa,*ˈ *kú-məndit bə̌yət ʾána ṯ-awðànnux*ˈ I promise, I’ll do for you anything you want (A24:47); *hát ʾóða wadúθa l-ʾiθàθux*ˈ until she makes a promise in your presence (A12:29).

waha → *ʾăwaha*

wajəbuθa n.f. (A.) **duty; task** | *ʾàxčə*ˈ *šoqàtlən*ˈ *ʾàxni*ˈ *ṯ-ázəx ʾay-wajəbúθa mkam-ləxla*ˈ Just let us go to complete this task (A12:14).

wajju n.m. (pl. *wajjuwe*) (A.) **utility; utensil, tool** | *ʾáwwa dáwəq wàjju*ˈ He will be useful (A29:18); *ʾàti*ˈ *la-dóqət wájju mànni*ˈ You have no use for me (A30:14). Pl. **personal effects** | *qímela múttəlla gu-ʾatnàbəl*ˈ *ʾu-wajjúwa díya kùlla*ˈ They put her in a car, with all her effects (A21:5).

wăkil n.m. (A.) **deputy**

wala n.m. **wide valley between mountains** | *ʾəzzət wala* wild goat, ibex (inhabiting mountains); *táwrət wàla*ˈ wild ox (A12:40).

wă-law → *law*

walla part. (A.) **and not** | *lɛ-šóqən lá xolamwàθa*ˈ *wálla ʾàti*ˈ *wálla yàmmi*ˈ *wálla ču-nàša*ˈ I shall not let servants, you, mother or anybody (look after them) (A8:18).

wana n.f. (pl. *wane*) **ewe, adult female sheep**

waqəʿ n.m. (A.) **reality**

wăraq, wăraqa n.m. (A.) **paper, sheet**

warda, wɛrda n.m. (pl. *warde, wɛrde*) **flower** | *warde žeri* wild flowers of various colours, including red and green growing in fields; *wardət dəbba* large red flower

wardakka n.f. (pl. *wardakke*) (K.) **type of duck** | This appears in Barwar in the winter

wardi adj. invar. (A.) **pink**

wardoniθa n.f. (pl. *wardonyaθa*) **type of small flower** | It consists of four petals.

wariða (i) n.m. (pl. *wariðe*) **root**

wariða (ii) n.m. (pl. *wariðe*) **vein/artery**

wasta n.f. (pl. *wastiyaθa*) **chest section of women's blouse**

waṣla n.m. (pl. *waṣle*) **joint, joining piece**

wăzīr n.m. (pl. *wăzire, wŭzărāʾ*) (A.) **vizier, minister**

wəlaya n.f. (A.) **region, district**

wɛθa n.f. **birth** | *ʾéðət be-yálda ʾíle wéθət Mšíxa*ˈ The festival of Christmas is (in commemoration of) the birth of Christ (B6:12).

/x/

xa, xaʾa num. (f. *ða*) **one; a** (§14.1.) | *ʾíθwa xá-ʾotəx yan-trè*ˈ There was one room or two (B5:199); *ʾíθwa xa-nàša*ˈ *gu-ða-màθa*ˈ There was once a man in a village (A48:1); *máxa xa-máša gu-be-ʾéne dìye*ˈ They put some oil on his forehead (B6:36); *xa-xá-ga márət béθa mbašəlwa ʾixála ʾímə-t hóya dànət ʾixála*ˈ Sometimes the owner of the house would cook food when it was time for food (B6:16); *xa-tré-yarxe xéne* one or two months later (A1:16); *šqílɛle xa-ʾárba xamšà bé'e*ˈ He took four or five eggs (A23:6); *bányət-əlla ʾótəx tàma,*ˈ *qa-t mabásma kút-yom xà*ˈ You have built her a room there in order for her to entertain somebody everyday (A4:52); *ʾáθyɛle xàʾa*ˈ A certain person came (A7:24); *ʾánna xà-ṯ-ila*ˈ These are one (= they are the same); *ʾína qəm-xazánnəx ʾáti rába hawnànta,*ˈ *bíš-mánni xa-tàrte*ˈ I see that you are very clever, twice as much as me (A40:16); *ʾən-háwe dàwa-žɨ*ˈ *ʾáxni t-yawáxla xa-b-ṭlàθa ʾálle díye*ˈ Even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold (A7:10); *kut-táwra máxyəlle xá gu-réše dìye*ˈ He struck each ox a blow on its head (A30:23).

xabra n.m. (pl. *xabrane*) (A.) **word** | *ʾítli xákma xabráne ṯ-amrənnəx*ˈ I have a few words to say to you (A4:40); *híwɛle xábra ta-wăzíre dìye*ˈ He gave word to his ministers (A4:9); *xábra plìṯle*ˈ Word went out (concerning the matter) (A4:21); *šɛ́x hìwle xábre díye*ˈ The sheikh has given his word (has promised) (A7:11); *ṯ-amránnux xa-xàbra*ˈ I would like to tell you something (A18:7); *wúð b-xàbri* Do as I say (A8:43); *wídla xàbra-xa*ˈ They made an agreement (A12:37); *ʾána hon-muθéθa ʾáyya qùwwət láxxa*ˈ *b-xábra ta-dìyi*ˈ I have brought this force here, which is at my command (A25:84).

xabuša n.m. (pl. *xabuše*) **apple; apple tree** | *xabušət ʾupra* sweet potato; *xabušət paθa* cheek bone; *xabúše kúlla msujlìley*ˡ They registered all the apple trees (B1:18).

xabušta n.f. (pl. *xabuše*) **apple, apple tree** | *xabúšta ʾixàla*ˡ apple tree bearing edible fruit (B5:104)

xaččа mod. adv. **a little (quantity); a few** (§14.9.7.) | *xáčča tùna* a little straw (B5:146), *xáčča ṭína* a little clay (B5:190); *xáčča šarníye* a few sweets (B5:40); *xáčča mən-d-án-našət bèθa*ˡ a few of the people of the house (B5:51). Used independently: *ṭla-d-áy dráyɛla xàčča*ˡ She serves a small amount for herself (A17:25). Modifier of an adjective: *xáčča zàmət iyáwa*ˡ It was a little difficult (B5:3), *xáčča mèrya xónəx*ˡ Your brother is rather ill (A32:27). Adverb: *xáčča plìšela* They fought a little (B5:163). *xaččа pyaša* almost: *xáčča pyáša plìšlun*ˡ They almost fought (B1:17).

xadama, xaddama n.m. (pl. *xadame, xaddame*) (A.) **servant**

xadamta, xadəmθa, xaddamta, xaddamθa n.f. (pl. *xadamyaθa, xaddamyaθa*) (A.) **servant girl**

*xăday*a n.f. (pl. *xădayaθa*) (A.) **lunch**

xadəmθa → *xadamta*

xadəssər, xadessər num. **eleven**

xaðuθa, xaduθa n.f. **joy** | *bréla ðá xadúθa gu-d-ò-ʾalma*ˡ A (great) joy arose among the people (A4:56); *hál ʾámra ṯ-óðəx xaðùθa*ˡ Give us an order for us to celebrate (A14:46).

xāf part. **lest** (A.) | *lɛ-ʾáθya mtanòye,*ˡ *xā́f náše šmàʾəllɛni*ˡ It cannot be told, lest people hear us (A35:11).

xăfîf adj. invar. (A.) **light (in weight)**

xakma, xamka mod. **some, a few, a little (quantity)** (§14.9.10.) | *xákma məndiyàne*ˡ some things (B5:62); *xákma šánne xène*ˡ a few more years (B5:208); *y-ápəxwale xámka yomàne*ˡ We would bake for a few days (B10:91); *báθər xákma dàna*ˡ After a little time (B165). Used independently: *xákma doqíwale xúwwa qaṭlìwale,*ˡ *xákma zădìwa*ˡ Some took hold of the snake and killed it, some used to be afraid (B5:78).

xala n.m. (pl. *xalăwaθa*) **maternal uncle** | *xáli!* Uncle! (vocative used to address men of an older generation irrespective of family relationship)

xălala, ḥălāl adj. invar. (A.) **lawful, pure** | *ʾáwwa béθa xălàla-wewa*ˈ This house was pure (A15:18).

xalaqta n.f. (pl. *xalaqyaθa*) **earring**

xalda-k̲ora n.m. (pl. *xalde-k̲ore*) **mole**

xaliya n.f. (pl. *xaliye, xaliyaθa*) (K./P.) **carpet**

xalqa (i) n.m. (pl. *xalqe*) **button, fastener, press-stud**

xalqa (ii) n.m. (pl. *xalqe*) **step, rung (on ladder)** | *xa xalqa mən-dăraje* one step of a flight of steps

xalta n.f. (pl. *xaltaθa*) **maternal aunt** | *xalti!* Aunt! (vocative used to address women of an older generation irrespective of family relationship)

xalta n.f. **food**

xalwa n.m. **fatless curds of boiled yoghurt water** (B6:43)

xam, xamma n.m. (with pronominal suffix: *xammi, xammux*, etc. pl. *xamme*) (K./A.) **worry, concern** | *dwiqa xamme* worried; *b-xamme* worried; *ʾan-políse wéla pyáša b-xammèy*ˈ The policemen began to become worried (A8:10); *xámmət qáša mămòðele*ˈ The only concern of the priest is the baptism (D2:52), i.e. he is not responsible for how a person turns out later; *lítla xàm,*ˈ *lítla xàmma*ˈ That's fine, no problem. *ʾxl xamma* to be careful, to care (*D* for): *gă̆rəg rába ʾáxlət xàm*ˈ You have to be very careful (B5:105); *dawèra*ˈ *ʾi-mtagbrəxwale rába,*ˈ *yáʿni y-axlə́xwa xam-dìye*ˈ We looked after a mule very well, we took care of it (B5:126); *xázəx məndiyáne brə̀ya,*ˈ *ʾu-lá-ʾaxlax xámma d-áyya bă̆lad,*ˈ *la-bàrya*ˈ If we see things happening and do not care for this country, it is not right (A18:8).

xaməštən adv. (K.) **again** | *ʾi-péši qa-tré-yomaθa ṭḷá yomàθa*ˈ *hál mə́dre xáməštən ṯ-àsəq*ˈ They wait for two or three days and then once again go up (to fetch loads) (B5:122).

xamima adj. (f. *xamimta*, pl. *xamime*) **hot**

xamiṣoke n.f. **bitter herb**, grows in thickets (*ṭarraše*)

xamka → *xakma*

xamoqa adj. (f. *xamoqta*, pl. *xamoqe*) **dark in colour, blurred in colour**

xamra n.m. **wine**

xamša num. (f. *xamməš*) **five** | *ʾurzət xamša* the fifth man; *baxtət xamməš* the fifth woman.

xamšassər num. **fifteen**

xamšaθn- num. **five of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *xamšaθnən* the five of us; *xamšaθnɛxu* the five of you; *xamšaθnéy* the five of them.

xamši num. **fifty**

xamšušeba n.m. **Thursday**

xamθa n.f./adj.f (pl. *xamaθa*) **beautiful; beautiful woman; young woman** | *ða-bráta rába xàmθa*ˡ a very beautiful girl (A29:26); *ʾíθwa xa-bàxta*ˡ *rába xàmθɛwawa*ˡ There was a woman who was very beautiful (A8:21); *ʾáy biš-xámθɛla m-kùlla*ˡ She is more beautiful than them all (A25:26); *baxtaθa xamaθa* beautiful women.

xamuṣa adj. (f. *xamuṣta*, pl. *xamuṣe*) **bitter, sour** | *ʾan-ʾánwe xamùṣela*ˡ the grapes are sour (A43:3).

xana (i) n.m **lap** | *réše díye múttəlle gu-xánət ða-bràta*ˡ He had put his head in the lap of a girl (A29:26); *yalúnka tíwɛle gu-xánət yəmme*ˡ The little child is sitting on the lap of his mother.

xana (ii) n.f. (pl. *xanaθa*) (A.) **square (on a board); line (on paper)**

xanana n.m. (pl. *xanane*) **goat with a brown face**

xananta n.f. (pl. *xananyaθa*) **female goat with a brown face**

xăn̆ăqiθa n.f. **whooping cough**

xanči, xanča mod. adv. **a little (quantity); a few** (§14.9.8.) | *ṣále xánči ʾúpra gu-réšət kʷàlo*ˡ A little earth falls on the head of the bride (B8:34), *xánči halúke ṭ̂àrre*ˡ a few ripe plums (B8:19); *ʾən-wɛ́wa xàn̆či*ˡ If they were few… (B10:6). Modifier of an adjective: *ʾína bušála t-ʾoðáxwala ṭlàlən,*ˡ *xánči miyànta*ˡ But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was a little watery (B10:17). Adverb: *šaxə́nwa xàn̆či*ˡ It heated up a little (B5:154), *hal-qayərwa xán̆či*ˡ until it cooled a little (B5:164).

xanjər n.f. (pl. *xanjɛre*) (A.) **dagger** | *qəm-xarə́zla xánjər gu-kàse*ˡ He stabbed the dagger into his stomach.

xanpa n.m. (pl. *xanpe*) **pagan, heathen** | *ʾu-Dùre*ˡ *píštɛla muqyàmta*ˡ *muxràwta*ˡ *šawwà gáye*ˡ *l-xànpe*ˡ *qaṭòle*ˡ *t-mušəlmàne*ˡ Dure was evacuated and destroyed seven times by pagan murderers of Muslims (B2:2).

xanqa-xona n.m. (pl. *xanqa-xone*) **small white flower**

xanum n.f. (K.) **lady** | *dax-xànum ʾay-tíwta gu-béθa*ˡ Like a lady she sits at home (A37:3).

xanuθa n.f. (pl. *xanăwaθa, xanuyaθa*) **loom for weaving**

xapa n.m. (pl. *xape*) **wooden peg used to connect the main body of a plough to the beam (*mašana*)**

xapaya adj. (f. *xapɛθa*, pl. *xapaye*) **protecting, caring** | *báxta xapèθa*ˡ a woman is caring (A40:2).

xapro n.f. (pl. *xaprowaθa*) **small metal trowel for digging up vegetables**

xaqla n.f. (pl. *xaqlaθa*) **field (with irrigation)**

xăraba n.m. (A.) **ruin** | *ʾu-máθa šwíqta xăràba-w*ˡ and the village was left a ruin (B1:8).

xărama adj. invar. (A.) **unlawful, villainous** | *ʾáti xa-náša xăràmət*ˡ You are a villainous person (A16:11).

xa-ramša n.f. (pl. *xa-ramšaθa*) **dinner** | *mó ṯ-áxləx xa-ràmša?*ˡ What shall we eat for dinner? (A2:2)

xăraškăra n.m. **magician**

xaraya adj. **last, recent** | *ʾáy wela-ʾá-bráta xarέθət mṭúmra gu-Dùre*ˡ That was the last girl to be buried in Dure (B1:12); *ʾaw-tíwɛle xaràya*ˡ He sat last (in the queue) (A17:31); *máṭət ʾɛ-xarέθət ʾòtəx*ˡ You will reach the last room (A24:16); *ʾánna šánne xaráye* in recent years (B3:9); *táwra zìlle*ˡ *b-xarèθa*ˡ Finally the ox died (A22:6); *ʾɛ-xarέθət xarèθa*ˡ in the end (A27:36).

xaraye adv. **finally** | *bánta xaráye* (A29:65), *béna xaràye*ˡ (B5:43) for the last time.

xarayuθa n.f. **finality, end** | *bas-tàma*ˡ *qáṣṣət dìyəx*ˡ *ʾu-t-xònəx*ˡ *pέša màṭya*ˡ *l-xarayúθa dìya*ˡ There your story and that of your brother will (finally) reach its end (A8:88).

xarbuqta n.f. (pl. *xarbuqyaθa*) **knot (joining two pieces of rope); loop of a bird trap (*nəšwa*) made of horse hair; metal loop set to catch pigs by the legs**

xarədla n.m. **mustard**

xărīb n.m. (A.) **stranger, foreigner**

xarja n.m. (pl. *xarje*) (K./A.) **tax** | *maθyánət xárje-w bárjət boṭanàye*ˡ the collector of taxes and the like of the people of Botan (A26:34)

xarnɛsa n.m. (pl. *xarnɛse*) **hand-held distaff** | Wool is twisted around bottom and pulled by connecting it to a spindle (*kuša*).

xarsupana adj. (f. *xarsupanta*, pl. *xarsupane*) **rough**

xaršana adj. (f. *xaršanta*, pl. *xaršane*) **non-fruit-bearing (tree)**

xarṭmane n.pl. (sing. *xarṭamta, xarṭamiθa*) **chickpeas**

xarupa adj. (f. *xarupta*, pl. *xarupe*) **sharp**

xarθa adv. **finally; afterwards, then; recently** | *ʾé-ga xárθa θéle xa-jăwāb qa-màlka*ˡ Then, in the end, a report came to the king (A8:5); *wéle spàra,*ˡ *xárθa xá-ga xéta xzèle*ˡ *ʾo-dìdwa*ˡ *plíṭle mən-d-ó bórət kèpe*ˡ He waited and then he saw the fly come back out of the pile of stones (A11:5); *yubqáθa b-áyya xàrθa*ˡ Skirts (have been worn only) recently (B10:41).

xasla n.m. (pl. *xasle*) **cover put over mouth of small animals when they are weaned to prevent them from sucking**

xāṣ adj. invar. (A.) **special** | *y-áwe mtúrṣa xāṣ-d-ó-məndi*ˡ It is made specially for that thing (B5:193).

xaṣa n.m. (pl. *xaṣe*) **back; waist** | *ʾu-yatáxwa xāṣ-koðánta* We would sit on the back of the mule (B5:138); *xákma dwáqa xáṣe dìye*ˡ *ʾu-xákma darqúle dìye*ˡ Some supported him and others were against him (A7:20); *ʾíθwa b-xáṣi kamằra*ˡ There was a belt around my waist (B10:37).

xaṣina n.f. (pl. *xaṣine*) **axe**

xaṣira n.f. (pl. *xaṣire*) (A.) **mat**

xašiše n.pl. **boiled wheat**

xašlana n.m. (f. *xašlanta*, pl. *xašlane*) **crusher; a person using a grinding stone known as *xašola***

xašola n.m. (pl. *xašole*) **hand-held grinding stone for grinding rice or wheat**

xašolta n.f. (pl. *xašolyaθa*) **grinding base with hole in centre in which *xašola* is turned**

xašša n.m. **sadness; suffering** | *bǎ́yən lá-ʾaθi b-xàššaˈ* I do not want them to come in sadness (A4:33); *ʾo-m-xášše mìtleˈ* He (almost) died of his grief (A32:12); *rutət xašša* Good Friday.

xaššana adj. (f. *xaššanta*, pl. *xaššane*) **sad** | *ṣléla xaššàne l-bɛ́θaˈ* They went down to their home sadly (A14:20).

xatma n.m. (pl. *xatme*) **muzzle (preventing an animal from eating grain)**

xatta n.m. (pl. *xatte*) **line drawn on field by a plough** | *ʾən-xátta p̰ːilleˌˈ gnáyət táwra d-o-gòṛaˈ* If the line (drawn by the plough) is crooked, it is the fault of the big ox (D2:19).

xatun n.f. (pl. *xatune, xatane*) (K.) **lady** | *ṭlá-mma xatáne b-xá xerìya.ˈ* Three hundred ladies with one head cover (D1:9); *síqla mára ṭla-xàtunˈ* She (the servant girl) went up and told her mistress (A25:57).

xaṭaya n.m. (pl. *xaṭaye*) **sinner**

xaṭɛθa n.f. (pl. *xaṭayaθa*) **sinner (f.)**

xaṭər n.f. (K./A.) **respect; good will; favour** | Only in idiomatic expressions: *xaṭərux t-la twirali* I who have not broken your respect (= have not disappointed you) (C2:13); *xaṭə́rux lá toránnaˈ* I shall not break your respect (= I'll do what I can for you); *bàsˈ ʾɛ́ kawázət míya mattátla kəs-réša díya ʾu-bàs.ˈ mára bábi hɛ̀ˈ dàx lítlux xáṭər.ˈ* 'Put out for her only that jar of water by her head and that's all.' She said 'My dear, yes, I'll do as you say (literally: how do you not have respect).' (A21:10–11); *màreˈ ʾána ʾədlɛ́le ʾárxa ṯ-áwən láxxa kàsləx.ˈ mára málka dax-lítlux xàṭərˈ* He said 'Tonight I shall be a guest in your home'. She said 'Oh king, you are welcome.' (A17:24); *ṭlíbɛle xáṭər mànnaˈ* He took his leave from her (literally: He sought favour from her) (A25:66). Part. **because; for the sake of.** (1) **because** | *ṭlá-bnone xilìli,ˈ báxta xilàli,ˈ xáṭər ṯ-ínwa mḵonàdrəllaˈ* I have eaten the three children, I have eaten the wife, because I rolled her (down the hill) (A20:12). (2) **for the sake of** | *mút ṯ-óðən ʾàna,ˈ xáṭər ʾaláha?ˈ* What can I do, for God's sake? (A31:2); *ʾámər xáṭər ʾalàha,ˈ ʾu-xáṭər mšìxa,ˈ bas-lá dáqrət bìyiˈ* For the sake of God and the Messiah, do not touch me (A15:21); *xáṭər xaṭràna*ˈ for the sake of respect (B5:10); *bəd-xáṭər d-ó-xona zòraˈ* for the sake of that young brother (A12:22).

xaṭorta n.m. (pl. *xaṭoryaθa*) **washing board** | *qaṭlíle b-xaṭoryàθa*ˈ They kill him with washing-boards (B19:9); *bəlbəlàwa*ˈ *kut-la-yàwa*ˈ *xaṭórta gàwa*ˈ Bəlbəlawa, whoever does not give, (will have) a washing board (knocked) on him (said by children when going around the houses asking for gifts in the celebrations at the end of winter B7:8).

xaṭrana n.m. (K./A.) **respect** | *xaṭranət babux* out of respect for your father; *xáṭər xaṭrànaˈ* for the sake of respect (for our family relationship) (B5:10).

xaθa n.f. (pl. *xaθăwaθa*) **sister**

xaθa adj. (f. *xaθta*, pl. *xaθe*) **new**

xawəlta n.f. (pl. *xawəlyaθa*) **short rope** | made of goat's hair

xawla, ḥawla n.m. (pl. *xawle*) **rope**

xawra n.m. (pl. *xawrăwaθa, xawrane, xure*) **friend**

xawxa n.m. (pl. *xawxe*) **peach** | Types of peach: *xawxa koma* black peach, *xawxa ʕ̌uwwa* white smooth peach, *xawxa serani* white peach, *xawxa məzzana* hairy peach; *ʾilanət xawxa* peach tree.

xaya adj. **alive.** f. *xεθa* **in child birth** | *baxta xεθa* woman who is giving birth or has recently given birth (forty or less days beforehand) (pl. *baxtaθa xayaθa*).

xayaṭa n.m. (pl. *xayaṭe*) **tailor**

xaye n.pl.tant. **life** | *b-xàyele*ˈ He is alive; *kúlla záwni b-xáye ṯ̂-àwyən*ˈ all the time I am alive (A4:43); *bróni mìθεle.*ˈ *šwíqəlla xáye bìyəx.*ˈ My son is dead. He has left his life (which remained to him) to you. (A4:42)

xayən adj. invar. (A.) **treacherous**

xayənuθa n.f. **treachery** | *y-àwəð xayənúθa*ˈ He acts treacherously (A47:3).

xayoṭa n.m. (pl. *xayoṭe*) **sewing machine**

xayuθa n.f. **life; livelihood; living creature; vital feature** | *rába xayúθa basìmtεwa*ˈ Life was very pleasant (B3:7); *hal-hadíya xayuθèy*ˈ *l-xabùšela*ˈ Until now people's livelihood is made by apples (B5:75); *ku-xayúθət ʾáwər gu-d-ay-wàdi*ˈ *ʾánna šəkwáne ṯ̂-axlìla*ˈ Every living creature that enters in this valley will be eaten by the ants (A14:55); *ʾáwwa*

súla ʾíle xá xayúθət ʾaqàra kúlle Manure is a vital feature of the entire farm (B5:138).

xazada n.m. (pl. *xazade*) **harvester** | *xazáda là-wele,ˈ mágla mgubèleˈ* He has not harvested anything, but he has chosen his scythe (D2:27), i.e. a bad workman blames his tools.

xăzăliya n.f. (pl. *xăzăliye*) (K./A.) **gazelle**

xăzina, xəzzina n.f./m. (pl. *xăzine*) **treasure; storage vessel.** (1) **treasure** | *xa-xəzzìnət dáweˈ* a treasure of gold (A11:7); *xu-lanwa-mírəllux maxzə́tli xăzìnaˈ* I had not told you to show me a treasure (A14:23). (2) **storage vessel, tank** | *dwíqla xəzzíne məndiyáne mìyaˈ* They kept the water in tanks and the like (A11:18).

xăzinta, xəzzinta, xəzzita n.f. (pl. *xəzzinyaθa*) **small storage bin** | This consisted of a hole excavated from the ground covered with wood and earth. In general it was used to store nuts (such as *baluṭe* acorns) and root plants (such as *šalgəmme* turnips).

xelapa n.m. (pl. *xelape*) **willow tree, branch of a willow tree** | *ʾíθ xelápa ma-xelàpa.ˈ šangabìˈ ṭúrxe díye ʾi-ṣáli l-ăra.ˈ xelápa drəst-ile.ˈ* There are different types of willow. The weeping willow—its branches hang down to the ground. The (common) willow is straight.

xelapta n.f. (pl. *xelapyaθa*) **small willow tree**

xena, xrena adj. adv. mod. (f. *xeta/xreta*, pl. *xene/xrene*) **other, another; more; again; discourse particle.** (1) adj. **other, another** | *mattúli xá-šəmma xènaˈ* Give me another name (A7:2); *m-ya-góta xètaˈ* from the other side (A25:30); *ʾu-mòdi-xenət xə́zya?ˈ* What else have you seen? (A17:8). Additional: *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawənnəxˈ* I shall give you another bag like that one (A4:16). Used independently: *xa-xéna* another one (A23:27); *ða-xéta* another one (A22:9); *ʾo-xéna* the other one (A4:45). (2) **more** | *tálga xènaˈ* more snow; *xákma šə́nne xèneˈ* a few more years (B5:208). (3) adv. **more, again** | *ʾána xéna šúla la-pàlxənˈ* I shall not work any more (A23:40); *xéna ṛìšɛle.ˈ* He woke up again (A14:95). (4) mod. **more** | Modifier of a quantifer: *šqílənwa xáčča xéna qàlyaˈ ta-ṯ-axlə́nne b-ʾùrxaˈ* I took a little more roasted meat to eat on the way (A23:10); *zmúrrən xánči xènaˈ* Sing to us a little more (A35:8). (5) **discourse particle** | expressing boundary and prominence: *xéna políse mù ṯ-óði?ˈ* Well, what should the police do? (A8:9); *xéna ʾána*

*qémən ʾázən ʾùmra*ˈ Well, I shall go to church (A37:2); *bàssa xéna*ˈ Well that is enough (B15:35).

xēr adj. (A.) **good** | *xə̀r-ila?*ˌ How are things? (A22:16); *ha-xə̀r?*ˌ Are you all right? (A27:22); *ʾu-málla ṛìšɛle.*ˈ *móre ha-xə̀r málla?*ˌ The mullah woke up. He said '(Did you sleep) well, mullah?' (A2:5); *ʾən-šálla xə̀r hawya-ʾúrxa*ˈ God willing, the way will be good (A8:69); *xēr-ʿala-xə̀r* Well done, good for you (A12:26); *ʾáy ṛìšla*ˈ *qá-t ʾáwwa lɛ́le ʾə́θya b-xə̀r*ˈ She felt that he had not come with a good purpose.

xera, xerətta n.f. (A.) **enthusiasm, zeal** | *dáryɛle xéra b-gáne dìye* He took courage (A8:57); *xére zílle mṭušyàle gáne*ˈ He quickly went and hid himself (A24:46); *mtuxmánne ṯ-áwəð nxìlθa*ˈ *ṭla-madréla b-xerətta*ˈ He thought of doing a mischievous trick to make her throw it (the cheese) down in her excitement (A49:2).

xerətta → *xera*

xeriya n.f. (pl. *xeriyaθa*) (K.) **black head cover** | Riddle: *ṭlá-mma xatáne b-xá xerìya:*ˈ *harmònta*ˈ Three hundred ladies with one veil: Pomegranate (D1:9)

xeta, xreta → *xena*

xewa n.m. (pl. *xewe*) **hook used to adjust threads when weaving**

xɛla n.m. (pl. *xɛlăwaθa*) **strength, force, power** | *xéla díya mòdile*ˈ *t-mazvə̀rra?*ˌ What is its power, which turns it? (B6:53); *ʾə́θye xɛlăwáθət maymúne dart-yóma* The forces (of the army of) the monkeys came the next day (A14:54); *ʾáni b-xéla bă̆yi mbarxíla ʾəlli*ˈ They want to marry her to me by force (A7:18); *b-xə̀la náše xazíle*ˈ People scarcely see him; *ʾu-b-xélət ʾalàha,*ˈ *har-Dúre lə̀-ʾaθya l-manšôye*ˈ By the strength of God, Dure will never be forgotten (B2:7). *draya xɛla* to apply force, to struggle; to attempt: *dáryɛle xə̀la*ˈ *ta-t-šarə̀ṭla gáne*ˈ He struggled to release himself (A26:81). *ṣlăwaθət xɛle* prayers for his strength, *goriyət xɛle* a sacrifice for his strength (blessings prefixed to names of saints): *ṣlăwaθət xɛle Mar-Sawa* the Blessed St. Sawa; *Mar-Gwirgis goriyət xɛle* the Blessed St. George.

xɛlana adj. (f. *xɛlanta*, pl. *xɛlane*) **strong, mighty, huge** | *ʾína rába gab-bàra*ˈ *xɛlàna-wewa*ˈ But he was a very mighty warrior (A11:1); *ṣríxɛle xa-qála ràba xɛlána*ˈ He shouted a mighty shout (A11:3); *xa-pláša ràba xɛlána-wewa*ˈ It was a very fierce war (A11:16); *məṭra xɛlanta* heavy

rain; *talga xɛlana* heavy snow; *xa-xlùla*ˈ *ràba xɛlána*ˈ a huge wedding (A12:23). Used adverbially: *qəm-maxéla ʾáqla bíš-xɛlàna*ˈ He struck her leg harder (A33:12); *ʾína ṣláya xɛlànɛle*ˈ It (the river) is flowing down in spate (A14:58).

xɛpuθa n.f. **fog** | *ʾódyo xɛpùθɛla*ˈ It is foggy today; *qáyəm qèdamta*ˈ *ʾína xɛpùθa*ˈ *ryáma mən-ʾǎra*ˈ He got up in the morning and found that fog was rising from the ground (A25:43).

xəbloke n.f. **a type of green herb** | eaten by partridges

xəbra n.f. (A.) **experience, knowledge**

xəðya n.m. (pl. *xəðyăwaθa*) **breast** | *reši bēl xəðya l-xəðya* My head is between one breast and another (C2:72).

xəðya adj. (f. *xðiθa*, pl. *xəðye*) **joyful, happy**

xəðyuθa n.f. **joy; joyful occasion** | *sab-ʾó-yoma xa-xəðyùθɛwa*ˈ because that day was a joyful occasion (B5:62).

xəgga n.m. (pl. *xəgge*) **dance performed with a line of people in a row with linked arms** | *xa-d-ánna dwíqɛwa réšət xàgga*ˈ One of them was leading the head of the dance (B15:80). There are various types of this dance including: *xəgga xḷiya* (with bending of knees), *xəgga belati* (same as *xəgga xḷiya*), *xəgga šexani*, *xəgga guršeni*, *xəgga šiša*, *xəgga yaqura*.

xəlāl prep. (A.) **within (time), during** | *xəlā́l tre-yomè*ˈ within two days (A8:38)

xəllepa n.m. (pl. *xəllepe*) **beehive**

xəllət, *xəlleta* n.f. (pl. *xəllaθa*, *xəlletaθa*, *xəllətyaθa*) (K./A.) **gift** | *ʾítli xəlléta maxlánna qa-d-àni* I have a gift to give to them.

xəlma n.m. (pl. *xəlme*) **dream** | *ʾáwwa málka xzéle xa-xàlma*ˈ This king had a dream (A1:2); *ʾu-málka mšuréle zdàya xáčča*ˈ *… xálme díye pàləṭ*ˈ The king began to be rather afraid… that his dream would come true (A8:6).

xəlmət, *xəlmətta* (pl. *xəlmətte*) (K./A.) **service (good deed or church ceremony)** | *kəmát ʾáwəð náša xəlmàtta,*ˈ *hár béna xaràye*ˈ *mxáyəlle l-máre dìye*ˈ Whenever a man does a service, always in the end he strikes the man performing the service (A47:2); *gu-d-ánna tre-ʾumràne*ˈ *xálmət ʾetanéθa y-oðáxwala gáwe dìye*ˈ In these two churches we used to hold church services (B1:6).

xəlṭa n.m. (pl. *xəlṭe*) (K./A.) **mistake**

xəlxale n.pl. (sing. *xəlxalta*) (K./A.) **anklets**

xəlya n.m. **milk** | *xóni ʾo-zóra l-xə̀lya wéwa*ˡ My younger brother was on milk (B9:16)

xəlya adj. (f. *xliθa*, pl. *xəlye*) **sweet**

xəlyana adj. (f. *xəlyanta*, pl. *xəlyane*) **producing milk** | *ʾítle ða-ʾə̀zza*ˡ *rába xəlyàntɛla*ˡ He has a goat, which produces a lot of milk.

xəlyuθa n.f. **sweetness; sweet foods**

xəmma n.m. **heat** | *léle xə̀mma ʾəllέxu?*ˡ Are you not hot?; *gu-bέθa xə̀mma ʾiyéwa*ˡ It was hot in the house (B5:204); *tawə̀rwa xámma* The heat would break (in the evening) (B5:160).

xəmmana adj. (f. *xəmmanta*, pl. *xəmmane*) **hot** | *xa-xamšušéba t-Támuz xəmmə̀na*ˡ One Thursday in hot July (B1:15).

xəmmərta, xmərta, xəmmərθa n.f. (pl. *xəmre, xəmməryaθa, xməryaθa*) **bead** | *xəmmárθə šə̂nθa*ˡ sleeping bead (magic bead used to induce sleep) (A19:3); *xməryáθə tabzìye*ˡ beads of rosaries (A25:34); *xmərta goṛta* large bead (at the end of a rosary)

xəmxəma n.m. **rash**

xəmyana n.m. **father-in-law**

xənne adj.f. **chestnut coloured (goat)**

xəppərta n.f. (pl. *xəppəryaθa*) **mud pit** | where white clay for the facing of houses is excavated

xəppo n.f. (pl. *xəppowaθa*) **bridal veil**

xəpyaya adj. (f. *xəpyεθa*, pl. *xəpyaye*) **barefoot**

xərba adj. invar. **bad**

xərbayuθa n.f. **evil**

xərqa n.m. (pl. *xərqe*) **ring** | in neck cartilage: *bắləwala yabíšta xərqá xərqá gu-qðála díya mabyə̀nwa*ˡ When she swallowed a raisin, it could be seen, ring by ring in her neck (A8:63); *xərqət ʾilana* growth-ring in tree; *xərqət qana* growth-ring in horn.

xərroza n.m. (pl. *xərroze*) **string of dried fruit (e.g. figs, dates)**

xərsa **leprosy; mange; eczema** | *ṭápya xàrsɛ́le*ˈ He is afflicted with leprosy (A32:21).

xərša n.m. (pl. *xərše*) **magic** | *wídla xàrša*ˈ She did an act of magic; *ʾítlən ða-ṯóṯo y-óða xàrše*ˈ We have an old woman who does magic (A4:13).

xərṭa n.m. (pl. *xərṭaṭe*) **line** | *xərṭaṭət ʾiða* lines of the hand

xərxaṣa n.m. (pl. *xərxaṣe*) **thick sash belt** | worn by men and women

xərxəθ, l-xərxət adv. **upside down, back to front** | *kúlla mnúle l-xàrxəθ*ˈ They (the mules) are shoed back to front (with the shoes the wrong way round) (B4:13).

xərza n.m. (pl. *xərze*) **string (of beads, roe, spawn); amulet hung around neck in the form of a necklace to deter jinn** | *xərzət xəmre* string of beads; *xərzət kθɛθa* string (of small unlaid eggs in stomach of a) chicken; oviduct of a chicken; *xərzət pəqqa* frog-spawn; tadpole; *xərzət nune* fish roe; young fish

xəṣya adj. (pl. *xəṣye*) **castrated**

xəškana adj. (f. *xəškanta*, pl. *xəškane*) **dark**

xəšxəšone n.pl. **skating, skiing** | *hóle wáða xəšxəšóne rəš-gðìla*ˈ He is skating on the ice; *hóle wáða xəšxəšóne gu-tàlga*ˈ He is skiing in the snow.

xətna n.m. (pl. *xətnăwaθa*) **bridegroom; son-in-law; father-in-law; husband of a relative (e.g. husband of paternal or maternal aunt, husband of a sister)**

xətnuθa n.f. **state of being a groom**

xəṭṭa n.m. (pl. *xəṭṭe*) (A.) **plan** | *ʾána ṯ-óðən xa-xəṭṭa*ˈ I shall make a plan (A12:35); *mútte xàṭṭa*ˈ They laid a plan (B4:11).

xəṭṭe n.pl. **wheat** (sing. *xəṭṭiθa* **a wheat grain**) | Four types of wheat: *xwaraθa, huwedi, mərwəš* and *koča* (without long hairs). *xəṭṭət romaye, xəṭṭə romaye, xət-romaye* n.pl. **maize** | *xa dəndəkθət xəṭṭə romaye* a single maize seed. *xəṭṭət šemaye* n.pl. **maize** (= *xəṭṭət romaye*). Pl. *xəṭṭane* **wheat plants** | *yárxət šáwwa tmànya,*ˈ *mšéri xzáda xəṭṭàne*ˈ In July or August, they begin to harvest the wheat plants (B5:95).

xəyāl, xəyala n.f. (K./A.) **thought; idea** | *qṭíla xəyála dìya*ˈ She has made up her mind (A8:49); *xəyálɛxu mù-qṭila?*ˈ What decision have you

made? (B5:2); *ʾu-gu-xəyála díya hóla màra*ˡ She says to herself (A8:75); *mŭčázəlla xəyàli*ˡ He annoyed me (A17:7); *la-bă̆yən măčəzánna xəyalèxu*ˡ I don't want to bore you; *ʾítli xèyāl*ˡ I have an idea (A21:36).

xəzda n.m. (pl. *xəzde*) **reproach**

xəzma n.m. (pl. *xəzme, xəzmane*) (K.) **family relative**

xəzmayuθa n.f. **kinship relationship** | *bă̆yəx ṯ-óðəx xəzmayúθa mənnèxu*ˡ We want to make a family relationship with you (by marriage) (B5:4)

xəzwa n.m. (pl. *xəzwe*) **vision, revelation** | *xázwa šk̆ăra wéwa*ˡ It was a clear vision (A2:6)

xəzzəmta n.f. (pl. *xəzzəmyaθa*) **nose-ring**

xiča n.m. (pl. *xiče*) **line (drawn on paper)** | *wídle xóθe xíča b-qălàma*ˡ He drew a line under it with a pen. Contrast *xatta* line drawn on the ground.

xiyara n.m. (pl. *xiyare*) **cucumber**

xiyoṭa n.m. (pl. *xiyoṭe*) **sewing, sewn fabric**

xiza n.m. (K.) **sand**

xlapa adv. **in place of; for the sake of** | *ʾo dày*ˡ *ya-xlápax dày*ˡ Oh mother, may I be your ransom, mother (A37:4); *xlápa d-an-jundìye*ˡ (May I be a ransom) for those soldiers (= Oh woe for the soldiers) (C3:1); *xlàpux ya-ʾálaha*ˡ (Let it be) for your sake (Let it be as you wish) (A9:4); *xlápət ʾàlaha*ˡ Thank God.

xlawta n.f. **milking**

xlima adj. (f. *xlimta*, pl. *xlime*) **thick** | *qɛsa xlima* thick wood

xliṣa adj. (f. *xliṣta*, pl. *xliṣe*) **tight**

xliṭa adj. (f. *xliṭṭa*, pl. *xliṭṭe*) **wrong**

xl̥iya | *xəgga xl̥iya* type of *xəgga* dance in which people bend their knees (→ *xl̥ʾ*). This is the same as the dance known as *xəgga belati*.

xloṣa adj. (f. *xloṣta*, pl. *xloṣe*) **tight** | *šəbbaqa xloṣa* a loose belt (anton. *rpoxa* loose).

xlula n.m. (pl. *xlulane*) **wedding** | *wídla xlùla*ˡ They held a wedding (A4:56).

xmara n.m. (pl. *xmare*) **ass** | *xmarət dudiya* curved wooden piece attached to the top of a cradle

xmarta n.f. (pl. *xmaryaθa*) **she-ass**

xmaṭa n.f. (*xmaṭaθa*) **needle** | *bóyət xmàṭa*ˡ the eye of a needle (A11:12); *xmaṭaθət masərqa* the spikes of a wool-carding comb

xmaθa n.f. (pl. *xmayaθa*) **mother-in-law**

xmɛθa n.f. **keeping, guarding**

xmila adj. (f. *xmilta, xmile*) **happy; festive**

xmiqa adj. (f. *xmiqta*, pl. *xmiqe*) **rotten; putrid** | *miya xmiqe* foul water

xmira n.m. **yeast** | *dɛrɛ́wa xmíra gáwa dìye,*ˡ *xămèwa*ˡ They would put yeast in it (the dough) and it rose (B5:16).

xo, xoθ- prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *xoθe*) (§13.3.23.) **under** | *mútt*ə*lla xo-kosìθe*ˡ He put them under his hat (A23:6), *tfíqla dàwe xo-ʾáqla díya*ˡ She found gold coins under her leg (A10:7); *dɛ́rət ʾíðux xo-d-ò-kepa*ˡ Put your hand under that stone (A12:27); *xo-qðala maxmore* with jewels (hanging down) under her neck (C6:4); *ʾáxni xoθ-tagbártət màlkəx*ˡ We are under the administration of the king (A8:80). After verbs of movement: *y-aθɛ́wa xo-túθa c̣ùwa*ˡ They would come under the smooth mulberry tree (B5:203), *kú ṯ-íle ṣláya xo-qárše ʾəltəx,*ˡ *pyáša dàwa*ˡ Everything that fell down under the beams became gold (A10:11), *mṭeli xo-Dwile* I arrived under (the village of) Dwile (C2:30). Combined with *mən* expressing static location: *ʾu-m-xòθe*ˡ *y-oðíwa nùra*ˡ Then under it they would put fire (B5:183). Expressing movement: *másta plíṭla m-xóθa dìya*ˡ The yoghurt came out from underneath it (A30:21).

*xo-, xu-*part. **intensifying particle** (§17.9.2.) | Intensifying negation with remonstrating force: *xo-la-méθən làxxa*ˡ I shall not die here (A20:11); *yába ʾan-ʾə́mma dàwe,*ˡ *xu-là mbaqrətálli*ˡ Well, do not ask me about those hundred gold coins (A14:65); *xu-lanwa-mírəllux maxzátli xăzìna*ˡ I had not told you to show me a treasure (A14:23). In negative questions, usually remonstrating: *xo-lat-mírta xà-məndi.*ʔˡ Did you not say something? (= surely you said something?) (A26:34); *bábi tə́mməl ʾáyya mðíta xu-kùmta-wawa.*ʔˡ Father, was this town not black yesterday? (= surely this town was black yesterday) (A4:35). In positive questions: *gúrzə šə́rmux xo-ʾána ṯ-azə́nwa bìya.*ʔˡ Would I be finished off by your stupid club (literally: the club of your behind)?! (A52:17). Introducing apodosis:

*ʾən-šắrəṭ díyi qəm-yắðətla,*ˈ *xo-b-gawrànnux*ˈ If you know (the answer to) my challenge, I shall indeed marry you (A25:62); *ʾən-θèli*ˈ *xó bàxtiwət*ˈ If I come back, then you are my wife (A25:66).

xoð- pron. **pronoun of isolation** (§14.6.) | *xòðiwən*ˈ I am alone (A22:32); *pìšela*ˈ *har-ʾàni-tre l-xoðéy*ˈ Only those two remained by themselves (A20:9); *ʾáw xa-l-xóðe díye tămàha*ˈ He is all alone there (A27:5).

xona n.m. (pl. *xonăwaθa*) **brother** | *xóna mənnèxule*ˈ He is a brother to you (A25:22). Pl. *xonăwaθa* **siblings** | *ʾu-ṭḷáθa xonăwàθi,*ˈ *ðá xáθa ʾu-tré xonăwáθa ʾìθwali*ˈ My three siblings—I had a sister and two brothers (B9:1).

xonuθa n.f. **brotherhood, fellowship** | *păláxla kùlla*ˈ *b-ġðáðe b-xonùθa*ˈ We shall share it among ourselves in fellowship (A14:18).

xorəkka n.m. (pl. *xorəkke*) **little friend**

xo-ruša n.m. (pl. *xo-rušane*) **shoulder-blade**

xoruθa n.f. **friendship**

xoš adj. (invar.) (K.) **good** | *ʾáw xoš-nàšɛle*ˈ He is a good man; *hàdəx-iwa xóš-naša*ˈ He was such a good man (A4:31); *ʾíθən… biš-xoš-gùṛe*ˈ There are better men (A26:79); *b-álaha xòš-məndila!*ˈ That is a good idea! (A14:18)

xoš part. **deontic particle** (§15.1.1.5. i) | *xoš-ʾáwər ʾu-ʾáxəl ʾu-šáte gu-pərdèsa-w*ˈ Let him enter and eat and drink in Paradise (A2:8); *ʾu-bɛ́θux xoš-ʾàqəð*ˈ and may your house burn down (A17:6); *k̲áwa xoš-t̲-awéwa pìša*ˈ He should have remained alive (A7:20).

xošave n.f. (K.) **sweet drink made of raisins** | The raisins, with their stems removed, are soaked in water until they become swollen

xošeba n.m. (pl. *xošebane*) **Sunday** | *xošeba xaθa* New Sunday (= the first Sunday after Easter) (B5:228); *xošebət bnaθa* Girls' Sunday (Sunday before the beginning of the Lent fast, B7:1ff., B16:18ff.); *xošébə bnàθa*ˈ *qáṭma b-quṣràθa*ˈ On Girls' Sunday there was (washing) ash in the cooking pots (i.e. the people fasted and washed their pots rather than using them for cooking) (B7:5).

xo-šxawθa n.f. (pl. *xo-šxawyaθa*) **armpit**

xoθa adv. **below.** *xoθa xoθa* prep. **under** | with actions involving movement: *ʾu-gríšle míya m-ṭùra*ˈ *muθéle xóθa-xoθət ʾùpra,*ˈ *muwárre gu-Dəmdəma*ˈ

He drew water from the mountain, bringing it under the ground and directing it into Dəmdəma (A11:14).

xparta n.f. (*xparyaθa*) **quarry**

xqira adj. (f. *xqirta*, pl. *xqire*) **honoured** | *hátxa bába xqìrɛwət*ˡ You are a very respected father (A18:8).

xrawa n.m. (pl. *xrawe*) **destruction; wicked act** | *ɟ-áwəðwa xràwe gu-măḥálle*ˡ He wrought havoc in his neighbourhood (A14:7); *hot-wáða rába xràwe*ˡ You are doing many wicked things (A25:81).

xriwa adj. (f. *xriwta*, pl. *xriwe*) **bad; out of order (machine)**

xroriye n.pl. **sorghum**

xṣipta n.f. (pl. *xṣipyaθa*) **wooden door lock**

xšawta n.f. (pl. *xšawyaθa*) **thought; opinion** | *max-xšàwti*ˡ according to my opinion (A6:3).

xtaya adj. (f. *xtɛθa*, pl. *xtaye*) **lower** | *reša xtaya* upside down; *gallìyɛle,*ˡ *hátxa réša xtàyɛle*ˡ It is a valley that slopes downwards (B19:3); *ʾáθṛa t-xtàye*ˡ the land of the dwellers in the lowlands (A37:5); *kúlla ṣalɛ́wa gota-xtèθa*ˡ They would all fall down (B5:43); *díge-w kθàye*ˡ *ʾáp ʾan-zóre xtàye*ˡ The cocks and the chickens, and also the small lowly creatues (should observe the fast) (B16:15). *xtɛθa* adv. **below**: *ʾàni*ˡ *dɛrɛ́wa xtèθa*ˡ They put these (the mats) below (i.e. on the ground) (B5:199).

xṭiθa n.f. (pl. *xṭiyaθa*) **sin** | *xṭìθɛla!*ˡ It is a sin! What a pity!; *xṭiθèy-ila!*ˡ What a pity for them! (A8:11); *xṭiθèxula!*ˡ What a pity for you (A8:26); *xṭìθila*ˡ What a pity for me (A11:11); *xṭíθi b-qðalèxu*ˡ *bnóni qam-ʾéni là qaṭlítula*ˡ I implore you (literally: my sin be on your neck), do not kill my children before my eyes (B9:13); *mắdərre xṭíθi dìye*ˡ Make him come back, I am feeling sorry for him (A24:53).

xuba n.m. **dye**

xubba n.m. **love** | *npíltɛla b-xùbba*ˡ She has fallen in love (A4:14).

xulama n.m. (pl. *xulamwaθa*) (K./A.) **servant**

xulamta n.f. (pl. *xulamyaθa*) (K./A.) **maid servant**

xulaṣa n.m. (A.) **end; summary** | *xuláṣa ʾaláha mutápqəlle gu-d-a-məíta ṯ-íla ʾɛ-bráta d-o-màlka*ˡ In the end God made him come across the town where the daughter of that king was (A4:11).

xulqana n.m. (pl. *xulqane*) **friend of the groom at a wedding** | *xulqane l-bɛθət babe* The friends of the groom are at his father's house (B8:23).

xumala n.m. **festivity; festive clothing** | *lwíša júllət xumàla*ˡ wearing festive clothes (A35:4); *b-ʾaqla zargule ʾu-ʾəlla xumale* On her legs are sheep-skin shoes, and on her (body) festive clothes (C6:2).

xumlana n.m. **merriment** | *ʾap-ʾayyéwa xa-xumlàna díyən*ˡ This also was a form of merriment of ours (B5:33).

xumṣa (i) n.m. **sour remainder (of cheese or yoghurt)** | *xumṣət gupta* sour remainder of cheese used for making new cheese; *xumṣət masta* sour remainder of yoghurt.

xumṣa (ii) n.m. **dish consisting of meat, rice and turnips**

xumṣa (iii) n.m. (pl. *xumṣe*) **large box (for storing grains)**

xumθa n.f. **anger**

xumθana adj. **angry**

xura n.m. (pl. *xure*) **white poplar tree** | *qíme tre-xùre.*ˡ *síqa š-xa-xùra.*ˡ Two poplar trees grew up. He climbed up one poplar. (A18:26)

xurəgθa n.f. (pl. *xurgaθa*) **step-daughter**

xurət adj. invar. (K.) **strong, valiant** | *ʾan-díyən wéla biš-xùrət*ˡ Our (men) were stronger (B8:5).

xurga n.m. (pl. *xurge*) **step-son**

xurja n.m. (pl. *xurje*) (A.) **saddle-bag**

xurma n.m. (pl. *xurme*) (K.) **date (dark and soft)** | *ʾilánət xùrme*ˡ a date palm tree (A13:10)

xurta, xorta n.f. (pl. *xuriyaθa, xoriyaθa*) **white poplar tree** | *xúrta mgăríla kut-tre-ŝ̊ənne*ˡ They pollard the poplar every two years.

xurzaya → *xwarzaya*

xusɛra n.m. **dew**

xuwwe n.m. (pl. *xuwwawe, xuwwăwaθa, xuwwaθa*) **snake** | types of snake: *xuwwe təðya, xuwwe koma, xuwwe balakšənka*

xuwwiθa n.f. (pl. *xuwwiyaθa*) **small snake**

xuya n.m. **darkness** | *píšle xùya*ˡ It became dark (A14:73); *héš xúya xùyɛle*ˡ It was still very dark (A30:36).

xuyana adj. (f. *xuyanta*, pl. *xuyane*) **dark**

xwara adj. (f. *xwarta*, pl. *xware*) **white** | *xwarət beta* the white of an egg

xwaraθa n.pl. **type of wheat**

xwār-dəqna n.m. (pl. *xwār-dəqna*) **elder**

xwarnaya adj. (f. *xwarnɛθa*, pl. *xwarnaye*) **whitish**

xwār-paθa adj. invar. **white-faced, innocent**

xwār-paθuθa n.f. **innocence**

xwaruθa n.f. **whiteness; dairy products**

xwarθa n.f. (pl. *xwariyaθa*) (1) **friend (f.).** (2) **companion spirit** | thought to bring about a hallucinatory fever: *y-ámri ʾən-xáyər b-séra ràba,*ˡ *qapxále xwàrθe*ˡ They say that if he looks at the moon a lot, his companion spirit will possess him. A metal object (e.g. a knife) is put under the pillow of a pregnant woman so that she is not afflicted by her companion spirit (*qa-t-lá maxyála xwàrθa*). (3) **placenta**

xwarzaya, xwarza, xurzaya n.m. (pl. *xwarzaye*) (K.) **nephew (son of sister)** | *xwàrza!* Nephew! (vocative) (A29:17)

xwarzɛθa, xurzɛθa n.f. (pl. *xwarzayaθa, xurzayaθa*) (K.) **niece (daughter of sister)**

xwiṣa n.m. **dish made from chopped flat bread (*zeðaye*) and butter (*čita*)**

xyapta n.f. **washing** | *xyaptət xətna* the ceremony of the washing of the groom (before the wedding), accompanied by wedding songs (*lɛliyane*).

xzatta n.f. **harvest** | *bar-sàməq,*ˡ *ṯ-ámrəx dā́n-t xzattɛla*ˡ After it (the rice) becomes brown, we say that it is harvest time (B5:79).

xzirən n.m. **June**

xzura n.m. (pl. *xzure*) **pig**

/y/

ya (i) part. (A.) **vocative particle** | *ya-màlka*ˈ O king (A25:13); *yá-qazi ṯ-áwət basìma*ˈ O judge, may you be healthy (A6:11).

ya (ii) part. (A.) **which?** | *yà-xăzina xzélux?*ˈ What treasure have you found? (A14:13)

ya'ha →*'ăyaha*

ya'isa n.m. (pl. *ya'ise*) **husband of the sister of a wife**

yaba interj. **interjection opening speech turns** | *šḗx yába hole-mšúdra bàrux*ˈ The sheikh, take note, has sent for you (A7:8); *yába 'ána ṯ-àθən*ˈ Well, I'll come (A7:9).

yabiše n.pl. (sing. *yabišta*) **raisins**

yadde n.f. (pl. *yaddāt*) (A.) **handle**

yaðuwa adj. (f. *yaðuwta*, pl. *yaðuwe*) **knowledgeable**

yaha → *'ăyaha*

yăḵana, yeḵana n.m./adj. (K.) **only son** | *'aw-málka 'íθwale xa-bròna,*ˈ *yăḵànа*ˈ That king had an only son (A4:1).

yăḵanta, yeḵanta n.f./adj. **only daughter** | *ðá-xaθa yaḵànta*ˈ a single sister (A18:1)

yala n.m. (pl. *yale, 'ayale*) **child** | *yálət mədràsa*ˈ school children

yălək, yălăkka → *'ilăkka*

yaləxta, yaləxθa n.f. (pl. *yaləxyaθa*) **handkerchief; scarf** | This is waved around in a *xəgga* dance. It is usually decorated with tassels.

yalla interj. **come on! let's go!** | *de-yàlla!*ˈ Let's go ahead (with the plan) (A44:3). Sometimes combined with *də-* (particle of immediacy §15.1.5.2., §15.7.): *də-yàlla!*ˈ Let's go! (A8:82).

yalma n.m. (pl. *yalme*) **face (of person)**

yalta n.f. **girl**

yalunka n.m. (pl. *yalunke*) **youth (approx. 6–14 years)**

yama n.f. (pl. *yamaθa*) **sea; lake**

yamiṣa n.m. (pl. *yamiṣe*) **rubbarb** | It grows in cool places in high mountains.

yamnaya adj. (f. *yamnɛθa*, pl. *yamnaye*) **right-handed**

yamne n.f. **right (hand, side)**

yamta n.f. (pl. *yamtaθa*) **lake**

yan, ya part. (K.) **or** | *ʾáwwa nabláxle kəs-d-ày*¹ *yan-ʾáy nabláxla kəs-d-àwwa?*¹ Should we take him to her or take her to him? (A4:3); *mjárbu méθu náše duxtùre-u*¹ *yan-náše spáy t-yǎði bud-màrra*¹ Try to bring doctors, or fine people who know about the illness (A8:32).

yapɛθa n.f. (pl. *yapayaθa*) **baker-woman**

yapyana n.m. (pl. *yapyane*) **baker**

yapyanta n.f. (pl. *yapyanyaθa*) **baker woman**

yaqura adj. (f. *yaqurta*, pl. *yaqure*) **heavy; pregnant** | *sátwa y-awéwa yaqùra*¹ Winter was hard (B5:155); *báxta hóla yaqúrta bud-yàla*¹ The woman is with child; *baxtáθa tàrwəθna hóla yaqùre*¹ Both women were pregnant (A25:2).

yār n.m. **May**

yarəkθa n.f. (pl. *yarəkyaθa*) (K.) **concubine, mistress**

yarqa n.m. **vegetables; vegetable stew** | *ṯ̂-oðánna yàrqa-lley*¹ I shall make it into a vegetable stew for them (A34:18).

yarxa, yɛrxa n.m. (pl. *yarxe, yɛrxe*) **month** | *təltàssər b-yérxa*¹ the thirteenth of the month (B16:22); *yarxət tre* February; *yarxət ʾəčč̌a* September; *rešət yarxa* the beginning of the month; *ʾítla réšət yàrxa*¹ She has a menstrual period.

yasmin, yasmina n.f. (pl. *yasmine*) **jasmin (yellow or white)**

yasoṛa n.m (pl. *yasoṛe*) **tether** | *yasóṛe y-asríwale b-púmmət tàwra*¹ Tethers tied it (the cross beam) to the mouth of the bull (B5:83).

yaṣila, yaṣilta n.m. (pl. *yaṣile, yaṣilyaθa*) **outer edge (of wall, window); outer corner (of building); side (of door)** | *kút yaṣílət qàṣra*¹ *ʾíθ ða-yàwna gáwe díye*¹ On every corner of the palace there is a dove (A12:24); *rúše díye qíθɛle b-yaṣílət tǎra*¹ His shoulder hit the side of the door (A29:10). Cf. *zawiθa* inner corner

yatuma n.m. (pl. *yatume*) **orphan**

yaṭṭana n.m. (pl. *yaṭṭane*) (Urm.) **acquaintance**

yawna n.f. (pl. *yawne, yawnaθa*) **dove, pigeon**

ye, yehe interj. **yes**

yeḵ̂ana → *yaḵ̂ana*

yeḵ̂anta → *yaḵ̂anta*

yɛrxa → *yarxa*

yəmma n.f. (pl. *yəmmaθa*) **mother** | *yə́mmət marɛ̀θa*ˈ original leaven (cheese, yoghurt used as a starter to produce more) (B16:25)

yəmmonta n.f. **little mother** | *yəmmonti* my little mother, mummy

yoma n.m. (pl. *yome, yomane, yomaθa*; abs. *yum*) **day; sun.** (1) **day** | *xa-yóma síqe-wawa l-ṣɛ̀da*ˈ One day they had gone up (the mountains) out hunting (A25:2); *yóma qamàya* on the first day (A25:14); *hàr ʾo-yóma* on the same day (A25:4); *yómət xyáptət xɛ̀tna*ˈ on the day of the washing of the groom (B15:74); *pálgət yòma*ˈ at midday (B5:62); *zílla b-yomàθa*ˈ They travelled for days (A29:37). In absolute state: *kút-yum ðà-brata gawə́rwa*ˈ Every day he would marry a girl (A14:1). (2) **sun** | *yóma xrùle*ˈ the sun was eclipsed; *ʾɛ́-gət zarə́qwa yòma,*ˈ *palṭə́xwa xorăwáθa kúlla m-ġðàðe*ˈ When the sun rose, we friends would all go out together (B15:5); *zraqət yoma* East: *y-azíwa l-zràqət yóma*ˈ They would go towards the East (A8:22); *yóma, yóma mgáli pàθux,*ˈ *šáxni bnónux ʾu-bnàθux,*ˈ *ʾu-ʾap-kalàθux*ˈ Sun, sun reveal your face, so that your sons, your daughters and your daughters-in-law may be warm (said when a cloud goes over the sun); *hádəx-ila štṛànta*ˈ *max-d-àwwa yóma*ˈ She is as beautiful as this sun (A7:17).

yomiyya adv. (A.) **daily** | *yomíyya xá-bena* once a day (A12:46)

yubqa n.f. (pl. *yubqaθa*) **skirt**

yulpana n.m. **learning, education**

yunja n.m. (pl. *yunje*) **type of plant** | green in colour, fed to animals

yuqra n.m. **weight**

/z/

zăbun, zabbun adj. invar. (K.) **weak; thin** | *báxta xáčča zàbbun-ila*ˡ a woman is rather weak (A10:12).

zaga n.m (pl. *zage*) **bell** | *ʾána maxə́nne zágət ʾùmra*ˡ I shall ring the church bell; *qále díye ṣə́pya ʾax-zàga*ˡ His voice is clear as a bell.

zakkan interj. **sound of splashing** | *guði daryən gu-ʾiθaθi zakke zakkan l-ʾiθaθi* I put my churn in my hands, splash, splash on my hands (C5:8).

zakke interj. **sound of splashing** | *guði măyanne b-zakke* I shall churn my churn with the sound of splashing (referring to the yoghurt splashing in the churn) (C5:2).

zala n.m. (pl. *zale*) **thin cane, reed** | cf. *čăqa* thick cane

zalala adj. (f. *zalalta*, pl. *zalale*) **clear (liquid)** | *míya y-áwɛ zalàle*ˡ The water is clear (B10:9); *čay zalalta* weak tea.

zaloma → *ẓaloma*

zamara n.m./adj. **singer** | *rába zamàra-wewa*ˡ He was a fine singer (A25:43).

zamət adj. invar. (K.) **difficult** | *zámət-ila wàðəlle*ˡ It is difficult to do it; *ʾə́n zámət lá-hawya ʾəllux*ˡ *hálli kθàwa*ˡ If it is not difficult for you, give me the book (= Please give me the book).

zamətuθa n.f. (K.) **difficulty**

zangīn, zaginta adj. (f. *zangīn, zaginta* pl. *zangine*) (K./T.) **rich**

zaqara n.m. (pl. *zaqare*) **weaver**

zaqarta n.f. (pl. *zaqaryaθa*) **weaver (f.)**

zaqaruθa n.f. **weaving**

zaqrana n.m. (pl. *zaqrane*) **weaver**

zaqra-qode n.f. (pl. *zaqra-qode*) **spider** (§10.17.1.)

zăra (f. and pl. *zăre*) (K.) **yellow** | *zărət beta* the yoke of an egg

zaraya n.m. (pl. *zaraye*) **cultivator**

zarba n.m. (pl. *zarbe*) (K./A.) **blow (of weapon)** → *darba*

zarda adj. (f. and pl. *zarde*) (marginal variant of *zə̆ra*) **yellow** | *ʾáw kawsèy*ˡ *zàrda*ˡ their blond hair (A8:14)

zarəqta n.m. (pl. *zarəqte*) **wasp**

zareta n.f. (pl. *zarayaθa*) **cultivator (f.)**

zargəf n.m. (K.) **type of fabric**

zargule n.pl. (sing. *zargulta*) **sheep skin boots (worn in Winter)**

zə̆rin adj. invar. (K.) **yellow**

zaringər n.m. (pl. *zaringɛ́re*) (K.) **goldsmith**

zarnaya adj. (f. *zarnɛ́θa*, pl. *zarnaye*) **yellowish**

zarpəkka n.m. (pl. *zarpəkke*) (K./A.) **red spot on skin, mosquito bite** | *plíṭla zarpə́kke gu-ʾíðe dìye*ˡ His hand came out in spots.

zarrək | *ʾənwe zarrək* **type of yellow grape**

zarrəkθa n.f. **cleansing liquid** | It was produced by boiling oakwood ash in water and used for washing clothes and washing grapes.

zə̆ruθa n.f. **yellowness**

zarzar n.f. **type of large red ant(s)** | also *šəkwanta zarzar*

zarzariθa n.f. **type of small brown ant(s)**

zaṭe n.pl. **measles**

zawda, zoda part. (often combined with *biš: biz-zawda/biz-zoda, bi-zawda/bi-zoda*) **more (quantity), too much** (§14.8.2.) | Expressing an increase in quantity: *xá-saʿat biz-zòda*ˡ one hour more (B5:54); *móndi zàwda*ˡ something more (A3:1); *kùl-məndi bi-záwda*ˡ more of everything (A3:3). In estimates of quantity: *ʾəštà yarxé*ˡ *xamšà yarxé*ˡ *biz-zàwda*ˡ five or six months, or more (B5:3). More than: *ʾu-bréle díya b-xšáwən biz-záwda mən-ʾəčč́á-mma ʾálpa nàše*ˡ By now there have been born, I think, more than nine-hundred thousand people (B2:10); *záwda mən-ʾarbá-mma šənnele*ˡ It is more than four hundred years old (B6:31); *ʾáxni be-Tòməx*ˡ *lá-maxəx zóda l-xà*ˡ We the family of Toma do not strike more than one (blow) (A52:24). Excessive quantity: *zàwdɛla mánni*ˡ It is too much for me (to tell) (A26:65). With adverbs: *lá maspərə́xləx bi-zàwda*ˡ We shall not make you wait any more (A4:42); *xa̋yiwa biz-zàwda*ˡ They survived longer (B5:190). In combination *sama zawda/zoda* expressing

the majority of a set: *xákma har-damxíwa l-ǎ̀ra*ˈ *ʾap-áni gàre.*ˈ *ʾína sáma zóda ʾiyέwala qaràwət.*ˈ Some would even sleep on the floor of the roof. Most people, however, had a bed. (B5:204); *ʾína sáma zòda*ˈ *y-oðíwa ʾǎ̀raq*ˈ Most people, however, would make arak (B5:213). Idiom: *mìr-e-mənˈ zàwdɛla mánni,*ˈ *ʾána ṯ-amrənnèxu*ˈ *mšáxəlpu dukàne*ˈ My lord, may I humbly suggest you change places (Literally: It is too much for me, let me say to you, change places) (A26:65).

zawdana, zodana adj. (f. *zawdanta*, pl. *zawdane*) **excessive, extra** | *bas-ʾána zodànta-llɛxu*ˈ *quṣárta mánni t-muθéli llèxu*ˈ But the cooking pot that I have brought you is an extra one for you (A5:6).

zawərta n.f. (pl. *zawriyaθa*) **earthenware container for water for cooking in house or carrying on a journey** | *zawártət kʾàlo*ˈ the bride's pot, which was filled with sweets and fruit and broken by the bride before entering the groom's house (B8:33).

zawga n.m. (pl. *zawge*) **pair; even number.** (1) **pair** | *dɛríwa xa-záwgə tòpe*ˈ They used to fire a couple of shots; *qyàmela*ˈ *xá-zawgət xoriyàθa*ˈ A pair of poplar trees sprang up (A26:90). (2) **even number** | *zawge ʾu-pare* even and odd numbers; *zawge ʾu-ḵatte* even and odd numbers.

zawiθa n.f. (pl. *zawiyaθa*) **(inner) corner** | cf. *yaṣila* outer corner

zawna n.m. **time; period of time** | *záwna lebàna-wewa*ˈ The time was tricky (A1:22); *b-awwa zawna* at this time; *ʾày*ˈ *hălikòptər y-áwa,*ˈ *ṭla-d-áw zàwna*ˈ It was a helicopter of that time (A27:20).

zawnana n.m. (pl. *zawnane*) **purchaser, client**

zawnaya adj. **ancient, old timer** | *ʾaxni naše zawnaye* We are ancient people (C1:16); *ṣadra darga t-zawnaye* Her breast is a door of the ancients (C2:47).

zawzən n.f. (pl. *zawzane*) (K.) **summer sojourn, summer pasture (for animals)**

zaxma adj. (f. *zaxme*, pl. *zaxme*) (K./A.) **huge; strong, tough** | *xá gáwṛa xɛlána-w zàxma wéwa*ˈ He was a powerful, tough man (A27:1).

zaxonaya n.m./adj. **man from Zaxo**

zaya n.m. (pl. *zaye*) (K.) **young (of animals and birds)** | *zayət qaṭu* kittens; *zayət ʾaqubra* young mice; *zayət ʾarya* lion cubs

zdiya adj. (f. *zdita*, pl. *zdiye*) **afraid**

zduwana adj. (f. *zduwanta*, pl. *zduwane*) **fearful**

zduθa n.f. **fear** | *síqela rəš-d-ay-ʾilána m-zdùθa*ˡ They climbed the tree out of fear (A13:11).

zeðaya n.f. (pl. *zeðaye*) **round thick flat bread made from wheat cooked on the sides of an oven**

zēn part. (A.) **all right, fine; lucky** | *mṭéle gu-d-ày-maθa*ˡ *ham-zə̀n*ˡ He was lucky to arrive in that village (A37:14).

zeriya adj. (f. and pl. *zeriye*) (K.) **golden** | *qumta xlita zeriye* her sweet golden stature (C6:7)

zeruwa n.m. (pl. *zeruwe*) (K.) **leech**

zeytūn, zeytuna n.m. (pl. *zeytune*) (A.) **olive, olive tree** | *ʾilanət zeytune* **olive tree**

zɛrăbi n.f. (K.) **tall cane** | used to weave baskets

zɛθa n.f. **olive (tree); olive oil.** *ʾilanət zɛθa* olive tree; *məšxət zɛθa* olive oil

zəbbara n.f. (pl. *zəbbərwaθa*) (K.) **group of workers** | Such groups consisted of men from the village who volunteered their labour to help a member of the village undertake various types of task, such as gathering leaves (*ṭarpa*), harvesting wheat (*xzada xəṭṭe*), harvesting rice (*xzada rəzza*) and building a house (*bnaya bɛθa*); *yomət zəbbara* a day in which work was done by such a volunteer group.

zəbla n.m. **manure** | *zábləṭ haywàne*ˡ the manure of animals (B5:134)

zədya adj. (f. *zdiθa*, pl. *zədye*) **afraid** | *mà-lux zádya.ʔ*ˡ Why are you afraid? (A11:6)

zədyana n.m. **a type of oak tree** | resembles a *ṭaṛma*

zeləkka n.m. (pl. *zeləkke*) **splinter of wood**

zəlpa m. **slice**

zəmra n.m. (pl. *zəmre*) **song** | *šmili xa qalət zəmra* I heard the sound of song (C2:6).

zəmzama n.m. (pl. *zəmzame*) (A.) **deep natural pool**

zəmzŭma n.m. (pl. *zəmzŭme*) (A.) **waterfall**

zəndana n.m. (pl. *zəndane*) (K.) **prison**

zənja n.m. (pl. *zənje*) **storage bin for straw** | made of woven sticks, covered at the top by leaves (*ṭarpa*) and hay (*puwuš*).

zənjir n.f. (pl. *zənjire*) (K.) **chain** (for securing, e.g. prisoner) | *síṛɛwa zənjíre b-rušàne*ˈ He had been tethered with chains on his shoulders (A26:81).

zənnara n.m. (pl. *zənnare*) (K.) **cliff, precipice**

zənzare n.pl. **type of fly**

zəpra n.m. **animal fat**

zəqqa n.f. (pl. *zəqqe, zəqqaθa*) (A.) **waterskin**

zəqqora n.m. (pl. *zəqqore*) **woven/knitted product, woven/knitted fabric** | *zəqqora bəd-ʾìða* a fabric woven/knitted by hand

zəqra n.m. (pl. *zəqre*) **weaving, woven fabric**

zəqta n.m. (pl. *zəqte*) **point at the end of an animal goad (*massa*)** | *záqta mxéle l-tàwra*ˈ He stuck the point of the goad into the ox.

zərana n.m. **slap** | *qəm-maxənne xa zərana* I slapped him

zər-baba n.m. (K.) **stepfather**

zərmaziya n.m. (pl. *zərmaziye*) (K.) **small spiky type of oak gall (*mɛ̀ša, ṗaṛma*)**

zəyara n.f. (A.) **visit, pilgrimage**

ziləkka n.m. (pl. *ziləkke*) **small reed**

zina adj. (f. *zinta*, pl. *zine*) **decorated** | *julle zine* decorated clothes

ziqa n.m. **neck of a shirt** | *truq ziqux!* Wrap up well (literally: Button up the neck of your shirt); *xóne b-zìqa*ˈ his brother (who was as close to him as) the neck of his shirt (A32:26).

zirək adj. invar. (K.) **strong, courageous** | *xákma doqíwale xúwwa qaṭlìwale.*ˈ *rába zirək-wɛ́wa.*ˈ Some grasped the snake and killed it. They were very courageous (B5:78).

zlima → *zlima*

zliya adj. (f. *zlita*, pl. *zliye*) **cracked**

zlumya n.m. (A.) **injustice**

zmarta n.f. (pl. *zmaryaθa*) **song**

zə̄j n.m. (A.) **trick** | *bə́ye ṯ-awə́dlən zə́j* He wants to trick us (A14:13).

zolala n.m. (pl. *zolale*) (K.) **tendril of a plant; vein within a leaf** | Some plants have tendrils (*zolale*) that extend along the ground, e.g. *paṭiroke*

zoma n.m. (pl. *zomăwaθa*) (K.) **summer hut in the mountains**

zonana n.m. (pl. *zonane*) **buyer**

zononta n.f. (pl. *zonanyaθa*) **buyer**

zor adv. (K.) **hardly, barely** | *b-kúlla yóma zór maṣìwa*ˡ *xàzdi*ˡ *xá-mdi rába baṣòra*ˡ In a whole day they could barely manage to harvest a very small amount (B5:144); *b-zòr-ṃaḷe*ˡ *ṭla-mapláxtət bèθa*ˡ There was scarcely enough for household use (B5:215).

zora adj. (f. *zorta*, pl. *zore*) **small**

zorna n.f. (pl. *zorne*, *zornaθa*) (K.) **pipe**

zornači n.m. **pipe-player**

zoruθa n.f. **smallness, youth**

zraqta n.f. **sunrise; East** | *zraqtət yoma*, *zraqət yoma* sunrise

zreta n.f. **cultivation** | *zrétət rəzza*ˡ the cultivation of rice (B5:76)

zroqa adj. (f. *zroqta*, pl. *zroqe*) **blue** | rare equivalent of *milana: šəṭrantux ʾɛna zroqe* Your sweetheart—her eyes are blue (C2:33).

zruta n.f. (pl. *zruyaθa*) **cultivation; agriculture** | *yála θéle mən-zrùta*ˡ The young man came back from working in the fields (A21:8).

zuryat n.f. (K./A.) **offspring, progeny** | *ʾína ʾaláha yíwle zúryat gawèy*ˡ But God granted progeny among them (B2:10).

zuwaġa n.m. (C.Syr.) **marriage**

zuze n.pl. (sing. *zuza*) **money** | *ṯ-óðəx zùze*ˡ We shall make money (A14:14); *ʾána zúza lìtli*ˡ I have not got a penny (A22:19).

zvərta n.f. (pl. *zəvre*) **spin** | *máxyəlle ʾáqle l-dudíyat Qaṭìna,*ˡ *šawwí-zəvre zvìrtəlla*ˡ He kicked the cradle of Qaṭina and span it round seventy times (A52:2).

zwaða n.m. (pl. *zwaðe*) **provision for journey** | *ʾu-čánte díye dwíqla zwàðe*ˡ She packed his bag with provisions (A21:22); *ma-yəmmi pɛli zwaðe* Mother, bake for me provisions (for my journey) (A50:9).

zyatta n.f. **increase** | *zyáttət mìya*ˡ increase in water, flood (B6:19)

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žare n.f. (K.) **suffering, catastrophe** | *žáre ʾəlle*ˈ It is a pity for him.

žare, žɛre adj. invar. **poor, wretched** | *ʾo-yála zóra žàre*ˈ The young boy, poor thing (A14:12); *žɛ́re Fàrxo*ˈ *ṯ-íwən ʾána b-hìwi díya*ˈ Poor (me), Farxo, who am waiting in hope for her (A25:18).

žeri (K.) | *warde žeri* **wild flowers (of various colours, including red and green growing in fields)**

ži part. (variant: *žigən*) (K.) **also, even; connective particle** (§18.1.4.). (1) **also, even** | *ʾítle tǎ́ra gu-ḥadìqa*ˈ *ʾu-ʾítle dàrga-žigən*ˈ There was a door in the garden and there was also a main gate (A17:23); *dárəlla š-qaràwət,*ˈ *ʾánna wajjúwe díya-ži múttəlla tàma*ˈ They put her on the bed and they also put her effects there (A21:7); *ʾən-háwe dàwa-ži*ˈ *ʾáxni t-yawɔ́xla xa-b-ṭìàθa ʾálle díye*ˈ Even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold (if it is lost) (A7:10). (2) **connective particle** | marking topic constituent at boundary of discourse section: *mɔ́re yába hàyyo,*ˈ *ʾaθìtu,*ˈ *čîdetu*ˈ *ta-mšaxɔ́lpi šámmət Čùxo*ˈ *mattúle xá-šəmma xèna.*ˈ *ʾánna-ži ʾəθyela.*ˈ *xìlela-w*ˈ *šə̂tyela.*ˈ He said 'Come, come, you are invited' in order for them to change the name Čuxo and give him a another name. They came. They ate and drank. (A7:3). Adversative when in negative clause: *ʾó-yōm ṯ-ìle plíṭa*ˈ *bróne díye mìθɛle.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáxni-ži láx muqíme m-báθre díye màlka.*ˈ On the day he left, his son died. But we have not installed (another) king after him. (A4:32).

/ẓ/

zaləm adj. invar. (A.) **unjust, cruel**

zalmana adj. (A.) **unjust, cruel**

zaloma, zaloma n.m. (pl. *zalome*) **tyrant**

zlima, zlima adj. (f. *zlimta*, pl. *zlime*) **wronged**

ILLUSTRATIONS

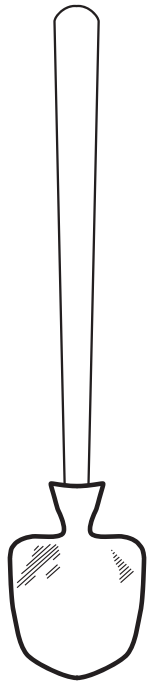


Fig. 1. *maṛa* ‘spade’

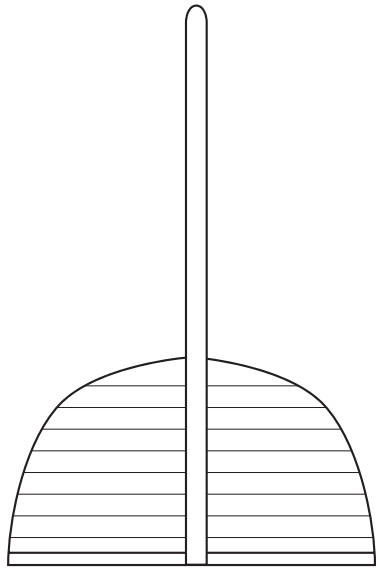


Fig. 2. *maṛuθa* ‘snow shovel’

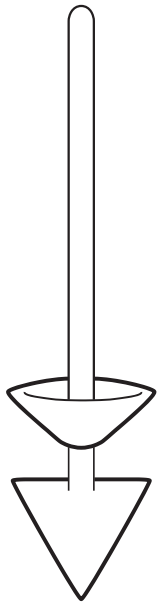


Fig. 3. *maṛət kɛrma* ‘vineyard spade’

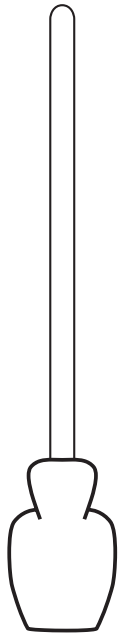


Fig. 4. *rušta* ‘flat spade’

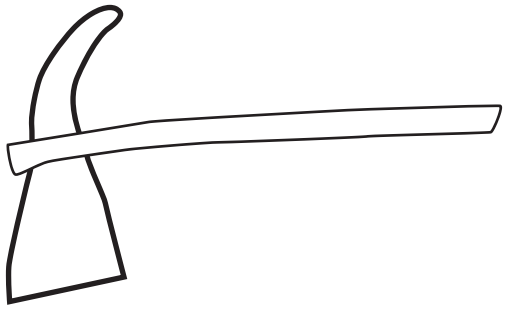


Fig. 5. *xapro* ‘trowel’

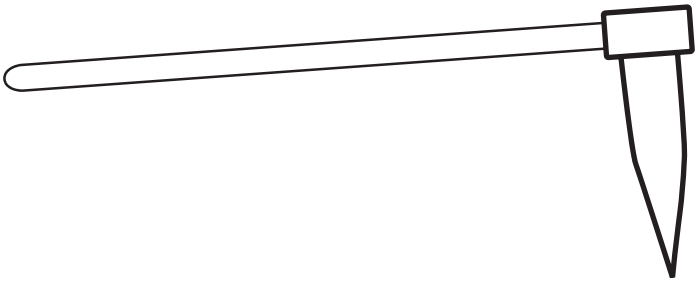


Fig. 6. *byaṭa* ‘pickaxe’

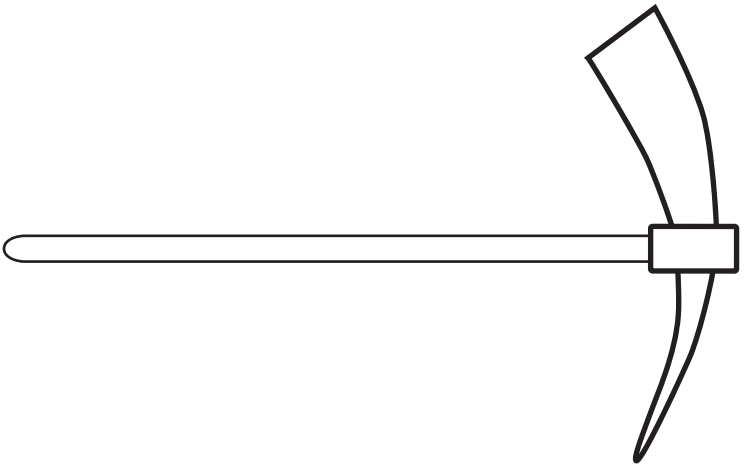


Fig. 7. *kulənga* ‘pickaxe’

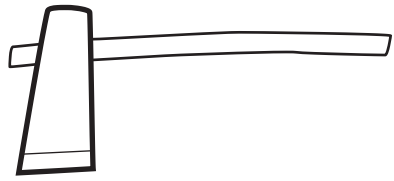


Fig. 8. *năra* ‘axe’

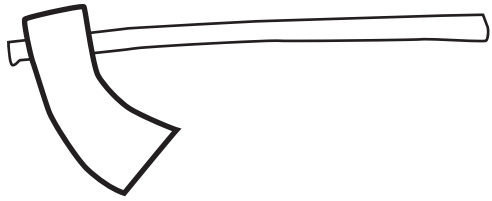


Fig. 9. *xaṩina* ‘axe’

Fig. 10. *maloka* ‘small sledge hammer’

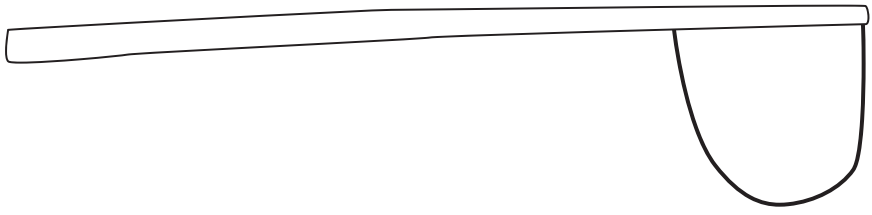


Fig. 11. *murja* ‘sledge hammer’

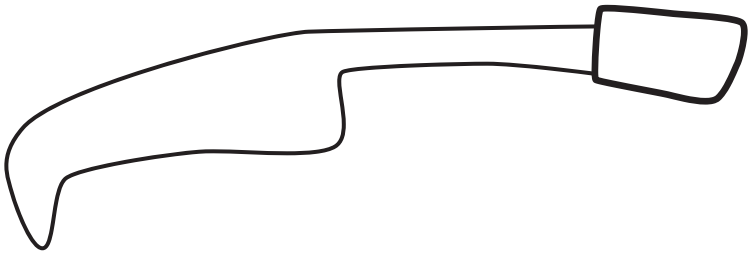


Fig. 12. *jawətta* ‘chopper’

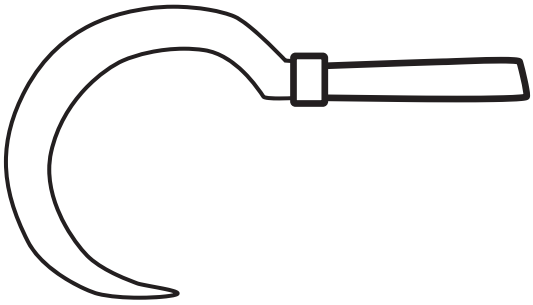


Fig. 13. *magla* ‘sickle’

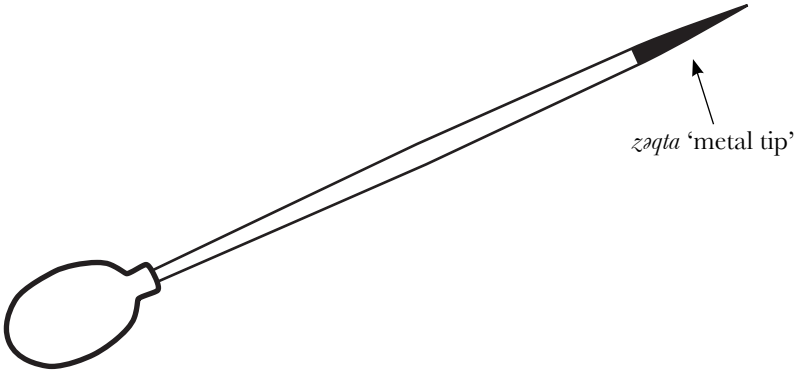


Fig. 14. *massa* ‘goad’

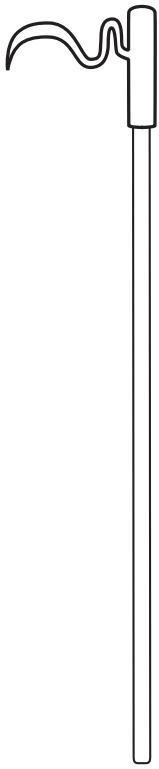


Fig. 15. *čakala* ‘pruning hook’

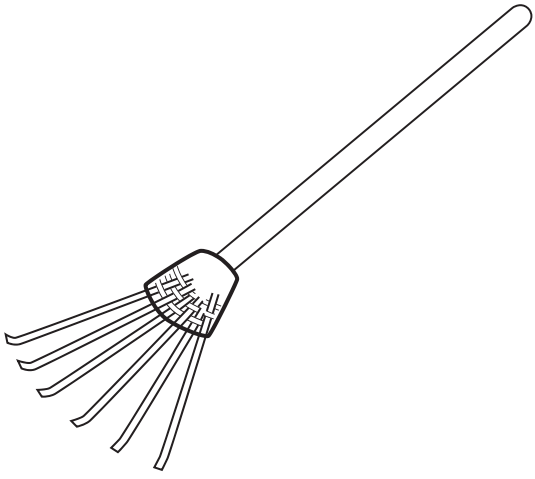


Fig. 16. *mølxawa* ‘winnowing fork’

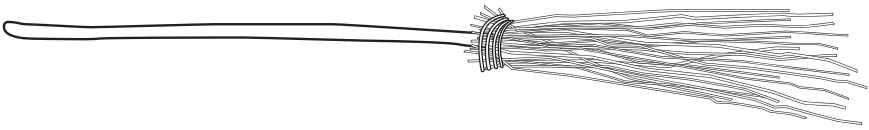


Fig. 17. *sariqana* 'rake'

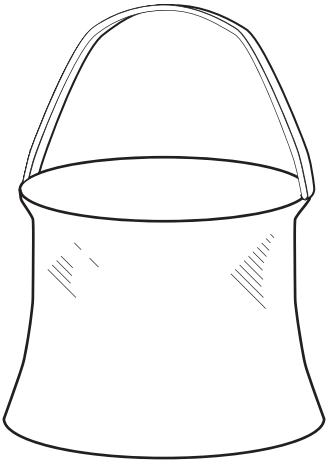


Fig. 18. *saṭla* 'brass pail'

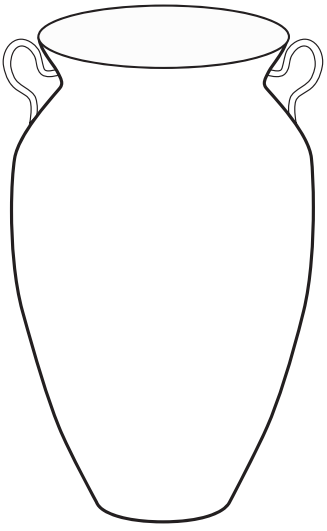


Fig. 19. *lina* 'pot'

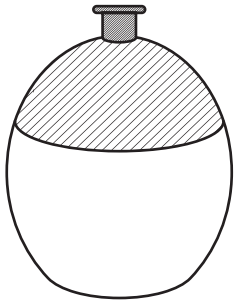


Fig. 20. *burra* ‘cool storage pot’

Fig. 21. *markən* ‘storage pot’

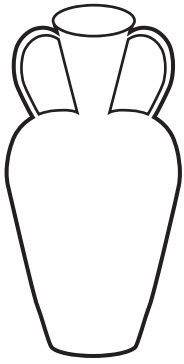


Fig. 22. *kawaza* ‘water pot’

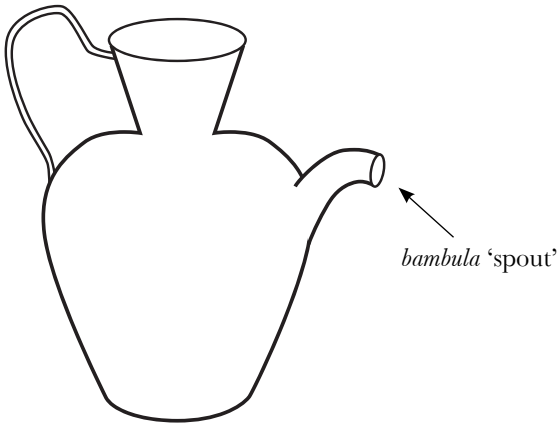


Fig. 23. *masina* 'pot with a spout'

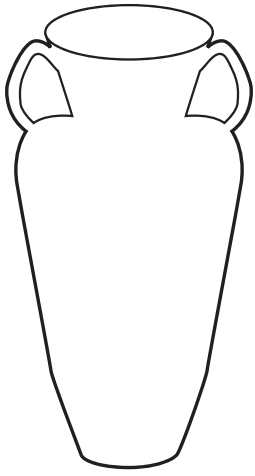


Fig. 24. *zawərta* 'water pot'

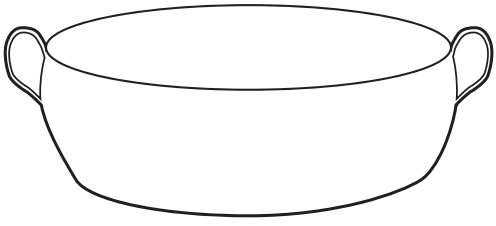


Fig. 25. *majo* 'kneading bowl for dried yoghurt'

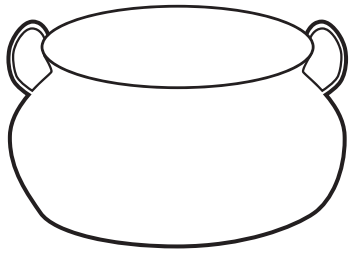


Fig. 26. *maqle* ‘cooking pot’

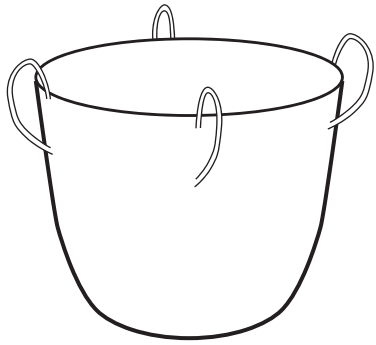


Fig. 27. *čəllekθa* ‘milk pot’

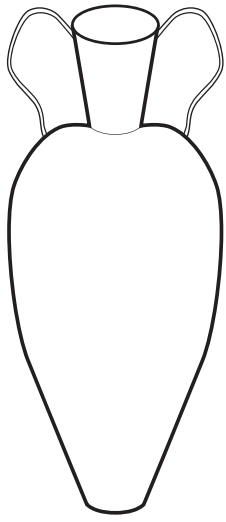


Fig. 28. *talma* ‘water jar’

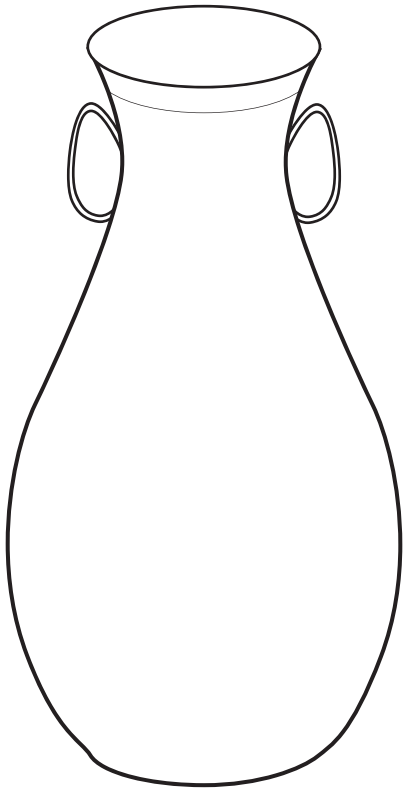


Fig. 29. *jɯwiθa* ‘pot (for *jajək*)’

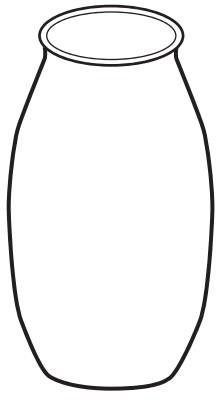


Fig. 30. *qadalta* ‘earthenware pot’

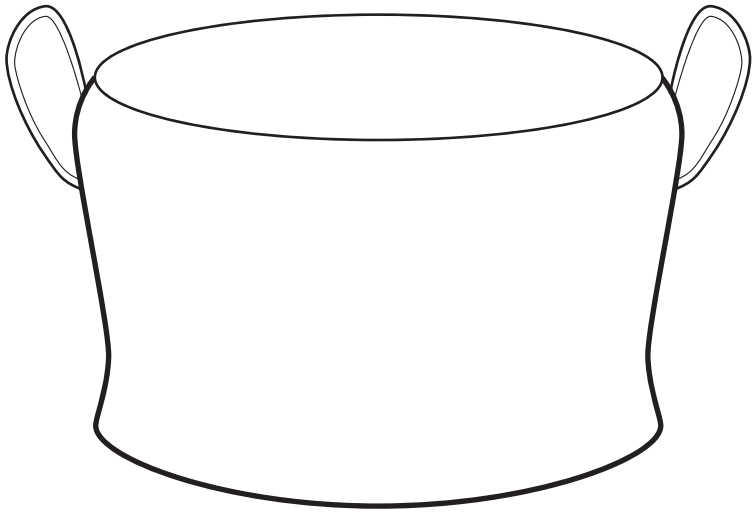


Fig. 31. *marəgla* ‘brass pan’

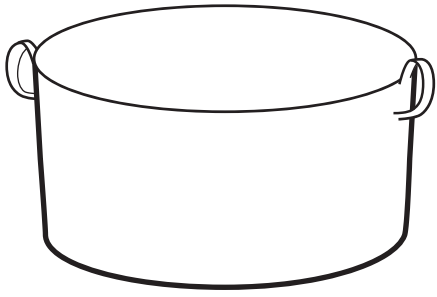


Fig. 32. *qaṣxane* ‘brass saucepan’

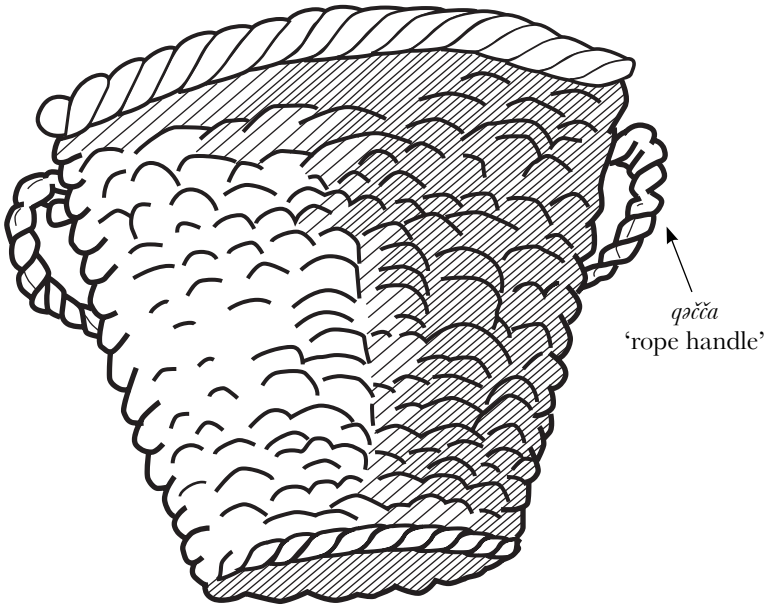


Fig. 33. *qərṭala* 'cane pannier bag'

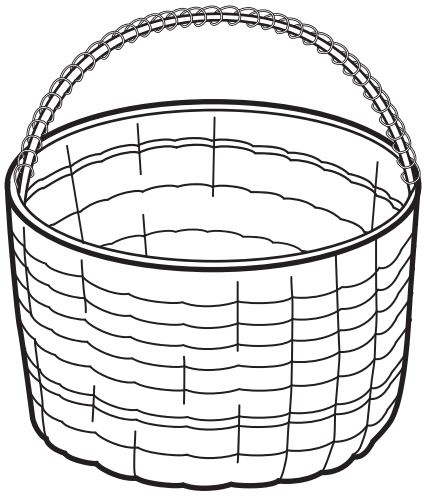


Fig. 34. *qupa* 'wicker basket'

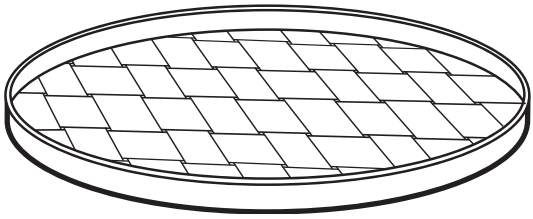


Fig. 35. *ṭaryanta* 'flat bread basket'

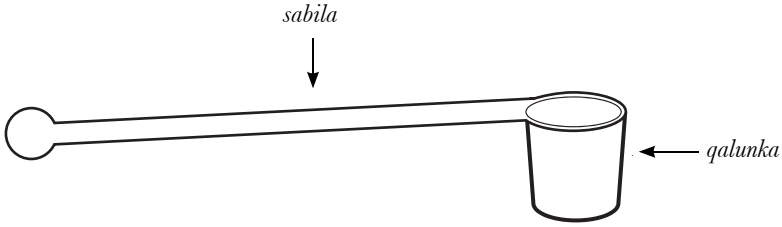


Fig. 36. *qalunka* 'pipe'

Fig. 37. *manquš* 'metal instrument for striking fire on flint'

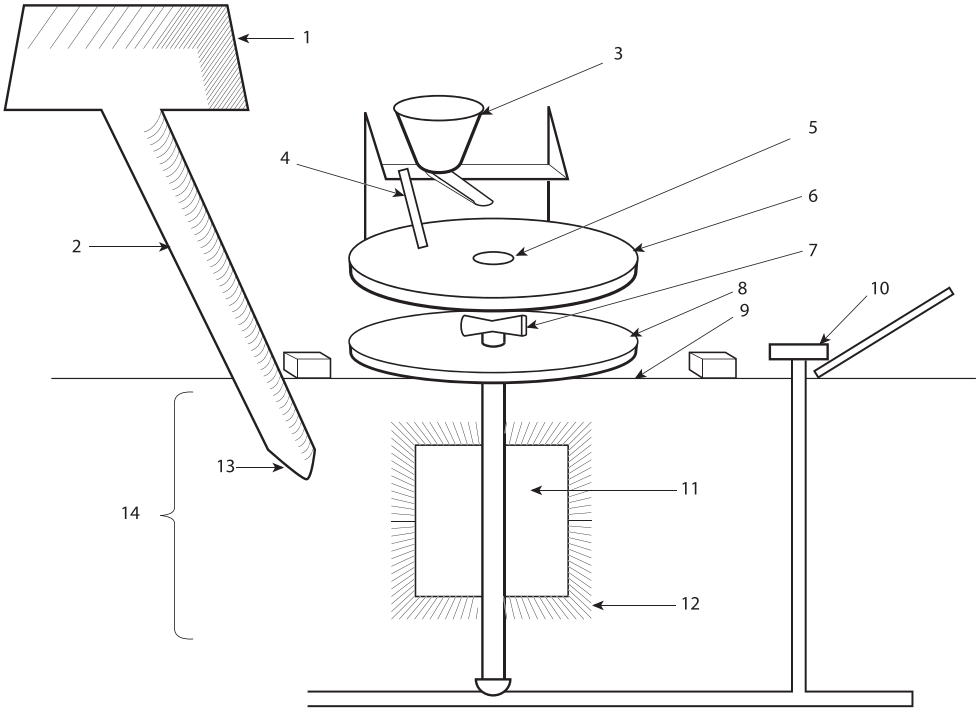


Fig. 38. *ʾərxe* 'water-mill'

1. *kotăla* 'raised tank'
2. *boṭa* 'wooden channel'
3. *dawla* 'drum containing corn'
4. *čakčaka* 'regulator of flow of corn'
5. *balota* 'hole in grindstone'
6. *pənxa ḷaya* 'upper grindstone'
7. *năreθa* 'axe-shaped head of shaft'
8. *pənxa xtaya* 'lower grindstone'
9. *mazaxa* 'area onto which the flour falls'
10. *marimana* 'lever'
11. *dulaba* 'wooden driving wheel'
12. *parwane* 'blades'
13. *pozəkke* 'nozzle'
14. *bəšwele* 'lower section of water-mill'

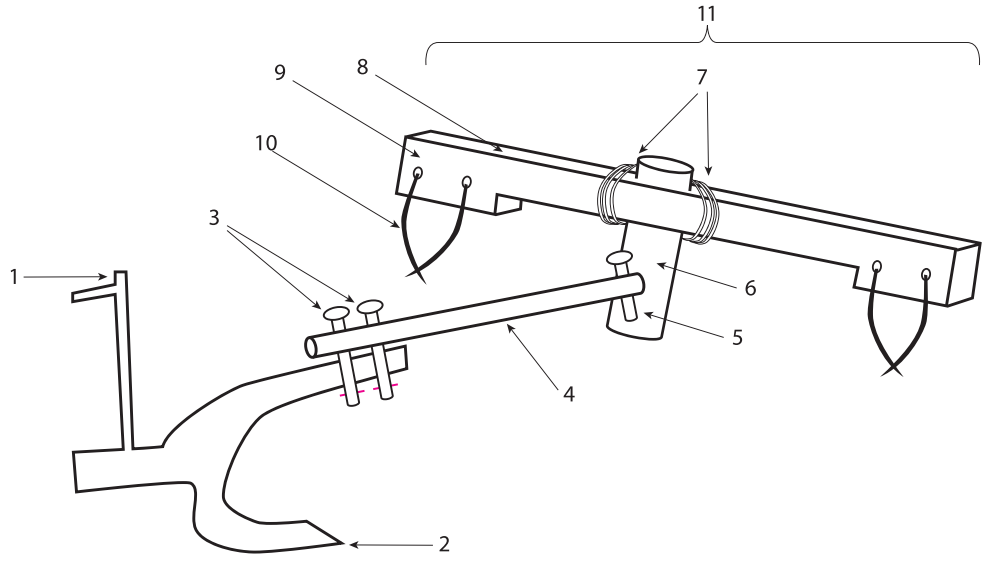


Fig. 39. *bzara* ‘plough’

1. *kawša* ‘handle’
2. *səkθa* ‘ploughshare’
3. *xape* ‘wooden pegs’
4. *mašana* ‘beam’
5. *sarmažanke* ‘hook at top of plough’
6. *bawsa* ‘connective matting’
7. *ʾiṗyaθa* ‘connective straps’
8. *qaṭira* ‘beam between oxen’
9. *klama* ‘collar of ox’
10. *šəryoxe* ‘ties of collar’
11. *nira* ‘yoke’

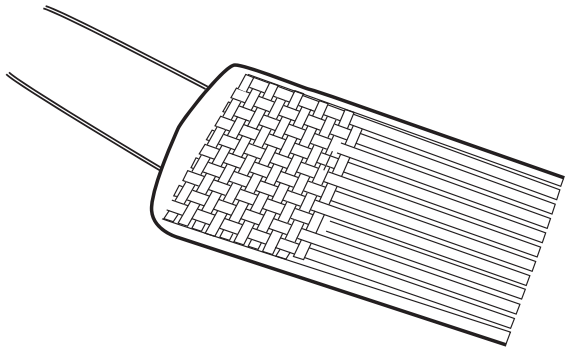


Fig. 40. *šapna* ‘instrument for smoothing ground’

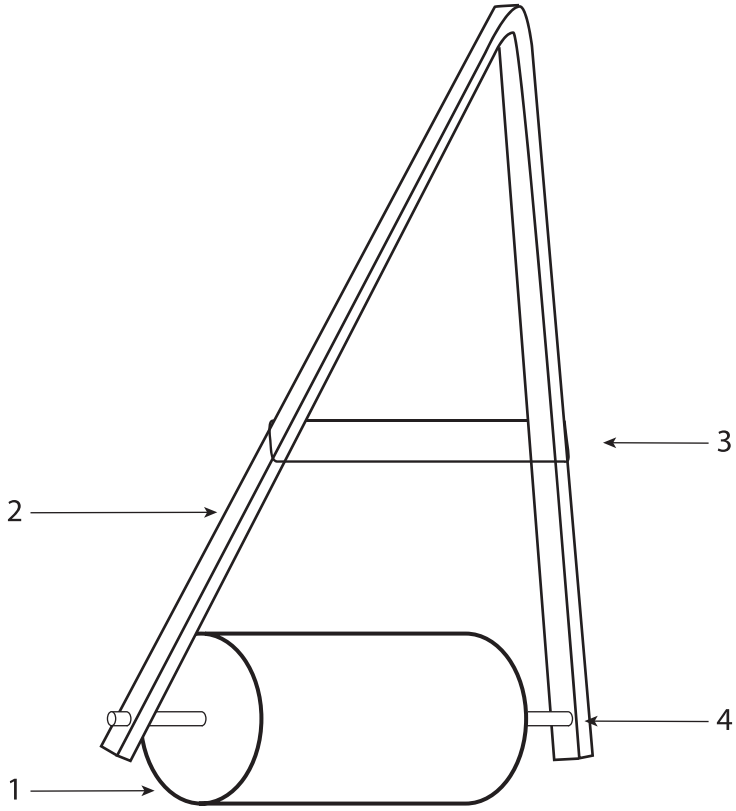


Fig. 41. *mandorta* ‘roller for roof’
1. *mandorta* ‘roller’
2. *bla mandora* ‘shaft’
3. *qmaṭa* ‘tie’
4. *ṣəppa* ‘axle’

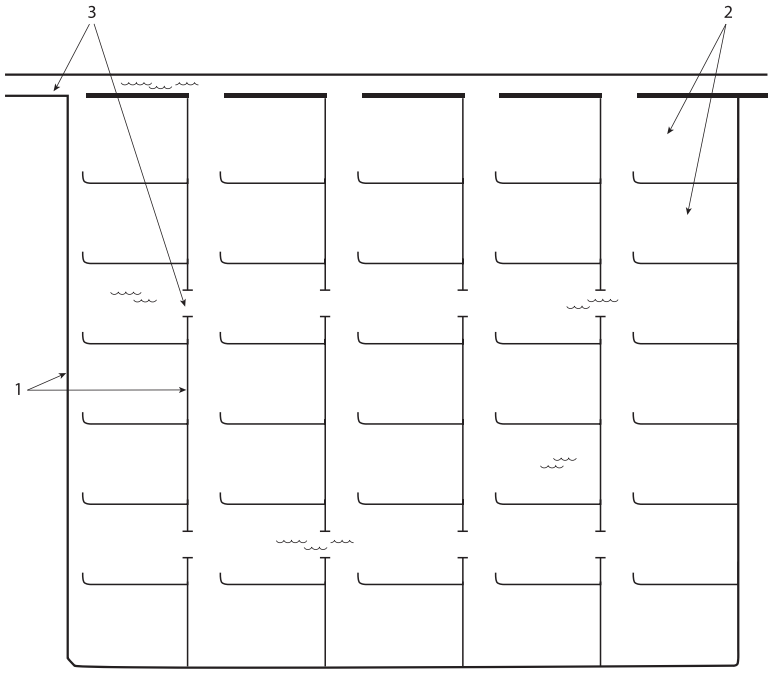


Fig. 42. Paddy field

1. *sadda* ‘dam’
2. *məššara* ‘basin’
3. *barju* ‘channel bringing water and connecting basins’

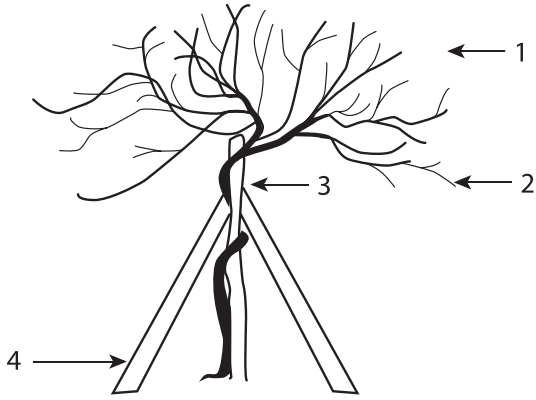


Fig. 43. Vine

1. *daliθa* ‘vine plant’
2. *dalya* ‘tendril of vine’
3. *samxa* ‘upright supporting post’
4. *kəzma* ‘wooden prop’

Fig. 44. *garuta* ‘stack (built against a tree)’

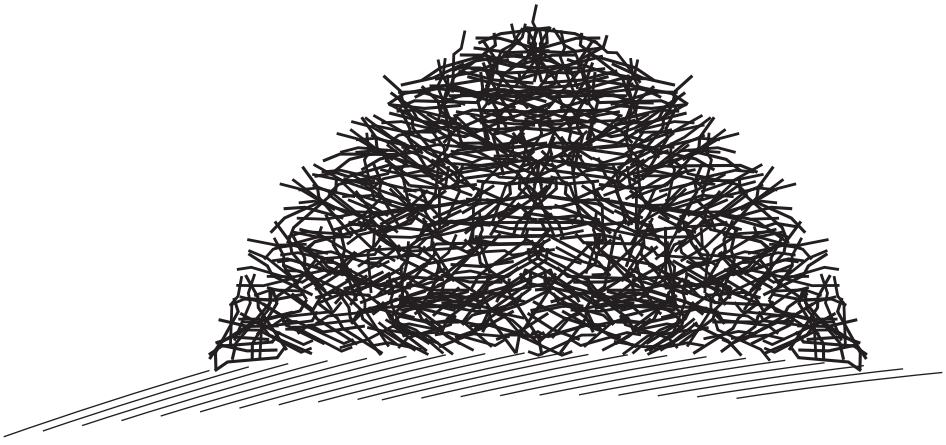


Fig. 45. *garuwa* ‘stack (standing by itself)’

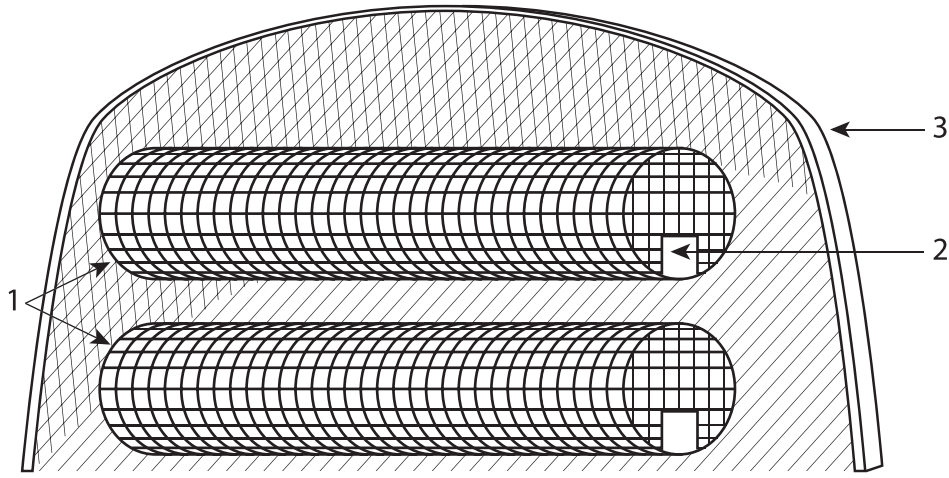


Fig. 46. *xəllepa* 'beehive'
1. *sălămaške* 'basket containing bees'
2. *tăra* 'opening'
3. *šwanəkke* 'protective cover'

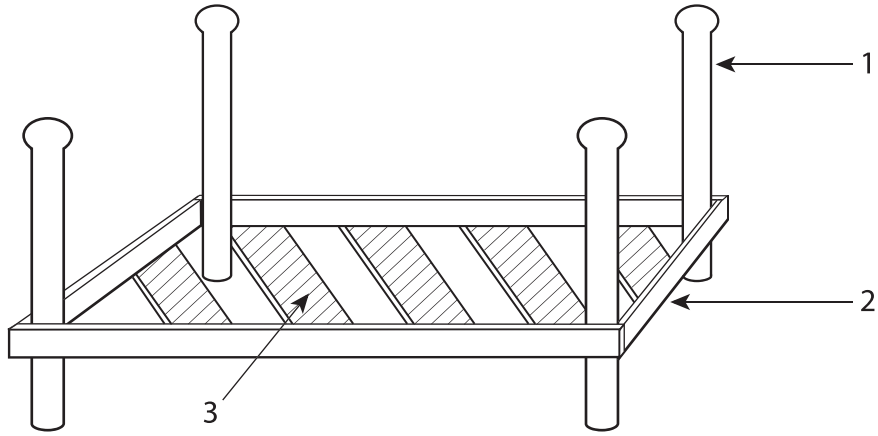


Fig. 47. *taxta* 'wooden bed'
1. *stunta* 'post'
2. *dapa* 'board'
3. *kəštəvana* 'slat'

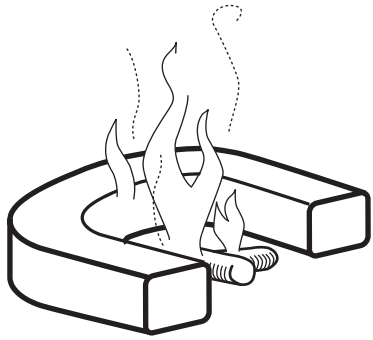


Fig. 48. *kanuna (1)* ‘open fireplace for cooking’

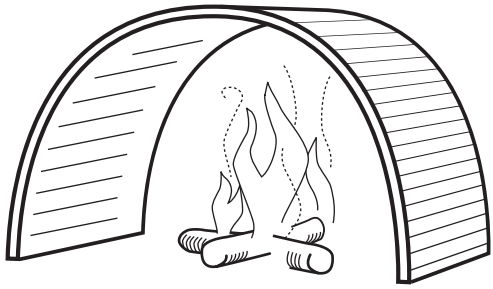


Fig. 49. *kanuna (2)* ‘enclosed fireplace for cooking’

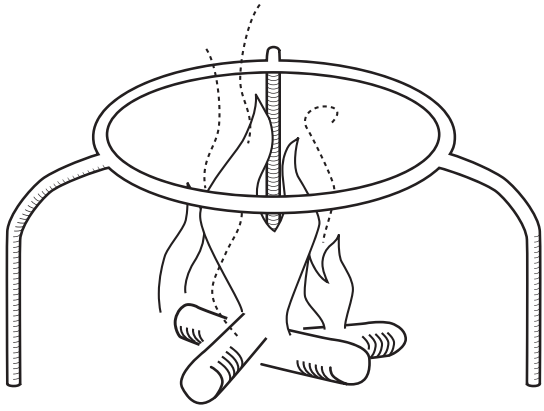


Fig. 50. *dəgdin* ‘metal stand for cooking’

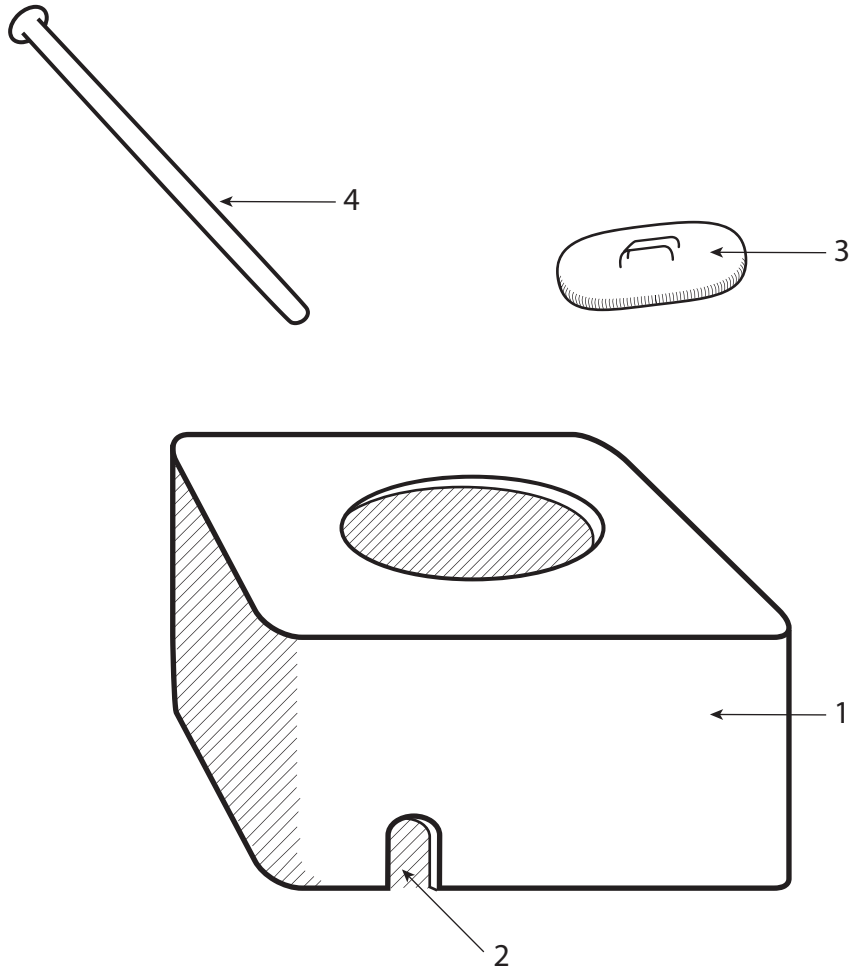


Fig. 51.

1. *tanura* ‘oven’
2. *ʾɛnta* ‘airhole’
3. *marzaq* ‘tool for sticking bread to oven’
4. *badoda* ‘poker’

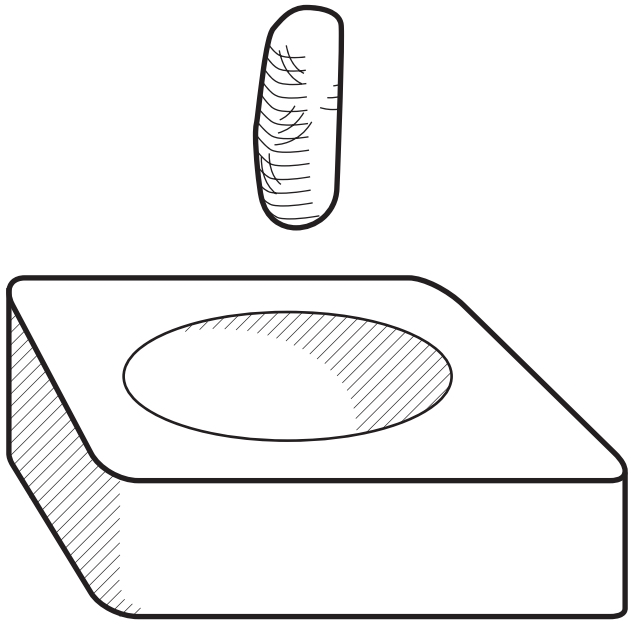


Fig. 52. *xašolta* ‘concave grinding base’, *xašola* ‘grinding stone’

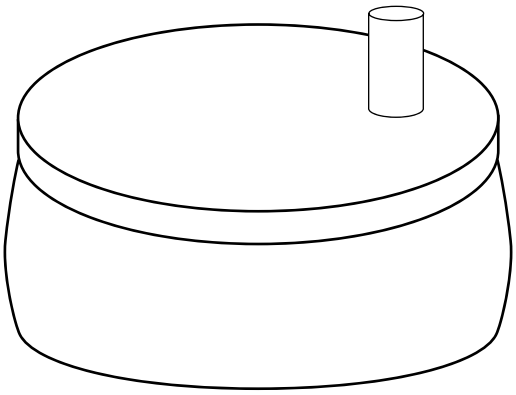


Fig. 53. *garosta* ‘handmill’

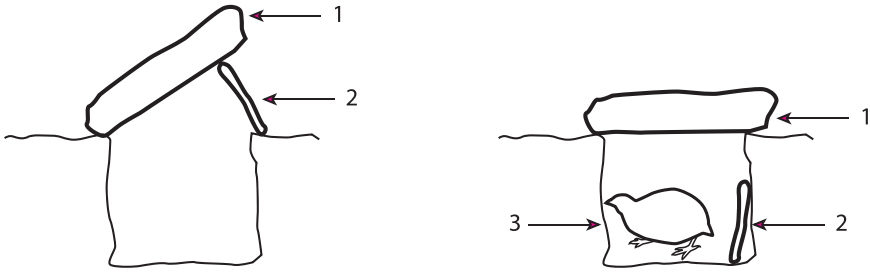
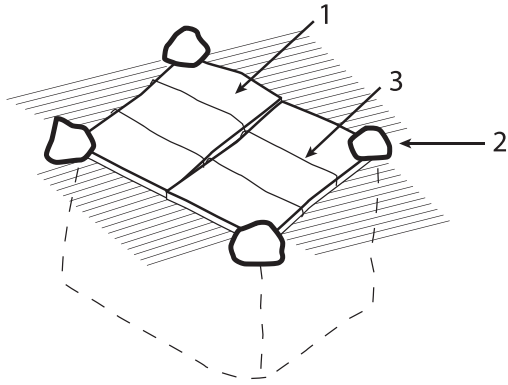


Fig. 54. *ţăpəkθa* 'partridge trap'
1. *parša* 'flat stone'
2. *čəldevana, ķulčva* 'wooden trigger'
3. *qəqwana* 'partridge'



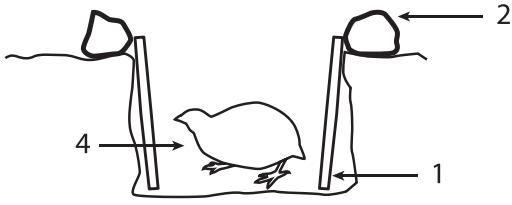


Fig. 55. *suta* 'partridge trap'
1. *dapta* 'piece of wood'
2. *kepa* 'stone'
3. *gədde* 'threads'
4. *qəqwana* 'partridge'

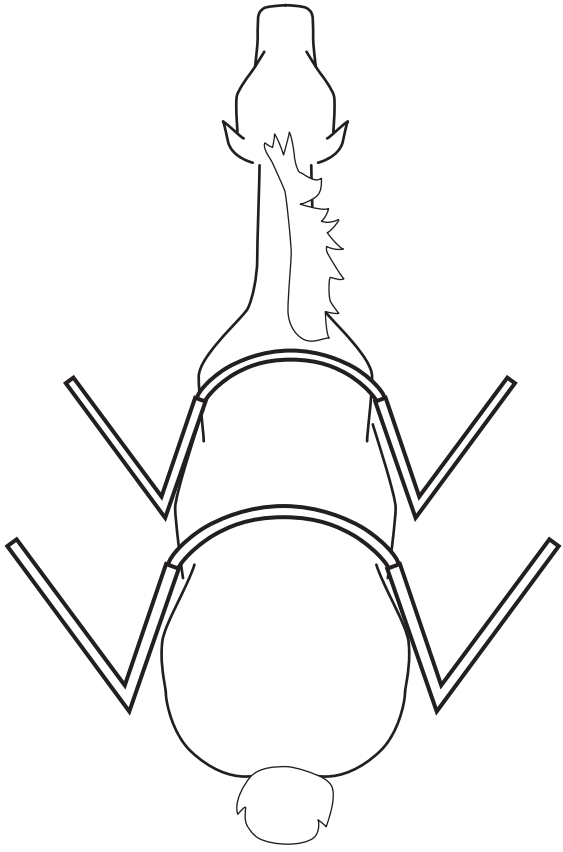


Fig. 56. *stavlət qɛse* ‘frames for carrying wood on a pack animal’

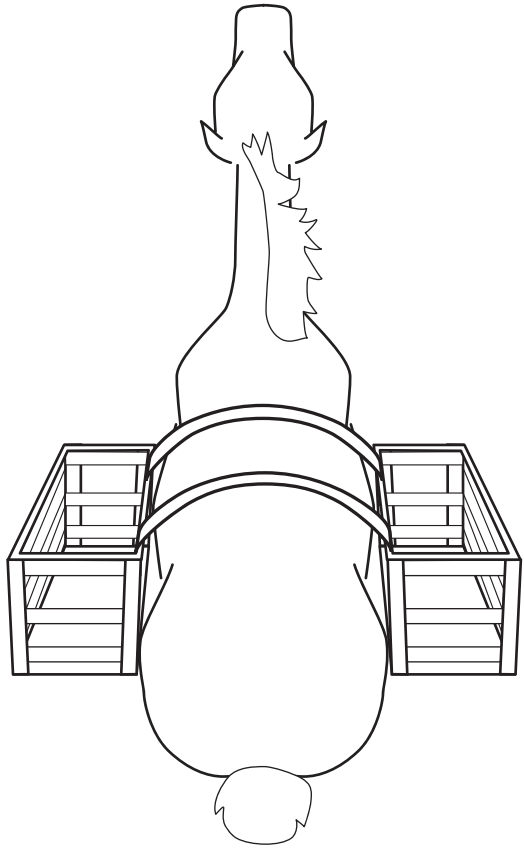


Fig. 57. *stavlət kepe* ‘frames for carrying stones on a pack animal’

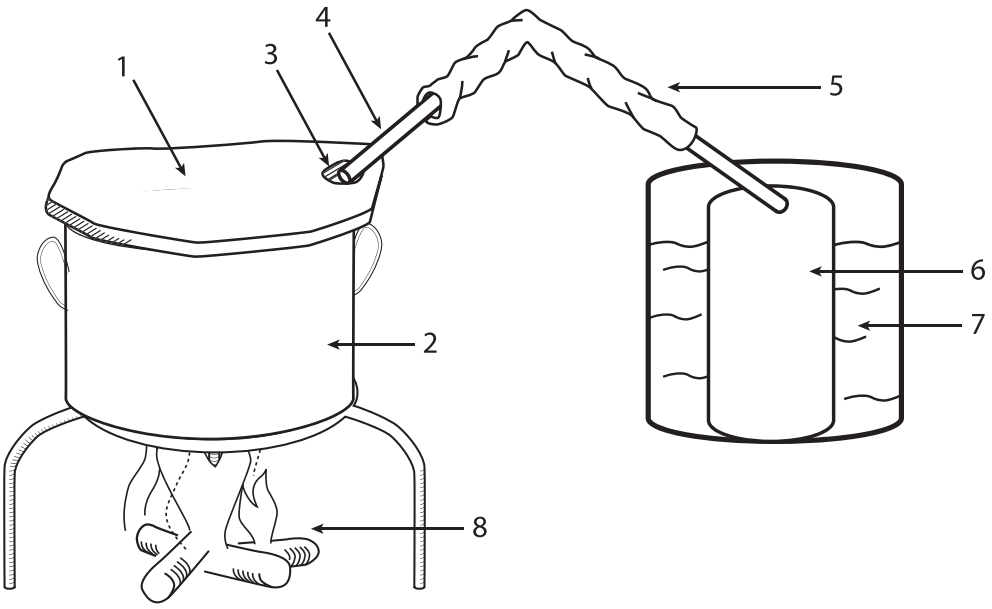


Fig. 58. *mpalaṭṭət ʾăraq* ‘distillation of arak’

1. *parša* ‘flat stone’
2. *margəlta* ‘pan’
3. *boya* ‘hole’
4. *lăvăna* ‘cane pipe’
5. *čəngərta* ‘insulating cloth’
6. *tannəkka* ‘tin’
7. *miye qarire* ‘cold water’
8. *nura* ‘fire’

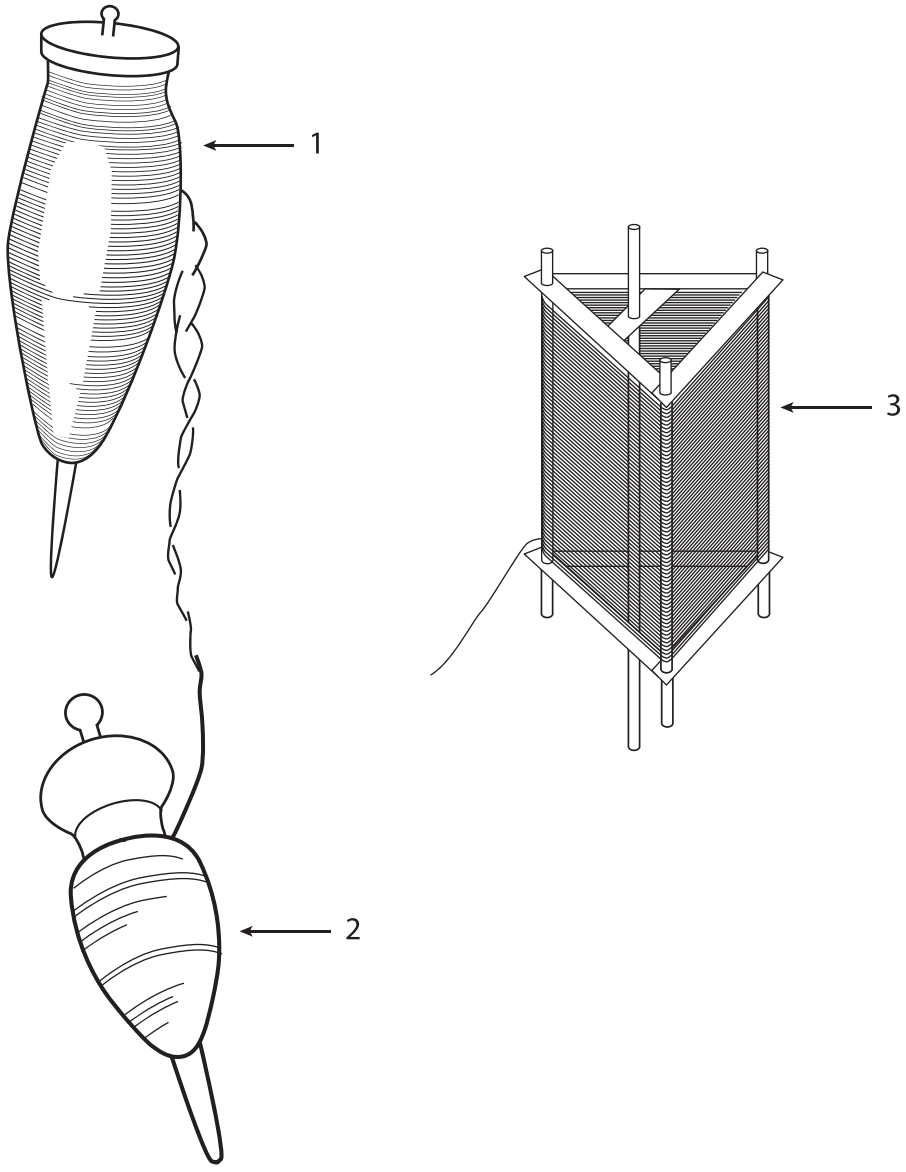


Fig. 59.
1. *xarnɛsa* ‘distaff’
2. *kuša* ‘spindle’
3. *msarbəs* ‘spool’

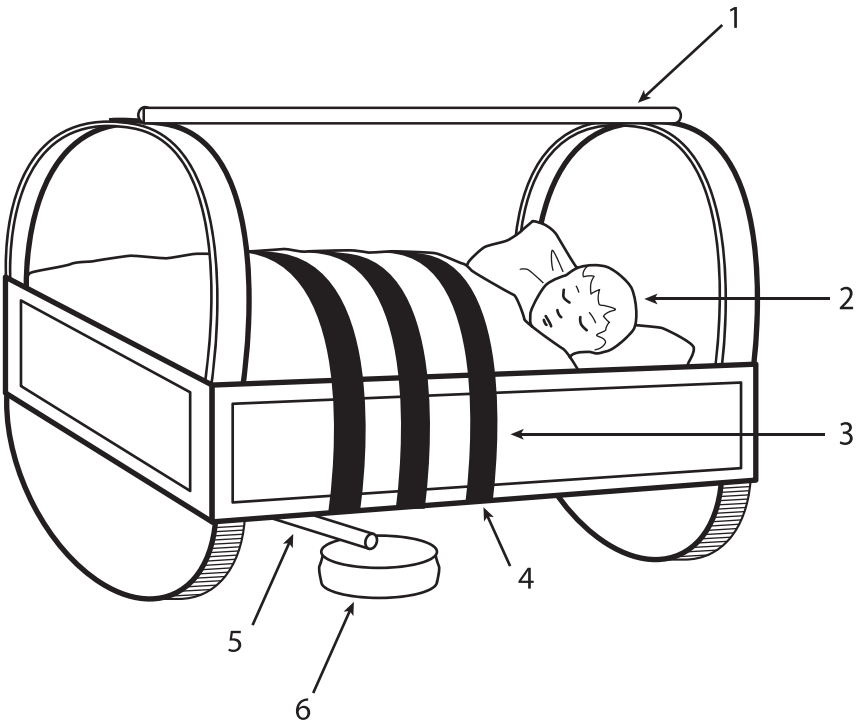


Fig. 60. *dudiya* 'cradle'
1. *xmarət dudiya* 'top of cradle'
2. *yala zora* 'baby'
3. *šabuqta* 'bar'
4. *bănude* 'swaddling bands'
5. *bəllorta* 'pipe for urine'
6. *quṣriya* 'pot'

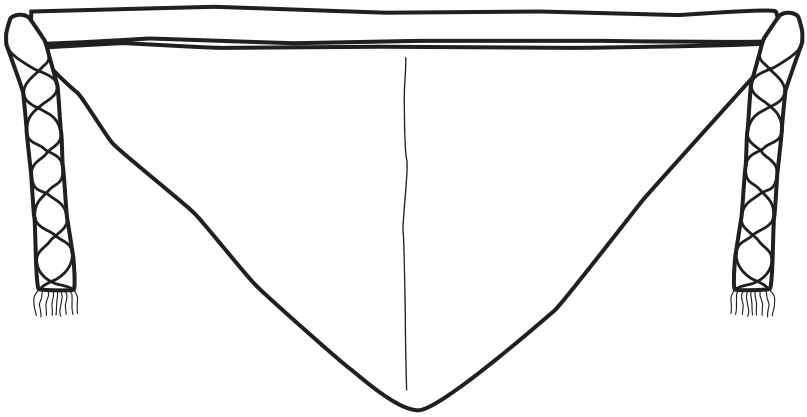


Fig. 61. *parzuna* ‘woolen knapsack’

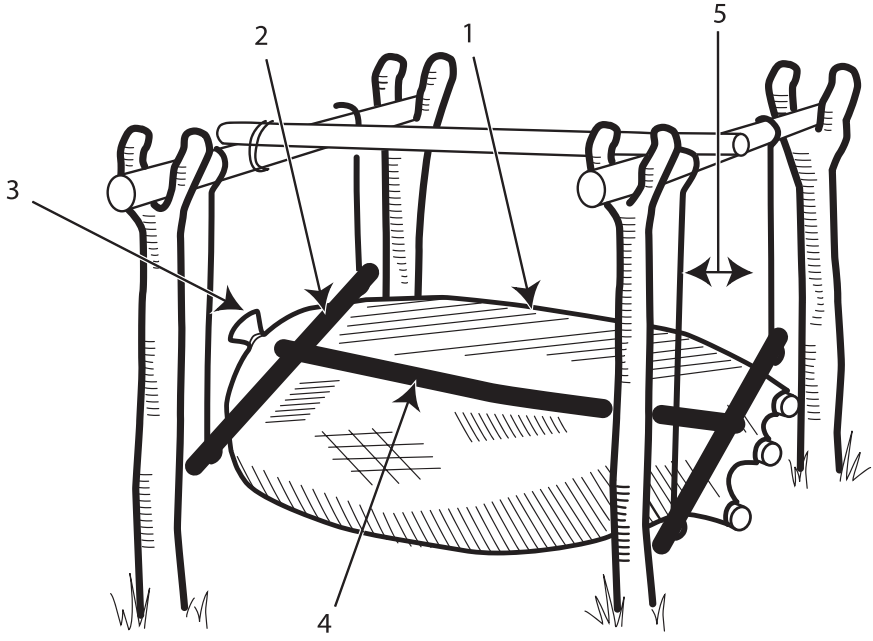


Fig. 62.
1. *guða* ‘goatskin churn’
2. *mayoya* ‘rod of frame’
3. *pummət guða* ‘mouth of churn’
4. *lawlaba* ‘rod of frame’
5. *šarafta* ‘rope’

The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar

Handbook of Oriental Studies

SECTION ONE

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

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The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar

Volume Three: Texts

by

Geoffrey Khan

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SECTION A: STORIES
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A1 The Wise Snake

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) ʾána ʾíwən Yúwəl Yuḥànna| ʾÌsḥaq| t-máθət Dùre,| t-Bɛ̀rwər.| ʾáyya hóla θàya,| hóla màra:|

(2) ʾíθwa xa-màlka.| ʾáwwa málka xzéle xa-xàlma.| ʾu-qédamta mɔ̀re| kúl náša t-yăðe mòdin xázya b-xálmi| bəd-yawànne| ʾəmma dáwe.| yáʿni kút yăðe mòdile mhumzə́ma ʾáwwa málka,| mòdile xázya b-xálme díye| b-yawálle ʾəmma dáwe.| (3) šúryela náše xáša kəs-màlka.| ʾáwwa mára ʾàtxət xázya-w| ʾáwwa ʾàtxət xázya-w| ʾáwwa ʾàtxət xázya.| (4) xá-naša ʾámər ṭla-báxte díye| qémən ʾàzən| ʾap-àna mjar-bánna| ḥàðð díyi.| xázəx qəsmàttila,| bálki qàrmən.| ʾáwwa qímɛle zìlɛle,| zìla,| zìla,| b-ʾúrxa tfiqɛle xá-xuwwe bìye.| (5) ʾo-xúwwe mɔ̀re| hà-naša| lɛ̀kət zála?| mára b-álaha hon-zála kəs-màlka.| málka hóle xázya xa-xàlma.| màra| kút-yăðe mòdile xázya b-xálme w-amɔ̀rre| bəd-šáqəl ʾálpa dàwe.| ʾé-ga ʾáp-ana bắyən ʾàzən,| ṭ-amránne xa-xàbra.| bàlki| képa qítle b-gàwza| npìlle-ʾăra gáwza.| bálki qrìmli.| (6) ʾó-xuwwe mára ʾalle-dìye| ʾən-ʾána ʾamránnux módile xázya málka b-xàlme,| ʾánna ʾálpa dáwe păl̀ətla,| pálga ṭlàli| pálga ṭlàlux?| mára nàša!| ʾána ʾəmma bàssi| ʾan-xéne kúlla ṭlàlux.| mára là?!| pálga ṭlàli,| pálga ṭlàlux.| mára mqawòlən.| mára ʾámrət ṭla-màlka| xzélux b-xàlmux| dúnye ráya tèle.|

SECTION A: STORIES
FOLKTALES

A1 The Wise Snake

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) I am Yuwəl Yuḥanna ʾIsḥaq of the village of Dure, from Barwar. (The story) goes (like this), it is (as follows):[1]

(2) There was a king. This king had a dream. In the morning he said '(If there is) any person who knows what I have seen in my dream, I shall give him a hundred gold coins. That is, (if there is) anybody who knows what this king spoke, what he saw in his dream, he will give him a hundred gold coins. (3) People began to go to the king. One says 'You have seen such-and-such', another 'You have seen such-and-such' and another 'You have seen such-and-such'. (4) One man says to his wife 'I shall go. I also shall try my luck. Let's see (whether) I am lucky.[2] Perhaps I shall win. He set off and walked for a time,[3] then on the road a snake crossed his path. (5) The snake said 'Hey, man, where are you going?' He said 'By God, I am going to the king. The king has had a dream and says that anybody who knows what he saw in his dream and tells him will have a thousand gold pieces. So, I also want to go and tell him something. Perhaps "the stone has hit the walnut, and the walnut has fallen on the ground". Perhaps I have won.' (6) The snake said to him 'If I tell you what the king saw in his dream, will you divide those thousand gold pieces, half for me and half for you?' He said 'Man! A hundred is enough for me. All the rest will be for you'. It said 'No! Half for me and half for you'. He said 'I promise'. It said 'Say to the king "You saw in your dream that that it was raining foxes"'.

[1] Literally: It comes, its says.
[2] Literally: It is my luck.
[3] Literally: He went, went, went.

(7) ʾap-aw-zìlɛle| xíša mátya kəs-màlka.| mṭéle gárre dìye| wírre kəs-màlka.| máre hàx| xázəx máṣət ṯ-amrátli módin xázya b-xàlmi.| máre hè málka.| máre ʾáti xázyət b-xálmux dúnye ráya tèle.| máre ʾày!| dàx ðílux?!| qáyəm yawálle ʾalpà-dawe.| ʾalpá-dawe ʾu-zìlɛle.| (8) plíṭɛle b-úrxa mtuxmànne.| máre xúwwe mà ṯ-áwəð b-an-álpa dáwe,| ṯ-ázən hawánna ʾəlle-dìye?!| ʾána lé-yawənne ʾàp-xa-fəlsa| qémən ʾázən bèθa| yáwən dèni.| ʾu-mtágəbrən bnòne| mtágəbrən gàni.| xúwwe ʾázəl dúke dìye.| (9) xìšɛle.| xíšɛle l-bèθa| léle-hiwa ʾàtxa.| píšɛle xà-yarxa| málka xzéle xa-xálma xèna.| mádre xzéle xàlma.| máre kút-yăðe módi mìra| ʾálpa dáwe xéne t-yawənne.| (10) ʾaw-šmìle| ʾay!| m-xúwwe hon-muxərwəlla| máṭo ṯ-òya?!| máre ṭla-bàxte| hàtxən wíða.| mòdit mára?| mára sí-ṭlub paxálta mánne dìye| ʾu-múr t-yawánnux zùzux.| máre ṯ-àzən| xàzəx| bálki lá-hawe tàma,| bálki là-pliṭle l-úrxi.| (11) qímɛle zìla.| mádre xúwwe plíṭɛle qàmθe| hà-pəllən| lèkət zála?| máre b-álaha šlàma-llux| pšàmən rába.| yăðət b-gànux| ʾìqənwa,| danànənwa.| ʾan-zúze šqilìli,| zílli hiwíli dèni.| mtugbəràli gáni.| paxlətli rába.| (12) máre díya lèkət zála?| máre málka hóle xázya xá-ga xéta xàlma.| ʾalpá-dáwe bəd-yáwəl ṭla-kút ʾamárre mòdile xálme.| máre ʾáyya bèna| ʾán ʾamrənnux| pălətla pálga màjjəd?| (13) máre nàša| dàx la-pălánna?| ʾáyya béna hár-kulla ṭlàlux ʾən-bă̆yət,| m-gēb-d-àni.| máre là?!| pálga ṭlàli,| pálga ṭlàlux.| máre ʾàmrət| xzéle málka b-xálme dúnye ráya dèwe.| (14) hadìya,| xìšɛle mádre.| mṭíθɛla dane-dìye| wírre kəs-màlka.| málka máre ʾàh| pàllən| módin xázya b-xàlmi?| málka ṯ-áwət basìma| xázyət b-xálmux dúnye ráya dèwe.| óy! máre dàx ðílux?!| ðìli.| máre hallúle ʾálpa dàwe.|

(7) So, he went. His turn came and he entered into the presence of the king. He (the king) said 'Well, let's see whether you can tell me what I saw in my dream.' He said 'Yes, king.' He said 'You saw in your dream that it was raining foxes.' He (the king) said 'Ah! How did you know?!' He gives him a thousand gold coins. A thousand gold coins (were given to him) and he went. (8) He went out on the road and thought. He said 'What will the snake do with the thousand gold coins that I should go and give them to it?! I shall not give it a penny. I'll go home, pay back my debts and look after my children, look after myself. Let the snake go to its place.' (9) He went (on his way). He went home. He did not give (the money) and that was that. A month later the king had another dream. He dreamt again. He said '(if there is) anybody who knows what happened in it,[4] I shall give him another thousand gold coins. (10) He heard (and said) 'Oh dear. I have wrecked (my relationship) with the snake. How can it be (that it will help me).' He said to his wife. 'I have done such-and-such. What do you say?' She said 'Go and ask forgiveness from it. Say "I shall give you your money"'. He said 'I shall go. Let's see, perhaps it will not be there, perhaps it will go out onto the road to meet me.'[5] (11) He set off, again the snake came out before him. 'Hey so-and-so, where are you going?' He said 'By God, peace be upon you. I am very sorry. You know, by your soul, I was in trouble. I was in debt. I took that money and paid off my debts. I have sorted myself out now. Forgive me please.'[6] (12) It said 'Now where are you going?' He said 'The king has had a dream again. He will give a thousand gold pieces to anyone who tells him what his dream is.' It said 'This time, if I tell you, will you really divide them in half?' (13) He said 'Man, how (could it be that) I shall not divide them?' This time everything is for you, if you want, in place of those (other coins).' It said 'No! Half for me and half for you'. It said 'You should say "The king has seen in his dream that it was raining wolves"'. (14) Now, he again went (to the king). His time came and he entered into the presence of the king. The king said 'Oh, so-and-so, what did I see in my dream?' 'King, I wish you well, you saw in your dream that it was raining wolves.' 'How did you know?!' 'I knew'. He said 'Give him a thousand gold pieces'.

[4] Literally: What it said.
[5] Literally: on my road.
[6] Literally: Forgive me much.

(15) mədre šqíləlla ʾálpa dàwe.ˈ šqíləlla ʾálpa dáwe dìyeˈ ʾu-xá-ga xéta zìlɛle.ˈ zílle kəs-xùwwe.ˈ ʾáyya béna mòdile wíða.ʔˈ šqílle xá šəndòxaˈ gu-plaṭṭət xùwweˈ dɛréle ʾo-šəndòxaˈ b-xùwweˈ qá-t qaṭəlle xúwwe.ˈ xúwwe ʾáxčile múdwa rìqa.ˈ wírre gu-bòye,ˈ gu-bóye díye mṭúšyəlla gáne dìye.ˈ (16) m-táma zílɛle l-bèθa.ˈ ʾálpa dáwe xá-ga xéta nùbləllaˈ ta-báxte dìye.ˈ xa-tré-yarxe xéne mədre xzéle xa-xəlma.ˈ máre málka hóle mədre xázya xà-xəlma.ˈ márɛle kuṯ-ámər mòdin xázya b-xálmi,ˈ t-yawánne ʾálpa dàwe.ˈ (17) mədre qìmɛleˈ ʾáwwa màreˈ ʾáyya béna mo-ṯ-òðən.ʔˈ máre ʾa-béna ʾap-képa dáryən b-xùwwe,ˈ ʾap-qṭála băyánwa qaṭlənwale.ˈ máre b-nayàsli,ˈ ṯ-axəlli.ˈ mó ṯ-oðèna.ʔˈ qímɛle zìlaˈ máre b-álaha ṯ-ázən kəs-xùwwe,ˈ ṯ-amrənneˈ ʾu-ṭálbən paxàlta mánne díye.ˈ mqawòlɛwən,ˈ ʾap-an-zúze kúlla ṯ-in šqìləllaˈ pălánna pàlge.ˈ ʾáp ʾan-ṯ-in-šqíləlla qamàye.ˈ (18) qímɛle zìla,ˈ mátyɛle xá-ga xèta.ˈ xúwwe plíṭɛle l-qamòθe.ˈ máre hà dostí.ˈ xázəx b-šəndóxe t-wátwa kípa bìyi.ˈ lèkət zála.ʔˈ bă̆xət ʾaláha dìyuxˈ la-hérwət mànni,ˈ mpaxlətli.ˈ ʾáxči ʾáp ʾayya-béna múrri mòdile.ˈ mqawólən kəmà-ṯ-in šqíla zúzeˈ mɛθánna pălànna,ˈ pálga ṭláli pálga ṭlàlux.ˈ máre dů̀s.ʔˈ máre dů̀s!ˈ máre mhuymánni-llux ya-ʾàlla.ˈ ʾámrət ṭla-málka dúnye ráya pàṛe.ˈ dúnye ráya pàṛe.ˈ (19) hadìya,ˈ qímɛle zìla.ˈ mátyɛle kəs-màlkaˈ wírɛle mátyɛle gárre dìye.ˈ mòdit xázya b-xálmux?ˈ máre b-xálmux xzáyət dúnye ráya pàṛe.ˈ ʾámər b-álaha dů̀s-iwət!ˈ ʾáp-ayya béna ðìlux.ˈ qáyəm yawálle ʾálpa dáwe xène.ˈ ʾáw xá-reša m-táma qú-si l-bèθa.ˈ ʾáp ʾan-tre-ʾálpe dáwe xéne mèθila.ˈ (20) ʾu-háyyo šláma-llux xóni xùwwe!ˈ b-šéna b-ṭawàθa!ˈ ʾámər xzi-hóli θèli.ˈ kúlla dáwe hon-mùθyəlla.ˈ ṭláθa ʾálpe dáwe hóla kəsli.ˈ ʾánna ʾálpa-w xamšá-mma dìyuxilaˈ ʾánna ʾálpa-w xamšá-mma dìyila.ˈ ʾáti háwət basìma.ˈ t-lá-ʾamrət be-bă̆xət-ile.ˈ (21) máre tùˈ ṯ-amrənnux.ˈ ʾána lán-mirəllux be-bă̆xət-iwət.ˈ ʾu-lán-mira qaṭòlɛwət.ˈ ʾu-lán-mira xòš-našɛwət.ˈ ʾu-lán-mira lebànɛwət.ˈ ʾína tu-ṯ-amrənnux.ˈ

(15) He again took the thousand gold pieces. He took his thousand gold pieces and went off again. He went to the snake. This time what did he do? He took a big stone. When the snake was coming out, he threw the stone at the snake, to kill the snake. The snake just managed to escape. It went into its hole and hid itself in its hole. (16) From there he went home. He again took the thousand gold pieces to his wife. After one or two more months, he (the king) again had a dream. The king said 'I have again had a dream. He says 'Whoever says what I have seen in my dream, I'll give him a thousand gold pieces'. (17) Again he (the man) said 'What shall I do this time?' He said 'Last time I even threw a stone at the snake. I even wanted to to kill it.' He said 'It will bite me. It will eat me. What should I do?' He set off. He said 'By God, I'll go to the snake and ask him for his forgiveness and say "I promise, I'll divide into halves also all the money that I took, that I took previously."' (18) He set off and arrived again. The snake came out to meet him. It said 'Hey, my friend, what about the stones that you threw at me? Where are you going?' 'I implore you (to forgive me).[7] Do not speak angrily with me. Forgive me. Just one more time tell me what it is. I promise that however much money I have received, I shall bring it and divide, half for me and half for you.' It said 'Really?' He said 'Really!' It said 'Well, I trust you. Say to the king "It is raining lambs. It is raining lambs". (19) Now, he went off. He arrived at the king's (palace). He entered (when) his turn came. 'What did you see in your dream?' He said 'In your dream you see it raining lambs'. He said 'By God, you are right! Also this time you knew it.' He gives him another thousand gold pieces. He went directly home from there. He brought back also those two thousand pieces of gold. (20) He went[8] (to the snake): Greetings my brother snake! Peace and blessings!' He says 'See, I have come. I have brought all the gold pieces. I have three thousand gold pieces on me. These one thousand five-hundred are yours and these one thousand five-hundred are mine. Please (take them), so that you cannot say that he is dishonest.' (21) It said 'Sit down. Let me tell you something. I did not say that you are dishonest. I did not say that you are a murderer. I did not say that you are a good man. I did not say that you are a trickster. But, sit down, I'll tell you something.'

[7] Literally: The protection of God with regard to you.

[8] The verbs here and in the last two clauses are in the imperative form. This is a narrative device to engage the listener.

(22) mára ʾo-gáya qə̀mɛθa θélux l-kásli,ˈ mári ṭlàluxˈ málka xázyɛle b-xálme dúnye ráya tèle.ˈ ʾó-yomət mári ṭlálux hádəx záwna lebàna-wewa.ˈ ʾúp-ati xìšluxˈ márux šqíllux zúze wélux lebána ʾàx-zawna.ˈ záwna qəm-ʾawədlux lebàna.ˈ (23) là-θelux kásli.ˈ mxélux xa-čárxa hál zíllux kəs-bàxtux.ˈ ʾu-θélux mdagóle ṭlàliˈ ʿála ʾasa̋s danànənwa,ˈ míðən mòdiˈ ʾu-ʾànna məndiyáne.ˈ (24) mára gáʾat tárte xzéle málka dúnye ráya dèwe.ˈ xálmət málka ʾíwa ʾúp-aw zàwna.ˈ ʾó-yomət xázya dúnye ráya tèleˈ záwnət lèbewa.ˈ ʾáwwa záwna t-xzélux dúnye ráya dèweˈ ʾíwa záwnət qə́tla-w dámma-w pràma,ˈ xa-xála ʾo-xèna,ˈ xa-qṭála ʾo-xèna.ˈ (25) ʾap-àtiˈ m-gə̋b ṯ-aθátwa méθətwali zùze,ˈ šqíllux xa-šəndòxa.ˈ ʾo-šəndóxa ʾán-hawewa qíθa bìyiˈ ṯ-awátwa qṭìləlli.ˈ xzi-ʾána mṭuršàli gáni.ˈ ʾína lɛ́wa mádre gnàyux.ˈ záwnət qə̀tla-wewa.ˈ ʾap-àtiˈ wélux gu-d-áw-zawna t-wéwa t-qə̀ṭlaˈ píšlux qaṭòla.ˈ (26) dìyaˈ t-xzéle málka dúnye ráya pàṛeˈ zawn-šlàmɛle.ˈ lɛt-ʾáti wíya xoš-náša ṯ-it-múθyəlla ʾánna zùze.ˈ záwna wíyɛle t-šlàmaˈ ʾáp-ati píšlux nášət šlàma.ˈ (27) bud-àyya muθélux ʾánna zúzeˈ hadíya bə̆́yət pə̆lətla.ˈ mára də-šqúl ʾanna-zùze.ˈ kúlla ṭlàlux.ˈ ʾána malàxɛn.ˈ síqle l-šmàyya.ˈ púš b-šɛ̀na.ˈ šuqáli táma ʾu-θéli làxxa.ˈ

(22) It said 'The first time you came to me, I said to you that the king saw in his dream that it was raining foxes. The day I said that to you, the time was tricky. So you went off, said (this to the king), took the money and became tricky like the time. The time made you a trickster. (23) You did not come back to me. You went on a circuitous route and went to your wife. You came lying to me, saying '(I did so) on the grounds that I was in debt' and I don't know what, things like that.' (24) It said 'The second time the king saw (in his dream) that it was raining wolves. Also that dream of the king was (like) the time. The day the king saw that it was raining foxes, it was the time of tricks. This time when you saw it raining wolves, it was a time of killing, blood and slaughter, one man eating the other, one killing the other. (25) So you, instead of coming and bringing me money, took a rock. If that rock had hit me, you would have killed me. Actually I hid myself. But again it was not your fault. It was the time of killing. You also, in the time that was one of killing, became a murderer. (26) Now that the king has seen it raining lambs, it is the time of peace. You have not become a good man and brought these coins. The time has become one of peace and you also became a man of peace. (27) Because of this you have brought these coins and want now to divide them.' It said 'Take these coins. They are all for you. I am an angel.' He went up to heaven. 'Peace be with you.' I have left it there and come here.

A2 The Priest and the Mullah

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) xá-yoma ʾíθwa xá-qaša ʾu-xà-malla.ˈ qáša xáša-wewa l-ʾUrəšləmˈ ʾu-málla zálɛwa l-ḥàǰǰ.ˈ zílela mə-ġðáðe hal-ʾÙrdun.ˈ šáryela gu-xa-ʾotèl.ˈ šáryela tàma.ˈ hadíya málla mšŭréle mbaqóre qàšaˈ lèkət zála?ˈ móre hon-zála l-ʾUrəšləm.ˈ ʾu-ʾàti lékət zála?ˈ móra hon-zála Màkka,ˈ ʾína bắyən zérən ʾáp-ana Qŭ̆dus.ˈ ʾən-lá zɛrə́nna Qŭ̆dus,ˈ lèla qbílta ḥaǰǰyúθi.ˈ (2) šáryela gu-d-é ʾotél ʾo-yòma-wˈ píšela hàdəx.ˈ ʾaṣárta θìθɛlaˈ bắyi ṯ-áxli xa-ràmša.ˈ mó ṯ-áxləx xa-ràmša?ˈ mərəˈ ṣàləx,ˈ zawnáxlən kθayàθa-wˈ ṯ-áθəx bašláxla b-gànən.ˈ ṭla-mó ṯ-ázəx ṯ-áxləx gu-màṭʿam?ˈ ʾàp-təmməl ʾáxləx mánna.ˈ tráθna hátxa muxšəxla.ˈ (3) qémi ṣáli zoníla tərté-kθaye ʾu-mɛθèla-wˈ mattíla gu-quṣárta mbašlìla-wˈ ʾu-yátwi ʾàxli.ˈ ðá-kθɛθa xilàla,ˈ ðá pìšla.ˈ málla hóle tíwa gu-kúrsa ṭlìle.ˈ ʾu-mšúryɛle mxarxòre.ˈ málla mšúryɛle mxarxòre,ˈ qáša txírre móre təmməl rùtɛla.ˈ (4) móre təmməl rùtɛla,ˈ ʾáwwa málla ṯ-axálla kθèθaˈ ʾána bṯ-ázən gu-šəmša.ˈ módi ʾawðèna?ˈ móre là?!ˈ ʾáw hole-dmíxa qémən ʾáp-ayya ʾaxlə́nna ʾàna.ˈ hal-təmməl ʾálaha raxmànɛle.ˈ xamšùšeba wéwa.ˈ nə́šya-wewa qáša t-wéwa yómət-tre rùta.ˈ málla ṯ-axálla ʾaw-lá-ʾaxəl čú-mdi sab-rùtɛla.ˈ (5) ʾáwwa qímɛle múttəlla kθéθa rəš-núra mšaxònəlla.ˈ mšuxə́ntɛla ʾu-tíwɛle rèša.ˈ xíləlla kùlla kθéθa,ˈ píšɛle gèrme.ˈ dáryəlla gu-qaṣxàneˈ ʾu-múttəlla tămàhaˈ ʾu-málla ṛìšɛle.ˈ móre ha-xĕ̀r málla?ˈ (6) málla móre náša šùqla!ˈ xzéli xa-xálma dìya,ˈ xu-léwa xə̀lma?ˈ xázwa šk̆ằra wéwa.ˈ móre dàxi?ˈ móre har-šùq!ˈ móre xèrila?ˈ mtànile!ˈ (7) ʾámər xzéli b-xə̀lmiˈ ʾínaˈ ʾána zíla l-pardèsaˈ l-á-dunye xèta.ˈ móra zílən l-tắrət pardèsaˈ ʾína hóla Mšíxa ʾu-Muḥámmad kálye gu-tắrət pardèsa.ˈ Mšíxa mbuqárre Muḥàmmadˈ móre ʾènile?ˈ móre màllile.ˈ

A2 The Priest and the Mullah

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) One day there was a priest and a mullah. The priest was going to Jerusalem and the mullah was going on the pilgrimage. They went together as far as Jordan. They put up in a hotel. They put up there. Now, the mullah started (talking by) asking the priest 'Where are you going?'. He said 'I am going to Jerusalem. And where are you going?' He says 'I am going to Mecca, but I want to visit also Jerusalem. If I do not visit Jerusalem, my pilgrimage is not accepted.' (2) They put up in the hotel that day and remained there.[1] The evening came and they wanted to eat dinner. 'What shall we eat for dinner?' They said 'Let's go down and buy for ourselves some chickens and come back and cook them ourselves. Why should we go to eat in a restaurant? We could eat them also tomorrow.' They both decided (to do) thus. (3) They go down and buy two chickens and bring them back. The put them in a pan and cook them, then sit down to eat them. They ate one chicken and one remained. The mullah sat in a chair, fell asleep and started snoring. The mullah started snoring, the priest remembered and said (to himself) 'Tomorrow is Friday.' (4) He said 'Tomorrow is Friday. This mullah will eat the chicken and I shall have nothing.[2] What should I do?' He said 'No! (While) he is asleep, I shall shall eat also this one. God is merciful until tomorrow. It was Thursday. The priest had forgotten that the next day would be Friday. The mullah would eat it and he would eat nothing because it was Friday. (5) He put the chicken on the fire to heat it up. (After) it was heated, he sat down to eat it.[3] He ate all the chicken. (Only) bones remained. He put them in the pan and put it aside.[4] The mullah woke up. He said '(Did you sleep) well, mullah?' (6) The mullah said 'Man, give me a break!' I have just now had a dream. Was it (really) a dream? It was a clear vision.' He said 'What was it like?' He said 'Give me a break!' He said 'Was it good? Tell it (to me)!' (7) He says 'I dreamt that I went to Paradise to the next life.' He says 'I went to the door of Paradise and behold the Messiah and Muḥammad were standing in the door of Paradise. The Messiah asked Muḥammad, he said 'Who is that?' He said 'It is my mullah'.

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[1] Literally: remained thus.
[2] I shall go in the sun.
[3] Literally: upon it.
[4] Literally: over there.

(8) ʾə́n-ile màllux| xoš-ʾáwər ʾu-ʾáxəl ʾu-šáte gu-pərdèsa-w| ʾiθ-táma ʾə́nwa ṭèpi| ʾu-ḥuriyə̀t| ʾu-kúlla-məndi ʾìθgena,| mábsəm ʾu-ṭáre kə̀f.| mára b-álaha múrəlli l-tàma.| xìlən| ʾu-šə̀tyən.| ʾó-məndit ʾàna xílli| ʾó busáma mubsə́mli tàma| là-ʾaθi mtanóye.| (9) ʾu-ʾámər qáša ʾu-ʾàna?| ʾámər də-klì!| ʾámər hádəx ʾáp-ati ʾəθyət.| ʾámər ʾəθyɛt.| mə́tyət kəslèy.| Muḥámmad máre ta-Mšìxa| ʾo-ʾènile?| máre ʾo-qàšile.| máre lítle dúka ʾàxxa.| mxòle| ʾu-xə̀ṭrule| ʾu-maqəlbùle.| (10) mára mə̀xyəllux,| mə̀xyəllux,| mə̀xyəllux| há-ṯ-ila múbyəlle gə̀ldux.| ʾu-mŭdə̀ṛəlluxila.| ʾámər xzélux be-baxtùθa.| ʾáti wírrux xíllux ʾə́nwe ṭèpi,| kθayàθa,| mubsə̀mlux,| ḥuriyyə̀t.| w-ána qəm-maxèli| w-áti xyára bìyi.| (11) ʾána-ži m-kə́rbi ʾə́θyən ʾá-kθɛθa múttənna rəš-núra ʾu-xìlənna.| ʾu-ṭlálux lan-šwíqa čù-məndi.| máre dàx-it xíla kúlla?!| xílənna ʾína mòdi?| kúlla hon-xìləlla.| máre xíllux táma mubsə̀mlux.| ʾána qəm-ṭarðìli.| ʾə́θyən m-kə́rbi hon-xíləlla ʾày.|

(8) If he is your mullah, let him enter, eat and drink in Paradise. There are there fine grapes and houris. There is everything. He will enjoy himself and have a good time.' He says 'By God, they let me enter there. I ate and drank. What I ate and the enjoyment I had there could not be related.' (9) The priest says 'And me?' He says 'Wait!' He says 'Meanwhile you also came.' He says 'You came and went up to them. Muḥammad said to the Messiah 'Who is that?' He said 'He is my priest'. He said 'He has no place here. Beat and cane him, and send him back'. (10) He says 'They beat you, they beat you, they beat you, until they made your skin swell, then they returned you.' He (the priest) says 'You have dreamt something unfair. You entered and ate fine grapes and chickens. You enjoyed yourself (with) houris. But they beat me while you were looking at me. (11) I, out of my anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it. I have left nothing for you.' He said 'How have you eaten it all?' 'I have eaten it, so what! I have eaten all of it'. He said 'You ate there and enjoyed yourself. They drove me out and, out of my anger, I have come and eaten it.'

A3 The Selfish Neighbour

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) xà-naša| xáčča ʾanàni-wewa,| yáʿni maxbánət gàne-wewa.| hàr y-áwewa ṭlába mən-ʾálaha,| qwàla:| bă̊yən ʾálaha t-yawálli móndi zàwda,| ʾu-t-yawálli məndiyàne,| qa-t-ʾálaha yawəlwale.| hár y-áwewa-qwála m-xayúθe dìye.| (2) xà-bena| márya ʾaláha móre ṭla-malàxa| də-ṣlì,| xzí ʾaw-mòdi bă̊ye.| háyyo xázəx mòdi.| hár hole-mṭarṭóme ʾu-ṭlàba,| mṭarṭóme ʾu-ṭlàba.| gazəndàna rába!| (3) maláxa ṣlèle.| móre há-naša ʾáti mùdit har-blíga ṭlába m-alàha| ta-t-yawəllux,| ʾu-gazènda-w| gazènda.| móra xzì| ʾána bă̊yən ʾaláha t-yawálli kùl-məndi bi-záwda,| ta-t-xayúθi hóya spày.| qa-t-xă̊yən spáy ʾàxxa.| (4) móre ʾaláha hole-mìra| t-yawəllux| b-šàrṭ| kú-mdit yawəllux| ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl trè.| yáʿni ʾáti ʾən-yawállux ðà-tawərta,| ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl tàrte tawriyáθa.| ʾən-ṭlálux yáwəl xà xmára| ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl trè xmáre.| yáʿni kú-mdit t-yáwəl ṭlàlux| ʾáp ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl trè.| (5) ʾámər ta-mò ta-šwáwi?| ʾána hon-márəllux b-àyya šárṭ ʾaláha t-yawállux,| ʾína là-yawəllux.| móre klí mtaxèmnən.| ʾó mtuxmènne,| sìqle maláxa.| (6) bár ṭlaθa-yóme dìṛṛe.| móre mtuxmènnux?| móre hè.| mòdit mtaxmóne?| mìrre| ʾámrət ta-màrya| ʾálaha bă̊yən| ðà-ʾɛni mpalə́ṭla.| móre ṭla-mòdi ða-ʾénux mpalə̀ṭla?| móre ta-t-ʾénət šwáwi tràθna mpalə́ṭla.|

A3 The Selfish Neighbour

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) A certain man was rather selfish, that is he was fond of himself. He was always making requests from God, complaining 'I want God to give me something more, give me things', so that God would give him. He was always complaining about his life. (2) Once, the Lord God said to an angel 'Go down, see what he wants. Come, let's see what it is (all about). He is always grumbling and asking (for things), grumbling and asking (for things). He is a big whiner.' (3) The angel went down. He said 'Hey, man, why are always busy asking God to give (things) to you, (with) complaint (after) complaint. He says 'Look, I want God to give me more of everything, so that my life will be good, so that I shall live well here.' (4) He said 'God has said that he will give to you on condition that everything he gives to you he will give to your neighbour twofold. That is, if he gives you one cow, he will give to your neighbour two cows. If he gives to you one ass, he will give to your neighbour two asses. That is, everything that he gives to you, he will give also to your neighbour, twofold.' (5) He says 'Why to my neighbour?' 'I am telling you, God will give to you on this condition, otherwise he will not give to you.' He said 'Wait, let me think (about it).' He thought (about it). The angel went up (to heaven). (6) After three days he returned. He said 'Have you thought (about it)?' He said 'Yes'. 'What are you thinking of?' He said 'Say to the Lord God that I want him to take out one of my eyes.' He said 'Why should he take out one of your eyes?' He said 'So that he takes out both eyes of my neighbour'.

A4 A Tale of a Prince and a Princess

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa lìθwa| biš-m-aláha góṛa lìθwa,| ʾíθwa xa-màlka.| ʾaw-málka ʾíθwale xa-bròna,| yăx̣àna.| xà mən-yománe| ʾáw-bronət màlka| máre ṭla-bábe díye bă̆yən pálṭən ṣèda,| ʾána ʾu-xuràne,| gu-ṭùra,| ṯ-áwe ʾárwət wàla| m-ánna məndiyàne,| qəqwàne,| ṭère,| lɛðən-mòdi.| (2) ʾáp-awwa sìqɛle gu-ṭúra| mən-xuráne díye píšɛle gu-ṭúra xá-yoma yóme trè.| dmìxela| b-lèle xá-ga| ʾəθyela tré malàxe,| pyáða qama-qámət čádra d-ò-malka.| hadìya,| ʾan-maláxe móra yă̆ðət ʾaw-ʾènile?| móra ʾaw-brōn-màlkɛle.| móra hè!| (3) móre ʾáw brōn-málka rába šapìrɛle| ʾu-hawnànɛle,| ʾína ʾíθ ʾax-díye ʾáp-ay šapírta-w hawnánta brátət málkət maʾàrwa ṯ-ámrəx.| móre mòdit móra?| ʾáwwa nabláxle kəs-d-ày| yan-ʾáy nabláxla kəs-d-àwwa?| ʾáwwa móre là?| ʾàwwa nabláxle kəs-d-áy.| móre báxta be-bă̆xət-ila,| maqəṭlàle.| méθəx ʾày kəsle-díye.| (4) qímela múθyəlla ʾa-brátə d-ó-malkət maʾárwa kásle dìye.| ʾíman ṯ-íle xàzyəlla,| hátxa šəṭránta-w šapìrta,| ʾay-ṣrìxla.| qəm-ṯ-amárra là-ṣarxət.| ʾàtit θíθa kásli.| lán ʾàna-ʾəθya kásləx.| bár ṯ-ila-ðíta qa-t-ʾàyyɛla θíθa kəsle-dìye,| muxábla ġðàðe.| (5) mšuxlápla b-isəqyàθa.| ʾu-hádəx gu-d-o-xúbba ṭàlyela.| xánčı ṯ-amránna qalùlta| qa-t-pàrqa.| gu-d-o-xúbba ṭàlyela.| ʾɛ-dánə ṯ-ìla ṛíše,| kút-xa gu-šwíθət gàne,| ʾáyya gu-qáṣrət bába dìya,| ʾáw gu-čádre dìye,| ʾáwwa məskéna ràba pšímle| ʾu-ʾáy mšuyðənna.| (6) har-ò-yoma| mšurèla,| ʾámri brátət málka mšuyðənna| mšuréla sráṭa júlla mšeyðòne.| ʾáp-xa lá-biš-ile-mṣaya mqarów-alla dìya.| brōn-málka qímɛle qáryɛle l-kúlla ʾan-xuráne dìye.| móre yába dèṛəx.| bàssa,| wídlən ṣèda,| bàssa.| ʾána ṣédi wìdli.| (7) móre ʾána ṣédi wìdli.| qímɛle díṛṛe bèθa.| díṛɛle kəs-bábe dìye.| ʾámər bàbi| ṯ-amránnux xà-məndi| béli ʾəllux.| móre hă̆l ʾu-hawă̆l hátxa xzèli.| gu-d-è-dana| móre bábi bálki gu-xàlmux-iwətwa.| xálma náša hár ʾi-xàze.|

A4 A Tale of a Prince and a Princess

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) There was or there was not. There was no greater than God. There was once a king. That king had a son, an only son. One day, that son of the king said to his father 'I want to go out hunting, I together with friends, in the mountains, where there were wild goats, such things, partridges, birds, I don't know what. (2) So, he went up into the mountains with his friends and remained in the mountains one or two days. One night they went to sleep and two angels came, passing by the tent of the king. Now, those angels said 'Do you know who that is?' They said 'That is the son of the king.' They said 'Yes'. (3) (One) said 'That son of a king is very good-looking and clever, but there is someone who is good-looking and clever like him, the daughter of the king of the West, let's say'.[1] (The other) said 'What do you say (we do)?' 'Should we take him to her or take her to him?' He said 'No. We shall take him to her.' He said 'The woman is not trustworthy, she may cause him to be killed. Let's bring her to him.' (4) They went and brought that daughter of the king of the West to him. When he saw her, so beautiful and good-looking, she screamed. He said to her 'Don't scream. It was you who came to me. It was not me who came to you.' After she realized that she had come to him, they fell in love with each other. (5) They exchanged rings. Thus they slept together in that love. I'll tell it to you quickly so that it will finish. They slept together in that love. When they woke up, each in their own bed, she in the palace of her father and he in his tent, he, poor man, became very sad and she became mad. (6) On the same day she began—they say the daughter of the king went mad and began to tear her clothes out of madness. Nobody was able to go near her at all. The son of the king called all his friends and said 'Let's return. That's enough. We have done some hunting. That's enough. I have done my hunting.' (7) He said 'I have done my hunting'. He returned home. He returned to his father. He says 'Father, I shall tell you something, between me and you'. He said 'I saw such-and-such things'. Then he (the king) said 'My dear, perhaps you were dreaming.[2] A person always dreams.[3]

[1] I.e. we shall give her this name for the sake of the story.
[2] Literally: you were in your dream.
[3] Literally: sees a dream.

(8) mə́re bábi là-babi,ˈ lɛ̀le xálma.ˈ šk̆ə̌rɛla.ˈ ʾáyya ʾisə́qθa ʾu-ʾáyya yalə́xta ṯ-íwəx mšuxə̀lpe,ˈ kúl-məndi dìya.ˈ ʾo-mə́re hadíya mòdi bə̆́yət.ʔˈ mə́re bə̆́yən ʾázət xáðrət bába dìyaˈ kú-dukə ṯ-íla mɛθə̀tla-llì.ˈ mə́re spə̀y.ˈ (9) lá-yə̆ðe brāt-d-ènila.ˈ lɛ́la mirtə̀lle.ˈ lá-yə̆ðe brāt-d-ènila.ˈ malàxe yə̆́ði,ˈ ʾàxc̆i.ˈ hadìya,ˈ módila wìðe?ˈ málka qímɛle yomət-trè,ˈ híwɛle xábra ta-wə̆zíre dìye,ˈ ʾu-ráyəs wuzàraˈ yába hon-zàlaˈ xðára báθər báxta ta-bròni.ˈ ʾé-ga b-dɛ̀ṛənˈ mɛyə́nna ʾay-bàxta.ˈ ʾáti wə̆̀kil-iwət.ˈ (10) málka máxyɛle ʾíðe l-gàneˈ ʾu-zìlɛle,ˈ núbla xulamwàθa mə́nneˈ ʾu-nàše.ˈ ʾu-xìšɛleˈ b-ùrxaˈ xðàraˈ m-máθa l-màθa,ˈ m-məðíta l-məðìta,ˈ xáze ʾɛ̀ka b-xazéla.ˈ ʾó-yomə ṯ-íle plíṭa málka m-bɛ̀θa,ˈ ʾó-yoma bróne díye mìθɛle.ˈ ʾó-yoma mìtle bróne díye.ˈ ʾáwwa là-yə̆ðe.ˈ (11) ʾu-xìšɛle,ˈ ʾu-xìšɛle,ˈ ʾu-xìšɛle,ˈ ʾu-xìšɛle,ˈ ʾu-xìšɛle.ˈ xuláṣa ʾaláha mutə́pqəlle gu-d-a-məðíta ṯ-íla ʾɛ-bráta d-o-màlka.ˈ xə́zyəlla náše j̈ə̀myeˈ qúrbət qáṣrət màlka,ˈ kút-xa mṣawóθe xà-məndi,ˈ kút-xa mára xà-məndi.ˈ ʾáwwa-ži qə́ryəlla mə́re mòdila qə́ṣṣət?ˈ (12) mára brāt-málka hóla mšuyðànta.ˈ ta-mòdila mšuyðánta?ˈ mára ʾáyya là-yə̆ða.ˈ hóla màraˈ xzíθəlle xa-bronət-xà-malka,ˈ láx-ðaʾa ʾɛ̀ka,ˈ ʾu-bìθəllela-wˈ ʾu-hóla mšuyðánta mən-d-ó-yoma ṯ-íla xzíθəlle ʾàw.ˈ ʾáp-xa lɛle-mṣáya mbasə̀mla.ˈ (13) mə́re ʾéni ʾítlɛxu t-náše t-máṣi mšáwθi mànnaˈ xazéla màṭola?ˈ mə́ra ʾítlən ða-ṯ̂óṯ̂o y-óða xə̀rše.ˈ ʾáy y-ásqa kə́sla-w ṣàlya.ˈ ʾu-hál-diya čù-məndi.ˈ mə́re maṣítu mšadrítula kə̀sli?ˈ mə́ra hè.ˈ ʾaw-zílɛle gu-čádre dìye,ˈ θíθɛla ṯ̂ò̩ṯ̂o.ˈ (14) θíθɛla kásle dìye,ˈ dríθɛla šlàma.ˈ mə́re ʾáti y-ázət kəs-brátət màlka?ˈ mə́re mòdila qə́ṣṣət díya?ˈ mə́ra b-álaha qə́ṣṣət díya hàtxɛla.ˈ mpíltɛla b-xùbba.ˈ xzíθəlla gʸána díya kəs-xa brónət xa-màlka-wˈ ʾu-yómət trèˈ qedámta xzíθəlla gʸána gu-šwiyáθət gʸàna.ˈ mən-d-ó-yoma hóla mšuyðànta.ˈ (15) mə́re ʾamrə̀nnəx xá-məndi.ˈ šqíləlla qamáye ðá-kísta dàwe.ˈ mə́re ʾáy ṭlàləx,ˈ ta-ṯ̂óðət šùla.ˈ hé mə̀ra,ˈ mjunəgníla hàtxa.ˈ mə́ra ʾé-gət mən-d-ánna hàwe,ˈ šúla bṯ̂-ázəl lă-qàma!ˈ kut-dúkət bə̆́yət nablànnux.ˈ

(8) He said 'Father, no father. It is not a dream. It is true. This is the ring and this the scarf that we exchanged. Everything is hers.' He said 'Now, what do you want?' He said 'I want you to go and look for her father,[4] and to bring her to me wherever she is.' He said 'Fine'. (9) He does not know whose daughter she is. She did not tell him. He does not know whose daughter she is. Only the angels know. Now, what did they do? The next day the king gave word to his ministers and his prime minister 'Now, I am going to look for a wife for my son. When I return, I shall be bringing the wife.[5] You are the deputy.' (10) The king set off,[6] taking servants with him and (other) people. He went on the road, wandering from village to village, town to town, to see where to find her. On the day that the king left home, on that day his son died. On that day his son died. He (the king) did not know. (11) He travelled on and on and on and on and on. In the end God made him come across the town where the daughter of that king was. He saw the people gathered near the palace of the king, each one saying something, each one telling something. He called to them and said 'What has happened?'[7] (12) They said 'The daughter of the king has gone mad.' 'Why has she gone mad?' They said 'She does not know. She says that she saw the son of a king, we do not know where, and fell in love with him, and she has been mad from the day that she saw him. Nobody can cure her.' (13) He said 'What people do you have who can speak with her and find out how she is?' They said 'We have an old woman who does magic. She goes up to her and comes down, but until now nothing (has come of it)'. He said 'Can you send her to me?' They said 'Yes'. He went to his tent and the old woman came. (14) She came to him and offered greetings. He said 'Do you go to the daughter of the king?' He said 'What is her story?' She said 'Well, her story is like this. She has fallen in love. She found herself with a son of a king and the next day in the morning she found herself in her own bed. From that day she has been mad.' (15) He said 'I'll tell you something.' He first took out a purse of gold pieces. He said 'This is for you, for you to do your job.' 'Oh' she said, she shook them like this, she said 'If there are these (gold pieces), the job will go ahead! I'll take you to any place you want.'

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[4] Literally: I want you to go (and) go round to her father.
[5] I.e. I shall only return if I find the wife.
[6] Literally: The king struck his hand on himself and went.
[7] Literally: What is the story?

(16) máre làʾ.ˈ ʾáwwa xabùša|ˈ muttále yalàxθa|ˈ ʾaw-xabúša qṣèle.ˈ muttále ʾisáqθe díye gàwe.ˈ ʾu-ó-xabuša síṛre gu-d-áy-yaláxθe díye b-gʸàne.ˈ máre máθyət ʾáwwa xabùša|ˈ ʾu-ʾáyya yalàxθa.ˈ mamṭátla ʾálla dìya|ˈ ʾu-xza-mò-ṯ̂-oða|ˈ ʾáθyət ṯ̂-amràtli.ˈ ʾíman ṯ̂-àθyət,ˈ ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawànnəx.ˈ (17) móra dáx litlux-xàṭər?|ˈ har-díya mátyən ṯ̂-àθyən.ˈ sìqtɛla.ˈ ʾáy hár mšeyðòne,ˈ šwára nðáya gu-d-án ʾotáxe šluxèθa.ˈ ʾay-m-ráḥqa hóla wáðəlla ʾa-yaláxθa hàtxa qam-ʾéna díya.ˈ ʾu-sìqla-w|ˈ ʾu-sìqla-w|ˈʾu-sìqla-w|ˈ ʾu-sìqla-w|ˈ ʾé-ga ṯ̂-ìla-qriwta ʾálla,ˈ xzìθəlla,ˈ xzíθəlla yaláxθa hàtxa,ˈ ʾáx ṯ̂-àmrət,ˈ xáčča biš-šlèla.ˈ (18) mabyóne ʾìθ-xa-məndi gu-qáṣṣət.ˈ ʾu-wírtɛla ṯ̂ó̂to kásla dìya.ˈ móra módit wáða?|ˈ hàyyo!|ˈ hóla hà!|ˈ šqúlla yaləxθa.ˈ ʾáyya d-ènila?|ˈ móra yaláxθa dìyila.ˈ pθíxtəlla xabúša gàwa.ˈ (19) ʾo-xabúša pθìxtəlle,ˈ ʾína ʾisáqθa dìya.ˈ móra ʾap-ʾáyya ʾisàqθila.ˈ kèle móra d-áyya.?|ˈ ʾèni híwle-lləx.?|ˈ díya xanqànnəx!|ˈ móra klè!|ˈ ʿala-kèfəx.ˈ hóle ʾàxxa.ˈ ʾàwwɛle mšudárəlli.ˈ kèle?|ˈ ʾèkɛle?|ˈ (20) móra klè.ˈ ʿala-kèfəx.ˈ móra diya-méθu júlli malušùla.ˈ ʾána bsìmli|ˈ čú-mdi liθ-bìyi.ˈ móθi júlla dìya,ˈ kúlla qəm-malušíla ʾálla dìya.ˈ (21) hadíya màra|ˈ xábra plìṭle|ˈ móra ṯ̂ó̂to mbusmála brāt-màlka.ˈ móra b-ṣàlyən|ˈ b-tápqən bìye.ˈ xázəx mò-ṯ̂-awəð,ˈ ʾu-ta-t-šáqlən màwʿəd|ˈ xazàxle.ˈ ʾàmra|ˈ sɛ-múr ṭla-bàbi|ˈ ṯ̂-àθi|ˈ mpaltíli m-àxxa-w|ˈ ṯ̂-ázən sàxyən,ˈ lóšən jùlli.ˈ ʾána hon-bsìmta.ˈ (22) zìltɛla ṯ̂ó̂to|ˈ móra màlka,ˈ màlka,ˈ mbusmáli bràtux.ˈ ʾáp-awwa šaqálla ðá-kista qa-d-ày,ˈ yawálla qa-d-ày.ˈ hár mkapáštət kisyáθət dàwela ṯ̂ó̂to.ˈ hè,ˈ wíðta šùlɛla ṯ̂ó̂to.ˈ móra màsxola,ˈ malušúla jùlla-diya|ˈ ʾu-díya ṯ̂-àθyən.ˈ ʾítli šùla.ˈ (23) kìzle málka|ˈ mòdila qáṣṣət?|ˈ ʾáti klì!|ˈ ʾànən wáða šúla díya.ˈ ṣlìθɛla.ˈ ʾámra ṭlále díye qù!|ˈ drəstila qáṣṣət.ˈ hóla bsìmta.ˈ qù!|ˈ bă̆ya xazyàlux.ˈ

(16) He said 'No. (Take) this apple.' He laid out the handkerchief and cut the apple. He put his (his son's) ring in it and tied the apple in the handkerchief by itself. He said 'Take this apple and this handkerchief. Convey them to her and see what she does, then come back and tell me. When you come back, I'll give you another purse like that one.' (17) She said 'By all means. I'll be there and back at once.' She went up (to see her). She (the princess) is continually acting madly, leaping and jumping around naked in the rooms. She (the old woman) waves the handkerchief before her eyes from a distance like this. She (gradually) came up and up and up and up. When she came near to her and she saw it, she saw the handkerchief, she seemed[8] to become she became a little calmer. (18) It seems, there is something in the story. The old woman went (into the room) to her. She said 'What are you doing? Come! Here it is! Take the handkerchief.' 'Whose is it?' She said that it was her handkerchief. She opened it and the apple was in it. (19) She opened up the apple and there was her ring. She said 'This ring is also mine.[9] Where is the owner of this? Who has given it to you? I'll throttle you right now.' She said 'Wait! Calm down. He is here. It was he who sent me.' 'Where is he? Where is he?' (20) She said 'Wait. Calm down.' She said 'Now bring my clothes and put them on me. I am cured. Nothing is the matter with me.' Her clothes were brought. They put them all on her. (21) Now, they said, the word went out and they said 'The old woman has cured the daughter of the king.' She said 'I'll go down and meet him. Let's see what he will do. (I'll go down) to make an appointment, let's see him.' She says 'Go and tell my father (to give instructions) for them to come and release me from here. I'll go to wash and put on my clothes. I am cured.' (22) The old woman went and said 'Oh King, oh king, I have cured your daughter.' He takes a purse for her and gives it to her. The old woman is all the time collecting bags of gold. Yes, the old woman made (good) business. She says 'Bath her, dress her in her clothes and I'll be back right away. I have something to do.' (23) The king tried (to ask) 'What is happening?' 'You stop (asking questions).' I am in charge of her business.' She went down and says to him (the other king) 'Get up! Things have turned out well. She is cured. Get up! She wants to see you.'

[8] Literally: as you would say.
[9] Literally: Also this is my ring.

(24) qímela sìqe.ˈ ṭ́o̱ṭo síqtɛla kəs-màlka.ˈ mára lan-ʾàna mbusámtəlla brátux.ˈ mára ʾíθ ʾó-naša t-wéwa…ʾáyya là-yăða.ˈ xášwa ʾàwile.ˈ mára ʾo-yálət bă̆yàwaleˈ hóle ʾəθya-wˈ qəm-yawálla yaləxθa ʾálli.ˈ ʾu-ʾáyyɛla kùlla.ˈ ʾána hadíya m-kə̀slən θáya.ˈ ʾu-bắye ʾáθe xazèluxˈ ʾu-qa-t xazéla bràta-ži.ˈ (25) ʾòy,ˈ máre sɛ-múr….ʾàxni ṣáləx qamóθe díye.ˈ ʾáxni ṣáləx qamòθe díye.ˈ qímela ṣ́álye qamóθe dìyeˈ ʾu-múθyəlle músqəlle dáwla-w zòrna-wˈ hósa ʾu-gargàrtaˈ ʾu-musqálle kəs-màlka.ˈ tíwela mṣawòθe.ˈ (26) málka máre hàˈ de-mùrri.ˈ xázəx mòdila qáṣṣət.ˈ máre ʾamrə̀nnux.ˈ ʾána ʾíwən bábə d-o-yàla.ˈ ʾána ʾíwən màlka,ˈ ʾax-dìyux.ˈ ʾu-máre bróni ʾu-brátux xə́zyela ġ̆ðàðeˈ ʾu-ʾána ʾə́θyən xðàra,ˈ ʾu-ʾaláha qəm-matfə̃qli bíya díya ʾàxxa.ˈ škíra ʾaláha díya bsìmla.ˈ (27) hadíya mòdit mára?ˈ hon-ʾə́θya t-yawə́tla nablánna ta-bròni.ˈ max-ṭ́-íla brátux mšuyðànta,ˈ ʾap-àw,ˈ ʾən-lá-ʾazən mšàyðən.ˈ máre dû̃s-it.ˈ qímela-w mírtəlla bràta-wˈ xðíθɛla ràba-wˈ max-d-an-gúmle t-wéwa núbla mánne díye max-d-áni xéne híwle bába ṭlála dìya.ˈ ʾu-mŭ̆ṭ̀ənnaˈ ʾu-šwiqála mðíta-w dáṛ̣ṛa ta-ʾaθrèy.ˈ (28) hadíya dìṛ̣ela,ˈ xà-yoma,ˈ trè-yome,ˈ ṭ́ḷàθa.ˈ ʾəθyela,ˈ plíṭe bárqūl mðitèy.ˈ ʾína mðitéy kúlla mxíθa l-kòma,ˈ báte kòme,ˈ júllət náše kòme,ˈ kúlla kòmewa.ˈ ʾàjib!ˈ mòdila qəṣṣəttéxu?ˈ (29) ʾámra bábi xázəx ʾáyya mðitéxu kúlla hola-mxíθa kòma.ˈ mòdila qəṣṣəttéxu?ˈ ṭ́-ámrəx l-mìla,ˈ hóya mxíθa l-mìla.ˈ ʾə́dlɛle dámxəx ʾàxxa.ˈ (30) ʾáw bắye t-yă̆̀ðe,ˈ xáze mòdila qáṣṣət.ˈ tàmməl ṣáləx.ˈ ʾáxni ʾádət díyən hàtxɛla.ˈ qam-dàna ˈ yáwəx xàbraˈ ta-t-pálṭi l-qamòθənˈ maṣlélən b-iqàra.ˈ ʾána màlkən.ˈ (31) ʾáy dmìxtɛla,ˈ ʾáw mšùdrɛle,ˈ ʾə́θyɛle xa-mən-zaràye.ˈ qàryə̀lle,ˈ máre ta-módila ʾáyya mðíta hàtxa?ˈ ʾáw lèle ðíya málkɛle.ˈ máre lè-yăðət módi bárya?ˈ xa-qáṣṣət rába mapšəmàntɛla.ˈ ʾíθwalən xa-màlka.ˈ hàdəx-iwa xóš-naša.ˈ hàdəx-iwa spày.ˈ náše bă̆yìwale.ˈ

(24) They went up (to see her). The old woman went up to the king. She said 'It was not me who cured your daughter'. She said 'There is the man who…' She does not know. She thinks it is him. She said 'The young man whom she loved has come and has given me her handkerchief. That's all. I am now coming back from him and he wants to come to see you and to see also the girl.' (25) 'Oh' he said 'Go and say we shall come down to meet him. We shall come down to meet him.' They went down to meet him and brought him up (with) drum and pipe, clamour and shouting. They brought him up to the king and they sat talking. (26) The king said 'Oh, tell me, let's hear[10] what the story is.' He said 'I'll tell you. I am the father of that boy. I am a king, like you.' He said 'My son and your daughter saw each other. I came looking and God caused me to find her here. Thank God she has now recovered. (27) Now, what do you say? I have come for you to give her away so that I may take her to my son. Just as your daughter has gone mad, he also, if I do not go back, will go mad.' He said 'You are right'. They went and told the girl and she became very happy. Like the camels that he had brought with him, her father gave her others like these. They loaded them, then they left the town and returned to their land. (28) Now, they returned. (After) one, two, three days they came out opposite their town. But, their town was all covered in black. Black houses, black clothes of people, they were all black. 'How odd! What has happened to you?'[11] (29) She says 'Father, we see that this town of yours is all covered in black. What has happened to you?'—Let's say in blue, let's say it was covered in blue[12]—'Tonight let us sleep here'. (30) He wants to know, find out what had happened. Tomorrow we shall go down. Such is our custom. Beforehand we give word for them to come out to meet us, to bring us down (into the town) with honour. I am a king. (31) (When) she fell asleep, he sent (a messenger) and one of the farmers came. He called to him and said 'Why is this town like this?' He did not know that he was the king. He said 'Do you not know what has happened? It is a very sad story. We had a king. He was such a good man. He was so good. The people used to love him.

[10] Literally: Let's see.
[11] Literally: What is your story.
[12] Literally: Let it be covered in blue.

(32) ʾáwwa málka díyən zìlɛle.ˈ mən-d-ó-yōm ṯ-íle zìla,ˈ zílɛle mɛθóye xa-bráta ta-bróne dìye,ˈ ʾó-yōm ṯ-ìle plíṭaˈ bróne díye mìθɛle.ˈ ʾu-ʾáxni-ži láx muqíme m-báθre díye màlkaˈ ʾu-máxyəxəlla máθən kúlla l-míla-w l-kóma m-báθre dìye.ˈ ʾu-ʾé-ga max-uráxla ta-t-dàyəṛˈ (33) máre hàtxɛla qáṣṣət?ˈ máre bróne díye mìθɛle?ˈ máre hé hóle mìθa brōn-díye.ˈ ʾámər sí-mur ta-pállən wăzə̀rˈ múrgena málka θèle.ˈ bắyən lá-ʾaθi b-xàššaˈ ʾu-bxáya-w jnàna.ˈ ʾáθi b-dáwla-w zórna-w tópe-w ʾəstəqbāl ràsmi.ˈ la-bắyən ʾáyya bráta ṯ-in-múθyəlla t-yắða qá-t ṭlíba díya hóle mìθa.ˈ (34) zìlɛle,ˈ máre ṭlà-wăzīrˈ móta băyánna mbádla jálde kúlla ʾax-qamàye,ˈ muxwàrta.ˈ ʾáwwa kóma šàqəl.ˈ hadìya,ˈ híwɛle xábra ṭla-wăzə̀rˈ har-b-ò-lɛle.ˈ kúlla móta máxyəlla ṣŭbuġ,ˈ píštɛla xwàrta,ˈ max-qamàye.ˈ (35) ʾu-murízela mbádla jàldeˈ síqela ʾəstəqbāl t-màlka,ˈ xéna ʾax-ṯ-óði ʾəstəqbā́l t-màlke,ˈ b-iqàra-wˈ ʾáyya hóla mparòje,ˈ káza xyára hàtxaˈ ta-t-xazyále ṭlíba dìye,ˈ lèla xzayəlle.ˈ (36) mára bábi tə́mməl ʾáyya móta xu-kòmta-wawa?ˈ xázəx ʾádyo hóla xwàrta.ˈ máre bràti,ˈ ʾáy ṯ-ix-ʾə́θye kə̂xeˈ hádəx qam-ʾènəx mubyánna.ˈ har-xwàrta wáwa.ˈ dìṛɛle,ˈ ʾay-káza xyàra,ˈ mára kᵊ̀le brónux?ˈ xázəx xzàyəlle.ˈ léle hràwa.ˈ lè-yăðən ʾap-ʾána.ˈ ʾay-móra bálki ʾadətéy hàtxɛlaˈ lá-hoya yóma qamáya xátna t-xazéla kᵊ̀alo.ˈ (37) xéna ṣlìθɛla,ˈ sìqtɛla.ˈ músqəlla gu-ṭábaq t-ṭḷàθa,ˈ gu-ʾotáxa dìya.ˈ máre ʾotàxəxila.ˈ xulamwáθa l-áy-gota ʾu-l-àyya.ˈ ʾáw ṣályɛle kəs-báxte dìye.ˈ mšúryela bxàya,ˈ mxáya l-ganèyˈ ʾu-rmáya ganèy.ˈ (38) hadíya xà-yoma-w,ˈ trè,ˈ ṭḷà,ˈ káza ʾáyya xyára b-panjarìye,ˈ xazyále ṭlíba wára plàṭa,ˈ ʾàp-xa léla-xzaya.ˈ mòdila qəṣṣə́tte?ˈ píšla qúrbət xà-yarxaˈ ʾé-ga málka móre ṭla-bàxteˈ mó-ṯ-oya ʾàyya?ˈ ʾay-báxta hox-mùθyəlla.ˈ gắrəg ʾàmrəx.ˈ (39) ʾay-xá-yoma har-t-yằðaˈ ṯ-íle míθa brònən.ˈ láx mṣáya ʾázəx ʾamrə̀xla.ˈ bắya pèša,ˈ péša ʾáy ʾàxxa,ˈ b-šópət brònənˈ ṯ-óya malə́kθa b-šópi ʾíman-t-ʾána mèθən.ˈ ʾu-bắya déṛa l-béθət bába dìya,ˈ mattə́nna xá-ga xèta,ˈ ʾàna măd̀aṛ́nna.ˈ

(32) This king of ours went away. From the day that he went, went to bring a girl for his son,—on the day he left, his son died. We have not installed (another) king after him but have covered all our village with blue and black after he left.[13] We shall make it white when he returns.' (33) He said 'Is that the story?' He said 'Did his son die?' He said 'Yes, his son died'. He says 'Go and tell the minister so-and-so, say the king has come back. I do not want them to come in sadness, weeping and singing dirges. Let them come with the drum and pipe and with guns, in an official reception. I do not want this girl whom I have brought to know that her betrothed has died.' (34) He went and said to the minister '(By) early morning I want all the town as (it was) before, made white. Let the black be removed. Now, he gave word to the minister on the same night. They painted the whole town and it became white like before. (35) They lined up in the early morning and went up to receive the king, as they (customarily) receive kings, with honour, while she was watching, peering like this to see her betrothed, but she does not see him. She says 'Father, was this town not black yesterday? We see today that it is white.' (36) He said 'My daughter, it is because we were tired that it appeared like that to your eyes. It was always white.' She looks in vain and says 'Where is your son? Let's see him.' He does not tell. 'I also do not know'. She said 'Perhaps their custom is that on the first day the groom is not allowed to see the bride.' (37) Then she went down and went up (to the palace). He took her up to the third floor, to her room. He said 'It is your room'. There were servants on this side and that. He went down to his wife. They began weeping, beating themselves and putting ash on themselves. (38) Now, one day, two, three, she looks in vain from the windows to see her betrothed coming and going, but sees nobody. What has happened to him?[14] Almost a month went by (since their arrival) and then the king said to his wife 'What will become of her? We have brought that woman. We must tell (her). (39) She will surely know one day that our son is dead. We cannot go and tell her. If she wants to stay, let her stay here in the place of our son and she will be queen in my place when I die. But, if she wants to return to her father's house, I shall put her again (on a camel) and return her.'

[13] Literally: after him.
[14] Literally: What is his story?

(40) xulàṣa,ˈ qáryəlle wăzīr-díye ʾu-xákma guṛàneˈ ʾu-báxte dìye.ˈ ʾaw-qímɛle síqɛle kásla dìya.ˈ wíre kásla dìyaˈ tìwela.ˈ máre tù-brati,ˈ tù.ˈ bắyən mṣáwθən mànnəx.ˈ ʾítli xákma xabráne ṯ-amrànnəx.ˈ xèrila?ˈ mòdila bábi?ˈ (41) mə́re dusùθa bắyət,ˈ ʾó-yoma ṯ-ín ʾána zíla xðára bárəx qa-t-mɛyànnəxˈ ʾó-yoma bróni mìθɛle.ˈ ʾáy-mə́ra dàx míθɛle?ʾˈ máre mìθɛle.ˈ máre díya θéli bắyən ʾamrànnəxˈ ʾáwwa xà-yarxaˈ ʾàxči máṣəx maspərə́xləx.ˈ lá maspərə́xləx bi-zàwda.ˈ (42) ʾən-măxóbət péšət ʾàxxa,ˈ ʾáti péšət malákθa šòpiˈ gu-d-áwwa ʾàθṛa.ˈ ʾən-bắyət ʾázət déṛət ṭla-béθət bàbəx,ˈ tə́mməl măḍəṛ̀ənnəx.ˈ bróni mìθɛle.ˈ šwíqəlla xáye bìyəx.ˈ mšuréla bxàya.ˈ xéna mò-ṯ-oða dé-u?ˈ (43) xárθa mə́ra làʾ.ˈ lá-bă̆yən dɛ̀ṛən.ˈ ʾána bắyən ṣálət banátli ða-ʾótəx rəš-qáwre dìye.ˈ kúlla záwni b-xáye ṯ-àwyənˈ hál ʾo-yómət ʾáp-ana mɛ̀θənˈ ʾu-mattíli kàsle.ˈ ʾàxxa,ˈ tàmma,ˈ mə́ra ʾàyyɛla,ˈ čú-mdi xéna lìθən.ˈ (44) qímɛle ṣályɛle bányəlla ða-ʾòtəxˈ rəš-qáwrət bróne dìye.ˈ ʾu-píštɛla bxàya.ˈ píštɛla bxàya,ˈ ʾu-bxàya,ˈ ʾu-bxàya,ˈ xà-yoma-wˈ trè-uˈ xa-yàrxa-wˈ xá-bena ʾan-tre-maláxe t-wéwa ʾə́θye bìya,ˈ t-wéwa mutápqəlla b-ġðàðe,ˈ θéla ṗyáða táma tàma.ˈ xá-mənna mə́re ʾáwwa mò-qalət báxyɛle?ˈ (45) ʾo-xéna mə́re la-yă̆ðət mo-qálət bàxyɛle?ˈ txárət ʾan-xa-tré t-mutəpqíwalən bə-ġðàðe?ˈ hè.ˈ mə́re ʾu-xaráye ṭlíba díya qəm-šaqlə̀xle.ˈ ʾáy pìšla.ˈ ʾáyya hóla θíθa ʾàxxa.ˈ hóla mùθyəlla.ˈ hóla mára ʾàxxa ṯ-óyənˈ hál-ʾo-yomət mɛ̀θən.ˈ ʾàyyaˈ ʾəštì-šənne xéne xăyála.ˈ yáʿni ʾəští-šənne xéne ṯ-óya rəš-d-ɛ́-qora tíwta bxàya.ˈ (46) mə́re módi bắyət ṯ-òðəx?ˈ baqrə̀xla.ˈ ʾən-hóya rázi šə́nna díya pălàla,ˈ pálga ṭla-d-áy ʾu-pálga ṭla-d-àw,ˈ maqimə̀xle.ˈ xắyi m-ġðàðeˈ ṭláθi ŝənne-wˈ méθi m-ġðàðe.ˈ ʾu-ʾən-làʾ,ˈ har-ʾàxxa t-óya ʾášti šə́nne.ˈ

(40) In the end he called his minister and a few courtiers and his wife. He went up to her. He entered her room.[15] and they sat down. He said 'Sit, my daughter, sit. I want to speak with you. I have a few words to say to you.' 'Is everything all right?[16] What is it, father?' (41) He said 'If you want the truth, on the day I went off to look for you to bring you (here) my son died.' She said 'What do you mean[17] "He died"?!' He said 'He died.' He said 'Now I have come and want to tell you that we can only make you wait this one month. We shall not make you wait more. (42) If you would like to stay here, you will become queen in my place in this land. If you want to go and return to the house of your father, I shall send you back tomorrow. My son is dead. He has left his life to you.'[18] She began to weep. What else would she do? (43) Then she said 'No. I do not want to return. I want you to go down and build a room over his grave, (in which I shall be) all the time that I am alive until the day that I also die and they put me with him. They tried all ways[19] (to convince her to change her decision), but she said 'That is it. There is nothing else (that is possible)'. (44) He went down and built a room over the grave of his son. She continued weeping. She continued weeping and weeping and weeping, one day, two, one month. Then, those two angels who had brought her, who had caused them to meet each other, came passing by. One of them said 'What sound of weeping is this?' (45) The other said 'Do you not know what sound of weeping it is? Do you remember the couple that we brought together?' 'Yes'. He said 'and in the end we took her betrothed and she remained alive. This girl has come here. They brought her. She says 'I shall stay here until the day I die'. She will live another sixty years. That is, she will stay another sixty years weeping over that grave.' (46) He said 'What do you want us to do?' 'Let's ask her. If she is happy to share her years, half for her and half for him, we shall resurrect him. They will live together thirty years and die together. If not, she will stay here for sixty years.'

[15] Literally: He entered to her.
[16] Literally: Is it good?
[17] Literally: how.
[18] I.e. may the years that remained to him be added to your life.
[19] Literally: here and here.

(47) wírela kə̀sla,ˈ dáryəlla ślàma.ˈ ślàma-llə̀x!ˌ b-šéna b-ṭawàθa!ˌ mòditu wáða ʾáxxa?ˌ m-èkitu θáya?ˌ mára tù.ˈ mə̀raˈ ʾáxni malàxəx.ˈ ʾáwwa gàwṛəxˈ hóle mìθa.ˈ ʾàxnix šqíləlle.ˈ ʾáti ʾəští-šənne xéne ʾáxxa b-xa̋yətˈ ʾəští-šənne ṯ́-óyət ʾáxxa tíwta bxáya rəš-d-áyya qòra?ˌ mára hè.ˈ lá ʾəštì-šənne,ˈ tre-ʾəmmà-šənneˈ ʾáxxa ṯ́-òyən.ˈ (48) mára ʾítlən xá-məndi ba̋́yəx ṯ́-oðáxxe ṭlàlə̀x.ˈ ʾəští-šənne ràbɛlaˈ ṯ́-oyət tíwta ʾáxxa báxyət qáṭlət gànəx.ˈ mára mòdile?ˌ mára ʾáti b-xa̋́yət ʾəští-šənne xène.ˈ ʾən-pălátla šə̂nnəxˈ ṭláθi ṭlàlə̀x,ˈ ṭláθi ṭla-d-àw,ˈ maqimə̀xle.ˈ mòdit mára?ˌ (49) ʾámra xzì.ˈ ʾànaˈ ʾáxči xoš-qàyəmˈ xazyánne xàmša daqíqe,ˈ ʾan-xéne kúlla ṭla-d-àw.ˈ mára là,ˈ là-hoya.ˈ ṭláθi ṭlàlə̀x,ˈ ṭláθi ṭla-d-àw.ˈ ba̋́yət,ˈ spày.ˈ là-bă̋yət…ˈ mára ràzinˈ mára ràzit?ˌ mára ràzin.ˈ (50) ʾáni plìṭela-wˈ ʾáw qìmɛle.ˈ mšuréla nšáqa ġðàðe.ˈ blígela b-ġðàðe.ˈ hádəx dmíxela-w ṭlìyela.ˈ ʾánna kut-qedàmtaˈ xadámta d-ɛ-bráta mɛθyáwala čàyˈ ʾu-ṭàmta,ˈ ʾu-y-àsqa.ˈ ʾánna ma-ṯ́-íla xmíle b-ġðàðe,ˈ dmíxe-w ṭlìyela,ˈ xpíqe ġðàðe.ˈ (51) ʾáyya ṣlìθɛlaˈ pθìxtəlle tắra,ˈ wírtɛla hátxa ʾína hóle xa-šazáda dmíxa kásla dìya!ˌ mára ʾáyya m-hàtxɛwa mára,ˈ ʾáyya m-hàtxɛwa mára,ˈ bnóli ʾótəx rəš-qórət gàwṛi,ˈ ta-t-kút-yom xà-maṣla kásla díya,ˈ madə̀mxa kásla.ˈ (52) rìqla,ˈ sìqla,ˈ ʾámra ṭla-màlka.ˈ máre mòdila qáṣṣət?ˌ mára màlkaˈ hóle ʾəθya nàša.ˈ bányət-əlla ʾótəx tàmaˈ qá-t mabásma kút-yom xà.ˈ hóle xa-šoramíṭa m-áxxa l-tămàhaˈ dmíxa kásla dìya.ˈ mòt mára?ˌ mára qú ṣli-xzì.ˈ (53) qímɛle màlka-wˈ wă̆zìre-wˈ polìse-wˈ xárrrr čríkəlle ʾaw-bèθa.ˈ gu-d-é ṣlɛθèyˈ qáṭu wìrtɛlaˈ ʾáy šwíqtəlwa májma tàma.ˈ qáṭu wìrtɛla,ˈ npílta gu-d-án panjàneˈ mqurə̀dxela,ˈ ʾánna ṛìšela.ˈ (54) ʾé-ga ṯ́-íla ṛìše,ˈ ʾámra qù!ˌ hóla θíθa xulàmta.ˈ hóla xzíθəllux ʾáti kàsli.ˈ hóla síqta mára ṭla-bàbux,ˈ díya ṯ́-áθiˈ pɛrmìlən.ˈ mòt mára?ˈ máre.ˈ hóla čày.ˈ hóla xzíθəllux ʾáti dmíxa kàsli.ˈ (55) hadìya,ˈ qìmɛle.ˈ lwíša júlle hátxa jálde jàlde,ˈ kályɛle gu-ṭắrət bɛ́θa ʾáw ʾu-ʾày.ˈ bábe díye ʾu-d-áni ʾə̀θyela,ˈ m-táma ráḥqa xyàra.ˈ ʾáwwa ʾènile?ˌ ʾə́θyɛle qùrba.ˈ ʾo-máre bàbiˈ ʾànən.ˈ máre hé brònile,ˈ hóle qìma.ˈ ʾu-ʾə́θyela xpíqe ġðàðe,ˈ nšáqa ġðàðe.ˈ

(47) They went into her room and greeted her. 'Greetings to you!' 'Peace and blessings! What are you doing here? Where do you come from?' They said 'Sit down'. They said 'We are angels. This husband of yours has died. It was us who took him. You will live here another sixty years. Will you stay sitting here sixty years over this grave?' She said 'Yes. Not sixty years, two hundred years I shall be here.' (48) They said 'There is something that we want to do for you. Sixty years is too much for you to sit here weeping and destroying yourself.' She said 'What is it?' They said 'You will live another sixty years. If you divide your years, thirty for you and thirty for him, we shall resurrect him. What do you say?' (49) She says 'Look. Just let him rise for me to see him for five minutes, and all the other (sixty years) be for him.' They said 'No. That is not possible. Thirty for you and thirty for him. If you want this, that is fine. If you don't want it,…' She said 'I am happy (to accept)'. They said 'Are you happy (to accept)?' She said 'I am happy'. (50) They went out and he arose. They began kissing each other. They were (completely) preoccupied with each other. They lay down and slept. Every morning the servant of that girl brought her tea and breakfast, then would go back. How happy they were together, lying down and sleeping, embracing one another. (51) She came down and opened the door, and came in like this and there was a prince lying with her! She said 'It was for this reason, it was for this reason that she said "Build me a room over the grave of my husband", namely in order that she could bring somebody to her every day and cause him to lie with her.' (52) She ran, went up and told the king. He said 'What is the matter?' She said 'King, a man has come. You have built her a room there for her to entertain somebody everyday. A giant from here to there (in size) is lying with her.' 'What are you saying?' She said 'Go down and look'. (53) The king set off (with) the ministers and the police and they surrounded the house. While they were going down, a cat came in. She (the servant) had left a tray there. A cat came in, fell into the glasses, they shattered and they (the prince and princess) woke up. (54) When they woke up, she says 'Get up!. The servant has come. She has seen you with me. She has gone up to tell your father, and now they will come to slaughter us.' 'What are you saying?' he said. 'There is tea. She has seen you lying with me.' (55) Now, he got up. He quickly put on his clothes and stood at the door of the house together with her. His father and the others came and looked from afar. 'Who is he?' He came close. He said 'Father, it is me.' He said 'Yes, it is my son, he has risen (from the dead)' and they came together and embraced and kissed one another.

(56) bréla ðá xadúθa gu-d-ò-ʾalma.ˈ xa-móndi məʾajbàna.ˈ wéla hádəx xàðye.ˈ qímela músqəlla b-dáwla-w zòrna,ˈ drέθət tòpeˈ ʾu-hádəx wídla xlùla.ˈ šawwà-yomaθa ʾu-šawwà-lɛlᾶwaθa xlúla-wewa.ˈ qəm-magwə̀rrey.ˈ (57) hádəx m-bar-t-gwìrra,ˈ ʾaláha qəm-yawálla xa-bròna.ˈ ʾìmaʔˈ ʾé-šetət mὲθi.ˈ ʾé-šetət mέθi qəm-yawálla xa-bróna zòra.ˈ hadìya,ˈ ʾó-lɛlət mὲθi,ˈ holá-ʾəθye tìwe,ˈ báxta tíwta l-àyya-gotət mέs,ˈ ʾu-gáwṛa tíwa l-ày-gota.ˈ (58) ʾo-yála zóra hóla múttəlle be-pàlga.ˈ ʾáy hóla nšàqəlle,ˈ nšàqəlle,ˈ nšàqəlle,ˈ xpáqəlle gu-ṣádra dìya.ˈ ʾu-yáwəlle ṭla-bábe dìye.ˈ ʾáp-aw nšàqəlle,ˈ nšàqəlle,ˈ nšàqəlle.ˈ (59) maláxe holá-ʾəθye tíwe l-kàwe.ˈ hóla spára l-kàwe,ˈ tá-t ʾímət párqa dàna,ˈ tá-t mattíle ʾo-yàlaˈ tá-t šaqlíle nəšmèy.ˈ (60) ʾu-hádəx ʾíθwa ʾán-xa sobáθət kàsləsuch,ˈ buxɛrìyewa.ˈ síqɛle xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra,ˈ wírɛle gu-naxírət xa-m-malàxe.ˈ ʾu-wíðɛle pə̀θyo.ˈ tpìθɛle.ˈ ʾó-yala zóra mére b-ràxme!ˈ ʾax-ṯ-íle míra ʾo-zóra b-ràxme,ˈ ʾámər b-ráxme l-bàbuxˈ l-yə̀mmux.ˈ kút-xa mənna xámši šə̈nne xéne xᾶyèla.ˈ qímela maláxe dìṛe.ˈ šwiqáli táma ʾu-θéli làxxa.ˈ

(56) A (great) joy arose among the people, something remarkable. They became so happy. They brought them up (to the palace) with drum and pipe and the firing of rifles. In this way they held the wedding. The wedding was for seven days and seven nights. He married them. (57) So, after they married, God gave them a son. When? The year they were to die. The year they were to die, He gave them a small son. Now, the night they were to die, they came and sat down, the wife sitting on this side of the table and the husband sitting on the other side. (58) They put the small child in the middle. She is kissing and kissing and kissing him and hugging him to her breast. Then she gives him to his father. He also kisses and kisses and kisses him. (59) The angels have come and have sat by the window. They are waiting by the window for the time to finish, for them to put down the child so that they could take away their soul. (60) There were stoves in our community that were smoke ducts. Some of the soot went up and entered the nose of one of the angels. He went 'achoo!' He sneezed. The little boy said 'Bless you!' When the little one said 'Bless you', he (the angel) said 'Bless your father and mother. May each live another fifty years. The angels got up and returned. I have left it there and come here.

A5 The Cooking Pot

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) málla Naṣrádin xá-ga băyéwa mbašálwa pàča.ˈ líθwale quṣàrta.ˈ máre ṭla-báxte dìyeˈ qu-sέ kəs-d-anna-šwàwənˈ mέθε ða-quṣàrtaˈ mbášləx xáčča páča.ˈ zìlla,ˈ muθyála quṣàrta,ˈ mbušálla pàča.ˈ (2) ʾámər bàxta,ˈ ʾáyya quṣárta ràba šapirta,ˈ rába zála ləbbì-ʾəlla.ˈ mára béna quṣártət šwàwən-ila,ˈ mò-ṯ-oðət bíya.ˈ máre b-xšàwənˈ ʾáyya quṣàrtaˈ hár gărəg-máṭe ʾəllì-xa-ga.ˈ mára mò ṯ-amrílən šwáwən?ˈ máre ʾáti lítləx šùla.ˈ la-gàlyət!ˈ (3) mára lá mo-šùli?ˈ kú-mdi bă̆yət wùð.ˈ máre də-qú ʾáyya quṣárta zórta màθalaˈ máttula gáwa dìyaˈ ʾu-nábəlla ṭla-be-šwàwən.ˈ máre làˀ,ˈ ʾàna nablánna.ˈ máre mèθa!ˈ (4) qímtεla zìlta,ˈ muθέθəlla quṣárta dìya.ˈ ʾa-zórta muttáθəlla gu-d-é quṣártət šwàweˈ ʾu-nubàltəlla.ˈ hadìya,ˈ ʾáw qu-šqúlla quṣàrta-wˈ sí be-šwàwux.ˈ šlámallεxu šwàwe.ˈ mára b-šèna.ˈ (5) máre hóla muθyáli quṣartèxu.ˈ θíθela xzíθəlla mára šwàwaˈ ʾay-zórta mòdi gáwa.ˈ máre šwàwe,ˈ lá-mərεxu ʾáyya quṣárta hóla b-ʾùrxa?ˈ zílla kásləsuch mubrèla.ˈ (6) quṣárta màṭo mabárya?!ˈ máre màṭo?ˈ bas-ʾána zodàntallεxuˈ quṣárta mánni t-muθéli llèxu.ˈ quṣartéxu b-ʾùrxa-wawaˈ mubrèla kásləsn.ˈ dìya muθéli quṣárta xéta.ˈ (7) ʾu-dwíqla rəqqi.ˈ gáwṛa máre də-šùqlaˈ béna ʾaw-múθyəlla ða-quṣárta xèta.ˈ ʾat-mà-ləx?ˈ mur-hèˈ dű̆s-iwət.ˈ qímta šqílta quṣàrta,ˈ háwət basíma ràba,ˈ ʾu-zìlεle málla.ˈ (8) píšele ða-šábθa xèta,ˈ ʾámər ṭla-báxta sa-méθala quṣártət šwàwe.ˈ mur-bă̆yəx mbášləx pàče gáwa.ˈ qímtεla báxta zílta ṭlìbtəlla.ˈ hal-jálde jàlde mára,ˈ bálki mabárya tərtè-xene.ˈ híwəlla quṣárta ta-màlla.ˈ málla mùθyəlla.ˈ lèle wíða páča,ˈ mṭùšyəlla quṣárta.ˈ (9) xà-yoma,ˈ trè,ˈ ṭlàθa,ˈ xà-yarxa.ˈ hadìya,ˈ gáwṛa máre ṭla-bàxtaˈ kèla quṣárta?ˈ mára núbəlla màlla.ˈ máre sε-mèθala.ˈ qímtεla zílta mára šwòta,ˈ kèlε málla?ˈ mára hóle gu-bèθa.ˈ málla kèla quṣárta?ˈ hon-θíθa báθra dìya.ˈ ʾàyy!ˈ

A5 The Cooking Pot

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) Once mullah Naṣradin wanted to cook *pača*. He did not have a cooking pot. He said to his wife 'Go to our neighbours and bring a cooking pot so that we can cook some *pača*. She went, brought the cooking pot and cooked the *pača*. (2) He said 'Wife, this cooking pot is very nice, I like it a lot.'[1] She said 'But it is the cooking pot of our neighbours. What will you do with it?' He said 'I think this cooking pot should eventually belong to me.' She said 'What will the neighbours say to us?' He said 'That's not your business. Don't tell!' (3) She said 'No, what business is it of mine? Do whatever you want.' He said 'Go and bring the small cooking pot. Put it in it and take it to our neighbours' house.' He said 'No. I shall take it.' He said 'Bring it!' (4) She went and brought her cooking pot. She put the small one in the cooking pot of the neighbours and took it (to her husband). Now, go and take the cooking pot and go to the house of your neighbour![2] 'Greeings to you neighbours.' They said 'Welcome'. (5) He said 'I have brought your cooking pot. She (the neighbour) came and saw it and said 'Neighbour, what is that small one in it.' He said 'Neighbours, did you not say that this cooking pot is on the way (to giving birth)? It came to me and gave birth.' (6) 'How could it be that a cooking pot has given birth?!' He said 'How? But the cooking pot that I have brought you is an extra one for you. Your cooking pot was on the way (to giving birth) and it gave birth in our house. Now, I have brought another cooking pot.' (7) She persisted, but the husband said 'Leave it. He has brought another cooking pot. What is the matter with you? Say "Yes, you are right."' She went and took the cooking pot, 'Thank you very much', and the mullah went away. (8) A week later, he said to his wife 'Go and bring the cooking pot of the neighbours. Say we want to cook *pače* in it.' The wife went and requested it. 'Give it quickly', she said, 'Perhaps it will give birth to two others.' They gave the cooking pot to the mullah. The mullah brought it (home). He did not make *pača* but buried the pot. (9) One day, two, three, a month (went by). Now, the husband said to his wife 'Where is the cooking pot?' She said 'The mullah took it.' He said 'Go and bring it.' She went and said 'Neighbour, where is the mullah?' She said 'He is in the house.' 'Mullah, where is the cooking pot? I have come looking for it.'

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[1] Literally: my heart goes to it much.

[2] Imperatives addressed by narrator to the protagonist of the story.

(10) ʾámər pšámən ràba| ṯ̂-in-màrəllɛxu| quṣartéxu mìθtɛla.| dàx-ila míθta?| ʾo-t-mabárya lɛ-màyəθ?| ʾó-yomət mubrèla| xðèlɛxu bíya.| ʾədyo ṯ̂-íla mìθta,| hótu pšàma ʾólla díya.| hóla mìθta.| kízla xu-tàmma!| márɛ mìθtɛla.| mṭumrále-w zìlla.| málla píšla quṣárta ta-màlla.|

(10) 'Oh' he said 'I am very sorry to tell you that your cooking pot is dead.' 'How can it be dead?!' 'What gives birth must die.[3] The day it gave birth, you rejoiced in it. Today when it has died, you are sad about it. It has died.' She remonstrated 'Surely it is here!' He said 'It has died. He buried it and it disappeared. So, the cooking pot became the mullah's.'

[3] Literally: 'What gives birth—does it not die.'

A6 A Hundred Gold Coins

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) xá-ga xèta,ˈ mállah Naṣràdin,ˈ xázəx mòdi wíða.ˈ gu-bèθa wéwa,ˈ har-zála-w θàya.ˈ zála-w θàya,ˈ mára ya-ʾàlaha,ˈ yawətliˈ ʾámma dàwe.ˈ ʾən-hàwaˈ ʾáčč̣i-u ʾáčč̣a maqəlbənna.ˈ ʾu-ʾən-hàwaˈ ʾámma-w-xà-ži,ˈ la-bằyənna.ˈ de-šùqla.ˈ ʾəmma gằrəg háwa drást.ˈ (2) b-álaha hóle zála-w θàya,ˈ ʾíθwale xá-šwawa huðàya,ˈ maṣóθe ʾálle dìye.ˈ máre xázəx ʾáwwa dù̀s-ile.ˈ qémən mjarbənne.ˈ síqa l-gàre,ˈ dáryɛle ʾáčč̣i-u ʾáčč̣a dáwe gu-ða-kìsta,ˈ dárya b-kàwele.ˈ ʾá báxta hàyyo!ˈ hóle ʾaláha qəm-mšadərrən.ˈ (3) muθéθɛla mà̰jma.ˈ msúrqəlla píšela mnáyəlla l-xà-xa.ˈ plíṭla ʾáčč̣i-u ʾəčč̣a.ˈ trè,ˈ trè,ˈ ʾáčč̣i-u ʾəčč̣a.ˈ ʾə̀ṣra,ˈ ʾə̀ṣra,ˈ hàr-ʾəčč̣i-u ʾáčč̣a.ˈ klèla,ˈ ʾámər báxta dù̀s-ile.ˈ ʾaláha là-xaləṭ.ˈ ʾáčč̣i-u ʾəčč̣a,ˈ ʾáxči ʾána max-xšàwti,ˈ ʾáyya kìstaˈ hóle mxožábnəlla max-xà.ˈ ha-šqùl,ˈ máttula tămàha.ˈ (4) huðáya l-gàreˈ šwiréle l-pàlga,ˈ yába ʾànən mšúdrəlla!ˈ ʾáy kálba ʾámər táma l-gàre maṣyóθe,ˈ bă̰yət šaqlátla ʾap-ʾànna.ˈ mrázgət gànux.ˈ tə́mməl ṯ-ásqəx kəs-qàzi.ˈ huðáya ʾáčč̣i-u ʾáčč̣a dáwe zìle mánne,ˈ ʾéka ṯ-áθya šə̂nθe?!ˈ hal-qedámta šə́nθe la-θèla.ˈ hár-wele zála-w θàya.ˈ (5) málla múttəlle réše dmìxa.ˈ ṭlìya,ˈ kéfe basìmta,ˈ ʾu-dáwe xo-rèše.ˈ sáʾət ʾášta mbàdlaˈ ʾáθyɛle huðáya wáða ṭaq-ṭəq-ṭáq l-ṭă̰ra.ˈ ʾu-qáre l-tă̰raˈ mòdila qáṣṣət?ˈ (6) pθíxəlle tă̰ra màlla,ˈ ʾína huðáya lwíša kášxa-w júlle xàθe.ˈ ʾu-xmárte díye msúrgəlla-w wíðəlla tàza.ˈ ṭla-mòdila ʾáyya?ˈ máre ṯ-ásqəx kəs-qàzi.ˈ máre sì kálba.ˈ ʾána là-ʾaθən mánnux.ˈ ṭla-mò la-ʾáθət mánni?ˈ sí là-ʾaθən mánnux ʾána.ˈ (7) ṭla-mò?ˈ mòdila qáṣṣət?ˈ máre ʾaláha-w náše yă̰ði.ˈ xazéla ʾánna júllux hàtxa,ˈ kášxa-w ʾáyya xmàrtuxˈ ʾu-sèrga-wˈ w-ána b-ánna dašdàše-wˈ b-ánna čaḵàlle-wˈ ʾu-šəxtàna-wˈ šárṭ qázi t-yawálla ṭlàlux.ˈ

A6 A Hundred Gold Coins

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) Let's see what mullah Naṣraddin did on another occasion. He was at home, walking up and down,[1] walking up and down, saying 'Oh God, give me a hundred gold pieces. If they are ninety-nine, I shall return them. If they are even one hundred and one, I don't want them. That's that.[2] They must be exactly a hundred. (2) Well, (while) he was going back and forth, he had a Jewish neighbour who was listening to him. He said 'Let's see whether he is truthful. I'll test him.' He went up to the roof and put ninety-nine gold coins in a bag, then put it by the window. 'Oh, wife, come! Look God has sent it to us.' (3) She brought a tray. They poured them out and began counting them one by one. They came to ninety-nine. (They counted them) two by two, (but still) ninety-nine. Ten by ten, still ninety-nine. He says 'Wife, it is right. God does not make a mistakes. (They are) ninety-nine, but according my opinion, he has reckoned this bag as one. Here take (them). Put them over there.' (4) The Jew on the roof jumped down into their midst 'It was me who sent them!' 'Oh (you) dog' he says 'listening there on the roof! So you want to take these (coins). Prepare yourself. Tomorrow we shall go to the the judge.' The Jew has lost ninety-nine gold coins. How could he sleep? Right up to the morning he did not sleep. He just went up and down. (5) The mullah lay down his head, lay down and slept sweetly,[3] with the gold coins under his head. At six in the morning, the Jew came making a knock-knock-knock at the door. He calls at the door 'What is happening?' (6) The mullah opened the door (and saw) that the Jew was wearing a smart suit and new clothes. He had saddled his donkey and groomed it well.[4] 'What is this for?' He said 'We are going to the judge.' He said 'Go away, dog. I shall not come with you'. 'Why won't you come with me?' 'Go away, I shall not come with you.' (7) 'Why? What is the problem?' He said 'Everybody knows.[5] They will see these clothes of yours like this, the smart suit and this donkey of yours, with the saddle, while I am in these plain clothes and slippers, all dirty, and the judge will make a sentence in your favour.

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[1] Literally: going and coming.
[2] Literally: Leave it!
[3] Literally: slept, his pleasure sweet.
[4] Literally: made it beautiful.
[5] Literally: God and people know.

(8) qázi ṯ-awə́dla ṭlàlux,ˈ lá-ʾawədla ṭlàli.ˈ mə́re là-ʾaθən,ˈ ʾína júllux hálla ṭlàli.ˈ ʾu-xmártux ṯ-átwən ʾàna l-xáṣa.ˈ ʾu-ʾáti luš-jùlliˈ ʾu-ṯ-àsqəx.ˈ hám-ʾən ʾàsqətˈ ʾap-ʾáyya qabə̀l-ila.ˈ (9) qímɛle ʾaw-lwíša dašdàšət málla,ˈ ʾu-čaq̓àllət málla,ˈ málla lwíšɛle kášxa d-o-huðàyaˈ ʾu-tíwɛle xáṣət xmàrta,ˈ ʾu-síqela kəs-qàzi.ˈ síqɛle kəs-qàzi,ˈ wírela šarṭ-qàzi.ˈ mòdila qə́ṣṣət?ˈ (10) málla mə̀reˈ qázi ṯ-áwət basìma.ˈ ʾána kəmà dána ṯ-in-mṣalóye ṭla-márya ʾàlahaˈ ta-t-yawálli ʾəmma dáwe.ˈ ʾu-ʾáwwa huðáya wéle maṣyóθe nṭára ʾálli l-gàre.ˈ ʾu-ʾálaha šuxa-l-šə́mme qəm-mšadárri ʾə́č̣či-u ʾə́č̣ča dàwe.ˈ ʾu-ʾána mə́ri bàxta,ˈ ʾáp ʾayya-kìstaˈ ʾálaha mxožə́bnəlla m-gēb-xà-dawa.ˈ (11) ʾu-ʾáwwa-ži huðáya l-gàreˈ ʾə̀lla,ˈ ʾánna dáwe ʾànən hiwállux.ˈ ʾu-hátxa be-b̆ə̆xət-ile,ˈ yá-qazi ṯ-áwət basìma,ˈ ʾáwwa huðàya,ˈ yáʿni díya gu-pàθuxˈ mdàgəlˈ ʾu-sàru.ˈ mə́re xzí hátxa be-nxàpθɛle.ˈ lá ʾítle nxàpθa.ˈ (12) díya ṯ-àmərˈ ʾáp ʾanna-júlle ṯ-ilà-llux ʾu-ʾáyya xmárta dìyila.ˈ w-áti xázyətli ʾána tíwa l-xàṣa.ˈ huðáya mə̀reˈ dìyila!ˈ ʾína d-ɛ̀nila?ˈ qázi mə́re qùˈ kálba brət-kálba huðàya.ˈ ʾámər sí šarṭ-dìyuxile.ˈ

(8) The judge will make a decision in your favour, he will not make it in my favour.' He said 'I shall not come unless you give your clothes to me[6] and I sit on the back of your donkey. You put on my clothes and we'll go. If you go (with me), that is acceptable (to me)'. (9) He put on the plain clothes of the mullah and the slippers of the mullah and the mullah put on the smart suit of the Jew, sat on the back of the donkey and they went to the judge. He went to the judge. They entered the court of the judge. 'What is the case?' (10) The mullah said 'Judge, if you please, I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins. This Jew was listening and watching me on the roof. God—praise be to his name—sent me ninety-nine gold coins. I said "Wife, God has reckoned this bag as corresponding to one gold coin." (11) But this Jew on the roof (said) "No, I gave you these gold coins." This Jew is so lacking in honour, judge, if you please, that now he will lie to your face and deny it.' He said 'Look, he is so shameless. He has no shame. (12) He will say now that also these clothes that are on you and this ass are mine, while you have seen that I was sitting on its back.' The Jew said 'They are mine! Who else could they belong to?' The judge said 'Get up (and go), Jew, dog son of a dog'. He says (to the mullah) 'Go (on your way). The judgement is in your favour'.[7]

[6] Literally: but give your clothes to me.
[7] Literally: The judgement is yours.

A7 A Man Called Čuxo

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) ṯ-amrə́nnux ða-xéta šə́mma Čùxo-le.ˈ ʾáwwa Čúxo xă̱ye gu-xà-maθa,ˈ gu-maθwàθaˈ ṯ-ámrəx kàsləsuch,ˈ gu-Bèrwər.ˈ ṛiyət-ʾərwɛwa,ˈ baqàrɛwa.ˈ kùlla-məndi wéwa.ˈ fāqìrɛwa.ˈ šə́mme díye nášət máθa y-amríwale Čùxo.[1] *ʾáwwa kú-mdit mṣawə́θwa Čùxo,ˈ Čùxo,ˈ Čùxo.ˈ (2) xá-yoma qə́ryɛle mə́re ṭla-réšət màθaˈ ʾáwwa šə́mma mšaxəlpùle.ˈ ʾáwwa šə́mmi Čùxo,ˈ Čùxo,ˈ Čùxo.ˈ mattúli xá-šəmma xèna.ˈ mə́re yába mšaxəlpə́xle šə̂mmux.ˈ ʾázət táwrux pɛrmətle.ˈ čɛdátla kúlla nášət màθaˈ w-áwðət ḥàfla.ˈ ṯ-àxləxˈ ʾu-pèrqəxˈ ʾu-šàtəxˈ ʾu-ràwəx.ˈ pèrqəx,ˈ mattəxlux xá-šəmma xàθaˈ ʾu-pàtlṭəx.ˈ (3) ʾu-ʾáwwa-ži zìlɛle.ˈ prìməlle táwre díye.ˈ mbùšləlleˈ ʾu-kùl-məndiˈ ʾu-múθyɛle štèθa.ˈ ʾu-čídɛle zóre-w gòṛe,ˈ mə́re yába hàyyo,ˈ ʾaθìtu,ˈ čìdetuˈ ta-mšaxə́lpi šə́mmət Čùxoˈ mattúle xá-šəmma xèna.ˈ ʾánna-ži ʾəθyela.ˈ xìlela-wˈ šətyela.ˈ mubàsmela-wˈ rùyela,ˈ hál saʾət-xà,ˈ saʾət-trèˈ bàr pəlgət-lɛ́le.ˈ (4) mšúryela mbarbòze.ˈ kút qimle-plàṭaˈ háwət basíma Čùxo.ˈ plìṭle,ˈ háwət basìma,ˈ háwət basìma,ˈ háwət basìmaˈ ʾu-hár šə́mme píšle Čùxo.ˈ ʾu-plìṭla.ˈ ʾámər ṭla-mùxtarˈ ʾána mòdinwa mírəllux?ˈ táwri xìllux.ˈ məndi xìllux,ˈ kúlla xìllɛxu,ˈ štèlɛxu,ˈ mubsàmlɛxuˈ hár šə́mmi wele-Čùxo.ˈ (5) qímɛle dárt-yoma síqɛle l-gàre,ˈ ʾámər hèyˈ kú̱ṯ-ile xíləlla xa-ràmši-məndiˈ gu-bèθiˈ ʾáθe xarèla gu-béθi.ˈ ʾə́θyela nášət máθa kùllaˈ ʾó-šula wìðəlla.ˈ ʾaw-píšɛle tàma.ˈ xà-yarxa,ˈ trè,ˈ qímɛle mkúpšəlla kúlla ʾànna,ˈ mbùrzəlla,ˈ dáryəlla gu-xa-ṭène.ˈ (6) ʾu-ṣə̀lyɛle,ˈ ṣə̀lyɛle,ˈ ṣə̀lyɛle,ˈ píšɛle ʾárxa t-xa-šə́x ʾarabáya gu-xa-bɛrìyya.ˈ múttəlle ṭéne díye qúrbət ḵ̂wína d-ó ʾarabàyaˈ ʾu-tìwɛle.ˈ Čúxo xa-maxyánət šabíba-w zamára rešàya-wewa.ˈ tíwɛle b-lɛ́le mxáya šabíba rəš-d-ó-ṭene dìyeˈ ʾu-xmáre l-gòte-diye.ˈ*

[1] The name Čuxo means ‘one who wears the woolen *čuxa* garment’.

A7 A Man Called Čuxo

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) I shall tell you another one called Čuxo. This Čuxo lives in a village, let's say in one of the villages of our community in Barwar. He was a shepherd of sheep and a minder of cattle. He was everything. He was poor. The people of the village used to call him Čuxo. On every occasion that he spoke (people would say) Čuxo, Čuxo, Čuxo. (2) One day he appealed to the head of the village saying[1] 'Change this name. This name of mine, Čuxo, Čuxo, Čuxo. Give me another name. He said 'We shall change your name. Go and slaughter your ox. Invite all the people of the village and hold a party. We shall finish eating, then drink and get drunk. (When) we finish, we shall give you a new name and leave.' (3) So, he went out and slaughtered his ox. He cooked it and (prepared) everything, and brought drink. He invited young and old saying 'Come, come, you are invited' in order for them to change the name Čuxo and give him a another name. They came. They ate and drank. They enjoyed themselves and got drunk, until one or two o'clock after midnight. (4) They began to disperse. Everyone who got up to leave (said) 'Thank you Čuxo' (Each) went out 'Thank you', 'Thank you', 'Thank you', and his name was still Čuxo. They left. He said to the village head 'What did I say to you? You ate my ox. you ate such-and-such. You ate everything. You drank. You enjoyed yourselves. But my name was still Čuxo.' (5) The next day he went up onto the roof saying 'Hey, everyone who has eaten my dinner[2] in my house, let him comse and defecate in my house. All the people of the village came and performed their business. He remained there for a month or two, then he gathered them all up, dried them, and put them in a saddle bag. (6) He went down, down, down and became the guest of an Arab sheikh in a desert. He put his saddle bag near the tent of that Arab and sat down. Čuxo was a pipe-player and a first class singer. He sat at night playing a pipe on that saddle bag of his, with his ass beside him.

[1] Literally: He called (and) said to the head of the village'.
[2] The word *mindi* following *xaramÁi* here is redundant.

*(7) ʾarabáya šə́myəlle qále dìye.ˈ ʾámər ʾáwwa ʾènile?ˌ šə̂x-məreˈ yàbaˈ ʾáyya dàx-ṯ̂-awya?!ˌ ʾána háwən šə́x d-áyya hànnaˈ ʾu-náše lá-ʾaθa l-diwàni,ˈ ʾu-lá-hawa ʾàrxi,ˈ yátwi háwa rə̀ḥqa.ˈ dàx-itu qbíle ʾáwwa náša xăr̂́b ṯ̂-ile ʾə́θyaˈ hátxa l-xóðe gu-bɛríyya tíwa-w zmàra-wˈ létu múθyəlle kə̀sli?!ˌ qíme so-mè*θ*ole ʾəlli-díyi.ˈ (8) qímela xíšela ʾan-xulamwáθe dìyeˈ xázyəlle ʾo-Čúxo tíwa rəš-d-ó-ṭena zmàra,ˈ ʾu-šabíba b-ʾìðe.ˈ šlàma-llux!ˌ máre b-šéna b-ṭawàθa.ˈ mára šə́x yába hole-mšúdra bàrux,ˈ mára ʾáxni ʾarabàyeˈ léla ʾádət dìyənˈ ṯ̂-áθət yátwət barə̀ye,ˈ yáʿni xa-xăr̂́b ʾən-ʾáθe la-ʾáθe kə̀sle.ˈ (9) gə̆́rəg ʾádət dìyənˈ ʾáθət kə̀slənˈ ʾàxlət,ˈ šàtətˈ ʾu-módit snìqa,ˈ mo-ṯ̂-óðəxxa ṭlàlux.ˈ yáʿni léla spə̀y,ˈ gə̆́rəg ʾàθət.ˈ máre yába ʾána ṯ̂-àθən,ˈ ʾáxči ʾən-yáwəl ð̣ə̆mə̂̀nˈ šə̂xˈ ʾáwwa ṭéni páyəš nṭìraˈ ta-t-čú-mdi là-ʾaθe bíye dìye,ˈ sab-ʾíθli rába mándi ṭemàna gáwe díye.ˈ (10) zílla móra ṭla-šə̂x.ˈ máre hɛ́ yàbaˈ ʾən-háwe dàwa-žiˈ ʾáxni t-yawə́xla xa-b-ṭ̣àθa ʾálle díye.ˈ qìmɛleˈ ʾáwwa zìlaˈ zmíra zmíra zmíra hal-mbàdla.ˈ gu-mbadláθa ʾáθyɛle dìṛaˈ l-ṭéne dìye.ˈ mšúryɛle mxáya gu-réše dráya hàwəṛ,ˈ hàwər-ila,ˈ bə̆́xət ʾàlaha!ˌ hàtxa y-áwəð šə́x.ˈ hàtxa y-áwəð ð̣amə́n.ˈ (11) mòdila qə́ṣṣət?ˌ ʾámər hayyo-xzò.ˈ ṭéni kúlla ʾíwa mən-dàwa.ˈ máre kúlle dàwa,ˈ kùlle,ˈ hóla gnìwə̀lle,ˈ ʾu-dárye ʃə̂xta šópe dìye.ˈ dàxi?!ˌ ʾə́θyela xə̀zyeˈ ʾína ṭéna kúlle m̩álya ʃə̂xta.ˈ šə́x hìwle xábre díye.ˈ yába xà-ṭena wéwa dáwaˈ kθùle ṭ̣láθa ṭéne.ˈ (12) híwle ṭ̣làθa xmáre xéne.ˈ dáryəlla ṭ̣láθa ṭéne l-xaṣə̀y.ˈ Čúxo híwle bále l-bɛ̀θaˈ ʾu-sìqɛle.ˈ ʾámri θèle Čuxoˈ xázəx ṣ́ályɛle b-xà ṭena ʾə́xreˈ ʾu-θéle b-ṭ̣láθa ṭène.ˈ mòdila qə́ṣṣət?ˌ la-yə̆́ðəx.ˈ (13) síqɛle sìqa-wˈ wírɛle gu-màθa.ˈ mòdile Čúxo?ˌ ʾámər dàwɛla.ˈ ʾánna ma-dàwɛla?ˌ móra ṣ́lélux b-xá-ṭena ʾəxreˈ θélux b-ṭ̣láθa dàwe.ˈ*

(7) The Arab heard his voice. He says 'Who is he? The sheikh says 'But, how could this be?! (How could it be that) I am the sheikh[3] and people do not come to my reception and do not become my guest, but sit far away. How could you have agreed for that stranger who has come here alone into the desert to sit and sing and have not brought him to me?! Go and bring him to me.' (8) Those servants of his went and saw that Čuxo sitting on the saddle bag singing, with a pipe in his hand. 'Greetings to you!' He said 'Peace and blessings'. They said 'The sheikh has sent for you saying "We are Arabs. It is not our custom that you should come and sit outside" that is (it is not our custom) that if a stranger comes, he should not come to him. (9) According to our custom, you must come to us and eat and drink. Whatever you want, we shall do for you. That is, it is not good (like this), you must come.' He said 'Well, I'll come, only if the sheikh gives a guarantee that this saddle bag will be guarded so that nothing will happen to it, for I have something very valuable in it.' (10) They went and told the sheikh. He said 'Of course, even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold (if it is lost)'. He went (to the sheikh) and sang until morning. At dawn he went back to his saddle bag. He began beating his head yelling in anguish 'Oh what a calamity! Help for God's sake! So, this is how a sheikh behaves. This is how he makes a guarantee.' (11) 'What is the matter?' He says 'Come and see! My saddle bag was full of gold' He said 'They have stolen all the gold, all of it and put filth in its place.' 'How could that be?' They came and saw that the saddle bag was completely full of filth. The sheikh had given his word. It was one saddle bag of gold, so he wrote (that he should have) three saddle bags. (12) He gave him three other asses. They put the three saddles on their back. Čuxo set off for home and went up (the mountain). They say 'Čuxo has come back. We see that he went down with one saddle bag of excrement and he has come back with three saddle bags. What has happened? We do not know.' (13) He came all the way up and entered the village. 'What is it Čuxo?' He says 'They are gold coins'. 'What kind of gold are they?' They said 'You went down with a saddle bag of excrement and you have come back with three of gold.'

[3] Literally: the sheikh of this thing.

(14) mára míla b-rešèxu.!ˈ gu-Mòṣulˈ ʾáxre léla mṭáya b-ʾìða.ˈ xá-kilo ʾáxre b-ṭláθa dàwɛle.ˈ dàx-it mára.?ˈ hàtxaˈ hòla.ˈ náše mòdila wíðe.?ˈ plìṭṭɛlaˈ gu-màθa,ˈ kút-xa qṭála ǧðàðeˈ ʾu-ʾáxre mkapòše.ˈ (15) hadíya mkopášla ṣlèla.ˈ múttəlla gu-ða mən-d-ánna ʿàlwət Móṣul,ˈ mšuréla qràyaˈ ʾáxre b-dàwe.!ˈ ʾáxre b-dàwe.!ˈ moṣulnáye jmìyelaˈ mára kálbe bərt-kàlbe.ˈ mòxyəlla,ˈ màxyəlla,ˈ màxyəlla.ˈ ʾap-xmárey šqìləllaˈ dawérey ṭrìðəlla.ˈ (16) ʾáyya ʾàmriˈ ʾáwwa kálba bərt-kàlbaˈ má-widle bíyən Čùxo.?ˈ ʾáyya béna ṯ-ásqəx qaṭlə̀xle Čúxo.ˈ sìqela.ˈ yǎ̈ðe Čúxo módile wíða biyèy.ˈ dax-ṯ-ile xázyəlla θàya,ˈ hádəx ṣràxa-wˈ xumθàne,ˈ Čúxo rìqɛle,ˈ plíṭɛle gu-màθa,ˈ ʾaw-ràqa-wˈ ʾáni bàθre.ˈ (17) zílɛle xázyəlle xa-ríyət ʾərwe,ˈ xa-šavàna.ˈ ʾámər ṯ-amránnux xà-məndiˈ yà ʾăzízi.ˈ wúð ða-spayúθa mànni.ˈ xzáyət ʾănáha naše-ṯ-íla ráqa bàθri.?ˈ máre hè.ˈ máre ʾítli ðá bratət-màmaˈ hádəx-ila šṭrànta ˈ max-d-àwwa yóma.ˈ (18) ʾáni b-xéla bǎ̈yi mbarxíla ʾəlli.ˈ hàyyo,ˈ hálla júllux ṭlàli,ˈ ʾu-júlli ṭlàlux.ˈ ʾu-si-múr hèˈ hèˈ ʾána gorənna,ˈ hèˈ hè,ˈ ràzi,ˈ ràzi.ˈ ʾáni xášwi ʾáti ʾànən.ˈ mur-ʾána šə̀mmi Čùxole.ˈ ʾu-lìtlux šúla.ˈ (19) qímela mšuxálpe b-jùlle.ˈ ʾawwá-ži zìlɛle.ˈ ʾɛ-kosíθa múṣləlla gu-ʾéne díye t-Čùxo.ˈ máre yába ràzi,ˈ ràzi,ˈ ràzi.ˈ ʾáθyela máṯye ʾəlle,ˈ ðà-m-aw,ˈ ðà-m-aw,ˈ šaqlíle dɛréle gu-Zàwa.ˈ nìxlən m-Čúxo,ˈ drélən l-Zàwa.ˈ (20) dárye l-Zàwaˈ díṛela l-bèθa.ˈ hàtxa wídlən bíye,ˈ daṛmána dìyela.ˈ xákma màrɛlaˈ náša ta-mò qṭilléxu.?ˈ ḵáwa xoš-ṯ-awéwa pìša.ˈ yáʿni hám-ʾən wídle hátxa ʾàp-aw,ˈ ʾáp ʾaxni-xìlə̀xwale táwre díye.ˈ hàtxəx wíðe bi-díye.ˈ xákma dwáqa xáse dìyeˈ ʾu-xákma darqúle dìye.ˈ (21) píštɛla ʾaṣə̀rta.ˈ gu-sáʾət ʾášta ʾaṣárta šáwwa gu-gnéθət yòma,ˈ hóle θéle Čùxo,ˈ xa-bárra ʾərwe bàθreˈ ṣlèle gu-máθaˈ ʾu-klèle gu-ṭǎ̈rət béθe díye.ˈ ʾènile.?ˈ ʾènile.?ˈ mára Čùxon.ˈ Čúxo hox-xnìqəlle! plíṭle m-gu-Zàwa.ˈ

(14) He said 'Damn you![4] In Moṣul dung is not available. One kilo of dung sells for three gold pieces.' 'What are you saying?' 'It's like that, here they are!' What did the people do? (After) the matter got about in the village, everyone fought with one another and gathered excrement. (15) After they had gathered it, they went down (to the plain). They laid it out in one of those auction houses of Moṣul and started crying 'Dung for gold! Dung for gold!' The inhabitants of Moṣul gathered and said 'Dogs sons of dogs!' They gave them a sound beating. They also took their asses and drove away their mules. (16) 'Oh' they say 'That dog son of a dog Čuxo, what has he done to us? This time we'll go up and kill Čuxo.' They went up. Čuxo knows what he has done to them. When he saw them coming, shouting and angry, Čuxo ran out into the village, he running and they (coming) after him. (17) He went and saw a grazer of sheep, a shepherd. He says 'Let me tell you something, my friend. Do me a favour. Do you see those people who are running after me?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'I have a cousin who is as beautiful as this sunshine. (18) They want to marry her to me by force. Come, give your clothes to me and (I'll give) my clothes to you. Then go and say "Yes, yes, I shall marry her. Yes, yes, I agree, I agree." They will think that you are me. Say "My name is Čuxo" and you will have no trouble.' (19) They exchanged clothes. He (the shepherd) went and lowered the hat of Čuxo over his eyes. He said 'I agree, I agree, I agree!' They came up to him (and he received) a (blow) from that one and a (blow) from another. They take him and throw him in the Zab. 'We have got rid of Čuxo. We've put him in the Zab.' (20) Having put him in the Zab, they returned home. 'We have done such-and-such to him, its his comeuppance.'[5] Some say 'Why have you killed the man?' He should have remained alive. Although he did such a thing, we had eaten his ox. We have now done this to him. Some supported him and others were against him. (21) The evening came. At six or seven o'clock in the evening, at dusk, Čuxo came, with a horde of sheep following him. He came down into the village and stood in front of his house. 'Who is he?' 'Who is he?' He says 'I am Čuxo'. 'We have drowned Čuxo! He has come out of the Zab.'

[4] Literally: 'Blue be upon your head'. The colour blue was associated with grief and misfortune.

[5] Literally: his cure.

(22) ʾáθyela Čúxo mára hà,ˈ lámu lax-xnìqəllux?ˌ mára hè.ˈ ʾína mòt wáða ʾáxxa?ˌ mára míla b-rešèxu.ˈ qəm-dɛrétuli ðá-duka làṭṭe.ˈ ʾən-hawétuwa dáryəlli xáčča xéna biš-hódəx biš-ʾamòqta,ˈ táma mpulṭəllέxu mən-d-ànnaˈ p̂azesór b-ʾəlyàθa,ˈ hátxa b-qanàne.ˈ ʾína ʾé-duka làṭṭe-wawa.ˈ qəm-darétuli tàma,ˈ ʾáxči muθéli ʾànna.ˈ (23) mòt mára?ˌ ʾámər ʾáwwa Záwa xzàyɛtule?ˌ hóle ṃálya ʾərwe,ˈ kùt-tăhər t-bă̆yitu.ˈ hàyyo!ˌ bă̆xət ʾàlaha!ˌ maxzìlən!ˌ músqəlla kúlla nášət máθa táma xá bar-d-o-xèna.ˈ (24) ʾáθyɛle xàʾaˈ ʾàmərˈ Čùxo,ˈ ʾána dríli ða-dúka t̂-áwa kòč̂e.ˈ sab-tắrət gómi ʾìqɛle.ˈ t̂óṭ̂i hóla màraˈ lá-mɛθət m-an-t-qanàne.ˈ méθət m-an-kòč̂e.ˈ mára kèla t̂óṭ̂o?ˌ mára hòla.ˈ mára də-hàyyo.ˈ mára ʾáxxa kúlla kòč̂ela.ˈ šaqólle ʾawádle hàtxa.ˈ (25) mšuréla baqbòqe,ˈ báq báq báq bàq.ˈ mára mòdi mára,ˈ bàbi?ˌ mára hóle mára múrra t̂óṭ̂i t̂-áθya mhɛràli.ˈ lán-mṣaya palṭ̀nna.ˈ ʾap-t̂óṭ̂e ʾawádla qráb báθre dìye.ˈ kúlla nášət máθa xniqìle.ˈ ʾu-ṣléle Čùxoˈ tìwle,ˈ ʾu-mára də-là-mšaxəlpule šámmi!ˌ

(22) They came and said 'Čuxo, well, have we not drowned you?' He said 'Yes'. 'But what are you doing here?' He said 'Damn you![6] You threw me into a shallow place. If you had thrown me a little further along, (where it is) deeper, I would have brought out for you from there some of those big sheep with fat tails and horns (big) like this. But that place was shallow. You put me there and I have only brought these.' (23) 'What are you saying?' He says 'Do you see the Zab? It is full of sheep, every type you could want.' 'Come on, for God's sake show us!' He brought up all the people of the village there, one after the other. (24) One came up and said 'Čuxo, throw me in a place where there are hornless sheep, since the door of my basement stable is narrow. My grandmother says "Don't bring the ones with horns. Bring the ones that are hornless"'. He said 'Where is grandma?' He said 'There she is'. He said 'Come'. He said 'Here they are all hornless sheep'. He takes him and threw him[7] like this. (25) A gurgling noise started. They said 'What is he saying, my friend?' He said 'He is saying "Tell my grandmother to come and help me. I cannot bring them out."' He threw in also his grandmother after him, splash!' He drowned all the people of the village. Čuxo then went and sat down. He said 'So, don't change my name!'

[6] Literally: blue be upon your head.
[7] Literally: made him.

A8 Gozali and Nozali

Informant: Nanəs Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾána šmíyənwa xa-tunìθa| y-amríwala Gozáli ʾu-Nozàli,| šə́mma díya yáʿni tuníθət Gozáli ʾu-Nozàli.| dáx ʾiwáwa ʾàyya?| ʾi-mšárəxwa tuníθa y-amrìwa| (2) ʾíθwa-w lìθwa| bíš m-álaha gòṛa| líθwa gòṛa| hič-nàša.| bas-ʾíθwa xá malkà| ʾíθwale xa-bròna.| ʾáw malkà| rába bə̆́yewale ʾaw-bróne dìye.| ʾu-ṭábʿan màlka| bróne díye páyəš šàwpe díye.| ʾíman-t málka ʾi-màyəθ,| ʾíman-t páyəš gòṛa| bróna díye šáqəl šáwpe dìye| bar-d-àw.| (3) ʾé-ga xa-yóma málka dmíxa-wewa b-lèle,| dmìxa wéwa,| ʾu-xzéle b-xə́lme dìye| ʾíθ xa-náša gu-d-áy məìta| biš-făqíra m-kúlla nàša.| rába făqìra-wewa ʾawwa-náša.| málka xzéle b-xə́lme dìye| mára ʾáwwa náša făqìra| ṯ-awéle xá bronà| ʾáw páyəš málka šàwpət bròits.| lé-y-awe brónux màlka.| (4) ʾu-ʾímət ríšle mən-šə́nθa màlka| rába šxìšle-u| rába pšìmle-u.| ʾu-píšle ʾáw-naša făqíra mašhu̇̀r-wewa| yáʿni rába kúlla náše yăðìwale.| málka yăðéwale ʾo-nàša.| móre ʾá-naša făqìra| ʾá-naša ʾátxa məskèna,| dáx bróne díye páyəš màlka?| dáx páyəš málka šáwpət bròni| w-áyya malkùθi| ʾu-māl-díyi kúlla pə́ša ṭla-d-àw?| (5) yáʿni lá qəm-basmále ʾayyà-w| xə́lme díye lá qəm-basə̀mle.| ʾáwwa nàša| hál-la lìtwale| yáʿni báxte díye láwa píšta b-ʾùrxa.| zílla xákma šənne,| málka hár xzə̀ya-wewa,| b-xzáya mbaqóre l-d-ò-naša:| ʾìtle bróna?| lìtle bróna?| ṯ-awèle bróna?| ʾàtxa məndiyáne.| ʾé-ga xárθa θéle xa-jăwāb qa-màlka| móra báxte díye hóla b-ʾùrxa díya.| báxtə d-ó náša făqìra| píšla b-ʾùrxa| qá-t mḥaṣə́lla yàle.| (6) ʾu-málka mšuréle zdàya xáčča,| mtaxmòne| xə́lme díye pàləṭ.| ṯ-amrèxi| wéla dánət mḥaṣòle,| ʾáy báxta mḥuṣə̀lla.| mḥuṣə́lla jamə̀kke,| trè-yale,| xa-bròna| xa-bràta.| ʾu-ʾán tre-yàle,| mən-brɛθèy,| mən-yóma qamáyə brèla,| ʾatxa-jwànqe-wɛwa,| ʾatxa-spáy ʾátxa šəkláne ʾu-xə̀lye| ʾu-náše măjóbe biyèy.| y-amríwala gu-tunìθa| xá pərc̆́mta dìye| yáʿni pár̆c̆e dìye| t-dáwa-w xa-t-sèma.| hàtxa madmiwalə́y.|

A8 Gozali and Nozali

Informant: Nanəs Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) I have heard a story called Gozali and Nozali. Its name is the story of Gozali and Nozali. What was this?[1] We used to begin a story by saying: (2) There was and there was not, there was no man greater than God. But there was a king who had a son. The king loved his son very much. Of course the son would take the place of the king. When the king dies, when he becomes old, his son would take his place after him. (3) Now, one day the king was asleep at night, he was asleep, and he saw in his dream that there was a man in the town who was poorer than anybody else. The man was very poor. The king saw in his dream that they said 'This poor man will have a son and he will become king instead of your son. Your son will not become king'. (4) When the king woke from his sleep, he became very shaken and became very upset. It happened that that poor man was well-known, everybody knew him very well. The king knew the man. He said 'This poor man, this man who is so wretched, how can his son become king? How can he become king instead of my son and (how) can this kingdom of mine and this wealth of mine all become his?' (5) This did not please him, his dream did not please him. This man, however, still did not have (a son), that is his wife was not expecting a child.[2] Several years went by and the king kept investigating and inquiring concerning the man: Has he or has he not a son? Will he have a son? Things such as these. Then, in the end, a report came to the king saying that his wife was expecting a child. The wife of the poor man was on the way to giving birth to children. (6) The king began to be rather afraid and think that his dream would come true. Let's say it was the time of giving birth and the woman gave birth. She gave birth to twins, two children, a boy and a girl. Those two children, from their birth, from the first day (after) they were born, were so beautiful, so fine, so bonny and sweet that people marvelled at them. They say in the story regarding them that one forelock, one hair, of his was of gold and one was of silver. They compared them in this way.

[1] Literally: How was it?
[2] Literally: was not on the way.

(7) málka šmíle b-àyya,ˈ rába zdèle.ˈ mə́re ʾánna madám-t̰-ila ʾátxa jwánqe w-átxa tàze,ˈ lázəm ʾaw-xə́lmi pàlə̀t.ˈ ʾo-xá-məndi ʾíle xə̀zwa ʾə́θyəlliˈ lə́le xə̀lma.ˈ rába zdèle.ˈ mù wídle?ˈ mtuxmə̀nneˈ mə́re ʾána gə̆́rəg mtalqə́nna ʾanna-yàle.ˈ mə́re gə̆́rəg mtalqə̀nnaˈ ʾánna yàle.ˈ gə̆́rəg lɛ-pɛ̀ši.ˈ ʾánna kúlla θárwa díya b-šaqlìla-wˈ šàwpi b-šaqlíle-uˈ ʾu-bróni le-y-áwele šə̀mma-wˈ le-y-áwe màlka.ˈ dáx bárya ʾàyya?ˈ (8) hadíya mù wídle?ˈ mə́re ṭlá polìseˈ mə́re só l-bɛ́θət flàn-naša.ˈ sógun l-bɛ́θət flàn-naša,ˈ ʾu-šə́qlula ʾan-trè-yale,ˈ ʾu-mtàlquley.ˈ la-šawqítuley sàxeˈ mtalqìtuley.ˈ ʾáyya wéla sə̀rri yáʿni,ˈ xa-məndìˈ t-lá-yə̆ðe híč-naša bìya.ˈ (9) xéna políse mù t̰-óði?ˈ šáqli ʾə̆wàmər.ˈ màlkaˈ mo-t̰-ámərrey t̰-óði hàdəx.ˈ zìlla.ˈ zílla políse b-lə̀le.ˈ qəm-šaqlíla ʾán-tre yàleˈ mən-babéy ʾu-yəmmèy.ˈ kə́ma yəmméy ʾu-babéy mšorèlaˈ b-bxàya-wˈ ṣràxa-wˈ dáx šaqlítuley yàlən?ˈ dáx bárya ʾàyya?ˈ mòdi wéle?ˈ xéna ʾámrət màlkɛleˈ lá-maṣa t-torìle.ˈ (10) ʾu-políse qəm-maklíla bába-w yə̀mma,ˈ ʾu-šaqlìla ʾan-tre-yále.ˈ ʾímət qəm-šaqlíla políse ʾan-tre-yàle,ˈ ʾan-políse wéla pyáša b-xammèy.ˈ mára dáx mtalqə́xla ʾan-tre-yále hatxa-jwànqe,ˈ hátxa šə̣tràne,ˈ yále zóre háde bə̀rye?ˈ xṭìθɛla.ˈ ʾo-málka mó-t ʾə̆wámər híwle-llèni?ˈ le-y-bárya ʾáyya ʾo-šúla ʾoðə̀xle.ˈ (11) ṣléla ráxme gu-lábbə d-án polìse.ˈ mə́ra ʾáxni qémax dɛrə́xley gu-xá sandùqaˈ ʾu-yáwəxley xáčča kèkeˈ madúqəx b-iðèyˈ qa-t ʾáxli xṭiθèy-ila,ˈ ʾu-dérəxla gu-d-áy šaqìθa,ˈ ʾáy šaqíθa b̰t̰-áza b̰t̰-áza nabláley ðá-gotət dùnye.ˈ t̰-ázi mìyaˈ tálqi b-ganèy.ˈ lɛ-máṣəx ʾáxni mtalqə̀xlaˈ xṭiθèy-ila.ˈ (12) qímela wíðe hàtxa.ˈ ʾu-políse xzéla ʾan-yále jwànqe,ˈ qəm-mattíla b-sandùqe,ˈ qəm-hawíla xáčča ʾixàla-wˈ qəm-xə̆ðíla hátxa t-la-qɛralèyˈ ʾu-qəm-dɛréla gu-mìya.ˈ qəm-dɛréla gu-mìya,ˈ hátxa t̰-ázi b-šaqìθa.ˈ zílla b-šaqíθa, zílla-w zílla-w zìlla.ˈ

(7) The king heard about this and became very afraid. He said: If they are so beautiful and so fine, that dream of mine must come true. The thing is a vision that came to me, it is not a dream. He was very afraid. What did he do? He thought and said (to himself): I have to get rid of these children. He said: I have to get rid of these children. They must not live. They will now take all the wealth (of the kingdom) and will take my place. My son will have no title[3] and will not be king. How could this happen? (8) Now, what did he do? He said to the police, he said: Go to the the house of such-and-such a man. Go to the house of such-and-such a man, and take away the two children. Get rid of them. Do not leave them alive.[4] Get rid of them. This was (done) secretly, so that nobody would know about it. (9) Now, what should the police do? They take orders. Whatever the king tells them they should do. They went off. The police went off at night and took the two children from their father and mother. How their mother and father began to cry and scream: 'How can you take our children away?! How can that come about? What has happened?' You see, it was the order of the king and they cannot disobey it. (10) The police stopped the father and mother (screaming) and took the two children. When the policemen took the two children, the policemen began to become worried. They said: How can we do away with these two children, who are so beautiful and bonny, babies who have just been born? It is a sin. What orders has the king given us? It is impossible for us to do this thing. (11) The policemen felt compassion in their hearts.[5] They said 'We shall put them in a chest and give them some cakes, putting them in their hands for them to eat. What a pity for them! Then we shall put them in the stream. The stream will flow along and take them somewhere.[6] The water will flow along and they will perish by themselves. We cannot ourselves do away with them, it is a sin'. (12) They did as (they said they would). The policemen found the two beautiful children, put them in a chest, gave them some food, wrapped them up, like this, so that they would not be cold, and put them in the water. They put them in the water, so that they would go along in the stream. They went along in the stream, they went along for a long time.[7]

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[3] Literally: name.
[4] Literally: healthy.
[5] Literally: compassion went down in to the heart of those policemen.
[6] Literally: will take them to one side of the world.
[7] Literally: they went, they went, they went.

(13) ʾíθwa xà-dukθa,ˈ šaqíθa ʾi-xăðàwaˈ čàppa wéwa hátxaˈ léwa dárəst ràba.ˈ lìqleyˈ b-xákma taqyáθət xelápe ʾíθwa tàma.ˈ líqla sandúqa bìya.ˈ zílɛwa xa-măsáfa rəḥqa,ˈ xá-tre kilométre hàtxe,ˈ zìlɛwa.ˈ

(14) ʾé-ga píšla táma ʾo-yòma.ˈ dártət yòmaˈ θéle brőn málka b-ṣàdfa,ˈ brōn-màlkaˈ ʾáw brōn-málka θéle jwája tam-tàma.ˈ xírre táma gu-šaqìθaˈ ʾina-hóle xa-sandùqa.ˈ máre xázən màdila gu-d-áw sandùqa?ˈ zìlɛle,ˈ xázyəlla ʾán tre-yàleˈ mbaṣlòṣe,ˈ jwànqe,ˈ ʾáw kawsèyˈ zàrdaˈ ʾu-hádəx dax-ṭ́-ámrəx sèmaˈ ʾu-hátxa šəkláne ʾu-šəṭ́ràne.ˈ (15) máre ʾay-márya ʾàlahaˈ ʾánna tre-yále mă̋nile máṣya dəryálla gu-šaqìθa?ˈ mă̋nile máṣya zədyəllέy laxxàne?ˈ ʾánna gă̋rəg xamàxla-wˈ masíməx bála ʾəlla.ˈ ʾu-ʾánna gă̋rəg xázən ṭ́-óðən taḥqῖ̃qˈ mẵnile wíðəlla ʾátxa ʾánna nàše.ˈ ʾé qímɛle šqíla b-gʸán díye brōn-màlka.ˈ šqíləlla-w šqíla sandùqaˈ b-íðe dìyeˈ ʾu-síqa musqálla kəs-bábe dìye.ˈ (16) máre bàbi.ˈ máre hà bróni.ˈ máre xzéli xá-məndit ʾajəbùθa.ˈ máre mòdi bróni?ˈ mòdi xzélox?ˈ máre ʾánna tre-yále qəm-xazànnaˈ t-la marwàθaˈ ʾu-zádye gu-d-áw sandùqaˈ ʾu-zádye gu-d-áy šaqìθa.ˈ ʾu-xúr mpárəj biyèy.ˈ xzi-ʾánna yále kəmà šəṭ́ránelaˈ hátxa baṣlóṣe gu-lábbət nàša.ˈ dă̋x-ila máṣye ʾánna šarf̋r wìðəlley hátxa,ˈ zàdyəlley.ˈ (17) hè,ˈ bábe díye xìrre.ˈ ðìle,ˈ ðíle ʾáwwa ʾámra d-àw-ile.ˈ ʾu-léš máṣe ṭ́-árəq mən-wàqəʿ.ˈ mó ṭ́-àwəð?ˈ yáʿni la-ṣbára qam-bróne díye ṭ́-ámər ʾanèwən.ˈ máre bróni ʾáti mo-ṭ́-àmrət,ˈ mo-ṭ́-ámrət wúð hàdəx.ˈ xzí ʾána lèðənˈ ʾánna m-èkɛla ʾáθye.ˈ qímle b-zdáya m-bróne dìyeˈ qa-t-là-ʾamərˈ brōn-dìyeˈ bálki yawálla qă̈ṣ̃ṣ ṭla-bábe dìye.ˈ xzi-brònɛle,ˈ máṣe ṭ́-ámərre qa-mò ʾóðət ʾatxa-šùla?ˈ la-spày.ˈ (18) mò máre ʾaw-yála,ˈ brōn-màlka?ˈ máre bàbi.ˈ ʾánna ʾána ṭ́-óðən ʾəšrāf ʾəllèy,ˈ yáʿni măsímən bàla-lla.ˈ lɛ-šóqən lá xolamwàθaˈ wálla ʾàtiˈ wálla yəmmiˈ wálla čuˈ-nàša.ˈ ʾána b-gʸáni ṭ́-óðən ʾəšrā̋f ʾəllèy,ˈ mən-ʾixalèy,ˈ mən-lwištèy,ˈ mən-dmaxtèy,ˈ mən-xaltèy,ˈ mən-masyámtət bàla.ˈ ʾu-ʾána lɛ-šoqənnèyˈ lɛ-farqənnèy.ˈ kút-yoma gă̋rəg háwən mənnéy mənnèy.ˈ (19) bábe dìyeˈ máre láš màṣən.ˈ ʾáyya píšla b-íðət bròni.ˈ ʾu-ʾáwwa xálmi páləṭ hóle dmàya.ˈ qímle b-zdáya m-xálme díye t-wéwa xàzyəlle.ˈ

(13) There was a place where the stream wound round, it was bendy like this, it was not straight. They became hooked to some branches of willows that were there. The chest became hooked to them. They had travelled a long way, they had travelled one or two kilometres, or thereabouts.

(14) So, they stayed there for that day. The next day the son of the king by chance, the son of the king came walking along there. He saw that in the stream there was a chest. He said: I'd like to see what is in the chest. He went (to the chest) and saw the two children, shining, beautiful, with blond hair, just like silver, so pretty and bonny. (15) He said: Oh Lord God, who could have put these two children in the stream? Who could have thrown them here? We must care for them and look after them. I must investigate to find out who has done this to these people. The son of the king went and took them by himself. He took them and he took the chest in his hands, then went up and brought them up to his father. (16) He said: Father. He said: Yes my son. He said: I have found something amazing. He said: What, my son? What have you found? He said: I have found these two children, without parents, thrown in this chest and thrown in the stream. Take a look at them. See how beautiful these children are, how they captivate one's heart.[8] How could people have have done such a terrible thing to them and thrown them in (into the stream). (17) Well, his father looked and he knew, he knew that this was (by) his command. He cannot any longer run away from reality. What should he do? He does not dare to say in front of his son: It is me. He said 'My son, do whatever you think best.[9] You see I do not know from where they came.' He was afraid to tell his son. Perhaps his son would make a vendetta against his father. You see, he is his son, (how) can he say to him: Why would you do this thing? It would not be good. (18) What did the boy, the son of the king, say? He said: Father, I shall care for these children, that is I shall look after them. I shall not let servants, you, mother or anybody (look after them). I myself shall look after them, with regard to their food, their clothing, their sleeping, their eating, their care. I shall not leave them, I shall not be separated from them. I must be with them everyday. (19) His father said: I cannot (bear this) anymore. This has come about by the hand of my son. It appears that my dream is coming true. He began to fear his dream, which he had dreamt.

[8] Literally: glowing so much in the heart of a man.
[9] Literally: whatever you say, whatever you say, do thus.

(20) hadìya,ˈ la-mărìxəxla rába,ˈ píšla gòṛe.ˈ píšla gòṛe.ˈ hadìya,ˈ ʾáyya tunìθənˈ mšaxlápppa mən-d-áwwa tàqa,ˈ ṯ-áza l-xa-táqa xèna hadíya.ˈ yáʿni ʾánna hal-láxxa tunítha diyéy θèla.ˈ hadìyaˈ mšắrəx xa-táqa xènaˈ ʾítle ʿăláqa bə-d-àyya yáʿniˈ hám líqta b-àyyɛla.ˈ

(21) ʾíθwa xa-bàxtaˈ rába xàmθɛwawa.ˈ módiwewa šámma dìya?ˈ Bəlbál Hazàr.ˈ w-áyya ʾèkela?ˈ hóla gu-réšət xa-ṭúra ramàna,ˈ xa-ṭúra rába ramàna.ˈ náše lá-maṣi y-asqì-lle díye.ˈ dax-qúmmət Everèst*-ile,ˈ hátxa ramàna.ˈ ʾu-l-qámθe dìyeˈ ʾíθ xa-čôlˈ dàštaˈ rába gòṛta.ˈ (22) ʾu-náše kəmá-ṯ-ila šmìyeˈ b-o-zàwnaˈ Bálbəl Hazár rába xàmθela,ˈ màlke-uˈ zangìne-uˈ náše dawlatmàndeˈ kúlla mjúrbela t-mɛθéla Bálbəl Hazár ṭla-bronèy,ˈ ṭlá xa-bróna šàṭər,ˈ šazàda,ˈ jwànqa,ˈ d-ò-zawna.ˈ màṭo y-azíwa?ˈ y-azíwa la-zràqət yóma.ˈ yắðíwa Bálbəl Hazár ʾíla gu-d-ó ṭura la-zràqət yóma.ˈ (23) la-zráqət yòmaˈ y-azìwa.ˈ qam-maṭíwa l-tàma,ˈ l-d-ó ṭùra,ˈ ʾi-ṣaléwa xá maláxa m-šmàyya,ˈ y-awáðwala gān-díye bəṛ-nàša.ˈ y-awáðwala gān-díye xa-náša sàwa,ˈ dáqne xwàra,ˈ ʾu-káwse xwàra.ˈ ʾu-xà béθa,ˈ ðà mánzəl bás.ˈ xa-béθa zòraˈ xa-kul-lìxa y-ámrəx ʾáxni b-súrəθ.ˈ kullíxa ʾax-sopìθa y-amráxle ʾátxa.ˈ (24) ʾu-náša sàwaˈ yáʿni ʾáw béθa d-àw-ile.ˈ ʾi-mbaqárwala nàšeˈ lèketu zála?ˈ y-áwɛ tíwe xāṣ-sùsa,ˈ ʾu-rumxéy hàtxa,ˈ ʾu-nášət y-áwa b-o-záwna jwája xāṣ-sùsa,ˈ yắðət dax-y-àwɛ.ˈ ʾɛ-gət-ʾó-naša sáwa y-ámər lèketu zála,ˈ y-ámri ṯ-ázəx méθəx Bəlbál Hazàrˈ maguráxla ṭla-brònən.ˈ (25) w-áw ʾiwéwa malàxa.ˈ ʾáw yắðéwala ʾáyya tunítət Bəlbál Hazàr.ˈ yắðe rába zàmət-ila,ˈ híč xa-náša lá-maṣe mɛθéla Bálbəl Hazàr.ˈ w-áy ʾítla xa-sərr,ˈ Bálbəl Hazàr,ˈ yálla ʾàθya.ˈ ʾo-sárr ʾalàha yắðéle bás.ˈ ʾu-maláxa yắðeˈ bás léle gláya qa-nàše.ˈ ʾaw-sárr gòṛa-wewa.ˈ (26) ʾímət ʾi-mbaqàrwa-ʾatxa,ˈ y-amárwa la-sògun!ˈ xṭiθèxulaˈ w-áxtu ʾən-zìllɛxu,ˈ lá-mṣitu mɛθìtula,ˈ talqìtula ganéxu.ˈ ʾáni har-doqíwa ráqqi ṯ-azìwa.ˈ y-ámər har-ṯ-azìtu?ˈ y-ámri hèˈ ṯ-àzəx.ˈ (27) y-ámər zȅn,ˈ ʾána paqðənnɛxuˈ ṯ-azítu b-ʾúrxa maṭítu ʾəlla.ˈ m-táma hòdəxˈ ʾáxtu ʾu-gʸanèxu.ˈ maṣítu mɛθítula là mɛθítula.ˈ là mɛθìtulaˈ xéna hótu mára har-ṯ-ázəx ʾàxni,ˈ líθ bắjàraˈ ʾəlla bṯ-àzəx.ˈ*

(20) Now—we shall not prolongate (the story) too much—they grew up. They grew up. Now, our story will change from this branch and go to another branch. That is, so far the story of these (children) has been told. Now we shall begin another branch, which has a connection with that and is related to it.

(21) There was a woman who was very beautiful. What was her name? Bəlbəl Hazar. Where is she? She is on the top of a high mountain, a very high mountain. People cannot climb up it. It is like the summit of Everest, as high as that. Before it lies barren countryside, a very large plain. (22) When people at that time heard that Bəlbəl Hazar was very beautiful, kings, rich people, important people, everybody tried to bring Bəlbəl Hazar (as a wife) for their son, for a son (of theirs, who was) a handsome young prince, at that time. How did they go? They would go towards the rising of the sun. They knew that Bəlbəl Hazar was in mountain (lying) towards the rising of the sun. (23) They would go to the rising of the sun. Before they arrived there, at that mountain, an angel would come down from the sky and make himself into a man. He would make himself into an old man, with a white beard and white hair. (There was) a house, only a room, a small house, we say *kullixa* (hut) in Assyrian. A *kullixa* is like a *sopiθa* (shed), as we say. (24) This was the house of the old man. He would ask the people: Where are you going? They were sitting on the back of a horse, with their spear like this, you know what they were like, the people who at that time went around on horseback. When the old man said: Where are you going? They would say: We are going to bring Bəlbəl Hazar to marry her to our son. (25) He was an angel. He knew the story of Bəlbəl Hazar. He knew that it was very difficult. Nobody could bring back Bəlbəl Hazar. Bəlbəl Hazar had a secret (as to what would make her) come. Only God knew that secret. Also the angel knew it, but he did not reveal it to people. This was a big secret. (26) When he asked them in this way, he would say: Don't go! It is a pity for you, for if you go, you will not be able to bring her back, but will destroy yourselves. They, however, still insisted on going. He would say 'Are you still going to go?' and they would say 'Yes, we shall go'. (27) He would say 'All right, I'll give you instructions in order that you go on a road by which you can reach her. From then onwards you are by yourselves, whether you can bring her back or not bring her back. If you do not bring her back, (remember that) you are saying (now) "We shall still go, there is no alternative, we must go."'

(28) y-azíwa tàma.ˈ mù y-oðíwa?ˌ ʾé-ga ʾáwwa màreˈ máre ṯ-azítu qam-d-o-gə̀ppa,ˈ ʾaw-gə́ppa rába ramànɛle.ˈ b-qarìtu:ˈ ʾó Bə́lbəl Hazàr!ˌ mára mattítu bàla.ˈ ʾən-θéla Bə́lbəl Hazàrˈ ʾáy párxa m-tàmaˈ b-ṣálya ṯ-àtwaˈ b-xáṣət súsa baθrèxu.ˈ ʾu-ʾən-là θéla,ˈ b-o-qála qamàya,ˈ mattítu bála b-áqlət susèxu.ˈ ʾáqlət susέxu ʾən-píšla kèpa,ˈ léš maṣítu jawjìtu.ˈ (29) ṭlá gáye b-qarìtu,ˈ xaθmítu kèpa,ˈ pɛšítu kèpa,ˈ léš maṣítu jawjìtu.ˈ ʾàxtu-wˈ susèxu-wˈ rumxèxu-wˈ lwištèxu,ˈ pɛšítu kèpa táma.ˈ w-án ʾáθya Bə́lbəl Hazàr,ˈ ṯ-áθya ʾu-mɛθìtula.ˈ y-ámri OK *bə́ǰəx ṯ-àzəx.ˈ ṯ-awzítu də-sò.ˈ ʾálaha ṯ-áwe mənnèxu.ˈ damxíwa kásle dìyeˈ ʾo-lèle.ˈ qɛmíwa mbàdla.ˈ y-ámər ʾálaha ṯ-áwe mənnèxuˈ ʾu-sò!ˌ y-azìwa.ˈ*

(30) mo-ṯ-amrə̀nnux?ˌ zìlelaˈ ʾəmmáyət náše mɛθóye Bə́lbəl Hazàr.ˈ ʾi-maṭíwa tàma.ˈ qála qamàya,ˈ xɛríwa b-áqlət susèy,ˈ píša hal-bə́rkət súsa kèpa.ˈ qálət trè,ˈ ʾó Bə́lbəl Hazàr!ˌ xɛríwa Bə́lbəl Hazár lìθ.ˈ mattíwa bála b-áqlə susèy,ˈ ʾìna,ˈ ʾap-aqlə-d-àw,ˈ hál be-palge-díye píša kèpa,ˈ ʾáxči rešət-sùsaˈ ʾu-palge-díye bàr-eliˈ léle píša kèpa.ˈ (31) ʾu-qarέwa qálət ṭ̣làθaˈ ʾó Bə́lbəl Hazàr!ˌ béna xaráya y-ámər zàr,ˈ ʾu-páyəšwa képa kùlle.ˈ ʾap-rèše-diye páyəšwa képa.ˈ xazə́twa ʾax-qayə́mθət kèpa,ˈ sùsa-wˈ rùmxe-wˈ náše tíwe xàṣe.ˈ ʾu-hár šə́klət bəṛ-náša-w sùsaˈ ʾu-yáʿni čákke biye-dìyeˈ ʾu-píša kèpa.ˈ ʾé-ga kút y-azə́lwa záyənwa gótə d-o-xèna.ˈ kút y-azə́lwa zayə̀nwa,ˈ píše xá ʾarb-ə́mma xamš-ə́mma náše réza rèza,ˈ kúlla píše kèpa.ˈ ʾáyya qəṣṣə́ttət Bə́lbəl Hazàr.ˈ

(32) hadìyaˈ qálbəx l-màlka,ˈ málka-w brone-dìyeˈ ʾu-Gúzali ʾu-Nozàli.ˈ xázəx táma módi bràya.ˈ brōn-málka píšle b-ṭàli.ˈ píšle b-ṭàli,ˈ ʾu-máre màlkaˈ mjárbu méθu náše duxtùre-uˈ yan-náše spáy t-yə̌ðəi bud-màrra,ˈ ʾu-náše gu-mðíta kúlley mèθula,ˈ xázi bróni ṭla-mòdi,ˈ mòdi píšaˈ b-ṭàli hatxá,ˈ qa-ṯ-oðíle xa-čàra.ˈ

(28) (When) they went there, what did they do? 'Then' he said 'you should go to the cave, the cave is very high. You should cry 'Oh Bəlbəl Hazar'. He said 'Pay attention. If Bəlbəl Hazar comes, the bird will come down from there and sit on the back of the horse behind you. If she does not come, at the first call, take a look at the legs of your horse. If the legs of your horses have become stone, you will no longer be able to move. (29) Three times you will call and you will end up as stone, you will become (completely) stone and will no longer be able to move. You, your horses, your spears and your clothes will become stone there. If Bəlbəl Hazar comes, she will come and you can bring her back.' They say 'OK, we want to go'. 'Go then, go! May God be with you'. They would sleep in his house that night. They would get up in the morning. He would say 'May God be with you. Go!' and they would go.

(30) What should I say to you. Hundreds of people went to bring back Bəlbəl Hazar. They would arrive there. At the first cry, they would look at the legs of their horse (and see that the part) up to the knees of the horse had become stone. On the second cry 'Bəlbəl Hazar!', they looked but Bəlbəl Hazar was not there. They checked the legs of their horse and behold, its leg, up to its middle had become stone. Only the head of the horse and its upper half had not become stone. (31) They would cry a third cry 'Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!' When he uttered (the syllable) 'zar' at the end, he would all become stone. It looked like[10] a statue of stone (consisting of) the horse, spears, people sitting on its back. It was just in the form of a man and a horse, with weapons, since it had become stone. Now, everybody who went (there) stood next to another person (who had already become stone). Everybody who went would stand (with the others until) they became about four or five hundred people in rows, all turned to stone. This is the story of Bəlbəl Hazar.

(32) Now, let's return to the king, the king and his son and Gozali and Nozali. Let's see what is happening there. The son of the king became ill. He became ill and the king said 'Try to bring doctors, or fine people who know about the illness. Bring all the people in the town so that they can find out why my son has become ill in this way and cure him.'

[10] Literally: You would see it as.

(33) θéla rába náše xzèla| ʾàšəq wéwa ʾaw-brōn-málka ràba-w| là-wewa gwíra.| kùlla| mən-duxtúre ʾu-mən-nàše| mìra| málka ṯ-áwət basìma,| brónux lét mgúrəlle hal-dìya.| wírre mən-ʾəsri-w-xamšà-šənne.| qúrbət ṭḷaθì šənnéle| ʾu-ʾašə̀qile| ʾu-bă̋ye gàwər.| ʾáti malkə̀wət| ʾu-ʾáwwa brònuxile.| ʾáwwa ʾən-lá-hoya Bálbəl Hazár ʾálle dìye| bàxta,| har-mátya Bálbəl Hazár láxxa b-tàrəṣ.| yáʿni b-tàrəṣ brónux.| (34) málka mère| mă̋ni máṣe mɛθéla Bálbəl Hazàr.ʔ| kut-y-ázəl le-y-qáləb b-ay-ùrxa.| kléle málka mtuxmènne| mára ṭla-mó la-mšadrénne Gozàli.ʔ| Gozáli rába jwànqɛle-u| rába zìrək-ile.| bálki máṣe mɛθèla.| muθyále Bálbəl Hazàr,| péša kàlθi,| báxtət bròni.| ʾu-bróni tàrəṣ.| ʾu-ʾən-lá muθyàle,| ham-zílle xlíṣli mənne-dìye.| zìlle.| (35) xáṭṭa-wewa mùtta| yáʿni tré qəqwáne b-xà-kepa maxéwa.| hadìya,| qímɛle mtuxmènne,| mére qa-Gozàli| mére Gozáli hay-làxxa.| broni-díyi dmìxa məskéna,| léðe b-áyya qáṣṣət čù-məndi.| hole-dmìxa.| mére Gozáli hàyyo!| mére mòdi.ʔ| hắl hawắl ʾàtxɛla.| ʾu-bròni| yăðətle ʾáti| ʾu-bă̆yélux ràba| ʾu-ʾàti-ži ʾi-bă̆yátle rába.| zə̀n| duxtúre hàtxa mára.| náše góṛe hàtxa mára.| náše lípe hàtxa mára.| (36) mére bă̋yən mánnux Bəlbál Hazàr| mɛθátla ṭla-bròni| ṭla-tàrəṣ.| w-àti| qa-dìyux| xa-ġaləbúθa gòṛtɛle| ʾən-bróni tàrəṣ.| ʾu-b-xšáwən mjárbət mɛθátle lèla.ʔ| mére málka ṯ-áwət basìma.| mére ʾáyya gáni fadánna qa-brónux ṯ-áwe spày.| mére ʾáy spayúθət wídle brónux mànni| gă̋rəg ʾázən mɛθánna Bálbəl Hazár qa-bròux.| (37) mére bas-bă̆yən| bă̋yən xa-sùsa| ṯ-áwe kòma| ʾu-ṯ-áwe xá m-ánna xəzzéma gu-be-ʾéne díye xwàrta| w-aqláθe díye ṯ-áwa xwàre| ʾu-súsa ṯ-áwe šəklàna rába.| ʾu-xa-sə̀rga| mtarṣə̀tli| kəs-d-ánnət ʾi-mtárṣi sə̀rge| m-an-dəkkanàne,| qa-t-là-hawe sérga spáy dax-d-áw.| ʾu-qa-ṯ-àtwən| xáṣe dìye| ʾu-qá-t Bálbəl Hazàr| ʾən-xazyàli| qa-ṯ-áwela ðàwq| ṯ-áθya kàsli| tá-t mɛθánna ṭla-bròux.| (38) mére ʾáhlan wa-sáhlan dəx-lítlux xàṭər.| hár dax-bă̆yət| mu-bă̋yət bas-ṭlùbən,| dáwe-w zùze-u| màndi-u| màṣraf,| kúlla ʾə̀lli.| ʾu-ʾánna məndiyáne ṯ-it-ṭlábəlla kúlla hàzərila.| ʾána màlkɛwən.| kúlla bṯ-oðənna-llux.| mára ʾáwwa spày.| qímɛle xəlắl tre-yomè| yómət ṭḷàθa| kúll-məndi wéle hàzər.|

(33) Many people came and saw that the king's son was in love. He was not married. All of the doctors and the people said 'King, may you be well, you have still not arranged a marriage for your son. He is more than[11] twenty-five years old. He is almost thirty years old. He is in love and wants to marry. You are the king and he is your son. If Bəlbəl Hazar does not become his wife.... As soon as Bəlbəl Hazar arrives here he will be cured, that is your son will be cured.' (34) The king said 'Who can bring Bəlbəl Hazar back? Everybody who goes on that road does not return.' The king stood and thought 'Why should I not send Gozali? Gozali is very handsome and is very strong. Perhaps he can bring her back. If he brings Bəlbəl Hazar back, she will become my daughter-in-law, the wife of my son, and my son will be cured. If he does not bring her back, (it would) also (be good since) he would perish and I would be free of him. He would perish.' (35) He had set a plan to kill two birds with one stone.[12] Now, he thought (of this plan) and said to Gozali, he said 'Gozali, come here. My son is sleeping, poor boy, and knows nothing about this business. He is asleep.' He said 'Gozali come (here)!' He said 'What is it?' 'The situation is like this. You know my son. He loves you a lot and you also love him a lot. Now, the doctors have said such-and-such. The leading people have said such-and-such. The learned people have said such-and-such.' (36) He said 'I would like you to bring Bəlbəl Hazar for my son, so that he will be cured. It would be a big achievement on your part if my son is cured. I think you will try to bring her, is that not so? He said 'King, may you be well.' He said 'I shall ransom myself in order for your son to get better.' He said '(For the sake of) the kindness that your son has done for to me, I must go and bring Bəlbəl Hazar to your son.' (37) He said 'But I want a horse that is black, that has some jewelry in its white forehead, that has white legs, a horse that is very beautiful. Also you should have a saddle made for me by those (craftsmen) who make saddles, in those shops, so that there will not be another saddle as fine as it, so that I can sit on its back, so that when Bəlbəl Hazar sees me, she will be keen to come to me and for me to bring her to your son.' (38) He said 'By all means. Don't worry. (It will be) just as you want. Whatever you want just ask, gold, money, expenses, it is all on me. All the things that you request are ready. I am the king.'. He says 'Fine'. Then, within two days... on the third day everything was ready.

[11] Literally: He has passed.
[12] Literally: He was striking two patridges with one stone.

(39) ʾu-Gozáli tíwɛle tràb xaṣ-súsa.ˈ múttəlla ʾáqle-diye gu-rkèweˈ ʾu-síqa xāṣ-sùsaˈ ʾu-híwəlle bále la-zráqət yòma.ˈ dax-ṯ-amárwa xətni Wárda Halumnáya qunáxət ṭḷáθa yomáθa qəm-azə́lla b-xamšà daqíqe.ˈ maṭréwa maṭróye xɛlàna.ˈ ʾu-zìlɛle.ˈ (40) zìlɛle,ˈ maláxət márya ʾaláha ṣə́lyɛle qámθe díye ʾo-náša sàwa.ˈ ṣə́lyɛle čŭrup.ˈ ʾaṣə̀rtɛla,ˈ xwéθət xúya yóma hole-gə̀nya,ˈ pyáša xùyaˈ w-áw hár hole-gu-čól b-ṭràya,ˈ maṭróye xāṣ-sùsa.ˈ hánṯ-ila xə́zyəlla gane-díye tráb gu-ʾùrxaˈ hóle xa-kullìxaˈ xa-bèθaˈ zóra táma hàtxa,ˈ xa-náša sáwa tíwa də́qne díye rìxa,ˈ tíwa qam-tắrə d-o-bèθa.ˈ (41) máre šlàma-llux,ˈ náša sàwa.ˈ wíðɛle hàtxaˈ tqílɛle réše dìyeˈ wáy b-šɛ̀naˈ b-šɛ̀na.ˈ máre ʾa-šùpraˈ hon-šə̀myа bas-díye.ˈ lét Gozáli ʾàti?ˈ máre yá-naša sàwaˈ m-èka qəm-yăðótli ʾáti ṯ-íwən Gozáli?ˈ máre b-álaha l-bàli.ˈ máre ʾa-parṣópa díyux hátxa jwànqaˈ w-átxa šəṭràna,ˈ w-átxa hot-ʾàtiˈ hówən šmíya bas-dìyux.ˈ liθ bəṛ-náša hátxa b-aw-pə̀ṣla díyux.ˈ m-hàdəx qəm-yăðə́nnux.ˈ (42) máre hè,ˈ béna mòdi bắyət?ˈ máre də-háyyo puš-ʾàrxi ʾədlɛ́le.ˈ lèkɛt zála?ˈ mára làˈ ʾána ʾúrxi rába rìxtɛla.ˈ ʾúrxi rába rìxtɛla,ˈ ʾu-ʾíθ ðа-muhə́mma qàmθiˈ gắrəg ʾoðə̀nnaˈ jálde jàlde,ˈ sab-brōn-málka hóle b-ṭàli.ˈ ʾən-lá ʾoðə́nna ʾa-šùla,ˈ brōn-màlkaˈ yáʿni ṯ-àzəl,ˈ màyəθ,ˈ xáye-diye tàlqi.ˈ (43) máre Gozàliˈ ṯ-amrə́nnux máṣiθ ʾəlli.ʾˈ ʾána xa-náša gò̤ɛwən,ˈ wíra b-šə̂nne.ˈ ʾu-ʾítli xábra gu-dúnye ràba.ˈ lá-hawət malyəzàna!ˈ lá malyəzèti.ʾˈ wúð b-xàbri xáčča ˈ tu-tìwa.ʾˈ ʾáwwa qəm-mhaddèleˈ ʾáwwa Gozáli hawnàna-wewa rába.ˈ máre ʾána l-sàwaˈ šáqlən xa-dárs mánne dìye.ˈ šáqlən xa-mándi spáy mánne dìye,ˈ xázən mó bṯ-amə̀rri,ˈ módi mnaṣə̀ḥ-ə̀lli.ˈ ʾu-xárθa ṯ-àzənˈ ʾána lè-kalən láxxa.ˈ (44) máre ʾána b-kàlən.ˈ qímɛle ṣə́lya m-xāṣ-súse dìye.ˈ máre zə̀n.ˈ ʾàtiˈ bắyət ʾázət méθət Bálbəl Hazàrˈ lèla?ˈ ʾána pṛímli módile qə̀ṣṣət.ˈ bắyət méθətla Bálbəl Hazàr?ˈ máre hè!ˈ brōn-málka hole-b-ṭàliˈ gắrəg mɛθə́nna Bálbəl Hazár ʾə́lle dìye.ˈ máre ʾána mnaṣḥə̀nnuxˈ dax-ṯ-íwən míra ṭla-kùllaˈ d-ánna ṯ-ila-zíle b-áy ʾurxàˈ ʾu-bṯ-amrə̀nnuxˈ ʾən-ʾóðət xàbri,ˈ ʾòðət.ˈ ʾən-lá ʾòðət,ˈ kliθà-llux-ila.ˈ yáʿni ʾána biz-zóda m-hódəx là-maṣən ʾoðə́nnuxˈ čù məndí.ˈ

(39) Gozali sat—thud—on the back of the horse. He put his feet in the stirrups and got up onto the back of the horse. He then went off towards the East.[13] As my brother-in-law Warda from Halmun used to say, he travelled a stage of three days (journey) in five minutes. He drove (his horse) hard and went along. (40) He went along and the angel of the Lord God, the old man, came down to meet him. He came down, thud. It is evening, it is getting dark, the sun has set, it is getting dark and he is still riding in the countryside, riding on the back of the horse. All of a sudden he found himself on a road, and saw there a hut,[14] a small house, and an old man sitting there with a long beard, he was sitting in front of the door of the house. (41) He said 'Greetings to you, old man'. He raised his head 'Well, hello, hello'. He said 'I have heard about this beauty. Are you not Gozali?' He said 'Old man, how[15] did you know that I am Gozali?' He said 'By God, it just occurred to me'. He said 'That face of yours, so handsome, so comely, and indeed it is you, I have heard about you. There is nobody with such a (beautiful) figure as yours. That is how I knew you.' (42) He said 'Now, what do you want?' He said 'Come, stay tonight as my guest. Where are you going? He says 'No. I have a long way to go. I have a long way to go and there is a duty ahead of me that I must carry out quickly, because the son of the king is ill. If I do not do this task, the son of the king will pass away, die, his life will be lost.' (43) He said 'Gozali, I'll tell you, listen to me. I am an old man, advanced in age. I have a lot of experience in the world. Do not be hasty. Do not hurry. Do as I say. Sit down.' He calmed him down. Gozali was very clever. He said (to himself) 'I'll take advice from the old man. I'll accept good (advice) from him. I'll see what he'll say to me, what he'll advise me (to do). Then I'll go. I shall not stay here.' (44) He said 'I'll stay (tonight only)'. He came down from his horse. He said 'Good. You want to go and bring back Bəlbəl Hazar, right? I understand what is happening. Do you want to bring Bəlbəl Hazar back?' He said 'Yes! The son of the king is ill. I must bring Bəlbəl Hazar to him.' He said 'I advise you, as I have said to all those who have gone this way, and say to you that if you (want to) do as I say, do so. If you do not do so, it is up to you. I cannot do anything more for you.'

[13] Literally: He gave his mind to the rising of the sun.
[14] Literally: Behold a hut.
[15] Literally: from where?

(45) máre spày.ˈ múr mòdi bă̋yət.ˈ máre la-sìgən.ˈ kuṯ-ile-zíla b-ay-ʾúrxa léle qlìba.ˈ máre har-ṯ-àzən.ˈ kəmət-mjurə̀bleˈ ʾaw-náša sàwaˈ yáʿni ṯ-ámrəx ʾawwéwa malàxa,ˈ ʾaláha wéwa mšúdrəlle tàma,ˈ máre hár ṯ-azèna.ˈ máre hár ṯ-azèt?ˈ máre hè!ˈ (46) máre xzi-ʾána paqðə́nnux m-dìya.ˈ ʾáti bṯ-àzetˈ ʾax-ʾána paqðə́nnux ʾàyyɛla ʾúrxa.ˈ bṯ-ázət dax-ṯ-it-zála la-zrāq-yòmaˈ hal-ṯ-ázət la-zrāq-yòma.ˈ ṯ-àzətˈ tre-ṭlá qunáxe xène,ˈ yáʿni tre-ṭlá yománe xéne bṯ-áwət maṭróye xāṣ-sùsaˈ yálla mátət ṭla-d-ay-dùkθa.ˈ (47) táma b-xázət xa-ṭúra ramànaˈ ʾu-qámθe díye xa-čòl.ˈ ʾu-xoránux ṯ-íla qám-mənnux zíle mɛθóye Bə́lbəl Hazàrˈ hóla muryázze tàmaˈ kúlla píše kèpa.ˈ ʾu-ʾána mirənnèy,ˈ mə́ri ṯ-ázət zénət gótə d-o-xaràya.ˈ ʾu-gə́ppa hóle gu-rēš-ṭùra.ˈ xazə́tle b-rēš-ṭùra.ˈ Bə́lbəl Hazár hóla gu-d-áwwa gə̀ppa.ˈ (48) ʾu-bəṛ-náša lé-maṣe máṭe tàma,ˈ ma-ṯ-íla ramànta ʾay-dúkθa.ˈ ʾu-ma-ṯ-íle ʾisára m-kúlla goyàθa.ˈ ʾu-Bə́lbəl Hazár xă̋ya tàmaˈ b-xa-ʾúrxa t-ʾày ʾàyˈ ʾítla.ˈ y-ámṣa xă̋ya tàma.ˈ xa-bəṛ-náša xéna lá-ʾaməṣ xă̋ye tàma.ˈ máre b-zènətˈ gótə d-an-xoránux xèneˈ ʾu-b-qàrət.ˈ ṯ-ámrət ʾó Bə́lbəl Hazàr!ˈ mára xérət b-áqlət sùsux.ˈ ʾən-píšla kèpa,ˈ ʾàti-ži péšət képa.ˈ hal-ṭla-gáye qàrət.ˈ qálət ṭlàθaˈ kúllux péšət kèpa.ˈ (49) ʾu-ʾə́n θéla Bə́lbəl Hazàr,ˈ qəm-xazyálux ʾáti jwànqa,ˈ yan-bă̋yàlux,ˈ bă̋ya ṯ-àθya,ˈ qṭíla xəyála dìya,ˈ ṯ-ámra hóle ʾə́θyaˈ bálki yăðálux ʾáti ṯ-it-Gozàli,ˈ máre bálki ʾàθya,ˈ fa-mó ṯ-òðət?ˈ šaqlátla xāṣ-súsa ʾu-ṯ-àθeti.ˈ (50) máre: wáy b-šɛ̀na,ˈ š-rèši,ˈ qəm-paqðə̀tli.ˈ ʾána ʾáyya lɛ̀ðənwala.ˈ ʾáti qəm-paqðə̀tli,ˈ ʾát basíma ràba.ˈ máre də-dmóx ʾə́dyo làxxa.ˈ ʾána w-áti xámləx hal-mbàdla.ˈ mbádla xùš.ˈ hot-čìya.ˈ wuð-b-xàbri.ˈ máre bár qəm-amrə́tla ʾanna-xabráne ʾə̀lliˈ qəm-paqðə̀tliˈ hátxa ṯ-óðən b-xàbrux.ˈ (51) qìmɛleˈ wíða b-xabre dìye.ˈ dmìxɛleˈ hátxɛle ʾítwale xákma šəwyáθa să̋fări ṯ-amráxla.ˈ dmíxɛle xánčˈ táma hal-mbàdla.ˈ jálde qam-mxéθət madənxaˈ ʾéka b-kále Gozàli?ˈ qímɛle jálde madə́nxa t-la-mxàya.ˈ máre ṭla-sawùnka:ˈ qù!ˈ qú qìma!ˈ ʾána šoqə́nnux b-šɛ̀na.ˈ ʾána bṯ-àzən.ˈ

(45) He said 'Fine. Say what you want.' He said 'Do not go. Everyone who has gone on this road has not returned.' He said 'I'll still go'. However much the old man tried—he, as we said, was an angel, whom God had sent there, he said 'I'll still go.' He said 'Will you still go?' He said 'Yes!' (46) He said 'Look, I'll give you instructions from now on. You go off on the road that I direct you on.[16] You should go as you are going towards the East, until you arrive in the East. Go two or three more stages, that is you should ride on horseback two or three more days, then you'll arrive in that place. (47) You will see there a high mountain, before which there is a plain. Your friends who went before you to bring Bəlbəl Hazar are lined up there. They have all become stone. I said to them, I said (to them what to do). Go and stand next to the last one (in line). The cave is on top of the mountain. You will see it on top of the mountain. Bəlbəl Hazar is in this cave. (48) Nobody can reach there, since the place is so high and since there is such a huge rock on all sides. Bəlbəl Hazar lives there in a her own special way.[17] She can live there but another person cannot live there.' He said 'Stand next to the others, your friends, and call out. Say "Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!"' He says 'Look at the legs of your horse. If they have become stone, you also will become stone. Call up to three times. The third time, all of you will become stone. (49) If Bəlbəl Hazar comes, (if) she has seen that you are a handsome youth or fallen in love with you and wants to come, has made up her mind (to come) saying "He has come!"—perhaps she knows that you are Gozali', he said 'Perhaps she will come, so then what should you do? Take her onto the back of the horse and come back.' (50) He said 'A hearty goodbye. You have instructed me. I did not know that. You have given me (valuable) instructions. Thank you.' He said 'Sleep here today. You and I will enjoy ourselves until the morning. In the morning, go (on your way)! You are tired. Do as I say!' He said 'Since you have said these things to me and have given me instructions, I'll do as you say'. (51) He did as he said. He went to sleep. He had several travel beds as we call them. He slept awhile there until morning. Early, before the breaking of dawn, Gozali did not tarry.[18] He rose early before dawn broke. He said to the old man. 'Get up! Get up! I'm leaving you, goodbye. I'm going'.

[16] Literally: As I instruct you the road is that (one).
[17] Literally: in a way of hers, which she has.
[18] Literally: Where will Guzali stay?

(52) mə́re har-zàlɛwət.ʔ| mə́re hè!| mə́re ʾaláha ṭ̂-áwe mànnux| də-xùš́!| ʾən-šálla b-qlábtux b-xazə́nna Bə́lbəl Hazàr mə́nnux.| mə́re puš-b-šɛ̀na| ʾu-tíwɛle xá-ga xéta xāṣ-súse díye d-o-kòma| ʾu-múttəlla ʾáqle gu-rkɛ̀we| ʾu-síqɛle gu-d-ó sàrga| mtúrṣa l-an-jaqsìye| t-mðìta| m-an-rešáye rába spày.| (53) ʾu-híwəlle bále la-zrāq-yóma ʾu-ṭ̀ryɛle.| zìlɛle.| mó ṭ̂-àmrəx.ʔ| lá mărixə́xla ràba.| mə́re xə́tni Wàrda| qunáxət ṭ̣láθa yomáθa zíləlla b-xàmša daqíqe| ʾu-mə́tyɛle qam-d-o-ṭùra.| mətyéle qam-d-o-ṭùra,| xirèle,| mùjbɛle.| muttéle bála b-an-ʾaskarwàθa.| kúlla ʾaskarwáθa píše kèpa.| (54) ʾu-kúlla mčuk̂bə̀nne.| yáʿni mən-d-ánna jundìye| rába rába rešàye,| suséy rába tàza| ʾu-ṣ̀ləmθéy náše gabbàre| ʾu-náše jwànqe.| ʾu-kúlla mčuk̂ə̀bne| ʾu-sɛpéy b-ay-gòta-w| ṭ̂-amrə́nnux mulə̀xme yáʿni| b-čàkka-ži| rába spày.| (55) mə́re ʾánna kúllu holá-ʾəθye lɛla-nublálla Bə́lbəl Hazàr.| ṭ̂-áza ṭlàli.ʔ| qímle xáčča lə́bbe-diye mxàya.| hé b-zdàya xánči.| mə́re bálki ʾap-ʾána lá nablə̀nna,| lé-maṣən nablə́nna Bə́lbəl Hazàr.| mə́re ʿala-kúllən ʾána waʿdət málka xu-là tawrə́nne-u| xu-là-qalbən ʾána,| lɛle-ʾéba ʾəllì.ʔ| ʾána háwən Gozàli| ʾu-ṭ̂-ázən ṭ̂-ámrən ṭla-málka là-mṣeli muθyáli,| xuš-péšən kèpa| la-biš-spáy mən-kúlla d-ànna.| xuš-péšən képa ʾap-ʾàna.| (56) qímɛle zìna| mən-d-o-xaràya.| hóle xzáyəlle ʾo-xaráya xàθa| bálki qam-xa-šàbθɛle ʾə́θya.| ʾánna xéne kúlla hóla tíwta tos-ʾəlla-w| láwn mšuxlə̀pla xánči.| zìnɛle-u| mtuxmənɛle| mə́re ya-xáθi Nozáli qəm-šoqənnəx| wa-ʾána gu-xá ḥàrj-iwən díya.| lə́ðən b-xə̆yən| ʾən-b-dérən t-xazənnəx.| (57) bas-Nozàli,| xáθe dìye,| θáya l-bále dìye.| w-la čú-məndi gu-dúnye lə́le txàra,| lə́le ham-b-màwθe díye| ʾu-lə́le b-ràzi díye.| hóle mára: xuš-mèθən| bas-xáθi Nozáli xazənwala.| dáryɛle xéra b-gáne dìye-u| híwəlle bála l-gə́ppa d-o-ḷáya ʾu-qəryɛle:| ʾó Bə́lbəl Hazàr!| xìrɛle| liθ-čù-məndi plíṭa m-gu-gə́ppa.| (58) xírɛle b-áqlət súse dìye,| ʾína hál bərkákət súsa píše kèpa.| mə́re ʾá ʾúrxi ʾàyyɛla.| mə́re ʾap-ʾána b-ay-ʾúrxa d-ànnən ʾə́θya| ʾu-ʾáyya táli dìyila.| ʾu-híwɛle lábba ṭla-gʸáne dìye| qálət trè:| ʾó Bə́lbəl Hazàr!| líθ čú məndì.| xìrɛle| ʾaqláθe díye píše kèpa| hál naftánge dìye| ʾu-ʾáp ʾiθáθe dìye.|

(52) He said 'Are you going already?' He said 'Yes!'. He said 'May God be with you. Go! God willing when you return I'll see Bəlbəl Hazar with you.' He said 'Goodbye' and sat once again on the back of his black horse. He put his feet in the stirrups and went up onto the saddle, which was made by the town craftsmen, an excellent, first class one. (53) He set his sights on the East and rode off. He went along. What shall we say? We shall not protract (the story) too much. My father-in-law Warda said (when telling the story) 'he travelled a stage of three days in five minutes' and arrived in front of the mountain. He arrived in front of the mountain, he looked and was amazed. He directed his attention to those armies. All the armies had become stone. (54) They were armed with weapons, they included the top soldiers, their horses were very fine. They had the appearance of warriors, young men. They were all armed with weapons, with their sword on one side,[19] they looked[20] well prepared, that is very fine with their weapons. (55) He said 'All these have come but have not taken Bəlbəl Hazar. Will she come to me? His heart started pounding slightly. Yes, he was rather frightened. He said 'Perhaps also I shall not take her away, I shall not be able to take Bəlbəl Hazar away.' He said 'Well after all, surely I am not going to break the promise of the king, surely I am not going to return (empty-handed). Would not that be a shame on me? (If) I, Gozali, go and say to the king that I could not bring her, come let me turn into stone, (I am) no better than all these. Let me also turn into stone.' (56) He stood with the last one (in the row). He sees that the last one is new, that he has come perhaps a week ago. Dust had settled on all the others and their colour had changed a little. He stood and thought. He said 'Oh my sister Nozali, I have left you and I am in a predicament now. I do not know whether I am alive, whether I shall return and see you. (57) Only Nozali, his sister, came to his mind. He thinks of nothing (else) in the world, not even his death or his pleasure. He says 'Let me die. But, if only I could see my sister Nozali. He took courage and directed his attention to the cave, which was above, and cried 'Oh, Bəlbəl Hazar!' He looked, nothing came out of the cave. (58) He looked at the legs of his horse and saw that up to the knees of the horse it had turned stone. He said 'Oh, my way is the same'. He said 'I have come on the same way as these people. This is the end of me'. He took heart and (cried) a second cry 'Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!' Nothing. He looked, his legs had turned to stone up to his waist, and also his hands.

[19] Literally: on that side.
[20] Literally: I would say to you.

(59) hár hole-píša réšət sùsa| ʾu-m-pálgə d-áw ʾu-bàr-eli.| bás ʾa-ṣàwθɛle mṣáya mṣáwəθ.| ʾu-máre bàssi m-xáye,| dánɛla qarénna qálət ṭ̣ìàθa| ʾu-y-ǎ̊ðe maṣ̊ír díye modìle.| qəryɛle:| ʾó Bálbəl—wíðɛle Hazàr| ʾu-píša kèpa.| ʾáp Gozáli píšle kèpa!| hadíya mu-t̂-óðəx m-áxxa-w hàtxa?|

(60) hadìya,| mó ʾamrənnux?| xà yóma| Gozáli lìθ.| trè yóme| Gozáli lìθ.| ṭ̣là yóme.| spírra Nozàli,| Gozáli lìθ.| móra ṭ̣la-màlka:| málka t̂-áwət basìma.| xóni mšudərrux.| xóni zílle ʾu-lá θèle.| ʾu-díya ʾána hon-xšáwa leš-ʾàθe.| sab-ʾáy ʾúrxa hon-šmíta rába náše zílela bìya| w-áp-xa léle díṛa-w ʾəθya.| (61) fa-xóni zìlle,| ʾu-ʾána gə̆rəg ʾázən bar-xòni| ʾu-bar-ʾúrxa t̂-ìle-zila gə̆rəg ʾazàna.| ʾən-íle mìθa,| gə̆rəg mèθən.| ʾu-ʾən-ʾàθe| ʾáθyən mènne.| ʾu-ʾən-mɛθə́xla Bálbəl Hazàr,| ʾána ʾu-ʾáw mɛθə́xla Bálbəl Hazàr.| ʾu-ʾən-là,| ʾáxni tráθnən zìllan.| (62) móre ʾáyya t̂-oðàtla mánni?| móra hè!| mrázəgli xa-súsa xwàra,| ʾaqláθe díye kòme,| ʾu-xá kə́xwa gu-be-ʾéne díye kòma,| ʿáksa d-o-t-xóna dìya,| ʾáy xwàra| mṭalbále sùsa.| hadíya móre màlka:| kú-mdi t-bə̆́yət hàzərile.| yóma ṭ̣làθa| kúl-məndi mrúzgɛle dax-t-wéwa wíða ṭ̣la-Gozàli| ʾu-wíða ṭ̣la-Nozàli.|

(63) hadìya| qímtɛla qedámta jàlde-u| muttotəlla ʾáqla díya gu-rkèwe.| ʾu-dax-t-wáwa hádəx xàmθa,| míra wéwa xátni Wàrda,| bălăwala yabíšta xərqá xərqá gu-qðála díya mabyànwa.| ʾu-tíwtɛla xāṣ-sùsa| ʾu-híwtɛla bála-diya la-zrāq-yòma.| ʾu-ya-ʾàlaha,| ʾu-zìltɛla.| zílta zílta dax-t̂-ìwa|…máṭo Gozáli xona-díya zìla| hár biš-biš-xɛlántɛwawa m-àw| ʾu-bíš bə̆yàwa| xazyàwa| ʾèkɛle Gozáli.| bíš ʾitwála ḥamə́s ṭ̣la-zàla yáʿni| xazyáwa mòdi bráya.| (64) wa-l-ḥàṣəl| la-mărixáxla rába ṣ̀ləyele| malàxət| bábi ʾalàha| qámθa díya hár b-a-dúkθa t-wéwa ṣ̀ə́lya qámθət Gozàli.| móre há Nozàli!| lékɛwət b-zàla?| ṭ̣ə́yət xònəx?| ʾáw yə̆́ðe módi qáṣṣət.| móra hè!| ʾáti mə̆́niwət?| móre ʾána híwɛwən puqdána qa-xònəx.| léle muṣìθəlli.| ʾap-t-yáwən puqdána ṭ̣làləx-ži.| ʾən-ʾàti| mášmət ʾəlli| mašəmyàti.| ʾən-là mašə́myət,| sá méθɛle xònəx| ʾu-xza-ʾèkɛle.|

(59) The head of the horse and from his middle and upwards were remaining. He could only utter his voice. He said 'I have had enough of life'. It is time for me to call the third cry'. He knows what his fate will be. He called: 'Oh Bəlbəl—' he pronounced 'Hazar' and turned into stone. Also Gozali had turned to stone! Now, what can we do from now on?

(60) Now what should I tell you? Gozali was absent for one day. Gozali was absent for two days, three days. Nozali waited, Gozali was not there. She said to the king 'Oh King, may you be well. You have sent my brother. My brother has gone and not come back. Now I am thinking that he will not come back any more, since I have heard that many people have gone that way but nobody has returned and come back. (61) My brother has gone and I must go after my brother. I must go on the road that he has gone on. If he is dead I must die. If he returns, I shall return with him. If he brings back Bəlbəl Hazar, he and I will bring back Bəlbəl Hazar. If not, both of us have will die'. (62) He said 'Will you do this for me?' She said 'Yes! Prepare a white horse for me, with black legs and a black star on its forehead'—the opposite of that of her brother. She requests a white horse. Now the king said 'Anything you want will be prepared for you'. After three days, every thing was prepared, just as it was done for Gozali, so was it done for Nozali.

(63) She got up early the next morning and put her feet in the stirrups. She was so beautiful, as my father-in-law Warda used to say, that (when) she swallowed a raisin, it could be seen, ring by ring in her neck.[21] She sat on the back of the horse. She faced the East, and away she went, she went, as Gozali her brother had gone, but even faster than him, since she wanted so much to find where Gozali was. She had more motivation to go and see what was happening. (64) In short—we shall not prolong (the story)—the angel of God the Father came down to meet her, in the same place as he had come down to meet Gozali. He said 'Ah, Nozali. Where are you going? Are you looking for your brother? He knew what the story was. She said 'Yes! Who are you?' He said 'I gave instructions to the your brother, but he did not listen to me. I shall give instructions also to you. If you (want to) obey me, obey me. If you do not obey me, go and bring your brother and find where he is (yourself)'.

[21] *xərqa* 'ring (of cartilage) in neck'.

(65) mə́ra mòdile qə́ṣṣət xóni.?ˈ ʾat-yə̌ðət xá-məndi bas-dìye.?ˈ mə́re hè!ˌ mə́re ʾáti hot-šmíta b-Bə́lbəl Hazàr.ˈ ʾu-Bə́lbəl Hazár yə̌ðátla ma-báxta xàmθɛlaˈ ʾu-ʾékɛla ṣíθa gu-xà-ṭura,ˈ gu-xà-gəppa.ˈ ʾu-čú bəṛ-náša la-máṭe-lla ʾə́lla b-rzáyət gána-diya ṭ̂-àθya.ˈ fa-ʾáti rába qam-xónəx zìlelaˈ lɛ́la-məsye wíðe čù-məndi.ˈ ʾu-ʾáti-ži hot-mára bə̌yən ṭ̂-àzən.ˈ ʾána hon-márəlləx là-sa!ˌ (66) mə́ra làˈ ʾána har-bṭ̂-àzən.ˈ ʾə́lla xazyánne xòni.ˈ mə́re ʾána paqðə́nnəx dax-ṭ̂-íwən pqíða ṭla-xònax.ˈ qímɛle mírɛle kul-məndì,ˈ mə́re ʾən-ṭ̂-ázət tàma,ˈ xónəx ʾo-xaràyɛle.ˈ ʾu-tós lɛla-tíwta ʾəlle-dìye.ˈ (67) ʾu-xónəx ʾax-ṭ̂-íwən xəzyálle jwánqa dax-ṭ̂-íwət ʾáti hátxa mṣuqàlta,ˈ ʾap-ʾáw daxwàθax-ile.ˈ fa-b-yə̌ðàtle xónəx.ˈ ʾàw-ile.ˈ ʾáwwa háykal díye képa ṭ̂-íle píša qayòmθa,ˈ xwára ʾax-tàlgɛle,ˈ ʾax-xòlyɛle.ˈ ʾu-rúmxe díye hàtxɛle šə́kle díye.ˈ ʾu-súse díye kòmɛle.ˈ ʾu-ʾó-t gu-be-ʾéne xwàrɛle.ˈ ʾu-kúl-məndi ʾawṣə̄f hìwəlla.ˈ (68) mə́re b-zénət b-góte dìyeˈ ʾu-b-qàryət Bə́lbəl Hazár.ˈ ʾən-θéla Bə́lbəl Hazàr,ˈ θèla.ˈ ʾən-là-θela,ˈ ʾáti ʾu-xónəx ʾax-zàwgɛtu hátxa.ˈ mə́ra ʾána hàtxa bə̌yən.ˈ mə́re hàtxa bə̌yət?ˈ mə́ra hè!ˌ mə́re ʾána bṭ̂-áwən mànnəx.ˈ də-púš làxxaˈ gu-d-ay-šwíθa t-wewa-dmíxa xònəx,ˈ hál qedàmtaˈ ʾu-sa báθre dìye.ˈ mə́re ʾàxxɛwa dmíxaˈ gu-d-ay-šwíθa xònəx.ˈ (69) qímɛle dáryɛle ʾan-bə̌ṭaníye xoθa-díya t-wewa-dmíxa Gozáli rèša.ˈ ʾu-ʾáy-ži qə̤́íθəlle ʾó-lɛla díya tàma.ˈ ʾu-hár dax-xóna díya qímtɛla madə́nxa t-la mxáya jálde malyòze.ˈ heš-bìš qam-xóna díya qímtɛla.ˈ mírtɛla ṭla-d-áw-naša sáwa puš-b-šènaˌ mə́re ʾálaha ṭ̂-áwe mànnəx.ˈ sà!ˌ ʾən-šálla xə̄r hawya-ʾúrxa.ˈ (70) ʾu-ṭríθɛla zíltɛla b-o-sùsa,ˈ xéna ʾo-súsa díya xwàra.ˈ ʿə̌kəs d-o-t-xóna díya kòma.ˈ zìltɛla-wˈ zílta-w zílta ṭríθa qùwyaˈ ʾu-hál d-a-dánə ṭ̂-ila-mṭìθa,ˈ xzíθɛla ṭúra m-rəḥqa.ˈ mə́ra ʾàwwɛle!ˌ mabyóne ṭúra gu-čól ramànɛle.ˈ zíltɛla mṭìθa,ˈ ʾína hóle Gozáli píša kèpa.ˈ (71) zvírtɛla ə̂nnəḵére díye ʾu-bxìθa,ˈ zvírta-w bxìθa,ˈ zvírta bxìθa.ˈ ʾu-nšíqtəlle ʾəsrì-gaye,ˈ b-ʾéne dìye,ˈ ʾu-lóte díye ʾu-lóte díye nšìqtəlle,ˈ ʾu-bxíθa hál swáta dìya.ˈ sab-ʾáy xšáwɛwa ʾáp-ay péšawa kèpa,ˈ ʾáyya xarèθɛla.ˈ bxìθɛlaˈ ʾu-zínta góte dìye.ˈ zínta góte dìye,ˈ xírtɛla hóle gə́ppa ramàna!ˌ ʾu-hadíya b-qàrya.ˈ

(65) She said 'What is the story of my brother? Do you know something about him? He said 'Yes!' He said 'You have heard about Bəlbəl Hazar and you know what a beautiful woman Bəlbəl Hazar is and where she is shut away in a mountain, in a cave. Nobody can reach her, she only comes of her own will. Many people went before your brother and could not do anything. You also are saying "I want to go". I say to you: Do not go!' (66) She said 'No. I shall still go. I must see my brother.' 'I shall instruct you, as I instructed your brother'. He said everything (to her), he said 'If you go there, your brother is the last one (in the row). Dust has not yet settled on him. (67) Your brother, as I have seen, is handsome, just as you are pretty, so he is like you. You will know your brother. His shape, the stone that has become a stature is white like snow, like milk. The shape of his spear is like this. His horse is black. (The mark) that is on its forehead is white'. He gave all the descriptions. (68) He said 'You should stand by his side and call Bəlbəl Hazar. If Bəlbəl Hazar comes, (fine) she comes. If she does not come, you and your brother will be like a pair.'[22] She said 'I want (to do) that'. He said 'Do you want (to do) that?' She said 'Yes!' He said 'I shall be with you. Stay here, in the bed in which your brother slept, until morning, then go after him'. He said 'Your brother slept here, in that bed.' (69) He placed under her the blankets that Gozali had slept on and she also spent the night there. Just as her brother did, she rose before dawn had broken and quickly hastened on her way. She arose even before her brother had. She said to that old man 'Goodbye!' He said 'God be with you. Go! God willing, the way will be good'. (70) She rode off on the horse, the white horse of hers, the opposite of the black one of her brother. She rode hard, until she arrived and saw the mountain from afar. She said 'It is this one! It seems (from what I have been told) it is a high mountain in the countryside. She reached it and saw Gozali turned to stone. (71) She went around him and wept, she went around and wept, went around and wept. She kissed him twenty times, on his eyes, and kissed him on his cheek (this side) and on his cheek (that side). She wept until she was sated (with weeping), since she thought that also she would turn to stone. She was the last person. She wept and stood by his side. She stood by his side and looked at the cave on high. Now she is about to call out.

[22] I.e. you will both be stone statues.

(72) móra ʾanna-nə́mu ʾánna là-biš ṭáwe m-áwwa Gozáli xóni!ǀ ʾáwwa pə́rč̣e díye t-dàwa,ǀ hátxa mazlòqe,ǀ har-píša kèpaǀ hár t-dàwɛle.ǀ móra b-qáryən ʾu-hèš-biš záwda.ǀ klìθɛla,ǀ šwíqtəlle xóna dìya,ǀ ʾu-híwtəlle bála l-Bə́lbəl Hazàr.ǀ qrìθɛla:ǀ ʾó Bə́lbəl Hazàr!ǀ qamáye xírta b-áqlət súsa dìya,ǀ la-xírra gu-gə̀ppa.ǀ xírra b-áqlət sùsa,ǀ liθ-wíya čuˑ-mə̀ndi.ǀ (73) móra: mírɛle ṭláli ʾaw-náša sàwaǀ qála qamáya pé̱šət kèpaǀ hal-bərkákət sùsa.ǀ hadíya súsi sàxlă̱m-ileǀ čú-məndi lìθ-be.ǀ ʾá mòdila?ǀ mujàbtɛla.ǀ ʾu-yáʿni šg̱ìšɛle háwna-diyaǀ léla ðáʾa módi bràya,ǀ hadíya péša kèpaǀ ʾə́n la-péša kèpa.ǀ (74) qála qamáya zílle bòšǁ lá-pišla kèpa.ǀ móra xázyən bénət tré qàryən.ǀ qrìθɛla:ǀ ʾó Bə́lbəl Hazàr!ǀ xírtɛla b-áqlət sùsa.ǀ čú-məndi lìθ.ǀ líθ čù-məndi.ǀ ʾu-xyárɛla gu-gə̀ppaǀ ʾu-líθ ʾap-Bə́lbəl Hazàr,ǀ léla θàya.ǀ zēn-Bə́lbəl Hazár léla θàyaǀ ʾu-ʾáqlət súsa léla-pyaša kèpa.ǀ ʾa-qə́ṣṣət mòdila?ǀ móra ʾítli xà-qala xéna.ǀ mírəlli ʾo-sáwa ṭl̥à-qale qáryət.ǀ b-qálət ṭl̥àθa,ǀ yálla ṯ-awéləx jă̱wə́b ʾàti,ǀ yán pé̱šət kèpaǀ yán ṯ-áθya Bə́lbəl Hazàr.ǀ (75) béna ʾáyya mə̀raǀ ʾu-gu-xəyála díya hóla màraǀ ʾána qaryánne ʾo-qálət ṭl̥àθaǀ bálki kúlli b-xá-gaya pé̱šən kèpa.ǀ ʾáy hàtxɛla xšáwa.ǀ ʾay-léla mhaymòne.ǀ ʾáyya hola-móra har-gə̆́rəg pé̱šən gōt-xòni.ǀ ʾáwwa xóni píša képa ʾap-ána gə̆́rəg pè̱šən.ǀ ʾay-hádəx biš-bə̆̀ya.ǀ lá-bă̱ya ṯ-áθya Bə́lbəl Hazàr.ǀ móra xázyən qálət ṭl̥áθa qaryànneǀ xázyən mòdi.ǀ (76) qríθɛla hó Bə́lbəl Hazàr!ǀ ʾu-Bə́lbəl Hazàrǀ príxtɛla m-tàma,ǀ gu-d-o-gə́ppa plìṭ̣tɛla.ǀ píšəlla xákma gulpàneǀ dáx d-an-t-ṭ̀ɛra.ǀ ʾu-zvírtɛla rēš-d-ó-ṭura rēš-d-ó-gəppa xa-čàrxa hátxa.ǀ ʾu-ṣlíθɛla reša-xtàya,ǀ trúp tíwta báθər Nozàli,ǀ xāṣ-súsa dìya,ǀ súsa d-o-xwàra.ǀ ʾay-híwtəlle bála l-bàθra,ǀ xzìθəlla.ǀ (77) móra há Bə́lbəl Hazàr,ǀ θèləx.ǀ móra hè̀ǀ θèli.ǀ móra lè-y ʾamrə́tli qá-mo θéləx.?ǀ ʾánna ʾánna šazàdeǀ ʾánna jwànqe,ǀ ʾánna náše kulla-ʾəθye ṭl̥àbəlləx.ǀ lét wita-rázi b-kùlla diyéy?ǀ ʾána xa-bàxta,ǀ ʾax-dìyəx.ǀ dằ̱x-it θáya ʾáti?ǀ dằ̱x-it θáya ʾə̀lli?ǀ dằ̱x-it θáya?ǀ

(72) She said 'Surely they are not better than Gozali, my brother!'. His golden hair, shining so much, even when turned to stone is still golden. She said 'I'll call still more.' She stopped, then left her brother and directed her attention to Bəlbəl Hazar. She called 'Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!' At first she looked at the legs of her horse, she did not look into the cave. She looked at the legs of her horse, nothing had happened. (73) She said 'The old man said to me "On the first cry you will turn to stone, up to the knees of the horse". Now my horse is fine. There is nothing the matter with it. What is going on?'[23] She was surprised. Her mind was confused, she did not know what was happening, whether she would now turn to stone or not turn to stone. (74) The first cry was without any consequence.[24] She did not become stone. She said 'I'll see (what will happen) when I call the second time'. She called: 'Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!' She looked at the legs of her horse, nothing had happened. Nothing had happened. She looks at the cave, but there is no Bəlbəl Hazar, she is not coming. Now, Bəlbəl Hazar is not coming and the legs of her horse are not turning to stone. What is going on? She said 'I have another cry. The old man said "You will cry out three cries". Come on, either you will have an answer, or you will turn to stone, or Bəlbəl Hazar will come'. (75) Then she said, she said to herself[25] 'I shall cry the third cry, perhaps all of me in one go will turn to stone'. She thought like that. She did not believe (Bəlbəl Hazar would come). She said 'I just have to stay with my brother'. This brother of mine has turned to stone, I also must turn to stone.' She wants this more, she does not want Bəlbəl Hazar to come. She said 'I'll see, I'll cry the third cry and see what happens'. (76) She called 'Ho, Bəlbəl Hazar!' and Bəlbəl Hazar flew from there, she came out of the cave, she had acquired some wings, like those of birds. She went round above the mountain, above the cave in a circuit, like this, and went down, head first, and thud, sat behind Nozali, on the back of her horse, her white horse. She turned to look behind her and saw her. (77) She said 'Oh Bəlbəl Hazar, you have come! She said 'Yes, I have come'. She said 'Will you not tell me why you have come?' These many princes, these young men, these people have all come to seek your hand. Were you not satisfied with all of them? I am a woman, like you. Why do you come now? Why do you come to me?'

[23] Literally: What is it?
[24] Literally: went empty.
[25] Literally: in her mind.

*(78) mára ʾána ṯ-amránna sárr-diyi ṭlàləx.ˈ ʾu-hìč xa-náša le-yăðéwala.ˈ mára mòdila sərr-díyəx.ʔˈ mára ʾànaˈ yăðánna qəṣṣət-díyax ʾu-t-xònəxˈ ʾu-t-málka ʾu-t-brōn-màlka.ˈ yăðánna qəṣṣətèy.ˈ ʾu-ʾána mìθɛwənˈ yáʿni mumέθɛwən b-ʾalàha,ˈ mumèθɛwən,ˈ kámət ʾúrzət dúnye ʾáθa báθri le-y-azànaˈ ṭla-hìč-ʾurza.ˈ bas-ʾán ʾáθya xá-baxta nabláli qa-kut-bằya,ˈ yan-qa-xóna dìya,ˈ ʾána bṯ-azàna.ˈ (79) mára ʾàwwɛle qawla-díyi.ˈ w-áti θèləx,ˈ ʾa-qamèθa báxta θéləx.ˈ ʾu-yăðánne xónəx hole-gòtəx.ˈ mára zēn-ʾána hon-nabólləx ṭla-brő̄n màlka.ˈ mára ʾána šarṭ-díyi ʾàyyɛla.ˈ ʾáti mò-bằyət mánni?ʔˈ hadíya mò-bằyət mánni?ʔˈ (80) mára ʾána bă̋yən mànnəxˈ ʾàwwa xóniˈ ʾoðátle xá-ga xéta mădəṛátle nášma dìye.ˈ madəṛátle t-páyəš nàša,ˈ qa-t-nablánne ʾap-àw,ˈ xéna táma mqărárəx ʾáti báxtə d-éni ṯ-àwət.ˈ táma ʾáti kut-bă̋yət górət ʾàw.ˈ xázəx ʾahwaláttət màlka,ˈ mó ṯ-amárrən màlka,ˈ ʾáxni xoθ-tagbártət màlkəx,ˈ lá-maṣəx mən-qăwanű̄n d-áw pàlṭəx.ˈ (81) mára ʾap-ʾáyya bəṛ-ʿằqəl-ila.ˈ mára Bəlbə́l Hazàr,ˈ mára ʾànaˈ ʾímət xónəx mădəṛànneˈ ʾoðánne náša xa-ga-xéta qa-dìyəx,ˈ rába ʾɛbɛ̀le-lli qa-t kúlla ʾanna-jwánqe xéne šoqánna kèpa.ˈ mára kùlla mădəṛannéy.ˈ mădəṛànney.ˈ ʾína ʾána-w áti-w xònəxˈ ʾítlən ʿăláqa m-ġðaðe-ʾàxni ṭláθa.ˈ ʾánna xèneˈ kút-xa ʾázəl bέθa dìye.ˈ (82) mára ʾən-ʾoðátla ʾáyya ràba spáy-ilaˈ qa-kùlla d-ánna náše,ˈ qa-marwaθèy,ˈ qa-kúlla ʾálma b-šă̋me Bə́lbəl Hazàrˈ rába spáy baxtèla.ˈ mára də-yàlla!ˈ mòdila wíðta?ˈ har-xà-gaya mṣulέθɛla qa-ʾálaha-w pšíṭla ʾíða-diya l-šmàyya.ˈ mára ya-ʾàlahaˈ hal-róxa qa-d-ánna náše ṯ-ila píše kèpa,ˈ róxa hal-ʾəllέy qá-t xa-ga-xéta déṛi péši nàše.ˈ (83) xéna ʾaláha gòṛɛle.ˈ ʾu-ʾàyyaˈ máṭlab díya gòṛɛle.ˈ ʾálaha qəm-šămέle qála dìya.ˈ dax-t-mìrtɛla,ˈ róxa ʾáwra gu-d-ánna képe péši nàšeˈ ʾu-kúlla ʾáskar qlíbela píše náše xa-ga-xèta.ˈ ʾíman ṯ-ila-píše nàše,ˈ ʾu-kút-xa ṣráxa b-o-xèna.ˈ (84) ʾo-mára ʾànən múθyəlla Bə́lbəl Hazár,ˈ ʾáni hola-xzálla Bə́lbəl Hazár hòla.ˈ kúṯ-ile mára ʾànən múθyəlla Bə́lbəl Hazàr,ˈ ʾáy mòdi wídla?ˈ qəm-marmála ʾiða-díya rəš-kullèyˈ mára ʾáp-xa mənnéxu lá-mṣawəθ mă̋ṣiθu ʾəlli!ˈ ʾáni kúlla mŭṣìθelaˈ ʾəlla-dìya.ˈ mára ʾáp-xa mənnéxu la-ʾàmər:ˈ ʾána múθyənna Bə́lbəl Hazàr.ˈ Bə́lbəl Hazàrˈ ʾíle múθyəlla lèle ʾúrza.ˈ bràtɛla,ˈ hóla láxxa Nozàlila,ˈ xáθət Gozàli.ˈ (85) ʾáwwa Gozàliˈ léwən θíθa b-xabre dìye.ˈ ʾáyya xáθe dìyela.ˈ b-xábrət xáθə dìyən θíθa.ˈ ʾáy nublàli.ˈ ʾáxtu kúllɛxu ʾazítu bèθa.ˈ bas-ʾáxtu kúllɛxu c̈ídetuˈ ʾəl-bέθət màlka ṯ-íla Gozáli ʾu-Nozáli gu-bēθ-dìyeˈ ʾu-ṯ-ázəx masyáxəx m-brōn-dìyeˈ ʾu-bróne díye šoqáxle bàsəm.ˈ ʾu-Gozáli ʾu-Nozáli táma mqărərəxˈ mó-bṯ-awe măṣ̋r diyèy.ˈ

(78) She said 'I shall tell you my secret. Nobody knew it before'. She said 'What is your secret?' She said 'I know the story of you and your brother, and of the king and the son of the king. I know their story. I have sworn, that is taken an oath by God, I have taken an oath that however many men in the world may come after me I shall not go to any man. But, if a woman comes to take me to anyone she wants, or to her brother, I shall go'. (79) She said 'This is my word. Now, you have come. You are the first woman to come. I know that your brother is by your side'. She said 'Well, I shall take you to the son of the king'. She said 'My condition is this. What do you want from me? Now, what do you want from me?' (80) She said 'I want you to make my brother (alive) again and return his breath to him, make him become a man again, so that I can take him away, then we shall decide whose wife you will be. There, you can marry anybody you like. Let us see what the circumstances of the king are, what the king says. We are under the administration of the king. We cannot deviate from his laws.' (81) She said 'Also this (decision) is wise'. Bəlbəl Hazar said 'When I bring your brother back and make him a man again for you, it would be a great shame for me to leave all these other young men stone'. She said 'I shall bring them all back, I shall bring them back. But I, you and your brother, we three have a bond together. These other ones, each will go to his home'. (82) She said 'If you do that, it would be very good for all those people, for their families, so that everybody will hear that Bəlbəl Hazar is a very good woman'. She said 'Go ahead!' What did she do? She prayed once to God and stretched her hand to heaven. She said 'Oh God, give spirit to these people who have become stone, give them spirit so that they will once again become men'. (83) Now, God is great and her request was great also. God heard her voice. As she said, a spirit entered the stones and they became men. All the army returned and became men once again. When they had become men, they were all shouting at one another. (84) One said 'It was I who brought Bəlbəl Hazar, (since) they saw that Bəlbəl Hazar was there. Everybody who said 'It was I who brought Bəlbəl Hazar', what did she do (to him)? She raised her hand over all of them and said 'None of you talk, but listen to me!' They all listened. She said 'None of you should say "I brought Bəlbəl Hazar". Bəlbəl Hazar was brought by somebody who was not a man, but a girl. She is here, Nozali, the sister of Gozali. (85) I did not come at the word of this Gozali. She is his sister. I came at the word of his sister. I have taken her (with me). You all go home. But, you are all invited to the house of the king, in which Gozali and Nozali are staying. We shall go and visit his son and we shall make his son get better. We shall decide there what the future of Gozali and Nozali will be.'

(86) ʾan-xéne kúlla skìte.ˈ mo-bṯ-àmri?ˌ qărār-díya ʾàwwɛle.ˈ kúlla šmilà-lle.ˈ móra kullέxu báθrən báθrən ṯ-ázəx l-béθət màlka.ˈ ʾu-ʾàskar,ˈ Gozàliˈ ʾu-áy Nozàliˈ b-xāṣ-sùsa-wˈ Bálbəl Hazár mənnèy.ˈ ʾu-píšla gu-ḥáfla gòṛtaˈ ʾu-ṭréla gu-d-a-čòlˈ zìlla.ˈ (87) zílla mṭéla l-a-dúkθa ṯ-íwa maláxa qamθèy.ˈ ʾu-maláxa xá-ga xéta qəm-mšadárre ʾalàha,ˈ ṣlèle.ˈ táma maláxa yă̆ðe módi bràya.ˈ ʾaláha šúxa l-šámme yă̆ðeˈ módi bràya.ˈ hè,ˈ qărā́r d-ànile.ˈ hadíya móre hà!ˈ ʾo-náša sáwa θèle.ˈ tráθna dréla šláma ʾálle ʾu-qəm-našqíle m-ay-góta l-àyya.ˈ móra ʾáti rába wíðət spayùθaˈ ʾu-ʾátit pqiðəllən.ˈ (88) móre Nozàliˈ spáy wídləx zìlləx.ˈ ʾána yă̆ðən Bálbəl Hazár máṭola θìθa.ˈ θíθa b-xábrət dìyəxila.ˈ ʾu-ʾálaha ṯ-áwe mánnəx ʾu-mən-xònax.ˈ ʾu-ʾána xášwən ʾáp-brōn-málka b-tàrəṣ.ˈ bas-tàmaˈ qáṣṣət dìyəxˈ ʾu-t-xònəxˈ péša màṭyaˈ l-xarayúθa dìyaˈ ʾu-haqquθéxu le-y-tàlqa,ˈ sab-ʾáxtu mən-zoruθéxu gă̆rəg pɛšítu tlíqe b-ʾámrət màlkaˈ ʾína málka b-xáyər biyèxuˈ ʾáxtu pyáša b-šáwpe dìye.ˈ só ʾaláha ṯ-áwe mənnèxu.ˈ

(89) hadíya qímela zìle.ˈ šwíqəlle sáwunka tàma.ˈ dwíqəlle ʾíðe dìyeˈ ʾu-zìle.ˈ wa-l-ḥáṣəl màṭyɛlaˈ qúrbət mðítət màlkaˈ ʾu-síqəlla náše ṯ-íla xázyəlley gu-čòlˈ mašxóde qa-màlka.ˈ móra málka ṯ-áwət basìma,ˈ θéla xa-ʾáskar gòṛta,ˈ ʾəstəqbắl dìyux yáʿniˈ b-xzàyəllux θáya masyóxe m-brónux mènnuxˈ wúð qunáxa gòṛa,ˈ rába nàšela.ˈ rába nàšela.ˈ (90) málka šǧìšɛle,ˈ plíṭɛle gu-čòl,ˈ mútta bàle-lla.ˈ čól mḷíθa susă̆wáθa ʾu-ʾáskar ʾu-θáya qṣáda l-béθe dìye.ˈ hadíya málka wíðəlle ʾəstəqbằl.ˈ ʾáw ʿá’əla díye ʾu-náše díye ṣàlyela.ˈ béna Nozáli qamèθaˈ ʾu-Bálbəl Hazár bàθraˈ ʾu-Gozáli bàθraˈ ʾu-ʾáskar kúlla bàθra.ˈ (91) málka màreˈ mènnəx ṭalbən Nozáliˈ ʾáti múrri mòdile?ˌ mòdile?ˌ ʾáyya θeθéxu mòdila?ˌ ʾána mšúdrən Gúzali ʾu-ʾàti.ˈ ʾánna mòdila-ʾayya?ˌ móra ʾána lá-mṣən ʾamránnux čù-məndi.ˈ ṯ-amrálux Bálbəl Hazàr.ˈ ʾáti mšùdrətˈ Bálbəl Hazàr bă̆yət.ˈ móra là bă̆yət Bálbəl Hazár?ˌ móre yé ʾàyya bă̆yən.ˈ (92) móra ʾáyya bṯ-amràlux.ˈ mo-bṯ-amrálux bṯ-àwðət.ˈ ʾən-là-ʾawðət,ˈ b-tàlqət.ˈ móra y-ámṣa Bálbəl Hazàr,ˈ b-ʾámrət ʾalàhaˈ b-talqàlux.ˈ móra ʾáy hatxa-mírtəlli ṯ-amrànnux.ˈ mbáqər b-gánux ṯ-amràlux.ˈ (93) qlíbɛle màlka,ˈ ʾáθya zína qám Bálbəl Hazàr.ˈ móre Bálbəl Hazàrˈ ʾána màlkɛwən.ˈ bás ʾána b-ṭlábɛwən mènnəxˈ t-yàwətˈ xa-daṛmána qa-bròni.ˈ bróni myàθele.ˈ fa-ʾáti mó mqằrərətˈ hádəx ṯ-àwe.ˈ múrri mòdila ʾáyya qəṣṣátta.ˈ ʾáyya lèn-pṛaməlla ʾáyya qəṣṣátta ˈ kúlla ʾánna náše θèla.ˈ

(86) All the others were silent. What could they say? This was her decision. Everybody obeyed it. She said 'All of you (follow) behind us and we shall go to the house of the king.' The army (went along), Gozali and Nozali, on horseback, with Bəlbəl Hazar with them. It became a big party. They rode in the countryside and went along. (87) They came to the place where the angel met them. God once again sent the angel and he came down. The angel knew what was happening there. God, praise be upon his name, knows what happens. Yes, it was their decision. Now he (the angel) said 'Ah!' The old man came. They both greeted him and kissed him on this side and on that. They said 'You did a lot of good and you instructed us'. (88) He said 'Nozali, it is good that you went. I know how Bəlbəl Hazar came. She came by your word. May God be with you and with your brother. I think, furthermore, that the son of the king will be cured. There your story and that of your brother will reach its end, but your lawful right will not be lost. In your childhood, indeed, you were supposed to disappear by the command of the king, but the king will watch you take his place. Go! May God be with you'.

(89) Now, they went off. They left the old man there. They shook his hand and went off. In short, they arrived near to the town of the king and people who had seen them in the countryside went up to give the good news to the king. They said 'King, may you be well. A large army has come to visit you, that is to see you, to make a visit to you and your son. Make a big feast. They are many people. They are many people.' (90) The king was shaken. He went out into the countryside and made towards them. The countryside was full of horses and an army was coming towards his house. Now, the king made a reception. His family and his relatives came down. Nozali was first, Bəlbəl Hazar behind and Gozali behind her, with all the army behind them. (91) The king said 'I ask you, Nozali, tell me, what is it? What is this procession of yours? I sent you and Gozali. These people—what is this?' She said 'I cannot tell you anything. Bəlbəl Hazar will tell you. You sent (us) and wanted Bəlbəl Hazar'. She said 'Don't you want Bəlbəl Hazar?' He said 'Yes. I want her'. (92) She said 'She will tell you. You must do as she says. If you do not do it, you are lost'. She said 'Bəlbəl Hazar can do so, by God's command she will obliterate you'. She said 'She told me to tell you this. Ask (her) yourself and she will tell you'. (93) The king turned round and went and stood before Bəlbəl Hazar. He said 'Bəlbəl Hazar. I am the king. All I request from you is to give a cure to my son. My son is dying. Whatever you decide, so be it. Tell me what this is all about. I do not understand this. All these people have come'.

(94) məra yǎðət mòdila.?ˡ ʾána mírtɛwən le-y-ʾáθyən b-xábrət čù-ʾurza,ˡ ʾálla ṯ-áθya báxta maθyàli.ˡ məra kəmá ṯ-ilá-ʾəθye nàše,ˡ kəmá ṯ-ilá-ʾəθye šazáde-u jwànqe,ˡ lén θíθa ʾu-le-y-ʾàθyən.ˡ hátta Gozáli b-gáne mšudrətle lèn θíθa.ˡ ʾána míθənwa l-márya ʾalàhaˡ ʾálla ṯ-aθyáwa báxta bàθri,ˡ ṯ-azànwa.ˡ (95) məra θéla Nozàli,ˡ hon-θìθa,ˡ b-xábrət Nozàli.ˡ w-ána hon-mírta ṭla-Nozàliˡ ʾána lɛ-gáwrən ʾálla xóna díya Gozàli.ˡ ʾína ʾən-ʾáti mwáfqət qa-t-goránne Gozàli,ˡ brónux b-tàrəṣˡ ʾu-b-qàyəm.ˡ ʾína Nozáli ʾu-Gozàliˡ bṯ-áwi m-gēb-brònuxˡ gu-d-áwwa bèθux.ˡ ʾu-lá ʾamrətla čù-məndi.ˡ ʾu-lá-qɛmət ʾəllèy.ˡ (96) gu-d-áwwa béθux ṯ-àwaˡ ʾu-ʾáni péši màlke.ˡ mən-ʾədyoˡ malkùθaˡ m-bnónux qǎṭa.ˡ páyəš Gozáli màlka,ˡ ʾu-Bálbəl Hazár báxte dìye,ˡ ʾu-xáθe díye princess *ṯ-óya,ˡ yáʿni hátxa xá šazátta gu-béθa ʾap-ày.ˡ yáʿni ʾu-xzi màṭo ṯ-óya.ˡ hèˡ xèna-wˡ píšɛle xo-ʾámr al-wàqəʿˡ mo-ṯ-àwəð.?ˡ léš-ile màsya.ˡ (97) ʾu-qìmɛleˡ mèreˡ bas-bróni tàrəṣ,ˡ kú-mdit bǎyatiˡ ṯ-óðəx hàdəx.ˡ məra ʾá puqdánət ʾalàhɛle.ˡ ʾən-lá-ʾoðət b-xábrət ʾalàha,ˡ b-talqèti.ˡ qìmɛle,ˡ mèðyaˡ ʾu-wíða tawqīʿ ʾu-kúl məndì,ˡ qá-t ʾáyya leš-dáre bas-dìyaˡ ʾu-lítle šùla-wˡ ʾánna péši ʾax-bnóne díye gu-bèθa.ˡ (98) ʾu-bróne díye tàrəṣ.ˡ brōn-díye trìṣɛleˡ ʾu-píštɛla béna ṭláθa yomáθa xlùla,ˡ mbaróxəlla Bálbəl Hazàrˡ l-Gozàli.ˡ ʾu-xa-šadlaxána gòṛta,ˡ mírɛwa xətni Wàrdaˡ ʾu-bríθɛla zmàrta-wˡ lelyàna-wˡ ʾu-ràwe-uˡ bándət Muḥámmad ʿÀrəf.ˡ léla šwíqe zmártət léla mìre,ˡ kùlla zmaryáθa.ˡ wíðela xlúla rába tàza.ˡ ʾu-ṯ-ámrəx ʾax-t-wewa míra xətni Wàrdaˡ ʾána šwiqáli táma ʾu-θèli-laxxa.ˡ*

(94) She said 'Do you know what it is? I said that I would not come by the word of any man, unless a woman came to fetch me'. She said 'However many people came, however many princes and young men came, I did not come, and I would not come'. Even when you sent Gozali himself, I did not come. I had sworn to the Lord God that only if a woman came after me would I go'. (95) She said 'Nozali came and I came by the word of Nozali. I said to Nozali that I would only marry her brother Gozali. But, if you agree for me to marry Gozali, your son will be cured and will get up (off his sickbed). Nozali and Gozali, however, will stand in place of your son in this house of yours. You will not say anything to them nor will you turn against them. (96) They will be in this house of yours and they will become kings. From this day kingship will be cut off from your son. Gozali will become king and Bəlbəl Hazar his wife. His sister will be princess, that is a princess in the house, also she. See how it will turn out'. Yes, indeed it came into effect. What could he do? He could no longer do anything. (97) He said 'Only let my son be cured. We shall do everything you want'. She said 'This is God's command. If you do not do the word of God, you will be obliterated.' He signed and authorized it, and so forth, (pledging) that he would never again talk about it, that he would not interfere and that they would become like his children in the house. (98) His son recovers. His son recovered and after three days there was a wedding. They married Bəlbəl Hazar to Gozali. There was a big party, as my father-in-law Warda used to say. There was singing, *lelyana* songs, *rawe* songs, the songs of Muḥammad ʿArif. There was not a song that they did not sing. They sang all the songs and made a beautiful wedding. We say, as my father-in-law Warda said, I have left it there and come here.

A9 The Scorpion and the Snake

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena (Dure)

(1) ʾíθɯa xa-nàša| ʾáɯɯa zílle zrà'a.| zəryɛle xàčča|, xàrθa,| brōn-dìye| θéle šánθe dìye,| qəm-madmàxle.| ʾíθɯa xáča míya ṣlàya,| šaqìθa.| qəm-maθéle tàma.| dmíxle kəs-d-ày šaqíθa.| ʾo-xéna zràyɛle.| xárθa ʾáθyɛle xázyɛle ʾína l-ay-gōt-hòdəx t-šaqíθa| ʾíθɯa ða-pàqqe.| (2) m-ày-gota| páqqe šwírra l-a-gōt-hódəx t-šaqìθa.| klèla,| síqla ðá ʾaqárɯa xáṣa dìya.| síqla xáṣa dìya| ʾu-mašurála b-a-gōt-míya ʾáθe làxxa.| brōn-d-o-náša dmìxɛle támma,| ʾaqárɯa ṣléla m-xa̋ṣ-t pàqqe,| θéla wírra xo-réšə d-o-yàla.| (3) ʾu-šqílle xá-kepa bábe dìye,| bábə d-o-yàla,| mára qaṭlánna yáha ʾaqárɯa dìya.| ʾáyya páqqe zílla muθyála ʾaqárɯa m-ʾay-gōt-hódəx mìya.| muθyála láxxa ta-t-nɛsále bròni,| bróni màyəθ.| qaṭlánna yáha ʾaqàrɯa.| xárθa xá-ga xéta klèle.| (4) mára škíra šəmmux ya-ʾàlaha.| ʾən-ʾáti ba̋ya̋t bróni máyəθ b-àyya ʾúrxa,| ʾoðátla ʾáyya páqqe ba̋̀lam,| ʾázəl m-d-ay-góta xètə šaqíθa,| šaqlála ʾaqárɯa l-xáṣa dìya,| máθya l-àyya gota,| ʾu-ʾáθya ṭla-t-nɛsále bróni màyəθ,| xlàpux ya-ʾálaha.| hár ʾəjbóna dìyux-ile.| (5) rapéle ʾo-kèpa| là qəm-qaṭálla ʾaqárɯa.| ʾo-xìšle| píšle zráya zràya.| xá-palgət sà'ət,| xá-sa'ət xèna,| ʾáw lèle ráḥat.| mára brōn-díyi hàr hóle míθa.| ʾaqárɯa nìstálle.| zìlɛle| mùklàlla táɯre t-wɛ́ɯa zráya.| šqílle bróne dìye| mára šaqlánna jănàze díye| nablánna bèθa.| (6) dárya ʾíðe b-brōn-dìye.| brōn-díye qìmɯale.| mára ha-bábi mò ba̋ya̋t?| mára čù-məndi ba̋ya̋n.| prìqli| ṯ-ázəx bèθa.| xírre xo-réšə d-o-yàla.| ʾíθɯa xá-boyət xùɯɯe.| xá-xuɯɯe plíṭa táma ba̋ye nayásle ṭla-brőn d-ó fallà̱ḥ.| ʾáyya ʾaqárɯa θìθa| gu-réšə d-o-bòya| qṭìltálle,| qəm-qaṭlále ʾo-xùɯɯe.| mára ʾən-ʾána hawánɯa qtílalla ʾăyáha ʾaqàrɯa,| ʾáɯɯa xúɯɯe ṯ-awéwa qtíla ṭla-bròni.| šqílle brōn-dìye| zílle bèθa.|

A9 The Scorpion and the Snake

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena (Dure)

(1) There was a man, who went to plough. He ploughed a little, then his son became sleepy and he laid him down to sleep. There was some water flowing, a channel. He took him there. He went to sleep by that channel while the other one (his father) was ploughing. Then he came back and he saw that on the farther side of the channel there was a frog. (2) From one side the frog jumped to the other side of the channel. It stood still and a scorpion mounted onto its back. It mounted its back and it (the frog) took it across to this side of the water so that it came here. The son of that man was sleeping here. The scorpion got down from the back of the frog and went underneath the pillow of the child. (3) His father, the father of the boy, took a stone and said 'I'll kill that scorpion right now. This frog has brought the scorpion from the other side of the water. It has brought it here to bite my son, my son will die. I shall kill that scorpion.' Then he refrained. (4) He said 'Praise be your name, oh God, if you will that my son die by this means, that you make this frog into a boat to go from the other side of the channel and take a scorpion on its back, bringing it to this side, for it to bite my son that he should die, let it be as you wish[1] oh God, it is your will.' (5) He threw away the stone and did not kill the scorpion. He went off and continued to plough. Half an hour, an hour later, he was not comfortable. He said 'My son is already dead. The scorpion has bitten him'. He went and stopped the oxen, which were ploughing. He took his son and said 'I'll take his coffin and carry him home'. (6) He put his hand on his son, his son was awake.[2] He said 'Ah, father, what do you want?' He said 'I don't want anything. I have finished. Let's go home. He looked under the head of the boy. There was a snake's hole. A snake had come out of there wanting to bite the son of that peasant. The scorpion had come to the opening of the hole and killed it, it killed the snake. He said 'If I had killed that scorpion, that snake would have killed my son'. He took his son and went home.

[1] Literally: It is for your sake.
[2] Literally: had risen.

A10 I Am Worth the Same as a Blind Wolf

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena (Dure)

(1) ʾáp-ʾana dàqrən| ʾax-déwa k̂òra| ʾáwwa mòdi qə́ṣṣət?| xa-šăvána qam-ʾərwe| rə̆̂ya,| y-azə́lwa qam-ʾərwe,| kút-yum xá ʾərbe-díye ṭalə̀qwa.| xá-yoma mgoš̆əqle,| máre xázən ʾan-ʾə́rwe ʾèkɛla xáša,| ṭla-mòdi tláqa.| síqle xa-dùkθa| gu-xa-gə̆̂ra.| muttúle răqába d-an-ʾə́rwe dìye.| xzéle xa-ʾórba ríqle sìqle l-ṭúra.| (2) ʾáp-ʾaw ʾàsəq báθre,| ʾásəq, ʾàsəq.| ʾaw-ʾórba wírre gu-xa-gə̀ppa.| ʾíθwa xa-déwa k̂òra táma,| k̂òra.| dmíxa qam-d-o-dèwa| ʾo-déwa píšle xála mən-d-o-ʾərba,| qəm-axə̀lle.| ʾaw-ʾə́θyɛle| wírɛle xázya ʾo-déwa xála ʾórbe dìye.| bə̆̂ye qaṭə̀lwale| (3) xá-ga xéta klèle.| máre škíra šə́mmət ʾàlaha,| máre ʾáwwa déwa lèle ṣə́lya gu-ʾərbi.| ʾáwwa ʾərbi| m-gáne díye θéle ríqle l-ṭùra.| dmíxle qam-d-àwwa déwa,| hóle xàlə̀lle.| kléle mtuxmə̀nne| máre yá-marya ʾàlaha,| máre ʾo-déwa léle lá plìxa| ʾu-lá zərya| ʾu-lá xzìda,| hot-yàwəlle rə́sqe díye| hóle xàla.| ʾáp-ʾana ṣálən dámxən bèθa.| ʾáti májbur t-yàtli rə́sqi.| (4) ṣléle l-bèθa.| báxte díye màra| kèla ʾórwe,| gàwṛa.| máre ʾórwe hòla gu-ṭúra.| bə̆̂yət,| sɛ-mkàpəšla!| ʾíθwa xa-kàwe| l-gàre.| dmíxɛle bárqūl d-ay-kàwe.| dáryɛle šwíθe díye tàma.| báxta síqta muθéθəlla ʾórwe dìye.| xà-yoma-w| tré-u ṭə̀θa| har-hóle dmìxa.| (5) móra gàwṛa!| qu-sí qam-ʾərwe!| ʾáxni mò ṭ̂-áxləx?| mò šátəx?| móra ʾáp-ʾana dáqrən ʾax-déwa d-o-k̂òra.| xá-yoma mbuqárra móra mòdi m-áyya qə́ṣṣət díye ʾo-déwa k̂òra?| mòre| ʾərwən| ʾo-xá-dewa k̂óra dmìxa gu-ṭúra.| kút-yum xá-ʾərwən y-arə́qwa y-ásəq qám… d-o-dèwa,| ʾaw y-axə̀lwale.| móre ʾáp-ʾana dáqrən ʾax-d-ó-dewa k̂òra.| hát ʾálaha yálli rə́sqi b-áyya kàwe,| ʾàxxa ṭ̂-áwən dmíxa.| (6) ʾáyya bàxta| lá-mṣela mxumèla ʾórwe.| ʾórwe qəm-zabnàla.| píšla fă̆qìre.| kút-yum ʾazáwa l-ṭúra maθyáwa ða-kérta qésa l-xáṣa dìya| ʾu-zabnàwa.| šáqla xa-lə̀xma,| pálga ṭla-gàwṛa| pálga ṭla-d-ày,| y-axlìwa.| (7) xá-yoma síqla l-ṭùra,| ṣléla ʾáqla díya gu-xa-čále.| šaqlála ʾàqla,| ʾína xa-qadálta dàwe.| tfíqla dàwe xo-ʾáqla díya.| móra b-álaha hóle híwəlle rə́sqa d-áwwa gáwṛa t-wéwa móra ʾána dáqrən ʾax-déwa d-o-k̂òra.| šqíltɛla mən-dàwe,| ṣlíθɛla kəs-gàwṛe díye.|

A10 I Am Worth the Same as a Blind Wolf

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena (Dure)

(1) I am worth the same as a blind wolf—What is the story? A shepherd used to go to look after sheep. Every day one of his sheep was lost. One day he looked and said 'Let me see where these sheep are going, why are they disappearing'. He went up to a place on a hill. He set up an observation point for his sheep. He saw one sheep running up the mountain. (2) He went up after him. He went up and up. The sheep entered a cave. There was a blind wolf there, blind. It slept in front of that wolf. The wolf started eating the sheep, and ate it up. He came inside and saw the wolf eating his sheep. He wanted to kill him. (3) Then he refrained and said 'Praise be the name of God', he said 'This wolf has not come down among my sheep. This sheep of mine has come and run to the mountain of its own accord. It went to sleep before this wolf and it is now eating it.' He stood and thought, he said 'Oh Lord God', he said 'That wolf has neither worked, nor cultivated, nor harvested, but you are giving it its sustenance and it is eating it. I also shall go down and sleep at home. You will be obliged to give me my sustenance'. (4) He went down to his home. His wife said 'Where are the sheep, husband?' He said 'The sheep are in the mountains. If you want, go and gather them up!' There was a window in the roof. He slept opposite that window. He put his bed there. His wife went up to bring back his sheep. One day, two, three, he just slept. (5) She said 'Husband! Go and look after the sheep! What shall we eat? What shall we drink?' He said 'I am worth as much as that blind wolf'. One day she asked saying 'What is this story about the blind wolf?' He said 'Our sheep—such a blind wolf is sleeping in the mountains. Every day one of our sheep would run up to that wolf and he would eat it. I am worth as much as that blind wolf. Until God gives me my sustenance through this window, I shall sleep here.' (6) The woman could not keep the sheep. She sold the sheep. They became poor. Everyday she would go to the mountains and bring a load of wood on her back. She would sell it and buy a loaf of bread, half for her husband and half for her, and they would eat. (7) One day she went up the mountain and her foot went down into a hole. She took away her foot and there was a pot of gold coins. She found gold coins under her leg. She said 'By God, He has provided the sustenance of this husband (of mine), who said that I am worth as much as that blind wolf.' She took some of the gold coins and went down to her husband.

(8) mə́ra qú gàwṛa.ˈ mə́re mòdi?ˌ mə́ra hóle ʾálaha hítwle rə̀squx.ˈ ṯ́-ásqəx mɛθə̀xla.ˈ mə́re là,ˈ ʾáwwa lə̀le rə́sqi.ˈ rə́sqi ṣále b-àyya káwe.ˈ kízla gàwṛa!ˌ lá-hawət šeðàna.ˈ qú ʾaláha hítwle rə̀squx.ˈ mə́re ʾáwwa lə̀le rə́sqi.ˈ (9) qímta zílta kəs-d-aw-šwawèy.ˈ mə́ra šwàwa,ˈ mə̀raˈ ʾána síqli fə̀llən dùkθa,ˈ xá-dukθa hon-xzíθa hátxa dàwe,ˈ ʾáyya qadálta dàwe,ˈ mára lə̀le rə́sqi,ˈ ʾə́lla ʾálaha dáre b-áyya kàwe.ˈ ṯ́-ásqəx maθə̀xleˈ pálga ṭlàlənˈ pálga ṭlàlux.ˈ qímela síqe rəš-d-ɛ́ dùkθa.ˈ ʾo-náša xzéle ʾánna dàweˈ dŭs dàwela.ˈ (10) qáyəm dáwəqla ʾáqlət ʾíðə d-áy-baxta ʾasə̀ṛṛa.ˈ rapèlaˈ l-ʾə̆ra.ˈ šaqə́l ʾan-dàwe,ˈ maṣléla l-bɛ̀θa.ˈ ṣléle ʾurxa-ʾúrxa xzéle ʾína pyáša dəbbòre,ˈ kúlla práxa ç̣ənnə̀ḳàre dìye.ˈ ʾáyya xmàrta!ˈ ʾánna dáwe ʾan-dəbbòrela.ˈ də-klá maxzə̀nne gáwṛəx.ˈ ṯ́-ásqən ʾánna mattə́nna l-d-ày káwe.ˈ napṣə́nna kúlla b-réše dìye,ˈ ṣáli tàma,ˈ ʾáwwa dmíxa gu-d-áw ʾòtəx.ˈ ʾáni b-nɛsíle b-màyəθ.ˈ nèxət mə́nne díye.ˈ (11) ʾáwwa síqɛle l-gàre.ˈ mútta qadàlta,ˈ ʾo-ʾamàna,ˈ rəš-d-àyya káwe.ˈ npìṣəlla.ˈ kú ṯ́-íle ṣláya xo-qárše ʾə̀ltəx,ˈ pyáša dàwa,ˈ ṣláya npála ʾə̆rɛle.ˈ ʾo-ṯ̂-íle pyáša ʾùḷḷuḷˈ ʾáw pyáša dəbbòreleˈ ʾu-zàla.ˈ xàrθaˈ qímɛle sìqaˈ ʾa-báxta šə́ryəlla ʾaqláθa dìya.ˈ (12) mára šwàwi,ˈ ṭla-mò wídlux hátxa bíyi?ˈ ʾána wídli spayùθa,ˈ maxzóyəllux dàwa.ˈ ʾáti qəm-asṛ́tla ʾáqli w-iθàθi,ˈ mrapátli làxxa.ˈ mə́re šwàwta.ˈ báxta xáčča zàbbun-ila.ˈ mə́re ʾána mə́ri t-là…ˈ ʾáti ṣályət ṯ́-ámrət ʾána xzéli dàweˈ ʾu-šwáwa qəm-šaqə̀lla-wˈ ʾu-náše t-yă̆ði məndiyàneˈ ʾu-mátya l-ḥùkmaˈ šáqli ʾánna dáwe mə̀nnən.ˈ hon-múṣəlya dàweˈ múttəlla kəs-gàwṛəx.ˈ ṣáləx pə̆ləxla.ˈ (13) ʾáyya-ži qìmtɛlaˈ šə́ryəlla ʾáqle w-ìðeˈ ʾu-ṣə́lya l-bɛ̀θɛle.ˈ ṣə́lya bɛ̀θɛle,ˈ də-súq sùqˈ hadíya gáwṛəx píša jə̆nàzɛle.ˈ mára yá mút jə̆nàza?! mára ʾáni làwa dáwe.ˈ kúlla dəbbòre-wawa.ˈ hon-npíṣəlla gu-ʾotáxə gàwṛəx.ˈ díya gáwṛəx mìθa.ˈ ʾásqa t-paθxàle tă̆raˈ ʾína gáwṛa díya mpă̆lóye gu-d-an-dàwe,ˈ lìθ!ˈ ʾan-t-wáwa ṣə́lye ʾə̀ltəxˈ kúlla píše dàwe.ˈ ʾɛ́-ga ʾálaha qəm-yawə́lle rə́sqə d-o-nàša.ˈ mára bíš qəm-madqə́rre mən-d-ó déwa ṯ́-axə́lwa ʾə́rbe dìye.ˈ

(8) She said 'Get up, husband'. He said 'What is it?' She said 'God has provided your sustenance. Let's go up and fetch it'. He said 'No, that is not my sustenance. My sustenance will come down through this window'. She tried (to persuade him by saying) 'Husband! Don't be mad. Get up, God has provided your sustenance'. He said 'That is not my sustenance'. (9) She went to their neighbour. She said 'Neighbour', she said 'I went up to such-and-such a place and in a certain place I have found gold coins like this, a pot of gold coins. He (my husband) says "It is not my sustenance unless God puts it through this window". Let's go up and fetch it, half will be for us and half for you'. They went up to that place. That man saw those gold coins. They were truly gold coins. (10) He seized the leg and hand of that woman and bound them. He threw her to the ground. He took the gold coins and took them down to his home. He went down and on the way saw that they were becoming hornets, all flying around him. 'That she-ass! These gold coins are now those hornets. Let me show your husband. I'll go up and put them in that window. I'll shake them all over him and they will go down there (in the house), while he is sleeping in that room. They will sting him and he will die. You will then be free of him.' (11) He went up onto the roof. He placed the pot, the container, on the window. He shook it. Everything that fell down under the beams became gold and fell down onto the floor. That which remained above remained hornets. He went on his way. Then, he went up and untied the legs of that woman. (12) She said 'Neighbour, why did you do this to me? I did you a favour by showing you the gold. You bound my legs and hands and left me here'. He said 'Neighbour, a woman is rather weak'. He said 'I said (to myself, I'll do this) so that you do not go down and say "I have found gold coins and the neighbour has taken them", and so that people would not know things, and the matter would be made known to the government and they would take these gold coins from us. I have taken the gold coins down and deposited them with your husband. Let's go down and divide them'. (13) She got up. He released her feet and hands and he went down to his home. He went down to his home (and he said) 'Go, your husband is now dead'. She said 'Why is he dead?' He said 'They were not gold coins. They were all hornets. I shook them in the room of your husband. Now your husband is dead'. She went up to open the door and saw her husband sorting the gold coins! Those (hornets) that had fallen below had all become gold. So, God provided the sustenance of that man. The story tells that He (God) considered him worth more than the wolf that ate his sheep.

A11 Dɜmdɜma

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-Xáno Lapzèrin.ˈ b-ʾăṣ́əl díye ʾiwéwa qărăčàya.ˈ ʾína rába gabbàra,ˈ xɛlàna-wewa.ˈ zílle xa-béna ʾárya θéle ṭálbe dìye,ˈ ʾáwwa qṭìlle ṭla-ʾárya,ˈ ʾína ʾárya ʾíðe díye qəm-axèlla.ˈ málka šmíle bíye dìye,ˈ mère ʾo-náša hóle qṭíla ʾàrya.ˈ (2) mšodərre báθre díyeˈ mére xázəx dàx-it qṭíla ʾáti ʾaw-ʾárya.ˈ máre m-àykaˈ har-là-mṣən ṭ-amrə́nnux.ˈ ʾən-ʾamrə́nnux ʾáp-ʾati b-šànət.ˈ máre mùrriˈ là.ˈ dàx-it qṭíla ʾárya?ˈ máre la-zăd̆ət?ˈ máre la-zăd̆ən.ˈ (3) ṣríxɛle xa-qála ràba xɛlána,ˈ málka šənyɛle,ˈ npìlɛle.ˈ qímɛle málka mèreˈ ʾáti péšət xulàmi.ˈ péšət mənni.ˈ ʾíðe díye dəryəlla dàwa.ˈ y-amríwa Xáno Lapzèrin.ˈ (4) píšle mən-màlka,ˈ xulámət màlka.ˈ xá-yoma plíṭewa ṣèda.ˈ zíle xa-dùkθa,ˈ málka dmìxɛle.ˈ ʾáwwa-ži zamàrɛleˈ b-dudəkθa.ˈ dúdəkθe díye múttəlla rəš-sáṭlət màsta.ˈ (5) plíṭɛle xa-dídwa mən-naxìrət málka,ˈ reša-réša d-a-dudəkθa,ˈ t-wawa rəš-d-à-masta,ˈ zílle wírre gu-xá-burət kèpe.ˈ ʾàwwaˈ Xáno xzéle ʾo-dídwa plíṭle mən-naxírət málka mujəble.ˈ wéle spàra,ˈ xárθa xá-ga xéta xzèleˈ ʾo-dìdwaˈ plíṭle mən-d-ó búrət kèpe,ˈ θéle wírre gu-naxírət màlka.ˈ (6) málka ṛìšle.ˈ ṛìšleˈ málka kc̈ixa,ˈ zèdya.ˈ máre mà-lux zádya?ˈ mà-lux málka ṭ-áwət basíma?ˈ máre mà-li?ˈ máre xzéli xa-xèlmaˈ rába mazdiyàna.ˈ máre mòdi xálma?ˈ ʾu-dàx-wewa?ˈ xȅr-wawa?ˈ (7) máre b-xálmi zála reša-réša ða-yáma rába gòṛta,ˈ yáma xwàrta.ˈ ʾíθwa tre-xoriyàθa,ˈ gàšra.ˈ mára hon-zála réšə d-ò gášra,ˈ ʾína ràba zdáʾaˈ t-là-naplən gu-d-a-yáma.ˈ m-táma zálən wárən gu-xa-gàppa,ˈ xa-ṭùra.ˈ mára xzáyən xa-xəzzìnət dáwe,ˈ yáʿni lìtle tyáma,ˈ dáwət dùnye hóle táma.ˈ (8) ʾu-mára xá-ga xètaˈ dìṛənˈ ʾəθyən reša-réša d-àn qariyáθa,ˈ reša-réša d-ày yáma.ˈ ʾu-hádəx-in zdàʾaˈ hát-in šwírəlle gōt-làxxaˈ ʾu-ṛìšli hadíya.ˈ (9) ʾaw-mtunéle ʾaw-xálma qa-d-ó Xáno Lapzèrin.ˈ ʾáwwa máre b-àlahaˈ har-xá-məndi ʾìθ b-áyya dúkθa ṭ-íle wìra.ˈ ʾáw xzèle ʾo-dídwa ʾéka wìrre.ˈ qam-ṭ-àzəl,ˈ šwíqəlla xa-kíste díye tàma,ˈ garášwa tŭ̆tun qalùnke.ˈ múttəlla tàma.ˈ zílla xáčča mèreˈ málka ṭ-áwət basìmaˈ munšyàliˈ kísti t-tŭ̆tun fəllən dúkθa.ˈ ṭ-ázən mayánna-w ʾu-ʾàθən.ˈ

A11 Dəmdəma

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošäba Kena (Dure)

(1) There was a certain Xano the Golden Hand.[1] In origin he was a gypsy. He was a great warrior and very strong. A lion once attacked him. He killed the lion, but the lion ate his hand. The king heard about him and said 'That man has killed a lion'. (2) He sent for him and said 'Let's see how you killed that lion'. He said 'I cannot tell you how. If I tell you, you will faint'. He said 'No, tell me! How did you kill the lion?' He said 'Are you not afraid?' He said 'I am not afraid'. (3) He shouted a mighty shout. The king fainted and fell. The king got up and said 'You shall become my servant. You shall remain with me'. He made his hand out of gold and they called him Xano the Golden Hand. (4) He remained with the king, as the servant of the king. One day they went out hunting. They went to a place and the king fell asleep. He (Xano) was a singer with a pipe. He put his pipe down on a can of yoghurt. (5) A fly came out of the nose of the king, (went) across the pipe that was over the yoghurt, and entered a pile of stones. Xano saw the fly come out of the nose of the king and was astonished. He waited and then he saw the fly come back out of the pile of stones and go back into the nose of the king. (6) The king woke up. The king woke up, tired and afraid. He (Xano) said 'Why are you afraid? What is the matter with you king—may you be well?' He said 'What is the matter with me?' He said 'I had a very frightening dream'. He said 'What dream? How was it? I hope it was good.' (7) He said 'In my dream I went across a great sea, a white sea. There were two poplars (forming) a bridge'. He said 'I went over the bridge, in great fear that I would fall into the sea. From there I went into a cave, a mountain. I saw a treasure of gold, (immense) without end, the gold of the entire world was there.' (8) He said 'I returned and went back over the (poplar) beams, across the sea and was afraid like this until I leapt across to this side and I woke up (as you see me) now. (9) He told the dream to Xano the Golden Hand. He said (to himself) 'By God, there must be something in this place where it entered'. He saw where the fly had entered. Before leaving, he left a (tobacco) bag of his there—he used to smoke pipe tobacco. He put it down there. They went on a little then he said 'King, may you be well, I have forgotten my tobacco bag in some place or other. I shall go to fetch it, then come back'.

[1] Kurd. lep zêrîn 'golden hand'.

(10) ʾəθyɛle| wíðɛle ʾa-dúkθa nišànqa,| ʾa-dúkθa t-wéwa ʾo-dídwa wíra tàma.| ʾu-zìlɛle kəs-málka.| píšele mən-màlka,| máre málka ṯ-áwət basìma,| zíla xákma dàna,| bă̆yən ṭálbən xa-máṭlab mànnux.| máre mòdi.ʔ| máre dúkθət xá-gəldət tàwra| hálli banə̀nni xa-bɛ́θa.| (11) máre si-bnílux dúkθət tré-gəldət tàwre.| máre là.| har-xà gə́ldət táwra,| dúkθət xá-gəldət táwra banánni xa-bèθa.| ʾáp-ʾana xṭìθila.| máre si-bni-ʾáwwa bèθux.| (12) qímɛle zíla b-a-dùkθa.| zìla,| múθyɛle xa-gə́ldət táwra ràba góṛa.| núblə̀lle kəs-xá m-ánna ṯ-óði tásmə sàwle.| máre ʾoðátli hàdəx,| ʾo-gə́lda hàdəx ʾoðátle| naqíða ta-t-ʾáwər bar-bóyət xmàṭa.| wíðəlle hádəx ʾə́lle dìye.| híwəlle zùze.| zíla ʾa-dùkθa.| (13) kúlla dúkθə d-ó-gəldət tàwra,| lɛle-wíða gə́dda zòra.ʔ| xzi-kəmá măsàḥa dwíqle.| ʾa-dúkθa qímle bnàya| Dəmdə̀ma,| bnáya Dəmdə̀ma.| zílle xpírre tàma,| plíṭle dàwa.| qímle muθéle banàye| bnéle gúdə Dəmdə̀ma| ʾáp-diya pyàšɛle| ʾo-gùda.| bnáya gúda ʾu-dráya răṣ̌ə̀ṣ,| tá-t ʾáp-ʾən maxíle màdfa| t-là-taləxwa gúda.| (14) bnéle bnéle bnéle Dəmdə̀ma| ʾu-gríšle míya m-ṭùra| muθéle xóθa-xoθət ʾùpra,| muwárre gu-Dəmdə̀ma.| ʾu-dwíqle béna ʾàskar,| dwáqəlle nášə ʾàskar.| ʾína là-kul gáwṛa.| muθéle náše gùṛe,| dəqnáy găréwale bríza m-àxxa| masàqwa.| ku-ṯ-ile wáða ʾìh.ʔ| lá šaqàlwale.| y-amárwa ʾáti lát xoš-gàwṛa.| (15) dwíqle ʾàskar ʾə́lle díye.| náše zílla kəs-màlka.| mára màlka ṯ-áwət basíma.| ʾáwwa náša hàtxɛle wáða.| màra| mú ṯ-àwəð.ʔ| xa-dúkθət gə́ldət tàwrən híwəlle báne bɛ́θa.| mára yába bnéle Dəmdə̀ma-w| ʾu-hóle dwáqa ʾàskar.| (16) wéle ʾáṣi màlka.| xárθa wéle pláša,| wéle pláša bēn-ʾáskar-t málkət ʾÌrən| ʾu-ʾàw.| xa-pláša ràba xɛlána-wewa.| b-čù-ʾurxa lɛ́wa mṣáya málka ṯ-áwər šaqə́lle Dəmdə́ma,| ma-t-wéwa mùṣyəlle,| míya ʾìtle,| ʾáskar ʾìθwa.| xálta ʾìtwale,| zúze ʾìtle,| kùl-xa-məndi ʾítwale.| (17) ʾína bráta d-o-Xáno Lapzèrin,| d-o-t-wéwa bánya Dəmdə̀ma,| bă̆yáwa ta-brōn-màlka.| qímla kθúla xa-kθàwa,| mšudárra bəd-qàzəd.| mára b-ču-ʾúrxa ʾo-Dəmdə́ma lɛ́ šaqlìtule| ʾə́lla qă̆ṭítula míyət Dəmdə̀ma.| ʾu-kθútɛla gu-d-ò kθáwa| ʾèkɛla ʾénə mìya,| m-èkɛla θáya.|

(10) He came and made a sign in that place, the place where the fly had entered. Then he went to the king. He stayed with the king and said 'King, may you be well, some time has gone by and I would like to request something from you'. He said 'What?' He said 'Allow me to build myself a house in a place (the size of) an ox skin'. (11) He said 'Go and build for yourself in a place (the size of) two ox skins'. He said 'No, only one ox skin, I shall build for myself a house in a place (the size of) one ox skin. It is a pity for me (that I have not such a house)'. He said 'Go and build this house of yours'. (12) He went off to that place. He went and brought and a very large ox skin. He took it to one of those people who make shoelaces. He said 'Make it for me thus, make this skin a fine (thread) so that it will go through the eye of a needle'. He did this for him and he gave him money. He went to the place. (13) The place (enclosed by) the ox skin covered a great area, since he had made it into a fine thread. In that place he began to build (the fortress of) Dəmdəma, to build Dəmdəma. He dug there and gold was discovered. He brought builders and built the wall of Dəmdəma—that wall remains even now. He built the wall and put lead into it, so that, even if it was hit by artillery, it would not be destroyed. (14) He went on building Dəmdəma and drew water from the mountain, bringing it under the ground and directing it into Dəmdəma. Then he recruited an army, recruiting people for an army. But (he did not accept) any man. He brought valiant men. He would shave their beard dry from here, moving (the knife) upwards. He did not take anybody who went 'ih!'[2] He would said 'You are not a good man'. (15) He recruited an army for himself. People went to the king. They said 'King, may you be well. That man is doing such-and-such'. He said 'What could he do? I have given him the space of an ox skin to build a house'. They said 'But he has built Dəmdəma and he is recruiting an army'. (16) He rebelled against the king. Then there was a war between him and the army of the king of Iran. It was a very fierce war. Yet by no means could the king enter to capture Dəmdəma, so well had he (Xano) fortified it, and, moreover, he had water, there was an army, he had food, he had money, he had everything. (17) But the daughter of that Xano the Golden Hand, who had built Dəmdəma, loved the son of the king. She wrote a letter and sent it by a messenger. She said 'By no means will you capture Dəmdəma unless you cut off the water of Dəmdəma'. She wrote in the letter where the water spring was, from where (the water) came.

[2] I.e. anybody who reacted to the pain.

(18) ma-t-wéwa brōn-málka qáryəlle ʾo-kθàwa,ˈ mə́re spày!ˈ qíme sìqeˈ xpíre ʾan-míya qə́tyəlla mən-ʾénət mìyaˈ t-wáwa mən-d-o-Dəmdəma.ˈ píšla t-là míya ʾanna-náše.ˈ t-la-míya la-xə̆̀yi.ˈ xá-ga xéta ṭlíbla mən-márya ʾàlaha,ˈ kúlla wéla bráka ṭlìbla,ˈ ṣléla mə̀ṭra.ˈ ṣléla mə̀ṭra,ˈ dwíqla xəzzíne məndiyáne mìya.ˈ hal-xá-ga xéta príqla miyèy.ˈ (19) xárθa mtaslòməlleˈ ʾu-málka d-áni wárɛle gu-Dəmdəma.ˈ wára ʾìnaˈ yə́mma d-o-Xáno Lapzérin hóla tíwta gu-tă̆rət qàṣra,ˈ xa-qalúnka m-áxxa l-tămàha,ˈ xà-palla b-réše díye.ˈ (20) mə́re mù-t kálba mubrɛ́θa ʾáti?ˈ ʾo-plàša,ˈ ʾáwwa də́mma mattùle,ˈ ʾo-spayúθa ʮ-in-ʾána wiðə̀lle.ˈ mára ʾáwwa lɛ̀le kálba,ˈ ʾàtit kálba.ˈ ʾáyya mára ṭla-màlka.ˈ (21) ʾa-pálla t-wawa-rəš-qalùnkaˈ wíðtəlla hátxa ṣlìθɛla,ˈ ʾɛ̀-gaˈ b-á-dukθa xóθa ʾíθwa barə̃̀d.ˈ lwìxɛle Dəmdə́maˈ ʾu-pqìtɛla,ˈ kúlla náše qṭìltəlla.ˈ

(18) When the son of the king had read the letter, he said 'Good!' They went up and dug and cut off the water from the water spring of Dəmdəma. The people were without water. Without water they could not live. Then they made a request from the Lord God, they all knelt and made a request, and (as a consequence) rain fell. They kept the water in tanks and the like, until their water ran out again. (19) Finally, they surrendered it and the king entered Dəmdəma. He entered, but the mother of Xano the Golden Hand was sitting in the door of the palace, with a pipe from here to there, with a burning coal in its bowl. (20) He said 'What dog have you given birth to? The war, he sheds this blood, after the goodness that I did to him'. She said 'He is not a dog. *You* are a dog'. She said this to the king. (21) She moved the burning coal that was in the pipe like this and it fell. At that time there was gunpowder underneath that place. Dəmdəma burst into flames. She blew up and killed all the people.

A12 The King with Forty Sons

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-màlka| ʾíθwale ʾárbi bnòne.| brőn-diye ʾo-zòra| ʾítwale ʾarbì šánne.| zílle ṭla-babe-dìye| máre ʾàna| ʾúmrile ʾarbì šánne.| ʾína ʾánna xonăwàθi,| ʾarbì xonăwáθi,| kúššət magúrət xà,| páyəš ʾúmri tmàni šánne.| ʾána bă̋yən gàwrən.| máre b-álaha bróni dū̃s-it.| díya ʾána ṯ-àzən| xàzən| máčxən ʾarbí baxtàθa| kúllexu magurə́nnexu b-ġðàðe.| (2) qyàmɛle| mbaqòrɛle,| zála mára ʾiθ-xa-nàša| ʾítle ʾárbi bnàθa.| zálɛle l-xa-ʾáθṛa xèna| ʾu-xzáyəlle ʾo-náša tfáqa bi-dìye.| mára ma-yxàləf,| t-yánna ʾárbi bnàθi| ṭla-ʾárbi bnònux,| ʾína ʾíman ṯ-aθítu láxxa ṭalòbe,| lá damxítu lá gu-kàrma,| ʾu-lá gu-màrga| ʾu-lá gu-qàṣra.| ʾən-ʾánna mtămə̀tla,| ʾána t-yànna-llux.| (3) brőn-diye ʾo-zóra šámme díye Barzə̀kko.| máre bróni Barzə̀kko| ʾáti ṯ-àwət| qáʾəd d-áyya hánna ṯ-azìtu,| ʾína hóle mìra| bába d-ánna bnàθa| lá damxítu lá gu-màrga,| ʾu-lá gu-kàrma| ʾu-lá gu-qàṣra.| máre ma-yxàləf bábi.| (4) qyámɛla zàla,| zála mṭàyɛla,| yóma gnàyɛle,| dmáxɛla gu-xa-màrga,| dawàrela,| məndiyànela,| ʾu-ʾíθə ʾénət mìya táma.| mára bíš m-áyya dúkθa ʾèka xázəx?| ʾáxni dámxəx làxxa.| kúlla dmàxɛla.| ʾo-yála pyášɛle naṭòra d-áni,| ḥàrəs.| (5) xa-béna ʾo-xzàyɛle,| ʾína xzáyɛle xa-nàša,| xáʾa lwíša kòma,| súse kòma,| rúmxe múttəlla bē̃n-nā̆θ sùsta| ʾap-áy kùmta.| θáyɛle xðárɛle ç̆ənnəḵérə d-an-nàše.| mṭáya l-d-àw| máre Barzə̀kko| ʾáti pálṭət gu-d-ànna,| ʾánna kúlla díya ṯ-oðánna qàlya,| yáʿni qaṭlə̀nna.| ʾè,| xáṭər ʾalàha,| lá-ʾoðət ʾo-šùla,| ʾáxxa l-tàmma.| ʾánna har-xonăwàθi,| nàšile.| máre márənnux plúṭ m-àxxa,| gu-d-ànna.| ʾìna| kùlla b-qaṭlánna.| ʾáti lítlux šúla mən-d-ànna.| (6) ʾáw ráqa zála l-ṭùra,| ráqa sáqa báθre dìye.| ʾawwa-náša wárɛle gu-xa-gə̀ppa.| ʾítle xonăwáθa táma ʾu-yə̀mma.| máre rzúgu ṣàlax.| hambišàyela.| ʾíθwa ṭláθi hambišáye gu-xa-gə̀ppa.| mára rzúgu ṣàlax.| hóla gu-màrga,| hóla dárye náše tàma.| ṣàlax,| qaṭlə̀xla,| ʾaxlə̀xla.| ṭla-ðà-šeta maḷílən.| (7) Barzə́kko módi wìdle?| hóle kálya l-tă̆rət gə̀ppa.| ʾánna plàṭela.| kúṯ-ile plàṭa| xa-sépa gu-káse qámət gə̀ppa.| yámma d-an-hambišàye| márɛla ṭla-brőn d-o-zòra| bròni,| ʾáp-ʾana mɛθə́tli xá . . . ʾáṭmət súsa ṯ-àxlən.| bálki ʾánna xonăwáθux là mɛθíli.| plàṭɛle,| ʾáp-ʾaw qṭàlə̀lle.| wárɛle Barzə́kko ṭáləb d-ày,| yə́mmət hambišàye.| máre ʾàna| mɛθə́nnəx ʾáṭməd xzùra.| ʾáp-ʾay qṭàlə̀lla.|

A12 The King with Forty Sons

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena (Dure)

(1) There was a king who had forty sons. His youngest son was forty years old. He went to his father and said 'I am forty years old. If each year you marry off one of these forty brothers of mine, I'll be eighty years old (before I marry). I want to marry'. He said 'By God, my son, you are right. I shall go now to see whether I can find forty women so that I can marry you all off together'. (2) He set off and made inquiries. People said that there was a man with forty daughters. He went to another country, found that man and met him. He said 'Fine (I agree). I shall give my forty daughters to your forty sons, but when you come here to seek their hands in marriage, you must not sleep in an orchard, in a meadow or in a palace. If you fulfil these (conditions), I shall give them to you'. (3) His youngest son was called Barzəkko. He said 'My son Barzəkko, you will be the leader of this thing. Go on your way, but the father of these girls has said that you must not sleep in a meadow, in an orchard or in a palace'. He said 'Fine, father'. (4) They set off and, when the sun was setting, they came to rest in a meadow, in which there were mules and the like, and there was a spring of water. They said 'Where could we find a better place than this? We shall sleep here'. They all slept. That young man became their guard. (5) Suddenly he saw a man, somebody dressed in black, his horse black, with his spear, which he had put between the ears of the mare and was also black. He came and rode around those people. He came up to him and said 'Barzəkko, you should leave them, I am now going to make them all fried meat, that is I shall kill them'. 'Oh, for God's sake, don't do that' and so forth. 'They are my brothers, my relatives'. He said 'I am telling you, leave this place, (leave) them. I shall kill them all. You have no business with them'. (6) He ran off to the mountain and he ran up after him. The man went into a cave. He had brothers there and a mother. He said 'Get ready, we are going down'. They were giants. There were thirty giants in a cave. He said 'Get ready, we are going down. Some people have set up camp in the meadow. Let's go down, kill them and eat them. They are enough for us for one year'. (7) What did Barzəkko do? He was standing at the entrance of the cave. As they went out, he (lunged) a sword into the belly of each one who went outside the cave. The mother of the giants said to the youngest son 'My son, bring me also a thigh of a horse for me to eat. Perhaps those brothers of yours will not bring it'. As he went out, he killed also him. Barzəkko went in attacking her, the mother of the giants. He said 'I shall bring you the thigh of a pig'. He killed also her.

(8) ʾo-ṣlàyɛle.ˈ ʾítwale xulàma.ˈ súse díye mtaslóməlle ṭla-xulàma.ˈ wára gu-čádre dìye,ˈ dmáxa hal-mbàdla.ˈ mbàdla,ˈ qyàmɛla,ˈ kúlla bə̌yi ṯ-àzi,ˈ ʾáwwɛle dmìxa Barzə́kko.ˈ mára də-mărəšúle Barzə̀kko!ˈ hal-ʾíma dàməx?ˈ măróšəlle m-tàmaˈ b-yòma,ˈ qyáma zàla.ˈ (9) zála, zàla,ˈ mṭáya,ˈ mṭáya kàrma.ˈ xa-kàrmɛleˈ rába gòṛa.ˈ ʾənwe ʾíθ gáwe,ˈ ʾɛnáθə mìya,ˈ məndiyàne,ˈ kùll-xa mándi.ˈ mṭáyɛle xa-náša xèna.ˈ ʾánna kúlla dmàxɛla.ˈ Barzə́kko pyáša ḥàrəs-ile.ˈ ʾəθyɛle xá-naša xèna,ˈ lwíša lwíšta smòqta,ˈ súsa smòqa,ˈ rúmxa smòqta.ˈ b-léle rúmxe díye hóla mxáya kizə̀kke,ˈ ma-ṯ-íle ʾo-náša rába xɛlàna.ˈ (10) plúṭ m-d-ànnaˈ ʾáti šə́mmux zìlɛle.ˈ pìšɛleˈ kízle mparpóle bìye:ˈ nàša,ˈ ʾánna xonăwàθila,ˈ ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˈ mára màrənnuxˈ ʾáti grùš gánuxˈ ʾánna dìyaˈ kúlla parqə̀nna.ˈ mára ʾáp-ʾaw hóle plìša.ˈ ʾáw-w ʾó-naša plàša,ˈ plàša,ˈ plàšaˈ hál gu-mbadlàθa.ˈ gu-mbadláθa mxéθət yóma ʾó-naša tlìqɛle.ˈ rxìšɛleˈ ʾo-Barzə́kko zíla dmìxa.ˈ (11) dart-yóma qímela zìleˈ ʾáp-ʾaw qúnəx ṭláθa mátye l-qàṣra.ˈ mátyela l-qàṣra,ˈ mára b-álaha mìrɛle xəmyáni lá damxítu láxxa tămáha.ˈ ʾánna xonăwáθe ʾo-gòṛaˈ ʾáwwa kàze, Barzə́kkoˈ yába là dámxəx gu-d-áwwa qáṣra.ˈ dámxəx l-wə̆dər.ˈ xəmyáni hàtxɛle míra.ˈ (12) mára gu-márga-w kérma mù xzélux ta-t-xázət láxxa?ˈ ʾáxni làxxa dámxəx.ˈ mára mà-yxaləf ˈ dmúxu!ˈ dmíxela tàma.ˈ ʾánna kúlla dmìxelaˈ ʾáwwa qíma hàrəs-ile.ˈ gu-mbádla ʾəθyɛle xàˈ xá, xá-susa xwàra,ˈ rúmxe xwèrta,ˈ kúlla lwíšte xwèrta.ˈ ʾəθya màreˈ Barzə́kko ʾáti šə̀mmuxˈ šə́myəx b-šămáθə šə̀mmux.ˈ plúṭ mən-d-áwwa qàṣra,ˈ ʾáwwa ṯ-oðənne čòl.ˈ (13) kízle ʾáxxa-w tàmma,ˈ mparpóle bìye,ˈ ʾáwwa là.ˈ mxáyɛle rúmxe ʾálle dìye.ˈ mára mu-mxélux gu-xàṣi?ˈ mára čù-məndi,ˈ tabzìya qítle gu-xáṣux.ˈ mxáya sépa gu-rèše,ˈ čù-məndi.ˈ káze b-čù-ʾurxa léle mṣáya bíye.ˈ (14) xárθa mára xzí ṯ-amrə̀nnux.ˈ ṭlúb măṭáləb dìyux.ˈ módi bə̆yətˈ ʾána ṯ-oðə̀nnux.ˈ ʾàxčiˈ šoqàtlənˈ ʾàxniˈ ṯ-ázəx ʾay-wajəbúθa mkamlə̀xla.ˈ mára măṭáləb dìyiˈ ṯ-ázət mɛθótli Čəlkə́ze Bə́dal Sahàre.ˈ méθətla ṯ-óya báxta ṭlàli,ˈ šoqə̀nnuxˈ ṯ-azìtu.ˈ ʾəllaˈ gə́rəg mqàwlətˈ ʾən-làˈ kùllɛxu qaṭlənnéxu.ˈ

(8) He went down. He had a servant. He handed over his horse to the servant. He entered his tent and slept until morning. In the morning they got up and all wanted to go, but Barzəkko was sleeping. They said 'Wake up Barzəkko! For how long will he sleep?' They woke him at day break and went on their way. (9) They went a long way and arrived at an orchard. It was a large orchard. There were grapes in it, springs of water, and the like, everything. Another man arrived. They all went to sleep. Barzəkko became the guard. Another man came, dressed in red clothing, with a red horse, a red spear. In the night his spear was giving off sparks, so powerful was that man. (10) 'Go away from these people. You are famous[1] (so I shall not kill you)'. He tried to dissuade him by begging him 'Man, these are my brothers' and so forth. 'I'm telling you, you take yourself away. I shall finish off all of these people here'. Now, he fought also him. He and that man fought. They continued fighting until dawn. At dawn, the break of day, the man disappeared. Barzəkko went and slept. (11) The next day they set off and on the third day's stage (of the journey) they arrived at the palace. They arrived at the palace and he said 'By God, my father-in-law said do not sleep here and also there (in the orchard and meadow). His brothers—the elder one—Barzəkko tried (to persuade them saying) 'Let's not sleep in this palace. Let's sleep outside. My father-in-law said such-and-such'. (12) They said 'What have you seen in the meadow and the orchard that (you fear) to see here? We shall sleep here'. He said 'Fine. Sleep!' They slept there. While they all slept, he stood guard. In the morning a man came, with a white horse, a white spear and all his clothes were white. He came and said 'Barzəkko, we have heard the news about your reputation. Go out of this palace. I am going to make it a desert.' (13) He tried to dissuade him by begging him, and so forth, but he did not (agree). He (Barzəkko) struck him with his sword and he (the other) said 'What have you struck on my back?' He (Barzəkko) said 'Nothing, a rosary has hit your back'. He struck his head with a sword and nothing (happened). He tried but he could not prevail against him in any way. (14) Then he said 'Look, I'll tell you something. Make your demands. I'll do for you whatever you want. Just let us go to complete this task'. He said 'My demand is that you go and bring back Čəlkăze Bădal Sahare. Bring her back for her to be my wife, then I shall release you and you can all go. But you have to promise, otherwise I shall kill all of you'.

[1] Literally: You name has gone (into the world).

(15) máre wadùθa,ˈ šúqlən ṯ-ázəx ṯ-àθəx láxxa,ˈ m-gu-d-àwwa qáṣraˈ ʾána l-béθa làʾazən,ˈ mɛθánna Čəlkǎ́ze Bǎ́dal Sahàr-əllux.ˈ xa-bráta šə̂mmaˈ Čəlkǎ́ze,ˈ ʾárbi ṣoṣiyàθa,ˈ kùrdəθ-ila.ˈ ʾu-Bǎ́dal Sahàre,ˈ yaʿni káxwət gu-mbadlàθa.ˈ šə́mma d-è-brata,ˈ ma-ṯ-íla šapìrta.ˈ

(16) zálɛle kəs-d-o-xəmyáne dìye.ˈ ʾamàrreˈ šŭrūṭ-díyi mkumlìlux.ʔˈ mkumlìlɛxu.ʔˈ máre hè!ˈ máre làˈ lètun mkúmləlla.ˈ máre hótu dmíxe gu-màrga.ˈ ʾu-mòditu xázye.ʔˈ ʾà,ˈ paxàlta.ˈ ʾán naθyáθə d-àn hambišáyeˈ nàšyənna.ˈ prìməlla-wˈ dáryəlla gu-xúrje dìye.ˈ máre dmíxetu gu-kàrmaˈ mòditu xázye.ʔˈ (17) xóna ʾo-góṛa máre čú-məndi lax-xàzye.ˈ w-an-xonăwáθa xéne mára čú-məndi lax-xàzye.ˈ máre bas-lè-y-yənna bnáθi-llɛxu.ˈ ʾo-xóna zóra ʾə́θyɛle máre hè,ˈ dŭ̂s-it.ˈ ʾə́θyəx dáryəx gu-màrga.ˈ (18) ʾə́θyɛle xá-naša ṭàlbən.ˈ zílən mpurə̀pla bíyeˈ lèle wíya.ˈ ríqa síqa l-ṭùra.ˈ síqən bàθre.ˈ gu-xa-gə́ppa hambišàye-wawa.ˈ plìṭela.ˈ kúṯ-ile plìṭaˈ qṭìlənə̀lle.ˈ ha-t-yəmmə́y wírən ṭàlbaˈ qṭìlənna,ˈ ʾánna naθyaθèy.ˈ mrúpyəlla qáme dìye.ˈ (19) máre dŭ̂s-it.ˈ ʾáyya ðà.ˈ yómə tré ʾèkɛtu dmíxe.ʔˈ máre dmíxəx gu-kàrma.ˈ máre ṭla-d-an-xonăwáθe dìyeˈ mòditu xázye.ʔˈ mára čù-məndi lax-xàzye.ˈ ʾáwwa máre dáx xàzyəx!ˈ máre ʾə́θyɛle xa-nàša ˈ xa-súsa smòqa,ˈ kúlle lwíša smòqa,ˈ wíyəx pláša m-ʾaṣárta hal-gu-mbadlàθa.ˈ lan-máṣya bíye dìye.ˈ gu-mbàdlaˈ ríqa zìlɛle.ˈ mxéθət šə́mša tlìqɛle.ˈ (20) máre ʾáp-ʾay dŭ̂s-it.ˈ máre gu-qàṣra móditu xàzye.ʔˈ máre gu-qáṣra ʾə́θyɛle xà,ˈ dewə̀rriš-ile,ˈ làn-ðaʾa mo-qaríwale,ˈ dewə̀rriš.ˈ màraˈ kízən mpurə́plən bíye ta-šawə̀qlən,ˈ lèle zíla.ˈ mára maxánwale sépa gu-xàṣe.ˈ yáha máre mù-mxelux gu-xáṣi.ˈ tabzìya qítla bíyux.ˈ maxánwale rúmxi ʾə́lle dìyeˈ mù-qítle bíyi.ʔˈ kút-dana xa-hajə̀tta.ˈ (21) mára b-əlʾaxȉrˈ múrri mằṭáləb díyux mòdila.ˈ ʾána ṯ-oðə̀nna-llux.ˈ máre mằṭáləb díyi máre ʾázət mɛθátla Čəlkǎ́ze Bǎ́dal Sahàre.ˈ hóla p-ápe šawwà yamáθa.ˈ mɛθə̀tta-lli,ˈ šoqánnux ṯ-àzət.ˈ ʾən-là,ˈ là-šoqən ṯ-azítu.ˈ (22) máre dŭ̂s-it.ˈ qímɛle híwəlla bnáθe dìyeˈ ṭla-d-an-nàše,ˈ bəd-xáṭər d-ó-xona zòra.ˈ zílɛle mátyɛle l-kérma ʾu-məndiyàneˈ ʾu-l-qàṣra.ˈ ʾo-qáṣra ʾo-náša hàdəx-ile wíðəlle,ˈ ʾəṣrà-gaye béna qamáya.ˈ xa-qúnəx wíðəlle tàza,ˈ kanàpe-wˈ xalìye-wˈ mɛxòlta,ˈ kùl-xa mə́ndi.ˈ

(15) He said 'I promise. Let us come and go here. I shall not go home from this palace, but shall bring for you Čəlkăze Bădal Sahare, a girl called Čəlkăze, forty tresses. It is Kurdish. As for Bădal Sahare, this means the star of dawn. This was the name of that girl, so beautiful was she.

(16) He went to his father-in-law and he said to him 'Have you fulfilled my conditions? Have you all fulfilled them?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'No. You have not fulfilled them'. He said 'You slept in the meadow. And what did you see?'—Sorry, I have forgotten about the ears of the giants. He cut them off and put them in his saddle-bag.—He said 'You slept in the orchard. What did you see?' (17) The eldest son said 'We saw nothing?' The other brothers said 'We saw nothing'. He said 'I shall not give my daughters to you.' The youngest brother came and said 'Yes, you are right. We came and laid down (our loads) in the meadow. (18) Then a man came towards us. I went to expostulate with him, but that did not work. He ran up the mountain and I went up after him. There were giants in a cave. They came out. I killed every one that came out. I entered attacking even their mother and killed her. These are their ears'. He threw them in front of him. (19) He said 'You are right. That is one thing. Where did you sleep on the second day?' He said 'We slept in the orchard'. He said to those brothers of his 'What did you see?' They said 'We did not see anything'. He (the youngest brother) said 'What do you mean, we did see (something)!' He said 'A man came, on a red horse, all dressed in red. We fought from evening until morning. I could not prevail against him. In the morning he ran away. At day-break he disappeared'. (20) He said 'You are right about also that'. He said 'What did you see in the palace?' He said 'In the palace a man came. He was a vagabond, I do not know what they call him, a vagabond'. He said 'I tried to persuade him to leave us, but he did not go'. He said 'I struck a sword on his back and he said "What did you strike on my back", (Barzəkko said) "A rosary has hit you". I struck my spear into him (and he said) "What has hit me?" Every time (I gave him) an excuse'. (21) He said 'In the end I said "What are your demands? I shall fulfil them for you". He said "My demand is that you should go and bring back Čəlkăze Bădal Sahare. She is beyond seven seas. If you bring her here, I shall let you go. If not, I shall not let you go"' (22) He said 'You are right.' He gave his daughters to those people for the sake of that young brother. He went to the orchard etc, and the palace. That man had made the palace ten times (bigger than) before. He made a beautiful guesthouse, with armchairs, carpets, food, everything.

(23) ʾó-xona zóra ʾámər ṭla-xonăwáθa d-an-xène| ʾáyya báxti nàblula| mənnèxu.| ʾána m-axxa-húdxa lè-y-azən.| ʾítli šùla.| ʾáni zìlela.| máṯye l-bɛθày| wíðela xlùla.| ʾu-čídla nàše,| dùnye qəm-čɛdíla.| wídla xa-ḥàfla,| xa-xlùla| ràba xɛlána.|

(24) ʾo-xóna zóra lìθ.| xóna zóra píšle gu-qàṣra,| kəs-d-o-nàša.| mára háyyo mùrri| ʾay-mòdi,| ʾáyya Čəlkắze Bắdal Saháre mòdila-w| ʾèkɛla.| mára ʾàyya| ṯ-àzət| máṭət l-yáma qamèθa,| ða-yàma.| ʾáy hóla p-ápe šawwà yamáθa.| ʾítla šawwà xonăwáθa.| ʾítla xa-qáṣra pàtəl.| kút yaṣílət qàṣra| ʾíθ ða-yàwna gáwe díye,| yàwna.| (25) màra| ʾánna šáwwa yamáθa pɛðətla,| máṭət l-ò-qaṣra.| ʾo-qáṣra hóle pθàla,| qášta-w gèra| kut-yáwna maxətla.| máxətla yàwna,| ʾaw-yaṣíla xéna xaðər-əllux.| mára há-t ʾánna šáwwa yawnáθa qaṭlətla,| mára qáṣra kàle.| b-kàle,| xárθa ʾàsqət,| ʾən-màṣət.| (26) ʾítla šawwà xonăwáθa.| ʾən-máṣət šaqlátla Čəlkắze,| mɛθátla làxxa| ʾu-ʾáti sàxi,| xēr-ʿala-xḕr.| ʾu-ʾən-là máṣət,| ʾáni qaṭlìlux.| zḕn| mère| ʾánna šáwwa yamàθa| ʾana mù pɛðánna?| lítli ṭayyàra,| hɛlikòptər| dax-ṯ-íla dìya.| mára hà| ʾáp-ʾay dŭs-it.| (27) mára ṯ-àzət| l-yáma qamèθa,| ʾàzət,| ʾíθgena xa-ṭùra.| trè ṭuránela,| wàdila| bēl-túra l-ṭùra.| ṣálət xázət xa-képa l-márzət yàma.| dérət ʾíðux xo-d-ò-kepa,| b-xázət xá ləxxàwət súsa,| mattíle gu-púmmət sùsa,| lìθ.| mára zadátle hátxa gu-yàma.| pálṭa sústət yamàθa.| ʾay-pàrxa.| (28) màra| ʾaw-ləxxáwa ṯ-áθe púmma dìya.| ṯ-áttət xáṣa dìya.| mára maqðánnux gu-šə́mšət šmàyya.| ʾáti ʾámrət ṣálən xo-kàsəx.| mára maṣályannux šáttət yamàθa,| ʾáti ʾámrət ṯ-áttən xàṣəx.| (29) mára hát ʾóða wadúθa l-ʾiθàθux,| wadúθa ṭḷá gàye.| mára ʾà-dana| ʾáyya nablàlux,| mapərxálux šawwà yamáθa,| máṭət l-d-o-qàṣra.| máṭət l-d-ò-qaṣra,| háwət hášyər ʾína ʾáyya sústa là marpátla.| mára ʾína mò ṯ-óðen bíya?| mára ʾasṛ̀tla xa-dúkθa,| t-la-šarṭa-w ʾàza.| mára ma-yxàləf.|

(30) ʾáp-ʾaw qyàmɛle| táwa xáṣət súse dìye-w| ṣlàya.| ṣlàya,| ṣlàya| ʾax-ṯ-íle pqìðəlle.| ʾáwwa t-wéwa ṣláya l-márzət xa-yàma,| ʾax-ṯ-íle pqìðəlle.| xzéle xa-képa rába gòṛa.| ʾáwəð ʾíðe xo-d-ò képa,| ʾína xa-ləxxáwət sùsta.| daréle gu-yáma hàšyər.| ʾá sustə-yamáθa plìṭṭɛla.| tíwɛle xáṣə dìya.|

(23) The young brother said to the other brothers 'Take this wife of mine with you. I shall not go beyond here. I have a job'. They went off and arrived at their home. They held a wedding. They invited people, they invited many people. They held a party, a huge wedding.

(24) The youngest brother was not there. The youngest brother remained in the palace with that man. He said 'Come, tell me, who[2] this Čəlkăze Bădal Sahare is and where she is'. He said 'Go to the first sea, one sea. She lies beyond seven seas. She has seven brothers. She has a palace that spins round. On every corner of the palace there is a dove'. (25) He said 'You should cross those seven seas and reach that palace. As the palace spins round, hit each dove with a bow and arrow. Hit a dove and another corner will turn round towards you'. He said 'Until when you have killed the seven doves, the palace will stop. It will stop and then you should go up, if you can. (26) She has seven brothers. If you can take Čəlkăze and bring her here while remaining unharmed, good for you! If you cannot, they will kill you'. 'Well', he said 'how can I cross these seven seas?' I have no aeroplane or helicopter', as they (would be called) now. He said 'You are right in this also'. (27) He said 'Go to the first sea, go and (you will find that) there is a mountain. There are two mountains, with a valley between one mountain and the other. Go down and you will find a stone on the shore of the sea. Put your hand under that stone and you will find a bit of a horse, which they put in the mouth of a horse, don't they?' He said 'Throw it like this into the sea. The mare of the seas will come out. She can fly'. (28) He said 'This bit should be put on her mouth. Sit on her back. If she says "I shall burn you in the sun of the sky", you say "I shall go down under your belly". If she says "I shall take you down to the bottom of the seas", you say "I shall sit on your back"'. (29) He said '(Do this) until she makes a promise in your presence, a promise three times, then she will take you, she will fly you over the seven seas and you will reach that palace. When you arrive at that palace, be careful not to let that horse go'. He said 'But what should I do with her?' He said 'Tether her somewhere, so that she does not escape and go away'. He said 'Fine'.

(30) He sat on his horse and went down. He went down a long way, as he had instructed him. He went down to the shore of the sea, as he had instructed him. He saw a very large stone. He put his hand under the stone and found the bit of a mare. He put it in the sea carefully and the mare of the seas came out. He sat on her back.

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[2] Literally: what.

(31) mára maqðánnux qam-šmàyya,ˈ m-núrə šmàyya,ˈ šə̂mša.ˈ máre ṣálən xo-kàsəx.ˈ mára maṣlánnux gu-ʾúmqət yamàθaˈ máre ṯ̂-áttən xàṣəx.ˈ de-hádəx dèˈ ha-ṯ̂-íla wíðta tóba l-iθáθe dìye.ˈ (32) mára mòdi bə̆yət?ˈ máre nábəlli l-qáṣrət Čəlkə̆ze Bə̆dal Sahàre.ˈ mára prìxtɛla,ˈ nubáltəlle l-d-è-dukθa.ˈ xzíθəlle xa-qàṣraˈ ʾína pθàla,ˈ ʾax-t-wéwa mìra.ˈ šawwà yaṣíle bíye díye.ˈ kut-yaṣìlaˈ ða-yáwna tàma.ˈ ʾáwwa-ži ʾíθwale qášta-w géra d-è-ga,ˈ lìθ?ˈ dáryəlla xá čárək ʾu-màxyəlla.ˈ ʾap-ʾa-xéta θìθa.ˈ qáṣra kàlya.ˈ (33) ʾáyya Čəlkə̆ze Bə̆dal Sahàreˈ yə̆ðàwaˈ ʾáwwa hóle θàya.ˈ xonə̆wáθa díya mšudártəlla l-túra l-ṣèda,ˈ xúšu wúðu ṣèda.ˈ sab-ʾáp-ʾay bə̆ya t-goràwa,ˈ žàre.ˈ ʾáwwa síqa ṭálba dìyaˈ mára jálde jàlde,ˈ xonə̆wáθi t-la-maṭìlux.ˈ ʾáp-ʾay θíθɛla mànneˈ ʾèka?ˈ ʾína súste díye hàzərˈ t-yamàθa.ˈ tíwa xāṣ-sùsta,ˈ ʾu-ʾáy múttəlla báθre dìyeˈ ʾu-réša-reša yamàθa.ˈ (34) xéna màraˈ kèpe mára ṭla-xonə̆wáθa núbləlla Čəlkə̆ze.ˈ ʾilàne mára núbləlla Čəlkə̆ze,ˈ ṭla-xonə̆wáθa dìya.ˈ ʾáni rìqe,ˈ ʾáθye l-bèθa,ˈ xázye ʾína qáṣra sapìqa.ˈ mátti bála gu-yàma,ˈ ʾìnaˈ ʾa-sústət yamàθaˈ nabòlləllaˈ Čəlkə̆ze.ˈ mára si-nublàlux.ˈ háwya halə̀l ṭlálux.ˈ b-xélət gànux nublálux.ˈ (35) ʾəθyela hìwəllaˈ ʾáy mára lèkət nabóləlli?ˈ máre ʾána làn ṭláli nabóllələx.ˈ nabóləlləx ṭla-d-áwwa dewə̀rrəš.ˈ mára ḥărə̆m-ile gáwṛa ʾəlliˈ šúq mən-dìyux.ˈ mára ḥarə̆m-ile gáwṛa ṭlàliˈ šúq mən-dìyux.ˈ máre xéna hàtxɛla qáṣṣət.ˈ mára ʾáti nàbəlli táma.ˈ ʾána ṯ̂-óðən xa-xə̀ṭṭa.ˈ xàzəxˈ qaṭlə̀xle ʾáwwa náša.ˈ mo-ṯ̂-òðəx?ˈ qaṭlə̀xle.ˈ (36) máre ʾána mjùrbən,ˈ kézən mxàya.ˈ mxéli rúmxa gu-rèše ˈ čú-məndi la-wìdla.ˈ mxéli sépa ʾəlle,ˈ čú-məndi la-wìdla.ˈ mára šùqle-ʾəlli.ˈ ʾàna mtagəbránne.ˈ zála nabòle,ˈ zílla mṭèlaˈ l-qàṣra.ˈ ʾo-dewə́rrəš plíṭɛle l-ṣèda.ˈ ʾəθyɛle,ˈ ða-ʾilànaˈ hóla rš́-rúše dìyeˈ mlíθɛla mən-rə́jbət ʾə̆ra,ˈ dèwela,ˈ tèlela,ˈ harnùwela.ˈ har-qṭíla dárya múθya l-bèθa.ˈ (37) xa-ʿafr̃ṯ-wewa.ˈ xðèle bíya díya,ˈ qəm-dawə́qle qádra dìyaˈ xá-mdit ʾajəbùθa.ˈ píšla trè-yome táma.ˈ ʾáw-w bàxta,ˈ Čəlkə̀zeˈ ʾo-yàla,ˈ wídla xàbra-xaˈ mára là-ʾazətˈ šoqátli yàla.ˈ mára ʾána xázyən ʾáwwa xéle díye ʾèkɛle.ˈ dàxi máṣəx bíye díye,ˈ ta-t-pàrqəx mánne díye.ˈ ʾu-ʾána ṯ̂-àθyən mánnux.ˈ

(31) She said 'I shall burn you in the sun, from the fire of the sky, the sun'. He said 'I shall go down under your belly'. She said 'I shall take you down into the depth of the seas'. He said 'I shall sit on your back'. He continued like this, until she submitted to him. (32) She said 'What do you want?' He said 'Take me to the palace of Čəlkăze Bădal Sahare'. So, she flew and took him to that place. She saw a palace and it was spinning, as he had said. There were seven corners on it. On each corner there was a dove. He had a bow and arrow (typical) of that time, is that not so? He shot one, twang, and hit it. Another one came round. The palace stopped. (33) This Čəlkăze Bădal Sahare knew that he was coming. She had sent her brothers to the mountain hunting 'Go off hunting!', since she also wanted to marry, poor soul. He went up towards her and she said 'Quickly, quickly, so that my brothers do not catch you'. She came with him. 'Where to?' His mare of the seas was ready. He sat on the back of the mare, put her behind him and (they went) across the seas. (34) Now, the stones told her brothers that he had take Čəlkăze. The trees said to her brothers that he had taken Čəlkăze. They ran home and found that the palace was empty. They looked at the sea and saw the mare of the seas taking away Čəlkăze. They said 'Go, you have taken her. Let her be permitted to you. You have taken her with your own force'. (35) They went back and conceded her.[3] She said 'Where are you taking me?' He said 'I am not taking you for myself. I am taking you for this vagabond'. She said 'Any man is forbidden to me except you'. She said 'Any man is forbidden to me except you'. He said 'Well, this is the story'. She said 'You take me there. I'll make a plan. Let's see if we can kill this man. What should we do? We shall kill him'. (36) He said 'I have tried. I have tried to strike him. I struck a spear on his head, but it did nothing. I lunged a sword into him, but that did nothing'. She said 'Leave him to me. I'll deal with him'. He took her on the way and they arrived at the palace. The vagabond had gone out to hunt. He came back with a tree on his shoulder, full of wildlife,[4] including wolves, foxes and rabbits. When he killed them, he put them (on the tree) and brought them home. (37) He was a demon. He was happy to receive them. He showed them extraordinary respect. They remained two days there. He and the woman, that is Čəlkăze and the young man, made an agreement. She said 'Don't go and leave me, young man'. She said 'I shall find out where his strength is, and how we can prevail over him so that we can finish him off, then I shall come with you'.

[3] Literally: gave her.
[4] Literally: reptiles of the earth.

(38) de-píšla ʾáp-ʾay báxtə d-àwwa dewàrrəš.ˈ kút-yum ʾáθya xa-hàjətta daryáwa bíye díyeˈ ʾáti xélux ʾèkɛle?ˌ róxux ʾèkɛla-w?ˌ ʾu-dáx-it xyàʾa?ˌ mìðən mó,ˈ bàxtɛla dé!ˌ dè,ˈ dè,ˈ xàrθaˈ kút-yum y-amàrwaˈ xà-yoma.ˈ (39) xá-yoma màreˈ xéli hóla gu-d-áyya kanòšta.ˈ qəm-šaqlàla kanóšta,ˈ daryála gu-nùra.ˈ čú-məndi lìθ.ˈ ʾay-móra làˈ gxìklux bíyi.ˈ lèle xélux gu-d-áy kanóšta.ˈ dárt-yoma θèleˈ móre ʾána xéli hóle gu-xa-qésa xèna.ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw dárt-yoma ʾaw-qésa šqìlla,ˈ muqìdla,ˈ čù-məndi.ˈ (40) móra xzí ṯ-amràννux.ˈ ʾáti hot-gkàxa bíyi.ˈ lítlux θóqa bìyi.ˈ ʾána bàxtux-iwən.ˈ ʾən-lá galətliˈ róxux gu-mòdilaˈ ʾu-dáx-it xyàʾa,ˈ ʾána xà-yoma káslux la-pɛ́šən.ˈ móre xzá ṯ-amràννəx.ˈ róxi hóla gu-táwrət wàla.ˈ gu-ṣádre dìyeˈ ʾíθ ðá qoṯíya.ˈ gu-d-ó qoṯíya ʾíla xa-ṣàpra,ˈ (41) móre ʾá-ṣəpra ʾíla ròxi,ˈ ʾən-lá qaṭlíle ʾo-táwrət wàla,ˈ šaqlíle ʾo-ṣàpra.ˈ kút-dana ʾa-ṣápra mìtle,ˈ ʾé-ga ʾana-mèθən.ˈ móre ʾó tawrət-wála-ži là máyəθ,ˈ ʾálla gríša ṭlá gérət qášta-w gèra,ˈ mən-sadánəd Màṣr.ˈ ṭlá gére gríše mən-d-àw,ˈ b-d-áw yálla màyəθ.ˈ (42) ʾáwwa zìlɛle.ˈ ʾáθyɛle ʾo-yálət băyàwale.ˈ móre ʾáh qáṣṣət mòdila.ˈ móra b-álaha hăl-u qáṣṣət hàtxɛla.ˈ móra ʾáwwa sadánət Máṣr-ži lá pằqe.ˈ móre ʾàna păqánne.ˈ móra dàxi?ˈ pθíltəlle xá mən-káwsa dìya,ˈ móra ʾázət ṭlà yománeˈ ha-t-dóqət šárṭ mən-d-òˈ náša.ˈ (43) múrre ʾána pálxən rəš-d-ò sadánaˈ hat-pằqe.ˈ ʾən-pằqe,ˈ gáršətli ṭlá-gere-w qàšta mánne díye.ˈ ʾən-là mpŭqéli,ˈ ʾána pálxən b-réše díye bălà̀š.ˈ móra kút-yum pálxət b-réše mbádla hal-ʾaṣàrta.ˈ ʾáwwa báska patlátle hàtxa.ˈ lítlux šùla,ˈ ʾázət dàmxət.ˈ (44) ʾáwwa-ži zìlaˈ mbùqrɛle,ˈ tfiqɛle rəš-d-ó sadánə Màṣr.ˈ wíðɛle mqàwăla mánne díye.ˈ móre ʾána rəš-d-áwwa bălà̀š.ˈ ʾən-mpŭqèliˈ garšə́tli ṭla-gére mánne dìye.ˈ ʾu-ʾən-là mpŭqéli,ˈ ʾána pálxən b-réše bălà̀š.ˈ móre nàšaˈ zlámət gànuxˈ ʾáwwa mằni mpăqéle?ˈ móre b-álaha hàtxa.ˈ ʾən-păqànne,ˈ t-yátli ṭla-gère-w-qəšta.ˈ ʾən-là,ˈ čù-məndi.ˈ móre ma-yxàləf.ˈ plùx.ˈ (45) ʾáwwa-ži páləx kút-yum mbádla hal-ʾaṣàrta.ˈ ʾaṣárta ʾo-báska t-Čəlkà̀zeˈ maxèwa,ˈ šayə́pwale gu-d-ò sadána,ˈ ʾu-y-azə̀lwa.ˈ xà-yoma,ˈ yómə trè,ˈ yómə ṭlàθa,ˈ gu-mbadlàθa,ˈ gu-b-lèle,ˈ šmíya xa-pàmma!ˌ pqìle.ˈ ʾáwwa zìla,ˈ qíma mbádla zíla ʾína ʾo-pə̀qya.ˈ ʾé-ga ʾó-mara d-o-sadánə Máṣr qímɛle wíðɛle ṭla-gére mən-d-ó sadánə Màṣr.ˈ qímɛle díṛɛle zìla.ˈ

(38) Now, she became the wife of that vagabond. Every day she came with a pretext (to ask him) 'Where is your strength? Where is your spirit? How do you live?', I don't know what (else she asked), she is woman! Everyday he would say 'One day (I shall tell you)'. (39) One day he said 'My strength is in this broom'. She took the broom and put it in the fire, but nothing happened. She said 'No, you have mocked me'. Your strength is not in that broom'. The next day he came and said 'My strength is in another piece of wood. The next day she took that piece of wood and burnt it, but nothing (happened). (40) She said 'Look, I'll tell you. You are mocking me. You don't trust me. I am your wife. If you do not reveal to me in what your spirit lies and how you live, I shall not stay with you a single day longer'. He said 'Look, I'll tell you. My spirit is in a wild ox, in its chest there is a box. In that box there is a sparrow'. (41) He said 'That sparrow is my spirit. They must not kill that wild ox and take that sparrow. If ever that sparrow dies, then I shall die'. He said 'That wild ox, moreover, will not die, unless three arrows of a bow and arrow are produced from the anvil of Egypt. Three arrows produced from it—by this it will die'. (42) He went away and the young man whom she loved came. He said 'So, what is the story?' She said 'By God, the story is this'. She said 'This anvil of Egypt will not split'. He said 'I shall split it'. She said 'How?' She twisted off one of her hair locks and said 'Go for three days until you make an agreement with that man. (43) Say to him "I shall work over this anvil until it splits. If it splits, you will produce three arrows and bows from it. If I do not split it, I shall work over it for free". She said 'Every day work over it from morning until evening. Twist this lock of hair like this. Don't worry, go and sleep'. (44) He went off and made inquiries, and found that anvil of Egypt. He made a contract with him (the owner). He said 'I shall (work) over this for free. If I split it, you will produce for me three arrows from it. If I do not split it, I shall work over it for free'. He said 'Man, you are wronging yourself. Who can break it?' He said 'By God, it is so. If I split it, you will give me three arrows and a bow. If not, nothing'. He said 'Fine. Get to work!' (45) He worked every day every day, from morning until evening. In the evening he rubbed the lock of Čəlkăze on the anvil and went away. One day, the second day, the third day, in the morning, in the early morning, he heard a bang—it was split. He went (to look). He got up in the morning and went (to look) and saw that it was split. Then the owner of the anvil of Egypt made three arrows from that anvil of Egypt. He (Bazəkko) then returned.

(46) ʾó dewàrrəš b-yóma y-azáliwa l-ṭùra,ˈ b-lèle y-aθéwa.ˈ ʾáw b-yóma zíla kəs-d-a-Čəlkə̀ze.ˈ móre θéli hó ʾan-ṭḷá gerə-qəšta.ˈ móra xzì.ˈ ʾáwwa túra ʾíθgena ða-ʾénət míya tàma.ˈ ʾáwwa táwrət wàlaˈ yomíyya xá-bena ṣále š-d-ɛ-ʾénət mìyaˈ šáte mìya.ˈ ʾázət máttət xa-ṭaṭ̀ya.ˈ náblət xáčča qìra.ˈ (47) móra ʾáyya mattótla gu-mìya,ˈ ʾa-qìraˈ darátla b-rèša.ˈ ʾan-míya kàtpi.ˈ là-palṭi míya.ˈ dárət xáčča xàmra,ˈ xáčča bìš hódəx mənna-díya,ˈ xàmra.ˈ móra ʾáwwa táwra ṭ-áθe xáze míya lìθgena,ˈ mayèxle ríxə d-o-xámraˈ lè-y-šate.ˈ ṭ-ázəl ṭúra xá-ga xéta ṭ-àθe.ˈ páyəš májbur béna xaráya šàte,ˈ mən-d-ó-xamra b-ràwe.ˈ ṭ-áθe l-dmàxa.ˈ (48) móra ʾè-gaˈ maxátla ʾánna qášta-w gére ʾólle dìye.ˈ qaṭlə̀tle,ˈ màyəθ.ˈ parmə̀tle,ˈ paθxátle ṣádre dìye.ˈ ʾa-qoṭ̀ya,ˈ xa-qotíya ʾax-d-àwwɛle,ˈ mə̀raˈ m-gu-ṣádre dìyeˈ šaqlə̀tleˈ mɛθátle ṭlàli.ˈ (49) ʾáwwa-ži zàlɛle,ˈ nabòlə̀llaˈ xámra mánna dìya,ˈ l-d-à-dukθa.ˈ xzàyəlla ʾéna.ˈ mdabòqəlla ˈ mattóye qìra,ˈ ṭaṭíya-w qìra.ˈ míya ktàpɛla.ˈ dráyɛle biš-hódəx mánna díya xáčča xàmra.ˈ ʾáw mattóyəlla gáne dìye.ˈ hóle xpírəlla xa-dùkθaˈ mṭašôyəlla.ˈ mṭùšyəlla.ˈ xa-béna ʾəθyɛle ʾaw-táwrət wàlaˈ ṭla-šáte mìya.ˈ (50) míya lɛ́le xə̀zya.ˈ zìlɛleˈ míxɛle ʾína ríxət xàmra.ˈ lèle šátya mánna.ˈ zíla xá-ga xéta l-ṭùra.ˈ ṣìya-wewa,ˈ xà-ga xéta θéle,ˈ xà-ga xéta lɛ́le šátya.ˈ béna ṭḷá θéle štèle.ˈ štèle,ˈ guyžənne,ˈ rwèle.ˈ ʾó-naša hóle tíwa gu-čə̆pər táma.ˈ maxéle ṭḷá qášta-w géra ʾə́lle dìyeˈ npìlɛle.ˈ (51) zíla prìməlle,ˈ pθìxa ṣádre díye.ˈ ʾína ðá qotíya hátxa zòra.ˈ šqìləlla,ˈ mùsqəlla,ˈ híwəlla ṭla-Čəlkə̀ze,ˈ ṭla-d-a-báxtə t-wéwa mùθyəlla.ˈ móre Čəlkə̀zeˈ hòla.ˈ móra háwət basíma ràba.ˈ (52) ʾo-dewàrrəšˈ ʾímə ṭ-ile-máxyəlle táwrət wàlaˈ ṛìšɛleˈ mgunə̀gzɛle.ˈ hàtxɛwa,ˈ ʾax-mə̀rya.ˈ ʾə́θyɛle l-béθa ʾína mə̀rya.ˈ móra ʾa-mà-lux?ˈ móre b-àlaha,ˈ làn-ðaʾa,ˈ ʾáwwa táwrət wála lán-ðaʾa módi ʾə́θya bìye,ˈ npílɛle b-ʾisə̀ra,ˈ ʾawwa xà-məndile qíθa bíye.ˈ lán-ðaʾa módila qəṣṣə́t.ˈ díya hon-rába mə̀rya.ˈ móre čù-ga hátxa lan-mə́rya.ˈ (53) dáryəlla xa-šwìθaˈ dmìxɛle.ˈ ʾay-ži pθíxtəlle ʾo-sandùqaˈ móra hòleˈ čučə̀kka.ˈ móra dwìqtəlleˈ ʾoðále rúše hàtxa,ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw nayèdwa rúše díye.ˈ nčíltəlle rèše-wˈ rùše-wˈ kúlla rupèθəlla.ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw mìtwaleˈ har-a-dàna.ˈ ʾə́θyɛle ʾo-gàwṛa díya,ˈ ʾo-t-wéwa mùθyəlla.ˈ muxbə̀rtəlle,ˈ ʾə̆θyɛleˈ l-bèθa.ˈ šqìləlla.ˈ píšɛle táma kəmà-dana.ˈ šqílə̀lla ʾu-zíla l-bèθa.ˈ

(46) The vagabond used to go to the mountains in the day and come back at night. He (Barzəkko) went to Čəlkăze in the day-time. He said 'I've come back and here are the three arrows of a bow'. She said 'Look, in this mountain there is a spring of water. This wild ox once a day goes down to the spring of water and drinks water. Go and lay down a woolen mat. Take some tar'. (47) She said 'Put it in the water and put the tar on it. The water will stop flowing, the water will not come out. Put some wine further along'. She said 'This ox will come and see that there is no water. It will smell the odour of the wine and not drink. It will go to the mountain, then come back again. In the end it will be forced to drink and will become drunk from the wine. It will come to sleep'. (48) She said 'At that time, strike it with those arrows and a bow. You will kill it and it will die. Slaughter it and open up its chest. The box, a box like this' She said 'take it from his chest and bring it to me'. (49) He went and took them, together with wine to that place. He saw the spring. He pressed it down, put down tar, the woolen mat and tar. The water stopped flowing. He put some wine further up from them. He positioned himself. He dug a place to hide. He hid. Then that wild ox came to drink water. (50) It did not find water. It went and sniffed, and smelt the odour of wine. It did not drink it. It went again to the mountain. It was thirsty and came back again, but again did not drink. The third time it drank. It drank and felt dizzy. It became drunk. That man (Barzəkko) was waiting in ambush there. He struck it with three arrows of a bow and it fell. (51) He went and slaughtered it, opened its chest and found a box, small like this. He took it, brought it back and gave it to Čəlkăze, to the woman whom he had brought. He said 'Čəlkăze, here it is'. She said 'Thank you very much'. (52) When he struck the wild ox, that vagabond felt it and shivered. He was like this, as if he were ill. He came back home ill. She said 'Ah, what is the matter with you?' He said 'I don't know. I don't know what has happened to that wild ox, whether it has fallen on a rock, whether a thing such as that has happened to him. I don't know what is going on. Now I am very ill'. He said 'I have never been ill like this'. (53) He laid down a bed and went to sleep. She opened the box and said 'Here is a sparrow'. She seized it and moved its shoulder like this, he also shook his shoulder. She pulled apart its head and its shoulder and threw everything down. At the same time he also died. Her husband (to be) came back, the one who had brought her. She notified him and he came back to the house. He took her and he remained there for some time. He took her and went home.

(54) zíla l-bέθət bàbe díye.| bábe díye màlkɛle.| hóle xa-pláša gu-d-a-màθa,| ʾajəbùθa.| ʾáwwa báxte díye múttəlla gu-ða-dùkθa.| ʾíθwa xa-bèθa.| zílɛle máre mòdila qáṣṣət?| mòdila qáṣṣət?| (55) mára b-àlaha,| ʾáwwa málka ʾítwale xá bròna.| báxte díye mùθyəlla.| ʾímə ṯ-íla zála múθyəlla ʾarbí baxtàθa,| múθyəlla báxte dìye.| ʾaw-málka bắye kálθe dìye,| báxtət bróne dìye.| ʾu-báxtət brōn-díye là-qabla.| ʾan-ʾárbi baxtáθa kúlla xaθwàθɛla,| dárqūl d-a-məndìla.| ʾu-málka hóle mhuyèra,| mára ʾèlla gắrəg ʾáyya bráta gorənna.| (56) mšadóre náše l-d-ó qàṣra.| kút-yum plàšɛla| ta-t-doqíla ʾa-bràta,| doqíla ʾa-bràta| mɛθéla ta-t-gáwra màlka,| bàbe díye.| bábə díye bắye gàwra.| bábe díye màlkɛwa.| (57) mára ʾáp-ʾaw qímɛle zìlɛle,| píšɛle xuláma t-màlka.| mšoxèlpəlla júlle díye. pìšɛle| xolámət màlka,| maštóye susăwáθa mìya.| kút-yum ʾánna palṭíwa plàša.| mòdila qáṣṣət?| móre l-d-o-qáṣra t-wέwa ʾárbi bnáθa gáwe dìye,| xaθwáθa dìya.| móre mòdila gu-d-áwwa qáṣra?| (58) móre b-àlaha| ʾíθgena ʾarbí bnàθa,| kaláθət màlka,| ðá-mənna zùrta,| gáwṛa díya zíla b-dùnye,| bắye málka gawèrra.| ʾu-ʾánna hóla ʾàṣi ʾálle díye.| móre ga-béna ʾánna kúlla ṯ-íla zála léla mṣáya b-an-ʾárbi bnàθa?| kút-yum zála hàtxa| jέš m-ánna ʾatwánə xáṣə susăwàθa,| swarìye.| léla mṣáya b-an-ʾárbi bnàθa?| ʾàna ṯ-ázən mɛθənna.| (59) mṭáyɛle xábra l-màlka.| mṭáyɛle xábra l-màlka| móre málka ṯ-áwət basìma,| ʾáwwa saqáwa d-ánna susăwàθa,| móre ʾàna ṯ-ázən šaqlənna-ana.| móre mšádrule ṯ-àθe.| zíla móre mòdi bắyət?| málka ṯ-áwe basìma,| kùlla| ʾárbi bnàθɛla láxxa,| baxtàθɛla,| dáx létu mṣáya bìya?| ʾána ṯ-àzən.| hállule xa-sùsa.| tə́mməl mbádla ʾàzəl.| (60) šqála dárt-yoma xà-susa| táwa xáṣe díye zàla| hὲ| ʾána fəllən,| hàyyo,| háyyo plùṭu.| kut-bắye páləš mənni páləš mənni.| ʾáni píšela màra| ða-ṭla-ða-xèta,| xáθi hóle xa-plìṭa,| hóle ṣráxa màra| kut-bắye ʾáθe páləš mənni ʾáθe páləš mənni.| (61) plíṭṭɛla ðà,| móra ʾàna pálṭən.| plìṭṭa,| pláša plàša| mbádla ʾaṣərta.| ʾáwwa là bắye máxe.| ʾaṣərta| gu-gnéθət yóma ʾáyya ríqtɛla wírtɛla gu-qàṣra.| ʾáwwa máxyɛle sépe l-qðálə d-o-súsa ṯ-íle ʾəθya b-xáṣe díye,| qṭìləlle.| zílɛle kəs-màlka,| móre málka ṯ-áwət basìma| ʾáwwa mù-susət híwəlli ʾáti?|

(54) He went to the home of his father. His father was a king. There was a battle in the town, a remarkable event. He had put his (Barzəkko's) wife in a certain place. There was a house (there). He went and said 'What is happening? What is happening?' (55) They said 'By God, this king had a son. He brought back his wife. When they went and brought back forty wives, he brought back his wife. The king loves his daughter-in-law, the wife of his son. The wife of his son does not accept him. Those forty wives are all sisters and are against this thing. The king is confounded and says "I must marry this girl". (56) He sends people to the palace. Every day they fight (attempting) to seize the girl, seize the girl and bring her to marry the king, his father. His father wants her to marry (him)'. His father was the king. (57) Now, he went off and became a servant of the king. He changed his clothes and became a servant of the king, giving water to the horses. Every day they would go out to fight. 'What is happening?' He (a bystander) said '(They are going) to the palace', in which there were forty girls, her sisters. He said 'What is in the palace?' (58) He said 'By God, there are forty girls, the daughters-in-law of the king. The husband of a young girl among them has gone out into the world and the king wants to marry her. They are protesting against him'. He said 'Well, cannot all these people who are going (to fight) prevail against the forty girls? Everyday an army of riders on the back of horses goes (to fight), horseman. Cannot they prevail against forty girls? I am going to bring her'. (59) Word reaches the king. Word reaches the king, he (a courtier) said 'King, may you be in good health, the servant who gives water to the horses has said "I shall go and take her"'. He said 'Send for him and let him come'. He went and he said 'What do you want?' 'King, may you be in good health, in all there are forty girls here, they are women, how is it that you cannot prevail against them? I shall go.' 'Give him a horse. Let him go tomorrow morning'. (60) The next day he took a horse, sat on its back and went off. 'Hey, I am so-and-so, come on, come out! Whoever wants to fight with me, let him fight with me'. They started saying to one another 'Sister, a man has come out, he is shouting saying "Whoever wants to come and fight with me, let him come and fight with me"'. (61) One girl went out. She said 'I shall go out'. She went out and fought and fought, morning and evening. He did not want to strike. In the evening, at sunset, she ran away and entered the palace. He struck his sword on the neck of the horse on whose back he had come and killed it. He went to the king. He said 'King, may you be in good health, what kind of horse did you give me?'

*(62) máre mó bə̌yət.ʔ| hálli xa-súsa spày.| ʾána b-doqánna ʾánna bnàθa.| máre ma-yxàlǝf.| máre xa-sùsa| ʾánna xamšà šánne| ʾáp-xa léle máʂya máṭya ʾálle dìye.| ga-máre mo-sùsɛle.ʔ| ʾèkɛle? máre hóle fə̀llən dùkθa,| gu-fə̀llən béθa.| máre hátta mɛxólta b-kàwe dárəx ʾəlle-díye.| (63) máre málka ṯ-áwət basìma| də-hálli ʾàna ṯ-ásqən,| xu-là ʾaxə́lli,| xu-lèle ʾárya.| la-ʾàrya,| sùsɛle.| ʾáwwa-ži màre| ʾáwwa qðìla.| də-sùq.|| ʾáwwa yə̌ðèle| susət-gáne dìye.| súsət gáne díye yə̌ðéle ʾèkɛle.| máre míðən ʾo-béθa ʾèkɛle.| šádər xa-náša mànni.| (64) šúdra xa-nàša,| máre súq màxzile.| ga-sàqa,| mátye máre hòwile| ʾawwá'ha tə̀ra| d-o-sùsɛle.| ʾáwwa-ži sàqɛle.| pθáxəlle tə́rət sùsa,| tə́rət gòma.| súsa θáya wáða naθyáθe hàtxa,| bə̌ye maxèle.| (65) máxyəlla ʾíðe hátxa gu-narṭúmə sùsa.| máre k̂òra| láš-it ðà'ə̀lli.ʔ| wə́-law ṯ-ín ʾanna-xámša šánne zíla b-dùnye,| námu lat-ðà'ə̀lli.ʔ| mára súsa kə̀lya,| ðíya máre dìyele.| kə̀lyɛle súsa.| ʾáwwa mtŭməzə̀lle súse díye.| kəmà-dana táma žáre| la-knìša,| la-mtŭməza,| čù-məndi.| dáryəlle sárga xáʂe dìye.| (66) mbádla tíwa xáʂe díye ʾu-plìṭɛle.| ʾé-ga súsa kəmá-dana lé̀le-xəzya šəmša,| hóle pràxa.| ʂə̀lyɛle,| máxyɛle xa-fárra ʔ̌ənnə̂kérə d-o-qàʂra.| máre hè| hàyyo| tə́mməl ʾana-ʾəθyən| plíša mənnèxu.| ʾáp-ʾədyo ho-θèli.| lá ða-mənnèxu,| lá pálṭa ða-ðà.| plùṭu| xàmməš,| ʾəššət,| ʾəssəʀ,| kùllɛxu plúṭu.|| (67) báxtət gáne dìye| ʾa-zùrtɛwa-ʾaʏ.| məra ṭla-xaθwàθa,| xáθi ʾàna pálṭən.| plíṭṭɛla ʾày.| ʾé-ga plášɛla gu-dìwən,| ʾáy ʾu-gáwṛa dìya.| ʾay-lèða ṯ̂-íle gáwṛa dìya žáre.| pláša mxàya,| ʾay-mxàya,| ʾaw-wáða mŭqàwə̆ma,| ʾay-mxàya,| ʾaw-wáða mŭqàwə̆ma,| hàl gnéθət yóma.| (68) gnéθət yòma| ríqtɛla bə̌ya ṯ̂-óra gu-qàʂra.| súse díye xɛlànɛle.| dwìqəlle tə́ra.| dwíqəlle tə̀ra,| mùrmə̀lle kóse díye.| máre ḥə̌šīm,| námu làt-ðaʾə̀lli.ʔ| lát-ðaʾə̀lle sùsi.ʔ| ʾá-dana qríθɛla b-xaθwáθa dìya.| məra hàyyo.|| ʾáwwa ʾíle gàwṛi.| ʾáwwa ʾíle gàwṛi.|

(62) He said 'What do you want?' 'Give me a good horse and I shall seize those girls'. He said 'Fine'. He said 'There is a horse that for these five years nobody has been able to get near'. Then he (Barzəkko) said 'What horse is it? Where is it?' He said 'It is in such-and-such a place, in such-and-such a house'. He said 'We even give food to it through the window'. (63) He (Barzəkko) said 'King, may you be in good health, give it to me, I shall go up (and ride it), surely it will not eat me, surely it is not a lion. It is a horse, not a lion. He (the king) said 'This is the key. Off you go'[5] He knows it, (since it is) his own horse. He knows where his own horse is. He said 'I don't know where that house is. Send a man with me'. (64) He sent a man. He said 'Go, show him'. Now, when they went up and arrived, he said 'Look, there it is. That door is the one of the horse'. He went up and opened the door of the horse, the door of a basement stable. The horse came moving his ears like this, intending to strike him. (65) He put his hand like this on the snout of the horse. He said 'Poor creature, don't you know me anymore? Although I have been away in the world for these five years, don't you know me any more?' Now, the horse stood still, he knew he was his master. The horse stood still. He cleaned his horse. The poor thing had been there for so long, without being groomed or cleaned, nothing. He put a saddle on it. (66) In the morning he sat on its back and went out. The horse had not seen the sun for so long and it flew off. He went down and made a circuit around the palace. He said 'Hey, come here! Yesterday I came and fought with you. I have come also today. Not one of you, don't come out one by one. Five, six, ten come out. All of you come out!' (67) His own wife was the youngest. She said to her sisters 'My sister, I shall go out'. She went out. Then she fought in the reception room, she and her husband. The poor thing did not know that he was her husband. She fought and struck. She struck and he defended himself, she struck and he defended himself, until sunset. (68) At sunset she ran off intending to enter the palace. His horse was strong. He held the door fast. He held the door fast and lifted up his hair. He said 'You fool, don't you know me? Don't you know my horse?' Then she shouted to her sisters. She said 'Come! He is my husband. He is my husband'.

[5] Literally: Go up!

(69) xéna xaθwáθa díya kúlla ṣlèla,ˈ kəmà-ṯ-ila!ˌ wéla xa-šadlaxàna.ˈ ʾáwər gu-d-o-qàṣraˈ wéla xlùla.ˈ mbádla qìmɛleˈ ʾo-yàla.ˈ plíṭɛle l-gáre ṣrìxɛle.ˈ máre kú-ṯ-ile bàθriˈ méθe xa-kértə qèsaˈ máttu gu-tắrəd bèθi.ˈ kú-ṯ-ile bar-màlka,ˈ bàbi,ˈ máttu xa-kértə qésa qam-tắrət màlka.ˈ (70) mára kəmà-ṯ-ila moθéla muttúla qésaˈ—ðìla módila qəṣṣətˈ—qam-tắrə dìye.ˈ máre de-méθole màlka!ˌ ʾáwwa wazíre kùllaˈ másqula láxxa màqðula!ˌ kúlla qəm-mɛθíla qaṭlìla.ˈ ʾáwwa šqílle báxte dìye,ˈ ʾu-xonăwáθe dìye-wˈ ʾáwwa píšle málka šópət bábe dìye.ˈ šwiqáli táma ʾu-θéli làxxa.ˈ

(69) Then all her sisters came down, how many they were! There was a party. He went into the palace and there was a wedding. In the morning the young man got up. He went out onto the roof and shouted. He said 'Whoever supports me,[6] let him bring a bundle of wood and put it at the door of my house. Whoever is behind the king, my father, put a bundle of wood before the door of the king'. (70) Now, many people brought wood and put it before his door—they knew what the story was. He said 'Bring the king! Bring him and all his ministers here and burn them!' He brought them all and killed them. He took his wife and his brothers, and he became king in place of his father. I have left it there and come here.

[6] Literally: behind me.

A13 A Tale of Two Kings

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa tré màlke,ˈ xonăwàθa.ˈ xá gu-Bàbəl-wewa,ˈ xá gu-Nìnwe.ˈ ʾo-t-Bábəl muxána mən-xóne díye gu-Nìnwe.ˈ mərəˈ t̰-ásqəx tápqəx b-xóni gu-Nìnwe.ˈ mára mo-ʾìba!ˈ qyáma sàqɛla.ˈ (2) malʾkθa,ˈ málka plíṭɛle mən-bèθa,ˈ wídla xa-ḥàfla.ˈ kúlla kpíše tàma.ˈ malʾkθa mərəˈ kút-xa t̰-íle rqáða mənnaˈ dàməx mánna díya.ˈ ʾáwwa gáwṛa díya síqɛle l-Nìnwe,ˈ díṛa ʾəθyɛle.ˈ (3) bár xaččа-dàna,ˈ bár xákma šənne,ˈ ʾo-t-Nínwe məre ṣálən ʾána tápqən b-xóni gu-Bàbəl.ˈ mára ṣʾlyɛle tfiqa bíye dìye.ˈ məre xòniˈ tʾmməl t̰-ázəx ṣèda,ˈ xàmləx,ˈ ṭla-xmàla.ˈ xóne díye ʾo-t-Nìnweˈ mére xóni ʾána hon-kə̆xa.ˈ là-mṣən ʾʾdyo pálṭən.ˈ hòla ʾáqli mrʾa,ˈ pèšən béθa.ˈ (4) ʾánna xène,ˈ málka rhìwa xábra t̰-ázi ṣéda,ˈ qíme plíṭe zíle xðàra,ˈ ṣèda.ˈ báxtət màlka,ˈ wídlaˈ ʾo-mándi t-wáwa wíðta ʾó-yoma xèna.ˈ wídla ḥàfla,ˈ mára kút-xa t̰-íle rqàða mánnaˈ dàməx mánna.ˈ (5) xónət málka xzèle ʾáwwa mándi.ˈ ʾánna lèwa xzáyəlle.ˈ tíwa xa-dùkθa,ˈ ʾáwwa xzàyəlla,ˈ ʾánna lèwa xzáyəlle.ˈ xóne díye θèle,ˈ mére xòniˈ ʾána xašwánwa har-ʾàna hon-zlíma,ˈ ʾáti bìš-zlima mánni!ˈ mére mòdila xóni?ˈ mére hàtxɛla qʾṣṣət.ˈ (6) qyàmɛle,ˈ lèle mheymóne.ˈ yómə trèˈ mére xòniˈ lan-mhaymòne,ˈ ṭlàθaˈ mére xá-ga múr ʾána t̰-ázən ṣèdaˈ ʾu-b-ay- góta xéta gnù gánux.ˈ háyyo làxxa,ˈ b-áyya dúkθa t̰-ìn táwaˈ gu-d-áyya ṭàrma.ˈ xzí mo-bàre.ˈ (7) yómə ṭlàθaˈ márɛle xóne díye xá-ga xéta ʾo-t-Bàbəlˈ yáwəlle xábra ṭla-náše dìyeˈ mára t̰-ázəx ṣèda.ˈ ʾánna plàṭɛla,ˈ kúlla zála ṣèda,ˈ m-a-góta xéta málka gnàwəlla gān-dìye.ˈ θàyɛleˈ kʾs-xóne dìyeˈ ʾu-tíwɛle gu-xa-pàlkon,ˈ lèla xzáyəlle,ˈ ʾàp-xa léle-ðiya bíye,ˈ sərr-ile.ˈ (8) mára malʾkθa plìṭṭɛlaˈ xá-ga xéta nàfʾə-šay.ˈ ʾàyˈ ʾu-xolamwàθaˈ kúlla rqáða ġðáðe zmàra,ˈ mára xa-ʿăbə̆d kòmaˈ dmáxɛla mánne díye ʾày.ˈ ʾáwwa xzàyəlla,ˈ mére xzélux xòni?ˈ t-là-ʾamrət ʾána wáðənˈ be-baxtùθa ʾʾllux.ˈ ʾáyya bàxtuxˈ xzi-mòdila wáða.ˈ (9) mára grʾšle sèpa,ˈ tràθnaˈ kúlla-ʾani qəm-qaṭlìla.ˈ màlkaˈ ʾu-xóne dìyeˈ ʾan-ʿăbə̆d ʾu-bàxtaˈ kùlla-ʾani qəm-qaṭlʾla.ˈ mére xóni t̰-ázəx dùnyeˈ xázəx ʾən-ʾìθ náše bìš-zlíme mánnən,ˈ dèṛəx.ˈ ʾən-lìθ bìš-zlíme mánnən,ˈ har-t̰-àzəx.ˈ

A13 A Tale of Two Kings

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena (Dure)

(1) There were once two kings, brothers. One was in Babylon and one in Nineveh. The one in Babylon missed his brother in Nineveh. He said 'Let's go up and meet my brother in Nineveh'. They said 'That's fine'.[1] They went off. (2) The queen, when the king left the house, held a party. Everybody gathered there. The queen said that whoever danced with her would sleep with her. Her husband went up to Nineveh, then returned home. (3) After some time, after a few years, the king of Nineveh said 'I shall go down and meet my brother in Babylon'. So, he went down and met him. He said 'Brother, tomorrow let's go hunting and have a good time, for fun'. His brother from Nineveh said 'Brother, I am tired. I cannot go out today. My leg hurts. I shall stay at home.' (4) As for the others, the king announced that they would go hunting, so they went off around (the countryside) on a hunt. The wife of the king did what she had done the day before. She held a party. She said that whoever danced with her would sleep with her. (5) The brother of the king saw this, but they did not see him. He was sitting in a place where he saw them but they did not see him. His brother came back and he said 'Brother, I thought that only I was wronged, but you are more wronged than me'. He said 'What is it brother?' He said 'The situation is like this'. (6) He stood up in disbelief. The next day he said 'Brother, I do not believe it'. On the third day he said 'Say again "I am going hunting" and hide yourself elsewhere. Come here, in the place where I am sitting, in the porch. Watch what happens'. (7) On the third day his brother, the one from Babylon, again made an announcement to the people saying 'Let's go hunting'. They went out, they all went hunting, but the king hid somewhere else. He came to his brother and sat on a balcony, where they did not see him. Nobody knew about him, it was a secret. (8) Now, the queen came out and again the same thing (happened). She and her servants all danced and sang together. She slept with a black slave. He saw her and said 'Have you seen, brother? Don't say that I am being deceitful to you. Look what your wife is doing'. (9) He drew his sword and both of them killed all those (present). The king and his brother killed all the slaves and the wife. He said 'Brother, let's go out into the world. If we find that there are people more wronged than us, we shall return. If there are none more wronged than us, we shall continue on our way.

[1] Literally: What is there in it?

(10) m-táma ṣláyɛla l-Bàṣra.ˈ ṣláyɛla l-Bàṣra,ˈ táma manyóxela xo-xa-ʾilánət xùrme,ˈ ʿal-ʾasá̱s ṯ́-áθya ða-bàxəraˈ xa-màndiˈ ṯ́-átwi gáwe, ṯ́-àzi.ˈ mára xá-bena xzéla gu-yàma,ˈ gu-yáma plíṭle xa-tànnaˈ síqle gu-šmàyya.ˈ plíṭɛle ʾəθyɛleˈ xa-ʿafrȉtˈ plíṭɛle gu-yàma,ˈ hóle xá-sanduqa dwíqa hátxa rəš-rúše dìye.ˈ ʾəθyɛle,ˈ ʾə́θyɛle l-d-ay-ʾilàna.ˈ (11) ʾánna ríqela síqela rəš-d-ay-ʾilána m-zdùθa.ˈ múttəlle ʾo-sandúqa m-áxxa l-tămàha.ˈ ʾáw hóla šawwà-qəfle bíye díye,ˈ b-d-ò-sanduqa.ˈ pθíxa xá-w tré-w ṭláθa-w ʾàrpa,ˈ xá-bena plíṭṭɛla xa-bràta.ˈ ʾína mù-brata!ˈ šúprə dúnye hóle ʾəlla-dìya.ˈ mára plìṭṭɛlaˈ mə́re de-zmùr-u rqúð,ˈ mára ʾáy-brata zmìrta,ˈ ʾo-ʿafrít mə́re tla-d-ày,ˈ píšla har-rqàða,ˈ zmára-w rqáða, zmàra.ˈ (12) mára tíwtɛla márzət yàma.ˈ ʾaw-múttəlle réše-diye rəš-nə́ka dìya.ˈ ʾáyya xéra hátxa gu-ʾilàna,ˈ xzéla ʾan-tre-náše tàma.ˈ ʾáwwa ṭlìle ʾawwa-ʿafrȋ́t.ˈ šqílta réše mattóye mtútəlle l-ằra.ˈ mára háyyo ṣlò!ˈ mára là ṣalítu,ˈ hadíya mằrəšánne ʾáwwa ʿafrȋ́t qaṭ̀llɛxu.ˈ (13) ʾáni-ži qímela ṣ̀lyela,ˈ mò-bằyət?ˈ mára hàlluliˈ ʾisəqyaθèxu.ˈ mpúlṭəlla ʾisəqyáθa dìya.ˈ mpuláṭṭɛla xa-zə̀njir.ˈ ʾarbá-mma-w xamšȉ ʾisəqyáθa b-d-á zə́njir.ˈ ʾáp-ʾani drìθəlla,ˈ mára háyyo hàtxa wúðu!ˈ (14) kízla ʾáxxa l-tàmmaˈ mára hóle b-θáya ʾaxə̀llɛxu.ˈ mára xzò.ˈ ʾána ṭlíbtənwa l-brónət màmi.ˈ ʾó-yomət goràntwa,ˈ ʾə́θyɛle ʾáwwa ʿafrȋ́t gnìwəlli.ˈ ʾu-gu-d-àwwa sandúqaˈ ʾu-mən-d-áwwa ʿafrȉtˈ ʾarbá-mma-w xámši náše hon-dmìxta mənnéy.ˈ ʾən-là,ˈ mằrəšánne ṯ́-axə̀llɛxu.ˈ (15) píšela màjbur,ˈ ʾàp-ʾani.ˈ zílela mènna,ˈ dmíxe mənna-dìya.ˈ xàrθa,ˈ ʾáy mŭ̀ráštəlle ʾaw-ʿafrȉt.ˈ mə́re mò-bằyət?ˈ mára máprəxli gu-šmàyya.ˈ mára dwíqəlla hátxa gu-ʾíðe dìyeˈ mupráxəlla gu-šmàyya,ˈ prìxeˈ ʾu-zìle.ˈ (16) mə́re xòniˈ lá har-ʾáxni zlìme,ˈ xá-mənna ṭla-d-o-xèna mára.ˈ mə́re lá har-ʾáxni zlìme.ˈ ʾáwwa ʿafrȋ́t biš-zlìmɛle mə́nnən.ˈ mára ʾáwwa ʿafrȉt,ˈ xzi-ʾàyya báxtaˈ gu-d-áwwa sandùqaˈ šawwá-qəfle bíya dìyaˈ ʾarba-mmà-naše hóla dmíxta mənnéy.ˈ ʾáwwa biš-zlìmɛle.ˈ háyyo dé̱ṛəx l-ʿIrȃ̀q.ˈ qímla díṛṛa l-ʿIrȃ̀q.ˈ díṛṛa xá-ga xéta l-ʾaθràỳ.ˈ

(10) From there they went down to Baṣra. They went down to Baṣra and rested there under a date palm tree, waiting for a boat to come, in which they could board and continue on their journey. Then, they saw in the sea, they saw a plume of smoke come out of the sea and go up into the sky. A demon came out, came out of the sea, holding a box like this on his shoulders. He came to that tree. (11) They ran and climbed the tree out of fear. He put the box on one side.[2] There were seven locks on that box. He opened, one, two, three, four, then a girl came out, but what a girl! She was of a unique beauty.[3] She came out and he said 'Sing and dance', then the girl sang—the demon said to her—she started dancing and singing, dancing and singing. (12) Then she sat on the shore of the sea. He put his head on her thigh. She looked thus into the tree and saw those two men there. The demon was asleep. She took his head and put it on the ground. She said 'Come down!' She said 'If you don't come down, I shall wake this demon and he will kill you'. (13) So, they came down (and said) 'What do you want?' She said 'Give me your rings'. They took off their rings. She took out a chain. There were four hundred and fifty rings on that chain. She put also these (on it). She said 'Come and do (as I say)'. (14) They tried (to remonstrate) in this way and that, but she said 'He will come and eat you'. She said 'Look, I was engaged to my cousin. The day I would have got married, this demon came and stole me away. (Travelling) in this box together with this demon, I have slept with four hundred and fifty men. If (you) do not (sleep with me), I shall wake him and he will eat you'. (15) They were forced (to submit). They also went with her and slept with her. Then she woke the demon. He said 'What do you want?' She said 'Make me fly up into the sky'. He held her like this with his hand and made her fly into the sky and they flew off. (16) He said 'Brother, we are not the only ones that are wronged', said one of them to the other. 'We are not the only ones that are wronged. This demon is more wronged than us'. They said 'This demon—look this woman in the box with seven locks has slept with four hundred men. He is more wronged (than us). Come, let us return to Iraq. They got up and returned to Iraq. They returned again to their land.

[2] Literally: from here over there.
[3] Literally: She had the beauty of the world.

A14 Tales from the 1001 Nights

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena (Dure)

(1) xa-màlka| kút-yum ðà-brata gawárwa.| mbádla qayámwa qaṭəlwala.| wăzə̀r| xðírre xðìrre,| bnáθa prìqla.| kút-yum ðà,| lìθ.| ʾáwwa wăzə́r ʾíθwale ða-bràta.| ʾa-bráta mára ṭla-wə̀zir,| ṭla-bába dìya,| mára bábi ʾána nàbəlli| gawrànne ʾáwwa málka| mparqànnux m-áyya qəṣṣət.| (2) qìmtɛla| ʾítwala ða-qàṭu,| nubàltəlla mánna díya.| nubáltəlla qáṭu mánna dìya,| gwìrtəlle málka.| ʾaw-dmìxɛle,| píštɛla mtanóye ða-qəṣṣət| ṭla-qàṭu.| (3) mára ṭla-d-à-qaṭu| mèra| qáṭu léle rìxɛle| mtányən ða-qəṣṣət.| ʾé-dana mbádla qáyəm málka qaṭəlli.| sab-kəmà-ṯ-ile gwára,| ʾaṣárta gawərra| mbádla qaṭəlla.| yăðána mbádla qaṭálli ʾaw-màlka.|

(4) mára ʾíθwa lìθwa,| biš-m-álaha góṛa čú-məndi lìθwa.|—ʾáyya tuníθa ṭla-qàṭu —| mára ʾíθwa xá bàxta,| ʾìtwala| xa-bróna šámme díye Kărə̀m-addīn.| mára ʾàwwa,| ʾó Kărə̀m,| bábe mìtle.| bábe díye mìtle,| ʾáyya bàxta| kùt-yum| goyàwa,| maxláwa ṭla-bróna dìya.| (5) qímla mšodárra brōn-díya mədràsa.| bróna díya gu-mədrása kút-yum y-awéwa mxáya l-aw-yàla,| šqála čánta d-àwwa,| sràṭa məndiyáne.| mšodárra bàr| yámme dìye,| mára mùrre| ʾáwwa brònəx| màləple| là-ʾawəð hátxa.| (6) ʾən-ʾáwəð hàtxa,| lèla spáy,| ṭarðáxle m-mədràsa.| hóle masqóðe yálət mədràsa.| kízla bróni lá-wuð hátxa mèndi.| qémi ṭarðìle m-mədrása.|

(7) píšle gu-măḥàlle.| gu-măḥàll-ži| kút-yum gánu kθéθa d-àwwa,| ʾé-ga y-azálwa féka d-ăwàha.| y-áwəðwa xràwe gu-măḥálle.| qəm-maqàdla măḥálle,| ma-t-wéwa šumàna.| (8) mára ʾo-yála yatùmɛle.| de-maxàxle?| bába lìtle.| mò-ʾoðəx bíye díye?| ʾíθwa xa-honàna-wewa.| qəm-qarèle,| máre Kărə̀m.| máre mò?| Kărīm-addīn máre mòdi?| (9) máre zonáxxux xa-xmàra.| ṯ-áθət mènnən| kút-yum l-ṭùra| ṯ-óðəx qèse| mzàbənna ṭla-yámmux.| kút-yum xá-ṭena qésa xăyítu bìye.| máre qà-mo lá?| máre ʾáyya b-álaha xòš-məndila.|

A14 Tales from the 1001 Nights

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošăba Kena (Dure)

(1) A king would marry a girl everyday. In the morning he would get up and kill her. The minister searched and searched, but the girls had run out. Every day (he had killed) one and there were no more. The minister had a daughter. That daughter said to the minister, to her father, she said 'Father, take me, I shall marry this king and rid you of this business'. (2) She went off. She had a cat and she took it with her. She took the cat with her and married the king. He slept and she began to tell a story to the cat. (3) She said to the cat, she said 'Kitty, the night is long, I shall tell a story. Then, in the morning, the king will get up and kill me, since whenever he marries (a girl), he marries her in the evening and kills her in the morning. I know that the king will kill me in the morning.

(4) She said: There was, was there not, there was nothing greater than God—this story was (told) to the cat—there was a woman, who had a son called Karimaddin. Now, the father of this Karim died. (After) his father died, everyday the woman would beg to feed her son. (5) She sent her son to school. Her son everyday in school would beat one child, take the bag of another, tear things. They sent for his mother and said 'Talk to this son of yours and teach him not to behave like this. (6) If he continues with this bad behaviour,[1] we shall expell him from the school. He is annoying the children of the school'. She tried (to stop him and said) 'Son, don't do such a thing'. But they expelled him from the school.

(7) He remained in the neighbourhood. Every day in the neighbourhood he would steal the chicken of one person, then go (and steal) the fruit of another. He wrought havoc in the neighbourhood. He burnt the neighbourhood, so delinquent was he. (8) They said 'That boy is an orphan. Should we beat him? He does not have a father. What shall we do with him?' There was a man who was clever. He called him and said 'Karim!' He said 'What?' Karimaddin said 'What?' (9) He said 'We shall buy a donkey for you. Come with us every day to the mountains to gather wood and sell it for your mother. Everyday you will make a living by a bundle of wood'. He said 'Why not?' He said 'This is a good deal, by God'.

[1] Literally: If he does thus—it is not good.

(10) qímela nášət maḥàlle| júmyela zùze.| zwínela xa-xmàra.| mtúrṣəlle qurṭàna| xaṣə-xmàra.| yíwəlle xa-nə̀ra.| nablìwale,| kút-yum y-asə́qwa mənnáy l-ṭùra.| masqíwale l-ṭùra,| y-áwəð xà-ṭena,| trè-ṭene qése,| y-áθe mzabə́nwa ṭla-d-àw-u yə́mme díye.| y-axlíwa lə́xma bàd-an qése.|

(11) xa-yóma plíṭela m-máθa y-asqíwa l-ṭùra.| mə́tyela gu-xá…ʾax-ṭuràne,| gə́ppe məndiyàne.| wéla mə́ṭra xɛlànta| mə́ṭra màṭra.| ʾáni-ži mòdila wíðe?| qìmela| kúlla wíre gu-xa-gə̀ppa.| mə́ra kálya màṭra.| wíre gu-xa-gə̀ppa.| (12) ʾo-yála zóra žàre,| šqíla ʾaw-nə̀re mə́nne díye,| nə̀ra,| zíla gu-xa-gə́ppa xèna.| tíwa hàtxa,| mxáyəlle nə̀ra,| plíṭle xa-qə̀rša,| xa-ʾìða,| xa-prə̀zla,| xa-képa gòṛa,| xa-yáddət prə̀zla bíye díye.| (13) ʾu-ríqɛle zíla kəs-d-àn-naše| háyyo hə̀yyo!| xzéli xə̆zìna!| də-xzì!.| mə́ra ʾáp-ʾaxxa bə̆́ye ṯ-awədlən zə̋j ʾáwwa Kə̆rīm-addə̄n.| yà-xə̆zina xzélux?| mə́re də-háyyo xzò.| qímela zíle xə́zye ʾína dūs| xa-képa hàtxa| ʾu-ða-yàdde gáwe díye,| t-prə̀zla.| (14) dári xèla| di-di-dí šaqlìle,| ʾína xa-balúʿa mə́lya hal-pə́mma díya dùša,| hal-pə́mma díya mə́lya dùša.| mə́ra hà-Kə̆rīm| mò-ṯ-oðəx?| mò-ṯ-oðəx?| ʾáni kúlla mò-ṯ-oðəx.| mə́re ṣə́ləx šáqləx zə̀qqe.| mə́re ʾáwwa dúša ṣə́ləx mzabnə̀xxe,| ṯ-óðəx zùze,| pə̆ləxxa b-ġðáðe.| (15) píšla béna gráša kúllət yóma mən-d-o-dùša| hál ʾaṣə̀rta.| ʾaṣə̀rta| tre-ṣléla sàqɛwa| mə́ra ga-mo-xə̀ðye b-áwwa dúša?| ʾáwwa dúša ṣále Kə̆r̄́m ṯ-ámər ʾànən xázyəlle,| dìyile.| ʾáxni šáqləx ḥáqqət ʾəjàra mə́nne díye.| (16) ʾo-xéna mə́re senə̀yila.| ʾáwwa Kə̆rə̀m,| la-bàba ʾítle,| la-yə̀mma ʾítle.| ṯ-ámrəx háyyo ṣlí Kə̆r̄́m ʾáti gu-d-áwwa balùʿa.| pálətle ʾaw-dúša ṯ-íle pyàša.| ʾu-ṣə́ləx ʾánna zúze pə̆ləxxa b-ġðàðe.| mə́re ʾaw-ṣále táma mrapə́xle xáwla b-réše dìye| ʾu-ʾáyya qə̆páxta mattáxxa rəš-d-o-tə̆́rət gə̀ppa.| ʾu-mṣáləx ṭla-yə́mme díye ʾáwwa qurṭánət xmàra.| (17) mə́re ṭɛšə́xle qurṭánət xmára də̀mma.| ṯ-àmrəx| Kə̆́rīm zìlle bar-xmáre díye| ṭla-mɛθéwa xmáre dìye,| ʾə́θyela déwe gu-ða-lawùrta| xíləlle ʾàw-u xmáre díye.| ʾu-làx-xəzye čú-məndi šuq-mən-d-ánna.| ʾánna júlle dìye xə́zye bás.|

(10) The people of the neighbourhood collected money and bought a donkey. They arranged a cloth on the back of the donkey and gave him an axe. They took him with them everyday up into the mountains. They would take him up into the mountains and he made one or two loads of wood. Then he would come back and sell them for himself and his mother. They would eat bread by this wood.

(11) One day they went out from the village and went up into the mountains. They arrived at some mountain caves, or the like.[2] There was heavy rain, a lot of rain. What did they do? They all went into a cave. They said 'Let the rain stop'. They entered a cave. (12) The young boy, poor thing, took the axe with him, the axe, and went into another cave. He sat like this, striking the axe, and a lid appeared, a handle, a piece of iron, a large stone with an iron handle on it. (13) He ran to those people (saying) 'Come! Come! I have found a treasure'. Now look (how stupid he was telling others)! They said 'This Karimaddin wants to trick us even here. What treasure have you found?' He said 'Come and see'. They went and saw that it was true, there was a stone like this, with a handle of iron in it. (14) They applied force and eventually removed it, revealing a conduit, full to the brim with honey, full to the brim with honey'. They said 'So, Karimaddin, what shall we do?' They all (said) 'What shall we do?' He said 'Let's go down and fetch water-skins'. He said 'Let's go down and sell this honey and make some money, then divide it among ourselves'. (15) All day they continue to draw out that honey, until evening. In the evening two men went down and, as they were coming up again, they said 'Why are we so happy about this honey? Karim will go down and say "I found this honey, it is mine". We shall receive wages from him'. (16) The other said 'It is easy. This Karim has no father and has no mother. We shall say "Come Karim, go down into this conduit. Take out the honey that is left". Then we shall go down and share the money among us'. He said 'When he goes down there, we shall throw the rope onto his head and shall put this cover over the opening of the cave. Then we shall take down to his mother this donkey blanket'. (17) He said 'We shall daub the donkey blanket with blood and say "Karim went after his donkey, to fetch his donkey, and wolves came into a valley and ate him and his donkey. We did not find anything except these. We found only these clothes of his" '.

[2] Literally: They arrived at a…like mountains, caves, things.

(18) máre b-álaha xòš-məndila!ˈ síqela tàmaˈ mára Kə̀ărīmˈ máre mòdi?ˈ ʾáxni sqìdlən.ˈ háyyo ṣlí gu-d-áwwa balùʿaˈ ʾo-dúša ṭ́-íle pyáša tàmaˈ dríle gu-d-ánna gùðeˈ ʾu-ṣáləx xòš-zuzəx wíðe,ˈ pə̆ləxla kùllaˈ b-ġðáðe b-xonùθa.ˈ (19) ʾáwwa məskéna žàre,ˈ yála zòra,ˈ lèðe módiˈ máre ma-yxàləf,ˈ ma-yxàləf.ˈ ṣlàyɛle.ˈ ṣléle gu-d-o-balùʿa.ˈ ʾáwwa dúša t-wéwa pyàšaˈ kúlla qəm-daréle gu-d-an-guðanyàθaˈ ʾu-grìšla.ˈ mára prìqle?ˈ máre prìqle.ˈ (20) mára de-puš-šòpux!ˈ mrapíle xáwla b-réše dìye.ˈ párša gríšla b-rèše.ˈ dáryɛla xáčča mən-d-a-purta b-rèšeˈ purtət ʾərbe.ˈ zílla xmára qəm-qaṭlìle.ˈ ʾu-ʾáwwa jə̆ket d-o-Kə̆rīm-addə̂n,ˈ píštɛwa wə̀dər,ˈ ʾáp-ay ṭɛšíla dəmmaˈ ʾu-məndiyàne,ˈ ʾu-ṣléla ṭla-yə́mme dìye,ˈ ṣléla xaššàne l-bɛ́θa.ˈ (21) ṣlèlaˈ yə́mme díye θèla,ˈ spírra spìrraˈ bróna díya là θéle.ˈ zílla kɛ̀le xáṭər ʾaláha?! kɛ̀le bróni?! mára yába ʾáxni bə̆yáxwa ṭ̂-aθəxwa.ˈ xu-làn-mṣaya ṭ́-aθáxwa ṭ́-amráxwaləx.ˈ brònəx,ˈ ʾáwwa xmáre díye zílle gu-ðà lawúrta,ˈ ʾu-brónəx zílle ṭla-mɛθèwale.ˈ (22) ʾəθye xakma-dèwe,ˈ màxyəlleˈ ʾáw ʾu-xmáre dìyeˈ ʾu-xìləlle.ˈ ʾàxči xázyəx ʾáwwa mándi nišánqe díye.ˈ ʾáyya məškə́nta píštɛla mxàyaˈ dráya qáṭma gu-réša dìya.ˈ bróna díya zìlle!ˈ ʾu-ʾan-zúze plìla b-ġðáðe.ˈ zìlla.ˈ

(23) díya m-ɛ́ka mtannèxu?ˈ mtannéxu mən-Kə̆rīm-addə̂n.ˈ ʾó Kə̆rīm-addə́n məskènaˈ ṣléle táma gu-d-o-hànna.ˈ máre yá-marya ʾàlahaˈ máre ga-mùˈ qwála ṭla-ʾalàha,ˈ ya-ʾàlahaˈ máre ʾána bàryən?ˈ bábi šqìlətle,ˈ mìθa,ˈ yatùma.ˈ xu-lanwa-mírəllux maxzátli xə̆zìna.ˈ muxzélux ʾáwwa xə̆zìna-ʾəlli.ˈ qəm-darátli gu-d-áwwa qùnya.ˈ ʾu-ʾána mù-n wíða?ˈ ʾána lànwa wíðaˈ là xərbayúθaˈ là spayúθa ṭla-čú-naša.ˈ (24) har-yála zòrɛwa.ˈ tíwa táma mtaxmòne.ˈ kpìnne žáre.ˈ xílle xáčča mən-d-o-dùša.ˈ ṣéle mìya,ˈ xa-ṭəppíθa míya lìθ.ˈ píšle hál gu-mbadlàθa táma.ˈ píšle yòmaˈ hár-wewa xðàra,ˈ xzéle xa-bəṣlíṣa zòra,ˈ bèṛa,ˈ pùrya.ˈ (25) máre b-álaha hóle xa-púrya láxxa zòraˈ ʾáw har-xá-mdi ʾìle.ˈ yála zòraˈ xzi-màndiˈ ʾíθwa skìnta mánneˈ ʾo-nə̆̂ra mánne díye.ˈ ʾa-skínta t-wéwa gráða dúša bìya,ˈ xpírre, xpírre, xpìrre.ˈ plíṭle gu-xa-dahlī̂z.ˈ máre ʾána zála har-zílən bìya,ˈ bṭ́-ázən b-d-aw-dahlíz xázən hal-ʾèka máṭe.ˈ

(18) He said 'By God, that's a good idea!' They went up there and said 'Karim'. He said 'What is it?' 'We are fed up. Come and go down into this conduit. Put the honey that is left into these skins. We shall go down (the mountain) when we have made good money and we shall share it among ourselves in fellowship'. (19) The poor young boy did not know what (was happening). He said 'All right, all right'. He went down into the conduit. He put all the honey that was left into the skins and they pulled them up. They said 'Is it finished?' He said 'It is finished'. (20) They said 'Stay where you are' and they threw the rope onto his head. They pulled the stone over him then put some manure over it, sheep's manure. They went and killed the donkey. The jacket of the Karimaddin had remained outside. They daubed it in blood and the like, then went down to his mother, went down, sad, to her house. (21) They went down and his mother came. She waited and waited, but her son did not come. She went (and asked) 'Where is he, for God's sake?! Where is my son?!' They said 'Well, we wanted to come back, but we could not come back to tell you. Your son's donkey went into a valley and your son went to fetch it. (22) Wolves came and attacked him and his donkey and ate him. We only found this sign of him'. The poor woman began to beat (herself) and put ash on her head. Her son had gone! They divided the money among them and went on their way.

(23) Now what[3] should I tell you about? I shall tell you about Karimaddin. The poor Karimaddin went down into that thing. He said 'Oh Lord God', he said complaining to God 'Oh God, why was I born? You have taken my father (and I am) an orphan. I did not tell you to show me a treasure, but you showed this treasure to me. You have put me in this hole, but what have I done? I did not do evil or good to anybody'. (24) He was only a young boy. He sat there thinking. The poor thing became hungry. He ate some of the honey. He became thirsty for water, but there was not a drop of water. He remained there until the morning. Day came and he was still searching about, when he saw a small ray of light. (25) He said 'By God, there is a small chink of light here. It must be something'. (He was) a young boy, you see, and he had a knife with him, (and had also) the axe. He scraped the honey with the knife, digging, digging and digging. He came out into a corridor. He said 'I am finished[4] (so I have nothing to lose). I shall go along this corridor and see where it leads to'.

[3] Literally: where.
[4] Literally: I have gone with it.

(26) zílle, zílle, zìlle| gu-d-a-dahlíz θèle| l-xa-tằra.| θéle l-xa-tắra ʾu-xzéle ʾína tằra| b-qèsa| xa-kilòn| sèma-w| qðílə séma b-rèše|. léle dàwa.| pθìxəlle,| ʾáwwa plíṭɛle gu-ða-dúnye xèta,| šə́mša milànta,| ʾắra milànta.| (27) mə́re ya-márya ʾàlaha| ʾáyya mòdila?| ʾána zála har-zìlən bíya!| zíla zìla,| ma-ṯ̂-ìle ṣíya míya məškéna,| xzéle milanùθa.| ṣále xázya ða-ʾìlàna,| ríqle kəs-d-à ʾìlána| ʾu-xzéle xáčča mìya táma.| tíwɛle šátya mìya,| mxúlla páθe dìye,| mṣúlya ṭla-ʾálahe dìye.| yála zòra,| məskéna dmìxɛle táma.| (28) dmìxɛle,| xá-ga xéta ṛìšɛle| mə́re har-ṯ̂-àzena| xázəx ʾéka màṭən.| zàlɛwa,| xá-bena xzéle m-rə́ḥqa xá-mdi xwàra| gu-d-á milanùθa.| zílɛle mətya| qúrbe dìye.| xzéle xa-qáṣra ràba góṛa.| zílɛle máxya tằra.| čú-naša lìθ.| (29) mə́re b-àlaha| ʾána har-ʾa-díyi zála xìšta,| ṯ̂-órən xázən mò ʾíθ láxxa.| wíra xə́zya ʾína kúl-xa mɛxólta hóla mbušle wíðe hàzəṛ,| šaxìnta,| čù-naša líθ.| dəryɛle| xìlɛle.| wírɛle gu-xà-ʾotəx xéta| gòṛta| hóla xákma kursă̆wàθa| m-ày-gota| xákma m-ày-gota,| ða-qă̆nắpa muttéθa tămàha.| kúlla mtúrṣe b-képe ṭemàne gáwa.| (30) ʾáwwa-ži síqɛle tíwa tàma| ʾu-dmìxɛle.| dmíxɛle xá-bena ṛàyəš| ʾina mò ṛáyəš!| hòla| kút xùwwe| ʾáwwa la-ʾàwwa| púmme díye pθíxəlle ʾə́lle díye tàma.| ʾaw-mə́re škíra šə́mmux ʾalàha!| lábbe díye pqìle.| (31) mára xa-béna xázya ʾəθyɛle xa-xùwwe| ʾax-pràxa.| šmíle qàle| θéle wírre gu-tằra.| ʾína xa-senìye| dáwa xaṣe-díye xá-xuwwe zòra,| réšət nàša| ʾu-gánət xùwwe,| gu-d-à seníye.| xá mən-xúwwe gòṛe| zílɛle šqíla senìye| mùθyəlla.| síqa sìqa| múttəlla kəs-d-ó Kă̆rīm-addī̀n.| ʾáwwa zíla híwəlla tíwa tàma.| (32) ʾo-xúwwe ʾámər ṭla-Kă̆rīm-addī̀n| Kă̆rīm-addī̀n,| b-šɛ̀na θélux!| ʾə́dyo ʾàrxi-wət| ʾu-là-zădət.| tu-mànyəx.| tìwɛle ʾáp-ʾaw məskèna,| píšɛle ràḥat.| moθéla mɛxòlta,| moθéla mə̀ndi,| tíwɛle xílle kul-xá-məndi m-ġðàðe.|

(33) mə́ra Kă̆rīm-addī̀n| ʾáti múrri qəṣṣət díyux.| m-èkət ʾəθya láxxa| ʾu-dàx-it ʾəθya?| malə́kθa ṯ̂-óyət basìmta.| mə́re ʾána qə́ṣṣət-diyi ràba ríxtɛla.| lá-mṣən mtanə́nnəx kùlla.| mə́ra léle rìxɛle.| mtáni qáṣṣət dìyux.| dàx-it ʾəθya láxxa?|

(26) He went a long way along the corridor and came to a door. He came to a door and saw that the door was of wood and had a lock of silver with a silver key on it. It was not gold. He opened it and he came out into another world, with a blue sun and a blue land. (27) He said 'Oh Lord God, what is this? I'm finished'. He went along—how thirsty he was, poor boy—and saw blueness. He went down and saw a tree. He ran to the tree and saw some water there. He sat down and drank the water, washed his face and prayed to his God. The young boy, poor thing, went to sleep there. (28) He went to sleep, then woke up and said 'I'll just walk and let's see where I come to'. As he was going along he suddenly saw from afar something white in the blueness. He went and came close to it. He saw a very large palace. He went and knocked on the door. There was nobody. (29) He said 'By God, I'm done for,[5] so I shall go in and see what there is there'. He went in and saw that all kinds of food were cooked and made ready there and warm, but nobody was there. He served it out and ate. He went into another room, a large one, with some chairs on one side and some on the other, and a sofa placed over there. They were all decorated with precious stones (inlaid) in them. (30) He approached and sat there, then went to sleep. He went to sleep, then woke up, but what (a surprise when) he woke! There were snakes, each bigger than the other[6] with its mouth open towards him. He said 'Your name be praised, God!' His heart burst (in fear). (31) Then he saw a snake come, as if flying. He heard its voice, it came and entered through the door. He saw a gold tray on which there was a small snake with the head of a man and the body of a snake. One of the large snakes went and took the tray and brought it. He came up and put it next to Karimaddin. He went and delivered it and sat down again. (32) The snake said to Karimaddin 'Karimaddin, welcome! Today you are my guest. Do not be afraid. Sit and rest'. The poor boy sat down and felt comfortable. They brought food and so forth. He sat down and ate everything in one go.

(33) She (the queen of the snakes)[7] said 'Karimaddin, tell me your story. From where have you come here and how have you come?' Queen, may you be well, my story is very long. I cannot tell you all of it'. She said 'The night is long. Tell me your story. How did you come here?'

[5] Literally: That (fate) of mine as gone. I.e. I have nothing to lose.
[6] Literally: this one is not this one.
[7] It transpires that the snake on the tray was the queen of the snakes.

(34) mtunyàle| mère| zlúmyət bəṛ-našùθa.| bəṛ-našùθa| zlìməlli.| ʾána spayùθən wáða,| ʾu-ʾədyo mṭéli ʾána làxxa.| méra ʾáp-ʾana ʾáwwa rèši| ṯ́-áθe práma bəd-ʾiθàθux.| mére dàxi ṯ́-óya| ʾána parménne rèšəx?| (35) méra ʾána hon-màra| ʾáwwa rèši| ṯ́-áθe xá-yoma pràma| bəd-ʾiθáθa dìyux.| ʾàti parmátle réši.| mére maləkθa ṯ́-óyət basímta,| maləkθət xuwwăwàθa,| mère| ʾáti qəm-xalṣàtli| mən-d-áwwa mòθa.| ʾána skínta mattənna l-qðàli| ʾu-lá mattənna l-qðàləx.| réši parmènne| ʾu-réšəx là parménne.| méra ʾána mèri hátxa| de-tú mtanènnux ʾé-ga.| méra ʾáp-ʾana bắyən mtanénnux ða-qèṣṣət| dìyi.|

(36) mére de-pàqəð maləkθa.| màra| ʾíθwa lìθwa| méra ʾíθwa xa-málka t-Yằman.| ʾítwale xa-bròna| yăḳàna-wewa.| ʾu-qíme ʾáw ʾu-brōn-díye ʾu-tre-wăzíre plíṭe ṣèda.| plíṭela ṣèda,| zìlela| ʾu-xa-béna xzéla xa-xăzălìya| gu-dàšta| ʾu-rìqla bar-xăzălíya.| (37) hal-xăzălíya ríqtela ríqtela rìqta.| ṣlíθela l-márzət yàma.| ʾíθwa xa-bắlam zúrta tàma.| wìrta gu-d-a-bắlam.| xárθa ʾáni máṭyela tàma| l-márzət yàma.| ṣályele ʾo-brónət màlka.| brónət málka ʾu-ʾán-tre wăzíre ṣályela ta-t-dóqi xăzălíya m-gu-d-a-gáni zùrta.| (38) ʾu-xa-bèna| gáni ṭrìθela.| wírtela gu-yàma.| xíšla-w xíšla-w xìšla,| ṭ̀ryela gu-yáma.| píšla ʾap-ʾáni mènna,| qémi doqíla xăzălíya permìla.| kpìnna.| qəm-axlìla-w| xìlla ʾo-básra| ʾu-štéla m-an-míyət bằḥar.| zìltela,| mṭíθa l-xa-jăzíra xèta| ʾa-bằlam,| klìθela.| (39) ʾína xa-jăzìra| rába šapìrta,| ʾiláne məndiyáne gáwa dìya.| klíθa l-márzə d-a-jăzìra.| xárθa qímela ṣályela mən-d-a-bằlam.| síṛela bắlam diyéy táma b-ðà ʾilána.| méra dé ṯ́-órəx gu-d-àyya.| (40) bronət-málka mére ta-d-an-wăzìre| wúru gu-d-ay-jăzíra xzo-mò xazítu.| ʾáni xíšela xáčča ʾu-dìṛe.| ʾóθye màra| zdàləx,| la-ṣábrəx ṯ́-òrəx.| méra háyyo ʾap-ʾáti mènnən.| (41) ʾáp-aw qìma| ṭ̀láθna zíle wíre gu-d-a-jăzìra.| zìlla,| xðírra xðírra xa-bəṛ-náša lèla xzáya.| ʾína ʾa-jăzíra kul-fékət dùnye hóla gáwa.| zìlla,| xárθa m-ráḥqa xzéla xa-méndi xwàra.| (42) qrúla qrúla kásle dìye| ʾína xa-bèθa,| xa-qáṣra rába šapìra.| méra mašmòyət Karīm-addī́n?| mére hè.| méra qímela wíre gu-d-o-qàṣra.| wíre xázye mɛxòlta-w| mezăwàθa| ʾu-kúl-məndi ḥasb-əl-ʾuṣù̀l| ʾína bəṛ-náša lìθ.|

(34) He told her '(It is because of) the injustice of mankind. Mankind has wronged me. I was doing good and today I have come here'. She said 'Even me—this head of mine will be cut off by your hands'. He said 'How could it be that I shall cut off your head?' (35) She said 'I say that this head of mine will one day be cut off by your hands. You will cut off my head'. He said 'Queen, may you be well, queen of the snakes'. He said 'You have saved me from death.[8] I shall put the knife to my neck, I shall not put it to your neck. I shall cut off my head. I shall not cut off your head'. She said 'I have said so. Sit down and I shall tell you a story then'. She said 'I also want to tell you a story of mine'.

(36) He said 'Please go ahead, queen'. The story goes: There was, was there not—she said—there was a king of Yemen. He had a son who was an only child. He and his son together with two ministers went out hunting. They went out hunting, they went along for a while and then they saw a gazelle on the plain. They ran after the gazelle. (37) The gazelle ran and ran and ran. It went down to the shore of the sea. There was a small boat there. It went into that boat. Then they arrived there, by the shore of the sea. The son of the king went down. The son of the king and the two ministers went down to catch the gazelle (and take it) from that small boat. (38) But suddenly the boat sailed off. It went into the sea. They travelled and travelled and travelled, they sailed on the sea. They remained with it. They caught the gazelle and slaughtered it. They were hungry. They ate it, they ate the meat and drank the water of the sea. The boat went along and reached another island, then came to rest. (39) It was a very beautiful island, with trees and the like in it. It came to rest on the shore of the island. Then they got up and alighted from the boat. They tied their boat there to a tree. They said 'Let us go into the interior'. (40) The son of the king said to the ministers 'Go into the island and see what you can see'. They went off for a short while then returned. They came back and said 'We are afraid. We dare not enter (the island)'. They said 'You also come with us'. (41) He also got up and the three of them went and entered the island. They went and walked around for a long time but did not see a single person. The island contained all the fruits of the world. They went along and then, from afar, they saw something white. (42) They came near to it and (saw that) it was a house, a very beautiful palace.—She said 'Are you listening Karimaddin?' He said 'Yes'. She said—They went into that palace. They went in and saw food, tables, everything arranged, but there was nobody.

[8] Literally: from this death.

(43) mára xílela šə̀tyela mára brōn-málka tíwɛle l-d-a-tàxta.ˈ ʾu-xá-wə̆zir díye rəš-d-áwwa-kursaˈ xa-rəš-d-ə̆wàha,ˈ ʾu-ṭə̀lyelaˈ ma-t-wáwa kčîxe.ˈ mára xa-béna ṛèšíˈ ʾína mò-ṛɛšíˈ qálət maymùneˈ ṣràxa,ˈ mčalwòle.ˈ dax-ṯ́-ìla maymúne,ˈ šwárɛla l-ʾiláne mṭawòle.ˈ (44) máttu bàla,ˈ ʾína ʾalpə̀ye maymúne píše táma.ˈ ʾan-wə̆zíre gríšela sépa-w qə̀šta-w gèraˈ bə̆́yi máxi ṭla-d-an-maymùne.ˈ máre xà-qaṭlitu,ˈ trè-qaṭlitu,ˈ mò bṯ́-óðəx b-ánna?ˈ ʾən-pálšəx mən-d-áni qaṭlìlən.ˈ máre klo-xàzəxˈ mòdila qə́ṣṣət.ˈ (45) mára xa-béna ʾə̀θyele xa-máymun ràba,ˈ m-ánna gorálle gòṛe.ˈ ʾθyɛle,ˈ pθíxəlle tə̀̆ra.ˈ wíra zíla qam-màlka,ˈ kípa qam-màlka.ˈ máre málka ṯ́-áwət basìmaˈ ʾáti díya píšlux málka dìyən,ˈ málkət maymùne.ˈ máre dàx píšli málkət maymúne?ˈ (46) ʾax-ṯ́-íle málka Šlémun kθìwa.ˈ máre málka Šlémun mírɛle kθìwɛleˈ ku-brónət bár-naša ʾáθe l-d-áy jə̆zíra qamàye,ˈ ʾáwwa ṯ́-áwe málka diyèxu.ˈ hadíya ʾáti màlkən-itˈ ʾu-hál ʾámra ṯ́-óðəx xaðùθa.ˈ yàbaˈ hal-mbádla dmáxta lìθwa.ˈ rqàðtɛla-wˈ xálta-w štèθɛla.ˈ ʾu-hal-xábra ṭla-d-ànna maymúneˈ ku-móndi bə̆́yi xoš-ʾòði.ˈ (47) híwɛle xábra ṭla-d-àn maymúneˈ ga-wírra xa-xaðùθa gáwa.ˈ ʾánna píšla tàma.ˈ mó ṯ́-òðəx.?ˈ mó ṯ́-òðəx?ˈ málka máre ṭla-d-o-màymun,ˈ d-o-góṛət maymùneˈ mèreˈ bə̆́yən t-xazánne ʾúpra dìyiˈ kmèlaˈ ʾáyya bilād-díyi gòṛta.ˈ máre bə̆́yən xáðrən gu-ʾúpra díyi xazənne.ˈ (48) qíma dart-yòma,ˈ mjə̆̆́məlla maymùneˈ ʾu-xðìrɛle.ˈ qímela mə̀tyelaˈ xa-ṭùraˈ ʾìnaˈ xzéle xákma déwe-u maymúne mìθe táma.ˈ máre ʾánna mòdila?ˈ máre hál-ʾaxxa ṣíwən dìyən-ile.ˈ m-támma hódəx ṭùra ʾáθṛə d-ánna dèwele.ˈ (49) máre hammáša y-áwe pláša bélən ʾu-bēl-d-ánna dèwe.ˈ máre zə̀̀n,ˈ bar-siqlə́xu hal-ʾə̀kɛle ḥŭdūd-t-déwe?ˈ mára hal-gu-réšət ṭúra táma hŭdūd-t-dèwele.ˈ táma hóle málka Šlémun kθíwa xa-qayə̀mθa.ˈ (50) máre m-áxxa húdxa ʾíla wádi-t šəkwàne.ˈ máre kú-məndit ʾáwər gu-d-áyya wàdiˈ ʾánna šəkwáne ṯ́-axlìle.ˈ máre m-táma hódəx ṯ́-ázət máṭət xa-nèraˈ ʾáxči yómət šábθa bàrəz.ˈ kút yomət-šábθa míya là-hawe gu-néra.ˈ l-a-páθa xétət nèraˈ ʾíθ xa-máθət huðàye.ˈ ʾáyya mèraˈ hal-tàmaˈ ʾáyya ʾùrxa.ˈ máre ma-yxàləf.ˈ ʾu-xðìrɛle,ˈ ʾə̀θyɛle ʾaṣə̀rta.ˈ

(43) Now, they ate and drank, the son of the king sitting on the throne, one minister sitting on a chair and one on another chair, then they went to sleep, since they were very tired. Then they woke up, but what (a surprise when) they woke up, there was the sound of monkeys crying, wailing, as monkeys do, jumping on the trees, playing. (44) He looked and saw that thousands of monkeys had appeared there. The ministers drew their sword as well as their bow and arrow, intending to strike the monkeys. He said 'You may kill one, you may kill two, but what will we do with (all the rest of) them? If we fight with them they will kill us'. He said 'Wait and let's see what happens'. (45) Then a large monkey came, one of those big gorillas. It came and opened the door. It came in and went up to the king[9] and bowed to the king. It said 'King, may you be well, you have now become our king, the king of the monkeys'. He said 'How have I become the king of the monkeys?' (46) 'It is as King Solomon has written'. It said 'King Solomon wrote and said "Whichever person[10] comes to the island first, he will be your king". Now you are our king. Give us an order for us to celebrate'. Now, there was no sleep until dawn. There was dancing, eating and drinking. 'Announce to the monkeys that they may do whatever they want'. (47) He gave word to the monkeys and then they became very happy. They remained there. 'What shall we do? What shall we do?' The king said to the monkey, the leader of the monkeys, he said 'I want to see my land, (to see) how big my country is. He said 'I want to go around my land to see it'. (48) The next day he gathered the monkeys together and toured around. They arrived at a mountain and he saw dead wolves and monkeys there. He said 'What are these?' He (the monkey) said 'Our border is here. From here to yonder mountain is the land of the wolves'. (49) He said 'There is constant warfare between us and these wolves'. He (the king's son) said 'Now, when you go up, where is the border of the monkeys?' He said 'The border of the monkeys is the top of the mountain there. There King Solomon has written a monument'. (50) He said 'From here onwards is the valley of the ants'. He said 'Everything that enters this valley will be eaten by the ants'. He said 'If you go onwards from there, you will reach a river, except that it dries up on Saturdays. Every Saturday there is no water in the river. On the other side of the river there is a village of Jews'. It (the monument) said 'This road goes as far as there'. He said 'Fine. He toured about and came back in the evening'.

[9] I.e. the king's son. It transpires in what follows that he was treated by the monkeys as their king.

[10] Literally: son of a human being.

(51) ʾáwwa mṣawóθe mən-wŭzărāʾ-dìyeˈ mòreˈ b-áyya ʾúrxa mšàrṭəxˈ m-àxxa.ˈ móra dàxi?ˈ móre ʾána ṯ-ámrən ta-d-ánna maymúne kàpši ʾáxni w-ánna déwe pàlšəx.ˈ pálšəx mən-dèwe,ˈ máṭəx l-réšət ṭùra.ˈ máṭəx l-réšət ṭùra,ˈ l-wádi-t šəkwàne.ˈ (52) móre ṯ-órəx gu-d-ay-wàdi.ˈ ʾé-ga ʾáxni chance dìyən,ˈ ʾən-ʾaxlílən šəkwáne ṯ-axlìlən.ˈ w-ən-mšurə̀ṭlən,ˈ mšurə̀ṭlən.ˈ qímɛle dart-yòma,ˈ qáryɛle ʾó…góṛət maymùne,ˈ mòreˈ ʾána bə̆́yən ʾánna déwe maxə̀nna.ˈ móre dàxi?ˈ móre ʾána xzáyən ʾan-maymúne, šaʿb-dìyi líθ?ˈ hóla xálə̀lla qṭàlə̀lla.ˈ pálšəx ʾáni w-ána šaqlə̀nna ʾáθṛa mənnéy.ˈ (53) móre hal-xábra ṭla-maymùneˈ ʾu-kúlla quwāt-díyən ʾàθi.ˈ híwɛle xábra ṭla-maymùne,ˈ kpíšela maymúne b-ʾalpàye.ˈ ʾáyya mə̆̀nile mtanóyəlla?ˈ malə́kθət xuwwáθa ṭla-Karīm-addī̀n.ˈ móra mašmòyət Karīm-addī́n?ˈ móre hè.ˈ (54) móra ʾə́θye xɛlə̆wáθət maymúne dart-yóma ʾu-plìṭela.ˈ ʾap-màlka,ˈ bronət-màlka,ˈ ʾu-wŭzărəʾ-díye šqílla sɛpày,ˈ qəšta-w gèra,ˈ plìṭelaˈ pláša mən-dèwe.ˈ móra plíšla plíšla də́mma ṣléle b-lawuryàθa.ˈ (55) de-de-dè,ˈ xa-béna déwe šmìṭelaˈ w-ánna báθər šmìṭə̀lla,ˈ síqela gù-rēš-ṭura.ˈ ʾína hóla xá-qayəmθa kθíwta tàma,ˈ málka Šlémun kθìwə̀lla.ˈ hál-ʾaxxa ʾáθəṛ dèwele.ˈ m-áxxa húdxa ʾíla wádi-t šəkwàne.ˈ ku-nášət ʾàwəṇ,ˈ ku-xayúθət ʾáwər gu-d-ay-wàdiˈ ʾánna šəkwáne ṯ-axlìla.ˈ (56) móre ma-yxàlə̀f.ˈ móra qréle ṭla-d-o-góṛət maymùne.ˈ móre kúlla xoš-dàmxi.ˈ kúllɛxu dmùxu,ˈ ʾáxni ṯ-áwəx ḥurrə̄s,ˈ sab-ʾáxtu hótu kčìxe rába.ˈ maymúne kúlla dmìxela.ˈ ʾu-xa-béna ʾáni qìmela,ˈ gníwə̀lla gàna,ˈ wíre gu-d-a-wádi-t šəkwàne.ˈ

(57) xa-béna hàdəxˈ ṛíšela ʾánna maymùne,ˈ ʾína ʾáni lìθ.ˈ qréla b-o-goṛày,ˈ mòraˈ lìθ,ˈ hóla rìqe.ˈ mòreˈ npúlu bàθra!ˈ kú-dukθət xazìtuˈ qaṭlìtula!ˈ ʾánna-ži wìrela,ˈ ʾánna maymùne,ˈ gu-d-a-lawúrtət šəkwàne.ˈ béna péši ʾàni šəkwáne pláša,ˈ xákma šəkwáne gòṛe táma.ˈ (58) xa-mən-wə̆zìreˈ šəkwáne qəm-axlìle,ˈ xa-wə̆zìr.ˈ píšle brōn-màlkaˈ ʾu-xa-wə̆zȉr.ˈ zíle mátye l-d-o-nèra.ˈ lɛ̀wa yómət šábθaˈ ʾína ṣláya xɛlànɛle.ˈ dáryə̀lla gáne gu-nèra.ˈ ʾáwwa wə̆zȉr xéna-ži zílɛle b-mìya,ˈ xnìqle.ˈ bas-šríṭle brōn-màlka.ˈ bronət-málka šríṭɛle l-a-gōt-hòdəxˈ nèra.ˈ zíla níxa níxa wíra gu-d-a-màθɛle.ˈ

(51) He spoke with his ministers and said 'By this road we shall escape from here'. They said 'How?' He said 'I shall tell these monkeys to gather together. We and these wolves shall fight. We shall fight with the wolves and reach the top of the mountain. We shall reach the top of the mountain and the valley of the ants'. (52) He said 'We shall go into that valley. Then we (shall take) our chance. If the ants eat us, they eat us. If we escape, we escape'. The next day he called the leader of the monkeys and said 'I want to attack these wolves'. He said 'How?' He said 'I see that they are eating and killing the monkeys, my people, is that not so? Let us fight them and I shall take the land from them'. (53) He said 'Give notice to the monkeys and let all our forces come here'. He gave notice to the monkeys and the monkeys gathered in thousands.—Who is telling this? The queen of the snakes to Karimaddin. She said 'Are you listening Karimaddin? He said 'Yes'.—(54) Now, the forces of the monkeys came the next day and they set off. Also the king (of the monkeys, that is) the son of the king and his ministers took their sword together with their bow and arrow and set out to fight the monkeys. They fought and fought and blood flowed into the valleys. (55) After a time the wolves were defeated. After they had defeated them, they went up into the mountain. They found there an inscribed monument, which King Solomon had written: 'Thus far is the land of the wolves. From here onwards is the valley of the ants. Every man who enters, every living creature that enters in this valley will be eaten by the ants'. (56) He said 'Fine'. He called the leader of the monkeys. He said 'Let everybody sleep. You all sleep and we shall be the guards, since you are very tired'. All the monkeys slept, then they got up and stole away and went into the valley of the ants.

(57) After a while the monkeys woke up, but they (the others) were not there. They called their leader and said 'They are not here, they have fled'. He said 'Follow after them! Wherever you find them, kill them!' The monkeys went into the valley of the ants. The ants began fighting, some large ants that were there. (58) One of the ministers was eaten by the ants, one minister. The son of the king and one minister remained. They went along and arrived at the river. It was not Saturday and it was flowing in force. They threw themselves into the river. The other minister disappeared in the water and was drowned. Only the son of the king escaped. The son of the king escaped to the other side of the river. He went along slowly and entered the village.

(59) máxyɛle xa-tằra,ˈ mṣawóθe mànne,ˈ máre mò bắyət?ˈ m-èkət ʾəθya?ˈ màdi qə́ṣṣət?ˈ máre b-álaha qə́ṣṣət díyi rába rìxtɛla.ˈ ʾən-mxamə̀tli,ˈ pə́šən xa-xulàma gu-bə́θux.ˈ máre ma-yxàlə̀f.ˈ wírɛle máre gu-šàbθɛla.ˈ máre mɛxólta hóla tămàha.ˈ bắyət ʾàxlət,ˈ xùl.ˈ kpìnət.ˈ míya štì.ˈ ʾána la-qéθən b-čù məndí.ˈ sab-huðáye yomə-šábθa lə̀ palxí.ˈ (60) mára ʾáp-aw kpìnɛwa məskéna.ˈ dáryɛle mɛxólta xìlɛle.ˈ tìwɛle.ˈ píšta ʾaṣə̀rta,ˈ máre díya mtànili,ˈ díya mtánili qə́ṣṣət díyux màdi.ˈ máre b-álaha ʾána brónət málkət Ɣằman-in.ˈ hắl-u qə̀ṣṣət-diyi.ˈ (61) há máre dìya xíšla tajərúθət bábux m-áxxa,ˈ m-d-áyya màθa.ˈ tajərúθət bàbuxˈ kút-ṭḷa šánne xa-béna y-áθya làxxa.ˈ máre pə́šət kásli làxxa,ˈ ʾu-mxamánnux ha-ṯ́-áθya tajərúθət bábux láxxa xá-ga xèta,ˈ tá-t mtasəlmánnux ṭla-bàbux,ˈ sab-bábux spày-našɛle,ˈ xàwrən-ile.ˈ (62) xðèle yála.ˈ máre čù-məndi la-ʾóðət.ˈ kút-yom pálṭət ʾu-xàðrət,ˈ ʾáṣərta ʾáθət bèθa.ˈ kút-yom pálə̀ṭ xðára xðàraˈ gu-máθa xá-yoma tre-u-ṭḷàθa.ˈ

(63) xá-yoma šmíle xa-nàšaˈ hèyˈ mắni páyəš xulàmiˈ mbádla hal-ʾaṣə̀rtaˈ ʾəsri-w ʾarbà-saʾəte.ˈ ṯ́-áθe t-yánne ʾəmmà-dawe,ˈ ʾu-b-lɛ́le t-yánne xa-bàxta-ži,ˈ xa-jarìya.ˈ ʾo-máre b-álaha xoš-šùlɛla.ˈ mbádla hal-ʾaṣə́rta ʾu-ʾə́mma dáwe d-ɛ́-ga xu-lɛ̀la xáčča.ˈ (64) zíla máre ʾàna pə́šən.ˈ qəm-xazèleˈ máre là,ˈ xṭìθux,ˈ ʾáti yàla.ˈ la-bắyən.ˈ xoš-mbáqər bàbux.ˈ máre mà-lux.ˈ ʾàna pə́šən.ˈ ʾan-ʾə́mma dáwe maṣlíla ṭla-bàbuxˈ ʾu-hàyyo.ˈ (65) hole-šqìla ʾan-dáweˈ ʾáθyɛle kəs-d-o-náša t-wéwa kásle dìye.ˈ máre yába ʾan-ʾə́mma dàwe,ˈ xu-là mbaqrə̀təlli.ˈ ṯ́-ázən ʾaṣə́rta ṯ́-àθən.ˈ máre hey-nàšaˈ la-ʾàzətˈ ʾáθe mtaləxlux ʾàw.ˈ máre ʾána bṯ́-àzən.ˈ

(66) qìmaˈ síqa kəs-d-o-nàša,ˈ ʾaṣə̀rta.ˈ píšta mbàdla.ˈ mbádla qìmɛle.ˈ máre ṯ́-amrànnuxˈ díya kú-məndi-t ʾamránnux gắrəg ʾòðət.ˈ máre ma-yxàlə̀f.ˈ šqíla xa-sùsa.ˈ šqíləlla xa-skínta xéta ʾə́lle dìyeˈ ʾu-zìlɛle.ˈ zíla, zíla zìla,ˈ qam-xákma ṭuràneˈ rába ràme.ˈ

(59) He knocked on a door and (the occupier of the house) spoke to him and said 'What do you want? Where have you come from? What is (your) story?' He said 'By God, my story is very long. If you look after me, I shall become a servant in your house'. He said 'Fine'. He went in. He said 'It is Sabbath'. He said 'The food is over there. If you want to eat, eat! You are hungry. Drink some water. I shall not touch anything'. This is because Jews on the Saturday do not work. (60) Now he was hungry, the poor man. He put out some food and ate. He sat down. Evening came and he said 'Now, tell me, tell me what your story is'. He said 'By God, I am the son of the king of Yemen. My story is such-and-such'. (61) 'Ah', he said 'the merchants of your father have just departed from here, from this village. The merchants of your father come here every three years'. He said 'Stay with me here and I shall look after you until the merchants of your father come here again and I can hand you over to your father, because your father is a good man, he is our friend'. (62) The young man was happy. He (the Jew) said 'You shall not do anything. Every day go out and wander about and then in the evening come back home'. Every day he went out and wandered about in the village, for one day, two, three.

(63) One day he heard a man 'Hey, who will become my servant, from morning until evening, for twenty-four hours? Let him come and I shall give him one hundred gold coins and at night I shall give him also a woman, a maidservant'. He said 'By God, that is a good deal!' From morning until evening (for a hundred gold coins)—a hundred gold coins at that time were indeed not a small amount. (64) He went and said 'I shall be (your servant)'. He saw him and said 'No, it is a pity for you (to do so), you are a young man. I do not want (to accept). Go and ask your father'. He said 'What is the matter with you? I shall become (your servant)'. 'Take those hundred gold coins to your father and come here'. (65) He took the gold coins and went back to the man with whom he was staying. He said 'Well, do not ask me about those hundred gold coins (that I have brought). I shall go and come back in the evening'. He said 'Don't go, man. He will eventually destroy you'. He said 'I shall go'.

(66) He went up to that man and evening (came). Morning came. He got up in the morning. He said 'I say to you this: you must do everything that I tell you'. He said 'Fine'. He took a horse. He took another knife with him and went off. He went a long way (and came) to some very high mountains.

*(67) mə́re ṣlí m-xāṣ-sùsux.*ˈ *ṣə̀lya.*ˈ *qṭùlle súsa.*ˈ *qṭìlle súsa.*ˈ *mə́re prùmle*ˈ *m-áxxa-w bar-tə̀xti*ˈ *rápile qðàle-diye.*ˈ *ràpile.*ˈ *mə́re de-wúr gu-d-áwwa gùrba,*ˈ *gu-ṣádrə d-áwwa sùsa.*ˈ *ʾu-xúṭle m-gàwe.*ˈ *kə́má-t šə́mət taq-taq-tàq,*ˈ *là-palṭət,*ˈ *hal-ṯ-amrə́nnux plùṯgena*ˈ *ʾè-ga pálṭət.*ˈ *(68) mə́re ma-yxàlǝf.*ˈ *ʾáwwa-ži ṣólyɛle gu-d-a-hə̀nna.*ˈ *wítɛla xáčča b-yóma xə̀mma,*ˈ *xá-bena ʾə́θyela xákma ṭére y-ámri simàrxa.*ˈ *máxyela l-d-o-ṣádrət sùsa.*ˈ *músqəlle gu-réšə d-ò-ṭura ta-ṯ-axlíwale táma.*ˈ *har-wéla taq-táq mxàya*ˈ *ʾu-taq-tàq,*ˈ *xá-bena-w trè,*ˈ *w-áwwa sqìdle.*ˈ *(69) maxéla skínta l-d-ó-gəldət wéwa xíṭəlle m-gàwe*ˈ *ʾu-pàləṭ.*ˈ *ʾax-ṯ-íle plíṭa ʾo-simárxa prìxɛle,*ˈ *zìla.*ˈ *máttu bála b-gáne dìye*ˈ *nubálle rəš-d-o-ṭùra.*ˈ *líθ xa-ʾùrxa*ˈ *ta-ṣàle.*ˈ *(70) ʾé-ga ʾo-tájər t-wéwa híwəlle zùze*ˈ *mə́re rə̆́pili m-an-képe ṯ-íla tàma,*ˈ *ga-maxzə́nnux ʾúrxa ṣàlət.*ˈ *ʾən-lá tàma t-áwət,*ˈ *péšət táma méθət ʾax-d-an-ṯ-íla míθe tàma.*ˈ *(71) mə́re xðúr tàma,*ˈ *xázət gérmət nàše*ˈ *ṯ-íla míθe tàma.*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾati mèθət táma.*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾaw xðìra*ˈ *xázya gérmət náše t-wawa-mìθe táma.*ˈ *mə́re b-álaha dȕs-iwa.*ˈ *(72) qímɛle ga-rapóye m-àn-kepe,*ˈ *ʾáni kúlla ʾalmȃs-ila,*ˈ *mə̀n-d-o ṭúra.*ˈ *rúpyɛle rúpya hàl ʾaṣárta.*ˈ *ʾaṣə̀rta*ˈ *ʾo-tájər núblɛle náše xène*ˈ *xulamwáθa mə́nne dìye.*ˈ *ʾan-kèpe*ˈ *kúlla gríše nuble l-bèθa*ˈ *ʾu-šwìqəlle ʾáwwa táma.*ˈ

*(73) píšle tàma*ˈ *mə́re mo-ṯ-óðən ʾàna:?*ˈ *mo-ṯ-òðən:?*ˈ *ʾu-léka ṯ-ázən xðàra:?*ˈ *ʾúrxa lìθ,*ˈ *mə́ndi lìθ.*ˈ *píšle xùya,*ˈ *dmìxle táma ʾo-léle.*ˈ *dart-yóma qìma*ˈ *xá-ga xéta xðàra*ˈ *mə́re ʾáp-ʾana péšən làxxa,*ˈ *méθən ʾax-ṯ-ila-ʾànna míθe.*ˈ *(74) máxyɛle b-o-ṭùra,*ˈ *xíšele mə́re xázəx ʾèka ṯ-ázən,*ˈ *ʾèka pálṭən.*ˈ *mə́ra mašmòyət Karīm-addī́n.?*ˈ *mə́re hè.*ˈ *mára qímɛle zíla zìla*ˈ *hal-zíla b-o-ṭùra*ˈ *zíla zíla mṭèle*ˈ *xzéle xa-kóxa zòra,*ˈ *xa-béθa zòra.*ˈ *(75) màra*ˈ *ʾo-béθa zòra,*ˈ *zíla ʾàp-ʾaw,*ˈ *wíðɛle qázd d-ò-bɛθa,*ˈ *màxyɛle l-tə́ra.*ˈ *plíṭele xa-náša sàwa,*ˈ *dáqne xwàra.*ˈ *xázya mə́re ha-bǝr-nàša*ˈ *ʾáti dàx-it ʾə́θya láxxa.?*ˈ *m-èkət ʾə́θya láxxa.?*ˈ *mə́ra b-àlaha,*ˈ *sàwa,*ˈ *qə́ṣṣət díyi ràba ríxtɛla.*ˈ *šúqli ṯ-òrən.*ˈ *hálli xáčča míya šàtən,*ˈ *mítli m-kə̀pna.*ˈ *ʾálaha yàllux.*ˈ *ʾən-ʾáti yáʿni xèrət bíyi,*ˈ *mraxmàt-əlli,*ˈ *ʾálaha mraxm-èllux.*ˈ

(67) He said 'Get off the back of your horse!' He got off 'Kill the horse!' He killed the horse. He said 'Cut it from here downwards and throw away its neck, throw it away'. He said 'Go into its torso, into the chest of this horse and sew it from inside. However much you hear a taq-taq-taq (noise), do not come out, until I say to you "Come out!", then you come out'. (68) He said 'Fine'. So, he went down into that thing. It became rather hot during the day, then some birds known as *simarxa* came. They struck the chest of the horse (with their beaks). They took it up to the top of the mountain in order to eat it there. They continually made a taq-taq knocking noise, taq-taq, once, then twice, then he became fed up. (69) He struck the knife into the skin that he had sewn from inside and came out. When he came out, the *simarxa* bird flew away. He realized that it had taken him onto the mountain. There was no road down. (70) Then, the merchant who had given him money said 'Throw me the stones that are there, then I shall show you the way down. If not, you will remain there, you will stay there and die like those who have already died there'. (71) He said 'Wander around there and you will see the bones of people who have died there. You also will die there'. He wandered around and saw the bones of people who had died there. He said 'By God, he was right'. (72) He began to throw some of the stones from the mountain, they were all diamonds. He threw and threw until evening. In the evening the merchant brought other people, servants, with him. They carried all those stones home and left him there.

(73) He remained there and said 'What shall I do? What shall I do? Where can I go? There is no road, there is nothing'. It became dark and he slept there that night. The next day he got up and again wandered around. He said 'I also shall remain here and die like these people have died'. (74) He struck into the mountain and went off saying 'Let's see where I can go, where I shall come out'.—She said 'Are you listening Karimaddin? He said 'Yes'—Now, he went off, until he came to the mountain. He went a long way until he came across a small hut, a small house. (75) Now, he made his way towards that house and knocked at the door. An old man came out, with a white beard. He saw him and said 'Hey, man, how have you come here? From where have you come here?' He said 'By God, old man, my story is very long. Let me come in. Give me some water to drink, I am dying of hunger. May God give you (it in return). If you look after me and take pity on me, God will take pity on you'.

(76) mə́re hè bróni,ˈ hè bróni,ˈ wúr gu-bèθa.ˈ múθyɛle míya šə̀tyɛle.ˈ ʾu-híwəlle mɛxólta xìlɛle.ˈ ʾu-pìšɛle mánne díye.ˈ de-qíma mtúnyəlla qəṣṣə́tte kúlla ṭla-d-o-sàwa.ˈ mə́re mò ʾoðə́nnux?ˈ har-ḥérən b-gàniˈ lé-y-yăðən ʾána ʾèka,ˈ ʾána lé-y-yăðən ʾèkɛn.ˈ ʾu-lé-y-yăðən m-ékən ʾəθya.ˈ (77) pìšɛle táma,ˈ xá-yoma tre-ʾu-ṭlàθa,ˈ xa-bèna ʾíθwa ða-bə́rkət mìyaˈ qam-tắrət bèθa.ˈ wítɛla bar-ʾo-náša sáwa ṣə́lyɛle mtămòzəlla ç̣ənnə̀ké́ra díya,ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw ṣə́lyɛle mhayóre ta-d-o-sàwa.ˈ mə́re ʾay-mòdi?ˈ mə́re ʾáyya bắyən zăr̆ən ç̣ənnə̀ké́ra díya xáčča wàrde.ˈ (78) mə́re báhər ṭ-áθi xákma náše sáxi gáwa dìya.ˈ mə́re ʾan-náše mằnila?ˈ mòdila?ˈ mə́re hon-bằyəllux,ˈ ṭ-amrə̀nnux.ˈ mə́re ṭla-bnáθət màlka,ˈ Qă̆ṣar Hòzəṛ,ˈ mára Qă̆ṣar Hòzərila,ˈ láwši júllət yawnàθa,ˈ ṭ-áθi yátwi rəš-d-ày ʾilána.ˈ ṣáli sáxi gu-d-ánna mìya.ˈ (79) mə́re bnáθa bnàθa?ˈ mə́re hèˈ qíma kút-yoma yóma ṣlàya,ˈ ṣále ʾu-zăréwa wàrdeˈ ʾu-maštèwala-wˈ qímle mtugbə̀raleˈ ràba tắməz.ˈ ʾáwwa sáwa xírre bìyeˈ ʾína xa-yála ràba nằjə̀b-wewa.ˈ mə́re madàm ṭ-iwátwa pláxa ʾátxa məndiyáneˈ ṭ-amrə́nnux mò-ʾoðət?ˈ mə́re mòdi?ˈ (80) mə́re ʾáti ṭ-ázət t-yátwət tammàha.ˈ ṣáli šalxíla jullə́y t-yáwne tàmma.ˈ ʾáti xázət ʾày-mənna bắyətˈ šaqlátla ʾánna jùlle,ˈ mɛθə̀tla-llìˈ lítlux šùla.ˈ (81) ʾáwwa-ži qímɛle ṣə̀lyɛle.ˈ kút-yoma ṣàle,ˈ wíðwale xa-dúkθa mṭašéwa tàma.ˈ xá-yoma ṣlèle,ˈ ʾína šmíle xzéle ʾína ṭ̂llə̀θ-yawne tíwla táma.ˈ ṣə̀lyela,ˈ tíwela l-ʾằra.ˈ šlípəlla jùlla,ˈ ʾu-xzéle bəṛ-nàšeˈ yáʿni mṣawòθe.ˈ (82) mattúle bàlaˈ ʾa-zúrta ràba šapírtɛwa.ˈ ʾáni ṣə́lyela sxàya,ˈ ʾáwwa ráp rìxaˈ ʾan-júllət,ˈ ʾa-lwíšta d-a-zùrta,ˈ gnìwəlla,ˈ ʾu-rìqɛle.ˈ héy náša náša qímela ṣràxa.ˈ zílɛle kəs-d-ó-naša sàwa.ˈ (83) ʾáp-ʾani qímela lwíšla jùlla,ˈ zílela kə́sle dìye,ˈ d-ó-naša sàwa.ˈ mə́ra bába sáwa mòdile?ˈ m-èkɛt múθyə̀lle láxxa?ˈ mə́re čù-məndi líθ.ˈ mə́re čú-məndi lìθ.ˈ díya ʾáwwa bắye ta-d-áyya bráta zùrta.ˈ mqáwlət goràtle,ˈ t-yálla jùlla.ˈ ʾən-là,ˈ har-t-yálla júlləx b-kèfəx.ˈ (84) ʾáp-ʾaw zíla múθya jùlleˈ híwəlla jùlla.ˈ píšla táma mànne.ˈ qìmlaˈ ʾáni zílla ta-ṭlà-yomane,ˈ píšla ṭla-yàrxe,ˈ ma-t-xmìlla mən-d-o-yála.ˈ

(76) He said 'Yes, my son, yes my son, come into the house'. He brought water and he drank it. He gave him food and he ate it. He stayed with him. He told all his story to the old man. He said 'What can I do for you? I myself am confused. I do not know where I am, I do not know where I am, nor do I know where I have come from'. (77) He stayed there, one day, two, three. Now, there was a pool of water in front of the house. When that old man went down to clean around it, he went down to help the old man. He said 'What is that?' He said 'I want to plant around it some flowers'. (78) He said 'In Spring some people come and swim in it'. He said 'Who are those people? What are they?' He said 'I like you so I shall tell you'. He said 'Three daughters of a king, from Qaṣr Hozər—it is called Qaṣr Hozər—put on the clothes of doves and come and sit on that tree. They go down and bathe in this water'. (79) He said 'Real girls?'[11] He said 'Yes'. Now, everyday he would go down and plant flowers and water them. He looked after it (the pool) very well. The old man looked at him and saw that he was a very conscientious young man. He said 'Since you have been doing such things, should I tell you what to do?' He said 'What?' (80) He said 'You go and sit over there. They will go down and take off their doves' clothes. See which one you like and take the clothes (belonging to her) and bring them to me, and all will be fine'. (81) He went down. Every day he went down—he had made a place to hide in. One day he went down and heard (something) and saw that three doves had alighted there. They went down and settled on the ground. They slipped off their clothes and he saw (that they were) humans, who were talking. (82) He noticed that the young one was very beautiful. They went down to swim. With a swift movement, he stole the clothes of the young one and ran. They began shouting 'Hey man, hey man!'. He went to that old man. (83) They put on their clothes and went to him, to that old man. They said 'Dear old man, what is it? From where have you brought him here?' He said 'There is nothing the matter. There is nothing the matter. Now, he loves this young girl. If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes. If not, he will still give you the clothes, if you want them'. (84) He went and brought the clothes and gave her clothes to her. They remained there with him. They went there for three days, but stayed three months, so much did they enjoy themselves with that young man.

[11] Literally: Girls girls.

(85) xárθa ʾo-bába sáwa mə́re ta-d-àni| díya babáxu hóle spàrəllaxu.| lə́bbe biyáxu tlìqetu.| dúṛu sógena kəs-babàxu,| xàrθa| ʾáyya xaθáxu ʾàθya.| ʾáp-ʾani qìmela,| zìlela,| l-Qa̋ṣar Hòzər| kəs-babáy màlka.| (86) mə́ra hàtxɛla qə́ṣṣət.| ʾíθ xa-yàla,| ʾána mquwáltən mànne| ga̋ṛəg gawrànne,| ga̋ṛəg dɛ́ṛən ʾána l-tàma.| mə́re bráti ma-yxàlə̀f.| dùṛ!| qɛ́ma lwàšəlla ʾan-júlla díya.| ʾáp-ʾaw mšadóre xákma náše ḥəmáya dìya,| ʾax-nàšre| ʾína náše lóši pàrre.| (87) zíltɛla tàma.| píštɛla mə́nne díye kə́ma dànа.| xàrθa| xá-yoma síqa l-gàre,| hátxa xá-dukθa ràmta.| θéle qa̋hər-ʾəlle.| txírre bɛ́θət bábe ʾu-d-àni.| pílle šnèle.| ṭa̋ya báθre díye la-xzàyəlle.| (88) xárθa tfiqe bíye xázyəlle ʾína šə̀nya,| npìla.| qəm-mbaqràle| mə́ra ta-mò?| mòdi qə́ṣṣət díyux?| ta-mót hàtxa?| mə́re b-àlaha| mə́re ʾáp-ʾana là-xazyatli.| ʾáp-ʾana brónət xa-màlka,| spárəlli dɛ̀ṛən.| bábi màyəθ,| ʾána bṭ́-áwən málka šòpe.| ʾu-hon-díya npíla làxxa| ʾu-lé-y-yă̋ðən ʾána ʾèkən.| (89) mə́ra ma-yxàlə̀f.| mə́ra ʾàna| t-lawšánna ʾánna júllət yàwne,| ṭ́-asṛánnux xàṣi,| pàrxən,| nablánnux l-ʾáθṛət bàbux,| ʾáxči ʾən-yă̋ðátla ʾàθṛa,| t-la-nablátlən xa-dúkθa xéta naxrèθa,| ʾoðílən mă̋šàkəl.| (90) mə́ra yă̋ðətle?| ʾən-ʾázəx ʾáθṛət bàbux,| yă̋ðətle?| mə́re ṭábʿan yă̋ðánne ʾáθṛət bàbi.| dàx la-yă̋ðánne?|

(91) ʾay-lwíštəlla júlla dìya.| mə́ra ta-d-o-sàwa| de-puš-b-šɛ̀na.| ṭ́-àzəx.| nšíqəlle ʾo-sàwa,| mupíšəlle b-šɛ̀na,| ʾay-prìxtɛla.| zílla zílla xa-yòma,| trè-yome,| xárθa kči̋xtɛla| ṣlíθɛla munìxtɛla xa-dúkθa.| yómə ṭláθa ʾárba xá-bena pràxa| ʾámər klá klá làxxa.| ʾáwwa ʾă̋θəṛ dìyən-ile.| (92) ʾèka xzéle?| xzéle ʾékə t-wèwa| tíwa gu-d-a-bə̀lam zúrta.| gu-d-a-bə̀lam,| ʾína ḥurṛ̋s ʾíθwa t-málka ṭ́-ila-mútte tàma.| mə́re xazítu bróni bálki xnìqɛle,| bálki láššе díye pálṭa gu-yàma.| ʾən-xá-naša mɛ́θelaxu xàbra| bəd-bròni,| kut-mɛθéli xábra bəd-bròni,| ʾən-míθa ʾən-sàxi,| pálgət dáwi de-t-yánne ʾólle dìye.| (93) màlkɛle mára.| ʾámər kla-klá ṣla-làxxa.| ṣ́lyela tàma.| xa-bèna| xírela hàtxa| ʾína brónət málka θèle| ʾu-ðà mánne díye.| ʾo-t-qəm-xazéle rìqa| lázəm ṭ́-ámər ta-màlka.| (94) xa-xéna mə́re mòdile qə́ṣṣət?| mə́re brōn-málka hóle θèle.| ʾaw-ráqa ʾu-ʾaw-xéna šaqə́lla xa-kílo dàwe mánne díye,| máxe gu-réše dìye,| ʾaw-npìlɛle.| ʾo-xéna rìqɛle.| kázi mòdi,| lèle gláya.|

(85) In the end, the old timer said to them 'Your father is waiting for you now. He thinks you are lost. Go back to your father, then afterwards this sister of yours will come back (here)'. So, they went off to Qaṣr Hozər, to their father, the king. (86) She (the young girl) said 'The story is this. There is a young man. I have given him a promise and I must marry him, I must return there'. He said 'My daughter, that's fine. Go back!' She put on those clothes of hers. He sent also some people to protect her, like eagles, but they were people wearing feathers. (87) She went there. She stayed with him for some time. Then, one day, he went up onto the roof, a very high place. Sadness came upon him. He remembered the house of his father and his family. He fell and fainted. They searched for him but did not find him. (88) Then they came across him and found that he had fainted and fallen. She asked him saying 'Why? What is your story? Why are you like this?' He said 'By God, you do not see me (as I really am). I also am the son of a king and he is waiting for me to return. When my father dies, I shall be king in his place. Now I am lying here and I do not know where I am'. (89) She said 'It's all right'. She said 'I shall put on those doves' clothes and tie you to my back, then fly off and take you to the land of your father, so long as you know the land, and do not take me to another strange land and make problems for us'. (90) She said 'Do you know it? If we go to the land of your father, will you recognize it?' He said 'Of course I shall recognize the land of my father. How could I not recognize it?'

(91) She put on her clothes. They said to the old man 'Farewell. We are going'. They kissed the old man, bid him farewell and she flew off. She travelled for one day, two days and then became tired and descended and rested somewhere. On the third or fourth day, as she was flying, he said 'Stop, stop here. This is our land'. (92) Where was it that he saw? He saw where he had sat in that small boat. (It was the place) in that boat, but there were guards of the king who were posted there. He (the king) said 'You must find my son, perhaps he has drowned, perhaps his body has gone out into the sea. If somebody brings you word about my son—whoever brings me word about my son, whether he is dead or alive, I'll give him half of my gold'. (93) It is the king who is saying this. He (the king's son) said 'Stop, stop. Go down here. They went down there. Then they (the guards) looked and saw that the son of the king had come and that a girl was with him. The one who saw him ran, he had to tell the king. (94) Another said 'What is going on?' He said 'The son of the king has come'. While he was running the other took a kilo of gold in his hands and hit him (with it) on his head. He fell and the other ran off. They tried (to find out) what it was, but he did not reveal anything.

(95) mátyɛle kəs-màlka,ˈ mára málka brònux θéle.ˈ málka npìlɛleˈ šányɛle žáre mən-xaðùθe díye.ˈ xéna ṛìšɛle.ˈ bróne díye θèle!ˈ ríqa qímle plíṭle qámθət bróne dìye,ˈ dáwla-w zòrna,ˈ zìllaˈ bróne díye tlìqa kəma-dána,ˈ brōn-màlka.ˈ (96) qəm-mɛθéla ðá mənne-dìye,ˈ ràba xðéle b-d-a-bràta.ˈ mára ṭla-brōn-dìyeˈ dàxi θélux?ˈ mára b-álaha qáṣṣət díyi rába rìxtɛla,ˈ ʾàyya basímta.ˈ ʾu-ʾítwala ʾánna júllət prìxla bíya,ˈ qəm-ṭɛnáli xáṣa dìya,ˈ hàtxa,ˈ hàtxa,ˈ θélən làxxa.ˈ (97) zílle qəm-qaréla ʾa-bràta.ˈ mára háyyo ʾáti ʾítwət díya malʾkθa.ˈ múr kú-mdi-t bə̆yət,ˈ gu-d-ay-dùnye,ˈ ṭ̂-oðənnəx.ˈ mára hìč-məndi la-bə̆́yən.ˈ ʾána háli m-halèxu.ˈ ʾáxči banátli xàˈ—ʾánna bɛθáy kúlla k̂wìne-wɛwaˈ ʾarabàyeˈ—mára banátli xa-bèθa,ˈ xa-bùrj,ˈ ʾáx-t ʾàna bə̆́yən.ˈ mára ma-yxàləf.ˈ ʾáwwa-ži qímɛle bnáya búrj ʾólla dìya.ˈ

(98) ʾo-yála brōn-màlka mtuxmènneˈ màreˈ bálki ʾáθe xa-yóma ʾɛ-bráta kèrba mánniˈ lošàla ʾánna júlla díyaˈ ʾu-párxa ʾáza béθə bába dìya.ˈ mə̆̀ni nabálli?ˈ mu-t-yə̀ðən ʾékɛla?ˈ (99) mo-wìdle?ˈ qímɛle zíla mútta ʾán-julla díya gu-d-o-sandùqa,ˈ múttəlla gu-ʾasàsət béθa,ˈ ʾu-bányɛle gùda b-réše.ˈ de-ʾáyya lèða,ˈ lábba ṣə̀pya žáre.ˈ zíltɛla bár ṭ̂-ile-béθa prìqa,ˈ ʾáza xázya jùlla,ˈ júlla lìθ.ˈ (100) ʾáyya šaqlàwale ríxət júlle,ˈ šaqlàwale.ˈ xðírra xðírra bar-júlla dìya,ˈ lèla xzáyəlla.ˈ de-de-dè,ˈ xá-yoma ṣléla gu-gòma.ˈ ríxət júlla díya θèle.ˈ mára hóla làxxa.ˈ xðírra xðírra xðírra bàθra.ˈ ðìla m-èkɛla.ˈ (101) xpìrra,ˈ qəm-palṭàle sandúqət júlle.ˈ xa-yóma lošála júlla dìyaˈ párxa ʾátwa l-gàre.ˈ qréla b-o-gáwṛa dìya.ˈ mára ʾána bíθənnux θíθən bàθrux.ˈ w-ana-léðən ṭ̂-awátwa ʾáti xàyən palṭátwa mánni.ˈ júlli mattátwala gu-gùdaˈ ʾu-bánətwa ʾo-gúda b-rèša.ˈ (102) ʾə́n bə̆yàtli,ˈ ʾáθət báθri ʾap-ʾàti.ˈ ʾána zìlli kəs-bábi.ˈ ʾána bèθənˈ šə́mmət qáṣrən Qə̆́ṣar Hòzər-ile.ˈ ʾən-bə̆yàtli,ˈ ʾáθət tàma.ˈ ʾu-káze mxáya gu-rèše.ˈ ʾáyya zìlla.ˈ

(95) He came to the king and said 'King, your son has come'. The king fell down. He fainted, poor man, on account of his joy. Then he woke up again. His son had come back! He ran out to meet his son, together with a drum and pipe, since his son, the son of the king, had been lost for some time. (96) He had brought a girl with him and he was very happy with that girl. He said to his son 'How have you come?' He said 'By God, my story is very long but she is the one to thank. She had these clothes with which she flew and carried me on her back, and so on, and so on, and we came here'. (97) He went and called the girl. He said 'Come, you are now the queen. Tell me anything you want in the world and I shall do it for you'. She said 'I do not want anything. I shall live like you.[12] Only, build me a'—all their homes were tents, (they were) Arabs—she said 'Build me a house, a tower, in the way that I like'. He said 'Fine'. He built a tower for her.

(98) The young man, the son of the king thought and said 'Perhaps a day will come when that girl will be angry with me, put on those clothes of hers and fly back to her father's house. Who will take me there? How shall I know where she is?' (99) What did he do? He put her clothes in a box and placed it in the foundations of the house, then built a wall over it. She did not know, she was innocent, poor thing. After the house was finished, she went to find her clothes, but her clothes were not there. (100) She could smell the scent of the clothes, she could smell it. She looked around for her clothes, but did not find them. Now, one day she went down into the basement. The scent of her clothes came to her. She said 'They are there'. She searched and searched and searched for them. She knew where they were. (101) She dug and brought out the box of clothes. One day she put on her clothes, flew up and sat on the roof. She called to her husband saying 'I loved you and followed you, while not knowing that you would turn out to be treacherous to me, that you would put my clothes in the wall and build the wall over them. (102) If you love me, you now can follow me. I am going to my father's home. Our home, the name of our palace is Qaṣr Hozər. If you love me, go there. He tried (to supplicate with her) and beat his head, but she went off.

[12] Literally: My condition corresponds to your condition.

A15 The Monk and the Angel

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) ʾìθwa| xa-ràbbən,| tíwɛwa gu-xa-gəppìθa.| θéle xa-náša swarìya,| rakáwa.| ṣléle rəš-xa-ʾèna.| tìwle,| xílle màndi,| štéle mìya.| ʾíθwale xákma zùze.| qímle šqilìle.| mut-tìle| rəš-d-ɛ-ʾèna.| ʾàwwa| munšìle zúze díye.| zìlle.| ʾáwwa zílle b-ʾùrxa.| (2) θéle xá rakáwa xèna,| swarìya.| zílle rəš-ʾèna.| qəm-xazèla| ʾəmma dináre.| šqilíle jal-jàlde| muttíle gu-jèbe| ʾu-zìlle.| ʾo-qamàya| ʾámər ʾòh| zúzi munšìli.| qémən dèrən| ʾázən šáqlən zùzi| m-rəš-ʾèna.| (3) ha-t-ʾáθe ʾo-náša qamàya| máṭe l-ʾèna| ʾáθe xa-náša sàwa.| máṭe rəš-ʾèna| mattúla kàrte| ʾu-tíwle manyòxe.| ʾo-qamáya ṭ-íle zúze mùnšya| θéle ʾálle dìye.| ʾàmər| mpáləṭla zùzi!,| ʾámma dináre ʾána hon-mùnšəlla láxxa.| lázəm yawətla.| yába lán-xəzya zùze,| lá ʾáxxa-w tàmma| ʾu-kízle b-ay-gòta.| là.| (4) mára qaṭlənnux.| mára qṭùl!| lìtli.| zúze làn-xəzya.| qìmle| qəm-qaṭəlle.| qəm-qaṭəlle.| ràbbən| yăðət-mà-yle?| ràbbən| ʾáwwa ṭ-i-sàxəð l-ʾálaha| ʾu-ṭ-i-mṣàle-u| lé-y-ʾaxəl bàsra-w| ʾáw y-amríle ràbbən.| hóle tíwa gu-xa-gəppìθa| ʾarbì-šənne.| (5) qìmɛle| mára mádam hàtxɛla| ṭ-ázən ṭăyən báθər ḥaqqùθa| ʾu-na-ḥaqqùθa.| ʾènila ḥaqqúθa| ʾu-ʾènila na-ḥaqqúθa.| mára ṣəlyɛle| ta-t-ʾázəl ʾùrxa.| ʾálaha mšúdrəlle malàxa.| (6) mára ṣlí qamθə-d-áwwa nàša,| ràbbən,| t-là-xalṭ.| ṣályɛle qámθe dìye.| màre| ha-gàni,| lèkət zála?| màre| hon-zála ṭăya báθər ḥaqqúθa-w na-ḥaqqùθa.| ʾámər ʾap-ʾàna hówən zála ṭăya báθər ḥaqqúθa ʾu-na-ḥaqqùθa.| (7) màre,| maláxa mára ṭla-ràbbən,| mára ṭ-áwðət b-xàbri| kú-məndi ṭ-amrènnux?| ʾámər hè.| mára ma-yxàləf.| mára ʾána w-áti xonăwàθəx.| zìlela,| zíle, zíle, zíle gu-ðà-maθa.| ʾaṣərtɛla,| b-áyya dána hàtxa,| máxyela l-tărət béθət xa-nàša.| wìrela gu-béθa.| (8) šlàma-llɛxu!| b-šéna b-ṭawàθa,| páqðu tìwe!| tíwela tàma| ʾu-xílela ʾixàla| ʾu-píše dmìxe.| dmìxela,| b-lèle,| maláxa mŭṛəšle|qa-ràbbən| mára qù!| qù!| mára há də-šúqlən dàmxəx.| lét-mira ṭ-óðən b-xàbrux?| qu-šqúlla ʾáyya skìnta.| si-prúmle ʾáwwa yála zòra| ṭ-íle gu-dudìya.|

A15 The Monk and the Angel

Informant: Dawið ’Adam (Dure)

(1) There was once a monk who lived in a cave. A horseman, a rider came. He alighted at a spring. He sat down, ate something and drank some water. He had some money. He took it and put it on top of the spring. He forgot his money. He went off. He went off on the road. (2) Another rider came, a horseman. He went to the spring. He saw the hundred dinars. He quickly took them, put them in his pocket and went off. The first (rider) said ‘Oh, I have forgotten my money. I’ll return and go to take my money from on top of the spring.’ (3) Before the first man reached the spring, an old man came. He went up to the spring, laid down his load and sat down to rest. The first man, who had forgotten his money, came to him. He said ‘Give back[1] my money! I have forgotten one hundred dinars here. You must give it (to me).’ ‘I have not seen any money’. (He could) not (find it) here and there, he tried (looking) on the other side, but no. (4) He said ‘I’ll kill you’. He said ‘Kill (me). I have not got it. I have not seen any money’. He killed him. He killed him. Do you know what a monk is? A monk is somebody who worships God, who prays and does not eat meat. He is called a monk. He was dwelling in a cave for forty years. (5) He arose and said ‘If (the world) is like that, I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful, for what is lawful and what is not lawful’. So, he went down to set off on the road. God sent an angel to him. (6) He said ‘Go down to meet this man, the monk, so that he does not make a mistake’. He went down to meet him. He said ‘Hey, my soul,[2] where are you going?’ He said ‘I am going to search for what is lawful and what is unlawful’. He said ‘I also am going to search for what is lawful and what is unlawful’. (7) He said, the angel said to the monk, he said ‘Will you do as I say, whatever I tell you?’ He said ‘Yes’. He said ‘Fine’. He said ‘You and I are brothers’. They went a long way until they came to a village. It was evening, this time of day,[3] they knocked on the door of a person. They entered the house. (8) ‘Greetings to you!’ ‘You are welcome, please sit down’. They sat there, ate food, then slept. They slept. In the night the angel woke the monk. He said ‘Get up! Get up!’ He said ‘Oh, let us sleep’. ‘Did you not say “I shall do as I say”? Get up and take this knife. Go and slaughter this baby boy who is in the cradle’.

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[1] Literally: take out.
[2] Respectful address to a holy man.
[3] The information was telling the story in the evening.

(9) ʾaw-màre| dáx pɛrmánne ʾàwwa?| mút ḥaqqúθa na-ḥaqqùθɛla?| máre námu lét-mira ṯ-óðən b-xàbrux?| ʾàyyɛla.| bə̆́yət bə̆̀yət.| la-bə̆́yət si-prúmle yàla.| bába-w yámmət yàla| xamši-šánne ʾíθwala ʾùmra| líθwala bnòne.| ʾáwwa yála yíwəlle ʾálaha ʾálla díya ʾəštà yárxe.| (10) ʾu-ʾáp-ʾawwa qəm-parmìle.| ʾu-zìlla.| b-lèle,| zìlla,| síqla xa-máθa xèta.| máre ʾáyya mút ḥaqqúθa na-ḥaqqùθɛla,| ya-ʾaxòni?| hátxa mă̆ləpátli ḥaqqúθa ʾu-na-ḥaqqùθa.| zílela gu-ða-máθa xèta.| màra,| ʾímət sìqla| gu-d-è-maθa,| wírra gu-xa-bèθa.| (11) muttúla ʾixála xàla.| xa-ṭásət dàwa| qəm-mɛθèla,| mattíla tàma,| mìya gáwa díya.| ʾánna xílela ʾixàla| ʾu-léla šátye míya mən-d-ɛ-ṭàsa.| wítɛla b-lèle,| maláxa mŭ̆ṛášle qa-ràbbən,| máre qù!| šqúlla ʾáyya ṭàsa| ʾu-háyyo mànni.| (12) šqíləlla ṭásа b-lèle| ʾu-núbləlla zə́dyəlla gu-ða-dèrta.| šqíləlla mən-d-ɛ-dèrta,| núbləlla zə́dyəlla gu-ða-xèta.| máre ʾáyya mút ḥaqqúθa na-ḥaqqùθɛla?| mút farqùθɛla,| gu-d-áyya dɛ́rta ʾaw-gu-d-ă̆yàha?| ʾámər hàyyo!| háyyo mànni.| námu lan-mírəllux ku-mdi-ṯ-ámrən ṯ-óðət b-xàbri?| máre hè.| (13) márɛle síqela gu-xa-ṭùra,| túra ʾisáre ramàne.| xa-náša sàwa| ʾúmre díye…, yáʿni dáqne díye mṭáya l-ă̆̀ra,| hóle ṭína kértət qèse| l-xàṣe.| hóle tíwa l-kèpa,| hàtxa.| ʾánna pìðela mánne díye,| ʾap-šlàma léla dáryəlle.| maláxa máre ṭla-ràbbən| máre xzi-kəmɛ́le lxìma!| si-mxi-ʾáqlux gu-xáṣe díye l-àyya kɛ́rta| ʾu-hálle ṣàle,| šámәṭ qðále dìye.| (14) ʾámər mút ḥaqqúθa na-ḥaqqùθa?!| na-ḥaqqúθa là ʾawðánna.| máre námu lat-mqúla mànni?| máre hè.| máre də-sì!| zílɛle maxéla-ʾaqle ʾálle dìye| ʾap-ʾáw ṣàle| šámәṭle qðàle.| máre ṭla-mò hátxa,| ya-xòni?| ṭla-mò wídlux hátxa bíyi?| ʾána zála báθər ḥaqqúθa na-ḥaqqúθa t-ʾàlaha| w-áxxa-w támma ʾádyo ʾədyo| mu-ṣtímlux bèθi,| ʾáti wídlux hátxa hátxa bìyi?| (15) máre mùt xázya qam-ʾénux?| máre xázyɛwən ʾána ʾímə ṯ-ín tíwa láxxa ʾarbi-šánne,| hon-tíwa láxxa gu-d-áy gəppìθa,| θéle xa-náša swarìya,| θéle zílle rəš-ʾèna.| xílle mèndi| ʾu-šwíqle zúze díye táma zìlle.| θéle xa-xèna,| ʾan-zúze šqilíle ʾu-zìlle.| θéle xa-náša sàwa.| díṛe ʾo-qamáya qəm-qaṭálle ʾo-sàwa.| ṭla-mòdi?|

(9) He said 'How can I slaughter him? What is lawful and what is unlawful?' He said 'Did you not say "I shall do as you say". That is that. Whether you want to do so or not, go and slaughter the baby.' The father and mother of the baby did not have children for fifty years. God gave this baby to them six months ago'. (10) They slaughtered him and went on their way. At night they went off, and went up to another village. He said 'What is there lawful or unlawful in this, my brother? You should teach me what is lawful and what is unlawful'. They went to another village. Then, when they had gone up to that village, they entered a house. (11) They (the inhabitants) laid food to eat. They brought a golden bowl. They placed it there, with water in it. They ate the food, but did not drink the water from that bowl. In the night the angel woke the monk, he said 'Get up! Take this bowl and come with me'. (12) They took the bowl in the night, took it away and threw it into a house enclosure. They took it from that enclosure, took it away and threw it into another one. He said 'What is lawful or unlawful in this? What is the difference (whether it is) in this enclosure or that one?' He said 'Come, come with me. Did I not say to you "Do everything I tell you"?' He said 'Yes'. (13) Then they went up into a mountain, a mountain with high rocks. An old man, whose age… that is his beard reached the ground, was carrying a load of wood on his back. He was sitting on a stone, like this. They passed by him, but did not even greet him. The angel said to the monk, he said 'Look how fit he is! Go and kick his back on the load (he is carrying) and let him go down (the mountain) and break his neck.' (14) He said 'What is there lawful or unlawful (in this)?' I shall not do what is unlawful.' He said 'Have you not promised me?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'Go on!' He went and kicked him, and he went down (the mountain) and broke his neck'. He said 'Why this, my brother? Why have you done this to me? I am seeking what is lawful and what is unlawful to God, and so forth, but why have you ruined me today[4] and done such a thing to me?' (15) He said 'What did you see before your eyes?' He said 'I saw, when I had sat there for forty years, had sat in that cave, that a horseman came, he came to a spring. He ate something. He left his money there and went off. Another man came. He took that money and went off. An old man came. The first man returned and killed that old man. Why?'

[4] Literally: destroyed my house.

(16) mə́re yə̀ðət,ˈ ʾo-gawáyə šqilíle zùzeˈ ʾáni zúzət bábe dìyeˌˈ dəmmɛla.ˈ ʾénile qṭìləlle?ˈ qṭíləlle ʾo-náša sàwa.ˈ ʾədyo ʾo-sáwa qəm-qaṭə̀lle.ˈ mə́re ma-yxàləf,ˈ ʾáyya ðiyàli.ˈ ʾína módi bəd-bròna ʾíθwala xámši-w xámša šə̂nneˈ líθwala bnòne?ˈ har-ʾàwwɛwa.ˈ (17) mə́re xzí ṯ̂-amrə̀nnux,ˈ ʾu-màsyəθ.ˈ mə̀reˈ hál xámši-w xámša šə̂nneˈ y-awɛ́wa sxáða ʾalàha,ˈ y-ámər ya-ʾalàha,ˈ yawə́tlən xa-bròna.ˈ ʾímət ʾaláha yíwle ʾəlléy bròna ʾšuréla manšóyəlle ʾalàha,ˈ là txára ʾálaha,ˈ ʾu-là-mṣalɛwa qa-ʾálaha,ˈ har-dbíše b-bronèy.ˈ là,ˈ mə́re šaqlə́xle bronéy ta-t-taxríle ʾálaha xá-ga xèta.ˈ ʾámər ma-yxàləf,ˈ ʾap-ʾáyya qbilàli.ˈ módi bəd-manáyə d-áyya ṭàsaˈ dàwa,ˈ šqilálən m-àxxa,ˈ nublálən gu-d-yáha dɛ̀rta?ˈ (18) mə́re ʾáwwa bɛ́θa xălàla-wewaˈ bás ʾáyya ṭása dàwaˈ gnàwa-wawa gnúta.ˈ ʾɛ-dértə zədyálux gáwa díya kúlla genàwela.ˈ ʾálaha b-dayə̀nna.ˈ ḵ̂áwa ṭla-d-àni.ˈ mə́re ma-yxàləf.ˈ ʾáwwa náša sáwa ṭla-mó qəm-maqəṭlátle bìyi?ˈ (19) ʾáwwa náša sáwa rába ṭàwa-wewaˈ ʾu-y-azə́lwa b-úrxət ʾalàha.ˈ lɛ́wewa xlìṭaˈ ʾu-šuréle ʿajòzeˈ yáʿni kčàxa.ˈ ʾu-t-lá xàləṭˈ ṯ̂-ámər ya-ʾálaha šqùlliˈ ya-ʾálaha hátxa mànni.ˈ qámət xàləṭ.ˈ (20) ʾánna kúlla t-wiðìli qámuxˈ ðìlux módila?ˈ mə́re hé qəm-yəððə̀nna.ˈ ʾu-mə́re si-dúṛ l-šòpux,ˈ ʾax-ʾarbí-šənne ṯ̂-it-ʾáti plíxa qa-ʾalàha,ˈ ʾu-pàlxeti.ˈ ʾána malàxən.ˈ ʾən-lá-ʾawðət b-xábra dìyiˈ gánux šaqlə̀nna.ˈ (21) ʾámər xáṭər ʾalàha,ˈ ʾu-xáṭər mʕ̂ixa,ˈ bas-lá dáqrət bìyi.ˈ ṯ̂-ázən šòpi.ˈ ṯ̂-axlánne láxmi hál ʾo-yómət mɛ̀θənˈ har-ʾúrxət ʾálaha dóqən b-ìði.ˈ šwiqáli tàmaˈ ʾu-θéli làxxa.ˈ

(16) He said 'You know, the second one, who took the money, this is the money of his father, it is his blood (money). Who killed him? That old man killed him. Today that old man killed him'. He said 'Fine, I have understood this (now), but what about the child, (whose parents) had not had children for fifty-five years? He was the only one (they had)'. (17) He said 'Look, I'll tell you, so listen.' He said 'For fifty-five years they were worshipping God, he (the man) would say "Oh God, give us a son". When God gave them a son, they began to forget God, they did not remember God and did not pray to God. They were constantly attached to their son. No, he told us to take their son so that they remember God again.' He said 'Fine, I now accept that. What about the meaning of that golden bowl, which we took from here and took away to that house enclosure?' (18) He said 'That house was pure, but the bowl was stolen. The enclosure where you threw it, they are all robbers there. God will judge them. May they get what they deserve'.[5] He said 'Fine, but why did you make me kill that old man?' (19) 'That old man was very good and went in the way of God. He had not committed any (sinful) error. He started to get incapable and tired. In order for him not to commit an error, he said 'Oh God, take me, oh God, while I am like this", before he committed any error. (20) Do you now understand everything that I did before you?' He said 'Yes, I have understood them.' He said 'Go back to your place and continue to serve God as you have served him for forty years. I am an angel. If you do not do as I tell you, I shall take away your life'. (21) He said 'For the sake of God and the Messiah, do not touch me. I shall go to my place. I'll eat my bread (there) and until the day I die I shall always keep to God's way'. I have left it there and come here.

[5] Literally: Let it be for them.

A16 The Monk Who Wanted to Know When He Would Die

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) xa-ràbbən xéna,ˈ ràbbən,ˈ mára bə̆yən t-yə̆ðən ʾána ʾìman méθən.ˈ mára bə̆yən t-yə̆ðən ʾána ʾíman mèθena.ˈ mbùqrɛleˈ mbə̆tətɛle ʾáxxa-w tàmmaˈ mára ʾíθən xà'aˈ hóle gu-Kàrkuk,ˈ ʾáw yə̆ðeˈ ʾìman méθən.ˈ ʾáwwa yàlaˈ Dàwið-wewa šə́mme.ˈ ʾo-Dáwið mòdi šúle díye?ˈ máxewa daṛmànaˈ l-ṣàwleˈ xáyəṭwa ṣàwle.ˈ (2) θíθɛla xa-bràtaˈ mxáya ṣáwla díya daṛmàna.ˈ xə́zyəlla ʾáqla díya ʾàxxa.ˈ ʾáw qìmɛleˈ ʾéne díye wíðəlla k̲òre.ˈ qəm-maxéla ʾurədxaˈ gu-ʾéne dìye.ˈ ʾámər qa-mó gə̆rəg ʾázəl kúlla páxri gu-nùra,ˈ gu-jăhànnam?ˈ bas-ʾéni t-xzéla ʾày xoš-ʾáza gu-jahànnam.ˈ qəm-păréla ʾène.ˈ píšle Dáwið k̲òra.ˈ (3) ʾáwwa náša ràbbənˈ šmíle gu-d-o-Dàwið:ˈ ʾə́n ʾàmərˈ ṭúra mšanéle m-àxxaˈ mšanéle tămàha,ˈ ma-t-wéwa krəstyàna,ˈ mhamənána b-ʾalàha.ˈ ʾo-rábbən zílle mṭéle l-Kàrkuk.ˈ mboqàrreˈ yába ʾèkɛleˈ Dáwið k̲òra,ˈ ʾékɛle măḥálle dìyeˈ ʾáxxa-w tàmma.ˈ mṭèleˈ l-maḥálle dìye.ˈ (4) ʾímət mṭèle,ˈ dréle šlàma,ˈ qəm-xazèleˈ dréle šláma ʾə́lle dìye,ˈ šláma llèxu!ˈ b-šéna b-ṭawàθa!ˈ mára páqəð tù!ˈ tìwle.ˈ mára há xə̏r,ˈ mòdi bə̆yət?ˈ mára b-álaha hon-ʾə̀θyaˈ ʾána bə̆yən ʾítli xáčča šùla mənnux.ˈ mára mà-yxaləf.ˈ parqánne šùliˈ ʾu-ṭ-ásqəx l-bèθa.ˈ (5) mára qìmɛleˈ hal-ʾaṣə́rta plìxɛle.ˈ ʾo-pəlxána ṭ-íle plìxəlleˈ ho-nášela ʾə̀θyeˈ kásle dìyeˈ ʾu-qímela sìqe.ˈ qám d-áyya qəṣṣətˈ t-miràliˈ Dáwið k̲òraˈ dbíšla bábe-w yámme bìyeˈ móra ʾálla magurəxlux.ˈ yába kízle ʾáxxa-w tàmma,ˈ là-gawrēnˈ mò-hoyali gwárta-w?ˈ là-bə̆yən,ˈ ʾána là-gorən.ˈ (6) kízla bíye dìye,ˈ móra ʾə̀lla gáwrət.ˈ mára b-gàwrən?ˈ magurìtuli?ˈ móra hè.ˈ qímela zíle xə̀zyeˈ ʾa-bràta.ˈ xa-bráta xə̀zyəllaˈ mùθyəlla.ˈ móra ʾáyya ṭalbəxlà-llux.ˈ ʾímə ṭ-íla múθyəlla ʾa-bràta,ˈ ʾímə ṭ-íla múθyəlla ʾa-bráta ʾálle dìye,ˈ mbùrxəlla.ˈ (7) xàrθaˈ ʾámər ʾálla dìyaˈ ṭ-amránnəx xa-mèndi.ˈ móra mùr.ˈ mára lə́wət ʾàtiˈ ʾɛ-bráta ṭ-in-ʾána wíðəlla gáni k̲óra b-rèšəx,ˈ máxyəlla ʾurədxaˈ gu-ʾèni?ˈ móra yèhe.ˈ

A16 The Monk Who Wanted to Know When He Would Die

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) Another monk, a monk, said 'I want to know when I shall die'. He said 'I want to know when I shall die'. He asked, he investigated here and there. He said 'There is somebody in Kirkuk who knows when I shall die. He is a lad called David.' What is the profession of that David? He used to polish shoes and sew shoes. (2) A girl came to have her shoes polished. He saw her leg here. He got up and made his eye blind. He stuck the needle into his eye. He said 'Why should all my body go to the fire, to Hell? Let only my eye, which saw it, go to Hell'. He burst his eye. He became blind David. (3) The monk had heard about that David that if he says he will move a mountain from here, he will move it there, so (devout) a Christian was he, so believing in God. The monk went to Kirkuk. He asked 'Now, where is blind David? Where is his place (of work)?' and so forth. He reached his place. (4) When he arrived, he greeted him, he saw him and greeted him 'Greetings to you!' 'You are welcome!' He said 'Please sit down!' He sat down. He said 'Now, what do you want?' He said 'By God, I have come, since I have some business I'd like to do with you'. He said 'Fine. I'll finish my job, then we shall go up to the house'. (5) So, he worked until the evening. He did the work.[1] People came to him and went away. Before this story that I have told you, the father and mother of blind David pressed him and said 'We must marry you'. He tried to (avoid it), in this way and that (and said) 'I shall not marry. What (good) would marriage be to me? I don't want it. I shall not marry'. (6) They tried (to persuade) him, saying 'You must marry'. He said 'Shall I marry? Will you marry me?' They said 'Yes'. They went to find the girl. They found a girl and brought her. They said 'We shall ask for her to be betrothed to you'. When they brought that girl, when they brought that girl to him, they wedded her (to him). (7) Afterwards he said to her 'I'd like to say something to you'. She said 'Tell me'. He said 'Are you not the girl on account of whom I made myself blind, by puttinng the needle into my eye?' She said 'Yes'.

[1] Literally: (It is) the work that he did.

(8) mə́re xzá ṯ-amrə̀nnəx.ˈ la-ʾámrəx ʾána w-áti gáwṛa-w bàxta.ˈ ṯ-ámrəx ʾána w-àtiˈ xóna-w xàθa.ˈ mbúrxəllən l-ġðàðeˈ ka-xóna ʾu-xàθa,ˈ lá ka-gáwṛa-w bàxta.ˈ mə́ra hè.ˈ mə́re la-ʾàmrətˈ ṭla-ʾàp-xa.ˈ ʾáxni xòna-w xáθɛwəx.ˈ (9) mára qìmɛle,ˈ báθər hàdəx,ˈ θéle sìqleˈ kəs-Dáwið ḳóra ʾó ràbbən.ˈ mə́re ʾána bə́yən t-yə́ðən ʾìman méθən.ˈ mə́re ma-yxàləfˈ basìṭɛla.ˈ xílela xa-ràmša ʾu-prìqela,ˈ ʾu-dáryəlle šwìθa.ˈ dmíxɛle Dáwið ḳóra làxxaˈ ʾu-báxta dmíxtɛla làxxaˈ ʾu-ʾo-rábbən dmíxɛle làxxa.ˈ múttela xa-sállət mìya.ˈ múttela qam-ʾaqlaθèy.ˈ (10) sállət míya yə́ðət mèla?ˈ béna míya kálye gu-sàlla?ˈ béna ʾàwˈ ma-ṯ-íwa hal-hàdəx,ˈ bə̆yéwa qa-ʾalàhaˈ ʾu-ʾaláha bə̆yèwale,ˈ ʾap-míya muklèle gu-d-ɛ-sálla.ˈ (11) ʾánna léla dmìxe,ˈ ʾo-rábbən múttəlla ʾáqle díye rš-ə̆qəl bàxta.ˈ rrrrrˈ míya ṣályela b-rešèy.ˈ mə́re há xàzəxˈ mù wídlux rábbən?ˈ mə́re čù-məndi,ˈ xðárənwa l-èy-goti,ˈ ʾáqli tíwla š-ʾáqlət bàxta.ˈ mə́re qu-plúṭ m-àxxa!ˈ ʾáti xa-náša xə̆ràmət.ˈ mə́re ʾúp ʾaláha la-yə́ðe ʾáti ʾìman mɛθéti.ˈ ʾu-ṭríðəlle m-gu-bèθaˈ zìlele.ˈ

(8) He said 'Look, let me say (this) to you: Let's not say that I and you are husband and wife. Let us say that I and you are brother and sister. They have wed us together while we are brother and sister, and not husband and wife'. She said 'Yes'. He said 'Do not tell anybody. We are are brother and sister.' (9) So, after this the monk came up to visit blind David. He said 'I want to know when I shall die'. He said 'Fine. It is easy'. They ate dinner and finished (the meal), then he made him up a bed. Blind David slept here, the woman slept here and the monk slept here. They had put out a basket of water, they put it in front of their legs. (10) Do you know what a basket of water is? But, can water stay in a basket? He was so (holy), he loved God and God loved him, that he made even water stay in the basket. (11) While they were asleep, the monk put his leg onto the leg of the woman, rrrrr, the water came down onto their heads. He said 'Oh look, what have you done, monk?' He said 'Nothing. I was turning over to my (other) side and my leg fell on the leg of the woman'. He said 'Get up and get out of here! You are a villainous person'. He said 'Even God does not know when you will die'. He drove him from the house and he went away.

A17 The Wise Young Man

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-nàša| gòṛa| zála b-ʾùrxa.| zílle xá taqríban pálgə-saʾəta, xá-saʾəta, b-ùrxa,| xa-yála zóra… là-zora,| yáʿni mátya… tmanessár, ʾəsrì-šənne,| zílle bàre.| zílle báre dìye| qəm-xazéle xa-nàša| mìθa| nabóləlle mṭamòrəlle.| (2) ʾo-yála zòra| ʾábu ʾəsrì-šənne| máre ṭla-d-ó gòṛa,| náša gòṛa,| máre xàli| ʾáwwa náša mìθele ʾən-b-xàyele?| máre hay-hátxa-w hátxa mànnux.| la-hóle mìθa.| lɛt-xzáya bíye díye ṯ́-íle mìθa?| hóla nabóləlle mṭamòrəlle.| w-áti hot-màra| mìθele ʾən-b-xàye?| la-hóle mìθa.| (3) zìlele,| lèle rhíwa.| zílela xa-fàtra| mətyela,| xəzyéla nèra,| mìya.| ʾámər xàli| lá ʾawðáxle ʾáwwa gəšra| šáwrəx réša réša d-ánna mìya?| ham-mṣawòre ʾálle díye.| máre ʾána m-éka mɛθánnux qèse?| m-éka mɛθánnux bəzmàre?| m-éka mɛθánnux nasàrta| ta-t-nasránnux qèse ṯ́-oðánnux gəšra,| šáwrəx réše réše dìye?| ham-máre ma-yxàləf.| (4) qímela síqela b-xa-ṭùra.| mère ʾálle díye| xàli| námu la-ʾawðáxle ʾáwwa ṭùra| dărəjyàθa,| dărèje,| ṯ́-ásqəx l-áwwa ṭùra?| máre hày| kálba brət-kàlba| ṯ́-íwət xa-xèna!| m-éka píšlux baláya ʾəlli?| máre ʾána m-éka mɛθánnux kulənga,| ʾu-mɛθánnux kèpe| ʾu-mɛθánnux čimànto| ʾu-ta-ṯ́-oðánnux dărèje| ʾu-ta-ṯ́-ásqət rèša díya?| (5) ʾáwwa yála là rhíwle.| píðela síqela ṭùra.| sìqela,| dàšta-wawa| ʾu-ðá məíta gòṛta,| tàma.| ʾáwwa lítle náše gu-d-a-məìta.| ʾo-náša sàwa| máre ṭla-d-ó-yala zòra,| mère| ʾèka ṯ́-ázət?| ʾána čú-dukθa lìtli.| ṯ́-ázən gu-jàma.| xámən gu-jàma.| (6) ʾáwwa qíma zíla l-bèθe díye| ʾo-náša gòṛa.| ʾíθwale xa-bràta.| ʾu-zàngīn-wewa,| ʾu-ʾíθwale qàṣra.| qáṣre díye spày-wewa.| mára qìmɛle,| wírɛle gu-bèθa,| bráte díye mára há bàbi,| dàx-wawa ʾúrxux?| spày-itwa?| ʾáθyət ràḥat,| ʾən-là?| (7) máre bráti rába ràḥat-inwa,| ʾína ʾáθyɛle xa-yàla,| xa-ʾaṣòṭa.| mŭčázəlla xəyàli.| mára dàxi?| máre ʾəθyəx| mátyəx pálgət ʾùrxa| xa-náša hóle mìθa,| zála mṭamòrəlle.| hóle mára mìθɛle ʾən-b-xàye?| la-hóle mìθa,| hola-zála mṭamòrəlle.|

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(1) There was once a man, an elderly man, who was going along the road. He went along for about half an hour, an hour, along the road. A young boy… not young, that is one who was eighteen or twenty years old, followed him. He followed him and saw a dead person, whom they were taking to bury. (2) The youth, who was twenty years old, said to the older man, the older person, he said ‘Uncle, is that person dead or alive?’ He said ‘This and that (curse) be upon you. He is indeed dead. Don’t you see that he is dead? They are taking him to bury and you say “Is he alive or dead?”. He is indeed dead’. (3) He went along and did not speak. After a while, they came upon a river,[1] water. He said ‘Uncle, should we not make a bridge for it so that we can cross over this water?’ He cursed him again. He said ‘From where should I bring you wood? From where should I bring you nails? From where should I bring you a saw so that I could saw for you the wood to make a bridge, so we can cross it?’ He said again ‘Fine’. (4) They went up a mountain. He said to him ‘Uncle, should we not make for this mountain steps, so that we can go up the mountain?’ He said ‘Oh, you dog son of a dog, who are another (son of a dog)! Why[2] are you such a trouble to me?’ He said ‘From where could I bring you a pickaxe, or bring you stones, or bring you cement, so that I could make steps for you to go up?’ (5) The youth did not speak. They passed on and went up the mountain. They went up, there was a plain, with a big town there. He had no relatives in that town. The old man said to the youth, he said ‘Where will you go?’ ‘I have nowhere to go. I’ll go to the mosque. I’ll stay in the mosque.’ (6) The elderly man went to his house. He had a daughter. He was rich and had a large residence. His residence was (very) fine. Now, he went into the house and his daughter said ‘Oh, father, how was your journey? Was it good? Was it peaceful or not?’ (7) He said ‘My daughter, I was very peaceful, but a tiresome youth came along and annoyed me’. She said ‘What happened?’[3] ‘(When) we reached the middle of the journey, (we found) a man had died and they were going to bury him. He says “Is he dead or alive?” He was indeed dead, they were going to bury him’.

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[1] Literally: they arrived and they saw a river.
[2] Literally: from where.
[3] Literally: How?

(8) mára bábi mò márux-əlle?ꜜ máre qəm-ṣarənne.ꜛ ta-mòꜜ bàbi?ꜜ la-ʾaw-dṵ̂s-wewa!ꜜ máre dàx ṯ́-ile-dṵ́s?ꜜ hóla zála mṭamòrəlle.ꜛ mára hè bábi,ꜛ hè.ꜛ ʾu-mòdi-xenət xázya?ꜜ (9) máre ʾə́θyəx xa-néra benàθənꜜ hóle màraꜜ bábi ṯ́-óðəxle gə̀šra.ꜛ mári m-é́ka mɛθánne qèse,ꜛ m-é́ka mɛθánne bəzmàreꜜ ʾu-nasàrta,ꜛ ta-ṯ́-oðánne gə̀šraꜜ šàwər réše réše.ꜛ mòdi márux-əlle?ꜜ máre mṣuwə̀rri ʾə́lle díye.ꜛ (10) máre θélən b-áwwa ṭúra ši̇̀ma.ꜛ hóle mára ṭlàliꜜ ṯ́-óðəxle dărə̀je xáli.ꜛ mári ʾána m-é́ka mé́θən kulə̀nga,ꜛ m-é́ka mɛθéna čimànto,ꜛ m-é́ka mé́θən kèpeꜜ ta-ṯ́-oðánne dărə́je ta-ṯ́-ásəq gu-réše.ꜛ mòdi màrux-əlle?ꜜ máre qəm-ṣarənne.ꜛ (11) lá bàbi,ꜛ là!ꜜ lèka zílle?ꜜ zílle gu-jàma.ꜛ mára ma-yxàləf.ꜛ mšádrən mɛxòlta ʾə́lle díye,ꜛ ʾixàla.ꜛ qìmtɛla,ꜛ šlìqtaꜜ bə̌ʾe,ꜛ šàwwa bə́ʾe.ꜛ ʾu-muttéθɛla ṭ́áθi ləxmeꜜ gu-čànta.ꜛ mára bábi nábəlla gu-jàmaꜜ hàlle!ꜜ (12) ʾáwwa zílɛle b-ʾùrxa,ꜛ xa-bètaꜜ ʾu-xa-láxma xìləlla.ꜛ zílɛle nùblə̀llaꜜ ʾálle dìye.ꜛ máre hàꜜ ʾáwwa ʾixàlaꜜ ṭlàlux,ꜛ xùl!ꜜ pθíxəlla xə̀zyəlla,ꜛ ʾína ʾəštà-beʾe.ꜛ láxma pθìxleꜜ ʾína xáze ʾə́sri ʾə́ʦ̌ʦ̌a ləxme.ꜛ (13) ʾámər là bə̆yə́nna,ꜛ šqùl!ꜜ ʾámər ṭla-mòdi?ꜜ máre ʾàxniꜜ kə̀sləsuch šàbθaꜜ ʾíla šawwà-yomeꜜ ʾu-yàrxaꜜ ʾíle ṭ́laθì-yome.ꜛ ʾáxtu šabθéxu ʾəštà-yomela?ꜜ yarxéxu ʾəsri-w-ʾəʦ̌ʦ̌à-yomele?ꜜ là bə̆yə́nna.ꜛ šqúl sì!ꜜ qímɛle šqìla-ʾaniꜜ ʾu-mŭdə̀rə̀lla.ꜛ núblə̀lla qa-bráte dìye.ꜛ (14) mára hà bábi,ꜛ mára xázəx mŭdərìlux.ꜛ ṭla-mò?ꜜ máre ʾo-mára hàtxa,ꜛ hàtxa.ꜛ nublìliꜜ hóle mára ṭlàliꜜ lè y-axlə́nna.ꜛ ʾáxni šabθènіꜜ šawwà yománelaꜜ ʾu-yarxéni ṭ́laθì yómele.ꜛ màreꜜ ʾáxtu šabθéxu ʾíla ʾəštà-yomeꜜ ʾu-yarxéxu ʾíle ʾəsri-w-ʾəʦ̌ʦ̌à-yome.ꜛ máre là bə̆yə́nna,ꜛ sì.ꜛ (15) mára dṵ̂sꜜ bábi.ꜛ b-ʾùrxaꜜ lát-xila xa-láxma-w xa-bèta?ꜜ máre yè.ꜛ máre m-è́ka ðíle?ꜜ mára ʾána muttéθənɯa yománə šàbθaꜜ ʾu-muttéθənɯa yománət yàrxa.ꜛ ʾáti xa-béta hot-šqíləlla mən-šàbθaꜜ píše ʾəštà-yome.ꜛ ʾu-xa-láxma hot-šqíləlle mən-yàrxa,ꜛ hóla píše ʾəsri-w-ʾəʦ̌ʦ̌à-yome.ꜛ (16) mára bábi hawnànɛle.ꜛ si-méθəlle làxxa.ꜛ ʾu-màraꜜ ʾímə ṯ́-ítu ʾθye,ꜛ xə̀zyeꜜ ʾo-náša mìθa,ꜛ yə́ðət módi-wawa qázde dìye?ꜜ màrɛwaꜜ har-ʾàwwɛleꜜ ʾən-ʾítle nawàge,ꜛ ʾən-ʾítle bàba,ꜛ ʾən-ʾítle yə̀mma,ꜛ ʾən-ʾítle xonă̆wàθa?ꜜ

(8) She said 'Father, what did you say to him?' He said 'I cursed him'. 'Why father? He was indeed right!' He said 'How was he right? They were going to bury him'. She said 'Father, and what else did you see?' (9) He said 'We came to a river between us (and the town). He says "My friend, let's make a bridge for it". I asked from where I should bring him wood, from where I should bring him nails and a saw so that I could make a bridge for him to cross over'. 'What did you say to him?' He said 'I cursed him'. (10) He said 'We came to this huge mountain. He says to me "Let's make steps for it, my uncle". I asked him from where I should bring a pickaxe, from where should I bring cement, from where I should bring stones to make him steps to climb it'. 'What did you say to him?' He said 'I cursed him'. (11) 'No, father, no! Where has he gone?' 'He has gone to the mosque'. She said 'Fine. I shall send food to him, some food'. She boiled eggs, seven eggs, and put thirty loaves of bread in a basket. She said 'Father, take them to the mosque and give them to him'. (12) He went off on the road and ate one egg and one loaf of bread. He went and took them to him. He said 'Here is some food for you. Eat it!' He opened it and saw that there were six eggs. He opened (the basket of) bread and saw that there were twenty-nine loaves of bread. (13) He said 'I don't want them. Take them!' 'Why (not)?' He said 'A week for us is seven days and a month is thirty days. Is your week six weeks? Is your month twenty-nine days? I don't want them. Take them and go!' He took them and returned them. He took them to his daughter. (14) She said 'Oh father', she said 'I see you have brought them back. Why?' He said 'He says such-and-such has happened. I took them and he says to me "I shall not eat them. Our week is seven days and our month is thirty days". He said "Your week is six days and your month is twenty-nine days". He said "I don't want them, go away!"' (15) She said '(He's) right, father. On the way did you not eat a loaf of bread and an egg?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'How did he know?' She said 'I had put (in the basket the number of) the days of the week and I had put (the number of) the days of the month. You took an egg from the week and it became six days. You took a loaf of bread from the month, and it became twenty-nine days'. (16) She said 'Father, he is clever. Go and bring him here'. She said 'When you came and saw that dead man, do you know what his intention was? He meant[4] "Is he alone or does he have grandchildren, does he have a father, does he have a mother, does he have brothers?"

[4] Literally: He was saying.

(17) ʾímə-t mə̀re| har-ʾàwwɛle| ʾən-là?| mìθɛle| ʾən-là?| xá-naša l-xóðe lítle la-bába la-yə́mma la-ʾàp-xa,| ʾáw y-amrìle| lìtle náše.| ʾáwwa mìθɛle.| ʾáwwa mádam ʾìθwale| bàxta,| ʾíθwale bnòne,| ʾíθwale nàše,| ʾáwwa lèle míθa.| (18) mə́re dȕs-iwət.| mə́re ʾína m-èka| ṯ-óðənwale gə́šra?| ʾaw-mə́re là ṯ-oðátli gə́šra b-qèsa| ʾáxxa-w tàmma.| xa-mənnéxu ṭayánwa ʾo-xèna,| ṭayánwale l-xàṣe,| payášwa gə̀šra.| xà-mənnɛxu b-taréwa| ʾo-xéna là taréwa.| mə́re dȕs-it| ʾap-ʾàyya.| (19) mə́ra b-ṭùra,| ʾímə θélɛxu sáqa l-ṭùra,| ʾaw-là-wewa qázde díye ta-t-xaprítu ṭùra.| mə́re ṯ-amrítu tuniyàθa,| mṣawθítu m-ġðàðe,| ta-t-ṭúra ja-jálde pàrəq.| ʾaw-lèwa qázde díye ta-ṯ-ázət ʾawðátle xaprátle ṭùra,| ʾawðátle dărə̀je| ʾáxxa-w tàmma.| mə́re b-álaha dȕs-it.| (20) si-múrre ṯ-áθe làxxa.| qímɛle zíla xá-ga xèta,| mírəlle ʾu-ʾəθyɛle.| ʾáθyele l-bèθa,| wírɛle gu-béθa xàzyəlle,| ʾàmər| ʾáwwa tăréxu pc̱̄ílɛle.| bábət bráta màra| m-èkɛle pc̱̄íla?| har-gubbə̄̀n-ix wíðəlle.| ya-nàša| hot-mára hàtxa!| mùt hole-pc̱̄íla?!| ʾo-tắra drəst-ile,| léle pc̱̄ìla.| ʾáxxa l-tàmma.| (21) xárθa mə̀ra|—mṣuwátla m-ġðàðe,| yála-w yàlta|—mə́ra ʾána bă̈yànnux.| mə́re ʾap-ʾána bă̈yənnəx.| gwìrela l-ġðáðe.| gwíre l-ġðàðe,| màlka| šmìle| ʿal-ʾasə̀s| xa-yála hóle ʾə́θya táma kəslèy,| rába hawnànɛle,| ʾu-ʾup-báxte dìye| ṯ-íle gwìrəlla| rába hawnàntɛla.| (22) yíwle xábra ta-d-ò-yala| mə́re ṯ-ázət ʾaskarìya.| mə́re ṯ-ázət ʾaskarìya,| lázəm ʾàzeti.| kút ʾáθe gu-ʾúpra dìyi| lázəm ʾáwəð ʾaskarìya.| ʾawwa ʾaskaríya dìye| ṭlà-kəma dánɛla?| qa-ṭlà-yarxe.| mára qìmɛle| mə́re ma-yxàləf,| ṯ-àzena.| (23) ʾáwwa ðìle| manay-díye mòdila.| qímɛle mtúrṣəlla xa-tàxta,| wíðəlla semàlta.| mútt̄əlla gu-ḥădìqa,| mpúlṭɛle bəzmàre.| kùlla| mən-ʾəltəx| wíðəlla bəzmàre.| ʾítle tắra gu-ḥădìqa| ʾu-ʾítle dàrga-žigən.| xa-béna ʾáwwa zìlɛle,| l-àskar.| (24) ʾáwwa xèna| θéle málka b-lèle.| θéle málka b-lèle,| síqle gáwa-gawət ḥădìqa.| ʾu-síqle b-dărə̀je.| síqle wírre kəs-bràta.| wírre kəs-bràta| mə̀re| ʾána ʾədléle ʾárxa ṯ-áwən láxxa kəsləx.| mə́ra málka dax-lítlux xàṭər.| (25) mə́ra ṯ-ázən máθyən xáčča štèθa,| màzza,| məndi-hàle,| ṯ-átwəx šátəx ʾána w-àti.| qímtɛla zíltɛla| ja-jálde muθéθəlla štèθa.| ʾu-tìwɛla.| muθéθɛla tré glàse.| ṭla-d-áy dráyɛla xàčča| ṭla-d-áw ràba.| ʾa-d-áy ṃl̥áyəlla kùlle míya| ʾa-d-áw har-mə̀lya.| štáyɛla-w práqɛla bíya dìya|

(17) That is, when he said "Is he alone or not? Is he dead or not?", (this is because) a man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody, they say that he has no relatives. He is dead (in this case). So long as he had a wife, he had sons, he had relatives, he is not dead'. (18) He said 'You are right. But from where could I have made him a bridge?' 'He did not mean "Make me a bridge of wood" and so forth. (Rather his meaning was that) one of you should carry the other, carry him on his back, and he would become a bridge. One of you would get wet and the other would not get wet'. He said 'You are right, also in this'. (19) She said 'On the mountain, when you came to go up the mountain, it was not his intention that you should dig the mountain. He meant that you should tell stories, you should speak with one another, so that the mountain would finish quickly. It was not his intention that you should go and dig the mountain and make him steps, and so forth'. He said 'By God, you are right'. (20) 'Go and tell him to come here'. He went again and told him, and he came. He came to the house. He entered the house and saw it, then said 'This door of yours is crooked'. The father of the girl said 'How can it be crooked? We made it exactly according to a spirit-level, man, but you say that! What (do you mean by saying) it is crooked?! The door is straight, it is not crooked'. And so forth. (21) Afterwards she said—the boy and girl talked with one another—she said 'I love you'. He said 'I also love you'. They married one another. They married one another and the king heard that a young man had come to their home, that he was very clever and that also his wife, whom he had married, was very clever. (22) He gave an instruction to that youth saying 'You have to go to the army'. He said 'You have to go to the army, you must go'. Everybody who comes to my land, must serve in the army'. For what time is this army of his for? For three months. So, he said 'Fine, I'll go'. (23) He knew what his intention was. He constructed a board and made it into a ladder. He put them in the garden. He fetched nails and put all the nails underneath. There was a door in the garden and there was also a main gate. Then he went to the army. (24) The other, the king, came at night. The king came at night and went up through the garden. He went up the steps, he went up and went in (to visit) the girl. He went in (to visit) the girl. He said 'Tonight I shall be a guest in your home'. She said 'Oh king, you are welcome'. (25) She said 'I shall go and bring some drink, nibbles, and so on, so that we can sit and drink, you and me'. She went and quickly brought drink and they sat down. She brought two glasses. For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot. She fills hers all with water. His was continuously full. They drink and finish it.

(26) móra də-yàlla,ˈ jàlde,ˈ ští ta-t-dàmxəx.ˈ málka rwèle.ˈ rwèleˈ qəm-doqále p-àqle,ˈ xrrr garšále nablále gu-čàčma,ˈ w-aḇmále tắra bàre.ˈ ʾay-θéla dmíxla gu-ʾótəx dìya.ˈ xlíqla tằra,ˈ dmìxla.ˈ (27) wítɛla qedámta sáʾət ʾárpa b-lèle,ˈ ṛìšɛleˈ màlkaˈ ʾína gu-čàčma.ˈ ʾáwwa lèle múdwaˈ ja-jálde pθíxəlle tằra,ˈ rìqɛle.ˈ ríqa zìlɛle.ˈ zìlɛle,ˈ qedámta qímtɛla bràta-wˈ mxŭláltəlla ʾay-dùkθaˈ ʾáxxa-w tàmma.ˈ (28) báθər ṭḷá-yarxe θéle yàla.ˈ θéle yàla,ˈ zílle rá'san qəm-xazéle dăràjeˈ ʾína dàwaˈ líqa b-bəzmàre.ˈ léle múttəlla ʾáqle dìyeˈ—ṣáwlət màlkaˈ ʾiwéwa dàwaˈ—múttəlla rš-d-àn bəzmáre,ˈ ʾo-bəzmára xíla mən-dàwa,ˈ šqíla mən-dàwa.ˈ (29) móre málka hóle ʾə́θya láxxa kəs-bàxti.ˈ ʾəθyɛle,ˈ qə́ryəlle xəmyáne dìye.ˈ móre háyyo ṯ-amrənnux.ˈ móre há xȅr,ˈ mòdila?ˈ móre hàyyoˈ ʾána brátux là bă̆yánna.ˈ (30) móre sí-mur ṭla-màlka:ˈ ʾíθwali xa-kàrma.ˈ zrìyənwaleˈ mútta-wewa dalyáθa ʾu-xabúše ʾu-kúll xa-mèndi.ˈ mútta-wewa ʾixàla.ˈ θéle xa-náša qəm-šaqə́lle ʾo-kàrmi.ˈ lá-karmi lɛle-mădòṛeˈ ʾu-la-ḥáqqət kàrmi lɛle-yáwa.ˈ si-hátxa múrgən ṭla-màlkaˈ xzi-mò b-mjawáblux málka.ˈ (31) qímɛle xəmyána dìyeˈ zílle kəs-màlka.ˈ ʾímə zílle kəs-màlka,ˈ díwənt málka hóle ṃlíθa náše ràbe.ˈ kúlla ʾə́θye ʾitléy šăráṭe ṯ-amríla qa-màlka.ˈ ʾaw-tíwɛle xaràya.ˈ mboqárre mən-d-o-qamàyaˈ módit ʾəθya?ˈ módi šắrəṭ dìyux? módi mquma ʾəllux?ˈ ʾo-qamáya miràle,ˈ ʾo-t-tré miràle,ˈ ha-t-mṭéle gárra ʾə́lle dìye.ˈ (32) mṭéle gárra ʾə́lle dìyeˈ móreˈ ʾàtiˈ módila qə́ṣṣət dìyux?ˈ móre ya-málka ṯ-áwət basìma.ˈ hóle ʾə́θya xa-nàša.ˈ ʾíθwale xa-kàrma.ˈ zríyənwale b-iθàθiˈ ʾu-rábənwa kčíxa bíye dìye.ˈ ha-t-qa-mamṭə́nna ṭúnte dìye.ˈ (33) ʾímət mṭéla ṭúnte dìye,ˈ θéle xa-nàša,ˈ qəm-šaqə̀lla ʾɛ-ṭúnte díye.ˈ ʾo-kármi qəm-šaqə̀lle.ˈ lá-karmi léle mădòṛeˈ ʾu-lá ḥáqqət kármi lɛle yàwa.ˈ ʾána hírən b-gàniˈ mò bắyən ṯ-oðénaˈ lan-mṣáya čù-məndi.ˈ w-áti mò ṯ-amrə́tli?ˈ (34) móre ʾána marən-èlluxˈ hé dȗs,ˈ ʾíθwaluxˈ ʾo-kàrma.ˈ ʾína wírɛle gáwe díye ʾàryaˈ ʾu-plíṭɛle tèla.ˈ móra ʾímə ṯ-ìleˈ mírəlle hàtxa,ˈ ʾáwwa xəmyáne díye lèle ðíya módila manày.ˈ málka ðìle.ˈ qímɛle díṛa ʾəθyɛle.ˈ móre ṭla-yàlaˈ móre hàtxa mjawə́ble ʾólli málka.ˈ móre mòdi móre?ˈ (35) móre hé dȗsˈ ʾíθwalux kàrmaˈ ʾu-θéle náša qəm-šaqə̀lle mánnuxˈ ʾu-la-ḥàqqa yíwleˈ ʾu-la-kàrmux mŭdáṛṛe.ˈ ʾína wírɛle gáwe díye ʾàryaˈ ʾína plíṭɛle max-tàlaˈ m-gu-kàrma.ˈ móre dȗs hàtxa móre?ˈ móre hè.ˈ móre ʾána m-díya m-bàθərˈ brátux bă̆yənna.ˈ ʾu-xátna l-bə́θa pɛ̀šena.ˈ ʾu-hadíya ðíli ʾána manáy díyux mòdilaˈ ʾu-t-màlka.ˈ ʾu-háwət basíma ràba.ˈ

(26) She said 'Come, quickly, drink so that we can go to sleep'. The king became drunk. He became drunk and she grasped him by his legs, dragged him along and took him to the bathroom, then closed the door behind him. She came back and went to sleep in her room. She locked the door and went to sleep. (27) In the morning, at four o'clock in the morning, the king woke up (and saw) that he was in the bathroom. He did not delay and quickly opened the door, then ran away. He ran and went away. He went away and in the morning the girl got up and cleaned the place, and so forth. (28) After three months the young man came back. (After) the young man came back, he went immediately and saw that on the steps gold had stuck to the nails. While he placed his foot—the shoes of the king were made of gold—he placed them on the nails, the nail ate the gold, took some of the gold. (29) He said 'The king has come here to visit my wife.' He came back and called his father-in-law. He said 'Come. I'll tell you'. He said 'Is everything all right? What is the matter?' He said 'Come. I don't love your daughter'. (30) He said 'Go and tell the king "I had an orchard. I had cultivated it. It was laid out with vines, apple-trees, everything. It was laid out with food. A man came and took away my orchard. He does not return my orchard nor does he pay the price". Go and say this to the king. See what the king replies'. (31) His father-in-law went to the king. When he went to the king, the audience chamber of the king was full of many people. They had all come with cases to present to the king. He sat last (in the queue). He (The king) asked the first one 'Why have you come? What is your case? What has befallen you?' The first one told him (his case), the second one told him, until his turn came. (32) His turn came, he (the king) said 'What is your story?' He said 'King, may you be well. A man has come (to me). He had an orchard. (He said) "I had cultivated it with my hands and toiled greatly in it in order to make it produce its fruit. (33) When its fruit became ripe, a man came and took its fruit. He took my orchard. He is neither returning my orchard nor paying the price of my orchard. I am confused as to what I should do. I cannot do anything. What do you say to me?"' (34) He (the king) said 'I say to you: Yes, it's true. You had an orchard. But a lion entered it and came out as a fox'. Now, when he said that to him, his father-in-law did not understand what the meaning was. The king knew. He came back. He said to the young man, he said 'The king replied to me in this way'. He said 'What did he say?' (35) He said 'It is true. You had an orchard and a person came and took it from you. He did not pay its price nor did he return your orchard. A lion entered the orchard and came out as a fox'. He said 'Did he really say that?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'I from now on love your daughter and shall become a son-in-law in the house. I now know what you mean and what the king means'. Thank you.

A18 Baby Leliθa

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-màlka.ˈ ʾíθwale ʾárba bnòne.ˈ ʾan-ʾárba bnòne,ˈ ðá-xaθa ṭlìbəlla,ˈ ðá-xaθa yaḵànta.ˈ bás băyéwa ðá-xaθa yaḵànta.ˈ qəm-hawéla xáθa yaḵànta.ˈ ʾɛ-xáθa yaḵàntaˈ zòrta-wawa.ˈ gu-dargúšta qɛmàwa,ˈ šaryáwa bănúda dìyaˈ ʾu-ʾazáwa gu-màθa,ˈ ʾaxláwa xa-bròna,ˈ ʾaθyàwa,ˈ damxàwa.ˈ (2) ʾáp-xa lè-y-yăðewa bíya díya.ˈ y-aθéwa škáya qa-màlka.ˈ málka ṯ-áwət basìma,ˈ ʾáyya mut-máθɛla?ˈ ʾánna mut-ḥàrs-it mattóye?ˈ bróni hóle xíla ʾədlèle,ˈ gu-dargúšta dmìxa.ˈ dáx hàtxa báre ʾo-mándi?ˈ (3) mára so-dúqu nàwba.ˈ zílla dwíqla náwba l-ăyàʾha qunjəlta t-hódəx,ˈ ʾáyya gu-d-ɛ-qunjə́lta xèta.ˈ ʾap-dártət-yoma qìmla,ˈ dártət-yoma zílla wídla hàdəx.ˈ b-léle qímla šárya bănúda dìya,ˈ ṯ-àza,ˈ pθíxla tắra qðìla.ˈ zílla xílla xà-yala xénaˈ ʾu-θéla dmìxla.ˈ (4) hár hola-škàyaˈ har-líba fàyda.ˈ ʾap-dártət-yoma hàdəx,ˈ yómət ṭlàθa.ˈ yómət ʾàrbaˈ xóna díya ʾo-zóra ṛìšle,ˈ ʾo-zórət kùlla.ˈ nṭìrre ʾəlla-díya.ˈ nṭìrre.ˈ mára ʾáwwa mándi hàtxɛle!ˈ klèle,ˈ klèle.ˈ qəm-xazèla.ˈ là-glele qamáye.ˈ (5) mára xázən ʾáp ʾədléle mjàrbən.ˈ xázən ʾáp ʾədléle ṯ-áθɛ náše škáya ta-bàbi.ˈ bábi màlkɛle.ˈ ʾáp ʾaw-léle xéna qìmla,ˈ sáʾət ṭlá́θa b-lèle,ˈ šárya bănúda dìya,ˈ ʾu-ʾáza ʾáxla xá-brona xéna ʾu-dèṛa,ˈ dàmxa.ˈ (6) páθxa tắra,ˈ dámxa gu-dudìya.ˈ ʾáy Lelìθɛla.ˈ ʾàp-xa la-yắðe bíya.ˈ Lelíθa y-áxla nàše.ˈ ʾánna là-yăði.ˈ xšíwla bratey-zòrtɛla,ˈ ʾánna là-yăði.ˈ (7) qíme bàbi,ˈ ʾáp ʾo-léle ʾə́θye šəkyela.ˈ mára tə́mməl ṯ-ámrən ta-bàbi.ˈ mbádla qìmle.ˈ zìlla náše,ˈ prìqla.ˈ mára bàbi,ˈ ṯ-amrə́nnux xa-xàbra.ˈ yáʿni ʾən-ʾáti kàrbət mánni,ˈ ʾána brònux ʾíwən.ˈ là-karbət mánni.ˈ (8) hátxa bába xqìrɛwət.ˈ yáʿni ʾána màjbur-inˈ qa-t ʾána xzéli xá-mdi qam-ʾéni gằrəg ʾamrə́nne.ˈ la-bàrya.ˈ ʾáxni ʾíwəx màlke.ˈ xázəx məndiyáne bràya,ˈ ʾu-lá-ʾaxləx xámma d-áyya bằlad,ˈ la-bàrya.ˈ mára pàqəð bróni.ˈ

A18 Baby Leliθa

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There was a king. He had four sons. The four sons prayed for a sister, a single sister. All they wanted was a single sister. An only sister was born to them. The only sister was a small (baby). She stood up in the cradle, untied her bands, went into the village, ate a child, then came back and went to sleep. (2) Nobody knew about her. They came to complain to the king. King, may you be healthy, what kind of village is this? What kind of guard are you appointing? My son was eaten tonight while asleep in his cradle. How can such a thing happen?' (3) He said 'Go and keep guard'. They went and kept a guard in that far corner, and one in this other corner. Also the next day she got up, the next day she went and did the same. At night she got up, untied her bands, then went and opened the door with a key. She went and ate another child, then came back and went to sleep. (4) They continued to complain but it was still no use. Also the next day, the third day, the same happened. On the fourth day, her young brother, the youngest one, woke up. He watched her, he watched. He said 'This is what is happening!'[1] He stayed still. He saw her, but at first he did not reveal (what he had seen). (5) He said 'I shall see and investigate also tonight. I shall see whether also tonight people come to complain to my father. My father is the king'. Also the next night she got up, at three o'clock in the morning, untied her bands, went and ate another child, then returned and went to sleep. (6) She opened the door and went to sleep in the cradle. She was Leliθa. Nobody knew about her. Leliθa would eat people. They (the parents) did not know. They thought their daughter was a small (baby). They did not know. (7) My dear, also that night they came to complain. He (the young brother) said 'Tomorrow I shall tell my father'. In the morning he got up. (When) the people had gone and finished, he said 'Father, I'd like to tell you something. If you get angry with me, (remember) I am your son. Don't get angry with me. (8) You are are a very respected father, but I am forced (to tell you) that I have seen something before my very eyes that I must tell. It should not happen. We are kings. If we see things happening and do not care for this country, it is not right'. He said 'Go ahead, my son'.

[1] Literally: This thing is like this.

(9) mə́re yə́ðət ʾáwwa mə́ndi ṯ́-íle bràya| gu-bèθən-ile bráya.| mə́re mùt mára bróni?| mə́re b-álaha bàbi.| mə́re xzèli| xàθi| šréla bănùde,| šqílla qðìla,| pθíxla tə̆́ra,| plìṭla.| ʾu-θèla,| ʾu-mə́dre qəm-paθxàle tə̆́ra,| ʾòra,| dàmxa,| ʾasṛàla bănúda díya.| dárt-yoma náše θéla škèla.| (10) mə́re ʾáy xàθila.| mə́re là| gə̆́rəg là-ʾamrət hátxa.| mə́re bábi b-kèfux.| ʾána hon-màrəllux.| lá hămónəlle bróne dìye.|

(11) šqílle gàne| zílle ʾu-xyèle gu-mðíta xéta.| xíšle ʾu-xíšle ta-mðíta xèta.| xìlla,| kúlla máθa qəm-axlàla.| kúlla yále zóre qəm-parqàla.| píšla bábe-u yə́mme-u xonăwáθa lèla hămóne.| xa-léle xílla bàba.| xa-léle xílla yə̀mma.| ʾáp-xa là-yăðe.| kúlla qəm-axlàla.| (12) ʾo-bróna ṯ́-íle zíla ða-bážər xèta,| yáʿni ða-mðìta,| ða-màθa,| píšle rába mparòje,| maṣyóθe l-béθət bábe dìye.| píšle šə́nne rábe ʾárbe xámməš ʾáššət šə́nne la-zìlle.| mə́re θèle,| mawṭánət bábi θèle,| xonăwáθi θéla qam-ʾèni,| yə́mmi-u bàbi.| dàx-iley?| ṯ́-ázən xázən mòdi píše ʾan-náše.| (13) qímle tíwle xə̆́ṣ-súsa bàbi.| ʾáw ʾu-báxte mtufə̃qla m-ġðàðe.| ʾíθwale tre-bnóne ʾu-ða-bràta.| mə́re ṭla-báxte dìye| ʾàna,| ya-bàxta,| ʾáyya ʾisə́qθi yawə́nna qàləx.| ʾítli ʾàrye.| ʾən-ʾáyya ʾisə́qθi xèrət,| ʾən-ṭúwət ʾisə́qθi bdìlɛle,| mšadrátla ʾárye ṯ́-àθa,| ʾána gu-ʾawqànən.| (14) ʾu-ʾàti,| mə́ra ta-gàwṛa,| ʾap-ʾána ʾítli tre-bòčẹ.| ʾáp-ʾay brāt-màlkɛwa.| ʾánna tre-bóčẹ šaqlə̀tla,| mattə́tla gu-jèbux.| ʾən-θéla píšla xə̀ṭar ʾə́llux qúrba,| dríla ʾan-bóčẹ l-ʾə̆́ra,| qémi tre-xóre ṯ́-ásqət rèša| párqət xàyux,| bálki ʾən-šálla hal-ʾɛ-gə-máṭa ʾàrye.| (15) mə́ra ta-ġðàðe.| qímɛle, zíla, zìla,| mə́tya xà-yoma,| trè-yome.| rə̀ḥqɛla.| mə́tyɛle l-bážərət bábe dìye.| máttu bála gu-màθa,| la-dìge| ʾu-la-kθayàθa,| la-nàše| ʾu-la-baxtàθa,| la-qàla,| ʾu-la-yále zòre,| čù-məndi.| čù-qala líθ.| čú-qala líθən mənnèy.| (16) mə́re ma-píštət ḳawə̀lla!| mə́re har-ʾásqən gu-qáṣrət bàbi,| har-šáqlən rìxa mə́nne.| bálki xa-xóni, xáθi xázən,| xa-nàši.| har-xáθe ʾi-bə̆́yela.| har-xàθənila.|

(9) He said 'You must know that this thing that is happening, is happening in our house'. He said 'What are you saying, son?' He said 'By God, father', he said 'I have seen my sister untie the bands, take the key, open the door and go out. She came back, again opened the door, entered, lay down to sleep and tied her bands. The next day people came to complain'. (10) He said 'It is my sister'. He said 'No, you must not say that'. He said 'Father, that is up to you. I am telling you'. He did not believe his son.

(11) He (the son) took himself off and went to live in another town. She ate, she ate all the village. She finished off all the young children. His father and mother and her brothers still did not believe it. One night she ate her father. One night she ate her mother. Nobody knew. She ate everybody. (12) The son who had gone to another town, that is a town, a village, remained watching intently, listening (for news) about his father's family. For many years, four, five six years, he did not go there. He said 'The land of my father, my brothers, my mother and father, are in my thoughts.[2] How are they? I shall go and see what has become of those people'. (13) He set off and sat on the back of his horse. He and his wife made an agreement. They had two sons and a daughter. He said to his wife 'Wife, I shall give to you this ring of mine. I have some lions. If you watch this ring, if the gem of my ring changes (in colour), send the lions so that they come (to me), for I am in trouble'. (14) 'And you', she said to her husband 'I also have two seeds'—she also was the daughter of a king—'Take these two seeds, put them in your pocket. If danger comes near to you, put these two seeds in the ground and two poplar trees will grow up which you can climb and perhaps save your life before the lions arrive'. (15) They told each other (these things). He set off and went on his way. After a day or two he arrived. It was a long way. He arrived at the town of his father. He looked around the village, there were no cocks, no hens, no men, no women, no sound, no young children, nothing. There was no sound. There was no sound of them. (16) He said 'How you have become a ruin!' He said 'I shall just go up to my father's palace, I shall just have a quick look,[3] perhaps I shall find a brother of mine, my sister, a relative or mine'. He still loved his sister. 'She is still our sister'.

[2] Literally: have come before my eyes.
[3] Literally: take a smell of it.

(17) mxéle l-tə̀ra,ˈ ṭə́q ṭə́q ṭə́q.ˈ ʾaw-wíðəlla kére dìye.ˈ šqílɛle xa-tumbàna.ˈ sírɛle júlla bíye dìye,ˈ ṃ́lyɛle qə̀ṭma.ˈ sìrɛle,ˈ mùθyəlle.ˈ máre báre xa-mə̀ndiˈ qa-d-áwwa ʾáwəð xa-čɛ̀ra,ˈ ʾən-ṯ́-áwe ràqa,ˈ qa-t-ʾáwəð xa-čɛ̀ra qa-gáne.ˈ (18) xzí mut-ṯ́-àwəð.ˈ qímɛle síqɛle wìrɛleˈ məxya l-tə̀ra.ˈ ʾína xáθe he-xòni!ˈ ʾazīz-t-xàθi!ˈ b-šɛ̀na!ˈ m-èka θélux?ˈ máṭo mšuqèlux?ˈ ʾu-máṭo mṭèlux?ˈ máre xáθi θéli θèli.ˈ (19) ʾáy ʾa-dána ʾàrqa.ˈ máre ʾána-w sùsi.ˈ ʾárye dìyeˈ kəs-báxte dìye hóla.ˈ ṣlíθɛla ʾɛ́-dana gu-gòma.ˈ ʾaw-ðìle.ˈ ṣlíθɛla gu-hàwše xíltəlla ʾáqla súse dìye.ˈ xíltəlla sìqta.ˈ (20) mə́ra xóni dax-ʾítle ṭ́láθa ʾaqlàθa!?ˈ máre xáθi θèliˈ ʾítle ṭ́láθa ʾaqlàθa,ˈ lə́ngo lə̀ngoˈ hal-tàmma.ˈ máre θéla l-báli xáθi ṯ́-áθən xazə̀nnəx.ˈ (21) xáčča xéna mumǯəlla,ˈ kléla hàtxa.ˈ ṣàlya,ˈ ʾap-xa-xéta ʾaxlàla.ˈ mə́ra xóni ʾo-sùsaˈ dàx-ile ʾə́θya tré ʾaqlàθa!?ˈ máre har-θéli m-táma l-áxxa b-tré ʾaqlàθa.ˈ θéləx l-bàli.ˈ ṣálya ʾap-xa-xéta ʾaxlàla,ˈ t-ṭ́láθa t-ʾàrbe.ˈ mə́ra pəčkànta.ˈ (22) píšta ʾáy ʾaw-gúrba ṯ́-axlàle.ˈ mòdile wíða bábi.?ˈ šqíləlle gàne,ˈ múttɛle mə́ndi xo-ʾàqle,ˈ síqɛle ða-káwe l̥è̀θa.ˈ sírɛle ʾo-tumbáne dìyeˈ b-prə̀zle.ˈ ʾáy heš-hóla gu-gòma.ˈ ʾaw-šrìṭleˈ rìqle.ˈ (23) ʾu-ʾáw ṃ́lya qə̀ṭma,ˈ qa-t-ʾáθya ʾàxla mə́nneˈ ṣále gu-ʾènaˈ qa-d-áw mádu ʾàrəq.ˈ qímla bàbi,ˈ wìrra,ˈ xá-ʾaqle ʾaxlàwale,ˈ qə́ṭma kúlle ṣléle gu-páθa dìya.ˈ ʾaw-ríqle bar-ʾàrbe-uˈ bar-xàmməš,ˈ bar-ʾəššət,ˈ ʾax-ṯ́-amrə́xla ʾáxni b-Bàrwər,ˈ bar-ʾàrbe-uˈ bar-xàmməš,ˈ bar-ʾəššət,ˈ yáʿni bàze.ˈ (24) xa-báza rìqle,ˈ tre-rìqle,ˈ ṭ́láθa rìqle.ˈ zìlle yáʿni.ˈ xárθa qəm-xazyále gu-dàšta.ˈ hó ṣárxa bíye dìyeˈ m-èka lɛ́ka?! šáwpe ráḥqa m-áxxa ẏára dəmma,ˈ ma-t-zdíle ṯ́-axlàle.ˈ (25) báxte díye xá-bena knàša-wawa,ˈ xírta hátxa ṭúwət ʾisəqθa,ˈ ʾína bdìla!ˈ mə́ra ḵóre ʾàna,ˈ rmèli.ˈ qímtɛla zíltɛla gu-háwše mpuláṭṭəlla ʾàrye.ˈ mə́ra sò!ˈ yăðítu marɛ́xu ʾèkɛle.ˈ

(17) He knocked at the door. He prepared himself (for a fight). He took some trousers. He tied a cloth on them and filled them with ash. He tied them up and brought them (with him). He said '(In case) something happens', so that he could find a way out (of trouble), so that, if he had to flee, he could find for himself a way out (of trouble). (18) Look what he will do. He went up and knocked at the door. There was his sister 'Hey my brother!' 'My dear sister!' 'Welcome! Where have you come from? Why have you taken pains (to come)? How have you come?' He said 'Sister, I have come'. (19) Then she ran away. He said '(Only) I and my horse (have come)'. His lions were with his wife. Then she went down into the basement stable. He knew this. She went down into the courtyard and ate the leg of his horse. She ate it and came back up. (20) She said 'Brother, why does it have three legs?' He said 'Sister, I came here, while it had three legs, limping up to here'. He said 'It came to my mind, sister, to come to see you'. (21) She delayed a little, waited, then went down and ate another one. She said 'Brother, that horse, how has it come with two legs!?' He said 'I have indeed come from there to here with two legs (on my horse). You came to my mind'. She went down and ate another one, the third and the fourth. She said 'It is useless'. (22) She began to eat the torso. What did he do, my dear? He took himself off, put something under his feet and went up to an upper window. He tied those trousers of his with some iron. She was still in the basement stable. He fled and ran away. (23) It was full of ash, so that when she comes to eat it, it will go into her eyes and he will manage to escape'. She came in, my dear. She bit[4] one of his legs and the all the ash fell into her face. He ran away (very fast) with four, five or six (bounds), as we say in Barwar, with four, with five, with six, that is bounds. (24) He fled with one bound, he fled with two, he fled with three. He went off. Afterwards she saw him on the plain. She shouted at him 'Where are you from and where are you going?' He was—pardon me[5]—urinating blood, so scared was he that she would eat him. (25) While his wife was sweeping, she looked at the diamond of the ring and saw that it had changed colour! She said 'Dear me, oh woe to me!'[6] She went into the courtyard and took out the lions. She said 'Go! You know where your master is'.

[4] Literally: ate.
[5] Literally: (May) its place be far from here.
[6] Literally: (May) I (be) blind. I have been afflicted.

(26) ʾáθyɛla ʾàrye.ˈ ʾəθye,ˈ ʾəθye,ˈ həš-léẓwa mátye ʾəlle-dìye,ˈ há há ga-mátya ṯ-axlàle,ˈ dáryəlla bòčˌe.ˈ dáryəlla bòčˌe,ˈ qíme tre-xùre.ˈ síqa š-xa-xùra.ˈ (27) mətye ʾárye.ˈ máre mətyela.ˈ máre xùlula!ˈ ʾap-dəndə́kka baṣòra,ˈ xa-dəndə́kkət xa-ṭùpraˈ mənni,ˈ har-xàθila.ˈ qəm-axlìla.ˈ mulʾəpela ʾap-ʾáni.ˈ (28) ʾáyya tuníθa qəṣṣətilaˈ dax-ṯ-íla mírəlla nàšeˈ ʾáxni dax-ṯ-ámrəx ʾap-ʾàxni.ˈ šwíqəlla ʾo-qə́ṭṭa zòra.ˈ máre har-xàθi.ˈ ham-muttúle gu-gúbbe dìye.ˈ ʾaw-našə́qla ʾárye dìye,ˈ tíwle xáṣət ʾárye dìye,ˈ ʾu-zìlle.ˈ ʾày qəm-axlìla.ˈ (29) ʾo-qə̀ṭṭaˈ ṭə́prət ʾíða dìyaˈ muttúle gùbbe.ˈ píšle čučə̀kka.ˈ píšle nàšmaˈ píšle ḵərmə́kθa xàləlle.ˈ qímle nyàsəlle.ˈ máre muršə́nna ʾay-dùkθi.ˈ (30) píšla čučə̀kka,ˈ píšla ṣəppə̀rθa,ˈ ʾu-píšla gáwe díye ḵərmə̀kθa.ˈ ʾax-xuwwìθa,ˈ mátya lábbe ʾaxlàle.ˈ wídle hàtxa,ˈ ʾína kúlla trìθa.ˈ máre ta-ʾárye mxó lišanéxu làxxa.ˈ (31) qəm-maxéle lišanèy.ˈ máre mxó lišanéxu bìya.ˈ xúlu t-la péša dundə̀kθa mánna díya.ˈ lèš bə̆yə́nna.ˈ zílle tíwle xaṣət-ʾàryeˈ ʾu-zílla l-bɛθèy.ˈ mṭéle l-béθe kə̆́xa.ˈ (32) mára báxte díye mà-wət kə̆́xa?ˈ máre šùqli.ˈ lá-maṣən díya tanə̀nna.ˈ rába qə́ṣṣət ràbθɛla.ˈ bar-t-ʾána péšən spày,ˈ xà-yarxa,ˈ trè-yarxe,ˈ ʾən-ṯ-áθe l-bàli,ˈ rába kə̆́ixɛwən.ˈ mára mú bṯ-àwe?ˈ ʾína xípɛle ʾu-munìxɛle.ˈ rába xzìθa ʾéne díyeˈ m-d-ò-məndi.ˈ

(26) The lions came. They came, but they had not yet reached him. 'Hah, hah' she is about to eat him. So, he cast the seeds. When he cast the seeds, two poplar trees grew up. He climbed one poplar tree. (27) The lions arrived. He said 'They have arrived'. He said 'Eat her! (Leave) a small piece, a small piece, a fingernail for me, she is still my sister'. They ate her. They were well trained. (28) This story is like that, as people have told it, so we are telling it. They left a small piece. He said 'She is still my sister'. He put it in his pocket. He kissed the lions, sat on the back of his lions and went off. They had eaten her. (29) He put that piece, the nail of her hand, in his pocket. It became a sparrow, it became a live being, it became a worm and started eating him. It started biting him. He said 'This place here on me has become numb'. (30) It became a small bird, it became a sparrow. It became a worm inside him, like a small snake, reached his heart and ate it'. He put (his hand here) like this and found it was all wet. He said to the lions 'Lick here'. (31) They licked. He said 'Lick her. Eat her so that a even a small piece of her does not remain. I do not like her any more'. He went and sat on the back of the lions and they went home. He arrived home exhausted. (32) His wife said 'Why are you tired?' He said 'Don't ask.[7] I cannot tell the story now, it is very long. After I have recovered, after one or two months, if I remember, I am very tired now'. She said 'It does not matter'.[8] He washed and rested. He had suffered a lot from that affair.[9]

[7] Literally: Leave me.
[8] Literally: What will it be?
[9] Literally: His eyes had seen a lot.

A19 The Leliθa from Č̣āl

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) hadìya| ʾíθwa xa-Lelíθa θíθa mən-Č̣ā̀l.| θéla ṣlèla| l-ʾárxət be-Xàmmo.| xa-náša ʾíθwale ʾàrxe| šə́mme díye Xàmmo-wewa.| ʾíθwale kàlθa,| ʾíθwale bnòne.| ʾáyya ṣlèla,| dréla šláma ʾəllèy.| mə́ra šlàma ʾəllə́xu,| ʾax-nàša.| ṣléla dréla šlàma| mə́re b-šə́na b-ṭawàθa.| (2) dríθa xə̀ppo b-réša,| bás ṭəppərýáθa qəm-xazyàla kálθa.| ṭəppərýáθət heywàne,| də̀bba.| qəm-xazyàla.| šuréla mṣawòθe| hátxa ṭ-ix-mṣawóθe ʾàxni.| mə́ra ʾána báxtət ʾáġət Č̣ā̀l-iwən.| ʾáyya xmáθa díya homànna.| xəmyána homànne.| bróna homànne.| kúlla homànna.| kálθa là homə́nna.| ʾítla ṭṭà-bnone.| (3) wítɛla b-lèle,| dána t-dmàxa,| xílela màndi.| wítɛla dána t-dmàxa,| xəmmə̀rθa,| xəmmə́rθə ʃə̂nθa| šqìltəlla,| muttéθəlla rəš-ṣádrət xmáθa dìya.| ʾu-kálθa díya ðìla.| kálθa díya ðìla,| gu-šwìθa,| ðìla bíya díya.| qímtɛla šqíltɛla xa-bròna| ʾu-nobàltəlle| ta-ṭ-axlàle.| muttéθəlle rə̀ḥqa| mən-màθa.| (4) ʾu-ʾáyya gu-dyàṛta| mòdi wídla?| qìmla,| qəm-ʾač̣màle tă̆ra.| ʾu-b-pálgət béθa wídla nùra.| ʾánna-t ʾárxe har-y-oðíwa nùra gu-bɛ́θa.| šíšət prə̀zla| t-ʾə̀rxe| qəm-mattála kúlla gu-nùra.| ʾu-ʾɛ-Lelíθa θèla.| ʾáy kúlla dònɛla,| dòna,| mə̀šxa.| ʾína θéla l-tă̆ra.| (5) mattóyəlla ʾíða pθáxa tă̆ra,| qəm-maxyála ʾáyya prə̀zla| l-ʾíða díya qəm-maqðàla.| kúlla mə́šxa ṣléle m-tàma.| šuréla šmáṭa tă̆ra,| là mṣéla.| (6) síqla l-gàre,| ʾíθwa bòya.| šuréla xrìṭla,| ṣlèla.| pálga ṣlèla,| pálga pìšla.| ʾu-ʾáyya har-šaqláwa mən-d-àn šíše| mattàwa| ʾə́lla dìya| hál ʾé-gət qəm-qaṭlàla.| qəm-qaṭlàla,| ʾáy píšla tàma.| (7) qìmtɛla,| qèdamta| léla mírta ṭla-xmáθa-w xəmyána-w ʾáxxa-w tàmma.| zíltɛla θíθa l-bróna dìya.| muθèθəlle| ʾína bróna lèla xíltəlle.| har-nobáltəlle muttéθəlle mattòye.| muθéθəlle bróna dìya,| muwártəlle pθíxtəlle tă̆ra.| (8) mə́ra ṭla-xmáθa xmàθi?| mə́ra mòdile bábi?| mə́ra háyyo xzégən báxtət ʾáġa Č̣ā̀l.| háyyo xzèla.| mára ʾáθya gàšqa| ʾína xazyála Lelìθa.| hóla qṭìltəlla táma.| (9) ʾè-ga| ʾánna məndiyáne wìyela,| ḥaqìqi.| béna θíθela wíðtəlla gān-díya báxtət ʾáġa Č̣ā̀l.| bas-mjárrad mṣawθàwa.| xzí hambišàyɛla,| xzi-mù-tă̆hər-ila.| hàdəx-wawa.| šwiqáli táma ʾu-θéli làxxa.|

A19 The Leliθa from Č̣āl

Informant: Dawiδ ’Adam (Dure)

(1) Now, there was a Leliθa who came from Č̣āl. She came down to the water-mill of the family of Xammo. A man had a water-mill and his name was Xammo. He had a daughter-in-law. He had sons. She came down and greeted them. She said ‘Greetings to you’, like a human. She came down and offered greetings and he said ‘You are welcome’. (2) She had put a veil on her head, but the daughter-in-law saw her finger-nails, they were the claws of an animal, of a bear. She saw them. She began to talk just as we are speaking. She said ‘I am the wife of the aġa of Č̣āl.’ Her mother-in-law believed it. Her father-in-law believed it. The son believed it. Everybody believed it. The daughter-in-law, however, did not believe it. She had three sons. (3) At night, the time of sleep, they ate something. At the time of sleep, she (Leliθa) took a bead, a bead of sleep, and put it on the chest of her mother-in-law. Her daughter-in-law realized (what was happening). Her daughter-in-law, in bed, realized this. She got up and took a son (of hers) and took him for her to eat. She put him down far away from the village. (4) What did she do on her return? She closed the door and in the middle of the house she made a fire. People who had mills would always make a fire in the house. She put all the iron bars of the mill into the fire. The Leliθa came. She was all (made of) fat, fat, oil. She came to the door. (5) As she put her hand to open the door, she (the daughter-in-law) struck the iron bar into her hand and burnt it. All the oil ran down from there. She started (to try to) break the door, but she could not. (6) She went up onto the roof. There was a hole. She started to gouge it out and (tried to) come down. Half of her came down but half remained. She (the daughter-in-law) was constantly taking the iron bars and putting them into her, until she killed her. She killed her, and she remained there. (7) She got up in the morning, but did not tell her mother-in-law and father-in-law, and so forth. She went and came to her son. She brought him back. She did not eat the boy. She just took him and put him down. She brought her son back. She brought him in and opened the door. (8) She said to her mother-in-law ‘Mother-in-law!’ She said ‘What is it my dear?’ She said ‘Come and see the wife of the aġa of Č̣āl. Come and see her. So, she came and looked. She saw Leliθa. She had killed her there. (9) Those things happened at that time, they are true. So, she came and made herself into the wife of the aġa of Č̣āl, but she only spoke (like a woman). You see she was a giant, you see what kind (of creature) she was. I left it there and came here.

A20 The Bear and the Fox

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) xà-yoma| dábba xðára-wawa gu-ṭuràne.| tfiqla b-xa-tèla.| ʾo-tèla| máre há lèkət zála,| ya-gáni dəbba?| b-álaha xðárən báθər rəsqi| bálki xa-mándi táfəq bìyi| ṯ-àxlən mándi,| ʾáxxa m-tàmma.| ʾámər ma-lat-ðáya b-gánəx qàrθɛla?| dáx-it jwàja?| ʾáxxa l-tàmma.| mára là| ču-qárθa lèla ʾáxxa.| (2) máre ʾən-bə̆̀yət| zaqrənnəx| xa-qərṭàla,| sàla y-amráxle,| xa-sàla,| ṭla-sətwa| ta-t-lá qɛràti.| t-lá-hoya qàrθa-ʾəlləx,| t-lá-hawe tàlga-ʾəlləx.| hóla rəš-ṭùra,| tìwtɛla.| máre də-hàyyo!| (3) qímɛle múθya tùre| ʾu-ʔ̌ənnəʔ̌kéra díya di-di-dì,| máre túgən ʾáti gàwe.| tìwtɛla.| zqìrəlla| hal-làxxa.| mára də-klìgən!| pàlṭən m-gáwe.| máre là| ta-ṯ-óðən qə̆́pəx ʾàp ṭla-réšəx,| baʿdə̀n pàlṭət.| (4) qìmɛle,| xθìməlle.| kúlle zqìrəlle-w| píštɛla hádəx dábba gàwe.| ʾu-maxéla ʾáqle díye ʾəlla.| ʾu-ṣàlya.| nàpla,| ṣálya-w| ṣàlya,| ṣàlya| b-o-ṭùra| hal-šə́ttət hənna,| gu-rawùlta.| ṣléla tàma.| ʾína kúlla gérme díya šmìṭe.| píšta be-sarùber,| hat-šmíṭle ʾɛ-sála t-wéwa zqìrəlla.| kúlla šmìṭla.| (5) módi wìdle?| ʾaw-téla rìqle.| téla rìqle,| ʾáy hédi-hedi qìmla.| xà-yoma,| trè,| ṭ̣àθa,| bar-píšla spày,| zìlla.| zílla báre báre dìye.| wírre gu-xa-bòya.| wírre gu-xà ʾisára.| hóle ʾíθən bóya zòra.| ʾu-ʾáp báxte díye hóla tàma,| ʾu-ʾítle ʾayàle| ʾo-tèla.| (6) wírɛle tàma| ʾu-dábba zíltɛla tàma.| zíltɛle dəbba| ʾu-dráyəlla ʾíða díya ʾálle dìye,| léla pšàṭa,| sab-bóya zòrɛle| ʾu-téla wírɛle gàwe.| píše hàdəx,| qímtɛla dábba zìlta,| muθéθa ða-qánnət dəbbòre.| muθéθəlla muttèθəlla| qam-tə̆́rət| d-ó-boyət tèle.| har-dəbbóre zálɛla-w θáya dúrr dúrr dùrr.| (7) ʾáni xšíwela dəbbɛla táma.| léla ṣbára pàlṭi.| píšela kpìne,| téla máre ṭla-báxte dìye| máre mò-ʾoðəx báxta?| máre ʾítlən ṭlà-bnone láxxa.| w-áxni mítlən kə̀pna.| mò ʾoðéxi?| máre mo-ṯ-òðəx?| pɛrmáxle ʾo-zòra| ṯ-axlə̀xle,| hal-ʾé-gət ṯ-áza dábba m-tàma.|

A20 The Bear and the Fox

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) One day a bear was wandering around the mountains. She met a fox. The fox said 'Hey, where are you going, my dear bear?' 'By God, I'm looking for my sustenance. Perhaps something will come my way, so that I shall be able to eat something', and so forth. He said 'Don't you know yourself that it is cold. Why are you going from place to place? She said 'No, it is not cold here'. (2) He said 'If you want, I'll weave you a large basket, we call it a basket, a basket for winter, so that you will not get cold, so that the cold will not get to you, so that the snow will not get to you'. She was on a mountain, sitting down. He said 'Come!' (3) He went and brought twigs (and laid them) around her… He said 'Sit inside'. She sat down. He wove them up to here. She said 'Stop!' I (want to) get out of it'. He said 'No, not until I make a lid also for your head, then you come out'. (4) He finished it. He wove it all and the bear remained inside it. He kicked her and she went down (the mountain). She fell and went down, down, down the mountain until the bottom of it, the valley. She went down there and all her bones were broken, she was mutilated. The basket that he had woven was shattered. It was all shattered. (5) What did he do? The fox ran. The fox ran. The fox ran. She (the bear) slowly got up. One, two or three days (later), after she had got better, she went on her way. She went after him. He entered a hole. He entered a rock. There was a small hole (in it). His wife was there also, and the fox had children. (6) The fox entered there and the bear went there. The bear went there and put her paw into it, but it did not fit in, since the hole was small. The fox, however, entered into it. They remained there and the bear went off and brought back a hornets' nest. She brought it and put it before the door of the fox's hole. The hornets flew back and forth, durr, durr, durr. (7) They thought the bear was there and did not dare come out. They remained hungry. They remained hungry and the fox said to his wife. He said 'What shall we do, wife?' He said 'We have three children here and we have (almost) died of hunger. What shall we do?' He said 'What shall we do? Let's slaughter the young one and eat him, (and wait) until the bear goes away from there.

(8) qímela ʾo-zóra prìməllela| ʾu-xìləllela.| ʾu-píštɛla ʾan-dəbbòre| har-zála-w θàya,| zála-w θàya,| zála-w θàya.| máre ʾé-ga dábba lɛ̀la jwája m-láxxa.| lɛ́ðe módila qàṣṣət.| máre mò-t̰-oðəx báxta?| máre mò?| gárrə d-o-trèle.| (9) qímela ʾap-ʾo-t-tré prìməlle,| xìləlle.| ʾímət xílla ʾap-ʾo-t-trè,| píšla xà-šabθa,| tré šabbàθa,| kpìnna.| ʾáp-ʾo-t-ṭ̰aθa qəm-pɛrmìle.| ʾu-dəbbóre hár-hola qam-t̰ắrət bòya.| pìšela| har-ʾàni-tre l-xoðéy.| ʾámər báxta dìya dáxi?| (10) máre díya mò t̰-óðexi?| qú npila-xìla.| qú npila-xìla.| ṭ̰rípela l-ġ̈ðàðe| npìlle téla.| mára há mòt mára?| máre ʾáqli qítla b-kanòšta.| xá-bena xéta gðìlela.| npìlle téla.| mára mà-lux?| mára t̰-axlànnux.| máre ʾáqli ṣléla gu-màqle.| (11) bénə ṭ̰ə̀l̩l̩əθ| nàpla| bàxta.| tràk!| púmme díye l-qðála díya ʾaxə̀lla.| ʾaxə́lla píšle tàma| xa-fàtra.| mò-ʾoðən?| máre lo-t̰̂-axláli də̀bba| lo-palṭ̰ɛ̀na.| mò-ʾoðən?| xo-la-méθən làxxa.| (12) ʾu-plìṭ̰ɛle| rìqɛle| ta-t-ʾárəq ʾu-gášəq báre dìye| ʾìna| la-də̀bba,| la-čù məndí.| dəbbòre táma| mútte tàma.| máre bɛ́θi ṣ̌tìmla dábba.| ṭ̰lá-bnone xilìli,| báxta xilàli,| xáṭ̰ər t̰-ínwa mk̂onədrəlla.| šwiqáli tàma| ʾu-θéli làxxa.|

(8) They slaughtered the young one and ate it. The hornets continued flying back and forth, back and forth, back and forth. He said 'Still the bear is not moving from here'. He does not know what is happening.[1] He said 'What shall we do wife?' He said 'What? It is the turn of the second one'. (9) They slaughtered also the second one and ate him. After they had eaten the second one, a week, two weeks went by and they became hungry. They slaughtered also the third one. The hornets were still before the door of the hole. Only the two of them remained. He said 'Wife, now what?' (10) He said 'Now what shall we do? Come on (let's fight and) whoever falls (first) will be eaten'. They attacked each other and the fox fell. She said 'Hey, what do you have to say?' He said 'My foot hit the broom'. They wrestled once again. The fox fell. She said 'What is the matter with you?' She said 'I shall eat you'. He said 'My foot went into the cooking pot'. (11) The third time the wife fell, thump, his mouth was on her neck and he ate her. He ate her and remained there for a while. 'What shall I do'. He said 'Either the bear will eat me or I shall escape. What shall I do? I shall not die here'. (12) He went out and ran, until while running he looked behind him and saw that there was no bear, nothing, (only) hornets there, which had been placed there. He said 'The bear has ruined my house. I have eaten the three children, I have eaten the wife, all because I rolled her (down the hill). I have left it there and come here.

[1] Literally: what the story is.

A21 The Daughter of the King

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-màlka.ˈ ʾíθwale xa-bràta,ˈ gu-béθa har-y-oyáwa dmìxtaˈ ʾu-xàla,ˈ dmíxta-w xàla.ˈ ʾítwala xa-qaráwət gòṛta.ˈ mɛθíwala xadamyáθa díya ʾixàla,ˈ y-axlàwa-wˈ damxàwa,ˈ lè-y palxáwa.ˈ píšla yóma ṭla-yòma,ˈ yóma ṭla-yòma,ˈ píšla b-šənne.ˈ ʾáy hár-lipla dmàxaˈ ʾu-xàla.ˈ ṭrìsla rába.ˈ (2) málka hírre b-gáne díye bíya dìya.ˈ ʾáp-xa léle gwàrəlla.ˈ máre ʾána mò-ʾoðən.ʔˈ xa-čára xazènaˈ qa-t-ʾáyya bràti.ˈ qréle b-wǎ́zīr dìye.ˈ ʾámər ʾə́lle dìye.ˈ háyyo xázəx mhàyərriˈ bəd-taxmàntux.ˈ mò-ṯ̂-oðəx qa-d-áyya bráta ṯ̂-íla har-dmíxta,ˈ b-lèle b-yòma,ˈ har-xála-w dmàxa,ˈ xála-w dmàxa.ʔˈ (3) máre xáðrəx xázexi xa-nàšaˈ ṯ̂-íle palàxaˈ ʾu-t-yáxla ʾə́lle dìye.ˈ ʾàw mtagbárra.ˈ mboqə̀rra,ˈ mboqə̀rra,ˈ ʾíθwa xa-yàla.ˈ bas-yə̀mma ʾíθwale.ˈ bába lìθwale.ˈ ʾíθwale xa-tàwraˈ ʾu-xa-xmàra.ˈ (4) kút-yum šúle díye mòdi-wewa.ʔˈ šaqə̀lwale táwre díyeˈ ʾu-šaqə̀lwa xmáre díyeˈ qèdamtaˈ y-azə́lwa zărèwaˈ ʾu-y-aθéwa l-bɛ̀θa,ˈ y-axə́lwa mə́ndi ʾi-damə̀xwa.ˈ (5) šmìla bud-díye.ˈ mára b-álaha ʾáwwa xoš-yàlɛle,ˈ mabyòne,ˈ nabláxla t-yàxla ʾə́lle díye.ˈ mára qìmela,ˈ ʾàw zílɛwa l-pəlxàna,ˈ zràya.ˈ qímela múttəlla gu-ʾatnàbəlˈ ʾu-wajjúwa díya kùlla,ˈ ʾɛ-ʾótəx dìya.ˈ múttəlla gu-ʾatnàbəlˈ ʾu-nùbləlla.ˈ ʾáw ʾítle ða-ʾótəx ʾax-d-àyya,ˈ zùrtɛla,ˈ qaráwət d-àwwaˈ ʾu-t-yə́mme díye,ˈ ʾu-ʾal-ʾə̌raˈ líθ čù-məndi,ˈ lá kursìyaˈ ʾu-la-čù-məndi.ˈ (6) mára núbləllɛla… bràta.ˈ mára ṭla-yə́mmət yàlunka.ˈ mə̀raˈ yába ʾáyya bràtaˈ hox-múθyəlla ṭlàlax,ˈ ṭla-brònux.ˈ lá-mṣela mṣuwətla.ˈ mára brátət màlkɛla.ˈ lá-mṣela mṣuwə́tla čù-məndi.ˈ mo-ṯ̂-òða.ʔˈ mára dróla rəš-qaràwət.ˈ (7) dáryəlla rəš-qaràwətˈ múθyəlla qaráwət dìyaˈ mùttəlla.ˈ béθa dwìqˈ qaráwət dìya.ˈ dáryəlla š-qaràwət,ˈ ʾánna wajjúwe díya-ži múttəlla tàma.ˈ píštɛla tàma.ˈ (8) yála θéle mən-zrùta.ˈ táwre mŭríle gu-gòma.ˈ ʾu-síqle ta-ṯ̂-áxəl mə̀ndiˈ xazéle ʾína béθe mə̀lya.ˈ hày!ˈ máre ʾay-mòdila.ʔˈ mára bróni hátxɛla qaḍìyaˈ málka hóle múθyəlla bráte dìyeˈ ʾu-hóle míra ʾáyya bráti qa-brònux.ˈ yáʿni péša bàxtux.ˈ

A21 The Daughter of the King

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) There was a king. He had a daughter, who would just sleep in the house and eat, sleep and eat. She had a big bed. Her servants would bring her food, she would eat then go to sleep. She did not work. She went on (like this) from day to day, day to day, she went on for years. She only knew how to sleep and eat. She became very fat. (2) The king was at his wits end regarding her. Nobody would marry her. He said 'What should I do? I should find a solution for this daughter of mine'. He called to his vizier and said to him 'Come, let's see whether you can help me with any ideas.[1] What should we do to this girl who constantly sleeps, night and day, constantly eats and sleeps, eats and sleeps?' (3) He said 'Let's look for a man who is a hard worker and give her to him. He will look after her'. They made inquiries (and found that) there was a young man. He had only a mother. He did not have a father. He had an ox and an ass. (4) Everyday what was his job? He would take his ox and take his ass early in the morning and go to cultivate (his field). He would then come back home, eat something and go to sleep. (5) They heard about him. They said 'By God, he is a good lad, it seems, let's take her and give her to him'. They set off, he had gone to work, to cultivate (his field). They put her in a car, with all her effects, (the contents) of her room. They put her in a car and took her off. He had one room like this one, it was small, his bed and his mother's, on the floor there was nothing, no chair, nothing. (6) They took the girl and said to the mother of the young man, they said 'We have brought this girl for you, for your son'. She could not speak'. They said 'She is the daughter of the king'. She could not speak a word. What should she do? She said 'Put her on the bed'. (7) They put her on the bed. They brought her bed and laid it down. The house was filled by her bed. They put her on the bed and they also put her effects there. She remained there. (8) The young man came back from his cultivating. He put the oxen in the basement stable. He went up to eat something and saw that his house was full 'Hey', he said 'What is this?' She said 'My son, this is the situation: the king has brought his daughter and said "This daughter of mine is for your son, that is she will become your wife"'.

[1] Literally: Let's see, help me with your thought.

(9) ʾámər mùt mára?ˡ mára hè b-álaha,ˡ hátxɛle míra màlkaˡ múθyəlla làxxaˡ ʾáw-u wə̀zīrˡ ʾu-hóla wajjúwe díya làxxa.ˡ ʾay-dmíxta š-qaràwət,ˡ kéfa díya basìmtaˡ léla maxrówəlla kèfa.ˡ (10) ʾámər yə́mmi hé hè,ˡ lítla xàm,ˡ xoš-ʾáθya b-šɛ̀na.ˡ píštɛla hàdəx.ˡ qímɛle lɛ́le qamàya,ˡ mára qa-yə́mme dìyeˡ bás mattátla xa-kawázət mìya.ˡ mára mattátla xa-kawázət míya kəs-réša-w bàs,ˡ la-ʾixàla,ˡ la-lə̀xma,ˡ la-čù-məndi.ˡ bàsˡ ʾé kawázət míya mattátla kəs-réša díya ʾu-bàs.ˡ (11) mára bábi hèˡ dàx lítlux xáṭər.ˡ qímɛle qèdamta.ˡ yə́mme díye múttəlle čə̀y,ˡ mútt̄əlle bə̀ʾeˡ ʾu-xìlɛle-wˡ ʾu-tugbàrtəlleˡ ʾu-dwíqtəlle ʾixála gu-čánte dìye,ˡ jarrèta y-amrə́xla.ˡ jarréta dwìqtəllaˡ ʾu-másta gu-bùrra-wˡ dríθəlle gu-čánte dìyeˡ ʾu-bəṛ-zə̆ra gu-čànteˡ ʾu-zìlɛle.ˡ (12) šqíləlle xmàraˡ ʾu-tàwra.ˡ ʾu-zìlɛle.ˡ šúryɛle zràya.ˡ šúryɛle zráya hàl-ʾaṣə́rta.ˡ ʾaṣə́rta ʾáθe l-bɛ̀θa.ˡ mànyəx,ˡ ʾázəl sàxeˡ ʾu-ʾàwər.ˡ dánət xa-rámša muθéla yə́mme díye xa-rámša ʾə́lle dìye,ˡ šuréle ta-t-ʾàxəl.ˡ (13) máre yə́mmi ʾénile plìxa?ˡ mára bábi plíxɛt ʾàti,ˡ ʾu-xmára-w tàwraˡ ʾu-ʾána mtugbártən bɛ̀θa.ˡ ʾáp-xa lɛle-plìxa?ˡ mára là.ˡ máre ʾó-t là páləxˡ lè y-áxəl.ˡ mašmóye ʾə́lla dìya.ˡ máre kùt la-páləxˡ gu-d-áwwa bɛ̀θaˡ ʾixála lè y-áxəl.ˡ ʾo-t-pàləxˡ ʾàw ṯ-áxəl.ˡ

(14) mára yómət trèˡ ʾay-là xílla.ˡ lèla mútt̄əlla ʾixála.ˡ yómət trèˡ qìmɛle.ˡ xá-gaya xéta qímtɛla yə́mme díye wíðtəlle fṭàrta.ˡ fṭìrɛleˡ ʾu-məndi xéna kúlla muttéθəlle gu-čánte dìye,ˡ kú-məndi ṯ-ìθwala,ˡ lə̀xma,ˡ ʾən-màsta,ˡ ʾən-kú-məndi ʾìθwaleyˡ ʾu-šqíla tàwreˡ zíla zràya.ˡ šuréle zílle zràya,ˡ ʾaṣə́rta θèle.ˡ (15) ʾámər hà yə́mmiˡ mùt mára?ˡ ʾènile plíxa ʾə́dyo?ˡ mára bábi har-ʾàtit plíxa,ˡ ʾu-xmára-w tàwra,ˡ ʾu-ʾána mquzqáztən bɛ̀θa.ˡ máre har-ʾàxni bṯ-áxləx.ˡ ʾo-ṯ-íle plíxa ʾàw bṯ-áxəl.ˡ ʾo-t-lɛ́le plíxa là sápər ṯ-áxəl.ˡ (16) ṣráxɛle qa-t-šə̆maˡ brátət màlka.ˡ kpìnnaˡ yómə ṭlàθɛla.ˡ dmìxela.ˡ xá-bena xéta qìmelaˡ qèdamta.ˡ yála-žigən qímɛle fṭìrɛleˡ mxúlləlla páθe dìye-wˡ ʾu-zílɛle šúle dìye.ˡ šúle hóle zráya hál ʾaṣə̀rta.ˡ (17) ʾaṣə́rta ʾàθe.ˡ ʾaw-l-ḥàmmam sáxe.ˡ ʾu-yə́mme díye mtugbə́rra ʾixàla-wˡ muttùla-wˡ ḥásba l-ʾŭṣūlˡ máre hà yə́mmi,ˡ ʾə́dyo dàxi.ˡ mára b-álaha ʾə̀dyoˡ xánčˇi plìxəx.ˡ máre lă̆ˇat xànčˇi ṯ-áxləx.ˡ qímela xìlela.ˡ qímela šqílela xa-ʾamána xànčˇi zóra.ˡ múttəlla kəs-réša dìya.ˡ

(9) He said 'What are you saying?' She said 'Yes, by God. That is what the king said. He and his vizier brought her here, and her effects are here'. She was asleep on the bed, very content, and they did not disturb her. (10) He said 'Mother, there is nothing to worry about, she is welcome'. She remained like that. The first night he said to his mother 'Put out for her just a jar of water'. He said 'Put out for her a jar of water by her head and that's all, no food, no bread, nothing. Put out for her only that jar of water by her head and that's all'. (11) She said 'My dear, yes, I'll do as you say'. He got up in the morning. His mother served him tea, served him eggs. He ate and she looked after him. She packed food in his bag—we call it a *jarreta* ('lunchbox'). She packed the lunchbox, (put) yoghurt in a pot and placed it in his bag. (She also put) seed in his bag. Then he set off. (12) He took the ass and the ox and went off. He began cultivating. He began cultivating (and continued) until evening. In the evening he came home. He rested, went to bathe and entered (the house). At dinner time his mother brought dinner to him and he began to eat. (13) He said 'Mother, who has worked?' She said 'My dear, you have worked, the ass and the ox, and I have attended to the house'. Has anybody (else) worked?' She said 'No'. He said 'Whoever does not work, will not eat'. He (was saying this) for her ears.[2] He said 'Whoever does not work in this house will not eat food. Whoever works will eat'.

(14) Now the next day she did not eat. She (the mother) did not put out food for her. The next day he got up. Again his mother got up and made him breakfast. He ate breakfast and she put everything else into his bag, everything they had, bread, yoghurt, everything they had. He took his ox and went to cultivate. He set off to cultivate. In the evening he came back. (15) He said 'So, mother, what do you say? Who has worked today?' She said 'My dear, only you have worked, the ass and ox, and I have put the house in order'. He said 'Only we shall eat. Whoever has worked will eat. Whoever has not worked should not expect to eat.' (16) He was shouting so that the daughter of the king would hear. She went hungry when the third day came. They went to sleep. Again they got up in the morning. The young man got up and had breakfast, washed his face and went to his work. His work was to cultivate until evening. (17) In the evening he came back. He washed in the bathroom. His mother prepared food and laid it out. As usual he said 'Well, mother, how was today?' She said 'By God, today, we have worked a little'. He said 'So, we'll eat a little'. They ate. Then they took a small container and put it at her head.

[2] Literally: to make her hear.

(18) ṣáwθa lìθən.ˈ ṣáwθa lèle mṣawóθe mánna díya.ˈ ʾu-ʾáy-žigən lèla qyáma.ˈ har-dmíxtɛla bəd-lábba gu-béθət bába dìyɛla.ˈ mɛθíla xadáme ʾixàla.ˈ ʾáp-xa léle mɛθóyəlla ʾixàla.ˈ qímela múttəlla xáčča ʾixàla.ˈ b-léle qìmtɛlaˈ štíθa mìyaˈ ʾu-xíltəlla ʾo-ʾixàla.ˈ (19) ʾay-gu-gána mtuxmànna,ˈ móra ʾən-ʾázən b-áyya ʾùrxa,ˈ mèθana.ˈ la qémən jàldeˈ ta-ṯ-óðən pəlxànaˈ ṭla-gàniˈ ta-ṯ-àxlən.ʔˈ (20) yómət ʾàrpaˈ m-báθər ṯ-íle…yaʿni fṭìrɛle yála-wˈ qìmɛleˈ zíla l-šùla,ˈ yómma mtugbàrtəlle,ˈ zíla l-šùla,ˈ qìmtɛla,ˈ mxulálta ʾamàneˈ ʾu-knížta bèθaˈ ʾu-mtugbàrta.ˈ (21) ʾəθyɛle yála,ˈ dìṛele,ˈ ʾámər hà yómmi,ˈ ʾədyo ʾènile plíxa:ʔˈ móra bábi kúllən plìxəx.ˈ móre laʿ́at kúllən ṯ-àxləx.ˈ ʾəθyela l-mès,ˈ ḥásba l-ʾŭṣùl.ˈ qímtɛla θíθa tìwtɛla.ˈ šúryela xílela m-ġðàðe.ˈ (22) yómət xàmša,ˈ qímla ʾáy m-bắdal xmáθa dìya,ˈ m-bắdal yómmət yàla.ˈ wídla ʾixàlaˈ ṭla-yàla.ˈ xìlle.ˈ ʾu-čánte díye dwíqla zwàðe,ˈ dréla gu-čànteˈ ʾu-bar-zắra hàdəx.ˈ (23) ṣléla mánne gu-gòma.ˈ mpulṭíla táwra-w xmàra.ˈ ʾu-qəm-paštále b-ʾúrxa-w zìlle-wˈ w-áy θéla sìqla.ˈ sìqla,ˈ píšla plàxa-wˈ knáša-w mšáya ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˈ móra ṭla-xmáθa dìyaˈ ʾáti là pálxət.ˈ ʾáti tù.ˈ ʾàna pálxən.ˈ (24) šúrela plàxa-wˈ ʾu-bráta-w ʾáxxa l-tàmma,ˈ yóma ṭla-yòma,ˈ yóma ṭla-yòma.ˈ lípla pəlxàna.ˈ šuréla zabòne.ˈ móre b-xšàwənˈ ʾáyya bràtaˈ brátət bèθɛlaˈ w-áxni làx-ðiye bíya díya.ˈ

(25) xá-yoma màlkaˈ móre ṭla-wằzīrˈ yába ṯ-ázəx xàzəxˈ ʾɛ-braténi mà mánna.ˈ bálki ṯ-íla mìθta,ˈ bálki ṯ-íle xa-móndi θíθa bìya.ˈ ʾámər də-qú-malka ṯ-àzəx.ˈ qìmela,ˈ zìlela.ˈ xmáθa dìyaˈ hóla zílta kəs-xəzmáne šwàwe.ˈ yála hóle zíla šùle.ˈ (26) ʾáy hóla wáða kùbbe.ˈ hóla ʾiθáθa gu-lèša,ˈ lyáša kùbbe,ˈ ʾu-ʾəθyɛleˈ bába dìyaˈ ʾu-wằzīr,ˈ ʾəθyela tərwəθna,ˈ màxɛ l-tắra.ˈ máxɛ l-tằra.ˈ ʾiθáθa qàmxɛle,ˈ pθìxtəllela tắra.ˈ pθíxtəlle tà̀ra,ˈ xzíθəlle bába dìyaˈ ʾu-ʾup-wắzīr mànne.ˈ (27) hà bráti,ˈ dàx-it,ˈ dàx-lɛt?ˈ móra bábi spày-inˈ basíma ràba.ˈ móre xázəx ʾiθáθəx ṭìše.ˈ hon-wáða ʾixàla.ˈ ʾàtit wáða ʾixála?ˈ móra hè bábi.ˈ dax-ìla, dəx-lèla?!ˈ móra hàˈ ʾána b-pəlxànən.ˈ kúlla pəlxàna,ˈ pəlxánət béθa hóle b-qðàliˈ ʾànən waðálle.ˈ

(18) There was no speech (with this). He did not speak to her at all. She did not get up. She continued sleeping, thinking that she was in her father's house and that the servants would bring her food. Nobody, however, was bringing her food. They put out a little food. In the night she got up, drank water and ate that food. (19) She thought to herself, she said 'If I go on in this way, I'll die. Should I not get up early to work for myself, so that I can eat? (20) The fourth day, after . . . the young man had breakfast and went to work, his mother looked after him and he went off to work, she got up and washed the dishes, swept the house and tidied it. (21) The young man came back, he returned and said 'So, mother, who has worked today?' She said 'My dear, we all have worked'. He said 'So, we shall all eat.' They went to the table, as usual. She came and sat down. They began to eat together. (22) The fifth day, she got up instead of her mother-in-law, instead of the mother of the young man. She made food for the young man. He ate. She packed his bag with provisions. She put them in his bag together with seed. (23) She went down with him into the basement stable. She got out the ox and the ass. She set him on the way and he went off, then she came back and went up (to the house). She went up and began working, sweeping, polishing, and so forth. She said to her mother-in-law 'Don't you work. You sit down. I'll work'. (24) She began working, with the girl doing this and that, day after day, day after day. She learnt how to work. She began selling. He said 'I think this girl is a good housewife, but we did not know this about her.'

(25) One day the king said to the vizier 'Let's go and see what has become of that daughter of ours. Perhaps she is dead, perhaps something has happened to her'. He said 'Let's go king'. They set off. Her mother-in-law had gone to visit some relatives who were neighbours. The young man had gone to his work. (26) She was making meat-balls. Her hands were in dough, while kneading the meat-balls. Her father and the vizier came, the two of them came and knocked on the door. They knocked on the door. While there was flour on her hands, she opened the door. She opened the door and saw her father and also the vizier who was with him. (27) 'Hey, daughter, how are you?'[3] She said 'Father, I am well, thank you'. He said 'It seems that your hands are covered (in flour)'. 'I am making food'. '*You* are making food?' She said 'Yes father'. 'How she has turned out!' She said 'Yes, I am hard-working. All the work, the work of the house is my duty.[4] It is me who does it'.

[3] Literally: How are you, how are you not?
[4] Literally: is on my neck.

(28) mára de-tìwe,ˈ ṭ-óðən ʾixàla,ˈ xáʾa mən-d-ánna kúbbe gòṛe.ˈ xáʾa ṭla-xmàθilaˈ ʾu-xá ṭla-gàwṛi.ˈ ʾa-ṭ-ìla ṭláliˈ ʾawðánna trè-qəsme,ˈ t-yánna xa-ṭlàluxˈ ʾu-xá ṭla-wằzīr.ˈ (29) ʾámər ṭla-mòdi brátı.?ˈ mára sằbab ʾáwwa yàlaˈ ʾo-t-la-pàləxˈ lè y-áxəl,ˈ lítle sáma gu-d-áwwa bèθa.ˈ háyyo mùt mára?ˈ mára hàtxa.ˈ ʾána sámi t-yánne ṭlalèxuˈ ʾána lè-y-axlən.ˈ (30) máre bráti lá là.ˈ ʾáti ʾàxlət.ˈ ʾáxni ṭ-àzexi.ˈ lá pɛšəx ṭla-xằdàya.ˈ ʾu-qímɛle màlkaˈ xəðyaˈ gu-gàne-wˈ ʾáw-u wằzīrˈ ʾu-zìlela.ˈ zìlelaˈ ʾay-qímtɛla wíðtɛla kùbbe-wˈ ʾu-qlíθəlla gu-màšxa.ˈ (31) muttéθəlla tàma.ˈ tíwtɛla xmáθa dìya.ˈ ʾáy-u xmáθa díya xìlela-wˈ šwíqtɛla ṭla-gáwṛa dìya.ˈ θéle gáwṛa díya-žigən xìlɛle.ˈ ʾámər kəma-basìmtɛla ʾixála,ˈ ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˈ šúryela pṣàxa.ˈ

(32) xá-yomaˈ máre hátxa la-hàwya.ˈ málka màreˈ hátxa la-hàwya.ˈ mádam bráti wéla b-pəlxànaˈ ʾu-lípla pəlxànaˈ bằyən t-yằðənˈ ʾáwwa bəṛ-náša mòdile,ˈ dáx mṣéle ʾáyya bráta qəm-ʾawádla b-pəlxánət bèθa,ˈ ʾu-ká-t brátət màlka,ˈ ʾu-lípta har-dmàxa-w xála,ˈ dmáxa-w xàla.ˈ ʾádyo péša ʾày maxóle ṭla-náše.ˈ (33) máre làzəmˈ yắðən mòdila qáṣṣət.ˈ mára qìmɛle.ˈ qàryɛleˈ yíwɛle jằwába ṭla-yàla.ˈ máre ʾàθetiˈ ʾítli šúla mànnux.ˈ ʾáwwa zdìlɛle.ˈ zdìlle,ˈ máre ʾà,ˈ xzi-málka bṭ-áwəð bìyi.ˈ (34) zílɛle máre ʾálle dìyeˈ yà bróni,ˈ bás ʾamrətliˈ b-duzùθaˈ dàx ʾáyya bráta wiðálux brátət béθaˈ ʾu-palàxta-wˈ mbašòleˈ ʾu-xyàpa-wˈ mšàya-wˈ knàša-wˈ mbašòleˈ ʾu-kúl-xa mándi wàða,ˈ ká-t gu-béθi qímta brìθɛla,ˈ léla plìxta-wˈ ʾu-hàl ʾádyo yóma?ˈ dáx ʾúrxa muxzélux ʾálla lípla ʾàwwa šúla?ˈ (35) ʾámər b-àyyət mšúdrəlli?ˈ máre hè.ˈ máre xzi-málka ṭ-áwət basìma.ˈ hadìyaˈ ʾána ṭ-amrənna-llux.ˈ ʾu-hămánni har-hàdəx-ile dű́s.ˈ ʾána ʾap-dìyaˈ ʾáyya ʾúrxa ṭ-ín ʾána zála bíya dìyaˈ lè-y manšánna hál yomət-màwθa.ˈ (36) máre ʾítli xàyālˈ ʾo-t-la-páləx gu-bèθiˈ lìtle sáma,ˈ lè y-áxəl.ˈ ʾo-t-páləx gu-béθi bṭ-àxəl.ˈ ʾàtiˈ díya ʾáθət gu-béθi la-pàlxət,ˈ lè-y-yannux ʾixála.ˈ ʾànaˈ ṭlà-yomeˈ qəm-mjarbànna.ˈ (37) mári qa-yàmmiˈ bas-mìya máttət qam-réša díya.ˈ ṭlá-yome míya wéla qam-réša dìya.ˈ píšla b-gána màjburˈ ʾána yámmi y-awðáwali ftárta ʾixála y-azànwa,ˈ ʾu-mtagəbráwa qənyàni,ˈ y-azánwa plàxaˈ w-áy dmìxta.ˈ

(28) She said 'Sit down, I'll make food, one of these big meat-balls. One is for my mother-in-law, one is for my husband. The one that is for me I'll divide into two parts and give one to you and one to the vizier'. (29) He said 'Why, daughter?' She said 'Because this young man (has made a rule that) whoever does not work will not eat, does not have a share in this house. What do you say (to that)?' She said that. 'I shall give my share to you. I shall not eat'. (30) He said 'My daughter, no, no. You eat. We shall go. We shall not stay for lunch'. The king left, cheerful in spirits, together with the vizier and went on their way. They went off and she made meat-balls and fried them in oil. (31) She then served them. Her mother-in-law sat down. She and her mother-in-law ate and she left some food for her husband. Her husband also came back and he ate. He said 'How delicious the food is', and so forth. He began to rejoice.

(32) One day he (the king) said 'This cannot be'. The king said 'This cannot be'. If my daughter has become hard-working and has learnt to work, I want to know what (kind of person) this man is, how could he have made this girl a hard-working housewife, while she is the daughter of the king and is used to sleeping and eating, sleeping and eating. Today *she* has begun to feed people'. (33) He said 'I must know what the story is'. Now, he sent a message to the young man. He said 'Come, I have business with you'. He was afraid. He was afraid and said 'Ah, see the king will do something to me'. (34) He went and he said to him 'My boy, just tell me, in truth, how have you made this girl a housewife, hard-working, cooking, washing, polishing, sweeping, cooking and doing everything, while in my house (from the day) she was born she has not worked, until today? How did you show her the way to learn this work?' (35) He said 'Was it for this that you sent for me?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'Look king, if you please, I shall now tell you and believe me it is really like this. I shall not give up[5] until the day I die the way I am following now'. (36) He said 'In my opinion[6] whoever does not work in my house has no share and will not eat. Whoever works in my house will eat. If you come now, come to my house and do not work, I shall not give you food. I tested her for three days. (37) I said to my mother "Place only water by her head". For three days water was by her head. She was obliged to stay by herself. My mother would make breakfast for me and food, and I would go. She would look after my animals and I would go to work. She, however, was asleep.

[5] Literally: forget.
[6] Literally: I have a thought.

(38) ʾána majbúr-iwən ṯ-ázən qáṭlən gáni pálxən w-áy dmíxta maxlənna?ˈ na-mùmkən.ˈ yómə ṭìàθaˈ m-báθər ʾána zílli šùlaˈ qímla ṣléla knàša.ˈ mári qa-yə́mmi ʾènila plíxa?ˈ mára bàbiˈ hox-plìxe xánčì.ˈ ʾèni? mára hóla plìxta xánčì.ˈ (39) máriˈ lᾰ́ʿat xànčiˈ ʾáxla.ˈ ʾu-muttéθəlla hátxa xànčì.ˈ muttéθəlla kəs-rèša.ˈ qímtɛla b-lèleˈ ʾay-xìltɛla,ˈ štíθɛla mìyaˈ hal-yómət ʾàrpa.ˈ yómət ʾàrpaˈ píšla màjburˈ qímla b-gàna,ˈ mxulə́lla ʾamàneˈ knížla bèθa,ˈ wídla fṭárta ʾèlli,ˈ ʾu-xílləˈn kúlləˈn m-ġðàðe.ˈ (40) ʾu-zílli l-šùla.ˈ ʾu-dìṛṛi.ˈ wídla ʾixála ʾáy b-gànaˈ ʾu-b-pəlxána b-gána zála-w θáya gu-bèθa,ˈ béθa píšele bíya dìya.ˈ ʾàyyən ʾána wíða bíya díya.ˈ lán màxyəlla.ˈ ʾu-lán mṣùrəlla.ˈ ʾu-lán mŭlàpəlla.ˈ ʾu-la-čù-məndi.ˈ bas-máriˈ ʾo-t-là páləxˈ na-múmkən ṯ-áxəl gu-bèθi.ˈ (41) qímɛle dwíqəlle nšìqəlle.ˈ ʾámər bríxta dudíya ṯ-iwət ʾáti qíma gàwa!ˈ mádam ṯ-íwət hàtxaˈ háyyo láxxa ṯ-awðə́nnux wᾰ̀zīr.ˈ péšət mánni mànniˈ ʾu-t-yánnux ʾúpra kəmà-t bᾰ́yətˈ ʾu-plóx gáwe díye ʾu-mápləx nàše.ˈ (42) ʾámər làʾa.ˈ ʾaláha hóle yíwəlliˈ ʾáyya ʾùrxa.ˈ ʾu-ʾána ṯ-ázən b-áyya ʾùrxaˈ ʾu-rába rə̀dya.ˈ ʾúpra ʾìtliˈ ṃalyànɛle.ˈ ʾána-w yámma ʾu-bàxtɛwəx.ˈ tə́mməl yə́mmi mìtla,ˈ péšəx ʾána-w bàxti.ˈ ʾìtli ʾúpraˈ ṃalyànɛle.ˈ háwət rába rába basìma.ˈ (43) kízle málka ʾáxxa-w tàmmaˈ háyyo puš-mànni.ˈ máre làʾa.ˈ ʾána tə́mməl ʾàθena,ˈ ʾáti mxazdə̀tli.ˈ ṯ-ámreti ṭlàliˈ hàˈ ʾána hon-yiwə́llux ʾùpraˈ. w-hon yiwə́llux bràta.ˈ ʾu-ʾə́dyo ʾáti lat-wáða b-xàbri.ˈ bálki lá-ʾawðən xàbrux.ˈ ʾɛ-dànaˈ bálki ʾàp-rešiˈ pɛrmə́tle.ˈ (44) ʾámər də-xùš.ˈ bráta hóya brìxtəllux.ˈ ʾu-háwət brìxaˈ yomànux.ˈ ʾən-šálla ʾálaha yállux b-àyya dúnyeˈ ʾu-b-ɛ-xèta.ˈ ʾu-šwíqalən tàmaˈ ʾu-θéli làxxa.ˈ

(38) Was I obliged to kill myself working to feed her while she slept? No way. On the third day, after I went to work, she went down (to the basement) to sweep. I said to my mother "Who has worked?" She said "My dear, we have worked a little". "Who". She said "She has worked a little". (39) I said 'So, she will eat a little" and she put a little (food) out for her, she laid it by her head. She got up in the night, she ate and drank the water, until the fourth day. On the fourth day, she was forced to get up of her own accord, she washed the dishes, swept the house, made breakfast for me and we all ate together. (40) I went to work and returned. She made the food by herself and did the chores by herself, going to and fro in the house and she ran the house.[7] I did this to her. I did not beat her. I did not curse her. I did not teach her, nothing. I only said "Whoever does not work cannot eat in my house"'. (41) He (the king) held him and kissed him. He said 'Blessed be the cradle in which you grew up. If you have done this,[8] come here and I shall make you the vizier. Stay with me and I shall give you as much land as you want. Work on it and employ people'. (42) He said 'No. God has given me this way. I shall go on this way very contently. I have land that is sufficient. We are (three), myself, mother and the wife. (If) my mother dies tomorrow, we shall shall remain, myself and my wife. I have land that is sufficient. Thank you very much'. (43) The king tried (to persuade him) and so forth (saying) 'Come, stay with me'. He said 'No. If I come tomorrow, you will blame me. You will say to me "Ah, I have given you land and have given you a daughter, and now you are not obeying me". Perhaps I shall not obey you. Then, perhaps you will even cut off my head'. (44) He said 'Go. Let the girl be blessed for you and you be blessed throughout your days. May God grant you (bounty) in this world and the next. I have left it there and come here.

[7] Literally: the house became by her.
[8] Literally: If you are like this.

A22 The Sale of an Ox

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) mára ʾíθwa xa-gáwṛa-w bàxta.ˈ ʾíθwala bnòne.ˈ kùt-yumˈ ṣaléwa gàwṛaˈ l-šùqaˈ msawòqeˈ ʾu-čŭ-məndi lé mɛθèwa.ˈ báxta mára xzi-kəmà ṯ-ázəl ʾáwwa táwra,ˈ mzàbən.ˈ (2) mára ʾáp-aw qímɛle šqíləlle tàwraˈ ṣàlyɛleˈ mzabònəlle.ˈ ṣályɛle gu-réšət məìtaˈ ṣríxɛle hèˈ ʾéni b-záwən tàwra?ˈ náše ʾəθyela kùllaˈ lìθ hátxa mándi wíya gu-məítaˈ lèla xázye.ˈ ʾəθyela jmìye.ˈ (3) θéle màlla.ˈ málla mèreˈ ʾána b-zawnènneˈ ʾína ʾən-háwe ṭḷà ʾaqláθa.ˈ yáʿni ðá-ʾiða parèmla,ˈ páyəš ṭḷà ʾaqláθa.ˈ qímle tàwraˈ primále ðá ʾíðe dìyeˈ ʾu-táwra píšle mangóle ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˈ (4) ʾámər də-sì!ˈ ʾànaˈ ʾé-gə t-wéwa ʾàrbe la-zwínni.ˈ zawnánne ṭəḷḷəθ?ˈ là zawnánne.ˈ de-yába ʾéni b-zawánne hàtxa?ˈ lá b-xa-zúza rába mándi hàleˈ ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˈ (5) muʿálləm θéle.ˈ muʿálləm máre ʾən-háwe b-tàrte ʾaqláθa,ˈ ʾána b-zawnènne.ˈ qímle ʾáqla xéta… qəm-parèmla.ˈ táwra npìlle.ˈ táwra npílle θéle fa̰qih.ˈ máre yába b-zabnátle ʾálli ʾən-háwe b-ðà-ʾaqla?ˈ máre zílla θèlaˈ ða-ʾàqla!ˈ ʾáti ʾáqla šqùllaˈ mxíla gu-yémmət gànux!ˈ (6) qəm-parèmle táwra.ˈ ṭḷà ʾaqláθa.ˈ píšle ðà-ʾaqla.ˈ píšle tàma,ˈ píšle tàmaˈ hàrrəj.ˈ ʾáp-xa la-šqìlle.ˈ táwra zìlleˈ b-xarèθa.ˈ (7) síqle l-bèθaˈ pšìma-wˈ bxáya mxáya l-gáne dìyeˈ bnóne díye t-la-ʾixàlɛla.ˈ ʾámər báxta hằl-u qəṣṣət hàtxɛla.ˈ máre ṣlèliˈ… ṣléli gu-məìtaˈ qréli hátxa kut-záwən tàwra?ˈ (8) θéle màllaˈ máre ṭlàliˈ ʾən-háwe ṭḷà ʾaqláθa,ˈ ʾána b-zawnènne.ˈ ʾána qímli priməli ðà-ʾaqle díye.ˈ məri bálki zawènne.ˈ xázən xkìkle bíyiˈ máre ʾána b-àrbe lánwa zwánəlleˈ zawnánne b-ṭàḷḷəθ?ˈ (9) θéle báre dìyeˈ θéle muʿàlləm.ˈ máre ʾána b-zawnánne ʾən-háwe b-tárte ʾaqlàθa.ˈ qímən ða-xéta prìmən-əlla.ˈ píšɛle tàrte.ˈ táwra npìlle.ˈ θéle fa̰qih,ˈ máre yába ʾən-íla hàtxa-hala,ˈ ʾána b-zawnánne ʾən-háwe b-ðà ʾáqla.ˈ máre ʾáp-ʾay ʾáqla primàli,ˈ zədyáli tămàha.ˈ táwra mítle npìlle táma.ˈ ʾáp-xa lá-θele šqàləlle-wˈ ʾu-zílle hăramà̂tˈ ʾu-kálwe qəm-axlíle-w zìlle.ˈ móra hàtxa gáwṛa?ˈ máre hè.ˈ

A22 The Sale of an Ox

Informant: Dawið ’Adam (Dure)

(1) There was a man and a wife. They had children. Every day the man would go down to the market to do shopping, but would bring nothing back. (His wife) said ‘See how much this ox will go for, sell it’. (2) So, he took the ox and went down to sell it. He went down to the top of the town and cried ‘Hey, who will buy an ox?’ Everybody came. Nothing like that had happened in the town. They had not seen (such a thing). They came and gathered together. (3) A mullah came. The mullah said ‘I shall buy it, but only if it has three legs’. That is, he should cut off one foot so that it would become three-legged. He cut off one of the ox’s feet and the ox began to limp back and forth. (4) He said ‘Get away with you! When it was four-legged I did not buy it. Should I buy it three-legged? I shall not buy it. Who will buy it like that? (A person) would not buy it for one coin. (Even that would be) a lot’, and so forth. (5) A teacher came. The teacher said ‘If it were two-legged, I would buy it’. He cut off another leg. The ox fell down. The ox fell down and a jurist came. He said ‘Will you sell it to me if it has one leg?’ He said ‘All this fuss,[1] now one leg! Take the leg and stick it in your mother!’ (6) He cut up the ox. (He had cut off) three legs and one leg remained. It remained there, it remained there at a bargain price, but nobody bought it. Finally the ox died. (7) He went up to the house, sad, weeping, beating himself (thinking that) his children would be without food. He said ‘Wife, the situation is like this’. He said ‘I went down to the town and cried out like this ‘Is there anybody who will buy an ox?’ (8) A mullah came and said to me ‘If it is three-legged, I shall buy it’. I cut off one of its legs. I said “Perhaps he will buy it”, but I saw that he laughed at me. He said “I would not buy it with four legs, would I buy it with three?” (9) After him a teacher came. He said “I shall buy it if it has two legs”. I cut off another one. (Only) two remained. The ox fell down. A jurist came and said “If the situation is like this, I shall buy it if it has one leg”’. He said ‘I cut off also that leg and threw it away. The ox died, it collapsed there. Nobody came to buy it. It went for nothing. Dogs ate it and it was finished’. She said ‘Is that so husband?’ He said ‘Yes’.

[1] Literally: They have gone, they have come.

(10) bɛθέy dàx-ile?ˡ ʾítla trè ʾotáxe.ˡ ða-ʾòtəxˡ ʾáni dámxi gàwa.ˡ ʾɛ-xètaˡ heywànela.ˡ gòmɛla ṯ-ámrəx,ˡ xùya.ˡ mátti tàxta,ˡ mátti táxta hàtxaˡ ta-t-ʾàzi,ˡ líθən dăràje,ˡ ta-ṣáli gu-gòma.ˡ táxtɛla mútte hàtxaˡ ta-ṣáli tàma.ˡ (11) móra gáwṛa ma-yxàlə̀f.ˡ ʾána b-ṣalyàna.ˡ ṣlíθɛla bàxtaˡ xzíθa qa-màlla.ˡ málla ʾítle dəkkánət ʾaparùθa,ˡ yáʿni šèkər-uˡ čày-uˡ pàrča,ˡ mən-d-ànna məndiyáne,ˡ ʾu-ṣàbun.ˡ (12) dríθɛla šláma ʾálle dìyeˡ móra ʾa-málla dàx-it?ˡ dáx-ile kèfux?ˡ ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˡ móre spày-iwən,ˡ basímta ràba.ˡ xə̌r ʾàxxa?ˡ móra b-álaha hon-θìθaˡ bə̆yən msóqən xákma məndiyàneˡ ṭla-bèθa.ˡ (13) ʾámər šqúl kù-məndi-t bə̆yət.ˡ mxíθəlle ʾèna ˡ málla xàðyɛle.ˡ móre kú-məndi-t bə̆yət šqùl.ˡ šqíltɛla xa-čánta hátxa ṃìθɛla.ˡ móra màllaˡ ṯ-amrànnux.ˡ móre mòdi?ˡ (14) b-óma xéna ʾáθeti ṭla-kawùθra,ˡ čídət kəslèni.ˡ móre ʾèkɛle bɛθéxu?ˡ móra fə̀llən dùkθa.ˡ móre qəm-yăðənne.ˡ móra ṭla-kawùθraˡ ʾáθət ʾána mbàšlən móndi.ˡ móre sùq.ˡ (15) lá-šqille zúze mənna.ˡ ʾáyya sìqla,ˡ musə́qla pàrča,ˡ musə́qla ṣàbun,ˡ musə́qla šèkər,ˡ kú-məndi-t béla musə̀qla.ˡ móra xzí gàwṛa,ˡ xzi-maṣìθeti.ˡ (16) ṣléla yómət trèˡ ʾal-fə̀qih,ˡ ʾítle dəkkàna.ˡ kúlla dəkkančìyela.ˡ móra dréla šláma l-fə̀qihˡ dàx-it?ˡ dax-lɛ̀wət?ˡ dáx-ile kèfux?ˡ šúlux dàx-ile?ˡ móre basímta spày-ilaˡ xə̀r-ila?ˡ móra bə̆yən xákma məndiyáne záwnən ṭla-bnóni gu-bèθa.ˡ móra bəsra,ˡ kθayàθa,ˡ ʾən-ʾìtlux,ˡ šèkər,ˡ čày,ˡ ʾànna məndiyáne.ˡ (17) móre kú-məndi bə̆yət šqùl.ˡ šqìltɛla.ˡ móra fə̀qih,ˡ móra ṯ-amránnux xà-məndi,ˡ lá-ʾamrət ṭla-ʾàp-xa.ˡ móre mò?ˡ móra čídɛwət ʾaṣə́rta ṭla-xa-ràmša ˡ yómət ṭ̣àθa.ˡ yómət ṭ̣àθa,ˡ yáʿni bar-tre-yòme,ˡ yómət ṭ̣àθa,ˡ ʾáθət kəslèni.ˡ móre ʾèkɛle bɛθéxu?ˡ móra fə̀llən dùkθa.ˡ móre há yăðánne ṯ-àθən táma.ˡ (18) yómət ṭ̣àθa ˡ har-ṣlèla.ˡ ṣlèla,ˡ tfíqla muʿàlləm.ˡ muʿàlləm,ˡ dəkkána gòṛtɛla.ˡ kúl xa-tắhər móndi ʾítle gàwa.ˡ zìltɛla,ˡ dríθɛla ʾíða díya ʾal-rùše díye,ˡ ʾáxxa-w tàmma.ˡ háyyo ṯ-amrànnux,ˡ gxàkɛla mánne díye,ˡ ʾáwwa θéle kèfe.ˡ

(10) What was their house like? They had two rooms. In one room they slept. The other one was (for) the animals, it was a basement stable, as we call it. It was dark. They would put a board down, they would put a board down like this to go into it, there were no steps, to go down to the basement stable. They put a board down like this to go down there. (11) She said 'Husband, it's all right. I shall go down (to the town). The woman went down (to the town) and saw the mullah. The mullah had a shop of household goods, that is sugar, tea, fabrics, such things as these, and soap. (12) She greeted him and said 'Hey mullah, how are you? How are you doing?' and so forth. He said 'I am well, thank you very much. How are things?' She said 'Indeed I have come with the intention of buying a few things for the house'. (13) He said 'Take everything you want'. She winked her eye at him. The mullah was happy. He said 'Take anything you want'. She took a basket that was full like this. She said 'Mullah, let me tell you something'. He said 'What?' (14) 'The day after tomorrow come to lunch, you are invited to our home'. He said 'Where is your house?' She said 'In such-and-such a place'. He said 'I see'.[2] She said 'Come to lunch and I shall cook something'. He said 'Go up (back home)'. (15) He did not take money from her. She went up and took up (with her) material, she took up soap, she took up sugar, she took up everything she wanted. She said 'Look husband, look listen (to what I have to say)'. (16) She went down the next day to the jurist, who had a shop. They were all shopkeepers. She greeted the jurist 'How are you?[3] How are you doing? How is your work?' He said 'Thank you, all is well. How are things?' She said 'I want to buy a few things for my children at home'. She said 'meat, chickens, if you have them, sugar, tea, such things as that'. (17) He said 'Take anything you want'. She took it and said 'Jurist', she said 'Let me tell you something. Don't tell it to anybody'. He said 'What?' She said 'You are invited in the evening to dinner on the third day (from now), on the third day, that is after two days, the third day,[4] come to us'. He said 'Where is your house?' She said 'In such-and-such a place'. He said 'Yes, I know it, I'll come'. (18) On the third day she went down again. She went down and met the teacher. The teacher was in a big shop. He had every kind of thing in it. She went and put her hand on his shoulder, and so forth 'Come, let me tell you'. She was merry with him and he became happy.

[2] Literally: I (now) know it.
[3] Literally: How are you, how are you not?
[4] I.e. the day after tomorrow.

(19) qəm-dawqàle.ˈ mára xzí ṯ-amránnux muʿàlləm.ˈ ʾáti ràba bă̱yánnux.ˈ bas-msàʿədli xáčča.ˈ hálli xákma mèndiˈ masqánne l-bèθaˈ ʾu-ʾaṣárta b-léle ʾáθeti kàsli.ˈ ʾána zúza lìtli,ˈ fă̱qìrtɛn.ˈ (20) ʾámər dáx lítləx xàṯər.ˈ dáx lítləx xáṯər bàxta,ˈ ʾu-bṯ̂-àθənˈ gu-d-ànna ʾéni bṯ̂-áθən.ˈ ʾu-šqul kù-məndi-t bă̱yətˈ ʾáyya dəkkána qàməx.ˈ kù-mdi-t bă̱yət šqúl.ˈ (21) šuréla šqílla šqílla kú-məndi-t mṣèla.ˈ qəm-šaqlála drɛ́la gu-čánta dìya.ˈ šuréla b-ʾúrxa sìqla.ˈ síqla mára ṭla-gàwṛa.ˈ mára gàwṛa.ˈ xzi-ʾánna ṭla-nàše ṯ̂-íla príməlle tàwra,ˈ ṭláθna hon-yíwtəlla mòʿəd.ˈ (22) ʾína ṯ̂-áθi làxxa.ˈ ʾáti kúl fàtraˈ mṭašátla gánux baràye.ˈ dánət kawùθra,ˈ har-wéla dánət kawùθra,ˈ xzélux xa-náša θàya,ˈ málla bṯ̂-àθe,ˈ ṯ̂-áwər gu-bèθa,ˈ yáʿni xamšá daqíqela hal-ʾəṣraˈ ʾáti ʾàθeti.ˈ ṣárxət xa-qàlaˈ ʾahè!ˈ ʾahè!ˈ hàtxaˈ ʾu-ʾána ta-t-yă̱ðən.ˈ ʾu-ʾáti lìtlux šúla.ˈ (23) xàrθa,ˈ pàlṭetiˈ ʾap-ʾaṣárta hàdəx.ˈ ʾu-ʾáti har-háwət baràyeˈ ʾu-sáprət kuṯ̂-áθe làxxa.ˈ m-báθər xámša daqìqeˈ ʾáti ʾàwreti.ˈ ʾu-hàl ʾaṣárta,ˈ hál ʾədlèle,ˈ hal xa-ràmša.ˈ mára ma-yxàləf báxti.ˈ

(24) wíyɛle yómət ṭlàθaˈ ʾáwwa fṭìrɛleˈ ʾu-plìṭɛle.ˈ plíṭɛle zílɛle hóle gašòqe.ˈ dánət kawúθra θéle màlla.ˈ mára màllaˈ šlàma-lləxˈ màraˈ w-áy b-šɛ́ne málla θèlux!ˈ ʾáhlan wa-sáhlan rəš-rèši.ˈ ya-ʾáhlan wa-sàhlan.ˈ páqəð tù!ˈ páqəð tù!ˈ (25) málla-žigən tìwle,ˈ ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˈ šoréla moθéla mìya.ˈ mtúle kásle dìye,ˈ šoréle štáya mìyaˈ ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˈ xa-bènaˈ gáwṛa dìyaˈ hó šekă̆ro!ˈ líθ là-xmara mánne díyeˈ la-čù-məndi.ˈ ṣráxɛle ʿal-ʾasā́s hóle síqa l-qèse,ˈ mɛθóye qèseˈ gáwṛe díye θèle.ˈ (26) mára màllaˈ šqúl ʾáwwa qésa l-ʾìðux,ˈ xa-qésa rìxa,ˈ šqúl l-ʾìðux,ˈ wúr gu-d-áwwa bèθa.ˈ ʔúmle tă̆ra bàrux.ˈ háwət hášyər ʾítlən jə̀nne.ˈ ʾítlən jə̀nne.ˈ saṭàne ʾítlən,ˈ gu-d-áwwa bèθa.ˈ háwət hášyər t-là-ʾaθi ʾállux.ˈ ha-t-gáwṛi ʾàzəl.ˈ (27) ʾáwwa mòdile wíða?ˈ ja-jálde qìmɛleˈ ʾu-zíla šqíləlle ʾo-qésa rìxaˈ ʾu-wírɛle gu-d-o-bèθaˈ rəš-d-ò-dapaˈ ʾu-tắra ʔə̀mtəlle báre.ˈ tắra ʔə́mtəlle báre dìye-wˈ ʾáw pìšɛle táma.ˈ

(19) She held him and said 'Look, let me tell you teacher. I love you a lot. Only, help me a little. Give me something to take up to the house and tonight come to me. I do not have a penny. I am poor'. (20) He said 'Of course, you are welcome, my lady. I shall come. (I promise) by these eyes (of mine) that I shall come. Take whatever you want. This shop is before you. Take whatever you want'. (21) She began to take (things) and took everything she could. She took them and put them in her bag. Then she set off on the road and went up (home). She went up and said to her husband, she said 'Husband, take note that the three people who slaughtered the ox,—I have made an assignation with the three of them. (22) They will come here. Each time you hide yourself outside. At lunchtime, as soon as lunchtime has come and you have seen a man coming—the mullah will come and enter the house—after five or ten minutes you come back. Shout out "ʾahə, ʾahə", like that, so that I know. You have nothing (else) to do. (23) Then, you go out, and in the evening (do) the same. You be outside all the time and wait for whoever comes here. After five minutes you should come in, and (do the same) in the evening, tonight, at dinner-time'. He said 'Fine, wife'.

(24) The third day came. He had his breakfast and went out. He went out, went off and kept watch. At lunchtime the mullah came. The mullah said 'Greetings to you' She said 'Welcome mullah! Welcome! Welcome! Please, sit down. Please, sit down'. (25) The mullah sat down, and so forth. She began by bringing water. He put it by him and began to drink water, and so forth, then her husband (cried) 'Wo!'[5] There was not, however, an ass with him, nothing. He cried out (pretending) that he had gone up for wood, to fetch wood. Her husband came back. (26) She said 'Mullah, take this stick in your hand, a long stick, take it in your hand and go into this room. Close the door behind you. Be careful, since we have jinn, we have jinn. We have demons in this house. Be careful they do not accost you. (Stay there) until my husband goes'. (27) What did he do? He quickly got up, took the long stick and entered the room, by the board. She closed the door behind him. She closed the door behind him and he remained there.

[5] Call made to stop an animal.

(28) dí zìlla dána| θèla dána| ʾu-saʾɔ̀tɛla| wéla ʾaṣ̀ɔrta.| b-áyya dàna,| ʾɔ́θyɛle fa̋̀qih.| θéle fa̋̀qih| šlàma-lləx.| háy b-šɛ́na b-ṭawàθa, fa̋́qih.| yába rəš-réši ʾáhlan w-sàhlan,| b-šɛ̀na.| páqəð tù!| páqəð tù!| tíwɛle ʾàp-ʾaw.| mṭéle moθéθəlle xáčča mìya.| móra maθyánnux xa-čày,| b-šatèxi.| ʾáp-xa lìθ láxxa gu-bɛ́θa.| ʾayále díye hóle mšùdrəlla xa-dúkθa xéta.| (29) móra tìwɛle| háš stăkána šɔ̀tya| t-la-štáya čày.| xa-qála ʾáθe m-qam-tắrət bɛ̀θa| hó šekà̆ro!| ʾámər ʾáw ʾɛ̀nile?| móra gáwṛi θéle mṭáši gànux!| yíwla xa-qésa xéna ʾálle dìye.| móra háwət hɔ̀šyər| ʾíθən jɔ̀nne saṭáne gu-d-áyya ʾòtəx.| háwət hɔ̀šyər.| har-qítla bìyux,| qaṭlílux ṯ-axlìlux.| (30) móre ma-yxàlɔf.| qímɛle šqílɛle qésa b-ʾíðe dìye| ʾu-wìrɛle.| ʾax-ṯ-ìle wíra,| ʾíθwa dúkθa ta-t-kalèwa.| ʾu-c̣̆ímtəlle tắra báre dìye| ʾu-píšɛle ʾáp-aw tàma.|

(31) θéle b-ʾaṣ̀ɔrta| b-léle ta-ṯ-áxla xa-ràmša,| xa-béna hàdəx| ʾɔ́θyɛle muʿàlləm.| rába šlàma-lləx| dàx-it?| dáx lɛ̀wət?| móra b-šɛ́na ṭawàθa,| rába b-šɛ̀na.| háwət basíma ràba| qa-d-áwwa ʾixála ṯ-it-yíwəlle qa-dìyi| mən-kθayàθa,| mən-bɔ̀sra,| mən-šékər-u čáy-u ṣàbun.| kùl-xa móndi| hot-yìwəlla| háwət basíma ràba.| ʾína páqəð tù.| mšaxnánne ʾixàla| ta-ṯ-áxlax ʾána-w ʾáti m-ġðàðe.| (32) ʾámər líθ ʾáp-xa gu-bɛ̀θa?| móra là| har-ʾàna,| xòðiwən.| ʾáyya šwíθa ṭláli ʾu-ṭlàlux-ila.| móre xoš-mòndila.| šurɛ́θa mbarxóše ʾixàla,| xa-béna gáwṛa díya ʾàθe,| hó šekà̆ro!| móre ʾɛ̀nile?| móra gáwṛi θèle.| zílɛwa be-šwàwe.| xzi-θèle.| (33) móre mò-ʾoðən.?| móra mo-ṯ-òðəx?| šqul ʾáwwa qèsa| wúr gu-d-áyya ʾòtəx,| ʾína háwət hɔ̀šyər.| hóla ʾíθən jɔ̀nne gáwa| t-la-qaṭlìlux.| ʾámər háyyo mùt-mara?| móra yé b-alàha| xzi-háwət hɔ̀šyər!| (34) qímɛle šqílɛle ʾáp-ʾaw qèsa.| wírɛle gu-ʾòtəx| ʾu-lá-mur qáyəθ b-o-ṯ-íle dɔ̀pne,| qáyəθ b-fa̋̀qih.| fa̋́qih qáyəθ b-màlla.| ʾu-ṣáli gu-gòma,| mxáyɛla l-ġðàðe.| xùyɛle.| (35) tắra c̈̀imtɛla barέy.| xùyɛle.| xa-mxàyɛle l-o-xéna.| xa-mxàyɛle l-o-xéna.| ʾánna xšíwela jɔ̀nnela.| dú dú dú mxéla l-ġðàðe| ha-t-ṭláθna mìtla.| ʾímət mítla ṭlaθnèy,| qímtɛla pθíxtɛla tà̆ra| ʾína léla šmáya qálət ʾùp-xa.| hóla ṭláθna mìθe.|

(28) Time passed, the hours passed, and it became evening. At that time the jurist came. The jurist came (and said) 'Greetings to you'. 'Welcome, jurist. Welcome. Please sit down'. He also sat down. When he came, she brought some water. She said 'Let me bring some tea and we shall drink. There is nobody here in the house. He (my husband) has sent his children to another place.' (29) He (the jurist) sat down. He had not yet drunk the glass of tea when a voice came from outside the house 'Wo!' He said 'Who is that?' She said 'My husband has returned. Hide yourself!' She gave another stick to him. She said 'Be careful. There are jinn and demons in this room. Be careful. As soon as they hit you, they will kill you and eat you'. (30) He said 'Fine'. He got up, took the stick in his hand and entered (the room). When he entered, there was space for him to stand. She closed the door behind him and he also remained there.

(31) The late evening came, time for her to eat dinner, then the teacher came (and said) 'Many greetings. How are you?'[6] She said 'Welcome, welcome. Thank you very much for this food that you have given me, chicken, meat, sugar, tea, soap. You have given me all kinds of things. Thank you very much. But please sit down. I shall heat the food so that you and I can eat together'. (32) He said 'There is nobody in the house?' She said 'No, only me. I am alone. This bed is for me and you'. He said 'That's good'. She began to stir the food, then her husband came back 'Wo!' He said 'Who is it?' She said 'My husband has come back. He had gone to our neighbours' house. Look he has returned'. (33) He said 'What should I do?' She said 'What should we do? Take this stick and go into this room. But be careful. There are jinn in it, (be careful) they do not kill you'. He said 'Come on, what are you saying?' She said 'Yes, by God, look, be careful!' (34) He also got up and took the stick. He entered the room and, what do you say,[7] he knocked into the one next to him, he knocked into the jurist. The jurist knocked into the mullah. They slid down into the basement stable, beating each other. It was dark. (35) She had closed the door after them and it was dark. One was beating the other, one was beating the other. They thought they were jinn. They beat one another until the three of them died. When the three of them died, she opened the door and did not hear the voice of anybody. The three were dead.

[6] Literally: how are you, how are you not?
[7] Literally: Do not say.

(36) b-lèlela,ˈ plíṭṭɛla zìltɛlaˈ xzíθəlle xa-nàša.ˈ màraˈ háyyo ya-gáni ṯ-amràννux.ˈ máre mò?ˈ mára ʾáti pɛ́šət ḥammàlaˈ—ḥammála yáʿni ʾo-t-ṭáyən nàše,ˈ ṭáyən màndi,ˈ ʾáw y-amríle ḥammàlaˈ—mára hàyyo.ˈ háyyo kəslɛ́ni ṯ-amràννux.ˈ (37) ʾáp-ʾaw qímɛle zílɛle kəslèy.ˈ máre há bàxta,ˈ mùt-mara?ˈ mára t-yánnux ʾəṣrà dináre.ˈ bàsˈ ʾáwwa náša nablátle ṭamrətliˈ ʾína háwət hàšyərˈ miθɛ́ni dɛ̀ṛi.ˈ mṭamrátle spáy ta-t-là dáyəṛ.ˈ máre hè!ˈ (38) hóle mpúlṭa màlla qamáye,ˈ mpúlṭɛle gu-ʾótəx dìya.ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw ráp ʾíðe díye l-ʾáqlət màlla,ˈ dɛréle báθər qðàle.ˈ ʾu-de-b-lèlela,ˈ zílɛle zílɛle xázyɛle xa-lawùrtaˈ ʾu-dəryálle gáwa díya.ˈ dáryálle gáwa dìyaˈ ʾu-ʾəθyɛle.ˈ (39) ha-ṯ-íle ʾəθya,ˈ mpuláṭṭɛla fằqih.ˈ mpulàṭṭálleˈ muttèθálle fằqih táma.ˈ mára nə́mu la-mə́ri-llux dàyəṛ,ˈ míθa dàyəṛ?ˈ hóle dìṛṛe.ˈ háyyo mut mára?ˈ mára b-rèšux.ˈ ʾáti múttət-álle tàmaˈ ʾáw qam-mə̀nnux hóle ʾə́θya láxxa.ˈ háyyo mut mára?ˈ (40) tqìlálle,ˈ ṭínálle l-xàṣeˈ ʾu-nùbláll e.ˈ zə́dyálle gu-xa-dúkθa ʾamùqta rába.ˈ máre ta-t-là pálə̀ṭ.ˈ zadéle ṣàleˈ gu-xa-čále gòṛta.ˈ (41) ʾu-qímɛle mpúlṭɛle muʿàlləm.ˈ mpuláṭla muʿálləm tàma.ˈ mára ʾéka zdélux ja-jálde θéle ʾáwwa qàm-mənnux?ˈ ʾámər mòdit mára?ˈ hon-dáryálle gu-xa-čále ʾamúqta lá-ʾaməṣ čù-ga čú-ga palə̀ṭ.ˈ máre hálle làxxaˈ (42) krìbɛle.ˈ dáryálle l-xáṣe dìye,ˈ sìqɛleˈ ʾə́rxe,ˈ síqɛle gu-kotằla,ˈ rəš-kotắla dáryálle gu-mìya.ˈ ṣə̀lyɛleˈ ʾáwwa ʾažvànaˈ—ʾáw-t mtágbər ʾə́rxeˈ y-amríle ʾažvàna.ˈ—ʾàwwaˈ pθìxɛle tắra,ˈ xáze ʾə́rxe klèla.ˈ (43) xáze mòdila qə́ṣṣətˈ míya lèla θáya.ˈ hóle ṣə́lya ʾo-náša gu-mìya.ˈ paθəxle tắra,ˈ ʾína xazéle ʾo-ʾažvána tàma.ˈ maxéle xa-qésa ʾólle dìye,ˈ qaṭə̀lle ʾažvána.ˈ qaṭálle ʾažvána tàmaˈ ʾu-ʾàrəq.ˈ (44) ʾázəl ṭla-báxta ʾàmər,ˈ ʾámər há xàzəxˈ la-dìṛṛe?ˈ la-dìṛṛeˈ ʾo-mìθən?ˈ mára mut-dàyəṛ?ˈ yắðət ʾékən dəryálle?ˈ mára ʾèka?ˈ (45) máre dáryálle gu-kotắləta ʾə́rxeˈ ʾu-bă̆yéwa palə́ṭ-u plìṭle,ˈ ʾu-bă̆yéwa palə́ṭ-u pθíxálle tắrəd ʾə́rxe,ˈ bă̆yéwa palə̀ṭwa,ˈ ʾu-ʾána máxyən-álle qésa gu-réše dìye,ˈ hon-qṭìlálle.ˈ hóle tàma.ˈ

(36) At night she went out and found a man. She said 'Come, my dear, let me tell you something'. He said 'What?' She said 'Please be a porter—a porter, that is somebody who carries people, carries something, he is called a porter—she said 'Come, come to our home and I'll tell you'. (37) He went to their home. He said 'So, woman. What do you want to say?' She said ', but be careful, our dead return. Bury him well so that he does not return.' He said 'Yes'. (38) The mullah was taken out first, he was taken out into their room. Woosh his hand (caught hold of) the leg of the mullah and he put him behind his neck. Now, while it was night, he went off and found a valley, and he put him into it. He put him into it and came back. (39) Before he came back, she took out the jurist. She took out the jurist and placed him there. She said 'Did I not tell you that he would return, that the dead would return? Look he has returned'. 'Come on. What are you saying?' She said '(I swear) by your head. You put him there, but he has come back here before you'. 'Come on. What are you saying?' (40) He lifted him up, loaded him on his back and took him away. He threw him in a very deep place. He said 'So that he will not come out'. He threw him down into a deep pit. (41) The teacher was then brought out. She brought out the teacher there (in the house). She said 'Where did you throw him that he has come back before you so quickly?' He said 'What are you saying? I put him in a deep pit from which he could never come out'. He said 'Give him to me here'. (42) He was angry. He put him on his back and went up to the water-mill. He went up to the water tank[8] and placed him in the tank in the water. The mill caretaker went down—the person who looks after the water-mill is called the caretaker (*ʾažvana*)—he opened the door and sees that the water-mill has stopped. (43) He saw what the problem was. The water was not flowing. That man (the teacher) had come down into the water. He (the porter) opened the door and saw the caretaker there. He beat the caretaker with a stick and killed him. He killed the caretaker there and fled. (44) He went to the woman and said, he said 'Well, has he not returned? Has that dead man of ours not returned?' She said 'Why should he return?' 'Do you know where I put him?' She said 'Where?' (45) He said 'I put him in the tank of the water-mill. He wanted to come out and he did come out. He wanted to come out and he opened the door of the mill, he wanted to come out, but I hit him with a stick on his head and killed him. He is (still) there'.

[8] The *kotăla* is the tank that feeds water to the mill (§0.0.0.).

(46) háy bɛ̀θi.ˈ hot-qṭìləlle ʾažvána!ˌ mərɛˈ lɛ̀le ʾažvána,ˈ ʾàwwa.ˈ məra là,ˈ ʾáti hot-qṭíla ʾažvána díyən, šákən ʾəllux.ˈ ʾámər là-bə̆yənna lá zùzəxˈ ʾu-la-čù-məndi.ˈ ʾu-ya-ʾàlaha,ˈ zílɛle rìqɛle.ˈ ʾan-zúze ṭla-d-àw,ˈ ṭla-d-o-ḥammàlaˈ là-yiwla.ˈ (47) ʾánna ṭḷáθna qəm-qaṭlàlaˈ ʾu-zílla díṛṛa l-bɛ̀θa.ˈ réša mtùla,ˈ məra ṭla-gáwṛa dìyaˈ xzèlux? hàtxa ʾoðéti b-náše!ˌ

(46) 'Oh dear![9] You have killed the caretaker'. He said 'He is not the caretaker'. She said 'No, you have killed *our caretaker*. I'll make a complaint about you'. He said 'I don't want your money or anything' and he was off, he fled. She did not give the money to him, to that porter. (47) She killed the three of them and she returned home. She lay down her head and said to her husband 'You see. That is how you should treat people!'

[9] Literally: oh my house.

A23 The Man Who Wanted to Work

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) mára ʾìθwa| xá nàša,| xa-qurðàya.| mára kúlla náša hóle zála l-šùla.| ʾàp-ʾana bṭ́-ázən šúla| pàlxən.| qìmɛle,| šə́mmət máθa díye wéwa Barwòre.| ʾámte dìye| hóla gu-Sàrzar| ʾu-xále dìye| hóle gu-Daštàne.| ʾáwwa mára ṭla-bábe díye-w yámme díye màre| bábi-w yə̀mmi| ʾáp-ʾana ṭ́-ázən pàlxən| xa-pəlxána ta-t-lèpena.| (2) bábe-w yámme díye màra| bròni| qá-mo là?| sì.'| kúlla náša hole-plàxa.| ʾáp-ʾati sì| pàlxeti.| ʾáwwa zílɛle be-ʾámte dìye.| ʾámte xáθət bàbe.| há bròni,| m-èkət θáya?| b-álaha m-bèθən θáya,| ʾàmti.| lèka.?| (3) mára bə́yən ṭ́-ázən kəs-xàli.| xáli zàngīn-ile,| t-yálli xa-šúla pálxən ʾàp-ʾana.| kúlla náša hóle plàxa,| ʾáp-ʾana pálxən mánne dìye.| mára qá-mo là?| (4) qìmtɛla| wíðtəlle ʾixàla,| bè'e.| qèdamtɛla,| wíðtəlle ʾixàla| bé'e-w mášxa-w qàlya,| màra|—šə́mme díye ʾÙmmo-wewa|—mára ʾÙmmo,| ʾána qémən ʾázən náblən ʾixàla| ṭla-xàtnux| ʾu-ʾáti xùl| ʾu-sí l-be-xàlux.| mára ma-yxàləf ʾámti.| (5) xá-bena ʾay-zìltɛla məskánta.| ʾáw pìšɛle,| xìləlle ʾo-ʾixála ṭ́-íle kàsle.| màre| bálki zílli b-ʾùrxa| ʾu-kpìnni.| qémən šaqlánni xákma mándi mánni b-ʾìði| ta-t-ʾàzən b-úrxa,| ʾən-kpìnni,| ṭ́-axlànne.| (6) qìmɛle| báθər ṭ́-íle príqa mən-ʾixàla,| qìmɛle| šqíla xa-ʾárba xamšà bé'e.| šqílɛle xa-ʾárba xamšà bé'e| múttəlla xo-kosìθe.| ʾu-šqílɛle qàlya,| dáryəlle gu-jebàne.| ʾu-hóla ṭ́-amréxi xa-kawàza| mə̀šxa gáwa.| (7) ʾáwwa dáryəlla ʾíðe gáwe díye ta-t-mpáləṭ mə̀šxa,| ʾu-ʾíðe díye ṣìθɛla gáwe.| ʾu-bə́ye mpáləṭle kùlle| ʾu-lèle pláṭa.| ʾu-hírɛle b-gáne dìye.| ʾu-píšɛle gu-d-ɛ-pyàšta| há-ṭ́-ila θíθa ʾámte dìye.| θéla ʾámte díye màra| há ʾÙmmo| mùt wáða.?| máre ʾámti dȕs bə́yət.?| (8) máre ʾána bə́yənwa šaqlánwali xáčča mə̀šxa| máre ta-ṭ́-áxlən b-ʾùrxa| xáčča mášxa-w làxma| ʾína ʾíði ṣéla gu-d-áwwa hánna lìnta,| lèla pláṭa,| t-mə̀šxa.| ʾay-mára qə́ṭma b-rèšux.'| de-sì.'| qəm-maxyále hátxa gu-réše dìye,| ṣléla bé'e ʾàx-ʾaxxe díye.| (9) ʾáyya mòdila.?| máre šqílənni xákma bè'e-žigən| mári bàlki,| bálki kápnena kàpnena.| hóle qúrbət nùrɛle.| núra qùrbɛle,| šxínne qàlya.| mášxət qálya plíṭle b-jebàne díye.|

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(1) There was a man, a Kurd. He said ‘Everybody goes to work. I also shall go to work and work. He set off. The name of his village was Barwore. His aunt was in Sarzar and his uncle was in the Daštane. He said to his father and mother, he said ‘Father and mother, I also shall go and work, so that I can learn (how to do) a job’. (2) His father and mother said ‘My son, why not? Go on. Everybody works. You also go and work’. He went to the house of his aunt, his aunt, the sister of his father. ‘Hey, my son, where are you coming from?’ ‘By God, I’m coming from home, aunt’ ‘Where (are you going)?’ (3) He said ‘I want to go to my uncle. My uncle is rich, he will give me a job so that also I can work. Everybody works, I also shall work with him’. She said ‘Why not?’ (4) She made him food, some eggs. (When) it was morning, she made him food, eggs, oil and roasted meat. She said—his name was Ummo—she said ‘Ummo, I am going to take food to my husband.[1] You eat and go to the house of your uncle’. He said ‘Fine, aunt’. (5) Then she, poor thing, went off while he stayed and ate the food that was in front of him. He said ‘Perhaps when I have set out on the road, I shall be hungry. I’ll take something for myself with me in my hand so that when I go on the road, if I get hungry, I can eat it’. (6) When he had finished the food, he took four or five eggs. He took four or five eggs and put them under his hat. He took roasted meat and put it in his pockets. There was what we call a *kawaza* (‘jar’) with oil in it. (7) He put his hand in it to take out some oil, but his hand got stuck in it. He tried to take it all out, but it did not come out. He was perplexed. He remained in that predicament until his aunt came. His aunt came and she said ‘Hey, Ummo, what are you doing?’ He said ‘Aunt, do you want the truth?’ (8) He said ‘I wanted to take a little oil to eat on the way, a little oil and bread, but my hand has got stuck in this thing, pot of oil, and it does not come out’. She said ‘Confound you![2] Go!’ She struck him like this on his head and the eggs ran down on him here. (9) ‘What is this?’ He said ‘I also took some eggs. I thought perhaps I shall be hungry’. He was near the fire. The fire was near and the roast meat heated up. The oil of the roast meat came out of his pockets.

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[1] This is a paraphrase. The term *xətna* has the sense here of the husband of a maternal aunt.

[2] Literally: Ash on your head!

(10) mára ʾáwwa mòdile?ˡ mára šqílənwa xáčča xéna qàlyaˡ ta-ṯ-axlánne bʾùrxa.ˡ mára míla l-hàlux!ˡ de-sìgən!ˡ ʾáti čù-pəlxana la-pálxət.ˡ har-blígət b-kàsux.ˡ mára qímtɛla mtugbàrtəlle,ˡ mára de-sì.ˡ

(11) ʾáwwa zìlɛle bʾúrxa,ˡ zílɛle be-xàle.ˡ ʾámər šláma-llɛxu xàli.ˡ ʾámər ya-b-šéna ṭawàθa,ˡ b-šèna.ˡ ha-mò bă̋yət?ˡ mára bă̋yən t-yawátli xa-šùla.ˡ mára mò palxéti?ˡ mára ʾána hàden pláṭa,ˡ léðən čù pəlxána.ˡ (12) mára ʾítli šawwà xmáre.ˡ kùt-yumˡ ʾásqət masqátla ʾan-šáwwa xmáre l-ṭùra.ˡ méθət qése biyèy.ˡ ʾàwwɛle šúlux.ˡ bằyət?ˡ mára hè,ˡ ʾáwwa xòš-šulɛle xáli.ˡ ʾáwwa qìmɛleˡ músqəllɛle ʾan-xmáre l-ṭùra.ˡ (13) ʾé-ga šáwwa xmáre ràbɛla hal-é-gə mjăméla qése,ˡ ta-dérela l-xáṣət xmàre.ˡ ʾáθi dèwe.ˡ ʾaxlìla xmáre díye.ˡ ʾáw mòdi wídle?ˡ qìmɛleˡ ṭìnəlla,ˡ ṭínəlla ʾan-qurṭàne.ˡ qurṭánət t-xmàre.ˡ ṭínəlla l-xáṣe šawwà qurṭáne-wˡ mùṣlyəlla.ˡ (14) múṣlyəlla dìwən,ˡ díwən t-xále díye hóla dwìqta.ˡ ʾáyya díwən làxxɛlaˡ ʾaw-gàrele.ˡ har-ʾáθyɛle mən-ṭúra réša-reša d-o-gàre.ˡ ʾu-ʾáni l-xáṣe díye mrùpyəlla gu-díwən-t xále.ˡ (15) ʾán-naše kúlla xìrra bíye díyeˡ ʾína qúrṭánət xmáre tàma.ˡ qàryɛle xále díye bíye díyeˡ mára ʾÚmmo, ʾÚmmo hàyyo.ˡ mára ʾína mòdila?ˡ mára xàliˡ xmàre,ˡ šáwwaθna hóla xíle l-dèwe,ˡ mára qəm-mɛθánna qurṭanèy.ˡ ʾámər mà-yxaləf.ˡ (16) ʾáni zìlla,ˡ fədwa ʾəllux.ˡ mára sígən baxt-xàlux.ˡ xzi-mó pəlxána xazyàlux.ˡ plúx gu-bèθa.ˡ mára hè.ˡ

(17) xá-yoma béθa hóle šìya.ˡ yáʿni wíða xàθa-wˡ ʾùpra-wˡ šyàlle,ˡ ʾu-parošyáθa hátxa glòle,ˡ šənduxyàθa y-amrə́xla,ˡ šənduxyàθa.ˡ hóle ʾíθən làxxaˡ stàrra.ˡ stárra mòdile?ˡ xàṭṭeleˡ ʾu-šìšmeleˡ ʾu-pràgeˡ ʾu-sàṛe,ˡ kúlla dárye gu-mziðe,ˡ ʾu-mútte hátxa pummèy.ˡ (18) ʾu-xa-línta górta hátxa t-nepòxtaˡ hóla muttéθa ʾáp-ʾay kəslèy.ˡ ʾu-mára ʾálle dìye,ˡ baxt-xále díye mára xzìˡ ʾáyya ʾótəx hox-šìyəlla.ˡ là-qablətˡ là bəṛ-náša ṯ-áwər gáwaˡ ʾu-là héwən.ˡ mára ma-yxàləf.ˡ tíwɛle gu-tằra.ˡ

(10) She said 'What is this?' He said 'I took a little more roasted meat to eat on the way'. She said 'Confound you![3] Go! You will not be able to do any work, you are always concerned about your stomach'. So, she prepared things for him and said 'Off you go!'

(11) He went on his way, he went to his uncle's house. He said 'Greetings to you uncle'. He said 'Welcome. Well, what do you want?' He said 'I want you to give me a job'. He said 'What kind of work do you do?' He said 'This is the first time I am going out (to work). I don't know any (kind of) work'. (12) He said 'I have seven asses. Every day go up and take those seven asses up the mountain. Bring back wood with them. That is your job. Do you want it?' He said 'Yes. That is a good job, uncle'. He went off and took those asses up the mountain. (13) Well, seven asses were a lot for him to collect wood and put on their backs. Wolves came and ate his asses. What did he do? He put the blankets, the blankets of the asses, he loaded the seven blankets on his back and brought them down. (14) He brought them down to the meeting room, the meeting room of his uncle was full. The meeting room was here and this was its roof (adjacent to the mountain). He came straight from the mountain across the roof and threw those things on his back into the meeting room of his uncle. (15) All the people looked at it and saw that asses' blankets were there. His uncle called him and said 'Ummo, Ummo, come here'. He said 'But what is this?' He said 'Uncle, the asses, the seven of them have been eaten by wolves'. He said 'I have brought their blankets'. (16) He said 'Fine. They died and you are safe.[4] He said 'Go to the wife of your uncle.[5] See what job she can find for you. Work in the house'. He said 'Yes'.

(17) One day the house had been plastered, that is newly decorated, with mud, they plaster it, with round flat stones, which we call *šənduxyaθa*. There was a food store. What is a food store? It is wheat, sesame, millet, barley, everything put in leather bags, with their mouth placed thus (facing forward). (18) A large pot of date syrup also was placed in their store. She said to him, the wife of his uncle said 'Look, we have (newly) plastered this room. Don't let any person or animal enter it'. He said 'Fine'. He sat at the door.

[3] Literally: Blue on your condition!
[4] Literally: (as) a redemption for you.
[5] I.e. his wife.

(19) tíwɛle gu-tə̀ra,ˈ ʾáyya ta-t-bàrza,ˈ θíθɛla xa-qàṭuˈ ʾu-šwìrtɛla-wˈ b-tə́ra wìrtɛla,ˈ klíθa kəs-d-ó-linət nepòxta.ˈ ʾaw-mòreˈ baxt-xáli hóla mírta lá bəṛ-nàšaˈ ʾu-lá hɛ́wən ʾáwər gu-d-áyya ʾòtəx.ˈ ʾáyya kúlla qəm-maxərwàlaˈ b-aqláθa dìya,ˈ béθa šîya.ˈ (20) šqíləlla xá šəndùxta.ˈ šqíləlla ta-t-dɛréla b-qàṭu,ˈ là-qɛθa b-qáṭu,ˈ qéθa b-bé-palgət nepùxta,ˈ d-o-línət nepùxta.ˈ ʾáw bə̀že,ˈ šàməṭ.ˈ nepóxta šuréla plàṭa.ˈ bízla nepúxta gu-bɛ̀θa.ˈ (21) ʾáwwa zìlleˈ šqála mən-púmmət pràge,ˈ m-mzìða,ˈ šqála ʾo-júlla mən-púmmət práge ta-t-mattúle gu-púmmət líntət nepòxta.ˈ ʾan-práge kúlla ṣáli gu-nepòxta.ˈ píšla nepóxta ʾu-práge gu-ġðàðe.ˈ ʾo-béθa ṃlə̀le mənnéy.ˈ (22) θéla baxt-xále dìyeˈ mə́ra ha-ʾÚmmo mùt wíða?ˈ mə́re b-álaha látwa mìrtaˈ la-hɛ́wən ʾu-lá bəṛ-náša ʾáwər gu-ʾòtəx?ˈ θéla qàṭu,ˈ wìrra,ˈ kléla kəs-lìnta.ˈ ʾáp-ʾana šqiláli šəndùxtaˈ dəryáli bìya.ˈ là-qitla bíya díya.ˈ qítla b-lìnta.ˈ línta šmìṭla.ˈ (23) qímli zílli šqílli ʾáwwa júlla ṯ́-íle gu-púmmət mzíðət pràge.ˈ mə́ri mattə́nne gu-nepóxta t-là-bɛza.ˈ ʾap-práge ṣléla gàwa.ˈ ʾána mò-ʾoðən?ˈ léle gnàyi.ˈ (24) mə́ra ham-ma-yxàləf,ˈ lìtla xám.ˈ qìmɛle,ˈ zìlaˈ mtugə̀brəlla,ˈ háde m-hàde-wˈ wíðəlla ʾày-uˈ ʾu-tə́ra ʿ́íməlle ta-t-lá-ʾawər ʾáp-xa náša gàwa.ˈ

(25) xále díye mə̀reˈ xzìˈ har ʾànən ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n,ˈ ʿAbda-Raḥmə̀n-bēkˈ ʾíle šə́mmi.ˈ kut-ʾàθeˈ ʾámər ʿAbda-Raḥmə̀n-bēk,ˈ tə́ra la-paθxə́tle ʾə́lle dìye.ˈ bas-har-ʾànɛwən,ˈ ʾàna.ˈ ʾíθwa xáʾa masyòθeˈ báθər tə̀ra.ˈ masyòθe-wewaˈ ʾímə t-wewa-mára ṭla-ʾÙmmo,ˈ mára-wewa har-ʾàna ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n,ˈ ʾáp-xa la-qáblət ṯ́-áwər gu-bɛ̀θa,ˈ ʾal-ʾasə́s ta-ṯ́-ázəl l-bàxte.ˈ (26) ʾáp-ʾawwa ʿ́íməlle tə̀ra.ˈ xa-béna wítɛla hádəx b-lèleˈ máxyɛle taq-taq-táq l-tə̀ra.ˈ ha-mə̀niwət?ˈ ʾámər ʾána ʿAbda-Raḥmə̀n-iwən,ˈ pθúx tə̀ra.ˈ pθìxəllele tə́ra.ˈ wírɛle zìlaˈ dmíxɛle kəs-báxtət ʿAbda-Raḥmə̀n-bēk,ˈ kəs-baxt-xàle.ˈ (27) bar-hádəx θéle xa-xéna mxéle l-tə̀ra,ˈ ha-mə̀niwət?ˈ mə́re ʿAbda-Raḥmə̀n-iwən.ˈ mə́re kəmà ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n ʾíθ?ˈ xà ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n?ˈ trè ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n?ˈ ʾána ṭla-d-èni páθxən tə́ra?ˈ mə́re ʾo-ṯ́-íle wíra ʾáw xə̀ràmɛle.ˈ genàwɛle ʾáw,ˈ qaṭòlɛle.ˈ pθúxli tə́ra ṯ́-àwrənˈ ta-t-qaṭlə̀xle.ˈ

(19) He sat at the door, until it dried, but a cat came, leapt, entered through the door and stood by that pot of date syrup. He said 'The wife of my uncle said that no person and no animal should enter this room. This (cat) has messed everything up with its feet'—the room was (newly) plastered. (20) He picked up a small stone, he picked it up to throw it at the cat, but it did not hit the cat but rather hit right in the middle of the date syrup, of the pot of date syrup. It was pierced and broke. The date syrup began to run out. The date syrup spilt into the room. (21) He went to take from the mouth of the bag of millet, take the cloth from the mouth (of the bag of) millet to put it in the mouth of the pot of syrup. All the millet fell down into the syrup. The syrup and the millet seed were mix together. The room was filled with them. (22) The wife of his uncle came and said 'Ummo, what have you done?' He said 'By God, did you not say that no animal and no person should enter the room? A cat came, entered and stood by the pot. I picked up a small stone and threw it at him. It did not hit it, but hit the pot. The pot broke. (23) I went and took the cloth that is in the mouth of the bag of millet. I thought I would put it in the (pot of) syrup so that it does not pour out. The millet fell down into it. What should I do? It is not my fault'. (24) She said 'Its is all right, don't worry'. They went and put (the room) in order once again. They closed the door so that nobody would go into it.

(25) His uncle said 'Look, only I am ʿAbda-Raḥmān, ʿAbda-Raḥmān-bēk is my name. If anybody comes and says ''Abda-Raḥmān-bēk', do not open the door to him. It is only me (who is called 'Abda-Raḥmān)'. There was somebody who was listening behind the door. He was listening when he said to Ummo 'I am the only ʿAbda-Raḥmān, do not let anybody come in the house'. (He was listening) so that he (the intruder) could go to his wife. (26) So, he (the uncle) closed the door. Then, when it was night, there was a knock at the door. 'Who are you?' He said 'I am ʿAbda-Raḥmān, open the door'. He opened the door and he (the intruder) entered and went to sleep with the wife of ʿAbda-Raḥmān-bēk, with the wife of his uncle. (27) Afterwards somebody else knocked on the door 'Who is it?' He said 'I am ʿAbda-Raḥmān'. He said 'How many ʿAbda-Raḥmāns are there? One ʿAbda-Raḥmān, two ʿAbda-Raḥmāns? For whom should I open the door?' He said 'The person who has gone in (before me) is a villain. He is a thief, he is a murderer. Open the door to let me in so that we can kill him'.

(28) pθíxəlle tə̀ra.ˈ ʾíθwa bərzòma,ˈ bərzóma yáʿni ta-t-ṣáli gu-gòma,ˈ b-semàlta.ˈ pθìxəlleˈ ʾu-ṣə̀lyɛle gu-góma.ˈ tə́rət góma hóle ʿ̣ìma.ˈ wírɛle xále díye t-ḥaqqùθa.ˈ máre kɛ̀le ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n-t-tre,ˈ ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˈ (29) hóle ṣə́lya gu-gòma.ˈ ṣə́lyɛle gu-gòma,ˈ ʾítle tàwre.ˈ ʾítle dawɛ̀re,ˈ ʾítle məndiyàne,ˈ hóle gu-gòma.ˈ kút-xa mə́nna šqíləlle xa-skínta rìxtaˈ ʾu-ṣə̀lyɛle.ˈ ṣə̀lyela,ˈ ʿAbda-Raḥmə̀n ṭə́yɛla,ˈ ʿAbda-Raḥmə̀n ṭə́yɛla,ˈ ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˈ xùyɛle,ˈ púrya lìθ,ˈ bárqa lìθən.ˈ (30) xazéle xa-tàwra,ˈ ʾÙmmoˈ xazéle tàwraˈ ʾu-parə̀mle réšə táwra.ˈ ʾámər xáli prìmli táwra.ˈ ʾámər ham-ma-yxàləf,ˈ ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n də-la-ʾàrəq.ˈ zíla mə́tya l-sùsele,ˈ ʾap-súsa prìməlle.ˈ (31) zíla ta-t-máṭe ʿAbda-Raḥmə̀n,ˈ ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n páθəx tə́ra ʾu-pàləṭ,ˈ ʾu-ʾàrəq.ˈ ʾáwwa qṭílle xmàre,ˈ ʾu-qṭílle sùsa,ˈ qṭílle tàwra,ˈ ʾánna kúlla qṭilìle,ˈ har-máre ma-yxàləf.ˈ (32) ʾu-ríqle ʿAbda-Raḥmə̀n,ˈ ríqle ʾu-zìlle.ˈ ʾə́θyɛle ʾàməˈ šqul-gànux,ˈ sígən ʾáti béθi muxrùlux!ˈ hátxa pəlxána pàlxeti?ˈ čù pəlxána la-pálxət ʾáti.ˈ qímle qəm-ṭarə̀dle.ˈ (33) qəm-ṭarə́dle θéle zìlleˈ be-ʾámte dìye,ˈ kəs-d-ɛ-ʾámte díye t-wéwa šqíla bé̱e mútta xo-réše dìye.ˈ mə́ra ha-ʾÚmmo dìṛṛux!ˈ máre hè,ˈ xáli lìθwale šúla qəm-yálli,ˈ dìṛṛi.ˈ (34) mə́ra də̀s?ˈ mòdit wíða?ˈ mòdila?ˈ máre b-álaha də̀s bə̆yátla?ˈ mə́ra hè.ˈ máre qəm-yálli šùla,ˈ máre yálli šawwà xmáre.ˈ súq méθi qɛ̀sa biyéy.ˈ hàyyo!ˈ máre ʾáp-ʾana síqən lábbi ṣə́pya lɛ̀ðən,ˈ sìqənˈ mjə̆mòyəlla qése,ˈ dráya rəš-ġðàðe.ˈ (35) šáwwa xmàrela.ˈ ʾána mjə̆móye qɛ̀se,ˈ déwe blíge b-xmáre xàla.ˈ qəm-axlíla xmàre.ˈ qímən šqíləlla qurṭàneˈ ṭyánəlla l-xàṣiˈ muṣə̀lyən-əllaˈ zə́dyən-əlla gu-bɛ̀θa.ˈ mə́ra báʿd módi xèna?ˈ (36) máre baxt-xáli šítɛwəlle bɛ̀θa.ˈ ʾu-θéla qáṭu wírra tàma.ˈ ʾu-dəryáli šəndùxta,ˈ qítla gu-nepùxta.ˈ nepúxta-w práge wéla gu-ġðàðe.ˈ ʾu-là-qbilla baxt-xàli.ˈ mə́ra si-m-àxxa.ˈ (37) xárθa xáli mə̀reˈ lá lá lìtla xám.ˈ máre ṭláli hátxa ʾìθənˈ bas-ʾànən ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n.ˈ ʾáp-xa la-qáblət ṯ-áwər gu-bɛ̀θa.ˈ θéle xà-xena ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n.ˈ θéle xà-xena ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n,ˈ mə́ri ʾànaˈ ʾɛ̀ni ʿAbda-Raḥmə́n?ˈ yə̆ðən ʾána ʾɛ̀nileˈ xàliˈ ʾéni là?ˈ

(28) He opened the door. There was a hatch,[6] a hatch for them to go down into the basement stable, by a ladder. He (the intruder) opened it and went down in the basement. The door of the basement was closed. His real uncle went in. He said 'Where is the second ʿAbda-Raḥmān?', and so forth. (29) 'He has gone down into the basement'. Each of them took a long knife and went down. They went down searching for ʿAbda-Raḥmān, searching for ʿAbda-Raḥmān, and so forth. It was dark. There was no light and no electricity. (30) He saw an ox. Ummo saw an ox and cut off the head of the ox. He said 'Uncle, I have slaughtered an ox'. He said 'That's all right, so long as ʿAbda-Raḥmān does not get away'. He went and came to the horse. He slaughtered also the horse. (31) He went to catch ʿAbda-Raḥmān but ʿAbda-Raḥmān opened the door, went out and ran away. He had killed the asses, killed the horse, killed the ox. He had killed them all. He (the uncle) still said 'That is all right'. (32) ʿAbda-Raḥmān (the intruder) ran away and disappeared. He (the uncle) came back and said 'Be off with you! Go away! You have destroyed my house! Is this the kind of work that you do? Don't do any more work'. He drove him away. (33) He drove him away and he went back to his aunt's house, his aunt's house, where he had taken eggs and put them on his head. She said 'Hey, Ummo, you have returned!' He said 'Yes, my uncle did not have any work to give me, so I returned'. (34) She said 'Is that so? What did you do? What happened?' He said 'By God, do you want the truth?' She said 'Yes'. He said 'He gave me a job'. He said 'He gave me seven asses "Go up and fetch wood with them. Get on with it!"'. He said 'So, I went up (the mountain)—I was innocent, I did not know (what I was doing)—I went up and collected the wood and piled them up. (35) There were seven asses. While I was collecting wood, wolves were busy eating the asses. I took the saddle blankets, loaded them on my back, brought them down and threw them into the house'. She said 'Then, what else?' (36) He said 'The wife of my uncle had plastered a room. A cat came and entered. I threw a stone, but it hit some date syrup. Syrup and millet seed got mixed together. The wife of my uncle did not tolerate this. She said "Go away". (37) Then my uncle said "No, no, don't worry". He said to me as follows "There are (other men), but it is only me who is called ʿAbda-Raḥmān. Do not let anybody come into the house. Another ʿAbda-Raḥmān came. Another ʿAbda-Raḥmān came and I said "Which ʿAbda-Raḥmān? (How) do I know which is my uncle and which not?"'

[6] The term *bərzoma* properly means a storage room in the basement.

(38) mára ṣlélɛni gu-gòma| ṭa̋ya l-ó ʿAbda-Raḥmā̀n.| xzéli tàwra| ʾána bəd-lábbi ʿAbda-Raḥmā̀n-ile| prìmli.| xzéli sùsa,| ʾáp-ʾaw prìmli.| ʾána lɛ̀ðena,| bəd-lə́bbi nàšɛle.| (39) ʾímə ṯ-ìn práməlle,| xzáyən naθyàθe| ʾína t-hɛwàne.| mára hàtxət wíða?| mára hot-ṣtìməlle bə́θət xálux.| ʾap-bə́θi ba̋yət ṣaṭmə̀tle?| xúš šqúl gànux| si-l-bɛ̀θa.| (40) qímɛle zíla l-bɛ̀θa.| zílɛle l-bɛ̀θa,| bábe yə́mme díye mára hà,| xázəx kə́le maʾàyšux?| máre mút maʾáyša muttàli?| máre hátxən wíða be-xàli,| hátxən wíða be-ʾàmti.| ʾu-ʾəθyən.| ʾána xéna šúla la-pàlxən| ʾu-la-bə̆yànne.| šwiqáli tàma| ʾu-θéli làxxa.|

(38) He said 'We went down into the basement stable, searching for that (intruder) 'Abda-Raḥmān. I found an ox. I thought he was 'Abda-Raḥmān and slaughtered him. I found a horse and slaughtered it also. I did not know. I thought it was a man. (39) When I was slaughtering it, I saw that its ears were those of animals'. She said 'Have you done this?' She said 'You have ruined your uncle. Do you want to ruin also me? Go, take yourself off. Go home'. (40) He went back home. He went back home and his father and mother said 'Ah, let's see, where are your earnings?' He said 'What earnings could I make?' He said 'I did such-and-such in the house of my uncle, I did such-and-such in the house of my aunt, then I came home. I shall not do any more work. I don't want it.' I have left it there and come here.

A24 The Tale of Parizada, Warda and Nargis

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-màlka.ˈ ʾìθwaleˈ ṭḷà bnóne.ˈ ʾó-malka wírre b-ʾùmṛa,ˈ taqríban mṭéle ʾə́šti šáwwi šə̂nne.ˈ smèle,ˈ yáʿni píšle ḵòra.ˈ (2) qímɛle máre qa-bnóne dìye:ˈ bnòniˈ wúðuli xa-čàra.ˈ xzóli xa-daṛmána qa-ʾèni,ˈ qa-t-y-ámṣən xázən bəṛ-našúθa ə́ndi hàle.ˈ smèli.ˈ léš-in xzə̀ya,ˈ lán-mṣaya jwə̀ja.ˈ (3) qímɛle yíwəlla kút-xa mənna zùze.ˈ yíwəlla kút-xa mənná ʾummà dináre.ˈ máre so-méθo daṛmànaˈ qa-ʾèni.ˈ qímela ṭḷáθna t-bnóne dìyeˈ ʾu-zìlela.ˈ ṭḷáθna bnóne díye zìlelaˈ gu-dùnye,ˈ ṭə̆̀yelaˈ ʾal-d-òˈ daṛmána ta-t-xázi qa-ʾénət… babèy.ˈ (4) zílela mátye gu-ðá mðìta.ˈ ʾo-gòṛaˈ máre ʾána péšən láxxa gu-d-áyya mðìta.ˈ mò ṯ-óðət?ˈ máre xazə́nne xa-šùla.ˈ ʾu-mbáqrən xàzənˈ bud-daṛmána ṭḷá ʾénət bàbi.ˈ zílle tfìqleˈ b-xàʾaˈ nàšaˈ wáða kə̆bàbe.ˈ máre yába ʾána bə̆́yən pálxən kàslux,ˈ mapəlxə̀tli.?ˈ máre hé qá-mo là?ˈ (5) mə̀reˈ kəmà t-yátli.?ˈ máre t-yánnux xámši dináre kut-yàrxa.ˈ kut-yárxa t-yánnux xámši dinàre,ˈ ʾu-plúx mən-d-ànna paloxáye.ˈ máre ma-yxàləf.ˈ ʾo-góṛa píšle tàma.ˈ qímela ʾan-tre-xéne zìle.ˈ (6) zílela ʾan-trè.ˈ ʾap-ʾo-gawàyaˈ mṭéle ða-mðìta.ˈ máre xóni ʾap-ána péšən làxxa,ˈ mbáqrena bud-šùla,ˈ xázəx xa-šúla làxxa,ˈ qa-daṛmána ṭla-bábi mbàqrəx.ˈ zílɛle xə̀zyɛleˈ xa-šə̆vàna.ˈ y-amríle b-súrəθ ʾatíqta ṛìya,ˈ ṛíyət ʾə̀rbe.ˈ (7) mə̀reˈ ʾána bə̆́yən péšən ṛìya,ˈ šə̆vàna.ˈ bə̆yìtuli lá?ˈ máre qá-mo là?ˈ t-yáxlux xamšî dináreˈ kut-yàrxa.ˈ máre ma-yxàləf.ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw píšɛle tàma.ˈ píšɛle ʾo-zòra.ˈ ʾo-zóra zílle b-ʾùrxa.ˈ zílle, zílle, zìlle,ˈ ʾə́šta šáwwa yomàne,ˈ mṭéle xa-náša sàwa,ˈ də̀qneˈ hal-ʾə̆̀raˈ mə̀tya.ˈ

A24 The Tale of Parizada, Warda and Nargis

Informant: Dawið ’Adam (Dure)

(1) There was once a king. He had three sons. The king became advanced in age, he became about sixty or seventy years old and became blind, that is he became sightless.[1] (2) He said to his sons ‘My sons, cure me![2] Find a remedy for my eyes, so that I can see people and the things around me.[3] I have become blind. I can no longer see and I cannot walk.’ (3) He gave each of them money. He gave each of them a hundred dinars. He said ‘Go and bring a remedy for my eyes.’ The three sons of his set off and went on their way. The three sons of his went on their way in the world, searching in order to find the remedy for the eyes of their father. (4) They travelled and arrived in a certain town. The eldest one said ‘I shall remain here in this town.’ ‘What will you do?’ He said ‘I’ll find a job and I’ll make inquires in order to find a remedy for the eyes of my father.’[4] He went off and met a person who was making kebabs. He said ‘Now, I want to work with you. Will you employ me?’ He said ‘Yes, why not?’ (5) He said ‘How much will you give me?’ He said ‘I shall give you fifty dinars each month. Each month I shall give you fifty dinars, now work with these labourers.’ He said ‘Fine.’ The eldest one remained there. The other two went off. (6) The two went off. Also the middle one came to a town and said ‘My brother, I also shall stay here and ask for a job, in order to find a job here, and for us to ask about a remedy for my father. He went off and found a shepherd. In ancient Syriac this is called *ṛiya* (‘shepherd’), *ṛiyət ʔəṛbe* (‘a shepherd of sheep’).[5] (7) He said ‘I want to become a shepherd, a shepherd.[6] Don’t you want me?’ He said ‘Why not? We’ll give you fifty dinars every month.’ He said ‘Fine.’ He also stayed there. That left the young one.[7] He went on the road. He went along for six or seven days and came upon an old man, whose beard reached the ground.

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[1] This phrase is a gloss on the meaning of the verbal form *smele*.
[2] Literally: Make a cure for me.
[3] Literally: a thing and circumstances.
[4] Literally: I’ll ask—and find—about a remedy…’.
[5] These are, in fact, modern dialect forms, not Classical Syriac. The word *šăvana* is a Kurdish loan-word.
[6] The second word is a gloss of the first.
[7] Literally: The young one remained.

(8) dəryɛle šlàma ʾálle díye,ˈ máre šlàma-llux ˈ sáwi šópət bàbi.ˈ máre há xèrila bróni?ˌ mò bə̆́yət?ˌ máre b-álaha bə̆́yən ṯ-àzena.ˈ hon-šə́mya bud-qəṣṣàttətˈ Wárda-w Nɛ̀rgis.ˈ (9) Parizáda ʾítla xa-ṭɛ̀ra.ˈ ʾò-ṭɛra,ˈ mən-d-án-parre díye màxənˈ b-ʾénət bàbi,ˈ ʾénət bábi bàsmi,ˈ sə́bab màlkɛleˈ ʾu-hóle sàmya,ˈ ʾítle ʾúmre tmanì-šənne.ˈ máre he-bròni,ˈ ʾána ṯ-amrànnux.ˈ xa-nắṣíyət t-yánna ṭlàlux.ˈ ʾìnaˈ là-mxalləfət,ˈ lá-ʾawðət xá-mdi xéna t-la-b-dìyi.ˈ (10) ʾu-ʾúp-ʾana sàwən,ˈ ʾu-ʾéni-žigən hóla bṣìre.ˈ bálki ʾàzetiˈ máṭeti l-ó-ṭɛrət Parizàda,ˈ mɛθátli ta-t-máxən ʾáp-ʾana b-ʾèniˈ bàsmi.ˈ ʾína ʾíθən šŭrŭ̀ṭ.ˈ ʾan-šŭrŭ̀ṭˈ lázəm yăðátla mòdila.ˈ (11) máre mòdila?ˌ mùrrɛ-lli.ˈ máre ʾána ṯ-amrànnɛ-luxˈ ʾu-lázəm hàdəx háwi.ˈ máre mùr.ˈ máre ʾíθən xa-ṭùra.ˈ ṭúra ṯ-ásqət bíye dìyeˈ kúlle skinyàθɛle.ˈ ʾáti ʾímə ṯ-ít sàqa,ˈ ʾáti ʾu-sùsux,ˈ súsux bə̆́ye t-kàle.ˈ là-šoqət t-kále.ˈ máxət ʾálle díye ta-t-ʾásəq paỳədle ʾo-ṭúra.ˈ (12) ʾímət pìdle ṭúra,ˈ ṣàleˈ ʾəltəx.ˈ réša xtáya kúlle màlxɛle.ˈ sùsuxˈ ʾaqláθe mdurbànnela,ˈ málxa maxéla ʾaqláθe dìye,ˈ ṯ-áwe súsa mṣarṣòre.ˈ ʾu-ʾáp ʾo-ṭúra pɛðə̀tle.ˈ (13) gu-ṣlétθa d-ò gallíya,ˈ máxi tre-pánxe ṯ-árxe góṛe l-ġðàðe.ˈ ʾo-ṯ-áwe l-xáṣət dawèra,ˈ ʾaw-b-nàpəl.ˈ báxta yaqùrtaˈ ʾi-màbraˈ mən-d-àn-kepeˈ t-máxəlla ġðàðe.ˈ ʾu-ṣálət raš-mìya.ˈ xazə́tla tərtè bnáθaˈ ṯ-áθi méθi qàhwa.ˈ là-šaqlətle qáhwa mánna.ˈ maxə́tle sépux l-qðalèyˈ pɛrmàtle rešéy.ˈ (14) ʾu-taxrətli.ˈ ʾu-mṣàlətˈ rəš-d-àn-miya,ˈ ʾan-míya péši trè-qəsme,ˈ kàli.ˈ ʾu-pɛðə̀tla ʾan-míya.ˈ máṭət l-qáṣrət Parizàda.ˈ ʾarbí ʾotàxele.ˈ (15) hóle ʾàryaˈ l-àyya góta ʾu-ʾəzzaˈ hóla l-àyya góta.ˈ qam-ʾárya hóle ʾìθənˈ gə̀lla.ˈ ʾu-qam-ʾázza hóle ʾìθənˈ bàsra.ˈ šqúl bàsraˈ m-qam-ʾəzzaˈ dríle qam-ʾàrya.ˈ ʾu-gə̀llaˈ šqúlle m-kəs-ʾàryaˈ drìleˈ qa-ʾəzza.ˈ

(8) He greeted him and said 'Greetings to you, my old man, (you have) a place (like that of) my father (in my respect).' He said 'How are things, my son?[8] What do you want?' He said 'Indeed, I want to go (on a journey). I have heard of the story of Warda and Nargis. (9) Parizada has a bird. I'll put some of the feathers of that bird in the eyes of my father and the eyes of my father will be cured, since he is a king and has become blind, he is eighty years old.' He said 'Yes, my son. Let me tell you something. I'll give you some advice. Now, do not oppose (me), do not do anything else without my advice.[9] (10) I also am an old man and my eyes have also deteriorated. Perhaps you will go and find the bird of Parizada and bring it back to me, so that I also can put it in my eyes, so that they will be cured. But, there are conditions. You must know what these conditions are.' (11) He said 'What are they? Tell them to me.' He said 'I'll tell them to you and they must be abided by.[10]' He said 'Tell (me)'. He said 'There is a mountain. You should go up the mountain, it is all (covered in) knives. When you are going up, you and your horse, if your horse wants to stop, do not let him stop. Strike him so that he will go up and cross over that mountain. (12) When he has crossed over the mountain, he will go down. Down hill it is all salt. (When) the legs of your horse have become wounded, he will get salt on his legs and will screech. You should cross also that mountain. (13) When going down into that valley, two large mill-stones will knock together. The one[11] that is on the back of the mule will fall down. A pregnant woman will give birth because of the stones that knock together. You should go down to the water. You will see two girls, who will come and bring coffee. Do not accept the coffee from them. You should strike your sword into their neck and cut off their head. (14) You should remember me. Pray over the water. The water will become (divided into) two parts. It will stop. You should cross the water. Then you will arrive at the palace of Parizada. It consists of forty rooms. (15) There is lion on this side and a she-goat on the other side. Before the lion there is grass and before the she-goat there is meat. Take the meat from before the goat and put it before the lion. Take the grass from the lion and offer it to the she-goat.

[8] Literally: Is it good?
[9] Literally: without me.
[10] Literally: they must be.
[11] I.e. the mill-stone.

(16) ʾu-ṯ̂-àwreti.ˈ ʾəsrì ʾotáxeˈ hòlaˈ ĉ̣ìme.ˈ ʾáni paθxətla.ˈ ʾan-ṯ̂-íla pθìxeˈ ʾac̣̆mətla.ˈ máṭət ʾɛ-xaréθət ʾòtəxˈ hóle ṭéra díya mútta gu-kàwe.ˈ qám t-qáre ʾax-dìga,ˈ šáqlət mən-d-ó ʾixàlaˈ dérət qa-ṭèra,ˈ ṭéra bṯ̂-àxəl.ˈ ṯ̂-àwreti.ˈ (17) hóla ʾarbí malàpe,ˈ maláp̣e b-rèša.ˈ ʾáy hóla dmìxta.ˈ yómət ʾàrbi b-qéma.ˈ ʾárbi yomàneˈ dmìxtɛwa,ˈ ṭlìta.ˈ šaqlətleˈ hóle ʾítla kθàwaˈ xo-réša dìya.ˈ hole-ʾítla qằlunka táma.ˈ bă̆yət gáršət qalùnka,ˈ bă̆yət ʾáxlət ʾixàla.ˈ (18) ʾu-šaqlátle kθàwaˈ ʾu-ʾàθət.ˈ šaqlətluxˈ mən-d-ó ʾixálət ṭèra,ˈ dérət gu-jebànuxˈ ʾu-ṭèraˈ la-hàru.ˈ šaqlátle mattátle gu-čàntux,ˈ ʾu-ʾàθeti.ˈ máre p̣uṛmèluxˈ bròni?ˈ máre hè.ˈ máre hàtxa?ˈ máre hè.ˈ

(19) qìmɛle.ˈ zìlɛle.ˈ zìlɛleˈ b-ùrxa.ˈ máxyɛle l-ṭùra,ˈ sìqɛle,ˈ ʾáx-t-wewa mìra,ˈ ʾaqláθə súse díye kúlla prìmla,ˈ dámma ṣláya bíye dìye.ˈ xuláṣa sìqɛle rəš-ṭúra.ˈ báθər hádəx šuréle ṣlàyaˈ gu-màlxa.ˈ ʾap-màlxa piðále.ˈ (20) mṭéle l-án tre-képe t-qítla b-ġðàðe.ˈ ʾáp-ʾani piðìle.ˈ mṭéle rəš-mìya.ˈ θéla tre-bnàθaˈ qəm-parámle rešèy-uˈ pìdle.ˈ xuláṣa ʾáyyət miràli ʾállux ˈ kùlla wiðále.ˈ θèle,ˈ zìlle,ˈ šqílle ṭèraˈ ʾu-θèle.ˈ (21) ʾímə θèle,ˈ mṭéle kəs-sáwe díye ʾaw-gòṛa,ˈ mṭéle màre,ˈ hóli moθéli ṭèra.ˈ qímɛle šqílɛle xa-pàrra.ˈ máxyəlle b-ʾéne dìye,ˈ ʾéne dìyeˈ píšela spày ˈ ʾu-hóle xzàya.ˈ màreˈ bròni,ˈ háwya bríxta guṛùθux.ˈ si-nábəl ṭla-bàbux,ˈ ʾu-básəm bábux bìya.ˈ (22) ʾáw ʾítle ʾúmma dináre gu-jèbe díye,ˈ léle ṣrìfəlla.ˈ qìmɛle,ˈ dìṛɛle,ˈ zílɛle ʾo-xóne díye t-pàlɛxˈ ṛìya,ˈ šăvàna.ˈ zílɛle máre ṭla-márətˈ ʾərbeˈ màreˈ lá mzabnátle ʾáwwa ʾəlli?ˈ ʾáwwa šăvànuxˈ là mzabnátləlli?ˈ (23) máre hè.ˈ kəmà zonátle?ˈ máre b-zonánne b-xamšì dináre.ˈ máre ʾána yánwale xámši dinàre,ˈ ʾaw t-yálli xámši dinàreˈ mà-yxaləf.ˈ máre hàl!ˈ qímɛle yíwle xámši dinàre,ˈ xóne díye šqíla mùθyəlle.ˈ pyášɛle xámši xène.ˈ zílɛle mátyɛle l-xóne díye d-o-t-mzabánwa kăbàbe.ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw qəm-šaqə̀lleˈ ʾu-xámši dináre xéne hiwìle.ˈ píšle t-la-zùze.ˈ (24) qímela ʾə̀θye.ˈ ʾə̀θyela,ˈ mátyela l-qùrbət béθa.ˈ mátyela l-qúrbət qáṣrət màlka.ˈ xa-bèna,ˈ ʾíθwa xa-bustàna,ˈ ʾíθwa xabùše gáwa.ˈ xa-ʾéna be-pàlga-wawa.ˈ ʾó-xoney zóra màreˈ xonă̆wáθi ʾána làn dmíxa,ˈ là-b-lɛle,ˈ là-b-yoma.ˈ hóla θáya šənθi,ˈ dàmxən xánči.ˈ manìxəx xáčča ˈ ʾu-baʿdĕ̂n ṯ̂-ásqéxi l-bèθa.ˈ

(16) Then, you should enter. Twenty rooms are closed. You should open these. Close the ones that are open. You will reach the last room. Her bird is situated in the window (there). Before it calls out like a cock, take some of the food and place it before the bird. The bird will eat. Then, you should enter. (17) There are forty sheets, forty sheets on top of her. She is asleep. On the fortieth day she will get up. She has been lying down, asleep, for forty days. She has a book under her head—you should take it. She has a pipe there. (If) you want to smoke a pipe, or want to eat food (it is there). (18) You should take the book and come back. Take some of the food of the bird and put it in your pockets, the bird will not speak (in protest). Take it and put in in your bag and come back.' He said 'Have you understood my son?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'Is that so?' He said 'Yes'.

(19) He went off. He went off on the road. He travelled to the mountain. He went up and, as he had said, the legs of his horse were all cut and blood flowed down it. In the end, he went up onto the mountain and afterwards began to come down in the salt. He crossed also the salt. (20) He reached the two stones that knocked together. He passed also these. He reached the water. Two girls came and he cut off their head. In short, he did everything that I have said to you. He came back, then went and took the bird, then returned. (21) When he returned, he came to his elderly man, the old one, he came and said 'I have brought the bird.' He took a feather. He put it on his eyes and his eyes became well, he was able to see. He said 'My son, may your bravery be blessed. Go and take it to your father and cure your father with it.' (22) He has the hundred dinars in his pocket, he has not spent them. He returned and went to the brother of his who was working as a shepherd. He went and said to the owner of the sheep, he said 'Won't you sell me this man? Won't you sell to me this shepherd of yours?' (23) He said 'Yes. How much will you buy him for?' He said 'I shall buy him for fifty dinars'. He said '(Since) I gave for him fifty dinars and he will give me fifty dinars, that's fine.' He said 'Give (them to me)!' He gave him fifty dinars, took his brother and brought him back. The other fifty remained. He went off and came to his brother who was selling kebabs. He took him also and gave away the other fifty dinars. He became penniless. (24) They came back. They came back and came near to home. They came near to the palace of the king. Now, there was a garden, in which there were apples. In the middle there was a spring. The young brother among them said 'My brothers, I have not slept, neither at night nor during the day. I am feeling sleepy, I'll sleep a little. Let's rest a little, then we shall go up to our home'.

(25) mára ma-yxàlǝf.ˈ xa-bèna,ˈ ʾaw-dmìxɛle,ˈ xóna ʾo-gòṛaˈ mòdi mára?ˈ mára ṭla-d-o-xóne gawàyaˈ qu-dùqle xónux!ˈ xarṭáxla ʾéne dìyeˈ ʾu-šaqláxle ṭèra.ˈ masqàxleˈ ṯ-ámrǝx ʾàxnix múθyǝlle ṭéra.ˈ mára qìmɛle,ˈ xóna díya dmìxɛle.ˈ xa-béna ʾǝθyelaˈ dwìqǝlle yála.ˈ dwìqǝlle,ˈ ʾéne díye xrìṭǝlla,ˈ ʾu-zǝ́dyǝlla tàma.ˈ (26) ʾu-ʾáni sìqela.ˈ sìqela,ˈ mátye l-bɛ̀θa.ˈ babéy léle dyála m-áxxa l-àxxa.ˈ mára hàˈ muθélɛxu ṭèra?ˈ mára hè.ˈ šuréla mxàyaˈ bìš-ila mráya.ˈ mšuréla mráya ʾéne dìyeˈ sab-léle xíla mən-d-ó ʾixàle díye,ˈ hóle gu-jébǝt xonèy.ˈ

(27) mára qìmɛle,ˈ šwìqǝlle hádǝx.ˈ θíθɛle xa-yàwna.ˈ tíwta rəš-d-é ʾilàna,ˈ t-xabùše.ˈ mára ʾálle díye xzìˈ ʾán-it ṛìša,ˈ màsyǝθ!ˈ ʾu-ʾán-it ṭliʾa,ˈ ṛùš!ˈ hadíya b-zadrànna gáni,ˈ ṣáli párre mànniˈ kàslux.ˈ mjǎmàtla.ˈ maqðàtla.ˈ ʾénux t-čáppe hóla fǝllən dúkθaˈ ʾu-ʾénux t-yámne hóla fǝllən dúkθa.ˈ šaqlàtlaˈ mattátla b-šopèy.ˈ ʾu-gamṣátla ʾánna míyət pàrraˈ b-rešèyˈ tàza.ˈ ʾu-bàsmeti.ˈ (28) yáwna žígən θíθɛla zdírtǝlla gàna.ˈ kúlla párre npílela tàma.ˈ qìmɛle,ˈ mjǔməlla-wˈ mùqðǝlla.ˈ šqílǝlla ʾéne dìyeˈ mùttǝlla,ˈ xánči pčìle-wela.ˈ vàrra píšle.ˈ qǝm-dɛréla ʾan-mìyaˈ mən-d-an-pàrreˈ rəš-ʾéne dìye,ˈ bsìmla xánči.ˈ (29) sìqɛle.ˈ sìqɛle,ˈ máre ṭla-d-an-nàšeˈ yàbaˈ lá yawítuli xa-šùla,ˈ xa-mándi hàle,ˈ pàlxənˈ be-màlka?ˈ màraˈ čú-pǝlxana lìtlǝn.ˈ bás ʾìtlɛniˈ mtǎmàztǝtˈ gómə susǎwàθa,ˈ ta-t-mtǎməzàtla ʾáni bás.ˈ máre ma-yxàlǝf.ˈ qìmɛleˈ ṣálya pìšeleˈ gu-gòma,ˈ knáša ʾu-mšàya,ˈ tagbóre susǎwàθa.

(30) mtánəx bud-Parizàda.ˈ Parizáda ṛìšla,ˈ ṭéra lìθ.ˈ qìmtɛla,ˈ príxta θìθelaˈ báθər rìxa.ˈ ʾékɛla ṭéra díya θíθa tíwta báθər d-è-maθa.ˈ tìwtɛla,ˈ mxìθǝlla čádra díya.ˈ mára hèyˈ kú-ṯ-ile múθyǝlle ṭèri,ˈ ʾána gawránne.ˈ bas-b-šǎrǝṭˈ dàx-ile múθyǝlleˈ ʾamərra-lli.ˈ

(25) He said 'Fine.' Then, while he slept, what did the eldest brother say? He said to the middle brother 'Come, seize your brother. Let's gouge out his eye and take the bird. We shall take it up (home) and say that it is we who have brought the bird.' Now, their brother went to sleep. Then they came and seized the boy. They seized him and gouged out his eyes, and threw them over there. (26) They went up, went up, and reached home. Their father did not see from here to here.[12] He said 'Oh, have you brought the bird?' They said 'Yes'. They started to put it (on his eyes), but they hurt more (than before). His eyes began to hurt since they had not eaten any of its food, which was in the pocket of their brother.

(27) The story goes, they left him like that. A dove came and sat on the apple tree. It said to him (the youngest brother) 'Look, if you are awake, listen! If you are asleep, wake up! Now I shall shake myself and feathers will fall from me near you. Gather them and burn them. Your left eye is in such-and-such place and your right eye is in such-and-such a place. Take them and put them in their place. Then wring out well the water of the feather upon them and you will be cured.' (28) The dove came and shook herself. All the feathers fell down there. He gathered them up and burnt them. He took his eyes and put them (back in their place). They were rather crooked. He became squint-eyed. He applied the water from the feathers to his eyes and they were cured to some extent. (29) He went up and said to the people 'Won't you give me a job, something or other, so that I can work in the house of the king'. They said 'We have no work. But we do have (the job of) cleaning the horse stable basement, cleaning them out, that's all (we have).' He said 'Fine'. He went down and stayed in the basement, sweeping and polishing, looking after the horses.

(30) We shall tell now of Parizada. Parizada woke up (and saw that) the bird was not there. She flew after the smell (of the bird). She came and settled behind the village where her bird was. She settled and set up her tent. She said 'Hey, I'll marry whoever has brought back my bird, but on condition that he tells me how he has brought it back'.

[12] I.e. He could not see even a short distance.

(31) màra,ˈ síqɛle xóna ʾo-gòṛa,ˈ síqɛle mərəˈ máre zìlən,ˈ šqìlənne,ˈ mùθyəlle.ˈ mára prúmu rèše!ˈ ʾáwwa prìm réše.ˈ qímɛle ʾo-trè.ˈ qímɛle ʾo-t-trè,ˈ sìqɛle,ˈ máre ʾànən múθyəlle.ˈ mára dàx-it múθyəlle ʾáti?ˈ mùt-ʾurxət múθyəlle?ˈ módit xázya qam-ènux?ˈ módit xàzya?ˈ máre čù-məndi lan-xázya ʾána.ˈ ṭ́éra hon-mùθyəlle,ˈ hòle.ˈ mára prùmle réše díye!ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw réše díye prìma.ˈ (32) píšle ʾèni?ˈ píšle ʾó ṯ́-íle gu-gómət susăwàθa.ˈ qìmɛle,ˈ sìqɛle.ˈ yíwla xábra-lle dìyeˈ mára hắl qáṣṣət hàtxɛla.ˈ máre ṯ́-ásqən ʾàna.ˈ sìqɛle.ˈ vərra-wewa,ˈ píša vərra.ˈ mára hà,ˈ ʾàtit múθyəlle ṭ́éri?ˈ máre hèˈ ʾànən múθyəlle ṭ́érəx.ˈ (33) mára dàxi?ˈ mərəˈ ʾíθwa xa-ṭúrət skinyàθa.ˈ muttéθətwa qámi xa-ṭúrət skinyàθa.ˈ ʾáw pìðən-əlle.ˈ xa-ṭúra xéna t-məlxa,ˈ ʾáw pìðən-əlle.ˈ tárte xamáθa ʾaxwáθəx ʾəθyela,ˈ prìmən-əlle réša.ˈ ʾíθwa nàra,ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw múklən-əlle šwìrən.ˈ ʾíθwaləx ʾárya l-èy-gotaˈ ʾu-ʾázza l-èy-gota.ˈ qam-ʾárya ʾíθwa gəlla.ˈ qam-ʾázza ʾíθwa bəsra.ˈ šqílən básra m-kəs-ʾəzza,ˈ mútta ṭla-ʾàrya.ˈ ʾu-mən-ʾàryaˈ šqílən gəllaˈ mútt̄əlle qa-ʾəzza.ˈ (34) wìrən.ˈ ʾarbí-ʾotaxe ʾìθwaləx.ˈ ʾəsri mánnaˈ pθìxe-wawa,ˈ dwìrən-əlla.ˈ ʾu-ʾósri mánna dwìre-wawa,ˈ pθìxən-əlla.ˈ ṭ́érəx gu-kàwe-wewa.ˈ dáryən-əlle làqṭaˈ xìlɛle.ˈ wírən gu-bèθəx.ˈ kθáwəx hon-šqìləlle.ˈ mən-qắlunkəx grìšən.ˈ mən-ʾixála grìšən,ˈ ʾu-ʾarbé-gaye nsìqən-əlləxˈ ʾu-ʾəθyən.ˈ (35) mərəˈ madam-ṯ́-íwət ʾáyya wìðəlla kúlla,ˈ si-méθili qəṣṣáttət Wérda-w Nèrgis.ˈ máre ma-yxàləf.ˈ qímɛle ṣ̀əlya.ˈ šqílɛle mən-d-ó ʾixàlaˈ dáryəlle qa-ṭ̀ɛra.ˈ ṭ́éra xìlɛle.ˈ šqílɛle mən-párrət ṭ̀ɛra.ˈ máxyəlle b-ʾénət bábe dìye,ˈ bábe díye bsìmɛle.ˈ ʾu-qímɛle lwíša júllə brónət màlkɛle.ˈ lwíšɛle jùlle.ˈ ʾu-sìqɛle.ˈ (36) mára hàyyo,ˈ hàyyo!ˈ madam-ṯ́-íwət ʾàti,ˈ hàyyo!ˈ là-ʾazət.ˈ mərəˈ na-mùmkən!ˈ máre ṯ́-àzən,ˈ ʾálla mɛθánna qəṣṣáttət Wérda-w Nèrgis.ˈ mára qìmɛle,ˈ zìlɛle.ˈ zìlɛle,ˈ zìla,ˈ zìla,ˈ zìla.ˈ xa-tré ṭ̀lá-yomane tíwɛle l-súsa díye ʾu-zìlɛle.ˈ mátyɛle l-xa-màθa.ˈ máθa gòṛtɛla,ˈ məíta gòṛtɛla,ˈ málkɛle gáwa dìya.ˈ

(31) Now, the eldest brother came up and said, he said 'I went and took it and brought it back'. She said 'Cut off his head!' His head was cut off. The second one got up. The second one got up and came up and said 'It was me who brought it back'. She said 'How did you bring it back? By what way did you bring it back? What did you see before your eyes. What did you see?' He said 'I did not see anything. I have brought back the bird, that's all.' She said 'Cut off his head!' Also his head was cut off. (32) Who was left? There remained the one who was in the horse stable. He went up. They passed the word on to him and said 'The situation is like this'. He said 'I'll go up'. He went up. He was squint-eyed. He had become squint-eyed. She said 'Ha, was it you who brought back my bird?' He said 'Yes. It was me who brought back your bird'. (33) She said 'How?' He said 'There was a mountain of knives. You had placed before me a mountain of knives. I crossed it. There was another mountain of salt and I crossed that. Two young women like you came and I cut off their head. There was a river, I stopped it and and jumped over. You had a lion on this side and a she-goat on that side. Before the lion there was grass. Before the she-goat there was meat. I took the meat from the she-goat and laid it down for the lion. From the lion I took the grass and I laid it down for the she-goat. (34) I entered. You had forty rooms. Twenty of them were open and I closed them. Twenty of them were closed and I opened them. Your bird was in the window. I offered it some food and it ate it. I entered your house. I took your book. I smoked your pipe. I took some food. I kissed you four times and came back.' (35) She said 'If you have done all of this, go and bring me the story of Warda and Nargis.' He said 'Fine'. He went down, he took some of the food and offered it to the bird. The bird ate it. He took a feather of the bird. He put it on the eyes of his father and his father was cured. Then he put on the clothes of the son of a king.[13] He put on his clothes and went up. (36) She said 'Come, come. Since it is you. Come, don't go'. He said 'That's impossible'. He said 'I shall go. I must bring the story of Warda and Nargis.' The story goes: He set off and went on his way, he sat on his horse one, two, three days and went on his way. He arrived at a village. It was a large village. It was a large town. The king was (resident) in it.

[13] I.e. his royal clothes.

(37) zílɛle wírɛle gu-d-è-maθa.ˈ píšɛle ʾárxa kəs-xa-báxta sáwta ṭòṭo.ˈ márɛ ʾálla dìyaˈ lé-y-yatli xáčča mìya.ˈˈ qìmtɛla,ˈ yíwtəlle xáčča mìya.ˈ plíṭṭɛla baràya.ˈ jírtɛla gu-qàwwaˈ ʾu-yìwtəlle ʾálle díye.ˈ šətyəlle.ˈ ʾaw-mìðe.ˈ bəd-lábbe míya məlxànela.ˈ ha-ṭòṭi,ˈ xázəx ʾánna miyéxu məlxàne.ˈ (38) mára bábi míya lìtlən.ˈ kut-šáwwa yomàneˈ xúwwe marpélən mìya.ˈ mára lìtlən míya.ˈ plíṭli baráya jirìli,ˈ muθìli-llux.ˈ márɛ dàxi qáṣṣət.ˈˈ dàx litléxu míya.ˈˈ mára kut-šáwwa yomàne,ˈ y-áxəl xa-bràta,ˈ qa-t-marpélən mìya,ˈ ja-jálde dáwqəx mìyaˈ qa-tmánya yomàne.ˈ márɛ lá maxzátle ʾálli ʾéka pàlṭ?ˈ mára támməl brátət màlka,ˈ ʾáy masqíla ta-ṯ-axàlla,ˈ ʾu-ta-t-maxzéle ʾállux ʾèkɛle.ˈ (39) qímɛle yomət-trè,ˈ síqɛle l-ʾùrxa.ˈ xàzyɛle brāt-málka.ˈ márɛ há lèka?ˈ mára ṯ-ásqən ta-ṯ-axálli xùwwe.ˈ márɛ ʾána ṯ-áθən mànnəx.ˈ ʾáti xúwwe là ʾaxálləx.ˈ ʾína ʾána léyðən b-éni dána ṯ-àθe xúwwe.ˈ ʾána dàmxən xáčča,ˈ mattánne réši rəš-àqləx.ˈ kut-dánət ʾáθe xùwweˈ mărəšàtli.ˈ mára spày.ˈ (40) mára xa-bèna,ˈ dmìxɛle ʾáw.ˈ dmìxɛle,ˈ wítɛla b-lèleˈ xúwwe θèle.ˈ ʾáy bxèla.ˈ lá ṣbírra mṣuwətla.ˈ bxèla,ˈ ṣléla dámme rəš-pàθe.ˈ ṛìšle.ˈ qímɛle ja-jàlde.ˈ ʾəθyɛle xúwwe ʾálle dìye.ˈ béna ʾáwwa ʾíθwale rùmxa.ˈ kú-rešət xúwwe θèle,ˈ qəm-maxèleˈ ʾu-qəm-parèmle réše díye.ˈ (41) xúwwe márɛ ʾána làn b-xá-rešaˈ b-šàwwa rešăwáθən.ˈ ʾaw-márɛ ʾána làn b-xá-rumxa,ˈ b-šáwwa rùmxewən.ˈ kú-rešət θèleˈ qəm-parèmle.ˈ kú-rešət θèleˈ qəm-parèmle.ˈ qəm-qaṭèlle.ˈ qəm-parémla naθyáθa d-an-xuwwàwe,ˈ dɛréla gu-čànte.ˈ bráta mòdi wídla?ˈ qəm-maxyála ʾíða gu-dèmmaˈ ʾu-maxyála gu-xáṣe dìye,ˈ gu-xáṣa d-o-yàla.ˈ (42) ʾu-márɛ ṭla-bràtaˈ rùq,ˈ ṣlègənˈ mṭégən nàše.ˈ múr t-lá-šati mən-d-ánna mìya.ˈ ʾánna míya dèmmaˈ ʾu-názlət xùwwela.ˈ xúwwe qṭìlli.ˈ ʾáyya rìqtɛlaˈ ṣlìθɛlaˈ hàwərila!ˈˈ lá šatétu mìya!ˈˈ lá šatétu mìya!ˈˈ xúwwele qṭìla!ˈˈ ʾáxxa-w tàmma.ˈ ʾáni har-ṣràxɛla-biya,ˈ dráya kèpe,ˈ ta-t-ʾàsqaˈ ta-ṯ-axèlla xúwwe.ˈ xuwwe qṭìlɛle!ˈˈ

(37) He went and entered that village. He became the guest of an old woman. He said to her 'Won't you give me a little water?' She got up and gave him some water. She went outside, urinated in a pot and gave it to him. He drank it. He did not know. He thought[14] the water was salty. 'Hey, my old woman, this water of yours seems to be salty.' (38) She said 'My dear, we have no water. Every seven days a snake releases water for us.' She said 'We do not have water. I went outside and urinated it, then brought it to you.' He said 'What is the story? How is it that you do not have water?' She said 'Every seven days, it eats a girl, in order for it to release water and we quickly gather water for eight days'. He said 'Won't you show me where it comes out?' She said 'Tomorrow they will take up the daughter of the king in order for it to eat her and in order to show you where it is.' (39) He got up the next day and went up on the road. He saw the daughter of the king. He said 'Hey, where (are you going) to?' She said 'I am going up in order for the snake to eat me.' He said 'I shall come with you. The snake will not eat you. But I do not know at what time the snake will come. I shall sleep a little. I shall put my head on your leg. As soon as the snake comes, wake me.' She said 'Fine!' (40) The story goes: Then he lay down to sleep. He went to sleep. He went to sleep and during night the snake came. She wept. She did not dare to speak. She wept and the tears fell on his face. He woke up. He quickly got up. The snake came to him. Now, he had a spear. He struck each head of the snake that came (his way) and cut its head off. (41) The snake said 'I do not have just one head, I have seven heads.' He said 'I do not have one spear', I have seven spears'. Every head that came to him he cut off. Every head that came to him he cut off. He killed it. He cut off the ears of those snakes and put them in his bag. What did the girl do? She put her hand in the blood and then put it on his back, on the back of that boy. (42) He said to the girl 'Run, go down to the people.[15] Tell them not to drink this water. This water is the blood and pus of the snake. I have killed the snake.' She ran down (crying) 'Beware! Do not drink the water! Do not drink the water! The snake has been killed!', and so forth. Yet they shouted at her, throwing stones at her, (telling) her to go up for the snake to eat her. 'The snake is killed!'

[14] Literally: in his heart.
[15] Literally: go down and reach the people.

(43) xa-béna hàdəx,ˈ ʾə́θyela ṣə̀lye míya,ˈ ʾu-kút-xa mšuréle là-dwaqa míya.ˈ prìqela.ˈ ṣə́lyela míya spày ˈ ṣə̀pye.ˈ xárθa ʾaw-zílɛle kəs-ṯo̱ṯe díye.ˈ zìlɛle,ˈ máre ṭla-ṯóṯe dìyeˈ qəm-qaṭlə̀nne xúwwe.ˈ xáčča ṣápi mìyaˈ ʾu-ságən duq-mìya.ˈ málka yíwle xàbra.ˈ kú-ṯ-ile qṭíləlle xùwweˈ ʾáθe páyəš màlkaˈ w-ána péšən wə̀zir ʾə́lle díye.ˈ (44) xa-bèna,ˈ zílela xákma yàleˈ mára ʾàxnix qṭiləlleˈ w-àxnix qṭíləlle,ˈ ta-dùgle.ˈ bráta márɛla màrmu ṣúdre!ˈ marámla ṣùdre,ˈ léla xzáya ʾíða mxíθa gu-xàṣe.ˈ mára prúmu rèše!ˈ pràməlle réše díye.ˈ ʾárba xámša nàšeˈ har-hàdəx wídla b-réše.ˈ xàrθa,ˈ máre hóle ʾíθən xàˈ kəs-ṯo̱ṯoˈ sàwta.ˈ bálki ṯ-íle ʾàw.ˈ (45) mára qìmɛle,ˈ yíwɛle xábra ʾə́lle dìye.ˈ zìlɛle,ˈ máre ʾàtit qṭíləlle xúwwe?ˈ máre hè.ˈ múrməlla ṣúdre dìyeˈ xzíθa ʾíðət brátət màlkaˈ mxíθa gu-xáṣe dìye.ˈ mxíθəlla gu-dəmma,ˈ mxíθəlla gu-xàṣe.ˈ mára ʾàwwɛle bábi.ˈ máre puš-màlkaˈ ʾu-ʾána péšən wə̀zir.ˈ máre làʾa.ˈ ʾána ʾíθ šùla qámi.ˈ ʾána bṯ-àzena.ˈ ʾap-ʾána brónət màlkɛwən,ˈ ʾína ʾítli šùla.ˈ bə́yən ṯ-ázən máṭənne šùli.ˈ šúlux mòdile?ˈ máre le-y-ʾamrónne ṭlàlux.ˈ

(46) ʾu-qìmɛleˈ zìlɛleˈ mátyɛle xa-derùbər,ˈ xa-ʾilána gòṛta,ˈ y-amráxla xùra.ˈ simèrxaˈ simérxa ʾítla záye gu-qònna.ˈ xa-xùwweˈ hammáša y-asə́qwa y-axálwala ʾan-zàye.ˈ ʾo-nàša,ˈ brónət màlka,ˈ módi wìdle?ˈ qəm-qaṭə̀lle ʾo-xúwwe.ˈ qəm-mqadqə̀dleˈ ʾu-dɛréle qam-yálət simèrxa.ˈ ʾímət qəm-ʾaxlìla,ˈ xére zílle mṭušyàle gáne.ˈ mṭušyàle gáne díyeˈ ta-t-là ʾaxlále simérxa.ˈ (47) xa-béna hàdəx,ˈ simérxa θìθɛla.ˈ θíθɛla čarčóre ṣràxaˈ há ríxət náša naxrə̀yɛle.ˈ ʾaw-mṭùšyɛle gáne.ˈ ʾu-ʾánna bnónət simérxa ṣrìxelaˈ mára hàyyo!ˈ hàyyo!ˈ ʾo-ṯ-íle y-axálwala bnònəxˈ hóle qṭìləlle.ˈ ṣríxela tre-ṭlà-gaye.ˈ mára háyyo plùṭ!ˈ kú-məndit bə́yət ʾána t-yànnux.ˈ lèle plíṭa.ˈ mára waʿdùθa,ˈ kú-məndit bə́yət ʾána ṯ-awðànnux.ˈ (48) pliṭɛle.ˈ xá-bena ʾəθyɛle.ˈ mára mòdi bə́yət?ˈ máre bə́yən ṯ-àzena,ˈ nablàtliˈ l-qáṣr Wérda-w Nèrgis.ˈ mára mə̆já̆l xa-ʾə́šta šáwwa yòme,ˈ ṯ-axlánne xáčča bə̀sraˈ ʾu-ʾəlyáθət ʾə̀rba,ˈ ʾu-tá-t mə̆číli pàrri,ˈ ta-t-y-ámṣən mamṭànnux,ˈ rə̀ḥqɛle qáṣra.ˈ

(43) Shortly afterwards the water came down. Everybody began (to agree) not to gather water. It finished. Then good, pure water came down. Later he went to his old woman. He went and said to his old woman 'I have killed the snake. Shortly the water will become pure, then go and gather water.' The king made an announcement 'Whoever has killed the snake, let him come and become king. I shall become the vizier for him.' (44) Then some boys went and said 'We killed it. We killed it', (telling) lies. The girl says 'Lift up his shirt!' He lifts up his shirt and they do not see a (mark of a) hand placed on his back. She says 'Cut off his head!' They cut off his head. They did the same to the head of four or five other people. Then he said 'There is somebody at the home of the old woman. Perhaps it is him.' (45) The story goes: He went and delivered the message to him. He went and said 'Was it you who killed the snake?' He said 'Yes'. She lifted up his shirt and saw (the mark of) the hand of the king's daughter placed on his back. She had placed it in the blood and put it on his back. She said 'It is him, father'. He said 'Become king and I shall become the vizier.' He said 'No. I have a job to do. I must go. I also am the son of a king, but I have a job. I want to go to my job.' 'What is your job?' He said 'I shall not tell you.'

(46) He went off and came to a wood, to a large tree, which we call a poplar. (There was) a *simarxa* bird, a *simarxa*, which had fledglings in the nest.' A snake always used to go up and eat the fledglings. That man, the son of the king, what did he do? He killed that snake. He chopped it up and put it before the young of the *simarxa*. When they had eaten them,[16] he quickly went and hid himself. He hid himself, so that the *simarxa* would not eat him. (47) Shortly afterwards the *simarxa* came. She came, screeching and crying 'Ha, there is the smell of a foreign man'. He was hidden. The young of the *simarxa* cried out and said 'Come! Come! He has killed the one who used to eat your young.' They cried two or three times. She said 'Come out! I'll give you anything you want.' He did not come out. She said 'I promise, I'll do for you anything you want.' (48) He came out and came (to her)'. She said 'What do you want?' He said 'I want to go, (I want) you to take me to the palace of Warda and Nargis. She said '(Give me) the space of six or seven days, so that I can eat some meat and tail-fat of sheep, so that my feathers will regrow, so that I can take you, since the palace is far away.

[16] I.e. the pieces.

(49) mára píšɛle ʾášta šáwwa yománe tàma.ˈ qìmɛle,ˈ zìlɛle.ˈ ʾášta šáwwa yománe spìrɛle.ˈ ʾu-θíθɛla simèrxa.ˈ ʾu-mára tu-l-xàṣi.ˈ tíwɛle l-xáṣə simèrxa,ˈ ṭayyàrɛla.ˈ zílela hal-mátyela l-qàṣra,ˈ rəš-qàṣra.ˈ mára šqúl ʾanna-tré párri mànni.ˈ ku-dánə sànqət,ˈ maqðətla,ˈ ʾána ṯ-áθyən làxxa.ˈ qímɛle šqìla,ˈ mára ma-yxàləf.ˈ (50) síqɛle l-xáṣa dìyaˈ ʾu-múčməlla ʾéne dìyeˈ ʾu-zìltɛla.ˈ mára pθùx ʾénux!ˈ pθíxəlla ʾéne dìyeˈ ʾu-tíwelév rəš-qàṣra.ˈ qáṣra hóle kúlle bánya b-qarqupyáθə nàše.ˈ ʾày ˈ šqíltɛle tré-parre mánna dìyaˈ yíwtəlla ʾálle dìye.ˈ ʾu-θìθɛla.ˈ dìrtɛla ʾáy.ˈ xa-bèna ʾàwˈ qímɛle ṣàlyɛle.ˈ ṣàlyɛle,ˈ dáryɛle šlàma.ˈ (51) har-Wérda-w Nèrgis-ila.ˈ làtla,ˈ lá bnòne,ˈ lá čù-məndi.ˈ ya-b-šéna-w ṭawáθa θèlux!ˈ m-èka θélux?ˈ máre b-álaha ʾúrxi rəḥqa-wawa.ˈ θéli mṭéli láxxa kəslèxu.ˈ há mòdile šúlux?ˈ máre θéli bắyən t-yăðéna qəṣṣəttéxu mòdila,ˈ mòdi léla.ˈ tanìtula-lli!ˈ mára xzáyət-əlle ʾáwwa qàṣra?ˈ kúlle b-qarqupyàθa bányɛle.ˈ pyáša xà-kawe.ˈ ʾáyya-ži šōp-rèšux-ila.ˈ ʾáxni ṯ-amráxlux qəṣṣəttèn-əllux.ˈ ʾu-báθər priqálən qəṣṣàttənˈ réšux pɛrmàxleˈ mattáxle gu-d-àyya káwe.ˈ (52) máre ma-yxàləf.ˈ ʾax-bắyìtu.ˈ máre xázəx mšàro,ˈ qáṣṣət diyéxu mòdila?ˈ mára qímtɛla Nèrgis,ˈ mšuréθɛla páya lòxma,ˈ lyáša lòxma.ˈ Wérda šqílele xa-qésət harmónta rìxa,ˈ máxyɛle gu-xàṣa.ˈ máre péšət xa-sùsta.ˈ píšla sùsta.ˈ tíwele l-xáṣa dìya-wˈ zílɛle gu-ʾaqàraˈ gu-gèlla ʾáxxa-w tàmma,ˈ ʾu-mùθyəlla.ˈ (53) máre brōn-málka ʾálle dìyeˈ màreˈ wùdla xá-bena xétaˈ t-dèṛa xá-bena xéta.ˈ máre bắyət dèṛa?ˈ máxyəlla ṭlá šarbəṭáne xéne t-qèse,ˈ máxyɛle ʾəlla.ˈ díṛtɛla píštɛla hàdəx.ˈ qímtɛla ʾàp-ʾayˈ mxíθɛla ʾálle dìye,ˈ ʾáp-ʾawˈ píšɛle dawèra,ˈ ʾu-tíwtɛla l-xáṣe dìye.ˈ ʾu-zìltɛlaˈ maxðórəlle gu-ʾaqàra.ˈ xá-bena hàdəx,ˈ máre mắdərre xṭíθi dìye,ˈ lá-wudle hàdəx.ˈ qímtɛla mxíθɛla ṭlá-qɛse xène,ˈ ʾáp-ʾawˈ dìṛɛle.ˈ (54) píštɛla lèle.ˈ ʾíθwala xmárta t-šə̂nθa.ˈ mattáwala rəš-ṣádrət Wèrda.ˈ ʾu-y-azáwa ʾíθwa hambišàye y-amráxla.ˈ ʾíθwa xa-gáppa gáwe díye ʾàrbi hambišáye.ˈ y-azàwa,ˈ y-atwáwa gawèy,ˈ xamláwa mənnèy,ˈ ʾu-y-aθyàwa.ˈ xà-yoma,ˈ yóma t-trè,ˈ yóma t-ṭlàθa,ˈ ʾaw-yála qímle npílle bàraˈ zìlleˈ máre xázəx lèkɛla zála.ˈ

(49) The story goes: He stayed six or seven days there, then went off. He waited six or seven days, then the *simarxa* came. She said 'Sit on my back'. He sat on the back of the *simarxa*. She was (like) an aeroplane. They went until they arrived at the palace, on top of the palace. She said 'Take from me these two feathers of mine. Whenever you need (me), burn them and I shall come here'. He took them and said 'Fine'. (50) He went up onto her back and closed his eyes. She went off. She said 'Open your eyes! He opened his eyes. They settled on top of the palace. The palace was built completely of human skulls. She took two feathers from her and gave them to him. She went back, she returned. Then he went down. He went down and offered his greetings. (51) Only Warda and Nargis were there. They had no children, nothing. 'Welcome! Where have you come from?' He said 'By God, my journey was long. I have come here to your home.' 'Well, what is your business?' He said 'I have come seeking to know what your story is.[17] Tell it to me. They said 'Do you see this palace? It is all built of skulls. One gap remains. That is the place of your head. We shall tell you our story and after we have finished our story, we shall cut off your head and put it in this gap'. (52) He said 'Fine. As you like.' He said 'Let's see, start (telling), what is your story?' The story goes: Nargis got up and began to bake bread, to knead bread. Warda took a long pomegranate stick and struck it on her back. He said 'You shall become a mare'. She became a mare. He sat on her back and went off into the meadow, in the grass, here and there, and brought her back.' (53) The son of the king said to him, he said 'Do it once again, so that she turns back again'. He said 'Do you want to turn back?' He hit her with three other wooden canes, he struck her. She turned back to what she was. Also she struck him and he became a mule and she sat on his back. She went and drove him round the meadow. After a while he said 'Make him come back, I feel sorry for him. Do not make him like that'. She struck him three more strokes and he also turned back. (54) It became night. She had a bead of sleep. She used to put it on the chest of Wɛrda and go to what we call *hambišaye* ('giants'). There was a cave in which there were forty giants. She would go and sit among them and make merry with them. Then she would come back. One day, the next day and the day after,[18] the boy went and followed her. He said 'Let's see where she is going.'

[17] Literally: what your story is, what it is not.
[18] Literally: the second and the third day.

(55) zílle ʾína xazéla hóla gu-d-án hambišàye,ˈ mṭawòle mánna díya.ˈ yómət ʾàrpa,ˈ qímɛle šqíləlla xmərta,ˈ múttəlla rəš-ṣádra dìya.ˈ ʾáy ṭlìtɛla.ˈ qímɛle zìlɛle.ˈ qṭíləlla ʾan-ʾárbi hambišàye.ˈ ʾu-dáryəlla naθyaθèy,ˈ prìməlla-wˈ dáryəlla gu-xúrje dìye.ˈ ʾu-ʾəθyɛle.ˈ ʾəθyɛle síqa l-gàre.ˈ síqa l-gàreˈ ʾu-qðíxilla ʾan-tre-pàrre,ˈ ʾu-xárθa simérxa θìθɛla.ˈ simérxa θìθɛla-wˈ tíwɛle l-xáṣət simèrxa-wˈ (56) xa-bèna,ˈ ʾəθyɛle.ˈ ʾəθyɛle ta-ṯ-ázəl béθe dìye.ˈ ʾu-ŕíšɛle Wɛ̀rda,ˈ wíðɛle gáne ʾax-nəšra.ˈ ʾu-ṣətyɛle bára dìya.ˈ ṣətyɛle bára dìyaˈ ta-t-maxèle.ˈ xa-béna Parizáda ṣrìxtɛla.ˈ plíṭṭɛla ʾáp-ʾay gu-hàwa.ˈ zìltɛla,ˈ mára lá-daqrət bíye dìye.ˈ xətnux-ile.ˈ lá-daqrət bíye dìyeˈ xətnux-ile.ˈ ʾu-qìmɛle,ˈ dìŗɛle Wérdaˈ zíla l-qàṣre.ˈ ʾu-ʾap-ʾàwˈ ʾəθyɛle,ˈ muttéθəlle kəs-béθa dìya.ˈ m-táma-w hòdəx,ˈ tíwɛle l-xáṣə súse dìyeˈ ʾəθyɛ díŗa l-bèθa.ˈ (57) díŗɛle l-bèθa,ˈ Parizáda mèraˈ qəm-mɛθətla qəṣṣàtta?ˈ máre kúlla muθyáli qəṣṣàtta.ˈ bə̆ʸət ṯ-amrənne-llèx?ˈ mára lá, là,ˈ lá mùrra ʾálli.ˈ ʾána mṗuŗmàli,ˈ hot-mùθyəlla.ˈ ʾu-gánux bàsma-wˈ b-gawrànnux.ˈ qíme m-táma hòdəx,ˈ gwírela ġðàðe.ˈ ʾu-šwiqáli tàmaˈ ʾu-θéli làxxa.ˈ

(55) He went off and saw her among the giants, playing with them. The fourth day he took the bead and put it on her chest. She slept. He went off and killed those forty giants. He put their ears—he cut them off and put them in his saddle bag. He came back. He came back and went up to the roof. He went up to the roof and kindled the two feathers. Then the *simarxa* came. The *simarxa* came and he sat on the back of the *simarxa*. (56) Then he came back, he came back to go to his home. Warda woke up and made himself like an eagle and swooped down after her. He swooped after her to strike him. Then Parizada shouted and she also went out into the air. She went and said 'Do not touch him. He is your son-in-law. Do not touch him. He is your son-in-law. Warda returned and went back to his palace. He (the king's son) also returned back, she put him in her home. Afterwards he sat on the back of his horse and returned home. (57) He returned home and Parizada said 'Have you brought the story?' He said 'I have brought the whole story. Do you want me to tell it to you?' She said 'No, no, don't tell me. I understand that you have brought it. Well done! I shall marry you. Then they were married to one another. I have left it there and come here.

A25 The Tale of Farxo and Sɜttiya

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-málka gu-ða-màθa.ˈ ʾo-màlkaˈ ʾíθwale tərte bnáθa.ˈ xóne díye făqìra-wewa.ˈ xóna d-o-málka făqìra-wewa.ˈ šəttət màθa-wewa tíwa ʾo-xóna făqíra.ˈ málka tíwa gu-rèšət máθa.ˈ (2) xa-yóma síqe-wawa l-ṣèda,ˈ síqe-wawa l-ṣéda tràθna xonăwáθa.ˈ baxtáθa tərwəθna hóla yaqùre.ˈ málka mɔ́re ṭla-d-o-xóne făqìra,ˈ mɔ́re xòniˈ baxtáθən hóla yaqúre tərwəθna.ˈ ʾən-báxtux muθéla bràtaˈ ʾu-báxti muθéla bròna,ˈ brá-tux qa-bròni.ˈ (3) ʾən-báxti muθéla bràtaˈ ʾu-báxtux muθéla bròna,ˈ ʾa-bráti qa-brònux.ˈ ʾáyya ʾèni mirále?ˈ màlka.ˈ ʾánna ṣə̀lyela.ˈ (4) wítɛla dánət mabròye,ˈ tərwəθna mubrèlaˈ hàr ʾo-yóma.ˈ ʾáyya mòdi y-oðáwa ʾɛ-brátaˈ zùrta?ˈ mən-d-é-danət brèlaˈ hál d-ɛ-dánət mṭéla l-yàla,ˈ wéla bxàya.ˈ šə́mmə d-ɛ-bráta mòdile?ˈ Sətti̇ye.ˈ ʾu-šə́mmət yála ʾíle Fàrxo.ˈ Fárxo ʾu-Sətti̇ye.ˈ (5) mára qìmtɛla,ˈ har-ʾó-yomə ṭ-íla brìθa,ˈ dɔ́ryəlla gu-dudìya,ˈ dargùšta,ˈ ʾu-ṣlìθɛla,ˈ ṣlíθa, ṣlíθa, ṣlìθa,ˈ muttéθəlle púmma gu-pùmmətˈ Fàrxo,ˈ šuréla myàṣaˈ ʾè-danɛla kálye.ˈ ʾúp-xa mə́nna lá-wewa klàyaˈ har-bxàya-wawa.ˈ (6) qímtɛla yə́mmət Sətti̇ye,ˈ mára xázəx ʾèkɛla bráti,ˈ ṭắya ʾəlla.ˈ ʾéni báxtɛla mubrèθa?ˈ mɔ́re báxtət ʾəðməxˈ hóla mubrèθa.ˈ ṣléla tàmaˈ qəm-xazyàla,ˈ ʾína hóla tràθnaˈ dmíxe gu-dudìya.ˈ (7) qímtɛla šqíltəlla bràta,ˈ mosàqtəlla.ˈ mosáqtəlla bráta l-bɛ̀θa,ˈ šuréla xá-bena xéta bxàya,ˈ bxàya,ˈ bxàya,ˈ bxàya.ˈ b-lèleˈ šuréla xá-bena xéta ṣlèla.ˈ ṣléla har-hàdəx wídla.ˈ

(8) qìmla,ˈ málka krìble.ˈ málka krìbleˈ ʾu-b-gáne málka mírɛwa ʾən-hawéli bràtaˈ t-yánna qa-bronèxu.ˈ málka krìbleˈ bud-hàtxa məndiyáne.ˈ qìmɛle,ˈ šqìləlle yála.ˈ yála zòrɛle.ˈ yáʿni l-xá-yarxa lèle mátya.ˈ (9) qìmɛleˈ mɔ́re máttule qam-ʾénət mìya.ˈ ʾu-susăwàθaˈ la-maxlùla.ˈ là maštóla míya,ˈ bás maxlìtulaˈ ʾu-ta-t-ʾázi marʿ̂ile.ˈ ʾu-bába-w yə́mmət… t-yàlaˈ mxéla b-dùnyeˈ zílla l-Sùriya.ˈ

A25 The Tale of Farxo and Sǝttiya

Informant: Dawiδ ’Adam (Dure)

(1) There was a king in a village. That king had two daughters. His brother was poor. The brother of that king was poor. The poor brother lived at the bottom of the village. The king lived at the top of the village. (2) One day they had gone up (the mountains) out hunting, the two brothers had gone up hunting. The two wives were pregnant. The king said to the poor brother, he said ‘My brother, our wives are both pregnant. If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son. (3) If my wife gives birth to a daughter and your wife gives birth to a son, my daughter (will be married) to your son’. Who said this? The king. They came down (from hunting). (4) The time of giving birth arrived. They both gave birth on the same day. What did that little girl do? From the time she was born she started weeping, (and continued) until the time that she came to the boy. What was the name of the girl? Sǝttiye. The name of the boy was Farxo. Farxo and Sǝttiye. (5) Now, she got up, on the very day on which she was born and they put her in the cradle, the cot, and she went down, down, down, down, put her mouth on the mouth of Farxo and began sucking. At that time they stopped (crying). Neither of them had stopped (beforehand), but were constantly crying. (6) The mother of Sǝttiye said ‘Let’s see where my daughter is’ and looked for her. ‘Which woman has given birth?’ He said ‘The wife of your brother-in-law has given birth’. She went there and saw her, the two of them were asleep in the cradle. (7) She took the girl and brought her up. She took the girl up to the house and she again began crying, crying, crying, crying. At night she began again to go down (the village). She went down and did the same as before.

(8) The king became angry. The king became angry, although the king himself had said if I have a daughter I shall give her to your son. The king became angry about these events. He took the boy. He was a baby, that is he was not yet a month old. (9) He said ‘Put him before the water spring and do not feed the horses. Do not give them water to drink, but only feed them so that they will go (to the water spring) and crush him.’ The father and the mother of the boy went out into the world, they went to Syria.

(10) yála θéla ðáʾa Hùre,ˈ šə́mma dìya,ˈ qəm-šaqlàle,ˈ ʾÀme.ˈ mòre:ˈ ʾÀme,ˈ ʾamánəx máttula tàma,ˈ šqùlli,ˈ nàbəlli,ˈ máttuli b-díwənt màmi.ˈ

(11) bábe yámme díye ṭrìðela.ˈ móre ʾáxni ṯ-àzəx. lá xazə́xle brònənˈ qṭìla.ˈ qəm-daréle gu-ʾórət susə̆wàθa.ˈ ʾímət qəm-daréle gu-ʾórət susə̆wàθa,ˈ susə̆wáθa léla xíle ʾu-šə̀tye.ˈ qəm-daréle tàma,ˈ móra b-qaṭlìle.ˈ šuréle zmírre b-súsa smòqa.ˈ (12) móre bə̆́yən mənnuxˈ hálma t-yáwət b-rèši.ˈ ʾu-be-maʿna ṭízux yawə́tle l-gùda.ˈ ʾu-b-súsa kòma,ˈ b-súsa xwàra,ˈ kúlla zmírre hàdəx.ˈ xárθa málka móre ṣlòˈ díya hóla mpurə́psəlle Fàrxo.ˈ šqùlule,ˈ zdòle,ˈ ʾu-dro-gálla xàθaˈ qam-susə̆wàθa.ˈ (13) ʾánna ṣàliˈ ʾína mò ṣáli.ˈ hóla susə̆wàθaˈ jə̀mye b-réše díyeˈ wáða hàlmaˈ b-réše dìye.ˈ síqla yíwla xàbraˈ mòraˈ ʾàg̈ayˈ hàtxɛla qazíya,ˈ ya-màlka.ˈ móre súqu mèθole.ˈ móra qìmelaˈ mùsqəlle táma.ˈ (14) ʾáwwa suréle zmàra,ˈ móre ʾálaha qəm-xalə̀qliˈ yóma qamàyaˈ rèša.ˈ ʾu-yómə tré qəm-xaləqli ʾiθàθa.ˈ ʾu-yómə ṭláθa qəm-xaləqli ʾèna.ˈ ʾu-yómət ʾàrbaˈ hál yarxət-ʾə̀č̣a.ˈ móre ʾána qəm-xaləqli ʾàlaha.ˈ ʾu-ʾədyo,ˈ kú-məndit bə̆́yət wùdli.ˈ wùð-bi.ˈ (15) ʾámər lá qaṭlənnux.ˈ péšət làxxaˈ gu-bèθaˈ xòna mən-d-ánna bnàθi.ˈ ʾítli ṭə̀llə̀θ.ˈ Náze ʾɛ-gòṛta,ˈ Zíne ʾu-Sə̀ttíye ʾɛ-xarèθa,ˈ zùrta.ˈ móre ʾánna xaθwàθuxila.ˈ móre ma-yxàləf.ˈ

(16) móra qímela xà-yomaˈ móra ṯ-ázəx sàxəx.ˈ ʾánna qímela zíle sxàya.ˈ Náze ʾɛ-gòṛtaˈ móre Fàrxo,ˈ máttu xa-képa làxxaˈ ʾu-xa-làxxaˈ ʾu-xa-làxxa.ˈ kèpa.ˈ móre ṭla-Sə̀ttíye tu-làxxa.ˈ Sə̀ttíye tu-láxxa xarèθa.ˈ (17) ʾu-Zíne tíwla ʾa-t-bàθra,ˈ ʾu-Náze ʾɛ-qamèθa.ˈ ʾɛ-qaméθa góṛta Nàzela.ˈ w-a-t-tə́rte zúrta Zìne.ˈ w-a-t-ṭə́llə̀θ Sə̀ttìye.ˈ ʾu-xá-kepa muttéθəlle tămàʾha.ˈ móra Fárxo tu-tămàʾha.ˈ Fárxo tíwɛle rəš-d-wáʾha kèpa.ˈ Náze mòraˈ múr ʾèni-mənnənˈ biš-šapìrtɛla.ˈ

(18) ʾàmər:ˈ Nàze,ˈ ʾáti gánəx nàzik-iwətˈ rába šapìrtɛwət,ˈ ʾína ṭúwe l-ó yòma,ˈ b-xazə́nnəx ʾáti ʾèni b-gáwrət.ˈ móre Zíne ʾáti b-gánəx šapìrtət,ˈ ʾup-ʾáti Zìne.ˈ ʾína ṭálbən mən-márya ʾaláha ta-t-ʾó-yomət górət ta-t-háwən mènnəx.ˈ márɛle m-rəš-kúlla d-áni ʾíla Sə̀ttìye.ˈ žére Fàrxoˈ ṯ-íwən ʾána b-hìwi díya.ˈ

(10) A woman called Hure came and took the boy. Ame[1] took him, he said 'Ame, put your vessel down there. Take me, take me off and put me in the meeting room of my uncle'.[2]

(11) His father and mother were expelled. He said 'Let's go. We shall not see our son, he has been murdered. They have put him in the horses' manger'. When they put him in the horses' manger, the horses did not eat or drink. They put him there and said 'The horses will kill him' He started singing to a brown horse. (12) He said 'I want you to blow on me and—excuse me[3]—turn your bum to the wall. He sang the same to a black horse and a white horse. Afterwards the king said 'Go down, by now they have pulled Farxo apart. Take him and throw him away and put new grass out for the horses'. (13) They went down but what (a surprise when) they went down. The horses were gathered over him, blowing onto him. They went up and gave word (to the king), saying 'My lord, the situation is like this, oh king' He said 'Go and bring him'. Now, they brought him there. (14) He began to sing, he said 'God has created for me on the first day a head. On the second day he created for me hands. On the third day he created for me an eye. On the fourth day—until the ninth month. He said 'God created me. Today, do to me whatever you like. Do it to me'. (15) He said 'I shall not kill you. Stay here in the house, brother, with these daughters of mine. I have three, Naze the eldest, Zine and Sətttiye, the last, the youngest'. He said 'These are your sisters'. He said 'Fine'.

(16) Now, they got up one day and they said 'Let's go and swim'. They went off to swim. Naze, the eldest one—Farxo said (to her) 'Put a stone here, one here and one here. A stone'. He said to Sətttiye 'Sit here. Sətttiye sit here in the last place.' (17) Zine sat after her and Naze the first. The first, eldest girl was Naze. The second youngest was Zine and the third Sətttiye. She put a stone far away. She said 'Farxo sit far over there'. Farxo sat on that far stone. Naze said 'Say which of us is the most beautiful'.

(18) He said 'Naze, you yourself are delicate, you are very beautiful. I look forward to the day when I see who you will marry'. He said 'Zine, you yourself are beautiful, also you Zine. I beseech the Lord God that I may be with you on the day that you marry'. He said 'Above all is Sətttiye. Poor (me), Farxo, (I) who am waiting in hope for her'.

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[1] An alternative name of Hure.
[2] I.e. the king.
[3] Literally: without meaning.

(19) ʾàyya| Nàze,| ʾɛ-gòṛtɛla,| c̈ïrra.| zílla mə́re ṭla-bába dìya.| mə́ra babì,| yǎ́ðət ʾə́dyo módi wídle Fárxo bìyən?| mə́re mòdi wídle?| mə́ra zìllən,| muttúle ʾə̀llən,| ʾə́na qamèθa| ʾu-Zíne bàθra| ʾu-Sə̀ttíye xarèθa.| ʾaw-túwle tămàʾha.| (20) mə̀re| Náze hàtxa| ʾu-Zíne hàtxa,| mə́re ʾə́na bǎ́yən Sə̀ttìye.| ʾáy biš-šapìrtɛla Sə̀ttíye.| ʾu-dɛréwa képe hátxa biyènni,| lá-qabəlwa ʾáxni saxə̀xwa.| dráya képe ʾáxni sxàya| šluxayàθa.| ʾáw y-azə́lwa xayə́rwa hátxa bìyən,| dráya kèpe.| mə́re là,| ʾáti duglàntət.| mə́re ʾə́na mbàqrena| Zîne,| ʾa-t-tə̀rte.| (21) mə́re há brà̀ti| mót mára ʾà̀ti?| mòdi-wawa| qə́ṣṣət t-Fárxo diyèxu?| mə̀ra| bábi dȕs bǎ́yət?| mə́re hè.| mə́ra Náze mə́ra ṭla-Fə̀rxo| máttu xa-képa làxxa| ʾu-xa-képa làxxa| ʾu-xa-làxxa.| ʾu-xa-muttéθəlle ṭla-Fə̀rxo.| mə́ra ʾènni mə́nnən biš-šapírtɛla?| (22) zmírre bíya dìya,| mə́re Náze hàtxa-w| zmírre b-Zîne| mə́re rəš-kúlla d-áni ʾíla Sə̀ttìye.| ʾə́na qa-Sittìye bǎ́yən.| ʾà̀mər| qə́ṭma b-rešèxu!| xóna mənnèxule,| léla ta-t-ʾamráti ṭlíba ma-ṭlìba.| xóna mənnèxule.| pìšle xóna mənnéy.|

(23) xa-yòma| qímla zílla mə̀ra| ṯ́-ázəx l-ʾə̀rwe.| zílla l-ʾə̀rwe.| ʾé-ga ʾíθən Čixàlo| ʾu-ʾAšebaṭàlo,| ʾánna tráθna šăvánə… t-màlkɛla.| kú-bratə ṯ́-íla bríθa mən-màlka,| qamáya bắyéwa Nàze.| mə́re šawwá-šənne péšən xulàma,| bas-yátla Náze ʾə̀lli.| (24) šétə tə́rte bréla Zîne.| zílle mə̀re|—ʾáwwa Čixàlo hóle mára|—zílle mə̀re| málka ʾáti har-t-yàtli brátux?| yátla Zîne ʾə́lli.| mə́re ma-yxàləf.| ʾáti tùmla| šáwwa šə̂nnux,| ʾə́na t-yànna| Zîne ʾə́llux.| (25) mára šetə-ṭə́ḷḷəθ wìtɛla| Sə̀ttìye.| ham-zílɛle kásle dìye| mə̀re| málka t-áwət basima-àti.| har-t-yàtli ða-bráta,| là?| mə́re hè.| mə́re yátli Sə̀ttìye.| mə́re ma-yxàləf,| t-yánnux Sə̀ttìye.| ʾáti tùmla| ṣáwwa šə̂nnux,| ʾə́na t-yánnux Sə̀ttìye.| (26) mára píšela hàdəx.| ʾánna ʾímə ṯ́-íla wíta Sə̀ttìye,| ʾáy biš-xámθɛla m-kùlla,| qímela zìle| mămóṣe ʾə̀rbe,| mămóṣe pàṛe.| wítɛla dàna,| mìṣela ʾə́rbe,| páṛe mən-yəmmaθə̀y,| mə́re paršə̂xla m-ġðáðe.| ʾAšebaṭàlo| ʾáwwa máxe b-zòrna.| (27) ʾə́rbe máxe l-ġðàðe,| ṯ́-ázi xa-fàtra,| ʾal-salíqə zòrna.| máxe zórna xa-salíqa xèna,| ʾə́rbe b-dèri,| b-ganèy,| t-la-mădóṛe la-šăvàna| ʾu-la-ʾàp-xa.|

(19) Naze, the eldest, turned away in anger. She went to her father. She said 'Father. Do you know what Farxo did to us?' He said 'What did he do?' She said 'We came and he arranged us, me first, Zine next and Sətttiye last. He sat far away. (20) He said 'Naze is like this, Zine is like this' but he said 'I love Sətttiye. Sətttiye is the most beautiful'. He threw stones at us and did not allow us to swim. He threw stones when we were swimming in the nude. He went and looked at us, throwing stones'. He said 'No, you are a liar'. He said 'I shall ask Zine, the second one'. (21) He said 'Hey, daughter, what do you say? What went on with your Farxo?[4] She said 'Father. Do you want the truth?' He said 'Yes'. She said 'Naze said to Farxo "Put a stone here, a stone here, and one here" and put one for Farxo. She said "Which of us is the most beautiful?" (22) He sang to her and said "Naze is like this". He sang to Zine and said "Above all is Sətttiye. I love Sətttiye"'. He said 'Confound you![5] He is a brother to you. You should not say that he is a betrothed or something. He is a brother to you'. He became their brother.

(23) One day they set off and said 'Let's go to the sheep'. They went to the sheep. At that time there (were two men), Čixalo and Ašebaṭalo, they were both shepherds of the king. Every daughter that was born to the king—first he (Čixalo) loved Naze. He said 'I'll remain a slave for seven years, so long as you give me Naze'. (24) In the second year Zine was born. He went and said—it is Čixalo saying this—he went and said 'King, will you still give me your daughter? You should give me Zine'. He said 'Fine. You finish your seven years, and I'll give Zine to you'. (25) Now, in the third year Sətttiye was born. He went again to him and said 'King, if you please. You will still give me a daughter, is that not so?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'You should give me Sətttiye'. He said 'Fine. I'll give you Sətttiye. Finish your seven years and I'll give you Sətttiye'. (26) Now, when Sətttiye was born, she was the most beautiful of all. They went to make sheep suck (from their mothers), make lambs suck. (When) the season came and the sheep sucked, the lambs sucked from their mothers, he said 'Let's separate them from one another.' Ašebaṭalo played the pipe. (27) He gathered the sheep together and they went off for a while according to the tune of the pipe. He played another tune on the pipe and the sheep returned, by themselves, without a shepherd driving them back or anybody.

[4] Literally: What was the story of your Farxo.
[5] Literally: Let there be ash on your head!

(28) ʾo-xèna| Čixàlo,| ʾaw-blìgɛle,| bə̌ye t-gàwər.| mára ʾímət zílla mə́re páršəx ʾərwe,| ʾu-bejìye l-xà-gota| ʾu-ʾə́rwe l-xà-gota.| xa-pàṛa| wiðále gáne max-qə̀šta.| (29) Fárxo ʾu-Sətt́iye hóla kəs-ġðàðe.| ʾu-hátxa hóla dwíqe kúlla rèza| ʾu-ʾə́rwe yáwəlla hàtxa| ʾu-bejíye mpalòṭəlla.| xá-paṛa ʾawə́dla gáne ʾax-qə̀šta,| maxéla bēn-Sətt́iye l-Fàrxo.| kút-xa ṭla-gáne šuréle dwàqa.| ṣúdrət Sətt̀iye| ʾáwwa xálqa nc̈ìlle,| Fárxo qəm-xazéle ṣàdra. (30) Čixàlo,| m-yaha-góta xèta,| qəm-xazéla ʾína xzéle ṣádra dìya,| krìble.| qímɛle zíla šə̄kya| qa-màlka.| mə́re ʾíθən xà'a| hóle márəlle šə́mme Fàrxo,| hóle zìla| hàtxɛle wáða b-bnáθa,| hàtxɛle wáða,| hatxà,| hatxà,| hatxà,| ʾáxxa-w tàmma.| mə́re xa-mándi wìdle| b-rəš-bnàθa| har-šùqla.| málka hummə̀nne.|

(31) ʾáwwa módi wìdle?| qìmle,| maxéwa ʾáwwa b-zòrna,| ʾAšebaṭàlo,| mə̀re| ʾáwwa mò-tăhər nášele?| là-ʾamrətti?| zála škáya ʾə̀lli,| ʾáxxa-w tàmma.| hár hole-mára ʾə́lle dìye.| qímɛle ʾap-Fárxo šqíləlle zòrna,| mxáya zòrna,| bejíye hóla xa-gòta| ʾə́rwe xa-gòta.| mə́re ʾáw xoš-ʾázəl gu-yə́mmət gáne dìye.| ʾána ʾàti bə̌yən.| (32) mə́re ʾána mò,| xo-là péšən šăvána-llux.| Fàrxo hóle mára.| mə́re ʾána bṭ-àzena.| Sətt̀iye| šmìla| bába díya hóle mùtta| jallàde,| b-jáldi réšət Fàrxo.| sə̆bab| ʾăwáha škèle,| mə́re lìθba fáyda.| (33) qímɛle čántət Čixàlo| məlyəllɛle kèpe,| Fàrxo,| ʾu-rə̀pyɛləlla.| kúlla wìðəlla,| júlle díye kúlla bə̀zyəlla.| ʾu-nčíləlla čánte dìye| ʾu-zìlɛle.| zìlɛle,| mə̀ra| ʾən-Fárxo hawnànɛle,| lázəm ʾáθe ʾáwəð navèže,| yáʿni mṣàle| ʾu-baʿdə̀n ʾázəl bèθa.| (34) muttéθəlla ṭəllə̀θ xəmmərəyáθa,| m-an-xmərəyáθə tabzìye.| muttéθəlla rəš-páršət ʾèna,| ða-smòqta,| ða-xwàrta,| ða-milànta.| Fàrxo| ʾə́θyɛle mə́re là-ʾawrən gu-máθa.| mə́re ṭ-ázən rəš-ʾèna,| šátən mìya,| mxállən pàθi,| mṣàlən,| ʾu-baʿdə̀n ṭ-áwrən gu-màθa.| (35) mára zílɛle xázyəlla ʾànna| kxìkɛle. ʾímə ṭ-íle kxìka,| šqìləlla| mə́re ʾáyya smóqta ʾíla də̀mmi| ʾu-ʾáyya miránta ʾíla ròxi,| ʾu-ʾáyya xwárta ʾíla nə̀šmi.| (36) mə́re ʾànna| Sə̀ttiyela muttéθəlla láxxa.| yə̆ðən| la-málka màmi| hóle yə́mya b-rèši.| máttu jallàde| ʾə́lla b-qaṭə̀lli.| ʾána le-y-àzən.| kəs-mámi le-y-àzən.| ʾáy-ga xə̆yéwa kəs-máme dìye.|

(28) The other one, Čixalo, he was busy (with the girls). He wanted to marry. Now, when they (the girls and Farxo) set off, he (Čixalo) said 'Let's separate the sheep, the young lambs on one side and the sheep on the other side.' One lamb made itself like a bow. (29) Farxo and Səttiye were together. They (the sheep) were all standing in a row. They put the sheep like this and took out the young lambs. One lamb made itself like a bow and pushed itself between Səttiye and Farxo. Each of them started grasping the other. The button of the blouse of Səttiye was torn off and Farxo saw her breast. (30) Čixalo, from nearby, saw them and noticed that he saw her breast, and became angry. He went and complained to the king. He said 'There is a person, called Farxo, he has gone to do such-and-such to the girls, to do such-and-such, and so forth'. He said 'He has done something unmentionable to the girls'.[6] The king believed him.

(31) What did he (Farxo) do? He said to Ašebaṭalo (when) he was playing the pipe 'What kind of person is he (Čixalo)—won't you tell me?—going complaining about me?' and so forth. While saying this to him, Farxo also took up the pipe and played pipe music, the young lambs were one side and the sheep the other. He (Ashebaṭalo) said 'Let him go (and complain), (a curse be) upon his mother. I want you (Farxo as a shepherd)'. (32) He (Farxo) said 'What am I? I shall not become a shepherd for you'—Farxo was speaking. He said 'I shall go'. Səttiye heard that her father had appointed executioners, who would cut off the head of Farxo. This was because he (Čixalo) had complained. He (the king) said 'It is no use' (he should be executed)'. (33) Farxo filled the bag of Čixalo with stones and threw it down. He did the works.[7] He put holes in all his clothes, tore up his bag and went off. He went off, and she said 'If Farxo is wise, he must come and make an ablution, that is pray, and then go home'. (34) She laid down three beads, beads of rosaries. She put them on the stone slab of the spring, one red, one white and one blue. Farxo came and said 'I shall not enter the town'. He said 'I'll go to the spring, drink water, wash my face, pray, then I shall enter the town'. (35) Now, he went and saw them (the beads) and he laughed. When he laughed he took them, saying 'This red one is my blood. This blue one is my spirit. This white one is my soul.' (36) He said 'It was Səttiye who put these here. I understand. Indeed the king my uncle has sworn on my head (to execute me). He will appoint executioners and (has sworn) he will kill me. I shall not go. I shall not go to my uncle.' At that time he was living with his uncle.

[6] Literally: He has done something to the girls, just leave it.
[7] Literally: He did everything.

(37) qímɛle zílɛle gu-ʾalòle.ˈ dmíxɛle gu-ʾalólət màθa.ˈ Səttíye xðìrtɛlaˈ ʾína xzìθəlleˈ máre ʾálla dìyaˈ màreˈ mò ʾóðən ʾána.?ˈ ta-módi…hátxa wíða bàbəx.?ˈ móra xzi-ṯ-amrànnux.ˈ hóle yámya b-rèšux.ˈ ʾáyya béna Čixálo hàtxɛle míra.ˈ (38) móra ʾina-ṣlí be-xàlux.ˈ ṣlìgən,ˈ puš-ʾárxa be-xàlux.ˈ bas-ʾàna t-yăðánnuxˈ ʾèkɛwət.ˈ máre ma-yxàləf.ˈ qímela dmìxeˈ nšíqəlla ġðàðe.ˈ ʾəθyɛle xa-màlla.ˈ saʾət-ʾàrpa-wela.ˈ θéle xa-màlla,ˈ ʾína xazèla.ˈ xazéla dmíxe kəs-ġðàðe.ˈ (39) móre qa-màlla,ˈ móre yà-malla,ˈ mòt mgašóqe bíyi?ˈ léðeti ʾàyyaˈ ṯ-íla mən-háš t-la-bràyaˈ ʾáyya ʾíla yíwta qa-dìyi.?ˈ bàxtila.ˈ móre màllaˈ mà ʾítli šúla mən-d-ánna?ˈ šwíqile tàmaˈ ʾu-zílɛle l-jàma.ˈ

(40) ʾáwwa qímɛle qedàmta,ˈ šqíləlle xa-mən-súsət xàle,ˈ tíwa l-xáṣe dìye,ˈ ʾu-ṣèlya.ˈ ṣèlya,ˈ t-ʾámrexi mən-Dùre,ˈ θáya ṣláya l-ʾAmedìya.ˈ qímɛle tíwa l-xáṣə súse dìyeˈ ʾu-síqa-w síqa-w síqa gu-réšət ʾAmedìya.ˈ síqɛle gu-réšət ʾAmedìya,ˈ ʾìnaˈ núrət xàleˈ ṯ-íwa síqa l-tàmaˈ gu-zòmaˈ hála lèle ʔ́mya.ˈ (41) mùttəlla čádre dìyeˈ rəš-d-ò núra.ˈ ʾu-tíwɛle rəš-d-ò-nura.ˈ θéle tálga xa-θèθaˈ gu-réšət ʾAmedíya y-aθéwa tálga qúmtət bəṛ-nàša.ˈ ʾu-ramànɛle ṭúra.ˈ θéle tàlga,ˈ θéle, θéle, θèle,ˈ há-t kléle zàgaˈ t-rəš-čàdra.ˈ klèle,ˈ ʾáw ʾu-súse wíre gu-čàdra.ˈ (42) qímɛle plìṭɛle,ˈ zmírɛle xa-bàndaˈ b-tàlga.ˈ móre ʾànaˈ hon-ʾəθya,ˈ ríqən qam-màmiˈ bắyən ṣálən kəs-xàli.ˈ y-ámər ya-ʾàlaha,ˈ qa-mòt hátxa wáða bíyi,ˈ mɛθóye dwáqəlla ʾùrxiˈ ta-t-lá-mṣən ṣálən be-xàli.?ˈ (43) ʾu-zìlɛle,ˈ mútt̬əlle réše dìyeˈ dmìxɛle.ˈ dmìxɛle,ˈ qáyəm qèdamtaˈ ʾína xɛpùθaˈ ryáma mən-ʾằra.ˈ kúlle tàlgaˈ pšîra.ˈ šúrɛle zmàra.ˈ ṭèreˈ hóla b-θáya l-qàle.ˈ rába zamàra-wewaˈ ʾu-qále díye rába basìmɛwa.ˈ (44) mút qála dìyi?!ˈ kəmá-gayəx tíwe mə-ġðàðe!ˈ har-lán məsya ʾaxwáθe dìye.ˈ ʾáwwa ràba zamára.ˈ ṭárpe naθríwa mən-ʾilàne.ˈ (45) móra ʾəθya síqa-wewa xa-nàšaˈ b-xmàra,ˈ síqa mɛθóye qèse.ˈ qəm-šăméle qále dìye.ˈ ʾámər hàˈ ʾáwwa ʾəmma mən-ʾəmma ʾíle Fàrxo,ˈ sắbab xále díye mtanéwa bíye dìye.ˈ xále díye mòdile?ˈ góṛət ʾAmedìya.ˈ (46) móra ʾàwˈ rìqɛleˈ ja-jálde ṣèlyɛleˈ móre ṭla-xále dìye.ˈ móre ya-málka ṯ-áwət basìma.ˈ móre hóle θéle xa-nàša,ˈ rába qále basìmaˈ ʾu-zmàraˈ ʾímə ṯ-íle zmàra,ˈ bulbúle jmáʾɛla l-qàle.ˈ ʾu-ṭárpət dɛrúbər hóla b-nθàra.ˈ

(37) He went off into the alleys. He slept in the alleys of the village. Səttiye searched and found him. He said to her, he said 'What should I do? Why has your father done this?' She said 'Look, I'll tell you. He has sworn on your head (to execute you). Čixalo has said such-and-such'. (38) She said 'But go down to your maternal uncle's house, go down and lodge in the house of your maternal uncle. Only I will know where you are'. He said 'All right'. They slept and kissed one another. A mullah came. It was four o'clock. A mullah came and saw them. He saw them sleeping next to each other. (39) He said to the mullah, he said 'Mullah, why are you looking at me? Don't you know that she has been betrothed to me since before she was born? She is my wife'. The mullah said 'What business have I with these people? He left them there and went to the mosque.

(40) He got up in the morning, took one of his father's horses, sat on its back and went down. He went down, let's say from Dure going down to Amedia. He sat on the back of his horse and went all the way up to the top of Amedia. He went up to the top of Amedia and saw that the fire in the summer house of his maternal uncle, where he was making for, had not yet gone out. (41) He pitched his tent over the fire and sat over the fire. Heavy snow fell. At the top of Amedia snow used to fall to the height of a man. The mountain is high. More and more snow fell, until the bell that was over the tent stopped (ringing). It stopped (due to the heavy snow) and he together with his horse entered the tent. (42) He came out and sang a song in the snow. He said 'I have come, running away from my paternal uncle, wishing to go to stay with my maternal uncle'. He said 'Oh God, why have you done this to me, bringing (snow) and blocking my road, so that I cannot go down to the house of my maternal uncle?' (43) He went and laid down his head and went to sleep. He slept and (when) he got up in the morning he found that fog was rising from the ground. All the snow melted. He started singing and birds came at (the sound of) his voice. He was a fine singer and his voice was very beautiful. (44) What is my voice (in comparison with his)? However many times we sit together, I shall never be able to be like him. He was a fine singer, (to the extent that) leaves fell from the trees. (45) Now, a man came up with an ass, he came up to fetch wood. He heard his voice. He said 'Ah, that is Farxo (I am) a hundred percent (sure)'. This was because his maternal uncle used to talk about him. What was his maternal uncle? The chief of Amedia. (46) Now, he quickly ran down and said to his maternal uncle. He said 'King, if you please'. He said 'A man has come, whose voice is very beautiful, and when he sings, nightingales gather at his voice and the leaves of the wood fall'.

(47) ʾámər lắʿat ʾàw ʾíle.ˈ Fàrxo,ˈ xwarzàyile ʾáw.ˈ ṯ̂-àθe,ˈ ṯ̂-áwər gu-mðìta,ˈ dére šlàma ʾəllέxu,ˈ ʾúp-xa mənnέxu là-mqabəlle šláme.ˈ ṯ̂-áwər gu-mðìta,ˈ dére šlàma,ˈ là-mqablitule šláme.ˈ

(48) màraˈ ʾo-xále díye mòdile wíða?ˈ hóle múθya ṭ̣là ʾamáne,ˈ ṭ̣la-ʾamáne làxxa.ˈ xá-mənna gàwzeˈ šmìṭ̣eˈ ʾu-qənne gáwaˈ hóla mútte làxxa.ˈ xá-mənna bəsra-wa gὲrme.ˈ xá-mənna yabìšeˈ ʾu-qənneˈ m-ġðáðe ʾu-múttəlla làxxa.ˈ hóle dərya jùlla b-réša.ˈ (49) mὲreˈ ʾən-íle xwarzàyi,ˈ ṯ̂-áθe t-yăðéla ʾánna mòdilaˈ ʾu-módi lὲlaˈ xo-d-áwwa jùlla.ˈ ʾu-hóle šwíqa xa-dùkθaˈ kəs-xále díye t-yàtu.ˈ ʾəθyεle dəryεle šláma ʾəllὲxu,ˈ baʿdὲnˈ ʾàp-xa léle mqúbləlle šláme.ˈ b-gáne mὲreˈ b-šὲna θélux ʾəmma-šὲne.ˈ (50) ʾàmərˈ kályεle gu-tắra hàtxa.ˈ ʾàmərˈ xwárza mquzədle kəs-xàlaˈ ʾína mútta qáme nále-w bəzmàre.ˈ ʾáwwa nále-w bəzmàrele.ˈ máre xwarzáya mqazóde kəs-xàla,ˈ mùttaˈ bəsra-w gὲrme qáme díye.ˈ kúlla ʾánna mirὶle.ˈ ðiyὶleˈ ʾo-párča b-rešὲy.ˈ (51) mὲreˈ hó ta-t-yăðítu ṯ̂-ὶleˈ xwarzàyi.ˈ dwíqəlle, nšíqəlle, múttəlle šôpe.ˈ múttəlle šópe dìye,ˈ kὰlyεle,ˈ šúryεle mṣawóθe ʾáxxa-w tàmma.ˈ yálət tunὶθεle,ˈ píšle gàwṛa.ˈ

(52) píšla b-lὲle.ˈ sὶqεleˈ l-gàre.ˈ máre xzáyətəlla b-dὗrbīn,ˈ kəmá ṯ̂-it-xzáya b-dὗrbīnˈ ʾáw ʾὺprile.ˈ bas-ʾăwàʾha qáṣraˈ ʾáw léle ʾὺpri.ˈ máre xàliˈ módila qəṣṣət d-ò-qaṣra?ˈ mὲreˈ šὺqlaˈ xwarzàyiˈ ʾáy qəṣṣátta rὶxtεla.ˈ la-ʾáθya l-mtanòye.ˈ máre də-mὺrraˈ xázəx šămáxla mòdila.ˈ

(53) ʾámər ʾíθən táma ðàʾa,ˈ rába zamὰrtεla.ˈ ʾu-ʾaw-qáṣra kúlle b-qarqupyáθətˈ nàšele.ˈ hóla bníθəlle ʾo-qáṣra kúlle b-qarqupyàθa.ˈ har-šúqla tàma.ˈ la-bắyən ʾo-qàṣra.ˈ ʾámər hé xàliˈ ðìli díya.ˈ dmὶxela.ˈ (54) dmὶxela,ˈ qímεle b-lὲle,ˈ tíwa l-xáṣə súse dìye,ˈ ya-ʾàlaha,ˈ zílle, zílle, zílle, zílle, mṭὲle l-o-qáṣra.ˈ šúrə d-o-qàṣraˈ ʾína ʾamrə́nnux xamšὶ métrele,ˈ xamší-metre ramὺθe.ˈ (55) ṭ̣lá gáye súse dìyeˈ θéle ta-t-šàwərˈ là mṣéle.ˈ zmírre xa-qála b-súse dìye,ˈ súse díye šwírεle reša-rəš-dìye,ˈ ṣὰlyεle.ˈ

(47) He said 'Surely it is him. It is Farxo, my nephew. (When) he comes and enters the town and greets you, none of you should accept his greeting. (When) he enters the town and offers a greeting, do not accept his greeting.

(48) Now, what did his maternal uncle do? He brought three vessels, three vessels (and put them down) here. One of them had cracked walnuts, with walnut kernels, placed in it. One of them (contained) meat and bones, one raisins and walnut kernels togther. He placed them here. He put a cloth over them. (49) He said 'If he is my nephew, he will come and will know what these are[8] under this cloth'. He left a place so that he could sit by his maternal uncle. He came and said 'Greetings to you', after which nobody accepted his greetings. He himself said 'Welcome, a hundred welcomes'. (50) Now, he stood at the door like this. The nephew went over to the uncle, but he put before him horseshoes and nails. He (put) horseshoes and nails. The nephew went over to the uncle and said that he had put meat and bones before him. He said them all. He knew them, while the cloth was on them. (51) He said 'Look now you know[9] that he is my nephew'. He held him, kissed him and put him in his place. He put him in his place, he stood up and began talking, and so forth. He is the child of the story. He has grown up.

(52) Night came. He went up onto the roof. He said 'You see it with binoculars, as far as you can seen, that is my land'. But that palace far over there, that is not my land'. He said 'Uncle, what is the story of that palace?' He said 'Drop (the subject), nephew. That is a long story, which cannot be told'. He said 'Tell it. Let's hear what it is'.

(53) He said 'There is a woman there, who is a fine singer. That palace is all (built) with the skulls of people. She has built all that palace with skulls. Leave alone over there. I don't want (anything to do with) that palace'. He said 'Well, uncle. Now I know'. They went to sleep. (54) They went to sleep and he got in the night. He sat on the back of his horse and off he went, he went on and on and on, until he reached the palace. I tell you the wall of the palace was fifty metres, its height was fifty metres. (55) Three times his horse came up to jump but could not do so. He sang a song to his horse and his horse jumped over it and came down (the other side).

[8] Literally: what these are and are not.
[9] Literally: so that you know.

(56) ʾáy ʾítla xa-bə̀rke| gòṛta hátxa.| ʾu-dəryále gàne| gu-bə̀rke,| sxàyɛle.| súse díye hóle mrúpyəlle gu-màrga.| xaddámθa dìya| ṣléla ʾímət qəm-xazyàle,| tə̀kθa,| ʾáyya tə̀kθa y-amrə́xla,| šəryòxe,| t-xaddámθa nc̃ílle| mən-qəm-xazyále šapìra.| (57) ʾu-píšla rəš-ʾèna.| ha-t-sìqla| drangèθa| síqla mára ṭla-xàtun.| mára ʾálla dìya| ṭla-mò θéləx drangèθa?| mára léðət módila qə̀ṣṣət?| mára là.| (58) holá-təkθi nc̃ílta.| xa-yála rába šapìra| hóle ʾəθya,| súse mrúpyəlle gu-màrgax.| hóle dáryəlla gáne gu-bárke dìyax.| hóle sxàya,| yonáθa hóla reše-reše-dìye.| mút ʾáti tíwta làxxa,| qu-xzà!| mpárəj bíye dìye!| (59) qìmta| mgašóqe hàtxa,| mo-mgàšqa.| ʾína ʾáw kéfe basìmta.| hóle dáryəlle gáne gu-mìya.| ṣríxtɛla m-gu-barbèhn.| y-ámrəx ʾay-panjằra barbèhn y-ámrəx.| (60) ṣríxtɛla mə̀ra| há gàni!| ʾáti mòt wáða táma?| ʾɛ-ʾéna t-là-našɛla?| t-lá marăwàθɛle ʾo-márga| ṭ̂-it-súsux dáryəlle tàma?| lat-mtaxmóne mən-nàše?| lat-mtaxmóne ʾáwwa qàṣra| ṭ̂-íle kúlle qarqupyàθa?| xa-qarqúpθɛla pyáša qa-rèšux.| mòdit mára?| (61) máre xázəx múrra ṣáwθa xà-gaya xéta.| mára námu ʾáyya bárke d-ènila| ṭ̂-it-ʾáti sxáya gàwa?| mára dìyila.| máre díya dìyila.| ʾána hon-sxáya gàwa.| bă̋yət ṭ̂-áθyət sàxyət?| də-háyyo sxà!| (62) mára xzì,| ʾána ṭ̂-amrànnux.| ʾən-šă̋rəṭ díyi qəm-yăðətla,| xo-b-gawrànnux.| ʾən-šă̋rəṭ díyi là qəm-yăðátla,| réšux mattánne gu-d-yàha káwe| ṭ̂-íla pyàša.| máre mùr.|

(63) ʾáy zamàrtɛla.| ʾáy b-zàmra,| ʾáw mjàwəb.| mára zmìrra| mára péšən xa-simèrxa,| xa-ṭèra,| t-yátwən l-xàṣux.| t-ásqən šmàyya| ṭ̂-àθyən,| máxyən ʾəllux,| ṭăbánnux ṣàleti| l-šáttət… t-yamàθa.| máre péšən xa-nàšra| t-yátwən l-xàṣəx| mṭamrànnəx gu-ʾúpra.| (64) mára pèšana| sonìθa,| mxáðrən bàrux| dawqànnux.| máre péšən jutyàra,| yáʿni péšən ʾakàra|—mù-y-amri?|—zaràya.| kúlla ʾan-waríðəx qăṭ̂nna.| kúlla waríðəx qăṭ̂nna.| (65) kú-məndit mə̀ra| ʾáw qəm-mjawəbla.| là-mṣela bíye díye.| xárθa mə̀ra| yába ʾána píšli bàxtux.| qìmɛle| síqa kəsla-dìya| ʾu-xílela mə̀ndi| ʾu-mṣúθela m-ġðàðe| ʾu-yíwtəlle ʾisəqθa| mšuxəlpálla ʾisəqyàθa,| ʾáxxa-w tàmma.| (66) máre xza-ṭ̂-amrànnəx.| ʾána làn-ʾəθya l-gwára.| máre ʾína ʾána ṭ̂-ázən bèθa.| ṭ̂-ázən béθə be-xàli.| ʾən-θèli| xó bàxtiwət.| ʾu-ʾən-là-θeli,| kú-məndit ʾáwðət wùð.| ṭlíbɛle xáṭ̂r mənna| ʾu-zílɛle bèθət xále.| zìlɛle.|

(56) She had a large pool. He immersed himself in the pool and swam. He had released his horse in the meadow. Her maid-servant came down when she saw him. The waist cord—we call it a waist cord—, the straps, of the maid-servant snapped, since she saw that he was handsome. (57) She remained at the water spring, and then she went up, late, she went up and told her mistress. She (the mistress) said to her 'Why have come late?' She said 'Don't you know what happened?' She said 'No'. (58) My waist cord broke. A very handsome youth has come and released his horse in your meadow. He has immersed himself in your pool and is swimming. Doves are (flying) over him. Why are you sitting here? Get up and see! Look at him!' (59) She got up and looked and what a sight she sees! He was enjoying himself. He had immersed himself in the water. She shouted from the casement. We call that (type of) window a casement. (60) She shouted and said 'Hey, my dear! What are you doing there? Does that spring not belong to somebody? Is the meadow in which you have put your horse without owners? Don't you think of people? Don't you think about this palace, which is all skulls. One (space for) a skull remains for your head. What do you say?' (61) He said 'We'll see, repeat what you said again'. She said 'Whose is this pool in which you are swimming?' She said 'It is mine'. He said 'Now it is mine. I am swimming in it. Do you want to swim? Come and swim!' (62) She said 'Look, I'll tell you. If you know (the answer to) my test, I shall indeed marry you. If you do not know (the answer to) my test, I shall put your head in that opening that remains'. He said 'Tell me'.

(63) She is a singer. She sings and he answers. Now, she sang and said 'I shall become a *simarxa*, a bird, and sit on your back. I shall go up to the sky and come back, striking you and causing you to sink and go down to the bottom of the seas'. He said 'I shall become an eagle and sit on your back, burying you in the ground'. (64) She said 'I shall become a thorn bush and search after you and seize you'. He said 'I shall become a farmer, that is a peasant—what do they say?—a sower. I shall cut all those roots of yours. I shall cut all your roots'. (65) Everything she said he replied to. She could not beat him. Afterwards she said 'I have become your wife'. He went up to her and ate something. They spoke to each other and she gave him a ring, they exchanged rings, and so forth. (66) He said 'Look, I'll tell you. I have not come to marry'. He said 'I shall go home. I shall go to the house of my uncle's family. If I come back, then you are my wife. If I do not come back, do anything you want'. He said goodbye to her and went to the house of his uncle. He went (home).

(67) ʾàyya| kùlla| b-lèlela.| zìlɛle,| dmìxɛle| xále díye lè-y-ăðe.| dmìxela xa-béna,| ṛìšela qedámta,| qímela xíle màndi,| ʾaw-léle dmìxa.| qímela xíle màndi.| ʾámər xáli lá ʾamrə́tli qə́ṣṣət d-áwwa qáṣra mòdila?| Fárxo hóle mára ṭla-xále dìye.| ʾámər lat-mùnšəlla?| kúlla lèlela l-bálux?| (68) mára lan-ṭlíya kúlla lèle.| bắyən t-yăðánna qəṣṣə́ttə d-áwwa qáṣra mòdila.| mára xa-bráta hóla tàma,| ʾána mári ʾəllux,| bráta zamàrtɛla.| ʾáp-xa lɛle-mṣáya bíya dìya.| kú-ṯ-ile zíla hóla réše prìmtəlle.| (69) màre| xáli ʾay-bàxtila.| mára ḵóra mùt mára?| màre| ʾədlɛle ʾána táma kəsla-dìyənwa.| ʾímət mára hátxa mšuyðənne.| mára lìθ hatxa-móndi.| mára hóla ʾisə́qθa dìya.| muxzále ʾisə̀qθa-w| muxzále yalə̀xθa| ʾáxxa-w tàmma.| mára dàxi?| mára zmìrra,| là-mṣela bíyi.| là-mṣela.| mára hóya brixtà-llux.|

(70) píšela hàdəx.| mtànəx| xa-šă̆rəṭ| hóle gu-díwənt máme dìye,| máme díye t-wéwa max-qtàləlle.| hóle gu-díwənt máme dìye,| máme díye t-wéwa max-qtàləlle,| máme dìye,| màlka.| ʾáp-xa léle mṣáya ʾɛ-šắrəṭ ṯ-awədla.| (71) qìmɛle,| qə́rya qa-bnáθe dìye| mára leðítu ʾékɛle Fàrxo?| mára là.| Zíne mára ʾána lèðən.| Náze mára lèðən.| Sətti̇ye,| mšúdra-wewa kθàwa| xo-gúlpət yàwna,| xo-gúlpət yàwna,| mšùdrəlle.| (72) ʾáni xyàpa,| zílele yàwna| zdíθəlle lɛka-Sətti̇ye.| Səttíye zìltɛla| dwíqtəlla yáwna hàtxa,| šqìltəlle.| kθáwa qrìθəlle.| ʾu-qímtɛla mjuwàbtəlle| ʾu-yíwtəlle qa-yàwna| mára ṭla-Nàze| sa-dùqla ʾayya-yáwna.| zílla dwáqəlla prìxla.| Zíne zílla dwáqəlla prìxla.| Səttíye zílla qəm-dawqàla| klèla.| (73) qəm-yawála ʾo-wắraq ʾəlla dìya.| qəm-maslále ṭla-Fàrxo.| mára ṯ-áθyən ʾəllux.| lá-jawjət mən-kəs-xàlux.| ʾé-ga lèða dax-ṣálya.| xábra mṭèle| ʿal-ʾasə̀s| Səttíye yắða ʾèkɛle Fárxo.| (74) bábə Sətti̇ye ʾu-Náze ʾu-Zîne| máre ʾáti yắðət ʾèkɛle?| mára hé yăðánne.| ʾína b-ɛ-šă̆rəṭ.| ʾána lá-mṣən ṣályən hàtxa.| băyánni ʾə́mma bnàθa| ṯ-áwa ʾăbu tə̂j| ʾu-ʾə́mma bnàθa| ṯ-áwa ʾàqall mánna.| ʾu-ʾə́mma bnáθa ṯ-àwa|…yáʿni xamša-ʾəmmà ʾaskărayáθa bnáθa kúlla,| kúlla b-rùtba| ʾu-ḍubbə̂ṭ.| kúlla mən-d-ánna ʾàskar xɛlánta.|

(67) This was all at night. He went (home). His uncle slept and did not know (what had happened). They slept then woke in the morning, got up and ate something. He did not sleep. They got up and ate something. He said 'Uncle, will you not tell me what the story of this palace is?' Farxo is saying this to his uncle. He said 'Have you not forgotten it? Has it been on your mind all night?' (68) 'I did not sleep all night. I want to know what the story of this palace is'. He said 'A girl is there. The girl is a singer—as I said to you. Nobody can beat her. She has cut off the head of anybody who has gone there'. (69) He said 'Uncle, that is my wife'. He said 'My poor boy, what are you saying?' He said 'Last night I was there with her'. When he said that, he went mad. He said 'That is impossible'.[10] He said 'Here is her ring'. He showed the ring and showed the (wedding) scarf, and so forth. He said 'How (could this be)?' He said 'She sang and could not beat me. She could not'. He said 'Congratulations'.[11]

(70) Now, we shall tell of another trial, taking place in the social gathering of his paternal uncle, his paternal uncle who almost killed him. This happened in the social gathering of his paternal uncle, who almost killed him, his paternal uncle, the king. Nobody could fulfil that condition. (71) He got up and called to his daughters. He said 'Don't you know where Farxo is?' They said 'No'. Zine said 'I do not know'. Naze said 'I do not know'. As for Səttiye, he had sent a letter (for her) under the wing of a dove. He sent it under the wing of a dove. (72) While they were bathing, the dove went and threw it by Səttiye. Səttiye went and grabbed the dove like this and took it. She read the letter. She answered it and gave it to the dove. She said to Naze 'Go and grab that dove'. She went to grab it but it flew off. Zine went to grab it but it flew off. Səttiye went and grabbed it, it stood still. (73) She gave it the paper and it took it to Farxo'. She said 'I shall come to you. Do not move from your maternal uncle's home'. At that time she did not know how to go (to see him). It was announced that Səttiye knew where Farxo was. (74) The father of Səttiye, Naze and Zine said 'Do you know where he is?' She said 'Yes, I know. But there is a condition. I cannot go down just like that (without conditions). I want for myself a hundred girls wearing crowns, a hundred girls who are of lesser rank, a hundred girls who…, that is five hundred soldiers, all girls, all with a rank and officers. All of these, forming a powerful army.

[10] Literally: There is not such a thing.
[11] Literally: May she be blessed to you.

(75) bắyánna bìya| b-sùsa| b-rā́šən diyə́y kùlla,| ta-ṣályən maθyànne.| ʾaw-ʾən-là,| ʾána là-mṣən maθyánne.| mára ṯ-awðə́tla ʾàyya.?| máre hè| ṯ-awðə̀nna.| màlkɛle.|

(76) qìmɛle,| múθyɛle ʾáskar xɛlànta| xamšá-mma bnàθa| kúlla lwíše júllət ʾùrze| ʾu-ḍubbə̀ṭila,| kúlla b-ʾaskăràyela.| ṣə̀lyela.| ṣə̀lyela,| mə́tyela gu-ʾAmedìa.| yáʿni ʾánna ṭḷà yománela mə́ṭye.| yáʿni mən-máθət ṯ-ámrəx Dùre| hal-ṣáli l-ʾAmedía ṭḷà-yome.| ʾaw b-xà-yoma ṣə́lyəllɛle.| (77) mára ṣə̀lyela,| yomət-ṭḷáθa mə̀tyela| l-Amedìa.| ʾAmedía mṭŭwə̀qəlla.| ʾaskăràyela.| mṭŭwə́qəlla ʾAmedìa,| črìxəlla.| mára ʾáp-xa la-jáwəj mən-gu-ʾAmedìa.| (78) Sətt̀iye| qímtɛla čádra díya mxìθəlla| be-pálgət ʾAmedìa.| ʾítla hurrā́s ʾáxxa-w tàmma.| mára hàtxɛle,| hàtxɛle,| hàtxɛle.| lə́ðiwa ràbe| Fárxo màṭole.| ʾày| mára ʾən-dawqìtule Fárxo,| là maxítule.|

(79) qédamta qímɛle xále dìye,| ʾína xə́zyəlla ʾán ʾaskăràye,| kúlla xðìrta| ʾAmedìa,| ʾàmər,| Fárxo ṭla-xále díye ʾàmər| xáli mòdila?| xázəx ʾaskăràye.| kúlla ʾAmedía píšla ʾaskăràye.| máre xá-məndi lèla.| qărăčàye| y-áθi hàtxa| ʾu-pə́ši xa-tre-ṭḷa-yomàne,| xárθa y-àzi,| jàwji.| (80) xárθa mšúrela mxáya l-nàše.| šuréla mxáya l-nàše| ʾu-dwáqa náše ʾáxxa-w tàmma.| máre xàli| hóla dwáqa nàše!| xa-bèna| dawqìle.| dawqìle,| mawríle kəs-Sətt̀iye.| Sətt́iye hóla lwíšta júllət ʾaskaràye,| ʾu-qàʾədila,| ʿăqìdila góṛta.| (81) xa-béna hàdəx,| mára ʾálle dìye|—ʾaw-lèðe ṯ-íla báxta,| ʾaw-xšíwɛle ʾùrzɛle|—mára ʾálle dìye| ʾáti hot-wáða xákma šulàne| báxta mən-gáwṛa hot-šqàləlla| ʾu-hot-baróxəlla l-gànux.| ʾu-hon-šə́mya hot-wáða rába xràwe,| zála l-qáṣrə nàše| ʾu-zála maxròwe,| ʾu-ʾáxxa l-tàmma.|

(82) šuréla ṣráxa bíye dìye| mára ʾáti hàtxət wáða,| lə́wət d-áwwa ʾàθṛa.| ʾu-kìzle| ʾána lán-wiða čù-məndi-w| b-àyya-gota| ʾu-b-ày-gota,| du-du-dù| ʾáxxa l-tàmma.| xàrθa| šqíltəlla kosíθa díya hátxa m-rèša,| muttéθəlla l-ằra.| (83) gášəq bíya dìya,| ʾína Sətt̀iye.| máre hà| xázəx ʾáti Sətt̀iye!| mère| gwìrtət| ʾən-t-la-gwàra?| mára làn-gwirta.| ʾána spárən ʾəllux.| ʾána lè-gorən,| la-ʾàti gáwrət.| máre ʾàp-ana lɛn-gwìra.| (84) máre há xə̀r| mòdila qáṣṣət.| mára ʾíθən xa-šắrəṯ gu-díwənt bàbi,| ʾáp-xa lɛle-ðà'alla.| máre ṭlàli| Fárxo yăðèla| ṣla-mèθɛle.| ʾu-ʾána hon-muθéθa ʾáyya qùwwət láxxa| b-xábra ta-dìyi| ta-t-ʾàsqeti| ṯ-awðə́tla ʾɛ-šằrəṯ.|

(75) I want them all with their horse and rations. This is in order for me to go down to bring him back. If not, I cannot bring him back'. She said 'Will you do this?' He said 'Yes, I shall do it'. He was the king.

(76) He brought a powerful army, five hundred girls, all wearing men's clothes, they (consist also) of officers, together with the soldiers. They went down and arrived at Amedia. They arrived in three days. That is, from the village, let's say, of Dure until they came down to Amedia was three days. He came down this (way) in one day. (77) Now, they came down and on the third day arrived at Amedia. They encircled Amedia. They were soldiers. They encircled Amedia, surrounded it. She said 'Let nobody move from Amedia' (78) Səttiye pitched her tent in the middle of Amedia. She had guards, and so forth. She said 'He (Farxo) looks like this', since many did not know what Farxo was like. She said 'If you seize Farxo, do not strike him'.

(79) The next morning his maternal uncle got up and saw those soldiers and (saw that) Amedia was completely surrounded. He said, Farxo said to his maternal uncle, 'What is the matter uncle? We can see soldiers. The whole of Amedia has become soldiers'. He said 'It is nothing. It is gypsies, who come in this way and stay one, two or three days, then go, move on'. (80) After that they (the soldiers) started beating people. They started beating people and seizing people, and so forth. He said 'Uncle, they are seizing people!' After a while they seized him. They seized him and brought him into the presence of Səttiye. Səttiye was dressed in the clothes of soldiers. She was a commander, a colonel, important (in rank). (81) After a while, she said to him—he did not know that she was a woman, he thought she was a man—she said to him 'You are doing (bad) things, you are taking a woman from her husband and wedding her to yourself. I have heard that you are doing many wicked things, going to people's palaces, going and doing mischief, and so forth.

(82) She began shouting at him and said 'You are doing this (mischief), you are not from this land'. He remonstrated 'I have not done anything, in this place or that place,' etc. and so forth. Then, she took her hat from her head like this and put it on the ground. (83) He looked at her and saw it was Səttiye. He said 'Oh, it seems you are Səttiye!' He said 'Are you married or are you unmarried?' She said 'I have not married. I am waiting for you. I shall not marry, so long as *you* do not marry'. He said 'I also am not married'. (84) He said 'How are things? What has happened?' She said 'In the meeting of my father there is a riddle and nobody knows it. He said to me "Farxo knows it, go and bring him". I have brought this force here, which is at my command, so that you would come back and solve the riddle'.

(85) mára ma-yxàləf.ˈ qìmɛleˈ mára ʾáxtu ʾasqítu ʾədyo,ˈ ʾàrbušeba,ˈ ʾu-xámšušeba rùtaˈ màṭetu.ˈ ʾána ṯ-ásqən rúta maṭənnɛxu.ˈ mára qìmelaˈ ʾáni sìqela.ˈ ʾaw-mrúzgəlla gáne dìye,ˈ yómət rúta sìqɛle.ˈ ʾánna mətyela.ˈ (86) ʾax-ṯ-ìla mátye,ˈ Sətt́ye mèθa.ˈ yomət-ṭláθa Sətt́ye mṭéla gu-màθa,ˈ mìtla.ˈ qímla prímla ʾərbe,ˈ síqla qəm-mṭamrìla,ˈ qèdamta.ˈ (87) yále zóre mṭawóle b-čəkke y-ámrəxla,ˈ ʾánna čəkke mò y-amríla?ˈ hàtxa mṭaləxwa.ˈ ʾánna mən-ʾərbe y-áwa,ˈ ʾáqlət ʾərba.ˈ Fárxo mèreˈ ʾáp-ʾana mṭálən mənnèxu.ˈ zòrɛle.ˈ (88) mára làˈ ʾáti ṣli-be-màlka.ˈ brátət màlkaˈ hóla mìθta.ˈ hóla príme ʾərbe,ˈ mèθilən,ˈ méθilən m-d-an-čəkke mṭàləx.ˈ mára ʾèni mánna?ˈ mára ʾɛ-zórta Sətt́ye hóla mìθta.ˈ (89) ʾaw-là-ṣlele l-béθa.ˈ ʾánna náše hóla spára ʾálle dìye.ˈ díwənt málka hóle spára ʾálle díye ta-ṯ-àθe Fárxo.ˈ qímɛle síqa l-bɛθ-qòra.ˈ síqɛle l-bɛθ-qòra,ˈ gu-qawràθa,ˈ xáze ʾénila qáwra xàθta.ˈ réša díya zámər, zámər, zámər, zàmər,ˈ qáwra pθìxla.ˈ (90) qáwra pθìxla,ˈ rəḥqa m-anna-dukàne,ˈ mpílle ʾáp-ʾaw gáwa dìya.ˈ har-dmíxle réša díya hàtxa,ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw táma mìtle.ˈ ʾánna hóla spàraˈ hál yomət-šàbθa.ˈ qímela šábθa qedàmta,ˈ ʾína lá Fàrxo,ˈ lá ču-mindì.ˈ lìθ.ˈ (91) xáʾa mèreˈ ʾána šə́myənle xa-qála gu-bɛθ-qòraˈ zmàra,ˈ bálki háwe ʾə́θya l-bɛθ-qòra.ˈ ʾàsqi,ˈ ʾína xazèlaˈ qáwra pθìxtaˈ ʾáp-ʾaw míθa gàwaˈ ʾu-qəm-mṭamríle tàma.ˈ šwiqálən tàmaˈ ʾu-θélən làxxa.ˈ ʾu-hawétu basíme ràba.ˈ

(85) He said 'Fine'. He said 'You go up today, Wednesday, and you will arrive on Thursday or Friday. I'll come up on Friday and catch you up'. They set off and went up. He prepared himself and went up on Friday. They arrived. (86) When they arrived, Səttiye died. On the third day Səttiye arrived in the village and died. They slaughtered sheep[12] and went up and buried her in the morning. (87) The young children were playing with *čəkke* ('anklebones'), as we call them. What is the meaning of *čəkke*? We used to play like that. They are from sheep, the feet of sheep. Farxo said 'I also shall play with you'. He was young. (88) They said 'No. You go down to the house of the king. The daughter of the king has died. They have slaughtered sheep, bring us some of the anklebones (of the sheep) for us to play with'. He said 'Which of them?' They said 'The young one Səttiye has died'. (89) He did not go down to the house. The people were waiting for him. The assembly of the king was waiting for Farxo to come. He went down to the cemetery. He went down to the cemetery and among the graves he saw which of them was a new grave. (Whilst sitting) on it, he sang and sang and sang, then the grave opened. (90) The grave opened and—God forfend—he fell into it. No sooner had he lain down over her than also he died there. They waited for him until Saturday. On Saturday morning they set off (to find him) but there was no Farxo or anything (associated with him to be found). (91) Somebody said 'I have heard a voice in the cemetery, singing, perhaps he has gone to the cemetery'. They went up and found the open grave with him also dead in it. They buried him there. We have left it there and come here. Thank you.

[12] For the meal that is traditionally eaten when somebody dies.

A26 The Tale of Mămo and Zine

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) hadíya mšárəx qəṣṣáttət Mắmo-w Zîne.ˈ Mằmoˈ ʾíwewa gu-ʾAlằnˈ ʾu-Zîneˈ ʾiwáwa gu-Jazíre Bòta.ˈ jə̀nneˈ t-šmàyyaˈ qímla wídla tàgbir.ˈ jmíla lə̀-ġðaðeˈ màraˈ bắyəx xázexi xa-yàlaˈ rába šapìraˈ ʾu-xa-bràtaˈ rába šapìrta.ˈ tàrwəθnaˈ ṯ́-áwa muqábəl ʾəġðaðe.ˈ ʾu-mɛθəxlaˈ mbarxáxla l-ġðàðe.ˈ (2) mára qímela tìwela,ˈ wíðela tàgbirˈ xəzyelaˈ Zíne gu-Jazíra Bòtaˈ ʾu-Mằmo gu-ʾAlằn.ˈ šuréla mjawóde m-ġðàðeˈ ʾéni nábləx kəs-d-èni.ˈ Zîne nábləx kəs-Mằmoˈ lo-Mằmo nábləx kəs-Zîne?ˈ mára là,ˈ bàxtaˈ be-bắxət-ila.ˈ maqəṭlàle gáwṛaˈ nabléxi Zîne kəs-Mằmo.ˈ (3) mára qìmelaˈ b-lèleˈ ṭrípəlla Zîneˈ ʾu-mùθyəlla,ˈ núblə̀lla kəs-Mằmo.ˈ núblə̀lla kəs-Mằmo,ˈ dmìxela.ˈ ṛìštɛla,ˈ zìptəllelaˈ ṭla-Mằmo.ˈ mə́ra ṭla-módit ʾə́θya dmìxaˈ gu-šwìθi.?ˈ (4) mə́re yà-baxtaˈ lan-ʾànə ʾə́θya dmíxa gu-šwìθəx.ˈ ʾàtit θíθa dmíxta gu-šwìθi.ˈ ʾə́n-in ʾànə ʾə́θya gu-šwíθəx,ˈ qrégən xaddàməx,ˈ xaddamyàθəx,ˈ šə́mma Šáləm ʾu-Sùrma.ˈ qrèla!ˈ ʾən-mjuwə̀bla,ˈ xo-ʾànənə ʾə́θya kàsləx.ˈ ʾən-là mjuwábla,ˈ ʾàtit θíθa kàsli.ˈ (5) qríθɛla qála b-Šáləm ʾu-Sùrma,ˈ čú-jwába la-yìwəllɛla.ˈ šuréla bxàya.ˈ Mắmo qímɛle rəš-gàne,ˈ qáryɛle Bangína xuláme dìye.ˈ mə́re Bangìna,ˈ ʾáti rába šărīf-nàšət.ˈ čú-məndi la-bắyən mánnux.ˈ xa-lámpa méθət b-ʾìðux,ˈ ʾu-háyyo láxxa kàsli.ˈ (6) xzìgənˈ ʾáyya bráta šapìrtə ṯ́-íla dmíxta kàsli,ˈ qa-t-tàmməlˈ ʾən-ʾána mṣàwθən,ˈ t-la-péšən duglàna.ˈ ta-t-ʾáti yáwət ʾazidùθa,ˈ ṯ́-ámreti hé dūs̄ˈ ʾíθwa bráta dmíxta kásle dìye.ˈ (7) ʾə̀θyɛle,ˈ múθya lámpa b-íðe dìye.ˈ wìrɛleˈ xəzyəlla,ˈ Zíne kəs-Mằmo.ˈ dìṛɛle Bangína,ˈ xuláme dìye,ˈ dìṛɛle,ˈ zíla l-ʾótəx dìye.ˈ ʾánna mòdila wíðe?ˈ qímela mšoxálpe b-ʾisəqyàθaˈ ʾu-b-yaləxyàθaˈ hál yomət-mèθi.ˈ (8) dmíxela traθnèyˈ xánjər ʾu-sépa mùttəlla,ˈ yáʿni xá l-ʿáks d-o-xènaˈ ta-t-lá dáqri b-ġðàðe.ˈ wítɛla qèdamta,ˈ jə̀nne ʾə̀θyela,ˈ šqìləlla Zíneˈ nùbləlla Jazíra Bóta.ˈ (9) Mắmo ṛìšɛleˈ qìmɛle,ˈ ʾína max-šeðàna.ˈ léle xzáyəlla brátə t-wáwa kásle dìye.ˈ bas-xzáyəlla ʾáy-yaláxta-w ʾisə́qθa b-íðe díye bàs.ˈ mə́re ʾána lèka ʾázən.?ˈ ʾu-báθər d-èni ṭắyən.?ˈ ʾu-m-èni mbáqrənˈ qa-t-yắðən ʾáyya lèka zílla,ˈ ʾèni nublále.ˈ (10) ʾə̀θyɛle,ˈ qam-tắrət béθa tíwɛle hàdəx.ˈ bábe díye θèle.ˈ mə́re ha-bròni,ˈ Mằmo,ˈ mà-luxˈ tíwət xaššàna?ˈ mə́re bábi hắl ʾu-qáṣṣət hàtxɛla.ˈ

A26 The Tale of Mămo and Zine

Informant: Dawiθ ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) Now we shall begin the story of Mămo and Zine. Mămo was in ʔAlān and Zine was in Jazire Bota. The jinn of heaven made a plan. They gathered together and said 'We want to find a very handsome boy and a very beautiful girl. (We want) both to come together. We shall bring them together and marry them'. (2) Now, they sat down and made a plan. They saw Zine in Jazira Bota and Mămo in ʔAlān. They started arguing with one another regarding whom to take to whom. 'Should we take Zine to Mămo or Mămo to Zine?' They said 'No, a woman is treacherous. She will have her husband killed. Let us take Zine to Mămo'. (3) So, at night they seized Zine and brought her, they took her to Mămo. They took her to Mămo. They slept. She woke up and pushed Mămo (out of bed). She said 'Why have you come and slept in my bed?' (4) He said 'Woman, it was not me who came to sleep in your bed. It was you who came to sleep in my bed. If I have come to sleep in you bed, call your servants, your maids, their names are Šalem and Surma. Call them! If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you. If they do not answer you, you have come to me'. (5) She called Šalem and Surma, but they did not give her any reply. She began to weep. Mămo stood up and called Bangina his servant. He said 'Bangina, you are a very honourable person. I don't want anything from you. Bring a lamp in your hand and come here to me. (6) Look at this beautiful girl, who has fallen asleep with me, so that tomorrow, if I speak (about it), I shall not be considered a liar and you will give your consent to say "Yes, it is true, there was a girl sleeping with him."' (7) He came and brought a lamp in his hand. He entered and saw Zine with Mămo. Bangina returned. His servant returned and went to his room. What did they do? They exchanged rings and scarves (pledging themselves to one another) until the day they died. (8) They both slept. He put a dagger and a sword, one opposite the other, so that they would not touch each other. In the morning, the jinn came and took Zine, took her away to Jazira Bota. (9) Mămo awoke and got up, but like a madman. He did not see the girl who had been with him. He only found the scarf and the ring on his hand. He said 'Where should I go? Who should I look for? Who should I ask so that I can find out where she has gone and who has taken her away?' (10) He came and sat down in front of the door of the house. His father came. He said 'Ah, my son, Mămo, why are you sitting (looking so) sad?' He said 'Father, the situation is like this'.

(11) mára ʾədlɛle| xa-bráta θíθɛwa dmíxta kəsli.| ʾu-qímli qedàmta,| la-xəzyàli.| làn-ða'a lékɛla zílta.| ʾámər ʾo-bròni,| là maṣíθət| ʾàni| saṭanyàθɛla,| y-oðíla gána b-yòma,| šapíre b-léle y-áθi b-xálmət jwánqe ʾaxwàθux.| (12) mára ʾáp-ʾana y-aθéwa b-rèši hátxa| ʾo-yómə ṭ-ínɯa zòra.| y-aθíwa l-xəlmi.| xəlmɛle,| xəzwɛle,| là.| mára bàbi| ʾína ʾáyya ʾisáqθa ʾu-yaláxta d-ènila?| hóla ʾisəqθa,| hóla yalə́xta.| máṭo mdaglánna gàni| ṭ-ámrən ʾánna léla ʾàni.| (13) hìrre bábe díye.| mára mò ʾawðéna ʾána hadíya?| qìmɛle,| bèna| bábət Mắmo gòṛa-wewa,| šə̂x-wewa.| qìmɛle,| mára ṭla-d-an-nàše,| moθéle swaríye ṭla-ʾəmma| swarìye.| yáʿni susăwàθa| ʾu-náše l-xàṣa.| (14) mára sò| kut-qónəx yòma| déṛi ʾámma mənnèxu.| ʾamrítu ʾáxni là-mṭelən Jazíra Bóta.| léðəx ʾèkɛla.| zílela ṭla-ʾámma swarìye.| kut-yòma| deṛíwa ʾəmma.| kut-yóma deṛíwa ʾəmma.| (15) ṭla-ʾámma swaríye dìṛṛa| mára ʾàxni| la-xəzyálən Jazíra Bóta ʾèkɛla.| Mắmo b-gáne dìye| píšle màjbur| tíwle xáṣə súse dìye,| ʾáw u-xuláma dìye.|

(16) θéla b-ʾùrxa.| θéla b-ʾùrxa-w| θéla-w θéla-w θéla-w θèla.| tre-ṭlá yománe wéla b-ʾúrxa t-là-xala,| ʾu-t-là-štaya.| xuláma Bangína mára ṭla-Mă̆mo,| màre| mìr-e-mən,| lèkəx zála?| qṭilálən gànən| ʾánna ṭlà-yome| ṭlà lɛlăwáθa.| la-ʾáxni-x xàla| ʾu-lá susăwàθən xála.| (17) mára tu-manínəx xàčča.| ʾu-šákrəx šə́mmət márya ʾálaha xázəx ʾúrxa ʾèkɛla.| mára tíwela xá-bena hàdəx.| šúryela mṣawòθe| ʾu-ʾáxxa l-tàmma| ʾu-xílela ʾáni màndi-w| susăwaθéy dáryəlla mándi ʾixàla.| (18) píšela hàdəx.| ʾàmər…| xuláma ʾámər ṭla-mìra.| mára mír-e-mən lèka ʾazéxi?| mára ṭ-ázəx qa-xàzəx| Zíne ʾekèla.| ga-léðəx ʾekèla,| b-éni dùkθɛla,| ʾénila ʾùrxa.| mára ʾána là-mṣən ṭ-áθən mánnux hátxa.| qìmle| xuláma dìṛṛe.| Bangína dìṛṛe.| píšle ʾáw l-xóðe dìye.| (19) šuréle mtaxmòne.| gu-d-áy taxmànta| ṭlá yomàne| léle la-xíla-w la-šə̂tya| ʾu-la-dmìxa.| qəm-ganwàle šánθa,| ṭlìle.| θéla jə̀nne,| qəm-šaqlìle,| nablìle,| mattìle| ʾal-ṭúrət Jazíra Bòta.|

(11) He said 'This night a girl came and slept with me. I got up in the morning and did not find her. I don't know where she has gone'. He said 'My son, don't listen, they are little demons, they make themselves (into things) in the daytime (and make themselves) beautiful at night and come into the dreams of young men like you'. (12) He said 'They would come also into my head when I was young. They would come into my dreams. It is a dream, it is a vision, not (anything else)'. He said 'Father, but whose is this ring and scarf? Here is a ring and here is a scarf. How can I make myself lie and say that they are not real?'[1] (13) His father was confused. He said 'What should I do now?' He got up. The father of Mămo was an important man, he was an elder. He spoke to the people (there) and brought horsemen, three hundred horsemen. That is horses and people on their back. (14) He said 'Go and at every day's stage (of the journey) a hundred of you will return. You will say "We have not reached Jazira Bota. We do not know where it is."' Three hundred horsemen went off. Every day a hundred returned. Everyday a hundred returned. (15) The three hundred horsemen returned and said 'We have not found where Jazira Bota is'. Mămo himself was forced (to go). He sat on the back of his horse, he and his servant.

(16) They came along the road. They came along the road a long way. For two or three days they were on the road without food and without drink. The servant Bangina said to Mămo, he said 'My lord, where are you going? We have killed ourselves these three days and three nights. Neither are we eating nor are our horses eating'. (17) He said 'Sit down. Let's rest a little. We shall pray to the Lord God for us to find where the road is'. Now, they sat for a while. They began talking, and so forth. They ate something and gave their horses some food. (18) Now, the servant said to the master, he said 'My lord, where should we go?' He said 'We shall go to find where Zine is. But we do not know where she is, in what place she is, what the road is'. He said 'I cannot come with you in that case'. The servant got up and returned. Bangina returned. He (Mămo) remained alone. (19) He began to think. He was (immersed) in this musing for three days without eating or drinking or sleeping. (Finally) sleep stole him away and he slept. Jinn came and took him. They took him away and put him on the mountain of Jazira Bota.

[1] Literally: These are not those.

(20) ʾáyya ʾímə ṭ-ìla zílta Zíne,ˈ ʾímə ṭ-íla zílta l-bèθa,ˈ ʾíθwala xàθa,ˈ Səttìyeˈ ʾu-Nàze-wˈ Zìne,ˈ ṭàḷḷəθˈ xaθwàθɛwa.ˈ Səttíye ʾɛ-gòṛta-wawaˈ ʾu-Nàzeˈ gawèθaˈ ʾu-Zíne ʾɛ-zòrtət kúlla.ˈ (21) ʾáyya máre ṭla-xaθwáθa dìyaˈ ha-xáθi Səttìyeˈ ʾáti dúqla ʾáyya ʾisàqθi.ˈ ʾítli ṭlìba,ˈ lán-mṣaya mattánna b-ʾìði.ˈ ʾítli ṭlìbaˈ hàtxɛle šəmme,ˈ hàtxa,ˈ hàtxa,ˈ hàtxa.ˈ (22) šqíltəlla ʾisàqθa,ˈ Zíne mxíθəlla b-ʾíðət Səttìye,ˈ xáθa dìya.ˈ gwírta-wawa l-Qára Tèždin.ˈ xa-béna ʾáw ʾímə-ṭ-íle ṣàlya,ˈ mátya gu-réšət ṭùra,ˈ zríqɛle yóma ʾálle dìyeˈ máre škíra ŝəmmux,ˈ márya ʾàlaha,ˈ ʾéni qəm-mɛθéli láxxa bíye bə-b-sùsiˈ (23) màreˈ b-xšáwən ʾáyya məðìtɛla,ˈ ṣálən bàqrənˈ ʾáyya màdi məðítɛla.ˈ mára ṣályɛle rəš-ʾèna.ˈ ʾáw ʾu-súse díye ṣályela rəš-ʾèna,ˈ xázyəlla xákma baxtáθa tàma.ˈ dəryɛle šláma llèxu.ˈ (24) məra b-šɛ́na b-ṭawàθa.ˈ m-táma ʾu-hál-laxxa Mə̀mo!ˈ máre ʾánna m-éka qəm-yəðíle ŝəmmi?ˈ mojə̀ble.ˈ ʾáwwa módi wìdle?ˈ máre mbàqrena.ˈ ʾíθən tàmaˈ ṭáḷḷəθ bnáθa xèneˈ t-Bə̆kùrku,ˈ huðáya fassàda.ˈ ʾíθwale ʾúpra ràba.ˈ xulámət Mir-Zàndin-wewa.ˈ (25) máre Mir-Zàndinˈ ʾánna bnáθe díye ṭ-àziˈ ʾaw-máyəθ ʾu-ʾùpra páyəš díyi.ˈ ʾánna bnáθe díye rəš-d-ɛ-ʾèna-wawa.ˈ ʾánna šámye-wawa bəd-Mə̆́mo mən-Zìne,ˈ sáb xaddámət Zìne y-awáwa.ˈ (26) mèreˈ ʾamrənnéxu xà məndí.ˈ ʾáyya màdi məðítɛla?ˈ mára ʾáyya Jazíra Bòtɛla.ˈ ʾàyyɛla Jazíra Bóta?ˈ mára hè.ˈ máre ʾéka péšən ʾàrxa?ˈ mára ʾən-ít xoš-gàwṛaˈ kəs-Qára Tèždin.ˈ ʾən-ít šúlət mirùθa,ˈ kəs-Mir-Zàndin.ˈ ʾən-it-ʾáθya šúlət qaḥbùθa,ˈ kəs-bábən Bə̆́ku.ˈ (27) hèˈ ʾámər rəmyàθa hawetúwa!ˈ t-lá-hawənwa mbúqrəllɛxu biš-spày.ˈ qìmɛleˈ rəš-xáṣə súsə dìyeˈ ʾu-ya-ʾàlaha.ˈ síqɛle mèreˈ kút-dukθət kále sùsi,ˈ tàma.ˈ ntak-ntak-ntàkˈ sáʾət kəmèla?ˈ sáʾət šáwwa qedàmta.ˈ (28) síqɛle di-di-di-dì,ˈ kályɛle qam-tə́rət qáṣrə Qára Tèždin.ˈ qáṣrə Qára Téždin hóle rəš-ṭùra.ˈ kúlla məðíta xazèla.ˈ ʾu-sìqɛleˈ súse kálya tàma.ˈ ták-tak mxáyəlla goyáθə sùsaˈ ta-t-dàyəṛ súsa m-táma,ˈ là-jwijle súsa.ˈ (29) qímɛle ṣàlya,ˈ nùbləlleˈ súsət Qára Tèždin,ˈ gríšəlle m-rəš-gə̀llaˈ m-xàla,ˈ síṛəlle ʾo-d-áw šópe dìyeˈ ʾu-sìqɛle.ˈ síqɛle məxyɛle l-tə̆́ra.ˈ síqɛle məxya l-tə̆́raˈ ʾu-plíṭṭɛla Səttìye.ˈ

(20) When Zine went away, when she went home—she had a sister, Səttiye, (there were also) Naze and Zine, they were three sisters. Səttiye was the oldest one, Naze the middle one and Zine the youngest. (21) She said to her sisters 'My sister Səttiye, you take this ring of mine. I have a fiancé, but I cannot put it on my hand. I have a fiancé, whose name is such-and-such', and so forth. (22) She took the ring. Zine put it on the hand of Səttiye, her sister. She was married to Qarateždin. Now, when he (Mămo) came down (from the sky) and came to the top of the mountain, the sun shone on him and he said 'May your name be praised, Lord God, who have brought me here together with my horse'. (23) He said 'I think this is the town. I'll go down and ask what town this is'. Now, he went down to the spring. He and his horse went down to the spring. He saw some girls there. He greeted them. (24) They said 'Welcome. (You have come) from there to here, Mămo!' He said 'From where do they know my name?' He was surprised. What did he do? He said 'I'll ask'. There were there three other girls, those of Băkurku the corrupt Jew. He had a lot of land. He was the servant of Mir-Zandin. (25) Mir Zandin said 'His daughters will go (and get married), he will die and his land will remain for me'. His daughters were by that spring. They had heard about Mămo from Zine, since they were the servants of Zine'. (26) He said 'Let me ask you[2] something. What town is this? They said 'This is Jazira Bota'. 'Is this Jazira Bota?' They said 'Yes'. He said 'Where can I lodge as a guest?'[3] They said 'If you are a good man, with Qara Teždin. If you (have come) with the business of a prince, with Mir-Zandin. If you have come to fornicate, then with our father Băku'. (27) 'Oh' he said 'May you be cursed! It would have been better if I had not asked you'. He mounted the back of his horse and went off. He went up and said 'Wherever my horse stops, (I shall stay) there'.... What time is it? It is seven in the morning. (28) He went up... He stopped before the door of Qara Teždin. The palace of Qara Težin was on the mountain. He could see all the town. He went up and his horse stopped there. He struck the sides of the horse so that the horse would move from there. The horse did not move. (29) He dismounted and took the horse of Qara Težin. He pulled it from the grass he was eating and tied his own in its place, then went up. He went up and knocked on the door. He went up and knocked on the door and Səttiye came out.

[2] Literally: say to you.
[3] Literally: become a guest.

(30) ʾax-ṯ-íla plíṭṭa Sətt̀ye,ˈ xzìθəlleˈ xrìwɛle lə́bba díya.ˈ šuréθɛla npála dwiqə̀lla.ˈ hédi hédi núbəlla múttəlla rəš-qaràwət.ˈ sab-šapìra-wewa Mə̆́mo.ˈ múttəlla rəš-qaràwət.ˈ xa-béna Qə́ra Téždin mára ʾə́lla dìyaˈ wúð xá-məndi xə̆́f̀ˈ ta-d-áwwa ʾárxən šarìra.ˈ ʾána har-ṣálən məìtaˈ méθən ʾixàlaˈ ʾu-ʾàθena.ˈ (31) qímɛle Qə́ra Tèždinˈ ʾaw-ṣálɣɛle məìta.ˈ ʾay-qìmtɛla,ˈ wíðta qàwa.ˈ muθéθəlla qàwa,ˈ muttèθəlle.ˈ ʾaw-ʾéne díye npíltɛla ʾisə̀qθeˈ ʾámər hà!ˈ hóla gwìrtaˈ ʾu-ʾána lan-ðìya.ˈ (32) xaθwàθɛla dìˈ mádmɛ l-ġðàðe.ˈ ʾámər hóla gwìrtaˈ ʾu-ʾána lan-ðìya.ˈ qímɛle lèle šə́tya qáwa.ˈ tíwɛle l-xáṣə súse dìyeˈ ʾu-díṛɛle ṣə́lɣele rəš-d-è-ʾɛna,ˈ ʾɛ-ʾéna ṯ-ìle ʾə́θya qamáye réša.ˈ (33) Qə́ra Téždin dìṛṛeˈ θéle bèθaˈ ʾámər hàˈ báxta kéle ʾàrxa?ˈ mára b-rèšuxˈ mó ʾamràna?ˈ qáwa wíðtən ʾə́lle hàzərˈ muttéθən ʾə́lle hóle làxxa.ˈ ʾáx ṯ-it-ʾáti šə́tya,ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw hàdəx.ˈ (34) yába mòdi,ˈ ṭla-mòdi.?ˈ xo-lat-mírta xà-məndi?ˈ ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˈ mára réšux rèšuxˈ mò t-ámrən ʾána,ˈ ya-Qə́ra Tèždin?!ˈ mára ʾána háwən Qə́ra Tèždin,ˈ maθyánət xárje-w bárjət boṭanàye,ˈ ṯ-áθe xa-ʾárxa ʾax-d-àwwaˈ gu-bèθiˈ ʾu-pálaṭ léðən lèkɛle zála,ˈ léka là,ˈ ʾu-ʾána míya m-ʾèwən štáya.ˈ (35) ʾu-yátu xāṣ-súse díye ʾu-bàre,ˈ ʾu-báre rəš-ʾèna.ˈ ʾámər ʾə́lle dìyeˈ ha-gàni,ˈ ṭla-mòdi plíṭlux m-gu-béθi?ˈ ʾína ʾána l-mòdinwa ṣə́lya?ˈ ʾámər súq ya-gàni.ˈ yóma hóle zrìqaˈ ʾu-gə̀nyaˈ lè-y-zarəq.ˈ (36) ʾáwwa léle ðìya.ˈ sìqɛle,ˈ mára ṯ-ásqən mɛθə̀nne háwni.ˈ mára suq-méθi hàwnux.ˈ sìqɛle,ˈ mára ṭla-bàxta,ˈ mára hàtxa mírəlli,ˈ hàtxa,ˈ mút màra?ˈ (37) mára ṣli-mur-ʾə̀lleˈ yóma hádele zrìqaˈ šə́mša mxíθa l-ṭuràne,ˈ heš-léla kmìlta šə́mša.ˈ ʾáti bas-ʾàyya múrraˈ ʾu-dòṛ.ˈ Qə́ra Téždin lèðe manáya módila.ˈ báxta zìlla.ˈ qímɛle ṣə̀lyaˈ máre ʾə́lle dìyeˈ máre ya-gàni.ˈ yóma hàdele zríqaˈ šə́šma heš-lèla mxíθa l-ṭuráne.ˈ

(30) When Sətti̯e came out, she saw him and her heart was broken.[4] She began to faint[5] and he caught her. Slowly he took her and put her on the bed. (She fainted) because Mămo was handsome. He put her on the bed. Then Qara Teždin said to her 'Make something light (to eat) for this worthy guest of ours. I'll just go down to the town to bring food and come back'. (31) Qara Teždin set off and went down to the town. She got up and made coffee. She brought the coffee and served it. His eye fell on his ring. He said 'Ah! She is married, and I did not know'. (32) They are sisters, you see, and they resemble one another. He said 'She is married and I did not know'. He got up and did not drink the coffee. He sat on the back of his horse and went back down to the spring, the spring to which he had come previously. (33) Qara Teždin returned home and said 'Ah, wife, where is the guest?' She said 'By your head, what should I say? I prepared coffee for him and served it, here it is. As you drank, he also (was treated) in the same way'. (34) 'But why, why? Did you not say something to him?' And so forth. She said 'By your head, what should I say, Qara Teždin?'. He said '(How could it be that) I am Qara Teždin, the collector of taxes and the like of the people of Botan, and a guest comes like this into my house and leaves without me knowing where on earth he was going! I (have the power) to drink water (even) from the clouds.' (35) He mounted his horse and went after him, went after him to the spring. He said to him 'Hey, my friend, why did you leave my house? Why had I gone down (to the town)?' He (Mămo) said 'Go up, my friend, the sun has risen and (when) it has set, it will not shine (again)'.[6] (36) He did not know (what he was talking about). He went up and said 'I'll go up and work it out'.[7] He said (to himself) 'Go up and work it out'. He went up and said to his wife, he said 'He said this to me, this, what do you say?' (37) She said 'Go down and say to him "The sun has just risen, sunshine has struck the mountains, but the sunshine has not yet completely (spread)"[8] Just tell him this and return'. Qara Teždin did not know what the meaning was. The woman went off. He went down and said to him, he said 'My friend, the sun has just risen, but the sunshine has not struck the mountains'.

[4] Since she was already married.
[5] Literally: fall.
[6] I.e. you have married Zine and there is no future.
[7] Literally: I shall bring my intelligence.
[8] A riddle indicating that Zine is not yet married.

(38) qímɛle píšɛle màjbur| Mắmo dìṛɛle.| dìṛɛle,| máre mòdila qə́ṣṣət?| máre ʾisəqθəx| ʾáyya ʾisə́qθa dìyila.| mára dìyux-ile hé.| xàθi,| Zìne,| hiwála ʾəlli.| mára lán-mṣaya doqánna b-ʾìði.| hon-šqíltəlla ʾàna,| mxíθəlla b-ʾìði.| ʾu-hóya bríxta ṭlàlux.| (39) màre| Qára Téždin ʾímə šmíle hátxa màre| xzì,| ʾáxni ṭḷá xonăwàθəx,| Qára Tèždin| ʾu-čəkko| ʾu-Sə̀ppo.| ʾu-ʾùp-ati péšət mánnən,| ʾárpa xonăwàθəx.| ʾə́lla b-šaqlə̀nna| xáθət Mir-Zándin barxənna-llux.|

(40) mára qímɛle ʾə́θya síqa l-gàre.| síqɛle l-gàre| maxzóyəlle Jazíra Bòta.| Zìne| ʾu-ʾán-xaddamyáθa díya ṣléla rəš-ʾènа.| Mir-Zàndin| máre hóla ṣláya rəš-ʾènа.| máre ṣli-qàmθa| máre la-ʾàti ṣli-qámθa.| Mắmo máre ṣlígən qámθa ʾàti.| máre la-ʾàti ṣlígən qámθa.| ṣáwθa gu-púmmət màrɛla šəklánta.| (41) qìmɛle| Mə̀mo| tíwɛle xáṣə súse dìye,| ṣə̀lyɛle| rəš-púmmət ʾènа.| θíθɛla Zìne,| ʾárbi barbiyáθa hóla mánna dìya.| θìθɛla,| ʾáw šqíləlla yaláxta dìya| b-ʾìðe| ʾu-ʾisəqθa| wáðəlla hàtxa| w-áy xzìθəlla.| dáryɛle šláma ʾə́lla dìya.| (42) mqubáltəlle šláme díye rəš-rèša.| θíθɛla màre| hálli xa-ṭásət mìya.| qìmtɛla| híwtəlle xa-ṭásət mìya| ʾu-šə̀tyɛle.| šə̀tyɛle,| ʾánna qəm-ṭarðàla.| xaddamyáθa kúlla qəm-ṭarðàla.| mára súqu l-bèθa.|

(43) píšla tàma| ʾánna xmìlla m-ġðáðe.| xmìlla m-ġðáðe,| máre ʾə́lla dìya| súq múr ṭla-xònax| qa-t ʾə̀dyo| ʾáwði tàgbir| ʾásqi l-ṣèda.| ʾána ṯ-ázən kəslèxu| l-bèθa.| mára xzíθən b-xə̀lmi| xóni dàwəqlux| darélux gu-zəndàna,| gu-hàbsa.| (44) máre lá taxmánnən ʾána bəd-zəndàna| lá-ʾaməṣ xónəx daréli gu-zəndàna.| ʾáti súq múr ʾə́lle dìye| tə́mməl xoš-ʾàsqi l-ṣéda| w-ána ṯ-áθən kàsləx.| qìmtɛla| sìqtɛla| mára ṭla-xóna dìya| mára xòni| hóle zála lə̀bbi| ṯ-ásqət ṣédət ʾə́rbət wàla.| ṯ-àsqeti| mɛθə́tli ʾə́rbət wàla.| (45) ʾámər xàθi| xázəx čú-bena lat-ṭlíbta hátxa məndiyáne díya hot-ṭlàba!| mára xòni| hóle zàla lə́bbi.| máre dəx lítləx xáṭər.| mára qìmɛle| qédamta híwɛle xàbra,| sìqela.| síqela l-ṭùra| ʾu-dúnye šuréθɛla dwíqta ràya.| Mắmo síqɛle l-bèθa| gu-qáṣrət Mir-Zàndin.|

(38) Mămo was forced to return. He returned and said 'What is going on?' He said 'Your ring, this ring is mine'. She said 'It is yours, yes. My sister, Zine gave it to me. She said "I cannot keep it on my hand". I took it and put it on my hand. (I wish) that she would be married to you'. (39) Qara Teždin said when he heard this, he said 'We are three brothers, Qara Teždin, Čəkko and Səppo. You also should become (one) of us and (make) four brothers. But I must first take the sister of Mir Zandin to marry her to you'.

(40) Now, he came and he went up onto the roof. He went up onto the roof to show him Jazira Bota. Zine and her maid-servants went down to the spring. Mir-Zandin said 'She (Zine) is going down to the spring'. He said 'Go down and meet her'. He (Mămo) said 'No, you go down to meet her'. Mămo said 'You go down to meet her'. He said 'No, you go down to meet her'. A word is beautiful in the mouth of its master.[9] (41) Mămo got up and sat on his horse. He went down to the spring. Zine came. Forty bridesmaids were with her. She came. He took her scarf in his hand and did this (with) the ring,[10] and she saw it. He greeted her. (42) She let his greeting go over her head.[11] She came and he said 'Give me a bowl of water'. She got up and gave him a bowl of water, and he drank. He drank and she sent them away, she sent all the maid-servants away. She said 'Go up to the house'.

(43) They remained there and had fun together. They had fun together and he said to her 'Go up and tell your brother that today they should make a plan to go out hunting. Then, I shall go to you at home'. She said 'I have seen in my dream that my brother will seize you and put you into a cell, in jail'. (44) He said 'I don't care about a cell. Your brother cannot put me in a cell. You go up and say to him that tomorrow they should go out hunting and I shall come to you'. She got up and said to her brother, she said 'Brother, I would like you to go up and hunt for wild sheep, you to go and bring me wild sheep'. (45) He says 'Sister, I don't think you have ever requested such things are you are requesting now'. She said 'Brother, I'd like it'. he said 'By all means'. Now, the next day he gave word and they went up. (When) they went up the mountain, it began to be overcast and rain. Mămo went up to the house, to the palace of Mir-Zandin.

[9] I.e. it is easier said than done.
[10] I.e. he displayed it.
[11] Literally: She received his greeting over her head.

(46) ʾímət dúnye šuréla rèya,ˈ Mir-Zándin šodárre xa-xulàma.ˈ máre ṣlígən mur-ṭla-Zìneˈ ḳúčke mtagəbrèla,ˈ ʾáxni dìṛṛənˈ la-mṣélən síqlən ṣèda.ˈ dúnye hóla rèya.ˈ ṣèlyeleˈ ʾína Mắmo-w Zìneˈ hóla nšáqa ġðàðe.ˈ ʾəθyeleˈ ʾo-xuláma xázyəlla mèreˈ mir-è-mən,ˈ márpo m-ġðàðe!ˈ Mir-Zándin hóle θèle.ˈ ʾáwwa tíwele hàtxaˈ rəš-qằnăpa.ˈ (47) ʾé-ga kúlla ʾaġằwáθa šexìyeˈ kúlla b-ʾabbèye-wawa.ˈ dáryəlle ʾabbáya b-rešèyˈ ʾay-mṭúšyəlla bàre,ˈ Zìne.ˈ ʾáθyele wìra,ˈ šlàma ʾəlléxu,ˈ b-šéna b-ṭawàθa.ˈ qəm-qabálle šláme tíwa l-ʾằra.ˈ (48) ʾámər lat-nxàpa!?ˈ xá ʾaxwáθi mìraˈ dráya šlámi ʾəlluxˈ ʾu-ʾáti tíwa l-ṭìzux!ˈ lámu la-qìmlux?ˈ ʾámər mír-e-mən ʾèbeleˈ gu-díwən ṭ-ámreti ṭìza.ˈ lá-mεθət ṭíza gu-dìwən.ˈ (49) Qára Téždin qímele rəš-gáne dìyeˈ máre mbàqərˈ bálki ṭ-íle kasè-mraʾa-lle,ˈ bálki ṭ-íle rešè-mraʾa-lleˈ bálki ṭ-íle xa-dukθà-mraʾa-lle.ˈ ṭla-har-hàtxa?ˈ tìwele.ˈ ʾé-ga qìmεleˈ Qára Téždin ʾímət píšle ʿằṣằbi,ˈ qəryeleˈ Mắmo bíye dìyeˈ mèreˈ Qára Tèždin,ˈ ʾána-w ʾàtiˈ xonằwàθεwəx,ˈ bráye bár axrằte,ˈ ʾax-ṭ-amrìla.ˈ hàyyoˈ hálla ʾíðux gu-ʾìði.ˈ ʾu-ṭ-amrə́nnux xà məndí.ˈ (50) mára Qára Téždin zìlele,ˈ yíwəlla ʾíðe gu-ʾíðət Mằmo.ˈ Mắmo qəm-šaqə́lla ṣoṣiyáθət Zìneˈ mattúla gu-ʾíðət Qára Tèždin.ˈ Qára Téždin ðíle ʾal-ʾasắs hóla Zíne báre dìye.ˈ ʾabbàyele dárya b-réša.ˈ qìmεleˈ ĉira-wˈ zìla.ˈ (51) máre ṭla-báxte dìye,ˈ Sətt̀yeˈ máre Sətt̀yeˈ hắl ʾu-qə́ṣṣət hàtxεla.ˈ Mắmo-w Zíne hóla npíle gu-ʾoqàna.ˈ dεrə́xle núra b-bèθa.ˈ maqðə́xle béθənˈ ta-t-bárya hàwərˈ ʾu-náše kúlla ṭ-àθiˈ maḉmóye bèθa.ˈ Mắmo-w Zìneˈ ṭ-àrqi m-gu-bèθa.ˈ (52) mára ʾən-ila-hàtxaˈ ʾáp yala-zóra ḳáwe gu-dudíya ʾu-qùrʾən-žìgənˈ ʾu-màqədla kúlla.ˈ ʾámər là,ˈ lá-mur hàtxa.ˈ yála mpàləṭleˈ ʾu-qùrʾən-uˈ maṭpə̀xle béθa.ˈ bεθət Qára Téždin šawwà ṭabắqe-wewa,ˈ šawwà ʾotáxe.ˈ mára dáryəlle núra b-bèθa.ˈ dáryəlle núra b-bèθa,ˈ šúryele qàðaˈ ʾu-bréla hòsaˈ ʾu-hàwər-ila.ˈ

(53) Mir-Zándin máre ṭla-Bakùrko,ˈ xa-huðàya-wewaˈ dagàla.ˈ ʾáwwa qìmεleˈ plìṭεleˈ máre,ˈ Mir-Zándin máre ʾólle dìyeˈ xzígən ʾáwwa mut-qàlele?ˈ qímele plìṭaˈ xázya ʾína béθət Qára Téždin qàða.ˈ ʾàmərˈ mír-e-mən čú-məndi lèla.ˈ šárrət kàlwelaˈ ʾu-yále hóla mparóje bìyaˈ ʾu-ṣráxa xòθa.ˈ

(46) When it started raining, Mir-Zandin sent a servant. He said 'Go down and tell Zine to prepare the living room. We have returned, we could not go out hunting, it is raining'. He came down and (found) Mămo and Zine kissing each other. He came (into the house) and said 'My lord, let each other go! Mir-Zandin has come back'. He sat like this on the sofa. (47) At that time all aghas and elders wore the abbaya gown. He put the abbaya over them. He hid her, Zine, behind him. He (Mir-Zandin) entered (and said) 'Greetings'. 'Greetings to you too'. He (Mămo) accepted his greetings while sitting on the floor. (48) He (Mir-Zandin) said 'Are you not ashamed!? A prince like me greets you and you are sitting on your bum! Why have you not got up?' He said 'My lord, it shameful for you to say "bum" in the reception room. Don't say "bum" in the reception room. (49) Qara Teždin stood up and said 'Ask, perhaps he has a stomachache, perhaps he has a headache, perhaps he has a pain somewhere. Why (treat him) in this way?' He sat down. When Qara Teždin got angry, Mămo shouted at him 'Qara Teždin, you and I are brothers, half-brothers,[12] as they say. Come put your hand in my hand. Let me tell you something. (50) Now, Qara Teždin went and put his hand in the hand of Mămo. Mămo took the locks of Zine and put them in the hand of Qara Teždin. Qara Teždin knew that Zine was behind him. He had put his abbaya over her. He got up, annoyed, and went off. (51) He said to his wife, Səttiye, he said 'Səttiye, the situation is like this. Mămo and Zine are in a predicament. Let's set fire to the house. Let's burn our house so that there will be a cry for help and everybody will come to put out the (burning) house. Mămo and Zine will escape from the house'. (52) She said 'If it is like that, let even the baby remain in the cradle and also the Qur'an, but burn everything'. He said 'No, don't say that. Bring the baby and the Qur'an out and we'll set fire to the house'. The house of Qara Teždin consisted of seven storeys, seven rooms. Now, he set fire to the house. He set fire to the house, it began to burn and there was a commotion and call for help.

(53) Mir-Zandin said to Bakurko, who was a lying Jew, he went out and said, Mir-Zandin said to him, look, what noise is that? He went out and saw that the house of Qara Teždin was burning. He (the Jew) said 'My lord, it is nothing. It is a dog fight and children are watching it and shouting below'.

[12] Kurd. birayê ber axretê 'brothers before/for the hereafter', i.e. half brothers, whose parents are married.

(54) bέθət Qára Téždin qàða,ˈ ʾáw mdugəlleˈ máre čù məndí.ˈ bréla hàwərila,ˈ hàwərila,ˈ qàlɛle.ˈ máre ṭla-xuláme dìyeˈ ʾo-t-wéwa ʾəθya mən-ṣèdaˈ máre ʾəlle dìyeˈ qu-plúṭ ʾàtiˈ xzi-mòdila qəṣṣət.ˈ ʾáw dax-pálət gu-tə̆raˈ xáze ʾína bέθət Qára Téždin qàða.ˈ (55) ʾámər mìr-e-mənˈ là-xa gáya,ˈ b-šàwwa gáyeˈ b-rèšuxˈ bέθət Qára Téždin qìdle.ˈ Qára Téždin ʾíle xətne díye.ˈ yáʿni xáθət Mir-Zàndin-ile šqíla Qára Tèždin.ˈ xa-bènaˈ ʾàwwaˈ krìbɛle Mir-Zándinˈ maxéla ʾáqle dìyeˈ l-gótət Bakùrko,ˈ ṣawə́lte díye náplа tàma.ˈ ʾu-ʾázi hàwərilaˈ ta-t-ʾàzi.ˈ (56) zílela xa-fátra m-áxxa l-tămàha.ˈ ʾàmərˈ yálla huðàyaˈ kálba xăràmaˈ šəxtànaˈ hal-ʾìmən ṯ-áwət hátxa mdagóle?ˈ bέθət Qára Téždin qáða ʾu-hot-màraˈ šárrə kàlwela.ˈ suq-méθila ṣawèlti.ˈ (57) ʾáwwa síqɛle mɛθóye ṣawèlteˈ ʾína xazèlaˈ Zíne-w Mə̆̀moˈ hóla mə-ġðaðe mṣawóθe.ˈ ʾámər hálli xá-məndi ṯ-àxlənˈ t-lá-pɛšən kátwa qam-ʾàqlux.ˈ ʾámər ga-k̠òraˈ ʾána mò yánnux?ˈ ʾən-hawátwa gu-ʾáθṛa dìyi,ˈ kú-məndi bə̆yátwa t-yànwalux.ˈ ʾína ʾána hon-ʾáθya gu-ʾaθṛèxu.ˈ lázəm ʾàxtu mhə̆yərítuli.ˈ (58) ʾámər lə̆ʿət,ˈ pέšən kátwa qam-ʾàqlux.ˈ ʾámər de-sí čù-məndi ʾəllúx la-tàrəṣ,ˈ huðáya spìsa.ˈ qəm-ṭarádle zìlle.ˈ zìlle,ˈ ʾánna náše šurèlaˈ maçmòyeˈ bέθət Qára Tèždin.ˈ (59) šurèlaˈ xáθe díye Sətt̀ye,ˈ Zíne mšadóre ṭla-Sətt́ye xáθa dìyaˈ hădàyaˈ hadìyaˈ ṯ-íle qíða bɛθè̀y,ˈ məndi hàle,ˈ čú məndí lítla pyàša.ˈ mšadóre ʾálla dìya.ˈ ʾu-náše θèlaˈ qəm-banέle bέθe dìye,ˈ gu-ʾášta šáwwa yomàne,ˈ ʾašírət ràbθa-wawa Jazíre Bóta.ˈ qəm-banέle bέθe dìye,ˈ xa-tré ʾotàxe,ˈ tíwle gáwa dìya.ˈ (60) b-dártə xa-yòmaˈ Bakúrko qlíble máre ṭla-Mir-Zàndin,ˈ míre ṯ-amrə́nnux xà məndí.ˈ ʾína dȕs-ila,ˈ hammènət-ʾəlli.ˈ máre mòdila?ˈ Bakúrko duglána mùr.ˈ mèreˈ Mə̆̀moˈ bə̆yéla Zìne.ˈ (61) ʾáyya Zíne ʾíθən trè̀e.ˈ ða-xàθelaˈ ʾu-ða-bàxtela.ˈ ʾáwwa xšìwɛleˈ Mir-Zándin bahs-báxte dìyele.ˈ léwa xšìwaˈ xàθe.ˈ lá-mare bə̆́ye xàθux.ˈ máre bə̆́ye Zìne.ˈ ga-ʾéni Zìneˈ ʾáxni lèðəx.ˈ (62) ʾáwwa mèreˈ yàʿniˈ bàxtaˈ šarìfɛla.ˈ ʾu-lítla hátxa šuláne ʾu-mèndiˈ ʾu-ʾána yə̆́ðən ʾáxxa l-tàmma.ˈ Bakúrko mèreˈ ʾən-léla hàtxaˈ—tìwɛˈ mṭáli b-šətrənjàneˈ ʾo-xàʾaˈ gàleˈ ʾasrār d-o-xèna.ˈ ʾən-léla hàdəx,ˈ réši prùmleˈ ʾu-ʾap-mə́́l méndi díyi k̠áwe qàlux.ˈ

(54) The house of Qara Teždin was burning, but he lied and said 'It is nothing'. There were shouts for help and a cry. He said to his servant, who had come from the hunt, he said to him 'Go out and see what is happening. When he went out into the doorway, he saw that the house of Qara Teždin was burning. (55) He said 'My lord (I swear) by your head, not once, but seven times, that the house of Qara Teždin has burnt down. Qara Teždin is his brother-in-law, that is Qara Teždin had married the sister of Mir-Zandin.[13] Then Mir Zandin was angry and kicked the side of Bakurko and his shoe fell off. They went for help. (56) A while passed with this and that (happening). He said 'Well, Jew, dirty, cursed dog, for how long will you lie? The house of Qara Teždin is burning and you say that it is a dog fight. Go and get my shoe!' (57) He went to bring his shoe and saw Zine and Mămo talking together. He said 'Give me something to eat so that I am not a thorn in your foot'.[14] He said 'Now, blind man, what can I give you? If you were in my country, I would give you whatever you wanted. But, I have come to your country. You must help me.' (58) He said 'Curses, I'll be a thorn in your foot'. He said 'Go! Nothing can be done with you, you dirty Jew'. He drove him out and he went away. He went off, and the people began to extinguish the house of Qara Teždin. (59) His sister Sətiye, Zine sent gifts to Sətiye her sister, now that their house was burnt down, and other things, since she no longer had anything. She sent them to her and people came and rebuilt his house, in six or seven days, since Jazire Bota was a large community. They rebuilt his house, one or two rooms, and he dwelt in them. (60) The next day Bakurko went back and said to Mir-Zandin, he said 'I'd like to tell you something. It is indeed true, believe me'. He said 'What is it? You liar Bakurko, tell me'. He said 'Mămo loves Zine'. (61) There are two of such (women called) Zine. One is his sister and one is his wife. Mir-Zandin thought (he was talking) about his wife. He did not think (he was talking about) his sister. He did not say 'He loves your sister'. He said 'He loves Zine'. Now, we do not know (by this statement) which Zine (was meant). (62) He said 'The wife is honourable, she does not have such affairs, I know this'—and so forth. Bakurko said 'If it is not so—they are sitting playing chess, revealing secrets to one another, if it is not so cut off my head and also let my property be yours'.

[13] I.e. Sətiye.
[14] I.e. so that I do not divulge your secret.

(63) ʾáwwa Bakùrko| ʾíθwale mándi ràba.| xa-huðàya-wewa.| ʾíθwale ṭlà-bnaθa.| mára qìmɛle| qəryɛle qa-Mə̀mo,| ʾəθyɛle tíwa b-dìwən| ʾu-náše kúlla tìwela| gu-dìwən.| šúryela mṭawóle b-štrənjàne.| ṭlá-gaye mṭuwə̀lla,| ríqle Mir-Zə̀ndin.| lá-mṣele b-Mə̆mo.| (64) mára ʾána mò ʾóðən b-áwwa náša,| Bakùrko?| qímɛle ríqa síqɛle mára ṭla-Zîne,| t-bə̆yéla Mə̀mo,| síqɛle màre| Zîne| mùt wáða láxxa?| qu-mpárəj panjàra.| xzégən xònəx| ʾu-Mə̆́mo ṯ-íla tíwe mṭawóle b-štrənjàne| ʾaw-ʾálma ṯ-íle jmíya tàma| ʾáxxa l-tàmma.| (65) qímtɛla ʾáp-ʾay gašóqa hàtxa| b-panjàra| ʾína xzìθəlle| xáṣət Mə̀mo| ʾálla dìya,| xáṣe díye ʾəlla.| ʾáwwa ṣòlyɛle| máre ṭla-Mə̆́mo ʾu-Mir-Zə̀ndin,| màre| mìr-e-mən| zə̀wdɛla mánni,| ʾána ṯ-amrənnèxu| mšáxəlpu dukàne.| mšáxəlpu dukàne.| (66) ʾímət mšuxlə̀pla dukáne,| Mə̆́mo ʾéne npílla l-panjàra| ʾu-Zîne| ʾày| tíwta gu-panjàra.| šuréle là-draya bála l-štrənjàne.| šuréle gašòqe| b-Zîne.| muxsə̀rre Mə̆́mo.| ṭlà-ʾiθaθa muxsárre Mə̆́mo.| máre ʾálle dìye| máre ʾàna| dárdi léla d-àyya.| dárdi ʾíla t-ʾá-t gu-panjărìye.| ʾày| qəm-qaṭláli ʾu-marəqàli.| (67) Bakúrko màre| mir-è-mən,| náθux lè-y-yatla| l-hàtxa náše mṣáwθi.| màre| hóla dmìxta| gu-šwíθa ʾəlḷèθa,| ʾu-gu-párrət nàme.| ʾày-ila ṭlíbti.| Qára Tèždin| qímɛle qa-gáne dìye.| ʾánna bə̆́yi qaṭlìle Mə̆́mo.| Mir-Zándin qìmɛle| bə̆́ye qaṭə̀lle.| (68) qímɛle Qára Tèždin| gáne dìye| màre| ʾána Qára Tèždin ʾíwən| ʾu-ʾítli ṭlà xonăwáθa| bráye bar-axrə̀te-wəx.| ʾo-mənnéxu t-dàqər| b-Mə̀mo,| m-áxxa hál qaṣrət-mìra| ṯ-oðáxle dəmma.| (69) ʾu-qímɛle xóne dìye| c̈əkko| báθre máre ʾána c̈əkko šeðànən.| ʾáwwa sépi šqílənne b-əmmà-dawe.| ʾo-mənnéxu t-ḥárrək máxe l-Mə̀mo| réše díye mqadəqdənne| ʾáqle w-iθáθe ʾu-réše pɛrmənna.| (70) qímɛle ʾo-xóne díye Sáppo ʾo-t-ṭlàθa.| ʾaw-bìš šeðána.| ʾáp-xa mánna lá-ṣbirre rhíwle gu-dìwən.| Mir-Zándin c̈îrre.| síqle l-bèθa.| (71) máre ṭla-yámme dìye,| máre yàmmi| ʾədyo| ṭlàθna| xonăwáθət Qára Tèždin| mopíšəlle ləbbèy.| mára ṭla-mòdi bábi.| máre hāl ʾu-qáṣṣət hàtxɛla.| mára bròni.| léle ʾəθya báθər bàxtux.| ʾəθyɛle bə̆́ye xàθux.| xáθux bə̆yàle.|

(63) This Bakurko had a lot of property. He was a Jew. He had three daughters. Now, he called for Mămo and he came and sat in the reception room, and everybody else sat down in the reception room. They began playing chess. They played three times and Mir-Zandin lost[15] and was unable to beat Mămo. (64) He said 'What should I do with this man, Bakurko?' He (Bakurko) ran up and said to Zine, whom Mămo loved, he went up and said 'Zine, what are you doing here? Go and look out of the window. See your brother and Mămo who are sitting playing chess, the crowd that is gathered there, and so forth'. (65) She got up, looked through the window and saw the back of Mămo (turned) towards her, his back was (turned) towards her. He went down and said to Mămo and Mir-Zandin, he said 'My lord, may I humbly suggest you change places.[16] Change places'. (66) When they changed places, Mămo's eyes fell on the window and (saw that) Zine was sitting in the window. He began not to pay attention to the chess. He began to look at Zine. Mămo lost. Mămo lost three rounds. He said to him, he said 'My suffering is not from this (game), my suffering is from that one at the window. She has killed me and made me lose'. (67) Bakurko said 'My lord, don't give your ear to such people speaking'. He said 'She is asleep in the bed upstairs, in ostrich feathers. She is my betrothed'. Qara Teždin stood up. They wanted to kill Mămo. Mir-Zandin got up and wanted to kill him. (68) Qara Teždin himself said 'I am Qara Teždin. I have three brothers. We are half brothers. Whoever of you touches Mămo, we shall scatter his blood[17] from here until the palace of the prince'. (69) His brother čəkko stood up after him and said 'I am mad Čəkko. I have bought this sword of mine for a hundred gold coins. Whoever of you moves and strikes Mămo, I'll chop up his head and cut off his legs, hands and head'. (70) His third brother Səppo stood up. He was more mad (than the others). Nobody dared speak to him in the reception room. Mir-Zandin was annoyed. He went up home. (71) He said to his mother, he said 'Mother, today the three brothers of Qara Teždin became angry'. She said 'Why, my dear'. He said 'The situation is like this'. She said, my son, he has not come after your wife. He has come (since) he loves your sister. Your sister loves him.

[15] Literally: ran away.
[16] Literally: It is too much for me, let me say to you, change places.
[17] Literally: we shall make him blood.

(72) ʾáti qam-ʾénə d-ánna botanàye| mšádərra ṯ-ázi méθi xàrje.| ʾu-ʾàti| xəlāl-xà-šeta| ʾáti dúqle gu-sə̀jən.| qam-ṯ-àθi| mpáləṭle mən-hàbsa.| mbárəxla xáθux ʾəlle.| w-ap-ʾàw| xa-brónət màlkɛle,| xa-gòṛɛle| ʾu-šapìrɛle.| qá-mo le-y-yátla xáθux ʾəlle?| (73) ʾàwwa| qáryɛle máre Qára Téždin ʾu-čákko ʾu-Sə̀ppo,| máre hàyyo| məra há mò bă̄yət?| máre sógən méθo xárj-u bárjət botanàye| ʾu-ʾána xáθi t-yánna ṭla-Mằmo.| məra ʾən-ʾáxni ṯ-àzəx,| là mtalpátle,| là-daqrət bíye.| máre là'a.|

(74) ʾánna zìlela| xà-šeta.| ʾánna dax-ṯ-ìla zíle,| Mắmo dáryəlle gu-zəndàna.| zəndána ʾíle hàbsa,| sə̀jən.| dáryəlle tàma.| ʾu-yóma ṭla-yòma-w| hal-mátya šêta.| xa-bèna| ʾəθyela.| Qára Téždin ʾu-čákko-w Sáppo ʾəθyela ṭlàθna| l-tắrət Qára Tèždin.| Sətti̇ye| síqtɛla l-gàre.| hóla qəm-xazyàla| θéla ṭlà swaríye| l-ṭắrət bèθa.| (75) har-m-rəš-gàre,| màra| Qára Tèždin,| m-yómə ṯ-ítu zìle| mɛθóye xàrje,| mɛθóye zúze ṭla-Mir-Zàndin,| m-ó-yoma dwíqəlle Mắmo gu-hàbsa,| ʾu-hàl-ʾədyo.| ʾánna zìlela| ṭlàθna,| léla muníxe zìlela| l-béθət Mir-Zàndin.| (76) məra hadìya qaṭláxlux.| lítlux pyáša pàrṣət,| dìya qaṭláxlux.| yába qa-mò?| màra| ʾàxni| márəx ʾáti là-daqrət b-Mắmo.| hót m-ó-yomə ṯ-íx ʾaxni-zíle ʾáti dáryəlle gu-zəndàna,| gu-hàbsa.| (77) məra hadíya bă̄ye mpalṭə̀tle| ʾu-xáθux mbarxátla ʾəlle,| dìya qaṭláxlux.| Bakùrko| ʾámər ʾáxni ṭla-mò ṣálax ʾáxni mpalṭə̀xle?| xoš-Zìne| mṣaqlàla gána,| dárya dáwa b-gàna,| mxamlàla gána,| ʾu-šáqla ʾárbi barbiyáθa mànna,| ʾárbi bnàθa,| ʾu-ṣálya mpalṭàla| w-áxni ʾàxxa ṯ-óðəx xlúla.| (78) máre dûs-ila Bakúrko.| qìmtɛla| ʾáy blìgtɛla-w| məra ṭla-d-án xaddamyáθa díya ʾárbi bnàθa| mtagbóre gàna.| ʾàw| šaqálla gána Bakúrko ràqa,| ṣàle| kəs-Mằmo.| ʾàmər| Mằmo,| Mằmo,| mə̀ri-llux| hálli xá-məndi ṯ-àxlena| là-yiwlux ʾálli.| hadíya xonă̄wàθux,| márətwa xonă̄wàθi,| ʾáyya xá-šeta hóla támma láxxa léla mbaqorə̀llux.| hadíya ṯ-àθya Zíne,| ʾarbí barbiyáθa mànna.| ʾu-ṭálba xáṭər mə̀nnux| ʾu-ṯ-áθe gáwra l-xa-xèna.| (79) ʾáwwa là hummánne qamáye.| máre də-xoš-gàwra| xo-lán har-ʾána gàwṛa| ʾíθən biš-gùṛe mánni| biš-šapìre mánni-w| biš-xoš-gùṛe.| là hummánne.| ha-t-xazèla| bráta θàya.|

(72) Before the eyes of these people of Botan, send them (his relatives) off to collect taxes and keep him for a year in prison. Before they return, release him from prison. Marry your sister to him. He is, moreover, the son of a king, he is a great man and a handsome man. Why won't you give your sister to him?' (73) He called and said 'Qara Teždin, Čəppo and Səppo', he said 'Come'. He said 'Go and collect the taxes of the people of Botan and I shall give my sister to Mămo'. They said 'If we go, don't harm him, don't touch him'. He said 'No'.

(74) They went away for a year. When they had gone, he put Mămo into a cell. A cell is a prison, a jail. He put him there, from day to day until a year had passed.[18] Then they came back. Qara Teždin, Čəkko and Səppo, the three of them came back to the door of Qara Teždin. Səttiye went up onto the roof. She saw that three horsemen had come to the door of the house. (75) While still on the roof she said 'Qara Teždin from the day that you went away to collect taxes, to collect money for Mir-Zandin, from that day he has held Mămo in prison, until today'. The three of them went, they did not rest but went to the house of Mir-Zandin. (76) They said 'We shall kill you right now. You have no chance. We shall kill you now'. 'But why?' They said 'We said that you should not touch Mămo. From the day that we went away you have held him in a cell, in prison'. (77) They said 'You must release him now and marry your sister to him, otherwise we shall kill you right now'. Bakurko said 'Why should we go down and release him? Let Zine make herself elegant, put gold on her, put on festive clothes and take forty bridesmaids with her. Let her come down and bring them out (with her) and we shall hold the wedding here'. (78) He said 'That's true, Bakurko'. She got up. She busied herself, speaking to her forty maid-servants, preparing herself. He, Bakurko, took himself off and ran down to Mămo. He said 'Mămo, Mămo, I said to you give me something to eat, but you did not give it to me. Now your brothers—you used to say "my brothers"—it has been a year that they have been here but have not asked for you. Now Zine is going to come with forty bridesmaids. She is going to say goodbye to you and marry somebody else'. (79) He did not believe at first. He said 'Let her marry, I am not the only man. There are those who are better men than me, more handsome, better men'. He did not believe it, until he saw the girl coming.

[18] Literally: a year arrived.

(80) ʾè-bena| ʾàxxa| Ẓíne hóla ṭlába mən-ʾalàha,| hóla màra| ya-ʾàlaha,| háwe ṣáxi hál-ʾɛ-gət ʾána mátyən ʾálle dìye.| ṣlàyɛla Ẓíne| m-qúrbət hàbsa| ʾu-áw xzàyəlla| ʾárbi bnáθa mánna dìya,| ʾu-θáya kásle dìye,| hummànne l-Bakúrko.| (81) máre díya ṭ-áθya ṭálba xàṭər mánni.| ʾàw| dáryɛle xèla,| síṛɛwa zənjíre b-rušàne.| dáryɛle xèla| ta-t-šarətla gáne.| ʾu-ʾáyya zánjir ʾáwra ʾánna waríðət qðàle,| kasxàla| ʾu-nàpəl.| šuréle dəmma| ṣláya m-naxìre díye.| (82) ʾáy jal-jálde wírra ʾálle dìye| móra lá-dri xélət gànux.| ʾána θíθən mpalṭánnux m-gu-sə̀jən.| móre lát-θiθa ʾána mpalóṭəlli m-gu-sə̀jən.| θíθət šqála ʾáyya róxi mən-gu-gàni.| móra là'a!|| ʾána θíθən mpalṭànnux| ʾáxxa l-tàmma,| lá-dri xèla!|| (83) ʾáwwa hàdəx| mṣawòθe| ʾu-màyəθ.| ʾímət mìtle| šurèla| jnàna| ʾu-bxàya| ʾu-mṣawóre ṭla-xóna-w Bakùrko.| qímela ʾəθye.| ʾé-bena ʾáxxa kúlla jnanyàθɛla.| ʾé-ga zmárɛla b-tábut dìye.| márɛla tábut díye hóya smóqta-w xwàrta-w| ʾu-Mắmo mítle qèdamta-w| ʾána méθən ʾaṣàrta.| (84) ʾu-šuréla hátxa jnána bíye dìye.| móra Bakúrko ʾàw-ile| sắbab wíya.| móra mɛθítule kàsli!|| múθye Bakúrko kásla dìya.| (85) ʾàw| qam-ṭ-asə́qwa móre ṭla-bnàθe.| mòre| màṣiθu.| hadíya ʾána ṭ-àsqən,| Ẓìne| maštáli sàmma| ʾu-maqðàli.| ʾína m-báθər maqðàli| ʾaw-qə̀ṭma| šaqlìtule| mxamìtule.| ʾap-Ẓíne mèθa,| mattíla kəs-Mắmo,| tráθney hàtxa,| ʾo-qáṭma dɛrítule b-rèša-w| lítlɛxu šùla.| (86) qímɛle síqɛle Bakùrko,| síqa kəs-Ẓìne.| Ẓíne mòra| qà-mo wídlux hátxa?|| ʾámər ʾána čú-məndi lan-wìða.| ʾámər bas-ṣàwθa ʾána mṣáwθən,| čú-məndi lan-wìða.| lán-ʾana qṭìləlle.| móra hàllule| ṭàsa,| ṭásət mìya.| mḷóla sámma-w hallùle-lle.| (87) yíwəlle sámma báθər ġðàðe| há-ṭ-ile npìla.| dáryəlla núṭa b-réše díye ʾu-muqðə̀lle.| ʾəθyela bnáθe dìye,| šqíle ʾo-qə̀ṭma,| kúlla dáryəlle gu-xa-jùlla| ʾu-múttəlle tămàha.| w-áyya šurèla| ṭlába mən-ʾálaha ta-t-méθa ʾup-àɣ.| mrìla.| ʾixála là xílla.| šuréla bxàya.| (88) θéle xóna díya Mir-Ẓàndin| móre xàθi| bássa bxègən| bássa wuð-tàzi.| kut-bắyət| t-yánnəx ʾálle dìye.| mùr,| ʾána t-yánnəx ʾálle dìye.| (89) móra m-báθər Mắmo,| là-bắyən| là náša| ʾu-là ʾáti mṣáwθət.| là-mṣawθət!|| ʾúp-xa la-bắyən,| ʾàna| méθən báθər Mắmo.| šuréla jnàna-w| šuréla mxáya b-gàna-w| šuréla la-xàla| há-t-ʾup-ʾáyya mìtla.| ʾáθela myáθa ʾup-ʾàɣ.|

(80) Then, over here,[19] Zine pleaded to God and said 'Oh God, let him be well until I reach him'. Zine came down near to the prison and he saw her and forty girls with her. She was coming towards him, and he then believed Bakurko. (81) He said 'She is coming now to say goodbye to me'. He struggled (to move). He had been tethered with chains on his shoulders. He struggled to release himself. The chain went into the veins of his neck and cut them. He fell down. Blood started flowing from his neck. (82) She quickly entered (and found) him. She said 'Do not struggle. I have come to bring you out of the prison'. He said 'You have not come to bring me out of the prison. You have come to take my spirit from me'. She said 'No! I have come to bring you out'—and so forth—'Don't struggle!' (83) He spoke thus and died. When he died, she began to cry in lament and weep, cursing her brother and Bakurko. They came and there they all lamented and sang (dirges) over his coffin. She said 'Let his coffin be red and white. Mămo died in the morning and I shall die in the evening'. (84) She began to lament over him like that. She said 'It was Bakurko who was the cause'. She said 'Bring him to me'. They brought Bakurko to her. (85) Before he went up he said to his daughters, he said 'Listen. Now I shall go up and Zine will give me poison to drink and burn me. After she burns me, take the ashes and keep them. (When) Zine dies and they put her with Mămo, both together, put this ash on them and then leave it alone'. (86) Bakurko went up, he went up to Zine. Zine said 'Why did you do this?' He said 'I did not do anything'. He said 'I just talked, I did not do anything. I did not kill him'. She said 'Give him a bowl, a bowl of water. Fill it with poison and give it to him'. (87) They gave him poison (one bowl) after another, until he fell. They put petrol on him and burnt him. His daughters came, took the ashes, put them all in a cloth and put them aside. She began to ask God to let her also die. She became ill. She did not eat. They began to weep. (88) Her brother Mir-Zandin came and said 'My sister, do not weep any more. Do not mourn any more. Whoever you love, I'll give you to him. Say, I'll give you to him'. (89) She said 'After Mămo I don't love anybody and don't you speak to me. Do not speak! I don't love anybody. I shall die after (the death of) Mămo'. She began to lament and strike herself. She began not to eat, until she also died. Death befell her also.

[19] I.e. in a different place.

(90) mattóyəlla gu-qáwra tráθna mə-ǧðàðe.ˡ sáqela bnáθə Bakùrko.ˡ ʾáw-qəṭma dráyəlle b-rəš-qáwra diyèy.ˡ qyàmelaˡ xá-zawgət xoriyàθa.ˡ xá-zawga bráyɛle b-rešèy.ˡ (91) qàwraˡ ʾíθən xa-káwe gàwaˡ ʾu-hóle ʾíθən jawə̀tta,ˡ jawə́ttət práma qèse.ˡ ʾi-qémа xa-dalíθət xùwweˡ ʾi-xa̋ða l-án tre-xoriyàθa.ˡ kút ʾásəq qamáya xazéla ʾɛ-dalíθa brìθəll-aniˡ parə̀mla.ˡ ʾu-hal-hadíya pyášɛla ʾɛ-dùkθa.ˡ šwiqáli táma-w θéli làxxa.ˡ

(90) They put them in the grave both together. The daughters of Bakurko went up and spread the ashes over their grave. A pair of poplar trees sprang up. A pair (of trees) grew over them. (91) There is a hole in the grave. There is a chopper, a chopper to cut wood. A wild vine grows up and winds around those two poplar trees. The first to see the vine growing on those (trees) cuts it down. That place remains to this day. I have left it there and have come here.

A27 The Tale of Mərza Pămət

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) ʾáwwa Mə́rza Pə̀mət| plíša-wewa mən-mðíte dìye.| xá gáwṛa xɛlána-w zàxma wéwa.| lá qəm-mattúla qam-màlka.| plíṭle l-ṭùra.| plíṭle mxéle l-ṭùra,| ʾu-y-áwəðwa genawùθa| ʾu-qačaxùθa| ʾu-qaṭə́lwa nàše,| rába ẓalə̀mwa.| (2) píšle har-gu-ṭùra,| xméle gu-ṭùra.| ʾu-y-asə́qwa l-ṣèda,| mɛθéwa ṭére ʾu-heywàne,| mɛθéwa məndiyàne,| mɛθéwa gu-bèθa.|

(3) xà-yoma| sìqle| l-ṣèda,| tfíqle| xa-ʾàrya bíye díye.| tfíqle xa-ʾàrya bíye díye,| zílle ṭáləb ʾàrya.| ʾíθwale ʾàsbab| tópe xɛlànta ʾíθwale.| dwíqɛle ʾólle dìye.| ʾu-mùθyəlle.| dwíqɛle qa-ʾàrya| ʾu-mùθyəlle.| dáryəlle gu-bèθa.| ʾítle qàṣra.| hóle mubányəlle qáṣra góṛa trè ṭabáqe.| (4) xa-béna hádəx ʾu-zìlla dána| ʾu-θèla.| síqle dwíqle dəbba.| dwìqle,| kùl-tăhər heywáne dwíqle.| muθéle kúlla gu-bèθa.| tíwle l-xóðe díye tămàha.| ʾan-heywáne hóla tămàha.| (5) ʾu-tèla| qìmle| mə́re ṯ-amrə́nnɛxu gàllək náše,| gàllək heywáne.| mə́re ʾáxni heywànewəx| ʾăwáha bəṛ-nàšɛle.| ʾáxni hox-xmála b-ġðàðe,| ʾáw xa-l-xóðe díye tămàha.| lèle xmála.| xá-mənnən lázəm páyəš gòṛa| ta-t-mtagə́brəxle ʾo-nàša.| (6) mə́re har-ʾàti.| xákma mə́re ʾàrya,| xákma mə́re dəbba,| xákma mə́re nəmra,| xákma mə́re har-ʾàti.| mə́re ʾàna?| mə́ra hè.| mə́ra šə́mmux ʾíle Ḥasan-Àġa.| Ḥasan-Àġa?| mə́ra hè,| Ḥasan-Àġa.|

(7) ya-Ḥasan-Àġa,| ráyux mòdila?| mə́re xzo-ṯ-amrənnèxu.| ʾăwáha ṯ-ile xóðe díye băyéle bàxta.| lázəm ʾázəx méθəxle bàxta.| ʾína ʾáxxa ʾíθən šurǔṭ.| šárṭux mòdila?| mə́re ṭla-dəbba.| dəbba,| băyə́nnəx xələ̀l| xà-šabθa| ʾàzət| dáwqət xa-ʾərba.| ʾu-mpalṭátle bàsra.| maθyátle bə́sra làxxa,| ṯ-axlə̀xle.| ʾu-ʾáwwa gə́lda díye nablàtle| kəs-zarìngər.| (8) mə́re kut-màsta| xa-zága dáryət bìya.| yátla qa-d-àni| ʾína gə̀ldəx šalxə́nne.| xələ́l tmanyà yománe| lázəm maθyàtli| gə́lda hàdəx.| dáx lítlux xàṭər,| Ḥásan ʾÀġa.| (9) dábba zìltɛla.| dábba zìltɛla,| zílta zìlta,| xzíθɛla xa-ʾərba-w| ʾu-muθèθəllɛla.| ʾu-qìmela.| dábba ʾíla ṭabbàxta,| yáʿni mbašàlta.| ʾu-ʾàrya| xa-gòtɛle| ʾu-nə́mra xa-gòta,| ʾánna ḥurrə̃s-ila.| ʾu-ʾánna xène,| heywáne xène,| ʾáni kùlla| gu-bèθa,| lítla ču-šùla.|

A27 The Tale of Mərza Pămət

Informant: Dawið ’Adam (Dure)

(1) Mərza Pămət had fought against his town. He was a powerful, tough man. He did not yield to the king. He went to the mountains. He went off to the mountains and engaged in robbery and brigandry and murdered people. He was very cruel. (2) He stayed only in the mountains. He lived in the mountains. He used to go out hunting and bring back birds and animals, bring back various things, bring them back home.

(3) One day he went out hunting and a lion met him. A lion met him and he went to attack the lion. He had a weapon. He had a powerful gun. He caught it and brought it back. He caught the lion and brought it back. He put it in the house. He had a villa. He had built a large villa with two storeys. (4) Some time went by. He went up and caught a bear. He caught all kinds of animals. He brought them all back to the house. He lived by himself in one part[1] and the animals in another part. (5) A fox got up and said ‘I say to you everybody, all you animals’ He said ‘We are animals, that one is a human. We are enjoying ourselves here. He is all alone there and is not enjoying himself. One of us should become a leader[2] so that we can look after that person. (6) (Somebody) said ‘You yourself’, some said ‘The lion’, some said ‘The bear’, some said ‘The tiger’, some said ‘You yourself’. He said ‘Me?’ They said ‘Yes’. They said ‘Your name is Ḥasan Aġa’. ‘Ḥasan Aġa?’ They said ‘Yes. Ḥasan Aġa’.

(7) ‘Ḥasan Aġa, what’s your opinion?’ He said ‘Look, I’ll tell you. That man who is alone needs a wife. We must go and bring him a wife. But here there conditions’. ‘What is your condition?’ He said to the bear ‘Bear, I want you within a week to go and catch a sheep and take out the meat. Bring the meat here for us to eat. Take its skin to the goldsmith’. (8) He said ‘Put a bell on every hair. Give it to them, otherwise I’ll flay *your* skin. Within eight days you must bring back the skin like this (with bells)’. ‘By all means, Ḥasan Aġa’. (9) The bear went off. The bear went on her way, saw a sheep and brought it back. They set to work. The bear was a cook, that is (she did) the cooking. The lion on one side and the tiger on the other side were the guards. The others, the other animals, were all in the house, without any job.

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[1] Literally: over there.
[2] Literally: become big.

(10) mára dəbba muθéθəlla ʾay-wàna,ˈ ʾu-xìləlle básra-wˈ qímtɛla šqíltɛla ʾo-gə̀lda-wˈ nobàltəlleˈ kəs-zarìngərˈ zarìngərˈ qímɛle wìðɛleˈ kut-másta zàga dáryəlleˈ ʾu-mùθyəlle.ˈ mùθyəlle,ˈ híwtəllɛla ṭla-tèla.ˈ (11) mére ṭla-dəbba.ˈ xzà!ˈ ʾàtiˈ lawšátle ʾáwwa gə̀ldaˈ l-gànəx.ˈ ʾu-ʾànaˈ marəqðənnəx.ˈ ṯ́-ázəx gu-mðìta.ˈ ʾána marəqðənnəx,ˈ ʾu-ʾáti də-ráqðət šɛšátla gànəx.ˈ brátət màlka,ˈ pálṭa l-gàre.ˈ (12) símarxa ṯ́-áθya šaqlàla.ˈ ʾu-maθyàlaˈ ta-t-maguráxla Márza Pə̀mət.ˈ mára dáx lítlux xàṭər,ˈ Ḥásan ʾÀġa.ˈ xa-bèna,ˈ zìlela.ˈ

(13) simàrxaˈ wíðtɛla gána hàzər.ˈ simárxa yə̆ðət módila?ˈ ṭèrɛlaˈ ʾap-ʾày.ˈ ʾu-xa-bènaˈ simàrxaˈ zíltɛla xðàraˈ rəš-mðìta.ˈ ʾu-dəbbaˈ ʾu-tèlaˈ zálɛla hédi hèdiˈ máši̇la zála dəbba.ˈ zíltɛla qam-tắrət qáṣrət màlka,ˈ ʾu-mṭašóyəlla gána hàtxaˈ tá-t brátət málka ṯ́-ásqa rəš-gàre.ˈ ʾína gu-panjára gášqa xàzyaˈ mòdileˈ módi lèle.ˈ (14) mára téla har-mxàyɛle ʾə́lla díya-wˈ ṣràxɛle.ˈ ʾay-wàðtɛlaˈ nă̈ra-nă̈ra dìyaˈ ʾu-ʾáw zmàrɛle bíya.ˈ (15) xa-bènaˈ brátət màlkaˈ plíṭṭɛla l-gàre.ˈ dax-ṯ́-íla plíṭṭa l-gàre,ˈ ʾo-simárxa mxíθəlla gána ʾə́lla díya ʾu-muθèθəlla-wˈ kəs-Márza Pə̆mət.ˈ xa-bènaˈ bréla hàwərˈ díya ʾáxxa l-tàmmaˈ ʾu-báθər tèla-wˈ báθər dəbba,ˈ ríqla mṭéla l-qàṣra,ˈ qáṣrət Márza Pə̆mət.ˈ

(16) ʾímət mṭéla tàma,ˈ qəm-xazéla-ʾay táma kásle dìyeˈ ʾu-bèla ʾə́lle díye,ˈ ʾu-píšla báxta mánne dìye.ˈ zílla xa-fàtra,ˈ ṭláθa ʾarpà-yarxeˈ mánne dìye.ˈ ʾaw-kút-yom y-asə́qwa l-ṣèda.ˈ mɛθéwa ʾilànaˈ rəš-rušáne dìye.ˈ zàxma-wewa.ˈ (17) ʾu-tắhérət ṭère réša,ˈ qəqwàne-uˈ yàwne-uˈ məndiyáne rábe.ˈ ʾu-mɛθéwala ṭla-d-án heywàneˈ ʾu-ṯ́-axlìwa.ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw y-axə̀lwa.ˈ ʾu-mšuréla ʾáp-ʾay xála mánna dìya.ˈ

(18) pìšlaˈ xá-ʾəšta šáwwa yàrxe,ˈ málka mère,ˈ ʾànaˈ kut-dax-ṯ́-íla bràti,ˈ bắyən ʾèni méθela.ˈ kút mèθelaˈ t-yánne zúze ràba.ˈ màlkɛle dé.ˈ (19) xáʾa ṯ́óṯ́o sèreˈ mára ʾàna maθyánne.ˈ mára ʾána maθyànnaˈ ʾu-xazə̀tla.ˈ ʾína ʾítli ḥaqqùθi.ˈ mére dax-lítləx xàṭər.ˈ (20) mára tíwtɛla gu-lìna.ˈ lìne,ˈ maṭárya masìneˈ y-amrə̀xwala.ˈ yáʿni ʾàyˈ hălikòptər y-áwa,ˈ ṭla-d-áw zàwna.ˈ mára tíwtɛla gáwe dìye,ˈ θíθela qúrbət qáṣrət Márza Pə̆mət.ˈ mṭušéθəlle lína dìyaˈ ʾap-plíṭṭɛla m-gáwe dìye.ˈ

(10) Now, the bear brought that sheep back and they ate the meat. She (the bear) took the skin to the goldsmith. The goldsmith put a bell on every hair and brought it back. He brought it back and she (the bear) gave it to the fox. (11) He said to the bear 'Look! You wear that skin on you and I shall make you dance. We'll go into the town. I'll make you dance. You dance and shake yourself. The daughter of the king will come out onto the roof. (12) The *simarxa* bird will come and take her. It will take her in order for us to marry her to Mərza Pămət'. She said 'By all means, Ḥasan Aġa. Then they went off.

(13) The *simarxa* prepared herself. Do you know what the *simarxa* is? It is a kind of bird.[3] Then the *simarxa* went and circled over the town. The bear and the fox went slowly. The bear was walking. She (the *simarxa*) went in front of the door of the palace of the king and hid herself until the daughter of the king went onto the roof. She could look and see what was happening through the window. (14) Now, the fox was beating her (the bear), crying out. She was giving off her roar and he was singing along with her. Then, the daughter of the king came out onto the roof. (15) As soon as she came out onto the roof, the *simarxa* made towards her and brought her back to Mərza Pămət. Then there was an outcry '(Come) now!' and so forth and (people went) after the fox and after the bear. They ran off and reached the villa, the villa of Mərza Pămət.

(16) When they arrived there, they saw her (the princess) there with him. She fell in love with him and she became his wife. Some time passed, three or four months, (during which she was) with him. Everyday he would go up to hunt. He would bring back a tree on his shoulders. He was huge. (17) There were various kinds of birds on it, quails, doves, and many others. He brought them back for those animals to eat and he also would eat. She (the princess) also began to eat them. (18) After six or seven months the king said 'Whatever has happened to my daughter, I want somebody to bring her back. I'll give a lot of money to the person who brings her back.'. He was a king, you see. (19) An old woman of magic said 'I'll bring her back'. She said 'I'll bring her back and you will see her (again). But I have a fee'. He said 'Of course'. (20) Now, she sat in a pot. She would make pots and jugs, as we call them, move. That is, it was a helicopter of that time. She sat in it and came to the villa of Mərza Pămət. She hid her pot and came out of it.

[3] Literally: It also is a bird.

(21) ʾòy.ˡ ʾòy.ˡ ʾòy.ˡ mà-ləx.ʔˡ mṭíθɛla l-qàṣra.ˡ ʾárya hóle l-xà-gotaˡ ʾu-námra xà-gota.ˡ ṣríxɛle kút-xa ṭla-gàneˡ bə̌́yi ṯ-axlìla.ˡ (22) Ḥásan ʾÁġa rap-ʾíðe l-dăbànje.ˡ ʾámər mà-lɛxu.ʔˡ létu xázye bəṛ-nàša.ʔˡ ma-lèxu.ʔˡ hédi, hédi xázəx mằnilaʾáyya.ˡ qímela mára mbùrxəlla,ˡ mbùqrəlla,ˡ máre ha-xə̀̃r?ˡ mòdila?ˡ (23) mára čù məndí.ˡ ʾána hón naxrèθa láxxa.ˡ lítli náša ʾáxxa-w támma bə̌́yən ṯ-áθyən làxxa,ˡ kəslèxu,ˡ xàmyən.ˡ hay-wùr!ˡ wìrtɛla,ˡ píštɛla xà-yarxa táma.ˡ díya, díya, dìya,ˡ ʾáxxa l-tàmma,ˡ bə̌́ya t-yə̌́ðaˡ dáx mašərṭála ʾayya-bràtaˡ t-màlka,ˡ ta-t-nablàla.ˡ (24) mára ʾéni mənnéxu wə̀̌kilˡ d-áwwa bèθa?ˡ Ḥásan ʾÁġa máre ʾàna.ˡ mòdi bə̌́yət?ˡ de-xúr b-yàha,ˡ dé xzòla.ˡ mítla m-šə̂xta.ˡ ʾánna ʾəštá-yarxe léla xìpta.ˡ də-sógo xa-mənnéxu xayəpla!ˡ (25) máre ʾáxni léle šùlən.ˡ har-sa-xúpla ʾáti b-gànəx!ˡ qìmtɛla,ˡ šqìltəlla,ˡ nubàltəllaˡ hédi, hédi, hédi, ta-t-xɐpàla.ˡ ʾu-dríθəlla gu-d-o-lìna.ˡ ʾu-xa-bènaˡ mupràxtəllaˡ nubáltəlla l-bèθa.ˡ nubáltəlla l-béθət bába dìya.ˡ (26) Ḥásan ʾÁġa spárɛle ta-t-dèṛaˡ ʾu-spárɛle ta-t-dèṛa,ˡ lìθ.ˡ zílla bára dìyaˡ ta-t-xazèla,ˡ ʾína la-har-čù-dúkθa lìθwa.ˡ hóla príxta zìlta.ˡ (27) ʾámər Ḥásan ʾÀġa,ˡ máre qu-mrázəg gánəx dəbba.ˡ mára dàxi ʾayya-béna?ˡ máre ʾána t-làwšə̆nˡ w-áti marqə̀dli,ˡ ta-t-la-ʾámri har-ʾánna qamàyela.ˡ (28) ʾu-hadíya brátətmàlkaˡ har-xázya ʾáxni zmára-w rqàðaˡ ʾáy jal-jálde ṯ-ásqa l-gàre.ˡ mára qímela zìle.ˡ téla lwíšəllɛle gáne díye ʾo-gə̀ldaˡ ʾo-béna gòṛɛle.ˡ hóle rínga rínga gáwət ṭína ʾu-tə̀qnaˡ zílɛle mátyɛle qáṣrət màlka.ˡ (29) mšuréθɛla dábba mxàyəlleˡ hàwərˡ warwàrtɛla-wˡ ʾu-ṣràxɛla-wˡ mòdila?ˡ mòdila?ˡ háyyo xzògən.ˡ dábba marqóðe tèla.ˡ dábba marqóðe tèla.ˡ ʾu-brátət málka síqtɛla l-gàre.ˡ brátət málka síqtɛla l-gàre,ˡ xa-bènaˡ simárxa θíθɛla mxiθ-əlla díyaˡ ʾu-nubàltəlla.ˡ (30) nubàltəlla-wˡ ʾu-píštɛla gu-bèθaˡ xá-bena xèta.ˡ yába màlka,ˡ mòdit mára?ˡ brátux zìlla.ˡ ʾáxxa-w tàmma.ˡ mèreˡ kut-méθela ʾána t-yánne zùzeˡ ʾax-ṯ-in-híwəlle xa-béna xèta.ˡ mára ʾàna maθyánnaˡ dáx ṯ-in-muθéθəlla ʾa-béna xèta,ˡ ʾayya-béna ʾàna maθyánna.ˡ máre ʾằkə̋d maθyàtla?ˡ mára hè!ˡ də-qu-sà!ˡ (31) tíwtɛla gu-lína díya xa-béna xètaˡ ʾu-zìltɛla.ˡ zìltɛla,ˡ zìlta,ˡ mṭíθɛla qúrbət qàṣra.ˡ muttéθəlle lína l-xa-gòta.ˡ θìθɛlaˡ sìqtɛlaˡ ʾax-d-é-ga qamàye.ˡ ʾòy.ˡ mítli m-kə̀pna.ˡ w-áxxa-w tàmma.ˡ

(21) (She screamed) 'Oh, oh, oh' (They said) 'What is the matter with you'. She arrived at the villa. The lion was on one side and the tiger on the other side. Each shouted in turn and wanted to eat her. (22) Ḥasan Aġa, woosh his hand was on his pistol, he said 'What is the matter with you? Have you not seen a human being? What is the matter with you. Calm down, let's see who she is'. They greeted her and asked her saying 'Are you all right? What is the matter? (23) She said 'Nothing. I am a stranger here. I have no relative here and I want to come here with you and stay'. 'Come in!' She came in and stayed a month there. Now, she wanted to know how she could rescue that daughter of the king so that she could take her back. (24) She said 'Who of you is the overseer of this house? Ḥasan Aġa said 'Me. What do you want?' (She said) 'Look at her, look at her, she has (almost) died of dirt. She has not washed for six months. Go and one of you wash her!' (25) He said 'It is not our job. Go and wash her yourself!' She went and fetched her and slowly took her to wash her. She put her in the pot. Then she made her fly away and took her home. She took her to the home of her father. (26) Ḥasan Aġa waited for her to return, waited for her to return, but she was not there. They went after her to find her, but she was nowhere at all. She had flown and gone away. (27) Ḥasan Aġa said, he said 'Get up and prepare yourself bear'. She said 'How (will we act) this time?' He said 'I'll dress up and you make me dance, so that they will not say that they are (the same as) the earlier ones'. (28) Now, as soon as the daughter of the king sees that we are singing and dancing, she will quickly come up to the roof'. So, they went off. The fox dressed up in the skin, but the skin was big. He made a ringing in the mud and grime and arrived at the palace of the king. (29) The bear started yelling and roaring and screaming 'What is the matter? What is the matter? Come and see. A bear is making a fox dance. A bear is making a fox dance'. The daughter of the king went up onto the roof. The daughter of the king went up onto the roof, then the *simarxa* came, made towards her and took her away. (30) She took her away and she stayed in the house once again. 'Oh King, what do you say? Your daughter has gone'—and so forth. He said 'I'll give money to whoever brings her back, as I gave money before'. She (the old woman) said 'I shall bring her back. Just as I brought her before, so this time I shall bring her'. He said 'Are you sure that you will bring her?' She said 'Yes!' 'Go!' (31) She sat in her pot once again and went off. She went off and arrived near to the villa. She put the pot on one side. She came and went up like the previous time. 'Oh, I am dying of hunger'—and so forth.

(32) mà-ləx.ʔ| m-èkət θáya.ʔ| mən-dúkθa rəḥqən θáya.| bə̆́yən xámyən mənnèxu.| máre ṭla-ʾàrya| xzi-ʾàrya.| šqílle dăbánjə gáne dìye| (33) máre xzì.| ʾáti-w nəmra,| ʾímə θéla ʾa-bàxta| làxxa,| bə̃yə́nna muqlábta hàtxa| réša xtàya.| kút-xa mənnéxu dáwəq p-áqla dìya.| ʾən-xá-mənnɛxu ʾázəl bar-d-o-xéna qaṭlə̀nne.| har-ʾáxtu kə́lye dû̃s| ʦ̌alxítula m-ġðàðe| ʾu-mpălítula qa-d-ánna heywàne| kúlla ṯ-axlìla.| (34) ʾáyya θìθɛla,| lábba basìmɛle,| θíθɛla ʾax-d-é-ga qamèθa| θíθɛla mṭíθɛla tàma| há lèkət zála?| məra hátxa kpìntən,| hátxa hàtxa.| máre kpìntət.ʔ| klà.| deràb!| dáryəlla ʾíða l-ʾàqla.| múrməlla ʾaqláθa l-bàr-eli| ʾu-réša xtàya.| ʾu-dwìqəlla| ʦ̌lìxəlla.| (35) qəm-ʦ̌alxìla,| ʾoðíla tə̀rte.| ʾu-pačəpc̃ìla| w-axlíla heywàne.| w-áyya xéta píšla tămàha,| yába ʾítla Márza Pə̆́mət,| píšla báxte dìye.|

(36) xa-fàtra,| hàtxa.| ʾu-qímɛle màlka,| mòdile wíða.ʔ| píšɛle màjbur.| šqílɛle qùwwət.| šqílɛle qùwwət| ʾu-nùbla| ta-ṯ-ázi xázi bráte dìye.| kú-ṯ-ile ʾə́θya mátya tàma,| heywáne ràbe-wawa,| har-heywàne| mpurəpsə̀lla.| lèla mə́sye.| ʾɛ-xaréθət xarèθa| píšle májbur Márza Pə̆́mət,| šqilále bàxta| ʾu-rìqle.| sìqle,| mṭóšele xa-dúkθa xèta,| ʾáw ʾu-báxte dìye.|

(37) xà-yoma| màre| ṭla-d-án heywàne| Ḥásan ʾÀġa,| máre ṯ-amrə́nnɛxu xà məndí| ʾína dû̃s galítu.| máre ʾálaha də-là-ʾawəð| ʾə́n mrìli,| mòdi ṯ-oðítu.ʔ| (38) dábba məra| ʾálaha də-là-ʾawəð ʾáti mə̆́reti.| daryánnux hátxa rəš-ʾiθàθi.| ʾəsri-w-ʾarbá-saʾate ṯ-óyən hàtxa wáðəllux,| waðóllux pàwxa| məndi hàle,| mdarəmnánnux ʾàna.| (39) ʾu-ʾárya máre ṭla-gáne dìye| ʾən-šálla là mə̆réti.| ʾu-nə́mra hàdəx| ʾu-kúlla hàdəx.| kúlla sqìðela mə́nne díye,| ma-t-ʐalə̀mwa ʾəllə́y.|

(40) xá-yoma mumiθále gáne b-dùgle,| Ḥásan ʾÀġa.| léla ṣbára jáwji m-qáme dìye.| ʾárya hóle mára ṭla-dəbba| de-ʾáti ṭabbàxtət.| sa-wuð-ʾixàla.| mxa-ʾáqləx ʾə́lle díye xza-míθɛle ʾə̀lla.| ʾáyya θíθɛla zála hàtxa| mturgáltɛla gána bìye,| qíθtɛla ʾáqla bìye.| (41) qímɛle ráb ʾíðe l-dăbànje.| ʾàtitwa mára| dawqánnux rəš-ʾiθàθi,| ʾáxxa-w tàmma,| p̂enàne maxyátli!| hátxa-w hàtxa mə́nna| ráb ʾíðe díye l-dăbànje.|

(32) 'What is the matter with you? Where are you coming from?' 'I am coming from a faraway place. I want to stay with you'. He said to the lion 'Look lion' He took his pistol. (33) He said 'Look. You and the tiger, when that woman comes here, I want her to be turned over like this, upside down. Each of you hold one of her legs. If one of you goes after the other, I'll kill him.[4] While standing erect, you'll tear her apart and distribute her to these animals so that they will all eat her.' (34) She came jauntily, she came like the previous time. She came and arrived there 'Hey, where are you going'. She said 'I am so hungry, so, so much'. He said 'Are you hungry? Wait'. Woosh, they put their hand on her leg. They lifted her legs upwards and her head downwards. They held her and pulled her apart. (35) They pulled her apart and made her two. They chopped her up and the animals ate her. The other woman remained there. She had Mərza Pămət, she became his wife.

(36) Some time passed. What did the king do? He was forced to raise an army. He raised an army and took it to go to find his daughter. (Since) the animals were numerous, they just pulled apart whoever went there. They (the army) could not (prevail against them). Finally, Mərza Pămət was forced to take his wife and run away. He went up and hid in another place, together with his wife. (37) One day Ḥasan Aġa said to those animals, he said 'I wish to say something to you, but tell me the truth'. He said 'God forfend, if I became ill, what would you do?' (38) The bear said 'May God forfend you become ill. I'd put you in my arms and for twenty-four hours (a day) I'd do this to you, give you a cool breeze, and so forth. I'd treat you with medicine'. (39) The lion, in his turn, said 'God willing you will not become ill'. The tiger (said) likewise, all (said) likewise. But they were all fed up with him, since he mistreated them so much.

(40) One day Ḥasan Aġa pretended to be dead.[5] They did not dare leave him.[6] The lion said to the bear 'You are the cook. Go and make food. Kick him and see whether he is dead or not'. She came and went like this, she made herself trip over him and her leg hit him. (41) He got up and woosh his hand was on his pistol. 'It was you who were saying "I'd hold you in my arms and so forth", but you kick me!' (He said) this and that about her and, woosh, his hand was on his pistol.

[4] I.e. you must go in opposite directions.
[5] Literally: He made himself dead with lies.
[6] Literally: move from before him.

(42) xáṭər ʾalàha| là!| mbašôlənwa,| ràqənwa| ta-t-mbašlánwa-w qítli bìyux.| ʾáxxa-w tàmma.| xà-yoma,| har-mítle b-duzùθa.| mítle b-duzùθa| ʾu-píšle tàma.| ʾu-léla ṣbára ʾáp-xa mánna ṯ-ázəl ču-dùkθa.| ʾixála ʾáp-xa-mənna léle mbašôle.| dábba mbàšla,| léla ṣbára ṯ-áza l-táma mbàšla.| (43) píšɛle màjbur| hà-ṯ-ile| ríxa ʾəθya mánne díye spìsa.| mən-táma hódəx ʾəθyɛle ʾàrya| máxyɛle ʾáqle díye l-ô-gəlda.| mùrməlle gə́lda,| qrípəlle tămàha.| Márza Pắmət mère| yálla kút-xa mənné́xu šáqəl gáne díye ʾu-ʾázəl dúkθe dìye.| šwiqáli tàma| ʾu-θéli làxxa.|

(42) 'For God's sake no! I was cooking, I was running in order to cook and I knocked into you' and so forth. One day he really died. He really died and remained there. None of them dared go anywhere. None of them cooked food. The bear, who cooked, did not dare go and cook. (43) He remained like that, of necessity, until a rotten smell came from him. After that the lion came and kicked the carcass.[7] He lifted the carcass and threw it away.[8] Mərza Pămət said 'Well, each of you take yourself off and go to your own place'. I have left it there and come here.

[7] Literally: skin.
[8] Literally: over there.

A28 The Tale of Rustam (1)

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-Rùstam.ˈ šə́mmət bábe díye Ẓə̀l-wewa.ˈ ʾáwwa síqa-wewa l-ṭùraˈ l-ṣə̀da.ˈ ʾə́θyɛle Tătár-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndiˈ mən-ʾÌrən.ˈ ʾə́θyɛle gu-ṭùraˈ xə̀zyɛleˈ plíšela m-ġðàðe.ˈ Tătár-i Slemán-i Sə́ndi qṭílɛle qa-Ẓə̀l.ˈ zílle l-ʾÌrən,ˈ písle tàma.ˈ (2) xábra mṭèleˈ l-náše díye ʿal-ʾasə́s Ẓə́l hóle qṭìla.ˈ zílla xa-fàtra,ˈ ràba dána,ˈ wéle ʾə́lle díye bròna.ˈ Ẓə́l wéle ʾə́lle díye bròna.ˈ xzi-kəmá ʃə̂nneˈ ʾo-bróne díye písle gàwṛa,ˈ mqŭrə̀nne.ˈ síqle ʾáp-ʾaw l-ṣə̀da.ˈ síqle l-ṣə̀da,ˈ ʾína dúnye šuréla ràya.ˈ šuréla ráya dúnye tàlga.ˈ (3) ʾáwwa bíye bə-b-sùseˈ ʾáwər gu-xa-gə̀ppa.ˈ mṭošéle qam-tàlga,ˈ yáʿni tálga xɛlànɛle.ˈ wírre gu-gə̀ppa.ˈ gášəq hátxa l-bàr-eliˈ ʾína kàke.ˈ gášəq bàr-təxtiˈ ʾína kàke.ˈ gášəq gawáya hàtxaˈ ʾína balòta.ˈ (4) hèˈ ʾámər ʾáwwa réšət bəṛ-nàšɛle.ˈ dwíqtəlle šàθa.ˈ mərɛleˈ ʾu-šúrɛle margòde.ˈ ʾu-tíwa l-xáṣə súse dìyeˈ ʾu-ṣə́lɛle l-bèθa.ˈ yə́mme ðìla.ˈ máre bróni mà-lux?ˈ máre yə́mmi mò mtanə̀nnəx?ˈ (5) máre lá-mṣən mtanə́nna ʾə́llə̀x.ˈ hóle lábbi pqìya.ˈ máre mà-lux,ˈ bàbi?ˈ mùr!ˈ káza mòdila qə́ṣṣət?ˈ (6) máre yə̀mmi,ˈ dúnye wéla ràya.ˈ ʾána síqa l-ṣə̀da,ˈ dúnye wéla ràya,ˈ ʾána wírri gu-xa-gə̀ppa.ˈ ʾína gušə́qli ʾùl̩l̩ul,ˈ kàke.ˈ gušə́qli ʾə̀ltəx,ˈ kàke.ˈ gawáya balòta.ˈ lábbi pqìleˈ ʾu-hal-díya šaθàna.ˈ (7) mára bròniˈ lá-yăðət ʾáw mòdile?ˈ máre la-yə̀mmiˈ lɛ̀ðən,ˈ mòdile?ˈ mára ʾáw rešət-bàbux-ile.ˈ máre dàx-it mára?ˈ máre rešət-bàbi?ˈ máre ʾɛ̀nile qṭíləlle?ˈ (8) mára Tătár-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi.ˈ m-gu-ʾÍrən ʾə̀θyele,ˈ qṭìlə̀lle.ˈ mára qìmɛle,ˈ ʾən-réšət bábe díye ʾax-ṭùra,ˈ ʾu-hóle qṭíla l-Tătár-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi,ˈ lèka bṯ̂-ázəl?ˈ máre ṯ̂-ázən šáqlən tólət bàbi.ˈ

(9) tíwɛle xáṣət súse dìyeˈ ʾu-ya-ʾálaha zìlɛle.ˈ zìlɛle,ˈ zìla,ˈ zìla,ˈ zìla,ˈ mátyɛle xa-màθa.ˈ mátyɛle xa-màθa.ˈ xwarzàye,ˈ Bə̀jəm,ˈ ʾáw gu-d-é-dana bàryɛle.ˈ gu-d-è-danaˈ ṯ̂íle xále díye plíṭa zála ta-t-šáqəl tòle,ˈ Béjəm bàryɛle.ˈ (10) qímela mùθyeˈ xa-marágla gòṛaˈ xə̀lyaˈ mùštyəlle.ˈ šqíləlla ʾarbí dráye pàrča,ˈ xíṭəlla ʾə́lle dìye,ˈ lɛ́le mátya l-šàrθe,ˈ ma-t-wéwa zàxma.ˈ

A28 The Tale of Rustam (1)

Informant: Dawiθ ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) There was a (man called) Rustam. The name of his father was Zāl. He had gone up into the mountains to hunt. Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi came from Iran. He came into the mountains, found him and they fought together. Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi killed Zāl. He went to Iran and remained there. (2) Word reached his relatives that Zāl had been killed. Time went by, a long time, and a son was born to him. A son was born to Zāl, and after several years this son of his became a man, he grew up. He also went hunting. He went up hunting and it began to rain. It began to snow. (3) He together with his horse entered a cave. He sheltered from the snow, since the snow was heavy. He entered the cave, looked upwards and saw teeth. He looked downwards and saw teeth. He looked inside and saw a throat. (4) 'Ah', he said, 'This is the head of a person'. A fever seized him. He became ill and started shivering. He sat on the back of his horse and went down back home. His mother knew (about this). She said 'My son, what is the matter'. He said 'Mother, what should I tell you?'. (5) He said 'I cannot relate it to you. My heart has burst (with fear)'. She said 'What is the matter, my dear? Tell me!' She tries (to press him) 'What is the story?' (6) He said 'Mother, it started raining. I went up hunting, it started raining and so I went into a cave. I looked upwards (and saw) teeth. I looked downwards (and saw) teeth. (I looked) inside (and saw) a throat. My heart burst (with fear) and I am still feverish'. (7) She said 'My son, don't you know what that is?' He said 'No, mother, I don't know. What is it?' She said 'That is the head of your father'. He said 'What are you saying?!'[1] He said 'The head of my father?' He said 'Who was it who killed him?' (8) She said 'Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi. He came from Iran and killed him'. Now, if the head of his father is like a mountain and he has been killed by Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi, where could he go?[2] He said 'I shall go to take revenge for my father'.

(9) He sat on the back of his horse and set off. He went along for a long way and reached a village. He reached a village. His nephew Bejəm, was born at that time. At the time when his uncle went out to take his revenge, Bejəm was born. (10) They brought a big pan of milk and gave it to him to drink. They took forty yards of material and sewed it for him, but it did not reach his navel, since he was so huge.

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[1] Literally: How are you saying?
[2] I.e. what could he do?

(11) qìmɛle| mə̀re| kɛ̀le xáli?| mə́ra xálux hóle zíla šqála tólət bábe dìye.| yátu l-xáṣət dawɛ̀ra,| ʾáp-ʾaw ʾàzəl.| ʾázəl di-di-dì| ṭapéle xále dìye| gu-d-ày-maθa.| ʾaw-lɛ̀ðele xále díye.| lɛ́ðele xále díye ʾɛ̀nile.| zìlɛle,| súse díye kə́lyɛle kəs-súsət xále dìye.| ʾu-hár-xa xále dìyele| l-xóðe rəš-ʾɛ̀na.| (12) šúryɛle mə̆nit ʾáti?| mə̆nit?| ʾáwwa šluxàyɛle.| ṭrìpəlla l-ġðáðe.| xále díye nápəl qam-Bɛ̀jəm,| Béjəm hàde bárya,| ma-t-wéwa zàxma.| qìmɛle| mə̀re| díya qaṭlə̀nnux.| mə́re ʾáti mə̆niwət?| mə́re ʾána brónət Z̭ə̀l-iwən.| (13) mə́re xàli!| ʾáti xàliwət.| mə́re qù,| là qaṭlánnux,| qù.| mára qìmela,| píše b-ġðàðe.| mə́re xàli.| mə́re ʾáti xwarzàyi.| mə́re ʾàti| puš-làxxa,| ʾána ṯ-àsqən.| (14) hóle ʾə́θya Déwa Z̭àr,| Déwa Z̭àr,| m-la-gnay-yòma.| hóle ʾə́θya ʾax-xa-kàxwa.| hóle tíwa báθər màθa| gu-d-wàʾha gallíya,| gu-d-wàʾha gə́ppa.| ṯ-àsqən,| xazə̀nne-w| ʾàθena.| (15) mə́re xáli dáx bàrya| ʾána pɛ́šən làxxa| ʾu-ʾáti ṯ-àsqət?| ʾáp-ʾana ṯ-ásqən mə̀nnux.| mə́re lɛ̀ka saqa-ʾáti mə́nni?| ʾáti puš-làxxa.| ṯ-ásqən ʾána l-xòði.| márɛle la-brèla.| ʾámər ṯ-amrə́nnux xà-məndi.| xále dìyele mára| Rùstam-ile mára| mára ṯ-amrə́nnux xà-məndi,| xwarzàyi.| xázəx lá-mṣət mamṭátla ʾiθáθux hátxa ġðàðe?| (16) mára hátxa tráθna ʾiθáθe díye wíðəlla hátxa múmṭəlla ġðàðe.| ʾáwwa šəryóxət ʾàqle,| xrrr ʾasə́ṛra ʾiθáθət Bɛ̀jən.| Béjən šawúqle sìṛa| ʾiθáθe dìye.| ʾáw sìqle.| sìqle.| (17) ʾímə ṯ-íle síqa Rùstam,| síqɛle gu-d-o-gə̀ppa,| xazéla xá parizàda,| xá šapìrta,| brátət málka t-Màġrəḇ,| hóle šqíləlla Déwa Z̭àr,| hóle múθyəlla gu-d-è gəppíθa.| hóla šqála qàlma,| kut-qálma ʾìθba| ʾax-faṣùli| hátxa gòṛta.| mattówəlla ʾə̆ra| ʾu-xaṭòrta| pra̋q b-réša qṭàləlla.| (18) ʾímə ṯ-íle síqa Rùstam,| xəzyəlla| bàxta.| mára bàxta| ʾən-ít ṣìya,| hóʾla mìya.| ʾən-it-kpìna,| hóʾle xùl.| mə́re mə̆ṛəšle| ʾána hon-ʾə́θya ta-t-qaṭlə̀nne.| (19) mára mŭṛàštəlle| qìmɛle.| ʾax-ṯ-íle qìma,| ʾu-šúryela pláša m-ġðàðe,| ʾàwwa| maxèle| sèpe| l-qðála d-o-Déwa Z̭àr| ʾu-ṣále kəndàla.| (20) Bɛ̀jəm| ʾiθáθe hóla sìṛe.| mó ʾàwəð?| mən-lábbe díye qìða,| dɛ́re xèla,| naC̈əlle ʾo-šəryóxa.| ʾu-ʾáθe šaqə́lla xa-ʾáqrət bə̀ṭma.| šaqə̀lla| ʾu-šaməṭla| taqàne.| (21) ʾu-mattúle b-rèše| ʾámər háyyo hátxa hátxa mə̀nnux.| ʾáti xáli qəm-qaṭlətle.| ʾu-léka b-šárṭət qam-ʾiθàθi?| ʾáwwa síqɛle l-o-gə̀ppa.| ʾo-qèsa| ʾɛ-bə̀ṭma| hóla rš-rùše.| (22) sìqɛle| xa-béna ʾàmər| xwarzàyi,| ʾàna| hon-qṭìləlle Déwa Z̭àr,| la-ʾáθət ṯ-áwðət čù-məndi.| qímɛle múθyəlla ʾáp ʾɛ-brátət màlka.| qímɛle múθyəlla mánne mánne dìye,| zìlela.| Bɛ̀jəm-ile| ʾu-ʾɛ̀-bratɛla| ʾu-Rùstam,| Rústam bronət-Z̭ə̀l.|

(11) He said 'Where is my uncle?' They said 'Your uncle has gone to avenge his father'. He sat on the back of a mule and he also set off. He went along and caught up with his uncle in that village. He did not know his uncle. He did not know who his uncle was. He went along and his horse stopped by the horse of his uncle. His uncle was by himself by the well. (12) He began (speaking) 'Who are you? Who are you?' He (Bejəm) was naked. They attacked each other. His uncle fell before Bejəm, (although) Bejəm had just been born, since he was so huge. He said 'Now, I'll kill you'. He said 'Who are you?' He said 'I am the son of Zāl'. (13) He said 'Uncle! You are my uncle'. He said 'Get up. I shall not kill you. Get up'. He got up and they remained together. He said 'Uncle'. He said 'You, my nephew', he said 'you stay here. I'll go up. (14) Dewa Zar has come. Dewa Zar has come from the West. He has come like a star. He has settled beyond the village, in that valley over there, in that cave over there. I'll go up and find him, then I'll return'. (15) He said 'Uncle, how can it be possible for me to stay here and you to go up? I also shall go up with you' He said 'Where are you going with me? You stay here. I shall go up by myself'. He said 'It is not possible'. He said 'I'll tell you something'—his uncle is saying this, Rustam is saying it—he said 'I'll tell you something, nephew. Let's see whether you can bring your hands together like this'. (16) He moved his two hands like this and brought them together. He (with) the lace of his feet tied the hands of Bejən. He left Bejən with his hands tied. He went up. (17) When Rustam went up, he went up into the cave and found a beautiful princess, the daughter of the king of Morocco, whom Dewa Zar had taken and brought to the cave. She was plucking a louse (from his beard), each louse that was in it was as big as a bean. She put it on the ground and (struck) it, bang, with a washing board and killed it. (18) When Rustam went up, he saw the woman. The woman said 'If you are thirsty, here is water. If you are hungry, here eat'. He said 'Wake him. I have come to kill him'. (19) She woke him and he got up. When he got up and they started fighting with one another, he struck his sword into the neck of that Dewa Zar and he went down the slope. (20) As for Bejəm, his hands were tied. What could he do? Out of his fervour, he applied force and pulled the tether apart. He went and took the stock of a terebinth tree. He took it and broke off the branches. (21) He put it on his head and said 'Come on you so-and-so! You have killed my uncle. Where can you escape from my hands?' He went up to the cave. The wood, the terebinth tree was on his shoulder. (22) He went up and then he (Rustam) said 'Nephew, I have killed Dewa Zar. There is no need for you to come and do anything'. He took away the daughter of the king. He brought her with him and they set off. So, there was Bejəm, that girl and Rustam, Rustam son of Zāl.

(23) mára qímela zílela l-ʾÌrən.ˈ zílela l-ʾÌrən,ˈ mbúqre, mbúqre mbùqre.ˈ màṯyela,ˈ ʾèkɛle.ʔˌ gu-d-èni máθa.ʔˌ gu-d-éni mðíta xa̍yeˈ Tătár-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi.ʔˌ múttəllɛle ʾo-čádre dìye,ˈ súse díye ṣlíwəllɛle tàma.ˈ ʾáni tré susằwàθa-wawaˈ w-áp ʾɛ-bráta mənnèy.ˈ ʾu-píšela tàma.ˈ (24) kəmá ṯ́-íle Rùstam,ˈ ʾáw mbaqórəlle Tătár-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi.ˈ Béjəm lìtle hátxa šúle məndiyàne.ˈ mára wíðəlla hŭ̈jūm.ˈ zílɛle Béjəm qaməye ʾəlle.ˈ zílle Béjəm ʾólle dìye,ˈ wídla hŭ̈jum,ˈ qəm-čarxìle.ˈ qəm-čarxíle dawqìle.ˈ (25) ʾímət qəm-dawqìle,ˈ mára brátət Tắtar-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndiˈ hállule l-ʾìði.ˈ ʾána yắðən dax-našṭánne gə́lde dìye.ˈ hállule l-ʾìði.ˈ mára yíwəlle l-ʾíðət brátət Tắtar-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi.ˈ (26) qìmtɛla,ˈ šqílta xa-nerìya,ˈ neríya gòṛa.ˈ ʾu-prìmtəllela.ˈ yíwtəlle ta-d-án xulàme.ˈ prìməlleˈ ʾu-bə́sre zə̀dyəlle.ˈ ʾo-gə́lde mùbyəlle.ˈ škáθe gòṛe-wawa.ˈ mùbyəlleˈ ʾu-múttəlle gu-dúkθa ta-plàša.ˈ (27) mára ʾáwwa Bə̀jəm-ile.ˈ hóla qəm-qaṭlìleˈ ʾu-hóle ʾàwwa.ˈ ʾáni máre škàθa-wawa.ˈ mára Tắtar-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndiˈ ʾáw spàrɛle.ˈ ʾáni plášət mòdile.ʔˌ rùmxa.ˈ ṯ́-átwi l-xáṣət sùsaˈ ʾu-ṯ́-àθiˈ máxa b-rùmxa l-ġðàðe.ˈ (28) mára plìšelaˈ Rùstamˈ ʾu-Tắtar-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi.ˈ máxyela l-ġðàðe,ˈ màxye,ˈ máxyela l-ġðàðe,ˈ məxyèla,ˈ ʾáp-xa lɛle npìla.ˈ Rústam píšle brìndar.ˈ ʾímət píšle brìndar Rústam,ˈ qìmɛle,ˈ mšùdrəlle,ˈ lítle daṛmàne.ˈ ʾo-xéna Béjəm hóle kəs-brátət Tắtar-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi.ˈ ʾàwˈ xumèθəlle,ˈ tagbòrəllelaˈ mánna dìyaˈ ta-t-gawràle.ˈ

(29) mára mšúdrəlle súse dìye,ˈ zílɛle l-bèθa.ˈ zílɛle l-bèθa,ˈ yámme dìyeˈ ʾu-báxte díye táma xázyəlle sùsaˈ ʾína sapìqa.ˈ kəmát-wawa yámme dìye,ˈ mpuṛmèla.ˈ mára há ʾáwwa hóle mšùdrəlle.ˈ hóle npíla gu-ʾìqùθa.ˈ ʾáyya daṛmána b-xšàwən,ˈ mšádrəx daṛmàna ʾólle díye.ˈ (30) qíme mšúdrəlle daṛmàne.ˈ ʾè-gaˈ brónət Rùstamˈ hóla báxte díye mabròye.ˈ báxte hóla mabròye,ˈ xákma hóla mára díya màbra,ˈ xə́kma hóla mára là̍ʾa,ˈ b-saʾàtta.ˈ xákma dráyɛla b-sə̀kθa,ˈ dráyɛla xèla,ˈ w-áxxa-w tàmmaˈ di-di-di-dì,ˈ báre brónət Rùstam.ˈ (31) gu-d-ɛ-dánət bréle brónət Rùstam,ˈ mòdi wídla.ʔˌ qìmlaˈ qəm-mằtəmìleˈ xə̀lya.ˈ qəm-maštíle di-di-dì.ˈ ʾu-malušíle júlle ʾáxxa-w tàmma.ˈ máre kéle súsət bàbi.ʔˌ šuréle mṣawòθe,ˈ kéle súsət bàbi.ʔˌ (32) qìmɛleˈ mšùryɛle,ˈ múθyəllela súsət bábe díye kásle dìye.ˈ máre máttuli l-xàṣe.ˈ múttəlle l-xáṣə sùsaˈ ʾu-daṛmána yíwəlla l-ʾíðe dìye.ˈ prrr ya-ʾálaha sì.ˈ

(23) They went off to Iran. They went to Iran. They made inquires here and there. They arrived (in Iran and said) 'Where is he? In which village, in which town does Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi live?' He pitched his tent and tethered his horse there. They were two (men with) horses and also the girl with them. They remained there. (24) As for Rustam, he asked for Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi. Bejəm had nothing to do with this. Now, they (the men of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi) made an attack. Bejəm went first towards him, Bejəm went towards him, they made an attack and surrounded him. They surrounded him and caught him. (25) When they caught him, the daughter of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi said 'Give him to me. I know how to flay off his skin. Give him to me'. They gave him to the daughter of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi. (26) She took a male goat, a large goat and slaughtered it. She gave it to the servants. They cut it up and threw away its flesh. They inflated its skin. Its testicles were large. They inflated it and put it on the battle field.[3] (27) She said 'This is Bejəm. They have killed him. This is him'. They (the family of Bejəm) had large testicles. Now, Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi was waiting. What would they fight with? A spear. They would sit on the back of a horse and come and strike one another with a spear. (28) Rustam and Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi fought. They struck one another, they struck again and again, but neither fell. Rustam was injured. When Rustam was injured, he sent (for help), since he had no medicine. Bejəm was with the daughter of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi. She kept him with her, looking after him, in order to marry him.

(29) Now, he sent his horse and it went home. It went home and his mother and his wife there saw that the horse was without a rider.[4] As for his mother, she understood. She said 'Oh, he has sent it. He has fallen into distress. This medicine, I think, let's send this medicine to him'. (30) They sent medicine to him. At that time the wife of Rustam was giving birth to his son. (While) his wife was giving birth, some were saying 'She is giving birth now', some were saying 'No, in an hour', some were pulling on a peg, applying force, this and that, and the son of Rustam was born. (31) When the son of Rustam was born, what did they do? They gave him a taste of milk, they gave it to him to drink, they dressed him and so forth. He said 'Where is the horse of my father?' He began to talk. 'Where is the horse of my father?' (32) They began (to do as he said and) brought the horse of his father to him. He said 'Put me on its back'. They put him on the back of the horse and put the medicine in his hand. 'Off you go!'

[3] Literally: the place for fighting.
[4] Literally: empty.

(33) ʾàzəl,ˈ ʾàzəl,ˈ ʾàzəl,ˈ ʾu-màṭe,ˈ máṭe l-čádrət bábe dìye.ˈ máṭe l-čádrət bàbe,ˈ ʾáw léðe čádrət bábe díyila ʾən-là.ˈ kále súse tàma.ˈ kízle mxàyaˈ goyáθət sùsa,ˈ súsa la-jwìjle.ˈ píšɛle májbur ṣ̀əlyɛle.ˈ (34) ṣ̀əlyɛle,ˈ ʾína xázele bábe díye hóle mərya.ˈ hóle npìla táma.ˈ ʾu-dáwəq bíye dìyeˈ ta-mxàyəlle.ˈ ʾámər ʾáti qáṭlət bàbi,ˈ háy hátxa hàtxa mánnux.ˈ ʾámər ʾáti ʾènɨwət?ˈ ʾámər ʾána brónət Rùstam-ɨwən.ˈ ʾámər bróni qaṭlátli ʾap-àti?ˈ (35) qìmɛleˈ ʾu-dwìqɛle-w,ˈ šwìqɛle-w,ˈ yíwəlle daṛmàne-w,ˈ mbùsməlle,ˈ píšɛle xɛlàna.ˈ mára qìmɛleˈ mšùrya,ˈ zíla xá-bena xéta yíwəlla xàbraˈ ta-t-pàlši.ˈ nášə ʾálma kùlleˈ jmíyela tàma.ˈ kút-xa tíwɛle l-xáṣə súsət gáne dìyeˈ ʾu-zála mxáya rùmxe.ˈ (36) ṭə́ḷḷəθ gàyeˈ šuréla mxáya hàdəx.ˈ ʾa-t-ʾàrbe,ˈ məxyále rúmxe díye gu-ṣádrət ʾáwwa Tắtar-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi,ˈ qəm-xašə́lle ʾằra,ˈ qəm-qaṭə̀lle.ˈ báθər qəm-qaṭə̀lle,ˈ ʾánna xéne kúlla ʾáskar dìyeˈ šmìṭla,ˈ kúlla zìlla.ˈ (37) qìmɛle,ˈ θíθɛla brátət Tắtar-i Slemán-i Sə̀ndi,ˈ θéla mən-Bèjəm,ˈ qəm-šaqálla mɛθèla.ˈ ʾu-ʾáp-yaha bráta xéta ṭ́-íla brátət málkət Màġrəb,ˈ ʾáp-ʾay qəm-šaqálla Bèjəm,ˈ qəm-mɛθèla,ˈ ʾu-θéla ṭ́laθnèy.ˈ θéla bèθa.ˈ ʾu-šwiqáli táma θéli làxxa.ˈ

(33) He travelled a long way and reached the tent of his father. He reached the tent of his father, but he did not know whether it was his father's tent or not. His horse stopped there. He tried to strike the sides of the horse, but the horse did not move. He had to dismount. (34) He dismounted and saw his father who was ill. He had fallen there. He seized him to beat him and said 'Would you kill my father, you accursed man?' He said 'Who are you?' He said 'I am the son of Rustam'. He said 'My son, would you also kill me?'. (35) He held him, then let go and gave him the medicine. He cured him and he became strong. Now, he set off and again challenged them[5] to fight. Everybody was assembled there. Each one sat on the back of his horse and went to throw spears. (36) They began (fighting) and threw (spears) in this way three times. The fourth time, he drove his spear into the chest of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi. He threw him on the ground and killed him. After he had killed him, all the others in his army were defeated and all went away. (37) The daughter of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi came with Bejəm. He took her and brought her back. The other girl, who was the daughter of the king of Morocco, Bejəm took her also and brought her back. The three of them came back, they came back home. I have left it there and come here.

[5] Literally: gave them notice.

A29 The Tale of Rustam (2)

Informant: Bənyaməsuch Bənyaməsuch (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) xa-tuníθa ṯ-íla θáya l-bàli| y-amríwala Rustắmo ʾu-Ẓàlo.| Rústam brőn-t Ẓàl-wewa.| ʾánna xákma náše gabbàre-wɛwa| xɛlàne.| paxrèy| xɛlàne-wɛwa| ʾu-gòṛe-wɛwa.| gabbàre.| ʾáp-xa lá-mṣaya biyèy.|

(2) ʾè-ga| Rustắmo mtánɛ mánne y-ámri ʾé-gət damèxwa,| ṭḷaθà yomáθa| ʾu-ṭḷaθà lɛlăwáθa háwe dmìxa,| là qayámwa,| là ṛayášwa.| bábe dìye,| Ẓàl,| ʾíθwale xà-naša| maqrə́ṭwa káwse dìye| y-amríle ḥallàqa.| tíwɛle Ẓàlo| qam-tắrət qáṣre dìye| ʾo-ḥallàqa| hóle múθyəlla xa-semàlta| múttəlla baθrət rušáne díye.| (3) ma-t-wéwa gòṛa,| ḥalláqa là maṯyáwa ʾíðe gu-réšət Ẓálo.| mattúwa semálta gu-xáṣe díye ʾu-y-asàqwa| gu-réšə semàlta| maqrə́ṭwa káwsət Ẓàlo.| qəm-qayáṣle káwse dìye| xírre gu-réšət Ẓàlo| ʾíθwa šaqyàθa| brinàne,| gòṛe rába.| (4) mára ṭla-Ẓàlo:| Ẓàlo| ʾánna mòdila gu-réšux,| ʾánna šaqyàθa.| módila ʾánna brinàne?| mère| hadíya quṣ-kàwsi!| ʾaw-lèle šúlux.| (5) mára là-b-alaha.| ʾən-lá galátli ʾánna šaqyáθa módi gu-rèšux,| ʾánna brinánət mòdila| w-ʾáti hátxa gabbàra,| ʾu-ʾéni hátxa twíra rèšux| wíða brináne gu-rèšux,| mára ʾən-là galátli,| ʾána lè-qɛṣənne káwsux.| (6) zədyále maqáṣte dìye| mára lá qɛṣənne.| kàze.| qúṣli rèši!| gúda máre naθyàθɛle.| mára là-b-alaha,| lá qɛṣánne rèšux,| ʾən-qaṭlətli.| là qɛṣánne káwsux,| ʾálla ṯ-amrátli ʾánna ma-brinànela gu-réšux.| mère| ṯ-amrənnux| de-hàyyo| tu-tìwa.|

(7) mára ʾána băyánwala xa-bràta,| brátət ʾAprəsyàw| t-fəllən ʾáθṛa,| xa-ʾáθṛa rəḥqa-wewa.| mára y-azánwa mɛθoyəlla,| lè yawíwala ʾəlli.| y-azánwa b-xéla mɛθòyəlla| palšəxwa.| ʾíθwaley ʾáp-ʾani náše ferásse ʾu-gabbàre.| palšəxwa.| (8) ʾu-ʾánna brináne kúlla d-àn šarrăwáθa| t-maxèrwa| murzăwáθa gu-rèši.| ʾu-ríqən ʾəθya.| bráta làn-məsya ṯ-in-múθyəlla.| (9) Rustắmo bróne dìye| hóle gu-béθa ṛìšle,| qəm-šămèla ʾáyya ṣáwθa.| ʾimə-šmiyále kríble ràba.| sab-ʾáp-ʾaw rába ferəssa-wewa| ʾu-xɛlàna.| čú-naša gu-d-o-ʾáθṛa là-maṣe bíye.| (10) mára námu ʾíθ xa-náša ferássa máṣe táwər réšət bàbi.?| ʾu-plíṭele b-kèrba.| ʾímə ṯ-ìle plíṭa kríba kríba,| rúše díye qíθele b-yaṣílət tắra,| tlìxɛle gúda.| ma-t-wéwa zàxma,| gúda tlìxle.|

A29 The Tale of Rustam (2)

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) A story that comes to my mind is called Rustam and Zāl, Rustam was the son of Zāl. These were mighty heroic warriors, their bodies were strong and huge. (They were) heroic warriors, nobody could defeat them.

(2) Now, they say of Rustam that when he slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights, without getting up, without waking. His father Zāl had a person who used to cut his hair, called a barber. Zāl sat before his palace. The barber brought a ladder and placed it behind his shoulders. (3) Since he was so large, the barber's hand could not reach the head of Zāl. He would place a ladder on his back and climb up the ladder to cut the hair of Zāl. He cut his hair and looked at the head of Zāl. (He saw) that there were scars of enormous wounds. (4) He said to Zāl 'Zāl, what are these scars on your head? What are these wounds?' He said 'Now cut my hair! It is not your business'. (5) He said 'No, by God. If you do not reveal what these scars on your head are, what these wounds are from, when you are such a heroic warrior, and who broke your head, made wounds on your head…', he said 'If you do not reveal this to me, I shall not cut your hair'. (6) He threw his scissors down and said 'I shall not cut it'. He tried (to persuade him and said) 'Cut (the hair on) my head! The wall has ears'. He said 'No, by God. I shall not cut (the hair on) your head, even if you kill me. I shall not cut your hair, unless you tell me what these wounds are on your head'. He said 'I'll tell you. Come, sit down'.

(7) He said 'I used to love a girl, the daughter of Aprəsyaw, of such-and-such a place, which was a distant place'. He said 'I used to go to bring her back, but they did not give her to me. I used to go to bring her by force and we would fight. They also had warriors and heroic people. We used to fight. (8) These wounds are all from those battles, in which they struck iron balls on my head. I fled and came back. I could not bring back the girl'. (9) Rustam, his son, who was in the house, woke up and heard this conversation. When he heard it he became very angry, since he also was a strong warrior. Nobody in that land could defeat him. (10) He said 'Is there a warrior who could break the head of my father?' He went out in anger. When he went out in great anger, his shoulder hit the side of the door and the wall was demolished. Since he was so huge, the wall was destroyed.

(11) plìṭle.ˈ Zálo máre ṭla-ḥallàqaˈ xzèlux!ˈˈ lá-məri gúda máre naθyàθɛle?ˈˈ hóle šmíyəlla Rustằmo,ˈ ṯ-áwəð fətne.ˈ Rustắmo máre ṭla-bábe dìyeˈ gắrəg ʾámrət ʾay-bráta ʾèkɛla.ˈ námu ʾíθ xa-náša máṣe táwər réšət Zálo ʾu-Rustắmo sàxi?ˈˈ (12) máre bábi hắl ʾu-qáṣṣət hàtxɛla.ˈ kúlla tunìθaˈ d-ɛ-bráta qəm-mtanèlaˈ ʾu-ʾáθṛa ʾèkɛle,ˈ ʾu-ʾèni-wewa twírəlle réše díye.ˈ Rustắmo kríbɛle ràba-wˈ qìmɛle,ˈ plìṭɛle.ˈ (13) ʾəθyɛle zàla-wˈ šqíləlle súse dìyeˈ ʾu-dáryəlle sárga l-xàṣe-wˈ gùrza.ˈ ʾé-ga ʾíθwa gúrza m-geb-sèpa.ˈ xa-qésa rìxɛle,ˈ gu-réše díye gùttɛle,ˈ qìrɛle.ˈ y-ámriwala gùrza.ˈ ʾáy-ži šqìləlla.ˈ (14) čú-naša lá-mṣewa taqálwala ʾa-gùrzət Rustằmo.ˈ ʾarbí baṭmáne yúqra dìya-wewa.ˈ yáʿni záwda m-əmmà-kiloʾeˈ yúqra d-ɛ-gúrze dìye-wawa.ˈ qímle zàla,ˈ zìlleˈ tíwa xāṣ-sùsa,ˈ zála plíṭle m-màθa.ˈ

(15) ʾítwale xa-xurzàya,ˈ béθe díye šáttət màθa-wewa.ˈ šámme díye Bèžəm-wewa.ˈ qəm-xazéle xále díye Rustắmo zàla.ˈ máre xáli lèkɛt zála?ˈ máre ʾáw lèle šúlux.ˈ (16) Béžəm módile wàða?ˈ hóle dwáqalle réšət xórta makyòpəlle,ˈ yalúnke zóre hola-θáya ʾu-sáqa b-à-xorta,ˈ marpòyəlle réšət xórta,ˈ xórta hóla zyàna,ˈ ʾan-yalúnke zóre kùt-xa hóle zdáyəlle bar-ðá-gotət dúnye.ˈ (17) Rustắmo màreˈ xwàrza!ˈˈ lá-wuð hàtxaˈ qṭúl ʾanna-bnónə náše kùlla.ˈ máre lìtla xámˈ lèkɛt zála?ˈ máre ʾána ṯ-ázən ʾítli šùla.ˈ ʾáti si-bèθa!ˈˈ máre là xáli.ˈ ṯ-áθən mànnux.ˈ (18) káze qlùbˈ máre là.ˈ hár ṯ-áθən mànnux.ˈ qímɛle šlìxəlla xórtaˈ múttəlla rəš-rúše-w zìlɛle.ˈ xírre Rustằmoˈ qəm-xazéle ʾa-xórta šlíxəlla múttəlla rəš-rùše.ˈ máre ʾáwwa balàyɛleˈ yan-ʾáwwa dáwəq wàjju.ˈ ʾu-ʾáwwa ṭəfl-zòra-wewa b-šámma.ˈ (19) ʾu-zìlela.ˈ zílela xá-yoma tré ʾu-ṭlàθa,ˈ zíle dmíxela xà-dukθa.ˈ čélay,ˈ dmíxlay xa-dúkθa.ˈ béna Rustắmo ʾé-gət dàməxˈ ṭlaθà yomáθaˈ ʾu-ṭlaθá lɛlăwáθa y-áwe dmíxa lɛ-ṛàyəš.ˈ máre ṭla-Béžəm xwarzáye dìyeˈ ʾáti də-la-dàmxeti,ˈ ʾána dámxən làxxaˈ t-lá-ʾaθi genàweˈ ganwìle súsa.ˈ máre spày.ˈ

(11) He went out and Zāl said to the barber 'You see! Didn't I say that the wall has ears? Rustam has heard and he will make trouble'. Rustam said to his father 'You must tell me where that girl is. Is there somebody who can break the head of Zāl while Rustam is alive?' (12) He said 'My dear, the story is like this. He related all of the story about that girl, told where the place was and who had broken his head. Rustam became very angry. He got up and went out. (13) He came back and took his horse. He put the saddle and the club on its back. At that time the club (*gurza*) was in use[1] rather than the sword. This was a long piece of wood, with a ball at its end, which was tar. It was called a *gurza*. He took this. (14) Nobody could lift that club of Rustam. Its weight was forty batmans,[2] that is the weight of that club of his was more than one hundred kilos. He went off and sat on the back of the horse. He went off and left the village.

(15) He had a nephew, whose house was at the bottom of the village. His name was Bežəm. He saw his uncle Rustam going off. He said 'Uncle, where are you going?' He said 'That is not your business'. (16) What was Bežəm doing? He was holding the top of a poplar tree and bending it down, young children were coming and going up the poplar, he was letting the top of the poplar go, the poplar was springing up and he was flinging the young children in all directions.[3] (17) Rustam said 'Nephew, don't do that and don't kill all those people'. He said 'There's nothing to worry about. Where are you going? He said 'I am going (since) I have a job. You go home!' He said 'No, uncle. I will come with you'. (18) He tried (to persuade him and said) 'Go back!' He said 'No. I will come with you'. He pulled up a poplar, put it on his shoulder and set off. Rustam looked and saw him pull up the poplar and put it on this shoulder. He said 'Either he will be a problem or he will be outstanding'. He was a young child in name (only). (19) They went off. They travelled for two or three days, they went and slept in a certain place. They were tired and they slept in a certain place. Now, when Rustam slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights and not wake. He said to Bežəm, his nephew 'You must not sleep—but I shall sleep here—lest thieves come and steal the horse'. He said 'Fine'.

[1] Literally: There was the club.
[2] Unit of measure varying between 2 and 10 kilos.
[3] Literally: each one to one side of the world.

(20) Béžəm hóle tìwa| ḥắras-ile t-xále dìye,| ʾu-ʾá-xorta hó-b-ʾíðe dìye,| hóle zála-w θàya,| mṭawóle b-a-xòrta,| ʾáy ʿal-ʾasā́s kupále dìyela| là xórta.| xá-bena píšle lèle| qəm-xazéle xa-mə́ndi θàya| ráqa xāṣ-sùsa,| ʾax-lhàya,| ʾáx-bə́rqa lháya bèṛa,| mánne díye nàše,| léðəx mòdi.| (21) ʾu-θéle ʾo-bèṛa| ʾo-nùra,| ʾo-mə́ndi la-ðíle sùsa-wewa| náša-wewa l-xàṣe.| b-lèle-wewa.| xzéle ʾax-núra béṛa-w síqle sìqle| wírre gu-xa-gə́ppa gu-d-o-ṭúra t-wéwa báθər xaṣèy.| hóle tàma.| ʾáwwa là-mṣele čú-mə́ndi bíye.| (22) klèle| hal-tímla ṭláθa yomàθa| Rustắmo ṛìšle.| ṛíšle Rustắmo| mə́re ha-xwarzáya Bèžəm| líθ wíya čù-mə́ndi,| genáwe hàle?| mə́re he-b-àlaha| xáli hắl ʾu-qáṣṣət hàtxɛla.| (23) mə́re xa-núra ʾə́θyɛle b-lèle| ʾax-ʾáxxa sàqa.| ʾána šqìlənne| ʾáwwa qaṭíya mxáya ʾə́lle dìye.| ʾu-lèle npíla čú-mə́ndi,| ʾína xákma mə́ndiyáne hóla npíle tămáha mazlòqe,| lan-ða'a mòdile.| hole-síqa wírre gu-d-wàha gə́ppa.| (24) ʾáwwa mə̀re| mòdi.?| zílle xzéle ʾína kúlla dàwe| ʾu-m-ánna mujawharà̂t| t-wɛ́wa tálye b-qðálə d-ɛ-bràta,| npíle l-ă̆ra.| mə́re há ʾàyya| lìtlux šúla| klí díya ṯ-ásqəx xázəx módile tàma.|

(25) hadíya qìmɛle Rustắmo| síqa l-tắrət gàppa.| Béžəm mə́re lá xáli ʾàna ṯ-ásqən táma.| káze kli-ʾàti| mə́re lá ʾana-ṯ-àsqena| ʾáti tu-làxxa.| ʾána ṯ-àsqena.| hátxa rəqqiyàna-wewa,| yalúnka zòra-wewa b-šə́mma| ʾína ʾáp-aw ferə̀ssa-wewa.| (26) qímɛle síqa síqa gu-d-áw gàppa,| ʾína ʾáw xázyəlle xa-nàša| dmìxa| réše díye mútt̬əlle gu-xánət ða-bràta,| ða-bráta rába xàmθa.| ʾa-bráta mə̀ra| ʾáti mùt wáða láxxa?| ʾə́θyən ʾáti maṣlə̀nnəx,| nablə̀nnəx.| (27) mə́ra ʾə́lle dìye| qu-qìma!| sìgən ʾáti!| ṣlìgena,| t-lá-ṛayəš ʾàwwa.| ʾáwwa náša ʾən-ṛìšle| ʾáwwa ferə̀ssɛle| ʾati-qaṭə̀llux.| mə́re lá b-àlaha,| ʾə́lla maṣlánnəx ʾàna.| ʾən-ʾíle ʾúrza gáwṛa xoš-qàyəm,| mjarbə̀nne.| (28) ʾaw-ṛìšle.| ʾíman-t ṛíšle qəm-xazèle.| káze xoš-ṣlìgən| yalúnka ʾáti zòrɛwət.| la-hanéli qaṭlə̀nnux| mə́re lá b-àlaha.| ʾən-qaṭlánnux ʾáyya bráta šaqlə̀nna| ʾən-la-pálṭən m-àxxa.| (29) píšle májbur ʾáp ʾaw-náša t-wéwa múrqəlla ʾa-bràta.| ʾáp-ʾaw ferə̀s-sa-wewa rába.| ʾáyya báxta bắyéwala Z̀àlo.| twíra twíra réše díye m-rēš-d-àyya-wawa| ʾáwwa ferə̀ssa-wewa| zíla šqíləlla mən-bába-w yə̀mma-w| jlíwəlla mùθyəlla.| múrəlla gu-d-o-gə̀ppa| mṭùšyəlla.|

(20) Bežəm sat as the guard for his uncle, with the poplar tree in his hand, going back and forth, playing with the poplar tree, as if it were a walking stick, not a poplar tree. Then, when night fell, he saw something coming, rushing along on the back of a horse, as if ablaze, like lightning blazing with light, and people and we don't know what were with it. (21) That light, that fire, that thing appeared. He did not know whether it was a horse or whether there was a man on its back. It was night. He saw what seemed to be a fire, a light, and it went up and entered a cave in the mountain that was behind their backs. He (Bežəm) was there, but he could not oppose it. (22) He stood until when three days had passed, Rustam awoke. Rustam awoke and said 'Hey, nephew Bežəm, has anything happened? Thieves or the like?' He said 'Yes, uncle, the situation is like this'. (23) He said 'A light came in the night, coming up right here. I took this stick to strike at it, but nothing fell down, except for a few things that fell over there shining, I don't know what it is. It went up and entered that cave over there'. (24) He said 'What is it?' He went and saw that it was all gold and that some of the jewels that were hung around the neck of the girl had fallen on the ground'. He said 'Ha, you have no business with this. Stay here now. This is not your business. Stay here now while we go to see what it is.

(25) Now Rustam went up to the entrance of the cave. Bežəm said 'No, uncle, I will go up there with you'. He tried (to persuade him saying) 'You stay'. He said 'No. I will go up. You stay here. I will go up'. He was so obstinate. He was a young child, in name, but he was also a great warrior. (26) He went up to the cave. He saw a man asleep. He had put his head in the lap of a girl, a very beautiful girl. The girl said 'What are you doing here?' I have come to bring you down and take you away'. (27) She said to him 'Get up and go away, go down, lest he wakes up. If this man wakes—he is a great warrior—he will kill you'. He said 'No, by God. I shall take you down. If he is a brave man, let him get up and I shall challenge him'. (28) He woke up. When he woke up, he saw him. He tried (to persuade him to go) 'Go down, you are a young child. I have no inclination to kill you'. He said 'No, by God. Either I shall kill you and take this girl or I shall not go out from here'. (29) The man, who had kidnapped the girl, was forced (to act). He also was a great warrior. The girl was the one that Zāl loved. It was because of her that his head was all broken. He was a great warrior. He went and took her from her father and mother, he kidnapped her and carried her off. He brought her to that cave and hid her.

(30) hadíya ʾáw ferəssa| qíma dwìqəlle Béžəm,| síṛəlla ʾáqle w-iθàθe,| zádyəlle b-tắrət gəppa.| zádyəlle b-tắrət gáppa-w ṣəlyɛle,| mčonágla mčonəgla.| (31) xìrre| Rustắmo ʾína xwarzáya mčangòle,| máxyəlle qáple bìye| dwìqəlle.| dwìqəlle| ʾu-šáryəlla ʾaqláθe w-iθáθe məre| ha-mòdi?| mára hắl ʾu-qəṣṣət hàtxɛla.| mára kli-ʾaw-lèle šúlux,| ṭ́-ásqən ʾána b-gàni.| (32) qímɛle Rustắmo| ʾu-sìqɛle.| gu-d-o-gáppa xírre ʾina-ʾo-náša tàma.| ʾáwwa ʾɛ-dánət qəm-xazèle,| qəm-yăðèle,| ðíle ṭ́-ile-Rustắmo.| yăðéwa xa-náša gabbàrɛle,| ferəssa,| lá-mṣe bíye dìye.| (33) káze wáða hìwi mánne| ʾána xulàmux.| sìgən,| šùqli| ʾu-ʾáyya hon-múθyəlla ʾàna,| dìyila.| mára b-rèšux| b-réšət bàbux,| ʾáyya bráta la-péša bìyux.| (34) qìma| máxyəlla gúrza gu-réšət d-ó-naša qṭìləlle.| ʾu-ʾa-bráta šqìləlla.| šqìləlla,| muṣàlyəlla,| múttəlla báθre díye xāṣ-sùsa| ʾu-zílɛle ṭ́-ázəl ʾáθṛət bàbə d-ɛ-bráta.|

(35) bábə d-á-brata ʾíle ʾáp-ʾaw gabbàra-w| ʾítle náše rábe gabbàre,| ta-ʾáθṛa xrèna,| šámme díye ʾAprəsyàw.| Béžəm mère| lèkəx zála xáli?| ʾáy maqəlbàxla| nablə̀xla| ʾáyya ṭla-sàwi,| ṭla-sáwi Žàlo.| (36) mára là.| ṭ́-ázən nablánna kəs-bába dìya.| ṭalbànna mánne díye.| ʾən-lèle yawálla,| qaṭlənne,| šaqlánna b-xèla-w| xaráye maqəlbànna.| sab-hátxa gabbàra-wewa,| lá-bă̆ye ṭ́-awáðwa lèbe.| ʾu-zílela ha-ṭ́-ázi máṭi l-ʾáθṛət… d-áw… bábə d-a-bràta.|

(37) hadíya Rustắmo| šqilàle bráta| muttále xāṣ-súsa báθre dìye| ʾu-zílla b-ʾùrxa.| mára ṭla-xwarzáye díye Bèžəm| ṭ́-ázəx l-ʾáθṛət ʾAprəsyáw bábət bràta.| ʾáθre díye rəḥqɛle,| zílla b-yomàθa.| (38) Béžəm xwarzáye díye mère| xàli,| bárəxla ʾəllux| ʾáyya ṭlàlux| mère| là xwárza,| là.| ʾáyya ṭlíbtət bàbila.| nablánna ṭla-bàbi.| bas-ṭ́-àzexi| ṭalbáxla m-bába dìya.| (39) sab-ʾánna ʾaširàttela,| náše gabbàrela,| là-barya| gànwi| ʾən-sàlbi.| ṭ́-ázəl ṭaláble m-be-bába dìya.| xaráye mɛθèla| nabálla ṭla-bábe dìye.| b-rəš-d-àyya bráta| réšət bábe díye t-Žàlo| θéle twíra ràbe gáye.| (40) zílela yomàθa,| xá-yoma-w tré ʾu-ṭ́làθa,| há-ṭ́-ila máṭye ʾáθṛət bába d-a-bràta.| mátyela ða-mðìta.| qímela máxyela ḳ́winày,| xá-dukθa qúrbət… d-à mðíta.| (41) mára ṭla-Bèžəm,| xwarzáye dìye,| ʾáti tú-tiwa làxxa.| ʾu-súsi páyəš làxxa| ʾu-ʾána bráta masqánna be-bába dìya.| qìmɛle| dwíqəlla ʾĭð-bràta| ʾu-síqa sìqa.| mbùqrɛle,| moxázyəlle ʾan-náše béθət bábə d-a-bràta.| mára ʾàwwɛle.|

(30) Now, that warrior seized Bežəm. He tied his legs and hands and threw him from the entrance of the cave. He threw him from the entrance of the cave and he went down, rolling over as he went. (31) Rustam looked and saw his nephew rolling over. He put out his hands and caught him. He caught him and released his legs and hands. He said 'What is it?' He said 'The situation is like this'. He said 'Stay here, this is not your business. I shall go up myself'. (32) Rustam went up to the cave. He looked and saw that that man was there. When he (the other) saw him, he recognized him. He knew that he was Rustam. He knew that he was a hero, a great warrior, whom he could not defeat. (33) He tried to beg him (saying) 'I am your servant. Go, leave me! It is I who who have brought her. She is mine'. He said '(I swear) by your head and by the head of your father, this girl will not stay with you'. (34) He struck his club on the head of the man and killed him, then took the girl. He took the girl and brought her down, put her behind him on the back of the horse, set off and went to the land of the girl's father.

(35) The father of the girl was also a heroic warrior and he had many warriors—(they went) to another land. His name was Aprəsyaw. Bežəm said 'Where are we going uncle? Let's take her back to my grandfather, to my grandfather Zāl'. (36) He said 'No. I shall go and take her to her father. I shall ask him for her hand. If he does not give her, I shall kill him and take her by force, then finally I shall take her back'. This was because he was such a heroic warrior and did not want to play tricks. They travelled until they reached the land of girl's father.

(37) Now Rustam took the girl, put her on the back of the horse behind him and set off on the road. He said to his nephew Bežəm 'Let us go to the land of Aprəsyaw, the girl's father'. His land was far away. They travelled for days. (38) Bežəm, his nephew, said 'Uncle, have her wedded to you, she is for you'. He said 'No, nephew, no. She is betrothed to my father. I shall take her to my father. But let us go and ask her father for her hand'. (39) This is because they are tribes, they are heroic warriors, they cannot steal or plunder. He should go and ask her father's family for her hand and then finally bring her back to his father. On account of this girl, the head of his father Zāl was broken many times. (40) They travelled one day, two, three, until they reached the land of the girl's father. They reached a town. They pitched their tents, in a place near the town. (41) He said to Bežəm, his nephew 'You stay here and my horse will stay here, while I take the girl up to the house of her father. He held the hand of the girl and went up. He asked and the people showed him the house of the girl's father. They said 'It is this one'.

(42) síqle xábra l-bábət bràta| mára brátux mùθya.| máre ʾéni muθyàle?| mára xá-naša hóle mùθyəlla| ʾu-léðəxle ʾáwwa náša m-èkɛle,| xa-ferəssa.| (43) bábət bráta plíṭle qámθe díye qəm-xazèle,| mguzgázla lášše díye zdìle.| máre ʾo-ṯ́-íle múrqəlla bráti rába gabbàra-wewa.| kúlla ʾaskarwáθi lɛwa máṣye bìye.| ʾáwwa màṭo xóðe díye máṣya šqílle ʾɛ-bráta mən-d-áw,| lázəm ʾawwa-ràba ferássɛle.| (44) zdìle.| qíma sìqɛle.| dáryɛle šlàma-ʾəlle,| wíra tíwa gu-dìwən| ʾu-ʾáθyela guṛàne| d-o-náša-w ferásse dìye| kúlla tíwe gu-dìwən-ila.| ʾu-bráta múrəlla gu-xa-mànzəl.| (45) ʾánna léla mbaqórəlle m-ǔkɛwət| ʾan-náše le-y-mbáqri mən-ʾárxa ʾáti m-ǔkɛwət.| tíwela múθye ʾixàla-w| xìlela.| ʾaw-bába d-é-brata šámme díye ʾAprəsyàw.| (46) hóle máre ṭla-xá xuláme dìye| máre ʾa-dánət méθeti qàwa,| mpǎleti,| mattátla ʾáqlux rəš-qalúnka d-áwwa náša torətle,| torátle qalúnke dìye.| sab-ʾáni garšíwa qălùnka,| jigára lìtwa.| qalúnka maḷéwa tǔtun| ʾu-garšíwa.| (47) Rustǎmo qalúnke díye grìšle.| rzìgle,| qəm-mattúle hátxa l-ʾǎra.| múθye qàwe| yáwi ʾólle dìye.| šqílle qáwa ṭla-šàte,| ʾo-qáwači qəm-mattúla ʾáqle rəš-qalùnka| qəm-tawərre.| (48) Rustǎmo ʾɛ-dánə xzéle qalúnke twìra,| bríkɛwa rəš-bərke,| dáryəlla ʾíðe díye l-d-ò-qawači,| tqìləlle,| máxyəlle l-ʾǎra.| mìθɛle ʾo-náša.| ʾɛ-dánə ṭ́-íle wíðəlle ʾáwwa šùla,| ʾo-góṛa d-à-maθa,| d-à-məita,| ʾAprəsyàw,| ṯ́-amráxle ràyyəs,| mguzgáztɛla lášše dìye,| zdìyɛle rába.| (49) máre ʾáwwa ferəssɛle,| ʾáwwa lá-mṣən bíye dìye.| ṯ́-áwəð baláye biyǔni.| ʾu-ʾáp-xa léle mṣùθa-w| qímɛle ʾó-naša šqíləlle nùbləlle.| tíwɛle tàma.| tíwɛle tàma,| ʾo-léle dmíxɛle Rustǎmo| kəs-d-àni,| ʾárxa diyèyile.| dáryəlle šwíθa gu-xà-manzəl,| dmìxɛle.| ʾáw ʾi-dáməx ṭḷaθà yomáθa la-qàyəm.| w-ánna là-ṣbara ṯ́-ázi mărəšíle.|

(50) Béžəm hóle šəttət máθa mòdile wáða?| hóle zàla| ða-gótət màθa| mxáyəlla ʾé-xòrta| gu-d-an-bàte,| kúlla tlàxəlla,| b-lǔle| b-rəš-nàše,| ʾu-ráqa θàyɛle.| qam-páyəš yóma θáya dmáxa gu-čádre dìye.| (51) xábra mṭéle l-màlka.| mára ða-gótət màθa hola-tlíxta.| ṣléle ṭàya| ʾǔnile tlíxəlla ʾáyya.| kǔla ʾaskarwáθa| ʾəθye ṭalbǔni| (52) ʾu-mára lǔle-xəzya čù-náša| bas-yǎðəx hóla tlíxe ʾánna bàte| ʾu-lǔla-xəzye ʾaskarwáθa.| ʾó-yoma zìlle.| yómə trè| zílle Béžəm xa-góta xéta d-a-məìta.| (53) ʾap-ʾo-yóma ʾa-xórta ṯ́-ìla b-ʾíðe díye| mxáyəlla gu-d-ánna báte tlaxəlla,| ʾap-a-măḥálle tlixàle.| ʾu-ríqle zìlle| dmíxle gu-čádre dìye.|

(42) Word got to the girl's father. They said 'Your daughter has been brought back'. Who has brought her back? They said 'A man has brought her back, but we do not know where the man is from, he is a great warrior'. (43) The girl's father went out to meet him. When he saw him, his body trembled and he was afraid. He said 'The person who kidnapped my daughter was a great warrior. All my armies could not defeat him. How could he by himself take the girl from him. He must be a heroic warrior'. (44) He was afraid. He (Rustam) went up and greeted him, then entered the reception room. The courtiers of the man and all his warriors were sitting in the reception room. They took the girl into a room. (45) They did not ask him where he was from. Those people did not ask a guest 'Where are you from?' They sat and they brought food, and they ate. The name of the girl's father was Aprəsyaw. (46) He said to one of his servants, he said 'When you bring coffee and you distribute it, put your foot on the pipe of that man and break it, break his pipe'. This was because they used to smoke a pipe, there were no cigarettes. They would fill a pipe with tobacco and smoke it. (47) Rustam smoked his pipe. He finished it and put it on the floor. They brought coffee and gave it to him. He took the coffee to drink. The man serving the coffee put his foot on the pipe and broke it. (48) When Rustam saw that his pipe was broken, he knelt down on his knees, put his hand on that coffee server, lifted him up and slung him onto the floor. The man died. When he did this, the chief of the land, of the town, Aprəsyaw, let's call him the 'headman',—his body trembled and he was very afraid. (49) He said 'He is a great warrior. I cannot defeat him. He will wreak havoc with us'. Nobody spoke. The man took him (Rustam) away and he lodged there. He lodged there and that night Rustam slept in their home. He was their guest. They laid for him bedding in a room and he slept. He slept for three days without getting up. They did not dare go and wake him.

(50) Bežəm was at the bottom of the village. What does he do? He goes to one side of the village and batters the houses with the poplar tree and destroys them all, at night, on the heads of the people, then he runs back. Before daybreak, he went to sleep in his tent. (51) Word got to the king. They said 'One side of the village is destroyed. He went down to investigate who had destroyed it. (They said) 'Where are the armies that have attacked us?' (52) They said 'Nobody has been seen, but we know that the houses have been destroyed and no armies have been seen'. On that day (he) had gone out. The next day Bežəm went to another side of the town. (53) Also on that day he battered the houses with the poplar tree that was in his hand and destroyed them and he destroyed the district. He then ran off and slept in his tent.

(54) síqle xábra mṭéle l-màlka,ˈ màraˈ ða-gótət màθa,ˈ t-məìta,ˈ hola-tlìxta.ˈ ʾáwwa zdíle ràbaˈ máre ʾánna—ʾènile wáðəlle ʾáwwa šúla.ʔˈ la-ðíla ʾènile.ˈ

(55) xaràyeˈ ṛíšle Rùstămo.ˈ ṛìšle,ˈ ʾó-malka máre ṭla-Rùstămoˈ hāl ʾu-qáṣṣət hàtxaˈ màdi qáṣṣət?ˈ ʾáyya mà čadréla gu-dášta?ˈ bálki ṯ-íla mən-tàma tráṣa ʾánna xráwe.ˈ (56) Rustămo máre ʾána lè-y-yăðən módile bárya ˈ ṭlìyənwa.ˈ qlíble málka mšodárre ʾàskarˈ qam-d-à-čadra.ˈ ṣlèleˈ ṭla-t-xáze màdi gu-d-a-čàdra.ˈ Béžəm plìṭleˈ qəm-šaqálle ʾo-qaṭíye dìyeˈ ʾaw-qaṭíya xòrtɛla.ˈ kréle gu-d-a-ʾàskarˈ qəm-mpatpàtlaˈ kút-xa qəm-xašálle ða-gòta.ˈ (57) málka zdìle.ˈ máre ʾáwwa šúla m-àxxɛle tráṣa.ˈ máre ṭla-Rustămoˈ ʾènile ʾáwwa?ˈ máre ʾáwwa xwarzàyile.ˈ ṭla-mò ṣláya pláša mánne díye?ˈ máre madám ṯ-íle xwarzàyuxˈ ṭla-módi tíwa tàmaˈ léle θáya làxxa,ˈ bálki ṯ-ile-ʾàwwa tláxəlla ʾánna báte.ˈ (58) máre léle ʾàw.ˈ ʾən-ʾítlux ferásse bắyət pàlšət,ˈ hadíya ʾána hon-ʾəθyaˈ ṭlába bràtux,ˈ bắyət yawətla,ˈ bắyət pálšət kèfux!ˈ máre là b-álaha.ˈ ʾána bráti lè-y-yawənna-llux.ˈ le-y-yăðánnɛxu m-ɛkŭ̀tu.ˈ (59) máre lè-y-yăðətli?ˈ máre là.ˈ ṣə̀lyɛleˈ ʾáni qári qắbux l-ġðàðe.ˈ ṣə́lyɛle gu-dàšta ˈ máre kú-ṯ-ile ferássa ʾáθe ʾàxxane,ˈ mjarəbla gáne.ˈ (60) málka mšadòrəlleˈ ferásse dìyeˈ ṭla-gðàla.ˈ kú-ṯ-ile ṣláya tàmaˈ lèla mṣáya bíye díyeˈ hóle qṭàləlla.ˈ Rustămo ferə̀ssɛle.ˈ (61) zála-w plàṭaˈ máre ṭla-xále dìyeˈ máre xàliˈ šúqla ʾánna ṭlàli,ˈ ʾan-yalúnke zòre.ˈ šúqla ṭlàli.ˈ Rustămo máre làˈ si-dmúx gu-čàdra,ˈ ʾánna ḵáwa xàmmi.ˈ (62) béna xaràyeˈ píšle màjburˈ kúl ʾaskarwáθa d-o-málka qəm-tayə̀mla,ˈ lèla mṣáya b-Rùstămo.ˈ málka zdíle ràbaˈ mšodárre bàθreˈ wídle ṣóloh mánne dìye.ˈ wídle ṣóloh mə̀nne,ˈ máre ʾána bắyən t-yắðen ʾáti ʾèniwət.ˈ (63) máre ʾána ʾíwən Rustămo brōn-t-Ẓàlo,ˈ t-y-aθéwa ṭlábəlla bràtuxˈ ʾu-t-maxìtuwaleˈ ʾu-réše díye torìtuwale,ˈ brináne gu-rèše.ˈ hon-ʾəθya ṭlábəlla bràtux,ˈ nablánna ṭla-bàbi.ˈ

(54) Word got to the king. They said 'A side of the village, the town, has been destroyed'. He was very afraid and said 'Who has done this?' They did not know who it was.

(55) Finally Rustam woke up. He woke up and the king said to Rustam 'The situation is like this. What is happening?'[4] What tent is that in the field? Perhaps it was from here that all this devastation is being wrought'. (56) Rustam said 'I don't know what happened. I was asleep'. The king returned and sent an army to that tent. He went down to see what was in the tent. Bežəm came out. He took his stick, the stick was a poplar tree. He smote the army, he tore them apart and threw them in all directions.[5] (57) The king was afraid. He said this business is being done from here'. He said to Rustam 'Who is he?' He said 'He is my nephew. Why are they going down to fight with him?' He said 'If he is your nephew, why is he camped there and does not come here? Perhaps it is he who is destroying the houses'. (58) He said 'It is not him. If you have warriors and you want to fight—now, I have come to ask for the hand of your daughter, whether you want to give her or whether you fight is up to you'. He said 'No, by God. I will not give my daughter to you. I do not know where you are from'. (59) He said 'Do you not know me?' He said 'No'. He came down, they challenged one another to fight.[6] He went down to the field and said 'Whoever is a warrior, let him come here and test out his mettle'. (60) The king sent his warriors to wrestle with him. All those who went down there could not defeat him and he killed them. Rustam was a mighty warrior. (61) (Bežəm) was going back and forth. He said to his uncle, he said 'Uncle, leave them to me, those young people, leave them to me'. Rustam said 'No! Go and sleep in your tent. Let them be my concern'. (62) In the end, he was forced (to concede), since Rustam finished off all the armies of the king, nobody being able to defeat him. The king was very frightened. He sent after him and made a truce with him. He made a truce with him and said 'I want to know who you are'. (63) He said 'I am Rustam son of Zāl, who used to come to seek the hand of your daughter and whom you beat and whose head you broke, (leaving) wounds in his head. I have come seeking the hand of your daughter, in order to take her to my father'.

[4] Literally: What is the story?
[5] Literally: each one he threw to one side.
[6] Literally: They called a battle cry to each other.

(64) ʾAprəsyàw| lə́š-ile mṣáya ṭ-ámər čù-məndi.| lèle mṣáya bíye díye.| ferə̀ssɛle.| ʾu-ʾaskarwáθa díye kúlla pálga qṭilìle.| mə́re ʾáxni t-yawə́xla ʾína ṭlàlux.| mə́re là.| (65) ʾána hon-yə̀mya| ʾáyya bráta hon-ʾə́θya nablə̀nna| ʾən-b-našùθa,| ʾən-b-xèla,| nablə́nna ṭla-bàbi.| bánta xaráye píšle màjbur| málka qəm-yawə́lla ʾə́lle dìye.| mə́re ʾána hiwàli,| bə̆́yət nábəlla ṭla-gànux| bə̆́yət nábəlla ṭla-bàbux.| (66) qìmɛle,| múttəlla xāṣ-sùsa,| ʾu-mupə́štəlla ʾan-nàše| ʾu-ṭlíbela xáṭər mənnèy,| ʾu-zìlɛle.| zìlɛle| xá-yoma-w tré-w ṭlàθa.| ʾə́θyɛle mətyɛle ʾáθṛət bábe dìye.| (67) ʾu-núbləlla ʾa-bràta,| híwəlla ṭla-bábe dìye.| wíðela xlùla| šawwà yomáθa-w| šawwà lɛlăwàθa-w| dáwla-w zòrna.| ʾu-qəm-magwə̀rra l-bábe díye| ʾa-bràta.| ʾu-ʾána šwiqáli tàma| ʾu-θéli làxxa.|

(64) Aprəsyaw was not able to say anything. He could not oppose him. He (Rustam) was a mighty warrior. He had killed half of all his armies. He said 'We shall give her, but to you (not to your father)'. (65) He said 'No. I have taken an oath. I have come to take this girl either humanely or by force to my father'. In the end he was forced (to concede) and the king gave her to him. He said 'I have given her, whether you wish to take her for yourself or whether you wish to take her for your father'. (66) He put her on the back of the horse and the people escorted them (out of the town) and bade them farewell, then he went on his way. He travelled for one day, two, three, and reached the land of his father. (67) He took the girl and gave her to his father. They held a wedding for seven days and seven nights, with drum and pipe. He wedded the girl to his father. I have left it there and come here.

A30 The Crafty Hireling

Informant: Mišayel Barčəm (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθwa lìθwa| biš-m-álaha góṛa čú-mdi lìθwa.| ʾíθwa xà-naša,| ʾíθwale trè-bnone.| rába píšle taqṣīr-ḥà̰l.| láš-iyewa mṣáya xà̰yewa.| máre ta-bnóne dìye| bàbi| de-sóga ṭólɛxu xa-šúla ta-t-xá̰yitu bìye.| ʾɛ́ni mənnɛ́xu ṭ̂-àzəl.ʔ| (2) móra ṭ̂-ázəl ʾo-gòṛa.| bíš-yăðe mtagbə̀rra.| ʾáti ʾo-zóra lá ʾazèti,| tá d-o-zòra.| zílle bróne díye ṭá̰ya šúla gu-ða-màθa.| máre ʾɛ́ni bá̰ye palàxa?| ʾɛ́ni bá̰ye xulàma?| máre hé ʾàna bá̰yən xuláma.| (3) θèle| kásle dìye| qəm-mapl̀axle.| máre ṭ̂-amrə́nnux xà-məndi.| bá̰yət pàlxət?| máre hè!| máre pálxət kásli hal-d-o-yómə qárya ṭ̂ò̰k̂e.| har-qréla ṭ̂ò̰k̂e| párəq šùlux.| máre lìtla-xam.| (4) máre mòdi šúla?| máre m-lèle| mpalṭátta tàwre| nablátta ta-ʾawáʾha ṭùra.| w-áyya tullə̀kθa,| tullákθa zórta mànnux,| kálba zóra mánnux ṭ̂-àwe.| ʾéka ṣàṭqa| tàma zăréti.| (5) ʾu-mattánnux jarréta láxma zeðàye.| ʾu-mattánnux màsta.| zeðàye| ʾáxlət mánna t-là-qṣaya.| ʾu-màsta| ʾáxlət mánna qrúšta díya t-la-xàrwa,| qrúštət páθa dìya.| (6) w-aṣə́rta mɛθə̀tli| xá-qapla qèse| t-lá-hawa b-qàlpe,| ṭ̂-áwa xwáre t-la-qàlpe.| máre rába spə̀y.| (7) m-léle qìmɛle,| ʾo-xuláme dìye| táwre mpúlṭəlla-w nùbləlla| ʾu-tullə́kθa mənne-dìye,| ʾu-bzára mənne-dìye,| ʾu-màsta-w| zeðàye,| zílɛle ta-t-zá̰re.| (8) mátɣɛle ṭla-ṭùra,| tullákθa síqta š-xà-ʾisarɛwa,| tíwta tàma.| kàze| háyyo ṣla-làxxa!| ʾána ʾàxxa bá̰yən zăréna.| mùt síqta táma?| là ṣléla.| hìrre b-gáne díye.| (9) táwre masóqəlla b-o-kəndàla,| sáqa zá̰re b-o-kəndàla,| táwre léla-mṣaya ṣálɛ qlába ṣlàya| ʾu-qarqárte dìyela.| (10) m-léle hal-ʾaṣə́rta məskéna blíga tàma| léle mṣáya ză̰re.| ksìrre,| kə̆́xle ràba.| tullə́kθa léla ṣlàya,| síqta b-o-ʾisàrɛla.| ʾàtxɛle,| kèpa.|

A30 The Crafty Hireling

Informant: Mišayel Barčəm (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There was once[1]—nothing is greater than God—there was a man, who had two sons. He was in very straitened circumstances. He could no longer make a living.[2] He said to his sons 'My dears, go and search for a job for yourselves by which you may make a living. Which of you will go?' (2) They said 'The older one will go. He knows better how to manage things. You, the younger one, don't go', (speaking) to the younger one. His son went searching for a job in a town. He said 'Who wants a workman? Who wants a servant?' (Somebody) said 'Yes, I want a servant'. (3) He went to him and he employed him. He said 'Let me tell you something. Do you want to work?' He said 'Yes!' He said 'Work with me until the *ṭoḳe* bird sings.[3] As soon as the *ṭoḳe* bird has sung, your work will finish'. He said 'All right'. (4) He said 'What is the job?' He said 'Early in the morning take out the oxen and take them to that mountain over there. This hound, small hound, small dog, will be with you. Wherever she squats down, it is there that you should plough. (5) I shall provide you with a food-box of pitta breads. I shall provide you also with yoghurt. You should eat the pittas without breaking them and should eat the yoghurt without the crust being spoilt, the crust of its surface. (6) In the evening bring me a bundle of pieces of wood that are without bark, that are white without bark.' He said 'Very good'. (7) That servant of his got up early in the morning. He brought out the oxen, took them (with him) and went to plough together with a hound, a plough, and also yoghurt and pitta breads. (8) He reached the mountain and the hound went up onto a rock and sat there. He tried (to persuade her down saying) 'Come down here! I want to plough here. Why have you gone there?' But she did not come down. He was confounded. (9) He took the oxen onto the slope, he went up to plough on that slope, but the oxen could not manage and came back down. The plough squeaked (on the rock). (10) The poor man was busy there from morning until evening, but could not plough. He was shattered. He was very tired. The hound did not come down but went up onto the rock, that is the stone.

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[1] Literally: There was, there was not.
[2] Literally: live.
[3] The song of this bird is the sign of the beginning of Spring.

(11) hadíya bə̌ye ṯ-áxəl mə́ndi kpìnɛle.ˈ b-xyára b-zeðàye,ˈ t-la-qṣàyaˈ dàx ṯ-axə́lla?ˈ ma-zāl qaṣe-llèy.ˈ màstaˈ lázəm qrúšta díya là xárwa.ˈ (12) píša kpìna.ˈ la-xála xìlleˈ ʾu-zeðáye šwíqile b-šawpèy.ˈ ʾaṣə́rta bə̌ye qèse.ˈ ṭə̌ye ʾátxa qèse,ˈ qése t-la-qálpe lìθena.ˈ ʾə́θya bèθɛle.ˈ (13) ʾə́θya bèθɛle:ˈ ʾa-mu-wìdlux?ˈ lá-mṣeli zrìli.ˈ tullə́kθa síqta š-xà-ʾisara,ˈ lá-mṣeli zrìli.ˈ ʾu-lə́xma t-la-qṣáya là-mṣən ṯ-axlánwale.ˈ másta hot-màraˈ t-la-xráwa qrúšta dìya,ˈ fa-míθa m-kə̀pna.ˈ (14) mə́re ʾàtiˈ la-dóqət wə́jju mənni.ˈ qəm-maxèleˈ ʾəṣrà-jaldeˈ ʾəṣrá-qɛse gu-xáṣe dìye,ˈ ʾu-ṭarədle.ˈ sí ʾat-là-nə̌fətli.ˈ zílle məskènaˈ bxàya.ˈ

(15) há bàbi!ˈ mòdi wídlux?ˈ ḥāl u-ḥə̌wāl ʾu-qə́ṣṣət hàtxa-wawa.ˈ lá-mṣeli plíxli kəsle-dìyeˈ hátxa wídle b-rèši.ˈ xóne ʾo-šeðána mə́re ʾàna ṯ-azéna.ˈ k̲óra la-ʾàzət.ˈ qaṭə̀llux.ˈ ʾáwwa kapòrɛle.ˈ ʾána ʾəṣrà-jalde məxyálli.ˈ ʾáwwa qaṭə̀llux!ˈ là,ˈ ʾána ṯ-azèna.ˈ (16) zílle xóne ʾo-šeðàna.ˈ ʾéni bə̌ye xulamwàθa?ˈ ʾéni bə̌ye xulamwàθa?ˈ qúrbət bèθele xðára,ˈ ṣràxaˈ ʾéni bə̌ye xolamwàθa?ˈ mə́re hayyo-làxxaˈ ʾána bə̌yən xulamwàθa.ˈ há bə̌yət pàlxeti?ˈ mə́re hè.ˈ (17) hàyyo,ˈ ṯ-amrə́nnux xà-məndi.ˈ bə̌yət pàlxət?ˈ mə́re hè.ˈ mə́re pálxət kásli ʾàxxaˈ hál-o-yomət qáre ṯo̲ke.ˈ qréle ṯo̲keˈ párəq šùlux.ˈ mòdi šúlux?ˈ (18) mə́re ʾánna táwre mpalṭátta m-lèle,ˈ nablátla ṭùra.ˈ ʾéka ṣáṭqa ʾáyya tullə̀kθa,ˈ ʾáyya kálba ʾéka ṣàṭəq,ˈ tàma zăréti.ˈ ʾánna zeðàyeˈ ʾáxlət mánna t-là-qṣaya.ˈ ʾáyya màstaˈ ʾáxlət mánna qrúšta díya t-la-xàrwa.ˈ ʾaṣə́rta mɛθə́tli xa-qápla qèseˈ t-là-hawe b-qálpe,ˈ xwàre.ˈ mə́re rába spày.ˈ

(19) qímɛle m-lèle,ˈ zíla núbla táwre dìye,ˈ bzáre xáṣe dìye,ˈ tullə́kθa mánne-mənne dìye,ˈ jarréta mánna zeðáye-u màsta-wˈ zìlɛle.ˈ (20) tullə́kθa síqta š-isàrɛla.ˈ káze ṣla-làxxa!ˈ ʾana-ʾáxxa bə̌yən zărèna.ˈ ṣla-làxxa!ˈ la-ṣlèla.ˈ síqɛle šqílle xa-kèpaˈ mútṭəlla ʾàxxaˈ kalə̀bθa,ˈ qṭìləlla,ˈ də̀ryəlla,ˈ mquləbzəlla-ži.ˈ grìšəlla,ˈ mə́re ʾàxxa ṯ-óyət.ˈ zrìyɛle táma.ˈ zrìyɛle,ˈ ʾáyya qṭilàle.ˈ

(11) Now he wanted to eat something, since he was hungry. He looks at the pitta breads, how can he eat them without breaking them? He must break them. As for the yoghurt, its crust could not be spoilt. (12) So he remained hungry. He did not eat and left the pitta breads where they were.[4] In the evening he seeks wood, searches for wood, but there is no wood without bark. He went back home. (13) He went back home and he (his master) said 'Well, what have you done?' 'I could not plough. The hound went up onto a rock and I could not plough. I could not eat the bread without breaking it. You told me not to spoil the crust of the yoghurt. So, I am dying of hunger'. (14) He said 'You have no use for me'. He struck him ten strokes, ten strokes of a stick on his back and drove him away. 'Go away, you are no use to me'. The poor man went away weeping.

(15) (His father said) 'My dear, what have you done?' 'This is what happened. I could not work with him. He did such-and-such to me'. His crazy (younger) brother said 'I'll go'. 'Don't go my lad. He'll kill you. He is a scoundrel. He beat me with ten strokes. He will kill you'. 'No, I'll go'. (16) That brother of his, the crazy man, went on his way. (He cried) 'Who wants servants? Who wants servants?' He went wandering near his house, crying out 'Who wants servants?' He said 'Come here. I want servants. Well, do you want to work?' He said 'Yes'. (17) 'Come, I'll tell you something. Do you want to work?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'You will work with me here until the day the *ṭoḳe* bird sings. When the *ṭoḳe* bird sings, your work is finished. What is your job?' (18) He said 'Take these oxen out in the early morning and take them to the mountain. Where this hound crouches, where this dog crouches, it is there that you should plough. You should eat these pitta breads without breaking them. You should eat this yoghurt without its crust being spoilt. In the evening bring me a bundle of wood, white, without bark'. He said 'Very good'.

(19) He got up in the early morning and went and took his oxen, with his plough on his back, together with the hound and a food-box containing pitta breads and yoghurt. He went off. (20) The hound went up on a rock. He tried (to persuade it down saying) 'Come down here! I want to plough here. Come down here!' It did not come down. He went up and took a stone, put the dog here, killed it and turned it upside down. Then he dragged it and said 'You will be here'. He ploughed there. He ploughed. He had killed it.

[4] Literally: in their place.

(21) θèle| ṯ-áxəl mèndi.| zeðàye| t-la-qṣàya| de-màṭo hóya?| hóla skínta mènne.| xarə́ṭla zeðàye| be-pálga dìya.| tráθna zeðáye xarəṭlèy.| màsta,| bằzèla,| bằzéla jullə́kθa m-xòθa.| bằzèla,| másta plíṭla m-xóθa dìya,| š-zeðàye,| ʾu-xálɛle lə̀xma,| ʾu-zeðáye ʾu-másta xìlle.| (22) ʾaṣə́rta mùt ṯ-áwəð?| bắye qèse,| qése xwáre t-la-qàlpa.| xìrɛle,| máre b-xšáwən har-ʾánna bzàre| qémən torènnɛy,| nablə̀nna ʾə́lle-diye.| ʾánna t-la-qàlpɛla.| qímɛle bzáre twìrɛlela-w| níre-diye twìrɛlele,| kúlla wíðəlla qəṭṭàṭe,| qmíṭəlla xáṣe ʾu-zìlɛle.| ʾáw mírɛwa táwre morə́tla b-kàwe.| ʾána lé-y-awən bèθa.| ʾána tă̆ra xalqə́nne ṯ-ázən xa-dùkθa.| ʾáti dɛrə́tla b-káwe kùlla,| lá morə́tla b-tằra.| (23) zílɛle qam-tă̆rət gòma.| kàwe,| ʾéka ṯ-áwər táwra b-kàwe?| ya-ʾálaha mo-ʾóðən b-gàni?| ʾíθwa xá-nă̆ra tàma.| kut-táwra máxyəlle xá gu-réše dìye,| gu-be-ʾéne dìye.| dáryəlle l-ă̆ra tàwra.| mqudə́qdəlla kùlla.| b-o nằra| ʾan-táwre dìye| mqudəqdɛlelɛy.| kúlla dáryəlla b-kàwe,| dáryəlla gu-gòma.| mār-béθa ʾə́θyɛle sìqɛle.| máre ʾan-táwre mo-wìðlux?| dréli gu-gòma.| ʾó qése… ʾánna nírə bzára mút twirìlux?| ʾána m-éka mɛθə́nnux qése xwáre t-la-qàlpe?| m-éka ṭă̆yənwalux ʾána?| (24) ḳóra mu-wìðlux?!| xrīw-diyára twirílux bzàre!| twirílux mešáne kùlla!| kúlla twirìlux!| máre hàtxɛla.| zeðàye?| lan-qəsyəlla.| hóla zeðàye.| jullákθa hóla hár qrúšta rèša.|

(25) ʾáwwa léle ðíya ṯ-íla táwre díye prìme.| lèðe.| dmìxɛle.| m-lèle| šmíyɛle qálət qàṭe.| qáṭe narnartéy gu-gòma.| ʾə́θye l-básra kùlla.| qàṭe,| šárrət qáṭe gu-gòmɛla,| parpàṭṭɛla.| (26) báxta mára xzí gáwṛa módila wáða ʾánna qàṭe!| m-èka píšla láxxa?!| lìθwalən qáṭe ʾáxni.| kúlla qáṭə máθa kpíše táma qàṭe.| ʾáyya mòdila?| narnártət qàṭela.| (27) pθíxəlle tằra,| kúlla táwre mqudáqde dárye l-ʾằra.| ʾé-ga kàrəb| mút ṯ-áwəð b-rèše?| máre mùt wíða?| táwre dəryánna b-kàwe!| márux darə́tla b-kàwe.| qanáne léwa pšàṭa,| ʾap-qanáne twìrəllɛy.| zìlla.|

(21) He came to eat something. 'Pitta bread without breaking it, how could that be?' He had a knife with him. He scored the pittas in their middle. He scored both the pittas. He pierced the yoghurt. He pierced the vessel from below. He pierced it, the yoghurt came out from underneath onto the pittas and he ate the bread. He ate the pittas and the yoghurt. (22) In the evening what did he do? He searched for pieces of wood, white pieces of wood without bark. He looked and said 'I think it is only this plough (that has white wood). I'll break it up and take it to him. They are without bark'. He broke up the plough. He broke up its yoke. He reduced it to pieces. He tied them on his back and went off. He (his master) had said 'You should bring the oxen in through the window. I shall not be at home. I shall lock the door and go somewhere. You put them all through the window, don't bring them in through the door'. (23) He went up to the door of the basement stable. 'A window, where could an ox enter in a window? By God, what should I do with myself?' There was an axe there. He struck each ox a blow on its head, on its forehead and put it on the ground. He chopped them all up. He chopped the oxen up with the axe. He put them all through the window and put them in the basement stable. The landlord came back. He said 'What did you do with those oxen?' 'I put them in the basement stable'. 'These pieces of wood…why have you broken the yoke of the plough?' 'From where can I fetch white wood without bark? From where could I seek this for you?' (24) 'Wretch, what have you done! You have broken the plough! You have broken all the beams (of the plough). You have broken everything!' He said 'That's how it is'. 'And the pittas?' 'I have not cut them. Here are the pittas. As for the bowl (of yoghurt)—here, its crust is still on it'.

(25) He did not know that his oxen were slaughtered. He did not know. He went to sleep. In the early morning he heard the sound of cats. The cats were hissing in the basement stable. They had all come for the meat. Cats, it was a cat fight in the basement stable. They were pulling each other's hair out. (26) The wife said 'Husband, see what those cats are doing. Where have they come from? We did not have any cats'. All the cats of the village were gathered there. What was it (that they heard)? It was the hissing of cats. (27) He opened the door (and saw that) all the oxen were chopped up and put down on the floor. Then he got angry. What will he do to him (the servant)? He said 'What have you done?' 'I have put the oxen through the window! You said "You should put them through the window"'. The horns did not fit, so he brought also the horns. They were all dead.

(28) mò-ʾawəð b-gáne?ˈ mára béna zílla báxta mò-ʾoðexi?ˈ ʾáwwa šeðànɛle.ˌ ʾáwwa prīṭ-dína ʾàp-ʾaw.ˌ ʾu-ṯòḵeˌ ʾìman qárya ṯóḵe?ˈ ṯóḵe lá-qarya díya b-dìya.ˌ qìmle,ˌ mára béna xázəx mò-ʾoðəx.ˌ

(29) ʾítla bráta gwírta xa-dúkθa rə̀ḥqa.ˌ bratéy gwìrtɛla,ˌ xa-béθa xèna.ˌ mára de-nábəl sáma dìya.ˌ ʾèbɛle,ˌ ṯ-àmra,ˌ tré-tre táwre prímɛle bàbiˌ lá muθéle sàmi.ˌ (30) xa-šaqòlɛleˌ mkùlčɛleˌ ʾu-xa-xènaˌ ða-ʾàṭmaˌ hóla sàxi.ˌ mára ʾáyya ʾàṭmaˌ nablə́tla ʾəlla-dìya.ˌ mára lìtla xám.ˌ sìqɛle,ˌ ʾáṭma múttəlla qúrbət bèθa.ˌ ʾu-múrɛle šaqòlaˌ kúlle klìča.ˌ (31) mára ʾáwwa sámət tàwraˌ bábəx mšudə̀rre-llə̀x.ˌ mára m-kúlle d-o-táwra ʾáwwa šaqòla mšudárre!ˈ la-bằyànne.ˌ si-nàbəlle!ˈ maqlə̀ble.ˌ (32) qlíba ṣə̀lyɛle.ˌ mára mò-wiðle?ˈ lèla bắyəlle?ˈ mára là.ˌ mára másəq ʾè-bena.ˌ ʾən-lá bèlaˌ maxátla b-pálgət be-ʾéna dìya.ˌ mára lìtla xám.ˌ (33) síqɛle bénət-tə̀rte.ˌ ʾáṭma góṛta múttəlla ʾap-ʾáy qam-tằraˌ múwrɛle šaqólət tàwra.ˌ mára har-ʾàwwɛle.ˌ mára sáma díyəx ʾàwwɛle.ˌ là bằyánne.ˌ maqlə̀ble.ˌ lá bằyàtte?ˈ patálle šaqólət tàwraˌ b-palgə̀t be-ʾéna dìya,ˌ mḵan-dárra l-ə̀ra.ˌ ʾawə́dla tarə̀kka šáwpa díya.ˌ (34) qlíba ṣə̀lyɛle.ˌ mára har-là-wela rázi.ˌ ʾáwwa là-yăðe módi bárya,ˌ ʾáwwa hole-qtìlla ʾáy.ˌ mára yá-ʾalaha šùqla.ˌ hadíya hírra b-ganèyˌ mó-ʾoði b-o-nàša.ˌ rába híre b-gànɛla.ˌ

(35) ṯóḵe là-qarya di-b-dìya.ˌ hadìya,ˌ bráte díye ʾíθwala bráta zòrta,ˌ mára ʾásqət m-léle jàldeˌ š-d-áwwa túθa qàryatiˌ ʾu-ʾóðət túke tùk,ˌ túke tùk,ˌ ʾáwwa qa-t-marḥə̀xleˌ ṯ-àzəl.ˌ (36) bráte díye síqtɛla š-tùθaˌ héš xúya xùyɛle,ˌ wíðtɛla túke tùk.ˌ ʾáwwa mára ʾáyya ṯóḵe b-áwwa héwən, m-èka ṯóḵe díya?!ˈ díya dánət ṯóḵe díya?!ˈ (37) mára ʾarbà-yarxe,ˌ xamšà-yarxe pyášɛla.ˌ m-èka ṯóḵe?!ˈ mára bába díya mparṭə́nne mo-ṯòḵela ʾáyya?ˈ šqílɛle xa-šəndòxaˌ ṭrípəlle l-gota-dìya.ˌ m-táma npíltɛla mìθta šópa díya.ˌ pšìqtɛlaˌ mìθtɛla.ˌ

(28) What could he do with himself? He said 'Well, they are dead, wife, what should we do?' He is mad. He is also a damned scoundrel.[5] Now, when will the *ṭoḳe* bird sing? The *ṭoḳe* bird will not sing right now. He said 'Let's see what we can do'.

(29) They had a married daughter in a distant place. Their daughter was married in another house. He said 'Take her portion (of the meat). She will say that "It is shameful. My father has slaughtered several pairs of oxen and has not brought my share."' (30) One (piece) was a shank, which was stripped (of its meat). Another was a thigh, which was in good condition. He said (to the servant) 'Take this thigh to her'. He said 'All right'. He went up and put the thigh near to the house and brought the shank which was all stripped. (31) He said 'This is your share of the ox. You father has sent it to you. She said 'From all the ox he has sent this shank! I don't want it! Go and take it away! Take it back!' (32) He went back down. He (the master) said (to himself) 'Now what has he done?!' (He said to him) 'Doesn't she want it?' He said 'No!' He said 'Take it up again. If she does not want it, hit her with it in the middle of her forehead'. He said 'All right'. (33) He went up a second time. He put down the large thigh outside and brought in the shank of the ox. She said 'Is this all?' He said 'This is your portion'. 'I don't want it. Take it back'. 'Don't you want it?' He twists the shank of the ox in the middle of her forehead and caused her to roll on the ground. He made her into a corpse. (34) He went back down (to the house). He said 'She was still not satisfied'. He (the master) did not know what had happened. He had killed her. He (the master) said 'Leave her'. Now they were perplexed as to what they could do with that man. They were very perplexed.

(35) The *ṭoḳe* bird would not sing right now. Now, his daughter—they had a small daughter—he said 'Early in the morning go up onto that mulberry tree and call out, make a *tuke tuk, tuke tuk* sound, so that we can get rid of him, so that he will go away'. (36) His daughter went up onto the mulberry. It was still very dark. She made a *tuke, tuk* sound. He (the servant) said 'Is this a *ṭoḳe* bird in this season? Where has a *ṭoḳe* bird come from at this time? Is it the time of the *ṭoḳe* bird?' (37) He said 'Four months, five months are left (before the time of the *ṭoḳe* bird). Where is the *ṭoḳe* bird from?' He said 'I'll bray her father. What kind of *ṭoḳe* bird is this?' He took a small stone and threw it at her. She fell off from there and died on the spot. She fell flat and died.

[5] Literally: screwed in religion.

(38) qìmɛle| ʾína ʾay-bráte díye mìθta.| máre mò-wiðlux.ʔ| máre ṭ̂ò̂ḵe,| ʾána dréli b-ṭ̂ò̂ḵe.| qráyɛwa ṭ̂óḵe gu-d-áwwa tùθa.| ʾap-bràte qṭilále.| ya-ʾálaha ʾo-náša mód ṭ̂-óðì bìye.ʔ|

(39) b-lèle| máre ʾáwwa yalúnka brónən zóra mpalṭátte majirátle b-lèle.| máre lìtla-xam.| mpalə̀ṭwale,| čayákwa xmáṭa b-šárme dìye,| y-amárwa bàssi,| bàssi.| (40) hádəx ʾárba xámša gàye.| máre léle jyàra,| šăyátle b-gùda.| bénət ṭálḷəθ mpùlṭəlle,| čĭkəlle b-xmáṭa b-šárme dìye,| bàssi!| bàssi.!| máre bássux bàssux?| bábux mparṭ̀nne.| šyéle l-gùda.| tarə́kka hírra b-gàna| béθa muxrùle.|

(41) bắyi ṭ̂-àrqi.| mára maqðə̀xle béθa| bəd-ʾáwwa náša tàlxəx.| har-máxəx b-dùnye,| ʾáwwa b-tayə̀mlɛni.| mára bṭ̂-àrqexi.| de-ʾə̀dyo,| qu-pégən kàde.| də-mjămáxlən jarrèta.| ʾázəx xá-məita xèta.| marpáxxe bèθa.| ʾu-šóqəx ṭ̂-árəq ṭ̂-àzəl.| ʾu-bár ṭ̂-àzəl,| déṛəx l-bèθa.| (42) hadíya b-lèle,| ʾáw hole-šmà'a módila mára.| hóle l-ɛ-gōt-hòdəx,| dárya ða-kùlla,| dmíxa tàma,| muṭəlya-gáne dìye.| ʾáni hóla wáða tàgbir.| (43) péla kàde.| wídla jarrèta,| muttála gu-ðà-guniya.| hàtxa káde,| qa-t ṭ̂-ázi b-lèle,| b-léle qémi jàwji.| ʾáwwa b-léle mòdile wíða.ʔ| hóle ʾə́θya wíra gu-juwálət kàde.| káde dáryəlla b-réše dìye,|. hole-xə́pya gu-d-a-juwàla| (44) ʾánna b-lèle,| mŭráššəlla báxte dìye.| báxta qù.!| dánɛla jàwjexi.| hóle ṭlìya.| hédi hédi lá-wuð qàla.| mára là.| ṭắyənla xáṣe dìye| máre ràba yaqúrtɛla.| máre hola-kàde| ràba kádela,| yaqùrela.| (45) zìlela,| zìlela,| zìlele| qúrbət ða-maθa.| ʾə́θyela kálwe ṭalbèy.| ʾə́θyela kálwe ṭalbèy,| máre xóni xóni qəm-nɛsíli kàlwe.| he-kálba brət-kàlba,| hon-mára yaqùrtɛla.| (46) béna ʾurxa-ʾùrxa,| qəm-jayə̀rwala.| ṣlèla| jòre.| máre məšxàne!| káde məšxàne!| ṣléla b-júlle dìye,| šqálə̀lla mšàyəlla.| máre ʾánna kàde,| mù-t wíðta b-ánna kàde?| kúlla mášxa ṣə̀pyɛla.| kúlla xáṣe píšle màšxa.| (47) mára mšìla,| mšìla.| hóla mxálla ʾíðe l-jóre d-ò-naša,| ʾáw xšíwa màšxɛle ṣláya mən-káde.| wa-l-ḥáṣəl máre hóle gu-juwála kálba brət-kàlba!| léka šárṭəx mánne dìye?|

(38) He got up (and saw) that his daughter was dead. He said 'What have you done?' He said 'I threw (a stone) at the *ṭoḳe* bird. The *ṭoḳe* was singing in this mulberry tree'. So, he even killed his daughter. By God, what will they do with that man?

(39) 'At night', he said, 'Take out this young boy, our young son and make him pass water at night'. He said 'All right'. He took him out and pricked a needle into his buttocks. He (the boy) said 'That's enough! That's enough!', four or five times. (40) He (the master) said '(If) he does not pass water, throw him against the wall'. The third time, he took him out, pricked him with a needle on his buttocks 'That's enough! That's enough!' He said 'Is that enough? Is that enough? Damn[6] your father'. He flung him against the wall. (Their son was) a corpse and they were confounded 'He has destroyed the home'.

(41) They wanted to escape. They said 'Let's burn the house and get rid of this man. Let's go away. He will finish us off'. They said 'Let's flee. Today bake *kade* cakes. Let's put together a food-box for ourselves. Let's go to another town. We shall abandon the house and let him go away. After he has gone away, we shall return to the house'. (42) Now, at night, he was listening to what they were saying. He was on the other side. He had put up a mosquito net and was lying there, pretending to be asleep, while they were making a plan. (43) They baked *kade* cakes. They made a food-box and put it in a sack. (They made) *kade* cakes, so that they could go at night, get up in the night and go on their way. What did he do at night? He came and got into the sack of *kade* cakes. He put *kade* cakes on top of himself. He crouched down in the sack. (44) In the night he woke his wife 'Wife, get up. It is time for us to go. He (the servant) is asleep. Quietly, don't make a noise'. She said 'No (I won't make a noise)'. He loaded it (the sack) on his back. He said 'It is very heavy'. He said 'It is (full with) many *kade* cakes. They are very heavy'. (45) They went a long way and came close to a village. Dogs came towards them. Dogs came towards them. He (the servant) said 'Brother, brother, the dogs have bitten me'. 'Hey, you dog, son of a dog, I thought it was heavy'. (46) Now, on the way, he had urinated. The urine flowed down. He said 'They're oily! The *kade* cakes are oily. It ran down onto his clothes. He took it and licked it. He said 'What did you put in these *kade* cakes? They are all pure oil'. All his back became (covered with) oil. (47) She said 'Lick it, lick it'. He put his hand on the urine of the man, thinking that oil was running down from the *kade* cakes. In the end he said 'Look here is the dog, son of a dog in the sack! Where can we escape from him?'

[6] Literally: tear up.

(48) máre ṯ-amrə́nnəx xà-məndi.ˈ ṯ-ázəx rəš-gə̀šra,ˈ dámxəx rəš-gə̀šra,ˈ rəš-ʾáwwa gə́šrət nèra.ˈ b-lèle,ˈ ʾáw xšíwa lèle šmáya.ˈ máre mqaləbzə́xxe gu-šàṭṭa.ˈ dɛrə́xle gu-šàṭṭa.ˈ (49) ʾáw hole-šmàya.ˈ ʾáw xšíwa la-šă̆me.ˈ zìlela,ˈ bă̆yi šóri xa-šàṭṭa.ˈ móra dámxəx š-gə̀šra,ˈ biš-sălàmət-ile.ˈ ʾáxxa xuwwáwe ma-xuwwáwe lè-y-aθɛ l-d-áwwa gə́šra.ˈ ʾàxxa damxéxi.ˈ káze lá-damxəx ʾàxxa,ˈ móra dámxəx ʾàxxa.ˈ (50) máre ʾát dámxət b-gàway.ˈ qá-t…t-la-mqaləbzèti ˈ ṣálət ʾàti.ˈ báxta dmíxta b-ày-gotaˈ ʾu-gáwṛa m-ày-gotaˈ ʾu-xuláma dáryəlle gawàyeˈ qa-t-b-léle šaqlíle zadèle.ˈ (51) hadìya,ˈ zílela rəš-d-ò-gə̀šra.ˈ móra dámxəx rəš-d-ò-gə̀šra.ˈ dámxəx réše bìš-spay,ˈ t-lá-ʾaθa xuwwáwe məndiyáne ʾáxxa biš-sălàmət-ila.ˈ máx gə́šrə Ẓàwa d-o-dìyən.ˈ móra ʾáti dɛrə́xlux l-gàwayˈ t-là-napleti b-léle.ˈ (52) dmíxe rəš-gə̀šrɛla.ˈ ʾáw dáryəlle gàway,ˈ gáwṛa m-ày-gotaˈ báxta m-ày-gota,ˈ qa-t-b-léle šaqlíle zadéle gu-šàṭṭa,ˈ gu-nèra,ˈ gu-Ẓàwa.ˈ ʾáwwa yă̆ðe módila qáṣṣət,ˈ hóle ṛíša biyèy.ˈ (53) ʾáwwa b-léle qìmɛle.ˈ gáwṛa díya mqulə́bzəlle dáryəlle gawàyaˈ ʾáw píša b-áy-gota xètɛle.ˈ badláθa jàldeˈ heš-xúya xùyaˈ móre bàxtaˈ dànɛla.ˈ qímta báxta m-ày-gotaˈ ʾáwwa xuláma m-ày-gota,ˈ gáwṛa díya mquləbzəlleˈ zə́dyəlle gu-Ẓàwa.ˈ (54) móra mò-widlux?!ˈ móre ʾàwwa,ˈ móre gáwṛəx zìlle.ˈ mò-widlux bíyi?!ˈ qəm-ṣaṭmátle bèθi.ˈ ʾána nṭarənnəx kəma-dána.ˈ bă̆yən ʾáti péšət dìyiˈ (55) hadìyaˈ gáwṛa díya qəm-zadéle gu-Ẓàwa,ˈ píšla màjburˈ mò bṯ-óða?ˈ móre ʾána-w ʾáw xàṯ-ix.ˈ gáwṛəx zìlle,ˈ ʾána péšən šōp-gàwṛəx.ˈ qu-qálbəx béθa biš-spày.ˈ (56) qìmlaˈ qlíbla l-béθa dìya.ˈ ʾu-qəm-gawárra ʾáwwa xulàmaˈ ʾu-zílle bar-náše dìyeˈ kúlla muθéle tàma.ˈ ʾánna mallàkelaˈ zangìnela.ˈ ʾu-píšle xyáʾa mən-d-è-baxta.ˈ ʾu-ʾána šwiqáli tàmaˈ ʾána θéli làxxa.ˈ

(48) He (the master) said (to his wife) 'I'll tell you something. Let's go onto the bridge, let's sleep on the bridge, on this river bridge. At night'—he thought he could not hear—he said 'we'll throw him in the river. We'll put him in the river'. (49) He was listening. He thought he was not listening. They went along and needed to cross a river. They said 'Let's sleep on the bridge. It is safer. Here—snakes and the like will not come onto this bridge. Let's sleep here. He (the servant) tried (to persuade them, saying) 'Let's not sleep here'. He (the master) said 'Let's sleep here'. (50) He said 'You sleep in the middle so that you do not roll down (into the river)'. His wife slept on one side and the husband on the other side. They put the servant in the middle so that they could take him in the night and throw him. (51) Now, they went onto that bridge. They said 'Let's sleep on that bridge. It is better to sleep on it, so that snakes and the like don't come. Here it is safer'. It was like our bridge over the Zab. They said 'We shall put you in the middle so that you do not fall at night'. (52) They slept on the bridge. They put him in the middle, with the husband on one side and the wife on the other, so that in the night they could take him and throw him into the river, into the Zab. He knows what is happening. He was listening to them. (53) He got up in the night. He rolled over her husband and put him in the middle. He came to be on the other side. In the early morning, when it was still very dark, he said 'Wife, it is time'. The wife got up on this side and the servant on the other side, they rolled her husband and threw him into the Zab'. (54) She said 'What have you done?' He said 'It is him'. He said 'Your husband has gone'. 'What have you done to me?! You have destroyed my home'. 'I have been waiting for you for a long time. I want you to become mine'. (55) Now, he had thrown her husband into the Zab. She was forced (to cooperate). What could she do? He said 'He and I are one. Your husband has gone. I'll take the place of your husband. It's better if we return home'. (56) They set off and returned to her home. That servant married her. He went (looking for) her relatives and brought them all there. They were landowners. They were rich. Then he began to live with that woman. I have left it there and come here.

A31 The Giant's Cave

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) xa-nàša| sìqɛwa| l-ṭùra.| qṭála ʾərwe| qa-ṯ̣-aθéwa ṯ̣-atwíwa gu-dìwən,| šatèwa,| ʾu-xamlíwa zamrìwa.| ʾáwwa sìqele.| sìqele,| píša lèle,| máṭyele xa-gəppa.| móre manìxən,| mbàdla ṣálən.| píšle b-lèle.| (2) móre manixən ʾód-lɛle làxxa.| xu-mbádla qémən ṣàlən.| wìra| tìwɛle| gu-d-o-gəppa.| ʾè-ga,| xá-bena b-lèle,| θéle xa-hambišàya.| hambišàya| ʾè-ga| xírrɛ bìye,| ʾáwwa náša lábbe pqìle.| ʾáwwa hambišàya!| mút ṯ̣-óðən ʾàna,| xáṭər ʾaláha?| (3) ʾáp-ʾaw bəṛ-nàšɛle,| bás xa-tắhər xènɛle.| móre ya-ʾàlaha,| yá Mar-Zàya,| flan-gàwza| qablə̀nne| ṭla-Màr-Zaya,| ʾáwəð xa-kʾér ʾəlli,| šárṭən gu-ʾiθáθə d-áwwa nàša.| (4) xèna,| qṭíla xà-neriya.| qṭíla neríya rába gòṛɛwa.| mòre| mṭàwi| hal-ṭlàli| baʾdḗn ʾána ṯ̣-axlə̀nnux.| ʾáwwa ṭlàli| ʾáp-ʾati ṭlàli.| yáʿni bṯ̣-axə́lwa ʾáp ʾaw-nàša.| (5) móre ya-ʾàlaha,| ya-Mar-Zàya| wúdli xa-čára mən-d-àwwa.| prìmle ʾo-neriya.| ʾu-har-hìwle-lle,| qəm-axə́lle kúlle ʾo-neriya.| neríya zàxma,| ʾərba,| qəm-axə̀lle.| xa-béna muttále ʾíðe hàtxa,| ṭlìle.| ṭlíle hambišàya.| (6) béna ʾaw-ṭằle,| xà-šabθa ṭắle.| yá-ʾalaha mò-ʾoðən.?| yá-babət ràxme.| wúdli xa-ráxma mən-d-àwwa náša.| xáčča jwíjle hàtxa,| jwíjle hàtxa,| ʾaw-là mhorə́kle.| ʾéne pθìxtɛla,| bas-ṭlìya hóle.| (7) šišále gáne hàtxa xá-bena.| wídle hàtxa ṭla-gáne díye.| grišàle gān-díye.| la-jwìjle.| de-de-dé plìṭle| gu-tắrət gəppa.| ʾaw-hàtxa,| ʾéne díya pθíxta ṭlìya.| ʾaw-ṃəlyále tópe díye spày.| ṃəlyále tópe díye spày,| mukpále gu-be-ʾènе,| gu-ʾéne dìye.| ya-ʾálaha rìqle.| (8) m-əl-təx,| ṣríxle xa-qàla,| mən-qále díye ṣrìxle,| jìríle gu-šərwále žáre faqìra| ʾu-rìqle.| kúlle ʾó-nura qəm-daréle b-réše dìye.| náše spárɛla ta-ṯ̣-átwi b-dìwən,| ta-t-xàmli.| (9) spárɛla ʾina-tópe díye lhàya.| móra má-lux ḵóra Xarəpša.?| màw-lux.?| mà-lux.?| ʾámər šùqla!| ʾálaha qəm-xalə̀ṣli.| màwdile.?| ʾámər hambišàya.|

A31 The Giant's Cave

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) A man had gone up to the mountains to kill (wild) sheep, so that they (the hunting party) could return and sit together in a gathering, drinking, making merry and singing. He went up (in the mountains). He went up and at nightfall he came to a cave. He said 'I shall rest and go down in the morning'. It was night. (2) He said 'I shall rest here tonight. In the morning I shall get up and go down (the mountain). He went in and sat down in the cave. Then, at night, a giant came. The giant looked at him. That man's heart burst (with fear) 'He is a giant, what shall I do, for God's sake?' (3) He also was a man, but he was a different type. He said 'Oh God, oh Saint Zaya, oh Saint Zaya, I shall donate such-and-such a walnut tree to Saint Zaya, if he provides a way out for me, so that I can escape from the hands of this man'. (4) Now, he killed a goat, he killed a goat that was very large and said 'Roast it and give it to me, then I shall eat you. It is for me and you also are for me'. That is, he would eat also that man. (5) He said 'Oh God, oh Saint Zaya, find me a way out of this'. He slaughtered the goat. As soon as he (the other man had roasted it and) given it to him, he ate it all up. The goat was huge. He ate the goat. Then he put his hand like this and slept. The giant slept. (6) When he slept, he used to sleep for a week. 'Oh God, what shall I do? Oh Father of mercies, perform an act of mercy for me with this man'. He moved a little like this, he moved like this, but he (the giant) did not move. His eye was open, but he was asleep. (7) He rocked himself like this. He did this to himself. He dragged himself away. He (the giant) did not move. He slowly went out from the entrance of the cave. He was still the same, with his eye open, asleep. He loaded his gun well. He loaded his gun well, and shot it at his forehead, at his eye. Then he ran away. (8) From below he let out a cry. He let out a cry, and the poor wretched man urinated in his trousers (out of fear) and fled. He put all the fire (of the cooking) on top of him. The people were waiting to sit down in the meeting room, to make merry. (9) They were waiting and (when he came in they saw) that his gun was smoking. They said 'What is the matter with you poor soul, Xarəpša? What is the matter with you?' He said 'Don't ask![1] God has saved me'. 'What was it?' He said 'A giant'.

[1] Literally: Leave it!

(10) ʾáni lá mhuymənna.ˈ mə́ra mbádla ṯ́-ásqəx xazə̀xle.ˈ ʾásqi xazɛ̀le.ˈ ṭùrɛle, xa-ṭùra!ˈˈ ʾína šawwà záwgeˈ xaθwáθe dìyeˈ θéla Lelìθa,ˈ príməlla ṣoṣìyàθa,ˈ dáryəlla réše dìye.ˈ xonèy-wewa.ˈ šríṭlən gu-d-ày.ˈ

(10) They did not believe him. They said 'In the morning we shall go up and see it'. They went up and saw him. He was (like) a mountain, a mountain! (They saw) that seven couples, his sisters, and Leliθa, had come. They had cut their locks and laid them on him, since he was their brother. (They said) we have escaped this.

A32 The Fox and the Miller

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-ṭaxàna,ˈ ṭaxána qam-ðà-ʾarxe.ˈ ʾárxe kúlle palxáwa bas-y-axəlwala.ˈ θéle tèla,ˈ máre xòniˈ péšəx xonăwàθaˈ ʾána w-àti.ˈ péšəx xonăwàθa.ˈ máre dax-péšəx xonăwàθa?ˈ ʾáti tèla,ˈ ʾána bəṛ-nàša.ˈ (2) ṯ-óðəx ʾáyya ʾàrxe,ˈ pàlxəx,ˈ ṯ-áxləx ʾána w-àti.ˈ ʾána ṯ-ásqən ṭùra.ˈ méθən ʧàreˈ méθən qəqwàne,ˈ méθən mən-an-məndiyàne,ˈ gu-ṭùra.ˈ ṯ-áθəx ʾàxxaˈ ʾu-mbašlə̀xla,ˈ ṯ-axláxla ʾána w-áti m-ġðàðe.ˈ (3) dèˈ píšla xonăwàθa.ˈ píšla xonăwàθa,ˈ xà-yoma,ˈ trè,ˈ ṭlàθa,ˈ xà-yarxa,ˈ xa-šèta.ˈ ʾàməṛ,ˈ téla ʾámərˈ qémən ʾàsqənˈ kəs-màlkaˈ d-àyya-maθaˈ ṭalbànneˈ masárqe dìye.ˈ máre mùt ṯ-óðət b-masárqa.?ˈ mà-lux mánne?ˈ ta-xóne dìyele màra.ˈ má-lux mánne ʾàti?ˈ máre xóni sùq.ˈ (4) síqle moθéle masàrqa.ˈ zdéle tămàha,ˈ máre ta-màlkaˈ máre băyánne ʾáwwa masərqèxuˈ ʾu-nášət máθa kúlla hóla-ʾə́θye kpìšeˈ sárqi ʾàmṛa.ˈ ʾámṛa lìθ,ˈ čù-mdi,ˈ dùgle.ˈ kúlla náše sqìdla,ˈ sráqa mbádla hal-dìya.ˈ ʾàmṛaˈ muttúli gu-ʾanbàre.ˈ (5) málka màreˈ ya-ʾálaha ʾána ṯ-ín málka d-áyya bàžəṛ,ˈ ʾáyya məìta,ˈ lítli hátxa màndi.ˈ m-èkɛwa-wˈ m-èka ʾítlux ʾawwa-mándi?ˈ har-dùgle!ˈ zíltɛla xá-šabθa hòdəx,ˈ xá-bena xéna sìqɛle.ˈ (6) màreˈ málka xá-bena xéna hálli masərqa-wˈ masərqánne màrrəs,ˈ márrəs dìyi.ˈ ʾaw-náša m-èkɛle ʾaw-márrəs díye?ˈ ṣ̀lyɛle ʾaṣárta músqəlle xáčča màrrəsˈ múttəlla masərqa.ˈ (7) máre sqìdla nášeˈ ma-ṯ-íla síqe mbádla hal-dìya.ˈ ʾə́mma tré-mma náše sráqa màrrəs-wɛwa.ˈ mŭjə̀ble.ˈ málka mŭjə̀bleˈ máre ʾáwwa-məndi hátxa lìθ.ˈ (8) bar-xa-yàrxaˈ síqɛle xá-bena xéna kəs-màlka.ˈ máre málka ṯ-áwət basìmaˈ də-yátla rapàkθuxˈ kɛlánna zùzi.ˈ rapákθa kéli dàxla,ˈ hàtxa-wawa.ˈ kɛlànna zúziˈ xázən kəmà rapəkyáθa.ˈ (9) máre ʾána málkən d-ày-bažərˈ lìtli hátxa zúze.ˈ ʾáwwa m-èka hátxa zúze,ˈ rapàkθa,ˈ káyəl b-rapákθa zùze?ˈ xèna hiwàle,ˈ ṣ̀lèle.ˈ ṣ̀lèle.ˈ náše sqìdlaˈ málləṭ kúlla sqìdla,ˈ kúlla kyála gu-ʾanbáre zùze.ˈ dùgle,ˈ čú-mdi lìθ.ˈ

A32 The Fox and the Miller

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There was a miller, a miller who looked after a water-mill. Everything the mill produced he ate. A fox came and said ‘My brother, let us become brothers, you and I. Let us become brothers’. He said ‘How can we become brothers? You are a fox and I am a human’. (2) ‘We shall operate this mill, we shall work and eat together you and I. I shall go up into the mountains and bring back blackbirds and quails, I shall bring back things like that from the mountains. We shall come here and cook them and then we shall eat them, you and I together’. (3) So they became brothers. They became brothers, and one day, two, three, a month, a year (passed). The fox said ‘I shall go up to the king of this village and ask for his comb’. He said ‘What will you do with a comb?’ ‘What business is it of yours?—he said this to his brother—‘What business is it of yours?’ He said ‘Go up, my brother’. (4) He went up and brought a comb. He threw it down and said to the king ‘I want this comb of yours. The people of the village have all gathered to comb wool’. There was really no wool, nothing, it was lies. ‘All the people are fed up, combing from morning until now. I have put the wool in store rooms’. (5) The king said ‘Oh God, I who am the king of this town—this town has not such a thing. Where is it from, where have you acquired such a thing?’ It was all lies! A week went by in this way, then he went up again. (6) He said ‘King, give me again the comb to comb goat’s hair, my goat’s hair’. ‘Where has that person got goat’s hair from?’ He went down and in the evening he brought up some goat’s hair and put down the comb. (7) He said ‘The people are fed up with combing so much from morning until now. One hundred or two hundred people were combing goat’s hair’. He was amazed. The king was amazed and said ‘Such a thing as this cannot be’. (8) After a month, he came up again to the king. He said ‘King, may you be healthy, please give (me) your grain measure so that I can measure my money’. With a grain measure they measure wheat, that is what it was for. ‘So that I can measure my money and see how many measures (it amounts to)’. (9) He said ‘I am the king of this town and I do not have such money. Where has he got so much money from, that he measures the money with a grain measure?’ Well, he gave it to him and he went down. ‘The people are fed up, all the community are fed up, they are all measuring money in the storerooms’. It was lies. There was nothing.

(10) bár xa-yèrxa,ˈ mára xòniˈ ṭla-xóne díye ṭaxàna,ˈ ṭaxànɛwaˈ gu-ʾàrxe.ˈ ʾásqən ṭalbánna brátət málka ʾəllux,ˈ xòni.ˈ mò-ṯ̂-oðən bíya brāt-málka.ʔˈ mò-ṯ̂-oðən bíya.ʔˈ ʾáy brāt-màlkaˈ ʾána ṭaxànɛwən.ˈ (11) mára ṯ̂-àsqən,ˈ líttux šùla.ˈ qímɛle sìqa.ˈ múttɛle kupa̋la rəš-rúše díye sìqɛle.ˈ xàrrrˈ gríšəlle kúrsət ṭaləbùθa,ˈ kúrsət ṭaləbúθa ṭlába bàxta.ˈ mára mòdile.ʔˈ mára ba̋yən ṭalbánna brátux ṭla-xòni.ˈ (12) mára hiwàli.ˈ mára ʾiman-ṯ̂-áwe xlùla.ʔˈ mára bar-xa-šàbθa.ˈ ṣ̀lyɛleˈ mára xóni qəm-ṭalbànna.ˈ ʾo-m-xášše mìtle,ˈ m-dàrde,ˈ m-xàšše,ˈ ʾána mo-hoyàli,ˈ xáṭər ʾalàha.ʔˈ ʾána mó ṯ̂-óðən bìya,ˈ brāt-màlka.ʔˈ (13) píšele lèle,ˈ tmánya yóme prìqela.ˈ músqela dáwla-w zòrnaˈ ʾu-rqàðtɛla,ˈ zmàrtɛla.ˈ muθyàla brāt-málka.ˈ mára ʾáxtu kút-ʾaθɛtu bàθri,ˈ ʾána ṣ̀alən.ˈ ʾaθétu bàθri.ˈ xlúla ṣále bàθri.ˈ (14) ṣ̀lyɛle. ṣ́lyɛle, máṭyɛle xa-káwtət ʾərwe,ˈ ʾíbe tre-ṭláθa ʾálpa rēš-ʾərwe.ˈ qəm-qaréla ʾan-šăvàneˈ mára d-ènila ʾan-ʾárwe?ˈ mára t-flàn-naša.ˈ (15) mára bás ṯ̂-amrənnèxu,ˈ ʾən-ʾamrilɛ́xu ʾan-ʾárwe d-ènilaˈ múru t-ʾÁjdən tèlɛla.ˈ ʾána čú-mdi la-ba̋yən mənnèxu.ˈ hóla diyèxu.ˈ bas-múru ʾÀjdən,ˈ šəmmət ʾÁjdən tèla.ˈ qəm-awádle šəmme ʾÀjdən.ˈ (16) θéle xlùla,ˈ θéle málka ṣ̀laya.ˈ mára ʾan-ʾárwe d-ènila?ˈ mára t-ʾÁjdən tèla.ˈ mára xnèla bráti.ˈ ʾan-ʾárwe šìmeˈ píšla d-ày.ˈ (17) ʾu-ʾáni bàθre,ˈ ṣ̀lèle.ˈ mṭéle xa-kàwtaˈ kállət gamèše,ˈ tawràθa.ˈ mára ta-šăvàna,ˈ téla mà-mare?ˈ mára d-ènila.ʔˈ mára dìyila.ˈ ʾámrət ʾən-θéla ṣ̀láya ʾàxxa,ˈ xákma náše ʾàxxa,ˈ ʾən-mboqàrra mánnux,ˈ ʾánna d-ènila,ˈ múr ga-ʾánna t-ʾÁjdən tèlɛla.ˈ ʾáp-ʾani pìdla.ˈ (18) θéla náše ṯ̂-íwa mìra,ˈ ʾáni d-ènila.ʔˈ mára t-ʾÁjdən tèla.ˈ xðàyɛle málka.ˈ mára ʾána m-èka hátxa mà̀l?ˈ ʾána málkət xa-ʾàθṛaˈ lítli hátxa mà̀l.ˈ ʾo-m-èka māl-díye?ˈ

(10) After a month he said 'Brother'—to his brother the miller, he was a miller in a water-mill—'I shall go and ask for the hand of the king's daughter for you, brother'. 'What shall I do with the king's daughter? What shall I do with her? She is the king's daughter and I am a miller'. (11) He said 'I shall go up, leave it to me'.[1] He went up. He put a stick over his shoulders and went up. He pulled up the chair of suit, the chair of suit, asking for the hand of a woman. He (the king) said 'What is it?' He said 'I want to ask for the hand of your daughter for my brother'. (12) He said 'I have given her to you' He said 'When will the wedding be?' He said 'After a week'. He went down and said 'Brother, I have asked for her hand. He (almost) died of his grief and sadness 'What could she be to me, for God's sake!? What shall I do with her, the king's daughter?' (13) Night fell, eight days passed. They brought up the drum and the pipe, there was danci ng and singing. They brought the king's daughter. He said 'You come after me, as I go down. Come after me. Let the wedding party come down after me'. (14) He went down a long way and came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep. He called the shepherds and said 'Whose are those sheep?' They said '(They are the sheep) of so-and-so'. (15) He said 'I only say to you this, if they say to you "Whose are those sheep?", say "They are (the sheep of) Ajdən the fox. I do not want anything from you. They are yours. Just say "Ajdən, the name of Ajdən the fox"'. He gave himself the name of Ajdən. (16) The wedding party came and the king came, coming down (the mountain). They said 'Whose are those sheep?' They said '(They are the sheep) of Ajdən the fox'. He said 'My daughter is lucky. These numerous sheep have become hers'. (17) He (the fox) went down with them (following) behind him. He came to a flock, a herd of buffaloes and cows. He said to the shepherd—what did the fox say? He said 'Whose are these'. He said 'They are mine'. 'Say, if they come down here, some people (come down) here, if they ask you "Whose are these?", say "Well, these belong to Ajdən the fox"'. He got away also with these (lies).[2] (18) The people whom he had mentioned came (and said) 'Whose are these?' He said '(They belong) to Ajdən the fox'. The king was happy. He said 'From where could I acquire such wealth? I am the king of a land and I do not have such wealth. From where does he get his wealth?'

[1] Literally: You have no business.
[2] Literally: Also these lies passed.

(19) mára hár-to bàθri.ˈ ṣlèla,ˈ mṭéle xá-hənnət gùmle.ˈ ʾé-ga qamàye,ˈ bə̌́yət dȕs,ˈ kúlle gùmle-wawa.ˈ xáṣət gùmle y-azíwa.ˈ kəmá t̰-ila bə̌ríya gùmle-wawa.ˈ (20) mára d-ènila?ˈˈ qəm-qaréle ʾo-šə̌vànaˈ ʾən-θéle mbuqə́rre xa-nàša,ˈ mára d-èni?ˈˈ ʾámrət t-ʾÁjdən tèlɛla.ˈ ṣléla nàše,ˈ mṭéla mára d-ènila?ˈˈ mára t-ʾÁjdən tèlɛla.ˈ

(21) pídle ṣlèle,ˈ ṣléle qúrbət Lelìθa.ˈ ṣràxɛle téla,ˈ hàwarila.ˈ ʾay-plíṭṭɛla maṣyòθeˈ bə̌́yi dámma t-tèlaˈ ʾu-dámmət Lelìθa.ˈ qaṭlìlɛniˈ t-maxéle b-brónət màlka,ˈ ṭ́pya xàrsɛle.ˈ ṭ́pya brōn-málka xàrsa,ˈ maxéle bíye t-tàrəṣ.ˈ (22) plíṭṭa muṣyáθtɛla Lelìθa.ˈ mára mòdi márux?ˈˈ ʾána má-li mànnux?ˈˈ ʾána θéli màrəlləxˈ qa-t-ṭašyátta gànəx.ˈ mo-t̰-òðən?ˈˈ hóla xzìˈ bə̌ríya θàyɛla,ˈ θáya hòla,ˈ ṭ̀lbi.ˈ mára mò t̰-óðana?ˈˈ mára mò t-óðən?ˈˈ máre ʾítləx garùwa,ˈ garúwət ṭ̀rpa,ˈ garúwa gòṛa.ˈ màreˈ mṭašə́nnəx gu-d-àw.ˈ (23) šqílle, šqílle, šqìlle.ˈ qəm-mawə̀rra.ˈ bnéle kúlla ʾo-ṭ́rpa ç̰ənnə̀ḱ̰éra dìya.ˈ kùlla qəm-banéla.ˈ máre kə́ma t̰-áθya qašqàšta,ˈ la-jojàti.ˈ pyáðɛla ʾàskar.ˈ qəm-ṭapéla nùraˈ m-ʾəsrì dukáne.ˈ ʾay-mára šxàna hóli.ˈˈ máre qássa pìdlaˈ qəm-maqə̀dlaˈ ʾawə́dla tarə̀kka,ˈ qṭ̀ilàle.ˈ (24) wíra gu-gə́ppət Lelìθɛle.ˈ ḥátta čámče t-dàwa.ˈˈ čəngále t-dàwa.ˈˈ kúbə čáy t-dàwa.ˈˈ kúlley t-Lelìθɛla.ˈ ʾáyya mártət ʾamàre.ˈ rqàðtɛla,ˈ zmàrtɛla,ˈ xàltɛla,ˈ štèθɛla,ˈ ʾu-síqle téla makròze.ˈ (25) máre kú-t̰-ile xìlaˈ gu-čàmča,ˈ b-skìnta,ˈ gu-ʾamàna,ˈ b-kùba,ˈ kúlla šáqəl ta-gáne dìyeˈ masə̀qle.ˈ ʾána léš bə̌yə̀nna,ˈ léš bə̌yə̀nna.ˈ léla t-bábe dìye!ˈˈ tmánya yománe wéle táma xlùla.ˈ xìlla,ˈ štèla,ˈ qímla sìqla.ˈ

(26) sìqla,ˈ xéna téla tèlɛle,ˈ síqle l-ṭ́ura xála c̰̣àre,ˈ xála məndiyàne,ˈ ʾaṣə́rta ʾaθèwa.ˈ xáčča xa-yòmaˈ mrìle.ˈ tèlaˈ mrìleˈ xóne dìye,ˈ t̰-ámrəx xóne b-zìqa,ˈ máre mà-lux xóni.?ˈ

(19) He said 'Follow me further'. They went down and came to a herd[3] of camels. Formerly, if you want to know the truth, all (riding animals) were camels. They would go around on the back of camels. There were camels everywhere.[4] (20) He said 'Whose are they?' He called the shepherd. 'If somebody comes and asks saying "Whose are they?", say they belong to Ajdən the fox'. The people came down and, when they arrived, they said 'Whose are they?'. He said 'They belong to Ajdən the fox'.

(21) He went on down, he went down to Leliθa. The fox shouted 'Help!'. She came out to listen. 'They want the blood of a fox and the blood of Leliθa. They will kill us to inject it into the son of the king, who is afflicted with leprosy. The son of the king is afflicted with leprosy, they will inject (our blood) into him and he will be cured'. (22) Leliθa came out and listened. She said 'What did you say? What have I to do with you?' 'I have come to tell you to hide yourself'. 'What shall I do? 'Look, the people are coming, they are coming towards me'. She said 'What shall I do?' She said 'What shall I do?' and he said 'You have a heap, a heap of leaves, a big heap'. He said 'I shall hide you in it'. (23) He took away (the leaves), from here and from there,[5] put her inside and built up all the leaves around her. He built them all up. He said 'However much rustling sound there may be, don't move. The army is passing by'. He lit a fire in twenty places. She said 'I am getting hot!' He said 'They have almost passed'. He burnt her, made her a corpse, killed her. (24) He went into the cave of Leliθa. There were even spoons of gold, forks of gold, tea cups of gold! All belonged to Leliθa. This is what they say.[6] They (the wedding party) were dancing and singing, eating and drinking. The fox went up to make an announcement. (25) He said 'Whoever has eaten with a spoon, with a knife, in a vessel or cup, everybody may take it for himself and take it back up (to their home). I don't want them anymore. I don't want them anymore'. (But in fact) they did not belong to his father. The wedding lasted eight days there. They ate and drank and then went off back up (the mountain).

(26) They went up and the fox was a fox (again). He went up the mountain to eat blackbirds, to eat (other) things, and came back in the evening. One day he was rather ill. The fox was ill and his brother, as we say his brother (who was as close to him as) a shirt collar, said 'What is the matter with you brother?'

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[3] Literally: thing.
[4] Literally: As for (all) creatures, they were camels.
[5] Literally: He took, he took, he took.
[6] Literally: This is the saying of the sayers.

(27) mə́re ṭla-báxte dìye,ˈ mə́ra mà-lux?ˌ xáčča mə̀rya xónəx.ˈ ʾámər drə́la ʾíðəx l-ʾàqleˈ zdə́la tămàha.ˈ ʾámər háyyo ṭaxxána brōn-ṭaxxanə̀θa,ˈ ʾáyya ṭ̓-in-wàða,ˈ wiðáli mə̀nnux,ˈ drə́la ʾíðəx l-ʾáqle zdə̀le!ˌ (28) čírra bàxtaˈ mòdiwa nə́mu,ˈ xu-lə́wa ṭaxxána brōn-ṭaxxanə̀θa?ˌ čìrra.ˈ čírra bàxta,ˈ síqla be-bábe dìye.ˈ mə́re módi θèləx?ˌ mə́ra čìrri.ˈ ʾáw ṭaxxána brōn-ṭaxxanə̀θəle.ˈ ʾàyyəla?ˌ mə́ra ʾàyyəla!ˌ hátxa mə́re xóne dìye.ˈ (29) xà-yoma,ˈ trè,ˈ xa-šàbθa,ˈ xa-yə̀rxa,ˈ bxèle,ˈ bxéle ʾo-t-wéwa gwìra.ˈ mə́re súq mə̀θila báxti.ˈ mə́re là-y-asqən.ˈ ʾána là-y-asqən.ˈ xá-bena mrìli,ˈ ʾáyya ṭ̂-in-wíðəlla mə̀nnux,ˈ márux zdòle.ˈ là-y-asqən.ˈ (30) ʾáxxa l-tàmma,ˈ mə́re qémən ṭ̓-àsqena.ˈ lítla xàmma,ˈ ʾap-ʾáyya béna mɛθənnà-llux.ˈ qíma sìqɛle.ˈ sìqɛle,ˈ qṭàlə̀lle.ˈ málka qṭàlə̀lle,ˈ mə́re lá-ʾaθət làxxa.ˈ ʾáti wídlux lébe ʾə̀lli.ˈ šqilálux bràtiˈ ta-xónux ṭaxxána brōn-ṭaxxanə̀θa.ˈ (31) mə́re xzi-ṭ̓-amrə́nnux màlka.ˈ ʾána máṭo mṣárən ṭla-yə̀mmeˈ yə́mme díye yə̀mmi-wawa?ˌ yə́mme d-àw-wawa.ˈ dax-ʾána mṣə̀rənˈ bábe díye bə̀biwa,ˈ bábe d-àw-ìwa,ˈ dax-mṣárən ṭla-bə̀be?ˌ ʾap-ʾána ʾáy lxímla š-lišàni,ˈ mə́ri ṭaxxána brōn-ṭaxxanə̀θa.ˈ xu-lə̀wa ṭaxxána brōn-ṭaxxanéθa.ˈ kléle màlka.ˈ (32) qu-ṣlà!ˌ ʾu-ṣlèla.ˈ xá-bena xéna ṣlèla.ˈ píšle xá-yarxa xá-bena xéna tèlaˈ mríle ma-dṵ̂s,ˈ mríle ma-dṵ̂s téla.ˈ hóle dmíxa bar-ṣùpa.ˈ ṣúpa yǎðət mòdi?ˌ dɛrə́xwa qése gàwe,ˈ šaxánwa bə̀θa.ˈ mrìle,ˈ tmanyá-yome mìtle,ˈ léle ṣbára ṭ̂-áwər xà.ˈ mìtle,ˈ prìqle.ˈ tmanya-yóme xìrre,ˈ mə́re šqúlle zdə̀le.ˈ ʾána šwiqáli tàmaˈ θéli làxxa.ˈ

(27) He spoke to his wife, she said 'What is the matter with you?' 'Your brother is rather ill'. He said 'Take hold of his leg and throw him over there'. He (the fox) said 'Come miller, son of a miller woman, (after all) this that I am doing, that I have done for you (you say) "Take hold of his leg and throw him away!"' (28) The woman recoiled in anger. What was he? Was he really a miller, son of a miller woman? She recoiled. The woman recoiled and went up to her father's house. He said 'Why have you come?' She said 'I have recoiled in anger. He is a miller, son of a miller woman'. 'Is that so?' She said 'It is so. His brother said this'. (29) For a day, two, one week, a month, he wept, the one who was married wept. He said 'Go up and bring back my wife'. He said 'I shall not go up. I shall not go up. I was ill once and (after all) that I did for you, you said "Throw him away". I shall not go up'. (30) (After the other brother pleaded) this way and that, he said 'I shall go up. Don't worry, I shall bring her to you also this time. He set off and went up. He went up and he (almost) murdered him. The king (almost) murdered him, he said 'Don't come here. You played tricks on me. You took my daughter for your brother who is a miller, the son of a miller woman'. (31) He said 'Look, I'll tell you, king. How can I curse his mother, since his mother was my mother? She was his mother. How can I curse his father, who was my father. He was his father, how can I curse his father? This just tripped off my tongue[7] and I said "Miller, son of a miller woman". Of course he was not a miller, son of a miller woman'. (32) The king relented (and said to his daughter) 'Go down (to your husband)'. She went down. She went back down to him. After a month, the fox again (became ill), he became really ill. The fox became really ill. He slept behind the stove. Do you know what a stove is? We would put wood in it and it would heat the house. He was ill and lay dead for eight days without anybody daring to approach. He died, he was finished. After eight days he looked and said 'Take him and throw him away'. I have left it there and come here.

[7] Literally: This was composed on my tongue.

A33 The Lion with a Swollen Leg

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθwa lìθwa,ˈ čú biš-m-álaha góṛa lìθwa.ˈ ʾìθwaˈ xa-brónət ṭ̀ò̩ṭo.ˈ xa-nàša,ˈ qímɛwa m-gu-máθe dìyeˈ ʾu-zíla gu-ða-bàžər.ˈ tíwɛle tàma.ˈ hóle xázəx xa-làmpa lháya.ˈ ʾé-ga qam-lámpa ʾíθwa šrà'a,ˈ šràya,ˈ dɛréwa zèθaˈ ʾap-ʾáy lăyàwa,ˈ yawáwa bèṛa.ˈ (2) ʾè-ga,ˈ brōn-màlkaˈ mrìle.ˈ θéle xa-dùxtur,ˈ xa-ḥ̆ăkīm,ˈ mərəˈ brónux là-tarəṣˈ ʾálla màyətˈ mástət ʾàryeˈ xáṣət ʾàryeˈ ta-málke mòrye.ˈ (3) ʾéni máṣe parèmle,ˈ ʾéni máṣe máṭe l-ʾàrya,ˈ qaṭèlle,ˈ ṭ̀-awádle gúðe dìye,ˈ gúðantət ʾàrya?ˈ ʾáp bróna díya parmìleˈ ṭ̀-oðíle guðànta?ˈ mattíla xāṣ-t ʾàryaˈ mɛθéla ta-brōn-málka mòrya?ˈ ʾàp-xa líθ.ˈ

(4) zílle gu-bàžər,ˈ ʾáp-xa lá-ṣbirre ʾasəqle.ˈ zílle gu-bážər kùllaˈ mòreˈ kut-mèθeˈ mástət ʾàryeˈ ʾu-guðant-ʾàrye,ˈ xáṣə ʾàryeˈ ta-brōn-màlka márya?ˈ (5) ʾáp-xa lɛle-ṣbàra.ˈ ʾéni ṣábər ṭ̀-àsəq?ˈ móra xa-béθa hòle.ˈ ṭ̀-ásqəx xázəx ʾaw-mòdileˈ tàma.ˈ síqla dbíšla bíye dìye.ˈ móre ʾat-ʾàzətˈ mɛθàtlənˈ ʾàwwa-məndi.ˈ (6) móre šàrṭ ʾálle díye,ˈ qaṭláxxe brònux.ˈ móre yàbaˈ ʾána máṣən ṭ̀-ázən méθən ʾàrya?ˈ lè-maṣən méθən ʾárya.ˈ móre là-barya.ˈ gă̈rəg ʾàzət.ˈ šámu bróni là qaṭlúle.ˈ ṭ̀-ázən mjàrbena.ˈ xàzənˈ màṣənˈ ṭ̀-óðən xa-čàra.ˈ là-amṣən,ˈ maqàṭlu bróni,ˈ mó ṭ̀-oðèna?ˈ

(7) qímle sìqle.ˈ síqle gu-xa-ṭùra.ˈ ʾítle ða-ʾéna táma gu-d-ò-ṭura.ˈ ʾarìθaˈ ʾáy hola-ʾáqla díya mqobèθa.ˈ ʾáqla dìyaˈ hóla mqobèθa.ˈ ṣràxɛlaˈ l-ʾàlaha,ˈ ʾáqla dìya.ˈ ʾu-ṭ̀láθa kuddíne hóla mánna dìya,ˈ ṭ̀láθa bnóne hóla mànna.ˈ ʾáyya y-ámri kuddìne.ˈ (8) ṣlàya,ˈ ṣálya šátya mìya,ˈ ta-t-qàlba xá-bena xéna.ˈ ṣráxɛla l-ʾàlaha.ˈ ʾa-ʾáqla díya lítla ʾáp-xa waðəlla,ˈ léla mṣàyaˈ ma-ṭ̀-íla mqobèθa,ˈ ṃlíθa jarā̆ḥ ʾu-məndiyáne ŝəxte.ˈ (9) ʾáwwa nàšaˈ xa bárdi hóle tàmaˈ rába gòṛa.ˈ bàrdiˈ hóle mṭùšyaˈ wíða xa-qésa rìxa,ˈ m-áxxa l-d-ăwá'ha hánna màṭe.ˈ muxàrpəlle,ˈ muxàrpəlle,ˈ muxàrpəlle,ˈ wíðəlle ʾax-xmàṭa.ˈ wíðəlle ʾax-xmàṭa,ˈ ṣlìθɛla ʾaríθa,ˈ ṣráxɛla, ṣràxa.ˈ ṣlíθa šmìyəlla.ˈ

A33 The Lion with a Swollen Leg

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There was once[1]—nothing is greater than God—there was a son of an old woman, a man, who had left his village and gone to a town, where he lived. We can see a lamp burning (over there where he dwelt). At that time people used an oil lamp[2] instead of an (electric) lamp. They would put oil in it and it would burn and give off light. (2) At that time the son of the king became ill. A doctor, a physician, came and said 'Your son will not recover unless you bring the yoghurt of lions, on the back of lions, for sick kings. (3) Who can slaughter it, who can approach the lion, kill it and make a churn out of it, a lion churn? Could they slaughter also its cub and make it into a churn, then put it on the back of a lion and bring it to the sick son of the king? There is nobody (who can do this).

(4) He (the king) went to the town, but nobody dared to go up (to do) it. He went to the town and said 'Is there anybody who can fetch yoghurt of lions and a churn of lions on the back of lions for the sick son of the king?' (5) Nobody dared. Who would dare go up (and do that)? They said 'There is a house over there. Let us go and see what that is there'. They went up and pressed him (to do it).[3] He said 'You must go and fetch this thing'. (6) He told him the conditions 'We shall kill your son (if you do not do so)'. He said 'Well, can I bring back a lion? I cannot bring back a lion'. He said 'That is not possible'. 'You must go'. 'Listen, do not kill my son. I shall go and try (to do it). I shall see whether I can find a solution. If I cannot, have my son killed, what can I do?'

(7) He set off and went up a mountain. There was a spring there in that mountain. The lionness, her leg was swollen. Her leg was swollen. She cried to God, (on account of) her leg. There were three cubs with her, three young offspring were with her. Such (young) they call 'cubs'. (8) She went down to drink water and then returned again. She cried out to God. She had nobody to look after her leg. She could not (cope), since it was so swollen, full of sores and filth. (9) As for the man, there was a papyrus brake close by, a very large papyrus brake, in which he hid. He prepared a long stick, which reached from here to that thing over there. He sharpened it well and made it like a needle. He made it like a needle and the lionness came down, yelling. She came down and he heard her.

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[1] Literally: There was, there was not.
[2] Literally: There was an oil lamp.
[3] Literally: They stuck to him.

(10) klìθɛla-ʾay.ˈ bnóna díya ṣálye šátye mìyɛla.ˈ qlìbe,ˈ kálye tàmɛla.ˈ ṣálya ʾày,ˈ šátya mìya.ˈ ṣlíθa šàtya,ˈ ʾáw máxyəlle ʾo-qésa l-ʾáqla dìya.ˈ ʾay-ṣrìxtɛla.ˈ kú-məndit plùṭ,ˈ mărádət ləbbuxˈ mamətyànnux,ˈ ku-bə̆̀yətˈ ṭ̂-oðànna.ˈ (11) ʾaw-là-pliṭle.ˈ xá-ga xètaˈ ṣlíθɛla šatyàwa,ˈ ʾap-ʾɛ-dána qəm-maxéla ʾáqla dìya.ˈ móra ṭlùb!ˈ kú-məndit bə̆̀yət,ˈ módi mărə̋́d ləbbuxˈ ṭ̂-oðànne!ˈ là-pliṭle.ˈ préle xáčča ʾáqla dìya,ˈ prèleˈ xàčča.ˈ (12) béna ṭlà-gayeˈ kìpla,ˈ šátya mìya.ˈ qəm-maxéla ʾáqla biš-xɛlàna,ˈ qəm-parèla ʾáqla dìya,ˈ ṭlà-gaye,ˈ kúlla prèle.ˈ ʾámra plùṭ.ˈ wáʿdə ʿə̆̀rab,ˈ ʾáti móndit bə̆̋́yət ṭ̂-oðannèllux.ˈ pliṭɛle.ˈ móre wáʿdə ʿə̆̀rab!ˈ yáʿni ʾíθwa ʾimə̀̃n ʾé-ga.ˈ (13) móra mòdila:ʔˈ mòreˈ guðánt ʾàryeˈ ʾu-mást ʾàryeˈ ʾu-xáṣət ʾàryeˈ ta-brōn-málka mòrya. wáʿdə ʿə̆̀rabile,ˈ gə̆̋́rəg ʾoðàle.ˈ qímtɛla musáqtəlle bróna dìyaˈ p-ápe xa-gə̆̀ra,ˈ prìmtəlle.ˈ bróna díya prìmtəlle,ˈ wíðtəlle guðànta.ˈ (14) dart-yóma módi wìðta?ˈ murétθəlla gána díya xòlya,ˈ xlíwtəlla gána dìyaˈ ʾu-wíðtəlle màsta.ˈ dríθəlle gu-d-o-gùða.ˈ dríθəlle xáṣə bróna dìya.ˈ máṣli ṭla-màlkaˈ ʾámra.ˈ (15) qəm-maṣléle màstaˈ ta-brōn-màlkaˈ t-wéwa ṭ́pya xə̀rsa.ˈ qəm-maxéle bìye,ˈ trìṣle.ˈ ʾána šwiqáli tàmaˈ θéli làxxa.ˈ

(10) She stood and her young went down and drank the water. They came back and stood there. She then went down and drank water. When she went down, he struck her leg with the stick. She cried out 'Whatever you are come out! I shall make you attain your heart's desire. I shall do whatever you want'. (11) He did not come out. Again she came down and drank. Also this time he struck her leg. She said 'Ask! Whatever you want, whatever your heart's desire is, I shall do it!' But he did not come out. He burst her leg a little, he burst it a little. (12) Then, three times she bent down to drink water. He struck her leg harder and burst her leg, three times, he burst it completely. She said 'Come out! (I give you) an Arab promise, I shall do for you whatever you want'. He came out, he said 'An Arab promise!', that is there was trust at that time. (13) She said 'What is it?' He said 'A churn of lions, yoghurt of lions and (carriage on) the back of lions for the sick son of a king'. The promise was an Arab one, she had to perform it. She went and took up her young cub behind a hill and slaughtered it. She slaughtered her young cub and made it into a churn. (14) The next day what did she do? She herself set some milk, she milked herself and made it into yoghurt. She put it in the churn, put it on the back of her (other) young cub and said 'Take it down to the king'. (15) He brought the yoghurt down to the son of the king, who was afflicted with leprosy. They applied the yoghurt to him and he recovered. I have left it there and come here.

A34 The Girl and the Seven Brothers

Informant: Blandina Barwari (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) xa-bàxta-ʾiθwa,ˈ xa-bràta.ˈ mára ʾədyo šàbθɛla,ˈ ṣáləx l-nèra,ˈ qú-ṣla màṣlaˈ margə́lta-w qése ʾu-mándi ṯ-óðət míya šaxíne ta-t-xèpəx.ˈ qímtɛla ṣlíθɛla muṣlέθɛla masrə́qta-w júlle-w màndi,ˈ muttέθa margə́lta ṭla-yámma dìya,ˈ qa-t-xèpi.ˈ (2) θíθɛla ða-qarə̀kke,ˈ šqìltəlla masrə́qta dìyaˈ ʾu-muràqtəlla.ˈ ʾay-ríqtɛla bàθra-wˈ rìqta-wˈ rìqta,ˈ ʾay-káza qràya:ˈ

*(3) qarə́kke qarəkθònti*ˈ
*hállila masrəqθònti*ˈ
*t-la-maxyáli dekònti*ˈ

(4) ʾáy har-là-yawəlla.ˈ mṭéla qarə́kke l-xá-qaṣra gòṛa.ˈ síqla l-gàre,ˈ qəm-zadyála b-xa-kàwe.ˈ masrə́qθa díya ṣléla gu-bèθa.ˈ ṣléla gu-bèθa,ˈ ʾay-túwla bxèla,ˈ bxèla,ˈ bxèla.ˈ (5) ʾánna ʾíθwa táma šawwà xonăwáθa,ˈ gu-d-ò-bɛθa.ˈ ʾánna mára xóni hola-ràya dúnye.ˈ máre hé b-álaha hola-ràya.ˈ plíṭle xá-mənna qam-tă̆ra,ˈ θéle máre là,ˈ dúnye lèla-raya,ˈ ṣə̀xwɛla.ˈ dámmət ʾèna.ˈ (6) b-é-ga qíme síqe gàre,ˈ xə́zyəlla ʾáyən bráta l-gàre.ˈ mára hóla ða-bráta làxxa.ˈ qíme šqìləlla,ˈ muṣə̀lyəlla.ˈ mára há mùt wáða láxxa?ˈ mára ʾána qə́ṣṣət díyi hàtxɛwa.ˈ qarə́kke qəm-ganwála masrə̀qθi,ˈ qəm-daryála b-ay-káwe diyèxun.ˈ (7) mára ʾú háy puš-xàθa ṭlálən.ˈ mára là,ˈ là-pɛšən.ˈ nàbluli.ˈ yámmi yàʿniˈ ʾána ða-bratɛn,ˈ yámmi bàxya.ˈ mára lέðəx ʾèkɛla,ˈ yámməx ʾèkɛla.ˈ qarə̀kkela muθέθəlləx.ˈ puš-xáθa ṭlàlən.ˈ

(8) ʾay-píšla xáθa ṭlalèyən.ˈ ʾàyyaˈ har-píšla táma xòða,ˈ ʾánna y-azíwa ṣèda,ˈ xòða,ˈ xòða.ˈ qáṭu krìbla,ˈ qəm-jɛrála gu-nùra,ˈ qəm-maʿ̌əmyàle núra díya.ˈ píšla t-là-nura.ˈ (9) ʾáyya qímla plíṭla xzéla xa-núra ràba rə́ḥqa.ˈ mára bṯ-ázən xázyən ʾáwən-nura ʾèkɛleˈ mátyən tá-t ṯ-óðən ʾixála ṭla-xonăwàθi.ˈ zìlla-wˈ zìllaˈ mṭéla l-xá tanúra núra ràba.ˈ xa-hambišàyaˈ hóle táma dmìxa.ˈ (10) xa-báxta xámθa xámθa xámθa tíwta pláya qálme dìye.ˈ ʾay-šqílla m-ò-nura,ˈ θèla.ˈ ʾíθwa xa-gùttaˈ hátxa t-ʾə́zlaˈ gu-jéba díya npìlla.ˈ npílla mánna díya gùttaˈ m-gu-jéba dìya.ˈ líqla b-tă̆ra,ˈ ʾu-θéla gútta píšla mən-d-áw hambišàyaˈ hal-tă̆rət bɛθèy.ˈ

A34 The Girl and the Seven Brothers

Informant: Blandina Barwari (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There was a woman and a daughter. She said (to her daughter) 'Today is Saturday, let's go down to the river. Come, bring down a pan, wood and so forth to make hot water for us to wash'. She went down and brought down a comb, clothes and so forth and set up a pan for her mother so that they could wash. (2) A crow came, took her comb and stole it away. She ran after it, ran and ran. She tried (to persuade it to come back by) calling:

(3) Crow, my little crow
Give me back my little comb
so that my mother does not beat me

(4) It still did not give it back. The crow came to a big palace. It went up onto the roof and threw it into a window. Her comb went down into the house. It went down into the house and she sat and wept and wept and wept. (5) The people who were there in that house were seven brothers. They said 'My brother, it is raining'. He said 'Yes, by God, it is raining'. One of them went outside and came back saying 'No, it is not raining, it is fine'. It was the tears of her eyes. (6) Then they went up to the roof and saw that girl on the roof. They said 'There is a girl here. They took her and brought her down. They said 'Hey, what are you doing here?' She said 'This is my story. A crow stole my comb and put it through your window'. (7) They said 'Come, become a sister for us'. She said 'No, I shall not stay. Take me back. My mother—I am an only daughter and my mother is weeping'. They said 'We do not know where she is, where your mother is. The crow brought you. Become a sister for us'.

(8) She became a sister for them. She always remained there by herself while they went hunting, all alone. The cat was angry and urinated in the fire and extinguished her fire. So she did not have a fire. (9) She went outside and saw a fire far off. She said 'I shall go and see where that fire is. I shall go there to make food for my brothers'. She went a long way and arrived at an oven with a large fire. (10) A giant was asleep there. A very beautiful woman was sitting removing his lice. She took some of the fire and returned. There was a ball of thread in her pocket and it fell. The ball fell from it, from her pocket. It became attached to the door and the ball ran from that giant up to the door of their house.

(11) ʾáw qəm-marə́mla-w θéle θèle.ˈ mṭ́éle gu-tắrət ʾó-bɛθa ṭ̂-íla-wirta gàweˈ wírɛle ṭálba dìya.ˈ kút-yom paštáwa ʾíða dìya,ˈ kút-yom mayə́ṣwa xa-sabòta.ˈ píšla ràba zábbun.ˈ là-y galyáwa,ˈ là-y ṣabráwa.ˈ (12) y-ámri xáθi mà-ləx?ˈ ṭla-mòt zábbun?ˈ là-y galyáwa.ˈ mə́ra xàθi,ˈ ʾáxni šɛrə́xxe ʾíθ xa-tanúra gòṛa,ˈ t-yápəx ləxma.ˈ šɛrə̀xle,ˈ dɛ́rəx núra gàweˈ ʾu-c̣̀ame,ˈ (13) máttəx xa-došákka gòṛaˈ tàma.ˈ kút-dana ṭ̂-àθe,ˈ ʾáti dɛ́ryət ʾíðəx hátxa gu-lɛ̀ša.ˈ múr hon-lyàša.ˈ ʾáw ṭ̂-àθe,ˈ múr hon-lyàša,ˈ pèrqənˈ ʾu-t-yawánnux ṣabóti mùṣla.ˈ tú xačča-mányəx làxxa.ˈ (14) ʾaw-ʾə́θya wìrɛle,ˈ ʾay-dríθa ʾiθáθa gu-léša t-lešàwa.ˈ mə́re hálla ṣabóta zórta mɛṣə̀nna.ˈ mə́ra tú-xanči š-d-ày došə́kθa.ˈ ʾay-mṭúšyəlla xonăwàθa.ˈ mə́ra ʾána pèrqən,ˈ b-yawánna ṣabóti ʾə̀llux.ˈ (15) ʾaw-wìrɛle,ˈ mírtɛla tu-tìwa.ˈ ʾaw-ʾə́θya max-ṭ̂-ìle tíwa,ˈ ṣə́lyɛle bìye b-došákkaˈ gu-d-ó tanùra.ˈ gòṛa-wewa rába.ˈ ṣlele-tàma,ˈ xonăwáθa dìya,ˈ šawwà xonăwáθa,ˈ rìpe b-réše díyeˈ b-mèreˈ qṭìləlle,ˈ qṣìfəlle.ˈ (16) ʾay-píštɛla xòða,ˈ ʾáti m-èkɛt?ˈ mə́ra ʾànaˈ hátxa xonăwáθi rìqe-wɛwa.ˈ mə́ra ʾáxni ʾáti xàθən-iwətˈ dŭ̂s.ˈ ʾo-qə́ṭma qəm-šaqlìle xonăwáθa,ˈ mə́ra xáθi garpátte qə̀ṭma.ˈ šaqlátle daryátle bar-šawwà ṭuráne,ˈ b-xa-guníya ṭ̂-óya tằməz.ˈ (17) ʾay-mò-widla?ˈ qímla qəm-daryále gu-xa-gunìyaˈ šə́tta díya nc̈ílta.ˈ kəma-jwìjla,ˈ ʾúrxa ʾúrxa bìzle.ˈ kəma-jwìjla,ˈ ʾúrxa ʾúrxa bìzle.ˈ qlábta díya qlìbla,ˈ ʾu-kúlle bàryaˈ y-amrə́xxe xa-kerápso ʾu-gə́lla táza ta-ʾixàla.ˈ (18) mə́ra kméle ʾáwwa gálla ta-ʾixála tàza!ˈ qɛmən-nábləsuch xánčˈ ta-xonăwàθi.ˈ ṭ̂-oðánna yàrqa-lleyˈ ṭ̂-axlìle.ˈ bašlànne.ˈ ʾay-ṣlìθɛla,ˈ wíðtɛla ʾo-gə̀llaˈ muθéθəlle mbušàlta.ˈ

(19) ʾə́θye xonăwáθa dìya,ˈ šàwwa xonăwáθa,ˈ m-ṣèda.ˈ ʾə́θyela xìlela.ˈ mə́ra ʾə́ dyo hon-wíðtəllɛxu yárqa rába basìma.ˈ xìle.ˈ max-t-ìla xíle čámča qaméθa,ˈ kúlla píše pàṛela,ˈ ʾərwe.ˈ kúlla píše ʾərwela.ˈ (20) píše ʾərwela,ˈ ʾáy kút-yom mpalṭáwala mằṛòyəlla.ˈ baxyàwa,ˈ jannàwa,ˈ baxyàwa,ˈ baxyàwa.ˈ xa-yóma θéle xa-nàša,ˈ xa-náša, xa-dɛrwéša.ˈ θéle tàma,ˈ mə́re má-ləx bráta ṭ̂-it-hátxa bxàyaˈ qam-d-ánna ʾərwe?ˈ (21) mə́ra ʾánna lɛ̀wa ʾə́rwe,ˈ xonăwàθi wɛ́wa.ˈ hắl ʾu-qəṣṣátte díye ʾàyya-wawa.ˈ wíðtɛn yárqa ta-d-ánna xonăwàθiˈ ʾu-xiléla píše ʾərwe.ˈ

(11) He picked it up and came (after it). He reached the door of the house in which she had entered and he entered searching for her. Every day she would stretch out her hand and every day he would suck a finger. She became very weak. She did not reveal this (to her brothers). She did not dare. (12) They said 'Sister, what is the matter with you? Why are you weak?' She did not reveal it. They said 'Sister, we shall stoke it'—there was a large oven—'in order for us to make bread. We shall stoke it, we shall set fire to it and then it will go out. (13) We shall put a large mattress there. Every time he (the giant) comes, you put your hand like this in the dough. Say "I am baking". When he comes back say "I am baking. When I finish, I shall give you my finger to suck. Sit and rest awhile here" '. (14) He came in and she put her hands in the dough that she was kneading. He said 'Give me the little finger for me to suck'. She said 'Sit awhile on that mattress'. She hid her brothers. She said 'When I finish, I shall give my finger to you'. (15) He came in. She said 'Sit down'. He came and when he sat down, he went down together with the mattress into the oven. He was very large. He went down into it and her brothers, her seven brothers, attacked his head with spades, killed him and cut him to pieces. (16) She remained alone. 'Where are you from?' She said 'My brothers ran away'. They said 'You are really our sister'. Her brothers took the ash and said 'Sister, sweep up the ash. Take it and scatter it behind seven mountains, in a sack that is clean'. (17) What did she do? She put it in a sack the bottom of which was torn. As she walked, it spilt along the way. As she walked, it spilt along the way. When she returned, it had all grown into (the plant) we call *kerabso*, a herb that was pleasant to eat. (18) She said 'How pleasant this plant is to eat. I shall take some for my brothers. I shall make it into vegetable stew for them to eat. I shall cook it'. She went down, picked that plant, brought it back and cooked it.

(19) Her brothers came back, her seven brothers, from hunting. They came back and ate. She said 'Today I have made you a delicious vegetable stew'. They ate it. When they had eaten the first spoonful, they all turned into lambs, sheep. They all turned into sheep. (20) They turned into sheep and she took them out every day to pasture them. She wept, wailed, wept and wept. One day a man came, a vagabond. He came there and said 'What is the matter with you girl that you are weeping so much in front of these sheep?' (21) She said 'These used not to be sheep, they used to be my brothers. The story of what happened is this. I made vegetable stew for these brothers of mine and, when they ate it, they turned into sheep'.

(22) máre ʾána ʾánna xonăwáθəx mbasmànna,ˈ bas-goràtli.ˈ mìrtɛlaˈ bas-ʾánna xonăwáθi bàsmi,ˈ goràννux.ˈ máre de-séga ʾáti bár d-ăwàha-ṭura.ˈ ʾána kút-xonəx maxánne šawwà-qɛse,ˈ pèšĭ.ˈ lá-ʾamrət ḵóre xàθux.ˈ ʾən-márəx ḵóre xàθux,ˈ la-dèṛi.ˈ (23) máxyəlle ʾo-qamáya šáwwa qèse,ˈ barbàrwa.ˈ zìnɛle,ˈ píšɛle nàša.ˈ máxyɛle l-o-trè,ˈ hátxa máxyɛle l-o-ṭlàθa,ˈ hátxa ʾo-t-ʾàrba,ˈ hátxa ʾo-t-xàmša,ˈ ʾo-t-ʾəšta.ˈ (24) ʾo-t-šáwwa biš-zòra-wewa.ˈ ʾàwwɛle xəzyálla b-gáre.ˈ ʾaw-mburəbrɛle,ˈ mburàbra.ˈ móra ʾóx ḵóre xàθux!ˈ píšɛle pálge nàšaˈ ʾu-pálge pàṛa.ˈ ʾaw-màreˈ ta-mò márəx ḵóre xàθux?ˈ móra xéna qìdle lábbi,ˈ xóni zòra-wewa,ˈ mári ḵóre xàθux.ˈ (25) ʾaw-qímɛle gwìrəlla.ˈ ʾánna zìle,ˈ qímɛle gwìrəlla.ˈ ʾáw ṯ-íle píša pálge páṛa pálge náša mùθyəlle mánna díya.ˈ

(26) ʾo-náša rába zàngin-wewa.ˈ zàngin-wewa,ˈ dwíqəlle bèθa.ˈ xa-yòma,ˈ máre ʾána doqánnəx xa-xadəmθa.ˈ móra lá-bayənna xadəmθa.ˈ máre là,ˈ dóqənnəx xadəmθa,ˈ ðá qărăčèθa.ˈ xa-yóma dwìqəlla,ˈ máre ṯ-áθya ṯ-óya ʾáxxa kàsləx.ˈ móra là,ˈ là.ˈ máre hèˈ ta-t-lá-palxət ʾàtiˈ ʾày-ila t-pálxa.ˈ (27) ʾáni xá-yoma ṣálye xyàpa-wɛwa.ˈ ṣálye xyàpa,ˈ ʾíθwa ða-béra hátxa gotèy-wawaˈ ʾamùqta.ˈ ʾáni ṣálye xyàpa-wɛwa,ˈ ʾay-mòdi wíðta?ˈ qímtɛla ʾá qărăčèθaˈ dríθəlla gu-d-a-bèra.ˈ ʾay-lwíštəlla júlle d-a-bràtaˈ ʾu-sìqtɛla.ˈ (28) sìqtɛla,ˈ ʾo-pàṛaˈ hóle mbarbòre,ˈ har-mbarbòre,ˈ léle klàya.ˈ ʾay-màrɛlaˈ mà-lux?ˈ ta-mòt mbarbóre?ˈ móre mà-ləx?ˈ ʾay-là mgalóyəlla páθa ta-t-xazéla ʾáw.ˈ har-mkusèθəlla páθa.ˈ har-hóla bxàyaˈ ṭwáya lábbi l-d-áwwa-xoni ʾu-bxàya,ˈ dùgle.ˈ (29) xá-yoma móre xázən mò ṯ-áwəð ʾáwwa páṛa.ˈ kút-yom dawáqwala ʾúrxe b-ʾìðeˈ ṣaléwa b-a-dùkθa.ˈ xayárwa gu-d-a-bèra,ˈ baxènwa.ˈ mo-ʾòðən?ˈ lá-mṣən ṯ-ásqən xazyànnux,ˈ doqànnux.ˈ lìtli ʾìθáθa.ˈ lá-mṣən ṯ-ásqən doqànnux.ˈ dúkθi ʾamùqtɛla.ˈ

(22) He said 'I shall cure these brothers of yours, only will you marry me?' She said 'Only if you cure these brothers of mine, shall I marry you'. He said 'Go beyond that mountain over there. I shall strike each brother of yours with seven lashes of a stick and they will turn (back to humans). Do not say "Your poor sister".[1] If you say "Your poor sister", they will not return'. (23) He beat the first one with seven lashes of a stick. He was bleating. He stood up, he turned into a man. He beat the second one, likewise beat the third, likewise the fourth, likewise the fifth and the sixth. (24) The seventh was the youngest. It was he who saw her on the roof. He bleated and bleated. She said 'Oh, your poor sister!' He became half man and half lamb'. He said 'Why did you say "Your poor sister"?' She said 'My heart yearned for him.[2] He was my young brother, so I said "Your poor sister"'. (25) He married her. They (her brothers) went off and he married her. He took with them the one that had become half lamb and half man.

(26) That man was very rich. He was rich and took a house. One day he said 'I shall take a servant girl for you'. She said 'I do not want a servant girl'. He said 'No, I shall take a servant girl for you, a gypsy'. One day he took her on, he said 'She will come and be with you here'. She said 'No, no'. He said 'Yes, so that you will not work. She will work'. (27) One day they went down to bathe. They went down to bathe, there was a deep well by them. They went down to bathe. What did she do? The gypsy girl put her in that well. She put on the clothes of that girl and went up (to the house). (28) She went up, while the lamb bleated and bleated, incessantly. She said 'What is the matter with you? Why are you bleating?' He said 'What is the matter with you?' She did not reveal her face so that he saw her. She kept her face covered. She constantly wept 'My heart burns for this brother of mine and I weep'[3]—it was all lies. (29) One day he said 'I'd like to see what this lamb is doing. Every day he went the same way[4] and would go down to that place. He would look into the well and weep. 'What should I do? I cannot go up and find you and hold you. I have no hands. I cannot go up and hold you. The place here[5] is deep'.

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[1] I.e. Your sister is sad over the fact that you are being beaten.
[2] Literally: My heart burnt.
[3] Literally: with weeping.
[4] Literally: He held his way in his hand.
[5] Literally: My place.

(30) qímela ṣə́lye báθre báθre xəzyəlle| ʾína ʾaw-wáða hàdəx.| xíre ʾína ʾay-tàma.| mə́ra màṭo?| mə́ra ʾáy xadə̀mθɛla dríθəlli láxxa.| qímɛle šqíləlla mpúlṭəlla sìqɛle.| (31) síqɛle bɛ̀θa,| mùsqəlla.| múθyɛle trè susə̆wáθa.| xa-múxləlle mə̀lxa.| ʾu-xá har-múšətyɛle mìya,| léle múxləlle ču-ʾixàla.| ʾu-də́ryəlla bàθra.| kut-qə́ṭṭa d-á qə̆rə̆čéθa wíðəlle ʾax-nàθa díya.| de-sà!| ʾay-píšta bàxtɛla| ʾu-ʾáwwa píša xóna mə́nna dìya.|

(30) They went down after him and saw that he was doing this. He looked and saw she was there. They said 'How (has this happened)?' She said 'That servant girl put me here'. He went and took her, took her out and went up. (31) He went up to the house and brought her up. He brought two horses. He fed one salt. One he only gave water to drink and did not feed it any food. He put her behind them. They made every piece of the gypsy girl like her ear. 'Begone!' She became his wife and he became a brother for her.

A35 Nanno and Jəndo

Informant: Dawið Gwərgəs (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθwa tré xawràne,ˈ xa-šə́mme Nànno,ˈ xa-šə́mme Jə̀ndo.ˈ màra,ˈ xà-yoma,ˈ Nànnoˈ zílle l-ʾə̀rxeˈ nubə́lle ṭxúna l-ʾə̀rxe.ˈ qəm-máwər txúne díye gu-ʾə̀rxeˈ ʾu-ṭxàna-wewa.ˈ xa-bènaˈ xírre hàtxaˈ ʾína θéla ða-də̀bba.ˈ θéla tíwla qam-tắrət ʾə̀rxe.ˈ (2) xìrreˈ mə́re ʾe-b-álaha ʾɛ-də́bba θéla tìwla.ˈ dáx pálṭən ʾàna?!ˈ har-píšɛle gu-ʾə̀rxe.ˈ bar-xáčča xènaˈ mára ʾə́θyɛle xa-tèla.ˈ šláma-lləx xáθi də̀bba.ˈ mə́ra b-šéna xóni tèla!ˈ ʾat-dàx-it?ˈ mə́re háwət basìmta,ˈ spày-in,ˈ xáθi də̀bba,ˈ ʾàt dáx-it?ˈ mə́re spày-in,ˈ basíma.ˈ (3) mòt wáða?ˈ b-álaha hon-tíwta làxxa,ˈ xánči manyòxe.ˈ mə́re ʾáp-ʾana ṯ̂-átwən ʾáxxa kə̀sləx.ˈ tìwɛle.ˈ xáčča xéna léla zìlta,ˈ ʾə́θyɛle xa-kàlba.ˈ ʾáp-aw šlàma llə́xu!ˈ b-šéna-w ṭawàθa!ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw tìwɛle.ˈ (4) xáčča xéna zìltɛla,ˈ θíθɛla ða-qàṭu.ˈ ʾáp-ay šlàma llə́xu!ˈ b-šéna-w ṭawàθa!ˈ ʾáp-ay tìwtɛla.ˈ tíwe xáčča xèna,ˈ xa-béna ʾə́θyɛle xa-ʾaqúbra xāṣ-sùsa,ˈ maṭròye,ˈ ʾu-lwíša júllət xumàla,ˈ ʾu-maṭróye xāṣ-súse dìye,ˈ pyáða táma tàma.ˈ (5) mukə̀lyəlle súse díye.ˈ xìrɛle.ˈ šlàma llə́xu!ˈ mə́ra b-šéna-w ṭawàθa.ˈ há xóna ʾaqúbra lèka?ˈ mə́re b-álaha hon-zála xlùla.ˈ mə́ra léka hátxa ṯ̂-it-mxùmla-wˈ sépux ʾu-gugíye b-jùllux?ˈ (6) mə́re hon-zála xlùla.ˈ bas-mádam ṯ̂-ítu tìwe,ˈ ṯ̂-átwən ʾáxxa kəslə́xu xàmlən.ˈ har-ṭapə̀nne xlúla.ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw tíwɛle tàma.ˈ (7) mára xa-béna hádəx ʾáni tìwe,ˈ dábba mə̀raˈ ʾáp-xa mənnéxu léle l-zmárta xa-mə̀ndiˈ maxmálleni hox-tíwe ʾàxxa?ˈ qáṭu mára he-b-álaha xáθi də̀bba,ˈ ʾána yắðən zàmrən.ˈ zmìrra qáṭu,ˈ zmìrra.ˈ ʾu-qímla ʾánna har-rqàða.ˈ ʾaqúbra gríšle sépe dìye,ˈ be-pálgət dìwənile.ˈ rqàðɛla,ˈ ʾu-píšla ṯ̂-ámrət xlùlɛle táma.ˈ (8) munìxla xáčča.ˈ mára manìxəx xáčča.ˈ dábba qəm-mbaqràla qáṭu,ˈ mára xáθi qàṭu,ˈ ʾánna zmaryàθəx,ˈ m-ékət líptəlla hátxa basìme?ˈ mára xáθi də̀bba,ˈ šáwwa šə́nne tarjə́mən-wənwa gu-Wòlto.ˈ mára xáθi qàṭuˈ zmaryáθəx basìmelaˈ zmúrrən xánči xèna.ˈ (9) zmìrtɛla qáṭu xá-ga xétaˈ ʾu-qíme rqàðɛla.ˈ prìqelaˈ ʾu-mə̀raˈ ʾánna zmaryáθa m-èkət líptəlla?ˈ biš-basímela m-ănàha.ˈ ʾána gu-Hàlmun-in líptəlla.ˈ zíltənwa tajərúθa tàma.ˈ šămánwa ʾánna bnáθa zmàraˈ ʾu-lìptənna mənnéy.ˈ

A35 Nanno and Jəndo

Informant: Dawið Gwərgəs (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There were two friends, one called Nanno and the one called Jəndo. Now, one day Nanno went to the water-mill, he took grist to the water-mill. He brough his grist into the water-mill and it started to be ground. Then, he looked and saw that a bear had come. It had come and sat in front of the door of the mill. (2) He looked and said 'By God, that bear has come and sat down. How can I get out?!' He stayed in the mill. After a while, a fox came. 'Greetings to you, sister bear!'. She said 'Welcome brother fox! How are you?' He said 'Thank you, I am well, sister bear. How are you?' She said 'I am well, thank you'. (3) 'What are you doing?' 'By God, I am sitting here to rest a little'. He said 'I also shall sit here with you'. They sat. Not long passed before a dog came. He also (said) 'Greetings to you!' 'You are most welcome!' He also sat down. (4) A little more (time) went by and a cat came. She also (said) 'Greetings to you!' 'You are most welcome!' She also sat down. They sat a little longer, then a mouse came on the back of a horse, riding, dressed in fine clothes, riding on the back of his horse, passing by. (5) He stopped his horse and looked 'Greetings to you all!' They said 'You are most welcome. Where (are you going) brother mouse?' He said 'By God, I am going to a wedding'. They said 'Where (are you going) while so festively dressed, with your sword and with tastles on your clothes?' (6) He said 'I am going to a wedding. But, while you are sitting, I shall sit with you and have fun. I'll reach the wedding (before it finishes)'. He also sat down there. (7) Now, they sat in this way for a while and then the bear said 'Is anyone of you for a song or something to entertain us while we sit here?' The cat said 'Yes, by God, sister bear, I know how to sing'. The cat sang and sang. They got up and danced. The mouse drew his sword, while in the middle of the gathering. They danced and it seemed as if there was a wedding there. (8) They rested a little. They said 'Let's rest a little'. The bear asked the cat, she said 'Sister cat, where did you learn those songs of yours, which are so beautiful?' She said 'Sister bear, I was an interpreter in Wolto for seven years'. She (the bear) said 'Sister cat, your songs are beautiful, sing to us some more'. (9) The cat sang again and they got up and danced. They finished and they said 'Where did you learn these songs from? They are more beautiful than the others'. I learnt them in Halmun. I went on business there. I heard the girls singing and I learnt them from them'.

(10) har-tɨ̀wewa,ˈ xzéley téla lwíša…júlle díye rába šapìre-wɛwa.ˈ mára ʾánna júllux hátxa šapíre m-èka xóni téla.ʔˈ yáʿni rába xá-mdi prìšɛla júllux gu-d-ánna diyéni.ˈ mə́re xáθi dábba ʾay-qə̀s̩s̩ətila.ˈ mára mòdi qə́s̩s̩ət.ʔˈ tànilɛni!ˈˈ (11) mə́re là ˈ lɛ-ʾáθya mtanòye,ˈ xɑ̃́f náše šmà ʾəlleni.ˈ mára ʾàp-xa líθ.ˈ xìrɛlaˈ ʾáp-xa léla xàzye.ˈ har-ʾàxnəx,ˈ ʾáxni xonə̆wàθəx.ˈ (12) mə́re ʾána xá-bena tfiqən xa-kísa hátxa m̩̀lyɛwa dáwa.ˈ ʾu-zìlɛn,ˈ xpírɛn xo-ðà ʾilána,ˈ mṭúšyənne tàma-wˈ ʾu-kút-bena-bena šaqlə́nni xa-dàwa mə́nne díye.ˈ ʾu-dámxən xo-d-à ʾilánaˈ rəš-d-ó-dawa dìyi,ˈ ta-t-lá-ʾaθe xa-šaqə̀lle.ˈ

(13) Nánno hóle maʂyòθe.ˈ mə́re téla maxzə̀nnux.ˈ bábux mnalə̀nne!ˈ ʾó-dawa šaqlə̀nne mə́nnux.ˈ spírɛle Nánno hál ʾɛ-gə-ṯ-ila kúlla zìle,ˈ kút-xa zílɛle ðà-gota,ˈ ʾáw npílɛle báθra báθra tèla.ˈ npílɛle báθra báθra tèla,ˈ zílɛle, zílɛle, zìlɛle,ˈ xə́zyɛle téla dmíxa xo-ða-ʾilàna.ˈ (14) ʾəθyɛle,ˈ šqíləlle ða-qaṭìta,ˈ xa-qèsa.ˈ mə̀xyəlle téla.ˈ téla rìqɛle.ˈ ʾaw-ʾə́θyɛle xpírɛle mpúlṭəlla dáwət tèlaˈ ʾu-nùbləllaˈ l-bèθa.ˈ zìlɛle.ˈ qəm-nabálle dáwa kúlle mə́nne dìye.ˈ píšle milyonə̀r.ˈ (15) zwínne bèθa-wˈ zwínne məndiyàne,ˈ píšle xá-məndi prìša gu-d-a-máθa,ˈ biš-zángin m-kùlla.ˈ θéle Jə̀ndo,ˈ xáwre dìye.ˈ qəm-mbaqə̀rreˈ Nánno xòni,ˈ ʾáwwa mə̀l,ˈ m-èka.ʔˈ mə́re qə́s̩s̩ət rìxtɛla.ˈ (16) ʾu-dbìšle ʾə́bbe díye,ˈ bə̆́ye t-yə̆́ðe m-èkɛla.ˈ mə́re b-álaha hàtxɛla qə́s̩s̩ət.ˈ zìlənwa-wˈ θèla,ˈ tíwla haywàne-wˈ ʾu-zmírra-w xárθa téla mə́re ʾítli dàwa.ˈ ʾu-gléle ʾéka mṭùšyəlle.ˈ npílli báθre dìye,ˈ qəm-šaqlə̀nne.ˈ mə́re ʾèkətwa tíwa.ʔˈ mə́re gu-ʾə̀rxe.ˈ

(17) qímɛle Jə́ndo yómət trè,ˈ zílɛle l-ʾə̀rxe.ˈ mə́re xá-ga xéta ṯ-áθi yátwi tàma.ˈ mə́re ṯ-áθi xá-ga xéta l-ʾə̀rxe.ˈ zílɛle ʾáw l-ʾə̀rxe,ˈ mṭúšyəlle gʸān-dìye.ˈ ʾanna-ʾə̀θye.ˈ θíθɛla də̀bba,ˈ ʾə́θyɛle kàlba,ˈ θíθɛla qàṭu,ˈ ʾə́θyɛle ʾaqùbra,ˈ sab-wíðe-wɛwa tàgbirˈ ʾap-tə́mməl táfqəx b-ġðàðe.ˈ (18) xá-bena hò!ˈ hóle θéle téla tə́ngər tə̀ngər,ˈ ʾáqle twìrta-wˈ xáṣe šmìṭa.ˈ ʾə́θyɛle tə́ngər tə̀ngər,ˈ mátyɛle tàma,ˈ mə́ra mà-lux xóni téla.ʔˈ mòdi θíθa ʾə́bbux.ʔˈ júlle díye kúlle mpurə̀pṭe.ˈ kə̀la ʾan-júllux.ʔˈ mòdi θíθa ʾə́bbux.ʔˈ hádəx ṯ-ítwa mčoḵə̀bna tə́mməl.ˈ ʾə́dyo mòdi θíθa ʾə́bbux.ʔˈ

(10) While they were sitting, they saw that the fox was dressed up, that his clothes were very fine. They said 'From where (did you get) these clothes of yours that are so fine, brother fox? Your clothes are something special compared with ours'. He said 'Sister bear, that is a (long) story'. They said 'What is the story? Tell us!' (11) He said 'No. It cannot be told, lest people hear us'. They said 'There is nobody here'. They looked. They saw nobody. 'We are alone. We are brothers'. (12) He said 'Once I came across a bag that was full like this of gold. I went and dug (a hole) under a tree and hid it there. Every so often I take from it for myself a gold coin. I sleep under that tree, on top of my gold, so that somebody does not come and take it'.

(13) Nanno was listening. He said 'Fox, I shall show you. I curse your father! I shall take that gold from you'. Nanno waited until they had all gone, each had gone away.[1] Then he followed after the fox. He followed after the fox and went a long way, then saw the fox sleeping under a tree. (14) He came and took a walking stick, a piece of wood. He struck the fox. The fox ran away. He came and dug. He took out the gold of the fox and took it home. He went (home). He took all of his gold. He became a millionaire. (15) He bought a house, he bought things. He became something special in the village, richer than everybody else. Jəndo, his friend, came. He asked Nanno 'Brother, where is this wealth from?' He said 'It is a long story'. (16) He pressed him,[2] since he wanted to know where it was from. He said 'By God, the story is like this. I went on my way and some animals came and sat down. They sang and then the fox said "I have some gold" and revealed where he had hidden it. I followed him and took it'. He said 'Where were you sitting?' He said 'In the water-mill'.

(17) The next day Jəndo went to the water-mill. He said 'They will come again and sit there'. He said 'They will come again to the water-mill'. He went to the water-mill and hid himself. They came. The bear came, the dog came, the cat came, the mouse came, for they had made a plan 'Also tomorrow we shall get together'. (18) Then the fox came, limping, his leg broken, his back crushed. He came, limping and when he arrived there, they said 'What is the matter with you brother fox? What has happened to you? All your clothes are torn. Where are those (fine) clothes of yours? What has happened to you? You were so well-decked out yesterday. What has happened to you today?'

[1] Literally: gone on one side.
[2] Literally: He stuck to him.

(19) mə́re hə̀l-u| hàtxa-wawa.| xa-náša ʾə́θyɛle mə̀xyəlli,| ʾu-šqíləlle kúlla dáwa ʾu-nùbləlle.| ʾu-lán-ðaʾa dáxile ðìya.| ʾána kázən xáθi də́bba lá mtanə́nna qə̀s̩s̩ət| m-ɛ́ka də̀we.| mə́rəx ʾə́lla mtanìla.| ʾu-xa-mašmóye-wewa ʾəllɛ̀ni lázəm.| (20) ʾɛ̀ka t̩-áwe mašmóye?| xìrɛle.| mə́re b-xšáwən gu-d-ay-ʾə́rxe-wewa.| mt̩úšyəlle gʸān-díye gu-ʾə́rxe.| mə́re bálki t̩-ile-ʾáp-ʾədyo ʾə̀θya.| qíme wìre.| mə́re wúru t̩ə̆̀yəx.| bálki t̩-ile-ʾə́θya ʾap-ʾə́dyo tàma.| wírela gu-ʾə́rxe t̩ə̆̀ya.| ʾu-J́ə́ndo xá-bena xìrɛle| ʾína ʾáni kúlla wìre,| šmáʾəlle qalə̀y.| qímɛle mt̩úšyəlle gʸān-dìye.| (21) w-ánna t̩íye t̩íye t̩ìye.| xa-bèna| xa-mənnə̀y| tfîqɛle b-áqle díye| mə́re hòle!| ʾáxxa mt̩ùšyəlle gʸáne.| ʾu-rípeləlle kùlla,| nyásа-w xàla ʾə́bbe-diye.| (22) ʾaw-ràqa-w| hal-ʾé-ga t̩-ile-mə́tya l-màθa,| pálge zìla-wewa,| ma-t-wɛ́wa xìləlle.| mə́tyɛle gu-máθa npìlɛle.| ʾə́θye reše-dìye| mà-lux xóni J́ə́ndo!?| mòdi qəs̩s̩áttux?| mə́re b-álaha hàtxa θéle ʾə́bbi.|

(23) manay-díye mòdi?| náša gə̆́rəg lá mt̩ə̆̀me| kút t̩-ile-wíða xà-mdi,| ʾána t̩-óðən ʾaxwàθe-diye.|

(19) He said 'This is what has happened. A man came and struck me. He took all the gold and carried it off. I don't know how he knew. I tried, my sister bear, not to tell the story of where the gold coins were from, but you said "You must tell it". Somebody must have been listening to us'. (20) 'Where can he be listening?' He looked and said 'I think he was in this mill. He had hidden himself in the mill'. Perhaps he has gone there also today'. They went into the mill to search. Jəndo then looked and saw that they all had entered. He heard their voices. He went and hid himself. (21) They searched and searched and searched. Then one of them came across his foot. He said 'Here he is! He has hidden himself here. They all attacked him, biting and gnawing him. (22) He ran away and by the time he reached the village half of him was gone, since they had eaten so much of him. He arrived in the village and fell down. People came to him (and said) 'What is the matter with you, brother Jəndo? What has happened to you?'[3] He said 'By God, such-and-such has happened to me'.

(23) What is its meaning? A man should not covet by saying 'Whoever has done something, I shall do like him'.

[3] Literally: What is your story.

A36 The Story with No End

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (ɛn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-màlka| rába zalə̀m-wewa.| lɛ̀wewa gwíra.| bə̆yéwa gawə̀rwa.| y-amə́rwa| ʾé-baxta ṯ-àθya| bə̆́yən gawrə̀nna| lázəm mtanyáli ða-qəṣṣə̀tta| t-la-háwela nəhə̀ya.| ku-ṯ-aθyə̀wa| xá-yoma trè| parqàwa tuníθa díya.| (2) ðà| mə́ra ṭla-bába dìya| ʾána ṯ-àzən| tanyánne ða-tuníθa ṭla-màlka.| xoš-qaṭə̀lli.| bálki najḥàna.| qìmta,| zìlta.| xṭìθəx-ila| mə́re mə́syət mtányət tuníθa t-la-xàṣla?| mə́re he-màsyən.| mə́re de-mtàna!| (3) mə́ra ʾíθwa xa-málka zalə́m-wewa maxwàθux.| ʾíθwale xa-muqaṭă̆ʿa rába gòṛa.| mjŭméle xə́ṭṭe t-kúlla d-ɛ-mànṭăqa.| dréle gu-sèylo.| mə́ra qəm-daréla kúlla gu-d-ə̀y| ʾu-qəm-šə̆yéla kúlla gudána dìya| b-čimànto| ʾu-t-lá háwe tə̆́ra-ži bíya díya.| (4) qəm-šawúqla xa-bóya zòra hátxa,| bás mujárrad šəkwánta mə́sya ṯ-áwra-w pàlṭa.| mə́ra mšuréla šəkwáne wára-w plàṭa| gu-d-àn-xə̀ṭṭe.| béna xə́ṭṭe ʾummàye ṭúnne-wɛwa.| (5) mə́ra wírra šəkwánta qamétθa šqilála ða-ḥábba ʾu-plìṭla.| wírra t-tárte šqilála ða-ḥábba-w plìṭla.| wírra t-ṭə́ḷḷəθ ða-ḥábba-w plìṭla.| mə́ra ha-t-xásli ʾan-xə̀ṭṭe,| ʾan-šəkwáne ṯ-áwɛ ðà-ða wára.| líθ dúka t-tə̀rte.| har-ðà-ða wára.| mə́re də̃̀s,| ʾáy čú-ga la-xàsla.|

A36 The Story with No End

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (Ɛn-Nune)

(1) There was a king, who was very unjust. He was not married. He wanted to marry. He would said 'The woman whom I shall marry[1] must tell me a story that has no end'. Every woman that came, her story finished after one or two days. (2) One woman said to her father 'I shall go and tell a story to the king. Let him kill me (if he wishes). Perhaps I shall win'. She went (to the king and he said) 'I feel pity for you',[2] he said 'Can you tell a story that does not end?' She said 'Yes, I can'. He said 'So tell me!' (3) She said 'There was a king who was very unjust like you. He had a very large province. He gathered the wheat from all of that region and put it in a silo'. She said 'He put all of it in it and covered all of its walls with cement, so that there was not even a door in it. (4) He left a small hole like this, through which only an ant could go in and come out'. She said 'The ants began to go into that wheat and come out. Now, the wheat was hundreds of tons'. (5) She said 'The first ant went in and took one grain, then went out. The second went in and took a grain and went out. The third went in (and took) a grain and went out'. She said 'Until the wheat finished, the ants were going in one by one. There was no other place (to enter). They went in only one by one'. He said 'You are right, that will never end'.

[1] Literally: the woman who comes and I want to marry.
[2] Literally: It is your sin, it is a sin against you.

A37 The Tale of Nasimo

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-bráta šə́mma Nasìmo.ˈ Nasìmoˈ wíðɛwa gu-ʾúmra qurbàna,ˈ qa-ṯ-azáwa qarwàwa.ˈ yomáθa la-palṭàwa,ˈ ma-ṯ-áwa xámθa šapìrta,ˈ káwsa làxxa ṣaléwa.ˈ ʾiθwála šáwwa xonăwàθa.ˈ mə́ra lá-palṭa xáθən mən-bèθa.ˈ ʾàxni nabláxla.ˈ (2) ʾáni zìlla.ˈ lá-θela jàldeˈ murqə̀lla.ˈ mə́ra xéna ʾána qémən ʾázən ʾùmra.ˈ ʾánna xonăwáθa là-θela.ˈ ʾazáwa ʾúmra qa-t-qarwàwa,ˈ dášta ṃalyáwa rakáwe ʾarabàye.ˈ ṃlíθa dášta ʾarabàye,ˈ ʾə́θyela jlíwəlla muṣə̀lyəlla.ˈ (3) ʾəθyɛle xóna díya ʾo-gòṛa,ˈ lə́le xə́zyəlla xàθe,ˈ dax-xànum ʾay-tíwta gu-bə́θa.ˈ lá qəm-xazèla.ˈ mə̀re:ˈ

(4) ʾo dày ya-xlápax dày
ʾo kə́la xáθi Nasìmo?ˈ
mə́ra bábi xáθux Nasìmo
xámši yóme ṣimìla
qurbáne t-la qriwìla
(5) ʾo-yóma t-qarwàwale
dášta ṃlə́la rakàwe
xáθux Nasímo jlíwtɛla l-ʾarabàye
muṣlyálla l-ʾáθṛa t-xtàye

(6) ʾaw-bxéle ʾu-mquhə̀rre.ˈ tíwle bxàya.ˈ ʾap-o-xéna hàdəx,ˈ ʾap-o-xéna hàdəx.ˈ ʾo-zórət kúlla θèle.ˈ ʾap-áw qrèle:ˈ

(7) ʾo-dày,ˈ xlápax dày.ˈ
mə́ra bábi xáθux Nasìmo
xámši yóme ṣimìla
qurbáne t-la qriwìla
(8) ʾo-yóma t-qarwàwale
dášta ṃlə́la rakàwe
zílla máθət arabàye
xáθux Nasímo muṣlyálla l-ʾáθṛa t-xtàye
kə̀la xáθi Nasímo?ˈ

A37 The Tale of Nasimo

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There was a girl called Nasimo. Mass was performed in church, so that she had to go to take communion. She did not go out for days, since she was so beautiful, her hair flowing down to here. She had seven brothers. They said 'Our sister will not go out of the house. We shall take her'. (2) They went off. They did not come back early, they were delayed. She said 'Well, I shall go to church. These brothers (of mine) have not come back'. She went to church to take communion and the plain filled with Arab horsemen. The plain filled with Arabs. They came and kidnapped her and took her away.[1] (3) Her eldest brother came back and did not find his sister. She (was always) sitting like a lady at home. He did not see her. He said:

(4) 'Oh mother, may I be your ransom, mother
Oh where is my sister Nasimo?'
She said 'My dear, your sister Nasimo
fasted fifty days
without taking communion.
(5) The day she was taking communion
The plain filled with horsemen.
Your sister Nasimo has been captured by Arabs.
They took her down to the land of the (dwellers in the) low places'.

(6) He wept and became sad. He sat down weeping. The other (brother) did the same, the other the same. The youngest came back. He also cried:

(7) 'Oh mother, may I be your ransom, mother
She said 'My dear, your sister Nasimo
fasted fifty days
without taking communion.
(8) The day she was taking communion
The plain filled with horsemen.
She went to the land of the Arabs.
They took you sister Nasimo down to the land of the (dwellers in the) low places'.

[1] Literally: took her down.

(9) máre yàmmi| ṯ-ázən ʾána mɛθànna.| móra bábət yámmux rába rà̰ḥqɛla dúka.| dàx ṯ-ázət?| máre yámmi la-hòya| ʾàna| xàθi lá-ʾazən xazánna.| qímle zìlle,| šqílle gàne| bábi šqílle kupálət pràzla.| ʾu-muttúle kosíθət prázla b-rèše| ʾu-šqílle ṣáwlət prázla p-àqle.| zílle mxéle b-dùnye.| (10) ṭlíble xàṭər mənnèy:| púšu b-šɛ̀na!| hon-zàla.| bálki léla ʾúrxət dyàṛa.| xíšle, ʾu-xíšle, ʾu-xíšle ʾu-xìšle.| mṭéle l-xa-màθa.| máre ʾàyyɛla máθət fulán-naša?| máre hè.| móre kɛ̀le qáṣre díye,| béθe díye?| máre ʾăwà̰ʾha qáṣre díyele.| (11) qíma sìqɛle,| kálya qam-ṭắrət bɛ̀θa.| ʾítle xa-yaləxta mnuqàšta| l-bábe zqírta b-qɛ̀se| ʾu-xáθe díye mnuqàštəlla.| dwíqəlla gu-ʾíðe dìye,| bxàya| maṣlóyele dəmme| mxáyɛle ʾɛ́ne dìye.| tíwle táma píšle jnàna.|

(12) ʾáx ʾáyya yaləxta|
bàbila zqírta|
ʾu-xáθi Nasìmola mnuqášta.|

(13) xadámta díya ʾáy šmèla.| mən-ʾə̀ltəx móra:| xadàmta!| béna ʾəstàðti.| móra ʾaw-sáwa mòdi?| píšle sàwa.| móre šáwwa šə́nne b-ʾùrxa,| zàla,| kutáne blèla,| ṣáwle nc̈̆lla.| píšle fă̈qíra məskèna.| (14) léš-ʾawwa mṣáya máṭe c̈ù-dukθa.| mṭéle gu-d-ày-maθa| ham-zɛ̀n.| mṭéle gu-d-ày máθa.| ʾay-máθa d-àn-našela.| tíwɛle tàma.| móra mó-bă̆ye ʾo-nàša?| móra ʾəstáðta hola-màra,| hóle bxáya jnàna,| hole-màra| ʾáyya yaləxta| bàbila zqírta| xáθi Nasìmola mnuqášta.| (15) ʾɛ̀nile?| kla-kla-klá ʾána ṣàlyən.| kla-klá mṣáwθən mənne-dìye.| ṣlíθɛla mṣuwàθta mənne-dìye.|

(16) ʾo-sáwa qú ruq-m-tàma!|
kaləbθi bə̂ṭ-axlàlux.|
qaṭúθi bəd-mnagràlux|
ʾɛ-kă̆fiyya m-ɛkàlux.?|

(17) móre ʾɛ-kă̆fiyya ya-bábi| ʾəstáðta Nasìmola mnuqášta.| ʾu-ʾána ʾanna-šawwá-šə́nne hon-θàya| ʾína kupáli píšla šmìṭṭa| ʾu-piláwe píšla šmìṭe.| júlli lítli t-lošèna.| bă̆yən xázən xáθi Nasìmo| xóš mɛθèna!|

(9) He said 'Mother, I shall go and bring her back'. She said 'My dear,[2] the place is very far. How will you go?' He said 'Mother, it is impossible for me not to go and find my sister'. He went off, he took himself off, my dear,[3] he took an iron stick, he put a hat of iron on his head and took iron shoes (to wear) on his feet. He went out into the world. (10) He bade them farewell 'Remain in peace! I am going. Perhaps it is the road of no return'. He went a long way and arrived at a village. He said 'Is this the village of such-and-such a person?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'Where is his residence, his house?' He said 'That is his residence over there'. (11) He went up there and stood outside the house. He had an embroidered handkerchief, which was woven by his father on the wood (of the loom) and embroidered by his sister. He held it in his hand, weeping, shedding tears and wiping his eyes. He sat there and started to sing dirges:

(12) Oh this handkerchief,
was woven by my father
and embroidered by my sister Nasimo.

(13) Her servant girl heard. From downstairs she (Nasimo) said 'Servant!' 'Right away madam'. She said 'Who[4] is that old man?' He had become an old man. Now, he had travelled on the road for seven years, his shirt was worn out, his shoes had fallen apart. He had become a poor wretch. (14) He could no longer reach any place. He was lucky to arrive in that village. He reached that village. It was the village of those people. He sat there. She said 'What does that man want?' She said 'Madam, he is weeping and singing dirges, saying "This handkerchief was woven by my father and embroidered by my sister Nasimo". (15) 'Who is he? Wait, wait, wait. I shall go down. Wait, wait. I shall talk to him'. She went down and spoken to him:

(16) Oh old man, get up and flee from there!
My dog will eat you.
My cat will gnaw you.
From where have you got this handkerchief?

(17) He said 'This handkerchief, my dear, was embroidered by the lady Nasimo. I have been been coming (on my way here) for these seven years. Look, my stick has broken and my shoes have broken, I have no shoes to wear. I just want to see my sister Nasimo, then let me die!'

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[2] Literally: dear on of your mother.
[3] Affectionate remark addressed to the listeners of the story.
[4] Literally: what?

(18) mə́ra hàtxa,ˈ ʾáwwa xònile.ˈ síqtɛla l-ṭ́ábaq t-ṭ́ḷàθa.ˈ zdíθəlla gána dìyaˈ kəsle-dìye.ˈ mə́re ʾána bəd-mὲθena.ˈ mə́ra ʾáp-ʾana bəd-mέθən gòtux.ˈ zədyála gána díya tàmaˈ tə́rna mítla kəs-ġ̇ðὰðe.ˈ (19) ʾé-ga θéla qəm-xazὲlaˈ mòdile?ˈ mòdile?ˈ ʾánna mə́ra hàtxɛle bə́rya.ˈ. . . . mə́ra mέθəx ʾὺpraˈ mxamə̀xla.ˈ ʾáyya šuqáli táma ʾu-θéli làxxa.ˈ

(18) She said 'If that is the case, he is my brother'. She went up to the third floor and threw herself down beside him. He said 'I want to die'. She said 'I also shall die by your side'. She threw herself down there and both died together. (19) When they came and saw them (they asked) 'What is it? What is it?' They said such-and-such has happened. They said 'Let us bring soil and bury them'. I have left it there and come here.

A38 Šošɜt Xere

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

*(1) ʾíθwa bròna,ˈ ṣ̀lya-wewaˈ l-ʾàskar.ˈ báxte díye brátət fằqìre-wawa.ˈ ʾíθwàlaˈ ʾa-bàxtaˈ šawwà kaláθa,ˈ šawwá ʾarxàθa,ˈ ʾu-ʾárbe kúlla mándi šáwwa, šàwwa.ˈ xéna ʾánna kúlley,ˈ lá baxtáθa pyáša-wɛwa yaqùre,ˈ lá bnòneˈ ʾázze maθòye,ˈ lá ʾarxàθa.ˈ kúlla bṭ̀lla.ˈ (2) zílla kəs-xà-našaˈ dréla xa-pàlaˈ mára yáʿni ʾáyya-t pála dȗs-ila?ˈ mára hàtxɛla.ˈ mára ða-kálθa qṭùllaˈ ʾu-ða-ʾárxe-š màbṭəlla,ˈ ʾu-ða-ʾázza xéta qṭùlla,ˈ kúlla šulánəx dàrzi.ˈ mára ha?ˈ mára b-àlaha!ˈ (3) zìltɛlaˈ mára ʾèni qáṭlən ya-ʾálaha bábi?ˈ ʾína kúlla ʾan-xéne bnáθət guṛàne,ˈ ʾáyya Šóše brátət fằqìre-wawa.ˈ zílla qəm-qaṭlàlaˈ Šóšət Xère,ˈ qəm-mṭamrála gu-ʾòrət susă̆wáθa ʾáltəx.ˈ (4) qəm-mṭamrála gu-ʾórət susă̆wàθa,ˈ bróna díya θèle.ˈ kúlla hóle xzáyəlla gu-bèθa.ˈ móre šlàma ʾəllɛ́xu.ˈ móra b-šɛ̀na.ˈ móre kèla Šóšət Xére máma?ˈ móra bábi zílta š-tanùra.ˈ (5) zílle tanùra,ˈ móre tanúra tanùra,ˈ Šóšət Xére kèla?ˈ móre léla npílta l-páθi m-jàldeˈ θéle móre yèmmi!ˈ tanúra qəm-mjawábli láxma ṭla-mò?ˈ kèla Šóšət Xére?ˈ bábi zílta mìya.ˈ (6) zílle mìre: ʾènaˈ ʾènaˈ kèla Šóšət Xére?ˈ móra Xére léla npílta l-pàθi.ˈ hal-lèla gláya.ˈ píšle zála b-xa-ʾalòla.ˈ qaríwte díye ṯ-íle gwíra píšla mánne qarìwtaˈ hóla jnána b-dargùšta*ˈ

(7) halaláye bàbi,ˈ halalàyeˈ
bəxyóna léle dìyuxˈ
bəxyóna t-Šóšət Xèreˈ
ṯ-ila-qṭìltaˈ ʾu-ṭmírta gu-ʾórət susă̆wàθa.ˈ

qəm-šă̆méle qála dìya.ˈ mère:ˈ

(8) qaríwtiˈ mazyád qàlaxˈ
káwdi-w ráθi mxurxàlaxˈ
Šóšət Xére txiràlaxˈ
Šóšət Xére txiràlaxˈ

A38 Šošət Xere

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There was a boy, who went down to the army. His wife was a daughter of poor people. That woman (the mother of the boy) had seven daughters-in-law, seven water-mills, and sheep, everything in sevens. But all of these—the women were not becomng pregnant, the goats were not producing young, the mills were not (producing). They all stopped (producing). (2) She went to a person and consulted her fortune. She said 'Is that which the fortune (foretells) true?' They said 'It is so'. They said 'Kill one daughter-in-law, stop one mill, kill in addition one goat, and all your affairs will be put right'. She said 'Is it so?' They said 'Yes'.[1] (3) She went (home) and said 'Whom should I kill, my father God?' Now, whereas all the others were daughters of gentlemen, this Šoše was the daughter of poor people. She went and killed her, Šošət Xere, and buried her in the horses' manger below (in the basement stable). (4) She buried her in the horses' manger and her son came back. He found everybody at home. He said 'Greetings to you'. They said 'Welcome'. He said 'Where is Šošət Xere, mother?' She said 'My dear, she has gone to the oven'. (5) He went to the oven and said 'Oven, oven, where is Šošət Xere?' It said 'She has not gone before me[2] recently'. He came back and said 'Mother! The oven replied to me (with only) bread, why? Where is Šošət Xere?' 'My dear, she has gone to the water'. (6) He went and said 'Spring, spring, where is Šošət Xere?' It said 'She has not gone before me'. She (the mother) still does not reveal (the truth). He was walking in an alley. His wedding friend—when he married she was his wedding friend—was singing a dirge over a cradle.

(7) Halalaye, my dear, halalaye
Crying is not for you
Crying is for Šošət Xere
Who has been killed and buried in the horses' manger

He heard her voice and said:

(8) My friend raise your voice
You burnt my liver and lungs
When you mentioned Šošət Xere
When you mentioned Šošət Xere

[1] Literally: by God.
[2] Literally: fell at my face.

mə́ra

*(9) qarí̱wtux ʾúpra-w pàra*ˈ
*módi mazída qàla.*ˈ
*daqiqé t-xo-ʾərbàla.*ˈ
*daqiqé t-xo-ʾərbàla.*ˈ

*(10) yə́ʿni ṭmírtɛla ða-dúkθa daqìqta*ˈ *là-mṣət xazə́tla.*ˈ *xá-ga xéta zìlle.*ˈ *ʾawwa-bxèle.*ˈ *θéle l-bɛ̀θa*ˈ *máre yə́mmi hátxa šmìli.*ˈ *óh bábi míðət ʾáyya módila mṣòθe.*ˈ *xá-ga xéta zílle b-ó ʾalòla.*ˈ *xá-ga xéta hóla mára-ʾay hàdəx.*ˈ *mə̀ra:*ˈ

*(11) de-sígən b-an-ʾalòle*ˈ
*de-mbáqər m-yále zòre*ˈ
*ʾáni-t lɛ́ði mdagòle*ˈ
*ʾáni-t lɛ́ði mdagòle*ˈ

*(12) de-sígən gáre gàre*ˈ
*mbáqər kíma-w gabbàre*ˈ
*ʾáni-t lɛ́la dagàle.*ˈ
*ʾáni-t lɛ́la dagàle.*ˈ

*(13) ga-ʾánna píšla gu-lə́bbe díye kùlla.*ˈ *ṣléle mə́re yə́mmi hálli kulə̀nga,*ˈ *hálli mat-kàlena!*ˈ *ṭla-mòdi bábi?*ˈ *máre rábe məndiyáne šmìli.*ˈ *ʾáti làt-glaya ṭláli,*ˈ *ʾána ðìli.*ˈ *(14) ṣlèle,*ˈ *ʾu-mbulbéle ʾórə susə̆wàθa.*ˈ *ʾóre wéwa xpìrta,*ˈ *dərya súla b-réša màndi.*ˈ *ṭmírta tàma,*ˈ *plíṭla šə̆mála šə̆́ve lhàya.*ˈ *y-ámər bàbi,*ˈ *bràti,*ˈ *ʾáyya dȗs-ila.*ˈ *(15) mowìdle?*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾaw qəm-qaṭə́lle gān-dìye,*ˈ *zadéle gān-díye tàma.*ˈ *plíṭla trè-xure.*ˈ *šmáyya mára mə́ndi ṭə́šwa bət-páyəš škə̆̀ra.*ˈ *kazíwa prámə̀lla har-palṭ̀wa,*ˈ *hál plíṭla hàtxa.*ˈ *(16) ðíla ʾáy mə́ndi ṭə́šwa páyəš škə̆̀ra.*ˈ *yə́mme díye píšla qwára gàna.*ˈ *yə́mme díye mšuréla qṭála gàna.*ˈ *mə́ra leš faydá-lləx qáṭlət gànəx.*ˈ *brónəx zìlle.*ˈ *kálθəx zìlla.*ˈ *bɛ́θa xrì̀wle.*ˈ

She said:

(9) Your close one (wife) is earth and fine dust
Why should she (your wedding friend) raise her voice?
The fine dust under the sieve
The fine dust under the sieve

(10) That is she is buried in a small place and you cannot see her. He again went off. He wept. He came back to the house and said 'Mother, I have heard such-and-such'. 'Oh my dear, you do not know what she is saying'. Again he went to that alley. Once again she was telling the same thing. She said:

(11) Go into the alleys
Ask the young boys,
Who do not know how to lie,
Who do not know how to lie,

(12) Go from roof to roof,
Ask the Pleiades and Orion,
Who are not liars
Who are not liars

(13) Now, all these (words) weighed on his heart. He went down and said 'Mother, give me a pick-axe, give it to me, how much more can I wait?' 'Why, my dear?' He said 'I have heard many things. You are not revealing (the truth) to me. I know'. (14) He went down and searched in the horses' manger. The manger had been dug, manure or the like had been put on top of it. She was buried there, she came out glowing like a night candle. He said 'My dear, my girl, it is true'. (15) What did he do? He also killed himself and threw himself there. Two poplar trees grew up. Heaven says that any hidden thing will be uncovered. They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up, until they grew like this. (16) She knew that what was hidden would be uncovered. His mother began to bury herself (in remorse). His mother began to kill herself (with remorse). She said 'It will no longer be of any use to you to kill yourself. You son is dead. Your daughter-in-law is dead. Your house has been ruined'.

A39 The Brother of Giants

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθwa xá báxta-w xa-gàwṛa.ˈ ʾa-báxta mə́ra ta-gáwṛa dìyaˈ də-xùšˈ nàša.ˈ xuš-plùxən!ˈ xuš-plùxən!ˈ ta-mút baṭíla tíwa gu-bèθa?ˈ dàx ṯ-óya?ˈ ʾámər la-líθ šùla.ˈ mə́ra də-ʾáti xùš!ˈ bálki máčxət šùla.ˈ (2) qímle zílle mxéle l-ṭùra.ˈ xìšle,ˈ xìšle,ˈ xìšle.ˈ píšle xùya.ˈ mə́re ya-ʾàlahi,ˈ ya-màriˈ lèka ʾazéna?ˈ píšle xùya.ˈ čù-naša la-yăðéna.ˈ la-bèθa ʾíθən,ˈ ʾu-la-nàša ʾíθən.ˈ xzéle xa-núra lháya gu-xa-gàppa.ˈ (3) mə́re ʾázən ʾóðən qázəd d-àwwa gə́ppa.ˈ ṯ-áwðən qázədde dìye.ˈ ṯ-ázən máxən tắra d-àw-gəppa.ˈ ʾíθ-nàšeˈ ʾən-lìθ-naše.ˈ zílɛle mə́xyɛle tắrə d-ò-gəppa.ˈ (4) ʾína hóla tùweˈ šawwà hambišáye.ˈ šawwá-hambišaye tíwe gu-d-aw-gàppa.ˈ mə́re ya-ʾàlahi.ˈ xúya har-xùyɛle.ˈ har-déwe ṯ-axlìli.ˈ har-ṯ-ázən gu-d-ànna hambišáyeˈ har-hambišàye-ži ṯ-axlíli.ˈ qímle mxéle l-tắrèyˈ wírre kəslèy.ˈ (5) wírre kəslèyˈ xírre muttúle bàlaˈ kút-xa mənnèyˈ réše mṭáya l-ṭùra,ˈ dáqne ṣólya hàl-ʾaxxa,ˈ səmbéle hàl-ʾaxxa.ˈ mə́re ʾánna hár ṯ-axlìli,ˈ yăðèna.ˈ ʾína ṯ-àmrən xá-məndiˈ gu-lábbe díye mtuxmənne.ˈ (6) mə́re šláma-llɛxu xonắwàθi.ˈ xá-mənna xírre b-o-xèna.ˈ mə́ra ʾítlən xa-xóna xèna?ˈ mə́ra ʾáti m-èka-yăðət ṯ-íx xonắwàθa?ˈ mə́re yə́mmi mšudártəlli kəslèxu.ˈ mə́ra sí kəs-xonắwàθux.ˈ hóla fulàn-duka.ˈ m-kəs-gàne qəm-mdabə́rraˈ mxalóṣe xàye díye.ˈ (7) mə́re yá-ʾalaha mò-ʾoðən?ˈ ʾána gắrəg ʾámrənˈ hatxàne.ˈ mə́ra zȅn,ˈ ʾən-ít xonèni,ˈ háyyo tu-ʾáxxa kəslèni.ˈ xùl.ˈ xúl mənnèni.ˈ (8) xílle dréle dax-d-àni.ˈ xìlle,ˈ mə́ra b-álaha xónən-it mə̀jjəd.ˈ ʾamrə́xlux xà-mdi xéna.ˈ ṭlaθà-məndiyane.ˈ ʾáyya qəm-mpalṭə̀xla,ˈ píše trè-məndiyane xéne.ˈ (9) ʾamrə́xlux ʾítlən xá zə̀qqaˈ ràba gó́ṛtɛla.ˈ y-ásqəx mɛ́θəx míya mən-d-ắwàha ṭúra.ˈ rába rə̀ḥqɛle ʾo-ṭúra.ˈ ràba rə́ḥqɛle.ˈ ʾə́n mə́ṣət šaqlə̀tla?ˈ

A39 The Brother of Giants

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There was a woman and a man. The woman said to her husband ‘Go, man! Go and work! Go and work! Why are you sitting idly in the house? It is not right!’[1] He said ‘No, there is no work’. She said ‘Go! Perhaps you will find work’. (2) He set off and went to the mountains. He travelled a long way. It became dark. He said ‘My God, my Lord, where shall I go? It has become dark. I do not know anybody. There is no house and there is no person here’. He saw a fire burning in a cave. (3) He said ‘I shall go and make for that cave. I shall go towards it. I shall go and knock on the door of the cave, whether there are people there or there are no people there’. He went and knocked on the door of the cave. (4) He saw seven giants sitting there. Seven giants were sitting in that cave. He said ‘My God, it is very dark, either wolves are sure to eat me or I shall go to these giants and the giants are sure to eat me’. He knocked on their door and went in to meet them. (5) When he went in to meet them, he looked and noticed that the head of each of them reached the (top of) the mountain, his beard fell down to here and his moustache to here. He said ‘They are sure to eat me, I know. But I shall say something’—he thought this to himself. (6) He said ‘Greetings to you my brothers’. They looked at each other. They said ‘Have we another brother?’ They said ‘How do you know that we are brothers?’ He said ‘My mother sent me to you. She said “Go to your brothers. They are in such-and-such a place” ’. He made this up himself to save his life. (7) He said ‘My God, what shall I do? I have to say such things’. They said ‘Well, if you are our brother, come and sit here with us. Eat, eat with us’. He ate and served (himself food) like them. (8) He ate and they said ‘By God, you are really our brother. Let us say to you something else. (There are) three things (you need to do in order to prove that you are our brother). We have eliminated this one. Two other things remain. (9) We say to you that we have a water-skin that is very large. We shall go up and fetch water from that mountain over there. That mountain is very far away. It is very far away. Can you take it there?’

[1] Literally: How can it be?

(10) mára ʾó xonăwàθi,ˈ ʾaw-mo-šùlɛle?ǀ qa-mòtun mára ʾáxtuˈ ʾáxni y-ásqəx ṭùraˈ másqəx zàqqa.ˈ lámu lá-ʾasqən ʾàna?ǀ hálli ḥàwla.ˈ y-ásqən kúlla qése mjămànnaˈ ʾu-ʾúrxa paθxànnaˈ qa-t-míya ṣála qam-tar-gàppa?ǀ qa-mó le-y-asqən-méθən míya mən-tàma?ǀ (11) mára b-álaha ʾaw-xoš-fəkrɛle!ǁ qímɛle šqílɛle xa-xáwla rába rìxa.ˈ sáɾyɛle kúlla b-réšət ʾilanàne.ˈ la-màṣe,ˈ mo-ʾàwəð?ǀ bă̆ye mxáləṣ xàye.ˈ (12) qímɛle sáɾyəlle b-réšət ʾilanáne ʾilanàne.ˈ ʾáni kálye kəs-bèθa.ˈ ʾámər xonăwáθi mvă̆do mvă̆doˈ t-la-ʾazítu b-míya ʾap-àxtu.ˈ ʾámri háyyo xílli làbbuxˈ lá-bă̆yəx la-mìyaˈ ʾu-la-čù-məndi.ˈ ʾáxni har-xònən-it.ˈ (13) mára zə̂nˈ píšta ðà-xeta.ˈ ʾánna tàrte,ˈ píšta ðà-xeta.ˈ ʾən-it-xònɛni,ˈ ʾítlən xa-maġára rába ʾamòqa,ˈ ʾax-xa-sàrdəb qarə́xle.ˈ ʾíθ xa-párša b-réše dìyeˈ ràba góɾɛle.ˈ ʾən-ʾáw-parša šqìllux,ˈ ʾítlən dáwe tàma,ˈ pălə́xxa,ˈ kúlləṇ xonăwàθəx.ˈ (14) mára xonăwáθi mòtu mára?ǀ ʾána ʾən-šqìlli,ˈ fə́lsa la-yawənnéxu.ˈ mára ʾáwwa mú-ṯ-awəð b-rèšən?ǀ mára lá-baba, là.ˈ har-la-šqúlla biš-spày.ˈ ʾáxni šaqláxxe ʾu-ṃáləxxa čántux zùzeˈ ʾu-sìga.ˈ (15) qímɛle bàbi,ˈ šqíləlla xonăwáθe díye ʾò-parša d-o-maġàra,ˈ ʾína xa-marágla gòɾaˈ ṃálya dàwe,ˈ ṃálya dàwe.ˈ šqílle moθéle čanáθa mànne,ˈ tárna qəm-ṃaḷèla.ˈ θèle.ˈ (16) θèle,ˈ b-lèle bă̆ye màṭeˈ t-la- xazéle náše gu-màθa.ˈ ʾaw-mèkɛle θáya,ˈ t-la-mšalxìle.ˈ (17) sə́ʾət xà mṭéle l-béθa.ˈ mxéle l-tă̆ra.ˈ mxéle l-tă̆ra,ˈ mára báxte dìyeˈ mára ʾő́x ʾáw gáwɾi m-jàlde hóle zílaˈ lá-ʾəθya l-béθa žàre,ˈ ʾən-ile-qṭìla,ˈ ʾən-ile xìla.ˈ (18) xá-bena mxéle l-tă̆ra,ˈ mára ʾő́x ya-ʾalàhi!ǁ b-xšáwən gáwɾi θèle.ˈ pθíxle tă̆ra.ˈ ʾína θèle.ˈ mára bàxtaˈ θélux nàša?ǀ mára báxta θèliˈ mò-ʾoðən?ǀ zílli plàxa.ˈ kčîxliˈ ʾu-θèli.ˈ (19) mára ʾánna mòdi?ǀ mára də-mákəs tă̆ra.ˈ ʾu-máṣla fàrdeˈ pθúxla xza-mo-xázyət gawày.ˈ qəm-maṣléla kúlla fàrde.ˈ

(10) He said 'My brothers, what job is that? Why do you say "We shall go up and take up the water-skin". Why should I not go (alone)? Give me a rope. I shall gather all the wood and open up the way so that the water will come down to the door of the cave. Why should I go up and fetch water from there?' (11) They said 'By God, that is a good idea!' He set off and took a very long rope. He tied it all onto the tops of the trees. He could not (do anything else). What could he do? He wanted to save his life. (12) He tied it to the tops of the trees. They (the giants) stayed at home. He said 'Brothers, move out of the way, move out of the way, so that you do not get carried away with the water'. They said 'Come, my dear,[2] we do not want water or anything else. You are indeed our brother'. (13) They said 'Fine, one other task remains. These are two, one more remains. If you are our brother, there is a cavern that is very deep, like what we call a basement. There is a flat stone over it that is very large. If you take away this stone, (you will find) we have gold coins there and we shall divide them, since we are all brothers'. (14) He said 'Brothers, what are you saying? If I take it off, I shall not give you a penny'. They said 'What is he going to do to us?' They said 'No, my dear, no. It is better that you do not take it off. We shall take it off and fill your bag with money, then you can go'. (15) He set off and his brothers took off the flat stone of that cavern. Behold a large pot full of gold coins, full of gold coins. He took them, he brought bags with him and he filled two of them. Then he came back (home). (16) He came back. He wanted to arrive at night, so that he would not be seen by people in the village (who would say) 'Where is he coming from?', so that they would not strip (and rob) him. (17) He arrived home at one o'clock. He knocked at the door. His wife said, she said 'Oh, that husband of mine has gone out early and has not returned home, poor man. He has either been killed or he has been eaten (by wild animals)'. (18) Then he knocked at the door and she said 'Oh, my God! I think my husband has come back'. She opened the door and saw that he had indeed come back. The woman said 'Have you come back, man?' He said 'Wife, I have come back, what should I do? I went to work. I got tired and come back'. (19) She said 'What are these?' He said 'Close the door. Draw down the blinds. Then, open them and see what you find in them'. They drew down all the blinds.

[2] Literally: I have eaten your heart.

(20) mə́re t-lá naše-xazɛlèni| mən-panjèra,| mən-tăràne.| kúlla dukáne mátti bála genàwe.| zílta kúlla mtugbə̀rtəlla.| pθíxtəlla ʾína kúlla dàwe.| (21) mə́ra ʾáxni mò-ʾoðəx b-ánna dáwe?!‖ ʾéka mṭarš̌əxla?‖ mə́rəx ṭláli lèt-plaxa.| ʾína-hóli plìxli.| mə́ra b-álaha gáwṛa plìxlux!‖ gánux basìmta!‖ (22) hádəx bábi píšlɛ zangìne,| píšlɛ márət dəkkanàne.| pišlɛ márət palàxe.| píšle rešáya gu-máθa ʾàwwa.| ʾáyya šwiqáli tàma.|

(20) He said 'So that people do not see us from the window and the doors. Thieves watch everywhere. She went and prepared everything. She opened them (the bags) and saw all the gold coins. (21) She said 'What will we do with these gold coins? Where shall we hide them?' 'You said to me "You are not working". Now I have worked'. She said 'By God, husband, you have worked! Well done!'. (22) So, my dear, they became rich. They became owners of shops. They became owners of workers. He became a leading figure in the village. I have left it there and come here.

A40 The Wise Daughter of the King

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-màlka.ˈ t̰-aθéwa náše magəḥkìle.ˈ ʾíθən bàbaˈ ʾu-bráta mjuwədla.ˈ plìšla bábi,ˈ ʾazíza səgóli xòna,ˈ plíšla m-ġðàðe.ˈ mára gáwṛa dawə́qle bèθa.ˈ mára bába làʾ!ˈ bràta doqále béθa.ˈ (2) mára ta-mòt mára hátxa?ˈ mára bábi hatxèla.ˈ y-ámri gáwṛa mərya,ˈ báxta xapèθa.ˈ báxta t̰-ila-hawnànta ˈ máθya ta-bèθa.ˈ (3) mára bábi rába hawnàntət,ˈ bas-ta-rə́qqi b-yawə́nnəx qa-xa-náša špíla gu-tanùra.ˈ ma-yxàləf.ˈ hàlli.ˈ (4) qəm-yawə́lla bába díya qa-xa-náša špíla gu-tanùra,ˈ yóma y-axə̀lwaˈ yóma lè-y-axəlwa,ˈ hátxa faqìra.ˈ mára qa-d-àwwa b-yawə́nnəx.ˈ yáʿni ʾáti bìš-yăðət mánni?ˈ mára hàtxɛle.ˈ hár-dwaqət rə̀qqi?ˈ mára làn-dwaqa rə́qqi bába.ˈ ʾáyya ṣáwθi dù̀s-ila.ˈ (5) qímɛle híwəlla ta-xa-špìla.ˈ mò-widla b-ó-naša špíla?ˈ qəm-šaqlàle.ˈ qəm-xɛpàle.ˈ qəm-masyàle.ˈ muttúla zúze gu-ʾìðe,ˈ y-amráwa xoš-bàzar!ˈ y-ámər lèðenaˈ y-amráwa t-yă̆ðət.ˈ (6) yomíyya šawwá-qɛse maxyàwale.ˈ y-amráwa gă̆rəg ʾázət šùqa.ˈ yawə́nnux zùze.ˈ ʾu-xèpətˈ ʾu-màsət qamáye.ˈ qazdət-šùqa-wˈ zàwnətˈ ʾu-mèθət.ˈ lèpət.ˈ qəm-oðále hàdəx.ˈ (7) píšle ʾó-naša jálde har-gu-d-á-məita ʾàw.ˈ lìple.ˈ muttúle dəkkanàne.ˈ zílle ða-máθa xèta.ˈ gu-ða-máθa xèta mgúrəlla,ˈ lá gu-máθə ganèy.ˈ xa-bènaˈ bráte díye muttúla qáṣre ʾu-qaṣòre.ˈ (8) tă̆rət béθa dìyaˈ kúlle mármar mšuwèθa.ˈ ʾamáne díya seníye t-ʾáxli ʾixála gáwa dàwa,ˈ čámča dàwa.ˈ ʾo-t̰-áxəl mánna hàdəx.ˈ zílla nubə́lla swarìye.ˈ ʾáxni y-ámrəx swarìyeˈ yáʿni gu-Bàrwəṛ,ˈ t-yatwíwa xaṣət-koðənyàθa,ˈ dawère.ˈ

A40 The Wise Daughter of the King

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There was a king. People would come to amuse him. There was a father and daughter who had a dispute. They fought, my dear, my dear brother, they fought together. He (the king) said 'The man is in charge of the house'. She said 'No father! The girl is in charge of the house'. (2) He said 'Why do you say that?' She said 'My father, it is so. They say 'A man is sick, but a woman looks after the home.[1] A woman who is clever brings (benefit) to the home'. (3) He said 'My dear, you are very clever, but against your will, I am going to give you to a paralysed man (living) in an oven (house)'.[2] 'Never mind. Give me (to him)'. (4) Her father gave her to a paralysed man (living) in an oven (house), one day he would eat, but another day he would not eat, so poor was he. He said 'I shall give you to him'. 'Do you know more than me?'[3] He said 'It is so. Do you still insist (on what you said)?' She said 'I do not insist, father, but this word of mine is true'. (5) He gave her to a paralysed man. What did she do to that paralysed man? She took him , bathed him and washed his clothes. She put money in his hand and would say 'Go to the market!' He would say 'I don't know (how to)' and she would say 'You will learn'. (6) Every day she beat him seven blows of a stick. She would say 'You must go to the market. I shall give you money. You should bathe and wash your clothes first. Go to the market and buy (things), then bring them home. You will learn. She treated him like that. (7) That man quickly became the foremost man in the town.[4] He went to another village. He (the king) had married them in another village, not in their own village. Then his daughter built villas and palaces. (8) The door of her house was all of dressed marble. Their plates and trays on which they ate food were gold, (their) spoon was gold. Anybody who ate with them (was treated) the same. She went and brought horsemen. We say *swariye* in Barwar, people who sat on the back of mules.

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[1] The root *xpy*, from which the form *xapεθa* is derived, literally means 'to cover, protect, brood (hen)'.

[2] Poor people used to live inside a house that was constructed over the village oven to keep warm and beg for scraps fo bread.

[3] I.e. Are you sure you know what you are doing?

[4] Literally: That man quickly became the only one in the town.

(9) kúlla zìlla| kəs-màlka.| nubálla xa-kθáwa m-íðət bráte dìye.| zìlla| qəm-čɛdàle.| məra málka ṯ-áwət basìma,| brátux hóla číttəllux ṯ-ázət kəslèni.| ʾáxni maxzàxxe béθa,| ʾáti ṯ-áθət mənnèni.| (10) məre ʾáy bráti híwənna ta-xá-naša špìla.| gu-tanúra qəm-čɛdàli.| məra málka ṯ-áwət basìma,| hàtxɛla mírta,| gə́rəg ʾaθèti.| qímle zìlle,| zílle ʾap-ʾáw ʾítle ʾàskar mánne| ʾu-nàše mánne.| zílle, zílle, zìlle.| (11) məre kèle béθa díya?| ʾaw-xášu xa-badəkkɛle.| məra ʾăwáʾha qáṣra ṯ-it-xzàyəlle.| məre làn hămóne.| məra dàx?| ṯ-órət gáwe xazətle.| xazótle ṯ-ila-brátux tàma| ʾu-gàwṛa.| hár-mərе lan-hămòne.| xá-saʾta zílla zílla mṭèla.| (12) sìqla,| mṭéla l-dărajyàθa,| kúlle mármar mšuwèθa.| kúlle mármar mútte m-ày-gota| ʾu-m-ày-gota.| wírra gu-bèθa.| plítla qámθe bráte dìye| məra pàqəð bába ʾazíza,| xqìra,| gu-d-áyya dúnye mxùqra.| pàqəð,| čídət l-bràtux.| (13) məre ʾáwwa béθa dìyəxile bráti?| məra hè.| ʾŭjəble.| məra là-babi,| la-màjbət.| dùnyela.| y-ásqa-w ṣàlya.| mən-málka ṣála l-sùlta.| mən-súlta ṣála màlke.| kùl-məndi báre.| (14) ʾŭjóble b-ánna xabrána díya basìme.| pàqəð bába.| léðe gu-d-éni kúrsi ʾàtu,| gu-d-éni kúrsət dàwa.| kúlla wíðtəlla hàdəx| xa-ʾótəx ta-d-àn-xene,| xa-ʾótəx ta-d-àn-xene,| ta-d-án guṛàne.| kút-xa muttéθəlle yáʿni príše prìše.| (15) ʾu-moθéla paláxa díya pláxa kúlla ʾamáne dàwa,| seniyàθa.| mšuréla dráya ʾixàla.| məre bráti malə̀kθa| bəd-péšət b-šòpi,| bríxta mburàxta.| malkúθi péša ṭlàləx.| (16) məre malkúθi péša ṭlàləx,| wéləx hawnànta,| b-ʾiqárət ṣáwθa basìmta,| ʾu-màqul.| ʾu-plìxləx.| jurəbli ʾàna| qa-t-ʾána xazánwa hàwnəx dáx-wewa| là t-la-bắyánwaləx.| ʾína qəm-xazánnəx ʾáti rába hawnànta,| biš-mánni xa-tə̀rte| t-yátwət maláθa b-šópət bàba,| ʾu-xqìrta.| ʾáyya píšla maláθa b-šáwpət bába dìya.|

(9) They all went to the king. They brought a letter from the hand of his daughter. They went and (conveyed the message that) she had invited him. They said 'King, may you be healthy, your daughter has invited you to come to us. We shall show you the house. You will come with us'. (10) He said 'I gave this daughter of mine to a paralysed man. She has invited me to an oven (house)'. They said 'King, may you be healthy, she has said so, you must come'. He set off and went on his way. He also had an army and relatives with him. He travelled for a long way. (11) He said 'Where is her house?' He thought it was a hut. They said 'That villa that you can see over there'. He said 'I don't believe it'. They said 'Why? When you go inside it, you will see that your daughter and her husband are there'. He still said 'I don't believe it'. (12) They travelled for an hour and then arrived. They went up and came to steps, all made of dressed stone, all with marble on this side and that side. They entered the house. His daughter came out to meet him and said 'Welcome dear, esteemed father, honoured in this world. Welcome. You are invited by your daughter'. (13) He said 'Is this house yours, my daughter?' She said 'Yes'. He was amazed. She said 'No, father, do not be amazed. That is life.[5] It goes up and down. From being king people descend to the dung heap and from the dung heap people rise to be kings. Anything can happen'. (14) He was amazed by those fine words of hers. 'Welcome, father'. He did not know in which chair to sit, in which chair of gold. She arranged everything like this, a room for those men, a room for those other men, for those gentlemen (of the court). She put up everybody separately.[6] (15) Her servants brought in the service, (which consisted) entirely of gold vessels and trays. She began to serve food. He said 'Daughter, queen, you will stand in my place, you are greatly blessed. My kingdom will be for you'. (16) He said 'My kingdom will be for you, since you have been clever, with the honour of sweet and fine words. You have worked hard. I tested you to see how you clever you are. It was not that I did not love you. I have seen that you are very clever, twice as much as me. You will sit as queen in place of your father, greatly honoured'. She became queen in place of her father.

[5] Literally: It is the word.
[6] I.e. in separate rooms.

A41 Measure for Measure

Informant: Kena Kena (Dure)

*ʾìθwa*ˈ *xá* family*ˈ bàba*ˈ *ʾu-bròna*ˈ *ʾu-báxtət bròna.*ˈ *ʾo-bàba*ˈ *píšɛwa sàwa.*ˈ *sáwɛwa gu-bèθa.*ˈ *kálθe díye sqìdla mánne.*ˈ *(2) móra ṭla-gáwṛa dìya*ˈ *qu-šqúlle ʾáwwa bàbux,*ˈ *nábəlle zdíle gu-lawúrtə šèðe.*ˈ *bàssən mánne.*ˈ *ʾánna ʾəmmá-šənne hóle xìya,*ˈ *bàssən mánne.*ˈ *yan-nábəlle zdìle,*ˈ *yan-ʾána pálṭən ʾázən mən-gu-bèθa.*ˈ *(3) yàla-žɪ*ˈ *móre spə̀y,*ˈ *bàxta.*ˈ *qímɛle ʾəθya,*ˈ *qəryɛle bàbe*ˈ *ʾámər hàyyo bábi.*ˈ *háyyo l-xàṣi.*ˈ *(4) ṭínəlle l-xàṣe*ˈ *ʾu-plíṭɛle zàla.*ˈ *zílɛle gu-bədráθət Dùre.*ˈ *píðɛle hòdəx.*ˈ *bábe díye xkìkle*ˈ *m-xáṣət bròne.*ˈ *(5) xkìkle,*ˈ *ʾámər hà bábi*ˈ *qa-mòdit xkàka?*ˈ *ʾámər bàbe*ˈ *qa-mòdile xkàka.*ˈ *(6) ʾámər làn wíða m-bábɪ.*ˈ *ʾən-ʾána hawə́nwa wíða m-bàbi,*ˈ *ʾup-ʾáti ṯ-oðətwa mánni.*ˈ *ʾína màrɛle*ˈ *b-ó-kɛla péšət kìla*ˈ *b-d-àw péšət kíla.*ˈ *(7) bròna*ˈ *klèle.*ˈ *mtuxmə̀nne.*ˈ *xírre m-à-geba,*ˈ *m-à-geba.*ˈ *dìṛṛe*ˈ *mŭdáṛṛe bàbe.*ˈ *zílle-w zìlle*ˈ *nubálle mŭdə̀ṛṛe*ˈ *muttúle gu-bèθe.*ˈ *(8) qréle bàxta,*ˈ *y-ámər ya-bàxta*ˈ *ʾáwwa xa-tă̆ra*ˈ *ʾáwwa trè,*ˈ *ʾáyya ðá panjă̆ra*ˈ *ʾáyya tə̀rte.*ˈ *b-kú-mənna bắyət pálṭət plùṭ,*ˈ *ʾána bàbɪ*ˈ *m-àxxa*ˈ *la-mpalṭə̀nne.*ˈ

A41 Measure for Measure

Informant: Kena Kena (Dure)

(1) There was a family, father, son and wife of the son. The father had become an old man. He was an old man in the house. His daughter-in-law became tired of him. (2) She said to her husband 'Take your father and throw him into the Valley of Almonds. We have had enough of him. He has lived for a hundred years. We have had enough of him. Either take him and throw him down or I shall go away from the house'. (3) The young man said 'Fine, wife'. He came and called his father. He said 'Come father. Come onto my back'. (4) He carried him on his back and went out. He went through the threshing floors of Dure and passed further on. His father laughed from the back of his son. (5) He laughed and he (the son) said 'Hey, father, why are you laughing?' His father said why he was laughing. (6) He said 'I have not done a good service to my father. If I had done a good service to my father, you also would do a good service to me'. Then he said 'You yourself will be measured with the same measure, you will be measured by it'. (7) The son stopped. He thought. He looked one side and the other. He returned and brought his father back. He went and took him back, and put him in the house. (8) He called his wife and said 'Wife, here is a door, here is a second, here is a window. Go out of any of them you wish to go out from. I shall not take my father away from here.

SECTION A: STORIES
FABLES

A42 The Fox and the Lion

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθwa ʾárya gu-ġàba| qəm-dawə́qla ða-ġăzălìya.| ʾáw-u déwa-w tèla| píšla xawràne.| qəm-doqíla ða-ġăzălìya.| ʾárya mə́re ṭla-dèwa,| mə́re déwa plùla ʾáyya ġăzălìya.| ʾáxni ṭláθɛx plùla.| mə́re ʾáxa ṯ-áwət basìma,| ʾáyya ġăzălíya ʾaṭmáθa díya ṭlàlux| ʾu-rušána díya ṭlàli| ʾu-réš-d-ay-u dánwa ṭla-tèla.| (2) ʾárya mə́xyəlle šaqqána l-ʾəqər-náθət dèwa,| qṭìləlle.| nc̃ila rēš-déwa| qíθa tămàha.| ʾárya xɛlànɛle.| (3) téla xìrre| mšuréle zdà'a.| mə́re ʾáp-ʾana b-qaṭə̀lli.| mə́re ʾárya ṭla-tèla| háyyo téla ʾàti plúla ʾáyya ġăzălíya.| mə́re ʾàxay| módi pălənna?| (4) mə́re ʾaṭmáθa xúlla ft̀ártux.| rušáne xúlla xădàya.| ʾu-mə́ndi-t pàyəš| ʾaṣə́rta xa-rámša xùlle| ʾu-dmux-ṭlù.| ʾámər ʾáti rába hawnànɛt.| ʾaw-háwnux m-èkɛle?| ʾámər ʾáwwa háwna lípli m-réšət dèwa.|

SECTION A: STORIES
FABLES

A42 The Fox and the Lion

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There was a lion in the forest. He caught a gazelle. He had become friends with a wolf and a fox. They caught a gazelle. The lion said to the wolf, he said 'Wolf, divide this gazelle. We are three, divide it'. He said 'Sir, if you please, the thighs of this gazelle are for you, its shoulders are for me, and its head and tail are for the fox'. (2) The lion clouted the wolf on the root of his ear and killed him. The head of the wolf was torn off and knocked away. The lion was strong. (3) The fox watched and began to be afraid. He said 'He will kill me too'. The lion said to the fox 'Come on, fox, *you* divide this gazelle'. He said 'Sir, how can I divide it?' (4) He said 'Eat the thighs for your breakfast. Eat the shoulders for your lunch. Whatever is left eat in the evening for your dinner. Then go to sleep'. He said 'You are very wise. Where does your wisdon come from?' He said 'I have learnt this wisdom from the head of the wolf'.

A43 Sour Grapes

Informant: Bənyaməsuch Bənyaməsn (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) téla kpìna-wewa.ˈ θéle b-léle xðàraˈ bə̆̌ye t̪̂-áxəl xà-məndi,ˈ léle xzàya.ˈ xìrreˈ xəzyále ðà xúrta.ˈ xúrta ʾíla ʾílána rìxta.ˈ (2) dalíθa xðíta-ʾəlla síqta ṃ̩líθa ʾənwe.ˈ ða-xúrta ramàntɛla.ˈ ʾan-ʾənwe hàdəx,ˈ kòme,ˈ bs̆ìle,ˈ xírre téla bìyaˈ là-mṣe t̪̂-axə́lla,ˈ ramànela.ˈ (3) mə́re ʾan-ʾənwe xamùṣela,ˈ la-bə̆̌yənna.ˈ qímɛle zìla.ˈ mə́re ʾənwe xamùṣela,ˈ lèla basíme ṭla-xála.ˈ

(4) ʾé-ga manay-díya mòdila ʾənwe xamúṣe?ˈ ʾənwe mṣàya lá-mṣe t̪̂-axə́lla,ˈ m-hàdəx-ila xamúṣe.ˈ ʾən-maṣéwa t̪̂-axəlwala,ˈ lèla xamúṣe.ˈ

A43 Sour Grapes

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) A fox was hungry. He came at night searching, wishing to eat something, but did not find anything. He looked and saw a poplar tree. A poplar is a tall tree. (2) A vine full of grapes had grown up around it. It was a high poplar. The grapes were so black and ripe. The fox looked at them but could not eat them, since they were high up. (3) He said 'Those grapes are sour, I don't want them'. He went off. He said 'The grapes are sour, they are not good for eating.

(4) Now, what is the meaning (of his saying) sour grapes? He could not eat the grapes, and so (he said) they were sour. If he could eat them, they would not have been sour.

A44 The Cat and the Mice

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) qáṭu-w ʾaqúbra dážmən t-ġðàðela.ˈ qáṭu xazyále ʾaqùbra,ˈ doqále ʾaxlàle.ˈ ʾè-ga,ˈ ʾaqùbreˈ kúlla jmìla.ˈ jmíla xa-dùkθa,ˈ mára mo-čára ṯ-óðəx ṭla-d-áyya qáṭu t-la-ʾaxlàlɛni?ˈ ʾáxni pláṭa gu-bèθa,ˈ bə́ǎyəx ṭə́ǎyəx xá-məndi ṯ-àxləx,ˈ hóla xzáyəllən qáṭu ráqa báθrən xàləllɛni.ˈ (2) mára ṯ-óðəx xà-məndiˈ qa-t-ʾíman ṯ-áθya qàṭu,ˈ ʾáxni šămàxle qála díya,ˈ ha-ṯ-àrqɛxi.ˈ mára màṭo?ˈ mára dérəx xa-zága b-qðálət qàṭu.ˈ taláxle zága b-qðála dìya.ˈ ʾímət ʾàθya,ˈ mzàngər zága,ˈ ʾáxni šămáxle qále ṯ-árqəx mṭàšəx.ˈ (3) mára ʾáyya xoš-ṣanìtɛla!ˈ béna xá-mənna mára de-yàlla!ˈ bas-ʾéni dérele zága b-qðálət qàṭu?ˈ (4) ʾáp-xa lá-ṣabər taléle zága b-qðálət qàṭu.ˈ ʾo-ʾaqúbrət tále zága b-qðálət qáṭu ṯ-axlàle.ˈ ʾé-ga píšla hàdəx.ˈ màraˈ ʾáp-xa la-ṣábər dɛréle zága b-qðálət qàṭu.ˈ

A44 The Cat and the Mice

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) A cat and a mouse were mutual enemies. The cat saw the mouse, caught it and ate it. Then all the mice gathered together. They gathered in a place and said ‘What solution can we find for this cat so that it does not eat us? When we go out into the house searching for something to eat, the cat sees us, runs after us and eats us’. (2) They said ‘Let’s do something so that when the cat comes we shall hear its sound and we can run away’. They said ‘How (shall we do this)?’ They said ‘Let’s put a bell on the neck of the cat. Let’s hang a bell on its neck. When it comes, the bell will sound, we shall hear its sound and run and hide’. (3) They said ‘That’s a good idea!’ Then one of them said ‘Let’s do it! But who will put the bell on the neck of the cat?’ (4) None of the them dared to put the bell on the neck of the cat. The mouse who hung the the bell on the neck of the cat would be eaten by it. So they remained as they were. They said ‘Nobody dares to put the bell on the neck of the cat’.

A45 The Fox and the Stork

Informant: Nawiya ʾOdišo (Dure)

(1) hadíya mtánənnux ða-qəṣṣətta| tunìθa| ʾíle šə́mma dìya| tála ʾu-làqləq.| xa-yòma| taʾla čídle ʾárxa qa-làqləq.| dréle ʾixála qa-ṯ̲-àxəl| gu-ʾamána làṭṭa,| ʾína ʾap-réšə lišáne la-mṭele-ʾə̀lle.| (2) téla kúlla qəm-axə́lle qáme dìye.| ʾína ʾaw-kízle b-lqàṭa| čú-məndi là-mṭele.| (3) ʾap-láqləq xá-yoma čìdle-ʾəlle.| qəm-dɛréle gu-xá ʾamána ʾamùqa| ʾu-púmme ʾìqa.| kízle tèla,| dɛ́re xèla,| bə̆́ye ṯ̲-àxəl,| dɛ́re xèla.| ʾap-réšət lišáne díye la-mṭèle.| ʾáwwa qəm-mattúle naqrúze díye kúlla gáwa qəm-sarə̀ple.|

(4) manay-dìya:| kú-məndit ʾoðə́tle bəd-páyəš kìla-ʾəllux.| kílət kɛlə́tle bəd-páyəš kìla-llux.|

A45 The Fox and the Stork

Informant: Nawiya ʾOdišo (Dure)

(1) Now I shall tell a story, a story called 'The fox and the stork'. One day the fox invited the stork as a guest. He served food for him to eat in a shallow vessel, but even the tip of his tongue could not reach it. (2) The fox ate it all in front of him. He tried to peck at it, but did not reach anything. (3) Also the stork one day invited him (the fox). He served him in a deep vessel with a narrow mouth. The fox tried (to eat), made an effort, trying to eat, but even the tip of his tongue did not reach (the food). He (the stork) put his beak in and sucked it all up.

(4) Its moral: Everything that you do will be measured against you. The measure you measure will be measured against you.

A46 The Lion King

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-ʾàrya.ˈ ḥakəm t-xa-wəlàya-wewa.ˈ wíða-wewa muwáfăqa mánnət.… t-heywàneˈ kút-yom xa-hèywənˈ lázəm mɛθɛ̀walеˈ ta-ṯ-axəlwaleˈ páyəšwa ràḥatˈ ta-t-là daqə́rwaˈ heywáne xène.ˈ mtéle gárrət ʾarnùwa.ˈ ʾáy là-siqla.ˈ (2) kàzi heywáne:ˈ sùqən.ˈ díya ṯ-áθe ʾu-kàrəb.ˈ kúllən ṯ-áθe ṯ-axəllən.ˈ móra lè-y-asqən,ˈ lìtlɛxu šúla mánni.ˈ hál xa-béna pídla dàna,ˈ ʾáw píšle kràba-wˈ ṣràxaˈ là-θela!ˈ (3) ʾay-síqtɛla hédi-hedi muttɛ́θɛla ʾíða báθra xàṣa.ˈ mṭíθɛla tàma,ˈ qzídɛle ʾə́lla díya ṯ-axəlwàla.ˈ móra klì.ˈ là ʾaxlátli.ˈ móre ta-mòdi la-θéləx?ˈ móra ləmu har-àtit ʾárya?ˈ ʾíθən xà-ʾarya xénaˈ bìš rába mánnux,ˈ bìš qúwya.ˈ ʾáw là-qbille θéli.ˈ (4) kɛ̀le?ˈ maxzèle-lli.ˈ qímtɛla nubàltəlleˈ móra háyyo mànni!ˈ zíle rəš-xá púmmət bèra.ˈ bérət mìyele.ˈ móra hò,ˈ hóle tămàha ʾaw.ˈ xírre qəm-xazéle šə́kle díye tàma.ˈ dəryále gáne ta-ṯ-awə́ðwa šárre mànne.ˈ qəm-xanqàle.ˈ kúlla heywáne píšla ràḥat.ˈ

A46 The Lion King

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There was a lion, he was the ruler of a region. He had made an agreement with the animals that every day they should bring an animal to him so that he could eat it and be satisfied and so not touch other animals. The turn of the rabbit came. She did not go up to him. (2) The animals tried (to persuade her saying) 'Go up! He will come now and get angry. He will come and eat us all'. She said 'I shall not go up. It is not your business'. After a some time passed, he started to get angry and shouted 'She has not come!' (3) She went up slowly putting her hand behind her back. She arrived there and he made towards her in order to eat her. She said 'Stop! Do not eat me!' He said' Why did you not come?' She said 'Are you the only lion? There is another lion, bigger than you, stronger. He did not allow me to come'. (4) 'Where is he? Show him to me!' She took him, saying 'Come with me'. They went to the head of a well. It was a water well. She said 'There he is'. He looked and saw his image there. He threw himself in to do battle with it. She (the rabbit) drowned him and all the animals were content.

A47 Man Is Treacherous

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) xà-bena| ða-bàxta| ða-yàlta| zála-wawa gu-ḥădàyəq,| qəm-xazyále xà-nəmra,| xwíša gu-ràkka.| ṭwèle lábba ʾálle díye| qəm-paθxàle tắra.| plìṭle,| qímle ta-ṯ-axəlla.| mə́ra ʾálle dìye| ta-mòt xáləlli?| ʾána wídli spayúθa mànnux.| ta-mò ṯ-axlə́tli?| (2) mə́re bəṛ-náša xàyən-ile.| mə́re kəmát ʾáwəð náša xəlmàtta,| hár béna xaràye| mxáyəlle l-máre dìye.| mə́re mbàqər.| (3) ʾəθyɛle xa-sùsa.| mə́re ʾəlla-dìya| ʾáwwa ḥákəm béni ʾu-bènəx.| qəm-mbaqràle| mə́ra dű́s bəṛ-náša xàyən y-áwe?| ma-ṯ-áwəð spayúθa mànne| har-y-áwəð xaɣənùθa?| mə́re hè| y-àwəð xaɣənúθa.| (4) mə́ra dàx?| mə́re ʾána sùsɛwən.| kúlla xáyi yáwəl ṭɛ́ne l-xàṣi.| ʾɛ-dánət mèθən,| ʾi-našáṭle gàldi| y-awə́dle čeròxe,| lawášla p-àqle.| (5) kút θéle xá-mdi mə̀re.| qəm-xazyále xa-tèla.| wiðála ʾíða díya hàtxa.| kθéθa t-yawánnux ràšwa.| mə́ra dáx-ila ʾay-šắrəṭ diyèxu?| mə́ra ʾáwwa gu-ràkka wéwa.| ʾána qəm-mpalṭànne.| díya hóle màra| bəṛ-náša xàyən-ile,| lázəm ʾaxlə̀nne.| (6) mə́re lén mpaṛmòye.| háyyo ṭ-ázəx xázəx ʾèka-wewa.| zíle núbləlle ks-ràkka.| mə́re ʾálle dìye| ʾèkətwa ʾáti?| gu-d-áwwa ràkkənwa.| mə́re də-wùrena.| xázəx màṭo-ṯ-itwa wíra,| màṭo-ṯ-itwa pšíṭa gu-d-áwwa.| (7) ʾáw wìrɛle| ʾu-ʾáw xlìqɛle tắra.| mə́re də-sà.| ʾáw qəm-xalə̀ṣla.| zílla ta-t-máθya kθéθa ṭla-d-àw.| zílla bèna,| mə́ra ta-bába dìya| hàtxɛla qazíya,| hàtxa wídli.| hón mquwálta m-xa-tèla| qəm-xaláṣli m-nə̀mra.| màṭo t-yawánne téla,| kθéθa ta-téla?| mə́re háyyo ʾána nablə̀nnəx.| (8) qìmɛle| híwəlla kθéθa ṭla-d-àɣ,| ʾáy qəm-yawála ṭla-bába dìya| ʾu-zìlɛle.| ʾáw múθyɛle xa-qésa mànne díye.| téla ʾəθyɛle.| ʾaw-xðàyɛle téla,| mə́re díya daréla kθéθa ṭlàli.| mə́re də-zdìla.| (9) mə́re là,| là-zadənna,| ʾálla mattə́nna gu-pùmmux.| yàlla,| lá mhayə́mnən ʾàna| ʾáyya spayúθa ṯ-it-wìðəlli.| mátyɛle qúrbe dìye,| mattóyəlla kθéθa gu-pùmme| ʾu-qésa mə̀xyɛle gu-réše.| hátxa bəṛ-náša xàyən-ile.|

A47 Man Is Treacherous

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) Once a woman, a girl was walking in the gardens and saw a tiger incarcerated in a cage. She felt sorry for him and opened the door. He came out and made (towards her) to eat her. She said to him 'Why are you going to eat me? I did good to you. Why will you eat me?' (2) He said 'Man is treacherous'. He said 'Whenever a man does a service, always in the end he strikes the man performing the service'.[1] He said 'Ask (others)!' (3) A horse came. He said to him 'He will arbitrate between me and you'. She asked him saying 'Is it true that man is treacherous? Whenever one does good to him, he acts treacherously?' He said 'Yes, he acts treacherously'. (4) She said 'How can that be?' He said 'I am a horse. All my life he (my master) has been putting loads on my back. When I die, he will strip off my skin and make it into shoes to wear on his feet'. (5) Every one that came said something. She saw a fox. She waved her hand like this. 'I shall give you a chicken as a bribe'. She said 'What is your judgement?' She said 'He was in a cage. I released him. Now he says "Man is treacherous, I must eat him"' (6) He said 'I do not understand. Come let's go and see where it was'. They went and took him to the cage'. He said to him 'Where were you?' 'I was in this cage'. He said 'Go in so that we can see how you got in and fitted in it'. (7) He went in and he closed the door. He said (to the girl) 'Go!' He saved her. She went to bring a chicken for him. She went and said to her father 'The situation is like this, I have done such-and-such. I have given a promise to a fox who has saved me from a tiger. How can I give it to him, the chicken to the fox?' (8) He said 'Come, I'll take it for you'. They gave a chicken to her, she gave it to her father and he went off. He brought a stick with him. The fox came. The fox was happy. He said 'Now he will give me the chicken'. He said 'Throw it'. (9) He said 'No. I shall not throw it. I must put it in your mouth. Come, I do not believe the kindness you have done to me'. He came close to him, put the chicken in his mouth and struck the stick on his head. So, man is indeed treacherous.

[1] Literally: its master.

A48 The Man Who Cried Wolf

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-nàša| gu-ða-màθa,| rába rába duglàna-wewa.| mdagólwa mən-nàše,| y-ámər hàtxɛle wíða fəllən,| hàtxɛle wíða fəllən.| rába məndiyáne y-awəðwala,| béna náše là hămənítwa ʾálle díye.| lá hămənítwa náše ʾálle dìye.| béθe díye xáčča rəḥqa-wewa mən-máθa.| (2) xá-yoma mən-yománət ʾaláha mára qémən jarbənna| ʾánna nášət màθa.| xázəx mhayríli lo-laʾa.| qìmɛle| muqábəl béθe dìye| xákma qèse,| məndiyàne,| dáryɛle táma nùra bíya.| ṣrìxɛle| hàwər-ila!‖ hàwər-ila! béθi qìdle!‖ (3) ʾánna yǎ̆ði ṯ-íle duglàna.| xzèla| ʾína núra ṭə́pya b-béθe dìye,| ʾína là bɛθa-qíða,| xáčča qése rəḥqa mən-bèθe.| zílela nášət màθa,| ʾína ha-ṯ-íla zìle nášət máθa,| ʾo-núra ç̣əmyɛle.| (4) zílta láxxa tre-ṭlà-yarxe,| ʾarbà-yarxe,| mára xa-béna xéta mjarbənna.| qímɛle mjúrbəlla xá-ga xèta.| dáryəlle hádəx nùra.| ṣríxɛle yàba| qídle bèθi‖ qídle bèθi‖ xá-xeta qímela zìlela,| ha-ṯ-íla zíle ç̣əmyɛle.| (5) béna ṭə́ḷḷəθ màdi wídle?| hár mdagòle gu-máθa,| ʾáwwa hàtxɛle wíða-w| ʾáwwa hàtxɛle míra-w| ʾáwwa hàtxɛle,| dráya búxtən l-xá l-d-o-xèna,| hè,| mdagòle.| yóma mən-duzúθa qìdle béθa.| qídle bèθa,| kízle qràya| yába béθi qìdle‖ (6) mára də-sí duglàna‖ sí duglàna‖ ʾáti rába duglánət ʾánna tərte gáye.| qəm-jarbətlɛni| xázəx ṯ-áθəx hayorəxlux lo-là.| léš-ʾaθəx hayorəxlux| ʾu-béθux xoš-ʾàqəð| ʾu-xoš-ʾàqəð.| lìtlən šúla bíye.| (7) ʾu-ṭə́pya béθa… béθa nùra bíye díye.| kúlle béθe qìdle.| xárθa m-táma hòdəx,| xèri| ʾína béθe díye kúlle qìða.| mára hé b-àlaha,| qídle béθət duglàna-w| ʾáxni là-ðiye bíye.|

A48 The Man Who Cried Wolf

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) There was a man in a village who was a great liar. He would tell lies about people, saying so-and-so did such-and-such, so-and-so did such-and-such. He would do all kinds of (deceptive) things to them and people did not believe him, people did not believe him. His house was quite far from the village. (2) One fine day[1] he said 'Let me test the people of the village. Let's see whether they will help me or not'. In front of his house there were some pieces of wood, and such like. He set fire to them. He cried 'Woe! Woe! My house has burnt down'. (3) They knew that he was a liar. They saw that fire had been kindled in his house, but not that his house had burnt down, only a few sticks far from his house. The people of the village went (to help), but before the people of the village arrived, the fire was put out. (4) Two or three months, four months passed. He said 'I'll test them again'. He tested them again. He lit a fire in the same way. He cried 'Oh my house has burnt down!'. They went (to help) once again, but by the time they had gone, it was put out. (5) What did he do the third time? He continued to tell lies in the village 'He did such-and-such. He said such-and-such', slandering this one and that one, yes, telling lies. One day his house really burnt down. His house burnt down and he tried crying (for help) 'Oh, my house has burnt down!' (6) They said 'Go away, liar! Go way, liar! You have been a great liar for the last two times. You have tested us to see whether we would come to help you or not. We shall not come to help you any more. Let your house burn, let it burn. It is not our business'. (7) The house caught fire and all his house burnt down. Afterwards they look and see that his all house had burnt down. They said 'Oh, by God, the house of the liar has burnt down, without us knowing about it'.

[1] Literally: One of the days of God.

A49 The Crow and the Cheese

Informant: Leya ʾOraha (Dure)

*(1) qarə́kke ṯ̂-íla kʉ̀mta*ˡ
*xá-yoma ʾay-tìwta*ˡ
*l-ʾilána b-púmma gùpta*ˡ

*(2) θéle téla pandàna*ˡ
*mtuxmə́nne ṯ̂-áwəð nxìlθa*ˡ
*ṭla-madréla b-xerə̀tta*ˡ
*šaqə́lla mə́nna gùpta*ˡ

*(3) mə́re ʾən-qáləx mdáme ʾə̀ləx*ˡ
*xa-xéna lit-daxwàθəx*ˡ

*(4) qíx qréla b-gáwət qàla*ˡ
*gúpta mən-púmma npìlla*ˡ
*téla mo-ṭréle ʾə̀lla!*ˡ

*(5) šeðánta qəm-šaqə̀lla*ˡ
*qəm-ʾaryála pəšmànta*ˡ

*(6) téla mə́re šeðànta*ˡ
*la-mháymnət kul-maxkéθa basìmta*ˡ
*téla mére šeðànta*ˡ
*la-mháymnət kul-maxkéθa basìmta*ˡ

A49 The Crow and the Cheese

Informant: Leya ʾOraha (Dure)

(1) The crow that is black
one day she is sitting
on a tree with cheese in her mouth.

(2) The cunning fox came
He thought of doing a mischievous trick
to make her throw it down in her excitement
to take from her the cheese.

(3) He said 'If your voice resembles you (in beauty)
There is none other like you

(4) Qix (= sound of voice), she cried out with her voice (= started to sing).
The cheese fell from her mouth.
How the fox ran to it!

(5) The mad (bird), he (the fox) took it.
Sorrow seized her.

(6) The fox said: 'Mad (bird)
Do not believe every sweet speech'
The fox said: 'Mad (bird)
Do not believe every sweet speech'

SECTION A: STORIES
THE QAṬINA LEGEND

A50 The Sisisambər Plant

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) Qaṭìna| qəm-mxazdìle,| mára gə̆rəg méθət sisisàmbər.| sáwən Tóma smèle, píšle k̲òra.| sisisàmbər| ʾèkɛla?| kəs-Lelìθa.| ʾáp-xa lá-maṣe máṭe ʾálla dìya.| kəs-Lelìθɛla| sisisàmbər.|

(2) Qaṭina tom Qaṭina
tiwɛle xamra b-štaya
b-štaya-w har b-rwaya
base buse b-draya

(3) ʾɛnile gawṛa m-guṛe
šawərre bazət šwirri
šatele qatxət šteli?

(4) xákma θéla màra| sáwən Tóma hóle sàmya| ʾáti tíwət štàya,| ṭla-Qaṭìna.| sisisàmbər| hóla kəs-Lelìθa.| mɛθéla l-ʾénə sámya pàθxi,| míθe t-xə̆yi.| ʾo-t̲-íle míθa ʾi-xə̆ye.| (5) xèna,| Xullə́kko máre ʾàna ṣálən mɛθə́nna,| Xullə̀kko,| brə̋n-t xáltət Qaṭìna.| máre ʾàna ṣálən mɛθə́nna.| (6) qəm-mxazə̀dle.| qímle Xullə̀kko.| Xullə́kko ṣlèle.| Qaṭína là-ṣlele.| ṣlèle,| ʾáy qəm-xazyàle Xullə́kko.| máre ʾána bə̆yən sisisàmbər,| ṭla-Lelìθa,| masqə́nna ṭla-sáwən Tòma.| (7) qəm-dawqále hàtxa,| xa-məstət šə́rma dìya,| qamṭála ʾáqle dìye,| zadyále tàma.| mattále xa-pənxət| šáwwi šawwá párse rəš-ṣádre dìye.| (8) trè-yome,| tre-ṭl̥àθa,| lá-θele Xullə̀kko.| béna qímle Qaṭìna.| ʾu-béna ʾá-dana màre|

(9) ma-yəmmi pɛli zwaðe
ma-xaθi wudli kade
ða ʾurxa npilta l-bali
mxuzdɛwən l-Tomən xali

SECTION A: STORIES
THE QAṬINA LEGEND

A50 The Sisisambər Plant

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) They reproached Qaṭina, saying 'You must bring the sisisambər plant. Grandfather[1] Toma has become blind'. 'Where is the sisisambər?' 'With Leliθa. Nobody can reach it. The sisisambər is with Leliθa'.

(2) Qaṭina, oh Qaṭina
He is sitting drinking wine
Drinking and getting drunk
Talking disparagingly about somebody or another

(3) 'Who is the man amongst men
Who could jump the jump I have jumped,
And could drink the glass I have drunk?'

(4) Some people came and said 'Grandfather Toma has become blind and you sit and drink'—this was to Qaṭina. 'Sisisambər is with Leliθa. They bring it to the eyes of a blind man, so that they will open, so that the dead will live. Whoever is dead, lives'. (5) Now, Xulləkko said 'I shall go down and fetch it'. Xulləkko was the son of the aunt of Qaṭina. He said 'I shall go down and fetch it'. (6) He reproached him. Xulləkko set off and went down, but Qaṭina did not go down. He went down and she (Leliθa) saw Xulləkko. He said 'I want the sisisambər'—(speaking) to Leliθa)—'I shall take it up to grandfather Toma'. (7) She seized him like this. She tied his legs with one hair from her behind and threw him down there. She put a mill-stone (capable of being lifted only by) seventy-seven heroic men onto his chest. (8) Two days, three days (passed), but Xulləkko did not come back. Then Qaṭina said:

(9) Oh mother, bake me supplies
Oh sister, prepare me cakes
A way has come to my mind
I have been shamed by Toman my uncle

[1] Literally: our grandfather.

(10) qìmɛle| tre-bàze| šwirìle Qaṭína| mṭéle kəs-Lelìθa.| máre kɛ́le Xullə̀kko?| mə́ra hòle.| Xullə́kko hóle mútta š-ṣádre xa-pə̀nxa| šáwwi šáwwa pə̀rse,| ho-mútta š-ṣádre dìye.| mxèle ʾáqle díye Qaṭína,| qəm-maxéla ʾáqle l-o-pə̀nxa,| zílle qítle b-xa-ṭùra| qəm-ʾawə́dle míya kòme,| plíṭla šáwpe dìye.| (11) ʾámra mòt ʾə́θya Qaṭína?| máre ʾə́θyən bə̆́yən sisisàmbər.| ʾáy qəm-šaqlála xa-gùrza| mukpála l-Qaṭìna.| Qaṭína nðéle xo-bərqíyət šmàyya.| pálgət pərx̌ə́mte dìye| xríxla qam-yòma.| ʾu-ʾó-gurza díya qítla b-xa-gə̆rə́kθa qəm-oðála mìya,| yàma.| (12) ʾu-xá-bena bar-pálgə sáʾət ṣlèle| dáq qam-tə̆́rət gə̀ppa.| hal-láxxa ṣléle gu-ʾùpra.| hày| ʾámra wíðtənwalux bùrnuṭ!| máre xáru bɛ̀θəx,| b-réšəx xàru,| Lelìθa!| (13) mə́ra gàrrux-ile.| sab-mə́ra Qáṭina gàrrux-ile,| ʾaw-grìšəlle sɛ́pe| xàr.| mə́xyəlle gu-réšət Lelìθa.| wíðəlla tre-qə̀ṭṭe.| (14) mə́ra tníli xà-xena.| máre là,| ʾáxni be-sáwən be-Tóma la-máxəx tre-dàrbe.| ʾən-maxéwala xa-xéna xaθmàwa.| ṯ̂-axlàwale.| ʾàmra|

(15) ma-yəmmux ʾazla klile
ma-xaθux patla pθile
Qaṭina xətnɛle t-la-mbarxile

(16) Qaṭína lèle gwíra.| qəm-lɛṭàle.| máre də-qu-qù.| rqúdli xa-rə́qðət dəbbe.| qímla rqìdla| ʾu-xá-qəṭṭa npílle l-ày-gota| xa l-ày gota.| ʾaw-síqle šqilále sisisàmbər.| musqále ṭla-sáwən Tòma.| mattíla rəš-ʾéne dìye| pθìxla.|

(10) Qaṭina leapt two bounds and arrived at Leliθa. He said 'Where is Xulləkko?' She said 'There he is'. On the chest of Xulləkko there had been placed a mill-stone (that could be lifted only by) seventy heroic men, it had been placed on his chest. Qaṭina gave a kick, he kicked that mill-stone. It came off and struck a mountain. He turned it into black water, which came out in its place. (11) She said 'Why have you come Qaṭina?' He said 'I have come seeking the sisisambər'. She took a club and threw it at Qaṭina. Qaṭina jumped up under the lightning of the sky. Half of his forelock was singed by the sun. That club of hers hit a hill and made it into water, into a sea. (12) Then, in half an hour he came down, thump, before the entrance of the cave. He sank into the mud up to here. She said 'Hey, I had made you (like) tobacco snuff!' He said 'May your house be destroyed, destroyed over your head Leliθa!' (13) She said 'It is your turn'. Since she said 'Qaṭina, it is your turn', he drew his sword, swoosh. He struck it on the head of Leliθa and cut her into two pieces'. (14) She said '(Hit) me again with another (blow)'. He said 'No, we, the family of grandfather Toma, do not strike two blows'. If he were to hit her with another (blow), she would heal and eat him. She said

(15) Oh your mother spins crowns
Oh your sister twists twisted threads
Qaṭina is a groom without being wed

(16) Qaṭina was not married. She cursed him. He said 'Get up. Dance for me a bear dance'. She got up and danced, one part (of her) fell this side and one that side. He went up and took the sisisambər. He brought it to grandfather Toma. They put it on his eyes and they opened.

A51 Qaṭina Rescues His Nephew from Leliθa

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) Qaṭine-w Qaṭīn ṭure
qatxət štelux šatənne
baza šwirrux šawrənne

(2) ða ʾurxa npilta l-bali
rəḥqɛla t-la ṭəpyali
mxuzdɛwən l-Tumən xali

(3) ʾamər ma-yəmmi zulli gðaðe
ʾu-ma-xaθi pɛli zwaðe
xa ʾurxa npilta l-bali
rəḥqɛla t-la ṭəpyali

(4) mxuzdɛwən l-Tumən xali
Qaṭine-w Qaṭīn ṭure
qatxət štelux šatənne
baza šwirrux šawrənne

(5) kul səmbəlti xa draya
kul zargulti palpulti
xa ʾurxa npilta l-bali
rəḥqɛla t-la ṭəpyali
mxuzdɛwən l-Tumən xali

(6) hadíya Qaṭína qímɛle zílɛle ṭǎ́ya báθər Xuldákko xwarzáye dìye, ʾu-zílle qəm-dawqìle. qəm-dawqìle zìlle. ʾína ʾímə mṭéle l-kàrma, mṭéle kàrma Qaṭína, mṭošèle, sab-mírɛwa mṭášət qam-Lelìθa t-lá ʾaxlàlux. (7) gu-gə̀ppa-wawa. ʾáwwa ʾímə ṭ́-íle wíra xo-dalìθa ʾu-kúlla derubèra, xabušê-w ʾənwe-w ʾu-dalyàθa, kúlla mšurèla čarčóre ṣràxa

(8) hay we-llən ʾu-hay šima-llən
qčipewəx mqorəčpewəx
t-la-b-hewən ʾu-t-la măjalən

(9) qímtɛla Lelìθa, plíṭṭɛla m-gu-gə̀ppa díya. ʾímə ṭ́-íla plíṭṭa m-gu-gə́ppa dìya, ríqtɛla ṭ̂ənnəḵérət kàrma, léla xzíθa čù-məndi. ʾáwwa mòdila qázde díye?ˡ bǎ́ye ṭ́-ázəl ta-t-máṭe l-tǎ̀rət gə́ppa ta-t-qáṭəl Lelìθa. (10) ʾáyya pθíltəlle xa-gàrra, wírtɛla gu-gə̀ppa krìbta, krìbta. qìmɛle, xà-ga xéta zílɛle. zìlɛle mátyɛle xo-xa-dalíθa xèta, qrìbɛle. ʾu-ʾán dɛrubére šuréla xá-bena xèta:

A51 Qaṭina Rescues His Nephew from Leliθa

Informant: Dawið ’Adam (Dure)

(1) Qaṭine, Qaṭine (who crosses) mountains
The cup that you drank I’ll drink[1]
The jump that you jumped, I’ll jump

(2) A way has come to my mind
It is far, which I have not reached
I am reproached by Tumən my uncle

(3) He says: Oh mother, spin for me threads[2]
and oh my sister bake me journey supplies
A way has come to my mind
It is far, which I have not reached

(4) I am reproached by Tumin my uncle
Qaṭine, Qaṭine (who crosses) mountains
The cup that you drank I’ll drink
The jump that you jumped, I’ll jump

(5) Each (side) of my moustache is a cubit,
and each shoe of mine and each boot of mine (is a cubit)
A way has come to my mind
It is far, which I have not reached
I am reproached by Tumin my uncle

(6) Now Qaṭina went off looking for Xuldəkko his nephew, who had gone away and had been captured. He had been captured, when he went away. When he reached the orchard, when Qaṭina reached the orchard, he hid, since he had said (to himself) ‘You should hide from Leliθa so that she does not eat you’. (7) She was in a cave. When he went under a vine, all the vegetation, all the apples, grapes and vines started screaming and shouting:

(8) Woe to us, a catastrophe (has come) upon us
We are cut down and harvested
Not in the season nor in our time (for cutting)

(9) Leliθa got up and came out of her cave. When she had come out of her cave, she ran around the orchard, but did not see anything. What was his purpose? He wanted to reach the entrance to the cave to kill Leliθa. (10) She took a turn around, then went into her cave, very angry. He went off again and reached (a place) under another vine, getting nearer. The vegetation began again:

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[1] This is addressed to his uncle.
[2] This probably refers to the laces of his shoes.

*(11) hay we-lən ʾu-hay šima-lən*ˈ
*qčipewəx mqorəčpewəx*ˈ
*t-la-b-hewən ʾu-t-la majalən*ˈ

*(12) xá-ga xéta plíṭṭɛla Lelìθa,*ˈ *krìbta,*ˈ *krìbta.*ˈ

*xa-čarxona črixwala*ˈ
*kribta kribta l-ṣadrət gəppa wirwala*ˈ
*ču məndi la xzewala*ˈ

*(13) xá-gaya xèta*ˈ *qímɛle hedi-hédi gnìwəlla gáne díye,*ˈ *zìla,*ˈ *mátyɛle qúrbət tǎ́rət gə̀ppa.*ˈ *xá-gaya xéta šúryela dɛrubɛ́re ṣràxa*ˈ

*(14) hay we-lən ʾu-hay šima-lən*ˈ
*qčipewəx mqorəčpewəx*ˈ
*t-la-b-hewən ʾu-t-la majalən*ˈ

*(15) Lelíθa qímtɛla mxáya l-gána dìya*ˈ *ʾu-kràbɛla,*ˈ *ʾu-čarčóre ʾu-ṣráxɛla čə̀nnəḵɛ̀ra*ˈ

*(16) bena Leliθa m-ṣadrət gəppona pliṭwala*ˈ

*xa čarxona črixwala*ˈ
*ču məndi la xzewala*ˈ
*ʾu-hedi hedi ṣadrət gəppa wirwala*ˈ

*(17) Qaṭína hóle wíra táma qam-mànna.*ˈ *ʾax-t̂-íle wíra táma qam-mánna dìya*ˈ *šqìləlle*ˈ *ʾíθwala kθàwa.*ˈ *qímɛle šqíla kθáwa dìya*ˈ *múttəlle gu-jébe dìye.*ˈ *ʾax-t-íla θíθa ʾày,*ˈ *maxèle sépe ʾólla díya.*ˈ *(18) šuréla plàša.*ˈ *ʾímə mxèle sépe ʾə́lla díya*ˈ *qəm-awádla tre-pə̀čče*ˈ *xa-páčča píša l-ày-gota,*ˈ *xa-l-ày-gota.*ˈ *ʾay-mə̀ra*ˈ *mxìli xa-sépa xéna.*ˈ *(19) máre lá maxə̀nnəx.*ˈ *ʾáxtu be-Nasìmo*ˈ *rába raqáðetu šə̂myən.*ˈ *šqúl ʾayya-yaláxta b-ìðəx*ˈ *rqùð!*ˈ *qímɛle yíwəlla yaláxta b-íða dìya.*ˈ *šuréθɛla rqáða hátxa b-ày-gota,*ˈ *xrrr npíltɛla l-ʾə̌ra.*ˈ *qṭìləlla.*ˈ *(20) qìmɛle,*ˈ *m-táma hódəx qímɛle zílɛle l-tǎ́rət gə̀ppa.*ˈ *l-tǎ́rə d-ó t̂-ámrəx lìna*ˈ *lìna,*ˈ *dárya-wewa Xuldə́kka tàma,*ˈ *ʾíθwa párša t-wéwa mútta b-rəš-Xuldə̀kka*ˈ *yáʿni xamšî-guṛe la-šaqlíwale,*ˈ *ma-t̂-íwa gòṛa.*ˈ *yáʿni ʾána b-gáni ʾən-hawə́nwa tàma*ˈ *ta-t-taqlə̀nwale*ˈ *là-mṣənwa taqlə́nwale.*ˈ *(21) qìmɛle*ˈ *zìlɛle*ˈ *xzígən ʾalahùθa,*ˈ *ʾáxxa-w tàmma.*ˈ *qìmɛle*ˈ *Qaṭína qəm-paθáxle tə̌ra*ˈ *ṭla-xwarzáye dìye*ˈ *núblə̀lle hàtxa képa-w*ˈ *mpúlṭɛlele Xuldə́kko m-gu-d-o-lìna.*ˈ

(11) Woe to us, a catastrophe (has come) upon us
We are cut down and harvested
Not in the season nor in our time (for cutting)

(12) Leliθa came out again, very angry

She took a short turn around
Very angry she went back into the front of the cave
She saw nothing

(13) Again, he slowly went along, stealthily, and arrived at the entrance of the cave. The vegetation again started shouting:

(14) Woe to us, a catastrophe (has come) upon us
We are cut down and harvested
Not in the season nor in our time (for cutting)

(15) Leliθa got up, beating herself in anger, shrieking and screaming (as she walked) around:

(16) Leliθa went out from her small cave.
She made a small turn around
But did not see anything
And slowly went back into her cave

(17) Qaṭina had gone in there before her. When he went in there before her, he took a book that belonged to her. He took her book and put it in his pocket. When she came, he lunged his sword into her. (18) They began to fight. When he lunged his sword into her, he cut her into two pieces, one piece on this side and one on the other. She said 'Strike me another blow with the sword'. (19) He said 'I shall not strike you. You are the family of Nasimo. I have heard you are good dancers. Take this handkerchief in your hand and dance!' He put the handkerchief into her hand. She began to dance, like this, on that side, then xrrr she fell to the ground. He killed her. (20) Then he went to the entrance of the cave. (He went to) the mouth of what we call a pot, the pot where Xuldəkko had been placed. It had a flat stone that was placed on top of Xuldəkko, fifty men could not pick it up, since it was so big. That is, I myself, if I were there (and tried) to lift it, I could not have lifted it. (21) He went and look what a miracle (he performed),[3] and so forth. Qaṭina opened the mouth (of the jar) for his nephew, took away the stone and took Xuldəkko out of the jar.

[3] Literally: See the divinity!

A52 The Battle with Yuwanɜs the Armenian

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) xá-bena Yuwánəs ʾaramnàya| θéle mxéle tàlən| l-tálən be-sáwən Tòma.| slibíle ʾərwèy,| gaméše diyèy,| gúmle diyèy.| kúlla slibìle.| xáθət sáwən Tòma| jliwàle,| ṣlèle.| (2) Qaṭína zòrɛwa.| máxyəlle ʾáqle l-dudíyət Qaṭìna,| šawwí-zəvre zvìrtəlla.| šawwí-zəvre zvìrtəlla,| sáwən Tòma| šawwí-qəble qbìlɛle ha-ṯ-ila-klíθa dudìya.| zòrɛwa.| mártət ʾamàre,| dúglət d-è-ga.| (3) ʾè-ga| mqŭrənne,| Qaṭína mqŭrənne mṭéle gàwṛa,| ʾámri ʾàmtux| θéle Yuwánəs ʾaramnàya| slíbəlla ʾərwèxu,| slíbəlla baxtàθa,| kúlla slìbəlla,| slíbəlla ʾàmtux,| muṣályəlla ʾu-ṣèlyɛle.| máre ʾékɛle xǎ̆ye.?| ʾèkɛle.?| hátxa gu-barrìya xǎ̆ye.| lă-ʿámri kəma-rèḥqɛle!| ʾá-dana qəm-amàrra.|

(4) ma-xaθi pɛli zwaðe
ma-xaθi pɛli kade
ða ʾurxa npilta l-bali
mxuzdɛwən ʾəl-Tomən xali

(5) qìmɛle| Qaṭìna.| ʾáw səmbéle díye xà-metra.| ṣléle gu-barrìya.| xa-harnùwa| móra péšən xwàrθux.| móre k̂óre brátət k̂òre| ʾéka péšət xwàrθi?!| ʾáti ṯ-órət gu-d-ăwáha ṭarràša| (6) ʾaw-b-xá-baza šawàrwale,| m-àxxa,| kut-báze ʾəṣrà-maylewa.| mattúwala ʾàqle| ʾəṣrà-mayle.| máṭyɛle qam-tắrət béθə ṯ-ámte dìye,| Yuwánəs lèle táma.| (7) Yuwánəs plíṭɛle gu-barrìya| mŭnáwărət ʾaskarwàθa.| mŭnáwărət ʾárbi ʾálpe ʾàskar| hóla b-ày-gota,| ʾárbi ʾálpe ʾáskar hóla b-ày-gota,| ʾárbi ʾálpe ʾáskar hóla b-ày-gota,| ʾárbi ʾálpe m-ày-gota.| yáʿni ʾəmma ʾášti ʾálpe ʾíθwale ʾáskar ʾé-ga Yuwánəs ʾaramnàya,| jéše dìye.| (8) móre kèle Yuwánəs?| síqle l-gàre.| gáre šəlmanáte kúlla dìpla.| plíṭla ʾámte díye móra ʾáwwa xa-xɛ́la xɛ́lə be-bàbile.| ʾáwwa líθ hàtxa mándi| sáqa l-gáre dyàpa ʾánna.|

A52 The Battle with Yuwanəs the Armenian

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) Once Yuwanəs the Armenian came and plundered, (he came) to plunder the family of grandfather Toma. He plundered their sheep, their buffaloes, their camels. He plundered them all. He kidnapped the sister of grandfather Toma and went down (to his land). (2) Qaṭina was young. He (Yuwanəs) kicked the cradle of Qaṭina and span it round seventy times. When it span round seventy times, grandfather Toma made seventy donations until the cradle stopped. He was young. (This was) what people said,[1] the lies of that time. (3) When he grew up, Qaṭina grew up and became a man, they said 'Your aunt—Yuwanəs the Armenian plundered your sheep, plundered the women, plundered them all, plundered your aunt and took her down (with him as) he went down (to his land)'. He said 'Where does he live? Where is he?' 'He lives in the desert at such-and-such (a distance)'. 'By my life, how far it is! Then he said to them:

(4) Oh sister, prepare me supplies
Oh sister, bake me cakes
A way has come to my mind
I have been shamed by Toman my uncle

(5) Qaṭina got up. His moustache was one metre long. He went down to the desert. A rabbit said 'I shall become your friend'. He said 'Poor girl,[2] how will you become my friend?! You go into that bush over there. (6) When he leapt one leap, each leap, from here, was ten miles, he put his leg down ten miles (further on). He arrived in front of the door of his aunt. Yuwanəs was not there. (7) Yuwanəs had gone out into the desert (to conduct) a manoeuvre of his armies, a manoeuvre with forty thousand soldiers on one side, forty thousand soldiers on another side, forty thousand soldiers on another side and forty thousand soldiers on another side. That is Yuwanəs the Armenian had an army of a hundred and sixty thousand soldiers at that time. (8) He (Qaṭina) said 'Where is Yuwanəs?' He went up to the roof. All the iron bars of the roof bent. His aunt came out and said 'Such a force is the force of my father's family. Such a thing as this, going onto the roof and bending these (bars) is unheard of'.[3]

[1] Literally: the saying of the sayers.
[2] Literally: blind girl, daughter of a blind girl.
[3] Literally: does not exist.

(9) xírra hàtxa| móra Qaṭìna!‖ qəm-moràle.| qapyàle,| maṣəlyàle.| qəm-ṭɛnàle.| xzí šəlmanə̀t| dìpla| qam-xèla.| móra mòt ʾəθya xo-bábi.ʔ‖ móre ʾámti ʾəθyən masqənnəx.| (10) móra bròni| lá-mṣət masqətli.| Yuwánəs ʾaramnàya| ʾəmma-w ʾəští-ʾalpe ʾáskar mənne.| hóle gu-barrìya.| móre masqənnəx ʾámti.| ṯ-ázən ṣálən ṭáləb Yuwánəs ʾaramnàya.| (11) ʾáy módi wìdla.ʔ‖ ʾáp-ʾaw dàməx,| Qaṭína dáməx tmànya yóme,| dmìxle.| ʾáy mo-wìdla.ʔ‖ zílla sépe díye kúlla qəm-nablále kəs-jàqši,| y-amríwale jàqši, qəm-awədle rə̆bəṭ.| ʾánna t-maxé-rə̆bəṭ,| rə̆bəṭ, rə̆bəṭ kúlla maxèle| sépe díye ta-t-la-gàrəš.| (12) qəm-nablále kəs-jàqši| qəm-oðále sépe dìye,| ʾaw-léle ðìya.| ʾaw-léle ðìya,| híwtəlle sépe dìye.| qímɛle mbàdla.| tmánya yóme dmìxɛle| ʾu-prìqɛle,| ṛìšele.| qímɛle ṣàlya.| (13) ṣàlyɛle.| ṣríxɛle xa-qàla| gu-barrìya.| susyáθa kúlla drèla,| kúlla zdéla zayèy.| bnonéy qəm-mabrèla.| ʾáskar kúlla mìtla| qam-qàle.| píšle bás Yuwánəs ʾaramnàya.| ʾánna kúlla mìtla.| susyàθa,| ʾáskar dìye,| kúlla mítla qam-qàle,| ʾímə ṣríxle qála gòṛa.| (14) móre Yuwànəs,| móre ʾəθyɛwən| ṭáləb gànux.| ʾàti| hàtxət wíða,| máxyət tàlən| bážər dìyən.| ʾu-baxtáθa mùθyɛwət| ʾu-ʾámti muθyátla-w kùlla.| ʾána ʾəθyɛwən ṭáləb gànux.| (15) wídle šàrṭ| ta-máxa l-ġðàðe.| ʾáwwa Yuwánəs ʾaramnáya ʾáp-ʾaw ʾítle gùrza| max-d-ó-t Lelìθa.| gúrza maxèle| ʾáy bážər kúlla ṯ-awədla mìya,| míya xwáre kóme pálṭi šòpa.| (16) móre ʾéni máxe qamàye.| móre ʾáxni be-Tôma| lè-maxəx| qamàye.| ʾáxni be-Tòma| lè-maxəx qamáye| zàrba.| ʾàti máxət.| móre OK *šàrṭ-ile.| (17) mṭúpyəlle zárba b-Qaṭìna,| Qaṭína nàðyɛle.| náðyɛle xo-bərqíyət šmàyya.| bar-pálgə sáʾat ṣlèle.| ʾámər hè| la-qəm-oðánnux ʾána bùrnuṭ.ʔ‖ ṣlélux xá-bena xèna.ʔ‖ gúrzə šármux xo-ʾána ṯ-azánwa bìya.ʔ‖ ʾáp-ʾana ṯ-ázən mṣàlən,| šamàšɛn.| t-ázən mṣàlena.| (18) Qaṭìna móre.| Qaṭína bə̆ye màxe.| kízle kàrrṛ,| kízle kàrrr.| ʾo-rə̆bəṭ-ile.| qəm-maxéle bə-b-qàtta.| ʾámər ʾàyyɛla zárbux Qaṭína.ʔ‖ móre ʾàyya.|*

(9) She looked and said 'Qaṭina!' She brought him in. She caught him and brought him down. She carried him. 'Look, the bars have bent due to the force'. She said 'Why have you come, my dear?' He said 'Aunt, I have come to take you up (to your home)'. (10) She said 'My son, you cannot take me up. Yuwanəs the Armenian has a hundred and sixty thousand soldiers with him. He is in the desert'. He said 'I shall take you up, aunt. I shall go down to fight Yuwanəs the Armenian'. (11) What did she do? He slept. Qaṭina slept for eight days. He slept. What did she do? She went and took his sword to a craftsman—they call him a *jaqsi*—and he riveted it. (He was one) of those people who did riveting. He riveted all his sword so that he could not draw it. (12) She took it to the craftsman and tampered with his sword, while he did not know. He did not know and she gave his sword back to him. He got up in the morning. He slept for eight days. He finished (sleeping) and woke up. He got up and went down. (13) He went down and let out a shout in the desert. All the mares miscarried and cast out their young. They brought forth their young. All the soldiers died on account of the shout. Only Yuwanəs the Armenian was left. All of them died. The mares, his army, they all died on account of the shout, when he let out a mightly shout. (14) He said 'Yuwanəs', he said 'I have come to fight you. You have done such-and-such, you have plundered our town. You have carried off women, you have carried off my aunt, (as well as) all (the others). I have come to fight you'. (15) He made an agreement that they would strike each other (in a contest). Yuwanəs the Armenian also had a club, like that of Leliθa. If he struck with his club, he would make all of that town turn to water, white and black water would come out in its place. (16) He said 'Who should strike first?' He said 'We, the family of Toma, do not strike first. We, the family of Toma, do not strike the first blow. *Yôu* strike'. He said 'OK, it's an agreement'. (17) He dealt a blow against Qaṭina. Qaṭina leapt. He leapt under the lightning of the sky. After half an hour he came down. He said 'Hey, didn't I make you (like) tobacco snuff? Have you come down again?' '(Why) should I have been finished off by your stupid club?![4] I must go and pray, I am a deacon. I must go and pray'. (18) Qaṭina said this. Qaṭina then wanted to strike. He tried (to pull out his sword) krrr, he tried, it was riveted. He struck it (the sword) together with the sheath. He (Yuwanəs) said 'Is that your blow, Qaṭina?' He said 'That is it'.

[4] Literally: Would I go by the club of your behind.

(19) xá-bena xèna| Yuwánəs mṭupyále gúrza ʾálle díye.| xa-bena xéna nðéle xrrr rìmle| m-qáme dìye.| ṣléle xá-bena xéna màre| la-mìtlux Qaṭína?| máre là,| lan-mìθa.| hon-láxxa barqùlux.| máre ṭla-Yuwànəs| ʾáp-ʾana šamàšɛn.| (20) Qaṭína màre| ṯ-ázən xánčɨ mṣàlən,| ṯ-àθena.| máre sìgən.| màre| ʾána ṯ-ázən mṣàlən.| ʾáti sùq,| xzi-bàxtux| ʾu-qlub-hàyyo.| ʾaw-síqle xzáya báxte dìye| ʾu-ʾaw-zílle mṣalòye.| màre|

(21) ma sɛpa qawrət ganux
ma sɛpa mkarxət ganux
rešət marux nobəllux

(22) *npílle lišána b-sèpa| máre sèpa|*

ʾo sɛpa, sɛpɛwena
drelux ʾiðux ʾəlle
garšətli har ða grašta
be-palge sarxi dəmma-w
gu-reše bərqe, bərqe

(23) grìšle,| kúlla hátxa răbəṭ.| grrr kúlla šmìṭla.| píšle tàma,| spàra| tmanyá-yome ṯ-áθe Yuwánəs ʾaramnàya.| θéle Yuwánəs ʾaramnàya.| béna Yuwánəs ʾaramnáya máre ṭla-Qaṭìna| tmánya yóme ṯ-àtwən,| xá-bena b-xúbbət báxti bnòni| ʾu-b-xúbbət màθi,| b-nàši,| b-xazə́nna ʾu-ṯ-àθena.| tmánya yóme tàmɛwa.| (24) qlíba ṣàlyɛle.| máre díya gárra d-ènile?| Yuwánəs ʾaramnáya máre gárrux ʾáti màxət.| šqílle sèpe| qəm-maxèle.| qəm-awádle trè-qəṭṭe.| kízle də-mxíli xa-xèna.| máre ʾáxni be-Tòməx,| lá-maxəx zóda l-xà.| (25) ʾən-maxéwa xa-xèna,| ʾáp-ʾaw xónət Lelìθɛwa,| xaθəmwa| qa-ṯ-axəlwale.| máre də-qù| rqúdli xa-rəqðət dəbbe.| qu-rqùð.| qímle rqàða,| xa-qə́ṭṭa npílle tàmma| xa-tàmma.| ʾu-sìqle.| musqále ʾàmte,| musqále bàžər| kúlla musəqle.| béna y-ámər Tóma:

(26) b-šɛna, b-šɛna, bər-t-xaθa
kupəšlux ʾəlli kurtəxyaθa

(19) Again Yuwanəs struck him with his club. Again, he leapt and jumped up away from him. When he came down again, he (Yuwanəs) said 'Did you not die, Qaṭina?' He said 'No, I have not died. I am here before you'. He said to Yuwanəs 'I am a deacon'. (20) Qaṭina said 'I shall pray a little then come back'. He said 'Go!' He said 'I shall go and pray. You go up and see your wife, then come back'. He (Yuwanəs) went to see his wife and he (Qaṭina) went to pray. He said:

(21) Oh sword, you bury yourself
Oh sword, you shroud yourself
You have (almost) taken away the head of your owner

(22) The sword started to talk.[5] The sword said:

I am the same sword,
which you have (always) put your hand on.
Pull me out once.
Its middle is defiled by blood.
At its top there is lightning, lightning.

(23) He drew it, it was all riveted. He smashed all (the rivets). He stayed there, waiting for eight days until Yuwanəs the Armenian came back. Yuwanəs the Armenian came back. Now, Yuwanəs the Armenian had said to Qaṭina 'I shall stay for eight days to take pleasure in my wife and children, to take pleasure in my village and to see my relatives, then I shall come back'. He was there for eight days. (24) He came back down. He said 'Now whose turn is it?' Yuwanəs the Armenian said 'It is your turn, you strike'. He took his sword and struck him. He cut him into two pieces. He (Yuwanəs) tried (to persuade Qaṭina by saying) 'Strike me again'. He said 'We the family of Toma do not strike more than one (blow)'. (25) If he had struck again—he was the brother of Leliθa—he would heal and eat him'. He said 'Get up. Dance me a bear dance. Get up and dance'. He got up to dance and one piece fell here and one there. He (Qaṭina) went up and took with him his aunt, took the town, took it all. Then Toma said:

(26) Welcome, welcome, son of (my) sister
You have gathered to me stooped backs.[6]

[5] Literally: A tongue fell to the sword.
[6] Literally: lower backs, i.e. women who had grown old due to the length of time they were away.

SECTION B
HISTORY AND CULTURE

B1 The Village of Dure (1)

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) ʾána ʾíwən bɛrwərnàya.ˈ xíyən gu-Dùre.ˈ Dúre ʾíla màθi.ˈ Dúre ʾíla xá mən-ṭḷáθi ʾu-xamšà maθwáθət Bɛ́rwər.ˈ ʾánna ṭḷáθi ʾu-xámša ʾíla ʾáxči maθwáθət mšixàye,ˈ ʾaturáye krəstyàne.ˈ ʾu-ʾíθgən qúrbət tmàni xéne maθwáθət qurðáye bálki biz-zàwda.ˈ (2) qàmθa,ˈ maθwáθət krəstyáne biš-ràbewa m-an-t-qurðàye.ˈ ʾína ʾíman-t záwna mšuxlə̀ple,ˈ mšixáye mšuréla bṣàra,ˈ ʾu-mušəlmanúθa zyàda.ˈ rába mən-d-ánna maθwàθa ˈ píšla prìmeˈ ʾu-xákma píšla rìqe-uˈ píšla qṭìle.ˈ ʾu-píšla mšuxə́lpe maθwáθət qurðáye mušəlmàne.ˈ (3) hadìya,ˈ ʾan-maθwáθa ṯ-íla hàl-diya pyáša,ˈ qúrbət ṭḷáθi ʾu-xámša maθwàθa,ˈ ðá mən-diyéy Dùrela.ˈ ʾu-ʾìtlənˈ ʾəštá-maθwaθa qúrba l-ġðàðela:ˈ ʾƐn-Nùne,ˈ ʾu-ʾÌyyət,ˈ ʾu-Bəšmiyàye,ˈ ʾu-Dɛrə̀ške,ˈ ʾu-Màye.ˈ ʾánna ʾíla maθwáθa gu-ʾàθṛət Bɛ́rwər.ˈ y-amrə̀xle,ˈ ʾáθṛa dìyən,ˈ šə́mma dìyaˈ ʾáθṛət Bèrwər.ˈ (4) txúme díye ʾìlaˈ mən-madə̀nxaˈ Zàwa,ˈ ʾu-mən-màrwaˈ ʾìlaˈ Xawòra.ˈ y-ámri mən-Záwa hál Xawóra Bèrwɛr-ila.ˈ ʾu-txúme dìyeˈ ʾíla mən-ṭuránət Šaránuš ʾán t-rešăwàθa,ˈ y-amrə̀xla,ˈ prášɛla Ṭyáre xtéθa mən-Bèrwər.ˈ ʾu-mən-tayə́mna ʾíle rešət-ʾAmedìya.ˈ ʾáy-gota díya Bèrwɛr-ilaˈ ʾa-páθa xéta ʾíla Ṣàpna.ˈ ʾánna txúma dìyɛlɛ.ˈ

(5) ʾu-Bɛ́rwər ʾíla xa-ʾàθṛaˈ šamìnɛle,ˈ ʾu-taš ʿ ìθanàyɛle.ˈ ʾiθ-gáwe ʾumráne ʾatìqe.ˈ har-gu-Dúre ʾíθgena ʾarpà ʾumráne.ˈ tré-mənna tlíxela nìxela.ˈ lá-yăðəxxa taš ʿ íθa diyèy.ˈ ʾína ʾan-tre-xéne píšela hál-danət ṯ-íxwa ʾáxni tàma,ˈ hál-šēt ʾálpa ʾəčč̣á-mma-w šáwwi tmànya,ˈ ʾíman t-moqìma Dúre.ˈ (6) Már Qayyóma ʾíwa gu-gallìyaˈ ʾu-Már Gwírgis gu-Dùre.ˈ gu-d-ánna tre-ʾumràneˈ xálmət ʾetanéθa y-oðə́xwala gáwe dìye.ˈ taš ʿ íθət Már-Gwirgis maxzóyəlla qa-t-xamšà-mma,ˈ ʾarbà-mmaˈ hátxa šə́nne bàr-Mšixa,ˈ píšɛle bànya.ˈ dáṛət xámša Már-Gwirgis píšɛle bànya.ˈ

SECTION B
HISTORY AND CULTURE

B1 The Village of Dure (1)

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) I am from Barwar. I lived in Dure. Dure is my village. Dure is one of thirty-five villages of Barwar. These thirty-five villages are only Christian villages, Assyrian Christian. There are approximately eighty other Kurdish villages, perhaps more. (2) Once the villages of the Christians were more numerous than those of the Kurds. But as times changed, the Christians began to diminish (in number) and Islam began to increase. (The inhabitants of) many of these villages were slaughtered. Some fled and were (subsequently) killed. They were then changed into Muslim Kurdish villages. (3) Now, those villages that remain until now, about thirty-five villages,—one of them is Dure. We have six villages that are near to one another: ʾƐn-Nune, ʾIyyət, Bəšmiyaye, Dɛrəške and Maye. These are the villages in the land of Barwar. We call it 'our land', its name is the land of Barwar. (4) Its borders are on the East the Zab and on the West the Khabur. They say from the Zab to the Khabur is Barwar. Its borders (in the North) are the Šaranuš mountains, 'those of the peaks', as we call them, which divide lower Ṭyare from Barwar. In the South it is the summit of Amedia. One side of it is Barwar and the other side is Ṣapna. These are its borders.

(5) Barwar is a land which is fertile and historical. It has ancient churches. In Dure alone there are four churches. Two of them were destroyed and obliterated. We do not know their history. But the other two remained until the time that we were there, until the year 1978, when Dure was evacuated. (6) (The church) of Saint Qayyoma was in the village and Saint George was in Dure. In these two churches we used to hold church services. The history of Saint George shows that it was built five hundred or four hundred years or so after Christ. Saint George was built in the fifth century.

(7) ʾálpa-w xamšà-mma,ˈ ʾálpa-w ʾəštà-mma šə́nne hàtxaˈ ʾŭ́mur dìyela-wˈ harhádəx ʾŭ́mur Már Qayyòma.ˈ ʾina tarĭ́x píša kθíwa lìθgena,ˈ ʾáxči ʾáx-t̬-ix šmìyəlla.ˈ ʾu-mən-msapyanuyáθət nàše.ˈ ʾáxči gu-Már-Gwirgis Dúre ʾíθwa xa-kèpaˈ ʾáwwa kθíwta taśʿíθa ʾálle dìye,ˈ xa-képa rába ʾatìqa.ˈ ʾáwwa maxzóyəlla qá-t ḥăwáli ʾálpa-w ʾarbà-mmaˈ šə̀nneˈ t̬-íle píša bənya.ˈ yáʿni xamšá-mma ʾəštá-mma šə́nne bar-Mšĭxa.ˈ (8) ʾánna tré ʾumráne ʾàp-ʾaniˈ hál šēt-ʾálpa ʾəčč́á-mma šáwwi-w tmànya,ˈ xə́lmət y-oðíwa gàwa.ˈ b-é-šeta píšla Dúre muqyàmta-wˈ kúlla máθwaθət Bèrwər,ˈ sáma zóda t-maθwàθa,ˈ píšla moqìme,ˈ ʾu-tlìxe,ˈ ʾumráne tlìxe,ˈ ʾu-bustanáne mùqðe,ˈ ʾu-máθa šwíqta xărà̀ba-wˈ náše ṭrìðeˈ kút-xa xíša l-xà-gēb.ˈ (9) b-è-danaˈ kúl anna-maθwáθa qəm-maqimìla,ˈ ʾáxči máθət ʾə̀n-Nune Dɛríške ʾay-píšla mən-sə̀babˈ ʾə̀n-Nune ʾíwa márkaz nàḥiyaˈ qəm-šoqìla.ˈ šēt-ʾálpa ʾəčč́á-mma tmáni-w tmánya qəm-maqimilè-ži,ˈ ṭláθi b-yárxət xà.ˈ móra ṭlá yománe gə́rəg mrazgítu ganéxu pešítu ṭrìðe.ˈ ʾóθyela ṭrìðəllaˈ kúlla nášət màθa,ˈ máθa mùqðəlla,ˈ ʾə̀n-Nune ʾu-Dɛrə̀ške,ˈ ʾup-ày.ˈ

(10) yáʿni Bárwər píštɛla kúlla m-Záwa l-Xawóra t-là-maθwaθa.ˈ kúlla tlìxe,ˈ maθwáθət qurðàye ʾu-suràye.ˈ ʾána ʾó-yomət moqíma Dúre màθən prišáyiθ,ˈ tàmənwa.ˈ ʾána hár gu-máθət Dùrənwa.ˈ qédamta jàlde,ˈ ʾášta b-yárxət Tàmuz,ˈ ʾálpa-w čč́á-mma šáwwi-w tmànya,ˈ kályənwa gu-tə́rət bèθa.ˈ (11) ʾíwa sáʾət tmánya qédamta xzéli xákma náše θàyaˈ mən-ʾə̀n-Nune ta-Dùre.ˈ ʾóθyela wìreˈ mátye kàsli.ˈ ʾína lújna θáya mən-ʾə̀n-Nune,ˈ ʾáyya lújnət maqyámtət nàše,ˈ tarḥ̀ĭl.ˈ boqárra mànniˈ móra ʾékɛle bɛ́θət mùxtər?ˈ mári múxtər hóle gu-ʾùmra.ˈ ʾó-yoma wáða qurbàna.ˈ (12) ʾíθwa xa-bráta díyən mìθta-wawa.ˈ wáðəlla qurbàna.ˈ ʾáy wela-ʾá-brata xarɛ́θət mṭúmra gu-Dùre,ˈ qam-maqimìlən.ˈ móri hóle b-xšàwən gu-ʾùmra.ˈ xíšli boqárri mənnéy gudártət ʾùmraˈ ʾu-wírra qréla qa-mùxtər.ˈ plìṭle múxtər.ˈ (13) bar-plíṭle kəslèy,ˈ móra ʾáxni lújnət tarḥ̀ĭl-iwəx,ˈ ʾu-ʾóθyəx ta-t-mə̆ðəxlɛxuˈ ta-t-m-díya ʾarpà-saʾəteˈ gə́rəg kúlla nášət máθa pàlṭi m-gu-máθa.ˈ ʾu-ʾazítu palṭítu l-wə̆dər.ˈ bár ʾarpa-sáʾəte Dúre maqðəxla.ˈ wéle xa-xábra maxjəlàna.ˈ (14) ʾítli gáni šéra hon-wìðəlle,ˈ rába basìmɛle,ˈ maqḥəràne.ˈ yáʿni maqyámta d-áyya màθa.ˈ ʾən-hawátwa mìrəlliˈ t̬-awənwá-ʾəθya t̬-amrənwala ʾan-šère.ˈ móra:

(7) It is one thousand five hundred or one thousand six hundred years old. The age of Saint Qayyoma is the same. But there is no written history, only what we have heard and traditions of the people. In Saint George of Dure there was only a stone, on which its history was written, a very ancient stone. This shows that it was built about one thousand four hundred years ago. That is five-hundred or six-hundred years after Christ. (8) Services were held in these very two churches until the year 1978. In that year Dure was evacuated. All the villages of Barwar, or most of the villages, were evacuated and destroyed. The churches were destroyed, the orchards were burnt, the village was left a ruin and the people were driven away, each going a different direction. (9) At that time they evaculated all those villages. Only ʾƐn-Nune and Dɛríške remained since ʾƐn-Nune was the capital of the district, they left it. In the year 1988 they evacuated also them, on the 30th January. They said 'You must prepare yourself in three days to be deported.' They came and deported all the people of the village and burnt the village, ʾƐn-Nune and also Dɛrəške.

(10) That is all of Barwar, from the Zab to the Khabur became (a land) without villages. All were destroyed, both the Kurdish and the Christian villages. On the day that specifically Dure, our village, was evacuated, I was there, I was in the village of Dure. Early in the morning, on the 6th of Tamuz (July), 1978, I was standing at the door of the house. (11) At eight o'clock in the morning I saw some people coming from ʾƐn-Nune to Dure. They came and entered (the village) and arrived at my home. This was a committee coming from ʾƐn-Nune, it was the committee for the evacuation of the people, evacuation. They asked me saying 'Where is the house of the village head?' I said 'The village head is in the church'. That day he was at mass. (12) There was a girl of ours who had died. They were holding a mass for her. That was the last girl who was buried in Dure before they evacuated us. I said 'I think he is in the church.' I went and asked them in the courtyard of the church and they went in and called for the village head. The village head came out. (13) After he came out to them, they said 'We are the evacuation committee and we have come to let you know that in four hours from now all the people of the village must leave the village. You should go outside. After four hours we shall burn Dure.' It was a terrifying piece of news. (14) I have myself a poem that I composed. It is very beautiful, but is sad. That is, (it is about) the evacuation of the village. If you had told me, I would have come to recite these poems. It goes:

*(15) xa-xamšušéba t-Támuz xəmmàna*ˈ
*gu-Dúre mxéle bə́rqa-w rawðàna*ˈ
*píšla mxurdéθa m-kúlla gewàna*ˈ
*bíyət ʾaskárət ḥúkma zalmàna*ˈ

*xéna xášən b-šère,*ˈ *ʾášti-w xàmša šére.*ˈ

*(16) xàrθa,*ˈ *m-bár ṯ-ile yáwa xábra múxtər gu-kùlla máθa,*ˈ *náše kú-mdi ṯ-iwa-mṣàya*ˈ *kút-xa mə́ndi ʾíwa mpalóṭəlle wə̀dəɾ,*ˈ *pláṭa l-wə́dər mən-màθa.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾáyya lúɲna sáqɛla l-gallìya,*ˈ *m-táma kθàwɛla*ˈ *mšaróyela kθàwa*ˈ *bɛθwáθət nàše*ˈ *ʾu-mo-ṯ-itlèy.*ˈ *(17) ʾu-θéla gu-màθa.*ˈ *gu-máθa θéla mṭéla l-be-ʾabònɛwa.*ˈ *qáša Sə́rgun tàmɛwa.*ˈ *ʾáni ʾu-qáša Sə́rgun wírra b-judàla.*ˈ *mjuwədlun.*ˈ *xáčča pyáša plìšlun,*ˈ *ʾáni ʾu-qàša.*ˈ *krìblun mən-qáša*ˈ *ʾu-plìṭlun.*ˈ *(18) zíllun bə́θət mùxtəɾ.*ˈ *gu-bə́θət mùxtəɾ,*ˈ *tíwla lùɲna,*ˈ *mgubéla ṭlà-naše xéne*ˈ *ʾáp-ʾani ṯ-áwa mən-lùɲna*ˈ *qa-t-yáwi sahðùθa*ˈ *mó-ṯ-itla nàše,*ˈ *mò-t-litla*ˈ *qa-t-kaθwìley.*ˈ *tìwla,*ˈ *xabúše kúlla msujlìley*ˈ *ʾu-an-məndiyánət ʾìθwaley,*ˈ *b-sahðúθət múxtəɾ ʾu-d-àn-tre-yale,*ˈ *Zàyyɛwa,*ˈ *šamáša Zàyya,*ˈ *ʾu-Yuḥànna*ˈ *ʾáwwa ʾustə́ð Kènno.*ˈ *ʾánna ʾíwa mən-Dɛrə̀gne.*ˈ *(19) bàr*ˈ *ʾarbá-saʾət grìšla,*ˈ *kúlla máθa kθiwàla*ˈ *ʾu-mo-ṯ-ìθwala*ˈ *ʾu-mo-t-liθwalèy.*ˈ *ʾína lə́wa ʾax-ṯ-íwa náše kθìwe.*ˈ *ʾána gə̆́rəg hawə́nwa spày zúze šqíla,*ˈ *taqríban ʾo-bíš-baṣora ʾànənwa šqíla.*ˈ *kúlla-mdi ṯ-ínwa kθíwa šìpəlla-w*ˈ *šwíqəlla ʾáxči xabùše,*ˈ *ʾu-ʾaxči ʾanjaṣe.*ˈ *ʾan-məndiyáne xène,*ˈ *kùlla šípəlla.*ˈ *(20) ʾu-har-hádəx zlìməlla kúlla nášət màθa.*ˈ *bàte*ˈ *ʾáxni qáṣra díyən mubnélən šétət xámši-w ṭlàθa,*ˈ *ʾu-xámši-w ʾàrpa.*ˈ *tré-šənne bnáyəx ʾò-qaṣra,*ˈ *b-ə́-dana d-ə́-ga ṯ-íwa pála ʾəmma,*ˈ *ʾə́mma-w xamšì-fəlse.*ˈ *kulífɛle ʾə́llən šawwà-ʾalpe dinə̆́ɾ,*ˈ *ʾášta šáwwa ʾàlpe.*ˈ *(21) yáʿni b-ə́-danət qəm-maqimìlən,*ˈ *lə́ maṣə́twa banə́twale ʾo-bə́θa biš-baṣóra mən-ʾə́mma-w xámši ʾàlpe dinə̆́ɾ.*ˈ *qəm-madqəríle kùlle*ˈ *ṭláθa ʾàlpe dinàre.*ˈ *mə́ri ṭla-d-ó rayəs-əllùɲna*ˈ *mə́ri ʾáti ṭláθa ʾálpe dinàre*ˈ *máṣət šáqlət ðá dəkkána gu-Bàġdad?*ˈ *ʾáxči t-yáwət sarqaflìya díya?*ˈ

(15) One Thursday in hot July
In Dure lightning and an earthquake struck
It was surrounded on every boundary
By the army of the tyrannical government

I am continuing with the poems, sixty-five poems.

(16) Then, after the village head gives the news to all the village, the people took out everything they could and went outside the village. The committee goes up the valley and from there they write, they begin to register the houses of the people and what they possess. (17) They then came to the village. They came to the village and went to what was the house of the bishop. The priest Sargun was there. These people and the priest Sargun entered into an argument. They argued. They and the priest almost had a fight. They were angry with the priest and went out. (18) They went to the house of the village head. The committee sat in the house of the village head and elected three other people to be members of the committee in order to give evidence regarding the possessions of the people[1] and to register them. They sat down and registered all the apple trees, and their possessions, with the testimony of the village head and the two youngsters, that is Zayya, the deacon Zayya, and Yuḥanna, the one (known as) the teacher Kenno.[2] These were from Dɛrəgne. (19) After four hours had gone by, they had registered the whole village and all their possessions. But it was not as those people wrote. I should have got a good sum of money, but it was I who received almost the least. They deleted everything that I had written. They left (in the register) only apple trees and only wild plum trees. They deleted all the other things. (20) They treated unjustly all the people of the village in the same way. As for houses, we had our villa built in the year fifty-three and fifty-four. We were building the villa for two years, in those days when a workman cost a hundred or a hundred and fifty fils. It cost us seven thousand dinars or six thousand. (21) At the time when they evacuated us, you could not build that house for less than one hundred and fifty thousand dinars. They valued it all as three thousand dinars. I said to the head of the committee, I said 'Can you buy a shop in Baghdad with three thousand dinars? Could you pay even its deposit?'

[1] Literally: what the people had and what they did not have.
[2] Kenno is a hypocoristic form of Yuḥanna.

(22) máre hàða-huwa| bə̆́yət bə̆̀yət.| là-bə̆yət,| hóle Ṣaddə́m si-šḳì.| hàtxa máre.| xulàṣa| kθíwela ʾo-mdi-ṯ-íla kθìwe| ʾu-náše plíṭela tíwe kúlla wə̆́dər mən-màθa.| ʾu-ʾə́θyela ʾatnabèle| kúlla mən-d-ánnət ʾàskar| píše gu-dášta tàma.| (23) ʾu-šwíqəlla ṭlà yománe táma,| t-là-xala,| t-là-štaya,| ʾu-t-la-mìya.| yómət ṭlàθa| tíwla gu- ʾatnabèle,| qəm-nablə́lla ṭla-Batùfe.| ʾu-píšla gu-d-é́ Batùfe.| ʾu-hadíya mburə̀bzela| Batúfe-ži šwìqəlla| kút-xa hóle zíla b-xá-gərrət yə̀mme.|

(22) He said 'That's it (no more negotiations). If you want it, fine. If you do not want it, there is Saddam, go and complain (to him)'. That is what he said. In brief, they registered the property[3] and the people left and all sat outside of the village. Cars came, all of the military type, but they remained there in the fields. (23) They left them for three days there, without food, without drink and without water. On the third day they got into the cars and they took them to Batufe.[4] They stayed in Batufe. Now they are scattered. They left Batufe and every one went off empty handed.

[3] Literally: They wrote the thing that they wrote.
[4] A refugee camp near Zakho for Christians and Kurds.

B2 The Village of Dure (2)

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) máθət Dùre| gu-Bárwər Bàla| m-záwna qamáya ʾìθwala| ʾarbà ʾumráne.| Mar-Qayyòma| ʾu-Mar-Gwərgəs| ʾu-Mar-ʾApìyus| ʾu-Mat-Màryəm.| ʾánna ʾíwawa gu-Dùre.| (2) ʾu-Dùre| píštɛla muqyàmta| muxràwta| šawrwà gáye| l-xànpe| qaṭòle| t-mušəlmàne.| šétə tmànya| Ṣaddā́m Ḥŭsḗn sìqɛle| ḥátta l-ʾumràne-žigən| tlìxəlla.| (3) ʾíθwalən ʾùmra| Mar-Gwərgəs| ʾax-tré ṭabàqe| t-bàte| ʾíθwabe yáʿni xàmši,| tmaní mètre ṯ-awéwabe,| ʾámma màtre| ramùθe.| ʾu-réše dìye| ʾiwàwa| wíðta ṭla-plàša.| ṯ-awríwa nàše| gáwa gáwət ʾùmra,| rèše,| xazíwala kùlla dukáne,| palšìwa.| (4) ʾíθwale naxìra.| naxíra ṣálya mŭqábəl tàrʾa.| tā́ra ʾíθwa xa-képa gòṛa.| xa-náša ṭrìsa| là-amәṣwa ṯ-áwərwa gáwe díye,| ʾálla kayápwa hàtxa| ṯ-awárwa gáwe dìye.| (5) ʾáp-ʾay ʾíθwa b-manày,| yáʿni ʾax-ṯ-ámri b-ʿā́rābi ʾəḥtərā̀m,| yáʿni xa-qàdra.| ʾímət kayápwa hàtxa| ʾax-t-káyəp náša qam-màlka,| hádəx kayàpwa,| ṯ-awárwa b-tā́rət ʾùmra.| ʾu-tā́rət ʾúmra ràba zóra-wewa.| ʾu-y-awðíwa gáwe díye šahàrta.| (6) ʾíθwalən šawrwá ʾabòne| gu-máθa dìyən.| píšela mútte gu-Mar-Qayyóma kúlla gu-ðà qáwra.| ʾu-ʾímət síqle Ṣaddā̀m,| ḥátta ʾáp ʾo-ʾúmra qəm-talәxle.| (7) ʾu-b-xélət ʾalàha,| har-Dúre lè-ʾaθya l-manšóye.| ʾu-har-bənyàla xá-gaya xéta.| ʾu-bnéla Mar-Gwərgəs.| ʾu-síqla nášət màθa| xá-gaya xéta ràba.| ʾu-b-xélət ʾaláha bṯ-àsqi| yóma ṭla-yóma ṯ-óya biš-basìmta.|

(8) šétət ʾálpa-w ʾəčč́á-mma-w ʾarbàssər| ʾímə t-wéle plàša| qamàya,| ʾan-suráye t-wáwa gu-Tùrkiya| zílla l-ʾÌrən.| ʾan-t-wáwa gu-ʾÍraq zílla l-ʾÌrən.| kúlla mṭéla tàma| mən-qúwwət… t-ʾurusnàye| ʾu-ʾəngəznàye| ʾu-faransàye,| mən-kúlla píšla tàma.| (9) šétət ʾàlpa| ʾu-ʾəčč́á-mma-w tmanèssər| díṛṛa mən-ʾÌrən.| ʾəštássər b-tàmuz| díṛṛa mən-ʾÌrən| θéla gu-Baqùba.| píšla tre-šənne gu-Baqùba.| xàrθa| díṛela síqela xá-gaya xéta l-maθwàθa.| síqe l-Tùrkiya.| (10) síqela l-màθa| ʾəčč̣ì náše,| ʾəčč̣ì nā́fāre.| ṯ-amréxi nàše,| là ʿāwàʾəl.| ʾəčč̣ì náše.| ʾína ʾaláha yíwle zúryat gawèy| ʾu-bréle díya b-xšáwən biz-záwda mən-ʾəčč́á-mma ʾálpa nàše.|

B2 The Village of Dure (2)

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) The village of Dure in Barwari Bala from ancient times had four churches, (those of) Saint Qayyoma, Saint George, Saint Apius and Saint Mary. These were in Dure. (2) Dure was evacuated and destroyed seven times by pagan murderers of Muslims. In the year (19)80, Ṣaddām Ḥusēn came up and destroyed even the churches. (3) We had the church of Saint George, which had what was similar to two floors of a house, that is it was in all fifty, eighty metres, even a hundred metres in height. (The area) on top of it was designed for war. People would enter into the church, (go up) on top of it, and they would see all places, when there was fighting. (4) It had a 'nose'.[1] (From) the nose one came down to opposite the door. The door consisted of a large stone. A large man could not enter through it, unless he stooped like this to enter. (5) This had a (symbolic) meaning, namely, as they say in Arabic, *ʾəḥtərām*, that is (to show) respect. When (a person) stooped like this, it was like a person bowing before a king. He would bow in the same way in order to enter the door of the church. The door of the church was very small. They would hold vigil in it (the church). (6) We had seven bishops in our village. They were all laid in one grave in (the church of) Saint Qayyoma. When Ṣaddām came up he destroyed even that church. (7) But, by the strength of God, Dure will never be forgotten. They have already built it again. They have rebuilt (the church of) Saint George. Many people of the village have gone up there again. By the strength of God they will (continue to) go up and it will become better from day to day.

(8) In the year 1914, when the First War began, the Christians who were in Turkey went to Iran. Those who were in Iraq went to Iran. They were forced to go there by the Russians, the English and the French, and (forced) by all of these (nations) to stay there. (9) In the year 1918 they returned from Iran. On the 16th of Tamuz (July) they returned from Iran and went to Baquba. They remained two years in Baquba. Then they went up and returned again to the villages. They went up to Turkey. (10) Ninety people went to the village (of Dure), ninety souls. We mean people, not families, ninety people. But God granted progeny among them and by now there have been born, I think, more than nine-hundred thousand people.

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[1] This was a projecting structure with a small orifice on the tower of the church.

B3 The Village of ʾƐn-Nune (1)

Informant: Gwərgəs Bakus (ʾƐn-Nune)

The Location of ʾƐn-Nune

(1) ʾƐn-Nùne| kúlla npíltɛla gu-xa…ʾíθ ṭuráne l-d-àw-geba| l-d-àw-geba.| ʾan-ṯ-íla ʾíða č̣àple| ʾíla ba-rò ža.| ʾan-ṯ-íla ʾíða yámne ʾíla ṭalàna.| (2) ṭalána yáʿni ṭalàna,| sab-šə́mša ʾé-gət maxyàwa| ṭuráne ʾàtxɛna wíye.| m-šə́mša ʾé-gət màxya| y-áwe ṭàlla| ba-ṭùra.| yáʿni le-hoyáwa šə́mša ʾàyya,| hál palgət-yòma,| ʾé-gət y-àθya,| màṭya šə́mša,| ʾé-gaya y-óya šə́mša l-ṭalàna.| qedámta hál bar-kawùθra| šə́mša y-óya bàθər ṭúra,| fa-ṭàlla háwe| qam-ṭùra.| lè-y-hawe šə́mša.| y-amríwa ṭalàna.| (3) ʾo-xéna ʾíwa ba-rò ža.| ʾáwwa l-d-é-paθa xèta,| l-ʾíða l-č̣àple.| qa-báθrən ʾíθən ʾan-ṭuránət ʾína…ṭuránə ṯ-ína bēl-ʾIrā́q ʾu-Tùrkiya.| sab-bár ʾƐnə-Nùne,| yáʿni gàrbiya,| líθ maθwáθa xène,| ʾíθən ʾan-ṭuráne ṯ-íla bēl-ʾIrā́q ʾu-Tùrkiya.| (4) m-hádəx ʾƐn-Nùne| qúrbɛwa mən-ʾAšìθa.| ʾé-ga tajərùθa|…yáʿni mnáxət bábi haqèwa| qa-t-sáwi y-awúðwa təjarùθa| mən-ʾAšìθa.| ʾu-mán-ʾAšiθa y-aθíwa təjarúθa y-oðíwa mən-Bàrwər,| ʾu-y-aθìwa.| fa-mnáxət sàwi| ʾáwən ʾíθwale rába yaṭṭàne,| yáʿni šaqlíwa y-awíwa təjarúθa m-ġðàðe.| (5) ʾína npìltɛla,| yáʿni Màye,| máθət Màye,| xárθa Dɛrə̀ške,| xárθa ʾƐn-Nune,| ʾu-Dùre,| ʾu-ʾÌyyət,| ʾu-Bəšmiyàye| ʾu-hál ṯ-ázət máṭət hal-Ẓàwa.| (6) ʾu-Ẓáwa y-azə̀xwa.| ʾána b-txàrən| ʾasqə̀xwa| m-Bágdad táma l-máθa ʾƐn-Nùne,| ʾasqə́xwa márzə Ẓàwa.| šaqláxwa xa-ʾə̀rba mánnən,| ʾu-ʾurxa-ʾùrxa,|…ʾu-parmáxwale har-táma l-márzə Ẓàwa.| ʾu-y-oðáxwa nùra.| mṭawə̀xwale táma.| (7) ʾu-nabláxwa štɛ́θa mə̀nnən.| mən-qedàmta| ʾu-hál saʾat-šáwwa ʾaṣə̀rta| yan-tmànya| y-awáxwa tíwe tàma,| klíθa b-qè ṭɛwa,| šə́mša ganyàwa,| xárθa dɛṛáxwa xá-ga xèta.| yáʿni nabláxwa mánnən duzùθa štèθa-w| ʾu-mṭawéθət bə̀sra.| ʾárba har-mən-táma b-ʾùrxa| ʾi-šaqlə̀xwale.| ʾu-parmáxwale tàma| ʾu-y-attə̀xwa| xamlə̀xwa| msaxə̀xwa| ʾu-raqðə̀xwa.| yáʿni rába xayúθa basìmtɛwa.|

B3 The Village of ʾƐn-Nune (1)

Informant: Gwərgəs Bakus (ʾƐn-Nune)

The Location of ʾƐn-Nune

(1) ʾƐn-Nune is situated in—there are mountains on one side and on the other. The ones on the left are (known as) *ba-rožа* ('in the sun'). The ones on the right are (known as) *ṭalana*. (2) (The word) *ṭalana* means 'shady', since when the sun rose, the mountains became like that. When the sun shone, there was shade on the mountains. That is, there was no sun, until midday, when the sun would reach (it). Then there was sun on the *ṭalana* (mountain). In the morning, until after lunch, the sun was behind the mountain and there was shade at the front of the mountain. There was no sun. So they called it *ṭalana* ('shady'). (3) The other was *ba-rožа* ('in the sun'). That was on the other side, on the lefthand side. Behind us there are the mountains that are between Iraq and Turkey. This is because behind ʾƐn-Nune, that is to the North, there are not any other villages, but there are the mountains that are between Iraq and Turkey. (4) So ʾƐn-Nune was close to Ashitha. (There was) trade…my father, may he rest in peace, used to tell how my grandfather would conduct trade with Ashitha. From Ashitha people came and conducted trade with Barwar, then returned. My late grandfather had many customers, that is they plied a trade together. (5) It is situated—that is Maye, the village of Maye, then Dɛrəške, then ʾƐn-Nune, then Dure, then Iyyət and Bəšmiyaye until you reach the Zab. (6) We used to go to the Zab. I remember when we went up from Baghdad to the village of ʾƐn-Nune, we would go up to the banks of the Zab. We would take a sheep with us and slaughter it there, on the trip, on the banks of the Zab. We would make a fire and roast it there. (7) We would take drink with us. From morning until seven or eight in the evening we sat there—it depended on the summer—the sun would set and then we would return again (to ʾƐn-Nune). We indeed took drink with us and roasted meat. We took the sheep from (somewhere) there on the way. We would slaughter it there. We would sit, make merry, swim and dance. Life was very enjoyable.

The Name ʾƐn-Nune

*GK: mən-ʾékɛle ʾáθya šəmmət ʾƐn-Nùne?*ǀ

*(8) duzúθa ʾána xəzyɛnǀ ʾáxčiǀ ʾána təxrúnya dìyiǀ xázyɛn núne zòre.*ǀ *lán-xəzya núne gòṛe.*ǀ *bálki t-m-qam-mənnənǀ sab-ʾé-ga néra ràbɛwa.*ǀ *nèraǀ rába ràbɛwa.*ǀ *(9) ʾánna šánne xaráye šúryela bṣára ʾəb-nera,*ǀ *míya bṣára gu-nèra.*ǀ *yáʿni maṭíwa xá-xa-gaya b-qèṭaǀ náša jawújwa gawe-gawe-dìyeǀ palə́ṭwa m-d-é-paθa xèta.*ǀ *ʾína qámθa y-amrìwaǀ t-náše xáčča ʾáqley jrìṭṭelaǀ npílela-w néra nùbəlleyǀ ʾu-míθela gu-nèra yáʿni,*ǀ *xnìqela,*ǀ *ma-ṯ-íwa míya ràba.*ǀ *(10) yáʿni qámθa bálki t-palṭíwa ʾarbà-metre,*ǀ *xamšà-metre palə́ṭwa,*ǀ *yáʿni b-sòtwa.*ǀ *yáʿni néra hátxa míya ràbɛwa.*ǀ *fa-ʾáxnən m-zorúθə dìyənǀ təxrúnyə dìyən,*ǀ *làx-xəzye núne góṛe.*ǀ *ʾáxčiǀ xázyɛwəx núne zòre.*ǀ *(11) ʾu-qa-módi y-amríla ʾénət nùne?*ǀ *duzùθa,*ǀ *láx-ðaya qa-mòdi.*ǀ *bálki t-qámθa ʾíθwa núne gáwa díya gòṛe.*ǀ

The Origin of the Family of Hɛdo

*(12) ʾàxnənǀ m-èkɛwəx ʾáθye?*ǀ *ʾáxnən be-Hèdo,*ǀ *ʾáxnən ʾíθyewəx mən-Ṯyáre ḷèθa.*ǀ *ʾániwa šawwà xonăwáθa.*ǀ *ʾáyya p-aqànna ʾállux*ǀ *bálki t-lat-šəmyálla.*ǀ *(13) šawwá xonăwàθɛwa.*ǀ *ʾànnaǀ ʾíθwalu qənyàne,*ǀ *ʾíθwalun xa-xàθa.*ǀ *ʾíθwalun xa-xàθa.*ǀ *ʾánna zílewa zràya,*ǀ *θéla qurðàye,*ǀ *ʾɛ-máθa ṯ-íwa dápnə diyèy.*ǀ *mxéla l-béθə diyèyǀ ʾu-quždárra b-xaθèy.*ǀ *ʾu-ʾáni lèwa táma.*ǀ *(14) ʾé-gə θèley,*ǀ *zílla l-d-é-maθə qurðàye.*ǀ *qənyánə díya qəm-šaqlìla,*ǀ *kúlla qənyánə dìya.*ǀ *ʾánna zílla l-d-é-maθə qurðàyeǀ ʾu-plíšla mənnèyǀ ʾu-qənyánə díya qəm-šaqlìla.*ǀ *ʾu-šqílla tolə́y xa-b-ʾəṣra.*ǀ *(15) ʾáxčă mò mə́ra?*ǀ *mə́ra láš-maṣəx xắyəx làxxa,*ǀ *sab-qurðáye kút-yom ṯ-áwa gu-réšən mxàyəllən.*ǀ *ʾu-kút-yom ṯ-áθi masqəðìlən.*ǀ *fa-qímla šqílla ganèy.*ǀ *(16) dawérə diyèy,*ǀ *nálət ʾáqlə dawèraǀ prìzlɛle.*ǀ *qəm-mattíla bə-l-ʿàkəs.*ǀ *qəm-ʾasṛìla.*ǀ *ʾu-plíṭley mən-tàmaǀ qa-t-lè-y-yăði ʾan-qurðáye l-ʾèkɛla zíle.*ǀ *(17) ʾánna šáwwa xonăwàθaǀ ʾáθyela xá-d-anna tíwa gu-Bàrwər.*ǀ *xá-d-anna tíwɛle gu-ʾÀlquš.*ǀ *xá-d-anna tíwɛle gu-ʾAràdən.*ǀ *yáʿni burbázzelɛ kúlla dukàneǀ ʾánna šáwwa xonawàθa.*ǀ *(18) hàlbat,*ǀ *ʾáyya haqóyəx bálki t-xamš-əmmà-šənne m-qam-hadíya.*ǀ *bálki t-ʾarb-ámma xamš-əmmà-šənne.*ǀ *ʾuṗ-gu-ʾArádən ʾítlən xònaǀ be-Hèdo.*ǀ *ʾu-gu-ʾÀlquš ʾítlən xóna be-Hèdo.*ǀ

The Name ʾƐn-Nune

GK: Where did the name ʾƐn-Nune originate from?

(8) In truth I have seen, as far as I remember, only small fish. I have not seen large fish. Perhaps before our time, since once the river was large. The river was large. (9) In recent years the water has begun to diminish in the river. Sometimes in summer a person could walk in it and come out the other side. But formerly they used to say that if the foot of people slipped a little, they would fall and the river would carry them away and they would die in the river, drown, so abundant was the water. (10) Formerly perhaps it was four metres, or five metres (deep), in winter. That is the river was as large as that. But we, when we were young, as far as I remember, we did not see large fish. We only saw small fish. (11) Why do they call it 'Spring of fishes' (ʾƐn-Nune). In truth, I do not know why. Perhaps formerly there were large fish in it.

The Origin of the Family of Hɛdo

(12) Where did we come from? We, the family of Hɛdo, came from Upper Ṭiyare. They were seven brothers. I shall tell you this (story), perhaps you have not heard it. (13) They were seven brothers. They had domestic animals. They had a sister. They had a sister. When they went to cultivate (in the fields), Kurds came, from the village that was adjacent to them. They attacked their house and seized their sister while they were not there. (14) When they came back, they went to that village of the Kurds. They took their animals, all of their animals. They went to that village of the Kurds, fought with them and took their animals. They took their revenge ten times over. (15) But what did they say? They said 'We cannot live here any more, since the Kurds will be upon us every day, attacking us and they will come every day to harry us'. So, they took themselves off. (16) Their mules—the shoe of their mules' feet was made of iron. They put it on backwards. They tied them (the shoes) on and set off from there, so that the Kurds would not know where they had gone. (17) The seven brothers, one of them came and settled in Barwar. One of them settled in Alqosh. One of them settled in Aradən. That is these seven brothers were dispersed to all places. (18) Of course we are talking about something (that happened) perhaps five hundred years ago. Perhaps four hundred, five hundred years ago. We also have a brother in Aradən, from the family of Hɛdo, and in Alqosh we have a brother from the family of Hɛdo.

The Church of Saint Sawa

(19) ʾúmra ʾatíqa t-Màr-Sawa,ˈ ʾáwwa píšɛle bánya qúrbə qam-šawww-ə́mma xámši tmany-əmmà-šənne.ˈ ʾu-báθrə ʾùmraˈ ʾíθwa dúkθət xaméθət ʾanìðe.ˈ (20) ʾu-hadíya zilwàliˈ xzéwali qá-t ʾo-ʾúmra tlìxɛle kúlla.ˈ ʾɛ-dúkθət mămədìwalən,ˈ ʾax-xa-bányo zòra,ˈ ʾátxa gu-ʾúpra nqìra,ˈ kúllən tàmɛwəx mŭmə́ðe t̰-íwəx bárye,ˈ ʾáwən pìšɛwa.ˈ (21) fa-šqílli šə́kla dìya,ˈ ʾɛ-dúkθə t̰-íxwa mŭmə̀ðe,ˈ hálbat sawắwáθən t-qámθa kúlla tàmɛwa mŭmə́ðe.ˈ ʾáy lèwa pqíθa.ˈ ʾé-ga t̰-íwa mpŭ̆qəlle ʾùmra,ˈ ʾay-píštɛwa tàma.ˈ (22) hadíya ʾɛ-dùkθaˈ wéla wíðəlla xa-šùra,ˈ ʾáxči bắyi ʾoðìlaˈ xa-šúra bìš-goṛaˈ qa-t-ʾé-dukθə t̰-íla pyàšaˈ m-ʾùmraˈ ʾu-ʾé-dukθət bɛθ-qorayàθaˈ ʾáni kúlla bt̰-oðíla xa-šúra góṛa qá-t…ˈ ʾáxči̱ b-šoqíla tàmaˈ qa-nášət ʾáθi qa-t-zəyára ʾoðilə̀y.ˈ (23) ʾína ʾúmra xáθət Mar-Sàwaˈ bányɛle là b-dúkθə díya hadíya.ˈ ʾùl̩l̩ul mə́nne díyeˈ píšɛle bánya xa-ʾúmra xàθa.ˈ

The Church of Saint Sawa

(19) The old church of Saint Sawa was built about seven hundred and fifty or eight hundred years ago. Behind the church there was a place for burying the deceased. (20) Recently I went and saw that the church was completely destroyed. The place in which they used to baptize us, like a small bath, dug into the earth, where all of us who were born were baptized—that has survived. (21) I took a photograph of it. That place where we were baptized, of course all our ancestors were baptized there. That was not blown up. When they blew up the church, that remained. (22) Now as for that place, they made a fence for it, but they want to make a bigger fence for it, for that place that remains from the church, and that cemetery. They will make a large fence for all of these, but they will leave them there so that people can make a pilgrimage to them. (23) But the new church of Saint Sawa has not been built now in its (original) place. A new church has been built above it.

B4 The Village of ʾƐn-Nune

Informant: Nanəs Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾƐn-Nùne| hóla npílta gu-ʾáθṛət Bàrwər| l-qúrbət ḥŭ̊dūd Tùrkiya,| bēn-trè ṭuráne.| m-qámθa díya ṭùrɛle| m-báθra díya ṭùrɛle,| ṭuráne ramàne.| ʾu-ʾáyya dúkθa ṭ́-íla tíwta ʾƐn-Nùne| mən-kúl goyáθa dìya,| mən-kúl gebàne,| ʾíθ xa-dàšta| mqusàmta| xaqlàθa ṭ́-ámrəx.| (2) kút-naša gu-ʾƐn-Núne ʾítle xaqlàθa,| b-zărèla| zrùta,| ʾən-ṭ́-awə́dla bustàne,| ʾən-ṭ́-awə́dle kù-mdi-t bə̆́ye.| málkət gáne dìyela.| ʾáyya máθa ʾƐn-Nùnela.| (3) ʾu-m-èkɛla θíθa máθət ʾƐn-Nùne?| ʾax-ʾáxni šə̆̀məx,| ʾax-ʾáxni zóre ṭ́-ix-šmìye,| máṣəx ṭ́-àmrəx| mən-hàl tré-mma šənne.| mən-hál tré-mma šənnè,| yáʿni qám tré-mma šənnè,| bálki bi-zàwda,| ʾána máṣən ṭ́-ámrən hal-tré-mma-w xamší-šənne nāš-díyən mtúnyela màṭowa ʾƐn-Núne.| (4) ʾƐn-Núne ʾíθwa xákma bàte,| baṣóre gu-ʾƐn-Nùne,| mən-náše t-wèwa| gu-ṭuràne,| b-pláxa qa-xayuθèy,| qa-t-xə̆yìwa.| ʾu-ʾáxni ṭ́-íxwa gu-ṭuràne| ʾìwəxwa| ʾan-nàše| t-ʾaθoràye| ṭ́-íwa gu-Bàbəl| qə̆d̃ìm.| (5) ʾu-m-bar-ṭ́-íwa npìlta Bábəl,| ʾu-dukánət ʾaθoráye ʾax-Móṣul Nìnwe,| w-áx-Nəmrŭ̀d,| w-ax-d-ánna dukáne t-wéwa ʾə̆́θəṛ diyènі, kúlla mpurpàssela| bíyət plàše,| bíyət malkuwáθət θéla qəm-maxìla| ʾaθuráye gu-Nìnwe.| fa-ʾàxni| ríqəx u-gu-ṭuráne mṭúšye qam-zlúmya-w qàṭla,| fa-qímlən mkawóne gánən gu-maθwàθa.| (6) fa-ʾƐn-Nùne| ʾìθwa| qam-tré-mma xámši šənne| xákma ʿə̆wàʾəl,| xákma nàše,| xákma ṭ́-amréxi tìwe táma.| lé-y-maṣən ʾàmrən yáʿni,| lé-y-yə̆ðən b-ðə̆̀bəṭ.| líθwa tarì̀x.| líθwa kθáwta ʾè-ga.| ʾiwéwa náše jmíye m-éka-w m-éka-w m-èka.| (7) xákma ʿə̆šàʾəṛ,| xákma ʿə̆wàʾəl| tíwewa gu-ʾƐn-Nùne.| ʿə̆šíra dìyi ṭ́-ámrəx| ʾàna,| ʾáxni y-amrílən be-Hèdo ʾáxni,| ʾáxni ʾə́θyewəx mən-Ṭyàre,| mən-Tùrkiya.| ʾáxni ʾə́θyewəx màṭo?| mtanìwa| ʾíθwa šawwà xonə̆wáθa gu-xá-maθa gu-Tùrkiya| y-amríwala ʾƎspìstən.| ʾay-máθət ʾƎspìstən,| fa-čənnəḳɛréy kúlla qurðàyewa,| mšəlmànewa.| (8) ʾan-šawwá xonə̆wáθa ʾíθwala xà xáθa.| ʾó góṛət mušəlmàne,| šə̃̀x ṭ́-ámrəx,| gòṛa,| xa-šə́̆b-wewa zòra.| w-ay-bráta xàmθɛwa.| mírəlla gawrə́nna ʾay-krəstyànta.| gawrə̀nna.| θéle ṭlábəlla m-xonə̆wáθa dìya| màre| ʾay-bráta hallùla-lli.|

B4 The Village of ʾƐn-Nune

Informant: Nanəs Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾƐn-Nune lies in the land of Barwar near to the border of Turkey, between two mountains. In front of it there is a mountain and behind it there is a mountain, high mountains. On all sides of the place where ʾƐn-Nune is situated there is a plain divided into let's say fields. (2) Everybody in ʾƐn-Nune has fields, which he cultivates, or he makes into an orchard or whatever he wants. They were his property. This was the village of ʾƐn-Nune. (3) What is the origin of the village of ʾƐn-Nune?[1] According to what we have heard, according to what we heard when we were young, we can say that, from as many as two hundred years, that is two hundred years ago, perhaps more—I can say that our folk have told how ʾƐn-Nune dates from up to two hundred and fifty years ago. (4) In ʾƐn-Nune there were a few houses, only a small number in ʾƐn-Nune, belonging to people who were in the mountains, working for their livelihood, so that they could live. We who were in the mountains were the Assyrian people who were in Babylon of old. (5) After Babylon fell, the places of the Assyrians like Moṣul (i.e.) Nineveh, like Nimrud, and the places that were our land, were all scattered by wars and by kingdoms that came and attacked the Assyrians of Nineveh. So we fled and hid in the mountains from tyranny and slaughter, and began to form ourselves into villages. (6) Now, ʾƐn-Nune two hundred and fifty years ago consisted of only a few families, a few people. Only a few had settled there. I cannot say, I do not know exactly, since there was no history. There was no writing at that time (stating) from where the people had come. (7) A few tribes, a few families settled in ʾƐn-Nune. We call my tribe—we are called the house of Hɛdo. We came from Ṭiyare, from Turkey. How did we come? They used to relate that there were seven brothers in a village in Turkey called Ǝspistən.[2] Everybody around this village of Ǝspistən were Kurds, were Muslims. (8) These seven brothers had a sister. The leader of the Muslims, we say sheikh, the leader, was a young man. The girl was beautiful. He said to them 'I shall marry that Christian girl. I shall marry her'. He came to ask her hand from her brothers. He said 'Give that girl to me'.

[1] Literally: From where has the village of ʾƐn-Nune come?

[2] This names is likely to be a corruption of Sarəspiðo or Sarəspiðon, a village in Upper Ṭiyare.

(9) w-áxni lìθ gu-šắ́rəṭ dìyən| bràta| krəstyànta| gáwra mušəlmàna.| lìθwa gu-šắ́rəṭ díyən| ʾu-hal-hadíya lìθ.| fa-módi wíðe ʾàni?| xə́zyəlle ràba ʾéba| ðà xáθa ʾítley| yawíla qa-t-ʾáwwa mìra,| qa-t-ʾáwwa mušəlmàna,| qa-t-ʾáwwa šx̂ex.| mòdi-la wíðe?| (10) mírəlle ʾáθət tàmməl| l-xòðux,| w-áxni b-yawə́xlux xàbra.| la-méθət náše mànnux.| w-áxni ʾébɛle nàše| w-áti mušəlmànɛwət| ʾáxni krəstyàne-wəx.| ʾèbɛle.| ʾáxni tə́mməl ṯ-amrə́xlux b-yawə́xla xáθən ʾəllux.| (11) ʾáw ʾíθwa náše mànne,| ĉ̣ənnəḵ̂ɛréy ʾàskar| ʾu-lan-ðàya mó,| mazdòyəlley.| ʾáni módi wìðe?| mútte xàṭṭa| mìrela| ʾáxni b-qaṭlə́xle ʾu-bṯ̂-árqəx b-lèle.| (12) ʾánna mòdiwa?| šulèy| ʾi-maxíwa prə̀zla| xo-ʾáqlət koðənyàθa,| y-amrə́xle mnawòle,| nawóle dawère.| le-y-máxi prə́zla l-ʾáqlət dawère,| koðənyàθa?| ʾáni šulə́y ʾàwwɛwa.| ʾíθwala—ḥaddə̄̂d-iwa| ḥaddād-xána tàma.| kúlla náše mɛθíwa dawére táma mnalìwala.| (13) ʾánna mòdi wíðe?| b-lèle| ʾítwaley ʾə́šta šàwwa dawére,| kúlla mnúle l-xə̀rxəθ,| yáʿni léla mə́xyəlla drə̀st.| nále l-koðənyaθéy mə́xyəlla bə̀-l-maqlūb.| yáʿni koðə́nta ʾən-ʾáza hàtxa,| ʾu-ʾən-ʾáza b-ʾúrxa dìya| ʾáy ṯ-ámrət hàtxɛla zílta.| ʾáni wíðəlla hàtxa.| (14) də́rdə yóma ʾaw-ʾəθyele.| dax-ṯ-ìle-wira gu-bɛθey| dwìqəlle| ʾu-qṭìləlle.| qṭíləlle ʾo-míra ʾàxa| ʾu-gríšəlle zə́dyəlle gu-manzalèy.| mṭúšyəlle tàma.| (15) ʾu-mə́ndi-t bɛθèy| kúlla də́ryəlla xáṣət dawèrey| ʾu-plíṭela rìqe.| rìqela| ʾu-ʾəθyela| mən-d-ɛ-máθət ʾƎspìstən,| gáwa gáwa Ṭyáre ḷèθa-w| Ṭyáre xtèθa,| ʾu-b-lèle-w| b-yòma| ʾu-rìqe-w| ʾu-rìqe-w| ʾu-rìqe.| ʾəθyela| mšúryela táwa gu-maθwàθa.| lèla-tawa m-ġðáðe,| šáwwa xonăwàθa-wɛwa.| (16) xa-tíwɛle gu-Màye,| xa-tíwɛle gu-Dɛrə̀ške,| xa-tíwɛle gu-ʾƐn-Nùne,| xa-tíwɛle gu-ʾAràðən,| xa-tiwéle gu-ʾÀlquš,| . . . xa-gu-ʾAšìθa,| gu-ʾAšìθa tíwɛle xá.| kút-xa mə́nna píša b-ðà-dukθa| ʾu-xaθéy-ži mṭùšyəlla.| (17) ʾáxni yáʿni ʾána ʾašírə díyi be-Hédo θíθɛla mən-ʾƎspístən tíwta gu-ʾƐn-Nùne.| ʾu-ʾáyya lèwa rába m-jálde,| bálki ṯ-àwya| ʾə́mma-w xámši šə́nne hàtxa.| qam-ʾə́mma-w xámši šə̂nne.| (18) fa-ʾána yə́mmi mtanyàwa| y-amráwa ʾúmra díyən Mar-Sàwa| qəm-banìle| m-bar-ṯ-íwa ʾan-díyən ʾə́θye tíwe gu-ʾƐn-Nùne.| yáʿni ʾánna nášən t-ʾƎspístən θéla tíwla gu-ʾƐn-Nùne| mšoréla bnàya| ʾúmrət Mar-Sàwa.|

(9) But it is not our custom that a Christian girl marries a Muslim. It was not our custom and is not so until now. So what did they do? They regarded it as very shameful to give their only sister to this amir, to this Muslim, to this sheikh. What did they do? (10) They said to him 'Come tomorrow by yourself and we shall let you know. Do not bring people with you. It is shameful for us (to have) people (come) when you are Muslim and we are Christian. It is shameful. Tomorrow we shall tell you and we shall give you our sister'. (11) There were people with him. Around them there was an army and I don't know what, frightening them. What did they do? They made a plan. They said 'We shall kill him and flee in the night'. (12) What was their profession? They put metal (shoes) on the feet of mules, we say shoeing, shoeing of mules. People put metal on the feet of mules, don't they? This was their profession. They were blacksmiths, they had a blacksmiths' shop there. Everybody brought mules there for them to shoe. (13) What did they do? At night they had six or seven mules, all shoed backwards, that is they were not put on straight. They put on the shoes of their mules back to front. That is, if a mule walks like this, if it walks on its way, you would say that it has gone like that.[3] They made them like that. (14) The next day he came. When he came into their house, they seized him and killed him. They killed that aghah, that amir, and dragged him and threw him into a room (in) their (house). They hid him there. (15) They put all their household goods on the back of their mules and fled. They fled from that village of ƎspistƏn, through Upper Ṭiyare and Lower Ṭiyare, they fled night and day. They came and settled in villages. They did not settle together. They were seven brothers. (16) One settled in Maye. One settled in DɛrəškƏ. One settled in 'Ɛn-Nune. One settled in AraðƏn. One settled in Alqoš. One in AšiθƏ, one settled in AšiθƏ. Each of them stayed in a (different) place and they hid their sister. (17) We—that is my tribe, the house of HɛdƏ, came from ƎspistƏn and settled in 'Ɛn-Nune. This was not very recently, perhaps it was something like a hundred and fifty years, a hundred and fifty years ago. (18) My mother used to relate that our church, Saint Sawa, was built after those people of ours settled in 'Ɛn-Nune. That is, when those people of ours from ƎspistƏn came and settled in 'Ɛn-Nune, they started to built the church of Saint Sawa.

[3] I.e. in the other direction.

B5 Life in ʾƐn-Nune (1)

Informant: Dawið Bakus (ʾƐn-Nune)

Weddings

(1) ʾáxni qàmθa| gu-maθwàθa,| ʾíθwalən ʾurxáθət gʸànən,| dáx mắθălan y-oðáxwa xlulàne.| šùraye| y-azàxwa,| nášət xátna y-azìwa| l-bɛ̄θ-be-kʸàlo.| níxa nìxa| mašmέwala bə́nta qamàye| ʾi-mašmèwala| y-amríwa ʾáxni bắyəx| ṭalbáxxa bratèxu| qa-d-ó bronèni.| y-ámri b-xàzexi.| (2) tà-ma.ʔ| qàmθa| líθwa qá-t mbaqríwa bràta.| bábət bràta| xazéwa yə́mmət bràta| xazéwa ġðáðe ʾàni,| gayət-tré mádre y-azìwa| y-amríwa mù wiðlèxu.ʔ| hal-lèka yáʿni| xəyálɛxu mù-qṭila.ʔ| yáʿni razítu ʾən-la.ʔ| (3) y-oráwa šaqláwa dàna| rába gàye| ʾəštà yarxé| xamšà yarxé| biz-zàwda.| yáʿni béna xáčča zàmət ʾiyáwa.| ʾu-də-trè| le-y-yawíwa mən-ʾójəx l-ʾòjəx.| ham-kút-xa ʾójəx gʸàne qamáye,| kə́ma maṣìwa| ʾa-bràta| yawíwala ṭla-ʾójəx gʸàna.| fa-hal-hádəx šaqláwa dàna.| (4) bár hàdəx| ʾə́n qắṭíwa xəyalèy| y-amríwa ʾáxni ràziyəx.| y-azíwa tré našè| mən-bɛ̄θ-xàtna,| y-azíwa be-kʸàlo.| y-atwìwa| mṣawθìwa,| xamlìwa.| dáryəxxa gʸánən gu-bɛθèxu.| bắyəx ṯ-óðəx xəzmayúθa mənnèxu.| rába b-xáðexi qá-t mxaθəxθáxxa xəzmayùθa.| (5) bálki qam-dána háwa wíye xázme m-ġðàðe.| fa-mbáqri ġðàðe| ṯ-ámri hé ʾáxni ràziwəx.| qemíwa dàna,| mattíwa nišànqe.| nišánqe mòdila.ʔ| yáʿni xà,| ʾax-ṯ-àmri,| ʾíða hămànta,| ʾíða hămànta| mattíwa kə́ma… zùze.| ʾé-ga zúze baṣòrewa.|

B5 Life in ʾƐn-Nune (1)

Informant: Dawið Bakus (ʾƐn-Nune)

Weddings

(1) In the old days we in the villages used to have our own ways (of doing things), like, for example, the way we used to hold weddings. First of all we would go, the family of the groom would go to the house of the bride's family. They would first politely make an announcement to them saying 'We want to ask (for the hand of) your daughter for our son.' They would say 'We shall see'. (2) Why (did they do this)? In the old days it was not the practice to ask the girl. The father of the girl would see the mother of the girl, they (both parties) would see each other. Again they (the family of the boy) would go and say 'What have you decided?[1] How far (have you got with your thoughts)?' That is 'What decision have you made?[2] Do you agree or not?' (3) It would take time. Often it would take almost five or six months or more. In those days it was rather difficult. Moreover they did not give (brides) from one tribe to another. Everybody used to have his own tribe and as far as possible they would give the girl (in marriage) to (somebody in) her own tribe. So, it took time for such (arrangements to be made). (4) Afterwards, if they had made a decision, they would say 'We agree'. Two people from the family of the groom would go to the family of the bride. They would sit, talk and enjoy themselves. 'With great respect (we announce to you) that we want to form a family relationship with you.' (Or they would say) 'We would be very happy to renew the family relationship.' (5) Perhaps previously they had become relatives of one another. They would ask each other and would say 'Yes we agree'. After some time they would deposit tokens (of betrothal). What are these tokens? This is what is called 'a trusted hand', 'a trusted hand'.[3] They would deposit some money. At that time money was in short supply.

[1] Literally: What have you done?
[2] Literally: What have your thoughts cut?
[3] I.e. a deposit.

(6) mattìwa| ṯ-ámrəx xá xámša dinàre| ʾən-hàtxa móndi| yáʿni ʾax-mṣèθa,| líθən?| péši nišànqa.| y-oráwa xa-dána biš-hòdəx,| xákma yàrxe.| y-óra xákma yàrxe,| béna m-táma hòdəx| y-ámri ṯ-oðéxi ṭalòbe.| ʾáwwa ʾíla ṭlàbta| yáʿni ʾíða hămánta doqìwala,| xárθa béna y-azíwa ṭalòbe.|

(7) ṭalòbe,| y-oðíwa mɛxòlta.| ʾá mɛxólta nášət kʷàlo y-oðíwala.| ʾáni táma mrazgíwa mɛxòlta,| ʾítlən mɛxolyàθa…| mɛθéwa xá-ʾərbət xwàre y-amráxwa,| ʾárbət xwàre.| ʾiθ-ʾárbət xwàre,| ʾárbət kòme.| ʾárbət xwáre pɛrmìwale-u| ʾárbət kòme…| y-oðíwa básra mbašlìwa.| béna bašlíwa ràzza.| qawùrma y-amríle.| ʾáwwa ràzza-w| dérɛ básra gáwe dìye,| ʾáwwa y-ámri qawùrma.| (8) ʾu-y-azíwa tàma,| ʾo-yóma qăṭíwa nàqda.| yáʿni béna y-atwìwa-w,| mṣawθìwa-w| bánta qamáye mšɛrìwa yaʿni,| ʾax-ṯ-ámrəx mazyàtta.| ṯ-amárwa qamàye,| ʾé-ga náqda xàncˇi y-awéwa,| mən-ʾəsrí dináre hal-ṭlàθi,| bálki xàmši,| kliθéla ʾahwáltət d-ò naša| kəma ʾiθwále mṣèθa,| ṯ-amàrwa| ʾáxni bă̆yəx xámši dinàre.| hè,| ṯ-ámri xámši dinàre,| ṯ-ámri hè,| lítla xàm.| (9) qayəmwa xéna ṯ-amàrwa| bèna| ʾíθ xaṭràna-w| ʾáxni-x pyáša xàzme.| ṯ-ámər mót mára fə̃llən ʾàti.| ṯ-amàrwa| ʾána màṣlēn| ʾáṣra dinàre.| háwət basíma ràba| ʾu-máxa c̆àppe| zamrìwa-w.| kále m-bar-hádəx mó-ytu màra?| mádre m-bar-hàdəx,| maṣléwa xá-məndi xèna.| (10) nášət kʷálo y-amrìwale,| y-ámri xáṭər xaṭràna| lán-ðaya mòdi,| xàzme| ʾu-péšəx dóste-u xàzme-u,| t-la-páyəš lábbən b-ġðàðe.| qayəmwa maṣléwa xámša xène.| ṯ-ámər pɛšíwa ṭláθi-u xàmša.| qayəmwa bábət xàtna,| dawə́qwala ʾíðə bábə kʷàlo.| yaʿni dwáqa dawə́qwa ʾíðə-dìye| qá-t ʾó-məndi wèle.|

(6) They would deposit let's say a sum of five dinars, or thereabouts, according to their ability (to pay), you see.[4] These become the token (of betrothal). Further time would pass, a few months. A few months would pass, then at that point they would say 'Let us make the betrothal.' This is the act of betrothing, that is they would hold (the ceremony) of the 'trusted hand'[5] then afterwards would proceed to hold the betrothal.

(7) As for the betrothal, they would make food. The family of the bride would make this food. They would prepare food. We have various types of food. They would bring one of the 'white small cattle' (sheep), as we say, white small cattle. There was white small cattle (sheep) and black small cattle (goats). They would slaughter sheep. As for goats.... They would prepare meat and cook it. Then they would cook rice. It is called *qawurma*. This rice, in which they put the meat, this is called *qawurma*. (8) They would go there (to the bride's house) and on that day they would decide on money. They would sit and speak, then they would start the bidding, as we say. He (a representative of the bride's family) would say—in the old days, at that time money was scarce, (one requested) from twenty to thirty dinars, perhaps fifty, depending on the circumstances of that man, on how much he was able to pay—he would say 'We want fifty dinars'. 'Yes', they say 'fifty dinars', they say 'Yes, that's fine'. (9) Another man would stand up (and say) 'There is (the obligation of) respect (for our family relationship), we are becoming relatives.' He says 'What do you, so-and-so, say?' He says 'I shall deduct ten dinars.' 'Thank you very much'. Then they would clap hands and sing. (The clapping) would stop and after that (one would say) 'What do you say?' Again after that they would deduct something else. (10) The family of the bride would say to him, they would say 'For the sake of respect (we shall decrease the amount).' I do not know what, '(We are) relatives, we are becoming friends and relatives. (We should do so) so that we do not feel anger with each other.'[6] He would then proceed to deduct five more, so that thirty-five remained. The father of the groom would rise and shake the hand of the father of the bride. He would shake his hand (to confirm) that this has taken place.

[4] Literally: is there not?
[5] I.e. the deposit.
[6] Literally: 'so that our heart does not become against each other'.

(11) mən-táma hódəx zamrìwa-w| raqðìwa-w.| ʾíθwa zamríwa diwàne.| y-áwa tíwe diwáne mṣawòθe| ʾu-zamríwa…| zmaryáθa basímewa t-ʾáθṛa tàma.| ʾíθwa ʾə̌raq.| béna gu-d-á-dana mɛθéwa štèθa.| ʾa-štèθa| har-tàma mpalṭə́xwala,| ʾə̌raq.| (12) ʾə̌raq mpalṭàxla| m-yabìše,| sab-é-ga xúrme lìθwa táma,| y-amríwala qàzbe.| fa-ʾə̌raq mpalṭíwa b-yabìše,| yabíše ʾu-ʾənwe.| paláṭṭət ʾə̌raq,| ṯ-amrèxi,| y-aθéwa mɛθéwa lìne ʾíθwa,| dɛréwa lìne,| ʾu-dɛréwa mìya gáwa.| ʾu-mkasèwala-w| mat-tíwala xa-dúkθa šaxìnta| ṯ-amrə́xxa gòma.| ṯ-óya šaxínta mkasèwala.| ʾu-šaqláwa qúrbə l-ʾárbi, xamšì yomáθa| (13) qa-ʾìma.ʔ| qa-d-ó-yomə t-wéwa ṯ-ámrəx ṭalòbe.| qa-d-ó-yomət mɛθéwa ʾə̌raq nàše.| y-atwíwa ʾəsri,| ṭlàθi| ʾárbi náše y-atwíwa zmára rqàða.| mɛθéwa ʾə̌raq,| dɛréwa šatèwa,| ʾu-y-oðíwa mázze-u bə́sre-u mándi-u šabùðe.| (14) ʾə̌raq—ʾíθwa masìna.| masína mturáṣtewa m-ʾùpra,| fa-ʾán məndiyáne dɛréwa gu-d-a-masìna,| ʾa-masína ʾíθwa glə̄s zòra.| dɛréwale-u šatéwale t-là míya.| fa-ʾa-štéθa šatéwala t-lá mìya.| šaqláwa ṯ-ámrəx trè-saʾəte,| tre-ṭlà-saʾəte.| m-bár xamlìwa,| raqðìwa,| zamrìwa.| béna mɛθéwa mɛxòlta.| (15) mɛxólta y-áwa mbúšle qawúrma-w rəzza,| ʾu-kəftàne.| ʾu-béna ʾíθwa láxma y-amrə́xwa zeðàye.| ʾaw-zeðáya mtúrṣɛwa m-xə̀ṭṭe.| ʾan-xáṭṭe zə̌ríwala… čèri zə̌ríwala.| ʾíθwa rába ʾi-zə̌ríwala čèri.| bèhɛr,| b-yárxət xámša, ʾəšta,| ʾi-xazdìwala.| fa-ʾáni ʾi-xazdìwala-w| mdarèwala-w| maṣléwala ʾərxe,| ṭaxnìwala,| péši qàmxa.| (16) ʾo-qàmxa| mɛθéwale bèθa.| béna ʾíθwa baxtáθa t-yə̆́ði t-yàpi| lɛšìwale.| ʾíθwa tášte gòṛta| lɛšìwale,| hálbat míya mánne mánne lɛšìwale.| mattíwale xá-saʿət hàtxa,| xáčča pyáša xə̄mèwa y-amrə́xle.| dɛréwa xmíra gáwa dìye,| xə̄mèwa.| bár xə̄mèwa,| y-ámri dān-dìye| ṭla-pàya.| (17) nablíwa tanùre.| ʾíθwa tanùra,| ʾáx t-y-àmrəx,| hár ṭla-d-ò-məndi y-áwe mtúrṣa.| ʾu-ʾíθwa baxtáθa gu-màθa,| là-kulley yapéwa,| ʾáni šúley ʾàwwewa.| ʾu-yapyàwale| yawíwala xà-məndi,| xà-ləxma,| trè-ləxme,| ʾap-ʾáyya xamyáwa biye-dìye.|

(11) From then onwards they would sing and dance. Some would sing *diwane*. They would sit and say *diwane* and sing. The songs of our land there were beautiful. There was arak. At that time they brought drink. We produced that drink, arak, there. (12) We produced arak from raisins, because at that time there were no dates there—they were called *qazbe*. So, they produced arak with raisins, raisins and grapes. As for the production of arak, they used to bring pots, they would put down the pots and put water into them. Then they would cover them and place them in a warm place, which we call a *goma* (basement). In order for it to be warm they would cover them. It would take about forty or fifty days. (13) For when (did they prepare the arak)? For the day on which what we call the betrothal took place. For that day people would bring arak. Twenty, thirty, forty people would sit singing and dancing. They would bring arak, they would serve (food) and they would drink. They would make snacks, meat dishes, kebabs and the like. (14) As for arak, there was (a pot called a) *masina*. A *masina* was made from clay. Those things[7] they would put in the *masina*. The *masina* had a small glass. They would serve it and drink it without water. They would drink that drink without water. This would take let's say two hours, two to three hours. Afterwards they would make merry, dancing and singing. Then they would bring the food. (15) As for the food, they would have cooked *qawurma*, rice, meat-balls. There was bread which we called *zeðaye*. The *zeðaya* was made out of wheat. They would sow the wheat…in Autumn they would sow it. Many people sowed it in Autumn. In Spring, in May or June, they would harvest it. They would harvest it, thresh it and take it down to the water-mill. They would grind it and it would become flour. (16) They would bring the flour home. There were women who knew how to bake and they kneaded it.[8] There was a large dish, (on which) they kneaded it. Of course they kneaded it together with water. They put it aside for about an hour and it gradually rose, as we say. They would put yeast in it and it rose. After it rose, they would say 'Its time (has come) for baking'. (17) They would take it to the ovens. There was an oven, as we say, which was made specially for this. There were women in the village whose profession was this, not all of them baked. She (the baker-woman) would bake it and they gave her something, a loaf of bread, two loaves, and she made a livelihood by this.

[7] I.e. the drinks.
[8] I.e. the dough.

(18) fa-m-bar-hàdəx| y-atwìwa-w,| y-axlìwa-w,| mə́dre ʾi-zamŕwa-w šatèwa| hál y-oráwa gu-lèle.| ʾáyya b-léle y-oðíwa ʾaṣràre,| ʾu-qayə́mwa kút-xa y-azə́lwa bə̄θ-dìye.| bar-hàdəx| y-oráwa kə́ma yàrxe.| béna bálki ʾo-nàša,| ʾo-xətna ṯ-ámrəx,| ʾo-ʾùrza,| lè-y-awe táma.| y-awéwa pláxa gu-mðinàθa mə́̆θălan.| ṯ-amrìwa,| sab-ʾáxni xluláne dìyən| hammáše y-oðəxwala| čeriyă̆wàθa.| (19) čeriyă̆wáθa ʾìmɛla?| yáˤni b-yárxət ʾə̀ʧ̌ʧ̌ă| ʾu-ʾáṣra,| w-hal-xadəssər,| ʾáni y-amrə́xxa čèri.| sab-ʾé-ga náše b-qéṭa y-áwa plìxe,| mjŭ́míye mɛxòlta,| mjŭ́míye məndiyàne,| kúlla mtugə́brəlla qa-d-è-ga,| ʾé-ga y-áwa bíš sapìqe,| lá y-awéwa šúla ràba.| fa-y-ámri flan-yóma xlùlɛle.| (20) tre-šabbáθa qam-dána čèdi.| y-ázi maθwàθa,| ə̆yàda čɛdíwa.| ʾé-ga líθwa càrd| líθwa wə̆ràqa| mə́ndi šúle nablìwa.| xa-náša y-azə̀lwa| ʾíθwa maθwáθa qurbèni.| šaqə́lwa čánta mə̀nne-u| máttu láxma gàwa,| y-azə́lwa čyàda,| béθa bèθa.| (21) šláma ʾəllèxu.| b-šɛna b-ṭawàθa,| yába čídetu xlúlə brōn-fə́llən b-flàn-yoma.| ʾo-béθa kúlla hàdəx.| ʾíθwa tre-ṭlá maθwàθa| ʾo-náša y-azə́lwa ʾálla dìyey,| l-ay-gòta.| (22) ʾíθwalən maθwàθa,| ʾášta, xamša-ʾəštà maθwáθa,| ʾi-mpălìwala.| y-azə́lwa l-bèθa-w| y-ámər čdetu| xlūl-d-èni?| fə́llən-ile.| y-ámər basíma ràba.| (23) béna ʾan-márət xátna qɛmíwa mtagbòre.| mə́dre dɛrɛ́wa ʾă̆raq ṭla-xlùla,| sab-xlúla rába náše čɛdìwa.| ʾu-mɛθéwa ʾərwe pɛrmíwa y-oðíwa qàlya.| ʾu-mɛθéwa rə́zza ʾu-məndyàne| béna hál-yomət xlùla.| (24) ʾíθwalən xlùla táma,| ʾíθwa dáwla-w zòrna y-amrə́xwale.| dáwla-w zòrna| ʾáni sáma zóda ʾíθwa suráye ʾu-hám mən-mšəlmáne ṯ-íwa tàma.| fa-ʾáni mɛθéwa ʾaṣə̀rta,| šàbθa y-aθéwa.|

(25) xá-yoma qám dàna| y-amrə́xla xyáptət xətna.| šadə̀sta y-áwe ʾo-yóma.| kúlla náše y-aθéwa yatwíwa béθət xətna.| xamlìwa,| raqðìwa,| zamrìwa.| dárt yòma,| ʾíθwa xyáptət xətna.| xyáptət xátna y-aθéwa dáwla-w zòrna.|

(18) After this they sat, ate and again sang and drank until it was night. At night they would hold evening celebrations and then everyone would go to their home. After that several months would pass. Perhaps the person, that is the groom, the man, was not there. He was working in the towns, for example. (This passage of time) was because we always used to hold our weddings in Autumn. (19) When was Autumn? It was September, October until November, we called these Autumn. This is because in those days people would have worked in summer and gathered food, gathered various things and prepared them for that time, then at that time (in the Autumn) they were more free and there was not much work. They would say 'Such-and-such a day is (that of) the wedding'. (20) Two weeks beforehand they would invite (people). They would go to the villages and make invitations. There was no (invitation) card at that time. It was not the practice to take a piece of paper or the like. A man would go to villages that were near us. He would take a bag with him, in which he put bread, and would go from house to house making invitations. (21) 'Greetings to you'. 'You are welcome'. 'You are invited to the wedding of the son of so-and-so on such-and-such a day.' All the family was likewise invited. There were two or three villages in one direction where the man would go (first). (22) We had five or six (neighbouring Christian) villages, which they would divide (into groups).[9] He would go to a house and say 'You are invited'. 'The wedding of whom?' 'It is so-and-so'. He (the guest) would say 'Thank you very much'. (23) The parents of the groom would start making preparations. They would put out arak for the wedding, since they invited many people to the wedding. They would bring sheep, slaughter them and make *qalya* (roasted meat preserved in fat). They would bring rice and other things (and continue thus) until the day of the wedding. (24) (When) we had a wedding there, there was the drum and pipe, as we called it. The drum and pipe, these were mainly (played by) Christians and also some Muslims who were there. They would bring these in the evening, they would come on Saturday.

(25) A day before there was what we call 'the bathing of the groom'. The *šadəsta* (pre-wedding party)[10] was held on that day. Everybody came and sat in the house of the groom. They would enjoy themselves, dance and sing. The next day was the bathing of the groom. At the bathing of the groom the drum and pipe band would come.

[9] I.e. the man making the invitations would divide the villages into groups and go to one group at a time.

[10] For close family and friends.

(26) ʾi-jămíwa nàše,ˈ lošíwa jùlleˈ ʾu-xɛpìwale.ˈ qám t-xépi xàtna,ˈ mɛθéwa xa-yalúnka zòra.ˈ ʾap-ʾáwwa xa-nišànqɛle.ˈ mxallíwale rēš-dìyeˈ xɛpìwale.ˈ ʾu-xaráye xɛpíwa xàtna.ˈ y-asqíwa malwəšíwale jull-dìyeˈ ʾu-y-atwìwa.ˈ (27) y-áwa wíðe xa-rámša yòma.ˈ y-áwa wíðe dùxwa.ˈ dúxwa ʾíle mtúrṣa mən-dàwwe-uˈ sàṛe-uˈ bəsre gáwe dìyeˈ kùll xa-móndi.ˈ fa-ʾànnaˈ yáʿni y-oráwa dàna ˈ tre-ṭlá-saʾəte ʾárba sàʾəte.ˈ ʾáxni y-oðáxwa dùxwa táma.ˈ (28) ʾo-lèleˈ y-azáxwa be-kʸàlo.ˈ y-azáxwa be-kʸàlo.ˈ y-atwíwa b-dawère,ˈ ʾé-ga b-dawère,ˈ koðənta y-amrəxxa.ˈ y-azíwa be-kʸàlo.ˈ ʾən-d-à-maθɛle.ˈ ʾən-d-a-máθa xètɛle,ˈ y-azíwa y-atwíwa táma be-kʸàlo.ˈ (29) ʾap-táma dáwla-w zórna xmála hál b-lèle.ˈ xátna-w qarìwaˈ—ʾáw šaqálwa qarìwa mánne díye,ˈ qaríwa y-áwe mánne díye ʾap-ʾàwˈ—qaríwa-w xátna pɛšíwa bé kʸàlo,ˈ yáʿni xákma xa-béθa qurbèy.ˈ hé yáʿni ṯ-amrəxxe be-kʸàlo.ˈ (30) m-léle mbàdla táma,ˈ yáʿni mbarxìwa.ˈ y-aθéwa qàša.ˈ har-gu-bèθaˈ y-asríwale gnùna-wˈ yáʿni ṯ-ámrəx mbarxìwale.ˈ ʾay-qàmθɛwa.ˈ xàrθaˈ bár mbarxìwa,ˈ ʾu-razgìwaˈ béna y-atwíwa kʸálo-w xàtna-wˈ qaríwa-w qaríwta mànney-uˈ béna náše raqðíwa zamrìwaˈ hál pɛšáwa qédamta jàlde xáčča.ˈ (31) béna mɛθéwa fṭàrtaˈ faṭrìwa.ˈ mɛθèwa…jàjək y-awéwa,ˈ gùpta,ˈ kúlla mturášta tàma,ˈ dùša,ˈ duwànaˈ—duwána ʾi-mtarṣíwale mən-qàmxaˈ ʾu-màšxa,ˈ mášxa ḥùr,ˈ mášxət ʾərwe,ˈ mášxət ʾárwe m-áwwa tàza.ˈ ʾé-ga lìθwa,ˈ la-kʸàsa măráwaˈ ʾu-la-xàṣa măréwa,ˈ la-ḍă̈ġaṭ y-awèwale.ˈ

(32) fa-faṭríwa razgíwa m-kùl-xa-məndi,ˈ hál kawùθra.ˈ béna qám t-mšére xàtna,ˈ mattíla ṭàmtaˈ l-mes-ìlaˈ l-ʾărɛla xzi-dàxila táma.ˈ mattíwa ṭàmta,ˈ xátna y-amárwa: ʾana-lè ʾaxléna.ˈ ʾáwwa ʾíle xa-nišànqa díyən,ˈ yáʿni m-záwna qaḏ́m hàtxa y-ámriwa.ˈ lé-y-axəl xàtna.ˈ

(26) People would gather together wearing (fine) clothes and bathe him. Before they bathed the groom, they would bring a small boy. This also was symbolic. They would wash his head and bathe him. Finally they would bathe the groom. They would come up (from the river)[11] and dress him in his clothes. (27) Then they would sit down. They would have made the evening meal during the day. They would have made *duxwa*. *Duxwa* is made from diluted yoghurt and barley, with meat and so on put in it. It took time (to make),[12] two or three hours. We used to make *duxwa* there. (28) In the evening we would go to the house of the bride. We would go to the house of the bride. They would sit on mules, at that time (they sat) on mules. They called it a *koðənta* ('female mule'). They went to the house of the bride. Whether it was in the village or in another village, they would go and sit there in the house of the bride. (29) Also there there would be the drum and pipe and merriment into the night. The groom and the best man—he would take a best man with him, the best man would be together with him—the best man and the groom would stay at the house of the bride, that is in a house nearby. Yes, we call this the house of the bride. (30) In the early morning they would hold perform the blessing (of the wedding ceremony) there. A priest would come. In the house they would tie the band. We say 'They blessed it'. This was beforehand. Afterwards, after they performed the blessing and were finished, the bride and the groom sat down together with the best man and the bridesmaid. Then people would dance and sing, until it was almost early morning. (31) Then they would bring breakfast and they would eat breakfast. They would bring…there used to be jajik, cheese, all made there, honey, *duwana*—they made *duwana* from flour and butter, pure butter, the butter of sheep, good quality sheep's butter. At that time there was no (illness), there was no stomachache, no backache, one did not have (high blood) pressure.

(32) They ate breakfast and finished everything until it was lunchtime. Before the groom began, they would lay out the breakfast, on the table and on the ground, as was the practice there.[13] They would lay out the breakfast and the groom would say 'I shall not eat'. This is a symbolic act of ours. From times of old they would say that the groom will not eat.

[11] The bathing of the groom took place in the river.
[12] Literally: time passed.
[13] Literally: it is on the table, it is on the ground, see how it is there.

(33) magúṛwa gʸān-dìye.ˈ y-oðə́xwa lèbe-u,ˈ gaxkə̀xwa-wˈ zamrə̀xwa-wˈ xamlə́xwa bìya.ˈ ʾu-y-amrə̀xwa:ˈ də-xùlena-wˈ y-ámər lɛn-kpìna-wˈ xə̀ðya-wˈ m-án məndiyàne.ˈ ʾap-ʾayyéwa xa-xumlàna díyən,ˈ yáʿni xa-nišànqa díyən.ˈ gu-d-a-dàna,ˈ y-amrìwa:ˈ kəmá ṯ-àxlət?ˈ y-ámər: bə̌yən ʾəṣrà-dinare.ˈ (34) gu-d-a-dàna,ˈ mádre mzanfə́rwala gʸān-dìye,ˈ y-amə́rra: lè-y-axlena,ˈ lan-ðáʾa mòdi.ˈ y-ámri: xùl!ˈ dànɛla.ˈ qìrra.ˈ xùlena!ˈ lan-ðáʾa mòdi.ˈ qɛmíwa yawíwale ʾəṣrà-dinareˈ ʾu-y-axə̀lwa,ˈ hàlˈ l-kawùθra.ˈ (35) ʾána ʾáxxa nšéli xa-màndi.ˈ kʷàloˈ ʾíman ṯ-aθyàwa páθa díya mkusèθa.ˈ kʷàloˈ páθa díya mkusèθa.ˈ mɛθéwa ʾíθwalən xá…ʾáx jùllɛleˈ ʾáx ḵunnə̀kθɛla,ˈ hátxa daréwa l-yálma dìya.ˈ y-ámri xə̀ppo.ˈ ʾáw y-amríle xə̀ppo.ˈ xátna lè-y-xaze kʷálo.ˈ (36) ʾu-y-átwi táma m-ġðàðeˈ hál sáʾət xáʾa trèˈ béna gə̆rəg ʾázi bɛ̄θ-be-xàtna.ˈ qam-dàna,ˈ y-áxli kawùθra.ˈ y-áwa mrúzge xùmṣa,ˈ ʾáyya mɛxólta y-óya l-nášət kʷàlo.ˈ ʾa-mɛxólta yawìla-wˈ rázgi mbádla dàna.ˈ qam-dána y-áwe rqáða zmára ʾu-štàya.ˈ ʾu-dáwla-w zòrna.ˈ ʾu-náše y-áwa j̀əmye,ˈ y-áwa mrúzge qa-d-a-dàna.ˈ (37) m-bar-t-y-àxli,ˈ méθɛ dawèra,ˈ koðə̀nta y-amrə́xwala.ˈ mxamlìwala-wˈ dɛráwa qurṭána-w m-an-məndiyàne,ˈ ʾu-dɛréwa xá júlla tə̆́məz reša-dìya-w.ˈ ʾu-xátna-w ʾu-kʷàlo,ˈ kʷálo y-atúwwa xa-xázma díya mánna dìya,ˈ y-atúwwa qamàyeˈ ʾu-ʾáy mattúwala báθre dìye,ˈ xāṣ-t-koðə̀nta.ˈ ʾu-ʾúp xátna dawə̋́r gʸān-dìyeˈ qaríwa…kúlla b-dawére ʾé-ga lìθwa?ˈ ʾu-xákma y-áwa p-àqla,ˈ ʾap-ʾəm-wéwa maθwáθa rə̀ḥqa.ˈ (38) ʾu-gu-d-a-dàna ʾi-mšaníwa zála l-be-xàtna.ˈ gu-d-á-dana y-amríwala máxa čáppe bùke,ˈ yáʿni patláxxa dukáne ʾən-yéwa béθa qùrbaˈ yan-rə̀ḥqa.ˈ ʾáy y-ámri čáppe bùke.ˈ yáʿni maxəðríla ʾa-kʷàloˈ qúrbət bèθa,ˈ y-áθi máṭi l-bèθa.ˈ m-bár máṭi l-bèθaˈ—qam-dànaˈ y-áwa mrúzge xá ʾilàna.ˈ (39) ʾilànaˈ y-amrə́xwala ʾé-ga ṯ-ámrəxxa j̀wànne.ˈ ʾáy ʾilána mṣaqlìwala.ˈ dɛréwa xabúše bìya.ˈ dɛréwa láxma ʾə́lla dìya.ˈ dɛréwa guttàθa.ˈ rába mṣaqlìwaˈ rába məndiyáne tazè.ˈ ʾay-ʾilána ʾèka?ˈ masqíwala gàre.ˈ xátna ʾu-qaríwa y-asqíwa l-gàre.ˈ (40) kʷálo y-aθyáwa l-tărət-bèθa.ˈ táma y-áwa mtùrṣe,ˈ y-awéwa xa-ʾamána y-amrə́xla zawə̀rta.ˈ y-awa dárye yabìše gáwa,ˈ gàwze-uˈ bə̀ṭme-uˈ xáčča šarníye ʾu-məndiyáne gàwa.ˈ ʾáy y-óya muttéθa gu-tə̆́ra qam-ṯ-óra kʷàlo.ˈ qam-t-óra kʷàloˈ y-oðáwa ṣlíwa mə̀šxa.ˈ

(33) He would act pompously. We made tricks, laughed, sang and enjoyed the occasion. We would say 'Eat!' and he would say 'I am not hungry', in fun, things like that. This also was a form of merriment of ours, and a symbolic act of ours. At that time they would say 'How much (do you want) in order for you to eat?' He would say 'I want ten dinars'. (34) Then he would pompously puff himself up again and say to them 'I shall not eat', I don't know why.' They would say 'Eat! It's time. It's got cold. Eat!' 'I don't know why (but I shall not eat)'. Then they would give him ten dinars and he would eat. (This would go on) until lunchtime. (35) But I have forgotten something here. The bride, when she came, her face was covered. The bride's face was covered. They brought something that was like a cloth, like a kerchief. They put it like this over her face. It is called a *xəppo* ('cover'). It is called a *xəppo*. The groom does not see the bride. (36) They sit there together until one or two o'clock, then they have to go to the house of the groom's family. Beforehand they eat lunch. They would have prepared *xumṣa*. This food is for the family of the bride. They give this food to them and they finish (eating) in the early morning. Beforehand there is dancing, singing, drinking, the drum and pipe. The people would be gathered and prepared for that time. (37) After eating, they bring a mule, we call it a *koðənta* ('female mule'). They decorate it and put on it a saddle blanket or the like, and put on it a clean cloth. As for the bride and groom, a relative sits with the bride, he sits at the front and he would put her behind him, on the back of the mule. The groom also (has) his own mule, and the best man . . . they were all on mules at that time, you see. Some were on foot, even if the villages were far off. (38) At that time they move to the house of the groom. At that time (they do what) is called 'clapping hands for the bride', that is we would take her around various places, whether her house was close or far. This is called 'clapping hands for the bride'. That is, they take the bride around towards her house and come to her house. After they arrive at the house—beforehand they have prepared a tree. (39) We used to call the tree a thorn-tree. They used to decorate the tree. They put apples on it. They put bread on it. They put balls on it. They decorated it with many beautiful things. Where was this tree? They put it up on the roof. The groom and the best man went up on the roof. (40) The bride would come to the door of the house. There they made a vessel that we call a *zawərta* ('pot'). They put raisins in it, walnuts, terebinth nuts, some sweets and other things. This is placed at the door before the bride enters. Before the bride enters she makes (the sign of) the cross in oil.

(41) mɛθéwa màšxa,ˈ y-oðáwa ṣlíwa l-tằra,ˈ qa-t-ʾána bawarúθi θáya biyèxula,ˈ pyášən m-d-áwwa bèθa.ˈ ʾáwwa nišànqɛle.ˈ xa-ṭuṣèleˈ qa-t-ʾána ʾáwwa ʾíle bèθiˈ m-díya hòdəx.ˈ gu-d-ɛ-dànaˈ qɛmìwaˈ kʷálo toráwala ʾáy zawə̀rtaˈ ʾu-y-oráwa gu-bèθa.ˈ (42) m-bar-hàdəxˈ qɛmìwaˈ mzabóne ʾilàna.ˈ náše ʾíwa kòpaˈ kùlla,ˈ ʾu-ʾáwwa gárewa ràma.ˈ ʾáwwa náše ʾiyéwa kúlla spára kòpa.ˈ ʾa-ʾilána mzabnìwala y-amrə́xxa.ˈ ṯ-aθéwa xázme dìyeˈ ṯ-amə̀rwaˈ hé gálləkˈ nàše,ˈ ʾéni záwən ʾilàna?ˈ xa-náša díye ṯ-ámərwa ʾána zonə́nna b-ʾə̀ṣra,ˈ šaqlíwa ʾə́ṣra dinàre.ˈ ʾu-xéna ṯ-ámərwa zonə́nna b-xamšàssər,ˈ šaqlíwa xamšàssər.ˈ qa-xumlàna ʾáwwa mə́ndiˈ sáma zóda lìθən?ˈ (43) béna xaràyeˈ qayə́mwa šaqə́lwa ʾa-ʾilànaˈ maxáwala l-swàna y-amrə́xla,ˈ swàna.ˈ ʾu-ʾan-gàwzeˈ ṯ-ítwa bíya dìya-wˈ xabùšeˈ ʾu-sparə̀gleˈ ʾu-m-án məndiyàne,ˈ kúlla ṣalɛ́wa gota-xtɛ̀θa.ˈ ʾu-jằmíwa náše mə́nna dìya.ˈ ʾu-ʾáy ʾilána mattíwa tàma.ˈ ʾu-bár hàdəxˈ béna kʷálo θíθa làxxa,ˈ ʾo-yòmaˈ pɛšíwa tàma.ˈ (44) ʾaṣə́rta xlùlɛle.ˈ qémi náše rqàða.ˈ bár hàdəx,ˈ bár ṯ-ila-báxta pyáša rásmi tàmaˈ yáʿni wára gu-l-bèθa,ˈ θáyɛle qàšaˈ ʾu-sáṛa gnùnɛle.ˈ ʾó gnúna ʾíle nišànqaˈ qa-t-…hămántət bèθa,ˈ pyáša d-o-bèθa.ˈ (45) qáša ʾu-šamáše ṯ-íwa tàmaˈ mṣàli,ˈ y-ásṛi gnùnaˈ kul-xa-mə̀ndi.ˈ ʾu-ʾáni y-átwi qam-d-ó gnùna,ˈ y-áwe mtúṛṣa ʾə́n qănă̆fɛle,ˈ ʾə́n xa-mə̀ndi,ˈ ʾə̀n-l-ă̆rɛle.ˈ y-átwi qám d-o-gnùnaˈ ʾu-náše qémi rqáða ʾu-zmàra-wˈ kúlla yóma hàdəx.ˈ (46) xačča-pyáša xlúla y-awe ṭlà-yomane,ˈ yómət trušèba,ˈ dárt yòma,ˈ ṯ-ámrəx sab-ʾáxni xluláne kásləsuch šàbθa y-áwa.ˈ xušèba-wˈ be-kʷálo y-áwa déṛi nàše.ˈ yómət trùšebaˈ ʾáwwa be-xətnɛle.ˈ ʾó-yoma xlúla rasmìle.ˈ qémi qedámta nàšeˈ ʾu-jă̆mi.ˈ (47) y-áwa zìle,ˈ kút-xa bē̆θ-dìye.ˈ m-maθwáθa y-áwa ʾəθyeˈ maθwáθa kúlla y-áwa lwíše júlle šàlla,ˈ y-áwa mxùmle,ˈ kusyàθa,ˈ ʾu-mútte párre gu-rèša.ˈ ʾu-ʾo-ṯ-ítle xànjərˈ mut-téle xànjər.ˈ yáʿni mxúmle rába šapíre júlle lwíše trò̤sa.ˈ ʾó-məndi táza ʾò-yomɛleˈ sab-ða-xəðyúθa ʾítla kùlla.ˈ

(41) They would bring oil and she would make (the sign of) the cross on the door, (to indicate) that 'I place my trust in you. I am becoming a member of this family'. This is a symbolic act. It is a sign that 'This is my house from now on'. At that time the bride would break the pot and enter the house. (42) After that they would sell the tree. The people were all below and he (the groom) was high up on the roof, all the people were waiting below. They sold the tree, as we say. His relatives came and (one) said 'Hey, everbody, who will buy the tree?' One relative of his would say 'I shall buy it for ten' and they would receive ten dinars. Another would say 'I shall buy it for fifteen' and they would receive fifteen. This was mainly for fun, you see. (43) In the end, he (the groom) would take the tree and they would knock it against the eaves, as we call them, the eaves. The walnuts that were on it, the apples, the quinces and such things all fell down. Then the people gathered them up. They set up the tree there. After that, when the bride had come, they remained there that day. (44) In the evening there were wedding celebrations. People got up and danced. Afterwards, after the woman has become official there, that is she enters the house, the priest comes and ties the band. The band is a symbol (expressing) trust in the family (and that) she is becoming (a member) of the family. (45) The priest and the deacon who are there pray, tie the band and (do) everything. They (the bride and groom) sit before the band, which is placed either on a sofa or something else, or on the ground. They sit before the band and the people get up and dance and sing, all day long. (46) The wedding celebrations last almost three days, (until) Monday, the next day, let's say, since in our community weddings took place on Saturday. On Sunday the people are at the bride's house and then return. On Monday it (the wedding) is at the groom's house. This day is the official wedding. The people get up the next morning and gather together. (47) They went (there), each (from) his home, they came from the villages, from the villages, all dressed in the *šalla*.[14] They dressed up, with hats, in which they put feathers. If somebody had a dagger, he put on the dagger. They dressed up and indeed the clothes were very beautiful. This splendid event took place on that day, since they were all very joyful.

[14] Traditional clothes.

(48) m-táma hódəx har-ò-yoma,ˈ y-ámri xădáyət xətna.ˈ y-áwe mbúšla kút-xa,ˈ xa-rəzzaˈ xa-prèxe,ˈ xá rəzza smòqa,ˈ xa-rəzza xwàra.ˈ kút-xa xá-məndi y-áwe mbùšla.ˈ ʾáy y-amríla xădáyət xətna.ˈ yáʿni xa-xəllèta ṭla-xətna ʾap-ʾáyya.ˈ (49) ʾu-y-áwa múθye bəθqe.ˈ táma ʾiθ-bəθqe.ˈ maθyála báxta m-xəzmàne.ˈ mɛθéla xădàya,ˈ ʾu-y-ázi l-xətna ʾu-kʷàloˈ našqìle reše-díyeˈ ʾu-rēš-t-kʷàlo.ˈ ʾu-ʾiθ-báθqa dérɛ b-rešèy.ˈ yáʿni mbarxìley y-ámrəxˈ ʾap-ʾáni mbarxìley.ˈ (50) ʾu-y-àtwi,ˈ ʾaṣərta kúlla jə̀mi-uˈ ṣàli.ˈ bar-hàdəx,ˈ bar-t-y-áxli náše kawúθra kull-xa-mèndi,ˈ qémi mpálṭi kʷálo marqðìla.ˈ y-áθi náše qamθèy,ˈ šaqlíla maṣlèla,ˈ qam-tărət-béθa gòṛta y-óya.ˈ maduqíla xətna-w kʷálo gotə-ġðàðe,ˈ ʾu-béna náše ràqði.ˈ ʾup-ʾó-yoma hal-ʾaṣərta y-áwe xlùla.ˈ (51) dárt yóma xlúla pàrəq.ˈ ʾu-kʷálo péša táma hál…yómət šàwwaˈ y-amríle šurèla.ˈ hé yómət šáwwaʾ ʾíle šurèla.ˈ xətna-w kʷàloˈ xáčča mən-d-án-našət bèθa,ˈ mən-xəzmàne,ˈ y-ázi be-kʷálo.ˈ y-ázi be-kʷálo tàma,ˈ péši ʾó-lɛle tàma.ˈ yáʿni qámθa hàtxaˈ hadíya lèle hádəx.ˈ ʾína qámθa ʾurxà ʾiyáwa.ˈ péši xətna-w kʷálo tàmaˈ hal-xušèba.ˈ kulléy béna dɛṛíwa bèθa,ˈ ʾu-kút-xa y-azə́lwa bɛθe-dìye.ˈ

Easter

(52) qyàmta,ˈ ʾáxni gu-maθwàθaˈ tróṣa rába tazɛyèwa.ˈ sáma zòdaˈ b-lèle ṣaláxwa,ˈ ʾaṣərta.ˈ ʾíθwalən ṣàwma,ˈ yáʿni ʾéða y-aθéwa mən-ṣàwma.ˈ ṣáwma ʾíle xamšì yomáθa.ˈ bar-ṣémi náše xamšì yomáθa,ˈ ʾi-ṣăwíwa bèʾe.ˈ mrazgìwaˈ šábθa ʾaṣərta.ˈ qám-dana y-áwa-mrúzge bèʾe,ˈ kút-xa xá mrúzge gʾanèy.ˈ

(48) Subsequently, on the same day, there was what is called 'the lunch of the groom'. Everybody would have cooked something, one person rice, one stuffed vine leaves, another red rice,[15] another white rice. Everybody cooked something. This is called 'the lunch of the groom'. This also was a gift for the groom. (49) They would have brought sweets to be scattered (over the newly weds). We had (such a custom) of scattering sweets. A woman from among the relatives brings them. They bring the lunch, then go to the groom and bride and kiss his head and the head of the bride. Some people scatter sweets over them. In this way they bless them, according to our custom, they bless them. (50) They sit and in the evening all gather and go down (to dance). Afterwards, after the people have eaten all the lunch, they bring the bride out and make her dance. People come up to them and take them down to a large space outside. They put the groom and bride together side by side[16] and everybody dances. This day also[17] the wedding celebrations last until evening. (51) The next day the celebrations gradually come to an end. The bride stays there until the seventh day, which is called '(the time) she has begun (her functions of a wife)'. Yes, the seventh day is called '(the time) she has begun'. The bride and the groom—some of the family, some relatives, go to the house of the bride. They go to the house of the bride and spend the night there. They did this in the old days, it is not like that now. But in the old days this was the custom. The groom and bride stay there until Sunday. Then they all return home, everybody goes to his home.

Easter

(52) Easter in our community in the villages was indeed very beautiful. Generally we went down (to the church) at night or in the evening. We had a fast, that is the festival came after a fast. The fast is fifty days. After people fast for fifty days, they would paint eggs. They would prepare them on Saturday evening. They would have prepared the eggs beforehand, each person prepared them himself.

[15] Rice cooked with tomato.
[16] Literally: The make the groom and bride hold each other's side.
[17] I.e. Monday.

(53) šábθa ʾaṣə̀rta| mrazgíwa gʸána qa-t-ṣálɛ qyàmta,| sab-qyámta b-lèle ʾiyáwa.| y-azíwa šahàrta y-amrə́xla.| sáma zóda náše y-ázi šahàrta,| sab-táma b-màθɛwa.| b-máθa ʾúmra qùrbɛyewa.| w-iyéwala pùnde,| kút-xa ʾiyewále pùnde.| fa-mṣalíwa šahàrta,| mšɛríwa ṣloyàθa.| (54) gu-d-ɛ-dàna,| y-oráwa xá-saʾət biz-zòda,| qayə̀mwa|…ʾáy y-ámri má dánət plíṭla qyàmta.| šahárta qa-t-qyàmta pálṭa.| fa-zayə́nwa qàša| ʾu-kút-xa púnde b-íðe dìye.| y-aθèwa| xá bar-d-o-xèna.| (55) sáma zóda y-oðə́xwala qam-tằra.| rába šəklánta ʾiyáwa basìmta.| yáʿni ʾana-taxrə́nna rába ràba.| rába tàza ʾiyéwa.| qayə̀mwa,| qáša y-awéwa zína qamàye.| ʾu-šamáše báθre bàθre.| kút…y-ázi tàma,| maxéwale púnda réše dìye| y-amə́rwa: qyámtət màrən| qímle màrən.| hál kúlla párqi m-ġðàðe.| (56) šaqlàwa| bálki xá-saʾəta biz-zóda y-oràwa.| ʾu-náše xamlìwa.| gu-d-ɛ-dána mšɛríwa wáða rázət qurbàna.| ʾɛ́ kúlla b-lèlele,| qedamyàθɛle yáʿni.| bár parqáwa qyàmta,| qám mšɛríwa rázət qurbàna,| ʾúmra qúrbət bɛθ-qorayàθa y-awéwa.| bɛθ-qòra.| ʾan-náše mìθe| ʾáni y-amrə́xxa bɛθ-qòra.| fa-y-azìwa.| (57) kút-xa ʾítle xa-mìθa.| malhéwa púnda,| mattúwale kəs-reše-dìye| mdabə̀šwale.| tré-punde ṭḷàθa| y-oðíwa zòre,| y-oðíwa zóre qəṭṭàṭe,| mattìwala| mdabšìwala| l-réšəd bɛθ-qòra.| sáb kúl-xa náša hálbat ʾítle mìθa.| ʾu-kúl kúlfət y-azáwa l-míθe dìye,| yáʿni l-bɛθ-qòra,| mattáwa ʾəlle-dìye,| malhèwale.| ʾu-mṣalɛ́wa ʾap-ʾáni ʾəlle-dìye.| (58) ʾu-dɛṛìwa,| ʾu-y-óriwa mádre gu-ʾùmra,| šɛríwa rázət qurbàna.| ʾu-hál qedàmta|—gu-d-ɛ-dàna| kút-xa y-áwe múθya bèta mónne.| béta halbát smòqtɛla,| yáʿni ʾáwwa xa-nišànqɛle.| ʾu-náše ràbe ʾiyéwa.| m-bár pálət qurbàna,| pálṭi gu-dèrta,| qémi mxáya bèʾe.| y-amrə́xxe mxáya bèʾe.| yáʿni šmáṭa bɛ́ʾe xa-d-o-xèna,| twàra.| maxéwa bèʾe,| ʾáxni y-amrə́xxe mxáya bèʾe.|

(53) On Saturday evening they prepared themselves to go down (to church) for the Easter (vigil), because Easter was at night. They went to the vigil, as we called it. Most people went to the vigil, since it was there in the village. In the village the church was nearby. They had tallow candles, everybody had tallow candles. Then they prayed the vigil, they began the prayers. (54) Then, after about an hour had passed, the resurrection would be celebrated.[18] What is this called?: The time when the resurrection has taken place. They keep vigil until the resurrection takes place. The priest stands and everybody has a tallow candle in his hand. They come up one after another. (55) Generally we hold it (this ceremony) outside. It was very beautiful and pleasant. I remember well. It was very nice. (When) the resurrection was celebrated,[19] the priest would have stood at the front and the deacons behind him. Everybody came up and they touched his head with a tallow candle and said 'The resurrection of our Lord. Our Lord has arisen'. (This went on) until everybody had finished. (56) It took time, perhaps an hour or more would pass. The people were joyful. Then they began to take communion. All this was at night, that is in the early morning. After the resurrection ceremony had finished, before they began to take communion—the church was near the cemetery, the cemetery. The dead people, they lay in what is called the cemetery.[20] The people would go (there). (57) Each person has a dead (family member). He would light a tallow candle and put it by his head[21] and press it (down on the grave). They made two or three small tallow candles, they made small pieces and placed them, stuck them onto the head of the grave. This was because every man, of course, had a dead (family member). Every family went to his dead, that is to the cemetery, placed (a tallow candle) for him and lit it. They also prayed for him. (58) Then they returned, went back into the church and began the communion mass. The next day—at that time everybody would have brought an egg with him. The egg was red, of course. This was a symbol. There were many people. When the communion is over, they go out into the courtyard and begin to knock eggs together. We call this 'knocking eggs', that is smashing the eggs of one another and breaking them. They would strike eggs together, we call it 'striking eggs'.

[18] Literally: He (Christ) arose.
[19] Literally: He (Christ) arose.
[20] Literally: We call them the cemetery.
[21] I.e. on the headstone of the grave.

(59) gu-d-ɛ-dàna| toráwa bèta,| y-ámər màxðərra!| ʾap-o-géba yáʿni góta xèta.| ʾən-twírwala tə́rna| t-xa mənnèy| y-awə́lɪwala qa-t-wáha šaqə̀lɪwa mánne,| yáʿni qəm-qarə̀mla ṯ-ámrəx.| ʾu-bár parqɪ̀wa,| náše y-áwa múθye táma ṯ-amráxxe kàde.| ʾáni káde y-áwa mtúrṣe… mən-qàmxɛle-u| mə̀šxa| ʾu-rába mənnéy y-áwe duwàna,| là?| hè,| y-áwe duwána-w qámxa-w m-án məndiyàne.| (60) ʾáni kullèy| y-áwa múθye tàma| ʾu-mpə̌lìla náše.| yáʿni ʾáx nišànqɛle ʾap-áwwa|…y-áwa múθye bé̋e xa-yáwəl qa-d-o xèna.| ʾu-jə̌́mi tàma-w| mbárxi náše ġðàðe| ʾu-xàmli,| ʾu-kúl xa-məndì.| ʾu-ʾən-ʾíθən náše ʾə́θye m-maθwáθa xène,| kút-xa šáqəlɪwa xákma xəzmān-dìye,| masə́qla kəsle-díye ṭla-fṭàrta.| (61) ʾu-bar-párqi rázgi… qamáye ʾáxni táma y-azə́xwa béθət rə̀yyəs|—rə̀yyəs| ʾáwwa ʾíle górə màθa y-amráxle|—ʾu-be-qàša.| fa-jə̌mɪ́wa nàše,| níxa níxa níxa nìxa,| peššíwa xámša-w ʾəṣra-w hál xamšə̂ssər.| ʾu-péši xa-béna maṭáwa hal-ʾə̀sri,| doqíwa béθa bèθa| xá bar-d-o-xèna,| lìθən.?| (62) ʾéðux brìxa,| šláma-w yatwìwa.| béna mɛθéwa štèθa-w,| yáʿni ʾə̌̀raq,| ʾu-m-xàmra-w| zamrìwa-w| xamlìwa.| y-áwa lwíše kúlla jùlle,| mxùmle,| xákma məndiyàne,| yáʿni rába tàza,| sab-ʾó-yoma xa-xəðyùθɛwa,| hál kawùθra,| pálgəd yòma.| gu-d-ɛ-dàna,| ʾékɛyɛwa mùṯye| pálgət yòma| táma y-axlíwa kùlla.| (63) ʾáni y-ámri xə̌dàya,| sab-y-áwa wíðe xə̌dàya,| wíðe rázza-w šòrba-w| ʾu-bə́sre ʾu-məndiyáne ʾu-štèθa,| kúl-xa mándi táma y-axlìwa.| mədre| mšerìwa| l-ʾeðawàθa,| yáʿni jwája l-ʾeðə̆wáθa d-an-xène,| hál ʾaṣə̀rta,| hál dart-yòma.| tre-yomáθa ʾiyéwa ʾèða.| ʾu-y-áwa blíge b-ánna məndiyàne.| ʾáwwa ʾíle ʾax-ṯ-ámrəx ʾeðət-qyàmta,| xa-nišánqa rába góṛa trò̩sa.| ʾáwwa ʾéða gò̩ra y-amrə́xle,| ʾáwwa ʾéða gò̩ra.|

(64) ʾéða gòra| yómət trùšeba| y-áwe duxràna.| y-áwe duxràna.| ʾo-duxrána mòdile?| ʾan-nàše| kùlla báte| kut-béθa mbášəl xa-mə̀ndi.| ʾən-rə̀zzɛle,| ʾən-dùxwɛle,| ʾən-prɛ̀xɛla,| ʾən-bušàlɛla,| gə̀rðo,| sáma zóda y-ámri gə̀rðo.| gə́rðo ʾíla mən-màsta.| másta ʾíla mən-xə̀lya,| xályət ʾərwe.|

(59) Then, when the egg broke, one would say 'Turn it round!' and (the opponent struck) also the other side.[22] If both (sides) of one of the eggs broke, he would give it to the other person to take it from him. He has won it, as we say. After they finish—people would have brought there what we call *kade*. The *kade* were made from flour and butter, and many had *duwana* (cake paste) in them, is that not so? Yes, they were (made of) *duwana*, flour and the like. (60) They brought all these there and people shared them out. This was also a symbolic act. They brought eggs and people gave to one another. They gather there, bless one another (with greetings of the season) and enjoy themselves, and so forth. If there are people who have come from other villages, each person would take some of his relatives and take them up to his home for breakfast. (61) After they had finished and were ready…in the old days there (in our land) we used to go the house of the (village) head—the head is 'the man of the village', as we call him—and to the house of the priest (to offer Easter blessings). The people would gather and would gradually become five, ten, up to fifteen, sometimes they would reach twenty (in number), then they would call on each house, one after the other, you see. (62) (They would say) 'May your festival be blessed. Greetings' and they would sit. Then they would bring drink, arak and some wine, and they would sing and enjoy themselves. They were all dressed in festive clothes and the like, very smart, since that day was a joyful occasion. (This went on) until lunchtime, midday. At that time, wherever they had got to, at midday they all ate. (63) They say *xădaya* ('lunch'), they would have made lunch, rice, soup, meat and so on, also drink, everything, and they ate. Then they would again start on the festival visits, that is they would make festival visits to other people, until evening, until the next day. The festival was two days. They were busy (in this period) with these things. This is, as we say, the festival of resurrection ('Easter'), a really big symbolic event. We call this the 'Great Festival', it is the 'Great Festival'.

(64) During the 'Great Festival', Monday was a (time of) memorial, it was a (time of) memorial. What is this memorial? The people, all the families, each family cooks something. This is rice, *duxwa*, stuffed vine leaves, stew or *gərðo*—generally it is called *gərðo*.[23] *Gərðo* is made of yoghurt. Yoghurt is made from milk, milk of sheep.

[22] Literally: 'also the other side, that is side'. Two different words are used for 'side'.
[23] I.e. *bušala* and *gərðo* are alternative names for the same dish.

(65) fa-mɛθéle l-bèθa xálya.ˈ xalwíle mɛθéle l-bèθa.ˈ ʾa-másta marèla.ˈ mátti š-nùra-wˈ šáxna-w dérɛ marèθa.ˈ kúlla šáxna péša màsta.ˈ ʾa-masta y-óði gə̀rðo.ˈ gə́rðo mòdila?ˈ rə́zza-w màsta.ˈ mbašlìla.ˈ fa-sáma zóda y-óði gə̀rðo.ˈ (66) ʾé-ga táma kəsléni ʾíθwalən tùθa.ˈ túθa xa-dúkθa gòṛtɛla,ˈ pθìxtɛla,ˈ rába náše ja̱mi tàma.ˈ ʾáyya qam-ta̱rət bèθa ṯ-amrə́xla.ˈ fa-kul-náše kút-xa mɛθéwa xădáye díye ʾu-mattúwa tàma.ˈ ʾu-y-áwa tíwe nàšeˈ y-áwa mrúzge dùka.ˈ (67) ʾé-ga qèseˈ mattíwa qésa y-atwíwa réše dìye.ˈ ʾan-xoriyáθa y-amrə́xxa qèse,ˈ y-atwíwa rēš-dìye.ˈ ʾu-y-áwa mríze kúlla mɛxòlta,ˈ kút-xa mútta gotə-ġðàðe.ˈ ʾó-t mɛθéwa bušàlaˈ be-pálge díye y-awə́ðwale maqòra y-amrə́xle.ˈ matúwwa xá ṭàsa,ˈ hátxa gáwe dìye,ˈ ʾu-ʾa-báxta maθyàwaˈ gu-xá ʾamána xènaˈ màšxaˈ dɛryáwa gáwe dìye.ˈ máš̆xa-w napóxta yan-duwána dérya gáwe dìye.ˈ ʾay-y-ámri gə̀rðo.ˈ (68) ʾu-y-aθèwa.ˈ ʾən-ʾíθ-qaša táma mṣalèwa-wˈ kúlley y-axlìwa.ˈ ʾáwwa wéwa xa-ʾiqàra.ˈ ʾáwwa yómət tré ʾéða góṛa y-oðìwale.ˈ ʾu-parqíwa-w xamlìwaˈ ta-ʾap-ʾo-yóma zamríwa xamlíwa raqðíwa kúl-xa màndi.ˈ ʾu-xárθa y-azíwa bèθa.ˈ ʾáwwa ʾéða gòṛa,ˈ ʾáwwa nišánqət ʾéða gòṛa.ˈ

The Saint's Festival

(69) šèraˈ xa-təxrùnyɛle,ˈ ʾáw xà-yomɛle.ˈ ʾi-ja̱mi náše ràba.ˈ náše ja̱mi qa-šèra.ˈ ʾap-ʾáw ʾíle xa-təxrúnya d-ó qadìša,ˈ d-o-ʾúmra təxrúnya dìyele.ˈ gu-d-ɛ-dànaˈ y-áθi náše m-wa̱dər ràba.ˈ y-áwa dwíxe gʸanèy,ˈ dwíxe xa-nišánqa ṭla-ʾùmra,ˈ xa-xèllət,ˈ xa-màndi.ˈ (70) fa-ʾáxni gu-Mar-Sàwa,ˈ gu-ʾƐn-Nùne,ˈ y-áwa yíwe qàble y-amrə́xle.ˈ qə́bla mòdile?ˈ ʾə́rba.ˈ ʾə́rba ʾi-mɛθèle,ˈ ʾi-pɛrmíle ʾo-yòma.ˈ ʾu-náše y-áwa rába ʾə́θye m-maθwàθa.ˈ pɛrmíle ʾə́rbaˈ ʾu-y-áwa rába náše mruzgə́lla ganɛ́ qa-d-o-yòma.ˈ ʾi-pèrmiˈ ràba gáyeˈ ʾəṣrà-rešət ʾə́rwe.ˈ y-amrə́xxe rèša.ˈ ʾíθən rába gàyeˈ ṭ̣làθi,ˈ ʾə́sri.ˈ ʾáwwa xa-dùxa y-áwe.ˈ pɛrmìle.ˈ

(65) They bring the milk to the house. They draw milk and bring it to the house. They congeal (the milk to make) the yoghurt. They put it on the fire, it warms up and they add a congealing agent (rennet). It all warms up and becomes yoghurt. They make the yoghurt into *gərðo*. What is *gərðo*? Rice and yoghurt. They cook it. They generally make *gərðo*. (66) At that time in our village we had a mulberry tree. The mulberry is in a big, spacious place and many people gather there. This was 'before the door of the house' (i.e. outside), as we say. Everybody would bring his own lunch and set it out there. People would sit there and would have prepared a place (for the food). (67) On this occasion they would put out wood and sit on it. They would sit on wood of poplar trees, as we called them. They would have lined up all the food, each (item) placed beside the other. Whoever brought stew would make what we call a *maqora* 'hole' in the middle of it. He would put a small dish in it, like this, and a woman would bring, in another vessel, butter, which she would put in it. She would put butter, date syrup or cake paste in it. They call this *gərðo*. (68) Then people would come. If a priest was there, they would pray and everybody would eat. This was a (sign of) respect. They did this on the second day of the Great Festival. (When) they finished (the festival), they enjoyed themselves, singing, making merry, dancing and so on also that (second) day. Afterwards, they went home. This is the Great Festival. This is the customary way of celebrating[24] the Great Festival.

The Saint's Festival

(69) A saint's festival is a memorial, it is a day (of memorial). Many people gather. People gather for the saint's festival. This is the memorial of the saint of the church, his memorial. At that time, many people come from outside. They would have dedicated themselves, dedicated some symbolic item to the church, a gift, something. (70) In our (the church) of Mar Sawa, in ʾƐn-Nune, people would have given what we call devotional gifts. What is a devotional gift? A sheep. They bring a sheep and slaughter it that day. Many people came from the villages and slaughtered sheep. Many people would have prepared themselves for that day. On many occasions they slaughtered ten head of sheep. We call it 'head' (of sheep), on many occasions thirty, twenty. This was a dedicatory sacrifice. They would slaughter it (the object of this sacrifice).

[24] Literally: the sign.

(71) fa-m-báθər t-y-áθa nàše| y-áwe qurbána-w prìqe.| y-átwi fátri qamàye.| y-áwa mrúzge fṭàrta.| m-bár fṭàrta| ʾáwwa dúxa ṯ-íle prìma| y-oðíle ṭla-kawùθra.| ʾína gu-d-ɛ-dàna| har-ʾíθ rqàða-w| zmàra-w| mɛθóye štèθa,| ʾằraq-u| xumlàna.| yáʿni ʾap-ʾánna xa-nišánqət šèrɛla,| ʾap-ʾaw-dìya.| rába y-oðíwa spày,| rába ràba.| rába tàze.| (72) ʾani myaqríle ṭla-ʾèta.| jắmi nàše.| rába náše y-áwa mrúzgəlla ganéy qa-d-áw mèndi.| ʾàxni| gu-ʾƐn-Nùne| ʾítlən šèra.| halbát díya léle ʾax-qàmθa.| ʾína qámθa lošíwa jùlle,| yáʿni y-oðíwale xa-ṣə̀qla| rába šapìra| rába tàza.| dìya| ʾahwalə́tte šuxlə̀pla,| lɛla-ʾax-qàmθa,| ʾína šèra| har-ʾo-šèra,| har-o-ʾiqàra| kúl-xa mèndi.|

Ploughing

(73) gu-d-ɛ-dàna| y-awèwale| pθánət tàwre.| pθánət táwre zăréwa bìya.| ʾíman ʾi-zăréwa bìya,| ʾăráθe díye zărèwala,| ṭla-nàše.| yáʿni xá-mdi zòra,| šaqə́lwa zùze| mən-nàše| sab-kúlla lìθwale táwre.| zăríwa xə̀ṭṭe,| zăríwa pràge,| zăríwa màše.| qámθa rəzzà-ʾiθwa,| xarṭmàne.| ʾánna məndiyàne| kúlla zăríwa qàmθa| ʾu-xằyíwa bíye dìye.| yáʿni líθwa məndiyáne t-zoníwa ràba.| (74) ʾu-ʾáw…y-awéwale tàwre,| ʾan-tàwre| dáx zărìwa?| ʾíθwa bzàra.| ʾáw ʾakàra| ṯ-íθwale pθánət tàwre,| fa-ʾáwwa ʾíθwale mánne díye…zăréwa b-bzàra.| bzára modìla?| ʾáyya mturáṣtɛla mən-qèse.| béna ʾáy ʾíθwala sàkθa,| sákθa ṯ-amrə́xla prèzlɛla,| ʾáy sákθət prèzla.| ʾu-zăréwa bíya dìya,| yáʿni mtagbə́rwala gʸān-díye xayùθe.|

(71) After the people came, there would be (holy) communion and then they finished. They would first sit and have breakfast. They would have prepared breakfast. After breakfast they prepare the sacrifice that has been slaughtered for lunch. At that time there is constant dancing, singing, serving of drinks, arak, and jollity. These things are also customary features of the festival, even now. Many people hold the festival in a very beautiful way. (72) They respect it for the sake of the church. The people gathered together. Many people would have prepared themselves for that event. We in ʾƐn-Nune have a saint's festival. Of course now it is not as it was in the old days. In the old days people would wear (special) clothes. They would make it a decorative occasion, very beautiful, very fine. Now circumstances have changed. It is not like formerly, but the festival is the same festival, the same respect (is shown), everything.

Ploughing

(73) At that time (a cultivator) had a pair of oxen. He would cultivate with a pair of oxen. When he cultivated with them, he cultivated his own lands and also for other people. He would take something small, some money from the people (as his fee), since not everybody had oxen. People would cultivate wheat, they would cultivate millet, they would cultivate beans. In the old days there was rice, chickpeas. They used to cultivate all such things in the old days and they would live off this. There were not many things that they bought. (74) The person who had the oxen — how did the oxen cultivate? There was a plough. The farmer who had the pair of oxen, he had (them) with him and he would cultivate with a plough. What is a plough? It is made from wood. It had a blade. The thing we call the blade is iron. It is a blade of iron. He used to cultivate with it. He would make his livelihood.[25]

[25] Literally: He would support his life.

The Cultivation of Apples (1)

(75) bar-hàdəx' náše mšuréla tróṣa…yáʿni xayúθa qəm-mšaxəlpìla' qímla zráʾa xabùše.' qímla zráʾa xabùše.' xabúše muntéwala bíya dìya.' bás ʾáθṛa šuxlə̀pwale.' ʾína xabúše biš-senàyiwa' pəlxanèy.' ʾína halbát bə̆yéla šúla gòṛa,' ʾu-hal-hadíya xayuθèy' l-xabùšela.' zrúta rába baṣórta ʾìθena,' ʾánna məndiyáne ʾi-mpalxíwala qàmθa' qa-t-maṣéwa xə̆yìwa.'

The Cultivation of Rice

(76) zrétət rə̀zza,' zrútət rə̀zza,' ʾə̆́ra ʾiyáwa sapìqta.' qam-dàna,' tré-yomaθa ṭ̣làθa,' maštèwala' qá-t xáčča péšawa rakìxta.' fa-ʾáyya ʾi-zə̆ríwala šuráye b-yárxət ṭ̣làθa,' ʾàrba,' xámša hatxàne,' sab-ʾáwwa b-qèṭa y-áwe rázza.' fa-dɛréwa mìya gáwa díya' ʾu-mɛθéwa tàwre' ʾu-zə̆rìwala.' ʾáwwa y-amrə́xxe wáða hɛrìke.' ʾáyya lé-y-amri zràʾa' y-ámri wáða hɛrìke.' (77) fa-y-oðíwa hɛrìke,' zə̆rìwala.' y-aθéwa m-bár hàdəx' xámša ʾəštà ganáθa,' xámša ʾəštà ʾúrze,' y-oðíwa məššàre.' ʾán məššáre manáy díya modìla?' qá-t ṭ̣la-maštéθət rə́zza yéwa biš-senàyi.' qá-t yə̆ðíwa kút-xa məššáre kə́ma b-ṣále míya gáwa dìya.' bár d-ày,' xá-tre yomàθa,' y-aθèwa' ṃaḷéwa ʾáni mìya,' y-aθéwa baðqíwa rə̀zza.' (78) rə́zza xá-yoma qam-dána ʾiyéwa murə́kxa gu-juwàla.' mɛθèwale' y-azíwa baðqìwale.' bðàqa,' yáʿni baðqíwa rə̀zza.' bár baðqìwale,' hammáše míya gə̆́rəg háwa ʾálle dìye.' šaqlàwa' xà-šabθa,' trè šabbáθa,' mšére bráya ʾo-rə̀zza,' hál maṭéwa t-rayə̀mwa,' qám .. ṯ̂-amrə́xxe šalə̀pwa,' yáʿni šlàpa,' yáʿni qám pálə̀ṭ bəṛ-zə̆̀ra díye.' yáʿni bár t-rayə̀mwa,' y-azíwa baxtáθa yàda.' yáda modìle?' yáda ʾíla…ʾíθwa kə́ma gəllále palṭíwa mən-d-ò-rəzza,' qá-t la-ʾoðíwa kə̀r̀,' qá-t ʾáw-rəzza maxərwíwale ṯ̂-awéwa zə̆̀bun.' ʾi-jə̆míwale-ʾo baxtàθa,' kúlla b-iθaθèy.' y-óri gu-mìya' tàma' xazéwa xuwwàwe.' baxtáθa kə́ma zə̆díwa mən-xuwwàwe!' ʾu-gu-d-è-dana,' xákma doqíwale xúwwa qaṭlìwale.' rába zirə̀k-wɛwa.' xákma zə̆dìwa.'

The Cultivation of Apples (1)

(75) Afterwards, people in truth changed their livelihood and began to cultivate apples. They began to cultivate apples.[26] They were successful with apples. The country changed (and agriculture became difficult), but the cultivation of apples was easier (than that of other crops). They, nevertheless, required a lot of work. Until now people's livelihood is made by apples. There is very little (field) cultivation. They used to cultivate those things in the old days to make a livelihood.[27]

The Cultivation of Rice

(76) As for the sowing of rice, the cultivation of rice—the ground was (left) empty. Three or four days beforehand, they would irrigate it so that it would become quite soft. They cultivated this beginning in March, April or May, in such (months) as these, since by summer it would be rice. They would put water onto it. They would bring oxen and cultivate it. We call this making 'soft mud beds'. This is not called cultivating, it is called making soft mud beds. (77) They would make soft mud beds and cultivate them. Afterwards,[28] five or six people, five or six men, would come and make paddy fields. What is the purpose of these paddy fields? So that the irrigation of the rice was easier, so that everybody would know how much water would go into his paddy field. One or two days after that they would come and fill them with water and would come and scatter rice (in them). (78) The rice one day beforehand was softened in a sack (with water). They would bring it and go and scatter it. Scattering, that is they would scatter rice. After they scattered it, water had to be on it constantly. It would take a week, two weeks, then the rice would start to germinate, until it matured and grew high, before producing ears (of seed), as we say, producing ears,[29] that is before the seed develops in it. After it grew high, the women would go to weed. What is 'weeding'? Weeding is… there were several plants that they took out of the rice, so that they did not affect it, blighting the rice so that it would be weak. The women gathered it all up with their hands. They entered into the water. They would see snakes there. How the women would be afraid of the snakes! When this happened, some grasped the snake and killed it. They were very courageous. Others were afraid.

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[26] The cultivation of apples was introduced in the 1960s.
[27] Literally: so that they could live.
[28] I.e. after preparing the soft mud beds.
[29] The verb is denominal, derived from *šəble* 'ears of seed'.

(79) ʾu-mtămǝzíwale rǝzza,ˈ níxa nìxa,ˈ hál qayǝmɯa.ˈ ʾíθwale xà-yarxa,ˈ trè-yarxe hatxáne,ˈ ṭḷàθa,ˈ béna ʾi-sàməq.ˈ bar-sàməq,ˈ ṯ-ámrǝx dắn-t xzàttɛla.ˈ mbarzíwa mìya.ˈ bár mbarzíwa mìya,ˈ y-azíwa xazdìwale.ˈ y-azíwa xazdìwale,ˈ bár xazdìwale,ˈ gu-mšanèθe mən-d-à-ʾărа,ˈ nablíwale xá-dukθa xèta,ˈ y-amríwala bǝdra.ˈ (80) ʾíman ṯ-ila-nabólle bǝdraˈ m-gu-ʾắra,ˈ mattíwa xá y-amrǝ́xle… xa-jùllaˈ ʾabàya y-amrǝ́xwale,ˈ ʾabàya.ˈ ʾo-ʾabáya mattíwale l-xà-dǝpna,ˈ ʾan-réšǝt rǝzza,ˈ ʾan-bòle y-amrǝ́xxa,ˈ bòle,ˈ mattíwa l-ò ʾabáya.ˈ ʾáw xắðíwale pálga-w pálga… rǝzza,ˈ qá-t ʾíman majwǝjìwale,ˈ t-lá naplíwa… t-la-nápəl ʾo-rázza ʾurxà-w-urxa.ˈ (81) sab-mattíwa xāṣ-t-dawère.ˈ xákma ṭɛníwa xàṣaˈ masqíwale bǝdra.ˈ ʾíθwa dukáne rǝḥqa,ˈ dukáne qùrba.ˈ mattíwa táma ʾax-huðàla y-amrǝ́xwale,ˈ y-amríwale huðàla.ˈ maθíwale xa-ʾárba xámša yomàθa,ˈ šaxǝnɯa,ˈ hál maṭéwa gàrre,ˈ sab-ʾíθwa yáʿni garrèy,ˈ xá bar d-ó-xena y-amrǝ́xxe gàrra.ˈ (82) gu-d-ɛ-dàna ˈ yómət ṯ-amrǝ́xxe dwàra.ˈ ʾaṣǝrta y-azíwa šarèwale.ˈ šárɛ modìle?ˈ mattǝ́xwale gu-bǝdra,ˈ mpaθǝxwale.ˈ ʾay-y-ámri šràya.ˈ bás ʾo-bola-dìyeˈ y-áwe rìma.ˈ ʾax-murìze ṯ-ámrǝx,ˈ kul-xá-mdi mtugǝbra.ˈ (83) ʾu-dárt yòmaˈ qèdamta,ˈ qɛmǝ́xwa jàlde,ˈ nablǝ́xwa tàwre,ˈ ʾǝ́šta tàwre,ˈ šàwwa táwre.ˈ ʾáy y-ámri dwàra.ˈ ʾíman ṯ-íx naból ʾan-tàwre,ˈ ṣalwǝxwala,ˈ ʾíθwala qaṭìraˈ b-qðalév ʾáw t-qèsa.ˈ y-amríwa qaṭírət qèsaˈ t-qðàla,ˈ yasóṛe y-asṛíwale b-púmmət tàwraˈ qa-t-lá ʾaxǝ́lwa m-rǝzza,ˈ ʾu-dorìwa.ˈ (84) dwára, yáʿni patlìwa táwre.ˈ y-áwa síṛe b-ǧðàðe.ˈ ʾu-xá-mənna ʾáw y-amríwa sar-gèra.ˈ sar-gèra,ˈ yáʿni ʾáwən majújwala ʾan-tàwre.ˈ šaqláwa ʾárba sàʾǝte,ˈ xámša sàʾǝte.ˈ ʾu-kul-xa-dána ʾó-rǝzza jắmíwale ʾo-qése dìye,ˈ y-oðíwale pùwuš.ˈ jắmíwale y-oðíwale qàpla.ˈ ʾu-napṣìwale,ˈ qá-t ʾan-rázza la-páyəš gàweˈ napṣìwale.ˈ

(79) They cleared the rice (of weeds) until it gradually grew tall. It took one month, two or three and then it became brown. After it became brown, we say that it is harvest time. They would drain the water.[30] After draining the water, they would go and harvest it. They would go and harvest it and, after harvesting it, they would transfer it from that land and take it to another place, which was called the 'threshing floor'. (80) When they took it to the threshing floor from that ground, they would lay down what we called a 'cloth'—we called it a 'cloak'. They would put the cloak on one side, and they would put on the cloak the heads of the rice, we call them 'seed heads', 'seed heads'. They would roll it up (bringing) each half (together), so that when they transported the grass, the rice, they would not fall, so that the rice would not fall along the way. (81) This was because they put it on the back of mules. Some carried it on their back and brought it up to the threshing floor. There were places far away and places nearby. People would deposit (the rice) there in the form of a *huðala* ('stack of produce'), as we called it. It was called a *huðala*. They would bring it (and wait) four or five days, while (in the meantime the produce) was warmed (in the sun), until the turn of each person came. This was because they had their turns, one after the other, it is called 'turn'. (82) Then it is the day of what we call *dwara* ('the grinding of the grains'). In the evening they would go and untie the rice. What does the untying involve? We would put it on the threshing floor and spread it out. They call that 'untying'. The seed head of the rice plant would be upright, as if they were in a row, as we say, with everything arranged. (83) The next day, in the morning, we would get up early and take oxen (to the threshing floor), six or seven oxen. They call that *dwara*. When we took the oxen, we would tether them. They had a beam (across) their necks made of wood. They called it a wooden *qaṭira*, (fixed) to their necks, with tethers tying it to the mouth of the bull, so that it did not eat any of the rice, and they would go around. (84) (It was called) *dwara*, that is the oxen would turn round. They were tied together. One of them was called the leader. The leader, that is it would make the (other) oxen walk around. It took four hours, five hours. All the time they gathered the wood (husks) of the rice and they made it into hay. They gathered it into an armful and shook it so that the rice did not remain in it. They shook it.

[30] Literally: They would dry the water.

(85) baxtáθa y-áwa zíne napṣìwale.ˈ kúl-xa ʾəṣrá daqìqeˈ šaqlíwa xákma mənna b-məlxàwaˈ mɛθèwale,ˈ mattíwale l-d-à-gotaˈ ʾu-ʾan-baxtàθaˈ kapšìwale,ˈ napṣíwale gu-d-a-npàṣtaˈ ʾu-mattíwale l-qóma báθər xàṣey.ˈ xa-xènaˈ ʾúrza y-áθe y-asə̀ṛwaleˈ dàrze y-amráxwala,ˈ qá-t ʾáwwa payášwa qa-mɛxóltət táwre qa-sə̀twa.ˈ (86) ʾúrza payə́šwa tàma,ˈ bar-hàdəx,ˈ y-aθéwa mdarèwaleˈ qa-t-lá-hawa píše šə̀xte.ˈ ʾu-gu-práqtət ʾaṣə̀rta,ˈ bar-prìqla,ˈ mɛθéwa juwàla,ˈ dɛréwa gáwe dìye.ˈ palṭíwa xamšà-juwale,ˈ ʾəštà-juwale,ˈ ʾəṣrà-juwale,ˈ ʾu-masqíwa béθa b-dawére ʾu-b-koðə̀nta,ˈ lìθən?ˈ (87) məlxáwa modìle?ˈ məlxáwa ʾíwa mtúrṣa m-qèsa.ˈ ʾu-ʾíθwale dásqa rìxa.ˈ ʾu-reše-díye ʾítla ṭḷá qése hatxa-zòre.ˈ ʾáw napášwala ʾan-rə̀zza,ˈ ʾáw məndiyáne šùle,ˈ kúl-xa mə̀ndi.ˈ ʾáwwa y-amráxwa məlxàwa.ˈ ʾu-ʾáy ʾiyéwa qáṣṣət yáʿni rə̀zza,ˈ m-éka mšarə̀yeˈ ʾu-laxxa pràqele.ˈ

(88) bar-hádəx rə́zza mbárzi bràza.ˈ masqíwale gàre,ˈ masqíwa gă̄r-t bèθa.ˈ mpaθèwale.ˈ barázwa tàza.ˈ bar-barázwa mjămìwale.ˈ bar-mjămíwale parəqwa.ˈ (89) ʾíθwa gu-bèθa,ˈ ʾíθwa kàwe y-amráxwala.ˈ y-oya-mruzágta xa-dúkθa mən-kàwe.ˈ gu-d-é-kawe ʾo-rə́zza kúlle dɛréwale ṣále gu-bèθa.ˈ ʾáyya kúlla b-čerìye ṭ-amráxəlla,ˈ b-čerìye.ˈ qɛmìwaˈ héwən ṭ-ámrəx ʾə̀rxe.ˈ (90) ʾap-ʾə́rxe b-gàrre y-áwa.ˈ ʾa-ʾórxe módi šűl dìya?ˈ qáṣṣət ṭxánət rə̀zza,ˈ mattíwa pə̀nxa,ˈ t-ʾə̀rxe,ˈ pánxət ʾə̀rxe.ˈ ʾíθwa ʾo-t-kᵛépa ʾáw ʾo-t-xə̀ṭṭe,ˈ y-oðíwa qàmxa,ˈ ʾína ʾáw t-rə̀zzaˈ ʾíwa t-qèsa.ˈ har-ta-d-áwwa mə́ndi wéwa t-qèsa.ˈ fa-dɛráwa rázza qa-t-lá ʾawáðle qámxa qa-t-la-tàwərre.ˈ ʾáwwa mrùzgɛwa.ˈ (91) ʾu-gu-d-ó pə̀nxaˈ nqìre wéwaˈ qá-t ʾan-xáṭṭe ṭ-oríwa bēl-pánxa l-pə̀nxa.ˈ qá-t ʾo-gášər-dìyeˈ ʾàw ṭ-azálwa.ˈ ḥabbákθət gān-dìyaˈ ʾáyya…yáʿni lɛ-qayáθwa čú-mdi bi-dìya.ˈ ʾu-palṭáwa ṭ-azáwa ʾu-mjămìwalaˈ ʾu-masqíwa bèθa.ˈ ʾu-gəšər-díya b-zadèwale,ˈ y-amráxwale pàrta.ˈ

(85) The women stood and shook it. Every ten minutes or so, they would take some from it with a threshing fork. They would bring it and place it on one side. The women would gather it and shake it with the shaking (just mentioned) and put it into a pile behind their back. Another man comes and ties it up into bundles (*darze*), as we called them, in order for it to remain for cattle fodder for the winter. (86) The man would remain there, then they would come and winnow it, so that impurities did not remain. At the end of the evening, after they finished, they would bring a sack and put (the produce) in it. They would bring away five sacks, six sacks, ten sacks and take them up to the house on mules, on a she mule, you see. (87) What is a winnowing fork (*məlxawa*)? The winnowing fork was made from wood. It had a long handle. Its end had three pieces of wood, small like this. It would spread out the rice, or various other things, everything. They called this a 'winnowing fork' (*məlxawa*). This is the story of rice, from where it begins, and it ends here.

(88) After that they dry the rice out. They would take it up to the roof, take it up to the roof of the house. They spread it out. It became thoroughly dry. After it dried, they gathered it together. After they gathered it, it (the process) was over. (89) In the house there was what we called a 'small window' (*kawe*). A place was prepared with a small window. They put the rice in this small window in order for it to run down into the house. This all took place in the *čeri* months (October and November), as we call them, the *čeri* months.[31] They were undertaking (this) in the season of what we call the 'water-mill'. (90) Also the water-mill was by turns. What is the job of the water-mill? As for the story of grinding the rice, they would install a grind wheel, of a water-mill, a grind wheel of a water-mill. There was a stone (grind wheel), which was for wheat, with which they made flour, but the one for rice was of wood. It was for exactly the same thing, but of wood. They put rice (onto it) so that it would not make it flour and not break it. It was set up (for grinding). (91) In the grind wheel there were bore holes so that the wheat would enter between one wheel and the other, so that its husk would be removed. But the grain itself was not damaged.[32] It came out (of the mill) and they gathered it and brought it up to the house. They would throw out its husks, it was called 'chaff'

[31] *čeri qamaya* 'October' and *čeri xaraya* 'November'.
[32] Literally: nothing struck it.

(92) ʾíman-t y-aθéwa maṣléwa rázza l-ʾərxe,ˈ mattíwa pənxa.ˈ pənxa ʾéni mənnèle?ˈ ʾiθ-pənxət qèsa,ˈ ʾiθ-pənxət kèpa.ˈ pənxət qésa ʾáwwa ta-rəzzɛle.ˈ sab-ʾən muttúlən pínxət kèpa,ˈ marəxle kúlla-w páyəš qàmxa.ˈ hadíya bud-qèsaˈ béna ʾáwwa y-áwe xrìṭaˈ gáwe y-áwe mtùrṣa.ˈ (93) ʾiθ-náše šúlɛ ʾàw-ile.ˈ garsíle biye-dìyeˈ yáʿni ṭaxníle biye-dìye,ˈ ʾu-mpálṭa rázza ða-gòtaˈ ʾu-párta ða-gòta.ˈ párta zadèla.ˈ y-àza,ˈ ta-čú-mdi la-nǎfa.ˈ ʾu-rázza mjămèle,ˈ ʾu-másqi bèθa.ˈ b-nəsba rázza hal-làxxɛle,ˈ m-tama-hódəx mšéri mbašòle,ˈ kút-xa ta-gān-dìye.ˈ

The Cultivation of Wheat

(94) zrútət xəṭṭe prìštɛla.ˈ ʾíθən ʾávi ʾu-dèmi.ˈ démi t-lá mìya,ˈ la-bás l-ʾəryàna zăríla.ˈ ʾáni xəṭṭe zăríla…ˈ ʾáni xəṭṭe huwèdi sáma zódaˈ ʾi-zăríla t-là maštóye,ˈ y-amrəxxa dèmi.ˈ ʾáni zə̆ri gu-ṭùra.ˈ ʾíθ dukáne tə̆məz y-áwa ṭla-zrùta,ˈ yáʿni ʾa-dúkθa har-ṭla-hàdəx-ila.ˈ (95) ʾá-t gu-ʾaqàraˈ ṯ-íle gu-màθaˈ ʾaqára xəṭṭe zărìlaˈ m-báθər xzáttət rəzza.ˈ ʾáy y-ámri šōp-rəzza.ˈ xazdíla rəzza.ˈ ʾu-xáčča ʾi-ràkxa dúka,ˈ y-ázi zə̆ri xəṭṭe šáwpa dìya,ˈ sab-ʾáyya b-qèṭa y-óya.ˈ yárxət šáwwa tmànya,ˈ mšéri xzáda xəṭṭàne.ˈ xəṭṭáne biš-senàyila.ˈ (96) ʾáp-ʾani dwàrɛla.ˈ bár zăríla-w qèmi,ˈ bár xazdìla,ˈ y-óði dàrze y-amrəxla.ˈ y-oðíla dàrze.ˈ mɛθéla ʾap-ʾáni l-bədra.ˈ ʾíman-t dorìla,ˈ mɛθɛ-táwre dorìla.ˈ ʾax-məri qa-rázza méθɛ tàwre-uˈ ʾu-kul-xa-mándi y-asṛílɛ dòri.ˈ ʾáni…qésa díya kúlla páyəš ʾax-tùna y-amrəxle.ˈ xəṭṭe péši ðà-gota,ˈ ʾu-ʾáw páyəš ðà-gota,ˈ túna lìθən?ˈ

(92) When they came and brought the rice down to the water-mill, they would install a grind wheel. Which of the (types of) grind wheel was it? There was a grind wheel of wood and a grind wheel of stone. The grind wheel of wood is for rice, for if we installed a stone grind wheel, it would crush everything and it would become flour. Now with regard to the wood, it is made with a groove in it. (93) There are people whose job that is. They crush it (the rice) with it, that is they mill it with it, and it (the mill) sends forth rice on one side and chaff on the other side. They throw the chaff away. It is discarded, since it is of no use. They gather up the rice and take it up to the house. This is all there is to say about rice.[33] Thereafter they start cooking, everybody for himself.

The Cultivation of Wheat

(94) The cultivation of wheat is different. There is irrigated land and unirrigated land. Unirrigated land is without water. Rather, they sow it relying only on rainfall. They sow the wheat. The *huwedi* wheat they generally sow without irrigation, they call it 'unirrigated' (*demi*). They sow it in the mountains. There are places that are clear for sowing, such a place is always used for this purpose. (95) As for the (sowing place) in the farm land in the village, they sow wheat in this land, after the harvest of the rice. They call this (sowing) 'in place of the rice'. They harvest the rice. The place has become quite soft and they go and sow wheat in its place, since this takes place in the summer. In July or August, they begin to harvest the wheat plants. Wheat plants are easier (to harvest). (96) Wheat also is threshed. After they sow it and it grows, after they harvest it, they make what are called 'bundles' (*darze*), they make it into bundles. They bring also these to the threshing floor. When they thresh it, they bring oxen to thresh it. As I said regarding the rice, they fetch oxen and so forth, tie them together and they turn and thresh (the wheat). The wood of the wheat all becomes like straw, as we call it. The wheat grains stay on one side and this stays on the other side, that is straw, you see.

[33] Literally: With regard to rice it is up to here.

(97) kul-xa-mə́ndi qəm-dorìle,ˈ liθ-pyáša ʾánna ṯ-amráxxa bòla díye,ˈ m-d-an-məndi-yáne pyáša gàwe,ˈ qɛ̀mi,ˈ marpéla-tawre y-àzi.ˈ sàpriˈ ʾən-háwe pàwxa,ˈ ʾánna y-amráxxa mdaròye.ˈ mdaróye modìla?ˈ méθɛ məlxàwa.ˈ ʾən-ʾíθ pàwxa,ˈ ʾi-marmíle gu-hàwa.ˈ xáṭṭe y-ázi ðá gòtaˈ ʾu-túna y-ázəl ðá gòta.ˈ párši m-ġðàðe.ˈ ʾu-tùna,ˈ m-bár túna páləṭ ða-gòtaˈ xáṭṭe ða-gòta,ˈ xáṭṭe mɛθéla juwàla.ˈ ʾu-dɛréla gáwa dìya.ˈ (98) ʾu-túna ʾap-ʾáw mɛθéle juwàle,ˈ masqíle ʾítle dúka mruzágta qa-sàtwa.ˈ ʾína túna dɛréle qa-koðə̀nta,ˈ qa-tàwre,ˈ qa-sàtwa,ˈ qa-t-xámɛ biye-díye.ˈ ʾu-xáṭṭe masqìla.ˈ xàṭṭe,ˈ yáʿni mturáṣtət xàṭṭeˈ halbát ʾíle lə̀xma.ˈ láxma ʾíle ʾap-ʾáw mən-xàṭṭe.ˈ xáṭṭe maṣléle l-ʾə̀rxe.ˈ (99) ʾáwwa ṯ-in-mára pə́nxət kᵛèpa,ˈ b-d-áw ṭaxnìle.ˈ ṭxánta díye ʾíle pə́nxət kᵛèpa.ˈ m-bár ṭaxnìle,ˈ páyəš qàmxa,ˈ masqíle bèθa,ˈ ʾax-t-mə́ri ʾən-bə̆́yi t-yápi láxma mənnéy zeðàye,ˈ mtárṣi mənnéy ṭə̀lme,ˈ yáʿni láxma príša y-áwe.ˈ (100) lɛšále bàxta,ˈ bəd-míya mə̀nneˈ ʾu-lɛšàleˈ ʾu-dére xmìra gáwe díyeˈ ʾu-mxə̆mèle.ˈ šáqla xa-sàʾət,ˈ xa-sàʾət hátxa məndì.ˈ ʾu-ʾanna baxtáθa yə̆́ði,ˈ mattí ʾíða ʾə̀lleˈ ṛéši qá-t ʾáwwa məndìˈ hóle xmìya.ˈ yə̆́ði biye-díye.ˈ ʾu-nablíle tanùra.ˈ ʾíθ xa-tanúra mtúrṣa ṭla-hàdəx-ile.ˈ ʾu-yapyále bàxta.ˈ m-bár t-yapyàle,ˈ ʾáyya šaqlálɛ zeðáye dìyaˈ ʾu-yáwa xá-tre zeðáye ṭla-d-ə̀y.ˈ ʾu-y-áθya bèθa,ˈ ʾu-máθya mɛxòlta,ˈ y-àxli.ˈ

Ovens

(101) tanùra:ˈ bár mɛθéle kəs-d-a-bàxta,ˈ t-yápya lə̀xma,ˈ y-oðále zeðàye.ˈ ʾáyya mpaθyále mpaθyàle.ˈ y-oðále guttáθa qamàye,ˈ ʾu-mpaθyále tàza.ˈ m-bar-hàdəxˈ mattále gu-tanùra.ˈ ʾo-tanúra y-áwe mšúxna qam-dàna.ˈ y-áwɛ dárye nùra,ˈ múθye qèse.ˈ mšúxna tàza,ˈ šxíne y-amríwa smìqa.ˈ (102) ʾu-y-áθya mdabšála ʾəlle-dìyeˈ kòpaˈ gawàye,ˈ hal sàməq.ˈ yə̆́ða kméle smìqa.ˈ ðà-b-ða šáqla-wˈ mattála xa-xèta.ˈ ʾu-párqa ʾàyˈ ʾu-ʾáni ʾárbe xámməš y-áwɛ mùtte,ˈ lìθən?ˈ kut-sámqa jàlde,ˈ šaqlàla.ˈ ʾáy y-oya-prìqta,ˈ mátta xéta šópa dìya.ˈ ʾay-y-amríla péθət láxma gu-tanùra.ˈ

(97) (After) they have threshed everything and no more of its heads, as we call them, remain, none of such things remain, they let the oxen go. They wait for there to be wind and they do what we call winnowing. What is winnowing? They bring a winnowing fork. If there is wind, they raise it in the air. The wheat grains go onto one side and the straw goes onto the other. They separate. After the straw goes out on one side and the wheat grains on the other side, they bring a sack for the wheat grains and put them in it. (98) They bring sacks also for the straw and take it up to a place that has been prepared for it for the winter. They lay out the straw for the mule, for the cattle, for them to live off for the winter. They bring the straw up. Something that is made of wheat is, of course, bread. Bread is made of wheat. They take the wheat down to the water-mill. (99) They grind it with the stone grind wheel, as I said. Its grinding is with the stone grind wheel. After they grind it and it becomes flour, they take it up to the house, as I said, if they want to bake pitta breads from it or make thin breads, there being different types of bread. (100) A woman kneads it, together with water. She kneads it and they put yeast in it and leaven it. It takes an hour or so. The women know (about this), they place a hand on it and feel that it is leavened. They know about it. They take it to the oven . There is an oven that is prepared for this purpose. Then a woman bakes it. After she bakes it, she (the other woman) takes her pitta breads and gives one or two pitta breads to her (the baker woman).[34] She comes home and brings food and they eat.

Ovens

(101) The oven: After they bring the bread to the woman who bakes, she makes it into pitta breads. She spreads it out. First she makes it into balls and then spreads it out well. After that, she puts it into the oven. The oven is heated beforehand. They have put fire (in it), brought wood. It is heated well, (the wood becoming) hot and (the oven) red. (102) She (the baker woman) comes and presses (the flat bread) onto it, down below, inside, until it becomes brown. She knows how brown it has become. She takes them one by one and puts another in. (When) she finishes, four or five are laid out. She takes out whichever one is brown soonest. That one is finished and she puts in another in its place. This is called baking bread in the oven.

[34] As a fee for her services.

The Cultivation of Apples (2)

(103) xabúše xéna šúlɛ xáčča zàmət-ile.ˈ ʾíman ṯ̂-it-maθóyəlle y-amrə́xxe šə̂dla.ˈ šə̂dla,ˈ gu-d-a-ʾắra t-bắyət mattə̀tle.ˈ ʾən-bắyət zărə̀tle,ˈ xaprə́tle šáwpe dìye.ˈ xaprə̀tleˈ ṯ̂-ámrəx xa-ṣ̀iṭa,ˈ xa-ṣ̀iṭa biz-zòda.ˈ mattátle ʾo-šə́dla gáwa tàma,ˈ ʾu-mkasə̀tlaˈ šáwpe dìye.ˈ bēl-šə́dla l-šə̂dlaˈ gắrəg mátteti xa-xamšá ʾaqlàθa,ˈ xamšá pasùwe,ˈ ʾátxa màndi,ˈ qa-t-ʾíman t-áwɛ gòṛeˈ qa-t-lá qéθi b-ġ̂ðàðe,ˈ bíš yáwi ṭúnta ràbθa.ˈ (104) m-bár xákma šə̂nne,ˈ ʾáwwa ʾáp-ʾən-hawe marìra,ˈ ʾína bár xa-šéta-w pàlge,ˈ gắrəg y-amrə́xle ksàxa.ˈ gắrəg ʾáθəx kasxə̀xleˈ ʾu-ṯ̂-oðáxle taqlı̄̂m,ˈ taṭʿı̄̂m y-amrìle,ˈ qá-t ṯ̂-oðáxle xabúšta ʾixàla.ˈ fa-ʾáw bắyále xa-šèta.ˈ šétət ʾàrbeˈ xabúšta dòqa.ˈ (105) ʾína kùššətˈ gắrəg xaprátla ʿ̂ənnə̀ḵ́ɛra dìya,ˈ gắrəg xaprát-ži ʿ̂ənnə̀ḵ́ɛra díya-w dɛrə́tla sùla.ˈ súla modìle?ˈ ʾáwwa ʾíle šáxtət heywàne,ˈ t-tàwre,ˈ koðə̀nta,ˈ t-ʾə̀rwe.ˈ dɛrə́tla sùla líθənˈ qá-t šéta b-šéta biš-mqărə́na tàza.ˈ ʾu-béna ʾíman ṯ̂-ila-ṗyáša gòṛeˈ xáčča šúla biš-zàmət-ile.ˈ lə̀ʾánnahu pyáša gòṛtɛlaˈ mtagbárta díya biš-ràbɛla,ˈ ʾu-gắrəg rába ʾáxlət xàm.ˈ (106) ʾu-qè̀ṭa,ˈ bár ṯ̂-ila-dwàqa,ˈ qám t-màṭiˈ gắrəg maxátla daṛmàna,ˈ qá-t ʾan-márre la-ʾáθi ʾə́lla dìya,ˈ mtarə̀mza,ˈ yán ṭarpáθa díya xàrwi,ˈ xabúšta xàrwa,ˈ kul-xa məndì.ˈ fa-ʾánna məndiyáne kùllaˈ yáʿni y-oðìwala.ˈ ʾu-xayuθə̀yˈ b-àyyɛwaˈ trò̤ṣa yáʿni.ˈ rába ʾítley xayúθa basímta bəd-àyya,ˈ yáʿni zrátət xabùše.ˈ léle zàmət.ˈ senàyile,ˈ yáʿni xayúθa biš-senàyila.ˈ

Preparations for Winter

(107) xayúθət táma dàx-ila?ˈ qè̀ṭa,ˈ qéṭa ʾìmɛle?ˈ mən-yárxət ṭ̣là ʾíle náše mšə̀riˈ plàxa.ˈ qéṭa ʾíle šúle yáʿni dánət pəlxàna,ˈ qéṭa kúlle y-áwe pláxa hal-čə̀ri.ˈ čéri manáy y-amrə̀xle,ˈ yárxət ʾə̀ṣ̀ra,ˈ xadə̀ssə̀r.ˈ m-táma hòdəxˈ kúlla ʾan-ʾárba yàrxe,ˈ xámša yàrxe,ˈ y-áwɛ náše blíge mjă̄mòye,ˈ mjă̄móye qa-sətwa.ˈ sátwa mšére mən-yárxət ʾə̀ṣ̀ra.ˈ

The Cultivation of Apples (2)

(103) The cultivation of apple trees is somewhat difficult. When you bring it (to be planted), we call it a sapling. You put the sapling in whatever land you like. If you want to plant it, you dig its place. You dig it, let's say a span or more than a span (in size). You put the sapling in this place and cover it over. Between the saplings you must leave about five steps, five paces, something like that, so that when they are big, they do not touch one another and they will yield more abundant fruit. (104) After a few years, even if the fruit is (still) bitter, after a year and a half it must be pruned, as we say. We must come and prune it and trim it and perform what is known as grafting, in order to make an apple tree bearing edible fruit. This requires one year. In the fourth year the apple tree produces fruit. (105) Each year you must dig around it. You must dig around it and place manure on it. What is manure? It is the muck of animals, of oxen, a mule, of sheep. You put manure on it, you see, in order that from year to year it grows better. When they become big, the work is a little more difficult. This is because, when they become big, the job to maintain them is bigger, and you must be very careful. (106) In summer, after it bears fruit, before (the apples) become ripe, you must apply chemical (insecticide), so that diseases do not afflict it, whereby it wilts or its leaves are spoilt and the apple tree is spoilt, and so forth. They did all these things. Indeed their livelihood was in this. They had a very good life by this, that is by the cultivation of apples. It (their life) is not difficult. It is easy. Their life is easier.

Preparations for Winter

(107) What is the life there like? When is summer? It is from March that people begin to work. Summer is (for) jobs, that is the time for working, all the summer is work, until the autumn. The autumn means October, November. From this time onwards, throughout four or five months, people are busy gathering, gathering for winter. Winter begins from November.

(108) bàrya| ʾáθe tálga ràba.| bárya ʾáθe máṭra hammàše.| bas-náše y-awa-mrùzge.| ʾo-t-ʾítle ʾərwe,| ʾo-t-ʾítle tàwre| y-áwe xzída gə̀lla.| ʾo-t-hawéle ʾərwe| y-áwe xzida ṭàrpa.| ʾan-ṯ-óði koðənta,| ṯ-awéle tùna.| mən-məndiyáne kúlla mjăméla qa-sətwa,| sab-sátwa hammáše líθ čù məndí.| yáʿni mən-yárxət xadəssər| gə́lla lá y-àwe,| ʾárwe lé-y-asqi ṭúra xàla.| (109) sab-ʾáxni táma ʾítlən b-qèṭa,| mən-yárxət xàmša,| ṭla-ʾərwe| dóqəx šăvàna.| šăvána modìle?| kut-nášət ʾítle ʾərwe,| ʾən-ʾárwət xwàrela,| ʾárwət kòmela,| yáʿni ʾə̀zzela,| ʾən-wànela.| dóqəx šăvàna.| ʾáw dóqəx b-zùze,| yán xzí kəmà yawíle| yáʿni ṭla-d-ày.| (110) ʾu-ʾáw qédamta šaqə́lla… mjămí náše kúlla t-màθa,| mjămílɛ ʾan-ʾərwèy| ʾu-masə́q l-ṭùra,| mən-qedámta ʾu-hál ʾaṣə̀rta.| ʾaṣə́rta madə́rṛa qám gnéθət šə̀mša,| xwéθət xùya.| ʾu-kùt-xa| ʾítle gómət gʸàne,| ʾítle dúka mruzágta y-amrə́xla dùna.| ʾáw dúna ʾítla…yáʿni pθìxtɛle.| góma ʾíle gawàye,| dúna ʾíle qam-ṭằra.| (111) ʾáwwa šúlət qèṭɛle kúlla.| ʾu-har-hádəx tàwre.| tàwre,| tawə̀rta,| yáʿni ʾánna y-amrə́xla bàqra.| dóqəx baqàra.| ʾaw-baqára mòdile?| y-ázəl báθər…nábəl bàqra.| ʾap-ʾáw hádəx qèdamta| xálwi tawə̀rta,| ʾu-qédamta masqíla l-bə́qra ḥátta mjắmi xà-dukθa.| ʾu-šaqə́lla ʾaw-baqàra| ʾu-šule-díye y-áwe masə́qla l-ṭùra,| maṛèla,| ʾu-hál ʾaṣə́rta mɛθèla.| (112) ʾáyya b-qèṭa.| ʾaṣə́rta wíðɛla gə̀lla,| gə́lla gu-ʾaqàra.| mɛθèla,| dérɛla mɛxòlta.| ʾu-xalwìla-w| xošíla gu-gòma.| ʾáyya qéṭɛla ṭla-heywàne.| ʾína gu-d-ɛ-dána har-y-áwa mrùzge| mqarqòze,| xzáda gə́lla qa-sətwa.| (113) ʾina y-áwe hal-yárxət ʾə̀ṣra.| yárxət ʾə̀ṣra| y-áwa mjúmye gə̀lla-w| mándi xzìda-w mùθya.| ʾáw y-áwe brìza.| ʾáw mattíle š-ǧðàðe,| y-amríle huðàla.| mattíle š-ǧðàðe| y-amríle huðàla.| qa-ʾìma?| qa-sətwa,| qa-haywáne diyèy.| š-d-ó huðàla| ʾi-mátti pùwuš,| sab-púwuš la-ṣála míya bi-dìye.| púwuš m-éni mənnèle?| ʾo-t rə̀zza.|

(108) It sometimes happens that a lot of snow falls. It sometimes happens that it rains all the time. People, in any case, are prepared. A person who has sheep or who has cattle has harvested grass. A person who has sheep would have harvested leaves. Those who keep mules have hay.[35] They gather everything for winter, since in winter there is never anything. From November onwards there is no grass. The sheep do not go up into the mountains to eat. (109) For there, in the summer, from May onwards we hire a shepherd for the sheep. What is a shepherd? Anybody who has small cattle, whether they are 'white small cattle' or 'black small cattle', that is whether they are goats or sheep. We hire a shepherd. We hire him for money, whatever they (agree to) give him for that. (110) He takes them in the early morning. All the people of the village muster and gather the sheep. He then goes up into the mountains, from the morning until the evening. He brings them back in the evening before the setting of the sun and the coming of darkness. Everybody has his own basement stable and a place prepared (for feeding), which we call a *duna* (feeding pen). This feeding pen is open (to the sky). The basement stable is inside and the feeding pen is outside. (111) This is all a job of the summer. (The care of) oxen is just the same. Oxen, a cow, we call these cattle. We hire a cowherd. What is this cowherd? He goes and fetches the cattle. Likewise early in the morning they milk a cow and take it up to the cattle so that they are collected in one place. The cowherd takes them and it is his job to take them to the mountains, graze them and bring them back by evening. (112) This is in summer. By the evening they have prepared grass in the farm-land. They bring them back and put food out for them. They milk them and shut them in the stable basement. This is (the activity of) the summer with regard to animals. Yet at that time they would have already made preparations, putting things in order and harvesting grass for the winter. (113) This is the case until October. In October (after) they have gathered the grass and what they had harvested and brought it home, it becomes dry and they stack it up.[36] This is called a *huðala* (fodder stack). They stack it up, it is called a fodder stack. For when (is this prepared)? For the winter, for their animals. On top of this fodder stack they put hay, since water does not seep through hay. What type of hay is it?[37] That of rice.

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[35] The pronominal suffix on the verb *ṯ-awele* is singular rather than the expected plural, agreeing with what precedes.

[36] Literally: they put it one on top of the other.

[37] Literally: from which of them.

(114) béna hadíya rázza lìθena.ˈ hadíya qíme gu-d-è-danaˈ dérɛ naylòn,ˈ qá-t ʾáwwa naylón qa-t-lá-ṣala míya gàweˈ d-ó ṯ-ámrəx huðàla,ˈ sab-ʾán ṣléla míya xàru.ˈ xrùle,ˈ táwre-u heywáne péši t-lá mɛxòlta.ˈ har-hádəx mrázgi kúlla mɛxòlta,ˈ mắθălan xə̀ṭṭe,ˈ rə̀zza,ˈ pràge,ˈ ši̇šme,ˈ kúlla ʾan-ṯ-áwa zəryə̀lla.ˈ ʾánna ṭla-náše ṯ-axlíla b-sətwa,ˈ sáb zrúta líθ b-sətwa.ˈ (115) l-kúlla d-àyˈ qa-t-ʾánna ṭla-nàšeˈ ʾu-ʾannágólle məndiyàneˈ qa-heywáne diyèy,ˈ hál yárxət ṭlà.ˈ yárxət ṭlá mádre mšére bèhɛr.ˈ heywáne y-ásqi ṭùra.ˈ ʾu-níxa nìxaˈ ʾo-t-y-áwe píša xá-mdi mɛxólta y-axlìla.ˈ ʾu-ʾáw-ile xa-dánət farqúθa bēl-d-áyya l-d-àyya.ˈ (116) kúlla məndiyáne mrazgíla qa-xayúθət sətwa.ˈ b-qéṭa hal-yárxət ʾə̀ṣra,ˈ y-áwe mkapòše y-amrə́xle.ˈ ʾáxni y-amrə́xle mkapòše.ˈ mkapóše mòdi.?ˈ mjắmòye.ˈ mjắmóye mòdi.?ˈ yáʿni mrazóge qa-sətwa.ˈ sab-sátwa y-áθe tàlga,ˈ y-áθe mə̀ṭra,ˈ pàwxa.ˈ lá-mṣe. náša ṯ-ázəl dukàne.ˈ kút-xa y-áwe gu-bèθeˈ ʾu-heywáne y-áwa mánne dìye,ˈ har-gu-gòma y-amrə́xxe.ˈ yáʿni ʾáyya y-amrə́xxa gòma.ˈ (117) dére mɛxólta ʾu-yàtu.ˈ ʾu-dére mɛxólta ʾúrzət bèθa.ˈ ʾáw ʾo-ṯ-ítle qàmxaˈ nabálle l-tanùra,ˈ y-apèleˈ ʾu-y-áθi y-atwí ʾu-mdì.ˈ ʾánna ṭlá-yarxe tré-yarxe lítley čù-šula,ˈ bas-mtagbóre héywən diyèyˈ ʾu-tíwe bèθa.ˈ hal-yárxət ṭlàˈ mšére bèhɛr,ˈ béna mšérɛ mqarqóze xabušèyˈ ʾu-ʾaqarèyˈ ʾu-kúl xá-mdi diyèy.ˈ

(118) ʾána mírən…ʾárwe yasqíwa ṭùraˈ b-qèṭa.ˈ ʾína b-sətwa,ˈ sáma zòda,ˈ náše b-yárxət ʾə̀ḉḉaˈ yasqíwa ṭùraˈ qắṭíwa ṭàrpe y-amrə́xle,ˈ kút-xa gu-ʾúpre dìye.ˈ ʾáy mòdi qṭáʾa ṭárpa.?ˈ qắṭìwale,ˈ xá har-iwa-práma zdáya l-ắra-wˈ ʾan-xéne ʾiyáwa báθre wáða ṭàxeˈ zóre qa-t máṣi mjắmèwala.ˈ (119) m-bár qam-parqìwaˈ yáʿni ṯ-ámri dánət ṣalèxi.ˈ xá-saʾət qam-dàna,ˈ ʾáw ṭárpa kúlla mjắmìwale,ˈ banéwale bar-ðà ʾilána.ˈ ʾáy y-ámri garùta.ˈ banéwa bar-ðà ʾilánaˈ ʾu-xalṣìwale.ˈ ʾáp-ʾən-iwa ṣə̀lyaˈ míya ṣálɛ bi-dìya,ˈ sab-dánət talìla y-áwe,ˈ y-áwe dwìqa,ˈ lɛ-xàru.ˈ ʾay-y-ámri garùta.ˈ

(114) Now there is no rice. Now, at that time (of year) they put plastic (on it), so that this plastic prevents the water from seeping down into what we call a fodder stack, for if water seeps in, it spoils. If it is spoilt, the cattle and animals remain without food. In the same way they prepare all the food, for example wheat, rice, millet, sesame, everything that they have sown. These are for people to eat in the winter, since in the winter there is no cultivation. (115) In general the practice was that these things were for people whereas the grass and such things were for their animals. (This continued) until March. In March Spring begins again. The animals go up to the mountains and, gradually, they eat any food that is left. This is a time of division between this (season) and the other. (116) They prepare everything for life in the winter. In summer until October they gather, as we say. We call it gathering. What is 'gathering'? 'Collecting'. What is 'collecting'? This means preparing for the winter, since in the winter the snow comes, the rain and the wind. One cannot go to places. Everybody is in his home and his animals are with him, in what we call the basement stable. We call this the basement stable. (117) He lays in food and sits (at home). The householder lays in food. Somebody who has flour takes it to the oven and they bake it. Then they return home and sit and so forth. During these two or three months they have no work. They only look after their animals and sit in the house, until March, when the Spring begins, then they begin to tend the apple trees, their farmlands and all their things.

(118) As I said, the sheep went up into the mountains in Summer. In Winter, mainly in September, people would go up into the mountains and cut down leaves, as we would say, everybody on his own land. What is the cutting down of leaves? They cut them down, one person cutting and throwing them on the ground, while the others were following behind him making small piles, so that they could gather them up. (119) After they finish, they say 'It is time that we go down (to the village)'. About an hour before (going down to the village), they gather up all the leaves and stack them behind a tree. They call this a *garuta*. They would construct it against a tree and press it down. Even if water ran down into it, it does not spoil, since when it is fresh, it is compact. This is called a *garuta*.

(120) ʾánna qa-ʾìmɛla?ǀ qa-sàtwa.ǀ sáb dúnye ʾiman-ṯ-àrya,ǀ b-sàtwa,ǀ ʾáni lítla xàm.ǀ fa-y-áθe tàlga,ǀ ʾu-náše mšéri b-hèwaneyǀ maṣléwa karàθa.ǀ y-áθe mattíla kèrta,ǀ ʾu-ʾítla xàwla-wǀ čùxa-wǀ ṭénixaṣèy.ǀ ʾu-ʾo-ṯ-ítle dawèraǀ máṣle dawère,ǀ yáʿni koðànta.ǀ (121) ʾíman ṯ-íwa tàlga,ǀ ʾap-dawéra là-mṣa t-ásqi.ǀ fa-mò y-óði?ǀ b-xàṣaǀ ṭɛnìla.ǀ ʾítle xáwla mattìle,ǀ banéla š-d-ó xàwla,ǀ kút-xa ʾax-t máṣe t-lá-hawe yùqra.ǀ ʾu-y-asàrṛeǀ ʾu-ṭayànne xáṣe dìye.ǀ y-amrə́xxe kèrta.ǀ maθèla-wǀ (122) ʾáp bas-dùnaǀ y-áwa ʾə́rwe gu-dùnaǀ táma y-áwe bànya.ǀ ʾap-táma banèla.ǀ ʾi-péši qa-tré-yomaθa ṭlá yomàθaǀ hál mədre xáməštən ṯ-àsəq.ǀ ʾay-y-ámri garùta.ǀ ṭárpa y-áwa qṭíyəlle ṭla-ʾə́rwe,ǀ qa-sə́twa mapəlxìla,ǀ mán-mən gəllále xéne t-y-awéla gu-huðàla-wǀ (123) ʾo-t-y-awéla ʾə́rwət xwàre,ǀ yáwilɛ ràsaǀ ʾu-ʾítla tàwreǀ púwuš t-yawiwalèy,ǀ ʾu-túna ṭla-dawèreleǀ ʾu-ʾən-ʾítla ṣawàdeǀ hál bèhɛr.ǀ ʾu-bèhɛr-ileǀ níxa níxa mabəṣríla mɛxòltaǀ ʾu-ʾína mpálṭila ṭùra,ǀ ʾi-mšére rə̀ya.ǀ ʾu-hál d-o-sátwa xèna.ǀ ʾay-y-ámri ṭàrpa.ǀ

Mules

(124) dawèraǀ ʾíwa xa-móndi ʾax-ṯ-ámrəx ʾíðe-w ʾàqle y-amrə́xla,ǀ dawéra ʾíðe-w ʾàqle,ǀ yáʿni xə̆yíwa náše b-dawèra.ǀ y-azíwa qàrwən.ǀ qárwən modìla?ǀ šaqlíwa ṭèna ǀ mən-máθa l-màθa,ǀ mən-móíta l-mðìta.ǀ ʾu-šaqlàwaǀ rába gàyeǀ gu-sàtwaǀ gu-ʾəryàne,ǀ šaqláwa xámša saʾàtte.ǀ y-amríwa qàrwən.ǀ (125) mán xá-dukθa ʾìθwaǀ ṯ-ámrəx ʿAmedìyaǀ ʾəl-ʾə̃́n Núne.ǀ ʾína kúlla ṭurànewa.ǀ šaqə́lwa mə̆́θə̆lan xamší kiloʾé biz-zòdaǀ hal-šawwí kiloʾè.ǀ dére xə̃́ṣ-t dawèraǀ ʾu-masíqwa l-ə̃́n Núne.ǀ … mɛxòltaǀ ʾína rášən qa-t-ʾánna məndiyàne.ǀ ʾáxni y-amrə́xwala ràšən.ǀ

(120) When was this made for? For Winter. Since, in this way, when it rained or snowed in winter, they would have no concerns. (When) the snow came, people would start bringing down loads (of leaves) as they needed them.[38] They would come and put the load (on their back). They had a rope and a hair coat and they would carry it on their back. Whoever had a pack animal, would bring down his pack animal, that is a mule. (121) When there was snow, even a mule could not go up (into the mountains). So, what do they do? They carry (the loads) on their backs. A person has a rope which he lays down and he builds up (the load) on top of the rope, everybody as much as he can (carry), so that it is not too heavy. He then ties it up and puts it on his back. We call this a *kɛrta* (load). They would bring these (to feed the sheep). (122) Now, concerning the *duna* (animal feeding pen), sheep were kept in the *duna*. (The *garuta*) is built there (by the pen), they build it there. They wait for two or three days and then once again go up (to fetch loads). This is called a *garuta*. (When) they have cut down leaves for their sheep, they use it for the winter, together with other grasses that they have in the *huðala* (fodder stack). (123) A person who has sheep gives them *rasa* grass. People who have oxen give them hay.[39] Straw is (given) to mules and also cattle, if people have them, until Spring. (When) it is Spring, they gradually reduce the fodder and take the animals into the mountains, and they begin to graze, until the following Winter. They call this *ṭarpa* (gathering of leaves).

Mules

(124) The mule was something that was (as important to somebody as) 'his hands and his legs', as we say. We say the mule is 'his hand and his leg', that is people would live by the mule. They would go in a convoy. What is a convoy? They would take a load from village to village, from town to town. In the winter and in rain-storms it often took five hours. They called it a convoy. (125) It (went) from some place, let's say Amediya to ʾƐn-Nune. It was all mountains. They would take, for example, fifty kilos or more, up to seventy kilos. They put it on the back of the mule and took it up to ʾƐn-Nune. (This was) food, that is a 'ration' of such things. We called it 'ration'.

[38] Literally: In their season.
[39] Literally: (it is) hay that they give them.

(126) ʾína rášən mòdila?ˈ rášən ʾíla…ʾíwa xàṭṭe,ˈ…ʾíθwa šêkər,ˈ ʾíθwa qámxa t-y-aθéwa šùxra.ˈ mɛθéwa masqíwala l-màθa.ˈ fa-xayuθéy b-dawèrɛwa.ˈ ʾu-dawéra rába xɛlànewa.ˈ ʾu-kúl-naše, kút-ʾiθwa dawéra ʾi-xàme bi-díye.ˈ dawèraˈ ʾi-mtag-brəxwale rába,ˈ yáʿni y-axlə́xwa xam-dìye.ˈ (127) yáʿni dawéra ʾíθwale qurṭàna.ˈ qurṭána m-mòdi mtúrṣa?ˈ mtúrṣa mán y-amrə́xwale čùxa.ˈ y-amrə́xwale qurṭàna.ˈ ʾo-qurṭànaˈ ʾíθwale bar-xaráye dìyeˈ. ʾáwwa t-qàyiš-wewa.ˈ ʾu-dɛrɛ́wa məndiyàneˈ ʾu-waǰǰúwe xákma xéne xāṣ-t-dìyeˈ ʾu-ʾíθwale ṭ̂ángaˈ y-asrìwale.ˈ ʾu-bár qamàyaˈ qá-t ʾíma ṭ̂-ásəqwa ṭùraˈ t-lá ʾo-qurṭána jawə̀jwaˈ ṣaléwa napə́lwa ṭ̀ena.ˈ (128) fa-ʾən-măṭ̀nə́wale ʾíθwa xàwla.ˈ xáwla ʾíθwale ʾaqòlta.ˈ b-ó xáwla y-asríwa ṭ̀ena.ˈ ʾíman-t dawéra ʾàwwɛle yáʿniˈ ʾi-nablíwa ṭ̀éna mən-dúka l-dùka.ˈ fa-ʾíman-t y-awíwa bèθa,ˈ y-azə́xwa măṛòye.ˈ măṛóye modìle?ˈ qédamta nablə́xwala gu-ʾaqàra.ˈ (129) dóqəxwala b-ʾìðən.ˈ sab-har-mrupéwalən rēš-dìyeˈ leš-maṣə́xwa doqə̀xwale,ˈ ṭ̂-arə̀qwa.ˈ fa-ʾéka ʾíθwa dúkθa basímta maxlə̀xwaleˈ qá-t ṭ̂-awéwa xɛlàna-wˈ ṭ̂-awéwa qùya,ˈ qá-t maṣéwa ṭ̂-azə́lwa qárwən ʾu-ṭ̂-aθèwa.ˈ

(130) ʾána tàxrena,ˈ ʾé-ga zòrənwa,ˈ b-xšáwən ʾìwabiˈ ʾəsrá ŝənne,ˈ xáčča pyàšaˈ šḗt ʾàlpa-wˈ ʾəčˇčà-mma-wˈ ʾárbi w-ə̀šta.ˈ b-yárxət šàwwɛwa,ˈ hon-txára dìya,ˈ xošèbɛwa.ˈ xošèba,ˈ yáʿni xošéba lá-palxi nàše.ˈ fa-ʾána ṣ́ályənwa gu-ʾaqàra,ˈ ʾána-w xàθi.ˈ ʾáyya qam-ʾərwəˈ ʾu-ʾána qam-koðə̀nta.ˈ koðə́nta b-ìðiyawaˈ šulxèθa.ˈ ʾána šobànənwa xáčča.ˈ y-atwə́nwa xáṣa díya šulxèθa,ˈ yáʿni t-lá qurṭàna.ˈ yatwə́nwa xāṣ-t-dìya-wˈ lá lɛ-zădə́nwa čuˈ-bèna.ˈ (131) ʾo-yòmaˈ măṛòyənwala.ˈ măṛòyənwala,ˈ gu-ðà-ʾăra.ˈ ʾíθwa gawàna,ˈ maṛoyənwala.ˈ bènaˈ ʾána tìwənwa-wˈ ʾáy b-o gawàna.ˈ táma ʾo-gawána bēl-ʾắraˈ l-ʾằra.ˈ ʾìqa y-áweˈ ʾu-lá-raba p̀θya.ˈ qəm-maxyále púmma díya l-rə̀zzaˈ zəryə́xwa rə̀zza.ˈ ʾap-ʾána mə̀riˈ ṣríxən hátxa biya-dìya.ˈ ʾáyya qəm-patlála gʸān-dìyaˈ ʾána xšíwən là maxyáli.ˈ qəm-patlála gʸān-dìya,ˈ ʾaqláθa ʾan-xaráye…ṗèna,ˈ qəm-maxyála ðà-ṗena.ˈ

(126) What is a ration? The ration consisted of wheat. There was also sugar and flour, which would come by commissioned (pack-animals). They brought it up to the village (in this way). Their livelihood was in the mule. A mule was very strong. Everybody who had a mule lived by it. We looked after a mule very well, we took care of it. (127) A mule had a 'cloth'. What was a cloth made from? It was made from (a thick fabric) that we called *čuxa*. We called it a 'cloth'. The cloth had its 'back end'. This consisted of a belt. They would place things, various items on its back, and would tie them with a strap. (They also attached a belt known as) 'the front end', so that when they went up into the mountains, the cloth would not move and the load fall off. (128) When they loaded it, there was a rope. The rope had a buckle.[40] With this rope they would tie up the load. When the mule was (loaded like this), they took the load from place to place. When the mules were at home, we would go and graze them. What is grazing? In the morning we would take them to the farmland. (129) We would hold them with our hands, for, once we had let a mule's head go, we could not catch it again and it would run away. We would let it eat where there was a good place (for feeding), so that it would become strong, so that it would become tough, so that it could travel in the convoy and return (safely).

(130) I remember, when I was young, I think I was ten, or thereabouts, in the year 1946. It was in the month of July, on a Sunday. On a Sunday people did not work. I had gone down to the farmland, I together with my sister. She was in charge of sheep and I was in charge of a mule. The mule was in my hand, barebacked. I had a bit of a cold. I was sitting on its bare back, that is it was without a cloth. I was sitting on its back. Indeed, I was never afraid (to do so). (131) On that day I was grazing it. I was grazing it in a certain piece of land. There was a boundary area (and this is where) I grazed it. Now, I was sitting (on the ground) while it was on this boundary area. The boundary area there is between one plot of land and another. It was narrow, not very wide. It put its mouth in the rice. We had sown rice. I said, I shouted at it like this. It turned itself round. I thought it would not strike me. It turned itself round. Its back legs (gave) a kick, it gave me a kick.

[40] This consisted of a triangle of wood through which the ends of the rope were threated and and then pulled tight.

(132) b-ðá-ʾaqla díya ṗéna qəm-maxyáli ʾàxxa| rèší,| qəm-ṭarpáli gu-məššàra.| ʾu-ṣrìxən| ʾu-θíθɛla xàθi,| ʾína réši šmíṭa ʾaxxàne.| qímɛn bar-hàdəx| síṛənne rèší| ʾìna xáθi síṛtəlle rešì.| ʾu-θíθɛla koðónta kàsli| ʾu-tíwɛn xáṣa dìya| síqa bèθa.| yáʿni hade-m-háde píšlən xawràne| xamàštən.| fa-dawéra rába šènɛle,| yáʿni ʾamìnɛle,| šénɛla ràba.| ʾu-mtagəbràxwale| ʾu-xayùθən| taqrìban| xačča -pyàša| l-d-àw-wawa.| yáʿni ʾo-t-ʾítwale dawèra| xáyūθ-diye rába tàzɛyawa.|

(133) b-dawéra garšáxwa qèse.| garšáxwa qése m-ṭúra qa-sàtwa.| yáʿni kú-benət laxmàwa| t-lé y-azálwa qàrwən,| y-ázi ṭùra| mɛθéwa qése brìze,| káma maṣáxwa qése brìze.| ʾu-šúlət máθa kúlle grášta nabálta mèndi| mən-ʾǎra l-bèθa.| (134) xāṣ-dawèra-yewa,| sab-rèḥqɛwa,| là-mṣɛwa,| gráštət rèzza,| gráštət xètṭe,| sùla.| súla modìle?| ʾáwwa yáʿni zábləṭ haywàne.| gu-góma mpalṭèxwale| qam-zăríwa náše rèzza.| garšèxwale| maṣlèxwale| l-d-à-ʾăra| dɛréxwa tàma,| ʾu-tàma,| báθər t-y-asṛíwa rèzza.| (135) ʾa-šábθa qaméθa dɛréwa gu-məššàra| qa-t-rázza ṭ-awéwa spày.| ʾáwwa súla dax-maṣlèwale?| y-amráxxe qərṭàla.| qərṭála modìle?| har-tùre,| y-awéwa túre gu-ʾaqàra,| pɛrmèxwala.| ʾíθwa yáʿni xa-dárya nàše| y-oðìwa| mtarṣìwa| y-amráxwala qərṭàla.| ʾíθwa náše šuléy ʾàwwɛle líθən.| qá-t ʾap-xánčī maṭewalèy.| (136) y-oðíwa ʾan-qərṭàle,| mɛθèwala.| béna m-bár hàdəx| ʾan-qərṭále kut-tàrte| y-asṛíwa b-ġðàðe| b-xàwla.| y-asṛíwa b-xáwla b-ġðàðe| ʾu-ʾíman garšíwa sùla,| dɛréwa xāṣ-dawèra.| dɛréwa xāṣ-dawéra sapìqe.| zayánwa kəs-tắrət gòma| y-áwa mpúlṭe ʾo-súla qam-tắra.| b-məlxàwa,| šaqlíwa ʾó-zəbla mən-ắra| dɛréwa gu-qərṭàla.| (137) ṃaḷéwa qərṭála m-ay-gṓt tərnèy,| maṣléwala…gu-ʾăràθa| gu-ʾaqàra,| xzi-éka ʾaqára díya rèḥqa.| bár ṣaléwa l-ʾaqàra,| msapáqtət súla senàyiyewa.| m-ða-gòta| zepátwala l-d-ó-geba xèna| qa-t xaðríwa qərṭàle-u| súla msapqàtwale| mádre dɛrátwala xāṣ-koðìnta.|

(132) With one of its legs it kicked me here, on my head, and threw me into the paddy field. I shouted and my sister came. My head was injured around here. I got up and bound up my head, my sister bound my head. The mule came to me. I sat on its back and went up to the house. We became friends again. A mule is very tame. It is safe, very tame. We used to look after it and our livelihood depended to some extent on it. Whoever had a mule had a good livelihood.

(133) With a mule we would transport wood. We would transport wood from the mountains for winter. That is whenever it was convenient and the mule was not going on a convoy, they would go to the mountains and fetch dry wood. As far as we could (we fetched) dry wood. It was the job of the whole village to transport and bring things from the land to the home. (134) This was on the back of a mule, since (things) were far away and they could not do this otherwise, namely the transportation of rice, the transportation of wheat, of manure. What is manure? It is the muck of animals. We took it out of the stable basement, before people sowed the rice. We would take it down to the land and spread it there, and also (spread it) there after they had bound up the rice. (135) During the first week they would put it in the paddy field in order for the rice to grow well. How did they take the manure down? (In) what we call a 'pannier basket'. What is a pannier basket? It consists only of pliable sticks from the farmland, which we cut down. There were many people who made what we called a pannier basket. There were people whose job this was, you see, so that they would gain a little (extra income). (136) They would make the pannier baskets and bring them (for people to buy). Then they would tie together the baskets in pairs[41] with rope. They would tie them together with rope and when they transported manure they would put them on the back of a mule. They would put them on the back of the mule empty. It would stand by the door of the stable basement, (after) they had brought the manure outside. They would lift the muck from the ground with a threshing fork and put it in the pannier basket. (137) They would fill the pannier basket on both sides. They brought them (the baskets) down to the plots of land, the farmland. You see, their farmland was far off. After they went down to the farmland, the emptying of the manure was easy. You would push from one side to the other so that the baskets would turn round and so empty the manure, then put them again on the back of the mule.

[41] Literally: every two of the baskets.

(138) ʾu-y-attə́xwa xāṣ-koðə́nta rēš-d-án qərṭàle,ˈ be-pàlga,ˈ y-aθə́xwa mɛθə̀xwaˈ ʾu-kúlla yóma b-áyya garšə́xwa sùlaˈ ʾə́wwa súla mapəlxíwa ṭla-rə̀zzaˈ diya mapəlxíle ṭla-xabùše ʾina ʾə́wwa súla ʾíle xá xayúθət ʾaqàra kúlle líθən.ˈ kúlla ʾaqára gə̆́rəg máxe m-d-àw.ˈ

Sheep's Tail

(139) b-màθaˈ y-oðíwa məndiyáne xène.ˈ ʾə́rwe b-qèṭaˈ mxaməxwa ṭla-qàlya.ˈ ʾə́rwe mtagbrə́xwala qa-t-ṭarsìwa,ˈ qá-t mpɛrmə́xwa b-čèri,ˈ b-yárxət ʾə̀čˇča,ˈ ʾə̀ṣra,ˈ xadəssə̀rˈ pɛrmə́xwala qá-t ʾɛ-qálya mbarzə̀xwale,ˈ y-oðə́xwale qəṭṭáṭe qəṭṭàṭe.ˈ bašlə́xwale dɛrə́xwa gu-tanə̀kka.ˈ ʾu-mxaməxwale magðə́lwa qa-sə̀twaˈ y-axlə́xwa mənne-dìye.ˈ

Instruments Used for Harvesting

(140) b-qéṭa y-azə́xwa qə̀rṭa.ˈ qə́rṭa modìle?ˈ y-azə́xwa ʾánna xoriyáθa ṭ-ítlən tàma,ˈ xoriyàθa,ˈ xelàpela.ˈ ʾíθwa jawə̀tta.ˈ jawə́tta ʾáyya t-prə̀zlɛla.ˈ jawə́tta t-prə̀zlɛla.ˈ y-asqəxwa š-xòrta,ˈ qăṭə́xwa ʾo-táqa zòrɛwa,ˈ lɛ́wa rába gòṛa.ˈ mɛθə̀xwale,ˈ mattə́xwale ʾaṣə̀rta.ˈ (141) ʾu-y-aθéwa ʾə̀rweˈ ʾu-mattə́xwa qamèyˈ y-áxli mənne-dìyeˈ qa-t-ṭarsìwa.ˈ ʾo-šúla y-amrə́xwale qə̀rṭa líθən.?ˈ ʾu-xzátta… t-gə̀llaˈ ʾíθwa màgla.ˈ ʾíθwalən táma yáʿni nàše,ˈ ðá-maθa gótən-wawa Dɛrə̀ške,ˈ ʾáy šulèyˈ tarṣíwa màgle.ˈ ʾáyya xzáda xə̀ṭṭe,ˈ gə̀lla.ˈ jawátta ṭla-pràmaˈ ʾanna qése ma-qèse.ˈ (142) ʾu-gu-d-è-danaˈ har-ʾìθwaˈ y-amrə́xwala nə̆́ra.ˈ nə̆́ra ʾánna ṭla-práma qése xlìme.ˈ ʾaw-nə̆́ra ʾap-ʾáw ʾáni mtarṣìle,ˈ ʾánna ʾòsteˈ ḥaddàde y-amrə́xwa,ˈ ḥaddàda.ˈ ʾánna xa-Šlémun m-Dɛrə̀ške,ˈ ʾánna Dɛrəšknàye y-amrə́xwala,ˈ šwàwən-wawa.ˈ ʾáni mtarṣíwa nə̆́re,ˈ mtarṣíwa jawəttàθa,ˈ mtarṣíwa màgle.ˈ

(138) We would sit on the back of the mule on top of those baskets, in between them. We would come and fetch the manure, every day we would transport the manure in this way. They used the manure for rice. Now they use it for apples. Manure is a vital feature of the entire farm, you see. The whole farm must spread this.

Sheep's Tail

(139) In the village they would make other things. We looked after sheep in the summer for the fat tail. We would look after sheep so that they became fat, in order to slaughter them in the autumn. We would slaughter them in September, October and November in order to dry the fat tail.[42] We cut it into pieces, then cooked it and put it into tin. We would keep it (in storage) to set for the winter, in order to eat it.

Instruments Used for Harvesting

(140) In summer we would go trimming. What is trimming? We would go to the poplar trees that we have there (in our village), which are (a type of) willow. There was a chopper. The chopper was made of iron. The chopper was made of iron. We would climb up a poplar tree and cut down a branch that was small, one that was not very big. We would bring it back and in the evening would put it (on the ground). (141) Sheep would come and we would put it down in front of them for them to eat, so that they would become fat. We called this job trimming. As for the harvesting of grass, there was a sickle. We had people there, there was a village near to us (called) Dɛrəške, this was their job, they used to make sickles. This was (for) the harvesting of wheat and grass. The chopper was for chopping wood and the like. (142) At that time there was what we called an axe. The axe was for chopping thick pieces of wood. The axe was also made by those craftsmen, blacksmith, as we called them. A certain Šlemun from Dɛrəške (used to make them). These people from Dɛrəške, as we called them, were our neighbours. They would make axes, they would make choppers and they would make sickles.

[42] The informant appears to be confusing *qalya*, which is fat used for cooking, with *qadida*, which is dried salted meat.

(143) ʾíθwa gə́lla y-ámri mɛrgàne.ˈ ʾáni… mɛrgáne ràba ʾiyáwa.ˈ mtarṣíwa màglaˈ béna ʾaw-lɛ́le-šəmme màglaˈ y-amríwa gilàndi.ˈ gilándi rába gòṛɛleˈ ʾánna ʾɛ-ga-nášətˈ kúlla lá-mṣɛ zə̆ri,ˈ ʾánna gə̆rəg b-ṣanátta gòṛa y-áwe,ˈ sab-ʾánna mɛrgáne ràbeˈ lɛ́la m-an-t-xazdə́xla b-màgla.ˈ (144) mágla ṭla-gu-rə̀zzɛle,ˈ gə̀lla-hatxa.ˈ xánčˌ xànčˌˈ pɛrmə́xwa bi-dìye.ˈ ʾína gilàndiˈ ʾáwwa prə̀zlaˈ ʾánna máglət gilándi xá-mdi gòṛɛle líθən?ˈ ṭla-d-án mɛrgáne góṛe gòṛe.ˈ sab-ʾánna gə̆rəg tre-ṭḷá ʾùrzeˈ b-kúlla yóma zór maṣìwaˈ xàzdiˈ xá-mdi rába baṣòra.ˈ

Roofs of Houses

(145) ʾáxni b-sátwa mšéra dúnye ràyaˈ mən-yárxət ʾə̀ṣra-wˈ xadássər hòdəx.ˈ fa-mò ʾíθwa?ˈ ʾíθwalən gàre.ˈ gáre y-awéwa yáʿni t-ʾúpra, ṭìna.ˈ ʾina ʾáwwa y-amrə̀xwaleˈ sərsə̀rraˈ yáʿni qùwyɛwa.ˈ fa-l-gàreˈ ʾíman ṯ-aryáwa dùnyeˈ ʾíθwalən mandòrta.ˈ mandórta mòdila?ˈ ʾáwwa kèpɛle,ˈ mən-gòte,ˈ m-ay-góta m-ay-gòtaˈ xríṯa xa-bòya.ˈ ʾu-mùθyəxˈ mtúrṣəx qèsa,ˈ b-d-ó-qɛsa nabláxwala-w mɛθə̀xwala.ˈ (146) ʾáyya y-amrə́xxa mandòre,ˈ qa-t garmáxwa gàreˈ yáʿni gáre qa-t mandə̀rwa,ˈ qa-t-dalòpeˈ la-ṣálɛ b-sə̀twa.ˈ ʾu-ʾən-xə̀čča xáčča xa-béna ʾaryàwa-dunyeˈ dɛréwa xáčča tùna,ˈ biš-dawùqwa.ˈ qàmθaˈ y-aθéwa tálga ràba.ˈ díya lèle-θaya tálga.ˈ šuxlápla ʾahwáltət dùnye.ˈ

Hunting Partridges

(147) qámθa rába y-áθe tàlga,ˈ y-azáxwa gərkàwe.ˈ gərkáwe modìla?ˈ gərkáwe ʾíla b-yárxət trè,ˈ ṭḷàθa,ˈ rába y-áθe tàlga,ˈ qəqwàne.ˈ ʾáw qəqwána gu-ṭùra y-áwe.ˈ b-qɛ́ṭa lá-mṣəx doqə̀xle,ˈ ʾəlla-qṭála qaṭlìwa náše.ˈ ʾína b-sətwaˈ ma-t-yawéwa tàlgaˈ lá-mṣe jawə̀jwa.ˈ fa-y-aθèwa,ˈ yăðáxwa bíya ʾaṣərta,ˈ y-aθèwa.ˈ

(143) There was grass called meadows. There were many of these meadows.[43] They would make a sickle, but it was not called a sickle, it was called a scythe. The scythe was big. Not all people at that time could work (with it), it needed great skill, for there were many of these meadows and they were not (like) those (types of land) that we harvested with a sickle. (144) A sickle was for (working) in rice (plantations), grass and the like. We would cut down with it a little at a time. But the scythe is made of iron, such scythes are something big, you see, for those large meadows. Since these meadows require two or three men, in a whole day they can barely manage to harvest a very small amount.

Roofs of Houses

(145) In our community it started raining from October, November onwards. What was there (to protect us)? We had roofs. A roof was of earth, mud. We called this *sərsərra* (gravel mixed with mud). It was strong. On the roof, when it rained, we had a roller. What is a roller? It is a stone, bored with a hole in its side, on one side and the other side. We brought and fashioned a piece of wood and with that piece of wood we would move it to and fro.[44] (146) We call that 'compressing' (*mandore*), in that we rolled the roof and the roof became compressed, so that leaking drops did not seep through in the winter. If it rained a little, they put down a little straw, so that it became more compact. In the old days it snowed a lot. Now it does not snow (so much). The climate has changed.

Hunting Partridges

(147) In the old days (when) it snowed a lot, we used to go hunting partridges. What is partridge hunting? Partridge hunting is in February or March, (when) there is a lot of snow. (They are called) partridges. The partridge lives in the mountains. In summer we could not catch them, but rather people would kill them. However, in winter, when there was snow, they could not walk (and we used to catch them). They used to come, we knew that they would come in the evening.

[43] Literally: These meadows were many.
[44] Literally: We would take it and bring it.

(148) ʾàxni| ʾƐ̄n-Núne npílta bēl-ṭúra l-ṭùra.| ʾƐ̄n-Núne npíltɛla l-ṭúra l-ṭùra| mən-ná-mənnət nèra.| ʾáθṛa rába basìmɛle.| ba-ròža| ʾáy šəmšèθɛla,| l-ṭalána m-ay-gòta.| yámne ṭalàna-w| ba-róža čàppe.| fa-y-aθéwa qəqwàne.| θéle rápət qəqwàne,| ʾáyya gu-sàtwɛwa,| tálga lá-mṣəxwa jojáxwa m-áxxa l-àxxa.| y-azə̀xwa.| (149) ʾíman-t jwíjwale xá kilométer m-áxxa l-àxxa,| ṯ-ámrəx hàtxa,| ʾíman t-yatúwwa lá-mṣe pàrəx| y-azə́xwa doqə́xwale senàyi,| ma-ṯ-íwa čìya líθən.| ʾáyya y-amrə́xxa gərkàwe.| ʾìθən,| ða-xéta y-amrìla| qùlta.| qúlta ʾáy-ʾila prə̀zla.| mtarṣíwala doqìwa.| ʾarnùwwe doqíwa.| tèle bíya doqíwa,| heywánət ṭùra.|

Celebrations at the End of Ӕšwuṭ

(150) məndiyáne xène| mò ʾamrə́nnox?| ʾádətte prìše.| ʾé-ga ʾíθwa y-amrə́xwale ṣàwma,| šawèta,| doqə́xwa bàte.| ʾáxni bátən šáwwi tmáni batèwa.| mšerə́xwa ṣàwma.| ʾíma-t mšerə́xwa ṣyàma,| dɛrə́xwa yómət Mar-Sàwa,| yáʿni ʾo-yòma| basìmɛle,| ʾèwɛle,| tàlgɛle.| kút-xa y-amrə́xxe yáʿni ʾən-íle náša spày,| ʾó-yoma basímta ṯ-óya šəmša.| (151) xàðexi.| ʾó-yoma hàtxa yáʿni| y-amrə́xla màra.| ʾína kúlla spày náše| láx-mara là.| ʾína gu-d-ɛ-dàna,| yáʿni ʾó xa-ṭùsa y-amrə́xwa yáʿni| ʾən-ila-šəmša| basìmtɛla-w| ʾən-lèla-šəmša,| yáʿni ʾo-náša la-spày.| yómət parə̀qwa,| yóma xaràya,| ʾáwwa y-amrə́xwale ʾӔšwuṭ.| (152) ʾӔšwuṭ rába krə́t-iwa gu-ʾàθṛa.| rábɛwa tàlga,| rábɛwa máṭra ʾu-məndiyàne.| ʾən-parə́qwa ʾӔšwuṯ,| ʾáw ʾəsrí-tmanya yomáθa yan-ʾəsrí-ʾəčča yomànɛle,| y-azə́xwa ṭùra.| ʾíθən dapràna.| xa-ʾilànɛle| y-amrə́xxe dapràna.| ʾo-daprána y-azə́xwa, ʾáxni yálət mədràsa| wə́xwa ʾé-ga zòre,| mɛθə́xwale.| y-oðə́xwale qóma gòṛa.|

(148) ʾƐn-Nune lies between one mountain and another. ʾƐn-Nune lies between one mountain and another alongside a river. It is a very pleasant place. The (mountain known as) *ba-rožа*[45] is sunny, which lies opposite (the mountain known as) *ṭalana*[46] on the other side. On the right was *ṭalana* and on the left *ba-rožа*. Partridges would come. (When) a flock of partridges came, this was in the winter, (there was) snow and we could not move about (easily). We would go off (hunting). (149) When it had moved a kilometre from one place to another, let's say, when it sat down it could not fly, and we would go and catch it easily, because it was so tired, you see. We call this 'partridge hunting'. There is something else that is called a 'trap'. A trap is made of iron. They would set it up and catch (animals). They would catch rabbits. The would catch foxes with it, mountain animals.

Celebrations at the End of February

(150) What other things shall I tell you? (There were) various customs. At that time there was a fast of *šaweta*.[47] We would go around the houses. The houses in our community were seventy or eighty in number.[48] We would begin the fast. When we began fasting, we would predict on the day of Mar Sawa[49] that the day would be fine, cloudy, snowy. We would say to each person, if he was a good man, that on that day the sun will shine.[50] (151) We were having fun. It was like that on that day, we would just say such things. They were all good people, we are not saying they were not. But at that time, it was a ritual for us to say this if the sun was fine. If there was no sun (we said that) the man is not good. On the day (the festival) finished, the last day (was the last day of the month that) we called February. (152) (The month of) February was very bad in our land. There was a lot of snow, a lot of rain and so on. When February was finished—it is twenty-eight or twenty-nine days long—we would go to the mountains. There is something called 'juniper'. It is a tree, called 'juniper'. We used to go—we were young school children at that time—and fetch the juniper and make a big pile of it.

[45] Meaning 'in the sun' (< Kurd. roj 'sunshine').
[46] Meaning 'shady' (< *ṭəlle* 'shade').
[47] Fast beginning twenty-five days before Christmas.
[48] Literally: We, our houses were seventy, eighty houses.
[49] I.e. the first day of the fast.
[50] Literally: the sun will be fine.

(153) tálga ràba| mjămàxwale| mattáxwa š-ġðàðe.| maqðáxwale ʾƎšwuṭ,| y-ámrəx ʾáwwa xàrbɛwa.| mṭapáxwa núra bìye| ʾó məlməlàwa y-amráxwa.| ṭúr ʾƎšwuṭ| θéle ʾÀðər.| yáʿni y-amráxxe ʾÀðər| basìmɛle,| yáʿni ʾƎšwuṭ zìlle.| yáʿni ʾáwwa xa-nišànqɛle| t-ʾáθṛa d-è-ga.|

(154) bar-paràqwa,| šaqláxwa xa-kʷèpa,| mattáxwale gu-nùra.| šaxánwa xànčˇ,| zadáxwale hàtxa ráḥqa.| y-amríwa só mèθole!| kút maṭéwa qamáya jàldəlle| mɛθèwale.| sab-iyéwa tàlga,| w-áw xamìmɛwa,| pšìra,| ṣálya gu-tàlga.| kut-mɛθèwale| y-ámriwa gʷánən basìmta!| ʾáwwa biš-zìrəkile!| (155) yalúnke zòre| y-amríwa ʾánna məndiyàne.| ʾáyya y-amríla ṭúr ʾƎšwuṭ,| θéle ʾÀðər.| ʾáyya b-yárxət ʾƎšwuṭ| kúššət y-oðìwale,| sab-sátwa y-awéwa yaqùra.| ʾu-bar-hádəx parqàxwa| y-azáxwa l-bàte,| kút-xa ʾamána zóra b-ʾìðe.| y-awíle xašˆše,| kut-xá-məndi,| xákma làblabi,| xákma faṣolìye,| xákma məndiyàne,| kúlla y-awa-mrùzge.| dérɛ ʾamàne-w| kút-xa y-áθe bēθ-dìye.|

(156) ta-rēš-ṣàwma,| ʾíθwa y-oðáxwa ṣawmàkka.| ṣawmákka mòdile?| malwəšíwale jùlle| malwəšíwale gàlda-w| ʾu-y-azàlwa| xaðráxwa bàte,| ʾu-jămáxwa məndiyàne,| mánna xabùše| ʾu-y-amríwala kəčkàje.| ʾu-xákma yawíwa zùze.| (157) ʾáwwa y-amrìle,| ṣawmákka ta-rēš-ṣàwma,| sab-ʾé-gət mšérɛ ṣàwma.| ʾap-ʾáyya xá ʾadàtta| y-oðíwa náše ʾè-ga.| ʾu-rába basimtèwa.| xámša ʾášta xaðrìwa-w| mayéwa xá dáwla mənnèy.| ʾu-xaðríwa gu-tàlga.| yáʿni rába məndiyáne y-oðìwa.| ṭla-ʾƎšwuṭ| ʾánna məndiyáne y-oðìwala.|

Sheep and Goats

(158) xéna ʾáxni gu-maθwàθa| y-amríwa ʾíθwa ʾèrwe,| ʾárwət xwàre,| ʾárwət kòme.| b-qèṭa| doqíwa šăvàna| ʾu-părèwale.| ʾu-kùt-yoma| xa-y-asáqwa mən-díye y-amríwale malgòri.| ʾáwwa y-asáqwa mən-léle hal-ʾaṣàrta| ʾu-ʾárwe pɛšíwa gu-ṭùra.|

(153) We gathered together a lot of snow and piled (the juniper over it). We would 'burn February'. We would say that it was a bad thing. We would set fire to it. We called this *məlməlawa*. We would say 'Good riddance February[51] (The month of) March has come.' That is to say (the month) we call March is pleasant and February has gone. This was a symbolic act of our country at that time.

(154) When this was finished, we took a stone and put it in the fire. (When) it had heated up a little, we threw it far away (from the fire) and people would say 'Go and fetch it!' Whoever was the quickest and reached it first would bring it back. Since there was snow and it was warm, the snow melted and it dropped down into the snow. To whoever brought it back they would say 'Bravo! He is the winner!'[52] (155) The young boys would say such things. They would say this: 'Good riddance February. March has come.' They would do this every year in the month of February, since the Winter was very severe. After we had finished, we would go around the houses, everyone with a small vessel in his hand. People would give each one boiled wheat, all kinds of things, chickpeas, white beans, various things, all of which the people had prepared. They put these in the vessels and everyone returns home.

(156) For the beginning of the fast (of Lent) some of us made a *ṣawməkka*. What is a *ṣawməkka*? They would dress it in clothes, they would dress it in leather, then it would go off and we would go around the houses (with it). We would collect (from people) various things, such as apples and what was called *kəčkaje* (dried fruits). Some people gave money. (157) This was called a *ṣawməkka* for the beginning of the fast (*ṣawma*), since the fast began at that time. This also was a custom that the people had at that time. It was very nice. Five or six people went around and took a drum with them, and went around in the snow. They did many things. They would do these things for February.

Sheep and Goats

(158) We in the villages had small cattle, white small cattle ('sheep') and black small cattle ('goats'). In summer they would hire a shepherd and pay him (for his services). Every day somebody went up (the mountains) with him called a 'assistant'. He (the shepherd) would go up in the morning (and work) until evening. The small cattle would remain in the mountains.

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[51] Literally: A fart to February.
[52] Literally: He is the strongest.

(159) qéṭa y-aθéwa b-yòma| y-ásqi măṛìwala| y-aθéwa l-dwàṛa.| ʾíman-t y-aθéwa dwáṛa qúrba l-màθa,| y-asqíwa berìye,| beríye baxtàθa,| kút-ða šaqláwa sáṭla dìya,| y-azáwa dwàṛa,| xalwíwa ʾərwe.| m-bár xálwi ʾərwe| manixìwa.| (160) pešíwa yáʿni ganéwa… tawərwa xámma y-amrə́xle.| y-asqìwa| răyìwa| hál ʾaṣərta.| ʾaṣə́rta mɛθéwala ða-dúkθa bíš-qurba t-y-awéwa mìya táma.| mə́dre y-azíwa xalwíwala ʾərwe,| y-aθèwa,| ʾu-b-léle pɛšíwa gu-ṭùra.| (161) xàrθa| xa-béna b-ʾarbìye y-áwa ṯ-ámrəx| ʾərwe t-y-áwa píše b-lèle,| θéla genàwe y-amrə́xxa,| qačàxe.| ʾánna ʾiyéwa xámša ʾə́šta y-áθɛ genàwe.| qíme ʾə́θye b-lèle,| dwíqəlle šăvàna-w| malgóri dìye.| ṣlíwəlla ʾiθaθèy| ʾu-gníwəlla ʾərwe| ʾu-mupíðəlla b-ḥŭdǔd| yáʿni ʾáθṛa d-áy-gotət diyèni.| (162) ʾu-píštɛla háwar gu-màθa| béna ʾé-ga ʾíθwa tòpe| ʾíθwa čàkke y-amrə́xwa,| tòpe.| píštɛla hàwar.| tàxrena| kúlla náše qìmela,| síqe l-hàwaṛ,| síqe b-hàwaṛ,| ʾína ʾə́rwe mšúre l-xá-ʾaθṛa xèna,| yáʿni gu-Tùrki.| (163) táma xáčča plìšela xá-yoma trè,| qímela hár ʾan-náše dìyən,| slíbe mən-ʾə́rwət qurðaye d-a-gòta| ʾu-muθyəlla.| fa-ʾánna məndiyáne har-y-awèwa yáʿni.| rába gáye wítɛla ʾánna məndiyàne.| y-aθéwa ganɯìwala.|

Yoghurt and Cheese

(164) ʾó-xəlyət xalwìwale| mɛθéle bèθa.| mɛθéle bèθa,| mṣapàwale-u| ʾu-dɛréwa gu-quṣxàne.| ʾu-marəxθìwale,| yáʿni mšaxníwale-u marəxθìwale| qa-t-ʾáw ṯ-oðíwale màsta.| m-bár t-ráxəθ ʾo-xə̀lya,| mattíwale hal-qayərwa xánčɨ.| qam-qayə́rwa rába ràba,| ʾíθən mattíwa ṣabóta gáwe dìye| qá-t ʾən-qablála ṣabòta| yáʿni dánɛla qá-t dɛréla marèθa.|

(159) In the summer they would come during the day, they would go up and people would graze them, then they would come back to the resting place. When they came to the resting place near the village, milkmaids would come up, women, each would carry her pail and go to the resting place and they would milk the small cattle. After they milked the small cattle, they left them to rest. (160) They remained (there until the sun) set and the heat was broken, as we say. They would go up and graze until evening. In the evening they would bring them to a place closer (to the village) where there was water. Again they would go and milk the small cattle. They would return and remain during the night in the mountains. (161) Now, in the 1940s,[53] thieves, brigands as we call them, came (to steal) the small cattle that remained in the mountains. The thieves who came were five or six in number. They came in the night and seized the shepherd and his assistant. They tied their hands, stole the small cattle and took them over the border, that is (the border of) the country on our side. (162) There was a cry of alarm in the village. In those days there were rifles, weapons, as we called them, rifles. There was an cry of alarm. I remember all the people got up and went up (into the mountains) to (investigate) the alarm, they went up (into the mountains) at the cry of alarm, but the small cattle had been smuggled to another country, that is to Turkey. (163) They battled for a day or two, then our people robbed some of the small cattle of the Kurds on the other side and brought them back. Such things were always happening. Many times such things happened. People would come and steal them (i.e. our sheep).

Yoghurt and Cheese

(164) Now, they brought back home the milk that they milked. They brought it home, strained it and put it in a pan. Then they boiled it, that is they heated it up and boiled it in order to make it into yoghurt. After the milked boiled, they put it aside until it cooled slightly. Before it became very cool—there were some who put a finger in it and if the finger tolerated (the heat), it meant that it was time to add the rennet.

[53] Literally: It was in the 1940s let's say.

(165) ʾa-maréθa mtarṣíwala m-rába məndiyàne.ˈ dɛràwala,ˈ mkɛsàwaleˈ báθər xákma dàna.ˈ ʾu-m-bar-hádəx mattíwale xa-dúkθa hal-dawùqwa.ˈ ʾu-dártə yòmaˈ qɛmíwa ʾína pìšaˈ màstaˈ fa-ʾa-màsta,ˈ ʾo-xə̀lyaˈ dáwuqwa qrùšta.ˈ qrúšte-diye rába basimtèwa.ˈ ʾu-dɛréwa ṭla-nàšeˈ ʾaxlíwa gu-fṭárta mə̀ndi,ˈ ṭla-yalúnke zóre t-yéwa gu-bèθa.ˈ ʾa-màstaˈ y-axlíwa mənna-dìya.ˈ (166) ʾo-t-zayə̀dwaˈ halbát ʾo-ràbɛwaˈ ʾíθwalɛ náše ʾárwe xa-dàrya.ˈ mò y-oðíwa?ˈ mən-d-o-xə́lya ʾu-mən-d-a-másta ʾi-mtarṣíwa gùpta.ˈ ʾáw bár hádəx mšaxnìwale,ˈ bar-hádəx ʾa-másta mɛθéwala xa-kìsta,ˈ kísta yáʿni dɛréwa gáwe dìye.ˈ ʾu-bar dɛréwa gáwe y-asṛìwala,ˈ mattíwa xa-képa xačča-pṭóxa xòθeˈ ʾu-rèše mattíwa xa-kèpaˈ qá-t kəmá-t ʾiyéwa míya gawe-dìyeˈ gamṣìwaˈ ṣalèwa.ˈ (167) pɛšáwa xa-yóma trè,ˈ hál barəzwa.ˈ ʾu-bár barə́zwa xáčča talèwale.ˈ ʾa-gúpta béna mɛθéwa dɛrèwala.ˈ ʾíθwa bə̆yéwa dɛréwa gə̀lla gáwa.ˈ ʾíθwa gúpta y-oðíwa b-gə̀llaˈ ʾíθwa sə̀rmo dɛréwa b-gàwaˈ ʾu-šə̀bbəˈ ʾu-príše prìše.ˈ ʾáyya kúlla gúpta ṭla-ʾìmɛwa?ˈ ṭla-sə̀twa.ˈ sab-sə́twa la-y-awéwa réčəl ràba.ˈ fa-ʾánna mxamèwala.ˈ (168) mò y-óði?ˈ ʾíθwa bár ṯ-iyáwa ràbθaˈ dɛréwa gu-markàne.ˈ ʾan-markáne mtúrṣɛla m-ʾùpra.ˈ ʾíθwa gu-ʾáθṛa har-šulév ʾàwwɛwa,ˈ mtarṣíwa markàne,ˈ lìne,ˈ kawàze,ˈ garšíwa míya bìya,ˈ kúl xa-mə̀ndi.ˈ fa-ʾánna ʾamàneˈ dɛréwa gùpta gáwa díya.ˈ (169) ladmìwala.ˈ kút-xa béθe dìyeˈ xapə̀rwaˈ ʾu-l-páθa d-o-gúpta dɛréwa matúwwa ṭàrpe,ˈ ṭarpət dalìθa,ˈ qa-t lá ṣaléwa šə́xta gàwe.ˈ y-asṛíwa púmma dìyaˈ ʾu-mattíwa réše xtàya.ˈ (170) hon-txàraˈ ʾɛ-ga-ṯ-íxwa zòreˈ ṣáləwa mánnət xóni mattùwwala.ˈ xapráxwa ʾu-mattúwwa réše xtàyaˈ ʾu-mkasèwala.ˈ yăðáxwa ʾèkɛwa.ˈ kút-xa šwáwe náše yăðáxwa ʾékɛwa mùtte.ˈ (171) hál héwən čerìyeˈ béna mšɛrəxwaˈ xá-xa šqàləlla líθən.ˈ ʾu-náše mapəlxìwalaˈ hal-tắrət sàtwa.ˈ ʾu-b-ó pəslàˈ ʾi-mtarṣíwa gùpta.ˈ yáʿni dáx tarṣíwa m-xə̀lya-wˈ pálṭa béna xaráya gùpta-wˈ mapəlxíwa náše ṭla-gu-bèθa.ˈ

(165) They used to make rennet from many things. They would add it and cover it after a certain time. Then they would put it in some place until it set. The next day they would get up and see that it had become yoghurt. The yoghurt, (made from) the milk, would set (with) a crust. Its crust was delicious. They would serve it to people for them to eat at breakfast and so on and to the young children in the house. They would eat the yoghurt. (166) As for what was left over—of course there was a lot, people had many small cattle. What did they do? From the milk and the yoghurt they made cheese. They would heat it (the milk) then bring a bag for the yoghurt, in which they put it. After they put it in it they tied it up. They put a flattish stone under it and put a stone on top of it, in order to squeeze out whatever water it had in it, so that it would flow down. (167) It took one or two days until it became dry. After it dried they hung it for a while. They would then bring the cheese and lay it out (to be eaten). Some people liked to put herbs in it. There was a cheese that they made with herbs. Some put the herb *sərmo* into it and dill, and many different ones. For when was all this cheese (made)? For winter. Since in winter there were not many dairy products, so they kept them. (168) What did they do? After the cheese became abundant, they put it in storage jars. These jars were made from clay. There were some people in the country whose job was (to do) this. They made jars, large pots and small pots, in which water was transported, all kinds of things. They would put cheese in these vessels. (169) They compressed it. Everybody in his home would dig (a hole) and over the surface of the cheese they would put leaves, vine leaves, so that dirt would not get into it. They would tie up its mouth and place it upside down (in the ground). (170) I remember, when we were young, I used to go down with my brother and he placed (the cheese in the ground). We would dig (a hole) and he would place it upside down and cover it. We knew where it was. We knew where each of the neighbours had put (their jars). (171) (This was) until the season of Autumn, when we each began to take it (out of the ground). People would use it until the beginning of winter. They would make cheese in this way. (This is) how they made it out of milk and how in the end cheese was produced and people used it for their household.

Cows

(172) ʾíθwa tawràθa.ˈ bás ṭla-mɛxólta diyèy-iyawa.ˈ tawárta xalwìwala.ˈ ʾu-ʾíθwa y-amráxla bàqra.ˈ sab-b-qéṭa kúlla dɛréwa y-asqíwa gu-ṭùra.ˈ doqíwa xá y-amráxle baqàra.ˈ ʾáw măṛéwa tawriyàθaˈ ʾu-tàwre.ˈ ʾáw y-amrí baqàra.ˈ m-lél mbàdlaˈ xalwíwa tawərtaˈ y-asqáwa bàqraˈ (173) ʾap-ʾáy har-hàdəxˈ mšaxníwa xálya dìya-wˈ marèwale-uˈ ʾu-dɛréwa marèθa,ˈ har-ʾax-ṯ-oðíwa xəlya.ˈ mtaráṣtət xálya kúlla xà-məndila.ˈ šaxnìle-uˈ pàyəšˈ ʾu-bar-hádəx déɾɛ marèθa,ˈ ʾu-šaqlìle.ˈ ʾína mástət ʾárwe rába biš-basimtéla biš-príštɛla mən-d-a-t-tàwre.ˈ (174) ʾu-čeriyăwàθaˈ bɛhɛrìyeˈ ʾárwe yadlìwa.ˈ yáʿni dax-zédi ʾərwe?ˈ yadlìwaˈ y-awéwa pàṛe.ˈ ʾu-ʾázze yadlìwaˈ jisqàθa-wˈ gəðye.ˈ ʾu-šéta b-šètaˈ zɛdìwa-wˈ náše zɛdíwa ʾərwèy.ˈ (175) ʾúrxət xláwta kúlla xa-məndìla.ˈ báxta y-àzaˈ mattála qaṣxàneˈ rēš-bárka dìya,ˈ xalṣàla-wˈ yáʿniˈ xalwála tawərta.ˈ w-áni yǎ́ði dáx ʾi-xálwi tawərta.ˈ tawárta šɛ̀nɛla.ˈ déɾɛ gəlla-wˈ ʾən-ʾítla mója zòraˈ qám-ma xalwàla,ˈ mămiṣála xàčča-wˈ xalwála-w ʾap-xáčča xéna šóqa ṭla-mòja.ˈ qá-t ʾap-ʾáw zòrɛle,ˈ sab-qá-t š-léwa mšúrya xála gəllaˈ qa-ṯ-áwe spày,ˈ qa-t-mànte.ˈ

Bees

(176) ʾíθwa gu-máθa doqíwa dabàšeˈ ṭla-dùša.ˈ ʾánna doqíwalɛ bɛhɛrìye.ˈ dɛréwa gu-sulàmməš.ˈ ʾan-dabàšeˈ—kəmá-ṯ-awɛ wèrdeˈ pálṭi wèrde,ˈ béhɛr y-áwɛ príše prìšeˈ—y-àziˈ méθɛ mɛxólta diyèy,ˈ hál máṭe héwən diyéy b-čeriyăwàθa.ˈ b-čèriˈ ʾíθənˈ nàšeˈ ʾiðéy bìsta y-amrìla.ˈ ʾu-ʾíθwa ʾùrxa,ˈ péša ʾax-šàna y-amráxla.ˈ (177) béna bar-péša šàna,ˈ—ʾi-šáqla ʾárba xámša yàrxe,ˈ—bar-péša šàna,ˈ y-ámri hèwənileˈ sab-gǎ́rəg xáčča pèxa dúnye.ˈ b-yárxət ʾəṣraˈ xadəssərˈ y-óya pìxta dúnye,ˈ qá-t la-šàriˈ ʾárqi y-àzi.ˈ

Cows

(172) There were cows. They served only to provide their food. They would milk the cow. There was a herd of cattle, as we said, for in the summer they would put all (their cows in the herd) and they would go up into the mountains. They would hire somebody called a cow-herd. He would graze the cows and the oxen. They call him a cow-herd. Early in the morning they would milk the cow and it would go up to the herd. (173) They would heat its milk, in the same way (as described). They would set it by putting rennet into it, just as they made (sheep's) milk. The preparation of the milk is the same. They heat it and it is left (to cool). Afterwards they put rennet into it and take it away (to leave it to set). But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle. (174) In the Autumn and the Spring the sheep would give birth. How do sheep reproduce? They give birth, producing lambs. The goats would give birth to young females and males. From year to year they would increase, the small cattle of people would increase. (175) The method of milking all (animals) is the same. A woman would go and place a pail on her knees and would squeeze it, that is, she would milk the cow. They know how to milk the cow. The cow is domesticated. They put down grass (for it). If it has a small calf, before she milks it, she allows it to give suck (to the calf) a little, then she milks it and leaves a little more for the calf. This is because it is small and had not yet started to eat grass. (They allowed it to have milk) to be good (in health) and progress (in growth).

Bees

(176) Some people in the village used to keep bees for honey. They would keep them in springtime. They would put them in a beehive. The bees—there were many flowers, in the Spring all kinds of flowers came out—(the bees) would go to fetch their food (from the flowers) until their season arrived in Autumn. In Autumn, there are skilled people,[54] as they are called. There was a way to do it. It becomes something called a honeycomb. (177) After it becomes a honeycomb—this took four or five months—after it becomes a honeycomb, they say it is time, for the weather must be somewhat cool. In October or November the weather is cool. This was so that the bees did not start to fly away.

[54] Literally: their hand is skilled.

(178) ʾi-doqíle šàna.ˈ ʾu-sulámməš doqíle lóši xa-jùllaˈ qa-t-lá nɛsìla-wˈ ʾu-déɾɛ gu-ʾamàna,ˈ garšíle níxa nìxa-w.ˈ m-táma hòdɔxˈ déɾɛ gu-qáwwe zòre.ˈ ʾáwwa dúša hàtxa mtarṣíle.ˈ ʾu-ʾíθwa náše xa-dàryaˈ yáʿni ʾíθwaley kút l-gʸān-dìye.ˈ xákma mə́nna mzabnìwaˈ yáʿni sáma zóda ṭla-bɛθuθéy mapəlxìwalaˈ ṭla-našèy.ˈ

Houses

(179) ʾáni qámθa báte bánye b-képa-w ṭìna.ˈ qàmθa,ˈ qám šáwwi tmáni šə̀nne yáʿniˈ banèwa.ˈ ʾína šɛ̄t ʾarbíye-u l-àxxaˈ m-bar-náše y-awéwala xákma yaʿni zùze,ˈ plíxwala nàše,ˈ mšuréle bnáyəlla batèyˈ b-képa ʾu-gèsa.ˈ képa mɛθéwa m-gu-ṭùra.ˈ y-azíwa l-ṭùraˈ y-awéwa ṭə̀šya ʾaw-képaˈ mattíwa daṛmàna.ˈ (180) ʾíθwa nàšeˈ ʾánna banàyeˈ sə̆̀ne y-amrə́xwa,ˈ sə̆̀ne.ˈ y-azíwa mpə̆qìwalaˈ palṭí kepe-xwàre.ˈ ʾán kepe-xwáre pɛrmìwalaˈ y-oðíwa zóre zòre.ˈ ʾu-ʾánna hár gu-ṭùra.ˈ ʾu-m-tàmaˈ ʾánna képa ʾáwwa y-amrə́xxe pàθa.ˈ ʾáwwa képət pàθɛle,ˈ naqrìwale.ˈ y-awéwa xwàra,ˈ tə́́məz rába tàza.ˈ (181) ʾu-y-azíwa dawére garšìwale.ˈ dawère,ˈ šaqə́lwa kùt-xa,ˈ kut-ṭéna šaqə́lwa ʾarbà-kepe,ˈ ləʾánnahu yaqùreyɛwa.ˈ garšíwala b-stàvle.ˈ ʾan-stàvleˈ mtúrṣewa m-qèsa.ˈ ʾan-stávle xāṣ-dawèreyɛwa,ˈ síṛe xāṣ-dawèra,ˈ koðə̀nta y-amrə́xla.ˈ (182) dɛréwa tre-képe m-ay-gòta,ˈ tre-m-ày-gotaˈ ʾu-mɛθéwala màθa-w.ˈ yawìwalaˈ yáʿni zúzə d-o-nàšaˈ yawíwale kə́ma-t daqə̀r.ˈ bár mɛθèwala,ˈ mrazgíwa kul-xa-mə̀ndì.ˈ qam-šɛríwa bnàya,ˈ y-azíwa y-oðíwa ʾatùna,ˈ qá-t mtarṣíwa kə̀lša,ˈ qa-t mšɛríwa bnàya.ˈ (183) ʾatúna modìle?ˈ y-azíwa ʾap-ʾáyya gu-ṭùrɛla.ˈ xapríwaˈ ʾú…y-amrə́xxe ʔə̀nnə̀kére y-oðíwa qése banèwalaˈ xa-tùxma.ˈ ʾu-mɛθéwa kèpeˈ ʾu-qèse.ˈ ʾu-m-xòθeˈ y-oðíwa nùra.ˈ ʾo-kə̀lša,ˈ ʾan-kèpeˈ y-aqðìwa.ˈ bar-t-y-aqìðwa,ˈ kúlla pɛšíwa ʾax-qàmxa.ˈ ʾaw-kálša y-ámrəxxe qàmxa.ˈ

(178) They (the beekeepers) would take hold of the honeycomb. They would hold the hive whilst wearing a cloth so that the bees would not sting them. They put it into a vessel and took it way slowly. Afterwards they would put it into small jugs. They would prepare honey in this way. Many people had honey for themselves. Some of them sold it, though most people used it for their household, for their family.

Houses

(179) In the old days houses were built with stone and mud. In the old days, seventy or eighty years ago, they would build like that. But from the forties onwards, after people had money—since the people worked—they began to build their houses with stone and gypsum plaster. They would bring the stone from the mountains. They would go to the mountains—the stone was hidden, so they planted gunpowder. (180) There were builders, labourers we called them, labourers. They would go and blow them up and extract the white stones. They cut these white stones, making them very small. They were only in the mountains. (They were brought) from there. They (made) the stone that we call the 'facing' (of the house).[55] It is the stone of the facing. They would carve it out. It was white, beautifully clean. (181) Mules would go and transport it. Each mule would carry a load of four stones, since they were heavy. They transported them in containers. The containers were made of wood. These containers were on the back of mules, tied to the back of pack animals, which we called a mule. (182) They would put two stones on this side and two on the other side and bring them to the village. They would pay the man's (i.e. the labourer's) money, they would pay him however much it cost. After they brought it (to the village), they would prepare everything. Before they began building, they went and set up a furnace to make gypsum, so that they could start building. (183) What is a furnace? They would go—this also was in the mountains. They would dig and put wood around it and build it up into a certain shape. They would bring stones and wood. Then under it they would put fire. The gypsum stones would burn. After it burnt, they all became like flour. We call the gypsum flour.

[55] I.e. the outer side of the wall.

(184) bar-t-y-aqíðwa y-amríwa ʾáwwa máḷe ṭla-bənyàna,ˈ y-azìwaˈ garšíwale b-juwàle,ˈ sab-píšɛwa ʾax-qàmxa,ˈ ṭxìnɛwa.ˈ ʾo-kálša dɛréwale gu-juwàle,ˈ mɛθéwale l-màθa,ˈ xzí ʾékɛle béθux ṯ̂-it-bnàyəlle.ˈ mšéri bnàya.ˈ (185) l-gáwət bèθa,ˈ ʾáni képa-w ṭìnewa,ˈ ʾína l-bàθrɛˈ páθe dìye,ˈ páθe dìyeˈ ʾan-képe ṯ̂-in-mára tằməz ʾiyéwa,ˈ prìme-uˈ tàze-uˈ ʾax-ṯ̂-ámri nqìre.ˈ mənnéy mənnéy mattíwa kə̀lša,ˈ ʾo-kə̀lšaˈ rába qùwyɛwa,ˈ yáʿni m-bár xá ʾəṣrá yomàθa,ˈ yáʿni ṯ̂-amrə́tte dabə̀šwa,ˈ kúlla ṯ̂-amrə́tte dabášwa xá kèpa yáʿni,ˈ képa-w kə̀lša.ˈ (186) ʾu-b-ó-pəṣla banèwa.ˈ ʾáwwa gúda banéwa hàtxa.ˈ xàrθaˈ halbát tarráne tarránət qèsɛyɛwa táma.ˈ gyàttaˈ ʾax-ṯ̂-amrə̀xxaˈ ṯ̂-amrə́xla yáʿni gàre.ˈ mə́ndi qamáye ʾíθwa xoriyàθa.ˈ ʾánna xoriyáθa xlìmeyéwa.ˈ ʾánna xoriyàθaˈ dɛréwa…y-áwa bánye ʾotàxe.ˈ (187) mă̆θă̆lan ʾíθ béθa ʾəštà ʾotáxe,ˈ xamšà ʾotáxeˈ y-áwa kúlla ʾap-ʾáni be-pálga bànye.ˈ ʾáni b-képa ʿàdi bánɛ,ˈ lá b-képa xwàra.ˈ m-táma hódəx mɛθéwa xoriyàθa.ˈ garšíwa nàše,ˈ y-ázi gu-néra bár pɛrmìwala-wˈ barzíwa xáčča mkalčìwala.ˈ (188) garšìwaˈ y-aθéwa ʾax-ṯ̂-ámri náše zəbbáre mhéri ġðàðe.ˈ garšíwa ʾan-gúre xelàne.ˈ ʾè-ga ʾíθwa náše rábe gu-màθa.ˈ mɛθèwala,ˈ masqìwala,ˈ mattíwala š-gùda.ˈ mattíwa š-gùda,ˈ bar-hàdəxˈ š-d-ó gùdaˈ mɛθéwa y-amrə́xxa nìre.ˈ (189) ʾap-ʾáni y-áwɛ prìme.ˈ ʾap-ʾáni t-qèsɛla.ˈ bēl-qaríθa l-qarìθa,ˈ ṯ̂-ámrəx bálki y-àwaˈ métra-w pálgʸe ʾátxaˈ kút bēl-qaríθa l-qarìθa.ˈ sab-lá-hoya biš-pθìθa,ˈ ʾən-wéla biš-pθìθa,ˈ y-ámrəxxa dàrpa,ˈ yáʿni ṣàlya,ˈ ṯ̂-áθe sàtwaˈ ṯ̂-áθya tàlga mə́ndi.ˈ (190) kəmá ṯ̂-iyéwa ʾìqe-uˈ xoriyáθa xlìme,ˈ biš-yáʿni ṯ̂-amrə́xwa xă̏yiwa biz-zàwda.ˈ bar-dɛréwa nìre,ˈ mɛθèwaˈ ṭàrpa.ˈ ʾé-ga qámθa ṭàrpa y-oðíwa.ˈ dɛréwa ṭárpa réše dìye,ˈ ʾína m-ó mgùbya.ˈ ʾu-m-bár hàdəx,ˈ dɛréwa níxa nìxaˈ xìzaˈ ʾu-xáčča ṭína mə́ndiˈ qa-t dawùqwa.ˈ

(184) After it burnt and they considered that it was enough for building, they would proceed to transport it in sacks, since it had become like flour, it was ground. They put the gypsum in sacks and brought it to the village, wherever[56] your house that you were building was situated. Then they would begin to build. (185) Inside the house was stone and mud, but behind this was its (outer) facing. Its facing consisted of the stones that I said were clean, nicely cut and carved, as they say. Together with these (stones) they would put gypsum. The gypsum was very strong. After about ten days, you would say that it stuck together, you would say that the gypsum all stuck together in a single stone. (186) They would build in this way. This is the wall, which they built in the this way. Then, of course, (they would make) the doors, which were made of wood there. (They would make) the 'finishing' (at the top of the wall), as we call it, that is (the base of the) the roof. First of all, there were poplar trees. These poplar were thick. They laid these poplar (to make the roof). They had built the rooms (by this stage). (187) There were, for example, six rooms in a house, five rooms. They were all built within (the house). They would build these with ordinary stone, not with white stone. After that they would bring poplar (trunks). People would transport them. They would float down the river after people cut them up. (After) they dried a little, they would remove their bark. (188) Volunteer workers, as they are called, would transport them and help one another (in the task). Those strong men would transport them. At that time there were many people in the village. They would bring them, take them up (to the village) and then place them on top of the wall. They placed them on top of the wall and after that, on top of the wall, they would bring (and fit) slats. (189) These were also cut (to measure) and were made of wood, (placed) between one beam and another. Each (space) between one beam and another was, perhaps, about metre and a half (long). This was because (the space) must not be wider. If it were to become wider, (the roof) would collapse, as we say, that is it would come down, when it was winter and the snow arrived. (190) In proportion as the poplars were narrowly spaced and thick, they survived longer. After they laid the slats, they would bring leaves. They would have previously collected the leaves. They would place the leaves on this, (using only) those that were selected (for good quality). Afterwards they laid a light layer of sand and a little mud, or the like, so that it would all adhere together.

[56] Literally: see where.

(191) ʾu-dɛrέwa ʾúpra réše dìye.ˈ ʾu-m-bár dɛrέwa ʾúpra rēš-dìye,ˈ yăðíwa mo-qádra dɛrèwaˈ t-lá-hawewa biz-zàwdaˈ yáʿni t-la xarùwwa.ˈ bar-xàrθaˈ ʾíθwa har-ʾúpra xa̰ˈ yáʿni la-kùt-ʾupra ṭ-áwewa.ˈ yáʿni prìša yéwa.ˈ ʾa-xarèθaˈ ç̂ənnəḵère-ži mattíwa,ˈ ç̂ənnəḵérət gùda,ˈ swanàne y-amrə́xla.ˈ swanáne palṭíwa m-gùdaˈ qa-t-lá-miya ṣále gu-gùda.ˈ ʾap-ʾáni ʾiyέwa mtugə̀bre.ˈ (192) gu-d-á dànaˈ gàreˈ benά xaràyeˈ mɛθέwa y-amrə́xxe sərsə̀rra.ˈ ʾap-ʾàwˈ xa-ʾùprɛleˈ ʾu-xáčča ṭ-amrə́xxe kepànɛle.ˈ ʾap-ʾáw b-dawère mɛθéle.ˈ gótə máθa ʾíθən y-amrə́xla xpàrta.ˈ ʾáwwa képa xa̰ˈṣ dɛréle š-gùda.ˈ ʾáwwa rába qùwyɛle.ˈ míya lé-ṣale bíye dìye,ˈ rába dàwuq.ˈ (193) ʾu-m-bár t-y-óði ʾáy kùllaˈ ʾíθən y-amrə́xxa mandòrta.ˈ mandórta ʾíle kèpaˈ gòṛa y-áwe,ˈ yáʿni y-áwe mtúrṣa xāṣ-d-ó-məndiˈ ʾáyya y-amríla mandòrta,ˈ yáʿni mandrále gàre,ˈ dalkàle yáʿni,ˈ dalkále gàre.ˈ gu-d-a-dànaˈ ʾíθeni y-amrə̀xxeˈ…. mandórta ʾu-dére xa-qésa bi-dìye,ˈ fa-ʾáw qunjïyáθe dìyeˈ d-áy mandòrtaˈ y-áwa bàzyeˈ y-áwe bóya bìyeˈ y-áwe ʾax-xpìra,ˈ nqìra y-amrə́xle.ˈ (194) fa-moríle mən-tórna goyàθaˈ ʾu-garšíle b-ó-qɛsətˈ y-áwe bi-dìye,ˈ nablíle mɛθéle mandrìle gáre.ˈ mandrìle gáreˈ qa-t-qàweˈ qa-t-ʾíma ṭ-áθya ʾəryàna-wˈ ṭ-áθe tàlgaˈ qa-t-lá-ṣala dalòpe.ˈ ʾu-b-sə̀twaˈ ʾíθena ʾíma t-y-áθe ʾəryànaˈ ʾáy mandòre mándəri.ˈ (195) bas-ʾíma t-y-áθe tàlga,ˈ halbát y-aθéwa tálga ràbaˈ rába y-aθéwa tàlga,ˈ fa-mò y-oðíwa?ˈ ʾíθwalən maṛùθa.ˈ garpìwale,ˈ gràpa y-ámri,ˈ yáʿni zadáwale kúlla m-gàreˈ ç̂ənnəḵérət swànaˈ l-yámne čàppe.ˈ yáʿni kút-dukət ṭ-óya bis-senàyi,ˈ sab-ràba-ʾiyewa tálga.ˈ (196) ʾó…maṛúθa mturáṣtɛwa m-qèsa.ˈ ʾíθwala dásqa rìxa y-áwe.ˈ ʾu-mɛθέwa qésət ʾilànaˈ ʾu-y-oðíwa dapyàθaˈ ʾu-mtarṣìwala-wˈ ʾu-b-àyˈ garpíwa gàre.ˈ yáʿni zɛpíwa tàlgaˈ qa-t-lá payə́šwa b-gàre.ˈ ʾiθ-rába gàye,ˈ trè-gaye,ˈ ṭlà-gaye,ˈ b-lèleˈ ʾima-t-y-aθéwa tàlgaˈ sáma zóda b-yárxət trèssərˈ yárxət xà.ˈ (197) ʾap-ʾЭšwuṭ krèhət y-áwe,ˈ ʾap-ʾáw xelàna y-áwe.ˈ ʾu-páyəš bèhɛrˈ m-tama-hódəx mandòrtɛla-wˈ yáʿni m-tama-hódəx la-sáqði bìya.ˈ yáʿni báte b-ò-pəṣla banéwala.ˈ yáʿni bnéθət bate,ˈ hál ʾánna šə́nne xaràyeˈ mšuréla bnáyəlla b-čimànto,ˈ bar-náše xàčča wéla,ˈ ʾurxáθət ʾatnabéle sìqla.ˈ

(191) Then they would put soil on it. After they put soil on it—they knew how much to put on, so that it was not too much and spoil. Furthermore, there was a special soil (which had to be used), that is not any type of soil. It was different. They laid the last (section of the roof) they laid also what was round it, around the wall, which we called 'eaves'. The eaves protruded from the wall, so that the water would not run down the wall. These also were dealt with. (192) At that time, the last thing (they did for) the roof was that they brought what is called 'white gravel'. This is also a kind of soil, rather like gravel. They would bring this also on mules. Next to the village there is what is called a quarry (from where they brought it). This is a special stone that they put on the wall. It is very strong. Water does not seep through it, since it retains (water) well. (193) After they do all this, there is what we call a roller. A roller is a stone, which is large and is made specially for this thing. This is called a roller, i.e. it rolls the roof, it compresses it, it compresses the roof. At that time there was a thing called a roller. They would put a piece of wood into it. The ends[57] of the roller are bored, with holes in them, dug out, carved out, as we say. (194) They insert it (the wood) from both sides and pull it with the (handle of) wood that is attached to it, back and forth, rolling the roof. They roll the roof so that it becomes tough, so that when the rain comes and the snow comes, leaking water does not seep down (into the house). In the winter, when it rains, they would roll it in this way. (195) But when it snowed—of course there was a lot of snow—what did they do? We had a snow shovel. They would shovel it—they call it shovelling, that is they would throw it all from the roof from around the eaves, on the right and on the left, whatever place was easiest, since there was a lot of snow. (196) The snow shovel was made of wood. It has a long hand. They would bring a branch of wood from a tree and make it into flat pieces and construct it (the shovel). With this they would shovel the roof, that is they would push off the snow, so that it did not remain on the roof. Sometimes (they did this) many times, two times, three times, at night when it snowed, mainly in December and January. (197) (The month of) February is also bad, that is the snow was heavy. Then it is Spring and from then onwards it is the roller (that they use). That is, from then onwards they have no difficulty with it (the weather). They would build houses in this way. This was the method of building of houses, until recent years, when they began to build them with cement, after people became few (in number) and roads for cars came up (to the village).

[57] Literally: corners.

(198) mšuréla masóqe čimànto.ˈ ʾína báte qámθa ṭìna-wɛwa.ˈ ʾu-píšwala ṯ-amrə́xwa qàṣre,ˈ béna ʾáwwa lé y-amrə́xwa bàteˈ y-amrə́xwa qàṣra.ˈ sab-bíš muntèwalɛˈ šə́mma díya qəm-mšaxəlpìwale.ˈ béθa ʾáwwa t-ṭìnɛyewaˈ y-amrə́xwa bèθaˈ badákka zòra.ˈ ʾína ʾaw-xéna píšwale qàṣraˈ t-yéwa bə́nya b-kèpe.ˈ báte hàtxa banéwa.ˈ

(199) xàrθaˈ ʾé-ga márwali qá-t báte dáx banèla,ˈ bás gu-d-án báte mò ʾíθwa?ˈ ʾé-ga… tróṣa yáʿni léwa ʾax-dìya.ˈ ʾé-ga ʾíθwa bèθaˈ ʾíθwa xá-ʾotəx yan-trè.ˈ ðà-ʾotəxˈ ʾáyya mšuwèθa.ˈ ʾíθwa y-amrə́xwa xaṣìra.ˈ xaṣíre mɛθéwala m-məðinàθa ʾé-ga.ˈ ʾàniˈ dɛréwa xtèθa.ˈ (200) xéna halbàtˈ d-é-dān d-è-gaˈ líθwa ʾánna qănə̆́fe-u məndiyáne.ˈ ʾíθwa kut-bèθaˈ ða-ʾòtəxˈ yan-tə́rte ṭə̀l̩l̩əθ,ˈ la-bi-zóda ʾiyéwa ʾatxàne.ˈ ʾu-náše xaméwa kúlla kúlfət m-ġðàðe,ˈ yalúnke zòreˈ ʾu-bèθa-wˈ kúlla m-ġðàðe.ˈ ʾé-ga ʾap-ʾə́n gorìwaˈ har-m-ġðáðe xamèwa.ˈ (201) ʾărət-béθa y-áwa mšùwyaˈ ṯ-ámrəx xaṣìre y-amríwala.ˈ xaṣìre,ˈ y-awa-zqíre mə́nnət zàleˈ ma-zále ʾu-məndiyáne y-áwa zqìre.ˈ dɛréwa l-ʾə̆raˈ ʾu-rèšaˈ dɛréwa gàle y-amrə́xle.ˈ gàle,ˈ xákma y-awéwala xalìyeˈ mə́nna xáčča biš-xlìme.ˈ ʾánna ʾíla prìsta y-amríwala ʾé-ga.ˈ (202) béna ʾánna dɛréwa rèša-wˈ ʗənnəʞ́èraˈ y-oðíwa došəkyàθa,ˈ y-áwa raqìqe.ˈ ʾu-mattìwaˈ barəšyàθa ʗənnəʞ́éra.ˈ ʾu-náše yat-tìwa ʾé-ga.ˈ sáb kúlla tàwtaˈ y-aθèwa,ˈ ṣawléy šalxìwalaˈ ʾu-y-aθéwa y-atwìwa,ˈ šwàwe-uˈ nàše-uˈ xəzmàne-uˈ ʾən-wéwa naxràye,ˈ dòste.ˈ ʾánna məndiyáne t-yéwa gu-bèθa.ˈ (203) ʾína táma ʾíθwa qarawə̀tte,ˈ ʾan-qarawə́tte ðà ʾiyáwa.ˈ ʾína ʾo-ṯ-ítwale ða-qaràwət,ˈ y-awa mtúrṣət qèsa.ˈ ʾíθwa najáre mtarṣìwalɛ.ˈ y-aθéwa m-ʿAmedíya najàre.ˈ b-qéṭa y-aθéwa mtarṣíwa kút-xa ðà qaráwət.ˈ kúd-xa-t bə̆yèwa,ˈ y-aθèwa.ˈ ʾana-txárən y-aθéwa xo-túθa ʗùwa,ˈ ʾáw túθa góra t-ʾùmra.ˈ

(198) They began to bring up cement. Formerly, however, houses were made of mud. They (the houses) became villas, as we called them. We did not call them houses, we called them villas. Since (people) were more prosperous, (they built bigger houses) and they changed the name of them. A house was made of mud, we would call this a house or a small hut. But the other sort was (called) a villa, which was built of stones. This is the way they built houses.

(199) So, I have said how they built houses, but what (furniture) was there in the houses? At that time, indeed, it was not like today. At that time in a house there was one room or two. One room was furnished. There was a mat, as we called it. They brought the mats from the towns at that time. They put these on the floor.[58] (200) Of course at that time there were no armchairs and things like that. Each house had one room, or two or three, but no more than that. All the family lived together, small children, family, all were together. At that time, even if people were married, they all lived together. (201) The floor of the house was furnished with what is called mats. The mats were woven from reeds. They were woven from reeds and similar things. They would put these on the floor. On top they would put rugs, as we called them, rugs, and some people had carpets, which are a bit thicker than rugs. These things are what were called at that time a *prista* ('a spread'). (202) So, they put these things on (the floor) and around them they laid thin cushions. They laid around (the floor) also pillows. People would sit down at that time. For when they came to a seated gathering, they would take off their shoes then sit down, neighbours, people (of all kinds), relatives, any strangers who may be there,[59] friends. These are the things that were in the house. (203) There were also beds there. These beds were one (type). These beds, which people had, were made of wood.[60] There were carpenters. Carpenters came from Amedia. In the summer they would come and each one would make a bed. If anybody wanted one, they would come. I remember they would come (and sit) under the smooth[61] mulberry tree, the big tree belonging to the church.

[58] Literally: below.
[59] Literally: strangers if they were (there).
[60] Literally: Somebody who had a bed, they were made of wood.
[61] I.e. with a smooth bark.

(204) ʾu-y-aθéwa m-ʿAmedíya ʾan-najàre,ˈ mtarṣíwa ʾan-t-y-amrə́xwa qaràwət.ˈ ʾan-qarawə̀tteˈ ʾi-masqíwala b-qéṭa gàre.ˈ sab-nàšeˈ ʾé-ga gə̌rəg yasqíwa gáre damxìwa,ˈ sab-gu-béθa xə̀mma ʾiyéwa,ˈ yáʿni bíš y-awéwa ráḥat ràma.ˈ fa-ʾáni masqíwa qarawátte gàre-uˈ xákma har-damxíwa l-ə̌ra.ˈ ʾína sáma zóda ʾiyéwala qaràwət.ˈ (205) sab-mò?ˈ qa-t-dɛréwa màstik.ˈ mástik ʾáw pàrdaˈ sab-y-áwe ç̌ène.ˈ ʾé-ga ʾíθwa zə̌ríwa náše rə̀zzaˈ ʾu-míya gu-ʾaqàra,ˈ rába ç̌éne ʾiyèwa.ˈ fa-mapəlxíwa màstik.ˈ ʾáni mattíwa b-gàreˈ hál yárxət tmànyaˈ ʾə̀ç̌ça,ˈ ʾatxàne,ˈ qam-qɛráwa dùnye,ˈ ʾu-mšɛríwa níxa níxa ṣláya gu-bèθa.ˈ

Flora

(206) táma ʾíθwalən gu-màθaˈ gu-ʾɛ̃n Nùneˈ ʾíθwalən xelàpa.ˈ ʾáw xelàpaˈ lá-mṣəx mapəlxáxxe qa-bnáyət bàte,ˈ qése díye léle qùwya.ˈ ʾìnaˈ rába məndyáne sanqáxwa ʾálle dìyeˈ sáma zòdaˈ ʾé-gət y-áwe qə́rṭət ʾərweˈ pɛrmáxwa ʾé-gət y-áwe ṭárpe dìye.ˈ ʾína taqān-díye pɛrmáxwa mənne-dìyeˈ ʾítlən ʾərweˈ maṭərsáxwa ʾərwe.ˈ qám čeriyàθaˈ ʾu-bɛhɛrìye,ˈ dɛráxwala ṭla-ʾərwe.ˈ

(207) ʾu-ʾiθwalən xòrta.ˈ xwárta ʾáyya rába spày-ila.ˈ yáʿni hám maṣáxwa mzabnáxwa mə́nna dìya.ˈ bár mqărəníwa xalmìwaˈ xà-siṭaˈ yan-trè-siṭeˈ yan-ṭlà-siṭe,ˈ y-aθéwa ʾánna zawnàne,ˈ y-aθáwa m-Mòṣul.ˈ m-dukáne xéne mzabnìwa.ˈ rába gə̌rən-iwɛwa.ˈ ʾu-taqanèyˈ hammáše pɛrmə̀xwala.ˈ (208) y-amrə́xxa bɛhéri pɛrmə̀x-walaˈ mgărə̀xwalaˈ mə̀dreˈ šadlə̀xwala y-amrə́xxaˈ šə̃dle,ˈ qá-t ʾap-ʾáni mqə̆rəni qa-yáʿni xákma šə́nne xèneˈ mzábni mənnèyˈ qá-t…də̆n-t-pɛrmìlaˈ qa-d-áni qémi šàwpa.ˈ ʾáni y-amrə́xxa xòrta.ˈ

(209) táma ʾíθwalən xabùše.ˈ xabúše ʾíla zwàna,ˈ yáʿni mzabníwa náše mə̀nna.ˈ ʾu-ʾíθwa xàwxe.ˈ ʾap-ʾáni mzábni náše mənnèy.ˈ ʾína sáma zóda ṭla-bɛθùθa.ˈ ʾíθwa šèðe,ˈ ʾap-ʾàniˈ šèðe,ˈ y-oðíwa murə̀bbe mə́nna.ˈ ʾap-xáwxe y-oðíwa murábbe mənnèy.ˈ ʾíθwalən šèðeˈ ʾíθwalən ʾína daliyáθət ʾənwe.ˈ y-amrə́xxa kə̀rma.ˈ ʾáni t-y-áwe góṛa ràbaˈ y-áwe zə̀ryaˈ ʾáwwa kə̀rma y-amrə́xleˈ kə̀rma.ˈ

(204) Carpenters would come from Amedia and make beds, as we called them. In the summer they took the beds up to the roof. People at that time had to go up onto the roof to sleep, since it was hot in the house. It was more comfortable up above. They would take the beds up to the roof. Some would sleep only on the floor (of the roof). Most people, however, had a bed. (205) Why? So that they could attach a mosquito net. A mosquito net is a curtain. (This was necessary) since there were mosquitoes. At that time people cultivated rice and (since there) was water in the farmland there were many mosquitoes. So, they used a mosquito net. They put these (beds) on the roof until August or September, or thereabouts, before the weather got cold. Then they would gradually begin to come down into the house (to sleep). As far as I remember, there were only these things in their homes, not more.

Flora

(206) There, in the village, in ʾƐn-Nune, we had (what is called) a *xelapa* (small willow). We cannot use the small willow for the building of houses, since its wood is not strong. But we needed it for many things. We cut it down in large quantities at the time of trimming for small cattle, when it had its leaves. We would cut down its branches and fatten our small cattle. Before the Autumn and Spring seasons we would lay them down for the small cattle (to eat).

(207) We had (in the village) the (tree known as) *xorta* (white poplar). The poplar is a very fine (tree). We could even sell some of them. After they had grown up and become one, two or three spans thick, buyers would come from Mosul. They also sold them in other places. They were very expensive. We would always cut down their branches. (208) In Spring we would cut them down and strip them off. We would plant them again (and they would become) what we call saplings, so that when these also grow after a few years, they can sell them, so that when they cut (the others down) these will take their place. They call these poplars.

(209) We had apples there. Apples were for buying, that is they would sell them to people. There were peaches. They would sell also these to people. Yet most of these were for household (use). There were almonds. From these almonds they would make jams. They would make jams also from peaches. We had almonds and we had grape vines. (There was what) we called an orchard. This was something very large, which was cultivated, it was called an orchard.

(210) ʾap-ʾáw…ˈ béna m-d-ó kèrmaˈ ʾáni…daliyáθa kúlla gáwe dìyeˈ y-áwe məšmáššе mèndi.ˈ ʾiθ-héwən čerìyeˈ ʾan-ʾónwe laqṭìwala.ˈ y-oðíwa napòxta mánna,ˈ y-oðíwa yabìše mánna.ˈ béna m-bár y-oðíwa yabìšeˈ táma y-óði xàmra.ˈ mpálṭi ʾàraq mənnéy.ˈ ʾu-rába məndiyáne mpalṭíwa mənnèy.ˈ ʾu-šoqíwala ʾap-ṭla-mɛxólta yabìšeˈ sab-rába fayda-ʾìtla.ˈ

(211) xàmraˈ yabíše maṣláwala ʾíθwa lìne y-amrə́xwale.ˈ lína rába gòṛɛle.ˈ y-ásqi trè tannákkeˈ ṭlà tannákke míyaˈ ʾàrba.ˈ gu-d-áni dérɛ yabìše.ˈ ʾáw máṣli xá-dukθa ṯ-óya šaxínta y-amrə́xwa gòma.ˈ mkasɛ́wale šaxìna,ˈ ʾáw…xačča-pyáša ʾarbì yomáθaˈ gắrəg hawé gu-šaxinùθaˈ yaʿni raxə̀θwaˈ ʾáni yắði bìyeˈ mtarṣìwa.ˈ (212) ʾi-tàxrən ʾána ṣalə́nwa m-d-ó-nixət xòni.ˈ ṣalə́nwa y-awéwa rxàθa,ˈ xzi-hóle rxàθa,ˈ hóle mə́ṯya héwən dìye.ˈ mbarəxšîwaleˈ kút-kəma yomáθa mbarəxšîwale.ˈ w-áy šaqláwa xačča-pyàšaˈ ʾarbì yomáθaˈ hátxa mèndi.ˈ ʾu-xámra…ʾíθwa mɛrkáne zóre dɛrɛ̀waleˈ ʾu-mṣapàwale,ˈ pálətwa xàmra.ˈ (213) sáma zòdaˈ ʾína kəsléni xámra lè-y-oðiwa rába.ˈ yáʿni xànči,ˈ baṣòre.ˈ ʾína sáma zòdaˈ y-oðíwa ʾằraq,ˈ ʾắraq ṭla-štàya,ˈ sab-xumlàna.ˈ ʾắraq ṭla-čeriyă̆wàθa y-oðíwala,ˈ sáb mšeríwa xlulàne,ˈ qá-t náše goríwa b-čeriyawàθa.ˈ (214) mapəlxíwa štɛ̀θa-wˈ ṭla-xəzmáne náše ʾíman-t y-aθéwa šwàwe,ˈ y-áθɛ xawràne,ˈ y-áθɛ ʾàrxe.ˈ ʾu-ṭla-ʾèða,ˈ ʾeðă̆wàθa,ˈ mapəlxíwa štɛ̀θaˈ ʾằraq ʾiyéwaˈ xa-štéθa rába rešɛ̀θaˈ qa-xúbbət ʾiqárət náše t-y-aθéwa kəs-ġðàðe.ˈ

(215) w-íθwalən gàwze.ˈ gáwze ʾánna rába gòṛeyɛwa.ˈ yáʿni kúl-naše lìθwalaˈ gu-màθa,ˈ lé-qɛmi ràba.ˈ ʾíθwalən gawzàne,ˈ yáʿni sáma zóda t-ʾúmra ʾìθwale.ˈ fa-ʾáni kút-xa ṭla-gʸàne y-áwe.ˈ b-zòr-ṃaḷeˈ ṭla-mapláxtət bɛ̀θa.ˈ ʾu-ʾáni béhɛr hál čèri.ˈ (216) čéri y-ázi laqṭìla.ˈ m-bár laqṭìla,ˈ méθɛ l-bɛ̀θaˈ dɛrɛ̀laˈ bàrzi y-amrə́xla.ˈ bàrzi,ˈ sab-y-áwe qalə̀pθa ʾəlléy,ˈ ʾáy rəzyànta y-óya.ˈ ʾə́n har-hóya talîltaˈ har-qítla ʾíðux bíya díya xàčča,ˈ kéma ʾíðət nàša,ˈ ʾi-ṣă̆wa y-amrə́xla.ˈ ʾi-ṣă̆waˈ lìθən.?ˈ ma-ṯ-íle qúwya ʾo-qálpa dìya.ˈ

(210) In the orchard there were vines, apricots and other plants. In the season of Autumn, they would gather the grapes and make a syrup from them and make raisins from them. After they made them into raisins, they would make wine. They would (also) make arak out of them. They would make many things out of them. They also left the raisins for eating, since they were very nutritious.[62]

(211) As for wine, they would put raisins into what we call *line* (jars). (This type of) jar is very big. They go up to the capacity of two gallons, three gallons of water, four. They would put the raisins into these and deposit them in a warm place, which we call a *goma* (basement stable). They would cover the jar while it was warm. It had to be in the warmth for about forty days in order for it to ferment. They know how to make it. (212) I remember I used to go down (into the basement) with my late brother. I would go down when it was fermenting. (He would say) 'Look, it is fermenting, its time has come.' They would stir it. Every few days they would stir it. This would take about forty days or so. (It would become) wine. They would put the wine into small pots and strain it, and it would turn into wine. (213) In general in our community they did not make much, only rarely. Most people, however, would make arak, arak for drinking, since (it provided) enjoyment. They would make arak for the Autumn, since (at that time) the weddings began, people would marry in the Autumn. (214) They would use it as a drink (to offer) to relatives and other people, (when) neighbours came, friends came, guests came. They used it as a drink also for a festival, the festivals. Arak was a very special drink (that was used to express) love and respect for people when they visited one another.

(215) We also had walnuts. Walnuts were very big. Not everybody had them in the village, where they did not grow much. We had some walnut trees, which mainly belonged to the church. Each was for use by (the villagers) themselves, since there was scarcely enough for household use (and none to spare). These (grew) from Spring until the Autumn. (216) In the Autumn they would go and pick them. After picking them, they would bring them to the house and lay them down to dry, as we say. They would (be left to) dry, since they have a peel on them which is dark in colour. If it is still wet, as soon as your hand touches it, the hand of the person (who touches it) becomes black, it is dyed, as we say, dyed, you see. (This is because) the peel is so strong (in colour).

[62] Literally: they had much benefit.

(217) ʾína m-báθər bàrza,ˈ šaqlíwa qálpe zadèlɛˈ péši bas-gáwze gʸān-dìyɛ.ˈ ʾé-ga-t y-áwe ʾeðăwàθa,ˈ šère,ˈ xlulàne,ˈ mapəlxíla ṭla-rába məndiyàne.ˈ ṭla-mă̊θălan bəθqe,ˈ ṭla-mă̊θălan ʾíman-t y-óði ˈ kuléče ṭla-ʾèða.ˈ yáʿni kúlla məndiyáne mapəlxi mənna,ˈ ʾánna gàwze.ˈ

(218) sparə́gle ʾìtlɛni.ˈ sparəgle.ˈ ʾáni lé-y-awa rába rába gu-màθa.ˈ ʾína ʾap-ʾàniˈ ṭla-mapláxta gu-bèθa,ˈ ʾap-ʾáwwa xa-fèkɛle.ˈ ʾap-ʾáni har-ʾó-mdi-t xabùšela.ˈ mən-bèhɛrˈ hál čèri,ˈ čéri péši zăre yáʿniˈ tròṣaˈ ʾáni milàne ʾiyéwa,ˈ bar-hádəx gu-práqta péši zăre.ˈ (219) y-ázi laqṭìla,ˈ mapə́lxi ṭla-gu-bèθa.ˈ ʾən-bắyət ṭ-óðət muràbba,ˈ ʾap-m-d-áni y-óði muràbba,ˈ yáʿni ham-mən-sparəgle.ˈ yáʿni máṣət ṭ-óðət rába məndiyáne mánne dìye,ˈ ʾən-ila zawdàne.ˈ yáʿni máṣət mapəlxèti.ˈ ṭlá-mo gă̊rəg záwən zwàna,ˈ ʾən-máṣi mapə́lxi mànna?ˈ sab-ítlɛ ràba mənna-dìya.ˈ

(220) gu-ṭúra ʾíθwa ʾilána y-amrə́xxe…ʾíθ bàṭme.ˈ ʾíθən bàṭma.ˈ bàṭmaˈ ʾáni góṛtɛwa ràba.ˈ ʾap-ʾàniˈ ʾítlɛ héwən diyèy.ˈ ʾáni gu-ṭúra y-áwa sáma zòda,ˈ lɛ-y-áwa gu-qurbə màθa,ˈ rəḥqe ʾiyéwa.ˈ b-čèriˈ ʾíman t-màṭi,ˈ y-amríla gùjme.ˈ y-ázi laqṭìla.ˈ (221) ʾu-rába ṭemàne y-áwa-wˈ basìme y-áwa.ˈ ʾu-ʾíθ nášət ʾàθṛaˈ rába mənnéy mzàbni,ˈ ʾáni sab-gă̊rən-ila-w,ˈ basìme y-áwa.ˈ ʾu-xákma mənnéy ṭla-gʸànaˈ sab-t-y-áθa ʾàrxe kəslèy.ˈ basìme y-áwa,ˈ rába tazè.ˈ báṭme ʾap-ʾáni ʾìθena.ˈ

(222) gu-ṭúre ʾíθən garsàkke y-amrə́xla,ˈ harmìye,ˈ dèmi y-amrə́xla,ˈ gu-ṭùra líθən.ˈ ʾap-ʾáni ʾɛ-ga-y-ázi nàšeˈ qése mɛθòye,ˈ méθi ṭlá gu-bèθa.ˈ halùke,ˈ ʾítlɛni halùke,ˈ ʾap-ʾáni har-gu-ʾaqàra y-áwa.ˈ ʾap-ʾáni rába basìme y-áwa.ˈ ʾap-ʾáni y-áwa smòqeˈ zăreˈ basìme.ˈ ʾap-ʾáni y-óði muràbbe mánnaˈ ṭla-xàla.ˈ ʾítlən féka fə̀rya.ˈ

(223) wèrdeˈ y-amrə́xla ʾíθən qémi kəskànnelaˈ ʾu-balazèzela.ˈ ʾíθən bukìne,ˈ ʾíθ wérde smòqe,ˈ rába táza šapìre.ˈ ʾáni b-bèhɛr y-áwa tróṣa.ˈ ʾu-ṭla-mɛxóltət hewáne ʾítlən y-ámrəxxe ràsa.ˈ ʾaw-rása ṭla-ʾə́rwət xwàre y-áwe.ˈ ʾáw b-yárxət ʾárba xámša bàreˈ gu-ṭùra y-áwe.ˈ (224) ʾáni qúrbə máθa gu-ṭùra,ˈ léla gu-ʾaqàra.ˈ ʾaw-rása mapə́lxi ṭla-ʾə́rwe,ˈ ʾə́rwət xwáre sáma zòda.ˈ wèrde,ˈ ʾítlən y-amrə́xxa wérde žèri.ˈ ʾáni gu-ʾaqàre y-áwa.ˈ rába šəklàne y-áwa.ˈ ʾíθwa smòqe,ˈ yan-kàskela.ˈ ʾánna wèrdela.ˈ

(217) After it dried, however, they would take away the peel and throw it away, so that only the nuts would remain. On the occasion of festivals, saints' days and weddings they would use them for many things. (They would use them) for example for confetti (scattered over the head of a bride), for cakes made for a festival, all (kinds of) things were made out of these walnuts.

(218) We have quinces. Quinces. There were not so many of these in the village. Also these were for household use. It is also a fruit, that is they are just like apples. (They grow) from Spring until Autumn. In Autumn they become yellow. In fact they were green, then in the end they became yellow. (219) People go to pick them and use them in the home. If you want to make jam—they make jam also from these, that is from quinces. You can make make many (other) things from them, if they are left over. You can use them. Why should one buy anything if one can use them? For they had many of them.

(220) In the mountains there was a tree which we called… there were terebinth trees. There was the terebinth. This was a very large (tree). These also had their season. These were mostly in the mountains. They were not close to the village, they were far away. In the Autumn, when (their nuts) become ripe, (they have) what are called bunches (of fruit). People go to pick them. (221) They were very tasty and fine (to eat). Many of the local people used to sell them, since they were expensive (to buy) and they were fine (to eat). (They kept) some of them for themselves, for when guests came to them. They were very fine (to eat), very nice. There were terebinth nuts.

(222) In the mountains there were wild pears, as we call them, pears, unirrigated, as we say, in the mountains. When people go to fetch wood, they would bring back also these for use in the home. Plums, we have plums. These were only in the farmland. These were also very tasty. They were red and yellow, (they were) delicious. People would make jam from them to eat. We have many fruits.

(223) With regard to flowers, those that grow there include what are called *kəskənne* and *balazeze*. There are *bukine* ('red anemones'). There are red flowers, which are very beautiful. These, indeed, (come out) in Spring. For animal fodder we have what is called *rasa*. This *rasa* is for sheep. It grows in April and May and is (found) in the mountains. (224) It is near the village in the mountains, not in the farmland. They use this *rasa* for small cattle, mainly sheep. We have flowers called *žeri* flowers. These are (found) in the farmland. There are many varieties. There were red ones and those that are green. These are the flowers.

Swimming

(225) ʾu-b-qèṭa,ˈ ʾé-ga tàxrexi,ˈ ʾé-gət qèṭa,ˈ y-áwe nèra y-amrə́xle,ˈ nèra.ˈ béna xə̀mma y-áwe,ˈ y-ázi náše bána gàrra.ˈ ʾo-gárra páyəš ʾamùqa.ˈ y-áθi náše msáxi gàwe.ˈ qédamta y-azə́xwa qam-tàwreˈ ʾu-y-aθə̀xwa.ˈ sáʾət xadássər tréssər y-azə́xwa l-gàrraˈ xmàla,ˈ yáʿni mṭawòleˈ ʾu-msaxòye,ˈ hál sáʾət ṭláθa, ʾárba xàmša.ˈ (226) ʾu-módre qá-t-yátwəx qam-beč̂ye,ˈ qam-tàwre,ˈləʾánnahu ʾánna pàṛeˈ ʾu-koðə̀ntaˈ yáʿni lɛ-dérɛwa l-ṭùre.ˈ y-áziwa náše măṛ̀wala,ˈ doqìwala,ˈ nablìwala,ˈ maxlìwala-wˈ mădəṛíwa ʾaṣə̀rta.ˈ

Outings

(227) ʾàxniˈ ʾɆ̄n-Núne y-azə́xwa…ṣaləxwa Bəšmiyàye,ˈ ṣaləxwa Sardàšte.ˈ ʾánna kúlla maθwàθa.ˈ kúlla y-amríla Bèrwar-ila.ˈ ṣaləxwa l-Žàwa,ˈ yáʿni ʾax-t-y-amrə́xwa xðàra.ˈ y-aθéwa nàše.ˈ m-məinátha y-asqìwa.ˈ y-azə́xwa xðàra,ˈ táma doqə́xwa nùne.ˈ (228) ʾíθwa hammáše ʾékɛwa xa-šèra,ˈ y-azə́xwa máθa l-màθa.ˈ ʾánna məndiyàne yáʿniˈ ʾiqárɛwa xá qa-d-o-xèna.ˈ ʾən-wéwa šēr-Dùre,ˈ kúlla náše ʾo-yóma y-azíwa šēr-Dùre.ˈ sab-šérət Dúre ʾíle yóma xošèbaˈ qamàyaˈ m-báθər ʾéða gòṛa.ˈ y-amríle xošéba xàθa.ˈ (229) ʾíθən Màye.ˈ ʾáw šēr-Màyele.ˈ yáʿni ʾáni y-aθéwa ʾɆ̄n-Nùne.ˈ ʾɆ̄n-Núne šéra díya b-yárxət ʾə̀č̣̌ɛle.ˈ ʾarbássər bá…ʾə̀č̣̌aˈ kúlla ʾálma jằme.ˈ gu-məinátha y-àsqiˈ ʾu-ʾaθṛ̆wáθa xène.ˈ ʾu-har-hàdəxˈ yáʿni ʾánna məndiyáne kúlla y-oðə̀xwa,ˈ mattə́xwa ʾiqára xa-qa-d-o-xèna.ˈ (230) ʾu-xa-šéra y-awéwa ʾo-šérət kúlla nàšewa.ˈ sab-y-azìwaˈ l-à-maθa.ˈ ʾa-máθa ʾíθwa ʾúmra gàwa.ˈ y-oðíwa qurbàna.ˈ bár qurbàna,ˈ palṭìwa,ˈ y-axlìwa,ˈ xamlìwa,ˈ zamrìwa,ˈ raqðìwa.ˈ mɛθéwa ʾằraq,ˈ mɛθéwa xàmra.ˈ kúl xa-məndì.ˈ ʾé-ga qamàyeˈ d-a-dúnye bìš-basìmta.ˈ (231) méθɛ dáwla-w zòrna.ˈ zamríwa nàšeˈ ʾu-raqðìwa.ˈ rába rába tazèwa.ˈ xaðráxwa maθwàθa,ˈ kúlla xðìrəxla.ˈ b-qèṭaˈ b-sə̀twaˈ yáʿni zálta-w θéθa ʾíθwa kəs-ġðàðe,ˈ yáʿni nášət ġðáðe wíye xəzmayùθa.ˈ xəzmayúθa mòdi?ˈ

Swimming

(225) In summer, as I remember, in summertime, there was a river, as we call it, a river. When it is warm, people go and build a pool. The pool becomes deep. People come to bathe in it. Early in the morning we would go to look after the cattle and then return. At eleven or twelve o'clock we would go to the pool to have fun, playing and swimming, until three, four or five o'clock. (226) Then we would (go off) again to look after the lambs and the cattle, since they did not put the lambs, (cattle) and mules in the mountains. People would go to graze them, then they took hold of them, took them to be fed and brought them back in the evening.

Outings

(227) We in ʾƐn-Nune used to go down to Bəšmiyaye, we used to go down to Sardašte. These are all villages. They are all what is called the Barwar. We used to go down to the Zab for outings,[63] as we would say. People would come. They would come up from the villages. We would go on outings and catch fish there. (228) There was always somewhere where there was a saint's day festival and we would go from village to village. We did such things out of respect for each other. If there was a saint's day festival in Dure, everybody on that day would go to Dure. The saint's day festival of Dure is on the first Sunday after Easter. It is called the new Sunday. (229) There is (also the village of) Maye, that is the saint's day festival of Maye. They used to come to ʾƐn-Nune. The saint's day festival of ʾƐn-Nune was in September. On the twenty-fourth of September everybody gathers. (Those) in the towns and in other regions come up and so forth. We did all these things to show respect for one another. (230) (When) there was a saint's day festival, it was the festival of everybody. People would go to the village. There was a church in the village and they would hold communion. After communion, they would come out and eat, make merry, sing and dance. They would bring wine, they would bring arak, everything. (This was) in the old days, when the world was more pleasant. (231) They would bring the drum and pipe. People would sing and dance. It was very very nice. We would go around the villages. We went round all of them. In the Summer and the Winter there was a mutual coming and going, since people had a family relationship among one another. What is a family relationship?

[63] Literally: to wander about.

(232) xəzmayúθa ʾíla manáy ʾən-xá náša dìyux| yan-xá bráta díyux hot-híwəlla qa-ðà-maθa,| píše xàzme.| ʾən-ʾàti| xa-xàzmux| ʾán xa-nāš-dìyux| ʾán xa-gwíra m-ðá-maθa xéta ʾáθye kàslux,| ʾánna y-amríla xàzme.| (233) ʾína ʾánna məndiyáne wìyɛlɛ.| yáʿni máθa l-màθa,| bráta gòra,| ʾən-ʾúrza y-ázəl méθe m-ða-máθa xèta,| ʾáw bráta m-áxxa y-áza ða-máθa xèta.| ʾánna məndiyàne| fa-ʾáyya y-ámri xəzmayùθa.| yáʿni qá-t našùθa| la-tálqa y-amrə́xwala.| našúθa la-tàlqa| mxaθxàθa.| (234) ʾu-ʾé-gət y-azə́xwa m-máθa l-màθa,| xašwə́xwa hár gu-máθət gʸànən-ixwa.| hammáše yáʿni xàzyəx| ʾu-xmìləx| ʾu-ʾiqàra| tìwe| ʾu-pɛšíwa tàma,| damxíwa ṭla-xlulàne.| pɛšíwa xá-lɛle trè.| yáʿni rába ʾíθwa zálta-w θéθa maθwàθa| kúlla tfàqta.| ʾíθwa dostùθa-w| našùθa-w| xəzmayùθa| kúl-xa mə́ndi ʾíθwa.|

(232) The meaning of family relationship is (as follows). If you have given somebody of your family or a daughter of yours to a certain village (in marriage), (the two families) become relatives. If a relative of yours, a person of your family or somebody married (into your family) comes to you, they call these people family relatives. (233) These things happened, that is (marriages) between one village and another, for example a girl marries (in this way), either a man goes and brings (a wife) from another village or a girl from here goes to another village. These things (happened) and they call this a family relationship. We used to say that this (was necessary) so that humanity did not disappear. Humanity should not disappear but should be renewed. (234) When we went from one village to another, we used to think that we were in our own village. We always saw each other and enjoyed ourselves. People sat (in each other's homes out of) respect and stayed to sleep in order to (participate in) a wedding. They would stay one or two nights. There was a lot of coming and going among the villages, with lots of meetings.[64] There was friendship, humanity, family relationship, everything.

[64] Literally: It is all meeting.

B6 Life in ʾƐn-Nune (2)

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

Festivals

(1) mšérəx mən-ʾéða gòṛa.ˈ ʾeðăwáθət baríwa gu-Bàrwərˈ t-suràye,ˈ ʾaθoràye.ˈ ʾéða góṛa ʾíle xa-ṭùxsaˈ qyámtət Mšíxa báθər t-wéwa píša qṭìla.ˈ yóma t-ṭláθa qímle m-bɛ̄θ-mìθe,ˈ ʾu-kúl-xa suràyaˈ ʾu-kúlla dùnyeˈ y-óði xa-ʾèða.ˈ (2) ṭlaθà yománeˈ ʾáxni y-oðə́xwa ʾèða.ˈ ʾu-xàkma dukáneˈ xà-yoma háwe ʾéða.ˈ ʾi-ṣɛmíwa náše xamšìˈ yománe,ˈ ṣàwma,ˈ y-amrə́xwale ṣáwma gòṛa.ˈ báθər xámšiˈ yomàne,ˈ pàyəšwaˈ y-aθèwaˈ yómət ʾèða,ˈ dáʾəman napálwa yómət xušèba.ˈ ʾáwwa ʾéða gòṛɛle.ˈ

(3) ʾo-yómət trè t-ʾéðaˈ y-amríle geyàsa.ˈ geyàsaˈ yómət trèˈ t-ʾéða gòṛa.ˈ y-ázi náše l-ʾùmraˈ y-óði qurbàna.ˈ qáša šaqálle xa-qésa rìxa.ˈ b-ʾíðe díye dawùqleˈ ʾi-rášəm hátxa gu-réšət nàšeˈ maxéle gu-réšət nàše,ˈ ʾáx burkàθa.ˈ (4) ʾáxni y-amrə́xla dax-burkàθa.ˈ ʾu-dèriˈ bəθqe b-rešéy.ˈ báθqe yáʿni šɛrnìye,ˈ gàwze,ˈ qàzbe.ˈ zadíla hátxa gu-réšə nàše.ˈ xa-ṭùxsɛle,ˈ yáʿni qa-t-háwe kúl-xa béθə nàšaˈ hawéle burkàθa,ˈ burkáθa yáʿni ṯ-áwe zyáda gu-mɛxoltèy,ˈ gu-ʾarzā́q diyèy.ˈ ʾàwwɛle geyása.ˈ

(5) báθər ʾéða gòṛaˈ y-áθe ʾarbì-yomeˈ báθər ʾéða d-o-gòṛaˈ ʾìθenaˈ ʾéðət sulàqa.ˈ suláqa ʾìleˈ manàyˈ Mšìxaˈ síqle l-šmàyyaˈ ʾo-yòma,ˈ yómət ʾàrpiˈ báθər ʾéða d-o-gòṛa.ˈ báθər t-qímle m-bɛθə-míθe t-wéwa qṭìla,ˈ síqle l-šmàyya.ˈ (6) ʾó-yoma y-óði nášeˈ dax-ʾəḥtəfālˈ qurbàna-wˈ mpálṭi duxràna ʾu-y-ázi y-óði hèzuke,ˈ náše kùlla.ˈ (7) hézuke mòdila?ˈ táli xàwlaˈ b-xa-ʾilána ṯ-óya góṛta rába ramànta,ˈ b-xa-tàqa,ˈ ʾu-y-átwi náše rəš-xàwlaˈ y-óðiley dúkθət ʾitàwa.ˈ ʾu-xa-zayàpley,ˈ y-ázi ʾu-y-áθi gu-hằwa,ˈ y-amríle hezùke.ˈ yáʿni manáy díya Mšíxa síqle l-šmàyyaˈ ʾáp-ʾanna práxa gu-hắwa zàlaˈ b-o-ṭùxsaˈ yáʿni ʾisáqtət Mšíxa l-šmàyya.ˈ ʾáwwa ʾíle sulàqa.ˈ

B6 Life in ʾƐn-Nune (2)

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

Festivals

(1) Let's begin with the Great Festival. The festivals of the Assyrian Christians that took place in Barwar. The Great Festival is a ceremony (commemorating) the resurrection of Christ after he had been killed. On the third day he rose from the tomb, and every Christian in the whole world holds a festival. (2) We would hold the festival for three days. In some places the festival was for one day. People would fast for fifty days, (in) a fast, which we called the Great Fast. After fifty days, the day of the festival occurred, which would always fall on a Sunday. This is the Great Festival.

(3) The second day of the festival was called *geyasa* ('the (good) thief'). The *geyasa* was the second day of the festival. The people would go and take communion. The priest would take a long stick. He would take it in his hand and make a sign like this on the heads of the people, he would tap it on the heads of the people, as blessings. (4) We call these 'blessings'. They would scatter confectionery on their heads. The confectionery consisted of sweets, walnuts, dates. They would throw them like this on the heads of the people. It was a ceremonial act, so that every family would have blessings, so that they would have abundant blessings in their food and sustenance. The *geyasa* ceremony is this.

(5) After the Great Festival, forty days after the Great Festival, the festival of Ascension occurs. Ascension means that Christ ascended to Heaven on that day, on the fortieth day after the Great Festival. After he rose from the tomb, (after) he had been killed, he ascended to Heaven. (6) On that day the people hold a party, they take communion and perform a memorial service. Then all the people go and swing. (7) What is swinging? They hang a rope on a tree that is large and very high, on a branch, and the people sit on the rope—they make a place to sit. One person pushes them and they go back and forth in the air—this is called swinging. Its meaning is that Christ ascended to Heaven and also they are flying back and forth in the air, in a symbolic act (commemorating) the going up of Christ to Heaven. This is the (festival of) Ascension.

(8) xàrθa| ṯ-áθe xá-ʾeða xréna zòra,| y-amríle ʾéðət musàrde.| musàrde| nàpəl| ṭàbbəx,| yárxət tmànya.| ʾáw mùt-ʾeɔele:?| ʾáw ʾímət mšíxa θéle gu-nérət ʾÙrdun,| Mar-Yoḥànna| t-táma-hawe qəm-măməàle.| dréle míya b-réšə Mšîxa| qəm-măməàle,| ṣléle róxət qúdša mən-šmáyya ṣléle l-Mšîxa.| ʾáyya y-amráxla măməàða.| (9) kúl-xa náša…yalúnka zórət bàre| gă̆rəg páyəš mŭməðða gu-ʾùmra,| déri míya rèše.| barxíle qáše šamàše| déri míya rèše| ʾax-t-wéwa Mar-Yuḥánna dárya mìya| b-réšə Mšîxa.| ʾáyya y-amrìla| musàrde.| (10) fa-náše kúlla pàlṭi| xa-maryóse ʾo-xréna mìya.| maryástət míya xa-l-d-o-xréna mòdila:?| ma-t-wéwa ʾáθye nàše| ç̣ənnəḵérət Mšîxa,| ma-t-wéwa ràbe| Mar-Yuḥánna lá-mṣele kút-xa dréle qáwwət míya b-rèše.| (11) qímle mŭrísle hátxa míya ʾəllèy| yàʿni| kùlley| ta-t-máṭa míya ʾəllèy.| fa-l-d-áw ṭùxsa,| ʾáxni ʾó-yoma y-óðexi ʾáp-ʾaxni musàrde.| náše kúlla mbádla qèmi| xa-maryóse ʾo-xréna mìya,| hal-ʾaṣ́rta ʾáw háwe šulèni.|

(12) xàrθa| y-aθélɛni ʾèða| ʾéðət be-yàlda.| ʾéðət be-yálda ʾíle wéθət Mšîxa.| yáʿni ṯ-íle bàrya| Mšîxa.| ʾáw báryɛle ʾásri xàmša,| b-yárxət trèssər.| qam-bréθe dìye| ʾəsrí-w xamšà yománe| náše ʾi-ṣèmi.| náše krəstyáne suráye ʾi-ṣèmi| ʾásri-w xámša yomàne.| (13) yómət ʾásri-w xámša háwe ʾèða.| y-óði ʾəḥtəfâl,| y-ázi náše l-ʾùmra| ʾu-y-óði qurbána-w qárwi-w pàlṭi náše.| xàrθa| ʾáxni gu-maθwàθa| kúllɛni jămáxwa m-ġðàðe,| ʾən-qàša mánnən| ʾən-múxtərət màθa,| zavráxwa ʾeðăwàθa.| (14) qamáye y-azáxwa l-ʾéðət qàša.| barxáxwa ʾéðe dìye.| xárθa y-azáxwa l-béθət mùxtər,| ʾáp-ʾaw barxáxwale ʾéðe dìye.| ʾu-doqáxwa b-réza kùlla máθa.| ʾi-zavráxwa gu-màθa.| kúlla màθa| mbarxáxwale ʾéðət nàše.| (15) xá-b-xa béθa y-oráxwa gáwe mbarxàxwa ʾéða| ʾu-palṭàxwa.| ʾímə-t y-óraxwa gu-bèθa| ʾi-šatíwa náše ʾă̆raq.| ʾu-mɛθéwa màzze,| ʾixàle-w| fèke-w| šarnìye-w| jigère.| xa-rŭbaʿ sàʾa,| pálgə sàʾa,| ʾən-xa-sáʾa xa-xá-ga y-atàxwa.| (16) xa-xá-ga márət béθa mbašálwa ʾixála ʾímət hóya dànət ʾixála.| y-axlíwa náše ʾu-palṭíwa y-azíwa l-d-ó-bɛθa xèna,| hál-d-ɛ-gət kùlla máθa par-qáwa.| ʾáwwa ʾéða zòra.| y-amráxwa ʾéða zòra.| yáʿni ʾéðət bréθət Mšîxa.| ʾànnɛla ʾeðăwáθə diyéni.|

(8) Afterwards another small festival occurs, which is called *musarde*. *Musarde* falls in Ṭabbax, August. What festival is this? This (commemorates) when Christ came to the river Jordan and Saint John, who was there, baptized him. He put water over Christ and baptized him, then the Holy Spirit descended from Heaven and descended into Christ. We call this baptism. (9) Everybody . . . when a young child is born, he must be baptized in the church and they put water over him. The priests and deacons bless him and they put water over him, as Saint John had put water on the head of Christ. This (festival) is called *musarde*. (10) All the people go out and sprinkle water on each other. What is (the significance of) scattering water over each other? So many people came around Christ, so many, that Saint John could not put a scoop of water over everybody. (11) So he scattered water over them like this, so that the water would reach all of them. In this way we perform (the festival of) *musarde* on that day. In the morning the people all scatter water over each other, and this is what we do until the evening.

(12) Then we have (another) festival, the festival of Christmas. The festival of Christmas is (in commemoration of) the birth of Christ, that is the fact that Christ was born. He was born on the twenty-fifth of December. For twenty-five days before (the day of) his birth, people fast for twenty five days. Christian people fast for twenty-five days. (13) The twenty-fifth day is the festival. They hold celebrations, people go to church, they take communion then come out. Afterwards, all of us in the villages gathered together, either with a priest with us or a head of the village, and we went around (offering) festival blessings. (14) First we would go and offer a festival blessing to the priest. We would offer him a festival blessing. Then we would go to the house of the village head and would offer also him a festival blessing. We would then visit the whole village in a row, going around the village. We would offer festival blessings to all the people of the village. (15) We would go into one house after another and offer festival blessings, then come out. When we went into a house, people would drink arak, they would bring snacks, food, fruit, sweets, cigarettes. Each time we would sit for a quarter of an hour, half an hour, sometimes even an hour. (16) Sometimes the owner of the house would cook food when it was time for food. The people would eat and go out, then go to another house, until all the village was finished. This is the Small Festival. We called it the Small Festival. It was the festival of the birth of Christ. These are our festivals.

(17) ʾíθwa baʾúθət ninwàye.ˈ baʾúθət ninwàyeˈ lèlaˈ…léle ʾéða diyàna.ˈ ʾíle ʾéða qàwmiˈ t-məllatayùθa.ˈ ʾàwˈ xa-zàwnaˈ Nìnwəˈ ʾiwáwa pétəxt ʾaθoràye.ˈ ʾé-ga ʾàyˈ wéle fãyaḏắn-t mìya.ˈ míya zìdla.ˈ ʾímə zìdla míya,ˈ kúlla məíta dwíqla mìyaˈ ʾu-míya mšuréla ryàmaˈ náše xnàqa.ˈ (18) náše mšuréla xnàqa,ˈ xàkma náše,ˈ ʾu-xákma mxulṣàla gána.ˈ ʾu-xákma síqla garăwáθət bàte.ˈ ʾu-xákma síqla dukáne ramáne qa-t-la-máṭi míya ʾèlla.ˈ (19) fa-màlka,ˈ málka híwle ʾàmraˈ mára kúl-xa náša ṣàyəm.ˈ ṣàyəm,ˈ híč-məndi lá-ʾaxəl ṭlà yománe.ˈ la-šáte la-mìya-wˈ la-ʾáxəl ʾixála ṭláθa yomàθa,ˈ ʾu-ṭálbi mən-ʾálaha qa-t-ʾàwwaˈ fãyaḏắn maklèle,ˈ ʾáyya zyáttət mìyaˈ maklèlaˈ ʾàlaha.ˈ (20) béna báθər ṭla-yomàneˈ mšuréla míya nqàṣa-wˈ tìwleˈ…bár ṭláθa yomàθaˈ míya tìwlaˈ nqíṣla nqìṣlaˈ ʾu-príqle ʾaw-fãyaḏắn.ˈ ʾáni y-amríwale ṭawpàna.ˈ ṭawpána yáʿni zyàttət míya.ˈ ʾáwwa ʾíle xa-ʾèða.ˈ (21) béna náše diyèniˈ ʾi-ṣémi ṭlá yomàne,ˈ xàkma náše,ˈ xákma la-ṣèmi.ˈ xákma ṣémi ṭlá yomàneˈ ʾu-báθər ṭláθa y-ázi y-óði qurbàna-wˈ ʾu-pàrqa.ˈ ʾàyya.ˈ ʾáwwa ʾíle xa-ʾéða zòraˈ b-násba l-málləṭ ʾaθoràye.ˈ ʾàxči,ˈ lèle t-krəstyáne ʾáwwa ʾéða.ˈ ʾáwwa ʾíle baʾúθət ninwàye.ˈ

(22) kul-máθət ʾítla ʾùmraˈ ʾan-maθwáθa hawéwaley šèra,ˈ šèraˈ d-ó-yomət ʾíle ʾo-qaddíša mìθa.ˈ tarf̆x díye y-óði ʾèða.ˈ ʾó-ʾeða y-amráxle šèra.ˈ ʾáw yắðət dàx y-oðíle?ˈ (23) qédamta y-ázi náše l-ʾùmra,ˈ y-óði qurbàna,ˈ pàlṭiˈ b-pálgət yòmaˈ sáʾət tréssər hal-xàˈ kul-nàša,ˈ kul-bèθaˈ ʾi-mbášəl xá-tərət ʾixálət ʾáw bă̆ye.ˈ ṃaléla xa-ṣiníye gòṛta.ˈ maṣléla mattúla xà-dukθa.ˈ (24) ʾíθena xákma dukáne tuθànela,ˈ xákma dukáne hátxa gawzánela ṯ-íla ṭèlla,ˈ sab-dáyəmən nápəl ʾo-yóma xa-dánə t-y-áwe qèṭa.ˈ (25) b-šəryăwáθa šaxìnta y-óya dúnye.ˈ fa-y-átwi náše ṭèlla,ˈ ṭóllət ʾilanàne,ˈ tuθàne,ˈ gawzàne.ˈ ʾixála kúlle măriźìle xa-dúkθa.ˈ ʾu-nášət màθaˈ ʾaw-ʾən-náše naxràye ʾíθən,ˈ kúlla y-áθɛ y-àtwiˈ y-áxli mən-d-ó ʾixàla.ˈ (26) báθər párqi mən-ʾixàla,ˈ závri náše gu-bàte.ˈ xákma náše ṯ-íla naxràye,ˈ t-maθwáθa xrène,ˈ y-áθɛ y-óri gu-bátə náše mbarxíley ʾeðèy.ˈ y-átwi šáti čày-uˈ mɛθéley ʾixàlaˈ ʾu-qémi y-àzi.ˈ ʾáwwa ʾíle ʾéðəṭ ʾƐn-Nùne,ˈ táma l-Mar-Sàwaˈ ʾúmrət Mar-Sàwa.ˈ

(17) There was 'The Rogation of the Ninevites'. The Rogation of the Ninevites is not a religious festival. It is a national festival. Once Nineveh was the capital of the Assyrians. At that time there was a flood of water. The water increased. When the water increased, the whole town became filled with water, the water began to rise and people drowned. (18) People began to drown—some people, some saved themselves. Some went up onto the roofs of houses. Some went up onto high places so that the water would not reach them. (19) The king gave an order saying 'Everybody should fast. (Everybody) should fast and should not eat anything for three days. (Everybody) should not drink water or eat food for three days and they should ask God to stop this flood, to stop this increase in water'. (20) Then, after three days, the water began to diminish and go down. After three days the water went down and diminished, the flood finished. They call it (in *surəθ*) *ṭawpana* ('flood'), *ṭawpana* means 'increase in water'. This is a festival. (21) Our people fast for three days—some people, some do not fast. Some fast for three days and after three days they go and take communion, then it is over. It is a small festival and it belongs to the Assyrian nation. This festival is not a Christian one. It is (called) the Rogation of the Ninevites.

(22) Every village that had a church—these villages had a saint's festival, a festival (commemorating) the day that the saint died. On this date they hold a festival. They call the festival *šera*. Do you know how they perform it? (23) In the morning the people go to church and take communion. They go out at midday, from twelve o'clock to one, everybody, each family, cooks any type of food that they like. (Each) fills a large tray and brings it down and places it in a certain place. (24) There are several (such) places—they are mulberry trees, some places are walnut trees, which are shady, for this festival day always falls at a time when it is summer. (25) During the saint day festivals it is always hot, so people sit in the shade, the shade of trees, mulberry trees, walnut trees. They place all the food in rows in one place. The people of the village or people from outside, if there are any, all come and sit and eat the food. (26) When they finish eating, the people go around the houses. Some people from outside, from other villages, come and enter peoples' houses and offer them festival blessings. They sit and drink tea, bring them food, and they get up and go. This is the festival of ʾƐn-Nune, which (takes places) there for Saint Sawa, at the church of Saint Sawa.

(27) Mar-Sáwa y-awéwa xa-qaddìša' ʾáṣle díye ʾiranàya-wewa,' farsàya.' ʾàwwa' ʾè-ga' b-zàwne díye,' bábe dìye' ʾax-ṯ-íla mtunéθa ða-tàrīx,' y-amríwa màlka-wewa bábe díye.' fa-ʾáwwa mhuymènne b-krəstyáne.' mhuymènne b-dínət krəstyàne.' (28) màlka' saġðánət sănằme-wewa.' málkət ʾÌrən-wewa.' ʾáni saġðíwa sănằme.' lè-y yăðíwa ʾálaha.' lé-y yăðíwa diyánət krəstyáne mòdile.' fa-saġðíwa sănằme.' (29) béna qímle bábe màlka' móre qaṭlánne bròni.' bróne díye rìqle.' ríqle mən-ʾÍrən θèle,' ṭéle gu-Ṭiyàre.' táma mìtle' gu-Ṭiyàre.' (30) béna b-á-dúkθa ṯ-íle mìθa' krəstyáne díyən ʾaθoráye qímela bánye ʾúmra-w' ʾàw' mṭùmrəlle táma.' gu-d-ò-ʾumra' ṭùmrəlle' ʾu-bányela ʾúmra b-réše dìye.' ʾáw múttəlle šámme díye Mar-Sàwa.' (31) ʾáxni ʾax-ṯ-íx bányəlle ʾúmra díyən gu-ʾƐn-Nùne'—léla kθìwe' ʾíma ṯ-íle bànya' léla kθìwe' b-èni tarī́x-ile bánya,' bas-ʾáxni ʾax-t-mqadrə̀xla' šánne dìye' ʾíba bēn-ʾarbá-mma-w ʾəštá-mma šə̀nne' ṯ-íle bànya.' záwda mən-ʾarbá-mma šə̀nnele.' bálki bíš-ḳ̄ēm mən-ʾəštà-mma šánnela,' hàtxane' ṯ-íle bənya tàma.' (32) fa-ʾáxni max-ṯ-íx-bənyəlla ʾáwwa b-šámmət Mar-Sáwa gu-Ṭiyàre,' síqela náše l-Ṭiyàre' múθyela xa-kèpa' mən-ʾúmrət Mar-Sáwa gu-Ṭiyàre.' múθyəlle múttəlle gu-ʾƐn-Nùne' ʾu-bànyəlle' ʾúmra b-réše dìye' b-réšə d-o-kèpa.' (33) móra ʾáwwa ʾíle Mar-Sàwa.' múttəlle šámme Màr-Sawa' b-násba l-Mar-Sáwa t-íle gu-Ṭiyàre.' b-šétət tmáni tmànya' Ṣaddā́m híwle ʾámra ṭla-ʾaskarwáθe dìye,' ʾíma tlixàla máθa,' ʾúp Mar-Sáwa qəm-talə̀xle.' (34) θéla tláxəlle bəldozère-u' là-mṣela tlíxla.' ma-t-wéwa gúde díye mùḥkəm.' mút-tula dìnamet gáwe díye,' dìnamet,' qəm-păqìle.' ʾáw ʾu-ʾumráne ràbe gu-Bárwər.' kúll máθa ṯ-íla tlíxta ʾíθ ʾùmra gáwa' ʾumráne kúlla tlixə̀lla.'

Baptism

(35) mamodìθa:' yála zòra' krəstyàna' ʾé-gət bàre' kúl-naša ṯ-awéle xa-bròna,' báθər xákma yèrxe,' qam-máṭe šèta,' taqrìban,' ṯ-áwele ʾášta yèrxe,' ṭláθa yèrxe,' qam-máṭe šéta ʾúmre dìye,' ʾi-nablíle l-ʾùmra.' (36) qàša' ʾu-šamàša' ʾi-mṣàli' b-réše-u béθa dɛ́rɛ míye b-réše dìye.' ʾu-máxa xa-mášxa gu-be-ʾéne dìye' ʾoðíle rúšma ʾax-ṣlìwa.' ʾáy y-amríle rúšma t-krìhe.' ʾáyya ʾíla mamodìθa.' yáʿni manáy díya ʾáwwa yála zóra píšle krəstyàna.' píšle moméðða mamodìθa' t-krəstyàne.'

(27) Saint Sawa was a saint who was of Iranian, Persian, origin. In his time, his father—according to one (version of) of history, it is said that his father was a king. He (Sawa) believed the Christians, believed in the Christian religion. (28) The king was a worshipper of idols. He was king of Iran. They used to worship idols. They did not know God. They did not know what the religion of Christians was. They used to worship idols. (29) His father the king said 'I shall kill my son'. His son fled. He fled from Iran and came and wandered in Ṭiyare. He died there in Ṭiyare. (30) Then, in the place that he died, our Christians, the Assyrians, built a church and buried him there. They buried him in (the site of) that church and built the church over him. They gave it the name of Saint Sawa. (31) When we built our church in ʾƐn-Nune—it is not written[1] when it was built, it is not written on what date it was built, but according to our reckoning of its age, it was built between four-hundred and six-hundred years ago. It is more than four hunrdred years old. Perhaps it is less than six hundred years ago, when it was built there. (32) So, when we built it with the name of Saint Sawa of Ṭiyare, people went up to Ṭiyare and brought back a stone from the church of Saint Sawa in Ṭiyare. They brought it back and placed it in ʾƐn-Nune and built a church over it, over the stone. (33) They said this is (the church of) Saint Sawa. They gave it the name of Saint Sawa after (the church of) Saint Sawa which is in Ṭiyare. In the year (19)88, Ṣaddām gave an order to his soldiers, when they destroyed the village and he destroyed also (the church of) Saint Sawa. (34) They came to destroy it with bulldozers, but they could not destroy it, so solid where its walls. They put dynamite in it, dynamite, and blew it up, and also many (other) churches in Barwar. Every village that was destroyed and had a church in it, they destroyed all the churches (in them).

Baptism

(35) When a Christian baby is born—anybody who has a son, after a few months, before he reaches a year, when he is around six months, three months, before he reaches a year in age, they take him to the church. (36) The priest and the deacon pray over him and his family and they put water on his head. They put some oil on his forehead and make for him a sign like a cross. They call this the sign of the suffering ones. This is baptism. Its meaning is that this baby has become a Christian. It has been baptized with a Christian baptism.

[1] Literally: They have not written.

Dairy Products

(37) čita ʾíla mášxa t-ʾàrwe.ˈ xálya t-heywàneˈ t-ʾárwe ʾən-tawràθa,ˈ xálya marəxθìleˈ ʾu-šoqíle péša dằraj ḥărára díye taqríban ʾàrbi.ˈ déri marèθa bíya.ˈ ʾi-mxamèla.ˈ déri xa-júlla b-réša qá-t hár-hawe šaxìntaˈ múddət tmánya sàʾăte.ˈ ʾi-páyəšˈ ʾo-xə̀lyaˈ páyəš màsta.ˈ (38) ʾɛ-màstaˈ ʾi-dɛríla gu-gùða.ˈ gúða mòdile?ˈ ʾíle gə́ldət xa-hèywən.ˈ našṭìle.ˈ y-amrə́xle gùða.ˈ ʾi-dɛréla gáwe dìyeˈ ʾu-yi-mằyìle.ˈ y-asṛíle b-xàwlaˈ ʾu-talíle b-xa qèsaˈ ʾən-b-qaríθət bèθaˈ yi-mằyìle.ˈ (39) myáʾa mòdile?ˈ yáʿni majwə̀jta díya.ˈ naból̀e ʾu-mɛθóye b-xɛlàna.ˈ ʾu-déri míya gàwa.ˈ xa-rŭbaʿ sáʾa,ˈ ʾəsrí daqìqe,ˈ pálgə sàʾa.ˈ ʾi-šɛšíla ʾi-šɛšìlaˈ hal-másta ʾi-péša ʾax-mìya.ˈ (40) mášxət gu-d-á-masta ʾi-jắmi l-ġðàðe.ˈ ʾi-jắmi l-ġðàðe,ˈ ʾi-mpalṭìle.ˈ mášxa páyəš xòðe,ˈ ʾu-dáwwe dɛréla gu-xa-quṣxáne gòṛta.ˈ ʾáwwa mášxa y-amrə́xle čita.ˈ (41) ʾáwwa ʾi-mapəlxìleˈ ʾə́n y-axlíle b-lə̀xma,ˈ ʾə́n ʾi-dɛríle b-rə̀zza,ˈ ʾímət ʾi-mbášli rə̀zza,ˈ ʾə́n dɛríle rəš-bušàlaˈ y-oðíle gə̀rðo,ˈ y-amríla gə̀rðo.ˈ ʾáyyɛla čita.ˈ ʾu-dàwwe,ˈ ʾan-míyət màsta,ˈ t-pèši,ˈ ʾáni y-amríla dàwwe.ˈ (42) ʾu-qàška ʾíle ʾan-dáwwe marəxθìla.ˈ marəxθìla,ˈ ʾu-ʾi-šoqíla tămàha,ˈ míya ʾi-ṭépi b-rèša.ˈ míyət ṭépi b-réša bɛzìla.ˈ ʾo-t- pàyəšˈ ʾi-dɛréle gu-xa-kìsa,ˈ xa-kísa xwára t-bèza,ˈ ʾu-talíle b-xa-sákθa hal-é-gət míye díye kúlla nàšpi.ˈ (43) ʾáw páyəš ʾax-maʿjŭn,ˈ ʾax-lèša páyəš.ˈ ʾo-xàlwa,ˈ y-amrə́xle xàlwa.ˈ ʾáw xálwət… d-àn-dawwe.ˈ ʾáw y-oðíle glòlaˈ mattíle qam-šə̂mša,ˈ ʾi-bàrəz.ˈ ʾi-bàrəz,ˈ y-amrìleˈ qàška.ˈ (44) ʾáwwa qàškaˈ b-sə́twa ʾímə sánqi nàšeˈ l-dàwweˈ qa-t-mbášli bušàlaˈ ʾáwwa xá-ga xéta dɛréle gu-mìya,ˈ mpašrìle,ˈ mpašrìle,ˈ gu-mìya,ˈ ʾi-páyəš ʾax-dàwwe.ˈ ʾi-dére rázza gàweˈ ʾu-mbašlìle,ˈ páyəš bušàla.ˈ m-gēb-dàwwe.ˈ ʾáwwa qàškɛle.ˈ

Bread

(45) ṭə̀lmeˈ ʾíman-t qámxa lɛšíle lèšaˈ ʾu-ʾi-xă̆me,ˈ dére xmíra gáwe ʾi-xă̆me,ˈ ʾi-méθi sèla.ˈ sèlaˈ prə̀zlɛle.ˈ ʾáw dax-ṯ̂-ámrəx ʾax-ṣinìyeleˈ bas-gòṛa.ˈ ʾi-mattíle š-kèpe,ˈ xóθe díye y-óði nùra.ˈ ʾo-séla ʾi-xàyəm.ˈ

Dairy Products

(37) *Čita* is the butter of sheep. They boil the milk of animals, of sheep or cows, and let its heat become about forty degrees. They put rennet in it. They keep it. They put a cloth over it so that it remains warm, for eight hours. The milk then becomes yoghurt. (38) They put the yoghurt in a churn. What is a churn? It is an animal skin. They strip (it off the animal). We call it a 'churn'. They put it (the yoghurt) in it and churn it. They tie it with a rope and hang it onto a piece of wood or onto the beam of a house and churn it. (39) What is churning? This means moving it. Moving back and forth quickly. They put water into it. For quarter of an hour, ten minutes, half an hour, they shake it and shake it until the yoghurt becomes like water. (40) They gather together the butter of the yoghurt. They gather it together and take it out. The butter remains behind[2] and they put the *dawwe* (yoghurt water) in a large pot. We call this butter *čita*. (41) They use it—either they eat it on bread or the put it in rice or, when they cook rice, they put it in stew and make it into *gərðo*, what is called *gərðo*. This is *čita.* As for the *dawwe*, the water of the yoghurt that remains is called *dawwe.* (42) *Qaška* is (made by) boiling the *dawwe*. They boil it and put it aside. The water comes to the top. They pour off the water that comes to the top. What remains they put in a bag, a white bag of muslin, and hang it on a peg until all its water drains away. (43) It becomes like paste, it becomes like dough. This is *xalwa*, we call it *xalwa*. It is the *xalwa* of *dawwe*. They make it round and put it in the sun and it dries. When it dries they call it *qaška*. (44) This *qaška*—in winter, when people need *dawwe* to cook stew, they put it again in water and dissolve it, they dissolve it in water and it becomes something like *dawwe*. They put rice in it and cook it. It becomes stew. (It is) instead of *dawwe*. This is *qaška*.

Bread

(45) *Ṭəlme*: When they knead flour into a dough and it rises, they put yeast in it and it rises, they bring a griddle. The griddle is made of iron. We could say that it is like a tray, but bigger. They put it on stones and make a fire under it. The griddle becomes hot.

[2] Literally: by itself.

(46) šáqli lèša,ˈ mattíle š-xá…párša pṭòxa,ˈ š-xa-mēz hátxa pṭòxa,ˈ xa-qèsaˈ glòlaˈ ʾi-zɛpíle rèše díyeˈ nablíle ʾu-mɛθéle hàl-ɛ-gət páyəš raqíqa.ˈ ʾó-leša páyəš raqíqa ràba.ˈ (47) ʾi-šaqlíle b-gʸèra,ˈ yáʿni xa-qèsa,ˈ ʾu-dɛréle rəš-d-ó-sela ṭ́-íle núra xóθe xamìma.ˈ ʾi-bàšəl.ˈ ʾi-bàšəl,ˈ maxəðríle xá-ga l-ày-gota,ˈ xá-ga l-ày-gota,ˈ hal-d-é-gət bàšla.ˈ ʾáwwa y-ámrile ṭ̀əlme,ˈ ṭləmθa.ˈ

(48) lawàšeˈ har-ʾé ṭləmθaˈ ʾi-maxéla l-tanùra.ˈ tanùraˈ y-áwe xamìma,ˈ m-bár t-y-óði núra gàwe,ˈ xáyəm ràba.ˈ ʾi-šaqlíla ʾa-ṭləmθaˈ maxèla gu-tanúra.ˈ ʾi-bášla y-amríle lawàše.ˈ yáʿni har-ʾè ṭlámθa,ˈ ʾən-dérətla rəš-sèlaˈ mbašlətlaˈ ʾáyya péša ṭləmθa.ˈ ʾən-maxátla gu-tanùra mbašátla,ˈ y-amríla lawàše.ˈ

(49) ʾu-zeðàyaˈ ʾíla biš-xlìmta.ˈ xlìmta hóya.ˈ šaqlíle-har-ʾo-ləxma.ˈ lá dɛréle là rəš-séla ʾi-maxíle gu-tanùraˈ háwe biš-xlìma.ˈ ʾáy y-amríla zeðàya.ˈ

(50) qəllòra:ˈ qəllóra ʾíle har-ʾò láxmaˈ bas-xáṭṭe romàyeˈ léle xáṭṭe ʿàdi.ˈ léle d-ánna xàṭṭe.ˈ

(51) kàda:ˈ káda ṭla-ʾeðăwàθa y-oðáxwale.ˈ ʾáw dé́ri duwàna gáwe díye.ˈ dé́ri duwàna gáwe díye,ˈ ʾən-gáwze toríla qánne diyèy.ˈ ʾi-ṭaxnìla.ˈ ʾi-xoṭíla b-màšxa.ˈ ʾi-dɛríla gáwe dìye.ˈ ʾu-y-aḉmíla hátxa qa-t-là-napli m-gáwe díye.ˈ maxéla l-tanùra.ˈ bášəl ʾáp-awwa ʾax-zeðàya.ˈ b-tanùra mbašlíle.ˈ ʾáwwa y-amríle kàda.ˈ

(52) ʾu-ʾíθena xá-tɛra xéna kulèče.ˈ ʾáni hàtxa-hawa zóre.ˈ ʾáp-ʾani dé́ri qənneˈ ʾu-màšxa gáwa díya.ˈ y-áwa hátxa zòre.ˈ ʾu-máxa bétə t-toríla xoṭíle zə̆́rət bètaˈ maxéla hátxa b-rəš-d-àn kuléčeˈ qa-t-háwe rangéy biš-smòqa,ˈ biš-zə̀raˈ ʾu-bíš-hawa basìme.ˈ ʾánna y-oðáxla ṭla-ʾèða.ˈ

The Regulator of a Water-Mill (čakčaka)

(53) ʾòrxeˈ ʾi-pálxa b-mìya.ˈ xéla díya mòdileˈ t-mazvòrra?ˈ ʾíla mìya.ˈ mìyaˈ maz-əvríle xa-parwàna,ˈ pàrrela ríxe,ˈ máxa míya ʾəlláy ʾi-zàvər.ˈ ʾáni síṛela b-xa-stùna.ˈ gu-réšə d-o-stùnaˈ ʾíθən ʾòrxe,ˈ xa-kèpa,ˈ xa-képa glòla,ˈ ʾítle hálbat dùkθaˈ ʾi-ṣála xàṭṭeˈ xo-d-ò-kepa.ˈ (54) ʾáw ʾi-zàvərˈ ʾi-ṭaxánna páyəš qàmxa.ˈ ʾáxxa ʾíθena dàwla.ˈ dáwla ʾíle xa-sandùqaˈ réše pθíxɛle dɛ́rɛ xàṭṭe gáwe.ˈ xóθe xa-bóya zóra ʾi-ṣáli xáṭṭe b-réšə d-ó-kepa qa-t ṭaxnìla.ˈ

(46) They take the dough and put it on a wide stone, on a wide table like this. They push a round stick of wood on it, moving back and forth, until it becomes thin. The dough becomes very thin. (47) They take it with a rolling pin, that is a stick of wood, and put it on the hot griddle with fire under it and it cooks. It cooks, they turn it on one side and on the other, until it cooks. They call this *ṭəlme, ṭləmθa* (sing.).

(48) *Lawaše* is just like a *ṭləmθa*, but they put in the oven. The oven is hot. After they put fire in it, it heats up a lot. They take the *ṭlemθa* and place it in the oven. It cooks and it is called *lawaše*. It is the same as a *ṭləmθa*, if you put it on a griddle and cook it, it becomes a *ṭləmθa*, if you put it in an oven and cook it, it is called *lawaše*.

(49) A *zeðaya* is thicker. It is thick. They take the same bread (dough). They do not place it on a griddle, they put it in the oven. It is thicker. It is called *zeðaya*.

(50) *Qəllora: Qəllora* is the same bread, but maize, not ordinary wheat, not (made) from such wheat.

(51) *Kada*: We used to make a *kada* cake for festivals. They put cake filling in it. They put cake filling in it or walnuts—they break their kernels, grind them, mix them with butter and put them in it. They close them like this so that they do not fall out. They put them in the oven. It cooks like a *zeðaya*. They cook it in an oven. They call it a *kada*.

(52) There is another type (of cake called) *kuleče*. These are small like this. They put (walnut) kernels and oil also in these. They are small like this. They put an egg, which they break—they mix the yolk of an egg, they put it like this on the *kuleče* cakes, so that their colour will be more red, more yellow, and so that they will be more tasty. They make these for a festival.

The Regulator of a Water-Mill (čakčaka)

(53) A mill operates by water. What is its power, which turns it? It is water. The water drives round a propeller. This consists of long blades. The water drives them round and it turns. They are tied to a pole. On the top of this pole is the mill, a stone, a round stone, which has, of course, a place in which the wheat falls, under that stone. (54) It turns and grinds it and it becomes flour. Here there is the drum. The drum is a box, with an open top, in which they put wheat. Under it there is a small hole through which wheat runs out onto the stone for it to be ground.

(55) ʾíθ xa-qɛ́sa zòra| ʾíbe xá-ṣiṭa biz-záwda m-xa-ṣíṭa rìxa.| bálki ṭḷáθi sèntimetre ríxa.| ʾíbe xlíma hàtxa.| ʾáw-ile síṛa bìya.| ʾə́rxe ʾímə zàvra| ʾáw-ile hàtxa b-réše díye,| ʾímə zàvra| ʾáwwa páyəš hàtxa,| jàwəj.| (56) ʾímət jàwəj,| ʾáwwa réše dìye| xrèna| hóle síṛa b-d-ò dáwla| qa-t-máṣle xə̀ṭṭe| muntə̏ə̏am,| yáʿni t-lá-ṣala rábe b-xa-bèna.| ṣála xánča xànča,| níxa nìxa.| yáʿni ʾáw y-amrə́xle b-ʿə̆rə̆bi munə̀ə̏ə̏əm.| (57) b-súrəθ lɛ́ðən mú y-amrìle,| ṯ-ámrəx mtagəbrà̀na,| mtagəbránət xə́ṭṭe dáx ṣála gu-ʾə̀rxe| qa-t ṭaxnìla,| ta-t-kúlla ṣà̀la| ʾax-ʾàti bə̆̀yət,| t-lá-ṣala rábe b-xà-bena.| ʾáwwa y-amríle čakčà̀ka.| ʾáyya kə̆̀ləma čakčáka ʾíla mən-qà̀le díye.| qále díye y-áθe čakčà̀kta,| mánne díye čák čák čák čà̀k.| fa-ʾáwwa qɛ́sa múttəlle šə́mme díye čakčà̀ka.|

(55) There is a small stick, which is a span or more long. Perhaps it is thirty centimetres long. There is a thick (section) on it like this. It is attached to it. When the mill turns—it is like this on top of it—when it turns, it does this, it moves. (56) When it moves, its other end is attached to the drum so that it lets down wheat (in a) controlled (flow), that is so that a lot does not flow down at once. It comes down, little by little. We call this in Arabic *mnaḍḍəm* ('controller'). (57) I do not know what they call it in *surəθ*. Let's say 'controller', the controller of how the wheat flows down into the mill in order for it to be ground, so that it all flows down in the way you like, so that a lot does not flow down at once. This is called a *čakčaka*. This word *čakčaka* comes from its sound. It makes a sound like *čak čak čak čak*. So they gave this stick the name *čakčăka*.

B7 Life in Dure (1)

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

Girls' Sunday

(1) yómət xošébət bnàθa| ʾáxni gu-ʾáθṛət Bàrwər| ʾáw mpalṭìwale| ʾax-šèra y-oðíwale| bnáθət maθèni.| y-oðíwa xá ʾax-bràta| qèsa| malušíwala jùlle.| y-oðíwala ʾax-bràta.| ʾu-y-azìwa| šaqlìwa,| mən-kùl béθa| šaqlíwa ràzza,| šaqlíwa qàlya,| šaqlíwa lə̀xma,| mən-kùlla béθə maθéni.| y-azìwa| tàlga y-áwe| ṭábʿan y-azíwa rəš-tàlga| tàma.| (2) y-awðìwa| ʾax-xàššа.| xàššа,| ʾé-bratət malušíwala jùlle| ṯ-oðíwala ʾax-kàlo,| ʾày| ʾu-mɛθàwa.| ʾáy qèsa-wewa| mulušə jùlle| ʾìna| wíðəlla ʾax-bràta.| ga-nablìwala.| ṯ-azíwa xákma ṭḷáθa ʾárpa gúṛe mènna.| ṯ-áziwa ṭamrìwala.| (3) ṭamríwala gu-ʾùpra| ʿal-ʾassà̰s| mìtla| xa-bràta.| baxíwala b-duzùθa.| baxìwala rába| ʾu-y-aθìwa.| y-aθíwa m-rəš-baθ-qòre,| m-réša dìya.| y-aθìwa| y-oðìwa| ʾixàla.| bašlíwa ràzza.| bašlíwa šôrba.| ʾu-y-atwíwa y-axlìwa.| (4) báθər y-axlìwa,| qɛmíwa mṭalìwa,| raqðìwa,| zamrìwa.| ʾíθwa ṭawalyáθa rábe ràbe| mṭalìwa.| ʾò yóma| kúlle yòma| y-awáwa mṭawòle| ʾu-nášət máθa kùlla| síqe mparóje biyèy.| ʾu-ʾap-gúṛe y-azíwa tàma| yále zóre y-azíwa táma mṭawóle ʿal-ʾasà̰s| ʾədyo xošébət bnàθɛle.| (5) ʾu-y-amríwa xošébə bnàθa| qə́ṭma b-quṣràθa.| yáʿni gu-ṣàwma-wawa.| dánət ṣàwma-wawa| ʾay-béna y-amrìwa| yáʿni mxallèxi| b-xálləx quṣariyàθa.| béna y-amrìwa| qə́ṭma b-quṣariyàθa,| ʾánna qaṣxanyàθa.| (6) ʾàyya| mšaríwa táma mṭawóle ṭawalyàθa.| ʾíθwa ṭawáltət baybùne y-amríwala.| báybi baybùne-u| márət raqqùne,| ʾu-míðən mòdi.| hàtxa y-amríwala.| ʾu-ʾíθwa ṭawáltət bərràne,| xa-ráqa báθər d-ò-xena.| ʾíθwa šwára baràne.| ʾu-kúl-xa téra mṭalìwala.| píšla hádəx hàl ʾaṣárta.| ʾaṣárta dɛrìwa| kút-xa y-aθéwa l-béθe dìye.| ʾu-parpəsìwa.|

B7 Life in Dure (1)

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

Girls' Sunday

(1) In our land of Barwar, the girls of our village would celebrate 'Girls' Sunday' like a saint's festival. They would make something like a girl out of wood and dress her in clothes. They made her like a girl. Then they went and took from every house rice, they took meat fat, they took bread, from every house in our village. (If) there was snow, they, of course, walked there on the snow. (2) They demonstrated a kind of grief. They made the girl whom they dressed in clothes like a bride and brought her (through the streets). She was wood dressed in clothes, but they made her like a girl. Now, they took her. Three or four men went with them. They went and buried her. (3) They buried her in the ground, as if a girl had died. They would really weep. They would weep for her a lot and then come back. They would come back from the cemetery, from her (burial). They would come back and make food. They would cook rice. They would cook soup. Then they would sit down and eat. (4) After they had eaten, they would get up and play, dance and sing. There were many games that they played. They would play all that day and all the people of the village would go up to look at them. Also adult men would go there, as well as young children, to play, since this day is Girls' Sunday. (5) They would say 'On Girls' Sunday there was (washing) ash in the cooking pots', meaning that they were fasting. It was a season of fasting. The meaning is that they say at that time 'Let's wash, let's wash the pots'. They would say 'Ash on the pots', that is the cooking pots.[1] (6) They would then start to play games. There was a game called *baybune* (in which they said) '*baybi baybune, marət raqqune*' and I don't know what. They would say this. There was the game of 'groups', one person running after the other. There was 'jumping the rams'. They played every type of game. It continued like this until evening. In the evening they returned, everybody went back to his home and they dispersed.

[1] Ash was used as a cleansing agent for cooking pots and utensils.

Bəlbəlawa

(7) ʾíθwa y-amrə́xwa bə̀lbəlawa.ˈ gu-ṣə̀wmaˈ xaðríwa bəlbələ̀wa,ˈ yáʿni l-bə̀θa.ˈ béθa béθa ṯ́-ázət xaðrə̀tla.ˈ xákma t-yawílux qə̀zbe,ˈ xákma t-yawílux mə̀še,ˈ xákma t-yawílux xarṭmə̀ne,ˈ xákma t-yawílux yabìše.ˈ ku-béθa ṯ́-ə̀zetiˈ ʾáni t-yawìluxˈ là ṭarðílux.ˈ t-yawìluxˈ kú-məndi ṯ́-ítley t-yáwi ʾə̀llux.ˈ ʾásri ṭ́láθi m-ġ̇ðə̀ðe,ˈ yále zóre m-ġ̇ðə̀ðe.ˈ xaðríwa gu-mə̀θaˈ ʾé-ga y-amrìwaˈ

(8) bəlbələ̀waˈ
kut-la-yə̀waˈ
xaṭórta gə̀waˈ

(9) ʾɛ-béna mṣarìwala,ˈ májbur pɛ́šiwa t-yawíwala ʾixála móndi hàle.ˈ

The Cultivation of Tobacco

(10) tùttunˈ tanə́nnux ʾal-tùttun.ˈ tùttun-žigənˈ zə̌rìwalaˈ ʾánna xaqlə̀θaˈ zə̌ríwala kùlla.ˈ ʾawðíwala zrùta.ˈ báθər zə̌rìwala,ˈ y-awðíwala məššə̀re,ˈ mqasmíwala qa-məššə̀re.ˈ y-awðíwa sə̀dde gáwa.ˈ yáʿni mqasmíwala qa-sə̀dde.ˈ ʾárba xámša sádde y-atwíwa gu-ðə̀-xaqla.ˈ (11) béna y-aθéwa šə́dlət tùttun.ˈ dɛríwala bar-zə̆́ra xa-dùkθaˈ barèwa.ˈ báθər barèwa,ˈ pɛ́šiwa šə̂dle.ˈ ʾan-šə̂dleˈ šalxìwala mən-támaˈ maxéwala gu-məššə̀ra.ˈ (12) məššára dɛréwa mìya gáwa.ˈ ʾɛ-məššára dɛréwa míya gáwa díya ta-t-rə̀kxa.ˈ mɛθéwale šə̂dla,ˈ xarzìwale,ˈ xarzíle gu-d-é məššə̀ra.ˈ yáʿni məššára ríxta taqríban tre-mètre,ˈ trè-metre,ˈ ṭ́là-metre.ˈ (13) mɛθéwala ʾan-taqyáθət tùttunˈ ʾəṣrà ʾaqráre.ˈ mattíwala gu-d-é məššára xá, tré, ṭ́là̀θa.ˈ manéwa hal-ʾə̀ṣra.ˈ ʾáṣra gu-d-ə̀yya,ˈ ʾáṣra gu-d-yàha,ˈ ʾáṣra gu-d-yáha xèta,ˈ hàtxa.ˈ ʾap-šúlət banjáne har-hàdəx ʾawðíwale.ˈ ʾap-šúlət xiyáre hàdəx ʾawðíwale.ˈ ʾína gəndóre là̀ʾa.ˈ

Bəlbəlawa

(7) There was (something) called *Bəlbəlawa*. During the fast they would go round (performing) *Bəlbəlawa*, that is to a house. You go around (performing) it from house to house. Some give you dates. Some give you lentils. Some give you chickpeas. Some give you raisins. Every home that you go to will give you something. They will not send you away. They will give you anything that they have. Twenty or thirty together, small children together. They would go around in the village saying:

(8) Bəlbəlawa
Whoever does not give
(Will have) a washing board (knocked) on him

(9) Then they would chastise them and they would be forced to give them food or something.

The Cultivation of Tobacco

(10) Tobacco. I'll tell you about tobacco. They would cultivate tobacco. They would plough all the fields and make them into ploughed land. After they ploughed them, they would make them into paddy fields, they would divide them into paddy field basins. They would make (the basins) into dammed sections. That is, they would divide them into dammed sections. Four or five dammed sections would be laid out[2] in a field. (11) Then they would come and (plant) the tobacco seedlings. They would put a seed in a certain place and it would grow. When they grew, they became seedlings. They uprooted the seedlings from that place and planted them in the paddy field. (12) They put water in the paddy field. They put water in the paddy field so that it would become soft. They would bring a seedling and plant it. They would plant it in the paddy field. The paddy field was almost two metres long, two or three metres. (13) They would bring the sprigs of tobacco, ten stems (in a row). They would plant them in the paddy field, one, two, three and count up to ten. Ten in this (row), ten in that one, ten in that other one, and so forth. They did the same with aubergines and also did this with cucumbers. But not with melons.

[2] Literally: would sit.

(14) gəndóre ʾu-šəfṯíye ʾáni zăríwala hàtxa| ʾáp t-la-mìya.| ʾáni zăríwala-w barìwa.| ʾu-šalgə́mme,| ʾànna| ʾap-šalgə́mme la-ʾawðíwala məššàre.| kulla-ʾáp-ʾani har-hátxa zărìwala| dɛréwala bar-zə́ra hàtxa| ʾu-zărìwalɛ,| ʾax-gəndòre.| (15) ʾína banjàne| ʾu-pătàte,| ʾu-tùttun,| ʾu-xiyàre,| ʾánna y-awðíwala kúlla məššàre.| ʾu-maštíwala mìya| peššíwala ku-tmànya,| ku-tmánya yománe maštíwala míya ṭla-d-àni,| ṭla-tùttun,| ṭla-banjàne,| ṭla-xiyàre,| ṭla-kúl-xa məndì.| (16) ʾu-túttun ʾímət peššáwa gòṛta,| maqərtìwala.| qăṭìwala.| ʾasṛíwala dàsta,| kút xá xámša ʾàšta.| ʾasṛíwala dàsta,| dɛréwala rəš-ʾən-qèsa hawéwa| hátxa rìxa| ʾən-xàwla.| ʾasṛíwala b-qésa ʾu-m-áy-gota qèsa| ʾu-m-áy-gota qèsa.| xa-xáwla mɛθèwale| dɛréwala tút-tun b-réše dìye| qa-t-bàrza.| (17) báθər barzáwa tùttun,| qémi šaqlíwala dɛréwa rəš-xa-băṭănìya,| parxìwala táza.| ʾan-qésət tùttun| ʾáni kùlla| zadìwala.| mɛθíwa ʾərbàla,| saràda,| xzí mo-bə̆yət.| qamáye dérɛwala b-saràda,| baʿdə́n b-ərbàla,| ta-t-pálṭa tùttun.| ʾíθ pálṭa zùrta.| ʾɛ-zúrta ʾáy zadìwala.| rába zùrta yáʿni,| ʾax-qàmxa peššáwa.| ʾáy zadìwala.| (18) ʾína dɛréwala l-ʾərbàla,| ʾáyyə palṭáwa spày,| ʾáy dɛréwala gu-gunìya.| dɛréwala gu-gunìya-w| mattíwala tămàha.| kút-dana sanqìwa,| ʾu-šaqlíwa mən-d-ɛ-tùttun| ʾu-garšìwa.| dɛréwala ʾè túttun| ʾíθwa kùlley,| ʾíθwaley kísyáθa zòre,| šaqláwa xà-kilo.| xá-kilo túttun dɛréwale gàwa.| (19) ʾíθwaley mánquš t-prèzla.| ʾu-ʾíθwaley képa smòqa,| ʾu-púwuš t-ʾilàna.| ʾànna| matpíwala ʾíθwaley qălùnka.| qălúnka bazókka díya rìxa y-awéwa.| y-aθéwa maθéwa pàlla.| šaqlíwa pàlla.| mattíwa rəš-qălùnka.| mattíwa xákma pùwuš.| matpìwale| pùwuš,| mattíwale rəš-qălùnka.| ʾu-šaríwa gràša.|

The Churn

(20) ʾé-ga táma gu-maθwáθa kəslènì| ʾíθwalən gùða.| gúða ʾíle mən-ʾərba,| gáldət ʾərba.| ʾu-y-asṛíwa bíye dìye| lawlàbe-w| mayòye-w| mabìwale| dérɛ páwxe gàwe.| ʾu-šawqíwale l-šəmša| barázwa ta-t-là-yawəlwa ríxa.|

(14) They would cultivate melons and watermelons in the same way but without water. They would plant them and they would grow. Also for turnips they would not make paddy fields. They would cultivate them in the same way, they would plant a seed like this and cultivate them, like melons. (15) But aubergines, potatoes, tobacco, cucumbers, for all of these they would make paddy fields. They would irrigate them with water. Every eight days they would feed them with water, that is the tobacco, the aubergines, the cucumbers, and so forth. (16) When the tobacco became big, they would clip it down. They would cut it. They would bind it in bunches, each (containing) five or six (plants). They would bind it in bundles and place them on either a long stick or a rope. They would bind them to a stick, with a stick this side and a stick that side. They would bring a rope and put the tobacco on it in order to dry. (17) After the tobacco dried, they took it, put it on a blanket and crushed it thoroughly. They would throw away all the wooden (twigs) of the tobacco. They would bring a sieve, a large sieve, whatever you want. First they put them in a large sieve then in a medium sized sieve, until the tobacco came out. There were some small pieces that came out, this small stuff they threw away. It was very small, it became like flour. They threw it out. (18) They put it in the medium sized sieve and they put in a sack whatever was produced of good quality. They put it in a sack and put it aside. They took some of that tobacco whenever they needed it and smoked it. They put the tobacco in small bags, which they all had and which contained a kilo. They would put a kilo of tobacco in them. (19) They had a sparking tool made of metal. They also had a red stone and hay kindling from a tree. They kindled this in their pipe.[3] The stem of the pipe was long. They would bring a glowing coal. They would take a glowing coal and put it on the pipe. They would put some hay kindling on it and light the hay, then put it on the pipe. Then they would begin to smoke.

The Churn

(20) At that time in the villages in our land we had a churn. A churn is made from a sheep, the skin of a sheep. They tied to it sticks and beams.[4] They inflated it, put air into it. They left it in the sun to dry, so that it would not give off a smell.

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[3] Literally: They kindled these—they had a pipe.

[4] The *lawlabe* are short end sticks with holes. The *mayoye* are long sticks joining the two *lawlabe*.

(21) dérɛwa másta gáwe dìye.ˈ ʾu-dérɛwa mìya gáwe díyeˈ ʾu-šɛšìwale.ˈ palṭíwa dàwwe-wˈ páləṭwa mášxa l-xóðe díye hàtxa.ˈ šaqlìwale.ˈ (22) ʾan-dáwwe dìyeˈ marəθxìwalaˈ ʾu-dɛréwala l-kìsa.ˈ naǰpìwa míya mənnéy.ˈ ṣalìwa míya mənnéy,ˈ páyəšwa ʾax-xàlwa,ˈ brìza hádəx.ˈ (23) ʾáni y-oðíwale ḵàška.ˈ ʾo-ḵàškaˈ xá-ga xètaˈ dɛréwa mìyaˈ mattíwale qam-šə́mša barəzwa.ˈ qa-sətwa y-oðíwa xá-ga xèta.ˈ mɛǰíwale gu-míya šaxìne,ˈ pɛšíwa dàwweˈ y-oðíwa bušàla bíya díya,ˈ ʾu-ḵótəl dàwke bíya díya.ˈ (24) ʾé-ga zamríwa bìye,ˈ dawqíwa tárte bnàθaˈ xá m-rèše ʾu-xa-bráta mən-xóθe dìye.ˈ maxíwa ʾàqla qáme díye.ˈ ʾɛ-báxta ṯ-ìyáwa xarèθa,ˈ xóθe dìye,ˈ maxyáwa ʾàqla qáme.ˈ tá-t ʾímət ʾàza másta,ˈ qéθa b-è-ʾaqlaˈ ta-t-dèra.ˈ máxe ʾo-mášxa l-ġðáðe kùlle.ˈ

(21) They put yoghurt in it and put water in it, then shook it. Yoghurt water (*dawwe*) would be produced and butter (*məšxa*) would be produced separated (from the yoghurt water). They would take it (the butter) away. (22) They would boil the yoghurt water and put it in a bag. The water would drip down from it. The water would drain down from it, and it would become *xalwa*,[5] which was dry, like this. (23) They made it into a *ḵ̂aška*. (To make) the *ḵ̂aška*, they again added water and put it in the sun to dry. For winter they reconstituted it. They crushed it in hot water and it became yoghurt water, with which they would make stew and yoghurt pasties. (24) When they sang (the song) about it, two girls held it, one from above it and one from below it.[6] They would put their leg in front of it. The latter woman, who was under it, would put her leg in front of it, so that when the yoghurt (churn) moved, it struck her leg and returned back. The butter all gathered together.

[5] A fatless residue.

[6] The women sang in turns a special song concerning the churn when they churned the yoghurt. For the text of this song see C5.

B8 Life in ʾƐn-Nune (3)

Informant: Bibe Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

Family History

(1) ʾan-qamáye tíwe tàma,ˈ ʾan-díyən xaràyela ʾə́θyeˈ be-Hɛ́do diyɛ̀ni.ˈ ʾə́θye tre-xonə̆wàθa,ˈ Daníye ʾu-Bənyàme.ˈ Bənyáme sáwət bàbile.ˈ Danìyeˈ sáwət sàwux-ile.ˈ bar-d-ánna tre-xonə̆wàθaˈ béna ʾáxni yə̀ðəxˈ hal-díya kəmèla qíme.ˈ (2) xòniˈ Lèwəsˈ zílle kəslɛ́ni m-Chicàgo,ˈ mbùqrəlli.ˈ ʾána kúl-məndi hon-mìrtaˈ hóle kθìwəlle.ˈ kθíwəlle kəmɛ́la síqe bar-d-àw-xonaˈ kə́ma bar-d-àw-xona.ˈ (3) ʾánna šáwwa xonə̆wáθa θáya gu-d-a-màθa.ˈ θèla,ˈ ʾan-ʾɛ̄n-nunàyeˈ mə̀raˈ ʾàxniˈ ʾáyya máθa dìyən-ilaˈ ʾáxtu lè-y atwítu gáwa.ˈ ʾáni plíṭla gu-réšət ṭalána har-zàla.ˈ (4) mə́ra là,ˈ là,ˈ xoš-ʾáθa ʾàp-ʾanna.ˈ ʾáxni mò-ṯ-oðəx xóðən ʾáxxa?ˈ ʾáp-ʾanna náše xoš-àtwi.ˈ (5) ʾan-díyən tíwla tàma.ˈ ʾan-díyən wéla biš-xùrət,ˈ biš-zìrək,ˈ biš-xoš-gùṛe.ˈ hàtxa yə̆ðəx,ˈ ʾɛ́-ga lánwa brìθa ʾána bráya.ˈ ʾána m-bar-ṯ-íla-ʾəθye m-ʾÙrmi,ˈ gu-Bàġdad bréli.ˈ m-yəmmin šmítəlla ʾáyya,ˈ m-bnōn-mámi ʾan-t-wɛ́wa gòṛe.ˈ hátxa náše góṛe mtanɛ̀wa.ˈ m-zorúθi hon-šmìtəlla.ˈ

Livelihoods of People in Ɛn-Nune

(6) ʾƐ̄n-Núne mòdi y-awðíwa?ˈ zə̆rìwaˈ kúlla markàne ʾíθwala,ˈ ʾə̆ràθa,ˈ pθàne,ˈ tàwre.ˈ zə̆ríwa-w xazdìwa.ˈ ʾəštà-yarxeˈ qɛ́ṭa palxìwa.ˈ ʾəštá-yarxe sə́twa tàlga-wewa kə́slɛni.ˈ kúlla ʾixála y-oðìwa.ˈ gə̀lla,ˈ ṭàrpaˈ qə̆ṭíwale b-qɛ̀ṭa.ˈ mɛxòltaˈ ṭla-sə̀twa,ˈ ṭla-heywàne,ˈ ràsa.ˈ

B8 Life in ʾƐn-Nune (3)

Informant: Bibe Bənyaməɔn (ʾƐn-Nune)

Family History

(1) The first ones settled there, our people came later, our family of Hɛdo. Two brothers came, Daniye and Bənyame. Bənyame is the grandfather of my father. Daniye is the grandfather of your grandfather.[1] After those two brothers, we know how many offspring there have been until now. (2) My brother Lewis went to visit us from Chicago and asked me. I told everything and he wrote it down. He wrote down how many are descended from that brother and how many from that (other) brother. (3) Seven brothers had come to the village. They (the two other brothers) came and the inhabitants of ʾƐn-Nune said 'This village is ours. You cannot live in it'. They went up to the top of the shady mountain. (4) They (the inhabitants of ʾƐn-Nune) said 'No, no, let also them come (and settle here). What can we do by ourselves here? Let also those people settle'. (5) So, our people settled there. Our people were more strong, more active and finer men (than those already there). That is what we know. At that time I was not even born. After they came from Urmi, I was born in Baghdad. I heard this from my mother, from my older cousins. The old folk would talk about this. I heard it from my youth.

Livelihoods of People in ʾƐn-Nune

(6) What did people do in ʾƐn-Nune? They would sow. Everybody had storage pots, lands, ploughs, oxen. They would sow and reap. For six months they would work in the summer. For six months there would be snow in our village. Everybody made food. They would cut down grass and leaves in summer for fodder in the winter for the animals, *rasa* grass.

[1] The speaker is addressing a relative in the room.

Family Life

(7) θéla m-ʾÙrmi,| m-Diyàna.| gu-Bágdad-inwa brìθa.| gu-ʾárba yárxe yə́mmi mumṣáli gu-ʾƐ̄n-Núne.| bnónə màmi| ṭ̣làθa| t-xà maníla.| sáwət Áron yaḳ́ánət xa-màmi.| píša bàbi,| ṭ̣làθa xonăwáθa,| hè.| (8) ʾo-babì| ʾo-zórət xonăwàθɛwa| moqimìle| bnónə màmi,| ʾu-gwìre.| ʾána táxrən ʾáxni kúllən gu-xa-bèθa.| báθər t-gwìrra| ʾu-bnonèy| ʾu-ʾíθwa nawàge.| (9) kúlla xaràye,| təxrùθi,| plìlɛni.| ʾaxni zíllən Ṛombi be-xòni.| muttúlən bèθa| gu-Ṛòmbi| léle gu-ʾƐn-Núne.| xa-dúkθa ramánta basìmta| kúlla rasàne| xa-dúθa ràba táza.| (10) bábi muttúle táma bèθa.| zìllɛni,| təxrúθa dìyi| ʾu-t-xóni d-o-gòṛa.| ʾáwwa xóni tàmɛle bárya.| ʾáwwa táxrən ʾé-gə ṭ́-íle bárya xòni.|

(11) sátwa tàlga| màrkən| ʾáwwa t-dùša,| ʾáwwa t-màšxa,| ʾáwwa t-jàjək,| ʾáwwa t-gùpta.| ʾay-màsta.| kúlla yə́mmi mattáwala hàtxa.| (12) ʾó-bena ʾaθéwa xòni| ʾú xóni kəmét xálya ʾax-dùša.| ʾáwwa y-arə́qwa y-azálwa màkke!| màkke!| mákke màrkən,| zòra,| dúša gu-màrkən,| xóni basə̀mwale dúša.| mákke màkke y-ámər ṭ́la-ṭ́-áxəl xóni dùša.| (13) zòre-wɛwa ʾánna xonăwáθi.| ʾa-góṛta ʾànənwa.| ʾánna zòre-wɛwa.| mò-xena ṭ́-amrána bábi?| xonăwáθi zòre,| bábi zìlle,| yə́mmi qəm-măqimàley,| qəm-ma-guràla.| (14) bréla bnónət xòni.| yə́mmi gu-kəma-šə̂nnewa?| ʾàti yắðət.| yə́mmi zòrta mítla.| yə̀mmi| bába díya qàša-wewa| ʾu-bábi qàša-wewa.| (15) yə́mmi lɛ́wa qrìθa,| ràba yắðáwa.| kúlla ʾəngalìyon,| ʾáyyət qam-qáša qarèla,| yə́mmi mtanyàwale.| ʾə́dyo kú-məndi ṭ́-íwən šmá'a ʾàxxa,| yə́mmi mtunèθəlle ṭ́láli,| yắðànne.| qám t-y-amə́rra Sárgon Dardìšu,| y-átwi gu-d-àyya,| màra,| makròze,| suràye,| ʾaθurnàye,| kúlla yə̀mmi mtanyáwa ṭ́lalɛ́ni.|

Family Life

(7) They came from Urmi, from Diyana. I was born in Baghdad. When (I was) four months, my mother nursed me in ʾƐn-Nune. My cousins, three are of one uncle, the grandfather of Aron is the only son of one (other) uncle of mine. There remained my father, (they were) three brothers, yes. (8) My father, he was the youngest of the brothers. He brought up my cousins (until) they got married. I remember we were all in one house. After they married (there were) also their children, and there were grandchildren. (9) In the end, I remember, we all separated. We went to Ṛombi to the house of my brother. We set up home in Ṛombi, not in ʾƐn-Nune. It was a pleasant, high place, full of *rasa* grass, a fine place. (10) My father set up home there. We went—I have a memory of myself (going) and of my older brother (going). This brother of mine[2] was born there. I remember when my brother was born.

(11) In the winter (we had a container known as a) *markən*, one for honey, one for butter, one for *jajək*, one for cheese and the yoghurt (was in another). My mother arranged them all like this. (12) At that time my brother used to come and I (would say) 'My brother, you are so sweet like honey'. He would run and go (shouting) *makke! makke! makke* is *markən* (in child's language). He was young, there was honey in the pot. My brother liked honey. My brother would say '*makke, makke*' to eat honey. (13) These brothers of mine were young. It was I who was the oldest. They were young. What else should I say, my dear? While my brothers were young, my father died. My mother brought them up and married them off. (14) The children of my brother were born. How old was my mother? You know.[3] My mother died young. The father of my mother was a priest and my father was a priest. (15) My mother was not educated, but she knew a lot. My mother could recite the whole Gospel, which they read before the priest. Today, everything that I hear here, my mother has told me and I know it. Before Sargon Dardišu[4] said it, and they sat in it (the television), talking and preaching about Christians and Assyrians, my mother used to tell us everything.

[2] The speaker points to her brother next to her.
[3] Addressing her brother.
[4] A television personality.

(16) bábi maláṗwalən ṣlòθa.| *ʾáwwa lèwa bárya.*| *xóni ʾo-góṛa gu-*Chicàgo,| *Léwəs xòni.*| *ʾáw maláṗwalən ṣlòθa,*| *bábən t-šmàyya,*| *šláma-lləx Màryam,*| *ṣlăwáθa kúlla maləṗwalèni.*|

(17) papàye-wɛwa.| *béna mawdòyəx.*| *xṭìθɛla*| *t-la ganwìtu.*| *t-la mṣarìtu.*| *tíwəxwa ʾána-w xóni mawdòye,*| *qáša Wárda mawdòye.*| *(18) tìwe ʾána-w xóni*| *muttɛ́θəllən m-ǧðáðe mára ṣlăwàθa.*| *də-múr ṣlăwáθa hàtxa.*| *béna ma-létu mṣuwère?*| *márən là,*| *ʾáxni làx mṣuwère.*| *ma-létu gnìwe?*| *márən yé hox-gnìwe.*| *mòditu gníwe?*| *(19) márən halúke m-be-mámi čùna.*| *xánči halúke ṭ̂àrre*| *t-wɛ́wa bárya hàtxa,*| *wíðəxwa tré halùke*| *ʾána-w xòni.*| *ma-t-ṣàdwalən,*| *xtíθa bàbi.*| *bábən yə́mmən maləṗíwalən hàtxa.*| *(20) mədrása gu-bèθɛwa.*| *kú-mdit láyəp náša yála zòra*| *ʾáyya pyàša gu-réšət náša.*| *hadíya hon-nšàyəlla*| *ʾína d-é-ga taxrànna rába.*|

Weddings

(21) taxránne ṭla-xlúlət xóni Šəmmo| *ʾé-gə t-wɛ́wa ríqe nàše*| *ṣálye Badɛrəške,*| *ʾáskar t-léwi síqta gu-ʾƐn-Nùne,*| *ʾè-ga-wewa gwíra xóni Šámmo.*| *ʾəngləznàye*| *ʾáskar-t léwi tàxrən.*| *ʾé-gɛla ḥŭdúde mùrme,*| *gu-Tùrki músqe.*|

(22) xlulàne| *dáwla-w zòrna-w*| *ʾu-júlle ṭiyariyàne lóšiwa,*| *xumàla-w*| *rqàða,*| *dáwla-w zòrna,*| *kəmèla yomáθət xlúla.*| *y-azíwa mpalṭíwa kʷàlo,*| *mɛθɛ́wa be-xàtna.*| *xlúla t-ṭ̂laθà yomáθa,*| *xá-šabθa xlùla.*| *rqàða,*| *zmàra,*| *mbašóle marègle,*| *práma tàwre.*| *xyáptət xàtna:*|

(23) qime ṭ̂-azəx l-xyape
barbiye rape rape
xulqane l-bɛθət babe

(16) My father taught us prayers. He (my brother)[5] was not born. (He taught me and) my elder brother in Chicago, my brother Lewis. He taught us prayers: Our heavenly father. Peace be upon you Mary. He taught us all the prayers.

(17) (At that time) they were Catholics.[6] We used to make confession. It is a sin. Do not steal. Do not curse. I and my brother would sit and make confession, make confession to the priest Warda. (18) I and my brother sat, she (our mother) put us together to say prayers. 'Say the prayers like this. Have you not cursed?' We said 'No, we have not cursed'. 'Have you not stolen?' We said 'Yes, we have stolen'. 'What have you stolen?' (19) We said 'Plums from the house of my uncle Čuna, a few fresh plums, which were growing there'. We had just picked plums, I and my brother. How afraid we were. It was a sin, my dear. Our father and mother taught us like that. (20) The school was at home. Everything that a person learns as a young child, this remains in the mind of a person. Now I forget things, but I remember well what (I learnt) then.

Weddings

(21) I remember the wedding of my brother Šəmmo, when people had fled and come down to Badɛrəške.[7] The Levy army went up to ʾƐn-Nune. It was then that Šəmmo married. I remember the English, the Levy army. At that time the borders were moved, they were moved up to Turkey.

(22) At weddings there were the drum and pipe. They used to wear Ṭiyare clothes. There was merriment, dancing, the drum and pipe, however many days the wedding lasted. They would go and bring out the bride and bring her to the house of the groom. The wedding could last for three days, a wedding could last for a week. There was dancing, singing, cooking in pans, slaughtering of oxen. As for the washing of the groom (they would sing):

(23) Let us go to wash him
The bridesmaids are in flocks and flocks
The friends of the groom are at his father's house

[5] Pointing to her brother.

[6] In 1904 Mar Isho Yawalaha, bishop of Barwar, converted to Catholicism. As a consequence the Assyrians in Barwar became Catholic. They remained so through the the 1920s and 1930s, but subsequently returned to the Church of the East.

[7] Situated in Ṣapna.

(24) qime ṯ-azəx xɛpəxle
miyət warde rɛsəxle
ʾədlɛle magurəxle

(25) ʾilána napṣíla l-xàtna.ˈ ʾilána măziníwa l-gàre.ˈ zawnìwalaˈ y-amrìwaˈ

(26) ʾilanɛni mxuršənna
ʾiðət qariwa twinna
kʷɛle xale zawənna

(27) béna paláṭwa xále dìye.ˈ dádi Xáwa malpàwalən.ˈ ʾɛ-gə t-wéwa Šə́mmo gwára ʾay-béna xaràye.ˈ xo-túθa d-o-ʧúwa hox-xyàpəlle Šə́mmo.ˈ

(28) ʾilanɛni t-hɛrmiya
be-pálga xa-seniya
l-Yawsəp zwinta b-neriya

(29) ʾilanɛni t-xabušta
m-reša-w šətta mnoqašta
l-Yawsəp zwinta b-dabašta

(30) námu ʾáxni xlúlət Gwárgəs la-xálti zwínna kéke dìyeˈ mára ða-dabàšta?ˈ (31) ʾilána mṣaqlìwalaˈ mrazgìwala,ˈ mnaqšìwala.ˈ kúl-məndi dɛréwa bìya.ˈ harmòneˈ ʾu-ma-harmòne,ˈ hɛrmìye,ˈ sparəgle,ˈ ʾap-bè̞ʾe,ˈ ṣăwìwalaˈ dɛrèwala.ˈ (32) ʾáy qarìwaˈ dawə́qwala b-ʾìðe.ˈ xátna-w qaríwa y-asqíwa l-gàre.ˈ ʾu-čálo măziníwala gu-tằra.ˈ ʾé-dān ṯ-áθya kʷàlo,ˈ yawíwala màšxa,ˈ y-amríwa wúdli hàtxaˈ ṣliwána b-tắrətˈ bèθa.ˈ (33) la-ʾíθwa manàyˈ kúlla ʾánna məndiyáne t-ʾaθuràyela.ˈ mɛθéwa màšxaˈ ʾu-mɛθéwa ðá zawàrtaˈ ṃ.ḷíθa gàwze,ˈ yabìše,ˈ ʾu-bàṭme,ˈ ʾu-šɛrnìye,ˈ kùl-məndi,ˈ zawàrta.ˈ y-amríla zawə́rtət kʷàlo.ˈ ʾàyˈ ta-t-toràlaˈ kʷálo xaráye ṯ-óra gu-bèθa.ˈ (34) maxyàle ʾo-mášxa.ˈ xátna hóle zína l-gàre.ˈ mən-gáre maxé-ʾaqle rəš-swána hàtxa,ˈ ṣále xánčiˈ ʾúpra gu-réšət kʷàlo.ˈ xaráye ṯ-àwra.ˈ ʾína bàba díya,ˈ ʾína xòna díya,ˈ ʾína yàmma díya,ˈ kʷàlo,ˈ y-amríla ʾən-là qablítu xá-mdiˈ lè-y-ora gu-d-áwwa béθa.ˈ

(24) Let us go to wash him
Let us sprinkle him with rose water
This night we are wedding him

(25) They would shake the tree for the groom. They stood the tree on the roof. They would sell it and say:

(26) Our tree has withered
The hand of the best man is numb
Where is his uncle to buy it?

(27) Then his uncle would come out. My aunt Xawa taught us this, when Šəmmo married the last time. We washed Šəmmo under the smooth mulberry tree.

(28) Our tree is a pear tree
In the middle is a tray
It has been bought by Yawsəp[8] for a male goat

(29) Our tree is an apple tree
It is decorated above and below
It has been bought by Yawsəp for a beehive

(30) At the wedding of Gwərgəs did not my aunt buy his cake and say '(I buy it) for a beehive'? (31) They would deck the tree, prepare it and decorate it. They would put everything on it. Pomegranates and the like, pears, quinces. They would also paint eggs and place them on it. (32) The best man would hold it in his hand. The groom and the best man would go up onto the roof. They made the bride stand at the door. When the bride came, they would give her butter and say to her 'Draw a cross for me like this on the door of the house'. (33) Indeed this had a meaning, all these things were Assyrian customs. They would bring oil and would bring a pot full of walnuts, raisins, terebinth nuts, sweets, everything. (It was) a pot. They call it 'the bride's pot'. It was for the bride to break in order that she could finally enter the house. (34) She would apply the oil, while the groom was standing on the roof. From the roof he strikes his foot on the eves like this and a little earth falls onto the head of the bride. Finally she enters. But her father, her brother, her mother, of the bride—they say to them 'If you do not offer something, she will not enter the house'.

[8] The grandfather of the groom Šəmmo.

(35) yawíwala xà-mdi.ˈ ʾána xmáθi xá-dawa zə̌ra muttéθəlli gu-ʾíðət xóni ʾÌshəq.ˈ brōn-màmiˈ máre là-y-awra.ˈ hal-yə́mma díya muθéθəlli xa-dáwa zə̀ra.ˈ muθèθəlle.ˈ (36) ʾó-bena ʾa-ʾilànaˈ ta-zonìwa náše.ˈ ta-zonìwala,ˈ ta-t-hawéwa hayàrtaˈ ta-xətna.ˈ ṯ-awéwa hayàrta.ˈ ta-nášət gàne zoníwala,ˈ qamáya xàle.ˈ ʾína lát-šmaya y-amríwaʔ:

(37) ʾilanɛni mxuršənna
ʾu-ʾiðət qariwa twinna
ʾu-kʷɛle xale zawənna

(38) qamáya xàle zawənwaleˈ ʾu-xaráye dɛréwa măzàdeˈ ʾéni bə̌ye t-zawènna?ˈ kúlla náše díye t-wéwa qùrba.ˈ xa-zawə́nwala ʾamərwaˈ ʾána puxlàli ṭlálux.ˈ har-hàtxɛle zwána.ˈ (39) prìqla náše díyeˈ béna xaráye napṣìwala.ˈ yalúnke zóre béna kapšìwaˈ šqála sparə̀gle,ˈ šqála xabùše,ˈ yalúnke zóre šqála mándi t-wéwa b-ilána tə̀lya.ˈ (40) xaráye béna y-awrìwaˈ y-asṛíwa gnùna.ˈ y-aθéwa qàšeˈ ʾíθwa haymanùθa ʾé-ga.ˈ díya haymanúθa zìlla,ˈ bṣìrra.ˈ y-asṛíwa gnùna,ˈ y-aθéwa qàše,ˈ šamàše,ˈ qarèwa,ˈ y-asṛíwa gnùna.ˈ y-atwíwa xətna-w kʷàlo.ˈ (41) y-atwíwa qaríwa-w qarìwta.ˈ ʾu-xulqàneˈ ʾáni kúlla béna rqàða,ˈ zmàra.ˈ xluláne ʾàyya-wawa.ˈ

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(42) nabláxwa šɛrnìye,ˈ nabláxwa màndiˈ gu-ʾùmra,ˈ m-júlle tàze,ˈ klìleˈ dɛréwa bìya.ˈ ʾu-nablíwa yàle-wˈ qáša y-awə̀ðwala.ˈ (43) mrašəmwala,ˈ y-awáðwala máša zèθa.ˈ ʾu-ʾíθwa gòrna.ˈ qáše qarɛ́wa kùllaˈ qàšeˈ gu-d-an-míya ṭamšìwala.ˈ dax-Mšixa ṯ-íle mŭmə̀ða,ˈ máryən Mšìxa,ˈ ʾáp-yale zóre măməðíwala hàdəx.ˈ (44) ʾən-háwe yále ràbe,ˈ máre ʾéni máxe sar-amòða?ˈ ʾo-t-maxéwa qamàyeˈ ʾaw-bìš yawálwa zúze rába.ˈ

(35) They would give her something. My mother-in-law put a yellow gold coin for me in the hand of my brother Ishəq. My cousin said 'She will not enter until her mother has brought me a yellow gold coin'. She brought it. (36) This was so that people would buy the tree, so that they would buy it, so that it would be a help for the groom, so that it would be a help, so that his own relatives would buy it, first his uncle. Don't you hear them saying?:

(37) Our tree has dried out
The hand of the best man is numb
Where is his uncle to buy it?

(38) First his uncle would buy it and then they would hold an auction 'Who wants to buy it?' All his relatives who were there (would buy it). One would buy it and say 'I give it back to you'.[9] The buying was like that. (39) When his relatives finished (buying), they then shook the tree. The young children would flock together to pick up quinces, pick up apples. The young children would pick up what was hung on the tree. (40) Finally they would tie the bands (in the wedding chamber). The priests would come. There was faith at that time. Now faith has gone, it has diminished. They would tie the bands. Priests and deacons would come. They would read (prayers) and tie the bands. (41) The groom and bride would sit. The best man and woman would sit. Then all the friends of the groom would dance and sing. That is what weddings were like.

Baptisms

(42) We would bring sweets, we would bring various things to the church, beautiful clothes, coronet decorations, which they would put on the clothes. They brought the babies and the priest performed (the baptism) on them. (43) He made a sign of the cross on them, marking them with olive oil. There was a font. The priests all read (prayers) and they immersed them in the water. Just like Christ, our Lord Christ, who was baptized, so they used to baptize also young children. (44) If there were many children he (the priest) said 'Who will be the first to be baptized?' Whoever put (his child) first would give more money.

[9] The buyer returns it to the groom so that he can sell it again.

B9 A Miraculous Escape from Kurds

Informant: Bibe Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾé-gə t-wɛ́wa zàla,ˈ gu-ṭùra zála,ˈ málləṭ díyən qurðáye bàθrewa rábe.ˈ xákma qurðáye tfiqla biyèy.ˈ qəm-xazèla,ˈ bábi rìqle.ˈ bábi qàša,ˈ qáša Bənyàme,ˈ yə́mmi Xəndzàdaˈ ʾu-ṭláθa xonăwàθi.ˈ ðá xáθa ʾu-tré xonăwáθa ʾìθwali.ˈ (2) bábi rìqle.ˈ qurðáye ríqla báθre dìye.ˈ yə́mmi xpéla hàtxa,ˈ sab-xonăwáθi zòre-wɛɛwa.ˈ ʾu-bábi čállaq ràba wéwa,ˈ rìqle.ˈ ríqle ríqle zìlleˈ hàtxaˈ ṭúra kəndála bàr-təxtile.ˈ (3) mə̀re:ˈ kəmə̀t ṭ́-árqenaˈ tópe har-ṭapyàli,ˈ dárɛ tópe bíyi har-qaṭlìli.ˈ mo-ṭ́-àwuð?ˈ líθ ču-dúkθa xáme gawe-dìye.ˈ xzéle xa-ʾisàra,ˈ ʾáxxa ʾisàra,ˈ ʾap-ʾáxxa ʾisàraˈ réša har-gə̀lya,ˈ har-gə̀lya.ˈ (4) mə̀reˈ har-ṭ́-órən làxxa.ˈ qṭála har-qaṭlìli.ˈ ṭ́-árqən b-o-kəndála hár qaṭlìli.ˈ bēn-ʾisàre,ˈ ṭ́-órən làxxa,ˈ kəndála qaṭlìli.ˈ ʾən-ʾáni lá ṭapèli,ˈ tòpeˈ har-ṭapèli.ˈ mára wírən tàma.ˈ (5) ʾan-qurðáye t-wɛ́wa ráqa báθre díye xàmša wɛ́wa.ˈ xámša Bedwàye wɛ́wa,ˈ yə́mmi ðítəlla b-šə́klɛ Bedwàye wɛ́wa.ˈ mára ʾáyya bábi mtanèwala.ˈ kúlla šămànwa,ˈ har-hàtxa y-amə́rwa.ˈ (6) θéla qurðàye,ˈ ʾálaha qəm-mxašə́kla ʾɛnèy.ˈ zìnna,ˈ ʾáwwa ʾisàraˈ ʾap-ʾáwwa ʾisàra,ˈ ðá-ʾaqla rēš-d-àw ʾisáraˈ ðá rēš-d-àwwaˈ bábi hòleˈ xzàyəlla.ˈ xírre hátxa biyèy,ˈ mə́re díya qaṭlìli.ˈ ʾánna wɛ́wa xyára rə́ḥqa-w màra:ˈ práxa prìxle?ˈ šmáyya sìqle?ˈ lèka zílle?ˈ lá qəm-xazìle.ˈ ʾálaha qəm-mxašə́klɛ ʾan-ʾɛnèy.ˈ (7) ʾáwwa hole-mára díya qaṭlìli.ˈ lá qəm-xazèle,ˈ har-qlìbla.ˈ qlìbla,ˈ zìlla,ˈ yə́mmi hóla tíwta kəs-xonăwàθi.ˈ ʾáyya xóni máṭo mtanyànna?ˈ (8) hóla tíwta mə́ra m-èkɛt?ˈ mə́ra ʾána čálθət qáša Hèdo.ˈ béna ʾáni yăðìwala.ˈ ʾáni qurðáye har-t-ʾaθṛènìwa.ˈ ʾáyya máθa dìyən-ìwaˈ ʾáyya t-qurðàyewa,ˈ ʾáyya t-suràyewa.ˈ qurðáye ʾu-suráye hátxa maθwáθət ʾàθṛa,ˈ Bàrwar.ˈ

B9 A Miraculous Escape from Kurds

Informant: Bibe Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) When our people were travelling in the mountains, there were many Kurds (pursuing) after them. Some Kurds encountered them. When they saw them, my father fled. (Our group consisted of) my father the priest, the priest Bənyame, my mother Xənzada and my three siblings. I had a sister and two brothers. (2) My father fled. The Kurds ran after him. My mother crouched down (over the children), since my siblings were small. My father was very athletic and ran off. He ran and ran and came to a mountain slope that (extended) downwards. (3) He said 'However much I run, a gun will still reach me, they will shoot a gun at me and kill me. What shall I do?' There was no place to shelter. He saw a rock, there was a rock here and a rock here, the top was completely exposed. (4) He said 'I shall go in here. They will kill me. If I run down the slope, they will kill me. I shall go in here between the rocks. On the slope they would kill me. If they do not catch me, the shots will reach me'. He said:[1] I entered there. (5) The Kurds who were running after him were five (in number). They were five men from (the village of) Bedu.[2] My mother knew that they were from Bedu by their appearance. My father used to tell this story and I heard everything. He would tell it in this way. (6) The Kurds came and God blinded their eyes. They stood, on this rock and and on this rock, one leg on that rock and one on that rock. My father saw them. He looked at them and said 'They will kill me now'. They were looking into the distance and said 'Has he flown away? Has he gone up into the sky? Where has he gone?' They did not see him. God blinded their eyes. (7) He said 'They will kill me know'. They did not see him and went back. They went back. My mother was sitting with my siblings. How can I tell this brother?[3] (8) She was sitting and they said 'Where are you from?' She said 'I am the daughter-in-law of the priest Hɛdo'. They knew her. Those Kurds were from our land. This was our village and this was the village of the Kurds (next to it). This one (of ours) was (a village) of Christians. The Kurds and Christians (lived next to each other)—the villages of the Barwar land were like that.

[1] I.e. when telling the story.
[2] A Kurdish village lying to the North of ʾƐn-Nune.
[3] Speaking to her brother in the room.

(9) béna mára ʾána čálθət qáša Hèdo.ˈ mára gáwrəx kʷèle?ˌ mára lèðən.ˈ mára hole-qṭìla.ˈ léðən kʷèle.ˈ màra:ˈ lá ṣàlyət,ˈ maṣlə̀xləx.ˈ maṣlə̀xlax.ˈ (10) mára čálθət qáša Hèdot?ˌ mára ða-ʾáqla rēš-d-àyya ʾénənˈ ʾu-ðá rēš-d-àyya.ˈ ʾu-ʾánna bnónəx ṭɛnə́xla š-d-ánna rušànən.ˈ bắyat ṣàlyatiˈ l-Ɛn Nùne,ˈ díya maṣlə́xxəx l-Ɛn Nùne,ˈ l-máθət gʷànəx maṣlə́xləx.ˈ (11) ʾáyya muttáwtəlla híwət bàbiˈ ṯ-áwe qṭìla.ˈ màraˈ mó ṯ-óðən ʾáxxa kályən gu-d-àwwa-ṭura?ˌ xáθi ʾu-xonăwáθi ṯ-áwa zòre,ˈ mára ʾánna bnóni ʾáxxa méθi m-kə̀pna.ˈ déwe ʾu-haywáne ṯ-áxxa ṯ-axlìlən.ˈ ʾən-ṣályən tàma,ˈ ʾáp-qurðaye yăðìlən.ˈ (12) dwíqla xa-qáwla m-an-qurðàye.ˈ mára ṯ-amràννɛxuˈ b-ó-qawla b-ṣályən mənnèxuˈ t-lá ʾamrítu púš qurðèθa.ˈ mára mo-lé pɛšàti?ˌ mára xá-ṣliwa xlíṣtənne gu-ʾìðiˈ m-zdùθi,ˈ hàtxaˈ hár ʾo-ṣlíwa gu-ʾìði.ˈ (13) mári là.ˈ mári là,ˈ ʾána rázin qaṭlìtuli.ˈ ʾína,ˈ xá-məndi ṯ-amràννɛxu.ˈ xṭíθi b-qðalèxuˈ bnóni qam-ʾéni là qaṭlítula.ˈ báθər qaṭlìtuli,ˈ xéna ʾap-bnòni qaṭlítula,ˈ b-gòti qaṭlítula.ˈ mára har-bắyət qaṭlə̀xxəx?ˌ har-m-kèfəx?ˌ (14) mára m-kúlla lábbi bắyən ʾána qaṭlìtuliˈ ʾu-qurðéθa lè-pɛšən.ˈ lɛ-péšət qurðèθa?ˌ mára là.ˈ mára xámša gùṛe-wɛwa,ˈ xàmša.ˈ mára tré pìšla.ˈ mára də-qəṭlúla-w hàyyo!ˈ (15) yə́mmi muláptəlla ʾanna-xonăwàθi:ˈ mára bàbi.ˈ ʾàxni,ˈ ʾánna qurðáye léði čù-məndiˈ xànpela.ˈ čú-məndi lèði.ˈ ʾáxni ʾíθ ʾalàha,ˈ ʾíθ mšîxa,ˈ ʾíθ pardèsa,ˈ ʾíθ gəhàna.ˈ qaṭlìlən,ˈ har-mèθəx xa-yóma.ˈ har-ṯ-ázəx pardèsa,ˈ qaṭlílan ʾádyo ṯ-ázəx xa-rèša.ˈ har-méθəx xa-yóma ṯ-òya.ˈ lɛ-péšəx qurðàye.ˈ (16) mulàptəlley.ˈ ṣlăwáθa kúlla muláptəlley yăðìwa.ˈ mulàptəlley yə́mmi.ˈ xóni ʾo-zóra l-xə̀lya wéwa.ˈ ʾína xóni ʾo-gòṛaˈ ʾu-xáθi kúlla méndi mpaṛmèwa.ˈ muláptəlla yə́mmi ʾu-bábi mṣalèwa,ˈ yăðìwa.ˈ (17) bènaˈ ṭláθa zìllaˈ tré pìšla.ˈ mára yə́mmi mári lɛn-zdáʾa ʾap-dəndə̀kθa.ˈ qaṭlìlən,ˈ ʾáxni mo-ṯ-óðəx ʾáxni gu-d-áyya-dunye ʾàxxa?ˌ har-néxəx m-ánna xáye ṯ-ix-gàwa,ˈ xoš-qaṭlìlən.ˈ

(9) Now, she said 'I am the daughter-in-law of the priest Hɛdo'. They said 'Where is your husband?' She said 'I don't know'. She said 'He has been killed. I don't know where he is'. They said 'If you don't come down, we shall take you down. We shall take you down'. (10) They said 'Are you the daughter-in-law of the priest Hɛdo?' They said '(If so), we shall treat you with respect[4] and we shall carry your children on our shoulders. If you want to go down to 'Ɛn-Nune, we shall take you down now to 'Ɛn-Nune. We shall take you down to your village'. (11) She had abandoned hope regarding my father, (thinking) that he would have been killed. She said 'What shall I do here staying on this mountain?' My sister and my brothers were small. She said 'These children of mine are dying here of hunger. The wolves and the animals here will eat us. If I go down there, the Kurds know us'. (12) She extracted a promise from the Kurds saying 'I tell you that I shall go down with you on this condition that you do not say "Become a Kurd"'.[5] They said 'Why won't you become one?'. She said: I gripped a cross in my hand out of fear. The cross was in my hand like this. (13) I said 'No'. I said 'No. I am content for you to kill me. But, I say to you one thing. I implore you,[6] do not kill my children before my eyes. After you kill me, then kill also my children, kill them by my side'. They said 'You want us to kill you? Is that really your wish?' (14) She said 'With all my heart I want you to kill me, for I shall not become a Kurd'. 'Won't you become a Kurd?' She said 'No'. She said: They were five men, five. Now, two remained behind. They said 'Kill her and come (back to us)'. (15) My mother taught my siblings. She said 'My dear, those Kurds know nothing, they are heathens. They know nothing. As for us, there is God, there is Christ, there is Paradise, there is Hell. If they kill us, we would die one day (anyhow). We shall go to Paradise, if they kill us today we shall go there directly. It will be (our fate) to die one day anyhow. We shall not become Kurds'. (16) She taught them (thus). She taught them all the prayers and they knew them. My mother taught them. My younger brother was on milk. But my elder brother and my sister understood everything. My mother and father taught them to pray and they knew. (17) So, three went away and two remained. My mother said: I said 'I am not afraid even a little. If they kill us (so be it). What shall we do here in this world? We shall be relieved of this life that we are in, let them kill us'.

[4] Literally: one leg on this eye of ours and one on this one.
[5] I.e. convert to Islam.
[6] Literally: my sin be on your neck.

(18) mára mə́ra har-hon-šmáyəlle qála làn-zdaʾa.ˈ har-wáða čŭ̆ruk,ˈ lan-mràʾa,ˈ čú-mdi lèle-θaya bíyi.ˈ čŭ̆ruk,ˈ kut-dána čŭ̆ruk ʾu-čù məndí.ˈ kə́ma gàyeˈ gu-xáṣa díya mútte tópe čŭ̆ruk,ˈ lèla.ˈ (19) mára làn-ɣyaša b-gániˈ čú-mdi lèle-θaya bíyi.ˈ har-wáðəlla tópe čŭ̆rukˈ šmáyənne qála dìya.ˈ čú-mdi lɛ̀-ʾaθe.ˈ (20) mára ʾan-t-wɛ́ɛwa zìle,ˈ ʾan-ṭḷáθa qréla b-an-trè,ˈ mə́ra móditu wáða hal-dìya?ˈ hal-díya….ˈ móditu wàða?ˈ (21) mə́ra ʾajəbùθa!ˈ xzélən ʾajəbùθa!ˈ mə́ra mòdi?ˈ mə̀ra:ˈ kú pušánga ṯ-íx mattóyəlle gu-d-ay-tòpeˈ čŭ̆ruk-ile pláṭa.ˈ ʾáw hox-šqáləlle zdáyəlle mattóye xa-xèna,ˈ ʾap-áwɛa čŭ̆ruk-ile pláṭa.ˈ har-mattóyəxəlle l-xáṣa qaṭlə̀xxaˈ har-pušánga čŭ̆ruk-ile pláṭa.ˈ (22) míðən kə́ma pušánge qəm-mattìla.ˈ ʾu-ʾánna rḥíqla mənnèy,ˈ zìlla.ˈ ʾan-qurðáye qréla bìya,ˈ mə̀ra:ˈ ʾálaha lɛ́ɛwa msapóyəlla l-iθaθèxu.ˈ (23) mə́ra bihîleˈ bihîleˈ ew şahide.ˈ ew şahideˈ *ʾánna zdíla qurðàye.ˈ mə́ra ʾalàha!ˈ lá qaṭlìtula!ˈ ʾáyya šapìrtɛla.ˈ ʾálaha lɛ́ɛwa mṣapóyəlla l-iθaθèxu.ˈ mə́ra m-bár ṯ-ila-θíθa mtunéθa ṭla-nàše,ˈ náše mə̀ra-lla.ˈ ʾáy lèða qúrdəθ.ˈ (24) mára ʾáni zílla béna xóni qəm-doqìle.ˈ lá-mṣən tanyànna-ʾayya.ˈ mára qíme dwíqe xá b-aw-rùšeˈ xá b-aw-rùšeˈ nùbləlle.ˈ ʾáw lá snidíle ʾáqle dìyeˈ qəm-nablìle.ˈ gə̆rə̀kθa-wawa hátxa.ˈ qəm-zadéle rēš-d-a-gzə́rtət kèpe,ˈ ʾáw lá-zille p-áqle dìye.ˈ lá snidíle ʾaqláθe dìye.ˈ ʾani-zadéle tàmaˈ ʾáni zìlla.ˈ (25) mára yə́mmi kléli qəm-šə̆mánne qále díye b-bxàya,ˈ har-qímli hédi zílli zìlli.ˈ qəm-xazyànneˈ qəm-šaqlánne gu-qàpli,ˈ ʾáyya dúkθe díye hátxa klíčta qíθtət kèpe.ˈ (26) mə́ri bábi la-ṣàdlux.ˈ hóla zíle kàlwe.ˈ xzi-ʾaláha lá qəm-msapélən l-iθàθa.ˈ qəm-maθyánne qəm-daryánne kəs-xonə̆wàθi.ˈ madəmxànney.ˈ dmìxley.ˈ (27) xwéle xùya.ˈ plíṭle bábi ṭa̋ya ʾəllèy.ˈ plíṭle ṭa̋ya.ˈ ṭa̋yɛle,ˈ ṭa̋yɛle,ˈ tfíqle bìya.ˈ mə́re Xənzàda!ˈ mə́re sàxit?ˈ yə́mmi mə̀ra:ˈ ʾána ʾə̀llux-in zdáʾa,ˈ ʾáti làt qṭíla!ˈ*

(18) She said 'I hear the sound (of the gun) but I am not afraid. It just makes a bang, but I am not hurt, nothing happens to me. Bang, every time a bang but nothing'. Several times the guns were pointed at her back, bang, but (nothing) happened. (19) She said 'I do not feel anything on me. Nothing is happening to me. The gun is just making a bang and I hear its sound, but nothing happens'. (20) So, those who had gone, those three called the two (who had remained) and said 'What have you been doing until now? What have you been doing until now?' (21) They said 'It is a miracle! We have seen a miracle!' They said 'What?' They said 'Every bullet that we put in this gun comes out (as a blank) with a bang. We take it out and throw it away, then put in another one, but also that one comes out (as a blank) with a bang. We point it at her back to kill her, but the bullet comes out (as a blank) with a bang'. (22) I don't know how many bullets they fired at them. They (the three Kurds) went away from them. Those Kurds shouted at them saying 'God was not surrendering her into your hands'. (23) They said 'Leave her, leave her. She is a martyr. She is a martyr'.[7] The Kurds were afraid. They said 'By God, do not kill her! She is a good woman. God was not surrendering her into your hands'. After she had come and told the people, they told her (what it meant). She did not know Kurdish. (24) They went off, but they captured my brother. I cannot tell that. They held him, one this shoulder and one the other, and took him away. His legs did not support him. They took him away. It was a mound, like this. They threw him on that heap of stones. He could not walk on his legs. His legs did not support him. They threw him there and went away. (25) My mother said: I stood and heard the sound of his weeping. I got up and slowly went (looking for him). I found him and took him in my arms. This place on him was scratched, wounded by the stones. (26) I said 'My dear, do not fear. The dogs have gone. God has not delivered us into their hands'. I brought him back and placed him among my siblings.[8] I put them to sleep and they slept. (27) It became dark. My father went out looking for them. He went out looking for them. He looked and looked and found them. He said 'Xənzada!'[9] He said 'Are you well?' My mother said 'I was afraid for you. You are not killed!'

[7] This speech is in Kurdish.

[8] The reference is confused here. The speech at this point is presented as being that of the informant's mother, but 'my siblings' refers to the siblings of the informant.

[9] I.e. his wife, the mother of the informant.

(28) ʾáw qəm-mtanèla ʾáyya.ˈ mára ʾálaha qəm-mxašákla ʾɛnèy,ˈ ʾána hátxa qam-ʾɛnèy,ˈ ʾána mári díya qaṭlìli.ˈ lá qəm-xazèli.ˈ ða-ʾáqla l-d-ày-gotət képaˈ ða-l-àyya,ˈ ʾána xoθèy.ˈ ʾu-lá qəm-xazèli.ˈ (29) ʾáni hár hola-xyára rèḥqaˈ ʾu-mára lèka zílle?ˈ prìxle?ˈ šmàyya síqle?ˈ lèka zílle ʾo-náša?ˈ čú-mdi lìθ-ʾaxxaˈ ta-t-ṭašèwa.ˈ ʾu-ʾáy-ʾurxa hàtxaˈ bar-tàxti wéwa.ˈ mára hátxa xazàxwaleˈ ku-dùkθa ṯ̂-awéwa.ˈ (30) là-xzela.ˈ béna ʾáni qlíbla zìlla.ˈ xúya xwèleˈ ʾu-θèle.ˈ θéle tfiqle biyèyˈ béna qəm-šaqàlla.ˈ qəm-nabàlla,ˈ zìlla.ˈ mṭèlaˈ gu-Wàlto y-amrìwa.ˈ yámmi ʾu-xóni,ˈ xonăwáθi ʾa-xàθi,ˈ Bàdre,ˈ xáθi mìtlaˈ gu-qaddìštətˈ qalayàθa.ˈ (31) rabbanyàθaˈ kúlla qəm-xɛpìla.ˈ qəm-oðíla čàdra,ˈ qəm-oðíla brɛθàθa.ˈ ʾu-qáše qəm-oðíla yáʿni šamšîla.ˈ qəm-oðíla dùkaˈ ʾax ṯ̂-óðəx krəstyàne,ˈ kúlla rèze.ˈ yámmi baxyàwa.ˈ (32) y-amríwa xàθiˈ t-la-bàxyət.ˈ ʾálaha dìyəx-ileˈ čù-naša xéna.ˈ mára ʾádyo qam-ṭ̀ère,ˈ ṭ́ere xálalla kălášət gùṛeˈ dárye qam-šə̀mša,ˈ t-lá mṭamòre,ˈ t-lá mxabòðe.ˈ ʾàtiˈ ʾáyya bráta xa-réša gu-malkúθət šmàyya,ˈ gu-pardèsa,ˈ qam-d-áyya qaddíštət qalayàθa y-ámrila.ˈ (33) ʾáyya mítla tàma,ˈ gu-Wàlto,ˈ ʾo-záwna t-wéwa l-xálya xóni ʾÌša.ˈ xa-béna bábi márya hátxa šaθàna,ˈ taxránna xàbre:ˈ ya-bábi ʾÌšaˈ w-èkɛwət píša?ˈ gu-Wálto qam-qaddìša.ˈ

(28) He told her the story. He said 'God blinded their eyes. I was before their eyes and said "They will kill me now", but they did not see me. One leg was on this side of the rock and one on the other, while I was under them, but they did not see me. (29) They were only looking into the distance saying "Where has he gone? Has he flown away? Has he gone up into the sky? Where has that man gone? There is nothing here for him to hide in". The road was like this, sloping downwards. They said "We would see him wherever he could be"' (30) They did not see him. They turned back. It got dark and he (the father) came. He came and found them. He picked them up and took them away, and they went on their way. They arrived (at a place) called Walto. My mother and my brother, my siblings—my sister, Badre, died in (the convent) of the Saint of the Cells. (31) The nuns all washed her, made her a tent, made her gloves. The priests served her (the last rites). They made her a place (of burial), as we Christians do, all in rows. My mother was weeping. (32) They would say 'Sister, do not weep. God is yours, not anybody else's. Today birds eat the corpses of men, they are (left) for the birds, placed in the sun, without burial or funeral. But you—this girl (of yours) has gone directly to the Kingdom of Heaven, to Paradise, to this Saint of the Cells, as she is called'. (33) She died there in Walto, at the time when my brother Iša was on milk. Once my father was ill with a fever (and was singing), I remember his words: 'Oh my dear Iša, where were you born? In Walto in the presence of the Saint'.

B10 Life in ʾƐn-Nune (4)

Informant: Naze ʾIsrayel (ʾƐn-Nune)

Tail Fat

(1) ʾelíθa θéla mən-ʾə̀rba.ˈ ʾə́rba parmə̀xwale,ˈ t-xwàre,ˈ ʾə́rbə t-xwàreˈ, parmə̀xwale,ˈ xéna ʾelíθa qalə̀xwaˈ dɛrə́xwa gu-kúlla mə̀ndi,ˈ gu-dòlma,ˈ gu-bə̀sra.ˈ y-oðə́xwa qawùrma,ˈ ʾaw-qawúrwa dɛrə́xwa rázza ʾə̀lle.ˈ bə́sra rába donàna.ˈ ʾelíθa-w rə̀zzaˈ bašlə̀xwale,ˈ ʾó y-amrìwaleˈ qawùrma.ˈ (2) θáni yómət ʾéða y-oðə́xwa duxrə̀na.ˈ kúd-xa maṣléwa xà-lagă̆na,ˈ gə̀rðo,ˈ ʾaw ʾó-t bă̆yéwa kθayàθaˈ rəš-rə̀zza-wˈ ʾó-t bă̆yèwaˈ qawùrma.ˈ yōm-gayàsa,ˈ bàθər qyámta.ˈ (3) xaðríwa náše ʾeðă̆wàθaˈ w-y-azíwa mšamšíwa bɛθ-qòra,ˈ ráḥqa mən-an-dukàne.ˈ kúlla mšamšìwa.ˈ qàše,ˈ šamáše y-azíwa qoră̆wàθa.ˈ (4) láwa ʾax-dìya.ˈ gu-màθa wɛ́wa ʾé-ga.ˈ yáʿni kúlla maθwàθaˈ báθər ʾèta-wewaˈ báθər ʾùmra.ˈ ʾánna y-azíwa mamšíwa qàše,ˈ bar-pálgət yóma y-aθìwa,ˈ y-axlíwa kawùθra.ˈ

(5) ʾelíθa mən-ʾə̀rbət xwára,ˈ pàṛa,ˈ ʾə̀rbe,ˈ la-ʾə̀zze,ˈ lá ʾan-kòmeˈ y-amrə́xla ʾàxni.ˈ ʾelíθa yáʿni ʾə́rbət xwàreˈ pàṛe,ˈ baràna,ˈ ta-qàlya barána.ˈ páṛa parmə́xwale ta-kùt-yom.ˈ (6) yáʿni mă̆θă̆lan ʾə́dyo ʾítlən ʾàrxe,ˈ parmə́xwa…ˈ hánd ṃaḷèwa.ˈ mṭawə́xwa bə̀sra.ˈ y-oðə́xwa nùra,ˈ gòje-wɛ́wa,ˈ qése gòṛe.ˈ y-oðə́xwala pàlle.ˈ ʾən-ʾítwalən mà̀n-qal,ˈ dɛrə́xwa gu-mànqal.ˈ ʾən-wɛ́wa xànčˇi.ˈ ʾən-wɛ́wa náše rábe là.ˈ…kanùna.ˈ ʾó ṃaḷə́xwale šíšət bə̀sra.ˈ

(7) qálya har-ʾay-ʾelíθa bə̀sra hawé ṭrísa,ˈ qamàyeˈ dɛríwale ʾàw,ˈ qám ṯ̂-o-smòqa.ˈ y-oðíwa páške hátxa zòre,ˈ ʾó-t bă̆yéwa qă̆ràne.ˈ páške y-oðə̀xwa ʾáxni,ˈ ta-xàla.ˈ (8) y-oðə́xwa bé ʾe gàwe.ˈ bašlə́xwa šórba bìye.ˈ gu-pràxe dɛrə́xwa,ˈ gu-dôlma,ˈ dùxwa,ˈ mə́jja ʾáwwa dàwwe.ˈ

B10 Life in ʾƐn-Nune (4)

Informant: Naze ʾIsrayel (ʾƐn-Nune)

Tail Fat

(1) Tail fat came from a sheep. We would slaughter the sheep, white, white small cattle. We would slaughter it, then we would fry the tail fat and put it in everything, in *dolma* (stuffed vine leaves), meat. We would make fried meat. We would put rice in this fried meat. The meat was very fatty. We would cook tail fat and rice, which was called *qawurma.* (2) On the second day of the festival (of Easter) we would make a memorial. Everybody would take down a pan of *gərðo*[1] or, those who wanted, chickens on rice and, those who wanted, *qawurma*. (This was) on the day of the *gayasa* ceremony, after the Easter festival. (3) People would go around (making) festival blessings and would go and hold a ceremony for the dead in the cemetery—may (death) be far from these places! Everybody would perform the ceremony. Priests, deacons would go to the graves. (4) It was not like now. They were in a village then. In all villages it (the cemetery) was behind the church, behind the church. They would go and the priests would perform the ceremony and they come back after midday and eat lunch.

(5) Tail fat is from white small cattle (sheep), a lamb, sheep, not goats, not black (small cattle), as we call them. Tail fat (comes from) white small cattle, lambs, a full grown male sheep—for *qalya* a full grown male sheep. We would slaughter a lamb for everyday (use). (6) For example, if today we have guests, we would slaughter, it was just enough. We would roast meat. We would make a fire, in which there were roots and large pieces of wood. We would make it into glowing embers. If we had a griddle, we would put it on the griddle, if there were a few (guests). If there were many people, no. (We would cook on) a hearth, which we would fill with kebabs of meat.

(7) *Qalya* is tail fat and fatty meat. They put it in first before the red meat. They would make pieces of meat small like this or, if people wanted, big. We would make meat pieces for eating. (8) We would put eggs in it (the *qalya*). We would cook stew in it. We would put it in *praxe* (stuffed vine leaves), in *dolma* (stuffed vine leaves), *duxma* (meat and barley cooked in yoghurt), *məǰǰa* (dissolved yoghurt cakes), which is *dawwe* (yoghurt water).

[1] Rice cooked with yoghurt.

(9) lá măyə́xwa gùða,ˈ palṭə́xwala c̓ìta.ˈ yáʿni mášxa mpalṭàxwale.ˈ ʾan-dáwwe marəxθəxwalaˈ gu-marágla gòṛa.ˈ raxθíwa dàwweˈ šoqə́xwala qaṭpìwa.ˈ qaṭpíwa miyèy.ˈ míya y-áwɛ zalàle,ˈ míyət màsta.ˈ (10) dɛrə́xwale kìsa,ˈ kísa gòṛa,ˈ xɛṭə́xwa xə̀ṣˈ qa-dàwwe.ˈ dɛrə́xwa dàwwe,ˈ xánc̆i šoqə́xwale gu-margə̀lta.ˈ baʿdə́n taláxwale b-ʾilàna.ˈ ʾítwa ʾilàna,ˈ mattə́xwa ʾamàna xóθe ṭla-lá mbarəbzi,ˈ mbarə́bzi míyət dàwwe.ˈ (11) páyəšwa qəšya.ˈ y-oðə́xwala hátxa-qəška,ˈ máx kùbbe.ˈ ʾu-mattə̀xwale,ˈ lá šəmša,ˈ ṭə̀lla hátxa mattə̀xwale.ˈ barázwa ṭla-sətwa.ˈ sátwa y-oðə́xwa dùxwa.ˈ ʾi-mɛjə́xwale ʾamánət ʾùpra,ˈ m-Dɛrə̀gni.ˈ kút-xa hawéwale xà.ˈ y-awéwala ʾiθàθa,ˈ ʾu-dúkθət ṣláya dàwwe.ˈ (12) ʾi-mṣapə̀xwaleˈ y-oðə̀xwale.ˈ sáṛe xašlə́xwala b-xašòlta.ˈ ʾu-mpartənə̀xwalaˈ ʾu-qašrə̀xwala.ˈ ʾi-mxallə̀xwale,ˈ dɛrə́xwale bəsra,ˈ dɛrə́xwa ʾelìθa,ˈ dɛrə́xwa gèrme.ˈ gérme y-awéwa brìze,ˈ mbùrze gérme.ˈ ʾi-dɛrə́xwa gu-dùxwa.ˈ ʾi-bašə́lwa y-awə́xwa tíwe mbarxòše,ˈ ʾúmma šənne!ˈ (13) šəlgə̀mme ʾé,ˈ šəlgə́mme dɛrə̀xwa,ˈ ʾína ʾáxni kúbba ʾàxxa θélən dráya.ˈ yáʿni gu-Mòṣul,ˈ ʾu-ʾàn-dukane,ˈ ʾina-ʾáxni gu-Bárwar là.ˈ gə̀rðo y-oðə́xwa.ˈ xùmṣa,ˈ bə́sra har-xašlə́xwale gu-rə̀zza.ˈ rə́zza y-awéwa ʾo-t-ṭḷàθa.ˈ y-oðə́xwa ʾáwwəl dórta rə̀zza.ˈ ʾu-θáni dórta dòlma.ˈ ʾu-θáləθ dòrta,ˈ ʾo-daqíqa…ʾərbàla,ˈ qəṣqə̀ṣta.ˈ (14) marəkxə̀xwaleˈ ʾu-dɛrə́xwa bə́sra gàw,ˈ xašlə̀xwa.ˈ lá dɛrə́xwa gáwe kùbbe.ˈ ʾáxni ʾàxxa-x wáða hádəx,ˈ yáʿni gu-mðìta,ˈ gu-Mòṣul,ˈ gu-Bàġdad.ˈ ʾína gə̆rəg kúlla bəsra hawéwa,ˈ ʾu-šaqlə́xwa hátxa kutálθa gòṛta.ˈ gu-xúmṣa baʕə̀lwa,ˈ gèrmeˈ ʾu-šəlgə̀mmeˈ ʾu-ʾatxa.ˈ (15) ʾu-smóqe ʾi-mṣapə̀xwale.ˈ smóqe dɛrə́xwalɛ gu-mìye,ˈ marəθə̀xwalɛ.ˈ y-áwe qə́ppo b-rèša,ˈ ʾáxni y-amrə̀xxa.ˈ ʾi-mṣapə́xwala ʾap-ʾày,ˈ ʾu-dɛrə́xwala gu-rə̀zza,ˈ míyət smòqe.ˈ

Rice Dishes

GK: módi y-oðíwa m-rə̀zza?ˈ

(16) m-rə́zza y-oðə́xwa ya-xùmṣa,ˈ kùbbət rə́zza,ˈ y-oðə̀xwale.ˈ y-amrə́xwala kúbbət šòrba.ˈ šórba dɛrə́xwa tamàtoˈ ʾu-máʿjūn gàwa.ˈ ʾína ʾáyyət xúmṣa har-xúmṣa háwe xwarnàya.ˈ yáʿni smóqa m-tamáto là dɛrə́xwa.ˈ

(9) When we shook the churn, we would take out the *čita* (yoghurt curds), that is we would take out the butter. We would boil the *dawwe* in a big pan. The yoghurt boiled and we let it separate. The water separated. The water was clear, the yoghurt water. (10) We would put it in a bag, a large bag, which we sewed specially for *dawwe*. We put the *dawwe* in and left a little in the pan. Then we hung it on a tree. There was a tree, under which we placed a vessel so that it did not scatter, so that the water of the *dawwe* did not scatter. (11) It became thick and we made it into a *qaška* (cake of dried yoghurt), like meat balls. Then we laid them out, not in the sun, we put them in the shade. It dried (to be kept) for the winter. In winter we made it into *duxwa*. We would dissolve it in an earthen vessel, from Dɛrəgni. Everybody had one. It had handles and a place where the *dawwe* flows down. (12) We strained it. We would crush barley in a mortar. We winnowed it and removed the husks. We washed it and added meat, added tail fat, added bones. The bones were dry, the bones were dried. We would put it in the *duxwa*. It cooked while we sat stirring it, for a hundred years! (13) Turnips, yes, we added turnips. But here (in London) we have come to put meat balls (in *duxwa*). (This was the case) in Moṣul and such places, but not us in Barwar. We would make *gərðo*. As for *xumṣa*, we would mash meat in rice. The rice was the third one (in the degree of fineness).[2] In the first round (of sieving) we make (ordinary) rice. In the second round (we make) *dolma*. The third round, the fine one (with the) fine sieve, crushed rice. (14) We would soften it and put meat in it, then mash it. We did not put meat balls in it. We do that here, that is in a town, in Moṣul, in Baghdad. It had to be all meat. We used to take a large cutlet of meat. It used to cook in the *xumṣa*, (together with) bones, turnips and so forth. (15) We would clean sumac berries. We would put sumac berries in water and boil them. There was a froth on top, as we call it. They would strain this and put it in the rice. (It was) water of sumac berries.

Rice Dishes

GK: What did you make with rice?

(16) With rice we would make *xumṣa*, we would make meat balls with rice. We called it meat balls with sauce. We would put tomatoes and tomato purée in the sauce. But the dish consisting only of *xumṣa* is whitish. We did not put any red tomatoes in it.

[2] I.e. The finest rice, which was obtained after the third seiving.

(17) y-oðə́xwa dòlma,ˈ y-oðə́xwa gə̀rðo,ˈ bušàla.ˈ ʾay-gə́rðo ʾa-qs̀ìθa,ˈ ta-duxràne,ˈ ʾína bušála t-ʾoðə́xwala ṭlàlən,ˈ xánčı miyànta,ˈ la-ràba.ˈ (18) ʾi-dɛrə́xwa mə̀šxa,ˈ ṭàxin,ˈ šíšme xs̀ìle.ˈ nepúxta hè,ˈ m-ʾálpa ʾáxni lá raba-ʾi-mapəlxə̀xwala.ˈ ʾína hawèwalən.ˈ be-xáli y-oðíwa Musàkka,ˈ ʾáni ʾə́nwe kóme ràba.ˈ

Dolma

GK: ʾu-dòlma?ˈ

(19) ʾe-b-àlaha!ˈ kut-tré yomáθa ṭḷàθa.ˈ xéna ʾən-hawéwa bàsra,ˈ ʾən-háwəxwa príme ʾə̀rwe,ˈ dɛ̀rəxwa básra.ˈ karáfəs là dɛrə́xwa kəsléni.ˈ là dɛrə́xwa.ˈ hadíya ʾi-dɛ̀rəx.ˈ báṣla-w tùma,ˈ ʾu-rə̀zza,ˈ ʾu-ṭàrpe,ˈ ṭárpət dalìθa,ˈ ṭárpət sə̀lqa,ˈ ṭárpət kală̆me.ˈ báṣla har-mawjŭ̆d-iwa.ˈ xá-reša tùma,ˈ hàtxa.ˈ (20) y-óðəxwa trè-ṭuxme.ˈ be-xàli,ˈ be-mámət yə̀mmiˈ là-bă̆yiwale túma.ˈ ʾap-báṣla la-bă̆̀yiwale.ˈ dérəxwa là y-amrəxwalé́y.ˈ ʾína túma har-là-ʾaθewa qurba-llé́y.ˈ

Cheese

GK: dáx y-oðítuwa gùpta?ˈ

(21) xálya ʾi-mjắmə́xwa ràba,ˈ ʾárba dàne.ˈ ʾi-mjắmə́xwale gu-quṣàrta,ˈ ʾi-mṣapə̀x-wale.ˈ ʾu-máttəxwale màttəxwale,ˈ xáčči mšaxnə̀xwale.ˈ ʾu-y-oðíwa maréθət gùpta.ˈ lɛ̀ðən mən-módi.ˈ gəsəkyàθa,ˈ bă̆harà̆tˈ ʾu-dɛríwa xà-mdi xéna,ˈ fə́lfəl ʾàswad,ˈ qă̆ránta,ˈ yaʿni là-xs̀ilta.ˈ (22) lá kulla-náše yă̆́ði ṯ-oðìla.ˈ k̂ə̀m baxtáθa y-oðíla.ˈ yə́mmi lípta m-yə́mma dìya,ˈ ʾašitnèθa-wawa.ˈ lá-barya ða-šéta t-páyəšwa bèθa.ˈ har-dána b-danà y-oðíwalaˈ ta-xákma yomàne.ˈ báhər y-áwe xálya ràba,ˈ y-oðíwa gùpta,ˈ ʾína b-qéṭa la-màṣiwaˈ sab-xànčı y-áwe xálya.ˈ

(17) We would make *dolma*, we would make *gərðo* and stew. The *gərðo*, which is thick, is for church memorial festivals.[3] But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was somewhat watery, but not too much. (18) We would put in it oil, tahini, crushed sesame. Raisin syrup, yes, but we rarely used it.[4] But we used to have it. My uncle's family used to make it in Musakka,[5] (where there were) many of those black grapes.

Dolma

GK: and *dolma*?

(19) Yes, by God! Every two or three days. If there was meat, if we had slaughtered sheep, we would serve meat. We did not use celery in our community. We did not use it. Now we use it. Onion and garlic, rice, leaves, vine leaves, chard leaves, cabbage leaves. Onion was always in it. A head of garlic, like that. (20) We would make two types. My uncle's family and the family of my mother's uncle did not like garlic. Nor did they like onions. We would add (onions) but say to them 'no' (we have not added it). But garlic never came near them.

Cheese

GK: How did you make cheese?

(21) We would collect a lot of milk, four times. We would collect it in a pot and strain it. We would put lots of it (in the pot) and heat it up slightly. They would make a cheese rennet. I don't know what it was from. (They would add) peppers, spices, and would add something else, black pepper, the big one, not the crushed one. (22) Not everybody knows how to make it. Only a few women make it. My mother learnt from her mother, who was from Ashitha. It was not possible for it to remain a year in the house. They prepared it from time to time for a few days. In the Spring there was a lot of milk and they would make cheese, but in Summer they could not, since the milk was in short supply.

[3] I.e. *gərðo* and stew (*bušala*) are similar dishes consisting of rice cooked in yoghurt, but *gərðo* is the thicker of the two.

[4] Literally: In a thousand (times) we did not use it much.

[5] A village in the Barwar region.

(23) mšaxníle xànčí,ˈ lá marəθxìle.ˈ xánčí mšaxnìleˈ ʾu-dérɛ marèθaˈ ʾu-mkàsɛleˈ ʾu-péšawa gùpta.ˈ dériwale l-kìstaˈ ʾu-mattìwa.ˈ ʾíθwalən pàrše,ˈ trè,ˈ xa-xóθa xa-rèša,ˈ ta-t-ṭăbəqàwa,ˈ péšawa gùpta.ˈ hàtxa rešăwáθa,ˈ hàtxɛwa.ˈ ʾu-parmíwale b-šàpra.ˈ

*GK: dɛrétuwa gáwa sàrke?*ˈ

(24) làˈ béna sárke dérəxwa gu-jàjək.ˈ là.ˈ ʾàyˈ mattáxwa xa-ṭàbăqaˈ yáˤni jàjəkˈ ʾu-xa gúpta b-rèšeˈ ʾu-dérəxwa sàrke.ˈ ʾáy y-oðìwala,ˈ xoṭíwala b-è-ga.ˈ sàrmo y-amráxxa.ˈ ṭamràxwala gu-ʾúpra.ˈ ʾən-dɛràxwa,ˈ dɛráxwa sàrmo gáwe.ˈ (25) ʾən-bǎyáxwa tùma,ˈ ṭla-mbašàlta,ˈ kèfən-ile.ˈ bǎ́yəxwa mbašlàxwa,ˈ bǎ́yəxwa là.ˈ gu-báhər kúl-məndi y-oðàxwa mánna.ˈ mṭawàxwaˈ dɛráxwa rəš-masàxθa.ˈ masáxθa mattáxwala rəš-pàlle.ˈ

Yoghurt

*GK: y-oðítuwa màsta?*ˈ

(26) màstaˈ xálya mɛθàxxe,ˈ marəθxàxxe.ˈ qàyər xánčí.ˈ dérəx xa-màsta gáwe,ˈ péša màsta.ˈ ʾu-ʾey-màstaˈ péša xamùṣta.ˈ ʾi-šoqàxlaˈ ʾu-mǎ́yəx gúða bìya.ˈ dérəxwala ṭla-dàwweˈ mpalṭáxwa màšxa,ˈ ʾu-ham-dàwweˈ ʾu-hám ṭla-ḵàška,ˈ ṭla-mbašôle,ˈ ṭla-štàya,ˈ dàwweˈ ṭla-kùl-məndi.ˈ

Weddings

(27) mràzgiˈ tmánya yománe y-áwəxwa páya làxma.ˈ ʾu-mrazgíwa ʾilàna.ˈ ʾílànaˈ mɛθíwa kúlla mándit mèwa.ˈ maxíwa ʾilàna.ˈ ʾé-ga lìθwa kéka.ˈ y-asqíwa l-gàre,ˈ ʾɛ-dánə mɛθíwala kᵛàlo,ˈ napṣìwala.ˈ (28) zonìwala,ˈ xálət xàtnɛle.ˈ zabə́nwa ʾilàna,ˈ b-é-ga náše xéne ʾi-zòni.ˈ mšàrki.ˈ ʾáxni zabnàxwala ʾilána.ˈ xlúla hàtxɛwa qamáye.ˈ

(23) They would heat it slightly. They did not boil it. They would heat it slightly, add rennet and cover it, then it would become cheese. They would put it in a bag, then lay it out. We had flat stones, one beneath and one above, so that it was compressed and became cheese. It was like this in rounds. They would cut it with a large knife.

GK: Did they put *sərke*[6] in it?

(24) No, but we put *sərke* in *jajək*. No. We would put a layer of it, that is *jajək*, and a (layer of) cheese on top of it, then we would put *sərke* in it. They would make it (like this) and then mix it together. We used to call (the herb) *sərmo*. We would bury it in the earth. If we put (a herb in it), we would put *sərmo* in it. (25) If we wanted (to use) garlic for cooking, it was up to us. If we want, we cook (with it), (if we do not) want, we don't. In Spring we make everything from it. We would fry it and put it in a frying pan. We would put the frying pan on the embers.

Yoghurt

GK: Did you make yoghurt?

(26) Yoghurt—we would fetch milk and boil it. It would cool slightly. We would put a portion of yoghurt in it and it would become yoghurt. That yoghurt would become sour. We would leave it and shake it in a churn. We would serve it as *dawwe*. We would extract butter. (We used) *dawwe* also for (making) *qaška*, for cooking, for drinking, *dawwe* (was used) for everything.

Weddings

(27) They made preparations. For eight days we would bake bread. We would prepare the tree. For the tree they would bring all kinds of fruit. They would set up the tree. At that time there was no cake. They would go up onto the roof, at the time when they brought the bride and shake it. (28) They would buy it—it was the uncle of the groom (who bought it first). He would sell the tree. Then other people bought it. They joined in. We used to sell the tree. Weddings were like that in the old days.

[6] A herb similar to mint.

(29) xéna xlùla| mrazgìwa,| mparmíwa ʾərwe,| mbašlìwa,| mbanìwa,| maštíwa ʾǎraq,| xàmra,| ʾu-kùlla-məndi.| ṭúrši y-oðáxwa b-gànən.| dérəxwa gu-lìne,| líne gòṛe,| linyàθa,| ʾánna-t mìya.|

GK: dáx lwíštət kʷàlo?|

(30) gərwe,| ṣàwle,| júlle rìxe,| júllə jərjə̀ˆt,| ʾáyya fəstánə jərjə̀ˆt,| ʾu-ʾáyya k̲appúrtə qǎtìfa,| zárgəf kùlla| mnoqàšta,| ʾu-pošìya,| ʾu-xá-warda t̲-átxa maxíwa gu-pošíya dìya,| kămǎra-w| ʾáyya gərdǎna.| (31) qamáye mxamòle,| yáʿni mxámli qa-xlùla,| déri tìta,| déri kămǎra,| déri xalaqyàθa,| déri ʾáwwa ṭồq,| yəmmi ʾítwala,| kúlla m-d-ánnə sèma.| šəbbəryàθa,| séma kùlla-məndi.| ʾisáqθə sèma,| ʾé-ga líθwa ḥǎlăqa,| qamàye.| bas-ʾisàqθa y-oðíwa,| sèma.| (32) b-é-ga malušíwala ʿàdi,| dɛríwa xəppo,| pošìya,| dáx t-rɛmawa-ày,| pošíya ʾu-xáppo b-rèša| θlaθà yománe| ʾáp-xa là mgaléwala.| lá baryáwa makšùfa| kʷàlo.| lázəm hoyáwa xáppo b-rèša,| max-šála raqìqa,| la-xlìma.|

GK: dáx lwíštət xətna?|

(33) lwíštət xátna júlle ṭiyariyàna,| ṣùdra| lawandíye mnùqše,| ʾu-šǎ̀l,| ʾu-xánjər dàwa,| ʾo-t-ʾìtwale xánjər dáwa.| ʾáxni ʾìtwalən.| là kulla-dúnye.| kúlla náše lítwaley dàwa.| là ṭalbíwala.| ʾáxni kíslən lèla ṭlíbe,| ʾáxni ʾìθwalən.|

(34) ʾìna| dɛríwa topàθa| ʾánnə mɛθíwala kʷàlo| ʾánnə xɛpíwale xátna dɛríwa topàθa.| ʾən-kʷálo m-gu-màθa,| čɛrxìwala máθa| xáṣə dawère.| y-amríwa čáppe bùkela.| (35) ʾay-t̲-aθyàwa,| t̲-oràwa,| maxyáwa… màšxa| ʾu-t̲-oðáwa ṣlìwa,| màšxa,| gu-tǎ̆rət qàṣra.| dánə t̲-oràwa,| lá qablíwala xá-mdi gu-tǎ̆ra,| lá qabláwa t̲-oráwa kʷàlo.| yaʿni dàwa,| xa-mèndi.| (36) xmáθa t̲-amràwa:| quṣàrta.| kʷálo là qabláwa,| béna y-amráwa ʾána là bǎ̆yən quṣárta.| bèna| xaθwáθət kʷàlo,| marwáθa dìya| y-amríwa là.| bǎ̆yəx xá-məndi gu-tǎ̆ra qablítula.|

(29) They would make preparations for the wedding. They would slaughter sheep, they would cook, they prepared food, they prepared arak and wine, and all sorts of things, to drink. We would make pickles by ourselves. We would put them (the drinks) in pots, large pots, the ones used for water.

GK: What were the clothes of the bride like?

(30) Stockings, shoes, long clothes, clothes of purple fabric, a dress of purple fabric, a velvet waist-coat, all made of embroidered *zargəf* fabric, a head-scarf, and a rose, which they would put in the head-scarf like this, a belt, a necklace. (31) In the old days people would dress up for a wedding. They would put on silver bangles (on their veils). They would put on a belt. They would put on earrings. They would put on a necklace. My mother had one. They were all made of silver. Bracelets. Everything was silver. A ring of silver. At that time, in the old days, there was no (special wedding) ring. They only made an (ordinary) ring, which was silver. (32) At that time they dressed her as usual. They would put on a wedding veil with a head-scarf (underneath), according to how high (the wedding veil) was.[7] The head-scarf and the wedding veil were on her head for three days, nobody uncovered her. It was not allowed for the bride to be uncovered. The cover had to be on her head. (It was) like a thin shawl, (it was) not thick.

GK: What was the clothing of the groom like?

(33) The clothing of the groom—Ṭiyare clothes, a shirt, embroidered long sleeves, a shawl, a golden dagger, if he had a golden dagger. We had one. Not everybody. Not everbody had gold. They did not ask for it (from others). In our family they did not ask, since we had one.

(34) They would fire rifles. The people who brought the bride, the people who washed the bride would fire guns. If the bride was from the village, they would take her round the village on the back of mules. They called it *čappe buke*. (35) She would come, enter (the house) and make with oil . . . and make (the sign of) the cross in oil on the door of the house. When she entered, if they did not pledge a gift for her at the door, the bride did not agree to enter. That is, gold or something. (36) The mother-in-law would say '(Take) the saucepan'.[8] The bride did not agree, but said 'I do not want the saucepan'. Then the sisters of the bride and her parents say 'No, we want you to pledge a gift for her at the door'.

[7] The head-scarf extended up to the beginning of the wedding veil.

[8] I.e. you take the saucepan and take over the cooking of the house.

(37) ʾána míra-wewa ʾo-níxət xəmyàni| lá ʾoðítu kămằra,| čàkke,| ʾàna zonə́nna.| ʾána qablə́nna gu-tắra kămằra.| múθyəllele ʾɛ-dàna,| ʾíθwa b-xáṣi kămằra,| ʾo-t-yàmmi.| ʾəθyɛle| múθyəlle ʾo-kămằra,| məxyəlle b-xàṣi| mére ʾáwwa hadìya də-ʾùr.| (38) xlúla basìma| y-awéwa gu-bàte,| báte gòṛe,| ʾu-rqáða-w zmàra.| ʾáy gu-màrge y-amrə́xwala.| ṭḷaθá yománe xlùla y-awéwa.| be-xə̀tna xlúla,| la t-kʷàlo.| (39) yomə-šawwà| y-azíwa be-bába dìya,| kʷàlo.| kə́mət bă̆yiwa,| čɛdíwa nablíwa be-bàba.| mắθălan ʾo-čída flàn.| yan-ʾay-mánṭăqa diyéni kùlla| čɛdə̀tla,| ʾo-t-bắye ʾàzəl,| ʾo-t-bắye là.| (40) ʾáwwa dàna| bábi parə̀mwa.| prim-ʾərwe.| ʾu-mboš̭ə̀lla-w| wídla xùmṣa,| wídla rázza-w šo̰rba.| xə́tna lè-y-axəl| ʾálla qablíle xà-məndi.| díya bìš-ila maθóyəlla,| bìš-ila hawə́lla,| díya ʾálla xá-mdi dàwa bắyi,| ya-ṣlìwa,| ya-šəbbə̀rθa,| ʾisə́qθa mən-d-án yaqùre,| m-an-tàze.|

Clothing

GK: dáx y-oyáwa lwíštət kùt-yom.ʔ|

(41) lwíštət kùt-yom,| ta-baxtàθa,| ʿàdi,| ṣudràθa-w| jăketàθa-w| yubqàθa,| yubqáθa b-áyya xàrθa| yaʿni mən-ʾámri là,| lìθwa yubqáθa.| ṣáwle ʾìθwa,| bắyi ramàne| bắyi kopàne,| kèfəx.| (42) ʾay-yaləxta,| k̲unnə̀kθa,| ʾay-šàlla,| y-asṛíwala hátxa gòṛe| y-áwa xlìme.| kúlla baxtàθa,| m-bar d-è-ga| y-amrə́xwala k̲unnəkyáθə sàntən,| ʾánna smoqnàye| xánči komnàye,| qahwàye.| hátxa y-asṛìwa baxtáθa,| ḥátta lá-hawɛwa sark̲ò̀le.| (43) ʾèbɛle,| ʾé-ga lìθwa| sark̲ò̀la| ʾàxni| kəslən,| yáʿni kùlla Bárwər.| yáʿni kùlla náše,| ḥátta ʾašitnàye,| ḥátta ṭiyaràye.| ʾína bráta la-baryáwa ṭ-oyàwa| sark̲ò̀le.| (44) ʾáxni zoníwalən kăfiyyằt,| yalə̀xyàθa,| milàne,| smòqe,| zə̆̀re.| kúlla ʾalwə̃̀n ʾíθwa.| y-asṛə̀xwala.| lá y-ṣaláxwa ḥátta ʾùmra| xṭìθɛwa ṣáləxwa sark̲óle.| láxxa kúlla sark̲óle θáya ʾùmra,| dax-bàrya.ʔ| xṭìθa.!|

GK: xɛṭítuwa lwíšta b-gʷanèxu.ʔ|

(37) My late father-in-law said 'Do not make a belt or decorations. I shall buy them. I shall pledge for her a belt at the door'. He brought it at that time, but I (already) had a belt around my waist, the one belonging to my mother. He came and brought that belt and put it around my waist. He said 'Now, enter!' (38) The wedding was very pleasant in the houses, large houses, with dancing and singing. We said that it was 'in the meadows'. The wedding went on for three days. The wedding (is held) in the home of the groom, not that of the bride. (39) On the seventh day they would go to the home of the bride's father. They would invite however many they wanted and take them to the family of her father. For example, so-and-so is invited. But in our region you would invite everybody. If somebody wanted to, he would go. If he did not want, he would not. (40) At that time my father slaughtered. Sheep were slaughtered. They cooked and made *xumṣa*, they made rice and sauce. The groom would not eat unless they pledged something to him. Now they bring them more, they give them more. Now they only want something made of gold, a cross, bracelet, a heavy fine quality ring.

Clothing

GK: What was the everyday clothing like?

(41) Everyday clothing, for women, ordinary (clothing), blouses, jackets, skirts. Skirts (have been worn) only recently, there were no skirts (worn by women) of my generation. There were shoes, either high or low ones, according to our choice.[9] (42) The scarf, i.e kerchief, which is a piece of *šalla* fabric—they would tie this like this. They were big and thick. All women (wore them), then (there were) what we called satin scarves. These were red, some were black or brown. Women tied them (on their head) so that they did not have an uncovered head. (43) It was a disgrace, at that time in our community, in the whole of Barwar, there was nobody who had an uncovered head. All people, including people from Ashitha and Ṭiyare. It was not permitted for a girl to have an uncovered head. (44) They bought for us kerchiefs, scarves, blue, red, yellow. There were all colours. We would tie them (onto our heads). When we went down to church, it was a sin to go bare-headed. Here everybody goes to church with bare heads. How can that be permitted? It is a sin!

GK: Did you sew clothing by yourselves?

[9] Literally: (whether) they want high (or) they want low, our choice.

(45) b-ìðən xɛṭə́xwa.ˈ ṣúdra yan-kasrə̀tˈ diyòpe y-amrə́xwala,ˈ klə̃̀šˌˈ lá bə̆yáwala rába xyàṭṭa.ˈ y-awéwa wásta bra-qðàla,ˈ brɛθáθe rìxeˈ y-oðə́xwala.ˈ ʾi-xaṭə̀xwa.ˈ ʾu-ʾíθwa ṯ-iwéwa ṣə́lye ḥabbanìyya,ˈ yáʿni b-ay-dána lànwa wíθa,ˈ múθye mə̆kàyən,ˈ mə̆kínət ʾìða,ˈ ʾé-ga líθwa bə̀rqa.ˈ kúlla qŭmašə̆́t ʾé-ga bíš-wɛwa rešàye.ˈ kúlla ḥə̆rìrˌˈ sàntəm ˈ ʾu-brèsəm.ˈ

GK: zaqrìtuwa?ˈ

(46) zqára ʾi-zaqrə́xwa ʾàxni,ˈ hè.ˈ zaqrə́xwa bluzə̀̃t,ˈ zaqrə́xwa gə̀rwe.ˈ b-gànən zaqrə́xwa,ˈ ʾu-mdi bə̆yə̀xwaˈ zaqrə́xwa ʾàxni.ˈ y-azlə́xwa kùša.ˈ ṣūf ʾàṣli,ˈ y-oðə́xwale guttàθa.ˈ y-oðə́xwa ṭlə́θa táqe naqìðe lázəm.ˈ zaqrə́xwa gə̀rwe,ˈ zaqrə́xwa bluzə̀̃t,ˈ zaqrə́xwa jaketàθa,ˈ zaqrə́xwa brɛθàθa.ˈ (47) zaqrə́xwa kùl-məndi.ˈ šàqe ta-gúṛe.ˈ y-awéwa rába tàlga.ˈ ʾi-lošíwala gùṛeˈ y-azìwa,ˈ ta-t-lá mə̆ríwa ʾaqlaθèy.ˈ zaqrə́xwa ta-bàbi,ˈ ta-xòni.ˈ (48) xanúθa huðàye ʾíθwalaˈ ʾu-gerəsnàye.ˈ y-oðíwa jùlle,ˈ yáʿni ṭiyariyàna.ˈ zaqríwa parzùne,ˈ čanàθa.ˈ

GK: dáx y-oðítuwa ʾàmṛa?ˈ

(49) ʾàmṛaˈ napšə̀xwale.ˈ ʾíθwa masə̀rqa.ˈ ʾíθwa masə̀rqa,ˈ ʾíwa bíye xmaṭáθa ràbe.ˈ napšə̀xwale,ˈ sarqə́xwale hátxa tàza.ˈ qamáye ʾo-rešáya šaqlə̀xwaleˈ ta-jùlle.ˈ ʾo-xèna,ˈ y-amrə́xxa bərgàwa,ˈ ʾo-t biš-daqìqa.ˈ ʾáw y-oðə̀xwaˈ y-azlə́xwa ta-gə̀rwe,ˈ ṭla-bluzə̀̃t,ˈ ṭla-brɛθàθa,ˈ ṭla-šàqe.ˈ (50) kosìθa,ˈ har-ʾàmṛa-wewa,ˈ gamríwa gmàra.ˈ ʾaw-láva t-pàṛe.ˈ ʾáw y-oðíwa kosyàθa.ˈ ʾáxni ʾìtlɛni júlle ṭiyariyàna.ˈ ʾi-zaqrə́xwa šàle.ˈ ʾašitnàyeˈ qəm-mpalṭíla ʾáwwa šálət qðàla,ˈ hàšya,ˈ ʾána hon-zqìrta mánne.ˈ ʾáni zaqrə́xwa táma bɛ̀θa.ˈ kúlla b-ʾìðən zaqrə́xwa,ˈ b-ʾìðən.ˈ

Houses and Home Life

GK: bɛθə̆wáθa gu-ʾƐn-Núne dàx-wɛwa?ˈ

(51) bɛθə̃wàθa,ˈ ʾíθwa qàṣre,ˈ ʾíθwa báte ʾatìqe.ˈ ʾáxni béθət be-bábi ʾatìqa-wewa.ˈ ʾína ramánɛwa biš-mən-qáṣrət kùl-naše.ˈ trè ṭə̆báqe-wewa.ˈ báte gòṛe,ˈ y-oðíwa ʾotáxe max-d-àyya,ˈ biš-pθìθa.ˈ ʾotáxe gòṛe hawéwa.ˈ ʾáyya mánzəl tàwɛla,ˈ har-tàwɛla,ˈ ʾap-ʾàxni,ˈ ʾáp gu-ʾƐn-Nùne.ˈ

(45) We would sew by hand. A blouse, pleats—we called them *diyope*—a skirt—this did not require much sewing. There was the chest (of the blouse), the collar, long sleeves, which we would make. We would sew them. Some people who had gone down to Ḥabbaniyya—at that time I was not born—brought machines, hand (driven) machines. At that time there was no electricity. All the material at that time was of the very best quality. It was all silk, *santəm* silk, *bresəm* silk.

GK: Did you knit?

(46) We indeed used to knit, yes. We knitted blouses, we knitted socks. We knitted by ourselves. Whatever we wanted we knitted. We span (wool on) a spindle. We made the pure wool into balls. We would make three thin strands, which were necessary (for knitting). We would knit socks, we would knit blouses, we would knit jackets, we would knit gloves. (47) We would knit everything. Leggings for men. There was a lot of snow. The men would wear them when they went (outside), so that their legs did not suffer (from the cold). We would knit for my father, for my brother. (48) The Jews and the people from Gramun had a loom on which they made clothes, that is Ṭiyare clothes. They would weave knapsacks (for women) and bags (for men).

GK: How did you make wool?

(49) We would tease the wool. There was a comb. There was a comb, on which there were many teeth.[10] We would tease it, comb it (until it was) so beautiful. First we took the best for clothes. The rest we called *bərgawa* (inferior quality wool), which was thinner. This we span to make into socks, blouses, gloves, leggings. (50) A hat was only wool. They pressed it. It was (made of) wool of lambs. They would make it into hats. We have Ṭiyare clothes. We would knit shawls. The people from Ashitha produced the neck shawl, (made of) lace. I have knitted with this. We used to knit these at home. We knitted everything by hand.

Houses and Home Life

GK: What were houses like in ʾƐn-Nune?

(51) Houses—there were villas, there were old houses. The house of the family of my father was old, but it was higher than the villas of everybody. It was two storeys (high). In big houses they made rooms like this one, wider. The rooms were big. This is a sitting room, for sitting, also in ʾƐn-Nune (we had one like this).

[10] Literally: neeldes.

(52) ʾíθwa qáṣre ràbe,ˈ ʾášta šàwwa manzàle,ˈ tmanyà manzále,ˈ ʾo-ṯ-ile-bànya,ˈ pàlgət máθa,ˈ xámka bànyaˈ ʾu-xámka là.ˈ qàṣra,ˈ ʾan-t-wéwa gu-Lèvi,ˈ ʾan-t-wéwa gu-răwàtəb,ˈ ʾìtwaley,ˈ mšadríwa zùze-wˈ banìwa báte.ˈ

(53) gu-bèθa,ˈ xóθa gomăwàθa.ˈ gòma,ˈ t-haywàne.ˈ ʾína ʾáw tắra lá tắra mánne-mənnət tắrət nàše,ˈ m-àwwa bára.ˈ mắθălan ʾáwwa tằrən-ile,ˈ yáʾha gòtaˈ hátxa ʾàxxaˈ wằdər.ˈ ʾərwe,ˈ gəðye,ˈ ʾáni kút-xa b-ða-dùka.ˈ (54) ʾu-ʾo-t-la-bắyewala xo-bàte,ˈ bắyewala báte xtàye,ˈ ʾaw-y-awàðwa góma,ˈ ʾăráθa pàryewa.ˈ ʾazìwaˈ mat-tíwa xa-gómət tre-ʾotàxe,ˈ ṭìna,ˈ ʾoðíwale gòmaˈ ta-ḥaywàne.ˈ ʾo-t-maṣèwaˈ ʾítwale ʾárwe ràbe.ˈ

(55) báhər y-awéwa dùna.ˈ dúna qam-tắra hátxa gðìla,ˈ qèse,ˈ tàrpa.ˈ báhər y-áwe xàmma.ˈ har-θéwala màṭra,ˈ xošíwala gu-gòma.ˈ ʾíθwa xáṣət gómət ʾərwe,ˈ ʾu-t-xáṣət tàwreˈ ʾu-t-pàṛeˈ xòðey.ˈ ʾárwe b-xoðèy,ˈ ʾína tawráθa ʾu-táwre ʾáni kút-xa b-xòðey.ˈ (56) ʾárwe năwazìk-ila.ˈ maxéla táwra ʾu-qaṭàlla.ˈ kút-xa béθa xòðey-wa.ˈ hàtxa y-oðáxwa.ˈ dɛríwa gàlla,ˈ dɛríwa ṭàrpa.ˈ kut-dána ʾítwaley danàne.ˈ yáʿni sáʾət ʾàrbaˈ ʾáy xa-ramšət ḥaywànela.ˈ

(57) ʾáxni bɛθèniˈ har-ṭìna-wɛwa.ˈ bas le-y-mabyànwaˈ képe ʾu-tíne dɛríwa max-d-ánna gudàne.ˈ mattíwa kèpe,ˈ kúlla hàzər.ˈ lábne la-bàrya,ˈ lax-gu-dàšta.ˈ mattíwa panjariyàθa.ˈ

(58) damxáxwa b-gáre b-qèṭa.ˈ b-qèṭa,ˈ qam-qăṭíwa məṭráθaˈ xá-gaya y-asqàxwa,ˈ ʾaryàwa dúnye,ˈ xá-gaya là.ˈ…məstìke,ˈ kút-xa-w táxte dìye,ˈ táxtət qèsa.ˈ kút-xa ʾi-maxáxwa qèseˈ táləxwa mástik bìya.ˈ (59) xéṭəxwa məstíke ʾàxni,ˈ b-ìðən xeṭáxwa.ˈ b-mašìna xeṭáxwa.ˈ ʾítwala mašína t-wéwa ràbe.ˈ mən-sátwa y-awáxwa bàdyeˈ hal-héwən-t gàre.ˈ la-kùššət.ˈ kút kəma-šənne.ˈ načlíwa qăṭìwa,ˈ xéṭəxwa m-bădalèy.ˈ b-sátwa xéṭəxwa ta-qèṭa.ˈ

*GK: dáx y-asqítuwa l-gàre?*ˈ

(52) There were many villas with six or seven rooms, eight rooms. Whoever built (such a house)—half the village (built them), some built some did not. Those who were in the Levies, those who had wages had a villa. They would send money and build houses.

(53) In the house, underneath, there were basement stables. A basement for animals. The door for this, however, was not together with the door for people on this other side. For example, if this is our door, (the door of the basement) was on the other side, here, outside. Sheep, goats, each had its place. (54) If somebody did not want it under the houses and needed the lower rooms, he would make a (separate) stable. Plots of land were abundant. They would go and build a stable consisting of two rooms, out of mud. They made it into a stable for animals. Whoever had the means, had many sheep.

(55) In the Spring there was an enclosure. The enclosure was woven outside out of wood and leaves. In the Spring it was warm. When it rained, they brought them into the stable. There were special stables for sheep, special ones for oxen and for lambs, by themselves. Sheep were by themselves, cows and oxen, they were all by themselves. (56) Sheep are delicate, if an ox strikes them it would kill them. Each had its own room. They made them like that. They would put out grass and put out leaves. Each time—they had times (for feeding), that is four o'clock is the animals' dinner time.

(57) Our house was only mud. But it did not seem so. They would lay stones and mud like these walls. They would lay stones, all were at hand. Bricks were not possible.[11] We are not in the plains. They would make windows.

(58) We would sleep on the roof in summer. In summer, before the rains finished, sometimes we went up and it rained, sometimes it did not. (There were) mosquito nets. Everybody (went up) with his bed, a wooden bed. We all erected sticks of wood and hung the mosquito net on them. (59) We ourselves would sew the nets, we sewed them by hand. We sewed them by machine. The ones who had a machine were those (families) that were large. We started (making the nets) from winter time until 'the season of the roof'. Not every year. Every few years. They would get torn and cut and we sewed (nets) to replace them. In the winter we sewed for the summer.

GK: How did you go up to the roof?

[11] Because of the rains.

(60) semàlta.ˈ semàlta,ˈ ʾo-t-ʾítwale xàlqe,ˈ b-xálqe hátxa naqìðe.ˈ ʾo-t-ʾítwale ʾáyya dàpeˈ max-xa-dăràje,ˈ ʾáni xálqe páθye max-xa-dăràyəj.ˈ qaplèni mattə́xwa l-gáre.ˈ dărája t-kèpɛla,ˈ ʾína semàltaˈ ʾáyya t-qèse,ˈ max-d-ánna ṯ-ásqi ʾăbu-bàrqa.ˈ ʾáxni hàtxɛwa semáltən ʾap-ʾáxni.ˈ

GK: mən-ʾéka šaqlítuwa mìya?ˈ

(61) mìyaˈ ʾítlən ʾɛnàθa ʾáxni.ˈ ʾéna y-amrə́xxa ʾénət Ḵ̂ùtto.ˈ ʾay-m-ày gotət-máθɛla.ˈ ʾítlən ʾénət ʾùmra.ˈ ʾay-čú-ga lá-qɛ́ṭa-w lá-sətwa bárzi míya dìya.ˈ trè ʾɛnáθa ʾítlən.ˈ ʾáyya y-amrə́xwa t-šə́ttət tàxelaˈ ʾáyya t-réšət máθa dìyən-ila.ˈ

GK: dáx mɛθítuwa mìya?ˈ

(62) ʾamàne,ˈ tannə̀kke,ˈ ʾánnət nùṭa,ˈ ʾaw-púmma zòra,ˈ tannə̀kka.ˈ ʾáwwa sar-mòr.ˈ núṭa sar-mòr.ˈ msarqə̀xwala-wˈ dɛrə́xwa qə̀ṭmaˈ mxallə́xwala tàza.ˈ mattə́xwa qam-šə́mša xa-tmánya yomàne.ˈ ʾan-t-wɛ́wa ʿáyəla rábe la-ṃaĺíwa míyə zawriyàθa,ˈ kawàze,ˈ qărìyàθa.ˈ (63) ʾína kut-béna béna ʾáxni y-azə́xwa mɛθáxwa mìya.ˈ lé-y-pɛšəxwa mbádla hal-ʾaṣə̀rta la-mɛ́θəx,ˈ là.ˈ kut-béna ðá-mənnən y-azáwa y-arqáwa l-ʾɛ̀naˈ maθyáwa míya qarìre.ˈ hàtxɛwa.ˈ (64) lìθwa θallàja qamáye.ˈ díya kúl-məndi ʾíθwa hàðəṛ,ˈ ḥănăfiye gu-bɛ̀θa.ˈ səttinə̂t-wawaˈ wíye sìqe l-ḥănăfiyə́t.ˈ šə́ttət ʾə̀štiˈ síqa ḥănăfiyə́t ʾu-bárqa-w kùl-məndi.ˈ

GK: ʾéka náše xɛpìwa?ˈ

(65) xɛpíwa kút-xa gu-bustàne díye.ˈ y-áwəðwale ḥàmmam.ˈ gaðálwala hàtxaˈ gadlíwala qamáye b-sərỳòqe,ˈ ṭàrpa-wˈ ʾu-baʿdə́n dɛríwala šišmànta.ˈ bás šoqíwa dúkθət pálə̀ṭwa tònna.ˈ (66) míya m-šaqìθa,ˈ ʾíθwa šaqíθa ràsən.ˈ marəxθə̀xwaˈ mɛθáxwa mattə́xwa qɛ̀se,ˈ marágla gò̤ra hátxaˈ yaddə̀t.ˈ mattə́xwale rəš-kanùnaˈ hàl ʾo-xaráya.ˈ míya hàr-hola šxána.ˈ (67) míya šaqlə́xwa m-šaqíθa dɛrə́xwa gu-marə̀gla.ˈ ʾáp-ʾaxni díya ʾáxxa m-ànila ḥammaméni.ˈ ṣábun ràggʸeˈ ʾu-ʾùpra.ˈ ʾa-t-wáwa máre káwsa là ṣaléwa ṣábun,ˈ ʾína dɛríwa ʾùpre.ˈ (68) ʾíθwa xa-ʾùpra,ˈ məšxàna,ˈ ʾúpra smòqa.ˈ ṣalə̀xwaˈ ʾu-kut-šéta xa-gáya y-oðə́xwa mən-d-o-ʾùpra.ˈ palṭa-bàhərˈ y-oðə́xwa ʾùpraˈ mattə́xwale tămàha.ˈ ʾa-t-la-ṣaléwa kawsa-díya y-awéwa rába xɛlàna-wˈ xlìma,ˈ dɛríwa ʾúpra xazótwa xrrr maṣlɛ̀wale,ˈ sarqíwale gu-mìya.ˈ

GK: ʾu-jùlle, dáx masìtuwa?ˈ

(60) A ladder. A ladder—some had (ladders with) rungs, with thin rungs, some had (a ladder of) planks, like a staircase, wide rungs like steps. We put our bundles on the roof. Steps are made of stone, but a ladder is made of wood, like the ones that the electricity workers climb up. Our ladder was like that.

GK: Where did you get water from?

(61) Water—we have springs. One spring is called the spring of K̲utto. It is on one side of the village. We have the spring of the church. Its water never dries up, in summer or winter. We have two springs. One we call the one of the lower district, the other the one of the upper district of our village.

GK: How do you fetch water?

(62) Vessels, cans, oil cans, with a small mouth, a can. It was sealed, a sealed oil can. We poured it away, put ash into it and cleaned it well. We put it in the sun for eight days. For those who were large families, the water of pots, jars and gourds was not enough. (63) We often went to fetch water. We did not last from morning to evening without fetching (more), no. Every so often one of us would run off to the spring and fetch cold water. It was like that. (64) There was no fridge in the old days. Now everything is available. A tap in the house. Taps were installed in the sixties. (After) 1960 taps, electricity and everything were installed.

GK: Where did people wash?

(65) Each person washed in his own garden. Each made a wash room, wove it like this. They would weave it first with twigs, leaves, and then put sesame grass onto it. They only left a place for the smoke to come out. (66) The water came from a channel. There was a channel running directly (into the washroom). We would boil it. We would fetch wood and put it (on the fire). There was a large pan, like this, with handles. We put it on the hearth, until the last (member of the family had finished washing). The water was always kept hot. (67) We took water from the channel and put it in the pan. Also now our bathroom here is the same. There was *ragg'e* soap and earth. As for a woman who had (long) hair, which would not (comb) down with soap, they would apply mud. (68) There was a type of mud, which was oily, red mud. We would go down and, once every year, we would collect this mud. When it was Spring, we would collect the mud and put it aside. If a woman had hair that would not (comb) down, since it was very abundant and thick, they would apply this mud and you would see how they made it go down (with the comb), they would comb it in water.

GK: How did you wash clothes?

(69) b-ìðən,ˈ b-ṭàšteˈ har-táma gu-ḥàmmam.ˈ gu-ḥammàmeˈ šlìplaˈ ʾánna kúlla xìplaˈ ʾan-zòre-w ʾan-ràbe-wˈ y-ázi péši tàrte gu-néra.ˈ ʾána masyànwaˈ ʾu-xáθi mparpyàwa.ˈ ʾu-šaṭxàxwala.ˈ ʾáp-ʾaxni xɛpáxwa ʾu-y-azáxwa bèθaˈ gu-ʾaqàra.ˈ ʾína díya píša ḥammămáθa gu-bàte.ˈ lé-y-aziwa ʾaqàra.ˈ

GK: gu-sàtwaˈ dáx mšaxnítuwa bɛθăwàθa?ˈ

(70) ṣópət qèse.ˈ kúlla qèseˈ y-azíwa mɛθéla b-qéṭa qése qa-sàtwa.ˈ mɛθíwa səryòqe,ˈ ṭárpa qăṭíwa y-azìwa.ˈ mɛθíwa ʾan-qése naqìðe.ˈ kúlla toràxwala.ˈ ʾáxni la-moráxwa xa-səryóqa gu-béθa ʾən-lá toràxwale.ˈ toráxwala kúlla baràye.ˈ (71) ʾu-masqáxwa mattàxwalaˈ l-ðà-gota,ˈ ṭàrma,ˈ ʾu-kú-bena morəxwa,ˈ málhəxwa ṣòpa.ˈ qése góṛe lè-y-lăyi ràsən.ˈ mattáxwa mən-d-áni zóre mənnèyˈ ʾu-lăyíwa táma hal̂-ʾaṣərta.ˈ mattátwa xa-tre-qése xéne xlìmeˈ ʾu-lă̂ye b-gàne.ˈ

GK: ʾéka y-awéwa ṣòpa?ˈ

(72) ṣópa gu-ʾòtəx.ˈ bé-palgət ʾótəx mattàxwalaˈ ʾu-ʾíθwa ʾáyya gùngeˈ max-bă̂wàri,ˈ gúnge palṭíwa rəš-gàre.ˈ

GK: tànna?

(73) tànna,ˈ y-asàqwa tánna.ˈ là y-awéwa gu-béθa.ˈ gùngeˈ mattáxwala xa-b-rəš-d-o-xèna,ˈ pálàṭwa l-gàre.ˈ xáčča y-oðáxwala ramàna.ˈ y-azálwa tànna.ˈ ʾap-l-gáre là hawéwa tánna.ˈ napṣáxwala kút xamšássər yomàneˈ ʾan-gúnge šaqlàxwala-wˈ ṭaqṭaq l-ʾă̂ra.ˈ

GK: gàre?ˈ

(74) mandrìwa,ˈ dɛríwa tùna,ˈ mandrìwale.ˈ ta-t-là ṣaléwa dalòpa.ˈ mandórta gòṛta,ˈ ʾáp-xa là-mṣe taqálla.ˈ kəma-gúṛe hal-é-gə masqíwala l-gàre.ˈ

GK: šəmmánət ʾamàne.ˈ

(75) šəmmánət ʾamàne?ˈ ʾay ṯ̂-amráxxa zawàrta.ˈ xá y-amráxxa màrkən.ˈ xá y-amráxxa kawàza.ˈ xá y-amráxxa qărèθa.ˈ qăriyáθa y-áwi hàtxa.ˈ ʾanna t-mìya.ˈ béna ʾíθ linyàθa,ˈ lìne,ˈ linyáθa ʾan-t-íla ʾàxð̂ar.ˈ dériwa màšxa gáwe.ˈ

(69) By hand. In a bowl there in the washroom. In the washroom they stripped off. They all washed, young and old, then two women remained in the river channel. I used to wash and my sister used to rinse, then we laid it out to dry. We also would bathe and go home across the fields. Nowadays, however, the washrooms are in the houses. People do not go into the fields.

GK: In winter how do you heat the houses?

(70) A stove of wood. It was all wood. People would go and fetch wood in summer for the winter. They would bring twigs, they would cut down leaves and go home. They would bring thin pieces of wood. We would break them all. We would not bring a single twig into the house without breaking it. We would break everything outside. (71) We would bring it up and put it aside, in the porch, and each time we would bring some in and light the stove. Big pieces of wood do not ignite straightaway. We would put some of those small pieces in it and they would burn until evening. Then you would put one or two other thick pieces of wood and it would burn by itself.

GK: Where was the stove?

(72) The stove was in a room. We placed it in the middle of the room. There were pipes, like tubes. These pipes came out onto the roof.

GK: (What about) smoke?

(73) Smoke. The smoke went up. It was not in the house. We placed the pipes one on top of the other, it went out onto the roof. We made them quite high. The smoke would go away. Even on the roof there was no smoke. Every fifteen days we would shake those pipes and take them off, (knocking them) tap tap on the ground (to clean them).

GK: (What about) the roof?

(74) They would roll it. They would lay down straw and roll it, so that drips (of water) would not come down (into the house). A large roller, nobody can lift it. (You needed) many men to lift it onto the roof.

GK: (Tell me) the name of vessels.

(75) The names of vessels. We called this a *zawərta* (water pot). One we call a *markən* (pot). One we call a *kawaza* (small water jar). One we call a gourd. Gourds were like this. They were for water. There were *linyaθa* or *line* (pots), green pots. They would put butter in them.

(76) y-amríwa ʾáw bíš la-mzànzər| yáwəl ṭéma pàyəšwa.| ʾíθwa ràbe| páyəšwa trè-šənne mášxa.| ʾíθwa ðà-šeta.| dériwala gu-d-an-lìne.| búrra t-xmìra.| mɛθíwa m-Dɛrègni.| zonáxwa kút-xa xà.| kút-xa xa-ʾìtwale.| (77) quṣrìya| ta-yále zóre dámxi gu-dargùšta,| dudìya.| lé-y-jɛriwa l-ganèy| ṣalíwa gu-d-àw.| šaqláxwale mxalláxwale mʿăqəmàxwale-w| mattàxwale xá-ga xéta.| bəllòrta ʾítla.| mattáxla qa-yála zòra,| mattáxxa wàṣla,| xa-wáṣla rakìxa.| mattàxla| ʾu-ʾàw,| har-ṣále jórte dìye-w| šáxte díye ṣále gu-d-àw,| gu-quṣrìya.| ʾáp-xa la-xazèla,| ʾa-dánə ṯ-áwe ṭlìya yála| ʾu-qàyəm| šaqlàxla,| mtămàzàxla.|

(78) ʾíθwa ṭaṭìya.| ṭaṭíyət ʾàmṛa.| kút-xa ʾárba xàmša| y-awáðwale ʾàmṛa.| gam-ríwale ʾámṛət ʾárwət bằhər.| ʾíθwa náše xāṣ-d-áwwa šùla.| (79) xaliyàθa,| qădə́m qădə́m lìθwa xaliyàθa.| ṭaṭíye y-oðáxwa gòṛe.| y-oðíwala baròre.| ʾáwwa ṣűf mpatlìle| rábe gúṛe y-awðìwala.| y-oðíwa nàqše gáwa| t-ʾámṛa kòma,| mθallăθà̀t,| y-oðíwale ṣlìwe,| y-oðíwale wàrde.| mšawàxwala.|

GK: ʾéka y-atwíwa nàše?

(80) y-atwíwa l-ʾằra,| ʾu-dormadắr kúlla berəšyàθa.| berəšyáθa mattàxwa.| bár θéle ʾáwwa záwna xaràya,| síqla najjàre| mən-ʾAmedìya,| mən-Mòṣul,| kút-xa mtorə́sle ta-gàne.| ʾítla qésət gàwza| manpəlíle qésət gáwza ʾəššèta| ta-bazzúne ṯ-oðíwa qănăpà̀t.| b-ìða,| qănapà̀t,| mezăwà̀t,| ṭabliyà̀t,| dăwalȉb,| kùl-məndi wíðe.| qădə́m qădə́m har-ṭaṭíye mšawíwala-w ʾàtwi.| berəšyáθə ṣűf y-oðìwa| mattíwa dormadắr náše ganìwa.|

GK: b-léle mən-ʾékɛle pùrya?|

(81) làmpe,| fanùse.| qamáye šràya.| qamáye šráye dɛrìwa,| dɛríwa ʾáyya ṭàxin,| mà y-amrə́xla?|

GK: gàwza?|

(76) They would say that it does not lose its taste at all. It keeps its taste. There were many (pots) in which the butter remained for two years. There were some (in which it remained) one year. They would put it in those pots. The *burra* was for yeast. They brought them from Dɛrəgni.[12] We would each buy one. Each person would have one. (77) There was a potty for young children sleeping in a cradle, in a cot. They did not urinate on themselves, but it flowed down into this (pot). We would take it, clean it and sterilize it, then put it back. It had a pipe. We set it up for a young child, we set up a joining piece, a soft joining piece. We set this up and his urine and his exrement would go down into it, into the potty. Nobody saw it, when the child was asleep. He got up and we took it and cleaned it.

(78) There was a rug, a rug of wool. Everybody had four or five. They made it out of wool. They pressed (the wool) of sheep in Spring. There were people who were specially responsible for this job. (79) Carpets, in the old days there were no carpets. We made big rugs. They made them into rolls. They twisted the wool. Many men (were needed to) make it. They made embroideries in them of black wool, triangles, they made crosses, they made flowers. We would spread them out (on the floor).

GK: Where did people sit?

(80) People sat on the ground and all around there were cushions. We laid out cushions. In recent times, carpenters have come up from Amedia and from Moṣul and everybody has made (furniture) for himself. They have walnut wood. They fell the walnut wood this year to make couches next year. (They made) by hand couches, tables, side tables, wardrobes—they made everything. In the old days they would lay out only a rug and sit on it. They would make cushions of wool and laid them around for people to lean on.

GK: At night where did the light come from?

(81) Lamps, lamps. In the old days, oil lamps. In the old days they would put out oil lamps. They would put out sesame oil, what do we call it?

GK: Walnut?

[12] A village between Amedia and ʾƐn-Nune.

(82) lá ʾa-t-gàwza mpaltíwa ṭla-ʾèta,ˈ ṭla-ʾùmra.ˈ ʾána b-gáni là-taxrən m-áy.ˈ bas-yə́mmi mtanyáwa y-amràwaˈ ʾi-dɛrə́xwa y-oðə́xwa nahìra,ˈ ṭàxin,ˈ ʾa-t-ʃìʃme,ˈ ʾa-t-kù-məndi hawéwa.ˈ dɛríwa gu-ʃráya xá-məndi hátxa zòra.ˈ ʾína rába ʾi-pɛʃàwa.ˈ ṭarníwala hátxa ṭràna ˈ mattìwala.ˈ (83) ʾu-talíwala zaqrìwa,ˈ xɛṭìwa,ˈ ʾaməḍyàna.ˈ bar-ʃráye θéla làmpe,ˈ lámpət gùda,ˈ fanʉ̀sˈ y-ámri ʾarabàyeˈ ʾáxni y-amrə́xwala lámpət gúda ʾaw-lámpət ʾìða.ˈ ʾíθən ʾan-zòre.ˈ ʾi-zonə̀xwaˈ ʾárba xàmša ˈ kút-xa ʾìtwale.ˈ (84) ṣalíwa gu-ʾərwe ˈ ṣalíwa tawráθa ðàla.ˈ kút-xa y-awéwale xà.ˈ ʾáxni tre-ṭlàθa.ˈ máttəxwala baráye gu-ṭàrma.ˈ tre-ṭláθa gu-bɛ́θa ʾu-ʾánna tàlye.ˈ (85) tàli,ˈ zaqrə́xwa hàšye,ˈ laqṭàxwa.ˈ nùṭa dɛrə́xwa.ˈ kút-yum ʾaṣə̀rta,ˈ sáʾət ʾàrba.ˈ kúlla-lampən y-awéwa knìše,ˈ ʾu-mrùzgeˈ ʾu-mùtte,ˈ wíðe ta-malhə̀xwala.ˈ

(86) ʾítwalən ṭàrmaˈ y-óðəxwa kanùna.ˈ kanúna y-oðə́xwale hàtxa,ˈ xa-kepa ʾàxxa,ˈ xa-képa xéna ʾàxxa,ˈ ʾàxxa-wˈ mattə́xwa qèsa-wˈ máttəxwa tannə̀kka.ˈ bə̆zəxwa tannə̀kka.ˈ tannə́kka t-nùṭa léla?ˈ mṭə̆bəqə̀xwalaˈ bə̆zíwale yalùnke.ˈ ʾu-mattə́xwa quṣxàne b-réše.ˈ (87) y-oðə́xwa nùra,ˈ ʾáwwəl ma-t-ràxəθ,ˈ garšə́xla qèse,ˈ péšiwa pàlle,ˈ hédi hédi bašə́lwa ʾixàla.ˈ y-apə́xwa lə́xma ràqqe,ˈ y-apə́xwa zeðáye gu-tanùra.ˈ ṭlə́θa ʾarbà-ṭuxmə lə́xma y-apə́xwa.ˈ (88) y-apə́xwa qəllòra.ˈ xəṭṭe-romàye,ˈ ʾáni maṣlə́xwa ʾərxe,ˈ ṭaxnə̀xwala.ˈ là kúlla náše.ˈ bas-ʾàxni,ˈ ʾo-t-bə̆yèwa.ˈ ṣalə̀xwa,ˈ maṣlə́xwa ʾan-xə́ṭṭe romàye.ˈ ṭaxníwa y-oðíwa qámxa daqìqa y-awéwa.ˈ (89) ʾu-lɛʃə̂xwale,ˈ dɛrə́xwa xmìra gáweˈ ʾu-y-àpəxwale.ˈ y-ápəxwa ta-xlìma y-awéwa,ˈ ta-dábšəx b-tanùra.ˈ xánči qámxa m-àxxa,ˈ xánči m-àxxa,ˈ y-apə̀xwala.ˈ ʾaw-rába basìma y-áwe he-b-àlaha.ˈ qəllòra,ˈ y-amrə́xxe qəllòra.ˈ (90) zeðáye ləxmət xàṭṭele.ˈ…pràgeˈ práge daqìqe,ˈ ʾáxxa hon-xzíθa práge déri ta-ṭère.ˈ ləxmət sàre.ˈ (91) ʾarbà-ṭuxme y-apə́xwa ʾáxni.ˈ ʾìtwalən xə́ṭṭe.ˈ náše mšahéwa šə̆hìya.ˈ y-azə́lwa ləbbənˈ y-oðə́xwa,ˈ ṭaxnə́xwa xànči,ˈ hàtxa.ˈ y-ápəxwale xámka yomàne.ˈ ʾaw-kúlla b-tanùra.ˈ léle gu-bèθa.ˈ (92) mə́θə̆lan ʾáyya màθən,ˈ ʾáxni gòrṭela máθa ʾƐn-Nùne,ˈ ʾítwalən yapyanyàθaˈ tré baxtàθa,ˈ xa-m-ày-gota,ˈ xa-m-ày-gota.ˈ kút-xa-w ʾax-ṯ-ámrənwa ʾána ʿə̆šíra dìya.ˈ (93) ʾítwalən ʾáxni xálti Širìneˈ ʾu-ʾámti Xàmmeˈ y-apíwa lə̀xma.ˈ lɛšíwale baxtàθaˈ ʾu-nablíwale mattíwale rəš-tanùra.ˈ kut-xə̆mèwaˈ y-apyàwale.ˈ ʾáp-ʾayya xéta xálti Širìne.ˈ

(82) No, they extracted (the oil) of the walnut tree for the church. I myself do not remember that. But my mother used to tell me and say that we used to make lamp oil from the oil of sesame or whatever was available. They put in the oil lamp something small like this, but it stayed a long time. They twisted it (i.e. the wick of the lamp) like this and put it out. (83) They hung them up and would knit and sew, Amedia stitching (cross-stitch). After oil lamps, came (paraffin) lamps, wall lamps, *fānūs* they say in Arabic. We say wall lamps or hand lamps. There are small ones. We would buy four or five. Everybody had one. (84) People would go down (to see) the sheep (in the basement stable), they would go down when the cows were giving birth. Everybody had one. We had two or three. We put them outside in the porch. Two or three were hung in the house. (85) They hung them up and we would weave lace pieces and embroider them. We would put paraffin in them every day in the evening, at four o'clock. All our lamps were swept out, prepared and set for us to light them.

(86) We had a porch, where we set up a hearth. We made a hearth like this, one stone here, another stone here, and here. We laid wood and set up a can. We would make a hole in the can, an oil can, right? We would flatten it and the young children would make holes in it. We put cooking pots on it. (87) We made a fire. As soon as it boiled, we pulled away the wood and it became embers, and the food would cook very slowly. We would bake thin bread. We would bake flat breads in the oven. We would bake three or four types of bread. (88) We would bake *qəllora*. (This was) maize seeds. We brought them down to the water-mill and ground them. Not everybody, but we did, whoever wanted to. We would go down and take the maize seed down, grind it and make it into fine flour. (89) We would knead it and put leaven in it, then baked it. We baked it when it was thick so that we could stick it onto the oven. (We put) a little flour here and a little here and baked it. This was indeed very tasty. It is called *qəllora*. (90) *Ƶeðaye* (flat breads) are made of wheat. (There was) millet, fine millet. Here (in London) I have seen people put out millet for the birds. Barley bread. (91) We used to bake four types. We had wheat. People had an appetite (for different breads). If we felt like it, we made them. We ground a little (flour), like this. We baked for a few days. This was all in the oven, not in the house. (92) For example, this village of ours, our village of ʾƐn-Nune was big, we had baker women. (These were) two women, one this side (of the village), one the other, each one with her tribe, as I used to say. (93) We had aunt Širine and aunt Xamme, who baked bread. The women would bake and take (the bread) and put it on the oven. She (aunt Xamme) would bake whichever (dough) had risen. Also the other one, aunt Širine.

(94) tre-tanúre ʾíθwa gu-màθa.ˈ qamáye tre-tanùre.ˈ díya kút-bɛθa ʾítle xa-tanùra.ˈ hadíya lìθwa yapyanyàθa.ˈ píšla máθa ràbθa.ˈ dukáne ʾìθwa,ˈ bas-qímla kút-xa bnáya tanúra ta-gàne.ˈ

GK: mapəlxítuwa màrzaq?ˈ

(95) ṭə̀lme,ˈ lawàše.ˈ ʾáxni gamrə̀xwaˈ ʾu-ʾay-mṭapyàwa.ˈ ʾáni b-tanùre yapə́xwala,ˈ biš-basìme y-áwa.ˈ ʾé-gə ṯ-awéwa mă̆θălan báwθə Nīnwàyeˈ yapə́xwa làzəm háwɛ ṭə́lme.ˈ b-tanúra kùllən yapə́xwa.ˈ ṭə́lme mattə́xxa ʾárba xámša gràma-wˈ màrzəq.ˈ gòṛe y-awéwa.ˈ zeðáye là,ˈ b-ʾìðən.ˈ

Implements

(96) čámče y-oðíwa t-qə̀sa.ˈ ʾo-níxət bábi y-awə́ðwa baxošyàθa.ˈ ʾína čangále lìtwa.ˈ čangále lìtwa,ˈ le-y-áxləx b-čàngəl.ˈ ʾáxni le-y-áxləx b-skinyáθa čangàle.ˈ

(97) badòde.ˈ baxšə́xwa nùra.ˈ

(98) gàzzaˈ šaqlə́xwa lə́xma bìyeˈ gu-tanùra.ˈ

(99) módi mxallə̀xwala?ˈ marəxθə́xwa qə̀ṭma,ˈ y-awéwa hámmaše qə́ṭmət bə̀ṭme.ˈ

(100) ʾánna čámče ʾíθ xáṣət ʾilánta d-ánna čàmče.ˈ qésət màlka y-amráxle.ˈ gu-kúlla Bə̀rwərˈ ṭ̣àθa dukáne ʾíθ.ˈ y-asáqwa bábi mbádla hal-b-léle mɛθéwa xa-qə́ṭṭət qə̀sa.ˈ y-atúwa wáða čàmče.ˈ ʾítwale xàpro,ˈ ʾítwale xaṣìna.ˈ kùlla məndiyáne y-awə́ðwa.ˈ y-awə́ðwala ṣṭ̣ràne,ˈ kúlla máθa bàbi y-awə́ðwala čamčéy.ˈ

(94) There were two ovens in the village. In the old days there were two ovens. Now every house has an oven. Recently there have not been any baker women. The village has become large. There were places (for baking), but everybody has built an oven for himself.

GK: Did you use a *marzaq*?

(95) (A *marzaq* was only used for) *ṭəlme* and *lawaše*. We would press it down and she (the baker woman) would stick it (onto the oven). We baked these in the oven, they were very delicious. When it was, for example, the (fast of) the Rogation of the Ninevites, we had to bake *ṭəlme*. We all baked them in the oven. We would put out five or six *ṭəlme*, rolling them out (and used) a *marzəq*. They were large. *Zeðaye* no, we (made them) by hand.

Implements

(96) We would make spoons out of wood. My late father made 'stirring' spoons. But there were no forks. There were no forks. We do not eat with forks. We do not eat with knives and forks.

(97) Pokers (*badode*)—we used to stir the fire (with them).

(98) Tongs (*gazza*)—we would pick up the bread with them in the oven.

(99) What did we clean with? We would boil ash. This was always the ash of the terebinth tree.

(100) The spoons—there is a special tree for those spoons. We call it 'wood of the king'. In all of the Barwar region there are three places (where it grows). My father used to go up from morning until evening and bring back a piece of wood. He would sit down and make spoons. He had a trowel, he had an axe. He made everything. He made them beautiful. My father made spoons for all the village.

B11 Games (1)

Informant: ʾOdišo ʾƎnwiya (Dɛrəške)

(1) ṭawalyàθa| mqùsme-wawa| ʾàrba| fũṣ̀ûl.| lá-kulla danáne kúlla ṭawalyáθa ṭ̂-aθíwa mṭawòle.| ʾíθwa t-bèhɛr,| ʾíθwa t-qèṭa,| ʾíθwa t-čèri,| ʾíθwa t-sàtwa.| kut-dána ʾítla b-dána díya ṭawalyàθa.| (2) b-ṭusa šáqləx bərbərràne.| bərbərràne| mṭalíla gu-bɛhɛrìye,| biz-zòda| ʾaṣráre b-lèle,| sab-b-yòma| yalùnke,| yáʿni ʾùrze,| kúlla y-áwa blíge b-plàxa,| ʾu-gúṛe gu-zrùta,| ʾu-gu-mtaróṣe dukànət zrúta| ʾu-xpàra.| lé-y-maṣi mṭáli b-ɛ-dắn ṭ̂-áwe yòma.| (3) fa-ʾáθi ʾaṣárta jắmi bắyi xàmli.| líθ televəzyȍn,| líθ čù-məndi.| bắyi xàmli.| máṭo xàmli?| ʾítla ṭawalyàθa.| fa-ʾàyya xa-ṭawálta| ʾé-gət ʾan-yomáθa ṭ̂-awéwa ràba séra| qùwya,| béṛa spày,| xá mən-xaqláθa ṭ̂-íla sapìqe| ṭ̂-íla qùrbət máθa,| jămíwa kúlla ʾùrze,| jwànqe,| jămíwa m-ġðáðe tàma.| (4) pɛšíwa tré jwìne.| kút-xa jwína m-ġðàðe.| ʾégə ṭ̂-oðìwa tre-jwíne,| mačxíwa mắθălan ʾánna tréʾe zirək-ila| xá l-ày-gota,| xá l-ày-gota.| ʾan-tréʾe bíš-xačča zắbun-ila,| xá l-ày-gota, xá l-ày-gota.| (5) ʾánna biš-zòrela,| xá l-ày-gota, xá l-ày-gota.| qa-ṭ̂-awéwa ʾán-tre jwìne| qúwye dax-ġðáðe,| ta-t-lá-pɛšiwa xa-zắbun| xa-qùwya.| (6) xàrθa| ṭ̂-awðìwa| dɛríwa xà-kepa gu-ʾiðéy.| mattíwale báθər xàṣa.| maqəlbíwale l-áy-gota xèta.| ʾo-goṛə d-àwwa jwína| mbaqárwa mən-d-áwwa jwína xèna| gu-d-ènile képa?| ʾən-ðìle képa gu-d-énile,| ʾáni pálṭi qam-tắra.| (7) ʾan-t-léla ðìye,| ʾan-ṭ̂-íla xsìre,| péši gawàye.| gawáye dáwqi xa-dùkθa,| xá ṭ̂-amrəxle,| dax-ṭ̂-amríle gìša,| ʾáw xa-dùkθa,| xa-qèsa,| dawqìle,| kálɛ qáme dìye.| ʾánna-t pàlṭi,| ṭ̂-árqi rəḥqa,| ʾan-ṭ̂-íla qrìme.| ʾan-ṭ̂-íla mqùrme| péši gawàye.|

B11 Games (1)

Informant: ʾOdišo ʾƎnwiya (Dɛrəške)

(1) Games were divided into four seasons. All games would not be played at all times. There were those of Spring, there were those of Summer, there were those of Autumn and there were those of Winter. Every season had its games. (2) For example, let's take *bərbərrane*. They would play *bərbərrane* in Spring, mostly in the evening, at night, since in the day the young people, that is the boys, were all busy with work, and the men were (busy with) cultivating, constructing the places for cultivation and digging. They could not play during the daytime. (3) They would come in the evening and gather together wanting to have fun. There was no television, there was nothing. They wanted to have fun. How did they have fun? They had games. This was one game, on days when the moon was very bright, the light was good, in one of the fields that were empty, which were near to the village, all the men and youngsters gathered together. (4) They formed into two sides, each side (playing) together. When they made two teams, they would find, for example, that these two people are strong (and would put) one on one side and one on the other.[1] (They would find) that these two were rather weaker (than the others), (so they would put) one on one side and one on the other. (5) (They would find) that these were younger (than the others), (so they would put) one on one side and one on the other. (This was) so that the two teams would be equal in strength, so that one was not weak and the other strong. (6) Then they would put a stone in their hands. They would put it behind their back and turn the stone in the other direction (away from the other team). The leader of this team would ask the other team 'In which (hand) is the stone?' If somebody knew in which one the stone was, they went outside. (7) Those who did not know, those who lost, remained inside. Inside they occupied a place, a place which we call 'a target', as they say. This was a place or piece of wood which they took hold of and stood in front of it. Those who went away, those who won, would run away. Those who lost remained inside.

[1] I.e. to balance the teams.

(8) ṯ-ázi ta-t-máxi ʾiðéy l-d-ănàha.ˈ kút qítle ʾíðe díye b-o-xènaˈ b-o-ṯ̂-íle qam-tằra,ˈ ʾáw nàpəl,ˈ ʾáw prìqle m-ṭawálta,ˈ qìdle.ˈ bás ʾănáha ṯ̂-íla qam-tằra,ˈ kú mənná ṯ̂-íle pláṭa mən-gawàye,ˈ pláṭa la-qam-tằra,ˈ ṯ̂-áθe qàme qáme díye,ˈ ṯ̂-árəq qáme qáme dìye,ˈ ʾáwwa qəm-qằṭèle,ˈ prìqleˈ ʾap-ʾàwwaˈ m-an-ṯ̂-íla gawàye.ˈ ʾap-ʾáwwa màyəθ.ˈ yáʿni ʾap-ʾáwwa pàrəqˈ dáwre dìye.ˈ (9) ʾən-kúlla qəm-maxíla bərrèyˈ ʾáw qəm-dawqíle ʾo-qésa ṯ̂-íle be-pàlga,ˈ θèlaˈ xá mən-d-ánna ṯ̂-íla qam-tằra,ˈ θéle qəm-dawàqle,ˈ xsìrra ʾan-gawáye.ˈ xá-ga xéta pálṭi ʾănàha,ˈ ʾáni péši qam-tằraˈ ʾan-xéne péši gawàye.ˈ ʾən-là xsírreyˈ ʾánna-t qrìmlaˈ mšaxə̀lpi.ˈ ʾan-ṯ̂-ìla qam-tắra ṯ̂-áθi gawàye,ˈ ʾan-gawáye pálṭi qam-tằra.ˈ lá măríxəxla gu-bərràne.ˈ

(10) ʾìθənˈ ràbeˈ ṭawalyàθa,ˈ ta-t năfilux.ˈ ʾíθən šàqqa.ˈ šàqqaˈ biš-rába mṭalíla b-yòma.ˈ ʾáyya ṭawálta là-barya b-léle.ˈ w-ànnaˈ ʾáyya ṭawàltaˈ mṭalíla čerìye,ˈ ʾé-gə ṯ̂-àweˈ lìθ tálga,ˈ ʾu-ṯ̂-áwe payùxtaˈ dúnye lá raba-xamìmta,ˈ la-šaxínta ràba,ˈ mṭalíla šàqqa.ˈ (11) gùttɛlaˈ ʾu-qèsa.ˈ ʾap-ʾánna péši trè jwíne.ˈ xa-jwìnaˈ gawàye,ˈ xàˈ qam-tằra.ˈ xákma ṯ̂-àθiˈ t-yáwi gùtta.ˈ ʾan-ṯ̂-íla yáwa gùttaˈ ʾáni gawàyela,ˈ ʾan-xéna qam-tằra.ˈ ʾáwwa maxéla b-qèsa.ˈ ʾánna ṯ̂-íla gawàyeˈ plíṭela qam-gùtta.ˈ har-θéla gùtta,ˈ hár qəm-dawqíla gùtta,ˈ ʾánna xéne xsìrra.ˈ mšaxə̀lpi,ˈ ʾánna šōp-d-ànna.ˈ

(12) ʾáp-ʾayya ṭawálta ʾìθwa.ˈ ʾìθenaˈ ṭawàltətˈ ṭŭ̆ši-ṭŭ̆šo.ˈ ʾáy ṭawáltət sətwɛla.ˈ sátwa baṭìle-wɛwa náše.ˈ ʾi-jă̆mi l-ǧðàðe.ˈ ʾáp-ʾáni péši tre-jwìne.ˈ (13) xa-jwìnaˈ kále qam-xa-qésa gòṛa,ˈ xa-ʾilànta,ˈ tùθa,ˈ mə̀ndi.ˈ kále táma ʾay-dùkθa,ˈ gìšɛla.ˈ ʾan-xéne pálṭi mṭáši ganèy.ˈ mṭáši ganéy gu-màθa.ˈ màθɛla.ˈ xá gu-d-aw-gòma,ˈ xá d-ɛ-dùkθa,ˈ xá qam-d-áwwa bèθa.ˈ mṭàši.ˈ (14) ʾan-xéne pálṭi ṭắyi bàθra.ˈ hár qəm-xazèle,ˈ lázəm maxéle ʾíða ʾàlle.ˈ ʾən-là-mxele ʾíðe-lle,ˈ w-áwwa θéle dwíqle ʾo-qésa ṯ̂-íle dúkθət mṭawàlta,ˈ xàsri.ˈ xá-ga xèta.ˈ ʾáyya ṭawàlta-žiˈ ràba mṭalíwalaˈ gu-maθwàθa.ˈ ʾamríla xa-šə́mma xèna,ˈ pùq-əlli.ˈ ṭàppu.ˈ ṭàppu,ˈ ṭŭ̆ši-ṭŭ̀šo,ˈ ʾáni kùllaˈ har-xà ṭawáltɛla.ˈ

(8) They go and strike the others with their hand. If one touches one of the others, one who is outside, he (the one who is outside) falls, he is finished with the game, he is out.[2] But those who are outside come in front of those who have come out from inside, come out to the outside, running in front of them and anybody whom they cut off from among those from inside is also finished, he also 'dies'. That is also his turn has finished. (9) If they break up all their group or seize the piece of wood that is in the middle, if one of those who are outside comes and seizes it, those inside lose. Again those go out, they remain outside and the others remain inside. If they do not lose, the ones that win change (place). The ones that are outside come inside and the ones inside go outside. We shall not dwell longer on (the game) *bərrane*.

(10) There are many games for you to enjoy.[3] There is (the game) *šaqqa*. They mostly play *šaqqa* in the daytime. This game is not possible at night. They play this game in the Autumn. When there is no snow, but it is cool and it is not very hot, not very warm, they play *šaqqa*. (11) It consists of a ball and a stick. They again form two teams, one team inside and one outside. Some come to bowl the ball. The ones who bowl the ball are inside, the others are outside. One (from outside) strikes (the ball) with the stick and the ones who are inside go out after the ball. As soon as the ball comes back and they catch the ball, the others have lost. They change places with each other.

(12) There was also this game. There is the game of 'hide-and-seek'. This is a game for the winter. In winter people were unoccupied. They gathered together. They also formed into two teams. (13) One team stands in front of a big stick, a tree, a mulberry or something. It stands there in that place, it is the target. The others go out and hide. They hide in the village. It is a village (where they live). One in that basement, one in that place, one in front of this house. They hide. (14) The others go looking for them. As soon as one sees somebody, he must strike him with his hand. If he does not strike him with his hand and he comes and holds the stick which is the place of the game, they lose. Then (they play) again. They play this game a lot in the villages. They call it by another name *puq-əlli* and *ṭappu*. *Ƭappu* and *ṭŭš-ṭŭšo*, these are all the same game.

[2] Literally: burnt.
[3] Literally: to benefit you.

(15) ʾìθən| xá-ṭawalta xèta,| har-sàtwɛla| ʾap-ʾàyya.| šwára baràne.| xá kále hàtxa.| ʾup-xéna làxxa,| ʾup-xèna| báθər ġðàðe.| ṯ-áθe xa-mən-d-ànna,| ʾo-ṯ-íle mṭawòle.| šawárre ʾàwwa,| šáwər ʾup-o-xèna,| šáwər ʾup-o-xèna.| ʾáwwa qáyəm šàwər| bàθre.| (16) ʾáyya ṭawàlta| y-àwða| šaxinùθa.| náša qàrθe y-áwya,| ʾən-ṯ-áwe jwàjta,| b-šàxən.| ʾáyya ṭawálta mṭalíwala rába b-sàtwa,| ʾɛ-gə ṯ-áwe tàlga,| š-garăwàθa.| ṭàbʿan,| gu-ʾayya-maθèni| ʾìwaba| xamšàssər| ʾəsrì-bate,| kúlla xa-gàre,| kúlla dbíše l-ġðàðe.| ʾu-ʾan-báte xáθe t-wáwa bànyəlla| ʾáni rəḥqɛwa mən-d-áwwa tăjàmmuʿ.| bas-ʾáwwa gàre| mṭalíwa réše díye ṭawalyàθa| muxtăləf.|

(17) ʾu-šùta,| ʾáp-ʾayya šúta ṭawáltət sàtwɛla.| sáb baṭilúθa biš-ràba| líθwa šuláne ràba.| šùta| qèsɛle,| yáʿni ʾíbe xà| xámša ʾàšta santimétre| ramúθe dìye.| ʾáθe maxròpe,| réše díye xarùpa,| ʾu-hàtxa,| baʿdén pàθya ʾáltəx.| gu-réše díye máxi bəzmàra.| bəzmára ʾáp-ʾaw glòla y-áwe.| (18) xăðíle ç̌ənnə̀kére díye gàdda.| doqíla b-ʾìða.| mrapìla,| garšíle gàdda,| yàha| mazrèta| ʾi-pàtla.| ʾàp-ʾayya| mṭalìwala.| šùta,| mazrèta,| ʾíθən bíš-raba mən-xá šə̂mma,| qa-d-àyya ṭawálta.| mazrèta,| ʾu-šùta,| ç̌ənnàra.| ʾáx-t-y-amrítula ç̌ənnàra,| ʾáxni y-amráxwala šùta.| yáʿni gu-Bèrwər| šúta bìš mapəlxəxwa.|

(19) ʾu-hár b-sàtwa| mṭalíwa b-tăbàlle.| ʾáp yále zòre,| ʾəsrì-šənne,| ʾəsri-w-xamšà-šənne,| hal-d-áwwa ʾŭmur| mṭalíwa b-tăbàlle.| (20) tebálla ʾíle xa-šùša.| mən-šùšɛle.| glòlɛle.| zòrɛle.| mṭalìla.| ʾíθən ṭawalyàθa.| ʾíθən màtti| ḳəttàθa.| măθălan ʾána xàʾa,| ʾáti xàʾa,| ʾaw-xéna xàʾa,| kút-xa mánnən máttu kəmèwəx muštărəkn̂.| xàmša,| ʾàṣṛa,| kút-xa mánnən máttu ðàʾa.| (21) xàrθa| ṯ-àzəx| ṯ-óðəx ʾəttəfâq| l-xa-trè métre.| mən-táma dèrəx.| dérəx tăbàlla,| kút-xa mánnən xáʾa báθər d-o-xèna.| ʾayya-béna gàrrile| ʾa-béna xéta gàrrux-ile,| ʾa-béna gárrə d-àw,| kut-dána gárrət xàʾa.| mən-táma dèrəx.| (22) ʾo-qamàya,| ʾən-qítlux ðá mən-d-ànna,| ʾàti mṭálət,| har-ṭawálta dìyux-ila.| kut-qàyəθ,| yáʿni ʾána drèli,| qìtli,| ʾáw šaqlənne.| ʾu-har-dérən b-xèta,| dérən b-xèta.| ʾən-ʾaxlənna kúlla,| prìqla ṭawálta.| kúlla ʾan-tăbálle b-šaqlánna dérənna gu-jèbi.|

(15) There is another game, which is also (played) only in winter: *šwara barane* ('jumping the rams').[4] Somebody stands like this and another here, and another, behind each other. One of them comes, one who is playing. He jumps over this one, jumps over also the other, jumps over also the other. This one stands up and jumps over the one after him. (16) This game warms you up.[5] A person who is cold warms up if he moves. They play this game a lot in the winter, when there is snow, on top of the roofs. Of course, in our village there were fifteen or twenty houses, all with one roof, all joined together. The new houses that they have built are far away from this group. They used to play various games on top of this roof.

(17) *Šuta*—also *šuta* is a winter game. (This is) because there was a lot of free time, there were not many jobs. A *šuta* is a wooden stick, which is five or six centimetres in height. It is sharpened, its end is sharp and broad at the bottom. In its end they put a nail. The nail is round. (18) They wind a thread around it. They grasp it in the hand and let it go, pulling the thread—this (is also called) *mazreta*—it turns round. They play also this. *Šuta, mazreta*, there is more than one name for this game: *mazreta, šuta, čənnara*. Whereas you[6] call it *čənnara*, we call it *šuta.* In Barwar we mainly use (the name) *šuta.*

(19) In winter they played marbles, young children, (young people) twenty years old, twenty-five years old, up to such an age people would play marbles. (20) A marble is a glass (ball), it is made of glass. It is round. It is small. They play with it. There are various games. There is (the game) of putting down odd numbers. For example, I am one, you are one, another is one. Each of us puts down however many we are who are participating, five, ten. Each of us puts down one. (21) Then we go and make an agreement on one or two metres, from where we shall shoot. We shoot a marble, each one of us one after the other. This time it is my turn. Next time it is your turn. Then it is his turn. Each time it is somebody's turn. We shoot from there. (22) (If you are) the first one and if you hit one of the others, you (continue to) play, the game is yours. Everyone who hits—that is if I have shot and hit, I take it and shoot against another and shoot against another. If I eliminate[7] them all, the game is over. I take all the marbles and put them in my pocket.

[4] I.e. a game similar to leap frog.
[5] Literally: makes warmth.
[6] Addressing people in the room from other villages.
[7] Literally: eat.

(23) ʾu-xá-bena xéta màttexi.ˈ ʾən-là-qitli,ˈ kálən xa-gòta.ˈ kúlla dèri.ˈ ʾən-ʾáp-xa mánna la-qítle mən-d-ánna tre-mètre,ˈ mšắre ʾo-qamàya ṯ-ile-dárya mən-d-ánna tré-metre bən-d-ánna ḵəttàθaˈ dráya mən-qùrba.ˈ ʾàp-ʾaw,ˈ ʾən-maxèla,ˈ kut-maxéla šaqəlla.ˈ kut-maxéla šaqəlla.ˈ (24) xàrθaˈ ʾán ʾan-ṯ-ìla qúrbi qúrbi,ˈ màṣənˈ har-qìtli bíya,ˈ mxéle tăbálli tăballèy,ˈ ʾaw-plìṭle m-ṭawálta,ˈ ʾaw-xsìrre,ˈ ʾaw-plìṭle m-ṭawálta.ˈ ʾáyya xà-ṭawalta.ˈ (25) ʾíθ xá ṭawálta xéta ṯ-amríwala ʾòrta.ˈ ʾáyya ṭawálta xàθtɛla θíθa.ˈ ʾìθwaˈ ʾax-muθàllaθ-ile.ˈ ṭláθa gòše.ˈ ʾàwwaˈ mattíwa kùt-xaˈ kəmà tăbálleˈ ʾána-w ʾàti-wˈ ʾAwìya-wˈ Rábbi Dàwið-uˈ ʾAndrìwus,ˈ kút-xa mánnən ṯ-ámrəx máttəx ṭláθa ṭláθa tebálle.ˈ (26) ṭláθa ṭláθa mattəxla gu-d-áyya,ˈ gu-d-áwwa ʾòrta,ˈ ʾu-ṯ-ázəx mən-rəḥqa dèrəx.ˈ dèrəx,ˈ kút-xa mánnən dère,ˈ kút mpulə́ṭle xa-tăbálla ṯ-áθe dére xa-xèna.ˈ mpalə́ṭla m-gu-d-àwwaˈ muθàllaθ.ˈ hal-ʾégət kèma mpálṭəxˈ šàqləx.ˈ (27) ʾu-ʾégət ṯ-áwe xá mənnéni qúrbə d-o-xèna,ˈ har-maxənneˈ tăbálli l-tăbálle dìye,ˈ ʾaw-mìtle,ˈ ʾaw-prìqle,ˈ ʾaw-xsìrre.ˈ ʾu-ʾən mpulə́ṭli mən-d-ánna tăbálle ṯ-íla gu-d-áwwa muθàllaθ,ˈ ʾáni qarmènna,ˈ dérənna gu-jèbi.ˈ

(28) ʾìθwa ṭawalyáθa xéneˈ munàšyən.ˈ har-ʾáp-ʾani har-tăbàlla,ˈ bas-munàšyən díya.ˈ hà,ˈ ʾatkòre.ˈ xá ʧ̣àleˈ ʾamùqta,ˈ ʾap-ʾàyˈ màttexiˈ xá-tre métre rə̀ḥqa.ˈ ʾu-kút dèreˈ mən-táma l-tàmaˈ ʾéni dɛréle gu-d-ay-ʧ̣àle,ˈ ʾàwˈ b-qàrəm.ˈ ʾu-ṯ-aźðiˈ ʾəttəfa͡q.ˈ mắθălan ʾána ṣlèli gu-d-ay-ʧ̣áleˈ qám xa-d-an-xèneˈ kút-xa má nna yawə́ lli xà tebálla.ˈ

(29) dùdu.ˈ dúdu ṭawáltət sətwɛla.ˈ yáʿni l-garăwàθa biš-rába mṭalíwala,ˈ l-garăwàθa.ˈ ʾáp-ʾayya xàˈ yáʿni kále l-pàlga-wˈ ʾu-xá máxe l-ġxðàðe.ˈ ʾíθən maθwáθa mắθălan lìtla gáre góṛa dax-dɛrəšknàye.ˈ (30) ʾítla xo-tùθa,ˈ ʾítla túθa ʧ̣ùwa.ˈ ða-dúkθa xo-gàwza.ˈ ʾítla qam-ʾùmra.ˈ ʾíθ dùkθa,ˈ pròrtɛla,ˈ máṣi mṭàli gáwa,ˈ dàštɛla,ˈ máṣi mṭàli gáwa.ˈ (31) sab-maθwáθa gu-Bérwər tìwelaˈ gu-ṭuràne,ˈ yáʿni dukáne líθən rába dášta qamèni,ˈ dax-ṯ-íla dáštət Mòṣul,ˈ dax-ṯ-íla daštáθa xène.ˈ

(23) Then we put down (marbles) again. If I do not strike, I stand on one side. Everybody shoots. If none of them strikes from two metres, the first to shoot from two metres among those odd numbers[8] begins shooting from close up. If he hits them, again he takes each one that he hits. Each one that he hits he takes. (24) Finally, if I am able to hit those who are very near me and my marble hits their marbles, he leaves the game, he has lost, he has leaves the game. This is one game. (25) There is another game, which is called *ʾoṛta*. This game has been introduced recently. There was something like a triangle, with three corners. They would each put down a few marbles. I and you, Awiya, Rabbi Dawid and Adriwus, each of us puts down, let's say, three marbles. (26) We put each down three in this *ʾoṛta* and go to a distance to shoot. We shoot. Each of us shoots. Whoever dislodges a marble comes back to shoot another one. (Whoever) dislodges it from this triangle. We take however many we dislodge. (27) When one of us is near to the other, I strike my marble against his marble and he dies, he is finished, he has lost. If I have dislodged the marbles that are in the triangle, I win them and put them in my pocket.

(28) There were other games, which I have forgotten. They also are for marbles, but I have forgotten them now. Ah, yes, *ʾatkore*. We make a deep hole one or two metres away. Each one shoots, from here to there. Whoever shoots into that hole wins. They make an agreement, for example I have gone down into that hole before the others, so each of them gives me a marble.

(29) *Dudu—dudu* was a winter game. They played it mainly on the roofs. In this one also one stands in the middle and the players strike one another. There are villages that do not have a large roof like the people of Dɛrəške. (30) They have (the space) under a mulberry, they have the smooth mulberry. There is a space under a walnut tree. They have a place in front of the church. There is a place (in other villages) that is open, in which they can play, which is an open field, in which they can play. (31) This is because the villages in Barwar are situated in the mountains, so there are not many places with open fields that are available for us, as is the case with the plain of Moṣul, and the other plains.

[8] I.e. the players who have put down a single marble each.

(32) matəxrúli ṭawalyáθa xène.ˡ ʾíθən qèṭaˡ xa-ṭúxmət spòrt,ˡ t-riyàðˁa,ˡ bàniˡ ʾítlən xa-nèra,ˡ nérət Bè-xelape ṯ-amríle.ˡ ʾi-nă̆we mən-Bèdoˡ ʾu-ʾÒra,ˡ y-áθe gáwa-gawət Màye,ˡ ʾu-Dɛrəške,ˡ ʾƐn-Nune-wˡ ʾu-ṣále l-ʾÌyyət,ˡ ʾu-Bəšmiyàye-wˡ Ṭərwànəš,ˡ ʾan-màθwaθətˡ Sɛ̀ra-wˡ Sɛrdàšte-wˡ hál ṣále gu-Ẓàwa.ˡ (33) béna kut-màθaˡ muqábəl-t maθèyˡ ṣalìwaˡ banìwaˡ gùdaˡ gu-d-ó nèra,ˡ páyəšwa dax-gàrra.ˡ kúlley yalúnkət máθa ṣalíwa saxíwa gu-d-aw-gàrra,ˡ b-qèṭa ʾáyya.ˡ (34) qéṭa xəmma y-awéwa rábaˡ dă̆n-t pàlgət yóma,ˡ kawùθra,ˡ t-xă̆dàyaˡ dax-ṯ-ámri nāš-díyən qàmθa.ˡ xă̆dàya,ˡ kawúθra díya xàθtɛla.ˡ ʾɛ-dànaˡ y-axlíwa xă̆dàyaˡ ʾu-ṣalíwa š-mìya,ˡ š-nèra,ˡ saxíwa tàma.ˡ (35) xamlíwa ʾan-yalúnke tàmaˡ xa-trè-saʾəteˡ ṭḷà-saʾəteˡ ta-ṯ-aθíwa t-azíwa qam-tàwre,ˡ ṯ-azíwa qam-ʾərwe.ˡ šulánət ʾìtwaley,ˡ xzàda,ˡ kùll-xa-məndi.ˡ ṯ-azíwa mən-táma hódəx wáða šulanèyˡ báθər ṯ-aθíwa m-š-mìya.ˡ pɛšáwa biš-payùxta.ˡ

(32) Remind me of other games. In summer there is a kind of sport, they built—we have a river, it is called the river Be-xelape. It springs from Bedo and Ora, flows through Maye, Dɛrəške, ʾƐn-Nune and goes down to ʾIyyət, Bəšmiyaye, Ṭərwanəš, the villages of Sɛra and Sɛrdašte, until it goes down into the Zab. (33) Now, in every village, people would go down and build a wall in the river opposite their village and it would become like a pool. All the young people of the village would go down and swim in that pool. This was in summer. (34) In summer it was very hot at midday, the time of lunch, the time of *xădaya* (lunch) as our people used to say in the old days—*xădaya*, (the word) *kawuθra* is now new. At that time (midday) they would eat lunch and go down to the water, to the river and swim there. (35) The young people would enjoy themselves there for one, two, three hours, until they went back to tend to the oxen and tend to the sheep. The jobs that they had include harvesting, and so forth. They would go on from there to do their jobs, after leaving the water. (By then) it was cooler.

B12 Games (2)

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

Girls' Hide and Seek

(1) dawqíwa bnáθa b-ʾíðət ġðáðe hàtxa,ˈ yáʿni ràbe doqíwa,ˈ ða-dwíqta ʾíðə d-a-xèta.ˈ béna xa-bòyɛle,ˈ lèla?ˈ xaðrìwa.ˈ tárte maxáwa ða-ʾìðaˈ l-ɛ-xèta,ˈ ṯ-arqàwa.ˈ ʾímət maxɛ́la ʾíða díya l-àyyaˈ ṯ-àrqa,ˈ ṯ-áwra gu-d-o-bòya.ˈ (2) pálṭa m-áxxa ṯ-áza tămàha,ˈ ṯ-áza tămàha.ˈ ʾáyya xéta lázəm bàra háwya.ˈ kút-dukθa ʾáza ʾàwraˈ ʾáp ʾayya-xéta bàra lázəm háwya.ˈ ʾən-xlìṭla,ˈ ʾáy t-yàtwa.ˈ yáʿni ʾay-ṭawálta mṭalíwala qa-gəxka.ˈ

The Hat Game

(3) ʾíθwa mṭalíwa ʾùrzeˈ kosìθa.ˈ mattíwala l-ʾə̀raˈ ʾu-mṭalíwa ʾàqla bíya díya.ˈ hadíya ʾànaˈ ʾítli kosíθa múttəlla l-ə̆ra,ˈ ʾáti ṯ-áθeti ta-t-maxə̀tlaˈ ʾáqlux ʾəlla díya,ˈ máxən ʾíði ʾəllux.ˈ ʾàti máttət kosíθux l-ʾə̆ra.ˈ hátxa mṭàliwa,ˈ yáʿni gu-tàlga.ˈ

B12 Games (2)

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

Girls' Hide and Seek

(1) The girls held each other's hand like this. Many held (hands), one holding the hand of the other. Now, there is a hole, you see. They would go round. Two girls would strike the hand of one another and one would run off. When they struck her hand, she would run off and enter into the hole. (2) Then she would come out and go elsewhere and then go to some other place. The other girl has to follow after her. Every place that she goes to and enters, the other has to follow after her. If she makes a mistake (and enters the wrong place), she sits down. They play this game for fun.

The Hat Game

(3) Men sometimes played with a hat. They put it on the ground and played with it with their feet. Now, (suppose) I have a hat which I have put on the ground, you would come to strike it with your foot, then I strike you with my hand. Then you put your hat on the ground. They would play like that, in the snow.

B13 Games (3)

Informant: Nawiya ʾOdišo (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa rába ṭawalyáθa ʾímə-ṯ́-íxwa zóre mṭaləxwa.ˈ mattəxwale képa šaxìna.ˈ gu-núra xayəmwa.ˈ mṭašəxwa ʾènaˈ xazəxwa ʾèni xazéwale.ˈ képa zadəxwale,ˈ šarəxwa ṭə̆ya,ˈ xùya-wewa,ˈ hal-xazəxwale ʾo-kèpaˈ ʾu-y-amrəxwa hóle xzèli.ˈˈ

(2) ʾíθwalən ða-ṭawálta xèta,ˈ y-amrəxwala ṭawálta šəmmánət ʾèzza.ˈ ṯ́-áwðəx hànnaˈ ṭàrpeˈ ʾu-xázəx ʾéni kàyəp.ˈ xa-béna xa-mattúle šəmme,ˈ xá-məndi mən-ʾèzza,ˈ qàna,ˈ nàθa,ˈ kàsa.ˈ šàwərˈ ṯ́-ámər mòdi?ˈˈ nàθa?ˈˈ lá lèle náθa.ˈ mòdi? ṯ́-ámər pùmma?ˈˈ hé ðìlux.ˈ ʾáti pùmma.ˈ háyyo kúp ʾo-béna ʾàti.ˈ ʾáyya ða-ṭawálta xètɛla.ˈ

B13 Games (3)

Informant: Nawiya ʾOdišo (Dure)

(1) There were many games when we used to play as youngsters. We used to place a warm stone (on the ground). It heated in a fire. We would hide our eyes and we would see who could find it. We threw the stone and started looking for it—it was dark—until we found the stone and (one of) us would say 'Here, I have found it!'.

(2) There was another game called the game of the names of the goat. We would do something, (a draw of lots with) leaves, and see who would bend down (like a goat). Then somebody would give him his name, some part of a goat—horn, ear, stomach. He would jump and say 'What (is my name)?' (Somebody would say) 'Ear?' 'No, it is not "Ear". What is it?' (Somebody says) 'Mouth?' 'Yes, you are right'. 'You are "Mouth"' 'you come and bend over'. This was another game.

B14 Life in Dure (2)

Informant: Nawiya ʾOdišo (Dure)

jəjək

*(1) jə̀jək*ˈ *ʾáyya másta la-qəm-daríla gu-d-aw-gùða,*ˈ *qəm-dárila ʾan-dáwwe heš-t-là bráza,*ˈ *xánčı t-la-bráza mɛθíwa xa-gə́lla y-amríle sə̀rmo.*ˈ *nasríwale ʾu-xoṭìwale*ˈ *dɛríwale gu-juwíθa mṭamrìwale,*ˈ *réša xtə̀ya,*ˈ *mattíwa čəngə́rta gu-réše dìye,*ˈ *ṭarpət tùθa*ˈ *yan-tèna.*ˈ *xăðíwala ṭìna,*ˈ *ṭamrìwale.*ˈ *bar-píšwale sə́twa mpalṭìwale,*ˈ *xa-ṭéma basìma,*ˈ *rába basìma.*ˈ

The Church of Mar Gwirgis

*(2) ʾáwwa šə́mme díye ʾíle… šə́mme goriye-t-xɛ́le Màr-Gwirgis-ile ʾaw-ʾúmra.*ˈ *ʾaw-bə́nyɛle m-jálde ʾatìqa.*ˈ *qámθa ʾáyya semálta xzáyət-əlla ṯ-íla bára dìya,*ˈ *ʾáyya semálta ʾíwa gawáye làxxa.*ˈ *qámθa y-aθíwa náše y-oríwa m-àxxa y-asqíwa*ˈ *m-àxxa y-asqíwa l-gàre.*ˈ *gu-d-áwwa ʾùmra.*ˈ *(3) ʾíθwale gùda.*ˈ *ṯ-orə́twa gu-gùða.*ˈ *ʾáwwa gùda,*ˈ *bálki ʾaθéwa nàše,*ˈ *qačàxe,*ˈ *mə̀ndi,*ˈ *t-la-xazíwala t-lá dɛríwa-ʾəbba qaṭlìwa*ˈ *t-la-áwriwa gnáwa ʾùmra.*ˈ

*(4) ʾáwwa tă̆ra ṯ-órətwa gu-d-ay-màðbəḥ*ˈ *ʾáxxa ʾíla šxìnta.*ˈ *ṯ-órət šxìnta*ˈ *táma y-awðíwa qurbána gàwa,*ˈ *palṭìwa.*ˈ *gawáye líθwa kursìye.*ˈ *kúlla kə̀lye-wawa.*ˈ *(5) kúlla ʾárdə dìye*ˈ *ʾáwwa ʾúmra bə́nya-wewa mən-gawáye dìye,*ˈ *ṯ-orə́tte mzangə̀rwa qála.*ˈ *sab-ʾàwwa*ˈ *gáwe díye qə̀ṭrɛwa,*ˈ *hàtxa,*ˈ *glòla.*ˈ *glòla-wewa*ˈ *ʾu-gáwe díye kúlla sulìne.*ˈ *ʾáni ta-mòdi-wawa?*ˈ *ta-ṯ-áwəð ṣă̆dət qàla.*ˈ *ʾu-ʾárde díye kúlla képe góṛe pàrše.*ˈ

B14 Life in Dure (2)

Informant: Nawiya ʾOdišo (Dure)

Jajək

(1) *Jajək*—When they have put the yoghurt in the churn and have poured out the *dawwe* while it is not yet dry, shortly before it becomes dry, they would fetch a herb called *sərmo*. They chopped it up and mixed it (with the yoghurt). they put it in a clay pot and buried upside down. They put a cloth over its mouth or mulberry leaves or fig leaves. They would put earth around it and bury it. When it was winter, they would take it out. (It had) a very delicious taste.

The Church of Mar Gwirgis

(The informant is describing a model of the church which is in front of him)

(2) The name of that church is—(may my life be) a redemption for his power—Saint George. It was built in very ancient times. In the old days (there was) this ladder, which you see here behind it, and this ladder was inside, here. In the old days people would come and enter from here, going up from here to the roof, into the church. (3) It had a wall. You can enter into the wall. Perhaps people, brigands or something, would come and this wall was there so that they would not find people and shoot them and kill them, then enter and rob the church.

(4) (Through) this door you would enter into (the sanctuary of) the altar—here is the altar. You would go into (the sanctuary of) the altar. There they would take communion and then come out. Inside there were no chairs. Everybody stood. (5) All its floor—the church was built inside in such a way that when you entered it echoed the voice back. This was because its interior was an arch, round like this. It was round and its interior consisted of interlocking sections.[1] What were these for? In order to make an echo. Its floor was all large flat stones.

[1] The term *sulina* is usually used to refer to an interlocking section of pipe.

The Festival of Musarde

(6) musàrde| mărisíwa míya xá l-d-o-xrèna.| yómət musárde ʾíwa ʾó-yoma ṯ-azíwa náše qurbàna.| báθər qurbána parqìwa,| ṯ-awðíwa duxràna.| gu-dérta kúlla y-atwíwa ʾu-y-axlìwa.| bar-hádəx palṭìwa| ʾó-bena kút-xa qáwwa b-ʾìðə| măríswa xá l-ʾo-xèna.| méθi yále zòre.| gu-šaqíθa mărisáxwa l-ġðàðe.|

Bee-Keeping

(7) ʾáxni ʾítwalən dabáše dìyən.| šáləx šəlxa b-áwwa yèrxa.| qam-šáləx šəlxa,| b-áwwa yèrxa,| ṯ-áwðəx salàmməš| xàθa.| méθəx tùre| ʾan-túre pɛrmàxla| maxə́xla gu-ʾằra| kəmá bă̆yáxla gòṛe ṭla-salàmməš.| zaqrə́xla ʾan-tùre| ṯ-ámrəx xá-metər ramúθa dìya.| kúlla glòlta,| ʾárbi santìme,| ṭláθi santíme glòlta.| (8) bar-príqlən zqàrta,| gðilàlən,| šwíqlən xa-bóya ða-gòta,| ṯ-áwrəx gu-gòma,| méθəx xà-ʾamana.| ʾu-ʾítlən míya támma gu-gənθa,| qam-tă̆ra.| méθəx ʾáxrət tàwre,| šă̆re y-amrə́xla,| gu-d-o-ʾamàna.| t-léšəxxa bʾiθàθən| ʾu-šă̆yáxxa l-o-hánnət zqiràlən.| šă̆yáxxa hal-bàrza| (9) ta-módi ʾàw| šiyílən ʾan-ʾáxre… táwre… y-amríla šă̆re?| ta-ṯ-óya šaxínta b-sátwa ʾəllèy.| bar-brìzla-ʾay,| xzélən šálxa hóle šlìxle,| mə́ri ṭla-d-o-níxət bábi Odìšo| mà-y-oðəx?| bábi hóle šlíxle šəlxa.| mə́re bábi šqul-kèpe| mxila l-ġðàðe.| (10) ta-mó šaqláxwa képe mxàya,| maxə́xwala l-ġðàðe?| šă̆me ʾo-šálxət dabàše| qálət kèpa,| páθəl páθəl ʾu-t-yátu l-xa-ṭàya.| bar-tíwle ʾítlən dàqra,| xa-qésa ríxa m-áxxa l-tă̆ra.| qarmáxla páθən ta-t-là nɛsílən dabáše.| (11) mattáxxa salámməš mturṣáli xàθta.| mattánna tàma.| ʾu-méθəx míyət dàwwe.| mɛθàxla,| maxəxxe-l-dàqra,| šă̆yáxle dúša ʾo-dàqra| máxəx gu-d-an-dabàše.| kúlla párxi ṯ-átwi l-d-àw.| bar-tíwe l-d-àw,| napṣáxle gu-d-a-salàmməš.| ʾu-nápxəx mən-d-an-dáwwe b-rèša.| ʾu-mattáxxa tàma.|

The Festival of Musarde

(6) At (the festival of) *musarde* people would sprinkle water on each other. The day of *musarde* was the day when the people went to take communion. When they had finished communion, they made a memorial. In the courtyard, everybody sat and ate. After that they would go out, each with a scoop in his hand, and would sprinkle each other (with water). They would bring young children. We would sprinkle each other in an irrigation channel.

Bee-Keeping

(7) We had our own bees. A swarm forms in this month.[2] Before the swarm forms in this month, we make a new hive. We bring pliant twigs. We cut these twigs and push them into the ground, according to how large we want the hive to be. We weave the twigs, let's say up to a height of a metre. It is all round, forty centimetres, thirty centimetres in diameter. (8) After we have finished weaving and we have plaited it and left a hole in one side, we go into the basement stable and fetch a vessel. We have water there in the garden, outside. We fetch ox dung, which we call *šăre*, in the vessel. We knead it with our hands and plaster it onto the thing that we have woven. We plaster it until it dries. (9) Why is that? (Why) have we plastered on that dung of oxen, which is called *šăre*? So that it will be warm for them in the winter. When it has dried and we see a swarm that has formed, I said to my late father Odisho 'What should we do? Father, a swarm has formed'. My father said 'Take some stones and knock them together'. (10) Why do we take stones and knock them together? The swarm of bees hears the sound of the stone, spins around and settles on a branch. After it has settled, we have a stick, a wooden stick as long as from here to the door. We cover our faces so that the bees do not sting us. (11) We put out the hive that I have newly made. I put it out there. We bring *dawwe* water. We bring this and put it on the stick, we smear the stick with honey, then thrust it into the bees. They all fly and settle onto it. After they have settled on it, we shake them into the hive. We blow some of the *dawwe* onto them and put them there.

[2] I.e. September.

(12) mšári dabáše plàxa.ˈ dart-yóma mattáxxa kəs-d-ánna xène.ˈ ʾàyyɛla tagbártət dabàše.ˈ ʾu-b-sətwaˈ ʾaḉməxxe pummèy,ˈ t-la-méθi m-qárθa morəxla gawàye.ˈ b-qéṭa mpalṭəxxa.ˈ

(13) kut-šəlxa páləṭ qam-tằṛaˈ dɛríle gu-salámməš xàθta.ˈ ða-salámməš mattátta làxxa,ˈ hátxa glòle y-áwiˈ mattátta làxxaˈ ʾu-ða-xéta b-rèša,ˈ ʾu-ða-xéta b-rèša.ˈ ʾən-bă̂yət mpálṭət šəlxa,ˈ méθət tánna m-ày-gota,ˈ ṯ-ázi dabáše hòtxa,ˈ šána-w məndi-yáne mpálṭət m-bàθra.ˈ

(12) The bees start to work. The next day we place it (the hive) next to the others. This is how you keep bees. In winter we close their (the hives') mouth, so that they do not die of cold. We put them inside and let them out in summer.

(13) Every swarm that flies out they put in a new hive. You put one hive here—they are round like this—you put it here and another one on top of it, and another one on top of it. If you want to make a swarm fly out, you put smoke on this side and the bees will go aside, then you take the honeycomb and so forth from behind.

B15 Life in ʾƐn-Nune (5)

Informant: Gwərgəs Bakus (ʾƐn-Nune)

Easter

(1) ʾána də-ṯ̣-amrə́nnox ʾó-mdi-t taxrə̀nne| ʾé-ga ṯ̣-ínwa zòra| gu-máθət ʾɛ̀n-Nune,| módi y-oðə́xwa qa-ʾéða góṛa ʾu-ʾéða zòra.| ʾu-hál hadíya ʾáwwa məndiyáne píšela l-bàlən| ʾu-lè-ʾaθi manšóye.|

(2) sáʾət ṭ̣làθa| qèdamta| mărəšíwalən marăwàθən,| ʾu-ʾan-júlle xáθət ʾìθwalən| maləwšíwala ʾəllən,| ʾu-ṣaláxwa l-ʾùmra,| ʾúmrət Màr-Sawa,| gu-ʾƐnə Núne.| ʾi-mšărə́wa ràza| sáʾət ṭ̣láθa-w pàlge.| w-áxnəx zòre| y-oráxwa gu-ʾùmra,| tắrət ʾùmra| rábɛwa kòpa,| ʾu-kúlla ʾumránə ṯ̣-íwa táma gu-Bàrwər.| y-orə̀xwa| ʾu-ʾə́n zòrəxwa| ʾáxnən mattíwalən qàmaye.| (3) y-awáxwa mašmòye| ʾu-xzàya-w| qàše-w| wáða ràze.| y-awáxwa spára ʾíman parqíwa ràze| qa-t-palṭ̣àxwa| qa-d-xárθa šaqláxwa béta smòqta| ʾu-maxáxla l-ġðàðe| ʾu-xazáxwa ʾa-d-ɛ́ni mánnən toràwa.| xamláxwa rába ʾé-gət xá-mənnən qarə̀mwala| bétə d-o-xèna.| (4) ʾu-m-bar-hàdəx,| jămáxwa kullènì| mən-ʾawahàθən,| y-asqáxwa l-bèθa.| y-áwa wíðəlla čáy hàzər-u| xáltət kàde| ʾu-màsta| ʾu-qərrúšta mənna-mənna-dìya,| mən-d-é-t maθwàθa.| yattáxwa xála ṭ̣àmta m-ġðáðe.| ʾu-hal-d-é-dana mapəlšáxwa bé'e smóqe b-ġðàðe| ʾu-xamlə̀xwa-w.| (5) bar-hàdəx,| ʾé-gət zaráqwa yòma,| palṭ̣áxwa xorăwáθa kúlla m-ġðàðe,| mṭawòle| ʾu-biz-zóda ʾi-mṭaláxwa bé'e smòqe.| ʾíθwa rába ʾurxáθa mṭawòle,| maplàštɛwəlley| yán mattáxwaley gu-ṣàwle| ʾu-xàzəx| ṭ̣la-ʾarbá ṣàwle| tré-mənney sapìqe| ʾu-bé'e smóqe gu-d-an-xène.| (6) ʾé-gət garšíwa xa-d-ánna palṭ̣áwa sapìqta,| líθwa bé'e gáwa dìya.| palṭ̣áxwa mṭaláxwa m-ġðáðe xorăwàθa| ṭawalyáθa príše prìše.| náše y-azíwa kəs-ġðàðe| ʾeðăwàθa.| rába xamlə̀xwa,| mə̀jjəd yaʿni.|

(7) xá-məndi ʾáxči taxrə́nne hal-hadìya,| y-aθéwa nàše| lá tre-ṭ̣láθa m-ġðàðe,| ʾína xazə̀xwa| ʾə̀ṣra,| xamšassə̀r-naše| ʾáθye kúlla m-ġðàðe| mbaróxe ʾèða.| ʾu-har-hàdəx| palṭ̣íwa mən-bèθa| y-oríwa gu-xa-bɛ́θa xèna.| (8) ʾu-qaḏ̣áxwa yóma qamáyət ʾèða,| baráxtət ʾéða xa-d-o-xèna,| b-spára náše ṯ̣-áθi mbarxíwale ʾèðən| ʾu-ʾáxni y-azáxwa mbarxáxwa ʾeðăwáθət nàše.| ʾáyya mándi lè-ʾaθya l-manšóye.|

B15 Life in ʾƐn-nune (5)

Informant: Gwərgəs Bakus (ʾƐn-Nune)

Easter

(1) I shall tell you what I remember when I was young in the village of ʾƐn-Nune, what we did for the great festival (Easter) and the small festival (Christmas). Until now these things remain in my mind and are not forgotten.

(2) At three o'clock in the morning our parents used to wake us, dress us in the new clothes that we had and we would go down to the church, the church of Saint Sawa in ʾƐn-Nune. We would begin the mass at half past three. (Since) we were young—we would enter the church, the door of the church was very low, (like) all the churches that were there in Barwar—we entered and if we were young, they would put us first (at the front). (3) We used to listen and see the priests performing the mass. We would wait for the mass to finish so that we could go outside, so that afterwards we could take red eggs and knock them together and see whose one would break. We would have great fun when one of us beat somebody else's egg. (4) After that, we all gathered together with our parents and would go up to the house. They would have prepared tea, and *kade* cakes to eat, together with yoghurt and the crust of yoghurt, (a local product) of those villages. We would sit eating breakfast together. Then we would knock red eggs together and have fun. (5) After that, when the sun rose, all of us friends would go outside and play. We would mostly play (the game) of red eggs. There were many ways to play. They would knock them together or we would put them in shoes—we would find three or four shoes, two of them would be empty and the red eggs would be in the others. (6) When they drew out one of these, one turned out to be empty, without eggs in it. We friends would go out and play together various games. People would go and make festival visits to each other. We really enjoyed ourselves.

(7) Something I remember well until now—people would come, not two or three together, but we would see ten, fifteen people, all of whom had come together to offer the festival blessings. Then, in the same way, they would go out of one house and enter another house. (8) We would spend the first day of the festival offering festival blessings to one another, waiting for people to come and offer us festival blessings and we would go to offer festival blessings to (other) people. Such a thing is unforgettable.

(9) ʾáyya šètə| t-zílli l-ʾàθṛa,| ʾƐnə Nùne,| ʾáxči là gu-ʾƐnə Núne qəm-ʾoðánne ʾéða,| qəm-ʾoðánwale gu-Dòhok,| har-mədre-táma xzélən nāš-dìyən,| muplášlən bé'e smòqe| sá'ət ʾárba-w pálge qèdamta.| ʾu-mən-táma zílwalən xílwalən ṭàmta.| qùrbɛwa d-ɛ-xayúθə díyən| ṭ̂-i-xăyáxwala gu-maθwàθa. ʾína léwa ʾax-d-ayèn.| ʾu-lɛwa ʾax-d-á-t məináθa xène,| yan-Baġdad,| yán gu-məináθət mà'arwa,| t-láxxa ʾádyo b-xyà'ax.|

(10) ʾáxnən zòrəxwa,| ʾi-zădáxwa ʾap-mən-rabíye dìyən.| ʾé-gət y-azáxwa xa-xlùla,| xazáxwala rabíye díyən tíwe mən-ʾawahàθən,| mən-babăwàθən,| lé-maṣəxwa ṣabráxwa ʾazə̀xwa| qarbənáxwa ʾəllèy.| qa-mò?| sàb| rába mattáxwa ʾiqára ʾəllèy| zădáxwa mənnèy.| léla ʾax-ʾədyòma| xzáyəxla skolàye| ʾən-íle rábi diyéy tìwa| ʾən-lèle tíwa,| lé-y-awe xa-manáy ṭlalèy.| y-azə̀xwa| mṭašáxwala gánən ʾé-gət xazáxwa ràbi.| (11) ʾáxči mən-d-ó-geba xèna,| ʾi-xamláxwa ràba| sab-mɛxolyáθət y-oðíwala gu-xlulàne| ʾu-qálət dáwla-w zòrna,| rába basíma hawéwa ʾé-gət maxìwala.| kúlla nàše| jămíwa gu-xlùla-w,| ʾu-xmàla-w| rqàða.| (12) ʾu-ʾé-gət y-áwa wíðe xùmṣa-w| ʾixalyáθa pàrye,| náše tíwe dánət kawùθra| ʾən-dánət xa-ràmša,| y-axlíwa xa-rámša diyèy,| kúlley m-ġðàðe.| rábɛwa náše xə̀ðye| ʾu-rába pšîṭṭɛwa xayúθa díyən gu-maθwáθa.|

Christmas

(13) duzùθa,| ʾéðət be-yàlda| lá-raba tàxrən| módi y-oðə̀xwa.| ʾína táxrena ʾúp ʾeðət-be-yàlda| y-azáxwa ràza| ʾup-ʾay-l-ʾùmra| Mar-Sàwa,| ʾu-mən-táma mzɛxə̀xwale| ʾé-gət palṭə̀xwa,| baráxtət ʾéðət ġðàðe.| (14) ʾu-har-d-è-dana| y-azáxwa mbarxáxwa ʾeðăwáθət náše gu-bɛθwáθət diyèy,| náše y-aθíwa mbarxíwa ʾeðăwàθən.| ʾu-xámandi basìmɛwa,| mə̀jjəd,| sab-kúllən táma nàše.| ʾúp-ʾən-ìwa xayúθa pšîṭṭa,| ʾánna náše rábɛwa xə̀ðye.| xaðúθa ʾìθwa| mən-sa̍bab náše jámyewa l-ġðàðe| ʾu-rábɛwa nášət màθa.| (15) ʾé-gət háwi náše ràba| hálbat búš náša b-ráyəš b-gáne dìye| qà-t| … xašwúxwa ʾàyyɛwa dúnye díyən.| yáʿni líθwa xa-dúkθa xéta buš-basìmta| ʾu-ṭ̂-íxwa pṣíxe max-ṭ̂-íxwa tàma,| gu-maθwàθa.|

(9) This year, when I went to the land, ʾƐn-Nune—but I did not spend the festival in ʾƐn-Nune, I spent it in Dohok—again we saw our relatives, we knocked red eggs together at half past four in the morning. Then we went and ate breakfast. It was similar to the life that we lived in the villages, but it was not (exactly) like it. Nor was it like that of other towns, such as Baghdad or the towns of the West, where we now live.

(10) We were young and were afraid of our teachers. When we went to a wedding and we saw our teachers sitting with our parents, with our fathers, we did not dare approach them. Why? Because we felt great respect for them and we feared them. It was not like today, we see school children for whom it is meaningless whether their teacher is present or not. We would go and hide when we saw the teacher. (11) On the other hand, we enjoyed ourselves a lot, on account of the food that they made at the weddings and the sound of the drum and pipe, which was very beautiful when they played them. Everybody gathered together at a wedding, enjoying themselves and dancing. (12) When they had made *xumṣa* and numerous foods, the people sat down at lunch time or at dinner time and ate their dinner, everybody together. The people were very happy. Our life in the villages was very simple.

Christmas

(13) In truth, Christmas—I do not remember much about what we did. I remember, however, that also at Christmas we would go to mass, also in the church of Saint Sawa. Afterwards we would celebrate it and, when we went out (of the church), we would offer festival blessings to each other. (14) Also at that time we would go and offer festival blessings to people in their houses and people would come and offer festival blessings to us. It was a truly a pleasant custom, since all our relatives were there. Although the life was simple, people were very happy. There was joy, since the people gathered together. There were many people in the village. (15) When there are many people, of course a person feels in himself more that…we thought that this was our world, that is, there was not another place that was more beautiful, where we were happy like we were there in the villages.

Houses

(16) bɛθwàθa,ˈ duzùθa,ˈ kùlla,ˈ máṣəx ʾàmrəxˈ biz-zóda ṯ-íyɛwa l-kèpe,ˈ bɛθwáθa ṯ-íyɛwa l-kèpe.ˈ baníwala bɛθwáθa diyéy gu-máθa hammáše l-kèpa.ˈ ʾup-ʾa-t-léwa gu-màθaˈ ʾi-banɛ́wala wə̀dər máθa,ˈ ʾína xazéwa xá-dukθa ṯ-íwa qwìθa.ˈ képe banɛ́wale béθa díya ʾəllaˈ qá-t béθa bùš ṯ-awéwa qúwya.ˈ (17) ʾax-mšíxa b-gáne ṯ-íle màra:ˈ banətla ʾétux l-kèpaˈ ʾé-gaya búš ṯ-óya qwìθa,ˈ ʾu-t-la-ʾáθi lápp ət míya qa-t-majujìla.ˈ ʾína m-d-ò-geba xéna,ˈ bɛθwáθa kullèy,ˈ kúlla bɛθwáθa díyən ṯ-íwa gu-máθət ʾƐn-Nùne,ˈ mən-xà-ṭabəq-iwa.ˈ (18) ʾáxčɨ xákma mənnéy ʾíθwala gòmeˈ y-amrəxla,ˈ gomăwàθa.ˈ qənyàne,ˈ ʾərbe,ˈ ʾu-tawriyàθaˈ y-awríwa gu-gòma.ˈ góma ʾíwa ʾəltəx.ˈ yáʿni ʾó-ṭabəq b-ʾəltəx ʾíwa gòma.ˈ táma qənyàne xăyíwa.ˈ (19) ʾé-ga ʾɛ-t-tré qésət qăṭíwala qa-sətwaˈ qa-t-náše mălìwalaˈ ṯ-oðíwa nùraˈ ʾu-šaxnìwa.ˈ ʾup-ʾàniˈ náše ʾi-xawšìwalaˈ mattíwale gu-gòmeˈ qá-t barzìwa,ˈ qa-t-là-hawiwa qam-máṭra.ˈ (20) ʾu-bɛθwáθa ʾíwa mən-trè,ˈ ṭḷàˈ ʾotàxe,ˈ kull-bèθa.ˈ yáʿni ʾo-baṣórət béθa ʾíwa trè ʾotáxe.ˈ ʾína ʾíθwa bɛθwàθa,ˈ tàxrən,ˈ gu-máθa dìyən,ˈ béθət xáli ʾIsxárya Dàni,ˈ ʾíwa múxtər t-Bàrwər,ˈ ʾáwwa mən-tre-ṭabàqewa béθe díye.ˈ yáʿni ʾárba xámša ʾotáxe ʾìθwale.ˈ (21) ʾu-hàlbatˈ béθe dìyeˈ hammáše ṃ́ly ɛwa mən-ʾàrxe.ˈ ʾup-ʾárxe t-y-aθìwaˈ pɛšìwa,ˈ šaríwa gu-béθe dìye.ˈ y-axlìwa,ˈ šatìwa.ˈ xákma mənnéy ṯ-íwa bɛθwanéy rəḥqaˈ ʾi-pɛšíwa tàma,ˈ šarìwa.ˈ pɛšíwa xa-léle damxìwa,ˈ yómə tré qɛmíwa ʾazíwa b-ʾúrxa diyèy,ˈ l-bɛθwána diyèy.ˈ (22) ʾína bɛθwáne kúlla ʾíwa kèpe,ˈ biz-zóda képe nqìre,ˈ ʾu-gèsa.ˈ pɛšíwa šʔe bɛθwána m-gàwa.ˈ y-amríwa šyàʾa.ˈ šyáʾa gúda šăyìwaleˈ qa-ṯ-awéwa dȕs kúlla.ˈ (23) ʾu-hal-d-é-dana b-sátwa ʾíwa ṣòpe.ˈ mapləxíwa ṣòpa.ˈ ʾup-ʾáyya šéta xzéli ṣòpa.ˈ ʾánna xamšassár-šənne ṣópa lánwa xàzya.ˈ ṣópa ʾìleˈ qá-t šxántə sátwa hálbat sìqɛleˈ plíṭɛle mən-ʾùḷḷul m-béθa.ˈ máttət qésa gáwe dìye,ˈ t-lóxi ʾánna qèse.ˈ (24) ʾɛ-ʾótəx ṯ-íle ṣópa gàwaˈ ʾi-šàxnaˈ ṯ-ámrət buš-mən-d-ánna central heating ṯ-íla láxxa gu-Lòndon.ˈ xa-móndi ʾajìbùθa yáʿni.ˈ ʾo-ṣópa ʾé-gə ṯ-íla mattóye ṭḷáθa ʾarbá-qɛse gàwe,ˈ gu-mátxət xa-daqìqaˈ wéla lháya ʾan-qèse.ˈ (25) ʾu-ʾítle xa-panjằra zòrta,ˈ kəmá-t paθxátla ràba,ˈ buš-háwa ṯ-áwər gàwa.ˈ b-xázət lhèla ʾan-qése.ˈ har-lhéla ʾan-qèse,ˈ gằrəg ç̣əmàtla ʾɛ-káwe díye zórtə ṣòpa,ˈ qa-t-là-hawe šxánta rába.ˈ sab-ʾən-wèle šxánta ràba,ˈ léš-maṣət ʾátwət ṭḷaθà-metreˈ rə́ḥqa mən-ṣòpa.ˈ le-máṣət ʾàtwətˈ ma-ṯ-àwe šaxína.ˈ

Houses

(16) The houses—in fact, all, we can say that they were mostly built on stones, houses that were on stones. They built their houses in the village always on stones. Even those that were not in the village, which they built outside the village, where they saw a place that was solid, they would build their house on stones, so that the house would be stronger. (17) Like Christ himself, who says: Build your church on stone. It would then be stronger and waves of water would not wash it away. On the other hand, all the houses, all our houses that were in the village of ʾƐn-Nune, consisted of one floor. (18) Some of them, however, had basement stables, as we called them, basement stables. Domestic animals, sheep, oxen would go into the basement. The basement was below, that is the lower floor was the basement. There the domestic animals would live. (19) Then, secondly, the wood that they cut down for the winter, for the people to kindle, would make a fire and warm (the house). People would store these and put them in the basement to dry, so that they would not be in the rain. (20) The houses consisted of two or three rooms, each house (was like this). The smallest house was two rooms. Yet there were houses, I remember, in our village, the house of my uncle Isxarya Dani, who was the chief of Barwar, his house consisted of two floors. That he had four or five rooms. (21) Of course his house was always full of guests. Guests would come come and stay. They would lodge in his house. They would eat and drink. Some of them whose homes were far away would stay there and lodge. They would stay and sleep for a night. The next day they would get up and go on their way, to their homes. (22) Indeed, the houses were all made of stone, mostly dressed stone and gypsum. Their houses were plastered inside. They called it plastering. They would plaster the wall so that it would be straight. (23) Up to that time in winter there were stoves. They used a stove. Also this year I saw a stove. I had not seen a stove for fifteen years. A stove is for heating in winter, which, of course went up and came out from the top of the house. You put wood in it and the wood blazes up. (24) The room in which there is a stove becomes warm, you would say more so than (is the case with) the central heating that is here in London. It is amazing. When they put three or four pieces of wood on the stove in the space of a minute the wood would kindle. (25) It has a small window, the more you opened it, the more air entered it. You would see the wood kindle. As soon as the wood has kindled, you must close this small window of the stove, so that it does not heat too much. For if it heats too much, you can no longer sit three metres from the stove. You cannot sit, since it is so hot.

(26) fa-ʾáyyət ṣòpa| duzùθa| b-sàtwa| kúlla maθwáθa díyən mapləxìwale,| sab-rába qàrθɛwa.| ʾu-kut-ʾôtəx| ʾíθwa gáwa díya xa-ṣòpa,| mən-sab-ʾé-ʾotəx t-là-hawe gáwa ṣópa,| yáʿni pɛšáwa tàlga hal-qedámta.| ʾáp-xa le-maṣéwa damáxwa gáwa dìya.|

(27) b-qèṭa,| duzúθa gu-máθa dìyən,| t-ʾƐn-Nune| yan-gu-Bàrwər,| qéṭa léle rába xàmma.| yáʿni har-dmáxta dìyən| biz-zóda gu-bɛθwàθa hóya,| har-gu-bèθa b-gʸáne díye.| m-sắbab ʾup-yárxət šáwwa-w tmànya,| m-bar-sáʾət ʾàčča b-léle,| mšắre xánči qàrθa wáya.| yáʿni léle ʾax-məináθa xène,| ʾax-gu-məináθa Dòhok| ʾən-Zàxo| ṭ-íle xáčča xàmma| gắrəg dámxi náše l-gàre.| (28) ʾína màdre,| ʾíθ yomàne,| t-yéwa xàmma,| náše y-asqíwa l-gàre| damxìwa.| ʾu-ʾíθwa màstik y-amrəxwala,| daríwala l-ganè| qa-t-la-ʾaθyáwa čèna| qa-t-nɛsàwala.| (29) ʾína sáma zóda náše gu-bɛθwàna| sab-bálki ʾáxči b-yárxət šáwwa-w tmánya ʾíθwa yománe mənnèy| y-áwa xánči xàmma,| yáʿni b-lèle,| ʾé naše-mpalṭìwala| masqíwala qaráwəttə diyèy| ʾu-šwiyáθə diyèy,| masqíwala l-gàre,| ʾu-damxíwa rəš-gàre.| ʾína gắrəg darìwa,| qa-t-lá-ʾaθya nésawala čèna,| màstik.|

Swimming in Pools

GK: ṭalítuwa ṭawalyàθa?

(30) ṭawalyáθa ʾíθwa ràba| ʾàxči| lá-raba ʾi-taxrənna| sab-ʾàna| šawwà-šənne,| ʾəštá-šənne šáwwa plíṭɛwən mən-tàma.| ʾìna| xa-màndi| rába rába hal-hadíya ʾi-taxrənne| ʾu-basmáwali ṭawálta ʾíwa ʾáy sxèθa.| (31) ʾu-sxèθa| tàma| líθwalən swimming pool *ʾax-làxxa,| ʾíθwa gárra gu-nèra.| néra ṣaléwa gu-ʾƐn-Nùne.| y-oθíwa gàrre.| ʾè-ga| y-asqìwa| qúrbət trè-metre| y-asáqwa mìya,| y-asqìwa.| fa-ʾáxnən zòrəxwa| y-azáxwa msaxáxwa gu-d-ánna gàrre.| (32) haqənnɛxu| ʾé-gə ʾána ʾắmur díyi ʾəštà-šənnewa,| ʾìθwa| brōn-mámi ʾu-xorắwáθe dìye,| ʾáni qúrbət ʾəṣra trésər šənnèwa,| biš-gòṛewa mánni,| lé šawqíwa ʾána saxánwa mənné gu-d-o-gárra dìya.| y-amríwa ʾáwwa t-gòṛele.| ʾat-zòrɛt.| xoš-sxí gu-d-ó garrə zòre.| (33) xà-gaya,| daríwa xà-fəlsa.| ʾɛnéy yawíwala l-ṭùra| ʾu-xaṣéy l-gàrra.| ʾi-daríwa xà-fəlsa| ʾu-ṣalíwa xárθa gu-gárra xázi ʾó-fəlsa ʾèkɛle.| kú-t šaqàlwale| ʾaw-qrìmwale.| ʾé-gə ʾána zòrən,| lé y-šawqíwa mṭàlənwa mənnéy,| msàxənwa mənné.|*

(26) In winter, indeed, all our villages used this stove, since it was very cold. Every room had a stove in it. Since a room that did not have a stove in it would become icy before the morning and nobody would be able to sleep in it.

(27) In summer, in fact, in our village of ʾƐn-Nune, in Barwar, summer is not very hot. We slept mostly in the houses, in the house itself. This was because even in July and August, after nine o'clock at night, it started to get rather cold. It is not like in other towns, like in the towns of Dohok or Zakho, which are quite hot and people must sleep on the roof. (28) But there again, there are days when it is hot and people would go up onto the roof and sleep. There was a mosquito net, as we called it, which they put on themselves so that mosquitoes[1] would not come and bite them. (29) In most cases, however, people were in the houses, for perhaps only in July and August there were some days when it was rather hot, that is at night, and people would take out and take up their beds and bedding, take them up onto the roof and sleep on the roof. But they had to put up a mosquito net so that mosquitoes[2] did not come and bite them.

Swimming in Pools

GK: Did you play games?

(30) There were many games, but I do not remember them well, since I left there when I was seven or six years old. There is, however, one thing that I remember very well, a game that I liked was that of swimming. (31) (When we went) swimming there, there was not a swimming pool like here, there was a pool in the river. The river flowed down into ʾƐn-Nune. They would make pools. Then the water would rise to around two metres. We were young and we used to go to swim in those pools. (32) I'll tell you, when I was six years old, a cousin of mine and his brothers, who were around ten or twelve years old, older than me, did not allow me to swim with them in their pool. They said 'This is for the older (children). You are young. Go and swim in the pool for young children'. (33) Once they were throwing a coin. They turned their eyes to the mountain and their backs to the pool. They threw a coin then went down into the pool to find where the coin was. Whoever picked it up won (the game). Since I was young, they did not allow me to play with them and swim with them.

[1] Literally: a mosquito.
[2] Literally: a mosquito.

(34) ʾána gs̈ìqli,ˈ xzéwali qa-t-ʾó-fəlsa ʾéka npìlle.ˈ ʾáni qəm-daríla ganéy kúlla gu-gárra ṣlèla.ˈ ʾáni ṣláya ʾu-sàqa-wˈ ṣláya-w sàqa.ˈ ʾáp-xa lɛ-xzàyəlle.ˈ xá-bena ʾup-ʾána ʾáni ṣálye ho-dáryənna gáni ʾup-ʾána gu-mìya,ˈ ʾu-ṣàlyɛn.ˈ (35) xázyɛn ʾékɛle ʾo-fəlsaˈ ʾu-šqílənne b-ʾìði.ˈ dwíqənne b-ʾíði bíye be-b-ʾùpra,ˈ ʾo-ʾúpra ṯ-íwa tàma,ˈ ʾu-sàxyɛn,ˈ sìqɛwənˈ kòlyɛwən.ˈ kəmát sxéla qa-t-xazíwale ʾò-fəlsa,ˈ léwa mṣáya xazìwale.ˈ xa-d-ánna máre bàssa xéna.ˈ dárəx xa-fəlsa xèna.ˈ ʾáwwa zìlleˈ ṭšèle,ˈ léš máṣəx xazəxle.ˈ (36) ʾána mári qa-brōn-màmiˈ hóle láxxa gu-ʾìði.ˈ máre pθùxla ʾíðux,ˈ xàzən.ˈ pθíxənna ʾìði.ˈ ʾo-ʾùpraˈ ʾu-ʾo-fəlsaˈ gu-ʾìðiwa.ˈ máre ʾèka xzélux.ʔˈ mári ṣléli ʾána sxèli,ˈ ðìli ʾékɛwa.ˈ qəm-šaqlə̀nne,ˈ qəm-mpalṯə̀nne.ˈ mən-d-o-yóma mára har-m-hadíya m-bàθərˈ ʾap-ʾáti madám hàtxɛwətˈ ʾap-ʾáti msáxət mə̀nnən.ˈ qəm-šoqíwali ʾúp-ʾana msaxánwa mənnè.ˈ

Attacks by Wolves

(37) duzúθa xa-qáṣṣət lè taxránna ʾána,ˈ ʾáxc̈i xaθwàθi haqíla.ˈ ʾíθwalən xa-kálba zòra.ˈ mnáxət bábi lèwa táma.ˈ ʾáxc̈i xaθwàθiwaˈ ʾu-yə̀mmiˈ ʾu-ʾána zòrənwa.ˈ ʾè-ga,ˈ b-sàtwaˈ y-aθíwa dèweˈ mən-ṭuràne.ˈ mqarbəníwa l-màθaˈ sab-tàlga hawéwa,ˈ lìθwaley ʾixála.ˈ mqarbəníwa l-máθa qa-t-bíš măc̈əxíwaley ʾixàlaˈ qa-t-ʾaxlìwa.ˈ (38) mára síqɛwa tálga qúrbət tre-qumyàθaˈ ʾə̀θyɛwa,ˈ mátyɛwa tálga hàl garət-béθa,ˈ xáčča pyàša.ˈ ʾè-gaˈ mára ʾó-kalba síqɛwa rəš-gàre.ˈ ʾu-ʾə́θyɛle dèwaˈ ʾu-m-báθər m-báθrə bèθaˈ ʾu-sìqɛleˈ ʾu-ṭrìpɛleˈ l-d-ò-kalbaˈ qá-t šaqálwa nabə̀lle.ˈ (39) ʾé-ga xáθi hàqya,ˈ—Jénni ʾɛ-gòṛtaˈ—ʾámra xòniˈ qəm-garə́šle qáli ʾo-kàlba.ˈ mára bə̆́yən ṣàrxən,ˈ láš-in mṣáya.ˈ sáb ʾiθ-xá-məndi hăməníwa bìye.ˈ dèwaˈ ʾi-garə̀šle qálət náša.ˈ léš-maṣe-náša palàṭle qále dìye.ˈ (40) mára kázən qa-ṣàrxənˈ bə̆́yən ṣàrxənˈ qa-t-ʾázəl dèweˈ ʾən-qa-t-ʾáθi náše mhɛrìli,ˈ làn-mṣaya.ˈ ʾána ṣráxən ṭla-gàni,ˈ xáčča qála léle plàṭa.ˈ mára šqílle zílle ʾəmmá-metre rə̀ḥqaˈ ʾu-xárθa plíṭa qàli.ˈ ʾu-ʾína xárθa mùt paydéwa?ˈ yáʿni ʾáwwa šqíləlle ʾo-kàlbaˈ ʾu-zíla xìləlle.ˈ

(34) I looked and saw where that coin fell. They all threw themselves in the pool and went down (to look). They went up and down, up and down. Nobody saw it. Then, when they had gone down, I also threw myself into the water and went down. (35) I found where the coin was and took it in my hand. I held it in my hand together with the soil, the soil that was there. I swam, came up and stood up. However much they swam (trying) to find the coin, they could not find it. One of them said 'That's enough. Let's throw another coin. It is lost. We cannot find it anymore'. (36) I said to my cousin 'It is here in my hand'. He said 'Open your hand for me to see'. I opened my hand. The soil and the coin were in my hand. He said 'Where did you find it?' I said 'I swam down, I knew where it was'. I picked it up and took it out'. From that day they said 'From now on, since you are (as good as) that, you also may swim with us'. They allowed also me to swim with them.

Attacks by Wolves

(37) There is, in fact, a story that I do not remember, but my sisters tell me it. We had a small dog. My father—may he rest in peace—was not there. Only my sisters and my mother. I was young. At that time in winter wolves would come from the mountains. They would come near to the village, since there was snow and they did not have food. They came near to the village in order to find food to eat more easily. (38) They say that the snow had almost reached twice the height of a man.[3] The snow came and almost reached the roof of the house. Then, they say that the dog went up onto the roof. Then a wolf came from behind the house and went up and sprang on the dog to take it away. (39) Then my sister tells me—Jenny, the older one—she says 'Brother, the dog took my breath away'. She said 'I wanted to cry out, but could not do so anymore'. This is because there is something they believed in, namely that a wolf took away the voice of a person and the person could utter his voice. (40) She said 'I tried to cry out, I wanted to cry so that the wolf would go, or so that people would come to help me, but I could not. I (tried to) cry to myself, but no voice came out'. She said '(The wolf) took (the dog) and went a hundred metres away and then my voice came out, but then what was the use?' That is, he had taken the dog and gone and eaten it.

[3] Literally: two statures.

(41) ʾu-màra| xà-šabθa y-awáxwa tíwe bxáya ʾálle dìye,| sáb ʾáp-xa la-mṣèle| θéle mṭéle hawàrən| ʾáw qəm-mparáqle ʾo-kálba díyən gu-ʾiθáθə dèwe.| fa-ʾáp-xa la-θèle| yáʿni mqurbánne l-d-an-hawàre.| ʾu-qəm-šaqàlle| qəm-ʾaxàlle.| (42) mára hal-hadíya la-manšíyala-ʾayya gu-xàya.| ʾáyya píštɛla gu-móxə dìya.| məskánta hal-hadíya la-máṣya manšíyale ʾaw-màndi.| ʾáxči ʾàyya| ʾax-ṯ-íla hoqíθəlla ʾàyən| yaʿni qàlən.|

(43) kul-máθa ʾíθwala qənyàne,| bàqra| ʾu-qənyàne.| ʾi-mšadríwala b-yòma.| ʾíθwa baqára y-azàlwa| măréwalɛ gu-ṭuràne.| ʾè-ga| ʾaṣàrta| sáʾət ʾášta ʾàtxa,| ʾaṣàrta,| ʾi-jămèwa báqra| mɛθèwala baqára.| (44) xazátwalɛ qənyáne ʾé-gət y-aθìwa,| kulléy jwája m-ġðàðe| ʾu-kút-xa yăðéwa béθe díye ʾèkɛle.| yáʿni kut-qənyána mṭéle l-gómət béθe dìye| zílle wírre gu-béθe dìye.| baṣóra mənnèy| ʾi-pɛšíwa yáʿni t-la maṭíwa ʾékɛle bɛθèy.| fa-náše díya hálbat y-áwa spàra.| y-ázi mɛθíwa mattìwala.| (45) ʾáxči xà-gaya,| txírri xá-məndi xèna,| kull-máθa ʾíθwala ʾax-t-məri baqàra| ʾi-paláṭwa mən-qedámta hal-ʾaṣàrta.| har-d-è-dana,| kull-máθa ʾíθwala tre-ṭḷá kàlbe| palṭíwa m-bàqra.| xa-yòma| θéle xa-d-ánna mṣurbíya gu-dəmma.| (46) ʾo-baqára mò-məre?| móre ʾáwwa kàlba| ʾədyo| ṭḷaθà déwe| jámyewa ʾálle qa-t-šaqlíwa xa-pàṛa| m-gu-d-ó qənyàne.| móre trè-mənna qəm-qaṭálla.| ʾo-xéna mṣurbíle gu-dəmma| ʾu-rìqɛle déwa.| ʾu-ʾúp-ʾawən mṣurbíyɛwa gu-dəmma.| (47) ʾána b-txárən hal-hadíya našət-màθa| θèla| mèra| qúdme là-mšadritule ʾáwwa.| gắrəg páyəš láxxa gu-gòma,| xṭíθe dìyela| sab-hóle mṣurbíya gu-dámma dìya.| (48) ʾu-májjəd ʾíwa ʾánna məndyàne| ʾax-ṯ-ámrət guards *ʾíwa| d-an-qənyàne,| sab-ṛíya mò-bt-awəð?| θéle déwa mò-bṯ-awəð ṛíya?| rába gáye ṛíya palàṭwa,| ʾap-tópe là-šaqəlwa mánne díye.| yáʿni palàṭwa| qèsa y-awéwa b-íðe díye.| fa-ʾán-t mxamíwala qənyáne ʾu-ʾèrbe| ʾíwa ʾán-kálbe… t-y-azíwa qam-báqra mənna-mənna-dìya.| (49) ʾána b-txárən hal-hadìya| mṣurbíyɛwa gu-dəmma.| náše θèla,| móra mòdila qáṣṣət?| móra ṭḷaθá dèwe,| tré-mənna qṭìləlla| ʾu-ʾo-xéna mṣurbíyəlle gu-dəmma| ʾu-rìqɛle m-qáme díye.| ʾu-ʾáy hal-hadíya ʾáθya l-bàli,| sáb plíṭwalən qàmθe díye.| yále zóre qáme qàme.|*

(41) She said 'We sat for a week weeping for it, since nobody could come to answer our cry for help or save our dog from the clutches of the wolves. Nobody came, that is (nobody) responded to those cries for help, and (the wolf) took it and ate it'. (42) She says that she will never forget this in her life. It remained in her memory. Poor soul, until now she cannot forget that thing. This is how she told it to us.

(43) Every village had domestic animals, cattle and domestic animals. They would send them out in the daytime. There was a cattle minder who would go and pasture them in the mountains. Then in the evening, around six o'clock, in the evening, the cattle minder would gather the cattle and bring them back. (44) You would see the cattle when they came back, all walking along together and each one knew where its house was. Each animal arrived at the basement stable of its house and went into its house. Only a few of them remained without arriving at their house. Their owners, of course, would be waiting and they went to fetch them and put them (in the stable). (45) But once—I remember something else—all the village had, as I said, a cattle minder who went out from morning until evening. At that time each village also had two or three dogs that went out with the cattle. One day one of these came back drenched in blood. (46) What did the cattle minder say? He said 'Today three wolves ganged up together against it in order to take a lamb from among the animals'. He said 'It killed two of them. It drenched the other one in blood and the wolf fled. It (the dog) also became drenched in blood'. (47) I remember until today that the people of the village came and said 'Tomorrow do not send it. It must stay here in the basement stable, it is not right (to send it), since it has been drenched in their (the wolves') blood'. (48) Indeed these (dogs) were guards, as you say, of the animals, for what could a shepherd do? If a wolf came, what could a shepherd do? On many occasions the shepherd went out without taking a gun with him. He went out with a wooden stick in his hand. The ones who protected the cattle and sheep were the dogs, which were in charge of the animals and went along with them. (49) I remember until today that it was drenched in blood. People came and said 'What has happened?' They said '(There were) three wolves, it killed two and drenched the other in blood and it (the wolf) ran away from it'. I remember this until now, since we children went out to meet it.

The Fruit of the Village

(50) ʾé-gət ʾi-háwe yárxət qèṭa,ˈ xoš-ʾàmrəxˈ yárxət ʾəčča,ˈ bustanàneˈ t-xabùšeˈ xazátwala kúlla smìqe,ˈ npíle l-ʾàrra,ˈ xabùše.ˈ ʾan-ṭ-naplíwa l-ʾàrra,ˈ ʾáni lè-y-ax-liwala náše.ˈ ʾáni daríwala qam-qənyàne.ˈ ʾi-mjămíwala gu-gunìyaˈ ʾu-daríwala gu-gòma,ˈ qa-mpalṭíwa mənnèyˈ daríwa qam-tawriyàθaˈ qam-qənyàneˈ qa-t-ʾaxlíwa mənnèy.ˈ (51) mapšəmàntɛwaˈ líθwa ʾé-ga qèseˈ máʿmal-t qèseˈ qa-t-maṣíwa ʾoðíwa ṣandùqeˈ mattíwala xabúše gawèyˈ qa-t-maṣlíwala l-məinàθaˈ mzabnìwala.ˈ fa-ʾi-mzabníwala har-gu-ʾàrra.ˈ (52) y-aθéwa zonàna,ˈ y-amərwaˈ ʾàyyaˈ ʾàtxa b-yawánnux bíya díya.ˈ márə d-ɛ-ʾàrraˈ y-amərwaˈ ràziwən,ˈ ʾi-mzabánwala ʾàtxa ʾálle díye.ˈ léwa b-kilòʾe.ˈ mqaddárwale kəmà daqráwa,ˈ y-ámər ʾátxa b-yawənnux.ˈ marḏèwaleˈ šaqálwale mánne dìye.ˈ (53) ʾána txárən hal-hadíya halùkkət t-y-axláxwaˈ ʾənjàṣət y-axlíwa,ˈ xàwxe,ˈ məšmàššе,ˈ ʾènwe.ˈ kɛrmáne pàryewa.ˈ ʾíθwa ʾánwe kòmeˈ ʾu-ʾánwe xwàre.ˈ (54) ʾu-haqánnux xa-qáṣṣət wìtɛla,ˈ xa-gáya síqəx har-m-Bàġdadˈ hal-ʾƐn-Nùne.ˈ masqánwa tre-xorăwàθaˈ t-Bàġdad,ˈ yáʿni léla nášət Bàrwər.ˈ yáʿni ʾíwa xonăwàθənˈ xá-mənnɛ mən-ʾÙrmiwa,ˈ ʾiranàya,ˈ ʾaθuràya,ˈ ʾu-ʾo-xènaˈ ʾáwwən našət-Diyànɛwa,ˈ ʾína xíyewa gu-Bàġdad,ˈ báryewa gu-Bàġdad,ˈ xíyewa gu-Bàġdad.ˈ (55) síqex l-ʾƐn-Nùne.ˈ hóle xzáya l-xàwxeˈ seráne gòṛe,ˈ tálye b-ʾilàna.ˈ hóle šqàləlle xáwxaˈ mxáyəlle xa-nagòza,ˈ xa-nagóza bìyeˈ trè nagóze,ˈ ṭlà nagóze.ˈ márɛle ʾo-xéna biš-basìmɛle.ˈ hole-šqála ʾo-xèna,ˈ ʾó rapòyəlle.ˈ (56) sab-táma xúl kəmət-bă̆yət,ˈ balàš-ile.ˈ ʾáp-xa le-y-ámər qá-mot xála mən-d-ànna?ˈ ʾáxči náša le-méθe ṣandúqa šàqəl.ˈ kəmət-ʾàxəl,ˈ xoš-ʾàxəl.ˈ xamšá-xawxe xìləlla.ˈ

Food and Drink

(57) ʾé-ga b-léle tíwəx kəs-xáli d-àniˈ gu-béθe dìyeˈ qəm-čayədlən,ˈ máre háyyo kàslən.ˈ máre ʾádyo maštánnɛxu štéθa dìyən,ˈ ṯ-in-wíðəlla ʾàna.ˈ mpúlṭɛwa wèskiˈ m-xabùše.ˈ wéski rába ʾatìqa,ˈ ʾúp bálki-t koḥól gáwe dìyeˈ bálki-t palṭáwa là ʾárbi-u-xamša,ˈ bálki-t tmàni-u-xamšɛwa.ˈ

The Fruit of the Village

(50) In the summer months, let's say September, in the apple orchards you would see the apples all red and fallen on the ground. People did not eat those that fell on the ground. They gave these to the animals. They gathered them in a sack and put them in the basement stable, so that they could take from them and give them to the cows and animals for them to eat. (51) It was sad that there was no wood factory in those days, in order for them to be able to make boxes to put apples in, to take down to the towns and sell. So, they sold them (while still) on the land. (52) A purchaser would come and say 'I shall give you such-and-such for them'. The owner of the land would say 'I am content (with that)' and would sell them to him in this way. They were not (measured) in kilos. He calculated how much they were worth and said 'I shall give you such-and-such'. He would satisfy the owner and take them from him. (53) I remember until now the plums that we used to eat, the wild plums that they used to eat, the peaches, the apricots, the grapes. The orchards were abundant (with fruit). There were black grapes and white grapes. (54) I shall tell you a story (about something) that happened. Once we went up from Baghdad to ʾƐn-Nune. I brought up two friends from Baghdad, who were not Barwar people. They were our brothers, one of whom was from Urmi, an Iranian Assyrian, and the other was a man from Diyana. They, however, were living in Baghdad, they were born in Baghdad, they were living in Baghdad. (55) We went up to ʾƐn-Nune. (One of them) saw the peaches, the large yellow peaches, hanging on the tree. He took a peach and bit into it, one bite, two bites, three bites. He said the other is more tasty. He took the other one and threw that one away. (56) This was because there you could eat as much as you like, it was free. Nobody would say 'Why are you eating them?' But a person did not bring a box and take them away. He could eat as much as he could eat (on the spot). He ate five peaches.

Food and Drink

(57) That night we sat with my uncle and his family, in his house—he invited us, he said 'Come to us'. He said 'Today I shall give you our drink to drink, which I have made. He brought out whiskey, (which was made) from apples, very old whiskey, the alcohol in it was perhaps not forty-five but as much as eighty-five (percent).

(58) tíwəx tàma,ˈ dáryəlle xa-pèk.ˈ mára qa-d-o-xòri,ˈ rába ramànɛwa,ˈ yáʿni palə́ṭwa ʾášta foot *biz-zòdaˈ ʾu-zàxmɛwa rába.ˈ har-mára šlámi ʾəllux-ile,ˈ ʾu-hóle štàya.ˈ har-šlámi ʾəllux-ile,ˈ ʾu-b-štàya.ˈ š-lá-praqa ʾo-pék dìyeˈ ʾo-xáwri hádəx gab-bàra,ˈ xázəx wírre gawàye.ˈ (59) zìlle,ˈ ʾína Danìʾəl-iwa šə́mme díye,ˈ mári ha-Dànìʾəl,ˈ mà-lux.?ˈ mára mguyžə̀nni.ˈ máriˈ ʾáti xá-boṭla ʾi-šatə́tle wèski.ˈ dáx mguyžə́nnux mən-d-áwwa pèk.?ˈ mára b-àlahaˈ ʾána b-xšáwən ʾáwwa lèwa wéski.ˈ mára mòdile?ˈ mára b-xšáwən ʾáwwa benzə̄́n ṭayyarə̂̀t-ile.ˈ (60) yáʿni ma-ṯ-íwa də̆́rə̆jət koḥól díya rába qwìθa,ˈ mguyžə̀nne,ˈ lá-mṣaya kále p-àqle.ˈ fa-náše xamlìwa.ˈ yəðíwa mpalṭíwa ʾə̀raq.ˈ mpalṭíwa wèskiˈ t-ganèy.ˈ lə́wa sníqe qa-t-ʾáziwa šùqaˈ məinàθaˈ qa-t-mɛθíwa štèθa.ˈ b-ganè mpalṭíwalaˈ štéθa diyèy.ˈ ʾu-ʾé-gət y-awíwa xlulàne,ˈ lə́wa sníqe qa-t-ʾazíwa zoníwa štèθa.ˈ (61) har-b-gané mpalṭìwala.ˈ mpalṭíwa biz-zòda.ˈ ʾu-kúlla ʾan-nášət maθwàθaˈ t-y-aθìwa,ˈ sab-ʾé-gət y-awéwa xlúla gu-ʾƐn-Nùne,ˈ lá ʾaxči-ʾḗn-nunàyɛwa táma.ˈ kúlla maθwáθa čedìwaleyˈ mən-kúlla maθwáθə ṯ-íla marzabánət ʾƐn-Nùne,ˈ xa-tmánya ʾəṣrà-maθwaθa,ˈ náše píšewa čìde.ˈ (62) ʾína palṭíwa qúrbət tre-ṭḷáθa ʾálpe nàše,ˈ ʾarbá-ʾalpe nàše,ˈ šatyàneˈ ʾən-gòṛe b-šə́nne.ˈ ʾə́θyela l-xlùla.ˈ ʾáni kúlla bə̆yíwa maxóle ʾu-maštòye.ˈ fa-mpaltìwaˈ dɛríwale gu-linyàθa.ˈ náše kúlley šatìwaˈ là-xa-yoma.ˈ sab-xluláne šawwà yománeˈ y-awéwa xlùla,ˈ kút-xa ʾax-mṣèθe díye.ˈ (63) ʾína ʾíθwa nàšeˈ ṭḷaθà-yomane y-áwa wáða xlùla.ˈ ṭḷaθá-yomane dáwla-w zòrna,ˈ rə̀qða,ˈ ʾu-xumàla,ˈ ʾu-xálta-w štèθa.ˈ ʾu-náše y-áwa mabsòme.ˈ ʾu-kúl-məndi y-áwe pə̀rya,ˈ xàlta,ˈ štèθa,ˈ m-kùll-məndi.ˈ xàltaˈ y-oðìwaˈ…y-aθíwa baxtáθət màθa,ˈ ʾi-mbašlìwa,ˈ m-qúrbə qúrbət márət xlùla.ˈ (64) bašlíwa gu-quṣaryàθa,ˈ gu-marə̀gle.ˈ dɛríwala gu-marə̀gle xáltə mbašlìwa.ˈ xùmṣɛle,ˈ yan-dùxwɛwa,ˈ yan-kúl-xalta bašlìwala.ˈ ʾu-har-d-ɛ-dána štéθa prìθɛwa-wˈ kul-náše tre-ṭḷá-yomane šatìwa,ˈ y-axlìwa,ˈ y-áwa xə̀ðye,ˈ mubə̀sme.ˈ*

Weddings

(65) ʾu-ʾadáttə dìyənˈ gwára dàx-iwa?ˈ ʾap-ʾàyyaˈ b-yawə́nnux xa-nuhára bəd-dìya.ˈ ʾó-məndi bìš basímɛwaˈ ʾé-gə mpaláṭṭət kʷálo m-béθət bába dìya.ˈ y-amríwala čáppe bùke.ˈ ʾáyya mpalṭíwala kʷàloˈ ʾu-mattíwala xáṣət koðə̀nta,ˈ sab-qámθa lìθwa rába susyáθa.ˈ

(58) We sat there and he poured out a measure. He said 'For my friend'. He was very tall, that is he was more than six feet tall and very strong. He said 'Cheers' and drank. (He says) 'Cheers' and drinks. (While) my friend, who was a huge man, had not yet finished his measure (of whiskey), we saw him go inside. (59) He went away. His name was Daniel. I said 'Daniel, what is the matter with you?' He said 'I felt dizzy'. I said 'You usually drink a bottle of whiskey. How is it that you have become dizzy with this measure? He said 'By God, I don't think it is whiskey'. He said 'What is it?' He said 'I think it is aeroplane oil'. (60) The degree of its alcohol was so strong that he became dizzy and could not stand on his feet. People enjoyed themselves. They knew how to produce arak. They produced whiskey by themselves. They did not have to go to the market in the towns to bring drink. They produced drink by themselves. When there were weddings they did not have to go and buy drink. (61) They produced it by themselves. They produced a lot. All the people of the villages who came—for when there was a wedding in ʾƐn-Nune, there were not only people from ʾƐn-Nune there. They invited all the villages, (people) from all the villages that were adjacent to ʾƐn-Nune, eight or ten villages. The people were invited. (62) Around two or three thousand people, four thousand people, would turn up, (most of whom were) drinkers, (including) old people. They (all) came to the wedding. They wanted to give them all food and drink. They produced it and put it in pots. Everybody drank, not only one day, since weddings lasted seven days, everybody as much as he could. (63) There were some people, however, who held weddings for three days, three days of drum and pipe, dancing and merriment, eating and drinking. The people enjoyed themselves. Everything was in abundance, food and drink, everything. They would make food. The women of the village would come and they would cook, (the women) who were relatives of the person holding the wedding. (64) They would cook in small pans and large pans. They would put in the large pans the food that they were cooking. It was *xumṣa* or *duxwa*. They cooked every (type) of food. At that time drink was abundant. Everybody would drink and eat for two or three days. They were merry and jolly.

Weddings

(65) What was our custom at a wedding? I shall give you a description about also this. It was a most pleasant thing when they brought the bride out of the house of her father. They called this *čappe buke*. They would bring the bride out and put her on the back of a mule, since in the old days there were not many horses.

(66) xáṣət koðónta ʾi-mattìwala,ˈ ʾu-y-azíwa xaðrìwaˈ barəbárət màθaˈ hal-ʾé-gət mamṭíwala béθət gáwṛa dìya.ˈ maṭíwa tàma,ˈ ʾíθwa ʾilàna.ˈ ʾax-ʾədyoma ʾámrəx kèka,ˈ ʾíθən kéka gu-buràxaˈ yan-gu-gwára, gu-zuwáġa ʾədyoma ʾíθən.ˈ qámθa lìθwa kéka,ˈ ʾíθwa ʾilàna.ˈ (67) ʾilána y-áwa mútte gáwa xabùše,ˈ yan-gàwze,ˈ yan-zùze.ˈ mṣáqlila ʾilána kùlla.ˈ ʾu-y-asqíwa rəš-xa-bèθaˈ ramàna,ˈ ʾi-mzabníwa ʾilàna.ˈ ʾán-zuzət ʾaθíwa mən-mzabántət ʾilànaˈ ʾíwa hayàrtaˈ qa-kʸálo-w xàtnaˈ ṯ-íwa gwàra.ˈ (68) yáʿni y-amríwa qa-ṭùsaˈ xálət xátna qəm-zawánna ʾilána b-xamšì dináre.ˈ mámət xátna qəm-zawánna b-ʾəmmà dináre.ˈ ʾo-xéna qəm-zawánna b-ʾəṣrà dináre.ˈ hál parqí kúlla nàšeˈ ʾan-zonìwa.ˈ ʾáy lèwa zwána zwánəlla.ˈ ʾáxči mšaràktɛwaˈ hayárta qa-kʸálo-w xàtna.ˈ (69) ʾé-gət parqìwa,ˈ ʾé-ga ʾɛ-ʾilána napṣìwala.ˈ m-rəš-d-ó-gare ʾi-napṣìwala,ˈ kúlla ʾan-məndiyánə ṯ-íwa gáwa díya ṣalìwa.ˈ ʾé-ga xázət yále zòreˈ ráqa báθər d-àn məndyáne,ˈ ʾən-čəklètena,[1]ˈ yan-xabùšena,ˈ yan-zùzena,ˈ y-arqíwa kút-xa mjăwóye ṭla-gàne.ˈ ʾáp ʾan-gòreˈ mjămìwa.ˈ ʾáyya ʾána b-txárənna hal-hadìya.ˈ npáṣtət ʾilànaˈ yómət xlúla ʾaw-məndí y-oðìwale.ˈ (70) ʾu-t-trèˈ y-amrìwaˈ mjazáxla náše ʾan-ṯ-ína tíwe gu-xlùla.ˈ y-attíwa kʸálo-w xàtnaˈ ʾi-mattíwa xabùšeˈ yan-čəklèteˈ yan-mədyàneˈ gu-d-ó-majma ṯ-íwa mútta l-méz diyèy.ˈ ʾè-gaˈ náše ṯ-íwa táma tìwe,ˈ…y-awíwa trèˈ y-amríwa naṭòre,ˈ ʾánna trèˈ y-aθíwa šaqlíwa qa-ṭùsaˈ xá-xa náše mɛθìwaleˈ táma qùrba,ˈ ʾi-šaqəlwa xa-mən-d-àn məndiyáne,ˈ ʾi-mjazìwale.ˈ (71) ʾéni mjazèwale?ˈ qarìwa,ˈ ṯ-íle tìwa,ˈ qaríwət xàtna.ˈ y-ámər ʾàtiˈ gắrəg máttət xamšá-dinare làxxaˈ sab-šqíllux xa-xabùštaˈ m-gu-d-àwwaˈ mànaˈ t-málka-w malə̀kθa.ˈ sab-kʸálo-w xátna ʾíwa málka-w malə̀kθa.ˈ gắrəg mattúwa xamšá-dinare tàma,ˈ ʾu-xárθa šaqəlwale ʾɛ-xabúšta díye ʾu-ʾazəlwa.ˈ (72) ʾáyya ʾíθwa ʾádət…trè məndyáne ʾíθwa bíya.ˈ máṇdi qamàyaˈ šotapaʾìθˈ náše xamlìwa,ˈ moríwa dána b-d-àwwa máṇdi.ˈ ʾu-ʾɛ-t-trèˈ ʾíwa xá mšaràktaˈ mədreˈ qa-hayártət kʸálo-w xàtnaˈ m-d-é-maṣraf ṯ-íla mútt̬əlla qa-mpalṭíwa xá-məndi ʾáp-ʾani qalɛ̀.ˈ (73) ʾáp-ʾanna məndyáne taxrənna mə́jjəd.ˈ yáʿni y-áθi l-bàliˈ ʾu-ʾána zòraˈ ʾu-ʾúp ʾɛ-ga-píšwalən gòṛe.ˈ ʾíθwa rába xlulàneˈ wíye gu-màθa.ˈ y-asqə̀xwa,ˈ ʾan-məndyáne xazə̀xwalɛ.ˈ mxùmyəxwala yáʿni duzúθa.ˈ

[1] In this and several ensuing clauses the Christian Urmi form of the 3pl. copula is used (*-ina*).

(66) They would put her on the back of a mule and they would go and take her around the village, until they brought her to the house of her husband. When they reached there, there was a tree. As we say today (wedding) cake, there is a cake in the ceremony, at a wedding, at a marriage, today. In the old days there was no cake, but there was a tree. (67) On the tree apples were placed, or walnuts, or money. They would decorate all the tree. They would go up on a high house and sell the tree. The money that was received from the sale of the tree was assistance for the bride and groom who were getting married. (68) They would say, for example, the maternal uncle of the groom has bought the tree for fifty dinars. The maternal uncle of the groom has bought it for a hundred dinars. Another has bought it for ten dinars. Until all those who were buying had finished. They were not really buying it, but they were sharing in (giving) asssistance to the bride and groom. (69) When they finished, they shook the tree. They shook it from on top of the roof. All the things that were on it came down. Then you would see small children running after those things, whether they were chocolates, apples, money. Each one ran to gather for himself. Also the older people would gather them. I remember that until today. The shaking of the tree—they would do this on the day of the wedding. (70) The next day, they would say 'Let us tax the people who were present at the wedding'. The bride and the groom would sit and they would put out apples, chocolates, various things, on a tray that was placed on their table. Then the people who were sitting there—there were two ushers and these two would come and take (these things), for example, and bring something for each person who was present. Each would take something and they would tax him. (71) Who taxed him? The best man, who was present there, the best man of the groom. He says 'You must put five dinars here, since you took an apple from this plate of the king and queen'. This is because the bride and groom were the king and queen. He had to deposit five dinars there. Then he took took his apple and went away. (72) This custom—there were two aspects to it. Firstly, socially people enjoyed themselves and spent (a happy) time at this (event). Secondly it was a joint effort to assist the bride and groom with the expenses that they had disbursed so that they could get back something for themselves. (73) Indeed I remember also these things. I recall them (from the time when) I was young and also when we grew up. Many weddings took place in the village. We would go up (to the village) and see them. We indeed kept them (in the customary way).

(74) zmaryáθə xlulàne| mòdiwa?| qámθa lɛ̀wa ʾax-hadíya| musìqa-w| ʾu-bànd| ʾu-ʾàyya.| yómət xyáptət xətna,| ʾíθwa lɛliyàne.| y-azíwa nablìwale| l-šaqìθa| yán l-hàmmam,| ʾékət ʾile.| ʾu-tàma| ʾi-šaríwa m-bárət xayápwa xətna,| gù xyáptə-díye| ʾu-bàr xayəpwa,|…. gu-dánət xyáptət xətna,| ʾi-mšarìwa| zmàra| tre-jwìne| ʾu-hál-ʾɛ-gət parəqwa,| ʾu-mədre hál-ʾɛ-gət mamṭìwale| hal-béθə xətna.| ʾáyya ʾíwa lɛliyàna.| (75) ʾu-m-d-ó-geba xèna| zmaryáθa ʾíθwa ràwe.| yáʿni líθwa ʾax-hadíya ʾánna zmaryáθə hadíya ṯ-íla xá-dana zamàra| zmára zmárta-w mənne-mánne musìqa,| là.| ràwewa.| ʾu-y-attíwa gu-dìwən| suràye| xoš-ʾámrəx ʾánna ʾùrze,| xà b-nošéy,| ʾu-ʾi-zamríwa ràwe.| ʾé-ga xázət xá mən-d-è-paθa| ʾu-xéna mən-d-é-paθa xéta mjawùbwala.| ʾàtxɛwa ʾánna zmaryáθa.|

Dancing

(76) náše ʾé-gət raqðìwa| lé raqðíwa l-zmaryàθa,| l-qálət dáwla-w zòrna,| musíqət dáwla-w zòrna.| ʾé-gə dáwla-w zòrna| xá-ga maxéwa gu-ʾɛ̃n-Nune,| nášə Dúre šămìwale,| qɛmíwa y-aθìwa,| y-àmri| mšuréla mxàya| qémax ʾàzexi.| (77) yan-xlúla gu-Dɛrəške| ʾáxnən gu-ʾɛ̃n-Nune šămàxwale qála,| y-amrəxwa b-xšáwəx hadíya mšurèla.| sab-xa-xa-gáye ʾi-maxéwa tmanyà saʾàtte| bar-ġðáðe t-là-klɛθa.| tmanyá saʾátte y-áwa mxàya| ʾu-náše dwìqe.| (78) ʾé-ga lìθwa stage,| *ʾìwa| dukàne| gu-máθa díyən ʾɛ̃n-Nune| ʾiθwa bədràθa.| ʾánna bədráθət mɛθíwala zrùta| ʾu-xáṯṭe ʾu-hánne y-oðíwala gàwa.| ʾáni bədráθa tàma náše ʾi-raqðíwa.| (79) sab-wíðəlwala ʾářa dàšta| ʾu-maṣíwa náše doqíwa ṭḷà| ʾarbà-reze xá-xa-gaye.| ʾárba xamšà réze y-áwa dwíqe náše b-rqàða.| hàlbat| ʾúrze-w bnàθa-w| kúlla gu-ġðàðe.| ʾu-lwíše mxùmle| júllət ʾaθuràye.| (80) ʾu-haqánnux xá-ga ʾáyya wìtɛla.| xa-bàxta| xa-d-ánna dwíqɛwa réšət xəgga,| dwíqɛwa réšət xəgga-w| rqàða-w| šyášəlla rába qùwya,| ʾáyya buxálla bìye| xa-báxta gòṛtɛwa.| (81) ʾé-ga y-amràwa| ʾénile ʾó-ṯ-ile ʾátxa šyášəlla gáne dìye,| čú-məndi léle ðàya.| ʾo-mut-ràqðɛle rqáða?| xa-d-ánna ʾámər ʾálla dìya| lát-ðaʾa ʾo-ʾènile?| mára là.| máre ʾo-brōn-t-xònəx-ile.| ʾámra hè,| ṯ-amrátle ʾabóna gu-qàše| léle hátxa rqáða tàza!|*

(74) What were the wedding songs? In the old days it was not like now, when there is a music with a band and so forth. On the day of the washing of the groom there were *lɛ̈liyane*. They went and took him to a channel or a wash house, wherever it was. There, after they washed the groom, during the washing and after they washed, at the time of the washing of the groom, they began to sing in two groups, until it was finished, and again until they brought him to the house of the groom. This was a *lɛ̈liyana*. (75) On the other hand there were songs (known) as *rawe*. There were not songs like now, when there is a singer who sings a song accompanied by music. No. It was a *rawe*. The Christians, let's say the men, by themselves, would sit in a reception room and sing *rawe*. You would see one person on this side (singing) and another on the other side answering him. Those songs were like that.

Dancing

(76) When people danced, they did not dance to the songs, but to the sound of the drum and pipe, the music of the drum and pipe. When the drum and pipe played in ʾƐn-Nune, the people of Dure would hear and would come. They said 'They have begun to play, let's go'. (77) Or (if there was) a wedding in Dɛrəške, we in ʾƐn-Nune would hear the noise and say 'We think they have started now. For, sometimes, they played for eight hours continuously without stopping. They would play for eight hours and the people held (each other). (78) At that time there was no 'stage'. There were places in our village of ʾƐn-Nune, there were threshing floors. These were threshing floors where they brought agricultural produce, wheat and such like, which they made there. The people would dance on those threshing floors. (79) This was because they had made the ground level and the people could form three or four rows at once. The people formed four or five rows when dancing. Of course, men and women all together. They were dressed up festively in Assyrian clothes. (80) Let me tell you something that happened once. A woman was jealous of somebody who was at the head of the *xəgga* dance, he was at the head of the dance and dancing, shaking very energetically. She was an old woman. (81) She said 'Who is that who is shaking himself like that. He knows nothing (about dancing). What kind of dance is he dancing?' Somebody said to her 'Don't you know who that is?' She said 'No'. He said 'He is the son of your sister'. She said 'Yes, he is like a bishop among priests. Doesn't he dance well!'

The Gayasa

(82) yomə t-trè' bar-ʾéðət qyàmta' ʾíle geyàsa.' ʾána táxrən hal-hadìya' zòrəxwa ʾáxni,' y-azə́xwa kaláxwa m-qamàye' sab-yalúnke zòre' ʾímə klíwala gu-ʾúmrə dìyən,' yáʿni ṭáxsət ʾétə dìyən,' maklílən qamàye.' (83) ʾi-kaláxwa m-qamàye' ʾu-txàrən' qášə Šəmo,' ʾó qašə-ṯ-ín b-txárən ʾálle dìye,' maxéwa geyàsa.' y-áwe síṛa b-xa-qésa rìxa' qúrbət trè-metre,' tré-metre ʾu-pàlge ʾátxa.' ʾərxúθe dìyewa.' y-áwe sìṛa' pùndewa,' y-áwa síṛe bíye dìye' ʾu-réšət púnda ʾùl̩l̩ul̩ y-awéwa.' (84) fa-y-aθéwa qášə Šəmo,' xa-šamáša hayərwale.' xà-xa' maxewále gu-rèšən.' ʾo-t-txàrən,' ʾáxnən zòrəxwa,' ʾi-maxéwale xà-gaya' xá-ga xéta y-oðáxwale réšən ʾàtxa' qa-t-xá-ga xéta qayəθwa,' sab-zòrəxwa,' lé p̣aṛmáxwa yáʿni duzúθa módila manáy dìya.' ʾáxči b-txárən hal-hadíya tre-ṭl̩á-gaye mamxəxwala gánən.' (85) ʾu-xá-məndi xèna,' ʾé-gət palṭəxwa' mən-ʾùmra,' gu-dártət ʾùmra' y-áwa tíwe baxtáθa mpălóye lə̀xma.' ʾáp-ʾayya p-aqə́nna ʾəllux,' sab-wítɛla b-réši ʾup-ʾàyya.' (86) ʾána zòrənwa,' xamšà-šənne ʾŭmur díyi.' plìṭɛn,' mən-yamìna' gắrəg ʾazə́xwa səmmàla' qa-t-šaqláxwa lə̀xma' ʾu-parqəxwa.' prìqlən' ʾé-baxta xarèθa' ʾu-palṭəxwa.' zílli ʾàna' mənnə-mənnət-xorăwàθa.' klélən ʾu-šqíllən láxma-w zíllən θèlən.'.... [interruption]... (87) plíṭlən gu-dártət ʾùmra.' duxrànɛwa,' kút-xa-wa qbìla xa-mándi' qa-Mar-Sàwa.' mɛθíwa lə̀xma' yán bàsra,' yán ku-məndi-t-ʾìle,' ʾən-mərtòxa' qa-t-ʾó ṯ-íle qbìləlle' qa-t-maqróye táma ʾan-nàše' qa-t-kút-xa šáqəl ʾu-ʾàzəl.' (88) ʾána b-txárən hal-hadíya ʾána-w xa-xòri' θèlən,' zwìrrən' xa-gàya' m̩lélən ʾiθáθən láxma-w məndyàne.' xá-ga xèta' màdre,' kút báxta ṯ-in-zála ʾálla dìya,' ʾána léyðən módila qàṣṣət,' b-šɛ̀na bábi,' b-šɛ̀na θélux,' dwàqəlli,' nšàqəlli,' ʾu-yáwəlli mən-d-o-lə̀xma' yán m-d-o-bàsra' yán m-d-o-mərtòxa.' (89) ʾu-m̩láya hóle qàpli.' qápli hóle m̩làya,' hon-zàla' yàwənna' mattóyənna kəs-ʾáyya xàθi' ʾɛ-gòṛta.' ʾap-ʾáy mpălòyewa,' ʾáy ʾu-mnáxət yàmmi.' mattóyənna tàma' ʾu-mádre zálən xa-ga-xèta.' ṭə́l̩l̩əθ gàye' zìlli,' ʾána zwàrən.' ʾána gắrəg xà-gaya.' (90) xárθa xáθa mára ʾáti mòt wáða?' ʾína kəmà-gaye zíllux ʾu-šqíllux ʾáyya?' mári ʾána ṭə̀l̩l̩əθ gáye hal-hadíya.' ʾámra bàssa.' ʾèbɛle' la-tùklən.' háyyo tu-tíwa làxxa'

The Gayasa

(82) The second day of Easter is (the ceremony of) the *gayasa*. I remember until today that we were young and we went and stood at the front, for when young children stood in the church, it was a rule of our church that they would make us stand at the front. (83) We would stand at the front and I remember father Šəmo—(he is) the priest whom I remember—he would tap the *gayasa* (on our heads). There was tied to a long stick, about two metres, two metres and a half in length, there was tied—they were wicks, they were tied to it, with the top of the wick upwards. (84) Father Šəmo would come and a deacon would help him. He would tap it on each of our heads. As far as I remember—we were young—he would tap it once, then we would put our heads like this, so that he would tap again, since we were young and we did not, in truth, understand what the meaning of it was. But I remember until now that we would have ourselves tapped (on the head) two or three times. (85) Another thing—when we came out of the church, in the courtyard of the church there were women distributing bread. I shall tell you also about this, since this also happened to me. (86) I was young, I was about five years old. I went out. We were supposed to go from right to left (along the line of women) to take bread, then finish. We finished with the last woman, then went out. I went together with my friends. We stood and took bread, then went and came back. [*interruption*] (87) We went into the courtyard of the church. It was a memorial. Everybody had donated something to Saint Sawa. They would bring bread or meat, or whatever there was, cake filling, and the one who has donated calls the people so that everybody takes and then goes off. (88) I remember until today that I and my friend came and went round and filled our hands with bread and things, then again. Every woman I went to—I did not know what it was all about—(said) 'Hello my dear, welcome'. She held me and kissed me, then gave me some of the bread or the meat or the cake filling. (89) My arms were full. When my arms were full, I went and delivered the things to my elder sister and she distributed them, together with my late mother. I deposited them there and again went off. I went round three times. I should have gone only once. (90) In the end my sister said 'What are you doing? How many times have you gone round and taken this?' I said 'I (have been round) three times so far'. She said 'That's enough. It's shameful. Don't give us a bad name! Come and sit here'.

(91) mári qa-mò| la-kəmət-máṣəx ṯ-àzəx.?| móra là,| xà-bena ʾázi náše.| ʾé-ga xárθa klèli,| mári OK *móra ʾàtxa.| qímɛn kàlyɛn.| ʾína mò,| qímtɛla ap-ʾáy xá-ga xéta kúlla pŭlèθəlla qa-náše,| sab-náše ràbɛwa| ʾu-duxràn*ɛ*wa.| ʾu-txárən hal-hadìya.|*

Memorials

(92) w-áxni ʾìmə y-oðáxwale duxrána.?| yomə-təltássər b-ʾə̀č̣č̣a| ʾíwa ʾéðə ṣlìwa.| təltássər b-ʾə̀č̣č̣a| mən-ʾəmmàyət šánne| duxránət Mar-Sáwət ʾoðìwale| ʾíwa təltássər b-ʾə̀č̣č̣a.| hal-ʾə̀dyoma,| kud-šèta| ʾi-ʾóði təltássər b-ʾə̀č̣č̣a| duxràna| ʾu-ʾéðə ṣlìwa| ʾu-parmi ʾərbe| ʾu-y-óði dùxa| qa-d-áwwa yòma.| (93) ʾu-hal-ʾədyóma líθ náše ràba| ʾína yómət ʾéða ṣlìwa| təltássər b-ʾə̀č̣č̣a| ʾé-šetət wìrra| qúrbət tré-ʾalpe ʾu-xamš-əmmà-naše| ʾítwa ḥḏ̣ìre| ʾò-yoma.| šqíllən ʾax-t-y-ámri qurbána qaddìša| ʾu-plíṭlən qam-tằra| ʾu-mzuyáxlən ʾáwwa yòma.| ʾu-ʾən-báyət šə̀kla,| ʾíttən šáklət vìdeo.|

(91) I said 'Why? Don't we go as much as we can?' She said 'No. People should go only once'. So, in the end I stopped. I said 'OK' and she said 'Good'[4] I stopped, but what (happened)? She distributed everything again to the people, for there were many people and it was a memorial service. I remember this until today.

Memorials

(92) When do we hold the memorial? The thirteenth of September was the Festival of the Cross. The thirteenth of September. For hundreds of years they observed the memorial of Saint Sawa, which took place on the thirteenth of September. Until today, every year, on the thirteenth of September, they observe the memorial and the Festival of the Cross. They slaughter sheep and perform a sacrifice for that day. (93) Today there are not many people (in the village), but on the day of the Festival of the Cross, the thirteenth of September last year, about two thousand five hundred people were present that day. We took holy communion, as they say, then went out and celebrated the day. If you want (to see) a photograph, we have a video film.

[4] Literally: (may it be) thus.

B16 Life in ʾƐn-Nune (6)

Informant: Siranoš Xaməs (ʾƐn-Nune)

The Festival of 'The Bride of the Ascension'

(1) kʷálo sulàqa| qámθa ṣaləxwa l-ʾùmra.| kúl-məndi ʾamárwalən qàša| kʷálo dax-ʾoðìtula,| b-ṣaqlìtula,| ʾazítu l-bɛθa l-bɛ̀θa.| y-asqə̀xwa.| qarwə́xwa, parqə́xwa, y-asqə́xwa bɛ̀θən.| (2) qɛmáxwa béna xa-yálta zùrta| y-oðáxwala kʷálo sulàqa.| y-oðáxwala kʷàlo.| mattə́xwa məndiyáne kúlla dax-t̰-óya kʷàlo.| xa-yálta mànnən-mənnən| nabləxwala l-béθa l-bɛ̀θa.| (3) ʾo-t-ʾítwale zùze yawálwa.| ʾo-t-ʾítwale šɛrnìye yawálwa.| kú-mdit ʾìtwale,| bɛ̀ʾe,| ʾánna bɛ́ʾe smòqe| yawálwa ʾálla dìya.| (4) y-azə̀xwa| parqə́xwa mən-d-àỳ,| y-azáxwa taláxwa xa-xáwla bə-d…ʾilàna,| ʾilánət tùθa.| ʾu-y-óðəxwa hèzuke bíye,| kùllən,| mən-yále zóre ʾu-hal-gòṛe.| kúllən y-azáxwa y-attə̀xwa,| xamláxwa tàma.| ʾu-y-óðəxwa ʾixàla| y-axlə̀xwa,| šatə̀xwa.| ʾu-dérəxwa l-bɛ̀θa.|

Easter

(5) yómət ʾéða gòṛa| sá̱wəxwa bɛ̀ʾe.| y-ázəxwa ʾáxni zóre mṭaláxwa k̰olàne.| k̰oláne mṭaləxwa gáwa.| mattə́xwala bɛ́ʾe gu-ṣawə̀lta.| gu-d-áyya ṣawáltən mattə́xwala bɛ̀ʾe| mṭaláxwa xázəx ʾɛ̀ni qárəm.| qarmáxwala bɛ̀ʾe,| mattə̀xwala.| kút-xa qarə́mwala tré ṭ̰à.| (6) ʾu-ʾánna ʾùrze| šaqlíwa maxíwa hátxa l-ġ̰ðáðe bèta.| y-attə́xwa xamlə̀xwa.| y-oðáxwa ḥàfla.| kúlla raqðìwa,| zamrìwa,| yáʿni kùl-məndi y-oðíwa.| lítwalən qà̱hər,| čú-məndi lítwalən ʾɛ̀-ga.| gu-ʾáθṛət gʸànən| rábəxwa xáðye pṣìxe.| píšəx gòṛe,| plìṭ̰əx mən-ʾáθṛa.|

B16 Life in ʾƐn-Nune (6)

Informant: Siranoš Xaməs (ʾƐn-Nune)

The Festival of 'The Bride of the Ascension'

(1) The Bride of the Ascension[1]—first we would go down to the church. The priest would tell us everything, how you should make the 'bride', adorn her, and go from house to house. We would go back up. After we finished taking communion,[2] we would go back up to our home. (2) Then we would make a young girl the bride of the Ascension. We would make her the bride. We would put on her all kinds of things, as if she were a bride. We would take a girl with us from house to house. (3) Anybody who had money would give (it to her). Anybody who had sweets, would give (them to her), whatever he had, eggs, those red eggs, he would give to her. (4) When we finished with this,[3] we would hang a rope onto a tree, a mulberry tree, and we would swing on it, all of us, from small children to older ones. We would all go and sit and have fun there. We would make food to eat and we drank. Then we returned home.

Easter

(5) On the day of the 'Great Festival' (Easter), we would paint eggs. We young people would go and play in the streets. We would play in the streets. We would put eggs in a shoe. We would put eggs in this shoe of ours. We would play and see who won. We would win them and place them aside. Everybody won two or three. (6) The boys would take them and knock the eggs together. We would sit and have fun. We had a party. They all danced and sang. They did everything. We knew no sadness, we had nothing (to sadden us) at that time. In our own land we were very happy and cheerful. When we grew up, we left the land.

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[1] This festival has been combined with the festival of Ascension 40 days after Easter. It is a memorial for an event that took place in 13th century during the Mongol invasions. When the kingdom of the Assyrian king Šaliṭa was under siege, food for the defending troops was was collected and conveyed to them by young girls.

[2] Literally: We would take communion, we would finish.

[3] Literally: We would go and finish with this.

Ṣawməkka

*(7) la-θéle rēš-ṣàwma?ˡ b-šaqláxwa kúlla ʾamànən,ˡ kùlla b-šaqláxwalaˡ dérəxwa qáṭma mxallə̀xwala.ˡ qə̀ṭma,ˡ ʾáy dax-m-gēb-*Tìde,ˡ *m-gēb-d-ànna məndiyáneˡ là hawéwa l-náše kúlla.ˡ mxallíwala bəd-qə̀ṭma,ˡ d-áyya qáṭmət qèsa.ˡ (8) maqðə̀xwale qésa,ˡ páyəšwa qə̀ṭmaˡ ʾu-xalláxwa ʾamáne bìye.ˡ dɛráxwale gu-mìya,ˡ páyəšwa hàtxaˡ ʾax-jarúṭa hatxanè-wˡ xalláxwa ʾamáne bíye ʾu-hə̀nnaˡ ta-t-y-awéwa ṣàwma.ˡ (9) ʾó-yomət rēš-ṣàwmaˡ jămə̀xwa,ˡ kúlla náše jămìwa,ˡ y-oðíwa xa-ṣawmə̀kka.ˡ malušíwale júlle ʾatìqe.ˡ y-oðíwa xá-mdi hátxa gu-rèše.ˡ ʾu-y-azíwa zavrìwa.ˡ (10) ṣawmákka náša fă̈qìra-wewa,ˡ y-oðə́xwale júlle nc̈ìle kúlla.ˡ kúlley júlle díye y-áwa nc̈ìle.ˡ ʾu-kasə́xwala pàθe,ˡ šoqə́xwa xánc̈i hàtxa.ˡ marəqðə̀xwale.ˡ marəqðìwalè,ˡ ta-t-náše yawíwale yabìše,ˡ gòze.ˡ šalqə́xwa məndiyàne,ˡ yawíwa kút-xa b-dɛríwa gu-ʾamàna.ˡ nablíwala l-béθa ta-ṯ̂-axlìla.ˡ (11) nablíwale l-béθa l-bèθa,ˡ marəqðìwale.ˡ zamríwa bìye,ˡ l-béθa l-béθa l-béθa l-bèθaˡ hal-ʾaṣə́rta parqə̀xwa.ˡ parqə́xwa ʾu-kút-xa y-azə́lwa béθe dìye-w.ˡ ṣɛmə̀xwa,ˡ béna le-y-axláxwa c̆ù-məndiˡ mən-zóre hal-gòṛe.ˡ (12) kúllən y-axláxwa məndiyánət gəllàle.ˡ là y-axláxwaˡ mə́ndi la-bàsra,ˡ la-mə́šxa hòr,ˡ la-bè'e,ˡ la-c̆ù-məndi,ˡ xamšî yománe.ˡ hal-díya hóla gu-móxən ʾáyya ʾáxni.ˡ ʾən-la-ṣɛmáxla mə̆̀rəx.ˡ ʾáxni gòṛe,ˡ bas-ʾánna bnóne zòreˡ hadíya lèla ṣyáməlla ʾáni.ˡ*

Miθəkka

(13) y-aθéwa ʾéða zòraˡ ʾáp-ʾay hàdəx y-oðíwa.ˡ y-óðəxwale miθə̀kka.ˡ kásəxwala pàθe,ˡ mṭaš̆əxwale.ˡ ʾaw-là zamráxwa bíye.ˡ bas-mṭaš̆ìwale-wˡ ʾu-nablíwale kəs-náše hatxanè,ˡ xazìwale,ˡ ʾáp-ʾaw yawíwale məndiyàne.ˡ ʾánna yále zòreˡ kúlla npíle bar-ġðàðe.ˡ ʾi-šaqlíwa mə̀ndi,ˡ ʾu-y-azíwa y-atwíwa xàla.ˡ (14) miθə́kka ʾáp-ʾay ṣɛmáxla ʾəsri-w-xamšà yóme.ˡ ʾáp-ʾay le-y-axláxwa hìc̆-məndi,ˡ bas-gəllàle-wˡ mə́ndi šlìqa.ˡ mən-yále zóre hal-gòṛe,ˡ kúlla lé-y ʾoðíwa ʾixàla.ˡ

Ṣawməkka

(7) When the beginning of the (Lent) fast came, we would take all our vessels, we would take them all and put ash on them to clean them. The ash was instead of (the detergent) 'Tide', instead of such things, which not everybody had. They would wash with ash, wood ash. (8) We would burn wood, it became ash and we would wash vessels with it. We put it in water and it became slippery like this, and we would wash vessels in it and so forth, until it was the fast. (9) On the day of the beginning of the fast we gathered together, everybody gathered together and made a *ṣawməkka*. They dressed it with old clothes. They put a thing like this on top of it. Then they would go around with it. (10) The *ṣawməkka* was a poor man. We made for him ragged clothes. All his clothes were ragged. We would cover his face and left a little (space for him to look out) like this. Then we made him dance. They made him dance so that people would give him raisins, walnuts. We would boil things. Everybody would give (something) and put it in the vessel. They would take (these things) home to eat them. (11) They took him from house to house, they made him dance. They sang to him, from house, to house, to house, to house, until in the evening we finished. After we finished, everybody went to their house. We fasted, we did not eat anything, from small (children) to older people. (12) We all ate vegetarian things, we did not eat anything with either meat or fat, not eggs, nothing, for fifty days. Until now this has remained in our memory. (People said) If we do not fast, we shall become ill. We older ones (still fast), but these young children now do not fast.

Miθəkka

(13) When the Minor Festival (Christmas) came, this was similar. We would make a *miθəkka*. We would cover his face and hide him. We did not sing to him, but rather they hid him and took him to people, like this. When they saw him, they would give him things. All the young children followed each other. They took something and went and sat down to eat it. (14) (This was) the *miθəkka*—They would fast also (during) this festival, (they would fast) for twenty-five days. Also in this (festival) we would not eat anything, only vegetables and boiled food. Young children and adults. Nobody made food.

The Rogation of the Ninevites

(15) báwθə Ninɪwàye| ʾáp-ʾay ʾìtwa.| ṣɛmìla.| ṯ-ámri díge-w kθàye| ʾáp ʾan-zóre xtàye.| ʾàp-ʾay| kùlley| y-azìwa| ṯ-oðìwala| ṣɛmìwala.| ṭḷa-yománe hìč mə́ndi ʾap-míya là šatíwa,| léle-w yòma,| ṭḷa-yomàne.| (16) kúlla náše gòṛe,| yómət ṭḷà,| sáʾət ʾàrba| ṯ-oðíwa qurbàna.| qurbána mattíwa gu-pummèy.| y-axlìwa-w| y-asqíwa ṭḷa-yománe hìč mə́ndi lé y-axlíwa.| (17) ʾu-palxíwa šùla,| y-azíwa zrà'a,| y-azíwa xzàda,| y-azíwa mɛθóye mə́ndi ta-bèθa| ʾáni ṣìme.| ʾítwalən ʾárwe-w tàwre| y-azíwa y-oðíwala ʾixàla,| mɛθìwa,| ʾáni ṣìme kúlla náše.|

Girls' Sunday

(18) qam-ṣàwma| ʾíθ xošébə bnàθa.| bnáθa kúlla bṯ-azíwa bèθa,| b-šaqlíwa ʾixála mən-d-áwwa d-áwwa d-àwwa,| ṯ-azíwa gu-xa-ṭùra,| ṯ-atwìwa,| ṯ-axlìwa,| b-šatìwa.| ʾu-ʾánna náše gòṛe,| kút-xa ṯ-íla bráte díye gwìrta| čedìwala| mɛθíwala l-bèθa,| ta-ṯ-axlíwa mə̀-ġðaðə,| kúlla fámily *m-ġðáðe ṯ-axlìwala.| (19) ʾu-ʾánna xéne zòre| y-azíwa gu-ṭùra| ʾu-y-oðə́xwa nùra,| mɛθə́xwa qése ʾu-məndiyàne.| y-oðə́xwa núra ʾu-bašlə̀xwa.| bašlə́xwa ṛə́zza ʾu-dɛrə́xwa bàsra gáwe.| kút-xa mɛθéwa xánčı bàsra.| dérəxwa kùt-xa,| páyəšwa ràba yáʿni.| dérəxwa quṣárta góṛta bašlə̀xwa,| y-axlə̀xwa,| parqə̀xwa-w| y-ázəxwa bèθa.| ʾáyya t-xošébə bnàθa.|*

The Festival of the Cross

(20) ʾéðə ṣlìwa.| ʾáp-ʾaw ʾéðə ṣlìwa,| kúlla náše yómət ʾéðə ṣlíwa jămìwa,| y-ásqiwa l-ʾùmra| ʾu-y-aθéwa mbašlìwa,| y-oðíwa duxràna.| duxràna.| ʾíθwalən xa-túθa čùwa,| bašlíwa duxràna,| kút-xa quṣárte dìye| gu-ʾamàna dériwala quṣárta.| (21) y-oðíwa bušàla,| bušálət màsta.| dɛríwa màšxa gáwa hór,| napòxta,| gə̀rðo y-amríla.| ʾáy šə́mma gə̀rðole.| šaqlìwala,| ʾu-masqìwala.| ʾítlən xa-túθa čuwa gòṛa.| kúlla náše jămíwa tàma.| raqðìwa,| zamrìwa,| máxiwa dáwla-w zòrna.|

The Rogation of the Ninevites

(15) The Rogation of the Ninevites was also observed (in our community). They would fast during it. They would say 'The cocks and the chickens, and also the small lowly creatues (should observe the fast)'. Everybody went and observed it and fasted. For three days, nothing, they did not drink even water, night and day, for three days. (16) All the older people, on the third day, at four o'clock, would take communion. They would put the communion (host) in their mouth. They would eat then go up and for three days they would eat nothing. (17) They would work, go to cultivate (the fields), go to harvest, go and bring things for the house, while they were fasting. We had sheep and oxen. People went to give them food and bring (them back), while they all were fasting.

Girls' Sunday

(18) Before the fast (of Lent) was Girls' Sunday. All the girls went home, took food from here and from there, then went to the mountains, where they sat, ate and drank. The older people, everybody whose daughter was married,—they would invite her and bring her to the house, so that they would eat together. All the family ate together. (19) The other younger people went to the mountains. We made a fire, we brought wood and things. We made a fire and cooked. We cooked rice, we put meat in it. Everybody brought a little meat. We all contributed a little, and it became a big (feast). We set up a big pan and cooked. We ate, then, when we finished, we went home. This is (the festival) of Girls' Sunday.

The Festival of the Cross

(20) The Festival of the Cross. Also on the Festival of the Cross, all the people on the day of the Festival of the Cross would gather together and go up to the church, then came back and cooked and made a memorial. A memorial. We had a smooth mulberry tree. They would cook a memorial (meal), everybody in his own pan, in a vessel, which they would put out, a pan. (21) They would make stew, yoghurt stew. They would put oil in it and syrup. It was called *gərðo*. Its name is *gərðo*. They would take it up. We had a large smooth mulberry tree. All the people gathered there. They danced, they sang, they played the drum and pipe.

(22) yáʿni lá mtaxámniwa b-čú-məndi gu-d-áyya dúnye mòdi,ˈ yáʿni mòdila.ˈ líθwaləәn yáʿni taxmànta ˈ ta-taxəmnəxwa.ˈ kút-xa y-azálwa paləxwa,ˈ ʾaṣərta y-aθéwa bèθa.ˈ ʾéðə ṣlíwa y-oðəxwale,ˈ ʾo-yóma xà-yoma,ˈ ʾítlən təltàssər b-yérxa.ˈ ʾó-yoma ʾéðə ṣlíwa dìyən.ˈ

The gayasa

(23) geyàsa,ˈ kúlla b-ṣalìwa.ˈ ʾítwala šəmmánət mìθe,ˈ matəxrìwala.ˈ náše mìθeˈ kút-xa ʾítle xəzmáne matxərre šəmme.ˈ ʾu-yawálwa zùze.ˈ ʾíθwa xa-qésət xáṭṭe romàye,ˈ y-oðíwala rìxa,ˈ m-áxxa l-d-a-gōt-hòdəx.ˈ bəlloryàθa,ˈ xa-zàla y-amríle,ˈ zála gòṛa y-áwe.ˈ rába rayəxwa.ˈ (24) šaqlìwaleˈ ʾu-y-oðíwale ṭla-ʾàrba,ˈ máxi ʾánna pùnde bíye.ˈ maxíwale b-réšət nàše,ˈ kúlla ʾáni là mbarxíwalɛ qáša-w šamàša?ˈ kúlla mbarxiwalɛ̀,ˈ… réšən măkípəxwala hàtxa,ˈ maxéwala gu-rèšən,ˈ qa-t-péšəxwa rìxe,ˈ hátxa múrəlla gu-mòxən,ˈ qa-t-péšəxwa rìxe.ˈ kút-xa ta-gàne,ˈ hátxa taqálwale gàne,ˈ yáʿni qa-t-qáyəθwa gu-rèše.ˈ qa-t-péšəxwa rìxe,ˈ háwnən hátxa măləpíwaləәn ʾawáhe dìyən.ˈ y-ámri

> *Tətəs b-mšixa qrele*
> *hewiye-w sawre drele*
> *m-marən xawre wele*

ʾɛ-dána máxi geyàsa.ˈ ʾáyya y-ámərra qàša,ˈ y-amárra ʾu-máxe gu-rèšən.ˈ qa-d-páθəx tx̌árət pərdèsa,ˈqa-ṯ-áwri suràye.ˈ wíre gu-móxən hátxa mìrəlla,ˈ m-o—zóna hal-dìya.ˈ

Cheese

(25) gùpta.ˈ méθiwala xəlya.ˈ xàlwaˈ mɛθiwále.ˈ marìwale.ˈ ʾíθwa xúmṣət gùpta,ˈ dɛríwale gàwa.ˈ mattìwalaˈ qàlibe,ˈ qàlibe.ˈ kùlla y-oðíwala,ˈ kut-qálib xòðe.ˈ méθiwa xəlya,ˈ xa-gúða ṃəlya,ˈ xəlya.ˈ ʾu-b-dɛríwala gu-d-án qalìbe,ˈ ʾu-dériwa m-d-é marèθa,ˈ yə́mmət marèθa,ˈ kúlla píše qalíbe hátxa t-gùpta.ˈ

(22) We had no care about anything in the world.[4] We had no thought to think. Everybody went to work and returned home in the evening. We held the Festival of the Cross. This was one day, we (hold it) on the thirteenth of the month (of September). That day is the Festival of the Cross in our community.

The Gayasa

(23) The *gayasa*—everybody would go down. They commemorated the names of their dead. The dead people, each had relatives whose name he would commemorate. They would give money. There was a cane of maize, which they made long, from here to that place over there. Pipes, they called it a reed, a reed. It was big. It was very long. (24) They took it and put three or four wicks on it. They tapped it on the head of people, while the priest and the deacon blessed them all. They blessed them all. We would lower our head like this, and they tapped it on our head, so that we would become tall—they put such (an idea) into our heads—so that we would become tall. Everybody stood up straight, so that it would tap on his head, so that we would become tall—our parents taught us in that way. They say:

> Titus[5] called the Messiah
> He put his hope and trust (in Jesus to be saved)
> He has become the friend of our Lord

Then they knock the *geyasa* stick (on our heads). The priest says this. He says it and knocks (the stick) on our head, so that the door of paradise opens, so that Christians enter. Such things as this that they said have stayed in our minds from then until now.

Cheese

(25) Cheese—they would bring milk, they would bring curds. They would put rennet into it. There was a sour (remainder) of cheese, which they put in it. They put it out in molds. They would make them all, each mould by itself. They would bring milk and (have) a full churn, milk. They would put it in those moulds. They would add some of the rennet, original rennet. They would all turn into cheese moulds.

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[4] Literally: We did not think about anything in this world what, that is what it is.

[5] The robber on the right side, who believed in Jesus, whereas the one of the left side Dumachus, did not believe.

(26) šaqlə̀xwala gúpta.ˈ ʾíθwa xa-gə̀llaˈ šə́mme hàšyaˈ ʾu-xa-xéna sə̀rmo.ˈ sə̀rmoˈ ʾu-hàšyaˈ gu-ṭùra mɛθíwale.ˈ mparətxə̀xwale,ˈ dɛrə́xwale gu-d-o-gùpta.ˈ y-amrə́xwale jàjək.ˈ ʾáw jàjək y-amrəxwalé.ˈ ʾu-zabníwa ta-nàše,ˈ ʾo-t-wéwa zangìne.ˈ zabníwa ta-nàšeˈ ʾu-xámka páyəš ta-gʸána y-axlìwa.ˈ

Winter

(27) ʾu-t̂-aθéwa sətwa,ˈ zónəxwa ʾərwe,ˈ xámša réše ʾərwe,ˈ hànna.ˈ ʾə́rwe zonə̀xwalaˈ ʾu-pɛrmə̀xwa.ˈ y-óðəxwa qàlya,ˈ qálya gu-ʾánna tannə̀kkeˈ qa-sətwaˈ kúlla sə́twa t̂-awəxwa xàla.ˈ lá-mṣəxwa t̂-óðəxwa čú-mdi qam-tàlga.ˈ ma-t-y-aθéwa tàlga,ˈ y-aθèwa,ˈ lá-mṣiwa ʾàp-ʾaxxa palṭíwa.ˈ t̂-attə́xwa béna gu-bèθa.ˈ (28) ʾítwalən pràge,ˈ ʾána ʾáp-prage wìðtən,ˈ ʾána-w yə́mmi mšarqòṭəlla,ˈ kúlla bəd-ʾìðaˈ šqàləllaˈ bəd-skìnta.ˈ dɛrə́xwala gu-hə́nna hàtxa,ˈ mɛθə́xwala tàwre,ˈ dɛrə́xwala rèša.ˈ kúlla-hatxa dorìwala.ˈ doriwalà,ˈ pə́šiwa pràge.ˈ dɛríwala y-oðíwala tàmməz,ˈ nablíwala l-bèθa.ˈ ta-kθayàθa.ˈ garsíwa y-oðíwa hánna mànnaˈ čiče.ˈ (29) ʾu-ʾítwalən ʾan-məndiyáne xène t-y-oðə́xwaˈ ʾáwwa màše.ˈ dɛrə́xwa màše.ˈ mɛθə́xwala màše.ˈ mtămázəxwale ʾàp-ʾaw,ˈ méθəxwa l-bèθa.ˈ ta-sətwa,ˈ kúlla ʾáyya b-sətwa.ˈ ṃaḷəxwale béθa.ˈ b-sə́twa y-azə́xwa dɛrə̀xwaleˈ mbašlə̀xwale.ˈ (30) ʾíθwa xa-mə́ndi rayə́mwa rèše,ˈ y-amrə́xxa šəllòxta.ˈ ʾɛ-šəllóxte díye šaqlə̀xwalaˈ páyəšwa máša xwàra.ˈ ʾu-dɛrə́xwa rə̀zza gáweˈ y-axlə̀xwala.ˈ ʾàp-ʾay,ˈ rába basìma-wewa ʾáp-ʾaw.ˈ

(26) We would take the cheese. There was a herb that we called *hašya* and another *sərmo*. They brought *sərmo* and *hašya* from the mountains. We crushed it and put it in the cheese. We called it *jajək*. We called it *jajək*. They sold it to people who were rich. They sold it to people and some remained for themselves to eat.

Winter

(27) When winter came, we bought sheep, five head of sheep or so. We would buy sheep and slaughter them. We would make *qalya* (and put it) in tins for the winter, which we would eat all the winter. We could not do anything on account of the winter. So much snow fell that people could not go out even to here. We sat in the house. (28) We had millet. I made also millet, I and my mother, by threshing it, all by hand, then taking it with a knife. We would scatter it on something like this, we would bring oxen, we would scatter it over it, and they would thresh all of it. They would thresh it and it would become millet. They put it out and cleaned it, then took it home. (It was given) to the hens. They ground it and made it into something—*čiče*.[6] (29) We had other things that we made, black lentils. We would serve black lentils. We brought black lentils, we cleaned them and brought them home. This was all for the winter. We filled the house. In winter we went and put them out and cooked them. (30) There was something that covered them, which we call the 'husk'. We removed this husk and the lentils become white. We put rice in it and ate it. This also was very tasty.

[6] Millet cooked in yoghurt.

B17 The Mysterious Priest in Ṭiyare

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) hadíya mtánəx xa-qàṣṣət¹ ṯ-íla wíta gu-Ṭiyàre¹ qám-plaša qamàya,¹ yáʿni qám-šetət ʾálpa-w ʾəčč́á-mma w-arbàssər.¹ náše díyən gu-Tùrkiya,¹ gu-Ṭiyàre.¹ xa-qàša,¹ júllət qàšəlle-w¹ dáqne díye ʾax-d-o-t-qàša,¹ síqɛle gu-xa-màθa¹ t-suràye,¹ t-ṭiyaràye.¹ máty ɛle ʾaṣárta gu-gnéθət yòma.¹ (2) zílɛle gu-xa-bèθa,¹ dáryəlle šláma l-xa-báxta tàma¹ mbašòle.¹ ʾíθwala xa-bróna zòra.¹ ʾu-ʾɛ-bàxta¹ ʾímə ṯ-íla xzíθəlle ʾáwwa júllət qàša ʾólle díye¹ ʾu-dáqne dìye,¹ zìlta¹ nšìqtəlla ʾíðe díye,¹ dwíqtɛla qàdre.¹ muθéθəlle xa-ṭaṭìya,¹ dríθəlle l-ʾǎra.¹ muθéθəlle barəšta bar-xàṣe.¹ dwìqtɛla qádre dìye.¹ (3) móra tu-tìwa.¹ móre kéle gàwṛəx.?¹ móra gáwṛi hóle plàxa.¹ díya bṯ-àθe.¹ qáša tíwle spàra-w¹ qìmɛle¹ ʾaw-yalúnka zòra¹ kùvi-wewa.¹ lé-y-aθewa kəs-čù-naša¹ ʾəlla gu-qáplət bábe.¹ (4) qáša qəm-šaḏəlle-w¹ mṣowátle mànne-w¹ ʾu-xkíkle mànne-w¹ qəm-maθéle qəm-mattúle gu-xáne dìye,¹ gu-qáple mšadòləlle,¹ mṣawóθe mánne dìye,¹ ʾo-yalúnka zòra.¹ (5) márət bèθa¹ ʾímət θèle,¹ qəm-xazéle brōn-dìye¹ gu-qáple mšadòləlle-w¹ ʾu-brōn-díye hádəx píša šèna mánne díye.¹ móre ṭla-bàxta,¹ ʾáwwa mòdile.?¹ ʾáwwa rábi qàšɛle¹ háyyo nšùqla ʾíðe díye.¹ móre là¹ ʾáwwa lèle qáša.¹ ʾáwwa saṭànɛle,¹ ʾáwwa dáqne kúlla ṃálya saṭàne.¹ (6) qíma dwìqəlle qáša¹ ʾu-múrəlle gu-gòma¹ xlíqle tǎ́ra báθre dìye.¹ zílɛle mɛθóye qèse¹ ṭla-t-maxèle qáša.¹ báxta zdìla,¹ nxìpla.¹ qímla qréla b-šwàwe.¹ zílla móra ṭla-ráyyəs-t màθa¹ ʾu-θèla.¹ (7) móra ṭla-mùt mxáyəlle qáša.?¹ móre ʾáwwa lèle qáša.¹ dùglɛle.¹ ʾàwwa¹ kúlla ʾaw-dáqne díye málya saṭàne.¹ ʾáwwa lèle qáša.¹ wa-l-ḥáṣəl móra ʾáwwa šeðànɛle.¹ qémi mpalṭìle qáša¹ ʾu-nablíle be-ràyyəs.¹ (8) ʾu-tàma¹ qəm-dawqíle qádre dìye¹ ʾu-xìlle.¹ dártət-yoma qímle rìqle,¹ zílle m-gu-d-ɛ-màθa.¹ ʾu-zílle lèðəx léka zílle.¹ ʾámri ʾáwwa Namùdko¹ šeðànɛle.¹ m-hàdəx-wewa wáða hatxàne.¹

(9) zílla xà-šeta-w,¹ tré ʾu-ṭìàθa.¹ mšoréle plàša¹ qamàya.¹ ʾímən t-mšoréle plàša,¹ Ṭiyaráye ʾáp-ʾani qímla rìqla¹ zílla l-ʾÙrmi.¹ zílla l-ʾÙrmi,¹ ʾu-šétət šwàssər¹ klèle pláša,¹ prìqle.¹ ʾəngləznáye wírra gu-ʾIrǎn,¹ síqla mṭéla l-málla dìyən.¹ (10) qəm-xazíla málla díyən hálbat snìqe-wɛwa.¹ yawíwala ʾarzà̀q,¹ ləxma,¹ ʾu-samùne,¹ yawíwala čày,¹ ʾarzà̀q.¹ ʾè-ga¹ náše hóla zíne sàrra,¹ xá bar-d-o-xèna,¹ θáya šqála ʾarzǎ́q ʾu-zàla.¹

B17 The Mysterious Priest in Ṭiyare

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) Now I shall tell you a story that happened in Ṭiyare before the First World War, that is before the year 1914. Our people were in Turkey, in Ṭiyare. A priest, (a man) who had on the clothes of a priest and whose beard was like that of a priest, went up to a village of Christians from Ṭiyare. He arrived in the evening as the sun was setting. (2) He went to a house and greeted a woman who was there cooking. She had a young son. When the woman saw the priest's clothes on him and his beard, she went and kissed his hand, and showed him reverence. She brought a woollen mat and put it on the ground. She brought a pillow (to put) behind his back. She showed him reverence. (3) She said 'Sit down'. He said 'Where is your husband?' She said 'He is working. He will be coming back right now. The priest sat waiting. The young child was shy. He did not go to anybody unless (he was) in the arms of his father. (4) The priest sang him a lullaby, talked to him and laughed with him. He brought the young child and put him on his lap, singing lullabies to him in his arms, talking to him. (5) When the master of the house came back, he saw his son in his arms, while he was singing him lullabies and his son had become at ease with him. He said to his wife 'What is he?' 'He is a priest. Come kiss his hand'. He said 'No. This is not a priest. This is a demon. His beard is full of demons'. (6) He seized the priest and put him into the basement stable. He locked the door after him. He then went off to fetch wood with which to beat the priest. The woman was afraid and was ashamed. She called the neighbours. She went and told the head of the village and they came. (7) They said 'Why are you beating the priest?' He said 'He is not a priest. It is a lie. All of this beard of his is full of demons. He is not a priest'. In the end they said that he (the householder) was mad. They rescued the priest and took him to the house of the village head. (8) There they showed him reverence and he ate. The next day he fled. He went from the village and went to we know not where. They said this Namudko (the householder) is mad. That is why he was behaving in this way.

(9) A year went by, two, three. The First (World) War began. When the war began, also the people of Ṭiyare fled and went to Urmi. They went to Urmi and in the year (19)17, the war stopped, it finished. The English entered Iran and came to our community. (10) They found that our community was very needy. They gave them supplies, bread, loaves, they gave them tea, supplies. At that time the people were standing (waiting their) turn, one after another, coming to take their supplies and going away.

(11) xákma dubbā́ṭ ʾəngləznáye hola-zíne tàma,ˈ wáðəlla ʾədàra,ˈ yáʿni ʾáni mára mpə̀lòla.ˈ θéle ʾó-naša t-wéwa píša qáša ʾárxe dìye,ˈ ʾáwwa Namùdko šə́mme díye.ˈ mṭéla sə́rrə d-áw ṭla-t-šàqəl.ˈ (12) xá-ðabəṭ ʾəngləznáya ṯ́-ítwale ṭlà kə́xweˈ qəm-xazèleˈ qəm-yáðèle.ˈ máre ʾàtiˈ là-hallule ʾáwwa náša,ˈ là-hallule.ˈ ʾáti kli-tămáha xaràya.ˈ párqi kúlla xaràye.ˈ ʾáwwa zdìleˈ máre ʾána mòdin wíða.ʔˈ m-èka yăðéli ʾáwwa ðàbəṭˈ ṯ́-ile-mára ṭláli ʾáti lá-šaqlət ʾarzā́qˈ kli-xaràya.ˈ (13) píšle mtaxmóne hátxa gu-xəyále dìye.ˈ zílle kléle xóðe tămàha.ˈ har-hóle xyára b-ó-ðabət ʾəngləznàya.ˈ hóle zdàʾa.ˈ máre mòdi qə́ṣṣət.ʔˈ bar-príqla kúlla náše šqílla ʾarzə̀q,ˈ qréle ʾo-ʾəngləznàyaˈ Namùdko,ˈ màreˈ hàyyo,ˈ ʾáp-ʾati šqùl.ˈ háy làxxa.ˈ (14) máre làt ðáʾəlli.ˈ máre là,ˈ lan-ðàʾəllux.ˈ máre də-xúr-biyi tàzaˈ xázəx làt xə́zyəlli ču-gà.ʔˈ máre là,ˈ làn-ðaʾəllux ʾána.ˈ bas-ʾáwwa qàluxˈ hon-šə̄myəlleˈ bas-là-yăðən ʾíma.ʔˈ máre ʾána yā́ðət ʾèniwən.ʔˈ máre là.ˈ (15) máre ʾána ʾo-xà qášaˈ ṯ́-ín ʾə́θya gu-Ṭiyàre,ˈ qəm-doqátli xošátli gu-gòma.ˈ qímlux mxàyəlli.ˈ márux ʾáwwa saṭànɛleˈ lèle qáša.ˈ ʾu-báxtux qímla ṣràxa bíyux,ˈ ʾu-qréla b-nàšeˈ θéla qəm-mparqíli m-gu-ʾiθàθux.ˈ (16) máre ʾána ʾò-qaša.ˈ dū̀s-itwaˈ ʾána saṭànənwa.ˈ ʾána jàsūs-inwa ʾé-ga,ˈ jásūs ʾəngləznàya.ˈ hóla xzáyətla ʾánna kə́xwe b-rəš-rùši.ˈ ʾànaˈ ʾíwənwa jásūs ʾáθya tàma.ˈ ʾən-háwɛ ʾəṣrà ṭiyáre xéneˈ ʾaxwáθux hawnàne,ˈ la-maṭétuwa l-àwwa láxma,ˈ ʾu-ʾattítuwa láxxa pɛšítuwa hátxa snìqe.ˈ ʾína ṭiyaráye ʾáp-xa mánna lìθwale háwna.ˈ ʾu-qímɛ híwəlle ʾarzə̀q.ˈ máre hállule ʾarzə̀qˈ ʾu-ʾáp-ʾawwa ṯ́-àzəlˈ hállule bìš-zawda mən-kúlla náše.ˈ

(11) Some English officers were standing there, doing administration, that is they were saying 'Distribute it!'. The man whose guest the priest had been approached. His name was Namudko. His turn came to take (supplies). (12) An English officer who had two stars[1] saw him and recognized him. He said 'You—Don't give to this man, don't give to him! You stand over there in last place. All the others will finish before you'.[2] He was afraid. He said 'What have I done? Where does he know me from, that officer who says to me not to take provisions and stand in last place?' (13) He thought about it to himself.[3] He went to stand alone far away. He kept looking at that English officer. He was afraid. He said 'What is it all about?' After all the people had finished taking provisions, the Englishman called Namudko, he said 'Come, also you take. Come here'. (14) He said 'Don't you know me?' He said 'No. I don't know you'. He said 'Look at me well. Have you never seen me?' He said 'No. I don't know you. But I have heard that voice of yours, but I don't know when.' He said 'Do you know who I am?' He said 'No'. (15) He said 'I am that priest who came to Ṭiyare, whom you seized and confined in the basement stable. You beat me and said 'He is a demon, not a priest'. Your wife started screaming at you and called people, who came and rescued me from your hands'. (16) He said 'I am that priest. You were right. I was a demon. I was a spy then, an English spy. Look you can see these stars on my shoulder. I was a spy who came there. If ten other men from Ṭiyare were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this miserable condition,[4] you would not be sitting here and have become so poor.

[1] I.e. a captain.
[2] Literally: All the last ones will finish.
[3] Literally: in his mind.
[4] Literally: this bread.

B18 The Church of Čallɜk

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) ʾíθ xá-maθa gu-Bàrwər| šə́mma Čàllək.| ʾíθ xa-ʾùmra| y-amríle Mar-Mùše.| ʾíθwa kočarnáyət qurðàye| ʾánna ʾi-ṣáli dàšta| šaxínta háwi b-sàtwa| ʾímə ṯ-áwe qárθa gu-ṭuràne.| ʾu-ʾímə ṯ-áwe qèṭa,| bɛhèr,| masqíwa ʾərwèy| masàyəf | gu-ṭuràne,| y-amríla zawzàne.| (2) béna y-àθi| góta góta d-è-maθa,| ʾi-pɛ́ši ʾárxe d-è-maθa.| ʾərwéy masqíla l-gárət ʾùmra.| sab-gárət ʾúmra l-báθre díye mṭíθɛla l-ṭùra,| hátxa ramànɛle ṭúra.| ʾu-gárət ʾúmra hàtxɛle.| y-áθi ṣàli,|—yáʿni máṣe náša ṯ-ásəq l-gáre b-sănàyi| mɛθɛ-ʾərwèy| masqìla l-gáre.| (3) nášət máθa kázi yába lá-masqula ʾərwéxu l-gárət ʾùmra.| xṭìθɛla.| ʾáni qurðàyela,| xɛlànela.| ʾu-nášət máθa ṣàdwala mənnéy.| y-ámri lá-ʾaxxa ṯ-àwa.| (4) béna tíwe gu-béθa b-lèle nášət máθa,| júmye hàtxa,| xá məre| Mar-Múše bə́ye mʿayòne,| yáʿni bə́ye mhayòre.| ʾən-lá hɛrəxle,| ʾánna qurðáye kút-yum hàtxa ṯ-óði.| mə́ra máṭo mhɛrəxle,| mhɛrə́xle Mar-Mùše?| mə́re klò| šúqula ʾay-xàmmi.|

(5) qímɛle zìlɛle| múθya xákma gə̀lde,| síṛəlla b-gàne.| wíðəlla gān-díye ʾax-də̀bba,| ʾò-naša.| lèle-wewa,| xùya.| síqɛle hédi hédi hèdi,| m-báθrət ʾùmra.| ʾə́θyɛle gàre| gu-d-án-ʾə̀rwe| ʾu-zílɛle ʾu-ṣrìxɛle| wíðɛle hó hátxa ʾax-də̀bba.| (6) ʾə́rwe čfile zdìyela.| rìqela,| ṣə̀lyela| swánət ʾúmra la-qámθa díya ràmta-wawa.| pálgə d-an-ʾə́rwe zə̀dyela ganéy táma.| kúlla twìre qðaléy,| mìθela.| mìθela,| ʾáwwa rìqɛle,| ṣə́lyɛle mṭùšyəlla gáne.| (7) qímela mbádla nàše| ʾan-marăwáθa ʾína ʾərwéy kúlla npíle twíra qðalèy.| qìme| qráya b-nàše| ʾáyya mòdila?| mə́ra la-mə̀rən-əllɛxu?| ʾo-Mar-Mùše| xɛlànɛle,| maxèlɛxu,| xṭìθɛla.| lá-masqu l-gárət ʾùmra.| m-gu-gárət ʾúmra hóla náblula tămáha rə̀ḥqa.| ṭla-mótu mɛθóyəlla gárət ʾùmra?| ʾáwwa Màr-Múše qəm-mayéla ʾáyya biyéxu.|

B18 The Church of Čallǝk

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune)

(1) There is a village in Barwar call Čallək, where there is a church called Mar Muše. There were Kurdish nomads, who went down to the plain to be warm in Winter, when it was cold in the mountains. When it was Summer and Spring, they would bring their sheep up to the summer pastures in the mountains, which are called *zawzane*. (2) So, they would come alongside that village and become guests of the village. They would take their sheep onto the roof of the church. This was because the roof of the church at its back extended to the mountain, so high was the mountain. The roof of the church was like that. They would come and go down (the mountain),—a person could easily go onto the roof—bring their sheep and take them onto the roof. (3) The people of the village tried (remonstrating with them saying) 'Don't take your sheep up onto the roof of the church. It is a sin'. They were Kurds. They were tough. The people of the village were afraid of them. They said 'We don't want them here'.[1] (4) Now, the people of the village sat in a house at night, gathered together, and one said 'Saint Muše needs help, he needs help. If we do not help him, the Kurds will do this every day'. They said 'How will we help him, help Saint Muše?' He said 'Leave that to me'.[2]

(5) He went and brought some skins and tied them on himself. The man made himself like a bear. It was night and it was dark. He slowly went up from behind the church. He came onto the roof among the sheep and went along shouting, behaving just like a bear. (6) The sheep were startled and were afraid. They ran and went down over the eaves of the church, the front of which was high. Half of the sheep threw themselves there. They all broke their necks and died. They died, while he fled, went down and hid himself. (7) In the morning the people got up, the owners (of the sheep) saw that they had all fallen and broken their necks. They called to the people 'What is this?' They said 'Didn't we tell you? Saint Muše is strong. He will strike you. It is a sin. Don't take them onto the roof. Take them far away from the roof of the church. Why do you bring them on the roof of the church? St. Muše has brought this upon you'.

[1] Literally: Let them not be here.
[2] Literally: Stop, leave it, that is my concern.

(8) ʾánna zdìla| qíme híwe hădíya ṭla-ʾúmra tré rēš-ʾərwe.| m-táma hòdəx| qal-bíwa m-zawzáne ṣláya l-dàšta| tré reše-ʾərwa yawìwala.| y-atwìwa| xá-ga xéta sàqa| l-zawzàne,| mɛθέwa tré rēš-ʾərwe yawíwala hădíya ṭla-ʾùmra.| ʾu-ʾáni y-azíwa nablíwa ʾərwey tămàha rəḥqa.| lá ṣabríwa ṯ-aθέwa l-gárət ʾùmra.|

(8) They were afraid and gave a gift to the church of two head of sheep. From then on, when they came down to the plain returning from the summer pastures, they would give two head of sheep. They would dwell (in the plain) and then again go up to the summer pastures and give a gift of two head of sheep to the church, but they would take their sheep far away, since they did not dare come onto the roof of the church.

B19 Rašid Bek

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) ʾíθwa xa-ʾáġa gu-Bèrwər,ˈ šə́mme Rašȉd-bek.ˈ ʾáwwa wídle fă̈sadúθa bə́n ʾaturàyeˈ ʾu-bə́n barzanàye.ˈ ʾimət-ʾaθíwa barzanáye kàsle,ˈ y-ámər ʾaturáye hóla yámye b-rešèxu.ˈ ʾímət ʾaθìwaˈ barzanàye,ˈ ʾáwwa y-amə̀rwaˈ ʾaturáye bə̆̀yi qaṭlìlɛxu.ˈ (2) píšla dəžmə̀nne,ˈ ʾu-ʾáni là-xəzye ġðáðe,ˈ ʾu-là-mṣuθe hátxa mə́ndi.ˈ Rašȉd-bek mə̀reˈ ʾaθétu tráθnɛ jwìneˈ kə̀sli,ˈ ʾə́mma gúṛe mən-barzanàyeˈ ʾu-ʾə́mma gúre mən-ṭiyaràye.ˈ (3) ʾáni ṭiyaráye ʾaturàye-wɛwa ʾé-ga,ˈ mən-Tùrki θáya.ˈ sə̀twɛle,ˈ tàlgɛle,ˈ gu-gallíyət Qùmri.ˈ gallíyət Qúmri hàtxɛle,ˈ gallìyɛle,ˈ hátxa réša xtàyɛle.ˈ ʾu-míya ṣáli bíye díye páyəš tàlga.ˈ (4) ʾánna suráye díyən ṭiyaràyeˈ lwíše zargùle,ˈ čerò̀xe.ˈ qurðáye làʾa.ˈ mə́tyela gu-réšə d-ó gallìya.ˈ gallíyət Qùmri y-amríle.ˈ ʾè-gaˈ dəryə́llaˈ ʾar-rȁ̆hanˈ mə́ra xázəx ʾènˈ pálaṭ qamáya.ˈ xa-qurðàyaˈ ʾu-xa-suràya,ˈ xa-qurðàyaˈ ʾu-xa-suràya.ˈ xa-qurðàyaˈ ʾu-xa-suràya,ˈ xa-qurðàyaˈ ʾu-xa-suràya,ˈ ta-ṣáli hátxa b-ò gallíya.ˈ (5) ʾánna dìyənˈ wídla tàgbir.ˈ ʾíθwa xá Pə̀tto-wewa šə́mme.ˈ Pə̀ttoˈ ʾàwˈ gàwṛa.ˈ ʾàw-wewaˈ yáʿniˈ réšət kullèy.ˈ goṛət kùlla-ʾani.ˈ mə̀reˈ ṭla-d-àn-diyən suráye,ˈ mə̀reˈ ʾímə ṣále ʾo-qurðáya qamàyaˈ ʾo-xéna bàθreˈ b-xanjère.ˈ (6) mə̀reˈ kut-dánət príqlən m-rəš-ṭùra,ˈ ʾána dérən tòpe.ˈ ʾu-kút-xa ʾo-t-qáme díye qaṭə̀lle.ˈ mə̀reˈ har-ðìlɛxu príqlən mən-ṭúra,ˈ dérən tòpe,ˈ kút-xa maxèlaˈ xánjər dìye,ˈ ʾo-ṯ́-íle qáme díye qaṭə̀lle.ˈ (7) ʾánna qurðáye barzanàyeˈ ʾáni hóla jràṭa.ˈ ʾu-suráye lèla jráṭaˈ sab-zargùlela lwíše.ˈ ʾánna kút-danət jràṭa,ˈ suráye dwaqə̀lla.ˈ há-ṯ́-ila prìqeˈ ṣə́lyela gu-gallìya-wˈ Pə́tto dóryɛle tòpe.ˈ ʾu-kút-xa ʾo-t-qáme díye qṭìlə̀lle.ˈ (8) ríqɛle xàʾa.ˈ ʾáp-ʾaw kă̆čȁ̆la.ˈ zílɛle l-Barzàne.ˈ ʾán baxtáθa barzanáye mə̀raˈ kèla ʾan-gúṛe xéne?ˈ máre kúlla hóla qṭìle.ˈ bas-ʾànən šríṭa.ˈ

B19 Rašid Bek

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) There was an agha in Barwar whose name was Rašid Bek. He made trouble between the Assyrians and the people of Barzan. When the people of Barzan came to him, he said 'The Assyrians have sworn by your head'.[1] When the people of Barzan came, he said 'The Assyrians want to kill you'. (2) So, they became enemies, although they had not met each other and had not said (to each other) any such a thing. Rašid Bek said 'You, the two sides, should come to me—a hundred men from the people of Barzan and a hundred from the people of Ṭiyare.' (3) Those people of Ṭiyare were Assyrians at that time, who came from Turkey. It was winter and there was snow in the Qumri valley. The Qumri valley is like this, it is a sloping valley. The water flows down it and becomes ice. (4) Those Ṭiyare Christians of ours were wearing sheepskin boots, but the Kurds were not. They reached the top of the valley, called the Qumri valley. Then they made a bet. They said 'Let's see who comes out first.' (They came out), a Kurd then a Christian, a Kurd then a Christian, a Kurd then a Christian, a Kurd then a Christian, (in single file) in order to come down the valley. (5) Our people made a plan. There was somebody whose name was Pətto. Pətto was an elder. He was head of all of them.[2] The leader of all. He said to our Christian people 'When a Kurd goes down first, the one behind him (should stab him) with his dagger'. (6) He said 'When we have finished (coming) over the peak of the mountain, I shall fire a gun and everybody will kill the man in front of him'. He said 'As soon as you know that we have finished (coming over) the mountain, I shall fire a gun and everyone will strike with his dagger and kill the man in front of him'. (7) The Barzan Kurds were slipping, but the Christians were not slipping since they were wearing sheepskin shoes. Each time they slipped, the Christians grabbed them, until when they had finished coming down the valley, Pətto fired his gun, and each one killed the man in front of him. (8) One man ran away. He was bald. He went to Barzan. The Barzan women said 'Where are the other men?' He said 'They have all been killed. Only I have escaped'.

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[1] I.e. They have threatened to kill you.

[2] This can be identified as Peter the king of Lizin in Lower Ṭiyare.

*(9) mə́re kúlla hóla qṭìle.*ˈ *bas-ʾànən šríṭa.*ˈ *ʾap-ʾáw doqíle qaṭlíle b-xaṭoryàθa.*ˈ *qəm-qaṭlíle b-xaṭoryàθa,*ˈ *ʾan-xá xaṭoryáθa ṯ-ínwa màrəllux*ˈ *másiˈ jùlle bíya.*ˈ *ʾáni xaṭoryàθa y-amríla.*ˈ

(9) He said 'They have all been killed. Only I have escaped', and they seized him and killed him with washing-boards. They killed him with washing-boards, the washing-boards which I was telling you they used to wash clothes with. They are called *xoṭoryaθa*.

SECTION C
SONGS

C1 Lɛliyana Wedding Songs

The Washing of the Groom

(1) qime xətna xɛpəxle
miya t-wɛrde rɛsəxle
ṯ-azəx xlula mbarxəxle

(2) qime ṯ-azəx l-xyapa
bɛrbiye rapa rapa
xulqane m-bɛθət baba.

(3) qime ṯ-azəx xɛpəxle
wɛrde kulle dɛrəxle
xətnɛle magurəxle

(4) qime ṯ-azəx l-xyapa
bɛrbiye rapa rapa
xulqane m-bɛθət baba

(5) banəx kanune č̣əmme č̣əmme
ʾu-ʾəlla mbašləx gəmgəmme
xətnɛni mṣuqla l-yəmme

(6) banəx kanune rabe
ʾu-ʾəlla mbašləx kăbabe
xətnɛni mṣuqla l-babe[1]

[1] Informant for 1—6: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾɛ̈n-Nune).

SECTION C
SONGS

C1 Lɛliyana Wedding Songs

The Washing of the Groom

(1) Let us wash the groom
Let us sprinkle him with rose water
Let us go and give him the blessing of marriage

(2) Let us go to wash
The bridesmaids are in flocks
The best men are from the house of the father (of the bride)

(3) Let us go and wash him
Let us put roses all over him
He is the groom, we shall marry him.

(4) Let us go to wash
The bridesmaids are in flocks
The best men are from the house of the father (of the bride)

(5) Let us build stoves (with) a little (fire)[1]
On them we shall cook delicious foods
Our groom is dressed up by his mother

(6) Let's build many stoves
On them we shall cook kebabs
Our groom is dressed up by his father

[1] I.e. to cook food slowly. *xa ʔəmma* 'a little (of something)'.

The Selling of the Tree

(7) ʾilanɛni mxuršənna
kɛle xala zawənnaʔ
ʾiða t-qariwa twinna.[2]

(8) ʾilanɛni t-hɛrmiya
be-pálga xa-seniya
l-Yawsəp zwinta b-neriya

(9) ʾilanɛni t-xabušta
m-reša-w šətta mnoqašta
l-Yawsəp zwinta b-dabašta[3]

Transfer of Household Responsibilities to Bride from Mother-in-Law

(10) xmaθa l-yaṣila zinta
čəlləkθa m-ʾiða šqilta

(11) ʾən-šaqlala xuš-šaqlala
ʾən-maṣya šut-ʾoðala
ʾu-hoya ḥălalta ṭlala

(12) čalo ṯ-aθya maθyanna
bɛθi ṯ-ora moranna
yəmmət bɛθi ṯ-oðanna[4]

Miscellaneous

(13) ʾana zamrən Lɛliyana
ku-zmarta lana gana
gēb xaθi holi ʾana[5]

(14) ʾəθyewəx kope kope
qam-məṭra ʾu-qam dalope

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[2] Informant for 7: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune).
[3] Informant for 8–9: Bibe Bənyamən (ʾƐn-Nune).
[4] Informant for 10–12: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune).
[5] Informant for 13: Blandina Barwari (ʾƐn-Nune).

The Selling of the Tree

(7) Our tree has dried out
Where is her (the bride's) uncle who will buy it?
The hand of the best man is numb[2]

(8) Our tree is a pear tree
In the middle is a tray
It has been bought by Yawsəp for a male goat

(9) Our tree is an apple tree
It is decorated above and below
It has been bought by Yawsəp for a beehive

Transfer of Household Duties to Bride from Mother-in-Law

(10) The mother-in-law is standing by the corner
The pot[3] has been taken from her hand

(11) If she (the bride) takes it, let her take it[4]
If she can, let her do it
And let it be permitted for her

(12) The bride will come, I[5] shall bring her
She will enter my house, I shall bring her in
I shall make her the mother of my house

Miscellaneous

(13) I sing a Lɛliyana
Every song (has) a tune of its own
Instead of my sister, it is me

(14) We have come bending low
In rain and drizzle

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[2] I.e. numb through holding the tree.
[3] The pot represents household duties.
[4] I.e. let her take over the household duties.
[5] The mother-in-law is speaking.

ʾən-ṭalbi t-yawəx tope
ʾu-lɛwəx naše t-manxope

(15) ʾaqli l-darga maxyanna
šəbbərti b-qablanna
brata m-bɛθa mpalṭanna

(16) ʾaxni naše zawnaye
ʾaturaye qamaye
mašrəx mire ʾu-ʾaġaye[6]

(17) qime ṯ-azəx ṭalobe
ʾəθye-wəx kope kope
ʾu-lɛwəx naše t-manxope

(18) Qučanəs qunye qunye
Mar Šəmʾon t-kulla dunye

(19) ða-gotət dunye mila
xa-čeri b-Surma zqira
b-xaṣa d-o-xətna siṛa

(20) ða-gotət dunye ṭasa
xa-čeri mare ṣwaṣa
qa-kʸalo ṯ-asṛa b-xaṣa

(21) ʾəθyewəx m-anna ṭure
ʾu-ʾanna jwanqe tabure
muθyewəx l-anna xure

(22) w-ʾana zamrən lɛliyana
ku-zmarti lanət gana

(23) šəmša mxela gu-lata.
qime mpalṭəxla brata.
yəmma baxya swata.[7]

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[6] Informant for 14–16: Guliza Barwari (ʾƐn-Nune).
[7] Informant for 17–23: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune).

If they ask (for something for the bride) we shall give (even our) rifles
We are not people to be shamed

(15) I shall kick the door
I shall give my bracelet as an offering
I shall bring out the girl from her house

(16) We are people of (ancient) time
Ancient Assyrians
We give hospitality to princes and aghas

(17) Let us go to ask (for her hand)
We have come bending low
We are not people to be shamed (by refusal of our appeal)

(18) Qučanəs of wells, wells[6]
Mar Shimon (patriarch) of the whole world

(19) One side of the sky[7] is blue
A sash is woven by Surma,
Bound to the back of the groom

(20) One side of the sky is a small water bowl[8]
A swishing sash
For the bride to tie to her waist

(21) We have come from those mountains
These young men are in squadrons
We have been brought by these friends

(22) I shall sing a Lɛliyana,
Every song of mine has tune of its own.

(23) The sun has shone on the mountain path
Let us take out the girl.

[6] A village in Ṭiyare where the patriarch Mar Shimon lived.
[7] Literally: the world.
[8] I.e. it is rainy.

C2 Rawe Songs

(1) šlami l-zomət Čarbiya
ʾu-šəṭro marθət habriya
pɛšənwa mevan diya

(2) xamθɛla ʾu-bəske rixe
warde ʾu-rexane xwixe
šaklila hawa brixe

(3) šwiθi daryanna gare
ṯ̂-asqa čima-w gabbare
ta-t palṭi nawbadare

(4) zomi m-axxa mšanyanne
K̂anya Bodqe mattanne
ṯ̂-asəq ṣale xazyanne

(5) ʾaṣərta yoma gnele
ʾu-panya ṭalana rpele
kizli spara la θele

(6) šmili xa qalət zəmra
l-a-taxət baθər ʾumra
rawaya npila m-xamra.[1]

(7) šəṭro šuṭarta lali
reša xðiya xo-qðali
ṛɛša ʾu-qɛma b-našqali

(8) ʾƐn Nune kəma nawwa!
tiwta b-qwaya b-qawwa
kəmət qawya la-sawwa

(9) K̂ukazeri b-rēš ṭure
ʾƐn Nune barqule
ʾan-xamaθa t-gu-Dure

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[1] Informant for 1–6: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune).

C2 Rawe Songs

(1) My greetings to the summer camps of Čarbiya
and the beautiful woman who possesses the headscarf
(If only) I could become her guest

(2) She is beautiful and (with) long locks (of hair)
with flowers and odiferous herbs mixed (in them).
They suit her, may they be blessed (for her)

(3) I put my bed on the roof
Pleiades and Orion will rise
(I shall not sleep) until the night guards leave.

(4) I shall move my summer camp
and establish it in Ḵanya Bodqe
(When) he goes up and down, I shall see him.

(5) In the evening the sun set
and cast a shadow on the shadow side of the mountain.
I tried waiting (for him) but he did not come.

(6) I heard the sound of song
in the neighbourhood beyond the church.
The drunkard has fallen on account of wine

(7) Beautiful one, sweet-heart of mine,
her head is wrapped under my neck,
she wakes, rises and kisses me

(8) How the Spring of Fishes springs up!
Sitting scooping with a jug,
however many jugs, she is not satisfied.

(9) Kukazeri[1] is across the mountains
and ʾƐn-Nune opposite it.
Those beautiful girls of Dure.

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[1] Name of a mountain.

(10) ḵurra xamra la-štile
de-šuqle ʾu-de-răpile
galaya sərre ʾile

(11) šmili m-zome ʾəθyɛle
ʾu-čakke b-kuprana tlɛ̀le
ʾu-xwarθi mara ʾɛkɛle?

(12) hole pliṭa l-xðara
ʾu-čudle masyəmle bala
ʾu-manšəqle qðaləx xwara.[2]

(13) ṭlalux zamrən sar-bari
basima t-lɛle qali
xaṭərux t-la twirali

(14) xwarθi ṯ-azəx ṣəmmaðre
ləbbəx la payəš baθre
naxraya ṯ-azəl ʾaθṛe

(15) ṭuwi diya ʾɛkɛle
parxi ṭɛre xazɛle
m-pummi šlame darɛle

(16) tiwa wənwa nṭaraθa
čawərrət beriyaθa
kun ʾaθya t-la xoraθa

(17) tərte beriye xaša
m-an ṣawaθa b-draša
tərwa reši b-plaša

(18) qimli madənxa zliya
qalət tope rəš-tiya
bazi qṭille neriya

[2] Informant for 7–12: Dawiθ ʾAdam (Dure).

(10) Boy, do not drink the wine.
Leave it and throw it away.
It is the revealer of secrets.

(11) I heard that he came from his summer camp.
and hung his weapons in the hut
and my girlfriend says 'Where is he?'

(12) He went out, wandering around.
Invite him and look after him.
and let him kiss your white neck.

(13) I shall sing to you my first-born,
(I) whose voice is not good,
who have not disappointed you.[2]

(14) My friend, let us go (and collect) violets
Let not your heart remain (sad) after him.[3]
(He was) a stranger who went to his land

(15) If only, wherever he is now,
birds would fly and find him
and give him salutations from my mouth.

(16) I was sitting in vigil,
Waiting for the milkmaids.
I hope she will come without her friends.

(17) Two milkmaids were walking,
Discussing some words,
Both were fighting over me

(18) I got up when the dawn had broken.
(There) was the sound of gun shot over the mountain peak
My love[4] killed a male goat.

[2] Literally: not broken your wishes.
[3] After he left.
[4] Literally: my falcon.

(19) yamyannux b-ʾumrət Čamme
ʾən bara qəṭla-w dəmma
ʾiða t-la mrapyən mənne

(20) m-o qawlət baθər maθa,
mxoləplən ʾisəqyaθa,
nšiqli bēl bəska l-paθa

(21) šmeli xa qalə t-zəmra
b-iθaya m-baθər ʾumra
maṣiθu modi t̂-amra

(22) ya-ṭara de-mašxədli
b-ṭlabən mənnux pqudli.
hadayya mitli ʾu-qidli

(23) qimta zoma t-yasqawa.
xa xawra mənna p̂awa,[3]
qa-t zamərwa t-x̂amlawa.

(24) xəzyali l-ʾaqrət tena.
qəryali mərra bena.
nšiqali băyawa xrena.

(25) də-yamyannux b-awwa kəxwa
t-ʾile bēl ʾɛwa l-ṣəxwa
m-ġðaðe t-la barəxwa.

(26) m-ʾəššeta ʾəšwa šənne
mali kulle b-qanyanne
qa-t xoni maguranne.

(27) m-əššeta šeta sriθa,
t-lɛla dwiqta daliθa
line spiqe l-qurniθa.[4]

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[3] The form *p̂awa* is used in Upper Ṭiyare dialects. It corresponds to *băyawa* in the C. Barwar dialect.

[4] Informant for 13–27: Andreus Yaʿaqov (Lower Ṭiyare). The informant is not from Barwar, but these *rawe* songs were sung in the Barwar region.

(19) I swear to you by the church of Ċamme
If killing and bloodshed occur,
I will not release him.

(20) (I swear) by that promise (we made) behind the village,
We exchanged rings,
I kissed (her) between her hair and face

(21) I heard the sound of a song,
Coming from behind the church.
Listen to what she will say.

(22) Oh bird, give me happy news.
I am asking you, give me instruction.
Now I have died and burnt away.

(23) She was preparing to go up to the summer camp.
She wanted a friend with her,
So that he would sing and she would enjoy herself.

(24) I saw her by the trunk of the fig tree.
I called her and she said 'Yes'.
I kissed her and she wanted more.

(25) I swear to you by this star
which is between the clouds and the clear sky
that we shall never leave one another.

(26) From this year for seven years (to come)
I shall collect all my wealth
so that I can allow my brother to marry

(27) From this year until the bad year,
in which the vine did not yield (fruit)
The wine jars are empty in the corner.

(28) tərte yawne t-xa-qənna,
xa prixla-w xa mšuyənna.
ʾa-t-prixla nawri mənna

(29) tərte yawne šukraye
tiwe ṣadrə be-ḷaye,
xa t-xale ʾu-xa t-xurzaye.[5]

(30) mṭeli xo-Dwile
šteli miya qarire
šəṭro ṭolaze baθra npile

(31) rawe rawe rawəkke
daryale trəkke čəkke
tiwex xmala b-baqloše dax-xurəkke.

(32) rawe rawe t-xo-tena.
ʾana-w xawri ʾu-xa-xena.
qurbəx ṯ-aθən xazena.

(33) xa rapə yawne smoqe
parxi ʾu-yatwi l-səryoqe
šəṭrantux ʾɛna zroqe

(34) xa rapə yawne kome
parxi yatwi rəš-zome
šəṭranta ʾɛna kome

(35) xa rapə yawne mile
parxi yatwi yaṣile
šəṭranta ʾɛna kxile

(36) xa rapə yone xware
parxi yatwi rəš-gare
šəṭranta t-la mare.[6]

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[5] Informant for 28–29: Awiko Sulaqa (ʾƐn-Nune).
[6] Informant for 30–36: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune).

(28) Two doves[5] of one nest
One flew away and one became tame.
The one that flew away has my mirror[6] with her.

(29) Two white doves
Sitting in the middle of the upper room.[7]
One (is the girlfriend) of his uncle and one of his nephew.

(30) I arrived under Dwile.[8]
I drank cool water.
(My) beautiful one (lover)—young men followed after her.

(31) *Rawe, rawe*, little *rawe*
She deals for him two counters (literally: ankle-bones)
We sit and amuse ourselves (by playing with) small stones like friends.

(32) *Rawe, rawe* under the fig tree,
I, my friend and another man,
I am coming to you to see you.

(33) A flock of red doves,
They fly and sit on the twigs,
Your sweetheart—her eyes are blue.

(34) A flock of black doves
Fly and sit on the summer camps
(Your) sweetheart—her eyes are black.

(35) A flock of blue doves
Fly and sit on the corners of roofs.
(Your) sweetheart—her eyes are black with kohl

(36) A flock of white birds
fly and sit on the roofs.
Your sweethear is without family.

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[5] Referring to two girls.
[6] A love pledge.
[7] I.e. the room above the basement.
[8] A village in Lower Ṭiyare.

(37) qimta zoma ṯ-asqawa
xa xawra mənna băyawa
qa-t-raqəðwa ʾu-xamlawa

(38) ṣlele m-ərzala čira.
xa xabra lali mira
pšimtən qðali twira.[7]

(39) rawe rawe rawəkke
tre yalone havrəkke
šarreley rəš-mammәkke

(40) siqley kima-w gabbare,
θeley l-palgət gare,
šəṭro măməṣe paṛe.

(41) m-Ṣapnəkka l-Dawədiya
ʾu-rubarət ʾAmediya
la ṭawɛ bəske diya.

(42) də-yamyannux b-aw Mar Sawa
b-aw yaṣila t-la-Zawa
t-ʾay m-kulley buš ṭawa.

(43) qumta zala t-gu-Nērwa.
litla pumma t-harwa.
ʾən harwa dunye b-xarwa.

(44) qumta rixana balla,
mammәkka burja t-qalla,
ṣadra meydān t-Barčalla.

(45) b-ṣlaya Zawa Zawa,
ʾu-ḳunnəkθa mparəprawa,
gu-ṣadra čakke t-dawa.

[7] Informant for 37–38: Yuwəl Xaməs (ʾɛn-Nune).

(37) She was preparing to go up to the summer camp
and wants a friend with her
so that he will dance and she will enjoy herself.

(38) He got out of bed in a temper.
She said a word to me:
'I am sorry. Let my neck be broken'.

(39) *Rawe, rawe,* little *rawe*,
two rival children
are fighting on the breasts.

(40) The Pleiades and Orion have risen.
They have come to the middle of the roof.
The beautiful woman is giving milk to the lambs.

(41) From (the river) Ṣapnəkka[9] to (the village of) Dawədiya[10]
and the river of Amedia,
her locks are are greatly valued.

(42) I swear to you by Saint Sawa,
by the corner (of the church) that is on the side of the Zab
that she is the best of all.

(43) Her figure is (that of) a reed in Nerwa.[11]
She does not have a mouth that speaks.
If she speaks, the world will be ruined.

(44) Her figure is (that of) an erect odiferous basil
Her breasts: a tower of a citadel,
Her chest: the plain of Barčalla.[12]

(45) She went down towards the Zab,
Waving her head-scarf,
On her breast is golden jewelry.

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[9] River running south of Amedia to the Great Zab.
[10] A village lying west of Amedia.
[11] A village lying east of Barwari Bala.
[12] A mountain in the Hakkari region, near to Qočanis.

(46) hola θela m-la-Maye,
tərwey ʾaqla xəṗyaye,
šərwala təkθa bă̈ye.

(47) ṣadra darga t-zawnaye,
qðila mturṣa l-baznaye,
la paθəx ṭla-naxraye.

(48) b-Čambət bi-Mallək wawa
tiwta mbašole qawa,
ʾay m-kulley buš ṭawa.

(49) b-ṣlaya galli galli,
tope šišale ʾəlli,
mazdoyi ṭla-t qaṭəlli.

(50) pawxa t-zome mzumzəmle,
gu-quprana mhurgəmle,
bəskət kačče murəmle.

(51) beli-w ʾəlle ṭurane,
bassa mšadər xabrane,
ʾən ṯeli[8] *ʾaθe b-gane.*

(52) gu-ṭura šmili qale
ʾiðe ʾəlli šišale
kli pawxa t-xazyan ma-le.

(53) dmixa wənwa l-ʾərzala,
θela ða ʾəzzət wala,
šənθət mbadla mpurðala.

(54) zome kəmɛley basime!
xamaθa t-lɛley rime
mšaθni b-miya šaxine.

[8] Upper Ṭiyare form corresponding to C. Barwar *bă̈yeli*.

(46) Look she has come from the direction of Maye,
Both her feet are bare,
Her trousers need a cord.

(47) Her breast is a door of the ancients,
a key made by the people of Baz.
It does not open for strangers.

(48) She was in Čambət bi-Mallək,
sitting making[13] coffee.
She is the best of all.

(49) While (I was) coming down the valley,
he brandished his gun at me,
threatening to kill me.

(50) The wind of the summer camp whistled,
roared in the hut.
He lifted the locks of the girl.

(51) Between me and him are mountains.
Let him stop sending me news.
If he wants me, let him come himself.

(52) In the mountains I heard his voice.
He waved his hand at me.
Stop wind, so that I can see what is the matter with him.

(53) I was asleep on the bed,
(when) a wild goat came
and disturbed my morning sleep.

(54) How beautiful are the summer camps!
The girls who have not gone up there,
languish by warm waters.

[13] Literally: cooking.

(55) xzeli zina rəš-romta
qəttət xanjare komta
ləbbi zille l-d-ɛ qumta

(56) kul šat b-anna hewane
bar-băhər ṣalɛ wane,
m-šəṭro badli dukane.

(57) ṣalya l-nera ʾəršana
b-bxaya-w mxaya l-gʸana.
ṭliba lɛle šəṭrana.

(58) ṣalya l-nera qarira,
baxya bəxya marira.
ṭliba lɛle šapira.

(59) ṣalya l-nera-w la masya
ṣadra xwara la mkasya,
jwanqone drɛla l-ʾaṣya.

(60) xa warda-w xa rixana
bərya b-gənθət ṭalana,
ʾu-kut laqṭale ṭla-gʸana.

(61) rximtanwale ṭla xewa.
yalme dame l-aw t-dewa
ʾu-b-lɛle l-xəlmi ʾaθewa.

(62) tu tiwa-w la qu qima
ʾu-xamra štile basima
xu-lɛwət l-xoðux rxima?

(63) ṭuwe t-baryawa šarre
t-palṭiwa guṛe ṯarre
mgabyanni m-gu-sar-barre

(55) I saw a person standing on the hill,
the handle of his dagger was black.
I fainted at the sight of that figure.

(56) Every year in this season,
the sheep go down to the spring pastures,
the places fade (into the background) on account of the beautiful one.

(57) She goes down to the murky river,
weeping and beating herself.
Her betrothed is not handsome.

(58) She goes down to the cool river,
weeping bitterly.
Her betrothed is not beautiful.

(59) She goes down to the river but does not wash (clothes).
She does not cover her white breast.
She has caused the young men embarrasment.

(60) A flower and a basil,
growing in a garden on the shady mountain.
Each (girl) gathers it for herself.

(61) I fell in love with him for a weaving hook.[14]
His face resembles that of a wolf
and would come to me in my dream at night.

(62) Sit and do not get up.
Drink fine wine.
You must be the only man loved (in such a way).

(63) If only there would be war,
and young men would go out,
then I would choose for myself (one of them) from the first ranks.

[14] Given as a love pledge

(64) tărɛni mŭqabəlle
pliṭle gu-tăra-w šille
ləbbi jligle-w nubəlle

(65) qumte rixana t-hawdi
xa gera mxele l-kawdi
qṭilanne săbab mawdi[9]

(66) rəḥqɛle-w lɛle m-ʾaθṛi
naše darɛle baθri
taxranne-w dəmmi naθri

(67) xa wardi warda žeri
yala t-ʾamər halleli
t-maxənne qam səmbele

(68) yala biša brət xali
ʾiðux la drila l-qðali
t-šăma yəmmi t-qaṭlali.

(69) yala biša brət ʾamti
qumtux la mšuxla b-qumti
naplan tawra xəzzemti

(70) ʾən tawra bət-mtarṣənna
l-ʾiðət hosta b-yawənna.
ṣpiθa t-dawa bṯ-awðənna.

(71) čerile m-diya-w baθər
ṭarpət ʾilana b-naθər
ʾu-ləbbət kačče bət-qaθər

(72) xa ṭaqət rixana bəðya
ʾap ṣadra ktana šəðya
reši bēl xəðya l-xəðya.

[9] The form *qṭilanni* with the inflection of the past base with the 1st person suffix expressing the patient of the action is not used in the C. Barwar dialect.

(64) Our door was before him.
He went out of the door and coughed.
He snatched my heart and took it away.

(65) His figure was (that of) a basil in my flower-bed.
An arrow struck my heart.[15]
He has killed me for what reason?

(66) He is far away and not of my land.
The people think he is behind me
but I remember him and my tears run.

(67) A flower of mine, a wild flower.
A boy will say: Give it to me,
so that I can put it in front of my moustache.

(68) Bad boy, my maternal cousin,
do not put your hand on my neck,
lest my mother hears and kills me.

(69) Bad boy, my paternal cousin,
do not rub your body against mine.
If I fall, my nose-ring will break.

(70) If it breaks, I shall repair it.
I shall deliver it into the hands of a master craftsman
and shall make it of pure gold.

(71) It is autumn. From now on,
the leaves of the tree will fall
and the heart of the girl will be tied up.

(72) (She is like) a sprig of luxuriant basil,
also her breast is carded cotton.
My head is between one breast and another.

[15] Literally: liver.

(73) qamət be-ḷaye tuθa
kəmət jawja b-ʾašəquθa
naše nabli šəkkuθa

(74) la duqrula qalulta
kriθa, xliθa, taburta,
mjagra m-kima bahurta

(75) xəzyali l-garət goma
ṣoṣiyaθa xuwwe koma
ṭla d-aw dosta laxoma.

(76) šəṭro mšuṭarta l-yəmma
šekər t-pašra gu-pumma
kəma t-mšawθa xale dəmma.

(77) kačče wawa max beta
reša la klele šeta.
zille xzele ða xreta.

(78) ʾən ʾila lənge ḵawa!
bəska šabuqe t-dawa.
ʾay m-kulley buš ṭawa.

(79) qumta ṭaqət rixana
ṣadrət ʾile bustana
ʾaṗ mare ṯ-awən ʾana.

(80) kačče marθa t-tre xone
mraṗyala tre bəskone
max serət be ʾilone

(81) də-yamyannux b-ʾayya šraya
t-litli ṭliba naxraya
šuq mənnux barwarnaya.[10]

[10] The source for 39–81 is Pennacchietti (1976).

(73) In front of the upper room there is a mulberry tree.
Whenever she moves coquettishly
People become suspicious.

(74) Do not consider her to be small,
short, sweet and submissive.
She contends with the resplendent Pleiades.

(75) I saw her on the roof of the stable.
Her plaits were a black snake,
for that handsome friend of hers.

(76) The beautiful girl is the beloved of her mother,
in whose mouth sugar melts,
whenever she speaks, her blood is sweet.

(77) The girl was (white) as an egg.
He did not stay a year with her.
He went and found another girl.

(78) If she is lame, let it be!
Her tresses are sticks of gold.
She is the best of all.

(79) Her figure is (like) a sprig of basil.
Her breast, which is a garden
—I shall become also its owner.

(80) A girl that has two brothers
lets two tresses grow down,
like the moon of September.

(81) I swear to you by this lamp
that I have no betrothed from elsewhere,
only you, who are from Barwar.

(82) mbadlɛla ʾu-ha-ga-nǎya
qrele xa diga zaya
qaša xšixla-llan gaya.[11]

(83) čəġa məre ṭla-baza
parxəx l-qanət ʾAvraza
ṭarəxla dunye ṯ-aza.[12]

[11] Informant for 82: Xošäba Georges (Lower Ṭiyare). The informant is not from Barwar, but this *rawe* song was sung in the Barwar region.
[12] Informant Mišayəl Barčəm, ʾƐn-Nune.

(82) It is morning and the dawn is about to break.
A young cock has sung.
Priest, it is urgent for us![16]

(83) A *čəġa* bird said to a falcon
Let's fly to the peak of Avraza
and send away the world (and its cares).

[16] I.e. come quickly and marry us.

C3 Dirges (*Jannε*)

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

I

(1) ʾíθwa yəmmàθa| ʾi-baxìwa,| y-amríwa xlápa d-an-jundìye:|

(2) ṭuwe t-pεšanwa nəšra,
ṭuwe t-pεšanwa nəšra,
t-yatwanwa l-marzət gəšra,
parjanwa b-ʾaskar t-xišla.

(3) mεθa yəmmət jundiye.
b-plašət ʾIran qṭilela raba friye.
ʾo gista xaθəx lεla kulla jmiye.

(4) ʾo-yoy mεθa xaθəx xakma ṭlibe xakma t-la-gwara.
ʾo-yoy kalowaθa piše t-la-gwara.
spara kulla dwiqe jundiye ʾasire.

(5) ṭuwe t-pεšanwa nəšra,
ṭuwe t-pεšanwa nəšra,
t-yatwanwa l-marzət gəšra.
parjanwa b-ʾaskar t-xišla.

(6) ṭuwe t-pεšanwa gani
ṭ̂-azanwa gu-d-an-ṭurani
jămánwa bronət gani.

(7) xišli b-ani ʾurxaθa.
la xzeli la jwanqe, la-tabute, la naše kulla miθe.
wirri b-šaqyaθa.

C3 Dirges (*Jɛnne*)

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

I

(1) There were mothers, who wept and said ‘Oh woe for the soldiers’:

(2) If only I could become an eagle
If only I could become an eagle,
and sit on the edge of the bridge
and watch the army that has gone.

(3) Let the mother of soldiers die.
In the war with Iran many were killed
Oh, your poor sister, they are not all gathered in.[1]

(4) Oh woe, let your sister die. Some were engaged, some were not married.
Oh woe, the brides have remained unmarried.
They are waiting. All (the grooms) were taken as captured soldiers.

(5) If only I were to become an eagle,
If only I were to become an eagle,
and sit on the edge of the bridge
and watch the army that has gone.

(6) If only I could be alone
and go into the mountains
and gather up my own son.

(7) I went on those roads.
I did not see either young men, or coffins or any dead people.
I crossed streams.

[1] I.e. the dead soldiers are not all gathered in but are left in the field.

(8) məri ya-mari mut ṯ-oðana:ʔ qalbən ʾazən bɛθa.
lítləx fayda.[1]
ču mdi la mṣeli moθeli.
mən-xašša tiwli bxeli.
mən dəmmət ʾɛni pišli knaša
halla xzeli ʾu-halla swili.

II

(9) qaṣrux banyanne l-tiya
gudane bani kepa xwara mrariya
t-šoqi kawaθa panjariyaθa biya
ʾɛni t-yawəllux ʾixala ʾu-qarire miya

(10) qaṣrux banyanne l-kanda
xoθe maxi stune ʾu-ʾap-sanda
b-rešux ṯ-aθya məṭra xɛlanta ʾu-ʾap-talga

(8) I said 'My Lord, what shall I do? Let me return home.
It is no use you[2] (doing this)'.
I could bring nothing.
In grief I sat down.
I began to wipe away the tears of my eyes.
I still have not found (anybody) and I am not yet satisfied.

II

(9) I'll build your palace on the hilltop.
They will build the walls white stone and marble.
They will leave windows and casements in it.
Who will give you cold water.

(10) I shall build your palace on a cliff top.
Under it they will build pillars and a support
Heavy rain and snow will fall on you

[2] Addressing herself.

C4 Lullabies (*Šɜdle*)

Informant Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

*(1) Sárgun bròni*ˈ *lè-y ṭăléwa.*ˈ *hár yawéwa bxàya.*ˈ *léðəxwa mắre díye mòdile.*ˈ *yála zòra-wewa*ˈ *gu-dudìya,*ˈ *dargùšta.*ˈ *kàzəxwa*ˈ *nabləxwale l-duxtùre*ˈ *ʾu-ʾaxxa-w tàmma*ˈ *lè fɛdáwale*ˈ *lèðiwa bíye díye.*ˈ *yála zòra*ˈ *yáʿni mărìwa naθyáθe.*ˈ *réše šayəšwale,*ˈ *hátxa lèðəx bíye.*ˈ *(2) ʾána mo-wìdli?*ˈ *qìmli*ˈ *moləxmáli ʾəyya,*ˈ *ʾáyya zmárta bíye dìye.*ˈ *ʾímə zamrənwala,*ˈ *kalèwa,*ˈ *maṣyəθwa.*ˈ *ʾímət parqənwa mən-zə́mri,*ˈ *šaréwa bxàya.*ˈ *(3) qímən moláxmənna ʾánna šére bud-dìye,*ˈ *ʾu-wíðən-əlle šăr̃ṭ dìya.*ˈ *kudánə baxèwa,*ˈ *mattə́nwale ʾo-šằrīṭ,*ˈ *maṣyəθwa*ˈ *hal-ʾé-gət parqàwa,*ˈ *ta-t-baxéwa xá-ga xèta.*ˈ *mădə́ṛənwale b-rèše*ˈ *ʾu-šămèwala*ˈ *ʾu-ṭălèwa.*ˈ *ʾày y-awáwa šúla díya.*ˈ *y-amrənwa:*

(4) darguštux qɛsa xwara.
kawsət yəmmux b-xwara.
maštalux xalwa xwara.

(5) la baxət bronət babe
t-yawəllux kulla ṭlabe
zuze t-yawənnux rabe

(6) babi ʾăzizət xone
bəd-zawnənne harmone
mšadrənne l-bɛθət Sone

(7) paṛi ʾăzizi ma-le?
zawnənne bərtaqale.
mšadrənne l-bɛθət xale.

(8) paṛi ʾăzizət xaθe
mšadrənne l-an maθwaθe
ṭalbəx m-ʾumra-w ʾetaθe

Informant Leya ʾOraha (Dure)

(9) hole nwile gu-dwaṛa
qundaxət tope xwara
jani broni t-la gwara

C4 Lullabies (*Šəddle*)

Informant Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) My son Sargon used not to sleep. He always cried. We did not know what his illness was. He was a baby in a cradle. We tried (to help him) and took him to the doctors, and so forth, but it was no use to him, they did not know what was the matter with him. (He was) a baby and his ears ached. He shook his head, but we did not know what was the matter with him. (2) What did I do? I composed this song about him. When I sang it, he stopped and listened. When I finished my song, he began to cry. (3) I composed these verses about him and I made for him a tape of it. Whenever he cried, I put on the tape and he listened until it finished, then he cried again. I put it back to the beginning and he listened to it and slept. This is what it did (for him). I used to say:

(4) Your cradle is white wood.
The hair of your mother is becoming white.
She gives you white milk.

(5) Do not cry, oh son of his father,
He will give you all requests
He will give you lots of money

(6) My dear, the beloved of his brother
I shall buy for him pomegranates
I shall send him to the house of Sone[1]

(7) What is wrong with my beloved lamb
I shall buy for him oranges
I shall send him to the house of his uncle

(8) My lamb, beloved of his sister
I shall send him to the villages
We shall request help from the churches.[2]

Informant Leya ʾOraha (Dure)

(9) There, he has appeared in the resting place
The butt of his rifle is white

[1] The name of his grandmother.
[2] Literally: the church and the churches.

(10) hole nwile gu-zoma
qundaxət tope koma
jani broni laxoma

(11) mănile gare gare
šopət ʾaqle bəzmare
Ramʾel θaya m-be-xale

(12) goriye l-ɛni dame
šəklana m-baθre-w qame
ʾAwiye brōn-t Leya

(13) pɛšətli qənnə t-nama
ʾap-xa la maṭe tama
ʾAmir biš-rixa-w rama

(14) pɛšət ʾenir lɛle
yasmin gu-šəllele
ʾAmir maxe b-səmbele
ʾu-ʾap-ʾən litle barele

Informant: Siranoš Xaməs (ʾƐn-Nune)

(15) hay babi hay
dudiyux t-qărăčay
natṛilux ʾumre ḷay
bustanux gu-jilway

My soul, my son, is not married.
(10) He has appeared in the summer pastures
The butt of his rifle is black
My soul, my son, is handsome

(11) Who is (walking over) the roof?
His footstep is (full of) nails.[3]
Ram?el is coming from his uncle's house.[4]

(12) To whom does my dear resemble?
He is handsome from the back and the front
Awiya son of Leya

(13) You are for me (like) a nest of an ostrich
Nobody can reach it
(But my son) Amir is taller and higher.

(14) You are (like) the lily of the night,
Jasmin in waterfalls.
Amir will touch his moustache (with these herbs)
Even if he does not have (a moustache) it will grow for him.[5]

Informant: Siranoš Xaməs (ʾƐn-Nune)

(15) Oh my dear,
Your cradle is (made by) gypsies.
The upper churches (on the mountains) will protect you
Your garden is among the Jilu people

[3] Referring to the nails in his shoes.
[4] I.e. he takes a shortcut over the roofs.
[5] It will grow on account of the herbs.

C5 Churn Song

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) guði măyanne b-gani
ʾu-biye b-šéšən rušani
ṭla-bronət be-xəmyani

(2) guði măyanne b-zakke
marmanne qam-pălakke
xoni b-šaklile čakke

(3) guði t-ʾəzzi d-ɛ-poše
gu-ṭalana mxarpoše
xanjar t-xoni pəškože

(4) guði d-ay mojənta
təlya b-taqət ṣoṣinta
măyále ʾɛ-baxta ṭinta

(5) bēl margane l-margəšta
θela xa brata lwišta
ʾati bara max-qəšta

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

(6) guði măyanne b-gani
šaršiyanna dranani
məšxi mpalṭən b-ʾamani

(7) guði t-ʾəzza d-a-poše
gu-gəllale mxarpoše

(8) guði daryən gu-ʾiθaθi
zakke zakkan l-ʾiθaθi
t-la galyan ṭla xoraθi

C5 Churn Song

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) I shall churn my churn by myself
I shall shake my shoulders with it
for the son of my father-in-law.[6]

(2) I shall churn my churn with splashes.
I shall raise it up to the stars.
The weapons suit my brother.

(3) My churn (made) from my goat called ‘white spotted’,
which looked for food on the shady mountain.
The dagger of my brother has (golden) studs.

(4) My churn (made) from that heiffer,
hung on the branch of the berry tree,
which that pregnant woman churns

(5) Between the meadow and a small field
A dressed-up girl came
whom (you were following) like a bow (and arrow)

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƐn-Nune)

(6) I churn my churn by myself.
I loosen my arms.
I bring out the butter into my pot.

(7) My churn (made) from a white spotted goat,
which scavenges in grass.

(8) I put my churn in my hands,
Splash, splash on my hands,
So that I do not reveal it to my friends.

[6] I.e. my husband.

(9) guði, guðət neriya
qðale dərye mreriye

(10) guði, guðət neriya
qðalə kʾalo mreriye

(11) guði, guðə neriya
təlya ṭaqət harmiya
m-qðalə Zalfe mreriya

(9) My churn, churn of a male goat.
Bangles[7] are put on its neck.[8]

(10) My churn, churn of a male goat.
On the neck of the bride there are bangles.

(11) My churn, the churn of a male goat,
Hung on the branch of a pear tree.
From the neck of Zalfe (is hanging) a bangle.

[7] Consisting of bells and beads.
[8] Since the male goat was the leader.

C6 Dance Songs

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

I

(1) me-zome ṣlela b-hajjəttət maše
b-ʾaqla zargule ʾu-ʾəlla qumaše
kipli našqənna xzənna[1] *tre-naše*

(2) me-zome ṣlela b-hajjəttət saṛe
b-ʾaqla zargule ʾu-ʾəlla xumale
kipli našqənna xzənna tre-yale

(3) me-zome ṣlela b-ʾurxət galliya,
b-ʾaqla zargule b-reša pošiya.
kipli našqənna qbilla Mariya.[1]

II

(4) la-ppəxla[2] *šapirta,*
jawja m̂-ṭure l-ṭure,
b-iða dastət warde,
xo-qðala maxmore.
murule t-la-ṭ̆aye jwanqa.
hola xišta l-Dure.

(5) la-ppəxla šapirta,
jawja m̂-qana l-qana,
b-iða dastət warde,
xo-qðala gardana.
murule t-la-ṭ̆aye jwanqa
hola be-xəmyana.

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[1] This verbal form with the past base inflected with a 1st person suffix expressing the patient is not used in Barwar, but rather is characteristic of Ṭiyare dialects.

[2] This form is characteristic of Ṭiyare dialects.

C6 Dance Songs

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

I

(1) She came down from his summer pastures with the excuse of (fetching) black beans.
On her legs are sheep-skin shoes, and on her (body) are fabrics.
I bent over to kiss her, two people saw me.

(2) She came down from his summer pastures with the excuse of (fetching) barley.
On her legs are sheep-skin shoes, and on her (body) festive clothes.
I bent over to kiss her, two boys saw me.

(3) She came down from his summer pastures by the road of the valley.
On her legs are sheep-skin shoes, on her head a scarf.
I bent over to kiss her, Maria agreed.

II

(4) We do not want the beautiful girl,
walking from mountains to mountains,
in her hand a bunch of flowers,
on[1] her neck jewels.
Tell the youth not to look for her.
She has gone to Dure.

(5) We do not want the beautiful girl,
walking from (mountain) peak to peak,
in her hand a bunch of flowers,
on her neck a necklace.
Tell the youth not to look for her.
She is in her father-in-law's house.

[1] Literally: under.

(6) la-ppəxla šapirta
jawja m̂-tiye l-tiye,
b-iða dastət warde,
xo-qðala mreriye.
murule t-la-ṭăye jwanqa.
hawla[3] *gu-beriye.*

III

(7) Băgiya qumta xlita zeriye
xəzyali gu-beriye.
Băgiyət rešət maθa
kəma xəlyela səpwaθa!
nšiqali, qṭila šaθa.

(8) Băgiya m-bɛθa goṛa,
muqyamta max-bəspora.
b-hurriya maṣya t-gawra.

[3] An uncontracted form of *hola*.

(6) We do not want the beautiful girl,
walking from hilltop to hilltop,
in her hand a bunch of flowers,
on her neck bangles.
Tell the youth not to look for her.
She is among the milkmaids.

III

(7) Băgiya, her sweet golden stature,
I saw among the milk-maids
Băgiya, who is from the top of the village,
How sweet her lips are!
When I kissed her, the fever stopped.

(8) Băgiya of a great family,
brought up like a little child,
She can marry in freedom.[2]

[2] I.e. she can choose her husband.

C7 Xošaba Margaya

Informant Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) ʾáyya zmártət Xawšàbi.ˈ ʾáyya gu-Tùrki-wawa.ˈ xa-ʾàġa,ˈ ʾÙsman šə́mme díye,ˈ θèle,ˈ ʾárxa píšle kəs-Xošằba margáya.ˈ ʾáwwa šə́myɛwa bud-dìyeˈ ʾíθwale ʾə́rwe ràbe.ˈ xa-káwtət ʾə́rwe ʾíθwale ràbe.ˈ (2) ʾìθwa,ˈ ʾax-šăvàna-wawa,ˈ xá ʾə̀zza,ˈ šə́mma ʾiwéwa Nùne,ˈ ʾə́zza šə́mma Nùne.ˈ zàxme-wawa,ˈ hátxa gòṛta.ˈ ʾu-ʾíθwa záge b-qðàla.ˈ ʾáy qamèθa y-awyawa,ˈ ʾax-šăvàna.ˈ ʾə́rwe kúlla y-azíwa bára bàra.ˈ (3) ʾáwwa ʾimə-t-šmíle ʾÙsman,ˈ θéle l-béθət Xošắba margàya,ˈ ʾàmərˈ ʾána hon-ʾə́θya ʾárxa kə̀slux,ˈ bắyən pɛrmátli ʾázza ʾɛ-Nùne.ˈ (4) ʾámər qá-mo gắrəg zàlmət ʾə́lli?ˈ ʾána ʾə́zza ʾɛ-Núne šăvànɛla ʾə́lli.ˈ kúlla ʾə́rbe hóla lípe ʾə́lla dìya.ˈ ʾən-ʾáy primàli,ˈ mòdi ṭ-óðən?ˈ pɛrmə̀nnuxˈ xámša réše ʾə̀rwe,ˈ ʾu-là ʾáy.ˈ (5) ʾámər ʾána ʾə́lla-ʾay ʾày bắyə́nna,ˈ ʾə́zza ʾɛ-Nùne.ˈ kìzle mparpóle bíye díyeˈ yà-ʾaġa,ˈ lá hàtxa.ˈ bèna,ˈ ʾaġắwáθa ʾé-ga táma zalmìwa suráye.ˈ Xošằba žígənˈ márə bèna-wewa.ˈ bróne dìyeˈ ʿà̤ṣằbi-wewa.ˈ bróne dìyeˈ ʿà̤ṣằbi-wewa.ˈ (6) qímle mjawòde mən-ʾáġa.ˈ mšurèleˈ márə ta-mòdiˈ ʾə́lla ʾáy ʾə́zza ʾɛ-Nùne?ˈ šqúl ða-xèta.ˈ Xošắba mə̀reˈ ta-bróne dìyeˈ bàbiˈ ràhat!ˈ lɛ-šàwqənˈ máttu bə̀sraˈ t-ʾə́zza ʾɛ-Núne gu-pùmme.ˈ mpalṭə́nne káwde dìyeˈ b-góte dìye.ˈ là-wi ʿă̤ṣằbi.ˈ šùqla,ˈ pɛrmə̀nna.ˈ (7) qìmɛle,ˈ príməlla ʾə̀zza.ˈ mùθyəlla.ˈ márə ʾáxtu mṭàwo!ˈ šqíləlla tòpeˈ ʾu-sìqɛleˈ l-ṭùra.ˈ síqɛle l-ṭùraˈ ʾu-hóle tìwaˈ ʾÙsman,ˈ ʾu-tíwela ʾaġắwáθa mánne dìye.ˈ qurðáye ràbela,ˈ taqríban ʾárbi xamšî,ˈ xuláme hóla mánne díye tíwela gu-dìwən.ˈ (8) ʾu-xa-béna Xošắba dérela tòpe.ˈ ʾáwwa pə̀ške mṭuwèle,ˈ wídle kăbàbe,ˈ ʾu-moθéle ta-t-yálle ta-ʾÙsmanˈ ʾu-Xošắba dérele tòpe,ˈ xa-šúla m-áxxa làxxa,ˈ qaṭə̀lle.ˈ ʾu-bréla hòsa.ˈ béna ʾáxxa màrɛleˈ

(9) xa Xawšabi margaya,
b-tope kəmɛwa daraya!
qṭille ʾUsman ʾaġaya.

C7 Xošaba Margaya

Informant Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) This is the song ‘My Xošaba’. It was (an event that occurred) in Turkey. An agha, whose name was Usman, came and became the guest of Xošaba from Marga. He had heard concerning him that he had many small cattle. He had a herd of many small cattle. (2) There was (in his possession) a nanny-goat like a shepherd whose name was Nune, a nanny-goat whose name was Nune. She was huge, large like this. There were bells on her neck. She was a leader,[1] like a shepherd. All the small cattle used to follow her. (3) When Usman heard this, he came to the house of Xošaba from Marga and said ‘I have come as your guest. I want you to slaughter for me the nanny-goat Nune’. (4) He said ‘Why must you do me such an injustice? The nanny-goat Nune is a shepherd for me. All the small cattle follow her lead.[2] If I slaughter her, what shall I do? I shall slaughter for you five head of small cattle, but not her’. (5) He said ‘I want only her, the nanny-goat Nune’. He tried to supplicate with him ‘Oh agha, (let it) not be so’. Well, the aghas used to wrong the Christians at that time. Xošaba was tolerant, but his son was hot-headed. His son was hot-headed. (6) He started arguing with the agha saying ‘Why (do you want) only that nanny-goat Nune? Take another one’ Xošaba said to his son ‘My dear, be quiet! I shall not let him put the meat of the nanny-goat Nune in his mouth. I shall take out his own liver from his side. Don’t be hot-headed. Leave alone. I shall slaughter it’. (7) He went and slaughtered the nanny-goat. He brought it and said ‘Here you are, grill it!’ He took his gun and went up the mountain. He went up the mountain while Usman sat down and (other) aghas sat with him, they were many Kurds, about forty or fifty, sitting in a gathering with servants attending him. (8) Then Xošaba shot his gun. He (a servant) had grilled the pieces of meat, made them into kebabs and brought them to give to Usman when Xošaba shot his gun—it happened very quickly[3]—and he killed him. Panic broke out. So, at this point, the song goes:

> (9) There was one Xošaba of mine from Marga,
> What a skilled shooter he was!
> He killed Usman the agha.

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[1] Literally: the first.
[2] Literally: have learnt from her.
[3] Literally: a matter from here to there.

(10) xa-Xawšabi bne-Marge,
yaṣila siqa l-palge
ʾUsman mxurxile jarge.

(11) xa-Xawšabi Xawšaba,
l-ʾiðe drele lawlaba
qṭille ʾUsman prīṭ-baba.

(12) mašmola margayaθa
bas naznəzi b-dudiyaθa.
tola šqilli xa-b-ṭlaθa.

(13) bəsrət ʾəzzi d-ɛ-Nune,
dərya bšala l-kanune.
ʾUsman mukreli zawne.

(10) There was one Xošaba of mine from Marga,
He climbed half way up the wall
And burnt the viscera of Usman.

(11) There was one Xošaba of mine, Xošaba,
he put his hand on the trigger
and killed that cursed Usman.

(12) Tell the women of Marga
Stop drooling over the cradles.
I have taken revenge threefold.

(13) The meat my goat, called Nune,
was laid out to be cooked on the griddle stones.
I have shortened the time of Usman.

C8 The Bridge of Zakho

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) gu-Ẓàxo| bnáya wɛ́wa xa-gə̀šra,| gášra y-amráxle gášrət Dalàle,| b-zónət ʿAbbasìye.| kə́mət baníwale ta-t-qaṭə́rwa ʾo-gə̀sra,| là qaṭə́rwa.| yáʿni lá maxéwa l-ġðàðe.| (2) xa-yòma| ʾo-gòṛa,| ʾàġa,| xzéle b-xə̀lme.| ʾáw zàngīn-wewa,| xɛlàna.| ʾíθwale šawwà ʾarxáθa,| ʾíθwale šawwà kaláθa.| ʾíθwale šawwà susyáθa.| maláxa mára ʾálle dìye| mən-kúl-xa mən-d-ànna| lázəm xa-mbàṭlət.| mən-kaláθux ða-kálθux qàṭlət.| mən-susăwáθux xa-sústa qàṭlət.| mən-ʾarxáθux xa-ʾárxe màklət.| (3) ʾánna maláxa mára ʾálle díye ta-ṯ-awədla| ta-t-ʾo-gə̀šra| máxe l-ġðàðe,| qàṭər.| mára ʾo-gə̀šra| b-šə̂nne,| b-šə̂nne,| šúryela bnáya ta-t-máṭe l-ġðàðe,| léle mə̀ṣya.| (4) qìmɛle| xa-ʾárxe mbùṭləlla.| ʾu-xá mən-susyáθe qṭìləlla.| ʾu-Dalàle,| kálθe díye zúrta šə́mma Dalàle-wewa,| ʾɛ-Dalàle| qímɛle mšùdra| mánna ʾixála ta-t-nábla ta-palàxe| ṯ-íla plàxa| rəš-gášrət Dalàle.| (5) ʾánna mìrəlla:| kú nə̀šma| t-màṯya| rəš-gášrət Dalàle| ʾɛ-nášma bəd-pɛ̀ša| prìmta,| qṭìlta.| ʾítla kálba mànna.| ʾən-hawéwa kálba zíla qamàya,| qaṭlíwa kàlba.| là qaṭlíwala Dalàle.| qìmela| kálba šqílle rìxa| t-xa-kàlləš.| kálləš yǎðət mòdila?| xa-ʾárba mìθa.| (6) zílle kálba rəš-d-ɛ̀-kalləš.| ʾáyya Dalále píšla qamèθa.| zìlla,| mṭéla l-gə̀šra,| qəm-dawqìla,| qəm-parmìla.| mattíla gu-gə̀šra,| gášra qṭìrre.| mxéle l-ġðàðe.| béna y-àmri:|

(7) Dalal, Dalal, Dalale,
gəšrə Ẓaxo ramana
selət xoθe milana
Dalle dwiqa l-xəmyana.

(8) gəšrət Ẓaxo daqiqa
ʾu-selət xoθe raqiqa
ʾu-Dalle l-xəmyana dwiqa.

(9) m-o-kalbət p̱arruš wele
ṣlele rəš-kalləš k̂lele
xəmyanət Dalle bxele

C8 The Bridge of Zakho

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) In Zakho they were building a bridge. We call the bridge the bridge of Dalale. (This was) in the time of the Abbasids. However much they built the bridge in order for its arch to be completed, its arch was not completed, it was not put together. (2) One day, the chief, the agha, saw in his dream that he was rich and powerful. He had seven water mills. He had seven daughters-in-law. He had seven horses. An angel said to him (in the dream) 'You must get rid of one of each of these. You should kill one of your daughters-in-law. You should kill one of your horses. You should stop one of your water-mills'. (3) The angel told him to do these things, so that the bridge would come together and its arch would be completed. Indeed, they had started building the bridge (and had been working on it) for years and years in order for it to come together, but it could not (be completed). (4) He went and stopped a water-mill and killed one of his horses. Now, Dalale—his youngest daughter-in-law was called Dalale—he sent food with Dalale for her to take to the workers who were working on the bridge of Dalale. (5) They said to her 'Any soul that comes onto the bridge of Dalale—that soul will be slaughtered, killed'. She had a dog with her. If the dog had gone first, they would have killed the dog and not killed Dalale. But the dog picked up the scent of carrion. Do you know what a *kallaš* is? It is a dead sheep. (6) The dog went to the carrion. So, Dalale became the first one. She reached the bridge and they seized her and slaughtered her. They put her on the bridge and the arch of the bridge was completed, it came together. So, they say:

(7) Dalal, Dalal, Dalale,
The high bridge of Zakho
The river under it is blue (with grief).
Dalle (= Dalale) has been seized by her father-in-law.

(8) The narrow bridge of Zakho,
The river under it is narrow.
Dalle (= Dalale) has been seized by her father-in-law.

(9) On account of that dog which was treacherous,
which went down and stood over carrion,
The father-in-law of Dalle wept.

SECTION D
RIDDLES AND PROVERBS

D1 Riddles

Informant: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) qàša| ʾu-bàxte,| šamàša| ʾu-bràte,| pálṭi mən-ʾúmra ṭlàθa. ʾáyya mòdila?|
brátət šamáša báxtət qàšɛla.| ga-ʾána ʾímət màri| qáša-w bàxte,| šamàša| ʾu-bràte,|
brátə šamáša gwírtɛla l-qàša.| ʾánna pálṭi ṭlàθɛla,| ʾína b-šəmmɛla| ʾàrba.|

(2) hadíya ʾítlux xa-tàwra.| hóle ʾítlux šwàwe.| gə̀lla| hóle mútta ʾal-ḥŭdūd t-šwàwe.|
ʾu-táwra hóle láxxa gu-bèθa.| xálye díye qa-d-ènile?| ʾáti mùt mára?|

GK: ta-tərwəθna|
ta-tərwəθna?| xzí ʾáxxa xlìṭlux.|
GK: ta-mòdin xlíṭa?|
táwra ʾìtle xálya?| là ʾa!| tawèrθa ʾítla xálya.|

(3) dìga| θéle tíwle làxxa| qam-tắrət bèθa.| ʾu-ʾímə ðìlle| béta npìlla| l-tắrət bɛθèxu.|
ṭla-d-èni ṭ̂-óya béta?| hadíya díga hóle tíwa ʾàxxa,| dìyən,| ʾu-ʾáxxa diyèxula.| ʾímə
ðílle dìga,| ʾéka npílla bèta?| npílla ʾáxxa kəslèxu,| là?| ṭla-d-èni ṭ̂-óya béta?| ṭlálən
ʾaw-ṭlalèxu?| díga dìyən-ile| ʾu-dúkθa diyèxula.| ʾáwwa béθa diyèxule.| ʾímət ðílle
dìga,| ʾéka npìlla?| ʾáxxa gu-bɛθèxu.| ṭla-d-ènila béta?| ṭlàlən ʾən-ṭlalèxu?|

GK: ṭlalèni.
là!| ʾap-áyya la-ðìlux.|
GK: múr ṭla-mò.|
díga lè-y-yaðəl.| kθèθa yádla.|

SECTION D
RIDDLES AND PROVERBS

D1 Riddles

Informant: Dawið ’Adam (Dure)

(1) A priest and his wife, a deacon and his daughter—the three leave the church. What is this?

The daughter of the deacon is the wife of the priest. So, when I said ‘the priest and his wife, the deacon and his daughter’, the daughter of the deacon is married to the priest. When they come out they are three, but when you name them they are four.

(2) Now, you have an ox and you have neighbours. The grass is situated on the neighbours’ (side of) the border and the ox is here in (your) home. To whom does his milk belong? What do you say?

GK: To both of them.
To both of them? You see, you are wrong.
GK: Why am I wrong?
Does an ox have milk? No! A cow has milk.

(3) A cock came and sat down here, outside the house. When it laid an egg, it fell in front of the door of your house. Who will have the egg? Now, the cock is sitting here, in our home, and here it is your home. When the cock laid an egg, where did it fall? It fell here in your home. Who will have the egg, we or you? The cock is ours and the place is yours. This house is yours. When the cock laid an egg, where did it fall? Here in your house. Who will have the egg, we or you?

GK: It is ours.
No! You don’t know this one either.
GK: Tell me why.
A cock does not lay eggs. A hen lays eggs.

(4) bèta,[1] *bétət táwra y-axlətla.*?[1] *y-axlátla bétət tàwra.*?[1]

GK: là.[1]
ʾána hon-mára y-axlətla.[1]
GK: múr ṭla-mò.[1]

béta lá tawrətla.?[1] *lá tawrátla dɛrətla gu-ʾamàna.*?[1] *ʾáy tàwrɛla*[1] *ʾáti xšíwət tàwrɛla.*[1]
béta zàlla,[1] *yáʿni zlìta béta,*[1] *y-axálla nàša.*[1]

(5) qaṭláxle gu-ṭùra[1] *dámme ṣále gu-kùra.*[1] *mára qèsɛle.*[1]

(6) zílli l-bɛ́θət xa-mìra[1]
mboqárri mən-fằqìra[1]
ʾáwwa mo-ṭɛ́rɛle b-šìra.?[1]

párxa b-lèle.[1]

(7) zílli l-bɛ́θət xa-pàša[1]
mboqárri mən-xa-nàša[1]
ʾáwwa mo-ṭɛ́rɛle b-šàša[1]

ṭɛ́ra t-málka Šlèmun.[1]

(8) šárṭa mànni[1] *qéθa ʾəbbux.*[1] *mòdila.*?[1] *ʾurṭìθa.*?[1] *léla ʾurṭìθa.*[1] *ʾáxtu xašwítu ʾurṭìθa*[1] *lèla.*[1] *ṣàwθa.*[1] *ṣáwθa šríṭla mànni*[1] *qítla bìyux.*[1]

Informant: Mišayel Barčəm (ʾƐn-Nune)

(9) ṭlá-mma xatáne b-xá xerìya.[1]
harmònta.[1]

(10) kút-yom yə́mmux hátxa màwra.[1]
dàwra.[1]

[1] The Kurdish loan-word *šíra* is used for the rhyme. The normal word for 'milk' is *xəlya.*

(4) An egg, do you eat an egg of an ox (*tawra*)? Do you eat the egg of an ox?

GK: No.
I say that you eat it.
GK: Tell me why.

Don't you break an egg. Don't you break it and put it in a vessel? This is what tawra means. You thought it was an ox.[1] An egg cracks, an egg is cracked and a person eats it.

(5) We kill it in the mountains and its blood flows in the kiln. The answer is: It is wood.

(6) I went to the house of an amir
I asked a poor man:
What bird is this with milk?

(Answer:) a bat

(7) I went to the house of a pasha
and asked a man:
What bird is this with a comb?

(Answer:) The hoopoe bird

(8) It escapes from me and hits you. What is it? A fart? It is not a fart. You think it is a fart. It is not. It is speech. Speech escaped from me and hit you.

Informant: Mišayel Barčəm (ʾƐn-Nune)

(9) Three hundred ladies with one veil.
(Answer:) a pomegranate

(10) Everyday your mother allows you to enter in this way.
(Answer:) a wooden bolt

[1] The word play here is based on the homophony of *tawra* 'ox' and *tawra* 'it (f.) breaks'. The phrase *betət tawra* could, therefore, mean either 'the egg of an ox' or 'the egg that breaks'.

(11) ṭə́ra θèle,ˈ péle làxma.ˈ la-šèkər-ileˈ ʾu-la-năbàt-ile.ˈ
dùšaˈ

(12) kut-qedàmtaˈ xá handawáya kóma šáwər xáṣət yəmmux.ˈ
zə́qqa kómta ṭla-grášət mìya.ˈ

(13) qrámtət šə́rma daṛmánət bušàla.ˈ
ʾelìθa.ˈ

(14) θéle max-mìra.ˈ tíwle max-wăzìra.ˈ zílle max-făqìra.ˈ
tàlga.ˈ

(15) ʾázəl hàm,ˈ ʾáθe gàm,ˈ tərwéy ʾaqlaθéy sìṛe.ˈ
guða.

Informant: Nawiya ʾOdišo (Dure)

(14) Xasá̆do xápər dùke.ˈ ʾáxni y-amrəxleˈ ʾaw-mút mətlɛle?ˈ y-amríle dalòpa.ˈ

(15) Xasá̆do t-šáwwa qábe ʾaw-bəṣlɛle.ˈ

(16) ʾíθ xa-tanùra,ˈ xa-lawáša gàwe,ˈ mòdile?ˈ pùmma.ˈ

(17) ða-gugíθa b-šáwwa boyàye.ˈ mòdile?ˈ rèša.ˈ

(11) A bird came and baked bread. It is not sugar and is not a plant.
(Answer:) Honey.

(12) Every morning a black Indian jumps on the back of your mother.
(Answer:) a black water-skin for drawing water.

(13) The cover of the buttocks is the substance of the stew.
(Answer:) The fat of a sheep's tail.

(14) It came like an amir. It sat like a vizier. It went like a poor man.
(Answer:) Snow.

(15) It goes with a *həm*, it comes back with a *gəm*, both its legs are tied.
(Answer:) A churn.

Informant: Nawiya ʾOdišo (Dure)

(14) Xasădo is digging his place. We say 'What is (the meaning of) the riddle?' They say it is 'dripping (of water from a roof)'.

(15) Xasădo who has seven gowns is an onion.

(16) There is an oven with a flat bread in it. What is it? A mouth.

(17) A small stump of a tree with seven holes—What is it? A head.

D2 Proverbs and Sayings

(1) ʾó-t šawárra šáwwa sàkke,ˈ ða-qéθa gu-be-tàkke.ˈ

(2) m-xó-t ʾilána gáwze trè mbɛ́ni.ˈ

(3) la-mṭáqṭəq l-tắrət nàše ˈ ta-t-náše la-mṭáqṭəqi l-tə̀rux.ˈ

(4) hot-píša ʾápṣa milàna.ˈ

(5) šə́mša gànyaˈ ʾu-bíšta là-ganya.ˈ

(6) pšúṭla ʾàqlux ˈ qắdər bărə̀kθuxˈ

(7) ʾən-bábux ʾu-yə́mmux gu-bɛ̀θɛla,ˈ léla šəklánta ṯ-ásqət l-gàreˈ

(8) ʾíðux lá-darət gu-nùraˈ t-là-ʾaqða.ˈ

(9) šmáyya ʾíla denánta ṭla-ʾắra tárte qərṭále t-ʾə̀pra.ˈ

(10) dáx ṯ-óða ʾə́zza b-sə̀rda,ˈ gulíra gamárre gə̀lda.ˈ

(11) wí mbaqrà na,ˈ ṯ-áwət yaðùwaˈ

(12) neríya b-gə́žže lè-y-mayəθˈ

(13) qála mən-qáwra lè-y-aθe.ˈ

D2 Proverbs and Sayings

(1) He who jumps seven stakes, (one) will hit him in his waist.[1]

(2) From under the tree only two walnuts can be seen.[2]

(3) Do not knock on people's door so that people do not knock on your door.

(4) You have become a green gallnut.[3]

(5) The sun sets but evil does not set (with it).[4]

(6) Stretch your legs according to your cloth.[5]

(7) If your father and mother are in the house, it is not pleasant for you to go up onto the roof.[6]

(8) Do not put your hand in the fire lest it burns.

(9) Heaven owes the Earth two baskets of dust.[7]

(10) Just as the goat acts with the tree stalks, the gallnut (growing from the same tree) will tan its skin.

(11) Be inquisitive and you shall be knowledgeable.

(12) A male goat does not die (at the sight of) a raised hand.[8]

(13) A voice does not come from the grave.

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[1] Somebody who constantly takes risks will eventually be injured.
[2] All is not what it seems from a distance.
[3] When a gallnut is still green, you cannot easily see it among the leaves. You say this when you have not seen a friend for a long time.
[4] Evil never sleeps, and it is better to come home early at night after the sun has set.
[5] Do not do things beyond your ability or try to buy what you cannot afford.
[6] You should have respect for your parents and not become arrogant and imperious towards them.
[7] This is a reference to Noah and Elijah who ascended into Heaven and were not buried in the dust of the Earth.
[8] A successful person does not care what others say.

*(14) zwína sérga qam-sùsa*ˈ

*(15) dárta l-yòma,*ˈ *ʾórwe gu-gòma.*ˈ *dárta l-sèra,*ˈ *ʾórwe l-ṭèra.*ˈ

*(16) ʾéwe ʾən-θéla m-la-Ẑàwa,*ˈ *ṯ̂-áθe xa-yóma ṭàwa.*ˈ *ʾən-ʾéwe θéla m-Xawòra,*ˈ *ṯ̂-áθe xa-yóma kapòra.*ˈ

*(17) ʾo-t-xápər čále ṭla-xàwre*ˈ *b-gàne ṣále gáwa.*ˈ

*(18) šəryóxa báθər mzìða.*ˈ

*(19) ʾən-xátta pc̈̀lle,*ˈ *gnáyət táwra d-o-gòṛa.*ˈ

*(20) ʾíði txo-kèpɛla.*ˈ

*(21) ʾaw-t-lá-šaxən b-zráqtət ŝəmša*ˈ *b-gnèθa la-šáxən.*ˈ

*(22) náša mùlpa*ˈ *max-qésa mqùlpa*ˈ

*(23) náša b-nàše*ˈ *ʾu-ṭéra b-gulpàne.*ˈ

*(24) píšli bēl-šáta l-šəndùxta.*ˈ

*(25) tálga l-ṭùre*ˈ *ʾu-déna l-gùṛe*ˈ

*(26) ʾo-t-dáwəq nùne*ˈ *tárya qùne.*ˈ

*(27) xazáda là-wele,*ˈ *mágla mgubèle.*ˈ

(14) He has bought the saddle before the horse.

(15) If the sun has a halo, the sheep will be in the basement stable. If the moon has a halo, the sheep will be in the noon sun.

(16) If the clouds come from the side of the Zab,[9] the good day will come. If the clouds come from the Khabur,[10] an awful day will come.

(17) He who digs a hole for his friends will fall in it himself.

(18) (There is) a cord behind the bag.[11]

(19) If the line (drawn by the plough) is crooked, it is the fault of the big ox.

(20) My hand is under a stone.[12]

(21) He who does not get warm with the rising of the sun, does not get warm when it sets.

(22) A man who has been taught and is like a stripped piece of wood.[13]

(23) A man (must rely) on men, just as a bird (relies) on its wings.

(24) I have come between the plaster and the polishing stone.[14]

(25) As snow is to mountains, so a debt is to men.

(26) One who catches fishes gets his buttocks wet.

(27) He has not harvested anything, but he has chosen his scythe.[15]

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[9] I.e. the East.
[10] I.e. the West.
[11] Said of a man who is the puppet of his master. The master may tie or untie the cord of a bag according to his will.
[12] I cannot help you, my hands are tied.
[13] A lot of effort has been put into his education but he has not benefited from it.
[14] I am done for.
[15] A bad workman blames his tools.

(28) ʾo-t-páyəš b-híwi-t nàše| *míθɛle mən-bərmàše.*|

(29) kəmá-t sàprət| *ʾárwux b-ràxqi.*|

(30) zílle b-ríxət kăbàbe,| *xzéle mdaxóye xmàre.*|

(31) m-xo-máṭra xo-dalòpe.|

(32) lišána dážmən gàna.|

(33) pálxi plìxe,| *y-áxli nìxe.*|

(34) súse b-gáne măzidle ʾălìqe|

(35) quṣárta xsípla l-pùmma| *bráta plíṭla l-yəmma.*|

(36) xáṭṭe m-sənnòrta,| *yála m-qapəlta.*|

(37) láxma léwən b-naθyàθi xíla.|

(38) mxáya l-gúda t-šắme gàre.|

(39) nísa l-xúwwe m-xàwla ṣádle.|

(40) dəmma la-xáðər l-mìya.|

(41) xánjər l-gótət xáwrux gu-šalílət tùna.|

(28) He who relies on people is dead by the evening.

(29) The longer you wait, the further your sheep will move away.[16]

(30) He went after the smell of kebabs, but he found the branding of asses.

(31) (He came into the house) from under the rain (but found himself) under leaking (water from the roof).

(32) The tongue is its own enemy.

(33) Those who have worked hard work but those who are inactive eat.

(34) A horse by itself increases its fodder.[17]

(35) A pot has been turned upside down—the girl has come to resemble her mother.

(36) Wheat (is seen to be good) from when it is a shoot. A child (is seen to be good) from the time of (his mother's) embrace.

(37) I have not eaten bread with my ears.[18]

(38) He is beating the wall so that the roof hears.[19]

(39) He who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of a rope.[20]

(40) Blood does not turn into water.[21]

(41) A dagger in the side of your friend (as if) into a basket of straw.[22]

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[16] Do not procrastinate.
[17] A man becomes more popular by his own behaviour.
[18] I am not naïve.
[19] He is saying something to somebody so that somebody else hears.
[20] Once bitten twice shy.
[21] Blood is thicker than water.
[22] You do not care for your friend.

*(42) míya txo-tùna.*ˈ

*(43) gúda máre naθyàθɛle.*ˈ

*(44) qurðáya ʾən-páyəš dàwa*ˈ *lá darətle gu-jèbux.*ˈ

*(45) tálga lá mattúle pèle.*ˈ

*(46) ʾánna tre-miyéy le-y-ázi b-ðá šaqìθa.*ˈ

*(47) tắra dwìra*ˈ *qắda wìra*ˈ

*(48) kúlla ṭɛ́re le-y-axlíla tène.*ˈ

*(49) la-xzì*ˈ *ʾu-la-xṭì.*ˈ

*(50) xá čučə́kka gu-ʾíða biš-spáy-ile mən-ʾə́ṣra gu-ʾilàna.*ˈ

*(51) kyála páwxa b-kusìθe.*ˈ

*(52) xámmət qáša măməðele.*ˈ

*(53) tre-téle daṛmánət xa-ʾàrya.*ˈ

*(54) xá dáqər ʾàlpa.*ˈ *ʾálpa lá-daqri xà.*ˈ

*(55) kut-ʾárba ʾáqlət gàne páyəš tálya.*ˈ

*(56) ʾax-t-šɛ̀ša,*ˈ *la-tàlxa.*ˈ

(42) (He is like) water under straw.[23]

(43) The wall has ears.

(44) If a Kurd becomes gold coin, do not put it in your pocket.

(45) The snow will not put aside its fate.[24]

(46) The water of these two does not flow in the same stream.[25]

(47) If the door is closed, trouble passes by.

(48) Not all birds eat figs.[26]

(49) If you do not see, you will not sin.

(50) One sparrow in the hand is better than ten in the tree.

(51) He is measuring the wind with his hat.[27]

(52) The only concern of the priest is the baptism.[28]

(53) Two foxes are the medicine of a lion.[29]

(54) One is worth a thousand. A thousand does not cost one.

(55) Every sheep is hung up by his own legs.[30]

(56) When it shakes, it will not (necessarily) collapse.

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[23] A person seems at first sight to be reliable, but he is found to be concealing an undesirable quality.
[24] A person cannot change his character.
[25] They cannot agree.
[26] Not everything is easy for everybody.
[27] He is doing pointless work.
[28] He is not responsible for how a person turns out later.
[29] Two small people collaborating together are better than one big person.
[30] Everybody is responsible for himself.

*(57) mən-báze bára bazbùze*ˈ *ʾu-m-bazbúze bára bàze.*ˈ

*(58) ʾən-lá doqə́tle dəqnux b-ìðux,*ˈ *la-ʾámrət qa-xáwrux kòsa.*ˈ

*(59) lá-maxət gúšma ʾurədxa.*ˈ

*(60) tú pc̣̀la,*ˈ *mṣáwəθ dūs.*ˈ

*(61) ʾən-háwe pláṭa mən-ʾárxe ṭíša qàmxa,*ˈ *lá hămánət ʾəlle.*ˈ

*(62) ʾo-k̂óra xa-záwga ʾène bă̆ye.*ˈ

*(63) šə́mma gòṛa*ˈ *ʾu-máθa xăràba.*ˈ

*(64) kálba gu-tă̆rət màre*ˈ *ləbbàna y-áwe.*ˈ

*(65) xabúša smóqa l-dəbbɛle xíla.*ˈ

*(66) báθər t-gníw Mar-Qayyòma,*ˈ *qəm-dawríle tằra.*ˈ

*(67) lišáne rìxa*ˈ *ʾu-xáṣe ṭwìxa.*ˈ

*(68) la-qáṭlət kəma-t-párəm sèpux.*ˈ

*(69) láxma šaxína daṛmánət náša kpìna.*ˈ

*(70) mən-rúqta mtárəṣ xwìṣa.*ˈ

(57) From great people little insignificant ones grow, and from insignificant ones great ones grow.

(58) If you cannot hold your own beard in your hand, do not call your friend beardless.

(59) Do not punch a needle.

(60) Sit crooked, but tell the truth.[31]

(61) If he is coming out of the water-mill covered in flour, do not trust him.

(62) A blind man wants a pair of eyes.[32]

(63) The name is big, but the village is a ruin.[33]

(64) A dog at the door of his owner is brave.

(65) The red apple has been eaten by the bear.[34]

(66) After (the church of) St. Qayyoma was plundered, they closed the door.[35]

(67) His tongue is long, but his back is broken.[36]

(68) Do not kill as much as your sword can slaughter.

(69) Hot bread is the medicine of a hungry man.

(70) From spittle he makes a dish of *xwiṣa*.[37]

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[31] Tell the truth in all circumstances.
[32] Said when somebody is offered his heart's desire.
[33] Said when somebody boasts.
[34] Said when a beautiful woman is married to an ugly man.
[35] They acted too late.
[36] He boasts but cannot do anything.
[37] He is stingy. The dish of *xwiṣa* consists of wheat flour mixed with butter and an egg.

(71) lá-ʾazət l-qɛ́se b-xáwlət xàwrux.[1]

(72) lá-mṣət garšótla qàšte.[1]

(73) b-núrət rašíye y-áqði məskène.[1]

(74) ʾə́n genáwa ʾu-márət bɛ́θa pɛ́ši xà,[1] *táwra mpalṭíle b-kàwe.*[1]

(75) kut-šayášla šə́rme léle makərxàna.[1]

(76) la-ṣále b-čú masrə̀qθa.[1]

(77) léle šwíqa xá t-xayáple ʾímət màyəθ.[1]

(78) bárye m-ʾaqúbre qárṭi mzìðe.[1]

(79) yóma, yóma mgáli pàθux,[1] *šáxni bnónux ʾu-bnàθux,*[1] *ʾu-ʾap-kalàθux.*[1]

(71) Do not go to (collect) wood with the rope of your friend.[38]

(72) You cannot draw his bow.[39]

(73) By the fire of wicked people the poor burn.

(74) If a thief and a landlord become one, they can take out an ox through a window.[40]

(75) Everybody who shakes his buttocks is not a metal-polisher.[41]

(76) He does not go down with any comb.[42]

(77) He has not left anybody to wash him when he dies.[43]

(78) Those born of mice gnaw storage bags.[44]

(79) Sun, sun reveal your face, so that your sons, your daughters and your daughters-in-law may be warm.[45]

[38] Do not rely on other people.
[39] Do not try to do what he does, since he is stronger.
[40] Referring to the actions of a traitor.
[41] Appearances deceive. A polisher uses his feet to polish and in so doing rocks his buttocks.
[42] He cannot be combed down, i.e. he is obstinate and difficult to deal with.
[43] He has no friends.
[44] He is like his parents, a chip off the block.
[45] Said when a cloud covers the sun.