

# The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmia

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# The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi

VOLUME 1

GRAMMAR: PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

*By*

Geoffrey Khan



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*For the Assyrians of Urmi*

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## Preface

These volumes are the result of a project that aimed to document the spoken Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Assyrian Christians of the region of Urmi. It follows my previous work on the dialect of the Jews of the region (Khan 2008a). Although much scholarly work has been done on the dialect of the Assyrians of the region and the dialect has gained central importance due to its being the basis of a widely used literary form of Neo-Aramaic, we still do not have a systematic description of the spoken dialect of the Assyrians of Urmi. The current work is intended to fill this gap. It has taken almost ten years to complete. This was due in part to the extensive fieldwork that was necessary to achieve a detailed documentation of the dialect in its different regional varieties. Another factor was the arduous labour needed to create a transcribed text corpus sufficiently large to serve as a satisfactory source for the linguistic description. Virtually all the material for this work was gathered through my own fieldwork in order to have direct access to the source language and ensure maximal accuracy of analysis.

Although the dialect of Assyrians originating from the Urmi region is still widely spoken, the number of speakers with a command of the lexicon relating to the traditional life of the villages of the Urmi plain is now rapidly dwindling and so there has been a degree of urgency in the documentation project. This is because due to the tragic events of the 20th century the Assyrians have been forced to abandon their villages on the Urmi plain, and the world of the villages and the mapping of their linguistic varieties have now to be reconstructed from the memories of the older generation of speakers.

This project would not have been possible without the help of many people, to whom I here extend my warmest gratitude. The preliminary fieldwork for the project was undertaken in London in the home of Jacob and Bella Petrus. Jacob and Bella continued to offer me great help and warm hospitality over the years. I was able to make important advances in the documentation of the dialect in a series of fieldtrips to California, where I interviewed many Assyrians from the Urmi region now resident in Turlock, Fresno and Los Angeles. I would like to express my particular thanks to Robert Paulissian (Los Angeles) and Yosəp bet Yosəp (Turlock) for their immensely kind hospitality and great patience with my endless questions. Julius Petros (Turlock) and Homer Ashurian (Chicago) also gave me much help.

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*Geoffrey Khan  
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# Abbreviations

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
annex.	annexation form
approx.	approximately
Arab.	Arabic
Arm.	Armenia
Arm ... Arm	Armenian
Az ... Az	Azeri
Azer.	Azeri
C.	Christian dialect
cst.	construct state
E ... E	English
Eng.	English
exclam.	exclamation
f.	feminine
fs.	feminine singular
Gaw.	Gawilan
Ge ... Ge	Georgian
Georg.	Georgia
imper.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
invar.	invariable
J.	Jewish dialect
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
Kurd.	Kurdish
m.	masculine
metaphor.	metaphorical
mod.	(non-attributive) modifier
ms.	masculine singular
lit.	literally
N	northern Urmî variety
n.	noun
NENA	North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic
num.	numeral
obl.	oblique
P ... P	Persian

part.	particle
Pers.	Persian
pl.	plural
prep.	preposition
prog.	progressive
pron.	pronoun, pronominal
prs.	present template
pst.	past
R...R	Russian
rsp.	resultative participle
Rus.	Russian
S	southern Urmi variety
Sal.	Salamas
so.	someone
sth.	something
Syr.	Syriac
tr.	transitive
voc.	vocative
vn.	verbal noun

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# Introduction

## 0.1 The Assyrian Christians of Urmi

The town of Urmi is situated in north-western Iran on a fertile plain between Lake Urmi to the east and the mountains leading up to the border with Turkey on the west. It is the capital of the West Azerbaijan province of Iran. ‘Urmi’ is the form of the name of the town that is used by the Aramaic-speaking Assyrian Christians and this is the form that is used throughout this work. A variety of other forms of the name are used in other languages, e.g. Urumiya (Persian), Urmiyā (Armenian), Urmīyə, Urmu (Azeri), Úrmiyə (Kurdish). According to a local popular etymology, the name means ‘place of water’ (*miyya*). It is likely, however, that it is connected to the name Ormazd, the Middle Persian form of the name of Ahuramazd. Evidence for this is the gentilic adjectival form *urməžnaya* ‘man from Urmi’ (Yohannan 1900, xi). During the Pahlavi Dynasty (1925–1979), the town was called Rezaiyeh after the name of the ruler Rezā Shāh.

The presence of Aramaic-speaking Assyrian Christians<sup>1</sup> in the town of Urmi and the surrounding plain in north-western Iran can be traced back in historical records to the Middle Ages. There is reference in the sources to the existence of a bishop in Urmi in the year 1111 C.E. and the church of Mat Maryam of the town is referred to in 1284 (Fiey 1973, 402–407; 1993, 141–142). It is not clear, however, at what date the Aramaic-speaking Assyrians first settled in the area. It is likely that they were originally migrants from the mountains of eastern Turkey (Nöldeke 1868, xxiii; Yaure 1957, 77–79). This is indicated by the close linguistic relationship of the dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi (henceforth C. Urmi) with Neo-Aramaic dialects of this mountain region (§ 0.6.). Presence in the dialect of Arabic loanwords that preserve Arabic phonological features suggest that the ancestors of the C. Urmi-speakers were at some point in contact with Arabic in northern Mesopotamia (§ 15.1.1.1.).

Until the beginning of the twentieth century the majority of the Assyrians in the Urmi area lived in villages on the plain lying to the north and the south of the town. The majority of these villages were inhabited exclusively by Assyrians. The villagers made their living as agriculturalists cultivating a variety of crops. Reports by the early missionaries to the area in the 19th century

<sup>1</sup> The native name is *suraya* (in the written sources spelt with an initial *’alap*: or *+aturaya*.

indicate that only a small number lived in the town of Urmi itself. The American missionary Justin Perkins when he first visited the region in the 1830s estimated that only about 600 Assyrians lived in the town whereas 30,000 or 40,000 lived on the surrounding plain (Murre-van den Berg 1999, 40). Before the First World War the Assyrian villages of the region numbered over 200.<sup>2</sup>

Until the first half of the 19th century the vast majority of the Assyrians of the region belonged to the Church of the East and owed allegiance to a Patriarch who had his residence in Qodshanis in the Hakkari Mountains of south-eastern Turkey. Only a small minority belonged to the Chaldean Church, which was in communion with Rome. There was a Chaldean community in the village of Ardişay, south of Urmi and also in the region of Salamas, to the north of the Urmi plain adjacent to the northern end of the Lake of Urmi. In the 1830s western missionaries began to arrive in the region.<sup>3</sup> A Protestant mission under the responsibility of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions arrived in 1835 and this was followed by a Lazarist Catholic mission in 1839 and an Anglican mission, called ‘The Archbishop of Canterbury’s Mission to the Assyrian Christians’ in 1886.<sup>4</sup> The missionaries opened schools for both children and adults in villages across the Urmi plain and provided medical care. One of the objectives of this education programme was to teach the Assyrians to read the Bible and other edifying literature in their own vernacular language. In order to achieve this they developed a literary form of the vernacular written in Syriac script and brought printing presses which produced scores of printed books. The American Protestants started printing vernacular texts in 1842, starting with the New Testament, and this was rapidly followed by the Old Testament and other literature. The other missions followed a similar educational programme and had their own presses. A consequence of these activities was that some of the Assyrians joined the congregations of the Christian denominations represented by the missions. The missions also seem to have played a role in a demographic change, in that a large number of Assyrians moved from the villages to the town of Urmi, where the missions and their presses were based. As a result the Assyrian community of the town grew to around 6,500 in 1910 (Hartmann 1980, 74).

After the Treaty of Turkmenchay (1828), which fixed the borders between Russia and Persia at the end of the Russo-Persian War (1826–1828), numer-

<sup>2</sup> For lists of the names of the villages see Coakley (1993), Sanders (1997, 72–75), Gaunt (2006, 417), Petrus (2012a) and the sources cited by Al-Jeloo (2010).

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed account of the western missions to the Urmi region and their activities until the First World War see Murre-van den Berg (1999).

<sup>4</sup> For details of this Anglican mission and its activities see in particular Coakley (1992).

ous Assyrians from the Urmi region began to settle in Russia, in particular in the Caucasus region, which was close enough to allow them to maintain contact with their families on the Urmi plain. Many of these joined the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1898 the Russian Orthodox Church established a mission in Urmi, which won over many converts among the Assyrians in the region, including some who had joined the churches of the other missions. One of the motivating factors for the enthusiasm with which the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church were received is likely to be that the Assyrians hoped for political support from this major Christian power, which had interests in the region. At this period there was a further wave of emigration of Assyrians from the Urmi region to the Caucasus and the major Russian towns, in particular St. Petersburg. Many also left for the USA, where they had many job opportunities on account of their education in the western missionary schools. According to the census in 1897 the number of Assyrians in the Russian empire was 5,400 (Isaev 1979, 17).

In 1914 the Assyrians constituted one of the largest ethnic groups in the population of the Urmi region. According to the statistics provided by Namik and Nedjib (1919) they numbered 78,000 at this period. They were only slightly outnumbered by Turks and Turkmen (80,000), while other groups were considerably smaller: sedentary Kurds (38,000), Armenians (20,000), Persians (10,000), Jews (4,000).<sup>5</sup> The events of the First World War brought about major upheavals among the Assyrian population. In the years leading up to the war the Assyrians had high hopes in the protection of the Russians, who extended their control to Azerbaijan in 1908 and occupied Urmi and other towns in 1911. In January 1915, however, the Russians withdrew following an onslaught by the Turkish army. Many Assyrians left with them, which further increased the size of the migrant Assyrian communities in Russia, especially the Caucasus. The Turks in consort with Kurdish troops raided villages on the Urmi plain and the Assyrian villagers fled to Urmi to seek refuge in the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. In May 1915 the Russian army returned and the Assyrians were able to return to their villages. In the winter of 1916 many of the Assyrians from the villages in the Hakkari Mountains, fleeing from massacres by Kurds, sought refuge on the Urmi plain. In the autumn of 1917 the Russians withdrew from the region as a consequence of the Russian Revolution. The Assyrian Patriarch formed his own Assyrian battalion and this was able to retain control of Urmi, guided by the missionary W.A. Shedd and some Russian officers who had stayed behind. Attempts were made to regain territory, which climaxed in a major offensive

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5 Cf. Dubois (1921, 72) and Gaunt (2006, 406).

by the Assyrians after the murder of their Patriarch Shimun XIX Benjamin in March 1918 by Kurds. In April 1918 the Turkish army joined forces with the Kurds and made an onslaught on Urmi. Assyrian troops made contact with British forces further to the south and subsequently the remaining Assyrians, together with missionaries who had stayed in the town, all fled to Hamadan, which was controlled by the British. Many lost their lives in this perilous flight. The survivors were subsequently settled by the British in a refugee camp in Baquba. It is estimated that approximately 40,000 Persian Assyrians were killed in events of the First World War.<sup>6</sup>

After the war Assyrians from the Urmi region were able to return to their homeland, but the majority settled in the town of Urmi and only a small proportion went back to their villages on the Urmi plain. This had a major impact on the C. Urmi dialect, since the numerous village varieties became increasingly mixed together in the urban Assyrian communities. The American missionaries returned in 1923 and resumed their educational and health-care programme. Under the government of Reza Khan in 1934 the missionaries and all other foreigners had to leave the region of Azerbaijan. Many of the Assyrians who had received a good education in the missionary schools subsequently left the Urmi region to take up jobs in other Iranian towns, such as Tabriz, Hamadan and in particular in Tehran where a large community of Assyrian speakers of the C. Urmi dialect developed.

During the Second World War the Assyrian community in the Urmi region suffered further due to the fact that the Iranian government lost control of the region of north-western Iran to Azerbaijani and Kurdish independence movements, which were supported by the Soviet Union. This resulted in violent Kurdish uprisings on the Urmi plain in which Assyrians lost their lives (see B6 in the text corpus). At the end of 1946 the Iranian government regained control of the region after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. In the post-war years the situation of the Assyrians of Iran improved. In 1949 the patriarch of the Church of the East, who since 1940 was based in the USA, negotiated an agreement with the Iranian government to give permission for the founding of a governing body of the church in Iran. The Chaldean church received permission to open a seminary in 1953 (Yonan 1978, 83–84).

Although the villages on the Urmi plain had been resettled to some extent after the First World War, there was an inexorable gravitation of the village

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<sup>6</sup> Sources giving details of these tragic events include Rockwell (1916), Dubois (1921), Werda (1924, 3–220), Macuch (1976, 230–260), Yonan (1978, 28–39), Yonan and Bangert (2006), Gaunt (2006, 81–120).

population towards the town of Urmi for work, education and, in some cases, due to natural disasters such as floods (Younansardaroud 2001, xvi).

According to Hartmann (1980, 27) in 1970 there were approximately 19,800 Assyrians in Iran. After the Islamic revolution of 1979 the Assyrians suffered considerable hardships and large numbers left the villages and also the town of Urmi seeking a new life outside of Iran. Today there is only a very diminished community of Assyrian speakers of the C. Urmi dialect in the Urmi region, virtually all of them living in the town of Urmi. According to al-Jeloo in 2010 there were only 5,000 Assyrians left in the area. Virtually all of these resided in the town of Urmi (Jeloo 2010).

The Assyrian community in the Soviet Union continued to grow after the First World. In 1926 their number was approximately 9,000, many, but not all were from families originating in the Urmi region. This number grew to 21,800 in 1959, 24,294 in 1970 and approximately 25,000 in 1979 (Pennacchietti, and Tosco 1991, 15). According to the available statistics in 1926 91.1% of the Assyrians of the Soviet Union retained Neo-Aramaic as a first language. In 1959 this had dropped to 64.3%, but this remained stable until at least 1970 in which the retention rate was 64.5% (Lewis 1972, 23, 134; Pennacchietti and Tosco 1991, 15). There is a large settlement of Assyrians from Urmi near Armavir in the northern Caucasus of Russia in a town called Urmia.

The Armenian term for Assyrians is *Aysor* and this was used also in Russian until at least the 1920s, but *Aysor* is now regarded as derogatory by Russian-speaking Assyrians and they prefer the Russian term *Assiriytsi*, which is used also to refer to the ancient Assyrians.<sup>7</sup>

The first settlement of Assyrians in Georgia can be dated to the last third of the 18th century. In 1770 the Georgian king Iraqli II invited Assyrians to join his troops to fight against the Ottomans. This followed earlier appeals to Iraqli by the Assyrian Patriarch to allow Assyrians to settle in Georgia (Tsereteli 1969; 1970a, 376). As a result some Assyrian families, including it seems some from the Urmi region, settled in Georgia at this period. Subsequent waves of immigrants from the Urmi region came after the Treaty of Turkmenchay in 1828 and during the First World War.

According to the 1989 population census, there were 8,600 Assyrians in Georgia. A large number left the country after Georgian independence in the 1990s. Today there are approximately 6,000 Assyrians in the country. The largest and oldest settlement of Assyrians is in the village of Dzveli Canda (Mtskheta District). The population of this village today numbers approximately 350 families

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<sup>7</sup> Tsereteli (1978b, 23) and Alexey Lyavdansky (personal communication).

(1,500 people), 80 percent of whom are Assyrians. The vast majority of the Assyrians originate from the Urmî region and speak a variety of the C. Urmî dialect. The first Assyrian settlers of Canda arrived in the 19th century and the community grew substantially during the First World War. According to local tradition a large proportion of the settlers originated from the village of <sup>+</sup>Nazə in the northern Urmî plain. In the region of Gardabani there are approximately 110 Assyrian families (600 to 700 people), some of whom are speakers of C. Urmî. In the city of Tbilisi there are approximately 2,000 Assyrians, mostly in the neighbourhood of Kukia, but the majority of these do not originate from the Urmî region. Smaller settlements of Assyrians are found in other Georgian towns, including Kutaisi, Batumi, Senaki, Zugdidi and Zestafoni.

In the early decades of the Communist period the cultural, literary and intellectual activities of the Assyrians of Georgia flourished, especially in Tbilisi, where there was a theatre group performing in the C. Urmî dialect, a literary journal (*Cuxva d-Madənxa* ‘Star of the East’) was published and Assyrian schools were opened (Tsereteli 1970a, 377). Under Stalin’s regime in 1937, however, most of the intellectuals and clergy were repressed, resulting in the cessation of publishing and the closure of schools. Ten years later in a new wave of repressions Assyrians were deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan in huge numbers, many of whom returned only after the rehabilitation of 1954. Today the literary form of C. Urmî is taught in schools in Canda and Tbilisi.

The Assyrians who migrated to Armenia after the Treaty of Turkmenchay (1828) moved from place to place in search of favourable living conditions, first living in Nakhchivan, then in Karabakh province, and finally, in the middle of the 19th century, settled in Yerevan province. The leader of this migration was Alawerd Tumayev, who served in the Russian army (Tsereteli 1970a, 376). In the Yerevan region the communities of C. Urmî-speakers made their homes mainly in the villages of Guylasar (now known officially as Dimitrov), Dvin and Arzni, where they still live today. According to the ethnographic report *Sbornik materialov dlya opisaniya mestnostey i plemen Kavkaza* (*Materials for describing regions and tribes of the Caucasus*) (Tbilisi, 1894, 284–326), the settlers in Guylasar came mainly from the villages of <sup>+</sup>Spurğan, <sup>+</sup>Mušava, <sup>+</sup>Nazə and Juytapa (Juctapa). A few C. Urmî-speakers settled in the village of Shagriar in the Armavir region. Another settlement, mainly by Assyrians from eastern Turkey, was in the village of Gol-Aysor, but this was abandoned in the period of Stalin. Shortly after settling in Armenia, the Assyrians joined the Russian Orthodox Church.

According to a census in 1897 the number of Assyrians in Yerevan province was 2,682. A census in 1979 indicates that the Assyrian population had grown to 6,183. Throughout the 20th century Assyrians gradually settled in the Armenian

towns and some subsequently lost their knowledge of the C. Urmî dialect. Those who remained in the villages generally retained their knowledge of the dialect. Many villagers intermarried with their Armenian neighbours, but the Armenians of the villages generally learned the C. Urmî dialect and, to this day, frequently communicate with Assyrians in C. Urmî. Since the 1970s attempts have been made to teach the literary form of C. Urmî in the village schools, but this initiative has been hampered by lack of competent teachers.

In the 1980s many Assyrians began to leave Armenia, and by the 1989 census their number had dropped to 5,963. In the years following the independence of Armenia in 1991, there was a massive exodus of Assyrians from the country, mainly for economic reasons.

In the course of the 20th century many of the Assyrian speakers of the C. Urmî dialect left Iran and settled, for the most part, in North America, Europe and Australia. Initially one of the main centres of Assyrian immigration was Chicago (Shoumanov 2001, 10–11), but in the course of time a particularly large community of Urmî Assyrians developed in California. One of the main concentrations of Urmî Assyrians is now in the San Joaquin Valley of California, especially in the town of Turlock. The first Assyrian settlers in Turlock arrived in 1910 and their number grew rapidly thereafter. The immigration came in waves peaking around the two World Wars and the Iranian Islamic revolution in 1979. This region was favoured by the Assyrians from Urmî since the climate and agricultural land was felt to be similar to those of the Urmî plain. Today there are approximately 15,000 Assyrians in the San Joaquin Valley, the majority from families originating in the Urmî region. The older generation of Assyrians who were brought up in Iran still have a good knowledge of the language. Those who had lived in villages when they were younger generally retain features of the village varieties of the dialect in their speech and remember a large proportion of the lexicon relating to the material culture of the villages.

## 0.2 Literary and Vernacular Forms of the C. Urmî Dialect

One of the major achievements of the western missionaries to Urmî in the 19th century was the creation of a written literary form of the spoken C. Urmî dialect.<sup>8</sup> A few scattered attempts at the representation of the vernacular in

<sup>8</sup> The formation and background of this literary C. Urmî Neo-Aramaic until the First World War have been described in detail by Murre-van den Berg (1999). The following account is largely based on this excellent study. See also Macuch (1976), who covers developments in the literary language also in the period after the First World War.

written form had been made before the arrival of the missionaries. One of these, for example, is a catechism written by a Chaldean priest in Khosrova in the Salamas region, north of Urmi, in 1827, which was published by Rödiger (1838) and used by Nöldeke (1868) as one of his sources for his grammar of C. Urmi, although the text reflects the C. Salamas rather than the C. Urmi dialect. It was the American Protestant mission that took the lead in both the creation of a standard written form of vernacular and also its dissemination by printing. The C. Urmi dialect was chosen as the basis of the literary language probably because as the dialect of the main centre of commerce and education in the region it was more widely understood than the dialects in the mountains.

As remarked, in 1842 this mission started printing the literary neo-Aramaic form of the New Testament, which was finished in 1846. This was followed by the publication of a translation of the Old Testament in 1852. The printed neo-Aramaic Bible versions became the main models for the standardization process. In addition to these Bible versions numerous other works were published. These include translations from English as well of original compositions. Notable among the latter was the magazine *Zāhīri d-Bāhrā* 'Rays of Light', which began to be published in 1849. Native Neo-Aramaic-speaking Assyrians were involved in the translation and editing of the Bible versions and other translations, and were the authors of many of the original compositions. The literary form of the language was used and developed by subsequent missions to the region, in particular by that of the Anglicans.

The Syriac script was chosen for this literary language since it was perceived that this would be more readily accepted by the local population as it did not break with the traditional use of the script in the communities of the Church of the East. Indeed the aforementioned vernacular Bible translations were published together with the Syriac Peshitta version in a parallel column. The orthography of Classical Syriac, the traditional literary language of the liturgy of the Church of the East, had an impact on that of the new literary form of the vernacular. As a result, the orthography of this literary C. Urmi in many respects does not represent the phonology and morphology of the vernacular directly. The orthography often reflects the corresponding forms in Classical Syriac, which differed from the vernacular. The Anglican missionaries, foremost among them Arthur J. Maclean, who was head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission from 1886 to 1891, advocated an even greater degree of classicism in the orthography, not only because of the prestige of the more ancient Classical Syriac tradition, but also since such classicism was seen to be a means of overarching regional differences in the vernacular. This view was shared by the American Protestants, who produced a new Bible version, first in a preliminary version of Genesis in 1886 and then the complete Bible in 1893,

printed by the American Bible Society in New York. In this new version many of the vernacular lexical items in the earlier version that were loanwords from other languages of the area, such as Azeri and Persian, were replaced by the corresponding words in Classical Syriac. This was felt to be necessary in order for the Bible version to be accessible also to Assyrians outside the Urmi region.

The literary language also deviated from the vernacular in certain aspects of syntax. As Murre-van den Berg (1999, 219–348) has shown, Bible translations in particular often imitate the syntax of the source text with regard to the ordering of constituents and also other aspects of syntax, such as the use of the preposition *l-* to mark the direct object, in accordance with the practice of Classical Syriac, but in contrast to the vernacular, which more frequently uses the preposition *ka* for this purpose (Murre-van den Berg 1999, 211–213). Some classicizing syntactic features, such as the use of *l-* as object marker, are found also in texts that were original compositions.

The literary C. Urmi language was accessible to readers who were speakers of other dialects and such speakers also became authors of works in the language. One of the foremost authors of this type was Paul Bedjan, who was a native speaker of the dialect of Salamas, and composed numerous works in the literary C. Urmi language between 1840 and 1870.

By the time of the First World War the literary C. Urmi language had become accepted as a central aspect of Assyrian culture in Urmi. It was used in literature, documents and also inscriptions in churches and graveyards (Jeloo 2010). Its tradition was continued by Assyrian intellectuals in Urmi after the missionaries had left the town and also in the diaspora of C. Urmi speakers in Tehran and other Iranian towns. A large number of books and journals were published and even continued to some extent after the Islamic revolution.<sup>9</sup> A characteristic feature of the flourishing use of the literary language was the constant proliferation of neologisms, generally based on Classical Syriac, that were introduced by writers. This literary culture was transferred to the USA by Assyrian intellectuals who migrated there from Iran in the course of the 20th century.

The use of the literary language also continued in the Caucasus, in particular in Tbilisi in Georgia. In the 1920s in the Soviet Union the Communist regime included the Assyrian community among the officially recognized national minorities who had the right to develop their own literary languages as a means of increasing literacy. As a result the Assyrian community developed a literary form of language written in a Latin alphabet known in Russian as the Noviy

<sup>9</sup> For a survey of the Assyrian literature produced in Iran in the period after the First World War see Sarmas (1962–1970) and Macuch (1976). For the journals see Yonan (1985).

Alfavit 'New Alphabet' (Polotsky 1961; Friedrich 1959; Friedrich 1960). The literary language written with this New Alphabet, which in Russian was referred to as *aysorkij*, derived from the Armenian term for Assyrian *Aysor*, was a continuation in some respects of the tradition of the literary C. Urmi language that was developed in north-western Iran. It was based on the C. Urmi dialect. The orthography of the Latin alphabet was developed by a number of Assyrian linguists, notable among them being E.D. Polivanov (1891–1938), N.V. Yushmanov (1896–1946) and K.I. Marogulov (1901–1937). The range of Latin characters and their phonetic value were similar to those of the Latin alphabets developed for other minority languages in the Soviet Union at that period. It reflected the spoken language far more closely than that of the classicizing Syriac orthography of the original literary language. Suprasegmental emphasis, for example, is represented in most words where it occurred. It was essentially a broad phonemic representation of the language. The texts, nevertheless, contain a number of features in phonology, syntax and the lexicon that are characteristic of the literary rather than the vernacular language. Even phonemic distinctions that are not made in the Syriac orthography continued to be unrepresented in the New Alphabet, namely the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated unvoiced stops.

During the period from 1926 to 1937 a large amount of literature, articles and newspapers were published in the New Alphabet in the Soviet Union, including educational material for schools, where this literary language was taught to Assyrians. The literature includes novels, short stories and poems, many of them translations of Russian writers. The non-literary material included, for example, scientific texts, speeches of political leaders and reports of the Communist party. In total 387 books were printed (Macuch 1976, 320). Texts in the New Alphabet ceased to be printed in 1939 due to a change in policy by the Soviet regime led by Stalin, whereby it was decreed that Russian should be the obligatory language of education and the Cyrillic alphabet should replace all other writing systems (Lewis 1972, 73). Although many of the minority languages began to be written in Cyrillic script, this did not apply to C. Urmi, which lost its status as one of the 'languages of the Soviet peoples' (Polotsky, preface to Marogulov 1976). The New Alphabet literature never enjoyed great favour among the main concentrations of the Assyrians in the Caucasus, who regarded it as an innovation that cut them off from the traditional literary culture in Syriac script (Tsereteli 1970a, 378).

The supradialectal function of the literally Urmi language in Syriac script also proliferated in the period after the First World War, in that it was used as the basis of a literary culture by Assyrians who spoke different Neo-Aramaic dialects. This was the case in particular in Iraq, where writers adopted a form

of written language that contained many features characteristic of literary Urmî that did not occur in their native dialects.

The literary language had an impact on the spoken language of educated speakers of C. Urmî. This is most conspicuous in their use of a number of neologisms or classicisms in the lexicon, but is also manifest in some aspects of phonology and morphology (§ 0.8.).

### 0.3 Previous Scholarship on the C. Urmî Dialect

The C. Urmî dialect has gained a particularly prominent status among the Neo-Aramaic dialects due to its being the basis of the literary form of Neo-Aramaic that enjoyed a wide distribution and high prestige among the Assyrian community. This is reflected also in the large number of grammatical studies of the dialect that have been published. The majority of these studies are devoted to a description of the literary language and many have a pedagogical purpose.

The earliest grammar of the language is that of Stoddard (1855), who was one of the Protestant missionaries in Urmî and was actively involved in the shaping and standardization of the literary language. The groundwork for the grammar was laid by the missionary Albert Lewis Holladay, who left the mission in 1845 for reasons of health (Murre-van den Berg 1999, 102, n. 101). Stoddard represents the language in Syriac script with the classicizing type of orthography that was used in the literary Urmî texts printed by the missionaries, with a description on how this should be read in the initial section on ‘orthography and orthoëpy’. In the grammar he occasionally makes evaluative remarks about ‘vulgar’ forms that deviate from the shape of Classical Syriac. This grammar, however, is primarily a description of the spoken vernacular language with the data represented in the orthography of the literary language rather than a description of the literary language as it appears in texts. Stoddard had a good knowledge of the C. Urmî dialect and also of the dialects of Neo-Aramaic dialects spoken by Assyrian communities in the mountains as far away as Bohtan. His grammar refers to variations within the C. Urmî dialect on the Urmî plain and also makes comparative reference to the mountain dialects. This objective is made clear by the full title of the work: *Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language as Spoken in Oroomiah, Persia, and in Koordistan*. It is, therefore, a highly important record of the C. Urmî dialect and other dialects as they were spoken in the middle of the 19th century. It includes a description of pronunciation, morphology, syntax and idiomatic phraseology. The morphology section presents extensive lists of verbs, which are a valuable lexicographical source. He mentions in various places morphological forms and lexical items that are not used

in the current state of spoken C. Urmî. In some cases this may be due to the fact that the forms have fallen from use. In a number of cases, however, the items in question appear to originate in the dialects of the adjacent mountains. This applies in particular to some verbs in the lexical lists.<sup>10</sup> The main disadvantage of this grammar for the investigation of the spoken vernacular is the use of the Syriac script and classicizing orthography, which does not represent accurately the phonology of the dialect.

Nöldeke's grammar, *Grammatik der Neusyrischen Sprache am Urmia-See und in Kurdistan* (1868), is a major contribution to scholarly research of the language, with detailed treatment in particular of morphology and syntax, including copious comparisons with earlier forms of Aramaic and discussions of the background of loanwords in various languages. The main drawback of the work is that Nöldeke did not have direct access to the spoken language. It is based mainly on a corpus of texts printed by the Protestant mission press and the grammar of Stoddard. These are supplemented by a short catechism text in the related Salamas dialect written in Syriac, which had been discovered by the early missionary visitors to the region, Eli Smith and H.G.O. Dwight, in 1834 and published by Rödiger (1838). Nöldeke admits in the foreword:

Als Hauptmangel des Buches empfinde ich es, dass es mir unmöglich war, durch mein eignes Ohr die Laute der Sprache von einem Eingeborenen zu vernehmen. In Folge davon bleibt namentlich in der Lautlehre Manches ungenau und zweifelhaft.

I feel that a major deficiency of the book is that it was not possible for me to hear with my own ear the pronunciation of the language by a native speaker. As a consequence much remains inexact and doubtful, in particular in the section on phonology.

In the introduction Nöldeke criticizes the missionaries for deciding to represent the language in Syriac script, since this conceals many features of the spoken language. He had access only to a short word-list of C. Urmî written in a roman transcription that was published by Müller (1864, 106–107). This was taken down by Müller from speakers of C. Urmî who passed through Vienna in 1863. The lack of access to the spoken language prevents Nöldeke not only from giving an accurate presentation of the phonology of the language, but also

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<sup>10</sup> Even Maclean writing forty years later (1895, xi, n. 1) was not able to verify the existence of some forms given by Stoddard among native speakers.

from assessing the relationship of other levels of grammar reflected by his written sources, in particular the syntax, with the vernacular.

Collections of texts in the C. Urmi dialect with German translations were published by Merx (1873) and Socin (1882). These were written in Syriac script by an Assyrian named Audishu Arsani from the village of Mat-<sup>+</sup>Maryam (<sup>+</sup>Has-sar) near Urmi.<sup>11</sup> He used the classicizing orthographic conventions of the American missionaries. A particularly valuable feature of these editions is the fact that they are accompanied by a transcription into Latin characters of the pronunciation of the texts when read aloud. All the texts in Socin's edition are transcribed in this way. Some are, in fact, given only in transcription. Merx provides a transcription only for an extract from St. Luke's gospel according to the 1846 version. The edition of Merx contains numerous notes, mainly relating to phonology and etymology. The transcriptions indicate many features of the spoken language that are hidden by the conventional orthography of the literary language. Nöldeke (1882) reviewed Socin's work with numerous notes on points of detail. The validity of many of these, however, is weakened by his lack of knowledge of the spoken form of the language.

As part of a documentation project of the culture of the various ethnic groups of the Caucasus at the end of the nineteenth century, the Assyrian scholar A.I. Kalashev (1894a) published a short corpus of folktales in the C. Urmi dialect, which he gathered from the community of Guylasar in Armenia. He transcribes them using the 'Russian Linguistic Alphabet,' which was used by various Russian linguists at that period (Polotsky 1961, 3). This was a highly accurate method of representing the sounds of the language. It distinguished, for example, between aspirated and unaspirated stops and represented suprasegmental pharyngalization. None of these features are accurately reflected by the Syriac orthography of the literary language or by the transcriptions of Socin and Merx. The texts are supplied with a Russian translation. Kalashev also contributed to the documentation project a dictionary (Kalashev 1894b) consisting of two sections, Russian—C. Urmi and C. Urmi—Russian. Words in the dictionary are likewise transcribed using the Russian Linguistic Alphabet. Many of the words recorded in this dictionary are not used by C. Urmi speakers today, either by those living in the Caucasus or those from the Urmi area.

Maclean's *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan, North-West Persia, and the Plain of Mosul, with Notices of the Vernacular of the Jews of Azerbaijan and Zakhru Near Mosul* (1895)

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<sup>11</sup> Yonan (2012a, 67).

is a major milestone in scholarly research of Neo-Aramaic. Maclean was head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission from 1886 to 1891 and acquired an excellent knowledge of a wide range of Neo-Aramaic dialects. A precursor of this grammar was written in literary C. Urmî (Coakley 1985, 46–47). The core of the grammar is a description of C. Urmî but it also contains a copious quantity of data concerning the phonology and morphology of other dialects in Iran, eastern Turkey and Iraq. The majority of these are Christian dialects, but he also includes, as the title indicates, some information about the dialects of the Jews of the Urmî region and of Zakho in Iraq. The bulk of the grammar is concerned with morphology, with some consideration of the historical relationship between the vernacular dialects and Syriac as reflected in sound changes. The book also contains lists of idiomatic phrases and proverbs. Maclean represents all the dialectal forms in Syriac script. He applies the principles of orthography that were advocated by the Anglican mission for the literary vernacular. These favoured highly classicizing spellings that overarch dialectal differences. As in the grammar of Stoddard, this results in a less than adequate representation of the phonology of the dialects. Some of the distinctions between dialects in the Urmî region that are mentioned by Maclean have now been levelled to some extent, no doubt due to the mixing of village dialects after the population displacements of the 20th century.

Maclean's other major contribution to Neo-Aramaic studies was his *Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan, North-West Persia, and the Plain of Mosul* (1901). This includes a very large quantity of lexical material gathered from the various dialects that he used for his grammar. He states in his introduction that he incorporated lexical lists that had been prepared by Stoddard. Again the main core is C. Urmî, which is the dialect to which Maclean had greatest access in his mission post in Urmî. He includes words found in literary dialect texts that were printed in Urmî. The entries are written in the classicizing Syriac orthography. Some entries are arranged under letters that are not pronounced in C. Urmî due to the elision of the initial consonant, but pronounced in other dialects. One of the most conspicuous cases of this is the arrangement of pattern II verbs (the erstwhile *pa<sup>a</sup>el*) under 'm', although the initial *m-* has been elided in C. Urmî. The entries in Syriac script are followed by a Latin transcription. This does not represent phonological distinctions as accurately as the transcription system of Kalashev. Suprasegmental emphasis, for example, is not represented, e.g. (m)bâsim 'to heal' (= *basəm*) vs. (m)shâdir 'to send' (= +šadər). A number of words attributed to C. Urmî in the dictionary are no longer used by C. Urmî speakers today.

The first volume of the dictionary of Yohannan (1900), entitled *A Modern Syriac-English Dictionary* appeared one year before that of Maclean. The entries of the dictionary are presented in Syriac script. The author was a native speaker of the Urmi dialect and the core of the data comes from the Urmi literary language. There are many additions of words from other dialects, drawn from publications that were available at that time, including from Turoyo. This volume contains only words beginning with *'alap* and, as far as I can establish, no other volumes were published. It has a particularly useful introduction, which describes differences in the speech across various villages of the Urmi plain in the 19th century. It also refers to the existence of unaspirated stops and affricates in the Urmi dialect. The dictionary entries themselves do not include a transcription and so these unaspirated consonants and distinctions of suprasegmental emphasis are not represented.

In the early 20th century a variety of pedagogical grammars of literary C. Urmi were published, all presenting the language in the standard classicizing Syriac orthography. These include the grammar of Thomas Audo, which was published by the Lazarist press (1905, 2nd edition 1911). Audo, who was the Chaldean bishop of Urmi from 1892 until his murder in 1918, was born in Alqosh and was not a native speaker of the C. Urmi dialect. His grammar is prescriptive and is written in literary Urmi. It contains extracts from literary texts, including poetry. Rosenberg (1903) produced a short grammar, in German, with extracts from texts printed by the Protestant press and missionary correspondence supplied to him by B.W. Labaree, who worked in the American mission. These extracts in Syriac script are supplied with a transliteration into Hebrew characters and a German translation. The Hebrew transliteration corresponds to the Syriac orthography. The book also contains a list of phrases used for curses and the expression of condolence. Another pedagogical grammar was published by Mooshie (1912), who was the first editor the Assyrian literary journal *Kokbā*. This is written in literary Urmi and is similar in format to the grammar of Audo. More recent pedagogical grammars of the literary language written in literary Urmi are those of Simono (1974, 1994), Simono and Binyamin (1981), Dinkha (1984), William Sarmas (n.d.) and Bet-Zayya (2008). We should also mention an unpublished manuscript of a grammar by William Daniel (d. 1988) entitled *Turaş-Mamla d-Lišana 'Aturaya Xata* ('Grammar of the new Assyrian language').<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> For this and also an analysis of the literary language used by William Daniel himself see Lamassu (2014).

Kampffmeyer (1905) published a collection of proverbs in C. Urmi which he collected from Assyrians who visited Berlin. The proverbs are written in Syriac script and also in roman transcription. The transcription is problematic in some respects, in particular in its lack of representation of suprasegmental emphasis. The publication contains linguistic comments, mainly on pronunciation.

In 1909 the Russian orthodox mission in Urmi published a Russian—C. Urmi dictionary (*Russko-Sirskiy Leksikon*) by Archmandrite Sargs intended for the use of Assyrian students of Russian. The C. Urmi words are written in Syriac script.

A short but excellent transcription of a C. Urmi folktale into IPA symbols was published by Osipoff (1913). This scholar was an Assyrian from Georgia who had contact with the British phonetician Daniel Jones (Polotsky 1961, 3).

Schahbaz, a native speaker of C. Urmi, published a number of folktales and proverbs in the dialect in Syriac script with a Latin transcription and German translation (Schahbaz 1919). Bergsträsser wrote a short sketch of the C. Urmi dialect in his *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen* (1928, 89–96) and included one of the texts published by Schahbaz as a sample. The transcription of Schahbaz is not fully satisfactory. In particular it fails to indicate suprasegmental emphasis and this phonological inaccuracy continues in the work of Bergsträsser.

Linguistic studies were published in the 1930s by the Soviet Assyrian scholars who were among the creators of the Latin-based New Alphabet. A grammar of this form of literary C. Urmi was published by Marogulov (1935), which was translated into French by Kapeliuk (Marogulov 1976). The grammar was designed principally as a pedagogical tool to teach adults literacy in the New Alphabet. The grammar is clearly structured with explanations of general theoretical concepts of grammar. It covers phonology, orthography, morphology, syntax and also punctuation. The section on phonology, which is based on phonemic principles, is an advance on previous treatments of the topic and includes a systematic treatment of the phenomenon of suprasegmental emphasis. The grammar, however, is concerned primarily with the standardized form of the literary language in the New Alphabet and so cannot be taken to be a direct reflection of the spoken vernacular in all respects. It includes various literary forms and neologisms based on Syriac morphology, such as adverbs in *-əit* (i.e. *-ā̄t̄*), e.g. *stunəit̄* ‘fundamentally’, and derivatives of verbs with *t* affixes, e.g. *m̄taxlana* ‘edible’, and ordinal numerals such as *tl̄jtaj̄ə*. A shorter version of the grammar was published in the following year for school children (Marogulov 1936).

Yushmanov, one of the scholars who were involved in the creation of the New Alphabet, made a number of contributions to the research of the C. Urmi dialect. These include an article on general issues (1933), and studies on the /m/ in imperative forms (1935) and on suprasegmental emphasis ('synharmonism') (1938).

Some of the New Alphabet texts were republished by western scholars with a linguistic analysis. Friedrich (1960; 1962; 1963) published a number of pieces of literature that were sent to him from the Caucasus in 1942 and provides a linguistic sketch. E. Cerulli gathered material on the C. Urmi dialect when he was Italian ambassador in Iran from 1950 to 1954. This included several samples of texts in the New Alphabet that were published in the Soviet Union. In addition to copying the texts, he had them read aloud by Assyrian informants from the Urmi region and made a transcription of the reading. These texts together with linguistic comments and a glossary, but not the transcriptions, were published posthumously by Pennacchietti and Tosco (1991).

A series of important linguistic studies of the literary language of the texts written in the New Alphabet have been published by H.J. Polotsky<sup>13</sup> and O. Kapeliuk.<sup>14</sup> These concern, in particular, aspects of syntax. Some of these studies include also consideration of the texts published by the missionary presses. In a number of Kapeliuk's publications attention has been directed to the relationship of the language of the New Alphabet translations to the original source language<sup>15</sup> and also linguistic features arising from the contact of the C. Urmi dialect with other languages.<sup>16</sup>

When in Iran in the 1950s Cerulli also gathered collections of folktales written in Syriac script, which he had read aloud and transcribed phonetically. He also made transcriptions of folktales and phrases taken down directly from informants without the intermediary of a written text. These texts and transcriptions were published with a glossary prepared by Pennacchietti (Cerulli

<sup>13</sup> Polotsky (1961) researches the background of the New Alphabet in detail and the phonology it represents, together with short studies of a number of grammatical features. Subsequent publications are concerned in particular with verbal syntax (Polotsky 1962; 1979; 1984; 1991; 1994; 1996). On his death in 1991 Polotsky left a number of pieces of research on C. Urmi unfinished. In particular he had prepared a preliminary draft of a major work on the verb in C. Urmi based on literary texts. O. Kapeliuk has published some material from this, e.g. Kapeliuk (2005; 2015).

<sup>14</sup> These include Kapeliuk (1992; 1996a; 1996b; 2002; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2012; 2013; 2015). Many of these appear in a volume of selected papers (Kapeliuk 2009).

<sup>15</sup> Kapeliuk (2006).

<sup>16</sup> See in particular Kapeliuk (1996a; 2004; 2013).

and Pennacchietti 1971). Cerulli's transcription system is problematic in a number of ways, in particular since it does not systematically mark suprasegmental emphasis. Further editions of literary texts in the C. Urmi dialect were published in the *Neusyrische Chrestomathie* by Macuch and Panoussi (1974).

A milestone in Neo-Aramaic lexicography is Oraham's *Dictionary of the Stabilized and Enriched Assyrian Language and English* (1943). In the introduction Oraham explains that the rather curious term 'stabilized' in the title refers to the fact that the language of the dictionary 'is practically the same as when Christ and his disciples used it.' The term 'enriched' refers to the fact that it contains 'many new technical words and terms, which have been inserted to keep this book abreast of the times.' The author was a native speaker of the C. Urmi dialect. He was born in the Urmi region in 1898. The core of the entries of the dictionary is, therefore, from the C. Urmi dialect. These have been supplemented, however, not only with many neologisms, often, it seems, created by Oraham himself, but also words from other Neo-Aramaic dialects. As a result a large number of the words occurring in the dictionary are not used today in the spoken form of C. Urmi. It does, however, contain a number of genuine C. Urmi vernacular words that do not occur in the dictionaries of Maclean or Kalashev. Each entry in Oraham's dictionary is accompanied by a transcription into Latin characters, which reflects to some extent the distinction between front and back vowels and so indicates words with suprasegmental emphasis (Polotsky 1961, 9–10). The gender of nouns is not indicated in the entries.

A number of other glossaries and dictionaries of the Urmi literary language were published by other Assyrian scholars in the twentieth century. These include the Persian–Assyrian dictionary of William Sarmas (2 vols., 1969, 1980), the short glossary of his brother Pira Sarmas (1965), the English–Assyrian–Arabic dictionary of Shamun (n.d.) and the Russian–Assyrian dictionary of Shoumanov (1993), which contains a selection of 8,000 of what are judged to be the most frequently occurring words.

Yaure, a native C. Urmi-speaker, published a poem extracted from the Assyrian literary journal *Kokbā*, published in 1909, and transcribed it into Latin characters with linguistic notes (1957). The transcription is not an accurate representation of the phonology of the spoken language and, like many previous transcriptions, does not represent suprasegmental emphasis.

The Georgian scholar Konstantin Tsereteli made numerous scholarly contributions to the study of Neo-Aramaic, especially of the dialects spoken in Georgia. Many of his publications relate to the C. Urmi dialect. The most important of these include a grammar (Tsereteli 1964), which was published also in an Italian (1970b), English (1978b) and German (1978a) version, a corpora of transcribed texts in the C. Urmi dialect (Tsereteli 1960; 1965) and a chrestomathy of

literary C. Urmi texts in Syriac script with a glossary that includes a transcription (Tsereteli 1958). In addition he published numerous articles dealing with aspects of the C. Urmi dialect (many of which are published in the collected volume Tsereteli 2001). The grammar has as its core a description of the C. Urmi dialect as standardized in the literary form of the language, including an introduction on the orthography. It also contains comparative remarks about other dialects. The chrestomathy represents the language in the conventional Syriac orthography. It is not clear to what extent his grammatical description is a faithful reflection of the form of the dialect spoken in Georgia, in particular that of the village of Canda where most of the C. Urmi-speakers live. My own fieldwork in Canda has revealed linguistic features deviating from those of standard literary Urmi that are not documented by Tsereteli. The collections of transcribed texts, which were gathered mainly from C. Urmi speakers in the village of Canda (Tsereteli 1960; 1965), by contrast, do reflect some of the distinctive features of the Georgian variety of C. Urmi, such as the 3pl. L-suffix *-le* rather than the form *-lun*, which is found in other varieties of spoken C. Urmi and also the literary language.

The analysis of the language presented by Tsereteli is problematic in some respects. This applies in particular to his analysis of the phonology of the language and the narrow transcription system that he uses to reflect this analysis. He proposed that the dialect contained three timbres, ‘hard’, ‘medium’ and ‘soft’, the former two corresponding to two degrees of emphasis. He presented this analysis in a series of publications in addition to his grammar (e.g. Tsereteli 1961; 1982). My own research has convinced me that Tsereteli’s analysis is not tenable (see §1.5.3.). Tsereteli has, however, without doubt made a major contribution to the scholarly study and documentation of C. Urmi, in particular in his publication of dialectal texts. These texts are a valuable resource. They have been used, for example, by Tomal (2008, 111–202) as a source for the study of the C. Urmi verbal system.

Hetzron (1969) published an excellent study of the morphology of the verb in C. Urmi based on data gathered from a native speaker. This includes an introductory section on the phonology of the dialect. Since the source for this study was a single speaker, it inevitably reflects a single variety of spoken C. Urmi and some of the features described, especially in the phonology, are not found in all varieties of the dialect.

E. Odisho’s book *The Sound System of Modern Assyrian* (1988) is a study of the phonology of the koine dialect that developed among Assyrians in Iraq after the First World War. The main core of this koine is the C. Urmi dialect, though it exhibits a number of differences from C. Urmi on all levels of grammar due to mixing with other dialects. The phonetic analysis of the koine

by Odisho using instrumental techniques casts much light on the phonology of the C. Urmī dialect in Iran.

H. Murre-van den Berg's study of the formation of the literary form of C. Urmī contains excellent linguistic studies of the literary language, with particular attention to the phonology reflected by the orthography and the syntax of the clause (Murre-van den Berg 1999, 123–188, 219–348). The syntactic analysis, which is a detailed study of the ordering of clausal constituents within a functionalist framework, makes a particularly impressive advance in research.

H. Younansardaroud published a study of the variety of C. Urmī spoken in the village of Sardarid on the southern Urmī plain (Younansardaroud 2001). This contains a description of the phonology and morphology of the dialect as well as a short sketch of syntax and a small corpus of transcribed texts. This was a valuable contribution to research since it offered for the first time systematic data on a variety of the dialect spoken on the southern Urmī plain. In particular it drew attention to palatalization processes of dorsal plosive consonants that had not been previously documented. An unfortunate feature of the grammar, however, is the fact that Younansardaroud adopts Tsereteli's problematic analysis of suprasegmental emphasis, with three degrees or timbres. This results in a highly cumbersome transcription system.

#### 0.4 Aim of This Work

The foregoing survey of previous scholarly literature shows that the C. Urmī dialect is by no means *terra incognita* among researchers of Neo-Aramaic. Despite the large amount of previous scholarship, however, there is still a need for a systematic description of the spoken form of the dialect taking account of its different varieties. The aim of the present work is to address this need. The documentation of the dialect published here is based on data that I collected in my own fieldwork. My first objective was to re-examine the phonology of the dialect, using instrumental measurements, and develop a new transcription system. An accurate understanding of the phonology and prosody of the dialect is also important for the understanding of many aspects of morphophonology, morphology and syntax. The work also has the aim of presenting a systematic description of the syntax of the dialect. In order to achieve this it was necessary to undertake the painstaking task of creating a large corpus of transcribed texts, presented in my own transcription system, which takes account of prosodic structure. None of the hitherto published corpora of texts was suitable for this purpose, due the unsatisfactory transcription systems and the lack of information on prosody. An attempt was made to make a systematic documentation

also of the lexicon. This includes lexical items relating to the traditional life and material culture of the villages. This aspect of the lexicon is now in particular danger of falling into oblivion due to the displacement of populations from the villages and their mixing together in towns.

The object of study is the state of the dialect as it is still spoken today by the older generation of speakers. This has changed in several respects from the spoken language that was the object of study by scholars in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This applies to several grammatical features and also to the lexicon. One case of change, for example, is the restriction of the root '-z-l' to go' to the present template of the verb, viz. *'azəl*, in all varieties of the current state of the dialect, it being replaced by a suppletive lexical root in other inflections (§ 4.14.1.). In sources published in the 19th and early 20th centuries, however, examples of the root '-z-l' in a wider range of inflections are found, e.g. the progressive form *bizaləva* 'was/were going' (Socin 1882, 60–61; Kalashev 1894a, 38—transcription normalized), Lekə *bizəlivit?* 'Where are you going?' (New Alphabet text Pennacchietti and Tosco 1991, 42).

It became clear in the early stages of the work that the spoken C. Urmi dialect contains numerous regional varieties, which are still distinguishable despite the levelling force of the mixing together of displaced village communities over the last hundred years. Several previous studies of the spoken language, such as those of Hetzron (1969) and Younansardaroud (2001), reflect only one particular variety of the C. Urmi dialect. In the present work an attempt was made to gather data from fieldwork among speakers of a range of different varieties of the dialect.

Despite the fact that this work has grown to a considerable size, it is limited in its scope by the limits of the corpus and the fieldwork. It cannot pretend, therefore, to be a completely comprehensive documentation of the current state of the language. The limits of the modern spoken language, moreover, are constantly shifting, especially as the speakers of the older generation who were brought up in the villages gradually pass away. This project, furthermore, is essentially one of synchronic documentation and no systematic attempt has been made to compare features of the current state of the dialect with descriptions and records of the dialect from earlier periods. Likewise the work does not include a systematic comparison of the dialect with other dialects of Neo-Aramaic or a detailed examination of the historical background of features of the dialect with earlier forms of Aramaic. This task will be undertaken in a separate comparative volume on the NENA dialects, which I am currently preparing. A desideratum for the future would be to collate the data presented here with the abundant data recorded in previous research, texts and dictionaries on C. Urmi in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

### 0.5 The Position of C. Urmi within the Neo-Aramaic Dialects



*Map of the NENA dialect area*

C. Urmi is located on the north-eastern periphery of the diverse subgroup of Neo-Aramaic known as North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA).<sup>17</sup> This subgroup consisted of over 150 dialects. Until the far-reaching displacement of communities in the 20th century, the NENA dialects were spoken by Christians and Jews in towns and villages east of the River Tigris in northern Iraq, south-eastern Turkey and western Iran. The NENA subgroup is distinct from three other subgroups of Neo-Aramaic. These include the western subgroup spoken by Christians and Muslims in the villages of Ma'lula, Bax'a and Jub'adin in the region of Damascus, the Turoyo subgroup, spoken by Christians in the Tūr 'Abdīn region of south-eastern Turkey, and Mandaic, spoken by Mandaeans in the cities of Ahwaz and Kermanshahr in Iran. None of these subgroups is as diverse as NENA (Khan 2007; 2011). Although Classical Syriac formed part of the religious heritage of the Assyrian Christian community of Urmi,

<sup>17</sup> The term was coined by Hoberman (1988, 557) to replace 'Eastern Neo-Aramaic' of earlier classifications (cf. Socin 1882, v; Duval 1896, 125; Tsereteli 1977; 1978b).

C. Urmi and the other NENA dialects are not its direct linear descendants. The NENA dialects are descendants of an ancient vernacular spoken in northern Mesopotamia, which cannot be identified with any earlier surviving literary form of Aramaic. The modern dialects preserve ancient features that are not found in the varieties of literary Aramaic (Nöldeke 1868, xxxv), some of which are developmentally more archaic (Maclean 1895, xv; Khan 2007). The typological profile of this ancient vernacular lay somewhere between that of Classical Syriac and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (Nöldeke 1868, xxxvii–xxxviii; Fox 2008).

The NENA dialects differed according to geographical region and also according to religious community, in that the dialects spoken by the Jews were different from those of the Christians even in the same geographical locations. The study presented here of the position of C. Urmi within NENA, therefore, will examine first its relationship to other Christian NENA dialects and subsequently consider its relationship to the Jewish dialect of the area. Christian dialects are distinguished from Jewish dialects by the abbreviation C. and J. respectively.

Before the major population displacements of the 20th century, other NENA dialects were spoken by Christian communities in north-western Iran. These neighbouring dialects can divided into two main groups: (i) the dialects of the region of Salamas and the villages of Gawilan and Jamalawa lying to the north of the Urmi plain (henceforth referred to as the Salamas group), and (ii) the dialects in the mountains and mountain foothills lying to the west of the Urmi plain in the Tergawar and Margawar regions, including, for example, the villages of <sup>+</sup>Mawana, <sup>+</sup>Balulan, Darband, Kalla, Tazacand. An exceptional case is the village of Anhar near the mountain foothills on the west of the Urmi plain, which was settled by Assyrians from the Tyare district of south-eastern Turkey (Maclean 1895, xiv). As a result, the dialect of this village exhibited a mixture of Tyare and Urmi features. There were no dialects of Christian Neo-Aramaic spoken immediately to the south of the Urmi plain. Christian communities in this area in the 20th century, e.g. in the town Solduz (Naqade), are reported to have spoken Azeri Turkish as their first language.

These neighbouring dialects share many innovative linguistic developments with C. Urmi. Such shared innovations in development from an earlier state of the dialect group can be interpreted as reflecting a relationship, as is the accepted methodology in linguistic classification.

Some of the phonological innovations of C. Urmi are more advanced in their development in the Salamas group of dialects. In C. Urmi, for example, an *\*a* is raised in a few nouns to /i/ when it was originally in a closed syllable, e.g.

- cíca* ‘tooth’ < \**kakkā*  
*+míra* ‘spade’ < \**marra*

In the Salamas group this raising has taken place more systematically than in C. Urmî across words of all grammatical categories, including adjectives, verbs and adverbs. In the dialects of Gawilan and Jamalawa, which are the closest geographically to C. Urmî in the Salamas group, the development is slightly less systematic than in the dialect of Salamas further north:

	C. Urmi	C. Gawilan	C. Salamas
‘bride’	<i>cálu</i>	<i>cílu</i>	<i>cílu</i>
‘pleasant’	<i>basíma</i>	<i>bísíma</i>	<i>bísíma</i>
‘he sends’	<sup>+</sup> <i>sádər</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>šádər</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>šídər</i>
‘send!’	<sup>+</sup> <i>sádər</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>šíðər</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>šídər</i>
‘much’	<sup>+</sup> <i>raba</i>	<i>ríba</i>	<i>ríba</i>
‘back’	<sup>+</sup> <i>xasa</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>xasa</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>xasa</i>

In C. Urmî an intervocalic /t/ is optionally omitted in plural inflections and some prepositional phrases, e.g.

- baxtátə* ~ *baxtáy* ‘women’  
*kátux* ~ *káx* ‘to you’

In the Salamas group intervocalic /t/ is elided more systematically, but still not totally regularly, e.g.

	C. Urmi	C. Gawilan	C. Salamas
‘house’	<i>béta</i>	<i>býa</i>	<i>býa</i>
‘village’	<i>máta</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>
‘mother-in-law’	<i>xmáta</i>	<i>xma</i>	<i>xma</i>
‘redness’	<i>smukúyta</i>	<i>smukúvva</i>	<i>smukúvva</i>
‘sister’	<i>xáta</i>	<i>xáta</i>	<i>xáta</i>

The processes of the raising of /a/ and the elision of /t/ are even more advanced in dialects spoken in eastern Turkey. Examples below are from Sat, where the raising is to /e/ (Mutzafi 2008a), and Van:

	Salamas/Gawilan	Sat
‘back’	<sup>+</sup> <i>xasa</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>xesa</i>

	<b>Salamas/Gawilan</b>	<b>Van</b>
'sister'	<i>xata</i>	<i>xa</i>

In the dialects in the mountains to the west of the Urmi plain, on the other hand, the aforementioned processes have, in general, not taken place, e.g.

	<b>C. Urmi</b>	<b>+Mawana</b>
'women'	<i>baxtátə/baxtáy</i>	<i>baxtátə</i>
'tooth'	<i>cíca</i>	<i>cáca</i>
'spade'	<i>+míra</i>	<i>+mára</i>

In C. Urmi long /u/ has become diphthongized to /uy/, whereas in the Salamas group this process is more advanced in that the palatal approximant /y/ offglide has become strengthened to a velar fricative:

	<b>C. Urmi</b>	<b>C. Gawilan</b>	<b>C. Salamas</b>
* <i>xabbūša</i> 'apple'	<i>xabúyša</i>	<i>xibúxša</i>	<i>xibúxša</i>

In the mountain dialects to the west of the Urmi plain, the diphthongization has not taken place, but rather the vowel has developed into a fronted monophthong:

	<b>C. Urmi</b>	<b>+Mawana</b>
'apple'	<i>xabúyša</i>	<i>xabúša</i>

A phonological innovation that C. Urmi shares with the Salamas group of dialects, the dialects of the mountains west of the Urmi plain and also many of the dialects of eastern Turkey is the phenomenon of the development of suprasegmental pharyngalization (§1.3.), transcribed with the symbol +, in words with an original emphatic segment:

	<b>C. Urmi</b>	<b>C. Salamas</b>	<b>C. +Mawana</b>	<b>C. Van</b>
* <i>tīnā</i> 'mud'	<i>+tīna</i>	<i>+tīna</i>	<i>+tīna</i>	<i>+tīna</i>

This feature is absent in some dialects in northeastern Iraq, such as C. Diyana-Zariyaw, in which the pharyngalization of the historical emphatic consonants \**t* and \**s* is totally lost in some words (Napiorkowska 2015, 45–56), e.g.

C. Urmi	C. Diyana-Zariyaww
*saydā 'hunt'	+séda séda
*hatṭē 'wheat'	+xáttə xáttə

A feature that C. Urmi shares with all dialects in Iran and most dialects in eastern Turkey and northeastern Iraq is the loss of the interdental consonants \*θ and \*ð. In north-western Iran and eastern Turkey \*θ has shifted to the stop /t/ or been elided, and \*ð has shifted to the stop /d/.

C. Urmi	C. Salamas	C. Van
*hāθā 'sister'	xáta	xáta
*iðā 'hand'	'ída	'ída

In most dialects in north-eastern Iraq the interdentals shift to either the stops /t/ and /d/ or to the fricatives /s/ and /z/, or to /s/ and /d/, whereas they have been widely preserved in dialects in north-western Iraq, e.g.

	*hāθā 'sister'	*iðā 'hand'
C. Urmi	xáta	'ída
C. Bədyəl (NE Iraq)	xáta	'ída
C. Xərpə (NE Iraq)	xásə	'íza
C. Sulemaniyya (NE Iraq)	xásə	'ída
C. Barwar (NW Iraq)	xáθa	'iða

In morphology C. Urmi is distinguished from the Salamas group and the dialects of the neighbouring mountains (examples below are from C. Tazacand) in some of the pronominal suffixes, viz.

	C. Urmi	C. Salamas	C. Tazacand
3ms genitive suffix:	-u	-u	-θ
3pl. genitive suffix	-é	-é	-u
3pl. L-suffix:	-lun	-le	-lu

The 3ms -u can be regarded as an innovative development whereas the 3ms suffix -θ is more conservative, being a reflex of an original \*eh. The -θ has been preserved in C. Urmi in the 3ms L-suffix -lə. The suffix -u has developed from the combination of -e with -u. Other Christian dialects that have -u or an uncontracted form such as -ew, are mainly situated in north-eastern and north-western peripheries of the NENA area in eastern Turkey. In Iraq most dialects have a reflex of \*-eh without the -u augment. The lack of an augment is a feature also of conservative non-peripheral dialects in eastern Turkey:

*\*-eh*

C. Urmi	-u
C. Qočanəş (SE Turkey)	-u
C. Bēşpən (SE Turkey)	-u
C. Sat (SE Turkey)	-ew
C. Bāz (SE Turkey)	-əv, -əf
C. Bohtan (SE Turkey)	-əw
C. Barwar (N Iraq)	-e
C. Telkepe (N Iraq)	-e
C. Walṭo (SE Turkey)	-e
C. Ankawa (N Iraq)	-eh
C. Qaraqosh (N Iraq)	-əh

In the field of syntax one innovative feature can be mentioned that shows the relationship of C. Urmi to other Christian dialects. This is the formation of the progressive by means of the copula and an infinitive combined with the locative preposition *b-*, e.g. *bəptaxələ* 'he is opening' (< \**b* + *ptaxə* + *ilə*). This feature is found in the Salamas group and mountain group adjacent to the Urmi plain. It is also found across south-eastern Turkey up to the Cudi region (example below from Bēşpən) and in some dialects in northern Iraq, mainly in the far north close to the Turkish border (example below from Barwar). In some cases the preposition *b-* has been omitted:

C. Urmi (NW Iran)	<i>bəptáxələ</i>
C. Salamas (NW Iran)	<i>bəptáxələ</i>
C. +Mawana (NW Iran)	<i>bəptáxələ</i>
C. Van (SE Turkey)	<i>bəptáxəl</i>
C. Bēşpən (SE Turkey)	<i>bəptáxele</i>
C. Barwar (N Iraq)	<i>pəráxele</i>

In many dialects of north-east Iraq and along the southern periphery of the NENA area in Iraq the progressive is, by contrast, expressed by constructions containing the present stem of the verb, e.g.

C. Bədyəl	<i>ma-k-pátəx</i>
C. Sulemaniyya	<i>pátəx-ile</i>
C. Koy Sanjak	<i>lā k-pátəx</i>
C. Shōsh-u-Sharmen	<i>nə-k-pátəx</i>
C. Ankawa	<i>də-k-pátəx</i>
C. Qaraqosh	<i>k-ílə k-pátəx</i>

It emerges from this brief sketch of the linguistic innovations of C. Urmi that it is most closely related to dialects of the Salamas group. Within NENA as a whole it is related more closely to the dialects of the adjacent mountains and the mountains of eastern Turkey, corresponding broadly to what Maclean (1895, xiii; 1901, ix–x) classified as the ‘Northern Group’ of dialects, than to the dialects further west in Turkey, classified by Maclean as the ‘Ashirat Group’, and the dialects of Iraq, classified by Maclean as the ‘Southern Group’. The original heartland of NENA was in Iraq, as is shown by the greater diversity of the dialects there, so the general profile of C. Urmi can be regarded as the result of innovative developments on the north-eastern periphery of NENA.

## 0.6 Varieties of the C. Urmi Dialect

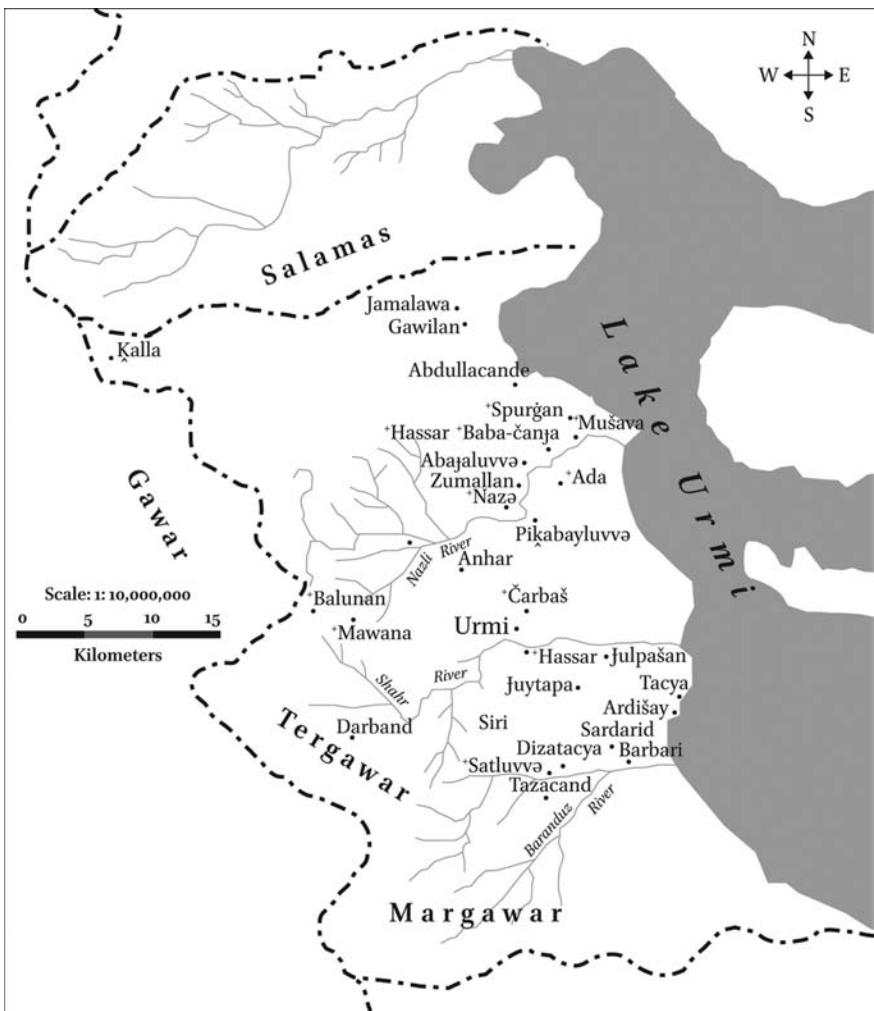
The fieldwork that forms the basis of this book was carried out among speakers of the C. Urmi dialect from Iran and the Caucasus. The C. Urmi dialect exhibits regional variations. These can be broadly classified into (i) the varieties used in the villages south of the town of Urmi (referred to by the abbreviation S), (ii) the varieties used in the villages north of the town of Urmi, including Tabriz (referred to by the abbreviation N), (iii) the varieties spoken in Armenia (referred to by the abbreviation Arm.) and (iv) the variety spoken in Georgia (referred to by the abbreviation Georg.). There are some variations within these four broad groups. There are, for example, some small variations across different villages within the southern and the northern regions of Urmi respectively. Speakers from Tabriz, moreover, exhibit a few distinctive features. In Armenia the variety spoken in the village of Arzni has some features that distinguish it from varieties spoken in other villages of Armenia.

In the Urmi region in Iran most speakers of the dialect originally lived in the many villages of the Urmi plain, but due to the displacement of the village population in the various traumatic upheavals over the last hundred years, the majority of the speakers left their villages and mixed together in Urmi and other large Iranian towns, or in diaspora communities across the world. As a result, the distinctive linguistic features of the individual villages have now been considerably levelled and blurred. It is, nevertheless, still possible to reconstruct the main differences by extensive fieldwork among the older generation of speakers.

After the First World War many speakers of the C. Urmi dialect were settled in refugee communities in Iraq, mainly in Baghdad and Kirkuk, where they had contact with speakers of other NENA dialects. As a result they came to speak a koine dialect which exhibited various deviations from the dialect spoken in

Iran and the Caucasus, mainly due to the influence of other dialects. This koine dialect is not included among the varieties covered by this work.

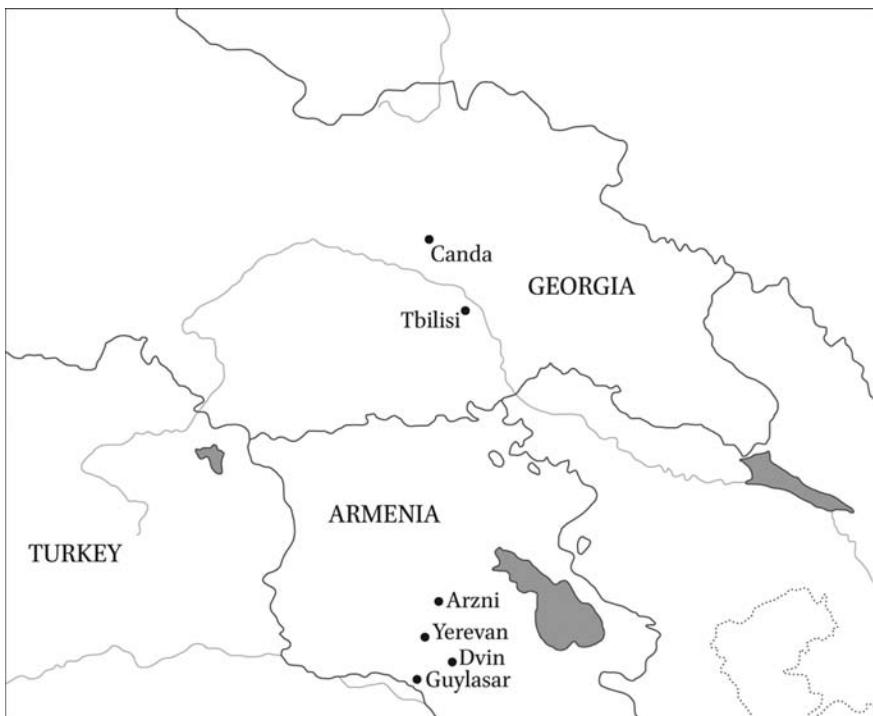
A number of features that distinguish the varieties of C. Urmi spoken in the northern area of the Urmi plain from those in the southern area are shared by the dialects of the Salamas group. The variety of C. Urmi spoken in the village of Canda in Georgia shares more features with the Salamas group than any other C. Urmi variety. The shared features with the Salamas group are of a lesser extent in the varieties spoken in Armenia. According to the community in Canda the core of the settlers in the village in the 19th century originated in the village of <sup>+</sup>Nazə in the northern region of the Urmi plain. Speakers of C. Urmi who grew up in <sup>+</sup>Nazə in the 20th century and were interviewed as part of this documentation project do not have so many shared features with Salamas in their speech as were found in the speech of the inhabitants of Canda. It is likely, therefore, that the variety spoken in Canda has resulted from mixing of the community with speakers from the Salamas region. Indeed many speakers of the C. Salamas dialect settled in Georgia and can still be found in Tbilisi. One should take into account, however, that there was a degree of levelling of the varieties spoken on the Urmi plain over the last one hundred years. This is shown by descriptions given by Maclean (1895, xiii; 1901, ix) at the beginning of the 20th century of the language situation on the Urmi plain. He classifies, for example, the dialect of <sup>+</sup>Spurğān in the northern area of the Urmi plain as a separate dialect from the Urmi dialect, which was influenced by the Salamas group of dialects, and in his grammar indicates several differences between the <sup>+</sup>Spurğān dialect and C. Urmi. This is also confirmed by Yohannan (1900, xii) and Audo in the introduction to the first edition of his grammar of the literary language, which was published in 1905 (see Audo 1911, ii). At the southern end of the Urmi plain Maclean (1901, ix) notes that inhabitants of the village of Barbari extensively code-switched between NENA and Azeri. Yohannan (1900, xiii) and Audo (1911, ii) likewise note that in the southern villages in the region of the Baranduz river more Turkish was used than in the north. According to Yohannan (1900, xiii) the inhabitants of the villages of Tacya and Ardişay in the southern plain had a tendency to raise low vowels in their pronunciation, e.g. bəbi (according to his transcription) for *babi* 'my father'. Speakers from <sup>+</sup>Spurğān who were interviewed for this project did not exhibit anything in their speech that distinguished it clearly from other northern varieties of the dialect. Speakers originating from Barbari and villages on the Baranduz River, moreover, now do not practice the code-switching that is attributed to their ancestors. The Assyrians who were resident in the southern villages in the middle of the twentieth century were, however, considerably exposed to Azeri and used to recite Azeri oral litera-



*Map of Assyrian villages in the Urmi region*

ture (Younansardaroud 2001, xix). Furthermore the vowel raising mentioned by Yohannan was not found in the pronunciation of present-day speakers originating from Ardišay.

The features distinguishing the C. Urmi varieties in the southern and northern regions of the Urmi plain find some parallels in the dialects spoken in the southern and northern region respectively of the mountains lying to the west of the Urmi plain. These correspondences, however, are not as consistent as the correspondences between the northern Urmi variety and dialects of the Salamas group.



*Map of Assyrian villages in the Caucasus*

Informants originating from the following places were interviewed. A star (\*) indicates that a transcription of recordings of speakers from the place is included in the text corpus.

Ardišay (S)

Barbari (S)\*

+Čarpaš (S)

Julpašan (S)\*

+Satluvvə (S)

Siri (S)

Dizatacyā (S)

Abajaluvvə (N)

Abdullacande (N)

+Ada (N)

+Hassar +Baba-čanja (N)\*

Zumallan (N)\*

+Mušava (N)\*

<sup>+</sup>Nazə (N)  
 Piğabayluvvə (N)  
<sup>+</sup>Spurğān (N)\*

Tabriz (N)

Guylasar (Armenia)\*  
 Arzni (Armenia)\*  
 Dvin (Armenia)  
 Canda (Georgia)\*

There are differences across the varieties of C. Urmi in all levels of grammar and in the lexicon. Some salient examples of differences that distinguish the broad sub-groups mentioned above are given below. These are dealt with in greater detail in the appropriate place in the ensuing chapters.

### *Phonology*

1. In the dialects of the southern region of the Urmi plain there is a process of fronting of the palatal consonants, with the result that they are realized as affricates. This fronting has not taken place in the speech of many people originating from the northern region. The dialects in the Salamas group spoken further north also lack the affricated realization. The fronting of palatal consonants is found consistently in the mountain dialects adjacent to the southern Urmi region, such as Tazacand. In mountain dialects spoken further north, such as <sup>+</sup>Mawana, it occurs but is less consistent:

	<i>cipa</i> 'stone'	<i>fóšra</i> 'bridge'
S Urmi	[t̪ʰi:pʰa]	[dʒifra]
N Urmi	[cʰi:pʰa]	[ʃifra]
Salamas	[cʰi:pʰa]	[ʃifra]
Tazacand	[t̪ʰi:pʰa]	[dʒifra]
<sup>+</sup> Mawana	[t̪ʰi:pʰa]	[ʃifra]

By a push-chain effect the palatal affricates /č/ (unvoiced aspirated), /č/ (unvoiced unaspirated) and /j/ (voiced) are sometimes fronted further to [ts<sup>h</sup>], [ts] and [dʒ] respectively in the southern varieties of C. Urmi but remain unfronted in the north and in Salamas. The southern mountain dialects such as Tazacand exhibit this fronting, but not the northern mountain dialects such as <sup>+</sup>Mawana:

	<i>xáčča</i> 'few'	<i>+jummíla</i> 'he gathered'	<i>jummíla</i> 'he gathered'
S. Urmi	[ <i>'xatstsa</i> ]	[ <i>‘dzv̥oṁ'mi:lə</i> ]	
N. Urmi	[ <i>'xatſſa</i> ]	[ <i>‘dʒv̥oṁ'mi:lə</i> ]	
Salamas	[ <i>'xatſſa</i> ]	[ <i>‘dʒv̥oṁ'mi:lə</i> ]	
Tazacand	[ <i>'xatstsa</i> ]		[ <i>dzv̥om'mi:lə</i> ]
+Mawana	[ <i>'xatſſa</i> ]		[ <i>dʒv̥om'mi:lə</i> ]

Affrication of the palatals /c/ and /j/ has taken place in the varieties of C. Urmi spoken in Armenia and Georgia. In most villages in the Caucasus /č/, /č/ and /j/ are realized as [tʃʰ], [tʃ] and [dʒ] respectively, except in the village of Arzni in Armenia, where they are fronted as in the southern variety on the Urmi plain:

	<i>cípa</i>	<i>jéšra</i>	<i>xáčča</i>	<i>+jummíla</i>
Canda (Georgia)	[ <i>tʃʰi:pʰa</i> ]	[ <i>‘dʒiʃra</i> ]	[ <i>'xatſſa</i> ]	[ <i>‘dʒv̥oṁ'mi:lə</i> ]
Guylasar (Armenia)	[ <i>tʃʰi:pʰa</i> ]	[ <i>‘dʒiʃra</i> ]	[ <i>'xatſſa</i> ]	[ <i>‘dʒv̥oṁ'mi:lə</i> ]
Arzni (Georgia)	[ <i>tʃʰi:pʰa</i> ]	[ <i>‘dʒiʃra</i> ]	[ <i>'xatstsa</i> ]	[ <i>‘dʒv̥oṁ'mi:lə</i> ]

## 2. Suprasegmental emphasis

There are differences in the distribution of suprasegmental emphasis (pharyngalization §1.3.) across the varieties of the dialect. Salamas generally corresponds to the northern Urmi varieties whereas the mountain dialects (examples below are from +Mawana in the northern region of the mountains) exhibit inconsistent correspondences:

	Urmi S	Urmi N	Salamas	+Mawana
'leech'	+ <i>zallu</i>	<i>zallu</i>	<i>zalluğ</i>	<i>zallu</i>
'he pulls'	+ <i>jarəš</i>	<i>jarəš</i>	<i>jarəš</i>	+ <i>jarəš</i>
'skinny'	+ <i>cílaza</i>	<i>cílaza</i>	<i>čəlləzna</i>	<i>čəllaza</i>
'butter'	<i>carra</i>	+ <i>carra</i>	+ <i>carra</i>	<i>carra</i>

## 3. Contraction of inflectional endings

In the Caucasus there is a greater tendency to contract certain inflectional endings than in the varieties spoken on the Urmi plain. This applies in particular to plural endings and the genitive annexation ending. Contractions do occasionally occur in the Urmi plain varieties, but to a lesser extent, e.g.

Caucasus	Urmi plain
<i>bnūn</i>	<i>bnúnə</i>
<i>‘akláy</i>	<i>‘akláta</i>
<i>lišán +hošára</i>	<i>lišánət +hošára</i>
	'sons'
	'legs'
	'language of the Muslims'

A pronounced tendency to contract such endings is also found in dialects spoken in eastern Turkey, such as C. Van, speakers of which also settled in the Caucasus and this may have had an impact on the C. Urmi dialect.

#### 4. Phonology of individual lexical items

Certain words of high frequency undergo a range of different phonetic developments across the varieties of the dialects. This is seen, for example, in the variant forms of the noun *mdita* 'town' and the progressive stem *bərraxša* 'going':

Most Urmi varieties:	<i>mdita</i>
Piğabayluvvə N, Armenia	<i>məndita</i>
Abdullacande N, Salamas	<i>mdəcta</i>

Most Urmi varieties	<i>bərraxša</i>
Barbari S	<i>bərrəšxa</i>
Dizatacyə S, Armenia	<i>bərrəşša</i>
Armenia	<i>bəšša</i>

#### *Morphology*

##### 1. Demonstratives pronouns

There are a few differences in the form of demonstrative pronouns between the southern Urmi group and the varieties spoken in the Caucasus. Some dialects of the northern Urmi group correspond to the varieties of the Caucasus. This applies, for example, to the plural attributive default demonstrative (§ 2.2.8.):

S. Urmi	N. Urmi	Caucasus
'those'	'an	'an ~ ēn

##### 2. Pronominal suffixes

There are some differences in pronominal suffixes across the Urmi dialectal area. In some cases dialects on the periphery exhibit convergences with other dialects.

Throughout most of the Urmi area the 3pl. L-suffix has the form *-lun*. In the variety spoken in Canda, Georgia, however, the 3pl. L-suffix is *-le*, which is the form used in the Salamas group of dialects. In the far south in the village of Siri, the suffix is *-lu*, as in the neighbouring mountain dialect of Tazacand:

## 3pl. L-suffix

Most Urmī dialects	<i>-lun</i>
Canda (Georgia), Salamas, Gawilan	<i>-le</i>
Siri S, Tazacand	<i>-lu</i>

Various pronominal suffixes can have short and long forms. The long forms are used more frequently in some varieties of the dialect than in others. Some of these differences correspond to region. This applies, for example, to the existence of the long form of the ipl. genitive suffix *-eni* 'our' in addition to the default short form *-an*. The long form is used predominantly in the varieties of the C. Urmī dialect spoken in the Caucasus and in the dialects of the Salamas group. On the Urmī plain the suffix regularly has the form *-an*.

## ipl. genitive suffix

Urmī plain	<i>-an</i>
Caucasus, Salamas	<i>-an, -eni</i>

## 3. Morphology of weak verbs

Some differences in the morphological shape of weak verbs are found across the varieties of the dialect. These sometimes have a regional correlation. In the southern Urmī region, for example, the infinitive of pattern II (historical *pa<sup>č</sup>el*) and pattern III (historical *'ap<sup>č</sup>el*) final /y/ verbs have the ending *-uya*, whereas in the northern Urmī region and the Caucasus the ending is *-uvvə*. The ending *-uvvə* is also found in the Salamas group of dialects:

Infinitives of *t-n-y* II 'speak' and *+m-mt-y* III 'to cause to arrive'

Urmī S	Urmī N, Caucasus, Salamas
<i>tanuyə</i>	<i>tanuvvə</i>
<i>+mamtuyə</i>	<i>+mamtuvvə</i>

The verb 'to bring' has two regional variants:

Urmī S	Urmī N and Caucasus
<i>maya</i>	<i>mava ~ maya</i>

Weak verbs sometimes exhibit different ordering of radicals or different radicals. These differences sometimes occur within a particular variety. In some cases the differences correspond to particular regions, e.g.

<b>Most Urmi varieties</b>	<b>Guylasar, Armenia</b>
+ <i>yasər</i>	+ <i>sayər</i>
<b>Most Urmi varieties</b>	<b>Siri S</b>
+ <i>azəl</i>	+ <i>zayəl</i>
	'he ties'
	'he spins (wool)'

## Syntax

## 1. Expression of pronominal object of past perfective verbs

There are various means of expressing the direct pronominal object of past perfective verbs (§ 4.17.). One of the alternative strategies has a regional correlation. This is a construction consisting of the particle *kam* + the present stem *patax*, which is used only in the northern region and is a feature also of the dialects of the Salamas group. In the south only constructions formed from the past base can be used:

	Urmi S	Urmi N	Salamas
'I saw her'	<i>xəzyali</i>	<i>xəzyali</i> <i>kam-xazənna</i>	<i>xəzyali</i> <i>kam-xazənna</i>

## 2. Subordinator particles

Throughout the Urmi plain and in Armenia the particle *kat*, which developed historically from a combination of *ka* 'to' + *t*, is used as a general subordinator before subordinate content clauses and relative clauses (§ 14.5.3., § 14.1.1.). This particle is not used, however, in Canda in Georgia, where one finds other subordinators such as *yanət* and *t-i* (§ 14.5.3.):

Urmi and Armenia   Georgia  
*kat*                    *yanat, t-i*

### 3. Gender agreement

There are some variations of gender that have a regional correlation. In particular in Armenia inanimate nouns that are masculine in the Urmia region are often treated as feminine (§ 5.12.6.), e.g.

- <sup>+</sup>*rəzza* n.m. (Armenia n.f.) ‘rice’  
<sup>+</sup>*xalva* n.m. (Armenia n.f.) ‘milk’

Lexicon

There are various regional differences in the lexicon. A few cases are found on the Urmi plain, e.g.

Urmi S	Urmi N
'knife'	<i>čakku</i>

The greatest difference in the lexicon is found in the village of Canda in Georgia. The variety of C. Urmi spoken in Canda contains a number of lexical items that are not found in other varieties. A few selected examples include:

<i>pučeča</i>	'stalk of maize'
<i>+čara</i>	'head of maize'
<i>čančuyra</i>	'small plums'
<i>tambuyra</i>	'large plums'

Some words in Canda have a different form from the cognate form in other varieties. The form in Canda often corresponds to the form used in the Salamas group of dialects, e.g.

Canda, Salamas	Urmi plain
<i>caraz</i>	<i>caravuz</i>
<i>penč</i>	<i>peč</i>

## 0.7 Languages in Contact

All varieties of the C. Urmi dialect have been exposed to and influenced by other languages of the region. In recent history the dialect has had particularly extensive contact with Azeri Turkish, which is reflected by numerous Azeri loanwords in the lexicon. Azeri is now the major spoken language of the Muslim population of the Urmi region in north-western Iran. Some of the loanwords of Turkic origin in the C. Urmi dialect, however, are no longer used in modern Iranian Azeri, indicating that they entered the dialect at an earlier historical period. The historical depth of the Azeri loanwords in general does not seem to be very great, since the vast majority are unadapted to the morphology of the C. Urmi dialect. This would reflect what is known about the settlement of Turkic-speaking groups in the area. The speakers of Azeri in north-western Iran today are descended from a variety of different Turkic tribes. A politically dominant group in recent history was that of the Afshar Turks. Large numbers of these were settled in the region by Nader Shah in the 18th century (Nikitine 1929). Due to this authoritative status of the Afshars, the Azeri language is sometimes referred to as the 'language of the Afshars' (*lisānat +hošarə*) by speakers of C. Urmi.

There are numerous loanwords from Persian, which is the official language of administration in the region. In some of the villages contact with Persia was a relatively recent phenomenon (Younansardaroud 2001, xix).

Russian has had some impact on the lexicon in the recent history of the dialect and some Russian loanwords can be found in the varieties of the dialects spoken on the Urmi plain. This is the result of the presence of the Russians in the region in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In the Caucasus speakers use a larger proportion of Russian words in their speech, mostly unadapted to the morphology of the dialect.

The lexicon exhibits layers of influence from also Kurdish and Arabic at earlier historical periods (§ 15.1.1.). Kurdish continues to be spoken in the Urmi region to this day. This includes both the Kurmanji and Sorani varieties, the former being spoken to the north of the town of Urmi and the latter in the region lying to the south of the town. The Arabic influence may reflect the existence of spoken Arabic in the region sometime in the past or it may be explicable by the hypothesis that there were migrations of speakers from Arabic-speaking areas in northern Mesopotamia to Iran.

Armenian is also spoken on the Urmi plain. In some cases Assyrians and Armenians lived in the same village and many Assyrians spoke Armenian in addition to C. Urmi and generally also Azeri (Younansardaroud 2001, xix). There were numerous cases of intermarriage between Assyrians and Armenians. The Armenian language has not left much trace in the C. Urmi lexicon. In the Caucasus the local languages of Armenian and Georgian have, likewise, not had much impact on the lexicon of the varieties of C. Urmi spoken there.

Contact with other languages has had an influence on other areas of the language. This is the case in particular in the phonology. The aforementioned fronting and affrication of palatal consonants is a phenomenon that has also taken place in the Azeri and Kurdish dialects of the region (§ 1.5.1.). The C. Urmi dialect has developed a series of unaspirated unvoiced stops, which has been stimulated, it seems, by Kurdish and/or Armenian in the region (§ 1.5.1.). The phenomenon of suprasegmental emphasis is the result of some degree of convergence with the vowel harmony of Azeri Turkish. Here, however, and also in other features, the convergence is only partial and not complete (§ 1.5.1.).

Some developments in morphology are most likely due to convergence with Kurdish. This applies in particular to the development of morphology associated with the annexation of one noun to another in a genitive construction (§ 5.14.). The historical genitive particle \**d* has developed into an affix of the head noun, e.g. *naša d-* > *naš-at*. Moreover demonstrative pronouns have undergone a particular morphological change whereby the genitive particle

has become bonded to the front of them creating thereby oblique forms of the pronouns, e.g. *d’o* > *do*. This mirrors the morphology of Kurdish genitive constructions whereby a marker of the genitive relation is added as a suffix to the end of a noun (*izafe*) and demonstrative pronouns in the dependent phrase are in an oblique form:

C. Urmi	<i>naš-ət</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>+atra</i>
	man-GEN	dem.OBL	country

Kurmanji	<i>mirov-ê</i>	<i>wî</i>	<i>welat-î</i>
	man-GEN	dem.OBL	country-OBL 'Man of that country'

In C. Urmi there has been a development away from a transparent application of root and pattern morphological derivation (§ 4.15.) and one stimulus for this may have been contact with Kurdish and Azeri, which have a stem and affix type of derivational morphology.

Some developments in syntax exhibit convergence with languages in contact. Some are common to all or at least many NENA dialects, such as enclitic copulas in predictions (§ 3.), ergativity in past perfective constructions (§ 4.3.5.) and the perfect constructions consisting of a resultative participle and copula (§ 4.8.1.). These are likely to have arisen by convergence with Kurdish, which is spoken across the whole NENA area.

Some developments in C. Urmi syntax are more local developments that have most likely been stimulated by contact with Azeri Turkish. These include the frequent placement of the adjective before the head noun in nominal phrases (§ 9.6.1.). This distinguishes C. Urmi from NENA dialects in Iraq, in which there is no or at least far less frequent preposing of adjectives. The fact that the canonical ordering of components of nominal phrases in Azeri is adjective—noun must have facilitated this syntactic development. Adjective preposing in C. Urmi is, however, still pragmatically marked and the unmarked position is after the noun head, so the convergence with Azeri syntax is not complete. The order of argument constituents in a clause also exhibits convergence with the verb-final syntax characteristic of Azeri and Kurdish, in which it is the norm to place the direct object before the verb. Again, however, the convergence is not complete since the preposing of objects, although frequent in C. Urmi, still performs a pragmatic function (§ 12.5.5.2.).

In verbal syntax it is noteworthy that the progressive construction formed from a stem that has developed historically from an infinitive and locative particle is of particularly frequent use in C. Urmi. This form is likely to have evolved historically under the influence of progressive constructions in Azeri, e.g.

Azeri: *al-maq-ta-yum*  
 take-INF-LOC-COP.IS  
 'I am taking'

C. Urmi *bəškal-əvən* < \**b* + *škala* + *ivən*  
 LOC + take.INF + COP.IS

In C. Urmi, however, the form has undergone further developments beyond the Azeri model. The compositionality of the progressive stem into locative particle + infinitive has now become opaque (§ 1.15.2.). Its function has, moreover, become extended beyond the expression of the progressive, which is the function of the Azeri model (Dehghani 2000, 123–124) and is now used also to express narrative events and habitual situations.

A notable feature of the C. Urmi verbal system is the use of the perfect to express not only a resultative but also an 'indirective' perfective or imperfective (Johanson 1996; 2000; 2003), used to express an event that is inferred or one that is distanced from the speaker temporally in the remote past, or, sometimes, a mirative function of expressing an event that is removed some way from the norm. This function is likely to have developed in C. Urmi due to contact with the Turkic or Iranian languages of the area at some historical period (Khan 2012). It is significant, however, that the perfect of the Azeri spoken in Iran today does not have this indirective function (Dehghani 2000, 123), so the construction must have entered C. Urmi at an earlier historical period.

The syntactic organization of the constituents of causatives of transitive verbs is parallel to that of Azeri and also Kurdish dialects of the region (§ 4.25.3.4.). The productiveness of morphological causative constructions in C. Urmi with both transitive and intransitive verbs may have been stimulated by contact with Azeri, where causatives can in principle be freely created by a verbal suffix. It is significant to note, however, that in the Azeri that is used in Iran today the morphological causative is losing ground to periphrastic causative constructions under the influence of Persian. As a result, morphological causatives of C. Urmi are now more productive than those of Iranian Azeri and the convergence with Azeri must have taken place at an earlier period.

## 0.8 Interference from the Literary Language

The written literary form of C. Urmi that is used by educated speakers today differs in a number of respects from the vernacular spoken language. As we have

seen, these differences are, in general, due to normalizations and archaisms based on literary Syriac. The literary language sometimes has an impact on the vernacular of educated speakers. Some examples of such influence in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon are as follows.

A distinctive feature of the phonology of C. Urmī is the shift of long *\*ū* to a diphthong with a palatal off-glide /uy/ (§ 1.12.1.). Representation of this diphthongization is systematically avoided in the orthography of the literary language in Syriac script, though the transcriptions of Socin (1882) show that the diphthong was pronounced in the spoken language in the 19th century when the orthography was developed (Murre-van den Berg 1999, 168–172), e.g. the word **ܩܼܻܻܻ** ‘heavy’ (pl.) in the version of a text written in Syriac script is transcribed by Socin (1882, 9:1) *yāquīrē*. The diphthong is also not represented in the literary texts written in the New Alphabet that were printed in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s. Some educated speakers avoid pronouncing this diphthongization in their vernacular speech due, it seems, to the influence of the normative literary language.<sup>18</sup>

As has just been remarked, progressive verbal forms have developed historically by the combination of the preposition *b-* with the infinitive. This has been preserved in the vernacular in the simplex verbal pattern I (the erstwhile *pə'äl*) but has now been elided in the progressive of derived verbal patterns II and III (the erstwhile *pa“el* and *'ap̥el*) and quadrilateral verbs. It is a feature of the modern vernacular, however, that the *b-* is beginning to be lost in the progressive of many pattern I verbal forms, especially when these begin with a labial consonant (§ 4.8.2.). These elisions in pattern I tend to be avoided by educated speakers under the influence of the literary language, in which *b-* is systematically written.

Some educated speakers occasionally use the literary form of the verb ‘to be’ *hava* rather than the normal vernacular form *'avə*.

In the vernacular direct objects of verbs are often marked by the preposition *ka-*, which also expresses a dative relationship. This corresponds to the use of the dative preposition *l-* in literary Syriac to mark the direct object. In the literary form of C. Urmī *l-* is often used with this function, presumably in imitation of Syriac. Some educated speakers sporadically mark direct objects in their vernacular speech by the vernacular reflex of *l-*, viz. *+al*, under the influence of the literary language (§ 10.18.2.5.).

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18 According to Yohannan (1900, xii) there were originally variations across the various villages on the Urmī plain with regard to this shift, at least in the abstract nominal ending *-uyta* (*-uta*).

Educated speakers use in their speech a number of lexical items that originate in the literary language. These are often neologisms based on Syriac rather than vernacular C. Urmī morphology. Conspicuous in this regard are a number of words that have Syriac-style *t*-morphemes, e.g. *+mət'axlana* 'edible', *məšta'lana* 'responsible'. In the vernacular the verbal patterns with *t*-morphemes ('*etpə'el*, '*etpa"al* and '*etta"al*) have been lost (§ 4.2.).

### 0.9 Relationship of C. Urmī to J. Urmī

A NENA dialect was spoken also by Jews in Urmī until they left the region in the 1950s (Garbell 1965; Khan 2008a). Despite their geographical contiguity, however, the Christian and Jewish dialects of Urmī exhibit fundamental differences in their structure. The following comparative list illustrates some selected divergences in phonology, morphology and lexicon:

J. Urmī	C. Urmī	
<i>belá</i>	<i>béta</i>	'house'
<i>zorá</i>	<i>súra</i>	'small'
<i>+turá</i>	<i>+túyra</i>	'mountain'
<i>-ú</i>	<i>-é</i>	'their'
<i>-ilet</i>	<i>-ivət</i>	2ms copula
<i>plixé</i>	<i>ptíxələ</i>	'He has opened'
<i>paloxé</i>	<i>bəptáxələ</i>	'He is opening'
<i>xəzyéllux</i>	<i>xázyuxilə</i>	'He has seen you'
<i>maqoé</i>	<i>hamzúmələ</i>	'He is speaking'
<i>+samoxé</i>	<i>bəcláyələ</i>	'He is standing'
<i>kwašé</i>	<i>+bəsláyələ</i>	'He is descending'

These fundamental differences between the Jewish and Christian dialects of Urmī arose not only because of the social separation of the two religious communities but also on account of their different settlement history. The Jewish community, as far as can be established, had deep historical roots in the town whereas most Christians moved to the town from the surrounding countryside in relatively recent times. The contiguity of the two communities within Urmī, therefore, does not have a long history. Despite these differences between the dialects, Christians and Jews could understand each other without great difficulty.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> This is reported by both the Assyrian Christians and the Jews from the Urmī region whom I

C. Urmi shares a few innovations with J. Urmi. One of these is the morphological innovation of adding a *-u* augment to the 3ms suffix. This is a feature of the Jewish dialects spoken east of the Zab River, known as the ‘trans-Zab’ subgroup (Mutzafi 2008b):

	<b>*-eh</b>
C. Urmi	-u (< -eu)
J. Arbel	-eu
J. Sulemaniyya	-ew
J. Sanandaj	-ew

Other shared innovations include the development of suprasegmental pharyngalization and constructions based on the infinitive. In both cases, however, these innovations are more advanced in J. Urmi. The suprasegmental pharyngalization, for example, has been accompanied by a fronting of back vowels (/o/ and /u/) in non-pharyngalized words (Khan 2008a, 23). This represents a greater convergence with the principles of Azeri Turkish vowel harmony. In C. Urmi, on the other hand, such fronting does not take place in most varieties of the dialect (§ 1.3.). In the progressive construction the locative *b-* preposition has been completely lost in J. Urmi and the copula element has become grammaticalized as an affix, which has undergone phonetic contraction:

	C. Urmi	J. Urmi
‘He is opening’	<i>baptáxələ</i> (< <i>b + ptaxa + ilə</i> )	<i>paloxé</i> (< <i>b + paloxe + ile</i> )

In C. Urmi there are three patterns of verbs, viz. patterns I, II and III, which correspond historically to the *pe‘al*, *pa“el* and *‘ap̄el* of earlier Aramaic. The derivative pattern III is far more productive and ‘alive’ than stem II (§ 4.25.3.1.). In J. Urmi this tendency has developed into the complete elimination of pattern II, the erstwhile *pa“el* (Khan 2008a, 65–67).

In syntax J. Urmi shares a number of innovative features with C. Urmi but in general the innovation in J. Urmi is more advanced. In C. Urmi, for example, the object is frequently placed before the verb and this has been stimulated by the verb-final syntax of the contact languages of the area. Such fronting, however, still has a pragmatic function and is not the unmarked order. In

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have interviewed in my research and also by Stoddard (1855, 8), who refers to the language situation in the 19th century.

J. Urmi, on the other hand, verb-final syntax is the unmarked order of a clause (Khan 2008a, 324–325). This is reflected by the fact that the unmarked verb-final order has brought about a number of consequential changes in J. Urmi that are typologically expected in verb-final languages, such as the placement of auxiliary verbs after the main verb, e.g. *+qtila-hawe* ‘He may have killed’ (Khan 2008a, 81). The corresponding construction in C. Urmi, on the other hand, has the auxiliary before the main verb: *'avə +k̥tila* (§ 4.8.1.3.).

J. Urmi also exhibits innovative developments, usually induced by the contact languages, that have not taken place in C. Urmi. In J. Urmi, for example, the gender distinction between the independent 3rd person singular pronouns has been lost, which is a result of convergence with Kurdish and Azeri, where there is also no gender distinction:

C. Urmi	<i>+av</i>	‘he’	<i>'ay</i> ‘she’
J. Urmi	<i>o</i>	‘he/she’	
Iranian Azeri	<i>o</i>	‘he/she’	
Kurmanji Kurdish	<i>ew</i>	‘he/she’	

One of the explanations for the greater degree of convergence of J. Urmi with languages in contact is likely to be the fact that the Jews were a much smaller component of the population of the area than the Assyrians. According to Namik and Nedjib (1919) in 1914 the Jews of the area numbered 4,000, compared to 78,000 Assyrians and 80,000 Turks and Turkmen.

## 0.10 Methodology and Layout of the Work

This work is divided into three main sections, dedicated to grammar, lexicon and texts respectively, which are published in four volumes:

- Volume 1: Grammar: phonology and morphology
- Volume 2: Grammar: syntax
- Volume 3: A description of the lexicon, arranged by lexical fields and alphabetically
- Volume 4: A text corpus consisting of transcribed texts with English translations

The material presented in this work is entirely based on fieldwork that I carried out among native speakers of the dialect. The previously published work on the dialect guided me in some details regarding the gathering of data in the field,



*Fieldwork in Canda, Georgia*

but the material is entirely new and is not incorporated from earlier work. The fieldwork was carried out between 2005 and 2015 among the older generation of speakers who were born in the region of Urmia in Iran or in the Caucasus. The informants born in the Urmia region were interviewed in London (England), Turlock (USA), Fresno (USA), Los Angeles (USA), Chicago (USA) and Sydney (Australia). The informants who were born in the Caucasus were interviewed in the villages of Arzni (Armenia), Guylasar (Armenia), Dvin (Armenia) and Canda (Georgia). A few elderly speakers of Urmia who were born in Georgia were interviewed in Almaty (Kazakhstan).

Extensive recordings were made of the speech of the various informants and additional data were written down in notebooks. The informants were requested in particular to tell folktales and give descriptions of the traditional way of life in the villages. A large selection of these recordings were transcribed and these form the text corpus, which is published in volume 4. This text corpus is divided into folktales, which are numbered with a prefixed A (e.g. A1, A2, etc.), and expository texts about village life and history, which are numbered with a prefixed B (e.g. B1, B2, etc.).

The text corpus formed the source for a large proportion of the grammatical description. This applies in particular to the sections on syntax, which are

based on analyses of structures that occur in the text corpus. Further interviews were conducted to complete the description of the morphology and to check details of phonology. Speakers were questioned about the context of usage of certain grammatical elements in a speech situation. Elicitation of syntactic structures from informants out of context were avoided as much as possible. Most of the examples that do not occur in the published text corpus are taken from my unpublished recordings.

The grammatical description broadly follows the format of my other Neo-Aramaic grammars (Khan 1999; 2002; 2004; 2008a; 2008b; 2009), covering phonology, morphology, and syntax. Instrumental analysis was used to analyse phonetic features of the dialect using the programme Praat. The description of the syntax directs particular attention to the function of forms and structures within the context in which they occur. This involves using various functional and communicative notions such as topic, focus, cohesion and boundaries of discourse sections. These are explained in the appropriate place or are self-explanatory where they are used. The analysis does not follow one particular theoretical framework but rather various theoretical notions are invoked according to needs arising from the data. In various places in the grammar parallels to certain structures in contact languages are identified.

The material for the volume on the lexicon was based on my recordings and field notes. The previous lexicographical work on the Urmî dialect was used as an initial guide for the study of the lexicon. Words occurring in the dictionaries of Kalashev (1894b), Maclean (1901) and Oraham (1943) that did not occur in my own material were checked with informants. Likewise the lexical items occurring in the grammars of scholars who worked directly with speakers, such as Stoddard (1860), Maclean (1895), Marogulov (1935), Tsereteli (Tsereteli 1965; 1958; 1978b) and Younansardaroud (2001), and in lexicographical studies such as those by Petrus (2010b; 2010a; 2011; 2012b; 2013) were trawled and checked. Some of the words occurring in these sources were found to be now unknown to speakers of the vernacular language. Moreover the dictionaries and also other sources contain words used in the literary language or neologisms, neither of which are used by speakers without an education in the literary language. This applies in particular to the dictionary of Oraham and the lexical studies of Petrus, but also to some extent to other sources. Such literary words and neologisms have been, for the most part, excluded from the description of the lexicon presented in this work, unless they occur in the text corpus. Some of the lexical items documented in volume 3, especially those relating to village life, do not appear in previous dictionaries and lexicographical studies. The origin of loanwords is identified where this was possible. Regional variants of lexical items or their inflections are indicated

where appropriate, including lexical items in the neighbouring dialects of Salamas and Gawilan.

The text corpus contains transcriptions of recordings of speakers originating from northern and southern Urmi villages, from the villages of Arzni and Guylasar in Armenia and from the village of Canda in Georgia. Many of the speakers originating from the Urmi villages lived for a certain period in the town of Urmi or other Iranian towns before emigrating to the USA, Australia and the UK. The texts are samples of natural speech and so in some cases they contain anacolutha and fragments of clauses. Speakers from time to time code-switch by using unadapted loanwords or phrases from various other languages. These are printed in roman script in the transcriptions with an indication of the source language in superscript abbreviations. This distinguishes them from the main text of the transcriptions, which is written in italics. The audio files of the text corpus will be made accessible in the near future through the website of the NENA database project, University of Cambridge.

## CHAPTER 1

# Phonology

## 1.1 Consonant Phonemes

### Phoneme Inventory

	Labials	Dental/ Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Palatal	Post-Velar	Laryngal
<b>Stops</b>						
Unvoiced lax	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>c</i>		
Unvoiced tense	<i>ɸ</i>	<i>tʃ</i>		<i>ç</i>	<i>k</i>	
Voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>ɟ</i>	<i>g</i>	
<b>Affricates</b>						
Unvoiced lax				<i>č</i>		
Unvoiced tense				<i>χ</i>		
Voiced				<i>j</i>		
<b>Fricatives</b>						
Unvoiced	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
Voiced	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>		<i>ɣ</i>	
			<i>y</i>			
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>				
Lateral		<i>l</i>				
Rhotic		<i>r</i>				

## 1.2 Vowel Phonemes

The following vowel phonemes can be distinguished:

/i/, /e/, /ə/, /a/, /o/, /u/

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

/i/ : /e/    *bíta*    'egg'  
              *béta*    'house'

<i>/e/ : /a/</i>	<i>méta</i>	'she dies'
	<i>máta</i>	'village'

<i>/a/ : /ə/</i>	<i>náša</i>	'man'
	<i>nášə</i>	'people'

<i>/a/ : /o/</i>	<i>máta</i>	'village'
	<i>móta</i>	'death'

<i>/o/ : /u/</i>	<i>béto</i>	'her house'
	<i>bétu</i>	'his house'

The vowel */ə/* contrasts with */i/* only in word-final open syllables, e.g.

<i>xazíli</i>	'he sees me'
<i>xazílə</i>	'he sees him'

The two vowels stand in complementary distribution in word-internal position, */i/* in open syllables and */ə/* in closed syllables:

<i>šapíra</i>	'beautiful' (ms.)
<i>šapərta</i>	'beautiful' (fs.)

In the variety of the dialect spoken in the Urmi region the vowels */e/* and */ə/* always stand in complementary distribution. There are no full minimal pairs since */ə/* replaces */e/* when */e/* is shortened in closed syllables, e.g. *bət-+kuyra* < \**bet-+kura* 'tomb', or in post-stress open syllables, e.g. *xíšələ* < \**xíše*le 'he has gone'. Quasi-minimal pairs are found that are distinguished by stress position only, e.g.

<i>bétələ</i>	'it is a house'
<i>betéłə</i>	'it is their house'

In Georgia, however, the vowels */e/* and */ə/* stand in a clear phonemic opposition in final unstressed syllables, due to the fact that in this variety of the dialect the 3pl. L-suffix is *-le*, which contrasts with the 3ms *-lə*, e.g.

<i>tílə</i>	'he came'
<i>tile</i>	'they came'

### 1.3 Suprasegmental Emphasis

#### 1.3.1 Introductory Remarks

A further phonemic opposition relates to phonological emphasis. Although in many cases the historical background of this can be traced to the original presence of emphatic consonant segments in a word, in the synchronic state of the dialect the phenomenon is suprasegmental and its domain is in principle the entire word. The fundamental articulatory gesture of emphasis is pharyngalization, which involves the constriction of the upper pharynx with increased muscular tension. This is a non-primary articulation that accompanies the primary articulation of consonants and vowels. It is accompanied by a variety of other features including the retraction of the tongue from the primary point of articulation of coronal and dorsal consonants. The articulation of vowels tends to be retracted. There tends to be a lip-rounding gesture. Labial consonants are pronounced with a degree of protrusion and rounding of the lips.

There are a number of minimal pairs of words that differ only in the feature of suprasegmental emphasis. In the transcription emphasis is marked by the symbol + at the front of the word,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

*'arya*

'lion'

*+’arya*

'saint's festival'

*bara*

'opening in a channel'

*+bara*

'light'

*dara*

'valley'

*+dara*

'generation'

*pala*

'piece of fruit'

*+pala*

'labourer'

*lala*

'nurse'

*+lala*

'mute'

*mata*

'village'

*+mata*

'boil (on skin), grape'

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<sup>1</sup> This practice was first used for Neo-Aramaic by Jacobi (1973).

<i>marta</i>	'owner (f.); mistress'
<sup>+</sup> <i>marta</i>	'Martha (proper name)'
<i>tala</i>	'mousetrap'
<sup>+</sup> <i>tala</i>	'fox'
<i>yarxa</i>	'month'
<sup>+</sup> <i>yarxa</i>	'she stretches out'
<i>karta</i>	'cold' (noun)
<sup>+</sup> <i>karta</i>	'cold' (adjective fs.)
<i>xalta</i>	'aunt'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xalta</i>	'eating'
<i>xyarta</i>	'to look'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xyarta</i>	'cucumber'
<i>azəl</i>	'he goes'
<sup>+</sup> <i>azəl</i>	'he spins (wool)'
<i>darə</i>	'he pours'
<sup>+</sup> <i>darə</i>	'he winnows'
<i>sapə</i>	'he hands over'
<sup>+</sup> <i>sapə</i>	'he filters'
<i>sarəp</i>	'it soaks up'
<sup>+</sup> <i>sarəp</i>	'it smarts'
<i>šarə</i>	'he unties'
<sup>+</sup> <i>šarə</i>	'he begins'
<i>maslə</i>	'he despises'
<sup>+</sup> <i>maslə</i>	'he causes to descend'
<i>čanjər</i>	'it jingles'
<sup>+</sup> <i>čanjər</i>	'it scratches with a paw'

*čarčar* ‘he screams’  
 +*čarčar* ‘it creaks (door)’

*parpər* ‘to flap (flag)’  
 +*parpər* ‘to blow (one’s nose) loudly’

*parušta* ‘parting (of hair)’  
 +*parušta* ‘flat stone’

*marduta* ‘bravery’  
 +*marduta* ‘culture’

*rayyə* ‘it sets, it thickens’  
 +*rayyə* ‘it rains’

*meta* ‘she dies’  
 +*meta* ‘churn’

*bəzza* ‘teat, breast’  
 +*bəzza* ‘hole’

*dora* ‘lock’  
 +*dora* ‘generation’

*jora* ‘she marries’  
 +*jora* ‘husband’

*mometa* ‘oath’  
 +*mometa* ‘to purr’

*nora* ‘mirror’  
 +*nora* ‘glow’

*dorana* ‘doorman’  
 +*dorana* ‘rolling pin’

*bita* ‘egg’  
 +*bita* ‘desired (fs.)’

<i>curra</i>	'foal of a donkey'
+ <i>curra</i>	'mud, slime'
<i>julla</i>	'bullet'
+ <i>julla</i>	'pip, stone of fruit'
<i>dur</i>	'close!'
+ <i>dur</i>	'return!'

Although the domain of emphasis is the entire word, it does not have equal articulatory impact on all segments of the word and indeed there are grounds for analysing some segments as 'transparent' to emphasis.

This applies to a number of the vowel phonemes. Suprasegmental emphasis clearly changes the quality of some vowels, in that their realization is distinctly further back than in plain words. The quality of other vowels, however, is far less affected by emphasis. This can be demonstrated by plotting vowel qualities by instrumental acoustic analysis. The emphatic articulation of a vocalic segment with retracted tongue root and constricted pharynx is reflected in spectrographs by the lowering ('flattening') of high frequency energy, specifically by the lowering of the second formant (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996, 360–363). This impression of flattening is created by the enlargement of the oral cavity by decreasing the volume of the pharyngal cavity and also, in many cases, by protrusion and rounding of the lips (Watson 2007, 270). In what follows I present the results of my analysis of the quality of the vowel phonemes in emphatic and plain words based on the measurement of their first and second formants ( $F_1$  and  $F_2$ ).

### 1.3.2 Long Stressed Vowels

In the first section I present plots of the quality of several tokens of long stressed vowels in open syllables in emphatic and plain words. This applies to the vowels /a/, /i/, /e/, /u/ and /o/. The vowel /ə/ is always short (§ 1.7.2.).

Emphatic long stressed /a/

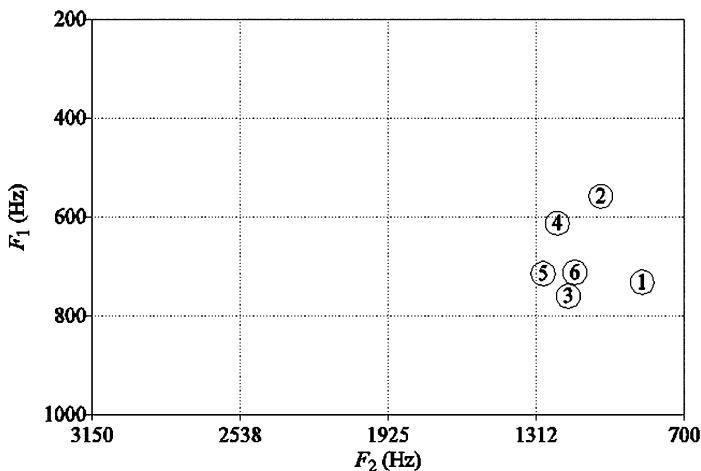


FIGURE 1

1. <sup>+</sup>*tála* 'fox'
2. <sup>+</sup>*táta* 'sweat'
3. <sup>+</sup>*tuyrána* 'mountains'
4. <sup>+</sup>*byáyələ* 'he wants'
5. <sup>+</sup>*xoravátə* 'friends'
6. <sup>+</sup>*háva* 'air'

## Plain long stressed /a/

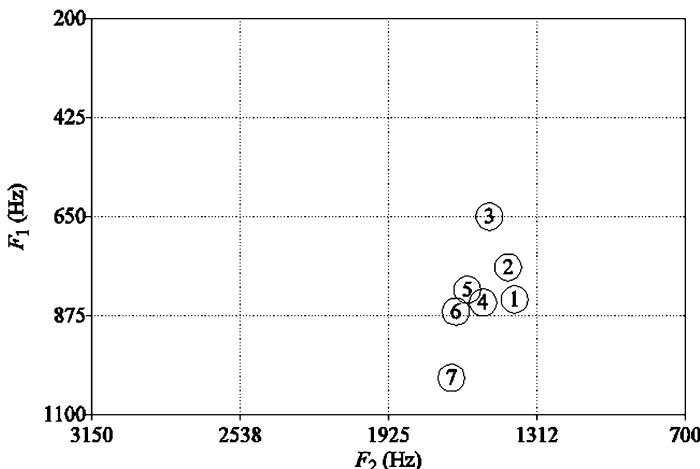


FIGURE 2

1. *tála* 'mousetrap'
2. *pátəx* 'he opens'
3. *pátux* 'your face'
4. *práka* 'to finish'
5. *kátux* 'to you'
6. *bábi* 'my father'
7. *taxána* 'miller'

It is clear from these plots that long stressed /a/ is consistently realized with a significantly lower  $F_2$  in emphatic words than in plain words. This indicates that it is articulated considerably further back when the word is emphatic. In plain words most tokens of the vowel are in the region of [a] whereas in emphatic words they are in the region of the back vowel [ɑ].

### Emphatic long stressed /i/

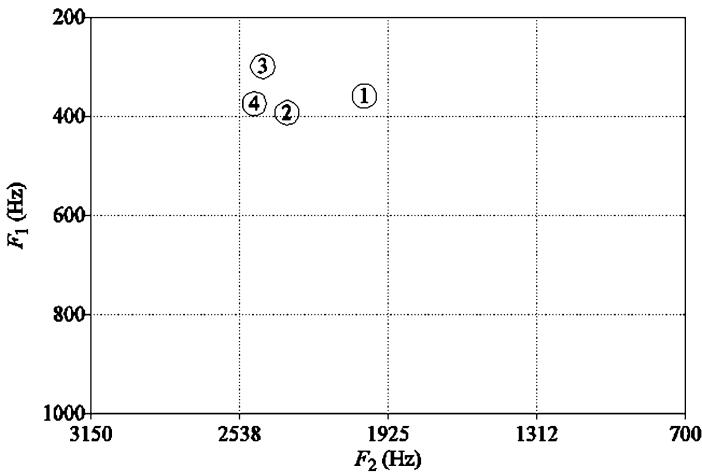


FIGURE 3

1.  ${}^+jříša$  'pulled'
2.  ${}^+karíva$  'he used to read'
3.  ${}^+říša$  'awake'
4.  ${}^+slímun$  'come down (pl.)!'

### Plain long stressed /i/

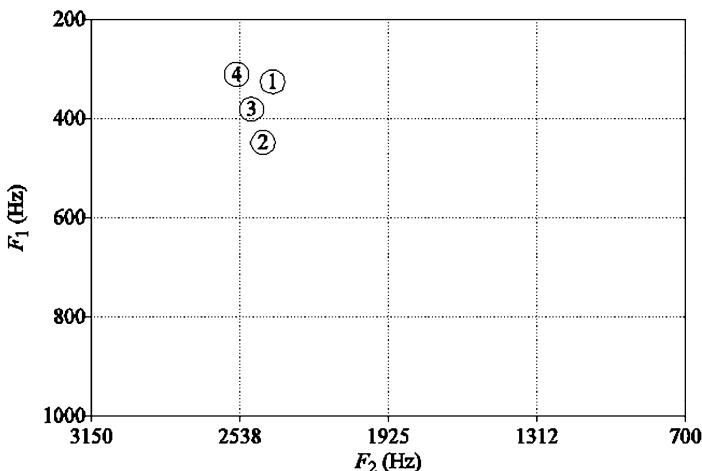


FIGURE 4

1. *ptíxəłə* 'it is open'
2. *fvírəva* 'he had married'
3. *štímun* 'drink (pl.)!'
4. *ríša* 'head'

It can be seen that there is not a significant difference between the quality of /i/ in emphatic and plain words. The majority of tokens are realized in the region of [i] with a tendency for those in emphatic words to be articulated slightly further back, in one case to the region of [ɪ]. In many cases, however, the quality of the vowel in emphatic words overlaps with the quality it has in plain words.

Emphatic long stressed /e/

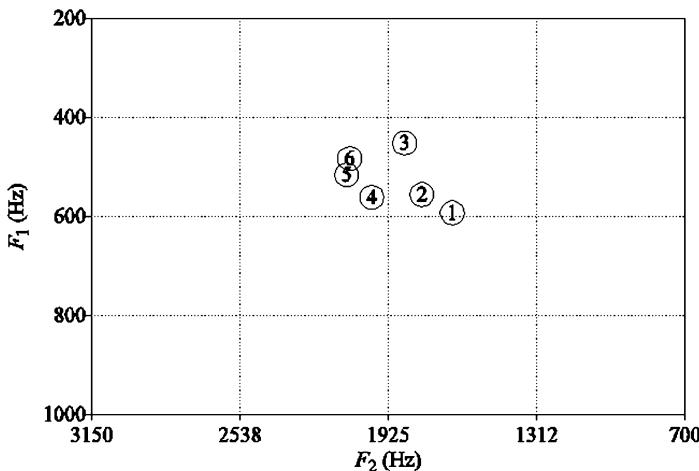


FIGURE 5

1. *+téra* 'bird'
2. *+palléta* 'division'
3. *+tašéta* 'hiding'
4. *+méta* 'churn'
5. *+kéta* 'summer'
6. *+taté* 'their sweat'

## Plain long stressed /e/

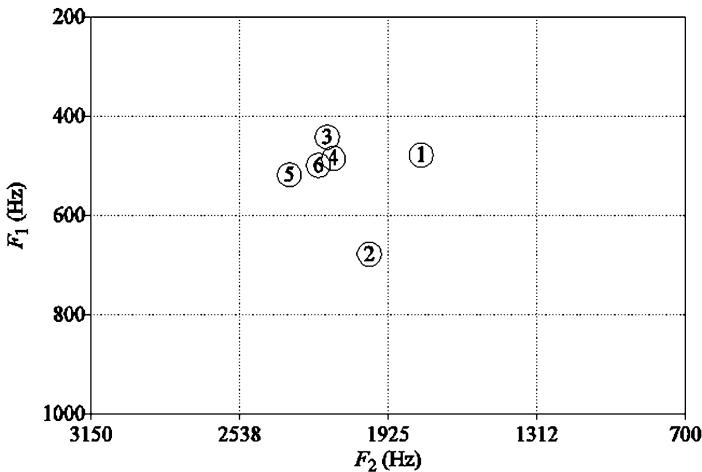


FIGURE 6

1. *mréta* 'moth'
2. *béta* 'house'
3. *péša* 'she remains'
4. *paté* 'their face'
5. *mélə* 'bring him!'
6. *kémi* 'they rise'

The phonetic realizations of /e/ in emphatic and plain words are scattered in the regions of [e] and [ɛ]. There is a tendency for /e/ in emphatic words to be articulated slightly further back, but there is some overlap of its realization in emphatic and plain words.

Emphatic long stressed /u/

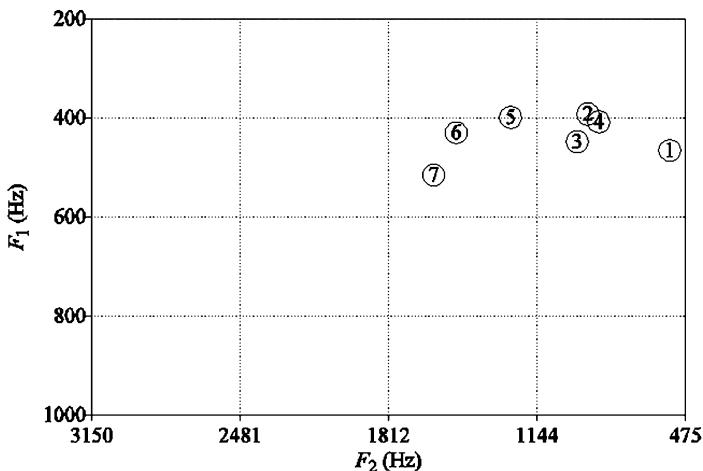


FIGURE 7

1. *+júra* 'big'
2. *+slúta* 'prayer'
3. *+ajəbbúta* 'amazement' (pl.)
4. *+kaṭúla* 'murderer'
5. *+tíyra* 'mountain'
6. *+axúla* 'glutton'
7. *+palúṭəna* 'they go out'

## Plain long stressed /u/

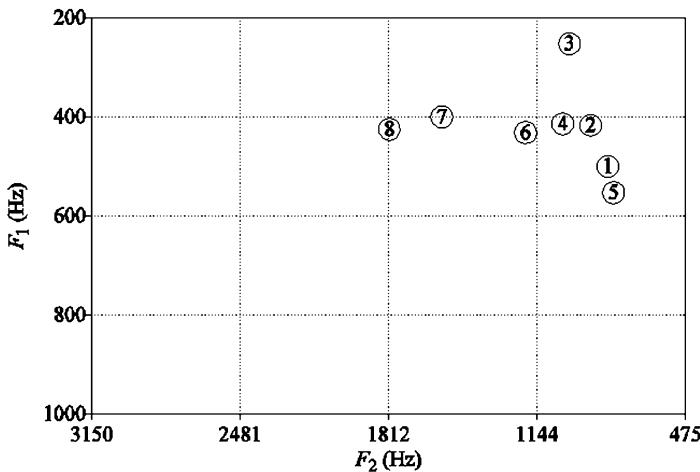


FIGURE 8

1. *kú* 'arise!'
2. *mú vədlə?* 'What did you do?'
3. *brúnux* 'your son'
4. *súra* 'small'
5. *dúla* 'here he is'
6. *xabúyša* 'apple'
7. *núyna* 'fish'
8. *zúyzə* 'money'

The rounded vowel /u/ has a wide scatter of realizations, mostly lower than the cardinal vowel [u], in the regions of [ʊ], [o] and centralized between the qualities of [u] and [e]. The more advanced articulation is found before /y/ in the diphthong /uy/, though not exclusively in this context, as shown by tokens 6 and 7 of the emphatic words. Crucially, the scatter of realizations in emphatic and plain words is largely overlapping.

## Emphatic long stressed /o/

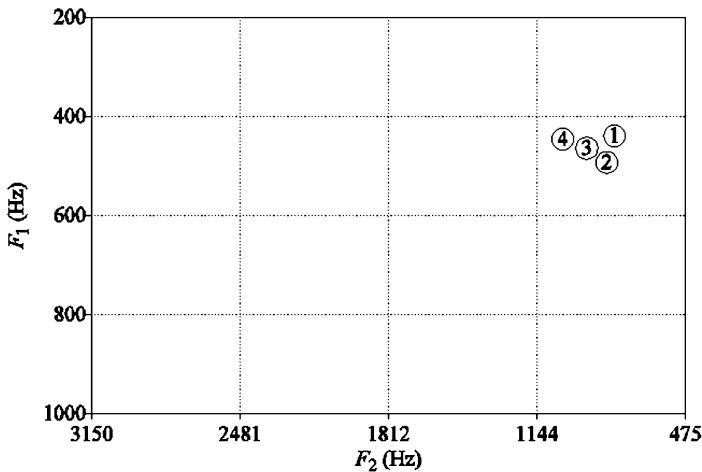


FIGURE 9

1. *+jóra* 'husband'
2. *+xóla* 'rope'
3. *+tatóxun* 'your sweat'
4. *+aynóxun* 'your eyes'

## Plain long stressed /o/

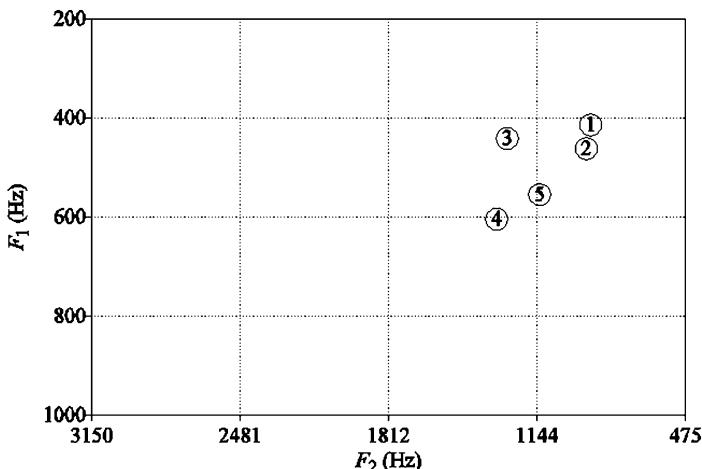


FIGURE 10

1. *patóxun* 'your face'
2. *'ódi* 'they do'
3. *jóra* 'she marries'
4. *'óya* '(that) she is'
5. *'ó márux* 'that master of yours'

The rounded vowel /o/ has a narrower scatter than /u/ and is realized between the regions of [o] and [ɔ]. There is some overlap with the scatter of the realizations of /u/, but the mean realization of /o/ is slightly lower than that of /u/. Some tokens of /o/ in plain words are more advanced than the tokens in emphatic words, but there is overlap in the scatter of the tokens in emphatic and plain words.

Overall, therefore, among the long stressed vowels /a/, /i/, /e/, /u/ and /o/, it is only /a/ that exhibits a significant and consistent difference in quality in emphatic and plain words. This is shown in Fig. 11, which presents the mean plots of the tokens for each of the vowels in emphatic and plain words.

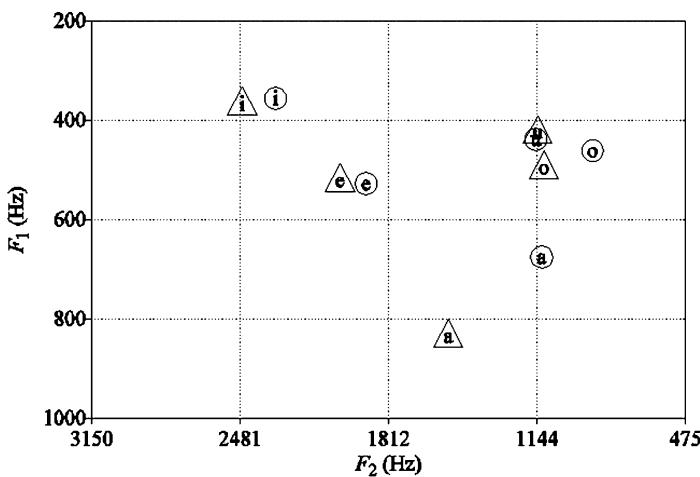


FIGURE 11 *Mean plots of long stressed vowels (triangles = plain, circles = emphatic)*

### 1.3.3 Short Stressed Vowels

The vowels that can be realized as short include /a/, /ə/ and /u/ (see §1.7.). In this section plots are presented of the quality of the realization of these vowels in stressed closed syllables of emphatic and plain words.

Emphatic short stressed /a/

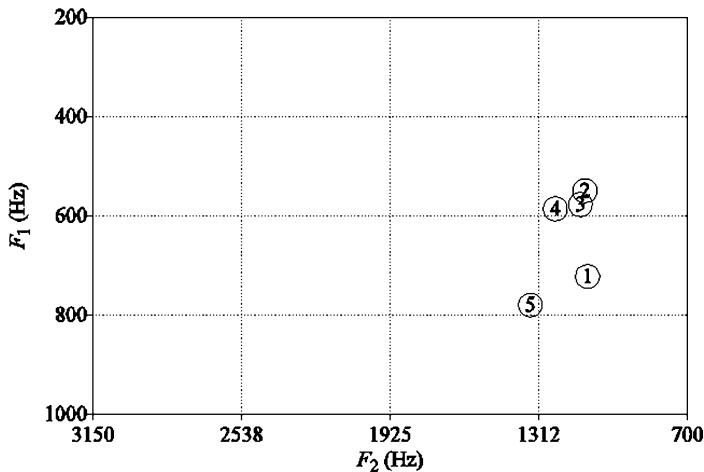


FIGURE 12

1. <sup>+</sup>*xálta* 'eating'
2. <sup>+</sup>*támma* 'here'
3. <sup>+</sup>*yárxa* 'she lies down'
4. <sup>+</sup>*tášya* 'she hides'
5. <sup>+</sup>*árþunte* 'the four of them'

## Plain short stressed /a/

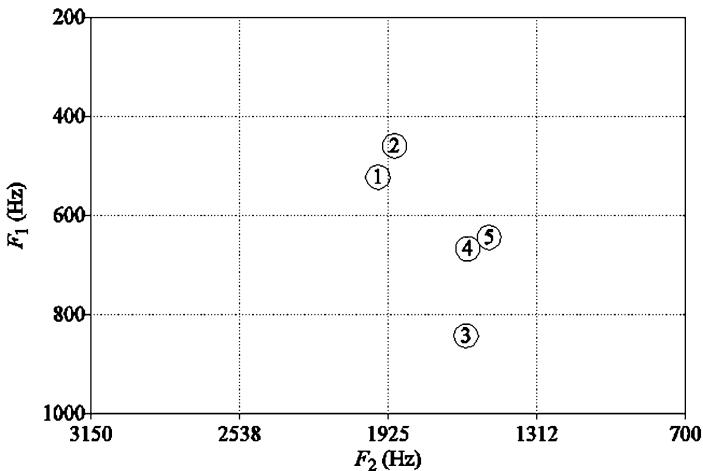


FIGURE 13

1. *yárxa* 'month'
2. *'ákla* 'foot'
3. *hálli* 'give me!'
4. *báxtu* 'his wife'
5. *xálta* 'aunt'

The plots show that stressed short /a/ is consistently more retracted in its realization in emphatic words than in plain words. In plain words it is realized in the regions of [a] and [æ] and as high as the region of [ɛ]. In emphatic words it is realized in the region of [ɑ].

## Emphatic stressed /ə/

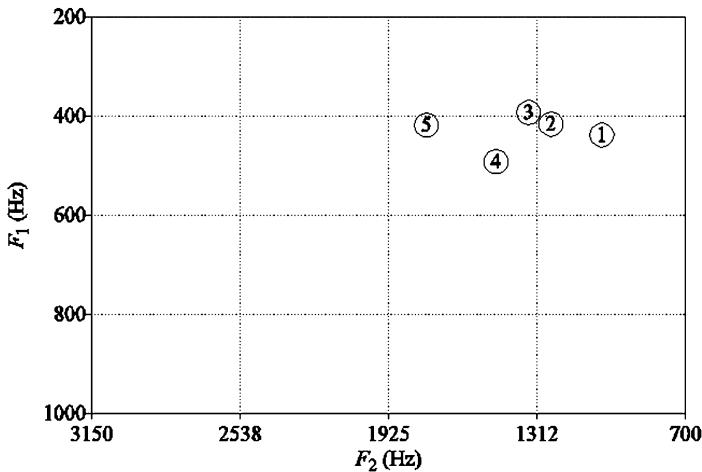


FIGURE 14

1. <sup>+</sup>*kéṭma* 'ash'
2. <sup>+</sup>*bázza* 'hole'
3. <sup>+</sup>*dámma* 'tear'
4. <sup>+</sup>*tályələ* 'he has slept'
5. <sup>+</sup>*cátra* 'knots'

## Plain stressed /ə/

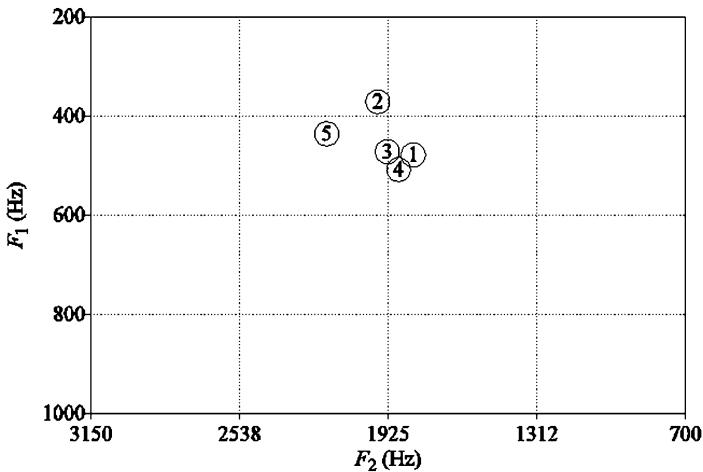


FIGURE 15

1. *fvárra* 'she married'
2. *dámma* 'blood'
3. *lábba* 'heart'
4. *pálla* 'she fell'
5. *þákka* 'frog'

The realizations of the vowel /ə/ have consistently distinct qualities in emphatic and plain words. In emphatic words it is realized with a scatter ranging from the region of the close-mid unrounded back quality [χ] to the region of the close-mid central quality [ø]. In plain words it has a significantly more advanced quality in the region of [ɪ] or [e].

Emphatic short stressed /u/

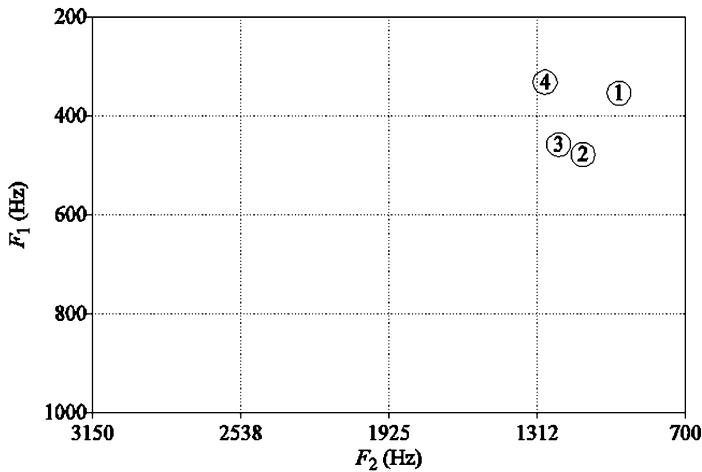


FIGURE 16

1. <sup>+</sup>*mútra* 'rain'
2. <sup>+</sup>*basúrtəla* 'it is lacking'
3. <sup>+</sup>*súppa* 'finger'
4. <sup>+</sup>*jrúš* 'pull!'

Plain short stressed /u/

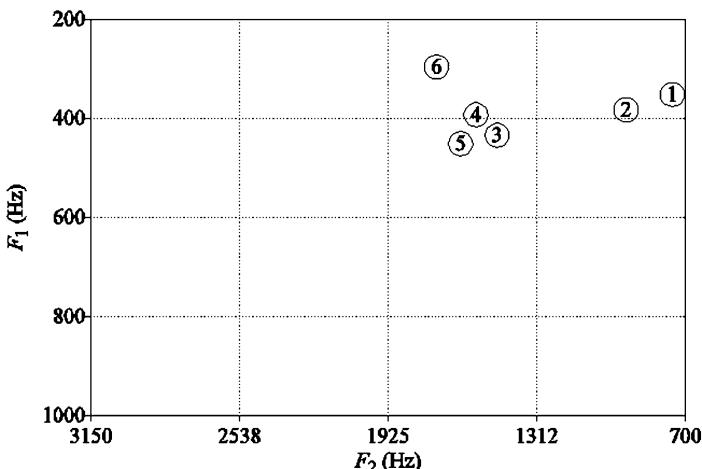


FIGURE 17

1. *'úpra* 'soil'
2. *ptúx* 'open!'
3. *júpta* 'cheese'
4. *sústa* 'mare'
5. *cúl* 'all'
6. *dúcta* 'place'

The vowel /u/ has quite a wide scatter of realizations, with those of emphatic words overlapping to some extent with those of plain words in the region of [ʊ]. Plain words contain some advanced tokens between the centralized rounded qualities of [u] and [ø], especially in the environment of palatals (tokens 5 and 6).

Overall, only the vowels /a/ and /ə/ exhibit significant quality differences, as shown in the mean plots in fig. 18.

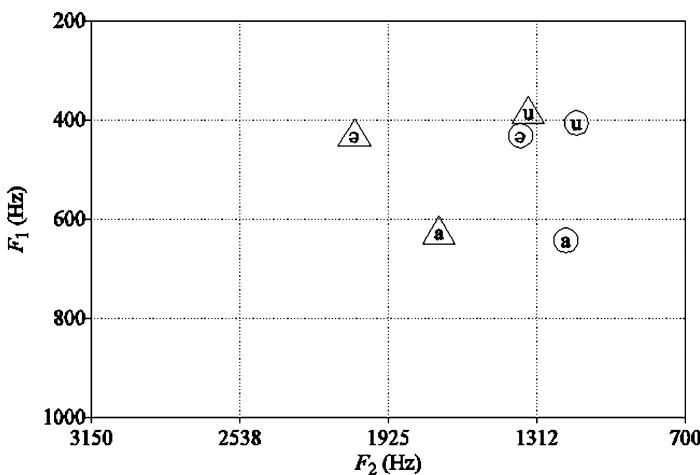


FIGURE 18 *Mean plots of stressed short vowels (triangles = plain, circles = emphatic)*

### 1.3.4 *Short Unstressed Vowels*

The sharp distinction in quality between short /a/ in emphatic and plain words is blurred slightly in unstressed syllables, especially those in word-final position. In some cases the retraction of the short /a/ in this position in emphatic words is weakened and it is realized with a more advanced quality that overlaps with that of /a/ in the equivalent position in plain words. This is shown in the following plots.

## Emphatic short /a/ in final unstressed syllables

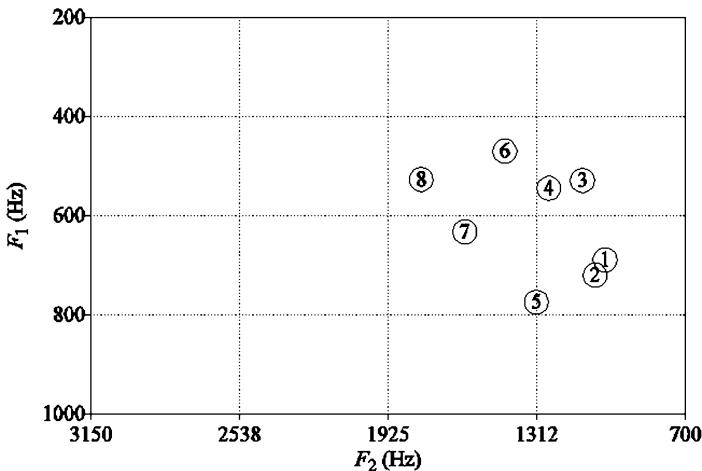


FIGURE 19

1. *+tálɑ* 'fox'
2. *+támma* 'there'
3. *+jóra* 'man'
4. *+slúta* 'prayer'
5. *+arṭálɑ* 'she farts'
6. *+tíyra* 'mountain'
7. *+ajəbbúta* 'amazement'
8. *+déta* 'knowledge'

Plain short /a/ in final unstressed syllables

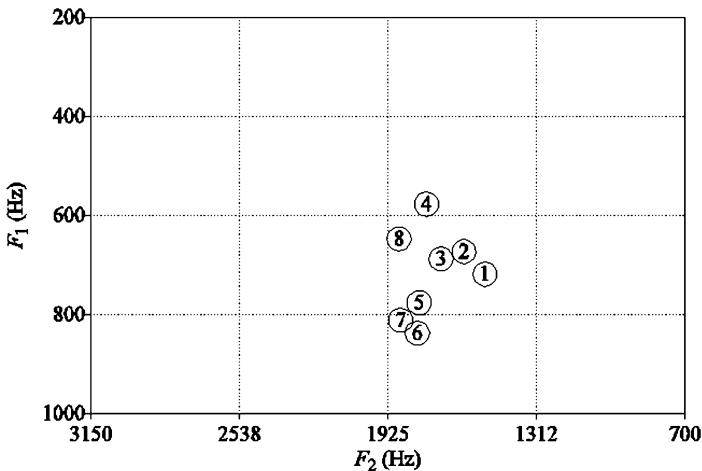


FIGURE 20

1. *tála* 'mousetrap'
2. *šapórta* 'beautiful (fs.)'
3. *taxána* 'miller'
4. *sústa* 'horse (f.)'
5. *fvárra* 'she married'
6. *práka* 'to finish'
7. *xátna* 'groom'
8. *túyta* 'mulberry'

The overlap is shown in the combined plot in Fig. 21.

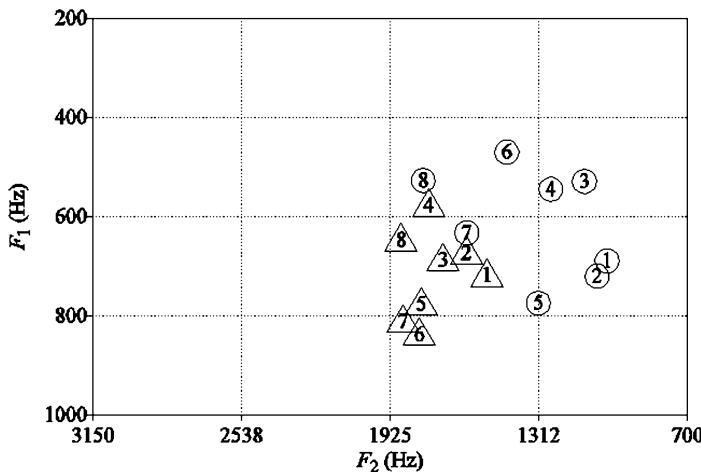


FIGURE 21 *Combined plot of unstressed short final /ə/ (triangles = plain, circles = emphatic)*

The sharp quality distinction of the realizations of /ə/ in emphatic and plain syllables is, however, maintained in final unstressed syllables, as shown in the following plots.

#### Emphatic /ə/ in final unstressed syllables

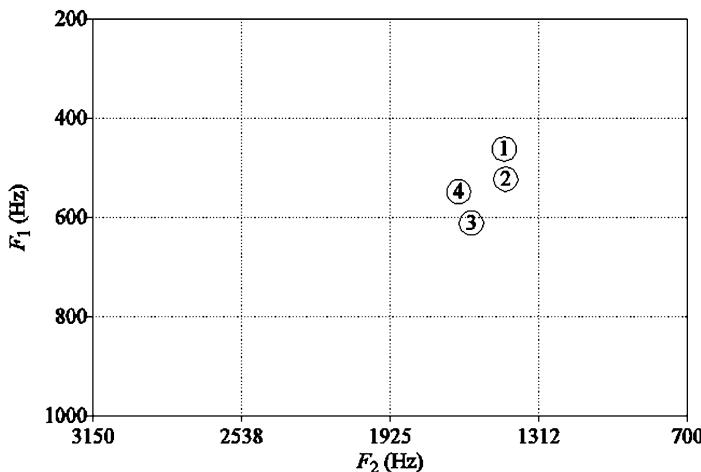


FIGURE 22

1. *+byáyələ* 'he wants'
2. *+ajjúbələ* 'he is surprised'
3. *+ruyšána* 'shoulders'
4. *+keṭaváta* 'summers'

Plain /ə/ in final unstressed syllables

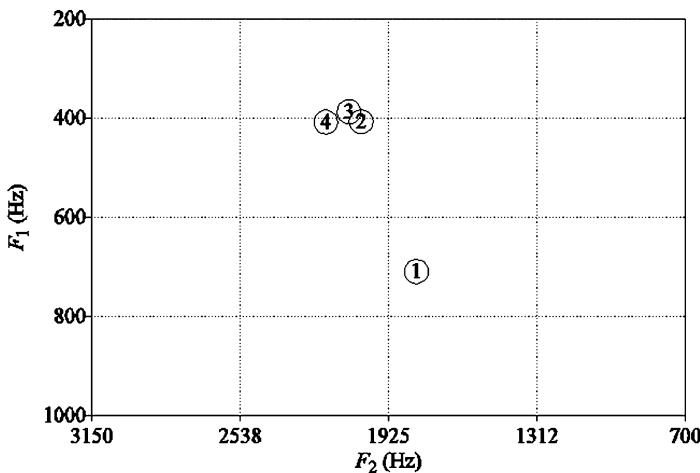


FIGURE 23

1. *ptíxələ* 'it is open'
2. *susaváta* 'horses'
3. *níyna* 'fish'
4. *príkələ* 'he has finished'

Despite the blurring of the quality distinction between some of the realizations of /a/ in emphatic and plain words in unstressed final syllables, the mean realizations of tokens still exhibit a significant distinction. This is shown in the mean plot of /a/ and /ə/ in this position presented Fig. 24.

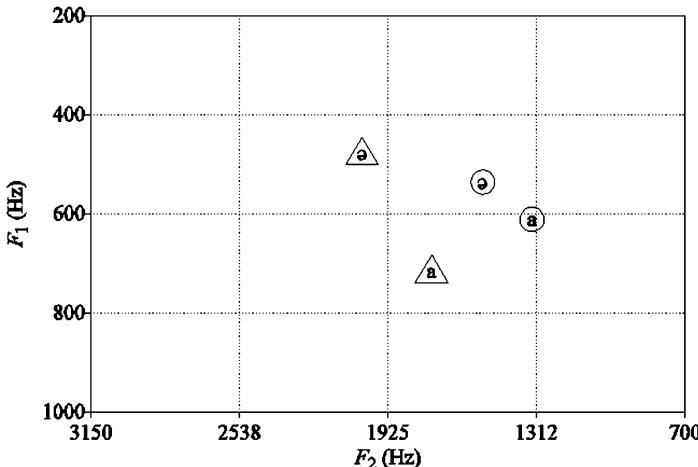


FIGURE 24 Mean plot of short unstressed final /a/ and /ə/ (triangles = plain, circles = emphatic)

In sum, the main burden of distinction between emphatic and non-emphatic words in the vowel system is borne by the vowels /a/ and /ə/. Although this may seem highly restrictive, these are the most common vowels and at least one of them occurs in the majority of words and their inflections.

From a phonological point of view the opposition between emphatic and non-emphatic realization of these vowels is based on different degrees of backness, i.e. [-back] vs. [+back]. This is the basis of vowel oppositions in Turkish vowel harmony. Some languages, including many from the Altaic family, have, on the other hand, vowel harmony systems based not on backness oppositions but rather on oppositions of Advanced Tongue Root (ATR): [-ATR] v. [+ATR]. The primary acoustic correlate of backness is either the second formant or the absolute value of the difference between the first and second formants ( $F_2-F_1$ ). The feature [ATR], on the other hand, depends primarily on the value of the first formant and so vowels in [ATR] oppositions are distinguished by their  $F_1$  values (see Vaux 2009 and the references cited there). The tables below presents the relevant data for the mean plots of emphatic vs plain realizations of long stressed vowels and short stress vowels. This clearly demonstrates that the opposition is based on backness as in Turkish rather than on ATR, since ATR values are not clearly distinct and indeed are identical in the short vowels.

## Long stressed

	<sup>+a</sup>	a
F <sub>2</sub>	1140	1650
F <sub>1</sub>	725	820
F <sub>2</sub> -F <sub>1</sub>	415	830

## Stressed short

	<sup>+a</sup>	a	<sup>+ə</sup>	ə
F <sub>2</sub>	1250	1800	1320	2000
F <sub>1</sub>	770	780	410	410
F <sub>2</sub> -F <sub>1</sub>	480	1020	910	1590

**1.3.5 Dialect Differences in Vowels**

In the speech of speakers originating from some of the villages north of Urmī there is a tendency for the F<sub>2</sub> of /a/ vowels in emphatic words to be lowered to a greater extent than described above. This applies in particular to speakers from <sup>+Spurğān</sup> and <sup>+Mušava</sup>. A comparison of words uttered by speakers from these villages with those in the speech of an informant from a village in the southern region (Julpašan) is given below:

<sup>+Spurğān</sup> (N):    <sup>+ra</sup>(F<sub>1</sub> 399, F<sub>2</sub> 751)ba(F<sub>1</sub> 339, F<sub>2</sub> 964)  
<sup>+tá</sup>(F<sub>1</sub> 530, F<sub>2</sub> 851)ma(F<sub>1</sub> 470, F<sub>2</sub> 773)

<sup>+Mušava</sup> (N):    <sup>+rá</sup>(F<sub>1</sub> 613, F<sub>2</sub> 865)ba(F<sub>1</sub> 514, F<sub>2</sub> 909)  
<sup>+tá</sup>(F<sub>1</sub> 556, F<sub>2</sub> 883)ma(F<sub>1</sub> 468, F<sub>2</sub> 735)

Julpašan (S):    <sup>+rá</sup>(F<sub>1</sub> 654, F<sub>2</sub> 1161)ba(F<sub>1</sub> 555, F<sub>2</sub> 1404)  
<sup>+tá</sup>(F<sub>1</sub> 672, F<sub>2</sub> 1042)ma(F<sub>1</sub> 818, F<sub>2</sub> 1029)

In some villages, the intensifier <sup>+raba</sup> 'very' is regularly pronounced with greater F<sub>2</sub> drop of the stressed /a/ than in other words, to the extent that it is realized with lip-rounding in the region of /o/. It should, therefore, be transcribed <sup>+róba</sup>. This is the case, for example, in the villages of Armenia and Georgia, and in some villages in the southern region of the Urmī plain such as <sup>+Satluvvə</sup>.

There are some differences among the different varieties of the C. Urmī dialect regarding the distribution of emphasis in the lexicon, e.g.

<i>zallu</i> (north) 'leech'	<sup>+</sup> <i>zallu</i> (south)
<i>jarəš</i> (north) 'he pulls'	<sup>+</sup> <i>jarəš</i> (south)
<sup>+</sup> <i>čanya</i> (north) 'handful'	<i>čanya</i> (south)
<i>čilaza</i> (north) 'slim'	<sup>+</sup> <i>čilaza</i> (south)
<sup>+</sup> <i>carra</i> (north) 'butter'	<i>carra</i> (south)
<i>karja</i> (default) 'crow'	<sup>+</sup> <i>karja</i> (Ardishay S, Dizatacyā S)
<i>kəppəl</i> (default) 'lock'	<sup>+</sup> <i>kəppəl</i> (Siri S)

The setting of words in the northern Urmi dialects generally corresponds to that of the adjacent dialects of Gawilan and Salamas, e.g.

S. Urmi	N. Urmi	Gawilan	Salamas
<sup>+</sup> <i>jarəš</i>	<i>jarəš</i>	<i>jarəš</i>	<i>jarəš</i> 'he pulls'
<sup>+</sup> <i>kariva</i>	<i>kariva</i>	<i>kariva</i>	<i>kariva</i> 'best man'

Some words that are emphatic in all Urmi dialects are plain in the dialects of Gawilan and Salamas, e.g.

Urmi	Gawilan	Salamas
<sup>+</sup> <i>badya</i>	<i>badya</i>	<i>badya</i> 'bowl'
<sup>+</sup> <i>maša</i>	<i>maša</i>	<i>maša</i> 'tongs'

In some cases the distribution of the emphatic and plain variants does not correspond clearly to the division of the northern and southern Urmi sub-groups. This is the case, for example, with the word *kəmsa*/<sup>+</sup>*kəmsa* 'dragonfly', the emphatic variant of which is found in both the north and the south:

<i>kəmsa</i>	Zumallan (N), Salamas
<sup>+</sup> <i>kəmsa</i>	Ada (N), Abdullacande (N) Dizatacyā (S), <sup>+</sup> Čarbaš (S), Siri (S)

There are differences between the distribution of emphasis in the C. Urmi dialect and the Christian dialects spoken in the mountains to the west of Urmi, e.g. <sup>+</sup>Mawana:

C. Urmi	+Mawana	
<i>mata</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>mata</i>	'village'
<i>'ilana</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>'ilana</i>	'tree'
<sup>č</sup> <i>əčči</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>əčči</i>	'ninety'
<sup>+</sup> <i>dana</i>	<i>dana</i>	'time'
<sup>+</sup> <i>azəl</i>	<i>'azəl</i>	'weave'
<sup>+</sup> <i>tata</i>	<i>tata</i>	'sweat'
<sup>+</sup> <i>cətra</i>	<i>cətra</i>	'knot'
<sup>+</sup> <i>šammə</i>	<i>šame</i>	'he hears'
<sup>+</sup> <i>bəddayəva</i>	<i>bəddayəva</i>	'he used to know'

### 1.3.6 Consonants

The impact of suprasegmental emphasis on the consonants can be identified acoustically by measuring F1 and F2 at the onset of a following high front vowel, /i/ or /e/. As has been shown above, these vowels do not undergo significant retraction of their articulation in emphatic words. The measurements of F1 and F2 for the vowels presented in the plots above were taken in the main body of the vowel. When occurring after consonants in emphatic words, they tend to have lower F2 at their onsets. This reflects pharyngalization which should be interpreted as resulting from coarticulatory spreading of the pharyngalization of the previous consonant. The dip in F2 at the onset of high front vowels is found in emphatic words after all consonants except /y/ and /k/. This is illustrated below in figs. 25–29. These show the formant contours for <sup>+</sup>*tína* 'mud', <sup>+</sup>*táti* 'my sweat', <sup>+</sup>*méta* 'churn', <sup>+</sup>*šýya* 'sealed' and <sup>+</sup>*xílələ* 'he has eaten', which demonstrate the pharyngalization of the unaspirated stop /t/, the aspirated stop /t/, the labial /m/, the palato-alveolar /š/ and the velar fricative /x/ respectively:

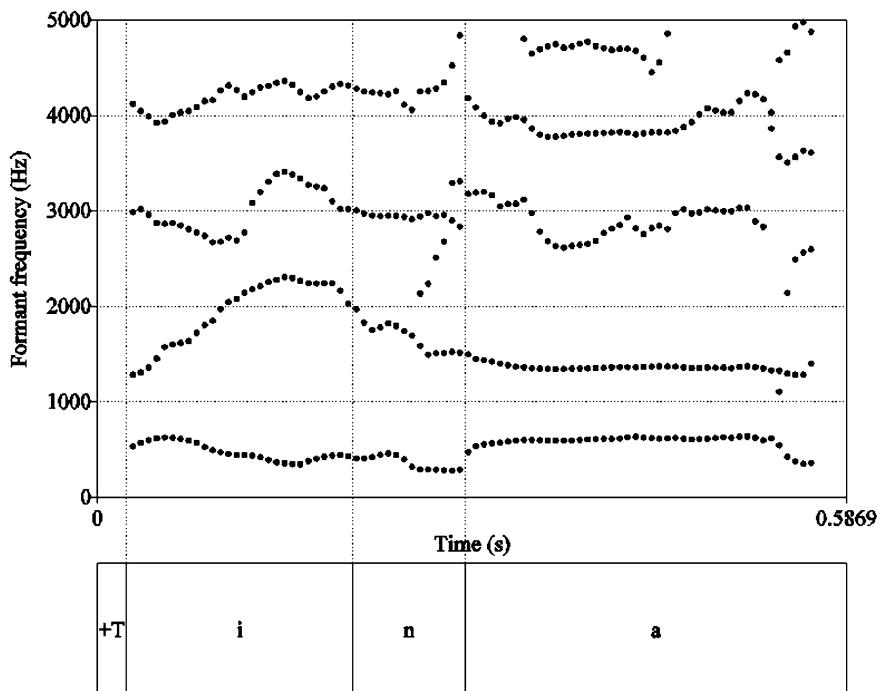


FIGURE 25  ${}^+\ddot{\text{t}}\text{i}\text{n}\text{a}$  'mud'

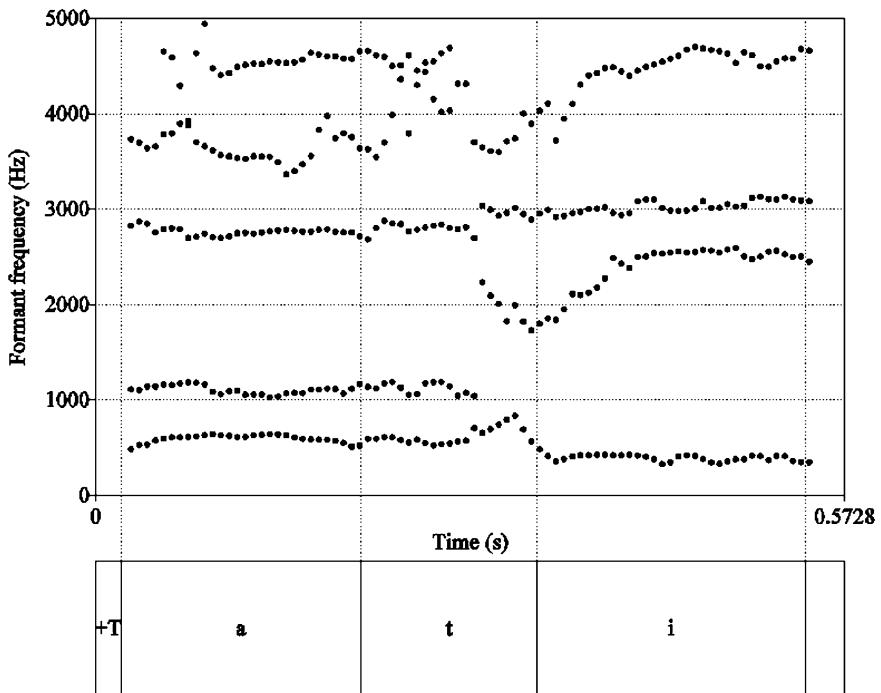


FIGURE 26 +tati 'my sweat'

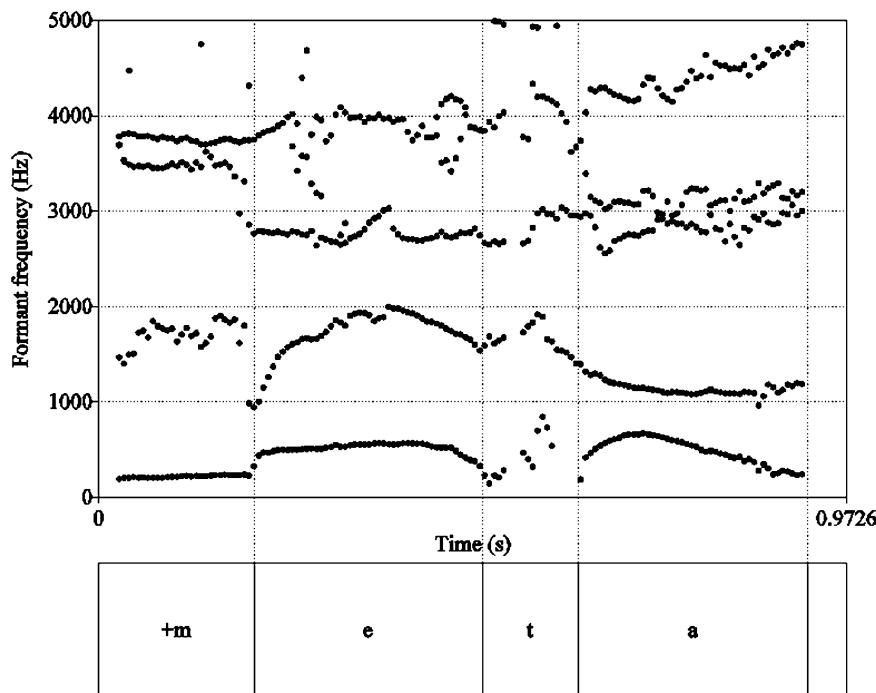


FIGURE 27   +méta 'churn'

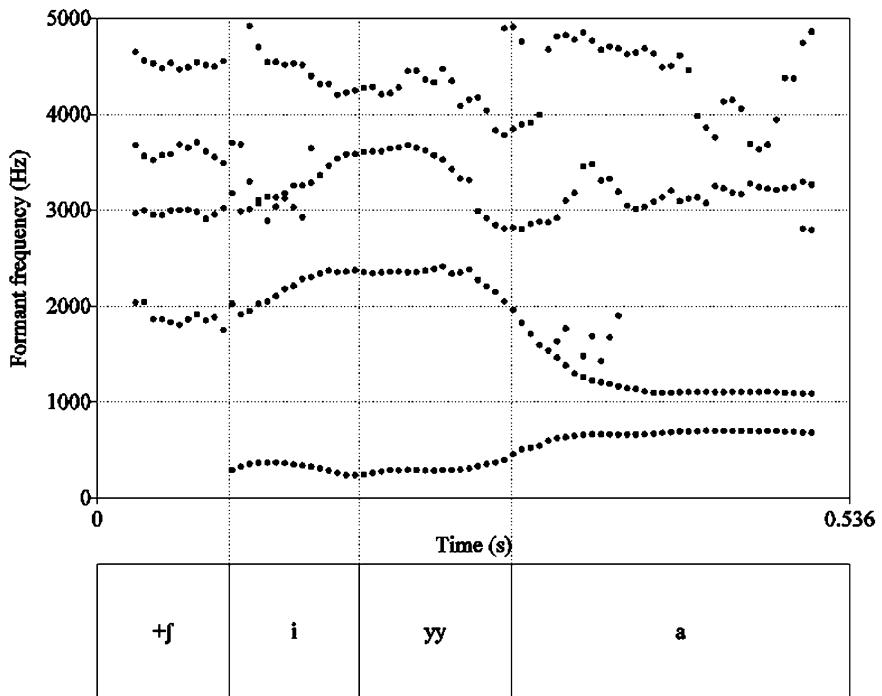


FIGURE 28 +ʃiyya 'sealed'

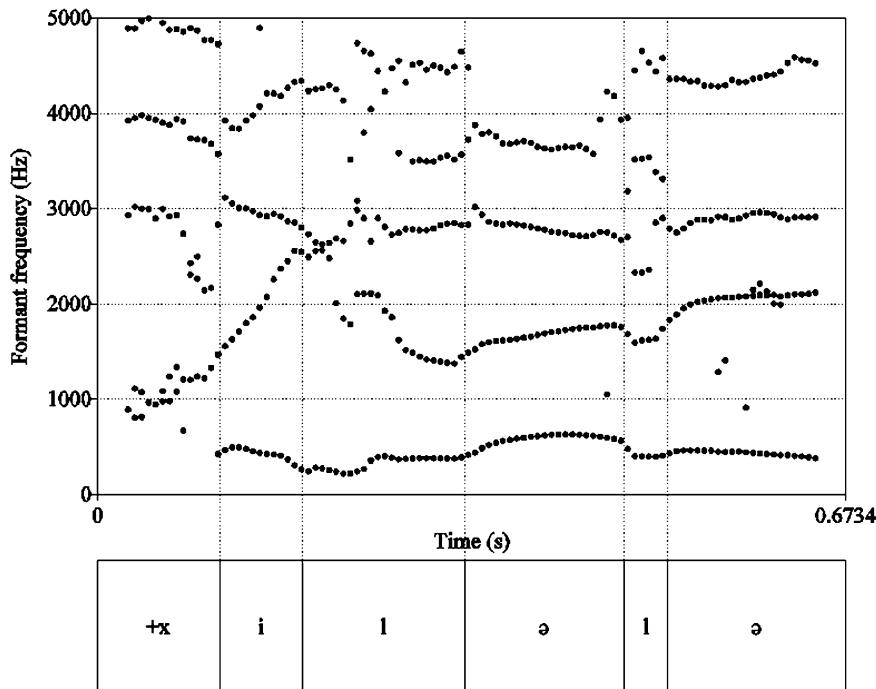


FIGURE 29 *+xilələ 'he has eaten'*

Contrast these formant contours with those of high front vowels after the same consonants in plain words, shown in figs. 30–34, in which there is no significant dip at the beginning of the vowel segment:

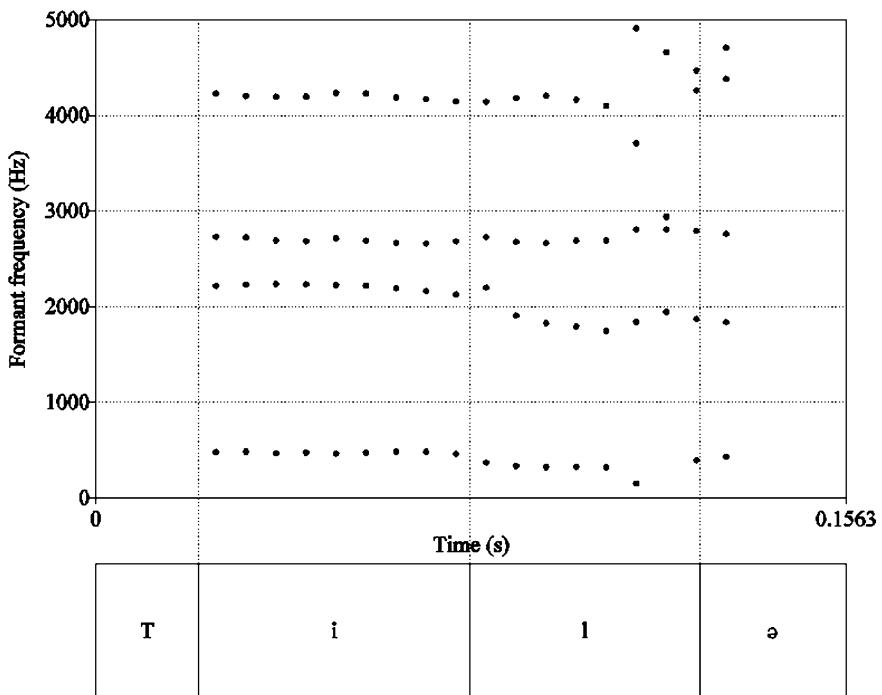


FIGURE 30 t-ilə 'that he is'

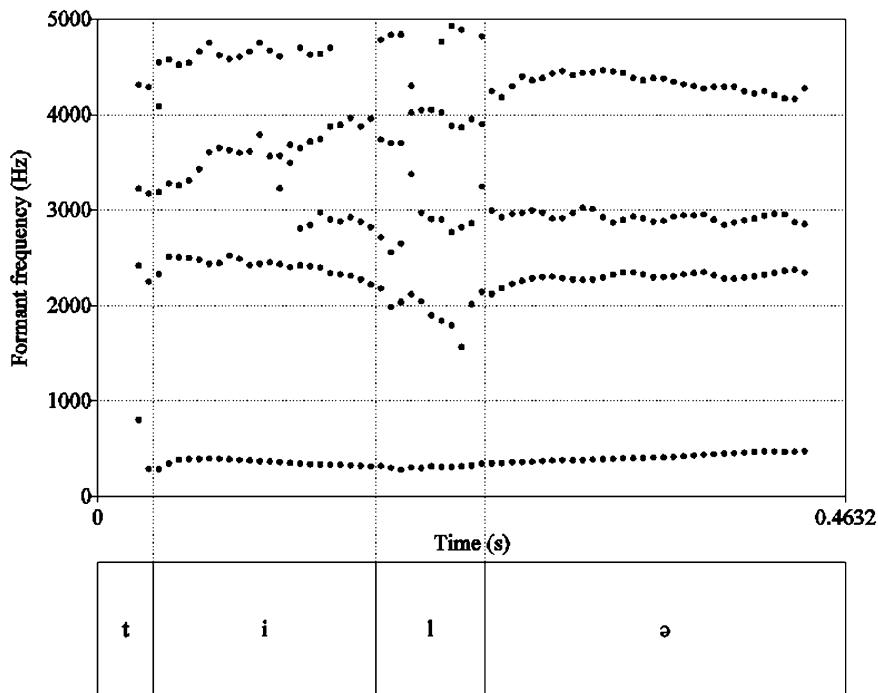


FIGURE 31 tilə 'he came'

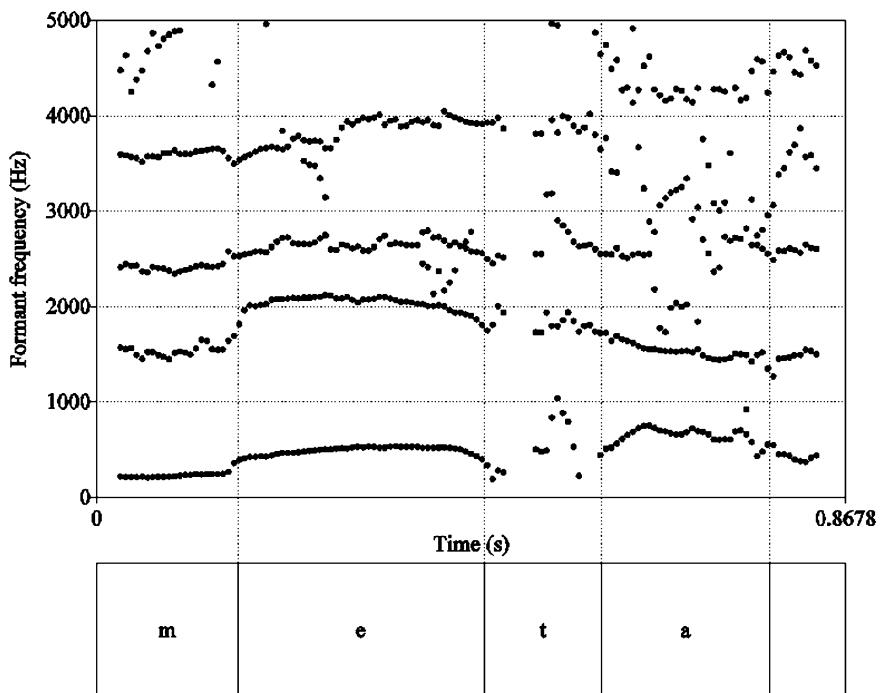


FIGURE 32 métá 'she dies'

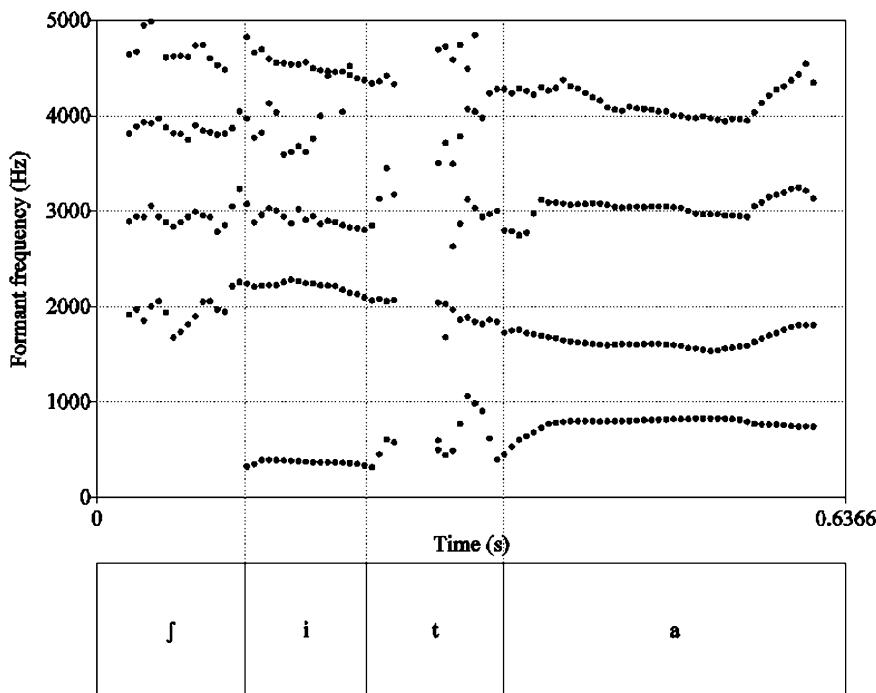


FIGURE 33 šíta 'year'

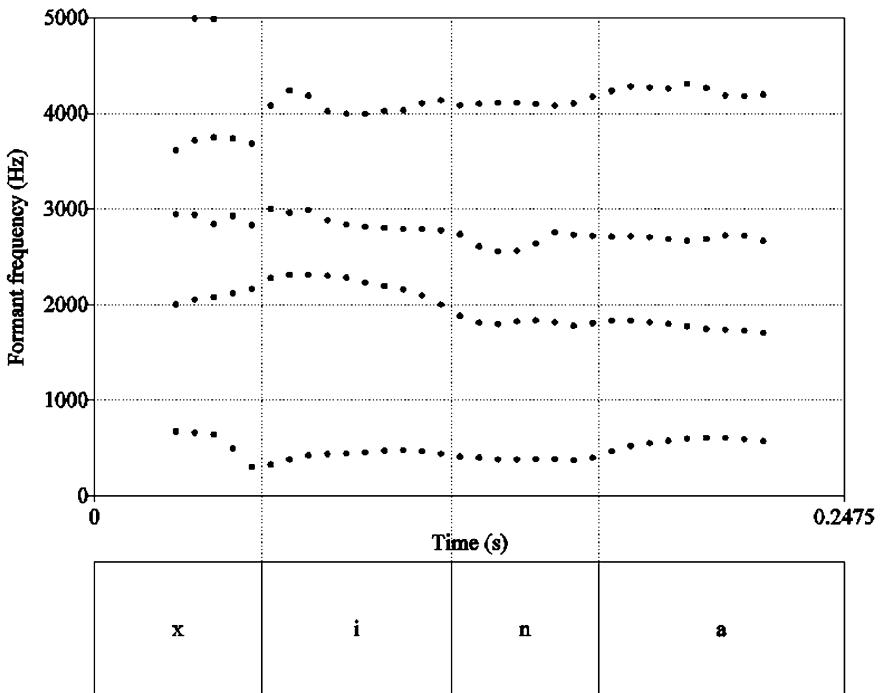


FIGURE 34 *xína* 'other'

The dip in F<sub>2</sub> at the onset of high front vowels can be detected also after the laryngals /ɿ/ and /h/ as can be seen in figs. 35–36, which show the formant contours for *+’ita* 'church' and *+heyyan* 'animal':

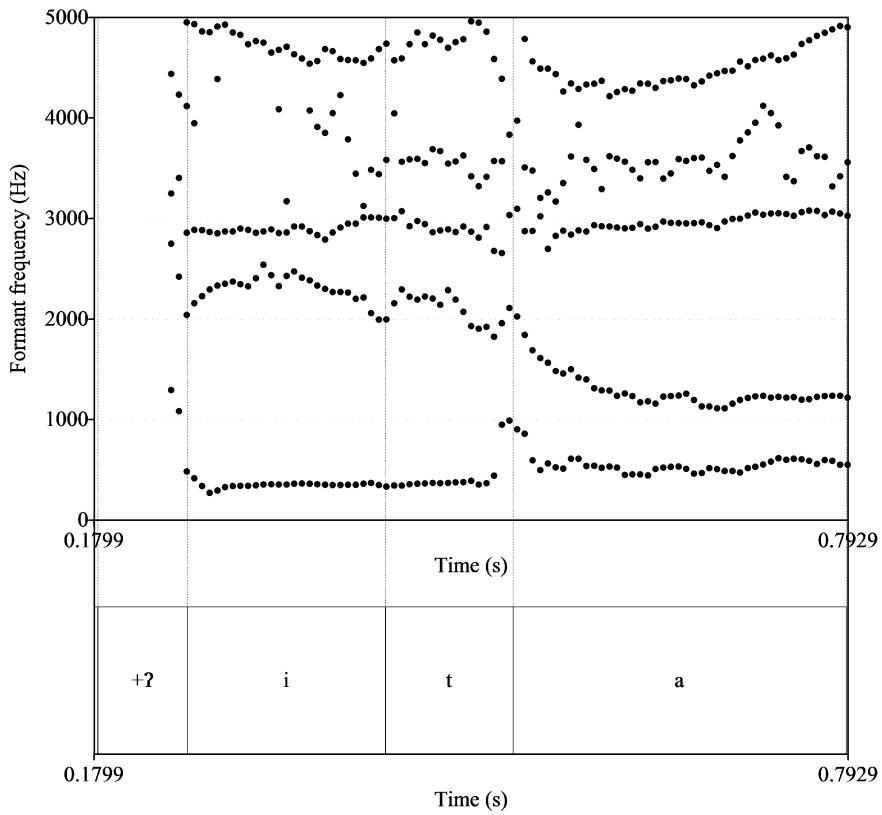


FIGURE 35 +'ita 'church'

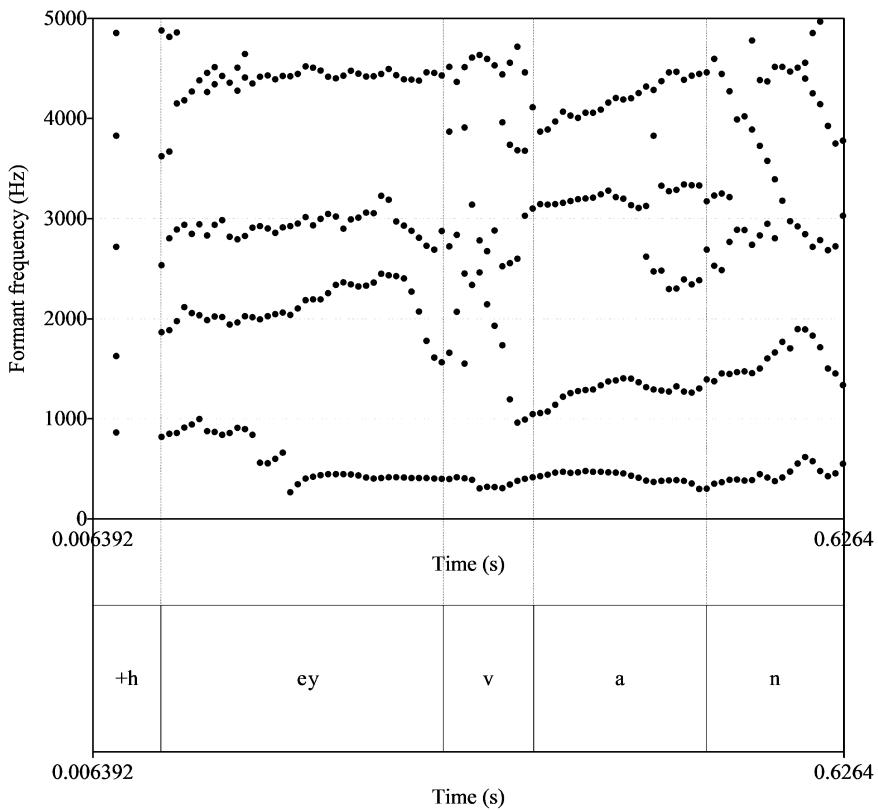


FIGURE 36 +heyvan 'animal'

Contrast this with the plain words '*ita* 'then' and *hi* 'yes', which do not exhibit such a dip:

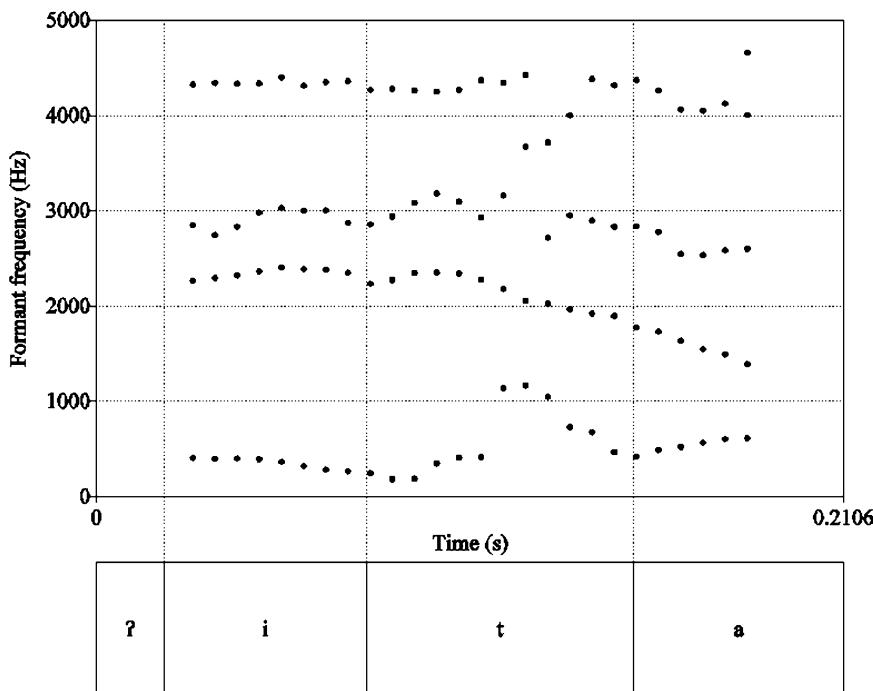


FIGURE 37 'ita 'then'

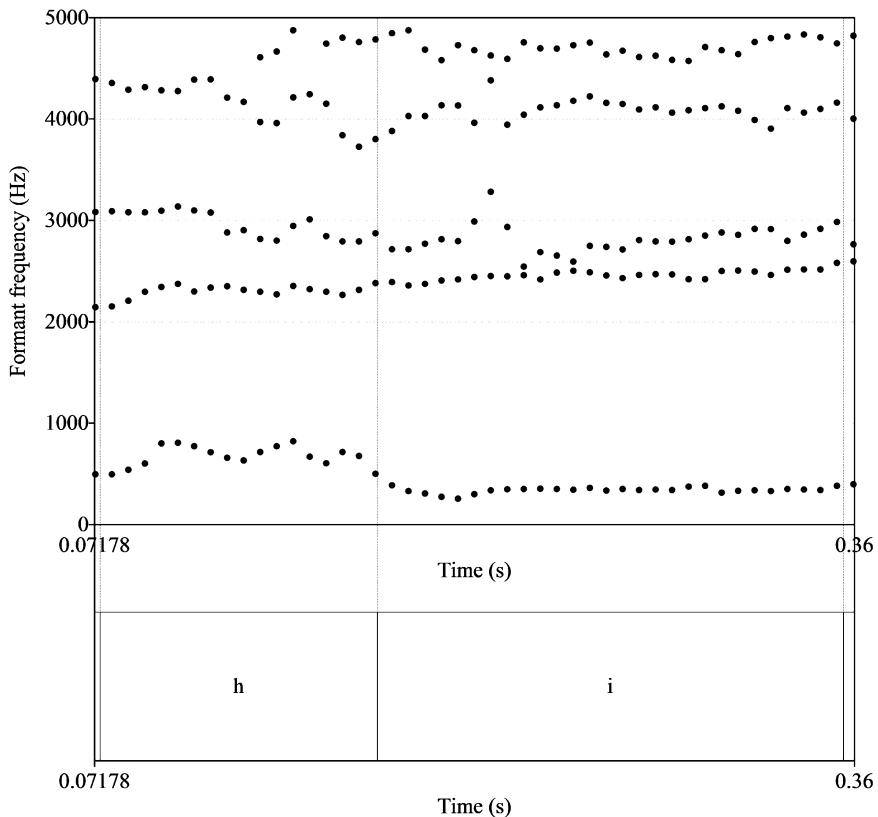


FIGURE 38 hi 'yes'

High front vowels do not exhibit a dip in F<sub>2</sub> after the consonants /y/ and /k/ in emphatic words, indicating that they are not articulated with pharyngalization. This can be seen in figs. 39.-40.

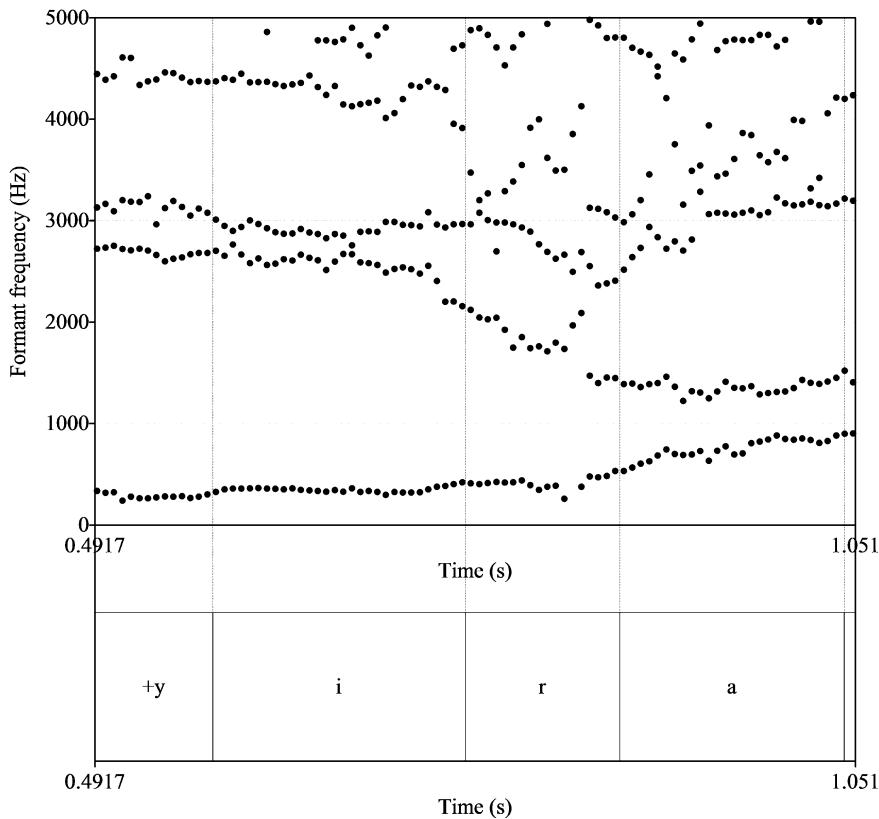


FIGURE 39    *+yira 'dared'*

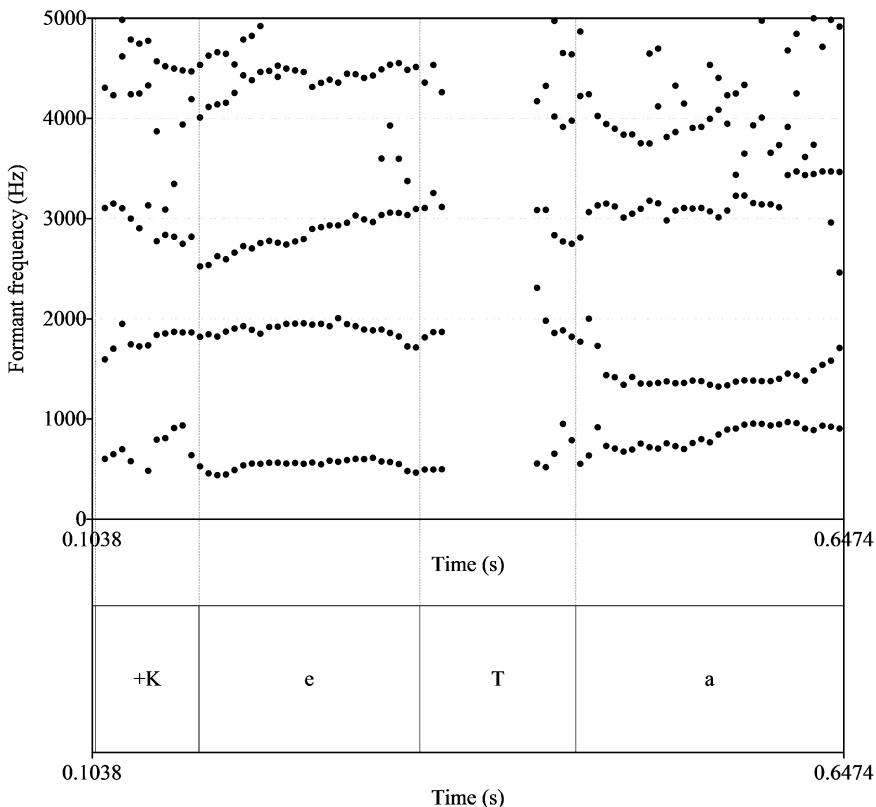


FIGURE 40 +kéta 'summer'

The consonant /k/ in a pharyngalized setting does not occasion the spread of pharyngalization to the adjacent vowel (see the discussion concerning /k/ in § 1.5.1.). It should be noted, however, that the articulation of /k/ is slightly more retracted before a pharyngalized /a/ (e.g. +kátl̥ 'he kills') than before a plain one (e.g. kárta 'cold'). The lack of pharyngalization in palatal /y/ may be correlated with its absence in the high vowel /i/, which is articulated in the same region as this glide.

#### 1.4 Notes on the Phonetic Realization of Selected Consonants

##### 1.4.1 Laryngal Settings of Unvoiced Stops and Affricates

###### 1.4.1.1 Introductory Remarks

The unvoiced stops and affricates can be classified into two groups according to their laryngal settings. These are designated as 'lax' and 'tense':

	Lax	Tense
Bilabial stop	/p/ [p <sup>h</sup> ]	/p̪/ [p]
Alveolar stop	/t/ [t <sup>h</sup> ]	/t̪/ [t]
Alveolar affricate	/č/ [tʃ <sup>h</sup> ~ ts <sup>h</sup> ]	/č̪/ [tʃ ~ ts]
Palatal stop	/c/ [c <sup>h</sup> ~ tʃ <sup>h</sup> ]	/c̪/ [c ~ tʃ]
Post-velar stop	—	/k̪/ [k]

The lax consonants are aspirated. During the occlusion of the lax consonants the vocal folds in the glottis are open and there is a relatively long voice onset time (VOT) before a following vowel. There is a relatively long gap in time between the release of the occlusion and the beginning of the vibration of the vocal folds, which is filled with a flow of air. The tense consonants are unaspirated and have a much shorter VOT before vowels in all contexts and voicing begins almost immediately after release of the occlusion. During the occlusion of tense segments the vocal folds are far more constricted than they are during the occlusion stage of lax segments and there is greater tension of the vocal tract walls. They may be described as glottalized. In the variety of the dialect spoken in Georgia they are sometimes realized as glottal ejectives, which results from the raising of the larynx. Glottal ejection in this variety does not occur in all tokens of these consonants and should be regarded as an allophonic alternant of non-ejective glottalization. In the Urmi region and all varieties in Iran and Armenia the post-velar /k̪/ is occasionally pronounced as an ejective, but other tense consonants are non-ejective. When ejection does occur in any of the aforementioned cases, it is generally a weak ejection.

The glottalized tense consonants are marked by a diacritic symbol <sup>h</sup> in the transcription (*p̪*, *t̪*, *c̪*, *č̪*, *k̪*). The symbol is superscribed in the case of /p̪/ for typographic convenience.

After sibilants and fricatives the VOT of the lax consonants is very short (e.g. /t/ in *štilə* 'he drank' and *čúxti* 'my hut') and is equivalent to that of tense consonants. In this context, therefore, the distinction between tense and lax unvoiced stops is neutralized. In the transcription lax consonants with such contextually conditioned deaspiration are not marked with a tense diacritic, e.g.

š-t-y	<i>štilə</i> ['ʃti:lɪ] 'he drank'	<i>šátə</i> ['ʃa:t <sup>h</sup> ɪ] 'he drinks'
š-p-x	<i>špəxlə</i> ['ʃpəxlɪ] 'it overflowed'	<i>šapəx</i> ['ʃap <sup>h</sup> ɪx] 'it overflows'

As can be seen, in other inflections such as *šátə* ['ʃa:t<sup>h</sup>ɪ] 'he drinks', in which the stop is preceded by a vowel, it is not deaspirated. In several verbal roots,

however, the deaspirated stop after sibilants and fricatives has been lexicalized and occurs in all inflections. In such cases the tense consonant should be regarded as a root phoneme and the diacritic is marked, e.g.

<i>s-ŷ-r</i>	<i>sŷərrə</i> 'he waited'	<i>saŷər</i> 'he waits'
<i>s-ŷ-s</i>	<i>sŷəslə</i> 'it decayed'	<i>saŷəs</i> 'it decays'
<i>s-ŷ-r</i>	<i>sŷərrə</i> 'he destroyed'	<i>saŷər</i> 'he destroys'
<i>š-ŷ-l</i>	<i>šŷəlla</i> 'he became paralyzed'	<i>šaŷəl</i> 'he becomes paralyzed'
<i>š-ŷ-k</i>	<i>šŷəklə</i> 'he became silent'	<i>šaŷək</i> 'he becomes silent'
<i>x-ŷ-k</i>	<i>xŷəklə</i> 'he embraced'	<i>xaŷək</i> 'he embraces'
<i>x-ŷ-r</i>	<i>xŷərrə</i> 'he dug'	<i>xaŷər</i> 'he digs'

Aspiration of the lax consonants is also sometimes eliminated at the end of words in fast speech due to the lack of release of the stop phase of the plosive. Deaspiration may occasionally occur in other cases, sometimes as a peculiarity of particular lexical items. The /t/ of the feminine inflection in the form *súṛta* 'small' (f.), for example, is pronounced unaspirated ['sorta]. This has developed by a process of sound symbolism, whereby aspirated stops in words of diminutive meaning are deaspirated (§ 1.10.).

With the exception of /k/, these pairs of unvoiced consonants and their voiced equivalents form a series of triads with three different types of laryngal setting:

Unvoiced lax glottis	Unvoiced tense glottis	Voiced
/p/	/ŷ/	/b/
/t/	/t̪/	/d/
/č/	/č̪/	/j/
/c/	/č/	/ʃ/
—	/k/	—

These can all occur in either plain or emphatic words. With regard to the pair of unvoiced stops (lax and tense), there are grounds for regarding the lax stop as the unmarked member and the tense one the marked one on the grounds that the lax stop occurs frequently in both plain and emphatic contexts but the tense stop occurs predominantly in emphatic contexts and only marginally in plain contexts (Tosco 2002, 745).

There are some variations in the glottal setting of the tense consonants across the Urmi villages. Speakers from some villages exhibit a certain tendency to realize the tense stops /ŷ/ and /t̪/ and the tense affricate /č̪/ as voiced [b], [d], [dʒ] in emphatic contexts. This is found in the form of the dialect

spoken in Sardarid<sup>2</sup> and was also documented for /t/ by Hetzron (1969) in the pronunciation of his informant. As already remarked, speakers of the dialect in Georgia sometimes pronounce the tense consonants as ejectives. This is heard mainly in the articulation of /t/ and /k/. They are not consistently realized as ejectives, rather this realization alternates sub-phonemically with non-ejective glottalization. The remark of Tsereteli (1978b, 28) that they are similar to the Georgian ejectives, therefore, is rather misleading.

#### 1.4.1.2 /p/, / $\hat{p}$ /, /b/

In most contexts the VOT of the unvoiced lax bilabial /p/ averages around 50ms. When preceded by a sibilant or fricative, e.g. *špaxla* ‘it overflowed’, *maxpal* ‘he neglects’, its VOT has an average of about 10ms. The tense bilabial / $\hat{p}$ / has an extremely short VOT, with a maximum of around 10ms. In some cases, in fact, the voicing begins almost simultaneously with the release of the occlusion of / $\hat{p}$ /. Such a short VOT may cause it to sound voiced. In the articulation of the voiced /b/, however, there is voicing during the occlusion before release.

The lax and tense members of this pair occur in both plain and emphatic words, e.g.

	Plain	Emphatic
Lax	<i>páta</i> ‘face’	+ <i>palléta</i> ‘division’
Tense	<i>þakkə</i> ‘it splits’	+ <i>þarméta</i> ‘understanding’

The waveforms in figs. 41–44 show the distinctions in VOT between lax /p/ and tense / $\hat{p}$ :

---

<sup>2</sup> E.g. +*duyra* ~ +*tuyra* ‘mountain’, +*blaša* ~ +*þlaša* ‘war’. Younansardaroud (2001, 36) mentions also devoicing of /d/ to /t/ in contexts where the dialect spoken in the town of Urmi has /t/, e.g. +*sayaṭa* = town dialect +*sayada* ‘hunter’.

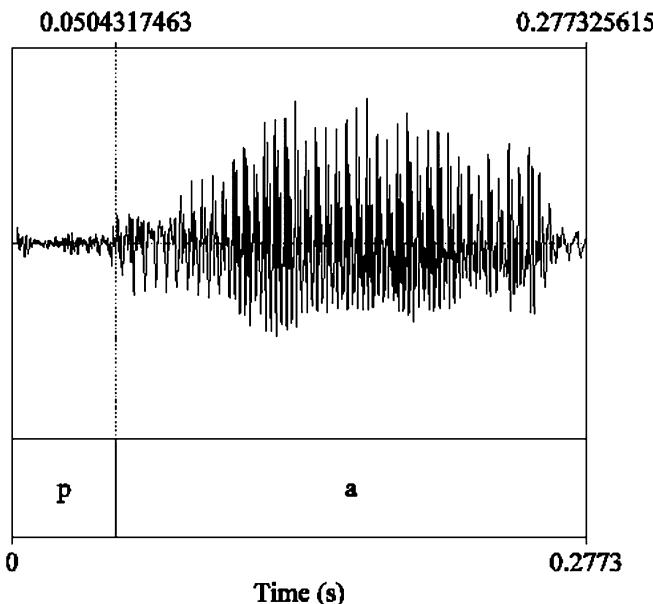


FIGURE 41 *First syllable of patu 'his face,' VOT 50ms*

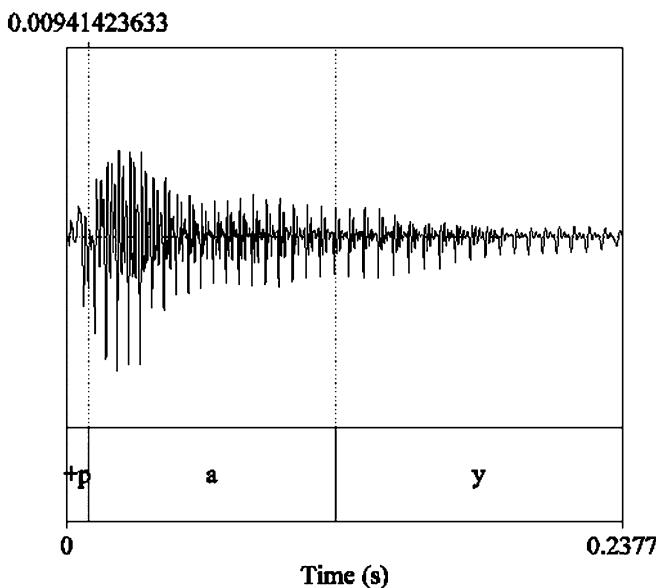


FIGURE 42 *Lax /p/ after sibilant in<sup>+</sup>spay 'good,' VOT 9ms*

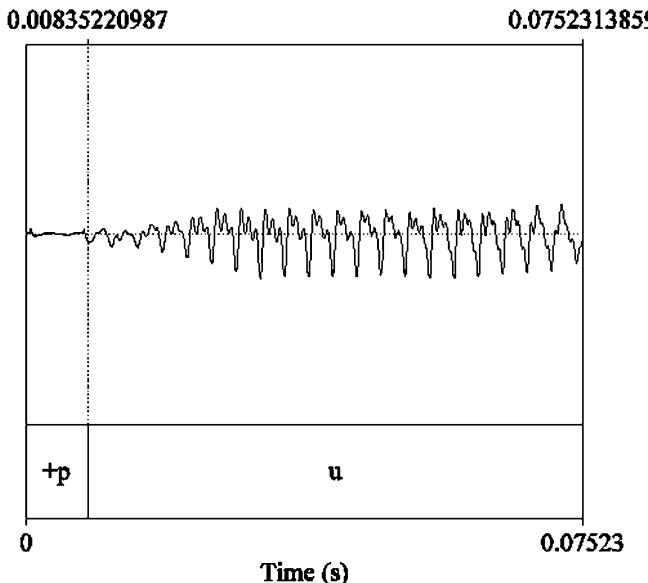


FIGURE 43 Tense /p/ in *+árþunute* 'the four of them', VOT 8ms

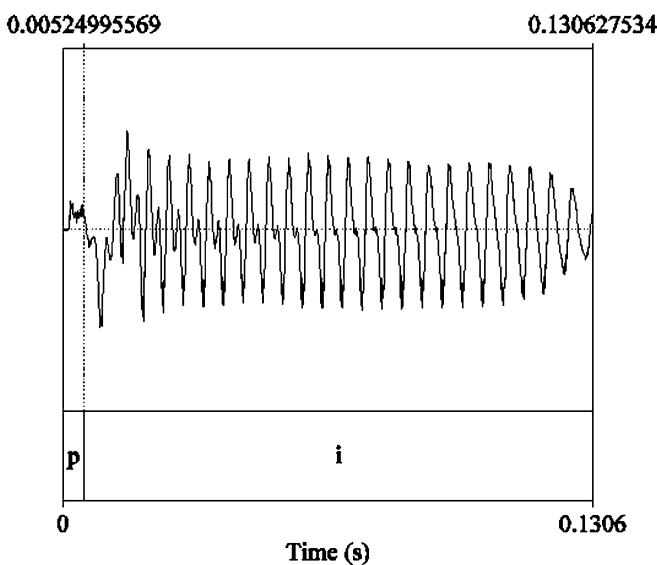


FIGURE 44 Tense /p/ in *p-ídi* 'by my hand', VOT 5ms

The spectrograms in figs. 45–47 show the differences in voice timing between tense /p/ and voiced /b/. A band on the bottom left reflecting the onset of voice before /b/ can be clearly seen in the spectrogram in fig. 47.

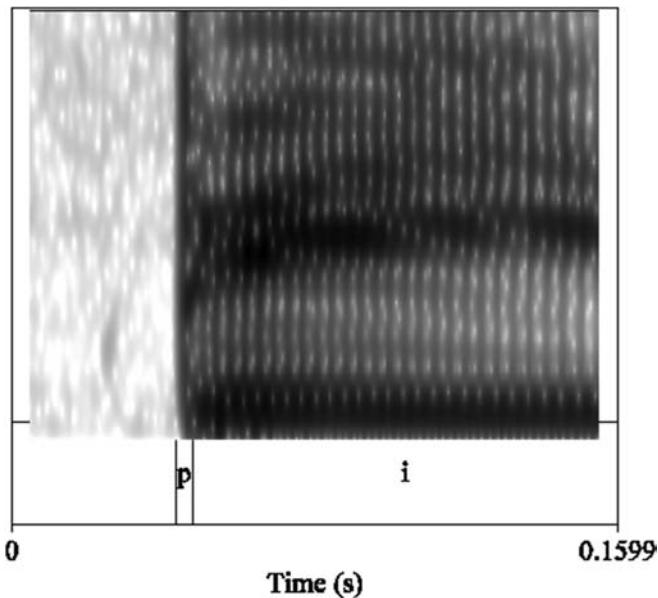


FIGURE 45 /p-idi/ 'by my hand'

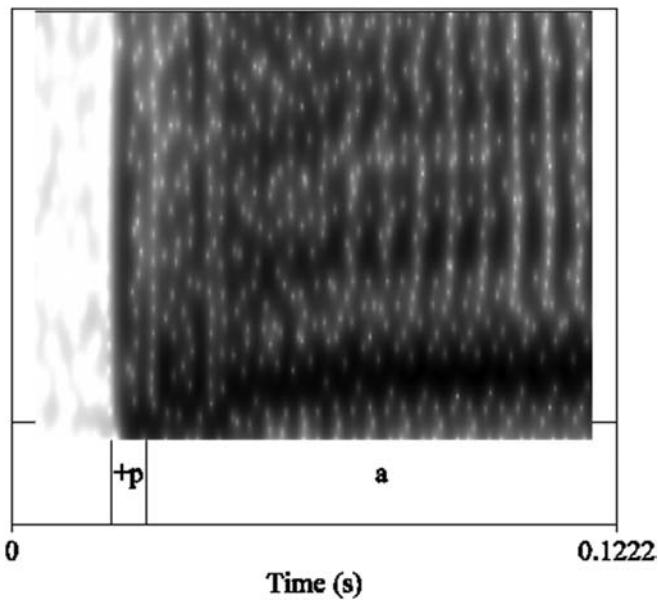


FIGURE 46 /+parmi/ 'they understand'

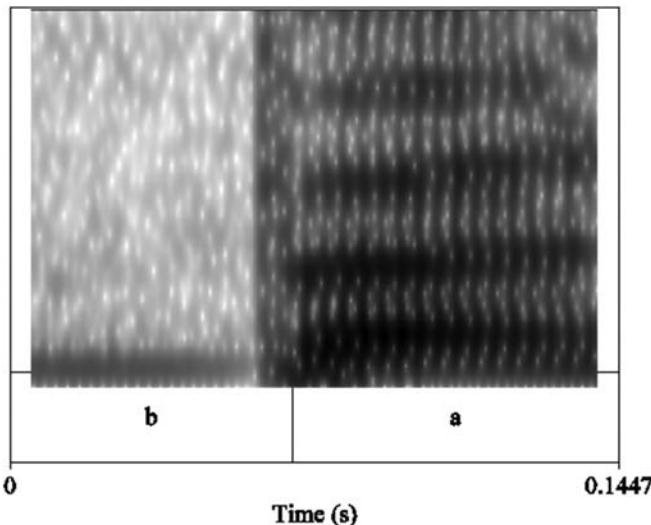


FIGURE 47 basima 'pleasant'

Minimal pairs demonstrating the opposition of lax /p/ and tense / $\hat{p}$ / are attested in both emphatic and plain words, e.g.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| ${}^+páltun$ 'overcoat'                        | ${}^+páltun$ 'go out! (pl.)'           |
| $\hat{p}at\hat{p}\hat{o}\hat{t}$ 'he whispers' | $patp\hat{o}\hat{t}$ 'he cards (wool)' |

In some sporadic cases the closure of the lax /p/ is weaken to a bilabial fricative, e.g. *sépu* ['se: $\phi^h$ u] 'his sword' (A 39:19);  ${}^+rappiyula$  [r<sup>c</sup>a<sup>c</sup>ϕ<sup>c</sup>'ϕ<sup>h</sup>u<sup>c</sup>:ju<sup>c</sup>.l<sup>c</sup>ə<sup>c</sup>] 'he throws it' (A 40:5).

#### 1.4.1.3 /t/, / $\hat{t}$ /, /d/

There is a slight difference in tongue gesture between the lax /t/ and tense / $\hat{t}$ . The lax /t/ is a laminal alveolar, articulated with the blade of the tongue [t̪], whereas the front of the tongue is slightly retracted for / $\hat{t}$ /, which is an apical alveolar, articulated with the tip of the tongue [t̡]. As is the case with /p/, in most contexts the VOT of the unvoiced lax /t/ averages around 50ms. When preceded by a sibilant or fricative, e.g. *šti* 'drink!', *čuxti* 'my hut', its VOT has an average of about 10ms. The tense bilabial / $\hat{t}$ / has a similar average VOT of around 10ms.

The lax and tense members of this pair occur in both plain and emphatic words, as seen in the following minimal pairs, e.g.

**Plain**

- Lax *tílə* ‘he came’  
 Tense *t̪-ílə* ‘who is’

**Emphatic**

- Lax *+tálə* ‘fox’      *+tama* ‘there’  
 Tense *+t̪álə* ‘she plays’    *+t̪ama* ‘taste’

In these pairs the lax and tense stops contrast before a vowel in stressed syllables. Contrasts are also found in non-stressed syllables, e.g.

- +xálta* ‘food’      *+xálta* ‘mistake’  
*+natrívə* ‘they fell’    *+natrívə* ‘they guarded’

The voiced alveolar stop /d/ has different tongue gestures in plain and emphatic words. It is laminal like lax /t/ in plain words [d̪] but retracted and apical like tense /t̪/ in emphatic words [d̪], e.g. *dur* [du:r] ‘open!’, *+dur* [+du:r] ‘return!’

## 1.4.1.4      /č/, /չ/, /j/

The unvoiced alveolar affricates /č/ and /չ/ have different realizations in the various Urmi villages. Broadly speaking in the northern Urmi villages and Tabriz they are realized as affricates consisting of an alveolar stop onset [t̪] and a palato-alveolar sibilant [ʃ] offset, viz. /č/ [t̪h], /չ/ [t̪ʃ]. In the villages south of Urmi, on the other hand, the offset is the sibilant [s], viz. /č/ [ts̪h], /չ/ [ts]. There is, however, a certain amount of free variation between these two types of realization in the speech of informants originating from the southern villages. There is, moreover, some degree of mixing of the realizations in the speech of informants who have been in contact with different varieties of the dialect. In the Caucasus these affricates are realized with palato-alveolar offsets in most villages, viz. /č/ [t̪h], /չ/ [t̪ʃ], but in the village of Arzni in Armenia they tend to be realized as in the southern Urmi villages, viz. /č/ [ts̪h], /չ/ [ts].

In the lax member of the pair /č/ the onset is a laminal alveolar, articulated with the blade of the tongue, whereas in the tense affricate /չ/ the onset is apical alveolar. The VOT of the aspirated lax /č/ is shorter than after lax stops, averaging around 20ms before a following vowel. When preceded by a fricative, however, e.g. *‘axči* ‘but’, the voicing of the vowel begins immediately after the sibilant offset. The tense /չ/ is unaspirated with no perceptible gap between the release of the sibilant offset and the voicing of a following vowel.

The lax and tense members of this pair occur in plain and emphatic words, e.g.

	<b>Plain</b>	<b>Emphatic</b>
Lax	<i>čamčəm</i> 'he hurls'	<sup>+</sup> <i>čančəl</i> 'he becomes tired'
Tense	<i>čarčər</i> 'he screams'	<sup>+</sup> <i>čayəm</i> 'he closes'

The voiced /j/ has a palato-alveolar offset in the northern variety, i.e. /j/ [dʒ]. In the southern villages the offset tends to be a voiced sibilant [z], i.e. /j/ [dz]. As with /č/ and /č̄/, there is some degree of free variation between these two types of realization in the southern villages and there is some mixing of the realizations in the speech of informants who have been in extensive contact with different varieties. In the Caucasus /j/ is realized with palato-alveolar offset in most villages, viz. [dʒ], but in the village of Arzni in Armenia it tends to be realized as in the southern Urmi villages, viz. [dz].

As is the case with the voiced consonant /d/, in plain words the onset is a laminal alveolar whereas in emphatic words it is slightly retracted and articulated as an apical alveolar.

The realization of the offset of the affricates with a palatal offset in the southern variety is particularly common in lax /č/ [tʃ<sup>h</sup>] and the voiced /j/ [dʒ] in plain contexts, e.g. *čirýya* [tʃ<sup>h</sup>i'rijjɪ] 'autumn', *jvájta* ['dʒyadʒtʰa] 'movement'. Speakers of the southern variety more frequently realize the offset as alveolar [ts]/[dz] or post-alveolar [ts]/[dz] in the emphatic series <sup>+</sup>/č/, <sup>+</sup>/č̄/ and <sup>+</sup>/j/. This may be due to the greater possibility of anchoring the tip of the tongue at the alveolar zone than the palato-alveolar zone (where [tʃ] is pronounced), which is a condition required to counter the tendency to disturb the primary articulation under the pressure of the rearward movement of the tongue during its retraction in pharyngalization (see the remarks of Odisho 1988, 50). In the northern variety of the dialect the consonants /č/, /č̄/ and /j/ are regularly pronounced as alveolar-palatals ([tʃ<sup>h</sup>], [tʃ] and [dʒ]). Due to these variations it was decided to normalize the transcription and transcribe all tokens of this series of affricates with the characters /č/, /č̄/ and /j/.

#### 1.4.1.5 /č/, /č̄/, /j/

In the northern variety of the dialect the unvoiced consonants /č/ and /č̄/ are normally realized as palatal stops ([č<sup>h</sup>], [č]) or postpalatal stops ([č̄<sup>h</sup>], [č̄]), in all cases with a short homorganic period of frication after the release. In the southern variety, on the other hand, they are normally realized as palato-alveolar affricates ([tʃ<sup>h</sup>], [tʃ]). There is, however, a certain amount of variation and mixing, especially in the speech of informants who have been brought up in the town of Urmi or another mixed urban community such as Tehran or Hamadan. In plain words the stop onset is a laminal alveolar whereas in emphatic words the front of the tongue is retracted slightly and the onset is

articulated as a apical alvelor. In the Caucasus these consonants are normally realized as palato-alveolar affricates ([t<sup>h</sup>], [tʃ]), as in the southern Urmî villages. This means that their realization in the Caucasus is identical to that of /č/ and /č̄/, except in the village of Arzni in Armenia, where the latter tend to be realized as [tsh] and [ts] respectively.

There is a certain amount of aspiration after /c/, with a VOT averaging around 20ms in most contexts before vowels, whether it is realized as a stop [c<sup>h</sup>] or an affricate [t<sup>h</sup>]. When preceded by a sibilant or a fricative, however, e.g. *mascanta* ‘to become poor’, *jaxci* ‘they laugh’, the consonant is deaspirated.

The lax and tense members of this pair occur in plain and emphatic words, e.g.

	<b>Plain</b>	<b>Emphatic</b>
Lax	<i>catəv</i>	‘he writes’
Tense	<i>çarra</i>	‘deaf’
		+ <i>camutra</i> ‘pear’
		+ <i>çal</i> ‘unripe’

The tense consonant /č/ is largely restricted to loanwords from Kurdish and Azeri.

The same patterns of realization apply to the voiced /j/. In the northern variety it is normally pronounced as a voiced palatal stop [j] or postpalatal stop, with a short homorganic period of frication after the release. In the southern variety it is normally realized as a voiced palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ]. The affricate realization is also found in the speech of informants originating in the northern villages who have mixed extensively with speakers of other varieties. In the Caucasus /j/ is realized as [dʒ], as in the southern Urmî villages. This means that its realization in the Caucasus is identical to that of /j/, except in the village of Arzni in Armenia, where /j/ tends to be realized as [dʒ].

The onset of the consonant is a laminal alveolar in plain words and an apical alveolar in emphatic words.

Some speakers who pronounce /c/, /č/ and /j/ predominantly as palato-alveolar affricates, according to the southern relaization, frequently also pronounce /č/, /č̄/ and /j/ as palato-alveolar affricates and so the distinctions may collapse, e.g.

<i>crəxlə</i>	[t <sup>h</sup> rɪxli]	‘he surrounded’
<i>črəxlə</i>	[t <sup>h</sup> rɪxli] ~ ['tʃrɪxli]	‘he climbed’

<i>jnávlə</i>	[dʒnivli]	‘he stole’
<i>jnávlə</i>	[dznivli] ~ [dʒnivli]	‘he kidnapped’

In the speech of such informants the distinctions tend to be levelled in plain contexts in particular. As remarked above, there is a greater tendency to have a sibilant offset ([ts], [dz]) in the southern type of realization when the word is emphatic.

#### 1.4.1.6 /k/

The tense unvoiced consonant /k/ is a post-velar stop in the environment of low or back vowels, e.g. *kátu* ['ka:tʰu] 'to him'. In the environment of front high vowels it is slightly more advanced and has a velar rather than post-velar occlusion, e.g. *dvíkévən* [dvi:k'e:vɪn] 'I have seized them'. As with other tense unvoiced stops, its VOT has an average of about 10ms.

#### 1.4.2 /v/

The most common realization of /v/ is a labio-dental fricative [v], e.g. *vádla* ['vdłɪ] 'he did', *+av* [+?av] 'he', *sávlux* ['svłox] 'you have grown old', *ləlaváta* [le:la:və:tʰɪ] 'nights'.

Its articulation is sometimes weakened to a labio-dental approximant [v̺], e.g. *+av* [+?av], *+šammánəvən* [+ʃam'ma:nəvən] 'I am a listener', *švávu* ['ʃva:vʊ] 'their neighbour'. In some cases there is no perceptible dental articulation and it is realized as a labio-velar approximant [w], e.g. *+xoraváta* [+xo:rə:wə:tʰə] 'friends', *+varída* [+wa:rɪ:da] 'flower', *ju-bétəvax* [ju:bɛ:tʰɪwax] 'you (fs.) are in the house', *savunváta* [savon'wə:tʰɪ] 'grandfathers'.

#### 1.4.3 /s/, /š/, /z/

The sibilant /s/ is articulated by forming a constriction between a grooved tongue and the alveolar ridge. In plain words the constriction is made with the blade of the tongue, whereas in emphatic words the tongue is retracted slightly and it is articulated with the tongue tip. The same remarks apply to the voiced sibilant /z/.

The palato-alveolar /š/ is articulated with a constriction further back on the alveolar ridge than /s/. In both plain and emphatic words the constriction is made with the blade of the tongue, but in emphatic words the tongue is retracted slightly and so the articulation is made further forward on the blade.

#### 1.4.4 /x/

The fricative /x/ is articulated on the velum in plain words but in emphatic words the constriction is post-velar in the place of articulation of the tense stop /k/, e.g. *xálta* ['xaltʰa] 'aunt', *+xalta* [+xaltʰa] 'eating'.

### 1.4.5 /h/, /ɾ/

When the laryngal /h/ occurs between vowels the vocal folds continue to vibrate and so it is realized as a voiced [h]. The continued voicing is shown the waveform of 'aha 'this' in fig. 48.

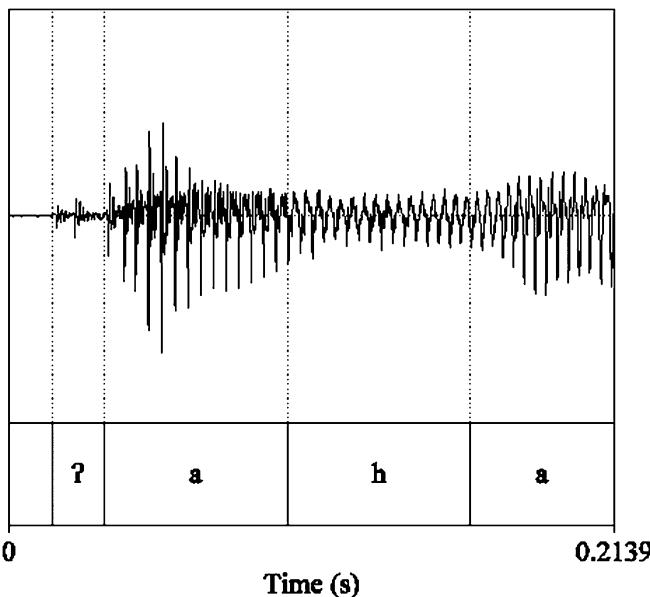


FIGURE 48 *Waveform of 'aha 'this'*

In fast speech the /h/ is weakened with no perceptible constriction of vocal folds or diminution of voicing, resulting in the coalescence of two adjacent vowels, as shown in fig. 49, which is the realization of *b-álaħa* 'by God':

In Armenia speakers in some cases pronounce a velar fricative /x/ where speakers from the Urmi region have /h/. This is found in word-initial position in some tokens of words, but is not a consistent feature, e.g.

<i>xáda</i>	'thus' (B 15:3)	< <i>hada</i>
<i>xátxa</i>	'thus' (B 16:14)	< <i>hatxa</i>
<i>xál</i>	'until' (A 46:2)	< <i>hal</i>
<i>xakyánnux</i>	'I shall tell you' (A 42:1)	< <i>hakyannux</i>
<i>xamzùməxva</i>	'we were speaking' (B 16:13)	< <i>hamzuməxva</i>

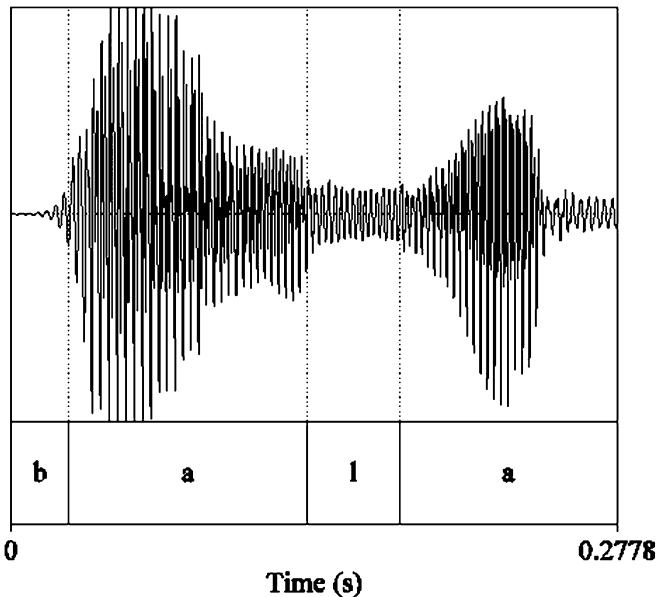


FIGURE 49 b-álaха 'by God'

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is pronounced clearly as a break in voicing between two vowels in slow careful speech, as shown in fig. 50. In fast speech, however, it is often weakened without any clear break, as shown in fig. 51. The /ʔ/ is represented in the transcription even when weakened in this way for the sake of orthographic consistency.

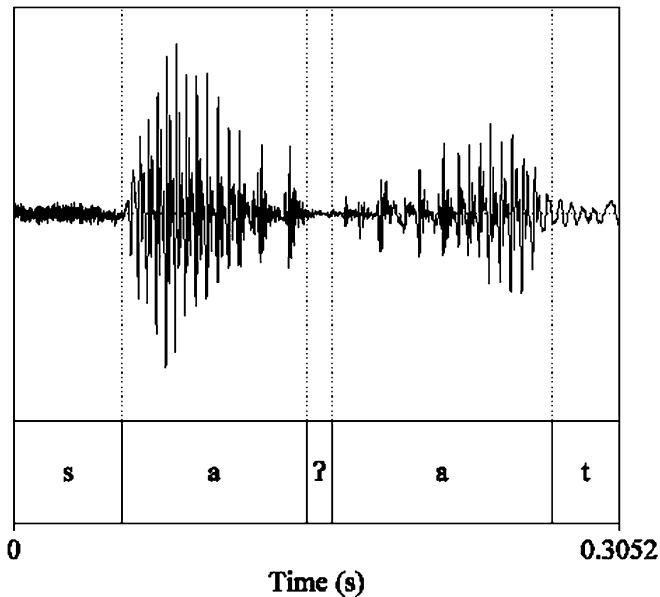


FIGURE 50 *Waveform of +sa'at 'hour' (lento)*

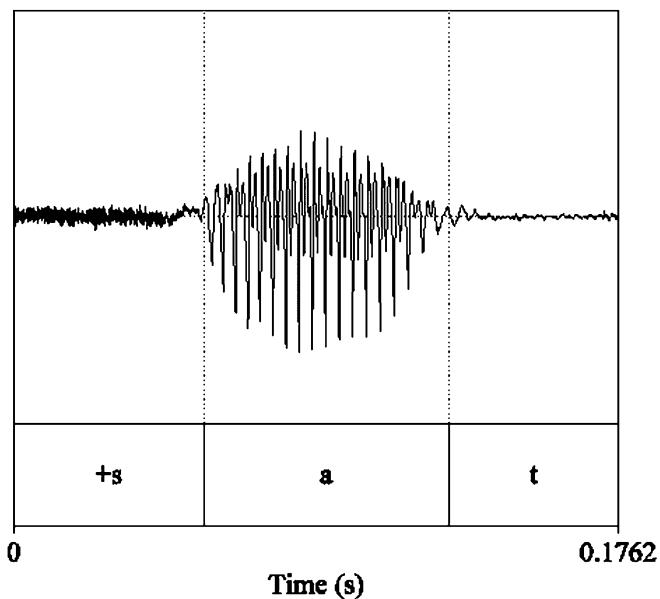


FIGURE 51 *Waveform of +sa'at 'hour' (allegro)*

### 1.4.6 /n/

The alveolar nasal /n/ is realized as a velar nasal [ŋ] before the velar and post-velar consonants /x/ and /k/, e.g. *bənxàpən* [bɪŋ'xa:pɪn] 'I am ashamed' (A 1:17), *mən-xa-bàxta* [mɪŋxa'baxta] 'from a woman'. Before a labial it is realized as [m], e.g. *munpàllun* [mom'pɪllon] 'they dropped' (A 3:78), *mən-púmmət* [məm'pommit] 'from the mouth of' (A 3:19).

### 1.4.7 /r/

The rhotic /r/ has two different modes of articulation according to whether the word is plain or emphatic. In plain words it is an alveolar tap [ɾ] articulated with the blade of the tongue, whereas in emphatic words it is pronounced more robustly as an alveolar trill [r] with a series of several contacts between the tongue blade and the alveolar ridge, e.g. *dur* [dʊ:r] 'open!', *+dur* [+dʊ:r] 'return!'

## 1.5 Phonological Aspects of Emphasis

### 1.5.1 *Phonological Analysis and Historical Background*

In C. Urmi emphasis, that is pharyngalization, is not a phonological feature of individual consonant segments, as it is in many Neo-Aramaic dialects and in Arabic. So the historical emphatic consonant phonemes \**t* and \**s* no longer exist as segments, but rather emphasis has become detached from the feature profile of these segments and become a 'floating' suprasegmental feature. The phonological domain of emphasis, therefore, is a word rather than a segment. In the transcription suprasegmental emphasis is marked at the beginning of its word domain by the symbol +.

When the historical emphatic \**s* lost the feature of pharyngalization from its segmental profile, it merged on the segmental level with historical \**s* resulting in one phoneme /s/.

When the historical emphatic \**t* lost the feature of pharyngalization from its segmental profile, on the other hand, it retained a glottal tension that distinguished it from the historical plain \**t*, creating the opposition /tʃ/ : /t/. The muscular tension associated with the emphatic segment \**t* and its tendency to be pronounced with constricted larynx converged with the tense glottal setting of /tʃ/. So on the phonetic level the first segment in a word such as *+t̪amər* 'he buries' would sound similar to the corresponding emphatic segment in its historical antecedent \**tamər*. On a phonological level, however, there has been a reanalysis, which can be represented thus:

Word level [+Pharyngal]

Segment level:  $t \quad > \quad t$   
 [+Pharyngal]      [+Tense]  
 [+ Tense]

This harmonic feature of suprasegmental backing no doubt developed under the influence of the vowel harmony of Azeri Turkish with which the dialect was in contact. There was, however, only partial convergence to the Turkish harmonic system. In the Azeri system the vowels are affected, and some consonants, in particular sonorants and the dorsal consonants, which are retracted adjacent to back vowels (Vaux 2009), but not the range of consonants that undergo pharyngalization in C. Urmi. In C. Urmi there is only harmony of backness of vowels, not of roundness, since, unlike in Azeri, words can contain high rounded and unrounded vowels, e.g. *muplóxxa* ‘she uses’. In Azeri all vowels participate in the front—back harmony system, whereas in C. Urmi this is in effect restricted to /a/ and /ə/. This is more characteristic of the Iraqi NENA dialects and Arabic, in which emphasis spread tends does not to affect or is blocked by high vowels, especially long ī (Hoberman 1989, 80–81). In some varieties of C. Urmi spoken in villages south of Urmi, e.g. Sardarid (Younansardaroud 2001), a clear front—back distinction is extended to more vowels, notably to the /u/ and /o/ vowels, which are noticeably fronted in plain words. This would represent a greater convergence with Azeri. The Jewish Urmi dialect also exhibits the distinct fronting of /u/ and /o/ in plain words (Khan 2008a, 23). A further difference between Azeri and C. Urmi is that C. Urmi treats loanwords originating from Persian differently from Azeri (see below).

As a result of the reanalysis of segmental emphasis as suprasegmental emphasis, a ternary system of stops emerged: *t*, *t̪*, *d* (unvoiced lax, unvoiced tense, voiced). This is likely to have been stimulated by contact with non-Semitic languages in the region. The Caucasian languages and other languages spoken south of the Caucasus across an area extending into northern Iran had a similar ternary system of stops (Chirikba 2008, 44–45). In the Caucasian languages the tense member is a glottal ejective. This is found also in non-Caucasian languages spoken in the Caucasus region, such as dialects of Armenian (an Indo-European language) spoken in Georgia. In Eastern Armenian spoken further south in Armenia and north-western Iran the tense member is an unaspirated stop, which corresponds to the phonetic quality of the unaspirated tense /t̪/ of C. Urmi. Eastern Armenian has also a ternary system of labials, affricates and velar stops, but only a binary system of fricatives (voiced—unvoiced, e.g. *s*, *z*). This is parallel to the system of phonemes that developed in C. Urmi. This is

shown in the following table, in which the transcription conventions adopted for the C. Urmî dialect are used to represent the corresponding sounds in Armenian:

C. Urmî Eastern Armenian		
labials		
voiceless aspirated	/p/	/p/
tense	/p̪/	/p̪/
voiced	/b/	/b/
dental/alveolar stops		
voiceless aspirated	/t/	/t/
tense	/t̪/	/t̪/
voiced	/d/	/d/
dental/alveolar fricatives		
voiceless	/s/	/s/
voiced	/z/	/z/

The ternary system of labials in Armenian would have induced the development of tense /p̪/ in C. Urmî. The lack of a ternary system of fricatives in Armenian would have induced the merger of \*s with \*s in C. Urmî. It should be noted, however, that in some isolated cases an emphatic \*s shifts to the tense affricate /χ/, which is in the Armenian sound inventory (see below), e.g. *+χəlpa* ‘crack’ < \*səlpa (§1.9.6.). Speakers of the C. Urmî dialect in Georgia sometimes realize the tense stops as ejectives, just as the tense stops are realized as ejectives in Armenian in Georgia. The loss of the NENA interdental consonants \*t and \*d in C. Urmî is also a consequence of convergence with the Armenian type of consonant system. Unaspirated stops are also found in Kurdish dialects of the Urmî region (Kahn 1976).

Armenian has a triad of velar stops (aspirated, tense and voiced k, կ, g) but no uvular stops. In order to converge with the Armenian type of system the historical uvular \*q of C. Urmî was fronted to converge with tense կ and as a result there was a push-chain effect whereby the NENA velars \*k, \*կ and \*g were in turn moved forward to a palatal articulation /c/ [cʰ] ~ [t̪ʰ], /ç/ [c] ~ [t̪] and /j/ [j] ~ [dʒ]. The realization of the existing affricates /č/, /χ/ and /j/, in their turn, tended to be pushed further forward in some varieties to [tsʰ], [ts] and [dz], though this fronting at the end of the chain has not always taken place. A similar push-chain fronting of the dorsal consonants and affricates in order to converge with an Armenian type of system without an uvular is attested in other lan-

guages of the region of north-western Iran, notably in the Azeri dialects of this area, known as Western Azeri (Stilo 1994). Such a process occurs in languages in what Stilo calls the ‘transition area’ between language areas of Transcaucasia and northern Iran. Each of these language areas contains languages of diverse genetic groups but they share similar phonological systems, which are typically represented by those of Armenian (Transcaucasia) and Persian (northern Iran). In Azeri, unlike in Armenian, however, there was only a binary system of stops (voiced and unvoiced) without tense unvoiced counterparts, which is a feature shared with Persian. The original uvular in Azeri in Iran was voiced [g] and so this moved forward to the voiced velar [g] and the other dorsals moved forward (Caferoglu and Doerfer 1959, 295). C. Urmi has converged with both the Azeri and the Armenian type of systems, in that it has tense stops and has undergone a push-chain fronting of the dorsals and affricates to eliminate an uvular, thus:

	Western Azeri	Armenian	C. Urmi	NENA
<b>Velar</b>				
voiceless aspirated	—	/k/	—	
tense	—	/χ/	/χ/	*q
voiced	/g/	/g/	—	
<b>Post-alveolar</b>				
voiceless aspirated	/č/ [tʃʰ]	/č/ [tʃʰ]	/č/ [cʰ]/[tʃʰ]	*k
tense	—	/č/ [tʃ]	/č/ [c]/[tʃ]	*č
voiced	/j/ [dʒ]	/j/ [dʒ]	/j/ [ʃ]/[dʒ]	*g
<b>Dental/Alveolar</b>				
voiceless aspirated	/č/ [tʂʰ]	/č/ [tʂʰ]	/č/ [tʃʰ]/[tʂʰ]	*č
tense	—	/č/ [tʂ]	/č/ [tʃʰ]/[tʂ]	*č
voiced	/j/ [dʐ]	/j/ [dʐ]	/j/ [dʒ]/[dʐ]	*j

Among the historical antecedents listed in the rightmost column, the \*č was an emphatic affricate segment and the \*χ was an unaspirated non-emphatic stop. The former developed in some NENA dialects from earlier native Aramaic consonants, e.g. š and t (Khan 2008b, 60–62), whereas the latter entered NENA dialects in loanwords, principally from Kurdish.

In Iranian Azeri the affrication of velar stops tends to be restricted to the environment of front vowels (Dehghani 2000, 28–36), which is not a restriction that is found in C. Urmi NENA. Palatalization, but not affrication, of velars occurs also in Persian (Dehghani 2000, 36). The palatalization of k is a feature also of Arabic dialects spoken in Turkey (Jastrow 1978, 1:40).

As has been remarked, there is dialectal and, to some extent, idiolectal variation, whereby in the northern variety of C. Urmi the NENA velars \**k*, \**χ* and \**g* are not pushed fully forward to affricates but rather are realized as pre-velar palatal stops /c/ [c<sup>h</sup>], /χ/ [c], /j/ [t̪] and consequently the post-alveolar affricates \*č, \*č̄ and \*j are not pushed forward to dental/alveolar affricates.

The greater degree of fronting, which is characteristic of the southern variety of the dialect, can be regarded as reflecting a greater convergence with the languages in contact, in particular with the push-chain process of Azeri resulting in palatal affricates and dental-alveolar affricates, which is a feature of Azeri dialects as far north as Nakhchivan (İmamquliyeva 2014). It has already been noted that some of the southern varieties of C. Urmi NENA exhibit a greater degree of fronting of back vowels in plain words than in the northern dialects, again in conformity with processes in Azeri. Older informants report that at an earlier period the speakers from the southern villages had a reputation for mixing NENA with Azeri in their speech to a greater extent than in the northern dialects. This is also noted by Maclean (1901, ix). Speakers from the village of Barbari had a particular reputation in this regard.

Furthermore, it is relevant to note that a similar palatalized affrication of dorsal consonants occurs in the variety of Kurdish spoken immediately to the south of Urmi but not in Kurdish spoken north of Urmi. The Kurdish spoken to the south of Urmi belongs to the Mukri variety of Sorani Kurdish, whereas the dialects to the north belong to the Kurmanji group. In Mukri the dorsals /k/ and /g/ are realized as the affricates [tč<sup>h</sup>] and [dž] respectively before high front vowels, e.g.<sup>3</sup>

/ke:ʃe/	[tč <sup>h</sup> e:ʃe]	'problem'
/kør/	[tč <sup>h</sup> ør]	'blind'
/kif/	[tč <sup>h</sup> i:f]	'bag'
/gezər/	[dže:zər]	'carrot'
/gøz/ -	[džøz]	'walnut'
/ba:rgi:n/	[ba:rðzi:n]	'carthorse'

There are traces of Sorani Kurdish influence on the southern C. Urmi varieties also in the lexicon, e.g. the word čakku 'knife' (= Sorani Kurdish čeqo), which is not used in the northern C. Urmi villages.

The published descriptions and transcriptions of vernacular C. Urmi reflect various realizations. Younansardaroud (2001) represents the palatals of the

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Ergin Öpentin for supplying these examples from his forthcoming grammar of Mukri Kurdish.

dialect of the village of Sardarid, lying south of Urmi, as fully fronted, in accordance with the expected profile of southern Urmi dialects. The informant of Hetzron (1969) pronounced /c/ as an aspirated stop rather than an aspirate, which suggests that he originated from the northern region.

At an earlier period Stoddard (1855, 11) describes the /c/ of C. Urmi as being pronounced like 'k in *kind* ... a y being quickly inserted after k', i.e. a stop with a palatal offglide. In the transcriptions of texts from Urmi by Socin (1882) /c/ and /ʃ/ are transcribed *k[y]* and *g[y]* respectively. Socin's informant was from the village of Mat-<sup>+</sup>Maryam (<sup>+</sup>Hassar), which lies to the south of Urmi. This may suggest that full affrication of /c/ and /ʃ/ was less widespread in the 19th century. One should note, however, the somewhat idiosyncratic transcriptions *talba* and *dümlâ* in the word-list of Müller (1864a, 106–107) representing *calba* 'dog' and *jumla* 'camel,' which seem to reflect the alveolar onset of the affricates [tʃ<sup>h</sup>] and [dʒ].

Osipoff (1913), who was an Assyrian from Georgia (Polotsky 1961, 3 n. 2), represents /c/ and /ʃ/ as [c'] and [ʃ] in his careful phonetic transcription. Kalashev (1894b), who gathered his material in the Caucasus, transcribes these consonants by the symbols ꙗ and Ꙙ respectively. This could be interpreted as evidence that at an earlier period the palatals /c/ and /ʃ/ were pronounced as stops in the Caucasus.

Not all occurrences of the segment /t/ in the synchronic state of C. Urmi derive historically from \*t. In emphatic words /t/ sometimes derives from a coalescing of \*d and a laryngal \*, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>yatta</i> 'she knows'	<	* <i>yad'a</i>	<	* <i>yad'a</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>tata</i> 'sweat'	<	* <i>d'ata</i>	<	* <i>d'ata</i>

As can be seen, in both cases the laryngal is ultimately derived from a pharyngal. The phoneme /t/ derived from \*d also occurs in plain contexts, e.g.

<i>t-ilə</i> 'that he is'	<	* <i>d-ile</i>
<i>t-atə</i> 'he will come'	<	* <i>bəd-ate</i>

Furthermore /t/ occurs in a few plain words which at some stage of development contained an emphatic \*t. This applies to the word *tanṭən* 'he hums' (< \**tanṭən*). Speakers from the village of Dizatacyā, on the southern periphery of the Urmi plain, still pronounce the word emphatic <sup>+</sup>*tanṭən*. Note also the verb *šaṭəx* 'he spreads out (small objects on)', which has developed as a doublet from <sup>+</sup>*šaṭəx* 'he stretches himself/a person (on the ground)' by removing the empha-

sis. Another example seems to be *tupra* ‘tail’ (< \**tupra*). The dialect C. Qaraqosh preserves the emphatic consonant in the word *bar-tupra* ‘strap for securing saddle tied around the back of an animal’ (literally ‘behind the tail’). The emphasis may have been removed from these words through a process of sound symbolism whereby there is an iconic association between the higher pitch of plain sounds and the thinness and lightness of objects and sounds. The unaspirated feature of the stops is retained also as an expression of the diminutive (§ 1.10.).<sup>4</sup> An original non-emphatic \**t* has, indeed, developed into an unaspirated /t/ in a few words through sound symbolism to express the diminutive, e.g. *t̪alpa* ‘eyelash’ < \**t̪alpa* (cf. Syriac *tallīpē*, Turoyo *tlafine*), *surta* ‘small’ (fs.) < \**zurta* and the derivative verb *sarṭən* ‘he becomes small’.

Some words with an original emphatic \**t* have undergone loss of emphasis in C. Urmī but have a plain lax /t/, e.g.

<i>taxana</i>	‘miller’	< * <i>tahhānā</i> (cf. C. Qaraqosh <i>taxana</i> )
<i>taxən</i>	‘he grinds’	< * <i>tāhen</i> (cf. C. Qaraqosh <i>taxən</i> )
<i>talək</i>	‘he disappears’	< * <i>tāleq</i> (cf. C. Walto <i>taləq</i> )
<i>tapə</i>	‘he sticks/ignites’	< * <i>tāpē</i> (cf. C. Barwar <i>tape</i> )
<i>tarə</i>	‘it becomes wet’	< * <i>tāre</i> (cf. C. Qaraqosh <i>tare</i> )

The lack of retention of the unaspirated quality of the emphatic correlates with the lack of diminutive sound symbolism in these words. The removal of emphasis in these cases appears to have been an arbitrary process. Some of these forms are still emphatic on the periphery of the Urmī region, e.g.

Dizatacyā (south periphery of Urmī plain)

<sup>+</sup>*texana* ‘miller’

<sup>+</sup>Mawana (highlands west of Urmī)

<sup>+</sup>*taxana* ‘miller’

<sup>+</sup>*tape* ‘he sticks/ignites’

Conversely, the pharyngalization may be retained but the tense stop is replaced by a lax one, e.g.

<sup>4</sup> It is relevant to note that higher pitch is one of the features of sound symbolism that Nichols (1971) identified in diminutives in native American Indian languages.

<sup>+</sup> <i>cətra</i>	'knot'	< <sup>+</sup> * <i>kətra</i>	< * <i>qəṭrā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>catər</i>	'he knots'	< <sup>+</sup> <i>katər</i>	< * <i>qāter</i>

Here also the initial tense <sup>+</sup>*k* is replaced by the lax /c/.

It is worth noting that also in the Jewish Urmī dialect emphasis has become a suprasegmental word-level feature, but, unlike C. Urmī, there are no tense stops in its phoneme inventory, so when emphasis was removed from the historical emphatic stop segment <sup>+</sup>*t*, it became a lax aspirated stop:

C. Urmī	J. Urmī
* <i>tina</i> 'mud'	+ <i>tīna</i> [+'ti:na]

In fact in the Iraqi NENA dialects emphatic /t/, although often unaspirated, may also be realized with aspiration, e.g. Jewish Zakho *tālāb* [tʰa:lāb] 'he seeks'. In C. Urmī the unaspirated alternant realization has been phonologized due to convergence with the Armenian-type tense stop phonemes.<sup>5</sup>

The consonant system of Jewish Urmī corresponds more closely to that of Persian than to those of Armenian of Transcaucasia or Western Azeri (Stilo 1994, 78), in that it has retained the uvular /q/ and the velars /k/ and /g/ have not been palatalized.<sup>6</sup> As in Persian, /q/ tends to be voiced and fricativized, especially in intervocalic position (Khan 2008a, 20):

Persian	J. Urmī	C. Urmī	NENA
/q/	/q/	/k/	*q
/k/	/k/	/c/ [cʰ]/[tʃʰ]	*k
/g/	/g/	/f/ [j]/[dʒ]	*g
/č/	/č/	/č/ [tʃʰ]/[tsʰ]	*č
/j/	/j/	/j/ [dʒ]/[dz]	*j

In C. Urmī Persian loanwords containing /q/ (realized in Persian as uvular [q] or [χ]) have /k/, which corresponds to the Persian uvular stop realization [χ], e.g.

5 According to Garbell (1965a, 33) in the Jewish dialects of southern Iranian Azerbaijan all unvoiced stops are pronounced without aspiration in emphatic words irrespective of their historical origin.

6 It is relevant to note that Garbell (1965b, 159), in her study of the impact of Kurdish on J. Urmī, concluded that the dialect had been influenced by the Kurdish dialects spoken to the south of Urmī in Iran and north-eastern Iraq, rather than those spoken to the north. It is the northern dialects of Kurdish that exhibit the Armenian type of opposition of aspirated and unaspirated stops (Tosco 2002, 748–749).

*karibáya* ‘stranger’ < Pers. (< Arab.) *qarīb* [ga'ri:b]

The consonant \**q*, from which /k/ in the C. Urmī dialect is derived historically, is associated with emphasis in other NENA dialects. In many dialects /q/ shares with the emphatics /t/ and /š/ the quality of preserving the pharyngal consonants /χ/ and /h/, which have elsewhere lost their pharyngal articulation, /χ/ shifting to /ʃ/ or zero and /h/ to /x/. This is found, for example, in NENA dialects in Iraq, e.g.

### Qaraqosh

‘amoqa	‘deep’
ta‘ən	‘he lifts’
haziqa	‘strong’
raḥoqa	‘far’
qyaḥa	‘to touch’

### Jewish Zakho

‘amoqa	‘deep’
raḥuqa	‘far’
‘apṣa	‘gallnut’
nhaqa	‘to touch’

Conversely a pharyngal in a word may cause an etymological velar \**k* to shift to a /q/, as in the Jewish Arbel dialect:

*haqen* ‘I speak’ < \**ħky* (Arab.)

In the Iraqi NENA dialects the vowels adjacent to the emphatics /t/ and /š/, especially the low vowel /a/, undergo clear pharyngalization due to coarticulatory assimilation. The vowel /a/ has distinctly lower F2 values than in plain contexts. This can be seen in the following analyses of /a/ adjacent to emphatic /t/ and /š/ in the Jewish Zakho dialect compared to /a/ adjacent to plain consonants:

*tálab* ‘he requests’ ['tˤa:ləb(F1 562, F2 1109)lb]

*nátər* ‘he guards’ ['na:tˤ(F1 869, F2 1162)tˤə:r]

*mṣále* ‘he prays’ ['mˤsˤa:l(F1 849, F2 1281)le]

*mṣályā* ‘she prays’ ['mˤsˤa:l(F1 800, F2 1292)lja(F1 647, F2 1945)]

*táxər* 'he remembers' ['thə:(F1 965, F2 1747)xir]

*p-sápəs* 'it will rot' ['psa:(F1 743, F2 1758)pis]

*kálo* 'bride' ['kʰa:(F1 920, F2 1775)lo]

It can be seen that the F<sub>2</sub> after the emphatics /t/ and /s/ is considerably lower (by 500–600 Hz). The F<sub>2</sub> reading of the final vowel of *mṣályā* shows that the pharyngalization does not spread throughout the word.

By contrast this pharyngalization is not detectable in vowels adjacent to /q/ and /h/, as can be seen in the data below from Jewish Zakho:

*qála* 'voice' [qa:(F1 983, F2 1719)la]

*nḥáqa* 'to touch' [nħa:(F1 1029, F2 1610)qa]

*ḥábəs* 'he incarcerates' ['ħa:(F1 899, F2 1707)bis]

The F<sub>2</sub> values of the /a/ vowels here are roughly equivalent to those of the vowel after plain consonants.<sup>7</sup> The data from Jewish Zakho relating to the voiced pharyngal /ʕ/ indicate that adjacent /a/ vowels have a range of values that are roughly intermediate between those of /a/ after /t/ and /s/ and those found adjacent to plain consonants:

*‘ájəq* 'he becomes elated' ['ʕa:(F1 895, F2 1477)dʒɪq]

*‘ájəz* 'he becomes tired' ['ʕa:(F1 950, F2 1398)dʒɪz]

*‘áqəl* 'intelligent' ['ʕa:(F1 904, F2 1407)qɪl]

*‘áyəč* 'he smears' ['ʕa:(F1 846, F2 1360)jɪtʃ]

*‘ájab* 'wonder' ['ʕa:(F1 943, F2 1439)dʒab]

*‘ájam* 'Persia' ['ʕa(F1 856, F2 1412)dʒam]

In sum, the adjacent /a/ vowels are clearly and consistently pharyngalized adjacent to /t/ and /s/, have intermediate pharyngalization adjacent to /ʕ/ and are not pharyngalized adjacent to /h/ and /q/.

The reason for the preservation of the pharyngal in a word such as Jewish Zakho *nħaqa* or Qaraqosh *ħaziqa*, therefore, is not any suprasegmental spread of pharyngalization, which affected all segments, but rather some form of consonant assimilation. The process, it seems, involved the harmonizing of the pharyngal consonant with the pharyngalized emphatic consonants, without

<sup>7</sup> In some dialects of Arabic the uvular /q/ has a similar effect on adjacent vowels to the pharyngalized coronals (Watson 2007, 43, 270–273), but this is not always the case (Jakobson 1978).

necessarily affecting other intervening segments. This is what Rose and Walker (2004) term ‘Long Distance Consonant Agreement’ which operates in many languages on consonants that share a considerable degree of similarity but skips intervening, less similar segments.

This harmonization between pharyngals and pharyngalized emphatics (*/t/*, */ṣ/*, */q/*) took place also in the so-called trans-Zab Jewish NENA dialects (Mutzaifi 2008b), as shown by Hoberman (1985). In the trans-Zab dialects in Iraq the pharyngalization of the oral emphatics is generally preserved, though often considerably weakened. This has been documented in the Jewish dialects of Arbel (Khan 1999a), Sulemaniyya and Halabja (Khan 2004), and Koy Sanjaq (Mutzaifi 2004). In the related dialects in western Iran such as Sanandaj (Khan 2009) the pharyngal has been preserved in some words containing historical pharyngalized consonants, but the emphatic coronals */t/* and */ṣ/* have subsequently largely lost their emphasis and have become plain consonants, e.g.

### J. Sanandaj

<i>tam'a</i>	‘she tastes’	< * <i>tām̥ā</i>
<i>ta'na</i>	‘load’	< * <i>ṭa'na</i>
<i>'aqəwra</i>	‘scorpion’	< * <i>'aqəbrā</i>
<i>hānəq</i>	‘he drowns’	< * <i>hānəq</i>

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

<i>dəm'e</i>	‘tears’	< * <i>dəm̥e</i>	< * <i>dəm̥e</i>
<i>gul'a</i>	‘kernel of fruit’	< * <i>gul̥a</i>	< * <i>gul̥ā</i>
<i>ma'lela</i>	‘eve of festival’	< <i>ma'lela</i>	< * <i>ma'lē 'edā</i>
<i>pərtə'na</i>	‘flea’	< * <i>pərtə'na</i>	< * <i>purtā'na</i>
<i>za'ra</i>	‘barley’	< * <i>za'rā</i>	< * <i>sārā</i>
<i>z'r</i>	‘to plant’	< * <i>zr̥</i>	< * <i>zr̥</i>
<i>bl'</i>	‘to swallow’	< * <i>bl̥'</i>	< <i>bl'</i>
<i>'əč'a</i>	‘nine’	< * <i>'əč'a</i>	< * <i>tš̥ā</i>

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

- tma'nisar* ‘eighteen’ < *tmanisar*  
*tma'ni* ‘eighty’ < *tmani*

Similar examples are found in the neighbouring Jewish dialect of Sulemaniyya (Khan 2004, 35):

- ma'e* ‘water’ < *ma'e* < *maye*  
*ma'danusi* ‘parsley’ < *madanusi*

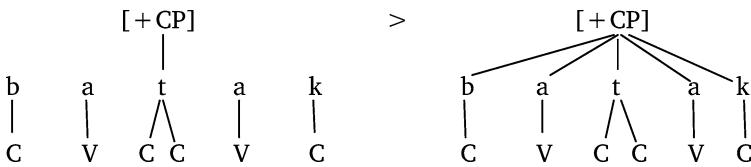
This appears to be similar to the phenomenon of pharyngalization in Kurdish of north-western Iran, which Margaret Kahn (1976, 49–52) analyses as having an underlying pharyngal segment. This pharyngal, according to Kahn, underlies a word that has a pharyngalized consonant and such words can also be realized with the pharyngal on the phonetic surface in place of the pharyngalized consonant. One can have variants, therefore, such as *taezi* ~ *tae'zi* ‘fresh’. No more than one pharyngal or pharyngalized segment is tolerated in a word, so when Arabic loanwords are integrated into the Kurdish dialects, pharyngalization is dropped for all but one segment, e.g. Iraqi Arabic *suhba(t)* ‘conversation’ > Kurdish *sibhat*, Iraqi Arabic *qūtiyya* ‘box’ > Kurdish *qoti* (Kahn 1976, 44). According to Kahn’s explanatory model, this is due to the fact a word can contain only one underlying pharyngal segment.

The difference between Kurdish and the NENA dialects in question is that in the NENA dialects forms with the pharyngal on the surface do not alternate with forms of the word with emphatic segments. It appears that the background to the phenomenon in the NENA dialects is similar to what is found in the Iraqi NENA dialects such as J. Zakho in that the pharyngal is preserved due to some kind of long distance consonant agreement between consonants with similar features rather than emphasis spreading. The non-etymological pharyngals developed from laryngals, e.g. *ma'e* < *ma'e* ‘water’, due, it seems, to a perceived similarity between laryngals and pharyngals. An allophonic alternance between ['] and [ɾ] is documented in the trans-Zab Jewish NENA dialects not only for etymological \*<sup>c</sup> in historically emphatic words (Khan 2004, 35; Khan 2009, 29) but also for etymological \*<sup>s</sup> in plain words, e.g. J. Arbel *hula'e* [hu:læ'ʔe:] ~ [hu:læ'fe:] ‘Jews’ (Khan 1999a, 26–27). The tendency to restrict the outcome of this consonant agreement to the pharyngal and to eliminate the pharyngalization of the oral consonant is likely to reflect a convergence with the Kurdish type of emphasis described by Kahn (1976).

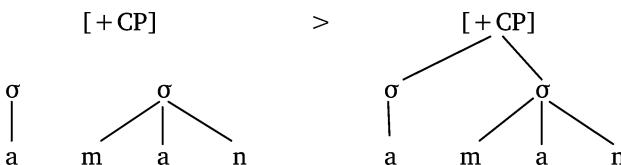
In C. Urmi pharyngals are not preserved in words containing historical emphatic consonants or \*<sup>q</sup>. The unvoiced pharyngal \*<sup>h</sup> in words of Aramaic stock generally shifts to /x/, sporadically to zero, and the voiced pharyngal

\*<sup>c</sup> regularly reduces to zero. In the NENA dialects of Iraq the pharyngals and pharyngalized emphatic consonants shared a common feature which we may designate as [+pharyngal]. The backing of segments in the environment of emphatic consonants is a phonetic coarticulatory consequence but not a phonological feature. For this reason the spreading of backing has no consistent domain, but may occur in words in different degrees, sometimes with variation in different tokens of the same word. In C. Urmi, on the other hand, the backing of segments in the environment of emphatic consonants became a systemic phonological feature with a fixed domain rather than a phonetic coarticulatory consequence. This process involved the transfer of the phonological feature [+pharyngal] from the segment to the word domain. Previously when emphasis spread only by phonetic articulation, the surrounding segments were phonetically pharyngalized but did not acquire the phonological feature [+pharyngal]. We have seen that in the Iraqi NENA dialects the pharyngal /h/ and the pharyngalized uvular /q/, although sharing the feature [+pharyngal] with emphatic consonants and so participating in long distance consonant agreement, do not bring about the pharyngalization of segments in the environment by phonetic coarticulation. Although they share the phonological feature [+pharyngal] with the emphatic consonants /t/ and /š/, they do not behave like them phonetically. As pointed out by Jakobson (1978), 'a phonemic feature cannot be defined on the basis of the degree of its assimilatory power upon adjacent phonemes'. The coarticulation features of /'/ in the Iraqi dialects is equivocal.

Hoberman in various studies (1988b; 1989) has analysed emphasis in Jewish Urmi NENA, and also in Arabic and the Kurdish dialect described by Kahn (1976) in the framework of autosegmental phonology. Although the phenomenon of emphasis in these various languages differs in some respects, he presents them all as having a feature of emphasis, which he calls 'Constricted Pharynx' [+CP], on a separate autosegmental tier, following the approach of Van der Hulst and Smith (1982) and Card (1983) for the treatment of emphasis in Arabic. In the Arabic type of emphasis, which can be considered to be similar to that of Iraqi NENA dialects, it is proposed that at an underlying level an Arabic emphatic consonant segment is linked to the feature [+CP] on another tier rather than containing this feature in the segment tier. Emphasis spread is explained as taking place by the subsequent process of association of other segments in the word with this feature, e.g. the spread of the emphasis of emphatic *t* in *battak* 'your ducks' in Palestinian Arabic would be derived thus:



Hoberman represents the [+CP] feature in J. Urmi as floating at the underlying level and not linked to any segment, as in the normal autosegmental representation of vowel harmony. The feature subsequently becomes associated with all syllables of the word, e.g. *+aman* 'safeguard':



On the basis of the data in Kahn (1976), Hoberman proposes that in Kurdish an emphatic ('Constricted Pharynx' in his terminology) feature is on a separate tier and there is a constraint preventing it from associating with more than one segment in the word.

If it is assumed that in NENA a system similar to that of Arabic developed into a system such as that of the Urmi dialects, this type of analysis is problematic in some respects as a tool for explaining this historical shift. In Iraqi NENA dialects such as J. Zakho /q/ is emphatic in the sense that it has, according to my representation, the feature [+pharyngal], as it is in Arabic (Jakobson 1978; Watson 2007, 43–44) and Kurdish (Kahn 1976, 42). The pharyngals /ʃ/ and /h/ are likewise emphatic. This is the case in the Kurdish dialect described by Kahn (1976; see Hoberman 1989, 90) and also in Arabic, according to Watson (2007, 44–47), who considers them to be emphatic laryngals.<sup>8</sup> According to the

<sup>8</sup> Arabic pharyngals do not, however, affect the adjacent vowels to the same extent as pharyngalized oral consonants (Card 1983, 16–22; Hoberman 1985, 223), which coincides with my acoustic analysis of NENA pharyngals. The constriction of the pharynx is lower in the articulation of the pharyngal consonants than in the pharyngalized oral consonants since in the articulation of the latter the pharyngalization is restrained by the oral gestures of the tongue (Hoberman 1985, 223; Laufer and Baer 1988; Watson 2007, 46). For this reason Dolgopolsky (1977, 1) prefers to use the term 'uvularization' to distinguish it from 'lower pharyngalization', which is found in Caucasian languages.

proposed autosegmental analysis, a /q/ in J. Zakho in a word such as *nšaqa* 'to kiss' would be linked to a feature of emphasis on a separate tier. The most obvious way to explain the shift to an Urmi-type of emphasis in this approach would involve the unlinking of the emphasis feature from the segment in the underlying level and converting it into a floating feature:

J. Zakho	C. Urmi
[+Pharyngal]	[+Pharyngal]
n    š    a    q    a	n    š    a    k̪    a
C    C    V    C    V	C    C    V    C    V

This analysis would predict, therefore, that \**nšaqa* would have suprasegmental emphasis in C. Urmi, which is erroneous, since the word is plain and, moreover, /q/ is not a primary trigger of suprasegmental emphasis elsewhere. A more satisfactory way of explaining the historical shift, therefore, is to posit that the [+Pharyngal] feature is located in the emphatic segment matrix (i.e. the segment tier according to the autosegmental mode) in the Iraqi type NENA dialects and that any spread of emphasis is a phonetic feature of coarticulation not a phonological process. The historical shift in the Urmi type dialects involved the phonologization of the phonetic coarticulation. Since there is no emphasis spread with /q/ in the Iraqi type dialects, the corresponding word in C. Urmi is plain.

In the history of C. Urmi the main source of emphatic coarticulation would be expected to be long /a/ vowels, in which pharyngalization is particularly perceptible. Since this phonetic coarticulation was regular with the emphatics \*t̪ and \*š, words containing historical \*t̪ and \*š are regularly pronounced emphatic, i.e. they regularly have the suprasegmental [+pharyngal] feature, e.g.

+ <i>ṭaləb</i>	'he requests'	< * <i>ṭaləb</i>
+ <i>ṭuyra</i>	'mountain'	< * <i>ṭura</i>
+ <i>xəttə</i>	'wheat'	< * <i>xəttə</i>
+ <i>palət̪</i>	'he goes out'	< * <i>palət̪</i>
+ <i>soma</i>	'fast'	< * <i>ṣoma</i>
+ <i>salə</i>	'he goes down'	< * <i>ṣale</i>
+ <i>msaya</i>	'to be able'	< * <i>mṣaya</i>

There are only a few marginal exceptions, where words with \*t̪ have lost the emphasis (see above). When a word contained the pharyngal \*, in many cases it is emphatic. The pharyngal itself is reduced to zero. This resulted from the

removal of the [+pharyngal] feature from the segment \*<sup>c</sup>. Words beginning with a vowel acquire an initial laryngal /<sup>h</sup>/ by a secondary morphophonemic process (§ 1.15.2.). Examples:

<sup>+</sup> <i>tala</i>	'fox'	< * <i>ta'lā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>dəm'ma</i>	'tear'	< * <i>dəm'ā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>tarra</i>	'door'	< * <i>tar'ā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>baluta</i>	'throat'	< * <i>bālō'tā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>amra</i>	'wool'	< * <i>'amrā</i>

Several words that contained the pharyngal \*<sup>c</sup>, however, have not acquired suprasegmental emphasis and are pronounced as plain, e.g.

<i>'avəd</i>	'he does'	< * <i>'abəd</i>
<i>'ida</i>	'festival'	< * <i>'eda</i>
<i>'upra</i>	'soil'	< * <i>'aprā</i>
<i>bita</i>	'egg'	< * <i>bē'tā</i>
<i>xmaya</i>	'to ferment'	< * <i>xmā'ā</i>

This could be explained by the assumption that historical \*<sup>c</sup> was not accompanied by clear pharyngalized coarticulation in adjacent segments equivalent to that of \*<sup>t</sup> and \*<sup>s</sup>, as we have seen from the data from the Jewish Zakho dialect. It should also be taken into account that suprasegmental emphasis may be brought about by the presence of the sonorants *r*; *l* and by the voiced labials *b*, *m* and *v*, which must be assumed to have acquired segmental emphasis with coarticulatory emphasis spread at some point in the history of the dialect. e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>šádər</i>	'he sends'	< * <i>šadər</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>jóra</i>	'husband'	< * <i>gawṛa</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>xálta</i>	'food'	< * <i>xalta</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>rábə</i>	'much'	< * <i>raḥa</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>áv</i>	'he'	< * <i>aw</i>

These were 'non-etymological' emphatic forms of the consonants and developed only in a certain proportion of the words containing the consonants, in some cases, it seems, to fulfil a functional need, e.g. to create semantic contrasts or to express iconic gravity. Examples of contrasts are:

<sup>+</sup> <i>xalta</i> 'eating'	<i>xalta</i> 'aunt'
<sup>+</sup> <i>jóra</i> 'husband'	<i>jóra</i> 'she marries'

Possible examples of iconic gravity are:

- +*jura* 'big'      cf. *sura* 'small' (plain)
- +*yarixa* 'long'    cf. *kərya* 'short' (plain)
- +*raba* 'much'

Emphatic words that contained the pharyngal \*<sup>c</sup> generally also contain one of the consonants *r*, *l*, *b*, *m* or *v*, so in such words these latter consonants could have been the primary source of the suprasegmental emphasis rather than the pharyngal consonant itself, or at least reinforced the pharyngalization of the \*<sup>c</sup>. As remarked, in the Iraqi dialects of NENA coarticulatory pharyngalization is absent in the environment of the consonant /q/. This no doubt is the reason why /k/, the reflex of original \**q*, does not by itself bring about suprasegmental emphasis in C. Urmī, e.g.

*nšaka* 'to kiss' < \**nšaqa*

In a word such as this none of the other consonants belong to the category of those that would be expected to trigger emphasis and no emphasis is induced by the /k/. This would have been because there was no coarticulatory emphasis spread generated by /k/ that could be phonologized into phonological suprasegmental emphasis. Words containing both historical \**q* and the pharyngal \*<sup>c</sup> do not induce suprasegmental emphasis, e.g.

- +*atika* 'old'      < \**atīqā*
- +*p̪kaya* 'to split' < \**pqā'ā*
- +*p̪əkkā* 'frog'     < \**pəq'ā*
- +*raka* 'to flee'    < \**rāqā*

These words do not contain other consonants that would induce emphasis. Contrast words such as:

- +*blaya* 'to swallow' < \**blā'ā*
- +*šmaya* 'to hear'    < \**šmā'ā*
- +*fraya* 'to shave'    < \**grā'ā*
- +*mraya* 'to be ill'    < \**mrā'ā*

These are historically final \*<sup>c</sup> verbs, like +*p̪kaya*, but they contain the emphasis-inducing consonants *r*, *l*, *b* and *m* and have acquired emphasis. Some words containing /k/ are emphatic, but these all contain other emphasis-inducing consonants, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>k̥eta</i>	'summer'	< * <i>qayṭā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>kraya</i>	'to read'	< * <i>qrāyā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>kariva</i>	'close'	< * <i>qarībā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>k̥tala</i>	'to kill'	< * <i>qtālā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>k̥çaya</i>	'to cut'	< * <i>qtā'ā</i>

So, /*k̥*/ by itself does not induce emphasis and there are only a limited number of cases where \*<sup>c</sup> seems to have induced emphasis without the support of other emphasis-inducing consonants. Some such examples include:

<sup>+</sup> <i>ayna</i>	'eye'	< * <sup>c</sup> <i>aynā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>ita</i>	'church'	< * <sup>c</sup> <i>ēttā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>syaša</i>	'to rock'	< * <sup>c</sup> <i>s̥ašā</i> < * <sup>c</sup> <i>šgāšā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>šada</i>	'almond'	< * <i>ša'da</i> < * <i>šaḡdā</i>

The emphasis in some of these could have had a functional motivation to distinguish meaning. The emphatic form <sup>+</sup>*ita* 'church', for example, contrasts with the plain homophonous form *ita* 'then'. Other words in this category, however, do seem to represent cases where the primary cause of the emphasis is the historical presence of the pharyngal \*<sup>c</sup>. Note that a historical velar fricative \**g̥* developed into a pharyngal before being reduced to zero, and so words with this historical consonant are also included.

The presence of the high vowel /i/ or the glide /y/ can block the development of emphasis. This is seen clearly in the paradigms of numerals in which many numerals in the tens paradigm ending in *-i* are plain whereas the corresponding unit numerals ending in *-a* are emphatic, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>əsra</i> (< * <sup>c</sup> <i>əsra</i> )	'ten'	<sup>+</sup> <i>əsri</i> (< * <sup>c</sup> <i>əsri</i> )	'twenty'
<sup>+</sup> <i>tla</i> (< * <i>tlaṭa</i> )	'three'	<sup>+</sup> <i>tlay</i> (< * <i>tlati</i> )	'thirty'
<sup>+</sup> <i>arpa</i> (< * <i>arb'a</i> )	'four'	<sup>+</sup> <i>arpi</i> (< * <i>arb'i</i> )	'forty'

Evidence for the argument that the suprasegmental [+pharyngal] feature originates in pharyngalized vowels adjacent to emphatic consonants can be found in the treatment of Persian loanwords. Since the long *ā* vowel segment in Persian has a back quality in its default realization similar to a pharyngalized long /a/ vowel in the C. Urmi dialect, this vowel is interpreted as having the feature [+pharyngal] when the word is integrated into the phonology of the dialect. In accordance with the treatment elsewhere of this feature, it is detached from the vowel segment and made a suprasegmental feature in the domain of the word, affecting other segments in the word that do not have a backed articula-

tion in the source language. Notice that the loanwords in C. Urmī are adapted with regard to the placement of the stress, in that it is moved from the final syllable of the Persian source word to the penultimate syllable, the canonical position in C. Urmī:

C. Urmī	Persian	
<sup>+</sup> sárbaž [s <sup>ə</sup> rbəz]	sarbáž [sar'bə:z]	'soldier'
<sup>+</sup> hává [h <sup>ə</sup> a:v]	havá [ha'va:]	'air, weather'
<sup>+</sup> háram [h <sup>ə</sup> a:rəm]	harámm [ha'rə:m]	'forbidden'
<sup>+</sup> tapávut [t <sup>ə</sup> hpávut]	tafāvút [t <sup>ə</sup> hafa:vut <sup>h</sup> ]	'difference'
<sup>+</sup> dívan [d <sup>ə</sup> i:v]	díván [di:və:n]	'court'
<sup>+</sup> stícan [s <sup>ə</sup> t'i:c]	istikán [isti:kʰa:n]	'glass'
<sup>+</sup> póllan [p <sup>ə</sup> llan]	folán [fo'lə:n]	'so-and-so'
<sup>+</sup> ótağ [o:təg]	'otáq [o'ta:q]	'room'
<sup>+</sup> júvvab [dʒ <sup>ə</sup> vvab]	javáb [dʒa:və:b]	'answer'
<sup>+</sup> sánjak [s <sup>ə</sup> ŋa:k]	sanjáq [san'dʒa:q]	'pin'
<sup>+</sup> Hamádan [h <sup>ə</sup> a:dən]	Hamadán [hama'da:n]	'Hamadan'

In words such as <sup>+</sup>*divan* and <sup>+</sup>*stican* the pharyngalization does not affect the /i/, but it does affect the consonants before the /i/, which clearly shows that the domain of this phenomenon is the word and that it does not spread by phonetic coarticulation from a particular segment. One may contrast this with spoken Arabic in which emphasis spreads from segments and this spread is blocked by high, non-back segments such as ī, y and š (Hoberman 1989, 79). The same is true in the Iraqi NENA dialects, in which the spread of emphasis from a segment would be generally blocked by /i/, e.g. J. Zakho *tina*, in which the emphasis does not spread beyond the segment /t/. By contrast, in the cognate word in C. Urmī, viz. <sup>+</sup>*tina*, although the /i/ is not affected by emphasis, the following segments, /n/ and /a/, are pharyngalized.

There are a few exceptions in which a loanword that has long ā in Persian is plain, e.g.

C. Urmī	Persian	
sázjar [sazjar]	säzgár [sa:z'ga:r]	'agreeable'
buxári [bu'xa:ri]	boxári [boxa:'ri:]	'stove'
húšyar [hoʃjar]	hošyár [hoʃ'ja:r]	'careful'
jíyaz ['dʒi:yas]	jiház [dʒi:həz]	'dowry'

These can be regarded as cases of the arbitrary removal of the suprasegmental [+pharyngal] feature, as in the native Aramaic words such as *taxana* 'miller', *talək* 'he becomes losts', *tapə* 'he sticks/ignites' discussed above.

When a loanword from Azeri Turkish contains an /a/ vowel it is generally plain or emphatic according to whether the Azeri word has front or back vowel harmony, though there are some exceptions, e.g.

Azeri	C. Urmi	
otáq (back)	+ótaǵ (emphatic)	'room'
ocáq (back)	+ojáxta (emphatic)	'hearth'
aralíq (back)	+arálləj (emphatic)	'between'
dustáq (back)	+dússaǵ (emphatic)	'prison'
torbá (back)	+tórba (emphatic)	'bag'
batmán (back)	+bátman (emphatic)	'batman'
baltá (back)	+bálta (emphatic)	'axe'
palán (back)	+pálan (emphatic)	'pack-saddle'
témiz (front)	támməz (plain)	'clean'
keçél (front)	cačála (plain)	'bald'
gémí (front)	jámi (plain)	'boat'
dérz (front)	dárza (plain)	'sheaf of corn'
døllék (front)	dállac (plain)	'barber'
cømdék (front)	jándac (plain)	'carcass'

Exceptions:

çardáq (back)	čárdak (plain)	'shed'
davúl (back)	davúla (plain)	'drum'
køvér (front)	+cávar (emphatic)	'leek'

When the word contains other vowels the correspondence is also generally consistent, e.g.

Azeri	C. Urmi	
dúz (front)	dúz (plain)	'correct'
gół (front)	jól (plain)	'lake'
hörük (front)	hórəc (plain)	'tether (of animal)'
dönük (front)	dónuc (plain)	'rebellious'
külgüng	cúlluny (plain)	'crowbar'
qullúq (back)	+kúlluǵ (emphatic)	'service'
burgǘ (back)	+búrgi (emphatic)	'drill'
xurcún (back)	+xúrjun (emphatic)	'saddle-bag'
tóz (back)	+tóz (emphatic)	'dust'
dóst (back)	+dóst (emphatic)	'friend'

Azeri	C. Urmi	
tóp (back)	+ <i>tóp</i> (emphatic)	'cannon'
şór (back)	+ <i>şór</i> (emphatic)	'salty'
limón (back)	+ <i>límon</i> (emphatic)	'lemon'
başlíq (back)	+ <i>bášləg</i> (emphatic)	'hood'

Exceptions:

qoşún (back)	<i>kóšun</i> (plain)	'army'
qifíl (back)	<i>káppəl</i> (plain)	'lock'
qarǵá (back)	<i>kárja</i> (plain)	'crow'
bibér (front)	+ <i>bíbar</i> (emphatic)	'pepper'
dərəcə (front)	+ <i>darája</i> (emphatic)	'degree'

In some cases there are known variations in the setting of words across different Azeri dialects, which would eliminate some of these exceptions, e.g. kəvər ~ kavar 'leek', qarǵá ~ qərgə 'crow'. Moreover some varieties of C. Urmi have different settings and correspond to the Azeri setting in the list of exceptions listed above, e.g. +*karǵa* (Ardishay S, Dizatacyä S), +*kəppəl* (Siri S). It may be significant that the exceptional cases of emphatic setting of C. Urmi words that have a front setting in Azeri all contain letters that are known to bring about pharyngalization, namely /r/, /l/ and labials.

As has been remarked, C. Urmi has not adopted the harmonic feature of vowel roundedness from Azeri. In a number of loanwords containing rounded vowels in Azeri, one of the rounded vowels is replaced by a corresponding unrounded vowel in C. Urmi, e.g.

Azeri	C. Urmi	
sürű	<i>súri</i>	'flock'
ütü	<i>úti</i>	'iron (for clothes)'
bütün	<i>bítun</i>	'whole'
hörük	<i>hórəc</i>	'tether (of animal)'
qulluqçú	+ <i>kullúxči</i>	'servant'

In word-final position this is, in fact, a feature found in varieties of Azeri spoken in Iran, e.g.

**Azeri orthography   Azeri Tabriz/Ardabil**

sürű	[su'ri]	'flock'
hörük	[hø'rɪh]	'tether (of animal)'
dönük	[dø'nih]	'rebellious'
külüng	[tʃyl'lɪh]	'crowbar'

Persian loanwords in Azeri have sometimes not been adapted to the harmony system. This applies, for example, to some cases where the Persian word contains a long back /ā/ and a short front /a/, a number of them of ultimately Arabic origin. In many such cases C. Urmī exhibits a greater degree of adaptation of the same loanword and has full harmony of emphasis, e.g.

Persian	Azeri	C. Urmī	
dallál	dəllál	+dállal	'broker'
dastmál	dəsmál	+dásmał	'towel'
jallád	cəllád	+jállad	'executioner'
qassáb	qəssáb	+kássab	'butcher'
madaxél	mədaxil	+mudaxəł	'income'

There are, however, a few loanwords in C. Urmī from Persian and Azeri in which the emphasis harmony does not embrace the whole word. This is found in a number of words with derivational suffixed components. When the derivational suffix contains a back vowel in Persian but the stem of the word does not contain a back vowel, only the derivational suffix is emphatic in C. Urmī. The suffixes concerns include *+stan*, *+zada*, *+xana*, *+jah*, which are of Persian origin. In such words Azeri exhibits the same incomplete harmonization of the backness (Rahmati and Buğday 1998, 189–194), e.g.

Persian	Azeri	C. Urmī	
'armanestán	Ermənistən	'armanəs+tan	'Armenia'
hendostán	Hindistan	həndus+tan	'India'
ğorjestán	Gürcüstan	jurjəs+tan	'Georgia'
bagzadé	bəyzada	baf+zada	'noble'
haramxáné	hərəmxana	haram+xana	'harem'
marızxáné	mərizxana	marəs+xana	'hospital'
dazgáh	dəzgah	daz+jah	'work bench'

The same applies to words with such derivative suffixes which are of Azeri origin, e.g.

Azeri	C. Urmi
çörəkxana	<i>čorac+xana</i>
dəmirçixana	<i>damurči+xana</i>

'bakery'  
'smithy'

The stress patterns of these words in Azeri and C. Urmi give a clue as to the background of this apparently defective harmonic prosody. In Azeri these words generally take two word stresses. The primary word stress (marked below with an acute accent) may be placed on the first component of the word rather than on the derivative suffix, with, optionally, a secondary word stress (marked below with a grave accent) being placed on the suffix, e.g.

Gúrcüstàn	'Georgia'
Érmənistàn	'Armenia'
béyzadà	'noble'
hərámxonà	'harem'
çörəkxanà	'bakery'
dəmirçíxanà	'smithy'

Alternatively the primary stress may be placed on the suffix and a secondary stress on the first component, e.g.

Gúrcüstán	'Georgia'
Èrmənistán	'Armenia'

Similar stress patterns are found in the C. Urmi form of these words. This can be interpreted as reflecting their status as stress groups consisting of two prosodic words, which should, therefore, be separated by a hyphen in the transcription (§ 1.19.), e.g.

<i>fúrjəs-+tàn</i>	'Georgia'
<i>ármanəs-+tàn</i>	'Armenia'

The first component word of the group may have final stress, which is a common feature of the first word in stress groups (§ 1.19.), e.g.

<i>fúrjəs-+tan</i>	'Georgia'
<i>ármanəs-+tan</i>	'Armenia'

Individual words in stress groups have autonomous domains of emphasis. This would, therefore, explain the lack of emphasis harmony. When the first

component of the word in the source language, however, contains a back vowel, the word has full emphasis harmony in C. Urmī, since both components have motivations for emphasis, e.g.

Persian	Azeri	C. Urmī
‘āšpazxānē	aşpazxana	+ <i>ušpaz-xána</i> ‘kitchen’
mehmānxānē	mehmanxana	+ <i>meman-xána</i> ‘guesthouse’

When a loanword from Persian contains a back /ā/ in the stem and a derivative suffix with a front /a/ vowel, the emphasis in C. Urmī moves rightwards and embraces the whole word, although in Azeri the word is not adapted for backness harmony, e.g.

Persian	Azeri	C. Urmī
jādūjár	cadugér	+ <i>jadújar</i> ‘magician’

As remarked, in the loanwords that are integrated into C. Urmī the stress is shifted to the penultimate syllable, which is the canonical stress position in the dialect. Loanwords are also used in the dialect without being phonologically integrated. In such cases a Persian back long /ā/ in one syllable does not result in suprasegmental pharyngalization throughout the word but rather the backness remains a phenomenon that is restricted to the site of its occurrence, e.g.

darāmád [dara:’math <sup>h</sup> ]	< Persian darāmád	‘income’
jādūjár [dʒa:du:’dʒar]	< Persian jādūjár	‘magician’

In the transcription such words are written in roman characters with the vowel length indicated by diacritics and enclosed in the symbols <sup>P...P</sup>, e.g. <sup>P</sup>darāmád<sup>P</sup>, whereas phonologically integrated loans are transcribed in italics, e.g. +sárbaz.

Loanwords from Russian which have a velarized ‘dark’ /l/ in Russian are given an emphatic setting in C. Urmī, e.g.

+adyal ‘blanket’	< Russian одеяло [ad'yała]
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Lexically related words of different grammatical categories may differ in their setting, e.g.

kavər ‘he buries’	+kora ‘grave’
karta ‘cold’ (noun)	+kayra ‘cold’ (adjective)

<i>šapîra</i> 'beautiful'	<i>+šuprâ</i> 'beauty'
<i>layyə</i> 'it burns'	<i>+laha</i> 'flame'

There are a few cases of doublet verbs, derived historically from the same verbal root, one emphatic and one plain, e.g.

<i>balbəl</i> 'he confuses'	<i>+balbəl</i> 'he babbles'
<i>šatəx</i> 'he spreads (object)'	<i>+šatəx</i> 'he stretches out'
<i>barəx</i> 'he blesses'	<i>+barəx</i> 'he consecrates'

Verbs that are formed on the basis of emphatic nouns may be plain, e.g.

<i>jávvəb</i> 'he answers'	<i>+juvvab</i> 'answer'
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All morphological inflections of a particular verb, however, have the same setting. One may generalize by saying that the setting must be consistent within sets of inflections but need not within sets of lexical derivations.

### 1.5.2 *The Phonological Domain of Emphasis*

The domain of emphasis in C. Urmi is the word. The word domain of emphasis also includes enclitic grammatical elements of no lexical content that are attached to the end of a word. In such cases the emphasis setting of the main word spreads rightwards to the enclitic. These enclitic elements are marked as attached to the word in the transcription by the symbol =. Such enclitics include the following the grammatical elements: (i) the copula and (ii) the inclusive particles *da* and *zə*. In the following examples the emphasis domain boundaries are marked by /, e.g.

/+úllul/	'above'
/+úllul=ilə/	'he is above'
/+úllul=da/	'also above'

These enclitics may be combined, in the order copula + inclusive particle. In such cases both enclitics are included within the domain of emphasis of the base word, e.g.

/+úllul=ilə=da/	'he is also above'
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When an emphatic word is combined with a preceding proclitic word or particle in a single stress group, the proclitic element is generally not within the

domain of emphasis and so is not pronounced emphatic if, when standing independently, it is plain. These preceding elements are marked as combined to the following word by a hyphen in the transcription, e.g.

- /mən-/ +'úllul/ ‘from above’
- /a-/ +'jóra/ ‘this man’
- /lá-/ +'xəlla/ ‘he did not eat’

Conversely, if a proclitic element in a stress group is emphatic when standing independently and is followed by a word that is plain, the emphasis does not extend from the proclitic to the following word. This applies, for example, to prepositions before nouns, which have their own autonomous domain of emphasis:

- +’al/-/’ídi/ ‘on my hand’

In certain cases, however, when the first element is closely bonded grammatically with the following word, the first element is within the domain of emphasis of the second word, e.g. in compound nouns such as:

- /+bra=sup̪pa/ ‘thimble’
- /bra=’ida/ ‘glove’

In the first example the *bra* element harmonizes with the emphasis of *+sup̪pa*, whereas in the second it harmonizes with the plainness of *’ida*. This is represented by the double hyphen. The form *bra* is derived historically from the old construct state of *brata* ‘daughter’ (*bra* < \**brat*). Although *brata* is plain, the relationship of the form *bra* to this lexical item is now completely opaque, especially since it is referring to an inanimate object, and it is devoid of lexical content. Further examples of emphasis spreading across compounds in which the original components have lost their independence and identifiability include:

- /+berašə/ ‘in the evening’ < \**bət*-+*ramša*
- /+madəlbarə/ ‘from now onwards’ < *mən*-’*adiyya* +’al-+*bara*

Conversely, tightly-knit phrases that contain elements whose original lexical content is still identifiable maintain their own autonomous domains of emphasis and each component is treated like a separate word. This applies also to old construct forms and contracted words, e.g.

- (1) /<sup>+</sup>*bar*/-náša/ 'son-man' = 'human being' (<sup>+</sup>*bar*, cf. *bruna*)
- (2) /<sup>+</sup>*xvār*-/*dákn̩a*/ 'white-beard' = 'old man'
- (3) /<sup>+</sup>*arþó*-/*šiba*/ 'four in-week' (< <sup>+</sup>*arþa*-*b*-*šiba*) = 'Wednesday'
- (4) /*bət*-/<sup>+</sup>*kúyra*/ 'house-grave' = 'grave' (*bət* < *betət*)
- (5) /*bax*-/<sup>+</sup>*mámu*/ 'wife-paternal uncle' = 'the wife of a paternal uncle' (*bax* < *baxtət*)

In all these examples the lexical content of the two components is still identifiable and they have autonomous domains of emphasis. In (1)–(3) the first component is emphatic and the second is plain and vice versa in (4) and (5). The placement of the stress on the numeral component of names of days of the week is a further sign that the two components of such phrases are treated as separate words.<sup>9</sup>

An apparently exceptional case is that of the 11–19 and hundreds paradigms of numerals (§ 7.1.2., § 7.1.4.). The word for 'hundred' is plain ('*mma*), but it harmonizes with the first decade cardinal that is attached to it, e.g.

' <i>mma</i>	'one hundred'
<i>trəmma</i>	'two hundred'
<sup>+</sup> <i>fləmma</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>flamma</i>	'three hundred'
<sup>+</sup> <i>arbámma</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>arþámma</i>	'four hundred'

The explanation seems to be that these are analysed as unitary lexical items and not compounds, and the final element *-mma* is treated like a derivative morpheme. The same applies to the 11–19 paradigm, the forms of which are treated as unitary lexical items with a derivative morpheme *-(s)sar*, e.g.

<i>taryəssar</i>	'twelve'
<sup>+</sup> <i>talqásar</i>	'thirteen'

As has been mentioned, a long back vowel in some derivative suffixes of Persian loanwords does not bring about emphasis across the entire word, as is normally the case with Persian loanwords. In this respect, they resemble compounds such as (1)–(5):

/<sup>+</sup>*armanás*/-<sup>+</sup>*tan*/ 'Armenia'

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9 In the J. Urmi dialect several corresponding phrases have a single domain of emphasis, e.g. <sup>+</sup>*xwar-dəqna* 'old man', <sup>+</sup>*bel-šultana* 'house of the king' (Hoberman 1989, 85).

The domain of emphasis is a phonological phenomenon. The boundaries of the domain are observed in slow careful speech. In fast speech, however, phonetic coarticulation sometimes breaches the boundaries. In such cases the setting of the main lexical word affects that of the first element. In the stress group *+al-idi*, for example, the plain setting of the lexical word *'idi* may be extended to the first element, resulting in the realization [?al-'i:i:d̥i]. Likewise in the stress groups *mən-+úllul*, *lá-+xəllə* the emphatic setting of the second word can spread to the first: [m<sup>ə</sup>n<sup>ə</sup>-?<sup>ə</sup>u<sup>ə</sup>ll<sup>ə</sup>u<sup>ə</sup>ll<sup>ə</sup>], [<sup>l</sup><sup>ə</sup>a<sup>ə</sup>-x<sup>ə</sup>əll<sup>ə</sup>ə<sup>ə</sup>]. Since this is a phonetic coarticulatory phenomenon, it is not marked in the transcription.

When a particle consisting of a single consonant is syllabified with an emphatic word, it regularly takes on the setting of the main word. This applies, for example, to the particle *b* before verbs and nouns. There are arguments on other phonotactic grounds that this particle is grammatically more closely bound to the verb than to the noun (§ 1.15.2.). The emphasis spread from the verb will be considered to be phonological but from the noun it will be considered to be phonetic. In the transcription the *b* is written together with the verb without a hyphen and represented as being within the domain of emphasis, whereas it is connected to a noun by a hyphen and represented as being outside the domain of emphasis, thus:

<i>+bətlabəla</i>	[b <sup>ə</sup> t <sup>ə</sup> l <sup>ə</sup> a:b <sup>ə</sup> t <sup>ə</sup> l <sup>ə</sup> a]	'he is requesting'
<i>b-+tunta</i>	[b <sup>ə</sup> t <sup>ə</sup> u <sup>ə</sup> n <sup>ə</sup> t <sup>ə</sup> ŋ <sup>ə</sup> a]	'with fruit'

A further difference between these two constructions is that the epenthetic vowel after the particle *b* has been fully phonologized as a short vowel nucleus before verbs and is, therefore, marked in the transcription (§ 1.15.2.).

A case similar to the preposition *b-* before nouns is the habitual particle *ci-*, which is contracted to *c-* before verbs beginning with //, e.g.

<i>c-+axəl</i>	[c <sup>ə</sup> a:x <sup>ə</sup> əl <sup>ə</sup> ]	'he eats'
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Here too the boundary of the phonological domain of emphasis is after the *c-* and the spread of emphasis onto the particle is phonetic. The occurrence of the boundary of the emphasis domain after *b-* in *b-+tunta* and *c-* in *c-+axəl* is due to the fact that they are less grammatically bonded than the *bə* in the verbal form *+bətlabəla*. This is reflected by the fact that a hesitation can occur between the former two particles, e.g.

<i>bí ... kəsəl</i>	'with wood' (B 2:6)
<i>cí ... +marχ̩ivalun</i>	'They used to crush them.' (B 12:2)

Such hesitations are not possible after the *bə* in a verbal form such as *+bəʃlabəʃə*.

### 1.5.3 *Earlier Treatments of Emphasis in the C. Urmi Dialect*

Stoddard (1855), who was the first to write a description of the dialect, distinguished differences in quality in his transcription of *a* and short *i* vowels (equivalent to /a/ and /ə/ in my transcription), which corresponds to my own findings by instrumental analysis. He attributed the quality difference to the presence of particular consonants, notably *t*, *s*, *x*, *č*, *q* and also to some extent *b*, *m*, *r*. He states that *ī*, *ē*, *ū* and *ō* are rarely affected by the adjacent consonants.

Nöldeke's grammar (1868) and other studies of the dialect were largely based on written sources and in his discussions of emphasis depended on the methods of transcription used by other scholars, notably by Stoddard and Müller (1864b). He identifies the development of a historically plain consonant into an emphatic ones in certain environments and transcribes them as emphatic segments, e.g. *tlā* 'three' (1882, 671), *yat̪tin* 'I know' (1868, 45).

Murre-van den Berg (1999, 180–184) has shown that the literary form of the C. Urmi dialect that was written at the end of the 19th century reflected some signs of suprasegmental emphasis. Although the historical emphatic consonants were generally represented according to the traditional Syriac orthography in such texts, some deviations can be found. Of particular interest is the occasional use of the letter { } in a non-etymological position in an emphatic word, e.g. {ba'rā}¹⁰ 'light' < \**bahrā* (= +*bara*), {ākil} 'he eats' (= +*axəl*). This seems to be an attempt to represent the pharyngalization of the adjacent vowels.

Prym and Socin (1881, xxviii–xxix) develop a complex system of diacritics to distinguish fine distinctions in vowel quality in Turoyo, which Socin (1882) uses in his transcription of the C. Urmi dialect. This system recognizes three variants of vowels: Umlaut (a), Mittelstufe (a) and einfache Vocal (a). In addition vowels undergoing 'Trübung' ('darkening') are marked with a separate diacritic (a) and these may have an Umlaut variant. An examination of the texts reveals that the diacritical signs do not mark a clear division between plain and emphatic words, nor are they used consistently. The 'darkening' diacritic is written only under a few emphatic words (*rāba* 'much' = +*raba*, *tāmā* 'there' = +*tama*), but not consistently (*rāba rāmā* = +*raba* +*rama* 'very high'). A simple vowel without a diacritic appears both in emphatic and plain words (*nāša* = *naša* 'man', *dānat* = +*danət* 'time of'). Umlaut diacritics are used in some plain words but not

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10 Curly brackets enclose the graphic symbols used in the writing system.

in others (*málka* = *malca* 'king', *jáldi* = *jaldə* 'quick', but *alpī* = *'alpə*, *íman* = *'iman*). The complex system reflects the perception of a range of allophonic vowel qualities. The historical emphatic segments *t* and *s* are marked in the transcription.

Kalashev (1894a; 1894b), who gathered material on the C. Urmi dialect in the Caucasus, transcribes the dialect with the 'Russian Linguistic Alphabet' which was used by various Russian linguists at that period (Polotsky 1961, 3). He distinguishes in his transcription between front and back variants of the vowels *a*, *i*, *o* and *u*. He distinguishes regularly between the two variants of *a* and short *i* in plain and emphatic words, e.g. (using a romanized form of his Cyrillic transcription): *näšä* (= *naša*) 'person', *raba* (= *+raba*) 'many', *min* (= *mən*) 'from', *palit* (= *+palət*) 'he goes out'. Final *-a* in plain words is, inconsistently, represented as *-ə* e.g. *brätə* (= *brata*) 'girl'. The marking of the front variant of *o* and *u* in plain words, however, is not consistent, e.g. *motə* (= *mota*) 'death', *sötzə* (= *sota*) 'old woman', *bigrasoli* (= *+bəgrašolə*) 'he pulls her', *yumä* (= *yuma*) 'day', *tüniilə* (= *tunila*) 'she said', *śudraxli* (= *+śudraxlə*) 'he sent us'. Whereas previous scholars had interpreted the phonology as consisting of the historical Aramaic emphatics *t*, *s*, *q*, Kalashev distinguishes in his transcription between series of aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops and affricates: *ń* (= */p̪/*), *ńń* (= */p/*), *ńk* (= */ç/*), *ńńk* (= */c/*), *ńt* (= */t̪/*), *ńńt* (= */t/*), *ńč* (= */č/*), *ńńč* (= */ç/*).

Maclean (1895, para. 4–6) refers to change in the quality of long and short *a* and that of short *i* after emphatic consonants *t*, *s* as well as pharyngals, *q* and *m*.

Osipoff (1913), who was in contact with the phonetician William Jones, provides a transcription of a specimen of C. Urmi using IPA symbols. He distinguishes between front and back qualities of all vowels except long *i*. Like Kalashev he also distinguishes between all aspirated and unaspirated stops, marking as unaspirated also aspirates that are deaspirated after fricatives, e.g. [ʃatjan] 'I (f) drink' but [ʃsta:ja] 'to drink'. He transcribes historical \**k* and \**g* as palatal stops [c'] and [j] and \**q* as an unaspirated velar [k].

Marogulov in his grammar of the dialect written in the Latin-based transcription system known as the Noviy Alfavit (1935, para. 11; French translation by Kapeliuk 1976) divides all consonants and vowels into 'hard' (*qṣita*) and 'soft' (*məkixta*). The sounds of a word are said to be uniformly either all hard or all soft by a rule of 'synharmonism'. The Noviy Alfavit distinguishes between the hard and soft pronunciation of a word by marking quality distinctions for the vowels /a/ vs. +/a/ (viz. {ə} vs. {a}) and /ə/ vs. +/ə/ (viz. {i} vs. {y}). These vowels have the function of pronunciation differentiating letters (*pərṣijrbtma*), since most words contain one of the sounds, e.g. *mata* (= +*mata*) 'pustule' vs. *mətə* (= *mata*) 'village', *makruzylb* (= +*makruzələ*) 'he announces' vs. *təluqili* (= *talukələ*) 'he loses'. The decision to mark distinctions only in these vowels results in an

economical form of transcription, since all vowels are said to change quality according to whether the word is hard or soft. It should be noted that it is precisely these vowels that, according to my acoustic analysis, exhibit the greatest distinctions in quality in plain and emphatic words. Friedrich (1959, 56) in his study of this writing system states that the vowels {o} and {u} stand 'in der Mitte zwischen hell und dunkel' ('in the middle between clear and dark'). He presumably makes this hypothesis on the basis of the fact that these vowels occur in both plain and emphatic words. The Noviy Alfavit distinguishes tense /t/ from lax /t/ (viz. {t̪} vs. {t}) and treats historical \*s as /s/ {s}, its 'hardness' in hard words being a result of synharmonism. The tense /k/ is represented by {q}. Friedrich notes that in loanwords from Russian the unaspirated Russian *k* was represented by {q} and the unaspirated Russian *t* was often, but not regularly, represented by {t̪} (Friedrich 1959, 55). Unlike the transcription of Kalashev and Osipov, however, the Noviy Alfavit does not distinguish the other tense stops and affricates, i.e. those corresponding to /p̪/, /ç/, /χ/ in my transcription. The question as to whether such symbols should be introduced had, however, been discussed in a Conference on Questions on Assyrian Orthography held in 1933 (Polotsky 1961, 7).

Yushmanov (1938) made a study of synharmonism in the C. Urmî dialects and, like Marogulov, stated that it affected all vowels, which, within a word, had either 'dark' or 'clear' timbres. The consonants were likewise articulated either 'dark' or 'clear' in harmony with the adjacent vowels. My own study has shown that some varieties distinguish plain and emphatic qualities in more vowels than other varieties, but the high front vowels /i/ and /e/ tend to be only marginally affected in their main body. The differences perceived by Yushmanov and Marogulov in the quality of such vowels may be due to a low F<sub>2</sub> in their onset and offset in contact with pharyngalized consonants but not necessarily a significant change of quality of the whole body of the vowel. One should also be cautious of the claim of Yushmanov that the consonants harmonize with the adjacent vowels. In a loanword such as *+dīvan* 'court', for example, in which the source of pharyngalization is a long back ā in Persian (*dīvān*), the initial /d/ is pharyngalized although the following /i/ is not affected by pharyngalization. In his article, Yushmanov also presents a series of words which, he claims, are pronounced either dark or clear. It is likely that this is referring to regional varieties rather than free alternants in a single variety of the dialect. As shown above (§1.3.5.), there is some regional variation in the distribution of pharyngalization in the lexicon.

Polotsky (1961) makes a study of the various transcription systems of the C. Urmî dialect and shows that the transcriptions used in the dictionary of Oraham (1943) reflect differences in the quality of /a/, /o/ and /u/ vowels in

plain and emphatic words. In Oraham's dictionary the entries are written in Syriac script and transcription. The Syriac script represents historical *t*, *s* and *q* according to the traditional orthography and does not mark distinctions in aspiration in other stops or in the affricates in either the Syriac script or the transcription.

Tsereteli published numerous studies on the variety of the C. Urmi dialect that was spoken in Georgia (see in particular Tsereteli 1961, 252–255; Tsereteli 1978b, 27–29). Following the proposals of Yushmanov, he held that synharmonism was based on vowel timbres. Unlike Yushmanov, however, he distinguishes three 'timbres' of vowels ('hard', 'middle' and 'soft') and maintains that there was harmony of one particular timbre across all vowels of a word, just like in Turkish vowel harmony. The examples he cites of words with hard timbre corresponds to emphatic words in my analysis, those of middle timbre correspond to either emphatic or plain words, and those with soft timbres correspond to plain words e.g.

hard:	<i>håså</i> (= <i>+xasa</i> )	'back'
	<i>tåirå</i> (= <i>+terा</i> )	'bird'
middle:	<i>pagra</i> (= <i>+pagra</i> )	'guest'
	<i>qalpa</i> (= <i>kalpa</i> )	'peel'
soft	<i>mälkä</i> (= <i>malca</i> )	'king'
	<i>därtä</i> (= <i>darta</i> )	'courtyard'

Hard timbre is found in the environment of historical \**t*, the historical emphatics \**t*, \**s*, and \**l* and \**r*. Middle timbre is found in the environment of the laryngals ' and *h*, the 'post-velars' *g*, *x*, *q* and the 'abruptives', i.e. glottalized *t*, *k*, *p*, *c*, *č*. Elsewhere the timbre is soft. The category of middle timbre appears to be a means of classifying the allophonic scatter of vowel qualities. Tsereteli (1961, 252) cites cases of phonemic opposition between hard and soft words, e.g. *tälä* 'mousetrap' vs. *tålä* 'fox', but not between middle and the other categories. It is unclear, therefore, whether he attached any phonological significance to the middle timbre category. He states that vowels of affixes normally harmonize with vowels of the stem, e.g. *mä-täv-tä* (soft) 'to put' vs. *må-qält-tå* (hard) 'to murder', but in some cases the stem harmonizes with the affix, e.g. *brünix* (soft) 'my son' but *brūnohun* (middle). The latter is only significant phonologically if it can be demonstrated that there is a phonemic opposition between soft and middle timbres, which he does not offer.

Tsereteli notes, furthermore, that there is occasionally a lack of harmony of vowel timbres in some words, e.g. a final /a/ vowel in hard words such as *hådva* 'milk' (with hard å but middle a), and the /i/ vowel in hard words such as *tåšilič*

'he hides me'. This would be compatible with acoustic measurements, which show that final unstressed /a/ vowels often have a different range of qualities from stressed vowels and that /i/ is not affected by emphasis (§1.3.4., §1.3.2.). The vowels *o* and *u* are also said to have the middle timbre in some soft words after labials, e.g. *mótväjä* 'Soviet' (with middle ö and soft ä), *büsämä* 'pleasure' (with middle ü and soft ä). Like Yushmanov, he claims that the pronunciation of the consonants is dependent on the timbre of the vowels. Hard timbre vowels condition 'abruptive' consonants and soft timbre conditions aspirated consonants. The 'abruptive' consonants, also referred to by Tsereteli as 'glottalized', are said to be similar to the corresponding glottalized Georgian and Armenian consonants (Tsereteli 1972; 1976; 1978b, 28). This is an imprecise description since the glottalized Georgian consonants are ejectives while the Armenian consonants, at least in Armenian spoken outside of Georgia, are realized as tense unaspirates. Although such consonants may sometimes be conditioned by the pharyngalization of the word, this is not always the case.

The analysis of Tsereteli was adopted by Younansardaroud (2001, 19–63) in her description of the dialect of the village of Sardarid, which is a southern variety of C. Urmi. Like Tsereteli, she identifies three timbres of vowels (soft, middle and hard) that harmonize throughout a word, and uses a detailed system of diacritics in her transcription based on that of Tsereteli. The phonological significance of this three-way analysis is not, however, demonstrated. In particular there is no demonstration of a phonological opposition between the middle and hard timbre. She gives one opposition: <sup>m</sup>ta:ma 'there' vs. <sup>h</sup>ṭå:må 'taste'. My acoustic analysis has shown that the vowel quality is not significantly different in these two words and that they are distinguished phonologically by the laryngeal setting of the initial consonant rather than by a suprasegmental feature, viz. <sup>+</sup>tama vs. <sup>+</sup>ṭama.

The study of verbal morphology of C. Urmi by Hetzron (1969) includes an introduction on phonology, in which he uses the terms 'labial' and 'palatal' to refer to emphatic and plain words respectively. This is infelicitous terminology, especially 'labial', since labialization is only an incidental feature of pharyngalization, which is the primary articulation process in emphasis. He claims that the realizations of historical \**k* and \**g* include *t<sup>y</sup>*, *c*, *k<sup>y</sup>* for the former and *d<sup>y</sup>*, *g<sup>y</sup>*, *g<sup>y</sup>* for the latter and that the front allophones of these groups occur in palatal words and the *k<sup>y</sup>* and *g<sup>y</sup>* in labial words. This does not correspond to my own analysis and seems to be a confusion of different phonemes. He states that all 'voiceless consonants are aspirated' and that /t/ and /k/ are 'half voiced'. Voicing of the tense stops is attested in some village dialects. Among the consonants he distinguishes between the phonemes /s/ and /ʂ/. It is necessary to identify the latter, he claims, since it is not restricted to 'labial' words but occurs in the

‘palatal’ word *sura* ‘small’. It is not clear what the background of this claim is. I have not detected any pharyngalization of the sibilant in this word, but it is pronounced with a degree of lip-rounding in preparation for the pronunciation of the following /u/.

Odisho (1988) in his analysis of the sound system of the Assyrian Iraqi koine, which is closely related to C. Urmī, considers pharyngalization a suprasegmental feature. He treats the historical emphatic as an unaspirated [t] segment that contrasts with aspirated [t<sup>h</sup>] only in its lack of aspiration. This is close to the analysis adopted in this grammar. The Iraqi koine contains other unaspirated stops and affricates, corresponding to the tense series in C. Urmī. It preserves the uvular realization of historical \*q unlike C. Urmī, in which it has moved forward to the post-velar position. Odisho claims that in the koine all vowels are affected by pharyngalization, including the high front vowels. This does not correspond to my acoustic analysis of C. Urmī.

## 1.6 Phonetic Processes Relating to Voicing

Word-final voiced stops, fricatives and affricates are devoiced. Voiced stops are devoiced to aspirated unvoiced stops. Examples:

<i>mágjəb</i>	[‘mayyip <sup>h</sup> ]	‘he loves’
<i>’ávəd</i>	[‘a:vit <sup>h</sup> ]	‘he does’
<i>bárəz</i>	[‘ba:ris]	‘it dries’
<i>javaj</i>	[‘dʒa:vit <sup>h</sup> ]	‘it moves’

This applies to loanwords, both those that are phonologically integrated with regard to emphasis domain and stress position (transcribed in italics) and also to those that are not phonologically integrated with regard to these features (transcribed in roman), e.g.

<i>+xíyávand</i>	[x <sup>c</sup> i: <sup>c</sup> ja: <sup>c</sup> vá <sup>c</sup> n <sup>c</sup> t <sup>h<sup>c</sup></sup> ]	‘road’ (Pers.)
<i>+kássab</i>	[k <sup>c</sup> a <sup>c</sup> ss <sup>c</sup> a <sup>c</sup> p <sup>h<sup>c</sup></sup> ]	‘butcher’ (Pers. < Arab.)
<i>+casəb</i>	[c <sup>c</sup> a <sup>c</sup> s <sup>c</sup> ə <sup>c</sup> p <sup>h<sup>c</sup></sup> ]	‘poor’ (Pers. < Arab.)
<i>+sárbaz</i>	[s <sup>c</sup> a <sup>c</sup> r <sup>c</sup> b <sup>c</sup> a <sup>c</sup> s <sup>c</sup> ]	‘soldier’ (Pers.)
<i>dūz</i>	[du:s]	‘true’ (Azer.)
<i>+’ötäg</i>	[’i <sup>c</sup> o: <sup>c</sup> t <sup>h<sup>c</sup></sup> a <sup>c</sup> x <sup>c</sup> ]	‘room’ (Pers. < Turk.)
<i>+’arálləg</i>	[’i <sup>c</sup> a <sup>c</sup> r <sup>c</sup> a <sup>c</sup> ll <sup>c</sup> ə <sup>c</sup> x <sup>c</sup> ]	‘between’ (< Azer.)
<i>darāmád</i>	[dara: <sup>c</sup> mat <sup>h</sup> ]	‘income’ (Pers.)

When inflectional or derivative affixes are attached to the end of phonologically integrated loanwords the consonants retain their voicing, e.g.

<i>'avádva</i>	[?a:'vídva]	'he used to do'
<i>barázva</i>	[ba:'rízva]	'it used to dry'
<i>+xiyavánda</i>	[x <sup>v</sup> i:já:v <sup>v</sup> a <sup>v</sup> n <sup>v</sup> d <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>v</sup> ]	'roads'
<i>+kassábə</i>	[k <sup>v</sup> a <sup>v</sup> s <sup>v</sup> s <sup>v</sup> a <sup>v</sup> b <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>v</sup> ]	'butchers'
<i>+otájə</i>	[?o:v <sup>v</sup> t <sup>v</sup> a:v <sup>v</sup> y <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>v</sup> ]	'rooms'
<i>+sarbázan</i>	[s <sup>v</sup> a <sup>v</sup> r <sup>v</sup> b <sup>v</sup> a:v <sup>v</sup> z <sup>v</sup> a <sup>v</sup> n <sup>v</sup> ]	'our soldier'
<i>duzíyta</i>	[du:'zujt <sup>v</sup> ha]	'truth'

The transcription of the final consonant in such forms is phonological and represents it as voiced in all contexts, as can be seen from the examples above. In some cases a loanword that ends in an unvoiced consonant in the source language is pronounced with a voiced consonant before affixes by analogy with the words in which a final voiced consonant has been devoiced, e.g.

<i>káppas</i> ['kapp <sup>v</sup> as]	<i>kappázə</i> [kap'p <sup>v</sup> ha:zi]	'cage' (Azeri qəfəs)
<i>šabbət</i> ['sibbit <sup>v</sup> ]	<i>šabbídi</i> [ʃib'b <sup>v</sup> i:di:]	'dill' (Pers. šebbet)
<i>čacuč</i> ['t <sup>v</sup> ha:cut <sup>v</sup> h]	<i>cacújə</i> [t <sup>v</sup> ha:'cu:dʒi]	'hammer' (Kurd. çakûç)

When clitics are attached to the end of the words, the final consonant remains unvoiced, e.g.

<i>+sárbaž-ilə</i>	[s <sup>v</sup> a <sup>v</sup> r <sup>v</sup> b <sup>v</sup> a <sup>v</sup> sə'l <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>v</sup> ]	'he is a soldier'
<i>+sárbaž-da</i>	[s <sup>v</sup> a <sup>v</sup> r <sup>v</sup> b <sup>v</sup> a <sup>v</sup> s <sup>v</sup> d <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>v</sup> ]	'also a soldier'

Notice that the stress does not shift, as it does in forms with inflectional and derivational affixes, but remains in the position it has when there is no clitic. The domains of word-final devoicing and stress are the main word excluding enclitic elements. This differs, therefore, from the domain of emphasis which includes the enclitics.

When a voiced and unvoiced consonant are in contact with each other within a word regressive assimilation generally takes place, in that a voiced consonant becomes devoiced before an unvoiced one and vice versa, e.g.

<i>bšállə</i>	['pʃillə]	'it cooked'
<i>+z<sub>k</sub>karta</i>	[s <sup>v</sup> k <sup>v</sup> a <sup>v</sup> r <sup>v</sup> t <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>v</sup> ]	'weaving'
<i>šábta</i>	['ʃapt <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>v</sup> ]	'week'
<i>xzílxux</i>	['χzil <sup>v</sup> ox]	'you saw'

<i>xdílə</i>	[ <i>'ydi:lə</i> ]	'he rejoiced'
<i>+bəxdárələ</i>	[ <i>b<sup>v</sup>əd<sup>v</sup>árlə</i> ]	'he is wandering'

These assimilations in adjacent consonants may occur across word boundaries, e.g.

<i>'ax-jasùsəl</i>	[ <i>?aydʒa:'su:sı</i> ]	'like spies' (A 1:25)
<i>b-riš-jànił</i>	[ <i>bri'z'dža:nıç</i> ]	'upon myself' (A 3:45)

These phonetic processes of assimilation do not affect the underlying phonological form of the consonants, which surfaces in inflections of the words cited above where the two consonants are separated by a vowel, e.g.

<i>bášəl</i>	[ <i>'baʃıl</i> ]	'it cooks'
<i>+zákər</i>	[ <i>z<sup>v</sup>a:kər<sup>v</sup></i> ]	'he weaves'
<i>šabátə</i>	[ <i>ʃa:bə:tı</i> ]	'weeks'
<i>xázə</i>	[ <i>'xa:zi</i> ]	'he sees'
<i>+xádər</i>	[ <i>x<sup>v</sup>a:dər<sup>v</sup></i> ]	'he wanders'

The consonants that undergo assimilations of this type are transcribed phonologically without taking into account the phonetic processes. In a few cases, however, the assimilation has become phonemicized and the voicing of a consonant has been generalized in all inflections, e.g. *jupta* (pl. *jupyata*) 'cheese' (< \**gubta* 'cheese'; cf. Syr. *gbettā* < \**gbentā*), *+rdx* (< \**rth*) 'to boil' (*+rdixa* 'boiled', *+radəx* 'it boils', etc.), *+xzd* (< *ḥṣd*) 'to harvest' (*+xzadla* 'he harvested', *+xazəd* 'he harvests', etc.), *žgš* (< \**šgš*) 'to be disturbed' (*žgiša* 'disturbed', *žagaš* 'he becomes disturbed', etc.), *ždy* (< *šdy*) 'to tease (wool)', *zgd* (< *sjd*) 'to worship' (*zjadələ* 'he is worshipping', *zagəd* 'he worships', etc.), *+zrč* (< \**srt*) 'to scratch' (*+zrəqlə* 'he scratched', *+zarəq* 'he scratches', etc.). Lexicalized assimilations such as these are represented in the transcription.

Before the laryngal /*h*/ the voiced stops /*b*/ or /*d*/ are devoiced and the sequences /*p*/ and /*t*/ are reanalysed as the tense stops /*t̪*/ and /*p̪*/ (§1.4.1.). These are, therefore, marked in the transcription:

<i>ŷ-ida</i>	< * <i>b-’ida</i>	'by hand'
<i>ŷ-ilə</i>	< * <i>d-’ilə</i>	'that he is'
<i>+ŷata</i>	< * <i>+d’ata</i> < * <i>+d’ata</i>	'sweat'

Between vowels unvoiced consonants are sometimes pronounced voiced. This is commonly encountered in the /*x*/ of the second person singular pronominal suffix before the copula, e.g.

*b-nòšux=ivət<sup>1</sup>* [bi-'no:ʃøyi'vit<sup>h</sup>] ‘you are by yourself’ (A 37:14)

*á mút +šùlux=ilə?* [ʃ'u:l'øy'irlə<sup>h</sup>] ‘what is your job?’ (A 37:18)

This voicing is not represented in the transcription. In some cases the voicing between vowels has become phonemicized and appears in all inflections. This is represented in the transcription, e.g.

*magjábta* ‘loving’ (< \*maxxabta)

*maggúbə* ‘to love’

*mágjəb* ‘he loves’

*rīja* ‘servant, housekeeper’ < *rica* < Pers. *rekā*

## 1.7 Vowel Length

The length of vowels is conditioned to a large extent by syllable structure, stress position and speed of the utterance.

### 1.7.1 The Vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/

#### 1.7.1.1 Stressed Open Syllables

The vowel phonemes /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/ tend in principle to be pronounced long in stressed open syllables. The relative length of the long vowels depends of the speed of utterance, but the duration is regularly well above 100ms in citation forms bearing the nuclear stress of an intonation group and followed by an intonation group boundary, e.g.

*bita<sup>1</sup>* ['bi:tʰa] ‘egg’

*bèta<sup>1</sup>* ['be:tʰa] ‘house’

*màta<sup>1</sup>* ['ma:tʰa] ‘village’

*mòta<sup>1</sup>* ['mo:tʰa] ‘death’

*mùxa<sup>1</sup>* ['mu:xa] ‘brain’

The default position of word stress is on the penultimate syllable. It occurs on the final syllable only in monosyllabic words and a few exceptional forms, such as the 3pl. pronominal suffix -é, which has developed historically from a form with original penultimate stress such as \*-éhən and the stress became word-final after the elision of the final syllable. The stressed vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/ in word-final position are also, in principle, pronounced long in citation forms, e.g.

<i>šti</i> [ʃti:]	'drink!'
<i>betē</i> [be'the:]	'their house'
<i>lā</i> ['la:]	'no'
<i>ð</i> ['ðo:]	'that one'
<i>kù</i> [ku:]	'get up!'

The duration of vowels in open syllables that bear a non-nuclear stress in a word that is not at the final boundary of the intonation group sometimes drops below 100ms and should be characterised as half-long, e.g.

- +*rába* [r<sup>o</sup>a<sup>·</sup>s(85ms)b<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>] *lipəva* | 'He was very learned' (A 3:1)  
*ína* ['i:(70ms)na] *yála l̩twalə* | 'but he did not have children' (A 3:2)  
*malúpula* [ma'l<sup>o</sup>lu'(86ms)pulr] *kát ...* | 'he teaches him that ...' (A 3:5)  
*ju-dreté* [dre'th'e:(80ms)] ... | 'in their scattering' (A 3:11)  
*ví* [vi:(85ms)] *vx-tùyta* | 'Be like a mulberry' (A 3:12)

Word-final vowels have a tendency to be glottalized, especially when stressed. This is common in particular with a stressed word-final /a/. The result is that a long vowel sounds short, the voiced offset being truncated by constriction of the glottis.

Glottalization is very frequent in the stressed vowels of certain monosyllabic words that are attached to another word in a stress group. These, therefore, tend to be of shorter audible duration than when they stand independently, measuring considerably lower than 100ms. The glottalization clearly marks the word-division within the phrase. This is found in particular with the indefinite particle *xa*, the interrogative particle *mu*, and negative particles, e.g.

- xa*(80ms)-*yuma* | 'one day' (A 3:3)  
*xa*(60ms)-*məndi* | 'something' (A 3:45)  
*xá*(55ms)-*məndi* 'something' (A 3:5)  
*lá*(80ms)-*vilə* ... | 'there was not ...' (A 3:3)  
*lá*(70ms)-*ví* ... | 'do not be' (A 3:12)  
*mù*(57ms)-+*bayyat* ódat? | 'What do you want to do?' (A 5:4)  
*mù*(60ms)-+*'amsat* 'What can you do' (A 5:3)  
*lè*(50ms)-*'avilux brúnal* 'You will not have a son' (A 3:5)

Examples are found, however, in which the duration is over 100ms, e.g.

- lè*(140ms)-*pas* 'It will not remain' (A 3:11).  
*lā*(105ms)-+*katta*. | '(that) it is not cut off' (A 3:36)

In strongly stressed words the glottal stricture is occasionally realized as a clear glottal stop, e.g.

*yá' àlaha* | 'Oh God' (A 43:8)

The glottalized monosyllabic words are occasionally expanded by the attachment of an addition syllable. In such cases the glottal stricture is clearly perceptible, e.g.

*xá'a bàxta* | 'a woman' (A 39:10)

*xá'a mən-* + *tālyātan* | 'one of the games' (B 9:3)

Sporadically a strongly stressed internal long vowel in other words is realized as short vowel + glottal stop, e.g.

*lè'va* ['le?va] + *myásə* 'He was not able' (A 49:1) < *lèva* ['le:va] + *myasa*

Short vowels are occasionally found in open syllables elsewhere, notably in the words *mádənxə* 'east', *tāyəmna* 'south', *má'ərva* 'west' and *mádəbxa* 'altar'. The explanation here is that the following /ə/ is an epenthetic vowel and at an underlying level the vowel is in a closed syllable: /mad.n.xə/, /tay.m.na/, /mad.b.xə/ (§ 1.14.). The vowel length and stress position are based on the underlying form. Variants are found with the vowel lengthened, e.g. *mádənxa* 'dawn' (A 47:9).

The stressed vowel in an penultimate open syllable of a number of words used as discourse markers and words used with interpersonal communicative function is often, though not obligatorily, shortened, e.g.

*bína* ['bi:na ~ 'bina] 'excuse me (please repeat what you said)'

*xína* ['xi:na ~ 'xina] 'discourse marker and connective'

*búna* ['bu:na ~ 'bóna] 'son' (also used to address an animal)

Here the shortening of the vowel is apparently due to phonetic attrition resulting from its frequent use in non-focal positions in the discourse. The shortened syllables of these forms can, nevertheless, be considered to be long at an underlying level.

#### 1.7.1.2 Pretonic Open Syllables

In an open syllable before the word stress a vowel from this set is generally realized half-long with a duration in the range of 70ms–100ms, e.g.

<i>bitèl</i> [bi'té:]	'their egg'
<i>jibànəl</i> [ji'ba:nɪ]	'sides'
<i>betèl</i> [be'the:]	'their house'
<i>mešàtał</i> [me'sʃatʰɪ]	'woods'
<i>matèl</i> [ma'tʰe:]	'their village'
<i>šap̄ırał</i> [ʃa'pi:ra]	'beautiful'
<i>motèl</i> [mo'tʰe:]	'their death'
<i>honànał</i> [ho'na:na]	'clever'
<i>muleł</i> [mu'le:]	'their barn'
<i>yumànał</i> [ju'ma:ni]	'days'

Unstressed monosyllabic words that are combined with a following word beginning with a stressed syllable generally have a short vowel, e.g.

<i>xa</i> (50ms)- <i>brùnał</i> 'a son' (A 3:5)
<i>xa</i> (70ms)-+ <i>xábra</i> 'a word' (A 3:3)
<i>ka</i> (45ms)- <i>jánux</i> 'for yourself' (A 3:6)
<i>ka</i> (50ms)- <i>brùnul</i> 'to his son' (A 3:8)
<i>ka</i> (75ms)- <i>dìyyux</i> 'to you' (A 3:21)

Contrast *ka-dìyyux* [ka(75ms)'dijjox] 'to you', in which the /a/ vowel is pronounced short, with *katóxun* [ka'(100ms)'tʰo'xún] (A 6:12), in which the pretonic syllable is within the word and is pronounced semi-long.

### 1.7.1.3 Pro-Pretonic Open Syllables

A vowel from this set in open syllables two places before the main word stress is also realized as half-long with broadly the same range of duration (75ms–100ms), e.g.

<i>sniķuyàtał</i> [sní'ku'ja:tʰɪ]	'needs'
<i>lelavàtał</i> [le'la'va:tʰɪ]	'nights'
<i>babavàtał</i> [ba'bá'wa:tʰɪ]	'fathers'
<i>šopatèł</i> [ʃo'pʰa'tʰe:]	'their places'
<i>yumanèł</i> [ju'ma'ne:]	'their days'

### 1.7.1.4 Vowels in Post-Stress Open Syllables

When the vowels /a/, /e/, /o/ and /u/ occur in open syllables after the stress, they are in principle short when the word occurs within the body of the intonation group. If it occurs at the end of an intonation group the duration of post-stress vowels is generally extended, especially those in a word-final open syllable.

<i>málca</i> ['malca]	<i>màlca</i> ['malca:]	'king'
<i>bétu</i> ['be:t <sup>h</sup> u]	<i>bètu</i> ['be:t <sup>h</sup> u:]	'his house'
<i>béto</i> ['be:t <sup>h</sup> o]	<i>bèto</i> ['be:t <sup>h</sup> o:]	'her house'
<i>túrvante</i> ['t <sup>h</sup> urvinte]	<i>tùrvante</i> ['t <sup>h</sup> urvinte:]	'both of them'

Pausal lengthening of vowels does not regularly occur at every intonation group boundary. It is often more dependent on syntactic or discourse structure than prosodic structure. This is illustrated by the following example in which the final vowel is lengthened only at the end of the syntactic unit:

- (1) *'u- +'Axiqar! xaccíma máruna(50ms),| xaccíma +yán lipa(150ms).| 'Axiqar,  
they call him the wise man, the wise man, that is the learned man.'* (A 3:1)

Word-final unstressed vowels tend to undergo glottalization of some kind. This is particularly identifiable in those in pause before intonation group boundaries. In this position the glottalization may manifest itself in the form of creaky voice or breathiness, e.g.

*màlca* ['maltʃa:] (A 22:1) (creaky voice)  
*kàtu* ['ka:t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>] (A 3:37) (breathiness)

When an /i/ occurs in a final unstressed open syllable in pause at the end of an intonation group, rather than being lengthened its offset tends to be realized as an unvoiced palatal fricative. This can be regarded as the manifestation of glottalization in the form of a kind of breathiness with a closure homorganic with the vowel, e.g.

*béti* ['be:t<sup>h</sup>i]   *bèti* ['be:t<sup>h</sup>iç]   'my house'

Neither the pausal lengthening of /a/, /e/, /o/ and /u/ nor the pausal fricative offset of /i/ is marked in the transcription.

Sporadically the offset of a historically long \**ī* vowel develops into a palatal consonant in word-internal position. This is found in the word

*'elacta* [ʔe'lict<sup>h</sup>a ~ ʔe'litʃt<sup>h</sup>a]   'fat of a sheep's tail'   < \**elītā*

In some varieties of the dialect this word is pronounced without the palatal offset, viz. *'elita*. In the variety of the dialect spoken in Abdullacande N and in the C. Salamas dialect this process is found also in the form *mdəcta* < *mdīta* 'town'.

### 1.7.1.5 Closed Syllables

In the group of vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/, only /a/ and /u/ occur in closed syllables that are not the result of contraction.

An /a/ in a non-final closed syllable is always short, whether stressed or unstressed, unless the syllable is the result of contraction of two syllables by the elision of a weak segment, in which case it is always long and is marked in the transcription with a macron, e.g.

<i>xálta</i> ['xalt <sup>h</sup> a]	'aunt'
<i>maplóxxa</i> [map'líxxa]	'she uses'
<sup>+</sup> <i>tálta</i> ['ta:lt <sup>h</sup> a]	'game' (< *ta'alta)
<sup>+</sup> <i>tälté</i> [ta:l't <sup>h</sup> e:]	'their game'

A /u/ vowel in a non-final closed syllable is always short, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>šúpра</i> [ʃ <sup>c</sup> úp <sup>c</sup> r <sup>c</sup> a <sup>c</sup> ]	'beauty'
<i>muplóxlə</i> [mʊp <sup>h</sup> lɪxlɪ]	'he used'

When an /a/ vowel occurs in a stressed closed final syllable that is not the result of contraction of two syllables, it is short if within the body of an intonation group but long if in prosodic pause at the end of an intonation group. This applies to monosyllabic words, e.g.

<i>kát</i> [ka(65ms)t <sup>h</sup> ]	'that' (A 3:3)
<i>kàtl</i> [ka(130ms)t <sup>h</sup> ]	'that' (A 3:48)

When the stressed closed syllable is the result of contraction of two syllables, the vowel is always long and is marked in the transcription with a macron. Any of the vowels of the group /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/ can occur as long vowels in this context: e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>dár</i> ['d <sup>c</sup> a: <sup>c</sup> r <sup>c</sup> ]	'he returns' (< <sup>+</sup> <i>dayər</i> )
<sup>+</sup> <i>där</i> ['d <sup>c</sup> a: <sup>c</sup> r <sup>c</sup> ]	

<sup>?</sup> <i>itva</i> [?i:t <sup>h</sup> va]	'you were' (< <sup>?</sup> <i>ivətva</i> )
<sup>?</sup> <i>itval</i> [?i:t <sup>h</sup> va:]	

<i>dút</i> [du:t <sup>h</sup> ]	'there you are' (< <i>duvət</i> )
<sup>?</sup> <i>düt</i> [du:t <sup>h</sup> ]	

When such forms are deprived of stress in a stress group and do not occur at an intonation group boundary, their vowel is pronounced short, e.g.

*lè-paš* ['le:pa(75ms)f] 'it will not remain (<*payəš*)' (A 3:11)

A /u/ vowel in a stressed word-final closed syllable is short when occurring in the body of the intonation group but long when occurring in pause at the end of an intonation group, e.g.

*xúš* ['xu[60ms]f] 'go!' (A 3:70)  
*xùš!* ['xu:[330ms]f] (A 3:37)

When a vowel that is long in an open syllable is followed by an enclitic beginning with a consonant, the length of the vowel is maintained, since a clitic does not alter the syllable structure of the word to which it is attached (§ 1.14.), e.g.

*é=t* ['?e:[120ms]t<sup>h</sup>] 'she who' (A 39:15)  
*ó=t* ['?o:[146ms]t<sup>h</sup>] 'that of' (B 14:4)

#### 1.7.1.6 Post-Stress Final Closed Syllable

A vowel in a word-final closed syllable that occurs after the stress is short within the body of an intonation group but is generally lengthened when immediately followed by an intonation group boundary, e.g.

*+Axíkar* [?'a·x'i:ká(60ms)r<sup>f</sup>] (A 3:2)  
*+Axíkar!* [?'a·x'i:ká:(180ms)r<sup>f</sup>] (A 3:1)  
*Nátan* ['na:t<sup>h</sup>a(50ms)n] (A 3:15)  
*Nátan!* ['na:t<sup>h</sup>a:(150ms)n] (A 3:94)  
*ka-jánux* [ka'dža:nó(60ms)x] (A 3:6)  
*šòpux?* [ʃo:p<sup>h</sup>u:(150)x] (A 3:14)

When, however, an enclitic is attached to the end of the word before an intonation group boundary, the final vowel of the clitic rather than of the main word is lengthened and the vowel of the unstressed closed syllable of the main word remains short, e.g.

*šómmu Nátan-íva!* ['na:t<sup>h</sup>a(55ms)niva:] 'His name was Natan' (A 3:6)  
*+dòstux-ína!* ['d'o:s'tóu:(55ms)yín'a:] 'they are your friends' (A 3:9)

### 1.7.2 *The Vowel /ə/*

The vowel /ə/ is derived historically from short \*i, long \*ī or long \*ē. It is basically a short vowel, though its duration is increased under certain prosodic conditions. It occurs in closed syllables and post-stress open syllables.

In unstressed closed syllables it is regularly pronounced short, e.g.

- pátəx* [p<sup>h</sup>a:t<sup>h</sup>ix] ‘he opens’  
*šəmmé* [ʃim'me:] ‘their name’

In stressed closed syllables it is pronounced short, e.g.

- ptóxli* ['p<sup>h</sup>tixli] ‘I opened’  
*dámma* ['damma] ‘blood’

Pretonic syllables containing /ə/ are always closed, in some cases by secondary gemination (§ 1.13.2.3.), e.g. *mapləxxáva* ‘she used to use’. In post-stress open syllables, where /ə/ is a contraction of an original \*ē, its default pronunciation is short, but the duration is often increased immediately before an intonation group boundary, e.g.

- šátə* ['ʃa:t<sup>h</sup>i]      *šátə|* ['ʃa:t<sup>h</sup>i:]      ‘he drinks’  
*bétələ* ['be:t<sup>h</sup>lɪ]      *bétələ|* ['be:t<sup>h</sup>r:ɪ]      ‘it is a house’

These increases in duration conditioned by prosodic position are not represented in the transcription. A short /ə/ in a closed syllable is replaced by long /i/ in an open syllable in the inflection of some forms, e.g.

- |                 |                   |                |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>'armólta</i> | ‘widow’           | <i>'armíla</i> | ‘widower’         |
| <i>šapórta</i>  | ‘beautiful (fs.)’ | <i>šapíra</i>  | ‘beautiful (ms.)’ |
| <i>nšókla</i>   | ‘he kissed’       | <i>nšíkálə</i> | ‘he kissed her’   |
| <i>+cásəb</i>   | ‘poor man’        | <i>+casíbə</i> | ‘poor people’     |

These are systematic morphophonemic changes and are represented in the transcription.

Short unstressed /ə/ in a word-final open syllable sometimes loses intensity and is not audible. This can be interpreted as a manifestation of the general tendency to glottalize word-final vowels. This occurs in particular when the final /ə/ is separated from the preceding stress by an intervening open syllable. It commonly occurs in particular in the pronunciation of the 3ms copula suffix, e.g.

- márəl* < *márələ* 'he says'  
*vádəl* < *vádələ* 'he does'

### 1.8 Diphthongs

After the vowels /a/ and /u/ a syllable offset can be formed by the semivowel /y/. These sequences, /ay/ and /uy/, in which the /y/ is syllable final, will be considered diphthongs.

In the diphthongs /ay/ and /uy/ the semi-vowel /y/ segment is in principle articulated with less energy and acoustic intensity than the nuclear vowel. This can be seen in the following waveforms, which also show above the wave the intensity contour:

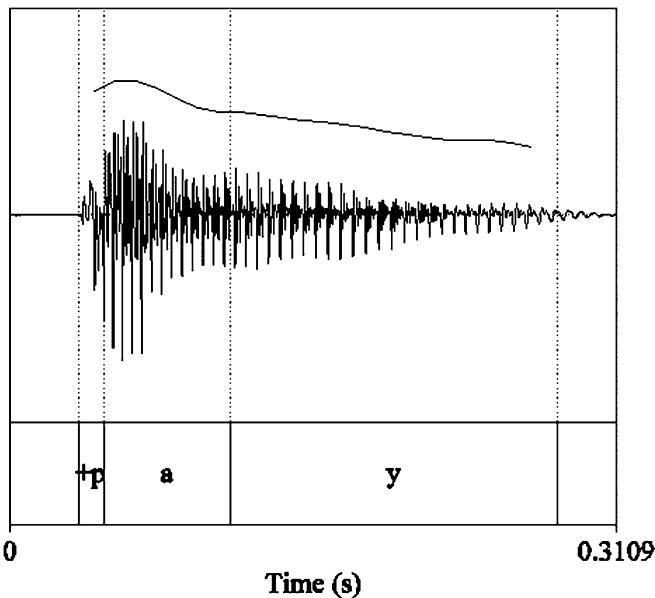


FIGURE 52 +spay 'good'

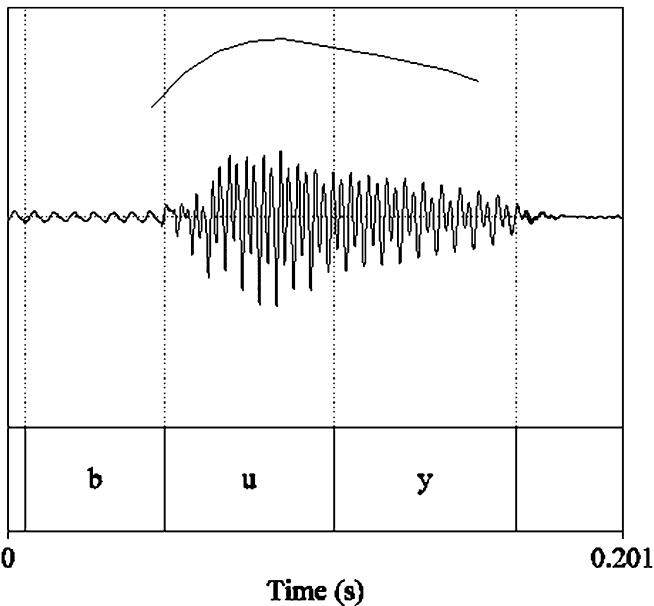


FIGURE 53 Second syllable of *sebuytux* 'your old age'

On some occasions there is not a steady drop in acoustic intensity but rather there is a second smaller rise in intensity on the semi-vowel /y/. This can be seen in the following waveforms:

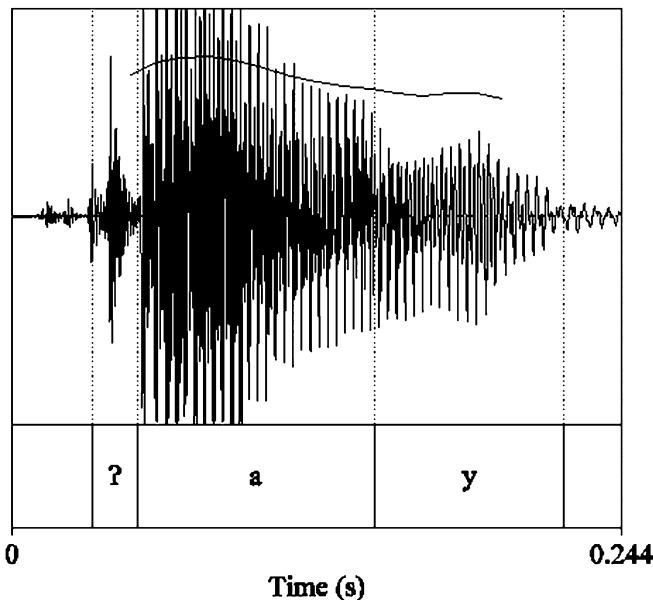
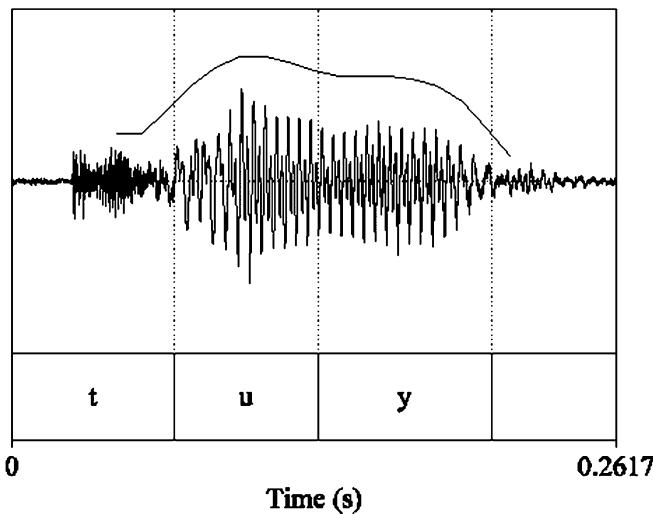


FIGURE 54 'ay 'she'

FIGURE 55 First syllable of *túa* 'berry'

The diphthong may sometimes consist of two clear intensity peaks with that of the initial half of the diphthong only marginally higher than the second, as seen in fig. 56.

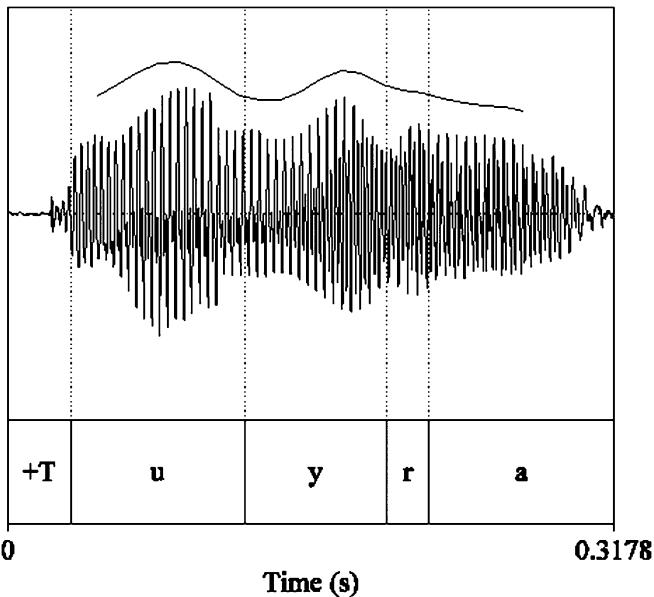


FIGURE 56   *+túra* 'mountain'

Near equal intensity peaks may, in principle, justify interpreting the sound as a series of two adjacent vowels rather than a diphthong, but it is regularly represented as a diphthong /uy/ in the transcription.

The /u/ segment of the /uy/ diphthong is often considerably fronted, especially in plain words. In such cases the quality movement within the diphthong is lessened. The plot in Fig. 57 shows the quality movement between the two segments of the diphthong in a selection of tokens.

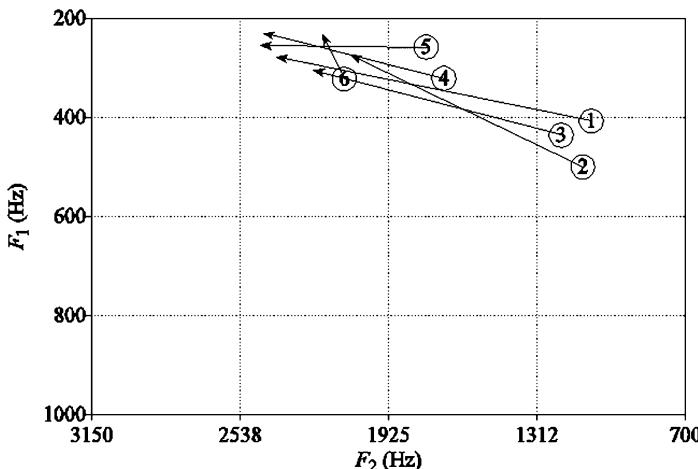
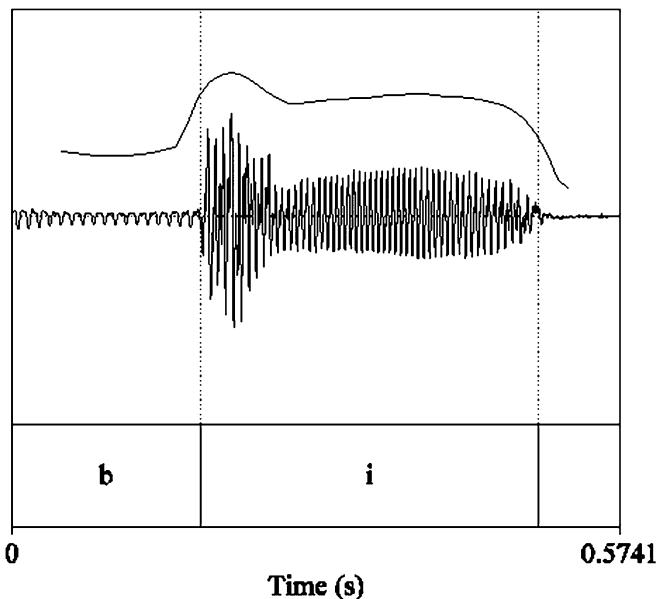
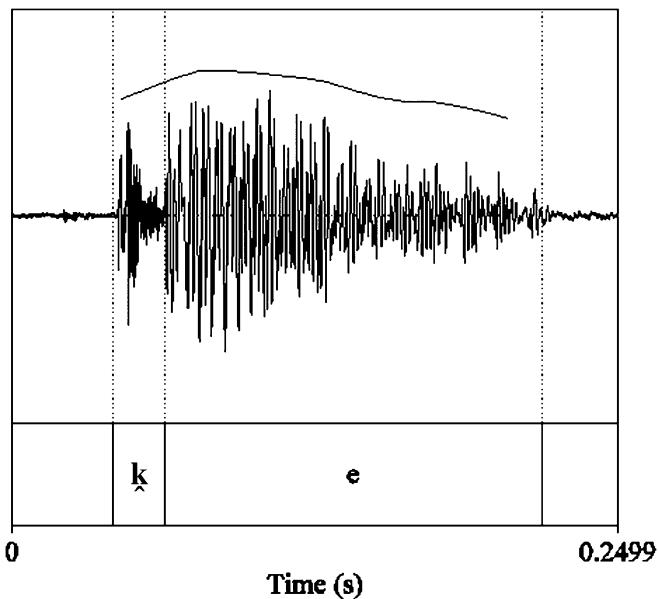


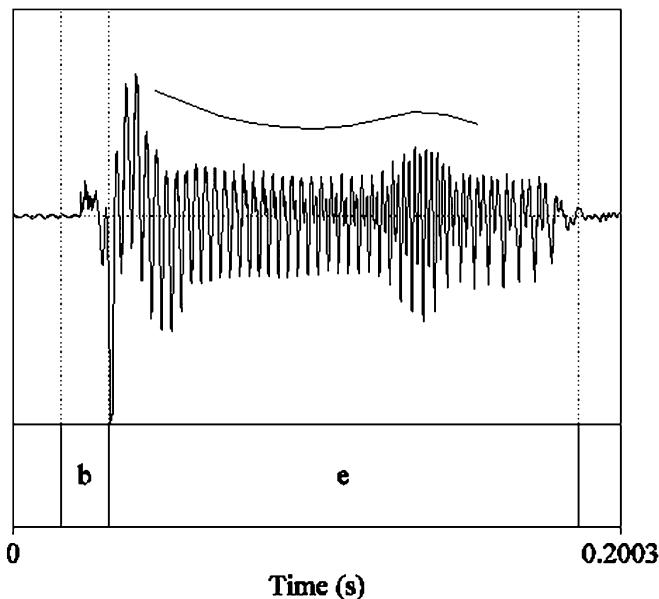
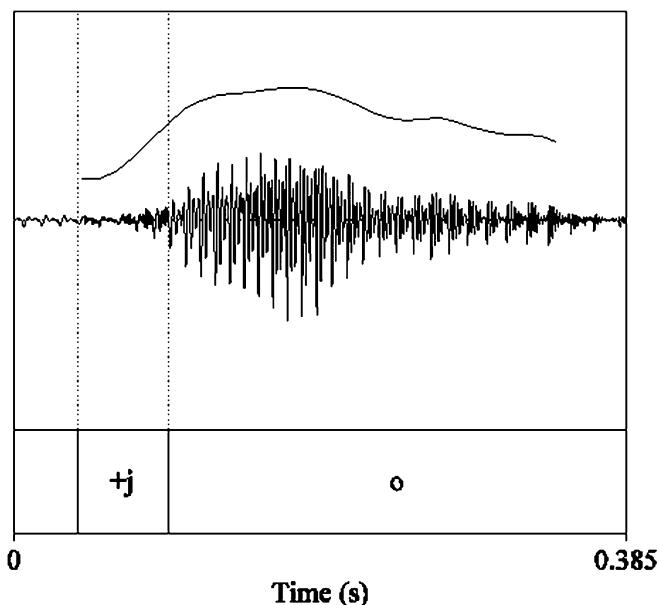
FIGURE 57

1. *+’íydaɬ* ‘each other’
2. *+túyra* ‘mountain’
3. *+núyɬa* ‘oil’
4. *túyta* ‘berry’
5. *malcúyta* ‘kingdom’
6. *zúyza* ‘money’

For the patterns of occurrence of diphthongs and their historical background see § 1.12.

The contour of the distribution of acoustic energy in long monophthongs is generally similar to that of diphthongs, in that it is not a steady state of intensity, but rather a peak at the onset of the segment followed by a reduced intensity at its offset. In some cases there is even a secondary lesser peak in the offset portion of the segment. This can be seen in the waveforms of long monophthongs shown in figs. 58–63.

FIGURE 58 *bita* 'egg'FIGURE 59 *+kéta* 'summer'

FIGURE 60 *béta* 'house'FIGURE 61 *+jóra* 'husband'

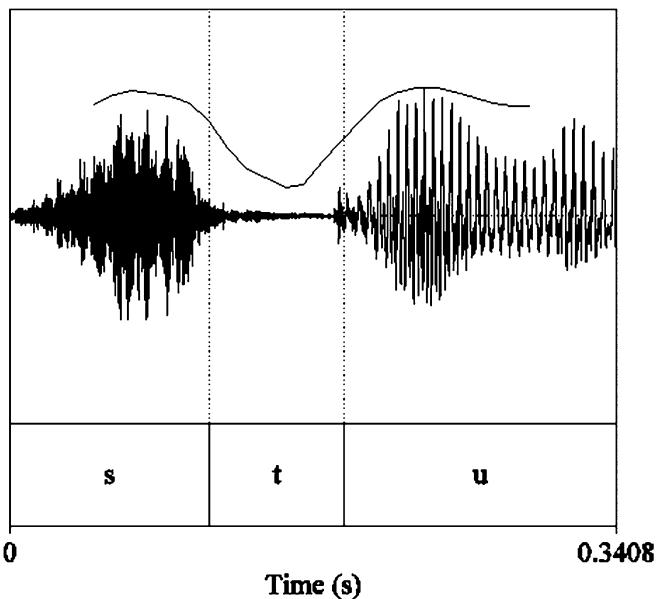


FIGURE 62 stúna 'post'

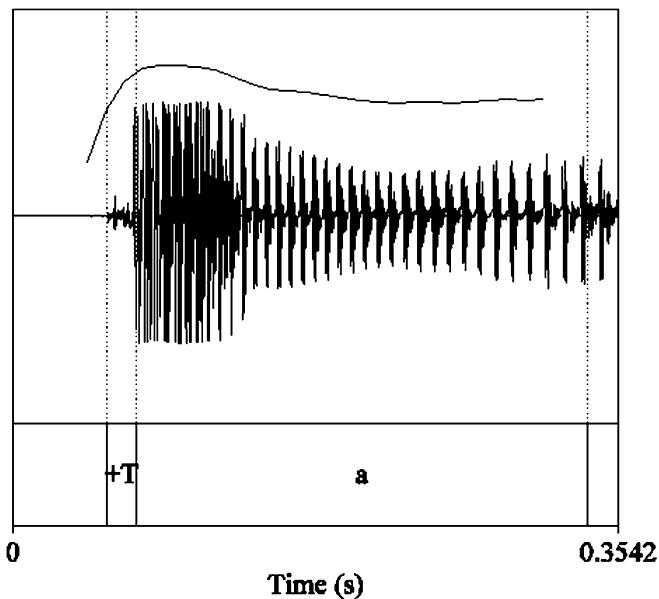


FIGURE 63 +tála 'she plays'

From the point of view of distribution of acoustic energy, therefore, long monophthongs are equivalent to diphthongs and they differ from the latter only in the lack of quality shift in their offset. This acoustic contour of monophthongs could, in theory, be represented in a narrow transcription thus: *bíta* (or *biyta*), *beeta*, *stuuna*, *+jogra*, *+taala*. A simpler transcription has, however, been adopted, which does not represent this phonetic profile of long vowels. When a high long vowel such as /i/ is preceded by an emphaticized consonant the F2 drop in the offglide after the consonant is in the segment of the vowel with the most acoustic energy, which may give it the phonetic contour of a diphthong of changing quality, e.g. *+tina* [+'tiina] 'mud'. In the environment of labials the offglide from a pharyngalized consonant before /i/ may become labialized. This is particularly conspicuous in some varieties of the dialect and is represented in the transcription, e.g. *+buybar* (Canda) = *+bibar* (Urmī) 'pepper'; *+muyra* (Canda) = *+mira* (Urmī) 'spade', *+rabuya* (Canda) = *+rabita* (Urmī) 'teacher (f.)'.

This feature of long vowels is likely to be the background to the practice of representing long /i/ as a diphthong in some transcription systems, e.g. Noviy Alvanfit ij, ѫ, Osipov (1913) ii, ii (see Polotsky 1961; Murre-van den Berg 1999, 166–168), which is followed also by Tsereteli (1978b) and Younansardaroud (2001). There does not seem, however, to be acoustic evidence for restricting such transcriptions to long /i/. The practice may have been motivated by the observation that in pause final long /i/ has a palatal fricative offset [iç] (§ 1.7.1.4.), whereas other vowels have no such fricative offset in pause.

The whole duration of the diphthong /uy/ is generally over 100ms. Its component onset [u] and offset [j] are, however, usually below 100ms in duration. It behaves like a long monophthong with regard to its distribution, in that it tends to be restricted to syllables where monophthong vowels are typically long or at least half-long, i.e. open stressed or pretonic syllables, e.g.

- |                |             |
|----------------|-------------|
| <i>+túyra</i>  | 'mountain'  |
| <i>tuyrána</i> | 'mountains' |

It is found in stressed monosyllabic words, such as *túy* 'sit!'. In pause before the intonation group boundary the [j] offset in this context is devoiced to the palatal [ç], as is the case with /i/ in pause (§ 1.7.1.4.):

*túy!* ['tuç] 'sit!'

In post-stress syllables it is rarely found, but is occasionally heard in unstressed final open syllables in pause, which is a context in which monophthongs are typically lengthened, e.g.

<sup>+</sup>ká<sub>t</sub>u [k<sup>c</sup>a:<sup>c</sup>t<sup>c</sup>u]    <sup>+</sup>ká<sub>t</sub>uy| [k<sup>c</sup>a:<sup>c</sup>t<sup>f</sup>uy]    ‘cat’

In the lexeme *luya* ‘udder’ the palatal glide offset of the diphthong is strengthened to /c/ in some varieties of the dialect, e.g. Ardišay (S) *lucta* [lot<sup>h</sup>ta]. In the far north of the Urmi plain in the village of Abdullacande this word has the form *luxta*, with a fricative offset, which corresponds to the form found in C. Gawilan and C. Salamas further north.

The diphthong /ay/ has no restriction on distribution and freely occurs, though rarely, in post-stress syllables, e.g.

*xa-*<sup>+</sup>*kólay* <sup>+</sup>*bàra* ...| ‘a slight light’ (A 39:9)

## 1.9 Historical Background of Consonants

### 1.9.1 *The BGDKPT Consonants*

The erstwhile post-vocalic fricative allophones of the *bgdkpt* consonants have undergone various developments. In all cases the reflex of the earlier fricative is a fossilized vestige from an earlier period and is now treated as a phoneme different from the homorganic stop.

#### 1.9.1.1 \**b*

The reflex of the fricative allophone of \**b* in earlier Aramaic is /v/, e.g.

<i>ctava</i>	‘book’	< *ktābā
<i>švava</i>	‘neighbour’	< *šbābā
<sup>+</sup> <i>xalva</i>	‘milk’	< *halbā
<i>dava</i>	‘gold’	< *dahbā
<i>jinava</i>	‘thief’	< *gannābā
<i>davək</i>	‘he seizes’	< *dābəq

This has led to the merger of the reflexes of \**b* (> /v/) and \**w* (> /v/), which has created homonyms, e.g.

<i>javəl</i>	‘he fashions’	< *gābəl
<i>javəl</i>	‘he vomits’	< *gāwəl

The sequence \**ab* has contracted to /o/ when it stands in the coda of a syllable before a consonant, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>jora</i>	'husband'	< * <i>gabրā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>xora</i>	'friend'	< * <i>habրā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>xola</i>	'rope'	< * <i>habլā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>kora</i>	'grave'	< * <i>qabրā</i>

When *\*b* was preceded by *\*u*, the sequence *\*ub* contracted to *\*ū*, which subsequently diphthongized to /uy/, e.g.

<i>tuya</i>	'straw'	< * <i>tubnā</i>
<i>duyša</i>	'honey'	< * <i>dubšā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>ruya</i>	'Friday'	< * <i>arubtā</i>

On some occasions the reflex of an original sequence *\*ab* is /u/ or /uy/. In such cases the /u/ is a development of an earlier *\*o* vowel (§ 1.11.6.), which in turn had developed from *\*ab*, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>jura</i>	'big'	< * <i>gora</i> < * <i>gabրā</i>
<i>bət-</i> <sup>+</sup> <i>kuyra</i>	'grave'	< * <i>bēt-qora</i> < * <i>bēt-qabրā</i>

The /o/ in these words is found in NENA dialects that have preserved the diphthong /aw/ elsewhere as the reflex of *\*ab*, e.g. Barwar:

Barwar	C. Urmi
<i>gawra</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>jora</i>
	'man'
<i>gora</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>jura</i>
	'big'
<i>qawra</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>kora</i>
	'grave'
<i>bəθ-qora</i>	<i>bət-</i> <sup>+</sup> <i>kuyra</i>
	'cemetery'

The reflex of *\*b* in the coda of a syllable after /ə/ is /v/, e.g.

<i>dəvxa</i>	'sacrifice'	< * <i>dibhā</i>
<i>ctəvta</i>	'written (fs.)'	< * <i>kłibtā</i>

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.

<i>xabuysa</i>	'apple'	< * <i>habbūšā</i>
<i>dabaša</i>	'bee'	< * <i>dabbāšā</i>

- šabta* ‘week’ < \**šabb<sup>a</sup>tā*  
*zabən* ‘he sells’ < \**nzabben*

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

- caləbta* ‘bitch’ cf. *calba* ‘dog’

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

- sebuuya* ‘old age’ < \**sa’buθa*

(iv) Where a word beginning with /b/ is combined in a stress group with a preceding word ending in a vowel, e.g.

- ju-beta* ‘in the house’

(v) In various verbal roots in which /b/ deriving from ungeminated \**b* has been fixed as a radical and occurs in all inflections, e.g.

- barəc* ‘he kneels’ < \**brk*  
*mabrəc* ‘he causes to kneel’

An unvoiced tense /p/ has developed from the sequence \**b* + \*, e.g.

- +*arp̥a* < \**arb’ā* < \**arb’ā* ‘four’  
+*sup̥p̥a* < \**ṣəb’ā* < \**ṣəb’ā* ‘finger’  
*p̥urta* < \**b’urta* < *b’urta* ‘dung of sheep’  
*p̥-ida* < *b’ida* ‘by hand’

The devoicing of \**b* by regressive assimilation of a following unvoiced stop has become lexicalized in all inflections of the word *jupta* (< \**gubta* ‘cheese’; cf. Syr. *g̥bettā* < \**g̥bentā*).

#### 1.9.1.2      \**p*

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

- cipa* ‘stone’ < \**kēpā*  
*’upra* ‘soil’ < \**ap̥rā*

<i>səptə</i>	'lip'	< * <i>sep̪θā</i>
<i>napəl</i>	'he falls'	< * <i>nāpel</i>
<i>naxəp</i>	'he is ashamed'	< * <i>nākəp̪</i>

The words *noš-* 'oneself', *+t̪loxa* 'lentils' and *+ruyša* 'shoulder' appear to be exceptions to this, since in the attested literary forms of eastern Aramaic these contain *\*p̪* (cf. Syr. *nap̪šā*, *tlaþhē*, *raþšā*). The easiest explanation is that the NENA forms *noš-*, *+t̪loxa* and *+ruyša* are descended from a proto-form with a voiced *\*b̪*. This would have formed a diphthong with a preceding vowel, which became monophthongized before a consonant (§ 1.9.1.1., § 1.11.5.): *noš-* < \**nawš* < \**nab̪š-*, *+t̪loxa*, *\*tlawšē* < \**tlab̪šē*, *+ruyša* < \**rub̪šā*.

In some words an original aspirated stop *\*p* has shifted to a tense unaspirated stop /p̪/. This has occurred in both emphatic and plain words, e.g.

<i>+p̪aləš</i>	'he fights'
<i>+p̪armuya</i>	'to understand'
<i>+p̪aþuxta</i>	'animal dung'
<i>+p̪čila</i>	'crooked'
<i>+t̪up̪purta</i>	'fingernail'
<i>p̪əçxa</i>	'blossom'
<i>p̪ək̪ka</i>	'frog'
<i>p̪ak̪kə</i>	'it splits'
<i>saþəs</i>	'it decays'
<i>šap̪əl</i>	'he becomes paralyzed'
<i>xap̪ək̪</i>	'he embraces'
<i>xap̪ər</i>	'he digs'

In some cases it has arisen due to coalescence of /b/ with a following laryngal, e.g.

<i>p̪urta</i>	'droppings of sheep' < * <i>b̪urta</i> (cf. Syr. <i>bā'ūra</i> 'droppings')
<i>p̪-ida</i>	'by hand' < <i>b-’ida</i>

The tense stop is found in several loanwords. In some cases the stop is unaspirated in the source language but in other cases it is not and the tenseness of the consonant is an innovation of the C. Urmī dialect. It is found in both emphatic and plain words, e.g.

<i>+p̪uza</i>	'snout' (cf. Kurd. <i>poz</i> , Pers. <i>pūz</i> )
<i>p̪aþçən</i>	'it rots' (< Kurd. <i>pûç</i> 'useless, unuseable')

<i>+kopala</i>	'stick' (< Kurd. <i>koþal</i> )
<i>paltəç</i>	'to stutter' (< Azer. <i>pəltəkləmək</i> )
<i>+paltun</i>	'overcoat' (< Russ. <i>пальто</i> <i>pálto</i> [< French <i>paletot</i> ], Pers. <i>páltō</i> )
<i>laþatka</i>	'shovel' (< Russ. <i>лопатка</i> <i>laþatka</i> )
<i>kənnoþka</i>	press-stud (< Russ. <i>кнопка</i> )

In the case of the Russian loanwords the unaspirated /p/ has been taken over from the source language, since unvoiced stops in Russian are unaspirated.<sup>11</sup> In the case of loanwords from other languages, the tense stop often appears to have developed within NENA. Emphasis could have been a conditioning factor. In the case of plain words sound symbolism played a role, as it may have done also in the case of native plain words such as *pəkkə* etc. (§ 1.10.).

Words with unaspirated stops may form minimal or near minimal pairs with words containing the lax aspirated stop, e.g.

<i>parmi</i>	'they cut'	<i>+parmi</i>	'they understand'
<i>+paltun</i>	'take out (pl.)!'	<i>+paltun</i>	'jacket'

The stop /p/ often appears in loanwords where the source language has the fricative /f/, reflecting a process analogous to that of hardening of the fricative \**p̪* in Aramaic words, e.g.

<i>+tapavut</i>	'difference'	< Pers. (< Arab.) <i>tafāvut</i>
<i>sapar</i>	'journey'	< Pers. (< Arab.) <i>safar</i>
<i>+supra</i>	'tablecloth'	< Pers. <i>sofre</i> , Azer. <i>süfrə</i>
<i>napas</i>	'breath'	< Pers. (< Arab.) <i>nafas</i>
<i>+pəllan</i>	'so-and-so'	< Pers. (< Arab.) <i>folān</i>
<i>pərsat</i>	'opportunity'	< Pers. (< Arab.) <i>fursat</i>
<i>sap</i>	'queue'	< Pers. (< Arab.) <i>saf</i>
<i>maptul</i>	'wire'	< Pers. (< Arab.) <i>maftūl</i>
<i>+murapa</i>	'lawsuit'	< Pers. (< Arab.) <i>morūfa’ā</i>
<i>kəppəl</i>	'lock'	< Azeri (< Arab.) <i>qifil</i>
<i>kappas</i>	'cage'	< Azeri (< Arab.) <i>qəfəs</i>
<i>lxepa</i>	'quilt'	< Kurd. (< Arab.) <i>lihēf</i>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Tsereteli (1978b, 28). Friedrich (1959, 55) notes that unaspirated /k/ and /t/ in Russian loans are rendered mostly by <q> and (less often) by <t> in Novij Alfavit.

1.9.1.3      *\*t*

The original interdental fricative allophone of this consonant has merged with the stop allophone and so both *\*t* and *\*t̪* have the reflex of the stop /t/, e.g.

<i>+atra</i>	'land'	< <i>*atrā</i>
<i>mata</i>	'village'	< <i>*mātā</i>
<i>xmata</i>	'mother-in-law'	< <i>*hmātā</i>
<i>ctava</i>	'book'	< <i>*ktābā</i>
<i>šabta</i>	'week'	< <i>*šabtā</i>

In a few cases an original fricative *\*t̪* is weakened after a vowel and is elided. This occurs in the numerals 'three' and 'thirty'

<i>+t̪la</i>	'three'	< <i>*tlātā</i>
<i>tlay</i>	'thirty'	< <i>*tlātī</i>

It also occurs in plural endings, in which the element *-atə* often contracts, optionally, to *-ay*, e.g.

<i>'axunváta</i> ~ <i>'axunváy</i>	'brothers'
<i>xatváta</i> ~ <i>xatváy</i>	'sisters'
<i>matváta</i> ~ <i>matváy</i>	'villages'

The consonant is elided in all inflections of the verb *mayyə* 'to bring', which is historically the causative of the root *\*-t̪-y* 'to come', e.g.

<i>mayyə</i>	'he brings'
<i>mayyəla</i>	'he is bringing'
<i>muuyyila</i>	'he brought'

In the root *+r-d-x* 'to boil' (< *\*r-t̪-h*) the voicing of an original *\*t* radical has been fixed lexically and occurs in all inflections:

<i>+radəx</i>	'it boils'
<i>+mardəx</i>	'he causes to boil'

An original *\*t* has developed into the tense consonant /t/ in a number of words. In emphatic words this has been brought about by pharyngalization. In plain words it appears to have arisen by a process of sound symbolism to express a diminutive (§ 1.10.):

<sup>+</sup> <i>tla</i>	'three'	< * <i>tl̥a</i> < * <i>tlātā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>pərt̥ana</i>	'flea'	< * <i>purtānā</i> < * <i>purta'na</i>
<i>t̥elpa</i>	'eyelash'	< * <i>t̥elpa</i>
<i>tuvvulta</i>	'worm'	< * <i>tawältā</i> (cf. C. Botan <i>tawla</i> , J. Sanandaj <i>tolta</i> , J. Amedia <i>tole'g̊a</i> )
<i>taþt̥əþ</i>	'he blinks'	< * <i>tapt̥əþ</i> (cf. C. Barwar <i>tarəp</i> , <i>mtarpəθ</i> , <i>rapəθ</i> )

In loanwords from Russian /*t̥*/ corresponds to Russian τ, which is unaspirated, e.g.

<i>čot̥ka</i>	'paintbrush'	< Russ. щетка
<i>truba</i>	'pipe'	< Russ. труба
<i>motor</i>	'motor'	< Russ. мотор

#### 1.9.1.4      *\*d*

As is the case with *\*t*, the original interdental fricative allophone of *\*d* has merged with the stop allophone and so both *\*d* and *\*d̥* have the reflex of the stop /d/, e.g.

<i>ida</i>	'hand'	< * <i>idā</i>
<i>huydaya</i>	'Jew'	< * <i>yhūdāyā</i>
<i>flida</i>	'frozen'	< * <i>glīdā</i>
<i>kdala</i>	'neck'	< * <i>qdālā</i>
<i>mdita</i>	'town'	< * <i>mdīttā</i>
<i>rakəd</i>	'he dances'	< * <i>rāqəd</i>

The sequence *\*d + \** has coalesced to the unvoiced tense stop /*t̥*/ in a number of cases. In some forms the *\** is ultimately derived from the pharyngal *\*c* and the word is emphatic. Examples:

<sup>+</sup> <i>tata</i>	'sweat'	< * <i>d'ata</i> < * <i>d'ātā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>tasta</i>	'to thrust'	< * <i>d'asta</i> < <i>d'asta</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>taxta</i>	'to subside'	< <i>d'axta</i> < <i>d'axta</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>yatt̥a</i>	'she knows'	< * <i>yad'a</i> < * <i>yād'ā</i>
<i>t-ilə</i>	'the he is'	< * <i>d-</i> ile
<i>t-atə</i>	'he will come'	< <i>bəd-</i> atə

The form <sup>+</sup>*uydalə* (< \**hdādē*) 'each other' exhibits an irregular shift of *\*d* to /l/.

1.9.1.5      \**k*

The stop \**k* has been palatalized to /c/ [c<sup>h</sup>] ~ [tj<sup>h</sup>], e.g.

*ctava*    'book'    < \**ktābā*

*malca*    'king'    < \**malkā*

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

*baxə*    'he weeps'                          < \**bākē*

*naxəp*    'he becomes ashamed'    < \**nākəp̥*

*laxxa*    'here'                                  < \**l-ākā*

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

*coxva*    'star'    < \**kawlk<sup>h</sup>ba*

The reflex of the stop \**k*, i.e. /c/, 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.

*racixa*    'soft'    < \**rakkūkā*

*ducta*    'place'    < \**dukk<sup>h</sup>gā*

*cica*    'tooth'    < \**kakkā*

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

*maləcta*    'queen'    cf. *malca* 'king'

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

*xacma*    'some'    < \**xa + kma*

The word *'ica* 'where' may possibly fall into this category (< \**ē-kā*).

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

- |              |              |                  |
|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>racəv</i> | 'he rides'   | < * <i>rākeb</i> |
| <i>racəx</i> | 'it softens' | < * <i>rākek</i> |
| <i>jaxəc</i> | 'he laughs'  | < * <i>gāhek</i> |

The historical root *\*p-r-k* has developed into two doublet roots, one with a stop /c/ (*p-r-c*) and the other with a fricative /x/ (*p-r-x*):

- |              |                  |                  |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>parəc</i> | 'it bursts open' | < * <i>pārek</i> |
| <i>parəx</i> | 'he rubs'        | < * <i>pārek</i> |

The palatal /c/ occasionally weakens to a palatal glide /y/. This is found, for example, in variant realizations of the following words:

- |                                       |               |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>ducta ~ tuyta</i>                  | 'place'       |
| <i>sæcta ~ sita</i> (< <i>siyta</i> ) | 'ploughshare' |
| <i>zœcta ~ zita</i>                   | 'bud, pod'    |

In loanwords that have been integrated into the dialect a /k/ in the source language is realized as /c/, e.g.

- |               |           |               |
|---------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>cotac</i>  | 'beating' | < Pers. kotak |
| <i>'ordac</i> | 'duck'    | < Azer. ördək |

#### 1.9.1.6      *\*g*

The stop *\*g* has been palatalized to /j/ [j] ~ [dʒ], e.g.

- |              |           |                  |
|--------------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>jəšra</i> | 'bridge'  | < * <i>gəšra</i> |
| <i>þjora</i> | 'husband' | < * <i>gawra</i> |

The palatal /j/ is sporadically weakened to the palatal glide /y/. This takes place mainly after /ə/ in a closed syllable. The final /j/ at the end of the modal particle *jarəc* 'must' is frequently weakened, resulting in the form *jari*. Other cases occur sporadically, e.g. *sparəʃla ~ sparila* (Canda) 'quinces' (cf. C. Salamas *sparilə*). The /j/ in the verb *taybər* 'he manages' is optionally weakened in all inflections, e.g.

- |                            |              |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| <i>taybər ~ taybər</i>     | 'He manages' |
| <i>tuybərri ~ tuybərri</i> | 'I managed'  |

The fricative allophone  $^*\bar{g}$  has in most cases been reduced to zero and left a vestige in the word in the form of suprasegmental pharyngalization. This can be explained by assuming that the velar fricative  $^*\bar{g}$  shifted to a pharyngal before being lost, thus:  $^*\bar{g} > ^*c > ^*$  >  $\emptyset$  (cf. Tsereteli 1990), e.g.

$^+šada$	'almond'	< $^*\check{š}a\bar{g}dā$
$^+tata$	'cockscomb'	< $^*ta\bar{g}tā$
$^+pulla$	'radish'	< $^*pu\bar{g}lā$
$^+lama$	'bridle'	< $^*la\bar{g}mā$
$^+lina$	'jar'	< $^*l\bar{g}ina$ (cf. Syr. <i>l̄gīnā</i> )
$^+pallə$	'he divides'	< $^*pālə\bar{g}$
$^+narra$	'axe'	< $^*nar\bar{g}a$ (cf. Syr. <i>nārḡā</i> )

When it occurred between vowels, it is generally replaced by the glide /y/ or the two vowels coalesce, e.g.

$^+rayəš ~ +rāš$	'he wakes up'	< $^*rā\bar{g}əš$
$^+šayər ~ +šār$	'he stokes'	< $^*\check{š}ā\bar{g}ər$
$^+šayəš ~ +šāš$	'he rocks'	< $^*\check{š}ā\bar{g}əš$
$^+šraya ~ +šra$	'lamp'	< $^*\check{š}rā\bar{g}ā$

The velar fricative realization /g/ is preserved in a few isolated words, e.g.

$^+pa\bar{g}ra$	'body'	< $^*pa\bar{g}rā$
$\check{ž}\bar{g}aša$	'to be disturbed'	< $^*\check{š}\bar{g}āšā$
$z\bar{g}ada$	'to worship'	< $^*s\bar{g}āda$

It appears in some words that are loans from Classical Syriac, e.g.

$^+dar\bar{g}a$	'rank'	< <i>dargā</i>
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In loanwords that have been integrated into the dialect a /g/ in the source language is realized as /ʃ/, e.g.

<i>sarhang</i>	'colonel'	< Pers. <i>sarháng</i>
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### 1.9.2 Pharyngals and Laryngals

#### 1.9.2.1 $^*h$

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

<i>xmara</i>	'ass'	< * <i>hmārā</i>
<i>kamxa</i>	'flour'	< * <i>qamhā</i>
<i>xamša</i>	'five'	< * <i>hamšā</i>
<i>p-t-x</i>	'to open'	< * <i>p-t-h</i>
<i>x-l-l</i>	'to wash'	< * <i>h-l-l</i>

This has led to the merger of the reflexes of \**h* (> /x/) and \**k* (> /x/), which has created homonyms, e.g.

<i>parəx</i>	'he flies'	< * <i>pārəh</i>
<i>parəx</i>	'he rubs'	< * <i>pārək</i>

In the case of the verb *+šatə* 'it collapses' the reflex of \**h* is zero, apparently to distinguish it from a doublet derived historically from the same root:

<i>+šatə</i>	'it collapses'	< * <i>šātəh</i>
<i>+šatəx</i>	'he stretches out'	< * <i>šātəh</i>

The form *rəkka* (< \**rəħqā*) may have developed by a similar process, with the /k/ neutralizing the emphasis. The word is, in fact, emphatic in the Jewish Urmî dialect: *+rəqqā* (Khan 2008a, 33). It may also be a contraction of the form *rəxka*, with a velar fricative, which is found in the northern variety of the dialect.

Several loanwords ultimately deriving from Arabic that had a pharyngal \**h* in Arabic have entered the dialect, mainly, it seems, from Persian. As in Persian the reflex of the historical \**h* is /h/. This does not of itself bring about emphasis in the dialect. Loanwords of this type which are emphatic have acquired emphasis due to a long back \**ā* in the word in the Persian source language, e.g.

<i>hamla</i>	'attack'	< Pers. hamle	< Arab. ḥamla
<i>halqa</i>	'ring'	< Pers. halqe	< Arab. ḥalqa
<i>+hazər</i>	'ready'	< Pers. hāzər	< Arab. ḥādir
<i>+heyvan</i>	'animal'	< Pers. hēyvān	< Arab. ḥaywān

### 1.9.2.2      \*<sup>c</sup>

The voiced pharyngal \*<sup>c</sup> has been weakened to zero in all contexts. In many cases there is a vestige of the pharyngal in the form of suprasegmental emphasis of the word, e.g.

<i>+’amra</i>	'wool'	< * <i>’amrā</i>
<i>+’akərva</i>	'scorpion'	< * <i>aqr<sup>c</sup>ba</i>

<sup>+</sup> <i>ayna</i>	'eye'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>aynā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>ayva</i>	'cloud'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>aybā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>əkra</i>	'root'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>qrā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>šāl</i>	'he coughs'	< * <sup>šā</sup> <i>čl</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>dəmma</i>	'tear'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>dəmā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>tarra</i>	'door'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>tarā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>baluta</i>	'throat'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>bālōtā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>arpa</i>	'four'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>arbā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>šamma</i>	'she hears'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>šāmā</i>

When the pharyngal occurred between vowels, it is replaced by a glide or the two vowels coalesce, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>bəšmaya</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>bəšma</i>	'hearing'	< * <i>b-šmāčā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>tayən</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>tān</i>	'he bears'	< * <i>tāčen</i>

Emphatic words with a historical pharyngal usually also contain other letters that are prone to bring about emphasis, such the sonorants, /r/ and // or the labials /b/ and /m/.

There are several words in which the pharyngal is lost without the word acquiring suprasegmental emphasis, e.g.

<sup>č</sup> <i>upra</i>	'soil'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>aprā</i>
<i>bita</i>	'egg'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>bētā</i>
<sup>č</sup> <i>avəd</i>	'he does'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>ābəd</i>
<i>xamma</i>	'it (f) ferments'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>xāmā</i>
<sup>č</sup> <i>pakka</i>	'it (f.) splits'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>pāq'a</i>
<sup>č</sup> <i>akla</i>	'leg'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>aqlā</i>
<sup>č</sup> <i>akubra</i>	'mouse'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>aqubrā</i>
<sup>č</sup> <i>ərba</i>	'sheep'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>ərba</i>
<sup>č</sup> <i>raka</i>	'to run'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>raqa</i>

A pharyngal in loanwords that are ultimately derived from Arabic is also reduced to zero, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>jamma</i>	'she gathers'	< * <sup>č</sup> <i>mjam'a</i> (< Arab. <i>j-m-</i> <sup>č</sup> )
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This loanword exists in some NENA dialects in Iraq with the original pharyngal (e.g. C. Qaraqosh, J. Amedia *j-m-*<sup>č</sup>) and it may have entered C. Urmia through NENA.

1.9.2.3      *\*h*

The laryngal *\*h* has been preserved in many cases in word initial and postvocalic position, e.g.

<i>huydaya</i>	'Jew'	< <i>yhūdāyā</i>
<i>hona</i>	'intelligence'	< <i>hawnā</i>
<i>hammunə</i>	'to believe'	< <i>ha'mōnē</i>
<i>'alaha</i>	'God'	< <i>'alāhā</i>

When it originally closed a syllable, it is elided, e.g.

<i>dava</i>	'gold'	< <i>dahbā</i>
<i>sada</i>	'witness'	< <i>sāhdā</i>
<i>+sara</i>	'moon'	< <i>sahrā</i>
<i>+bara</i>	'light'	< <i>bahrā</i>

When it was originally a verbal radical, it has been omitted when clustering with other consonants, e.g.

<i>vaya</i>	'to be'	< <i>*hwāyā</i>
<i>yava</i>	'to give'	< <i>*yhābā</i>

This omission may be generalized to other paradigms of the verb where there is no clustering, e.g.

<i>'avə</i>	'(that) he is'	< <i>hāwē</i>
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1.9.2.4      *\*'*

A laryngal /'/ occurs at the beginning of words before a vowel in words that contained an etymological initial *\*'* and also those that contained an etymological initial pharyngal *\*'',* e.g.

<i>+axəl</i>	'he eats'	< <i>*'āxəl</i>
<i>'ət</i>	'there is'	< <i>*'it</i>
<i>'arək</i>	'he runs'	< <i>*'ārəq</i>

Since /'/, whether derived from *\*'* or *\*'',* does not occur in any other context, it is likely that that the /'/ in word initial position is a non-etymological phonetic addition (see § 1.15.2.).

1.9.3 \**t*

Emphatic \**t* has in most cases become reanalysed as tense /t/ with suprasegmental emphasis (§ 1.5.1.), e.g.

+ <i>tina</i>	'mud'	< <i>tīnā</i>
+ <i>tuyra</i>	'mountain'	< <i>tūrā</i>
+ <i>kēta</i>	'summer'	< <i>qayṭā</i>
+ <i>palət</i>	'he goes out'	< <i>pālət</i>

In some cases words containing a historical \**t* do not have suprasegmental emphasis. In such cases the reflex of the \**t* is either tense /t/ or lax /t/, e.g.

<i>tup̩ra</i>	'tail'	< * <i>tupra</i>
šaṭəx	'he spreads out'	< *šaṭeḥ
<i>taxana</i>	'miller'	< * <i>tahḥānā</i>
<i>talək</i>	'it disappears'	< * <i>tāleq</i>
<i>tapə</i>	'it sticks'	< * <i>tāpe</i>
<i>tarə</i>	'it becomes wet'	< * <i>tāre</i>

Occasionally the suprasegmental emphasis is retained but the reflex of the historical \**t* is the lax /t/, e.g.

+ <i>taktək</i>	'to knock (at the door)'	< * <i>taqtəq</i> (cf. Barwar <i>mṭaqtəq</i> )
+ <i>taptəp</i>	'to tap'	< * <i>taptəp</i> (cf. Barwar <i>mṭaptəp</i> )

The reflex of historical \**t* is sporadically the tense affricate /č/ with suprasegmental emphasis, e.g.

+ <i>čyama</i>	'to close'	< * <i>t-y-m</i> < * <i>t-m-m</i>
+ <i>kčaya</i>	'to pick'	< * <i>q-t-</i> č
+ <i>kčapa</i>	'to cut off'	< * <i>q-t-p</i>
+ <i>kačkučə</i>	'to cut to pieces'	< * <i>q-tq-t</i>
+ <i>zrača</i>	'to scratch'	< * <i>s-r-t</i>
+ <i>karmučə</i>	'to wrinkle'	< * <i>q-rm-t</i>

The word +*buča* 'dried ball of tree sap' appears to be cognate with JBA בועתא *abcess* (Mutzafi 2005a). The original non-emphatic stop /t/ is preserved in J. Amedia *bo'ta*. It must be assumed that this shifted to \**t* under the influence of the adjacent pharyngal \*č before shifting to /č/.

**1.9.4 \*ṣ**

The historical emphatic \*ṣ has been reanalysed phonologically as /s/ with suprasegmental emphasis (§ 1.5.1.), e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>sala</i>	'he descends'	< <i>ṣālē</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>msaya</i>	'to be able'	< <i>mṣāyā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>soma</i>	'fast'	< <i>ṣawmā</i>

**1.9.5 \*q**

The reflex of \*q is the tense post-velar stop /k/, e.g.

<i>karta</i>	'cold'	< * <i>qartā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>keṭa</i>	'summer'	< * <i>qayṭā</i>
<i>praka</i>	'to finish'	< * <i>prāqā</i>
<i>nšaka</i>	'to kiss'	< * <i>nšāqā</i>

The reflex of a historical \*q is the lax palatal /c/ or the tense palatal /č/ in a few words, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>catra</i>	'knot'	< * <i>kətra</i> < * <i>qəṭrā</i>
<i>pəçxa</i>	'blossom'	< * <i>pəqxa</i>

It has been weakened to a palatal glide /y/ in:

<i>puydana</i>	'command'	< * <i>puqdānā</i> (cf. Diyana-Zariwaw <i>pučdana</i> (Napiorkowska 2015))
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The /k/ in the verb *hakkuya* 'to narrate' is ultimately derived from \*k in the Arabic source language (< \**hky*). This must have taken place at a remote historical period when the initial radical was still a pharyngal and the forebear of /k/, i.e. \*q, was still an emphatic segment (§ 1.5.1.).

The sound /k/ corresponds to Arabic \*ǵ in Arabic loanwords that have come into the dialect through Persian, e.g. *ḳalat* < Arab. *ǵalāt* 'mistake', *ḳaribaya* 'foreigner' < Arab. *ǵarīb* (§ 1.9.8.).

In loanwords from Russian a /k/ corresponds to Russian κ, which is unaspirated, e.g.

<i>laþatka</i>	'shovel'	< Russian лопатка
<i>čotka</i>	'paintbrush'	< Russian щетка
<i>kuruška</i>	'mug'	< Russian кружка
<i>yupka</i>	'skirt'	< Russian юбка

### 1.9.6 /č/, /j/, /\x/

The affricate phoneme /č/ has in some cases developed from a fusion of \*t and \*š. This applies to *čiríyə* ‘autumn’ < \*čeri < \*tšeri < \*tešri. The affricate also in the verb *mačuxə* ‘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. ɬeškaħ). It must be assumed that the cluster \*šk shifted to \*št by partial assimilation of the velar \*k to the palato-alveolar \*š. This is, indeed, what is found in the J. Urmi form of this root, viz. *maštoxe*. The cluster \*št would then have been metathesized to /tš/ resulting in *mačuxə*. 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 \*n-t-š (cf. Syr. *ntaš* ‘to pluck, to tear’) with the addition of a non-etymological /l/.

The /j/ in the verb *jlaxa* ‘to peel’ (intr.), *jaluxə* ‘to peel’ (tr.) has developed from \*š, which is still preserved in the doublet verbs of the same meaning *šlaxa*, *šaluxə*.

Examples of emphaticized \*č > /č/ include <sup>+</sup>əčča ‘nine’ < \*əčča < \*ətš'a < \*təš'a. In some words /č/ with emphasis has developed from an original \*š. For example, in <sup>+</sup>maččuyə ‘to smooth’ (< \*maščøyē) an original \*š has shifted to č with suprasegmental emphasis due to contact with a pharyngal, the historical root being \*š- - - .

The root <sup>+</sup>p-č-l (<sup>+</sup>pčala ‘to become crooked’, <sup>+</sup>pčila ‘crooked’) is derived from \*p-š-l (cf. Syr. *p-š-l* ‘to twist’) by emphaticization. The second /č/ in the verb *čačča* ‘to wither’ is derived from the \*š in its etymological root \*k-m-š. The initial /č/ has developed from \*k, by an unusual shift, no doubt by assimilation to the third radical. In some cases /č/ with emphasis has developed from \*š, e.g. <sup>+</sup>čəlpa ‘crack’ (cf. Syr. *selpa* ‘crack’). For examples of the shift \*t > /č/ with emphasis see §1.9.3.

The tense /č/ occurs in a number of plain words, e.g.

<i>čočuyə</i>	‘to chirp’
<i>čaččə</i>	‘weapons’
<i>čačurča</i>	‘grasshopper’
<i>čanjurə</i>	‘to jingle, to clink’
<i>čančuna</i>	‘to tinkle, to make a shrill sound, to tingle’
<i>čapula</i>	‘paw’
<i>čarčurə</i>	‘to scream shrilly’
<i>čilaza</i>	‘slim’
<i>čita</i>	‘calico cloth’

**1.9.7 /r/**

A non-etymological /r/ is occasionally added at the end of the final syllable of the particle *'ita* ‘then, so’ (cf. Syr. *'itā* < Greek εἶτα). This is found in pausal position before an intonation group boundary, e.g. *'itar<sup>l</sup>* (B 10:16).

**1.9.8 /g/**

The voiced velar fricative /g/ occurs mainly in loans from Azeri Turkish and Persian. In the standard orthography of Azeri the sound in the source word is represented by the letters {ğ} or {q} in word-medial or word-final position, e.g.

<i>buğum</i>	‘joint’	< Azer. <i>buğum</i>
<i>+kaburğa</i>	‘rib’	< Azer. <i>qabırğı</i>
<i>+dussağ</i>	‘prison’	< Azer. <i>dustaq</i>
<i>+kəvraq</i>	‘quick’	< Azer. <i>qıvraq</i>

Loans from Persian have the letters {ğ} (غ) or {q} (ق) in the standard orthography of the source word, e.g.

<i>+tajar</i>	‘cauldron’	< Pers. <i>tağār</i> تغار
<i>irişul</i>	‘plumb-line’	< Pers. <i>šāqūl</i> شاقول

In some cases words with /g/ are ultimately of Arabic origin, e.g.

<i>+dabbağ</i>	‘tanner’	< Azer. <i>dabbağ</i> , Pers. <i>dabbāğ</i> دباغ < Arab. <i>dabbāğ</i>
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The word *tagala* ‘spleen’ with medial /g/, which is ultimately derived from Arab. *tīħāl* with medial /ħ/, appears to have entered C. Urmi through Kurdish (*teħl*); cf. C. Barwar *tahela*, in which the pharyngal is preserved. The reflex of the pharyngal in Kurdish appears here, irregularly, as a velar fricative.

Sporadically /g/ occurs in lexemes of Aramaic origin. These occurrences are exceptional vestiges of an original voiced velar fricative (the fricative allophone of \**g*), which in the vast majority of cases has a reflex of zero (§ 1.9.1.6.), e.g.

<i>+pağra</i>	‘body’	< * <i>pağrā</i>
<i>zağəd</i>	‘he worships’	< * <i>sāğed</i>
<i>žağəš</i>	‘he is disturbed’	< * <i>šāğeš</i>

In a few cases the voicing of an originally unvoiced /x/ by assimilation to adjacent vowels or voiced consonants has become lexicalized as /g/, e.g.

- maǵgəb* ‘he loves’ < \**maxxəb*  
*šəǵda* ‘good news’ < \**šəxda*

### 1.9.9 /ž/

The voiced palato-alveolar sibilant /ž/ occurs predominantly in loanwords from Kurdish. It corresponds to {j} in Kurmanji orthography, e.g.

- dəžmən* ‘enemy’ < Kurd. *dijmin*  
*dəžvar* ‘wild’ < Kurd. *dijwar*  
*miz* ‘fog’ < Kurd. *mij*  
*jažžana* ‘dizzy’ < Kurd. *gēj*

The phoneme is found in a few words of Aramaic origin in which an original unvoiced \*š in contact with a voiced consonant has become lexicalized as /ž/, e.g.

- xəžbuna* ‘calculation’ < \**xəšbuna*  
*tažbəx* ‘to glorify’ < \**tašbəx*

When it has become lexicalized in verbal roots it occurs in all inflections, even in those where it is not in contact with a voiced consonant, e.g.

- ždilə* ‘he teased (wool)’ < \**šdilə*  
*žadə* ‘he teases (wool)’ < \**šadə*  
*žadaya* ‘teaser of wool’ < \**šadaya*
- žgəšlə* ‘he was disturbed’ < \**šgəšlə*  
*žajəš* ‘he is disturbed’ < \**šajəš*

The sound /ž/ occurs in the exceptional gentilic (§ 5.9.7.) form *urməžnaya* ‘man from Urmi’. This possibly reflects the origin of the name in the divine name Ormazd, the Middle Persian form of Ahuramazda (Yohannan 1900, vi).

### 1.9.10 /f/

The phoneme /f/ is marginally attested in loanwords from Persian, some of them ultimately of Arabic origin, e.g. *+farsaya* ‘Persian’, *+farsət* ‘Persian (language)’, *fark* ‘difference’, *fur'un* ‘Pharaoh’, *cif* ‘purse’. An original /f/ in many loanwords from Persian and Arabic has shifted to /p/, e.g. *napas* ‘breath’ < Pers. < Arab. *nafas* (§ 1.9.1.2.). In some cases there is variation, e.g. *tapək* I ~ *tafək* I ‘to meet’ (< Arab. *'ittafaqa*).

### 1.10 Sound Symbolism

In a number of cases sound symbolism appears to have played a role in conditioning the phonological shape of words. Sound symbolism is a phenomenon that has been documented in many languages of the world (Reay 2006; Childs 2014). This goes beyond the simple imitation of sounds (onomatopoeia) and involves also the correspondence between sound and meaning. Particular sounds, clusters of sounds or phonological features may be associated with a particular domain of meaning. Such phonological features have been termed ‘ideophones’ (Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz 2001) or ‘phonesthemes’ (Reay 2006). One of the consequences of this phenomenon is that groups of words develop that share sounds and their associated meaning. The sound symbolism facilitates such proliferation of ‘constellations’ of words (Bolinger 1965), due to the aid it gives to learning and comprehension of new words (Childs 2014, 6). In English, for example, initial *sl-* is associated with sliding movement and has spread to a series of words expressing this semantic domain, such as *slalom, sledge, sleigh, slick, slide, slip, slither*, etc.

In C. Urmi one area in which sound symbolism can be identified is in phonological developments that express some kind of diminutive meaning. The sound shifts that are exploited to symbolize the diminutive involve two basic features: (i) increasing pitch and (ii) strengthening of consonants.<sup>12</sup> This is achieved by processes such as making an originally emphatic word plain by removing the emphasis, strengthening lax stops and affricates to the corresponding tense consonants, and affricating stops and sibilants.

Suprasegmental emphasis has been removed from a number of words that express small objects and creatures (§ 1.5.1.), e.g.

<i>tupra</i>	‘tail’ < * <i>tupra</i> (cf. Syriac <i>teprā</i> , C. Qaraqosh <i>bar-tupra</i> ‘strap for securing saddle behind the tail’)
<i>səpra</i>	‘sparrow (m.)’ < * <i>ṣəpra</i> (cf. Syriac <i>ṣəppərā</i> , Anhar <sup>+supra</sup> <i>ṣəpra</i> , C. Qaraqosh <i>ṣəpra</i> )
<i>kəmsa</i>	‘locust, grasshopper; dragon-fly’ < * <i>qamṣa</i> (cf. Syriac <i>qamṣā</i> , C. Barwar <i>qamṣa</i> )

The original emphasis has been removed from the verb *šaṭəx* I ‘to spread out (a light object, e.g. washing on a line)’ to distinguish it from the doublet <sup>+</sup>*šaṭəx* I

<sup>12</sup> Similar sound shifts to express a diminutive function have been identified in various other languages, e.g. Nichols (1971) who drew attention to this phenomenon in North American Indian languages.

'to stretch out (a person on the ground), to knock down (a person with force)', which preserves the original emphasis. The form *šatəx* with the emphasis removed expresses a lighter, less forceful action than the emphatic <sup>+</sup>*šatəx*. Another verb that seems to have had its emphasis removed for ideophonic purposes to express a small sound is *tançən* 'to hum softly'. This is likely to be a loan from Arabic *tanna* 'to hum'. The emphasis is retained in the variety of the C. Urmi dialect spoken in the village of Dizatacyā (<sup>+</sup>*tançən*) and the word *čena* 'mosquito' in C. Barwar, with an emphatic affricate, is likely to be ultimately related to this root.

The lack of emphasis in the following loanwords from Persian may also perhaps be explained as being conditioned by sound symbolism:

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| <i>nazuc</i>  | 'thin' < Pers. nāzok   |
| <i>mazrak</i> | 'stick with cushion for sticking dough to oven' < Pers.<br>mazrūq 'javelin' (< Arab. mizrāq) |
| <i>məskal</i> | 'small unit of weight' < Pers. mesqāl  |

A loanword that contains a long /ā/ in Persian is normally emphatic (§ 1.5.1.). The removal of emphasis of *mazrak* is evidently due to the fact that the stick in question is shorter than a full-length javelin. Alternatively one could identify here the use of a diminutive construction to express a figurative or virtual form of the entity denoted by the source word. There are parallels to this in the diminutive use of the feminine marker suffixes (§ 5.5.3.). An emphatic pronunciation <sup>+</sup>*məskal* has been identified in the speech of speakers from the village of Piğabayluvvə (N).

A number of loans from Azeri, which have back vocalism in the source language but are plain in the C. Urmi dialect, may also be cases of the same phenomenon, e.g.

- |               |                      |
|---------------|----------------------|
| <i>karğa</i>  | 'crow' < Azeri qarğā |
| <i>kəppəl</i> | 'lock' < Azeri qıfil |

In some varieties of C. Urmi, however, these words are emphatic, e.g.

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| <sup>+</sup> <i>karğa</i>  | Ardishay (S), Dizatacyā (S), <sup>+</sup> Spurğan (N) |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>kəppəl</i> | Siri (S)  |

The emphasis in some minimal, or near minimal, pairs of verbs that are distinguished only by the feature of suprasegmental emphasis can be given an ideophonic interpretation, in that the member of the pair with emphasis expresses

a stronger action than the one expressed by the plain verb. Some of these pairs may be doublets, as is the case with the pair *šatəx*—<sup>+</sup>*šatəx* discussed above, e.g.

- zakzək* QI ‘to throb (with pain)’  
<sup>+</sup>*zakzək* QI ‘to shiver (from cold)’

- čanjar* QI ‘to jingle’  
<sup>+</sup>*čanjar* QI ‘to scratch with a paw’

The contrast may be principally based on the level of sound, in that the emphatic member expresses a louder sound or a sound with a lower resonance, e.g.

- parpər* QI ‘to flap (flag)’  
<sup>+</sup>*parpər* QI ‘to blow (one’s nose) loudly’

- čarčər* QI ‘to scream’  
<sup>+</sup>*čarčər* QI ‘to creak (door)’

In varieties of the dialect in which the doublets *brita* and *brata* (< \**brattā*) exist, the former with the vowel of higher pitch, is used with connotations of greater endearment in the sense of ‘daughter’ while the latter means ‘girl’ in general. One may compare this to the use of the diminutive derivational suffix *-una* to express endearment (§ 5.9.9.):

- brita* ‘daughter’ (Canda)  
*brata* ‘girl’ (Canda)

In nouns expressing small items, particles expressing smallness, or verbs expressing actions of inherently short duration or diminutive sound, unvoiced stops and affricates that were originally lax aspirates are in some cases made tense unaspirates. This is found in words that are NENA in origin and also loanwords from Azeri, in which the unvoiced stops are aspirated in the source language, e.g.

- tarpa* ‘eyelash’ < \**tarpa* (cf. Syriac *tallīpē*, Turoyo *tlafine*)  
<sup>+</sup>*tapṭəp* QI ‘to blink; to flicker’ < \**taptəp* (cf. C. Barwar *tarəp*, *mtarpəθ*, *rapəθ*  
‘to blink’)  
<sup>+</sup>*pərtuxə* ‘crumbs’ < \**pərtuxə* (cf. *partəx* ‘to crumble’, C. Barwar *pərtoxə*)

<i>pər̥ta</i>	'crumb' < * <i>pərta</i> (cf. C. Barwar <i>pərtika</i> 'splinter')
<i>pəl̥təç</i> QI	'to stutter' < Azeri pəltəkləmək
<i>pəçpəç</i> QI	'to whisper' cf. Azeri piçldamaq
<i>pərça</i>	'a little, a crumb' cf. Azeri parça
<i>xaçça</i>	'a few, a small amount' < * <i>had</i> + Turkic suffix -ča

The word *çočə* QI 'to twitter' (< \**şawşə*), which expresses a small high pitched sound, has lost the emphasis of the original \**s* and the resulting plain sibilant has been hardened to a tense affricate /č/.

In plain words the unaspirated stop /t/ is occasionally affricated to /č/ by an ideophonic process to increase the pitch and express the diminutive. This is identifiable in the following pair of verbs, which are likely to be doublets, the form with the affricate expressing a sound of higher pitch:

<i>tançən</i> QI	'to hum'
<i>čançən</i> QI	'to tinkle (bell)'

It is also found in the following pair of synonymous doublets, both of which express a high pitched soft sound:

<i>pətʃpət</i> QI	'to whisper'
<i>pəçpəç</i> QI	'to whisper'

The anomalous tense /p/ in the adjective *šapıra* 'beautiful' (contrast, e.g., C. Barwar *šapira*) may have developed by a similar process of diminutive sound symbolism, in this case the diminutive being associated with endearment. As remarked above, diminutive and endearment are related concepts.

We should include here the anomalous occurrence of a tense /t/ in the feminine ending of the adjective *sura*:

<i>surtə</i>	'small (fs.)'
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There is no phonetic reason why the /t/ should become an unaspirated stop after the sonorant /r/. The motivation is undoubtedly diminutive sound symbolism. The initial /s/ in the adjective *sura* is the result of the devoicing of an original voice *z* (< \**z'ora*). This also is likely to have been motivated by a sound symbolism, whereby the pitch of the consonant was raised in the form of a strident sibilant. Finally it is probably not by chance that this word is plain, symbolizing smallness, whereas the word for 'big', *tjura*, which has the same pattern and also contains an /r/, is emphatic.

In pairs of verbs containing sibilants of closely related phonological form that express sounds, the member of the pair that has an unvoiced sibilant /s/ expresses a higher pitched sound than a corresponding form with voiced /z/, e.g.

<sup>+</sup>*vasvəs* QI ‘to squeak (mouse)’

<sup>+</sup>*vazvəz* QI ‘to buzz (bee)’

*sarsər* QI ‘to scream shrilly’

<sup>+</sup>*zarzər* QI ‘to utter a loud harsh cry, to bray (donkey)’

The affrication of an original unvoiced /tʃ/ in verbs with an emphatic suprasegmental setting has the effect of expressing a greater degree of force or hardness. It is noteworthy that affrication in plain words, by contrast, is an ideophonic expression of a diminutive. Examples of emphatic /č/ expressing greater force is seen clearly in a number of doublets where in one verb of the pair the /tʃ/ has been preserved while in the other it has shifted to /č/, e.g.

<sup>+</sup>*taxtəx* QI ‘to pound’

<sup>+</sup>*čaxčəx* QI ‘to smash to pieces’

<sup>+</sup>*xarxač* QI ‘to gnaw’

<sup>+</sup>*xarxač* QI ‘to gnash (teeth)’

<sup>+</sup>*kattə* I ‘to cut’

<sup>+</sup>*kaččə* I ‘to pull off (with greater force)’

<sup>+</sup>*zarət* I ‘to score (a board)’

<sup>+</sup>*zarəč* I ‘to scratch (with nails and break skin)’

<sup>+</sup>*kamət* I ‘to twist, to tighten (rope); to squeeze’

<sup>+</sup>*kaməč* I ‘to pinch, to nip’

<sup>+</sup>*karmač* QI ‘to have stomach cramps’

<sup>+</sup>*karmač* QI ‘to wrinkle, to crumple’

A similar sound symbolism is identifiable in the following doublets, in which the verb expressing the more forceful action is distinguished from the other member of the pair by being emphatic and exhibiting the affrication of the sibilant /s/ to /č/:

*baləs* I ‘to bruise’

+*baləč* I ‘to crush, to mash (with fist)’

Affrication of stops and sibilants in emphatic settings have developed in a number of other verbs expressing forcefulness or hardness, e.g.

+*χaləp* I ‘to split, to cleave’ < \**šaləp* (cf. Syriac *šlapā*)

+*marəč* I ‘to squash’ < \**marəs* (cf. Syriac *mras*)

+*χayəm* I ‘to push closed (door)’ < \**ṭayəm* (cf. Syriac *ṭam*)

+*χaməč* I ‘to wither’ < \**kaməš* (cf. Syriac *kmaš*)

In the light of the foregoing discussion the following increasing scale of ideo-phonic strength of alveolars may be identified, the sounds to the left expressing greater forcefulness or magnitude than those to the right:

+*χ* > +*t*/*s* > *t*/*s* > *χ*

So far we have been concerned with the role sound symbolism has played in bringing about phonological changes. Sound symbolism also conditions the development of groups of words with a shared phonological feature that corresponds to a shared semantic feature. Many groups of verbs exhibiting sound symbolism are reduplicative quadrilaterals, as can be seen in the following examples.

The sound -x is found at the end of several verbs expressing heavy impact. In reduplicative quadrilateral verbs this occurs at the end of each syllable:

+*χaxχax* QI ‘to smash’

+*taxtəx* QI ‘to crush, to pound’

*pampəx* QI ‘to break up (ground)’

+*paṭax* I ‘to spread by pressing on sth.’

+*ṭavəx* I ‘to crush, to break to pieces’

+*ṭapəx* I ‘to smash’

*kaməx* I ‘to be crushed, to be flattened (corn)’

*karpx* QI ‘to bang on the head; to shock’

+*χalbəx* QI ‘to beat with a stick’

*jambəx* QI ‘to cave in; to cause to cave in’

A final -k occurs in several verbs expressing a lighter impact, e.g.

- +taktək* QI ‘to knock (at the door)’  
*dakdək* QI ‘to chop finely’  
*laklək* QI ‘to loosen (tr. and intr.) by banging’  
*šarpək* QI ‘to crack’  
*šakšək* QI ‘to clatter, to rattle’

Final *-k* occurs also in verbs expressing vibrations or vibrating noises, e.g.

- čakčək* QI ‘to rattle; to chatter (teeth)’  
*+zakzək* QI ‘to shiver (from cold)’  
*zakzək* QI ‘to throb (with pain)’  
*bačbač* QI ‘to bubble’  
*vakvək* QI ‘to quack (duck)’  
*naknək* QI ‘to stammer’

The sound *-x* or *-h* is found at the end of several non-emphatic verbs expressing ‘panting’ or ‘heavy breathing’. In reduplicative quadrilateral verbs this occurs at the end of each syllable, e.g.

- laxləx* QI ‘to pant (dog when thirsty)’  
*naxnax* QI ‘to pant’  
*lahləh* QI ‘to puff, to pant’  
*napəx* I ‘to blow, to pant, to breathe’

Final *-s* or *-š* is also found in verbs expressing ‘heavy breathing’, ‘hissing’ or ‘hissing-like’ noises, e.g.

- +xasxəs* QI ‘to breathe heavily’  
*+paspəs* QI ‘to breathe hard; to wheeze’  
*tarxəs* QI ‘to pant’  
*+vasvəs* QI ‘to squeak (mouse); to hiss’  
*+pašpəš* QI ‘to hiss’  
*xašxəš* QI ‘to rustle (leaves), to hiss’

Several verbs expressing disgust or complaint end in *-z*, e.g.

- lazləz* QI ‘to feel disgust’  
*zaləz* II ‘to feel disgust’  
*janjəz* QI ‘to show disgust’  
*jazjəz* QI ‘to whine’  
*+naznəz* QI ‘to whine’

Several reduplicative quadriliteral verbs with syllables beginning with an unvoiced dorsal and ending in a voiced sibilant express 'sputtering', 'sizzling', or related noises, e.g.

*čazčəz* QI 'to sputter, to sizzle' (meat in a frying pan)

*kažkəž* QI 'to sizzle, to rattle (rain)'

Several verbs expressing sustained sounds end in *-r*, e.g.

*+xarxər* QI 'to snore'

*+marmər* QI 'to growl'

*+xanzər* QI 'to growl threateningly'

*čarčər* QI 'to scream'

*sarsər* QI 'to hiss'

Initial *n-* is found in verbs expressing nasal sounds, e.g.

*+namnəm* QI 'to speak through one's nose'

*+narnər* QI 'to bellow (buffalo)'

*+naznəz* QI 'to whine (child)'

Initial *l-* is found in verbs expressing actions with the tongue:

*lacəx* I 'to lick; to lick up'

*lakə* I 'to lap up, to guzzle'

*lapə* I 'to lap up, to gobble up'

Some verbal roots of related meaning share two radicals, or sometimes three radicals in the case of quadriliteral verbs. These may be consecutive or discontinuous (i.e. separated by other radicals), e.g.

*xarbəs* QI 'to push, to urge (a person)'

*xarzəp* QI 'to push; to push over (a person)'

*balləs* QI 'to chew (with mouth closed)'

*+lasləs* QI 'to chew (with mouth open)'

*+zarəč* I 'to scratch'

*+jarəč* I 'to scratch'

<i>jarəp</i> I	'to slip (on ground, ice)'
<sup>+</sup> <i>jarət</i> I	'to stumble, to slip (from a height)'
<sup>+</sup> <i>šaršət</i> QI	'to slide'

<i>zalək</i> I	'to rip, to tear apart'
<i>zaləp</i> I	'to rip, to tear (a piece from clothes)'
<i>zanbəl</i> QI	'to rip, to tear (into strips)'

<sup>+</sup> <i>bambəl</i> QI	'to stagger'
<i>čambəl</i> QI	'to hang (forwards), to sag'
<i>jambəl</i> QI	'to tumble, to stumble'
<i>jambəx</i> QI	'to cave in'

<i>marək</i> I	'to suck strongly with lips; to suck out'
<i>šarək</i> I	'to suck (especially a whole egg)'

<sup>+</sup> <i>laməs</i> I	'to absorb'
<sup>+</sup> <i>mayəs</i> I	'to suck'

<sup>+</sup> <i>karmač</i> QI	'to crumple'
<sup>+</sup> <i>karmat</i> QI	'to have stomach cramps'
<sup>+</sup> <i>karnəz</i> QI	'to coil up'

<i>nacnəc</i> QI	'to groan'
<i>naknək</i> QI	'to grunt, to grumble'
<i>naxnəx</i> QI	'to pant'

## 1.11 Historical Background of Vowels

### 1.11.1 /i/

(i) This may derive from long \**ī*, e.g.

<i>basíma</i>	'pleasant (ms.)'	< * <i>bassimā</i>
<i>yámmi</i>	'my mother'	< * <i>yimmi</i>
<i>’ásri</i>	'twenty'	< * <i>’asrīn</i>
<i>ptíxa</i>	'open'	< * <i>ptihā</i>
<i>xzí</i>	'see!'	< * <i>hzī</i>

(ii) It is the regular reflex of an original long \**ē* in word internal position, e.g.

<i>rīša</i>	'head'	< * <i>rēšā</i>
<i>cípa</i>	'stone'	< * <i>kēpā</i>
<i>xzílan</i>	'we saw'	< * <i>hzēlan</i>

(iii) It occasionally derives from a short high vowel in syllables that were originally closed but have now become open. This applies to such vowels in a syllable originally closed by a pharyngal or laryngal. For the sake of convenience, this vowel can be represented here as \**ə*. The gemination of the /y/ is a secondary phenomenon (§1.13.2.3.3.) e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>síyya</i>	'thirsty'	< * <i>siyya</i> < * <i>ṣəhyā</i>
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It is also attested in the closed syllable of loanwords that are opened by the addition of inflectional elements, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>cásəb</i>	'poor man'	pl. <sup>+</sup> <i>casíbə</i>	< Azer. <i>kasıb</i> < Arab.
<i>káləb</i>	'mould for cheese'	pl. <i>kalíbə</i>	< Azer. <i>qilib</i> < Arab.
<i>čátər</i>	'umbrella'	pl. <i>čatírə</i>	< Pers. čater

(iv) In a few words /i/ in an open syllable has developed by raising from \**a* in an originally closed syllable, usually before a geminated consonant, e.g.

<i>cíca</i>	'tooth'	< * <i>kakkā</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>míra</i>	'spade'	< * <i>marra</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>píra</i>	'lamb'	< * <i>parrā</i>
<i>šíta</i>	'year'	< * <i>śattā</i>
<i>císa</i>	'stomach'	< * <i>karsa</i> (+Mawana <i>časa</i> )
<i>zýja</i>	'bell'	< * <i>zaggā</i>
<i>jináva</i>	'thief'	< * <i>gannābā</i>
<i>jíváya</i>	'beggar'	< * <i>gawwāyā</i>
<i>ricáva</i>	'horseman'	< * <i>rakkābā</i>
<i>xó-šiba</i>	'Sunday'	< * <i>xa-b-śabbā</i>

The likely development of this phenomenon is as follows:

\**kakkā* > *kəkka* > *keka* > *cica*

The *\*a* was originally centralized in the closed syllable then this was lengthened to *\*ē* when the syllable opened. Finally *\*ē* shifted to /i/ by the normal process. Evidence for this reconstruction is found in dialects where the shift *\*ē* > /i/ has not taken place, e.g. Sat, where the cognate word has the form *keka* (Mutzafi 2008a, 22).

In Canda (Georgia) a doublet has developed from the word *\*brattā* ‘girl, daughter’:

- bráta* ‘girl’  
*brítā* ‘daughter’

(v) The vowel /i/ is the result of raising from *\*a* also before the palatal glide /y/ in a few isolated cases, e.g.

- míyya* ‘water’ < *\*maya*  
*'adíyya* ‘now’ < *\*hā + daya* < *\*daha*

### 1.11.2 /e/

(i) In most cases this is the result of contraction of the diphthong *\*ay*, e.g.

- béta* ‘house’ < *\*baytā*  
*+kéta* ‘summer’ < *\*qaytā*  
*calbé* ‘their dog’ < *\*kabáyhən*

In a few cases it appears to have resulted from the contraction of *\*ə*, e.g.

- +aréta* ‘patch’ < *\*+arə'ta*  
*+mayréta* ‘razor’ < *\*+magrə'ta*  
*sebúyta* ‘old age’ < *\*sə'būta* (cf. Syr. *s-*-*b*)

In *\*arə'ta* the *\*ə* appears to be an epenthetic. The word *+mayréta* derives historically from the determined form of the *əp'el* active participle (*\*maqtältā*).

### 1.11.3 /a/

This derives 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.

- pátxa* ['patxa] ‘she opens’ < *\*pā thā |*  
*+tálā* [tʰa:<sup>f</sup>l'a:<sup>f</sup>] ‘fox’ < *\*ta'lā*  
*+sára* [s'a:<sup>f</sup>r'a:<sup>f</sup>] ‘moon’ < *\*sahrā*

## 1.11.4 /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.

<i>pátəx</i>	'he opens'	< * <i>pātəx</i>
<i>lábba</i>	'heart'	< * <i>lábba</i>

(ii) It results from the shortening of \*ɪ in a closed syllable, e.g.

<i>šapórta</i>	'beautiful (fs.)'	< * <i>šappírtā</i> (cf. <i>šápira</i> ms.)
<i>ptáxli</i>	'I opened'	< * <i>ptíxlī</i>
<i>’átxva</i>	'there was'	< * <i>tl̥wā</i>

(iii) In post-stress syllables it is the result of shortening of an original \*ē, e.g.

<i>nášə</i>	'people'	< * <i>nāšē</i>
<i>baxtáto</i>	'women'	< * <i>baxtātē</i>
<i>+šadúrə</i>	'to send'	< * <i>mšaddōrē</i>
<i>patxálə</i>	'she opens it (m.)'	< * <i>pātxálē</i>
<i>xázə</i>	'he sees'	< * <i>xázē</i>
<i>xázən</i>	'I see'	< * <i>pātxēn</i>

A long /ē/ vowel is retained in some cases in slow speech, especially at the end of an intonation group, but this is not marked in the transcription.

(iv) The vowel /ə/ occurs in some syllables where it is ultimately derived from \*ay, e.g. post-stress open syllables:

<i>bétxə</i>	'it is a house'	< * <i>bētēlē</i> < * <i>baytaylē</i>
<i>+táməva</i>	'he was there'	< * <i>támēwā</i> < * <i>tāmaywā</i>

and closed syllables such as

<i>bétváto</i>	'houses'	< * <i>bētvätē</i> < * <i>baytvätē</i>
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In these contexts a long /ē/ vowel is occasionally retained in some cases in slow speech, but is not marked in the transcription.

(v) It occurs in stressed and post-stress closed syllables containing a contracted form of the copula, e.g.

- l̩n* ‘I am not’ < *levən* < \**laywēn*  
*vídən* ‘I have done’ < *vidəvən* < \**widaywēn*

A long /ē/ is retained in some cases, especially in stressed syllables, e.g. in forms of the negative copula such as *l̩n* ‘I am not’. In the transcription, therefore, the /ē/ has been normalized in the negative copula (§ 3.4.).

- (vi) Final -ə in singular nouns is generally derived from an original \*-yā, e.g.

- lélə* ‘night’ < \**laylyā* (Syr. *lelyā*)  
<sup>+</sup>*árxə* ‘water-mill’ < \**rahyā* (Syr. *rahyā*)

### 1.11.5 /o/

This derives from the diphthong \*aw, in some cases deriving ultimately from *ab*, e.g.

- |                          |                  |                  |
|--------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>móta</i>              | ‘death’          | < * <i>mawtā</i> |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>sóma</i> | ‘fast’           | < * <i>sawmā</i> |
| <i>óya</i>               | ‘(that) she be’  | < * <i>hāwyā</i> |
| -o                       | fs. suffix       | < * <i>aw</i>    |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>kóra</i> | ‘grave’          | < * <i>qabrā</i> |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>þóra</i> | ‘man’            | < * <i>gabrā</i> |
| <i>ódi</i>               | ‘(that) they do’ | < * <i>'abdī</i> |

### 1.11.6 /u/

- (i) In closed syllables this derives from an original short \*u, e.g.

- úrxa* ‘road’ < \**urhā*  
*dúcta* ‘place’ < \**dukk<sup>2</sup>tā*

- (ii) In the environment of labials an original short /ə/ may sometimes be realized with labialization, resulting in qualities in the region of [ø] in plain words, e.g. *pómma* [pʰømma] ‘mouth’ and [v] in emphatic words, e.g. <sup>+</sup>*ávən* [<sup>+</sup>?a:vvn] ‘he’. The degree of labialization varies across speakers and tokens. It is sufficient, however, to justify transcribing such words with /u/, viz. *pumma*, <sup>+</sup>*avun*.

- (iii) In stressed open syllables /u/ is a reflex of an original long \*ō, e.g.

- <sup>+</sup>*naṭúra* ‘guard’ < \**nāṭōrā*  
*carúba* ‘angry’ < \**kārōbā*

<i>súra</i>	'small'	< * <i>sōrā</i> < * <i>zōrā</i>
+ <i>šadúrə</i>	'to send'	< * <i>mšaddōrē</i>

In some cases it is ultimately derived from \**aw* or \**ab* (§ 1.9.1.1.), e.g.

<i>mú</i>	'what'	< * <i>mō</i> < * <i>maw</i>
<i>dúlə</i>	'there he is'	< * <i>dōlē</i> < * <i>dawlē</i>
+ <i>júra</i>	'big'	< * <i>gora</i> < * <i>ga<b>r</b>a</i>

(iv) In final open unstressed syllables it is a reflex of an original \**ū*, e.g.

+ <i>kátu</i>	'cat'	< *+ <i>qatū</i>
- <i>u</i>	3ms suffix	< - <i>ū</i>

(v) In stressed open syllables and open syllables standing before the stress /u/ sometimes occurs as a reflex of an original long \**ū*. In these contexts it occurs in free variation with diphthong /uy/ (§ 1.12.1.), e.g.

<i>malcúta</i> ~ <i>malcúyta</i>	'kingdom'	< * <i>maklūtā</i>
<i>suráya</i> ~ <i>suyráya</i>	'Assyrian'	< * <i>sūrāyā</i>
<i>hudáya</i> ~ <i>huydáya</i>	'Jew'	< * <i>yhūdāyā</i>

## 1.12 Historical Background of Diphthongs

### 1.12.1 /uy/

The diphthong /uy/ is derived from an original long \**ū*, e.g.

<i>xabiýša</i>	'apple'	< * <i>habbūšā</i>
+ <i>túyra</i>	'mountain'	< * <i>tūrā</i>
<i>núyra</i>	'fire'	< * <i>nūrā</i>
<i>suyráya</i>	'Assyrian'	< * <i>sūrāyā</i>
<i>huydáya</i>	'Jew'	< * <i>yhūdāyā</i>

The shift \**ū* > /uy/ is a palatalization process that was no doubt motivated by a push-chain effect after \**ō* shifted to long /u/.

In some cases the long \**ū* was derived ultimately from a diphthong, e.g.

<i>túyna</i>	'straw'	< * <i>tubnā</i>
<i>díyša</i>	'honey'	< * <i>dubšā</i>
+ <i>rúyša</i>	'shoulder'	< * <i>rubšā</i>

The diphthongization of  $*\bar{u}$  does not take place in native Aramaic words if the vowel is followed by the dorsal consonants /x/ and /χ/, which block the palatalization process, e.g.

$^{+}rúxa$	'spirit'
$\check{súka}$	'market'
$rúkə$	'spit'

Some loanwords, however, exhibit diphthongization before dorsals, e.g. *sandúyka* 'box, coffin' (Pers. sandúq < Arab. šandūq), *čaruyxə* 'sandals' (Kurd. çarox).

As remarked (§ 1.11.6.), the diphthong /uy/ alternates with /u/. The realization of  $*\bar{u}$  as /uy/ occurs most frequently in stressed syllables. The reflex /u/ is more common in pretonic unstressed syllables, e.g. *hudáya* 'Jew'. In post-stress syllables /u/ is the norm, e.g.  $^{+}kátu$  'cat', though the diphthong is occasionally attested, e.g.  $^{+}kátuy$  (Canda). This suggests that vowel length is one of the conditioning factors of the diphthong, since the vowel is longer in a stressed syllable. The realization of  $*\bar{u}$  as /u/ rather than /uy/ even in stressed syllables is particularly common in the speech of people who have been educated in the literary language, where it is avoided. This applies in particular to the vowel of the abstract derivational suffix *-uta* ~ *-uyta*, which is frequently realized as /u/, e.g. *malcuta* 'kingdom'. The norms of the literary language, therefore, have had an impact on this vowel in speech. In the transcription of the texts the vowel is transcribed as it is pronounced by the speaker, either as /u/ or /uy/ without normalization. In citation forms and lexical entries some degree of normalization has been applied and the diphthong /uy/ is written in stressed syllables.

There are sporadic cases where /u/ deriving from  $*\bar{o}$  is palatalized to /uy/. This is occasionally heard, for example, in the word *bət-<sup>+kúra</sup> ~ bət-<sup>+kúyra</sup>* 'cemetary' (< *bet-qora*). Note also the variants *<sup>+xóra</sup> ~ <sup>+xúyra</sup>* 'friend' <  $*\bar{xawra}$  < *xabra*.

In dialects spoken in the highlands to the west of Urmi, such as  $^{+}\text{Mawana}$ , the palatalization process of  $*\bar{u}$  has resulted in the front rounded monophthong /ü/ [IPA Y], e.g. *xabiüša* 'appled', *füda* 'wall', but this is blocked, as in C. Urmi, before dorsals, e.g. *ruqe* 'spit'. In C. Salamas and C. Gawilan the equivalent results in a velar fricative off-glide, e.g. *xabuxša* 'apple', *juğda* 'wall', but, again, is blocked before dorsals, e.g. *šuka* 'market', *ruxa* 'spirit'.

### 1.12.2 *The Diphthong /ay/*

The diphthong /ay/ is the reflex of an original diphthong in a number of emphatic words, e.g.

- +*ayna* ‘eye’      \*‘*aynā*  
+*ayva* ‘cloud’      \*‘*aybā*

It is the reflex of an original diphthong in the independent 3fs pronoun:

‘*ay* ‘she’ < \**hay*

In the fs. attributive demonstrative, however, the diphthong is contracted: ‘*e* (< \*‘*ay*) ‘that’; cf. +*av* ‘he’ but attributive demonstrative ‘*o* ‘that’.

### 1.12.3 Diphthongs Resulting from Contractions

Elsewhere diphthongs have resulted from various types of contractions of segments. These include the following:

Due to the elision of the \**t* in the numeral ‘thirty’ and in plural forms:

- tlay* ‘thirty’ < \**tlātī*  
*xatvay* ‘sisters’ variant of *xatvata*  
*matvay* ‘villages’ variant of *matvata*

Due to the elision of intervocalic /n/:

- tay* ‘tell!’ variant of *tani*  
*may* ‘who?’ variant of *mani*

Due to the elision of intervocalic /d/:

- muy* ‘what’ variant of *mudi*

Due to the weakening of the palatals /c/ and /ʃ/ to /y/ in some forms, e.g.

- duyta* ‘place’ a variant of *ducta*  
*tuybərri* ‘I looked after’ a variant of *tuybərri*  
‘*a-yba* ‘*o-yba* ‘this side that side’ variants of ‘*a-jiba* ‘*o-jiba*

When a palatal is weakened to /y/ after /ə/, these two segments coalesce to /i/, e.g.

- fari* ‘must’ a variant of *farəc*

Diphthongs also occur due to secondary gemination of /y/ in word-medial position (§ 1.13.2.3.3.).

### 1.13 Gemination of Consonants

#### 1.13.1 *Distribution of Gemination*

All consonant phonemes may be geminated except for the laryngal /'. Attested examples include the following:

/b/	<i>ləbba</i>	'heart'
/c/	<sup>+</sup> <i>accara</i>	'farmer'
/ç/	<i>yaççana</i>	'only son'
/č/	<i>kərkəččə</i>	'sunflower seeds'
/᷑/	<sup>+</sup> <i>əččə</i>	'nine'
/d/	<sup>+</sup> <i>maddə</i>	'he informs'
/f/	<i>b-fur'un</i> [biffor'vn]	'by Pharaoh'
/ѓ/	<i>maѓgabta</i>	'love'
/h/	<i>b-həlma</i> [bihhilma]	'in steam'
/j/	<i>navəjja</i>	'grandson'
/j/	<sup>+</sup> <i>ajjəb</i>	'he is surprised'
/k/	<i>þəkka</i>	'frog'
/l/	<i>cəllita</i>	'kidney'
/m/	<i>yəmma</i>	'mother'
/n/	<i>čannita</i>	'chin'
/p/	<i>səppatə</i>	'lips'
/᷑/	<sup>+</sup> <i>su᷑p̪a</i>	'finger'
/r/	<sup>+</sup> <i>šudərrə</i>	'he sent'
/s/	<sup>+</sup> <i>kəssa</i>	'forehead'
/š/	<i>xəšša</i>	'suffering'
/t/	<i>hakyattu</i>	'his story'
/᷑/	<sup>+</sup> <i>yattə</i>	'he knows'
/v/	<sup>+</sup> <i>avva</i>	'that'
/x/	<i>laxxa</i>	'here'
/y/	<sup>+</sup> <i>mayyə</i>	'he churns'
/z/	<sup>+</sup> <i>bəzza</i>	'hole'
/᷑/	<i>kəžžakəž</i>	'rattling'

#### 1.13.2 *The Origin of Consonant Gemination*

Consonant gemination in the dialect has various origins.

##### 1.13.2.1 Assimilation of Consonants

This applies to assimilation of the /l/ of L-suffixes in various verbal inflections, e.g.

<i>šaklátta</i>	'You take it'	< *šaklāt + <i>la</i>
<i>šaklónna</i>	'I take it'	< *šaklān + <i>la</i>
<i>cpánna</i>	'He became hungry'	< *cpān + <i>la</i>
<i>+sudárra</i>	'He sent'	< *+sudər + <i>la</i>

It is also found sporadically with other consonants, e.g.

*matta* 'she places' < *matva*

### 1.13.2.2 Gemination Inherited from Morphological Patterns

In words of Aramaic stock, the original consonant gemination of nominal patterns that are found in earlier Aramaic has been preserved in the dialect after an original short front high vowel,<sup>13</sup> e.g.

<i>labbā</i>	'heart'
<i>'azzā</i>	'nanny-goat'
<i>cəssaya</i>	'lid (of oven)'
<i>ʃəddala</i>	'thread'
<i>səmmalta</i>	'ladder'
<i>səppərtā</i>	'small bird'

It has also been preserved after /u/ in some words, e.g.

*xubba* 'love'  
*pumma* 'mouth'

Gemination is in principle weakened within words of other patterns after vowels other than original short \*ə, e.g.

<i>+raba</i>	'much'	< *rabbā
<i>xabíyša</i>	'apple'	< *habbūšā
<i>basíma</i>	'pleasant'	< *bassīmā
<i>catáva</i>	'writer'	< *kattābā
<i>šadíúrə</i>	'to send'	< *mšaddōrē
<i>+bukára</i>	'question'	< *buqqārā
<i>+puzálla</i>	'he forgave'	< *mpuxxəl-lēh

<sup>13</sup> I have found no basis for the claim by Tsereteli (1978b, 30) that gemination has been lost in these words in the C. Urmī dialect, including in the varieties spoken in Georgia.

The original gemination has been preserved in a few isolated cases, e.g.

- +*accara* ‘farmer’
- +*jabbara* ‘hero’
- kaddiša* ‘saint’
- jaddiša* ‘stook of wheat or grass’
- šladda* ‘corpse’
- šmayya* ‘sky, heaven’

In cases where an original \**a* developed into \**ə* before a geminated consonant the gemination was still lost and the reflex of the vowel is long /i/ in an open syllable (§ 1.11.1.):

- cica* ‘tooth’ < \**keka* < \**kəkka* < \**kakkā*
- jinava* ‘thief’ < \**genava* < \**gənnava* < \**gannābā*

In loanwords gemination has in many cases been taken from the source language:

- +*hammam* ‘bath’ < Pers. hammām < Arab.
- +*kassab* ‘butcher’ < Azer. qəssab /Pers. qassāb < Arab.
- +*najjar* ‘carpenter’ < Pers. najjār < Arab.
- +*nakkaš* ‘painter’ < Pers. naqqāš
- +*dabbağ* ‘tanner’ < Azer. dabbağ
- +*murabba* ‘jam’ < Azer. mürəbbə/Pers. morabba < Arab.
- lacca* ‘stain’ < Pers. lakke
- kubba* ‘dome’ < Azer. qübbə < Arab.
- +*čakkal* ‘jackal’ < Azer. çaqqal

### 1.13.2.3 Secondary Gemination after Short Vowels

In words of Aramaic stock this has taken place in the following circumstances.

#### 1.13.2.3.1 After a Short Vowel in an Open Syllable

In conditions where vowels in open syllables are long, short vowels are not tolerated in open syllables. The clearest case of this is in stressed open syllables, in which vowels would normally be pronounced fully long (§ 1.7.1.1.). So if by a phonetic process a short vowel would appear in an open stressed syllable, the syllable is closed by geminating the following consonant. This applies, for example, to the opening of syllables due to the loss of a pharyngal in the sequence \*VCV, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> šámma	'she hears'	< *šáma < *šām'ā
<sup>+</sup> tárra	'door'	< *tára < *tar'ā
<sup>+</sup> dómma	'tear'	< *dóma < *dóm'ā
<sup>+</sup> køtta	'piece'	< *qøta < *qøt'ā

We may include here perhaps the demonstrative pronouns <sup>+</sup>ávva 'that' (m.) and <sup>+</sup>áyya 'that' (f.) and the adverbial <sup>+</sup>támma 'there', in which the gemination may have developed secondarily by a similar process due to the elision of a laryngal:

<sup>+</sup> ávva	'that' (m.)	< *áwa	< *awhā
<sup>+</sup> áyya	'that' (f.)	< *áya	< *ayhā
<sup>+</sup> támma	'there'	< *táma	< *támhā

If a pharyngal or laryngal are lost in the sequence *\*V'CV*, the preceding vowel is generally lengthened, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> tála	'fox'	< *tá'lā
<sup>+</sup> šáda	'almond'	< *ša'da < *šaǵdā
dáva	'gold'	< *dahbā
<sup>+</sup> šúla	'job'	< *šu'lā < *šuǵlā

When the syllable contains a high vowel in structures such as these, the vowel is generally kept short and so the following consonant is geminated, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> púlla	'radish'	< *pu'lā < *puǵlā
rákka	'distant'	< *rəhqā

This applies to the numerals 11–19. When the '10' element *\*sar* is preceded by an /a/ vowel, this vowel is lengthened, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> xamšásar	'15'	< *xamšá'sar
<sup>+</sup> əštásar	'16'	< *əstá'sar

When the preceding vowel is high, however, the vowel is short and the following /s/ is geminated, e.g.

taryóssar	'12'	< *taryá'sar
tmanássar	'18'	< *tmaná'sar

If a short vowel appears in an open syllable due to a morphophonemic process, the syllable likewise is closed by gemination. This applies, for example, to the addition of inflectional endings to the base *maCCəC*- in pattern III verbs (§ 4.3.3.3.):

*mapláxxa* ‘she uses’ < \**mapləx* + *a*

Another example is the gemination of the initial radical that results from the imposition of the pattern III template *maCCəC* on weak roots, e.g.

*mákkəm* ‘he causes to stand’ < \**maķəm* < \**maqīm*  
*márrək* ‘he causes to run’ < \**marək* < \**ma'rəq*

In loanwords an open syllable containing a short vowel is likewise not tolerated and is closed by gemination, e.g.

<i>zábbun</i>	‘weak’	< Azer. zəbun
<i>mácca</i>	‘maize’	< Azer. məkə
<i>+kádda</i>	‘disaster’	< Azer. qada < Arab.
<i>čákku</i>	‘knife’	< Sorani Kurd. çeqo
<i>+júvvab</i>	‘answer’	< Pers. javāb
<i>cúllunj</i>	‘crowbar’	< Azer. külüng
<i>+čúbbux</i>	‘tobacco pipe’	< Azer. çubuq/Pers. čopoq
<i>+pállan</i>	‘so-and-so’	< Azer. filan/Pers. folān
<i>képpəl</i>	‘lock’	< Azeri qıflı < Arab.
<i>jódda</i>	‘spear’	< Azer. cida
<i>šábbət</i>	‘dill’	< šebet
<i>+čəkkúrta</i>	‘hole’	< Azer. cukur

In all verbal forms from loaned nouns the gemination is introduced also when a short /a/ is found in the source, e.g.

<i>+ájjəb</i>	‘he is surprised’	< Arab. ‘ajiba
<i>támməz</i>	‘he cleans’	< Azer. təmiz
<i>jávvəb</i>	‘he answers’	< Pers. javāb
<i>báxxəl</i>	‘he is jealous’	< Pers. baxıl < Arab.

A geminated consonant following a vowel in a pretonic syllable has a slightly reduced gemination just as a vowel in an open pretonic syllable is slightly shorter in duration (§ 1.7.1.2.). The gemination in such cases is still marked in the transcription, e.g.

*+šammáva* ‘she used to hear’

*mapləxxáva* ‘she used to use’

### 1.13.2.3.2 After an Epenthetic \*ə

This applies to a stressed epenthetic breaking a word-initial cluster in mono-syllabic nouns, e.g.

*dámma* ‘blood’ < \*dəmā < \*dmā.

*šánnə* ‘years’ < \*šənē < \*šnē

This must have occurred at a considerable historical depth in NENA, since initial consonant clusters in C. Urmi are now pronounced without an epenthetic splitting to the two consonants (§ 1.15.1).

Gemination occurs also after the prefixed preposition *bə-* in progressive verbal forms such as:

*bərráxšəla* ‘he is going’ < bə + rəxšəla

*+bəššášəla* ‘he is shaking’ < bə + +šášəla

*+bəddáyən* ‘I know’ < bə + +dayən

The /ə/ in the form *bə-* here originated as an epenthetic vowel in verbal stems with an initial consonant cluster *CC* such as:

*bəptáxəla* ‘he is opening’ < b + ptaxəla

This was then extended by analogy to verbal stems beginning with an open syllable and the resulting *bəCV* sequence was resolved as *bəCCV*.

### 1.13.2.3.3 ŢC > VCC

In some circumstances the sequence of a long vowel followed by a consonant is replaced by a short vowel followed by a geminated consonant. This type of gemination is particularly common with the sequences /īy/ and /ūv/, e.g.

*míyya* ‘water’ < \*mīya

*díyux* ‘yours’ < \*dīyux

*‘adíyya* ‘now’ < \*hadīya

*+karúvva* ‘cock’ < \*qarūva < \*qārō'a

*+xalúvva* ‘maternal uncle’ < \*xalūva < \*xalū-a

*puvvórrə* ‘he yawned’ < \*pūvərrə < \*pūhərrə

When /*ūv*/ shifts to /*uvv*/ in the past template and resultative participles of verbs, the geminated /*vv*/ is extended to other paradigms where it is preceded by other vowels, e.g.

- pávvər* ‘he yawns’  
*pavvúrələ* ‘he is yawning’

A consonant in the sequence  $\bar{V}C$  freely alternates with  $VCC$  in a few sporadic cases, e.g.

- jášəq* ~ *jáššəq* ‘he looks’  
*xazə* ~ *xazzə* ‘he sees’

In a few cases gemination that has developed in this way has become fixed lexically e.g.

- jamməšta* ‘buffalo’ < \**gāməštā*, cf. Syriac *gāmūšā*.

Gemination of this type has arisen in a few words that consist of two elements that have become bonded, e.g.

- mújjur* ‘how’ < \**mu* ‘what’ + *jur* ‘kind’ (Pers. *jūr*)  
*laxxa* ‘here’ < \**l-hāxā*

#### 1.13.2.3.4 Gemination of Word-initial Consonant

Occasionally the first consonant of a word is geminated when preceded by a word ending in an unstressed vowel (i.e. the common form of word-ending). This is heard in particular when the second word in the sequence occurs at the end of an intonation group. This type of gemination is not marked in the transcription:

- súsa súra* [‘su:sa ‘ssu:ra] ‘a small horse’  
*máxi bìyyi* [‘ma:xi ‘bbijji] ‘they strike me’

#### 1.14 Syllable Structure

At the beginning of a word the onset of a syllable may consist of a single consonant *C* or a cluster *CC*, e.g.

- pá.təx* ‘he opens’  
*ptáx.lə* ‘he opened’

A consonant cluster at the beginning of a word is generally not split by an epenthetic vowel. Some examples of epenthetics between the consonants, however, are found. This occurs, for example, after a tense dorsal /k/, e.g.

- kdála* [kə'da:la] ‘neck’

This would have the following syllable structure:

- kda.la.*

Initial clusters may be of decreasing sonority, e.g.

- npállə* ‘he fell’  
*rxátlə* ‘he ran’

Clusters at the onset of a syllable are expected to exhibit rising sonority onsets (Ewen and van der Hulst 2001, 136–141, 147–150). The fact that the clusters can be of decreasing sonority, beginning with sonorants, suggests that in such cases the first consonant of a cluster should be analysed as extra-syllabic, thus:

- n.pállə* ‘he fell’

Word-initial strings with decreasing sonority such as *npállə* are often pronounced with epenthetic prosthetic vowels, which is evidence for this analysis of the syllable structure, e.g.

<i>nšáklə</i>	[in'ʃíklɪ]	‘He kissed him’
<i>+ntúrrə</i>	[u <sup>ŋ</sup> n <sup>ŋ</sup> t <sup>ŋ</sup> rr <sup>ŋ</sup> ə <sup>ŋ</sup> ]	‘Guard it!’
<i>rjádlə</i>	[ɪr'jɪdlɪ]	‘He trembled’
<i>+rxátlə</i>	[ə <sup>ŋ</sup> r <sup>ŋ</sup> x <sup>ŋ</sup> ə <sup>ŋ</sup> t <sup>ŋ</sup> l <sup>ŋ</sup> ə <sup>ŋ</sup> ]	‘He ran’
<i>lvaxta</i>	[ɪ'lvaxta]	‘to flame’
<i>lvəšta</i>	[ɪ'lvišta]	‘attire’
<i>spadítə</i>	[ispə'di:tʰə]	‘pillow’
<i>švíkáli</i>	[ɪsvi:káli:]	‘I left her’

Epenthetics occasionally occur elsewhere to break up a cluster, e.g.

- +kra* [ə<sup>r</sup>kr<sup>a</sup>] ‘turtle’  
*dbišəna* [əd'bi:ʃəna] ‘they have stuck’

The prefixing of a prosthetic vowel is a permanent feature of several words that are historically monosyllabic, in which the originally epenthetic vowel has been reanalysed as a syllable nucleus. The prosthesis is exploited to augment the word to two syllables. These prosthetic vowels, which bear the stress, are represented in the transcription. Note that in all cases the cluster is of falling sonority, which disfavours syllable onset formation, e.g.

- 'ärxa* ‘water-mill’ < \*rxe < \*rahyā  
*'äšta* ‘six’ (m.) < \*štā  
*'ältax* ‘below’ < \*l-tēx

When a prefixed element consisting of one consonant is attached to a word beginning with a cluster *CC*, a cluster consisting of three consonants is created in the onset *CCC*. An epenthetic is obligatorily placed between the particle and the remaining consonants, e.g.

- d-tré* [di'tre:] ‘the second’  
*d-+flá* [də'tf<sup>l</sup>ā:] ‘the third’

In a case such as the ones cited, the stress position demonstrates that the vowel is an epenthetic. The monosyllabic word *tre* takes final stress although a vowel exists after the /d/. If the vowel after the initial /d/ were a syllable nucleus, one would expect the stress placement to take it into account and the stress would be placed on this syllable due to its penultimate position, the canonical place for stress. It should be interpreted, therefore, as an epenthetic.

Enclitic elements that are attached to the end of a host word may have a zero syllabic onset, e.g.

- +úllul.i.lə* (= +úllul-ilə) ‘He is above’  
*dóž.mən.i.lə* (= dóžmən-ilə) ‘He is an enemy’

By contrast, when affixes beginning with a vowel are added to equivalent words that end in a consonant, they must have a C onset, which is achieved by geminating the final consonant of the host word, e.g.

- dóžmən + an* > *dóžmónnan* ‘our enemy’

The zero syllabic onset of the copula enclitic *ilə* is permitted since it does not occur in word-initial position. Zero onsets are not tolerated at the beginning of a word in the phonetic form of the word, although at an underlying level words sometimes have a zero onset. Such words acquire an initial laryngal /', which fills the zero onset slot, e.g.

<i>/Øilə/</i>	>	<i>'ilə</i>	'He is'
<i>/+Øaxəl/</i>	>	<i>+axəl</i>	'He eats'

The rhyme of a syllable may consist of a vowel nucleus only or may consist of a vowel nucleus and a following consonant. As has been described in § 1.7., the phonetic duration of vowels varies according to the position in a word. There is reason to believe, however, that on a phonological level syllable rhymes should be analysed as VV or VC, i.e. they have the weight of two moras.

In an open stressed syllable a vowel is long. A syllable with a short vowel nucleus in the same conditions has to have the same weight of rhyme, i.e. VC:

<i>pá.təx</i>	'he opens'
<i>CVV.CVC</i>	

<i>+šám-max</i>	'we hear'
<i>CVC-CVC</i>	

It can be assumed, therefore, that open and closed syllables are of the same phonological moraic weight also in other conditions, although the phonetic duration of the vowel or of a geminated consonant may be reduced due to the prosody of the utterance. Although a word-final open syllable is phonologically long (bimoraic), the second vowel mora tends to lose audibility due to glottalization. This applies in particular to stressed word-final syllables in stress groups such as *xà-yuma* 'one day' (§ 1.19.2.). In such cases the glottalization fills the timing of the second mora (marked here with the symbol ?).<sup>14</sup> The symbol # is used to mark a word boundary:

<i>[xə?-ju:ma:]</i>	<i>xà.-yu.ma?</i>
<i>CVV.#CVV.CVV#</i>	

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<sup>14</sup> For a similar phonological interpretation of word-final glottalization in Italian see Vayra (1994).

Glottalization of word-final vowels can be regarded as essentially the same phenomenon as devoicing of word-final consonants (§ 1.6.). Occasionally the syllable ends in an audible glottal stop in these contexts, e.g. *xá'-dana* ‘a single’ (A 39:10).

In their citation form and in pause at the end of the intonation group a word-final vowel is generally long (§ 1.7.1.4.), and within intonation groups their duration is reduced. These may be a prosodic phenomenon independent of their phonological length.

<i>pát.xa</i>	[ <i>p<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>.xa</i> ]	‘she opens’
<i>CVC.CVV#</i>		

<i>pát.xax</i>	[ <i>p<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>.xax</i> ]	‘we open’
<i>CVC.CVC#</i>		

<i>pat.xí.va</i>	[ <i>p<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>.'xi:.va</i> ]	‘they used to open’
<i>CVC.CVV.CVV#</i>		

<i>+šam.mí.va</i>	[ʃ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>h</sup> m <sup>h</sup> .m <sup>h</sup> i:.v <sup>h</sup> a <sup>h</sup> ]	‘they used to hear’
<i>CVC.CVV.CVV#</i>		

As described in § 1.7.1.1. the vowel in the stressed *xá* in such cases is sometimes phonetically short. The bimoricity of such word-final vowels is demonstrated by the fact that they are clearly phonetically long when they take the stress in word-internal position after the attachment of a suffix, e.g.

<i>pat.xá.va</i>	[ <i>p<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>.'xa:.va</i> ]	‘she used to open’
<i>CVV.CVV.CVV#</i>		

Other evidence for their bimoricity is the fact that the second mora of final *-i* surfaces as the palatal [ç] in pause before an intonation group boundary due to glottalization:

<i>bè.ti'</i>	[ <i>'be:.t<sup>h</sup>iç</i> ]	‘my house’
<i>CVV.CVV#</i>		

The vowel of penultimate post-stress syllables also reduces in phonetic duration when not in pause at the end of the intonation group, e.g.

*bé.tə.lə* [be:t<sup>h</sup>i.li] ‘it is a house’  
*CVV.CVV.CVV#*

The rhyme VC occurs also in final closed syllables, e.g.

*ptúx* [pt<sup>h</sup>ux] ‘open!’  
*CCVC#*

Before intonation group boundaries the vowel of a word-final CVC syllable is often extended phonetically, but this need not affect the analysis of its phonological mora weight since it is likely to be a prosodic phonomenon independent of the syllable's phonological weight. Its bimoricity is demonstrated by the fact that when it is put in word-internal position by the addition of a suffix, it is always phonetically short:

*p.túx.lə*  
*C.CVC.CVV#*

Certain words contain a long vowel in closed syllables even when a suffix is added. These forms have developed by contraction of two syllables into one, e.g. <sup>+</sup>tāl ‘he plays’, <sup>+</sup>tālta ‘game’. The syllable structure of these forms can be analysed thus:

<sup>+</sup>tāl ‘he plays’  
*CVV.C#*

<sup>+</sup>tā.lta ‘game’  
*CVV.C.CVV#*

Here the consonant following the long vowel is extrasyllabic and does not affect the bimoric weight of the syllable. Evidence for this analysis is that the contracted syllable can be optionally restored, e.g.

<sup>+</sup>tá.l ~ <sup>+</sup>tá.vol ‘he plays’  
*CVV.C#*      *CVV.CVC#*

A CC cluster may occur in the onset of a syllable that occurs word-internally, e.g.

*+pur.tkal.ta* ‘orange’

CVC.CCVC.CV#

*+xər.tman.ta* ‘chickpea’

CVC.CCVC.CV#

If the second consonant of the word-internal sequence *CCC* is more sonorant than the third, the syllabification *C.CC* is not favoured, since the onset would have falling rather than rising sonority. In such cases one finds forms such as *mădənxa* ‘east’, *tăyəmna* ‘south’, *mădəbxa* ‘altar’. These exhibit several apparently irregular properties, a short stressed vowel in an open syllable and the incidence of stress two syllables back from the end of the word instead of in the canonical position on the penultimate syllable. The explanation is that the /ə/ is an epenthetic vowel and at an underlying level the initial syllable is closed:

*mădənxa*

/mad.n.xa/

CVC.C.CVV

The vowel length and the stress placement were determined by the underlying syllable structure. The fact that the epenthetic occurs before the /n/ is evidence that this consonant is not in the onset of the final syllable. As indicated, the /n/ would be extra-syllabic, just as it is in a form such as *n.pál.la* ‘he fell’, in which the marked sonority sequencing is resolved in the same way.

Many short vowels that were originally epenthetics have become phonologized as syllable nuclei in C. Urmi. This applies, for example, to words such as

*calábta* ‘bitch’ cf. *cálba* ‘dog’

*šaráxta* ‘heifer’ cf. *šárxa* ‘calf’

In the related C. Salamas dialect these words have the form *cəlba* ‘dog’, *cilábta* ‘bitch’; *šərxa* ‘calf’, *širóxta* ‘heifer’. In the history of the C. Salamas dialect there was a shift of short /a/ > /ə/ in closed syllables. It can be assumed that originally a word such as *calabta* had a syllable structure such as that of *mădənxa*, i.e. /cal.b.ta/, which would have been realized as \**cáləbta* in C. Urmi and *cáləbta* in C. Salamas, since the epenthetic before the /b/ would have been ignored and the first syllable would have been closed at an underlying level and the vowel short. Subsequently the epenthetic became analysed as a syllable nucleus. As

a result the stress shifted onto it and the initial syllable was opened, resulting in the lengthening of the vowel: C. Urmi *caləbta* [cʰa:lɪptʰa], C. Salamas *ciləbta* [cʰi:lɪptʰa].

It should be noted that in C. Urmi variants of forms such as *mádənxa* are attested with a lengthened vowel in the stressed syllable, e.g. *mádənxa* (A 47:9) and also with stress on the epenthetic, e.g. *mádənxa* (B 1:27). These can be regarded as the first stages of the phonologization of the epenthetic. Variant forms also exist in which the epenthetic occurs in a different position, e.g. *tāyməna* 'south' (B 1:20).

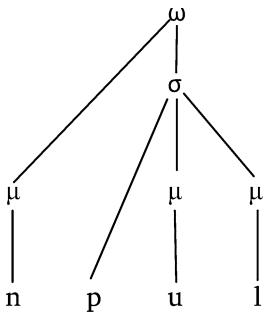
In pattern III and quadrilateral verbs an original epenthetic between the two final radicals has likewise become phonologized, with the result that it takes the stress and is treated as a syllable nucleus with canonical rhyme length achieved by geminating the following consonant, e.g.

\**ham.zma* > *ham.zóm.ma* ‘She speaks’

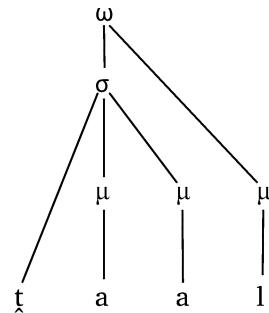
Some loanwords end in an consonantal cluster, e.g. <sup>+</sup>*dost* ‘friend’, <sup>+</sup>*xiyavand* ‘road’. These clusters only occur in word-final position and the last consonant can be regarded as extrasyllabic, so the syllable is bimoraic:

<sup>+</sup>*dós.t* ‘friend’  
<sup>+</sup>*xi.yá.van.d* ‘road’

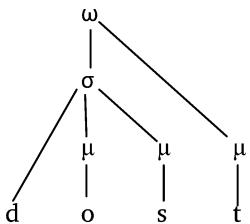
Following the analysis by Kiparsky (2003) of Arabic syllable structure, we may say that such unsyllabifiable consonants in forms such as *n.pul* ‘fall!’, <sup>+</sup>*ṭā.l* ‘he plays’, *mádənxa* ‘east’ and <sup>+</sup>*dos.t* ‘friend’ are licensed by moras adjoined to the higher node of the prosodic word rather than the syllable node. Kiparsky refers to these consonants as ‘semisyllables’. In the following trees  $\omega$  = word node,  $\sigma$  = syllable node,  $\mu$  = mora. In the phonological transcriptions of the trees in slanted brackets syllables are enclosed in rounded brackets and consonants left outside of the rounded brackets are extrasyllabic:



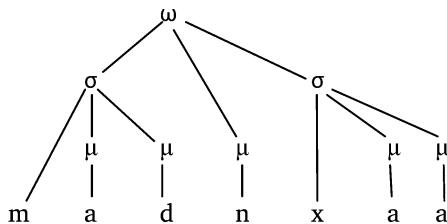
/n.(púl)#+/



/(táa).l#+/



/(dós).t#+/



/(mád).n.(xaa)#/ ['madənxa']

Loanwords that remain unadapted to the phonological and morphological system of the NENA dialect exhibit the syllable structure of the source language. In loanwords that are adapted to the phonology of the dialect short open syllables are generally changed to bimoraic CVV syllables, either by geminating the consonant after the vowel or lengthening the vowel, e.g.

*tám.məz* ['tʰammız] ‘clean’ < Azer. təmiz  
CVC.CVV

*pá.rí* ['pa:rí] ‘fairy’ < Pers. parī  
CVV.CVV

Short back rounded vowels in open syllables in the source language may be lengthened and be realized as the bimoraic diphthong /uy/, e.g.

*+kúymar* ['kujm̥aʳr̥] ‘gambling’ < Pers. (< Arab.) qomār  
CVV.CVC

A few loanwords exhibit partial adaptation to the phonological system of the NENA dialect, in that they have penultimate stress, but an open syllable with a short vowel remains unadapted. These include particles and nouns without an Aramaic inflectional ending, e.g.

<i>mājar</i>	'surely'	< Pers. magár
<i>jārəc, jāri</i>	'must'	< Azer. gərék
<i>ājar</i>	'if'	< Pers. agár
<i>sābab</i>	'because'	< Pers. (< Arab.) sabáb
<i>dáranj</i>	'late'	< Kurd. dereng

Occasionally, however, these syllables are adapted to the canonical bimoraic weight and the vowel is pronounced long, e.g. *jārəc* > *járəc* [já:rəc], or the following consonant is geminated, e.g. *dáranj* > *dárranj*.

When the prefixed particle *b*, which consists of a single consonant, creates an initial CC cluster, a vowel often splits the cluster to ensure that the particle is kept distinct from the following word. The inserted vowel may be short [i] or [ə], in which case the following consonant is generally geminated, or the vowel may be long /i/, e.g.

<i>b-rišux</i> ['bri:ʃʊx]	'on your head' (A 3:22)
<i>b-sila</i> [bis'si:la]	'with sand' (A 3:73)
<i>b-+t̪ina</i> [bi:t̪i:n'aŋ]	'with mud' (B 2:18)

The syllabification of the forms with the inserted vowel can be interpreted as the phonologization of an epenthetic as a vowel nucleus. As a result of this the syllable rhyme has to have the canonical bimoraic weight, which is achieved by geminating the following consonant or lengthening the vowel. The realization with the lengthened vowel, such [bi:t̪i:n'aŋ] can be regarded as reflecting a looser connection of the preposition with the noun than is the case with the other realizations. Since various syllabifications are attested, including the clustering of the *b* with the following consonant, the transcription has been normalized to *b-* in all contexts. This includes where the *b-* is followed by two consonants and is regularly followed by an epenthetic, e.g.

*b-prázla* [bprázla] 'with iron'

An epenthetic keeps the particle *b* distinct before labial consonants, e.g.

- b-bàxtu* [bib'baxtu] ‘on his wife’ (A 5:3)  
*b-momítal* [bimmo:'mi:t<sup>h</sup>a] ‘with an oath’ (A 3:63)

In some sporadic cases stress is placed on the epenthetic vowel of the preposition, in which case the vowel is represented in the transcription. This applies, for example, to the following fixed expression:

- +bùssahat* (< *b-<sup>+</sup>sahat*) ‘at once’ (A 45:9)

The preposition *b* can be separated from a noun by a hesitation, in which case it is followed by a long vowel, e.g.

- bí ... kèsə* [bi: ... 'ke:sr:] ‘with wood’ (B 2:6)

The phonotactics of *b* are different before progressive verbal forms. If the *b* is followed by a single non-labial consonant, this consonant is regularly geminated and the realization with a lengthened vowel, reflecting a looser connection, is not permitted. Nor can the *b* be separated from the verb by a hesitation. The epenthetic has been phonologized as a short vowel nucleus and has, indeed, also been grammaticalized, in that it is treated as a component of the morphological pattern of the progressive verbal form rather than an affix. The gemination and epenthetic, therefore, are regularly represented in the transcription. The *b* is always in the domain of emphasis of the verb, which is not regularly the case with *b* before nouns. Hyphens, therefore, are not used in the transcription, e.g.

- bərrákələ* ‘he is running’ (< *b + rakələ*)  
*+bəddáyələ* ‘he knows’ (< *b + <sup>+</sup>daya*)

Likewise, the epenthetic after the particle *b* before CC clusters in such progressive verbal forms is represented in the transcription, e.g.

- +bətlábələ* ‘he is requesting’

In such verbal constructions, however, the *b* is not kept distinct before labials and it is elided, e.g.

- báxyələ* ‘he is weeping’ (< *b + bəxyələ*)  
*vádələ* ‘he is doing’ (< *b + vadələ*)  
*páyələ* ‘he is baking’ (< *b + payələ*)  
*márələ* ‘he is saying’ (< *b + marələ*)

This reflects the higher functional load of the particle *b* before nouns than in these verbal constructions before the infinitive stem. It also demonstrates that at some stage of the derivation the particle *b* must have been in contact with the initial labial without an intervening vowel. Since there are grounds for arguing that the epenthetic in forms such as *bərrakələ* and *+bətlabələ* has now been phonologized as a vowel nucleus and is a component of the morphological pattern of the verbal base, the contact in question is best considered to have existed at some earlier historical period rather than to exist synchronically at an underlying level of derivation.

When the particle *b* in verbal progressive constructions is followed by a *CC* cluster beginning with a labial, the *b-* is optionally omitted, e.g.

<i>mxáyələ ~ bəmxáyələ</i>	'he is hitting' (< <i>b</i> + <i>mxayələ</i> )
<i>prákələ ~ bəprákələ</i>	'he is finishing' (< <i>b</i> + <i>prakələ</i> )
<i>ptáxələ ~ bəptáxələ</i>	'he is opening' (< <i>b</i> + <i>ptaxələ</i> )
<i>+mṭáyələ ~ +bəmṭáyələ</i>	'he is arriving' (< <i>+b</i> + <i>mṭayələ</i> )

Speakers regard the forms with the *b-* as higher register. This is no doubt under the influence of the literary language, in which the *b-* is regularly used.

When the initial consonant of the verb is not a labial, the /*b*/ is regularly preserved in the sequence *CCC* and followed by an epenthetic, e.g.

<i>+bəkráyələ</i>	'he is reading'
<i>+bərdáxələ</i>	'it is boiling'

The foregoing behaviour of *b* before a labial does not apply to the combination of *b* with a noun, in that it is always kept distinct before a noun beginning with a sequence of labial + *C*, reflecting its greater functional load, e.g.

<i>b-+mxáṭa</i> [b <sup>ə</sup> m <sup>ə</sup> x <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> t <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> ]	'with a needle'
<i>b-+pláša</i> [b <sup>ə</sup> p <sup>ə</sup> l <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> ʃ <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> ]	'by war'

This applies also to verbal nouns, which behave like nouns in this respect rather than verbs, e.g.

<i>b-prákta</i> [bip'rak <sup>ə</sup> t <sup>ə</sup> a]	'at the end' (noun)
<i>prákələ ~ bəprákələ</i>	'he is finishing' (verb)

Another aspect to this analysis is the location of word divisions in these two constructions. There is evidence that the phonotactics interpreted the word

division (#) differently (see § 1.15.2. for details), in that the *b* is a component of the morphological pattern of the verbal stem rather than an affix:

- b-práktə* < /b#prákta/  
*bəprákələ* < /#bəprákələ/

The future preverbal particle sometimes has the form of a single labial segment *b* or *p*, which are shortened forms of *bət*. These behave differently from the progressive preverbal particle *b*, in that there is no restriction on the clustering of the particle with an initial labial, e.g.

- b-bášlan* ['bbaʃln] 'I shall cook' (A 36:14)  
*p-parákli* [ppʰa:'rikli] 'he will finish me off' (A 4:10)

This can be interpreted as reflecting that, unlike in progressive constructions, there is a word division between the particle and the verb and at an underlying level it does not cluster in the onset of the first syllable of the verb. One could posit an underlying form of the particle *bət* which reduces phonetically to a single segment late in the derivation, viz.

- /bət#bašlan/ > [b#baʃln]  
*/bət#parákli/ > [p#pʰa:rikli]*

This analysis is supported by the fact that the particle *bət* can be separated from the verb by a hesitation, e.g.

- bót ... +`axəl mənné* 'he will eat them' (A 37:3)

Gemination of the syllable onset at the beginning of a word in cases such as *súsa súra* ['su:sa 'ssu:ra] 'a small horse' (§ 1.13.2.3.4.) is most likely a prosodic phenomenon that does not affect the phonological syllable structure of the word.

## 1.15 Phonotactics

### 1.15.1 Consonantal Clusters

The phonotactics of word-initial consonant clusters in the closely related Assyrian koine dialect have been studied in detail by Odisho (1988, 62–78) and Tosco (2002, 744–746). The principles that they have identified apply to the C. Urmî

dialect. There are a number of constraints on the combination of consonants. Clusters of consonants of closely related places of articulation are avoided. The sonorants /l/, /r/ and nasal /n/, however, can be combined with plosives, fricatives and affricates of a similar place of articulation, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>rdixa</i>	'boiled'
<i>dreta</i>	'to pour'
<sup>+</sup> <i>tleta</i>	'to sleep'
<sup>+</sup> <i>l̥teta</i>	'to scrape up, lap up'
<i>tmeta</i>	'to repeat'
<sup>+</sup> <i>n̥tarta</i>	'to guard'

There are constraints on the clustering of stops of different laryngal settings in that these tend to be avoided. Some clusters of tense unvoiced unaspirated stops with voiced stops are occasionally found, e.g.

<i>k̥dala</i>	'neck'
<i>k̥balta</i>	'to be accepted'
<sup>+</sup> <i>t̥beta</i>	'to sink'

In such cases, however, the initial stop is either separated from the second one by an epenthetic or becomes voiced, e.g.

*k̥dala* [k̥ða:la] ~ [gda:la] 'neck'

Clusters of unvoiced lax aspirated stops with unvoiced tense unaspirated stops or with voiced stops are rarely encountered. In roots where a lax unvoiced stop clusters with a tense voiceless stop, the former is deaspirated, e.g.

<i>p̥keta</i>	'to split'	< * <i>p-q-</i> <sup>c</sup>
<i>p̥taxta</i>	'to spread out'	< * <i>p-t-h</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>p̥čalta</i>	'to become crooked'	< * <i>p-š-l</i>
<i>t̥kalta</i>	'to weigh'	< * <i>t-q-l</i>

The unaspirated /p̥/ has been lexicalized in these roots, which have /p̥/ in all inflections, e.g. *pak̥kə* 'it splits', <sup>+</sup>*p̥ačəl* 'it becomes crooked'. The deaspiration of /t/ in *t̥kalla*, however, is context dependent and the aspirated /t/ appears when not in a cluster, e.g. *tak̥əl* 'he weighs', so the transcription of this

verbal root has been normalized with /t/ in all inflections. Exceptions are occasionally found with initial /k/, e.g.

*kpilos* ‘he grabbed’

Likewise when an initial unaspirated /t/ in a verbal root is followed by aspirated /p/, various repair strategies take place, e.g.

+*t̪axta* ‘to smash’ < \**t-p-h*  
*t̪eta* ‘to stick’ < \**t-p-y*

In +*t̪axta* the original lax \**p* has been made tense, and this has been lexicalized in all inflections of the root, e.g. +*taþəx* ‘he smashes’. In *t̪eta* the conflict has been resolved by making the initial consonant lax. The emphasis has also been removed from this root (§ 1.5.1). Similar processes may have given rise to the verb +*ctarta* ‘to knot’, which is derived historically from \**q-t-r*. An original /k/ (< \**q*) evidently shifted to the corresponding lax consonant /c/ when the original \**t* shifted to lax /t/. It is not clear, however, why the \**t* underwent this initial shift.

Where conflicts in voicing could occur in clusters formed in the inflection of verbal roots, the difference is levelled by regressive assimilation (§ 1.6.):

*bášəl* ‘it cooks’   *bšállə* ['pʃillɪ] ‘it cooked’  
*xázət* ‘you see’   *xzílux* ['yzi:lox] ‘you saw’

Clusters occur in the onset of syllables also in word-internal position in some cases (§ 1.6.), e.g.

+*pur.tka.lə* ‘oranges’ < Pers. porteqāl  
+*xər.tma.nə* ‘chickpeas’

The following nouns have variant forms, one of the alternants having a consonantal cluster:

*ɟdiša* ~ *ɟəddiša* ‘pile of leaves’  
*ɟdala* ~ *ɟəddala* ‘thread’

In these forms the cluster appears to be original (cf. Syr. *gdīšā*, *gdālā*). The variants with the initial *ɟədd-* are likely to have developed by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel breaking the cluster of the palatal and alveolar consonants,

which was phonologized with consequential gemination of the following consonant /d/ to achieve canonical bimoraic syllable structure.

### 1.15.2 Phonotactic Boundaries

We have seen (§1.5.2., §1.6.) that a ‘word’ in an informal sense consists of a number of different phonological domains the boundaries of which do not necessarily coincide. The domain of suprasegmental emphasis, for example, includes following enclitic elements, but the domain of the word-final devoicing rule and the word-stress placement rule recognize boundaries between the main word and clitics, e.g.

${}^+sárbaz=ilə$  ['s<sup>s</sup>ɑ<sup>r</sup>b<sup>s</sup>ɑ<sup>s</sup>ə'ləs'] ‘he is a soldier’

In this example the final consonant of  ${}^+sárbaz$  has been devoiced, although followed by an enclitic and the stress placement also ignores the enclitic.

Differences in phonotactic boundaries within similar looking constructions can result in different phonological form. Consider the pairs

$\mathring{t}\text{-}ilə$  ‘which is’   *do*   ‘of that’

In both forms the initial consonant is historically the voiced annexation particle  $*d$ . In the first form  $\mathring{t}\text{-}ilə$  the particle has become an unvoiced tense /t̪/. This is the result of a coalescence of  $*d$  with a following laryngal:  $d + 'ilə > \mathring{t}\text{-}ilə$ . The copula has this initial laryngal when standing independently:  $'ilə$  ‘he is’. The fact that the particle in *do* has not been devoiced shows that it was combined with the following demonstrative without an intervening laryngal:  $d + o$ , despite the fact that the demonstrative has an initial laryngal when it does not have the annexation particle:  $o$  ‘that’. This can be explained by the hypothesis that the initial laryngal is not part of the word at some underlying level of the derivation but is added by a phonotactic rule that requires word-initial vowels to be preceded by a minimum laryngal onset, thus:

#Øilə > #'ilə

According to this rule, therefore, there is no word boundary after the initial particle in *do* but rather the form is treated like a single word and the *d* is an inflectional element of the word. The form  $\mathring{t}\text{-}ilə$ , however, is treated by this rule as two words combined in a single stress group, since the word-initial laryngal placement rule operated on the  $'ilə$  before it was combined with the particle *d*. The lack of phonotactic boundary in *do* is reflected in the transcription by

the lack of a hyphen. We can summarize this as follows using the symbol # to indicate the phonotactic boundary:

$d + \# \emptyset ilə > t\text{-}ilə \quad \#d + o > do$

The phonetic rule that adds a laryngal /’/ to the front of words that have a zero onset vowel does not apply to a word that is attached to a preceding word as an enclitic, e.g.

- $^{+}úllul\text{-}ilə$  ‘He is above’  
 $^{+}sárbaz\text{-}ilə$  ‘He is a soldier’

Such enclitics are included within the domain of emphasis of the word to which they are attached (§ 1.5.2.) but they are not integrated into the word with regard to the features of stress placement and word-final devoicing (§ 1.6.). The syllable structure of the host word, furthermore, ignores their presence. This is seen by the fact that in a form such as  $^{+}úllul\text{-}ilə$ , the final syllable of *úllul* continues to be treated as a closed syllable with a VC rhyme after the addition of the enclitic beginning with a vowel ( $^{+}ul.lul.i.lə$ ). The syllable structure is not adjusted by lengthening the vowel or geminating the final consonant of this syllable.

Another issue of phonotactics is illustrated by forms such as the following:

- $b\text{-}^{+}xálta$  ‘with eating’  
 $^{+}bixálələ$  ‘He is eating’

The first form consists of a preposition *b* and a verbal noun. Such a phrase is realized phonetically in a variety of ways: [b<sup>c</sup>x<sup>c</sup>a<sup>c</sup>l<sup>c</sup>t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>c</sup>], [b<sup>c</sup>ə<sup>c</sup>xx<sup>c</sup>a<sup>c</sup>l<sup>c</sup>t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>c</sup>], [bi:x<sup>c</sup>a<sup>c</sup>l<sup>c</sup>t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>c</sup>]. When the *b* clusters with the initial consonant of *+xalta* or is syllabified with the initial consonant through the gemination of this consonant, the *b* is emphatic. When the *b* is more independent from the following word in the realization [bi:x<sup>c</sup>a<sup>c</sup>l<sup>c</sup>t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>c</sup>], it tends not to be pronounced emphatic. The long [i:] in this form is a lengthened epenthetic. Due to these various realizations, the transcription of the preposition in such contexts before nouns has been normalized to *b-* in all contexts. In the similar looking form  $^{+}bixálələ$ , on the other hand, which developed historically from the combination of the preposition *b* with the infinitive, the initial /b/ is always followed by long /i/. The explanation is that the verbal root in question at some stage of historical development was treated as initial /y/: *^y-x-l* and the infinitive was originally *\*+yxala*. The /y/ of the verb was elided in word initial position before a consonant, e.g. *+xala* ‘to eat’, *+xalta* ‘eating, food’, *+xállə* ‘he ate’, and the root came to

be interpreted as  ${}^+\emptyset\text{-}x\text{-}l$ . The /y/ was preserved, however, when not in word-initial position, e.g. in the noun  ${}^+mixúltə$  ‘food’. This would apply to  ${}^+bixálələ$ , in that the word boundary is interpreted as falling before the /b/ whereas the word-boundary of b- ${}^+xalta$  is after the /b/, since the /b/ in  ${}^+bixálələ$  is now analysed as a component of its morphological pattern rather than as an affix, just as is the case with the /m/ in the noun  ${}^+mixulta$ :

*b #  ${}^+xalta$  #  ${}^+b$  ixalələ*

The domain of emphasis regularly includes the *b* in the verbal form  ${}^+bixalələ$ , as is the case with  ${}^+mixulta$ .

One word may be annexed to the following word by the annexation clitic *-ət*, e.g.

*'idət málca* ‘the hand (*'ida*) of the king (*malca*)’

On some occasions the annexation particle is omitted and the first word is combined more tightly with the second:

*'id-málca*

In this phrase the vowel of the form *'id* remains long, as if it were still in an open syllable. It is transcribed by a macron, since vowels in closed syllables would normally be expected to be short. The syllable structure of *'idət* and *'id* would be, therefore:

<i>'i.dət</i>	<i>'i.d</i>
<i>CVV.CVC</i>	<i>CVV.C</i>

The final consonant is extrasyllabic, or a ‘semi-syllable’, to use Kiparsky’s (2003) terminology. One can compare this to the syllabification of forms such as  ${}^+tāl$  (CVV.C), which is a contraction of  ${}^+təvəl$  (CVV.CVC). One may say that the underlying form of *'id* is *'idət*. When after the loss of the annexation particle the first word ends in a voiced stop, it does not devoice, e.g.

*'id-málca* [i:d'malca] ‘the hand of the king’ < *'idət málca*

One can interpret this as reflecting that the rule of word-final devoicing operates on the underlying form *'idət*, in which the /d/ is not word-final, and so does not devoice.

## 1.16 Elision of Consonants and Vowels

### 1.16.1 *Elision of Consonants*

Consonants are elided in a variety of contexts with subsequent contraction of a syllables and loss of vowels. In general this takes place after a stressed syllable.

When the laryngals /'/, /h/ occur between two identical vowels, these consonants may be elided and the vowels coalesce. This is attested in the following forms:

<sup>+</sup> sá'at ~ <sup>+</sup> sát	'hour'
'álaħa ~ 'ála	'God'
'áħa ~ á	'this'
<i>f</i> náħa ~ <i>f</i> ná	'crime, fault'

The glide /y/ is elided word-internally in a number of cases:

#### Nouns

<sup>+</sup> šräya ~ <sup>+</sup> šrá	'lamp'
<sup>+</sup> kráya ~ <sup>+</sup> krá	'turtle; tortoise'

The noun <sup>+</sup>šräya is derived historically from \*šra'a (< \*šra'a < \*šrāgā). In the word <sup>+</sup>kráya the /y/ appears to be a secondary addition; cf. Syriac *raqqā*. Word-final-aya elsewhere in nouns and adjectives does not generally contract in the Urmī region, but in the Caucasus speakers sometimes contract the ending -aya (and its plural -ayə) in gentilic forms, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> urusnà (B 16:3)	'Russians'	< <sup>+</sup> urusnáyə
'arəmná (B 16:12)	'Armenian'	< 'arəmnáyə

#### Verbs

Progressive bases of final /y/ roots:

<i>lélə bədrá</i> ~ <i>lélə bədráya</i>	'he is not pouring'
<i>lélə bitá</i> ~ <i>lélə bitáya</i>	'he is not coming'

Marginally in final /y/ infinitives:

- va ~ vaya* ‘to be’  
*+jra ~ +jraya* ‘to flow’

In middle weak verbs:

- kām ~ k̥ayəm* ‘he rises’  
*+šalta ~ +šyalta* ‘coughing’

The consonant /n/ is optionally elided between vowels in some common grammatical words and inflections of the common verb *tanə* II ‘to say’, e.g.

- may ~ máni* ‘who?’  
*tay ~ tání* ‘say!’  
*táyan ~ táyan* ‘I (f.) say.’  
*day ~ dáni* in expressions such as *babi dani ~ babi day*  
‘my father and his family members’ (§ 11.1.11.)

The initial /n/ of the verb *napəl* I ‘to fall’ is optionally elided in inflections in which it is in contact with the following consonants, e.g.

- npálə ~ pálla* ‘He fell’  
*npíla ~ píla* ‘fallen’

The consonant /t/ is optionally elided in some grammatical morphemes. These include the word-final sequence *atə* in plural endings, which contracts to *ay* (§ 5.13.4.). Such a contraction is particularly common in the Caucasus, e.g.

- 'akláy ~ 'aklátə* ‘legs’  
*susaváy ~ susavátə* ‘horses’

The elision of /t/ in these plural endings takes place in principle only when the /a/ is stressed and the /t/ is followed by /ə/ or the high vowel of the 1s. suffix -i. If the plural endings have suffixes with other vowel qualities or a stressed suffix, the /t/ remains in place in all varieties of the dialect, e.g.

- 'aklátu* ‘his legs’  
*'aklaté* ‘their legs’

The elision of /t/ is found also in the prepositional phrase *kat* with pronominal 1s and 2s suffixes (§ 8.4.18.), e.g.

- kay ~ káti* ‘to me’  
*kax ~ kátx, kátax* ‘to you (ms., fs.)’

The word-final annexation element *-ət* is optionally elided in a number of cases (§ 1.15.2., § 5.14.), e.g.

*brūn malca ~ brunət malca* ‘the son of the king’

The consonant /d/ is optionally elided in the grammatical word *mudi*:

*muy ~ müdi* ‘what?’

The consonant /r/ is omitted in the hypocoristic forms of the kinship terms *bruna* ‘son’ and *brata* ‘daughter’. This involves the simplification of a consonantal cluster in a pre-stress syllable, e.g.

- búni* ‘my son’ < *brúni*  
*báti* ‘my daughter’ < *bráti*

The initial syllable of the form *'axuni* ‘my brother’ is elided in the vocative:

*xúni* ‘my brother!’

### 1.16.2 Elision of Final Vowels

The word-final central vowel /ə/ is elided in some circumstances. This is found mainly in the 3ms copula of compound verbal forms (§ 4.8.), in which the preceding consonant is the sonorant /l/, e.g.

- +tlibəl* ‘He has requested’ (A 2:24) < *+tlibəla*  
*dmíxəl* ‘He has gone to sleep’ (A 36:12) < *dmíxəla*

In the Caucasus this elision is more widespread and is found also in other grammatical forms, including nouns and verbs, predominantly where the preceding consonant is a sonorant, e.g.

<i>baxčanān̩l</i>	‘gardens’ (B 17:37)	<i>baxčanána</i>
<i>+hayvān̩l</i>	‘animals’ (B 17:54)	<i>+hayvána</i>
<i>+tarrán̩l</i>	‘doors’ (A 42:9)	<i>+tarránə</i>
<i>kuxān̩l</i>	‘piles’ (A 48:4)	<i>kuxána</i>
<i>yumán̩l</i>	‘days’ (A 45:15)	<i>yumána</i>

+šulán	'things' (A 47:20)	+šulána
+alulán	'streets' (B 17:29)	+alulána
bnún	'sons' (A 50:3)	bnúna
kál	'sounds' (A 47:11)	kálə
yálsúr	'children' (A 49:1)	yála súra
+čál	'hole' (A 47:18)	+čálə
+janjúr	'he is suffering' (B 16:13)	janjúra
nás	'people' (A 47:14)	násə
+más	'beans' (B 17:13)	másə
áv	'may it be' (A 48:22)	áva
+otág	'rooms' (A 42:10)	+otágə

A word-final *-i* is elided in a few cases in the Caucasus. This has been identified in the following forms:

mán	'who' (A 42:2)	máni
áxún!	'brother!' (A 45:5)	áxuni!

In the Caucasus word-final *-a* is elided in the following form:

yá álah! 'oh God!' (A 45:9) ya álaha

### 1.16.3 Elision across Word Boundaries

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

m-íca (< m-'ica)	from where?
m-áxxa (< *m-'axxa)	'from here'

The particles *b-* and *d-* shift to the tense voiceless stops *þ-* and *t̪-* respectively, e.g.

þ-ida (< *b-’ida)	'by hand'
t̪-ilə (< *d-’ilə)	'that he is'

It may seem that these are clusters of a stop and a laryngal /p'/, /t'/, which would be phonetically similar to the tense stops /þ/ and /t̪/. There are grounds, however, for favouring interpreting them as tense stops. Firstly /'|/ is elided before other consonants. Secondly a consonant can cluster with the tense /t̪/ that arises when followed by /'|/, e.g. in the future prefix:

*þt-azən ~ t-azən < bəd-’azən* ‘I shall go’

The sequence /bt’/ would not be permitted in the onset of the syllable without an epenthetic /bat’/. This demonstrates that /t/ in such contexts is analysed as a unitary segment. The tense stops /þ/ and /t/ no doubt arose before /’/ due to their phonetic similarity with /p’/ and /t’/ and, crucially, because these tense segments existed in the consonant system of the C. Urmi dialect. In NENA dialects that do not have the tense stops in their consonant inventory, the /’/ is elided and the consonant unchanged, e.g. Qaraqosh *b-iða* ‘by hand’, *d-aðə* ‘he will come’. In fact, the voiced *b*- is occasionally encountered in the recordings of some C. Urmi speakers, e.g. *b-ùrxa* ‘on the road’ (A 47:7).

Before demonstrative pronouns and the interrogative particles *’əm* ‘which’ and *’iman* ‘when’, however, the *d*- remains voiced in C. Urmi and should be regarded as an inflectional element added to an underlying stem without an initial laryngal rather than a particle prefixed to words with an initial laryngal (§ 1.15.2.). This is seen in these examples in which the oblique forms with *d* are the complement of the preposition *hal* ‘until’:

- |                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| <i>hal do-beta</i>  | ‘until that house’   |
| <i>hal dəm-beta</i> | ‘until which house?’ |
| <i>hal diman?</i>   | ‘until when?’        |

When a *d*- particle is added to a verb form beginning with a laryngal it shifts to tense /t’/ but when the *c*- preverbal particle is attached to such forms it does not shift to the corresponding tense /ç/:

- |                                |                     |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>t-azən (&lt; bəd-’azən)</i> | ‘I shall go’        |
| <i>c-azən</i>                  | ‘I go (habitually)’ |

The explanation is that the particle *c*- is a contraction of the fuller original form *ci*- . The latter is used in slow careful speech:

*ci-’azən > c-azən*

When a *b* particle clusters with the laryngal /h/, the laryngal is either elided or coalesces with the *b* to form an aspirated /p/, e.g.

- |  |
|--|
| <i>b-hōn-nàšəl</i> [bo'n'na:ʃr:] ‘for the mind of people’ (A5:4)                                       |
| <i>p-<sup>+</sup>hayyərràxlux<sup>l</sup></i> [p <sup>h</sup> aŋjə'raxloŋ] ‘we shall help you’ (A1:23) |

The preposition *b-* often has the realization [br] and the following consonant is geminated (§ 1.15.2.), e.g.

*b-síla* [bis'si:la] ‘with sand’

Since it shifts to the tense stop /p̪/ before a laryngal (e.g. *p̪-ida* ‘by hand’), we should conclude that the /i/ in the alternant *bi-* is a lengthened epenthetic and not an original vowel. The /i/ in *ci-*, by contrast, is an original vowel. One may posit that it exists underlyingly in the derivation of forms with *c-* but not in forms with *p̪-*, e.g.

*c-azən* < /ci-azən/  
*p̪-ida* < /b-ida/

Further evidence for this underlying /i/ in *c-*, other than the lenited form *ci-*, is the negated form *le-azən* ‘I do not go’, which must be derived from \**la-i-azən*.

In general, there are grounds for positing that initial /ʃ/ does not exist at the beginning of words at an underlying level, but rather is the post-lexical default consonant, which is inserted to provide an onset for an otherwise vowel-initial syllable.<sup>15</sup> We have seen evidence for this in the case of oblique forms of pronouns such as *do*, in which the *d* has been combined with the *o* at an underlying level where the *o* has no initial /ʃ/, as it does when it stands independently. The /ʃ/ is added at a word boundary (#), viz. #’*o*. Another case is the enclitic copula. When standing independently the copula has an initial /ʃ/, e.g. #’*ilə* ‘he is’, #’*ivət* ‘you are’. As we have seen, when this is combined with the annexation particle, the resulting shift of *d* > *t* indicates that it has been added to the independent form with the initial laryngal, thus:

*d-#’ilə* > *t-’ilə* ‘that he is’

When, however, the copula is an enclitic, no such tense consonants develop, which indicates that the copula has been combined without an initial laryngal, e.g.

+*ràhat=’ilə* ‘He is comfortable’ (A 1:9)

---

<sup>15</sup> The same applies to the laryngal /ʃ/ in Arabic; cf. Watson (2007, para. 4.4.1.2., 9.1.2.3.).

There is evidence from the root structure of verbs, moreover, that an initial /’/ before vowels in verbal forms such as *+axəl* ‘he eats’, *’arək* ‘he runs’ is not part of the root, but rather is added by a separate phonotactic rule (§ 1.15.2.).

A word-initial laryngal /’/ is sometimes elided when the word is closely connected prosodically with a preceding word that ends in a vowel. When the laryngal occurs between two identical vowels, these vowels coalesce with consequential resyllabification, e.g.

*’äklu mattila* *+al-’jarəl* [mat'tʰi:lal'dʒa:ri:] ‘he puts his foot on the roof’ (A 1:26)  
*lä-’avilux* [la:vi:lux] *+šùla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Do not have concern (= Do not worry)’ (A 3:57)

When the two vowels adjacent to the laryngal are different, either a diphthong is produced or one vowel replaces the other, e.g.

*ju-’idat* [dʒujdr] *dìyyux*.<sup>1</sup> ‘in your hands’ (A 3:15)  
*+narahát lä-’oyat* [la:ja:tʰ] ‘do not be uncomfortable’ (A 1:14)  
*le-’odiləl* [le:dilɪ] ‘They do not do it’ (A 5:1)  
*lè-’orən* [le:rɔ:n̩] ‘I shall not enter’ (A 5:12)  
*lè-’avədləl* [le:vədlɪ] ‘he does not do’ (A 5:2)  
*hällə* *+al-’idi* [hällɪ l-’i:diç] ‘Give him into my hand’ (A 3:87)

### 1.17 Strong and Weak Forms

A number of frequently occurring particles, words and phrases have variant pronunciations that exhibit features of lenition such as loss of friction of fricatives, centralization of vowels, shortening of vowels, loss of emphasis and elision of segments. These are not represented in the normalized transcription. Some examples are as follows:

#### Normalized transcription    Phonetic form

		Strong	Weak
<i>+áv</i>	‘he’	[’?a:’v̥]	[’?aw]
<i>+’ávva</i>	‘this’	[’?a:’v̥va:’]	[’?a:wa]
<i>’an-</i>	‘those’	[’?an]	[’?ən]
<i>+al-</i>	‘upon’	[’?a:’l̥]	[’?al], [’əl]
<i>díyyi</i>	‘of me’	[’di:jɪ:’]	[’di:]
<i>lén</i>	neg. copula (ic)	[’le:n]	[’lən], [’lan]
<i>ci-</i>	habitual part.	[cʰi:]	[cʰə], [cʰ]
<i>’ána-da</i>	‘I also’	[’?a:nada]	[’?anda]

We should mention here also the sequence transcribed as *-uvv-*, which occurs in words such as *+karuvva* 'rooster', *+baṭuvva* 'flake of baked bread', *+čuvva* 'smooth', etc. The strong realization of this is [vvv], but it is often weakened to [u:w], e.g. *+karuvva* [ka<sup>ə</sup>·r<sup>ə</sup>vv<sup>ə</sup>a<sup>ə</sup>] ~ [ka<sup>ə</sup>·r<sup>ə</sup>u:<sup>ə</sup>w<sup>ə</sup>a<sup>ə</sup>].

## 1.18 Word Stress

### 1.18.1 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 of the texts on all words that bear it. The transcription of the recorded texts also marks the boundaries of intonation groups by a short vertical sign |. Intonation contours are not represented, but a distinction is made between the nuclear stress of the intonation group and non-nuclear stress. The nuclear stress, which is the most prominent stress of the intonation group, is marked by a grave accent (᷑) and the non-nuclear stress is marked by an acute accent (᷒), e.g.

- (1) *'a-Nàtan| ᷑átval xa-᷑axiúna| +Axìkar| xùbba maxzíva ḁa-dá ḁaxiúna|* 'This Natan had a brother. Axiqar showed love to this brother' (A 3:17)

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) *+tàjər mórre ḁa-cačàla|* 'The merchant said to the bald man.' (A 1:3)  
 (3) *+ávəyála +bəddàyələ ᷑ína áyya bráta ḁátə +byàyələ|* 'The lad knows that the girl loves him.' (A 34:5)

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 with separately in what follows.

### 1.18.2 Pronouns

Independent personal and demonstrative pronouns generally take the stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

- 'ána 'T  
'áha 'this'

Some forms of the far deixis demonstratives take the stress on the final syllable. In such forms an original final syllable has been elided and what was originally the stressed penultimate became the final syllable. The form with penultimate stress exists in the dialect as a less common variant:

+*avvó* 'that over there' < +*avvóha*

In the reciprocal pronoun +*uydalə* and the interrogative pronoun *əmn-* with pronominal suffixes the stress is placed on the initial syllable:

- +*úydalə* 'each other'  
*əmnoxun* 'which of you?'  
*əmne* 'which'

### 1.18.3 Nouns and Adjectives

In principle the stress falls on the penultimate syllable in both singular and plural forms, e.g.

- béta* 'house'  
+*xvára* 'white'  
*basíma* 'pleasant'  
+*tárra* 'door'  
+*tarrána* 'doors'

In a few forms that contain an internal epenthetic, the epenthetic is ignored by the stress (§ 1.14.), e.g.

*mădənxa* 'east'

When a final -ə is elided from the end of plural forms, the stress falls on the final syllable, e.g.

*'axunváy* 'brothers' < \**axunváyə* < \**axunvátə*

Forms with pronominal suffixes have penultimate stress, with the exception of the 3pl. suffix, which takes the stress on the final syllable, e.g.

<i>béti</i>	'my house'
<i>betóxun</i>	'your (pl.) house'
<i>beté</i>	'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.

Many 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 stress pattern by retracting the stress to the penultimate syllable, e.g.

<i>+sárbaž</i>	'soldier'	< Pers. <i>sarbáz</i>
<i>sárhāŋ</i>	'colonel'	< Pers. <i>sarháng</i>
<i>cótac</i>	'beating'	< Pers. <i>koták</i>
<i>+čóban</i>	'shepherd'	< Azer. <i>çobán</i> , Pers. <i>čopán</i>
<i>+čáydan</i>	'tea kettle'	< Azer. <i>çaydán</i>
<i>+karáváš</i>	'handmaid'	< Azer. <i>qarabás</i>
<i>+astícan</i>	'cup'	< Pers. <i>istakán</i> , Azer. <i>stékán</i>

In trisyllabic nouns the stress is shifted to the antepenultimate syllable when it is functioning as a vocative, e.g.

- (1) *'àxuni!* 'My brother!' (A 39:15)
- (2) *+màmuni!* 'My uncle!' (A 42:7)
- (3) *+Àxiqar!* 'Axiqar!' (A 3:14)
- (4) *yá 'àlaha!* 'Oh God!' (A 3:46)

In some cases this can lead to contraction, as in the two words for 'uncle':

<i>+mámu</i>	'(paternal) uncle'	< <i>+mámuni</i>
<i>+xálu</i>	'(maternal) uncle'	< <i>+xáluvvi</i>

In the Caucasus the final vowel of other words is sometimes elided in vocative forms:

- (5) *'àxún!* 'brother!' (A 45:5) < *'áxuni!*
- (6) *yá 'àlah!* 'oh God!' (A 45:9) < *ya álaha*

### 1.18.4 Verbs

Different patterns of stress are exhibited by (i) verbal forms derived from present and past templates, (ii) imperative forms and (iii) compound verbal forms containing a copula enclitic.

#### 1.18.4.1 Verbal Forms Derived from Present and Past Templates

These templates are inflected with various different suffixes, which include S-suffixes, L-suffixes and the past converted suffix *va*. The stress placement takes account of the S-suffixes and the stress regularly falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

S-suffixes

<i>pátəx</i>	'he opens'
<i>pátxa</i>	'she opens'
<i>pátxən</i>	'I open'
<i>patxítun</i>	'you (pl.) open'

There is a constraint, however, that prevents the stress from moving onto an L-suffix or a *va* suffix, e.g.

<i>ptóx-lə</i>	'he opened'
<i>ptóx-loxun</i>	'you (pl.) opened'
<i>patóx-va</i>	'he used to open'
<i>ptóx-va-lə</i>	'he had opened'
<i>ptixá-va-lə</i>	'he had opened it (f.)'
<i>patóx-va-lə</i>	'he used to open it (m.)'

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 *-itun* even when additional suffixes are added, e.g.

<i>patxítunva</i>	'you (pl.) used to open'
<i>patxitunlə</i>	'you (pl.) open it (m.)'
<i>patxitunvalə</i>	'you (pl.) used to open it (m.)'

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 root.

In the Caucasus present stems occasionally retain the stress on the initial syllable when suffixes are added. The attested examples are found at the end of intonation groups, e.g.

- (1) *ci-mattívalə ju-míyya mèlxal yánət lá xàrəvva.* (xàrəv + va, canonical: xàrəvva) ‘They used to put in salt water so that it would not rot.’ (B 17:48)
- (2) *xá mátra ... mən-mátra zòda c-áviva.* (c-ávə + va, canonical: c-avíva) ‘It was a metre or more than a metre high.’ (B 17:50)
- (3) *’ána mú-tahar xàmənnoxun?* (xàmən + loxun, canonical: xamənnoxun) ‘How can I provide for you?’ (A 43:18)

#### 1.18.4.2 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.

<i>ptúx</i>	‘open!’ (sing.)
<i>ptúxun</i>	‘open!’ (pl.)
<i>ptúxunlə</i>	‘open (pl.) it (m.)!’
<i>+šádər</i>	‘send! (sing.)’
<i>+šádərrə</i>	‘send (sing.) it (m.)!’
<i>mápləxxun</i>	‘use! (pl.)’
<i>mápləxxunlə</i>	‘use (pl.) it (m.)!’

This principle of stress placement on imperative forms in some cases distinguishes them from an otherwise homophonous form derived from the present template, e.g.

<i>+šádərrə</i>	‘send it!’ (imperative)
<i>+šadárrə</i>	‘he sends it’ (present template)

For compound verbal forms containing a copula enclitic see § 1.18.17.

#### 1.18.5 Numerals

When cardinal numerals occur independently they regularly have penultimate stress, e.g.

<i>xámša</i>	‘five’
<i>’arbásar</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>xámši</i>	‘fifty’
<i>’ámma</i>	‘a hundred’
<i>’arbómma</i>	‘four hundred’

When they qualify a following noun, however, the stress is generally placed on the final syllable, e.g.

<i>'aští baxtātə</i>	'sixty wives' (A 3:2)
<i>+ar̪à cilóyəl</i>	'four kilos' (A 11:1)
<i>šavvà šánnəl</i>	'seven years' (A 38:13)
<i>+əsrá yumána</i>	'ten days' (A 2:18)
<i>ar̪í yumánəl</i>	'forty days' (A 3:53)
<i>təryəssər̪ 'úrzəl</i>	'twelve men' (A 2:5)
<i>'əmmə +dinárə</i>	'a hundred dinars' (A 31:2)
<i>xamšammə +dinárə</i>	'five hundred dinars' (A 7:12)
<i>'alpə +dinárə</i>	'a thousand dinars' (A 14:1)

In compound numerals the stress is placed in final position on the last element of the compound, which is adjacent to the noun, e.g.

*'árpi xamšà dákikəl* 'forty-five minutes' (B 12:5)

If two numerals are combined before a noun, two patterns of stress are attested. Either both numerals have final stress or only the numeral adjacent to the noun has final stress, e.g.

<i>+ar̪á xamšá dəccanána</i>	'four or five shops' (A 34:6)
<i>+árpa xamšá məndyána</i>	'four or five things' (A 3:39)

The motivation for this shift from the canonical stress position appears to be to give prominence to the numeral.

The ordinal *kamaya* 'first' and its polar opposite *+xaraya* 'last' are generally stressed on the initial syllable:

<i>náša kámaya</i>	'first man'
<i>báxta kámēta</i>	'first woman'

<i>náša +xáraya</i>	'last man'
<i>báxta +xáreta</i>	'last woman'

The same applies to collective numeral expressions such as the following:

<i>túrvəntən</i>	'the two of us'
<i>+túlvəntən</i>	'the three of us'
<i>+árphəntən</i>	'the four of us'

### 1.18.6 *Adverbial Particles*

Bisyllabic adverbial particles are stressed on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

<i>láxxa</i>	'here'
<i>+táma</i>	'there'
<i>+úllul</i>	'above'
<i>váddar</i>	'outside'

When, however, a final vowel has been elided, they are stressed on the final syllable,

<i>javáy</i>	'inside'	< * <i>javáyə</i>
<i>kamáy</i>	'at first'	< * <i>kamáyə</i>
<i>+baráy</i>	'behind'	< * <i>+baráyə</i>

Trisyllabic adverbials sometimes also take canonical penultimate stress, e.g.

<i>'adíyya</i>	'now'
----------------	-------

The stress, however, is retracted to the antepenultimate syllable in some particles, e.g.

<i>kédamta</i>	'in the morning'
<i>móriša</i>	'in the morning'
<i>+bérašə</i>	'in the evening'
<i>láxxanə</i>	'around here, nearby'
<i>+támmanə</i>	'around there'

This applies also to adverbials consisting of the combination of two elements in a single stress group, e.g.

<i>yumá-xina</i>	'the day after tomorrow'
<i>'á-šita</i>	'this year'
<i>bí-nisana</i>	'Spring'

Some place names also exhibit retraction of stress, probably due to the fact that they are typically used with adverbial function, e.g.

<i>+Múšava</i>	'Mušava'
<i>Ármanəs-<sup>+</sup>tan</i>	'Armenia'
<i>Júrjəs-<sup>+</sup>tan</i>	'Georgia'

### 1.18.7 Words with Enclitics

When enclitic grammatical particles are attached to the end of a word, they are ignored by the stress placement rule and the stress remains on the penultimate syllable of the base word. This applies to (i) the copula and (ii) the inclusive particles *da* and *zə*, e.g.

<i>bétan</i>	'our house'	<i>bétan-ilə</i>	'it is our house'
		<i>bétan=da</i>	'also our house'

These enclitics may be combined together, the copula being placed nearest the base word and the inclusive particle after the copula. The stress remains on the penultimate syllable of the base word, e.g.

<i>bétan-ilə-da</i>	'it is also our house'
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Examples of combined enclitics from the text corpus include:

- (1) *çùrəva=da*.<sup>1</sup> (= *cura + iva + da*) 'He was also blind.' (A 39:32)
- (2) *'axúna +júrələ=zə kató*.<sup>1</sup> (= *'cura + ilə + zə*) 'He is, indeed, the eldest brother in relation to them.' (A 37:15)

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.

<i>ptíxələ</i>	'he has opened'	< <i>ptíxa+ ilə</i>
<i>ptóxtələ</i>	'she has opened'	< <i>ptáxta+ ila</i>
<i>ptíxəva</i>	'he had opened'	< <i>ptíxa+ iva</i>
<i>+šúdrələ</i>	'he has sent'	< <i>+šúdra + ilə</i>
<i>+šudárta</i>	'she has sent'	< <i>+šudárta + ila</i>
<i>xázyuxlə</i>	'he has seen you'	< <i>xázyux + ilə</i>
<i>bəptáxələ</i>	'he is opening'	< <i>bəptáxa + ilə</i>
<i>+šadúrlə</i>	'he is sending'	< <i>+šadúrə + ilə</i>
<i>+šadúruxlə</i>	'he is sending you'	< <i>+šadúrux + ilə</i>

### 1.18.8 Discourse Motivated Stress Shifts

Stress is occasionally moved from its normal position to perform some kind of discourse function.

On some occasions the stress is shifted to the end of the word in order to perform the function of binding the clause closely with what follows. Many of the attested examples of this phenomenon are in the protasis of a conditional or temporal construction, or clauses with a similar function, e.g.

- (1) *cút +šrá tapà| 'at-jarìma.* | 'Whoever lights a lantern (= if anybody lights a lantern), there is a fine.' (A 2:2)
- (2) *'ájar 'aláha lá +rxəmlà,| mújári òdax 'áxnan?* | 'If God is not merciful, what should we do?' (A 35:2)
- (3) *savúni-da é-+dān 'azálva +árra xapərvälà,| nùynə ci-+pal̄t́va m-jàvo.* | 'When my grandfather went to dig the field, fish came out of it.' (A 36:15)
- (4) *bas-'ən-xamšámma 'zštámma cilomətrənà| ba-mújjurra susavátət márat díyyi +támá hehehé hurhəmlun,| susavátət díyyux làxxa| murxəšlun?* | 'But if (the distance) is five hundred or six hundred kilometres, how is it that the horses of my master neighed there and your horses here aborted?' (A 3:82–83)

The shift is also commonly found in questions that lay the ground for what is presented by the speaker in the following discourse, e.g.

- (5) *+xámra mújjurra vaduxvà?* | 'How did we make wine?' (B 17:14)
- (6) *+bəddáyət kəssàttət báxtət +tajòr| mən-+hàji?* | 'Do you know the story of the wife of the merchant with the pilgrim?' (A 1:34)

It is sometimes found in vocative expressions when the speaker wishes to gain the attention of the hearer for what follows:

- (7) *mára bruni| +bəddàyət mu-ítən?* | 'My son, do you know what? Everybody is married.' (A 44:1)

On some occasions it is used to enhance the expression of a wish, e.g.

- (8) *b-+salámat 'atèt.* | 'May you return safely.'

Stress is shifted from its normal position also in some constructions where a word form is repeated, the second occurrence exhibiting a variation in stress position from the first occurrence, e.g.

- (9) *m-púmmət málca! bæctávəl ctáva! ka-+Axíkar! ka-+Àxikar! fur'un! hàmla vádəl +'állan.* ‘He writes a letter to Axiqar “To Axiqar, Pharaoh is making an attack against us.”’ (A 3:24)
- (10) *'á yóm̥mi +xánəm yám̥mi! kám 'átxa vítala?* ‘This mother of mine, the lady my mother, why has she become like this?’ (A 44:5)

The stress is occasionally shifted from its canonical position when two verbal forms are closely linked, either since they are in a close sequential relationship (11) or because they overlap temporally (12)

- (11) *ci-+raxṭàva! ci-maxivalà.* (canonical: *ci-maxivàla*) ‘It ran and they shot it.’ (B 4:4)
- (12) *'ídu barxivalə! ríša basám̥ta b-yavvívàla.* (canonical: *b-yavvívala*) ‘They would wish him a happy Easter and offer him their condolences.’ (B 5:6)

Stress shift is used sometimes to give prominence to items that are put in contrastive opposition to another item, e.g. *janán* (< canonical *jánan*) in (13):

- (13) *'o-várda ju-baxčòxun-lə! +byáyəvax jabàxlə! labláxlə ju-baxč-janàn.* ‘That flower is in your garden. We want to pick it and bring it to our garden.’ (B 8:3)

## 1.19 Stress Groups

### 1.19.1 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.

When words are combined in such stress groups, they are joined in the transcriptions by a hyphen. Combinations of words in stress groups should be distinguished from the bonding of clitic elements to a word, which is marked by a double hyphen -. The components of stress groups have autonomous domains of emphasis whereas clitics are included in the domain of emphasis of the word with which they are combined (§ 1.5.2.).

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

### 1.19.2 *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*) 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 § 9.1. 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:

#### 1.19.2.1 Stress on the Nominal

Examples: *xa-bàxta* ‘a woman’ (A 3:10), *xa-čàraz* ‘a wine-press’ (B 12:2), *xa-<sup>+</sup>bázza* ‘a hole’ (A 3:36), *tre-yárxa* ‘two months’ (A 1:3), *’əšta-pàlja* ‘six and a half’ (A 6:6).

#### 1.19.2.2 Stress on the Numeral

Examples: *xá-taxta* *ya-trè-taxta* ‘one plot (of land) or two plots’ (B 12:1), *xá-yuma* ‘one day’ (B 11:5), *trè-yarxa* ‘two months’ (A 1:5), *+tlá-yarxa* ‘three months’ (A 1:25), *+arþá-<sup>+</sup>sa’attə*, *xamzá-<sup>+</sup>sa’attə* ‘four hours, five hours’ (A 22:4), *+šavvá-<sup>+</sup>šənna* ‘seven years’ (A 7:17). This is commonly the case before the count particle *dana* (§ 9.1., § 9.14.): *’əští-danə baxtātə* ‘sixty wives’ (A 3:2), *+arþá-danə apəskúpə* ‘four bishops’ (B 2:15).

#### 1.19.2.3 Stress on both Components

Examples: *tré +parsúpə* ‘two gentlemen’ (B 2:12), *+tlá xabùyšə* ‘three apples’ (A 37:22), *+tlá yumána* ‘three days’ (A 3:94), *+arþá +háčə* ‘four supports’ (B 2:6).

### 1.19.3 *Negator + Verb/Nominal/Adverbial*

In stress groups the default position of the stress is on the negator. It is only rarely placed on the negated item instead of the negator. The distribution of stress in negative constructions is examined in more detail in § 17.7.14.1.

#### 1.19.3.1 Stress on the Negator

*lá-’avət +rába šaxina.* | *lá-’avət +rába +kàyra.* | ‘Do not be very hot. Do not be very cold.’ (A 3:9)

*lá-’azət +bár +šúpра.* | ‘Do not go after beauty.’ (A 3:11)

*’ána là-+msən ’a-+šúla ’odánnə.* | ‘I cannot do this job.’ (A 2:35)

*kát là-+ajjəzva +págru.* | ‘so that his body would not be damaged.’ (A 2:14)

### 1.19.3.2 Stress on the Negated Item

*cōc nàkva la-šòkət.* ‘Do not leave the stock of female kind (alive).’ (A 2:11)

*+bəzdàyəna xóšu la-’atya.* ‘They fear he would not be happy.’ (A 41:17)

*kat-jinávə la-’avívə* ‘so that there would not be thieves’ (B 2:6)

*+hála la-hamzùmə* ‘while not speaking’ (A 6:8)

### 1.19.3.3 Stress on Both Components

*làjorátlə.* ‘Do not marry her.’ (A 3:10)

*+bayyíva +katlıvalə* *’ína ’ána là +ktállyi.* ‘They wanted to kill him, but I did not kill him.’ (A 3:34)

*’ita ka-díyyan là pöšlun xína móñ dán xabúyšə* ‘so none remains for us of those apples’ (A 37:22)

## 1.19.4 *Attributive Demonstrative + Nominal*

These demonstratives are often combined with the nominal in a stress group, especially when they are monosyllabic. The stress is put either on the nominal or on the demonstrative pronoun. The factors that determine the position of the stress are discussed in further detail in § 9.2.

### 1.19.4.1 Stress on the Nominal

Examples: *’a-ctàva* ‘this book’ (A 3:21), *’o-náša* ‘that man’ (A 3:36), *e-mzída* ‘that waterskin’ (A 37:15).

### 1.19.4.2 Stress on the Demonstrative

Examples: *’á-məndi* ‘this thing’ (A 3:54), *’é-+dana* ‘at that time’ (A 3:64), *’á-sapar* ‘this time’ (A 3:89), *har-’ó-baba* ‘the same father’ (A 3:92), *’ó-yuma xína* ‘the next day’ (A 2:27).

### 1.19.4.3 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: *’ó nišánkət ’ána müttun* ‘the sign that I placed’ (A 2:10), *’áha məndi* ‘this thing’ (A 3:76), *’áha málca* ‘this king’ (A 3:81), *’ánnə míyya* ‘this water’ (A 37:20), *’ánnə jülla* ‘these clothes’ (A 3:86).

## 1.19.5 *Quantifier + Complement*

Stress groups of this type are mainly found with the monosyllabic quantifiers *cul* and *cut* ‘each, every’. The stress is put either on the quantifier or on its complement.

### 1.19.5.1 Stress on the Nominal

Examples: *cul-nàšə* 'every (kind of) people' (A 3:42), *cul-+dánta* 'every time' (A 4:15), *cul-víyya vìyyələ|* 'everything that has been has been' (A 3:54), *cut-macòxlə|* 'whoever finds it' (A 26:1).

### 1.19.5.2 Stress on the Quantifier

Examples: *cúl-məndi* 'everything' (A 3:7), *cúl-yum* 'every day' (A 37:18), *cùt-yum* 'every day' (B 2:19), *cúl-lelə šìma* 'the whole night' (A 1:40), *cúl-našə* 'everybody' (A 1:4), *cúl-məndit +bàyyət* 'everything you want' (A 1:8).

### 1.19.5.3 Stress on Both Components

Examples: *cúl bëta* 'every house' (B 2:11), *cúl yùma* 'every day' (B 2:19), *cùt bëta* 'every house' (B 12:2), *cùt +beràšə* 'every evening' (A 4:12). This is the norm with the bisyllabic quantifier *cullə*, e.g. *cúllə báta* 'all the houses' (B 2:11), *cúllə +tuyràna* 'all the mountains' (B 2:14), *cúllə dûnya* 'the whole world' (A 37:1), *cúllə +págri* 'the whole of my body' (A 2:33).

## 1.19.6 Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

### 1.19.6.1 Stress on Complement of Preposition

Monosyllabic prepositions are generally combined with the item that follows them in a single stress group and the stress is placed on the second item. Examples: *mən-+àtril* 'from my land' (A 3:40), *'ax-tùyta|* 'like a mulberry' (A 3:12), *kam-málca|* 'before the king' (A 2:20), *+al-bərcàcu|* 'on his knees' (A 3:46), *ju-màta|* 'in the village' (A 2:1), *ka-sebúytux|* 'for your old age' (A 3:6), *+bar-+sèda|* 'after prey' (A 37:14).

### 1.19.6.2 Stress on Preposition and Complement

Examples: *mán +Nuxadnàsər|* 'from Nebuchadnezzar' (A 3:44), *+bár +šùp̄ra|* 'after beauty' (A 3:11), *kám +tàrra|* 'before the (front-)door' (A 3:36).

## 1.19.7 Stress Groups Consisting of more than Two Words

Two monosyllabic words are occasionally combined with a third word in a stress group, e.g.

*mən-xa-bàxta|* 'with a woman' (A 3:10)

*+al-xá-našə* 'for a man' (A 3:14)

*ka-xá-mənne* 'for one of them' (A 3:17)

*'ax-xa-+jòra.|* 'like a husband' (A 3:91)

*xa-tre-+tlá dánə=za* 'one, two or three more' (A 37:3)

## Pronouns

### 2.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

3ms.	<i>+áv, +ávun</i>
3fs.	<i>áy, áyən</i>
3pl.	<i>áni</i>
2s.	<i>át, átən</i>
2pl.	<i>áxtun, áxtóxun, axnóxun</i>
1s.	<i>ána</i>
1pl.	<i>áxnan</i>

The pronouns *+áyən* (3fs) and *átən* (2s) have been formed by the addition of the augment *-ən* to the basic form. The pronoun *+avun* (3ms.) has been formed by the same augment, which has acquired a rounded vowel /u/ on account of the pharyngalization of the word.

The 2pl. form is used as a polite means of addressing a single person, under the influence of Persian 2pl. šomā, which likewise is used as a polite form of addressing a single person. The 2s form is used to address children or as a familiar means of addressing adults. In dialogues in the text corpus singular addressees are almost exclusively addressed by the 2s pronoun.

### 2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns can be classified into four series (near deixis, medium deixis, far deixis, default). In each series the pronouns have two different forms, which are called here the nominative and the oblique. The oblique form has an initial *d* element, which is derived historically from the Aramaic genitive particle. In the synchronic state of the dialect, however, it has coalesced with the pronoun (§ 1.15.2.). The oblique form is used when the pronoun is the complement of a noun or a preposition (see § 5.14., § 8.4. for details). Some differences in forms exist, furthermore, between demonstrative pronouns used independently and those that are combined with a noun attributively.

### 2.2.1 *Independent Near Deixis Pronouns*

	Nominative	Oblique
ms.	’áha, ’a-	dáha, da
fs.	’áha, ’a-	dáha, da
pl.	’ánnə	dánnə

The form *’áha* is derived historically from *\*hādā*, with a weakening of the medial *\*d*. This consonant has been preserved as the stop /d/, the normal reflex of historical *\*d*, in the fixed expressions *’ád-lelə* ‘tonight’ and *’údyum/’údyu* (< *\*ad-yum*) ‘today’. The form *’aha* is used also in C. Baz and C. Jilu dialects in eastern Turkey. Forms of the pronoun are found in this region that preserve an alveolar reflex of the original interdental consonant, e.g. C. Sat *da*, C. Bədyəl *’ačča*, both of which are likely to be derived historically from *\*hādā*. In Iraq many dialects, mostly in the north-western region, preserve an alveolar or interdental, e.g. C. Qaraqosh *’ada*, C. Alqosh *’adi*, C. Ankawa *’adi*. In between this western periphery in Iraq and the eastern periphery represented by C. Urmī there are numerous dialects that have an innovative form of the near deixis pronoun that has been formed from the middle and far deixis pronouns, e.g. C. Barwar *’awwa* (< *\*’aw-ha*), C. Haşsan, C. Derabun *’oha* (< *\*’aw-ha*).

Some speakers in Guylasar (Armenia) use the forms *’yyá*, *’yyáha* and *’ayyá* in addition to *’áha* and *’a* for the singular independent near demonstrative, e.g. *’ayyá cílla +bəxláso ju-da-ķupšənta* ‘squeezing all of this in this pot’ (B 15:5). These are sometimes reduced to *ya* in the singular attributive near deixis (§ 2.2.5.). The forms have developed by adding the element *’i-* to the normal demonstrative *’aha/’a*. The form *’ayyá* presumably has arisen by harmonizing the vowels. The element *’i-* is prefixed to near demonstrative forms in other NENA dialects, e.g. J. Barzan, J. Challa *’iya*, J. Arbel, J. Nerwa *’yya*, J. Rustaqqa *’iyaha*, J. Urmī *ya*, C. Sanandaj *’ya*, C. Tisqopa *’iyay*. The particle *’i-* is used as a demonstrative element added to adverbials in some dialects, e.g. C. Qaraqosh (Khan 2002, 82) *’i-’axa* ‘here’, *’i-hadax* ‘like this’.

### 2.2.2 *Independent Medium Deixis Pronouns*

	Nominative	Oblique
ms.	+’ávva	+dávva
fs.	’áyya	dáyya
pl.	’ánnə	dánnə

The forms <sup>+</sup>*avva* and *'ayya* have developed from the augmentation of the default deixis forms with the suffix \*-ha, viz. \**aw-ha* and \**ay-ha* respectively.

### 2.2.3 *Independent Far Deixis Pronouns*

	Nominative	Oblique
ms.	<sup>+</sup> <i>avvó</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>avvóha</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>avvóxa</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>davvó</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>davvóha</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>davvóxa</i>
fs.	<i>'ayyé</i> , <i>'ayyéha</i> , <i>'ayyéxa</i>	<i>dayyé</i> , <i>dayyéha</i> , <i>dayyéxa</i>
pl.	<i>'anní</i> , <i>'anné</i> , <i>'anníhi</i>	<i>danní</i> , <i>danné</i> , <i>danníhi</i>

The word-final stress in the forms <sup>+</sup>*avvó*, *'ayyé* and *'anní* can be explained by the assumption that an original final suffix has been elided in these forms, as in the longer forms <sup>+</sup>*avvóha* etc. The /o/ in <sup>+</sup>*avvó* is most likely the result of labialization consequential upon an enhanced degree of pharyngalization. In some other NENA dialects far deixis demonstratives are pronounced with pharyngalization, e.g. J. Amedia *'awáhə* (ms.), *'ayáhə* (fs.), *'anáhə* (pl.).

The forms with the final -ha, -xa (sing.) or -hi (pl.) elements are used only marginally. The /x/ can be regarded as the result of strengthening of an original /h/. This strengthening of /h/ is the norm in the demonstrative system of some NENA dialects, e.g. C. Bødyøl independent far deixis: *'óxa* (ms.), *'éxa* (fs.), *'anyóxa* (pl.).

### 2.2.4 *Independent Default Demonstrative Pronouns*

	Nominative	Oblique
ms.	<sup>+</sup> <i>áv</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>ávun</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>dáv</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>davun</i>
fs.	<i>'áy</i> , <i>'áyən</i>	<i>dáy</i> , <i>dáyən</i>
pl.	<i>'áni</i>	<i>dáni</i>

The independent default demonstrative pronouns serve as third person pronouns in the paradigm of independent personal pronouns.

### 2.2.5 *Attributive Near Deixis Pronouns*

	Nominative	Oblique
ms.	<i>'áha</i> , <i>'a-</i>	<i>dáha</i> , <i>da-</i>
fs.	<i>'áha</i> , <i>'a-</i>	<i>dáha</i> , <i>da-</i>
pl.	<i>'ánnə</i>	<i>dánnə</i>

Examples: *áha náša* ‘this man’, *mán dáha náša* ‘with this man’, *áha báxta* ‘this woman’, *mán dáha báxta* ‘with this woman’, *ánnə nášə* ‘these people’, *mán dánnə nášə* ‘with these people’.

In Guylasar (Armenia) some speakers use the form *ya* for the nominative singular attributive near demonstrative, e.g. *yá málca* ‘this king’ (A 45:1), *yá 'úrxa* ‘this path’ (B 16:8). The oblique form used by this informant was *da*, e.g. *ju-da-[kupšənta]* ‘in this pot’ (B 15:5).

An archaic near deixis demonstrative pronoun with a /d/ element is preserved in some adverbs, e.g. *'ád-lələ* ‘tonight’, *'údyu* ‘today’ (< \**ad-yom*).

### 2.2.6 Attributive Medium Deixis Pronouns

	Nominative	Oblique
ms.	+ <i>ávva</i>	+ <i>dávva</i>
fs.	<i>áyya</i>	<i>dáyya</i>
pl.	<i>ánnə</i>	<i>dánnə</i>

### 2.2.7 Attributive Far Deixis Pronouns

	Nominative	Oblique
ms.	+ <i>avvó</i>	+ <i>davvó</i>
fs.	<i>ayyé</i>	<i>dayyé</i>
pl.	<i>anni</i>	<i>danni</i>

The forms with the final *-ha* (sing.) or *-hi* (pl.) elements are not used when the far deixis pronoun is used attributively.

### 2.2.8 Attributive Default Demonstrative Pronouns

	Nominative	Oblique
ms.	<i>o</i>	<i>do</i>
fs.	<i>e</i>	<i>de</i>
pl.	<i>an</i> (Urmi)	<i>dan</i>
	<i>én</i> (Urmi N, Caucasus)	<i>dén</i>

Two forms of the plural attributive default demonstrative are attested. The form *an* is used throughout the Urmi region. The form *én* (oblique *dén*) is used by some informants originating in villages in the northern Urmi plain and regularly by speakers from the Caucasus. In the Caucasus the form *eni* is marginally used in place of *én*, e.g. *éni bnáto* ‘those girls of hers’ (A 43:23).

In the Caucasus there is marginal use of another series of default attributive pronouns, which may be termed 'strong default', since they are typically used to give enhanced prominence to the referent in various contexts, such as contrastive oppositions (§ 9.2.4.6.). Only the singular forms are attested:

#### Attributive strong default demonstrative (Caucasus)

	<b>Nominative</b>	<b>Oblique</b>
ms.	<i>'oxa</i>	<i>doxa</i>
fs.	<i>'exa</i>	<i>dexa</i>

In a speech situation, the near deixis demonstratives point to an item near to the speaker, e.g. *'áha ctáva láxxa* 'this book here'.

The medium deixis demonstratives point to an item that is visible in the environment but is at a distance from the speaker and the hearer.

The distinction between the near and medium deixis is neutralized in the plural, in that the form *'ánnə* is used for both.

The far deixis forms are used to point to an item in the far distance, remote from both the speaker and the hearer.

The default demonstratives do not point to any specific place in the environment but rather register that the referent in question is identifiable. The most common means of identification is through its occurrence earlier in the discourse history. In such cases, therefore, the default demonstratives have the function of anaphoric pronouns and the referent is absent from the environment of the speech situation.

For further details of the use of the demonstratives see § 9.2.

### 2.3 Pronominal Genitive Suffixes on Nouns and Prepositions

The pronominal genitive suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions are:

3ms.	<i>-u</i>
3fs.	<i>-o</i>
3pl.	<i>-é</i>
2ms.	<i>-ux</i>
2fs.	<i>-ax</i>
2pl.	<i>-oxun</i>
1s.	<i>-i</i>
1pl.	<i>-an, -eni</i>

The long form of the 1pl. suffix *-eni* is attested in the text corpus only in texts recorded in the Caucasus. In the village of Siri on the southern periphery of the Urmi area the 3ms suffix is *-ə* rather than *-u*. The 3ms suffix *-ə* is found in the neighbouring mountain dialect of Tazacand. It is also found in a few fossilized expressions in all varieties of C. Urmi such as *xa palyə* 'one and a half' (originally: 'one and its half'), *mən-'adiyya +al-+barə* 'from now to what is after it' (i.e. 'from now onwards') and, it seems, *culla* 'all' (originally: 'all of it').

When these suffixes are attached to a noun ending in *-a*, they take the place of this vowel, e.g.

*beta* 'house'

3ms.	<i>bétu</i>	'his house'
3fs.	<i>béto</i>	'her house'
3pl.	<i>beté</i>	'their house'
2ms.	<i>bétux</i>	'your (ms.) house'
2fs.	<i>bétax</i>	'your (fs.) house'
2pl.	<i>betóxun</i>	'your (pl.) house'
1s.	<i>béti</i>	'my house'
1pl.	<i>bétan, beténi</i>	'our house'

When a noun ends in *-ə*, the suffix replaces the ending, e.g.

*jarə* 'roof'

3ms.	<i>járu</i>	'his roof'
3fs.	<i>járo</i>	'her roof'
3pl.	<i>jaré</i>	'their roof', etc.

When a noun ends in *-i*, the suffix may be used, but the *-i* is generally retained and the glide /yy/ inserted before the suffix, e.g.

*cursi* 'chair'

3ms.	<i>cursíyyu</i>	'his chair'
3fs.	<i>cursíyyo</i>	'her chair'
3pl.	<i>cursíyyé</i>	'their chair', etc.

In nouns with the ending *-u* this ending is replaced by the fuller ending *-unt-* before suffixes, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> kátu	'cat'	<sup>+</sup> ka <u>túnti</u>	'my cat'
cálu	'bride'	ca <u>lúnti</u>	'my bride'
šálku	'chickenpox'	šal <u>kúnti</u>	'my chickenpox'
čákku	'knife'	ča <u>kkúnti</u>	'my knife'

Loanwords that end in a consonant without an Aramaic singular inflectional vowel may take suffixes. If the vowel before the final consonant is in an open syllable after the addition of a pronominal suffix, this vowel is lengthened, even if it is short in the source language, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> héyvan	'animal'	<sup>+</sup> heyvánu	'his animal'
vázzər	'minister'	vazzíru	'his minister'
kályun	'pipe'	ka <u>lýunu</u>	'his pipe'
nápas	'breath'	na <u>pásu</u>	'his breath'

The short /a/ in the feminine ending *-at*, derived ultimately from the Arabic *tā' marbūṭa*, behaves differently and is kept short when the suffix is added by geminating the /t/, e.g.

hákyat	'story'	ha <u>kýáttu</u>	'his story'
<sup>+</sup> karávat	'bed'	<sup>+</sup> ka <u>raváttu</u>	'his bed'
násyat	'advice'	na <u>sýáttu</u>	'his advice'

In certain constructions numerals take pronominal suffixes (§ 7). In numerals from 'four' (<sup>+</sup>ar̄pa) upwards the *-a* of the numeral is replaced by the suffix, as in nouns, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> ar̄pa	'four'	xa mən- <sup>+</sup> ar̄pu	'one of four (parts) of it'
xamša	'five'	xa mən-xamšu	'one of five (parts) of it'

In the numerals *tre* 'two' and <sup>+</sup>tla the final vowel is preserved before the suffix and a glide /y/ is inserted between the two vowels, e.g.

tre	'two'	xa mən-treyu	'one of two (parts) of it'
<sup>+</sup> tla	'three'	xa mən- <sup>+</sup> tlayu	'one of three (parts) of it'

## 2.4 The Independent Genitive Particle

The particle *diyy-* takes pronominal suffixes and is used to express a pronominal genitive complement of a noun or a complement of a preposition (§ 9.10.1.):

3ms.	<i>diyyu</i>
3fs.	<i>diyyo</i>
3pl.	<i>diyyé</i>
2ms.	<i>diyyux</i>
2fs.	<i>diyyax</i>
2pl.	<i>diyyóxun</i>
1s.	<i>diyyi</i>
1pl.	<i>diyyan, diyyéni</i>

## 2.5 Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is formed by attaching pronominal suffixes to the base *jan-* (< Kurd. *gan*):

3ms.	<i>jánu</i>	'himself'
3fs.	<i>jáno</i>	'herself'
3pl.	<i>jané</i>	'themselves', etc.
2ms	<i>jánux</i>	
2fs.	<i>jánax</i>	
2pl.	<i>janóxun</i>	
1s.	<i>jáni</i>	
1pl.	<i>jánan, janéni</i>	

## 2.6 Pronoun of Isolation

The form *noš-* is inflected with pronominal suffixes to function as a pronoun of isolation in prepositional phrases with *b-* as follows:

3ms.	<i>b-nošu</i>	'by himself'
3fs.	<i>b-nošo</i>	'by herself'
3pl.	<i>b-nošé</i>	'by themselves', etc.
2ms	<i>b-nošux</i>	
2fs.	<i>b-nošax</i>	

- 2pl. *b-nošóxun*  
 1s. *b-nóši*  
 1pl. *b-nóšan, b-nošéni*

For the syntax of these phrases see § 9.4.

## 2.7 Reciprocal Pronoun

The reciprocal pronoun is the invariable form <sup>+</sup>*úydalə*, which normally has the stress on the initial syllable. On some occasions speakers use the form <sup>+</sup>*údalə* with a long monophthong /u/ rather than a diphthong /uy/. This pronoun has developed historically from <sup>\*</sup>*xdādē*. For its syntax see § 9.5.

## 2.8 Interrogative Pronouns

- mani, may* ‘who?’  
*mu, mudi, tuy* ‘what?’  
 ’*əm* ‘which?’

The form *may* is a contraction of *mani*. The form *muy* may be a contraction of the form *mudi* and the form *mu* may have arisen by a further contraction. Alternatively *muy* could have arisen by a false morphological division of *mu* + the copula *ilə* in the phrase *mu-ilə* ‘What is it?’. The form *mudi* is derived historically from <sup>\*</sup>*ma-məndi* ‘what thing?’ (cf. C. Barwar *modi*, *mawdi*, C. Bebede *mandi*). Examples:

- (1) *màni tílə?* ~ *mày tílə?* ‘Who has come?’
- (2) *mù vádət?* ~ *mìy vádət?* ~ *mùdi vádət?* ‘What are you doing?’
- (3) *mùdilə?* ~ *mìy-lə?* ‘What is it?’
- (4) *’əm-béta ’ət-dìyyox-lə?* ‘Which house is yours?’
- (5) *’əm ’úrxa bərráxšəla* <sup>+</sup>*al-màta?* ‘Which road goes to the village?’

The interrogative determiner ‘which’ may take pronominal suffixes. When it takes suffixes, it has the base *’əmn-*. The stress is regularly placed on the initial syllable. As a result the 3pl. suffix *-e* is not stressed, as is the norm elsewhere:

- 'ámne? 'which of them?'  
 'ámnoxun? 'which of you?'  
 'ámnan? 'which of us?'

The interrogative particle *mudi* may take pronominal suffixes in certain idiomatic expressions, e.g. *mudyux-lə?* This may mean 'What is the matter with you?' or 'How is he related to you?'

The interrogative particles may also form generic heads of relative clauses, e.g.

- (1) *máni +byáyələ 'átə mònni,| 'ázax.* 'Whoever wants to come with me, let's go.'
- (2) *'ámnoxun +báyyə 'átə mònni,| 'ázax.* 'Whichever of you wants to come with me, let's go.'
- (3) *'ám - +jora +báyyə 'àtə,| 'àtə.* 'Whichever man wishes to come with me, let him come.'

# Copula

## 3.1 Present Copula

The basic present copula has the following forms:

3ms. *'ilə*

3fs. *'ila*

3pl. *'ina*

2ms. *'ivət*

2fs. *'ivat*

2pl. *'itun*

1ms. *'ivən*

1fs. *'ivan*

1pl. *'ivax*

Speakers from Tabriz optionally pronounce the 1st person singular forms with final *-m* instead of final *-n*:

	<b>Urmi</b>	<b>Tabriz</b>
1ms.	<i>'ivən</i>	<i>'ivəm</i>
1fs.	<i>'ivan</i>	<i>'ivam</i>

All forms in the paradigm contain an /i/ element. The 3ms and 3fs forms have inflections containing /l/, viz. *-lə* and *-la*, which are identical to the so-called L-suffixes (§ 4.3.2.). The 3pl. form is inflected with the element *-na*. This is likely to have derived historically from \*-la, \*l having shifted to /n/ to distinguish it from the 3fs. form. Some NENA dialects, e.g. Barwar, use the form *-ila* for both the 3fs and 3pl. copula. Alternatively it may be a survival of the 3pl. pronominal enclitic (cf. Turoyo *-ne*). The 1st and 2nd person forms have a /v/ element in their inflection, with the exception of the 2pl. in which this does not appear.

The copula is generally placed after the predicate. It may stand independently with its own stress, e.g.

- +*úllul* 'ilə 'He is upstairs'  
 +'ltəx 'ila 'She is downstairs'  
*láxxa* 'ína 'They are here'

In most cases, however, the copula is attached to the preceding predicate as a clitic (connected to the host word by the symbol - in the transcription). When the predicate ends in a consonant, the copula is attached uncontracted but without an initial /'. The stress remains on the predicate item in the same position as it is without the copula. The clitic is included within the domain of emphasis of the word to which it is attached (§ 1.5.2.), e.g.

- +*úllul-ilə* 'He is upstairs'  
 +*úllul-ila* 'She is upstairs'  
 +*úllul-ina* 'They are upstairs'

There are grounds for regarding this form of the copula without the initial /' as the basic underlying form, the /' being an addition on the phonetic level to ensure that a word-initial syllable begins with a consonant (§ 1.15.2.).

When the predicate ends in the vowels /ə/ or /i/, the /i/ of the enclitic copula is generally assimilated to these:

- |                      |                     |                         |
|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>jarə</i> 'roof'   | + <i>al-járələ</i>  | 'He is on the roof'     |
|                      | + <i>al-járəla</i>  | 'She is on the roof'    |
|                      | + <i>al-járəna</i>  | 'They are on the roof'  |
| <i>cúrsi</i> 'chair' | + <i>al-cúrsilə</i> | 'He is on the chair'    |
|                      | + <i>al-cúrsila</i> | 'She is on the chair'   |
|                      | + <i>al-cúrsina</i> | 'They are on the chair' |

The combination of final /a/ with the /i/ of the copula contracts to /e/, which is shortened to /ə/ in post-stress position (§ 1.7.1.4.), e.g.

- |                     |                 |                      |
|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| <i>láxxa</i> 'here' | <i>láxxələ</i>  | 'He is here'         |
|                     | <i>láxxəla</i>  | 'She is here'        |
|                     | <i>láxxəna</i>  | 'They are here'      |
|                     | <i>láxxəvət</i> | 'You (ms.) are here' |
|                     | <i>láxxəvət</i> | 'You (fs.) are here' |
|                     | <i>láxxətun</i> | 'You (pl.) are here' |
|                     | <i>láxxəvən</i> | 'I (m.) am here'     |
|                     | <i>láxxəvən</i> | 'I (f.) am here'     |
|                     | <i>láxxəvəx</i> | 'We are here'        |

When the predicate ends in the vowel /u/ or /o/, the /i/ of the copula is assimilated to this, e.g.

<i>cálu</i>	'bride'	<i>cálula</i>	'She is the bride'
<i>mánno</i>	'with her'	<i>mánnolə</i>	'He is with her'

Assimilation regularly does not take place to the final vowel of certain mono-syllabic forms, e.g.

<i>xá</i>	'one'	<i>xá-ina</i>	'They are one'
<i>+tlə</i>	'three'	<i>+tlá-ina</i>	'They are three'
<i>tre</i>	'two'	<i>tre-ina</i>	'They are two'
<i>mu</i>	'what?'	<i>mu-ilə?</i>	'What is it?'

Other contractions of the copula clitic take place in fast speech. The initial /i/ element is sometimes elided when the word to which the copula is attached ends in a consonant, e.g.

<i>'áltəx-lə</i>	'He is downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-la</i>	'She is downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-na</i>	'They are downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-vət</i>	'You (ms.) are downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-vat</i>	'You (fs.) are downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-tun</i>	'You (pl.) are downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-vən</i>	'I (m.) am downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-van</i>	'I (f.) am downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-vax</i>	'We are downstairs'

The /v/ element may be contracted when the copula is suffixed to words ending in a vowel:

<i>láxxət</i>	'You (ms.) are here'
<i>láxxət</i>	'You (fs.) are here'
<i>láxxətun</i>	'You (pl.) are here'
<i>láxxən</i>	'I (m.) am here'
<i>láxxən</i>	'I (f.) am here'
<i>láxxəx</i>	'We are here'

Examples:

- (1) *'átən raxmànət.* | *'át xubbànət.* | 'You are merciful. You are loving.' (A 3:92)
- (2) *'átən ò-našət.* | 'You (ms.) are that person.' (A 4:6).
- (3) *'ána xditən.* | 'I (f.) am happy.' (A 4:2)

In some constructions the copula is placed before the predicate with its own stress. In such cases no contractions take place, e.g.

- (4) *xá mən-cačálə* *'íla +tājər.* | 'One of the bald men is the merchant.' (A 1:30)
- (5) *'ána 'tvən +Axíkar.* | 'I am Axiqar.' (A 3:67)

In some isolated cases the augment suffix *-ni* is added to forms of the enclitic copula in the variety of the dialects spoken in the Caucasus, e.g.

- (6) *+'ámma, jášək hənnəlani.* | 'But he sees it is something.' (A 43:5, = *hənna* + *ila* + *ni*)
- (7) *marələnɪ* 'she says' (A 43:9 = *mara* + *ila* + *ni*)

### 3.2 Past Copula

The 3rd person past copula is formed by attaching the suffix *va* to the /i/ element of the present copula without any further inflectional ending:

- |              |             |             |             |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>'i-lə</i> | <i>+ va</i> | <i>&gt;</i> | <i>i-va</i> |
| <i>'i-la</i> | <i>+ va</i> | <i>&gt;</i> | <i>i-va</i> |
| <i>'i-na</i> | <i>+ va</i> | <i>&gt;</i> | <i>i-va</i> |

In the 1st and 2nd person the *va* is added to contracted forms of the copula, which do not distinguish gender in the singular. The full paradigm is as follows:

3ms.	<i>'íva</i>
3fs.	<i>'íva</i>
3pl.	<i>'íva</i>
2ms.	<i>'ítva</i>
2fs.	<i>'ítva</i>
2pl.	<i>'ítunva</i>
1ms.	<i>'ínva</i>

1fs.	<i>'i̯nva</i>
1pl.	<i>'ixva</i>

Since the /i/ vowel is long in closed syllables in this paradigm, the forms must derive from a contraction of syllables (§ 1.14.), viz. *itva* < *i̯vətva*, etc.

When these forms are attached as clitics to a word ending in a consonant, the /i/ is elided and the /i/ is optionally elided from the 3rd person and 2pl. forms, in which it is in an open syllable:

<i>'áltəx-íva</i> ~ <i>'áltəx-va</i>	'He was downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-íva</i> ~ <i>'áltəx-va</i>	'She was downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-íva</i> ~ <i>'áltəx-va</i>	'They were downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-itva</i>	'You (ms.) were downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-itva</i>	'You (fs.) were downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-itunva</i> ~ <i>'áltəx-tunva</i>	'You (pl.) were downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-ínva</i>	'I (m.) was downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-ínva</i>	'I (f.) was downstairs'
<i>'áltəx-íxva</i>	'We were downstairs'

When the past copula is suffixed to words ending in a vowel, the /i/ assimilates to the final vowel of the word in the same way as the present copula:

<i>láxxa</i>	'here'	<i>láxxəva</i>	'He was here'
		<i>láxxəva</i>	'She was here'
		<i>láxxəva</i>	'They were here'
		<i>láxxətva</i>	'You (ms.) were here'
		<i>láxxətva</i>	'You (fs.) were here'
		<i>láxxətunva</i>	'You (pl.) were here'
		<i>láxxənva</i>	'I (m.) was here'
		<i>láxxənva</i>	'I (f.) was here'
		<i>láxxəxva</i>	'We were here'

In the speech of speakers from Tabriz who pronounce *-m* at the end of the inflection of the 1st singular forms of the copula, the /v/ of the *va* is assimilated to this /m/, resulting in the following forms:

Urmī	Tabriz
<i>láxxənva</i>	<i>láxxəmma</i>
<i>láxxənva</i>	<i>láxxəmma</i>

'I (m.) was here'  
'I (f.) was here'

### 3.3 Deictic Copulas

#### 3.3.1 Near Deictic Copula

A near deictic copula, which points to referents in the speech situation, is formed by combining the present copula clitic with the element *du-*. Some of the forms are contracted in fast speech:

3ms.	<i>dúla</i>
3fs.	<i>dúla</i>
3pl.	<i>dúna</i>
2ms.	<i>dívæt, dút</i>
2fs.	<i>dívat, dút</i>
2pl.	<i>díytun, dútun</i>
1ms.	<i>dívæn, dún</i>
1fs.	<i>dívan, dún</i>
1pl.	<i>dívax, dúx</i>

#### 3.3.2 Far Deictic Copula

The far deictic copula, which is used to point out referents far from the speech situation, is formed with an initial *ve-* element. This has apparently developed by the combination of a presentative particle *va-* with the clitic copula:

3ms.	<i>vela</i>
3fs.	<i>vela</i>
3pl.	<i>vena</i>

Many speakers use this copula only in the 3rd person, but forms inflected for other persons are sporadically encountered, e.g. *vén* (1ms) (A 48:8), *véx* (1pl.) (B 10:5).

### 3.4 Negative Present Copula

This is formed by combining the negator *la* with the present copula clitic with the resultant contraction of the adjacent /a/ and /i/ vowels to /e/. The /v/ element of the 1st and 2nd person forms is often contracted with further vowel coalescence that eliminates distinctions in gender.

3ms.	<i>lélə</i>
3fs.	<i>lélə</i>

3pl.	<i>léna</i>
2ms.	<i>lévət, lét</i>
2fs.	<i>lévat, lét</i>
2pl.	<i>létun</i>
1ms.	<i>lévən, lén</i>
1fs.	<i>lévan, lén</i>
1pl.	<i>lévax, léx</i>

In closed syllables the /e/ is long in slow speech at the end of intonation groups, since it has developed from a contraction of syllables (§1.14.), but it is elsewhere generally shortened to the quality of [ɪ], e.g. *lén* [lm]. The short [ɪ] is sometimes lowered to [a], especially when strongly stressed, e.g. *lèx* [lax] *béta* ‘we are not at home’ (A 37:14). The transcription ē with a macron has been normalized.

### 3.5 Negative Past Copula

The negative past copula is formed by combining the negative particle with the past copula. The combination of /a/ and /i/ contracts to /e/. In closed syllables the vowel remains long in slow speech, since it is a contraction of syllables (e.g. *lētva* < *levətva*), although it is generally shortened to /ə/ elsewhere. The transcription with ē has been normalized. This distinguishes it from *lətva* ‘there was not’, in which the vowel is always short:

3ms.	<i>léva</i>
3fs.	<i>léva</i>
3pl.	<i>léva</i>
2ms.	<i>lētva</i>
2fs.	<i>lētva</i>
2pl.	<i>létunva</i>
1ms.	<i>lénva</i>
1fs.	<i>lénva</i>
1pl.	<i>léxva</i>

# Verbs

## 4.1 Verbal Roots

Verbal inflections are formed by mapping abstract verbal roots onto non-concatenative morphological templates. The morphological templates have slots for three radicals and the abstract roots consist of three or four radicals. When the root has four radicals a cluster of the two medial radicals of the root is mapped onto the slot of the second radical of the template, e.g.

*bašəl* II 'He cooks' (root *b-š-l*)

Radical slot	1	2	3
Surface form	b	a	š
Root	b		š
Template	C <sub>1</sub>	u	C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>

*faryəš* Q1 'He drags' (root *f-ṛj-š*)

Radical slot	1	2	3
Surface form	f	a	rj
Root	f		rj
Template	C <sub>1</sub>	a	C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>

One or more of the radicals may be weak, in that they are the semi-vowel /y/ or zero /Ø/. When a root containing /Ø/ is mapped onto a morphological template, the slot of /Ø/ is filled in the surface form of the verb by some other element or the /Ø/ is elided. If the /Ø/ is in root-initial position and occurs in the initial slot of the template followed by a vowel, the place filler is /', e.g.

*arək* I 'he flees' (root Ø-*r-k*)

Root	Ø	r	k
Template	C	a	C
Surface form:	'	a	r

If the /Ø/ occurs elsewhere adjustments are made to ensure that the surface form has a legitimate syllable structure by either filling the place of the /Ø/ or by deleting it. If it is immediately preceded by a consonant that is not word-initial, this consonant is geminated to fill its position, e.g.

*pakka* I 'It (fs.) splits' (root *p-k*-Ø)

Root	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	Ø
Template	C	a	C C a
Surface form:	<i>p</i>	a	<i>k k a</i>

In forms such as these the geminate consonant spans two syllables *pak.ka*.

If the /Ø/ clusters with another consonant in the onset of a syllable, it is deleted. This applies whether it precedes or follows this other consonant, e.g.

*raka* I 'to flee' (root Ø-r-k)

Root	Ø	r	<i>k</i>
Template	C	C a	C a
Surface form:	<i>r</i>	a	<i>k a</i>

<sup>+</sup>*dara* I 'to return' (root <sup>+</sup>*d*-Ø-r)

Root	<sup>+</sup> <i>d</i>	Ø	r
Template	C	C a	C a
Surface form:	<sup>+</sup> <i>d</i>	a	r a

If /Ø/ follows a vowel in the template, either the preceding vowel is lengthened or the /Ø/ is deleted, whichever achieves the canonical bimoraic syllable structure, e.g.

*maləp* 'He teaches', *malpa* 'She teaches' (root *m*-Ø-*l-p*)

Root	<i>m</i>	Ø	<i>l</i>	<i>p</i>
Template	<i>m</i>	a	C C a	C
Surface form:	<i>m</i>	a	a <i>l a p</i>	

Root	<i>m</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>l</i>	<i>p</i>
Template	<i>m</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>C C a</i>
Surface form:	<i>m a</i>	—	<i>l p</i>	<i>a</i>

Roots are either marked or unmarked for suprasegmental emphasis, e.g. *+p-l-č* ‘to go out’, *+x-d-r* ‘to go round’ vs. *p-t-x* ‘to open’, *n-š-č* ‘to kiss’. Templates are neutral with regard to emphasis. They do not contain an inherent setting and take on the setting of the root. The setting of the root is retained in all derivatives of the root, e.g. *+x-d-r*: *+xadər* (present) ‘he goes round’, *+xdərrə* (past) ‘he went round’, *+xdarta* (verbal noun) ‘going round’. In some cases a verbal root and a lexically related form are of different settings, e.g. the verb *j-v-r* ‘to marry’ vs. *+jora* ‘husband’, the verb *k-v-r* ‘to bury’ vs. the noun *+kora* ‘grave’, the verb *š-xl-p* ‘to change’ vs the noun *+xlapa* ‘change, substitute’. This shows that the noun is not derived from the verbal root, and indeed the noun does not have an abstract root at any level of its derivational morphology. Rather the noun consists of a stem and an external inflectional affix, e.g.

Stem	affix
<i>+kor</i>	<i>+ a</i>

*+kora* ‘grave’

Inflectional affixes such as the nominal ending *-a*, like templatic morphological patterns, are neutral with regard to emphasis and take on suprasegmental emphasis that is inherent in the stem.

A verbal root may be ‘extracted’ from a noun. Such verbal roots do not necessarily have the same setting as the noun, in particular roots that are extracted from emphatic nouns may be plain, e.g.

*javvəb* QI ‘to answer’ (root *j-vv-b*) < *+júvvab* ‘answer’

The difference in setting between the verbal root and the noun is likely to have been a strategy to make a clear distinction between the two categories, since they are otherwise phonetically very similar in shape. This same strategy may be the cause of difference in setting between other lexically related sets of verbs and nouns, such *k-v-r* ‘to bury’ vs. *+kora* ‘grave’, *j-v-r* ‘to marry’ vs. *+jora* ‘husband’. It is noteworthy that in such cases it is regularly the verbal root that is the plain member of the pair.

Most examples of extracted verbal roots derive from verbs or words of other categories that have their source in another language. The noun *+juvvab*, for example, is taken from Persian *javāb* and is ultimately of Arabic origin. The geminate /vv/ in the extracted verbal root *j-vv-b* suggests that the verb was

derived from the form the noun has in the C. Urmi NENA dialect rather than directly from Persian *javāb*. Other examples of verbal roots that are likely to have been extracted from loanwords within the NENA dialect include:

- tamməz* QI ‘to clean’ (root *t-mm-z*) < *tamməz* adj.ms. ‘clean’ < Azer. təmiz  
*zabbən* QI ‘to become weak’ (root *z-bb-n*) < *zabbun* ‘weak’ < Azer. zəbun  
*baxxəl* QI ‘to become jealous’ (root *b-xx-l*) < *baxxila* ‘jealous’ < Pers. baxıl (< Arab.)  
*sak्कət* QI ‘to cripple’ (root *s-kk-t*) < *sak्कat* adj.invar. ‘crippled’ < Pers. saqat (< Arab.)  
*nazəl* I ‘to fester’ (root *n-z-l*) < *nəzla* n.m. ‘pus’ < Pers. nazlat (< Arab.)

Some verbal roots seem to have been extracted directly from another language, e.g.

- þalþəç* QI ‘to stammer’ (root *þ-lt-ç*) < Azer. pəltək ‘stammerer’, pəltəkləmək ‘to stammer’  
*tayac* I ‘to plant’ (root *t-y-c*) < Azer. tikmek ‘to erect, build’

The attested verbal roots that are extracted directly from Azeri verbs or nouns that have a back setting in Azeri are all emphatic, e.g.

- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <sup>+</sup> <i>alda</i> QI ‘to cheat’ (root <sup>+</sup> <i>Ø-lđ-y</i> )     | < Azer. aldatmaq                   |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>čalləš</i> QI ‘to try’ (root <sup>+</sup> <i>č-ll-š</i> )     | < Azer. çalışmaq                   |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>daldən</i> QI ‘to shelter’ (root <sup>+</sup> <i>d-lđ-n</i> ) | < Azer. dalda ‘shelter’            |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>kandəx</i> QI ‘to swaddle’ (root <sup>+</sup> <i>k-nd-x</i> ) | < Azer. qundaq ‘swaddling clothes’ |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>dağğən</i> QI ‘to brand’ (root <sup>+</sup> <i>d-ğğ-n</i> )   | < Azer. dağlamaq                   |

All of the Azeri source words contain dorsal consonants and/or /l/, which undergo backing with the vowels (§1.5.1.). The root consonants extracted from these words would have, therefore, included some that have a back setting and this, it seems, gave rise to the back emphatic setting of the C. Urmi verbal root.

The attested verbal roots that seem to have been extracted directly from Persian words include the following:

- sazʃər* QI ‘to agree’ (root *s-zʃ-r*) < Pers. sāzgār ‘agreeing’  
*sarsəm* QI ‘to cause a headache’ (root *s-rs-m*) < Pers. sarsām ‘delirium’

It should be noted that these two verbal roots are plain, despite the fact that the source word in Persian contains a long /ā/ vowel. The presence of this vowel in

a word normally triggers the emphatic setting of the word when it is borrowed into the C. Urmi NENA dialect together with its vowels (§ 1.5.1.). The explanation may be that, unlike in the Azeri verbs above, the consonants in the Persian words do not get backed in the source language and the consonants that are extracted have a plain setting. The same argument could apply to the plain setting of the verb *j-wv-b* ‘to answer’ if it were, in fact, extracted directly from Persian *javāb* rather than C. Urmi *+juvvab*.

Some verbal roots with an emphatic setting appear to have been loaned directly from Arabic at an early period and the emphasis was triggered by the original presence of a pharyngal consonant in the root, e.g.

- +ajjəb* QI ‘to be surprised’ (root  $+\emptyset\text{-}jj\text{-}b$ ) < Arab. ‘ajiba
- +ajjəz* QI ‘to annoy’ (root  $+\emptyset\text{-}jj\text{-}z$ ) < Arab. ‘ajjaza
- +jammə* I ‘to gather’ (root  $+j\text{-}m\text{-}\emptyset$ ) < Arab. jama‘a

The various inflections of a single lexical verb may be derived from more than one root. Several verbs have two or even three variant roots each for particular inflections. These roots are suppletive of one another but are, in most cases, closely related and usually different only in the position of a weak radical, e.g. *+yásar* ‘he ties’ (< *+y-s-r*), *bəsyárələ* ‘he is tying’ (< *+s-y-r*). One should make a distinction between morphologically suppletive roots such as *+y-s-r* and *+s-y-r*, i.e. different manifestations of the same lexical verb, and lexical suppletion of verbs. Lexical suppletion is found in the inflections of some verbs (e.g. ‘to go’ § 4.14.1. and ‘to say’ § 4.14.2.) in that some inflections are expressed by one lexical verb and others by a different one, e.g. *ńázəl* ‘he goes’ but *xášla* ‘he went’. The existence of suppletive morphological roots is a feature of verbal inflections in pattern I, the basic unmarked verbal pattern. Morphological suppletion is in principle not found across the inflections of verbs in the derived patterns II and III. In § 4.15. it is argued that some verbal paradigms exhibit features that are characteristic of stem and affix morphology rather than a root and template system. This applies, for example, to some weak verbs where the identity of the root is often opaque due to the proliferation of the number of their suppletive roots. In the presentation of the various weak verbal forms below an attempt is, nevertheless, made to identify the possible roots.

## 4.2 Verbal Patterns

### *Pattern I*

*p-t-x* I ‘to open’

Present template	<i>patəx-</i>
Past template	<i>ptix-</i>
Resultative participle	<i>ptixa</i>
Imperative	<i>ptux</i>
Infinitive	<i>ptaxa</i>
Progressive	<i>bəptaxa</i>
Verbal noun	<i>ptaxta</i>
Active participle	<i>patxana</i>

The progressive base has developed historically from the combination of the infinitive with the preposition *b-*, but in the current synchronic state of the dialect these two elements have become bonded together as a single integral stem, which should, therefore, be distinguished from the infinitive (§ 1.15.2.). In some verbs of pattern I, moreover, the progressive has a different shape from that of the infinitive.

### *Pattern II*

*b-s-m* II ‘to heal’

Present template	<i>basəm-</i>
Past template	<i>busəm-</i>
Resultative participle	<i>busma</i>
Imperative	<i>basəm</i>
Infinitive	<i>basumə</i> (marginal: <i>basuma</i> )
Progressive	<i>basumə</i> (marginal: <i>basuma</i> )
Verbal noun	<i>basamta</i>
Active participle	<i>basmana</i>

*Pattern III*

*m-dm-x* III 'to cause to sleep'

Present template	<i>madməx-</i>
Past template	<i>mudməx-</i>
Resultative participle	<i>mudməxxa</i>
Imperative	<i>madməx</i>
Infinitive	<i>madmuxə</i> (marginal: <i>madmuxa</i> )
Progressive	<i>madmuxə</i> (marginal: <i>madmuxa</i> )
Verbal noun	<i>madmaxta</i>
Active participle	<i>madməxxana</i>

*Quadrilateral I*

*f-rj-š* QI 'to drag'

Present template	<i>jarjəš-</i>
Past template	<i>jurjəš-</i>
Resultative participle	<i>jurjəšša</i>
Imperative	<i>jarjəš</i>
Infinitive	<i>jarjušə</i> (marginal: <i>jarjuša</i> )
Progressive	<i>jarjušə</i> (marginal: <i>jarjuša</i> )
Verbal noun	<i>jarjašta</i>
Active participle	<i>jarjəššana</i>

*Quadrilateral II*

*mf-rj-š* QII 'to cause to be dragged'

Present template	<i>mfarjəš-</i>
Past template	<i>mfurjəš-</i>
Resultative participle	<i>mfurjəšša</i>
Imperative	<i>mfarjəš</i>
Infinitive	<i>mfarjušə</i> (marginal: <i>mfarjuša</i> )
Progressive	<i>mfarjušə</i> (marginal: <i>mfarjuša</i> )
Verbal noun	<i>mfarjašta</i>
Active participle	<i>mfarjəššana</i>

Pattern I is the descendant of the *pə'el* pattern of earlier Aramaic, pattern II corresponds to the erstwhile *pa"el* and pattern III to the erstwhile *'ap̄el*. There are no patterns that are direct descendants of the intransitive T-patterns *'etpə'el*, *'etpa"al* and *'ettaþ'el*. Some of these coalesced with the surviving patterns due to the loss of the /t/ element, in particular pattern I and quadriliteral I, with the result that many verbs in these latter patterns are labile, i.e. they have both a transitive and an intransitive function (§ 4.25.). Various forms derived from the T-patterns of earlier Aramaic have been introduced into the speech of educated speakers from the literary language, e.g. *+mat'axlana* 'edible', *məšta'lana* 'responsible', *+mat'orana* 'crossable (river); dispensable'. There are also sporadic fossilized survivals of a /t/ element in verbal roots, e.g. *šattəš* 'to found', apparently derived from a T-pattern of the historical root \*-š-š with metathesis, and the verb *+šavħər* 'to be proud' (cf. Syriac *meštabħar*), which is treated as a quadriliteral verb with the root *+št-vh-r*, the first two consonants clustering in the first radical slot and the second two consonants in the second radical slot.

Pattern I has a progressive stem (*bəptaxa*) which is distinct in form from the infinitive (*ptaxa*). In the other patterns the progressive and infinitive stems are identical in form.

Pattern II lacks an *m*-prefix in all its forms, including those that had *m*- in earlier Aramaic, such as the present and past templates, which are derived historically from the *pa"el* active and passive participles respectively. The loss of *m*- is likely to be the result of a phonetic process due to its contact with the following consonant without an intervening vowel (\**mCaCəC* > *CaCəC*). This template has become grammaticalized in pattern II verbs, including those that begin with /ʃ/, which would be expected to be elided after a consonantal *m*- and so preserve the prefix, e.g. *+aməl* II 'he works on, he processes'. There are two pattern II verbs in the spoken dialect that are regularly used with the prefixed *m*-, viz. *mhada* 'he guides' and *+myakər* 'he respects'. This may be due to the impact of the literary language. Sporadically other verbs or verbal adjectives with *m*- are encountered in the text corpus, which also are likely to originate in the literary language, e.g. *+mhádər* 'prepare!' (A 3:31), *mhùmna* 'pious' (A 1:4).

Conversely, the *m*- prefix occurs in all inflections of pattern III, including forms that did not have *m*- in the *'ap̄el* stem of earlier Aramaic, such as the imperative. In the modern C. Urmi dialect, as in most other NENA dialects, the prefix has been extended by analogy to all parts of the verb. Following Goldenberg (2005, 16; 2013, 127), the /*m*/ can be considered an augment to the radicals of the root. The result is a root with the same structure as a quadriliteral root, the two medial radicals clustering together in the second of the three radical slots of templatic patterns:

- Pattern I: root: *b-r-z* ‘to dry’  
 Pattern III root: *m-br-z* ‘to cause to dry’  
 Quadrilateral I root: *r̩-r̩-š* ‘to drag’

*mabrəz* III ‘He causes to dry’ (root *b-š-l*)

Radical slot	1	2	3
Surface form	m	a	br      ə    z
Root	m		br      z
Template	C <sub>1</sub>	a	C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> ə    C <sub>4</sub>

The lack of a prefixed *m-* in all inflections of the basic quadrilateral verb (QI) is also an innovation of the C. Urmi dialect. As in pattern II, its elision is likely to be due to its contact with the following consonant without an intervening vowel (\**mCaCCəC* > *CaCCəC*). The morphological templates of quadrilateral verbs are identical to those of pattern III. There is a derived set of quadrilateral verbs (QII) that attach an *m-* as an augment to the root, effectively making them quinquilaterals. This is a secondary development, which took place after the aforementioned elision of the original *m-* by analogy with the *m-* of pattern III verbs. Such derived quadrilaterals have a causative function as do pattern III verbs (§ 4.25.3., § 4.25.4.7.). The initial *m-* clusters with the following radical in the first radical slot thus:

*myarjəš* QII ‘He causes to be dragged’ (root *my-r̩-š*)

Radical slot	1	2	3
Surface form	mj	a	r̩      ə    š
Root	mj		r̩      š
Template	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	a	C <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> ə    C <sub>5</sub>

A group of verbs have a medial geminated consonant and are conjugated with the pattern of quadrilateral verbs. Many such verbs are derived from borrowed nouns and adjectives, and occasionally originate in verbs of other languages. This class of verbs exhibit functional differences from pattern II verbs and so it is preferable to classify them as quadrilateral verbs, with the geminated consonant counting as two radicals in a quadrilateral root, rather than a subgroup of pattern II verbs (§ 4.25.2.). Verbs of this type may be derived from a loaned adjective or noun that is in use in the dialect, e.g. *t-mm-z* ‘to clean’ < *támməz* ‘clean’ (< Azer. *təmiz*, Pers. *tāmīz*), *j-vv-b* ‘to answer’ < *\*juvvab* ‘answer’ (< Persian [*Arabic*] *javāb*). It should be recalled that since a short

vowel in an open syllable is not tolerated in the syllable structure of the C. Urmi dialect, the consonant after the short vowel in such loaned adjectives and nouns is geminated. Such verbs are related to the source nouns and adjectives by association and imitation of their phonetic profile such as the short vowel after the first radical and gemination of the second radical (*tamməz* ‘he cleans’ < *tamməz* ‘clean’). This is likely to be the explanation for the existence of gemination of the second radical of verbs borrowed from Arabic, which in their original Arabic form had a short vowel after the first radical (e.g. <sup>+</sup>*ajjəb* QI ‘to be surprised’ < Arab. *ajiba*) or a short vowel and geminated consonant (<sup>+</sup>*ajjəz* QI ‘to annoy’ < Arab. *ajjaza*). This pattern of verb is also found in native Aramaic verbs, e.g. *h-mm-n* ‘to believe’, *š-dd-n* ‘to become mad, to cause to become mad’, *x-ll-n* ‘to become strong’, *+x-ll-l* ‘to wash’.

*t-mm-z* QI ‘to clean’

Present template	<i>tamməz-</i>
Past template	<i>tumməz-</i>
Resultative participle	<i>tumməzza</i>
Imperative	<i>tamməz</i>
Infinitive	<i>tammuza</i> (marginal: <i>tammuza</i> )
Progressive	<i>tammuza</i> (marginal: <i>tammuza</i> )
Verbal noun	<i>tammazta</i>
Active participle	<i>tamməzzana</i>

### 4.3 Inflectional Suffixes

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

#### 4.3.1 S-Suffixes

These inflectional suffixes are attached to the present template of all verbs in order to express the grammatical subject. They are used as inflections of the past template of transitive verbs in order to express the undergoer of the action. The S-suffixes exist in two paradigms. One, designated here as ‘default’, is used by all speakers. In the other all the suffixes are extended by an additional syllable. This is done by adding a particle, which has the form *-ni* after vowels and *-ən* after consonants, with the exception of 1st person singular and 2nd person plural suffixes, which are extended by the vowel *-a*. This ‘long’ paradigm is used optionally by speakers from some villages on the Urmi plain and the

villages in the Caucasus. These extended forms of the S-suffixes are not used when an additional suffix is added to the verb, such as the past-coverter suffix *-va* (§ 4.4.5.) or a pronominal object suffix.

	<b>Default</b>	<b>Long</b>
3ms.	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-Øni</i>
3fs.	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ani</i>
3pl.	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ini</i>
2ms.	<i>-ət</i>	<i>-itən</i>
2fs.	<i>-at</i>	<i>-atən</i>
2pl.	<i>-itun</i>	<i>-ituna</i>
1ms.	<i>-ən</i>	<i>-ina</i>
1fs.	<i>-an</i>	<i>-ana</i>
1pl.	<i>-ax</i>	<i>-axən</i>

Speakers from Tabriz optionally pronounce the 1st person singular forms with final *-m* rather than *-n*:

	<b>Urmī</b>	<b>Tabriz</b>
1ms.	<i>-ən</i>	<i>-əm</i>
1fs.	<i>-an</i>	<i>-am</i>

#### 4.3.2 *L-Suffixes*

These suffixes are attached to the past template in order to express the grammatical subject.

	<b>Urmī and Armenia</b>	<b>Georgia and Armenia</b>	<b>Siri S</b>
3ms.	<i>-lo</i>		
3fs.	<i>-la</i>		
3pl.	<i>-lun</i>	<i>-le</i>	<i>-lu</i>
2ms.	<i>-lux</i>		
2fs.	<i>-lax</i>		
2pl.	<i>-loxun</i>		
1s.	<i>-li</i>		
1pl.	<i>-lan</i>		

The 3pl. suffix *-le* is regularly used in the village of Canda in Georgia. In the villages in Armenia this 3pl. suffix is occasionally used alongside the more frequent 3pl. suffix *-lun*. In the village of Siri on the southern periphery of the Urmī plain the form of the 3pl. suffix is *-lu*, which corresponds to the form used in the neighbouring mountain dialect of Tazacand.

### 4.3.3 *Inflection of the Present Template with S-Suffixes*

This construction has a wide functional range including present habitual, future and irrealis. These functions are examined in greater detail in § 10.2.

#### 4.3.3.1 Pattern I

*p-t-x* I ‘to open’

	Default	Long
3ms.	<i>pátəx</i>	<i>patáxni</i> ‘He opens’
3fs.	<i>pátxa</i>	<i>patxáni</i> ‘She opens’
3pl.	<i>pátxi</i>	<i>patxíni</i> ‘They open’, etc.
2ms.	<i>pátxət</i>	<i>patxítən</i>
2fs.	<i>pátxa</i>	<i>patxátən</i>
2pl.	<i>patxítun</i>	<i>patxítun</i>
1ms.	<i>pátxən</i>	<i>patxína</i>
1fs.	<i>pátxan</i>	<i>patxána</i>
1pl.	<i>pátxax</i>	<i>patxáxən</i>

In this paradigm the /a/ after the first radical is short when it is in a closed syllable, i.e. throughout the paradigm except in the 3ms form. In the 3ms form it is in an open syllable and is long in order to achieve the canonical bimoraic weight of syllable rhymes (§ 1.14.). The vowel length is not inherent in the template. It is only in the 3ms form that a /ə/ occurs after the second radical. It is best not to consider this as an epenthetic, since it is taken into account by the stress when suffixes are added, e.g. *patáxva* ‘he used to open’. Moreover if the base were *CaCC* and an epenthetic were inserted, one would expect the vowel to remain short as is the case in a form like *mádənxə*, where the vowel remains short after the insertion of the epenthetic /ə/ (§ 1.14.).

#### 4.3.3.2 Pattern II

*b-s-m* II ‘to cure’

	Form
3ms.	<i>básəm</i> ‘He cures’
3fs.	<i>básma</i> ‘She cures’
3pl.	<i>básmi</i> ‘They cure’, etc.
2ms.	<i>básət</i>
2fs.	<i>básmat</i>

- 2pl. *basmítun*  
 1ms. *básman*  
 1fs. *básman*  
 1pl. *básmax*

## 4.3.3.3 Pattern III

*m-dm-x* ‘to cause to sleep’

**Form**

- |      |                    |                             |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>mádmáx</i>      | ‘He causes to sleep’        |
| 3fs. | <i>madmáxxa</i>    | ‘She causes to sleep’       |
| 3pl. | <i>madmáxxi</i>    | ‘They cause to sleep’, etc. |
| 2ms. | <i>madmáxxat</i>   |                             |
| 2fs. | <i>madmáxxat</i>   |                             |
| 2pl. | <i>madmáxxítun</i> |                             |
| 1ms. | <i>madmáxxən</i>   |                             |
| 1fs. | <i>madmáxxan</i>   |                             |
| 1pl. | <i>madmáxxax</i>   |                             |

As remarked above (§ 4.2.), the *m-* element is best considered an augment to the root rather than an element of the morphological template. The vowel /ə/ which is placed before the final radical throughout the paradigm originated, in all cases except the 3ms., as an epenthetic breaking up an internal cluster. The underlying template of the 3fs. form *madmáxxa*, for example, can be identified as *C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>C<sub>4</sub>a*, which parallels the template of pattern I and pattern II verbs, viz. 3fs. *C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>a*. The middle two radicals of pattern III cluster in the 2nd radical slot, as shown in the following table:

Radical slot	1	2	3		
Pattern I	<i>C<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>a</i>	<i>C<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>C<sub>3</sub></i>	<i>a</i>
Pattern II	<i>C<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>a</i>	<i>C<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>C<sub>3</sub></i>	<i>a</i>
Pattern III	<i>C<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>a</i>	<i>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub></i>	<i>C<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>a</i>

The epenthetic is absent in some weak verbs, e.g. *+maxla* ‘she feeds’ (root *+Ø-x-l*). In strong verbs, however, the epenthetic has become phonologized and treated like a vowel nucleus. For this reason it is stressed, when penultimate, and the following consonant is geminated to make the syllable bimoraic. This gemination is weakened phonetically to some extent when it is not preceded by the stress, but is regularly represented in the orthography of the transcription.

When the third radical of pattern III verbs is a sonorant a different syllabification is occasionally attested to avoid having decreasing sonority in the onset cluster of the following syllable, e.g. *macərbàxlə* ‘we upset him’ (A 37:12) (root *m-cr-b* III ‘to upset’).

#### 4.3.3.4 Quadriliteral

*rj-rj-š* QI ‘to drag’

	<b>Form</b>	
3ms.	<i>jarjəš</i>	‘He drags’
3fs.	<i>jarjóss̥a</i>	‘She drags’
3pl.	<i>jarjóss̥i</i>	‘They drag’, etc.
2ms.	<i>jarjóss̥at</i>	
2fs.	<i>jarjóss̥at</i>	
2pl.	<i>jarjóss̥ítun</i>	
1ms.	<i>jarjóss̥ən</i>	
1fs.	<i>jarjóss̥an</i>	
1pl.	<i>jarjóss̥ax</i>	

*my-rj-š* QII ‘to cause to be dragged’

	<b>Form</b>	
3ms.	<i>myarjəš</i>	‘He causes to be dragged’
3fs.	<i>myarjóss̥a</i>	‘She causes to be dragged’
3pl.	<i>myarjóss̥i</i>	‘They cause to be dragged’, etc.
2ms.	<i>myarjóss̥at</i>	
2fs.	<i>myarjóss̥at</i>	
2pl.	<i>myarjóss̥ítun</i>	
1ms.	<i>myarjóss̥ən</i>	
1fs.	<i>myarjóss̥an</i>	
1pl.	<i>myarjóss̥ax</i>	

As in pattern III, the short vowel /ə/ is a phonologized epenthetic in all cases except the 3ms. and is followed by a geminated consonant before inflectional endings.

Quadriliteral verbs with identical 2nd and 3rd radicals such as *t-mm-z* ‘to clean’ have the same pattern of conjugation (§ 4.25.4.1):

3ms.	<i>támməz</i>	'He cleans'
3fs.	<i>tammázza</i>	'She cleans'
3pl.	<i>tammázzzi</i>	'They clean', etc.
2ms.	<i>tammázzat</i>	
2fs.	<i>tammázzat</i>	
2pl.	<i>tamməzzítun</i>	
1ms.	<i>tammázzən</i>	
1fs.	<i>tammázzan</i>	
1pl.	<i>tammázzax</i>	

In quadrilateral roots such as  $^+x\text{-ll}\text{-l}$  'to wash', in which the third radical is identical with the medial cluster, optional contractions occur:

3ms.	$^+x\acute{a}lləl$	'He washes'
3fs.	$^+xall\acute{a}lla \sim ^+x\acute{a}lla$	'She washes'
3pl.	$^+xall\acute{a}lli \sim ^+x\acute{a}lli$	'They wash', etc.
2ms.	$^+xall\acute{a}llət \sim ^+x\acute{a}llət$	
2fs.	$^+xall\acute{a}llat \sim ^+x\acute{a}llat$	
2pl.	$^+xall\acute{a}llítun \sim ^+xallítun$	
1ms.	$^+xall\acute{a}llən \sim ^+x\acute{a}llən$	
1fs.	$^+xall\acute{a}llan \sim ^+x\acute{a}llan$	
1pl.	$^+xall\acute{a}llax \sim ^+x\acute{a}llax$	

#### 4.3.4 Inflection of the Past Template with L-Suffixes

The most common function of this construction is the expression of the past perfective (§ 10.3.1.).

##### 4.3.4.1 Pattern I

*p-t-x i* 'to open'

3ms.	<i>ptáx-lə</i>	'He opened'
3fs.	<i>ptáx-la</i>	'She opened'
3pl.	<i>ptáx-lun</i>	'They opened', etc.
2ms.	<i>ptáx-lux</i>	
2fs.	<i>ptáx-lax</i>	
2pl.	<i>ptáx-loxun</i>	
1s.	<i>ptáx-li</i>	
1pl.	<i>ptáx-lan</i>	

The /i/ of the past template *ptix-* is shortened to /ə/ in the closed syllables before the L-suffix throughout this paradigm. In final weak roots in which the past template ends in a vowel, the /ə/ of the 3ms suffix is occasionally elided, e.g. *xzíl* 'he saw' (A 10:2) < *xzílo*.

#### 4.3.4.2 Pattern II

*b-s-m* II 'to cure'

3ms.	<i>busám-lə</i>	'He cured'
3fs.	<i>busám-la</i>	'She cured'
3pl.	<i>busám-lun</i>	'They cured', etc.
2ms.	<i>busám-lux</i>	
2fs.	<i>busám-lax</i>	
2pl.	<i>busám-loxun</i>	
1s.	<i>busám-li</i>	
1pl.	<i>busám-lan</i>	

#### 4.3.4.3 Pattern III

*m-dm-x* III 'to cause to sleep'

3ms.	<i>mudmóx-lə</i>	'He caused to sleep'
3fs.	<i>mudmóx-la</i>	'She caused to sleep'
3pl.	<i>mudmóx-lun</i>	'They caused to sleep', etc.
2ms.	<i>mudmóx-lux</i>	
2fs.	<i>mudmóx-lax</i>	
2pl.	<i>mudmóx-loxun</i>	
1s.	<i>mudmóx-li</i>	
1pl.	<i>mudmóx-lan</i>	

#### 4.3.4.4 Quadrilateral

*f-rj-š* QI 'to drag'

3ms.	<i>jurjéš-lə</i>	'He dragged'
3fs.	<i>jurjéš-la</i>	'She dragged'
3pl.	<i>jurjéš-lun</i>	'They dragged', etc.
2ms.	<i>jurjéš-lux</i>	
2fs.	<i>jurjéš-lax</i>	

- 2pl. *furjáš-loxun*  
 1s. *furjáš-li*  
 1pl. *furjáš-lan*

#### 4.3.4.5 Roots Ending in /n/ or /r/

When the verbal root ends in /n/ or /r/, assimilatory processes take place. In verbs ending in /n/, the /l/ of the L-suffix is optionally assimilated to the /n/, resulting in the geminate sequence /nn/, e.g.

- cpánla* ~ *cpánnə* ‘He became hungry’  
*txənlə* ~ *txánnə* ‘He ground’  
*zubánlə* ~ *zubánnə* ‘He bought’  
*tuxmánlə* ~ *tuxmánnə* ‘He thought’

In some northern varieties of the dialect the /l/ of the suffix assimilates the /n/ regressively, e.g. *cpállə* ‘he became hungry’.

When the verb ends in /r/, the /l/ of the L-suffix is regularly assimilated to it:

- +xdárrə* ‘He went around’ < \**+xdərlə*  
*+šudárrə* ‘He sent’ < \**+šudərlə*  
*+funjárrə* ‘He suffered’ < \**+funjərlə*

The gemination of /r/ in such forms is often phonetically reduced in fast speech: *+šudárrə* [ʃ'udárrə] ~ [ʃ'udárrə] ~ [ʃ'udárrə]. It is regularly represented in the transcription.

#### 4.3.5 Inflection of the Past Template with S-Suffixes

The past template of transitive verbs may be inflected with S-suffixes in order to express the object of the action.

There is one difference between the paradigm of S-suffixes used as the inflection of the present template and the one used to express the object on the past template, in that on the present template the 3pl. suffix is *-i* whereas on the past template the object 3pl. suffix has the form *-e*. This has arisen by analogy with the form of the pronominal suffix that is attached to nouns, e.g. *beté* ‘their house’. Such ‘adnominal’ suffixes are used to express the direct pronominal object on resultative participles and infinitives in compound verbal forms (§ 4.8.) and it is presumably by analogy with such compound forms that it has entered the past template paradigm.

The agent in constructions with object S-suffixes is expressed by L-suffixes.

In what follows full paradigms of object S-suffixes are given on forms with a 3ms agent, which is expressed by the L-suffix *-lə*:

#### 4.3.5.1 Pattern I

*+kt̪-t-l I* ‘to kill’

##### Object

3ms.	<i>+kt̪ál-lə</i>	‘He killed him’
3fs.	<i>+kt̪ilá-lə</i>	‘He killed her’
3pl.	<i>+kt̪ilé-lə</i>	‘He killed them’
2ms.	<i>+kt̪ilát-lə</i>	‘He killed you (ms.)’
2fs.	<i>+kt̪ilát-lə</i>	‘He killed you (fs.)’
2pl.	<i>+kt̪ilítun-lə</i>	‘He killed you (pl.)’
1ms.	<i>+kt̪ilán-lə</i>	‘He killed me (m.)’
1fs.	<i>+kt̪ilán-lə</i>	‘He killed me (f.)’
1pl.	<i>+kt̪iláx-lə</i>	‘He killed us’

When the L-suffix is attached to the past template *+kt̪il-* without any intervening inflectional vowel, the /i/ of the base is in a closed syllable and so is shortened and realized as the short vowel /ə/. This is the case when the base has the 3ms S-suffix, which is realized as zero (§ 4.3.1.). When followed by a vowel, the /i/ of the pattern I is in an open syllable and is preserved.

The /l/ of the L-suffix is sporadically assimilated to the consonant of the S-suffix, e.g. *+kt̪ilán-na* < *+kt̪ilán-lə* ‘He killed me’.

The expression of pronominal objects by S-suffixes can be identified as a type of ergative alignment. S-suffixes are morphologically less marked than L-suffixes, since they include Ø as a marker of the 3ms and generally less morphological material than L-suffixes. The expression of the patient by unmarked suffixes and the agent by marked suffixes is a characteristic feature of ergative alignment. This must, however, be considered to be a hybrid type of ergative alignment, since an intransitive subject of past template verbs is expressed by L-suffixes, just as is a transitive subject, and so the marking of a patient and an intransitive subject are not identical as in canonical ergative systems. The hybrid type of ergativity in past template verbs in C. Urmî, which shares features with both canonical ergative alignment (use of unmarked suffixes to express the patient) and also with canonical accusative alignment (use of the same suffixes for both transitive and intransitive subjects) may be termed ‘extended ergative’ (Doron and Khan 2012; Khan 2015). This extended ergative alignment is found only with past template verbs.

In principle S-suffixes of any person may occur in this position. Many speakers, however, prefer to avoid the expression of 1st and 2nd person objects in this way and use other constructions (§ 4.17.). All speakers freely use S-suffixes to express 3rd person objects. This situation demonstrates that the expression of the object by S-suffixes is indeed an ergative construction and not a passive construction, i.e. the S-suffixes have the grammatical role of object and are not the subjects of passive verbal forms. There is no constraint on the person in subjects expressed by S-suffixes on present template verbs. For an explanation of the constraint on person in the ergative construction see § 10.18.1.

#### 4.3.5.2 Pattern II

*b-s-m* II 'to cure'

##### Object

3ms.	<i>busóm-lə</i>	'He cured him'
3fs.	<i>busmá-lə</i>	'He cured her'
3pl.	<i>busmé-lə</i>	'He cured them'
2ms.	<i>busmát-lə</i>	'He cured you (ms.)'
2fs.	<i>busmát-tə</i>	'He cured you (fs.)'
2pl.	<i>busmítun-lə</i>	'He cured you (pl.)'
1ms.	<i>busmán-lə</i>	'He cured me (m.)'
1fs.	<i>busmán-lə</i>	'He cured me (f.)'
1pl.	<i>busmáx-lə</i>	'He cured us'

#### 4.3.5.2 Pattern III

*m-dm-x* III 'to cause to sleep'

##### Object

3ms.	<i>mudmáx-lə</i>	'He caused him to sleep'
3fs.	<i>mudmáxxá-lə</i>	'He caused her to sleep'
3pl.	<i>mudmáxxé-lə</i>	'He caused them to sleep'
2ms.	<i>mudmáxxát-lə</i>	'He caused you (ms.) to sleep'
2fs.	<i>mudmáxxát-lə</i>	'He caused you (fs.) to sleep'
2pl.	<i>mudmáxxítun-lə</i>	'He caused you (pl.) to sleep'
1ms.	<i>mudmáxxán-lə</i>	'He caused me (m.) to sleep'
1fs.	<i>mudmáxxán-lə</i>	'He caused me (f.) to sleep'
1pl.	<i>mudmáxxáx-lə</i>	'He caused us to sleep'

### 4.3.5.3 Quadrilateral

*ʃ-ṛj-š* QI ‘to drag’

#### Object

3ms.	<i>jurjáš-lə</i>	‘He dragged him’
3fs.	<i>jurjáššá-lə</i>	‘He dragged her’
3pl.	<i>jurjáššé-lə</i>	‘He dragged them’
2ms.	<i>jurjáššát-lə</i>	‘He dragged you (ms.)’
2fs.	<i>jurjáššát-lə</i>	‘He dragged you (fs.)’
2pl.	<i>jurjáššítun-lə</i>	‘He dragged you (pl.)’
1ms.	<i>jurjáššán-lə</i>	‘He dragged me (m.)’
1fs.	<i>jurjáššán-lə</i>	‘He dragged me (f.)’
1pl.	<i>jurjáššáx-lə</i>	‘He dragged us’

In quadrilateral roots such as *+x-ll-l* ‘to wash’, in which the third radical is identical with the medial cluster, optional contractions occur:

#### Object

3ms.	<i>+xullál-lə</i>	‘He washed it (m.)’
3fs.	<i>+xullallá-lə ~ +xullá-lə</i>	‘He washed it (f.)’
3pl.	<i>+xullallé-lə ~ +xullé-lə</i>	‘He washed them’

## 4.4 Particles Combined with Verbs Derived from the Present and Past Templates

### 4.4.1 Habitual Particle

A particle with the form *ci-* is optionally prefixed to inflected forms of the present template to express realis habituality, e.g. *ci-patəx* ‘he opens’. This has developed historically from the combination of the two preverbal particles *\*k* + *i*. In some dialects the habitual is expressed by one of these by itself, e.g. Qaraqosh *k-paθəx* ‘he opens’, Barwar *i-paθəx* ‘he opens’. In normal fast speech the vowel of the particle *ci-* is often elided and the *c-* clusters with the first consonantal radical of the verb: *ci-patəx* [cʰpʰa:tʰix]. In such cases the prefix is voiced when the first radical is voiced by the normal process of regressive voice assimilation (§ 1.6.), e.g. *ci-madmx* ['jmadmix ~ 'dʒmadmix] ‘he puts to sleep’. In both these cases the transcription is normalized as *ci-*. When the particle is prefixed to initial /Ø/ verbs that have word-initial /ʔ/ on the phonetic surface, e.g. *'atə* ‘he comes’ (< /Øatə/), the /ʔ/ is often elided in fast speech, e.g. *c-atə* ‘he

comes' (<*ci-’atə*). The fact that the lax *c-* does not shift to a tense *ç-*, in the way that the particles *d-* and *b-* become tense *t-* and *p-* before /’/ (e.g. *t-ilə* < *d-’ilə* ‘that he is’, *p-ida* < *b-’ida* ‘by hand’), shows that the underlying morphophonemic form of *c-ata* is *ci-’atə*, in which the /c/ is separated from the /’/ by a vowel (§ 1.15.2.). This uncontracted form is, in fact, sporadically attested in speech, e.g. *kámxa ci-’odívala* ‘They used to make flour’ (B 10:9), *ci-’azívá* ‘They used to go’ (B 11:4). The particle can be uttered in a separate intonation group from the verb, e.g. *cíl janvívala* ‘They used to steal her’ (B 10:25).

Some speakers of the northern variety of the dialect sporadically use a habitual particle with the form *’i-* rather than *ci-*, e.g. *’ó +bər-+zárra i-daráxlə +támə* ‘We would put the seed there’ (B 3:23), *mástə i-dokíval +cárra i-dokíval* ‘They used to produce yoghurt, they used to produce butter’ (B 2:10), *nipúxta i-bašlíva* ‘They would cook molasses’ (B 3:13), *ja-dén míyya jáldə i-barzíval* ‘They quickly dried in that water’ (B 3:14). This suffix is used in the dialects of the mountains to the west of the Urmī plain, e.g. <sup>+</sup>Mawana *i-patəx*. According to Maclean (1895, 82) this was the normal preverbal prefix in the C. Salamas dialect at the period in which he was writing, whereas *ci-* was only rarely used in this dialect. According to my own fieldwork, the surviving speakers of C. Salamas now regularly use *ci-*.

Speakers who use the form *’i-* also use the form *ci-*, so the form *’i-* may have resulted from the elision of the initial *c-* by phonetic attrition. Alternatively the form could be regarded as a morphological variant.

#### 4.4.2 Future Particle

The future may be expressed by prefixing the particle *bət-* to an inflected form of the present template, e.g. *bət-pátəx* ‘he will open’, *bət-’áta* ‘he will come’. This is a fossilized and phonetically reduced form of a volitive expression such as *\*bāē d-* ‘he wants to’. In slow careful speech the particle stands outside the domain of emphasis of an emphatic verb, as in *bət-+kətəl* ‘he will kill’ and so the construction should be analysed as two words combined in a stress group. The particle is, therefore, connected to the verb in the transcription by a single hyphen. The /t/ of the particle *bət* is, in fact, the result of the word-final devoicing rule (§ 1.6.). The particle may, indeed, carry its own stress, e.g. *bót +’áxəl* ‘he will eat’ (A 37:3). In fast speech the particle is contracted. Before a consonant it is reduced to *b-*, e.g. *b-dára* ‘he will pour’. When the following consonant is voiceless, the particle is devoiced, e.g. *p-šalxànnəl* [p<sup>h</sup>sal'xnn̩r] ‘I shall flay him’ (A 1:33). If the following consonant is an unvoiced tense stop, the particle is the tense *p-*, e.g. *p-+kətəlli* [p<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>·t<sup>h</sup>əll̩iç] ‘he will kill me’ (A 4:10), since clusters of stops generally share the same glottal setting (§ 1.15.1.). The single consonant of the particle is heard even before a labial,

e.g. *p-parəkli* [pp<sup>ha:</sup>riklɪ] 'he will finish me off' (A 4:10). A cluster of two homorganic consonants in the onset of a syllable is not licit (§ 1.15.1.), which suggests that we should posit that in the underlying form of all these contracted constructions the particle has the form *bət-* and the contraction is a post-lexical process, e.g. *bət-parək* > *p-parək*. When the verb begins with /t/, the /t/ of the particle coalesces with the /t/ and becomes a tense /t/ and the particle contracts to either *þt-* or simple *t-*, e.g. *þt-azən* ~ *t-azən* < *bət-azən* 'I shall go', *þt-+axlən* ~ *t-+axlən* < *bət-+axlən* 'I shall eat'. Within the framework of lexical phonology, there are grounds for holding that the /t/ at the beginning of such verbs is added by a post-lexical process and is not present at an underlying level of derivation (§ 1.14.). The fact that the particle coalesces with the /t/, therefore, shows that this also must have occurred post-lexically and is a further argument for positing that the underlying form of constructions such as *t-azən* is *bət-azən*.

#### 4.4.3 Deontic Particles

A wish may be expressed by combining the imperative forms *xuš* 'go' or *šuk*/ *šuk* 'leave, allow' with a present template verb, e.g. *xuš-pátəx* 'may he open', *šuk-áta* 'let him come.' The two may be combined by placing *šuk* before *xuš*, but not vice versa, e.g. *šuk xuš áta* 'let him come'.

#### 4.4.4 Past Converter Prefix *kam-*

The particle *kam* is attached to the present template when it has a pronominal object suffix and gives it a past time reference with perfective aspect, e.g. *kam-patáxla* 'he opened it'.<sup>1</sup> It is used in the northern varieties of the dialect and also is a feature of the dialects of Gawilan, Jamalawa and Salamas spoken further to the North. In the southern dialects the particle is rarely used and other means of expressing pronominal object suffixes on past perfective verbs are employed (§ 4.17.).

#### 4.4.5 Past Converter Suffix *-va*

The particle *-va*, a fossilized form of the verb form \**hvā* in earlier Aramaic, is suffixed to verbs derived from present and past templates. For more details concerning the function of these verbal constructions see § 10.2. and § 10.3.

##### 4.4.5.1 Present Template Verbs

The suffixed particle is attached after the S-suffix inflectional endings:

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<sup>1</sup> For the historical background of this form see Fassberg (2015).

- 3ms. *patáxva* 'He used to open'  
 3fs. *patxáva* 'She used to open'  
 3pl. *patxíva* 'They used to open', etc.  
 2ms. *patxátva*  
 2fs. *patxátva*  
 2pl. *patxítunva*  
 1ms. *patxánva*  
 1fs. *patxánva*  
 1pl. *patxáxva*

In the speech of speakers from Tabriz who pronounce 1st person singular S-suffixes with final *-m*, the initial /v/ of the converter suffix is assimilated to this /m/, resulting in the following forms:

	Urmi	Tabriz
1ms.	<i>patxónva</i>	<i>patxómma</i>
1fs.	<i>patxánva</i>	<i>patxámma</i>

#### 4.4.5.2 Past Template Verbs

The particle is placed between the past template and the L-suffix expressing the subject.

- 3ms. *ptáxvalə* 'He had opened'  
 3fs. *ptáxvala* 'She had opened'  
 3pl. *ptáxvalun* 'They had opened', etc.  
 2ms. *ptáxvalux*  
 2fs. *ptáxvalax*  
 2pl. *ptáxvaloxun*  
 1s. *ptáxvali*  
 1pl. *ptáxvalan*

If the past template is inflected with an S-suffix, expressing the object of the verb, the *va* follows this. In what follows full paradigms of object S-suffixes are given on forms with a 3ms agent, which is expressed by the L-suffix *-lə*:

- 3fs. *+ktılávalə* 'He had killed her'  
 3pl. *+ktılévalə* 'He had killed them'  
 2ms. *+ktılátvalə* 'He had killed you (ms.)'  
 2fs. *+ktılátvalə* 'He had killed you (fs.)'  
 2pl. *+ktılíturvalə* 'He had killed you (pl.)'

- 1ms. *+kt̪iláñvalə* ‘He had killed me (m.)’  
 ifs. *+kt̪ilánvalə* ‘He had killed me (f.)’  
 1pl. *+kt̪iláxvalə* ‘He had killed us’

#### 4.5 Inflection of the Imperative

The imperative has a singular and a plural form. In verbs with a strong final radical the plural is formed by attaching the suffix *-un* to the singular. The stress is placed on the initial syllable in all forms, even when this is more than one syllable back from the end of the word.

##### 4.5.1 *Pattern I*

- sing. *ptúx* ‘Open!’  
 plural *ptúxun* ‘Open!’

##### 4.5.2 *Pattern II*

The /ə/ of the singular base is elided after the attachment of the plural ending:

- sing. *básəm* ‘Cure!’  
 plural *básmun* ‘Cure!’

##### 4.5.3 *Pattern III*

The final radical is geminated before the vowel of the plural ending, though this is phonetically reduced in fast speech:

- sing. *mádməx* ‘Put to sleep!’  
 plural *mádməxxun* ‘Put to sleep!’

##### 4.5.4 *Quadrilateral*

As in pattern III, the final radical is geminated before the plural ending:

- sing. *járjəš* ‘Drag!’  
 plural *járjəššun* ‘Drag!’

In quadrilateral roots such as *+x-ll-l* ‘to wash’, in which the third radical is identical with the medial cluster, an optional contraction occurs in the plural form:

- sing.    *+xálləl*                      'Wash!'  
 plural    *+xálləllun ~ +xállun*    'Wash!'

#### 4.6 Inflection of the Resultative Participle

The resultative participle is historically derived from the passive participle in the determined state in earlier Aramaic. It is used in compound verbal forms expressing the resultative perfect (§ 4.8.1.) or as an adjectival form (§ 4.25.). It has ms., fs. and plural inflectional endings:

- ms.    -*a*  
 fs.    -*ta*  
 pl.    -*ə*

The addition of the fs. ending *-ta* to the base of the resultative participle brings about various changes in syllabification.

##### 4.6.1 *Pattern I*

- ms.    *ptíxa*  
 fs.    *ptáxta*  
 pl.    *ptíxə*

##### 4.6.2 *Pattern II*

- ms.    *búsma*  
 fs.    *busámta*  
 pl.    *búsmə*

##### 4.6.3 *Pattern III*

- ms.    *mudmáxxa*  
 fs.    *mudmáxta*  
 pl.    *mudmáxxə*

##### 4.6.4 *Quadriliteral*

- ms.    *furjóss̥a*  
 fs.    *furjóštə*  
 pl.    *furjóss̥ə*

In quadrilateral roots such as <sup>+x</sup>-ll-l ‘to wash’, in which the third radical is identical with the medial cluster, optional contractions occur:

- ms. <sup>+x</sup>*ullólla* ~ <sup>+x</sup>*úlla*
- fs. <sup>+x</sup>*ullólta*
- pl. <sup>+x</sup>*ullólla* ~ <sup>+x</sup>*úllə*

#### 4.7 Inflection of the Active Participle

The active participle is formed by attaching the affix *-an-* to the present template. It is inflected for ms., fs. and plural with endings that are historically the endings of nominal forms in the determined state. The derivation of active participles is not completely productive across all verbal roots. It is used as a noun or adjective describing a characteristic, time-stable property of a referent.

##### 4.7.1 *Pattern I*

- ms. *patxána* ‘opener’
- fs. *patxánta* ‘opener’
- pl. *patxánə* ‘openers’

##### 4.7.2 *Pattern II*

- ms. *basmána* ‘curer’
- fs. *basmánta* ‘curer’
- pl. *basmánə* ‘curers’

##### 4.7.3 *Pattern III*

- ms. *madməxxána* ‘one who puts to sleep’
- fs. *madməxxánta* ‘one who puts to sleep’
- pl. *madməxxánə* ‘those who put to sleep’

##### 4.7.4 *Quadrilateral*

- ms. *jarjəššána* ‘dragger’
- fs. *jarjəššánta* ‘dragger’
- pl. *jarjəššánə* ‘draggers’

## 4.8 Compound Verbal Forms Containing the Verb 'to be'

### 4.8.1 *Copula Combined with Resultative Participle*

#### 4.8.1.1 Present Perfect

The realis resultative perfect of verbs is expressed by a compound construction consisting of the resultative participle combined with the present enclitic copula or a deictic copula:

The full paradigm of the perfect is as follows:

	<b>Enclitic copula</b>	<b>Near deictic</b>	<b>Far deictic</b>	
3ms.	<i>ptíxəla</i>	<i>dúlə ptíxa</i>	<i>vélə ptíxa</i>	'He has opened'
3fs.	<i>ptáxtəla</i>	<i>dúla ptáxta</i>	<i>véla ptáxta</i>	'She has opened'
3pl.	<i>ptíxəna</i>	<i>dúna ptíxə</i>	<i>véna ptíxə</i>	'They have opened', etc.
2ms.	<i>ptíxəvət</i>	<i>dívət ptíxa</i>		
2fs.	<i>ptáxtəvət</i>	<i>dívət ptáxta</i>		
2pl.	<i>ptíxətun</i>	<i>dútun ptíxə</i>		
1ms.	<i>ptíxəvən</i>	<i>dívən ptíxa</i>		
1fs.	<i>ptáxtəvən</i>	<i>dívən ptáxta</i>		
1pl.	<i>ptíxəvax</i>	<i>dívəx ptíxə</i>		

The attachment of the enclitic copula does not affect the position of the stress, which remains on the penultimate syllable of the participle.

The final *-ə* of the copula in the 3ms form *ptíxəla* is sometimes elided, resulting in the form *ptíxəl* (§ 10.10.1.4.).

#### 4.8.1.2 Past Perfect

The past perfect is formed by combining the resultative participle with the past copula:

3ms.	<i>ptíxəva</i>	'He had opened'
3fs.	<i>ptáxtəva</i>	'She had opened'
3pl.	<i>ptíxəva</i>	'They had opened', etc.
2ms.	<i>ptíxətva</i>	
2fs.	<i>ptáxtətva</i>	
2pl.	<i>ptíxətunva</i>	
1ms.	<i>ptíxənva</i>	
1fs.	<i>ptáxtənva</i>	
1pl.	<i>ptíxəxva</i>	

#### 4.8.1.3 Irrealis Perfect

The irrealis perfect is formed by combining the resultative participle with the irrealis present template form of the verb *'avə* I. The *'avə* auxiliary form is placed before the participle:

3ms.	<i>'ávə ptíxa</i>	'He may have opened'
3fs.	<i>'óya ptáxta</i>	'She may have opened'
3pl.	<i>'ávi ptíxə</i>	'They may have opened', etc.
2ms.	<i>'ávat ptíxa</i>	
2fs.	<i>'óyat ptáxta</i>	
2pl.	<i>'avítun ptíxə</i>	
1ms.	<i>'ávən ptíxa</i>	
1fs.	<i>'óyan ptáxta</i>	
1pl.	<i>'ávax ptíxə</i>	

#### 4.8.1.4 Irrealis Past Perfect

The irrealis past perfect is formed by adding the past converter suffix *-va* to the form of the verb *'avə* I:

3ms.	<i>'avíva ptíxa</i>	'He might have opened'
3fs.	<i>'oyáva ptáxta</i>	'She might have opened'
3pl.	<i>'avíva ptíxə</i>	'They might have opened', etc.
2ms.	<i>'avátva ptíxa</i>	
2fs.	<i>'oyátva ptáxta</i>	
2pl.	<i>'avítunva ptíxə</i>	
1ms.	<i>'avən ptíxa</i>	
1fs.	<i>'oyánva ptáxta</i>	
1pl.	<i>'aváxva ptíxə</i>	

#### 4.8.2 *Copula Combined with Progressive Stem*

##### 4.8.2.1 Present Progressive

The present progressive is expressed by combining the present enclitic copula or deictic copula with the progressive stem (I *bəptaxə*, II *basumə*, III *madmuxə*, QI *jarjušə*), e.g. *bəptáxələ* 'He is opening'. Historically this was a locative phrase containing the locative preposition *b-*: \**b-ptaxə* 'he is in opening'. The /b/ has been preserved in the pattern I progressive, but in the synchronic state of the dialect this is analysed as an integral component of the progressive stem. The full paradigm is as follows:

Enclitic copula	Near deictic	Far deictic
3ms. <i>bəptáxələ</i>	<i>dúla bəptáxa</i>	<i>vélə bəptáxa</i> 'He is opening'
3fs. <i>bəptáxəla</i>	<i>dúla bəptáxa</i>	<i>véla bəptáxa</i> 'She is opening'
3pl. <i>bəptáxəna</i>	<i>dúna bəptáxa</i>	<i>véna bəptáxa</i> 'They are opening, etc.'
2ms. <i>bəptáxəvət</i>	<i>dívət bəptáxa</i>	
2fs. <i>bəptáxəvət</i>	<i>dívət bəptáxa</i>	
2pl. <i>bəptáxətun</i>	<i>dítun bəptáxa</i>	
1ms. <i>bəptáxəvən</i>	<i>dívən bəptáxa</i>	
1fs. <i>bəptáxəvən</i>	<i>dívan bəptáxa</i>	
1pl. <i>bəptáxəvəx</i>	<i>dívax bəptáxa</i>	

The attachment of the enclitic copula does not affect the position of the stress, which remains on the penultimate syllable of the participle.

The *b-* element is only used with pattern I infinitives. Even in pattern I it is commonly, though not obligatorily, elided where the initial radical is a labial, e.g.

<i>bšálələ</i> ~ <i>bəbšálələ</i>	'He is maturing'
<i>prákələ</i> ~ <i>bəprákələ</i>	'He is finishing'
<i>mxáyələ</i> ~ <i>bəmxáyələ</i>	'He is hitting'
<i>+mtáyələ</i> ~ <i>+bəmtáyələ</i>	'He is arriving'

Some verbs in pattern I form a progressive stem from a verbal noun of a different pattern from the infinitive, which is used without an initial *b-*. These include:

<i>p-l-x</i> I 'to work'	<i>pəlxana</i>	<i>pəlxánələ</i>	'He is working'
<i>f-x-c</i> I 'to laugh'	<i>fəxca</i>	<i>jáxcələ</i>	'He is laughing'
<i>b-x-y</i> I 'to weep'	<i>bəxya</i>	<i>báxyələ</i>	'He is weeping'

Regular progressive stems may also be formed for these verbs, e.g. *bəpláxələ*, *bəxácələ*, *bəbxáyələ*.

In pattern II, pattern III and quadrilateral verbs the *b-* is regularly elided, e.g.

#### Pattern II

<i>+amúlələ</i>	'He is processing'
<i>bašúlələ</i>	'He is cooking'
<i>+palútələ</i>	'He is taking out'
<i>+jammúyələ</i>	'He is gathering'

- +*šadírələ* 'He is sending'  
 +*salúyələ* 'He is praying'  
*šalúxələ* 'He is stripping'

### Pattern III

- madmúxələ* 'He is causing to sleep'  
*malyúzələ* 'He is hurrying'  
*maplúxələ* 'He is using'  
 +*makrútələ* 'He is cutting'

### Quadrilateral

- barbúzələ* 'He is scattering'  
*taxmúnələ* 'He is thinking'  
*čarčúrələ* 'He is screaming'  
 +*tartúmələ* 'He is annoying'

#### 4.8.2.2 Past Progressive

The past progressive is formed by combining the past copula with the progressive stem:

- |      |                     |                           |
|------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>bəptáxəva</i>    | 'He was opening'          |
| 3fs. | <i>bəptáxəva</i>    | 'She was opening'         |
| 3pl. | <i>bəptáxəva</i>    | 'They were opening, etc.' |
| 2ms. | <i>bəptáxətva</i>   |                           |
| 2fs. | <i>bəptáxətva</i>   |                           |
| 2pl. | <i>bəptáxətunva</i> |                           |
| 1ms. | <i>bəptáxənva</i>   |                           |
| 1fs. | <i>bəptáxənva</i>   |                           |
| 1pl. | <i>bəptáxəxva</i>   |                           |

#### 4.8.2.3 Progressive Constructions with the Verb *'avə* I

The copula in the progressive construction can be replaced by various forms of the verb *'avə* I 'to be' (§ 4.14.8.). The most common construction is a double progressive consisting of the progressive of the verb *'avə* (*vayələ*) placed before the progressive of the lexical verb. This is used to express circumstantial actions (§ 10.13.15.):

3ms.	<i>váyəla bəptáxa</i>	'He is opening'
3fs.	<i>váyəla bəptáxa</i>	'She is opening'
3pl.	<i>váyəna bəptáxa</i>	'They are opening, etc.'
2ms.	<i>váyəvət bəptáxa</i>	
2fs.	<i>váyəvət bəptáxa</i>	
2pl.	<i>váyəvətun bəptáxa</i>	
1ms.	<i>váyəvən bəptáxa</i>	
1fs.	<i>váyəvən bəptáxa</i>	
1pl.	<i>váyəvəx bəptáxa</i>	

#### 4.9 Negation of Verbal Forms

The verbal forms are negated as follows.

##### 4.9.1 *la*

The most widely used verbal negator is the particle *la*. This negates present template verbal forms, e.g.

##### Positive Negated form

<i>patəx</i>	<i>la patəx</i>	'He does not open'
<i>patəxva</i>	<i>la patəxva</i>	'He used not to open'

It negates all verbal forms derived from the past template, e.g.

##### Positive Negated form

<i>ptəxlə</i>	<i>la ptəxlə</i>	'He did not open'
<i>ptəxvalə</i>	<i>la ptəxvalə</i>	'He had not opened'

It negates all imperatives, e.g.

##### Positive Negated form

<i>ptux</i>	<i>la ptux</i>	'Do not open!'
<i>ptuxun</i>	<i>la ptuxun</i>	'Do not open!'

A deontic construction containing the imperative *švuk*/*šuk* 'leave, allow' (§ 4.4.3.) may be negated by placing the negator *la* before the imperative, e.g.

##### Positive Negated form

<i>šuk patəx</i>	<i>la šuk patəx</i>	'May he not open'
------------------	---------------------	-------------------

By contrast, the negative particle is not placed before deontic constructions introduced by *xuš*. These must be negated by constructions with *šuk*:

**Positive      Negated form**

<i>xuš patəx</i>	<i>la šuk patəx</i>	'May he not open'
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#### 4.9.2    *le*

The particle *le* is derived historically from a coalescence of the negator *la* and a particle *i*. As remarked (§ 4.4.1.), the particle *i* can be identified as a component of the habitual particle *ci-*. When a habitual verb is negated the *c-* element of the particle is removed. This negative habitual construction is also used to negate future verbs that in the positive have the future particle *bət-*:

**Positive      Negated form**

<i>ci-patəx</i>	<i>le patəx</i>	'He does not kill (habitually)'
<i>bət-patəx</i>	<i>le patəx</i>	'He will not kill'

Before a verb beginning with /y/ the vowel of *le* is often raised to /i/, e.g. *liyatʃən* 'I do not know.'

#### 4.9.3    *Negative Copula*

Compound verbal forms that combine the copula with the resultative participle or progressive stem are negated by replacing the positive copula with the negative copula. The negative copula is regularly placed before the participle or progressive stem, e.g.

**Positive      Negated form**

<i>ptíxələ</i>	<i>lélə ptíxa</i>	'He has not opened'
<i>bəptáxələ</i>	<i>lélə bəptáxa</i>	'He is not opening'

#### 4.10    Weak Verbs in Pattern I

It is a feature of many verbs with weak radicals that the morphological root exhibits variations across their various inflections (§ 4.1., § 4.15.). This applies mainly to the position of the weak radicals. For this reason from now on the present template will be used as the primary citation form of the verb with an indication of its pattern (I, II, III, QI, QII) rather than one particular form of the root, which may not apply to all inflections.

#### 4.10.1 *Verba Primae /Ø/*

Verbs in this category include *'arək* I ( $\emptyset$ -r-k) 'to run, to flee', *+aməd* I ( $+\emptyset$ -m-d) 'to be baptized', *+aməl* I ( $+\emptyset$ -m-l) 'to process, to put together', *+amər* I ( $+\emptyset$ -m-r) 'to reside', *+azəl* I ( $+\emptyset$ -z-l) 'to spin (wool)'. These verbs are historically initial \**c*.

##### 4.10.1.1 Present Template

An initial /'/ appears in the present template of verbs of this category:

- 3ms. *'árək* 'He flees'
- 3fs. *'árka* 'She flees'
- 3pl. *'árki* 'They flee'

The /'/ is added to ensure that the initial syllable has a consonant (§ 1.14.):

*/Øarək/ > +'axəl*

When the habitual particle *ci-* is prefixed, the /'/ is optionally elided, e.g.

*ci-'arək ~ c-arək* 'He flees'

The future particle *bət-* is optionally contracted to *þt-* or *t-*:

*bət-'arək ~ þt-arək ~ t-arək* 'He will flee'

The initial *a-* syllable is sometimes elided after a negative particle *la* or *le* in fast speech, e.g.

*lé-'arək ~ lé-rək* 'He will not flee'

##### 4.10.1.2 Past Template

- 3ms. *rik-*

In a closed syllable before L-suffixes the /i/ is shortened to /ə/ by the regular rule, e.g. *rəklə* 'He fled'.

#### 4.10.1.3 Resultative Participle

ms. *rík<sub>a</sub>*

fs. *rákta*

pl. *rík<sub>ə</sub>*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms. *ríkələ* ‘He has fled’

3fs. *rák<sub>t</sub>la* ‘She has fled’

3pl. *ríkəna* ‘They have fled’

#### 4.10.1.4 Imperative

sing. *rúk* ‘Flee!’

pl. *rúkun* ‘Flee!’

#### 4.10.1.5 Infinitive

*ráka*

#### 4.10.1.6 Progressive

*bərrák<sub>a</sub>*

Compound form (progressive pattern inflected with a copula)

3ms. *bərrák<sub>ələ</sub>* ‘He is fleeing’

3fs. *bərrák<sub>əla</sub>* ‘She is fleeing’

3pl. *bərrák<sub>əna</sub>* ‘They are fleeing’

The gemination of the /r/ in the progressive may have arisen by analogy with the pattern of the strong verb, i.e. *bəptáxa* (*bəCCÁCa*). It is also possible that these forms are derived from a suppletive root of the form *r-Ø-k*, and so correspond to the progressive of middle /Ø/ roots such as <sup>+</sup>*d-Ø-r* ‘to return’, progressive: <sup>+</sup>*bəddára* (§ 4.10.3.).

#### 4.10.1.7 Verbal Noun

*rákta*

#### 4.10.1.8 Active Participle

As in the present template, an initial /'/ is added to ensure that the initial syllable has a consonant:

- ms.    *'arkána*    'one who flees'  
 fs.    *'arkánta*    'one who flees'

Some differences are found in the morphology of this category across the varieties of the dialect. In Siri (S), for example, the present of 'to spin' is inflected as medial /y/, e.g. *+zayəl* 'he spins', *+zəlla* 'he span', *+bəzzaləla* 'he is spinning.'

#### 4.10.2 *Verba Primae* /Ø/ ~ *Primae* /y/

Verbs in this category include *'amər* I ( $\emptyset$ -m-r, y-m-r) 'to say', *+axəl* I ( $+\emptyset$ -x-l,  $+y$ -x-l) 'to eat'. They are historically initial \*.

##### 4.10.2.1 Present Template

An initial /'/ appears in the present template:

- 3ms.    *+áxəl*    'He eats'  
 3fs.    *+áxla*    'She eat'  
 3pl.    *+áxli*    'They eat'

The /'/ is added to ensure that the initial syllable has a consonant:

*/+Øaxəl/ > +axəl*

When the habitual particle *ci-* is prefixed, the /'/ is optionally elided, e.g.

*ci-+axəl ~ c-+axəl*    'He eats'

The future particle *bət-* is optionally contracted to *þt-* or *t-*:

*bət-+axəl ~ þt-+axəl ~ t-+axəl*    'He will eat'

The initial 'a- syllable is sometimes elided after a negative particle *la* or *le* in fast speech, e.g.

*lé-+axəl ~ l-+axəl*    'He will not eat'

#### 4.10.2.2 Past Template

- 3ms.   <sup>+</sup>*xil-*  
 3fs.   <sup>+</sup>*xila-*  
 3pl.   <sup>+</sup>*xile-*

Examples: <sup>+</sup>*xállə* 'He ate', <sup>+</sup>*xilállə* 'He ate it (f.)'

#### 4.10.2.3 Resultative Participle

- ms.   <sup>+</sup>*xíla*  
 fs.   <sup>+</sup>*xálta*  
 pl.   <sup>+</sup>*xilə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms.   <sup>+</sup>*xílələ*   'He has eaten'  
 3fs.   <sup>+</sup>*xálta*   'She has eaten'  
 3pl.   <sup>+</sup>*xiləna*   'They have eaten'

#### 4.10.2.4 Imperative

- sing.   <sup>+</sup>*xúl*   'Eat!'  
 pl.   <sup>+</sup>*xúlun*   'Eat!'

#### 4.10.2.5 Infinitive

<sup>+</sup>*xála*

#### 4.10.2.6 Progressive

<sup>+</sup>*bixála*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms.   <sup>+</sup>*bixálələ*   'He is eating'  
 3fs.   <sup>+</sup>*bixáləla*   'She is eating'  
 3pl.   <sup>+</sup>*bixáləna*   'They are eating'

The /i/ vowel after the initial /b/ reflects the fact that the progressive construction is derived from the suppletive variant root  $+y\text{-}x\text{-}l$ . An initial /y/ radical is also identifiable in the noun  $+mixúlta$  ‘food’ (< \**møyxulta*) (§ 1.15.2.).

#### 4.10.2.7 Verbal Noun

$+xálta$

#### 4.10.2.8 Active Participle

As in the present template, an initial /’/ is added to ensure that the initial syllable has a consonant:

- |     |            |               |
|-----|------------|---------------|
| ms. | $+axlána$  | ‘(big) eater’ |
| fs. | $+axlánta$ | ‘(big) eater’ |

### 4.10.3 *Verba Mediae* /Ø/ ~ *Mediae* /y/

This category contains verbs that had a medial pharyngal \* $\cdot$  at some earlier stage of their development:  $+čayəd$  I ( $+č\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}d$ ,  $+č\text{-}y\text{-}d$ ) ‘to pare, hew’ (< \**g*- $\cdot$ *d*),  $+dayəl$  I ( $+d\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}l$ ,  $+d\text{-}y\text{-}l$ ) ‘to be sightless’,  $+dayər$  I ( $+d\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}r$ ,  $+d\text{-}y\text{-}r$ ) ‘to return’ (< \**d*- $\cdot$ *r*),  $+layəs$  I ( $+l\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}s$ ,  $+l\text{-}y\text{-}s$ ) ‘to chew’ (< \**l*- $\cdot$ *s*),  $+nayəs$  I ( $+n\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}s$ ,  $+n\text{-}y\text{-}s$ ) ‘to sting’ (< \**n*- $\cdot$ *s*),  $+rayəš$  I ( $+r\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}š$ ,  $+r\text{-}y\text{-}š$ ) ‘to wake’ (< \**r*- $\cdot$ *š* < \**r*-*g*-*š*),  $+sayən$  I ( $+s\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}n$ ,  $+s\text{-}y\text{-}n$ ) ‘to have darting pains’,  $+šayəl$  I ( $+š\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}l$ ,  $+š\text{-}y\text{-}l$ ) ‘to cough’ (< \**š*- $\cdot$ *l*),  $+šayər$  I ( $+š\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}r$ ,  $+š\text{-}y\text{-}r$ ) ‘to stoke a fire’ (< \**š*- $\cdot$ *r* < \**š*-*g*-*r*),  $+šayəš$  I ( $+š\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}š$ ,  $+š\text{-}y\text{-}š$ ) ‘to shake’ (< \**š*- $\cdot$ *š* < \**š*-*g*-*š*),  $+tayət$  I ( $+t\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}t$ ,  $+t\text{-}y\text{-}t$ ) ‘to sweat’ (< \**d*- $\cdot$ *t*),  $+tayəm$  I ( $+t\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}m$ ,  $+t\text{-}y\text{-}m$ ) ‘to taste’ (< \**t*- $\cdot$ *m*),  $+tayən$  I ( $+t\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}n$ ,  $+t\text{-}y\text{-}n$ ) ‘to bear’ (< \**t*- $\cdot$ *n*),  $+tayəp$  I ( $+t\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}p$ ,  $+t\text{-}y\text{-}p$ ) ‘to fold’ (< \**t*- $\cdot$ *p*),  $+tayəs$  I ( $+t\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}s$ ,  $+t\text{-}y\text{-}s$ ) ‘to stick in, thrust’ (< \**d*- $\cdot$ *s*),  $+tayəx$  ( $+t\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}x$ ,  $+t\text{-}y\text{-}x$ ) ‘to subside’ (< \**d*- $\cdot$ *x*). All inflections of these verbs except the progressive are derived from the suppletive roots with medial /y/. Their progressives exhibit variant forms, one derived from a medial /Ø/ root and one from a medial /y/ root.

#### 4.10.3.1 Present Template

In all inflections except the 3ms the medial /y/ is contracted, resulting in the occurrence of the vowel /e/ between the first and third radicals. In the 3ms the /y/ is optionally retained in the template *CayəC*, which corresponds to that of the strong verb. The 3ms. template *CayəC* is sometimes contracted to *CāC*, with a long /a/ rather than /e/ as in the rest of the paradigm:

- 3ms. +šáyəš ~ +šāš 'He shakes'  
 3fs. +šeša 'She shakes'  
 3pl. +šeši 'They shake'

#### 4.10.3.2 Past Template

- ms. +šiš-  
 fs. +šiša-  
 pl. +šiše-

Examples: +šášlə 'He shook', +šišálə 'He shook her', +šišélə 'He shook them'.

#### 4.10.3.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. +šiša  
 fs. +šešta  
 pl. +šišə

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. +šišələ 'He has shaken'  
 3fs. +šeštəla 'She has shaken'  
 3pl. +šišəna 'They have shaken'

#### 4.10.3.4 Imperative

- sing. +šúš 'Shake!'  
 pl. +šušun 'Shake!'

#### 4.10.3.5 Infinitive

+šyáša (< +š-y-š)

#### 4.10.3.6 Progressive

+bəššáša (< +š-Ø-š) ~ +bəšyáša (< +š-y-š)

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms.  $+bəššášələ \sim +bəšyášələ$  ‘He is shaking’  
 3fs.  $+bəššášəla \sim +bəšyášəla$  ‘She is shaking’  
 3pl.  $+bəššášəna \sim +bəšyášəna$  ‘They are shaking’

#### 4.10.3.7 Verbal Noun

$+šyášta$

#### 4.10.3.8 Active Participle

- ms.  $+šešána$  ‘shaker’  
 fs.  $+šešánta$  ‘shaker’

### 4.10.4 *Verba Mediae /y/*

This category includes: *čayəd* I (*č-y-d*) ‘to invite’, *čayəl* I (*č-y-l*) ‘to flick (with hand)’, *cayəl* I (*c-y-l*) ‘to measure’, *cayəm* I (*c-y-m*) ‘to become black’, *cayəp* I (*c-y-p*) ‘to bend down’, *cayəš* I (*c-y-š*) ‘to be settled (a debt)’, *dayən* I (*d-y-n*) ‘to judge’, *dayəš* I (*d-y-š*) ‘to tread’, *kayəm* I (*k-y-m*) ‘to rise’, *kayət* I (*k-y-t*) ‘to knock’, *kayəx* I (*k-y-x*) ‘to dry (grass)’, *layəm* I (*l-y-m*) ‘to blame’, *mayəj* I (*m-y-j*) ‘to dissolve’, *mayət* I (*m-y-t*) ‘to die’, *nayəm* I (*n-y-m*) ‘to snooze’, *nayəx* I (*n-y-x*) ‘to go to one’s rest, to die’, *payəc* I (*p-y-c*) ‘to become tasteless’, *payəx* I (*p-y-x*) ‘to become cool’, *rayək* I (*r-y-k*) ‘to spit’, *šatəl* I (*š-t-l*) ‘to plant (seedlings)’, *šayəc* I (*š-y-c*) ‘to deflate’, *sayəl* I (*s-y-l*) ‘to copulate’, *sayəm* I (*s-y-m*) ‘to ordain’, *šayəp* I (*š-y-p*) ‘to rub’, *tayəc* I (*t-y-c*) ‘to plant’, *tayəm* I (*t-y-m*) ‘to finish’, *tayər* I (*t-y-r*) ‘to recover’, *xayəc* I (*x-y-c*) ‘to rub’, *xayəm* I (*x-y-m*) ‘to become on heat (sexually)’, *xayəp* I (*x-y-p*) ‘to wash, to shower’, *xayər* I (*x-y-r*) ‘to look’, *zayəd* I (*z-y-d*) ‘to increase’, *zayər* I (*z-y-r*) ‘to swell’, *+čayər* I (*+č-y-r*) ‘to take offense’, *+čayəm* I (*+č-y-m*) ‘to close (tr. and intr.)’, *+jayər* I (*+j-y-r*) ‘to urinate’, *+kayəs* I (*+k-y-s*) ‘to bruise’, *+layət* I (*+l-y-t*) ‘to curse’, *+mayəs* I (*+m-y-s*) ‘to suck’, *+rayəp* I (*+r-y-p*) ‘to roost (birds)’, *+rayəs* I (*+r-y-s*) ‘to sprinkle’, *+rayət* I (*+r-y-t*) ‘to break wind (noisily)’, *+sayəd* I (*+s-y-d*) ‘to hunt’, *+sayəm* I (*+s-y-m*) ‘to fast’, *+sayəp* I (*+s-y-p*) ‘to drain (intr.)’, *+šarət* I (*+š-r-t*) ‘to pull off’, *+xayət* I (*+x-y-t*) ‘to sew’.

Several of these verbs were historically final geminate, e.g. *+čayəm* I ‘to close’ I (< \*t-m-m), *+mayəs* I ‘to suck’ (< \*m-š-š), *xayəc* I ‘to rub’ (< \*kk).

#### 4.10.4.1 Present Template

In all inflections except the 3ms the medial /y/ is contracted, resulting in the occurrence of the vowel /e/ between the first and third radicals. In the 3ms the

/y/ is optionally retained in the template *CayəC*, which corresponds to that of the strong verb. The 3ms. template *CayəC* is sometimes contracted to *CāC*, with a long /a/ rather than /e/ as in the rest of the paradigm:

- |      |   |              |
|------|---|--------------|
| 3ms. | <sup>+</sup> <i>láyət̪</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>lāt̪</i> | 'He curses'  |
| 3fs. | <sup>+</sup> <i>lēta</i>                              | 'She curses' |
| 3pl. | <sup>+</sup> <i>lēti</i>                              | 'They curse' |

#### 4.10.4.2 Past Template

- |     |                            |
|-----|----------------------------|
| ms. | <sup>+</sup> <i>lit̪-</i>  |
| fs. | <sup>+</sup> <i>lit̪a-</i> |
| pl. | <sup>+</sup> <i>lite-</i>  |

Examples: <sup>+</sup>*lētlə* 'He cursed', <sup>+</sup>*lit̪alə* 'He cursed her', <sup>+</sup>*lit̪elə* 'He cursed them'.

#### 4.10.4.3 Resultative Participle

- |     |                            |
|-----|----------------------------|
| ms. | <sup>+</sup> <i>lit̪a</i>  |
| fs. | <sup>+</sup> <i>lətt̪a</i> |
| pl. | <sup>+</sup> <i>lit̪a</i>  |

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                              |                    |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 3ms. | <sup>+</sup> <i>lít̪ələ</i>  | 'He has cursed'    |
| 3fs. | <sup>+</sup> <i>látt̪əla</i> | 'She has cursed'   |
| 3pl. | <sup>+</sup> <i>lít̪əna</i>  | 'They have cursed' |

#### 4.10.4.4 Imperative

- |       |                            |          |
|-------|----------------------------|----------|
| sing. | <sup>+</sup> <i>lút̪</i>   | 'Curse!' |
| pl.   | <sup>+</sup> <i>lút̪un</i> | 'Curse!' |

The verb *kym* is irregular in that the final radical /m/ is elided in the singular form:

- |       |              |         |
|-------|--------------|---------|
| sing. | <i>kú</i>    | 'Rise!' |
| pl.   | <i>kúmun</i> | 'Rise!' |

## 4.10.4.5 Infinitive

<sup>+</sup>*lyáṭa*

## 4.10.4.6 Progressive

<sup>+</sup>*bəlyáṭa*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms.   <sup>+</sup>*bəlyáṭələ*   ‘He is cursing’  
 3fs.   <sup>+</sup>*bəlyáṭəla*   ‘She is cursing’  
 3pl.   <sup>+</sup>*bəlyáṭəna*   ‘They are cursing’

## 4.10.4.7 Verbal Noun

<sup>+</sup>*lyáṭta*

## 4.10.4.8 Active Participle

- ms.   <sup>+</sup>*leṭána*   ‘curser’  
 fs.   <sup>+</sup>*leṭánta*   ‘curser’

4.10.5 *Verba Primae /y/, Mediae /∅/*

This category includes the verb <sup>+</sup>*yØr* ‘to dare’, the historical root of which had a medial pharyngal (\**y'r*).

## 4.10.5.1 Present Template

The inflections have a long /a/ throughout the paradigm. This differs from middle /∅/ verbs with strong first and third radicals, such as <sup>+</sup>*s-Ø-s* ‘to shake’, which are inflected like middle *y* verbs in the present:

- 3ms.   <sup>+</sup>*yár*           ‘He dares’   < *yaØr*  
        also <sup>+</sup>*yara*  
 3fs.   <sup>+</sup>*yára*           ‘She dares’   < *yaØra*  
 3pl.   <sup>+</sup>*yári*           ‘They dare’   < *yaØri*

## 4.10.5.2 Past Template

3ms. <sup>†</sup>*yir-*

Example: <sup>†</sup>*yórra* 'He dared'.

## 4.10.5.4 Resultative Participle

ms. <sup>†</sup>*yira*

fs. <sup>†</sup>*yørta*

pl. <sup>†</sup>*yirə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms. *lélə* <sup>†</sup>*yíra* 'He has not dared'

3fs. *lélə* <sup>†</sup>*yórra* 'She has not dared'

3pl. *léna* <sup>†</sup>*yirə* 'They have not dared'

## 4.10.5.5 Imperative

sing. <sup>†</sup>*yúr* 'Dare!'

pl. <sup>†</sup>*yúrun* 'Dare!'

## 4.10.5.6 Infinitive

<sup>†</sup>*yára*

## 4.10.5.7 Progressive

<sup>†</sup>*bøyyára*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

3ms. *lélə* <sup>†</sup>*bøyyára* 'He does not dare'

3fs. *lélə* <sup>†</sup>*bøyyára* 'She does not dare'

3pl. *léna* <sup>†</sup>*bøyyára* 'They do not dare'

## 4.10.5.8 Verbal Noun

<sup>†</sup>*yárta*

#### 4.10.6 *Verba Primae /Ø/, Mediae /y/*

This category includes the verbs *'ayək* I ( $\emptyset$ -y-k) 'to become tight, narrow' (< \*<sup>c</sup>-y-q) and *+ayəd* (+ $\emptyset$ -y-d) 'to weed' (< \*<sup>c</sup>-d-d), which are derived from roots with a historical initial pharyngal.

##### 4.10.6.1 Present Template

- |      |                           |             |
|------|---------------------------|-------------|
| 3ms. | <i>+áyəd</i> ~ <i>+ád</i> | 'He weeds'  |
| 3fs. | <i>+éda</i>               | 'She weeds' |
| 3pl. | <i>+édi</i>               | 'They weed' |

##### 4.10.6.2 Past Template

- 3ms. *+id-*

Example: *+ódlə* 'He weeded', *+idálə* 'He weeded it (f.)', *+idélə* 'He weeded them'.

##### 4.10.6.3 Resultative Participle

- |     |              |
|-----|--------------|
| ms. | <i>+ida</i>  |
| fs. | <i>+ətta</i> |
| pl. | <i>+idə</i>  |

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                |                    |
|------|----------------|--------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>+ídələ</i>  | 'He has weeded'    |
| 3fs. | <i>+óttəla</i> | 'She has weeded'   |
| 3pl. | <i>+idəna</i>  | 'They have weeded' |

##### 4.10.6.4 Imperative

- |       |              |         |
|-------|--------------|---------|
| sing. | <i>+úd</i>   | 'Weed!' |
| pl.   | <i>+údun</i> | 'Weed!' |

##### 4.10.6.5 Infinitive

- +yáda*

#### 4.10.6.6 Progressive

*+bəyyáda*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                   |                    |
|------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>+bəyyádələ</i> | 'He is weeding'    |
| 3fs. | <i>+bəyyádəla</i> | 'She is weeding'   |
| 3pl. | <i>+bəyyádəna</i> | 'They are weeding' |

#### 4.10.6.7 Verbal Noun

*+yáttə*

#### 4.10.6.8 Active Participle

- |     |                 |          |
|-----|-----------------|----------|
| ms. | <i>+yedána</i>  | 'weeder' |
| fs. | <i>+yedánta</i> | 'weeder' |

### 4.10.7 *Verba Mediae /y/ ~ Primaе /Ø/*

This category includes *+ákər* I ( $+\emptyset\text{-}k\text{-}r$ ,  $+\text{k}\text{-}y\text{-}r$ ) 'to dig', *ákəš* I ( $\emptyset\text{-}k\text{-}\check{s}$ ,  $\text{k}\text{-}y\text{-}\check{s}$ ) 'to become cool' and *+arət* I ( $+\emptyset\text{-}r\text{-}\check{t}$ ,  $+\text{r}\text{-}y\text{-}\check{t}$ ) 'to break wind (noisily)'. The initial  $/\emptyset/$  root is found only in the present. In all other inflections the middle  $/y/$  root is used.

#### 4.10.7.1 Present Template

The verbs *+ákər* I 'to dig' and *+arət* 'to break wind' use forms derived from both roots in the present:

- |      |              |            |                   |            |
|------|--------------|------------|-------------------|------------|
| 3ms. | <i>+ákər</i> | 'He digs'  | <i>+káyər/kār</i> | 'He digs'  |
| 3fs. | <i>+ákra</i> | 'She digs' | <i>+kéra</i>      | 'She digs' |
| 3pl. | <i>+ákri</i> | 'They dig' | <i>+kéri</i>      | 'They dig' |

The verb 'to become cool' uses the root  $\emptyset\text{-}k\text{-}\check{s}$  in the present:

- |      |             |                     |
|------|-------------|---------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>ákəš</i> | 'He becomes cool'   |
| 3fs. | <i>ákša</i> | 'She becomes cool'  |
| 3pl. | <i>ákši</i> | 'They becomes cool' |

## 4.10.7.2 Past Template

Medial /y/

- 3ms.    +*kir-*  
 3fs.    +*kira-*  
 3pl.    +*kire-*

Examples: +*kárrə* 'He dug', +*királə* 'He dug it (f.)', +*kiréla* 'He dug them'.

## 4.10.7.3 Resultative Participle

Medial /y/

- ms.    +*kira*  
 fs.    +*kərta*  
 pl.    +*kirə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms.    +*kíralə*    'He has dug'  
 3fs.    +*kártəla*    'She has dug'  
 3pl.    +*kírəna*    'They have dug'

## 4.10.7.4 Imperative

Medial /y/

- sing.    +*kúr*    'Dig!'  
 pl.    +*kúrun*    'Dig!'

## 4.10.7.5 Infinitive

Medial /y/

+*kyára*

#### 4.10.7.6 Progressive

Medial /y/

<sup>+</sup>bəkyára

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                        |                    |
|------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 3ms. | <sup>+</sup> bəkyáralə | 'He is digging'    |
| 3fs. | <sup>+</sup> bəkyárla  | 'She is digging'   |
| 3pl. | <sup>+</sup> bəkyáraṇa | 'They are digging' |

#### 4.10.7.7 Verbal Noun

Medial /y/

<sup>+</sup>kyárta

#### 4.10.7.8 Active Participle

Medial /y/

- |     |                      |          |
|-----|----------------------|----------|
| ms. | <sup>+</sup> kerána  | 'digger' |
| fs. | <sup>+</sup> keránta | 'digger' |

### 4.10.8 *Verba Mediae /y/ ~ Primaе /y/*

A few verbs are conjugated as middle /y/ verbs in all forms except in the present template and the active participle, in which they are treated as initial /y/, e.g. *yakəd* I (*y-k-d*, *k-y-d*) 'to burn (intr.)', *yaləd* I (*y-l-d*, *d-y-l*) 'to give birth', *yaləp* I (*y-l-p*, *l-y-p*) 'to learn', *yarəx* I (<sup>+</sup>*y-r-x*, <sup>+</sup>*r-y-x*) 'to become long, to stretch out', *yasər* I (<sup>+</sup>*y-s-r*, <sup>+</sup>*s-y-r*) 'to tie', *yarəm* I (<sup>+</sup>*y-r-m*, <sup>+</sup>*r-y-m*) 'to get up and go'. The verb *'asək*, *yasək* I (*Ø-s-k*, *y-s-k*, *s-y-k*) 'to ascend' alternates between an initial /Ø/ root and an initial /y/ root in the present and active participle.

#### 4.10.8.1 Present Template

Initial /y/

- |      |              |              |
|------|--------------|--------------|
| 3ms. | <i>yáləp</i> | 'He learns'  |
| 3fs. | <i>yálpa</i> | 'She learns' |
| 3pl. | <i>yálpi</i> | 'They learn' |

Initial /Ø/ ~ initial /y/ 'to ascend'

- |      |               |   |               |               |
|------|---------------|---|---------------|---------------|
| 3ms. | <i>‘ásək</i>  | ~ | <i>yásək</i>  | 'He ascends'  |
| 3fs. | <i>‘áska</i>  | ~ | <i>yáska</i>  | 'She ascends' |
| 3pl. | <i>‘ás̥ki</i> | ~ | <i>yás̥ki</i> | 'They ascend' |

Some differences are found in the morphology of this category across the varieties of the dialect. In Guylasa (Armenia), for example, the present of 'tie' is inflected as medial /y/, e.g. *+sayər* 'he ties.'

#### 4.10.8.2 Past Template

Medial /y/

- |      |              |
|------|--------------|
| 3ms. | <i>lip-</i>  |
| 3fs. | <i>lipa-</i> |
| 3pl. | <i>lipe-</i> |

Examples: *lóplə* 'He learnt', *lipálə* 'He learnt it (f.)', *lipélə* 'He learnt them'.

#### 4.10.8.3 Resultative Participle

Medial /y/

- |     |              |
|-----|--------------|
| ms. | <i>lípa</i>  |
| fs. | <i>lópta</i> |
| pl. | <i>lípə</i>  |

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                |                    |
|------|----------------|--------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>lípələ</i>  | 'He has learnt'    |
| 3fs. | <i>lóptəla</i> | 'She has learnt'   |
| 3pl. | <i>lípəna</i>  | 'They have learnt' |

#### 4.10.8.4 Imperative

Medial /y/

- |       |              |          |
|-------|--------------|----------|
| sing. | <i>lúp</i>   | 'Learn!' |
| pl.   | <i>lúpun</i> | 'Learn!' |

#### 4.10.8.5 Infinitive

Medial /y/

*lyápa*

#### 4.10.8.6 Progressive

Medial /y/

*bəlyápa*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                  |                     |
|------|------------------|---------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>bəlyápələ</i> | 'He is learning'    |
| 3fs. | <i>bəlyápəla</i> | 'She is learning'   |
| 3pl. | <i>bəlyápəna</i> | 'They are learning' |

#### 4.10.8.7 Verbal Noun

Medial /y/

*lyápta*

#### 4.10.8.8 Active Participle

Initial /y/

- |     |                 |           |
|-----|-----------------|-----------|
| ms. | <i>yalpána</i>  | 'learner' |
| fs. | <i>yalpánta</i> | 'learner' |

### 4.10.9 *Verba Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include *bada* I (*b-d-y*) 'to become delirious', *balə* I (*b-l-y*) 'to wear out', *banə* I (*b-n-y*) 'to build, to count', *barə* I (*b-r-y*) 'to create, to be born', *baxə* I (*b-x-y*) 'to weep', *calə* I (*c-l-y*) 'to stop, to stand', *carə* I (*c-r-y*) 'to become short', *damə* I (*d-m-y*) 'to resemble', *dara* I (*d-r-y*) 'to pour', *daxə* I (*d-x-y*) 'to become pure', *jaba* I (*j-b-y*) 'to foam, boil over', *jalə* I (*j-l-y*) 'to reveal', *jana* I (*j-n-y*) 'to lean down; to set (sun)', *jasə* I (*j-s-y*) 'to vomit', *kalə* I (*k-l-y*) 'to become fried', *kana* I (*k-n-y*) 'to gain', *kapə* I (*k-p-y*) 'to gather; to seize; to catch', *kašə* I (*k-š-y*) 'to become thick', *lakə* I (*l-k-y*) 'to lap up (liquid)', *lapə* I (*l-p-y*) 'to devour

greedily, to gulp', *malə* I (*m-l-y*) 'to fill', *manə* I (*m-n-y*) 'to count', *masə* I (*m-s-y*) 'to wash (clothes)', *mašə* I (*m-š-y*) 'to wipe', *maxə* I (*m-x-y*) 'to hit', *nada* I (*n-d-y*) 'to leap', *nahə* I (*n-h-y*) 'to have the heart to (do sth.)', *nakə* I (*n-k-y*) 'to gulp down', *palə* I (*p-l-y*) 'to delouse', *panə* I (*p-n-y*) 'to be annihilated', *parə* I (*p-r-y*) 'to burst out', *pašə* I (*p-š-y*) 'to fart (silently)', *pata* I (*p-t-y*) 'to become broad', *raja* I (*r-f-y*) 'to become tired', *rapə* I (*r-p-y*) 'to become loose', *šalə* I (*š-l-y*) 'to become quiet', *samə* I (*s-m-y*) 'to become blind', *šanə* I (*š-n-y*) 'to faint', *sanə* I (*s-n-y*) 'to hate', *sapə* I (*s-p-y*) 'to draw off (liquid)', *sara* I (*s-r-y*) 'to become bad, putrid', *šakə* I (*s-k-y*) 'to run away (out of fear)', *šatə* I (*š-t-y*) 'to drink', *saxə* I (*s-x-y*) 'to swim', *šry* I (*š-r-y*) 'to loosen', *tala* I (*t-l-y*) 'to hang', *tana* I (*t-n-y*) 'to repeat', *tapə* I (*t-p-y*) 'to stick', *tarə* I (*t-r-y*) 'to become wet', *xadə* I (*x-d-y*) 'to rejoice', *xama* I (*x-m-y*) 'to leaven (tr. and intr.)', *xanə* I (*x-n-y*) 'to be happy (with *b*-)', *xapə* I (*x-p-y*) 'to brood (hen), to crouch', *xara*, *+xara* I (*x-r-y*, *+x-r-y*) 'to defecate', *xasə* I (*x-s-y*) 'to castrate', *žadə* I (*ž-d-y*) 'to comb out (flax)', *zanə* I (*z-n-y*) 'to fornicate, to commit adultery', *zavə* I (*z-v-y*) 'to inflate (intr.)', *+jarə* I (*+j-ry*) 'to flow', *+kara* I (*+k-r-y*) 'to read, to study', *+masə* I (*+m-s-y*) 'to be able', *+maṭə* I (*+m-ṭ-y*) 'to arrive', *+pasə* I (*+p-s-y*) 'to be delivered', *+pašə* I (*+p-š-y*) 'to become lukewarm', *+rada* I (*+r-d-y*) 'to be pleased with', *+ramə* I (*+r-m-y*) 'to cast', *+salə* I (*+s-l-y*) 'to descend', *+sape* I (*+s-p-y*) 'to become clean', *+šatə* I (*+š-ṭ-y*) 'to collapse', *+satə* I (*+s-ṭ-y*) 'to swoop', *+tarə* I (*+ṭ-r-y*) 'to drive', *+tašə* I (*+ṭ-š-y*) 'to become hidden', *+xalə* I (*+x-l-y*) 'to become sweet', *+xatə* I (*+x-ṭ-y*) 'to sin'.

#### 4.10.9.1 Present Template

In addition to the default present inflection, the long forms are also given, which are used in some villages:

	<b>Default</b>	<b>Long</b>	
3ms.	<i>dárə</i>	<i>daríni</i>	'He pours'
3fs.	<i>dárya</i>	<i>daryáni</i>	'She pours'
3pl.	<i>dári</i>	<i>daríni</i>	'They pour', etc.
2ms.	<i>dárət</i>	<i>darítən</i>	
2fs.	<i>dáryat</i>	<i>daryátən</i>	
2pl.	<i>darítun</i>	<i>darítun</i>	
1ms.	<i>dárən</i>	<i>darína</i>	
1fs.	<i>dáryan</i>	<i>daryána</i>	
1pl.	<i>dárax</i>	<i>daráxən</i>	

When the past suffix *-va* is added to final /y/ verbs, the distinction between the 3ms and 3pl. is levelled, in that both have the vowel /i/ before the suffix:

3ms.	<i>daríva</i>	'He used to pour'
3fs.	<i>daryáva</i>	'She used to pour'
3pl.	<i>daríva</i>	'They used to pour', etc.
2ms.	<i>darátva</i>	
2fs.	<i>daryátva</i>	
2pl.	<i>darítunva</i>	
1ms.	<i>daránva</i>	
1fs.	<i>daryánva</i>	
1pl.	<i>daráxva</i>	

#### 4.10.9.2 Past Template

ms.	<i>dri-</i>
fs.	<i>darya-</i>
pl.	<i>dorye-</i>

Examples: *dríla* 'He poured', *daryálə* 'He poured it (f.)', *daryélə* 'He poured them'.

#### 4.10.9.3 Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>dárya</i>
fs.	<i>drítə</i>
pl.	<i>dáryə</i>

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms.	<i>dáryələ</i>	'He has poured'
3fs.	<i>drítələ</i>	'She has poured'
3pl.	<i>dáryəna</i>	'They have poured'

#### 4.10.9.4 Imperative

The plural imperative has the ending *-mun* with an /m/ element intervening between the vowel of the base and the plural inflection *-un*:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> According to Yushmanov (1935) this has arisen by analogy with the imperatives of the verb *kayəm* i 'to rise', in the singular of which the /m/ of the root is elided: *ku* 'rise!' (sing.), *kúmun* 'rise!' (pl.). Since the /m/ is not present in the singular imperative, the /m/ of the plural imperative is reanalysed, Yushmanov argues, as part of the inflectional ending rather than the root and this was then extended by analogy to other verbs that end in a vowel in the singular imperative.

- sing. *dri* 'Pour!'  
 pl. *drímun* 'Pour!'

In some NENA dialects a distinction is made in the form of the ms. and the fs. imperatives of final /y/ verbs, but this has been levelled in the C. Urmî dialect.

#### 4.10.9.5 Infinitive

*dráya*

#### 4.10.9.6 Progressive

*bədráya ~ bədrá*

The shortening of the ending in the form *bədrá* is a feature of the progressive base and rarely takes place in the infinitive. The short form is optionally used when the progressive base does not have an enclitic copula.

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula). When the copula is enclitic the progressive stem with final /y/ is used. When a form of the copula is placed before the infinitive both variants are used:

- 3ms. *bədráyələ* 'He is pouring'  
 3fs. *bədráyəla* 'She is pouring'  
 3pl. *bədráyəna* 'They are pouring', etc.

- 3ms. *lélə bədráya ~ lélə bədrá* 'He is not pouring'  
 3fs. *lélə bədráya ~ lélə bədrá* 'She is not pouring'  
 3pl. *léna bədráya ~ léna bədrá* 'They are not pouring'

The verb *bxy* 'to weep', optionally uses the irregular progressive stem *bəxyə*, which is a form of verbal noun (§ 5.2.1.14.):

- 3ms. *báxyələ* 'He is weeping'  
 3fs. *báxyəla* 'She is weeping'  
 3pl. *báxyəna* 'They are weeping'

#### 4.10.9.7 Verbal Noun

*dréta*

#### 4.10.9.8 Active Participle

- ms. *baxyána* ‘weeper’  
 fs. *baxyánta* ‘weeper’

#### 4.10.10 *Verba Primae /Ø/, Tertiae /y/*

This category includes the verb *'arə* *i* (*Ø-r-y*) ‘to set (liquid)’, which is historically initial \*<sup>c</sup>.

##### 4.10.10.1 Present

	Default	Long
3ms.	<i>'árə</i>	<i>'aríni</i>
3fs.	<i>'árya</i>	<i>'aryáni</i>
3pl.	<i>'ári</i>	<i>'aríni</i>

‘It (m.) sets’  
 ‘It (f.) sets’  
 ‘They set’

##### 4.10.10.2 Past Template

- ms. *ri-*

Example: *rila* ‘It (m.) set’.

##### 4.10.10.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. *'árya*  
 fs. *rítā*  
 pl. *'áryə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *ríyyələ* ‘It (m.) has set’  
 3fs. *rítəla* ‘It (f.) has set’  
 3pl. *ríyyəna* ‘They have set’

##### 4.10.10.4 Infinitive

*ráya*

#### 4.10.10.5 Progressive

*bərráya* ~ *bərrá*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                  |                      |
|------|------------------|----------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>bərráyələ</i> | 'It (m.) is setting' |
| 3fs. | <i>bərráyəla</i> | 'It (m.) is setting' |
| 3pl. | <i>bərráyəna</i> | 'They are setting'   |

- 3ms. *lélə bərráya* ~ *lélə bərrá* 'It (m.) is not setting'

#### 4.10.10.6 Verbal Noun

*réta*

#### 4.10.11 *Verba Tertiae* /Ø/ ~ *Tertiae* /y/

Verbs in this category include *+ballə* I (+*b-l-*Ø, +*b-l-y*) 'to swallow', *+bazzə* I (+*b-z-*Ø, +*b-z-y*) 'to cleave, make a hole', *+čamma* I (+*č-m-*Ø, +*č-m-y*) 'to extinguish (intr.)', *+jamma* I (+*j-m-*Ø, +*j-m-y*) 'to gather (intr.)', *+jarra* I (+*j-r-*Ø, +*j-r-y*) 'to shave', *+kaččə* I (+*k-č-*Ø, +*k-č-y*) 'to pull off', *+kassə* I (+*k-s-*Ø, +*k-s-y*) 'to break off', *+kattə* I (+*k-t-*Ø, +*k-t-y*) 'to cut', *+marrə* I (+*m-r-*Ø, +*m-r-y*) 'to become ill', *+mazzə* I (+*m-z-*Ø, +*m-z-y*) 'to mix (liquid)', *+navvə* I (+*n-v-*Ø, +*n-v-y*) 'to spring up (water)', *+parra* I (+*p-r-*Ø, +*p-r-y*) 'to pay', *+passə* I (+*p-s-*Ø, +*p-s-y*) 'to step, march', *+savvə* I (+*s-v-*Ø, +*s-v-y*) 'to become sated', *+šamma* I (+*š-m-*Ø, +*š-m-y*) 'to hear', *+tabbə* I (+*t-b-*Ø, +*t-b-y*) 'to obey', *+tabbə* I (+*t-b-*Ø, +*t-b-y*) 'to sink', *+tallə* I (+*t-l-*Ø, +*t-l-y*) 'to sleep', *+tamə* I (+*t-m-*Ø, +*t-m-y*) 'to taste', *+tavvə* I (+*t-v-*Ø, +*t-v-y*) 'to print', *+zallə* I (+*z-l-*Ø, +*z-l-y*) 'to split (intr. and tr.)', *+zarra* I (+*z-r-*Ø, +*z-r-y*) 'to cultivate', *čamma* I (*č-m-*Ø, *č-m-y*) 'to scorch', *þakkə* I (*þ-k-*Ø, *þ-k-y*) 'to split (intr.)', *xammə* I (*x-m-*Ø, *x-m-y*) 'to ferment', *xazzə* I (*x-z-*Ø, *x-z-y*) 'to see'.

These verbs originally had a voiced pharyngal \*<sup>c</sup> as final radical, e.g. *+jarra* 'to shave' (< \**g-r-*<sup>c</sup>), *+marrə* 'to become ill' (< \**m-r-*<sup>c</sup>), *+šamma* 'to hear' (< *š-m-*<sup>c</sup>). This pharyngal has now been reduced to zero. The process would have involved an initial weakening to a laryngal (\*<sup>c</sup> > \*<sup>v</sup> > Ø). The laryngal still exists in the paradigms of these verbs in some NENA dialects, e.g. C. Qaraqosh *šama* 'to hear' (Khan 2002, § 8.8.3.). The historical presence of the pharyngal has left its mark in the emphatic setting of most verbs of this category. Note, however, that a few words have a plain setting, e.g. *þakkə* 'to split', *xammə* 'to ferment'. The verbs of this category have become assimilated to the category of final /y/ verbs in most

of their inflections. In the present template, however, they exhibit patterns that differ from final /y/ verbs and reflect the historical presence of the pharyngal. These verbs, therefore, have two suppletive roots, final /Ø/ in the present and final /y/ in other inflections. This overlap in the inflectional patterns of final /Ø/ and final /y/ verbs facilitated the reanalysis of the originally final /y/ verb \**x-z-y* ‘to see’ as belonging to this category.

#### 4.10.11.1 Present

##### Final /Ø/

3ms.	+šámmə	‘He hears’
3fs.	+šámma	‘She hears’
3pl.	+šámmi	‘They hear’, etc.
2ms.	+šámmat	
2fs.	+šámmat	
2pl.	+šammítun	
1ms.	+šámmən	
1fs.	+šámmən	
1pl.	+šámməx	

These forms have developed as follows. In all of the paradigm except the 3ms form the /a/ vowel after the first radical was originally in a closed syllable due to the presence of the laryngal \*<sup>ʔ</sup>. The laryngal was elided and the syllable structure was adjusted by geminating the second radical after the short /a/:

\*šam<sup>č</sup>a > \*šam<sup>č</sup>a > \*+šáma > +šamma

The pattern of the base *CaCC-* was then extended by analogy to the 3ms form, in which the /a/ was historically never in a closed syllable and so was not shortened due to its original syllabic structure (\*šama'). The morphological root of all forms except the 3ms can be identified as š-m-Ø. The 3ms +šámma has the same pattern as final /y/ quadriliteral verbs (§ 4.13.1.) and so its root can be identified as +š-mm-y or +š-mØ-y. The less abstract root form +š-mm-y is opted for here.

In the remaining inflectional paradigms, all verbs with a historical final laryngal have become assimilated to the patterns of trilateral final /y/ verbs (+š-m-y). If the morphological root of the 3ms present form is included, verbs of this category can be said to have three suppletive roots rather than two, e.g. +šamma I (+š-m-Ø, +š-mm-y, +š-m-y).

The verb *+zadə* ‘to fear’, which had an original final pharyngal, \**zd'*, is treated as a triliteral final /y/ verb in all forms, including the inflections of the present template, e.g. *+zadə* (3ms.), *+zadya* (3fs.), etc. The verb ‘to see’ is inflected in the present template in two alternative forms, one derived from the historical final /y/ root *x-z-y* and the other derived from the secondary root *x-z-Ø*:

- |      |              |              |                  |
|------|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>xázə</i>  | <i>xázzə</i> | ‘He sees’        |
| 3fs. | <i>xázya</i> | <i>xázza</i> | ‘She sees’       |
| 3pl. | <i>xázi</i>  | <i>xázzi</i> | ‘They see’, etc. |

When the past suffix *-va* is added to final /Ø/ verbs, the distinction between the 3ms and 3pl. is levelled, in that both have the vowel /i/ before the suffix:

- |      |                    |                           |
|------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>+šammíva</i>    | ‘He used to hear’         |
| 3fs. | <i>+šammáva</i>    | ‘She used to hear’        |
| 3pl. | <i>+šammíva</i>    | ‘They used to hear’, etc. |
| 2ms. | <i>+šammátva</i>   |                           |
| 2fs. | <i>+šammátva</i>   |                           |
| 2pl. | <i>+šammítunva</i> |                           |
| 1ms. | <i>+šammánva</i>   |                           |
| 1fs. | <i>+šammánva</i>   |                           |
| 1pl. | <i>+šammáxva</i>   |                           |

#### 4.10.11.2 Past Template

##### Final /y/

- |     |                |
|-----|----------------|
| ms. | <i>+šmi-</i>   |
| fs. | <i>+šəmya-</i> |
| pl. | <i>+šəmye-</i> |

Examples: *+šmílə* ‘He heard’, *+šəmyálə* ‘He heard her’, *+šəmyélə* ‘He heard them’.

#### 4.10.11.3 Resultative Participle

##### Final /y/

- |     |               |
|-----|---------------|
| ms. | <i>+š́mya</i> |
| fs. | <i>+šmítá</i> |
| pl. | <i>+š́myə</i> |

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms.   <sup>+</sup>šámyələ   ‘He has heard’
- 3fs.   <sup>+</sup>šmítəla   ‘She has seen’
- 3pl.   <sup>+</sup>šámyəna   ‘They have heard’

#### 4.10.11.4 Imperative

Final /y/

- sing.   <sup>+</sup>smí           ‘Hear!’
- pl.      <sup>+</sup>smímun   ‘Hear!’

#### 4.10.11.5 Infinitive

Final /y/

<sup>+</sup>smáya

#### 4.10.11.6 Progressive

Final /y/

<sup>+</sup>bəšmáya ~ <sup>+</sup>bəšmá

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula). When the copula is enclitic the final /y/ form of the infinitive is used. When a form of the copula is placed before the infinitive both variants are used:

- 3ms.   <sup>+</sup>bəšmáyələ   ‘He is hearing’
- 3fs.   <sup>+</sup>bəšmáyəla   ‘She is hearing’
- 3pl.   <sup>+</sup>bəšmáyəna   ‘They are hearing’

- 3ms.   lélə +<sup>+</sup>bəšmáya ~ lélə +<sup>+</sup>bəšmá   ‘He is not hearing’
- 3fs.   lélə +<sup>+</sup>bəšmáya ~ lélə +<sup>+</sup>bəšmá   ‘She is not hearing’
- 3pl.   léna +<sup>+</sup>bəšmáya ~ léna +<sup>+</sup>bəšmá   ‘They are not hearing’

## 4.10.11.7 Verbal Noun

Final /y/

<sup>+š</sup>*méta*

## 4.10.11.8 Active Participle

Final /y/

- |     |                              |          |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|
| ms. | <sup>+š</sup> <i>amyána</i>  | 'hearer' |
| fs. | <sup>+š</sup> <i>amyánta</i> | 'hearer' |

4.10.12 *Verba Primae /y/, Tertiae /y/*

This category includes the verbs *yama* I (*y-m-y, m-y-y*) 'to swear' (a marginally used variant of the more usual pattern III form *mamma* 'to swear') and *yalə* (*y-l-y, l-y-y*) 'to mourn, to lament'. The initial /y/ is only retained in the present template and the active participle. The infinitive, progressive and verbal noun are treated as middle /y/.

## 4.10.12.1 Present

- |      |              |              |
|------|--------------|--------------|
| 3ms. | <i>yámə</i>  | 'He swears'  |
| 3fs. | <i>yámya</i> | 'She swears' |
| 3pl. | <i>yámi</i>  | 'They swear' |

## 4.10.12.2 Past Template

ms. *mi-*

Example: *mílə* 'He swore'.

## 4.10.12.3 Resultative Participle

- |     |               |
|-----|---------------|
| ms. | <i>yóm̥ya</i> |
| fs. | <i>mítə</i>   |
| pl. | <i>yóm̥yə</i> |

## 4.10.12.4 Imperative

- sing. *mí* ‘swear!’  
 pl. *mímun* ‘swear!’

## 4.10.12.5 Infinitive

*myáya*

## 4.10.12.6 Progressive

*bəmyáya*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *bəmyáyələ* ‘He is swearing’  
 3fs. *bəmyáyəla* ‘She is swearing’  
 3pl. *bəmyáyəna* ‘They are swearing’

## 4.10.12.7 Verbal Noun

*myéta*

## 4.10.12.8 Active Participle

- ms. *yamyána* ‘swearer’  
 fs. *yamyánta* ‘swearer’

**4.10.13 Miscellaneous Verbs with a Final Weak Radical and a Second Weak Radical**

Various verbs containing two weak radicals of which one is in final position share patterns of inflection. These verbs contained various combinations of pharyngal, laryngals and \*y in their historical roots, but now have almost identical inflections. The set of inflections for each verb are derived from various suppletive roots in which the weak radicals are in different orders. Each of the verbs concerned are listed here separately.

- (i) *+bayyə* I ‘to want’ (< \*b-<sup>c</sup>-y). Present: *+báyyə* (3ms.), *+báyya* (3fs.), *+báyyi* (3pl.) (root *+b-y-Ø*). Past template: *+bi-* (ms.), *+biyya-* (fs.), *+biyye-* (root *+b-y-Ø* or *+b-Ø-y*). Resultative participle: *+býyya* (ms.), *+bítta* (fs.), *+býyyə* (pl.) (root *+b-y-Ø* or

$+b\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Imperative:  $+bí$  (sing.),  $+bímun$  (pl.) (root  $+b\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $+b\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Infinitive, progressive:  $+byáya$  (root  $+b\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ), e.g.  $+byáyələ$  'he wants'. Verbal noun:  $+byéta$  (root  $+b\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ).

(ii)  $+šayya$  I 'to stick' (<  $*š\text{-}č\text{-}č$ ). Present:  $+šáyyə$  (3ms.),  $+šáyya$  (3fs.),  $+šáyyi$  (3pl.) (root  $+š\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$ ). Past template:  $+ši\text{-}$  (ms.),  $+šiyya\text{-}$  (fs.),  $+šiyye\text{-}$  (root  $+š\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $+š\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Resultative participle:  $+šýya$  (ms.),  $+šítə$  (fs.),  $+šýyə$  (pl.) (root  $+š\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $+š\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Imperative:  $+ší$  (sing.),  $+šímun$  (pl.) (root  $+š\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $+š\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Infinitive:  $+šyáya$  (root  $+š\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ),  $+šaya$  (root  $+š\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Progressive:  $+bəšyáya$  (root  $+š\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ),  $+bəššaya$  (root  $+š\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ), e.g.  $+bəšyáyələ$ ,  $+bəššáyələ$  'he is sticking'. Verbal noun:  $+šyéta$  (root  $+š\text{-}y\text{-}y$ )  $+šéta$  (root  $+š\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ).

(iii) *xayya* I 'to live' (<  $*h\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ). Present: *xáyyə* (3ms.), *xáyya* (3fs.), *xáyyi* (3pl.) (root  $x\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$ ). Past template: *xi\text{-}* (ms.) (root  $x\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $x\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Resultative participle: *xíyya* (ms.), *xítə* (fs.), *xíyyə* (pl.) (root  $x\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $x\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Imperative: *xí* (sing.), *xímun* (pl.) (root  $x\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $x\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Infinitive: *xyáya* (root  $x\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ), *xaya* (root  $\emptyset\text{-}x\text{-}y$ ). Progressive: *bəxyáya* (root  $x\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ), *bəxxáya* (root  $x\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ), e.g. *bəxxáyələ* 'he is living'. Verbal noun: *xyéta* (root  $x\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ).

(iv) *payya* I 'to bake' (<  $*y\text{-}p\text{-}y$ ): Present: *páyyə* (3ms.), *páyya* (3fs.), *páyyi* (3pl.) (root  $p\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$ ). Past template: *pi\text{-}* (ms.), *piyya\text{-}* (fs.), *piyye\text{-}* (root  $p\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $p\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Resultative participle: *píyya* (ms.), *pítə* (fs.), *píyyə* (pl.) (root  $p\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $p\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Imperative: *pí* (sing.), *pímun* (pl.) (root  $p\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $p\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Infinitive, progressive: *pyaya* (root  $p\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ), e.g. *pyáyələ* 'he is baking'. Verbal noun: *pyeta* (root  $p\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ). Active participle: *payyana* ms. (*payyanta* fs.), also *yapyana* ms. (*yapyanta* fs.).

(v)  $+mayya$  'to churn' (\**m-y-č*): Present:  $+máyyə$  (3ms.),  $+máyya$  (3fs.),  $+máyyi$  (3pl.) (root  $+m\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$ ). Past template:  $+mi\text{-}$  (ms.),  $+miyya\text{-}$  (fs.),  $+miyye\text{-}$  (root  $+m\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $+m\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Resultative participle:  $+míyya$  (ms.),  $+mítə$  (fs.),  $+míyyə$  (pl.) (root  $+m\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $+m\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Imperative (root  $+m\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$ ):  $+mí$  (sing.),  $+mímun$  (pl.). Infinitive, progressive:  $+myaya$  (root  $+m\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ), e.g.  $+myáyələ$  'he is churning'. Verbal noun:  $+myeta$  (root  $+m\text{-}y\text{-}y$ ).

(vi)  $+rayya$  I 'to rain' (< \**r-y-č*), impersonal verb: Present:  $+ráyyə$  (3ms.),  $+ráyya$  (3fs.),  $+ráyyi$  (3pl.) (root  $+r\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$ ). Past template:  $+ri\text{-}$  (ms.) (root  $+r\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $+r\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Resultative participle:  $+ríyya$  (ms.),  $+rítə$  (fs.),  $+ríyyə$  (pl.) (root  $+r\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $+r\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Imperative:  $+rí$  (sing.),  $+rímun$  (pl.) (root  $+r\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$  or  $+r\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Infinitive:  $+raya$  (root  $+r\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ). Progressive:  $+bərraya$  (root  $+r\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ), e.g.  $+muṭra$   $+bərráyələ$  'it is raining'. Verbal noun:  $+reta$  (root  $+r\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ).

(vii) *layyə* I ‘to burn’ (< \**l-h-y*): Present: *láyyə* (3ms.), *láyya* (3fs.), *láyyi* (3pl.) (root *l-y-*Ø). Past template: *li-* (ms.), *liyya-* (fs.), *liyye-* (root *l-y-*Ø or *l-*Ø-*y*). Resultative participle: *líyya* (ms.), *lítā* (fs.), *líyyə* (pl.) (root *l-y-*Ø or *l-*Ø-*y*). Imperative: *lí* (sing.), *límun* (pl.) (root *l-y-*Ø or *l-*Ø-*y*). Infinitive: *láya* (root Ø-*l-y*). Progressive: *bəlláya* (root *l-*Ø-*y*), e.g. *bəlláyələ* ‘it is burning’. Verbal noun: *leta* (root Ø-*l-y*).

(viii) <sup>+</sup>*sayyə* ‘to become thirsty’ (< \**š-h-y*): Present: <sup>+</sup>*sáyyə* (3ms.), <sup>+</sup>*sáyya* (3fs.), <sup>+</sup>*sáyyi* (3pl.) (root <sup>+</sup>*s-y-*Ø). Past template: <sup>+</sup>*si-* (ms.) (root <sup>+</sup>*s-y-*Ø or <sup>+</sup>*s-*Ø-*y*). Resultative participle: <sup>+</sup>*síyya* (ms.), <sup>+</sup>*sítā* (fs.), <sup>+</sup>*síyyə* (pl.) (root <sup>+</sup>*s-y-*Ø or <sup>+</sup>*s-*Ø-*y*). Imperative: <sup>+</sup>*sí* (sing.), <sup>+</sup>*símun* (pl.) (root <sup>+</sup>*s-y-*Ø or <sup>+</sup>*s-*Ø-*y*). Infinitive: <sup>+</sup>*syáya* (root <sup>+</sup>*s-y-y*), <sup>+</sup>*saya* (root <sup>+</sup>Ø-*s-y*). Progressive: <sup>+</sup>*bəsyáya* (root <sup>+</sup>*s-y-y*), <sup>+</sup>*bəssaya* (root <sup>+</sup>*s-*Ø-*y*), e.g. <sup>+</sup>*bəsyáyələ*, <sup>+</sup>*bəssáyələ* ‘he is becoming thirsty’. Verbal noun: <sup>+</sup>*syéta* (root <sup>+</sup>*s-y-y*) <sup>+</sup>*seta* (root <sup>+</sup>Ø-*s-y*).

(ix) *kayyə* I ‘to smart (after eating something sour or pungent)’ (< \**q-č-y?*): Present: *káyyə* (3ms.), *káyya* (3fs.), *káyyi* (3pl.) (root *k-y-*Ø). Past template: *ki-* (ms.) (root *k-y-*Ø or *k-*Ø-*y*). Resultative participle: *kíyya* (ms.), *kítā* (fs.), *kíyyə* (pl.) (root *k-y-*Ø or *k-*Ø-*y*). Infinitive: *kaya* (root Ø-*k-y*). Progressive: *bəkkáya* (root *k-*Ø-*y*), e.g. *bəkkáyələ* ‘it is smarting’. Verbal noun: *kéta* (root *k-*Ø-*y*).

(x) <sup>+</sup>*jayyə* I ‘to bell (stag, deer)’ (< \**g-č-y*): Present: <sup>+</sup>*záyyə* (3ms.), <sup>+</sup>*záyya* (3fs.), <sup>+</sup>*záyyi* (3pl.) (root <sup>+</sup>*j-y-*Ø). Past template: <sup>+</sup>*ji-* (ms.) (root <sup>+</sup>*j-y-*Ø or <sup>+</sup>*j-*Ø-*y*). Resultative participle: <sup>+</sup>*jíyya* (ms.), <sup>+</sup>*jítā* (fs.), <sup>+</sup>*jíyyə* (pl.) (root <sup>+</sup>*j-y-*Ø or <sup>+</sup>*j-*Ø-*y*). Infinitive: <sup>+</sup>*jaya* (root <sup>+</sup>Ø-*j-y*). Progressive: <sup>+</sup>*bəffáya* (root <sup>+</sup>*j-*Ø-*y*), e.g. *bəffáyələ* ‘it is belling’. Verbal noun: <sup>+</sup>*jéta* (root <sup>+</sup>*j-*Ø-*y*).

The gemination of the medial /y/ in the present template (<sup>+</sup>*bayyə*, <sup>+</sup>*šayyə* etc.) corresponds to the gemination of the middle radical in final /Ø/ roots such as <sup>+</sup>*š-m-*Ø (i.e. <sup>+</sup>*šamma*, <sup>+</sup>*šamma*, etc.). For this reason one may identify the root of these forms as having the pattern *C-y-*Ø. Infinitives of the pattern <sup>+</sup>*byaya* are clearly derived from roots of the pattern *C-y-y*. Progressives of the pattern <sup>+</sup>*bəššaya* can be assumed to derive from a root of the pattern *C-*Ø-*y* just as the progressive of <sup>+</sup>*d-*Ø-*r* ‘to return’ has the infinitive <sup>+</sup>*bəddara*. Infinitives and verbal nouns of the patterns <sup>+</sup>*šaya* and <sup>+</sup>*šeta* respectively can be assumed to derive from a root of the pattern Ø-*C-y* like the infinitive and verbal noun of Ø-*r-k* ‘to flee’, which have the forms *raķa* and *raķta*. The other inflections may be derived from either *C-y-*Ø or *C-*Ø-*y* roots, since these types of root would result in the surface forms in question.

#### 4.10.14 *Verba Mediae /v/*

This category includes *+navər* I (+*n-v-r*) ‘to startle (horse), to bolt’, *+ravəx* I (+*r-v-x*) ‘to become broad’, *+tavəx* I (+*t-v-x*) ‘to crush, to break to pieces’, *+xavər* I (+*x-v-r*) ‘to become white’, *+xavət* I (+*x-v-t*) ‘to mix (tr. and intr.)’, *cavəš* I (*c-v-š*) ‘to stuff (into)’, *davək* I (*d-v-k*) ‘to seize’, *davən* I (*d-v-n*) ‘to cement (crack)’, *davər* I (*d-v-r*) (i) to shut (door), (ii) to thresh’, *davəx* I (*d-v-x*) ‘to sacrifice, to dedicate’, *javəj* I (*j-v-j*) ‘to walk, to move’, *javəl* I (*j-v-l*) (i) to fashion; (ii) to vomit’, *javər* I (*j-v-r*) ‘to marry’, *javəx* I (*j-v-x*) ‘to cave in’, *kavəl* I (*k-v-l*) ‘to complain’, *kavər* I (*k-v-r*) ‘to bury’, *lavəš* I (*l-v-š*) ‘to put on (clothes)’, *lavəx* I (*l-v-x*) ‘to flare up, to flame’, *navəl* I (*n-v-l*) ‘to pine away’, *navəx* I (*n-v-x*) ‘to bark (dog)’, *šavək* I (*š-v-k*) ‘to leave, to allow’, *šavər* I (*š-v-r*) ‘to jump, to cross (stream)’, *tavən* I (*t-v-n*) ‘to become numb’, *xavəš* I (*x-v-š*) ‘to confine’, *zavən* I (*z-v-n*) ‘to buy’.

In the majority of cases the medial /v/ is derived historically from \**b*. In a few cases it derives from an original \**w*, e.g. *+xavər* ‘to become white’ < \**h-w-r* and *javəl* I ‘to vomit’ < \**g-w-l* (contrast the homophonous *javəl* ‘to fashion’ < \**g-b-l*).

##### 4.10.14.1 Present

The medial /v/ is retained in the 3ms form but contracted throughout the rest of the paradigm, resulting in the occurrence of the vowel /o/ between the first and third radicals.

- |      |              |              |
|------|--------------|--------------|
| 3ms. | <i>šávək</i> | ‘He leaves’  |
| 3fs. | <i>šóka</i>  | ‘She leaves’ |
| 3pl. | <i>šóki</i>  | ‘They leave’ |

##### 4.10.14.2 Past Template

The /v/ is retained as strong consonant:

- |     |               |
|-----|---------------|
| ms. | <i>švík-</i>  |
| fs. | <i>švíka-</i> |
| pl. | <i>švíke-</i> |

Examples: *šváklə* ‘He left’, *švíkálə* ‘He left her’, *švíkélə* ‘He left them’.

##### 4.10.14.3 Resultative Participle

- |     |               |
|-----|---------------|
| ms. | <i>švíka</i>  |
| fs. | <i>švíkta</i> |
| pl. | <i>švíkə</i>  |

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                 |                  |
|------|-----------------|------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>švíkələ</i>  | 'He has left'    |
| 3fs. | <i>šváktəla</i> | 'She has left'   |
| 3pl. | <i>švíkəna</i>  | 'They have left' |

#### 4.10.14.4 Imperative

The /v/ is optionally retained, but is generally elided in fast speech:

- |       |                              |          |
|-------|------------------------------|----------|
| sing. | <i>švúk</i> ~ <i>šúk</i>     | 'Leave!' |
| pl.   | <i>švúkun</i> ~ <i>šúkun</i> | 'Leave!' |

#### 4.10.14.5 Infinitive

*šváka*

#### 4.10.14.6 Progressive

*bəšváka*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                  |                    |
|------|------------------|--------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>bəšvákələ</i> | 'He is leaving'    |
| 3fs. | <i>bəšvákəla</i> | 'She is leaving'   |
| 3pl. | <i>bəšvákəna</i> | 'They are leaving' |

#### 4.10.14.7 Verbal Noun

*švákta*

#### 4.10.14.8 Active Participle

- |     |                |          |
|-----|----------------|----------|
| ms. | <i>šokána</i>  | 'leaver' |
| fs. | <i>šokánta</i> | 'leaver' |

### 4.10.15 *Mediae /v/, Tertiae /y/*

This category includes the verbs: *+rava* I (+r-v-y) 'to become drunk', *cavə* I (c-v-y) 'to brand', *kavə* I (k-v-y) 'to become hard', *favə* I (f-v-y) 'to beg', *xavə* I (x-v-y) 'to become dark', *zavə* I (z-v-y) 'to inflate (intr.)'. They combine features of middle /v/ and final /y/ verbs in their inflections.

#### 4.10.15.1 Present

The sequence /av/ is contracted to /o/ when closing a syllable before the /y/ of the feminine singular forms:

- 3ms. *cávə* 'He brands'
- 3fs. *cóya* 'She brands'
- 3pl. *cávi* 'They brand'

#### 4.10.15.2 Past Template

- ms. *cví-*
- fs. *cəvya-* ~ *cuya-*
- pl. *cəvye-* ~ *cuye-*

Examples: *cvílə* 'He branded', *cəvyálə* 'He branded her', *cəvyélə* 'He left them'.

#### 4.10.15.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. *cávya* ~ *cíya*
- fs. *cvítə*
- pl. *cávyə* ~ *cíya*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *cávyałə* 'He has branded'
- 3fs. *cvítəłə* 'She has branded'
- 3pl. *cávyəna* 'They have branded'

#### 4.10.15.4 Imperative

- sing. *cví* 'Brand!'
- pl. *cvímun* 'Brand!'

#### 4.10.15.5 Infinitive

*cváya*

#### 4.10.15.6 Progressive

*bəcváya*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *bəcváyəla* ‘He is leaving’
- 3fs. *bəcváyəla* ‘She is leaving’
- 3pl. *bəcváyəna* ‘They are leaving’

#### 4.10.15.7 Verbal Noun

*cvéta*

#### 4.10.15.8 Active Participle

- ms. *coyána* ‘brander’
- fs. *coyánta* ‘brander’

### 4.10.16 *Mediae /v/, Tertiae /Ø/ ~ Tertiae /y/*

This category includes the verbs:  $+navva_1$  ( $+n\text{-}v\text{-}\emptyset$ ,  $+n\text{-}v\text{-}y$ ) ‘to spring up, bubble up’, and  $+sayya_1$  ( $+s\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$ ,  $+s\text{-}v\text{-}y$ ,  $+s\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ ) ‘to become sated’. These verbs originally had a medial \**b* and final pharyngal \**c* ( $*n\text{-}b\text{-}c$ ,  $*s\text{-}b\text{-}c$ ), but they now have a variety of suppletive roots, which differ in type across the two verbs. The verb  $+sayya$ , in fact, has become partially assimilated to the form of verbs with two weak radicals described in § 4.10.13.

The present template of the verb  $+sayya_1$  has a medial geminated /y/ rather than /v/ and reflects a root of the structure  $+s\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$ . The infinitive has a variant form that reflects the root structure  $+s\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$ . Other forms contain a medial /v/ and are inflected like final /y/ verbs.

#### 4.10.16.1 Present

- |       |                                |                                |          |                      |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|----------------------|
| Root: | $+s\text{-}y\text{-}\emptyset$ | $+n\text{-}v\text{-}\emptyset$ |          |                      |
| 3ms.  | $+sayya$                       | ‘He is sated’                  | $+navva$ | ‘It (m.) springs up’ |
| 3fs.  | $+sayya$                       | ‘She is sated’                 | $+navva$ | ‘It (f.) springs up’ |
| 3pl.  | $+sayyi$                       | ‘They are sated’               | $+navvi$ | ‘They spring up’     |

#### 4.10.16.2 Past Template

Root:  $+s\text{-}v\text{-}y$ ,  $+n\text{-}v\text{-}y$

- ms.  $+svi-$ ,  $+nvi-$

Example:  $+svíla$  ‘He became sated’.

#### 4.10.16.3 Resultative Participle

Root:  ${}^+s\text{-}\nu\text{-}y$ ,  ${}^+n\text{-}\nu\text{-}y$

ms.	${}^+s\acute{a}vya$ ~ ${}^+s\acute{i}ya$	${}^+n\acute{a}vya$ ~ ${}^+nuya$
fs.	${}^+svita$	${}^+nvita$
pl.	${}^+s\acute{a}vya\theta$ ~ ${}^+s\acute{u}ya\theta$	${}^+n\acute{a}vya\theta$ ~ ${}^+nuya\theta$

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms.	${}^+s\acute{a}vya\theta\lambda$	'He has become sated'
3fs.	${}^+s\acute{a}vya\theta la$	'She has become sated'
3pl.	${}^+s\acute{a}vya\theta na$	'They have become sated'

#### 4.10.16.4 Imperative

Root:  ${}^+s\text{-}\nu\text{-}y$ ,  ${}^+n\text{-}\nu\text{-}y$

sing.	${}^+svi$	'Be sated!'
pl.	${}^+svimun$	'Be sated!'

#### 4.10.16.5 Infinitive

Root:  ${}^+s\text{-}\nu\text{-}y$ ,  ${}^+n\text{-}\nu\text{-}y$

${}^+svaya$ ,  ${}^+nvaya$

#### 4.10.16.6 Progressive

Root:	${}^+s\text{-}\nu\text{-}y$	${}^+s\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$	${}^+n\text{-}\nu\text{-}y$
	${}^+b\acute{e}svaya$ ~	${}^+b\acute{e}ssaya$	${}^+b\acute{e}nvaya$

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

3ms.	${}^+b\acute{e}svaya\theta\lambda$	'He is becoming sated'
3fs.	${}^+b\acute{e}svaya\theta la$	'She is becoming sated'
3pl.	${}^+b\acute{e}svaya\theta na$	'They are becoming sated'

#### 4.10.16.7 Verbal Noun

<sup>+</sup>svéta, <sup>+</sup>nvéta

#### 4.10.17 Verba Primae /Ø/, Mediae /v/

This category includes *'avəd* I (<sup>+</sup>Ø-v-d) ‘to do’ (< \**bd*) and <sup>+</sup>*avər* I (<sup>+</sup>Ø-v-r) ‘to enter’ (< \**br*). A /’/ is added to fill the /Ø/ slot when it occurs at the beginning of a word and is followed by a vowel.

##### 4.10.17.1 Present

3ms.	<i>'ávəd</i>	‘He does’	<sup>+</sup> <i>ávər</i>	‘He enters’
3fs.	<i>'óda</i>	‘She do’	<sup>+</sup> <i>óra</i>	‘She enters’
3pl.	<i>'ódi</i>	‘They do’	<sup>+</sup> <i>óri</i>	‘They enter’

##### 4.10.17.2 Past Template

3ms.	<i>vid-</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>vir-</i>
3fs.	<i>vida-</i>	
3pl.	<i>vide-</i>	

Examples: *vádlə* ‘He did’, *vidálə* ‘He did it (f.)’, *vidélə* ‘He did them’, <sup>+</sup>*várrə* ‘He entered’.

##### 4.10.17.3 Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>vída</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>víra</i>
fs.	<i>vátta</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>værtta</i>
pl.	<i>vídə</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>vírə</i>

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms.	<i>vídələ</i>	‘He has done’
3fs.	<i>váttəla</i>	‘She has done’
3pl.	<i>vídəna</i>	‘They have done’

##### 4.10.17.4 Imperative

sing.	<i>vúd</i>	‘Do!’
pl.	<i>vúdun</i>	‘Do!’

## 4.10.17.5 Infinitive, Progressive

*váda*   <sup>+</sup>*vára*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula). The particle *b-* is omitted before the labial:

- |      |               |                  |
|------|---------------|------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>vádələ</i> | 'He is doing'    |
| 3fs. | <i>vádəla</i> | 'She is doing'   |
| 3pl. | <i>vádəna</i> | 'They are doing' |

## 4.10.17.6 Verbal Noun

*vátta*   <sup>+</sup>*várta*

## 4.10.17.7 Active Participle

- |     |                |        |
|-----|----------------|--------|
| ms. | <i>'odána</i>  | 'doer' |
| fs. | <i>'odánta</i> | 'doer' |

4.10.18 *Verba Tertiae /v/*

This category includes the verbs: *catəv* I (*c-t-v*) 'to write', *janəv* I (*j-n-v*) 'to steal', *janəv* I (*j-n-v*) 'to kidnap', <sup>+</sup>*karəv* I (<sup>+</sup>*k-r-v*) 'to take the host (in church)', *racəv* I (*r-c-v*) 'to ride', *sarəv* I (*s-r-v*) 'to reject', <sup>+</sup>*xaləv* (<sup>+</sup>*x-l-v*) 'to milk', *xarəv* I (*x-r-v*) 'to be destroyed, spoilt', *xašəv* I (*x-š-v*) 'to think'.

The /v/ radical remains uncontracted throughout all paradigms.

## 4.10.18.1 Present

- |      |              |              |
|------|--------------|--------------|
| 3ms. | <i>cátəv</i> | 'He writes'  |
| 3fs. | <i>cátva</i> | 'She writes' |
| 3pl. | <i>cátvi</i> | 'They write' |

## 4.10.18.2 Past Template

- |     |               |
|-----|---------------|
| ms. | <i>ctiv-</i>  |
| fs. | <i>ctiva-</i> |
| pl. | <i>ctive-</i> |

Examples: *ctóvlə* 'He wrote', *ctiválə* 'He wrote it (f.)', *ctivélə* 'He wrote them'.

#### 4.10.18.3 Resultative Participle

ms. *ctíva*

fs. *ctávta*

pl. *ctívə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms. *ctívəla* ‘He has written’

3fs. *ctávtəla* ‘She has written’

3pl. *ctívəna* ‘They have written’

#### 4.10.18.4 Imperative

sing. *ctív*

pl. *ctívun*

In both of these forms the /v/ is realized as a bilabial [w] rather than as a labio-dental [v].

#### 4.10.18.5 Infinitive

*ctáva*

#### 4.10.18.6 Progressive

*bəctáva*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

3ms. *bəctávəla* ‘He is writing’

3fs. *bəctávəla* ‘She is writing’

3pl. *bəctávəna* ‘They are writing’

#### 4.10.18.7 Verbal Noun

*ctávta*

#### 4.10.18.8 Active Participle

Available active participles from verbs in this category have the template *CaCaCa* or *CiCaCa*. Differences are attested also in the contraction of the /av/ sequence in the fs. form before the ending *-ta*, e.g.

ms.	<i>catáva</i>	'writer'
fs.	<i>catávta</i>	'writer'

ms.	<i>ricáva</i>	'rider'
fs.	<i>ricávta</i>	'rider'

ms.	<i>jináva</i>	'thief'
fs.	<i>jinóta</i>	'female thief'

#### 4.10.19 *Verba Primae /y/, Tertiae /v/*

This category includes the verb *yatəv* I (*y-t-v*, *t-y-v*) 'to sit'. The initial /y/ is only retained in the present template and the active participle. In the infinitive and progressive the root is treated as middle /y/ (*t-y-v*).

##### 4.10.19.1 Present Template

3ms.	<i>yátəv</i>	'He sits'
3fs.	<i>yátva</i>	'She sits'
3pl.	<i>yátvi</i>	'They sit'

##### 4.10.19.2 Past Template

ms.	<i>tiv-</i>
-----	-------------

Example: *távla* 'He sat down'.

##### 4.10.19.3 Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>tíva</i>
fs.	<i>távta</i>
pl.	<i>tívə</i>

##### 4.10.19.4 Imperative

sing.	<i>túy</i>
pl.	<i>túymun</i> ~ <i>túmun</i>

## 4.10.19.5 Infinitive

*tyáva*

## 4.10.19.6 Progressive

*bətyáva*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *bətyávəla* ‘He is sitting down’  
 3fs. *bətyávəla* ‘She is sitting down’  
 3pl. *bətyávəna* ‘They are sitting down’

## 4.10.19.7 Verbal Noun

*tyávta*

## 4.10.19.8 Active Participle

- ms. *yatvána* ‘sitter’  
 fs. *yatvánta* ‘sitter’

## 4.11 Weak Verbs in Pattern II

4.11.1 *Verba Primae /Ø/*

This category includes the verb *+áməl* II ( $\emptyset$ -m-l) ‘to work on, to process’. A laryngal /’/ is added on the phonetic surface at the beginning of all inflections:

## 4.11.1.1 Present Template

- 3ms. *+’áməl* ‘He processes’  
 3fs. *+’áməla* ‘She processes’  
 3pl. *+’ámli* ‘They process’

## 4.11.1.2 Past Template

3ms. +*uməl-*

Examples: +*umállə* 'He processed', +*umlála* 'He processed it (f.)', +*umléla* 'He processed them'.

## 4.11.1.3 Resultative Participle

ms. +*úmla*

fs. +*umáltə*

pl. +*úmlə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms. +*úmləla* 'He has processed'

3fs. +*umáltəla* 'She has processed'

3pl. +*úmləna* 'They have processed'

## 4.11.1.4 Imperative

sing. +*áməl* 'Process!'

pl. +*ámlun* 'Process!'

## 4.11.1.5 Infinitive and Progressive

+*amúla*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

3ms. +*amúləla* 'He is processing'

3fs. +*amúləla* 'She is processing'

3pl. +*amúləna* 'They are processing'

## 4.11.1.6 Verbal Noun

+*amálta*

#### 4.11.1.7 Active Participle

- ms.  ${}^+\!amlána$  ‘one who processes’  
 fs.  ${}^+\!amlánta$  ‘one who processes’

#### 4.11.2 *Verba Mediae* /Ø/

This category includes the verbs  ${}^+\!savər$  II ( $+s\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}r$ ) ‘to revile’,  ${}^+\!tavəl$  II ( $+t\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}l$ ) II ‘to play’, which are derived ultimately from  $*s\text{-}^{\circ}r$  and  $*t\text{-}^{\circ}l$  with a medial pharyngal. In some inflections the /Ø/ is replaced by /v/.

##### 4.11.2.1 Present Tempate

The historical  ${}^{\circ}$  is replaced optionally by medial /v/ in the 3ms. This may have developed by analogy with the past form  ${}^+\!tuval\!\!\!ə$  (<  $*tu\text{-}alle$ ) in which the labial /v/ developed as a glide after the rounded vowel /u/. Elsewhere the inflections have medial /Ø/. The long vowel in the closed syllable of the alternative 3ms form  ${}^+\!tāl$  reflects contraction from  $*ta\emptyset\!\!\!əl$ :

- 3ms.  ${}^+\!távəl \sim {}^+\!tāl$  ‘He plays’  
 3fs.  ${}^+\!tálə$  ‘She plays’  
 3pl.  ${}^+\!tálɪ$  ‘They play’

##### 4.11.2.2 Past Template

- ms.  ${}^+\!tuval-$   
 fs.  ${}^+\!tula-$   
 pl.  ${}^+\!tule-$

Examples:  ${}^+\!tuval\!\!\!ə$  ‘He played’,  ${}^+\!tálta$   ${}^+\!tulálə$  ‘He played the game’,  ${}^+\!tavəlyátə$   ${}^+\!tulélə$  ‘He played the games’.

##### 4.11.2.3 Resultative Participle

- ms.  ${}^+\!túla$   
 fs.  ${}^+\!tuvalta$   
 pl.  ${}^+\!túlə$

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms.  ${}^+\!túlələ$  ‘He has played’  
 3fs.  ${}^+\!tuvalta$  ‘She has played’  
 3pl.  ${}^+\!túləna$  ‘They have played’

## 4.11.2.4 Imperative

- sing.  ${}^+\mathring{t}\acute{a}l$  'Play!'  
 pl.  ${}^+\mathring{t}\acute{a}lun$  'Play!'

## 4.11.2.5 Infinitive and Progressive

${}^+\mathring{t}av\acute{u}la$

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms.  ${}^+\mathring{t}av\acute{u}ləla$  'He is playing'  
 3fs.  ${}^+\mathring{t}av\acute{u}ləla$  'She is playing'  
 3pl.  ${}^+\mathring{t}av\acute{u}ləna$  'They are playing'

In this pattern of the infinitive the /Ø/ of the root is replaced by the glide /v/:  
 ${}^+\mathring{t}a\emptyset u\acute{l}a > {}^+\mathring{t}av\acute{u}la$ .

Occasionally the infinitive/progressive of verbs of this category is contracted, e.g.  ${}^+\mathring{t}\grave{a}v\acute{l}əla$  'He is playing' (A 31:1),  $v\acute{u}la$   ${}^+s\grave{a}ra$  'She started reviling' (A 54:3).

## 4.11.2.6 Verbal Noun

${}^+\mathring{t}av\acute{u}ltə$ ,  ${}^+\mathring{t}\acute{a}lta$

## 4.11.2.7 Active Participle

- ms.  ${}^+\mathring{t}alána$  'player'  
 fs.  ${}^+\mathring{t}alánta$  'player'

4.11.3 *Verba Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include *banə* II (*b-n-y*) 'to prepare food', *casə* II (*c-s-y*) 'to cover', *damə* II (*d-m-y*) 'to compare', *daxə* II (*d-x-y*) 'to purify', *hajə* II (*h-j-y*) 'to spell; to analyse', *haķə* II (*h-k-y*) 'to narrate', *jabə* II (*j-b-y*) 'to gather, to select', *jadə* II (*j-d-y*) 'to dirty (tr.)', *jalə* II (*j-l-y*) 'to disclose', *kalə* II (*k-l-y*) 'to fry', *mhadə* II (*mh-d-y*) 'to guide', *nabə* II (*n-b-y*) 'to prophesy', *panə* II (*p-n-y*) 'to exterminate', *sapə* II (*s-p-y*) 'to deliver', *šanə* II (*š-n-y*) 'to transfer', *tanə* II (*t-n-y*) 'to tell', *tapə* II (*t-p-y*) '(i) to stick, (ii) to kindle', *xama* II (*x-m-y*) 'to preserve', *+'arə* II (*+Ø-r-y*) 'to patch', *+'darə* II (*d-r-y*) 'to winnow', *+'pasə* II (*+p-s-y*) 'to be saved', *+'salə* II (*+s-l-y*) 'to pray', *+'sapə* II (*+s-p-y*) 'to filter', *+'šarə* II (*+š-r-y*) 'to begin', *+'tašə* II (*+t-š-y*) 'to hide (tr.)'.

The verb *mhadə* retains the *m-* of the historical *pa<sup>“</sup>el* participle. Since this occurs in all inflections it should be considered to belong to the root, the initial */mh/* clustering in the first radical slot in all patterns.

#### 4.11.3.1 Present Template

3ms.	<i>jábə</i>	'He gathers'
3fs.	<i>jábya</i>	'She gathers'
3pl.	<i>jábi</i>	'They gather', etc.
2ms.	<i>jábət</i>	
2fs.	<i>jábyat</i>	
2pl.	<i>jabitun</i>	
1ms.	<i>jábən</i>	
1fs.	<i>jábyan</i>	
1pl.	<i>jábax</i>	

#### 4.11.3.2 Past Template

ms.	<i>jubi-</i>
fs.	<i>jubyā-</i>
pl.	<i>jubyē-</i>

Examples: *jubilə* 'He gathered (it m.)', *jubyálə* 'He gathered it (f.)', *jubyéłə* 'He gathered them'.

#### 4.11.3.3 Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>júbya</i>
fs.	<i>jubítə</i>
pl.	<i>júbyə</i>

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms.	<i>júbyəłə</i>	'He has gathered'
3fs.	<i>jubítəla</i>	'She has gathered'
3pl.	<i>júbyəna</i>	'They have gathered'

#### 4.11.3.4 Imperative

The plural imperative has the ending *-mun* with an */m/* element intervening between the vowel of the base and the plural inflection *-un*:

sing. *jábi* ‘Gather!’

pl. *jábimun* ‘Gather!’

#### 4.11.3.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*jabúya*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

3ms. *jabúyələ* ‘He is gathering’

3fs. *jabúyəla* ‘She is gathering’

3pl. *jabúyəna* ‘They are gathering’

In the northern variety of the dialect, the glide after the /u/ vowel is /v/: *jabuvə*. In conformity with the usual phonological process (§ 1.13.2.3.3.), the /v/ after the /u/ is often geminated, especially in slow speech: *jabuvvə*. These forms are regularly represented with geminate /v/ in the transcription.

#### 4.11.3.6 Verbal Noun

*jabéta*

#### 4.11.3.7 Active Participle

ms. *jabyána* ‘gatherer’

fs. *jabyánta* ‘gatherer’

### 4.11.4 *Verba Mediae /v/, Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include *šavə* II (š-v-y) ‘to upholster, to make a bed’, and *+čavə* II (+č-v-y) ‘to roast’.

#### 4.11.4.1 Present Template

3ms. *šávə* ‘He upholsters’

3fs. *šóya* ‘She upholsters’

3pl. *šávi* ‘They upholster’, etc.

2ms. *šávət*

2fs. *šóyat*

2pl. *šavítun*

1ms. *šávən*

1fs. šóyan

1pl. šávax

#### 4.11.4.2 Past Template

ms. šuvi-

fs. šuya-

pl. šuye-

Examples: šuvíla 'He upholstered (it m.)', šuyála 'He upholstered it (f.)', šuyéla 'He upholstered them'.

#### 4.11.4.3 Resultative Participle

ms. šúya

fs. šuvítā

pl. šúyə

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms. šíyala 'He has upholstered'

3fs. šuvítala 'She has upholstered'

3pl. šúyəna 'They have upholstered'

#### 4.11.4.4 Imperative

The plural imperative has the ending *-mun* with an /m/ element intervening between the vowel of the base and the plural inflection *-un*:

sing. šávi 'Upholster!'

pl. šávimun 'Upholster!'

#### 4.11.4.5 Infinitive and Progressive

šavúyə

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

3ms. šavúyəla 'He is upholstering'

3fs. šavúyəla 'She is upholstering'

3pl. šavúyəna 'They are upholstering'

## 4.11.4.6 Verbal Noun

*šavéta*

## 4.11.4.7 Active Participle

- ms. *šoyána* ‘upholsterer’  
 fs. *šoyánta* ‘upholsterer’

4.11.5 *Verba Tertiae /Ø/ ~ Tertiae /y/*

This category includes the verbs *+jammə* II (*+j-m-Ø*, *+j-mm-y*) ‘to gather (tr. and intr.)’, *+pallə* II (*+p-l-Ø*, *+p-ll-y*) ‘to divide’ (tr. and intr.), *+rappə* II (*+r-p-Ø*, *+r-pp-y*) ‘to throw’, *+tavvə* II (*+t-v-Ø*, *+t-vv-y*) ‘to seek’.

Two root structures can be identified for the inflections of these verbs. One is triradical with final /Ø/ (e.g. *+j-m-Ø*) and one has identical second and third radicals and a final /y/ radical, making the root quadrilateral (e.g. *+j-mm-y*). Some of the verbs contained a pharyngal \*<sup>c</sup> at some stage of their historical development, e.g. *+jammə* (< \**j-m-*<sup>c</sup>), *+pallə* (< \**p-l-*<sup>c</sup> < \**p-L-ğ*). Others were historically final *y* but have shifted to the category of final /Ø/. The verb *+tavvə* ‘to seek’ is derived historically from \**t-*<sup>c</sup>*-y*, the /v/ having developed secondarily under the influence of an adjacent /u/ vowel in some of its inflections. The /Ø/ final radical in these verbs is reflected in the gemination of the middle radical in the present:

Root: *p-l-Ø* > *+palØa* > *+palla* ‘She divides’.

This gemination has been extended to all other inflections. Many of the inflections reflect the presence of an additional final /y/ radical, with a result that the inflections have largely taken on the form of final /y/ quadrilateral verbs (§ 4.13.1), as if the geminated medial radical were treated as two radicals, e.g. *+pallýya*, the root of which can be identified as either *+p-ll-y* or *+p-lØ-y*. The less abstract *+p-ll-y* has been opted for here. This was facilitated by the fact that many forms in the paradigm of the present are ambiguous with regard to the identity of their root, e.g. *+pallət* ‘You (ms.) divide’ could have the root *+p-l-Ø* (*+palØat* > *+pallət*) or *+p-ll-y* (*+pallyat* > *+pallət*).

## 4.11.5.1 Present Template

- 3ms. *+pállə* (*+p-ll-y*) ‘He divides’  
 3fs. *+pálla* (*+p-l-Ø*) ~ *+pallýya* (*+p-ll-y*) ‘She divides’

3pl.	<sup>+</sup> pálli (+p-l-∅ or +p-ll-y)	'They divide', etc.
2ms.	<sup>+</sup> pállat (+p-l-∅ or +p-ll-y)	
2fs.	<sup>+</sup> pállat (+p-l-∅) ~ <sup>+</sup> pallíyat (+p-ll-y)	
2pl.	<sup>+</sup> pallítun (+p-l-∅ or +p-ll-y)	
1ms.	<sup>+</sup> pállən (+p-l-∅ or +p-ll-y)	
1fs.	<sup>+</sup> pállan (+p-l-∅) ~ <sup>+</sup> pallíyan (+p-ll-y)	
1pl.	<sup>+</sup> pállax (+p-l-∅ or +p-ll-y)	

The fs. forms have two alternative endings. One of these has the root *p-l-∅* and has developed directly from forms with final \*<sup>c</sup> (<sup>+</sup>pállea < \*pála < \*pal'a). The other ending has an inserted /y/ element, by analogy with final /y/ quadriliteral verbs (§ 4.13.1.). The gemination of the middle radical is preserved and stress falls on an epenthetic vowel before the /y/, by analogy with that of quadriliteral verbs (<sup>+</sup>pallíyya cf. *barbázza*). For the gemination of the /y/ see § 1.13.2. 3.3.

#### 4.11.5.2 Past Template

ms.	<sup>+</sup> pulli-
fs.	<sup>+</sup> pulla-
pl.	<sup>+</sup> pulle-

Examples: <sup>+</sup>pullíla 'He divided (it m.)', <sup>+</sup>pullálə 'He divided it (f.)', <sup>+</sup>pulléla 'He divided them'.

#### 4.11.5.3 Resultative Participle

ms.	<sup>+</sup> púlla ~ <sup>+</sup> pullíyya
fs.	<sup>+</sup> pullítā
pl.	<sup>+</sup> púllə ~ <sup>+</sup> pallíyyə

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms.	<sup>+</sup> pullíyyələ	'He has divided'
3fs.	<sup>+</sup> pullítələ	'She has divided'
3pl.	<sup>+</sup> pullíyyəna	'They have divided'

## 4.11.5.4 Imperative

- sing.  ${}^+pálli$  ‘Divide!’  
 pl.  ${}^+pállimun$  ‘Divide!’

## 4.11.5.5 Infinitive and Progressive

${}^+pallúyə$

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms.  ${}^+pallúyələ$  ‘He is throwing’  
 3fs.  ${}^+pallúyəla$  ‘She is throwing’  
 3pl.  ${}^+pallúyəna$  ‘They are throwing’

In the northern variety of the dialect, the infinitive/progressive has the form  ${}^+palluvva$ .

## 4.11.5.6 Verbal Noun

${}^+palléta$

## 4.11.5.7 Active Participle

- ms.  ${}^+palliyyána$  ‘divider’  
 fs.  ${}^+palliyyánta$  ‘divider’

## 4.12 Weak Verbs in Pattern III

The initial *m*- in the inflections of pattern III verbs should be regarded as an augment to the root (§ 4.2.). The reference to *primaे /Ø/*, *mediae /y/* etc. in what follows refers to the three remaining consonants of the root.

4.12.1 *Verba Primaе /Ø/*

Verbs in this category include: *maķəd* III (*m-Øk-d*) ‘to cause to burn’, *maləp* III (*m-Øl-p*) ‘to teach’,  ${}^+maxəl$  III ( ${}^+m-\emptyset x-l$ ) ‘to feed’,  ${}^+marəm$  III ( ${}^+m-\emptyset r-m$ ) ‘to raise’, *masək* III (*m-Øs-k*) ‘to cause to ascend’,  ${}^+mavər$  III (*m-Øv-r*) ‘to cause to enter’. These verbs have corresponding pattern I forms with a variety of weak patterns: *yakəd* I (*y-k-d*, *k-y-d*) ‘to burn (intr.)’,  ${}^+axəl$  ( ${}^+\emptyset x-l$ ,  ${}^+y-x-l$ ) ‘to eat’;

*yaləp* (*y-l-p*, *l-y-p*) ‘to learn’, <sup>+</sup>*yarəm* I (<sup>+</sup>*y-r-m*, <sup>+</sup>*r-y-m*) ‘to rise’, *'asək, yasək* I ( $\emptyset$ -*s-k*, *y-s-k*, *s-y-k*) ‘to ascend’. The pattern III of some of these verbs are formed also as medial / $\emptyset$ /, e.g. *mak̥kad* III (*m-k $\emptyset$ -d*) ‘to cause to burn’ (§ 4.12.3.).

The following verbs without correponding pattern I forms may also be interpreted as having initial / $\emptyset$ / roots: *madəv* III (*m- $\emptyset$ d-v*) ‘to manage (to do sth.)’, *mačəx* III (*m- $\emptyset$ č-x*) ‘to find’.

The / $\emptyset$ / in the root lengthens the preceding vowel if it is in an open syllable. In closed syllables the long vowel is shortened.

#### 4.12.1.1 Present Template

- |      |  |             |
|------|--|-------------|
| 3ms. | <sup>+</sup> <i>máxəl</i> (< <sup>+</sup> <i>ma<math>\emptyset</math>xəl</i> ) | ‘He feeds’  |
| 3fs. | <sup>+</sup> <i>máxla</i> (< <sup>+</sup> <i>ma<math>\emptyset</math>xla</i> ) | ‘She feeds’ |
| 3pl. | <sup>+</sup> <i>máxli</i> (< <sup>+</sup> <i>ma<math>\emptyset</math>xli</i> ) | ‘They feed’ |

In the verb <sup>+</sup>*mavər* ‘to cause to enter’ the medial /v/ contracts in the present: <sup>+</sup>*mávər*, <sup>+</sup>*móra*, <sup>+</sup>*móri* etc.

#### 4.12.1.2 Past Template

- |     |                            |
|-----|----------------------------|
| ms. | <sup>+</sup> <i>múxəl-</i> |
| fs. | <sup>+</sup> <i>múxla-</i> |
| pl. | <sup>+</sup> <i>múxle-</i> |

Examples: <sup>+</sup>*muxállo* ‘He fed (him)’, <sup>+</sup>*muxlála* ‘He fed her’, <sup>+</sup>*muxléla* ‘He fed them’.

#### 4.12.1.3 Resultative Participle

- |     |                             |
|-----|-----------------------------|
| ms. | <sup>+</sup> <i>múxla</i>   |
| fs. | <sup>+</sup> <i>muXLáta</i> |
| pl. | <sup>+</sup> <i>múxla</i>   |

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                             |                 |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 3ms. | <sup>+</sup> <i>múxləla</i> | ‘He has fed’    |
| 3fs. | <sup>+</sup> <i>muXLála</i> | ‘She has fed’   |
| 3pl. | <sup>+</sup> <i>múxla</i>   | ‘They have fed’ |

## 4.12.1.4 Imperative

- sing. *+máxəl* ‘Feed!’  
 pl. *+máxlun* ‘Feed!’

## 4.12.1.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*+maxúla*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *+maxúləla* ‘He is feeding’  
 3fs. *+maxúləla* ‘She is feeding’  
 3pl. *+maxúləna* ‘They are feeding’

## 4.12.1.6 Verbal Noun

*+maxálta*

## 4.12.1.7 Active Participle

- ms. *malpána* ‘teacher’  
 fs. *malpánta* ‘teacher’

4.12.2 *Verba Mediae /y/*

Verbs in this category include *mabyən* III (*m-by-n*) ‘to make appear; to appear’, *mabyət* III (*m-by-t*) ‘to abstain from all food’, *madyəl* III (*m-dy-l*) ‘to cause to be born’, *madyən* III (*m-dy-n*) ‘to lend; to borrow’, *madyəš* III (*m-dy-š*) ‘to tread on’, *majyən* III (*m-jy-n*) ‘to sprout’, *makyəm* III (*m-ky-m*) ‘to raise’, *makyən* III (*m-ky-n*) ‘to become green’, *mašyəp* III (*m-ky-p*) ‘to dispute’, *malyəz* III (*m-ly-z*) ‘to hasten (intr. and tr.)’, *mamyəl* III (*m-my-l*) ‘to become blue, to make blue’, *mamyət* III (*m-my-t*) ‘to cause to die (gradually)’, *manyəx* III (*m-ny-x*) ‘to rest; to allow to rest’, *mapyəx* III (*m-py-x*) ‘to cool (tr.)’, *maryəz* III (*m-ry-z*) ‘to organize’, *masyəl* III (*m-sy-l*) ‘to copulate’, *mašyəp* III (*m-šy-p*) ‘to cause to be erased’, *masyəv* III (*m-sy-v*) ‘to cause to age’, *matyəv* III (*m-ty-v*) ‘to cause to sit’, *maxyəm* III (*m-xy-m*) ‘to put on heat; to arouse (sexually)’, *mazyəd* III (*m-zy-d*) ‘to add’, *mazyər* III (*m-zy-r*) ‘to cause to swell’, *+mačyər* III (*+m-čy-r*) ‘to offend’, *+majyər* III (*+m-jy-r*) ‘to urinate’, *+malyəs* III (*+m-ly-s*) ‘to torment’, *+maryəs* III (*+m-ry-s*) ‘to sprinkle’, *+maryəx* (*+m-ry-x*) ‘to lengthen’, *+masyəd* III (*+m-sy-d*) ‘to track down’, *+mašyəl* III (*+m-šy-l*) ‘to cause to cough’, *+masyəp* III (*+m-sy-*

*p*) ‘to filter’, *+masyər* III (*+m-sy-r*) ‘to cause to be tied’, *+masyət* III (*+m-sy-t*) ‘to listen’, *+matyəp* III (*+m-ty-p*) ‘to cause to bend’, *+matyəx* III (*+m-ty-x*) ‘to flatten’.

The medial /y/ is treated as a strong radical in all forms. In the corresponding pattern 1 form of some of these roots the /y/ is the first radical in the present template, e.g. *+yarəx* (*+y-r-x*, *+r-y-x*) ‘It becomes long’, *yatəv* (*y-t-v*, *t-y-v*) ‘He sits’.

#### 4.12.2.1 Present Template

- 3ms. *máryəz* ‘He prepares’
- 3fs. *maryázza* ‘She prepares’
- 3pl. *maryázzi* ‘They prepare’

#### 4.12.2.2 Past Template

- ms. *muryəz-*
- fs. *muryəzza-*
- pl. *muryəzze-*

Examples: *muryázla* ‘He prepared (it m.)’, *muryəzzálə* ‘He prepared it (f.)’, *muryəzzélə* ‘He prepared them’.

#### 4.12.2.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. *muryázza*
- fs. *muryázta*
- pl. *muryázza*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *muryázzələ* ‘He has prepared’
- 3fs. *muryáztlə* ‘She has prepared’
- 3pl. *muryázzəna* ‘They have prepared’

#### 4.12.2.4 Imperative

- sing. *máryəz* ‘Prepare!’
- pl. *máryəzzun* ‘Prepare!’

## 4.12.2.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*maryúzə*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *maryúzələ* 'He is preparing'  
 3fs. *maryúzəla* 'She is preparing'  
 3pl. *maryúzəna* 'They are preparing'

## 4.12.2.6 Verbal Noun

*maryázta*

## 4.12.2.7 Active Participle

- ms. *maryəzzána* 'preparer'  
 fs. *maryəzzánta* 'preparer'

4.12.3 *Verba Mediae /Ø/*

Verbs in this category include *maccəš* III (*m-cØ-š*) 'to pay a debt', *maccəm* III (*m-cØ-m*) 'to blacken'; *maccəp* III (*m-cØ-p*) 'to bend (tr.)', *maccəs* III (*m-cØ-s*) 'to cover', *maǵǵəb* III (*m-ǵØ-b*) 'to like, to love', *makkəd* III (*m-kØ-d*) 'to cause to burn', *makkəm* III (*m-kØ-m*) 'to cause to rise', *makkəs* III (*m-kØ-s*) 'to cut', *makkəš* III (*m-kØ-š*) 'to make cold', *makkət* III (*m-kØ-t*) 'to cause to be hit', *mamməx* III (*m-mØ-x*) 'to smell, to sniff', *marrək* III (*m-rØ-k*) 'to cause to run', *massək* III (*m-sØ-k*) 'to cause to ascend' (also *m-Ø-s-k*), *massəm bala* III (*m-sØ-m*) 'to pay attention', *mavvəd* III (*m-vØ-d*) 'to make do', *mayyək* III (*m-yØ-k*) 'to make narrow, to squeeze', *+maččəm* III (*+m-čØ-m*) 'to cause to be closed', *+maddər* III (*+m-dØ-r*) 'to return (tr.); to vomit', *+makkər* III (*+m-kØ-r*) 'to cause to be dug (earth)', *+mamməd* III (*+m-mØ-d*) 'to baptise', *+mammək* III (*+m-mØ-k*) 'to deepen', *+mamməl* III (*+m-mØ-l*) 'to trade', *+mammər* III (*+m-mØ-r*) 'to build', *+mamməs* III (vn. *+m-mØ-s*) 'to cause to suck', *+marrəš* QI (*+m-rØ-š*) 'to wake (tr.)', *+matṭən* III (*+m-tØ-n*) 'to load', *+matṭəs* III (*+m-tØ-s*) 'to stick into, to shove into, to dip', *+matṭət* III (*+m-tØ-t*) 'to cause to sweat, to shame'.

The corresponding pattern I forms of these verbs have a variety of types of weak root. These include medial /y/, e.g. *kayəm* I (*k-y-m*) 'to rise', medial /y/ and medial /Ø/, e.g. *+tayən* (*+t-y-n*, *+t-Ø-n*) 'to carry', initial /Ø/, e.g. *'avəd* I (*Ø-v-d*) 'to do', or final /y/, e.g. *casə* I (*c-s-y*) 'to cover'. In all forms of pattern III the first radical of the verb is geminated to fill the empty slot of Ø, e.g.

/mak $\emptyset$ aC/ > mak $\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}m$   
 template /maCC $\emptyset$ C/

Some pattern III medial /y/ verbs have alternative forms with geminate consonants, e.g.

- mapyəx ~ mappəx* ‘to make cool’  
*mamyəl ~ mamməl* ‘to become blue’  
*mak $\ddot{y}\dot{\theta}m$  ~ mak $\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}m$*  ‘to raise’

These can be interpreted as reflecting alternating morphological roots with medial /y/ and medial /Ø/ respectively, viz. *m-py-x ~ m-pØ-x*.

#### 4.12.3.1 Present Template

- |      |   |              |                 |                    |
|------|---|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>mákkəm</i>   | ‘He raises’  | <i>mávvəd</i>   | ‘He causes to do’  |
| 3fs. | <i>mak<math>\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mma</math></i> | ‘She raises’ | <i>mavvódda</i> | ‘She causes to do’ |
| 3pl. | <i>mak<math>\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mmi</math></i> | ‘They raise’ | <i>mavvóddi</i> | ‘They cause to do’ |

#### 4.12.3.2 Past Template

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| ms. | <i>muk<math>\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}m-</math></i>    |
| fs. | <i>muk<math>\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mm-a-</math></i> |
| pl. | <i>muk<math>\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mm-e-</math></i> |

Examples: *muk $\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mlə$*  ‘He raised (him)’, *muk $\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mmálə$*  ‘He raised her’, *muk $\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mméłə$*  ‘He raised them’.

#### 4.12.3.3 Resultative Participle

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| ms. | <i>muk<math>\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mma</math></i> |
| fs. | <i>muk<math>\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mta</math></i> |
| pl. | <i>muk<math>\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mmə</math></i> |

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- |      |   |                    |
|------|---|--------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>muk<math>\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mməłə</math></i> | ‘He has raised’    |
| 3fs. | <i>muk<math>\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mtəłə</math></i> | ‘She has raised’   |
| 3pl. | <i>muk<math>\ddot{k}\dot{k}\dot{\theta}mmənə</math></i> | ‘They have raised’ |

Some examples are attested of forms without the /ə/ between the final two radicals, e.g. *ríšo múcsələ* 'Her head is covered'. This can be interpreted as reflecting an alternant initial /Ø/ root, viz. *m-Øc-s* (> *mucsa*) ~ *m-cØ-s* (> *mucəssa*).

#### 4.12.3.4 Imperative

- |       |                  |          |
|-------|------------------|----------|
| sing. | <i>mákkəm</i>    | 'Raise!' |
| pl.   | <i>mákkəmmun</i> | 'Raise!' |

#### 4.12.3.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*makkúmə*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                  |                    |
|------|------------------|--------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>makkúmələ</i> | 'He is raising'    |
| 3fs. | <i>makkúməla</i> | 'She is raising'   |
| 3pl. | <i>makkúməna</i> | 'They are raising' |

#### 4.12.3.6 Verbal Noun

*makkámta*

#### 4.12.3.7 Active Participle

- |     |                    |          |
|-----|--------------------|----------|
| ms. | <i>makkəmmána</i>  | 'raiser' |
| fs. | <i>makkəmmánta</i> | 'raiser' |

The gemination in the middle radical in the verb *hammuna* 'to believe' is likely to have arisen by a process similar to the one that took place in verbs of this category. The verb *hammuna* is historically a *hap'el* of the root \*'mn. The initial /h/ was originally the prefix of the *hap'el* template but is now interpreted as a radical and the verb is inflected as a quadriliteral verb like *tammuzə* 'to clean'. One may hypothesize that a process such as the following took place: \**mha'mən* > \**mhaØmən* > *hamØən* > *hammən*. One may compare this to *maØvəd* > *mavØəd* > *mavvəd* 'he causes to do'.

#### 4.12.4 *Verba Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include *maḱšə* III (*m-ḱš-y*) ‘to harden’, *maḱvə* III (*m-ḱv-y*) ‘to strengthen; to construct’, *manšə* III (*m-nš-y*) ‘to forget’, *mantə* III (*m-nt-y*) ‘to be successful; to prosper’, *marjə* III (*m-rj-y*) ‘to ask, to beg’, *maslə* III (*m-sl-y*) ‘to despise, to reject, to deny (someone’s merit)’, *maštə* III (*m-št-y*) (i) ‘to give to drink’, (ii) ‘to arrange the warp’, *maxdə* III (*m-xd-y*) ‘to make enjoy, to amuse, to please’, *maxmə* III (*m-xm-y*) ‘to leaven’, *maxnə* III (*m-xn-y*) ‘to miss, to long after (*mən so.*)’, *maxpə* III (*m-xp-y*) ‘to turn over (tr.) (a cup etc.)’, *mazvə* III (*m-zv-y*) ‘to inflate (tr.)’, <sup>+</sup>*mačmə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-čm-y*) ‘to extinguish’, <sup>+</sup>*mačrə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-čr-y*) ‘to plaster’, <sup>+</sup>*makrə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-kr-y*) ‘to teach (to read)’, <sup>+</sup>*mamṭə* (<sup>+</sup>*m-tm-y*) ‘to cause to arrive’, <sup>+</sup>*mapšə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-pš-y*) ‘to make lukewarm’, <sup>+</sup>*mašmə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-šm-y*) ‘to cause to be heard, to listen’, <sup>+</sup>*maṭbə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-ṭb-y*) ‘to cause to sink’, <sup>+</sup>*matlə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-ṭl-y*) ‘to put to sleep’, <sup>+</sup>*maṭmə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-ṭm-y*) ‘to cause to be tasted’, <sup>+</sup>*maṭrə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-ṭr-y*) ‘to drive, to ride (animal)’, <sup>+</sup>*maxlə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-xl-y*) ‘to sweeten; to forgive’, <sup>+</sup>*mazdə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-zd-y*) ‘to frighten, to intimidate, to threaten’.

The verbs are derived historically from both final \**y* and final \**c* roots and correspond to pattern I verbs with a final /y/ morphological root, e.g. *maštə* III, *śatə* I (*ś-t-y*) or alternating final /Ø/ and final /y/ roots, e.g. <sup>+</sup>*matlə* III, <sup>+</sup>*tallə* I (<sup>+</sup>*t-l-Ø*, <sup>+</sup>*t-l-y*). Unlike in pattern I, verbs from these two historical categories do not have a distinct conjugation in pattern III.

##### 4.12.4.1 Present Template

A stressed epenthetic is inserted before the /y/ of the fs. forms and the /y/ is geminated in accordance with a general phonological rule (§ 1.13.2.3.3.). An epenthetic is optionally inserted in some other forms of the paradigm by analogy:

3ms.	<sup>+</sup> <i>mázda</i>	‘He frightens’
3fs.	<sup>+</sup> <i>mazdíyya</i>	‘She frightens’
3pl.	<sup>+</sup> <i>mázdi</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>mazdíyyi</i>	‘They frighten’, etc.
2ms.	<sup>+</sup> <i>mázdət</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>mazdíyyət</i>	
2fs.	<sup>+</sup> <i>mazdíyyat</i>	
2pl.	<sup>+</sup> <i>mazdítun</i>	
1ms.	<sup>+</sup> <i>mázdən</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>mazdíyyən</i>	
1fs.	<sup>+</sup> <i>mazdíyyan</i>	
1pl.	<sup>+</sup> <i>mázdex</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>mazdíyyax</i>	

#### 4.12.4.2 Past Template

- ms. *+muzdi-*  
 fs. *+muzdiyya-*  
 pl. *+muzdiyye-*

Examples: *+muzdīlə* ‘He frightened (him)’, *+muzdiyyálə* ‘He frightened her’, *+muzdiyyélə* ‘He frightened them’.

#### 4.12.4.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. *+muzdíyya*  
 fs. *+muzdítā*  
 pl. *+muzdíyyə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *+muzdíyyələ* ‘He has frightened’  
 3fs. *+muzdítəla* ‘She has frightened’  
 3pl. *+muzdíyyəna* ‘They have frightened’

#### 4.12.4.4 Imperative

The plural imperative has the ending *-mun* with an /m/ element intervening between the vowel of the base and the plural inflection *-un*:

- sing. *+mázdi* ‘Frighten!’  
 pl. *+mázdimun* ‘Frighten!’

#### 4.12.4.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*+mazdiyyə*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *+mazdíyyələ* ‘He is frightening’  
 3fs. *+mazdíyyəla* ‘She is frightening’  
 3pl. *+mazdíyyəna* ‘They are frightening’

In the northern variety of the dialect the infinitive has the form *+mazduvvə*.

#### 4.12.4.6 Verbal Noun

<sup>+</sup>*mazdéta*

#### 4.12.4.7 Active Participle

- |     |                                 |              |
|-----|---------------------------------|--------------|
| ms. | <sup>+</sup> <i>mazdiyyána</i>  | 'frightener' |
| fs. | <sup>+</sup> <i>mazdiyyánta</i> | 'frightener' |

#### 4.12.5 *Verba Mediae /Ø/, Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include, *majjə* III (*m-jØ-y*) 'to tire (tr.)', *mallə* III (*m-lØ-y*) 'to cause to burn', *mammə* III (vn. *m-mØ-y*) 'to swear', *mappə* III (*m-pØ-y*) 'to cause to be baked', *marrə* III (*m-rØ-y*) 'to set (tr. and intr.) (yoghurt, boiled liquid)', *maxxə* III (*m-xØ-y*) 'to revive, to resurrect', <sup>+</sup>*maččə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-čØ-y*) 'to smooth', <sup>+</sup>*marrə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-rØ-y*) '(i) to patch, (ii) to graze (cattle), (iii) to cause to rain', <sup>+</sup>*maššə* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-šØ-y*), 'to cause to stick'.

These verbs have corresponding pattern I forms that belong to the category of verbs with two weak radicals described in § 4.10.13. The inflections of pattern I reflect various combinations of the /Ø/ and /y/ radicals (*C-y-Ø*, *C-Ø-y*, *C-y-y*). They include also pattern I initial weak roots such as *yamə* (*y-m-y*) 'to swear'. In the pattern III causative forms the /Ø/ is regularly placed after the first radical, which results in the gemination of the first radical throughout all inflections, e.g.

	/malØay/	> <i>mallə</i> 'He burns (tr.)'
template	/maCCəC/	

#### 4.12.5.1 Present Template

A stressed epenthetic is inserted before the /y/ of the fs. forms and the /y/ is geminated in accordance with a general phonological rule (§ 1.13.2.3.3.). An epenthetic is optionally inserted in some other forms of the paradigm by analogy:

- |      |                           |                         |
|------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>mállə</i>              | 'He burns (tr.)'        |
| 3fs. | <i>mallíyya</i>           | 'She burns (tr.)'       |
| 3pl. | <i>málli ~ mallíyyi</i>   | 'They burn (tr.)', etc. |
| 2ms. | <i>mállət ~ mallíyyət</i> |                         |
| 2fs. | <i>mallíyyat</i>          |                         |
| 2pl. | <i>mallítun</i>           |                         |
| 1ms. | <i>mállən ~ mallíyyən</i> |                         |

- ifs. *mallíyan*  
 1pl. *mállax* ~ *mallíyyax*

#### 4.12.5.2 Past Template

- ms. *mulli-*  
 fs. *mulliyya-*  
 pl. *mulliye-*

Examples: *mullíə* ‘He burnt it (m.)’, *mulliyyálə* ‘He burnt it (f.)’, *mulliyyélə* ‘He burnt them’.

#### 4.12.5.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. *mullíya*  
 fs. *mullíta*  
 pl. *mullíyyə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *mullíyyála* ‘He has burnt’  
 3fs. *mullítəla* ‘She has burnt’  
 3pl. *mullíyyəna* ‘They have burnt’

#### 4.12.5.4 Imperative

The plural imperative has the ending *-mun* with an /m/ element intervening between the vowel of the base and the plural inflection *-un*:

- sing. *málli* ‘Burn!’  
 pl. *mállimun* ‘Burn!’

#### 4.12.5.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*mallíyə*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *mallíyələ* ‘He is burning’  
 3fs. *mallíyəla* ‘She is burning’  
 3pl. *mallíyəna* ‘They are burning’

In the northern variety of the dialect the infinitive has the form *mallúvvə*.

#### 4.12.5.6 Verbal Noun

*malléta*

#### 4.12.5.7 Active Participle

- ms. *malliyána* ‘burner’
- fs. *malliyánta* ‘burner’

### 4.12.6 *Verba Mediae /v/*

This category includes the verbs <sup>+</sup>*manvər* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-nv-r*) ‘to frighten away’, <sup>+</sup>*maxvər* III (<sup>+</sup>*m-xv-r*) ‘to make white’, *madvər* III (*m-dv-r*) ‘to cause to be closed’, *mavvər* III (*m-jv-r*) ‘to cause to be married; to give in marriage’. The /v/ is retained throughout all forms.

#### 4.12.6.1 Present Template

- 3ms. <sup>+</sup>*máxvər* ‘He makes white’
- 3fs. <sup>+</sup>*maxvárра* ‘She makes white’
- 3pl. <sup>+</sup>*maxvárri* ‘They make white’

#### 4.12.6.2 Past Template

- ms. <sup>+</sup>*muxvər-*
- fs. <sup>+</sup>*muxvərra-*
- pl. <sup>+</sup>*muxvərre-*

Examples: <sup>+</sup>*muxvárра* ‘He made (it m.) white’, <sup>+</sup>*muxvərrálə* ‘He made it (f.) white’, <sup>+</sup>*muxvərrélə* ‘He made them white’.

#### 4.12.6.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. <sup>+</sup>*muxvárра*
- fs. <sup>+</sup>*muxvárta*
- pl. <sup>+</sup>*muxvárri*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *+muxvárrələ* ‘He has made white’
- 3fs. *+muxvórtəla* ‘She has made white’
- 3pl. *+muxvárrəna* ‘They have made white’

#### 4.12.6.4 Imperative

- sing. *+máxvər* ‘Make white!’
- pl. *+máxvərrun* ‘Make white!’

#### 4.12.6.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*+maxvúrə*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *+maxvúrələ* ‘He is making white’
- 3fs. *+maxvúrəla* ‘She is making white’
- 3pl. *+maxvúrəna* ‘They are making white’

#### 4.12.6.6 Verbal Noun

*+maxvárta*

#### 4.12.6.7 Active Participle

- ms. *+maxvərránā*
- fs. *+maxvərránta*

#### 4.12.7 *Verba Tertiae /v/*

This category includes the verbs *mactəv* III (*m-ct-v*) ‘to cause to be written, to dictate’, *marcəv* III (*m-rc-v*) ‘to cause to mount’, *masyəv* III (*m-sy-v*) ‘to cause to age’, *matyəv* III (*m-ty-v*) ‘to cause to sit’, *maxrəv* III (*m-xr-v*) ‘to destroy’, *maxšəv* III (*m-xš-v*) ‘to cause to be thought, to pretend’.

The /v/ is retained throughout all forms.

#### 4.12.7.1 Present Template

- 3ms. *máctəv* ‘He dictates’  
 3fs. *mactóvva* ‘She dictates’  
 3pl. *mactóvvi* ‘They dictate’

#### 4.12.7.2 Past Template

- ms. *muctəv-*  
 fs. *muctəvv-*  
 pl. *muctəvv-*

Examples: *muctóvlə* ‘He dictated (it m.)’, *muctəvválə* ‘He dictated it (f.)’, *muctəvvélə* ‘He dictated them’.

#### 4.12.7.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. *muctóvva*  
 fs. *muctóvta*  
 pl. *muctóvvə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *muctévvälə* ‘He has dictated’  
 3fs. *muctévtəla* ‘She has dictated’  
 3pl. *muctévvəna* ‘They have dictated’

#### 4.12.7.4 Imperative

- sing. *máctəv* ‘Dictate!’  
 pl. *máctəvvun* ‘Dictate!’

#### 4.12.7.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*mactúvə*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *mactúvələ* ‘He is dictating’  
 3fs. *mactúvəla* ‘She is dictating’  
 3pl. *mactúvəna* ‘They are dictating’

## 4.12.7.6 Verbal Noun

*mactávta*

## 4.12.7.7 Active Participle

- ms. *mactəvvána* ‘One who dictates’  
 fs. *mactəvvánta* ‘One who dictates’

## 4.13 Weak Quadriliteral Verbs

4.13.1 *Verba Quartae /y/ (i)*

This category includes the verbs: *+alda* QI ( $+\emptyset\text{-}ld\text{-}y$ ) ‘to cheat’, *+čalba* QI ( $+\check{c}\text{-}lb\text{-}y$ ) ‘to sting, to smart’, *+čalčə* QI ( $+\check{c}\text{-}l\check{c}\text{-}y$ ) ‘to strike with a rod’, *+čarčə* QI ( $+\check{c}\text{-}r\check{c}\text{-}y$ ) ‘to stain (intr. and tr.)’, *+karčə* QI ( $+\check{k}\text{-}r\check{t}\text{-}y$ ) ‘to roll up; to be rolled up’, *+p̄arma* QI ( $+\hat{p}\text{-}rm\text{-}y$ ) ‘to understand’, *+šaltə* QI ( $+\check{š}\text{-}lt\text{-}y$ ) ‘to run wild’, *+saxsə* QI ( $+\check{s}\text{-}xs\text{-}y$ ) ‘to investigate’, *balbə* QI ( $b\text{-}lb\text{-}y$ ) ‘to search around for sth.’, *bastə* QI ( $b\text{-}st\text{-}y$ ) ‘to feel at home’, *falda* QI ( $f\text{-}ld\text{-}y$ ) ‘to wipe away; to wear out’, *parpə* QI ( $p\text{-}rp\text{-}y$ ) ‘to rinse’, *parzə* QI ( $p\text{-}rz\text{-}y$ ) ‘to chop up’, *šarkə* QI ( $\check{š}\text{-}rk\text{-}y$ ) ‘to click (fingers, lips)’, *šaršə* QI ( $\check{š}\text{-}r\check{š}\text{-}y$ ) ‘to tire (intr. and tr.)’, *tarsə* QI ( $t\text{-}rs\text{-}y$ ) ‘to nourish’, *xalda* QI ( $x\text{-}ld\text{-}y$ ) ‘to burrow’, *xarda* QI ( $x\text{-}rd\text{-}y$ ) ‘to reel up’.

The inflections of verbs in this category have the same pattern as pattern III final /y/ verbs.

## 4.13.1.1 Present Template

A stressed epenthetic is inserted before the /y/ of the fs. forms. An epenthetic is optionally inserted in some other forms of the paradigm by analogy:

- |      |                           |                   |
|------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>šáršə</i>              | ‘He tires’        |
| 3fs. | <i>šaršíya</i>            | ‘She tires’       |
| 3pl. | <i>šárši ~ šaršíyyi</i>   | ‘They tire’, etc. |
| 2ms. | <i>šáršət ~ šaršíyyət</i> |                   |
| 2fs. | <i>šaršíyyat</i>          |                   |
| 2pl. | <i>šaršítun</i>           |                   |
| 1ms. | <i>šáršən ~ šaršíyyən</i> |                   |
| 1fs. | <i>šaršíyyan</i>          |                   |
| 1pl. | <i>šáršax ~ šaršíyyax</i> |                   |

#### 4.13.1.2 Past Template

ms. *šurši-*

Examples: *šuršilə* 'He tired'.

#### 4.13.1.3 Resultative Participle

ms. *šuršýya*

fs. *šuršítə*

pl. *šuršýyə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms. *šuršýyələ* 'He has tired'

3fs. *šuršítəla* 'She has tired'

3pl. *šuršýyəna* 'They have tired'

#### 4.13.1.4 Imperative

The plural imperative has the ending *-mun* with an /m/ element intervening between the vowel of the base and the plural inflection *-un*:

sing. *šárši* 'Tire!'

pl. *šáršimun* 'Tire!'

#### 4.13.1.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*šaršúyə*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

3ms. *šaršúyələ* 'He is tiring'

3fs. *šaršúyəla* 'She is tiring'

3pl. *šaršúyəna* 'They are tiring'

In the northern variety of the dialect the infinitive/progressive has the form *šaršúvva*.

## 4.13.1.6 Verbal Noun

*šaršéta*

## 4.13.1.7 Active Participle

- ms. *šaršiyána* ‘one who tires’  
 fs. *šaršiyánta* ‘one who tires’

The verb *+alda* ‘to cheat’, which has an initial /Ø/ in the underlying morphological root, is inflected the same way, the /Ø/ being replaced by an initial // before vowels according to the usual rule (e.g. *+áldə* ‘he cheats’, *+uldíla* ‘he cheated’). Note that the verb *+parmə* ‘to understand’ forms a pattern III causative from the root *+m-þr-m* without a final /y/, e.g. *+maþrəm* ‘he causes to be understood’.

4.13.2 *Verba Quartae /y/ (2)*

A variant category of final /y/ quadrilaterals contains a weak second radical, which results in the initial sequence *CaC-* in verbs of the first category being replaced by *Co-* and the initial sequence *CuC-* being replaced by *Cu-*. The second radical of the root of these verbs can be identified as /v/, which is contracted in all inflections. Verbs in this category include the following, many of which express the sounds of animals: *čočə* QI (č-vč-y) ‘to chirp (young birds)’, *jofə* QI (f-vf-y) ‘to coo (doves)’, *kokə* QI (k-vk-y) ‘to croak (frogs)’, *modə* QI (m-vd-y) ‘to receive confession, to confess’, *nonə* QI (n-vn-y) ‘to implore’, *p̥op̥ə* QI (p̥-vþ-y) ‘to bleat (sheep)’, *zoza* QI (z-vz-y) ‘to howl (wolf, jackal)’, *+sosə* QI (+s-vs-y) ‘to beg’, *+momə* QI (+m-vm-y) ‘to purr (cat)’.

The verb *modə* is derived historically from an *ap̥el* causative, the initial *m-* being a prefix. In the synchronic state of the dialect, however, the verb has become assimilated to this class of quadrilaterals, there being no pattern III causative forms with an /o/ after the initial *m-*.

## 4.13.2.1 Present Template

A stressed epenthetic is inserted before the /y/ of the fs. forms. An epenthetic is optionally inserted in some other forms of the paradigm by analogy:

- |                              |                 |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 3ms. <i>módə</i>             | ‘He confesses’  |
| 3fs. <i>modíyya</i>          | ‘She confesses’ |
| 3pl. <i>módi ~ modíyyi</i>   | ‘They confess’  |
| 2ms. <i>módət ~ modíyyət</i> |                 |

- 2fs. *modíyyat*  
 2pl. *modítun*  
 1ms. *módən ~ modíyyən*  
 1fs. *modíyyan*  
 1pl. *módax ~ modíyyax*

#### 4.13.2.2 Past Template

ms. *mudi-*

Examples: *mudíla* 'He confessed'.

#### 4.13.2.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. *mudíyya*  
 fs. *mudíta*  
 pl. *mudíyyə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *mudíyyələ* 'He has confessed'  
 3fs. *mudítələ* 'She has confessed'  
 3pl. *mudíyyəna* 'They have confessed'

#### 4.13.2.4 Imperative

The plural imperative has the ending *-mun* with an /m/ element intervening between the vowel of the base and the plural inflection *-un*:

- sing. *módi* 'Confess!'  
 pl. *módimun* 'Confess!'

#### 4.13.2.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*modíyyə*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *modíyələ* 'He is confessing'  
 3fs. *modíyələ* 'She is confessing'  
 3pl. *modíyəna* 'They are confessing'

In the northern variety of the dialect the infinitive/progressive has the form *modúvva*.

#### 4.13.2.6 Verbal Noun

*modéta*

#### 4.13.2.7 Active Participle

- |     |                  |             |
|-----|------------------|-------------|
| ms. | <i>modiyána</i>  | 'confessor' |
| fs. | <i>modiyánta</i> | 'confessor' |

In some varieties of C. Urmî verbs expressing the production of sounds such as *čočə* 'to chirp' have, at least optionally, an uncontracted form *čavčəv* (Siri S), which has the pattern of reduplicative quadrilateral verbs. This is also the case in C. Salamas and C. Gawilan. Verbal nouns expressing sounds with the pattern *CəCCa-CəC* (§ 4.25.4.8), which are formed from such roots, regularly have a reduplicative pattern in all varieties, e.g. *čəvva-čəv* 'chirping'.

### 4.14 Irregular and Defective Verbs

#### 4.14.1 'azəl I 'to go' (Ø-z-l, r-x-š)

This verb is expressed by the root Ø-z-l in the present template and in the active participle but by a lexically suppletive root in other forms. The suppletive root is derived historically from \*r-x-š, though the initial /r/ is elided in most forms and so from a synchronic point of view the underlying morphological root in such forms is more appropriately identified as Ø-r-š.

##### 4.14.1.1 Present Template

Root: Ø-z-l

- |      |                |                 |
|------|----------------|-----------------|
| 3ms. | <i>'ázəl</i>   | 'He goes'       |
| 3fs. | <i>'áza</i>    | 'She goes'      |
| 3pl. | <i>'ázi</i>    | 'They go', etc. |
| 2ms. | <i>'ázət</i>   |                 |
| 2fs. | <i>'ázat</i>   |                 |
| 2pl. | <i>'ázítun</i> |                 |
| 1ms. | <i>'ázən</i>   |                 |

- 1fs.      *'ázan*  
 1pl.      *'ázax*

When the shortened form of the habitual prefix *ci-* is attached, the initial /'/ may be elided, e.g. *ci-'azəl*, *c-azəl* 'He goes (habitually)'.

#### 4.14.1.2 Past Template

Root:  $\emptyset$ -*x-š*

*xəš-*

Examples: *xášla* 'He went', *xášla* 'She went', *xášlun* 'They went'.

#### 4.14.1.3 Resultative Participle

Root:  $\emptyset$ -*x-š*

- ms.      *xíša*  
 fs.      *xášta*  
 pl.      *xíšə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms.    *xíšəla*    'He has gone'  
 3fs.    *xáštəla*    'She has gone'  
 3pl.    *xíšəna*    'They have gone'

#### 4.14.1.4 Imperative

Root:  $\emptyset$ -*x-š*

- sing.    *xúš*      'Go!'  
 pl.      *xúšun*    'Go!'

The imperative forms *si* and *se* 'go!' (sing., both common gender) are occasionally used, e.g.

- (1)    *si-dmùx.*<sup>1</sup> 'Go and sleep.' (A 3:77, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja)  
 (2)    *'útən sè| xá dəccàna mátti.*<sup>1</sup> 'You go and open a shop.' (A 34:5, Barbari)

## 4.14.1.5 Infinitive

Root:  $\emptyset$ -x-š*xáša*

## 4.14.1.6 Progressive

This has the irregular pattern *bərraxša*, with the initial /r/ of the suppletive root retained.

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *bərráxšələ* ‘He is going’
- 3fs. *bərráxšəla* ‘She is going’
- 3pl. *bərráxšəna* ‘They are going’

In some varieties of the dialect speakers tend to elide the /x/ in the progressive and the /š/ is geminated in compensation, e.g. *bərróššələ* ‘he is going’. In Armenia this is further contracted to *báššələ* (A 42:17, Guylasar Arm.). Another variant form of the progressive stem is *bərrəšxa*, e.g. *áha bərrəšxələ* ‘He goes’ (A 34:7, Barbari).

## 4.14.1.7 Verbal Noun

Root:  $\emptyset$ -x-š*xášta*

## 4.14.1.8 Active Participle

Root: *r*-x-š

- ms. *raxšána* ‘passer-by, traveller’
- fs. *raxšánta* ‘passer-by, traveller’

Root:  $\emptyset$ -z-l

- ms. *'azána* ‘going’
- fs. *'azánta* ‘going’

The active participle that is derived from the root  $\emptyset\text{-}z\text{-}l$  ('azana) is used with a verbal function in predicates to express an unscheduled future event, e.g. 'azánalə 'He will go (at some unknown point in the future).' The participle from the root  $r\text{-}x\text{-}\check{s}$  is used as a nominal.

#### 4.14.2 tanə II 'to say' (t-n-y II, $\emptyset\text{-m-r I}$ )

This is another verb with lexically suppletive roots. The original verbal root 'to say'  $\emptyset\text{-m-r I}$  has become restricted to the past form, resultative participle and progressive. The verb *tanə II* (*t-n-y*), which originally meant 'to recount (a tale)', has now developed the synonymous sense 'to say'. Unlike  $\emptyset\text{-m-r}$ , it is used in all inflections, so has replaced  $\emptyset\text{-m-r}$  in the present and imperative. It exists as an alternative to  $\emptyset\text{-m-r}$  in the past, resultative participle and progressive.

##### 4.14.2.1 Present Template

- 3ms. *tanə* 'He says'
- 3fs. *tanya* 'She says'
- 3pl. *tani* 'They say'

##### 4.14.2.2 Past Template

*mir-* *tuni-*

Examples: *márrə* 'He said', *tunílə* 'He said'.

##### 4.14.2.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. *míra* *túnya*
- fs. *mártəla* *túnítəla*
- pl. *mírəna* *túnyəna*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *mírlə* *túnyəle* 'He has said'
- 3fs. *mártəla* *túnítəla* 'She has said'
- 3pl. *mírəna* *túnyəna* 'They have said'

## 4.14.2.4 Imperative

The /n/ is optionally elided (§ 1.16.1.):

- |       |                                |        |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------|
| sing. | <i>táni</i> ~ <i>táy</i>       | 'Say!' |
| pl.   | <i>tánimun</i> ~ <i>táymun</i> | 'Say!' |

## 4.14.2.5 Infinitive

*tanúyə*

## 4.14.2.6 Progressive

*mára* ~ *tanúyə*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- |      |               |                 |                   |
|------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>márələ</i> | <i>tanúyələ</i> | 'He is saying'    |
| 3fs. | <i>márəla</i> | <i>tanúyəla</i> | 'She is saying'   |
| 3pl. | <i>márəna</i> | <i>tanúyəna</i> | 'They are saying' |

## 4.14.2.7 Verbal Noun

*tanéta*

## 4.14.2.8 Active Participle

- |     |                 |         |
|-----|-----------------|---------|
| ms. | <i>tanyána</i>  | 'sayer' |
| fs. | <i>tanyánta</i> | 'sayer' |

## 4.14.3 'atə I 'to come' (Ø-t-y, y-t-y)

This verb exhibits the inflections of initial /Ø/ and final /y/ verbs in most of its forms. There is some irregularity, however, in the imperative. The progressive form with prefixed *b-* derives from the variant root *y-t-y*.

## 4.14.3.1 Present Template

- |      |              |                   |
|------|--------------|-------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>’ítə</i>  | 'He comes'        |
| 3fs. | <i>’ítya</i> | 'She comes'       |
| 3pl. | <i>’áti</i>  | 'They come', etc. |
| 2ms. | <i>’ítət</i> |                   |

2fs.	<i>'átyat</i>
2pl.	<i>'átítun</i>
1ms.	<i>'átən</i>
1fs.	<i>'átyan</i>
1pl.	<i>'átax</i>

When the shortened form of the habitual prefix *ci-* is attached, the initial /' is elided, e.g. *ci-áta* ~ *c-áta* 'he comes (habitually)'.

#### 4.14.3.2 Past Template

*ti-*

Examples: *tíla* 'He came', *tíla* 'She came', *tílun* 'They came'.

#### 4.14.3.3 Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>tíyya</i>
fs.	<i>títa</i>
pl.	<i>tíyyə</i>

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms.	<i>tíyyələ</i>	'He has come'
3fs.	<i>títəla</i>	'She has come'
3pl.	<i>tíyyəna</i>	'They have come'

#### 4.14.3.4 Imperative

sing.	<i>tá</i>	'Come!'
pl.	<i>témun</i>	'Come!'

#### 4.14.3.5 Infinitive

*táya*

#### 4.14.3.6 Progressive

*bitáya* ~ *bitá*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula) derived from the variant root *y-t-y*

- 3ms. *bitáyələ* ‘He is coming’
- 3fs. *bitáyəla* ‘She is coming’
- 3pl. *bitáyəna* ‘They are coming’

- 3ms. *lélə bitáya ~ lélə bitá* ‘He is not coming’
- 3fs. *lélə bitáya ~ lélə bitá* ‘She is not coming’
- 3pl. *léna bitáya ~ léna bitá* ‘They are coming’

#### 4.14.3.7 Verbal Noun

*téta*

#### 4.14.3.8 Active Participle

- ms. *'atyána* ‘coming’
- fs. *'atyánta* ‘coming’

The active participle is used in predicates with a verbal function to express an unscheduled future event, e.g. *'atyánələ* ‘He will come (at some unknown point in the future).’

#### 4.14.4 *mayyə III 'to bring'*

This is derived historically from the causative of the verb ‘to come’ (\**ātē*) but the middle radical has lost its oral articulation.

##### 4.14.4.1 Present Template

One can posit that this paradigm, and also those of the past template and the resultative participle, have the root *m-yØ-y*, with the structure of roots such as *mallə III (m-lØ-ly)* ‘to cause to burn’ (§ 4.12.5.). This would explain the gemination of the /y/:

- 3ms. *máyyə* ‘He brings’
- 3fs. *máyya* ‘She brings’
- 3pl. *máyyi* ‘They bring’, etc.
- 2ms. *máyyət*
- 2fs. *máyyat*
- 2pl. *mayyítun*

- 1ms. *máyyən*  
 1fs. *máyyan*  
 1pl. *máyyax*

#### 4.14.4.2 Past Template

- ms. *muyyi-*  
 fs. *muyya-*  
 pl. *muyye-*

Examples: *muyyílə* ‘He brought (him)’, *muyyálə* ‘He brought her’, *muyyélə* ‘He brought them’.

#### 4.14.4.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. *múyya*  
 fs. *muyyítə*  
 pl. *múyyə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *múyyələ* ‘He has brought’  
 3fs. *muyyítəla* ‘She has brought’  
 3pl. *múyyəna* ‘They have brought’

#### 4.14.4.4 Imperative

- sing. *mé* ‘Bring!’  
 pl. *mémun* ‘Bring!’

One may posit that the root of this contracted form is *m-ØØ-y*. When this is mapped onto the pattern III template *máCCəC*, the result would be *maØØay*, which contracts to *me*.

#### 4.14.4.5 Infinitive and Progressive

This has the template of a pattern I infinitive.

*máya*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *máyəla* 'He is bringing'
- 3fs. *máyəla* 'She is bringing'
- 3pl. *máyəna* 'They are bringing'

The root of the form *maya* can be identified as *m-Ø-y*. In the northern variety of the dialect the infinitive has the form *mava*. The /v/ is a vestige of the /u/ in the original pattern III infinitive template: \**matuyə* > \**mavuyə* > *mava*.

#### 4.14.4.6 Verbal Noun

*mayéta*

#### 4.14.4.7 Active Participle

- ms. *mayyána* 'bringer'
- fs. *mayyánta* 'bringer'

### 4.14.5 *yavvəl I* 'to give'

#### 4.14.5.1 Present Template

The historical root is \**y-h-b*, but the /h/ does not appear in any of the present inflections. The second radical /v/ is generally geminated throughout the paradigm. One may posit that the root is *y-v-Ø*, like +*š-m-Ø* 'to hear' (+*šammə* 'he hears', +*šamma* 'she hears'). A non-etymological /l/ is attached to the end of the 3ms, which is likely to be derived historically from the dative preposition \**l-*:

- 3ms. *yávvəl* 'He gives'
- 3fs. *yávvə* 'She gives'
- 3pl. *yávvı* 'They give', etc.
- 2ms. *yávvət*
- 2fs. *yávvat*
- 2pl. *yavvítun*
- 1ms. *yávvən*
- 1fs. *yávvən*
- 1pl. *yávvax*

#### 4.14.5.2 Past Template

This has the templatic pattern of quadrilateral verbs with a geminated middle radical, such as *tummózla* 'he cleaned', *hummónnə* 'he believed'. It appears that

this developed since the 3ms present form *yavvəl* was interpreted as having the pattern of verbs like *tamməz*. The /l/ is omitted in the fs. and pl. forms:

- ms. *yuvvil-*
- fs. *yuvva-*
- pl. *yuvve-*

Examples: *yuvvállə* 'He gave (it m.)', *yuvválə* 'He gave it (f.)', *yuvvélə* 'He gave them'.

#### 4.14.5.3 Resultative Participle

The template is again that of quadriliteral verbs. The /v/ is geminated in all forms. A non-etymological /l/ appears in the fs. form.

- ms. *yúvva*
- fs. *yuvválta*
- pl. *yúvvə*

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *yúvvələ* 'He has given'
- 3fs. *yuvváltəla* 'She has given'
- 3pl. *yúvvəna* 'They have given'

#### 4.14.5.4 Imperative

A suppletive form is used, which has its historical origin in the imperative form \**hab* + the dative preposition \**l-*.

- sing. *hál* 'Give!'
- pl. *hállun* 'Give!'

#### 4.14.5.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*yáva*

This has the pattern of pattern i. One may posit that the root is *y-Ø-v*.

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *yávələ* 'He is giving'

- 3fs. *yávəla* ‘She is giving’  
 3pl. *yávəna* ‘They are giving’

A marginal variant of the progressive base is *bayyava*.

#### 4.14.5.6 Verbal Noun

##### *yaválta*

This has the pattern of pattern II verbal nouns (*CaCCaCta*) and contains a non-etymological /l/.

#### 4.14.5.7 Active Participle

- ms. *yavána* ‘giver’  
 fs. *yavánta* ‘giver’

#### 4.14.6 <sup>+y</sup>*ttx* I ‘to know, to understand’ (+y-t-∅, +y-ttx-y, +d-∅-y)

This verb is derived historically from the root \*y-d-. The verb's inflection resembles that of other verbs with a historical final pharyngal such as <sup>+š</sup>*amma* I ‘to hear’ (< \*š-m-<sup>-c</sup>) (§ 4.10.11.). The medial voiced stop /d/ has shifted to /t/ in the inflection of the present template and active participle (roots <sup>+y</sup>-t-∅, <sup>+y</sup>-ttx-y). In all other inflections the initial /y/ radical is elided and the root can be identified as <sup>+d</sup>-∅-y.

#### 4.14.6.1 Present Template

- |      |                              |                   |
|------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 3ms. | <sup>+y</sup> <i>áttə</i>    | ‘He knows’        |
| 3fs. | <sup>+y</sup> <i>áttə</i>    | ‘She knows’       |
| 3pl. | <sup>+y</sup> <i>átti</i>    | ‘They know’, etc. |
| 2ms. | <sup>+y</sup> <i>áttət</i>   |                   |
| 2fs. | <sup>+y</sup> <i>áttət</i>   |                   |
| 2pl. | <sup>+y</sup> <i>áttitun</i> |                   |
| 1ms. | <sup>+y</sup> <i>áttən</i>   |                   |
| 1fs. | <sup>+y</sup> <i>áttən</i>   |                   |
| 1pl. | <sup>+y</sup> <i>áttax</i>   |                   |

The /d/ has been replaced by an unvoiced tense /t/ due to its coalescence with a following laryngal \*' at some stage in its historical development, e.g. \*yād̥ā > \*yad'a > <sup>+</sup>yatt̥a 'She knows'. The synchronic morphological root can be identified as <sup>+</sup>y-t-∅ for most of the paradigm and <sup>+</sup>y-t̥-y in the 3ms. When the negative particle *le* is used before verbs of this paradigm, this is sometimes realized as *li*, e.g. *li-*<sup>+</sup>yatt̥a 'he does not know'.

#### 4.14.6.2 Past Template

Root <sup>+</sup>d-∅-y

<sup>+</sup>di-

Examples: <sup>+</sup>dīlə 'He knew', <sup>+</sup>dīlə 'She knew', <sup>+</sup>dīlun 'They knew'.

#### 4.14.6.3 Resultative Participle

Root <sup>+</sup>d-∅-y

- |     |                    |
|-----|--------------------|
| ms. | <sup>+</sup> díyya |
| fs. | <sup>+</sup> dít̥a |
| pl. | <sup>+</sup> díyyə |

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                      |                   |
|------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 3ms. | <sup>+</sup> díyyələ | 'He has known'    |
| 3fs. | <sup>+</sup> dít̥əla | 'She has known'   |
| 3pl. | <sup>+</sup> díyyəna | 'They have known' |

#### 4.14.6.4 Imperative

Root <sup>+</sup>d-∅-y

- |       |                    |         |
|-------|--------------------|---------|
| sing. | <sup>+</sup> dí    | 'Know!' |
| pl.   | <sup>+</sup> dímun | 'Know!' |

## 4.14.6.5 Infinitive

Root  $+d\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$  $+d\acute{a}ya$ 

## 4.14.6.6 Progressive

Root  $+d\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$  $+b\acute{e}dd\acute{a}ya \sim +b\acute{e}dd\acute{a}$ 

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

3ms.  $+b\acute{e}dd\acute{a}y\acute{a}\rlap{\textit{la}}$  ‘He knows’3fs.  $+b\acute{e}dd\acute{a}y\acute{a}\rlap{\textit{la}}$  ‘She knows’3pl.  $+b\acute{e}dd\acute{a}y\acute{a}\rlap{\textit{na}}$  ‘They know’3ms.  $l\acute{e}l\acute{a} + b\acute{e}dd\acute{a}ya \sim l\acute{e}l\acute{a} + b\acute{e}dd\acute{a}$  ‘He does not know’3fs.  $l\acute{e}l\acute{a} + b\acute{e}dd\acute{a}ya \sim l\acute{e}l\acute{a} + b\acute{e}dd\acute{a}$  ‘She does not know’3pl.  $l\acute{e}n\acute{a} + b\acute{e}dd\acute{a}ya \sim l\acute{e}n\acute{a} + b\acute{e}dd\acute{a}$  ‘They do not know’

Occasionally a contracted form of the progressive is used, especially in the 2nd person when it is used as a discourse marker, e.g.  $+d\acute{a}y\acute{a}\rlap{\textit{t?l}}$  ‘Do you understand?’ (B 4:4).

## 4.14.6.7 Verbal Noun

Root  $+d\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y$  $+d\acute{e}ta$ 

## 4.14.6.8 Active Participle

Root  $+y\text{-}\acute{t}\text{-}\emptyset$ ms.  $+yatt\acute{a}na$  ‘knower’fs.  $+yatt\acute{a}nta$  ‘knower’

**4.14.7   <sup>+</sup>maddə III ‘to cause to be known, to inform’ (<sup>+</sup>m-dØ-y)**

The inflections of this verb correspond to those of verbs such as *m-lØ-y* ‘to cause to burn’ (§ 4.12.5.).

**4.14.7.1   Present Template**

3ms.	<sup>+</sup> máddə	‘He informs’
3fs.	<sup>+</sup> maddíyya	‘She informs’
3pl.	<sup>+</sup> maddíyyi	‘They inform’, etc.
2ms.	<sup>+</sup> maddíyyat	
2fs.	<sup>+</sup> maddíyyat	
2pl.	<sup>+</sup> maddíyyítun	
1ms.	<sup>+</sup> maddíyyən	
1fs.	<sup>+</sup> maddíyyan	
1pl.	<sup>+</sup> maddíyyax	

**4.14.7.2   Past Template**

ms.	<sup>+</sup> muddi-
fs.	<sup>+</sup> muddíyya-
pl.	<sup>+</sup> muddíyye-

Examples: <sup>+</sup>muddílə ‘He informed (him)’, <sup>+</sup>muddíyyálə ‘He informed her’, <sup>+</sup>muddíyyéłə ‘He informed them’.

**4.14.7.3   Resultative Participle**

ms.	<sup>+</sup> muddíyya
fs.	<sup>+</sup> muddíta
pl.	<sup>+</sup> muddíyyə

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms.	<sup>+</sup> muddíyyələ	‘He has informed’
3fs.	<sup>+</sup> muddítəla	‘She has informed’
3pl.	<sup>+</sup> muddíyyəna	‘They have informed’

**4.14.7.4   Imperative**

sing.	<sup>+</sup> máddi	‘Inform!’
pl.	<sup>+</sup> máddimun	‘Inform!’

#### 4.14.7.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*+maddíyə*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                   |               |
|------|-------------------|---------------|
| 3ms. | <i>+maddíyəla</i> | 'He informs'  |
| 3fs. | <i>+maddíyəla</i> | 'She informs' |
| 3pl. | <i>+maddíyəna</i> | 'They inform' |

In the northern variety of the dialect the infinitive has the form *+maddívvə*.

#### 4.14.7.6 Verbal Noun

*+maddéta*

#### 4.14.7.7 Active Participle

- |     |                     |            |
|-----|---------------------|------------|
| ms. | <i>+maddíyyána</i>  | 'informer' |
| fs. | <i>+maddíyyánta</i> | 'informer' |

### 4.14.8 *'avə 'to be'* ( $\emptyset$ -v-y)

#### 4.14.8.1 Present Template

*Irrealis*

The historical root has an initial /h/ but this is regularly dropped and the resulting forms should be considered to be derived from the root  $\emptyset$ -v-y, the / $\emptyset$ / being filled by /'v/ when in initial position before a vowel:

- |      |         |                     |
|------|---------|---------------------|
| 3ms. | 'ávə    | 'He may be'         |
| 3fs. | 'óya    | 'She may be'        |
| 3pl. | 'ávi    | 'They may be', etc. |
| 2ms. | 'ávət   |                     |
| 2fs. | 'óyat   |                     |
| 2pl. | 'ávitun |                     |
| 1ms. | 'ávən   |                     |
| 1fs. | 'óyan   |                     |
| 1pl. | 'ávax   |                     |

Educated speakers occasionally use forms with an initial /h/, e.g. *havə*, *hoya*, *havi*, but these should be considered to be interferences from the literary language, where they are regularly used.

In the paradigm above, \*/av/ contracts to /o/ when the /v/ is in syllable-final position, e.g. \**avyat* > *'yat*. In Armenia some speakers contract /av/ in this verb elsewhere in the paradigm, resulting in forms such as *þt-ðət* 'you will be' (B 16:13) < *þt-avət* (future *bət* + *'avət*), and *'ini* 'They would be' (B 16:14) < *'avini* (*'avi* + augment *-ni*).

### *Habitual Realis*

When the habitual realis particle *ci-/c-* is prefixed, the initial /v/ is regularly elided:

- |      |              |            |
|------|--------------|------------|
| 3ms. | <i>c-ávə</i> | 'He is'    |
| 3fs. | <i>c-óya</i> | 'She is'   |
| 3pl. | <i>c-ávi</i> | 'They are' |

#### 4.14.8.2 Past Template

*vi-*

Examples: *víla* 'He became'.

#### 4.14.8.3 Resultative Participle

- |     |              |
|-----|--------------|
| ms. | <i>víyya</i> |
| fs. | <i>vítə</i>  |
| pl. | <i>víyyə</i> |

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                |                  |
|------|----------------|------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>víyyələ</i> | 'He has been'    |
| 3fs. | <i>vítələ</i>  | 'She has been'   |
| 3pl. | <i>víyyənə</i> | 'They have been' |

#### 4.14.8.4 Imperative

- |       |              |       |
|-------|--------------|-------|
| sing. | <i>ví</i>    | 'Be!' |
| pl.   | <i>vímun</i> | 'Be!' |

#### 4.14.8.5 Infinitive

*váya*

#### 4.14.8.6 Progressive

*váya* ~ *va*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *váyələ* ‘He is’
- 3fs. *váyəla* ‘She is’
- 3pl. *váyəna* ‘They are’

- 3ms. *léla váya* ~ *léla vá* ‘He is not’
- 3fs. *léla váya* ~ *léla vá* ‘She is not’
- 3pl. *léna váya* ~ *léna vá* ‘They are’

A marginal variant of the progressive base is *bivaya*, with the pattern of *bitaya* and *+bixala*.

#### 4.14.8.7 Verbal Noun

*véta*

#### 4.14.9 mattə III ‘to place’

This verb is historically the causative of *\*y-t-b* ‘to sit’ (= *yatəv* I). It contains /v/ as the reflex of \**b* in some forms, but this tends to assimilate to the preceding /t/. It has the template of pattern III throughout its inflections. Note that a morphologically more transparent causative of *yatəv* I has developed with the form *matyəv* III (*m-ty-v*), which is used to express the sense of ‘to cause to sit’.

##### 4.14.9.1 Present Template

The final /v/ assimilates to the medial /t/ radical. It is optionally kept distinct from the /t/ in forms other than the 3ms. Where the /v/ appears one may posit the root to be *m-Øt-v*. Forms preserving the /v/ are probably the result of influence from the literary language. In forms where it is assimilated the structure of the root appears to be *m-Øt-Ø* or, in the 3ms, *m-tt-y*, the /t/ geminating to compensate for the following Ø according to the usual rule.

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 3ms. <i>máttə</i>                  | ‘He places’ ( <i>m-tt-y</i> )                        |
| 3fs. <i>máttə</i> ~ <i>mátvə</i>   | ‘She places’ ( <i>m-Øt-Ø</i> ~ <i>m-Øt-v</i> )       |
| 3pl. <i>mátti</i> ~ <i>mátví</i>   | ‘They place’ ( <i>m-Øt-Ø</i> ~ <i>m-Øt-v</i> ), etc. |
| 2ms. <i>máttət</i> ~ <i>mátvət</i> |  |

- 2fs. *máttat* ~ *mátvat*  
 2pl. *mattítun* ~ *matvítun*  
 1ms. *máttən* ~ *mátvən*  
 1fs. *máttan* ~ *mátvan*  
 1pl. *máttax* ~ *mátvax*

#### 4.14.9.2 Past Template

The final /v/ is optionally retained in the fs. and pl. forms of the past template (roots *m-Øt-Ø* or *m-Øt-v*).

- ms. *mutti-*  
 fs. *mutta-* ~ *mutva-*  
 pl. *mutte-* ~ *mutve-*

Examples: *muttíð* ‘He put (him)’, *muttálð* ~ *mutválð* ‘He put her’, *muttéld* ~ *mutvélð* ‘He put them’.

#### 4.14.9.3 Resultative Participle

- ms. *mútta* ~ *mútva* (*m-Øt-Ø* ~ *m-Øt-v*)  
 fs. *muttíta* ~ *muttávta* (*m-tt-y* ~ *m-tt-v*)  
 pl. *múttə* ~ *mútvə* (*m-Øt-Ø* ~ *m-Øt-v*)

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

- 3ms. *múttəlð* ‘He has put’  
 3fs. *muttítlə* ‘She has put’  
 3pl. *múttəna* ‘They have put’

#### 4.14.9.4 Imperative

- sing. *mátti* ‘Bring!’ (*m-tt-y*)  
 pl. *máttimun* ‘Bring!’ (*m-tt-y*)

#### 4.14.9.5 Infinitive and Progressive

*mattiúya* (*m-tt-y*)

Compound form (progressive, inflected with a copula)

- |      |                  |                    |
|------|------------------|--------------------|
| 3ms. | <i>mattúyələ</i> | 'He is putting'    |
| 3fs. | <i>mattúyəla</i> | 'She is putting'   |
| 3pl. | <i>mattúyəna</i> | 'They are putting' |

In the northern variety of the dialect the infinitive has the form *mattúvvə*.

#### 4.14.9.6 Verbal Noun

*mattéta* (*m-tt-y*) ~ *mattávta* (*m-tt-v*)

#### 4.14.9.7 Active Participle

- |     |                                   |  |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--|
| ms. | <i>mattána</i> ~ <i>matvána</i>   | 'putter' ( <i>m-Øt-Ø</i> ~ <i>m-Øt-v</i> ) |
| fs. | <i>mattánta</i> ~ <i>matvánta</i> | 'putter' ( <i>m-Øt-Ø</i> ~ <i>m-Øt-v</i> ) |

#### 4.14.10 'to be able'

This verb is expressed by the roots  $+m\text{-}s\text{-}y$ ,  $+\emptyset\text{-}m\text{-}s$  and  $+m\text{-}y\text{-}s$ . The first is the original root and appears in all inflections. The roots  $+\emptyset\text{-}m\text{-}s$  and  $+m\text{-}y\text{-}s$  appear as variants in some of its inflections. The verb is not used in the imperative.

#### 4.14.10.1 Present Template

3ms.	$+másə$	$+ámsəs$	$+máyəs$ / $+más$	'He is able'
3fs.	$+másya$	$+ámsa$	$+mésa$	'She is able'
3pl.	$+mási$	$+ámsi$	$+mési$	'They are able', etc.
2ms.	$+másət$	$+ámsət$	$+mésət$	
2fs.	$+másyat$	$+ámsat$	$+mésat$	
2pl.	$+masítun$	$+amsítun$	$+mesítun$	
1ms.	$+másən$	$+ámsən$	$+mésən$	
1fs.	$+másyan$	$+ámsan$	$+mésan$	
1pl.	$+másax$	$+ámsax$	$+mésax$	

When the present form is negated, the verb is frequently contracted resulting in forms such as *lá-+msən* 'I cannot'. This is likely to have been originally a contraction of *lá-+masən* ( $+m\text{-}s\text{-}y$ ) but was reanalysed as a contraction of *la-+amsən* ( $+\emptyset\text{-}m\text{-}s$ ).

#### 4.14.10.2 Past Template

${}^+msi \sim {}^+məs$

Examples:  ${}^+msílə \sim {}^+másłə$  'He was able'.

#### 4.14.10.3 Resultative Participle

ms.  ${}^+másya$

fs.  ${}^+msítə$

pl.  ${}^+másyə$

Compound form (perfect, inflected with a copula)

3ms.  ${}^+másyələ$  'He has been able'

3fs.  ${}^+msítələ$  'She has been able'

3pl.  ${}^+másyənə$  'They have been able'

#### 4.14.10.4 Infinitive

${}^+msaya$  ( ${}^+m\text{-}s\text{-}y$ ),  ${}^+masa$  ( ${}^+\emptyset\text{-}m\text{-}s$ ),  ${}^+myasa$  ( ${}^+m\text{-}y\text{-}s$ )

#### 4.14.10.5 Progressive

${}^+msaya$ ,  ${}^+msa$  ( ${}^+m\text{-}s\text{-}y$ ),  ${}^+masa$  ( ${}^+\emptyset\text{-}m\text{-}s$ ),  ${}^+myasa$  ( ${}^+m\text{-}y\text{-}s$ )

Compound form. This tends to be used only in negated constructions

3ms.  $lélə$   ${}^+msáya$  ~  $lélə$   ${}^+msá$  'He cannot'

3fs.  $lélə$   ${}^+msáya$  ~  $lélə$   ${}^+msá$  'She cannot'

3pl.  $léna$   ${}^+msáya$  ~  $léna$   ${}^+msá$  'They cannot'

#### 4.14.10.6 Verbal Noun

${}^+mséta$

#### 4.14.10.7 Active Participle

ms.  ${}^+masyána$  'able'

fs.  ${}^+masyánta$  'able'

#### 4.15 Further Discussion concerning Verbal Roots

There are a number of features of verbal roots in C. Urmi that deviate from the expected canonical form of roots and are less than optimal in a root and template model of morphology.

One of these features relates to the canonical non-concatenativity of Semitic roots. This is presented in the literature as being clearly distinct from a stem and affix model of morphology involving a concatenative base to which affixes are attached to express grammatical inflection and derivation (Goldenberg 2005; Goldenberg 2013, 116–129; Faust and Hever 2010).

When verbal inflections have suprasegmental emphasis (pharyngalization), e.g. *+xadər* ‘he goes round’, *+xdərrə* ‘he went round’, the suprasegmental emphasis must be identified as a feature of the root, viz. *+x-d-r* 1 ‘to go round’ (§ 4.1.). Verbal inflections that have a plain setting have plain roots, e.g. *patəx* ‘he opens’, *pṭaxlə* ‘he opened’, root: *p-t-x* 1 ‘to open’. The feature of suprasegmental emphasis has lexical significance, since two verbs that share the same consonants may be distinguished only by this feature, e.g.

*s-r-p* ‘to suck up’: *+s-r-p* ‘to smart’

So the feature should be regarded as an element in the lexical root. Templates are neutral with regard to emphasis. They do not contain an inherent setting and take on the setting of the root. So, the template CaCaC, which consists of the vowels *a—ə*, is emphatic in *+sarəp* ‘it smarts’ but plain in *sarəp* ‘it soaks up’. The suprasegmental feature of emphasis in roots is a concatenative property, in that it is not restricted to the separate radicals but is a feature also of the templatic elements. It could be argued that at root level it exists in the position of the templatic elements before the root is merged with the specific elements of the template. The position of the templatic elements can be represented at an abstract level as variables, which can be represented as X, thus:

	+emphasis		
Radical slots	1	2	3
Templatic elements	×	×	×

A representation of a root such as *+s-r-p* which would capture the concatenative nature of the emphasis is:

- (1) *+XsXrXpX*

The presence of emphasis in the templatic elements cannot be satisfactorily explained by the notion that emphasis is inherent in the phonological segments of the radicals and spreads to the merged elements. This is shown by the fact that emphasis occurs in suffixed elements after the high front vowel /i/, e.g.

- (2)   <sup>+k-t-l</sup> 'to kill'  
<sup>+katlivala</sup> [k<sup>α</sup>a<sup>β</sup>t<sup>γ</sup>]i<sup>δ</sup>v<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>γ</sup>l<sup>δ</sup>a<sup>ε</sup>  
 'They killed her'

The front high vowel /i/ is not affected by the suprasegmental emphasis. In NENA dialects spoken in Iraq, high front vowels block the spread of emphasis from emphatic consonants (Khan 2013). In C. Urmî, however, segments on both sides of /i/ are emphatic in an emphatic word. The emphasis in the affixes /vala/ of <sup>+katlivala</sup> should not, therefore, be regarded as the result of the spread of emphasis from emphatic root consonants, but rather to reflect the suprasegmental nature of the emphasis.

As has been remarked in § 4.1, in some cases a verbal root and a lexically related noun are of different settings, in that one is plain and one is emphatic, e.g.

- (3)   <sup>f-v-r</sup> 'to marry'   <sup>+jora</sup> 'husband'  
<sup>k-v-r</sup> 'to bury'   <sup>+kora</sup> 'grave'

This shows that the nouns are not derived from the verbal root, and indeed the nouns do not have an abstract root at any level of their derivational morphology but rather they are constructed by combining an inflection suffix with a concatenative stem that cannot be analysed into further morphological components:

- (4)   **Stem**           **Inflection**  
<sup>+kor-</sup>   +   <sup>a</sup>                   <sup>+kora</sup> 'grave'

When a verbal root differs in its phonological setting from a lexically related noun, in all cases the verbal root is plain and the noun is emphatic. There are no cases where the verbal root is emphatic and the noun is plain. This appears to reflect a greater degree of markedness of suprasegmental emphasis in verbal roots than in nominal stems and, consequently, a greater tendency for it to be eliminated. It may be proposed that this markedness arises from the fact that a concatenative suprasegmental feature is incompatible with the canonical form of a non-concatenative root.

Another feature of roots in C. Urmî that deviates from a canonical root and template morphological system is the less than optimal transparency of the identity of the root in certain paradigms. Transparency of the identity of the root is important for an economical functionality of the root and template system. Opacity of the identity of the root leads to the necessity to memorize surface forms and treat them as stems. Stem-memorization is the normal procedure in languages with stem and affix morphology. Features that result in the transparency of root-identity are listed in the table below, alongside the corresponding features that contribute to the opacity of root-identity:

	<b>Transparent</b>	<b>Opaque</b>
(i)	Root radicals are discernible on the surface in all paradigms of a particular derivational pattern.	Not all root radicals are discernible on the surface.
(ii)	All paradigms of a verb in a particular derivational pattern are derived from the same root.	The paradigms of a verb in a particular derivational pattern are derived from different roots.
(iii)	The paradigms of a verb in a particular derivational pattern are derived from the same root as the paradigms of the same verb in another pattern.	The paradigms of a particular verb are derived from one root in one derivational pattern, but from another root in another derivational pattern.
(iv)	The templates of the paradigms of a verb in a particular derivational pattern correspond to those of other verbs in the same derivational pattern.	The template of certain inflections of certain roots coincides with those of other roots in some cases but differ in others.
(v)	No further morphological processes apply to the output form other than the root and template morphology.	The form of some inflections of a verb in one particular paradigm is changed by a process of analogical paradigm regularization.

Feature (i) relates to the opacity of root identity in the inflections of some weak verbs on account of the fact that some inflections of different roots coincide in surface form. This is due to the operation of phonetic processes which have eliminated various weak radicals in the historical root, e.g.

Inflection	Possible roots	Historical root
<i>p<sup>t</sup>ax-lə</i> 'he opened'	<i>p-t-x</i>	* <i>p-t-h</i>
<i>+šmi-lə</i> 'he heard'	<i>+š-m-Ø,</i> <i>+š-m-y</i>	* <i>š-m-</i> <sup>č</sup>
<i>xzi-lə</i> 'he saw'	<i>x-z-Ø,</i> <i>x-z-y</i>	* <i>x-z-y</i>
<i>+xəl-lə</i> 'he ate'	<i>+Ø-x-l,</i> <i>+y-x-l,</i> <i>+x-Ø-l,</i> <i>+x-y-l</i>	* <sup>č</sup> - <i>k-l</i>
<i>+sər-rə</i> 'he tied'	<i>+Ø-s-r,</i> <i>+y-s-r,</i> <i>+s-Ø-r,</i> <i>+s-y-r</i>	* <sup>č</sup> - <i>s-r</i>
<i>kəd-lə</i> 'it burnt'	<i>Ø-k-d,</i> <i>y-k-d,</i> <i>k-Ø-d,</i> <i>k-y-d</i>	* <i>y-q-d</i>
<i>+rəš-lə</i> 'he awoke'	<i>+Ø-r-š,</i> <i>+y-r-š,</i> <i>+r-Ø-š,</i> <i>+r-y-š</i>	* <i>r-č-š &lt; r-č-š</i>
<i>kəm-lə</i> 'he arose'	<i>Ø-k-m,</i> <i>y-k-m,</i> <i>k-Ø-m,</i> <i>k-y-m</i>	* <i>q-y-m</i>

The list of possible roots of these inflections of weak verbs includes the historical root. These various roots are distinguished in some of the other inflections of the verb and these show in some cases that the root of the verb has been interpreted as being one that is not the historical one, e.g.

- (5) *+yasər* 'he ties' < *+y-s-r* (historical *\*-s-r*)  
*kyada* 'to burn' < *k-y-d* (historical *\*y-q-d*)

The source of this reinterpretation is the opacity of root-identity in inflections such as those shown in the table above.

The opacity feature (ii) is a consequence of feature (i). Some weak verbs that are opaque as to their root-identity in one inflection, exhibit different roots across the inflectional paradigms, e.g.

- |     |             |                |             |                                  |
|-----|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| (6) | Past:       | <i>+šmi-lə</i> | 'he heard'  | < <i>+š-m-Ø</i> or <i>+š-m-y</i> |
|     | Participle: | <i>+šəmya</i>  | 'heard'     | < <i>+š-m-y</i>                  |
|     | Imperative: | <i>+šmi!</i>   | 'hear!'     | < <i>+š-m-y</i>                  |
|     | Infinitive: | <i>+šmaya</i>  | 'to hear'   | < <i>+š-m-y</i>                  |
|     | Present:    | <i>+šamma</i>  | 'she hears' | < <i>+š-m-Ø</i>                  |
- 
- |     |             |                |           |  |
|-----|-------------|----------------|-----------|--|
| (7) | Past:       | <i>+sər-rə</i> | 'he tied' | < <i>+Ø-s-r, +y-s-r, +s-Ø-r</i> or <i>+s-y-r</i> |
|     | Participle: | <i>+sira</i>   | 'tied'    | < <i>+Ø-s-r, +y-s-r, +s-Ø-r</i> or <i>+s-y-r</i> |
|     | Imperative: | <i>+sur!</i>   | 'tie!'    | < <i>+Ø-s-r, +y-s-r, +s-Ø-r</i> or <i>+s-y-r</i> |
|     | Infinitive: | <i>+syara</i>  | 'to tie'  | < <i>+s-y-r</i>                                  |
|     | Present:    | <i>+yasər</i>  | 'he ties' | < <i>+y-s-r</i>                                  |

As can be seen from (6) and (7), when there is variation of roots across paradigms, the present paradigm is typically the odd one out. In (6) all paradigms except the present are or could potentially be interpreted as being derived from *+š-m-y*, whereas the present can only be derived from *+š-m-Ø*. Likewise in (7) the past, participle and present could potentially be derived from *+s-y-r*, the infinitive is explicitly derived from *+s-y-r*, whereas the present paradigm is derived from *+y-s-r*.

In a few cases the present exhibits two variant forms derived from different roots, e.g.

- |     |             |                |           |  |
|-----|-------------|----------------|-----------|--|
| (8) | Past:       | <i>+kər-rə</i> | 'he dug'  | < <i>+Ø-k-r, +y-k-r, +k-Ø-r</i> or <i>+k-y-r</i> |
|     | Participle  | <i>+kira</i>   | 'dug'     | < <i>+Ø-k-r, +y-k-r, +k-Ø-r</i> or <i>+k-y-r</i> |
|     | Imperative  | <i>+kur!</i>   | 'dig!'    | < <i>+Ø-k-r, +y-k-r, +k-Ø-r</i> or <i>+k-y-r</i> |
|     | Infinitive: | <i>+kyara</i>  | 'to dig'  | < <i>+k-y-r</i>                                  |
|     | Present:    | <i>+akər</i>   | 'he digs' | < <i>+Ø-k-r</i>                                  |
|     |             | <i>+kayər</i>  | 'he digs' | < <i>+k-y-r</i>                                  |

In (8) the past, participle and imperative could potentially be derived from *+k-y-r*, the infinitive is explicitly derived from *+k-y-r*, and one of the variant forms

of the present is explicitly derived from  ${}^+k\text{-}y\text{-}r$ . The odd one out is the variant present form  ${}^+akər$ , which is derived from  ${}^+\emptyset\text{-}k\text{-}r$ .

The verbs discussed above can be considered to form their paradigms by a family of suppletive roots. The relationship between these roots is lexical rather than directly morphological. A few verbs, which are used frequently, exhibit lexically unrelated suppletive roots in different paradigms of one particular derivational pattern. As with families of suppletive roots discussed above, it is typically the present that is the odd one out, e.g.

- |     |             |               |           |  |
|-----|-------------|---------------|-----------|--|
| (9) | Past:       | <i>xəš-lə</i> | 'he went' | < $\emptyset\text{-}x\text{-}\check{s}$ , $y\text{-}x\text{-}\check{s}$ , $x\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}\check{s}$ or $x\text{-}y\text{-}\check{s}$ |
|     | Participle: | <i>xiša</i>   | 'went'    | < $\emptyset\text{-}x\text{-}\check{s}$ , $y\text{-}x\text{-}\check{s}$ , $x\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}\check{s}$ or $x\text{-}y\text{-}\check{s}$ |
|     | Imperative: | <i>xuš</i>    | 'go!'     | < $\emptyset\text{-}x\text{-}\check{s}$ , $y\text{-}x\text{-}\check{s}$ , $x\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}\check{s}$ or $x\text{-}y\text{-}\check{s}$ |
|     | Infinitive  | <i>xaša</i>   | 'to go'   | < $\emptyset\text{-}x\text{-}\check{s}$ or $x\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}\check{s}$   |
|     | Present:    | <i>'azəl</i>  | 'he goes' | < $\emptyset\text{-}z\text{-}l$  |

In (9) the past, participle, imperative and infinitive could potentially be derived from various weak roots sharing the two radicals /x/ and /š/. The present, however, is derived from a different root,  $\emptyset\text{-}z\text{-}l$ .

The opacity of root-identity in feature (iii) includes examples such as the following:

- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
| (10)     | Pattern I                                       | Pattern III  |
| Present: | <i>kayəm</i> 'he rises' < $k\text{-}y\text{-}m$ | <i>makkəm</i> 'he raises' < $m\text{-}k\emptyset\text{-}m$ |

Here the causative pattern III verb is not formed by the straightforward addition of the augment *m*- to the root *k-y-m* of pattern I, but rather the causative consists of the addition of the augment to the root *k-Ø-m*. As a result the relationship between pattern I and pattern III is not directly morphological but rather lexical.

Feature (iv) relates to the fact that in root and template morphology one particular templatic pattern of a particular paradigm would be expected to apply to all verbs of the same derivational pattern, taking into account morphophonological adjustments due to the weakness of consonants. So, for example, the template CaCəC of the present form *patax* 'he opens' is identifiable also in other verbs in the simplex derivational pattern I, e.g.  ${}^+\alpha xəl$  'he eats' ( ${}^+\emptyset\text{-}x\text{-}l$ ), *kayəm* 'he arises' (*k-y-m*), *šatə* 'he drinks' (*š-t-y*). There are some examples of opacity in this respect. One case is the form of the progressive across different verbs of pattern I. The normal template for the progressive in pattern I is *bəCCaCa*. Some verbs, however, exhibit a different form, e.g.

- (11) (a) *bəptaxa* ‘opening’ cf. *patəx* ‘he opens’ (*p-t-x*)  
 (b) *+bəktala* ‘killing’ cf. *+kaṭəl* ‘he kills’ (*+k-t-l*)  
 (c) *bərraka* ‘running’ cf. *arək* ‘he runs’ (*Ø-r-k*)  
 (d) *+bixala* ‘eating’ cf. *+axəl* ‘he eats’ (*+Ø-x-l*)  
 (e) *+bəššaša* ‘shaking’ cf. *+šayəš* ‘he shakes’ (*+š-y-š*)  
 (f) *jəxca* ‘laughing’ cf. *jaxəc* ‘he laughs’ (*j-x-c*)  
 (g) *pəlxana* ‘working’ cf. *paləx* ‘he works’ (*p-l-x*)  
 (h) *bərrəxša* ‘going’ cf. *azəl* ‘he goes’ (*Ø-z-l*)

The forms in (11f)–(11h) clearly have a different morphological shape from the forms in (11a)–(11e) and, indeed, the forms in (11f)–(11h) differ among themselves. Also in the forms (11c)–(11e) there is some opacity. Whereas forms (11a) and (11b) transparently share a root with other inflections of these verbs, the distinct forms of (11c)–(11e) do not transparently share a root with the other inflections of these verbs.

It is problematic to claim that the progressive forms (11f)–(11h), and indeed also (11c)–(11e), were formed by root and template morphology, since one would have to assume that they exhibit a template that is particular to one particular lexical root. It is easier to regard these as stems which speakers memorize for these particular verbs.

The /b/ element at the front of the progressive forms is also problematic from the point of view of root and template morphology. Although this originated historically as a preposition *b-* that was combined with a following infinitive, there are grounds for considering that it has become morphologically integrated with the verbal form and is no longer functional as a preposition. This is shown, for example, by the fact that the compositionality of progressive forms into *b + infinitive* is not always transparent. This is seen in the verb ‘to eat’:

- Progressive:    *+bixala* ‘eating’  
 Infinitive       *+xala* ‘to eat’  
 Verbal noun:   *+xalta* ‘eating’, *b-+xalta* ‘with eating’

Whereas the compositionality of the phrase *b-+xalta* is transparent (preposition *b + +xalta*), this is not the case with *+bixala*, since there is an unaccounted for insertion of an /i/ vowel. The /b/ of progressive forms are, therefore, transcribed without a following hyphen and considered an integral part of the verbal form. Another argument for considering the /b/ in progressive forms to be different from the preposition /b/ is that it is elided in the progressive form of several verbs. This applies in particular when it is followed by a labial consonant, e.g.

- Progressive: *praka* ‘finishing’  
 Infinitive: *praka* ‘to finish’  
 Verbal noun: *prakta* ‘end’, cf. *b-prakta* ‘in the end’

but also occasionally where there is no clear phonological conditioning, e.g.

- Progressive: *fjæxca* ‘laughing’  
 Infinitive: *fjaca* ‘to laugh’  
 Verbal noun: *fjacta* ‘laughing’, cf. *b-fjacta* ‘with laughing’

If the /b/ is an integral element of the verbal form, it would have to be considered to belong to the template in a root and template type of derivation, but this would be problematic since its distribution in progressive forms is not regular or fully predictable.

An example of opacity of root-identity arising from paradigm regularization, feature (v), is the present paradigm of the verb ‘to hear’:

3ms.	<sup>+š</sup> ámma	‘He hears’
3fs.	<sup>+š</sup> ámma	‘She hears’
3pl.	<sup>+š</sup> ámmi	‘They hear’, etc.
2ms.	<sup>+š</sup> ámmat	
2fs.	<sup>+š</sup> ámmat	
2pl.	<sup>+š</sup> ammítun	
1ms.	<sup>+š</sup> ámmən	
1fs.	<sup>+š</sup> ámmən	
1pl.	<sup>+š</sup> ámməx	

All forms except the 3ms of this paradigm can be derived transparently from the root <sup>+š</sup>-m-∅. The gemination of the medial radical in the surface forms would be the result of the spreading of the consonant to fill the place of an adjacent empty slot, as has already been remarked above:

(12) <sup>+š</sup>-m-∅ ‘to hear’: Pattern I <sup>+š</sup>amma ‘she hears’

Radical slot	1	2	3
Root	<sup>+š</sup>	<i>m</i>	∅
Template		<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
Surface form	<sup>+š</sup> amma		

The gemination of the medial radical of the 3ms form  $^{+}\check{s}ammə$ , however, cannot be derived directly by the application of such a root and template morphology, since the /Ø/ radical is not adjacent to the medial *m* radical in the template of the 3ms present:

(13) Radical slot	1	2	3
Root	$^{+}\check{s}$	<i>m</i>	Ø
Template	<i>a</i>	<i>ə</i>	
Predicted surface form	$^{+}\check{s}amə$		

The gemination of the *m* radical in this form has arisen by analogical levelling with the surface forms of the rest of the paradigm. As a result the identity of its abstract root is opaque. This could be possibly identified as *š-mm-Ø* (§ 4.10.11.). The paradigm would be more easily processed as one based on a surface stem with the form  $^{+}\check{s}amm-$  to which are attached personal markers in the form of affixes. This can be regarded as the result of a tension between phonetic processes that result in structural irregularities in the paradigm and the pressure of the morphology to produce paradigm regularity. The adjustments made to regularize the morphology have the consequence of making the inflections more easily processed as stem + affix rather than root + template.

Verbs that are historically final \*' such as  $^{+}\check{s}amma$  I (\**š-m-*') have merged with final /y/ verbs in all inflections except the present (§ 4.10.11.). Faithfulness to the historical root in the present leads to opacity of the root, since the reflex of \*', i.e. /Ø/, is not perceptible on the phonetic surface and since the 3ms would have a form that is ambiguous as to its root, viz.  $^{+}\check{s}amə$ , which would be potentially analysable as being derived from  $^{+}\check{s}-m-\emptyset$  or  $^{+}\check{s}-m-y$ . Two potential repair mechanisms could be applied. One would be to extend the final /y/ root to the whole present paradigm, bringing it into line with other inflections. This, in fact, is what happened with the verb  $^{+}zadə$  I 'to fear', which is historically final \*\* (\**z-d-*') but is now treated as final /y/ in all inflections including the present. The other strategy would be to change to a stem + affix system of inflection, which does not entail the existence of underlying abstract roots. It appears that this latter repair mechanism has been applied to the paradigm of  $^{+}\check{s}ammə$ , which can be easily processed as stem ( $^{+}\check{s}amm-$ ) + affix, but can only be accommodated into a root and template model by assuming the proliferation of innovative roots ( $^{+}\check{s}-m-\emptyset$ , *š-mm-y*).

In a similar manner, faithfulness to the historical root in progressive forms such as  $^{+}bixala$  (< \**y-x-l*) and  $^{+}bəššaša$  (< \**š-č-š*) results in opacity of the identity of the root in a root and template system. A possible repair mechanism would be to reanalyse the forms as the output of a stem and affix system. This, indeed,

is what seems to have happened. It was argued above that there are grounds for interpreting the progressive as a stem rather than the result of the merger of a root and pattern in a variety of other verbs, including the contracted forms such as *praka* (< *bəpraka*) and irregular forms such as *jəxca* etc. The contracted forms such as *praka*, which have undergone a phonetic process, produce opacity of the morphological template rather than the root. Reanalysis of the form as a stem rather than the output of a root and template system would again be a repair mechanism for opacity. A progressive form such as *jəxca*, which has an irregular structure, is clearly a stem rather than the output of a root and template process, but in this case there is no need for a repair mechanism. The regular form *bəjxaca*, which in fact is available as an alternative, does not create opacity of either root or template in a root and template system. Rather the substitution of the regular form by *jəxca* is a reflection of the reanalysis of the progressive in general as a stem. The suppletive substitution was facilitated, no doubt, by the high frequency of use of the verb.

The prerequisite for the reanalysis of a paradigm as stem-based rather than root-based is that the component of the lexical verb before the affixes of the person markers is invariable in form throughout the paradigm. This applies to the progressive and it is achieved in the paradigm of the present of verbs like *+šamma* by a repair mechanism.

Root opacity is a feature found in defective and irregular verbs (§ 4.14.), which are also among the most frequently used verbs in the language. An extreme case is that of the verb *matta* III ‘to place’ (§ 4.14.9.). In the section on this verb above, an attempt is made to identify the various possible underlying roots for the different inflections. The surface forms of some of the paradigms have been regularized by a repair mechanism, which makes the identification of roots even more opaque but, crucially, makes the identification of a paradigm stem more transparent, e.g.

(14) Present		Root?	Stem	+	Affix
3ms.	<i>máttə</i>	<i>m-tt-y</i>	<i>matt-</i>	-ə	
3fs.	<i>máttə</i>	<i>m-Øt-Ø</i>	<i>matt-</i>	-a	
3pl.	<i>mátti</i>	<i>m-Øt-Ø</i>	<i>matt-</i>	-i	
2ms.	<i>máttət</i>	<i>m-Øt-Ø</i>	<i>matt-</i>	-ət	
2fs.	<i>máttat</i>	<i>m-Øt-Ø</i>	<i>matt-</i>	-at	
2pl.	<i>mattítun</i>	<i>m-Øt-Ø</i>	<i>matt-</i>	-itun	
1ms.	<i>máttən</i>	<i>m-Øt-Ø</i>	<i>matt-</i>	-ən	
1fs.	<i>máttan</i>	<i>m-Øt-Ø</i>	<i>matt-</i>	-an	
1pl.	<i>máttax</i>	<i>m-Øt-Ø</i>	<i>matt-</i>	-ax	

	<b>Resultative participle</b>	<b>Root?</b>	<b>Stem</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>Affix</b>
ms.	<i>mútta</i>	<i>m-Øt-Ø</i>	<i>mutt-</i>		<i>-a</i>
fs.	<i>muttíta</i>	<i>m-tt-y</i>	<i>mutt-</i>		<i>-ita</i>
pl.	<i>mútta</i>	<i>m-Øt-Ø</i>	<i>mutt-</i>		<i>-ə</i>

By way of comparison, it is worth noting that other NENA dialects exhibit various other forms of paradigm regularization, which, likewise, obscure a root and template derivation. In the Jewish trans-Zab dialects, for example, the 3ms present of middle weak roots is formed by analogy with surface forms of the rest of the paradigm rather than by the application of the template for the 3ms present, e.g.

(15) Jewish Arbel

	<i>q-t-l</i> 'to kill'	<i>d-y-q</i> 'to crush'	Template
3ms	<i>qăṭəl</i>	<i>deq</i> (predicted <i>dayəq</i> )	CăCəC
3fs	<i>qăṭla</i>	<i>deqa</i> (< <i>dayqa</i> )	CaCCa
3pl	<i>qăṭli</i>	<i>deqi</i> (< <i>dayqi</i> )	CaCCi

The present paradigm of *d-y-q* in the Jewish Arbel dialect, therefore, is most easily processed as being based on a surface stem with the form *deq-*.

In sum, we see that in C. Urmi several of the verbal paradigms exhibit features that are problematic from the point of view of canonical root and template morphological derivation. In some cases where such opacity of root-identity exists it is possible that the paradigm is processed as one that is based on surface stems. There are particularly strong arguments for this with regard to the progressive forms and also in the present paradigm of some weak verbs. Stem-based derivation is the norm for nouns in C. Urmi and it seems that it has made inroads also into some areas of the verbal system. The existence of suprasegmental emphasis in verbal roots, furthermore, weakens the strictly non-concatenative nature of the root, and can be regarded as a concatenative property, making the root quasi-concatenative. A factor that may have been operative in this process of change is the contact of C. Urmi with neighbouring non-Semitic languages that have a stem and affix type of morphology. This applies in particular to Azeri Turkish, which is rigorously agglutinative in its typology.

It should be noted, however, that if some of the verbal forms exhibit stem-like properties, there are constraints on the form of such putative stems. In general all forms in verbal paradigms still must have a shape that could in principle

be derived from a root with three radical slots. The verbal morphology of the dialect has not developed so far towards a stem and affix typology that it allows integrating the stem of borrowed verbs into the inflectional paradigms without adaptation, unlike, for example, Maltese, where forms such as *iddownlowdja* 'he downloaded' (from English *download*) and *irrakkomanda* 'he recommended' (from Italian *raccomandare*) are possible (Hoberman and Aronoff 2003; Rubin 2010, 44). All borrowed verbs in C. Urmi undergo morphological adaptation such that their inflected forms can be interpreted as being based on three radical slots.

#### 4.16 Pronominal Direct Objects on Present Template Verbs

The pronominal direct object of verbs derived from the present template (<sup>+</sup>*kat̪əl*) is expressed by L-suffixes.

3ms. verb with direct pronominal objects

3ms.	<sup>+</sup> <i>kat̪əllə</i>	'He kills him'
3fs.	<sup>+</sup> <i>kat̪əlla</i>	'He kills her'
3pl.	<sup>+</sup> <i>kat̪əllun</i>	'He kills them', etc.
2ms.	<sup>+</sup> <i>kat̪əllux</i>	
2fs.	<sup>+</sup> <i>kat̪əllax</i>	
2pl.	<sup>+</sup> <i>kat̪əlloxun</i>	
1s.	<sup>+</sup> <i>kat̪əlli</i>	
1pl.	<sup>+</sup> <i>kat̪əllan</i>	

In accordance with the rules of stress placement (§ 1.18.4.), the stress falls on the verbal base throughout this paradigm, including when the base has the 2pl. L-suffix *-loxun*, which consists of two syllables.

The /l/ of the L-suffix is optionally assimilated to a final /n/ and regularly assimilated to a final /r/ of the verbal root:

<i>zabónla</i> ~ <i>zabónna</i>	'He sells it'
<sup>+</sup> <i>šadórra</i>	'He sends it'

The /l/ of the suffix is optionally assimilated to the final /t/ or /n/ of the 1st and 2nd person inflectional suffixes, resulting in the gemination of these consonants.

Verb paradigm with 3ms. direct pronominal object

3ms.	<sup>+</sup> <i>katállə</i>	'He kills him'
3fs.	<sup>+</sup> <i>katlálsə</i>	'She kills him'
3pl.	<sup>+</sup> <i>katlílə</i>	'They kill him', etc.
2ms.	<sup>+</sup> <i>katlátlə</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>katláttə</i>	
2fs.	<sup>+</sup> <i>katlátlə</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>katláttə</i>	
2pl.	<sup>+</sup> <i>katlítunlə</i>	
1ms.	<sup>+</sup> <i>katlánlə</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>katlánnə</i>	
1fs.	<sup>+</sup> <i>katlánlə</i> ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>katlánnə</i>	
1pl.	<sup>+</sup> <i>katláxlə</i>	

When L-suffixes are added to final /y/ and final /Ø/ verbs, the distinction between the 3ms and 3pl. is levelled, in that both have the vowel /i/ before the suffixes:

3ms.	<i>xazílə</i>	'He sees him'
3fs.	<i>xazyálə</i>	'She sees him'
3pl.	<i>xazílə</i>	'They see him', etc.
2ms.	<i>xazátlə</i>	
2fs.	<i>xazyátlə</i>	
2pl.	<i>xazítunlə</i>	
1ms.	<i>xazánlə</i>	
1fs.	<i>xazyánlə</i>	
1pl.	<i>xazáxlə</i>	
3ms.	<sup>+</sup> <i>šammílə</i>	'He hears him'
3fs.	<sup>+</sup> <i>šammálə</i>	'She hears him'
3pl.	<sup>+</sup> <i>šammílə</i>	'They hear him'

#### 4.17 Pronominal Direct Objects on Past Template Verbs

The pronominal object of verbs derived from the past template (<sup>+</sup>*ktil-*) may be expressed in one of two ways, by the inflection of the verbal template by S-suffixes or by an independent prepositional phrase.

##### 4.17.1 Inflection by S-Suffixes (Ergative)

The use of S-suffixes to express the object is a feature that is characteristic of ergative alignment (§ 4.3.5.). As indicated in § 4.3.5., in principle, such suffixes

may be used to express a pronominal object of any person. In practice, however, speakers tend to prefer the expression of the 1st and 2nd person objects by independent prepositional phrases.

Verbs from roots ending in a strong consonant

### Object

3ms.	<i>+ktál-lə</i>	'He killed him'
3fs.	<i>+ktilá-lə</i>	'He killed her'
3pl.	<i>+ktilé-lə</i>	'He killed them'
2ms.	<i>+ktilát-lə</i>	'He killed you (ms.)'
2fs.	<i>+ktilát-lə</i>	'He killed you (fs.)'
2pl.	<i>+ktilítun-lə</i>	'He killed you (pl.)'
1ms.	<i>+ktilán-lə</i>	'He killed me (m.)'
1fs.	<i>+ktilán-lə</i>	'He killed me (f.)'
1pl.	<i>+ktiláx-lə</i>	'He killed us'

Verbs from final /y/ roots

3ms.	<i>xzí-lə</i>	'He saw him'
3fs.	<i>xəzyá-lə</i>	'He saw her'
3pl.	<i>xəzyé-lə</i>	'He saw them'
2ms.	<i>xəzyát-lə</i>	'He saw you (ms.)'
2fs.	<i>xəzyát-lə</i>	'He saw you (fs.)'
2pl.	<i>xəzyítun-lə</i>	'He saw you (pl.)'
1ms.	<i>xəzyán-lə</i>	'He saw me (m.)'
1fs.	<i>xəzyán-lə</i>	'He saw me (f.)'
1pl.	<i>xəzyáx-lə</i>	'He saw us'

In both paradigms the inflectional S-suffixes have an identical form. The 3pl. suffix -e differs from the form of the 3pl. S-suffix that is used in the inflection of the present template, viz. -i.

#### 4.17.2 *Independent Prepositional Phrase*

A pronominal object of a past template verb can be expressed by an independent prepositional phrase consisting of the preposition *ka-*, which also serves to express a dative relation (§ 11.4.). This is freely used with objects of all persons. There are variant forms of the pronominal prepositional phrases with *ka*:

3ms.	<sup>+</sup> ktállə kátu / ka-díyyu / ka- <sup>+</sup> dáv	'He killed him'
3fs.	<sup>+</sup> ktállə kátó / ka-díyyo / ka-dáy	'He killed her'
3pl.	<sup>+</sup> ktállə katé / ka-díyyé / ka-dáni	'He killed them'
2ms.	<sup>+</sup> ktállə kátux / ka-díyyux	'He killed you (ms.)'
2fs.	<sup>+</sup> ktállə kátax / ka-díyyax	'He killed you (fs.)'
2pl.	<sup>+</sup> ktállə katóxun / ka-díyyóxun	'He killed you (pl.)'
1s.	<sup>+</sup> ktállə káti / ka-díyyi	'He killed me'
1pl.	<sup>+</sup> ktállə kátan / ka-díyyan	'He killed us'

Educated speakers occasionally use prepositional phrases consisting of the preposition *'əl-* to express the object, e.g. <sup>+</sup>ktállə 'állu 'He killed him'. This appears to be a borrowing from the literary language, in which this preposition is regularly used to mark direct objects. In the spoken language phrases with the preposition *ka-* are the norm. Moreover the preposition *'əl-* has merged with *+al-* in the spoken language.

Independent pronominal object phrases are moveable and may be placed before the verb:

*katu* <sup>+</sup>ktállə ~ <sup>+</sup>ktállə *katu* 'He killed him'

The expression of a direct pronominal object by a *ka*-phrase is avoided with verbs that express a dative action. With such verbs a *ka*-phrase normally expresses only the dative object, whereas an S-suffix on the verbal base can express either the direct or dative object:

*yuvválla kato* 'He gave to her' / \*'He gave her (direct object)'  
*yuvvála* 'He gave her (direct object or dative object)'

#### 4.18 Pronominal Direct Objects on Imperatives

On imperatives the pronominal object is expressed by L-suffixes. The /l/ of the L-suffix is assimilated to the final /n/ of the plural inflection. In general the stress remains on the first syllable in both singular and plural forms.

Pattern I verbs

sing.	<sup>+</sup> ktúlle	'Kill him!'
plural	<sup>+</sup> ktúlunna	'Kill him!'

### Pattern II verbs

- sing.    *+páxəllə*    'Forgive him'  
 plural    *+páxlunnə*    'Forgive him'

### Quadrilateral verbs

- sing.    *mádməxələ*    'Put him to sleep'  
 plural    *mádməxxunnə*    'Put him to sleep'

Occasionally the /n/ of the plural inflectional suffix assimilates to the /l/ of the L-suffix, e.g. *kàlpulla!* 'peal it' (<*kalpun + lə* A 35:17)

When the final radical of the verb is /n/, the /l/ of the L-suffix optionally assimilates to this in the singular imperative:

*zábənlə ~ zábənnə*    'Sell it!'

When the final radical is /r/, there is regular assimilation of the /l/ of the L-suffix:

*+šádərrə*    'Send it!'

### 4.19 Pronominal Direct Objects on Compound Verbal Forms

Compound verb forms consisting of a resultative participle or progressive stem combined with the copula or the verb *'avə* express a pronominal direct object by the paradigm of pronominal genitive suffixes that is attached to nouns and prepositions. The genitive suffix is placed directly on the participle or progressive stem before an enclitic copula. When an enclitic copula is attached, the stress remains on the penultimate syllable of the phrase consisting of the participle/progressive stem and bound genitive suffix, e.g.

Near deictic copula:    *dúlə +<sup>k</sup>tlíl-o*    'He has killed her'

Far deictic copula:    *véle +<sup>k</sup>tlíl-o*

Enclitic copula:    *+<sup>k</sup>tlíl-o-lə*

#### 4.19.1 Compounds with the Resultative Participle

##### 4.19.1.1 Present Perfect

Full verb paradigm with enclitic copula and 3ms. object. Contracted forms of the copula (§ 3.1.) are frequently used:

3ms.	$+ktílulə$	'He has killed him'
3fs.	$+któltula$	'She has killed him'
3pl.	$+ktíluna$	'They have killed him'
2ms.	$+ktíluvət \sim +ktílут$	'You (ms.) have killed him'
2fs.	$+ktáltuvat \sim +któltut$	'You (fs.) have killed him'
2pl.	$+ktílutun$	'You (pl.) have killed him'
1ms.	$+ktíluvən \sim +ktílun$	'I (m.) have killed him'
1fs.	$+ktáltuvan \sim +któltun$	'I (f.) have killed him'
1pl.	$+ktíluvəx \sim +ktílux$	'We have killed him'

3ms. verb with full object suffix paradigm

3ms.	$+ktílulə$	'He has killed him'
3fs.	$+ktílolə$	'He has killed her'
3pl.	$+ktílélə$	'He has killed them'
2ms.	$+ktílux-ilə \sim +ktílux=ilə$	'He has killed you (ms.)'
2fs.	$+ktílxax-ilə \sim +ktílxax=ilə$	'He has killed you (fs.)'
2pl.	$+ktílóxun-ilə \sim +ktílóxun=ilə$	'He has killed you (pl.)'
1s.	$+ktílilə$	'He has killed me'
1pl.	$+ktílan-ilə \sim +ktílan=ilə$	'He has killed us'

##### 4.19.1.2 Past Perfect

Pronominal direct objects on the compound past perfect are, likewise, expressed by placing genitive suffixes on the participle before the copula.

Full verb paradigm with 3ms. object

3ms.	$+ktíluva$	'He had killed him'
3fs.	$+któltuva$	'She had killed him'
3pl.	$+ktíluva$	'They had killed him'
2ms.	$+ktílutva$	'You (ms.) had killed him'
2fs.	$+ktáltutva$	'You (fs.) had killed him'
2pl.	$+ktílutənva$	'You (pl.) had killed him'
1ms.	$+ktílunva$	'I (m.) had killed him'
1fs.	$+ktáltunva$	'I (f.) had killed him'
1pl.	$+ktíluxva$	'We had killed him'

## 3ms. verb with full object suffix paradigm

3ms.	<sup>+</sup> ktíluva	'He had killed him'
3fs.	<sup>+</sup> ktílova	'He had killed her'
3pl.	<sup>+</sup> ktiléva	'He had killed them'
2ms.	<sup>+</sup> ktílux=iva ~ <sup>+</sup> ktílux=va	'He had killed you (ms.)'
2fs.	<sup>+</sup> ktílax=iva ~ <sup>+</sup> ktílux=va	'He had killed you (fs.)'
2pl.	<sup>+</sup> ktilóxun=iva ~ <sup>+</sup> ktilóxun=va	'He had killed you (pl.)'
1s.	<sup>+</sup> ktíliva	'He had killed me'
1pl.	<sup>+</sup> ktílan=iva ~ <sup>+</sup> ktílan=va	'He had killed us'

## 4.19.1.3 Irrealis Perfect

3ms.	ávə <sup>+</sup> ktílu	'He may have killed him'
3fs.	óya <sup>+</sup> ktáltu	'She may have killed him'
3pl.	ávi <sup>+</sup> ktílu	'They may have killed him', etc.
2ms.	ávat <sup>+</sup> ktílu	
2fs.	óyat <sup>+</sup> ktálta	
2pl.	ávitun <sup>+</sup> ktílu	
1ms.	ávən <sup>+</sup> ktílu	
1fs.	óyan <sup>+</sup> ktálta	
1pl.	ávax <sup>+</sup> ktílu	

## 4.19.2 Compounds with the Progressive Stem

## 4.19.2.1 Present Progressive

## Full verb paradigm with 3ms. object

3ms.	<sup>+</sup> bəktálulə	'He is killing him'
3fs.	<sup>+</sup> bəktálula	'She is killing him'
3pl.	<sup>+</sup> bəktáluna	'They are killing him'
2ms.	<sup>+</sup> bəktáluvət ~ <sup>+</sup> bəktálut	'You (ms.) are killing him'
2fs.	<sup>+</sup> bəktáluvat ~ <sup>+</sup> bəktálut	'You (fs.) are killing him'
2pl.	<sup>+</sup> bəktálutun	'You (pl.) are killing him'
1ms.	<sup>+</sup> bəktáluvən ~ <sup>+</sup> bəktálun	'I (m.) am killing him'
1fs.	<sup>+</sup> bəktáluvan ~ <sup>+</sup> bəktálun	'I (f.) am killing him'
1pl.	<sup>+</sup> bəktáluvəx ~ <sup>+</sup> bəktálux	'We are killing him'

## 3ms. verb with full object suffix paradigm

3ms.	<i>+bəktálulə</i>	'He is killing him'
3fs.	<i>+bəktálola</i>	'He is killing her'
3pl.	<i>+bəktaléla</i>	'He is killing them'
2ms.	<i>+bəktálux-ilə ~ +bəktálux-lə</i>	'He is killing you (ms.)'
2fs.	<i>+bəktálax-ilə ~ +bəktálax-lə</i>	'He is killing you (fs.)'
2pl.	<i>+bəktalóxun-ilə ~ +bəktalóxun-lə</i>	'He is killing you (pl.)'
1s.	<i>+bəktálilə</i>	'He is killing me'
1pl.	<i>+bəktálan-ilə ~ +bəktálan-lə</i>	'He is killing us'

## 4.19.2.2 Past Progressive

## Full verb paradigm with 3ms. object

3ms.	<i>+bəktáluva</i>	'He was killing him'
3fs.	<i>+bəktáluva</i>	'She was killing him'
3pl.	<i>+bəktáluva</i>	'They were killing him'
2ms.	<i>+bəktálutva</i>	'You (ms.) were killing him'
2fs.	<i>+bəktálutva</i>	'You (fs.) were killing him'
2pl.	<i>+bəktálutunva</i>	'You (pl.) were killing him'
1ms.	<i>+bəktálunva</i>	'I (m.) was killing him'
1fs.	<i>+bəktálunva</i>	'I (f.) was killing him'
1pl.	<i>+bəktáluxva</i>	'We were killing him'

## 3ms. verb with full object suffix paradigm

3ms.	<i>+bəktáluva</i>	'He was killing him'
3fs.	<i>+bəktálova</i>	'He was killing her'
3pl.	<i>+bəktaléva</i>	'He was killing them'
2ms.	<i>+bəktálux-iva ~ +bəktálux-və</i>	'He was killing you (ms.)'
2fs.	<i>+bəktálax-iva ~ +bəktálax-və</i>	'He was killing you (fs.)'
2pl.	<i>+bəktalóxun-iva ~ +bəktalóxun-və</i>	'He was killing you (pl.)'
1s.	<i>+bəktáliva</i>	'He was killing me'
1pl.	<i>+bəktálan-iva ~ +bəktálan-və</i>	'He was killing us'

## 4.20 Pronominal Indirect Objects

### 4.20.1 Present Template Verbs

The pronominal indirect object on present template verbs that expresses a dative relation may be expressed either by L-suffixes or by independent prepositional phrases consisting of the prepositions *ka*-:

- yavvállə* 'He gives to him'  
*yávvəl kátu* 'He gives to him'

### 4.20.2 Past Template Verbs

The indirect pronominal object of past template verbs is expressed by independent prepositional phrases consisting of the prepositions *ka*-:

- yuvvállə kátu* 'He gave to him'

The indirect object may also be expressed by S-suffixes on the past template. This construction is used when the clause has no direct object or an indefinite direct object:

- miráli* 'I said to her'  
*yuvváli +rába məndiyána* 'I gave her many things'  
*várda myuyánla* 'He brought me (f.) flowers'  
*+šudrálə xa-ctava* 'He sent me a book'

If the clause has a definite direct object, the S-suffix on the past template would be interpreted as agreeing with the direct object rather than referring to a dative object, e.g.

- +šudrálə 'e-júpta* 'He sent that cheese'

This can be expressed by the following selection hierarchy:

- S-suffix ACC > DAT  
*ka*-phrase DAT > ACC

### 4.20.3 Imperatives

The pronominal indirect object on imperative verbs may be expressed either by L-suffixes or by independent prepositional phrases consisting of the preposition *ka*-:

- hállə!* ‘Give him!’  
*hál kátu!* ‘Give to him!’

#### 4.20.4 Compound Verbal Forms

Compound constructions consisting of a resultative participle or a progressive stem combined with the copula or verb *'avə* express a dative pronominal object by an independent *ka*-phrase:

##### Present Perfect

- 3ms. *yúvvələ kátu* ‘He has given to him’  
 3fs. *yuvváltəla kátu* ‘She has given to him’  
 3pl. *yúvvəna kátu* ‘They have given to him’

##### Present Progressive

- 3ms. *yávələ kátu* ‘He is giving to him’  
 3fs. *yávələ kátu* ‘She is giving to him’  
 3pl. *yávəna kátu* ‘They are giving to him’

If the clause has no direct object or an indefinite direct object, the indirect object may alternatively be expressed by a genitive pronominal suffix attached to the participle or progressive stem:

##### Present Perfect

*yúvvvolə xa-ctava* ‘He has given her a book’

##### Present Progressive

*yávvolə xa-ctava* ‘He is giving her a book’

#### 4.21 Combination of Direct and Indirect Object Pronominal Suffixes

When both the direct and the indirect object are pronominal, the normal constructions with the various verbal forms are as follows.

#### 4.21.1 *Present Template Verbs*

The direct object is expressed by an L-suffix and the indirect object by a *ka*-phrase:

*yavvóllo kátu* ‘He gives it (m.) to him’

#### 4.21.2 *Past Template Verbs*

The direct object is expressed by an S-suffix on the past template and the indirect object by a *ka*-phrase:

*yuvválə káti* ‘He gave it (f.) to me’

*yuvvánnun kátu* ‘They gave me (f.) to him’

In such cases where a *ka*-phrase expresses an indirect object, the direct object is not expressed by a *ka*-phrase:

\**yuvvällun káti kátu* ‘They gave me to him’

#### 4.21.3 *Imperatives*

The direct object is expressed by an L-suffix and the indirect object by a *ka*-phrase:

*hállə káti* ‘Give it (m.) to me!’

#### 4.21.4 *Compound Verbal Forms*

The direct object is expressed by a genitive pronominal suffix and the indirect object by a *ka*-phrase:

*yúvvulə káti* ‘He has given it (m.) to me’

*yávula káti* ‘He is giving it (m.) to me’

### 4.22 Comparative Excursus on Compound Verbal Forms

The enclitic copula element in compound verbal forms in C. Urmi is not indissolubly fixed in its position after the participle or progressive stem. It may optionally be moved from this position and placed on another element in the clause that expresses some kind of prominence. The copula may be moved, for example, onto an interrogative particle:

*mù vádəvət?* ~ *mù=ivət váda?* ‘What are you doing?’

Some NENA dialects, such as C. Barwar, exhibit a more regular movement of the copula onto a prominent constituent, including not only interrogative particles but also items in contrastive focus (Khan 2008b, 634–635), e.g.

#### C. Barwar

*'ati-t gráša!* ‘You (not me) are pulling’  
*mòdi-t wáða?* ‘What are you doing?’

In C. Urmī the copula is not normally moved onto an item in contrastive focus:

*'at +bəfrášəvət!* ‘You (not me) are pulling’

In both C. Urmī and dialects such as C. Barwar the copula is regularly moved onto the negative particle:

#### C. Urmī

*lélə +bəfráša!* ‘He is not pulling’

#### C. Barwar

*lélə gráša!* ‘He is not pulling’

Some NENA dialects reflect a greater degree of bonding of the copula enclitic in that it cannot be moved in any circumstances. This is the case, for example, with the J. Urmī dialect (Khan 2008a, 146), e.g.

*àt garošét!* ‘You are pulling’  
*mà garošét?* ‘What are you pulling?’  
*lá garošèt!* ‘You are not pulling’

With regard to freedom of movement, therefore, C. Urmī exhibits a typology intermediate between dialects such as C. Barwar, in which movement is regular, and J. Urmī, in which movement is not possible.

There are typological differences across the dialects also in the expression of the pronominal object of the compound constructions. In C. Urmī the pronominal object is expressed by a type of genitive pronominal suffix that is

attached to nouns rather than a type that is attached to other verbal forms. This is found also in numerous other Christian dialects, e.g.

C. Alqosh (Coghill 2003, 181)

*bəθəħ* ‘his house’  
*wole b-grašəħ* ‘He is pulling him’

C. Sāt (Mutzafi 2008a)

*baytew* ‘his house’  
*haydole xəzyəw* ‘He has seen him’

In some dialects the pronominal object of compound constructions is expressed in the same way as it is expressed in verbal forms, namely by pronominal suffixes consisting of the prepositional element *l-*. Within this group of dialects there are differences in the positioning of the object suffixes, which reflect different degrees of bonding of the copula enclitic to the participle or progressive stem. In some dialects, such as C. Ashitha, the object suffix is placed before the copula suffix:

C. Ashitha (Borghero 2006, 114)

*grašəllele* (= *graša-əlla-ile*) ‘He is pulling her’

In C. Barwar the object suffix is generally placed after the copula element, though this position is not completely fixed and it is sporadically placed before the copula, as in C. Ashitha (Khan 2008b, 286–287):

C. Barwar

*grašəlla* (= *graša-ile-la*) ‘He is pulling her’  
*grašəllele* (= *graša-əlla-ile*)

In J. Urmī, which exhibits a greater degree of bonding of the copula enclitic, the pronominal object suffixes are obligatorily placed after it:

J. Urmi

- garošella* (= *garoše-la*) ‘He is pulling her’  
*garošalle* (= *garoša-le*) ‘She is pulling him’

With regard to the marking of pronominal objects, therefore, C. Urmi should be classified with dialects that exhibit a nominal typology with genitive suffixes rather than those that exhibit a verbal typology with verbal suffixes.

#### 4.23 The Existential Particle

##### 4.23.1 Positive

The positive existential particle exists in variant forms:

###### Short form Long form

'ət	'áttən, 'ítən	‘There is/are’
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The short /ə/ of the form *'ət* has developed from an originally long /i/ in a closed syllable. When the form was expanded by the suffix *-ən*, in one of the variants, which is prevalent in the Urmi region, the short /ə/ of the base form was retained and the following consonant was geminated, in accordance with the usual rule with regard to short vowels in open syllables. The historical long vowel occurs in the variant form *'ítən*, which is prevalent in the Caucasus.

A past form of the particle is formed by attaching the past converter suffix *-va*:

'ətva	‘There was/were’
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##### 4.23.2 Negative

The present negative particle has short and long variants, as is the case with the positive form:

###### Short form Long form

<i>lət, lít</i>	<i>láttən, lítən</i>	‘There is/are not’
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The variants *lít* and *litən*, with a long medial vowel, occur sporadically in the Urmi region, e.g. *lít* | ‘it is not (to be found)’ (A 29:1), *báxtux litən* | ‘your wife is missing’ (A 1:30). They are used more frequently in the Caucasus.

The past form is:

*lətva* ‘There was/were not’

#### 4.24 Possessive Constructions

Possessive constructions are formed by combining the existential particles with the L-suffixes:

'ətlə	‘He has’
<i>lətlə</i>	‘He has not’
'ətvalə	‘He had’
<i>lətvalə</i>	‘He had not’

In certain contexts the existential particle in these constructions is replaced by a form of the verb *'avə* i ‘to be’. In compound verbs consisting of the resultative participle *víyya* or the progressive stem *vaya*, the pronominal possessor is expressed by a genitive suffix before a copula, e.g.

*víyyan-ilə* ‘we had’  
*vayan-ilə* ‘we have’

In the attested examples in the text corpus the copula is 3ms.:

- (1) *ctávə 'atíkə=zə kət-víyyan-lə| bərráxšəna cílla bəxzayèna.* ‘They go and see all the old books that we have.’ (B 2:15)
- (2) *bərráxšəna 'albáttá bətfákəna b-cmá 'apəskúpa kət-vàyan-lə,| +árþa xamšá 'apəskúpa.* ‘They go and, of course, meet some of the bishops that we have (during that time), four or five bishops.’ (B 2:14)

When the perfective form of *'avə* i is used, the *ptəxlə* verb form has a 3fs. L-suffix and this is combined with another L-suffix expressing the possessor, e.g.

- (3) *vilálan xámša yàlə.* ‘We had five children.’ (*vi-la-lan*)

## 4.25 General Remarks on the Verbal Patterns

In this section we shall examine the various functions of the verbal patterns. The basic insights of Doron (2003; 2008) with regard to the function of the verbal patterns in the Hebrew verbal system apply to their equivalent patterns in C. Urmî. The derived, morphologically marked, patterns II and III (equivalent to the Hebrew *pi'el* and *hif'il* respectively) have a systematic meaning when they contrast with a verb of the same root in pattern I. In such cases pattern II expresses the subject's role as agent and pattern III as its cause. The agent is the active initiator of an event, typically a human, who is closely involved with it. The cause is not necessarily so closely involved in the event and can be remote from it and bring about the event indirectly. It does not necessarily put so much energy into its initiation and can, unlike an agent, be inanimate (e.g. the wind) or abstract (e.g. old age). The basic pattern I is semantically unmarked. It functions as a default and is neutral as to the subject's role. When there is no such contrast and a verbal root occurs, for example, only in pattern II or only in pattern III, then the derived stem patterns do not necessarily express such a clear-cut semantic role of the subject.

### 4.25.1 Pattern I Verbs

As remarked, this is semantically unmarked as to the semantic role of the grammatical subject. Verbs in pattern I, therefore, express a variety of semantic roles. The following types can be identified.

#### 4.25.1.1 Intransitive Unaccusative

The subject is presented as the affectee of the event expressed by the verb and does not actively initiate it. The affectee subject undergoes a change of state and is equivalent semantically to the object (accusative) of a transitive verb. A feature of verbs of this category is that they do not grammatically encode an agent or cause but rather are encoded as spontaneous, or 'inchoative' according to the terminology of Haspelmath (1993), e.g.

<i>baləs</i> I	'to bruise'
<i>barəz</i> I	'to become dry'
<i>bašəl</i> I	'to cook (intr.)'
<i>basəm</i> I	'to recover (from an illness)'
<i>capən</i> I	'to become hungry'
<i>carəv</i> I	'to become angry'
<i>cayəm</i> I	'to become black'
<i>davək</i> I	'to become blocked'

- našəp* I ‘to drain off’  
*naxəp* I ‘to become ashamed’  
*þaçəx* I ‘to blossom’  
*pašər* I ‘to melt (intr.)’  
*patəx* I ‘to open (intr.)’  
*sakal* I ‘to become beautiful’  
*samək* I ‘to become red’  
*talək* I ‘to become lost, perish’  
*tavən* I ‘to become numb’  
*xamək* I ‘to become rotten’  
*xanək* I ‘to drown’  
*xarəp* I ‘to become sharp’  
*xarəv* I ‘to become putrid’  
*xarəx* I ‘to singe’  
<sup>+č</sup>*čaləp* I ‘to split’  
<sup>+č</sup>*čaməč* I ‘to wither’  
<sup>+č</sup>*kattə* I ‘to be cut off’  
<sup>+č</sup>*pačəl* I ‘to become crooked’  
<sup>+č</sup>*radəx* I ‘to boil’  
<sup>+č</sup>*šamət* I ‘to break (intr.)’  
<sup>+č</sup>*tarəs* I ‘to be mended’  
<sup>+č</sup>*tarəs* I ‘to become fat’  
<sup>+č</sup>*xaməs* I ‘to become sour’  
<sup>+č</sup>*xasər* I ‘to diminish’  
<sup>+č</sup>*xavər* I ‘to become white’

The resultative participle of such verbs denote a time-stable resultant property of the affectee and can generally be used adjectivally, e.g.

- <sup>+č</sup>*xəttə brızəna* ‘The wheat is dry’  
<sup>+č</sup>*xəttə briza* ‘dry wheat’

- <sup>+č</sup>*tárra ptixələ* ‘The door is open’  
<sup>+č</sup>*tarra ptixa* ‘an open door’

- <sup>+č</sup>*áklu þčəltəla* ‘His leg is crooked’  
<sup>+č</sup>*akla þčəlta* ‘a crooked leg’

- míyya* <sup>+č</sup>*rdixəna* ‘The water is boiling’  
<sup>+č</sup>*míyya rdixə* ‘boiling water’

- 'o-náša +trisələ|* ‘That man is fat’  
*naša +trisa* ‘a fat man’

- bíyyə xriwəna|* ‘The eggs have gone off’  
*bíyyə xriwə* ‘rotten eggs’

In some cases a different adjectival pattern is used, especially where a permanent property is intended, rather than one that has resulted from a specific event, e.g. *baruyza* ‘dry’, *+xamuysa* ‘sour’, *+xvara* ‘white’.

This category also includes verbs of movement, which express a change in relational state, i.e. a change in the relation of the affectee to something else, e.g.

- 'atə I* ‘to come’  
*'azəl I* ‘to go’  
*calə I* ‘to stand, to stop’  
*napəl I* ‘to fall’  
*yatəv I* ‘to sit’  
*+palət I* ‘to go out’  
*+ṭabbə I* ‘to sink (into water)’  
*+ṭamər I* ‘to sink (into the ground)’

The resultative participles of these verbs, which do not express a time-stable change in the inherent property of the affectee but rather a change in location, are generally not used adjectivally. This is because adjectives tend not to be locational but rather configurational. Being ‘somewhere’ is not lexicalized as much as ‘being something’. An adjectival function of the participle is used when the verb denotes a change in configurational posture as well as position, e.g.

- 'avvó náša tivələ|* ‘That man is sitting’  
*naša tiva* ‘A sitting man’

Several intransitive unaccusative verbs of pattern I are labile, in that they can also be used transitively without changing their morphological form. Labile verbs include the following

- baləs I* ‘to bruise’  
*čarət I* ‘to fire (a gun)’  
*davək I* ‘to block/be blocked’  
*davor I* ‘to close’

<i>malə</i> I	'to fill'
<i>parəm</i> I	'to slaughter/be slaughtered'
<i>patəx</i> I	'to open'
<i>šalək</i> I	'to cook by boiling (tr. and intr.)'
<i>taləx</i> I	'to destroy/be destroyed'
<i>xanək</i> I	'to drown'
<i>xarək</i> I	'to wreck'
<i>xarəx</i> I	'to singe'
<i>xayəc</i> I	'to rub/to itch'
+ <i>čaləp</i> I	'to split'
+ <i>čayəm</i> I	'to close'
+ <i>kattə</i> I	'to cut off/be cut off'
+ <i>nayəs</i> I	'to bite/be bitten'
+ <i>pətəx</i> I	'to flatten/be flattened'
+ <i>šamət</i> I	'to break'
+ <i>zalla</i> I	'to crack'

Examples:

+ <i>tárra ptəxlə</i>	'The door opened' (unaccusative)
<i>póxa +tárra ptəxlə</i>	'The wind opened the door' (causative)
<i>cípa +šmətlə</i>	'The stone broke' (unaccusative)
<i>čácuč cípa +šmətlə</i>	'The hammer broke the stone' (causative)
+ <i>súppi bləsla</i>	'My finger bruised' (unaccusative)
<i>cípa +súppi blisələ</i>	'The stone bruised my finger' (causative)
<i>jámi xrəkla</i>	'The ship was wrecked' (unaccusative)
+ <i>buran jámi xərkəla</i>	'The storm wrecked the ship' (causative)
+ <i>mástu xrəxla</i>	'His hair singed' (unaccusative)
<i>núyra +mástu xrixələ</i>	'The fire singed his hair' (causative)
<i>napásu +ktılə</i>	'His breath was cut off' (unaccusative)
+ <i>xola napásu +kətyələ</i>	'The rope cut off his breath' (causative)
<i>'urxátə dvəklun</i>	'The roads were blocked' (unaccusative)
<i>tálja 'urxátə dvikılə</i>	'The snow blocked the roads' (causative)

<i>béta tlàxlə </i>	'The house collapsed' (unaccusative)
<i>tlóxlux bëta </i>	'You destroyed the house' (causative)

<i>túp čròtla </i>	'The gun went off' (unaccusative)
<i>túp čritàlə </i>	'He fired the gun' (causative)

Labile verbs of this type are sometimes classified as 'lexical causatives', in that they express a causative without any morphological process, such as affixation or change of pattern. Rather a single lexeme is used in either a causative or a non-causative function (Dixon 2000, 38). Another type of lexical causative is when there are two unrelated lexical items that appear to be in a causative relation. One example is *mayət* i 'to die' and *+katəl* i 'to kill', which may be considered to be the causative *mayət* i, just as there is a causative relationship between *die* and *kill* in English.

Causatives are regarded by some linguists as expressing complex events that can be decomposed into a causing microevent and a caused microevent with a dependency relationship between the two (Shibatani 1976; Comrie 1981, 158–177; Kulikov 2001; Song 2006). The semantic structure of causatives can be represented as follows (Van Valin 2006):<sup>3</sup>

CAUSE (x, [EVENT (y, (z))])

where x is the subject of the causative verb, y and z are participants in the caused event. There may be different numbers of participants in the caused event according to the lexical verb. Participant y corresponds to the subject of the non-causative verb and participant z corresponds to its object. The intransitive and transitive alternants of labile verbs would be represented in this formalism as follows:

<i>patəx</i> i (intr.)	OPEN (y)
<i>patəx</i> i (tr.)	CAUSE (x[OPEN (y)])

Dixon (2000, 30) prefers to characterize a causative as an increase in valency involving 'the specification of an additional argument, a causer, onto a basic clause'.

The events expressed by the intransitive alternants of labile verbs result in a change of configurational state that is conceptualized as typically com-

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<sup>3</sup> This formalism derives ultimately from the decompositional system of Dowty (1979).

ing about through the direct involvement of an external cause, i.e. the transitive form can be regarded as the primary one. In the intransitive alternants, nevertheless, the event is presented as spontaneous or an event with a de-emphasized external cause. In either case the external cause is not grammatically encoded. When the event is not spontaneous but the agent is cognitively peripheral, the agent is typically non-specific and the verb refers to a generic or habitual situation, which increases the non-specificity of the agent, e.g.

- (1) *+bar-náša ... járəc +násni.* | 'A human being must be bitten.' (A 47:6, *+nayəs*  
I 'to bite')
- (2) *č-+dān 'atíva nášə,* | *+búsra parómva ju-màta.* | 'When people came, meat  
would be slaughtered.' (B 7:5)

The historical forebears of many of these intransitive alternants had the form of an anticausative T-stem (*'etpə'el*), i.e. a formally detransitivizing morphological pattern. Such T-stems have been lost in NENA.

Intransitive unaccusative verbs that are not labile include verbs expressing events that have an internal cause, although not grammatically encoded, e.g. *þaçəx* I 'to blossom', *+čaməč* I 'to wither', *+tarəs* I 'to become fat'<sup>4</sup> and verbs expressing events that are conceptualized as typically spontaneous, e.g. *barəz* I 'to become dry', *samək* I 'to become red', *pašər* I 'to melt'. Intransitive verbs of movement, which are generally considered to have unaccusative subjects (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995), are, likewise, never labile.

#### 4.25.1.2 Transitive Agentive

Such verbs express an activity and the subject is its agent, i.e. its active initiator, typically a human, and the activity has a patient that is affected by the event. The degree to which the patient is affected depends on the nature of the activity, e.g.

<i>kavər</i> I	'to bury'
<i>maxə</i> I	'to hit'
<i>taxən</i> I	'to grind (flour etc.)'
<i>xašəl</i> I	'to pulverize'
<i>+jarəš</i> I	'to pull'
<i>+katal</i> I	'to kill'

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4 For the notion of internal cause see Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, and Schäfer (2006).

<sup>+</sup>*marəč* I ‘to mash’

<sup>+</sup>*nayəs* I ‘to sting’

The agent initiates the event and is closely involved with it, so the event cannot be expressed as occurring without the agent unless a passive construction is used. A passive implies the involvement of an agent even if it is not expressed, e.g.

*taxána kámxa txənnəl* ‘The miller ground flour’

\**kámxa txənnəl* ‘The flour ground’

*taxána kámxa txìnələl* ‘The miller has ground flour’

\**kámxa txìnələl* ‘The flour has become ground’

Passive (implying an agent)

*kámxa pəšlə txìna* ‘The flour was ground’

*kámxa pišələ txìna* ‘The flour has become ground’

The resultant participle of such verbs can be used as an adjective of the patient noun of the activity only if it has been fundamentally affected and acquired a new time-stable property, which was the target of the activity, e.g.

*kámxa txìnələl* ‘The flour is ground’

*kamxa txina* ‘ground flour’

<sup>+</sup>*xáttə xšiləna* ‘The wheat is pulverized’

<sup>+</sup>*xəttə xšilə* ‘pulverized wheat’

When the activity affects the patient to a lesser extent and/or does not result in a time-stable change of configurational state relating to the activity of the verb, but only affects the patient temporarily and superficially, then the participle generally cannot be used adjectivally, e.g.

\**o-náša məxyələl* ‘The man is hit’

\**naša məxyə* ‘a hit man’

\**o-náša +nìsələl* ‘The man is stung’

\**naša +nisa* ‘a stung man’

\**o-náša +jrišələ|* ‘The man is pulled’

*\*naša +jriša* ‘a pulled man’

Constructions such as *o-náša +jrišələ|* can only be interpreted as an active perfect ‘The man has pulled’.

Some transitive agentive verbs are used without specifying a patient referent, e.g.

*tarək* I ‘to button’

*tarúkta trikàli.|* ‘I buttoned the button’

*járəc tárkət +spày.|* ‘You must button up well’

In such cases it should be assumed that the patient slot exists in the semantic structure but is left unspecified.

#### 4.25.1.3 Intransitive Agentive Unergative

A verb expressing an activity with an agentive subject who initiates it without an affected patient is termed unergative (Perlmutter 1978), e.g.

*barəc* I ‘to kneel’

*zamər* I ‘to sing’

*yalə* I ‘to lament, to wail’

The resultative participle cannot be used adjectively to qualify the subject argument of such verbs, since it is not an affectee of the action.

#### 4.25.1.4 Agentive Reflexive

In agentive reflexive verbs an agentive subject initiates the action and the affectee is the same referent as the subject. The reflexive affectee is inherent in the event and is not expressed by an independent object argument, e.g.

*xayəp* I ‘to wash’ *bábi xəplə|* ‘My father washed (himself)’

*lavəš* I ‘to dress’ *bábi lvəšlə|* ‘My father dressed (himself)’

The verb *xayəp* I ‘to wash’ may also be used as a regular transitive agentive, with an object argument expressing the affectee of the action, e.g.

*xəpli brùni|* ‘I washed my son’

Verbs of consumption such as *+axəl* I ‘to eat’ and *šatə* I ‘to drink’ exhibit a similar semantic structure, since the subject is the agent of the action and also its affectee, in that the agent is nourished by the food or drink that is consumed.

In some cases the resultative participle of agentive reflexive verbs can be used as adjectival qualifiers of the subject referent, e.g.

- +sarbáza šátyəna* ‘The soldiers are drunk’
- +sarbáza šátyə* ‘drunken soldiers’

#### 4.25.1.5 Transitive Experiential

These verbs express some kind of psychological internal process, such as ‘hearing’, ‘seeing’, ‘thinking’ and the subject is less agent-like than verbs expressing external activities. The object of such verbs is typically unaffected by the internal activity of the subject. This category includes verbs such as:

- +šamma* I ‘to hear’
- xazza* I ‘to see’
- +bayyə* I ‘to love’
- xašəv* I ‘to think’
- taxər* I ‘to remember’

The resultative participle of such verbs is generally not used as adjectival qualifiers of the subject or object arguments of such verbs, since they are usually not affectees of the event. In cases where the subject does acquire a new property as a result of the experience, on the other hand, the adjectival use of the participle is possible. This applies to verbs such as

- +karə* I ‘to read, to study’    *naša +kəryə* ‘an educated man’
- layəp* I ‘to learn’                *naša lipa* ‘a learned man’

#### 4.25.2 Pattern II

When a pattern II form exists for a root that is also used in pattern I, normally the pattern I form belongs to the category of intransitive verbs expressing inchoative activities with unaccusative subjects and the pattern II form is transitive with an agentive, typically human, subject who causes the event directly. In such cases, therefore, pattern II should be classified as a ‘morphological causative’, since it expresses the causative through a change of the morphological pattern of the verb, e.g.

<i>bašəl I</i>	'to cook (intr.)'	<i>bašəl II</i>	'to cook (tr.)'
<i>basəm I</i>	'to become well'	<i>basəm II</i>	'to cure'
<i>capəš I</i>	'to gather (intr.)'	<i>capəš II</i>	'to gather (tr.)'
<i>daxə I</i>	'to become pure'	<i>daxə II</i>	'to purify'
<i>jadə I</i>	'to become dirty'	<i>jadə II</i>	'to make dirty'
<i>jaləx I</i>	'to peel off (intr.)'	<i>jaləx II</i>	'to strip off (tr.)'
<i>kadəš I</i>	'to be consecrated'	<i>kadəš II</i>	'to consecrate'
<i>kalə I</i>	'to become parched'	<i>kalə II</i>	'to parch'
<i>kaləp I</i>	'to peel (intr.)'	<i>kaləp II</i>	'to peel (tr.)'
<i>panə I</i>	'to be exterminated'	<i>panə II</i>	'to exterminate'
<i>pašər I</i>	'to melt (intr.)'	<i>pašər II</i>	'to digest, to melt (tr.)'
<i>sakəl I</i>	'to become beautiful'	<i>sakəl II</i>	'to make beautiful'
<i>sapək I</i>	'to empty (intr.)'	<i>sapək II</i>	'to empty (tr.)'
<i>šaləp I</i>	'to become dislocated'	<i>šaləp II</i>	'to dislocate (tr.)'
<i>šapəx I</i>	'to pour out (intr.)'	<i>šapəx II</i>	'to pour out (tr.)'
<i>talək I</i>	'to become lost'	<i>talək II</i>	'to lose, destroy'
<i>tapə I</i>	'to become stuck'	<i>tapə II</i>	'to stick (tr.)'
<i>tapə I</i>	'to light (fire, intr.)'	<i>tapə II</i>	'to light (fire, tr.)'
<i>tapəx I</i>	'to spill (intr.)'	<i>tapəx II</i>	'to spill (intr.)'
<i>zarəz I</i>	'to become ready'	<i>zarəz II</i>	'to prepare'
<i>+basər I</i>	'to diminish'	<i>+basər II</i>	'to reduce (tr.)'
<i>+bažəl I</i>	'to become idle'	<i>+bažəl II</i>	'to make idle'
<i>+palət I</i>	'to go out'	<i>+palət II</i>	'to put out'
<i>+tamər I</i>	'to become buried'	<i>+tamər II</i>	'to bury (tr.)'
<i>+taməš I</i>	'to be dipped'	<i>+taməš II</i>	'to dip (tr.)'
<i>+tarəs I</i>	'to mend (intr.)'	<i>+tarəs II</i>	'to repair'
<i>+tašə I</i>	'to be hidden'	<i>+tašə II</i>	'to hide (tr.)'
<i>+tavə I</i>	'to be roasted'	<i>+tavə II</i>	'to roast (tr.)'

The causee, i.e. the grammatical subject of the intransitive verb, is made the grammatical object of the causative verb, e.g.

- (1) *míyya bət-šápxi +al-+àrra.* | 'The water will pour out on the ground.'  
 +'áv *bət-šapóxlun +míyya +al-+àrra.* | 'He will pour out the water on the ground.'

The relationship between such pairs of pattern I and pattern II forms is similar to that holding between the intransitive and transitive alternants of pattern I labile verbs, in that in labile verbs the intransitive is always unaccusative inchoative. Pattern II is not used to derive causatives from agentive intransi-

tives, or verbs of higher valencies (transitives or ditransitives). There are some isolated cases where the pattern I verb of the pair is unergative, but the pattern II verb does not causativize the event expressed by the pattern I verb, but rather increases its valency, e.g.

*pašək* I ‘to stretch (intr.), to stand upright’—*pašək* II ‘to stretch out (tr.) (e.g. a hand)’

The subject of the pattern II verb may be the cause of the event but is not necessarily acting willfully, e.g.

*talək* I ‘to become lost’    *talək* II ‘to lose’

Other verbs in pattern II, which do not have a corresponding pattern I with the same root, may be classified as follows.

#### Transitive agentive

<i>bajər</i> II	‘to nurture’
<i>basər</i> II	‘to rape (a virgin)’
<i>bazək</i> II	‘to scatter (seeds)’
<i>haʃə</i> II	‘to spell, to analyse, to study’
<i>hałə</i> II	‘to tell (a story)’
<i>labəl</i> II	‘to take (away)’
<i>mhadə</i> II	‘to guide’
<i>naxəm</i> II	‘to raise (the dead)’
<i>šabəx</i> II	‘to glorify’
<i>šapən</i> II	‘to flatten (ground)’
<i>sarəf</i> II	‘to saddle’
<i>šava</i> II	‘to spread’
<i>tarəf</i> II	‘to give up, to quit’
<i>xamə</i> II	‘to preserve, to keep’
<i>xarəj</i> II	‘to spend’
+ <i>aməl</i> II	‘to process’
+ <i>arə</i> II	‘to patch, to darn’
+ <i>badər</i> II	‘to pour, to scatter’
+ <i>barəx</i> II	‘to bless’
+ <i>barəx</i> II	‘to consecrate’
+ <i>baxər</i> II	‘to test, to examine’
+ <i>camər</i> II	‘to drive away’

- +daməg* II ‘to brand’
- +darə* II ‘to winnow’
- +hadər* II ‘to prepare’
- +hasəl* II ‘to give birth’
- +palla* II ‘to divide’
- +paməl* II ‘to ruin’
- +pasə* II ‘to save’
- +pasəl* II ‘to design’
- +paxəl* II ‘to pardon’
- +šadər* II ‘to send’
- +taləm* II ‘to chastise’
- +xapət* II ‘to encourage’

#### Intransitive agentive (unergative)

- dajəl* II ‘to lie’
- salə* II ‘to pray’
- tanəx* II ‘to sigh’
- +bakər* II ‘to ask’
- +šavər* II ‘to swear’
- +ṭavəl* II ‘to play’
- +ṭavrə* II ‘to search’

#### Experiential and psychological

- dayəl* II ‘to lie, to tell untruths’
- jašək* II ‘to look’
- kazəd* II ‘to stare’
- mačəx* II ‘to find’
- nabə* II ‘to predict, to foretell’
- šadəl* II ‘to fuss (over child); to flatter’
- šavət* II ‘to desire’
- zaləz* II ‘to recoil, to feel disgust’
- +myakər* II ‘to respect’

#### Control verbs

- madəv* II ‘to manage (to do sth.)’
- pačəd* II ‘to command’
- +bašər* II ‘to do skilfully, to be able to’

<sup>+</sup>*jarəb* II ‘to try, to attempt’

<sup>+</sup>*sarə* II ‘to begin’

The verb *šaləx* II ‘to strip off, to undress’ can be used as a transitive reflexive, without any object argument on the grammatical surface, or may be used as transitive agentive, with an object argument. This object argument may refer to the clothes or covering of the agent, in effect a reflexive object, or it may refer to a distinct participant, e.g.

‘ána šalùxəvən.’ ‘I am undressing.’

‘ána šaluxévən jùlli.’ ‘I am taking off my clothes.’

‘ána šalùxuvən.’ ‘I am undressing him.’

The verb *šanə* II ‘to transfer, to move’ may be used intransitively and should be regarded as a transitive reflexive with an internal reflexive object argument. The corresponding pattern I verb *šanə* I ‘to fade, to faint’ is intransitive unaccusative.

The verb <sup>+</sup>*tašə* II ‘to hide’ may have a reflexive affectee, but this must be explicitly expressed with a reflexive pronoun, e.g.

<sup>+</sup>*báyyə* <sup>+</sup>*tašíla* *jànu*. ‘He wants to hide (himself).’

<sup>+</sup>*báyyə* <sup>+</sup>*tašílə* *brùnu*. ‘He wants to hide his son.’

A small number have unaccusative subjects, e.g.

*xabəl* II ‘to become cold’

<sup>+</sup>*pašəm* II ‘to become sorry’

A few pattern II verbs have a corresponding pattern I form from the same root without any apparent difference in meaning, e.g.

*jalə* I, *jalə* II ‘to disclose’

<sup>+</sup>*pašəm* I, <sup>+</sup>*pašəm* II ‘to become sorry’

*pašəx* I, *pašəx* II ‘to pull to pieces’

*kadəm* I, *kadəm* II ‘to go in front’

*šatəl* I, *šatəl* II ‘to plant’

*xacəm* I, *xacəm* II ‘to rule’

The pattern I verb in such pairs may be labile, e.g.

*parəš* I ‘to separate (intr. and tr.)’—*parəš* II ‘to separate (tr.)’  
*šalək* I ‘to boil to cook (intr. and tr.)’—*šalək* II ‘to boil to cook’  
*tarək* I ‘to be buttoned, to button’—*tarək* II ‘to button’

A very small number of pattern II verbs can be identified as being labile. These include:

+*pallə* II ‘to divide (tr. and intr.)’  
+*šarə* II ‘to begin (tr. and intr.)’

Both of these verbs may be used intransitively to express spontaneous events. Sporadically a pattern II agentive transitive verb may be used intransitively to express an event that is not spontaneous but whose agent has been de-emphasized and is non-specific. This is attested for the verb +*jarəb* II ‘to test/be tested’. It is relevant to note that in the available example the verb refers to a generic situation, which increases the non-specificity of the agent:

(2) *únnə +šulánjárəc +járbi.* ‘These things have to be tested.’ (A 48:7)

In some cases the pattern II form of such pairs expresses greater intensity in that it is typically used with a multiplicity of affectees or greater degree of affectedness of the object:

*šaləx* I ‘to slough off (skin)’—*šaləx* II ‘to strip off (clothes), to strip (of possessions)’  
*tanə* I ‘to repeat’—*tanə* II ‘to tell, to tell a story’  
+*ṭaməš* I ‘to be dipped (intr.), to dip (tr.)’—+*ṭaməš* II ‘to immerse, to plate’

In the case of the verb *kabəl* I, II ‘to accept’ the difference is between an abstract and a concrete object:

*kabəl* I ‘to accept, to agree to’—*kabəl* II ‘to accept (in the hand), to receive’.

In some cases the meaning of a pattern II verb has undergone a metaphoric shift in relation to that of the corresponding pattern I verb, e.g.

*banə* I ‘to build’—*banə* II ‘to cook’  
*sapə* I ‘to draw off (liquid), to transfer from one vessel to another’—*sapə* II ‘to hand over, to deliver’  
*zavən* (< \**zabən*) ‘to buy’—*zabən* II ‘to buy’

Sometimes pattern I and pattern II are homonyms with no obvious semantic relationship, e.g.

*jabə* I ‘to foam, to boil over’—*jabə* II ‘to gather’

The class of verbs that have a geminated middle radical such as *tamməz* ‘to clean’ include a much larger proportion of non-agentive verbs than pattern II verbs (see the list in § 4.25.4.1.) and this reflects the fact that they belong to the category of QI quadrilateral verbs and do not constitute a subgroup of pattern II verbs.

### 4.25.3 Pattern III

#### 4.25.3.1 Morphological Causatives

Pattern III morphological causatives of triliteral verbs are more productive than pattern II causatives. They are used to derive causatives of both non-agentive (unaccusative and experiential) and agentive pattern I intransitive verbs, and also causatives of transitive verbs. Pattern II causatives, which are less productive than Pattern III causatives, tend to express more common, unmarked, i.e. conventional, situations (e.g. ‘to cook’, ‘to cure’) than pattern III:

##### Non-agentive pattern I

- barəz* I ‘to dry’ (unaccusative)
- carə* I ‘to become short’ (unaccusative)
- cayəš* I ‘to be paid (debt)’ (unaccusative)
- javəl* I ‘to feel nauseous’ (unaccusative)
- pk̥kə* I ‘to split’ (unaccusative)
- payəx* I ‘to become cool’ (unaccusative)
- raxək* I ‘to become distant’ (unaccusative)
- šapəx* I ‘to overflow’ (unaccusative)
- šarəz* I ‘to crack (intr.)’ (unaccusative)
- šaxən* I ‘to become warm’ (unaccusative)
- xajəl* I ‘to be startled’ (unaccusative)
- xarəp* I ‘to become sharp’ (unaccusative)
- yakəd* I ‘to burn’ (unaccusative)
- yasək* I ‘to ascend’ (unaccusative)
- zavə* I ‘to inflate (intr.)’ (unaccusative)
- zayər* I ‘to swell’ (unaccusative)
- +basər* I ‘to diminish’ (unaccusative)
- +čaməč* I ‘to wither’ (unaccusative)
- +jarət* I ‘to stumble’ (unaccusative)

##### Causative pattern III

- mabrəz* III ‘to cause to dry’
- macrə* III ‘to cause to become short’
- maccəš* III ‘to cause to be paid’
- majvəl* III ‘to cause to be nauseous’
- mapkə* III ‘to cause to split’
- mapyəx* III ‘to cool (tr.)’
- marxək* III ‘to cause to become distant’
- mašpəx* III ‘to cause to overflow’
- mašrəz* III ‘to crack (tr.)’
- mašxən* III ‘to cause to become warm’
- maxjəl* III ‘to startle (tr.)’
- maxrəp* III ‘to sharpen’
- makkəd* III ‘to cause to burn’
- masək* III ‘to cause to ascend’
- mazvə* III ‘to inflate (tr.)’
- mazyər* III ‘to cause to swell’
- +mabsər* III ‘to cause to diminish’
- +mačməč* III ‘to cause to wither’
- +majrət* III ‘to cause to stumble (tr.)’

**Non-agentive pattern I**

- +*pašə* I 'to become lukewarm' (unaccusative)
- +*sarəp* I 'to smart' (unaccusative)
- +*sayəp* I 'to drain' (unaccusative)
- +*ṭarəs* I 'to become fat' (unaccusative)
- +*xaləs* I 'to become firm' (unaccusative)
- +*šammə* I 'to hear' (experiential)
- xazzə* I 'to see' (experiential)
- xašəv* I 'to think' (experiential)
- taxər* I 'to remember' (experiential)

**Agentive pattern I**

- barəc* I 'to kneel' (unergetic)
- yamə* I 'to swear' (unergetic)
- patsl* I 'to twist, to turn' (unergetic)
- +*navər* I 'to bolt (horse)' (unergetic)
- taxən* I 'to grind' (transitive)
- maxə* I 'to hit' (transitive)

**Causative pattern III**

- +*mapšə* III 'to make lukewarm'
- +*masrəp* III 'to cause to smart'
- +*masyəp* III 'to cause to drain'
- +*matrəs* III 'to cause to be fat'
- +*maxləs* III 'to cause to be firm'
- +*mašmə* III 'to cause to be heard'
- maxzə* III 'to cause to be seen'
- maxšəv* III 'to cause to be thought'
- matxər* III 'to cause to be remembered'

**Causative pattern III**

- mabrəc* III 'to cause to kneel'
- mammə* III 'to cause to swear'
- maptal* III 'to cause to turn'
- +*manvər* III 'to cause to bolt'
- matxən* III 'to cause to be ground'
- mamxə* III 'to cause to be hit'

As is the case with pattern II, when intransitive verbs are made into causatives by pattern III, the causee, i.e. the grammatical subject of the intransitive verb, is made the grammatical object of the causative verb. This applies to both unaccusative subjects and agentive subjects of pattern I verbs, e.g.

*mabrəz* III 'to cause to dry'

(1) +*áv bət-mabrózlun +xəttə.* | 'He will cause the wheat to dry.'

*mabrəc* III 'to cause to kneel'

(2) +*áv bət-mabráclun nàšə.* | 'He will make the people kneel'

This syntax, whereby the subject of an intransitive is made the object of a causative verb, is the cross-linguistic norm. In many languages morphological causatives can be formed only from intransitive verbs (Dixon 2000, 45). The application of morphological causatives to transitive verbs with two arguments (subject and direct object) is less common cross-linguistically. When this occurs, moreover, various syntactic alignments of the arguments are attested in documented languages. These are summarized by Dixon (2000, 48) thus (where A = transitive subject, and O = object):

Type	Causer	Original A (causee)	Original O
(i)	A	special marking	O
(ii)	A	retains A-marking	O
(iii)	A	has O-marking	has O-marking
(iv)	A	O	non-core
(v)	A	non-core	O

The pattern III morphological causatives of transitive verbs in C. Urmî exhibit type (v) alignment, in that the original object of the transitive clause remains the object of the causative verb, but the original subject of the transitive clause is expressed by an adjunct prepositional phrase. When the subject of the original clause is agentive, the preposition of the adjunct is normally *b-* 'by', e.g.

Pattern I transitive *maxə* 'to hit'

- (3) *'o-náša bət-maxílun cálba.*! 'That man will hit the dogs.'

Pattern III causative *mamxə* 'to cause to be hit'

- (4) *bət-mamxílun cálba b-do-náša.*! 'He will cause the dogs to be hit by that man.'

On account of this alignment of the arguments of morphological causatives, it is more appropriate to translate a causative verb such as *mamxə* III 'to cause to be hit' rather than 'to cause to hit'.

If the subject of the transitive verb is an experiencer, the preposition of the adjunct is normally the dative preposition *ka-* 'to', e.g.

Pattern I transitive *xazzə* 'to see'

- (5) *bábu bət-xázzə ctáva.*! 'His father will see a book.'

Pattern III causative *maxzə* 'to cause to be seen'

- (6) *bət-máxzə ctáva ka-bábu.*! 'He will cause a book to be seen by his father.'  
(i.e. 'He will show a book to his father')

Pattern I transitive *+šamma* 'to hear'

- (7) *+xóru bət-+šámmə hák�at.* | 'His friend will hear a story.'

Pattern III causative *+mašmə* 'to cause to be heard'

- (8) *+áv bət-+mášmə hák�at ka-+xòru.* | 'He will cause a story to be heard by his friend.'

Pattern I transitive *+tamma* 'to taste'

- (9) *bət-+támmət xírrac.* | 'You will taste some food.'

Pattern III causative *+matmə* 'to cause to be tasted'

- (10) *bət-+matmónna 'a-xírrac kàtux.* | 'I shall cause this food to be tasted to you.'  
(i.e. 'I shall make you taste this food')

Comrie (1976) proposed that when causatives of transitives follow a type (v) alignment the causee, ousted from the subject position by the causer, is demoted to the highest (= leftmost) free position down a grammatical relations hierarchy, also known as 'noun phrase accessibility hierarchy', with the following form:

Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Oblique object

C. Urmi constructions with experiential causees would conform to this principle, in that dative *ka*-phrases correspond formally to indirect objects. If the causee is non-experiential, however, it skips one place in the hierarchy since it is expressed as an oblique object in a *b*-phrase, which corresponds to the agentive adjunct of a passive construction. These differing degrees of demotion down the hierarchy of experiential and non-experiential causees can be correlated with the fact that experiential causees, although agents, are affected, whereas non-experiential causees are unaffected agents (Saksena 1980; Kulikov 2001, 890–891).

The pattern III causative *maxšəv* 'to cause to be thought' can take a proposition as its object:

- (11) *maxšúvalə +crəstyànələ.* | 'He causes to be thought that he is a Christian (= He pretends that he is a Christian)'

The causative of the locative verb <sup>+mattən</sup> ‘to load’ exhibits some peculiarities. The pattern I verb <sup>+tayən</sup> ‘to bear’ is used transitively in constructions such as:

- (12) *xmára bət-+tayən xa-jvàla.* | ‘The ass will bear a sack.’

The causative pattern III <sup>+mattən</sup> can take as its object either the object or subject of (12):

- (13) *bət-+mattənnánna jvála +al-xmára.* | ‘I shall load the sack on the ass.’

- (14) *bət-+mattənnánna xmára b-jvàla.* | ‘I shall load the ass with a sack.’

In (13) the subject of (12), ‘the ass’, is put in an adjunct phrase with a locative preposition, whereas in (14) it is made the object and the ‘sack’ is put in an adjunct phrase with an instrumental preposition. Such locative alternation is common in verbs of this type cross-linguistically. Within the typology of pattern III causatives in the C. Urmi dialect the alternation can be explained as follows. In (12) both the ‘ass’ and the ‘sack’ are affected arguments. The subject ‘ass’ is affected since it is burdened with ‘sack’. Both arguments, therefore, can be made the object of the causative verb.

There are several other verbs with two affected arguments expressing change of location that behave similarly with two alternative arrangements of the arguments, as is the case also in the English equivalents:

- (15) <sup>+mučrili jáj</sup> <sup>+al-jùyda. | ‘I smeared plaster on the wall.’</sup>

<sup>+mučrili júyda b-jàj. | ‘I smeared the wall with plaster.’</sup>

- (16) <sup>+muryásli míyya</sup> <sup>+al-</sup> <sup>+àrra. | ‘I sprinkled water on the ground.’</sup>

<sup>+muryászáli</sup> <sup>+árra b-míyya. | ‘I sprinkled the ground with water.’</sup>

- (17) *bət-malánnə vádra b-míyya* (or *mən-míyya*). | ‘I shall fill the bucket with water.’

*bət-malánnun míyya ju-vàdra.* | ‘I shall fill water into the bucket.’

- (18) *bət-sapkánnun míyya mən-xòda.* | ‘I shall empty the water from the basin.’

*bət-sapkónna xóda mən-míyya.* | ‘I shall empty the pool of water’

In (18) the prepositional phrases in each of the two alternants have the same preposition.

Pattern III may be used to produce causatives of the transitive alternants of labile pattern I verbs, e.g. *patəx* I ‘to open’ (tr. and intr.), <sup>+zalla</sup> I ‘to crack’ (tr. and intr.). These causatives have the same syntactic alignment with the causee expressed in an adjunct phrase.

Pattern I labile *patəx* ‘to open (intr. and tr.)’

- (19) *+tarránə bət-pàtxi.* | ‘The doors will open.’ (unaccusative intransitive)
- (20) *'o-náša +tarránə bət-patəxlun.* | ‘That man will open the doors.’ (transitive)

Pattern III causative *maptəx* ‘to cause to be opened’

- (21) *'ána +tarránə bət-maptəxxánlun b-do-náša.* | ‘I shall cause the doors to be opened by that man’ (causative)

Pattern I labile *+zallə* ‘to crack (intr. and tr.)’

- (22) *+šuyša +zllə.* | ‘The glass cracked.’ (unaccusative intransitive)
- (23) *cípa bət-+zalllə šuyša.* | ‘The stone will crack the glass.’ (transitive)

Pattern III causative *+mazlə* ‘to cause to crack (indirectly)’

- (24) *bət-+mazlónna šuyša b-cípa.* | ‘I shall cause the glass to crack by means of a stone.’ (causative)

Pattern I labile *mala* ‘to fill (intr. and tr.)’

- (25) *vádra bət-málə b-miyya.* | ‘The bucket will fill with water.’ (unaccusative intransitive)
- (26) *bət-malónna vádra b-miyya.* | ‘I shall fill the bucket with water.’ (transitive)

Pattern III causative *mamlə* ‘to cause to be filled (indirectly)’

- (27) *bət-mamlónna vádra biyyux.* | ‘I shall cause the bucket to be filled by you.’ (causative)

If the verb is unaccusative intransitive in pattern I and expresses a causative of the intransitive by pattern II, then, likewise, the pattern III form expresses a causative of the transitive:

<i>parək</i> I ‘to finish’ (intr.)	FINISH (y)
<i>parək</i> II ‘to finish’ (tr.)	CAUSE (x[FINISH (y)])
<i>maprək</i> III ‘to cause to be finished by so.’	CAUSE (x[FINISH (y, (z))])

<sup>+</sup> <i>palət</i> I 'to leave' (intr.)	LEAVE (y)
<sup>+</sup> <i>palət</i> II 'to eject' (tr.)	CAUSE (x[LEAVE (y)])
<sup>+</sup> <i>maprət</i> III 'to cause to be ejected by so.'	CAUSE (x[LEAVE (y, (z))])

<i>basəm</i> I 'to heal' (intr.)	HEAL (y)
<i>basəm</i> II 'to cure' (tr.)	CAUSE (x[HEAL (y)])
<i>mabsəm</i> III 'to cause to be cured by so.'	CAUSE (x[HEAL (y, (z))])

<i>sapək</i> I 'to empty' (intr.)	EMPTY (y)
<i>sapək</i> II 'to empty' (tr.)	CAUSE (x[EMPTY (y)])
<i>maspək</i> III 'to cause to be emptied by so.'	CAUSE (x[EMPTY (y, (z))])

<sup>+</sup> <i>sapə</i> I 'to become pure' (intr.)	BE PURE (y)
<sup>+</sup> <i>sapə</i> II 'to purify' (tr.)	CAUSE (x[BE PURE (y)])
<sup>+</sup> <i>maspə</i> III 'to cause to be purified by so.'	CAUSE (x[BE PURE (y, (z))])

<sup>+</sup> <i>tarəs</i> I 'to mend' (intr.)	MEND (y)
<sup>+</sup> <i>tarəs</i> II 'to mend' (tr.)	CAUSE (x[MEND (y)])
<sup>+</sup> <i>matrəs</i> III 'to cause to be mended by so.'	CAUSE (x[MEND (y, (z))])

If pattern I of a verb expresses an intransitive and there is no labile transitive alternant or transitive pattern II to express the causative of the intransitive, then pattern III of the verb expresses the causative either of the intransitive or of the corresponding transitive, e.g.

<i>calə</i> I 'to stand, to stop' (intr.)	STOP (y)
<i>maclə</i> III 'to stop' (tr.)	CAUSE (x[STOP (y)])
<i>maclə</i> III 'to cause to be stopped by so.'	CAUSE (x[STOP (y, (z))])

<i>kayəm</i> I 'to rise' (intr.)	RISE (y)
<i>makkəm</i> III 'to raise' (tr.)	CAUSE (x[RISE (y)])
<i>makkəm</i> III 'to cause to be raised by so.'	CAUSE (x[RISE (y, (z))])

<sup>+</sup> <i>salə</i> I 'to descend' (intr.)	DESCEND (y)
<sup>+</sup> <i>maslə</i> III 'to bring down' (tr.)	CAUSE (x[DESCEND (y)])
<sup>+</sup> <i>maslə</i> III 'to cause to be brought down by so.'	CAUSE (x[DESCEND (y, (z))])

<i>xarəv</i> I 'to be destroyed' (intr.)	BE DESTROYED (y)
<i>maxrəv</i> III 'to destroy' (tr.)	CAUSE (x[BE DESTROYED (y)])
<i>maxrəv</i> III 'to cause to be destroyed by so.'	CAUSE (x[DESTROY (y, (z))])

Pattern III is also used to form causatives of transitive pattern II verbs that have no pattern I, e.g.

*šavə* II ‘to lay (a carpet), to furnish’  
*mašvə* III ‘to cause to be furnished by so.’

Examples:

- (28) *máta xrəvla*.| ‘The village was destroyed.’  
*bət-*+*maxrəvla* *máta*.| ‘He will destroy the village.’  
*bət-*+*maxrəvla* *máta b-košuynu*.| ‘He will cause the village to be destroyed by his army.’
- (29) *bət-*+*sələt*.| ‘You will come down.’  
*bət-*+*maslənnux* ‘I shall bring you down (myself).’  
*bət-*+*maslənnux p-ídət* ‘*axuni*.| ‘I shall make you come down by the agency (literally: hand) of my brother.’

A pattern III verb is used to express the causative of an intransitive pattern II verb and a causative of the corresponding transitive, e.g.

<i>xabəl</i> II ‘to be cold’ (intr.)	BE COLD (y)
<i>maxbəl</i> III ‘to make cold’ (tr.)	CAUSE (x[BE COLD (y)])
<i>maxbəl</i> III ‘to cause to be made cold by so’	CAUSE (x[BE COLD (y, (z))])

The causee subject of a transitive verb can be left unspecified in morphological causative constructions, e.g.

- (30) *bət-mámxə nàšə*.| ‘He will cause people to be hit.’  
(31) *bət-máxza ctáva*.| ‘He will cause a book to be seen (= show a book).’  
(32) *bət-*+*mášmə hákayat*.| ‘He will cause a story to be heard’

A further variation of structure is a reflexive causative in which one of the arguments of the underlying transitive verb is coreferential with the subject of the causative verb. This is found in the experiential causative *maxzə* III ‘to cause to be seen’. The coreferential item is the reflexive direct object in the semantic structure, although not expressed on the surface, and the other participant must be expressed by a prepositional adjunct, e.g.

- (33) *bət-máxza ka-nàšə.* 'He will cause himself to be seen by people' (= 'He will show himself to people')  
 CAUSE ( $x_i[\text{SEE } (y_i)]$ )

This reflexive semantic structure of causatives is found also where the corresponding pattern I verb has an unaccusative subject, e.g. *majrəp* III, the causative of *jarəp* I 'to slip':

- (34) *bət-jàrəp.* 'He will slip (spontaneously).'  
 SLIP ( $y$ )
- (35) *bət-májrəp nàšə.* 'He will cause people to slip'  
 CAUSE ( $x_i[\text{SLIP } (y)]$ )
- (36) *bət-màjrəp.* 'He will cause himself to slip' = 'He will skate'  
 CAUSE ( $x_i[\text{SLIP } (y_i)]$ )

Other pattern III verbs that can be interpreted as having a latent reflexive argument include:

*manyəx* III 'to cause to rest'—'to take a rest (= cause oneself to rest).' Cf. *nayəx* I 'to go to one's rest, to die' (spontaneously)  
*mabsəm* III 'to cause to enjoy'—'to cause oneself to enjoy (= to have a good time). Cf. *basəm* I 'to become well, to be cured' (spontaneously)

Some verbs of this type have no corresponding pattern I verbs, e.g.

*mabyən* III 'to cause to appear'—'to cause oneself to appear, to make an appearance, to appear'.  
*mabyət* III 'to cause to abstain (from food)'—'to cause oneself to abstain (from food)'

When a pattern I verb has a reflexive semantic structure, such as *lavəš* I 'to dress (oneself)', in which the subject is both agent and affectee, the object of a causative pattern III from the same root can take as its direct object the item that is subject of the pattern I verb. This is permitted since the subject is the affectee and semantically equivalent to an object, e.g.

- (37) <sup>+</sup>*casíbə bət-lòši.* 'Paupers will get dressed.'
- (38) <sup>+</sup>*casíbə bət-lóši jùlla.* 'Paupers will get dressed in clothes.'
- (39) *bət-málvəš* <sup>+</sup>*casíbə.* 'He will dress paupers.'
- (40) *bət-málvəš* <sup>+</sup>*casíbə jùlla.* 'He will dress paupers in clothes.'

The argument denoting the clothing should be regarded as a form of adverbial complement rather than a core argument.

The same applies to verbs of consumption, such as *+axəl* ‘to eat’, *šatə* ‘to drink’, *+mayəs* ‘to suck (milk)’. The subject of the pattern I verb, which is both the agent and the affectee of the consumption, can be made the direct object of the corresponding pattern III causative, e.g.

- (41) *+rába nášə bət-+’áxli +rəz̥za.* | ‘Many people will eat rice.’
- (42) *bət-+máxəl +rába nášə +rəz̥za.* | ‘He will cause many people to eat rice (= He will feed many people rice)’

A similar semantic structure is exhibited by the transitive verb *+karə* ‘to study’, in which the subject is also the affectee of the activity, in that he becomes ‘learned’. The causative pattern III form *+maₖra* is used thus:

- (43) *bət-+kárət +rába məndyàna.* | ‘You will study many things.’  
*’ana bət-+maₖrónlux +rába məndyàna.* | ‘I shall cause you to study many things (= I shall cause you to be educated in many things).’

The verb *xayəp* I ‘to wash’ may be used intransitively with the semantic structure of an agentive reflexive, in that the subject is agentive but the referent of the subject is also the affectee of the action, though not expressed:

- (44) *bət-xayəp.* | ‘He will wash (himself).’

The verb may also be used as a transitive agentive with an explicit object:

- (45) *bət-xepála bràti.* | ‘She will wash my daughter.’

The pattern III form *maxyəp* is used to express the causative of the agentive transitive, with the affectee as the grammatical object and the causee agent optionally expressed in an adjunct phrase:

- (46) *bət-maxyópla brátu b-de-bàxta.* | ‘He will cause his daughter to be washed by that woman.’

The same applies to the verb *šaləx* I ‘to undress’, which may be used as an agentive reflexive or an agentive transitive. When used in the causative pattern III form, the object of the verb is the affectee of the agentive transitive and the causee agent is expressed by an optional adjunct phrase, e.g.

- (47) *bət-mašláxlə b-do-nàša.*! ‘He will cause him to be undressed by that man.’

So-called ‘inner objects’ of verbs behave differently from regular objects in causative constructions. An ‘inner object’ is typically a verbal noun or abstract noun derived from the same root as the verb. Unlike a regular object, an inner object is not a pre-existing entity that is affected by the action of the verb but rather comes about when the action takes place. In fact the verbal action and the inner object are one and the same thing (Ilani 2013), e.g.

- (48) *bət-zámər zmàrta.*! ‘He will sing a song.’  
 (49) *+šállə xa-+šyálta xelànta.*! ‘He cough a loud cough.’  
 (50) *tpáttə xa-tpáttə xelànta.*! ‘He sneezed a loud sneeze.’  
 (51) *puvvárrə xa-pavvárta +jùrta.*! ‘He yawned a big yawn.’

This is shown by the fact that an inner object nominal can occur with intransitive verbs that do not have a patient object slot in their semantic structure, e.g.

- (52) *xílə xáyyə +yarìxə.*! ‘He lived a long life.’

The causative of *zamər* I ‘to sing’, *mazmər* III, may take the subject of the embedded event (i.e. the one who sings) rather than the inner object as the direct object. The inner object may optionally follow the regular object of the causative, e.g.

- (53) *bət-mázmər xa-náša zmàrta.*! ‘He will cause somebody to sing a song.’  
 (54) *+búybar bət-+mašyálláli +šyálta xelànta.*! ‘The pepper will make me cough a big cough.’  
 (55) *hamzámtu mupvárrónna xa-pavvárta +jùrta.*! ‘His speech made me yawn a big yawn.’

Alternatively the inner object can be made the object of the causative verb and the subject put in a prepositional adjunct, as in the regular causative construction, e.g.

- (56) *bət-mázmər zmárta b-xa-nàša.*! ‘I will cause a song to be sung by somebody.’

In some cases a pattern I form verb takes a complement in the form of a prepositional phrase, e.g.

- (57) *bət-xádə b-do-məndi.* ‘He will be happy with that thing.’
- (58) *bət-báləj b-do-+šúla.* ‘He will be busy with that job.’
- (59) *bət-tápək b-do-nàša.* ‘He will meet that man.’
- (60) *bət-dákər b-do-nàša.* ‘He will knock that man.’
- (61) *bət-káyət b-do-nàša.* ‘He will touch that man.’

In such cases the causative pattern III takes the subject of the pattern I verb as its object when the causee subject is non-agentive and the referent in the prepositional phrase is not affected by the event. This applies to the causative of (57)–(59) above:

- (62) *bət-maxdánlə b-do-məndi.* ‘I shall cause him to be happy with that thing.’
- (63) *bət-mabləjjánlə b-do-+šúla.* ‘I shall cause him to be busy with that job.’
- (64) *bət-matpəkkánlə b-do-nàša.* ‘I shall cause him to meet that man.’

Morphological causatives cannot be derived from constructions such as (60) and (61), in which the subject is agentive and the referent of the prepositional phrase is affected by the event. Although the referent of the prepositional phrase is an affectee, it is not a core object argument but an adjunct. A morphological causative of a transitive verb requires a core object argument, the adjunct slot being taken by the agent. Compare the following:

- (65) *bət-davəkla.* ‘He will seize her.’
- (66) *bət-dávək bìyyo.* ‘He will hold onto her.’

A pattern III morphological causative may be formed from (65) but not from (66):

- (67) *bət-madvəkkánla bìyyu.* ‘I shall cause her to be seized by him’

The pattern III causative verb *+mašmə* can be used in the sense of ‘to listen’, e.g.

- (68) *bət-+mášmə +'al-nàšə.* ‘He will listen to people.’

This may be interpreted as a construction with an underlying experiential, i.e. non-agentive, reflexive causee and a prepositional adjunct with a referent that is not affected by the event: ‘He will cause himself to hear to people’. It would, therefore, be analogous to constructions such as (57)–(59) above. Alternatively it could be interpreted as the use of a morphological causative

to express a valency-increasing construction with an oblique argument known as an ‘applicative’ (Dixon 2000, 31; Kulikov 2001, 894).

The causative pattern III of some verbs has undergone a metaphorical semantic shift, e.g.

- +karəm* I ‘to win’—*+maₖrəm* III ‘to cause to be won’ = ‘to lose’
- +karət* I ‘to bite, to lacerate’—*+maₖrət* III ‘to cause to be bitten (by scissors)’ = ‘to shear, cut (hair)’
- tanə* II ‘to speak’—*matnə* III ‘to bring to speaking terms, to make up a quarrel with’

In some verbs the metaphorical shift in meaning has considerably reduced the semantic transparency of the semantic relationship between the two patterns, e.g.

- +pašət* I ‘to stretch out’ (intr. and tr.)—*+mapšət* III ‘to see off, to guide’
- xanə* I ‘to be happy (b- with)’—*maxnə* III ‘to miss, to long after (*mən* so.)’
- +sayəd* I ‘to hunt’—*+masyəd* III ‘to watch out for, to watch (from a distance)’
- xapə* I ‘to brood (hen), to crouch’—*maxpə* III ‘to turn over (an object)’
- raxəš* I ‘to crawl’, *raxšələ* ‘he is going’—*marxəš* III ‘to miscarry’

A morphological causative verb cannot be used to form a causative of a ditransitive clause containing two affectee arguments, such as

- (69) *bət-tánə hákyat kàtux.* |‘I shall tell you a story.’

A morphological causative verb can, however, form a causative of compound verbal construction that consists of a noun and verb. e.g.

- +nala maxə* I ‘to shoe (a horse)’ (literally: ‘to strike shoe’)

- (70) *bət-maxánlun suysaváti +nàla.* |‘I shall shoe my horses.’

- (71) *bət-mamxánlun suysaváti +nála b-do-nàša.* |‘I shall cause my horses to be shod by that man.’

This is permitted because the noun that is combined with the verb in such compound constructions is not an affected argument of the verb but rather an unaffected complement. They, therefore, do not form true ditransitive constructions.

In some cases the pattern III form is directly related to the pattern I in a

causative relationship, whereas the pattern II form is more independent in its lexical meaning, e.g.

*xamə* I ‘to ferment’ (intr.)—*maxmə* III ‘to cause to ferment, to leaven’, vs.

*xamə* II ‘to look after; to preserve’

<sup>+</sup>*xabər* I ‘to become informed’—<sup>+</sup>*maxbər* III ‘to inform’, vs. <sup>+</sup>*xabər* II ‘to send regards, to visit’

*pašər* I ‘to melt’ (intr.)—*mapšər* III ‘to melt (tr.)’, vs. *pašər* II ‘to digest’

The lexical independence of pattern II from pattern I and pattern III is reflected by the distribution of emphasis in verbs from the historical root \*š-r-y:

*šarə* I ‘to untie; to dwell’

<sup>+</sup>*šarə* II ‘to begin’

*mašrə* III ‘to cause to untie; to cause to dwell’

The historical root had the basic meaning of ‘to untie’, which developed by a metaphorical process into the meaning of ‘to begin’ in pattern II. The pattern II verb subsequently was distinguished from pattern I phonologically by acquiring emphasis. Pattern III, which is more closely related to pattern I, is plain. Pattern III cannot be used to express the causative of ‘to begin’, but rather a periphrastic causative construction (§ 4.25.3.2.) must be used, e.g. *bett-mavváddən* <sup>+</sup>*šárət*.! ‘I shall cause you to begin.’

It may be said that the pattern III form is derived from the pattern I form, whereas the pattern II form is only associated with it. This would explain why a greater number of pattern I verb forms have corresponding pattern III forms than pattern II forms. When an intransitive unaccusative pattern I verb has a pattern II transitive, the pattern II transitive tends to express a more lexicalized, i.e. semantically less complex, activity than a pattern III causative. The transitive of <sup>+</sup>*tamər* I ‘to sink (into the ground)’, for example, is the pattern II form <sup>+</sup>*tamər* II ‘to bury’, which refers to a common, institutionalized activity, whereas the transitive of <sup>+</sup>*tabbə* I ‘to sink (into water)’ is the pattern III causative <sup>+</sup>*matbə* III ‘to cause to sink’, which is not an institutionalized activity. It is relevant to note that some pattern II forms have been formed from nouns or adjectives, or from words in other languages, rather than from pattern I verbs. This would be compatible with the analysis of their being produced by association rather by direct derivation (§ 4.1.). It should be noted, however, that this process is far more productive in quadrilateral verbs. Some examples of pattern II verbs of this nature are:

<i>dajəl</i> II 'to lie'	< <i>duyla</i> 'lie'
<i>sarəf</i> II 'to saddle'	< <i>sarja</i> 'saddle'
<sup>+</sup> <i>hadər</i> II 'to prepare'	< Arab. <i>haḍḍara</i>
<i>xabəl</i> II 'to become cold'	cf. Syriac <i>habbel</i> 'to travail' < <i>heblā</i> 'travail'

There are a number of pattern III verbs that exhibit a transitive—transitive alternation, e.g.

<i>mačən</i> III 'to become chapped (intr.)'	—'to cause to become chapped'
<i>majdəl</i> III 'to freeze (intr.)'	—'to cause to freeze'
<i>majyən</i> III 'to sprout'	—'to cause to sprout'
<i>makyən</i> III 'to become green'	—'to cause to become green'
<i>mamyəl</i> III 'to become blue'	—'to cause to become blue'
<i>manzəl</i> III 'to fester'	—'to cause to fester'
<i>marjəd</i> III 'to shiver'	—'to cause to shiver'

These intransitive alternants cannot be easily interpreted as having a latent reflexive object argument.

Some verbs in related semantic domains express the same causative—inchoative alternation morphologically by different patterns, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>xavər</i> I 'to become white'	— <sup>+</sup> <i>maxvər</i> III 'to cause to become white'
<i>cayəm</i> I 'to become black'	— <i>maccəm</i> III 'to cause to become black'
<i>samək</i> I 'to become red'	— <i>masmək</i> III 'to cause to become red'

It is significant to note that the verbs relating to the primary colours 'white', 'black' and 'red' make this morphological distinction, whereas verbs relating to non-primary colours 'green' and 'blue' use the same pattern for both transitive and intransitive.

Some of the verbs that exhibit intransitive and transitive alternants in pattern III also have an intransitive pattern I verb with the same meaning as the intransitive pattern III alternant, e.g.

<i>nazəl</i> I 'to fester', <i>manzəl</i> III 'to fester, to cause to fester'	
<i>rajəd</i> I 'to shiver', <i>marjəd</i> III 'to shiver (intr.), to cause to shiver'	

The distribution of the two alternative intransitive verbs *rajəd* I and *marjəd* III is significant. The pattern III intransitive *marjəd* is only used with animate subjects, whereas inanimate subjects can only take the pattern I form, e.g.

*'o-náša marjúdələ mən-kàrta.<sup>1</sup> ~ 'o-náša bərjádələ mən-kàrta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘That man is shivering from the cold.’  
*+tarpa bərjádəna ju-pòxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The leaves are shivering in the wind.’

The pattern III reflects the conceptualization of the event as coming about through some internal cause within the man’s body, i.e. he is conceptualized as causing the muscular movements bringing about the act of shivering. Leaves, however, have no internal cause, and constitute an affected argument. In the light of this, it is reasonable to suggest that the intransitive alternants of the other pattern III verbs listed above are conceptualized as having an internal cause of some kind.

In a few sporadic cases a pattern III causative of a transitive verb may be labile, e.g. *maxnək* III ‘to cause to be throttled, to hang’ in (72):

(72) *jári maxnəkni vázzər.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The vizier must be hanged (literally: be caused to be throttled).’ (A 48:13)

Here the event is not spontaneous, but the agent is de-emphasized and is non-specific. The verb refers to a generic situation, which increases its non-specificity.

There is a residue of other pattern III verbs that have no corresponding pattern I and have a variety of argument structures:

#### Intransitive unaccusative

*macsal* III ‘to become lazy’  
*manta* III ‘to succeed’  
*mašcən* III ‘to swell’

#### Intransitive unergative

*mašrək* III ‘to whistle’  
*maķvəx* III ‘to shout’  
*+maķras* III ‘to argue’

#### Transitive agentive

*manxəl* III ‘to sieve (flour)’  
*manxəs* III ‘to reprove’  
*maryəz* III ‘to organize’

- maslə* III ‘to despise’  
*mašpər* III ‘to flatter’  
*mašxəd* III ‘to preach (the gospel)’  
*maxpəl* III ‘to refuse, to reject’  
<sup>+</sup>*mačrə* III ‘to plaster’  
<sup>+</sup>*maryəs* III ‘to sprinkle’  
<sup>+</sup>*masyət* III <sup>+'al-</sup> ‘to listen to’  
<sup>+</sup>*masxər* III *b-* ‘to mock’

### Transitive experiential

*manšə* III ‘to forget’

For some of these verbs resultative adjectives derived from pattern I exist, although the pattern I verb is not used, e.g. *nxila* ‘sieved’.

#### 4.25.3.2 Periphrastic Causatives

An alternative means of expressing the causative is the use of a biclausal periphrastic construction with the verb *mavvəd* III, which is the pattern III morphological causative of the verb *'avəd* I ‘to do’. The causer is made the subject of the verb *mavvəd*. The caused event is expressed by a following subordinate clause, e.g.

- (1) *bət-mavvəddən +šärət!* ‘I shall cause you to begin.’

The subordinate clause may be optionally introduced by the subordinator *'at* or *kat*. This demonstrates that the construction is biclausal and the head verb has not fused with the lexical verb and become an auxiliary verb, as is the case in periphrastic causatives in some languages (Kulikov 2001, 893), e.g.

- (2) *bət-mavvəddən kat-+šärət!* ‘I shall cause you to begin.’

These constructions are in conformity with the usual syntactic alignment of morphological causatives, in that the verb can be considered to have the meaning ‘cause to be done’ with its object, the subordinate clause, expressing what is done. On many occasions, however, the subject argument of the subordinate clause, i.e. the causee, is raised into the direct object position of the verb *mavvəd*, e.g.

- (3) *bət-mavvəddónlux kat-+šärət!* ‘I shall cause you to begin.’

In periphrastic causative constructions the original syntactic alignment of the caused clause is maintained in the subordinate clause. The subject of both intransitive and transitive clauses remains the subject of the subordinate clause, e.g.

- (4) *+térə bət-pàrxi.* 'The birds will fly.'
- (5) *bət-mavváddən kət-+térə pàrxi.* ~ *bət-mavváddánlun +térə kət-pàrxi.* 'I shall cause the birds to fly'
- (6) *+sarbázə bət-máxi nàšə.* 'The soldiers will hit people'
- (7) *bət-mavváddən kət-+sarbázə máxi nàšə.* ~ *bət-mavváddánlun +sarbázə kət-máxi nàšə.* 'I shall cause the soldiers to hit people'

There are no restrictions on the syntactic alignment of the caused embedded clause. So, the following types of clause, which cannot be made causative by a morphological causative, can be made causative by the periphrastic constructions:

Ditransitive clauses:

- (8) *bət-yavállun kàtux.* 'He will give them to you.'
- (9) *bət-mavváddánlə kət-yavállun kàtux.* 'I will make him give them to you.'

Clauses with verbs taking a prepositional complement the referent of which is an affectee, e.g.

- (10) *bət-dákər bìyyux.* 'He will knock you.'
- (11) *bət-mavváddánlə kət-dákər bìyyux.* 'I shall cause him to knock you'

The choice whether to express the causative by a pattern III verb or by a periphrastic causative affects the position of an instrumental or agentive adjunct phrase in the semantic structure. When a pattern III verb is used, the adjunct is in the higher event of causing, thus:

- (12) *mukkódlə núyra b-+nùyta.* 'He made the fire burn with oil'  
CAUSE (x[BURN (y)] instrument z)

When a construction with *mavvəd* is used, the adjunct is within the caused event, thus:

- (13) *muvvádlə nýyra yakádva b-+nýyta.* 'He made the fire burn with oil.'  
 CAUSE (x[BURN (y) instrument z])

Although pattern III morphological causatives are productive, they are not available for all verbs. If one is not available, the periphrastic causative must be used. This applies, for example, to the verb *yalə* 'to wail', which must form its causative periphrastically:

- (14) *bət-mavvəddánnux yálət.* 'I shall make you wail.'

The subject of *mavvəd* is in principle animate. If the cause is inanimate, other periphrastic causative constructions are available, e.g.

- (15) *jdíla sábab víla ýána +járən.* 'The ice caused me to slip (literally: The ice was the cause [that] I slip).'

#### 4.25.3.3 Semantic Parameters

Dixon (2000) has drawn attention to the importance of documenting not only the syntactic alignment of causative constructions but also various semantic parameters of the verb and verbal arguments. When a language has more than one causative mechanism, these are generally distinguished by different semantic parameters. The semantic parameters relate to the verb, the causer and the causee. The parameters identified by Dixon (2000, 62) that have been found to be relevant for distinguishing the semantics of the various Neo-Aramaic causatives are the following:

Verb      (1) actionality (state/action)  
 (2) transitivity

Causee    (3) control  
 (4) volition  
 (5) affectedness

Causer    (6) directness  
 (7) intention

##### 1. Actionality

Lexical causatives in the form of the transitive alternant of labile verbs always have an inchoative unaccusative intransitive alternant.

Morphological causatives formed by pattern II are derived from unaccusa-

tive intransitives. Causatives formed by pattern III, on the other hand, have no restriction as to actionality and may be derived from unaccusative verbs expressing a change of state and from agentive verbs expressing a dynamic action.

There are no restrictions with regard to actionality in periphrastic causatives.

## 2. Transitivity

**Lexical causatives.** The transitive alternant of a labile verb is by definition a causative of an intransitive.

**Morphological causatives.** Causatives from pattern II can be applied only to intransitive verbs. Causative from pattern III can be applied to intransitive and transitive verbs, but not to ditransitive verbs or verbs that express the affectee by means of a prepositional phrase.

**Periphrastic causatives.** These have no restrictions with regard to transitivity.

## 3. Control of the causee

**Lexical causative.** The causee object of the causative transitive alternant of labile verbs has no control.

**Morphological causative.** The same is the case with regard to the causee of morphological causatives of an intransitive verb expressed by pattern II and pattern III, in that the causee direct object does not have control. This applies both to the causative of non-agentive intransitives (e.g. *palət* II ‘to cause to go out’, *macrə* III ‘to cause to become short’) and agentive intransitives (e.g. *mabrəc* III ‘to cause to kneel’). The causee of the pattern III morphological causative of a transitive verb that is expressed by a prepositional adjunct, on the other hand, does have control, if the causee is agentive (e.g. *bət-mamxílun cálba b-do-nàša*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He will cause the dogs to be hit by that man’). Such agentive causees are typically human and introduced by the preposition *b-*. If the causee is an experiencer (e.g. *bət-máxzə ctáva ka-bàbu*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He will cause a book to be seen by his father’, i.e. ‘He will show a book to his father’), however, the causee is not in control. Prepositional *b*-phrases containing an inanimate noun in causative constructions such as

- (1) *bət-maxrəxxánla +mástu b-nìyra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall cause his hair to singe with fire.’

do not express causees but are adverbial modifiers.

**Periphrastic causatives.** The causee of the verb *mavvəd* III must be animate and is in control, not only in a transitive clause but also in an intransitive one, e.g.

- (2) *bət-mavvəddilə ɻat-bàrəc.*! 'They will make him kneel.'

#### 4. Volition of the causee

This parameter is closely related to that of control. Whenever the causee is in control according to the description in the last section, it can be assumed that this involves the causee acting willingly. This is reflected by the fact that the semantic range of the head verb *mavvəd* in the periphrastic causative includes 'to persuade'. In several other NENA dialects, moreover, the verb 'to allow' is used in such constructions, e.g. C. Qaraqosh *šawəq* 'to let, to allow':

- (3) *bəd-ʃóqən banáyə d-torilə.*! 'I shall make the builders break it.'

#### 5. Affectedness of causee

It can be assumed that contexts in which the causee lacks control and volition, as described above, also involve a greater degree of affectedness of the causee. A significant semantic distinction can be identified, however, between the causee direct object of a lexical causative and pattern II causative, on the one hand, and the causee direct object of a morphological pattern III causative, on the other, in that in the former case the object is more affected than in the latter. This is shown by the fact that if a pattern III morphological causative of an unaccusative pattern I verb has a reflexive pronoun as the causee, the construction has the sense of 'pretending' rather than 'causing', e.g.

*mamyət* III 'to cause to die'

- (4) *bət-mamyátlə jànu.*! 'He will pretend to die.'

*mašnə* III 'to cause to faint'

- (5) *bət-mašnílə jànu.*! 'He will pretend to faint.'

<sup>+</sup>*matbə* III 'to cause to sink'

- (6) <sup>+</sup>*matbiyyálə jànu.*! 'He pretended to sink.'

This may be classified as a declarative type of causative (cf. Kulikov 2001, 892). Contrast this with a lexical causative with a reflexive causee, which expresses total affectedness of the causee:

- (7) *bət-<sup>+</sup>kaʃllə jànu.*! 'He will kill himself' (lexical causative of *myt* 'to die')

The objects of morphological causatives of transitive verbs, which do not express the causee, are, by contrast, fully affected, e.g.

- (8) *bət-<sup>+</sup>mak̚álla jánu b-do-<sup>+</sup>sàrbaz.* | ‘He will cause himself to be killed by that soldier.’

Declarative uses of pattern III expressing ‘pretending’ are not available for verbs that are agentive or labile in pattern I. This is because pattern III expresses an indirect causative in such cases:

*xanək* I ‘to drown (intr. and tr.)’, *maxnək* ‘to cause to be drowned by so.’

- (9) *muxnəkkálə jánu.* | ‘He caused himself to be drowned.’

Further examples of declarative uses of pattern III include the verb *maxšax* III ‘to consider worthy, to recommend’.

When a reflexive argument is made the object of a pattern II transitive, the object is always fully affected, e.g.

- (10) *<sup>+</sup>tušyálə jánu.* | ‘He hid himself.’

6. Does the causer act directly or indirectly?

(i) Lexical causative. When the causee is the direct object of a lexical causative, the causer acts directly upon the object by manipulating it without mediation, e.g.

- (11) *bət-<sup>+</sup>kat̚álla.* | ‘He will kill him’ (lexical causative of *mayət* I ‘to die’)

- (12) *bət-pat̚áxlə <sup>+</sup>tàrra.* | ‘He will open the door’ (labile verb)

(ii) Morphological causative: Likewise, when the causee of an intransitive clause is made the direct object of a morphological causative, the causer acts directly, e.g.

- (13) *bət-manp̚álla.* | ‘He will cause him to fall.’

The causer subject of a morphological causative of a transitive verb, on the other hand, does not act directly upon the object but through the mediation of the causee agent or instrument expressed by an adjunct prepositional phrase, e.g.

- (14) *bət-mamxílun b-do-nàša.*<sup>1</sup> 'He will cause them to be hit by that man.'

The causee may be implied and not explicitly expressed. This is seen in the contrast between (15a) with a pattern I verb and (15b) with a pattern III verb:

- (15) a. *+bətráyəvən xmàra.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am driving/riding a donkey (directly by sitting on it).'  
 b. *+maṛúyəvən xmàra.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am driving a donkey (indirectly from behind by using a stick).'

(iii) Periphrastic causative. The causer in a periphrastic construction does not necessarily act directly by manipulating the object. This applies to the causative of both intransitive and transitive clauses, e.g.

- (16) *bət-mavvaddílə b-yaváltat zíyza kat-+pàlət.*<sup>1</sup> 'They will cause him to come out by giving him money.'

7. Does the causer achieve the result accidentally or intentionally?

(i) Lexical causative: The causer of a lexical causative does not necessarily act intentionally, since it may be inanimate, e.g.

- (17) *póxa +tarrána bət-patəxlun.*<sup>1</sup> 'The wind will open the doors.'

(ii) Morphological causative. Likewise, the causer in a morphological causative of an intransitive verb does not necessarily act intentionally, since it may be inanimate, e.g.

- (18) *cipa bət-+matbíla ju-mìyya.*<sup>1</sup> 'The stone will make her sink in the water.'

- (19) *hákya t bət-majxəccálun.*<sup>1</sup> 'The story will make them laugh.'

The causer of a morphological causative of a transitive verb, on the other hand, is typically animate and so acts intentionally.

(iii) Periphrastic causative. The subject of the verb *mavvad* III in the periphrastic construction is typically animate, so acts intentionally, whether the following clause is transitive or intransitive.

In conclusion, we see that the syntactic and semantic properties of causative constructions in C. Urmi differ according to their degree of compactness, i.e. according to whether they are lexical, morphological or periphrastic causatives

and, within the category of morphological causatives, according to their degree of morphological complexity (pattern II being less complex than pattern III).

#### 4.25.3.4 Causatives in Contact Languages

Several aspects of causative constructions in C. Urmī have parallels in the non-Semitic languages of the region with which the dialect has been in contact.<sup>5</sup> The highly productive nature of the pattern III morphological causative and its ability to form causatives of transitive clauses can be compared to the productive morphological causative of Turkish and Azeri. In these languages morphological causatives are formed from transitive verbs. The syntactic organization of causatives of transitives also exhibits parallels with C. Urmī in that the object of the transitive clause remains the object and the agent of the transitive clause is given an oblique dative case-marking, corresponding to the adjunct prepositional phrase of C. Urmī, e.g.

#### Turkish

- (1) *Nuran Deniz-e kapi-yı aç-tır-dı*  
 Nuran Deniz-DAT door-ACC open-CAUS-PF  
 'Nuran made Deniz open the door' (Göksel and Kerslake 2005, 132)

#### Tabriz Azeri

- (2) *Muhammad Murad-a it-i vür-dür-atzax*  
 Muhammad Murad-DAT dog-ACC hit-CAUS-FUTURE  
 Muhammad will make Murad hit the dog

Turkish and Azeri may also form morphological causatives from ditransitive verbs, which, as we have seen, is not possible in the C. Urmī dialect. In such constructions the direct object and indirect object of the ditransitive clause retain their case-marking (accusative and dative respectively) and the agent is made an oblique adjunct, e.g.

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<sup>5</sup> I gratefully acknowledge the help I have received for this section from Elisabetta Ragagnin and Asma Rezaei (Azeri), Ergin Öpengin (Kurdish) and Mahbod Ghaffari (Persian).

## Tabriz Azeri

- (3) *Häsän kişi-yä namä-ni ata-m tarafindan*  
 Häsän-NOM man-DAT letter-ACC father-POSS.1SG by  
*yaz-dır-dı*  
 write-CAUS-PST.3SG  
 'Hasan made my father write a letter to the man.' (Erfani 2014, 30)

In the Kurdish of the region causatives of transitives are formed peripherastically, but the syntactic organization of the clausal arguments is parallel to that of C. Urmî and Turkish/Azeri morphological causatives, in that the direct object remains the direct object of the causative verb and the agent of the transitive clause is given oblique case-marking, e.g.

- (4) *Rizgar dē kūçik-î bi Gurgînî bi-de-t-e firotin*  
 Rizgar FUT dog-OBL with Gurgin SUBJ-give.PRS-3SG-DRCT sell.INF  
 'Rizgar will make the dog sold by Gurgin (= Rizgar will make Gurgin sell the dog.)'

It is noteworthy that the agent in such Kurdish constructions is marked by the preposition *bi* which is homophonous with the preposition *b-* of the corresponding agent phrase in the NENA dialect.

In Persian morphological causatives exist for a few verbs but are not productive. Periphrastic causative constructions are the norm and are obligatory for causatives of transitive verbs. The periphrastic causatives have a syntactic organization that is similar to that of C. Urmî rather than Kurdish, in that the syntax of the original transitive verb is retained in an embedded clause, e.g.

- (5) *ānhā u-rā vādār kardand ke ān sag-rā be-zanad*  
 they he-ACC obliged made.3PL that that dog-ACC SUBJ-hit.3S  
 'They made him hit the dog'

The causer in such Persian constructions can also be expressed as the subject of other verbal expressions such as *ba'es šodan* 'to become the cause (that)', *majbur kardan* 'to make obliged (that).' It is worth noting that the syntax of (5) is not only parallel to that of C. Urmî periphrastic causatives but the expression *vādār kardan* has a certain phonetic resemblance to the C. Urmî verb *mavvəd* III, which is used to form periphrastic causatives. The NENA dialects of Iraq, by contrast, use other verbs, such as *šavəq* I (e.g. C. Qaraqosh). The expression

*ba'es šodan* has a close semantic correspondence to C. Urmi *săbab vila* 'was the cause (that)', which is an alternative way of forming a periphrastic causative.

The Turkish type of morphological causative is now losing ground to periphrastic causative constructions in the Azeri dialects of Iran under the influence of Persian (Erfani 2014). The morphological causative in C. Urmi is, in fact, now rather more productive than in Iranian Azeri. If, as is likely, the productivity of the C. Urmi morphological causative is due to the influence of Azeri, this must have been at an earlier historical period.

#### 4.25.4 Quadrilateral Verbs

Quadrilateral verbs either contain four strong consonants or a combination of strong and weak consonants. Quadrilateral roots with weak consonants that contract include final /y/ (§ 4.13.1) and second /v/ (§ 4.13.2.). The radicals /y/ and /v/ occur in other positions, e.g. *þyaðrən* QI 'to become heavy', *xayvən* QI 'to darken', *xayyad* 'to unite', *þvalvəl* QI 'to wail', *kavvol* QI 'to promise', *jarvən* QI 'to become leprous', but they behave like strong consonants and do not contract. Quadrilateral roots with strong consonants can be classified on structural grounds into the following categories:

##### 4.25.4.1 C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>b</sub>-C<sub>c</sub> (geminated medial radical)

*balləs* QI 'to masticate, to chew (with mouth closed)'

*baxxəl* QI 'to be jealous'

*dalləl* QI 'to stroke'

*hajjəj* QI 'to encourage'

*hammən* QI 'to believe'

*jassəs* QI 'to spy'

*javvəb* QI 'to answer'

*jažžən* QI 'to become dizzy'

*kavvol* QI 'to promise'

*kavvəm* QI 'to happen'

*kazzəd* QI 'to stare'

*laccən* QI 'to blot'

*nammən* QI 'to become damp; to make damp'

*pavvər* QI 'to yawn'

*razzəl* QI 'to despise'

*sakkət* QI 'to cripple, to be crippled'

*sarrəf* QI 'to saddle'

*šaddən* QI 'to go mad; to grow profusely (plants)'

*šalləl* QI 'to become quiet'

- šannən* QI ‘to tame (wild animal), to be at peace’  
*šarrəc* QI ‘to share, to participate’  
*šattəš* QI ‘to found, to establish’  
*tamməz* QI ‘to clean; to become clean’  
*tavvəb* QI ‘to repent’  
*xaddət* QI ‘to renew’  
*xallən* QI ‘to strengthen’  
*xayyəd* QI ‘to unite’  
*zabbən* QI ‘to become weak’  
*zalləz* QI ‘to recoil’  
*zavvəj* QI ‘to join’  
<sup>+</sup>*ajjəb* QI ‘to wonder’  
<sup>+</sup>*ajjəz* QI ‘to annoy, to be annoyed’  
<sup>+</sup>*barrən* QI ‘to become light; to cause to become light’  
<sup>+</sup>*calləš* QI ‘to try, to attempt’  
<sup>+</sup>*darrən* QI ‘to roll with a rolling pin (<sup>+</sup>*dorana*)’  
<sup>+</sup>*hayyər* QI ‘to help’  
<sup>+</sup>*jarrəl* QI ‘to wallow’  
<sup>+</sup>*javvət* QI ‘to belch’  
<sup>+</sup>*karrəs* QI ‘to become stuck’  
<sup>+</sup>*lattən* QI ‘to become shallow, to make shallow’  
<sup>+</sup>*mamməz* QI ‘to become chilled; to chill’  
<sup>+</sup>*mazzəz* QI ‘to shiver; to have a fever’  
<sup>+</sup>*navvər* QI ‘to bolt (animal)’  
<sup>+</sup>*salləl* QI ‘to become sober’  
<sup>+</sup>*sarrəp* QI ‘to exchange money’  
<sup>+</sup>*savvən* QI ‘to fear, to be terrified’  
<sup>+</sup>*šarrər* QI ‘to confirm, to prove’  
<sup>+</sup>*ṭalləz* QI ‘to indulge’  
<sup>+</sup>*tamməm* QI ‘to finish’  
<sup>+</sup>*ṭammən* QI ‘to go off (food), to stink (meat)’  
<sup>+</sup>*xalləl* QI ‘to wash’

Some verbs of this category have alternative forms without a geminated middle radical and are inflected with the template of pattern I or pattern II, e.g.

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| <i>jaššək</i> QI ~ <i>jašək</i> II                          | ‘to look’   |
| <i>sarrəf</i> QI ~ <i>sarəf</i> II                          | ‘to saddle’ |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>navvər</i> QI ~ <sup>+</sup> <i>navər</i> I | ‘to bolt’   |

A triradical root is used to form the causatives of some quadrilaterals with a geminated medial consonant, e.g.

*pavvər* QI ‘to yawn’—*mapvər* III ‘to cause to yawn’

4.25.4.2 C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub> (1st radical identical with 3rd and 2nd radical identical with 4th)

*bajbəj* QI ‘to crawl, to creep’

*baķbəķ* QI ‘to bubble’

*balbal* QI ‘to become confused’

*barbəz* QI ‘to scatter (intr. and tr.)’

*camcəm* QI ‘to be smothered’

*caščəš* QI ‘to set (a dog on somebody); to chase away’

*catcət* QI ‘to crack open (due to dryness)’

*cazcəz* QI ‘to splutter; to cause to splutter’

*çarçər* QI ‘to become deaf, to buzz (ear)’

*čakčək* QI ‘to chatter; to rattle’

*čamčəm*, +*čamčəm* QI ‘to throw’

*čančən* QI ‘to clash a cymbal; to tingle, to buzz (ear)’

*čarčər* QI ‘to scream’

*čazčəz* QI ‘to hiss (fire); to sizzle’

*dacdəc* QI ‘to throb’

*dakdək* QI ‘to become fine; to chop finely’

*daldəl* QI ‘to become thin, sparse, widely spaced’

*damdəm* QI ‘to bleed (intr.), to draw blood (tr.)’

*dašdəš* QI ‘to trample’

*halhal* QI ‘to fall apart (e.g. overcooked vegetables)’

*hanhən* QI ‘to enjoy oneself’

*harhər* QI ‘to laugh loudly’

*jabjəb* QI ‘to foam’

*jalyəl* QI ‘to whirl’

*jamjəm* QI ‘to hum; to cause to hum’

*japjəp* QI ‘to foam, to foam up; to cause to foam’

*jarjəm* QI ‘to thunder, to roar’

*jarjər* QI ‘to make low roar (animals, water, avalanche)’

*jažjəž* QI ‘to spin (head), to become confused; to confuse’

*jazjəz* QI ‘to whine (dog)’

*janjən* QI ‘to rust; to cause to rust’

*kalkəl* QI ‘to lighten, to reduce; to remove shells (from walnuts, almonds)’

- kapkəp* QI ‘to cluck’  
*kaxkəx* QI ‘to cackle (turkey); to laugh loudly’  
*kažkəž* QI ‘to sizzle, to rattle (rain)’  
*labləb* QI ‘to talk to oneself’  
*lahləh* QI ‘to pant’  
*lajləj* QI ‘to glitter’  
*latlət* QI ‘to tear up’  
*laxləx* QI ‘to pant (dog when thirsty)’  
*lazləz* QI ‘to feel disgust’  
*mašməš* QI ‘to grope’  
*nacnəc* QI ‘to groan (in pain)’  
*naknək* QI ‘to grunt (pig); to grumble’  
*naxnəx* QI ‘to pant’  
*parpər* QI ‘to flap (flag); to turn (propeller)’  
*pašpəš* QI ‘to melt (intr. and tr.), to dissolve (intr. and tr.)’  
*patpət* QI ‘to card (wool), to come apart (wool)’  
*phačphač* QI ‘to whisper’  
*phaťphať* QI ‘to whisper’  
*phazphaz* QI ‘to squirt’  
*rakrək* QI ‘to become crinkled’  
*ratrət* QI ‘to tremble, to shiver’  
*sarsər* QI ‘to hiss’  
*šacšəc* QI ‘to shake’  
*šakšək* QI ‘to make a clattering noise’  
*šamšəm* QI ‘to feel nauseous’  
*šapšəp* QI ‘to grope; to rub’  
*tantən* QI ‘to smoke’  
*tartər* QI ‘to become pale’  
*tanťtan* QI ‘to sing quietly (to oneself), to hum; to play a tune’  
*taňtaňp* QI ‘to blink; to flicker; to cause to flicker’  
*vajvəj* QI ‘to coo (turtledove)’  
*vakvək* QI ‘to quack (duck)’  
*varvər* QI ‘to have diarrhoea’  
*vazvəz* QI ‘to buzz’  
*xamxəm* QI ‘to become feverish’  
*xaňxəňp* QI ‘to faint from a heat’  
*xašxəš* QI ‘to rustle (leaves), crackle (paper); to cause to rustle, crackle’  
*zaczəc* QI ‘to become pale or yellow; to become cracked with holes (ground)’  
*zakzək* QI ‘to throb (with pain)’  
*zamzəm* QI ‘to ring, to tinkle; to buzz’

- +*bakbək* QI ‘to bubble up’
- +*balbal* QI ‘to babble, to talk confusedly’
- +*barbər* QI ‘to roar (lion); to low (oxen)’
- +*bazbəz* QI ‘to prick’
- +*calcal* QI ‘to bubble (boiling water); to sob’
- +*čapčəp* QI ‘to splash in the water, to hit water with the palm; to clap; to chirp’
- +*čarčər* QI ‘to creak (door)’
- +*čaxčəx* QI ‘to hew, to smash to pieces (tr. and intr.)’
- +*karkər* QI ‘to croak, to caw; to gargle; to rumble (stomach)’
- +*kaščəš* QI ‘to making a cracking sound (e.g. wood)’
- +*katkət* QI (i) ‘to chop; to cut up’
- +*katkət* QI (ii) ‘to cluck (hen)’
- +*kaxkəx* QI ‘to laugh loudly, to cackle (partridge); to honk (goose)’
- +*laklək* QI ‘to splash (water) (intr. and tr.)’
- +*lamlam* QI ‘to mutter to oneself and complain’
- +*lasləs* QI ‘to chew (with mouth open), to gnaw’
- +*mačməč* QI ‘to kiss loudly; to make a sound with mouth’
- +*marmər* QI ‘to whine (cat); to growl’
- +*masməs* QI ‘to keep silent’
- +*namnəm* QI ‘to speak through one’s nose’
- +*narnər* QI ‘to bellow (buffalo)’
- +*naznəz* QI ‘to whine (child)’
- +*parpər* QI ‘to blow (one’s nose) loudly’
- +*paspəs* QI ‘to breathe hard; to hiss; to snuffle; to wheeze; to snore; to be asthmatic; to whistle’
- +*pašpəš* QI ‘to hiss; to jingle, clink’
- +*radrəd* QI ‘to darn’
- +*rajrəj* QI ‘to crawl, to creep (insect)’
- +*raprap* QI ‘to flap the wings’
- +*raxrax* QI ‘to sympathize; to desire’
- +*sarsər* QI ‘to chirp (cricket); to roar (lion)’
- +*šaršər* QI ‘to splash (water)’
- +*taktək* QI ‘to knock (at the door)’
- +*tamtəm* QI ‘to speak when nose is blocked; to mumble’
- +*taptəp* QI ‘to tap; to bash’
- +*taxťax* QI ‘to pound’
- +*vakyák* QI ‘to croak’
- +*valvəl* QI ‘to wail’
- +*vasvəs* QI ‘to squeak (mouse); to whine’
- +*vazvəz* QI ‘to buzz (bee)’

- <sup>+</sup>*xačxəč* QI 'to search around (for something); to rustle around'  
<sup>+</sup>*xalxəl* QI 'to erode (tr. and intr.)'  
<sup>+</sup>*xarxər* QI 'to snore'  
<sup>+</sup>*xasxəs* QI 'to breath heavily'  
<sup>+</sup>*zakzək* QI 'to clatter, to chatter (teeth, jaw)'  
<sup>+</sup>*zapzap* QI 'to beat, to bash'  
<sup>+</sup>*zarzər* QI 'to bray (donkey, ass)'

#### 4.25.4.3 C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>c</sub> (1st radical identical with 3rd)

- çançəš* QI 'to throw, to sling about'  
<sup>+</sup>*çarçət* QI 'to tickle'  
*dardax* QI 'to become sad, depressed; to cause to become sad, depressed'  
*harham* QI 'to neigh (horse)'  
*janjəz* QI 'to be disgusted with, to loathe'  
<sup>+</sup>*jarjəš* QI 'to drag'  
<sup>+</sup>*kambəč* QI 'to shake and squeeze in frustration'  
<sup>+</sup>*karkəš* QI 'to separate and gather (e.g. raisins from stalks)'  
*pampəx* QI 'to break up (ground)'  
*parpəl* QI 'to implore, to plead'  
*parpəs* QI 'to destroy'  
*sarsəm* QI 'to stun, to annoy'  
*tantər* QI 'to shake'  
*tantəs* QI 'to drizzle (rain)'  
*tartəb* QI 'to tack, to stitch, to baste'  
*tartəx* QI 'to recoil'  
*tavtəš* QI 'to investigate, to inspect'  
*xanxək* QI 'to strangle, to throttle'  
<sup>+</sup>*balbəs* QI 'to twinkle, to glisten'  
<sup>+</sup>*bambəč* QI 'to shake and squeeze in frustration'  
<sup>+</sup>*bambəl* QI 'to stagger'  
<sup>+</sup>*bazbək* QI 'to scatter, to disperse'  
<sup>+</sup>*čančəl* QI 'to become exhausted, to exhaust'  
<sup>+</sup>*čançər* QI 'to break off, to tear to pieces'  
<sup>+</sup>*dardək* QI 'to shatter'  
<sup>+</sup>*janjər* QI 'to suffer, to cause to suffer'  
<sup>+</sup>*karkət* QI 'to chew'  
<sup>+</sup>*karkəz* QI 'to get ready, to prepare'  
<sup>+</sup>*parpat* QI 'to bite (all around)'  
<sup>+</sup>*parpat* QI 'to tear'

- +*pampəl* QI ‘to stagger, to stumble’
- +*sansəl* QI ‘to drip down’
- +*sansəp* QI ‘to smart; to cause to smart’
- +*šaršət* QI ‘to sag; to hang down’
- +*tančəl* QI ‘to delay, to procrastinate’
- +*tartəm* QI ‘to grumble’
- +*xarxəč* QI ‘to gnash (teeth)’
- +*xarxət* QI ‘to gnaw (animal)’
- +*zarzəč* QI ‘to scribble’
- +*zarzəx* QI ‘to develop sores’

#### 4.25.4.4 C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>c</sub>-C<sub>b</sub> (2nd radical identical with 4th)

- balməl* QI ‘to be untidy, entangled (hair); to be confused’
- čamxəm* QI ‘to be rough (with somebody by pushing about)’
- dabləb* QI ‘to change sides; to become duplicitous’
- hamzəm* QI ‘to speak’
- lanjən* QI ‘to limp; to cause to limp’
- šacləc* QI ‘to sew with plain stitch (*šucluca*)’
- šaklək* QI ‘to smart; to make smart’
- šakrək* QI ‘to empty out’
- šapləp* QI ‘to beg, to implore’
- taknək* QI ‘to make neatly, to make tidy’
- tašməš* QI ‘to perform burial service’
- +*sapləp* QI ‘to plead, to beg’
- +*satlət* QI ‘to stare, to gaze, to prick up (ears)’
- +*saxləx* QI ‘to have darting pains’

#### 4.25.4.5 Other Roots

- ’arjəj* QI ‘to become numb (from cold), to make numb’
- ’arkəl* QI ‘to delay (intr.)’
- ’arzən* QI ‘to become cheap’
- ’atkən* QI ‘to become antiquated, to wear out’
- balķən* QI ‘to become ripe (grapes)’
- banpər* QI ‘to flutter; to cause to flutter’
- barxəš* QI ‘to stir (tr.)’
- cačlən* QI ‘to become bald’
- candər* QI ‘to roll (tr. and intr.)’
- cankəš* QI ‘to throw, to sling’

- carməx* QI ‘to roll up (material); to wrap up’  
*carpəš* QI ‘to collect together (with a hand, with arms)’  
*catlən* QI ‘to tangle (hair), to wind, to contort (snakes)’  
*čabləz* QI ‘to tack, to baste (sewing)’  
*čambəl* QI ‘to hang (intr. and tr.)’  
*čanjəl* QI ‘to swing (on a swing)’  
*čanxəs* QI ‘to reprove’  
*čaplən* QI ‘to make into a scoundrel; to make unclean’  
*čaçbən* QI ‘to arm (with weapons) (intr. and tr.)’  
*čanjər* QI ‘to jingle’  
*daldən* QI ‘to settle (to live) (intr. and tr.)’  
*darbən* QI ‘to wound’  
*daykən* QI ‘to become small, fine’  
*jambəl* QI ‘to tumble; to cause to tumble’  
*jambəx* QI ‘to cave in; to cause to cave in’  
*jandəl* QI ‘to roll (intr. and tr.)’  
*farməl* QI ‘to wallow; to cause to wallow’  
*jarvən* QI ‘to become leprous’  
*jarvəs* QI ‘to grow up; to bring up’  
*karbən* QI ‘to approach; to cause to approach’  
*karpəx* QI ‘to bang on the head; to shock’  
*každər* QI ‘to dare’  
*manzəl* QI ‘to become infected, to inflect’  
*mardən* QI ‘to be brave; to make bold’  
*mascən* QI ‘to become poor; to make poor’  
*paltəš* QI ‘to rummage around, to grope around’  
*pandəm* QI ‘to dam up (water); to be dammed up and swell (water)’  
*pandən* QI ‘to grow like a candle (*punda*) dripping sap’  
*parčən* QI ‘to drive a wedge; to drive in nail clips’  
*partəl* QI ‘to spin, to twist (tr. and intr.)’  
*partəx* QI ‘to crumble, to powder (tr. and intr.)’  
*þačçən* QI ‘to decay, to rot’  
*þalṭəç* QI ‘to stammer’  
*þarṭəc* QI ‘to save; to be saved’  
*þartən* QI ‘to turn to crumbs, to become full of dandruff (hair)’  
*sarjəd* QI ‘to tremble, to cause to tremble’  
*sartən* QI ‘to become small’  
*saxbər* QI ‘to visit’  
*sazjər* QI ‘to become reconciled; to agree’  
*šaljəd* QI ‘to be exhausted’

- šamxən QI ‘to become musty; to make musty’  
 šaprən QI ‘to become beautiful; to make beautiful’  
 šarkəp QI ‘to crack’  
 šarpək QI ‘to crack, to break’  
 šaxlap QI ‘to change (tr. and intr.)’  
 šaxtən QI ‘to become dirty; to make dirty’  
 taybər QI ‘to manage, to oversee’  
 talməd QI ‘to make a disciple of; to chastise’  
 talməs QI ‘to shrink up, to wrinkle (intr. and tr.)’  
 tambəl QI ‘to become lazy’  
 tarbən QI ‘to become fat, to fatten’  
 tarkəl QI ‘to stumble, to make stumble’  
 tarşən QI ‘to be pickled; to turn pale (from an illness), to screw up (mouth)’  
 taxxəs QI ‘to pant’  
 taxmən QI ‘to think’  
 tažbəx QI ‘to glorify, to praise, to laud’  
 xandək QI ‘to make a ditch, to dig round’  
 xaþrəc QI ‘to dig little holes, to loosen earth that has been dug’  
 xarbəs QI ‘to push, to urge (a person)’  
 xarbaš QI ‘to become mixed up; to mix up in confusion’  
 xarzəp QI ‘to push; to push over (a person)’  
 xašcən QI ‘to become dark; to make dark’  
 xayvən QI ‘to get dark, to become dull’  
 xazdəf QI ‘to injure; to become injured’  
 xažbən QI ‘to calculate, to count’  
 zablən QI ‘to litter, to trash’  
 zambəl, zanbəl QI ‘to rip, to tear (into strips) (clothes)’  
 zanjər QI ‘to ring (a bell)’  
 zanpər, zampər QI ‘to swagger; to sway’  
 zardən QI ‘to become yellow; to make yellow’  
 zaxmən QI ‘to become powerful; to make powerful’  
 +ancər QI ‘to hesitate’  
 +'arbət QI ‘to writhe’  
 +'ayvən QI ‘to become cloudy’  
 +balkət QI ‘to dazzle; to be dazzled’  
 +barłən QI ‘to bud; to cause to bud’  
 +batrən QI ‘to become big, to grow fat; to cause to become big, grow fat’  
 +čalbəx QI ‘to ache; to beat with a stick’  
 +čambər QI ‘to tear (material, paper), to rip (tr. and intr.)’  
 +čanjər QI ‘to scratch with a paw or claw’

- +*darmən* QI ‘to apply medicine’
- +*darvəd* QI ‘to rock (cradle intr. and tr.)’
- +*kandəx* QI ‘to swaddle, to wrap up (a child)’
- +*kanṭər* QI ‘to bend (backwards)’
- +*karməč* QI ‘to wrinkle, to crumple’
- +*karmət* QI ‘to have colic, to have stomach cramps’
- +*karnəz* QI ‘to coil up’
- +*kaṭmən* QI ‘to cover in ash’
- +*kaṭrən* QI ‘to arch, to bow down (intr. and tr.)’
- +*mardən* QI ‘to become civilized’
- +*paršən* QI ‘to pave (with flat stones)’
- +*sandəl* QI ‘to stand upright, to sit upright’
- +*saxvən* QI ‘to become clear (weather)’
- +*šaxrən* QI ‘to become black (with soot); to make black (with soot)’
- +*štavhar* QI ‘to become proud’
- +*tarbət* QI ‘to move around aimlessly; to cause to move around aimlessly’
- +*taymən* QI ‘to rise in price, to raise the price’
- +*xanzər* QI ‘to threaten to fight; to strut’
- +*yakrən* QI ‘to become heavy; to cause to become heavy’
- +*zabtən* QI ‘to seize, to confiscate’
- +*zarbən* QI ‘to become strong; to make strong’

#### 4.25.4.6 Remarks on the Formation of Quadrilateral Roots

The number of quadrilateral roots has proliferated in the dialect. This is due to two main reasons. Firstly many innovative quadrilateral roots have been created from nouns, adjectives and trilateral verbs, and also from lexical items in other languages. Secondly the inventory of quadrilateral roots has expanded conspicuously by the process of ‘sound symbolism’, whereby families of roots develop with shared components of sound that share a similar meaning. The formation of quadrilaterals by these two processes has been far more productive than in trilateral roots. Sound symbolism has been discussed in § 1.10. Here we shall concentrate on the extraction of roots from other words.

Many quadrilateral roots have their source in nouns, adjectives and other verbs, either from items of these categories that are used in the C. Urmi dialect or directly from a word in another language. Different processes take place according to whether the source is (i) a noun, adjective in the dialect or verb in another language or (ii) a trilateral verb in the dialect.

*Quadrilateral Roots Derived from Nouns and Adjectives or from Verbs  
in Other Languages*

If the source word contains four strong consonants with the pattern CVCCVC, the general syllabic profile of the source word is preserved, e.g.

<i>labbən</i> QI	'to become courageous' < <i>labbana</i> 'courageous'
<i>baxxəl</i> QI	'to envy' < <i>baxxila</i> 'envious'
<i>tamməz</i> QI	'to clean' < <i>tamməz</i> 'clean'
<i>zabbən</i> QI	'to become weak' < <i>zabbun</i> 'weak'
<i>javvəb</i> QI	'to answer' < <sup>+</sup> <i>juvvab</i>
<sup>+</sup> <i>darmən</i> QI	'to apply medicine' < <sup>+</sup> <i>darmana</i> 'medicine'
<i>sazjər</i> QI	'to agree' < <i>sazjar</i> 'agreeable, in agreement'
<i>'arzən</i> QI	'to become cheap' < <i>'arzan</i> 'cheap'
<sup>+</sup> <i>ajjəz</i> QI	'to annoy, to be annoyed' < Arab. <i>'ajjaza</i>

In the following case a post-vocalic /t/ in the Azeri source appears as a weak /y/ radical, due to the weak articulation of /t/ in Azeri in this position:

<sup>+</sup> <i>alda</i> QI	'to cheat' < Azer. <i>aldat-maq</i>
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If the source word contains three strong consonants, a quadrilateral root may be formed by geminating the second consonant, e.g.

<i>xallən</i> QI	'to make strong' < <i>xelana</i> 'strong'
<sup>+</sup> <i>barrən</i> QI	'to enlighten' < <sup>+</sup> <i>barana</i> 'bright'
<i>šaddən</i> QI	'to go mad' < <i>šidana</i> 'mad'
<i>nammən</i> QI	'to dampen' < <i>nimana</i> 'damp'
<sup>+</sup> <i>darrən</i> QI	'to roll (dough)' < <sup>+</sup> <i>dorana</i> 'rolling pin'
<sup>+</sup> <i>salləl</i> QI	'to become sober' < <sup>+</sup> <i>salila</i> 'sober'
<sup>+</sup> <i>savvən</i> QI	'to be terrified' < <sup>+</sup> <i>savana</i> 'terrible'
<i>sarrəf</i> QI	'to saddle' < <i>sarja</i> 'saddle'
<sup>+</sup> <i>ajjəb</i> QI	'to wonder' < Arab. <i>'ajiba</i>

A long /i/ is occasionally interpreted as a strong /y/ radical of the quadrilateral root and, similarly, a long /u/ is occasionally interpreted as a strong /v/ radical, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>taymən</i> QI	'to rise in price' < <sup>+</sup> <i>timana</i> 'expensive'
<i>fərvəs</i> QI	'to grow, to bring up' < <i>farusa</i> 'big'

A source form with the syllabic structure CVCC- may be accommodated into the quadriliteral system by a reduplication process, in that one of the radicals is repeated, e.g.

- çarçər* QI ‘to become deaf’ < *çarra* ‘deaf’  
*tantən* QI ‘to smoke’ < *tənna* ‘smoke’  
*lahləl* QI ‘to puff, to pant’ < Azer. ləhlə-mək

The verb *xayyəd* QI ‘to unite’, which is historically related to \**xad* (= *xa*) ‘one’, is likely to be a *pa“el* form that has been borrowed from the literary language.

An alternative process of incorporating source words with three consonants into the quadriliteral system of roots is to add a final /n/ to the root, e.g.

- +*ayvən* QI ‘to become cloudy’ < +'ayva ‘cloud’  
*atkən* QI ‘to become antiquated’ < 'atika ‘old’  
+'catrən QI ‘to knot’ < +'cətra ‘knot’  
*sartən* QI ‘to become small’ < *surta* ‘small (fs.)’  
*cačlən* QI ‘to become bald’ < *cačala* ‘bald’  
+'barən QI ‘to bud’ < +'bərta ‘bud’  
+'kaṭmən QI ‘to cover in ash’ < +'kəṭma ‘ash’  
+'şaxrən QI ‘to become black with soot’ < +'şaxra ‘soot’  
*harsən* QI ‘to become angry’ < Azer. hirs ‘anger’  
+'latṭən QI ‘to become shallow’ < +'latṭa ‘shallow’  
*lanjən* QI ‘to limp’ < *lanj* ‘limping’  
+'parşən QI ‘to cover with slabs’ < +'parşa ‘flat stone’  
*sarjən* QI ‘to saddle’ < *sarja* ‘saddle’  
<šapırən QI ‘to beautify’ < *šapıra* ‘beautiful’  
*darbən* QI ‘to wound’ < *darba* ‘wound’  
*pandən* QI ‘to grow like a candle’ < *punda* ‘candle’  
*tarbən* QI ‘to become fat’ < *tarba* ‘fat (noun)’  
*zardən* QI ‘to become yellow’ < *zarda* ‘yellow’  
*janjən* QI ‘to rust’ < *janj* ‘rust’

The same process is applied to source words with a middle geminated consonant, e.g.

- čaplən* QI ‘to spoil’ < *čappal* ‘spoiled’

The source of this process may be the stem of the noun that has a derivative suffix, such as in the following:

*+mardən* QI ‘to become civilized’ < *+marduya* ‘civilization’

This /n/ is likely to be associated with the adjectival derivational ending *-ana*, e.g. *šəxtana* ‘dirty’ < *šəxta* ‘dirty’. Such adjectives, indeed, form the source word for several quadriliteral verbal roots, e.g.

*šaxtən* QI ‘to become dirty’ < *šəxtana* ‘dirty’

*jarvən* QI ‘to become leprous’ < *ʃərvana* ‘leprous’

*kalmən* QI ‘to become lousy’ < *kalmana* ‘lousy’

It appears that the /n/ in quadriliteral roots such as these was extended by analogy to other roots that did not have an adjectival source word in *-ana*.

If there are only two strong consonants in the source word, the radical slots of the quadriliteral root may be filled by a process of reduplication to fill the radical slots resulting in roots of the patterns C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub> or C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>b</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>, e.g.

*ʃažʃəž* QI ‘to spin (head)’ < Kurd. *gêj* ‘dizzy’

*daldəl* QI ‘to become thin, sparse’ < *dayla* ‘thin, sparse’

*daķdəķ* QI ‘to become small, to chop finely’ < *dayka* ‘fine’

*šalləl* QI ‘to become quiet’ < *šəlyə* ‘quiet’

*šannən* QI ‘to tame, to be tame’ < *šenaya* ‘tame’

Alternatively two consonants in the source word are accommodated in the quadriliteral root system by the pattern C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>b</sub>-n, whereby the second consonant is geminated and a consonant /n/ is added as the final radical, e.g.

*+nallən* QI ‘to shoe a horse’ < *+nala* ‘horse shoe’

*+lallən* QI ‘to become dumb’ < *+lala* ‘dumb’

*ʃažžən* QI ‘to become dizzy’ < Kurd. *gêj* ‘dizzy’

*+dagğən* ‘to brand’ < *+dagj* ‘brand mark’

The same process applies to source words with the pattern C<sub>a</sub>VC<sub>b</sub>C<sub>b</sub>-, with a geminated final consonant, e.g.

*laccən* QI ‘to blot’ < *lacca* ‘blot’

#### *Quadriliteral Roots Derived from Trilateral Verbs*

If the trilateral root of the source verb has only two strong consonants, a quadriliteral may be created by a process of reduplication of these strong consonants resulting in roots of the pattern C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>, e.g.

- dašdəš* QI ‘to trample’ < *dayəš* I ‘to tread down’  
*jabjəb* QI ‘to foam’ < *jabə* I ‘to foam, to boil over’  
<sup>+</sup>*katkət* QI ‘to chop’ < <sup>+</sup>*kattə* I ‘to cut’  
<sup>+</sup>*lasləs* QI ‘to gnaw’ < <sup>+</sup>*layəs* I ‘to chew’

The reduplicated quadriliteral typically expresses an intenser event involving a greater input of energy than the trilateral form.

In some cases the trilateral source verb is no longer used in the C. Urmī dialect, e.g.

- dakdək* QI ‘to chop finely’ < \**dayək* I  
<sup>+</sup>*radrəd* QI ‘to darn’ < \**rayəd*

Reduplicative quadriliteral verbs are associated also with trilateral roots with three strong radicals. They may be formed by reduplicating a sequence of two of these radicals, resulting in the pattern C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>, e.g.

- lazləz* QI ‘to feel disgust’ < *zaləz* II ‘to feel disgust’

The first radical may be repeated after the second radical, resulting in the pattern C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>c</sub>, e.g.

- jarjəš* QI ‘to drag’ < *jarəš* I ‘to pull’  
<sup>+</sup>*bazbək* QI ‘to disperse’ < <sup>+</sup>*bazək* II ‘to scatter’  
<sup>+</sup>*parpət* QI ‘to tear’ < <sup>+</sup>*parət* I ‘to tear’  
<sup>+</sup>*zarzəč* QI ‘to scribble’ < <sup>+</sup>*zarəč* I ‘to scratch’  
*xanxək* QI ‘to strangle’ < *xanək* I ‘to choke (tr. and intr.)’

The trilateral root may be expanded by adding a consonant. A common process is to add an /r/ before the second radical (C-C-C > C-rC-C), e.g.

- <sup>+</sup>*karmət* QI ‘to have stomach cramps’ < <sup>+</sup>*kamət* I ‘to twist, to tighten (rope); to squeeze’  
<sup>+</sup>*karməč* QI ‘to wrinkle, to crumple’ < <sup>+</sup>*kaməč* I ‘to pinch, to nip’  
*partəl* QI ‘to spin’ < *patəl* I ‘to turn, to twist’

The pattern I form is not necessarily still used in the dialect, e.g.

- <sup>+</sup>*dardač* QI ‘to shatter’ < \**dayək* I

As we have seen, *\*dayək* is also the source for the QI verb *dakdək* ‘to chop finely’. The verb *+dardək* ‘to shatter’ with /r/ expresses a more forceful action than *dakdək*. The other QI verbs with the added /r/ can also be interpreted as expressing a more forceful action than that of the pattern I source verb.

An additional /r/ is found also in quadriliteral roots derived from nouns with an agentive template, which can be assumed to have been derived ultimately from a verbal root, e.g.

*barxəš* QI ‘to stir’ < *baxušta* ‘ladle’

In the following the added final /c/ adds a diminutive nuance and may be associated with the diminutive nominal suffix *-cca* (§ 5.10.2.2.):

*xaþrəc* QI ‘to dig little holes’ < *xaþər* I ‘to dig’

An example of an /m/ added after the second radical is:

*carməx* QI ‘to roll up’ < *carəx* I ‘to wind on (e.g. turban)’

In some sporadic cases in the variety of the dialect used in Georgia, a variant of a triliteral verb is used in some of the tokens of the verb which have the syllable structure of quadriliteral verbs with a geminated medial consonant, e.g.

- (1) *ci-+ṭaláxva mádrə tásma.* | *tásma ci-mattàxvalə* | *átxa* | *ódaxva xá* | *+yàzan,* |  
*+yàzan.* | *+ṭlá janáy javày-na* | *+ṭlá ju-* | *+tárrəna.* | *járət* | *é tásma mán dé* | *+yá-*  
*zán jannəvvəttə.* | ‘We also used to play “belt”. We used to place the belt like  
 this in order to make a circle, a circle. Three people are inside and three  
 our outside. You must steal the belt from the circle.’ (B 17:2)

The passage in (1) is a description of a game played in the village. The form *jannəvvəttə* ‘you steal’ is a variant of *janvət* (< *janəv* I). The extended form occurs in a pivotal position in the discourse expressing the object of the game.

#### *Inflectional Affixes Reinterpreted as Root Consonants*

The /t/ of some quadriliteral verbs are derived historically from the \*t affix of the detransitivizing verbal patterns of earlier Aramaic (*‘etpə‘el*, *‘etpa‘al*, *etta-ḥəl*). This applies to the verb *šattəš* ‘to establish’, which is apparently derived from a T-pattern of the historical root *\*-š-š* with metathesis, and the verb *+štavhər* ‘to be proud’ (cf. Syriac *meštahar*), which is treated as a quadriliteral verb with the root *+št-vh-r*, the first two consonants clustering in the first radical slot and the second two consonants in the second radical slot.

The initial sibilant /s/ in the verb *sarfəd* QI ‘to tremble’ is probably derived historically from the prefix of the non-productive verbal pattern *saf‘el* of earlier Aramaic. The pattern I form *rafəd* I is also used with the same meaning.

#### *Quadriliteral Verbs with Medial Geminated /vv/*

The geminated medial /v/ in verbs such as <sup>+</sup>*javvət* QI ‘to hiccup’, *kavvəl* QI ‘to promise’, *kavvəm* QI ‘to happen’, *pavvər* QI ‘to yawn’, *tavvəb* QI ‘to repent’ appears to have developed in the past form, e.g. *puvvárrə* ‘he yawned’, by the regular shift of /*tvv*/ > /*uvv*/ (§ 1.13.2.3.3.), and this has been generalized throughout the paradigm.

#### *Triliteral Roots with Identical 2nd and 3rd Radicals*

When a triliteral root has identical second and third radicals, the second radical is geminated as a result of a process to keep the last two radicals separated in all inflections, e.g. *sannən* I ‘to burn (food)’:

Present.	<sup>+</sup> <i>sánnən</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>sannánna</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>sannánni</i>
Past:	<sup>+</sup> <i>snánnə</i>
Participle:	<sup>+</sup> <i>snína</i>
Progressive:	<sup>+</sup> <i>bəsnánələ</i>
Verbal noun:	<sup>+</sup> <i>snánta</i>

As can be seen, in this pattern I verb the gemination is found only in the present. In the originally pattern II verb <sup>+</sup>*xalləl* ‘to wash’, however, the gemination has been extended to all inflections and it has been merged with the pattern of quadriliteral roots with a geminated medial radical. Alternative inflections of the original pattern II are, however, still available for some forms:

Present.	<sup>+</sup> <i>xálləl</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>xallólla</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>xálla</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>xallálly</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>xálli</i>
Past:	<sup>+</sup> <i>xullálly</i>
Participle:	<sup>+</sup> <i>xullálly</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>xúlla</i>
Progressive:	<sup>+</sup> <i>xallúlələ</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>xallúllə</i>
Verbal noun:	<sup>+</sup> <i>xallálta</i>

A similar process gave rise to the verb *xaddət* QI ‘to renew’, derived historically from a *pa“el* form (= pattern II) to avoid the contact of two homorganic consonants.

#### 4.25.4.7 Voice and Argument Structure of Quadrilateral Verbs

Many QI quadrilateral verbs are labile, in that they have transitive and intransitive alternants. These are semantically equivalent to labile verbs of pattern I. The subject of the transitive alternant is agentive whereas the intransitive alternant expresses an inchoative event with an unaccusative subject, e.g.

*+šaršər* QI ‘to pour’ (intr. or tr.)

*míyya +šuršárrun +àlli.*! ‘The water poured onto me.’

*’áha míyya +šarshúrələ ’àlli.*! ‘He is pouring water onto me.’

Other examples of labile QI verbs include:

*’arjəj* QI ‘to become numb (from cold), to make numb’

*banpər* QI ‘to flutter; to cause to flutter’

*candər* QI ‘to roll (intr. and tr.)’

*cazcəz* QI ‘to splutter; to cause to splutter’

*čambəl* QI ‘to hang (intr. and tr.)’

*čaqčən* QI ‘to arm (with weapons) (intr. and tr.)’

*dakdək* QI ‘to become fine; to chop finely’

*daldən* QI ‘to settle (to live) (intr. and tr.)’

*damdəm* QI ‘to bleed (intr.), to draw blood (tr.)’

*dardəx* QI ‘to become depressed; to cause to become depressed’

*jambəl* QI ‘to tumble; to cause to tumble’

*jambəx* QI ‘to cave in; to cause to cave in’

*jamjam* QI ‘to hum; to cause to hum’

*jandal* QI ‘to roll (intr. and tr.)’

*japʃəp* QI ‘to foam, to foam up; to cause to foam’

*farməl* QI ‘to wallow; to cause to wallow’

*jarvəs* QI ‘to grow up; to bring up’

*jažjəž* QI ‘to become confused; to confuse’

*janjən* QI ‘to rust; to cause to rust’

*karbən* QI ‘to approach; to cause to approach’

*lanjən* QI ‘to limp; to cause to limp’

*manzəl* QI ‘to become infected, to inflect’

*mardən* QI ‘to be brave; to make bold’

*mascən* QI ‘to become poor; to make poor’

*nammən* QI ‘to become damp; to make damp’

*pandəm* QI ‘to dam up (water); to be dammed up and swell (water)’

*partəl* QI ‘to spin, to twist (intr. and tr.)’

- patpət* QI ‘to card (wool); to come apart (wool)’  
*þarþac* QI ‘to save; to be saved’  
*sakkat* QI ‘to cripple, to be crippled’  
*sarjəd* QI ‘to tremble, to cause to tremble’  
*þaklək* QI ‘to smart; to make smart’  
*þamxən* QI ‘to become musty; to make musty’  
*þannən* QI ‘to tame (wild animal); to become tame’  
*þaprən* QI ‘to make beautiful; to become beautiful’  
*þaxləp* QI ‘to change (intr. and tr.)’  
*þaxtən* QI ‘to become dirty; to make dirty’  
*talməs* QI ‘to wrinkle (intr. and tr.)’  
*tamməz* QI ‘to clean; to become clean’  
*tarbən* QI ‘to become fat, to fatten’  
*tarkəl* QI ‘to stumble, to make stumble’  
*xarbəš* QI ‘to become mixed up; to mix up in confusion’  
*xašcən* QI ‘to become dark; to make dark’  
*xašxəš* QI ‘to rustle (leaves); to cause to rustle’  
*xazdəj* QI ‘to injure; to become injured’  
*zardən* QI ‘to become yellow; to make yellow’  
*zaxmən* QI ‘to become powerful; to make powerful’  
<sup>+</sup>*ajjəz* QI ‘to annoy, to be annoyed’  
<sup>+</sup>*balkət* QI ‘to dazzle; to be dazzled’  
<sup>+</sup>*barrən* QI ‘to become light; to cause to become light’  
<sup>+</sup>*barčən* QI ‘to bud; to cause to bud’  
<sup>+</sup>*batrən* QI ‘to become big, to grow fat; to cause to become big, grow fat’  
<sup>+</sup>*čančəl* QI ‘to become exhausted, to exhaust’  
<sup>+</sup>*darvəd* QI ‘to rock (cradle intr. and tr.)’  
<sup>+</sup>*janjər* QI ‘to suffer, to cause to suffer’  
<sup>+</sup>*katrən* QI ‘to bow down (intr. and tr.)’  
<sup>+</sup>*latṭən* QI ‘to become shallow, to make shallow’  
<sup>+</sup>*sansəp* QI ‘to smart; to cause to smart’  
<sup>+</sup>*šaxrən* QI ‘to become black (with soot); to make black (with soot)’  
<sup>+</sup>*þarbət* QI ‘to move around aimlessly; to cause to move around aimlessly’  
<sup>+</sup>*þaymən* QI ‘to rise in price, to raise the price’  
<sup>+</sup>*yaþrən* QI ‘to become heavy; to cause to become heavy’  
<sup>+</sup>*zarbən* QI ‘to become strong; to make strong’

The causative QII form of quadriliteral verbs with initial *m-* is used to derive causatives of intransitive verbs, transitive verbs and the transitive alternant of labile verbs. As with pattern III causatives of transitives verbs, the object of the

original verb remains the object and the causee subject is put in a peripheral position expressed by a prepositional phrase, e.g.

*'arkal* QI 'to become delayed', *markal* QII 'to cause to become delayed'

- (1) *'urkàlla.*! 'She has delayed/She is late.' (intransitive unaccusative)  
<sup>+</sup>*mútra murkàllala.*! 'The rain has delayed her.' (causative)

<sup>+</sup>*katkət* QI ‘to chop’, <sup>+</sup>*mkatkət* QII ‘to cause to be chopped’

- (2) *+búrsa bət-+kak̚kətt̚ila.* ‘They will chop the meat.’ (transitive)  
*+búrsa bət-+mkaṭkətt̚ila b-do-náša.* ‘They will cause the meat to be  
 chopped by that man’ (causative)

*jandəl* Q I ‘to roll’ (intr. and tr.), *mjandəl* QII ‘to cause to be rolled’

- (3) *jútta bət-jandàlla*.<sup>1</sup> 'The ball will roll' (unaccusative transitive)  
*jútta bət-jandəllila* 'They will roll the ball' (transitive)  
*bət-mjandəllila jútta b-do-nàša*.<sup>1</sup> 'They will cause the ball to be rolled by  
 that man' (causative)

When causatives are made of intransitive unaccusative QI verbs, the QII form with the initial *m-* is optional. The *m-* is often omitted and the QI verb is used as a labile form with intransitive and transitive alternants, e.g.

*čančən* QI ‘to tingle’—*mčančən* QII ~ *čančən* QI ‘to cause to tingle’

*jambəl* QI ‘to tumble’—*mjambəl* QII ~ *jambəl* QI ‘to cause to tumble’

*jarvəs* QI 'to grow'—*mjarvəs* QII ~ *jarvəs* QI 'to cause to grow'

*jažžən* QI ‘to become dizzy’—*mjažžən* QII ~ *jažžən* QI ‘to cause to become dizzy’

*xašcən* QI ‘to become dark’—*mxašcən* QII ~ *xašcən* QI ‘to cause to become dark’

<sup>+</sup>*čarčə* QI ‘to stain (intr.)’—<sup>+</sup>*mčarčə* QII ~ <sup>+</sup>*čarčə* QI ‘to stain’ (tr.)

When the QI intransitive begins with an initial /Ø/ radical, however, the QII form with the *m-* prefix is obligatory in the transitive:

*'arkəl* QI 'to become delayed'—*markəl* QII 'to delay (tr.)'

*'atkən* QI 'to become old'—*matkən* QII 'to cause to become old'

<sup>+</sup>*ajjəb* QI ‘to be amazed’—<sup>+</sup>*majjəb* QII ‘to amaze’

The QII form of such verbs is sometimes used intransitively, e.g. <sup>+</sup>*rába murkàlla* ‘He has delayed a lot’ (A 37:18). One may compare this to the intransitive use of pattern III verbs such as *marjəd* ‘to cause to tremble (tr.), to tremble (intr.)’.

A QII form with initial *m-* is obligatory in quadrilateral causatives of transitive verbs. Examples of QII causatives of transitive verbs include:

*mbarxəš* QII ‘to cause to be stirred’—*barxəš* QI ‘to stir (tr.)’

*mdamdəm* QII ‘to cause to be made to bleed’—*damdəm* QI ‘to bleed (intr.), to cause to bleed (tr.)’

*mfandəl* QII ‘to cause to be rolled’—*jandəl* QI ‘to roll (intr. and tr.)’

*mjarjəš* QII ‘to cause to be dragged’—*jarjəš* QI ‘to drag’

<sup>+</sup>*mdarvəd* QII ‘to cause to be rocked’—<sup>+</sup>*darvəd* QI ‘to rock (intr. and tr.)’

<sup>+</sup>*mkatkət* QII ‘to cause to be chopped’—<sup>+</sup>*katkət* QI ‘to chop’

The causative of the final /y/ QI verb <sup>+</sup>*parmə* ‘to understand’ is formed by pattern III of the trilateral verb <sup>+</sup>*maþrəm* III.

#### 4.25.4.8 Quadrilateral Verbs Expressing Sounds

Many quadrilateral verbs with the reduplicative pattern C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>a</sub>-C<sub>b</sub> (§ 4.25.4.2.) express sounds, often involving a process of sound symbolism (§ 1.10.). For all such verbs a verbal noun of the pattern *CəCCa-CəC* is available.<sup>6</sup> This is best considered to be a compound consisting of two elements, since in some circumstances each element receives its own stress, e.g.

<sup>+</sup>*karkər* QI ‘to croak’—<sup>+</sup>*kərrá-*<sup>+</sup>*kər* ‘croaking’

<sup>+</sup>*katkət* QI ‘to cluck (hen)’—<sup>+</sup>*kəttá-*<sup>+</sup>*kət* ‘cluck’

<sup>+</sup>*barbər* QI ‘to roar’—<sup>+</sup>*bərrá-*<sup>+</sup>*bər* ‘roaring sound’

*jamjəm* QI ‘to hum’—*jəmmá-jəm* ‘humming’

*xašxəš* QI ‘to rustle (leaves)’—*xəššá-xəš* ‘rustling sound’

*kažkəž* QI ‘to sizzle, to rattle (rain)’—*kəžžá-kəž* ‘sizzling, rattling’

<sup>+</sup>*kaškəš* QI ‘to make a cracking sound’—<sup>+</sup>*kəššá-*<sup>+</sup>*kəš* ‘cracking sound’

*nacnəc* QI ‘to groan (in pain)’—*nəccá-nac* ‘groaning’

*jarjər* QI ‘to make a low roar’—*jərrá-jər* ‘low roar’

<sup>+</sup>*šaršər* QI ‘to splash (water)’—<sup>+</sup>*šərrá-*<sup>+</sup>*šər* ‘plashing sound’

<sup>+</sup>*bakbək* QI ‘to bubble’—<sup>+</sup>*bəkká-*<sup>+</sup>*bək* ‘bubbling sound’

6 Examples of this verbal noun in the Novi Alfabet texts are discussed by Polotsky (1961, 18–20).

- čakčək* QI ‘to chatter; to rattle’—*čəkká-čək* ‘sound of chattering’  
*čančən* QI ‘to buzz (ear)’—*čənná-čən* ‘sound of buzzing’  
*čarčər* QI ‘to become deaf’—*čərrá-čər* ‘buzzing (of ear)’  
<sup>+</sup>*marmər* QI ‘to whine (cat)’—<sup>+</sup>*mərrá-+mər* ‘whining sound’  
<sup>+</sup>*tarčəm* QI ‘to grumble’—<sup>+</sup>*tarčá-+təm* ‘grumbling’  
*þatþət* QI ‘to whisper’—*þəttá-þət* ‘whispering’  
<sup>+</sup>*taptəp* QI ‘to stamp’—<sup>+</sup>*təppá-+təp* ‘stamping sound’  
*harhər* QI ‘to laugh loudly’—*hərrá-hər* ‘loud laughing’  
*dacdəc* QI ‘to throb’—*dəccá-dəc* ‘throbbing’

When a pronominal suffix is added to these verbal nouns the final consonant is geminated and the form is generally split into two stressed units:

- hárra hárru* ‘his laughing’  
<sup>+</sup>*kóttá +kətté* ‘their clucking’

Quadriliteral verbs expressing sounds that have the pattern *čočə* QI ‘to twitter’ have verbal nouns with the pattern *Cəvvə-Cəv* with final /v/. This suggests that these verbs were originally reduplicative like other verbs expressing sounds with roots of the pattern *C-vC-v*. The final /v/ is what is reflected in some inflections of these in the northern variety of the dialect and in C. Salamas and C. Gawilan, e.g. the infinitive/progressive *čočuvvə* in contrast to the southern variety *čočuya*, and C. Salamas/C. Gawilan present template *čavčəv*. Examples:

- čočə* QI ‘to twitter’—*čəvvá-čəv* ‘twittering’  
*zozə* QI ‘to howl’—*zəvvá-zəv* ‘howling’

A rarer variant form of verbal noun expressing sound is one with the reduplicative pattern *C<sub>a</sub>əC<sub>b</sub>C<sub>c</sub>a-C<sub>a</sub>əC<sub>b</sub>C<sub>c</sub>*. This is available for triliteral verbs, e.g.

- <sup>+</sup>*marəč* I ‘to squeeze out’—<sup>+</sup>*mərčá-+mərč* ‘sound of sucking out (by lips)’

It is also used for some quadriliteral verbs, with the sequence of consonants adjusted and supplemented to fit the template, e.g.

- <sup>+</sup>*vasvəs* QI ‘to whine’—<sup>+</sup>*vəstá-+vəst* ‘sound of whining’  
<sup>+</sup>*tarčəm* QI ‘to grumble’—<sup>+</sup>*mərčá-+mərč* ‘grumbling’

Further variant structures are attested in the following forms:

*hrámma hràmmu* ‘its neighing’ (A 45:9), cf. *harhám* QI ‘to neigh’  
 +*táppa* +*tappé* ‘their galloping’ (A 45:9), cf. +*taptəp* QI ‘to pound’

The origin of these patterns of verbal noun expressing sound can be traced to Mukri Kurdish, in which the corresponding nouns have the pattern *CVCeCVC*, the vowels of the first and last syllable being variable, e.g. *qareqar* ‘screaming’, *bořebor* ‘lowing (of oxen)’, *šírešír* ‘plashing (of water)’. These do not all have corresponding verbs, but when they do the verbs are not reduplicative, e.g. *qîrîn* ‘to scream’.<sup>7</sup> It would appear, therefore, that the C. Urmi reduplicative quadrilateral verbs expressing sound are ultimately derived from the verbal nouns.

For the syntactic constructions used with these verbal nouns see § 12.1. 6.2.

#### 4.26 Phrasal Verbs

The C. Urmi dialect contains various ‘phrasal verbs’, which are compound constructions consisting of a finite inflected verb and a nominal element. The term ‘phrasal verb’ is used to distinguish them from compound verbal forms consisting of the resultative participle or progressive stem and the copula. Phrasal verbs are generally calques from parallel constructions in Persian, Kurdish or Azeri Turkish. The nominal element is generally retained from the source language with the finite verb being exchanged for an equivalent Aramaic ‘light’ verb such as *‘avəd* I ‘to do’, *yavvəl* I ‘to give’, *jarəš* I ‘to pull’, *davək* I ‘to hold’, *maxə* I ‘to hit’ for transitive verbs and *‘avə* I ‘to be’ for intransitive verbs. Some selected examples are as follows:

<i>hamla</i> <i>‘avəd</i>	‘to attack’	Pers. hamle kardan
+ <i>əmza</i> <i>‘avəd</i>	‘to sign’	Pers. emza kardan
+ <i>rəsva</i> <i>‘avəd</i>	‘to disgrace’	Pers. rosvā kardan
<i>sohbat</i> <i>‘avəd</i>	‘to converse’	Pers. sohbat kardan
<i>rad</i> <i>‘avəd</i>	‘to remove’	Pers. rad kardan
+ <i>hazər</i> <i>‘avəd</i>	‘to prepare’	Kurd. hâzir-î kirin
<i>sunnat</i> <i>‘avəd</i>	‘to circumcise’	Azer. sünnet etmek
+ <i>dussaq</i> <i>‘avəd</i>	‘to arrest’	Azer. dustaq etmek

<sup>7</sup> I am grateful to Ergin Öpengin for these data from Mukri Kurdish.

<i>+juvvab yavvəl</i>	'to reply'	Pers. <i>iovāb</i> dādan
<i>'azyat yavvəl</i>	'to distress'	Azer. əziyyət vermək
<i>zahmat yavvəl</i>	'to bother'	Azer. zəhmət vermək
<i>zahmatjarəš</i>	'to take trouble'	Pers. <i>zahmat</i> kašīdan
<i>+nāz jarəš</i>	'to spoil (a child)'	Pers. <i>nāz</i> kašīdan
<i>+karavuljarəš</i>	'to guard'	Azer. <i>qarovul</i> çəkmək
<i>'azyatjarəš</i>	'to suffer'	Azer. əziyyət çəkmək
<i>hujumjarəš</i>	'to attack'	Azer. <i>hüküm</i> çəkmək
<i>cərri davək</i>	'to rent'	Pers. <i>kerāye</i> gereftan
<i>cušti davək</i>	'to wrestle'	Pers. <i>kuštī</i> gereftan
<i>lağəm maxə</i>	'to undermine'	Azer. <i>lağım</i> vurmaq
<i>cort maxə</i>	'to doze'	Pers. čort zadan
<i>+basma maxə</i>	'to print'	Pers. bāsme zadan
<i>xam +'axəl</i>	'to take care'	Pers. ġam xordan
<i>majbur 'avə</i>	'to become forced'	Pers. <i>majbūr</i> šōdan
<i>+rəsvə 'avə</i>	'to be disgraced'	Pers. <i>rosvā</i> šōdan
<i>+tanəš 'avə</i>	'to become acquainted'	Azer. <i>tanış</i> olmaq
<i>muraxast 'avə</i>	'to leave'	Azer. <i>mürəxxəs</i> olmaq
<i>+cənnar 'azəl</i>	'to step aside'	Azer. <i>kənar</i> gəzmək

A number of phrasal verbs that calque those in other languages contain NENA nouns, e.g.

<i>+ayna maxə</i>	'to wink'	Azer. <i>göz</i> vurmaq/ Pers. čeşmak zadan
<i>ʃulpa maxə</i>	'to flap'	Pers. par zadan
<i>ptana 'avəd</i>	'to plough'	Pers. šoxm kardan
<i>xela maxə</i>	'to exert oneself'	Pers. zür zadan

# Nouns

## 5.1 Preliminary Remarks

Most nouns of Aramaic stock and loanwords that have been adapted to Aramaic morphology have in the singular the endings (i) *-a*, which is the reflex of the masculine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic or (ii) *-ta*, which is the reflex of the feminine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic. A classification is given below of the various morphological patterns of nouns in the dialect that have one of these inflectional endings in the singular. In this chapter stress is not marked when it occurs in its default penultimate position.

## 5.2 Nouns with *-a* Inflection

### 5.2.1 Bisyllabic Patterns

#### 5.2.1.1 *CaCa*

<i>baba</i>	'father'
<i>dava</i>	'gold'
<i>kala</i>	'voice'
<i>mana</i>	'vessel'
<i>nara</i>	'river'
<i>sada</i>	'witness'
<i>sala</i>	'basket'
<i>sava</i>	'old man'
<i>xana</i>	'lap'
<i>yama</i>	'sea'
<sup>+</sup> <i>dana</i>	'time'
<sup>+</sup> <i>kaša</i>	'priest'
<sup>+</sup> <i>sada</i>	'almond'
<sup>+</sup> <i>sara</i>	'moon'
<sup>+</sup> <i>tala</i>	'fox'
<sup>+</sup> <i>tama</i>	'taste'
<sup>+</sup> <i>tana</i>	'load'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xasa</i>	'back'

Some of the nouns of Aramaic stock had this as their pattern in an earlier stage of Aramaic, e.g. *kala* < \**qālā* ‘voice’, *sava* < \**sābā* ‘old man’. In some cases the second consonant was originally geminated, e.g. *xana* < \**ḥannā* ‘lap’, *yama* < \**yammā* ‘sea’. In other cases the pattern has arisen by the elision of a consonant that was originally present after the vowel. Such elided consonants include a pharyngal, e.g. *+tala* < \**ta'lā* ‘fox’, *+šada* < \**ša'da* < \**šaǵdā* ‘almond’, a laryngal, e.g. *dava* < \**dahvā* ‘gold’, or an *\*r*, e.g. *+xasa* < \**harṣā* ‘back’. In *+dana* ‘time’ an initial pharyngal has been lost (< \**iddānā*).

#### 5.2.1.2      *CeCa*

<i>beta</i>	‘house’
<i>kesa</i>	‘wood’
<i>leša</i>	‘dough’
<i>meša</i>	‘forest’
<i>šena</i>	‘peace’
<i>sepa</i>	‘sword’
<i>xela</i>	‘strength’
<i>zeta</i>	‘olive oil’
<i>+keṭa</i>	‘summer’

The /e/ in words of this pattern derives from the contraction of an original diphthong \*ay, e.g. *beta* < \**baytā* ‘house’.

#### 5.2.1.3      *CiCa*

<i>cica</i>	‘tooth’
<i>cipa</i>	‘stone’
<i>cisa</i>	‘belly’
<i>diva</i>	‘wolf’
<i>’ida</i>	‘hand’
<i>ſiba</i>	‘side’
<i>riša</i>	‘head’
<i>sila</i>	‘sand’
<i>sima</i>	‘silver’
<i>tina</i>	‘fig’
<i>+lina</i>	‘jar’
<i>+pira</i>	‘lamb’
<i>+siṭa</i>	‘span of hand’
<i>+ṭima</i>	‘value’
<i>+ṭina</i>	‘mud’

In some words of this pattern the /i/ is original, e.g. *’ida* ‘hand’, *+qina* ‘mud’. In the case of *+lina* ‘jar’ the pattern has arisen by the loss of a pharyngal: < \**l’ina* < \**lğ̃inā*. Some words had an original medial \*ē (§ 1.11.1. ii), e.g. *cipa* < \**kēpā* ‘stone’. Others had an original pattern \*CaCCa, the \*CC being either a geminated consonant or \*rC, e.g. *cica* < \**kakkā* ‘tooth’, *cisa* < \**karsā* ‘belly’.

#### 5.2.1.4 CoCa

<i>coca</i>	‘trunk (of tree)’
<i>joza</i>	‘walnut’
<i>loma</i>	‘blame’
<i>mota</i>	‘death’
<i>nora</i>	‘mirror’
<i>poxa</i>	‘wind’
<i>šopa</i>	‘place’
<i>tora</i>	‘ox’
<i>yona</i>	‘dove, pigeon’
<i>+jora</i>	‘man, husband’
<i>+sola</i>	‘shoe’
<i>+soma</i>	‘fast’
<i>+xola</i>	‘rope’

In words of Aramaic stock, the /o/ in this pattern is derived historically from the diphthong \*aw, e.g. *mota* < \**mawtā* ‘death’. In some cases the \*aw is, in turn, derived from \*ab, e.g. *+jora* < \**gabrā* ‘man’.

#### 5.2.1.5 CuCa

<i>bula</i>	‘stem of growing corn, hair of grass or corn’
<i>buma</i>	‘type of owl’
<i>cuxa</i>	‘pile’
<i>juja</i>	‘stock of vine’
<i>luxa</i>	‘tablet’
<i>muja</i>	‘bull calf’
<i>mula</i>	‘barn’
<i>muxa</i>	‘brain’
<i>sula</i>	‘pile of fertilizer’
<i>yuma</i>	‘day’
<i>zula</i>	‘line, stripe’
<i>+ruxa</i>	‘spirit’

<sup>+</sup>*šula* ‘work, matter’

<sup>+</sup>*tula* ‘revenge’

The /u/ in most words of this pattern is derived from \*o by a general sound shift in the dialect (§ 1.11.6. iii), e.g. *muxa* < \**moxa*. In the case of *yuma* the sound shift applied to an \*o, which had in turn developed from an original diphthong \*aw (\*yawmā).

#### 5.2.1.6 *CayCa*

<sup>+</sup>*ayba* ‘shame’

<sup>+</sup>*ayna* ‘eye’

<sup>+</sup>*ayva* ‘cloud’

The diphthong /ay/ is preserved only in a small set of emphatic words, which have a voiced labial or sonorant as third radical. Elsewhere the diphthong has contracted to /e/, resulting in the pattern *CeCa*. Other diphthongs are only marginally found in loanwords, e.g. <sup>+</sup>*øyma* ‘dress, skirt’.

#### 5.2.1.7 *CuyCa*

*duyša* ‘honey’

*juyba* ‘pit’

*juyda* ‘wall’

*nuyna* ‘fish’

*nuyra* ‘fire’

*suysa* ‘horse’

*tuyma* ‘garlic’

*tuyna* ‘straw’

*tuyra* ‘thin twig’

<sup>+</sup>*ruyša* ‘shoulder’

<sup>+</sup>*tuyra* ‘mountain’

<sup>+</sup>*xuyra* ‘friend’

The diphthong /uy/ has developed from a long \*ū, e.g. *nuyra* < \*nūrā ‘fire’ (§ 1.12.1.). In some cases the long \*ū had in turn developed from an original short \*u after the reduction of a following geminated consonant, e.g. *juyda* < \*gūdā < \*guddā ‘wall’, or the contraction of \*b, e.g. *duša* < \*dubšā ‘honey’.

5.2.1.8      *CCaCa*

<i>ctava</i>	'book'
<i>jnaha</i>	'fault'
<i>kdala</i>	'neck'
<i>šlama</i>	'peace'
<i>xmara</i>	'donkey'
<i>xpaka</i>	'bosom'
<i>+kraya</i>	'turtle'
<i>+šraya</i>	'lamp'

A final radical /y/ in this pattern is sometimes contracted, resulting in the monosyllabic pattern *CCa*, e.g. *+šra* < *+šraya* 'lamp', *+kra* < *+kraya* 'turtle', *jna* < *jnaha* 'crime'.

5.2.1.9      *CCiCa*

<i>criva</i>	'ploughed field'
<i>jdila</i>	'ice'
<i>jdiša</i>	'pile of leaves'
<i>jniva</i>	'eyebrow'
<i>jriva</i>	'calico'
<i>priza</i>	'field of stubble'
<i>scina</i>	'knife'
<i>škipa</i>	'canyon'
<i>šlixa</i>	'apostle, missionary'
<i>xmira</i>	'leaven, yeast'
<i>+ktira</i>	'hollow of hand'
<i>+sliva</i>	'cross'
<i>+spira</i>	'omelette'

5.2.1.10      *CCoCa*

<i>+tloxa</i>	'lentil'
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5.2.1.11      *CCuCa*

Most nouns of this pattern are associated with verbs and have meanings relating to that of the corresponding verb:

- cyula* ‘measuring, measurement’  
*kyuda* ‘burn’  
*rjuda* ‘trembling’  
*zyura* ‘swelling’  
<sup>+</sup>*xyuṭa* ‘sewing, stitch’

In some cases no corresponding verb is used in the dialect:

- jlula* ‘circle’  
<sup>+</sup>*tlula* ‘dew’

#### 5.2.1.12 *CCuyCa*

- btuyla* ‘bachelor’  
*stuyna* ‘wooden post’  
 $\check{s}$ *xuyna* ‘heat’  
*xzuyra* ‘pig’  
<sup>+</sup>*p̄čuyra* ‘ankle bone’  
<sup>+</sup>*xluyla* ‘wedding’

#### 5.2.1.13 *CaCCa*

- calba* ‘dog’  
*carma* ‘vineyard’  
*darba* ‘wound’  
*jarma* ‘bone’  
 $\check{k}$ *alma* ‘louse’  
 $\check{k}$ *amxa* ‘flour’  
*talja* ‘snow’  
<sup>+</sup>*katva* ‘knitting-needle’  
<sup>+</sup>*tarpa* ‘leaf’  
<sup>+</sup>*xabra* ‘word’  
<sup>+</sup>*xalva* ‘milk’  
<sup>+</sup>*xamra* ‘wine’

Some words of Aramaic stock have acquired this pattern by the secondary gemination of the second radical, e.g.

- <sup>+</sup>*arra* ‘ground’  
<sup>+</sup>*karra* ‘pumpkin’

<sup>+</sup> <i>marra</i>	'illness'
<sup>+</sup> <i>samma</i>	'wax'
<sup>+</sup> <i>tarra</i>	'door'
<sup>+</sup> <i>zarra</i>	'offspring'

Such words originally had a pharyngal as their third radical. After the elision of this the second radical was geminated to prevent the initial short vowel from occurring in an open syllable, e.g. *\*arā* > *\*ar'a* > *\*+ära* > *+arra*.

Gemination of the second radical is found elsewhere in loanwords, e.g.

<i>samma</i>	'poison' (Pers. < Arab.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>banna</i>	'builder' (Pers. < Arab.)

#### 5.2.1.14 CəCCa

<i>'ərba</i>	'sheep'
<i>dədva</i>	'fly'
<i>dəpna</i>	'side'
<i>jəlda</i>	'skin'
<i>jərva</i>	'leprosy'
<i>jəšra</i>	'bridge'
<i>məlxə</i>	'salt'
<i>pətva</i>	'width'
<i>šəbla</i>	'head of corn'
<i>šəmša</i>	'sun'
<i>xətna</i>	'groom'
<sup>+</sup> <i>cətra</i>	'knot'
<sup>+</sup> <i>kətma</i>	'ash'
<sup>+</sup> <i>muṭra</i>	'rain'
<sup>+</sup> <i>nədra</i>	'dedication'
<sup>+</sup> <i>šəxra</i>	'soot'

Several words with this pattern express nominals derived from pattern 1 verbs, e.g.

<i>bərza</i>	'dry land'	< <i>barəz</i> 'to dry'
<i>cəpna</i>	'hunger'	< <i>capən</i> 'to be hungry'
<i>cərxa</i>	'scroll'	< <i>carəx</i> 'to wind up'
<i>jəxca</i>	'laughing'	< <i>jaxəc</i> 'to laugh'
<i>nəzla</i>	'puss'	< <i>nazəl</i> 'to suppurate'

<i>pərsa</i>	'slaughter'	< <i>parəs</i> 'to slaughter'
<i>pətla</i>	'bend'	< <i>patəl</i> 'to bend, to twist'
<i>rəkda</i>	'dance'	< <i>rakəd</i> 'to dance'
<i>səkla</i>	'ornament'	< <i>sakəl</i> 'to decorate'
<i>sənda</i>	'support'	< <i>sanəd</i> 'to support'
<i>səpsa</i>	'decay'	< <i>sapəs</i> 'to decay'
<i>təpna</i>	'mould'	< <i>tapən</i> 'to become mouldy'
<i>təxra</i>	'memory'	< <i>taxər</i> 'to remember'
<i>xəmkə</i>	'stink'	< <i>xamək</i> 'to stink'
<i>xətra</i>	'pride'	< <i>xatər</i> 'to become proud'
<i>+kəmča</i>	'pinching'	< <i>+kaməč</i> I 'to pinch'
<i>+kərtə</i>	'bite'	< <i>+karət</i> 'to bite'
<i>+kətla</i>	'killing'	< <i>+kaṭəl</i> 'to kill'
<i>+pərṭa</i>	'tear'	< <i>+parəṭ</i> 'to tear'
<i>+xəkra</i>	'honour'	< <i>+xaķər</i> 'to honour'
<i>+xəmsa</i>	'acid'	< <i>+xaməs</i> 'to turn sour'
<i>+xərṭa</i>	'notch'	< <i>+xaraṭ</i> 'to make an incision'
<i>+zəlla</i>	'crack'	< <i>+zallə</i> 'to crack'
<i>+zərča</i>	'scratch'	< <i>+zarəč</i> 'to scratch'

The pattern contains forms with a geminated medial radical:

<i>dəbba</i>	'bear'
<i>dəmma</i>	'blood'
<i>jəlla</i>	'grass, plant'
<i>kənna</i>	'nest'
<i>ləbba</i>	'heart'
<i>ŷəkka</i>	'frog'
<i>šəmma</i>	'name'
<i>tənna</i>	'smoke'
<i>xəmma</i>	'heat'
<i>+bəzza</i>	'hole'
<i>+kəṭṭa</i>	'piece'
<i>+sup̪pa</i>	'finger'

In some cases the gemination is inherited from earlier Aramaic, e.g. *ləbba* 'heart', in other cases it has arisen secondarily, e.g. \**dəmā* > \**dəmma* 'blood', *+kəṭṭa* < \**qəṭṭā* 'piece' (§ 1.13.2.3.2.).

5.2.1.15 *CuCCa*

<i>'urxa</i>	'road'
<i>duyla</i>	'lie'
<i>jumla</i>	'camel'
<i>kunya</i>	'well'
<i>šumra</i>	'cobweb'
<i>tuþra</i>	'tail'
<i>+bukra</i>	'cattle'
<i>+busra</i>	'meat'
<i>+þupra</i>	'beauty'
<i>+xulma</i>	'dream'
<i>+yukra</i>	'weight, load'
<i>+yurxa</i>	'length'

This pattern contains forms with a geminated middle radical, e.g.

<i>pumma</i>	'mouth'
<i>xubba</i>	'love'
<i>xuvva</i>	'snake'
<i>+pulla</i>	'radish'
<i>+tuvva</i>	'gemstone'

In some cases the gemination has arisen secondarily after the elision of a radical, e.g. *+pulla* < \**pulga*, *+tuvva* < \**tub'a* 'gemstone', *xuvva* < \**xuvya* 'snake'.

5.2.1.16 *CoCCa*

This pattern is found only in loanwords:

<i>mohra</i>	'block of dried mud'
<i>+dolma</i>	'stuffed vine/cabbage leaves'
<i>+dorma</i>	'stepson'
<i>+sorba</i>	'soup'

5.2.1.17 *CCVCCa*

<i>prəzla</i>	'iron'
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### 5.2.2 Trisyllabic Patterns with Three Consonants

#### 5.2.2.1 CaCaCa

Words of Aramaic stock that have this pattern are mainly reflexes of the original \**CaCCāCā* pattern with gemination of the medial radical, which is used to designate people according to their profession or habitual activity, being, for the most part, derivatives of verbal roots. In some forms that had this historical pattern, the \**a* in the initial syllable has shifted to /i/ (see the pattern *CiCaCa* below).

<i>canaša</i>	'sweeper'
<i>catava</i>	'writer'
<i>dajala</i>	'liar'
<i>palaxa</i>	'worker'
<i>rakada</i>	'dancer'
<i>šamaša</i>	'deacon'
<i>taxana</i>	'miller'
<i>zamara</i>	'singer'
<i>žadaya</i>	'teaser of wool'
<i>+ravaya</i>	'drunkard'
<i>+saxaya</i>	'swimmer'
<i>+sayada</i>	'hunter'
<i>+xayaṭa</i>	'tailor'
<i>+xazada</i>	'harvester'
<i>+zakara</i>	'weaver'
<i>+zaraya</i>	'cultivator'

In some isolated instances the pattern is used as the name of an animal or instrument to designate their characteristic activity or application, e.g.

<i>dabaša</i>	'bee (honey-maker)'
<i>caraxa</i>	'rake for coal (raker around < <i>carəx</i> 'to surround')'
<i>sarada</i>	'sieve (siever < <i>sarəd</i> 'to sieve')'

The pattern is found in a few other words of Aramaic stock that do not derive from a verb, e.g.

<i>’alahā</i>	'God'
<i>kadala</i>	'pot'
<i>malaxa</i>	angel
<i>šamaya</i>	'palate, gums'

The pattern is also found in a number of loanwords, e.g.

<i>calama</i>	'cabbage'
<i>jadaja</i>	'male buffalo calf'
<i>kalama</i>	'pen'
<i>malapa</i>	'bed-sheet'
<i>maraca</i>	'hullabaloo'
<i>masala</i>	'story'
<i>tabačka</i>	'floor, storey'
<i>taǵala</i>	'spleen'
<i>varačka</i>	'paper'
+ <i>abara</i>	'raised water channel'
+ <i>daǵala</i>	'knave, cheat'
+ <i>daraja</i>	'degree; step'
+ <i>mamača</i>	'midwife'
+ <i>pavara</i>	'current, stream (of water)'
+ <i>šamama</i>	'small wild melon'
+ <i>tamaša</i>	'spectacle'

#### 5.2.2.2 *CaCiCa*

<i>'aliza</i>	'mud brick (Canda)'
<i>bašila</i>	'cantaloupe melon'
<i>calija</i>	'young buffalo'
<i>harisa</i>	'boiled crushed wheat'
<i>hasira</i>	'mat'
<i>jarima</i>	'fine, penalty'
<i>nadida</i>	'great-great-grandson'
<i>natija</i>	'great-grandson'
<i>naxira</i>	'nose'
<i>šarica</i>	'partner'
<i>sarida</i>	'sieve'
<i>tanina</i>	'dragon'
<i>xanika</i>	'rope tied under neck of oxen'
<i>xaziza</i>	'canary'
+ <i>baṭila</i>	'idle man'
+ <i>hasida</i>	'sweet cake filling'
+ <i>paṭira</i>	'round bread'
+ <i>varida</i>	'artery'
+ <i>xasina</i>	'axe'
+ <i>zarira</i>	'ray of light'

5.2.2.3 *CaCuCa*

Some words with this pattern are derived from verbal roots and designate the agent or instrument associated with the activity of the verb:

- jarupa* ‘spade for digging paddy fields’
- paruša* ‘bookmark’
- +*kaṭula* ‘murder’
- +*paluša* ‘fighter’
- +*raxuṭa* ‘racer’
- +*xatūra* ‘wooden beater (of washing)’

Some words that designate instruments have no corresponding verb in the current synchronic state of the dialect:

- naḱuša* ‘wooden bell’
- jaruma* ‘axle’
- +*karusa* ‘rake’

The pattern is found also in a number of other words:

- č*apula* ‘slap’
- š*akula* ‘ankle’
- yaluda* ‘young boy’
- +*alula* ‘street’
- +*ravula* ‘valley, gorge’

Words with this pattern of Aramaic stock had an original medial \*ō, e.g. +*katūla* < \*qāṭōlā ‘murderer’.

5.2.2.4 *CaCuyCa*

- tanuyra* ‘oven’
- xabuyša* ‘apple’
- yatuyma* ‘orphan’
- +*raxuyma* ‘lover’
- +*yamuyṣa* ‘young branch of vine’

5.2.2.5 *CiCaCa*

<i>'ilana</i>	'tree'
<i>lisana</i>	'tongue'
<i>ziyana</i>	'harm'
<i>+ijara</i>	'rent'
<i>+ijaza</i>	'permission'
<i>+ikara</i>	'honour'
<i>+jilasa</i>	'sweet cherry'
<i>+jizara</i>	'carrot'
<i>+zivana</i>	'weed'

Some nouns of this pattern of Aramaic stock are derived historically from the pattern *\*CaCCāCā* and exhibit the vowel shift *a > i* in the first syllable (§ 1.11.1. iv):

<i>jinava</i>	'thief'
<i>jivaya</i>	'beggar'
<i>ricava</i>	'rider'

5.2.2.6 *CuCaCa*

Many words with this pattern of Aramaic stock are deverbal nouns expressing an abstract or concrete referent. In some case the verbal root in question is not used as a finite verb in the dialect:

<i>bušala</i>	'stew'
<i>busama</i>	'pleasure'
<i>dubara</i>	'behaviour'
<i>huſaya</i>	'spelling'
<i>mušaxa</i>	'extent, size'
<i>nuxama</i>	'resurrection'
<i>pušaka</i>	'translation'
<i>šulama</i>	'termination'
<i>xušava</i>	'thought'
<i>+ujaba</i>	'amazement'
<i>+bukara</i>	'question'
<i>+buraxa</i>	'blessing'
<i>+duraša</i>	'argument'
<i>+pxalā</i>	'pardon'
<i>+subara</i>	'the Annunciation'

- <sup>+</sup>šuhara ‘pride’  
<sup>+</sup>suraya ‘beginning’

The pattern is found also in nouns of other categories, some of them loanwords, e.g.

- čučaya ‘blossoming flower’  
curaxa ‘shroud’  
dulaba ‘spool for winding wool’  
juvara ‘line (of vegetables, vines, bushes etc.)’  
<sup>+</sup>ušana ‘palm tree’  
<sup>+</sup>budala ‘simpleton’  
<sup>+</sup>curasa ‘quire of paper’  
<sup>+</sup>hurara ‘band of priest’s vestment’  
<sup>+</sup>murapa ‘lawsuit’  
<sup>+</sup>xulama ‘servant’

The /u/ in words of Aramaic stock with this pattern is sometimes realized as the diphthong /uy/, e.g. *cuyraxa* ‘shroud’. This is a feature of slow speech when the pretonic vowel is pronounced longer than normal (§ 1.12.1.).

#### 5.2.2.7 Other Vocalic Patterns

Other vocalic patterns, many in loanwords, are occasionally attested in the syllabic structure *CVCVCa*, e.g.

- pučeča ‘stalk of maize’ (Canda)  
kopala ‘walking-stick’  
došeca ‘mattress’  
hosala ‘patience’  
totava ‘refugee’  
coxaya ‘headman of village’  
moriša ‘morning’  
bebuna ‘camomile’

#### 5.2.3 Trisyllabic Patterns with Four Consonants

A number of nouns with three syllables, many of them loanwords, contain four consonants. These mostly have the pattern *CVCCVCa* or *CVCVCCa*:

5.2.3.1 *CaCCaCa*

Some nouns in this category are nouns preserving the historical gemination of the middle radical, e.g.

- dayyana* ‘judge’  
*zannaya* ‘fornicator, libertine’  
<sup>+</sup>*accara* ‘farmer’  
<sup>+</sup>*tabbara* ‘hero’  
<sup>+</sup>*xattaya* ‘sinner’

The majority of other nouns, without a geminated medial consonant, are loanwords:

- čambara* ‘ring of harvested corn’  
*janjapa* ‘playing card’  
*manyana* ‘vice, wooden press’  
*panjara* ‘window’  
<sup>+</sup>*barrana* ‘ram’  
<sup>+</sup>*čalxama* ‘agitation, hubbub; whirlwind, storm’  
<sup>+</sup>*darmana* ‘medicine’  
<sup>+</sup>*darvaza* ‘gate (of a city or courtyard)’  
<sup>+</sup>*masxara* ‘buffoon, joker’  
<sup>+</sup>*šahzada* ‘prince’  
<sup>+</sup>*tapmaja* ‘riddle’  
<sup>+</sup>*tarvada* ‘ladle’

5.2.3.2 *CaCCiCa*

- ’armila* ‘widower’  
*šabbiba* ‘pipe (woodwind instrument)’  
*talmida* ‘pupil, student, apostle’

Some forms in this category are nouns preserving the historical gemination of the middle radical, e.g.

- kaddiša* ‘saint’

5.2.3.3      *CaCCuyCa*

- bambuyla* ‘spout’  
*sanduyka* ‘box’  
*+čaryuyša* ‘square, quadrangle’

5.2.3.4      *CəCCaCa*

- 'ərbala* ‘sieve’  
*bərvana* ‘apron’  
*cəssaya* ‘lid’  
*dəccana* ‘shop’  
*ɟəddala* ‘thread’  
*kəkvana* ‘partridge’  
*səcvana* ‘ant’  
*+kərtala* ‘pannier basket’  
*+pərtana* ‘flea’  
*+rəzzaya* ‘will, free will’  
*+sənnara* ‘jaw, jawbone’

The form *ɟəddala* has arisen by the phonologization of an epenthetic breaking the initial consonantal cluster (§ 1.13.2.3.2.) and its alternatives with the bisyllabic pattern *ɟdala*.

5.2.3.5      *CəCCiCa*

- ɟəddiša* ‘pile of leaves’

This form has arisen by the phonologization of an epenthetic breaking the initial consonantal cluster (§ 1.13.2.3.2.) and its alternatives with the bisyllabic pattern *ɟdiša*.

5.2.3.6      *CəCCuCa*

- mərtuxa* ‘filling of cakes’  
*šəppula* ‘end of skirt or robe’  
*tərtuba* ‘stitch, tack’  
*xəžbuna* ‘calculation’  
*+nəpruza* ‘beak’

5.2.3.7 *CuCCaCa*

In words of Aramaic stock this pattern is used to form abstract nouns associated with quadrilateral verbal roots, some of them no longer in use in the dialect. It is equivalent to the pattern *CuCaCa*, which has a similar function:

- surjada* ‘calendar’  
*xuzdaja* ‘damage, harm’  
*+junjara* ‘anguish, torture’

The pattern is also used in other nouns, many of them loanwords

- duccana* ‘shop’  
*+bustana* ‘kitchen garden’  
*+sursara* ‘frost’  
*+tumbana* ‘trousers’

5.2.3.8 *CVCCVCa* with other Vocalism

A variety of other vocalisms of this pattern are attested:

- pərdesa* ‘paradise’  
*šucluca* ‘plain stitch’  
*šupnina* ‘turtledove’  
*+juljola* ‘bobbin’  
*+kunṭepa* ‘large bunch of grapes’  
*+sursina* ‘thistle’

5.2.3.9 *CaCaCCa*

- lavanda* ‘long sleeve’  
*mahalla* ‘quarter (of town)’  
*tašalla* ‘marble (ball)’

5.2.3.10 *CaCəCCa*

- marəjla* ‘metal pan’  
*+aķərvə* ‘scorpion’

5.2.3.11 *CaCuCCa*

- 'akubra* ‘mouse’  
*+camutra* ‘pear; pear tree’  
*+cavutra* ‘midday; lunch’

5.2.3.12 *CuCaCCa*

- mucabba* ‘cube’  
*mutacca* ‘long pillow’  
*šušanna* ‘lily’  
*+murabba* ‘jam’

5.2.3.13 *CuCəCCa*

- 'urədxa* ‘large metal needle’  
*čuratma* ‘trap, snare (for birds)’

5.2.4 *Patterns with Five Consonants*

- sparažla* ‘quince’  
*šambalila* ‘fenugreek’  
*balbaluka* ‘black cherry’  
*čərčərra* ‘device for scaring away birds’  
*pərpərra* ‘propeller’  
*məšməšša* ‘apricot; apricot tree’  
*+pəspəssa* ‘hissing’  
*+kurməčča* ‘wrinkle’

The trisyllabic pattern *CəCCəCCa* is found in nouns associated with quadriliteral verbs, e.g. *pərpərra* ‘spinning top’ (<*parpər* QI ‘to turn’), *čərčərra* ‘device for making sound to scare away birds’ (<*čarčər* QI ‘to scream’), *+pəspəssa* ‘hissing’ (<*+paspəs* QI ‘to hiss’). This is related to the triliteral pattern *CəCCa* (§ 5.2.1.14.), which is used for deverbal nouns. The quadriliteral root has evidently been imposed on the triliteral pattern *CəCCa* resulting in *CəCCəCCa* and an epenthetic /ə/ inserted after the third consonant, which in turn induces gemination, resulting in *CəCCəCCa*.

### 5.2.5 *Words with Final Geminated /y/ and /v/*

Some words ending in -CCa have a final /y/ or /v/, which has been geminated by the regular sound shift of /*īyV*/ > /*iyyV*/ and /*ūvV*/ > /*uvvV*/ (§ 1.13.2.3.3.), e.g.

<i>barriyya</i>	'desert'
<i>cusiyya</i>	'hat'
<i>neriyya</i>	'male sheep'
<i>pušiyya</i>	'woman's headscarf'
<i>rpupiyya</i>	'rash'
<i>sənjiyya</i>	'silver willow tree'
<i>toriyya</i>	'loofah (for washing)'
<sup>+</sup> <i>jarbiyya</i>	'north'
<sup>+</sup> <i>katīyya</i>	'shoot (of tree)'
<i>baduvva</i>	'poker'
<i>čarčuvva</i>	'frame'
<i>čarpuvva</i>	'dried shoot with leaves (used as fuel)'
<i>parduvva</i>	'lath (laid on timbers in roof)'
<i>zardačuvva</i>	'turmeric'
<sup>+</sup> <i>baṭuvva</i>	'flake of baked bread on floor of oven'
<sup>+</sup> <i>karuvva</i>	'cock' (literally 'caller')
<sup>+</sup> <i>ramuvva</i>	'funnel, syringe'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xaluvva</i>	'maternal uncle'

### 5.3 Nouns with the Feminine Ending *-ta*

#### 5.3.1 *Bisyllabic Patterns*

##### 5.3.1.1 *Cata*

<i>mata</i>	'village'
<i>nata</i>	'ear'
<i>pata</i>	'face'
<i>xata</i>	'sister'
<sup>+</sup> <i>mata</i>	'a single grape; spot (on skin)'
<sup>+</sup> <i>tata</i>	'crest of bird'
<sup>+</sup> <i>zata</i>	'young animal (f.)'

5.3.1.2      *Ceta*

*+meta* ‘churn’

5.3.1.3      *Cita*

*bita* ‘egg’

*šita* ‘year’

*+’ita* ‘church’

Words with the palatal /c/ before the ending *-ta* sometimes have the *Cita* pattern through the process of an optional weakening of the /c/ (§ 1.9.1.5.), e.g.

*sita* ‘ploughshare’ (~ *səcta*)

*zita* ‘bud, pod’ (~ *zəcta*)

5.3.1.4      *Cota*

*sota* ‘old woman’

*xota* ‘molar tooth’

5.3.1.5      *CaCta*

*banta* ‘sleeve’

*calta* ‘daughter-in-law’

*carta* ‘load (on back)’

*darta* ‘courtyard’

*ſanta* ‘garden’

*karta* ‘cold’

*laxta* ‘palm (of the hand)’

*marta* ‘mistress’

*parta* ‘sawdust, chaff’

*šabta* ‘week’

*salta* ‘small basket’

*xalta* maternal aunt

*xamta* ‘young woman’

*xasta* ‘lettuce’

*yamta* ‘lake’

*+’amta* ‘paternal aunt’

*+’arta* ‘rival wife’

- <sup>+</sup>*ṭamta* ‘breakfast’  
<sup>+</sup>*ṭapta* ‘cutting (from plant)’

This is the pattern of verbal nouns from various types of weak root:

- rakta* ‘running’  
*xašta* ‘going’  
<sup>+</sup>*xalta* ‘eating’

#### 5.3.1.6 *CāCta*

This pattern with a long /a/ vowel is found in nouns with a contracted middle radical (§1.14):

- <sup>+</sup>*ānta* ‘air-hole in oven’ (cf. <sup>+</sup>*ayna* ‘eye’)  
<sup>+</sup>*sārta* ‘curse’ (< \**ṣa‘arta*)  
<sup>+</sup>*ṭālta* ‘game’ (< \**ṭa‘alta*)

#### 5.3.1.7 *CəCta*

- əpta* ‘leather strap attaching yoke to plough’  
*cəcta* ‘tooth of a key or a comb’  
*cəsta* ‘bag’  
*jəpta* ‘vine’  
*kəšta* ‘bow’  
*məlta* ‘string of a bow’  
*səcta* ‘ploughshare, stake’  
*šənta* ‘sleep’  
*səpta* ‘lip’  
*təcta* ‘belt (sewn with threads)’  
*xəlta* ‘sheath, scabbard’  
*zəcta* ‘bud, pod’  
<sup>+</sup>*lənta* ‘small earthenware pot’  
<sup>+</sup>*sənta* ‘smell of burning food’  
<sup>+</sup>*ṭəzta* ‘small anus’

#### 5.3.1.8 *CuCta*

- curta* ‘pile of cakes of dung (<sup>+</sup>*paṭuxə*)’  
*čuxta* ‘basement; storeroom’  
*ducta* ‘place’

<i>jupta</i>	'cheese'
<i>kupta</i>	'large owl'
<i>nunta</i>	'fly of trousers'
<i>purta</i>	'droppings of sheep'
<i>sulta</i>	'manure heap'
<i>šurta</i>	'navel'
<i>susta</i>	'mare'
<i>xurta</i>	'white poplar'
<i>zulta</i>	'long stick'
<i>+rumta</i>	'hill'
<i>+rušta</i>	'shoulder blade, shovel'
<i>+surta</i>	'shape, image'
<i>+tunta</i>	'produce, fruit'

5.3.1.9     *CCata*

<i>brata</i>	'daughter'
<i>xmata</i>	'mother-in-law'

5.3.1.10    *CCeta*

<i>cseta</i>	'cover'
<i>cteta</i>	'hen'
<i>mreta</i>	'moth'

This is the pattern of verbal nouns from final /y/ roots, e.g.

<i>jneta</i>	'setting (of sun)'
<i>šteta</i>	'drink'
<i>xzeta</i>	'seeing'

5.3.1.11    *CCita*

<i>mdita</i>	'town'
<i>pšita</i>	'fart'
<i>švita</i>	'bed, mattress'
<i>+xčita</i>	'sin'

5.3.1.12     *CCuta*

- +sluta* ‘prayer’  
*+zruta* ‘cultivation, tillage’

5.3.1.13     *CCuyta*

- ctuyta* ‘handwriting’  
*+zduyta* ‘fear’

5.3.1.14     *CCaCta*

- nvalta* ‘tuberculosis’  
*spasta* ‘clover’  
*šavta* ‘neighbour (f.)’  
*xmarta* ‘she-ass’  
*+mralta* ‘gall’  
*+xlamta* ‘marshmallow’

This is the pattern of verbal nouns of strong pattern I verbs, e.g.

- ptaxta* ‘opening’  
*fjarta* ‘marrying, marriage’  
*prakta* ‘ending, end’  
*kvalta* ‘complaining, complaint’  
*zmarta* ‘singing, song’

5.3.1.15     *CCəCta*

- ctəvta* ‘writing’  
*lvəšta* ‘clothing’  
*nxəpta* ‘shame’  
*prəsta* ‘mat (made of threads)’  
*ptəlta* ‘wick’  
*scənta* ‘small knife’  
*šləpta* ‘blade’  
*xzəmta* ‘nose-ring’  
*+tləbta* ‘fiancée’  
*+xdərta* ‘top of shirt front’

5.3.1.16 *CCuCta*

<i>btulta</i>	'virgin'
<i>cnušta</i>	'synagogue'
<i>ctulta</i>	'hedgehog'
<i>ɬulta</i>	'circle'
<i>skupta</i>	'lintel, doorstep'
<i>šluxta</i>	'slough of a snake'
<i>šxumta</i>	'altar stone of church'
<i>šxunta</i>	'heat'
<i>šxurta</i>	'blackbird'
<i>t̪kulta</i>	'weight'
<i>xzurta</i>	'sow (female pig)'

5.3.2 *Trisyllabic Patterns with Strong Consonants*5.3.2.1 *CaCaCta*

This pattern is used as the feminine equivalent of the pattern *CaCaCa* to designate people or creatures according to their profession or habitual activity, e.g.

<i>dajalta</i>	'liar (f.)'
<i>palaxta</i>	'worker (f.)'
<i>paraxta</i>	'flying creature'
<i>zamarta</i>	'singer (f.)'

The pattern is used also in a number of other words:

<i>šamacta</i>	'palate'
<i>yavarta</i>	'young female buffalo'
<i>+jazarta</i>	'island'
<i>+šavalta</i>	'glue'

It is the pattern of verbal nouns of pattern II strong verbs, e.g.

<i>basamta</i>	'cure'
<i>+paxalta</i>	'forgiving, pardon'

5.3.2.2 *CaCəCta*

<i>caləbta</i>	'bitch'
<i>davəlta</i>	'wealth'
<i>lačəcta</i>	'head kerchief'
<i>majəsta</i>	'small sickle'
<i>maləcta</i>	'queen'
<i>nadətta</i>	'great-great-granddaughter'
<i>natəjta</i>	'great-granddaughter'
<i>navəjta</i>	'granddaughter'
<i>šarəxta</i>	'heifer'
<i>taləmta</i>	'small jug'
<i>taləsta</i>	'small sack'
<i>tavərta</i>	'cow'
<sup>+</sup> <i>karəlta</i>	'storage pot (Canda)'
<sup>+</sup> <i>najəxta</i>	'chopper, small axe'
<sup>+</sup> <i>savəlta</i>	'shoe'
<sup>+</sup> <i>yaləxta</i>	'handkerchief; napkin'

5.3.2.3 *CaCuCta*

A number of nouns with this pattern designate instruments. For some of these, but not all, there is a corresponding verb in the dialect.

<i>baxušta</i>	'ladle'
<i>canušta</i>	'broom'
<i>casuxta</i>	'trimming tool'
<i>jadušta</i>	'milking pale'
<i>jarusta</i>	'hand-mill'
<i>xašulta</i>	'mortar'
<sup>+</sup> <i>maxusta</i>	'instrument for extracting coals'

It is found also in several other nouns:

<i>caculta</i>	'forelock, scalp'
<i>čaculta</i>	'handful (in one hand)'
<i>čapulta</i>	'paw'
<i>dalupta</i>	'drop (from a leaking roof)'
<i>jabušta</i>	'type of grape used for raisins'
<i>jamusta</i>	'upset stomach, diarrhoea'
<i>parušta</i>	'parting (of hair)'

<i>paruxta</i>	'eczema on skin'
<i>pačučta</i>	'small flat bread, pita'
<i>xabušta</i>	'apple tree'
<sup>+</sup> <i>mazuzta</i>	'lizard'
<sup>+</sup> <i>parušta</i>	'small flat stone'
<sup>+</sup> <i>pasulta</i>	'step, pace'
<sup>+</sup> <i>paťuxta</i>	'animal dung'
<sup>+</sup> <i>ravulta</i>	'valley, gorge'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xavurta</i>	'girlfriend'

5.3.2.4 *CiCaCta*

<i>bilacta</i>	'wrist'
<i>'idamta</i>	'wife of the brother of husband'
<i>'isakta</i>	'ring'
<i>lišanta</i>	'reed (of musical instrument), uvula'
<i>nisarta</i>	'saw (with single handle)'
<sup>+</sup> <i>jilasta</i>	'sweet cherry'

5.3.2.5 *CuCaCta*

<sup>+</sup> <i>buxaxta</i>	'fat under chin'
<sup>+</sup> <i>kusarta</i>	'cooking pot'

5.3.2.6 *CoCaCta*

<i>'ojaxta</i>	'fireplace, hearth'
<i>cocarta</i>	'thin black clouds'
<i>kopasta</i>	'cover; cap (on teeth)'
<i>kořalta</i>	'short walking-stick'
<sup>+</sup> <i>popaxta</i>	'hat, head of seeds'

5.3.2.7 *CeCaCta*

<i>hemanta</i>	'trust'
<sup>+</sup> <i>sebarta</i>	'companionship'

5.3.2.8 *CaCCaCta*

This is the pattern of the verbal noun of pattern III and QI verbs. In some cases these are used to refer to tangible entities:

<i>çançašta</i>	'swing (for children)'
<i>hamzamta</i>	'speech'
<i>mašxatta</i>	'preaching; church collection'
<i>partalta</i>	'whirlpool'
<i>tantasta</i>	'drizzle'
<i>varvarta</i>	'watery excrement'
<i>xamxamta</i>	'fever'
<i>+ajiazta</i>	'vexation, annoyance'

The pattern is used in several other nouns, some of them loanwords:

<i>jallaxta</i>	'bark of a tree, skin of snake'
<i>tappacta</i>	'head of seeds'
<i>+bannayta</i>	'building work'
<i>+čarpanta</i>	'tool used to whack or swat'
<i>+rabbanta</i>	'nun'
<i>+šahzatta</i>	'princess'

#### 5.3.2.9 *CaCCəCta*

<i>’armalta</i>	'widow'
<i>jamməšta</i>	'she-buffalo'
<i>jardəlta</i>	'pot for storing wine'
<i>kannošta</i>	'earring'
<i>marjəlta</i>	'small metal saucepan'
<i>sarjəšta</i>	'story, anecdote'

#### 5.3.2.10 *CaCCuCta*

<i>darušta</i>	'cradle'
<i>zanjulta</i>	'stirrup'
<i>+’armunta</i>	'pomegranate'

#### 5.3.2.11 *CuCCuCta*

Nouns of this pattern have a geminated medial consonant:

<i>šulluxta</i>	'slough of a snake'
<i>julluxta</i>	'slough of a snake'
<i>šuxxurta</i>	'blackbird'
<i>čulluxta</i>	'cabin, hovel'

- jummurta* ‘burning coals’  
*kubbuxta* ‘group’  
*+tup̪purta* ‘fingernail, toenail’

In some cases the /u/ in the first syllable before the geminated consonant is elided and the word is pronounced with the pattern *CCuCta*, e.g. *šulluxta* ~ *šluxta*, *šuxxurta* ~ *šxurta*.

#### 5.3.2.12 *CuCCəCta*

- puppæcta* ‘wet rash’  
*šupnənta* ‘turtledove’  
*+kursəlta* ‘elbow’

#### 5.3.2.13 *CəCCaCta*

- dəlčacta* ‘uvula; tongue of a pipe or flute’  
*səmmalta* ‘ladder’  
*+kərt̪alta* ‘small pannier bag’

#### 5.3.2.14 *CəCCəCta*

Some nouns of this pattern have a geminated medial consonant:

- məttəlta* ‘story’  
*šəššalta* ‘chain’  
*šəxxərta* ‘kneecap’

In some cases the /ə/ of the first syllable before the geminated consonant is elided and the word is pronounced with the pattern *CCəCta*, e.g. *mattəlta* ~ *mtəlta*. This pattern is found also in nouns with a sequence of two different consonants in medial position:

- kərkəpta* ‘skull’  
*zənjərta* ‘small bunch of grapes’

#### 5.3.2.15 *CəCCuCta*

- cəndurta* ‘small musk melon’  
*pəssurta* ‘stomach, gizzard’  
*šəppulta* ‘lower hem of a dress’

- təžbuxta* ‘glorification’  
*+čəkcurta* ‘hole’

### 5.3.3 *Trisyllabic Patterns with Weak Final Consonants*

#### 5.3.3.1 *CaCita, CeCita, CuCita*

- šakita* ‘stream’  
*lačita* ‘headscarf’  
*+ašita* ‘avalanche’  
*+karita* ‘beam’  
*'elita* ‘fat of sheep’s tail’  
*cusita* ‘hat’

#### 5.3.3.2 *CaCeta, CiCeta*

These are used as the feminine equivalents of the patterns *CaCaya* and *CiCaya* to designate people according to their profession or habitual activity, e.g.

- fiveta* ‘beggar (f.)’  
*+raveta* ‘drunkard (f.)’  
*+saxəta* ‘swimmer (f.)’

The pattern *CaCeta* forms verbal nouns of pattern II verbs with a weak final radical, e.g.

- taneta* ‘speaking; word, expression’  
*+dareta* ‘winnowing’  
*+saleta* ‘praying’

The pattern *CaCeta* is also used in several nouns referring to tangible entities:

- 'apeta* ‘thick cloth for wrapping food (for picnic)’  
*gabeta* ‘hem of clothes’  
*maseta* ‘beam of scales’  
*taleta* ‘hanging bread basket’  
*+abeta* ‘(rough woolen) cloak’  
*+areta* ‘patch’  
*+daveta* ‘froth on melted butter’  
*+maleta* ‘layer of mud put on beams’  
*+nareta* ‘edible herb’

5.3.3.3 *CaCuta*

- <sup>+</sup>*baluta* ‘throat’  
<sup>+</sup>*šaruta* ‘snack in the afternoon’

5.3.3.4 *CaCota, CiCota*

These patterns are used as the feminine equivalent of the patterns *CaCava*, *CiCava* to designate people according to their profession or habitual activity, e.g.

- catota* ‘writer (f.)’  
*jinota* ‘thief (f.)’

5.3.3.5 *CaCCeta*

This is the pattern of verbal nouns of pattern III and QI verbs with a final /y/ radical. In some cases they refer to tangible entities, e.g.

- marreta* ‘rennet, yoghurt culture’  
*mašneta* ‘tranquillizer’  
*šaršeta* ‘becoming tired’  
<sup>+</sup>*aldetा* ‘trick’  
<sup>+</sup>*masleta* ‘slope (literally: causing to descend)’  
<sup>+</sup>*parmeta* ‘understanding’  
<sup>+</sup>*saxseta* ‘examination; interrogation’

It is occasionally found in other types of nouns, e.g.

- catleta* ‘meat cutlet’

5.3.3.6 *CaCCita*

- <sup>+</sup>*marrita* ‘pasture’  
<sup>+</sup>*taš'ita* ‘history’

5.3.3.7 *CəCCita*

- cəllita* ‘kidney’  
<sup>?</sup>*əšcita* ‘testicle’  
*fəssita* ‘vomiting, vomit’  
*sənjita* ‘fruit of the silver willow’

5.3.3.8     *CəCCeta*

*cəsseta* ‘small lid’

5.3.3.9     *CuCCita*

*cullita* ‘small pot for jajik’

5.3.4     *Patterns with Five Consonants*

<sup>†</sup>*jənnanarta* ‘sour cherry’

*canyalušta* ‘swing (on a tree)’

5.4     *Nouns with the Feminine Ending -ita*

In some cases, when a masculine form of a word exists, the corresponding feminine form is constructed by adding the ending *-ita*, with a supplementary */i/*. This forestalls any consequential resyllabification. It is used when the base of the form is monosyllabic and ends in a geminate consonant or consonantal cluster, e.g.

<i>'aryita</i>	‘lioness’	cf. <i>'arya</i> ‘lioness’
<i>'arbita</i>	‘female sheep’	cf. <i>'arba</i> ‘sheep’
<i>'ašcita</i>	‘testicle’	cf. <i>'ašcatə</i> ‘testicles’
<i>čacmita</i>	‘a boot, sideburn’	cf. <i>čacma</i> ‘boot’
<i>dəbbita</i>	‘female bear’	cf. <i>dəbba</i> ‘bear’
<i>jəppita</i>	‘small cave’	cf. <i>jəppa</i> ‘cave’
<i>jərvita</i>	‘sock’	cf. <i>jərvə</i> ‘socks’
<i>lappita</i>	‘split pea’	cf. <i>lappa</i> ‘split peas’
<i>maccita</i>	‘seed of maize’	cf. <i>macca</i> ‘maize’
<i>xəzmita</i>	‘female relative’	cf. <i>xəzma</i> ‘relative’
<sup>+</sup> <i>anvita</i>	‘grape’	cf. <sup>+</sup> <i>anvə</i> ‘grapes’
<sup>+</sup> <i>əzzita</i>	‘nanny-goat’	cf. <sup>+</sup> <i>əzza</i> ‘goat’
<sup>+</sup> <i>məstita</i>	‘hair’	cf. <sup>+</sup> <i>məsta</i> ‘hair’
<sup>+</sup> <i>nəmrīta</i>	‘tiger (f.)’	cf. <sup>+</sup> <i>nəmra</i> ‘tiger’
<sup>+</sup> <i>rəzzita</i>	‘grain of rice’	cf. <sup>+</sup> <i>rəzza</i> ‘rice’
<sup>+</sup> <i>suþþita</i>	‘little finger’	cf. <sup>+</sup> <i>suþþa</i> ‘finger’
<sup>+</sup> <i>urþita</i>	‘fart’	cf. <sup>+</sup> <i>arəþ</i> I ‘to fart’
<sup>+</sup> <i>xəttita</i>	‘grain of wheat’	cf. <sup>+</sup> <i>xəttə</i> ‘wheat’

It is also used with some monosyllabic bases that do not end in a consonant cluster, e.g.

<i>divita</i>	'she-wolf'	cf. <i>diva</i> 'wolf'
<i>tinita</i>	'small fig tree'	cf. <i>tina</i> 'fig, fig tree'
<i>xoxita</i>	'peach'	cf. <i>xoxa</i> 'peach'
<i>+buťita</i>	'small penis'	cf. <i>+buťa</i> 'penis'
<i>+kuťita</i>	'small vulva'	cf. <i>+kuťa</i> 'vulva'
<i>+sarita</i>	'grain of barley'	cf. <i>+sarə</i> 'barley'
<i>+šadita</i>	'almond'	cf. <i>+šada</i> 'almond'
<i>+talita</i>	'female fox'	cf. <i>+tala</i> 'fox'

It is added to some loanwords, e.g.

<i>čannita</i>	'chin' (Pers. čana)
<i>cardita</i>	'garden plot' (Pers. kard)
<i>kunjita</i>	'corner' (Azer. künc, Pers. konj)
<i>karjita</i>	'female crow' (Azeri qarğɑ)

It is found in a few words that have no corresponding masculine form, e.g.

<i>kurnita</i>	'corner'
<i>parxanita</i>	'butterfly'
<i>spadita</i>	'cushion'
<i>snunita</i>	'swallow'

This ending *-ita* has been transferred by analogy from nouns with historical roots containing final /y/, e.g. *švita* 'bed', *šakita* 'irrigation channel'.

## 5.5 Function of the Feminine Marker Suffixes *-ta* and *-ita*

When a corresponding masculine form of a word exists, the addition of a feminine marker suffix serves various functions.

### 5.5.1 *Marking Female Gender*

In the case of animate referents, it may designate the female counterpart of the masculine form, e.g.

<i>calba</i> 'dog'	<i>caləbta</i> 'bitch'
<i>tora</i> 'ox'	<i>tavərta</i> 'cow'
<i>šarxa</i> 'calf'	<i>šarəxta</i> 'heifer'
<i>+tala</i> 'fox'	<i>+talita</i> 'female fox'
<i>dəbba</i> 'bear'	<i>dəbbita</i> 'female bear'
<i>diva</i> 'wolf'	<i>divita</i> 'female wolf'
<i>barəxmaya</i> 'brother of wife'	<i>barəxmeta</i> 'sister of wife'
<i>navəʃja</i> 'grandson'	<i>navəʃta</i> 'granddaughter'
<i>xurja</i> 'step-son'	<i>xurəʃta</i> 'step-daughter'
<i>'amila</i> 'widower'	<i>'arməlta</i> 'widow'

In the case of some kinship terms, the relationship can be more complex as in:

*'ədma* 'brother of husband'    *'idamta* 'wife of brother of husband'

This distinction based on biological gender has been extended by analogy to the inanimate objects *xašula* 'pestle' and *xašulta* 'mortar'.

### 5.5.2 *Expressing Singularity*

The feminine ending may be used to express a single item of an entity that is usually referred to as a collectivity in the plural, e.g.

<i>baklušə</i> 'pebbles'	<i>baklušta</i> 'pebble'
<i>biyyə</i> 'eggs'	<i>bita</i> 'egg'
<i>čacma</i> 'boots'	<i>čacmita</i> 'boot'
<i>čančuyra</i> 'wild plums'	<i>čančurta</i> 'wild plum' (Canda)
<i>čaruyxə</i> 'boots'	<i>čaruxta</i> 'boot'
<i>cəšmišə</i> 'raisins'	<i>cəšməšta</i> 'raisin'
<i>jaxucə</i> 'dimples'	<i>jaxucta</i> 'dimple'
<i>jarjarə</i> 'large apricots'	<i>jarjarta</i> 'large apricot' (Canda)
<i>jørdeya</i> 'loaves'	<i>jørdetə</i> 'loaf'
<i>lappə</i> 'split peas'	<i>lappita</i> 'split pea'
<i>maccə</i> 'maize'	<i>maccita</i> 'seed of maize'
<i>þərtuxə</i> 'crumbs'	<i>þərtuxta</i> 'crumb'
<i>šəptiyə</i> 'watermelons'	<i>šəptita</i> 'watermelon'
<i>šərʃəmma</i> 'turnips'	<i>šərʃəmta</i> 'turnip'

<i>tambuyrə</i> 'large plums'	<i>tamburta</i> 'large plum' (Canda)
<i>xassə</i> 'lettuces'	<i>xasta</i> 'lettuce'
<i>xəmrə</i> 'beads'	<i>xəmmərtə</i> 'bead'
<sup>+</sup> <i>alujə</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>aluyta</i> 'plum'
<sup>+</sup> <i>jənnanarə</i> 'sour cherries'	<sup>+</sup> <i>jənnanarta</i> 'sour cherry'
<sup>+</sup> <i>jərvə</i> 'socks'	<sup>+</sup> <i>jərvita</i> 'a sock'
<sup>+</sup> <i>jilasə</i> 'cherries'	<sup>+</sup> <i>jilasta</i> 'cherry'
<sup>+</sup> <i>kər̥topə</i> 'potatoes'	<sup>+</sup> <i>kər̥opta</i> 'potato'
<sup>+</sup> <i>lavašə</i> 'thin breads'	<sup>+</sup> <i>lavašta</i> 'a thin bread'
<sup>+</sup> <i>mašə</i> 'beans'	<sup>+</sup> <i>mašita</i> 'a bean'
<sup>+</sup> <i>pallacanə</i> 'stairs'	<sup>+</sup> <i>pallacanta</i> 'stair'
<sup>+</sup> <i>paṭuxə</i> 'dried animal dung'	<sup>+</sup> <i>paṭuxta</i> 'a piece of dried dung'
<sup>+</sup> <i>purṭkalə</i> 'oranges'	<sup>+</sup> <i>purṭkalta</i> 'orange'
<sup>+</sup> <i>šadə</i> 'almonds'	<sup>+</sup> <i>šadita</i> 'almond'
<sup>+</sup> <i>sarə</i> 'barley'	<sup>+</sup> <i>sarita</i> 'grain of barley'
<sup>+</sup> <i>solə</i> 'shoes'	<sup>+</sup> <i>savəlta</i> 'a shoe'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xəṛtmana</i> 'chickpeas'	<sup>+</sup> <i>xəṛtmanta</i> 'a chickpea'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xəṛtə</i> 'wheat'	<sup>+</sup> <i>xettita</i> 'grain of wheat'

In some cases a masculine singular is available in addition to the feminine singular formed from the plural, e.g.

*xuvvavə* 'snakes'    *xuvva*, *xuvvavita* 'snake'

Some nouns that have the singular in *-ta* have plurals in *-ə* and plurals in *-yatə* or *-atə*, e.g.

<sup>+</sup>*tuḍpurə*, <sup>+</sup>*tuḍpuryatə*, <sup>+</sup>*tuḍratə* 'fingernails'    <sup>+</sup>*tuḍpurta* 'fingernail'

Both alternative singular and plurals are available for some nouns, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>šadə</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>šadiyyatə</i> 'almonds'	<sup>+</sup> <i>šada</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>šadita</i> 'almond'
<sup>+</sup> <i>paṭuxə</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>paṭuxyatə</i> 'dung cakes'	<sup>+</sup> <i>paṭuxa</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>paṭuxta</i> 'dung cake'

The collective may have a singular form, e.g.

<i>pəsta</i> 'pistachios'	<i>pəstita</i> 'a pistachio'
<sup>+</sup> <i>məsta</i> 'hair'	<sup>+</sup> <i>məstita</i> 'a single hair'
<sup>+</sup> <i>rəzza</i> 'rice'	<sup>+</sup> <i>rəzzita</i> 'a grain of rice'

### 5.5.3 Expressing a Diminutive

The addition of the feminine ending sometimes denotes the diminutive of the corresponding masculine form, e.g.

<i>cəssaya</i> 'lid'	<i>cəsseta</i> 'small lid'
<i>halka</i> 'ring'	<i>halakta</i> 'small ring'
<i>ʃəppa</i> 'cave'	<i>ʃəppita</i> 'small cave'
<i>kadala</i> 'open-necked pot'	<i>kadalta</i> 'small open-necked pot'
<i>kuča</i> 'pot'	<i>kučta</i> 'small pot'
<i>lišana</i> 'tongue'	<i>lišanta</i> 'uvular'
<i>lxepa</i> 'quilt'	<i>lxəpta</i> 'small quilt'
<i>marəfla</i> 'metal pan'	<i>marjəlta</i> 'small metal pan'
<i>matla</i> 'epic'	<i>məttəlta</i> 'story'
<i>pəndəkka</i> 'hazelnut'	<i>pəndəkta</i> 'small hazelnut'
<i>sala</i> 'basket'	<i>salta</i> 'small basket'
<i>talma</i> 'water jar'	<i>taləmta</i> 'small water jar'
<i>tina</i> 'fig, fig tree'	<i>tinita</i> 'small fig tree'
<i>tuþra</i> 'tail'	<i>tuþurta</i> 'small tail'
<i>xandaþ</i> 'ditch'	<i>xandaþta</i> 'small ditch'
<i>yama</i> 'sea'	<i>yamta</i> 'lake'
+ <i>alula</i> 'street'	+ <i>alulta</i> 'lane'
+ <i>karaluc</i> 'black plum'	+ <i>karalucta</i> 'small black plum'
+ <i>karusa</i> 'rake'	+ <i>karusta</i> 'small rake'
+ <i>kərþala</i> 'pannier bag'	+ <i>kərþalta</i> 'small pannier bag'
+ <i>koþala</i> 'walking-stick'	+ <i>koþalta</i> 'short walking-stick'
+ <i>lina</i> 'earthenware pot'	+ <i>lənta</i> 'small earthenware pot'
+ <i>maxusa</i> 'poker'	+ <i>maxusta</i> 'small poker'
+ <i>parša</i> 'flat stone'	+ <i>parušta</i> 'small flat stone'
+ <i>ruyša</i> 'shoulder'	+ <i>rušta</i> 'shoulder blade'
+ <i>šada</i> 'almond'	+ <i>šadita</i> 'small almond'
+ <i>suþþa</i> 'finger'	+ <i>suþþita</i> 'little finger'

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:

+ <i>ayna</i> 'eye'	+ <i>ānta</i> 'hole at the bottom of an oven for the intake of air'
<i>cica</i> 'tooth'	<i>cəcta</i> 'tooth of key'

<i>+ruyša</i> 'shoulder'	<i>+rušta</i> 'shovel with a head resembling a shoulder-blade'
<i>čacma</i> 'boot'	<i>čacmita</i> 'sideburn, side whiskers'
<i>zula</i> 'line, strip'	<i>zulta</i> 'long stick for shaking nuts from trees'
<i>lišana</i> 'tongue'	<i>lišanta</i> 'reed (of musical instrument)'

## 5.6 Nouns Ending in -ə

A few singular nouns of Aramaic stock end in -ə. They are either masculine or feminine in gender:

<i>'ərxə</i> f.	'watermill'
<i>'urə</i> f.	'manger'
<i>+berašə</i> m.	'evening'
<i>bí-nisanə</i>	'spring (season)'
<i>jarə</i> m.	'roof' (Canda: <i>jara</i> )
<i>lelə</i> m./f.	'night'
<i>musardə</i> m.	'seventh Sunday in Whitsuntide'
<i>suysə</i> m.	'horse' (~ <i>susa</i> )
<i>cavə</i> f.	'small window; upper room'
<i>čiriyyə</i> m.	'Autumn'
<i>xuvvə</i> m.	'snake' (~ <i>xuvva</i> )

In some case the -ə originates historically in a final \*-ya, which has become contracted (\*-ya > \*-ē > -ə), e.g. *'ərxə* (cf. Syr. *rahyā*), *'urə* (cf. Syr. *'uryā*), *lelə* (cf. Syr. *lelyā*), *susə* (cf. Syr. *sūsyā*), *xuvvə* (cf. Syr. *hewyā*). In other case the ending derives from an original plural form, e.g. *jarə* (cf. Syr. *'eggārē* 'roofs', sing. *'eggārā*), *cavə* (cf. Syr. *kawwē*, sing. *kawtā*), *+berašə* < \*bet-ramšə, *čiriyyə* < \*tešrī (cf. C. Barwar *čeri*), *bí-nisanə* < \*bet-nisanə. These are now interpreted as singular and have acquired new plural ending, viz. *jaravatə* 'roofs', *cavatə* 'windows', *+berašvanə* 'evenings', *čiriyyavatə* 'autumns'.

The ending -ə is also found in some loanwords of feminine gender:

<i>çəççə</i> f.	'girl in her teens, lass' (Kurd. keç)
<i>captə</i> f.	'meat-ball' (Azer. küftə)
<i>dunya</i> f.	'world' (Kurd. <i>dinya</i> , Azer. <i>dünya</i> < Arab.)
<i>nanna</i> f.	'cradle' (Azer. nənni)
<i>ninə</i> f.	'hen-roost' (Azer. nin)
<i>janna</i> f./m.	'patchwork blanket' (Arab. <i>junna</i> ?)
<i>+čalə</i> f.	'hole' (Kurd. <i>çal</i> , Azer. <i>çala</i> / Pers. čāle)

- <sup>+</sup>čaplə f. 'left side' (Kurd čep, Pers. čap)  
<sup>+</sup>rastə f. 'right side' (Kurd. rast, Pers. rāst)

Some of these words are of Kurdish origin and the -ə can perhaps be identified with the Kurdish feminine singular oblique nominal inflection -ē. It has been extended to some other words of feminine gender that do not come from Kurdish, as can be seen in the list above. The ending has also been transferred to the NENA word *kappa* f. 'brooding hen'; cf. Syr. *quppāpā*, C. Barwar *quuppe*. Some other NENA dialects inflect this word with the -u ending (§ 5.7.); cf. C. Qaraqosh: *qipu*.

Note that the word *çəççə* 'lass' adds the augment -nt before suffixes, e.g. *çəççəntu* 'his lass', *çəççənyata* 'lasses'. This can be compared to the -nt augment inserted before suffixes after the feminine ending -u (§ 5.7.).

In some words the -ə can be identified with the Azeri 3s. pronominal suffix of genitive compounds, e.g. <sup>+</sup>elajəsə m. 'master of ceremonies' < Azer. el-ağa-sı 'public its master' (i.e. 'master of the public'), *jejakušə* f. 'bat' < Azer. gecə-quş-u 'night-its bird' (i.e. 'bird of the night'). Note the lack of roundedness harmony in *jejakušə*.

### 5.7 Nouns Ending in -u

A few words of Aramaic stock end in -u. This appears to originate historically from the diminutive ending \*-ūn in the absolute state. All are feminine in gender:

<i>bulču</i>	'mashed material' (e.g. potato)
<i>calu</i>	'bride'
<i>jəbbu</i>	'froth'
<i>kətpu</i>	'pigweed (herb)'
<i>majju</i>	'balloon; swelling on skin'
<i>mandi</i> - <sup>+</sup> <i>təztu</i>	'bird that throws its behind upwards'
<i>meju</i>	'tray for kneading dried yoghurt'
<i>pərpərru</i>	'butterfly'
<i>šalku</i>	'chickenpox'
<i>xəblu</i>	'ivy'
<i>xərpu</i>	'hiccup'
<sup>+</sup> <i>ʃəndəmmu</i>	'type of red grape'
<sup>+</sup> <i>katu</i>	'cat'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xalsa</i> - <sup>+</sup> <i>xalsu</i>	'crush, crowd'

<sup>+</sup> <i>xmatu</i>	'type of bitter herb'
<sup>+</sup> <i>zallu</i>	'leech'

The ending is occasionally pronounced as a diphthong *-uy*, e.g. *kaṭuy*, which was heard in Canda.

The forms <sup>+</sup>*xalsa*-<sup>+</sup>*xalsu* and *mandi*-<sup>+</sup>*təztu* are compounds (§ 5.15.). The latter consisting of *mandi* 'thrower' and <sup>+</sup>*təzta* 'small anus', which does not have the *-u* outside of this compound.

The ending *-u* is replaced by the fuller ending *-unt-* before pronominal suffixes and the plural suffix, e.g.

<i>calunti</i>	'my bride'	<i>calunyatə</i>	'brides'
<sup>+</sup> <i>kaṭunti</i>	'my cat'	<sup>+</sup> <i>kaṭunyatə</i>	'cats'

This is extended by analogy to some loanwords ending in *-u*, e.g.

<i>čakku</i> (Pers. čāqū)	'knife'	<i>čakkunti</i>	'my knife'
<sup>+</sup> <i>zallu</i> (Pers. zālū)	'leech'	<sup>+</sup> <i>zallunyatə</i>	'leeches'

Although the ending originated as a diminutive, it is now not interpreted as a diminutive. This is shown by the fact that diminutives of some of the words ending in *-u* can be formed by adding the diminutive derivational ending *-unta* (§ 5.9.9.).

A few other nouns have an ending *-u* and *-uy* that is likely to be of a different origin, e.g.

<i>b-tapku</i>	'by chance' (absolute form of abstract <sup>?</sup> <i>-ūtā?</i> )
<i>kukku</i>	'cuckoo' (onomatopoeia)
<i>pu̯pu̯</i>	'hoopoe' (onomatopoeia)
<i>yalzu</i>	'hastily' (absolute form of abstract <sup>?</sup> <i>-ūtā?</i> )
<sup>+</sup> <i>xalu</i>	'maternal uncle' (vocative of <sup>+</sup> <i>xaluvva</i> )
<sup>+</sup> <i>yalsuy</i>	'distress'

## 5.8 Nouns of Aramaic Stock with No Inflectional Ending

Nouns in this category do not have a singular inflectional ending that is replaced by a plural ending or pronominal suffix. They include:

- məndi* ‘thing’  
*dəbbur* ‘gadfly, hornet’ (variant of *dəbburta*)

We should also include here *+rabi* ‘teacher’ and *+rabban* ‘monk’. The *-i* and *-an* were originally 1st person pronominal suffixes ('my teacher', 'our master'), but are now treated as part of the base of the noun, as shown by the fact that the words take plural endings (*+rabiyyə* 'teachers', *+rabbanə* 'monks') and also a feminine ending (*+rabita* 'female teacher', *+rabbanta* 'nun').

Proper nouns such as the names of people and the names the months (§ 7.6.) have no inflectional endings, e.g.

- Sarjis* m.  
*Šlimun* m.  
*Nargis* f.  
*+Šammíran* f.  
*+əšvaṭ* m. ‘February’  
*nisan* m. ‘April’  
*+ṭabbax* m. ‘August’

## 5.9 Derivational Affixes of Aramaic Background

### 5.9.1 m-, ma-

Derivational prefixes beginning with *m-* can be identified in some words, e.g.

<i>manšukta</i>	‘kiss’	cf. <i>našək</i> I ‘to kiss’
<i>maseta</i>	‘balance, scales’	cf. Syr. <i>massa'</i> <i>tā</i> < <i>n-s-y</i>
<i>məlxava</i>	‘winnowing fork’	
<i>məxxalta</i>	‘sieve for flour’	cf. <i>+naxəl</i> I ‘to sieve’
<i>momita</i>	‘oath’	cf. <i>yamə</i> I ‘to swear’
<i>mušruṭta</i>	‘whistle’	cf. <i>mašrək</i> III ‘to whistle’
<i>+mabbuwa</i>	‘fountain, source’	cf. <i>+navvə</i> I ‘to spring up’
<i>+majreta</i>	‘razor’	cf. <i>+jarrə</i> I ‘to shave’
<i>+mamla</i>	‘trade; deal’	cf. <i>+mamməl</i> III ‘to trade’
<i>+marduta</i>	‘culture’	cf. <i>+mardən</i> QI ‘to be cultured’
<i>+masarta</i>	‘wine-press, vat’	
<i>+mašaṣṭa</i>	‘children’s swing’	cf. <i>+maššəš</i> III ‘to swing’
<i>+maxusna</i>	‘groin’	
<i>+mazmura</i>	‘psalm’	cf. <i>zamər</i> I ‘to sing’
<i>+mazraya</i>	‘cultivated land’	cf. <i>+zarrə</i> I ‘to cultivate’

<i>+maxla</i>	'fodder'	
<i>+mixulta</i>	'food'	cf. <i>+axəl</i> I 'to eat'

This derivational prefix is not productive but only a historical relic. The nouns are not derived directly from verbal roots that are currently used in the dialect but only historically associated with them (§ 4.1.). This is shown by the fact that some nouns exhibit phonological differences from the current form of the verbal roots. In some cases, for example, there is a difference in setting between the noun and the associated verbal root, e.g. *maxxəltə* vs. *+naxəl* I, *+mazmura* vs. *zamər* I. Some nouns have different consonants, e.g. *+mabbuvva* vs. *+navvə* I. For several of the nouns there is no associated verbal root existing in the dialect. Some of the verbs listed above are likely to be denominal. This may apply to *mašrək* and certainly to *+mardən*.

In the word *+xmaṭa* 'needle' the *m-* has metathesized with the following /x/ (\**mxata* (cf. *+xayət* 'to sew')).

### 5.9.2 t-

This prefix, like *m-/ma-*, is not productive but only a historical relic that is found in a few nouns, e.g.

<i>tašvita</i>	'mattress'
<i>tašməšta</i>	'funeral'
<i>tažbuxta</i>	'glorification'
<i>todita</i>	'belief, religion'

### 5.9.3 -uta ~ -uyta

This suffix is derived historically from \*-ūtā and nouns with the suffix are feminine in gender. The form *-uyta* with diphthongization of the long /u/ vowel occurs interchangeably with the form *-uta* without diphthongization. It generally expresses an abstraction or an intangible phenomenon. Such nouns are derived productively from an existing noun or adjective form in the lexicon, including loanwords, or are independent lexical items that are not derived directly from an existing word in the lexicon, e.g.

#### (i) Derivative forms

<i>'amkuyta</i>	'depth'	< <i>'amku</i> 'deep'
<i>bad-baxtuyta</i>	'misfortune'	< <i>bad-baxt</i> 'unfortunate'
<i>betuyta</i>	'family'	< <i>beta</i> 'house'
<i>čaturuyta</i>	'difficulty'	< <i>čatun</i> 'difficult'

<i>cupuyta</i>	'lowness'	< <i>cupa</i> 'low'
<i>jiluyta</i>	'youth'	< <i>jil</i> 'young'
<i>jvančkuyta</i>	'youth'	< <i>janvčka</i> 'young man'
<i>malcuyta</i>	'kingdom'	< <i>malca</i> 'king'
<i>pøtyuyta</i>	'width'	< <i>pøtya</i> 'wide'
<i>šidanuyta</i>	'madness'	< <i>šidana</i> 'mad'
<i>smučkuyta</i>	'redness'	< <i>smuka</i> 'red'
<i>vazziruyta</i>	'viziership'	< <i>vazzər</i> 'vizier'
<i>xayuyta</i>	'life'	< <i>xaya</i> 'alive'
<sup>+</sup> <i>furyuta</i>	'bigness, size'	< <sup>+</sup> <i>fura</i> 'big'
<sup>+</sup> <i>ramuyta</i>	'height'	< <sup>+</sup> <i>rama</i> 'high'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xølyuyta</i>	'sweetness'	< <sup>+</sup> <i>xøly</i> 'sweet'

In the following the base is a feminine noun with the ending *-ta*, which is removed before the attachment of the abstract suffix:

*xamuyta* 'womanly physique' < *xamta* 'young woman'

In some sporadic cases the abstract noun is derived from bases from other categories than noun and adjective. In the following the base is a preposition and the particle of isolation respectively:

*darkuluyta* 'opposition' < *darkul* 'against'  
*nošuyta* 'loneliness' < *noš-* particle of isolation

In some cases the base is a word in another language which itself is not used in the NENA dialect, e.g.

*hanajuyta* 'joke' < Azer. hənək  
<sup>+</sup>*raptaruyta* 'behaviour, conduct' < Pers. raftār

Occasionally the suffix is added to a noun that itself expresses an abstract notion, without any or only minimal change in meaning, e.g.

<i>comacuyta</i>	'help'	< <i>comac</i> 'help'
<i>hačkuyta</i>	'pay, reward'	< <i>hač</i> 'salary'
<i>parkuyta</i>	'difference'	< <i>park</i> 'difference'
<i>šøtkuyta</i>	'silence'	< <i>šøtča</i> 'silence'
<i>xøscuyta</i>	'darkness'	< <i>xøšca</i> 'dark'
<sup>+</sup> <i>yurxuyta</i>	'length'	< <sup>+</sup> <i>yurxa</i> 'length'

## (ii) Independent lexicon items

<i>hemanuyta</i>	'belief, faith'	cf. <i>hammən</i> QI 'to believe'
<i>sebuyta</i>	'old age'	cf. <i>sayəv</i> I 'to become old'
<i>xaduyta</i>	'joy'	cf. <i>xadə</i> I 'to rejoice'
<i>xapuyta</i>	'nightmare, raving'	
<i>+ṭalabuyta</i>	'betrothal'	cf. <i>+ṭaləb</i> I 'to ask'
<i>+zduyta</i>	'fear'	cf. <i>+zadə</i> I 'to fear'
<i>+zruyta</i>	'agriculture'	cf. <i>+zarrə</i> I 'to cultivate'

In some forms the syllable /ay/ is inserted before the ending. This can be identified with the -aya gentilic derivational ending (§ 5.9.8.), e.g.

<i>dəžmnayuyta</i>	'enmity'	< <i>dəžmən</i> 'enemy'
<i>kurbayuyta</i>	'proximity'	< <i>kurba</i> 'near'
<i>rəxkayuyta</i>	'distance'	< <i>rəxka</i> 'distant'
<i>rijayuyta</i>	'service'	< <i>rija</i> 'servant'
<i>xərbayuyta</i>	'evil'	< <i>xərba</i> 'bad'
<i>xəzmayuyta</i>	'relationship'	< <i>xəzma</i> 'relation'
<i>+kuṭrayuyta</i>	'humpbackedness'	< <i>+kuṭra</i> 'humpbacked'

In the following the base is the historical form of the negative existential particle:

*leytayuyta* 'absence, need' < \**leyt* + *ay*

The ending -ayuyta/ sometimes contracts to -ayta:

<i>dəžmnayta</i>	'enmity'	< <i>dəžmən</i> 'enemy'
<i>xəzmayta</i>	'relationship'	< <i>xəzma</i> 'relation'
<i>+bannayta</i>	'building work'	< <i>+banna</i> 'builder'

Other syllables are occasionally elided, e.g.

*hammənnuyta* 'faithfulness' < *hammənnana*

In a few cases nouns with this ending refer to physically perceptible entities, e.g.

- šamašuyta ‘sunray’ < šəmša ‘sun’  
 +aryanuyta ‘rainy weather’ < +'aryana ‘rain’

#### 5.9.4 -uya

This is a rare suffix expressing abstraction that is attested sporadically, e.g.

- pərkuyna ‘end’ < parək I ‘to finish’

#### 5.9.5 Nouns Ending in -ya

A few nouns expressing abstract concepts associated with verbs have the pattern *CCuCya* with final -ya, e.g.

- žgušya ‘tumult’ cf. žaǵeš I ‘to be troubled’  
 šxunya ‘heat’ cf. šaxən I ‘to become hot’  
 cnušya ‘meeting’

A variant pattern is *CuCCunya* with suffix -unya:

- bušlunya ‘heat (of weather)’ cf. bašəl I ‘to cook (intr.)’  
 purkunya ‘salvation’ cf. parək II ‘to save’  
 tuxrunya ‘memory’ cf. taxər I ‘to remember’

In the following the second consonant is weak:

- zodunya ‘interest, usury’ cf. zayəd I ‘to increase’

These derivational patterns are not productively formed from verbal roots that are in use in the dialect and are historical relics. The form *cnušya*, in fact, has now no corresponding verbal root.

#### 5.9.6 -ana

This suffix is used productively to form active participles from the present template of verbs (fs. -anta). Many such participles are used as nouns with referents that are typically practitioners of professions, when animate, and instruments, when inanimate:

Animate

- basmana ‘healer’  
 dorana ‘doorman’ (lit. ‘closer’)

<i>ha᷍yana</i>	'storyteller'
<i>payana</i>	'baker'
<i>žadyana</i>	'teaser of wool'
<sup>+</sup> <i>jarrana</i>	'barber'
<sup>+</sup> <i>karyana</i>	'student'
<sup>+</sup> <i>ka᷍lana</i>	'murderer'
<sup>+</sup> <i>ṭalana</i>	'player, actor'
<sup>+</sup> <i>ṭaryana</i>	'driver; goadman'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xe᷍ana</i>	'sewer'
<i>taybərrana</i>	'manager, administrator'
<sup>+</sup> <i>hayyərrana</i>	'helper, assistant'
<sup>+</sup> <i>mamməssanta</i>	'wet nurse'
<i>malpana</i>	'teacher'
<i>ma᷍xəddana</i>	'preacher'
<sup>+</sup> <i>macrəzzana</i>	'preacher'
<sup>+</sup> <i>makriyyana</i>	'teacher'
<sup>+</sup> <i>mamṭiyana</i>	'informer, spy'

## Inanimate

<i>casxana</i>	'pruning scissors (for vine)'
<i>paršana</i>	'bookmark'
<sup>+</sup> <i>sapyana</i>	'strainer'
<sup>+</sup> <i>dam᷍jana</i>	'branding iron'
<sup>+</sup> <i>čalčiyyana</i>	'rod, birch'
<sup>+</sup> <i>tapṭəppana</i>	'implement for compressing ground'
<sup>+</sup> <i>makrəttana</i>	'clippers, snippers'
<sup>+</sup> <i>maxvərrana</i>	'whitening agent (for <i>nipuxta</i> )'

Participles referring to instruments are sometimes feminine, e.g.

<sup>+</sup> <i>čarpanta</i>	'tool used to whack or swat'
<i>patxanta</i>	'opener (of can, bottle etc.)'
<i>xa᷍ranta</i>	'trowel'
<i>ma᷍kəššanta</i>	'cooling system, air conditioning'

In a few cases the verbal root from which the participle is formed has become obsolete in the dialect, e.g.

- +amrana* 'inhabitant'
- +aryana* 'rain' (verbal form now used is *+rayya* 1)
- +dorana* 'rolling pin'
- +rodana* 'earthquake'

The suffix is occasionally found also in other nouns. It occurs in the patterns *CuCCana* and *CəCCana*, which express abstractions associated with verbal roots or tangible entities. In some cases the verbal root is no longer used in the dialect, or it has changed its form:

- kurbana* 'offering (especially the Eucharist)'
- pukdana* 'order, command'
- purkana* 'salvation'
- sunkana* 'need'
- yulpana* 'learning, doctrine; sect'
- +duxrana* 'memorial'
- +xusrana* 'loss'
  
- 'ərvana* 'charity, alms'
- kənyana* 'cattle'
- mənyana* 'number, calculation'
- pəlxana* 'work, labour'
- yəkdirana* 'fuel for burning, firewood'

The pattern *CəCCana* (fs. *CəCCanta*) occurs in some names of animals, e.g.

- kəkvana* 'partridge'
- šəcvana* 'ant'
- +cəxlanta* 'trout'

Some nouns have been formed by attaching *-ana* to another noun, e.g.

- duvana* 'cement, glue' < \**duhna* 'grease'
- rexana* 'wild thyme' < *rexa* 'odour'

The following has been formed by attaching *-ana* to a loaned numeral:

- yaççana* 'only son' < Kurd. *yek*, Pers. *yak* 'one'

Other nouns with *-ana* include:

*xəmyana* ‘father-in-law’

+*drana* ‘arm’

### 5.9.7 -naya (ms.), -neta (f.)

This suffix is a non-productive gentilic ending that is found in a few words that refer to national groups or regions. There is no direct correspondence between the form of the stem of the word and that of the name of the place name:

‘arəmnaya (m.)      ‘arəmneta (f.)      ‘from Armenia’ (*‘Armenəs-+tan*)

*salmasnaya* (m.)    *salmasneta* (f.)    ‘from Salamas’ (*Salamas*)

‘urməžnaya (m.)    ‘urməžneta (f.)    ‘from Urmī’ (*‘Urmī*)

+*urusnaya* (m.)    +*urusneta* (f.)    ‘from Russia’ (*+Rusya*)

Gentilic expressions referring to individual towns or villages, and some countries, are formed productively from compounds consisting of *bne* (< \**m-bne* ‘from the sons of’) and the place name, e.g.

*bne-Törəz-ilə* | ‘He is from Tabriz’

*bne-Törəz-ila* | ‘She is from Tabriz’

*bne-Javilan-ivən* | ‘I am from Gavilan’

*bne-+Mušəvəvax* | ‘We are from +Mušava’

*bne-+Azerbəyjan-ina* | ‘They are from Azerbaijan’

*xa naša bne Zumallan* ‘a man from Zumallan’

### 5.9.8 -aya (m.), -eta (f.)

This is likewise a non-productive gentilic ending that is found in a number of words, which refer to religious or national groups. These include:

*suraya* (m.)      *sureta* (f.)      ‘Assyrian Christian’

*hudaya* (m.)      *hudeta* (f.)      ‘Jew’

+*farsaya* (m.)      +*farseta* (f.)      ‘Persian’

*kurdaya* (m.)      *kurdeta* (f.)      ‘Kurd’

+*mavanaya* (m.)    +*mavaneta* (f.)    ‘from Mavana’

*jurjaya* (m.)      *jurjeta* (f.)      ‘Georgian’

*turcaya* (m.)      *turceta* (f.)      ‘Turkey’

+*iranaya* (m.)      +*iraneta* (f.)      ‘Iranian’

*həndavaya*           *həndaveta* (f.)      ‘Indian’

*činaya*                *čineta* (f.)      ‘Chinese’

### 5.9.9 -una (*m.*), -unta (*f.*)

In origin a diminutive suffix, this is a fixed feature of a number of common nouns expressing family relations:

<i>'axuna</i>	'brother'
<i>bruna</i>	'son'
<i>+mamuna</i>	'paternal uncle'
<i>savuna</i>	'grandfather'
<i>çaçcuna</i>	'father (Arzni Armenia)'

We can include here the following forms that are used to refer to a very small child or baby:

<i>suruna</i> m. ( <i>surunta</i> f.)	< <i>sura</i> 'small'
<i>daykuna</i> m. ( <i>daykunta</i> f.)	< <i>dayka</i> 'fine, small'

The suffix is used as a derivative hypocoristic suffix in a few nouns and nicknames, in most cases expressing endearment or jocularity rather than physical smallness:

<i>yaluna</i>	'boy'	< <i>yala</i>	'boy'
<i>cačaluna</i>	'baldy'	< <i>cačala</i>	'bald'

In many cases these are kinship terms that are typically used vocatively with 1st person suffixes, e.g.

<i>+joruni</i>	'my dear husband' < <i>+jora</i> 'husband'
<i>babuni</i>	'little father' (usually said to a child) < <i>baba</i> 'father'
<i>našuni</i>	'my little man' (said by wife to husband) < <i>naša</i> 'man'

The feminine form of the affix, *-unta*, is found as a fixed feature in:

<i>nanunta</i>	'grandmother'
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Elsewhere it is used as a derivative hypocoristic suffix expressing endearment or jocularity, typically in vocative expressions with a 1st person suffix:

<i>bratunti</i>	'my little daughter' < <i>brata</i> 'girl'
<i>yəmmunti</i>	'my dear mother' < <i>yəmma</i> 'mother'
<i>baxtunti</i>	'my dear wife' < <i>baxta</i> 'wife'

- našunti* ‘my little woman’ < *naša* ‘person’  
*sotunti* ‘my dear old woman’ < *sota* ‘old woman’

When such diminutive forms of kinship terms are used vocatively without a pronominal suffix, the stem *-un-* and *-unt-* of the masculine and feminine endings respectively is in some cases reduced to *-u*, e.g.

- +*mamu* ‘uncle’ (paternal)  
+*amtu* ‘aunt’ (paternal)  
+*xalu* ‘uncle (maternal)’  
+*xaltu* ‘aunt’ (maternal)

The ending *-una* (fs. *-unta*) is sporadically used outside the category of kinship terms with diminutive force, e.g.

- ctavuna* ‘booklet’ < *ctava* ‘book’  
*matunta* ‘small village’ < *mata* ‘village’  
*xaččunta* ‘very little’ (quantifier) < *xačča* ‘a little’  
*nixunta* ‘very slowly’ (adverbial) < *nixa* ‘slowly’

In the case of feminine nouns that regularly have the ending *-u*, this ending is replaced by *-unt-* before pronominal suffixes (§ 2.3., § 5.7.). In such cases both the *-u* and *-unt-* suffixes are invariable features and do not have diminutive force, e.g.

- calu* ‘bride’ *calunti* ‘my bride’  
+*kačtu* ‘cat’ +*kačtunti* ‘my cat’

Some words that have the ending *-u* can take a functional diminutive ending *-unta*, e.g.

- føbbunta* ‘froth (on top of broth, small in extend)’ < *føbbu* ‘froth’  
*majjunta* ‘small balloon; small swelling on skin’ < *majju* ‘balloon’  
*šalkunta* ‘small rash of pox’ < *šalku* ‘pox’  
+*kačtunta* ‘small cat’ < +*kačtu* ‘cat’

### 5.9.10 -la (m.), -ta (f.)

These endings can be identified in a few words with the function of diminutive derivative suffixes, e.g.

<i>ctulta</i>	'porcupine'	cf. <i>cətva</i> 'prickle'
<i>çurçila</i>	'puppy dog'	< Kurd. ქურ ‘short’
<i>bibälta, bəbbəlta</i>	'pupil (of the eye)'	cf. C. Barwar <i>biba</i>
<i>čapulta</i>	'paw'	cf. <i>čappa</i> 'hand'
<i>zanjuyla, zanjulta</i>	'stirrup'	< Azer. üzəngi

## 5.10 Loaned derivational Suffixes

### 5.10.1 -či

The Azeri professional suffix *-či* is used productively in the dialect and is attached to a number of nouns of Aramaic origin, e.g.

<i>+bučrači</i>	'tender of animals'	< <i>+bučra</i> 'herd of animals'
<i>ərxac̥i</i>	'owner of water-mill'	< <i>ərxə</i> 'water mill'
<i>ərbac̥i</i>	'shepherd'	< <i>ərbə</i> 'sheep'
<i>urxači</i>	'wayfarer'	< <i>urxa</i> 'way'

It occurs in numerous loanwords from Azeri. It has the invariable form *-či* including where it is realized as *-ču* by vowel roundedness harmony in Azeri, e.g.

*+kulluxči* 'servant' < Azer. qulluqcu

This reflects the fact that it is a productive suffix within the C. Urmî dialect, which does not have roundedness harmony.

### 5.10.2 Diminutive Suffixes

A number of nouns have diminutive suffixes that are used productively in the contact languages (Kurdish, Azeri, Persian).

#### 5.10.2.1 -ča

This is found in a number of loanwords:

<i>+tiyanča</i> 'small pan, kettle'	cf. <i>+tiyan</i> 'large cauldron'
<i>+kazanča</i> 'copper saucepan'	cf. Azer. qazan
<i>+dolapča</i> 'cupboard'	cf. Azer. dolab
<i>baxča</i> 'kitchen garden'	cf. Kurd. bexçe, Azer. bağça, Pers. bāğče
<i>jolča</i> 'puddle'	cf. <i>jol</i> 'pool' (Azer. göl)
<i>xaliča</i> 'rug, little carpet'	cf. <i>+xali</i> 'carpet' (Kurd. xalî, Azer. xali, Pers. qâlî)

### 5.10.2.2 *-əcca, -əcta*

In loanwords these appear to have developed by the combination of the NENA inflectional endings *-a* and *-ta* with a diminutive suffix, e.g.

<i>dandəcta</i> 'a single grain'	cf. Kurd. <i>dendik</i>
<i>čannəcta</i> 'chin'	cf. Azer. <i>çənə</i>
<i>+bazəcca</i> 'stamen (of a flower)'	cf. Kurd. <i>bazik</i>

These suffixes are used productively in the C. Urmi dialect, as shown by the following examples, some of which are words of Aramaic stock:

<i>bavəcca, babəcca</i> 'male sparrow'	
<i>jamməcca</i> 'twins'	cf. <i>jammə</i> 'twins'
<i>savəcca</i> 'little old man'	cf. <i>sava</i> 'old man'
<i>zelucca</i> 'splinter'	
<i>ziləcca</i> 'straw, bit of dried herb'	cf. <i>zila</i> 'straw'
<i>+karrəcca</i> 'small melon'	cf. <i>+karra</i> 'marrow'

### 5.10.2.3 Negative *na-*

The Iranian negative prefix *na-* is found in various loanwords. Unlike the NENA negator *la*, the particle *na* is incorporated within the domain of emphasis of the word. For this reason it should be considered an integral part of the word and is not transcribed with a following hyphen, e.g.

<i>najəns</i> 'unclean'	< Pers. nā-jens
<i>namard</i> 'ignoble'	< Pers. nā-mard
<i>nanaʃəb</i> 'ignoble'	< Pers. nā-najīb
<i>nahak</i> 'unjust'	< Pers. nā-haqq
<i>+narahat</i> 'uncomfortable'	< Pers. nā-rāhat
<i>+narazi</i> 'displeased'	< Pers. nā-rāzī

## 5.11 The Morphological Adaptation of Loanwords

Loanwords that end in a consonant in the source language are sometimes adapted to Aramaic morphology by adding a final *-a* or *-ta* inflectional ending. Words with the ending *-ta* are all feminine, whereas those that have final *-a* are either masculine or feminine, e.g.

<i>həlma</i> m.	'steam, breath'	Kurd. hilm.
<i>cačala</i> m.	'bald man'	Azeri keçəl
<i>haccima</i> m.	'wise man'	Pers. (< Arab.) hakkīm
+ <i>p̪uza</i> m.	'snout'	Kurd. poz, Pers. pūz
+ <i>xulama</i> m.	'servant'	Kurd. xulam < Arab.
<i>došeca</i> f.	'mattress'	Kurd. doşeg; Azer. döşək
šəptiyə	'watermelon'	Kurd. şiftî
+ <i>tula</i> f.	'revenge'	Kurd. tol
+ <i>kop̪ala</i> f.	'walking-stick'	Kurd. kopâl
<i>bilacta</i>	'wrist'	Azer. bilək
<i>carta</i>	'load (on back)'	Kurd. kar
<i>jørdetə</i>	'thick bread'	Pers. gerde
<i>jıjarta</i>	'liver, lung'	Pers. jegar
<i>xzəmta</i>	'nose-ring'	Kurd. xizêm < Arab.
+ <i>ojaxta</i>	'fireplace'	Azeri ocaq
+ <i>yaləxta</i>	'headscarf'	Azer. yaylıq

The *-ta* ending of a feminine loanword is occasionally formed by adding *-a* to an existing *-at* ending, which in origin is an Arabic feminine ending, e.g.

*davəlta* 'wealth' Azer. dövlət, Pers. dowlat

When the loanword ends in *-ta* in the source language, this may be interpreted as the Aramaic feminine singular ending, as is shown by the plural of such words, e.g.

<i>taxta</i> f. (pl. <i>taxyatə</i> )	'wooden board' (Azer. taxta)
+ <i>balta</i> f. (pl. <i>balyatə</i> )	'axe' (Azer. balta)
+ <i>janta</i> f. (pl. + <i>janyatə</i> )	'bag' (Azer. çanta)

Note that the plural of the word *taxta* f. 'bed' is *taxtə*, although it is homophonous in the singular with *taxta* f. 'board'. This word has *-t* rather than *-ta* in the source language: Azer. taxt 'bed'.

In the following a glide is inserted after *-e* at the end of the word in the source language before the Aramaic inflectional ending, e.g.

*jørdeya* 'thick round bread' Pers. gerde

In Kurdish loanwords /r/ is regularly geminated when it is a reflex of the Kurdish trilled ū, e.g.

*parra* ‘feather’ Kurd. peř

If the word ends in -a in the source language, this may be reanalysed as the Aramaic inflectional ending, as is shown by the fact that it is replaced by plural morphemes, e.g.

<i>baxča</i> (pl. <i>baxčanə</i> )	‘garden’	Kurd. <i>baxçe</i> m.
<i>čacma</i> (pl. <i>čacmə</i> )	‘boot’	Azeri <i>çəkmə</i>
<i>karja</i> (pl. <i>karjə</i> )	‘crow’	Azeri <i>qarğɑ</i>
<i>+kondara</i> (pl. <i>+kondarə</i> )	‘shoe’	Kurd. <i>qondere</i>

Persian loanwords ending in -e are interpreted as final -a, e.g.

<i>hamla</i>	‘attack’	Pers. <i>hamle</i>
<i>tasma</i> f.	‘belt’	Pers. <i>tasme</i>
<i>zardačuvva</i>	‘turmeric’	Pers. <i>zardčube</i>

A final /t/ in a loanword may be reanalysed as the /t/ of the Aramaic feminine ending, e.g.

*dəšta* f. (pl. *dəšyatə*) ‘plain’ Pers./Kurd. dašt

The majority of loanwords are not morphologically adapted in that they are not given an Aramaic inflectional ending, e.g.

<i>košun</i>	‘army’	Azeri <i>koşun</i>
<i>+sarbaz</i>	‘soldier’	Pers. <i>sarbāz</i>

Many such words, however, are phonologically integrated, in that the stress is placed on the penultimate syllable and they may acquire suprasegmental emphasis (§ 1.5.1.). Loanwords that are neither morphologically nor phonologically integrated are normally Persian words. These are transcribed in roman script and enclosed in the symbols <sup>P</sup>...<sub>P</sub>, e.g.

- (1) <sup>P</sup>*báyyən xa-dána* <sub>P</sub>*sāxtumān*<sup>P</sup> | <sup>P</sup>*ýa ju-*<sup>P</sup>*hàva.* | ‘I want a building that is in the air.’ (A 3:70)

## 5.12 Gender

Nouns of Aramaic stock that end in *-ta* or its variants are feminine and most words that end in *-a* are masculine. Several nouns ending in *-a*, however, are feminine in gender. Some of these can be classified into semantic categories as follows:

### 5.12.1 *Parts of the Body*

<i>'akla</i>	'leg, foot'
<i>bərca</i>	'knee'
<i>cisa</i>	'belly'
<i>coda</i>	'lungs' (used by older generation)
<i>'ida</i>	'hand'
<i>kana</i>	'horn'
<i>šərma</i>	'buttocks'
<i>sladda</i>	'corpse'
<i>xərxərra</i>	'throat'
<sup>+</sup> <i>ayna</i>	'eye'
<sup>+</sup> <i>əṭma</i>	'thigh'
<sup>+</sup> <i>ruxa</i>	'spirit'
<sup>+</sup> <i>suƿƿa</i>	'finger'

Other parts of the body ending in *-a* are masculine, e.g. *bəzza* 'breast', *cica* 'tooth', *riša* 'head', <sup>+</sup>*ruyša* 'shoulder', *labba* 'heart', *naxira* 'nose', <sup>+</sup>*drana* 'upper arm', *təlpa* 'eyelash', <sup>+</sup>*tiza* 'anus', <sup>+</sup>*varida* 'artery, vein', *xut-xača* 'armpit'.

### 5.12.2 *Locations and Names of Countries*

<i>Amərca</i>	'America'
<i>Armanəs-<sup>+</sup>tan</i>	'Armenia'
<i>bara</i>	'ditch, channel'
<i>dəpna</i>	'side'
<i>duca</i>	'place'
<i>Jurjəs-<sup>+</sup>tan</i>	'Georgia'
<i>ķənna</i>	'nest'
<i>mādənxə</i>	'east'
<i>mula</i>	'barn'
<i>šmayya</i>	'sky, heaven'
<i>xakla</i>	'field'

<i>yama</i>	'sea'
<i>+’arra</i>	'land, ground'
<i>+’Azərbayjan</i>	'Azerbaijan'
<i>+budra</i>	'threshing floor'
<i>+’Iran</i>	'Iran'
<i>+máčərva</i>	'west'
<i>+Məsrən</i>	'Egypt'

### 5.12.3 Animals (predominantly small)

<i>’akərva</i>	'scorpion'
<i>buma</i>	'owl'
<i>dəbba</i>	'bear'
<i>kalma</i>	'louse'
<i>kəkvana</i>	'partridge'
<i>kupšina</i>	'quail'
<i>nuyna</i>	'fish'
<i>þəkkə</i>	'frog'
<i>yona</i>	'dove'
<i>+čučana</i>	'magpie'

### 5.12.4 Other Nouns

There is a residue of feminine nouns that cannot be grouped together into clear semantic categories. These include the following:

<i>bašila</i>	'musk melon'
<i>bərkə</i>	'lightning'
<i>bušala</i>	'stew'
<i>cima</i>	'the Pleiades'
<i>cuyra</i>	'kiln'
<i>’ərbala</i>	'sieve for wheat'
<i>ʃərva</i>	'leprosy'
<i>jurza</i>	'club'
<i>juyba</i>	'pit, ditch'
<i>katta</i>	'handle'
<i>məlxə</i>	'salt'
<i>məšna</i>	'whetstone'
<i>mzida</i>	'bag, waterskin'
<i>pərpərra</i>	'propellor, spinning top'
<i>ptana</i>	'plough'

<i>punda</i>	'candle'
<i>rumxa</i>	'spear'
<i>sepa</i>	'sword'
<i>šapna</i>	'instrument for flattening ground, file'
<i>šəmša</i>	'sun (heat of sun, masculine when referring to sun disk)'
<i>tina</i>	'fig'
<i>tuyta</i>	'mulberry'
<i>'urədxa</i>	'large needle'
<i>'urxa</i>	'road, way'
<i>xoxa</i>	'peach'
<i>+ayva</i>	'cloud'
<i>+cavutra</i>	'lunch'
<i>+dana</i>	'time'
<i>+kərtala</i>	'pannier basket'
<i>+muṭra</i>	'rain'
<i>+pulla</i>	'radish'
<i>+šada</i>	'almond'
<i>+šraya</i>	'oil-lamp'
<i>+ṭolla</i>	'shade, shadow'
<i>+ṭima</i>	'value'
<i>+vana</i>	'ewe'
<i>+xa-+ramša</i>	'dinner'
<i>+xmaṭa</i>	'needle'

A number of these feminine words are masculine in earlier Aramaic, e.g. Syriac *nūnā* m., *qūp̄šinā* m., *qaqbānā* m., *aybā* m., *arbālā* m., *'urdəkā* m., *garbā* m., *qarṭālā* m., *metrā* m., *puğlā* m., *tūtā* m., *ṭellālā* m., *mhaṭṭā* m. The feminine gender of some of the words in C. Urmi may have been influenced by the feminine gender of words of corresponding meaning in Kurmanji Kurdish, e.g. *masî* f. 'fish', *baran* f. 'rain', *ṭivir* f. 'radish', *ṭū* f. 'mulberry', *sî* f. 'shade', *derzî* f. 'needle'.

#### 5.12.5 *Gender of Loanwords*

When loanwords enter the dialect they are assigned a gender. When such words are found in Kurmanji Kurdish, which has a gender distinction in nouns, they predominantly, though not always, have the same gender as they do in Kurdish, e.g.

<i>parra</i> m.	'feather' (Kurd. m.)
<i>rany</i> m.	'colour' (Kurd. m.)

<i>čacuč</i> m.	'hammer' (Kurd. m.)
<i>camanča</i> f.	'violin' (Kurd. f.)
<i>carpəč</i> f.	'brick' (Kurd. f.)
<i>cuytan</i> f.	'plough' (Kurd. f.)
<i>dars</i> f.	'lesson' (Kurd. f.)
<i>huš</i> f.	'feeling, senses' (Kurd. m.)
<i>julla</i> f.	'bullet' (Kurd. f.)
<i>kalyun</i> f.	'pipe' (Kurd. f.)
<i>kappas</i> f.	'cage' (Kurd. f.)
<i>lavanda</i> m.	'long sleeve' (Kurd. lewendî m.)
<i>luləffa</i> f.	'pot put under cradle' (Kurd. lûle f. 'pipe')
<i>pašcaš</i> f.	'gift' (Kurd. f.)
+ <i>ambar</i> f.	'storeroom' (Kurd. f.)
+ <i>čaydan</i> f.	'teapot' (Kurd. f.)
+ <i>divan</i> f.	'court, reception room' (Kurd. f.)
+ <i>halav</i> f.	'flame' (Kurd. f.)
+ <i>xali</i> f.	'carpet' (Kurd. f.)
<i>čacma</i> f.	'boot' (Kurd. m.)
<i>čamča</i> m.	'ladle, spoon' (Kurd. f.)
<i>čanjal</i> m.	'fork' (Kurd. f.)
<i>davri</i> m.	'plate' (Kurd. f.)
<i>həlma</i> m.	'breath' (Kurd. f.)
<i>janj</i> m.	'rust' (Kurd. f.)
+ <i>badya</i> f.	'water pot' (Kurd. m.)
+ <i>čay</i> m.	'tea' (Kurd. f.)

Loanwords from Russian in principle are masculine when the word has the masculine or neuter gender in Russian, e.g.

<i>vadra</i> m.	'bucket' (Russian ведро n.)
+ <i>adyal</i> m.	'blanket' (Russian одеяло n.)
+ <i>paltun</i> m.	'overcoat' (Russian пальто n.)

Words ending in *-a* in Russian, which are feminine gender in Russian, are either feminine or masculine in the NENA dialect, e.g.

<i>čočka</i> f.	'paintbrush' (Russian щётка f.)
<i>laþatka</i> f.	'small spade' (Russian лопатка f.)
<i>kuruška</i> m.	'mug' (Russian кружка f.)
<i>truba</i> (Canda, Georgia) m.	'pipe' (Russian труба f.)

When the source is a language that does not have gender distinctions, such as Azeri, Turkish, Persian or Armenian, inanimate nouns are assigned either masculine or feminine gender. Feminine gender seems to be the default while masculine gender tends to be assigned to nouns of particular categories.

Words of the same meaning in Kurdish usually also have feminine gender, e.g.

<i>cərša</i> f.	'sledge' (Azer. kirşə; cf. Kurd. taxoğ f.)
<i>comur</i> f.	'coal' (Azer. kömür; cf. Kurd. komir f.)
<i>darza</i> f.	'sheaf of corn' (Azer. dərz; cf. Kurd. melû f.)
<i>hasira</i> f.	'mat' (Azer. həsir < Arab.)
<i>jardun</i> f.	'harvest cart' (Pers. gardüne)
<i>kaləb</i> f.	'mould (frame)' (Azer. qəlib < Arab.; contrast Kurd. qalib m.)
<i>koşun</i> f.	'army' (Azer. koşun, cf. Kurd. artêş f., ordî f. 'army')
<i>madan</i> f.	'mine, quarry' (Azer. mədən < Arab.; cf. Kurd. ḫan f.)
<i>manjana</i> f.	'vice, wooden press' (Azer. məngənə; cf. Kurd. cendere f.)
<i>marmar</i> f.	'marble' (Azer. mərmər; contrast Kurd. memer m.)
<i>mazrak</i> f.	'stick with cushion for sticking dough to oven' (< Pers. mazrāq 'javelin' < Arab. mizrāq)
<i>napas</i> f.	'breath' (Pers. < Arab.; cf. Kurd. bêhn f. 'breath')
<i>sapar</i> f.	'time, instance' (Pers. safar < Arab.; cf. Kurd. gav f. 'time')
<i>sēl</i> f.	'flood' (Pers. < Arab. seyl; cf. Kurd. lehî)
<i>tasma</i> f.	'belt' (Pers. tasme; cf. Kurd. qayış f. 'belt')
<i>təptəc</i> f.	'fluff, down' (Azer. tiftik)
<i>yalpuc</i> f.	'fan' (Azer. yelpik; cf. Kurd. baweşîn f.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>dastan</i> f.	'story' (Pers. dāstān; cf. Kurd. ḫîrok f.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>dinar</i> f.	'dinar' (Pers. dīnār)
<sup>+</sup> <i>kabar</i> f.	'blister' (Azer. qabar; cf. pek f.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>qalxan</i> f.	'shield' (Azer. qalxan; contrast Kurd. mertal m.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>karķara</i> f.	'reel, bobbin' (Azer. qarqara; cf. Kurd. balanî f.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>şuratan</i> f.	'gutter' (Armen. juratan; cf. Kurd. şurîł f.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>tiyan</i> f.	'cauldron' (Pers. tiyān; cf. Kurd. sîṭîl f.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>torba</i> f.	'bag' (Azer. torba)
<sup>+</sup> <i>yapəškan</i> f.	'glue' (Azer. yapışqan; cf. Kurd. zemq f.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>zogal</i> f.	'cornel, dogwood' (Azer. zoğal)

Most inanimate loanwords that are assigned masculine gender fall into one of the following categories:

## (i) Long entities or entities including a long component

<i>buxari</i> m.	'stove (with long chimney pipe)' (Pers. boxārī)
<i>calbatun</i> m.	'pincers' (Azeri kəlbətin)
<i>čamca</i> m.	'spoon' (Pers. čamče)
<i>čanjal</i> m.	'fork' (Kurd. čengal f., Azer, çəngəl, Pers. čangāl)
<i>čarja</i> m.	'threads on a loom' (Pers. čahār jā)
<i>čəlla</i> m.	'fine root' (Pers. čelle 'bow string, selvage')
<i>coca</i> m.	'stump, root' (Azer. kök)
<i>cullunj</i> m.	'crowbar, pickaxe' (Azer. külüng)
<i>dola</i> m.	'tall bin' (Pers. dohol, Kurd. dehol f. drum)
<i>kamči</i> m.	'lash, whip' (Azer. qamçı, Azer. qayçı)
<i>kand</i> m.	'loaf sugar' (Azer. qənd)
<i>kaya</i> m.	'large rock, (protruding) crag' (Azer. qaya)
<i>keči</i> , <i>kicci</i> m.	'scissors' (Pers. qēčī)
<i>kəppəl</i> m.	'lock' (Azeri qıfil)
<i>koša</i> m.	'double ditch dividing fields' (Azer. qoşa)
<i>lanyar</i> m.	'anchor' (Azer. ləngər, Pers. langar)
<i>luyla</i> m.	'pipe' (Pers. lüle)
<i>macca</i> m.	'maize' (Azer. məkə)
<i>makkas</i> m.	'shears; scissors' (Pers./Turk. makkas, Azer. maqqas < Arab.)
<i>manjər</i> m.	'cultivating fork' (Pers. minjar)
<i>manqāš</i> m.	'instrument for kindling fire' (Pers. manqāš < Arab.)
<i>maptul</i> m.	'wire' (Azer. məftil, Pers. maftūl)
<i>maša</i> m.	'tongs' (Azeri maşa)
<i>naštar</i> m.	'canine tooth' (Pers. ništar)
<i>surma</i> m.	'door-bar' (Azer. siyirmə)
<i>iriş</i> m.	'tap' (Pers. šīr)
<i>iriş</i> m.	'skewer' (Azer. şış)
<i>tira</i> m.	'dividing bank in paddy field' (Azer. tirə)
<i>zula</i> m.	'line; stripe on material' (Azer. zol)
+ <i>əstican</i> m.	'glass' (Pers. istikān)
+ <i>burğı</i> m.	'drill' (Azer. burğu)
+ <i>carduvar</i> m.	'spade and chain' (Pers. kārduvār)
+ <i>darcən</i> m.	'cinnamon (stick)'
+ <i>hača</i> m.	'forked stick' (Azer. haça 'fork')
+ <i>jəllav</i> m.	'reins of horse' (Azer. cilov, Pers. jalaw)
+ <i>frand</i> m.	'tap' (Azer. kran)
+ <i>kazma</i> m.	'pickaxe' (Turk. kazma)
+ <i>kuza</i> m.	'protuberance; spire' (Pers. qūz)

<i>+manqar</i> m.	'gouge' (Pers. manqār < Arab.)
<i>+məššar</i> m.	'large two-handled saw' (Pers. minšār < Arab.)
<i>+paya</i> m.	'prop' (Pers. pāye 'leg, base')
<i>+rubbun</i> m.	'ribbon' (Pers. rūbān)
<i>+səndan</i> m.	'anvil' (Pers. sendān)
<i>+sənjaq</i> m.	'pin' (Pers. sanjāq)
<i>+šallaq</i> m.	'lash, whip' (Pers. šallāq)
<i>+šlanq</i> m.	'hose pipe' (Azer. şlanq)
<i>+zaja</i> m.	'cave, grotto, lair' (Azer. zağa)
<i>+zivana</i> m.	'weed' (Pers. zavān)

## (ii) Flat entities

<i>banda</i> m.	'dam' (Azer. bənd)
<i>čol</i> m.	'steppe' (Azer. çöl)
<i>cursi</i> m.	'chair; seat over oven' (Pers. kursī < Arab.)
<i>davula</i> m.	'flat drum' (Azer. davul)
<i>kobi</i> m.	'bog, marshland' (Azer. qobe)
<i>lxepa</i> m.	'quilt' (Kurd. lihēf f. < Arab.)
<i>mešon, mišon</i> m.	'sheepskin, leather' (Pers. mīšīn, mešan)
<i>miz</i> m.	'table' (Pers. mīz, Azer. miz)
<i>pašaband</i> m.	'mosquito net' (Pers. paše-band)
<i>+baškab</i> m.	'saucer' (Pers. boşqāb)
<i>+darvaza</i> m.	'gate of city or courtyard' (Azer. darvaza, Pers. darvāze)
<i>+kaši</i> m.	'tile' ((Pers. kāšī)
<i>+palan</i> m.	'pack-saddle' (Azer. palan)
<i>+šāl</i> m.	'shawl' (Azer. şal, Pers. šāl)
<i>+supra</i> m.	'tablecloth' (Pers. sofre, Azer. süfrə)

## (iii) Non-countable entities (fabrics, materials and liquids)

<i>balzam</i> m.	'balm' (Azer. balzam < Arab.)
<i>brišəm</i> m.	'silk' (Azer. əbrişim, Pers. abrīšim)
<i>cəbrət</i> m.	'sulphur' (Azer. kibrit)
<i>cuylaš</i> m.	'thick straw' (Azer. küləş)
<i>hašya</i> m.	'woven material, edging of lace' (Azer. haşiyə < Arab.)
<i>jaj</i> m.	'gypsum' (Pers. gač)
<i>fıra</i> m.	'cream from raw milk' (Pers. gīrā)
<i>juvva</i> m.	'mercury' (Azer. civə, Pers. žīve)
<i>kəmpa</i> m.	'hemp' (Pers. qonnab)

<i>kurkušun</i> m.	'lead (metal)' (Azer. qurğuşun)
<i>marjumuš</i> m.	'arsenic' (Azer. mərgümüş)
<i>maxmar</i> m.	'velvet' (Azer. məxmər)
<i>mīs</i> m.	'copper' (Azer. mis)
<i>pān</i> m.	'stable litter' (Azer. peyin)
<i>rezən</i> m.	'rubber' (Pers. rezīn)
<i>šava</i> m.	'jet (stone)' (Azer. şəvə)
<i>šila</i> m.	'red coarse calico' (Azer. şilə)
<i>šīra</i> m.	'grape juice' (Pers. šīre)
<i>šuyša</i> m.	'glass' (Azer. şüşə)
<i>tanica</i> m.	'tin' (Kurd. teneke m.)
<i>təryac</i> m.	'opium' (Azer. tiryək, Pers. teryāk)
<i>zāğ</i> m.	'alum' (Pers. zāğ, Azer. zəy)
<i>zahar</i> m.	'poison' (Azer. zəhər)
<i>zira</i> m.	'cumin' (Pers. zīre)
+ <i>almas</i> m.	'diamond' (Azer. almaz)
+ <i>barut</i> m.	'gunpowder' (Turk. barut, Azer. barıt)
+ <i>cəxla</i> m.	'kohl' (Pers. kohl < Arab.)
+ <i>čay</i> m.	'tea' (Azer. çay, Pers. čāy)
+ <i>curra</i> m.	'mud, slime' (Pers. kūra)
+ <i>mahud</i> m.	'broadcloth' (Azer. mahud)
+ <i>māl</i> m.	'goods' (Azer. mal < Arab.)
+ <i>mət̪kal</i> m.	'calico' (Azer. mitkal)
+ <i>parča</i> m.	'large piece of cloth' (Azer. parça, Pers. pārče)
+ <i>paxər</i> m.	'verdigris, copper rust' (Azer. paxır)
+ <i>pulad</i> m.	'steel' (Azer. polad < Arab.)

#### (iv) Measures and abstractions

<i>dard</i> m.	'pain, grief' (Azer. dərd)
<i>hač</i> m.	'salary' (Azer. haqq < Arab.)
<i>hucma</i> m.	'authority, government' (Azer. hökm < Arab.)
<i>’iman</i> m.	'faith, belief' (Azer. iman < Arab.)
<i>jam</i> m.	'sum, total' (Azer. cəm < Arab.)
<i>maraca</i> m.	'crisis; hullabaloo' (Azer. mərəkə)
<i>məskal</i> m.	'small weight' (Pers. mesqāl < Arab.)
<i>šāns</i> m.	'chance, fortune' (Pers. < French chance)
<i>šar</i> m.	'law, rule' (Arab. šar‘)
<i>sər</i> m.	'secret, mystery' (Azer. sirr, Pers. serr < Arab.)
<i>şirinləx</i> m.	'celebration after betrothal' (Azer. şirinlik)

<i>soda</i> m.	'contentment' (Pers. sowdā)
<i>taçça</i> m.	'a single piece' (Pers. tekke)
<i>tica</i> m.	'small piece' (Azer. tikə; Pers. tīke)
<i>xēr</i> m.	'benefit' (Azer. xeyir, Pers. xeyr < Arab.)
<i>zarra</i> m.	'a little, a jot' (Azer. zərrə < Arab.)
<i>ziyana</i> m.	'harm, injury' (Azer. ziyan, Pers. ziyān)
<sup>+</sup> <i>hassab</i> m.	'account, reckoning' (Arab. ḥisāb)
<sup>+</sup> <i>kadağan</i> m.	'prohibition' (Azer. qadağan)
<sup>+</sup> <i>kanun</i> m.	'rule, law' (Azer. qanun)
<sup>+</sup> <i>moca</i> m.	'measure for rice'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xalvar</i> m.	'measure for wood'
<sup>+</sup> <i>zamun</i> m.	'bail, surety' (Azer. zamin < Arab.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>zulm</i> m.	'injustice' (Azer. zülm < Arab.)

(v) Powerful animals

A few loanwords denoting powerful animals are masculine:

<sup>+</sup> <i>čakkal</i> m.	'jackal' (Azer. çaqqal, Pers. šāgāl)
<sup>+</sup> <i>janavar</i> m.	'beast, predatory (animal); monster' (Azer. canavar 'wolf')
<sup>+</sup> <i>kaban</i> m.	'wild boar' (Azer. qaban)

Loanwords denoting less powerful animals, birds, insects and fish are generally feminine:

<i>'umri</i> f.	'large dove' (Pers. qumrī)
<i>bulbul</i> f.	'nightingale' (Azer. bülbül, Pers. bolbol)
<i>cərvəş</i> f.	'rabbit, hare' (Kurd. kērūşk)
<i>hənduška</i> f.	'turkey' (Azer. hinduşka)
<i>fanna</i> f.	'tick' (Azer. gənə)
<i>karğa</i> , <sup>+</sup> <i>karşa</i> f.	'crow' (Azer. qarğā)
<i>kəržala</i> f.	'crab' (Kurd. kevjal, Azer. xərçəng)
<i>laflay</i> f.	'stork' (Azer. leyłək, Pers. laklak)
<i>'ordac</i> f.	'duck' (Azeri ördək)
<i>þupþu</i> f.	'hoopoe' (Azer. hop-hop, Armenian hopop)
<i>saribalax</i> f.	'yellow fish' (Azer. sari 'yellow' + baliq 'fish')
<sup>+</sup> <i>hattar</i> f.	'hyena' (Azer. kaftar 'hyena, decrepit man' i.e. an animal that is decrepit in appearance)
<sup>+</sup> <i>jeýran</i> f.	'gazelle' (Azer. ceyran)
<sup>+</sup> <i>karabattux</i> f.	'small black duck' (Azer. qara 'black' + Pers. batak < Arab. 'duckling')

<sup>+</sup> <i>kaza</i> f.	'goose' (Azer. qaz, Pers. گاز)
<sup>+</sup> <i>kazalağ</i> f.	'lark' (Pers. گازالاگ)
<sup>+</sup> <i>zallu</i> , <i>zallu</i> f.	'leech' (Azer. zəli, Pers. زالو)

Phonologically unadapted Persian and English loanwords that are inanimate are generally assigned feminine gender, e.g.

- (1) <sup>+</sup>*báyyən xa-dána* <sup>P</sup>sāxtumān<sup>P|</sup> <sup>ó</sup>*ya ju-*<sup>+</sup>*hàva*.| 'I want a building that is in the air.' (A 3:70)
- (2) <sup>+</sup>*e-Papārtmān*<sup>P|</sup> 'that apartment' (A 39:10)
- (3) <sup>á</sup> <sup>P</sup>sābád<sup>P</sup> <sup>+</sup>*xòrməl b-yavónna kàtux*.| 'I shall give you this basket of dates.' (A 10:3)
- (4) <sup>+</sup>*śadúrul* <sup>E</sup>présent<sup>E</sup> <sup>+</sup>*rába* <sup>+</sup>*timànta*.| 'He sends him a very expensive present.' (A 1:15)
- (5) <sup>+</sup>*xá* <sup>E</sup>bóx<sup>E</sup> <sup>+</sup>*jùrta*| 'a big box' (B 10:8)

Long entities, however, are sometimes masuline, e.g.

- (6) <sup>E</sup>péncile *cùma* 'a black pencil' (A 41:17)

### 5.12.6 Differences in Gender in the Caucasus

In the variety of the dialect spoken in the Caucasus the gender of nouns sometimes differs from what is found in the variety spoken in the Urmi region. This is the case in particular in the variety spoken in Armenia. The following nouns that are masculine in the Urmi region have been noted as being used with feminine gender in the Armenian villages:

<i>julla</i> n.m. (Armenia n.f.)	'cloth'
<i>meymun</i> n.m. (Armenia n.f.)	'monkey'
<i>pulluš</i> n.m. (Armenia <i>pullu</i> n.f.)	'pulp; grape must'
<i>sama</i> n.m. (Armenia n.f.)	'share, portion'
<sup>+</sup> <i>maya</i> n.m. (Armenia n.f.)	'rennet'
<sup>+</sup> <i>rəzza</i> n.m. (Armenia n.f.)	'rice'
<sup>+</sup> <i>sətra</i> n.m. (Armenia n.f.)	'thyme, savoury'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xalva</i> n.m. (Armenia n.f.)	'milk'

### 5.13 Plural Forms

The plural of most nouns is formed by replacing the singular inflections *-a* and *-ta* with a plural inflection without any other changes to the morphology of the noun. There is no one-to-one correspondence between singular inflections and plural inflections and so the plural form of a singular noun is not predictable.

#### 5.13.1 *Plural Ending -ə*

This is the most common plural ending and is attached to a variety of singular forms, both animate and inanimate.

##### 5.13.1.1 Plurals in *-ə* from Singulars in *-a*

Such nouns are of both genders and have either animate or inanimate referents, e.g.

###### Singular      Plural

<i>'ilana</i> m.	<i>'ilana</i>	'tree'
<i>jniva</i> m.	<i>jnivə</i>	'eyebrow'
<i>kala</i> m.	<i>kala</i>	'voice'
<i>malca</i> m.	<i>malca</i>	'king'
<i>nuvva</i> m.	<i>nuvva</i>	'small branch'
<i>sada</i> m.	<i>sadə</i>	'witness'
<i>tora</i> m.	<i>torə</i>	'ox'
<i>xmara</i> m.	<i>xmarə</i>	'ass'
<i>+šada</i> m.	<i>+šadə</i>	'almond'
<i>+tarpa</i> m.	<i>+tarpa</i>	'branch'
<i>'arbala</i> f.	<i>'arbala</i>	'sieve'
<i>'urudxa</i> f.	<i>'urudxə</i>	'large needle'
<i>jørva</i> f.	<i>jørva</i>	'sock'
<i>kalma</i> f.	<i>kalma</i>	'louse'
<i>nuyna</i> f.	<i>nuyna</i>	'fish'
<i>ptana</i> f.	<i>ptana</i>	'plough'
<i>šladda</i> f.	<i>šladdə</i>	'corpse'
<i>tena</i> f.	<i>tenə</i>	'fig'
<i>tuya</i> f.	<i>tuya</i>	'mulberry'
<i>+cavutra</i> f.	<i>+cavutra</i>	'lunch'
<i>+lubya</i> f.	<i>+lubyə</i>	'bean'
<i>+tata</i> f.	<i>+tatə</i>	'cockscomb'
<i>+vana</i> f.	<i>+vana</i>	'ewe'

**Singular      Plural**

<i>+xasina</i> f.	<i>+xasinə</i>	'pickaxe'
<i>+xmaṭa</i> f.	<i>+xmaṭə</i>	'needle'

In the word *+tata* (pl. *+tatə*) the final *-ta* was originally the feminine ending (< \**taḡtā*), but is interpreted now as part of the base of the noun. The word *+cavutra* also has the plural *+cavutranə*.

The word *+rabi* 'teacher', which does not have a singular inflectional ending, forms its plural by adding the ending *-ə* directly to the base separated by a glide: *+rabīyyə*.

In the Caucasus the final *-ə* is frequently elided in such forms (§ 1.16.2.), e.g. *kāl* 'sounds' (A 47:11 < *kálə*), *+māš* 'beans' (B 17:13 < *mášə*).

**5.13.1.2      Plurals in *-ə* from Singulars in *-ta***

In such cases a feminine ending is used with an individuating function to express a single item from the collectivity of a plural in *-ə* (§ 5.5.2.), e.g.

**Singular      Plural**

<i>bita</i>	<i>biyyə</i>	'egg'
<i>baḵlušta</i>	<i>baḵlušə</i>	'pebble'
<i>cəšməšta</i>	<i>cəšmišə</i>	'raisin'
<i>+lavašta</i>	<i>+lavašə</i>	'thin bread'

In loanwords that have a short /a/ vowel in the base of the word in the source language, the shortness may be preserved by geminating the final consonant in the plural, e.g.

*xasta*    *xassə*    'lettuce' (Pers. *xas* < Arab.)

**5.13.2      *The Plural Ending -anə***

This ending forms plurals from singulars in *-a*. Nouns forming plurals with *-anə* are mostly inanimate:

**Singular      Plural**

<i>carma</i>	<i>carmanə</i>	'vineyard, plantation'
<i>duca</i>	<i>ducanə</i>	'place'
<i>duccana</i>	<i>duccanana</i>	'shop'
<i>juyda</i>	<i>juydanə</i>	'wall'
<i>móriša</i>	<i>morišanə</i>	'morning'
<i>noba</i>	<i>nobanə</i>	'turn'

Singular	Plural	
<i>parra</i>	<i>parranə</i>	'feather, propeller'
<i>ptana</i>	<i>ptanana</i>	'plough'
<i>pumma</i>	<i>pummanə</i>	'mouths'
<i>šəmma</i>	<i>šəmmanə</i>	'name'
<i>yuma</i>	<i>yumanə</i>	'day'
<i>+alula</i>	<i>+alulanə</i>	'street'
<i>+cavutra</i>	<i>+cavutranə</i>	'lunch'
<i>+jora</i>	<i>+jorana</i>	'husband, man'
<i>+pava</i>	<i>+pavanə</i>	'large branch'
<i>+ruyša</i>	<i>+ruyšanə</i>	'shoulder'
<i>+šula</i>	<i>+šulanə</i>	'job'
<i>+tarra</i>	<i>+tarranə</i>	'door'
<i>+tuyra</i>	<i>+tuyranə</i>	'mountain'

The nouns *+pava* and *+cavutra* also have the plurals *+pavə* and *+cavutra*. The noun *+jora* also has the plural *+joravato*. The inanimate generic word *məndi* 'thing', which has no singular inflectional ending, also forms its plural with this suffix, connected by a glide /yy/: *məndiyyanə* (sometimes contracted to *məndyanə*).

Occasionally this plural ending is reduplicated. This is found more commonly in the Caucasus than elsewhere, e.g.

<i>juyda</i>	<i>juydanə ~ juydananə</i>	'wall'
<i>beta</i>	<i>betanana</i> (Canda)	'house'
<i>juyba</i>	<i>juybananə</i> (Canda)	'pit'
<i>baxča</i>	<i>baxčanana</i> (Canda)	'kitchen garden'
<i>calba</i>	<i>calbananə</i> (Armenia)	'dog'

The noun *+berašə* 'evening', which ends in -ə in the singular, takes a variant of this plural ending -vanə:

Singular	Plural
<i>+berašə</i>	<i>+berašvanə</i> 'evening'

### 5.13.3 Plurals with the Reduplication of the Final Consonant

Most nouns that have this type of plural have in the singular the bisyllabic patterns CVCCa or CVCa. The reduplication consists of the repetition of the final radical. In the case of nouns with a geminated final radical, it is repeated ungeminated. All have inanimate referents.

Singular	Plural	
<i>bərcə</i>	<i>bərcacə</i>	'knee'
<i>bulə</i>	<i>bulalə</i>	'hairy top of corn'
<i>čəlla</i>	<i>čəllalə</i>	'root'
<i>jəlla</i>	<i>jəllalə</i>	'herb'
<i>nica</i>	<i>nicacə</i>	'hip'
<i>þəkkə</i>	<i>þəkkakə</i>	'frog'
<i>þərçə</i>	<i>þərçacə</i>	'piece'
<i>šəppula</i>	<i>šəppulalə</i>	'end of skirt'
<i>təlpə</i>	<i>təlpapə</i>	'eyelash'
<i>tica</i>	<i>ticacə</i>	'morsel'
<i>xuvva</i>	<i>xuvvavə</i>	'snake'
<i>+kətta</i>	<i>+kəttatə</i>	'piece'
<i>+kuča</i>	<i>+kučačə</i>	'thumb'

Some of these nouns also form plurals in *-ə*, e.g. *bulə*, *+kučə*, *šəppulə*.

#### 5.13.4 *The Plural Ending -atə/-áy*

Most nouns that have the plural ending *-atə* may also form a plural with the ending *-áy*, which is a contracted form of *-atə*, e.g. *’akläta* ~ *’akläláy* 'legs'. The contracted form is the norm in the varieties of the dialect spoken in the Caucasus. This contraction takes place in principle only when the /a/ is stressed and the /t/ is followed by /ə/ or the high vowel of the 1s. suffix *-i*. If the plural endings have suffixes with other vowel qualities or a stressed suffix, the /t/ remains in place in all varieties of the dialect, e.g. *’akläátu* 'his legs', *’aklälaté* 'their legs.' In the following lists only the ending *-atə* is indicated.

##### 5.13.4.1 Plurals in *-atə/-áy* from Singulars in *-a*

Nouns ending in *-a* that take the *-atə* ending in the plural are feminine in gender.

Singular	Plural	
<i>’akläla</i> f.	<i>’aklälatə</i>	'leg'
<i>’ida</i> f.	<i>’idatə</i>	'hand'
<i>’urxa</i> f.	<i>’urxatə</i>	'way'
<i>baxta</i> f.	<i>baxtatə</i>	'woman'
<i>cisa</i> f.	<i>cisatə</i>	'belly'
<i>dəpnə</i> f.	<i>dəpnatə</i>	'side'
<i>katta</i> f.	<i>kattatə</i>	'handle'
<i>ķonna</i> f.	<i>ķonnatə</i>	'nest'

Singular	Plural	
<i>meša</i> f.	<i>mešatə</i>	'forest'
<i>ptana</i> f.	<i>ptanatə</i>	'plough'
<i>səmma</i> f.	<i>səmmatə</i>	'hoof'
<i>šərma</i> f.	<i>šərmatə</i>	'buttocks'
<i>yama</i> f.	<i>yamata</i>	'sea'
<i>yəmma</i> f.	<i>yəmmatə</i>	'mother'
<i>yona</i> f.	<i>yonata</i>	'dove'
+ <i>arra</i> f.	+ <i>arratə</i>	'land'
+ <i>ayva</i> f.	+ <i>ayvatə</i>	'cloud'
+ <i>ətma</i>	+ <i>ətmatə</i>	'thigh'
+ <i>badya</i> f.	+ <i>badyatə</i>	'water pot'
+ <i>budra</i> f.	+ <i>budrate</i>	'threshing floor'
+ <i>dana</i> f.	+ <i>danata</i>	'time'
+ <i>kalla</i>	+ <i>kallatə</i>	'citadel'
+ <i>muṭra</i> f.	+ <i>muṭratə</i>	'rain'
+ <i>rumxa</i> f.	+ <i>rumxatə</i>	'spear'
+ <i>ruxa</i> f.	+ <i>ruxata</i>	'spirit'
+ <i>šraya</i> f.	+ <i>šrayatə</i>	'oil-lamp'
+ <i>sup̪pa</i> f.	+ <i>sup̪patə</i>	'finger'
+ <i>topa</i> f.	+ <i>topata</i>	'wheel'

Some of these nouns also have plurals in *-ə*, e.g. +*kallə*, +*rumxə*, *səmma*, *šərma*, *ptanana*.

#### 5.13.4.2 Plurals in *-atə/-áy* from Singulars in *-ta*

Singular	Plural	
<i>calta</i>	<i>calatə</i>	'daughter-in-law'
<i>darta</i>	<i>daratə</i>	'courtyard'
<i>janta</i>	<i>janatə</i>	'garden'
<i>kalta</i>	<i>kalatə</i>	'basket'
<i>ptulta</i>	<i>ptulata</i>	'virgin'
<i>šabta</i>	<i>šabatə</i>	'week'
<i>xamta</i>	<i>xamatə</i>	'young woman'
+ <i>ṭuvita</i>	+ <i>ṭuyata</i>	'roast meat, kebab'

Note that the medial /v/ in +*ṭuvita* contacts in the plural resulting in the form +*ṭuyata* (< \**ṭuvyata*).

A consonant that is assimilated to the /t/ of the singular ending is preserved

in some cases due to the intervening /a/ vowel of the plural ending. In the noun *mdita* an /n/ that is assimilated to the /t/ of the singular ending -*ta* when in contact with it (< \**mdinta*) appears in the plural form:

*mdita*   *mdinatə*   ‘town’

In some varieties of the dialect (e.g. Piğabayluvvə N and Guylasar Arm.) the /n/ has metathesized with the /d/ in this word and is preserved in the singular, viz. *məndita* (A 42:12 Guylasar, Arm.), pl. *məndiyatə*.

In the noun <sup>+</sup>*ita* (< \**īdtā*) ‘church’, the original /d/ is optionally preserved in the plural:

<sup>+</sup>*ita*   <sup>+</sup>*idatə* ~ <sup>+</sup>*itatə*   ‘church’

The sequence /ay/ in nouns with a final weak /y/ consonant contracts to /e/ before the singular -*ta* ending, e.g. *cteta* < \**ctayta*. The sequence remains uncontracted in the plural, e.g.

<i>cəsseta</i>	<i>cəssayatə</i>	‘small lid’
<i>cteta</i>	<i>ctayatə</i>	‘chicken’
<i>maseta</i>	<i>masayatə</i>	‘balance, scales’
<i>šteta</i>	<i>štayatə</i>	‘drink’
<sup>+</sup> <i>meta</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>meyatə</i>	‘churn’

Such nouns with singulars ending in -*eta* may also form plurals ending in -*eyatə* by analogy with the singular, e.g.

<i>maseta</i>	<i>maseyatə</i>	‘balance, scales’
<sup>+</sup> <i>meta</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>meyatə</i>	‘churn’
<sup>+</sup> <i>areta</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>areyatə</i>	‘patch’

A noun with the abstract derivative ending -*uta/-uyta* can form a plural by replacing the -*ta* by -*atə*, as a result of which the preceding vowel becomes /v/, e.g.

*čatunuta* ~   *čatunvatə*   ‘difficulty’  
*čatunuyta*

5.13.4.3 Plurals in *-atə/-áy* from Singulars in *-ə*

- 'ərxə f. 'ərxatə 'water-mill'  
*cavə* f. *cavatə* 'small window'

5.13.5 *The Plural Ending -yatə/-yáy*

The contracted form *-yáy* is the norm in the varieties of the dialect spoken in the Caucasus.

5.13.5.1 Plurals in *-yatə/-yáy* from Singulars in *-ta*

The ending *-yatə* is the most common plural ending for feminine singulars in *-ta*.

Singular	Plural	
<i>canušta</i>	<i>canušyatə</i>	'broom'
<i>karkəpta</i>	<i>karkəpyatə</i>	'skull'
<i>lvəšta</i>	<i>lvəšyatə</i>	'clothing'
<i>nanunta</i>	<i>nanunyatə</i>	'grandmother'
<i>scənta</i>	<i>scənyatə</i>	'knife'
<i>səmmalta</i>	<i>səmmalyatə</i>	'ladder'
<i>susta</i>	<i>susyatə</i>	'mare'
<i>xmata</i>	<i>xmayatə</i>	'mother-in-law'
+ānta	+ānyatə	'air-hole at the bottom of oven'
+baluta	+baluyatə	'throat'
+jazarta	+jazaryatə	'island'
+kərtalta	+kərtalyatə	'small pannier bag'
+kusarta	+kusaryatə	'cooking pot'
+lənta	+lənyatə	'small earthenware pot'
+mixulta	+mixultyatə	'food'
+rušta	+rušyatə	'shovel'

When the noun stem ends in the vowel /i/, the plural has the ending *-iyatə*, e.g.

<i>šakita</i>	<i>šakiyyatə</i>	'stream'
<i>spadita</i>	<i>spadiyyatə</i>	'pillow'
<i>švita</i>	<i>šviyyatə</i>	'bed'
+karita	+kariyyatə	'beam'
+kurnita	+kurniyyatə	'corner (of room, street)'
+xṭita	+xṭiyyatə	'sin'

### 5.13.5.2 Plurals in *-yatə/-yáy* from Singulars in *-u*

Feminine nouns that end in *-u* (§ 5.7.) in the singular generally take the plural ending *-yatə/-yay* with a preceding /n/, i.e. *-unyatə/-unyay*, as if the singular ending were \**-unta*:

#### Singular    Plural

<i>calu</i>	<i>calunyatə</i>	'bride'
<i>meju</i>	<i>mejunyatə</i>	'kneading tray'
<sup>+</sup> <i>kaṭu</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>kaṭunyatə</i>	'cat'
<sup>+</sup> <i>zallu</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>zallunyatə</i>	'leech'

The noun <sup>+</sup>*kaṭu* also has the plural <sup>+</sup>*kaṭyatə*.

### 5.13.6 *The Plural Ending -vatə/-váy*

This is added to nouns of both genders, which include nouns referring to inanimate objects and kinship terms. The contracted form is the norm in the varieties of the dialect spoken in the Caucasus.

#### Singular    Plural

<i>beta</i> m.	<i>bətvatə</i>	'house'
<i>mata</i> f.	<i>matvatə</i>	'village'
<i>pata</i> f.	<i>patvatə</i>	'face'

#### Kinship terms

<i>xata</i> f.	<i>xatvatə</i>	'sister'
<i>yəmma</i> f.	<i>yəmvatə</i>	'mother'
<sup>’</sup> <i>axuna</i> m.	<sup>’</sup> <i>axunvatə</i>	'brother'
<i>savuna</i> m.	<i>savunvatə</i>	'grandfather'
<sup>+</sup> <i>mamuna</i> m.	<sup>+</sup> <i>mamunvatə</i>	'paternal uncle'

In the feminine nouns *pata* and *xata* the /t/, which is historically the feminine suffix, is treated as a radical. Vowels that are long in open syllables in the singular are sometimes preserved as half-long in the closed syllable of the plural, e.g. *beta* [‘be:tʰa] 'house', *bətvatə* [be:tʰva:tɪ]. In the plural of this word the vowel of the first syllable is sometimes pronounced as /a/, viz. *batvatə*. This may be by a phonetic process of vowel lowering or it could be a hybrid plural combining the form *bətvatə* with the irregular plural form *batə* (§ 5.13.8.). The noun *yəmma* also has the plural *yəmmata*. The noun *mata* also has the plural *mavatə*. The plural ending *-vatə* should probably be identified

also in the following, though the /v/ has coalesced with the preceding /vv/ cluster:

+*xaluvvva* m. +*xaluvvvatə* ‘maternal uncle’

### 5.13.7 *The Plural Ending -avatə/-aváy*

This ending is added to masculine and feminine nouns, which include nouns referring to inanimate entities and kinship terms. The contracted form *-aváy* is the norm in the varieties of the dialect spoken in the Caucasus:

Singular	Plural	
<i>'ida</i> f.	<i>'idavatə</i>	‘festival’
<i>móriša</i> m.	<i>morišavatə</i>	‘morning’
<i>mula</i> f.	<i>mulavatə</i>	‘barn’
<i>nara</i> m.	<i>naravatə</i>	‘river’
<i>'urxa</i> f.	<i>'urxavatə</i>	‘way’
<i>xela</i> m.	<i>xelavatə</i>	‘strength’
+ <i>'atra</i> m.	+ <i>'atrvatə</i>	‘land’
+ <i>keta</i> m.	+ <i>kētavatə</i>	‘summer’
+ <i>kora</i> f.	+ <i>koravatə</i>	‘grave’
+ <i>šara</i> m.	+ <i>šaravatə</i>	‘saint’s festival’

#### Kinship terms

<i>baba</i> m.	<i>babavatə</i>	‘father’
+ <i>jora</i> m.	+ <i>joravatə</i>	‘husband, man’
<i>xətna</i> m.	<i>xətnavatə</i>	‘son-in-law, groom’
+ <i>amtə</i> f.	+ <i>amtavatə</i>	‘paternal aunt’
<i>xalta</i> f.	<i>xaltavatə</i>	‘maternal aunt’

Closely related semantically to the latter group is the noun *malca*, which also has this plural:

*malca* m. *malcavatə* ‘king’

In the forms +*amtavatə* and *xaltavatə* the plural ending is attached to the feminine ending *-ta*, which is treated as part of the base of the singular noun. Some nouns mentioned above have other plurals, e.g. *'urxatə*, +*joranə*, *morišanə*, +*kētənə*, *malca*.

This plural ending is added also to nouns ending in *-ə*:

<i>'urə</i> f.	<i>'uravatə</i>	'manger'
<i>čiriyə</i> m.	<i>čiriyavatə</i>	'Autumn'
<i>jarə</i> m.	<i>jaravatə</i>	'roof'
<i>lelə</i> m./f.	<i>lelavatə</i>	'night'

### 5.13.8 Irregular Plurals

#### Singular      Plural

<i>beta</i> m.	<i>batə</i>	'house'
<i>brata</i> f.	<i>bnatə</i>	'girl'
<i>bruna</i> m.	<i>bnunə</i>	'sons'
<i>nata</i> f.	<i>natyatə</i>	'ears'
<i>šita</i> f.	<i>šənnə</i>	'year'
+ <i>sluta</i> f.	+ <i>slavatə</i>	'prayer'

The word *beta* also has the plurals *bətvatə/bətváy* and *betanənə*. The singular form *nata* is the historical reflex of the plural form *\*ednātā*, though this has now become reanalysed as a singular (Mutzafi 2005b).

### 5.13.9 Pluralia Tantum

<i>'avahatə</i>	'parents'
<i>'axrə</i>	'excrement'
<i>čuvvə</i>	'animal droppings'
<i>jərsa</i>	'cracked wheat'
<i>miyya</i>	'water'
<i>pudsə</i>	'mucus from nose'
<i>raxmə</i>	'mercy'
<i>rerə</i>	'saliva'
<i>rukə</i>	'spit'
<i>xayya</i>	'life'
<i>zvadə</i>	'supplies'
+ <i>davvə</i>	'yoghurt water'
+ <i>jurə</i>	'urine'
+ <i>kətpə</i>	'whey'
+ <i>mayə</i>	'intestine'

The noun *miyya* is treated as syntactically plural, the *-yya* ending being a fossilized relic of a plural ending in earlier Aramaic.

### 5.13.10 *The Plural of Loanwords*

When the singular form of a loanword is adapted to Aramaic morphology by adding the inflectional endings *-a*, *-ta* or *-ita* (§ 5.11.), they are treated like native Aramaic nouns in the formation of their plurals. A final *-a* that originally belonged to the base of the noun in the source language has in some cases been reanalysed as the Aramaic *-a* inflection and is replaced by a plural ending, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>bukša</i> m.	<i>bukšə</i>	'knapsack' < Pers. buqša
+ <i>hača</i> m.	+ <i>hačə</i>	'forked stick' < Azer. haça
<i>tala</i> f.	<i>talə</i>	'trap' < Azer. tələ
<i>karǵa</i> f.	<i>karǵə</i>	'crow' < Azer. qarǵa
<i>baxča</i> f.	<i>baxčanə</i>	'garden' < Azer. bağça
<i>julla</i> f.	<i>jullata</i>	'fruit stone' < Azer. güllə
<i>tasma</i> f.	<i>tasmatə</i>	'belt' < Pers. tasme
+ <i>torba</i> f.	+ <i>torbatə</i>	'bag' < Azer. torba
+ <i>topa</i> f.	+ <i>topatə</i>	'wheel' < Azer. topa
<i>rīja</i> m.	<i>rījavatə</i>	'servant' < Pers. rēkā

Loanwords that have not acquired an Aramaic singular inflectional ending are nevertheless inflected in the plural with an Aramaic plural ending, which is regularly the ending *-ə*. This indicates that the *-ə* plural ending is the most productive pluralizing inflection.<sup>1</sup> Both loanwords that have been phonologically integrated into the dialect and also those that have not been phonologically integrated (§ 1.5.1.) form plurals by the ending *-ə*. Such loanwords are of both genders, a large proportion of inanimate loanwords being assigned feminine gender (§ 5.12.5.). This differs from feminine words that have the Aramaic inflectional ending *-a*, which often take the plural ending *-atə* (§ 5.13.4.1.).

Loaned nouns may be phonologically integrated without acquiring an Aramaic singular inflectional ending. The phonological integration is reflected by the penultimate stress position, the acquiring of suprasegmental emphasis and the devoicing of a final stop, fricative or affricate. When the plural ending *-ə* is added to nouns such as these that end in a consonant, the consonant retains its voice and the stress moves onto the vowel before the consonant:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the remarks of Haspelmath (2002, 134) regarding the accommodation of loanwords into the morphology of languages.

Singular	Plural	
<i>+xiyavand</i>	<i>+xiyavandə</i>	'street' (Pers. xiyābān)
[x <sup>i</sup> i: <sup>h</sup> ja: <sup>s</sup> v <sup>a</sup> n <sup>t</sup> h <sup>g</sup> ]	[x <sup>i</sup> i: <sup>h</sup> ja: <sup>s</sup> v <sup>a</sup> n <sup>d</sup> ə <sup>s</sup> ]	
<i>+kassab</i> [k <sup>a</sup> s <sup>s</sup> s <sup>a</sup> p <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>+kassabə</i> [k <sup>a</sup> s <sup>s</sup> s <sup>a</sup> b <sup>ə</sup> ]	'butcher' (Pers. qassāb)
<i>+sarbaz</i> [s <sup>a</sup> r <sup>a</sup> r <sup>b</sup> a <sup>s</sup> ]	<i>+sarbazə</i> [s <sup>a</sup> r <sup>a</sup> r <sup>b</sup> a <sup>r</sup> z <sup>ə</sup> ]	'soldier' (Pers. sarbāz)

If the stressed vowel in the plural is in an open syllable and was originally long in the source language, it is pronounced long, e.g. *+sarbazə* [s<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup>r<sup>b</sup>a<sup>r</sup>z<sup>ə</sup>] (Pers. sarbāz). Even when the vowel was short in the source language, it is often lengthened, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>čardağ</i>	<i>čardağə</i>	'shed' (Azeri çardaq)
<i>+toxmağ</i>	<i>+toxmağə</i>	'wooden mallet' (Azer. toxmaq)
<i>+adyal</i>	<i>+adyalə</i>	'blanket' (Russian одеяло ad'yala)
<i>pašcaš</i>	<i>pašcašə</i>	'gift' (Pers. paškaš)
<i>čatər</i>	<i>čatirə</i>	'umbrella' (Azer. çətir, Pers. čater)
<i>kəppəl</i>	<i>kəppilə</i>	'lock' (Azeri qıflı)
<i>yeməš</i>	<i>yemişə</i>	'fruit' (Turk. yemiş)
<i>+casəb</i>	<i>+casibə</i>	'poor' (Azeri kasib)
<i>+top</i>	<i>+topə</i>	'cannon' (Azeri top)

When the vowel is /u/, this generally becomes the diphthong /uy/ when it is lengthened:

<i>havuz</i>	<i>havuyzə</i>	'pool' (Turk. havuz)
<i>jardun</i>	<i>jarduynə</i>	'harvest cart' (Pers. gardūn)
<i>kalyun</i>	<i>kaluyunə</i>	'pipe' (Pers. qalyūn)
<i>+karavul</i>	<i>+karavuylə</i>	'guard' (Azer. qarovul)

In some cases, however, original short *a* is retained in the stressed syllable and the following consonant is geminated to create a closed syllable. This applies in particular to loanwords with the ending *-at*:

Singular	Plural	
<i>kəssat</i>	<i>kəssattə</i>	'story' (Pers. qesse)
<i>+karavat</i>	<i>+karavattə</i>	'bed' (Ott. Turk. kerevet)
<i>nasyat</i>	<i>nasyattə</i>	'advice' (Pers. nasīhat)
<i>xallat</i>	<i>xallattə</i>	'gift' (Kurd. xelat, Azer. xələt)
<i>nəmcət</i>	<i>nəmcattə</i>	'sofa' (Pers. nīmkat)

This type of plural is occasionally found when nouns end in other consonants:

<i>matlab</i>	<i>matlabba</i>	'aim' (Pers. <i>matlab</i> )
<i>sanam</i>	<i>sanamma</i>	'idol' (Pers. <i>sanam</i> < Arab.)

Loaned nouns that have not been adapted to the phonology of the dialect are likewise made plural by adding the Aramaic plural suffix *-ə*. The stressed vowel in a syllable that has been opened by the addition of this suffix is generally pronounced long, even if short in the source language:

**Singular      Plural**

<i>Pjādujár<sup>P</sup></i>	<i>Pjādujárə<sup>P</sup></i>	'magician' (Pers.)
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If a loanword ends in *-i* or *-ə*, a glide /yy/ is added between this and the plural suffix *-ə* resulting in both cases in the ending *-iyə*:

**Singular      Plural**

<i>buri</i>	<i>buriyyə</i>	'tap'
<i>cursi</i>	<i>cursiyyə</i>	'chair'
<i>darzi</i>	<i>darziyyə</i>	'tailor'
<i>davri</i>	<i>davriyyə</i>	'plate'
<i>jalandi</i>	<i>jalandiyyə</i>	'scythe'
<i>tunji</i>	<i>tunjıyyə</i>	'jug'
<i>+xali</i>	<i>+xaliyyə</i>	'carpet'
<i>+xnami</i>	<i>+xnamiyyə</i>	'relative on wife's side'
<i>janno</i>	<i>janniyyə</i>	'patchwork blanket'
<i>nanno</i>	<i>nannıyyə</i>	'cradle (rocked on legs)'

Loanwords ending in *-u* likewise insert the glide /y/ before the plural ending *-ə*, e.g.

<i>kukku</i>	<i>kukkuyə</i>	'cuckoo'
<i>puppu</i>	<i>puppuyə</i>	'hoopoe'

A few loanwords that have not been morphologically adapted in the singular, i.e. that do not end in *-a* or *-ta*, have plural endings other than *-ə*, e.g.

<i>jol</i> f.	<i>jolavatə, jolalə</i>	'pool, pond'
<i>nino</i> f.	<i>ninavata</i>	'chicken-roost'
<i>+čalə</i> f.	<i>+čalavatə</i>	'hole'

<i>jabbani</i> f.	<i>jabbanyatə</i>	'cook (woman)'
<i>çəččə</i> f.	<i>çəččənyatə</i>	'lass'
<i>puþþu</i> f.	<i>puþþunyatə</i>	'hoopoe'
<i>+zallu</i> f.	<i>+zallunyatə</i>	'leech'

All of these are of feminine gender. The plurals of *nina* and *+čala* have been formed by analogy with native nouns ending in *-ə* that take the plural ending *-avatə*, e.g. *'urə*, *'uravatə* 'manger' (§ 5.13.7.). The plural of the loanwords ending in *-u* have been formed by analogy with the plurals of native words ending in *-u*, e.g. *calu*, *calunyata* 'bride' (§ 5.13.5.2.). This is probably the background also of the plural ending of *çəččə*.

When other types of suffixes are added to the singular forms of loanwords, the same processes take place as have been described for the affixation of the plural suffix, e.g.

<i>cardak</i>	'shed'	<i>cardaku</i>	'his shed' (Azeri çardaq)
<i>kəppəl</i>	'lock'	<i>kəppilu</i>	'his lock' (Azeri qfil)
<i>bəznəs</i>	'business'	<i>bəznisu</i>	'his business' (Eng. business)
<i>kəssat</i>	'story'	<i>kəssattu</i>	'his story story'

#### 5.14 Annexation of Nouns

One nominal may be annexed to another in a genitive relationship by attaching the ending *-ət* to the head noun. The particle *-ət* replaces the final inflectional vowel, e.g.

*beta* 'house' + *malca* 'king'  
*betət malca* 'the house of the king'

In origin this ending is the genitive particle *d* of earlier Aramaic preceded, it seems, by a fossilized form of an archaic proleptic 3ms suffix *-ə* (< \**bētēh d-malkā* 'his house—of the king').<sup>2</sup> The *d* has become devoiced by the usual process of word-final devoicing (§ 1.6.). A fossilized vestige of the archaic 3ms pronoun *-ə* is found elsewhere, e.g. in the phrase *xa paljə* 'one its half' = 'one and a half' and in the quantifier *culla* 'all (of it)'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the remarks of Nöldeke (1865, 149) and Tsereteli (1965a, 230).

When the ending *-at* is attached to nouns, it is treated like an inflectional affix analogous in morphological status to that of pronominal suffixes. This can be seen, for example, in nouns ending in *-u* (§ 5.7.), in that they replace the ending *-u* by the ending *-unt-* before both the annexation element and pronominal suffixes:

<i>+kaₜu</i>	'cat'
<i>+kaₜuntu</i>	'his cat'
<i>+kantuntat malca</i>	'the cat of the king'

Nevertheless, the ending *-at* behaves in some other respects like an enclitic. The ending operates at the level of a noun phrase rather than of a word. It occurs at the right periphery of a noun phrase, unlike pronominal suffixes, which are restricted to the domain of the word. It has a greater freedom of host selection than pronominal suffixes, in that it can be attached to adjectives as well as to nouns. This is seen in the following examples:

<i>betat malca</i>	'the house of the king'
<i>betu</i>	'his house'
<i>beta surat malca</i>	'the small house of the king'
<i>betu sura</i>	'his small house'
<i>beta 'u-susat malca</i>	'the house and the horse of the king'
<i>betu 'u-susu</i>	'his house and his horse'

The ending is not always a bound form, but rather may also be a free form that can be detached from the head noun. In such cases the particle has the form *'at-* with an initial /', e.g.

*beta 'at-malca* 'the house of the king'

If there is a hesitation between the head noun and the annexed noun, the annexation particle is separated from the head noun by an intonation group boundary and attached to the annexed noun, e.g.

*+arabàna| 'at-suysavàtə| 'a carriage of horses' (A 1:38)*

The annexation element can be placed after a pronominal suffix, e.g.

<i>'isakta</i>	'ring'
<i>'isaktu</i>	'his ring'
<i>'isaktu-t dava</i>	'his ring of gold'

These features of behaviour are analogous to enclitic elements such as the copula, e.g.

<i>bètələ </i>	'It is a house'
<i>béta sùrələ </i>	'It is a small house'
<i>béta 'u-sùsənə </i>	'They are a house and a horse'
<i>bábu 'ilə +tājər </i>	'His father is a merchant'
<i>betu=la</i>	'It is his house'

In the case of the free-standing forms *'at* and *'ilə*, these can be considered to be cliticized at an underlying level to a zero pronominal element, thus:

*beta Øat malca* > *béta 'at-málca*  
 'house that-of the-king'

*babi Øilə +tajər* > *bábi 'ilə +tájər*  
 my-father he-is merchant

The /' / would be added at a phonetic level to fill the zero onset of the syllable (§ 1.14.). Evidence for such an analysis of *'at* is the devoiced /t/, which reflects that it is interpreted as a word-final element (*Øat*) rather than a prefix of the following word.

The behaviour of the annexation suffix at word-level, however, presents some difficulties with this analysis. As we have seen, when it is attached to words such as *+kaṭu* 'cat', the word has a different morphological shape, which is equivalent to the shape it has before pronominal suffixes. This is not the case when the enclitic copula is attached:

<i>+kaṭu</i>	'cat'
<i>+kaṭuntat malca</i>	'the cat of the king'
<i>+kaṭu-la</i>	'it is a cat'

When the word *+kaṭu*, however, is followed by additional material in the noun phrase, then it does not change its morphological shape, e.g.

*+kaṭu surtat malca* 'the small cat of the king'

Similarly loanwords ending in a consonant without the Aramaic inflection suffix *-a*, such as *+sárbaz* 'soldier', behave differently with the annexation ending and with the enclitic copula, in that the annexation ending is taken into

account by the stress, as are pronominal suffixes, but the copula is ignored in stress placement. When the annexation ending is added, moreover, the word-final devoicing is cancelled, whereas it is retained when a copula is added:

<sup>+</sup> sárbaž	[s <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> r <sup>ə</sup> b <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> s <sup>ə</sup> ]	'soldier'
<sup>+</sup> sárbaž-ilə	[s <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> r <sup>ə</sup> b <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> s <sup>ə</sup> l <sup>ə</sup> ə]	'he is a soldier'
<sup>+</sup> sarbázu	[s <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> r <sup>ə</sup> b <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> z <sup>ə</sup> u <sup>ə</sup> ]	'his soldier'
<sup>+</sup> sarbázət málca	[s <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> r <sup>ə</sup> b <sup>ə</sup> a <sup>ə</sup> z <sup>ə</sup> t <sup>ə</sup> ]	'the soldier of the king'

When, however, the word does not occur at the right periphery of the noun phrase, it retains its original shape, e.g.

<sup>+</sup>sárbaž [s<sup>ə</sup>a<sup>ə</sup>r<sup>ə</sup>b<sup>ə</sup>a<sup>ə</sup>s<sup>ə</sup>] *xelánət málca* 'the strong soldier of the king'

It also retains its original shape if the annexation element is detached from it, e.g.

<sup>+</sup>sárbaž [s<sup>ə</sup>a<sup>ə</sup>r<sup>ə</sup>b<sup>ə</sup>a<sup>ə</sup>s<sup>ə</sup>] *ət-málca* 'the soldier of the king'

This suggests that forms such as <sup>+</sup>katuntət and <sup>+</sup>sarbazət have the status of alloforms of the words <sup>+</sup>katu and <sup>+</sup>sarbaz with inflectional endings rather than forms that have been created by combining the independent form with an external enclitic element.

If the annexation ending is attached to the end of loanwords that are not phonologically integrated, the devoicing of a final consonant remains, e.g.

<sup>P</sup>darāmàd<sup>P-ət̪l̪</sup> [dara:<sup>ə</sup>math<sup>ɪθl̪</sup>] <sup>+ət̪ra</sup> 'the income of the land' (A 3:84)

The same applies, however, also to the attachment of a pronominal suffix to such loanwords, in that the devoicing remains, e.g.

<sup>P</sup>darāmàd<sup>P-ət̪o</sup> [dara:<sup>ə</sup>mat<sup>h</sup>o:] 'its (fs.) income'

This shows that alloforms with inflectional endings can only exist for phonologically integrated words. If the word is not phonologically integrated, all suffixes, including even pronominal suffixes, have the status of enclitics that are external to the word boundary reflected by the devoicing rule.

Occasionally also loanwords that have been phonologically adapted but without an Aramaic inflection ending treat the annexation ending as an enclitic, e.g.

- cómur* ‘coal’  
*cómur=ət késa* ‘coal of wood (charcoal)’

In such cases, where the stress is two syllables back from the annexation ending, the /ə/ of the ending is often elided:

*cómur=t késa*

If the annexation ending is placed on an adjective at the right periphery of a noun phrase, the stress placement on the adjective indicates that the ending is treated like an enclitic. This is seen, for example, when the adjective is a loanword ending in a consonant, in that the stress does not change position when the annexation ending is attached, e.g.

- béta támmaz* ‘clean house’  
*béta támmaz ’ət-yómmi* ‘the clean house of my mother’  
*béta támmaz-ət yámmi* ‘the clean house of my mother’

When the ending is attached to an adjective in this way, the /ə/ is often elided:

*béta támmaz=t yámmi.*

When a noun occurs at the right periphery of a noun phrase, however, this has an inflected annexation alloform, unless the annexation element is separated:

- +kássab ’u-+sárbaž* ‘the butcher and the soldier’  
*+kássab ’u-+sárbaž ’ət-málca* ‘the butcher and the soldier of the king’  
*+kássab ’u-+sarbázət málca* ‘the butcher and the soldier of the king’

The annexation particle is attached to pronominal heads, e.g.

- ’ō=t babi* ‘the one (m.) of my father’ (’ō + ət)  
*’ē=t babi* ‘the one (f.) of my father’ (’ē + ət)  
*’an=ət babi* ‘the ones of my father’ (’an + ət)

In such cases the annexation appears to be a clitic. This is reflected by the fact that the /a/ vowel of *’an=ət* remains short and the syllabification ignores the clitic. In fast speech this is often shortened to *’an=t*. This should be contrasted with annexation allomorphs such as *+sarbázət* in which the /a/ is lengthened.

The long vowel in *'ō=t* and *'ē=t* can likewise be explained by the fact that the syllabification ignores the clitic and treats the syllable as open.

An annexation particle is also used with some adverbial expressions and prepositions to connect them to a following noun. In such cases inflected alloforms are in free variation with invariable forms with an enclitic form of the annexation element, e.g.

*+ullul* 'above', *'ältəx* 'below'

*+ulliylat beta* ~ *+ullul-at beta* 'above the house'  
*'ältixat beta* ~ *'ältəx-at beta* 'below the house'

Hybrid forms are occasionally heard, such as *xatárət* 'for the sake of', in which the stress shifts to the penultimate syllable but the vowel is not lengthened.

In sum, there is evidence that *-at* has been reanalysed as an enclitic, which has a greater freedom of movement than inflectional suffixes, but nouns have annexation allomorphs in which the annexation element is treated like an inflectional suffix, with the same status as a pronominal suffix. One can say that the annexation ending exhibits a greater degree of morphological integration with nouns than with other categories, in that it has the status of an inflectional suffix in nouns but behaves as an enclitic elsewhere. Based on the data presented above, the degree of grammatical integration can be represented in the form of the following cline:

Noun > Adverb > Adjective

Pronouns do not behave like nouns in this respect, since the phonology of forms like *'ō=t*, *'ē=t* and *'an-at* indicates that the annexation particle has clitic status.

The historical genitive particle *d* retains its voice before demonstrative pronouns, the reciprocal pronoun, some interrogative particles and sporadically before the annexation particle *'at*, e.g.

<i>+dav</i>	'of him' ( <i>d + +av</i> )
<i>day</i>	'of her' ( <i>d + ay</i> )
<i>do naša</i>	'that man' ( <i>d + o</i> )
<i>+duydalə</i>	'of each other' ( <i>d + +uydalə</i> )
<i>dəm-'urxa</i>	'of which road' ( <i>d + əm</i> )
<i>datxa 'urxa</i>	'of such a road' ( <i>d + atxa</i> )
<i>hal diman</i>	'until when' ( <i>d + iman</i> )
<i>+al-dət-'arpi</i>	'at the fortieth' ( <i>d + 'at</i> )

There are arguments for regarding this *d* element as a grammaticalized component of the word rather than a proclitic (see §1.15.2. for the phonological arguments). For this reason they are written without a connecting hyphen. When these forms follow a head noun, the head noun still has the *-at* ending, e.g.

<i>betət +dav</i>	'his house'
<i>betət do naša</i>	'the house of that man'
<i>betət +duydalə</i>	'the house of each other'
<i>betət dəm-naša?</i>	'the house of which man?'

The *d* cannot, therefore, be identified as a variant form of the *-at* ending, but rather the two are independent phenomena. The *d* element is also found in the independent genitive particle *diyy-* (§ 2.4.). When this is placed after a head noun, the head noun, likewise, takes the *-at* ending,<sup>3</sup> e.g.

*betət diyyu* 'his house'

The forms with initial *d* such as *+dav* and *diyyu* should, therefore, be considered to have the status of oblique pronominal forms and not phrases consisting a genitive particle and pronoun. Another factor that has brought about these constructions is likely to be that the head *betət* has acquired the status of an alloform of *beta* rather than being analysed as a phrase consisting of the noun + genitive particle. One should identify, therefore, a nominative and an oblique series of pronouns and particles, thus (the list here is not exhaustive):

Nominative	Oblique	
<i>'aha</i>	<i>daha</i>	'this'
<i>+avva</i>	<i>+davva</i>	'that (deictic)'
<i>+av</i>	<i>+dav</i>	'that (anaphoric)'
<i>'ana</i>	<i>diyyi</i>	is
<i>'at</i>	<i>diyyux</i>	2ms
<i>+uydalə</i>	<i>+duydalə</i>	reciprocal
<i>'atxa</i>	<i>datxa</i>	'thus'

<sup>3</sup> The occurrence of an annexation morpheme before the genitive particle or before demonstratives with an initial *d-* is not found in the literary form of C. Urmi, either in Syriac script (Nöldeke 1868, 278) or in the New Alphabet (Marogulov 1976, 40–42). In the copies of New Alphabet texts made by Cerulli occasion spellings of the genitive particle with intial geminated *d* are found, e.g. is. *ddiyyij* (Pennacchietti and Tosco 1991, 27).

**Nominative      Oblique**

'əm	<i>dəm</i>	'which'
'ət	<i>dət</i>	'annexation particle'
'iman	<i>diman</i>	'when'

Occasionally one hears forms such as *beta +dav* and *beta diyyu*, without the *-at* ending. These may be the result of influence from the literary language, in which they are the norm.

A voiced /d/ is also found before numerals *tre* 'two' and *+tla* 'three' to express an ordinal number, e.g.

'o-naša d-tre ~ 'o-našət d-tre	'the second man'
'o-naša d-+tla ~ 'o-našət d-+tla	'the third man'
<i>brunu d-tre ~ brunu-t d-tre</i>	'his second son'
<i>brunu d-+tla ~ brunu-t d-+tla</i>	'his third son'

This /d/ is pronounced with a following epenthetic: [dr'tre:], [də'təl'a:s]. It is found only before these two numerals and seems to be a strategy to resolve the clash of the initial homorganic consonants of the annexation suffix and the onset of the numeral. This may have developed by an anomalous preservation of the original genitive *d-* prefix before the dependent numeral to perform this function. It is problematic to compare this to the oblique forms of demonstratives and interrogatives, since the /d/ is not used with other numerals (§ 7.2.). An additional /d/ is occasionally found elsewhere in places where the element *-at* is followed by a word beginning with /d/, e.g. *+xórət d-dvàklun* 'friend that they caught' (B 9:4).

The oblique form of the annexation particle is found sporadically in contexts where a head noun has been gapped and the remaining phrase is the complement of a preposition, e.g.

- (1) 'íp 'ón 'íva máx dát xīnə, | məššəlmànə, | 'ína 'íva +rába búš šáþərtə. | 'Al-though it was like that of the others, the Muslims, it was much more beautiful.' (B 1:40)
- (2) '+al-dət-'ärpi! mārrə 'ána xína šurštyyən. | 'At the fortieth (door) he said "Well I am tired." (A 42:9)

The *-at* ending is often elided in fast speech, especially if the following word begins with a consonant. In some cases it is completely lost. This tends to be restricted to some closely knit phrases, especially kinship relationships, e.g.

*brūn-xātu* ‘the son of his sister’ (A 3:7) < *brunət xatu*  
*brāt-málca* ‘the daughter of the king’ (A 34:3) < *bratət malca*  
*bax-+tājər* ‘the wife of the merchant’ (A 1:12) < *baxtət +tajər*  
*šəmšə-+sara* ‘moonlight’ < *šəmšət +sara* (‘the sun of the moon’)  
*kəštə-+maran* ‘rainbow’ < *+kəštət +maran* (‘the bow of our Lord’)

In cases such as these, the full form of the head noun (*brunət*, *bratət*, *baxtət*, etc.) is also possible. The forms *brūn* and *brāt* are formed by removing the *-ət* without shortening the vowel and the word can be regarded as having its full form *brunət* at an underlying level (§ 1.15.2.). The forms that end in consonantal clusters after the removal of the *-ət* resolve the cluster either by eliding the final consonant (*bax-* < *baxt-*) or by adding a final epenthetic (*šəmšə-* < *šəmš-*, *kəštə-* < *kəšt*).

### 5.15 Compound Nouns

In some cases a tightly knit phrase becomes grammaticalized into a fixed compound, the components of which are inseparable. Most such constructions are annexation phrases. The initial element of such compounds fall into various categories:

Historical derivatives of *\*bar* ‘son of’

- +bar-miyya* m. ‘small water plant’
- +bar-našə* m. (pl. *+bar-našə*) ‘son of man’ = ‘person, man’
- +bar-zoja* ‘son of couple’ = ‘partner’ (m. or f.)
- +bər-+zarra*, *+bar-+zarra* m. (pl. *+bər-+zarrə*, *+bar-+zarrə*) ‘son of seed’ = ‘seed’
- +bər-calba* (pl. *+bər-calbə*) ‘son of a dog (abusive)’

Historical derivatives of *\*brat* ‘daughter of’

- bra-’akulta* f. ‘daughter of trip’ = ‘trip, stumbling block’
- bra-dora* m. (pl. *bra-dorə*) ‘daughter of lock’ = ‘lock’
- bra-’ida* f. (pl. *bra-’idə*) ‘daughter of hand’ = ‘glove’
- bra-kala* m. (pl. *bra-kalə*) ‘daughter of voice’ = ‘echo’
- bra-kənna* f. (pl. *bra-kənnatə*) ‘daughter of nest’ = ‘egg put in nest to induce hen to lay’
- bra-kulta* f. (pl. *bra-kulyatə*) ‘daughter of trap’ = ‘trap’
- +bra-+jurta* f. (pl. *+bra-+juryatə*) ‘daughter of urine’ = ‘bladder’

<sup>+</sup>*bra-**'ayna* f. 'daughter of eyes' = 'spectacles'

<sup>+</sup>*bra-**sup̪pa* f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bra-**sup̪pə*) 'daughter of finger' = 'thimble'

Historical derivative of <sup>\*</sup>*m-bnay* 'from the sons of'

*bne-kyama* m. (pl. *bne-kyamə*) 'from the sons of treaty' = 'ally'

Historical derivatives of <sup>\*</sup>*baytā d-* or <sup>\*</sup>*bē* 'house of'

*bət-josa* m. (pl. *bət-josə*) 'house of refuge' = 'refuge, shelter'

*bət-yalda* m. 'house of birth' = 'birthday'

*bət-<sup>+</sup>kuyra* m. (pl. *bət-<sup>+</sup>kuyravatə*) 'house of grave' = 'grave' (pl. 'cemetery')

*bə-dyuyta*, *ba-dyuyta* f. 'house of ink' = 'inkwell', 'ink' (originally inkwell)

*bi-nisana* m. 'house of Spring' = 'Spring'

*bi-savuni*/<sup>+</sup>*mamuni* 'the family of my grandfather/uncle, etc.'

*pi-palja* m. 'house of half' = 'middle'

Historical derivatives of active participles in the construct state

*fanva-nuyna* n.f. (pl. *fanva-nuyna*) 'stealer of fish' = 'kingfisher'

*kalya-<sup>+</sup>dašə* f. 'cooker of stones' (Azer. daş) = 'liquid added to boiling water used to make *savzə* (blanched grapes)'

*mandi-<sup>+</sup>təztu* f. 'throwing anus' = 'a bird that throws its behind upwards'

*parxa-lelə* f. (pl. *parxa-lelə*) 'flyer of the night' = 'bat'

*xasra-kənna* f. 'decreasing the nest' = 'last hatched in the nest, last born in a family'

<sup>+</sup>*axəl məndiyə* m., <sup>+</sup>*axla məndiyə* f. 'eater of things' = 'somebody who eats another out of house and home'

<sup>+</sup>*azla-cušə* f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*azla-cušə*, <sup>+</sup>*azla-cušiyə*) 'weaver of webs' = 'spider'

<sup>+</sup>*bazza-jozə* f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bazza-jozə*) 'borer of nuts' = 'type of bird that eats nuts'

<sup>+</sup>*bazza-kesə* f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bazza-kesə*) 'borer of wood' = 'woodpecker'

<sup>+</sup>*karṭa-<sup>+</sup>kuyṭə* f. 'biter of vulvas' = 'red biting insect'

<sup>+</sup>*mamṭiyə-məšməšə* f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*mamṭiyə-məšməšə*) 'ripener of apricots' = 'coloured beetle that indicated when apricots were ripe'

<sup>+</sup>*naṭər-cursi* m. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*naṭrat-cursi*) 'guarder of throne' = 'successor of a throne'

<sup>+</sup>*samṭa-manə* f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*samṭa-manə*) 'breaker of pots' = 'type of herb'

<sup>+</sup>*xalla-manə* f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xalla-maniyə*) 'washer of vessels' = 'dish cloth'

<sup>+</sup>*zakra-<sup>+</sup>bəzzazə* f. 'weaver of holes' = 'name of a game'

<sup>+</sup>*zakra-jardə* f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*zakra-jardə*) 'weaver of webs' = 'spider'

### Other initial elements of annexation phrases

- <sup>+</sup>*xvār-dəkna* m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xvār-dəknə*) ‘white of bear’ = ‘old man’  
<sup>+</sup>*xa-*<sup>+</sup>*ramša* f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xa-*<sup>+</sup>*ramšanə*) ‘food (< <sup>+</sup>*xalət*) of evening’ = ‘dinner’  
*riš-*<sup>+</sup>*šīta* f. ‘head of year’ (*rišət šīta*) = ‘New Year’  
<sup>+</sup>*ful-maxə* pl. tantum ‘clothes of bedding’ (< *fullət dmaxa*) = ‘bedding’

### Juxtaposition of elements

- <sup>+</sup>*ʃəl-xaymə* pl. tantum ‘herb hot’ (< *ʃəlla-xaymə*) ‘mixture of spicy herbs’  
<sup>+</sup>*jarda-kuti* f. (pl. *jarda-kutiyə*) ‘net spider-web’ = ‘cobweb’  
<sup>+</sup>*kattə-*<sup>+</sup>*balla* f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kattə-*<sup>+</sup>*ballə*) ‘disaster disaster’ (Azer. *qada-bala* < Arab.)  
= ‘calamity’  
<sup>+</sup>*xalsa-*<sup>+</sup>*xalsu* f. ‘crushing crushing’ = ‘crush, crowd’

### Numerical as initial element

- <sup>'</sup>*ar̪pi-*<sup>+</sup>*aklə* f. (pl. <sup>'</sup>*ar̪pi-*<sup>+</sup>*aklə*) ‘forty legs’ = ‘centipede’  
<sup>'</sup>*alpa-*<sup>+</sup>*aklə* f. (pl. <sup>'</sup>*alpa-*<sup>+</sup>*aklə*) ‘thousand legs’ = ‘millipede’

In the case of *bət-*<sup>+</sup>*kuyra* and *bət-yalda* an original long vowel in a closed syllable is shortened (*bətət* > *bēt* > *bət*). These can be regarded as contracted at an underlying level unlike contracted heads of annexation constructions such as *brūn*, which are uncontracted at an underlying level (§ 1.15.2.). In <sup>+</sup>*xvār-dəkna* (< <sup>+</sup>*xvarət-dəknə*), however, the vowel is long.

In several cases the initial element is a vestige of the Aramaic construct case of a noun, e.g. <sup>+</sup>*bar* ‘son of’, *bra* < \**brat* ‘daughter of’, *bi*, *pi*, *ba* < \**bē* < \**bēt* ‘house of’. The active participles ending in *-a* derive historically from fs. construct forms, e.g. <sup>+</sup>*zakra* < \**zāqrat* ‘spinner (f.)’, <sup>+</sup>*šamṭa* < \**šāmṭat* ‘breaker’. Other participles derive from the ms. construct, e.g. <sup>+</sup>*naṭər*.

The meaning of the first element has become opaque in some cases. This applies in particular to the elements, <sup>+</sup>*bar*/<sup>+</sup>*bər*, <sup>+</sup>*bra* and *bət/bi*. This has resulted in semantic developments such as the use of *bə-**dyuyta* to refer to ‘ink’ as well as ‘inkwell’, and the use of <sup>+</sup>*bar*/<sup>+</sup>*bər*, <sup>+</sup>*bra* with inanimate objects.

Plural suffixes are added only to the final element of the compound. This applies both to compounds that have a singular and plural (e.g. *bət-*<sup>+</sup>*kuyra* ‘grave’, *bət-*<sup>+</sup>*kuyravata* ‘graves’; <sup>+</sup>*kattə-*<sup>+</sup>*balla* ‘calamity’, <sup>+</sup>*kattə-*<sup>+</sup>*ballə* ‘calamities’) and those that are pluralia tantum (e.g. *ful-maxə* ‘bedding’). It applies even to compounds consisting of noun + adjective as seen in *ʃəl-xaymə*, where the noun is singular but the adjective plural. In slow speech this is pronounced

*jølla-xaymə*. In the compounds with participles the second element is often a plural form, e.g. *janva-nuyna* 'kingfisher'. In most cases such compounds function as either singulars or plurals. Occasionally, however, speakers form a plural by adding an additional plural ending -ə, e.g. *+xalla-mana* 'dish cloth', *+xalla-maniyya* 'dish cloths'. The attachment of the plural ending to the second noun only is occasionally found in annexation phrases in which the dependent component is generic, e.g. *+otájət dmaxyàtəl* (B 1:41) 'bedrooms' (sing. *+otağət dmaxta*).

In cases where the two components of the compound have different genders, the gender of the compound is sometimes that of the final item, e.g. *rəš-šita* f. < *riša* m. + *šita* f., *bə-dyuyta* f. < *beta* m. + *dyuyta* f., *bra-ķala* m. < *brata* f. + *ķala* m. In other cases the gender of the compound is that of the initial element, e.g. *bət-+kuyra* m. < *beta* m. + *+kora* f. It appears that the second element controls the gender when the meaning of the first element is opaque. Compounds consisting of participles take their gender from the participle, e.g. *+natər-cursi*, m. *+azla-cušə* f. The meaning of the participle is always transparent. Compounds with initial numerals are feminine, e.g. *'arpi-'aklə* f.

As shown in §1.5.2., in most cases the two components constitute separate domains of emphasis when there is emphasis in the phrase. The component *bra*, however, is in the same domain of emphasis as the following word, and so is joined to it in the transcription by a double hyphen.

In the category of compound nouns should be included the names of the days of the week (§1.5.2., §7.4.), e.g.

*+tló-šiba* m. (pl. *+tlō-šibánə*) ‘three in the week’ = ‘Tuesday’

According to Haspelmath (2002, 156) a dependent noun in compounds cannot be referential but must be generic. In a compound such as *bra-’ida* f. ‘glove’ (literally ‘daughter of hand’), for example, the noun ‘hand’ never refers to a specific hand, even when a pronominal possessive suffix is added, e.g. *bra-’idi* ‘my glove’. Following this principle, several tightly-knit constructions that *prima facie* may seem to be compounds, should be considered rather to be phrases of discrete items. This applies, for example, to the phrases

*šəmšə-+sara* ‘moonlight’  
*ķəštə-+maran* ‘rainbow’

Here the dependent noun has a specific referent and so the phrases should be considered to be contracted annexation constructions (< *šəmšət +sara* ‘the sun of the moon’, *ķəštət +maran* ‘the bow of our Lord’). The same applies to kinship terms such as the following:

<i>bax-</i>	<i>+mamuna</i>	'wife of paternal uncle'
<i>bax-</i>	<i>+xaluvva</i>	'wife of maternal uncle'
<i>bax-</i>	<i>‘axuna</i>	'wife of brother'
<i>bax-</i>	<i>baba</i>	'step-mother'

The initial item *bax-* is a reduced form of *baxtat* 'wife of'. Although phonetic reduction is a feature of the first component of compounds, the dependent nouns in these expressions can be referential, e.g. *bax-*<sup>+</sup>*mamuni*, in which <sup>+</sup>*mamuni* would refer to a specific referent. The gender of such expressions is that of the head noun. Nevertheless, when these phrases are pluralized, the plural ending is placed on the second component only, which is a feature of compounds, e.g.

*bax-*<sup>+</sup>*mamuna* (sing.)    *bax-*<sup>+</sup>*mamunvata* (pl.)    'wife of paternal uncle'

There are also problems with including some phrases with the plural form *bne* 'sons of' (§ 5.9.7.) as the first element among compounds, e.g.

*bne-naša* 'sons of man' = 'people'  
*bne-*<sup>+</sup>*atra* 'sons of land' = 'natives of the land'

The form *bne* is derived from a historical construct form (\**bnay*), which, as we have seen, is a feature of some compounds. In true compounds, however, the plural is formed by inflecting the second item with a plural morpheme. The second element in the phrase *bne-*<sup>+</sup>*atra* is referential, e.g. *bne-*<sup>+</sup>*atri* 'natives of my land'. Other phrases with *bne-* exhibit different features. The number of the phrase *bne-kyama* ms. (pl. *bne-kyamə*) is marked on the second element, as is normal in compounds. The initial *bne* here has no bearing on number. This applies also to phrases such as *bne-*<sup>+</sup>*Urmi*, which can be singular or plural (§ 5.9.7.). In both these cases the *bne* may be derived historically from \**m-bnē* 'from the sons of'.

# Adjectives

## 6.1 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. The plural forms are inflected only with the *-ə* suffix, which is the most productive plural morpheme.

Adjectives are closely related morphologically to nouns and most can, indeed, stand independently and function as nouns, in which case they become referential rather than attributive expressions. When they are used referentially, they generally require a pronominal head (§ 9.6.1.).

## 6.2 Adjectival Patterns

### 6.2.1 CaCa (ms.), CaCta (fs.), CaCə (pl.)

<i>xata</i>	'new'	<i>xatta</i> (fs.)	<i>xatə</i> (pl.)
<i>+rama</i>	'high'	<i>+ramta</i> (fs.)	<i>+ramə</i> (pl.)

### 6.2.2 Cava (ms.), Cota (fs.), Cavə (pl.)

<i>sava</i>	'old'	<i>sota</i> (fs.)	<i>savə</i> (pl.)
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### 6.2.3 Caya (ms.), Ceta (fs.), Cayə (pl.)

<i>naya</i>	'raw'	<i>neta</i> (fs.)	<i>nayə</i> (pl.)
<i>xaya</i>	'alive'	<i>xeta</i> (fs.)	<i>xayə</i> (pl.)
<i>+saya</i>	'thirsty'	<i>+seta</i> (fs.)	<i>+sayə</i> (pl.)

### 6.2.4 CuCa (ms.), CuCta (fs.), CuCə (pl.)

<i>cuma</i>	'black'	<i>cumta</i> (fs.)	<i>cumə</i> (pl.)
<i>sura</i>	'small'	<i>surta</i> (fs.)	<i>surə</i> (pl.)
<i>+jura</i>	'big'	<i>+jurta</i> (fs.)	<i>+jurə</i> (pl.)

The /t/ of the feminine ending of the adjective *sura* ‘small’ has shifted to the tense /ʃ/ through a process of diminutive sound symbolism (§ 1.10.).

### 6.2.5 CayCa (*ms.*), CaCta (*fs.*), CayCə (*pl.*)

<i>dayka</i>	‘thin’	<i>dakta</i> (fs.)	<i>daykə</i> (pl.)
<i>payxa</i>	‘cool’	<i>paxta</i> (fs.)	<i>payxə</i> (pl.)
<i>tayla</i>	‘wet’	<i>talta</i> (fs.)	<i>tayla</i> (pl.)
+ <i>kayra</i>	‘cold’	+ <i>karta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>kayrə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>mayra</i>	‘bitter’	+ <i>marta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>mayrə</i> (pl.)

Most of these forms are derived historically from the pattern \*CaCiCa with identical second and third radicals, e.g. *dayka* < \*daqīqa. The first of the two identical consonants shifted to zero Ø, presumably by a dissimilation process, then the /i/ was syllabified with the preceding syllable since it could not constitute a syllable nucleus itself without an onset:

\*daqīqa > \*daØiqa > dákta

In the feminine form the medial vowel coalesced with the preceding /a/:

\*daqəqta > \*daØəqta > dákta

The adjective *payxa* ‘cool’, on the other hand, is derived from a middle /y/ root *p-y-x*. This may have arisen through the commutability of /y/ and Ø in weak roots (§ 4.10.3.) and by the application of the mapping of the variant root *p-Ø-y* onto the pattern CaCiCa, thus *paØixa* > *payxa*.

### 6.2.6 CCaCa, *fs.* CCaCta, *pl.* CCaCə

+ <i>xvara</i>	‘white’	+ <i>xvarta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>xvarə</i> (pl.)
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### 6.2.7 CCuCa (*ms.*), CCuCta (*fs.*), CCuCə (*pl.*)

<i>flula</i>	‘round’	<i>flulta</i> (fs.)	<i>flulə</i> (pl.)
<i>ptuxa</i>	‘open’	<i>ptuxta</i> (fs.)	<i>ptuxə</i> (pl.)
<i>smuka</i>	‘red’	<i>smukta</i> (fs.)	<i>smukə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>płtuxa</i>	‘flat’	+ <i>płtuxta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>płtuxə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>trusa</i>	‘true’	+ <i>trusta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>trusə</i> (pl.)

### 6.2.8 CCiCa (ms.), CCəCta (fs.), CCiCə (pl.)

This is the pattern of the resultative participle of pattern I verbs and can be used productively to create attributive expressions from verbal roots that express events with an affectee that undergoes a change in configurational state (§ 4.25.1.1.). In the case of transitive verbal roots, the form has a passive sense.

<i>cpina</i>	'hungry'	<i>cpənta</i> (fs.)	<i>cpinə</i> (pl.)
<i>briza</i>	'dry'	<i>brəzta</i> (fs.)	<i>brizə</i> (pl.)
<i>xmiķa</i>	'putrid'	<i>xməkta</i> (fs.)	<i>xmiķə</i> (pl.)
<i>txina</i>	'ground'	<i>txənta</i> (fs.)	<i>txinə</i> (pl.)
<i>+xlima</i>	'thick'	<i>+xləmta</i> (fs.)	<i>+xlimə</i> (pl.)

In a few cases an adjective is used with this pattern but no pattern I verb exists. This applies, for example, to *nxila* 'sieved'. There is no pattern I verb *naxəl*, but only a pattern III form *manxəl* 'to sieve'. The adjective *criva* 'ploughed' is a vestige of the historical root \**k-r-b* 'to plough', which was used in Syriac, but in other inflections 'to plough' is now expressed by the phrasal verbs *ptana* 'avəd I and *cuytan* 'avəd I.

### 6.2.9 CiCa (ms.), CəCta (fs.), CiCə (pl.)

This is the pattern of resultative participles from pattern I middle /y/, middle /Ø/ and initial /Ø/ roots. As with *CCiCa*, it is used adjectivally when the verb involves an affectee that undergoes a change in configurational state:

<i>mita</i>	'dead'	<i>mətta</i> (fs.)	<i>mitə</i> (pl.)
<i>kida</i>	'burnt'	<i>kətta</i> (fs.)	<i>kidə</i> (pl.)
<i>kiša</i>	'cool'	<i>kəšta</i> (fs.)	<i>kišə</i> (pl.)
<i>siva</i>	'old'	<i>səvta</i> (fs.)	<i>sivə</i> (pl.)

There are also some adjectives with this pattern that are not resultative participles in origin, although in some cases there may be a verbal root associated with them that has been formed secondarily. These adjectives include:

<i>mila</i>	'blue'	<i>məlta</i> (fs.)	<i>milə</i> (pl.)
<i>kina</i>	'green'	<i>kənta</i> (fs.)	<i>kinə</i> (pl.)

### 6.2.10 Cuya (ms.), Cvita (fs.), Cuyə (pl.)

These are from middle /v/, final /y/ roots. The /v/ is contracted in the ms. and pl. forms:

<i>kuya</i>	'strong'	<i>kvita</i> (fs.)	<i>kuyə</i> (pl.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>suya</i>	'sated'	<sup>+</sup> <i>svita</i> (fs.)	<sup>+</sup> <i>suyə</i> (pl.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>tuya</i>	'concave'	<sup>+</sup> <i>tvita</i> (fs.)	<sup>+</sup> <i>tuyə</i> (pl.)

### 6.2.11 CəCya (ms.), CCita (fs.), CəCyə (pl.)

This is the pattern of resultative participles from pattern 1 final /y/ roots, which are used as adjectives when the verb has an affectee that undergoes a change of configurational state. In the ms. and pl. forms the original syllabification \*CCiya and \*CCiyə has been restructured.

<i>cərya</i>	'short'	<i>crita</i> (fs.)	<i>cəryə</i> (pl.)
<i>xədya</i>	'happy'	<i>xdita</i> (fs.)	<i>xədyə</i> (pl.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>mərya</i>	'ill'	<sup>+</sup> <i>mrita</i> (fs.)	<sup>+</sup> <i>məryə</i> (pl.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>pərya</i>	'abundant'	<sup>+</sup> <i>prita</i> (fs.)	<sup>+</sup> <i>pəryə</i> (pl.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>xəlyə</i>	'sweet'	<sup>+</sup> <i>xlita</i> (fs.)	<sup>+</sup> <i>xəlyə</i> (pl.)

### 6.2.12 CaCiCa (ms.), CaCəCta (fs.), CaCiCə (pl.)

<i>'atiķa</i>	'old'	<i>'atəkta</i> (fs.)	<i>'atiķə</i> (pl.)
<i>basima</i>	'well'	<i>basəmta</i> (fs.)	<i>basimə</i> (pl.)
<i>racixa</i>	'soft'	<i>racəxta</i> (fs.)	<i>racixa</i> (pl.)
<i>šamina</i>	'fertile'	<i>šamənta</i> (fs.)	<i>šaminə</i> (pl.)
<i>šapıra</i>	'beautiful'	<i>šapərta</i> (fs.)	<i>šapıra</i> (pl.)
<i>šaxina</i>	'hot'	<i>šaxənta</i> (fs.)	<i>šaxinə</i> (pl.)
<i>xamima</i>	'on heat'	<i>xaməmta</i> (fs.)	<i>xamimə</i> (pl.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>bajira</i>	'thin'	<sup>+</sup> <i>bajərta</i> (fs.)	<sup>+</sup> <i>bajirə</i> (pl.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>cašira</i>	'industrious'	<sup>+</sup> <i>cašərta</i> (fs.)	<sup>+</sup> <i>caširə</i> (pl.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>salila</i>	'sober'	<sup>+</sup> <i>salolta</i> (fs.)	<sup>+</sup> <i>salılıə</i> (pl.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>yarixa</i>	'long'	<sup>+</sup> <i>yarixa</i> (fs.)	<sup>+</sup> <i>yarixə</i> (pl.)

Most adjectives of this pattern have associated pattern 1 verbal roots. In such cases the resultative participle of the root (CCiCa) is not used adjectivally but only verbally in resultative perfect constructions, e.g. *rcixələ* 'he has become soft'. The adjective with the longer trisyllabic pattern CaCiCa expresses a time-stable stative property whereas the shorter resultative participle CCiCa expresses a dynamic process.

6.2.13 CaCuCa (*ms.*), CaCuCta (*fs.*), CaCuCə (*pl.*)

<i>caruba</i>	'angry'	<i>carubta</i> (fs.)	<i>carubə</i> (pl.)
<i>čaluja</i>	'greedy'	<i>čalujta</i> (fs.)	<i>čalujə</i> (pl.)
<i>javuja</i>	'agile'	<i>javujta</i> (fs.)	<i>javujə</i> (pl.)
<i>mayuta</i>	'mortal'	<i>mayutta</i> (fs.)	<i>mayutə</i> (pl.)
<i>naxupa</i>	'shy'	<i>naxupta</i> (fs.)	<i>naxupə</i> (pl.)
<i>payuxa</i>	'cool'	<i>payuxtta</i> (fs.)	<i>payuxə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>catura</i>	'difficult'	+ <i>caturta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>caturə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>čayura</i>	'sulky'	+ <i>čayurta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>čayurə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>navura</i>	'timid'	+ <i>navurta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>navurə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>saruxa</i>	'vicious'	+ <i>saruxta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>saruxə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>ṭayusa</i>	'prickly'	+ <i>ṭayusta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>ṭayusə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>xaķura</i>	'boastful'	+ <i>xaķurta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>xaķurə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>zaduya/</i>	'timid'	+ <i>zaduta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>zaduya/</i> (pl.)
+ <i>zaduvva</i>			+ <i>zaduvvə</i>

This pattern has developed historically from \**CaCoCa*, the medial long /o/ shifting to /u/ according to the usual process (§ 1.11.6. iii). Adjectives with the pattern *CaCuCa* typically express permanent inherent properties. The resultative participle of verbal roots of these adjectives in principle either express contingent properties, e.g. *criba* 'angry' (contingent) vs. *caruba* 'angry' (by nature), or a dynamic process, e.g. *nxipəla* 'he has become ashamed' vs. *naxupəla* 'he is shy (by nature)'. A similar semantic contrast is found with other patterns, e.g. *payxa* 'cool (contingently)' vs. *payuxa* 'cool (by nature)'.

6.2.14 CaCuyCa (*ms.*), CaCuCta (*fs.*), CaCuyCə (*pl.*)

<i>baruyza</i>	'dry'	<i>baruzta</i> (fs.)	<i>baruyzə</i> (pl.)
<i>jaxuyca</i>	'merry'	<i>jaxucta</i> (fs.)	<i>jaxuyca</i> (pl.)
<i>kaluyla</i>	'light'	<i>kalulta</i> (fs.)	<i>kaluylə</i> (pl.)
<i>laxuyma</i>	'comely'	<i>laxumta</i> (fs.)	<i>laxuymə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>saruypa</i>	'pungent'	+ <i>sarupta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>saruypə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>xamuysa</i>	'sour'	+ <i>xamusta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>xamuysə</i> (pl.)
+ <i>yakuyra</i>	'heavy'	+ <i>yakurta</i> (fs.)	+ <i>yakuyrə</i> (pl.)

This has developed from the pattern \**CaCuCa* with a long /u/.

As is the case with the pattern *CaCuCa*, adjectives with the pattern *CaCuyCa* typically express permanent inherent properties. The resultative participle of verbal roots of these adjectives in principle either express contingent prop-

erties, e.g. *briza* 'dry' (contingent) vs. *baruyza* 'dry' (inherent), or a dynamic process, e.g. <sup>+</sup>*xmisələ* 'it has become sour' vs. <sup>+</sup>*xamuysələ* 'it is sour'.

### 6.2.15 CaCaCa (*ms.*), CaCaCta (*fs.*), CaCaCə (*pl.*)

<i>lavaza</i>	'thin'	<i>lavazta</i> (fs.)	<i>lavazə</i> (pl.)
<i>zayara</i>	'arrogant'	<i>zayarta</i> (fs.)	<i>zayara</i> (pl.)

Note also the adjective *palya* 'half finished', which has the same vocalism as this pattern and seems to have been formed by contracting the reduplicative phrase *palya-palya* 'half-half'.

### 6.3 Adjectives with the Affix -*ana* (fs. -*anta*, pl. -*anə*)

Many adjectives are derived from nouns by means of this affix:

<i>carbana</i>	'irritable'	< <i>carba</i> 'anger'
<i>darbana</i>	'wounded'	< <i>darba</i> 'wound'
<i>dəknana</i>	'bearded'	< <i>dəkna</i> 'beard'
<i>dəmmana</i>	'bloody'	< <i>dəmma</i> 'blood'
<i>denana</i>	'in debt'	< <i>dena</i> 'debt'
<i>honana</i>	'intelligent'	< <i>hona</i> 'intelligence'
<i>fərvana</i>	'leprous'	< <i>fərva</i> 'leprosy'
<i>fulpana</i>	'winged'	< <i>fulpa</i> 'wing'
<i>kənana</i>	'horned'	< <i>kana</i> 'horn'
<i>ləbbana</i>	'brave'	< <i>ləbba</i> 'heart'
<i>lojana</i>	'glittering'	< <i>loja</i> 'brightness'
<i>miyyana</i>	'watery'	< <i>miyya</i> 'water'
<i>motana</i>	'mortal'	< <i>mota</i> 'death'
<i>našana</i>	'crowded'	< <i>našə</i> 'people'
<i>nurana</i>	'fiery'	< <i>nuyra</i> 'fire'
<i>pandana</i>	'cunning'	< <i>pand</i> 'trick'
<i>ranyana</i>	'colourful'	< <i>rany</i> 'colour'
<i>raxmana</i>	'merciful'	< <i>raxmə</i> 'mercy'
<i>sammana</i>	'poisonous'	< <i>samma</i> 'poison'
<i>šəxtana</i>	'dirty'	< <i>šəxta</i> 'dirt'
<i>šidana</i>	'mad'	< <i>šida</i> 'demon'
<i>šmayyana</i>	'heavenly'	< <i>šmayya</i> 'heaven'
<i>xelana</i>	'strong'	< <i>xela</i> 'power'

<i>xəm̥kana</i>	'putrefied'	< <i>xəm̥ka</i> 'putrefaction'
<i>xubbana</i>	'loving'	< <i>xubba</i> 'love'
<i>+baluvvana</i>	'greedy'	< <i>+baluta</i> 'throat'
<i>+barana</i>	'bright'	< <i>+bara</i> 'light'
<i>+muṭrana</i>	'rainy'	< <i>+muṭra</i> 'rain'
<i>+puzana</i>	'sullen'	< <i>+puza</i> 'snout'
<i>+ṭamana</i>	'tasty'	< <i>+ṭama</i> 'taste'
<i>+ṭatana</i>	'sweaty'	< <i>+ṭata</i> 'sweat'
<i>+təvvəllana</i>	'worm-eaten'	< <i>+təvvəlla</i> 'worm'
<i>+ṭimana</i>	'valuable'	< <i>+ṭima</i> 'value'
<i>+ṭinana</i>	'muddy'	< <i>+ṭina</i> 'mud'
<i>+ṭlulana</i>	'dewy'	< <i>+ṭlula</i> 'dew'
<i>+xalvana</i>	'in-milk'	< <i>+xalva</i> 'milk'

Active participles derived by attaching the suffix *-ana* to the present stem of verbs are often used adjectively, e.g.

<i>baxyana</i>	'weepy'	< <i>baxə</i> I 'to weep'
<i>jaxcana</i>	'affable'	< <i>jaxəc</i> I 'to laugh'
<i>tapyana</i>	'sticky'	< <i>tapə</i> I 'to stick'
<i>xamlana</i>	'patient'	< <i>xaməl</i> I 'to become patient'
<i>+axlana</i>	'gluttonous'	< <i>+axəl</i> I 'to eat'
<i>+bazyana</i>	'caustic'	< <i>+bazzə</i> I 'to bore'
<i>+catrana</i>	'knotty, difficult'	< <i>+catə</i> I 'to knot'
<i>+bašrana</i>	'skilful'	< <i>+bašər</i> II 'to be able'
<i>+paxlana</i>	'forgiving'	< <i>+paxəl</i> II 'to forgive'
<i>mabyənnana</i>	'visible, noticeable'	< <i>mabyən</i> III 'to appear'
<i>majrəppana</i>	'slippery'	< <i>majrəp</i> III 'to slip'
<i>manšiyyana</i>	'forgetful'	< <i>manšə</i> III 'to forget'
<i>+masxərrana</i>	'derisive'	< <i>+masxər</i> III 'to mock'
<i>+maxlana</i>	'hospitable'	< <i>+maxəl</i> III 'to feed'
<i>+majjəbbana</i>	'amazing'	< <i>+majjəb</i> QII 'to amaze'

The *-ana* ending is added to pattern II infinitives, probably to avoid ambiguity with active participles of pattern I:

<i>basumana</i>	'curing'	< <i>basəm</i> II 'to cure'
<i>makkudana</i>	'burning, stinging'	< <i>makkəd</i> III 'to burn'
<i>paķudana</i>	'bossy'	< <i>paķəd</i> II 'to order'
<i>tapuvvana</i>	'sticky'	< <i>tapə</i> II 'to stick (tr.)'

<i>xabulana</i>	'liable to feel cold'	< <i>xabəl</i> II 'to become cold'
<i>+paxulana</i>	'forgiving'	< <i>+paxəl</i> II 'to forgive'

The ending is occasionally added to resultative participles of unaccusative verbs, e.g.

<i>+kəryana</i>	'educated'	< <i>+kərya</i> < <i>+karə</i> I 'to read'
<i>+səvyanə</i>	'sated'	< <i>+səvya</i> < <i>+savvə</i> I 'to become sated'
<i>+siyyana</i>	'thirsty'	< <i>+siyya</i> < <i>+sayyə</i> I 'to become thirsty'

It is sporadically attached to an existing adjective to express approximation, e.g.

<i>kinana</i>	'greenish'	< <i>kina</i> 'green'
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The suffix *-naya* (§ 6.5.) is more frequently used with this function.

#### 6.4 Adjectives with the Affix *-aya* (fs. *-eta*, pl. *-ayə*)

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.

<i>'alahaya</i>	'godly'	< <i>'alahə</i> 'God'
<i>dərranjaya</i>	'late'	< <i>dərranj</i> 'late (adverb)'
<i>košuynaya</i>	'military'	< <i>košun</i> 'army'
<i>mšixaya</i>	'Christian'	< <i>mšixa</i> 'Messiah'
<i>rišaya</i>	'first class, excellent'	< <i>riša</i> 'head'
<i>šəmšaya</i>	'sunny'	< <i>šəmšə</i> 'sun'
<i>šenaya</i>	'tame'	< <i>šena</i> 'tameness'
<i>yaminaya</i>	'right-handed'	< <i>yamina</i> 'right'
<i>+čaplaya</i>	'left-handed'	< <i>+čaplə</i> 'left'
<i>+rastaya</i>	'right-handed'	< <i>+rastə</i> 'right'
<i>+kətmaya</i>	'grey'	< <i>+kətma</i> 'ash'

In other cases the *-aya* ending can be identified as an attributive affix on etymological grounds, but the base form cannot stand alone as a separate word, e.g.

<i>kamaya</i>	'first'
<i>suraya</i>	'Assyrian Christian'
<i>šulxaya</i>	'naked'
<i>taxtaya</i>	'lower'
<i>xupyaya</i>	'barefoot'
<sup>+</sup> <i>ullaya</i>	'upper'
<sup>+</sup> <i>nuxraya</i>	'foreign, strange'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xaraya</i>	'last'

### 6.5 Adjectives with the Affix *-naya* (fs. *-neta*, pl. *-nayə*)

This ending is used in adjectives expressing approximate colours. In most cases it is added to the basic adjective denoting the colour in question,

<i>cumnaya</i>	'blackish'	< <i>cuma</i> 'black'
<i>milnaya</i>	'bluish'	< <i>mila</i> 'blue'
<i>smuknaya</i>	'reddish'	< <i>smuka</i> 'red'
<i>zardanaya</i>	'yellowish'	< <i>zarda</i> 'yellow'
<sup>+</sup> <i>kətmənaya</i>	'greyish'	< <sup>+</sup> <i>kətmaya</i> 'grey', <sup>+</sup> <i>kətma</i> 'ash'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xvarnaya</i>	'whitish'	< <sup>+</sup> <i>xvara</i> 'white'

Note, however, the form

*kinaya* 'greenish' < *kina* 'green'

Occasionally the base form is not used in the dialect, e.g.

*milannaya* 'bluish' < \**milana*

It is sporadically used by speakers to express approximation in other adjectives, e.g.

<sup>+</sup>*yarəxnaya* 'longish' < <sup>+</sup>*yarixa* 'long'

The affix *-naya* is also used in other types of adjectives:

<i>javarnaya</i>	'grey'
<i>joranaya</i>	'grey'
<sup>+</sup> <i>bajərnaya</i>	'thin, skinny'
<sup>+</sup> <i>xamurnaya</i>	'sweet and sour'

### 6.6      *xina* ‘Other’

The adjective *xina* ‘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:

*xina* (ms.)

*xita* (fs.)

*xinə* (pl.)

### 6.7      Invariable Adjectives of Aramaic Etymology

A few adjectives of Aramaic stock are invariable in inflection. These are in origin nouns, which have come to be used as adjectives. They include the following:

#### Ending in -a

*rəx̥ka*    ‘distant’ (southern variety: *rək̥ka*)

*kurba*    ‘near’

*xərba*    ‘bad’

#### Ending in -u

*'amku*    ‘deep’

*xanku*    ‘deep’

*+mačču*    ‘smooth’

*+pərtu*    ‘spendthrift’

Examples:

*beta* (m.) *rək̥ka*    ‘a distant house’

*mata* (f.) *rək̥ka*    ‘a distant village’

*matvata* (pl.) *rək̥ka*    ‘distant villages’

*beta* (m.) *kurba*    ‘a nearby house’

*mata* (f.) *kurba*    ‘a nearby village’

*matvata* (pl.) *kurba*    ‘nearby villages’

*'urza xərba*    ‘a bad man’

*baxta xərba*    ‘a bad woman’

*našə xərba*    ‘bad people’

<i>kunya</i> (m.)	'amku	'a deep well'
<i>yama</i> (f.)	'amku	'a deep sea'
<i>miyya</i> (pl.)	'amku	'deep water'

The adjective *xərba* is sometimes inflected with -ə after plural nouns.

## 6.8 Compound Adjectives

Several attributive phrases are formed by combining a noun with a preceding preposition or head element. These include phrases such as the following:

(i) *marət* literally: 'owner of'

<i>marət hona</i>	'intelligent' ( <i>hona</i> 'mind')
<i>marət jnaha</i>	'guilty' ( <i>jnaha</i> 'crime')
<i>marət la jnaha</i>	'innocent'
<i>marət šəmma</i>	'famous' ( <i>šəmma</i> 'name')
<i>marət šənna</i>	'old' ( <i>šənna</i> 'years')
<i>marət +məsta</i>	'hairy' (+ <i>məsta</i> 'hair')
<i>marət +bar-našuya</i>	'populous' (+ <i>bar našuya</i> 'humanity')
<i>marət +hasəl</i>	'fertile' (+ <i>hasəl</i> 'produce')
<i>marət +pərməta</i>	'comprehensible' (+ <i>pərməta</i> 'understanding')
<i>marət +t̪ima</i>	'valuable' (+ <i>t̪ima</i> 'value')
<i>marət +t̪lanita</i>	'shady' (+ <i>t̪lanita</i> 'shade')

The form *marət* in these phrases is invariable and does not inflect for gender or number in agreement with the noun that the adjectival phrase modifies, despite the fact that the independent noun *mara* 'owner' has a plural (*mara-vatə*) and a feminine form (*marta* 'mistress'), e.g.

<i>xa naša marət hona</i>	'an intelligent man'
<i>xa baxta marət hona</i>	'an intelligent woman'
<i>+raba našə marət hona</i>	'many intelligent men'

The form *marət-* is sometimes contracted to *mār-*, e.g. *mār-hona*.

(ii) *b-**b-šəmma* ‘famous’ (‘with name’)*b-šənnə* ‘aged’ (‘with years’)(iii) *d-la* ‘without’

<i>d-la dəkna</i>	‘beardless’ ( <i>dəkna</i> ‘beard’)
<i>d-la ducta</i>	‘homeless’ ( <i>ducta</i> ‘place’)
<i>d-la hivi</i>	‘without hope’ ( <i>hivi</i> ‘hope’)
<i>d-la hona</i>	‘mindless, foolish’ ( <i>hona</i> ‘mind’)
<i>d-la fnaha</i>	‘innocent’ ( <i>fnaha</i> ‘crime’)
<i>d-la nxəpta</i>	‘shameless’ ( <i>nxəpta</i> ‘shame’)
<i>d-la zuyzə</i>	‘impecunious’ ( <i>zuyzə</i> ‘money’)
<i>d-la-’alaha</i>	‘godless’ ( <i>’alaha</i> ‘God’)
<i>d-la-mənyana</i>	‘countless’ ( <i>mənyana</i> ‘number’)
<i>d-la-xela</i>	‘frail, weak’ ( <i>xela</i> ‘strength’)
<i>d-la-+’ayva</i>	‘cloudless’ ( +’ <i>ayva</i> ‘cloud’)

(iv) *be-* ‘without’ (Kurd. bê)

<i>be-hona</i>	‘senseless, unreasonable’ ( <i>hona</i> ‘mind’)
<i>be-nəxpa</i>	‘shameless’ ( <i>nəxpa</i> ‘shame’)
<i>be-raxmə</i>	‘merciless’ ( <i>raxmə</i> ‘mercy’)
<i>be-xela</i>	‘powerless’ ( <i>xela</i> ‘power’)
<i>be-+čara</i>	‘helpless, without remedy’ ( +’ <i>čara</i> ‘remedy’)
<i>be-+namus</i>	‘dishonest’ ( +’ <i>namus</i> ‘honour’)
<i>be-+payda</i>	‘unprofitable, useless’ ( +’ <i>payda</i> ‘advantage’)
<i>be-+’tama</i>	‘tasteless’ ( +’ <i>tama</i> ‘taste’)

(v) *bi-* ‘without’ (Pers. bi) (less productive than *be-*)*bi-+’abur* ‘shameless’ ( +’*abur* ‘shame’)*bi-hivi* ‘hopeless’ (*hivi* ‘hope’)(vi) *çam-*, *çəm-* ‘lacking, little amount of’ (Azer. kəm, Pers. kam, Kurd. kəm)*çam-hona* ‘stupid’ (‘little of intelligence’) (*hona* ‘mind’)*çam-kuvvat* ‘weak’ (‘little of strength’) (*kuvvat* ‘strength’)*çam-ranj* ‘light coloured, weak (tea)’ (*ranj* ‘colour’)

Occasionally other types of compound adjective are found such as the following:

<sup>+</sup> <i>ruma-</i>	<sup>+</sup> <i>čala</i> (fs. <sup>+</sup> <i>rumta-</i> <sup>+</sup> <i>čalta</i> )	'hilly'
<sup>+</sup> <i>čalə-</i>	<sup>č</sup> <i>əččura</i> adj.invar.	'hilly'

## 6.9 Adapted Loans

A few adjectives that are loanwords have been fully adapted to Aramaic inflectional morphology, e.g.

<i>baxxila</i> (ms.)	<i>baxxəlta</i> (fs.)	<i>baxxilə</i> (pl.)	'jealous'	< Azeri paxıl
<i>cačala</i> (ms.)	<i>cačalta</i> (fs.)	<i>cačalə</i> (pl.)	'bald'	< Kurd. keçel
<i>javarnaya</i> (ms.)	<i>javarneta</i> (fs.)	<i>javarnayə</i> (pl.)	'grey'	< Kurd. gewr
<i>ʃøžžana</i> (ms.)	<i>ʃøžžanta</i> (fs.)	<i>ʃøžžanə</i> (pl.)	'dizzy'	< Kurd. gêj

## 6.10 Partially Adapted Loans

Some adjectives that are loaned from Kurdish are inflected with the Aramaic ms. ending *-a* and pl. ending *-ə*, but in the fs. have the ending *-ə*, which is in origin the Kurdish feminine singular oblique nominal ending.

<i>balķa</i> (ms.)	<i>balķə</i> (fs.)	<i>balķə</i> (pl.)	'multicoloured'	< Kurd. belek
<i>çarra</i> (ms.)	<i>çarrə</i> (fs.)	<i>çarrə</i> (pl.)	'deaf'	< Kurd. kerr
<i>çura</i> (ms.)	<i>çurə</i> (fs.)	<i>çurə</i> (pl.)	'blind'	< Kurd. kûr
<i>çutta</i> (ms.)	<i>çuttə</i> (fs.)	<i>çuttə</i> (pl.)	'dwarf'	< Kurd. qut
<i>čiķa</i> (ms.)	<i>čiķə</i> (fs.)	<i>čiķə</i> (pl.)	'squinting'	< Kurd. qîç
<i>čora</i> (ms.)	<i>čorə</i> (fs.)	<i>čorə</i> (pl.)	'with white mark' (animal)	< Kurd.
<i>lala</i> (ms.)	<i>lalə</i> (fs.)	<i>lalə</i> (pl.)	'dumb'	< Kurd. lal
<sup>+</sup> <i>latṭa</i> (ms.)	<sup>+</sup> <i>latṭə</i> (fs.)	<sup>+</sup> <i>latṭə</i> (pl.)	'shallow'	< Kurd. lat ('flat')
<i>lənjlula</i> (ms.)	<i>lənjlulə</i> (fs.)	<i>lənjlulə</i> (pl.)	'crippled'	< Kurd. ling ('leg')
<i>marda</i> (ms.)	<i>mardə</i> (fs.)	<i>mardə</i> (pl.)	'generous'	< Kurd. merd
<i>zarda</i> (ms.)	<i>zardə</i> (fs.)	<i>zardə</i> (pl.)	'yellow'	< Kurd. zerd
<i>zaxma</i> (ms.)	<i>zaxmə</i> (fs.)	<i>zaxmə</i> (pl.)	'huge, mighty'	< Kurd. zexm

The adjectives *çarra* and *marda* also have fs. forms with a *-ta* ending: *çarreta*, *mardita*.

This type of inflection has been extended to words of a different origin, e.g. *+kuṭra* 'hunchbacked', *+pašuvva* 'lukewarm', *+čuvva* 'smooth', *xampa* 'pagan', which are of Aramaic etymology, and *yacca* 'huge', a loan from Azeri:

<i>xampa</i> (ms.)	<i>xampə</i> (fs.)	<i>xampə</i> (pl.)	'pagan'
<i>+čuvva</i> (ms.)	<i>+čuvvə</i> (fs.)	<i>+čuvvə</i> (pl.)	'smooth'
<i>+kuṭra</i> (ms.)	<i>+kuṭrə</i> (fs.)	<i>+kuṭrə</i> (pl.)	'hunchback'
<i>+pašuvva</i> (ms.)	<i>+pašuvvə</i> (fs.)	<i>+pašuvvə</i> (pl.)	'lukewarm, tepid'
<i>yacca</i> (ms.)	<i>yaccə</i> (fs.)	<i>yaccə</i> (pl.)	'huge' < Azer. yekə

A few loaned adjectives retain the source form without inflection in the ms. and fs. but take the Aramaic plural inflection -ə, e.g.

<i>+casəb</i> (ms./fs.)	<i>+casibə</i> (pl.)	'poor' < Azeri kasıb
<i>jil</i> (ms./fs.)	<i>jilə</i> (pl.)	'young' < Kurd. çel
<i>sakkat</i> (ms./fs.)	<i>sakkattə</i> (pl.)	'crippled' < Kurd. seqqet, Pers. saqat
<i>sāx</i> (ms./fs.)	<i>saxə</i> (pl.)	'healthy, alive' < Kurd. sax
<i>nazuc</i> (ms./fs.)	<i>nazuyça</i> (pl.)	'fine, thin' < Pers. nazok
<i>šəlla</i> (ms./fs.)	<i>šəllə</i> (pl.)	'paralysed' < Pers. šal
<i>davlatmand</i> (ms./fs.)	<i>davlatmandə</i> (pl.)	'rich' < Pers. dowlatmand, Kurd. dewlemend

This pattern of inflection has been extended to the following adjective that originated in earlier Aramaic:

<i>+karras</i> (ms./fs.)	<i>+karrasə</i> (pl.)	'stubborn'
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## 6.11 Unadapted Loans

The majority of loaned adjectives are left unadapted without Aramaic morphological endings and remain invariable for number or gender. Some selected examples are:

<i>'arzan</i>	'cheap'	< Pers. arzān, Kurd. erzan
<i>ašcara</i>	'clear'	< Kurd. aşkere, Azer. aşkar
<i>dūz</i>	'right, straight'	< Azer. düz
<i>hasanay</i>	'easy'	< Kurd. hēsan, Azer. asan
<i>həşyar</i>	'careful'	< Pers. hošyār
<i>makul</i>	'acceptable'	< Pers. ma'qūl < Arab.

<i>pəltəç</i>	'stuttering'	< Azer. pəltək
<i>tambal</i>	'lazy'	< Azer. tənbəl, Pers. tambal
<i>taza</i>	'new, fresh'	< Azer. təzə
<i>zabbun</i>	'weak'	< Azer. zəbun
<i>+haram</i>	'unlawful'	< Azer. haram, Pers. harām < Arab.
<i>+hazər</i>	'ready'	< Azer. hazır < Arab.
<i>+narahat</i>	'uncomfortable'	< Pers. nā-rāhat
<i>+xayən</i>	'treacherous'	< Azer. xain, Pers. xā'en < Arab.

# Numerals

## 7.1 Cardinals

### 7.1.1 *Numerals 1–10*

These numerals are of invariable form and are not inflected for gender. They derive historically from the form used with masculine nouns in earlier Aramaic:

0	<sup>+</sup> <i>sipar</i>
1	<i>xa</i>
2	<i>tre</i>
3	<sup>+</sup> <i>tla</i>
4	<sup>+</sup> <i>ar̄pa</i>
5	<i>xamša</i>
6	<sup>’</sup> <i>ošta</i>
7	<sup>+</sup> <i>šavva</i>
8	<i>tmanyā</i>
9	<sup>+</sup> <i>əčča</i>
10	<sup>+</sup> <i>əsra</i>

The form <sup>+</sup>*tla* has lost an original *\*t* after the vowel (< \**tlātā*). The *\*l* acquired emphasis and the initial *\*t* shifted to emphatic *\*t̄* due to contact with the emphatic *!* (\**t!a*). The current form <sup>+</sup>*tla* resulted from the reanalysis of the emphasis as suprasegmental. The tense unaspirated /p/ in <sup>+</sup>*ar̄pa* has arisen by the coalescence of /b/ with the following laryngal (< \**arb'a*) (§ 1.9.1.1.). The /a/ in the initial syllable of <sup>’</sup>*ošta* was originally an epenthetic prosthetic vowel, but has been reanalysed as a syllable nucleus (§ 1.4.). The development of the form <sup>+</sup>*šavva* is < \**šāwa* < \**šaw'a* < \**šab'ā*, with the secondary gemination of the /v/ after the stressed short /a/ vowel. The afficates in <sup>+</sup>*əčča* developed from an original cluster *\*tš* and the word was emphaticised due to the presence of a historical *\*c*, thus <sup>+</sup>*əčča* < \**əčča* < \**ətš'a* < \**tš'a*.

When stressed the vowel of *xa* is sporadically followed by a glottal stop and an additional vowel of the same quality, e.g. *xá'a* (B 9:3) < *xa* ‘one’, *xá'a báxta* ‘one/a woman’ (A 39:10).

Plurals are formed of the numerals by adding the plural ending *-ə* with the glide /y/ separating this from the final vowel of the numeral. The plural ending

does not replace the final vowel of the numeral as in nouns: *xaya* ‘ones’, *treyə* ‘twos’, *+tlayə* ‘threes’, *+ar̪ayə* ‘fours’, etc.

When used independently as nominal arguments, numerals have feminine gender.

### 7.1.2 Numerals 11–19

These also are invariable and derive historically from the form that was originally used with masculine nouns:

- 11 *xaddəssar*
- 12 *taryəssar, təryəssar*
- 13 *+tal̪asar*
- 14 *'arbasar*
- 15 *+xamšasar, +xamsar*
- 16 *+əštasar*
- 17 *+šavvasar*
- 18 *+tmanəssar*
- 19 *'əččasar*

The geminated /d/ after the vowel in *xaddəssar* (< \**h<sup>3</sup>ða'sar*) probably developed secondarily in order to allow an /a/ vowel to follow the initial letter, presumably by analogy with the form *xa* ‘one’, in the citation form of which the vowel is short due to glottalization at the word boundary (§ 1.14.). The /s/ in the ten component is geminated secondarily when preceded by a high vowel, e.g. *taryássar* ‘12’ < \**taryə'sar*, *+tmanəssar* ‘18’ < \**tmanə'sar*, but remains ungeminated when preceded by /a/, e.g. *+xamšasar* ‘15’ < \**xamša'sar*, *+əštasar* ‘16’ < \**əšta'sar*. The form *+tal̪asar* has developed from \**tlat̪a'sar*. The lack of emphasis in *'arbasar* is likely to be due to the fact that in the historical form of the numeral a pharyngal was not in contact with the preceding labial (< \**arba'sar*), whereas in the emphatic form *+ar̪a* the pharyngal was in contact with the labial (< \**arb'a*). The same applies to the plain form *'əččasar* (< \**tša'sar*). The numeral *+šavvasar* is based on the numeral *+šavva* rather than on its historical form \**šba'sar* and so is emphaticized. The emphasis of *+xamšasar* and *+əštasar* appears to have developed by analogy with *+šavvasar*.

### 7.1.3 Tens

- 20 *'əsri*
- 30 *tlay*
- 40 *'ar̪i*

- 50 *xamši*  
 60 *'əšti*  
 70 *šavvi*  
 80 *+tmani*  
 90 *'əčči*

The presence of the high vowel /i/ or the glide /y/ at the end of numerals in this paradigm has blocked the development of emphasis in most cases, whereas many of the corresponding unit numerals ending in -a are emphatic.

Plurals are formed of these numerals by adding the plural ending -ə. A glide /yy/ separates this from the final -i, e.g. *'əsriyya* 'twenties', *tlayə* 'thirties', *'arpiyyə* 'forties', etc.

#### 7.1.4 *Hundreds*

- 100 *'əmma*  
 200 *tramma*  
 300 *+tłomma* ~ *+tlamma*  
 400 *'arbəmما* ~ *+arpmma*  
 500 *xamšəmma* ~ *xamšamma*  
 600 *'əštəmma* ~ *'əštamma*  
 700 *šavvəmma* ~ *+šavvamma*  
 800 *tmanyəmma* ~ *tmanyamma*  
 900 *'əččəmma* ~ *+əččamma*

There are variations in the first element of the forms 300–900. This may either be the historical feminine form of the numeral, which is not used as an independent cardinal, or it may be the masculine form, which corresponds to the independent form of the cardinal. There is a difference in emphasis between the feminine and masculine forms in many cases. The fact that the /əmma/ element is emphaticized after emphatic numerals whereas it is plain when independent ('əmma) indicates that it has fully bonded with the unit numeral in the domain of emphasis of a single word (§ 1.5.2.). It has singular inflection in all cases.

Plurals of these are formed by adding the plural ending -ə separated from the final -a by a glide /y/, e.g. *'əmmayə* 'hundreds'.

### 7.1.5 *Thousands*

- 1,000    *'alpa*  
 2,000    *tre 'alpa*  
 3,000    *+tla 'alpa*  
 4,000    *+ar̥pa 'alpa*  
 5,000    *xamša 'alpa*

Unlike hundreds, the unit and the word for ‘thousand’ have not been morpho-phonemically bonded together and are treated as separate words with their own domains of emphasis. The word *'alpa*, furthermore, is inflected for the plural in multiples like a noun.

### 7.1.6 *Combination of Numerals*

The numerals are combined in descending order. Tens and units are not linked by a coordinating conjunction, e.g. *'asri xa* ‘21’, *'ar̥pi tre* ‘42’, *xamši +tla* ‘53’. The hundreds (-*amma*) and ‘one thousand’ (*'alpa*) are combined with a following numeral by the enclitic conjunction *u*, the sequence /*a-u*/ contracting to /*o*/, e.g. *'ammo 'asri +tla* ‘123’, *'alpo 'aččəmmo šavvi xa* ‘1971’. When the thousand numeral is in the plural, no conjunction is audible, e.g. *tre 'alpa +talqasar* ‘2013’.

### 7.1.7 *Cardinal Numerals with Pronominal Suffixes*

Pronominal suffixes may be attached to the cardinals 1–10 to form partitive expressions. In such cases the numerals have the following forms:

<i>túrvəntan</i>	‘the two of us’	<i>túrvənte</i>	‘the two of them’
~ <i>túrvan</i> ,		~ <i>túrve</i>	
<i>+túlvuntan</i>	‘the three of us’	<i>+túlvunte</i>	‘the three of them’
~ <i>+túlluntan</i>		~ <i>+túllunte</i>	
<i>+árpuntan</i>	‘the four of us’	<i>+árpunte</i>	‘the four of them’
<i>xámšuntan</i>	‘the five of us’	<i>xámšunte</i>	‘the five of them’
<i>'áštuntan</i>	‘the six of us’	<i>'áštunte</i>	‘the six of them’
<i>+šávvuntan</i>	‘the seven of us’	<i>+šávvunte</i>	‘the seven of them’
<i>tmányuntan</i>	‘the eight of us’	<i>tmányunte</i>	‘the eight of them’
<i>+áččuntan</i>	‘the nine of us’	<i>+áččunte</i>	‘the nine of them’
<i>+ásruntan</i>	‘the ten of us’	<i>+ásrunte</i>	‘the ten of them’

The stress in all cases is placed on the first syllable, including when the 3pl. suffix is attached, which normally takes the stress. These forms appear to

have developed from a combination of an old construct form of the masculine numeral with final *-t* and the preposition *mən* with a pronominal suffix; cf. C. Telkepe *xamšaθnan*, C. Txuma *xamšətnan* ‘the five of us’ < \**xamšaθmənnan*. Some dialects lack the /t/ element, e.g. J. Urmi *xamšamnan*, J. Sulemaniyya *xamšannan* < \**xamšamənnan*. In C. Urmi the /t/ of the numeral and the /n/ of the preposition have been metathesized. The numeral ‘one’ and numerals above ‘ten’ are combined with pronominal suffixes in uncontracted phrases containing the preposition *mən*, e.g.

- xa mənnan* ‘one of us’  
*'asri mənnan* ‘twenty of us’

The affix *-unt-* is also used to join pronominal suffixes to the quantifier *cul-*:

- cílluntan* ‘all of us’   *cíllunte* ‘all of them’

## 7.2      Ordinals

The only ordinal adjective that is in use is ‘first’:

- kámaya* (ms.)  
*kámēta* (fs.)  
*kámayə* (pl.)

Note that this is stressed on the first syllable and not in the canonical position for stress on the penultimate syllable. This form is normally juxtaposed with the head noun with the normal syntax of an adjective:

- naša kámaya* ‘the first man’  
*baxta kámēta* ‘the first woman’  
*baxtata kámayə* ‘the first women’

In some circumstances the head noun is combined in an annexation construction with the fs. form *kámēta*, which has the status of abstract noun expressing the ‘status of being first’. In such constructions the head noun may be any gender, e.g.

- jahət kámēta* ‘the first time’, *jaha* f.  
*+p̪laš-kámēta|* ‘the First World War’ (A 41:1 = *+p̪lašət kāmēta*), *+p̪laša* m.

All other ordinals are expressed by combining a noun with a cardinal by means of the annexation enclitic *-at*. In such constructions an additional *d-* is optionally prefixed to the numerals *tre* and *+tla* (*d-tre*, *d-+tla* § 5.14.).

<i>našət tre ~ našət d-tre</i>	'the second man'
<i>baxtət tre ~ baxtət d-tre</i>	'the second woman'
<i>baxtatət tre ~ baxtatət d-tre</i>	'the second women'

<i>našət +tla ~ našət d-+tla</i>	'the third man'
<i>baxtət +tla ~ baxtət d-+tla</i>	'the third woman'
<i>baxtatət +tla ~ baxtatət d-+tla</i>	'the third women'

<i>našət +'ar̥pa</i>	'the fourth man'
<i>baxtət +'ar̥pa</i>	'the fourth woman'
<i>baxtatət +'ar̥pa</i>	'the fourth women'

<i>našət xamša</i>	'the fifth man'
<i>baxtət xamša</i>	'the fifth woman'
<i>baxtatət xamša</i>	'the fifth women'

When the *d-* element is inserted before *tre* and *+tla* the *-at* ending is occasionally omitted on the noun, e.g. *naša d-tre*, *naša d-+tla*.

### 7.3 Fractions

Special words for fractions exist only for 'half' and 'quarter':

<i>palja</i>	'a half'
<i>xa paljə</i>	'one and a half'
<i>čarac</i>	'a quarter'
<i>+tla čarajə</i>	'three quarters'

The ending *-ə* in *xa paljə* is the fossilized vestige of an archaic 3ms pronominal suffix *\*-eh*. Other fractions are expressed by phrases containing cardinals thus:

<i>xa mən-+tla</i>	'a third'
<i>xa mən-xamša</i>	'a fifth'

Pronominal suffixes may be attached to the cardinal in such phrases, e.g.

- xa mən-<sup>+</sup>ṭlayu* ‘a third of it’  
*xa mən-xamšu* ‘a fifth of it’

Cardinals are preferred to *paļja* and *čarac* in such phrases:

- xa mən-treyu* ‘a half of it’  
*xa mən-<sup>+</sup>ar̄pu* ‘a quarter of it’

#### 7.4 Days of the Week

<i>xošiba</i>	(pl. <i>xošibana</i> , <i>xošibavatə</i> )	‘Sunday’
<i>tró-šiba</i>	(pl. <i>tro-šibana</i> , <i>tro-šibavatə</i> )	‘Monday’
<i><sup>+</sup>ṭló-šiba</i>	(pl. <i><sup>+</sup>ṭlo-šibana</i> , <i><sup>+</sup>ṭlo-šibavatə</i> )	‘Tuesday’
<i><sup>+</sup>ar̄po-šiba</i>	(pl. <i><sup>+</sup>ar̄po-šibana</i> , <i><sup>+</sup>ar̄po-šibavatə</i> )	‘Wednesday’
<i>xamšó-šiba</i>	(pl. <i>xamšo-šibana</i> , <i>xamšo-šibavatə</i> )	‘Thursday’
<i>+ruyta</i>	(pl. <i>+ruytana</i> , <i>+ruytavatə</i> )	‘Friday’
<i>šabta</i>	(pl. <i>šabatə</i> )	‘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 component *šiba* is plain even after emphatic numerals, so in such cases the names with this component should be analysed as two words, with their own domain of emphasis (§ 1.5.2.). In ‘Monday’—‘Thursday’ the stress is placed on the numeral, which also reflects the existence of a word division, so these are transcribed with a hyphen. ‘Sunday’ has stress on the penultimate and it has a uniform plain setting, so this can be interpreted as a unitary word and transcribed without a hyphen.

#### 7.5 Seasons

<i>sətva</i> (m.)	(pl. <i>sətva</i> , <i>sətvana</i> )	‘Winter’
<i>bí-nisanə</i> (m.)	(sing. and pl.)	‘Spring’
<i><sup>+</sup>ketə</i> (m.)	(pl. <i><sup>+</sup>ketana</i> , <i><sup>+</sup>ketavatə</i> )	‘Summer’
<i>čiriyə</i> (m.)	(pl. <i>čiriyavatə</i> )	‘Autumn’

The forms *bí-nisanə* and *čiriyyə* are plurals in origin (§ 5.6.). Sporadically the form *nisanə* is used as a shortened form of *bi-nisanə*.

## 7.6 Names of Months

<i>canun</i>	<i>+xáraya</i>	m.	'January'
<i>+əšvat</i>		m.	'February'
<i>+adar</i>		m.	'March'
<i>nisan</i>		m.	'April'
<i>+yār</i>		m.	'May'
<i>+xziran</i>		m.	'June'
<i>tamuz</i>		m.	'July'
<i>+ṭabbax</i>		m.	'August'
<i>ilul</i>		m.	'September'
<i>čiri kámaya</i>		m.	'October'
<i>čiri</i>	<i>+xáraya</i>	m.	'November'
<i>canun</i>	<i>ķámaya</i>	m.	'December'

# Particles

## 8.1 Preliminary Remarks

The term ‘particle’ is used in a broad sense to include all items that do not fall into the categories of noun, pronoun, adjective or verb. Some of the particles take nouns as their complement to express relations between elements in a clause, others take clauses as their complement to express relations between clauses. These two classes of particle are termed ‘prepositions’ and ‘clausal conjunctions’ respectively. The large residue of particles that do not fall into one of these two classes have various disparate functions, including adverbs, quantifiers, determiners, connectives and interrogative particles. Apart from the prepositions, most particles are uninflected.

## 8.2 Adverbs

There is no productive adverbial inflectional ending that can be used freely to create adverbs from nouns or adjectives in the spoken language. The ending *-aít* is occasionally used by educated speakers to form adverbials, e.g. *kanunaít* ‘by law’, *+šariraít* ‘assuredly’. The ending is sometimes pronounced with a glide /y/, e.g. *zuzanayít* ‘financially’ (B 10:26). This inflection, however, is 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 *surat* ‘Assyrian’, *farsat* ‘Persian’, *turcət* ‘Turkish’, *+arabət* ‘Arabic’. These words, however, are now treated syntactically as nouns rather than adverbs, e.g. *ci-tani fu-+farsat* ‘They say in Persian’, where the word is governed by a preposition. The ending is also found in the word *jənvət* ‘secretly’, which is used in combination with prepositions, e.g. *b-jənvət xášləl* ‘He went away secretly’, *mən-jənvət juššákłəl* ‘He looked secretly’.

Several adverbs and adverbial phrases of Aramaic origin are nouns in the absolute state without an inflectional vowel, e.g. *údyu* ‘today’ (< \**adyom*). Some adverbs have the ending *-áy*, e.g. *kamáy* ‘formerly’, *+baráy* ‘outside’, *javáy* ‘inside’. This ending may have evolved from the absolute state of the feminine singular: *kamáya* < \**qamayat* < \**qaðmayat* (cf. Syr. *qaðmāyat* ‘at first’). Note also the loanword *+xurráy* (< Kurd. *xurray*), in which the final syllable is stressed, possibly due to its identification with the NENA adverbial suffix *-áy*.

Some spatial adverbs have endings that are related to those of demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *+támma* ‘there (medium deixis)’, *+tammó* ‘over there (distant)’, *+táma* ‘there (out of sight)’; cf. *+’ávva* ‘that (medium deixis)’, *+’avvó* ‘that (distant)’, *+’av* ‘that (out of sight)’.

A feature that is exhibited by some adverbs of more than two syllables is the regular occurrence of stress in non-canonical position at the beginning of the word, e.g. *kédamta* ‘in the morning’, *láxxanə* ‘around here, nearby’. Adverbs consisting of two components combined in a stress group are stressed on the first component, e.g. *’á-šita* ‘this year’, *’ad-lelə* ‘tonight’, *yumá-xina* ‘the day after tomorrow’.

Lists of the adverbial particles that are used in the dialect are presented below.

### 8.2.1 *Spatial Adverbs*

<i>laxxa, ’axxa</i>	‘here’
<i>láxxanə</i>	‘around here, nearby’
<i>laxxanana</i>	‘around here’
<i>m-axxa</i>	‘from here’
<i>l-a-yba</i>	‘to here’ (lit. to this side < <i>l-a-jiba</i> )
<i>+tamma</i>	‘there (medium)’
<i>+támmənə</i>	‘around there’
<i>+tammanana</i>	‘around there’
<i>+tammó</i>	‘there (far)’
<i>+tammoha, +tammoxa</i>	‘there (far)’
<i>+tama</i>	‘there’ (absent)
<i>+tamanana</i>	‘around there’
<i>+’ullul, +lal</i>	‘above’
<i>+’al-+’ullul, +lal</i>	‘upwards’
<i>’əltəx, +’ultux</i>	‘below’
<i>xut</i>	‘underneath’
<i>+’al-’əltəx, +’al-’ultux</i>	‘downwards’
<i>vaddar, +’al-vaddar</i>	‘outside’ (Kurd. ba-der)
<i>javáy</i>	‘inside’
<i>+baráy</i>	‘behind’
<i>la-+bara</i>	‘backwards’
<i>’á-jiba, ’á-yba</i>	‘this side’
<i>’ó-jiba, ’ó-yba</i>	‘that side’
<i>pí-palja</i>	‘in the middle’
<i>kam</i>	‘in front’

<i>la-kama</i>	'forwards'
<i>kamáy</i>	'forwards'
<i>rišaxta</i>	'on its head'
<i>riša rišaxta, riš-rišaxta</i>	'upside down'
<i>pummaxta</i>	'face downwards, flatwise'
<i>+al-jarmət +xasu</i>	'on his back'
<i>xá-riša</i>	'directly'

### 8.2.2 *Temporal Adverbs*

<i>'adiyya, 'adi</i>	'now'
<i>'udyu</i>	'today'
<i>'ád-lelə</i>	'tonight'
<i>kamáy</i>	'at first'
<i>kuđma, kuđmat +vərra</i>	'yesterday'
<i>kuđma, kuđmat 'atə</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>m-kám-kuđma</i>	'the day before yesterday'
<i>yumá-xina</i>	'the day after tomorrow'; 'the day before yesterday'
<i>kédamta</i>	'in the morning, tomorrow morning'; Canda: 'in the early morning after dawn'
<i>kédamta jaldə</i>	'early in the morning'
<i>móriša</i>	'in the morning'; Canda: 'in the later morning after 8am'; 'tomorrow morning'
<i>móriša jaldə</i>	'early in the morning'
<i>+bérašə</i>	'in the evening, last night'
<i>kuđma +bérašə</i>	'last night'
<i>kuđma móriša</i>	'tomorrow morning'
<i>jaldə</i>	'early'
<i>dərranf</i>	'late'
<i>kamta</i>	'formerly, first'
<i>+xarta</i>	'afterwards'
<i>+bara</i>	'afterwards'
<i>'á-šita</i>	'this year'
<i>bázzuyna</i>	'last year'
<i>šət-+vərra</i>	'last year'
<i>həč-+dana</i>	'never'
<i>'aslan</i>	'never'
<i>b-dá-+dana</i>	'at this time'
<i>b-dé +dana</i>	'at that time'
<i>xa-b-xá</i>	'suddenly'

<i>xa-b-xá-ja</i>	'suddenly'
<i>xa-xa-já</i>	'sometimes'
<i>xacma-ja</i>	'sometimes'
<i>é-ja</i>	'at that time'
<i>hammaša</i>	'always'
<i>har</i>	'ever'
<i>+madəlbarə</i>	'from now onwards'
<i>mədrə</i>	'again'

The form *+madəlbarə* has been formed by bonding together the phrase *m-adi* +*al-*+*bara* into a single word with a single domain of emphasis.

### 8.2.3 *Interrogative Adverbs*

<i>'ica?</i>	'where?'
<i>m-ica?</i>	'whence?'
<i>celə?</i>	'where is he'
<i>'iman?</i>	'when'
<i>'əm-+dana?</i>	'at what time?'
<i>dax?</i> / <i>daxi?</i>	'how?'
<i>mujjur?</i> , <i>mújjurra?</i>	'how?'
<i>cma</i>	'how much?, how many?'
<i>ka-mudi?</i> /	
<i>ka-mú?</i> / <i>ksam?</i>	'why?'

The first syllable of the interrogative *'ica* is sometimes elided when it has an enclitic copula, e.g. *celə?* 'Where is he?', *cena?* 'Where are they?' The interrogative items *'iman* and *'əm* have oblique allomorphs with initial *d*, viz. *diman*, *dəm*, which are used in syntactically dependent position, e.g. *beta dəm naša?* 'the house of which man?', *hal diman?* 'until when' (§ 5.14.).

### 8.2.4 *Adverbs of Manner*

<i>'atxa</i>	'thus, like this'
<i>jaldə</i>	'quickly'
<i>nixa</i>	'slowly'
<i>nixunta</i>	'very slowly'
<i>+spay</i>	'well'
<i>jəns</i>	'well'
<i>xərba</i>	'badly'

<i>kəšya</i>	'hard'
<i>xelana</i>	'strongly'

The adverbial demonstrative *'atxa* has an oblique form *datxa* with initial *d*.

### 8.3 Quantifiers

<i>+raba, +roba</i>	'much, many'
<i>cullə</i>	'all'
<i>cul, cu</i>	'every, each'
<i>cma, xacma</i>	'a few, a small amount of'
<i>xačča</i>	'slightly, a little'
<i>xaččunta</i>	'very little'
<i>+uxča</i>	'so much'
<i>həč</i>	'no, none'

### 8.4 Prepositions

Prepositions are combined with nominals or pronominal suffixes. In some cases they may also be attached to adverbs. They are generally combined with their complement in the same stress group, especially when they are monosyllabic.

A few prepositions are inflected with the nominal annexation enclitic *-ət* when they have a nominal complement, though the majority do not use this enclitic. When, on the other hand, the complement is a demonstrative pronoun or a nominal phrase with an initial demonstrative, it is obligatory for the following demonstrative to be in its dependent form beginning with *d*- (§ 2.2.). The same applies to the interrogative pronouns *'əm-/əmn-?* 'which?' and *'iman*, which also begin with *d*- in this context. Some prepositions can take pronominal suffixes. These are attached to an allomorph of the preposition, which is generally slightly different in shape from the allomorph it has without suffixes. The pronominal suffixes that are attached to prepositions are the same as those that are attached to nouns (§ 2.3.). Prepositions that cannot take pronominal suffixes directly must be combined with the genitive particle *dīy-* inflected with suffixes.

### 8.4.1    +’aralləg̚- ‘between’

This is connected to a following noun or independent pronominal element by the annexation element -ət. The annexation element is attached either as an enclitic, which does not affect the stress position or morphological shape of the adverbial (+’aralləg̚-ət), or as an inflectional affix, which brings about a change of stress (+’aralləg̚jət) (§ 5.14.). This preposition general does not take pronominal suffixes:

+’aralləg̚-ət / +’aralləg̚jət	<i>babu ’u-yəmmu</i>	‘between his father and his mother’
+’aralləg̚-ət / +’aralləg̚jət	<i>dani</i>	‘between them’
+’aralləg̚-ət / +’aralləg̚jət	<i>do-naša ’u-de-baxta</i>	‘between that man and that woman’
+’aralləg̚-ət / +’aralləg̚jət	<i>diyyan</i>	‘between us’
+’aralləg̚-ət / +’aralləg̚jət	<i>diyyé</i>	‘between them’

The form is optionally combined with the preposition *b-*, e.g. *b-+’aralləg̚-ət babu ’u-yəmmu*.

It occasionally takes pronominal suffixes, in which case it has the shape +’aralğ-, e.g. *b-+’aralğəl* ‘in between them’ (A 39:13).

### 8.4.2    ’ax, max ‘like’

The prepositions *’ax* and *max* are used interchangeably.

’ax- <i>babi</i>	‘like my father’
’ax-+ <i>dav</i>	‘like him’
’ax- <i>do-naša</i>	‘like that man’
’ax- <i>dəm-naša?</i>	‘like which man?’
’ax- <i>diyyu</i>	‘like him’
’ax- <i>diyyo</i>	‘like her’
’ax- <i>diyyé</i>	‘like them’

### 8.4.3    +’al ‘upon; to’

This preposition is derived historically from \*’al ‘upon’, the emphasis being a reflection of the historical presence of the pharyngal. It has, however, merged with the historical derivative of the preposition \*l- ‘to’ (except for a few isolated cases § 8.4.4.) and so its semantic range includes ‘upon’ and ‘to’:

+’al- <i>cursi</i>	‘on the chair’
+’al-+ <i>dav</i>	‘on it (m.)’

- +*al-do-cursi* ‘on that chair’  
+*al-dəm-cursi?* ‘on which chair?’
- +*al-mata* ‘to the village’  
+*al-day* ‘to it (f.)’  
+*al-de-mata* ‘to that village’  
+*al-dəm-mata?* ‘to which village?’

The preposition is pronounced emphatic in slow, careful speech. In many cases, however, the emphasis is weakened when it is a proclitic without stress, especially if the word it is attached to is plain: [?al-ma:tʰa]. The /a/ vowel is, moreover, sometimes weakened to [i ~ ə], e.g. [?il-ma:tʰa]. Such weak forms are not represented in the transcription but rather are always transcribed as +*al-* for the sake of consistency. The merging of the prepositions ‘upon’ and ‘to’ is likely to have arisen due to the phonetic identity of the weak form of ‘upon’, viz. [?il], with the original reflex of \**l*, viz. [?il] (*l* with prosthetic vowel).

Some speakers in the Caucasus pronounce the preposition as [l] without any vowel. This is represented in the transcription, e.g. *l-ilàna*, *l-rišu* ‘on a tree, on its top’ (A 47:1).

When pronominal suffixes are attached to it, the /l/ is geminated. In such pronominal phrases the emphatic pronunciation is more stable, especially when the stem of the preposition is stressed:

- +*állu* ‘on/to him’  
+*állo* ‘on/to her’  
+*allé* ‘on/to them’

#### 8.4.4 la-, l- ‘to’

This is found sporadically and can be regarded as a vestige of the earlier preposition \**l*- ‘to’ rather than a weakened form of +*al*- . It is largely restricted to a few fixed adverbial phrases, which include:

- la-kama* ‘forwards’  
*l-a-jiba, l-o-jiba* ‘to/on this side, to/on that side’  
(often abbreviated to *l-a-yba, l-o-yba*)  
*l-a-pata, l-e-pata* ‘to/on this side, to/on that side’  
*lab* ‘to/at the house of’ (< \**l-bē*).

Note that the demonstrative pronoun in the adverbial phrases with *pata* and *jiba* are in the nominative form.

This preposition is occasionally found before nouns beginning with a consonantal cluster, e.g. *la-mdítə* ‘to the town’ (A 1:10), and also elsewhere, e.g. *la-béta* ‘to a house’ (A 42:11), *la-dáy<sup>l</sup>* ‘to her’ (A 42:33), *la-díyyi* ‘to me’ (A 42:36), *la-dó-rišət +àtra<sup>l</sup>* ‘to the other end of the land’ (B 2:16), *la-dán jibàna* ‘to those parts’ (B 2:16).

#### 8.4.5 <sup>+</sup>*ullul*, <sup>+</sup>*ulluylat* ‘above, over’

The adverbial form <sup>+</sup>*ullul* ‘above’ can take a complement either in the form of a pronominal suffix or a noun. It is connected to a noun by the annexation element *-at*. The annexation element is attached either as an enclitic, which does not affect the stress position or morphological shape of the adverbial (<sup>+</sup>*úllul-at*), or as an inflectional affix, which brings about a change in the morphological shape (<sup>+</sup>*ulliylat*) (§ 5.14.):

<sup>+</sup> <i>úllul-at</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>ulluylat beta</i>	‘above the house’
<sup>+</sup> <i>úllul-at</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>ulluylat +dav</i>	‘above it (m.)’
<sup>+</sup> <i>úllul-at</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>ulluylat do-beta</i>	‘above that house’
<sup>+</sup> <i>úllul-at</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>ulluylat dəm-cursi?</i>	‘above which house?’
<sup>+</sup> <i>ulluylu</i>	‘above him’
<sup>+</sup> <i>ulluylo</i>	‘above her’
<sup>+</sup> <i>ulluylé</i>	‘above them’

#### 8.4.6 <sup>+</sup>*altəx*, <sup>+</sup>*altixət* ‘under’

The adverbial form <sup>+</sup>*altəx* ‘underneath’ can take a complement either in the form of a pronominal suffix or a noun. It is connected to a noun by the annexation element *-at*. As is the case with <sup>+</sup>*ullul* ‘above’, the annexation element is attached either as an enclitic, which does not affect the stress position or morphological shape of the adverbial (<sup>+</sup>*altəx-at*), or as an inflectional affix, which brings about a change in the morphological shape (<sup>+</sup>*altixət*) (§ 5.14.):

<sup>+</sup> <i>altəx-at</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>altixət beta</i>	‘under the house’
<sup>+</sup> <i>altəx-at</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>altixət +dav</i>	‘under it (m.)’
<sup>+</sup> <i>altəx-at</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>altixət do-beta</i>	‘under that house’
<sup>+</sup> <i>altəx-at</i> / <sup>+</sup> <i>altixət dəm-cursi?</i>	‘under which house?’
<sup>+</sup> <i>altixu</i>	‘under him’
<sup>+</sup> <i>altixo</i>	‘under her’
<sup>+</sup> <i>altixé</i>	‘under them’

#### 8.4.7 b- 'with, by, on, in'

When this preposition is attached to a noun that begins with a consonant, it is generally separated from it by a short /ə/ vowel. If the initial consonant of the noun is followed by a vowel, the consonant is sometimes geminated, although this gemination is often phonetically reduced in fast speech. In origin the /ə/ is an epenthetic, but this has now been phonologized and treated like a syllable nucleus (§ 1.15.2.). In all cases the preposition is transcribed *b-* without the epenthetic vowel or secondary gemination being represented:

<i>b-xmara</i> [bix'ma:ra:]	'by donkey'
<i>b-sila</i> [bis'si:la:]	'with sand'

There may be a hesitation between the preposition and the noun, in which case the vowel of the preposition is lengthened to /i/, e.g.

- (1) *lá jáxcət bí ... nášət +dòstux-inəl* 'Do not laugh at people who are your friends' (A 3:9)

When the following noun begins with //, the preposition coalesces with this and shifts to a tense /p̄/:

*p̄-ida* 'by hand'

Before demonstrative pronouns and 'əm(n)-':

<i>b-+dav</i>	'with it (m.)'
<i>b-do sila</i>	'with that sand'
<i>b-dəm sila?</i>	'with which sand?'

The nominative form of the demonstrative is used in the adverbial expressions *b-è-ductəl* 'in that place' (B 6:1) and *b-ánnə ducána* 'in these places' (B 2:10).

The preposition may be inflected with pronominal suffixes, in which case it has the base *biyy-*:

<i>biyyu</i>	'by him'
<i>biyyo</i>	'by her'
<i>biyyé</i>	'by them'

The long base may be used with the annexation suffix *-t* in the form *biyyat*, e.g.

- (2) *'á mújjurra xášla +kàt̪u bíyyət ... +ar̪ámma xamšámma cilomátrə 'ùrxa'*  
 'How is it that the cat went there on a journey of four hundred or five hundred kilometres?' (A 3:82)
- (3) *+báyyən maxyáppənna bráti bíyyət de-bàxtə.* 'I want to have my daughter washed by that woman.'

A long form of the preposition, *bíyya*, is used in the phrase *bíyya b-* 'together with', *tíli bíyya b-+xoravàti* 'I came together with my friends'.

The short form of the preposition is combined with the annexation particle *-at* in the idiomatic expression *bət-ləbbi* 'I think (literally: in my heart)'.

#### 8.4.8 *+bar* 'behind, after'

<i>+bar +xori</i>	'behind my friend'
<i>+bar +dav</i>	'behind him'
<i>+bar do-naša</i>	'behind that man'
<i>+bar dəm-naša?</i>	'behind which man?'
<i>+baru</i>	'behind him'
<i>+baro</i>	'behind her'
<i>+baré</i>	'behind them'

When used temporally, it is often preceded by the preposition *mən*:

*mən-+bar xa-šabta* 'after a week'

#### 8.4.9 *barķul-* 'opposite'

<i>barķuylət babi</i>	'opposite my father'
<i>barķuylət +dav</i>	'opposite him'
<i>barķuylət do-naša</i>	'opposite that man'
<i>barķuylət dəm-naša?</i>	'opposite which man?'
<i>barķuylu</i>	'opposite him'
<i>barķuylo</i>	'opposite her'
<i>barķulé</i>	'opposite them'

#### 8.4.10 *bazət* 'concerning, about'

<i>bazət babi</i>	'concerning my father'
<i>bazət +dav</i>	'concerning him'
<i>bazət do-naša</i>	'concerning that man'

<i>bazət dəm-naša?</i>	'concerning which man?'
<i>bazu</i>	'concerning him'
<i>bazo</i>	'concerning her'
<i>bazé</i>	'concerning them'

#### 8.4.11 bəl- 'between'

<i>bəl-babu 'u-yəmmu</i>	'between his father and his mother'
<i>bəl-dani</i>	'between them'
<i>bəl-do-naša 'u-de-baxta</i>	'between that man and that woman'
<i>bəl-dəm-našə?</i>	'between which people?'
<i>bilé</i>	'between them'
<i>bili bilux</i>	'between me and you'

#### 8.4.12 but 'concerning, about'

<i>but-babi</i>	'concerning my father'
<i>but-+dav</i>	'concerning him'
<i>but-do-naša</i>	'concerning that man'
<i>but-dəm-naša?</i>	'concerning which man?'
<i>but-diyyu</i>	'concerning him'
<i>but-diyyo</i>	'concerning her'
<i>but-diyyé</i>	'concerning them'

#### 8.4.13 cəs- 'near, with, at the home of'

<i>cəs-babi</i>	'at the home of my father'
<i>cəs-+dav</i>	'at his home'
<i>cəs-do-naša</i>	'at the home of that man'
<i>cəs-dəm-naša?</i>	'at the home of which man?'

The allomorph of the preposition that is used before pronominal suffixes has the shape *cəsl-*:

<i>cəslu</i>	'at his home'
<i>cəslə</i>	'at her home'
<i>cəslé</i>	'at their home'

#### 8.4.14 dar<sub>k</sub>ul- 'against'

<i>dar<sub>k</sub>uylət babi</i>	'against my father'
<i>dar<sub>k</sub>uylət +dav</i>	'against him'
<i>dar<sub>k</sub>uylət do-naša</i>	'against that man'
<i>dar<sub>k</sub>uylət dəm-naša?</i>	'against which man?'
<i>dar<sub>k</sub>uylu</i>	'against him'
<i>dar<sub>k</sub>uylo</i>	'against her'
<i>dar<sub>k</sub>uylé</i>	'against them'

#### 8.4.15 d-la 'without'

<i>d-la babi</i>	'without my father'
<i>d-la +dav</i>	'without him'
<i>d-la do-naša</i>	'without that man'
<i>d-la dəm-naša?</i>	'without which man?'
<i>d-la diyyu</i>	'without him'
<i>d-la diyyo</i>	'without her'
<i>d-la diyyé</i>	'without them'

#### 8.4.16 hal 'until, up to'

<i>hal-prakta</i>	'until the end'
<i>hal-day</i>	'until it (f.)'
<i>hal-da-+dana</i>	'until this time'
<i>hal-dəm-+dana?</i>	'until which time?'
<i>hal-diyyu</i>	'until it (m.)'
<i>hal-diyyo</i>	'until it (f.)'
<i>hal-diyyé</i>	'until then'

#### 8.4.17 ju-, ja-, javət 'in'

<i>ju-+lina</i>	'in a water pot'
<i>ju-+dav</i>	'in it (m.)'
<i>ju-do-+lina</i>	'in that pot'
<i>ju-dəm-+lina?</i>	'in which pot?'

The forms *ju* and *ja-* are contractions of *jav*. The uncontracted form *javət* is the allomorph of the preposition that is used before pronominal suffixes:

- javu* ‘in it (m.)’  
*javo* ‘in it (f.)’  
*javé* ‘in them (pl.)’

The form *javət*, consisting of the allomorph *jav-* and the annexation particle, may also be used before nouns, e.g. *jávət Nənvəl* ‘in Nineveh’ (A 3:78)

#### 8.4.18 *ka-* ‘to’

- ka-babi* ‘to my father’  
*ka-+dav* ‘to him’  
*ka-do-naša* ‘to that man’  
*ka-dəm-naša?* ‘to which man?’  
*ka-diyyu* ‘to him’  
*ka-diyyo* ‘to her’  
*ka-diyyé* ‘to them’

Pronominal suffixes may be combined with the preposition by means of the genitive particle, as shown above, or an allomorph of the preposition with the shape *kat-:*

- katu* ‘to him’  
*kato* ‘to her’  
*katé* ‘to them’

Before 1st and 2nd person singular suffixes the /t/ of the base *kat* is sometimes contracted:

- katux ~ kax* ‘to you (2ms)’  
*katax ~ kax* ‘to you (2fs)’  
*kati ~ kay* ‘to me’

#### 8.4.19 *kam-*, *ksamtət* ‘before, in front of’

- kam-cursi* ‘in front of the chair’  
*kam-+dav* ‘in front of it (m.)’  
*kam-do-cursi* ‘in front of that chair’  
*kam-dəm-cursi?* ‘in front of which chair?’  
*kamu* ‘in front of it (m.)’  
*kamo* ‘in front of it (f.)’  
*kamé* ‘in front of them’

The longer form *kamtət* is used temporally, e.g. *kámtət cíllə mārələ!* ‘he says first of all’ (A 3:61).

#### 8.4.20 *kamayt-*, *kamaytət* ‘before, in front of’

<i>kamaytət babi</i>	‘before my father’
<i>kamaytət +dav</i>	‘before him’
<i>kamaytət do-naša</i>	‘before that man’
<i>kamaytət dəm-naša?</i>	‘before which man?’
<i>kamaytu</i>	‘before him’
<i>kamayto</i>	‘before her’
<i>kamayté</i>	‘before them’

This is used in expressions relating to meeting, e.g. *+plátlə kamàytu!* ‘He went out to meet him.’

#### 8.4.21 *marzan-*, *marzanan-* ‘around’

<i>marzanət beta</i>	‘around the house’
<i>marzanət +dav</i>	‘around him’
<i>marzanət do-beta</i>	‘around that house’
<i>marzanət dəm-beta?</i>	‘around which house’
<i>marzanu</i>	‘around it (m.)’
<i>marzano</i>	‘around it (f.)’
<i>marzané</i>	‘around them’

#### 8.4.22 *mən* ‘from; with’

This preposition derives in form from *\*min* ‘from’ of earlier Aramaic, but the originally formally distinct preposition *\*am* ‘with’ has merged with it. A reflex of *\*am* in the form *+am* is occasionally heard in the speech of educated people under the influence of the literary language. In the vernacular dialect, however, *mən* expresses both ‘from’ and ‘with’:

<i>mən-babi</i>	‘from/with my father’
<i>mən-+dav</i>	‘from/with him’
<i>mən-do-naša</i>	‘from/with that man’
<i>mən-dəm-naša?</i>	‘from/with which man?’

In fast speech the preposition may be reduced to *m-*, e.g. *m-púmmət +Axikar!* ‘from the mouth of Axikar’ (A 3:21). This is likely to be cause of the merger with *\*am*.

The allomorph of the preposition that is used before pronominal suffixes has the shape *mənn-* with a geminated /n/:

- mənnu* ‘from him’  
*mənno* ‘from her’  
*mənné* ‘from them’

#### 8.4.23 +xadərvan- ‘around’

- |                               |                       |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| + <i>xadərvanət beta</i>      | ‘around the house’    |
| + <i>xadərvanət +dav</i>      | ‘around him’          |
| + <i>xadərvanət do-beta</i>   | ‘around that house’   |
| + <i>xadərvanət dəm-beta?</i> | ‘around which house?’ |
| + <i>xadərvanu</i>            | ‘around it (m.)’      |
| + <i>xadərvano</i>            | ‘around it (f.)’      |
| + <i>xadərvané</i>            | ‘around them’         |

#### 8.4.24 xut ‘under’

- |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>xut-cursi</i>      | ‘under the chair’    |
| <i>xut-+dav</i>       | ‘under it (m.)’      |
| <i>xut-do-cursi</i>   | ‘under that chair’   |
| <i>xut-dəm-cursi?</i> | ‘under which chair?’ |
| <i>xutu</i>           | ‘under it (m.)’      |
| <i>xuto</i>           | ‘under it (f.)’      |
| <i>xuté</i>           | ‘under them’         |

### 8.5 Other Inflected Particles

Some particles are used predicatively with a pronominal argument expressed by a suffix. These include the following.

#### 8.5.1 bassa (*Kurd.* *bes*, *Pers.* *bas*)

The particle *bassa* may be used without suffixes, e.g.

- bàssa!* ‘That is enough!’  
*tré-dane býya**ə** bàssa.*! ‘Two eggs are enough’.

An affected pronominal argument may be optionally expressed by a pronominal suffix of the type that is added to nouns and prepositions, e.g.

*bàssi!*! ‘That is enough for me!.

*bàssux-ila!* ‘That is enough for you’.

*bássux mən-dàha!* ‘You have had enough of this’.

### 8.5.2 hayp- (*Pers. heyf < Arab.*)

This particle is used in exclamatory predications with the sense of ‘what a pity’! The item that is regretted is referred to by a pronominal suffix, e.g.

+*hàypu!*! ‘What a pity we have lost him (said when somebody dies)’.

+*hàypux-la!* *lá xúš +plàša!* ‘It is a pity for your sake, do not go to war’.

For its use with dependent clauses see § 9.15.3.

### 8.5.3 xas

The particle *xas* is used predicatively in oaths to express denial. It is combined with prepositional phrases containing *mən* or with L-suffixes, e.g.

*xás mónni ’ən-’ódən átxa məndi!*! ‘Far be it from me to do such a thing’.

*xásli lén túnya!*! ‘Far be it from me to have said such a thing (= I swear I did not say such a thing)’.

## 8.6 Miscellaneous Uninflected Particles

These may operate within a clause or may function as clausal conjunctions. Many of them are loanwords.

### 8.6.1 *Independent Particles*

<i>’ağallan</i>	‘at least’ ( <i>Pers. aqallan</i> )
<i>’äjar</i>	‘if’ ( <i>Pers. agar</i> )
<i>’albál, ’álbal</i>	‘immediately’ ( <i>Azer. əlbəhəl</i> )
<i>’anja</i>	‘if’ ( <i>Armenia</i> )
<i>’aslan</i> part.	‘fundamentally’; in negative and interrogative clauses ‘at all’ ( <i>Pers. aslan &lt; Arab.</i> )
<i>’axči</i>	‘only; but’
<i>’ay</i>	‘oh!’ (exclamation)

<i>'aybó</i>	'alas!' (exclamation)
<i>'azbar</i>	'by heart' (Azer. əzbər, Pers. az bar)
<i>balcá</i>	'perhaps' (Kurd. belkî, Pers. balke)
<i>băla</i>	'yes (answer to summons) (Pers. bale)'
<i>bas, ba</i>	'but, however; then' (Azer. bəs)
<i>bina</i>	'What do you want?' 'Please repeat'
<i>buš</i>	'more' (comparative particle) (Pers. bīš)
<i>çam, çəm</i>	'little, lacking' (Azer. kəm, Pers. kam, Kurd. kêm)
<i>čəm</i>	'very' (Turk. cf. Chagatai čum (Nöldeke 1868, 168), čung (Zenker 1866, 375))
<i>čuncət</i>	'because' (Azer. çünki)
<i>'ällaci</i>	'especially' (Arab. Pers. <i>'illā ke</i> 'but what' (Nöldeke 1868, 166))
<i>'ən</i>	'if'
<i>habas</i>	'in vain' (Azer. əbəs, Pers. abas < Arab.)
<i>hal</i>	'until, up to'
<i>halbát, halbatta</i>	'of course, surely' (Azer. əlbəttə, Pers. albatte)
<i>har</i>	'just, certainly, exactly' (Kurd. her, Pers. har)
<i>hatman</i>	'absolutely' (Pers. hatman < Arab.)
<i>hatta</i>	'even' (Pers. hatta < Arab.)
<i>həč</i>	'none, nothing, never' (Azer. heç, Pers. hīč)
<i>hi</i>	'yes'
<i>'ina</i>	'but', presentative particle
<i>'ita, 'itar</i>	'then, afterwards, therefore'
<i>jəd</i>	'except, besides' (Pers. joz, judā)
<i>koma</i>	'would that, if only' (cf. <i>kavvəm</i> QI 'to happen')
<i>la</i>	negative particle
<i>măjar</i>	interrogative marker (Pers. magar (§ 12.13))
<i>masalan</i>	'for example' (Pers. masalan < Arab.)
<i>mədrə</i>	'again'
<i>măjjət</i>	'indeed' (Kurd. < Arab. mujidd (Nöldeke 1868, 168))
<i>nájəstan, mən-nájəstan</i>	'suddenly' (Pers. nā-gāh + stān)
<i>săbab, sab</i>	'because' (Pers. sabab < Arab.)
<i>tacla</i>	'if only!' (Azer. tək 'only'+ <i>ila</i> (Nöldeke 1868, 186))
<i>tarsa</i>	'inside-out, back-to-front' (Azer. tərs)
<i>'u</i>	'and'
<i>'up</i>	'also'
<i>xu</i>	'surely' (usually with negative expression (§ 12.12))
<i>ya</i>	vocative particle (< Arab.)
<i>ya, yan</i>	'or' (Azer. ya, Pers. yā, Kurd. yan)

<i>yanət, yan</i>	'that, in order that' (Canda)
<i>yuxsa</i> (Canda <i>'usa</i> )	'otherwise' (Azer. <i>yoxsa</i> )
<i>zəl</i>	'directly' (Azer. <i>zol</i> 'line'? Arab. <i>zalla</i> 'to slip'?)
<i>zoda, buš-zoda</i>	'more' (adv.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>amma</i>	'but' (Azer. <i>amma</i> , Pers. <i>ammā</i> )
<sup>+</sup> <i>anjağ</i>	'rarely; only' (Azer. <i>ancaq</i> )
<sup>+</sup> <i>āx</i>	'ah!' (exclamation)
<sup>+</sup> <i>axər</i>	'in the end, after all' (Azer. <i>axır</i> , Pers. <i>ākir</i> < Arab.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>barabar</i>	'equally' (Pers. <i>barābar</i> )
<sup>+</sup> <i>baram</i>	'but' (Canda)
<sup>+</sup> <i>hala, +halam</i>	'yet, still' (Pers. <i>hälä</i> , <i>hälän</i> )
<sup>+</sup> <i>hana</i>	'here you are' (said when offering something)
<sup>+</sup> <i>of</i>	'oh!' (exclamation)
<sup>+</sup> <i>sevay</i>	'except, excluding' (Azer. <i>savayı</i> , Pers. <i>sevāye</i> < Arab.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>tammam</i>	'completely' (Azer. <i>tamam</i> , Pers. <i>tamām</i> < Arab.)
<sup>+</sup> <i>tuuva</i>	'may there be a blessing; it is a blessing'
<sup>+</sup> <i>vay</i>	'oh!' (exclamation)
<sup>+</sup> <i>yanə, yanə</i>	'that means' (Pers. <i>ya'nī</i> < Arab.)

### 8.6.2 Enclitic Particles

- =da 'also' (Azer. *da*, *də*)
- =ət annexation particle (in some constructions (§ 5.14))
- =zə 'also' (Kurd. *jî*)



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*By*

Geoffrey Khan



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# The Syntax of Nominals

## 9.1 The Expression of Indefiniteness

The cardinal numeral ‘one’ (*xa*) is often used as an indefinite article that is a grammatical signal of the indefinite status of the nominal, i.e. when the speaker assumes that the hearer is not able to identify the referent of the nominal. The particle *xa* is not used with all nominals that have indefinite status on the pragmatic level. Certain general tendencies can be discerned in its usage, though there are no categorical rules. The English indefinite article has a far wider distribution among nouns with indefinite status and it is often appropriate to use the indefinite article in an English translation where no *xa* particle appears in the dialect.

The particle *xa* may also be combined with the word *dana*, a Kurdish word literally meaning ‘grain’, to express indefiniteness, e.g. *xá-dana málca* ‘a king’ (A 3:1), *xa-dana <sup>t</sup>jilasta* ‘a cherry’.

The distribution of the indefinite marker *xa* in comparison with zero marking will first be examined and subsequently the motivation for the use of the marker *xa-dana* rather than *xa* will be considered.

In general, the marker *xa* tends to occur with an indefinite countable nominal with a referent that is individuated and salient in some way, whereas it tends to be omitted when these features are absent.

A major factor that determines the individuation or salience of an indefinite nominal is whether the speaker is using it to refer to a specific referent in the class of items denoted by the word or whether it is being used in a less specific sense to refer to any item in the class. Indefinite nominals with specific referents generally have *xa* whereas those with non-specific referents frequently lack the particle. Referentially specific usages of indefinite nominals occur more frequently, as one would expect, in narratives than in expositional discourse concerning general customs.

In narrative contexts the specific referents of such indefinite nominals introduced by *xa* often play an important role in the subsequent context, which is reflected by the fact that they are referred to in subsequent clauses. This, therefore, is a factor that further enhances the salience of the referent. Examples:

- (1) *'átvá látva| xá yála 'átvá| +másta +al-ríšu +rába látva| ci-+karívala cačalúna| +rába-zə naxùpəva| +rába-zə +zadìyəva| hóč mən-béta léva +pláta +al-*

*vàddar.* | ‘Once up on a time, there was a lad who did not have much hair on his head. They used to call him baldy. He was very shy and very timid. He never used to go outside of the house.’ (A 37:1)

An indefinite nominal referring to a period that functions as an adverbial is typically combined with the particle *xa* when the reference is to one specific time. This is often found at the beginning of a narrative section, where the adverbial sets the temporal frame of what follows, e.g.

- (2) *xà-yuma<sup>l</sup> + krílə + rába mən-dánnə nášə lípə.* | ‘One day he summoned many learned men.’ (A 3:3)
- (3) *xà-yuma<sup>l</sup> málca márəl + ka-+Axíkar.* | ‘One day the king says to Axiqar ...’ (A 3:14)
- (4) *xá-yuma bábu yámmu ... bæxzáyəna bruné jarvùsələ.* | ‘One day, his father and mother notice that their son is growing up.’ (A 37:2)

The particle is also found with spatial adverbials which typically set the spatial frame for the following section of text, e.g.

- (5) *xa-dúcta + rába šaršiyələ. mýyat + àyna bæxzáyələ xá + àyna. ital bəštáyələ xáčha mən-de-+ àyna. dápñat de-+ àyna bədmáxəl sáb + rába šuršiyəval + bætláyəl.* | ‘At a certain place he becomes very tired. He sees a spring water, a spring. So he drinks a little from that spring. He falls asleep at the side of that spring, because he was very tired, and he sleeps.’ (A 37:6)

When the generic word *məndi* ‘thing’ has a specific referent and is combined with *xa*, its contents are generally explicated in the following context, e.g.

- (6) *+ o-kaṭùla ... mərrəl málca t-ávət basıma, + báyyən xà-məndi tanánnux. mára mù-ilə? tāni!* | ‘The executioner ... said “King, be well, I want to tell you something”. He says “What is it? Speak!”’ (A 3:47)

The durability of the referent of a noun with *xa* in the following context may be of a lesser extent than in the examples cited above, but nevertheless there is generally some kind of relevance to what follows. In (7), for example, the relevance of the ‘hole’ extends to the content of the following subordinate clause but not beyond this.

- (7) *xa-<sup>+</sup>bázza bəšvàkəna| kat-napásu là-<sup>+</sup>kattə.* ‘They leave a hole so that his breathing would not be cut off.’ (A 3:36)

As remarked, the particle *xa* is frequently omitted if the indefinite nominal does not have a specific referent. Such nominals are commonly found in descriptions of habitual activities, e.g.

- (8) *čúxta c-avívalun* ‘They used to have a cellar.’ (B 2:4)  
 (9) *’ita ci-mapləxxíva ... +doràna| mán mázrak.* ‘So they used to use a rolling pin together with a dough-cushion.’ (B 2:9)  
 (10) *bèta +ṭarsíva biyyé.* ‘They used to build a house with them.’ (B 2:18)  
 (11) *késa ci-mattíva +xlima átxa.* ‘They used to place a piece of wood, thick like this.’ (B 2:19)  
 (12) *ci-yatvíva| marzánət tanùyra.* ‘They used to sit around an oven.’ (B 2:4)  
 (13) *’ita mán-dánnə míyət +’ánvə +səpyə| ci-šaklίva xàčča| ci-darívalun ju-+tiyan.* ‘So from this pure grape juice they used to take a little and pour it into a cauldron.’ (B 12:4)

In such cases attention is directed to the lexical description of the class of the noun rather than to the set of its individual referents, as is made explicit in cases such as (14):

- (14) *’o-késa +yaríxa +karívalə +karita.* ‘They used to call the long piece of wood “a beam”.’ (B 2:19)

Further examples of nominals referring to a class rather than a referent include cases such as the following:

- (15) *nàkva| mán-’úrza buš-xelàntəla.* ‘A woman is stronger than a man.’ (A 2:36)  
 (16) *’u-<sup>+</sup>byáyələ mán-de-yàmmu| kat-úla xumítu| báxtət +Axičkar| ávə mánno ýax +jóra.* ‘He wants to be with his mother, who has nurtured him, the wife of Axiqar, as a husband.’ (A 3:38)  
 (17) *+bəddáyət +kátu müjjur čarçùrəla?* ‘Do you know how a cat whines?’ (A 3:79)  
 (18) *cut-<sup>+</sup>dána ýáklu mattùyolə| xáčča jašùkələ.* *+bəzdáyələ +várələ javày.* ‘ína mādrəl sódu bitàyələl véla céca +támma piša. ‘Every so often he places his foot (outside of the gate) and looks (outside). He is afraid and comes back inside. But again he is (constantly) tempted, there is still a cake (i.e. on each occasion an unspecified member of the class of cakes) remaining there.’ (A 37:4)

The distinction between indefinite nouns with unspecified referents and those with specified referents is clearly seen in (19):

- (19) *+báyyəva bàxta javárva.* | *+ṭavvúyələ +ṭavvúyələ| xa-bàxta bəʃvárələ| šámmo +Màhəva.* | ‘He wanted to marry a woman (unspecified referent). He searches and searches and marries a woman (specific referent), whose name is *+Mahə*.’ (A 40:1)

Indefinite nominals without specific referents do, however, occasionally have *xa* when they are individuated in some way. The particle tends, for example, to be used before words denoting measures, portions or fractions of a whole, e.g.

- (20) *yán xa-sáma ’ən-+ràba ’áviva ci-zabnìva.* | ‘or if a proportion (of them) were surplus, they used to sell (them).’ (B 2:11)  
 (21) *ú ... míyyat +ánvə ci-+mardəxxìvalun| xa-pàlfət +sá’at.* | ‘They used to boil this grape juice for half an hour.’ (B 12:5)  
 (22) *’ána xá-məskal mən-’áštux pàrmən.* | ‘I shall cut a gram from your bottom.’ (A 7:3)

In (23) *xa* is used to stress the inclusion of every individual item of a set:

- (23) *cùl xa-móndi c-avívalun mán kənyàna=zə.* | ‘They used to have everything from the cattle.’ (B 2:10)

In (24) the particle is used with a noun of mass, which normally does not take the indefinite article, in order to distinguish a particular type of the entity denoted by the noun:

- (24) *daráxvala ’ùpra.* | *’átvalan xa-’ùpra, mən-Javilan mayyívalə.* | ‘We added soil. We had a (special type) of soil, which they brought from Javilan.’ (B 7:15)

The particle is used in distributive contexts, when individual items of a set are related to individual items of another set:

- (25) *ju-mavàtə,* | *cut-bèta* | *’átvälə xá tanùtyra.* | ‘In the villages each house hand an oven.’ (B 14:1)  
 (26) *cút béta c-óya tanútya* | *’átvälə xa-čàraz.* | ‘Each house, it may be said, had a wine-press.’ (B 12:2)

In (27) it is used distributively in the context of an iterative activity:

- (27) *'ána cút yùm| cút +beràšə| b-xá sìysə bət-+páltxən.* | 'Every day and every evening I shall go out with a (different) horse.' (A 39:42)

The particle is regularly used with nominals before a noun qualified by the adjective *xina* 'other', which draws particular attention to one individual item in contradistinction to other items within the class denoted by the noun, e.g.

- (28) *xájúra xína +tína +taròsva.* | 'Another type of mud used to be made.' (B 2:21)  
 (29) *'ína ő=t tanúyra xá-məndi xína.* | 'but the one (the bread) of the oven is something else.' (B 14:4)

The particle *xa* is placed before an indefinite noun when the speaker wishes to focus upon its unity, e.g.

- (30) *b-xá +čap̪álta 'ána ... arpí dánə dévə +másən +katlənnun.* | *b-xá mxétət dá +čap̪álta.* | 'With one staff I can (habitually) kill forty monsters, with one blow of this staff.' (A 37:8)

The particle is sometimes used with a nominal without a specific referent but has a modifier that specifies its lexical description, e.g.

- (31) *lá 'ávət mən-xa-bàxta| kát ... +jóro mítələ,| là forátlə.* | 'Do not be with a woman whose husband has died, do not marry her.' (A 3:10)

A particle *xa* is sometimes used when the noun does not have a specified referent but is the argument of a verb that has perfective aspect and denotes a particular event, e.g.

- (32) *ya-'alàha,| +xlàpu vili,| hálli xa-brùna.* | 'Oh God, I implore you, give me a son.' (A 3:4)

Contrast this with (33), in which *xa* does not occur. The verb here is negated and denotes a general, more diffuse ('never') situation:

- (33) *'át lè-avilux brúna.* | 'You will not have a son.' (A 3:5)

Note also (34)–(35), in which the protasis is perfective in that it denotes one possible event in the future:

- (34) *'án xa-náša bukàrra mənnáx| kət-'áha| mənila,| tənyat| bràtila.* ‘If somebody asks you who she is, you should say “She is my daughter.”’ (A 1:14)
- (35) *'íman-ət xá náša +fúra +avərvəl| járə kəmátvə +al-'áklux.* ‘When an old person entered, you had to get up onto your feet.’ (A 1:16)

An indefinite nominal that is predicative, the function of which is to assign the subject of the clause to a class rather than refer to a specific referent, generally lacks *xa* if it has no qualifier, e.g.

- (36) *'e-+dān-səvlux,| t-ávə brùna kátux.* ‘When you have become old, he will be a son to you.’ (A 3:6)
- (37) *+spày-ilə| kat-fú malciyta| t-ávə vəzzər kátu.* ‘He is suitable to be a minister for him in the royal court.’ (A 3:16)
- (38) *'át výyyət bába káti.| mádrə har-ó-baba vi-kàti.* ‘You have been a father to me. Be the same father to me again.’ (A 3:92)
- (39) *'àd-lelə| 'átən p̄t-ávət káy 'árxa.* ‘Tonight you will be a guest of mine.’ (A 4:7)
- (40) *'íman škəllə| júllu šulxələ| xzili nàkyləla.* ‘When he took off his clothes, I saw that it was a woman.’ (A 2:32)

The particle is often used, however, in a predicative nominal if its description is specified by a modifier, e.g.

- (41) *ví xa-náša lípa.| ví xa-náša macìxa.* ‘Be a learned man. Be a soft man.’ (A 3:11)
- (42) *výyyələ xa:jvànkəl| +màtya.* ‘He has become a mature young man.’ (A 3:16)

If the modifier precedes the noun the particle is less likely to be used, e.g.

- (43) *ví +spày náša.* ‘Be a good man’ (A 3:13)
- (44) *+rába čátun šòmma 'ótla.* ‘He has a very difficult name.’ (A 3:47)
- (45) *+rába basámta nùynəla.* ‘It is a very tasty fish.’ (A 34:9)
- (46) *'ána 'àtxa násənva.* ‘I was such a man.’ (A 2:25)

The particle is used with an unqualified predicate when it is individuated by being set up in contrastive opposition with some other item, e.g.

- (47) *'án xímə cùllə| cicé maxrupèna dévəl| kát dúlə 'axúnan tuyyílə xá +séda t̄-+axlàxlə| mára là 'axunváti,| là| 'á-ilə xá +bar-nàša.* ‘All the others are sharpening their teeth thinking that “our brother has brought a prey for us to eat.” He says “No my brothers, no. This is a human.”’ (A 37:12)

The particle is used in a predicate also to express a special case of the class denoted by the referent, e.g.

- (48) *'áha xá-yuma xa-<sup>+</sup>càtra t-ávə ká-díyyan.* ‘This man will be one day a (particular) problem for us.’ (A 37:19)

Occasionally an indefinite nominal with a specific referent lacks the *xa* particle. In many such cases in narratives the referent does not play an important role in the plot, but rather is incidental. In (49) and (50), for example, the ‘ladder’ and the ‘book’ respectively play no further role in the ensuing narrative:

- (49) *'á sáklə mən-səmmàlta.* ‘He went up by a ladder.’ (A 2:31)  
 (50) *bactávələ ju-ctàvələ kat-átnən fùr'un denánət ká ... málca.* ‘He writes in a book “You, Pharaoh, are in debt to the king.”’ (A 3:76)

In (51) the particle is omitted before the adverbial *yuma*, since, unlike the phrase *xa-yuma*, it does not set a durable temporal frame but denotes an ephemeral location:

- (51) *xàšla! yúma ju-xa-mdita, yúma ju-xa-cùča, ... +baxdàra.* ‘He went one day wandering in a town, one day in a street.’ (A 4:2)

The particle is omitted also from nominals that occur in a section of the text that has the status of a background comment rather than being part of the main narrative plot, e.g.

- (52) *'átlə šàmma! bas-šàmma +'úxča munšítun, 'o-<sup>+</sup>kaṭúla 'átlə šàmma.* ‘He has a name but I have forgotten the name, the executioner has a name.’ (A 3:33)

In (53) the particle is omitted in the case of a nominal that lacks individuation also due to the fact that it refers to a non-existent imaginary referent:

- (53) *+ávən čarčùrələ! tílə +tàla t-+axálli!* ‘He screams “A fox has come to eat me!”’ (A 37:5)

The particle *xa* is generally omitted from a nominal that serves to specify the descriptive content of the event rather to express a distinct argument involved in the event, even if it has a specific referent. This applies in particular to phrasal

type verbal constructions (§ 4.26.) in which a noun is combined with a light verb such as *'avəd* I ‘to do’ or *yavvəl* I ‘to give’, e.g.

- (54) *hàmla t-ávəd +'állux*.| ‘He will make an attack on you. (= He will attack you).’ (A 3:20)
- (55) *bəl-dìyyi<sup>l</sup> bəl-dìyyux* | *'aláha t-ávəd +dīvan*.| ‘God will hold a court (and judge) between me and you.’ (A 3:93)
- (56) *'ána +xàlt̥a vídən*.| ‘I have made an error (= I have erred).’ (A 3:48)
- (57) *'aláha +jùvvab yuvvál<sup>l</sup>a kátu*.| ‘God gave him a reply (= God replied to him).’ (A 3:5)
- (58) *'ána +byáyən mən-násux līpəl mən-jú +'átrət dìyyux* | *+árpa xamšá mənd-yánə káti* | *+jùvvab ód<sup>l</sup>* | *+jùvvab yavvili*.| ‘I want your learned men from your land, to respond to me, give me a response, regarding four or five things.’ (A 3:39)
- (59) *'ú-yuvvál<sup>l</sup>a +xàbra* | *ká-vàzzər*.| ‘He gave an order to the vizier. (= He ordered the vizier).’ (A 2:1)
- (60) *dástur yávvəl ká-vàzzər*.| ‘He gives a command to the vizier (= He commands the vizier).’ (A 2:13)

It also applies to other types of verbal phrases of this nature, e.g.

- (61) *+palačiyyəl +pála ptàxəva*.| ‘Fortune-tellers—they read (literally: opened) a fortune.’ (A 3:3)
- (62) *mammánnux b-momita*.| ‘I pledge you with an oath.’ (A 3:63)
- (63) *mátti +alámət +al-dà-beta*.| ‘Put a sign on this house. (= Mark this house).’ (A 2:8)

A noun with *xa* can take a genitive pronominal suffix, e.g.

- (64) *'ána báxtət dìyyux 'ax-xa-xàtila*.| ‘Your wife is like a sister of mine.’ (A 1:5)

In (65) the particle *xa* is separated from the noun by intervening material. The noun denotes a referent that enters the scene and is placed after the verb, as is often the case with presentative constructions (§ 12.5.2.2.):

- (65) *xá mánnu +várrə +ràma +ráma jvánka*.| ‘A very tall youth entered through it (the door).’ (A 42:2)

The phrase *xa-dana* expresses individuation with heavier morphological coding than the particle *xa* alone. It tends to be used to express a greater degree

of distinctness of the referent of the nominal. The phrase is generally a single stress group with the stress placed on the first element: *xá-dana*.

One context in which it is typically used is where the nominal marked by the phrase has a referent that has particular discourse prominence. In narratives it is marked on nominals that play an important role in the plot. Such nominals, of course, have specific referents, e.g.

- (66) *'átvə xá-dana málca.* | 'There was a king.' (A 3:1)  
 (67) *xəšlə| cəs| xá-dana +tàjər.* | 'He went to a merchant.' (A 1:2)

The phrase is also used with nominals without a specific referent that have particular prominence within a section of discourse. Examples (68) and (69), for example, from a narrative, occur at the beginning of sections of the text concerned principally with 'a cat' and the building of a 'house in the air' respectively:

- (68) *xá-dana +kátu dùkun.* | 'Catch a cat.' (A 3:78)  
 (69) *+bətlábələ móñ +Nuxadnásər| fur'un,| kát xa-dana-bèta| zarózla ju-+hàva.*  
 'Pharaoh asks Nebuchadnezzar to construct a house in the air.' (A 3:44)

In texts relating to habitual activities, speakers use the phrase *xa-dana* with items to which they wish to draw particular attention, e.g.

- (70) *'ón béta 'ávə +júral xá-dana stùyna-da xút ci-maxíva mən-+àrra| hál +tàmma| kát là talóxva.* | 'If the house was big, they used to place a pillar underneath (coming up) from the ground up to there, so that it would not collapse.' (B 2:19)  
 (71) *'ítə +berašvánə=da| kat-'ärxə 'atíval ju-dó bét tanùyra| mattívalun xá-dana miz| 'átxa mátti +al-pàtət tanùyra,| yan-là,| xá-dana +àdyal dár| nášə 'aklatè p-čambällívalun ju-do tanùyra,| cíllə šaxìna.* | 'Then in the evenings, when guests arrived, in that oven house they laid for them a table, they lay it thus on the top of the oven, or if not, they laid out a blanket and the people would dangle their legs in the oven, all (keeping) warm.' (B 14:2)

The phrase is used to give prominence to the unity of a referent, in contexts where it is set up in a contrastive opposition of some kind, e.g.

- (72) *bəxzáyələ mən-ràkkal 'ína xá-dana +šrá véla bəllàya| ju-xa-bèta.* | 'He sees from afar a single lantern burning in a house (contrasting with the absence of lanterns in the rest of the town).' (A 2:4)

- (73) *bərráxšələ +várəl +támə| jaššúkələ 'ína xá-dana báxtal mán təryəssər 'úrzə.*  
 'He goes and enters there. He sees a single woman with twelve men.'  
 (A 2:5)

In (74) the noun following *xa-dana* is preceded by a preposition *max* 'like':

- (74) *'áha| +m̥t̥lə mádrə +al-xá-dana max-bèta.* 'He came to something like a house.' (A 42:12)

A strategy to give additional prominence to referents introduced by the indefinite particle is to strengthen the glottalization after the vowel of *xa* (§1.14.) resulting in forms such as *xa'-dana* and *xa'a* as in (75), which relates a pivotal event in the narrative:

- (75) *+várələ| bəxzáyələ 'ína xá'-dana húri pàri| xá'a báxtal +raba šap̥órtə| tòvtəla.* 'He goes in and sees that a nymph, a very beautiful woman, is sitting there.' (A 39:10)

When the indefinite marker *xa* is combined with the following word in the same stress group, the stress is put either on the *xa* or on the word with which it is combined. The retraction of the stress to the indefinite marker is the norm in the phrase *xá-dana*, e.g. *xá-dana málca* 'a king' (A 3:1), and also in phrases with an expression of measurement, e.g. *xá-məskal* 'a measure' (A 7:3), expressions of time such as *xá-yuma* 'one day' (A 37:2), *xá-ja* 'once' (A 1:15), or words of low semantic content such as *məndi* 'thing' or *naša* 'person', e.g.

- (76) *'u-+rába nášə +k̥rìlə kát xá-məndi òdi.* 'He summoned many people to do something.' (A 3:3)  
 (77) *xá-naša lítən.* 'There is nobody (here).' (A 6:7)

The stress is put on the particle also when the speaker wishes to give prominence to the unity of the item by using the particle as a cardinal numeral, e.g.

- (78) *túrvəntan dámjax fú-xá-+otax 'ad-lélə.* 'Both of us will sleep in one room tonight.' (A 1:10)

In (79) the unity of the item is given particular prominence by giving the particle the nuclear stress of the intonation group:

- (79) *šítā xà-dana xabúša ci-ṭánya.* ‘It used to bear one single apple a year.’  
(A 39:1)

In such cases the cardinal numeral may be combined with the indefinite marker *xa* (80) or a demonstrative pronoun (81), e.g.

- (80) *xa-xá-jarja bərrəxšələ́ járjət d-trè, járjət +ṭlā́ járjət +ṭar̥pa.* ‘He (ploughs and) goes a single furrow, the second furrow, the third furrow, the fourth furrow.’ (A 5:6)
- (81) *škúl ḡa-xá +dínar ḡa-diyyux.* ‘Take this one dinar for yourself.’ (A 14:13)

The noun after the indefinite particle may be pronominalized by the phrase *xá-mənne* ‘one of them’. The 3pl. suffix in this phrase may refer to a group of referents that have been mentioned in the preceding context, in which case the phrase picks out one referent from a known salient group, e.g.

- (82) *þt-avíloxun tré bnùnə. šəmmané mattítuná xá-mənne +Àlmas xá-mənne +Bàhar.* ‘You will have two sons. Name one of them +Almas and one of them +Bahar.’ (A 42:3)

The 3pl. suffix may also be used with impersonal reference without being bound to any previously mentioned referents, in which case the phrase refers to a specific referent that is not bound to what precedes. It is generally used to refer to unnamed humans and is idiomatically translated ‘somebody’, e.g.

- (83) *jašùkələ́ xá-mənne har-kàlu bitáyalə.* ‘He sees that somebody is making a sound.’ (A 43:18)

When the phrase *xa-mənne* is used in negative clauses with the negative polarity item *həč* (§ 9.7.12.), the 3pl. suffix must be bound to the preceding context, e.g.

- (84) *məššəlmánə=zə ... həč-xa mənné látvalun carmàna.* ‘As for the Muslims ... none of them had vineyards.’ (B 2:6)

When there is no such binding to the previous context, an alternative negative polarity phrase must be used, such as *həč naša*:

- (85) *lá xzíli həč naša.* ‘I did not see anybody.’

## 9.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

### 9.2.1 *Syntactic Distribution*

The demonstrative pronouns have a nominative and an oblique form (§ 2.2.), e.g.

#### Nominative      Oblique

<i>'aha</i>	'this'	<i>daha</i>	'of this'
<i>+’avva</i>	'that'	<i>+davva</i>	'of that'
<i>+’av</i>	'that'	<i>+dav</i>	'of that'

They may function attributively by qualifying a nominal, in which case they are placed before the nominal, e.g.

#### Nominative      Oblique

<i>'aha naša</i>	'this man'	<i>daha naša</i>	'of this man'
<i>+’avva naša</i>	'that man'	<i>+davva naša</i>	'of that man'
<i>o-naša</i>	'that man'	<i>do-naša</i>	'of that man'

They may also be used independently, in which case they can substitute for nominals in most syntactic positions. The nominative forms are used in the positions of subject, extraposition, direct object and predicate. The oblique forms are used when the pronoun is a complement of a noun or of a preposition, e.g.

#### (i) Subject and extraposition

- (1) *’áha bitàyəla! ɬa-Nàtan, brūn-xàtu.* 'He comes to Natan, the son of his sister.' (A 3:7)
- (2) *+’ávva sìla bədráyəla.* 'He sprinkles sand.' (A 3:74)
- (3) *+’áv=da +rábə lìpəva.* 'He also was very learned.' (A 3:1)
- (4) *+’avun p̄t-ávə ɬa-sebúytux.* 'He will be for your old age.' (A 3:6)
- (5) *kát ’áha yàla ’avílə!* 'so that he would have a child' (A 3:3)

#### (ii) Predicate

- (6) *+júvvab +’ávvəva.* 'The (correct) answer was that.' (A 3:83)
- (7) *hákyat ’áhəla.* 'The story is this.' (A 41:20)
- (8) *Pdarāmàd<sup>P</sup>l ’áyyəla ’yáno.* '“Income” is that.' (A 3:41)

## (iii) Direct object

- (9) *+ávun +ktul-làbəllə.* ‘Kill him and take him away.’ (A 3:35)
- (10) *’áha móttuyul +tāma.* ‘He places him there.’ (A 3:16)
- (11) *kémən ’ana-+jarbənnə ’áha.* ‘I shall test him.’ (A 14:2)
- (12) *bas-jàrəc ’ána maxənna ’áha.* ‘So I must beat it.’ (A 3:81)
- (13) *’ánnəju-màšxa kultéñ.* ‘I have fried these in oil.’ (A 36:8)
- (14) *’á svíkuna bëta.* ‘They have left him at home.’ (A 37:13)
- (15) *’ána bərrášxən ’áyən cùtan ’odónna.* ‘I am going to plough it.’ (A 36:11)

## (iv) Complement of a noun

- (16) *bábət dáha* ‘the father of this man’ (A 2:14).
- (17) *mən-+táma +ruppílə jànu* *ju-císət +dàvva.* ‘From there he threw himself onto the stomach of that one.’ (A 7:6)
- (18) *bálcət +kanúnət dánnə ’àtxələ.* ‘Perhaps their custom is thus.’ (A 1:16)

## (v) Complement of a preposition

- (19) *+bar-dáha bərráxələ cəs-màlca.* ‘After this he goes to the king.’ (A 3:54)
- (20) *muttílə +tapàvut* *bəl-da-brùna* *bəl-+dàvva.* ‘He made a difference between this son and him.’ (A 3:19)
- (21) *+bár-t +xábra lá-vilə mən-dánnəl* ‘after no word was forthcoming from them’ (A 3:4)
- (22) *ka-dannə-mxàyələ.* ‘He beats them.’ (A 3:72)

**9.2.2 Referring to Referents in the Speech Situation**

When examining the function of the demonstrative pronouns a distinction should be made between three broad uses (i) to refer to entities that are perceptible in the extra-linguistic speech situation, (ii) to draw attention to a referent that is absent from the speech situation but is recoverable in the hearer’s knowledge of the world and (iii) to refer to referents within the discourse. As indicated in § 2.2., when used to refer to extra-linguistic entities the pronoun system consists of four series:

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| ‘near deixis’   | <i>’aha ctava</i> ‘this book (near to me)’                                      |
| ‘medium deixis’ | <i>+’ava ctava</i> ‘that book (remote from me and you in the speech situation)’ |
| ‘far deixis’    | <i>+’avvó ctava</i> ‘that book (remote from me and you in the far distance)’    |

'default'                    *'o-ctáva* 'that book (identifiable by you)'

The default demonstrative may be used with a nominal denoting a referent that is bound to a deictic element elsewhere in the noun phrase, e.g. *'o-ctava p̄-idux* 'that book in your hand', *'o-ctava p̄-idi* 'this book in my hand', where the 2nd and 1st person pronominal suffixes in the qualifying prepositional phrase supply the deixis that allows the hearer to identify the referent. It is also used without being bound grammatically to such deictic elements when the referent is in contact with the addressee or speaker in the speech situation and the identity of the referent is clear, e.g.

- (1) *hálli 'o-čàngjal.*! 'Give me that fork' (said when the addressee is holding the fork in his/her hand).

These various functions of the demonstratives correspond to those of the demonstrative adverbs *laxxa* (near deixis), *+tamma* (medium deixis), *+tammó* (far deixis), *+tama* (default).

Examples from the text corpus of demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adverbs used to refer to items in the speech situation:

- (2) *‘áyya +karaváttat dìyyux=ila!* *‘á-da +karaváttat dìyyila.*! 'That is your bed and this is my bed.' (A 4:10)
- (3) *mən-dá +‘áyna c-àtax!* *mìyya ci-šákłax!* *‘a-mzída ci-màlyax!* *ka-xá šábtat diyyan.*! 'We come and take water from this spring. We fill this waterskin for us for one week.' (A 37:11)
- (4) *mànile bəxxá ju-+davvó béta?*! 'Who is living in that house over there?' (A 1:27)
- (5) *‘ína +avvó +túyra ‘áttən +tammòha.*! 'But there is that mountain over there.' (A 39:32)
- (6) *xúš kèsə mélan!* *mán dáyya mèša,* *véla mèša kùrba.*! 'Go and bring logs from that forest—the forest is over there nearby.' (A 37:14)
- (7) *cùl-məndit +báyyət!* *yavvànnux,* *‘o-jùlli,* *cùl-məndit +bàyyət!* *dàvi!* 'I shall give you everything you want—these clothes of mine (which I am wearing), everything you want, my gold ...' (A 1:8)
- (8) *ku-+vúrju-dó bùška.*! 'Come on, get into this barrel (which I am holding).' (A 6:9)
- (9) *xá-yuma +malla +Nasrádən výáyələ tíva +al-kèsə.*! *xá mən-nášə +vàrəva,* *mórrə +màlla!* *‘átən ‘o-késa pràmut,* *bət-nàplət.*! 'One day mullah Nasradin is sitting on a piece of wood. A person was entering and said "Mullah, you are cutting that wood (you are sitting on), you will fall." (A 32:1)

- (10) *'ína xá-dana dèv, mən-dánnə dèvə, ríšu muttúlə +al-bərco, ... màrələ ... ána tíyyən jān-+dàvun šaķlónna, ána tíyyən +'àvun +kaṭlánna.* ‘There is a monster, one of those monsters, whose head was on her knee ... He (the hero) says “I have come to take the head of that one (on your knee), I have come to kill that one.” (A 39:10–11)
- (11) *cèna 'an-núynə?* ‘Where are those fish (i.e. the fish that I gave you in your hand but are now not present).’ (A 36:14)
- (12) *xúš túy +tàmma!* ‘Go and sit over there!’ (A 1:31)

Deictic demonstratives may be used in presentative constructions such as (13) and (14) without a verb:

- (13) *áha ka-diyyux.* ‘This is for you.’ (A 39:15)
- (14) *ánnə zìtyzux.* ‘Here is your money.’ (A 7:2)

In such cases they may be combined with further presentative expressions, e.g.

- (15) *+hána á mána +zād.* ‘Here is a plate of food (literally: Here is this plate of food).’ (A 45:12)

If a speaker perceives the existence of an entity that is out of view by some other form of sensory perception, such as hearing, then a deictic demonstrative is used to draw the hearer’s attention to the sound. If there is a knock at the door, for example, one may say:

- (16) *máy-ilə +'àvva?* ‘Who is that (at the door)?’
- (17) *+'àvva Yòsəp-ilə.* ‘That is Yosip’.
- (18) *áyya báxtila.* ‘That is my wife.’

If the referent was present in the speech situation but is no longer so at the time of speech, a speaker can refer to this referent with a deictic pronoun, drawing attention, as it were, to the referent in the memory of the addressee. When, for example, a group of people are sitting at a table and one person stands up and leaves the room, another person can say:

- (19) *+'àvva +xòriva.* ‘That man (who you just saw) was my friend.’

If somebody is speaking on the phone and then puts the phone down, he may say:

- (20) *'áha +xòriva.* ‘That was my friend.’

In the latter case the near deixis is preferred, presumably because the referent is perceived as closer due to the closeness of the phone.

If the entity being referred to is in the environment but is not perceptible and is only known by intra-linguistic reference within the discourse, the default anaphoric demonstrative is used. If, for example, the interlocutors come to a wall and the speaker says that on the other side of the wall there is a house, but it is not perceptible at the moment, then the default demonstrative would be used to refer to it with an anaphoric function (§9.2.4), e.g.

- (21) *'o-béta bétət diyilə.* ‘That house is my house.’

In (22) the pronoun *'annə* is near deixis pointing to the fish in the speech situation, whereas the default pronoun *'an* is anaphoric, referring to the previous mention of the referent:

- (22) *ptàna vadónva| tre-nùyna +plátlun ju-úpra.* *'annəna 'an-núyna.* ‘I was ploughing and two fish came out of the soil. These are the fish.’ (A 5:7)

In (23) the speaker uses the far deixis pronoun *'anni* to express not spatial distance but rather emotional distance, implying that the conditions set by the judge are far beyond his ability to meet. In the previous clause the speaker uses the far deixis copula with a similar emotion-driven function of expressing despair and lack of control:

- (23) *'ína véna +báyyi šaklilə m-ídan| 'u-dayyána 'anni šártə muttéł.* ‘but they want to take it from us and the judge has made those conditions.’ (A 38:10)

Another deictic use of a demonstrative within a narrative is exemplified by (24), in which a near deixis pronoun draws attention to a newly introduced referent. This referent plays a major role in the following context:

- (24) *+várrəjavày| 'ína 'áha náša +rába 'átxa +pšima.* ‘He went inside (and saw) a certain (literally: this) man who was very sad.’ (A 10:2)

### 9.2.3 *Recognitional Demonstratives*

Occasionally demonstrative pronouns are found in the text corpus with newly introduced referents. The majority of examples of this in the text corpus have the near/middle deixis plural pronoun *'annə*:

- (1) *jibátu məlyáva mən-dánnə pənsíla +xodcárə davanáya.* ‘His pockets were full of golden automatic pencils.’ (A 41:6)
- (2) *‘ánnə +kaṭlánət ḁənyàna lè-’atīva +rába.* ‘The slaughterers of cattle did not come much.’ (B 10:4)
- (3) *‘é yámma ’ufa škálla ‘ánnə +xəṭṭə.* ‘The stepmother took grains of wheat.’ (A 51:3)
- (4) *xà-yuma +krílə +rába mən-dánnə nášə lípəl p̥rammāl-dārəP, p̥jādujārə.* ‘One day he summoned many of those learned men, such as geomancers, magicians.’ (A 3:3)
- (5) *Mácca +bəddayət mù-ilə?!* *‘ánnə məššəlmána c-ázi Màcca! Madīna.* ‘Do you know what Mecca is? Muslims go to Mecca and Medina.’
- (6) *ju-dánnə +šulánət prəzla +rába lénə víyyə.* ‘There were not many in jobs involving iron.’ (B 1:32)
- (7) *‘á dəžmánnu bitáyələ bəškálələ mən-dánnə cípət ’ərxə.* ‘His enemy comes and takes one of those millstones.’ (A 39:12)
- (8) *‘áyən ’íva ‘áxči xá dúctət kàt ka-xácma +sa’áttəl é +’atnàbəl yán p̥t-atyáva ‘é EbùsE! yán p̥t-atyáva pešáva +al-+bár xácma +sa’áttə t-azàva.* ‘This was a place where for a few hours a car or a bus would come, it would come and remain until after a few hours it would leave.’ (B 1:34)

Here these pronouns appear to be ‘recognitional demonstratives’, which signal that the referent is familiar to the interlocutors due to their knowledge of the world (Himmelmann 1996; Diessel 1999, chapter 5).

#### 9.2.4 *Anaphoric Demonstratives*

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. The near deixis, medium deixis and default demonstratives are used with this anaphoric function. The far deixis form is only very sporadically used anaphorically. When the demonstratives are used attributively before a nominal, the most natural translation of them in many cases is with the English definite article. When used independently, they are generally most idiomatically translated with English 3rd person pronouns.

##### 9.2.4.1 Anaphoric Near Deixis

The near deixis forms are used with referents to which the speaker wishes to give a particular prominence in the discourse. In narratives referents referred to in this way are typically central characters or items that are of central importance in a particular section of the discourse, e.g.

- (1) *'áha bitàyələ| ka-Nàtan| brūn-xàtu,| vádu brūn-jànu.| ... 'a-yála jarvìsəl.|* ‘He (Axiqar) goes to Natan, the son of his sister, and makes him his son. ... The boy grows up.’ (A 3:7–8. Axiqar and Natan are the central characters of the narrative)
- (2) *'áha máttuyul +tàma.| +Axìkar| bərróxšəl bëta.|* ‘He appoints him (Natan) there. Axiqar goes home.’ (A 3:16. Natan is a prominent character)
- (3) *'á märələ| là!|* ‘He says “No!”’ (A 37:15. In this and the next example the demonstrative refers to the main character of the narrative)
- (4) *'á švíkuna bëta.|* ‘They have left him in the house.’ (A 37:13)
- (5) *xa-ctàva ctávlə| mən-púmmat +Axìkar| ... 'a-ctàva| trè-samələ.|* ‘He wrote a letter on behalf of Axiqar ... The letter is in two parts.’ (A 3:19–21. The letter plays a pivotal role in the plot)
- (6) *+kátu bədvàkona.| ka-dáha +kátu +'ùxča mxáyələ.|* ‘They take the cat. He beats the cat hard.’ (A 3:79. The cat is a prominent referent in this particular section of the text)

It is occasionally used before the proper name of one of the central characters in a narrative. In some such cases it appears to have a subjective evaluative connotation, expressing emotional engagement, often negative, with the referent, e.g.

- (7) *škúlla 'a-Nàtan| p-idux,| cíllət +báyyət ýdət b-ríšu vùd.|* ‘Take this (confounded) Natan in your hands and do to him whatever you want.’ (A 3:88)

In the vast majority of cases, proper names are not combined with an anaphoric demonstrative. This includes titles such as *malca* ‘king’ or *+malla* ‘mullah’, which generally behave like proper names in this respect in narratives, e.g.

- (8) *málca +naràhat vâyələ.|* ‘The king becomes uncomfortable.’ (A 3:26)
- (9) *+malla míttvəva +jána| +yakúyra +'al-xmàrta.|* ‘The mullah had put a heavy load on the jenny.’ (A 32:3)

The near deixis forms are sometimes used with referents that have not been explicitly mentioned in the preceding discourse, but are only associated with the context. In (10), for example, the phrase *'á +jürət cačála* ‘this elder of the bald men’ refers to a protagonist who has not been mentioned earlier, though the referent is inferable from the mention of the gang of men previously. In (11) the ‘shoe’ is associated with the previously mentioned protagonist, who can be assumed to have had shoes. In (12) the pronoun *'aha* is used to refer to a game that has not been mentioned before, but which belongs to the set of games that has been invoked in the preceding discourse:

- (10) *'ína 'á +jùrət cačálə| ... 'íva| bùš| +'ùllul mòn| dan-xìna.| xàšlə| càs| xá-dana +tàjər.* | 'Now, the elder of the bald men ... he was higher (in rank) than the others. He went to a merchant.' (A 1:2)
- (11) *+úxča t-íva malyúzə malyúzə,| 'á +saválto šlèxla,| pólla +al-+pallacànə.* | 'She was in such a great hurry, that her shoe came off and fell on the stairs.' (A 51:8)
- (12) *'áha 'átvə 'úpju-márət šónnə nášə ci-+talivalà.* | 'There was this (game) that also old people played.' (B 9:12)

This applies also to constructions such as those in (13)–(15), in which the items with the near deixis demonstrative are presented in contrastive opposition to another item, or other items, in the same set, i.e. one is associated with another due to this set-relationship. In (13)–(14) these other items are explicitly expressed with the default demonstrative.

- (13) *ci-maxíva +àllu,| c-avíva +bərxàṭə| m-dà-rišə| +'al-dò-rišə,| m-dà-rišə| +'al-dò-rišə,* | 'They used to strike it (the horse) while they ran from this side to that side.' (A 1:1)
- (14) *xàšlə +al-dà duccána| +'al-dè duccána,| +'al-dè duccána.* | 'He went to this shop, to that shop, to that shop.' (A 1:15)
- (15) *'áha bəkyàmələ| tré dánə +bəsyàrəl xá-mənne b-dà tálpu,| xá-mənne b-+dàvva tálpu.* | 'He gets up and ties two of them, one of them on this eyelash of his, one of them on that eyelash of his.' (A 39:13)

In (16)–(18) the other item is inferable from the previous discourse, which refers to a different side and a different time respectively. Note that the near deixis form, not the default deixis form, is used to express the item of the set that is in contrast to what precedes:

- (16) *+jammúyol kòšun. | 'a-yba-xína-dafur'un bitáyələ.* | 'He musters an army. On the other side Pharaoh approaches.' (A 3:25)
- (17) *bərréšxəla b-jàmɪl| +'óra +al-dà jíbət +'átra.* | 'She goes in a boat to cross to the other side of the land.' (A 34:8)
- (18) *'á-sapar kátu mərrəl* | 'This time (unlike last time) he said to him ...' (A 3:89)

The near deixis pronoun is sometimes used to refer to the propositional content of the immediately preceding discourse when this is of importance in the discourse. In such cases it is often combined with the word *məndi* 'thing', e.g.

- (19) *Nàtan á-màndi vádulə* 'Natan does this.' (A 3:20)
- (20) *+byáyələ dénum šakəllə mónnux.* *+šámyutun áha mòndi?* 'He wants to collect your debt from you. Have you heard this?' (A 3:76)

In narratives speakers express immediacy by a variety of other strategies of near deixis. Often present progressive verbs are used to narrate past sequential events (§ 10.11.1.3.). The lexical verb *'atə* i 'to come', which has an inherent speaker deixis, is sometimes used by the narrator to present him/herself as being spatially close to the events where it would be more idiomatic to use 'to go' in English. In the case of (21), for example, the speaker himself was never in Leningrad. The verb, furthermore, is in the progressive form:

- (21) *savúni mən-nanunti bitáyəna fú Leningràd,* *paytáxtət +támə +Rùsyə.* 'My grandfather goes (literally: comes) with my grandmother to Leningrad, the capital of that place (literally: there) Russia.' (A 41:10)

#### 9.2.4.2 Anaphoric Middle Deixis

The middle deixis demonstratives are used relatively infrequently with an anaphoric function. The function of the examples that are attested in the text corpus can be classified broadly into the following groups.

##### (i) Contrastive or parallel events

In a number of cases the middle deixis form is used when one referent or the actions of one referent are set up in a contrastive opposition with another referent, e.g.

- (1) *Nátan +rába +naràhat vílə kát +Axíkar muttílə +tapàvut,* *muttílə +tapàvut bəl-da-brùna bəl-+dàvva.* 'Natan became very discontent that Axiqar made a distinction, made a distinction between this son and himself.' (A 3:18)

Sometimes the action of the referent denoted by the middle deixis form is presented as running in parallel with the action of another referent rather than being in contrastive polar opposition, e.g.

- (2) *šamašútya mxáyəla +támə +ávva sìla bədráyəla.* 'The sunray strikes there. He (in parallel) sprinkles sand.' (A 3:73–74)
- (3) *ka-báxtu +xábra yàvələ kat-’áyya málpani ... tré +zayət nàšrə, bajrálun, jarvássálun, malpálun.* 'He (Axiqar) sends word to his wife asking her to teach two young eagles, to nurture them, raise them and teach them.'

(A 3:57. Axiqar is dividing the labour of the task, requesting that his wife takes on some of the work in parallel with himself)

In (4), which is from expository discourse, the middle deixis form *+ávva* is used to express a referent that is set up in parallel with a preceding referent:

- (4) *kák b-yavviva| át b-šatàtvala.| ka-+dávva b-yavviva.* ‘They would give to you and you would drink it. (Then) they would give it to him.’ (B 5:8)

### (ii) Characters with intermediate importance

In some narratives the pronoun is used with characters who play a visible role in the plot but this is of intermediate importance, the near deixis form being reserved for the main protagonist(s). This applies to the wife of the merchant in text A 1, e.g.

- (5) *'áyya báxta| bərróxšəla +hàmmam.* ‘The woman goes to the bathroom.’  
(A 1:6)  
(6) *'u-'áyya báxta| +rába noniyəla.* ‘The woman pleads.’ (A 1:8)

In (7) the pronoun is used together with a middle deixis adverbial:

- (7) *'áyya báxta| +tamma xabùləla.* ‘The woman there becomes cold.’ (A 1:10)

In (8) the near deixis pronoun is used to refer to the main protagonist, mullah Nasradin, and the middle deixis pronoun for the character of next importance:

- (8) *'á bəškəlèlə| 'ánnə zúyzə +ṭašuyèlə| ju-sandùyka.| +ávva náša mən-jàrə| +bəslàyələ| +bərxáṭəl cəs-+màlla.* ‘This one (the mullah) takes the coins and hides them in a box. That man comes down from the roof and runs to the mullah.’ (A 14:6)

### (iii) Shift to background

In some cases a narrator uses the near deixis pronouns for protagonists in the main foreground events of the narrative, but shifts to the use of the middle deixis pronouns with these referents in background comments, e.g.

- (9) *'áha rába +tyántət mənta vádələ| +ávva yála +bəddàyələ 'ína 'áyya bráta kátu +byàyələ| 'á +rába bərróxša bitàyələ +šúlə.* ‘He expresses his gratitude a lot. The lad knows that the girl loves him. He comes and goes a lot, and so forth.’ (A 34:5)

- (10) *+báram léva +byáya +ávva náša parámvala áyya tavàrta.* ‘But that man did not want to slaughter that cow.’ (A 51:1)

#### (iv) Reference to propositional content

The middle deixis pronouns are used to refer to the propositional content of what precedes in comments tagged on to the end of a section of discourse, e.g.

- (11) *bás áyya! maxzúyala kàt! ’àtva +aturáya b-+dánat mšíxa! ju-+íran! ju-’Urmi.* ‘But that shows that there were Assyrians at the time of Christ in Iran, in Urmi.’ (B 1:3)
- (12) *’áyya=da +’Axíkar=ila.* ‘That (the preceding discourse) is (the story of) Axíqar.’ (A 3:94)
- (13) *kássat ’áyyala.* ‘The story is this (the following).’ (A 4:6)
- (14) *Pdarāmàd<sup>PL</sup> ’áyyala +yána.* ‘(The word) “income” is that (which has just been described).’ (A 3:41)
- (15) *+jùvvab yuvvállə kàtu.* *+jùvvab +’ávvəva.* ‘He gave him an answer (described in what precedes). The (right) answer was that (which has just been described).’ (A 3:83)
- (16) *b-xá +čap̄pálta ’ána ... ’arpí dánə dévə +másən +kaṭlənnun.* *b-xá mxétət dá +čap̄pálta’ áyya výyəla ctívə +tāma.* ‘With one staff I can kill forty monsters, with one blow of this staff.’ He had written that there.’ (A 37:8)

#### 9.2.4.3 Anaphoric Far Deixis

A few sporadic cases of far deixis pronouns being used anaphorically have been identified in the text corpus. These are used in clauses that present elaborative background material, which is one of the functions of anaphoric middle deixis pronouns:

- (1) *+’ávvó náša=da +rába ’átxa +yattùvva náša, +p̄armiyána.* ‘That man was a very knowledgeable man and astute.’ (A 44:7)

#### 9.2.4.4 Anaphoric Use of *’annə*

The plural demonstrative *’annə* is used with both near and medium deixis when pointing to items in a speech situation. When used anaphorically in discourse, therefore, it would be expected to have functions equivalent to both the near and far deixis singular forms described above.

In narratives in the text corpus it is used to refer to groups of referents that are central characters in the plot, which is a function of the near deixis anaphoric pronouns, e.g.

- (1) *'ánnə bəxzáyəna cúllə mzida šətyálə.* ‘They see that he has drunk the whole waterskin.’ (A 37:16. The pronoun here and in the next example is referring to the ‘monsters’, which are central characters in the narrative)
- (2) *'ánnə míyya +maxduréna +'ällu! 'u-bərràkəna.* ‘They pour the water over him and run away.’ (A 37:20)

In (3) the pronoun is used together with the near deixis adverb *laxxa* ‘here’ to refer to the protagonists:

- (3) *'ánnə laxxa cúllə jané +hùdrona.* ‘These here have all prepared themselves.’ (A 1:27)

The pronoun is used to refer to groups of referents participating in parallel events, which is a function of middle deixis anaphoric pronouns, e.g.

- (4) *mən-+támə +šarúyəna bədra-kálə 'ánnə yāl-sùrə! kat-hállun cípə, hállun míyya, hállun +tìna. +'Axíkar=da bəškálələ mən-+sarbázul ka-dánnə-mxà-yələ. mára ka-mù-itun cólyə? hállun +tìna! hállun míyya hállun cípə!* ‘From there the children begin to shout “Give stones, give water, give clay.” Axiqar also takes (things) from his soldiers and beats them. He says “Why have you stopped? Give clay, give water, give stones.”’ (A 3:72. These events are presented as taking place simultaneously in parallel)

In (5) the situation of the neighbour’s not seeing the woman is parallel to the situation of the woman. The neighbours have not been explicitly mentioned but their existence can be inferred. This, therefore, is an example of associative anaphora, which is more common with default demonstrative pronouns (§ 9.2.4.5.):

- (5) *'á bəxtə! pyásəla 'àtxa. láxma-da ləla yávo. 'ánnə švávə lèna bəxzáyo.* ‘The woman becomes (thin) like this. She is not even giving her food. The neighbours do not see her.’ (A 44:4)

The pronoun *'annə* is used to refer to preceding propositional content in a comment tagged onto the end of a section of discourse, which is also a function of middle deixis pronouns, e.g.

- (6) *+rába mən-dánnə məndyáñə malùpulə.* ‘Many of such things he teaches him.’ (A 3:10)

#### 9.2.4.5 Default Demonstrative Pronouns

When the default demonstratives are used anaphorically in narrative discourse they often refer to referents that do not play a major active role in the plot, e.g.

- (1) *bəškàlulə| o-náša +bəktàlulə| labúlulə ka-màlca| kat-+Axíkar ána +ktòlli.*  
'He takes the man and kills him. He takes him to the king (and says) "I have killed Axiqar." (A 3:36. This is an unnamed prisoner who plays only an ancillary role in the plot)
- (2) *+o-tájər ka-dá cačála +ràba ci-+bayyíva.* 'The merchant used to like this bald man very much.' (A 1:2. The bald man is the protagonist whereas the merchant is a minor character who is absent during most of the narrative)

In many cases the referents that do not play a major role are inanimate, e.g.

- (3) *bəškálolə scàntu| u-e-+čap̄pàltu, bərràxšələ.* 'He takes his knife and his club and goes (on his way).' (A 37:6)
- (4) *xá-yuma e-mzída bəškálolə bərróxšələ +al-+áyna.* 'One day he takes the waterskin and goes to the spring.' (A 37:15)
- (5) *míyát +áyna bəxzáyələ xá +áyna. ital bəstáyələ xáčča mən-de-+áyna.* 'He sees spring water, a spring. So he drinks a little from that spring.' (A 37:6)
- (6) *mán-dò cípa=zə prákələ.* 'He is saved from that rock also.' (A 37:22)

The status of the clause or phrase in which the demonstrative occurs is also a conditioning factor. On some occasions, the default demonstrative is used with referents that play a central role in the text, but the clause or phrase in which it occurs is a background comment that does not advance the narrative.

- (7) *Nàtan á-məndi vádulə, o-brùnu.* 'Natan does this thing—that son of his (added for clarification).' (A 3:20)
- (8) *mádrə mən-šmàyya pállun +tlá xabùyšə. xá ka-dó cačalùna xá ka-bàba yuvvállə, xá ka-yàmma yuvvállə.* 'Again three apples fell from heaven. He (the story-teller) gave one to that bald man, one to the father, he gave another one to the mother.' (A 37:22. The bald man is the central character of the narrative, but this passage is not part of the narrative plot but rather a formulaic closure to the story)

In (9) the same character is referred to by a default pronoun. Here it occurs in a section of discourse that is presented as background information, expressed

with *ptixələ* verb forms, rather than the mainline narrative, which is expressed by *bəptaxələ* verb forms:

- (9) +*mardúxəna miyya*! +*házər vadəna*,! 'e-+*dán t-ilə* +*təlyə*. +*ávun jánu* +*tùš-yolə*! *šópu švíkələ* ... *xá kësa*.! 'They boil water, they prepare it when he is asleep. He has hidden himself and has left a piece of wood in his place.' (A 37:20)

The narrator may change the mode of reference to a central character to reflect a change of role. In (10), for example, the central character of the story, the bald man, is referred to by the default demonstrative +*avun*, whereas elsewhere he is normally referred to by near deixis pronouns. This is likely to be due to the fact that in the passage in (10), unlike in most of the rest of the narrative, he is not in control of events, but rather it is his mother who is in control and is the dominant character:

- (10) *ju-dó* +*xàraya*! *yámma vítəla* +*tusító fáno*! +*bár* +*tàrra*,! +*tárra* +*bəxlásula*.! +*ávun* *čarčùrlə*! *tíla* +*tala t-axólli*! *díva pít-axólli*.! *mára là*! *lé šókan* +*ðræt*.! 'By the last (cake), the mother had hidden herself behind the door and she shuts the door. He screams "A fox has come to eat me! A wolf will eat me!" She says "No!, I will not allow you to enter." (A 37:5)

The referent of a noun that is marked as identifiable with a default demonstrative has generally been explicitly mentioned in the preceding discourse. In some cases, however, there is no explicit earlier mention of the referent but rather it is only associated in some way with what precedes. This associative anaphora may be of various types. In (11) the item with a demonstrative is in a set relationship with a previously mentioned noun, in that it is one item of the set of the 'three sons':

- (11) *áha málca* *átvalə* +*tlá bnùna*.! *šámmat do-bránu* *súra* *íva* +*Ášur*.! 'This king had three sons. The name of the young son was Ashur.' (A 39:1)

In (12) the 'executioner' has not been mentioned previously, but the issuing of the order for execution has been narrated earlier, with which an 'executioner' is clearly associated and can be inferred to be on the scene. The executioner is not a leading character in the plot. Likewise in (13) the 'neighbours', who are incidental characters, can be inferred to exist although not explicitly mentioned earlier. In (14) the existence of the smoke can be inferred from the mention of the fire in the preceding context. Likewise in (15) the existence of husks can be inferred from the mention of the grain:

- (12) *+o-kaṭùla-dal xìna| vâyələ bəštāya| ... mārələ kàtu| +Axíkar ka-+dàv mārələ, mārələ àna| fná lòtli. là +kṭúlli.* ‘(As) the executioner is drinking, ... he says to him, Axiqar says to him, he says “I am not guilty. Do not kill me.”’ (A 3:33)
- (13) *+xárta ‘én švàvə mórrəl céla ेçàččə?* ‘Then the neighbours said “Where is the girl?”’ (A 51:9)
- (14) *+aràlləg ‘átvale nýyrət +aràlləg ci-+karívalə. +úllul ‘átvə xá +bəzza| švíkəva càva. cáva švíkəva jú lámpa +úllul. yánət o-tánnə +palàtva.* ‘In the middle they had what they called a central fire. Above there was a hole, a window light was left (open). A window light was left in the ceiling above so that the smoke could escape.’ (B 17:54)
- (15) *þórda nàya| +bətrápuna| o-kálpu +palùtuna.* ‘They pound the raw grain and they take off its husk.’ (B 15:8)

We should include here the regular use of the demonstrative with definite nouns that have the non-attributive modifier *xina* ‘other’. In many cases the noun in question has not been explicitly mentioned. Rather it is associated with the previous context in a set relationship, in that it is presented as an item in a set that has been invoked or implied in what precedes, e.g.

- (16) *+tárra bəptàxulə| ... +tárra +bəčyàmula. báxta bərráxšəla m-do-+tárra xina.* ‘He opens the door ... He closes the door ... The woman goes out through the other door.’ (A 7:8)

This construction is often used with adverbial expressions that denote incremental temporal progression and are most idiomatically translated by English ‘next’, e.g.

- (17) *‘ó-yuma xína mòdra ‘ó-məndi vílə.* ‘The next day the same thing happened.’ (A 2:27. The previous ‘day’ has not been explicitly mentioned, but is implied in the previous narrative)
- (18) *‘é-šabta xítə| +málla +Nasrádən bərráxšəl mòdra.* ‘The next week mullah Nasradin goes again.’ (A 8:3. The previous ‘week’ has not been explicitly mentioned)

Default demonstratives are used anaphorically in other temporal adverbial constructions, e.g.

- (19) *+Nuxadnásər| ju-de-+dana| bəxyələ.* ‘At that (point in) time (= then), Nebuchadnezzar weeps.’ (A 3:45)

- (20) *'é-+dana hamzúmələ bázət márət jànu-zəl 'àt ... Nînve,| +Nuxadnásər.|* 'At that (point in) time (= then), he speaks about his master, of Nineveh, Nebuchadnezzar' (A 3:64)

Default demonstratives are used in direct speech to refer anaphorically to referents that are absent from the speech situation, e.g.

- (21) *brúnət xàtux,| Nàtan,| šámmu Nàtan-iva,| vúdla ka-jánux brùna,| máləpla,| xàmilə,| ka-jánux vúdla brùna,| +'àvun p̄t-ávə ka-sebíytux| 'e-+dān-sàvlux,| t-ávə brùna kátux,|* 'Make the son of your sister—Natan, his name was Natan—your own son. Teach him. Take care of him. Make him your own son. He will be for your old age when you have become old, he will be a son for you.' (A 3:6)
- (22) *+ávun +k̄tul-làbəlla,|* 'Kill him and take him away.' (A 3:35)
- (23) *'é-+dana hamzúmələ bázət márət jànu-zəl 'àt ... Nînve,| +Nuxadnásər.|* *márələ kat-+ávun | ən-tánə ka-šómša clı,| bət-càlyा,|* 'Then he speaks about his master, of Nineveh, Nebuchadnezzar. He says "If he says to the sun "stop", it will stop.'" (A 3:64)
- (24) *'ána múyyəvən xá 'axúnət tmánya ka-jànan| 'án macərbàxlə| +áv hár par-pəslən| hár +dardàklən| b-xá +čap̄páltu +masə máxə 'arpí dánə dèvə,|* 'I have brought an eighth brother for us. If we upset him, he would totally destroy us, he would totally shatter us. He can strike forty monsters with just his one staff.' (A 37:12)

In (25), which is used to tell a child to move away from the speaker, the default demonstrative is used with an associative anaphoric function, in that it is in a contrastive set-relationship with the area around the speaker, which is in the perception of the interlocutors:

- (25) *sí l-ò-yba!* 'Move to the (other) side. (= Move away from here)'

The anaphoric demonstrative is sometimes rendered idiomatically into English by 'the same', e.g.

- (26) *'ó-yuma xína mèdrə 'ó-məndi vílə,|* 'The next day the same thing happened.' (A 2:27)

In such cases, when the identity of the referent is being given particular prominence, the demonstrative is often preceded by the particle *har*, e.g.

- (27) *'át víyyət bába káti. mádrə har-ó-baba vi-káti.* ‘You have been a father to me. Be the same father to me again.’ (A 3:92)
- (28) *har-ó-+šula c-odívalə, yína búš hasanày, búš támmez.* ‘They (the oil stoves) used to perform the same task, but more easily and cleanly.’ (B 12:4)

Default demonstratives are frequently used with nouns the referents of which can be identified from a specification presented in a following modifier syntactically bonded to it rather than from the preceding context. In most case the noun is connected to the following modifier by the annexation element *-at* and is the head of a relative clause or an annexed nominal, e.g.

- (29) *cúllə-da 'an-+sarbázə t-íva mónnu! cúllə šátyəna +rìyəna.* ‘All the soldiers who were with him are all drunk and inebriated.’ (A 3:35)
- (30) *'e-dársət yúvvonva kátu kámta léla lípo bəxshávən +spáy.* ‘I don’t think he has learnt well the lesson that I gave him some time ago.’ (A 3:87)
- (31) *'o-nášət ká... +al-málcət jànu! pxayānāt<sup>P</sup> 'ávəd, +xəlṭa 'ávəd! +al-'aláha-zə vádələ! +xəlṭa.* ‘A man who does treachery to his own king, who commits a fault, he commits the fault also against God.’ (A 3:48)
- (32) *'o-ríšət do-náša labúlulə ká +Nuxadnásar kat-ána +Axíkar +ktəlli.* ‘He takes the head of the man to Nebuchadezzar (saying) “I have killed Axigar.”’ (A 3:37)
- (33) *+Axíkar +pláṭa bərrəxšələ! ka-dan-nášət mónnu! mára ...* ‘Axigar goes out. He says to the people with him ...’ (A 3:78)
- (34) *'ána hár 'ó nášət kámtevən.* ‘I am the man of former times.’ (A 36:17)

This construction is frequently found with the temporal expression *'e-+danət* ‘at the time that/when’, e.g.

- (35) *'e-+dánət zamərvə, 'ána +šammənva.* ‘When he sang, I used to listen.’ (A 3:81)
- (36) *'é-+dān t-ílə šámmu +bašmáyu +Axíkar! fūr'un! brázələ šòpu.* ‘When he hears his name Axigar, Pharaoh dries up on the spot.’ (A 3:67)

In (37) the head is followed by a numerical phrase expressing an ordinal:

- (37) *+al-dó yúmət d-trè-ca!* ‘the next day day (literally: the day of the two time)’ (A 51:6)

Occasionally such constructions are used where the initial noun is connected to a modifying restrictive adjective or prepositional phrase without an annexation element, e.g.

- (38) *cúllə 'an-júllax šapírə lùšlun.* ‘Put on all your beautiful clothes.’ (A 24:1)
- (39) *+jámmila 'e-kósun buš-xelánta| kat-xazánna kam-für'un.* ‘Muster a stronger army so that I can see it (stand) before Pharaoh.’ (A 3:24)
- (40) *'ána xa-mən-dan-šəcvànə| xa-mən-dan-šəcvànəvən| xut-'áklət málca.* ‘I am one of the ants, one of the ants under the foot of the king.’ (A 3:66)

When an attributive demonstrative is combined with its nominal complement in a single stress group (§ 1.19.4.), the stress is normally put on the nominal, e.g. *'a-ctáva* ‘this book’ (A 3:21), *'o-náša* ‘that man’ (A 3:36), *'e-mzída* ‘that waterskin’ (A 37:15). When the stress is put on the demonstrative, the nominal tends to be one of low semantic content, such as *məndi* ‘thing’, *+šula* ‘job, matter, thing’, e.g.

- (41) *+'Áxiqar| 'ána mut-xərbayúta kátux vídənva| kat-'átən 'á-+šula vádlux b-rìši?* ‘Axiqar, what evil had I done to you that you have done this thing against me?’ (A 3:27)
- (42) *Nátan brùnux 'á-məndi vádlə.* ‘Natan did this thing.’ (A 3:54)

The stress is also commonly put on the demonstrative in stress groups in adverbial expressions of time that bind the discourse temporally with what precedes, e.g.

- (43) *'é-+dana hamzúmələ bázət márət jànu=zə| 'òt ... Nènve,| +Nuxadnásər.* ‘At that (point in) time (= then), he speaks about his master, of Nineveh, Nebuchadnezzar.’ (A 3:64)
- (44) *'á-sapar kátu mòrrə.* ‘This time he said to him ...’ (A 3:89)

The stress is put on demonstratives elsewhere to give prominence to the anaphoric connection with what precedes, e.g.

- (45) *'átən 'ò-našət.* ‘You are that very man.’ (A 4:6)

The same intensifying function can be performed by the particle *har*, e.g.

- (46) *'át víyyət bába káti.| módrə har-'ó-baba vi-káti.* ‘You have been a father to me. Again be that very (= the same) father to me.’ (A 3:92)

#### 9.2.4.6 Strong Default Demonstrative Pronouns

Speakers in the Caucasus make marginal use of a second series of default demonstrative pronouns that are formed by adding the suffixed element *-xa* to the regular form. Only the singular forms are attested, viz. ms. *'oxa* (oblique *doxa*), fs. *'exa* (oblique *dexa*).

These pronouns are termed here ‘strong default demonstratives’ since they are used to give particular prominence to a referent that is bound anaphorically to the surrounding discourse. The purpose of this prominence may be to express some kind of contrast with items in the context or with alternative referents that the speaker assumes the hearer may be entertaining as possible candidates for the role, e.g.

- (1) *+xárta tíla é yòmma! 'u-é jáška yan-én +záyo t-i pùrtàcle 'exa šítá xína!*  
‘Then the mother returned and sees that her young have survived that year (in contrast to other years in which they were killed).’ (A 53:4)
- (2) *+karávat +júrta ka-cíllunte m-+iydalə damxíva, bába, yòmma, yála, ál déxa +karávat.* ‘They made for it a large bed, for them all to sleep together, father, mother, children. They all slept in that very same bed (and not any other bed, although this may have been expected).’ (B 17:32)

In (3) the pronoun expresses the fact that the daughter was unexpected in the role in question:

- (3) *'adíyya 'e-yómma 'íya! t-i xzila ka-dèxa! brítol* ‘Now, when the stepmother saw that daughter of hers’ (A 51:5)

In (4) the force of *'oxa* is to specify complete identity ('exactly that'). The pronoun is bound cataphorically with the content of the following relative clause (§ 14.1.1.1.):

- (4) *'ána lè-+amsən! 'ádi paškánnə 'óxa +xábrat kát! +šámyun módrə mán 'ava-háti! m-bábi sávi kát ju-dá məttálta hùkyuna!* ‘I cannot now expound exactly what I heard, as I said, from my forebears, my father and grandfather, which they related concerning this story.’ (A 47:21)

In (5) the strong demonstrative gives prominence to the uniqueness of the referent:

- (5) *xá 'óxa brúna sòjul 'átvale!* ‘They only had that single beloved son (literally: They had one that beloved son).’ (A 55:8)

#### 9.2.4.7 Absence of Demonstrative Pronouns with Definite Nominals

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. 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 construction with the explicit anaphoric demonstrative is a more powerful anaphoric device that is used when the noun is disjoined to a greater extent from its anaphor. This disjunction is brought about principally by boundaries in the discourse structure. The heavy construction is used as a device to mark boundaries.<sup>1</sup>

This can be illustrated by the extract (1) from a narrative. The main characters in this extract are a woman (*baxta*) and a servant (*rīja*). Throughout the passage both these nouns are definite with identifiable referents. In some cases the nouns occur with a demonstrative and in other case without one. The occurrence of a demonstrative can be correlated with the onset of discourse boundaries, which are marked with roman numerals. Some of these correspond to clusters of clauses that are packaged as distinct events. This is clear in the boundaries (iii) and (iv). The section beginning at (iii) narrates how the servant leaves the scene. The event in (iv) is distinct from what precedes in that the woman is alone on the scene. The boundary in (ii) is adversative, in that it is a break in sequence with an event of pleading that defeats the expectations of what precedes.

- (1) (i) +háji +bəddáyələ kássat mù-ilə! ɻa-*rīja* márələ! ... *rīja* màjbur-ilə! màjbur-ilə šakálla báxta labəlla.! 'do +bəsyarələ labúlolə ɻat-+kaɻəlla.! (ii) 'u-áyya báxta! +rába nonùyələ! +xayəš vádən mónnux! là +ktúlli! ... 'ú *rīja* labbu! bəkyàdələ! lèlə +bəktálo.! ... báxta márəla kát! ... škúllux xá-dana 'òrba,! +ktúlla! dámmo máttilə +al-jülli! lábəlla ká mårux.! (iii) 'á *rīja*! 'á-məndi vádula! báxta bəsvákol šulxéta! +táməl ju-méšal +bár m-mdita! bəsvákol +táməl. *rīja* bərràxšələ! ... (iv) 'áyya báxta! +tamma xabúləla! +várəla xút jəllàlə! kálpa! ... kat-la xábla.! '(i) The pilgrim knows what the story is and says to the servant ... The servant is forced (to do so). He is forced to take the woman away. He ties her hands and takes her to kill

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

her. (ii) But the woman begs very much “Please. I plead with you don’t kill me.” ... The servant feels sorry for her. He does not kill her. ... The woman says ... “Take a sheep, kill it, put its blood on my clothes and take it to your master.” (iii) The servant does this. He leaves the woman naked there in the forest, outside of the town. He leaves her there. The servant goes off. (iv) The woman becomes cold there. She enters under shrubs and bark in order not to get cold.’ (A 1:7–10)

### 9.3 The Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun *jan-*, which is inflected with pronominal suffixes, occurs in various syntactic positions in the clause.

#### 9.3.1 Subject

When used in subject position it stands independently or in apposition to a noun or personal pronoun (e.g. *'ana janí* ‘I myself’). It may express contrastive assertion or intensity (‘he himself’, etc.):

- (1) *'à-sapar!* *'ána jání +báyyən núyra +šérən.*! ‘This time I myself want to kindle the fire.’ (A 23:1)
- (2) *késəjánan +jámmax.*! ‘We ourselves (not you) shall gather wood.’ (A 37:18)
- (3) *'ánnə 'át jánux lèt mučxé.*! ‘You have not found these yourself.’ (A 38:12)
- (4) *lélə kát 'áxnan jánan vìyyəvax!* *jávo furvəssəvax.*! ‘This is not because we ourselves were born and grew up in it.’ (B 2:15)
- (5) *'ána bətxárəvən jánil sùrəvənval bábi-da sàvəval ci-yasķáxva mən-bábi +mýdalə cùt-yum!* *tálja jára +rappáxvalə m-+ál-jára.*! ‘I myself remember, I was young and my father was old, I used to go up together with my father and every day we had to throw off the snow from the roof.’ (B 2:19)

It is also used in subject position with enclitics expressing inclusiveness (‘also’), e.g.

- (6) *kát jánux-zə là sáķdət! másalan xuš kèsə mélan!* *mán dáyya mèša.*! ‘So that you also do not become bored, go, for example, and bring logs from that forest.’ (A 37:14)
- (7) *'áxnan jánan-zə mádrə o-+šúla c-odàxlə.*! ‘We also still do this task.’ (B 12:9)

The phrase *jan-ka-jan-*, with the first *jan-* in subject position, is used to express the isolation of the subject or a spontaneous event without an external cause:

- (8) *jánu ka-jánu bàxyøla.* 'He wept by himself.' (A 4:10)  
 (9) *túp jáno ka-jáno črøtla.* 'The gun went off by itself.'

### 9.3.2 Object Complement

The reflexive pronoun may be used to express a pronominal object that is co-referential with the subject of the verb:

- (1) *sépa muttíla 'atxa! jáno mäxyála +'ällu.* 'She put the sword like this and thrust herself upon it.' (A 2:35)  
 (2) *jáno +ruppála +al-sèpa.* 'She threw herself onto the sword.' (A 2:35)  
 (3) *yámma vítøla +tušito jáno.* 'His mother had hidden herself.' (A 37:5)  
 (4) *+árun jánu +tušyøla.* 'He has hidden himself.' (A 37:20)

Several verbs that denote actions in which the agent is typically also the affectee of the action express reflexivity without the addition of the reflexive pronoun. This applies, for example, to verbs such as *xayøp* i 'to wash' and *lavøš* i 'to dress', e.g. *xøpli* 'I washed (myself)', *lvøšli* 'I dressed (myself)' (§ 4.25.1.4.).

### 9.3.3 Complement of a Preposition

The reflexive pronoun occurs as the complement of a preposition when it is co-referential with the subject of the clause, e.g.

- (1) *'á mú vódlı b-rìš-jàni?* 'What have I done against myself?' (A 3:45)  
 (2) *vúdlø ka-jánux brùna.* 'Make him a son for yourself.' (A 3:6)  
 (3) *xáčča tá +al-jánux.* 'Come back to yourself slightly (i.e. recover a little).' (A 3:53)

In (4) the ipl. reflexive pronoun includes the referent of the 1s subject, but is not fully co-referential:

- (4) *'ána míyyøvøn xá 'axíunat tmánya ka-jànan.* 'I have brought an eighth brother for us.' (A 37:12)

In (5) a verb that normally denotes internal reflexivity (*lavøš* i 'to dress') has a reflexive complement expressed by a prepositional phrase. The specification of the reflexive affectee may be motivated by the fact that the object of clothing is specified:

- (5) *bəlvášələ xa-lvəšta| +’al-jànu| zàrda.* ‘He puts on a yellow garment.’ (A 3:62)

### 9.3.4 *Genitive Complement*

If there is co-referentiality between the subject of the clause and a genitive pronominal suffix in the same clause, the suffix is generally not attached directly to a noun but rather to the reflexive pronoun, to which the noun is annexed:

- (1) *’atən| xína xúš ju-násət jànu.* ‘You go to your own people.’ (A 37:22)
- (2) *’áha bitàyələ| ka-Nátan| brūn-xàtu,| vádu brūn-jànu.* ‘He goes to Natan, the son of his sister, and makes him his son.’ (A 3:7)
- (3) *+bár háda +dàrrə| cəs-’aláhət jànu.* ‘Then he appealed to his own god.’ (A 3:4)
- (4) *’é-+dana hamzúmələ bázət márət jànu-zə| ’àt ... Nènve,| +Nuxadnàsər.* ‘Then he speaks about his master, of Nineveh, Nebuchadnezzar.’ (A 3:64)
- (5) *málca=da yúvvəl dàstur| ɬat-cúllə panánnun| báxtət jáni-zə,| bax-málca-da| cúllə nókvə mən-pátt +’àrra šaklánnun.* ‘The king has given a command that I should eradicate everybody, even my own wife, also the wife of the king, that I should remove from the face of the earth all females.’ (A 2:17)
- (6) *’o-násət kátt ... +al-málcət jànu| Pxáyānàt<sup>P</sup> ’ávəd,| +xàltə ’ávəd| +al-’alàha-zə vádələ| +xàltə.* ‘A man who does treachery to his own king, who commits a fault, he commits the fault also against God.’ (A 3:48)

The 1pl. form *janan* is used when the subject is 1pl. (7), 1s (8) or when a 3rd person subject is a member of the community of the speaker (9) or an item associated with the community of the speaker (10):

- (7) *’ánnə cúllə +zaráxvalun ju-dé dártət jànan.* ‘We used to cultivate all of these in our own vegetable garden.’ (B 7:14)
- (8) *vàrda,| lišánət jánan šámmu| xá ’áxči ci-+yat̥jónna várda| smùka,| várda +xvàra,| várda zàrda.* ‘Flower—in our language I only know the one name “flower” (*varda*)—red, white flower, yellow flower.’ (B 17:45)
- (9) *ju-+xlulané| lá-+msilun| b-lišánət jànan.* ‘In their weddings they could not sing in our own language.’ (B 1:9)
- (10) *’ánnə cúllə c-atíva mòn| +zrútət jànan,| mən-màta.* ‘All these came from our own crops.’ (B 7:5)

The use of the reflexive pronoun is not obligatory when a genitive pronoun is coreferential with the subject. A simple genitive suffix is used in particular when

the noun to which it is attached is an inalienable possession of the subject, such as a part of the body (11):

- (11) *+Nuxadnàsər| ju-dè-<sup>+</sup>dana| bàxyələ| mxáyələ ju-rišu.* ‘Nebuchadnezzar at that moment weeps and beats his head.’ (A 3:45)

### 9.3.5 Non-Reflexive Use

A pronoun is expressed by a *jan-* phrase in a number of contexts where the pronominal suffix on *jan-* is not co-referential with the subject.

In (1) the object expressed by the phrase *jano* ‘herself’ is set up in a parallel opposition to her daughters, whom the protagonist also kills:

- (1) *ka-jáno=da +bəktàlələ.* ‘He kills also herself.’ (A 39:40)

In (2) the pronoun is used as an intensifier to signal that ‘man’ is not expected in this position:

- (2) *márələ múdilə ɔ-mándi buš-racixa ju-dúnyə?* *mára bábi* *'ídət jànu +bar-náša.* ‘He says “What is the softest thing in the world?” She says “Father, the hand of man himself.”’ (A 38:11)

In (3) the use of the form *janax* in place of the subject pronoun *at* seems to be a device to give the second of a pair of repeated clauses heavier morphology (§13.5.):

- (3) *'át mùdivat?* *jánax mùdivat?* ‘What are you? What are you?’ (A 5:3)

The stem *jan-* with a pronominal suffix is used in the idiomatic phrase *+al-jan-* ‘against so-and-so’ in expressions of aggression such as (4)–(5):

- (4) *cálbat +séda +rappuyélə +al-jáno.* ‘He releases the hunting dogs against her.’ (A 38:17)  
 (5) *+hájí +xárta kám +al-jáno.* ‘The pilgrim then rises against her (= assaults her).’ (A 1:43)

## 9.4 Pronoun of Isolation

The pronoun of isolation *noš-* ‘—self’ is normally combined with the preposition *b-* in the phrase *b-noš-*. Occasionally the *b-* is omitted. The following usages are attested in the text corpus.

## Predicate

- (1) *'át e-+dán b-nòšux-ivət| kát jánux-zə là sákdət| másalan xús kèsə mélan|món dáyya mèša.* ‘When you are alone, so that you also do not become bored, go, for example, and bring logs from that forest.’ (A 37:14)
- (2) *'ánnə məššəlmànəl 'ùrzə c-ávi b-nošé,| nəkva c-ávi b-nošè.* ‘Those Muslims—the men are by themselves and the women are by themselves.’ (A 5:1)
- (3) *'ána +rába b-nòšəvən.* ‘I am very alone.’ (A 36:3)
- (4) *'á bráta pyášala b-nòšo.* ‘The girl remains alone.’ (A 34:8)
- (5) *+’aturáyət +Íran pásłun b-nošè.* ‘The Assyrians of Iran remained by themselves.’ (B 1:16)

## Complement of subject

- (6) *báxta pásłla b-nòšo.* ‘The wife was left alone.’ (B 1:19)
- (7) *jári ju-dó xášca b-nòšux dámxət átən.* ‘You must sleep by yourself in this darkness.’ (A 36:17)
- (8) *túyna nòšu 'azálva.* ‘The hay would go by itself.’ (B 3:11)
- (9) *'ína míyyu +salíva +'ávun nòšu.* ‘But its juice flowed by itself.’ (B 7:16)
- (10) *'ána lén lápta b-nóši +'àxlan.* ‘I am not used to eating by myself.’ (A 35:13)

## Complement of object

- (11) *o +cárra bəškáluya b-nòšu.* ‘They took the butter off by itself.’ (B 17:20)
- (12) *'úmtət díyyan švíkálun b-nòšo.* ‘They left our nation by itself.’ (B 1:14)
- (13) *'ánnə cíl dána dána +jammátte b-nošè.* ‘Gather them all up grain by grain by themselves.’ (A 51:3)

## 9.5 Reciprocal Pronoun

Reciprocity is expressed by the reciprocal pronoun *+’iydalə*, sometimes pronounced *+’údalə*, (§ 2.7.). This is derived historically from the form *\*xdádē* (cf. Syriac *hdādē*), which developed from a combination of the two cardinal numbers *\*hdā + hdā* ‘one + one’ indicating the two sides of the reciprocal relationship. The compositionality of the modern dialectal reflex of this is now completely opaque.

The reciprocal pronoun *+uydalə* may occur in various syntactic positions, e.g.

- (1) *nšákłun +'uydalə.* 'They kissed one another.' (A 1:4)
- (2) *báxya bəx̄pákəna +'uydalə.* 'Weeping, they embrace one another.' (A 1:37)
- (3) *baxzáyəna +'uydalə.* 'They see each other.' (A 36:4)
- (4) *ka-+'uydalə +hayyùrəx.* 'We help each other.'
- (5) *ju-dánnə matvátəl +zrútał cílla 'áx +'uydaləva.* 'In these villages agriculture was all the same (literally: was like each other).' (B 2:3)

The reciprocal pronoun has an oblique form *+duydalə* with an initial *d-*. In contrast to demonstrative pronouns, this oblique form is not used after prepositions. It is used only when the pronoun is the dependent element in an annexation construction, e.g.

- (6) *xardúyəna b-kdálət +dùydalə.* 'They wrap themselves around the neck of each other.' (A 1:16)

The pronoun is used particularly frequently in combination with the prepositions *+al-* 'to, on' and *m-* (*mən*) 'with' (especially in the expression *m-+uydalə* 'together'):

- (7) *'ana jøddàluł +házər vidèvən, partúłə +'al-+'uydalə.* 'I have prepared its threads, twisting (them) together (literally: onto each other).' (A 3:74)
- (8) *'áxnan jú ... dáštat 'Úrmi Salámas +'al-+'uydalə 'átvalan 'ómmo tláy +tlá matvátə.* 'We, in the plain of Urmi and Salamas, had altogether a hundred and thirty-three villages.' (B 2:2)
- (9) *'án čímə b-+fína ci-mayyíval mattíva +'ál 'uydálə.* 'They used to bring back the sods with mud and place them on top of each other.' (B 2:18)
- (10) *kúrba +'al-+'uydalə t-ávi-xina, kúrba +'al-+'uydalə.* 'ésrí tláy +sántə prišə m-+uydalə] 'átxa cílla p̄t-odilun.] 'They are (put) near to each other, near to each other, twenty or thirty centimetres apart from each other, they make them all like this.' (B 14:6)
- (11) *+rábə məndýána hamzúməna m-+uydalə.* 'They speak together about many things.' (A 3:66)
- (12) *'ána bətxárəvən jàni! sùrəvənvał bábi-da sàvəvał ci-yaskáxva mən-bábi m-+uydalə cùt-yum! tâʃa! jára +rappáxvalə m-+ál-jára.* 'I myself remember, I was young and my father was old, I used to go up together with my father and every day we we had to throw off the snow from the roof.' (B 2:19)
- (13) *'an-kéṣə ci-mattívalun 'átxa šávyə! 'átxa m-+uydalə 'ázi 'átxa.* 'They used to lay those sticks equal (i.e. parallel) like this, so that they fit together like this.' (B 2:20)

- (14) *'ána jàni=zəl jú xá šíta +'ám jvánkə m-+uydálə 'á-+šula vìdux.* | 'I myself together with the lads did this task for a year.' (B 2:7)

Reciprocity is also expressed by constructions with *xa* + *xina* such as (15)–(18), in which the compositionality of the reciprocal phrase is more transparent:

- (15) *xá mən-do xína hamzùməva.* | 'They were speaking with one another.' (A 5:1)
- (16) *'ánnə nášə xìnəl xa-ka-do-xína mərrun.* | 'The people told (this) to one another.' (A 19:4)
- (17) *'ána-da b-+kačlánna jáni m-+bár diyyuxl* | *'áñ 'áxnan xá ka-do-xína lájorà-xən.* | 'I also will kill myself after you, if we do not marry each other.' (A 55:3)
- (18) *xáčča susavày-na!* *xá mən-do-xína šapíra.* | 'There were some horses, each more beautiful than the other.' (A 42:11)

Reciprocity may also be expressed by repetition of an argument of the verb, e.g.

- (19) *dvíkəna 'ída 'ída! ... +šaríyəna bərkáda bəšvàra.* | 'Holding each other's hands they begin to dance and jig.' (B 8:9)
- (20) *b-dokíva 'ída 'ída xà zója 'áxči.* | 'They would hold hands but only one pair.' (B 9:4)

## 9.6 Attributive Modifiers

This category includes various modifiers of head nouns that supply an attributive description.

### 9.6.1 *Adjectives*

The most common type of attributive modifier is an adjective. An adjective that can be inflected agrees in gender and number with the head noun. There is a considerable degree of flexibility with regard to the position of the adjective relative to the head noun. Adjectives may be divided into three groups: (i) restrictive, (ii) non-restrictive and (iii) evaluative.

A restrictive adjective supplies a description that limits the reference to one particular subset within the set of items denoted by the head noun. An adjective is non-restrictive, on the other hand, when it does not limit the reference to a subset of the class denoted by the noun. It may be non-restrictive

since the class denoted by the noun as a whole is presupposed generally to have the property denoted by the adjective. The adjective is non-restrictive also when it is assumed that the hearer can identify the referent of the noun without the adjective, either since the noun has a unique referent (e.g. 'the sun', 'Urmi') or because the referent is recoverable in the preceding context.

In principle, when an adjective is restrictive it may be placed before or after the head noun, whereas when it is non-restrictive it is only placed after the head noun. An adjective is placed far more frequently after the noun. The placement after the noun is the unmarked position, whereas the marked position is before it. This is due to the fact that the postposed adjective is unspecified as to whether it is restrictive or not. Also the placement of a restrictive adjective before the noun expresses a degree of intensity of the property, often in contrastive opposition to the property of some other items from the set denoted by the noun. Examples

<i>naša hamzəmmana</i>	'a talkative man' (restrictive)
<i>hamzəmmana naša</i>	'a particularly talkative man' (restrictive, intensive)
<i>+jilasə cumə</i>	'black cherries' (restrictive)
<i>cumə +jilasə</i>	'black cherries' (restrictive, contrastive with cherries of other colours, e.g. <i>smuka +jilasə</i> 'red cherries')
<i>xa lelə xəšcana</i>	'a dark night' (restrictive or non-restrictive)
<i>xa xəšcana lelə</i>	'a (particularly) dark night' (restrictive, intensive)
<i>šmayya milanta</i>	'a blue sky' (restrictive or non-restrictive)
<i>milanta šmayya</i>	'a (particularly) blue sky' (restrictive, intensive)
<i>'Urmi 'atəkta</i>	'the old (city of) Urmi' (non-restrictive, assuming that all of Urmi is old)
<i>*atəkta 'Urmi</i>	—

Evaluative adjectives express a subjective, emotion-driven evaluation of an item rather than an objective description of its properties. These typically include attributes such as 'good/nice/fine', 'bad', 'dear', 'clever', 'foolish'. When adjectives expressing such attributes are used evaluatively they are in principle placed before the head noun, e.g.

<i>+spay naša</i>	'a good man'
<i>xərba naša</i>	'a bad man'

Examples from the text corpus:

(i) Noun—Adjective

- (1) 'átv̥alan matvátə xáčča sùrəl' 'átv̥alan matvátə +júrəl' 'We had rather small villages. We had big villages.' (B 2:5)
- (2) '+rába móndi yávəl kátu, l̥v̥éšyáta šapírə, +mixulyáta šapírə.' 'He gives him many things, beautiful clothes, fine foods.' (A 3:8)
- (3) ví xa-náša lípa. ví xa-náša macixa. 'Be a learned man. Be a humble man.' (A 3:11)
- (4) ju-xa-mzída +júrta míyya ci-malíva mən-de-+áyna. 'In a big waterskin, they would pour water from that spring.' (A 37:7)
- (5) xá marájla +júra 'átlan. 'We have a big pan.' (A 37:19)

The adjective may be separated from its head by intervening grammatical material such as a verb. This is attested where the head noun is indefinite with a referent that is being introduced into the discourse, e.g.

- (6) xá síýsa tílə smùčka. 'A red horse came.' (A 45:11)
- (7) t̥-ázət! xá zíla p̥-kàttət +yaríxa. 'You should go and cut a long cane.' (A 42:24)
- (8) járə ... késa ci-mattíva +xlíma 'átxa! mən-dà júyda +al-dò júyda. 'The roof—they used to place a piece of wood, thick like this, from this wall to that wall.' (B 2:19)
- (9) bràtənva 'átxa súrča. 'I was a young girl like this.' (A 43:13)

The adjective may be separated from what precedes by an intonation group boundary, e.g.

- (10) bəlvášələ xa-lv̥éšta! +al-jánu! zàrda. 'He puts on a yellow garment.' (A 3:62)
- (11) 'átv̥a +aynáta, míyya ci-+pal̥t̥íva šaxína. 'There were springs, from which warm water would flow.' (B 4:7)
- (12) xa-dána bétal tundálla ju-+hával 'a house suspended in the air' (A 3:44)
- (13) +ál dán pardúvvə=da ci-mattíva +pavánət 'ilànəl bríza. 'On the laths they put dry branches of trees.' (B 2:20)
- (14) xúš ká-jánu! xa-béta +mátrəs! +júra 'átxa. 'Go and build yourself a house, big like this.' (A 34:6)
- (15) +bəkkárəna xa-+čáləl, tré mətrəl +tlá mətrəl 'ámčku. 'They dig a hole, two or three metres deep.' (A 3:36)

In (16) the adjective is introduced by the adversative particle *'ina*, indicating that the quality denoted by the adjective is contrary to what is expected for the class of referents denoted by the noun:

- (16) *+táma 'átva xa-dána bëta,| 'ína xrìva.* | 'There was a house, but (it was) a ruin.' (A 1:26)

In (17) the adjective is non-restrictive and has the function of expressing supplementary details about the state of the referent:

- (17) *júllo dømmána mayyátlun kàti.* | 'Bring her bloody clothes to me.' (A 1:9)

In (18) the referent of the definite head noun is assumed to be recoverable from the preceding discourse. The adjective here also, therefore, is non-restrictive:

- (18) *bæxzàyolə 'áyya báxta| +rába šapòrta| b-+pàgро.* | 'He sees the woman, (who is) very beautiful in her body.' (A 1:6)

## (ii) Adjective—Noun

- (19) *'áha málca káti 'íva xá +karùvva| kát +úxča šapíra kàla 'átvalə.* | 'This king was a rooster to me, who had such a beautiful voice.' (A 3:81, restrictive, intensive)
- (20) *+rába mhùmna nášələ.* | 'He is a very pious man.' (A 1:4, restrictive, intensive)
- (21) *+o-kaṭùla| šómmu +bøddàyunva,| munšili,| +rába čátun šòmma 'ótłə.* | 'The executioner—I used to know his name but have forgotten, he has a very difficult name.' (A 3:47, restrictive, intensive).
- (22) *xelána nášə børràxšəna,| léna +bašúrə ka-dá tanína majvàjji.* | 'Strong men go (there), but they cannot remove the dragon.' (A 40:11, restrictive, intensive)
- (23) *+rába +júrta dárta c-avílun bøtvátət màta.* | 'The houses of the village have a very large courtyard.' (B 14:13, restrictive, intensive)
- (24) *+yakùyra cípal +maxdørríva +al-jàrə.* | 'They would roll a (very) heavy stone on the roof.' (B 14:11, restrictive, intensive)
- (25) *'ánnə nášə kát 'átvalun tüp,| xelànta tüp,| t-azíva turàna,| maxtíva xxùyra.* | 'Those people who had a shotgun, a powerful shotgun, would go to the mountains and shoot pigs.' (B 4:6, restrictive, intensive)
- (26) *nášə kàt-+càsəb-ina,| ... bøtvaté ... 'árzan bøtvátəna.* | 'People who are poor,

their houses are cheap houses.' (B 14:12, restrictive, contrastive with people who are not poor and have more expensive houses)

- (27) *é mumlóxta júptal bədráyox ju-míyya mèlxal.* | *ánja +báyyax 'àxnan!* *ka-sàtval xamàxxa,* | *+tumòrta júpta.* | 'We put the salted cheese in salt water. If we want to keep it for the winter (we made) buried cheese.' (B 15:3, restrictive, contrast between the two types of cheese)
- (28) *+spáy švàvətun.* | 'You are good neighbours.' (A 36:4, evaluative)
- (29) *ví +spày náša.* | 'Be a good man.' (A 3:13, evaluative, more emotion-driven than *ví xa-náša lípa.* *ví xa-náša macíxa* in example (3) above)
- (30) *'áyən nýyna +bixálələl mára +rába basámta nùynəla.* | 'She eats the fish and says "It is a very tasty fish."' (A 34:9, evaluative)
- (31) *+tapànča | 'átváləl súrta +tapànča.* | 'He had a pistol, a small pistol.' (B 6:2, evaluative: 'only a small pistol', which did not justify him being assaulted)
- (32) *'áha +ràba! xárba +šúla vídələ 'áha.* | 'He has done a very bad thing.' (A 7:14, evaluative)
- (33) *xá +pahlúvvan nàšələ.* | 'He is a heroic man.' (A 40:15, evaluative)
- (34) *'á yála! +kəryána yála, honána yála, šapíra yála, móriša bəkyàməla.* | 'This lad, an educated lad, a smart lad, a handsome lad, gets up early.' (A 42:30, evaluative)
- (35) *'u-+háji káti mòrrəl kat-'à-baxtal xrèvta báxtəla.* | 'The pilgrim said to me that this woman is a bad woman.' (A 1:34, evaluative—the speaker is slandering the woman with a false accusation)
- (36) *'á yála honána yàlələ.* | 'This lad is a clever lad.' (A 35:5, evaluative)
- (37) *+ràba šapíra lákmal hóč 'áx do-láxmət matvàtə=da! Paslán<sup>P</sup> hòč-ductal* *'ánnə láxxa b-ánnə ducána lè-mačxət mən-do-láxmal +ràba šapíra.* | '(It was) very fine bread. Nothing like the bread of the villages—nowhere in these places (here) will you find such fine bread.' (B 2:10, evaluative)
- (38) *+xámra +társival +ràba rišáya +xámra ju-+línə.* | 'They used to make wine, very good quality wine in jars.' (B 2:5, evaluative)
- (39) *'ánnə məttəlyày! sávə nàšə hukyéna.* | 'The old folk told these stories.' (A 43:13, evaluative)

In (40) and (41) the intensity of the proposed adjective is increased by repeating it:

- (40) *xá mánnu +várrə +ràma +ráma jvánka.* | 'A very tall youth entered through it (the door).' (A 42:2)
- (41) *ju-šaxánta šaxánta +xálva bədráyox R̄pèp̄sinR.* | 'In very warm milk we put pepsin.' (B 15:2)

A preposed evaluative adjective may be negated, as in (42):

- (42) *Pbúr<sup>P</sup> la-+spáy nàša<sup>l</sup> jáldə b-rišu blùslə!* ‘Go, you bad man, quickly stamp on his head!’ (A 47:15)

Definite noun phrases containing restrictive or evaluative adjectives that are not predicative are in principle accompanied by an anaphoric pronoun, whereas this is not obligatory with unmodified definite nouns (§ 9.2.4.7.). This can be compared to the usual practice of determinining a definite head noun before a restrictive relative clause with an anaphoric pronoun (§ 14.1.1.). Examples:

- (43) *'iman-t +Axíkar xùbba muxzíl ka-do-'axína sùra, Nátan brínu kat-jurvás-suva ... +naràhat víla, buxxàlla.* ‘When Axiqar shows love to that young brother, Natan his son, whom he had brought up in ... became upset and jealous.’ (A 3:17)
- (44) *'o-késa +yaríxa +karívalə +karìta.* ‘They called the long piece of wood a “beam.”’ (B 2:19)
- (45) *màrat duccána, ó laxúyma jvánka, borróxšəl kátu màrələ!* ‘The owner of the shop, the handsome youth, goes and says to him ...’ (A 4:5)

A noun may be modified by more than one adjective. These may be both placed after the noun, both before the noun, or either side of the noun, e.g.

*beta sura šapíra* ‘a beautiful small house’

*xabuyša +jura smukə* ‘a big red apple’

*kesa xaruypa +yarixa* ‘a long sharp stick’

*+yakuyra 'u-+jura cipa* ‘a big heavy stone’

*+jura cipa +yakuyra* ‘a big heavy stone’

Examples of multiple adjective modifiers from the text corpus include:

- (46) *baxzáyələ xá +amárat +rába +júrta +rámta +šùlə.* ‘He sees a building that is very big and high, and so forth.’ (A 34:2)
- (47) *mən-+bàzar| zvànnə| tré-danə nýynə +rába +júrə| +xvàrə.* ‘She bought from the market two very large, white fish.’ (A 5:5)
- (48) *jaššúkələ 'inal màrat| 'at-dá duccána xá laxúyma jvánka šapíra.* ‘He looks (and sees) that the owner of the shop is a comely handsome youth.’ (A 4:3)

- (49) *juššáklə xa-<sup>+</sup>héyan<sup>a</sup> <sup>+</sup>rába <sup>+</sup>júra cúma tilə.*! ‘He looked (and saw) a very large black animal come.’ (A 39:5)

When two adjectives are placed before the noun, they are normally linked by the coordinating conjunction *‘u-*, whereas adjectives placed after the noun normally do not have this conjunction.

The adjectives ‘big’ (*+jura*) and ‘small’ (*sura*) tend to be kept adjacent to the noun in sequences of adjectives, otherwise the order is flexible, e.g.

<i>naša sura +bajira</i>	‘a small thin man’
<i>naša +jura +trisa</i>	‘a big fat man’
<i>+heyvana sura cpina</i>	‘small hungry animals’

In the case of the noun *yala* (pl. *yalə*) the modifying adjective *sura* is combined with it in the fixed expression *yala sura* ‘child’, *yāl-surə* ‘children’ (generally with the final *-ə* of the first element contracted). The adjective here is non-restrictive and characterizes the class as a whole rather than any distinct subset. The phrase can, in fact, be qualified by the adjectives *jarusa* ‘large’ and *sura* ‘small’, e.g.

<i>yala sura jarusa</i>	‘a large child’
<i>yāl-surə jarusə</i>	‘large children’
<i>yāl-surə surə</i>	‘small children’

If a nominal phrase consisting of a noun and an adjective is connected to a following noun in an annexation relationship, the annexation ending is attached to the end of the nominal phrase, whether this be the noun or the adjective (§9.9), e.g.

<i>xa-sama +jurət +mixulta</i>	‘a large portion of food’
<i>xa-<sup>+</sup>jura +kəttət dava</i>	‘a large piece of gold’

Compound adjectives such as *b-šənnə* ‘old’ (literally: ‘with years’), *b-šəmma* ‘famous’ (literally: ‘with a name’), *be-hona* ‘without sense, stupid’, *marət-jnaha* ‘guilty’ may also be used attributively and placed either side of the head noun, e.g.

- (50) *bábi náša b-šənnələ.*! ‘My father is an old man.’ (restrictive, unmarked)

- (51) *babi b-šənnə nášələ.*! ‘My father is an *old* man.’ (restrictive, marked)

- (52) *úha náša marət-jnáhələ.*! ‘This is a guilty man.’ (restrictive, unmarked)

- (53) *'áha marət-jnáha nášəla.* ‘This is a *guilty* man.’ (restrictive, marked)
- (54) *'áha 'ztva 'úp ju-márət šánnə nášə ci-+ṭalívalà.* ‘There was this (game) that also old people played (literally: they played among old people).’  
(B 9:12)

The ordinal numeral *kamaya* ‘first’ has the syntactic behaviour of restrictive adjectives. It is normally placed after the noun, but can be placed before the head noun when expressing contrast or intensity:

*'an-našə kamayə* ‘the first people’

- (55) *'án č́m kamáyə məššənnérə kát t̄lun| ju-dáštət 'Urmi* ‘The very first missionaries who came to the plain of Urmī’ (B 2:12)

The other ordinals are genitive constructions, with the numeral connected to the preceding head noun by an annexation construction (§ 7.2.), e.g.

*našət xamša* ‘the fifth man’

In such constructions the numeral is not permitted to be fronted before the head noun.

Occasionally a noun is connected to its attributive adjective in an annexation construction. This is attested where the adjective is gentilic, e.g.

- (56) *tré məššənnérət 'amricāyə* ‘two American missionaries’ (B 2:12)

Adjectives are nominalized by combining them with a demonstrative pronoun when they are definite. This can be analyzed as a substitution for a definite nominal head by a pronoun:

- (57) *paršàxvalun| 'én-šap̄ira.* ‘We separated the good ones (i.e. the good grapes).’ (B 3:15)
- (58) *'én +júra 'átxal| +čaləpvalun.* ‘He would split the big ones like this.’ (B 4:14)
- (59) *+šadúrələ +bar +tājər,| +bar +hájɪl 'ína 'an-'asliyyə.* ‘He sends for the merchant, the pilgrim, but the real ones.’ (A 1:41)
- (60) *ína 'á +júrət cačálə| ... 'íval bùš| +'ullul| mən| dan-xína.* ‘Now, the elder (literally: the big one) of the bald men, the elder of the bald men, that is he was the head of their gang, he was higher (in rank) than the others.’  
(A 1:2)

In (61) the nominalized adjective is itself qualified by an attribute:

- (61) *’á súra cačála bëtələ*.| ‘The bald young one is at home.’ (A 45:3)

An indefinite nominalized adjective takes as its head the indefinite particle *xa*, when it is singular, and *xačča* ‘some, any’, when plural, if it refers to one member or some members of a set of items that is salient in the speech situation, e.g.

- (62) *’átlloxun xa-súra?* ‘Do you have a small one?’  
 (63) *’átlloxun xáčča súra?* ‘Do you have any small ones?’

The head may be omitted before the adjective in non-referential phrases where there is no presupposition of a salient set:

- (64) *núyna súra dükun*,| +*jùrə dokítun*| +*ràba*.| ‘Catch small fish, catch large ones, lots of them.’ (A 9:3)  
 (65) *mádrə júyda bnáyava áxči cùpa* ‘Again they would build a wall but (one that is) low.’ (B 17:34)  
 (66) *’ína mən-jánux buš-’áhmač xòzyat?* ‘Have you seen a more stupid person than you?’ (A 16:1)

On some occasions a noun and its adjective are connected together prosodically in the same intonation group. This is found, for example, in the names of the festivals *’ida* +*jura* ‘big festival’ (= Easter) and *’ida sura* ‘small festival’ (= Christmas) in (67). Note that the stress of the stress group is placed on the final syllable of the noun:

- (67) *’idá-+jura ’idá-sura cáslan +ràba ci-dokáxvalə b-kòšya*.| ‘We held Easter and Christmas very strictly in our community.’ (B 9:12)

### 9.6.2 *Apposition*

#### 9.6.2.1 Non-Restrictive

A noun or pronoun may have a non-restrictive modifier in the form of a noun in apposition to it, e.g.

- (1) *Nátan brùni*! *’ána tuybèrrun*,| *jurvàssuvən*,| *mùlpun*,| *’áxči ka-dàha móndi*.| ‘I have brought up, raised and taught Natan, my son, only for this purpose.’ (A 3:15)

In many cases the item in apposition is put in a separate intonation group, e.g.

- (2) *+pállan yùma, +pállan +tàrəx málcət Məssər, für'un, hàmla t-ávəd +ällux.* 'On such-and-such a day, on such-and-such a date, the king of Egypt, Pharaoh, will attack you.' (A 3:20)
- (3) *brúnət xàtux, Nàtan, šámmu Nàtan-ıva, vídlə ka-jánux brùna.* 'Make the son of your sister, Natan—his name was Natan—your son.' (A 3:6)
- (4) *'a-ctáva Nátan yávulə ká ... +Noxadnásər, málca.* 'Natan gives this letter to Nebuchadnezzar, the king.' (A 3:22)
- (5) *škúllə +págṛət bábux, +Axíkar, +támorrə.* 'Take the body of your father, Axiqar, and bury it.' (A 3:37)
- (6) *'àtən! xa-báxta! mù-+amsat káti ýdat?* 'You, a woman, what could you do for me?' (A 5:3)

In (7) an appositional phrase is placed at the end of the clause:

- (7) *Nàtan ú-məndi vádulə, o-brùnu.* 'Natan did this thing, his son.' (A 3:20)

If a noun with a demonstrative pronoun stands in apposition to a noun that is the complement of a preposition, the preposition may be gapped but the demonstrative pronoun is in its oblique form, i.e. the form it would have if the preposition were present:

- (8) *bənpála ju-hònna, de-hàvuz.* 'It (the shoe) falls in thingy, that pool.' (A 43:3)
- (9) *+bəkyàrələ b-de-scántu +bəkyàrəl dé +čap̪pàltu.* 'He carves, he carves with his knife, his staff.' (A 37:8)

The same applies to a phrase standing in apposition to a pronominal suffix of a preposition, e.g.

- (10) *xùtol dé +kazànča! +šerívalə! ýnnə míyya +radxiva.* 'Under it, that pan, they lit a fire and the water boiled.' (B 3:14)

Constructions with oblique pronouns in apposition form the background of fixed expressions such as *babi dani* 'my father and his relatives/friends', *yəmmi dani* 'my mother with her relatives/friends'. In these expressions the oblique 3pl. pronoun *dani* denotes people associated with the first noun, typically family members. These are used both when the first noun is the complement of a preposition or of another noun (11–12) and also in other contexts (13–14):

- (11) *t-ázax láb bábi dàni.* ‘Let’s go to the home of my father and his family.’  
 (12) *xášlan bétat bábi dàni.* ‘We went to the house of my father and his family.’  
 (13) *tílun bábi dàni.* ‘My father and his family came.’  
 (14) *+báyyən xazónnun bábi dàni.* ‘I want to see my father and his family.’

The expression appears to have developed through the borrowing of the pattern of a construction in Kurdish, in which a 3pl. pronoun is placed in apposition to denote people associated with the first noun. The difference is that in Kurdish the pronoun in apposition follows rules of case agreement, in that it is oblique only when the first noun is dependent (15) but is in the direct case in other contexts (16):

Kurdish (Urmî region)<sup>2</sup>

- (15) *Eve mer-a bab-ê min wan-e*  
       this shovel-EZ father-EZ my they.OBL-is  
       ‘This is the shovel of my father and his associates.’  
 (16) *bab-ê min ew jî dé çine dewatê*  
       father-EZ my they.DIR also will go wedding  
       ‘My father and his associates will also go to the wedding.’

The NENA dialect has borrowed the pattern with oblique pronouns, as in constructions such as (15), and generalized it to all contexts. It has become a fixed, autonomous expression and the *dani* component has ceased to be interpreted as a 3pl. oblique pronoun. This is reflected by the fact that *dani* is often contracted to *day*, e.g. *babi day*, *yəmmi day*.

### 9.6.2.2 Restrictive

Occasionally a noun that is placed in apposition to another noun expresses a restrictive attribute, e.g.

- (1) *mən-+bár dàyən! bədvákəx míyya məlxə.* ‘After that we take salt water.’  
 (B 15:3)

An adjectival phrase that is nominalized by a demonstrative pronoun (§ 9.6.1.) can be used in apposition to a definite noun to express a restrictive attribute.

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<sup>2</sup> The Kurdish examples were supplied by Ergin Öpengin.

This is used in particular when a contrastive opposition is set up between members of a salient limited set of items, e.g.

- (2) *brāt-málca* 'e-<sup>+</sup>*júrta labùlona*.! ‘They are taking the daughter of the king, the elder one.’ (A 45:9)
- (3) *cacála* 'aslí 'o-<sup>+</sup>*júra víyyələ málca* 'adíyya.! ‘The original bald man, the elder one, has become the king now.’ (A 1:29)

In (4) a middle deixis pronoun is used in this context:

- (4) *'á* +*šúla=da* *sátva c-odívalə*! *yála jílə* 'ánnə <sup>+</sup>*júrə*.! 'ánnə *sùrəl* *mòrril* *b-dó* +*kàvvəl* *b-*+*xadríva* *jaravày*.! ‘They do this in the winter, the older youngsters. The young ones, as I have said, went around the rooftops with that bowl.’ (B 5:9)

In (5) a noun that stands in restrictive apposition to a definite noun has a demonstrative pronoun:

- (5) *mən-dó-yba* *bitáyəna susavày*! +*allé* +*sayàdəl* *bi-tùp*,! *bi-calbanán* 'an-+*ta-zìyyə*.! ‘From the other side horses come, on which there are hunters with guns, with the greyhound dogs.’ (A 47:18)

### 9.6.2.3 Evaluative

A noun that expresses an attribute of another noun may be placed before the noun it qualifies when it has an emotion-driven evaluative function, e.g.

- (1) *xá šácla bráta vàyəla*.! ‘She becomes a girl a picture (of beauty).’ (A 43:22)
- (2) *šácla šácla laxúymə jvànķəl*! ‘handsome youths, a picture (of beauty)!’ (A 42:4)
- (3) +*ajibúyta* +*šùla víyyələ* +*táma*.! ‘An amazing thing (literally: a wonder a thing) has happened there.’ (A 43:24)

### 9.6.3 Adverbial and Prepositional Phrases

Nouns may be modified by a following adverbial or prepositional phrase, e.g.

- (1) *'éyàma* +*táma* *šámmo* *'ilə yámət* 'Urmi.! ‘The sea there, its name is the sea of Urmi.’ (B 2:17)
- (2) *dòšta* *b-dá* +*šúp̥ra* 'áxnan lèx xózya.! ‘We have not seen a plain with such beauty.’ (B 2:14)
- (3) +*úlma* +*aturáya* *ju-*'Urmi! *mən-kám* +*plàša* +*ràba* *šánnə* 'albáttá *mən-kám*

*+pláša, bí álpo tmanyámmo tláy! cúllə ’íva +ítət mădənxa.* ‘The Assyrian people in Urmi before the war, indeed many years before the war, in 1830, were all Church of the East.’ (B 1:27)

In (4) the prepositional phrase is separated from the head by an intervening copula:

- (4) *xa-mən-dan-šəcvàñəvən! xut-’ákłat màlca.* ‘I am one of those ants under the feet of the king.’ (A 3:66)

These phrases may be fronted before the head noun, e.g.

- (5) *mú yávvən b-dá mèymun?!* *maràni!* *xá ’áx +yúkro dàvə.* ‘“What should I give for this monkey?” They say “Gold in accordance with her weight.”’ (A 44:10–11)  
 (6) *’ax-bábijanáy* ‘people like my father’

In (7) both an adjectival and a prepositional phrase modifier are fronted before the head noun:

- (7) *t-íva xášle +al-+sèda,* *jáški +al-xá ’ilàna!* *távtəla xá šapórtə máx +šrá bəlláya bràta.* ‘When they had gone hunting, they saw sitting on a tree a beautiful girl shining like a lantern.’ (A 56:1)

If the fronted phrase carries the nuclear stress, it is given particular prominence, e.g.

- (8) *b-’íupra +kusaryátə ’átvalan.* ‘We had pots made of clay.’ (B 14:1)

In (9) there is an idiomatic ordering of the prepositional phrase to juxtapose two adjectives:

- (9) *xá dána +spáy yàla! hóna b-+júra súra lèlə!* *mòrrə.* ‘A fine young man, who had not a little brains, said ...’ (A 50:3)

## 9.7 Non-Attributive Modifiers

Nouns are also modified by a number of words that do not denote attributes. These include quantifiers and determiners. Many of these are invariable in

form. Here a variety of words of this nature are brought together. Many of them can also be used in other syntactic positions.

### 9.7.1 *cul* 'each, every'

The particle is used before a singular indefinite noun and has a distributive sense ('each one of the items of the set named by the noun'), e.g. *cúl bèta* 'every house' (B 2:11), *cúlyùma* 'every day' (B 2:19), *cúl-məndi* 'everything' (A 3:7). It may be followed by the cardinal indefinite participle *xa*, in which the items of the set are given greater individuation, e.g. *cùl xa-məndi* 'every single thing' (B 2:10). When combined with *yuma* 'day', the noun does not have the final *-a* inflectional ending, e.g. *cúl-yum* 'every day' (A 37:18). It is sporadically shortened to *cu-*, especially before common expressions, e.g. *cu-məndit* 'everything which' (A 34:7). The phrase *cu-məndit* is sometimes shortened further to *cu-mət* or *cu-m*, e.g. *cu-m-<sup>+b</sup>áyyət* 'whatever you wish' (A 37:10).

Occasionally it is used before an indefinite plural noun and has the sense of 'each sub-set of the item of the set named by the noun', e.g. *cul-nàšə* 'every (kind of) people' (A 3:42).

It may be combined with the annexation element *-ət*, resulting in the form *cullət*, and used at the head of a relative clause, e.g.

- (1) *cúllət <sup>+b</sup>áyyət ódat b-rišu vùd.* 'Do to him whatever you want.' (A 3:88)

The particle *cul* may be combined with the word *məndi* in such contexts, e.g.

- (2) *cúl-məndit óttə nàkval p-šaklátta m-páť <sup>+àrra.</sup>* 'Everything that has a female you must remove from the face of the earth.' (A 2:11)

### 9.7.2 *cút* 'each, every'

This particle, which has developed from the combination *\*kul + d*, has the same function as *cul*, e.g. *cút bèta* 'every house' (B 12:2), *cút <sup>+ber</sup>àšə* 'every evening' (A 4:12), *cút-xa* 'everybody' (A 1:43). It is used before numeral expressions, e.g.

- (1) *cút xa-<sup>+d</sup>àna* ... *cút trè-yarxə* *cút <sup>+tlá</sup>yárxa xà* 'every once (in a while), once every two or three months' (A 1:25).

When combined with *yuma* 'day', the noun does not have the final *-a* inflectional ending, e.g. *cút-yum* 'every day' (B 2:19).

It is used at the head of relative clauses, e.g.

- (2) *cút-ilə bitáya màra|'ávax +xlápux málca|'áxnan le-+yàttax.*| 'Everybody who comes says "With respect, king, we do not know."' (A 3:43)

### 9.7.3 **cullə 'all'**

This quantifier is used with plural or singular head nouns with the sense of 'all'. It is generally placed before the noun. The final -ə of the form can be identified as a fossilized form of an archaic 3ms pronominal suffix (§ 2.3.).

#### 9.7.3.1 Before a Plural Head Noun

Examples: *cúllə matvátət dáštət 'Ùrmi* 'all the villages of the plain of Urmî' (B 2:5), *cúllə matvátət diyyan* 'all our villages' (B 2:1), *cúllə bátə* 'all the houses' (B 2:11), *cúllə +tuyràna* 'all the mountains' (B 2:14), *cúllə +karavášu* 'all of his housekeepers' (A 3:38), *cúllə násət dúnýə* 'all the people of the world' (A 3:71), *cúllə 'ánnə +xabráne* 'all of these words' (A 3:45), *cúllə 'ánnə bəlyápənəl* 'He learns all of these' (A 3:58).

It may be separated from the following nominal by the inclusive enclitic -da, e.g. *cúllə-da 'an-+sarbàzə t-íva mónnu*l 'also all those soldiers who were with him' (A 3:35), or by other material, e.g. *cúllə +bəkrayèna našé*l 'They summoned all their relatives' (B 8:5).

When followed immediately by a demonstrative pronoun, the demonstrative is sometimes in the dependent form with an initial *d*, e.g. *cúllə dánna +parsúpə* 'all those people' (B 2:16).

#### 9.7.3.2 After a Plural Head Noun

It occasionally occurs after the noun, e.g. *cícu cúllə xrìvəl* 'all his teeth are ruined' (A 3:51).

#### 9.7.3.3 With a Singular Head Noun

When used with a singular head noun, the quantifier is generally placed before the noun. When the singular noun is definite, the quantifier has the sense of 'the whole of, all (of)', e.g. *cúllə dúnýə* 'the whole world' (A 3:1), *cúllə +págri* 'the whole of my body' (A 2:33), *cúllə kòšun* 'the whole of the army' (A 3:25), *cúllə 'o-+xiyávand* 'the whole of the street' (A 2:9), *cúllə +tùnta* 'all of the fruit' (A 3:12), *cúllə xàrjət tláy šànnəl* 'the whole of the expenses of thirty years' (A 3:44), *cúllə-yuma síma* 'the entire day' (A 5:8).

It may be used with the word *məndi* with a distributive sense, e.g. *'ána +púxlən cúllə məndi*l 'I have forgiven everything' (A 2:37). This is equivalent to *cul məndi*.

### 9.7.3.4 Independent

The particle may be used pronominally without any nominal being directly dependent on it, e.g. *cúllə* 'áx +'uydaləva<sup>l</sup> 'They were all like one another' (B 2:3), *cúllə* 'à-məndi<sup>l</sup> 'all of them (were) the same thing' (B 2:5), *cúllə* *bəxzayèna<sup>l</sup>* 'They see them all' (B 2:15), *cúllə* *yuvvélə* kàtu<sup>l</sup> 'He gave them all to him' (A 3:84), *cúllə* šátyøna<sup>l</sup> +'riyøna<sup>l</sup> 'They are all drunk and inebriated' (A 3:35), *cúllə* +*byáyəla* máxəl<sup>l</sup> 'He wants to beat them all'.

The independent form *culla* may have generic reference and have the sense of 'everything', e.g. *kámtət* *cúllə* mārələl<sup>l</sup> 'Before everything he says' (A 3:61).

### 9.7.4 +raba 'many, much'

This particle, which is pronounced *+roba* in some villages, modifies a singular noun of mass or a plural noun. It is generally placed before the head noun, e.g.

- (1) *lá-azət* +*bár* +*rába* *davəltə*.<sup>l</sup> 'Do not go after a lot wealth' (A 3:11)
- (2) *muyyílə* kàtu<sup>l</sup> +*rába* dàva.<sup>l</sup> 'He brought to him a lot of gold'. (A 3:84)
- (3) 'àxnan<sup>l</sup> *ju-*+*rába* +'atravátət dúnyə<sup>l</sup> +*xdirøvax*,<sup>l</sup> +*rába* dəšyàtə xózyøvax,<sup>l</sup> +*rába* *ducànə* xíšøvax.<sup>l</sup> 'We have travelled to many countries of the world, we have seen many plains, we have gone to many places.' (B 2:14)
- (4) 'átvəlun<sup>l</sup> +*rába* dàva.<sup>l</sup> 'They had many gold pieces.' (A 37:22)
- (5) +*bəkráyəla* +*rába* náše *lipə*.<sup>l</sup> 'He summons many learned people'. (A 3:42)
- (6) *malúpulə* +*rába* məndyàna.<sup>l</sup> 'He teaches him many things'. (A 3:7)

Occasionally it is placed after the head noun, e.g.

- (7) *sátvə* tálja<sup>l</sup> +*rába* *ci-*+*rayyíva*.<sup>l</sup> 'In winter a lot of snow fell.' (B 2:19)
- (8) *ju-*matvátə<sup>l</sup> 'átvə tanùrə<sup>l</sup> tanúrə<sup>l</sup> +*rába* átxa<sup>l</sup> àmku.<sup>l</sup> 'In the villages there were ovens, many ovens deep like this.' (B 2:9)

It is sometimes separated from the head noun by intervening material, e.g.

- (9) +*móstə* +'al-ríšu<sup>l</sup> +*rába* lətva.<sup>l</sup> 'There was not much hair on his head.' (A 37:1)
- (10) +*rába* *ci-*+*tarsíva* vádra.<sup>l</sup> 'They made many buckets.' (B 10:18)

It may be connected to its complement by the preposition *mən*, forming a partitive expression, e.g.

- (11) *xà-yuma<sup>1</sup> +krílə +rába mən-dánnə nášə lìpə.* ‘One day he summoned many of those learned men.’ (A 3:3)
- (12) *+rába mən-dánnə məndyána malùpula.* ‘He teaches him many of these things.’ (A 3:10)

The particle is often used as the intensifier of a gradable adjective, most commonly when predicative, e.g.

- (13) *+áv=da +rába lìpəva.* ‘He also was very learned.’ (A 3:1)
- (14) *'át +rába dívət sìva.* ‘You have become very old.’ (A 3:14)
- (15) *Nátan +rába +naráhat víla.* ‘Natan became very uncomfortable.’ (A 3:18)
- (16) *mən-+támə dáštət 'Úrmi<sup>1</sup> ci-mabyənnáva +rába šap̄ərta.* ‘From there the plain of Urmi looked very beautiful.’ (A 3:13)

The particle is used also with attributive adjectives, e.g.

- (17) *+rába cátun šəmma 'átlə.* ‘He has a very difficult name.’ (A 3:47)
- (18) *+xámra +társiva +rába rišáya +xámra ju-+linə.* ‘They used to make wine, very good quality wine in jars.’ (B 2:5)
- (19) *'ítə +al-dáni daríva +tínə, tínə lá +rába miyyàna.* ‘Then on these they would put mud, not very watery mud.’ (B 2:21)

In some contexts *+raba* with a gradable adjective is most idiomatically rendered into English as ‘too’, e.g.

- (20) *lá-'avət +rába šaxína.* *lá-'avət +rába +kàyra.* ‘Do not be too hot and do not be too cold.’ (A 3:9)

The particle may be used independently in predicative position in constructions such as:

- (21) *ka-mú=ina +raba?* ‘Why are they so many?’ (A 37:17)
- (22) *yán xa-sáma 'ən-+raba 'áviva ci-zabniva.* ‘Or they would sell a portion, if it was too much (surplus).’ (B 2:11)

It may also function as an adverbial modifier, e.g.

- (23) *málca +rába xdilə.* ‘The king rejoiced greatly.’ (A 3:34)
- (24) *'áxnan +rába bət-xádax<sup>1</sup> 'án yavvítun ká-díyyan pòrsat<sup>1</sup> +'ijàza yavvítunlan hár pésax ləxxa.* ‘We would be very happy if you give us the opportunity, (if) you give us the permission, to stay here always.’ (B 2:14)

- (25) *+rába +pšàməvax kát m-ída yùvvovax.* ‘We greatly regret that we lost it.’  
 (B 2:15)
- (26) *+rába murkžlla.* ‘He has delayed a lot.’ (A 37:18)

The particle is repeated to express further intensity, either before the modified element, after it, or each side of it, e.g.

- (27) *+rába +rába məndyánə märulə.* ‘He says to him many many things.’  
 (A 3:92)
- (28) *'ánnə məndyànəl +rāba, l +rāba| kátu tanuyèla.* ‘These many many things he tells him.’ (A 3:13)
- (29) *+rába honàntəval +rāba.* ‘She was very very clever.’ (A 3:32)

### 9.7.5    *xačča* ‘a little, a few; some’

This is placed before a singular noun of mass or a plural noun. It may function as a quantifier expressing a small quantity ('a little, a few') or as a determiner with a partitive sense, which does not express the size of the set of items that is referred to but only identifies the referent ('some').

- (1) *xáčča +xvárət bíta ci-+ṭarpíva ci-maxívə javé.* ‘They would beat a little white of an egg and put it in it.’ (B 12:4)
- (2) *yuvvällun xáčča +xólə kátu.* ‘They gave a few ropes to him.’ (A 37:17)
- (3) *xúš xáčča láxma mélan.* ‘Go and bring some bread.’ (A 19:1)
- (4) *'á yáləl xáčča švávə 'étlə.* ‘The boy has some neighbours.’ (A 36:2)
- (5) *'a-sápar xítə bəlvášələ ... xáčča júllə xínə.* ‘This other time he wears some other clothes.’ (A 3:62)

It is occasionally combined with the particle *xa*, e.g.

- (6) *'ázət xá xáčča mìyya mayyótlan.* ‘Go and bring us some water.’ (A 37:14)

The particle may stand independently and function as a nominal, e.g.

- (7) *ci-šaklíva xáčča| ci-darívalun ju-+týyan.* ‘They took some and put it in a cauldron.’ (B 12:4)
- (8) *xáčča mənné ci-+xoṭívalunju-dánnə míyyat +'ánvə.* ‘They used to bring and mix a little of it with the grape juice.’ (B 12:3)
- (9) *'ita bəštáyələ xáčča mən-de-+àyna.* ‘Then he drinks a little from the spring.’ (A 37:6)

On some occasions it is used as an adverbial quantifier, e.g.

- (10) *xáčča macriyyànnə*.! 'I shall shorten it slightly'. (A 3:14)
- (11) *xáčča tá +'al-jànu*x.! 'Return to yourself slightly (i.e. recover).' (A 3:53)
- (12) *+púzət póxa xáčča ptàxulə*.! 'He opens the mouth (of the bag of) wind a little.' (A 37:16)

It may also modify an adjective, e.g.

- (13) *'ina! ránjo xáčča smuknàya*.! 'But its colour is slightly reddish.' (B 12:6)

### 9.7.6 xacma, cma 'some'

This is placed before a singular noun of mass or a plural noun. It has the function of a determiner with a partitive sense, which does not express the size of the set of items that is referred to but only identifies the referent:

- (1) *bəsyákəna +'üllul*,! *hál cma-+dána 'atxa-+'üllul bəsyákəna*.! 'They go upwards, for some time they go upwards like this.' (A 3:71)
- (2) *'ázət xácma kèsə mayyátlən*.! 'Go and bring us some pieces of wood.' (A 37:14)
- (3) *+tlábloxun but-+zrùta katóxun xácma məndyána tánən*.! 'You have asked me to tell you some things about agriculture.' (B 2:1)
- (4) *'ótva xácma matvátət 'arəmnàya!* *ju-dáštət 'Urmi*.! 'There were some villages of Armenians in the plain of Urmi.' (B 2:6)
- (5) *+'ánvə ci-darívalun ju-xácma ... +tagjärə ci-+karáxlun*.! 'They used to put the grapes in kneading troughs, as we called them.' (B 12:2)
- (6) *'albáttə bətfákəna b-cmá 'apəskúpə kat-vàyanlə*.! 'Of course they meet bishops that we have.' (B 2:14)

The particle may be connected to the following noun by the preposition *mən*, e.g.

- (7) *xácma mən-nasyáttə masálan márələ* ... 'Some of the pieces of advice—for example he says ...' (A 3:9)
- (8) *ju-xácma mən-matvátə 'òttən!* *ýlpo 'əmmà-šənnə cípət bət-+kuravátə*.! 'In some of the villages, there are tombstones one thousand one hundred years old.' (B 1:6)

It is combined with the quantifier *cut* in constructions such as (9):

- (9) *cút-cma xa-<sup>+dàna</sup> ... ci-<sup>+pàlət</sup>*! ‘Every once in a while ... he goes out.’  
(A 1:25)

The particle *cma* can be used with an interrogative or exclamatory function, e.g.

- (10) *cmá xabiyyšə +báyyət?*! ‘How many apples do you want?’  
 (11) *cmá šànnə ́tlux?*! ‘How many years have you? (= How old are you?)’  
 (12) *+tíma dáha cimà-ilə?*! ‘How much is the value of this? (= What does this cost?)’  
 (13) *́ha cmá b-dákər?*! ‘How much would this cost? (= What does this cost?)’  
 (14) *cmá xmàrənva!*! ‘What an ass I was!’ (A 1:29)  
 (15) *údi cmá šònnə* *cáslux +xìlələ, šòtyələ!*! ‘How many years has he eaten and drunk in your presence!’ (A 3:22)  
 (16) *'an-cmá šónna ́na plíxən.*! ‘For so many years have *I* worked.’ (A 25:1)

#### 9.7.7    *xa-<sup>-</sup>axča, xa-xča* ‘such a’

This is used before nouns with the sense of ‘such a’, e.g.

- (1) *́na lé-<sup>+bayyən</sup> xà-<sup>-</sup>axča mánđi ju-<sup>+átrət</sup> díyyi ́və.*! ‘I do not want such a thing to be in my land.’ (A 1:38)  
 (2) *xá-<sup>-</sup>axča mánđi ́na lén mòrtə.*! ‘I have not said such a thing.’ (A 36:14)  
 (3) *xúš ́láha +baràxlux!* *kat-xá-<sup>-</sup>axča hònə* *karkápta kátux ́láhayùvvələ.*! ‘Go, God bless you, for God has given you such an intelligence and such a mind.’ (A 3:84)  
 (4) *bəxzáyəna xá-xča míyya +bərdàxa dáryəna* *á +hála mára dún +tətlı,*! *+yána* *'ax-t-én ́nna míyya mán +təta týyəna.*! ‘They see that they have poured so much boiling water, while this one says “I have just sweated,” as if this water has come from sweat.’ (A 37:21)  
 (5) *fúr'un málca! xá-xča mánđi +šudrənilə.*! ‘Pharaoh the king has sent us such a task (literally: thing).’ (A 3:55)

In some contexts it is used as a quantifier with the sense of ‘such-and-such an amount’, e.g.

- (6) *màrj dókax mónnax!* *+al-xá-<sup>-</sup>axča dàvə.*! ‘We shall make a bet with you on such-and-such an amount of gold coins.’ (A 34:10)

It may be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

- (7) *'áha xá-'axča +šúla +júra 'ávə výya ju-da-<sup>?</sup>átrət díyyi,| 'ána lā-+yatłən?*  
 'Has such a mighty matter as this taken place in this land of mine and I do not know about it?' (A 1:39)

In (8) it functions as a correlative that binds the reference of the nominal to the following subordinate content clause:

- (8) *'át xá-'axča| kvalta 'átválu| mən-+háji| kat-báxtux litən,| məttəla.* 'You had such a complaint against the pilgrim (namely) that your wife was missing, that she had died.' (A 1:30)

It may be used before adjectives in the sense of 'so', e.g.

- (9) *kám xá-xča +naràhat=ivət?* 'Why are you so uncomfortable?' (A 2:15)

It may be used adverbially with the sense of 'so much',

- (10) *mú váttəla ka-díyyux kat-xá-xča mxáyot?* 'What has it done to you that you beat it so much?' (A 3:80)  
 (11) *xázax ... ka-mù 'áxá-xča murkólla.* 'Let us see why he has delayed so much.'  
 (A 37:15)

In (12) it is combined with the interrogative particle *mut*:

- (12) *nášə cúlla mára 'a-yála mút xá-'axča muntyyəla.* 'Everybody says how much the lad has been successful.' (A 34:6)

### 9.7.8 <sup>+'</sup>uxča 'so much'

This particle, which appears to have developed from the combination of the demonstrative 'o with 'axča has a similar function to that of *xa-'axča*. Since it contains a demonstrative element, it is in principle, or at least was originally, anaphoric in function. Before nouns it has a sense of 'so much', e.g.

- (1) *tàlja| járə +rappáxvalə m-+ál-jára,| cíl yùma,| cíl yùma.* 'úxča tàlja ci-+rayyíva.' 'We had to throw off the snow from the roof, every day, every day, so much snow used to fall.' (B 2:19)

It is used before adjectives, e.g.

- (2) *'áha málca káti íva xá +karùvva| kát +'úxča šapíra kála 'stvala.|* 'This king was a rooster to me, who had such a beautiful voice.' (A 3:81)
- (3) *'ína +Axíkar +'úxča +narahàt vágølø| kat-háč xa-+xábra lòtlø.|* 'But Axiqar became so uncomfortable that he has nothing to say.' (A 3:30)
- (4) *'ína +'úxča sivøva| múttuva ju-xá ... +kørtàla.|* 'But he was so old that they had put him in a basket.' (A 2:14)

It may be used independently as an adverbial, e.g.

- (5) *+kátu bødvákona.| ka-dáha +kátu +'úxča mxáyølø,| +'úxča mxáyølø.* 'They take the cat. He beats the cat so much, he beats it so much.' (A 3:79)

The construction *xa-+uxča ... xa-+uxča* has a correlative function with the meaning of 'as much as ... so much ...', e.g.

- (6) *xa-+'úxčøt 'ilø,| xa-+'úxča-zø xut-+'arrølø.* 'As much as he is, so much is he also under the ground.' (i.e. you do not know half of him, he is cryptic, sneaky)

### 9.7.9    +pøllan

This word is an adaptation of the Persian (originally Arabic) form folán. Occasionally the initial fricative is retained: +føllan. It is used as a modifier of a noun with the sense of 'such-and-such', e.g.

- (1) *'à-šabta| málca| +pállan yùma,| +pállan +dàna,| +pállan +sà'at| +plàtølø| +al-dà 'úrxa.* 'This week the king, on such-and-such a day, at such-and-such a time, at such-and-such an hour, is going out on this journey.' (A 1:25)
- (2) *málca t-ávøt basíma| +pállan yùma,| +pállan +tarøx| málcat Møssær,| für'un| hàmla t-ávød +'állux.* 'King, be well, on such-and-such a day, such-and-such a date, the king of Egypt, Pharaoh, will make an attack on you.' (A 3:20)
- (3) *'on-lèt hammúnø,| ku-ta-mønni| 'ázax +pállan dícta.* 'If you do not believe, come with me, let's go to such-and-such a place.' (A 3:23)
- (4) *xàyølø| +pállan díctaølø.* 'He is alive. He is in such-and-such a place.' (A 3:50)

It is used with the Persian complement *cas/cas* in the sense of 'so-and-so',

- (5) *šámmøt díyyi 'ilø ... +pállan cás|* 'My name is so-and-so.' (A 37:8)

- (6) *'áxtun +bəddáyətun ána +fóllan cás-vən.* | ‘You know that I am so-and-so.’  
(A 39:42)

### 9.7.10   'atxa, xa-'atxa

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) *'átxa baxtátə| jári péši +ktílə.* | ‘Such women must be killed.’ (A 1:7)  
 (2) *'átxa məndyána malùpula.* | ‘He teaches him such things.’ (A 3:13)  
 (3) *+rába hamzúmələ 'átxa məndyàna.* | ‘He speaks about many such things.’  
(A 3:46)

When the noun phrase is the complement of a noun or preposition, the anaphoric determiner *'atxa* is used in its oblique form *datxa*, e.g.

- (4) *'íta ju-dátxa +dána mən-šmáyya bənpáləna +tlà xabúšə.* | ‘Then at such a time as this, three apples fall from the sky.’ (A 38:19)

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

- (5) *'átxa lè-ovyə* | ‘Such a thing should not be.’ (A 37:18)  
 (6) *mélə xázən ɬa-mù-ilə 'átxa vída.* | ‘Bring him so I can see why he has done such and thing.’ (A 3:26)

It is used predicatively, e.g.

- (7) *xubbàna-vi,| jaxcàna-vi| 'átxa-vi.* | ‘Be good, be loving, be merry, be like this.’  
(A 3:89)

The particle may function as a modifier of adjectives or adverbials, in which case it is placed either before or after the head, e.g.

- (8) *ju-matváta ɬtvə tanúrə| tanúrə +rába 'átxa 'ámku| javé láxma ci-yapìva.* | ‘In the villages there were ovens, many ovens, deep like this, in which they used to bake bread.’ (B 2:9)  
 (9) *ɬésa ci-mattíva +xlíma 'átxa| mən-dà jiýda +al-dò jiýda.* | ‘They used to place a piece of wood, thick like this, from this wall to that wall.’ (B 2:19)  
 (10) *'an-ɬésa ci-mattívalun 'átxa šàvyə.* | ‘They used to lay those sticks equal (i.e. parallel) like this.’ (B 2:20)

- (11) *dašdəššívalə́ ’átxa jáns +mam̄tivalə́*. ‘They used to stamp it very well like this and prepared it.’ (B 2:21)

It is frequently used independently as an adverb, e.g.

- (12) *’átxa +vára bərràxšəla.* ‘(Time) passes like this.’ (A 3:39)  
 (13) *har-’átxa čamčùmula.* ‘He throws (him) down just like that.’ (A 3:37)  
 (14) *márat díyyi lèla xšíxa | kat-’ána ’átxa hamzámmən bázú.* ‘My master does not need me to speak about him like this.’ (A 3:64)  
 (15) *+’ávva síla ’átxa ’átxa partùləla.* ‘He twists the sand like this.’ (A 3:74)  
 (16) *’an-jardéyə xrúzlun +’álju-dárta ’átxa.* ‘Lay out the round loaves in a line in the courtyard like this.’ (A 37:3)

The particle *’atxa* is sometimes preceded by the indefinite particle *xa*, forming the phrase *xa-’atxa*, which is sometimes contracted to *xa-txa*. It modifies a following noun or adjective and has the sense of ‘so much’. In the attested examples it is used with an exclamatory function (17–19) or a deictic function (20):

- (17) *’át mú-tahar b-xamyáttun ’ánnə +ambàrəl xá-’atxa dàvə?* ‘How will you protect these storerooms with so much gold?’ (A 43:1)  
 (18) *dáx xá-txa janáy +k̄taltēt, | ’át dámmat cùlla dəžmənnax šaklánna.* ‘Just as you have killed so many people, I shall avenge the blood of all of your enemies.’ (A 43:4)  
 (19) *xá-’atxa +naràhat-vət.* ‘You are so stressed.’ (A 39:32)  
 (20) *táxta +júrtəva flúltal xá-’atxa +rámta.* ‘It was a large round board, this high.’ (B 10:14)

### 9.7.11 *xina* (*fs. xita, pl. xinə*) ‘other’

#### 9.7.11.1 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* ‘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) *’ána| yavvánna xa-dárs xíta.* ‘I shall give him another lesson.’ (A 3:87)  
 (2) *xá-məndi xína müttəla.* ‘He has placed (there) something else.’ (A 37:20)  
 (3) *’ádi xa-bába xína tíyyələ.* ‘Now another father has come.’ (A 3:93)  
 (4) *xá ’axúna xína ’ot-’ótvalə.* ‘Another brother, which he had.’ (A 3:17)

- (5) *xá-ja xítə-zə +Axíkar xazənvalə!* '(If only) I could see Axiqar one more time!' (A 3:46)
- (6) *'a-yba-xína-da fır'un bitáyələ!* 'One the other side Pharaoh comes.' (A 3:25)
- (7) *'ó-yuma xína mədrə 'ó-məndi vília!* 'The next day (literally: the other day), again the same thing happened.' (A 2:27)

A demonstrative pronoun, an indefinite particle or numeral may substitute for the nominal head, e.g.

- (8) *'o-xína +naràhat vágylə!* 'The other one becomes upset.' (A 3:17)
- (9) *+şadúrəna xa-xína* 'They send another one.' (A 37:16)
- (10) *hálli tré xínə!* 'Give me two others.'

In (11), from a text recorded in Georgia, the numeral *tre* is combined with *xa* in the head. Constructions such as this are not used in the Urmî region:

- (11) *yómmo 'iyal 'átvala tré bnátə xínə 'ayən-da!* 'Her stepmother, had two other daughters, herself and two others.' (A 51:2)

When the noun is indefinite plural, it is occasionally preceded by *xačča* 'some', but is generally left without a preceding particle, e.g.

- (12) *bəlvášələ ... xáčča júllə xínə!* 'He puts on some other clothes.' (A 3:66)
- (13) *xášlux cəs-nášə xínə!* 'You went to other people.' (A 3:5)
- (14) *nášə xínə látva?* 'Were there not other people?' (A 3:66)
- (15) *+rábə məndyánə xínə!* 'many other things' (A 3:44)

#### 9.7.11.2     *xa-xta*

The phrase *xa-xta*, which is in origin a combination of the indefinite particle *xa* with the fs. form *xita*, has a wider use than *xa-xina*. It may be used generically in the sense of 'another one', irrespective of the gender of the referent, e.g.

- (1) *'átlı 'áxči xá xabityša! hálli xá-xta!* 'I have only one apple. Give me another.'

It may also be used as an inclusive particle with the sense of 'also' or adverbially with the sense of 'again':

- (2) *+báyyən xa-ctávət Yósəp! 'u-xá-xta ctávət +xòru!* 'I want a book of Yosip's and also a book of his friend's.'
- (3) *xá-xta mxı!* 'Strike again!' (A 39:14)

### 9.7.11.3 Adverbial *xina*

The particle *xina* may be used adverbially with the sense of ‘more, again’, e.g.

- (1) *bitáyəna xína miyya*.| ‘The water comes again.’ (A 39:20)

It is most frequently used in negative expressions, e.g.

- (2) *'ána lèn +byáyo xína*.| ‘I do not want it anymore.’ (A 1:50)
- (3) *'ána xína lèn 'úrza*.| ‘I am no longer a man.’ (A 4:14)
- (4) *'ána xína-lè-pešən láxxa*.| ‘I shall not stay here any longer.’ (A 4:15)
- (5) *xína lè-'azən*.| ‘I shall not go again.’ (A 39:36)
- (6) *xína bássa*.|| ‘No more! (literally: more enough)’ (A 39:14)

The form *xina* may also function as a discourse connective (§ 13.1.6.).

### 9.7.12 *háč* ‘not any’

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

- (1) *'ána háč-məndi le-+bàyyən*.| ‘I do not want anything.’ (A 3:86)
- (2) *háč-məndi lélə váda ka-bàbu*.| ‘He does not do anything to his father.’ (A 3:37)
- (3) *háč-náša le-hàmzəm*.| ‘Nobody will speak.’ (A 3:88)
- (4) *xa-mándi +báyyən tānat káti| kat-háč náša là-'ava +šámyu ju-dúnyə*.| ‘I want you to tell me something that nobody in the world has heard.’ (A 3:75)
- (5) *háč dúca lót dášta b-dá šúpра*.| ‘Nowhere is there a plain with such beauty.’ (B 2:14)
- (6) *háč məššəlmánə +šúlə-da léna viyyə*.| ‘There were no Muslims and so forth (there).’ (B 2:16)

It can take the indefinite cardinal particle *xa* as its complement, e.g.

- (7) *'ánnə háč-xa-mənne lèna +bəddáya*.| ‘None of them knows these.’ (A 3:35)
- (8) *háč-xa mənné látvalun carmànə*.| ‘None of them had vineyards.’ (B 2:6)

The predicate is not negated with a negator in (9), in which the particle *háč* is characterizing the negative property of the noun rather than the non-existence of its referent:

- (9) *bás áxnan ́ivax +šàvva! yána hàč-məndivax ka-dá!* ‘We are seven (in number), that is we are nothing (i.e. insignificant) for him.’ (A 37:9)

The particle is used independently with the adverbial sense of ‘never’ or ‘not at all’, e.g.

- (10) *háč mən-béta léva +pláṭa +al-vàddar!* ‘He never goes out of the house.’  
(A 37:1)  
(11) *háč +naráhat là-’avət!* ‘Do not be upset at all.’ (A 38:14)

Unlike the negative polarity item ‘any’ in English, *háč* cannot be used in positive questions, e.g.

- (12) A: *+bayyat məndi?* B: *là, lá +báyyən háč məndi!* ‘A: “Do you want anything?” B: “No, I do not want anything.”’

### 9.7.13 mut

This interrogative particle may be used as a modifier of a noun, e.g.

- (1) *’ána mut-xərbayúta kátux vıdənva! ̄kat-’átən ’á-+šula vódlux b-ríši?* ‘What evil had I done to you that you have done this against me?’ (A 3:27)  
(2) *’á mut-+xábrələ?* ‘What talk is this?’ (A 5:2)  
(3) *’a-mút +šùlələ?* ‘What matter is this? (i.e. What is this?)’ (A 2:21)  
(4) *’á mút +šùlux-ilə?* ‘What work of yours is this? (i.e. What are you up to?)’  
(A 37:18)  
(5) *mút +pásla +kátlàxlə?* ‘In what way shall we kill him?’ (A 37:19)  
(6) *’ína léx +rába +suxsìyyə +állu! mut-+manày ̄tłə!* ‘But we have not done much research on it, (as to) what meaning it has.’ (B 12:7)  
(7) *là + bukórrí ̄kat-’á báxta! b-mút móta móttəla, dàxi móttəla!* ‘I did not ask with what (type of) death she died, how she died.’ (A 1:29)

It may also be used as a clausal interrogative with the meaning of ‘why?’:

- (8) *mút kétət bìyyu?* ‘Why are you bugging him?’

The particle may be used exclamatorily, e.g.

- (9) *’a-mút +káłma dárýəl b-ríšu!* ‘What ash has he put on his head! (i.e. What a shameful thing he has done!)’ (A 2:23)  
(10) *mút bušlùnyələ!* ‘How hot it is! (What a hot day it is!)’

The particle is used also before adjectives with such an exclamatory function:

- (11) +čáydan mút xàmtəla! 'How hot the kettle has become!'
- (12) mút +sìyyəva, bən̥káya bən̥káya štíla. 'He was so thirsty that he drank in gulps.'

#### 9.7.14 mujjur

The adverbial interrogative particle *mujjur* 'how' is occasionally used as a modifier of a noun, e.g.

- (1) xázzax müjjuryáləla. 'Let us see what kind of boy he is.' (A 34:4)

#### 14.9.15 la

The negative particle *la* can be used as a modifier of an adjective, e.g. *carpíčə lə bšílə* 'unbaked bricks' (B 14:5), +àmra lá məsya! 'unwashed wool' (B 15:5), tína lá +rába miyyàna! 'mud that is not very watery' (B 2:21), *la* x̊ixa 'unworthy', *la* +masyattana 'inattentive', *la* +parmíyyana 'not understanding', *miyya la* +rdixə 'unboiled water', *xabuysə la bšilə* 'unripe apples', *marət la fnaha* 'innocent' (literally: 'owner of non-guilt').

### 9.8 Comparison of Adjectives and Adverbs (The Particles *buš* and *zoda*)

Comparative constructions are generally formed by placing the particle *buš* before an adjective or adverb. The item with which it is compared, if this is mentioned, is introduced by the preposition *mən*, e.g.

#### Predicative adjectives

- (1) 'áha xabuýsa buš-+júrələ mən-+dàvva xabuýsa. 'This apple is bigger than that apple.'
- (2) 'ína 'á +júrət cačálə! ... 'íva! bùš! +'ullul' mòn! dan-xìna. 'Now, the elder of the bald men ... was higher (in rank) than the others.' (A 1:2)
- (3) nòkva mən-'úrza buš-xelántəla. 'A female is stronger than a male.' (A 2:36)
- (4) nákva buš-xelántəla m-cùl-məndi. 'A female is stronger than anything.' (A 5:1)
- (5) mən-díyyi-da buš-šapírəna. 'They are more beautiful even than me.' (A 39:14)

In (6) the particle *buš* is placed before the noun rather than the adjective:

- (6) *búš batvaté šapírəva.* ‘Their houses were more beautiful.’ (B 1:41)

### Attributive adjectives

- (7) *+jámmila e-kóšun buš-xelànta kat-xazónna kam-für'un.* ‘Muster a stronger army so that I can see it (stand) before Pharaoh.’ (A 3:24)  
 (8) *xa-+kusárta buš-+fùrta +byáyəvən.* ‘I want a bigger pot.’ (A 8:3)

### Adverbs

- (9) *'ína xáčča bùš šapírta márola.* ‘But he tells it a little more beautifully.’ (A 3:77)  
 (10) *har-ò-+šula c-odívalə, 'ína búš hasanày, búš tamməz.* ‘They used to perform the same task, but more easily and cleanly.’ (B 12:4)

In (11) the compared item is expressed by a phrase introduced by the correlative quantifier *cma* ‘as much as’:

- (11) *jánu cmá šapírəva búš +ràba šapíra víla.* ‘As handsome as he was, he became more handsome (= He became more handsome than he was).’ (A 42:10)

The particle *buš* may be omitted before the adjective if the item with which the comparison is made is mentioned, e.g.

- (12) *'áha mən-dan xínə +rába šapàrtəla.* ‘She is more beautiful than the others.’ (A 39:16)  
 (13) *'ón mən-mèskal! ýya +ràba! mən-ðštux parmónna.* ‘If it is more than a gram, I shall cut it from your bottom.’ (A 7:11)  
 (14) *mánnan yálə súrə +rába +ràmtəva.* ‘It was much higher than us children.’ (B 10:8)

In (15) the attributive adjective and compared item are placed before the noun:

- (15) *'ána mán dá-da yácca béta +bàyyan.* ‘I want a house bigger than that one.’ (A 54:6)

The superlative may be expressed by a definite noun phrase, introduced by a demonstrative pronoun, containing an adjective accompanied by the particle *buš*, e.g.

- (16) *múdilə* 'o-mándi *búš* *xelàna ju-dínyə?* 'What is the strongest thing in the word?' (A 38:7)
- (17) *'é buš-šapárta lváštak hàlla.* 'Give me your most beautiful dress.' (A 1:13)
- (18) *yávolə* 'e-+kusárta *buš-šapárta* +fùrta| *ká* +málla +Nasràdən. 'He gives the biggest and most beautiful pot to mullah Nasradin.' (A 8:4)

The particle *buš* is sometimes omitted from such superlative expressions, especially when there is specification of the group in which the item is superlative, e.g.

- (19) *'ýy* é +fùrtəva *ju-bnátə.* 'She was the eldest among the girls.' (A 39:14)
- (20) *'ila* *xá mən-dan-*+umránə *'atíkət mšixayùta.* 'It is one of the oldest churches of Christianity.' (B 1:4)

In (21) and (22) the particle *buš* is combined with *+raba* 'much, many' to express the superlative degree of this quantifier:

- (21) *məndíyyu* *buš-+rába* *yuvvállə* *ka-brúna* +fùra. 'He gave most of his property to the eldest son.' (A 38:1)
- (22) *buš* *+rabəl̥* *'átvälun carmànə.* 'Most of them had orchards.' (B 1:23)

In (23) the quantifier *+raba* is placed after the noun:

- (23) *mən-kám* *+dána* *víyyan-ilə* *bùš matvátə* *+rába.* 'Before we had more villages.' (B 1:22)

In (24) the superlative of the non-attributive modifier *+roba* is expressed by making the compared item the universal quantifier:

- (24) *mən-dá* *bəškálona* *mən-cúllə* *+róba* *dítysə.* 'They take most of the honey from this.' (B 17:43)

The particle *buš* may be used independently with an adverbial functions, e.g.

- (25) *+úrra!* *cmá-t* *'óya macàxta* *buš-mìyya c-ázifávo.* 'The more soft the ground is, the more water sinks into it.' (A 3:11)

In such contexts, however, it is usually combined with *zoda*, e.g.

- (26) *b-+núyṭa buš-zóda +’ojaxyátə zùrzəva.* | ‘They had mostly made oil hearths.’  
(B 12:4)
- (27) *’ána xáčča bùš-zoda mónnux| xìyyən.* | ‘I have lived a little more than you.’  
(A 3:16)

The word *zoda* can be used without the *buš* particle to express a comparative adverbial, e.g.

- (28) *cut-bèta ’ótvala xá tanùyra,| tanùyra| kát ... zòda jávu| làxma ci-páyyi,| yán +’kusàrta ci-bášlijávo.* | ‘Every house had an oven, an oven, in which, mostly, they would bake bread, or they would cook in a cooking-pot.’ (B 14:1)
- (29) *+’rába zóda mən-+lázəm| mán +crəsyánə xóšu le-’atyáva.* | ‘He disliked Christians much more than was necessary.’ (A 3:16)

The particle *zoda* is used to express a comparative degree of quantity, e.g.

- (30) *búš xá móndi zòda b-yávvi káti.* | ‘They will give me something more (for them).’ (A 34:2)
- (31) *mən-mátra zòda c-áviva| +ràma.* | ‘It (the snow) was more than a metre high.’ (B 17:50)
- (32) *’əmmà-janə zódəla.* | ‘It (the queue) is more than one hundred people.’  
(A 19:2)
- (33) *’áxči ’à p̄t-+axlátla,| là zóda.* | ‘You may eat only this, no more.’ (A 35:7)
- (34) *zóda háč-naša lélə +bəddáyo ’àyya.* | ‘Nobody else knows it.’ (B 17:20)

It is combined with the word *sama* ‘portion’ to expresses the superlative degree of quantities, e.g.

- (35) *sáma zóda məndi| +’àvva vélə škílu.* | ‘He has taken most of the property.’  
(A 38:5)

## 9.9 Annexation

An annexation relationship between two nouns or nominal phrases is expressed by attaching the annexation element *-ət* to the end of the head noun or to the right periphery of the head nominal phrase. The basic features of the morphosyntactic behaviour of the annexation element have been described in

§ 5.14. This particle is used also to connect a head noun to an embedded relative clause (§ 14.1.1.). Here some additional features of the syntax and semantics of annexation constructions will be described.

In principle the dependent nominal phrase that follows the annexation element has the function of a restrictive modifier of the head nominal phrase. Broadly speaking the annexation expresses a relationship of some kind between the referents of the two phrases. The dependent phrase in an annexation construction has a different status from an adjective. In constructions consisting of a noun and an adjective the adjective in principle expresses a property inherent in the referent of the head noun, either permanently or contingently. In an annexation construction, the head is presented as related to or associated with the dependent phrase such that the dependent phrase specifies in some way the head.

Examples from the text corpus: *bétat málca* 'the house of kings' (A 3:18), *brúnat xàtux* 'the son of your sister' (A 3:6), *málcat Màssar* 'the king of Egypt' (A 3:19), *dáštət 'Ùrmi* 'the plain of Urmî' (B 2:1), *púmmət +Axìkar* 'the mouth of Axìqar' (A 3:19), *+págṛat bábxus* 'the body of your father' (A 3:37), *šámmət báxtu* 'the name of his wife' (A 3:31), *+maxdarránat +'àtri* 'the administrator of my land' (A 3:45) *'ídət xa-náša* 'the hand of a man' (A 3:31), *xárjət tláy šánnə* 'the expenses of thirty years' (A 3:44), *+ámvət +xála* 'grapes for eating' (B 2:3), *baxčánat yéməš* 'orchards of fruit' (B 2:6), *yámtat 'Ùrmi* 'lake of Urmî' (B 2:13), *+xvártat bíta* 'the white of an egg' (B 12:4), *kálat báxya* 'the sound of weeping' (A 2:31), *p-ùrxət šákítə* 'on the way to the stream' (A 6:2).

The annexation may be recursive, e.g. *vazzírət bábət málca* 'the vizier of the father of the king' (A 2:14), *ju-cúllə matvátət dáshtat 'Ùrmi* 'in all the villages of the plain of Urmî' (B 2:5), *én bíyyət dén +záyət dé səppárta* 'the eggs of the young of the bird' (A 53:2).

If the dependent noun is definite, the head phrase is definite, even when it has no anaphoric link with what precedes, if it is unique within the set of referents designated by the noun in its association with the dependent noun, e.g. *+págṛat bábxus* 'the body of your father' (A 3:37), i.e. he has only one body. In such cases the head noun is occasionally accompanied by a default demonstrative element signalling that its referent is identifiable in what follows, e.g.

- (1) *'o-rišət do-náša labúlulə ká +Nuxadnásar* 'He takes the head of the man to Nebuchadezzar' (A 3:37)

If the relationship is not unique and more than one possible item in the set could be intended, then the head noun is not definite, unless it has an

anaphoric relationship with the preceding context. This is typically the case, for example, when the head denotes a fraction, since fractions by definition are not unique members of a set, e.g. *pályət malcúyti* 'a half of my kingdom' (A 3:50). When the indefinite noun is not a fraction and it does not imply by virtue of its meaning other members of a set, the indefinite marker *xa* is in principle used, e.g. *xa 'axunət babi* 'a brother of my father's'. An alternative way to express this is by a partitive construction with the preposition *mən*, e.g. *xa mən 'axunvatət babi* 'one of the brothers of my father'. Other variations include an indefinite head and dependent noun (2) and an anaphorically definite noun with an indefinite dependent noun (3)

- (2) *'žtvalə xa-'ilánət xabùšə!* 'He had a tree of apples (= an apple tree).' (A 39:1)
- (3) *'áha brátət xá +sultānilə!* 'She is the daughter of a ruler.' (A 34:7)

A verbal noun is connected to one of the arguments of the event expressed by the verb. If the event involves an agent and an affectee, the dependent nominal may be either of these arguments, e.g. *bašáltət nipùxta* 'the cooking of molasses' (B 12:8), *b-xá mxéttət dá +čap̪pálta!* 'with one blow of this club' (A 37:8).

The annexation is used to introduce citations in expressions such as *+xábrət p-na-poxtə* 'the word *na-poxte*' (B 12:7), *šámmət nipùxta* 'the name *nipuxta*' (B 12:7).

It is used before the names of languages, e.g. *b-líšanət +fársət* 'in the Persian language' (B 12:8).

The annexation element *-at* in the head is sometimes contracted. The long vowel in a preceding open syllable remains long when it is closed by such an elision, e.g. *brunət* > *brún*. If the resulting form ends in a consonantal cluster, the final consonant is elided, e.g. *baxtət* > *baxt* > *bax* (§ 5.14.). Attested examples in the speech of informants from the Urmī region include:

- (i) kinship relationships, e.g.

<i>brún-xàtu</i>	'the son of his sister' (A 3:7) < <i>brunət</i>
<i>brát-málca</i>	'the daughter of the king' (A 34:3) < <i>bratət</i>
<i>+jór dá-baxta</i>	'the husband of this woman' (A 2:7) < <i>+jorət</i>
<i>bax-+tákər</i>	'the wife of the merchant' (A 1:12) < <i>baxtət</i>
<i>bax-+mamuna</i>	'wife of paternal uncle'
<i>bax-+xaluvva</i>	'wife of maternal uncle'

(ii) expressions with the head noun *marət*, e.g.

- |                     |                                  |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>már duccàna</i>  | 'the owner of the shop' (A 10:4) |
| <i>már-xa 'akla</i> | 'one-legged man'                 |
| <i>már-xa luyla</i> | 'single-barrelled gun'           |
| <i>már-davolta</i>  | 'rich man'                       |

(iii) expressions with the head noun *betət* 'house of', e.g.

- |                     |                                  |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>bēt-málca</i>    | 'the house of the king' (A 34:2) |
| <i>bēt-malcìyta</i> | 'house of the kingdom' (A 3:90)  |

(iv) illnesses with the head noun <sup>+</sup>*marrət* 'illness'

- |                               |                         |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <sup>+</sup> <i>mar-riša</i>  | 'head-ache'             |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>mar-kdala</i> | 'disease of the throat' |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>mar-cisa</i>  | 'stomach ache'          |

(v) fixed idiomatic phrases

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>šəmšə-<sup>+</sup>sara</i>  | 'moonlight' (literally: 'the sun of the moon') |
| <i>kəštə-<sup>+</sup>maran</i> | 'rainbow' (literally: 'the bow of our Lord')   |

(vi) Other cases

- |                                     |                                  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <sup>+</sup> <i>makrəttān-còsa</i>  | 'cutter of hair' (A 17:1)        |
| <i>pát</i> <sup>+</sup> <i>ärra</i> | 'the face of the earth' (A 2:11) |
| <i>kāl-jáxca</i>                    | 'the sound of laughter' (A 2:30) |
| <i>cóć nòkva</i>                    | 'female kind' (A 2:11)           |

The heavier variant with the uncontracted *-ət* element may be conditioned by prosodic end-weighting. In (4), for example, the annexation form *cōc* is repeated in the second of a pair of clauses in the fuller form *cocət*:

- (4) *cóć nòkva la-śòkət. | cōcət nòkva | cíllə dòkət. |* 'Do not leave female kind alive.  
Seize all female kind.' (A 2:11)

The contraction is also commonly found with the noun <sup>+</sup>*dánət* 'time of', e.g.

- (5) *údi <sup>+</sup>dán tètula. |* 'Now is the time of his returning.' (A 2:19)  
 (6) *<sup>+</sup>dán mótila. |* 'It is the time of my death.' (A 32:4)

In the Caucasus this contraction of the annexation element is more frequent. Some selected examples include:

- (7) *kámta mān-sótə mlíla.* ‘Fill the old lady’s plate first.’ (A 42:29) < *manət*
- (8) *mádrə lišán +hošárəla.* ‘Again it is in the language of the Muslims.’ (A 44:8) < *lišánət*
- (9) *þ-íd +bar-náša.* ‘in the hand of the man’ (A 47:2) < *þ-ídət*
- (10) *xút dōl xabúš pərdəsa.* ‘under that tree of paradise’ (A 49:7) < *xabúšət*
- (11) *míyyolə cal-náš.* ‘He has brought the bride of the people.’ (A 50:4) < *cáltət nášə*

Sporadically the loss of the *-ət* ending results in the shift of the stress in the head noun, e.g.

- (12) *bèta bitáyələl xína kóšun málca.* ‘The army of the king comes to the house.’ (A 48:14) < *košúnət*

When the head noun has a pronominal suffix, the annexation element has the status of an enclitic (§ 5.14.), e.g. *'isaktu-t dava* ‘his ring of gold’. In such contexts the annexation element is sometimes elided, e.g.

- (13) *bətyávələ +al-súysu kèsə.* ‘He sits on his horse of wood.’ (A 1:12)

In (14)–(17) the head is a phrase consisting two coordinated nouns. In (17) the first noun is shortened:

- (14) *yámma bábət bráta bitáyəna.* ‘The mother and father of the girl come.’ (A 35:8)
- (15) *'e-dúcta kat-šáxtə móxtət kənyàna ci-xamilun.* ‘the place where they keep the filth and the like of cattle’ (B 6:6)
- (16) *bába sávət díyyan katé jùškəna.* ‘Our father and grandfather looked after them.’ (B 16:3)
- (17) *'áy-da áklo mattúyola l-á-pāt l-é-patət kèsə.* ‘She puts her leg on this side and on that side of the wood.’ (A 1:14)

An active participle can be linked to an object argument by annexation, e.g.

- (18) *madmùyuxvən +al-xa-šəmšəl yavvántət +bàra.* ‘I compare you to a sun giving light.’ (A 3:62)

The noun *+bara* in (18) specifies the adjectival active participle *yavvantət*.

An annexation element that is attached to other types of adjective or non-attributive modifier may also relate to a complex nominal phrase consisting of noun and adjective, and so the dependent nominal phrase specifies the whole head nominal phrase and not the adjective alone, e.g.

- (19) *beta támməz-ət xati* 'The clean house of my sister'
- (20) *'an-júlla júrət dmàxa* 'the big clothing of bedding' (B 17:27)
- (21) *'ila xá mən-dan-+umránə 'atíkət mšixayùta*.| 'It is one of the oldest churches of Christianity.' (B 1:4)
- (22) *'áxnan fú ... béta malcáyət +Harúnə,| 'ánnə +xulafáyə,| haccimə výyan-ilə*.| 'In the royal household of Harunids, the caliphs, we had doctors.' (B 1:9)
- (23) *ju-dá 'urxa* *xá mənyána +júrət +aturáyə póšlə xiša mən-+ára*.| 'On this journey a large number of the Assyrians vanished in the middle (before reaching their destination).' (B 1:15)
- (24) *bétət kənyána +al-dójiba xinət bétəva*.| 'The cattle shed was on the other side of the house.' (B 14:13)

In nominal phrases in (25) the annexation element stands independently of the preceding adjective:

- (25) *'áha! cáslu výyulə xá ... xá +jánta +júrtal 'ót +mafrayátə| xá +jánta +júrtə 'ót mòlxə,| xá +jánta +júrtə-da 'ót mìxa*.| 'He has with him a big bag of razors, a big bag of salt and a big bag of nails.' (A 39:28)

If, however, an adjective modifies the entire annexation phrase rather than only the head noun, it is placed after the dependent nominal of the annexation phrase, as in (26):

- (26) *'ítə mən-dánnə míyyət +'ánvə +sàpyə| ci-šaklívə xàččələ ci-darívalun ju-+týan*.| 'So from this pure grape juice they used to take a little and pour it into a cauldron.' (B 12:4)

A noun is annexed to a numeral to express an ordinal (§ 7.2.), e.g. *'axiúnət tmànya* 'an eighth brother' (A 37:10).

The annexation element is used also to join prepositions and adverbial expressions to a following dependent phrase (see § 8.4. for details), e.g. *marzá-nət taniýra* 'around the stove' (B 2:4).

If the dependent nominal phrase begins with demonstrative pronoun, the demonstrative is in its oblique form with initial *d*, e.g. *b-ríšət dó mārux* 'by the

head of that master of yours.' (A 3:65), *márzət da-+’ayna* 'on the bank of this spring' (A 37:8), *dápnət dé dàšta* 'on the edge of that plain' (B 2:13), *b-xá mxéétat dá +čap̪pálta* 'with one blow of this club' (A 37:8), *bábət dáha* 'the father of this man' (A 2:14). In such cases the annexation particle on the head noun is sometimes dispensed with, e.g. *kóssat da-+hájí* 'the story of this pilgrim' (A 1:23). Fossilized demonstratives in the adverbials '*udyu* 'today' and '*ad-lelə* 'tonight' do not have oblique forms, e.g. '*Urmit udyu* 'Urmi of today'.

The head phrase may be separated from the dependent phrase in a number of circumstances. This reflects the clitic status of the annexation particle (§ 5.14.).

The head and the dependent phrase may be divided by a hesitation resulting in an intonation group boundary. In such cases the annexation element may occur in its normal position attached to the head, e.g.

- (27) *u-+Axíkar| cás bábət| málca=zə plíxəva.* 'and Axiqar had worked for the father of the king.' (A 3:1)
- (28) *b-+tráptət| nipùxtal ránjo mən-ránjət cùma| ci-+xavərvə.* 'By beating the molasses its colour from the colour of black would become white.' (B 12:5)

In some cases, however, the annexation element is separated from the head and occurs in the form '*ət*' after the hesitation, e.g.

- (29) *+xárta +várrə +sàbun| ... +fúra +sàbun| ’ət-+urusnàya.* 'Later soap came ... big soap, of the Russians.' (B 17:27)
- (30) *ju-matváta ’ətvalan| cùl bëta| ’ət-cùl mátal ’ətvalə xa-+káttət càrma.* 'In the villages we had ..., every house, of every village, had a plot of a vineyard.' (B 2:3)

In (31) and (32) the head noun has an annexation element and this is repeated after the hesitation:

- (31) *jaššúkəla ’ina| märət| ’ət-dá duccàna| xá laxíyma jvánka šap̪ira.* 'He looks (and sees) that the owner of the shop is a comely handsome youth.' (A 4:3)
- (32) *láxxa ’á ... dùcta ’əttən| ka-zgàttət| ’ət-zarduštàya.* 'There is a place here for the worship of the Zoroastrians.' (B 1:5)

When the annexation element is separated from the head, the position of the dependent phrase is flexible and can be separated from the head by intervening material, e.g.

- (33) *'ána cíllə xàrjət tláy šənnəl b-yavánna kàtuxl 'at-+'atri.* ‘I shall give you all the expenses of thirty years, of my land.’ (A 3:44)
- (34) *'é-+dana hamzúmələ bázət márət jànu=zəl 'at ... Nànvə.* ‘Then he speaks about his master, of Nineveh.’ (A 3:64)
- (35) *+táma xà ... jvùja víləl tánax 'ót smùkə, 'at +'urusnàya.* ‘There was a movement there, let’s say of the Reds, of the Russians.’ (B 1:14)

In some cases where there is no intervening hesitation in the form of an intonation group boundary, the annexation clitic occurs only on the dependent noun. This is attested with indefinite head nouns, e.g.

- (36) *xá dárs vádax 'at-'arəmnàya.* ‘We do a lesson of Armenian.’ (B 16:14)
- (37) *čiriyaváy +šulánə +ràbəva 'at-máta.* ‘In autumn jobs in the village were numerous.’ (B 10:7)
- (38) *+kazànča 'átlan 'at-'arak.* ‘We have an arak pan.’ (Canda)

If intervening material occurs after a head with the annexation element, the annexation element is generally repeated, e.g.

- (39) *'áxnan jú ... dáštət 'Úrmi Salámas +al-+uydálə 'átvalan 'ómmo tláy +tlà matvátə, matvátət 'áxči 'at-+aturàyava.* ‘We in the plain of Urmi and Salamas altogether had one hundred and thirty-three villages, villages of, only of the Assyrians.’ (B 2:2)

The annexation element is not repeated if the intervening material is an inclusive enclitic as in (40):

- (40) *xá jápnət=da lásxma!* ‘also a tray of bread’ (A 39:34)

The dependent phrase introduced by *'at* may be fronted. In such cases a pro-nominal copy of the dependent phrase is attached to the head in the form of a genitive suffix, e.g.

- (41) *'at-dó brúnū súra mattáttun jüllu.* ‘Lay out the clothes of the youngest son.’ (A 50:9)

The motivation for the fronting here is to set up the referent of the dependent phrase in a contrastive opposition to other salient referents in the context.

The fronted dependent phrase may be an interrogative, e.g.

- (42) *'at-dəm-nášələ nòbu?* ‘Which person’s turn is it?’

In (43) the *'at* particle is omitted before the oblique interrogative (the *d-* before the verb *dvàklun* is inserted for euphonic purposes § 5.14.):

- (43) *dám +xórət d-dvàklun| ci-maxíva ju-+xàsu.* ‘They would beat the back of any friend that they caught.’ (B 9:4)

Predications expressing blessings and curses may be fronted before the noun and connected to it by annexation. They have the function of non-restrictive relative clauses, which is expressed in the translations below. Their semantic function can be compared to evaluative adjectives, which are also typically fronted before the noun they qualify (§ 9.6.1.):

- (44) *+kátm̥a b-rišət +akúbra tilə| pásłə dmáxlə +tāma.* ‘The mouse, who should be cursed, came, stayed and went to sleep there.’ (A 52:5, cf. *+kátm̥a b-rišux* Dust be on your head [= curses on you])

In (45) the head of the annexation phrase is a nominalized form of the deontic phrase *'alaha manyəxlə* ‘May God grant him peace’:

- (45) *'aláha munyóxxət bəbi* ‘my father, to whom may God grant peace’ (A 36:13)

The head noun of an annexation construction may be replaced by a pronoun, e.g.

- (46) A: *xabuyšət bábux +spày-ilə?* B: *'ó=t Yósəp buš-spày-ilə.* ‘A: Is the apple of your father good? B: The one of Yosəp is better.’
- (47) *'ína 'ó=t tanúyra xá-məndi xína,| +rába +t̥amàna,| +rába basima.* ‘But the one (i.e. the bread) of the oven is something different, very tasty, very delicious.’ (B 14:4)
- (48) *fjordéta 'ó'tla mazrákət jàno| 'é=t fjordéta flültəla.* ‘A loaf has its own baking cushion. The one of a loaf is round.’ (B 17:24)
- (49) *'óttən naravátət kát mən-+turànət| xáčča péša +'Uràl,| 'án=ət Jílu,| +bəs-láyəva ju-yàmta.* ‘There are rivers from the mountains almost of the Ural range, those of Jílu, which descended into the lake.’ (B 1:21)
- (50) *e-+kazàncál 'án=t +mèta sapkáxva ju-dáyən.* ‘The saucepan—we emptied the contents of (literally: those of) the churn into it.’ (B 7:2)

The indefinite head noun of an annexation phrase that is marked by the indefinite particle *xa* (51) can be omitted (52);

- (51) *xa xabuyšət Yosəp* ‘an apple of Yosəp’s’  
 (52) *xa ’ət-Yosəp* ‘one of Yosəp’s’

It should be noted that in such cases the annexation particle is normally separated from the *xa* particle and not cliticized to it.

Alternatively the head noun may be gapped resulting in a nominal phrase consisting of the annexation element and the dependent noun. This is found mainly where the gapped head is indefinite without a specific referent, e.g.

- (53) *+xárta plátle ’ət-prəzla* ‘Then iron ones came out (i.e. tubs of iron).’  
 (B 17:28)  
 (54) *’ət-léša jàpna ci-+karívala.* ‘(One) of dough (i.e. a basin for dough) was called a kneading trough.’ (B 17:28)  
 (55) *’ətlan ’ət-taníyra.* ‘We have (those, i.e. flatbreads) of the oven.’ (B 14:4)  
 (56) *turšíyyat +bùybar, ’ət-calàmə, ’ət +badəmjàn* ‘pickles of chilli, of cabbage, of tomatoes’ (B 17:48)

The annexation dependent phrase may be given contrastive focus and occur without the head in constructions such as (57) and (58):

- (57) *zúyzət-+màmi +bayyánlun, lá ’ət-yàmmi.* ‘I want the money of my uncle not of my mother.’  
 (58) *zúyzət +dàvun +bayyánlun, lá ’ət-dàyən.* ‘I want his money, not hers.’

One dependent phrase may be coordinated with another one, as in (59):

- (59) *+bayyánlun zúyzət +mámi ’úp ’ət-sàvi.* ‘I want the money of my uncle and of my grandfather.’

When such a dependent phrase without a head noun is itself dependent on a preposition, the annexation particle is put in its oblique form *dət* (§ 5.14.):

- (60) *’úp ’ón ’íva máx dát xinə, məššəlmànə, ’ína ’íva +rába búš šapərta.* ‘Although it was like that of the others, the Muslims, it was much more beautiful.’ (B 1:40)

A phrase introduced by the annexation particle *’ət* can occur in predicative position, e.g.

- (61) *ju-màta| buxaríyyə ’at-kësa c-ávi.* ‘In the village the stoves are of wood.’  
 (B 14:3)
- (62) *cút mučxèlə| +záya ’at-+dàvun-ilə.* ‘Whoever finds them, the foal is his.’  
 (A 38:7)
- (63) *dáštət ’Úrmi xá +dána vítəla| cullana’it vítəla ’at-+’aturày.* ‘The plain of Urmi was once, was once entirely of (i.e. inhabited by) the Assyrians.’  
 (B 2:16)
- (64) *širánnax ’at-bràtəla.* ... *+xlúyla vágəla ’at-yála.* ‘The betrothal party is (the responsibility) of the girl. ... The wedding is (the responsibility) of the boy.’  
 (B 8:6–7)

In such cases the particle is occasionally reduced to *t-* if it can be easily syllabified with the next consonant, i.e. if the next consonant is a fricative or sonorant, e.g.

- (65) *+ávva kàlyā| ... t-suràyələ.* ‘This fried meat belongs to the Assyrians.’  
 (B 17:16)

A head nominal phrase with the annexation element can be followed by a prepositional phrase. In the attested examples they are restrictive modifiers, e.g.

- (66) *+Axíkar +pláṭa bərràxšələ| ká-dan-nášət mənnu| mára ...* ‘Axíkar goes out. He says to the people with him.’ (A 3:78)
- (67) *nášət xut-’ídət díyi müdi vágəna?* ‘What are the people under my hand?’  
 (A 3:61)
- (68) *málcət +’ùllul| ká-vazzìru márəl* ‘The king above (as opposed to the king below) says to his vizier ...’ (A 1:39)
- (69) *món dúnýət +’ùllul týyən.* ‘I have come from the world above.’ (A 39:21)

In (70) the head noun has a demonstrative pronoun:

- (70) *’é +mástət +’arállagjrišàla.* ‘He pulled the middle hair.’ (A 45:5)

In (71) the annexation element has the status of an enclitic rather than an affix on the head noun, as is reflected by the stress position:

- (71) *’ó vágər-ət +’ùllul +byayəva tanìva.* ‘The vizier above (as opposed to the vizier below) wanted to speak.’ (A 1:28)

The head noun may be pronominalized in such constructions, e.g.

- (72) *‘ē=t-+’aràlləj máyyax.* | ‘Let us bring back the middle one (fs.)’ (A 45:11)

In (73) a phrase with a pronominal head is placed before the noun it qualifies:

- (73) *’ō=t +’aràlləj| ’axùna| báššələ +karàvul bœcláyəl.* | ‘The middle brother goes and stands guard.’ (A 45:5)

Such prepositional phrases are best regarded as reduced relative clauses without a copula component, i.e. ‘the people who (are) with him’, ‘the people who (are) under my hand’.

## 9.10 Genitive Suffix and the Independent Genitive Particle

### 9.10.1 *Suffix and Independent Particle as Genitive Attribute*

When a noun is combined with a pronominal genitive suffix, it may take the suffix directly as an inflectional ending, e.g. *betux* ‘your house’, or it may be annexed to the genitive particle *diyy-* with the suffix attached to this particle, e.g. *betət diyyux* ‘your house’. In the latter type of construction the head noun has the annexation element, just as it does before a dependent noun, e.g. *betət babi* ‘the house of my father’, *betət do naša* ‘the house of that man’. The dependent component, whether it be a suffix or a genitive particle nominal phrase, expresses a genitive attribute of the head noun.

On some occasions the annexation element is contracted resulting in forms such as *rīš-diyyi* (< *rišət diyyi*) ‘my head’ (A 2:21), *bāb-diyyux* ‘your father’ (A 2:24).

The head noun in both constructions can be further determined by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *’aha baxtux* ‘this wife of yours’, *’ā +kaťúntət diyyux* ‘this cat of yours’ (A 3:8), *’ā-sepət díyyi* ‘this sword of mine’ (A 2:28).

The noun may also be preceded by the indefinite particle in constructions such as *xa ’axuni* ‘a brother of mine’. This is equivalent to partitive constructions such as *xa mən-’axunvati* ‘one of my brothers’.

The two constructions *babux* and *babət diyyux* have the same semantic content, but the latter is a heavier morphological coding of this than the former. Speakers exploit the morphological distinction to express pragmatic distinctions, which are often subjective and emotionally driven. It is relevant to note that within narratives the majority of cases of independent genitive particles

occur within direct speech and have first or second person suffixes, reflecting close emotional engagement. In general the construction with heavier coding is used when the speaker wishes to give the referent of the nominal phrase in question some kind of prominence in the discourse. In some cases items in contrastive opposition or items presented in a parallel relationship such as items belonging to the same set are given prominence by the heavy *babət diyyux* type of construction, e.g.

- (1) *ka-mùdil suysavátət diyyòxun* | *jávət Nònvəl hurhàmlun?* | *susyátət díyyan làxxa* | *murxàšlun.* | 'Why did your mares in Nineveh neigh? Our mares here aborted.' (A 3:78, contrastive)
- (2) *cócət nàkva* | *cúllə dòkət*, *kámta báxtət díyyi*, | +*xárta báxtət diyyux.* | 'Seize all female kind, first my wife, then your wife.' (A 2:11, presented as parallel members of the same set)
- (3) *ána 'ztli xa-bàba*. | +*rábə b-sànnalə*. | *vìyyava* | *vázzər ka-bāb-díyyux.* | 'I have a father. He is very elderly. He was vizier to your father.' (A 2:24, set relationship)
- (4) *'zn +msilur* | *'odílə nášət diyyux*, | *ána cúllə xàrjət* | *tláy šànnəl b-yavvánna kàtux* | *'ət-* +*'átri.* | 'If your people can do it, I shall give to you all the expenditure of my land for thirty years.' (A 3:44, i.e. two opposing sides of a bargain)

In some cases the heavy construction is used to express an opposition between first and second person referents in which one side of the opposition is implied rather than explicitly mentioned. This is often the case with nouns referring to a land or community, e.g.

- (5) *'àxči* | *ju-* +*'átrət díyyi* | *'áha mändi* | *'ávə* | *ána lè kablánnə.* | 'But I do not accept that this will exist in my land.' (A 2:12)
- (6) *ána +byáyən mən-nášux lípəl* | *mən-jú +'átrət diyyux* | +*árpa xamšá mən-dýána káti* | +*jùvvab* | *'ódi* | +*jùvvab yavríli.* | 'I want your learned men from your land to give me a response to four or five things.' (A 3:39)
- (7) *'inəl* | *'áha mändit* | *ána +báyən tanənnəl* | *bədvákələ mən-cúllə matvátət díyyan.* | 'But what I want to tell you holds for all of our villages.' (B 2:1)
- (8) +*aturáyət díyyan bəškaléva* | *mən-dáštat* | *'Úrmi labuléva la-dó-rišət +'átra.* | 'He takes our Assyrians, he takes them away from the plain of Urmi to the other end of the land.' (B 2:6)

The construction in (9) has a similar function:

- (9) *'a-mzída ci-màlyax<sup>1</sup> ka-xá šábtət dìyyan.*<sup>1</sup> 'We fill this waterskin for one week of ours.' (i.e. this is our particular custom) (A 37:11)

The construction with the genitive particle is often used with a noun whose referent is a particular centre of concern in the section of discourse in question, e.g.

- (10) *sábab brúni +Nátan +xáyən +plátlə +'älli ka-díyyi +bílun +kàtli, i'na 'aláha la-švàkla, kàt-'atónva láxxa<sup>1</sup> +júvvab dìyyux yavvònvala.*<sup>1</sup> 'Since Natan my son turned out to be treacherous to me and they wanted to kill me, but God did not permit this, so that I could come here and give you your answer.' (A 3:69, the answer to the riddles of Pharaoh was crucial)
- (11) *i'na 'á +kàtúntət dìyyux<sup>1</sup> m-áxxa kòmla, xásla 'ád-lelə kdálu +kçítula, titəla.*<sup>1</sup> 'But this cat of yours, he got up from here and went this night and has snapped his neck, then has come back.' (A 3:81, the cat is a prominent referent in this section of discourse)
- (12) *i'na màjbur-ín tanónnux<sup>1</sup> kát hemántət dìyyux màtla.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am obliged to tell you that your trust (= the woman you left in trust with me) died.' (A 1:17)

In many cases, there is a more subjective motivation and the speaker uses the heavier morphological form with referents with which he/she is personally emotionally engaged.

- (13) *málca ju-+mtétu ríš-díyyi maxíla.*<sup>1</sup> 'When the king arrives he will cut off my head.' (A 2:21)
- (14) *'én 'á là humzámłə<sup>1</sup> ríšət-díyyi prùmulə.*<sup>1</sup> 'If he does not talk, cut off my head.' (A 34:11)
- (15) *'á-sepət díyyi<sup>1</sup> 'ícat maxònval c-odánvala trè.*<sup>1</sup> 'Wherever I struck my sword I cut (the victim) in two.' (A 2:28)
- (16) *'áy bëtət díyyivət.<sup>1</sup> 'áy malciytət díyyivət.<sup>1</sup> 'áy xàyyət díyyivət.<sup>1</sup> 'You are my home! You are my kingdom! You are my life!' (A 3:54)*
- (17) *+bäkyárələ kát mára šámmət díyyi 'ílə ... +pòllan cás.*<sup>1</sup> 'He carves (in the ground) saying "My name is so-and-son." (A 37:8)
- (18) *tápi +šrà<sup>1</sup> xázzən 'a-+bər-cálba kàm kímələ +al-ján-díyyi.*<sup>1</sup> 'Light a lamp so that I can see why this son of a dog has mounted me.' (A 5:16)

Another function of the heavy forms is to mark discourse boundaries. In (19) and (20), for example, the construction is used in a clause that functions as a clarificatory generic tag to what precedes, which has a more specific perspective:

- (19) *'ātva šáxtat kənyàna, ... +paltáxvala dùcta xíta, daráxva miyya jávo.*  
*c-odáxva 'axl +tìna, +mamṭiyàxvala b-'ākləl tìna, 'u-ci-yapàxvala b-'ídan.*  
*'átxa +yarixə. šámmat dàni-dal ... +pátxùxa.* ‘We took out the filth of cattle  
 to another place and put water in it. We made something like mud, we  
 processed it with our legs into mud and kneaded it with our hands, long  
 like this. Their name is *+pátxuxə*.’ (B 7:11)
- (20) *'ātva bavátat +màšəl bavátat +xyàra, bavátat +bùslə, tìymal cút-xa bávu*  
*b-nòšuva. šámmat dáyən bávəl.* ‘There were basins of beans, basins of  
 cucumbers, basins of onions, garlic, every basin by itself. Its name is basin  
 (*bava*).’ (B 17:30)

In (21) the heavy morphology is used in a repetitive parallel construction to give end-weighting to the second member of pair of clauses.

- (21) *'úyən m-íca útxa jùllo?! m-íca júllat dàyən?!* ‘From where are her clothes?!  
 From where are her clothes?!’ (A 51:5)

The genitive particle can take a demonstrative pronoun as a head, e.g.

- (22) *'áha dàvələl 'an-díyyux bàrrənč-na.* ‘This is gold but those of yours are  
 rice.’ (A 31:3)

The pronominal genitive particle can occur in predicative position. In such cases it is preceded by the independent form of the annexation element *'at*, e.g.

- (23) *+xábrət +aturàyələ, 'at-díyyan-lə.* ‘It is an Assyrian word, it is ours.’ (B 2:17)  
 (24) *cúllə 'at-díyyan* *+aturáy 'u-'arəmnày-da.* ‘All (were) ours, the Assyrians  
 and Armenians.’ (B 2:6)

The light construction with pronominal suffixes attached directly to the noun is used in the majority of cases of third person pronominal suffixes in narratives, e.g.

- (25) *+rába məndyánə tanúyələ bázət màlcu.* ‘He tells many things about his  
 king.’ (A 3:65)  
 (26) *Nátan bəxzáyələ kat-bábu xàyələ, lábbu p̄kàyələ.* ‘Natan sees that his  
 father is alive and his heart bursts (with fear).’ (A 3:88)  
 (27) *+xábra yávələ ka-bàxtu.* ‘He gives word to his wife.’ (A 3:31)  
 (28) *+Axíkar lišánu bədvàkələ.* ‘Axiqar holds his tongue.’ (A 3:28)

The first and second person pronominal suffixes are used in direct speech with nouns with referents that do not play a prominent role in the discourse or with which the speaker is not emotionally engaged, e.g.

- (29) *'át +sàrəvət,| +bárət lèlə yávəvət| 'áni-da palàxux-na.|* 'You are the moon and you give the light of the night. They are your workers.' (A 3:61, 'your workers' is an incidental referent that does not play a central role in the discourse)
- (30) *brúnət xàtux,| Nàtan,| šámmu Nàtan-iva,| vúdlə ķa-jánux brùna.|* 'Make the son of your sister, Natan—his name was Natan—your own son.' (A 3:6, the sister does not play any role in the narrative plot)
- (31) *lá jáxcət bí ... násət +dòstux-ina.|* 'Do not laugh at people who are your friends.' (A 3:9, generic, hypothetical class, with which there is no emotional engagement)

The light construction with pronominal suffixes is regularly used with the reflexive particle *jən-* (§ 2.5.) and the expression of isolation *b-noš-* 'by—self' (§ 2.6.), e.g.

- (32) *'á mú vádli b-ríš-jàni?|* 'What have I done against myself?' (A 3:45)
- (33) *xáčča tá +al-jánux|* 'Come back to yourself slightly (i.e. recover a little).' (A 3:53)
- (34) *'ùrzə c-ávi b-nošé,| nək्यə c-ávi b-nošé.|* 'Men are by themselves and women are by themselves.' (A 5:1)
- (35) *'át e-+dán b-nóšux-ivət|* 'when you are by yourself' (A 37:14)

Items standing in apposition, the primary function of which is to give additional information about a preceding noun, tend to be expressed by the light construction, e.g.

- (36) *Nàtan brùnux á-məndi vádlə.|* 'Natan, your son, did this thing.' (A 3:54)

The light construction tends to be used for formulaic, parenthetical expressions, e.g.

- (37) *'ávax +xlápux málca.|* 'May we be your substitute, king.' (A 3:43)

### 9.10.2 Variant ipl. Forms of Suffix

In the varieties of the dialect spoken in the Caucasus there is a long form of the ipl. suffix *-eni*. This is used alongside the short form of the suffix *-an* and the construction with the independent ipl. genitive particle *diyyan*:

- (1) *'á daváltañ 'áxnan ka-màn! šokàxxa?* ‘To whom shall we leave this wealth of ours?’ (A 42:2)
- (2) *tí 'et-táza +alméni tíle láxxa lätvale háč móndi.* ‘When our people first came here, they had nothing.’ (B 17:34)
- (3) *láxmət diyyan +lavàšələ.* ‘Our bread is flat bread.’ (B 15:7)

The suffix *-eni* is found also in the C. Salamas and C. Gawilan dialects. It is used in similar contexts to those in which *diyyan* is used. It is, however, less frequently used in the Urmî dialect of the Caucasus than *diyyan*. In some cases it is used where the speaker is referring to a referent that is exclusive to the speaker’s family or to the speaker’s community and stands in opposition to equivalent referents belonging to the addressee’s community. This is the case with (2) and (3) above. It is not, however, always the case. In (4) the suffix *-eni* is inclusive of the addressee, as is also the *diyyan* particle in (5):

- (4) *me-+moràxxə, +tamràxxə +'ávva! ju-pajéni kat-náš là xázzi mújjurra bəxpárəx.* ‘Bring him and we’ll take him in there, we’ll bury him in our stable, so people do not see us digging.’ (A 48:10)
- (5) *'ázax +al-+'átrət diyyan.* ‘Let’s go to our country.’ (B 16:12)

The heavy genitive forms in cases such as (4) and (5) are used to give prominence to the opposition of the referents in question to equivalent referents belonging to a third party.

### 9.10.3 Anaphoric Function of Suffixes

There is a marginal use of pronominal suffixes with an anaphoric rather than a genitive function, whereas the heavy constructions with independent pronominal elements always have a genitive function. The anaphoric function is attested in cases such as the following:

- (1) *RíR +xárta +'ávun t-íva +bəxmàsa, bəkváya 'allkólat +xámru! 'á-spar púmmu +maçrıùyuva.* ‘Then, when it (the wine) was becoming sour, and the alcohol of the wine is becoming strong, then they sealed its mouth.’ (B 17:15)
- (2) *yán +al-dó-yumu xina p-azáva.* ‘or the next day it would leave.’ (B 1:34)
- (3) *+búlču kámoxət maccə-dal kámoxət +xàttə-da c-odíva +búlču.* *'ó jarùsa c-odívalə +búlču.* *bašlívələ ju-míyya +bərdàxa!* *RíR daríval mǎšxa, mǎšxa yá-da +xàlva.* *'ó dàyku! +'ávun ci-payyíval lāxma.* ‘They used to make both the flour of wheat and also the flour of maize into mash. The coarse flour they made into mash. They cooked it in boiling water and they put oil in it, oil or milk. The fine (flour) they would bake into bread.’ (B 17:9)

In these examples the pronominal suffix refers to the head of the nominal phrase and not to a dependent genitive attribute. In the case of phrases with a demonstrative determiner of a noun head (*+al-dó-yumu*) or phrases where a demonstrative pronoun functions as the head of an adjective (*ó dàyku*) the pronominal suffix is coreferential with this demonstrative.

### 9.11 Juxtaposition of Specifiers

Terms denoting quantitative measurements are juxtaposed with the following nominal rather than being annexed, e.g.

- (1) *'áxči hálli 'árpi yumána +dàna.* | 'But give me forty days of time' (i.e. give me forty days to prepare for this). (A 3:56)
- (2) *xá-yuma +málla +Nasrádən mìyyəva| xá| +bàtman| +bùsra.* | 'One day mul-lah Nasradin had brought a *batman* of meat.' (A 11:1)
- (3) *xa-þórça xùrrac dáryəna káto| xa-þórça-da làxma.* | 'They have laid for her a tiny amount (literally: crumb) of food and a crumb of bread.' (A 35:7)
- (4) *ká-d á-naša yúvvən 'alpá +dinára zùtyza.* | 'I have given this man one thousand dinars of money.' (A 7:10)
- (5) *ká-yámmo=da máyəla cmá +lavášə láxma bariyza.* | 'For her mother she brings a few dry rounds of bread.' (A 35:9)
- (6) *xa-cúnda lèša, ci-+tamráxa ju-kámxa.* | 'We buried a ball of dough in flour.' (B 7:9)
- (7) *'á müjjurra xášla +kátu| bát ... +arþámma xamšámma cilomátrə 'ùrxa, xášla +táma| xa-lèlə?* | 'How is it that the cat went there on a journey of four hundred or five hundred kilometres in one night?' (A 3:82)
- (8) *cut-+álma 'ótvala xá-táxta, ya-trè-taxta, ya-xá-tanap carmànə.* | 'Each family had a plot or two plots or a *tanap* (an areal measure) of orchards.' (B 12:1)
- (9) *'ánnə=da xá dúnja dàvəna.* | 'They are a load (literally: world) of gold coins.' (A 1:5)
- (10) *sàtval xá dárza pučèčə +maxuléx| xá xpáka=da jølla bədráyəx| ju-pàja.* | 'In winter we feed them a bundle of maize stalks and we put an armful of grass in the stable.' (B 17:46)
- (11) *'ùl +mixùlta=zə ci-lablíva| xá sáma jøllàla, làxma, ká-dán nášət c-atíva.* | 'They also took food, a portion of herbs and bread for those people who came.' (B 11:4)
- (12) *xá tré mešója +màšə| 'two or three bags of beans' (B 17:48)*
- (13) *xa-yáccə +kazánča míyya +bərdàxa| 'a huge pan of boiling water' (A 42:8)*

- (14) *xá mána +zád drilə*.| 'He served a plate of food.' (A 45:10)
- (15) *xá-dana +kusarta dàva*| 'a pot of gold' (A 49:7)
- (16) *sáma zóda mèndi +àvva vélə škílu*.| 'He has taken the greater portion of the property.' (A 38:5)
- (17) *xa tica laxma* 'a morsel of bread'
- (18) *+tla +tana +xəttə* 'three *tana* measures of wheat'
- (19) *tre +xuyncarə sabza* 'two *xuyncar* measures of vegetables'
- (20) *tre +mocə +rəzza* 'two *moca* measures of rice'

In (21) the measurement is separated from its complement by an intervening verb:

- (21) *'ánnə xa-dárya labúləna pašcásə káto*.| 'They bring a load of gifts for her.' (A 35:9)

In (22) the complement with nuclear stress is placed in front of the measurement in order to give it enhanced prominence:

- (22) *bədráyəva +xəmsa xá čámča*.| 'They put a spoon of yoghurt-starter (in it).' (B 17:19)

In (23) the pronominal object pronoun agrees with the singular measured item rather than the plural measurement, indicating that the measurement is treated as a numerical determiner rather than the head of the phrase:

- (23) *'áyya 'ən-óya +arþà-ciloyə, xamšá-ciloyə +búsra óya +xəltu, jára 'ádi +'əsrà ciloyə*.| 'If she is four kilos and has eaten five kilos of meat, she must now be ten kilos.' (A 11:3)

Similarly containers are juxtaposed to, rather than annexed to, a phrase that expresses their contents, e.g.

- (24) *muttíla xá +tása +júrta +dàvvə kátu*.| 'She put out for him a large bowl of yoghurt.' (A 5:8)
- (25) *'ána míyyəvən xá +tórba jdìla*.| 'I have brought a bag of ice.' (A 12:1)
- (26) *xá +lína +júra-da +xàmra*| 'also a large jar of wine' (A 39:24)

In (27) an item is juxtaposed with a noun denoting the material it is made out of:

- (27) *tàlma*,<sup>1</sup> *'átvälə kátta* *+xòla*.<sup>1</sup> 'A pitcher had a handle of rope.' (A 6:1)

The annexation element is likewise absent after nouns expressing 'kind', 'type' or '(sub)group', e.g.

- (28) *xá* *+pásla* *'ilàna* *'átvä* *šámmu* *tùyra* *ci*-<sup>1</sup>*karívalə*.<sup>1</sup> 'There was a type of tree called osier.' (B 10:11)
- (29) *xájúra* *xína* *+tína* *+tarësva*.<sup>1</sup> 'Another type of mud was made.' (B 2:21)
- (30) *ja-nárət* *díyan* *'átvä* *tré* *júrrə* *núynə*.<sup>1</sup> 'In our river there were two types of fish.' (B 4:13)
- (31) *xá-sama* *xína*-*da* *+álma* *'áttən* *kat-ci-táni* *mən-jíbat* *nipùxta*<sup>1</sup> *Pméye* *poxtè*<sup>1</sup>  
*sábab* *Pmè*<sup>1</sup> *b-líšanət* *+fársət* *har-mádrə* *+manáyət* *+xámra* *yávəla*.<sup>1</sup> 'There  
 is another group of people who instead of *nipuxta* say *meye poxte*, because  
*me* in Persian has the meaning of wine.' (B 12:8)

Complements of the adjective *málya* are juxtaposed. In (33) the complement is placed before the adjective:

- (32) *+máyələ* *xa-dúca* ... *váyəla* *mlítə* *nášə*.<sup>1</sup> 'He comes to a place ... it is full of people.' (A 39:17)
- (33) *kúnaya*<sup>1</sup> *lèva* *+rába* *míyya* *málya*.<sup>1</sup> 'The well was not very full of water.' (A 16:3)

## 9.12 Conjoining of Phrases

### 9.12.1 *Syndetic Conjoining*

Nominal phrases are sometimes joined by the conjoining particle *'u-*, which is attached to the front of the second item. In many cases in the text corpus two phrases that are linked by this particle are separated by an intonation group boundary, e.g.

- (1) *b-xəžbùyna*<sup>1</sup> *yávula* *làxma*<sup>1</sup> *'u-míyya*.<sup>1</sup> 'He gives bread and water in rations.' (A 3:94)
- (2) *'áha* *xína* *bəškálolə* *scàntu* *'u-e*-<sup>1</sup>*čapípàltu*,<sup>1</sup> *bərrəxšəla*.<sup>1</sup> 'He takes his knife and the staff of his and goes on his way.' (A 37:6)
- (3) *lá* *carmànə* *'átvälun*<sup>1</sup> *lá* *baxčánət* *yéməš*,<sup>1</sup> *cúllə* *'átvä* *díyyan*<sup>1</sup> *+aturày*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'arəm-này*-*da*.<sup>1</sup> 'They had no vineyards nor fruit orchards. They all belonged to us, the Assyrians and also the Armenians.' (B 2:6)

The conjoining particle may split a list of items. In (4), for example, the ‘mud’ and ‘water’, are separated from the preceding list of ‘bricks’ and ‘tiles’. This reflects a thematic subgrouping:

- (4) *hállun cipa| hállun lúgnə,| ýanna +kaštyyə,| carpityčə,| 'u-+tìna,| miyya.* ‘Give stones, give bricks, those tiles, bricks, and mud, water.’ (A 3:59)

The conjoining particle is regularly found in combinations of numerals, in which it coalesces to the final *-a* of the numeral preceding it, e.g. *'əmmo əsri +tlə '123' (< 'əmma-u)* (§ 7.1.6.).

A series of adjectives placed before the noun are normally linked by *'u-*, whereas adjectives after a noun are normally combined without the conjoining particle (§ 9.6.1.).

### 9.12.2 *Asyndetic Conjoining*

In many cases phrases are juxtaposed without being linked by the conjoining particle. Such combinations are often within the same intonation group, reflecting a tighter connection than combinations of phrases linked by *'u*, e.g.

- (1) *xá-yuma bábu yámmu xína ... baxzáyəna bruné jarvùsala.* ‘One day, his father and mother notice that their son is growing up.’ (A 37:2)
- (2) *mən-bábi yàmmi lípon ýa +mardùta.* ‘I have learnt this skill from my father and mother.’ (A 7:19)
- (3) *tóvlun +jóra báxta jané kaarjané taxmùna.* ‘The husband and wife sat by themselves thinking.’ (A 42:1)
- (4) *lótvälə 'axúna xàta.* ‘He did not have a brother and sister.’ (A 35:1)
- (5) *jíra kòšta 'átvälə.* ‘He had a bow and arrow (literally: arrow bow).’ (A 39:4)
- (6) *+úxča 'ida-ákli nšíkèla.* ‘She kissed my hands and feet so much.’ (A 1:35)
- (7) *béta xayyùtya 'átlux.* ‘You have a house and livelihood.’ (A 36:5)
- (8) *lótlə xá +xtíta +xèlta.* ‘He does not have sin or mistake.’ (A 1:44)
- (9) *cúlla 'úrza baxtáy +plàtlun.* ‘All the men and women came out.’ (A 5:10)
- (10) *xášta téta zàdlun.* ‘Going and coming increased.’ (B 14:3)
- (11) *+xáttə +sára b-+dána b-+kéta ci-+xazdivalun.* ‘They used to harvest wheat and barley at (harvest) time in summer.’ (B 2:8)
- (12) *b-susaváy b-cavádnə b-xmàrə c-azíva.* ‘They used to travel by horses, mules and donkeys.’ (B 2:12)
- (13) *‘áxnan jú ... dásstot 'Úrmi Salámas +al-+uydálə 'átvalan 'ómmo tláy +tlà matvátə.* ‘We, in the plain of Urmi and Salamas, we had altogether one hundred and thirty-three villages.’ (B 2:2)

- (14) *cúllə júllu čənyárru bəškalèlə.* ‘He gets up and takes all his clothes and belongings (literally: his rags).’ (A 4:16)

The members of the conjoined phrase may include independent pronouns:

- (15) *kúdmə pili 'ána jáni,* 'ána bàxta. ‘Yesterday I myself baked—I and my wife.’ (B 17:22)
- (16) *'ána 'átən-ivax,* *xá-naša lítən.* ‘I and you are (here) (= we are alone), there is nobody (here).’ (A 6:7)

In (17)–(19) a genitive pronominal suffix is attached only to the second noun but it serves both nouns of the phrase. Note also that the pronominal object on the verb in (19) is feminine singular in agreement with the final noun of the phrase (*patu*), reflecting the interpretation of the phrases as nominal compounds (§ 5.15.):

- (17) *'ída 'áklu +sirèlun.* ‘They tied his hands and legs.’ (A 36:16)
- (18) *'ída paté b-+xallìva* ‘They would wash their hands and face.’ (B 10:25)
- (19) *míyya màyəla!* *'ída pátu +xallàlla.* ‘She brings water for him to wash his hands and face.’ (A 36:6)

A plural attributive demonstrative pronoun is used with such asyndetic phrases, e.g.

- (20) *'átxa c-+oríva ̄én +jóra báxta.* ‘Thus the husband and wife spent (their life).’ (A 54:10)

In several cases, nevertheless, the phrases are separated by intonation group boundaries, e.g.

- (21) *+rába yálə jílə! bnátə jílə! c-azíva ju-dánnə +bustanànə +šúlə! bəzmàra,*  
*tanùvvə, bərkàda.* ‘Many young boys and young girls used to go to these orchards and so forth, singing, telling tales and dancing.’ (B 2:11)
- (22) *matxùrənə! 'ica xišəna,* *Còsə! yán ducánə xínə kát tpíkəna b-+Már +Avràm,* *+Már Yósəp,* *+Mar 'Illyya,* *+Már Yuxànnan.* ‘They mention where they have gone, Kose, or other places where they have met Mar Abraham, Mar Joseph, Mar Elijah and Mar John.’ (B 2:15)
- (23) *pardùvvə, +karyàtə! ci-mattìva!* ‘They used to lay laths and beams.’ (B 2:19)
- (24) *+mhádər +xa-+rámšə! štèta,* *cùl-məndi.* ‘Prepare dinner and drink, everything.’ (A 3:31)

- (25) *'u-čánnə jùlla,| 'a-dàva,| 'a-màndi,| cùllə kàtux-na.* ‘These clothes, this gold, this thing, that are all for you.’ (A 3:88)
- (26) *xácmə məndyánə kát ju-matvátə lètval ci-zonìva,| mayyìva kat-+lázəm c-avìva,| +pàrče,| jùlla| átxa məndyánə.* ‘They used to buy many things, sugar or things that did not exist in the villages and bring (them), for they were necessary, textiles and clothing, such things.’ (B 2:8)

Two nouns conjoined asyndetically may have a wider semantic range than that of the two individual referents, e.g. *baba sava* ‘father and grandfather’ (= ancestors).

### 9.13 Repetition

Asyndetic combinations of nouns sometimes consist of the repetition of the noun with the replacement of the first consonant by /m/. The effect of this is to make the class denoted by the noun more general. Such phrases can be productively formed from any noun except those that themselves begin with /m/, e.g.

<i>'arxə marxə</i>	‘guests’
<i>'atičə matičə</i>	‘old things’
<i>calbe malbə</i>	‘dogs’
<i>ctavə mtavə</i>	‘books’
<i>'ilanə milanə</i>	‘trees’
<i>jøllalə møllalə</i>	‘vegetables’
<i>kalamə malama</i>	‘pens’
<i>kalpə malpə</i>	‘husks’
<i>kesə mesə</i>	‘woods’
<i>nuynə muyna</i>	‘fish’
<i>perə merə</i>	‘fruits’
<i>pørxə mørxə</i>	‘dried herbs’
<i>sanduyčə manduyčə</i>	‘boxes’
<i>šøblə møbla</i>	‘corn heads’
<i>šøptiyə møptiyə</i>	‘watermelons’
<i>varda marda</i>	‘flowers’
<i>xabuyšə mabuyšə</i>	‘apples’
<i>yalə malə</i>	‘children’
<i>+ayva +mayva</i>	‘clouds’
<i>+bør-+zarrə +mør-+zarrə</i>	‘seeds’
<i>+xøttə +møttə</i>	‘wheat’

Such constructions are found in the non-Semitic languages in the area, e.g. Azeri (Ardabīl):

çörək mörək [tsø'reh mø'reh] 'bread and the like'  
uşaq muşaq [uʃaq muʃaq] 'children and the like'

Kurmanji Kurdish:

biçûk miçûk 'children and the like'  
şimtî mimtî 'a melon and the like'<sup>3</sup>

In (1) the middle syllable of the second component has been elided:

- (1) *cút +'ásra yumána xà| +palúṭola xá capárta márta yàvola.* | 'Every ten days she brings out some crockery and so forth and gives it to her.' (A 44:4)

In the NENA dialects of Iraq, *ma-* is used instead of the initial consonant *m-*, e.g. C. Barwar *qese ma-qese* 'pieces of wood and the like' (Khan 2008, 558). The use of *ma-* with this function is sporadically used in C. Urmi, e.g.

- (2) *málcat Čín mà-Čín* | 'the king of China or thereabouts' (A 43:13)

These are inseparable phrases and should be considered to be coordinative nominal compounds (cf. Haspelmath 2002, 91).

Examples from the text corpus:

- (3) *bəxzáyələ xá-dana ... nàša| mən-dánnə +hajíyyə +majíyyə bitàyələ.* | 'He sees a man coming, one of those pilgrims and the like.' (A 30:2)  
 (4) *'e-dúcta ḳat-ṣáxtə móxtət ḳənyàna ci-xamılun* | 'the place where they keep the filth and the like of cattle' (B 6:6)  
 (5) *'é-+danta telefónələ melefónə lətva.* | 'At that time there were no telephones and the like.' (A 2:2)

The second member of a repeated pair occasionally begins with /b/ or /ba/ rather than /m/. This is not productive, e.g.

*šákłə baklä* 'confused': *a-+šúla šákłə bùkłələ.* | 'This job is all mixed up.'

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3 The data on Kurdish were supplied by Ergin Öpèngin.

*+zor-+bazor* ‘forcing’: *mút +zor-+bazòr=ila?* ‘What is this forcing (me to do something I do not want to do)?’

A similar function of broadening the semantic range of a noun is performed by the asyndetic combination of a plural noun with the plural form *+šúla* ‘things’, e.g.

- (6) *+bagvànə c-avíva| kát jinávə +šúla là-’atíva.* ‘They were guardians of the orchard (ensuring) that thieves and the like did not come.’ (B 2:7)
- (7) *+rába yálə jílə| bnátə jílə| c-azíva ju-dánnə +bustanàna +šúla.* ‘Many young boys and young girls went to the plantations and so forth.’ (B 2:11)
- (8) *ju-matvátə +šúla +bəxdárəna.* ‘They go around the village and the like.’ (B 2:15)
- (9) *xína míya ýe-+dān +múṭra tálja +šúla +rayyíva ju-béta lè +salíva.* ‘So that when rain, snow or the like fell, water would not run down into the house.’ (B 2:22)

Repetition of nouns, adjectives or adverbs may express diversity and large numbers, e.g.

- (10) *síla bədráyəla +mən-táma +bázza +bázza.* ‘He sprinkles sand into (lots of) holes.’ (A 3:74)
- (11) *júrrə júrrə lətvalan.* ‘We did not have many different types.’ (B 10:14)

In repetitive collocations of two plural nouns a distinctive prosody is often used with the pattern *CVCCì CVC*ə, with the nuclear stress falling on the final syllable of the first word, which has the vowel /i/ not /ə/, e.g.

- (12) *þərṭi þárṭə výyəla.* ‘It has become lots of crumbs.’ (sing. *þárṭa*)
- (13) *’o-nora +šmáṭla tici tíca.* ‘The mirror broken into lots of pieces.’ (sing. *tica*)
- (14) *króṭla xabúysha +kərṭi +kárṭə.* ‘He bit the apple into lots of pieces.’ (sing. *+kárṭa*)
- (15) *+’ávva xlépa +kərṭi +kárṭəla.* ‘That quilt is made of lots of patches.’ (sing. *+kárṭa*)
- (16) *’o-varáka +təṭṭi +təṭṭə vádli.* ‘I put lots of dots on the paper.’ (sing. *+təṭṭa*)
- (17) *šíšə́lta ’ótlə halķi hálķa.* ‘A chain has many links.’ (sing. *halķa*)
- (18) *tahari tahárə* ‘of various kinds’
- (19) *jurri júrrə* ‘of various kinds’
- (20) *+bər-+zarra jurri júrrə* ‘seeds of diverse kinds’ (sing. *jurra*)
- (21) *tókə ranjì ránjə* ‘multi-coloured rings’ (sing. *ranj*)

This prosodic pattern is used also for nouns that normally form plurals by the ending *-atə*, e.g.

*+kət̪ti káttə* 'lots of pieces' (sing. *+kəttə*, pl. *+kəttatə*)  
*jut̪ti júttə* 'lots of balls' (sing. *jutta*, pl. *juttatə*)

It should be noted that the distinctive prosodic pattern of these phrases does not occur in collocations in which the second member is repeated with initial *m*:

*tícə mícə* 'bits and bobs' vs. *tici tícə* 'lots of pieces'

Another function of repetition is to express gradual progression, e.g.

- (22) *níxa níxa níxa níxa| karbúnəla la-mdita.* 'Very slowly she comes near to the town.' (A 1:10)  
 (23) *+xárta +xárta +dàna| tila* 'In the very end the time came ...' (A 51:8)

If there are two items in the phrase, the aforementioned prosody is often used:

- (24) *xaččà xáčča|* 'little by little'

Repetition may express intensity, e.g.

- (25) *xášla xədyà xádyā.* 'He went along very happily.'  
 (26) *pášlə kuyà kúya.* 'He became very strong.'  
 (27) *é +dántət prákta prákta|* 'at the very end' (B 10:14)

If the repeated word ends in *-ə*, this is replaced by *-i* in the first word, e.g.

- (28) *ráklə jaldì jáldə.* 'He ran away very quickly.'

Repetition is sometimes used in distributive expressions such as the following:

- (29) *+xasà xásə mxílun| kat-dážmən +kàtli.* 'They stood back to back (each with his back against the back of another) so that they could kill the enemy.'  
 (30) *dástə dástə +xazdáxva bí ... mafjəsta.* 'Then we would harvest it, bunch by bunch, with a sickle.' (B 3:10)  
 (31) *+jammáxvala kúxa kúxa.* 'We gathered it up, heap by heap.' (B 3:10)

- (32) *+tárpa +tárpa b-+xmàṭa +moríla.* ‘They pass a needle through it (the tobacco), leaf by leaf.’ (B 3:27)
- (33) *dvíkəna ’ída ’ida* ... *+šarúyəna bərkáda bəšvàra.* ‘Holding each other’s hands they begin to dance and jig.’ (B 8:9)

The distinctive prosody described above is found in constructions in which infinitives of verbs are repeated to express progressive overlapping activities (§ 10.17.4.):

- (34) *+vərrəju-+ótax zmarà zmára.* ‘He entered the room singing.’
- (35) *+vərrəju-+ótax malyuzì-malyuzə.* ‘He entered the room in a hurry.’

Some nouns are formed from repeated elements, e.g. *+xalsa-+xalsu* ‘crush, crowd, hustle’.

#### 9.14 Numerals

A noun that is the complement of a numeral above ‘one’ is in the plural, e.g. *tré +parsúpə* ‘two gentlemen’ (B 2:12), *+tlá xabùyšəl* ‘three apples’ (A 37:22), *+tlá yumána* ‘three days’ (A 3:94). Also after compound numerals that end in *xa* the noun is plural, e.g. *’əsri xa šənna* ‘twenty-one years’.

The noun following the numeral may have a preposed adjective, e.g.

- xa +yakuyra cipa* ‘one heavy stone’  
*tre +yakuyrə cipə* ‘two heavy stones’

When a cardinal numeral determines an indefinite plural noun, the numeral is optionally followed by the plural form *dana* ‘items’. As with the use of the singular phrase *xa-dana*, which is a variant of *xa* (§ 9.1.), the use of *dana* draws particular attention to the phrase. In many cases this is due to an unexpectedly high number of items of a particular class, e.g.

- (1) *’ətväləl’ əští-danə baxtátə.* ‘He had sixty wives.’ (A 3:2)
- (2) *b-xá +čap̪álta ’ána ... ’arpí dánə dévə +másən +kətlənnun.* ‘With one club I can kill forty monsters.’ (A 37:8)
- (3) *’ətva +rába cačálə.* *+kúrbət +’əsrà-danə cačálə-’ətva.* ‘There were many bald men. There were nearly ten bald men.’ (A 1:1)
- (4) *+arpá-danə ’apəskúpə ’áyya +dána ’ətvalan.* ‘We had four bishops at that time.’ (B 2:15)

The particle is used also in cases where the referents of the enumerated items play a prominent role in the ensuing discourse, e.g.

- (5) *tmánya dánə nùynə müyyən.* | 'annəl bašlätłun. | 'I have brought eight fish. Cook them.' (A 36:7)

The plural form *dánə* can be used independently as in cases such as the following:

- (6) *básəlla cèca,* | *xrùzlun,* | +*yána* | *an-jardéya xrízlun* +*álju-dàrta átxa,* | +*xárta xa-tre-* +*tlá dánə=zə* +*al-váddar mən-dàrta* | *kát 'áhal bát* +*áxəl mənné* | *bət-pálət* +*al-váddar.* | 'Bake him cakes, lay them out together, that is lay out the round loaves together in the courtyard like this, then two or three outside of the courtyard so that he will eat them, then he will go along and go outside.' (A 37:3)
- (7) *xá-dana stílyna-da xút ci-maxíva mən-* +*árra* | *hál +támma* | *kát là talóxva.* | '*ítá cmá dánə mən-* +*dávun* | *átxa ci-mattíva.* | 'They would put a post underneath (coming up) from the ground to there, so that it did not collapse. So they would put some items of this (some of these) thus.' (B 2:19)

When a speaker enumerates a number of individual items from what is typically conceptualized as a collective entity, it is normal to use the itemizing particle *dánə* after the numeral, e.g.

- (8) *hálli tré-danə zète.* | 'Give me two olives.'
- (9) *hálli +tlá-danə cəšmišə.* | 'Give me three raisins.'

In such constructions the use of the particle *dánə* expresses an exact count of items from the collective set. It may be replaced by the particle *áxči* 'only', which has a similar function, e.g.

- (10) *hálli áxči +tlá cəšmišə.* | 'Give me only three raisins.'

If a low numeral is used with collectives without these particles, the phrase does not express an exact count but rather a small number, e.g.

- (11) *hálli tré cəšmišə.* | 'Give me a couple of (= a few) raisins.'

A number of nouns have two plural forms, one of which ends in the unmarked plural suffix -ə and the other in a longer suffix, which should be considered a

marked suffix. The unmarked plural suffix is generally used when referring to a typical plurality of a particular referent. Parts of the body that occur in pairs, for example, have a typical plurality of ‘two’ on the same body. In such cases, therefore, the suffix -ə tends to be used after the numeral ‘two’ with these nouns when referring to a pair on the same body, although there is no absolute rule concerning this, e.g.

<i>+ayna</i>	‘eye’	<i>tre +ayna</i> ‘two eyes (of one person)’
		<i>tre +aynatə</i> ‘two eyes (of different people)’
		<i>+tla +aynatə</i> ‘three eyes (of different people)’

<i>'ida</i>	‘hand’	<i>tre 'ida</i> ‘two hands (of one person)’
		<i>tre 'idata</i> ‘two hands (of different people)’
		<i>+tla 'idata</i> ‘three hands (of different people)’

<i>+kuča</i>	‘thumb’	<i>tre +kučə</i> ‘two thumbs (of one person)’
		<i>tre +kučačə</i> ‘two thumbs (of different people)’
		<i>+tla +kučačə</i> ‘three thumbs (of different people)’

Entities that are typically conceptualized as a collective mass have the unmarked plural ending -ə when referring to the collective. Some such nouns also have a marked plural, which is used to refer to selected individual items from the collective. The marked plural is used since this is not the typical plurality, e.g.

<i>+patuxta</i>	‘dried dung cake’	<i>+patuxə</i> ‘dried dung cakes’
		<i>tre +patuxyata</i> ‘two dried dung cakes’
		<i>+tla +patuxyata</i> ‘three dried dung cakes’

Several other nouns use both the unmarked plural suffix and a marked plural suffix. In general the conditions for their usage follow the principles just described. When they are not typically conceptualized as collectives, the unmarked plural tends to be restricted to specific numbered groups, which can be considered the more typical plural, whereas a general, uncounted, plurality has the marked plural, e.g.

<i>+rumxa</i>	‘spear’	<i>+raba +rumxatə</i>	‘many spears’
		<i>tre +rumxə ~ +rumxatə</i>	‘two spears’
<i>+mamuna</i>	‘uncle’	<i>+raba +mamunvata</i>	‘many uncles’
		<i>tre +mamuna ~ +mamunvata</i>	‘two uncles’

<i>savuna</i>	'grandfather'	<i>+raba savunvatə</i> <i>tre savunə</i>	'many grandfathers' 'two grandfathers'
<i>kənna</i>	'nest'	<i>+raba kənnatə</i> <i>tre kənna ~ kənnatə</i>	'many nests' 'two nests'
<i>+kora</i>	'grave'	<i>+raba +koravatə</i> <i>tre +kora ~ +koravatə</i>	'many graves' 'two graves'
<i>+šara</i>	'festival'	<i>+raba +šaravatə</i> <i>tre +šara ~ +šaravatə</i>	'many festivals' 'two festivals'

If the noun is definite, the numeral must take a pronominal suffix co-referential with the noun or the phrase must be modified by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

- 'an-+*tla* 'axunvata  
+*túlvunte* 'axunvata 'the three brothers'  
'the three brothers'

In (12) these two constructions are used in two parallel clauses:

- (12) 'ànnə́l màrə́lə́l bnátax bə́t-+kaṭlənnun,| 'án +áynə́t bə́bi lá yavváttun.| +túlvunte bnátax bə́t-+kaṭlənnun! 'ən-+áynə́t bə́bi lá yavváttun.| 'He says "I shall kill the daughters of yours if you do not give me the eyes of my father. I shall kill the three daughters of yours if you do not give me the eyes of my father." (A 39:38)

Ordinals above 'first' are expressed by combining a head noun with a numeral in annexation (§ 7.2.). The particle *d-* is optionally inserted before the numerals *tre* 'two' and *+tla*:

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| <i>našət tre</i> ~ <i>naša d-tre</i> ~ <i>našət d-tre</i>    | 'the second man'       |
| <i>našət +tla</i> ~ <i>naša d-+tla</i> ~ <i>našət d-+tla</i> | 'the third man'        |
| <i>našət +'arpa</i>  | 'the fourth man', etc. |

If the head noun has a pronominal suffix the *-ət* annexation element has the status of an enclitic, which may be detached from the head (§ 5.14.):

*bruni-t<sup>+</sup>ar̥pa* ~ *bruni ’at-<sup>+</sup>ar̥pa* ‘my fourth son’

A definite head noun may be pronominalized and replaced by an anaphoric pronoun. In such constructions the *d-* is optionally extended to other numerals. The attested constructions include the following:

- |                           |                       |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 'ō=t d-tré, 'o d-tré,     | 'the second one (m.)' |
| 'ō=t d-+tlá, 'o d-+tlá    | 'the third one (m.)'  |
| 'ō=t +'arþa ~ 'o d-+'arþa | 'the fourth one (m.)' |
| 'ō=t xamša ~ 'o d-xamša   | 'the fifth one (m.)'  |

Occasionally the head is gapped without being replaced by a pronoun, as in (13):

- (13) *bəxzáyəna* 'at-d-+tlá=da +támələ. | 'They see that also the third one is there.'  
(A 6:13)

In ordinal expressions in the names of rulers a numeral is juxtaposed, e.g. +Šápur tré | 'Shapur the second' (B 1:9).

When the number of items is left imprecise, two or more numerals are placed together asyndetically, e.g.

- (14) *xá tré yálə súrə* +ráppax +al-márzət nàra. | 'We throw one or two children onto the river bank.' (A 39:18)  
 (15) +'árþa xamšá məndýánə mánni +tlíbələ. | 'He requested from me four or five things.' (A 3:55)  
 (16) 'tvalan bátat tré +tlá tabákə=zə b-cárpəč smùkta. | 'We had houses of two or three storeys (built) with red brick.' (B 2:18)  
 (17) +tmánessár 'eččasár šənnənənəl | 'They are eighteen or nineteen years.'  
 (A 37:5)  
 (18) 'á mújjurra xóšla +kàṭu| bát ... +arþámma xamšámma cilomátrə 'ürxa,  
*xášla* +táməl xa-lèlə? | 'How is it that the cat went there on a journey of four hundred or five hundred kilometres in one night?' (A 3:82)

Asyndetic juxtaposition is used to convey approximation also in numerical expressions such as the following:

- (19) *pyàšələ cəslé| xà-šabta| tré šabáy| +tlá šabáy.* | 'He stays with them for one week, two weeks, three weeks.' (A 37:13)  
 (20) +bár xà-+sa'at,| tré +sa'attə,| bitáyəna ḳat-xázi ýadi šlikələ| bšilələ. | 'After an hour or two, they come to see if he has been boiled and cooked by now.'  
 (A 37:21)

- (21) *mən-fu-+’árra +plátlun cmá-danə +’əsrá-danə nùynə.* ‘Out of the ground came some ten fish.’ (A 36:15)

The particle *xa* may be placed before a numerical phrase to present the collection of items as a unity, e.g.

- (22) *xa-’sri xámša šónna +vàrəna.* ‘Some twenty-five years go by.’ (A 41:3)  
 (23) *+hàla! o-náša léva xiša xá +’əsrá +pasulyà,* *+málla bitáyələ drúm +’al-*  
*+’árra.* ‘Before the man had gone a (distance of) ten steps, the mullah falls (literally: comes) bump on the ground.’ (A 32:2)  
 (24) *ci-pás̥va xá +’árpa xamšà daķíkəl jáns ci-bašəlva.* ‘It (the bread) stayed there for (a period of) four or five minutes, and baked well.’ (B 2:9)

In (25) the numeral *xa* is used in a similar way before the plural noun *zuyzə* presenting it as a collective:

- (25) *fári ka-+’árbab cmayútət xá zúyzə yavvivalun.* ‘They had to give the land-lord a certain sum of money.’ (B 13:2)

Repetition of identical numerals expresses distribution, e.g.

- (26) *xá xá jáha* ‘sometimes’  
 (27) *xá xá škilèlun.* ‘They took them one by one.’  
 (28) *xá-xa dárza ci-+rappàxva.* ‘Then we would throw one sheaf at a time.’  
     (B 3:11)  
 (29) *+tlá +tlá tilun.* ‘They came three by three.’  
 (30) *+tárət máccə xá xá dána pràxət.* ‘You strip maize heads one by one.’  
 (31) *zéta tré tré dána +bixálələ.* ‘He is eating olives two by two.’  
 (32) *xámša xámša bədrayélə +’al-+rušanànu.* ‘He puts them on his shoulders, five by five.’ (A 42:17)  
 (33) *+’ósla +’ósla dànəl ci-labláxvale +’ál mdita.* ‘We took them to the town, ten by ten.’ (B 17:5)

Multiples corresponding to ‘twofold’, ‘threefold’, etc. are normally expressed by combining the numerals with the words *taķə* ‘folds’, *jahə* ‘times’ or *+barabarə* ‘equal portions’, e.g.

- (34) *’ána yuvválli +’árpa jáha buš-zóda káto móñ dő-t yuvválli ka-+dàv.* ‘I gave her four times more than what I gave him.’  
 (35) *’ána yuvválli káto tré tákət dő-t yuvválli ka-+dàv.* ‘I gave her twice what I gave him.’

- (36) *'ána yuvválli káto +ar̥pa tákə zóda mən-dó=t jarəc yavvánnə kàtu.* ‘I gave her four times more than that which I must give him.’
- (37) *múdi-t yuvvállə káto 'íva tré tákə mən-d-yuvvállə kàti.* ‘What he gave her was twofold more than he gave me.’
- (38) *+áv tré jáhə buš-zóda +bəddáyəla mənno.* ‘He knows twice as much as she knows.’
- (39) *'ána +tlá jáhe buš-zóda mónnux xíšəvən +tāma.* ‘I have gone there three times as often as you have.’
- (40) *'áha tré tákə buš-+tíməla.* ~ *'áha tré +barabárə buš-+tíməla.* ‘This is twice as expensive.’
- (41) *'áha tré +barabárət dàvvəla.* ‘This is twice as much as that.’
- (42) *+krámli tré +barabárət díyyux.* ~ *+krámli tré +barabárət 'at +krámlux.* ‘I won twice as much as you.’

In (43) a multiple is expressed by means of the anaphoric adverbial *hada* ‘thus’:

- (43) *hál t-ázət bëta, <sup>R</sup>úže<sup>R</sup> o-bëtux! +ásra háda bëta t-áva yàcca.* ‘By the time you get home, your house will be already ten times bigger.’ (A 54:7)

Some expressions of mathematical operations include:

- (44) *tré +al-tré 'íla +ar̥pa.*  $2 + 2 = 4$
- (45) *'ásri mázyədla +al-'ásri bət-óya 'ar̥pi.*  $20 + 20 = 40$
- (46) *'óšta +jummítä m-tre +barabárət tmányəla.*  $6 + 2 = 8$
- (47) *tré +jammátla +al-+tlá bət-óya xàmša.*  $2 + 3 = 5$
- (48) *'óšta +mubsárta b-tré +barabárət +ar̥pəla.*  $6 - 2 = 4$
- (49) *tré +mábsərra mən-+ásri bət-óya +tmanàssar.*  $20 - 2 = 18$
- (50) *tré +mábsər mən-+árpa bət-óya trè.*  $4 - 2 = 2$
- (51) *tré +mabsərrätla mən-xámša bət-óya +tlá.*  $5 - 2 = 3$
- (52) *'óšta muzyáttä b-tré +barabárət taryàssar-ila.*  $6 \times 2 = 12$
- (53) *tré +jámmila +al-tré bət-óya +ar̥pa.*  $2 \times 2 = 4$
- (54) *xámša mázyədla b-tré bət-óya +ásra.*  $5 \times 2 = 10$
- (55) *xámša mxí b-tré bət-óya +ásra.*  $5 \times 2 = 10$
- (56) *tré jáhət xámša 'íla +ásra.*  $2 \times 5 = 10$
- (57) *'óšta +pullítä b-tré +barabárət +tlá-ila.*  $6 \div 2 = 3$
- (58) *+ásra +pallátla +al-tré bət-óya xàmša.*  $10 \div 2 = 5$

Percentages are expressed thus:

*'əmma ka-'əmma* ‘one hundred percent’

*'əčči ka-'əmma* ‘ninety percent’

A phrase containing a numeral followed by a plural noun with a pronominal suffix has a partitive sense, e.g.

*tre 'axunvatu* ‘two of his brothers’

The numeral *xa* followed by a singular noun with a pronominal suffix has a partitive sense, e.g.

*xa 'axuni* ‘a brother of mine’

Partitive constructions may also be expressed with the preposition *mən* before a plural noun thus:

*xa mən-'axunvati* ‘one of my brothers’

*tre mən-'axunvati* ‘two of my brothers’

Ordinal numerical constructions above ‘first’ may be formed with indefinite head nouns, e.g.

*xa xabuyšət d-tre* ‘a second apple’

*xa xabuyšət d-+tlə* ‘a third apple’

*xa xabuyšət +'arpə* ‘a fourth apple’

If an indefinite head noun in such constructions is dropped, the numeral is used by itself with the initial particle *d-*, not *'at*. The construction does not take the indefinite particle *xa* as its head:

*šáklən d-trè!* ‘I shall take a second one’

*škúl d-+'arpə!* ‘Take a fourth one!’

A definite nominal head of an ordinal may be gapped, in which case the numeral is preceded by the particle *'at*, not *d-*, e.g.

- (59) *'arpì +otáǵəna. tláy +'áčča kdíla b-yávvəl +'al-'idux. 'at-'árpí tání šuršìyyən.* ‘There are forty rooms. He will hand you thirty-nine keys. You should open them. At the fortieth (room) say “I am tired.”’ (A 42:8)

In such contexts if the ordinal phrase is the complement of a preposition, the *'at* particle has the oblique form *dət*, e.g.

- (60) *+al-dət-àrpíl márrə ́ána xína šuršìyyən.* ‘At the fortieth (door) he said “Well I am tired.”’ (A 42:9)

When the numeral is combined with a plural noun with a pronominal suffix to express a multiple of the noun rather than a part of it, the numeral must have a pronominal suffix or the phrase must be modified by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

<i>tre ́axunvatu</i>	‘two of his brothers’
<i>túrvante ́axunvatu</i>	‘his two brothers’
<i>’annə tre ́axunvatu</i>	‘these two brothers of his’

When the word *palya* is used after a unit, the final *-a* is replaced by *-ə*, which appears to be a fossilized vestige of a pronominal suffix (§ 2.3.), e.g.

<i>xa palyə</i>	‘one and a half’
<i>xa +sa’at palyə</i>	‘an hour and a half’
<i>tre +sa’attə palyə</i>	‘two and a half hours’

Numerical expressions relating to dimensions:

<i>+tlə mətrə ́amku</i>	‘three metres deep’
<i>+tlə mətrə +rama</i>	‘three metres high’
<i>+tlə mətrə pətya</i>	‘three metres wide’

- (61) *́áha ́úrxa +tlá mátrə ptítəla.* ‘This road is three metres wide.’

Various idioms relating to time and age are as follows:

- (62) *+sá’at cmà-ila?* ~ *mút +dànəla?* ‘What time is it?’  
 (63) *+sa’áttət trè-ila.* ‘It is two o’clock.’  
 (64) *tré pàlyəla.* ‘It is half past two.’  
 (65) *čárac ̄ka-+tlà-ila.* ‘It is a quarter to three.’  
 (66) *čárac mən-+bár +tlà-ila.* ‘It is a quarter past three.’  
 (67) *xá +vára xamšásar* ‘One fifteen’  
 (68) *xáčča mən-+bar taryàssar-ila.* ‘It is a little after twelve.’  
 (69) *mù vâyələ?* *xàmša?* ‘What (time) is it (now)? Five?’  
 (70) *šítət +vórra jähət kámēta xzíli +xalùvvı.* ‘Last year I saw my uncle for the first time.’  
 (71) *cút +’zsra yumánə xàl +palútola xá capárta márta yàvolə.* ‘Every ten days she brings out some crockery and so forth and gives it to her.’ (A 44:4)

- (72) *'ítá cút cmá xá +báyyi ázi táxni +'al-'òrxə.* | 'So, every once in a while they need to go to grind (the wheat) on the water-mill.' (B 10:8)
- (73) *cút trè-yarxa cút +tlá-yárxa xà ci-+pàlət.* | 'Once every two or three months he goes out.' (A 1:25)
- (74) *šítá xà-dana xabúša ci-čánva.* | 'It used to bear one single apple a year.' (A 39:1)
- (75) *'adýya pyáyəna cút šábta xà-ja.* | 'Now they bake once every week.' (B 17:25)
- (76) *šábta xá-ja c-átət làxxa.* | 'You come here once a week.'
- (77) *šítá xa-jahəl 'a-+kalàyčíl c-atíva mən-mdítə.* | 'Once a year this copper cleaner would come from the town.' (Note that the plural form *jahə* is used here, not the singular *jaha*, apparently to express an iterative activity)
- (78) *yúma tlá-+danə xuté tamməzzàxvalə.* | 'We cleaned under them three times a day.' (B 3:31)
- (79) *cmá šənnəvət? ~ šənnux cmà-inə? ~ mü-inə šənnux? ~ cmá šənnə 'òtlux?* | 'How old are you?'
- (80) *'ána 'əsrì šánnəvən. ~ 'ána 'òtli 'əsrì šánnə. ~ 'ána šánni 'əsrì šánnəna.* | 'I am twenty years old.'
- (81) *xa-bráta 'òtli šávvà šónna.* | 'I have a seven-year-old daughter.' (A 38:13)
- (82) *mxílun ju-cisət xáti tré šánnəl 'u-'axúni +arpà šónna.* | 'They kicked in the stomach my two-year-old sister and my four-year-old brother.' (B 6:5)
- (83) *'ánya +arpá šónna yála súrìl +purmíyyala xáyyə mü-inəl 'ána müjja +déran +baràyl mən-hammaniyta.* | 'If my four year old child has understood what life is, how can I revert from faith.' (B 16:8)
- (84) *brátu súrta kát +šávvá šónnovəl* 'his young daughter who was seven years old (literally: was her seven years)' (A 38:10)
- (85) *'ána ka-tré +sa'áttə 'ùrxa bərráxšəven.* | 'I have been walking now for two hours.'
- (86) *'ánnə 'arpí yumáne xəštəla.* | 'She went away forty days ago.' (A 35:16)

Some idiomatic phrases containing numerals include the following:

- (87) *xá-'ax páljət 'òrbuxl* 'a measure of as much as half of your sheep' (A 39:37)
- (88) *'á-sepət díyyil 'icət maxənval c-odánvala trè.* | 'Wherever I struck my sword I made him two (i.e. I cut the victim in two).' (A 2:28)
- (89) *+əsrá yumána m-kám +dána kay-tàni.* | 'Tell me ten days beforehand.' (A 2:18)
- (90) *cačála xa-b-xá-ja mìrrəl* 'The bald man suddenly said ...' (A 1:28)
- (91) *xa-b-xá bəxzáyəla márzət +áyna xá ... xa-nàša dúlə dmíxa.* | 'All of a sudden he sees that there is a man asleep by the side of the spring.' (A 37:7)

## 9.15 Gender

It what follows attention will be drawn to some uses of the feminine gender.

### 9.15.1 *Propositional Content*

In various constructions pronominal and inflectional elements referring to the propositional content of the preceding discourse are 3fs., e.g.

- (1) *bás 'ayya! maxzúyəla kàt! 'ètva +aturáyə b-+dánat mšíxa! ju-+Irān! ju-'Urmi.* ‘But that shows that there were Assyrians at the time of Christ in Iran, in Urmi.’ (B 1:3)
- (2) *bæctávələju-ctával kæt-’átən für'un! denánat ká... málca! díz-ila?* ‘He writes in a book: You, Pharaoh, are in debt to the king. “Is that true?”’ (A 3:76)
- (3) *’ína xáčča bùš šapárta mórola.* ‘But he says this (i.e. what has just been said) rather more beautifully.’ (A 3:77)
- (4) *lélá kát ’áxnan jánan viyyəvax! jávo juriyəssəvax.* ‘This (what I have just said) is not because we ourselves were born and grew up in it.’ (B 2:15)
- (5) *lá lélá múmcun.* ‘No it (i.e. what you have just said) is not possible.’ (A 10:6)
- (6) *’áx-t ’ána bætxárən kam-+’dynila.* ‘I remember as if it (what I am narrating) is before my eyes.’ (B 6:2)

In (7)–(11) the 3fs. pronoun anticipates the propositional content of the following asyndetic dependent clause:

- (7) *búš +spáyəla ’áxnan=zə ’á +šúla làxxa! ’odàxla.* ‘It is better that we also do that here.’ (B 11:11)
- (8) *’adíyya cèpux-lə! ’ádi nòkva pármətla! ’ùrza parmótlə.* ‘Now it is up to you (whether) you slaughter the woman or slaughter the man.’ (A 2:36)
- (9) *dáx c-óya ’ána mayyánnun bëta?* ‘How is it possible for me to bring them home?’ (A 6:3)
- (10) *díz-ila mšíxa mórrə xúshun +màcrəzzun.* ‘It is true that Christ said “Go and preach”’ (B 1:3)
- (11) *bædmáyəla +míra! m-xá xína bùš zóda zúyzə škílələ.* ‘It seems the foreman has taken more money from another.’ (B 13:4)

In (12)–(16) the 3fs pronominal element agrees with a following subordinate content clause introduced by *kat* (§14.5.):

- (12) *kabúlona kat-braté yavvila.* ‘They agree to give their daughter.’ (A 35:12)
- (13) *nášət díyyan! là muğjəbbálun! kát ’avívalun +musáfər +xànə.* ‘Our people did not want to have a travellers’ lodge.’ (B 1:35)

- (14) *ctávtəla ju-+oráyta| kát 'átən á 'úrxat-azətta.* 'It is written in the Torah that you will go on this journey.' (A 42:7)
- (15) *'u-+háji cílla kublálun kat-at-màttət.* 'The pilgrim and everybody have accepted that you have died.' (A 1:22)
- (16) *b-dá táhar výla kát| +šurílun mən-jíbət +tlá bətvátə| +šurílun cílla| bətvátət màtəl +hayyúrə +al-dá násbat.* 'In this way it happened that instead of three families all the families of the village began to help in this connection.' (B 11:4)

In (17) the oblique 3fs. demonstrative *dē=t* anticipates the content of the embedded clause:

- (17) *sábab násə bəzyàdəva| xína masála búš furvásłə| mán dē=t 'àxči| 'avílun +mixùltə| ka-+cavùtra,* ... 'Then, because the people were increasing and the event grew bigger than their just having food for lunch ...' (B 11:9)

In (18) the 3fs pronominal element agrees with a following embedded question:

- (18) *+kattívala íman +xliyyla p̄t-odíva* 'They decided when they would hold the wedding.' (Canda)

### 9.15.2 *Expressions of Time*

Clauses expressing the passage of time or location at a point in time can take a 3fs pronominal subject, e.g.

- (1) *+átxa +vára bərràxəla.* 'It passes in this way (i.e. time passes).' (A 3:39)
- (2) *xá tré +tlá šabátə +várəla.* 'One, two, three weeks pass.' (A 1:6)
- (3) *+várəla +beràšəl* '(Time) passes (to) evening (= in the evening +berašə m.).' (A 36:10)
- (4) *cmá-šənnə +várəla.* 'Several years pass.' (A 40:6)
- (5) *'žsri xámša šánnə, tláy šónna +várəla.* 'Twenty-five years, thirty years pass.' (A 41:2)
- (6) *xá-cma yumánə +várəla.* 'A few days passed.' (A 45:15)
- (7) *b-šənnə, b-yárxəl bəjràšəla.* 'Years, months, go by.' (A 41:1)
- (8) *+tlá yumánə léla vāya, Natan! bəzyárəla.* 'It is not three days (i.e. hardly had three days past), (when) Natan swells.' (A 3:95)
- (9) *+oráva +al-mòrisəl* 'When morning broke (literally: (when) it entered upon the morning)' (B 12:3)
- (10) *'ánnə cmá yárxa| +tavvùyən.* 'For the last few months I have been searching.' (A 4:6)

- (11) *sàtvəla.* 'It is winter.' (B 9:5)
- (12) *+hála jàldəla.* 'It is still early.' (A 1:11)
- (13) *b-lèlə víla.* 'It became night.' (A 42:32)
- (14) *xašcùnəla.* 'It is getting dark.' (A 42:13)
- (15) *+xárta xá-yuma víla mü jára víla* 'aláha rxámlo +àllu. 'Then one day it happened, it happened in some way, God had mercy on him.' (A 54:1)
- (16) *c-oyáva* é-+*dān t-íva* *+múṭra xelánta bitáya,* *bədlápəva,* *bətráyəva.* 'It used to happen that when heavy rain fell, it leaked and became wet.' (B 17:35)
- (17) *dárranj vítəla kat-yálpi.* 'It has become too late for them to learn.'
- (18) *xáčča pyásəla katòlla.* 'It remains a little that he would kill her (= he almost kills her).' (A 36:9)
- (19) *xáčča pášla naplənva.* 'I almost fell.'

In the English translation of several of these examples nouns denoting periods of time are made the grammatical subject, whereas in C. Urmi these are complements to the 3fs. impersonal subject.

### 9.15.3 Impersonal Pronominal Reference

Other expressions with a 3fs impersonal pronominal subject or object element include:

#### Subject

- (1) *fárk lélə váda.* 'It makes no difference.' (A 3:48)
- (2) *+al-bàlila ána.* 'I remember (literally: it is on my mind).' (B 10:21)
- (3) *clítəla müjjur béta áva.* 'It depends how the house is.' (B 14:13)
- (4) *ju-matvátá* 'átvalan bátə prišəl clítəva *+al-nàšə,* müjjurra másalan cmá 'á 'íva +cásəb yán dolátmand. 'In the villages we had various houses, it depended on the people, for example, how poor he was or how rich.' (B 2:18)
- (5) *'én basmàlux,* *dríli xa-* +čáy. 'Please, pour me some tea.'
- (6) *+úxča tálja ci-* +rayyíva. 'ádi! xína áx kámta lélə. 'So much snow used to fall. Now it is not like before.' (B 2:19)
- (7) *cèpax-la.* 'It is up to you.' (A 39:39)
- (8) *+háypo-la kat-* átxa vòdlux. 'It is a pity you did that.'
- (9) *'én müjjura* +xlásłla +àllux, *talux* tlúb mònni. 'If you are in any difficulties, come and make a request from me.' (A 54:2)
- (10) *xvátlə xurbàšla* +álli. 'It has become mixed up and confused for me (= I am confused).'

- (11) *c-óya* 'átən *tarcáttə* yá 'úrxa.<sup>1</sup> 'You may abandon this path (literally: It may be that you abandon this path).' (B 16:8)
- (12) *c-óya* *tanúyə* 'It may be said.' (B 12:2)
- (13) *lé-'oya* *tanúvvə*.<sup>1</sup> 'It cannot be said (it is beyond words).' (A 42:34)
- (14) *ka-díyyux* *lèla* +*lázəm*.<sup>1</sup> 'There is no need of you.' (A 45:13)

### Object

- (15) *mànsila!*<sup>1</sup> *cul-víyya* *vìyyələ*.<sup>1</sup> 'Forget it! What has been has been.' (A 3:54)
- (16) 'ádi *maxzíyyànnə* *ka-díyyux* 'ána!<sup>1</sup> 'Now I'll show you!' (A 48:11)
- (17) 'íman *xmártux* +*tlájáha* +*arṭàla*,<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yuma mètət.<sup>1</sup> 'When your jenny farts three times, on that day you will die.' (A 32:2)
- (18) *pəšyalə* 'He farted (silently).'

The inanimate interrogative pronoun *mu* takes 3fs. agreement on the verb or copula, e.g.

- (19) *mù-ila* *vítə*?<sup>1</sup> 'What has happened?' (A 28:2)
- (20) *mú* *vítəla*?<sup>1</sup> 'What has happened?' (A 40:8)
- (21) 'ána *mú tíla* *b-riši*?<sup>1</sup> 'What has come upon me?' (A 3:52)
- (22) 'á *mú-títəla* *b-rišo*?<sup>1</sup> 'What has happened to her?' (A 1:12)
- (23) 'átxa *tíla* *b-riši*.<sup>1</sup> 'It happened to me thus (= This is what happened to me).' (A 10:4)
- (24) *lén-*+*bədда* *mù* 'odónna.<sup>1</sup> 'I do not know what to do.' (A 48:8)

In (25) the generic phrase *xa-məndi* 'something' has feminine gender:

- (25) *bi-yàmmi*,<sup>1</sup> 'álaha d-là-'avəd,<sup>1</sup> *xá-məndi* *tpòkla*<sup>1</sup> 'If anything happens to my mother, God forbid, ...' (A 44:2)

#### 9.15.4 *Gender of Metalinguistic Words*

When words that are not nouns are cited metalinguistically they are assigned feminine gender, e.g.

- (1) 'á *mádrə* *pállə* +*al-d-e-həč*.<sup>1</sup> ... *háč* *munšíyyàlə*.<sup>1</sup> 'He again fell on that (word) *həč* ... He forgot (the word) *həč*' (A 9:7–8)
- (2) *xáčča* *xír* *búš* *xelàntələ*.<sup>1</sup> '(The word) *xur* is a little stronger.'

When nouns are cited metalinguistically, masculine nouns are sometimes treated as masculine, e.g.

- (3) *la'usa díyyan 'ila.* ‘(The word) *la'usa* is indeed ours.’

On some occasions, however, masculine nouns are treated as feminine, e.g.

- (4) *scánta 'ila nàkva.* *scina lèla.* *scína 'ùrza vâyøla.* ‘(The word) *scánta* is feminine. (The word) *scina* is not, *scina* is masculine.’

Feminine nouns are always treated as feminine, e.g.

- (5) *jánta ka-vàrdø-zø 'ila.* ‘The word *janta* (“garden”) is also for flowers (in addition to vegetables).’

### 9.16 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. *xà-yuma* ‘one day’ (A 3:14), *'ó-yuma xína* ‘the next day’ (A 2:27), *'ád-lelø* ‘tonight’ (A 3:81), *cúl-lelø šíma* ‘during the whole night’ (A 1:40), *'é-+dana* ‘at that time’ (B 2:12), *tré +sa'àttø* ‘for two hours’ (A 1:41), *kèta* ‘in the summer’ (B 2:22), *sátva* ‘in the winter’ (B 2:19), *+cavútra* ‘at lunchtime’ (A 35:15), *+xa-+ràmša* ‘at dinnertime’ (A 35:15), *+šuràya* ‘in the beginning’ (B 11:5). The noun *yuma* ‘day’ lacks the final *-a* inflectional ending in some adverbial forms, e.g. *cúl-yum* ‘every day’ (A 37:18), *cùt-yum* ‘every day’ (B 2:19), *'ýdyu* ‘today’ (< \**adyom*).

Nominals without prepositions may function as spatial adverbials, e.g.

- (1) *'átlux xa-nàša!* *mattátla šòpux?* ‘Do you have a person to put in your place?’  
(A 3:14)
- (2) *für'un!* *brázølø šòpu.* ‘Pharaoh dries up in his place (i.e. on the spot).’  
(A 3:67)
- (3) *'o-cačáløt bràta míyyolø vâyøla málca,* *šópøt málca.* ‘The bald man who has brought the girl becomes the king, in place of the (real) king.’  
(A 1:24)
- (4) *'e-+dánøt lèx béta,* *xiša +bar +sèda,* *'útøn míyyan pràkøna!* *'ázøt xá xáčøa míyya mayyátlan.* ‘When we are not at home and have gone hunting, when our water runs out, you go and fetch us some water.’ (A 37:14)
- (5) *+pøllan díuctølø.* ‘He is in such-and-such a place.’ (A 3:50)
- (6) *háč dúca lát dásøtø b-dá šùpøra.* ‘Nowhere is there a plain of such beauty.’  
(B 2:14)

- (7) *síla bədráyələ mən-+táma +bəzzə +bəzzə.* ‘He sprinkles sand there in holes.’ (A 3:74)
- (8) *‘áni céca +bixalèlə.* *+tárrət dárta=zə švák̥tula ptíxa.* *bəxzáyələ +tárrət dárta=zə ’àttən.* ‘He eats the cakes. She has left the door of the courtyard open. He sees that there are some at the courtyard door.’ (A 37:4)
- (9) *xa-b-xá bəxzáyələ márzət +’áyna xá ... xa-náša dúlə dmíxa.* ‘All of a sudden he sees that there is a man asleep by the side of the spring.’ (A 37:7)
- (10) *bás xxílə xmára lélə +bašúrə ’ázəl ’ùrxə.* ‘But he saw that the donkey could not go on the road.’ (A 15:1)
- (11) *’át túy +táməl ’ána-da cálən dàpnax.* ‘You sit there and I shall stand beside you.’ (A 39:19)
- (12) *ķa-díyyax b-+yásrən dápñət dá tòra.* ‘I shall tie you by the side of this ox.’ (A 35:2)
- (13) *bába sávət-diyyan bətyávəna susavayè.* ‘Our forefathers sit on their horses.’ (B 16:4)

Parallel expressions are used with prepositions in some cases, e.g. *b-+kéṭa* ‘in the summer’ (B 2:8); *b-dápnu* ‘by his side’ (A 39:9). In (14) the adverbial has a preposition in the first of the parallel clauses but lacks it in the second:

- (14) *ķa-trè +sa’áttə malcútux hálla kày.* *tré +sa’áttə* *malcútux hálla kày.* ‘Give me your kingdom for two hours. Give me your kingdom for two hours.’ (A 1:41)

A prepositional phrase, however, sometimes has a different meaning from the adverbial without the preposition. The phrases *b-yuma* and *b-lelə*, for example, have the sense of ‘during the day-time’ and ‘during the night-time’, rather than ‘on the occasion of a particular day/night’ (*xa yuma*, *xa lelə*), as seen in (15)–(17):

- (15) *’ítə b-yúma* *bnàtə ci-yatvíva.* *+baǵvánə c-avíva* *kát jinávə +šúlə lā-’ativa.* ‘During the day the girls would sit. They would be garden-custodians so that thieves and so forth would not come.’ (B 2:7)
- (16) *b-lélə-da jvànkə c-azvíva.* ‘During the night the boys would go (there).’ (B 2:7)
- (17) *b-lélə* *vázzər mən-málca +plàtəna.* ‘At night the vizier leaves together with the king.’ (A 2:3)

On some occasions nominals without prepositions occur with verbs of movement to express the place of destination, e.g.

- (18) *+Axíkar| bərráxšəl bəta.* ‘Axíkar goes home.’ (A 3:16)
- (19) *bitáyəla bəta.* ‘He comes home.’ (A 37:15)
- (20) *+m̥t̥ili bəta.* ‘I arrived home.’ (A 4:14)
- (21) *bás ’ázax lábəlli betòxun.* ‘Then let us go, take me to your home.’ (A 37:11)
- (22) *’ázax +póllan dūcta.* ‘Let’s go to such-and-such a place.’ (A 3:23)
- (23) *’àxnan| ... +rába ducànə xíšəvax.* ‘We have gone to many places.’ (B 2:14)
- (24) *+m̥t̥ilan xa-dūcta.* ‘We arrived at a place.’ (A 2:32)
- (25) *b-+dánət +kèta| +álma c-azálva carmànə.* ‘In the summer the people used to go to the orchards.’ (B 12:1)
- (26) *lablívalun ’ärxa-’ətva.* ‘They used to take them to watermills that there were (in the villages).’ (B 2:9)
- (27) *+jór dá-baxta xóšlə karibùyta.* ‘The husband of this woman has gone to foreign lands.’ (A 2:7)
- (28) *’u-bàbi! škállun lubàllun| márzət šakita.* ‘They took my father away to the bank of the stream.’ (B 6:6)
- (29) *c-azáxva +slùta.* ‘We used to go to prayer (i.e. to the place of prayer).’ (B 5:6)

Spatial adverbs may be used in this way to express the goal of movement as well as static location, e.g.

- (30) *bərráxšəl +tāma.* ‘He goes there.’ (A 39:36)

In the attested examples, nominal phrases that express the goal are generally not limited by demonstrative pronouns, attributive modifiers or annexed items. When the destination is specified in such a way, a preposition is generally used, e.g.

- (31) *bərráxšəl +al-dò bēta.* ‘He goes to that house.’ (A 39:30)
- (32) *+al-+dàrva +túyra lá-’azət.* ‘Do not go to that mountain.’ (A 39:32)
- (33) *’ína xá ’úrxə bərráxšələ +al-xá Papārtmán<sup>P</sup> +rába +júrta šap̥ərta.* ‘There is a road that goes to a very large and beautiful apartment.’ (A 39:10)
- (34) *+m̥t̥ilan +al-dé-ducta kát málca márəla kàtuł* ‘We reached the place in which the king says to him ...’ (A 3:29)
- (35) *bitáyəla fu-bétat bàbu.* ‘He comes to the house of his father.’ (A 3:38)

Some adjectives are used adverbially to express the manner of action, e.g.

- (36) *e-dársət yúvvonva kátu kàmta lélə lípo bəxšávən +spày.* ‘He has not learnt well the lesson that I gave him some time ago.’ (A 3:87)

- (37) *jáns ci-bašòlva.* ‘It cooked well.’ (B 2:9)
- (38) *+rábá kùya hamzúmələ mən-báxtu!* *kat-*<sup>áni</sup> *+šàmmi.* ‘He speaks very loudly with his wife so that they can hear.’ (A 6:10)
- (39) *+raba xérba bányulə.* ‘He has built it very badly.’
- (40) *+rábá xérba +máryøva.* ‘He was very badly ill.’ (A 24:1)
- (41) *’átxa níxa püčpòčlə.* ‘He whispered softly like this.’ (A 19:2)
- (42) *níxa níxa níxa níxa!* *karbúnəla la-mdita.* ‘Very slowly she comes near to the town.’ (A 1:10)
- (43) *pláxli kàšya.* ‘I worked hard.’
- (44) *čarčúrəla xelàna.* ‘She is screaming loudly.’

The feminine form of the adjective *šapárta* ‘beautiful’ is used adverbially, e.g.

- (45) *jøllálə purziyyèla šapárta.* ‘She chopped the herbs beautifully.’ (A 36:12)
- (46) *’ína xáčča bùš šapárta márola.* ‘But he says it a little more beautifully.’ (A 3:77)

Note also the following expressions with the noun *+xəłta* without a preposition:

- (47) *+xəłta móxyula.* ‘He has hit him by mistake.’ (A 21:1)
- (48) *’át +xəłłat.* ‘You are wrong.’ (A 22:4)

An interrogative adverb of manner without a preposition is found in (49):

- (49) *mút +pósła +katłàxlə?* ‘In what manner shall we kill him.’ (A 37:19)

In (50) a loaned adverbial *+pyáda* (< Pers. piyādē) ‘on foot’ is used:

- (50) *+málla max-diyyi!* *’átəl +pyàda?* ‘Can a mullah like me come on foot?’ (A 14:7)

The form *kurbət* ‘near to’, which has the allomorph *kurb-* before pronominal suffixes, is used adverbially in a number of contexts, e.g.

- (51) *+báyyə ’ázəl kùrbo.* ‘He wants to go near to her.’ (A 1:6)

The abstract noun *duzuyta* ‘truth’ is used as an subjective evaluative adverbial without a preposition, e.g.

- (52) *lóbbi kòdlə duzúta káto.* ‘In truth, I felt sorry for her.’ (A 1:35)

# The Syntax of Verbs

## 10.1 Preliminary Remarks

The verbal forms are categorized here according to their structure. The categories include the forms derived from the present template (*patəx*, *patəxva*), the forms derived from past template (*ptəxlə*, *ptəxvalə*), the compound forms containing a resultative participle and copula or verb 'to be' (e.g. *ptixələ*) and the compound forms containing the progressive stem and copula or verb 'to be' (e.g. *bəptaxələ*). For convenience of reference, these designations, which are the templates of pattern I forms of the strong verb *patəx* I 'to open', is used to refer also to equivalent structures in weak and irregular verbs and to pattern II, pattern III and quadriliteral verbs.

## 10.2 The Function of Verbal Forms Derived from the Present Template

When discussing the function of forms derived from the present template, a distinction must be made between verbs with an initial radical /Ø/ in their morphological root and verbs with an initial strong radical in their root. The reason for this is that the distribution of preverbal particles such as *ci-* and *bət-* (§ 4.4.1., § 4.4.2.) on initial /Ø/ verbs is different from its distribution on verbs with a strong initial radical. Initial /Ø/ verbs are in general consistent and conservative in their use of the particles whereas in verbs with initial strong consonants the particles are sometimes 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 /Ø/ verbs the particle normally becomes the onset of the first syllable of the word, e.g. *c-azəl* 'he goes', *t-azəl* 'he will go'. Since the particle constitutes the onset of the syllable, it is protected from elision. When the particles are attached to a verb with an initial strong consonant, on the other hand, they frequently lose their own syllable nucleus and cluster with the onset, e.g. *ci-patəx* > [cʰpʰa:tʰɪx] 'he opens', *bət-šakəl* > [pʃa:kɪl] 'he will take'. In this environment they have become more vulnerable to elision. The transcription of the *ci-* particle has been normalized and is represented as *ci-* before strong consonants even where it loses its vowel. It is not represented in the transcription, however, where it is completely elided. Initial /Ø/ verbs

will be designated as class A and other verbs as class B. In the description of the function of forms derived from the present template, therefore, these two groups of verbs will be treated separately. Since class 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.

### 10.2.1 *patəx*

#### 10.2.1.1 Irrealis *patəx*

In general terms, it can be said that the irrealis *patəx* form expresses an action that has not been realized in the perception of the speaker but is only potential or an action whose reality is not fully asserted by the speaker. It is used in a variety of contexts. Most of its occurrences are found in syntactically subordinate clauses, though it is also used in main clauses. It expresses either a perfective aspect, referring to one punctual event, or an imperfective aspect, referring to an unbounded situation.

##### 10.2.1.1.1 *Deontic Modality in Main Clauses*

When the form occurs in main clauses, it usually expresses deontic modality, i.e. it contains an element of will, and in most cases the verb has a volitive ('I wish to ...') or an exhortative sense ('Let me, let us,' etc.). Such verbs can be used in all persons:

#### Class A

- (1) 'àna 'ázən.| 'I would like to go.' (A 39:4)
- (2) +'àxla.| 'She should eat.' (A 1:14)
- (3) 'ázax +póllan dùcta.| 'Let us go to such-and-such a place.' (A 3:23)
- (4) xáčča +'órənju-dan-+otàgj| 'I shall just go into these rooms.' (A 42:10)
- (5) kúdma 'átət.| 'You should come tomorrow.' (A 3:70)
- (6) 'ázət xa-tóra zònət| màyyat.| 'Go and buy an ox and bring it back.' (A 35:4)
- (7) lá-'azət +bár +šúpра| ... lá-'azət +bár +rába dàvəltə.| 'Do not go after beauty  
... Do not go after great wealth.' (A 3:11)
- (8) lá +'àxlət| lágma +hàram.| +'axlátłə lágma dùz| +spày.| 'Do not eat forbidden food. Eat proper, good food.' (A 3:9)

#### Class B

- (9) 'aláha ràxəm +al-màlla.| 'May God have mercy on the mullah.' (A 4:11)
- (10) còc nàkva la-šòkət.| cócat nàkva cíulla dòkət.| 'Do not leave female kind alive.  
Seize all female kind.' (A 2:11)

- (11) *'ína 'á-məndi=da tanànnə.*! 'But I shall (intend to) talk about this too.' (B 2:6)
- (12) *küdmə xazónnux.*! 'Tomorrow I shall (intend to) see you.' (A 3:74)
- (13) *méti cmá=t 'átlux látlux.*! 'May as many as you have and do not have die (= may all your family die).' (A 4:14)
- (14) *'ánnə +bérašə bašlátłun, kúdma 'ánnə bašlátłun!* 'In the evening cook these and tomorrow cook these.' (A 36:7)

Such deontic uses of *patəx* are sometimes preceded by an imperative of the verb *kayəm* i 'to get up' or the imperative form *xuš* 'go!', e.g.

- (15) *kú 'ázax bëta.*! 'Get up, let's go home.' (A 37:11)
- (16) *ku-+yärmax.*! 'Get up, let's be off.' (A 2:8)
- (17) *kúmun +tálax +gáltə.*! 'Get up, let's play a game.' (A 1:24)
- (18) *'údyu císi xuš-pálxa, 'ána +áxlən.*! 'Today let my stomach work and let me eat.' (A 25:1)

Irrealis *patəx* is used in some main clause questions expressing deontic necessity (must, ought to, should) or deontic possibility, i.e. permission (may, might, can, could):

#### Class A

- (19) *mù 'ódən?*! 'What should I do?' (A 3:35)
- (20) *mù tánən?*! *mú +amsən 'ódən kat-át +paxlätli?*! 'What should I say? What should I do for you to forgive me?' (A 3:54)
- (21) *taxmùnələ! mu-'avəd, mu-lá-'avəd.*! 'He thinks what he should do and what he should not do.' (A 3:73)
- (22) *ká-mu cül-yum 'átax kësa máyyax?*! 'Why should we come every day and bring wood?' (A 37:18)
- (23) *'at kam-ázət?*! 'Why should *you* go?' (A 39:4)
- (24) *'atən! xa-báxtə! mù-+amsat káti 'ódat?*! 'You, a woman, what could you do for me?' (A 5:3)

#### Class B

- (25) *dáx +katlànna?*! 'How could I kill him?' (A 3:50)
- (26) *mújjuryávvax 'áxnan?!* *mújjuryávvax +támma 'áxnan +tìna, cipa, mìyya?*! 'How can we give? How can we give here clay, stones, water?' (A 3:72)
- (27) *xá nišánka káti yávvət káti mójjur mòttəla?*! 'Could you give me a sign as to how she has died?' (A 1:17)

### 10.2.1.1.2 *Conditional Constructions*

The unrealis *patəx* form is sometimes used in the protasis of conditional sentences that refers to a possible situation in the future, e.g.

#### Class A

- (1) 'ən-́ázət +rába pàta yavvótlə| 'u-p-tànəl xmàra=da díyyila.| 'If you go and indulge him further (literally: give him face), he will say "Also the donkey is mine."' (A 14:11)

#### Class B

- (2) 'ən-tána ka-šámša clì| bət-càlyā.| 'ən-tána +muṭra +ri| bət-+ràyya.| 'ən-tána dúnýa clí bət-càlyani.| 'If he says to the sun "stop", it will stop. If he says "rain", it will rain. If he says "Stop world", it will stop.' (A 3:64)

### 10.2.1.1.3 *Temporal Constructions*

The unrealis form is also used in a subordinate temporal clause referring to a situation in the future which is presupposed to take place, e.g.

- (1) 'íman xmártux +flá,jáhə +arṭàla| 'ó-yuma mètət.| 'When your jenny farts three times, on that day you will die.' (A 32:2)
- (2) har-́átya làxxa| c-ázən +támma mən-+támma.| 'As soon as she comes here, I go there, from there.' (A 39:27)

### 10.2.1.1.4 *Subordinate Complements*

The unrealis *patəx* occurs in subordinate clauses that are complements of various verbs and expressions when the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is as yet unrealized relative to the time of the main verb. The form is used not only with present tense main verbs, but also with main verbs that have past time reference, in which the form takes the past reference of the main verb as its deictic centre.

In a number of cases the clause expresses some kind of deontic modality (wish, intention, permission, obligation), e.g.

#### Class A

- (1) cmá=t ... +byáyələ ́átə hàmzəm| lélə +bašùrə.| 'However much he wants to come and talk, he cannot do so.' (A 3:30)
- (2) cíllət +báyyət ́ódət b-ríšu vùd.| 'Do whatever you want to do to him.' (A 3:88)

- (3) *màrrəl* 'ána lè-+*bayyən* háč *xa*-+*šrəl* óya *ju-màta*, *ju-mdita*.| 'He said "I do not want any lantern to be in the village, in the town." (A 2:1)
- (4) *táni* *ka-nášux* *ṭina* +*kašiyə*, *carpiyčə*, *mìtya*, *cúlla* *'odílun* +*hàzər*.| 'Tell your people to prepare mud, tiles, bricks, water, everything.' (A 3:70)
- (5) *ána* +*byáyən* *mən-nášux* *lipəl* *mən-jú* +*átrət* *díyyux* +*árpa* *xamšá* *mən-dýánə* *kátı* +*jùvvab* *ódi*.| 'I want your learned men from your land to give me a response to four or five things.' (A 3:39)
- (6) *'axči* *ju*-+*átrət* *díyyi* áha *mónđi* *àvəl* 'ána lè *kablánnə*.| 'But I do not accept that this thing be in my land.' (A 2:12)
- (7) *dástur* *yávəl* *ka-vàzzər* *kát* ... 'a-+*šúla* *avàdlə*.| 'He gives a command to the vizier to perform this task.' (A 2:13)
- (8) *záhmat* *bərášax* *kát* *nùynə* *dókax*.| 'We are taking trouble to catch fish.' (A 9:3)
- (9) +*xàyəš* *vádən* | 'á +*bùsra* *'odátlə* +*tuyàtə*.| 'I would like you to make this meat into kebabs.' (A 11:1)

### Class B

- (10) *márət* *díyyi* *lélə* *xšíxa* *kat-ána* *átxa* *hamzámmən* *bàzu*.| 'My master does not need me to speak about him like this.' (A 3:64)
- (11) +*tlábloxun* *but*-+*zrùta* *katóxun* *xácma* *məndyánə* *tánən*.| 'You have asked me to tell you a few things about agriculture.' (B 2:1)
- (12) *málca-da* *yúvvəl* *dástur* *kat-cúllə* *panánnun*.| 'The king has given a command that I should eradicate everybody.' (A 2:17)
- (13) *kòl* *škólla* *mónni* *kát* +*ṭamrònna*.| 'She made me promise that I would bury her.' (A 2:35)

Necessity, deontic or epistemic, may be expressed by impersonal particles such as *jarəc* (and its phonetic variants), +*lazəm*, *majbur*, e.g.

### Class A

- (14) 'ána *jarəc* 'ázən' *jávəl* *cúllə* *dùnyə* +*xàdrən* | 'I must go and travel around the whole world' (A 4:1)
- (15) *jarí* é-+*dana* 'ázi *kèsə* *máyyi*.| 'At that time they must go and bring wood.' (A 37:13)
- (16) 'átxa *jarí* 'òdət. | 'You must do it this way.' (A 35:9)

## Class B

- (17) *fári* +*kàtlət káti* máttat *láxxa ju*-+*kóra cəs*-+*fòri* +*ṭamrətli* | *íta* 'ázət. | 'You must kill me and put me here in the grave with my husband, bury me, then go.' (A 2:34)
- (18) *ka-dánnə yál-súra mù fári bášli?* 'What should they cook for those children?' (A 52:4)
- (19) *lèva* +*lázəm buxári tápi.* | 'They did not have to light a stove.' (B 14:2)
- (20) *májbur=ilə šakálla báxta labəlla.* | 'He is obliged to take the woman away.' (A 1:8)

The irrealis form is used in clauses expressing purpose. In some cases these are introduced by subordinating particles and expressions such as *kat*, though in many cases purpose clauses are placed after the clause on which they are dependent without a linking conjunction, e.g.

## Class A

- (21) +*u-rába nášə* +*krílə* | *kát xá-məndi* 'òdi| +*palačíyyə*| +*pála ptáxəva*| *kátu* *kát* 'áha *yála* 'avíla. | 'He summoned many people to do something, fortunetellers, who read fortunes, in order for him to have a child.' (A 3:3)
- (22) *xá* +*rápsa ju*-+*xásu màxət* | *ázəl nápəl xa-yáccə* +*kazánča míyya* +*bərdáxa.* | 'Give him a kick on his back, so that he goes and falls into a huge pan of boiling water.' (A 42:8)
- (23) *hár* 'é-+*dána* | +*šadúrəna* *xa-xína* *xáčča* | *ázəl míyya mayyilun.* | 'They then send another one to go and get some water for them.' (A 37:16)

## Class B

- (24) *kòšun muyyélə* | *kat-áta* +*pháləš mónnux.* | 'He has brought soldiers in order to come and fight with you.' (A 3:20)
- (25) *màyuna* | *kat-+kátlila.* | 'They bring him to kill him.' (A 3:31)
- (26) *xa-*+*bózza bəšvákəna* | *kat-napásu lā-*+*katta.* | 'They leave a hole so that his breathing would not be cut off.' (A 3:36)
- (27) *ku-tálux* | +*pəllan-dúcta xazənnux* | *kát... yavvónna* +*átra ka-díyyux.* | 'Come, I shall see you at a certain place, in order to give the land to you.' (A 3:21)
- (28) *ána kúdmə t-àtən* | *ka-díyyux bánən béta* +*üllul.* | 'I shall come tomorrow to build for you a house above.' (A 3:70)

The irrealis form is also used in a variety of other subordinate complement clauses in which the action or situation expressed in the subordinate clause is potential in relation to the main verb rather than one that actually exists. It is commonly attested, for example, in clauses that are the complement of the verbs *+masə* I and *+bašər* II ‘to be able’:

### Class A

- (29) *c-+ámsət* *’ázət pàlxət.* ‘You can go and work.’ (A 34:1)
- (30) *’átən!* *xa-bàxta!* *mù-+amsat* *káti ódat?* ‘You, a woman, what could you do for me?’ (A 5:3)
- (31) *’án +msilun!* *’odílə nášət díyyux,* *’ána cíllə xàrjət!* *tláy šànnə!* *b-yarvánna kàtux.* ‘If your men can do this, I shall give to you all the expenditure of my land for thirty years.’ (A 3:44)
- (32) *’a-dáx c-+ámsən* *’ana-à-+šula* *’odánnə?!* ‘Oh how can I do this thing?’! (A 2:12)

### Class B

- (33) *c-+ámsax +hayyərràxlux?* ‘Can we help you?’ (A 4:5)
- (34) *lèlə +másə hámzəm.* ‘He cannot speak.’ (A 3:30)
- (35) *lélə +bašúrə hámzəm.* ‘He is unable to talk.’ (A 3:28)

It is used also after expressions of fear or caution, e.g.

- (36) *+bəzdáyən là +ámsət.* ‘I am afraid you will not be able.’ (A 35:1)
- (37) *+bəzdáyən xànkə.* ‘I am afraid it may drown.’ (A 20:2)
- (38) *hášyar vímun lá naplitun.* ‘Be careful you do not fall.’
- (39) *lótlə júr’at t-àtə.* ‘He does not dare to come.’

It is used in a complement of the verb *sap̄ər* I ‘to wait’:

- (40) *bəspárəna káat-málca ’átə.* ‘They wait for the king to come.’ (A 1:26)
- (41) *bəspárəx póxa ’atini.* ‘We wait for the wind to come.’ (B 3:21)

It is used in subordinate clauses with conjunctions such as *hal* that express the notion of ‘before’ relating to a future event that has not yet occurred, e.g.

- (42) *bašlàttun!* *hal-’ána ’átən.* ‘You should cook them before I come back.’ (A 36:14)

- (43) *hál +dérən 'átən| cōc nà́kva la-šò́kət.* ‘Before I return and come back, do not leave female kind (alive).’ (A 2:11)

The form is used in expressions such as (44) and (45), which express that an event is close in the future but still has not taken place:

- (44) *jálət-ivən pàrkən.* ‘I have almost finished.’  
 (45) *xáčča pyášla káṭəlla.* ‘He almost kills her.’ (A 36:9)

The irrealis form occurs in various other contexts where the speaker is not fully committed to the truth of the clause, e.g.

- (46) *bálcət 'átə.* ‘Perhaps he will come’  
 (47) *bálcət| 'ána jàni| 'ázən lablánna pídi xa-màndi.* ‘Perhaps I myself should go and take something by my own hand.’ (A 1:16)  
 (48) *bálcət +hayyərrənnux.* ‘Perhaps I shall (be able to) help you.’ (A 2:16)  
 (49) *baxšáven ká-díyyax xòšax 'átya mánno.* ‘I think you will like it (literally: your happiness will come from it).’ (A 40:3)  
 (50) *c-óya 'átən tarcáttá yá 'ürxa.* ‘You may abandon this path (literally: It may be that you abandon this path).’ (B 16:8)  
 (51) *dáx c-óya 'ána mayyánnun bëta?* ‘How is it possible for me to bring them home?’ (A 6:3)  
 (52) *lá 'adíyya ká-díyyi-da +káṭəl?* ‘Will he now not kill also me?’ (A 2:23)

In (53) an irrealis *patəx* form is used in a complement of a verb of perception in which the speaker denies having witnessed a situation. The verb here takes its past time reference from the matrix verb:

- (53) *'ásłan 'ána ju-xáyyi lénva xázya nýyna mən-+árra +pál̥ti.* ‘I had never in my life seen fish come out of the ground.’ (A 36:13)

#### 10.2.1.1.5 Generic Relative Clauses

The irrealis *patəx* form is used in relative clauses that qualify heads that denote a generic class. In such cases the speaker is not committed to the existence of a referent in the class, i.e. the class may be empty of referents in reality, e.g.

##### Class A

- (1) *náša lòt| káṭ-á-màndi 'aváḍla.* ‘There is nobody who can do this.’ (A 3:45)  
 (2) *lòtən| xá mòndi| fáv +'átra| káṭ| xəžbùyna 'ódət +'állu.* ‘There is nothing in the land that you can count on.’ (A 1:21)

- (3) *'o-nášət kát ... +al-málcət jànu| Pxáyānàt<sup>P</sup> ávəd,| +xèltə 'ávəd| +al-'alàha-zə vádələ| +xèltə.|* ‘A man who does treachery against his own king, who commits a fault, he commits the fault also against God.’ (A 3:38)

### Class B

- (4) *'avíni b-rīš-dó nášət xəzmān jánū| bné=t 'umtət jánū| +rappùlun,| +naxráy davəklun.|* ‘May it be on the head of a man who rejects his relatives, people of his own community, and takes on foreigners.’ (A 48:24)
- (5) *cut-mačəxlə| xá-dana +dínar b-yavənnə.* ‘Whoever finds it, I shall give him a dinar.’ (A 26:1)

The motivation for using the *patəx* forms in (6) is similar, in that they occur in a subordinate content clause that is bound to the correlative phrase *xa-’axča məndi* ‘some such thing’ which is unspecified:

- (6) *xa-’axča| məndi víla láxxa| kat-xá +tákər| báxtu mayyíla máttə cəs-+háji.| +háji +xárta kám +al-jànol| +xárta yávvəl ká-ríjū| lábəl +káṭlla.* ‘Some such thing has happened (namely) that a merchant brings his wife and places her with a pilgrim, the pilgrim then assaults her, then gives her to his servant to take away and kill.’ (A 1:43)

#### 10.2.1.2 Realis *patəx*

##### 10.2.1.2.1 Actual Present

The compound *bəptaxəla* form is normally used to express the progressive aspect, i.e. an activity that is taking place in the present or, in the case of stative verbs, a state that holds at the present moment ('actual present') (§ 10.11.1.1.). In the case of some class B verbs that denote a psychological state, such as *+bayyə* 1 ‘to want’, *+yat̪ə* 1 ‘to know’ and *+masə* 1 ‘to be able’, the actual present is sometimes expressed by the *patəx* form, e.g.

- (1) *fúr'un +báyyə +pàləš mónnux.* ‘Pharaoh wants to fight with you.’ (A 3:21)
- (2) *+báyyən xá-məndi tanónnux.* ‘I want to say something to you.’ (A 3:47)
- (3) *mú +báyyət ána káx yávvən?* ‘What do you want me to give you?’ (A 3:87)
- (4) *cúl-našə +yat̪ilə.* ‘Everybody knows him.’ (A 1:4)
- (5) *’áxnan là-+msax mónnux xáyyax.* ‘We cannot live with you.’ (A 37:22)

In (6) a deictic copula introduces the verb, indicating that it relates to the current situation. The effect of the use of the far deictic copula is to express the emotional attitude of the speaker to an upsetting situation out of his control:

- (6) *'ína véna +báyyi šaklilə m-ídan.* | ‘But there they want to take it from our hands.’ (A 38:10)

The *patəx* form of these psychological verbs is used also to express the narrative present. With other verbs this is normally expressed by the *bəptaxələ* form (§ 10.11.1.3.):

- (7) *'áha hár +báyyə ràkəd,| pálju npálələ l-à-jiba| pálju l-ò-yba.* | ‘As soon as he wants to dance, one half of him falls on one side and the other on the other side.’ (A 39:14)

The *bəptaxələ* form is also used to express the actual present and narrative present of psychological verbs (§ 10.11.1.1., § 10.11.1.3.).

#### 10.2.1.2.2 Habitual

The present habitual is often expressed by the *ci-patəx* form with the habitual prefix *ci-*. Sometimes, however, the *patəx* form of class B verbs is also used to express the present habitual, e.g.

- (1) *+kusárta mattila.* | ‘They put a cooking pot (on the stove).’ (B 14:1)  
 (2) *+taptəppàlə-xina,| míyya lè-’ati ’áltəx,| ’àtxa vâyala.* | ‘It (the roller) knocks it down and the water does not come down. It is like this.’ (B 14:10–11)  
 (3) *b-xá +čap̪pálta ’ána ... ’arþí dánə dévə +másən +katlənnun.* | ‘With one (blow of) a club I can kill forty devils.’ (A 37:8)

Habitual *patəx* forms are sometimes used with past time reference within passages relating to habitual activities in the past that are expressed by past habitual forms, e.g.

- (4) *’ítə +berašvànə-da| kat-’ärxa ’atíva| ju-dó bét tanùyra| mattívalun xá-dana mìz| ’átxa mátti +al-pátət tanùyra,| yan-là,| xá-dana +àdyal dári| násə ’aklatè p-čambəllívalun ju-do tanùyra,| cílla šaxinə.* | ‘Then in the evenings, when guests arrived, in that oven house they laid for them a table, they lay it thus on the top of the oven, or if not, they lay out a blanket and the people used to dangle their legs in the oven, all (keeping) warm.’ (B 14:2)

#### 10.2.1.2.3 Narrative Sequential

In a few case the *patəx* form is used in narrative to express a realis event that is sequential to what precedes. This is attested in narratives recorded in Canda (Georgia), e.g.

- (1) *májjøt=da* 'á náša xèšla, **jášək** ó bétu súra víyyøva xá yácca máx bátøt málca víyyøva.<sup>11</sup> 'Indeed the man went off and sees that his small house had become huge.' (A 54:5)
- (2) +*xárta xá +sedáči børràššøva, børráššøva +bar +sèdu xína.* **jášəkni** 'ína' á +*tála bøsyákøla +al-’ilána.* 'Then a hunter was going after his prey. He sees that the fox is going up the tree.' (A 53:3)
- (3) *mórrø xá xázzøn mó vàdølø.* **jášək** 'ína 'ánnø +zàyøl síra sirè, +vásta +vøstè +hayvánø bøxyøna, **čarčürøna.** 'He said "Let me see what he is doing." He saw that the young are yelling and whining, the poor beasts are crying, and screaming.' (A 53:3)
- (4) *mádrø tila, mòdrøl +xølla, **jáška** én +záyo lát, +xilèlø.* 'She came back again, again it ate (the young), she sees that the young are not there, it ate them.' (A 53:2)
- (5) +*bakúrøla mæn-dà,* +*bakúrøla mæn-+dàvva lát +ákúbra.* **léna** xázyu hòč náša.<sup>12</sup> *úza xázza **jáška** +ákúbra* 'ína vélju- +xlíyløt brún-málca 'She asks this one and asks that one, but there is no sign of the mouse. Nobody has seen him. Then she goes and looks, she sees that the mouse is at the wedding of the son of the king.' (A 52:5–6)

As can be seen, this construction is predominantly attested with the verb *jášək* 11 'to look, to see' after a verb of movement. It is frequently the case that a verb of movement is followed by an irrealis *patøx* form expressing purpose, i.e. an action that is as yet unrealized from the temporal viewpoint of the verb of movement, e.g.

- (6) *xášla báxta +tárra patxàlø.* 'The woman went to open the door.' (A 18:2)
- (7) *børréšxøla b-’àmi* +*’óra +al-dàfíbøt +’átra.* 'She goes in a boat to cross to the other side of the land.' (A 34:8)

In examples such as (1)–(3) the syntax is the same but the temporal viewpoint is reset with the *patøx* form and it is used to express the event directly. It can be regarded as a form of result clause 'he went with the result that he saw'. It is significant to note that subordinate purpose clauses and result clauses share syntactic features, notably both may be introduced by the subordinating particle *kat* (§ 14.5.3.). In such cases, however, the verb of the result clause has a form that is typically used to express realis events (e.g. *ptaxla*, *bæptaxalø*, *ptixalø*). In the construction described here the irrealis verb form has been retained to express realis function. Example (5) shows that the use of realis *patøx* forms in narrative has been extended also to contexts where there is no preceding verb of movement.

Syntactic evidence for the fact that the *patəx* form should be interpreted as realis includes constructions such as (8). Here the *patəx* form follows a subordinate temporal clause and so the verb must be realis sequential:

- (8) *t-íva xášle +al-+sèda,| jáški +al-xá 'ilàna tóvtəla xá šapárta máx +šrám bəlláya bràta.* ‘When they had gone hunting, they saw sitting on a tree a beautiful girl shining like a lantern.’ (A 56:1)

### 10.2.2 patəxva

#### 10.2.2.1 Irrealis patəxva

##### 10.2.2.1.1 Conditional Constructions

The *patəxva* form is used in the protasis 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 will not be fulfilled (2). Such hypothetical conditions refer to a single event (perfective) or a continuous situation (imperfective):

- (1) *'ən-+bakròtva,| bət-yavvónvalux zìlyza,| 'ína là +buķorrux.* ‘If you had asked, I would have given you money, but you did not ask.’  
 (2) *'ən-+masənva,| bət-'atənva.* ‘If I could, I would come.’

Examples from the text corpus:

- (3) *'ən-'ávənva jáni=da +al-xmàra,| káy=da b-lablìva.* ‘If I myself had been on the donkey, they would have taken me also.’ (A 26:2)  
 (4) *'ən-+yattíva mádrə 'àna,| lè tapíva.* ‘If it knew (that it was) me again, it would not light.’ (A 23:3)  
 (5) *'atətva,| ju-cúlla 'ánnə +xabrána ci-yavvótvala +jùvvab.* ‘If you would come, you would respond to all these requests.’ (A 3:45)  
 (6) *'án xá-xta maxìva,| +'áv bát-xayyìva.* ‘If he were to strike again, he would live.’ (A 39:13)

It is used in related deontic expressions without the conditional particle, which broadly have the sense of ‘if only ...!’

- (7) *xá-ja xítə=zə +Axíkar xazənvalə,| tapáķva bìyyi,| 'áxči pàti ketáva ju-pàtu,| báss=iva.* ‘If only I could see Axiqar once again, if only he could meet me again, if only my face could touch his face, that would be enough.’ (A 3:46)  
 (8) *'ávənva +xlápux +Axíkar.* ‘Would that I were your substitute, Axiqar.’ (A 3:60)

- (9) *'ídux +šamṭàva!'* 'May your hand break! (said to somebody who hits a child)'
- (10) *+axláva mən-rišux!* 'May (what you stole) bring bad fortune to you' (literally: May it eat from your head)
- (11) *+sansòpva,| ka-mú mána +šmòtlux?* 'May it smart! Why have you broken the pot?' (curse)

#### 10.2.2.1.2 Subordinate Complements

The *patəxva* form is used in the various subordinate complement clauses that the *patəx* 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.

#### Class A

- (1) *šaṭxìvalə| én míyyu mən-ʃávu 'azíva.* 'They spread it out in order for its water to reduce.' (B 3:16)
- (2) *+bílun +kàtli,| 'ína 'aláha la-švàkla,| kat-’atónva làxxal +juvvab díyyux yavvònvala.* 'They wanted to kill me, but God did not permit this, so that I could come here and give you your answer.' (A 3:69)
- (3) *'íta b-yùma! bnàtə ci-yatvíva.| +bağvàna c-avíva| kát fináva +šúla là-’atíva.* 'So during the day girls would sit (there). They used to be vineyard-keepers so that thieves and so forth would not come. Birds too used to come to eat the grapes.' (B 2:7)
- (4) *xéšlux cəs-nàšə xínə| kat-’áni lá-+msiva (= la-+'amsíva) kátux 'odíva.* 'You went to other people, who could not do this for you.' (A 3:5)
- (5) *'ína +'úxča sivəva müttuva ju-xá ... +kərtàla| ju-ctàna| kát là-+ajjəzva +págru.* 'But he was so aged that they had placed him in a basket, in cotton, so that his body was not harmed.' (A 2:14)
- (6) *káti +bətlabəva còmac 'azónva +állu.* 'She had been seeking me in order to go and help him.' (A 2:33)
- (7) *'íta látva +mašinə=zə| kát b-+mašinə nášə 'azíva 'atíva.* 'So there were no cars, so that people could come and go in cars.' (B 2:12)
- (8) *'ít nášə láxma lè máčxi +axlíva.* 'There were people who did not find bread to eat.' (B 3:36)

#### Class B verbs

- (9) *tàlfə| jári +rappáxvalə m-+ál-jàra,| cùl yùma.* 'We had to throw off the snow from the roof every day.' (B 2:19)

- (10) *'ánnə +'ánnə jári jařívalun b-+xasé móñ cárma hálju-čáraz.* ‘They had to carry these grapes on their backs from the vineyard up to the winepress.’ (B 12:2)
- (11) *ju-’érxa ci-taxnívalun| c-odívalun kámxa| kat-mayyíva ju-bátə| làxma yapíva.* ‘In the water-mill they used to grind it and make it into flour, in order to take home and bake bread.’ (B 2:9)
- (12) *xá-dana stíyna-da xút ci-maxíva móñ-+’árral hál +támma| kát là taláxva.* ‘They used to place a pillar underneath (coming up) from the ground up to there, so that it would not collapse.’ (B 2:19)
- (13) *xàšla cásłu| kat-šákálvala ziłyza.* ‘He went to him to take money.’ (A 1:2)
- (14) *’áha=zə léva +bašúrə hamzámva móñ +háji.* ‘So he did not manage to talk to the pilgrim.’ (A 1:16)
- (15) *’ána munšíli tanyánvalux.* ‘I forgot to tell you.’ (A 5:16)
- (16) *xáčxa péša ’ána +mažónva +’al-kárkáptət +tùyra.* ‘I had almost reached the top of the mountain’ (literally: little remained that I reach the top of the mountain)

In (17) the *patəxva* is dependent on a present form (*le-patəx*) deontic verbal expression *le-*-*oya* ‘it is not possible’:

- (17) *lé-’oya náša jávu xayyíva.* ‘People could not live in it.’ (A 1:26)

#### 10.2.2.1.3 Generic Relative Clauses

The form is used in a relative clause that has a head noun denoting a class rather than referring to a specific referent, e.g.

- (1) *xa-móndi-da látva ’ána +’axlónva.* ‘Moreover there was nothing that I could eat.’ (A 36:10)
- (2) *látva náša ’azíva pešíval xá télo.* ‘There were not many people who went and stayed for a night.’ (B 1:33)

#### 10.2.2.2 Realis *patəx*

##### 10.2.2.2.1 Past Habitual

In class B verbs the *patəxva* form without a prefix is very frequently used to express past habitual action, e.g.

- (1) *e-+dánət zamàrva,| ’ána +šammónva. +yatłónva málca ’étlə +’súla mónni. c-azónva cásłu.* ‘When he sang, I used to listen. I knew that the king had work for me. I used to go to him.’ (A 3:81)
- (2) *cúlla dínyə +yatłávalə.* ‘The whole world used to know him.’ (A 3:1)

- (3) +*Axīkar* | *xùbba maxzíva ̄ka-dá ̄axúna.* | ‘Axiqar used to show love to this brother.’ (A 3:17)
- (4) *sèpīl maxánvala +al-cipa* | +*čambərrənvalə.* | ‘I used to strike my sword on a stone and split it.’ (A 2:25)
- (5) *‘ù-sepət díyyīl ̄icət maxənvalə c-odánvalə trè.* | ‘Wherever I struck this sword of mine I used to make him two (i.e. I split my victim in two).’ (A 2:28)

#### 10.2.2.2.2 Past Habitual Temporal Clauses

The *patəxva* form of both class A and class B verbs occurs in temporal clauses with habitual aspect that set the time frame for what follows. These may be introduced by a temporal conjunction or may be asyndetic:

- (1) *‘íman=ət xá náša +fúra +avərvəl jári kemátvə +al-‘àklux.* | ‘When an old person entered, you had to get up onto your feet.’ (A 1:16)
- (2) *+oráva +al-mòriša* | *é-+dān ̄atíva ̄ánnə míyyət +árvə kát c-avíva xvìtəl ̄áx míyya +tinànəl ̄ka-mòriša c-avíva ̄ax=t-‘ámri +sápyə ̄ax-zýa.* | ‘As morning broke, when they came, the grape juices that were mixed, like muddy water, in the morning they were, as they say, clear as a bell.’ (B 12:3)
- (3) *‘íta +berašvànə-dəl ̄kat-‘árxa ̄atíva| ju-dó bét tanùyra| mattívalun xá-dana mīz.* | ‘Then in the evenings, when guests arrived, in that oven house they laid for them a table.’ (B 14:2)
- (4) *míyya é-+dān +múṭra tálja +šúla +rayyíva ju-béta lè +salíva.* | ‘When it rained or snowed and so forth water would not come down into the house.’ (B 2:22)

The lack of *ci-* even in class A verbs is significant and can be interpreted as having a discourse motivation in that a form of light coding is used to express discourse background. This contrasts with the use of the heavy coding of *ci-patəx* form to express discourse prominence (§ 10.2.3.1.).

#### 10.2.2.3 Continuous Situation in the Past

We have seen in § 10.2.1.2.1. that a small set of verbs denoting mental processes or states are used in the *patəx* 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 *patəxva* 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) *xá +dāna| bābət díyyux=zəl +bayyíva +katlívalə.* | ‘Once they wanted to kill your father.’ (A 3:34)

- (2) +*haramíyyə lùbluva* +*fóro*! +*báyyiva* +*katlivalə*.| ‘Brigands had taken her husband and they wanted to kill him.’ (A 2:33)
- (3) ‘*u-caçàla-da* *yámmu* +*yattàva* | *kat-xá-məndi tunilə* | *t-avàdla*.| ‘Now, the bald man—his mother knew that if he said something, he would do it.’ (A 1:14)
- (4) *cúllə* +*yattìva ka-* +*uydálə-xina*.| ‘Everybody knew one another.’ (A 5:10)

### 10.2.3 ci-patəx

#### 10.2.3.1 Habitual

This is the common form for the expression of the present habitual in both classes of verbs, e.g.

- (1) *har-àtxa násə c-odílun* ‘adíyya.| ‘The people make them the same way now.’ (B 14:12)
- (2) ‘*árrna məššálmána c-ázi Màcca*.| ‘The Muslims go to Mecca.’ (A 1:3)
- (3) *mən-dá* +*áyna c-àtaxl* *mìyya ci-šákłaxl* | ‘*a-mzída ci-màlyaxl* | *ka-xá šábtət diyyan*.| ‘We come and take water from this spring. We fill this waterskin for us for one week.’ (A 37:11)
- (4) ‘*áxnan jànan-zə mádra* ‘o-+*šúla c-odàxlə*.| +*yánə c-àzaxl* | *ci-zónax* +*ànvəl ci-* +*marçàxlunl* | *ci-bašlàxlun*.| ‘We still practice this tradition, that is we go and buy grapes, we crush them and cook them.’ (B 12:9)
- (5) +*àrra* | *cmá-t* ‘*óya macàxta* | *buš-mìyya c-ázi jávo*.| ‘*ína* +*arra-óya* | *kvítal* *míyya ju-dreté míyya c-àzi*.| ‘The more soft the ground is, the more water sinks into it. But if the ground is hard, when water is poured out, it flows away.’ (A 3:11)
- (6) +*šàda* | *kàmta* | *ci-yávva* +*ṭàrpəl* +*xárta* | *ci-yavvála* +*ṭùnto*.| ‘An almond tree first produces leaves and then produces its fruit.’ (A 3:12)
- (7) *bitáyəla mən-*+*táma ci-*+*karíla* *šamašùyta*.| ‘What they call a sun-ray comes from there.’ (A 3:73)
- (8) *xá-sama xína-da* +*álma* ‘*áttən* | *kat-ci-táni* | *mən-jíbat* | *nipùxta* | ‘*méye poxtè*.| ‘There is another group of people who instead of *nipuxta* say *meye poxtè*.’ (B 12:8)

The *ci-* prefix in class B verbs expressing the habitual is sometimes omitted by certain speakers (§ 10.2.1.2.2.). There is often a discourse pragmatic motivation for this. The particle tends to be omitted in sections of the text that have a lower level of prominence than sections with verbs that contain the particle. This is seen clearly in (9) in which the speaker describes the measures taken to protect roofs from leakage of water with *ci-patəx* verbs. He recapitulates the final stage of the process with a *patəx* verb. Recapitulated material was no doubt

considered to require less expression of prominence than the first description of the process:

- (9) *xá-xa-ja kat-jàrə́ míyya bitáyəna bədlápəna,| c-àti,| mòlxə ci-dári +al-járə,| mòlxə baruzta-xina,| ci-barbòzzi +allu.|’ita móndi max-dáyən ci-+max-dárri +al-járə,| ci-+taptəppálə.|| +taptəppálə-xina,| míyya lè-’ati ’òltəx.|’àtxa váyəla.| ‘Sometimes when the roof—water comes and leaks, they come and put salt on the roof. They scatter over it dry salt. Then they roll something like this (i.e. like a roller) on the roof and it knocks it down. It knocks it down and the water does not come down. It is like this.’ (B 14:10–11)*

In (10) the narrator gives a warning particular weight and prominence by using uncontracted forms of the *ci-* particle and even retains the laryngal before the form *’atə*:

- (10) *màrəna| xzil’ áha mítət díyyan| ci-kám,| ci-’atə.|| máttimunlə +rába ’òltəx.|‘They say “Look, this dead of ours rises and comes back. Put him very deep (in the grave).”’ (A 6:11)*

Some speakers of the northern variety of the dialect use a form with a *’i-* prefix in free variation with the *ci-patəx* form, e.g.

- (11) *’ó +bər-+zárra ’i-daráxlə +tāma.|‘We put the seed there.’ (B 3:23)*  
 (12) *’ó yùma| yálə súrə ’i-+xàdri| yaskíva jaravàta.|‘On that day the children go around and climb on the rooftops.’ (B 5:9)*

### 10.2.3.2 Actual Present

The *ci-patəx* form is used to express the actual present of some verbs denoting internal psychological processes or states, rather than a habitual situation, e.g.

#### Class A

- (1) *’a-dáx c-+ámsən ’ana-’à-+šula ’odánnə?!|‘How can I do this thing?!’ (A 2:12)*

#### Class B

- (2) *’ána ci-+bàyyən| +x̥títi tanənna,| modənna kátux.|‘I want to tell my sin, confess it to you.’ (A 3:48)*

- (3) *hállə p-ídət dìyyi!* ‘ána ci-<sup>+</sup>yáttən mu-p̄t-ódən b-rišu.
- ‘Give him into my hands, I know what I shall do to him.’ (A 3:26)

As shown in § 10.2.1.2.1., the *patəx* form of the class B verbs <sup>+</sup>*bayyə* I ‘to want’ and <sup>+</sup>*yattə* I ‘to want’, is also used to express the actual present. The function of the *ci-* pattern is to express a heightened degree of prominence of the psychological process in the subjective assessment of the speaker. In (2), for example, the construction is used to refer to the strong desire of the speaker to confess something that has been on his mind. In (3) the prominence is heightened by a contrastive opposition ‘I certainly know whereas you do not’. The class A verb *c-+aməs* ‘he is able’ regularly has the *ci-* particle.

#### 10.2.4 ci-patəxva

In class A verbs the *ci-patəxva* form is the normal means of expressing repeated, habitual activities in the past, e.g.

- (1) *e-+dánət zamərvə,* ‘ána +šammənva. <sup>+</sup>*yat̄tónva málca* ‘átlə <sup>+</sup>*šúla mánni,* *c-azərnva cásłu.* ‘When he sang, I used to listen. I knew that the king had work for me. I used to go to him.’ (A 3:81)
- (2) *’ítə b-+danət* <sup>+</sup>*kéṭal* <sup>+</sup>*álmə c-azálva carmàṇə* <sup>+</sup>*ánvə ci-+jammìvalun.* ‘So, in summer time, people would go to the vineyards and gather grapes.’ (B 12:1)
- (3) *+bár ’ánnə míyyət* <sup>+</sup>*ánvə ci-darívalun ju-+taǵàrəl* <sup>+</sup>*átvə xá ... mán ’ùpra,* *c-azíva mən-xácma* <sup>+</sup>*rumyátə tám̄məz,* <sup>+</sup>*ci-mačxívaləl* <sup>+</sup>*b-šámmət* <sup>+</sup>*xoràna.* *ci-mayyívaləl* *xáčča mənné ci-+xoṭívalun ju-dánnə míyyət* <sup>+</sup>*’ánvə.* ‘After they poured the grape juice into the bins, there was (a kind of) soil, they used to go to some clean hills and find it, (it is known) by the name of <sup>+</sup>*xorana*. They used to bring and mix a little of it with the grape juice.’ (B 12:3)
- (4) *’ítə mən-dánnə míyyət* <sup>+</sup>*ánvə +sàpyəl* <sup>+</sup>*ci-šákłíva xáčča* <sup>+</sup>*ci-darívalun ju-+tiyan.* *xáčča* <sup>+</sup>*xvárət bíta ci-+tarpíva ci-maxívəjavé.* ‘So from this pure grape juice they used to take a little and pour it into a cauldron. They used to beat a little egg-white and throw it in it.’ (B 12:4)
- (5) *’á ... míyyət* <sup>+</sup>*ánvə ci-+mardəxxívalun* <sup>+</sup>*xa-pàłjət* <sup>+</sup>*sá’at,* <sup>+</sup>*bálcət* <sup>+</sup>*árpi xamšā* <sup>+</sup>*dakíkə,* <sup>+</sup>*clítəla* <sup>+</sup>*al-+furýytət* <sup>+</sup>*tiyan.* ‘They used to boil the grape juice for half an hour, or perhaps forty-five minutes, depending on the size of the cauldron. Then the juice would come out as grape molasses.’ (B 12:5)
- (6) *’o-+tájər ka-dá cačála* <sup>+</sup>*ràba ci-+bayyíva.* ‘The merchant used to like this bald man very much.’ (A 1:2)

Some speakers regularly attach the particle *ci-* in front of past habitual forms of both classes. Other speakers, however, omit the *ci-* particle from class B verbs in certain cases. In sections of discourse in which habitual *ci-patəxva* forms and *patəxva* forms interchange, the *ci-patəxva* forms tend to be used to express the main events to which the speaker wishes to give particular prominence, whereas the *patəxva* forms are typically used for clauses that are elaborative or recapitulative of what precedes. This applies to the following examples:

- (7) *'inal xīna mən-carmānə, niþūxta ci-baþlīva. | +'ānvə mayyīvalun ju-čarāzəl +marþīvalun, | šīra! 'īta ju-+tiyānə darīva. | xuté mallīva nīyra! niþūxta baþlīva.* 'Also from the (produce of) the vineyards they would cook molasses. [main event] They used to bring the grapes in water-jugs, they used to press them and pour the must into cauldrons. They used to light a fire beneath them and cook molasses. [elaboration]' (B 2:4)
- (8) *tluvə ci-+tarsīva. | +'ānvə har-hàdəl tàza! čamballīvalun! jú ... čuxyàtə.* 'They used to make preserved grape-clusters. [main event] They used to hang up grapes, exactly as they were fresh (from the vineyards) in cellars. [elaboration]' (B 2:4)
- (9) *'ána jàni=zəl jú xá šítə +'ám jvánkə m-+uydálə 'á-+šula vīdux. | jinávə c-atīva doþaxvalun +súla.* 'I myself together with the lads did this task for a year. [main event] Thieves used to come and we used to catch them and so forth. [elaboration]' (B 2:7, note that the class A verb *c-atīva* has the *ci-* particle in the elaborative section)
- (10) *ju-matvátə 'átvə jarjárəl 'ánnə ci-lablīvalun ju-+budràtə. | b-jarjárəl b-kən-yànəl yán tòrəl yán xmàrəl 'ánnə jaršīva. | xáttə ci-+paltīvalun! mən-ju-búlət +xàttə.* 'In the villages there were threshing-machines. They used to take these to the threshing floors. [main event] With the threshing-machines—with cattle, or oxen or asses, these used to pull (the machines) [elaboration]—they used to extract the wheat from the ears of wheat. [main event]' (B2 8–9)
- (11) *+atúráyət díyan báþkaléval mən-dáštət 'Úrmi labuléva la-dó-rišət +'átra! +Köçan, | Måšad, | la-dán jibānə! ... +'ávun šakálvalun mayyīvalun +táma.* 'He took our Assyrians from the plain of Urmi and deported them to the far end of the country, Kochan, Mashhad, to those parts. [main event] ... He took them and brought them there. [recapitulation]' (B 2:16–17)

In (12) the heavy *ci-patəxva* form is used at the end of the chain of clauses describing the process of producing wine whereas the light *patəxva* forms are used before the end of the chain. The *ci-patəxva* forms in (13)–(15) mark closure in a similar way:

- (12) *šatxivalə| ̄én míyyu mən-jàvu ̄azìva.| +xárta +mar̄xivalə| darívalə ja-ka-dàlə| xá-cma yumána pàšva| +xárta púmmu ci-+mačrivalə.* ‘They spread it (the collection of grapes) out in order for its water to reduce. Then they squashed it and put it into pots. It remained thus for a few days then they sealed its (the pot’s) mouth.’ (B 3:16)
- (13) *bí +tásá šakliva,| ja-vádrə maliva,| mayyáva mattíva ja-pí-palgət màjləs.| ’ita’ ci-+maxdárriva bí +tásá.* ‘They took it with a cup, and filled buckets with it, then they brought it and placed in the middle of a gathering (of people) and handed it around in a cup.’ (B 3:17)
- (14) *’áttən háda banívalun.| ’áttən cíllə bí +tina ci-banívalun.* ‘There were some who built like that. There were some who built them all with mud.’ (B 3:37)
- (15) *cəšmíšə yavvívalun,| jòzə yavvívalun,| tlùvvə ci-yavvívalun.* ‘People gave them raisins, they gave them walnuts, they gave them preserved hanging grapes.’ (B 5:9)

Another strategy that is found is for the *ci-* to be attached only to the first of a chain of clauses, in this case the heavy form marks the onset of a discourse section rather than the closure:

- (16) *ci-+zarríva +xazdívala| ̄odívala jùttə| +morívala ju-+ambára ka-kənyàna.* ‘They sowed it (the clover), harvested it, made it into balls and brought it into the storerooms for the cattle.’ (B 10:10)

Some speakers of the northern variety of the dialect sporadically use the form *’i-patəxva* in place of *ci-patəxva*. In the majority of cases, however, such speakers use forms with the particle *ci-*:

- (17) *màsta ’i-dokíva| +càrra ’i-dokíva.* ‘They used to produce yoghurt, they used to produce butter.’ (B 2:10)
- (18) *nipúxta ’i-bašlva.* ‘They would cook molasses.’ (B 3:13)

In (19) the speaker uses both forms in parallel:

- (19) *b-léla ’i-damxàxva| b-yúma ... ci-yatvàxva.* ‘We slept at night and sat in the day.’ (B 3:20)

### 10.2.5 bət-patəx

#### 10.2.5.1 Predictive Future

One of the basic functions of the *bət-patəx* 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) *dīva p̄t-+axálli.* ‘A wolf will eat me.’ (A 37:5)
- (2) *’a-’ádi bət-ķám bət-+axállux.* ‘He will just now get up and eat you.’ (A 39:11)
- (3) *+pállan yúma,* *+pállan +tárax* *málcat Måssər,* *für'un,* *hámla t-ávəd +’állux.* ‘On such-and-such a day, on such-and-such a date, the king of Egypt, Pharaoh, will attack you.’ (A 3:20)
- (4) *+’árun p̄t-ávə ķa-sebúytux* *’e-+dān-sàvlux,* *t-ávə brùna ķátx.* *’e-+dān-màtlux,* *+’aynuxt p̄-+čámla.* ‘He will be for your old age when you have become old, he will be a son for you. When you die, he will close your eyes.’ (A 3:6)
- (5) *bəl-díyyi* *bəl-díyyux* *’aláha t-ávəd +dīvan.* ‘God will hold a court (and judge) between me and you.’ (A 3:93)
- (6) *’áha xá-yuma xa-+càtra t-ávə ķa-díyyan.* ‘He will be a problem for us one day.’ (A 37:19)
- (7) *+bəddáyələl móriša jàldəl málca* *p-+šádər +bàru.* ‘He knows that early in the morning the king will send for him.’ (A 1:39)

#### 10.2.5.2 Deontic Future

When the verb has an agentive 1st singular subject, the *bət-patəx* form generally has a modal sense expressing deontic intention, e.g.

- (8) *’ána p̄t-ázən ķa-xa-yàrxa.* ‘I shall go away for a month.’ (A 2:11)
- (9) *’ádi bət-+ķatłənnə.* ‘Now I shall kill him.’ (A 2:28)
- (10) *’ána ci-+yáttən mu-p̄t-ódən b-rìšu.* ‘I know what I shall do to him.’ (A 3:26)
- (11) *’ána kúdmə t-átən ķa-díyyux bánən béta +’ullul.* ‘I shall come tomorrow to build for you a house on high.’ (A 3:70)

A third person verb in indirect speech corresponding to a first person verb in direct speech may also express intention, e.g.

- (12) *’á màra! b-xá +čap̄pàltal* *’á ’arþí dánə dèvə bət-+kátəl.* ‘He says that he will kill forty monsters with one club.’ (A 37:9)

When the verb has an agentive 1st plural subject, the form often has a cohortative modal sense if the pronoun is used as an inclusive 1st plural (Let’s ...), e.g.

- (13) *xa-cípa* *+jùra bət-+ráppax* *+àllu.* ‘Let’s throw a big stone onto him.’  
 (A 37:22)

If it is used as an exclusive 1st person plural, it expresses deontic intention on the part of the speakers, e.g.

- (14) *cúlla märəna* *áxnan p-*<sup>+</sup>*hayyərràxlux.* ‘They all say “We shall help you.”’  
 (A 1:23)

Also when the verb has a second or third person subject, the *bət-patəx* form may have a deontic sense. When the subject is second person, it can be used to express a command or wish, e.g.

- (15) *t-ázət t-ázət*<sup>1</sup> *+ràba ðt-ázət.* ‘You should go, you should go, you should go a long way.’ (A 42:24)  
 (16) *cúl-məndit* *’áttə nàkval* *p-šaklóttə m-pát* *+’arrə.* ‘Whatever has female kind you must take away from the face of the earth.’ (A 2:11)  
 (17) *’ánnəna* *’an-núyna.* *b-lablàtlun,* *b-*<sup>+</sup>*xallàtlun.* ‘These are the fish. You should take them and wash them.’ (A 5:7)  
 (18) *’átən kə-díyyi bət-*<sup>+</sup>*kàtlət.* ‘You will kill me (= I want you to kill me).’ (A 2:32)  
 (19) *málca t-ávət basìma.* ‘King, you will be well (= may you be well).’ (A 3:15)

Such constructions have a similar function to deontic *patəx* forms, e.g.

- (20) *kúdma* *’átət.* ‘You should come tomorrow.’ (A 3:70)  
 (21) *málca* *’ávət basìma.* ‘King be well.’ (A 2:4)

The *bət-patəx* form is used in clauses that continue complements of the verb *+bayyə* 1 ‘to want’, e.g.

- (22) *’á-deva* *’íman bitáyəla* *kat-xázə* *’á-naša mìdilə*<sup>1</sup> *+báyyə* *+axòllə* *yán* *b-labállə* *+axunvátu m-*<sup>+</sup>*úydalə* *+t-axlilə.* ‘When this monster comes to see what man this is, he wants to eat him or to take him so his brothers would eat him together.’ (A 37:9)

It is also used to express purpose, e.g.

- (23) *cúlla nášət dúnýə=da* *+jmítəla* *kat-’áha* *béta bət-báni* *+’úllul ju-*<sup>+</sup>*hàva.* ‘Everybody is gathered in order to build this house above in the air.’ (A 3:71)

In interrogative constructions such (24), it expresses epistemic modality, i.e. the less than complete commitment of the speaker to the possibility that something will take place:

- (24) *mú p̄t-àvə*. ‘It does not matter (literally: What could it be?)’ (A 37:10)

#### 10.2.5.3 Conditional Constructions

After imperatives, the *bət-patəx* form expresses future events conditional on the event commanded by the imperative, e.g.

- (1) *'áxči hálli 'árpi yumána +dàna, 'ána b-zarzànnun.* ‘Only give me forty days and I'll deal with them.’ (A 3:56)
- (2) *hállulli +xòla, t-ázən kèsə máyyən.* ‘Give me ropes and I shall go and bring wood.’ (A 37:17)
- (3) *ku-tálux Nànvəl har-'átxa la-+p̄láša b-yavvánna kàtux.* ‘Come to Nineveh and I shall give it to you without any fighting.’ (A 3:19)

It is used in the apodosis of conditional constructions referring to possible future events (4)–(5), or possible habitual events (6)–(7), e.g.

- (4) *'ən-+msili, +'àv bət-yavválla káti.* ‘If I can (do this), he will give it to me.’ (A 3:55)
- (5) *'ən-'ávə xàya, páljət malcúyti b-yavvánna kàtux.* ‘If he is alive, I shall give you half of my kingdom.’ (A 3:50)
- (6) *'ən-tána ká-šámša clí, bət-càlyə. 'ən-tána +muṭra +ri, bət-+ràyya. 'ən-tána dúnuya clí bət-càlyani.* ‘If he says to the sun “stop”, it will stop. If he says “rain”, it will rain. If he says “Stop world,” it will stop.’ (A 3:64)
- (7) *'árxə tiyyu=x-ilə, b-yátu +tàma.* ‘(If) a guest has come to you, he sits there.’ (B 14:2)

#### 10.2.5.4 Discourse Dependency

In sequences of clauses relating to habitual events, the *bət-patəx* form can be used with a habitual sense. It is typically used in clauses that continue the description of a habitual situation that has been initiated with other types of constructions. It is, therefore, dependent on the preceding discourse. This is likely to be a development of its use in apodosis clauses of conditional constructions expressing habitual events:

- (1) *'íta +al-dàni pardùvvə ci-dári +'allé. pardùvvə késə nàzuc-inəl +'al-dànnə ci-yátvi. 'ánnə késə 'àtxa 'ína, 'ánnə +xliməl 'àtxa +'arallóggət dànnəl 'átxa*

*pardúvvə ci-dári kát ... +al-dáyya-da ... +tìna! ýnnə kèsəna,| +xlímə késə! ýtxa čüp| kùrba +al-uydàlə t-ávi-xina,| kùrba +al-uydálə.|| əsrí tláy +sántə priša m-+uydálə! ýtxa cílla p̄t-odilun.|| ’íta +al-dànnə,| pardúvvə bət-màxi, pardúvvə ’ína táxtə ýtxal léna +xlímə-xina,| táxtə +názuc.|| b-yátvi +al-dànnə ýtxa pardúvvə.|| ‘Then on these they put laths. Laths are thin strips of wood. They sit on the (beams). The beams, the thick beams, between these they put laths, and on that mud. These are wooden beams, thick wooden beams. Like this, thud, they are (put) near to each other, near to each other, twenty or thirty centimetres apart from each other, they make them all like this. Then on these they lay laths, laths, planks like this that are not thick, thin planks. The laths sit on those (beams).’ (B 14:6)*

As can be seen in (1) the *bət-patəx* form is in some cases temporally sequential to what precedes, e.g. ’íta +al-dànnə, pardúvvə bət-màxi! ‘Then on these they lay laths’. In other cases, however, the discourse dependence resides in the fact that the clause containing the *bət-patəx* form is elaborative of what precedes rather than being temporally sequential to it.

In (2) the *bət-patəx* form is used at the end of a chain of clauses. Habitual verbs earlier in the chain are in the lighter *patəx* form:

- (2) *xarája malàxla, mattáxla kam-yùma, ýha bət-bàrza.* ‘We fill the frames with it (tobacco), put it in the sun and it would dry.’ (B 3:27)

In (3)–(4) the sequential form is used after a subordinate temporal clause:

- (3) +bár mäxyálan +àmbar, *bət-péša čerìyya.* ‘After we have put it in the storeroom, it would stay there in autumn.’ (B 3:28)
- (4) ’íta e-+dán +kattila idé! ýmnət +báyya mən-dáni b-šákəl mayyılə, ýnnə b-zèdi, *bənyánət dánnə b-zàyəd.* ‘Then when he cuts their hands, he takes and brings back whomsoever he wants from among them, and they would increase, their number would increase.’ (B 9:3)

In (5) the form occurs in relative clauses that give further information about the head noun:

- (5) *bánoša c-avíva trè dásṭa,| ... kát xá dásṭa là-yba bət-cályá| xá dásṭa| xácmá mótrə ýtxa ... +arrána bət-cáli m-+uydàlə.* ‘(In the game) Banoša there were two teams ... one team of which stands to this side and one team—they stood several metres of ground from one another.’ (B 9:2)

### 10.2.6 bət-patəxva

#### 10.2.6.1 Future in the Past

The *bət-patəxva* form, with the past converter suffix *-va*, is used to express an event that is future in relation to a reference point in the past, e.g.

- (1) 'átən +dílux 'ána bət-náplənva m-+al-'ilàna.' 'You knew that I would fall from the tree.' (A 32:2)
- (2) 'ána lènva-+bədda p̄t-atíva.' 'I did not know he would come back.' (A 6:8)
- (3) muttélāju-+úpral +támāl' é-duca ƙat-+màlla ptànā t̄-avádva.' 'She put them in the ground, there, in the place where the mullah would plough.' (A 5:5)
- (4) xína ó bábət dó xátna mú p̄t-avádva?.' 'Well, what would the father of the groom do?' (A 55:7)

#### 10.2.6.2 Conditional Constructions

The *bət-patəxva* form 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)–(5). 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) 'ən-+bakràtva,| bət-yavvánvalux zùyza,| 'ína là +buķárrux.' 'If you had asked, I would have given you money, but you did not ask.'
- (2) 'ən-+yat̄ánva šámmu mùdiva,| bət-tanànvalux,| 'ína là +yat̄ánva.' 'If I had known what his name was, I would have told you, but I did not know.'
- (3) 'ən-+masànva,| bət-'atànva,| 'ína lè-+masən.' 'If I could, I would come, but I cannot.'
- (4) 'ón xá-xta maxìva,| +'áv bá-t-xayyìva.' 'If he were to strike again, he would live.' (A 39:13)
- (5) 'ən-'avánva xáya| +bəddáyən mu-ŷt-ódənva b-rišòxun-xina.' 'If I were alive, I know what I would do to you.' (A 13:3)

It is used also in deontic constructions such as (6), which lack a protasis:

- (6) 'á 'aslán ka-mú 'ánnə bušlèlax 'átən?| 'ána jáni b-bašlònvalun.' 'Oh, why did you cook them at all? I would have cooked them myself.' (A 36:8)

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 appro-

priate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation, e.g.

- (7) 'ən-<sup>+</sup>masənva,| bət-yavvánvalux zúyzə cùt-yum,| 'ína lè-<sup>+</sup>masənva.| 'If I had been able, I would have given you money every day, but I could not.'
- (8) 'ən-<sup>+</sup>masənva,| bət-yavvánvalux zúyzə cùt-yum,| 'ína lè-<sup>+</sup>màsən.| 'If I could, I would give you money every day, but I cannot.'

#### 10.2.6.3 Discourse Dependency

The *bət-patəxva* 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 a habitual action:

- (1) məšmáššə mabrəzzivalun,| **b-zabnivalun.**| 'They would dry the apricots and sell them.' (B 1:23)
- (2) sənjiyyəva,| jəzəva,| cəšmišəva,| 'anna=zə **b-xamíva.**| 'There were jujube fruits, walnuts, raisins. They preserved these.' (B 1:25)
- (3) +bár pšórvəla +'avun,| ja-+kazánča **b-dariva.**| 'After it had dissolved, they poured it into a pan.' (B 3:14)
- (4) 'ó=t lətlə +xáttəl ci-zoníva,| +raba +xóttəl məsalanl | 'əštá-danə 'átxa jvàla **b-zoníva.**| 'Whoever did not have wheat would buy it, (they would buy) a lot of wheat, for example, they would buy six sacks like this.' (B 10:7)
- (5) 'íta +berašvànə=da| kat-'ärxa 'atíva| ju-dó bét tanúyra| mattívalun xá-dana mítz| 'átxa mátti +al-pátət tanúyra,| yan-lə,| xá-dana +'adyal dáril nášə 'aklatè p-čambəllívalun ju-do tanúyra,| cílla šaxína.| 'Now, in the evenings, when guests used to come, they used to set up a table in the oven house, they put it thus on the surface of the oven, or if not, they put a blanket, and people would hang their legs into the oven, all (keeping) warm.' (B 14:2)
- (6) 'ína kámta juydànəl b-čarpíčət 'úprəva,| čarpíčə là bšləl. | čarpíčə p̄t-odívalun,| kam-šámša **bət-barzíva.**| 'áni juyda **bət-baníva** mənné.| juyda 'átxa **bət-baníva.**| 'But in the old days the walls were of clay bricks, unbaked bricks. They would make bricks and they would dry in the sun. They would build walls from them. They would build a wall like that.' (B 14:5)
- (7) 'up-bétət tanúyra| +rába šaxína c-ávəl 'aklux=da ... ju-tanúyra| +rába basəmta c-oyáva.| 'íta **b-yatvíva** 'adíyyal 'árxə tìyyux-ilə,| b-yátu +támə.| **b-yattíva** hákíva zamrívəl t̄-+axlíva **b-šatíva,**| +rába sodànta c-oyáva.| 'So the oven house is very warm, with your feet in the oven, it was very pleasant. So, they would sit. If a guest has come to (visit) you, he sits there. They used to sit, tell stories and sing. They eat. They drink. It was very pleasant.' (B 14:2)

As is the case with discourse dependent *bət-patəx* forms (§10.2.5.4.), the *bət-patəxva* forms in these examples are either temporally sequential to previous actions or elaborative or recapitulatory of what precedes. In (7) the *bət-patəxva* form is continued by the *patəxva* form in the sequence *b-yattíva hakíva|zamrīva|* ‘They used to sit, tell stories and sing’. The clauses in this sequence express components a single overall event, the onset of which is expressed by the *bət-patəxva* form. The following two verbs, which are expressed in the *bət-patəxva* form (*t-+axlīva b-šatīva* ‘they used to eat, they used to drink’) are presented as discrete events.

In (8) the first two *bət-patəxva* forms express habitual situations that overlap temporally with the form *bət-xayyīva*. Note that the final verb of the series has the full form of the prefix *bət-* by a process of end-weighting.

- (8) *bušayuté ’átvulan ’árba,| cát mən-dánnə ’árba b-+xalvīva,| mən-+’ámṛət ’árba b-zabnīva,| +cárra júpta ’átxa məndyána bət-xayyīva.* ‘Most of them had sheep and lived by (literally: while) milking the sheep and selling the wool of the sheep, butter, cheese and such things.’ (B 1:23)

In (9) a series of parallel habitual situations are expressed by *bət-patəxva* forms, all of which are dependent on the initial habitual existential statement:

- (9) *’ádi ’átvulan +’ánvə +’ánvə p̄t-odíva cəšmišə,| p̄t-odíva sàvza,| t-odíva nipùxta,| t-odíva +xàmra| ’u-p̄t-odíva tlúvvə mədrə ka-sátva.* ‘Now, they had grapes. They used to make grapes into raisins, they made them into blanched grapes, they made them into syrup, they made them into wine and they made hanging preserved grapes, again for winter.’ (B 1:24)

In (10) the *bət-patəxva* form is dependent on a temporal subordinate clause:

- (10) *’óm-+dān xóšu tīvala,| t-atíva +pallívalo.* ‘Whenever he wished, he would come and divide it.’ (B 3:19)

The *bət-patəxva* form in (11) occurs in a relative clause. Here the dependency that conditioned the form appears to be on the matrix clause rather than the preceding discourse:

- (11) *’átva nàšət kátl b-+tarsíva tanùyrə.* ‘There were people who made ovens.’ (B 1:32)

The *bət-patəxva* form in principle must have a topical subject and this topic can be the antecedent in a relative clause construction.

The passage in (12) is an example of how a speaker shifts from a *bət-patəxva* form to a *ci-patəxva* form when there is a disjunction in the discourse structure. Section (i) of the passage presents a sequential chain of actions relating to the preparation of fallow ground, which contains a series of *bət-patəxva* forms. Section (ii) is an elaboration of what precedes, which provides more details regarding the construction of the basins. This contains a *ci-patəxva* form:

- (12) +àrra| crìva c-odáxvala| ... (i) +tlá-ja +taràxvala b-ptàna| damxàva xa-šíta.|  
 šít-trèl t-odàxvala| košànəl b-jaršàxva| jàvo.| +bár +tøryàlan,| muštiyyàlan.|  
 kàm maštéta,| +bár +zøryux| košànə b-jaršàxva| kat-míyya là bzbákki,  
 +ámsa lablálun| táxta ka-jàno| 'ýya ka-jàno. (ii) 'íta jàv| dánna táxta  
 +yøssùra ci-maxàxva| kat-míyya là nápli xá dúca. 'We would leave the  
 ground fallow. ... (i) We would plough it three times and it would rest for a  
 year. In the second year we would dig ditches in it. After we had ploughed  
 it, we watered it. Before watering it, after we had sown it, we would build  
 ditches, so that the water would not disperse and each basin in turn could  
 absorb it. (ii) Now, in these basins we would make a connection so that  
 the water would not fall in one place.' (B 3:8)

### 10.2.7 le patəx

The *le* in this construction has arisen by a contraction of the /a/ of the negator *la* with a particle /i/, which can be identified with the /i/ in the particle *ci-* (§ 4.4.1.). It is used to negate both the *ci-patəx* form and also the *bət-patəx* form.

#### 10.2.7.1 Negation of *ci-patəx*

As has been shown above (§ 10.2.1.2.2., § 10.2.3.1.), the *ci-patəx* form alternates with the *patəx* form in class B verbs. In the negative, both class A and class B have the form *le patəx*.

##### 10.2.7.1.1 Negation of Actual Present

The construction is used to express the negative of verbs denoting psychological processes or states holding in the actual present. The corresponding positive forms are typically in the *patəx* form without the particle *ci-* (§ 10.2.1.2.1.), e.g.

- (1) 'áxnan le-+yáttax.| mǎjar Nàtan +yáttə| 'We do not know, perhaps Natan  
 knows.' (A 3:43)  
 (2) 'ána hóč-məndi le-+bàyyən.| 'I do not want anything.' (A 3:86)

- (3) *'ána lè-<sup>+</sup>bayyən| hák̚ xa-<sup>+</sup>šrà| óya ju-màta.* ‘I do not want any lantern to be in the village.’ (A 2:1)
- (4) *har-lé <sup>+</sup>báyyə <sup>+</sup>pálət <sup>+</sup>al-vàddar.* ‘He does not want at all to go outside.’ (A 37:2)
- (5) *hár lè <sup>+</sup>báyyax <sup>+</sup>ka-díyyan pálxət.* ‘We no longer want you to work for us.’ (A 37:18)

#### 10.2.7.1.2 Negation of Present Habitual

This is the regular negation of present habitual verbs, e.g.

- (1) *b-ánnə ducánə lè-mačxət mən-do-láxma.* ‘In these places you do not find that bread.’ (B 2:10)
- (2) *<sup>+</sup>taptəppálə-xina, míyya lè-'ati <sup>+</sup>óltəx.* ‘It (the roller) knocks it (the roof) down and the water does not come down.’ (B 14:10)
- (3) *o-<sup>+</sup>tína e-<sup>+</sup>dān-brázələ, járə lè pák̚kə.* ‘When the mud dries, the roof does not crack.’ (B 14:8)

#### 10.2.7.2 Negation of *bət-patəx* forms

##### 10.2.7.2.1 Negation of Predictive Future

- (1) *<sup>+</sup>šúp̚ra lè-paš kátux.* ‘Beauty will not last for you.’ (A 3:10)
- (2) *cúllət <sup>+</sup>báyyat <sup>+</sup>ódat b-rišu vùd.* ‘Do whatever you like to him. Nobody will speak.’ (A 3:88)
- (3) *hár lè manšáxla.* ‘I shall never forget it.’ (B 3:22)

##### 10.2.7.2.2 Negation of Deontic Future

- (1) *lé šókan <sup>+</sup>òrat.* ‘I shall not let you enter.’ (A 37:5)
- (2) *'ána lè <sup>+</sup>kaṭlónnoxun.* ‘I shall not kill you.’ (A 37:10)
- (3) *'ána xina-lè-pešən láxxa.* ‘I shall not stay here any longer.’ (A 4:15)

#### 10.2.8 le patəxva

This is the negation of the *ci-patəxva* and *bət-patəxva* forms.

##### 10.2.8.1 Negation of *ci-patəxva* Forms

The past habitual form *ci-patəxva* alternates with the *patəxva* form in class B verbs. In the negative, both class A and class B regularly have the form *le patəxva*, e.g.

- (1) 'ánnə +kaṭlánət kənyàñəl lè-'atíva +rába. | 'The slaughterers of cattle used not to come much.' (B 10:4)
- (2) háč móndi lè-'odava. | 'She used not to do anything.' (A 35)
- (3) 'ítə sótva lè +palṭíva. | 'So, they used not to go out in the winter.' (B 3:31)
- (4) mən-+bár brəzvalə,| xína míyya ýe-+dān +mútra tálja +šúlə +rayyíva ju-béta lè +salíva. | 'After it had dried, when rain, snow and so forth fell, the water did not run down into the house.' (B 2:22)

#### 10.2.8.2 Negation of *bət-patəxva* Forms

This is found in the apodoses of conditional constructions, e.g.

- (1) +muṭrátə +rába 'avíva,| həč-lè maštáxvala 'áy. | 'If the rains were abundant, we would not irrigate it at all.' (B 3:10)
- (2) 'ína +xáṭṭət jànan 'avíva,| +'arránət jànan,| dák lè maxáxva. | 'But if it was our wheat, from our lands, we did not put a mark on it.' (B 3:19)
- (3) kúpšína xazzívalan,| lè 'arókva. | 'If the quail saw us, it would not flee.' (B 4:1)

#### 10.2.9 Long S-Suffixes on Present Template Verbs

When lengthened forms of S-suffixes are used, they generally have a pausal function. They tend to coincide with pausal prosody in that they occur at the end of an intonation group.

- (1) 'ən-táñə ka-šámša clí,| bət-cályva. | 'ən-táñə +muṭra +ri,| bət-+räyya. | 'ən-táñə dúnýə clí bət-cályani. | 'If he says to the sun "stop", it will stop. If he says "rain", it will rain. If he says "Stop world," it will stop.' (A 3:64)
- (2) bərrássən járə máčxan +jóra jorána. | 'I am going to find a husband to marry.' (A 52:1)
- (3) cmá=t vādəla,| lèla +myásal 'á pəkkal +palṭani. | 'However much she struggles, the frog is unable to get out.' (A 52:6)
- (4) 'én parmáli 'én jármo +jammáttel +rappátté ju-xa-+čáləl +ṭasyátte 'áni. | ka-díyyax +lázəm t-avini. | 'If she slaughters me, you should gather the bones and put them in a pit, hide them. You will need them (one day).' (A 51:1)
- (5) brátał yálał +báyyi +iydaləl 'úsa lè +báyyini | '(If) a girl and boy love each other, or not love (each other) ...' (A 56:5)
- (6) +xárta bədráyax +allé málxal kat-kavini. | 'Then we put on it salt, so it becomes hard.' (B 15:3)
- (7) býyo +tamúrona tanáxən. | 'They bury with it, we say.' (B 15:5)
- (8) léx +myásal damxáxən. | 'We cannot sleep.' (B 16:2)

- (9) *'ánya ́át-da b-úrxət t-jórax t-azàtən,| brúnux kám +áynax +kaṭlàxxə.|* ‘If you go in the way of your husband, we shall kill your son before your eyes.’ (B 16:7)
- (10) *hálla kàtu ka-do-jùdyə,| xuš-azàlni.* ‘Give it to him, to that filthy man, and let him go.’ (A 42:21)
- (11) *+rázitən bábi yámmy sápən 'atìni?* ‘Are you pleased for me to send for my father and mother to come?’ (A 43:15)
- (12) *+nesánnə mätni.* ‘I shall bite him and he will die.’ (A 47:5)

They often occur, moreover, at the end of a segment of discourse and so have a boundary marking function also on the level of discourse. This is seen clearly, for example, in repetitive sequences of two clauses in which the verb of the first clause is repeated in the second clause and the long form occurs only in the second clause:

- (13) *ú +bàyyət! lè-+bayyət! á tavárta zárdə prùmla,| ána bàsman. ... +búsra t-+àxlan,| basmàna.* ‘Whether you want to or not, slaughter this yellow cow so that I will be cured. ... Yes, I shall eat the flesh and shall be cured.’ (A 51:1)

The long forms also occur before hesitations, e.g.

- (14) *ká-báxtu +xábra yàvələ! kat-áyya málpani ... tré +zayət +nòšrə.* ‘He sends word to his wife asking her to teach two young eagles.’ (A 3:57)

In varieties of the dialect in which long forms are frequent, they are occasionally used in non-pausal position within an intonation group. This is found in particular in the varieties spoken in the Caucasus, e.g.

- (15) *jár xáda 'oyáni! kát bita máx çàppəøç! átxa mabyənnáni +al-pàta.* ‘It must be thus, so that the egg appears on the surface like a kopeck.’ (B 15:3)
- (16) *xáda maccúsot kúpšənta! páljо jár 'oyáni b-+kútma mcàsta! kát +háva là-+avərni.* ‘You cover the pot thus so that half of it is covered in the ash so that air does not enter.’ (B 15:6)
- (17) *bá mù 'vdáxən 'áxnan? mára.* ‘“Well what should we do?” they say.’ (A 42:2)

## 10.3 The Function of Verbal Forms Derived from the Past Template

### 10.3.1 ptəxlə

#### 10.3.1.1 Recent Past Events

In conversational discourse a common function of the *ptəxlə* 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) +tárra mxàyəna! ... mára 'ay-+kátmə b-rišl +jóri tìlə! 'There is a knock at the door (literally: they beat the door) ... (She) says "Oh, ash be on my head, my husband has come!"' (A 6:8)
- (2) *m-ica tìlux?* 'Where have you come from?' (A 28:2)
- (3) *har-ádyya* 'ána +tórbə +šudráli kàtux.!' 'Just now I have sent you the bag.' (A 14:6)
- (4) 'ána-da 'adì-+šmili.!' 'I have just now heard.' (A 19:3)
- (5) *márri hà! mù +bayyítun?* mèrrun! tìlan! xázax tánax kátux! kat- ... 'I said "Ah, what do you want?" They said "We have come to see and tell you that ..." '(A 10:7)
- (6) 'át šuddànnux! 'You have gone mad!' (A 5:11)
- (7) *cacála +bøddáyəla* kat-málca xàšla.!' 'The bald man knows that the king has gone.' (A 1:39)
- (8) 'íca xášlux +málla +Nasràdən? 'Where have you gone, mullah Nasradin?' (A 20:1)
- (9) +bøttánən mèntux! kát 'á-məndi káy tunìlux.!' 'I am grateful to you that you have told me this thing.' (A 2:37)
- (10) *bitáyəla* ka-málca! mårəla málca! muyyàlux? 'He comes to the king and the king says "Have you brought her?"' (A 2:10)
- (11) +rábə murkølla.!' 'He has delayed a lot.' (A 37:18)
- (12) kòšun muyyélo! kat-áti +pàləš mónnux.!' 'He has brought soldiers in order to fight with you.' (A 3:20)
- (13) +tlábloxun but-+zrùta katóxun xácma məndyána tánən.!' 'You have asked me to tell you some things about agriculture.' (B 2:1)
- (14) o-+katùla sámμu +bøddàyurna, munšili.!' 'I used to know the name of the executioner, but I have (now) forgotten.' (A 3:47)
- (15) +küsártət diyyux! dølla! tré xína mònno.!' 'Your pot has given birth, (and there are) two others with it.' (A 8:2)

- (16) *'ána tuxmənni! áxtun ḳa-díyi +rába +huyyàrrətun.* ‘I have thought (up to the present and these are my conclusions), you have helped me a lot.’  
(A 36:4)

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 *ptəxlə* 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 (§ 10.10.).

The *ptəxlə* form of some psychological verbs are idiomatically translated by the English present. This applies, for example, to ‘to know’, e.g.

- (17) *+dilux! kámta mərri.* ‘You know, I told you before.’ (A 1:30)  
(18) *+dilux müjjur hukyàlə* ‘You know how he told it (his story).’ (A 1:31)

It applies also to *xazzə* 1 ‘to see’ and *xadə* 1 ‘to become happy’, e.g.

- (19) *xzílax mu-vádlax b-riši!* ‘You see what you have done to me!’ (A 23:3)  
(20) *'o-yála mára! 'at-diyyina! mára xzílux!* *xzílux ḳazí?!* ‘The lad says “They are mine!” (The mullah says) “Do you see, do you see judge?! (I told you he would say this).”’ (A 14:11)  
(21) *+rába xdíli kam-xazzənnux.* ‘I am very pleased to see you.’ (A 5:13)

Such constructions refer to the act of acquiring knowledge, perceiving or becoming happy at some point in the recent past with the implication that this psychological state exists in the present. Note that in (21) the complement of *xdíli* has the past perfective form *kam-patəxlə*, which is functionally equivalent to *ptəxlə* (§ 10.3.1.1.).

When the endpoint of the past event is adjacent to the present moment, the *ptəxlə* form is sometimes combined with the deictic copula, which refers to the grammatical subject of the verb, e.g.

- (22) *dúlə tilə!* ‘Look he has come back.’ (A 6:13)  
(23) *fúr'un dúlə tilə láxxa hàmla váda.* ‘Pharaoh has come here to attack.’  
(A 3:25)  
(24) *dúlə 'axúman muyyílə xá +séda ḥ-+axlàxla.* ‘Our brother has brought an item of prey for us to eat.’ (A 37:12)  
(25) *nùynə dúnə +plátlun!* ‘Fish have come out!’ (A 5:6)  
(26) *bəxzáyəna xá-xča míyya +bərdàxa dóryənəl* ú +hála mára dún +ḥətli, +yána

*'ax-t-án ɍánná míyya móñ +t̪àta t̪íyəna.*! ‘They see that they have poured so much boiling water, while this one says “I have just sweated”, as if this water has come from sweat.’ (A 37:21).

The particle *+hala* ‘still, yet’ can be combined with a *ptəxələ* form in negative questions such as (27) but not in the positive counterpart (28):

- (27) *+hála lá tilə?*! ‘Has he not come yet?’
- (28) *\*+hála lá tilə.*! ‘He has not yet come.’

This particle is normally used with the negated compound resultative construction with the resultative participle (*ptixələ* § 10.10.1.). In the resultative construction there is no restriction to interrogative clauses:

- (29) *+hála lélə t̪íyya?*! ‘Has he not come yet?’
- (30) *+hála lélə t̪íyya.*! ‘He has not come yet.’

The construction *+hala* + negative ‘not yet’ implies that the event in question will still take place. The negative *ptəxələ* form *la tilə* ‘He has not come’ negates the event, so this would be incompatible with *+hala*. The negative resultative construction negates the resultant state rather than the event. The interrogative *+hála lá tilə?* construction with the *ptəxələ* is referring to a perfective situation, i.e. a scheduled event which was expected to take place. The speaker is questioning whether this event has taken place yet or not. The question introduces doubt into the negation and so leaves open the possibility that he will still come, and indeed is used with the expectation that he will come (negative questions often have a positive epistemic bias § 12.11.2), and thus is compatible with *+hala*.

#### 10.3.1.2 Imminent Future

The function of *ptəxələ* to express the immediate past is exploited in some cases as a pragmatic strategy to express an event that is about to happen in constructions such as the following:

- (1) *'ána xòšli.*! *ta-+bàri.*! ‘I am going (said when leaving). Follow me.’ (A 42:30)
- (2) *'ána švákli xòšli*! *m-ju-dá malcùta.*! ‘I am leaving and going away from this kingdom.’ (A 48:25)
- (3) A: *+xa-+ramša +házər-ila.*! *ta-+sli!*! B: *tili.*! A: ‘Dinner is ready. Come downstairs.’ B: ‘I am coming.’
- (4) *+júri tilun.*! ‘My urine is coming (= I need to urinate)?’

- (5) *túy šèlyá| čapùla tílə.* ‘Sit quietly, a slap is coming (= otherwise you will get a slap).’
- (6) *mátlí mən-càpna!* ‘ícəla +mixùlta?!
- (7) *bàxtíl xína mótlíju-’ido.* ‘Well I have almost died at the hands of my wife.’ (A 54:7)
- (8) *+’ántu kòdli.* ‘Auntie, I am burning.’ (A 43:17)
- (9) *har-márri kádli bšòlli,* *+pàltunli.* ‘As soon as I say “I am burning, I am cooking”, take me out.’ (A 39:7)
- (10) *xáčča péša ’ána +mtíli +’al-kérkáptət +tìyra.* ‘I have almost reached the top of the mountain.’
- (11) *xáčča péša ’ána purákli ctàva.* ‘I have almost finished the book.’

### 10.3.1.3 Past Perfective in Narrative

In narratives the *ptaxlə* form is used as a preterite to refer to punctual events in the past with a perfective aspect. The main line events of the narrative plot are, however, generally expressed as if they are occurring in the present with the *baptaxlə* form. When the *ptaxlə* form is used to express events of the narrative, these often constitute background material and are not intended as the key events of the narrative. The *ptaxlə* form is frequently used, for example, in clauses at the beginning of the narrative in a section that expresses the preliminary events that set the scene for what follows. This is seen in (1), in which the scene-setting event of the king’s pronouncement is presented with a *ptaxlə* form (*yuvvállə*). The main event line then begins with a *baptaxlə* form (*+plàtələ*):

- (1) *’átvxa-dana-màlca! ’ú-yuvvállə +xàbra| ka-vàzzər. màrrəl ’ána lè-+bayyən| hác xa-+sràl ’óya ju-màta, ju-mdità. +báyyən +pàltən, +báyyən +pàltən| xázzən +’átri mù-ilə, xázzən +’átri mù-ilə. vázzər +plàtələ jàr bədráyələ.*  
‘There was once a king. He gave an order to the vizier. He said “I do not want any lantern to be in the village, in the town. I want to go out, I want to go out and see how my land is, see how my land is.” The vizier goes out and makes an announcement.’ (A 2:1–2)

Likewise in (2) the opening event of the main narrative is presented in the *ptaxlə* form:

- (2) *’ína ’á +jùrət cačáləl ... ’íva| bùšl +’ùllul mòn| dan-xìnə. xàšləl cès| xá-dana +tàjər.* ‘Now, the elder of the bald men ... was higher (in rank) than the others. He went to a merchant.’ (A 1:2)

In (3) a section of discourse is narrated with *ptaxla* forms that constitute a series of preliminary background events that keep the listener in suspense as to the activity of the protagonist. When the key actions of the protagonist are revealed the narrator shifts into the *bəptaxəla* form at the end of the cited passage:

- (3) *xá-yuma xína-zə kèsə xíšəva mayyíva! márrə hállulli +xòlə! t-ázən kèsə máyyən! yuvvállun xáčxa +xólə kàtu! márrun ka-mú-inə +ràba?!* *márrə! là-’aviloxun +šúla! xzílun +rába murkállə! xáslun +’al-’ùrxu! márrun! xázax ... ka-mù ’á xá-xča murkállə! xáslun xzílun +xóla +sírulə móan xa-kèsə bərráxshəla cíllə marzanánət mèšəl ’átxa! vélə hár +xóla +bəsyára! bərráxša!* ‘On another day he had gone to bring logs, he said “Give me ropes I will go and bring logs.” They gave some ropes to him. They said “Why (do you want) many?” He said “Don’t worry.” They noticed that he took a long time. They went along his path and said “Let us see why he has taken so long.” They went and saw that he has tied the rope to a branch and is going all around the forest. He keeps on tying the ropes like this as he goes.’ (A 37:17–18)

In (4) the *ptaxla* form that expresses the background of the following narrative is ingressive in that it has a start-point but no end-point:

- (4) *+bílə! kàt! +’ajjázva ka-+mällə! bərráxshəla bëta!* ‘He wanted (i.e. he started to want) to annoy the mullah. He goes home ...’ (A 14:2)

In (5) the narrator shifts from the *bəptaxəla* form to the *ptaxla* form to present the event of the man going to urinate, which is a background event and also an event that the narrator does not wish to give prominence to for reasons of social taboo.

- (5) *bəxzáyəla +hála jàldəla! +sá’at xàmšəla!* ‘*ica p̄t-ázəl’adýya?* ... *xóslə +támə kat-+jär!* ‘He sees that it is still early. It is five o’clock. Where will he go? ... He went there to urinate.’ (A 1:11)

The *ptaxla* form is also sometimes used to express a series of closely clustered events that constitute the denouement of a narrative plot, or of a major section of the narrative, after the key dramatic events have been presented. This is the case, for example, with the following denouement, which is narrated entirely with *ptaxla* forms:

- (6) *muyyílə kátu +rába dàva,| sìma,| jùllə,| cíllə yuvvélə kàtu.| 'u-tláy šènnət|  
Pdarāmàd<sup>P</sup>-ətl| +'átra| cíllə yuvvélə ka-+Axíkar,| muttílə +al-susavátəl|  
+šudárrə ká ... málca| Nènva.| +xábra yuvvállun kát bitáyələ +Axíkar.|  
+plátlun kamàytu.| málca +plátlə kamàytu.| xurdílə b-kdàlu.| nšəkłə.| +rába  
xdílə biyyu.| 'He brought to him large amounts of gold, silver, clothes and  
gave everything to him. He gave to Axiqar the income of the land for thirty  
years, he loaded it on horses and sent it to the king in Nineveh. They gave  
word that Axiqar was coming. They came out to meet him. The king came  
out to meet him. He hugged him round his neck. He kissed him. He was  
very pleased with him.' (A 3:84–85)*

#### 10.3.1.4 Past Perfective in other Types of Discourse

In other types of discourse, such as direct speech within narratives or expository descriptions, the *ptaxlə* form is the normal means of expressing past perfective events, e.g.

##### (i) Direct Speech in Narratives

- (1) *'ána kátux vádli náša,| 'átən ka-díyyi dušdášlux.| 'ána ka-díyyux muttíli ju-  
bēt-malcıtya,| 'átən ka-díyyi muttílux ju-+àrra.| 'I made you a man, but you  
trampled on me. I put you in the royal household, but you put me in the  
ground.' (A 3:90)*
- (2) *yámmat díyyux ka-díyyux tuybərra| 'ína 'át +bílux mánno 'avátvə 'ax-xa-  
+jòra.| 'Your mother brought you up, but you wanted to be with her like a  
husband.' (A 3:91)*
- (3) *'ána| ju-béti tívənval| e-+dántət ínva jvànka,| +tarri mxílun.| +tarri mxílun,  
+tuktáklun| 'u-+plátlə| 'áxči +šmíli mára ta-jáldəl| 'tli Pəhtiyáj<sup>P</sup> +állux.|  
+báyyən| +májtət +àlli.| hál=t xásli +bárəl mára tuláklə.| +dórri tili.| 'I was sit-  
ting in my house, when I was young, and somebody banged on my door.  
Somebody banged on my door, somebody knocked. I went out and only  
heard somebody saying "Come quickly, I need you (to do something for  
me). I want you to come to me." Before I got to him, he disappeared. I  
returned home.' (A 2:26–27)*
- (4) *xá +dána| bábət díyyux=za| +bayyíva +katlıvalə| 'ína 'ána lâ +kçállyi| málca|  
+pşəmlə| +pşəmlə| kat-ka-mùl +kçállyun| 'ína 'ána lènva +kçílu.| lubólli yuvválli  
ka-málca.| málca +rába xdílə.| 'Once they wanted to kill your father, but I  
did not kill him. The king was sad, he was sad (and wondered) why they  
killed him, but I had not killed him. I took him and gave him to the king.  
The king was very glad.' (A 3:34)*

## (ii) Expository Discourse

- (5) 'àna! xa-ctàva 'átlí! tré mæššənnérət 'amricàya! 'án čám ķamáya mæššən-nérə kát tilun! ju-dáštət 'Ùrmi.! ... 'ánnə tré +parsúpə tilun!,| 'é-+dān tilun!,| 'é-+dana 'urxátə=zə 'ásfalt lèva víyyə.! ... b-susaváy b-cavádnə b-xmàrə c-azívə.! 'ánnə b-susavaté 'é-+dān +m̄lūn +ál +láp ķarkáptət +tùyra! ... 'é-+dān m̄lūn táməl mən-+támə m-+al-susavaté +slilun!,| jušáklun +al-dáštət 'Ùrmi.! 'I have a book (of) two American missionaries, the very first missionaries who came to the plain of Urmi. ... When these two gentlemen came, at that time the roads had not (yet) been laid with asphalt ... They used to travel by horses, mules and donkeys. When they arrived with their horses at the very top of the mountain ... when they arrived there, they dismounted from their horses and looked at the plain of Urmi.' (B 2:12–13)

## 10.3.1.5 Conditional and Temporal Constructions

The *ptaxlə* form is used 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) 'ón-+msili,! +'áv bət-yavválla ķáti.! 'If I can (do this), he will give it to me.' (A 3:55)
- (2) 'ón ķál-jáxca +šmilux! xùš.! xína látli pəehtiyáj<sup>p</sup> +'állux.! 'ón ķál-bàxya +šmilux,! clí. 'If you hear the sound of laughter, go. I do not have need for you. If you hear the sound of weeping, wait.' (A 2:30)
- (3) 'ón +tála tilə +al-jáni bət-maxənnə.! 'If a fox comes against me, I shall strike him.' (A 37:6)

A similar usage is found in some temporal clauses referring to the future, e.g.

- (4) 'íman tilí +dàrrí! bət-yavvánnux +rāba.! 'When I come back, I shall give you a lot.' (A 1:3)
- (5) 'é-+dān +šudárroxun ka-díyyi 'áltəx,! har-márri ķádli bšəlli,! +pàltunli. 'When you send me down, as soon as I say "I have burnt, I have cooked", take me out.' (A 39:7)
- (6) cú-+dān márri +ràppi! 'át ķámta +ráppət lámxa.! 'Whenever I say "Throw," you must first throw the bread.' (A 39:25)

### 10.3.1.6 Modal Future

The *ptaxlə* form is sometimes used outside of conditional constructions to express a modal future, i.e. to express an event that the speaker believes might possibly take place, e.g.

- (1) *bálcət +huyyárri kàtux-xina.* ‘Well, perhaps I might help you.’ (A 10:3)

### 10.3.2 ptəxvalə

This form may be used to express an event in the past that is temporally anterior from the viewpoint of another event or situation in the past occurring in the surrounding context. It is generally idiomatically translated by the English past perfect.

In the text corpus it found mainly in subordinate clauses:

- (1) *+bár=t +mt̪ivalə,| bí majóstə +xazdīvalə.* ‘After it had ripened, they used to harvest it with a sickle.’ (B 3:6)
- (2) *+bár k̪ədvalə| c-avíva 'ax-cipa| cùma.* ‘When it had burnt, it was like a black stone.’ (B 3:14)
- (3) *'íman br̪əzvalun,| ci-+moráxvalun javay| ka-sətvə.* ‘When they had dried, we brought them inside for the winter.’ (B 7:11)
- (4) *mən-rákka 'icət jináva +vərvvalə| xazzənvalə.* ‘I would see from afar where a thief had entered.’ (B 3:20)
- (5) *čún 'ən-k̪əmvala,| bálcət| 'arkàva* ‘because, if it had got up, it would possibly run away’ (B 4:4)
- (6) *'óm-+dān xóšu tīvala,| t-ativíva +pallīvalə.* ‘Whenever he wished, he would come and divide it.’ (B 3:19)

## 10.4 Imperative

The imperative form typically commands an action to be performed immediately or close to the time of utterance, e.g.

- (1) *+sùrunlun!| cpüšunlun!* ‘Tie them up! Gather them up!’ (A 1:38)
- (2) *+rāba +spáy,| mèla.* (A 3:16) ‘Very good, bring him (perfective).’
- (3) *láblun +k̪t̪ulunlə.* ‘Take him and kill him.’ (A 3:31)
- (4) *xùš| škúlla +págṛət bābuxl +Axìkar| +t̪amərrə.* ‘Go and take the body of your father, Axiqar, and bury it.’ (A 3:37)
- (5) *'át clí láxxa xut-+t̪iyra.* ‘You stand here under the mountain.’ (A 2:30)
- (6) *ku-jàldə| vúd +t̪ámta* ‘Get up quickly and make breakfast.’ (A 1:14)

Commands for an action to be performed further in the future are characteristically expressed by the irrealis *patəx* form. This is seen in (7), in which the action that has to be performed immediately is commanded with an imperative, whereas the command for an action to be performed the following day is expressed by a *patəx* form:

- (7) *xób xúš dmúxju-<sup>E</sup>hotèl<sup>E</sup>-ux,| kúdmə ՚atət.*! ‘Good, go and sleep in your hotel and come tomorrow.’ (A 3:70)

The use of the imperative form is not restricted to the command of an immediate specific event, but may be used to command the performance of an iterative action, which involves different discrete specific actions performed on different occasions, or a habitual state. The imperative form, therefore, is not exclusively perfective in aspect, e.g.

- (8) *’arþíyumàna,| màra,| +xùl,| šti,| xùp. | xáčča tá +al-jànux| ku-tálux còslí| ýána +báyyən hamzámmən mànnux.*! “For forty days” he says “eat, drink, wash. Return to yourself a bit, then come to me. I want to talk to you.” (A 3:53)
- (9) *’ína ՚é-+dān +báyyət ódət xa-màndi| vúdlə ’ax-nàša.*! ‘But when you want to do something, do it like people (= do it properly).’ (A 1:50)

A few verbs use two imperative forms. One of these is the regular, unmarked, imperative and the other is a marked imperative, which is derived from a different root from that of the unmarked one. The marked imperative is used to add intensity to the command. Verbs with two imperatives include the following:

- (10) *jaššək* II ‘to look’  
 a. *jaššək +’álli!*! ‘Look at me!’ (unmarked)  
 b. *xúr +’álli!*! ‘Look at me!’ (marked)
- (11) *’azəl* I ‘to go’  
 a. *xùš!*! ‘Go!’ (unmarked)  
 b. *si!*! *sé!*! ‘Go!’ (marked)

The imperative is occasionally combined with a 2nd person L-suffix. This is found mainly with verbs of movement, e.g.

- (12) *ku-tálux Nànvə!*! ‘Come to Nineveh!’ (A 3:19)  
 (13) *ku-tálux còslí!*! ‘Come to me!’ (A 3:53)

- (14) *tàlux!* *tlúb mònni!* 'Come and make a request from me.' (A 54:2)
- (15) *'áti sílax lùš!* 'You go and get dressed.' (A 51:4)
- (16) *'áti sílúx bëta!* 'You go home.' (A 54:8)
- (17) *kìylux!* 'Get up!' (A 43:9)

These constructions are used in contexts where the addressee is being invited to do something for his/her benefit, so the L-suffix here can be identified as having a dative-benefactive function. An example in another verb is found in (18):

- (18) *škúllux xá-dana 'òrba,* +*kìulla* *dómmo máttilə* +*al-jùlli* *lábælla ká màrux.*  
"Take a sheep for yourself, kill it, put its blood on my clothes and take it to your master." (A 1:9)

The imperative may be preceded by the cardinal numeral *xa*. The basic effect of this is to add politeness to the command, turning it into an invitation to the speaker, e.g.

- (19) *xa* +*xùl!* 'Go on, eat!'
- (20) *nàša!* *xá zmùr!* 'Go on, sing man!'
- (21) *xá jàssák!* 'Have a look!'
- (22) *xá* +*tmilə!* 'Have a taste of it!'
- (23) *xa-tá làxxa!* 'Come here!' (A 42:15)

The particle can be used also with deontic *patəx* verbs with a similar function, e.g.

- (24) *xá 'ázax.*! 'Let's go.'
- (25) *xá* +*àxlax.*! 'Let's eat.'
- (26) *xa-*+*òrən!* 'Let me go in.' (A 42:13)
- (27) *'ána xá xázzən* *'áyya mù* +*jéyran.*! 'Let me see what gazelle that is.' (A 42:30)

Occasionally *xa dana* is used in this context, e.g.

- (28) *'ána xá-dana* *'ázən* +*bàzar!* *'átən.*! 'I shall just go to the market and come back.' (A 42:5)

In some circumstances it is used to add hortatory force to a command, apparently by the pragmatic strategy of insincere politeness, e.g.

- (29) *xa-jáššək mù kavvúmə fu-+átrət diyyan!* 'Just look what is happening in our land!' (A 1:39)

The imperative may be strengthened by combining it with the particle *di*, *d-*, which is likely to be related etymologically to *'adiyya*, *'adi* 'now'. This is found mainly in varieties spoken in the Caucasus:

- (30) *dí sìl!* 'Go away!' (A 52:2)  
 (31) *d-+sli!* 'Come down!' (A 47:14)

A prohibition may be expressed by combining the imperative with the negative particle *la*, e.g.

- (32) *là +ktúlli!* 'Do not kill me.' (A 3:33)  
 (33) *là-ta kúrba!* 'Do not come near!' (A 1:n)  
 (34) *lá-vud kàla!* 'Do not make a sound!' (A 1:28)  
 (35) *là +bákər!* 'Do not ask!' (A 2:16)

In (32)–(35) the prohibition is perfective in aspect. The construction is also used when an iterative, or enduring situation is prohibited, e.g.

- (36) *là-climun!* 'Do not stop! (now or at any subsequent time)' (A 3:57)  
 (37) *háč 'átxa lá vùd!* 'Never do that! (now or at any subsequent time)'

The particle *xa* may be used before the negator to make the prohibition more polite, e.g.

- (38) *xá lá hàmzəm!* 'Please do not speak.'

A negated imperative may be combined in a closely-knit construction with another imperative that is within the scope of negation but has no negative particle, e.g.

- (39) *xína lá xúš fu-+alulánə zàbənnun 'ánnə!* 'Do not go and sell them in the streets.' (A 34:5)

Prohibitions are also expressed by negating the deontic *patax* form. These are in principle used to relate to a perfective action in the future or an imperfective habitual action, e.g.

- (40) *lá +'àxlət! láxma +hàram.* ‘Do not eat forbidden food.’ (A 3:9)
- (41) *lá-'azət +bár +šúp̥ra.!* *+šúp̥ra lè-paš kátux.!* *lá-'azət +bár +rába davàlta.* ‘Do not go after beauty. Beauty will not last for you. Do not go after great wealth.’ (A 3:11)
- (42) *m-áxxa làjójət.* ‘Do not move from here (at any time).’ (A 36:16)

An imperative may be a complement of the expression *buš +spay* in constructions such as (43):

- (43) *'adíyya buš-+spáy ka-díyyi làbəl.* ‘You better take me now (literally: Now better take me).’ (A 43:11)

Sporadically the imperative is used by the narrator of a narrative to address one of the protagonists. This is used to present pivotal events. The clause component referring to the protagonist can have a demonstrative determiner or be an independent demonstrative pronoun, as in (44) and (45). This is a feature of a third person referent rather than an addressee in direct speech. In (46) the addressee of the imperative is followed by reference to her by a 3fs. object pronoun on the next verb. These features indicate that the imperatives do not occur within dialogue but rather within the narrative:

- (44) *tá kú 'á càlu janvíla.!* *'á cálū jnivàle.* ‘“Come get up” this bride. They kidnapped the bride.’ (A 55:6)
- (45) *'ájar yúma +tlá-ja ... rišo bəsràkula! +əsrà-ja jóxcəla! 'òmma-ja jóxcəla,!* *'á frúš +al-+bàzar.* ‘If she combs her head three times a day, she laughs ten times, she laughs a hundred times, he—take it to the market (= he could take it).’ (A 43:22)
- (46) *bəškàlona,!* *mattúvvona fu-xùrjun!* *'u-sé bəjràšona.* ‘They take her and put her in a pack-saddle, and off you go, they carry her off.’ (A 43:5)

## 10.5 Present Copula

The present copula exists in two forms, enclitic and independent. These must be distinguished when determining its function. The enclitic form is generally attached to the end of the predicate, e.g.

- (1) *brúnux +spày-ilə.* ‘Your son is good.’

In some circumstances it may be attached to the subject constituent, e.g.

- (2) +'áv-ilə +xòri.| 'He is my friend.'

The independent form is distinguished from the enclitic form by the presence of /' at the onset of its first syllable. This reflects the fact that it is treated as an independent word (§ 1.14., § 1.15.2.):

Enclitic	<i>ilə</i>
Independent	'ilə

The independent form bears its own stress, e.g.

- (3) *brúnux 'ilə +xòri.*| 'Your son is my friend.'

It is generally placed before the predicate, though it may also be placed after the predicate, e.g.

- (4) +'úllul 'ilə.| 'He is above.'

#### 10.5.1 *Enclitic Copula*

The enclitic copula attached to the predicate may be regarded as the functionally unmarked form of the copula. It is used irrespective of the time stability of the predicate. The predicate may express a permanent property of the subject, e.g.

- (1) *brúnux +spày-ilə.*| '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.

- (2) +'avva náša *brùnan-ilə.*| 'That man is our son.'

The predicate may also express a contingent situation that is not necessarily a permanent property of the subject, e.g.

- (3) *brúnux cpìnələ.*| 'Your son is hungry'

Examples from the text corpus:

- (4) +'Axíkar xàyələ.| 'Axiqar is alive.' (A 3:49)

- (5) *déva-zə +sìyyəna.*| 'The monsters are thirsty.' (A 37:15)

- (6) *+yakùrtəla.* ‘It (the waterskin) is heavy.’ (A 37:15)
- (7) *+rába b-šənnəla.* ‘He is very aged.’ (A 2:24)
- (8) *bas-’áha móndi tázəla.* ‘But this thing is new.’ (A 3:76)
- (9) *karibàyəvax.* ‘We are foreigners.’ (A 2:6)
- (10) *’átən raxmànət.* *’át xubbànət.* ‘You are merciful. You are loving.’ (A 3:92)
- (11) *’òltəx!* *dášta cùllo kònəla.* ‘Below the whole plain is green.’ (B 2:14)
- (12) *’áxnan +šavvá ’axunvátəvax.* ‘We are seven brothers.’ (A 37:10)
- (13) *’ánnə +xuyravátuna.* ‘These are his friends.’ (A 2:7)
- (14) *’ítə ’áha=zə xá mən-+adáttət bne-* *’Urnila.* ‘So this too is one of the traditions of the Urmi people.’ (B 12:9)

In the foregoing examples the subject of the clause has a specific referent. The copula is also used when the subject refers to a generic class, e.g.

- (15) *nèkva! mən-’úrza buš-xelàntəla.* ‘A female is stronger than a male.’ (A 2:36)

The predicate may be combined with the particles *+hala* ‘still’ and *har* ‘already, still’, which demonstrate that the situation is not permanent, implying an endpoint or starting-point, e.g.

- (16) *brúnux +hálə cpìnəla.* ‘Your son is still hungry.’
- (17) *brúnux hár cpìnəla.* ‘Your son is already hungry.’
- (18) *’áha +hálə málcəla.* ‘He is still king.’
- (19) *’áha hár málcəla.* ‘He is already king.’

The present copula is used to express a situation that extends from the past into the present in constructions that are rendered by the English perfect of persistent situation, e.g.

- (20) *mən-ķedamta làxxəvət.* ‘You have been here since the morning.’ (A 4:6)

The construction is 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.

- (21) *brúnu +spày-ilə!* 'His son is good.'  
 (22) *brúnu +spày-ilə?* 'Is his son good?'

Examples of interrogative copula clauses from the text corpus:

- (23) *kám xá-xča +naràhat-ivət?* 'Why are you so upset?' (A 2:15)  
 (24) *mù-ila,jnáyo?* 'What is its crime?' (A 3:80)  
 (25) *dùz-ila?* 'Is that correct?' (A 3:76)  
 (26) *+hála xàyəvət?* 'Are you still alive?' (A 39:13)

On some occasions the clitic copula is attached to the subject constituent. This occurs in clauses that are identificatory or that predicate a permanent property of the subject, e.g.

- (27) *é-+dán +várəna jú dó,jappítə! ... án xínə cùllə! cicé maxrupèna dévə! kát dúlə 'axúnān tuyyílə xá +séda t-+axləxələ mára là 'axunváti, lə. á-ilə xá +bar-náša.* 'When they enter the cave, ... all the others (the other monsters) are sharpening their teeth thinking that "Our brother has brought a prey for us to eat." He says "No, my brothers, no. This is a human."' (A 37:12)  
 (28) *+simákur bəxšàvələ! ýahələ ý +janàvar! yán ý hònna! +bar-nášət kát bitá-yələ ýnnə býyo +bəšmatələ, +bixalələ.* 'The *+simaxur* bird thinks he is the monster, or the thing, the man who is coming to break and eat her eggs.' (A 39:22)

In (27) the ascription to the subject referent of the property of 'human' is presented in contrastive opposition to the expectations of those in the speech situation. The focus of the assertion, therefore, is on the property term and the copula is not a component of the assertion, but rather is a component of the presuppositional background of the clause. The contrastive assertion is the correct candidate for the slot in the presupposition 'He is X'. In (28) the copula is not part of the presuppositional background and both the copula and the predicate constituent are asserted, but this assertion is weak due to the fact that the clause is embedded under the main verb *bəxšàvələ* 'it thinks'. A verb such as 'think' weakens the claim to truth of its complement (Hooper 1975, 101). Constructions such as these consisting of *Subject—enclitic copula—Predicate* can, therefore, be regarded as weak forms of constructions with the independent copula with the form *Subject—Independent copula—Predicate*, which are typically used with identificatory predicates (§ 10.5.2.). In constructions with the enclitic copula such as (27) and (28) the copula is non-assertive or only weakly assertive, whereas in constructions with the independent copula the copula is fully assertive.

On some occasions the copula is used without a predicate constituent and it is existential in function, e.g.

- (29) *ka-rijavàtə| mujtáyyəd +rába rijavàyəna ju-bétu,| mára mèmun| scánta 'u-masèta.* ‘To the servants—there are many servants in the jurist’s house—he says “Bring a knife and scales.”’ (A 7:11)
- (30) *'adíyya +hàjilə,| márət xmàrələ,| márət motànələ| 'u-'áha sárhanj +jurələ.* ‘Now there is the pilgrim, there is the owner of the donkey, there is the master of the dead man, and there is this great colonel.’ (A 7:7)
- (31) *'ána 'àtən-ivax,| xá-naša lítən.* ‘I and you are (here) (= we are alone), there is nobody (here).’ (A 6:7)

Such existential usages of the copula typically occur when the subject is recoverable from the preceding discourse. The existential particle *'at*, by contrast, is typically used when the referent of the nominal is being newly introduced into the discourse.

In (32) an existential type of copula is used to shift attention to a topic that has been evoked already earlier in the discourse:

- (32) *yàmmola,| yàmmo| léla +bəddá mu-'òda.* ‘As for her mother, she does not know what to do.’ (A 42:19)

The present enclitic copula is sometimes used in clauses that are dependent on a matrix clause that contains a past tense verb. In such cases the copula takes the past time reference of the matrix verb, e.g.

- (33) *bəxšávəva +xuyravátuna.* ‘He thought they were his friends.’ (B 6:2)
- (34) *'o-náša xzílə ḳat-'á +màlla| hónu xáčča ... +basùrələ.* ‘The man saw that the mullah—his brain was rather lacking.’ (A 32:2)

### **10.5.2 *Independent Copula***

The independent copula is marked with regard to the nature of the predicate and also with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition expressed by the clause.

The predicate is generally identificatory, specificational or expresses a permanent property of the subject. In most cases it is placed between the subject and the predicate, e.g.

### Identificatory predicates

- (1) *'ána 'ívən +'Axīkar.* 'I am Axiqar.' (A 3:67)
- (2) *+ávun=da 'ílə ríjət +hàji.* 'He is the servant of the pilgrim.' (A 1:33)
- (3) *+ávva 'ívən 'ána.* 'That is me.' (the informant is pointing to a picture of himself on the wall)

### Specificational predicates

Such predicates give a specific value to the description in the nominal phrase before the copula (Higgins 1979, see § 12.5.6.8.).

- (4) *'ána šámmi 'ílə Véktur 'Ùršan.* 'My name is Viktor Uršan.' (B 11:1)
- (5) *šámmat díyyi 'ílə ... +pàllan cás.* 'My name is so-and-so.' (A 37:8)
- (6) *'é yàma +táma] šámmo 'ílə yámət 'Ùrmi.* 'The lake there, its name is the lake of Urmî.' (B 2:17)
- (7) *šámmat do-brúnu súra 'íva +Àšur.* 'The name of the young son was Ashur.' (A 39:1)
- (8) *čúncətvazzírət málca 'aslí] 'ílə 'Alla-Várdi +Xàn.* 'because the original vizier is Allah-Vardi-Khan' (A 1:24)
- (9) *xá-mənnə 'íla] kát 'ána jári xá-dana ... bëta] zárzən ka-für'un] ju-+hàva.* 'One of them (the tasks) is that I must build a house for Pharaoh in the sky.' (A 3:56)

### Predicates expressing a permanent property

- (10) *xá mən-cačála 'ílə +tàjər.* 'One of the bald men is a merchant.' (A 1:30)
- (11) *cúlla 'ánnə 'ína pòrxə.* 'All these are (= make up the spice collection known as) pòrxə.'
- (12) *+arabána 'íla 'et-'axúna +jùra.* 'The cart is the eldest brother's.' (A 36:3)
- (13) *'á màral b-xá +čap̄páltal] á 'arþí dánə dèvə bət-+kátləl.* bás 'áxnan 'ívax +šàvvəl +yána hàč-məndivax ka-dá. 'This man says that with one staff he would kill forty monsters. But we are (only) seven, so we are nothing (compared) to him.' (A 37:9)
- (14) *dayyána mírlə müdile 'o-mándi búš xelána ju-dùnyə? clíla mèrra] +jóri 'ílə +ràba xelána.* 'The judge has said "What is the strongest thing in the world?" She paused and said "My husband is very strong." (A 38:8)
- (15) *báxta 'íla PzayiféP.* 'A woman is weak.' (A 5:2)

Occasionally the independent copula is used with a contingent predicate:

- (16) *'ána 'ívən blyja. +máxbərri +bar-xamša dàyka.* | 'I am busy. Phone me in five minutes time.'

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.

The communicative salience of the construction is exploited to give prominence to a statement. The motivation may be the fact that the clauses present pivotal information. The use of the construction to identify names (4–8) typically fall into this category. This applies also to cases such as (14), which supplies the key response to a riddle.

The prominence of a clause with an independent copula also signals that the clauses are disjoined from the adjacent clauses with regard to their discourse function. Clauses with the independent copula are often an introductory statement that constitutes the preliminary setting of a discourse section, an explanatory parenthetical insertion, or a concluding elaboration. The preliminary setting may present the grounds for the following statement, as in (16). Example (11) is a concluding recapitulative statement at the end of a discussion of a list of items. Examples such as (10) and (12) express some kind of elaborative background on what precedes. The marking of a boundary or discontinuity in the flow of the discourse is a common discourse usage of constructions with communicative salience.

In (17) the independent copula is used in a construction where the subject is extraposed with a resumptive subject pronoun. Extraposition itself is a strategy for marking boundaries in discourse (§ 12.14.):

- (17) *míyya 'ánnə 'ína o-mándi búš xelàna.* | 'Water—it is the strongest thing.'  
(A 38:11)

The clause may be given prominence to express contrastiveness. In (13) there is a contrastive opposition between the small number, which is a property of the group to which the speaker belongs, and the large number mentioned in the preceding context ('They are many' vs. 'We are seven'). This type of construction involves contrastive topics ('they' vs 'we'), which are correlated with contrastive predicates ('many' vs 'seven'). This contrastive topic function is clear in the following:

- (18) *'átlí tré +armonyàtə. | 'á 'íla +xvàrta. | 'á 'íla smùkta.* | 'I have two pomegranates. This one is white. This one is red.'

The independent copula is used to express other types of contrastive functions. In (19) the construction is used to make an assertion that contradicts a preceding assertion:

- (19) *kárjə 'ína cùma.* | 'Crows are black' (contradicting a statement by an interlocutor that they are another colour).

Such construction can be used not only in clauses ascribing permanent properties to the subject but also in a predicate expressing a contingent property

(20):

- (20) *'ána 'ívn cpína.* | 'I am hungry' (contrary to what you presuppose to be the case).

If the clause contradicts a preceding negative clause with the same predicate item, the copula is typically given the nuclear stress:

- (21) A: *brúnux lèla cpína.* | B: *là,* | *brúni 'íla cpína.* | 'A: Your son is not hungry. B: No, my son is hungry.'  
 (22) A: *bábux lèla +tama.* | B: *là,* | *bábi 'íla +táma.* | 'A: Your father is not there. B: No, my father is there.'

On some occasions the independent copula is placed after the predicate. In such cases the nuclear stress is typically placed on the copula. Examples found in the text corpus and noted during fieldwork include the following:

- (23) *'áyya rásmat díyyan 'íla.* | 'This is our custom.' (A 36:16, concluding comment)  
 (24) *+yakúyra 'íla.* | 'It is heavy.' (parenthetical comment)  
 (25) *xelánta-da 'íla.* | 'It is also strong.' (parenthetical comment)  
 (26) *'áyyen 'íla.* | 'It is indeed that.'  
 (27) *la'usa díyyan 'íla.* | '(The word) *la'usa* is indeed ours.'  
 (28) *ju-líšána +sapráya 'íla.* | '(It is not used in the spoken language), it is in the literary language.'  
 (29) *xa-+úxčət 'íla,* | *xa-+úxča=zə xut-+àrrələ.* | 'As much as he is, so much is he also under the ground.' (i.e. you do not know half of him, he is cryptic, sneaky)

This construction performs functions similar to those of the independent copula constructions described above. In some cases it occurs in a clause that supplies a concluding or parenthetic comment (23–25). In other cases it is used to make a strong assertion, to confirm against the background of a contrary presupposition (26–27) or an item in contrastive opposition (28). In (29) it is in a clause that is set up in a parallel opposition with the following clause and the independent copula gives it greater distinctness. A postposed independent copula is also found without the nuclear stress in examples such as (30), in which the predicated item has an inclusive focus expressed by an inclusive clitic:

- (30) *jánta* *ka-vàrdə=zə* *'ila.*! ‘The word *janta* (“garden”) is also for flowers (in addition to vegetables).’

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.

- (31) *'ila* +*xorət* +*fjoro.*! ‘He is the friend of her husband.’ (A 5:13)  
 (32) *'ila* +*rába* *ràba**jáldə.*! ‘It (human thought) is very very fast.’ (A 36:11)  
 (33) *'ila* *xá mən-dan-*+*umránə* *atíkət* *mšixayùta.*! ‘It is one of the oldest churches of Christianity.’ (B 1:4)

## 10.6 The Deictic Copulas

The deictic copulas are used to draw attention to a referent or to a proposition.

### 10.6.1 Near Deictic Copula

The near deictic copula is generally used to draw attention to a situation that is near to the interlocutors. Normally the subject of the copula is near and the predication supplies information about this subject, e.g.

- (1) *dúla* *xèta.*! ‘She is alive.’ (A 1:37)  
 (2) *dúlə* *làxxa.*! ‘He is here.’ (A 6:12)

If no material in the predicate exists and only the subject referent is presented, then the copula is used to draw attention to the referent of the subject rather than to a proposition, e.g.

- (3) *jáš yámmi dùla!* 'Look, here is my mother.' (A 44:12)  
 (4) *dùla!* 'There she is!'

### 10.6.2 Far Deictic Copula

The far deictic copula may be used to draw attention to a situation that is far from the interlocutors but visible. As with constructions with *dulə*, normally the subject of the copula *velə* is far and the predication supplies information about this subject:

- (1) *véla méša kùrba!* 'The forest is over there nearby.' (A 37:14)  
 (2) *véna 'ánnə +tàmma!* 'There they are there.' (A 48:24)  
 (3) *véna +tàmma!* 'They are over there.' (A 1:11)  
 (4) *cúllə véna švávə xúš tāni!* 'All the neighbours are there, let them tell.' (A 44:12)

In (5) the far deictic copula is used to draw attention to a situation that is not visible to the interlocutors, e.g.

- (5) *xá-dana ... marjanítələ! ju-xá-dana kùnya véla!* 'There is a pearl, it is in a well.' (A 40:3)

In many such cases the speaker has an emotional connection with the situation. In (6) the revelation of the location of the eyes is a climactic event:

- (6) *+áynət bábux véna +pòllan díca!* 'The eyes of your father are in such-and-such a place.' (A 39:40)

If no material in the predicate exists and only the subject referent is presented, then the copula is used to draw attention to the referent of the subject, e.g.

- (7) *vèla!* 'There she is!'

In (8)–(9) the clause with the presentative copula is a complement of verb of perception and introduces a situation that comes to the attention of the subject of this verb:

- (8) *'ána xášli kédamta xzilil! 'ína cùlla o-+xiyàvand! ý nišánkət 'ána müttun! +'áv-da vēl-+tàmma!* 'I went in the morning and saw that the same sign that I had placed was in the entire street.' (A 2:10)  
 (9) *bəxzáyəle xá-dana xmàra!* *'ína véləju-+tìna!* 'He sees a donkey in the mud.' (A 7:4)

## 10.7 Past Copula

### 10.7.1 Enclitic Past Copula

The enclitic past copula is attached to the end of the predicate. Such constructions are unmarked with regard to the nature of the predicate and also with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition expressed by the clause. The predicate may express an enduring situation in the past or one that is contingent to a particular moment or space of time and exists only temporarily.

Enduring situation

- (1) *báxtu +rába honàntəva.* ‘His wife was very clever.’ (A 3:57)
- (2) *+’áv-da +rába lìpəva.* ‘He also was very learned.’ (A 3:1)
- (3) *xayyuté mən-+tàmməva.* ‘Their livelihood was from there.’ (B 2:3)
- (4) *dáštət ’Ùrmi xína ràba šaþórtəva.* ‘The plain of Urmi was very beautiful.’ (B 2:12)

Contingent situation

- (5) *’e-+dána +ràba críbənva márri ’ádi bət-+katlənnə.* ‘Then I was very angry and said “Now I shall kill him.”’ (A 2:28)
- (6) *xàmməva.* ‘It was hot.’ (A 37:21)
- (7) *júvvab +’àvvəva.* ‘The answer (to the riddle in question) was that.’ (A 3:83)
- (8) *+rába-zə naxùpəval +rába-zə +zadìyəva.* ‘He was very shy and was very timid (at that time).’ (A 37:1)

The subject in the foregoing examples has a specific referent. The past enclitic copula is also used when the subject refers to a class of referents, e.g.

- (9) *’áni xurráyat sàtvəva.* ‘They (i.e. the various items described previously) were winter foods.’ (B 2:4)

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) *’axúnux ju-bètəva.* ‘Your brother was in the house.’
- (11) *’axúnux ju-bètəva?* ‘Was your brother in the house?’

### 10.7.2 *Independent Past Copula*

Constructions with the independent copula placed either before or after the predicate are used to express some kind of communicative salience. As is the case with the present independent copula, they are used most frequently with identificatory and specifical predicates or predicates expressing time stable properties that the speaker wishes to present with particular prominence in the discourse. The motivation for the prominence may be the importance of the proposition in the section of discourse in question, e.g.

- (12) *'átən ́ítva +maxdərránət +'àtri.* | 'You were the administrator of my land.'  
(A 3:45)
- (13) *xá-mənnə ́íva šémmu Míster Smith,| 'o-xína ́íva Dwìght.* | 'One of them—his name was Mr Smith, the other was Dwight.' (B 2:12)

In (14) the fact the father used to be the vizier is the crucial point of this section of discourse and this is expressed with an independent copula. The fact that he was now aged is an elaborative detail and is expressed by clauses containing an enclitic copula:

- (14) *'a-vázzer ́etválə xa-dána bába.|| bábət dáha ́íva vázzer ķa-bábət málca kámta.* | 'ína +'úxča sìvəva| müttuva ju-xá ... +'kárṭàla| ju-ctàna| kát lā-+aj-jazva +págru.|| +rába sìvəva| 'ína ́íva vazzírət bábət málca.|| 'This vizier had a father. His father was formerly vizier to the father of the king. But he was so aged that they had placed him in a basket, in cotton, so that his body was not harmed. He was very old, but he used to be the vizier of the father of the king.' (A 2:14)

Example (15) makes a statement about the king in the form of a parable, the purpose of which is draw particular attention. This prominence is expressed on the grammatical level by using the independent copula:

- (15) *'áha málca káti ́íva xá +karívvə| kát +'úxča šapíra ķala ́tvalə.* | 'This king was for me a rooster, which had such a beautiful voice.' (A 3:81)

The motivation to give prominence to a clause by means of an independent copula may be the fact that it is set up in a contrastive opposition with something else in the adjacent discourse. In (16), for example, the fact that Natan is in the royal household is presented in contrastive opposition to the privileges offered to his brother. In (17) the different origins of the referents are being presented in opposition. In (18) the status of being poor is set up in opposition to the status of being rich:

- (16) *ka-dáha yávvi zùyza| yávvi bëta,| sábab Nàtan| 'íva jú ... bétet málca.* ‘To this one (the brother of Natan) they should give money, they should give a house, because Natan was in the royal household.’ (A 3:18)
- (17) *tré-mønne 'íva mën-'Úrmi| xá-mønne 'íva mën-+Màraja.* ‘Two of them were from Urmi. One of them was from Maraga.’ (B 1:2)
- (18) *ju-matvátə 'átvalan bátə prišə| clítəva +'ál-nàšə,| müjjurra másalan cmá 'á 'íva +cásəb yán dolatmand.* ‘In the villages we had various houses, it depended on the people, for example, how he (i.e. a certain person) was poor or rich.’ (B 2:18)

Two statements with the same semantic content may have different types of copulas according to their position in the discourse. In (19), for example, the first clause is given prominence by the independent copula. This is followed by a recapitulation of the same content in a clause uttered more quickly to which the speaker does not give so much prominence. This is reflected on the grammatical level by the fact that the enclitic copula is used in this recapitulation.

- (19) *úna 'ína vazzírət bábət dìyyux.| vazzírət bábət dìyyux-ína.* ‘I was the vizier of your father. I was the vizier of your father.’ (A 2:25)

The communicative salience of the construction gives the clause a degree of independence from the adjacent discourse and this is sometimes exploited to express some kind of circumstantial background to a narrative. In such cases the circumstantial section typically sets the spatio-temporal frame for what follows, e.g.

- (20) *'ána| jù| duccàni 'ína| dax=ət-'údyu káti xzìlux ju-duccána,| ... 'ína 'ána xà-yuma| 'ína ju-duccàna,| 'ax-díyyux káti tílux xzìlux,| tíla xa-náša káti mòrrə|* ‘I was in my shop, as you saw me today in the shop ... now, I was one day in my shop, just like you, who came and saw me, a man came to me and said ...’ (A 4:12)
- (21) *'ána| ju-béti tìvənva| 'e-+dántət 'ína jvànka,| +tarri mxìlun,| +tarri mxìlun,| +tuktdàklum| 'u-+plàtlì.* ‘I was sitting in my house, when I was young, and there was a bang at the my door. There was a bang at my door, there was a knock and I went out.’ (A 2:26)

In (22)–(25) the independent copula is placed at the end of the clause. These clauses are elaborative tags placed at the close of a section of discourse. In (23) and (24) the copula is existential:

- (22) *'á +táltañ 'íva.* 'This was our game.' (B 9:12)
- (23) *'átxa cápna 'íva.* 'There was such hunger.' (B 3:36)
- (24) *'íta 'ánnə məndyánə 'íva.* 'So these things existed.' (B 5:5)
- (25) *šəmmané 'ína 'átxa 'íva.* 'These were their names.' (B 10:8)

## 10.8 Existential Particle

The existential particle *'at*, together with its variant forms (§ 4.23.), expresses either an enduring situation or a temporary, contingent situation:

Enduring situation

- (1) *xá-sama xína-da +álma 'áttən kət-ci-táni mən-jíbət nípùxtə* Pméye poxtè<sup>P</sup>  
'There is another group of people who instead of *nipuxta* say *meye poxte*.'
- (B 12:8)
- (2) *+rába čátun šəmma 'átlə.* 'He has a very difficult name.' (A 3:47)
- (3) *cúllə móndi 'átlı.* 'I have everything.' (A 3:86)
- (4) *cúl-məndit 'áttə nəkval p-šaklátta m-pát +árra.* 'Everything that has a female you should remove from the face of the earth.' (A 2:11)
- (5) *láttnə xa-náša 'ax-diyyux.* 'There is nobody like you.' (A 3:14)
- (6) *náša lət<sup>t</sup> kət-á-məndi 'avàdlə.* 'There is nobody who can do this.' (A 3:45)
- (7) *'átvə xa-dana-málca.* 'There was once a king.' (A 2:1)
- (8) *'átvələlə +əstí-dana baxtátə.* 'He had sixty wives.' (A 3:2)
- (9) *+úxča šapíra kàla 'átvələ.* 'He had such a beautiful voice.' (A 3:81)
- (10) *'ína yálə lətvələ.* 'But he did not have children.' (A 3:2)

Contingent situation

- (11) *xa-náša 'áttən ju-+dússak<sup>k</sup> bədmáyələ +álli.* 'There is a man in jail who resembles me.' (A 3:35)
- (12) *'áni céca +bixalélələ +tárrət dárta-zə švák<sup>k</sup>tula ptíxa.* bəxzáyələ +tárrət dárta-zə 'áttən. 'He eats the cakes. She has left the door of the courtyard open. He sees that there are some at the courtyard door.' (A 37:4)
- (13) *'átlı tré +xábra kátux tánən.* 'I have two words to tell you.' (A 2:25)
- (14) *'ína +Axíkar +xábra lətlə.* 'But Axiqar had nothing to say (literally: he had no word).' (A 3:19)
- (15) *késə lətlun<sup>t</sup> jári ýe-+dana 'ázi késə máyyi.* '(If) they do not have wood, they must then go and fetch wood.' (A 37:13)
- (16) *bəjrásəla kátu<sup>t</sup> sáb lələ +msáya jaróšla, látlə xəla.* 'It pulls him, because he cannot pull it, he does not have strength.' (A 37:15)

When dependent, either syntactically or pragmatically, on a past tense clause, the present existential particle can be used with past tense reference, e.g.

- (17) *'íman 'á málca vīlə| 'áxnan +xábra lòtlan?|* 'When did this man become king (while) we had no word of it?' (A 1:42)

There is no clear functional distinction between the short and long variants of the present existential particle (*'at*, *löt* vs. *'attən*/*'itən*, *lattən*/*litən*). 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.

- (18) *vázzər mən-málca +plàtəna.| b-ricávə bərrəxšəna| +bəxdàrəna| xázə mü-'at| mü'lattən.|* 'The vizier goes out together with the king. They go with cavalry, they travel around, so that he (the king) can see what is and what is not.' (A 2:3)

When the item whose existence is being predicated is definite, the particle expresses presence or absence on the scene of a known referent, e.g.

- (19) *tílan +várran xázax ķa-mú bnayèlə| 'ína lattən.|* 'We went in to see why he was counting them, but he was not there.' (A 10:8)  
 (20) *'a-náša löt +hála.|* 'This man is still not there.' (A 21:3)

## 10.9 Negative Copula

The present and past negative copula forms refer to states, both permanent (1–5) and contingent (6–10), in the present and past respectively:

- (1) *'áha ju-cùllə matvátəva,| léva 'áxči ju-mátət diyyan.|* 'This (custom) was in all the villages, it was not just in our village.' (B 2:5)
- (2) *'ádi| xína 'áx kámta lélə.|* 'Now it is not like before.' (B 2:19)
- (3) *márət díyyi lélə xšíxa| kat-'ána 'átxa hamzámmən bázu.|* 'My master does not need me to talk like this about him.' (A 3:64)
- (4) *léna +xlíma.* 'They are not thick.' (B 14:6)
- (5) *léva prəšta.* 'It was not different.' (B 2:3)
- (6) *lélə +dán P'suxì.* 'It is not time for a joking.' (A 2:29)
- (7) *mən-'álaha lélə +xšítə.* 'It is not hidden from God.' (A 2:17)

- (8) *'e-+dánət lèx béta| ... 'ázət xá xáčča mìyya mayyátlan.* | 'When we are not at home, ... you should go and bring us some water.' (A 37:14)
- (9) *lèla bšálta.* | 'It is not cooked.' (B 12:7)
- (10) *lélə +t̪òlyá.* | 'He is not asleep.' (A 37:19)

The negative copula may be preceded by a deictic copula, as in (11), where the clause expresses a contingent state:

- (11) *'á dúlə lèlə míta.* | 'See, he is not dead.' (A 37:21)

## 10.10 Verbal Forms Based on the Resultative Participle

### 10.10.1 ptixələ

#### 10.10.1.1 Resultative Perfect Function

In the majority of cases the *ptixələ* form expresses a resultative perfect. This expresses a state in existence in the present that has come about as the result of a previous action. It is the resultant state that is directly expressed by the construction, rather than the action, which is an implicature. The endpoint of the event is in the past and does not overlap with the present, e.g.

- (1) *'ádi yála furvàssəl.* | 'The boy has now grown up.' (A 37:5)
- (2) *brùni l̪úpru +kòčyulə +'áv-da ka-+dáv +nìsələ.* | 'My son has cut off its tail and it has bitten him.' (A 46:4)
- (3) *kóšun +jummévət +al-jàni.* *fúr'un m-á-yba xína bitáyələ +al-jàni.* | 'You have gathered the army against me. Pharaoh is approaching from the other side against me.' (A 3:27)
- (4) *fúr'un málca xá-xčá móndi +šùdranilə.* *+árpa xamšá məndyána mónni +tlíbələ.* | 'Pharaoh the king has sent us such-and-such a task. He has demanded of me four or five things.' (A 3:55)
- (5) *cullóxun lípotun darsòxun?* | 'Have you all learnt your lesson?' (A 1:25)
- (6) *'á bráta plàxtəla yan-lá?* | 'Has the girl worked or not?' (A 35:7)
- (7) *šuddànnət?* | 'Have you gone mad?' (A 3:82)
- (8) *'átlə šòmma bas-šòmma +úxča munšítun.* | 'He has a name but I have simply forgotten the name.' (A 3:33)
- (9) *nášə xínə látva kát ka-díyyux xa-šəcvána +šúdrələ cəs-xa-málcət Məssər.* | 'Were there no other people, that he has sent you, an ant, to a king of Egypt?' (A 3:66)
- (10) *'ána +Axíkar lén +ktílu ... 'ána +túmrún kam-+tárrət bëtu.* | 'I have not killed Axiqar ... I have buried him before the door of his house.' (A 3:49)

The resultative participle may be combined with an existential particle when the subject of the clause is indefinite, e.g.

- (11) *+xárta bəxzàyəna! xácma jáha bəxzáya bitàyəna! 'ína núyra lát +šíra! késə líttən ...!* ‘Then they see, sometimes they see when they come back that there is no fire lit (= no fire has been lit) and there are no logs of wood.’ (A 37:13)

The event to which the resultant state relates may have been of an extended period in the past or an iterative series of events, e.g.

- (12) *Nátan brúní! 'ána tuybàrrun, jurnàssuvən, mülpun, áxči ka-dàha mánđi.* ‘I have raised Natan, my son, I have brought him up, I have taught him only for this purpose.’ (A 3:15)
- (13) *'ádi cmá šənnəl cáslux +xíłəla, šətyəla!* ‘For how many years now has he eaten and drunk with you?’ (A 3:22)
- (14) *mən-kédamta at-tívət làxxa, cpína +sìyya.* ‘You have been sitting here from the morning, hungry and thirsty.’ (A 4:5)

The construction can have the sense of an experiential perfect, e.g.

- (15) *'áxnan! ju-+rába +atravátət dúnyə +xdırəvax, +rába dəšyátə xázýəvax, +rába duçàna xíšəvax.* ‘We have travelled to many countries of the world, we have seen many plains, we have gone to many places.’ (B 2:14)
- (16) *'ína mən-jánux buš-áhmač xázýət?* ‘Have you (ever) seen a more stupid person than you?’ (A 16:1)
- (17) *ju-+tuyrána lèx xíyya.* ‘We have not lived in mountains.’ (B 16:2)
- (18) *láxmət +lavášə +xíłəvət?* ‘Have you eaten *lavášə* bread?’
- (19) *'Úrmi xíšəvət?* ‘Have you been to Urmi?’

The *ptixəla* form is used in negated clauses containing the particle *+hala* ‘yet, still’ to express that the state of something not having happened still holds. Since the resultant state is negated rather than the event, the implication is that the event will still take place, e.g.

- (20) *'axúni +hála lélə tìyya.* ‘My brother has not yet come.’
- (21) *'útən +hála lèt jvíra?* ‘Have you not yet got married?’ (A 35:5)

In (22) the first speaker makes an allegation about a specific event with a *ptəxla* form, and the interlocutor denies this with a *ptixəla* form. The negated *ptixəla*

form denies a resultant state, which has been brought about by an event at any point in the past, rather than a specific event. This, therefore, is a strategy for expressing emphatic denial. Similarly in (23) the question has the *ptaxla* form, but the speaker uses the *ptixələ* form in the response to strengthen the denial:

- (22) *'át mèrrax.!* lá *'ána lèn mórrta.*! ‘‘You said it.’’ ‘No, I have not said it (on the occasion you allege or on any other occasion).’’ (A 36:16)
- (23) *'áxuni mù xzílux?*! *márrə háč móndi lén xàzya.*! ‘‘Brother, what did you see?’’  
He (the brother) said ‘I have not seen anything (at all).’’ (A 45:5)

In (24) subordinate clauses that are dependent on *ptixələ* verbs have the past unrealis *patəxxva* form:

- (24) *bas-'ánnə +'əχčámmo* *'áχči +'áχča* *'ána muttén!* *kàt!* Pəmtəhàn<sup>P</sup> *'odánva*  
*kátxu,*! *+jarbànvvalux.*! ‘But I have put these nine hundred and ninety-nine  
(in the bag) in order to give you a test, to test you.’ (A 14:5)

A *ptixələ* form may be in a subordinate clause that is dependent on a past tense main verb, in which case the form takes the past tense reference of the main verb as its deictic centre, e.g.

- (25) *+bəddáyənva kàt-xíšələ Màcca.*! ‘I knew that he had gone to Mecca.’ (A 1:41)
- (26) *léva +bəddá kàt á +rišələ.*! ‘They did not know that he was awake.’ (A 37:19)
- (27) *+šmílə kàt! +tájər tiyyələ.*! ‘He heard that the merchant had returned.’  
(A 1:15)

If the clause contains a time adverbial, a resultative perfect is translated idiomatically by an English simple past, e.g.

- (28) *'ána 'ìdyu!* *kèdamta!* *ptàna vádənva!* *tré nýynə +fúra!* *dvíkévən yuvvén*  
*kàtax.*! ‘This morning (when) I was ploughing, I caught two fish and gave  
them to you.’ (A 5:9)
- (29) *'ána hál kómlı mánkal tapyànvala!* *'áyya +kàtu!* *+xáltula cùllə +bùsra.*! ‘Be-  
fore I could light the grill, that cat ate all the meat.’ (A 11:2)
- (30) *ju-dá-+danta* *'át káy tíyyət zvínət.*! ‘At that moment you came and bought  
me.’ (A 28:3)

The distinction between *ptixələ* and *ptaxla* is clearly illustrated by (31) and (32). The *ptixələ* form in (31) *+tumrutun* expresses a state resulting from an event in the past that is clearly disconnected from the present and the *ptaxla* form

expresses an event in the recent past the end margin of which is near the present. In (32) the act of the speaker's striking the judge has just occurred but the act of striking by the other person took place at a more remote point in the past. Both *ptixəle* and *ptəxlə* verbs are idiomatically translated by English present perfects:

- (31) +*tùmrutun* *dúl mədrə tīla*. ‘You have buried him. Look he has come back again.’ (A 6:13)
- (32) +*málla bəkyàməl* *xá-dana müšta ka-+kazí mxàyələ*. *mára ́á-da mən-jíbət dàvun* *kat kày máxyələ* *’ána kàx mxílli*. ‘The mullah gets up and punches the judge. He says “There, instead of him, who has hit me, I have hit you.”’ (A 21:3)

#### 10.10.1.2 Circumstantial Background

In narratives or descriptions of habitual actions in the present tense, a *ptixəla* form may be used to express circumstantial background material, indicating a resultant state, with implied prior action, that holds at the time of the action denoted by the present tense verb. When used in this function the *ptixəla* form may be placed before or after the present verb, e.g.

- (1) +*šmítəna jdila*, *nùyna dvákəna*. ‘They have broken the ice and are catching fish.’ (A 9:2)
- (2) *xá mən-’axunvátə tíyyələ miyya lábəl*. *xa-b-xá bəxzáyələ márzət* +*áyna xá ... xa-násə dúlə dmíxa*. ‘One of the brothers has come to fetch water. Suddenly he sees that a man is asleep by the side of the spring.’ (A 37:7)
- (3) *dbíšəna ’an-cálba b-ríšu bədvákuna*, *bəxnákuna*, +*palùtuna*, *màyuna*. ‘The dogs have attached themselves to his head and seize him, they strangle him and bring him out.’ (A 47:19)
- (4) *’áha müyyələ nùynəl mírələ ’ánnə +bérašə bašlätłun*, *kúdmə ’ánnə bašlätłun*, *’ána tuyyè*. *kədámta bəkyàmələ* *’áha bašulələ*. ‘He has brought fish and has said “In the evening cook these and tomorrow cook these, I have brought them.” In the morning she gets up and cooks them.’ (A 36:7)
- (5) *cačáləl móriša jáldə kímələ*. *nú bubùška* +*maträyələ b-dó kèsul sùysə*. ‘The bald man is awake in the early morning. ‘nu bubuška’, he is galloping with his piece of wooden, the horse.’ (A 1:11)
- (6) *’áni céčə +bixalèlə*. +*tárrət dàrta-zə švákətula ptíxa*. *bəxzáyələ +tárrət dárta-zə ’àttən*. ‘He eats the cakes. She has left the door of the courtyard open. He sees that there are some at the courtyard door.’ (A 37:4)
- (7) *bərráxələ máya xá dána báxta*. *mulvíšona ’ax-báxta*. ‘He goes to bring a woman. They have dressed her like a woman.’ (A 1:37)

- (8) *'árxa tìyyux-ilə| b-yátu +tàma.|* '(If) a guest has come to you, he sits there.' (B 14:2)
- (9) *dévə ká-jané bærràxšəna| +sèda vágəna,| á švíkuna bëta.|* 'The monsters go and hunt for themselves, having left him at home.' (A 37:13)
- (10) *jári ýe-+danat sátva tìyyələ| táljələ| cùl díyca kàrtəla,| késə lòtlun| jári ýe-dana ázi késə máyyi.* 'When winter has come and there is snow, when everywhere is cold and they have no logs, they must then go and fetch logs.' (A 37:13)
- (11) *málca móriša jáldə bækýàmələ,| cùl-lelə šima lélə dmíxa.* 'The king gets up early in the morning, during the whole night he has not slept.' (A 1:40)

In clauses that set the circumstantial frame for a following stretch of discourse, an independent form of the copula is occasionally used, placed before the resultative participle. This is compatible with the function of the independent copula as a strategy for marking off preliminary or elaborative discourse segments (§ 10.5.2.). The following clause was used by an informant as an opening to a description of his various travels:

- (12) *'ána 'ivən xiša.* 'I have travelled.'

#### 10.10.1.3 Indirective Function

Although the primary function of the *ptixələ* form is to express a resultative perfect, it is occasionally used with a secondary function which I term 'indirective'. The resultative perfect expresses a resultant state that has arisen from a preceding event. The indirective use of *ptixələ* does not express a resultant state but rather expresses an event in the past, with either perfective or imperfective aspect. When used with this indirective function, therefore, the *ptixələ* form has a similar function to the perfective form *ptaxlə* or the imperfective form *ci-patəxva*. The indirective *ptixələ* form is used, however, specifically to denote that the speaker is distanced from the past event in question. This may be due to the fact that the speaker has learnt about the event indirectly by report, e.g.

- (1) a. *+xóru +m̥t̥lə kám xámša dàykə.* 'His friend arrived five minutes ago.'
- b. *márələ kat-+xóru +mátyələ kám xámša dàykə,| áxcí 'ána lén xózyu.* 'He says that his friend arrived five minutes ago, but I have not seen him (i.e. I have not witnessed the arrival of his friend).'

Constructions denoting events that the speaker has not directly witnessed, but acquires knowledge of only by indirect evidence such as a report or inference, are widely referred to in the literature as 'evidential' forms (Aikhenvald 2004).

In some cases, however, a speaker uses a *ptixələ* form to denote an event that he/she may have witnessed in the past but he/she is distanced from it temporally. The more generic term ‘indirective’, therefore, is used here. The term ‘indirective’ was introduced originally by Lars Johanson (1996; 2000; 2003) to refer to verbs with this function, which are widely attested in Iranian and Turkic languages. The indirective use of resultative perfects has been identified in other NENA dialects (Khan 2012). The indirective sub-system in C. Urmi can be represented thus:

### I Primary Function

<i>ptixələ</i>	<i>ptəxlə</i>	<i>ci-patəxva</i>
‘he has opened’	‘he opened’	‘he used to open’
(resultative)	(perfective)	(imperfective)

### II Secondary Function (Indirective)

<i>ptixələ</i>	<i>ptixələ</i>
‘he opened’	‘he used to open’
(perfective)	(imperfective)

The use of the indirective is not obligatory in conditions where it can be used and speakers may alternate between a primary form and an indirective form in the same context. In example (1b) above concerning a reported event speakers could also use the primary *ptəxlə* form (*márrə kat-+xóru +m̩ílə*).

Some examples of the perfective indirective *ptixələ* forms in the text corpus are as follows:

- (2) *márrə kat<sup>1</sup> xób ’ána +t̪lili.<sup>1</sup> t̪iyələ<sup>1</sup> o-+héyvan b-lélə<sup>1</sup> xabúša +xilulə<sup>1</sup> u-xišələ<sup>1</sup>.* ‘He said “Well I went to sleep. That animal came at night, it ate the apple and went away.”’ (A 39:3)

In (2) the speaker reports the event that he directly experienced by a *ptəxlə* form (+*t̪lili* ‘I went to sleep’). The other events, which he, therefore, did not directly witness, but which he must be inferring happened, are reported in the indirective *ptixələ* form.

- (3) *lá b-+xábrət diyyan<sup>1</sup> xášla +al-mèša,<sup>1</sup> +t̪ama,<sup>1</sup> u-díva +xilola<sup>1</sup> bàxya<sup>1</sup> bas-látlux xá nišánka,<sup>1</sup> xá nišánka káti yávvat kát müjjur məttala?<sup>1</sup> márrə là hác məndi látli-mənno.<sup>1</sup> àxčíl mətla<sup>1</sup> +u-þumrálí<sup>1</sup> diva +xilála<sup>1</sup>.* ‘“She went to the forest without my permission and there a wolf ate her.” He weeps and weeps “But have you not a sign you can give me as to how she died?”

He said “No, I have nothing of hers. She just died and I buried her. A wolf ate her.” (A 1:17)

In (3) the first speaker reports the death of the wife of his interlocutor. The act of her going to the forest is expressed in the *ptəxlə* form (*xəšla*), since he witnessed this. The act of the wolf eating her, however, is expressed by the indirective *ptixələ* form (+*xilolə*). This does not denote a resultant state but rather an event that the speaker did not witness directly, i.e. an indirective perfective. The interlocutor himself uses the *ptixələ* form when referring to the event of his wife’s death (*mattala*), which is also likely to be an indirective perfective (‘how did she die?’) reflecting the fact that he has only heard about the death by report and has no evidence for it. In the reply of the other speaker the events of her death, her burial and also her being eaten by a wolf are expressed by *ptəxlə* forms (*mətla*, +*ṭumralı*, +*xilalə*). The shift from indirective +*xilolə* to the unmarked perfective +*xilalə* may be due to the aforementioned fact that indirective forms are not obligatory or it may be interpreted as a reflection of the speaker’s attempt to convince his interlocutor of the truth of what he is asserting.

- (4) +*bułára bitáyələ* +*al-šámmət nipùxta*.| ‘áxnan xa-šəmmələ| *har*-+*šəmyuvax*| ‘ína léx +*rába* +*suxsiyyə* +*állu*| *mut-*+*manày* ‘ótla.| *b-xà-tahar*| *bitáyələ*| *b-*+*xábrət* *Pna-poxtèP*.| +*yánə bálcət xá* ... +*farsáya* ... ‘áviva xəzyə *mírəna* mǘ vàdətun?| *mírəna bašüləx*.| *xázyələ* *xá-məndi bálcət* *mírələ* ‘áha *Pna-poxtèP=la*| +*yánə lèla bşólta*.| ‘The question arises regarding the (origin of the) name *nipuxta* (‘molasses’). We have always heard it as being a single name, but we have not done much research on it as to what its meaning is. Among one group (i.e. in the opinion of some) it originates in the (Persian) word *na-poxte*. That is maybe a Persian—they (Persians) had seen (people preparing molasses) and they said “What are you doing?”, then they (the people preparing molasses) said “We are cooking”, he (the Persian) saw something and perhaps said “This is *na-poxte*”, that is “it is not cooked.”’ (B 12:7)

In (4) the speaker reports the opinion of some people with regard to the origin of the name *nipuxta* ‘molasses’. He states that he himself has not done any research on this, i.e. he has not seen direct evidence. Most of the anecdote explaining the possible origin of the name is presented with indirective *ptixələ* forms (*mirəna*, *mirələ*, *xəzyələ*), which refer to events for which the speaker has no direct evidence (‘they said’, ‘he said’, ‘he saw’) rather than resultant states (‘they have said’, ‘he has said’, ‘he has seen’).

In (5) the first speaker reports an event with the *ptəxlə* form (+*plótlun*). The interlocutors, who have not witnessed the reported event and are sceptical about its veracity, question the speaker about the event using a *ptixələ* form of the same verb (+*plítəna*), which can be interpreted as an indirective:

- (5) *màra|'àtxa víla|'ána xášli ptàna 'odáñvala|... mən-ju-+'árra +plótlun cmádanə +'əsrá-danə nùynə|... 'áni nášə mèrrun| mən-ju-+'árra nùynə +plítəna?| hi.| márrun m-ju-+'árra nùynə lè +pál̥ti|* 'He says "This is what happened. I went to plough. ... Out of the ground came some ten fish." ... The people said "Did fish come out of the ground?" "Yes." They said "Fish do not come out of the ground."' (A 36:15)

In accounts of past events speakers may use the *ptixələ* form to report events the completion of which is clearly disconnected from the present speech situation and for which there is no evidence visible to the addressee. Such constructions are idiomatically rendered by an English simple past and can be interpreted as indirective forms, e.g.

- (6) *màra|+màlla|'át+dílux báxta mòttəla?| hi|'ávən +xlápux|dàx la-+dili|'ána xzìli|'jáni +túmron|* 'He (the bald man) says "Mullah, do you know that the woman is dead?" "Yes, my lord (literally: may I be your substitute), of course I know! I saw it. I buried her myself"' (A 1:31)
- (7) *'át xšívət +'àvva kíməl +al-jànux|* 'You thought that *he* mounted you.' (A 5:18)

The indirective *ptixələ* form is used by speakers in expository discourse to narrate historical events in the remote past, typically before his/her lifetime, e.g.

- (8) *'əštá yàrxə| malèffə| kà|+urusnà|+táma xùmyəna|... bába sávət díyyan katéjuškəna|* 'Now, for six months the headmen looked after the Russians. ... Our forefathers looked after them.' (B 16:3)

Examples of indirective *ptixələ* forms expressing imperfective habitual activities in the remote past are as follows:

- (9) *'ína b-kám̥tət kám̥ta-da hár +al-jaaravày dmíxəna +keṭə|* 'But long ago they used to sleep on roofs during the summer.' (B 10:21).
- (10) *'àna|+báyyan tányan| šóm̥manət xácmə +tālyàtə| b-surútən kát +túləx ju-mavàtə|* 'I want to tell the names of some of the games that we used to play during our childhood in the villages.' (B 9:1)

- (11) *vítəla* +*dàna* | *mən-dà* *máta* +*al-dè* *b-*+*darvàza* *xíšəna*, | *hár zmára* *zmàra*. | *xíšəna* 'íta *tìyyəna* | *mádrə* +*bérašə* +*dírəna*. | 'There was a time when they would go from this village to that one in the <sup>+</sup>Darvaza game, singing all the time. They would go and then come back, again in the evening they would return.' (B 9:12)
- (12) *'áyya bùšlox* *bí* +*ànva* | +*mričə*. | 'We used to cook it with crushed grapes.' (B 10:2)
- (13) *xá mənyána* +*rába* *sùra* *víyyan-ila* *kát* | *zúbnələ* *kësa*, | *zúbnələ* *sàbzə*. | 'We had a very small number who used to sell wood or used to sell vegetables.' (B 1:33)

In (14) the *ptixələ* form in an indirect question under a past perfective matrix verb is unlikely to be a present resultative but rather should be interpreted as an indirective with past perfective meaning. The motivation to use such a form is that the speaker is unsure about the truth of the report of the woman's death, which he has not witnessed directly:

- (14) *là* + *bukárri* *kat-á* *bàxta* | *b-mùt móta* *mòttəla*, | *dàxi móttəla*. | 'I did not ask with what (type of) death she died, how she died.' (A 1:29)

#### 10.10.1.4 Elision of Final /ə/ of *ptixələ* Forms

The final /ə/ of the 3ms. enclitic copula is sometimes elided in the *ptixələ*. In varieties of the dialect spoken in the Urmi region the elision tends to occur predominantly in verbal forms occurring within the body of an intonation group rather than at its closing boundary, e.g.

- (1) *'át xšívət* +*àvva* *kíməl* +*al-jánux*. | 'You thought that *he* mounted you.' (A 5:8)
- (2) *rýja ràxmə* *vídəl* +*àllo*. | 'The servant took pity on her.' (A 1:43)
- (3) *málca-da* *yúvvəl* *dàstur*. | 'The king made a decree.' (A 2:17)
- (4) *'ávun* +*tlíbəl* *mánnux* *'áxči* +*'əsrə* *dákikə* *mánnux* *hámzəm*. | 'He has requested from you (permission) to speak with you only for ten minutes.' (A 2:24)
- (5) *baxzáyəla* *'áha jáns* *dmíxəl* +*ṭəlyələ*. | 'She sees that *he* is sound asleep (literally: *he* has lain down *he* is asleep).' (A 36:12)

In varieties of the dialect spoken in Armenia and Georgia, the /ə/ in the 3ms *ptaxələ* form is elided more frequently in all contexts.

### 10.10.1.5 Resultative Participle without a Copula

The copula of the *ptixələ* construction is omitted in clauses that express background information. In some cases this is found in clauses that are preliminary to a following foreground event. In (1) this is found in a section that sets the scene of the main narrative by presenting the circumstances of the main protagonist of the narrative. In (2) the clauses are preliminary to the final climactic event of the narrative. In such cases the construction has the function of a resultative perfect:

- (1) 'a-+màlla| ju-béta +xìla,| šàtya,| +hàmmam vída,| +xàsu príxa,| ... màra| 'The mullah having eaten in (his) house, having had a drink, having had a shower, having scrubbed his back ... says ...' (A 5:2)
- (2) nýnə *kulita*,| *muyyítá muttítá kamàytu*,| +*bixàla*.| 'She having fried the fish, having brought (them) and having put (them) in front of him, he eats (them).' (A 5:19)

In (3)–(4) bare *ptixa* forms are used in clauses that are circumstantial to and elaboratory of the action expressed in the preceding clause:

- (3) xéšlə +bəxdára +bəxdára +ràba| 'ína xa-sálət +xùrmə,| *mútta* +al-+rìyšú,| sála +jùra.| 'He went off walking around, walking around a lot, having put a basket of dates on his shoulder, a big basket. He wandered around.' (A 10:1)
- (4) tílan +várran xázax *ka-mú bnayèls*| 'ína lòttən.| lá dàvə 'áttən.| lá 'o-nàša 'áttən,| *škila mən-panjàra*,| *ríka*.| 'We went in to see why he was counting them, but he was not there. Neither were the gold coins there, nor was the man there. He had taken them through the window and ran off.' (A 10:8)

In (5) the final clause without the copula is an elaborative tag indicating the source of the fish:

- (5) 'ánnə +bérašə bašlàtlun,| *kúdma* 'ánnə bašlàtlun,| 'ána *muyyè*.| 'In the evening cook these (fish) and tomorrow cook these, I have brought them.' (A 36:7)

In (6) the *ptixa* form is used in a clause that is supplementary to a main clause on which the construction is dependent e.g.

- (6) *har-nipúxta-zə mən-míyyət* +'ánvə *pyášəla škálta*,| 'albátta lá +xdíra +al-xàmra.| 'Molasses too is produced from grape juice, but of course it has not turned into wine.' (B 12:8)

### 10.10.2 *dulə ptixa, velə ptixa*

A deictic copula (*dulə, velə* §3.3.) rather than an enclitic copula is sometimes used in the resultative construction in assertive clauses to draw particular attention to the resultant state.

A deictic copula is used in some cases where the speaker directly witnesses a situation, e.g.

- (1) *'át +rába dívat sìva.*! 'You have become very old.' (A 3:14)
- (2) *'á dúlə šuddànnna.*! 'He has gone mad.' (A 5:11)
- (3) *'áslan dút šuxláppla.*! 'You have completely changed.' (A 2:15)
- (4) *'a-mù vídæla?!* ... *'á dúlə cíllə nókvə xumyè.*! 'What has he done? ... He has preserved all the women.' (A 2:23)
- (5) *véləju-kánna dmíxa.*! 'There he is asleep in the den.' (A 42:25)

1st person deictic copulas are generally near deixis. These draw the attention of the addressee to a situation relating to the speaker:

- (6) *'ána dún +rába sòvta.*! 'I have become very old.' (A 39:24)
- (7) *'ána dún +mumròlla.*! 'I have become bitter.' (A 49:4)
- (8) *ká-jáni dún mučáxta +tliba, b-jorànnux.*! 'I have found a husband for myself (in you), I shall marry you.' (A 52:3)

The far deictic copula is generally used in the 3rd person. Sporadic examples are found in the text corpus, however, of 1st person forms. Since a first person referent cannot be far from the interlocutors, the copula is used to direct attention to a situation that is not in the immediate proximity of the interlocutors but is associated with the speaker in some way. In (9) the speaker draws attention to a resultant state that he is responsible for but is perceptible at a distance:

- (9) *náša +ktílən, vén curmáxxu ju-dánnə jùlla.*! 'I have killed somebody. Look I have wrapped him in those cloths.' (A 48:8)

In (10) the speaker draws attention to the existence of a situation that he has witnessed but is not immediately visible:

- (10) *dül-láxxa jánu +tùšyo. dül +últux jánu +tùšyo.*! 'It has hidden itself here. It has hidden itself under here.' (A 49:19)

In (11) the subject of the copula is no longer near to the interlocutors, but the observable resultant situation is in front of their eyes. It is clear from

constructions such as (10) and (11) that the deictic copula draws attention to a proposition rather than simply a referent:

- (11) *'ádi zarduštáya dúna +rúppə xišə m-áxxa.* ‘Now the Zoroastrians have abandoned it (the temple) and gone from here.’ (B 1:5)

In narrative contexts deictic copulas are used after verbs of seeing or contexts where vision is implied, expressing that a particular resultant state comes into the perception of the referent in question for the first time, e.g.

- (12) *xá mən-’axunvátə tíyyələ mìyya lábəl.* *xa-b-xá bəxzáyələ márzət +’áyna xá ... xa-nàša dúla dmíxa.* ‘One of the brothers has come to fetch water. Suddenly he sees that a man is asleep by the side of the spring.’ (A 37:7)
- (13) *xá-yuma bəxzàyələl* *’ina dúna kíma,* *+xilə,* *šàtya,* *’áyya pásṭəla cpànta.* ‘One day she sees that they have got up, eaten and drunk, but she has remained hungry.’ (A 35:13)
- (14) *ci-mattáxvala xut-+’árra* *ju-’ùpra,* *’ùpra daráxval +’állo.* *jaškátvə véna +plítə cùllə,* *+plítə výyəna bašlə.* ‘We used to put them under the ground in the soil, we put soil over it. You would see that they all came out and they have become musk melons (*bašlə*).’ (B 7:20)
- (15) *’ina màdra* *sódu bitàyalə* *véla céca +támma piša.* ‘But again he is tempted, there is still a cake remaining there.’ (A 37:4)
- (16) *’a-yála bəxzàyələ* *’á Suríyya xína máx kámta lèla ka-dáha,* *’á har-véla o-yála škáltu ju-xpàko.* ‘The young man notices that Suriyya is not (behaving) towards him as before and that she is constantly carrying the child in her bosom.’ (A 36:6)

In (17) and (18) the use of the near deixis copula expresses the emotional engagement of the protagonist with the upsetting situation:

- (17) *’axúna súra=zə bitáyəle bétal +pšíma* ... *’ádi dayyána dùlə* *yúvva šártə katé* *+yánə yúvvəl +càtrə katé* *kat-šarilun.* ‘The younger brother comes home sad ... Now the judge has given them conditions, that is he has given them problems to solve.’ (A 38:10)
- (18) *’ádi dayyána +hála bùš véla críba.* ‘Now the judge has become yet more angry.’ (A 38:14)

The *velə ptixa* form may be used to draw the attention of an addressee to an unexpected or surprising situation that is not directly witnessed by the addressee, e.g.

- (19) *kú 'axùni* +*arabáni véla xa-sùsa dálta.* ‘Get up my brother, my cart has given birth to a horse.’ (A 38:4)
- (20) *'é +simáxur=da ýdi-da xína véla +šurítá bəsyàva mən-xəššo* | *mən-+nara-hatìyo.* ‘The +*simaxur* bird has now begun to age from its sorrow and distress.’ (A 39:21)
- (21) *bitáyəla mára véna trè áklu píšə.* ‘She comes back and says “Two of its legs are remaining.”’ (A 39:28)

The construction is often found in adversative contexts such as (22)

- (22) +*pəllán-cas* +*jóro myàtələ* | *'ína véla xášta jáno šuprəntola.* ‘So-and-so’s husband is dying but she has gone and beautified herself.’ (A 24:2)

In (23) the *velə ptixa* construction is used in a section that expresses the grounds of the following decision of a judge. Its property of drawing attention is exploited to mark the onset of a unit of discourse.

- (23) +*árrva 'axúna* +*fùrələ* | *véla bušayútət məndi,* | +*yáma sáma zóda məndi* +*árrva véla škílu.* ‘That one is the elder brother and he has taken the majority of the property, that is most of the property.’ (A 38:5)

In (24)–(26) the near deixis copula is used with a verb that also has an enclitic copula:

- (24) *dún +támta muyyítən kàtux.* ‘Here I have brought the breakfast for you.’ (A 36:12)
- (25) *'aybó 'á dúlə lèlə míta.* ‘Alas, he is not yet dead.’ (A 37:21)
- (26) *'ánnə dúna kìdəna!* ‘These are burnt.’ (A 36:8)

In (27) the subject of the lexical verb in the clause is 1pl. but the copula is 3ms and refers to the patient of the action:

- (27) *vélju-pajèni=da +túmrux.* ‘We have buried him in our stable.’ (A 48:19)

### 10.10.3 *ptixəva*

#### 10.10.3.1 Resultant State in the Past

The *ptixəva* form consists of the resultative participle combined with the past copula. This construction, which may be designated as the past resultative, denotes a state that existed in the past as the result of an event that preceded the time reference of adjacent past verbs ('had done') or, in the case of a negated verb, the lack of a prior event, e.g.

- (1) *'ína sábab +aturáya mən-məššinérə lipəva| beté 'íva bùš šapíra mən-batvá-tət| ... məššəlmànə.* | 'But since the Assyrians had learnt from the missionaries, their houses were more beautiful than the houses of the Muslims.' (B 1:40)
- (2) *mən-kam-+dána bəbīl ka-bnē +Babá-čanya məššəlmánə xùmyəva.* | ... *'ína hár b-dè +dána| məššəlmànə| +xayyən +plátlun +àllu.* | 'My father had previously looked after the inhabitants of +Baba-čanja. ... But at that time the Muslims turned out to be treacherous against him.' (B 6:2–3)
- (3) *é +dána +hála 'ánnə +hammámət yurupnáyə lèva tíyya.* | 'At that time the European type of bathrooms had not yet come (to Urmī).' (B 1:40)
- (4) *+Àxiqar! 'ána mut-xərbayúta kátux vıdənva| kat-átan 'á-+šula vádlux b-riši?* | 'Axiqar, what evil had I done to you that you did this against me?' (A 3:27)
- (5) *málca| +pšəmlə| +pšəmlə| kat-ka-mù| +ktəllun| 'ína 'ána lènva +ktílu.* | 'The king was sad, he was sad (and wondered) why they killed him, but I had not killed him.' (A 3:34)

In narrative the reference point of a *ptixəva* form may be that of *bəptaxəla* forms, which express the foreground events, e.g.

- (6) *bəškaléla júllo šaluxəla| 'ína| +háji mírəva kat-júllo dəmmánə mayyátlun kàti| ka-rjü.* | 'He strips her clothes off, since the pilgrim had said to his servant "Bring her bloody clothes to me." (A 1:9)
- (7) *bəxzáyəl 'o-xmárət kúdmə zvìnūva| 'ína +táməla.* | 'He sees that the donkey that he had bought yesterday is there.' (A 28:6)

The reference point may be a continuous situation in the past, e.g.

- (8) *'u-+Àxiqar| cás bəbət| málca-zə plıxəva| cəs-bábu-da vıdəva vazzırıuya,| vazzər.* | *'ína yálə lətvalə.* | *+Àxiqar yálə lətvalə.* | *'ətvalə| əští-danə baxtətə.* | 'Axiqar had worked for the father of the king. He had served as vizier for his father. But he had no children. Axiqar had no children. He had sixty wives.' (A 3:2)
- (9) *'ətvalun +rába dàvəl t-íva +júmmə mán ... škilé mán ducána xinə.* | 'They had many gold coins, which they had gathered from ... taken from other places.' (A 37:22)

#### 10.10.3.2 Indirective Remote Past Perfective

The reference point of a *ptixəva* form may be a present resultant state expressed by a *ptixəla* form or the general present tense deixis of the context. In such cases

the *ptixəva* form does not express a state in the past, but rather a perfective event that occurred at a remote time in the past, separated by a temporal gap from present events. This, therefore, is an indirective use of the form:

- (1) 'e-dársət yúvvonva kátu kámta! lélə lípo bəxšávən +spày.! 'I don't think he has learnt well the lesson that I gave him some time ago.' (A 3:87)
- (2) 'ána báxti múttonva cás +hàjì.! 'ádi týyən šaklònna,! márələ mättəla.! 'I left my wife with the pilgrim. Now I have come back to take her and he says that she has died.' (A 1:18)
- (3) +'áx-bas-+šəmyənva! ka-díyyux +kṭàllun.! 'But I heard that they killed you.' (A 3:68)
- (4) 'ána kátux mìrənva! 'a-mú-ila +šrá bəllá támma?! 'Vizier, I told you (i.e. I told you to eliminate all lanterns), what is that lantern burning there?' (A 2:4)

The *ptixəva* form also in (5) is most easily interpreted as referring to a report of an event in the past rather than the expression of a resultant state:

- (5) har-'ádi +hàvar dáryan kat-'at týyətva +al-jàni.! 'I shall right now cry for help (saying) that you came upon me (to rape me).' (A 5:12)

#### 10.10.3.3 Background Events in Narrative

The *ptixəva* form is often used in narratives to express the preliminary background against which a past event took place. In such contexts the form is often most idiomatically translated by the English simple past. The past event that is the reference point for the *ptixəva* in the following examples is expressed by a perfective *ptəxlə* form, e.g.

- (1) xá-yuma +málla +Nasrádən mìyyəva! xà! +bàtman! +bùsra! ... +bùsra mìyyəva béta.! ka-bàxtu mórrə! 'One day mullah Nasradin brought a batma of meat ... he brought meat home. He said to his wife ...' (A 11:1)
- (2) xá-yuma +màlla! +mutʃónnəva +rába +rába kèsə! +al-+xásət xmàra! ... bás xzílə xmára lèlə +baśúrə 'ázəl 'ürxa.! kòmlə! clílə +al-'áklu.! 'One day the mullah loaded a lot of pieces of wood onto the back of a donkey ... But he saw that the donkey could not go on the road. He got up and stood on his feet.' (A 15:1)
- (3) xá jvánka tìyyəva! cíllə purziyyèlə! bráta +júrta lublàlə! 'A youth came, then cut them all to pieces and took away the elder daughter.' (A 45:11)
- (4) 'ána taníyra +šártənva 'ánnə xáčča kèsə +ruppíla ju-taníyra.! 'I lit the oven and she threw a few of these logs into the oven.' (A 35:7)

In some cases a series of *ptixəva* forms are used over an extensive preliminary introduction to the narrative before the narrator shifts to the main narrative verbal form. This is the case in (5), in which the main narrative form is *ptəxla*, but the narrator does not start using this until well into the story:

- (5) *'é tavárta zárdəl 'át-xá bráta +cásəb=va. | 'ítə 'átvala 'áyən yámma 'íyə. | hár +vártəva +bár dé tavárta zárdəl +vártəva +báro. | jáno +mumritova. | 'é yámma 'íyəl ķa-de +fóro mərtəva| á +báyyat| lè-+bayyat| á tavárta zárdə prùmla, | 'ána bázman. | ... cújúr t-ival primálə. | ... 'The yellow cow belonged to a poor girl. Now, she had a stepmother. She always went after that yellow cow, went after it. She (the stepmother) pretended to be ill. The stepmother said to her husband "Whether you want to or not, slaughter this yellow cow so that I will be cured." ... One way or another he slaughtered it. ...' (A 51:1–2)*

As the translations by the English simple past suggest, the *ptixəva* forms in examples (1)–(5) should be interpreted as having the function of a background past perfective rather than a past resultative. In this respect it would be related to the indirective 'remote past perfective' function described in § 10.10.3.2. Some features of its usage in narrative, however, suggest that the background—foreground distinction is the main motivating factor rather than temporal antecedence. This is shown by examples such as (6) in which the *ptixəva* form *mírəva* introduces a dialogue within the body of the narrative that can be interpreted as the preliminary background to the events that follow the mouse's going off to the wedding. The connective particle *+xarta* 'then' indicates that the verb is interpreted as expressing a perfective event that is sequential to what precedes rather than a resultative state:

- (6) *+xárta mírəva lā-+zdi báxta. | 'átən| tíy bèta. | vélə +xlíylət brūn-màlcələ. | 'ána p̄t-ázən| xáčča xáčča dákta mákta b-+jammìna| mayyìna. | ... hí-da xəšlə, | 'ákúbra xəšlə. | 'Then he said "Don't be afraid, wife. You sit at home. It is now the wedding of the king. I shall go and gather a few little pieces and so forth and bring them back. ..." So, he went off, the mouse went off.' (A 52:5)*

In constructions such as those described in this section, therefore, the *ptixəva* form is used indirectly to express a perfective event. This is not, however, temporally distant but rather distant in terms of discourse 'staging', in that it expresses background rather than foreground events.

### 10.10.3.4 Counterfactual Conditional Constructions

The *ptixəva* form is used in the apodosis of counterfactual conditions referring to a situation that the speaker knows is impossible since the condition in the past expressed in the protasis was not fulfilled, e.g.

- (1) *+kátu 'ən-’óyava +xəlta,| ’ádi vítəva yàccə.*| ‘If the cat had eaten, she would now be huge.’ (A 11:4)

## 10.11 Verbal Forms Based on the Progressive Stem

### 10.11.1 bəptaxəla

This compound form, which is inflected with the present enclitic copula, has the following functions.

#### 10.11.1.1 Progressive

The basic function of the form is to express the imperfective progressive aspect, referring to an action that is taking place at the present moment, e.g.

- (1) *’ána bitáyən bëta.*| ‘I am coming home.’ (A 3:31)  
 (2) *bəspárən +’ällux.*| ‘I am waiting for you.’ (A 3:53)  
 (3) *mú vädətun?* ‘What are you doing?’ (B 12:7)  
 (4) *bəxzáyat mu-vádələ bábi b-rišux?* ‘Do you see what my father is doing against you?’ (A 3:22)  
 (5) *für’un! hámla vädəl +’állan.*| ‘Pharaoh is undertaking an attack on you.’ (A 3:24)  
 (6) *dùylə mårət?* ‘Are you telling lies?’ (A 3:49)

In the case of verbs expressing a psychological state, the *bəptaxəla* form is used to express the ‘actual present’, i.e. the fact that the state is in existence at the present moment, but is not necessarily a permanent property of the subject. This construction is used with this function also with psychological verbs that can express the actual present in the *patəx* and *ci-patəx* forms (§ 10.2.1.2.1, § 10.2.3.2.), e.g. *+bayyə* I ‘to want’, *+yattə* I ‘to know’, *+masə* I ‘to be able’.

- (7) *’adíyya hammúnət?* ‘Now do you believe?’ (A 3:25)  
 (8) *’ən-lét hammúnə,| ku-ta-mènni.*| ‘If you do not believe, come with me.’ (A 3:23)  
 (9) *+rábə +pšàməvax| kát m-ída yùvvovax.*| ‘We greatly regret that we have lost it.’ (B 2:15)

- (10) *mu-<sup>+</sup>byàyat?* ‘What do you want?’ (A 3:70)
- (11) *háč móndi mónnux lén<sup>+</sup>byàya.* ‘I do not want anything from you.’ (A 3:87)
- (12) *márrə mára Nátan brùnux ’á-màndi vádlə.* *mára<sup>+</sup>bəddàyən.* ‘He said “Natan your son did this thing.” He says “I know.”’ (A 3:54)
- (13) *<sup>+</sup>bəddáyət mu-màrən?* ‘Do you know (i.e. understand) what I am saying?’ (A 3:38)
- (14) *’ána lén<sup>+</sup>bəddàya.* ‘I do not know.’ (A 3:43)
- (15) *léla<sup>+</sup>msá xá<sup>+</sup>zárrə-da jarvəssa.* ‘It is not able to raise a single offspring.’ (A 39:21)

#### 10.11.1.2 Performative

The *bəptaxələ* form is used as a perfective present to express a performative function, i.e. the action denoted by the verb is performed by the act of uttering it, e.g.

- (1) *mammúyux-vən b-ríšət dó màrux<sup>!</sup> tánili mánivət.* ‘I pledge you with an oath on the head of your master, tell me who you are.’ (A 3:65)
- (2) *’ána parpùlvən b-díyyux<sup>!</sup> ka-díyyan là<sup>+</sup>katłət.* ‘I beg you, do not kill us.’ (A 37:10)
- (3) *<sup>+</sup>rába<sup>+</sup>maxlèta<sup>+</sup>bətlábən.* ‘I greatly beg your pardon.’ (A 1:17)

#### 10.11.1.3 Narrative

The *bəptaxələ* form is often used in narrative with a perfective aspect to express an event that is sequential to what precedes. This strategy presents foreground events with heightened immediacy as if they were taking place before the eyes of the hearer. In the text corpus it is the commonest verbal form for narrating events in the main body of the narrative, with the preterite *ptaxələ* forms clustering in clauses that are not in the main line of the narrative, particularly in those expressing preliminary background events or in a section at the end of the main narrative that supplies an epilogue and final comment (§ 10.3.1.3.). Examples of the *bəptaxələ* forms in narrative expressing sequential events:

- (1) *bəškálələ ’o-náša, <sup>+</sup>bəktálulə.* *labúlulə ka-málca.* ‘He takes that man and kills him. He takes him to the king.’ (A 3:36)
- (2) *<sup>+</sup>bar-dáha bərráxšələ cəs-málca.* *+bətlábələ<sup>+</sup>paxálta mónnu.* ‘After that he goes to the king. He asks for forgiveness from him.’ (A 3:54)
- (3) *<sup>+</sup>xábra yávələ ka-fúr’un ... bəškálələ<sup>+</sup>Axiqar bíya bí ... rijavàtu<sup>!</sup> kòšun<sup>!</sup> bərráxšəna.* ‘He gives word to Pharaoh ... he takes Axiqar together with his servants and an army, and they go.’ (A 3:60)

- (4) 'áha bitàyələ| kaar-Nàtan| brūn-xàtu,| vádu brūn-jànu.| 'He comes to Natan, the son of his sister, and makes him his own son.' (A 3:7)
- (5) +bár +Axíkar myàtälə| fúr'un bæctáyələ xa-ctáva ká ... +Nuxadnàsər.| 'After Axiqar dies, Pharaoh writes a letter to Nebuchadnezzar.' (A 3:39)
- (6) Nàtan bitàyələ| hác-məndi lélə váda kaar-bàbu.| har-átxa čamčùmula.| 'Natan comes but does nothing to his father. He just throws him down like this.' (A 3:37)
- (7) é-+dān t-ílə šómmu +bašmáyu +Axíkar| fúr'un| brázələ šòpu.| 'When he hears his name "Axiqar," Pharaoh dries up on the spot.' (A 3:67)

On some occasions a series of *bəptaxələ* forms in a narrative expresses events or states that overlap with one another temporally or are different aspects of the same event, e.g.

- (8) +rába məndyána kátu tanìyələ| malúpələ kátu.| kaar-brùnu| +rába nasyáttə yàvələ.| 'He tells him many things. He teaches him. He gives his son many pieces of advice.' (A 3:8)
- (9) bitáyələ ju-béétat bàbu.| +bixàlələ| bæštàyələ| bæzmàrələ| bærkàdələ| bæšvàrələ.| 'He comes back to the house of his father. He eats, he drinks, he sings, he dances, he jumps.' (A 3:38)
- (10) +Nuxadnàsər| ju-dè-+dana| bàxyələ| mxáyələ ju-rišu.| 'Nebuchadnezzar at that moment weeps and beats his head.' (A 3:45)
- (11) +Axíkar lišánu bædvákələ| ... lélə +bašúra hámzəm.| 'Axiqar holds his tongue. ... He cannot speak.' (A 3:28)

#### 10.11.1.4 Habitual

The *bəptaxələ* form is sometimes used to refer to a habitual activity that is not necessarily taking place at the present moment. Habitual activities that are presented as permanent properties of the subject are normally expressed by the *ci-patəx* or *ci-patəxva* forms (also by the *patəx* and *patəxva* in class B verbs). The *bəptaxələ* form is sometimes used to denote a habitual or iterative activity that is not permanent, but rather is temporally delimited and is characteristic of the present and immediately adjacent periods of time, e.g.

- (1) lét +bixàla| lét bæštaya,| ýáslan dút šuxlòppa.| 'You are (now) not eating, you are not drinking, you have completely changed.' (A 2:15)

In (2) the *bəptaxələ* is used to express iterative events within a specific period with the present historic time reference of the main narrative event-line:

- (2) 'a-yála *jarvùsəl*.| +rába məndi yàvel kátu,| lvəšyàtə šapírə,| +mixulyàtə šapírə.| +rába məndyánə kátu tanùyələ.| 'The boy grows up. He gives him many things, beautiful clothes, fine foods. He tells him many things.' (A 3:8)

In (3) the *bəptaxələ* form refers to the current practice of making bread with oil or gas, which is an innovation, whereas in the preceding clauses the *ci-patəx* form is used to denote a permanent property of bread made in traditional wood-fired ovens:

- (3) +rába *basìma c-ávə*,| vá +tamàna c-ávə m-dó kát bí ... +niyṭa| b-+jazùyl váguna.| 'It (the bread from wood-fired ovens) is very delicious, and more tasty than the type they make (now) with oil or diesel fuel.' (B 14:4)

In (4) and (5) the *bəptaxələ* form is used to express a habitual progressive event that overlaps temporally with a habitual action that is expressed by a *ci-patəxva* form or other construction. Note that the present copula element of the *bəptaxələ* form in (5) has the past reference of the context:

- (4) 'áxnan jåri 'ázax| cí +dánət +'ávun nára bədvàkulə| xá tréyálə súrə +ráppax +'al-márzət nára.| 'Every time it is blocking the river, we must go and throw one or two children onto the river bank.' (A 39:18)
- (5) sábab baxtày| *ci-bašliva làxma* +cavútra *ci-lablíva ka-'urzán t-ína pəlxána* +'al-vàddar.| 'because women would bake bread and take lunch to the men who were working outside.' (A 5:6)

In (6) the speaker in a narrative uses the *bəptaxələ* form to describe a recurrent habitual situation. The motivation for the use of the form here seems to be to give a rather surprising situation added prominence rather than to delimit it temporally:

- (6) 'é-+dān sèl bitáyələ| 'ánnə níyna sùrə| sél mayèla| míya mayéna +al-màrza. íta 'ánnə bərréšxəna ju-'ùprə| ju-+tína *jarvùsəna*,| vágəna níyna.| 'When there is a flood, the flood brings the small fish, the water brings them to the bank. Then they go into the soil, they grow up in the mud and become fish.' (A 36:14)

In expository discourse some speakers make frequent use of the *bəptaxələ* form to express a permanent habitual activity. The main motivation to use the form in preference to the default *ci-patəx* habitual form is to give the activities that are in the foreground of the discourse prominence, e.g.

- (7) *múr á mújjur +tarúsox júpta?* *tavárta +bæxlávot.* *šaxánta šaxónnta,* *bædrá-yat jávo R-pépsin R.* ‘How do we make this cheese? You milk the cow, while warm you put in it pepsin.’ (B 15:2)
- (8) *'áttan tàxta.* *+al-dé táxta mattíyona cùnda!* *bí +dorána +darrúnuna.* *+xárta bædráyuna +ál +drané.* ‘There is a board. On the board they put a dough ball. They roll it with a rolling pin. Then they put it on their arms.’ (B 17:22)

In (9) the speaker uses the *bæptaxələ* form to express a permanent habitual situation that holds in the present, in contrast to a habitual situation that held in the past but no longer exists, which is expressed by other verbal forms:

- (9) *məšmáššə mabrəzzivalun,* *b-zabnivalun,* *sáb məšmášša hasanáy mabrù-zona.* ‘They would dry the apricots and sell them, because one can easily dry an apricot.’ (B 1:23)

In the category of habitual falls the use of the *bæptaxələ* form to express a persistent situation, which is rendered in English by the present perfect, e.g.

- (10) *+árpa šánnə áxnan bæxxáyəvax ju-*’Urmi.‘We have been living in Urmia for four years.’
- (11) *+ásra šánnə ju-da-+šúla ána pəlxànəvən.* ‘I have been working in this job for ten years.’

Here the *bæptaxələ* form expresses a habitual situation that is delimited by temporal boundaries. If there are no temporal boundaries, the *ptixələ* perfect form is normally used, e.g.

- (12) *hammáša xíyyəvax ju-*’Urmi.‘We have always lived in Urmia.’
- (13) *’ádi cmá šònnəl cáslux +xilələ, šòtyələ!* ‘How many years has he eaten and drunk with you?’ (A 3:22)

#### 10.11.1.5 Immediate Future

On some occasions the form is used to express an event that is about to take place in the immediate future, e.g.

- (1) *à-šabta! málca! +pállan yúma,* *+pállan +dána,* *+pállan +sà’at!* *+plàtələ!* *+al-dà* ’úrxa.‘This week the king, on such-and-such a day, at such-and-such a time, at such-and-such an hour, is going out on this journey.’ (A 1:25)

#### 10.11.1.6 Elision of Final /ə/ of *bəptaxələ*

The final /ə/ of the 3ms. enclitic copula is sometimes elided in the *bəptaxələ* form in narratives. In varieties of the dialect spoken in the Urmī region the elision tends to be restricted to verbal forms occurring before the end of the intonation group and followed by material before the intonation group boundary, e.g.

- (1) +Axíkar| *bərráxšəl bəta.*| 'Axiqar goes home.' (A 3:16)
- (2) xá-yuma +Axíkar *bəškáləl brūnu.* 'One day Axiqar takes his son.' (A 3:16)
- (3) fúr'un| *hàmla vádəl* +állan.| 'Pharaoh is making an attack on us.' (A 3:24)
- (4) *bərráxšələ* +várəl +támə.| 'He goes and enters there.' (A 2:5)

On a few occasions in a sequence of clauses it is elided at intonation group boundaries, but is retained in the final clause of the sequence. This reflects a prosodic unit corresponding to a discourse unit larger than individual intonation groups, e.g.

- (5) ́a-yála *javvùsəl.*| +rába móndi yávəl kátu,| *lvəsyàtə šapírə,*| +mixulyàtə šapírə.| +rába móndyánə kátu *tanùyələ.* 'The boy grows up. He gives him many things, beautiful clothes, fine foods. He tells him many things.' (A 3:8)

In varieties of the dialect spoken in Armenia and Georgia, the /ə/ in the 3ms *bəptaxələ* form is elided more frequently in all contexts.

#### 10.11.1.7 Progressive stem without a Copula

The copula is omitted from the construction on a number of occasions (*bəptaxə*). In most cases where this occurs the verbs in question are in clauses expressing events that constitute the circumstantial background to adjacent events and so are dependent on the main events on the level of discourse. The background clause generally occurs after the main verb, e.g.

- (1) ́u-́áyya báxtal| +rába nonùyəla| +xáyəš vádən mónnux| là +ktúlli| *bàxyə,*| +rábə| *bənpála* áklu bənšákè.| 'The woman pleads "I beg you, do not kill me", weeping, falling and kissing his feet.' (A 1:8)
- (2) ́ana jøddálul| +házər vidévən,| *partúlə* +al-+uydálə.| 'I have prepared its threads, twisting (them) together.' (A 3:74)
- (3) +Axíkar *bəškáləl brūnu,*| výyələ xa-jvánka,| +màtya,| *labúlu* cás +Noxadnà-sər.| 'One day Axiqar takes his son, when he has become a young man, mature, taking him to Nebuchadnezzar.' (A 3:16)

- (4) *bitáyəl'a-vázzər +rába +naràhat, lá +bixàla lá bəštàya.* 'The vizier comes (home), very upset, not eating, not drinking.' (A 2:13)
- (5) *ku-tálux| +pəllan-ducta xazənnux| kát ... yavvánna +átra ɬa-diyyux| là +plásə.* 'Come to such-and-such a place for me to give the land to you without fighting (without a battle).' (A 3:21)
- (6) *bətávəna +támə| +čày bəstá +šúlə.* 'They sit down, drinking tea and so forth.' (A 2:7)

The circumstantial clause may have a purposive sense, e.g.

- (7) *fúr'un dílə tílə láxxa hàmla váda.* 'Pharaoh has come here to make an attack.' (A 3:25)
- (8) *xíšətva ptána váda| jùl xàkla.* 'You had gone to plough in the field.' (A 4:9)
- (9) *bərráxshələ mágá xá dána báxta.* 'He goes to bring a woman.' (A 1:37)
- (10) *ká-mu xíšətju-dárta +tavvúyə +báro?* 'Why have you gone to look for it in the yard?' (A 27:1)

In some cases the circumstantial clause is placed before the main verb, e.g.

- (11) *báxyə bəxpákəna +uydàle.* 'Weeping, they embrace one another.' (A 1:37)

In the examples presented so far, the subject of the verb in the circumstantial clause is the same as that in the main clause. In some cases the verb in the circumstantial clause has a different subject from that of the main clause, e.g.

- (12) *'ína dámmu šaršùrə,| šaršùrə| xàšla.* 'But as his blood drips and drips, it (the animal) went away.' (A 39:5)
- (13) *málca márlələ +ka-+Axíkar| +Axíkar,| át +rába dívət sìva.* 'átlux xa-násələ mattótlə šòpux?| sábab láttən xa-násə 'ax-diyyux,| lábbu +bətlába +al-xá-násə 'ax-diyyu 'ávə. 'One day the king says to Axíqar "Axíqar, you have become very old. Have you somebody you can put in your place?—because there is nobody like you." His heart was seeking somebody who would be like him.' (A 3:14)

On some occasions the verb without a copula expresses an event that does not overlap temporally with the main verb but is rather closely linked to it in a sequential relationship. In such cases it occurs either after or before the main verb, e.g.

- (14) *dvíkələ +xa-kátu ju-+xiyàvand| mxàya.* ‘He has caught a cat in the street and is beating it.’ (A 3:79)
- (15) *+Axíkar +pláṭa bərràxšələ.* ‘Axiqar leaves and goes.’ (A 3:78)
- (16) *bərróxša áxči jašúkələ +bəddayolə.* ‘He goes (forward) and as soon as he looks he recognizes her.’ (A 1:12)

In (17) there is a sequence of two identical verbs expressing sequential phases of the same event:

- (17) *xarbúsuna m-+al-pallacàna.* *candúrə candúrələ* ‘They throw him down from the stairs. He rolls and rolls.’ (B 16:8)

In (18) the narrator uses a chain of *bəptaxa* forms without the copula to express a pivotal series of events. The effect is to bind the events tightly together to convey their dynamic sequence:

- (18) *áha mərral álaha víli +xlàpux| pàrəkli! +nàdrux óyan!* *átxa jambúlə, jambúlə, jambúlə, jambúlə,* *m-+sádrət +fùyra| níxa candúrələ npàla.* ‘She said “God, I implore you, save me! I beg you.” She tumbles, tumbles, tumbles from the mountain slope, slowly rolls and falls down.’ (A 43:4)

The construction without the copula is in some cases dependent on a main verb on the syntactic level. It is used, for example, to express the complement of the verb *+šarə* ‘to begin’, e.g.

- (19) *+šurílun bərràka.* ‘They began to run.’
- (20) *+šurílun +bixàlu.* ‘They began eating it.’ (A 13:3)
- (21) *+hájil +šurílun áklu bərjàda, +págru bərjàda* ‘The legs of the pilgrim began to tremble and his body (began) to tremble.’ (A 1:43)
- (22) *+šurílə +hájí átxa báxya +šùlə.* ‘The pilgrim began to weep like this, and so forth.’ (A 1:17)
- (23) *mən-+táma +šaríyəna bədra-kálə ánnəyāl-sùrə.* ‘From there the children begin to shout.’ (A 3:72)

The infinitive is used even when the main verb is an unrealis form, e.g.

- (24) *níxa níxa jašúkələ ína á čaríxu díla šaluxèl kát +šárya +bixàlu.* ‘He notices that she is gradually taking his sandals off in order to begin to eat him.’ (A 39:34)

In (25) the reduced clause with the *bəptaxə* form is made the complement of the preposition *ka-*, which, likewise, expresses irrealis purpose:

- (25) *kúdmə píli ... ka-xá šábta mlàyan| ka-cúlla ýjax +bixàla.*| ‘Yesterday I baked ... for it to be sufficient for us for one week, for all the family to eat.’ (B 17:25)

In some cases the construction has the function of an attributive modifier of a preceding noun, e.g.

- (26) *míyya +bərdàxa dárax +állu.*| ‘Let’s pour boiling water on him.’ (A 37:19)  
 (27) *bəxzáyəna xá-xča míyya +bərdàxa dárýəna.*| ‘They see that they have poured so much boiling water.’ (A 37:21)

An attributive phrase of this type may be fronted before the head noun,

- (28) *t-íva xóšle +al-+sèda,| jáški ’al-xá ’ilàná| tóvtəla xá šápórta máx +šrá bəl-láya bràta.*| ‘When they had gone hunting, they saw sitting on a tree a beautiful girl shining like a lantern.’ (A 56:1)

The verb *’amər* ‘to say’ exhibits a different distribution of the *bəptaxə* construction in narratives from other verbs. The progressive form without the copula of this verb (*mara*) is used to introduce sequential events far more frequently than is the case with other verbs. The *mara* forms introduce turns in dialogue than constitute components of the main line of the narrative. It is the normal construction in clauses that introduce a turn without the speaker or addressee argument being specified, e.g.

- (29) *yávulə +al-’ídət xa-nàša| mára lâblun| +’Axíkar| +ktùlunlə.*| ‘He (the king) gives him to a man and says “Take Axiqar and kill him.”’ (A 3:31)  
 (30) *bráclə +al-bərcàcūl mára yá ’àlaha!*| ‘He kneels on his knees and says “Oh God!”’ (A 3:46)

In (31) the form *mara* is combined with the augment suffix *-ni*:

- (31) *maráni| pùš láxxa.*| ‘He says “Stay here.”’ (A 43:4)

When the speaker and/or the addressee is specified by means of a full nominal, the fuller *bəptaxələ* construction is generally used. The specification of the participants and the heavier coding of the verb with the copula enclitic are devices used by the narrator to mark a boundary in the discourse, e.g.

- (32) +Axíkar málca márlələ | 'Axiqar says to the king ...' (A 3:15)
- (33) Nàtan ka-málca márlələ | 'Natan says to the king ...' (A 3:22)
- (34) málca márlələ kátu | 'The king says to him ...' (A 3:29)
- (35) ka-für'un márlələ | 'He says to Pharaoh ...' (A 3:21)
- (36) ka-málca márlələ | 'He says to the king ...' (A 3:25)

In (29) and (30) above, the short form *mara* is used where there is a continuity of subject. The short form *mara* is also frequently used where there is a change of speaker so long as the speaker is not specified in the clause by a full nominal, e.g.

- (37) +Axíkar ka-+dàv márlələ ... mára | 'Axiqar says to him (the executioner) ... he (the executioner) says ...' (A 3:34–35)

In (38) the narrator uses the *ptəxlə* form of the verb 'to say' rather than the heavy form *márlələ* as an alternative device to mark a boundary in the discourse. The clause with the *ptəxlə* form *morrə* 'he said' can be analysed as expressing a preliminary background event, which is the normal function of the *ptəxlə* form in narrative (§10.3.1.3.). This lays the ground for the main chain of turns of dialogue, which are introduced by the short *mara* forms:

- (38) 'o-+kátlələ ... mərrələ | málca t-ávət basıma, | +báyyən xà-məndi tanónnu. | mára mù-ilə? | tāni! | bitáyələ 'o-+kátlələ, | ... mára kátu kát | málca t-ávət basıma. | 'ána ci-+báyyən | +x̥títi tanònna, | modənnna kátx. | ... 'ína 'áha mändi 'ána +báyyən tanónna kátx. | mára mù-ilə? | hámzəm! | mára +Axíkar xàyələ. | 'ána lén +k̥t̥ílu. | 'The executioner said "King be well. I want to tell you something." He (the king) says "What is it? Speak!" The executioner comes, ... he (the executioner) says to him (the king) "King be well. I want to tell my sin, confess to you ... but I want to tell you this." He (the king) says "What is it? Speak!" He (the executioner) says "Axiqar is alive. I have not killed him." (A 3:47–49)

The form *mara* may be used impersonally in narrative to introduce some component in the narrative, e.g.

- (39) báxta +bəddáyələ mü-ilə k̥əssat. | mára +rába honàntəva, | +ràba. | 'The wife knows what is happening. It is said that she was very clever.' (A 3:32)

This impersonal construction is sometimes used to represent the voice of the narrator, at the beginning of a narrative (40) and also within the body of a narrative (41), e.g.

- (40) *mára* 'átva lòtva| 'átva xá-dana málca| 'It is said: There was, there was not, there was a king.' (A 3:1:1)
- (41) *bitáyəl* +*mṭáyələ* cəs-dívə.| *mára* +*hála dávə bəškalèl*,| +*palutəl*.| 'He comes and reaches the wolf. It is said: Then he takes the gold coins.' (A 49:10)

#### 10.11.1.8 Combined with Deictic Copulas

The deictic copulas occur in place of the enclitic copula in some cases, viz. *dulə bəptaxə* (relating to an event near to the speaker and hearer), *velə bəptaxə* (for an event at a distance from the speaker and hearer or outside of the speech situation).

##### (i) *dulə bəptaxə*

In (1)–(2) the speaker uses the construction to express an event that will take place in the immediate future:

- (1) 'ána dūn-myàta.| 'I am dying.' (A 13:2)
- (2) xáti spúr +àlli| dūn-bità.| 'My sister wait for me. I am coming back (immediately).' (A 1:12)

In (3) the use of the near deictic copula expresses the emotional engagement of the protagonist with an upsetting situation:

- (3) 'axúna súra=zə bitáyələ bëta| +pšíma| kát +záyu dúna b-xéla bəškàlu m-ídu.| 'The younger brother comes home sad that they are taking his foal from him by force.' (A 38:10)

In (4) a near deictic copula is used in a narrative to draw attention to a surprising event:

- (4) 'átxa kət-bətyàvələ,| cípa dílə bəjvàja.| 'When he is sitting like this, the stone moves.' (A 40:7)

##### (ii) *velə bəptaxə*

This is used to point to an event that is taking place in the speech situation at a distance from the interlocutors, e.g.

- (5) vélə bəkyàma.| 'Look there he is getting up.' (A 6:15)
- (6) véna bità.| 'Look there they are coming.' (A 47:17)

The *velə bəptaxə* form is used after verbs of perception (7) or in contexts where perception is implied (8):

- (7) *bəxzáyələ* 'á +*kərtála* *sákla* +*üllul*,| 'u-+*táma* *véna* *bədráya* *kàla*.| 'He sees the basket go up, and there they are shouting.' (A 3:59)
- (8) +*mṭáyələ* *xa-dùca*| +*bəzràčələ*,| *vélə* *xa-jiyda* +*mṭáyələ*,| 'ax-jiyda.| 'He reaches a place and scratches and look he reaches a wall, (something) like a wall.' (A 39:9)

In (9)–(15) the *velə bəptaxə* form is used in direct speech to denote an activity that is not visible to the addressees in the speech situation. It is used to give prominence to an assertion of a progressive action, expressing heightened emotional engagement on the part of the speaker:

- (9) *véna* +*bəktàlan*! 'They are murdering us!' (A 41:7)
- (10) *bitáyəna* *nášə* *ka-málca* *ka-für'un* *márəna* *kát* ... +*Axíkar* *vélə* *jáxca* *bìyyan*.| 'People come to the king, they say to Pharaoh "Axiqar is laughing at us!"' (A 3:79)
- (11) *mára clímun* *clímun*! *mujtáyyəd* *vélə* +*slùta* +*salùyə*.| 'He says (to the people outside) "Wait, wait, the jurist is saying a prayer."' (A 7:8)
- (12) 'ádi *láxma* *vélə* +*pallúyə* *ka-cul-nášə* *hár-atxa* +*xurrày*.| 'Now he is distributing bread to everybody completely free.' (A 19:3)
- (13) *mèrrun*! *tilan*! *xázax* *tánax* *kátux*! *kat-*+*xóran* *tíla* +*várrə* *javày*! *là* *yavvátlə* *zúyza* *kátu*,| *dàvə*.| *mèrril* 'o-*vélə* *bnayè*.| 'They said "We have come to check (literally: see) and tell you that (if) our friend has come and entered, do not give him the money, the gold coins." I said "He is counting them!"' (A 10:7)
- (14) +*Máhe* *ju-**ürxəla*! *vélə* *bitáya* *ka-*+*al-**jánat* *díyyux*.| 'Mahə is on the way, she is coming for you.' (A 40:22)
- (15) *márrun* *ka-yàmmi*! *kat-*+*fòrax*! *véna* 'úpra *škìlu*! *kárjə* *véna* +*bixàlu*,| *véna* +*bixàlu*.| 'They said to my mother "Your husband—they have removed the earth and crows are eating him, they are eating him."' (B 6:7)

The far deictic copula is generally used in the 3rd person. Sporadic examples are found in the text corpus, however, of 1st person forms. Since a first person referent cannot be far from the interlocutors, the copula is used to direct attention to a situation that is not in the immediate proximity of the interlocutors but is associated with the speaker in some way. In (16) the speaker draws attention to a habitual situation that she participates in but is currently absent from view:

- (16) *mút vītəla| 'ádi lāxxa| věx cíllan vādo.* | 'What was (there in the village), now here we all make it.' (B 10:5)

In (17) the *velə bəptaxə* form is used in narrative to express a progressive event that is surprising and unexpected in the context. It has an adversative function, which can be appropriately rendered by English 'but':

- (17) *ju-dà-+dana| bəxzàyələ| 'ína xá-dana motàna| +palùtuna,| labùluna,| +tamrila,| +'ávva-da vélə bəzmàra,| mārələ| sùrəl +jùrəl sùrəl +jùrə.* | 'ánnə bàxyəna| mxáyəna ju-rišəl +'ávva yála mitələl +'ávva-da vélə mára sùrə,| +jùrə. | 'At this time he sees a dead man who people were taking out to bury, but he is singing and saying "small, big, small, big." They are weeping and beating their heads, (since) the lad is dead, but he is saying "small, big, small, big."' (A 9:4)

In (18) the deictic copula is used to sharpen the contrast in an opposition:

- (18) *'é-n-t xačča zíyza 'òtle,| 'áni vénə bəzvàna.* | 'áxnan lòtlan zíyza| léx-+myasa zonàxən. | 'Those who have some money, they buy (washing machines). We have money, we cannot buy.' (Canda)

In (19) and (20) the *velə bəptaxə* form is used in narrative to draw attention to a situation that lays the grounds for the unfolding of the ensuing events:

- (19) *xá dúca bəxzáyələ 'ína xá-dana bëta| +'al-xá kunjìta.* | 'In one place he sees a house on a corner. He goes. He goes to the house.' (A 39:30)
- (20) *cmá-šənna +vòrtəla| xá-dana +còban| vélə 'òrbəl +marrúya +tàma.* | 'Several years have gone by and a shepherd is grazing sheep there.' (A 40:6)

On some occasions a deictic copula is used with a progressive verb that also has a enclitic copula, e.g.

- (21) *dúna cíllə sadíyta yàvəna.* | 'Look they are all bearing witness.' (A 1:20)
- (22) *+pállan náša vélə +póllan dúcta yávələ ... láxma +xurrày.* | 'Such-and-such a person in such-and-such a place is giving bread away free.' (A 19:4)
- (23) *+bəzràçələ,| vélə xa-jùyda +mṭáyələ.* | 'He scratches and look he reaches a wall.' (A 39:9)

### 10.11.1.9 Combined with Existential Particle

In some contexts the progressive stem is combined with an existential particle rather than a copula. This is attested with the progressive of the verb *payəš* I ‘to remain’, e.g.

- (1) *háč xá nás̥a ju-bétu* lát pyàša. | ‘There is nobody remaining in his house.’ (A 39:27)
- (2) *mən-dan-+kazánča* ’áttən pyáša. | ‘Some of those pans still exist.’ (B 17:56)
- (3) *bás mabyúnla kát ju-’Úrmi +hála +dánət mšíxa ’átvə +’aturáyə pyàša*. | ‘It seems that there were still Assyrians remaining in Urmi at the time of Christ.’ (B 1:2)

### 10.11.2 bəptaxəva

This form, which contains the past enclitic copula, has the following functions:

#### 10.11.2.1 Past Progressive

The form may denote imperfectively an ongoing situation in the past, which typically overlaps temporally with other events, e.g.

- (1) *e-+dánət +m̥íli bétə*, | *bábi baštáyəva +čay*. | ‘When I arrived home, my father was drinking tea.’
- (2) *ptána vadánva* *tre-nùynə +plátlunju-’úpra*. | ‘I was ploughing and two fish came out of the soil.’ (A 5:7)
- (3) *káti +bətlabəva còmac ’azónva +állu*. | ‘She was seeking me (during the period of the events narrated in the foregoing discourse) in order that I go and help him.’ (A 2:33)
- (4) *’ána lévən +bəddá ka-mùdi* | *’ána ő-yuma žgišənva* *lénva taxmúne +spáy +rāhat*. | ‘I do not know why I was confused that day and I was not thinking clearly (literally: well [and] calm).’ (A 1:38)
- (5) *kúdmə pili ’ána jáni*, | *’ána báxta*, | *báxta +darrùnəva* *bí +doràna*. | ‘Yesterday I myself baked—I and my wife—(while) my wife was rolling with the rolling pin.’ (B 17:22)

In narrative it is generally used in sections that present preliminary background material rather than the foreground events, e.g.

- (6) *xá-yuma* | *+málla +Nasràdən* | *tívəva ju-bétə* | *+slùta +salíyəva* | *ka-’alàha*. | *mára b-’álaha* | *hálli* | *’alpà +dinárə zúyza*. | ‘One day mullah Nasradin was sitting at home and saying a prayer to God, saying “Oh God, give me one thousand dinars.”’ (A14:1)

- (7) +*palačyya*! +*pála ptàxəva*! *kátu kát’ áha yàla ‘avíla.*! ‘Fortune-tellers were reading fortunes to him, in order for him to have a child.’ (A 3:3)

In (8) the form is used to express duration during a period in the past:

- (8) ‘ána *kúdməfáni pyàyənva*.! ‘Yesterday I was baking (all day).’ (B 17:22)

In (9) and (10) the form expresses an immediate future in the past:

- (9) *bərráxšənva* +*al-Màcca*! ‘u-*báxti muyyàli*.! *muttálí cás* +*hàji*.! ‘I was going to Mecca (= about to go to Mecca) and I brought my wife and placed her with the pilgrim.’ (A 1:44)
- (10) *xúvva* +*bənnàsiva*,! ‘ána *kátu* +*spayùta vídənva*.! ‘The snake was about to bite me, (although) I had done it a good deed.’ (A 47:16)

#### 10.11.2.2 Habitual

The form may be used to express habitual or iterative actions that are not permanent properties of the subject, but rather are limited temporarily to a specific period in the past, e.g.

- (1) *šámmu* +*bəddàyunva*,! *munšíli*.! ‘I used to know his name, but I have (now) forgotten.’ (A 3:47)
- (2) *háč mən-béta léva* +*pláṭa* +*al-vàddar*.! ‘He would (at that time) never go outside (but later he lost his fear).’ (A 37:1)

In (3) the *bəptaxəva* form is used to express a habitual activity that was a recent innovation in the past, whereas the *ci-patəxva* form is used to express a habitual situation that preceded this, in the remoter past:

- (3) *kámta tanúyran ju-*+*àrrəva*.! *baxtáyə ci-yatvíva ...* +*ál* +*àrra*,! +*ál jùlla*! ‘*ítə ci-maxivalə*.! ‘ína +*xárta* ó *tanúyra mattúyuva* +*al-páṭa*! *xáčxa* +*ùllul*! *yánət* +*al-áklux* *cálət pàyyət*.! ‘Formerly our oven was in the ground. The women used to sit on the ground, on a cloth, then they put it (the bread) in it. But later they put the oven on the surface, slightly above, so that you could stand on your feet and bake.’ (B 17:26)

In some cases there is no clear temporal delimitation of the habitual activity and the form appears to be used for the purpose of giving greater discourse prominence and immediacy to the event, e.g.

- (4) ́́ltəx ́́tva +tòpa| ́an-míyya bətpáxəva +al-de-+tòpa,| ́áyən partùləva.| 'Underneath there was a wheel. The water would pour on the wheel and it would turn.' (B 17:6)
- (5) ́́ltəx ́́tvala| ́átxa| súra| +bəzza,| mən-+táma ó +xámra bitáyəva jú| +ka-  
zànča.| bəškàluva| bədráyuva ju-bòška| ju-+línə.| 'Underneath it had a  
small hole, from where the wine came into a pan. They would take it and  
put it in a barrel, into an earthen jar.' (B 17:15)

## 10.12 The Verb ́avə I

In addition to the various copulas and the existential particles, the verb 'to be' may be expressed by the verb ́avə I, which is inflected in all verbal templates. 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. The functions of the various forms of ́avə correspond for the most part to those of the equivalent form in other verbs.

### 10.12.1 ́avə

The most usual function of the *patəx* form of ́avə 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 *patəx* form of other verbs, which have been described in § 10.2.1.1.

#### 10.12.1.1 Deontic Modality in Main Clauses

- (1) ́ávən +xlápux.| 'May I be your substitute.' (A 3:52)
- (2) ́ávax +xlápux málca.| 'May we be your substitute, king.' (A 3:43)
- (3) málca ́ávət basıma.| 'King, may you be well.' (A 2:4)
- (4) lá-́ávət +rába šaxına.| lá-́ávət +rába +káyra.| 'Do not be very hot. Do not  
be very cold.' (A 3:9)
- (5) lá-́ávilux +šìla.| 'Do not have concern (= Do not worry).' (A 3:57)
- (6) lá ́ávət mən-xa-bàxta| kát ... +jóro mítəla.| 'Do not be with a woman whose  
husband has died.' (A 3:10)

#### 10.12.1.2 Protasis of Conditional Constructions

- (1) ́ən-́ávə xàya,| páljət malcúytı b-yavvónna kàtux.| 'If he is alive, I shall give  
you half of my kingdom.' (A 3:50)
- (2) ́ən-́ána ́ávən +sàra,| násət xut-́ídət díyyi mùdi vágəna?| 'If I were a moon,  
what would the people under my command be?' (A 3:61)

- (3) *'ína +'arra-óya kvita míyya ju-dreté míyya c-àzi.* 'But if the ground is hard, when water is poured out, it flows away.' (A 3:11)
- (4) *'án béta 'áva +júral xá-dana stüyna-da xút ci-maxíva mən-+'arra hál +tàmma kát là taloxva.* 'If the house was big, they used to place a pillar underneath (coming up) from the ground up to there, so that it would not collapse.' (B 2:19)

### 10.12.1.3 Subordinate Complements

- (1) *'ána lé-+bayyən xá-'axča móndi ju-+'átrət díyyi 'ávə.* 'I do not want such a thing to be in my land.' (A 1:38)
- (2) *'ána lè-+bayyən háč xa-+šrà óya ju-màta.* 'I do not want any lantern to be in the village.' (A 2:1)
- (3) *b-kablítunlì xa-rija 'ávən katòxun?* 'Will you accept me to be a servant for you?' (A 36:5)
- (4) *'áxči! ju-+'átra díyyi 'áha móndi 'ávəl 'ána lè kablónna.* 'But I do not accept that this thing should be in my land.' (A 2:12)
- (5) *cùllə! b-+tòxmak +katkøttàxla óya dàkta.* 'We break it all up with a mallet, so it will be fine.' (B 3:24)
- (6) *tuxmənnəl kat-a-báxta 'ica mattíla kát +xiyálu 'ávi +rəhat.* 'He thought where he could put this wife so that his thoughts could be at peace.' (A 1:4)
- (7) *'ána ka-díyyux mulàpli 'ávət +spày.* 'I taught you to be good.' (A 3:90)
- (8) *jurvàssuvən, mìlpun, 'áxči ka-dàha móndi, 'áxči kat-ávəju- 'ídət díyyux ka-malcùyta.* 'I have brought him up, I have taught him only for this thing, only so that he would be at your disposition (literally: in your hands) for the kingdom.' (A 3:15)
- (9) *'a-cúl dax-t-òya! 'ána xáčča bùš-zoda mónnux! xiyyən.* 'Whatever the case may be, I have lived a little longer than you.' (A 2:16)
- (10) *clítəla mùjjur béta 'ávə.* 'It depends on how the house is.' (B 14:13)
- (11) *lén bəxšáva xá móndi ju-dùnyəl 'ávə bùš racíxa mən-spadiyyátət díyyan.* 'I don't think there is anything in the world softer than our pillows.' (A 38:9)

In (12) the subordinate construction corresponds to the realis possessive construction *'ətlux* 'you have':

- (12) *'a-ctava lé-+msə t-'avílux! májar +párrət xa-zúyza +rəba.* 'You cannot have this book, unless you pay a lot of money.'

#### 10.12.1.4 Generic Relative Clauses

- (1) *lóbbu +baṭlába +’al-xá-naša ’ax-díyyu ’ávə.* ‘His heart was seeking somebody who would be like him.’ (A 3:14)
- (2) *+rába xáčča nášə výyan-ilə kát ’avílun díctət mašrèta.* ‘We had very few people who had a lodging place,’ (B 1:33)

#### 10.12.1.5 Habitual

It is sporadically used to express a realis habitual situation:

- (1) *báva ’avíla marzanàna.* ‘A basin has sides’ (B 17:30)

#### 10.12.2 ’aviva

This is used in the same irrealis contexts as the *patəxva* form of other verbs (§ 10.2.2.1.).

#### 10.12.2.1 Conditional Constructions

- (1) *’on-’avánva xáya! +bəddáyən mu-ŷt-ódənva b-rišòxun-xina.* ‘If I were alive, I know what I would do to you.’ (A 13:3)
- (2) *’avənva +xlápux +Axíkar.* ‘Would that I were your substitute, Axiqar.’ (A 3:60)

#### 10.12.2.2 Subordinate Complements

- (1) *’íta b-yùma! bnàtə! ci-yatvíva ju-+čolàtə! kat-jińávə la-’avíva! +’al-carmána +šùlə.* ‘So, during the day, the girls would sit in huts so that thieves and so forth would not be in the vineyards and so forth.’ (B 2:6)
- (2) *’ína ýát +bílux mónnō ’avátvə ’ax-xa-+jòra.* ‘But you wanted to be with her like a husband.’ (A 3:91)

#### 10.12.3 bət-’avə (ŷt-avə, t-avə)

##### 10.12.3.1 Predictive Future

- (1) *+’avun ŷt-ávə ka-sebúytux.* ‘He will be for your old age.’ (A 3:6)
- (2) *t-ávə brùna kátux.* ‘He will be a son for you.’ (A 3:6)
- (3) *’áha xá-yuma xa-+cètra t-ávə ka-díyyan.* ‘One day he will be a problem for us.’ (A 37:19)
- (4) *é čáččə xuš ’atyàni, ... ’ána +spáy t-avína.* ‘Let that girl come ... and I shall be well.’ (A 56:3)

### 10.12.3.2 Deontic Future

- (1) *málca t̄-ávət basıma.* ‘King, may you be well, ...’ (A 3:15)

### 10.12.3.3 Discourse Dependent

The form may be used to express present habitual actions in clauses that are in some way dependent on what precedes on the level of discourse (§ 10.2.5.4.), e.g.

- (1) *+ullíyulu-da k̄esa p̄t̄-áva.* ‘Above it is a (beam of) wood.’ (B 14:6)  
 (2) *’átxa č̄üp̄ k̄urba +al-’iydàlə t̄-ávi-xina.* ‘Thus, thud, they are near to one another.’ (B 14:6)

### 10.12.4 bət̄-’aviva (p̄t̄-aviva, t̄-aviva)

#### 10.12.4.1 Conditional Constructions

The *bət̄-patəxva* form of *’avə* 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), e.g.

- (1) *’ən-+bačr̄tva, p̄t̄-avánva +rába xədya, ’ína là +bučorrux.* ‘If you had asked, I would have been very happy, but you did not ask.’  
 (2) *’ən-+masənva, p̄t̄-avánva mənnux, ’ína lè-+masən.* ‘If I could, I would be with you, but I cannot.’

#### 10.12.4.2 Discourse Dependent

In the text corpus the most widely attested use of the *bət̄-patəxva* form of *’avə* is to express habitual situations that are in some way dependent on the preceding discourse:

- (1) *xá beta +júra c-avíva muryəzza +táma +xliyla p̄t̄-avíva.* ‘They would have organized a large house and there the wedding used to take place.’ (B 10:25)  
 (2) *hár c-avíva p̄lásəl jís lèva m-+úydala. hár t̄-avíva +čírə, ’ánnə nášə yácca.* ‘They were always fighting. They were not good together. They were always indignant with each other, those big people.’ (A 55:1)  
 (3) *xá +dánta ýjdíla xá-xča p̄t̄-avíva tálmə lè +mačíva +al-míyya.* ‘Once the ice was such that the jugs did not reach the water.’ (B 3:34)  
 (4) *móriša p̄t̄-azíva t̄-avíva +árpa xámša +’ásra, cmá dánə +šarit̄ə múttəna +táma.* ‘In the morning they would go and there would be four, five or ten, however many snares they had laid there.’ (B 4:9)

### 10.12.5 ci-<sup>2</sup>avə (c-avə)

This is used to express habitual situations. The subject of the clause typically refers to a class rather and a specific referent, e.g.

- (1) 'ánnə məššəlmàna| 'ùrzə c-ávi b-nošé,| nákvə c-ávi b-nošè.| 'Those Muslims—the men are by themselves and the women are by themselves.' (A 5:1)
- (2) 'up-bétət tanùyra| +rába šaxìna c-ávə.| 'Also, the oven house is very hot.' (B 14:2)
- (3) ju-màta| buxaríyyə 'ot-kësa c-ávi.| 'In the village stoves are of wood.' (B 14:3)
- (4) +rába basìma c-ávə, vá +tamàna c-ávə m-dó kát bí ... +nùyta| b-+jazùyl váguna.| 'It is very delicious and is more tasty than the one that they make (in stoves fuelled) with oil or diesel fuel.' (B 14:4)
- (5) max-þølla c-ávə ka-sàtva.| 'It is like grass for winter.' (B 14:7)

### 10.12.6 le-<sup>2</sup>avə

This form expresses the negative of the *bət-avə* and *ci-avə* forms, e.g.

- (1) lè-<sup>2</sup>avilux brúna.| 'You shall not have a son.' (A 3:5)
- (2) xìna| 'átxa kaláttə lè-<sup>2</sup>avi.| 'Such mistakes will not happen again.' (A 56:5)
- (3) 'átxa lè-<sup>2</sup>oya.| 'That is not (appropriate).' (A 37:18)

### 10.12.7 ci-<sup>2</sup>aviva (c-aviva)

This is used to express habitual situations in the past. The subject of the clause typically refers to a class rather and a specific referent, e.g.

- (1) čúxta c-avívalun 'They used to have a cellar.' (B 2:4)
- (2) 'íta b-yùma| bnàtə ci-yatvíva| +baývànə c-avíva| kát jinávə +šúlə là-<sup>2</sup>ativa.| 'So during the day girls would sit (there). They used to be vineyard-keepers so that thieves and so forth would not come.' (B 2:7)
- (3) kənyàna=zə c-avívalun.| 'They also had cattle.' (B 2:10)
- (4) cùl bëta káttət +àrra-da c-avívalə| carmànə=zə c-avívalə.| 'Every house had a piece of land and had vineyards.' (B 2:11)
- (5) 'íta xína +uluylé-da cíllə c-avíva kësə.| 'Now, on top of them everything was wood.' (B 2:19)
- (6) +rába sodànta c-oyàva.| 'It was very pleasant.' (B 14:2)
- (7) c-oyáva takríban 'áx +çàrra.| 'It was approximately like butter.' (B 12:6)

### 10.12.8 le-<sup>2</sup>aviva

In (1) this form is used to negate a habitual situation in the past:

- (1) *dávla maxyàñəl lè 'avívalan ju-máta.* ‘We did not have drummers in the village.’ (B 10:22)

In (2) the negative habitual is used to express lack of ability:

- (2) *'áha +myukàrta lè-'avivala brúna.* ‘This lady did not have/was not able to have a child.’ (B 11:2)

#### 10.12.9 *Imperative*

This may be used perfectly to command the entering into a state in a delimited time-frame or at a specific point in time, e.g.

- (1) *ví láxxa b-+sá'at tmànya!* ‘Be here at eight o’clock.’

It is also frequently used to command the entering into a permanent state without delimitation of time, e.g.

- (2) *ví macìxa. ví xubbàna. ví faxùca. ví +spày náša.* ‘Be humble. Be loving. Be jolly. Be a good man.’ (A 3:13)  
 (3) *ví xa-náša lípa. ... ví 'áx +àrra.* ‘Be a learned man ... be like the ground.’ (A 3:11)  
 (4) *ví 'áx tÙyta.* ‘Be like a mulberry.’ (A 3:12)  
 (5) *'átən raxmànət. 'át xubbànət. 'át víyyət bàba káti. módrə har-ó-baba vi-káti.* ‘You are merciful. You are loving. You have been a father to me. Be the same father to me again.’ (A 3:92)

It may be combined with the negative particle *la* to express a prohibition, e.g.

- (6) *lá-vi láxxa b-+sá'at tmànya!* ‘Do not be here at eight o’clock.’  
 (7) *ví 'áx tÙyta. lá-vi 'áx +šàda.* ‘Be like a mulberry. Do not be like an almond.’ (A 3:12)

Prohibitions of a state without time delimitation are more frequently expressed by the irrealis *patax* form, e.g.

- (8) *lá-'avət +rába šaxìna. lá-'avət +rába +kàyra.* ‘Do not be very hot. Do not be very cold.’ (A 3:9)  
 (9) *+narahát là-'oyat. 'axúanax lèlə míta.* ‘Do not be upset. Your brother has not died.’ (A 1:14)

The negative imperative is used in such contexts when the speaker wishes to give the prohibition particular prominence. In (7) this prominence arises due to the contrastive opposition with the preceding clause.

#### **10.12.10 *vilə***

The *ptaxla* form of *'avə* 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) *'ó-yuma xína mèdrə 'ó-məndivílə.* | 'The next day the same thing happened.' (A 2:27)
- (2) *'àtxa vílə kássat.* | 'The story happened thus (i.e. this is what happened).' (A 2:17)
- (3) *lá-vilə xa-+xábra mənnè.* | 'There was no word from them.' (A 3:3)

The perfective event may have a long duration, as in (4), which describes an extensive period in the past, which has now come to an end:

- (4) *búš +rába vílun fùl +pàrča zabánta.* | 'They were mainly in (the trade) of selling textiles.' (B 1:35)

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 be sequential to its completion, e.g.

- (5) *Nátan brínu ... +naràhat vílə.* | 'Natan his son became upset.' (A 3:17)
- (6) *báxti +yákürta vílə.* | 'My wife became pregnant.' (A 7:17)
- (7) *bəxzáyələ 'ína 'áha 'idátu +káyra vílun fđila.* | 'He sees that his hands have become cold (as) ice.' (A 13:2)
- (8) *'ána ka-díyux mulápłi 'ávət +spày, vílux káti xərbə.* | 'I taught you to be good, but you turned out to be (literally: became) bad to me.' (A 3:90)
- (9) *'ýman 'á málca vílə! 'áxnan +xábra lətlən?* | 'When did this man become king (while) we had no word of it?' (A 1:42)

It may express a recent event and is rendered idiomatically by the English perfect of recent past, e.g.

- (10) *mù vília +kusárta?* ‘What has become of the pot?’ (A 8:4)

In (11) it is preceded by a deictic copula:

- (11) *'a-dúlə vília nàša!* ‘It has become a man!’ (A 28:2)

The form is used to express the event of ‘being born’ if the subject referent is still living, e.g.

- (12) *'ána vília b-šítət álpo +əççámmo xámši tmànya.* ‘I was born in the year 1958.’

The *vília* form is used in the protasis of conditional constructions to express a possible situation in the future, e.g.

- (13) *'ən-vílun! +əççámmo ʃççíi əççáa, lè- +bayyənnun.* ‘If they are nine hundred and ninety-nine, I do not want them.’ (A 14:3)

### 10.12.11 viyyələ

#### 10.12.11.1 Resultative Present Perfect

The combination of the resultative participle *viyya* with the present copula generally expresses a resultant state in the present that arises from an event or time-bounded situation in the past, e.g.

- (1) *xá-yuma +'Axíkar bəškáləl brùnu, viyyələ xa-jvànka! +màtya.* ‘One day Axíkar takes his son—he has become a mature young man.’ (A 3:16)
- (2) *'á mù-ilə víyya?* ‘What has happened?’ (A 2:15)
- (3) *xá-'axča móndi lèlə víyya.* ‘Such a thing has not happened.’ (A 14:10)
- (4) *mànšila! cul-víyya viyyələ.* ‘Forget it! Everything that has happened has happened.’ (A 3:54)
- (5) *'ánnə +lavášə-da ɺat-'átxa c-ávi 'adíyya-xina! léna výyə-xina b-tanùyra.* ‘These flat breads which are found now have not been in the oven.’ (B 14:4)

The resultative participle may be introduced with a deictic copula, which gives greater prominence to the assertion, e.g.

- (6) *'ína 'adíyya velə-víyya +xàyən +'állux.* ‘But now he has become treacherous to you.’ (A 3:22)

The endpoint of the past situation may coincide with the present, as seen in examples such as (7):

- (7) *b-šánnə víyyətju-bèti.* 'For years you have been in my house.' (A 3:29)

In subordinate clauses that are dependent on main clauses containing a past tense verb, the resultative form *víyyələ* can take the past time reference from the main clause, e.g.

- (8) *cačála kát víyəl' adíyya málca humzàmlə.* 'The bald man who had become king spoke.' (A 1:43)

#### 10.12.11.2 Indirective Function

The *víyyələ* form is sometimes used not to express a resultant state but rather a situation in the past from which the speaker is distanced. When used with this 'indirective' function (§ 10.2.5.4.), the *víyyələ* form presents the situation in the past either perfectly or imperfectively. The indirective subsystem of the verb 'to be' in C. Urmi can be represented thus:

##### I Primary Function

<i>víyyələ</i>	<i>vilə</i>	<i>'ivə</i>
'he has become'	'he was/became'	'he was'
(resultative)	(perfective)	(imperfective)

##### II Secondary Function (Indirective)

<i>víyyələ</i>	<i>víyyəle</i>
'he was/became'	'he was'
(perfective)	(imperfective)

Examples (1–9) present some occurrences of *víyyələ* in its indirective function that are found in the text corpus. In all cases the motivation for the speaker to use the form is the fact that he/she feels distanced from the situation in the past that the verb is denoting due to an intervening period of time between when the situation in question existed and the present. In some cases the situation has not been directly witnessed by the speaker, while in other cases it has been witnessed but only in the remote past:

- (1) *ju-dé +'átra=zə,| +yánə +Spúrgān ju-'Ùrmil xa-bràtəval šámmo Helinəva.| +róba šapòrta vítəla.* 'In that land, meaning Spurğan in Urmi, there was a girl whose name was Helen. She was very beautiful.' (A 41:3)
- (2) *dáštət 'Ùrmil xá +dána vítəla cullana'ít vítəla 'at-+aturày.| hác məššəlmána +súla-da léna víyyə.* 'The plain of Urmi was once, was completely (the plain) of the Assyrians. No Muslims and so forth were there.' (B 2:16)

- (3) *+ròba 'átxa káša víyyan-lə.* 'We had many priests like that.' (B 16:11)
- (4) *ctávə 'atíkə=zə kat-víyyan-lə bərráxšəna cíllə bəxzayèna.* 'They go and see all the old books that we had.' (B 2:15)
- (5) *vítəla +dàna mən-dà máta +al-dè b-+darvàza xíšəna* 'There was a time when they would go from this village to that in the *+Darvaza* game.' (Alice 12)
- (6) *'átən raxmànət. át xubbànət. át víyyət bàba káti. módrə har-ó-baba vi-káti.* 'You are merciful. You are loving. You were a father to me Be the same father to me again.' (A 3:92)
- (7) *kosúnət +urusnáy vítəla ju-+íran* 'The army of the Russians was in Iran.' (B 16:3)
- (8) *+Olixa vítəla yámmət +Már +Kuryákus.* 'Julietta was the mother of St. Quryaqu's.' (B 16:7)
- (9) *+álmat díyyan násət díyyan búš-+raba víyyəna yán víyyəna darziyya, +xayyáṭə, ... yán víyyəna +rabiyə.* 'Our community, our people were mainly either tailors, tailors, doing tailoring, or were teachers.' (B 1:33)

In (1) the speaker is talking about his grandmother and uses the indirective form *vítəla* to express an imperfective situation that he himself did not witness. Example (2) refers to a situation in the remote past, knowledge of which the speaker has acquired indirectly through reports in books. Since this situation is clearly bounded by time, the *víyyəla* form may be interpreted here as an indirective perfective. In (3) and (4), on the other hand, the *víyyəla* form, with an ipl. S-suffix expressing a dative of possession, denotes an ongoing situation that held in the past. These situations are in the remote past. The clause *vítəla +dàna* in (5) refers to a period in the remote past, when there was traditional village life. In (6) the request 'Be the same father to me again' indicates that the clause *'át víyyət bàba káti'* refers to a situation that ceased to exist at some point in the past. Indeed it is clear from the narrative plot that there was an extended period of time between this situation and the present. It is not appropriate, therefore, to translate *víyyət* as 'you have been' but rather it should be interpreted as an indirective 'you were', in this case with perfective aspect.

The indirective *víyyəla* form is used to refer to the birth of somebody who is no longer alive, whereas the *vítəla* form is used when the person is alive, e.g.

- (10) *savúni víyyəla b-šítət álpo tmanyámmo +tmàni.* 'My grandfather was born in 1880.'

In narrative the indirective form is used to express situations that constitute the background of foreground events. This is illustrated in the following passage:

- (11) *+bəkyàrələ| ... kát mára šámmət díyyi 'ílə +pəllan ... +pəllan cás.| ... 'íta 'ax-šér-ila 'áyan.| ... 'áy=zə vítəla dàpnu.* ‘He carves (on the ground) saying “My name is so-and-so ... such-and-such a person.” ... It is a like a poem. ... It (the inscription) was beside him.’ (A 37:7–8)

In the passage in (11) the final clause *'áy=zə vítəla dàpnu* is more appropriately translated ‘It was beside him’ (indirective) than ‘It has become beside him’ (resultative), i.e. it is not a resultative but rather an imperfective indirective. It marks a clear disjunction between background and foreground. Here it does not mark temporal disjunction but rather disjunction in discourse structure.

Sometimes the indirective form is used to give a proposition particular prominence. In such cases again the distinction between the indirective form and other verbal forms in the context does not mark temporal disjunction but rather disjunction in discourse structure and consequential prominence.<sup>1</sup> This is the case in (12), which is the climactic event of the narrative. In (13), from expository discourse, the speaker uses the negative indirective form to give prominence to the statement to mark a clear contrast with what precedes:

- (12) *+šavvá yumànəl +šavvá lelavàyl víyyələ +xlúyla +šàra.* ‘Then there was a wedding party for seven days and seven nights.’ (A 51:11)
- (13) *búš-+raba +pàrča ci-zabnívá,| +'aturáyat diyyan,| yán +xyùṭa c-odíva,| ju-dánnə +šulánət prəzla| +rába lèna víyyə.* ‘They would mainly sell textiles, our Assyrians, or would make sewn work. There were not many in jobs involving iron.’ (B 1:32)

Speakers perceive (14b) to be expressing a stronger protest of the injustice of not being fed than (14a). This arises from the fact that the indirective form gives greater prominence to the first clause.

- (14) a. *'ána cpìnənva| 'u-xúrrac là yuvvállə káti.* ‘I was hungry, but he did not give me food.’
- b. *'ána víyyen cpìna| 'u-xúrrac là yuvvállə káti.* ‘I was hungry, but he did not give me food.’

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<sup>1</sup> This can be compared to the use of the Turkish evidential suffix *-mIş* to express the mirative (Slobin and Aksu-Koç 1982; Payne 1997, 255), i.e. unexpected or surprising information.

### 10.12.12 viyyəva

#### 10.12.12.1 Resultative Past Perfect

The combination of the resultative participle *viyyəva* with the past copula may be used to express a resultative state holding in the past, which arose as a result of a prior event, or, when negated, a resultative state that had not yet come into existence, e.g.

- (1) 'ó bétu súra víyyəva xá yácca máx bótat málca víyyəva.' 'His small house had become huge, it had become like the house of kings.' (A 54:5)
- (2) 'é-+dana 'urxátə-zə 'ásfalt lèva víyyəva.' 'urxátə P'susèPval 'ásfalt lèva víyyəva.' 'At that time the roads had not been (laid with) asphalt. The roads were (surfaced with) sand. They had not been (laid with) asphalt.' (B 2:12)

The construction may be used to present the background of subsequent events in a narrative, e.g.

- (3) '+xárta á báxtu bi-dò béra-da +rázi léva víta. ... á náša sáva xàšla.' xàšla, módrə '+kríla ka-dé nìyna.' 'Then his wife became discontent with that house. ... The old man went. He went and called the fish.' (A 54:6)

#### 10.12.12.2 Indirective Function

The *viyyəva* form is sometimes used in an indirective function to express a past situation from which the speaker is distanced rather than a resultative state. This is the case in (1)

- (1) 'ána 'átlı xa-bàba.' +rába b-śànnəla.' viyyəva' vázzer ka-bāb-dìyyux.' 'I have a father. He is very old. He was vizier to your father.' (A 2:24).

Here the speaker is referring to a period in the remote past, separated from the present by many years.

The form is used to express the event of 'being born' when the subject referent is no longer alive, and so both the birth and the subject referent are distanced from the speaker, e.g.

- (2) 'savúni viyyəva b-śítət álpa tmanyámma +tmàni.' 'My grandfather was born in the year 1880.'

Speakers sometimes use the form in the 1st person when referring to a situation in the remote past from which they are now separated by intervening events, e.g.

- (3) *viyyəxva mən-<sup>+</sup>urusnáya<sub>a</sub>*, *’ína xlitəxva*.| ‘We were with the Russians, but we were mistaken.’ (B 1:19)

In narratives the *viyyəva* form is used in clauses that have the function of supplying background information to the main chain of events, e.g.

- (4) *’áyən brít<sup>+</sup>casibə vítəva*.| ‘She was the daughter of paupers.’ (A 56:1)

#### **10.12.13 ’avə viyya**

This is used to express an irrealis resultative perfect. In (1), for example, it is used in a context where the king questions the reality of a situation:

- (1) *’áha xá-’axča<sup>+</sup>šúla<sup>+</sup>júra<sup>+</sup>’avə viyya ju-da-<sup>+</sup>átrət dìyyi*, *’ána lā-<sup>+</sup>yattən?*  
‘Has such a mighty matter as this taken place in this land of mine and I do not know about it?’ (A 1:39)

#### **10.12.14 vayələ**

The *bəptaxələ* form of *’avə* is generally *vayələ*, in which the initial /b/ has been assimilated. Sporadically the form *bivayələ* is used, preserving the original initial /b/ element.

##### **10.12.14.1 Actual Present**

The *vayələ* form may be used to express a situation that holds in the actual present. The construction is imperfective and expresses a situation with a degree of duration. The temporal reference of the actual present may be the historic present of narratives. In (1) the *vayələ* form conveys the durative dimension of the period of the priests:

- (1) *+várəna<sup>+</sup>róba<sup>+</sup>dàna* *váyəna<sup>+</sup>ròba<sup>+</sup>kášə<sup>+</sup>suráya*.| *Yáprəm vayələ*, *’Isə vayələ*, *Mixáyəl vayələ*, *káša<sup>+</sup>Sàndu vayələ*.| ‘Much time passes, there are many Assyrian priests. There is Ephrem, there is Iso, there is Mixayəl, there is father Sandu.’ (B 16:11)

In (2) the durative situation overlaps with the events in the surrounding context:

- (2) *bərráxşəna ’albátta batfákəna b-cmá ’apəskúpə kat-vàyan-lə*, *+’árpa xamšá ’apəskúpə*.| ‘They go and, of course, meet some of the bishops that we had (during that time), four or five bishops.’ (B 2:14)

In (3) the enclitic copula in the first clause expresses a permanent situation whereas the *váyəla* form in the second clause expresses a non-permanent situation in the actual present:

- (3) *'ùrxəla' azána 'atyàna váyəna.* 'It is a road. There are wayfarers (literally: goers and comers).' (A 43:4)

The construction is often used to express the circumstantial background of following events in a narrative or section of narrative, e.g.

- (4) *xá-yuma +malla +Nasràdən! +rába váyəla cpìna.* 'One day mullah Nasradin is very hungry.' (A 23:1)
- (5) *xá-yuma +malla +Nasrásdən váyəla tíva +al-kèsə.* 'One day mullah Nasradin is sitting on a branch of wood.' (A 32:1)
- (6) *sépu=zə váyəla b-dápnu sépu bəškàlələ! útxa bədvakóla kám.* 'His sword is by his side. He takes his sword and holds it like this in front.' (A 39:9)
- (7) *'adíyya 'ánnə nàkva! cílla +házər váyəna! mən-yál-súra nákva hál +jùrə! +plátəna kam-málca.* 'Now the women are all ready, from young girls to older women. They go out before the king.' (A 2:22)
- (8) *váyəla xína +rába rákə m-cás 'axúnə m-cás bábu xína.* xá dúca bəxzáyəla 'ína xá-dana bëta! +al-xá künjítə. 'He is very far from his brother's home, from his father's home. In one place he sees a house on a corner.' (A 39:30)
- (9) *+tlá yumána léla váya, Nàtan! bəzyàrəla, bəzyàrəla, bəzyàrəla, bùm! bəpkàyəla, myátəla Nàtan.* 'While three days are not (= Hardly had three days past), Natan swells, he swells, he swells boom! He explodes. Natan dies.' (A 3:95)

It is also used to express a circumstantial situation within a narrative, as in the inserted comments in (10) and (11):

- (10) *xá-yumal yámmu māral sàtva váyələ! mára brùni! hác-məndi lòtlən ka+xàla.* 'One day his mother says—it is winter—she says "My son, we have nothing to eat." (A 35:2)
- (11) *màrələ! ... +rába šapòrtət. +rába laxùmtət. +janàvar váyəla xína, 'ína +áv +bəxkàrolə! kát xázə mü t-òda.* 'He says ... "You are very beautiful. You are very comely." She is a monster, but he praises her in order to see what she would do.' (A 39:34)

It is used likewise to express circumstantial background situations or background comments within expository discourse, e.g.

- (12) *'é báxta kát pyàyəla láxma! bədráyula +al-de-màzra[k]! +bəššáyula ju-ta-nùyra! tanúyra=da šaxína vágəla.* ‘The woman who was baking bread would put it on the baking cushion and stick it onto the oven. The oven is hot.’ (B 10:14)
- (13) *bás 'áyya=zə xá +sabəttúta vágəla kàt! ju-'Úrmi 'ztva nášə b-+dánət mšixa-yúta.* ‘This also is a proof that there were people in Urmī at the time of (the rise of) Christianity.’ (B 1:5)

It is used to express a permanent, or at least long-term, background situation, e.g.

- (14) *xá yála! bábu myàtəla! xá yómma sòta vágüla.* ‘A boy—his father dies. He has an old mother.’ (A 34:1)

The simple copula can also express contingent situations such as these. The *vágəla* form draws heightened attention to the situation. In (4)–(13) above the purpose of this is to mark a boundary in the discourse. The *vágəla* form is used in other contexts to express a greater degree of prominence than the copula. It is used, for example, to mark parallel oppositions in constructions such as the following:

- (15) *scónta 'íla nèkva! scina lèla, scína 'ürza vágəla.* ‘(The word) *scónta* is feminine. (The word) *scina* is not, *scina* is masculine.’
- (16) *'ən-'ána 'ávən +sàra, nášət xut-ídət díyyi mùdi vágəna?* ‘If I am the moon, what are the people under my hand?’ (i.e. Given that I am the moon, what would my subjects be in such a situation?) (A 3:61)

It is used in expressions of perception when a referent comes into the vision of somebody, e.g.

- (17) *+mṭáyəla xa-dùca! 'inal xá 'áx màta! vágəla! mlíta nášə.* ‘He reaches a place (and sees) something that is like a village, full of people.’ (A 39:17)

Elsewhere it is used more generally to direct heightened attention to key situations in a discourse, e.g.

- (18) *cúllə 'ánnə bəlyàpəna! cíl-məndi ... vágəla díz.* ‘They learn all these things. Everything is correct.’ (A 3:58)

### 10.12.14.2 Ingressive

In some cases the *vayələ* form is used with an ingressive function to express the onset of a situation in the present, e.g.

- (1) *cačála vayələ málca.* ‘The bald man becomes the king.’ (A 1:24)
- (2) *málca +naràhat vayələ.* ‘The king becomes upset.’ (A 3:26)
- (3) *’o-cačálət bràta móyyola vayələ málca.* ‘The bald man who has brought the girl becomes the king.’ (A 1:4)
- (4) *xášca vayələ.* ‘It becomes dark.’ (A 5:15)
- (5) *+duràša vayələ bilé.* ‘An argument starts between them.’ (A 38:4)

In (6) the form is used without a predicative complement to express coming into existence:

- (6) *jáššək mù-ilə váya.* ‘Watch what is happening.’ (A 1:28)

### 10.12.15 *vayəva*

This form is sometimes used to expresses a habitual situation in the past, e.g.

- (1) *xá sáma hár +al-+kunṭopa ci-pešíva brìza.* *lén-**+bəddəl kám* *átxəva,* *búš* *šapìra vayəva.* ‘Some of them would become dry while still in a bunch (on the vine). I do not know why it was so, they were nicer (like that).’ (B 10:1)
- (2) *+róbə ’ón ’atíl jarùsa vayəva kámxa.* ‘If a lot came, the flour was coarse.’ (B 17:7)
- (3) *’átxa ’átvalan bìl bí pátvət dá mìz,* *+tlá àkłə, cíllə* *+xadərvánət juydànəl kát* *là sandáxva b-júyda +káyra vayəva.* ‘We had ones like this with the width of this table, three feet, all around the walls, so that we did not lean on a wall that was cold.’ (B 10:19)

In some case it has a habitual ingressive sense, e.g.

- (4) *yemíšə bədráyəxva ju-šácar* *xáčča ... vayəva áx dùyša!* *’ú miyyé búš kúya* *vayəva* *bəškáleñxva.* ‘We put fruits into the sugar and they became like honey. When their liquid became harder, we would take them off.’ (B 10:2)
- (5) *’é másta vayəva +càrra.* ‘The yoghurt would become butter.’ (B 17:20)
- (6) *+rába mənné bitáyəva l<sup>E</sup>Amèrica<sup>E</sup> +bəkráyəva.* *+bədyàrəva,* *haccimə* *vayəva.* ‘Many of our people who had some education used to go to America to study. They would return and become doctors.’ (B 1:31)

### 10.13 Compound Verbal Forms Containing the Verb *'avə* I

The copula in compound constructions based on the resultative participle (*ptixələ*) and the progressive stem (*bəptaxələ*) may be replaced by a form of the verb *'avə* in the types of context that condition the occurrence of *'avə* elsewhere.

#### 10.13.1 *'avə ptixa*

This is used to express a resultative perfect in irrealis contexts where *'avə* rather than the copula would be required:

- (1) *'aláha ráxma 'ávəd +'állo kat-lá-'avi dívə +xiло.* 'God have mercy on her that wolves have not eaten her.' (A 1:35)
- (2) *'ána lén̥ hammúnəl núra 'ávə píla bi-'ilàna.* 'I do not believe that fire broke out in the tree.' (A 47:13)
- (3) *xa-mándi +báyyən tánət káti! kat-háč náša là-'avə +šámyu ju-dúnyəl 'áxči ... tázə 'ávə.* 'I want you to tell me something that nobody in the world has heard but is new' (A 3:75, relative clause with a generic, non-referential head)
- (4) *là-'avə +šámya 'áha.* '(I hope that) he has not heard.' (A 5:17)
- (5) *bálcət 'áva +šámya.* 'Perhaps he has heard.' (A 5:18)
- (6) *'áyya 'ən-'óya +arþá-ciloyə, xamšá-ciloyə +búsra 'óya +xəltu, jári 'ádi +əsrə ciloyə.* 'If she is four kilos and has eaten five kilos of meat, she must now be ten kilos.' (A 11:3)

#### 10.13.2 *'aviva ptixa*

This is used to express a resultant state in the past with irrealis modality. In (1) it occurs after the particle *bálcət* 'perhaps', indicating that the speaker is not committing himself fully to the truth of the following proposition:

- (1) *bálcət ... 'áviva xəzyəl* 'Maybe ... they had seen.' (B 12:7)

In (2) it occurs after the deontic particle *jári*:

- (2) *'íta ó nášət +accárət +dána yúvvuval ju-+fəllan yúmal ya-+fəllan šábtal jári mən-kám-+dana 'avíva zíyzu +purriyyé.* 'Now the man or the farmer to whom he had given (a deadline) on such-and-such a day or such-and-such a week had to have paid his money beforehand.' (B 13:2)

It is used in counterfactual conditional constructions, in which the speaker knows that the condition in the past that is expressed in the protasis was not fulfilled, e.g.

- (3) *+kátu 'ən-óyava +xəlta,| 'ádi vítəva yàccə.* 'If the cat had eaten, she would now be huge.' (A 11:4)

It is also used in counterfactual deontic constructions, such as (4), in which the speaker expresses what 'should have' happened:

- (4) *'oyátva ju-màšxa kulité.* 'You should have fried them in oil.' (A 36:8)

### 10.13.3 c-aviva ptixa

This expresses a habitual state in the past. The construction is generally used to present the setting for an event or situation presented in what follows:

- (1) *xá beta +júra c-avíva muryàzza| +táma +xlùyla p̄t-avíva.* 'They used to organize a large house and there the wedding would take place.' (B 10:25)
- (2) *c-avíva dáryə +táma +kùxal c-aváxva tívə màccə práxa.* 'They used to lay out there a pile and we used to sit hulling the maize.' (B 17:4)
- (3) *tálma| ... c-aváxva mutté ja-bèta| 'átxa xrizè. móriša kemáxva jáškax mujdàllə.* 'We placed the jugs in the house, we lined them up like this. In the morning we got up and saw that they were frozen.' (B 3:33)

In (4)–(6) the verb is used in a clause that provides elaborative background for what precedes:

- (4) *ó túyna lè šavákval| á +tína pákkiṇi. c-avíva 'átxa dvìku.* 'The straw did not allow the mud to crack. It used to hold it together.' (B 3:39)
- (5) *ci-daráxva jávo| màstal| 'u-pùmmo| ci-+yásráxvalə bí císət| kənyàna, c-aváxva zúrzo šap̄ərta.* 'We put in it (the churn +meta f.) yoghurt and tied its mouth with the stomach of cattle. We had made it attractive.' (B 7:1)
- (6) *xáyúma +ršòmlun| kát ka-dà yúma| ci-+hadríval| ci-'azíva +al-mátat Zumàllan. c-avíva zvínə m-kám +dána +ràba| kámxa, màšxa.* 'They designated a day for which they would prepare and on which they would go to the village of Zumallan. They would have bought beforehand a lot of flour, oil.' (B 11:4)

### 10.13.4 bət-'avə ptixa

This expresses a resultant state that will hold in the future, e.g.

- (1) *'e-+dánət bət-+maṭən bəta,| bábi ḥ-ávə +pliṭa.|* ‘When I arrive home, my father will have left.’

### 10.13.5 *vilə ptixa*

This form is used to express a resultant state in the past that is enduring but has temporal boundaries. It is typically used in a narrative to express a situation that forms the background to subsequent events, e.g.

- (1) *'ína +ávva har-vilə-tíva +tāma.|* ‘But he was just sitting there.’ (A 4:5)

In (2) it is used in a protasis of a conditional construction to express the same profile of a situation but in the future:

- (2) *lá vília +al-dúcu cèlyā| cullóxun rišóxun maxánnə bi-+bàlta.|* ‘If it is not standing in its place (i.e. the same weight as before), I shall behead you all with an axe, I shall kill you.’ (A 48:28)

### 10.13.6 *viyyələ ptixa*

The *viyyələ* form here has an indirective function (§ 10.2.5.4.) and refers to a situation in the past that is distanced from the temporal reference point of the speaker by a temporal gap. The construction consisting of the *viyyələ* form with the resultative participle *viyyələ ptixa* is used in narratives to denote a resultant state in the past that is distanced from the temporal reference point of the main narrative line by a temporal gap, e.g.

- (1) *b-cúl 'ùrxa| xá-dana jáldə jáldə bəjnàvulə,| +várələ javày.| +xárta 'o-xína| bəjnàvulə,| ju-dó +xàraya| yámma vítəla +tušítə jàno| +bár +tàrra,| +tárra +bəxlàsula.|* ‘By any means (he can) he quickly snatches one (flat-bread), and comes back inside. Then he snatches the other one. By the last one, the mother had hidden herself behind the door and she shuts the door.’ (A 37:5)
- (2) *+bəkýárələ kát mára šámmət díyyi 'íla +pállan ... +pállan cás| ... ýyya viyyələ ctívə +tāma.|* ‘He carves (on the ground) saying “My name is so-and-so ... such-and-such a person.” ... He had written that there. It is a like a poem. He had become tired and fallen asleep, while that was beside him.’ (A 37:8)
- (3) *yāl-súrə xína +jùrə víyyəna,| ju-+Rúsya víyyəna +kòryə,| b-jámi bitáyəna l-á-ybət +'Irən.|* ‘The children had grown up, they had studied in Russia. They go in a ship to Iran.’ (A 41:14)

The function of the *víyyələ ptixa* form is, therefore, similar to that of the *ptixəva* form. It appears, however, to mark a greater disjunction between the background and the foreground than *ptixəva*. This is seen in a pair of clauses such as (4):

- (4) a. 'ána xíšərva 'íman=t ju-ríšət +'ùydalə mxílun. | 'I had gone when they beat each other up.'
- b. 'ána víyyən xíša 'íman=t ju-ríšət +'ùydalə mxílun. | 'I had gone when they beat each other up.'

A speaker would use (4b) to give particular prominence to the fact that he was not involved in the fight ('I had long since gone'). This can be regarded as a mirative function, expressing surprising or unexpected information.<sup>2</sup>

On some occasions the *víyyələ ptixa* form is used equivalently to the indirective *ptixəla* form to express a situation in the remote past. In such cases speakers exploit the heavier morphology of the *víyyələ ptixa* form in comparison with the *ptixəla* form to express discourse prominence. This is seen in (5), where the form *víyyəvax xiyyə* occurs in the clause that expresses the main point of the speaker. The clause following it is an elaborative addition, in which the *ptixəla* form is used:

- (5) 'ína ju-dé pi-pálja, | +šavvámma tmanyámma +əççammà šánnə, | *víyyəvax*  
+rába +rāhatju-+íran xíyyə. | *xíyyəvax* +am-zarduštāyəl 'ína 'ax-mšixāyə. |  
'But in that interval, for seven hundred, eight hundred, nine hundred  
years, we lived very peacefully in Iran. We lived with the Zoroastrians, but  
as Christians.' (B 1:10)

### 10.13.7 *vayələ ptixa*

This form may be used with the sense of an ingressive resultative state, e.g.

- (1) *ju-saxánta šaxánta* +xálva bədráyəx R<sup>h</sup>pəpsin<sup>R</sup>. | *vayələ rita*. | 'In very warm  
milk we put pepsin. It (the cheese) sets (literally: becomes set).' (B 15:2)

The form is used to express a resultative situation that forms the circumstantial background of events in a narrative, e.g.

<sup>2</sup> The mirative is one of the functions of the Turkish evidential suffix *mIş* (Slobin and Aksu-Koç 1982; Payne 1997, 255).

- (2) *'áy bitayəla. áha-da b-sùysa vayəla tíyya xína! súysu vayəla máxyu ju-pàya.* cut-+dána bitayəla cásalu märəla 'àxuni, sùysux! +tlà-'ákla 'átvələ
- é-+dān tilux?* xá-'áklu vayəla +xàlto.
- ‘She comes. He has come on a horse and has put his horse in the stable. She comes to him, each time, and says “Brother, did your horse have three legs when you came?” She has eaten one of its legs.’ (A 39: 28)
- (3) *'áha +bérašə cúra xambáša bitayəla! hó hó hó hó!* *'áha vayəla xiša!* 'òrbə +marriuvva.
- ‘The blind giant comes back in the evening, “Ho, ho, ho, ho.” He has gone to graze sheep.’ (A 39:31)
- (4) *+hála tré +saháttə lélá vaya +vàrta,* mən-vazzíru lél hamzùma-da malca,
- +bəkráyəl +jamáhat +al-+máydan.* ‘Two hours have not passed, the king does not speak with his vizier, he summons a crowd to the square.’ (A 48:13)

In (5) the form describes the circumstantial situation at the time of the event of the first clause:

- (5) *hál bəkyámən-da kat-+àxlana!* cílla vayəna +xilə.
- ‘By the time I get up to eat, everybody has eaten.’ (A 35:13)

The *ptixəla* form also has this function (§ 10.10.1.2.). The *vayəla ptixa* for directs a heightened degree of attention to the resultative situation than the simple *ptixəla* form. This is illustrated (6). Here the *vayəla ptixa* form is used to describe the situation of a woman who is one of the protagonists in the narrative. The *ptixəla* form is used to express the situation of a cat, who is a minor player in the narrative. Note that the cat is not introduced by the indefinite marker *xa*, which is also a sign of the minor role of this referent in the discourse (§ 9.1.).

- (6) *báxtu vayəla tóvta +al-hàvuz,* mánə +xállulə. +kátu +vórtəla tóvtəla +táma jaššúkə.
- ‘His wife is sitting on the pool washing dishes. A cat has come in and is sitting there looking.’ (A 12:1)

In (7) the construction has the long form of the auxiliary *bivayəla* and is used to give the circumstantial background of a habitual activity:

- (7) *ju-cílla +kéta é-ducta bivayəla +tuptápta b-kvìta.* 'íta ju-čiriyaváyə ci-parmiivala' útxa útxa carpíčə carpíčə.
- ‘Throughout the summer this place has been trodden down making it hard. Then in autumn they used to cut it into blocks.’ (B 10:6)

In (8) the *vayələ ptixa* form providing the circumstantial background occurs in a relative clause:

- (8) *'ína +bar-náša kát vágol +tála xáyyu purkè,| xáyyøt +bar-náša,| +bar-náša ka-dó +tála zabùnølə.* ‘The man, whose life the fox had saved, the life of the man, the man betrays the fox.’ (A 47:20)

#### 10.13.8 *'avə bəptaxa*

This construction is used to express a progressive action in irrealis contexts in which irrealis *'avə* is appropriate rather than a copula. In (1) it is used in a relative clause with a generic, non-referential head:

- (1) *madmuyévən +'al-càxvə| 'ávi ju-šmáyya +balbùsə.* ‘I compare them to stars that shine in the sky’ (A 3:62)

#### 10.13.9 *c-avə bəptaxa*

This form is used to express an event with duration that is habitually in progress, e.g.

- (1) *hár babé yəmmé c-avíva +płàša.* ‘Their father and mother were always fighting.’ (A 55:1)  
 (2) *'ána=da c-ávən bərràkə| m-kám 'ido.* ‘I am (habitually) running from her clutches (literally: her hand).’ (A 39:27)

In (3) the form is used to express habitual duration in an interval of time alongside non-compound habitual forms, which do not express such duration:

- (3) *'u-xá bəxtal| yán xàl 'úrza yatóvvva kət-+mayyìvala.| mattíva xúto jùlla| 'u-c-ávə +myàyo| e-+mèta.| bálcət xá páljøt +sá'at jaršàval hál-t 'o-+cárra 'atìva.* ‘A woman or a man would sit in order to churn it. He would put a cloth under it and kept churning the churn. Perhaps it took half an hour until the butter was produced.’ (B 7:1)

In some cases it is used to express a habitual action that is in progress at the time of the occurrence of another a habitual event, e.g.

- (4) *cul-yúma e-+dánøt ci-+maṭən bëta,| bábi c-ávə bəštáya +čày.* ‘Every day when I arrive home, my father is drinking tea.’  
 (5) *ci-maxíva +'allu,| c-avíva +bərxàta| m-dà-riša| +'al-dò-riša,| m-dà-riša| +al-dò-riša,* ‘They used to strike it (while) they ran from this side to that side, from this side to that side.’ (A 1:1)

In (6) the form is used to express an iterative activity:

- (6) *mən-ɬaltíxo c-ávax cúl+dána +tlá +tárpaʃabùvvə.* | ‘Each time we pick three leaves from the bottom of it.’ (B 3:26)

#### **10.13.10 'aviva bəptaxa**

This is attested in deontic expressions without the conditional particle, which broadly have the sense of ‘if only ...’!

- (1) *bá lá-avətva màra!* | ‘Well, if only you had not said (this)!’ (A 44:5)

#### **10.13.11 c-aviva bəptaxa**

This form is used in some cases to express a habitual activity in the past that had a specified duration, e.g.

- (1) *+əsrà yumána, +xamsàryumána c-ávi iðavày barúxa.* | ‘They used to convey festival blessings for ten days, for fifteen days.’ (B 5:7)

In some cases this expresses a habitual progressive activity in the past that is circumstantial to a habitual event expressed in the *ci-patəxva* form:

- (2) *məttəlyay ci-hakìva! an-sàvə kátan! áxnan c-aváxva màccə práxa.* | ‘The old men used to tell us stories while we were hulling the maize.’ (B 17:4)

In some cases it expresses a habitual activity that is not the circumstantial background, but rather the foreground. The heavier coding and compositionality of the construction is exploited to give greater prominence to the activity. In (3), for example, the squashing of the grapes is the central concern of the speaker and is an activity with which he is emotionally engaged, since he was one of the participants:

- (3) *yāl-súrə ci-mas̄kívalan +tlá +arpá janay! c-aváxva +mràča.* | ‘They used to take us children up, three or four people, and we would squash (the grapes).’ (B 17:15)

#### **10.13.12 bət-'avə bəptaxa**

This is used to refer to an enduring situation in the future, which is typically in progress during the occurrence of another event, e.g.

- (1) *'e-+dánət bət-+maṭən bəta| bábi ḥ-ávə bəštáya +čáy.|* 'When I arrive home, my father will be drink drinking tea.'

In (2) it denotes an enduring iterative situation, in which an event recurs on multiple occasions. The basic *bəptaxələ* form may have an iterative function within a delimited period of time. Here the auxiliary *bət-’avə* limits the time period to the future:

- (2) *lá ’ávət mən-xa-bàxta| kát ... +jóro mítəla| là jorátlə| sábab| ... cù-+danta ḥ-áya mára +jóri +jóri|* 'Do not be with a woman whose husband has died. Do not marry her, because she will always be saying "my husband, my husband." (A 3:10)

#### 10.13.13 *vilə bəptaxə*

This form is used to denote a progressive action in the past that has temporal boundaries and so is perfective in aspect. In narratives this construction is typically used when the progressive action is followed by clauses expressing events that are sequential to it. In (1)–(3) the form is used in sections describing progressive activities that form the preliminary background to the succeeding narrative:

- (1) *b-ŷàrxə| b-šánnə vilə +bəxdára kət-máčəx xa-nàša| xa-nòkva| kát| xóšša là-’avila|* 'He was wandering for months, for years, in order to find a man, a woman, who did not have sorrow.' (A 4:2)
- (2) *’ánnə nàše| mən-kédamta hal-+berášə vílun +vára +pláṭa móndi bəzvàna|* 'The people, from morning until night, were going in and out, and making purchases.' (A 4:5)
- (3) *’ánnə ’úrzə vílun màra|* 'Those men were saying ...' (A 5:1)

On some occasions the *vilə* component is used in its ingressive sense, and so the construction expresses 'beginning doing something', e.g.

- (4) *vílun +bədràša|* 'They began to argue.' (B 1:29)
- (5) *lišána vília hamzúma|* 'It (the fish) began to speak a language.' (A 54:2)
- (6) *’á báxtu cràbla| vília +sára| vília bəndà|* 'His wife became angry, she began to curse, she began to jump.' (A 54:3)
- (7) *’ýən-da +hàyyan| təvla| vília bəxya|* 'She, poor thing, sat down and began to cry.' (A 51:3)
- (8) *+málla +Nasràdən| har-vílə mən-+tárrət béta +pláṭa| vília màra| hàč,| hàč, hàč,| kat-là manšívala|* 'Immediately Mullah Nasradin began to go out

of the door of the house, he began to say “*hač, hač, hač, hač*”, so he would not forget it.’ (A 9:1)

### 10.13.14 *viyyələ bəptaxə*

This may be used to express a resultant state that has internal duration, e.g.

- (1) ‘ána kát mən-+bár cmà šónna| kát vítəvan +čallúšə kát ’avíli +zàya| lén +msítə ’avíli +zàya.| ‘I, who after so many years have been trying to have young, have not been able to have young.’ (A 39:23)

In (2) the construction is used to supply an elaborative background to the situation expressed in the preceding clause:

- (2) *bitáyələ* +bérašə +málla šuršiyya,| jiyya| cùllə-yuma šíma víyəl +bətráya ptána +bár kənyàna.| ‘The mullah comes back in the evening, exhausted and tired. The entire day he has been driving the plough behind animals.’ (A 5:8)

In (3) and (4) the form is used with indirective function, i.e. rather than expressing a resultant state it is equivalent to an imperfective progressive construction with a copula. The basic meaning of indirective forms is to signal that the event occurred at a distance which is marked due to the fact that it is remote or not directly witnessed. In (3) and (4) the primary motivation of using the indirective form appears to be to exploit its markedness to give the clause particular prominence in the discourse, since it expresses a situation to which the speaker wishes to draw particular attention. The use of an indirective form with such a prominence marking discourse strategy has been seen in some other examples discussed above. It is noteworthy that in (3) the statement is repeated with an unmarked *bəptaxəva* form, demonstrating the equivalence on an aspectual level:

- (3) čún Fàrtist<sup>E</sup>-va ķa-məlláttət jànu víyələ taxmúna| ķa-məlláttət +’aturáya taxmùnəla| ‘because he was an artist, he was thinking about his own people, he was thinking about the Assyrian people.’ (A 41:19)
- (4) məndìyyan| cùllə lubóllun.| xá-yarxa víyəna məndi bəfráša mən mátət +Hàssar.| ‘They took all of our property. For one month they removed things from the village of +Hassar.’ (B 6:3)

In (5) the indirective *viyyələ bəptaxə* form is used to express a habitual situation in the remote past (*víyəna ... zabuna*). In the same passage a habitual situation

in the remote past is expressed by the indirective *ptixələ* form (*vidəna*). The motivation for using distinct forms appears to be to express differing degrees of prominence. The *ptixələ* form *vidəna* occurs in a clause giving elaborative background to the term <sup>+</sup>*xayyaṭə* ‘tailors’, whereas as the *vīyyələ bəptaxə* form is in the foreground:

- (5) +*àlmət díyyan*! *nàšət díyyan*! *búš-+raba vīyyəna*! *yán vīyyəna darzìyyə*,!  
 +*xayyaṭə*,! +*xyùṭa vídəna*,! *yán vīyyəna +rabìyyə*,! *yán vīyyəna +pàrča zábúna*.! ‘Our community, our people were mainly either tailors, tailors, doing tailoring, or were teachers, or sold textiles.’ (B 1:33)

### 10.13.15 *vayələ bəptaxə*

The construction is used in narratives to express a progressive action that constitutes the preliminary circumstances of a following main-line narrative that is expressed by the *bəptaxələ* form. The *vayələ* auxiliary heightens the prominence given to the progressive action to mark a boundary in discourse, e.g.

- (1) +*o-kaṭùla-dal* *xína*! *vayələ bəštāya*! ... *márlə ḳàtu*! +*Axíkar ka-+dàv márlə*,! *márlə àna*! *jná látli*.! *là +kṭúlli*.! ‘(As) the executioner is drinking, ... he says to him, Axiqar says to him, he says “I am not guilty. Do not kill me.”’ (A 3:33)
- (2) *vayələ 'árbu +šílu +marruvvè +táma*! *vayələ tīva*.! *mən-+bár xáxča nàjəstan*! *jašúkələ xá báxta cósó bulmàlla*,! *é šádda bolòlolə xína*! *cósó bulmálla +savánta dúla tīla*.! ‘He is grazing his sheep there and is sitting. After a while, suddenly he notices that a woman with tangled hair, the demon monster, her hair tangled, ugly, has come.’ (A 39:33)
- (3) *xá 'urxàči*,! +*bar-nàša*,! *vayələ 'úrxxa bərráxša*.! *ú mən-dápna*t *mèša +vártu*! *pacúrəl ḳat-nùra bəlláyələ*! *'u-méša bəkyàdəl*.! ‘(As) a wayfarer, a man, is going along the road, having entered a forest, he observes that a fire is flaming and the forest is burning.’ (A 47:1)
- (4) *bí dé sépa vayələ bí xívvə +ṭavùlə*,! *mújjar vayələ*! *mən-ṭúpru mxàyələ*,!  
*ṭúpru +bəkṭāyələ*.! ‘While he is playing with the sword with the snake, it happens that he makes a blow on his tail and cuts off his tail.’ (A 46:3)

The construction is also used to express a progressive action that is circumstantial to a perfective event expressed in a preceding clause by a *bəptaxələ* form, e.g.

- (5) xá šábta 'áha +*katkúṭulə ju-nàra*| xá šábta **váyələ dàmma bərráxša ju-nára**.| 'He cuts it up for a week and for a week (during this process) blood is flowing in the river.' (A 39:20)

### 10.13.16 vayəva bəptaxa

This form is used to express progressive actions in the past that constitute the background of following events narrated in the past tense *ptəxlə* form, e.g.

- (1) +*málla váyəva +slùta +salùya*,| *xziləl +tórba tìla*.| '(As) the mullah was praying, he saw a bag come.' (A 14:3)

### 10.13.17 Discourse Motivation for Compound Forms

As has been remarked already in some of the preceding sections, in some cases various verbal forms are used with similar tense-aspect functions and the main motivation for their use is to express different degrees of discourse prominence. This can be seen, for example, in (1), in which the *ci-patəxva*, *bəptaxəva* and *c-aviva bəptaxa* forms are used with the same tense-aspect function. The *ci-patəxva* form can be regarded as the default habitual form. The compound verbal constructions express greater prominence, the *c-aviva bəptaxa* form, with the heaviest coding and compositionality expressing the highest degree of prominence. The speaker is particularly emotionally engaged with the event of squashing grapes in his childhood:

- (1) *yāl-súrə ci-maskívalan +tlá +arpá janàyl c-aváxva +mràča*.| <sup>RjR</sup> *žltax*  
*žtvalal žtxal súral +bèzza*,| *mən-+támə* ō *+xámra bitàyəva júl +kazànča*.|  
*bəškálaluval bədráyuva ju-bòškal ju-+lìna*.| 'They used to take us children up, three or four people, and we would squash (the grapes). Underneath it had a small hole, from where the wine came into a pan. They would take it and put it in a barrel, into a earthen jar.' (B 17:15)

In (2) *bəptaxəva* forms are used to describe the habitual activity of making butter and buttermilk, but the speaker shifts to the default *ci-patəxva* form to give background information on the use of the buttermilk.

- (2) *é másta váyəva +càrra*.| *o +cárра bəškálaluva b-nòšu*,| *íta +ávun pyášəva +dàvvə*.| *b-+dávvə ci-bašláxva bušàla*.| 'The yoghurt becomes butter. They take off the butter by itself, then what remained was buttermilk. With buttermilk we used to cook stew.' (B 17:20)

The passage in (3) describes the custom of building houses. The verbs denoting the foreground building activity are in the *bəptaxəva* form whereas the background section describing how the bricks were made has verbs in the *ci-patəxva* form:

- (3) xácmə betanàna! ... betanánət 'ùprəva.! bí 'àləz +túrsəva.! càrpəč.! jané +tarúsəva bí 'ùpra,! bí tìyna.! ... tìyna,! jólla bariyza! ci-+xołívalə bí do-+tìna! c-odíva cărpıča.! ci-mabrəzzívale +al-yùma.! b-dáni bnáyəva bèta.! 'Some of the houses ... were houses of mud. They were made of mud brick, brick. They used to build themselves with mud, with straw. ... Straw, dry grass, they mixed it with the mud and made bricks. They dried them in the sun. With these they used to build a house.' (B 17:32)

For the discourse motivation for using the heavy *viyyələ ptixa* form instead of the lighter *ptixələ* form, or for using the heavy *viyyələ bəptaxə* form instead of the lighter *ptixələ* form see § 10.13.6., § 10.13.14.

#### 10.14 *kam-patəxlə*

This form is used more frequently in the varieties of the dialect spoken in the northern region of the Urmī plain. It is sporadically found also in other varieties.

The construction is functionally equivalent to the *ptəxlə* form but is restricted to verbs that have a pronominal object in the form of an L-suffix. The L-suffix may express a pronominal direct object or indirect object. As with *ptəxlə*, the basic function of the construction is to express perfectly an event in the past, e.g.

- (1) *kam-yavvəlli pašcàšə*.! 'He gave me gifts.' (A 3:34)  
 (2) *lá kam-yavvánnux +dàna*.! 'I did not give you time.' (A 3:52)

In (3) the form is used to express an event in the recent past with a margin in the present (cf. § 10.3.1.1. for this function of *ptəxlə* verbs). The translation with an English present verb is, therefore, appropriate:

- (3) +rába xdíli *kam-xazzənnux*.! 'I am very pleased to see you.' (A 5:13)

In (4) it used in a conditional construction to refer to a possible event in the future. In the preceding parallel condition the *ptəxlə* form is used, demonstrating the functional equivalence of the two forms:

- (4) *'ən-ána kákx +uldili, 'ánnə 'alpá +dinàrə| kàtina. | 'ən-lá kam-+aldànnux, | 'ət-dìyyux-na.* | 'If I trick you, these thousand dinars are mine. If I do not trick you, they are yours.' (A 22:2)

In (5) it is used with the verb *'avə* where the L-suffix expresses possession. It is perfective, expressing a situation with a temporal boundary followed by a subsequent event:

- (5) *+rába xamxámta kam-àvila, mətlə.* | 'She had a great fever (and then) she died.' (A 1:32)

### 10.15 Active Participles

The active participle of some verbs can be used in the predicate of clauses to express an unscheduled event in the future, i.e. at some unspecified point in the future. This is possible with the active participles *'atyana* 'coming', *'azana* 'going', *+derana* 'returning', *pešana* 'staying' and *parkana* 'finishing', e.g.

- (1) *tíyyəna 'ína 'azànəna.* | 'They have come, but they will go (at some unspecified point in the future).'

Such constructions are often used in a modal sense of deontic necessity or intention, i.e. 'they must go', 'they intend to go'.

If the specific time of the future event is scheduled, the *bət-patax* form is used, e.g.

- (2) *tíyyəna 'ína t-ázi b-+sa'at +tlə.* | 'The have come but they will leave at three o'clock.'

Further examples:

- (3) *'atyàntəla!* 'She will come (at some unknown point in the future).'
- (4) *+derànəvən!* 'I must return (at some unknown point in the future).'
- (5) *'a-+šúla parkànələ.* | 'This job is coming to an end.' (i.e. it is finite, but its specific end-point is not known)

In (6), from the text corpus, the participle *pešana* is connected to an adverbial complement by nominal annexation:

- (6) *'ána lén pešánat làxxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'I do not intend to stay here.' (A 39:21)

The *bət-patax* form without any specification by a time adverbial expresses greater immediacy than the unscheduled future constructions, e.g.

- (7) *b-<sup>+</sup>dèrən*<sup>1</sup> 'I shall return (now).'

The active participle *pešana* 'staying' can be used in a negative unscheduled future construction, e.g.

- (8) *tíyələ 'ína pešána lèlə.*<sup>1</sup> 'He has come, but he will not stay.'

The active participles of other verbs are used as adjectives to attribute a characteristic property to a referent, e.g. *naša +axlana* 'a man who is a (big) eater', *naša šatyana* 'an man who is a (frequent) drinker, a drunkard', or as nouns to refer to practitioners of professions or instruments, e.g. *+jarrana* 'barber', *+sapyana* 'strainer'.

Active participles from transitive verbs may have object arguments. These typically have generic reference and are expressed with nominal syntax, whereby the participle is treated like a nominal and is attached to its object in an annexation relationship:

<i>naša kablanat 'arxa</i>	'man receiving guests, hospitable man'
<i>naša xamyanat cīn</i>	'man bearing a grudge, vindictive'
<i>naša xazyanat pata</i>	'man seeing a face, biased man'
<i>naša +šamtanat kola</i>	'man breaking a promise, perfidious'
<i>naša +šamtanat momita</i>	'man breaking oath, perjuring man'
<i>xa məndi maķdanat ləbba</i>	'something burning the heart, moving'
<i>maxyanat jiba</i>	'striker of pocket, pickpocket'
<i>'odanat keybat</i>	'maker of slander, slanderer'
<i>yavanat burcatə</i>	'one who grants blessings'
<i>zabnanat ctavə</i>	'bookseller'
<i>+jarranat dəkna</i>	'shaver of a beard, barber'
<i>+maķraṭṭanat +tuḍḍuryatə</i>	'clipper of nails, nail-clippers'
<i>+rappanat fulla</i>	'shooter of a bullet, marksman'
<i>+taryanat +arabana</i>	'driver of a coach, coachman'
<i>+xeṭṭanat čacmə</i>	'sewer of boots, bootmaker'

The generic reference of the dependent nouns is a characteristic feature of compound nominals (§ 5.15.). The dependent noun that expresses the object in such annexation constructions may also have a specific referent, in which case the phrase cannot be interpreted as a compound, e.g.

*zabnanət dan-ctava* ‘the seller of those books’

Occasionally the object is expressed with verbal syntax and placed before the participle. Such constructions are always compounds and the object is obligatorily generic:

<i>davla maxyana</i>	‘drum-beater, drummer’
<i>meymun zonana</i>	‘seller of monkeys’
<i>prəzla +taptappana</i>	‘beater of metal’
<i>+čay šatyana</i>	‘tea-drinker’
<i>+faytun +taryana</i>	‘carriage driver’
<i>+jār daryana</i>	‘decree presenter, herald’
<i>+sola +xetana</i>	‘shoe-sewer, cobbler’

Participles of verbs of movement can express the source or goal of the movement by a dependent nominal in an annexation construction, which may be generic (9) or specific (10):

- (9) *bábi ʼazánət +’ùmrələ.* ‘My father is a church-goer.’  
 (10) *nanúnti ʼatyántət Rùsiyyəla.* ‘My grandmother comes from Russian.’

The complement of the participle may be a prepositional phrase. This is placed after the participle. Some of the available examples have the annexation ending on the participle others lack it:

<i>jaškana +’al-ctava</i>	‘sorcerer’
<i>naša la-calyanət +’al-kola</i>	‘man not standing on promise, an inconstant man’

## 10.16 Expression of the Passive

### 10.16.1 Payəš with a Resultative Participle of Transitive verbs to Express the Passive

The passive of a transitive verb is formed productively by combining the verb *payəš* i with the resultative participle of a transitive verb. The tense and aspect of the construction are determined by the form of *payəš*, e.g.

- (1) *píšələ +'uldìyya.* 'He has been deceived.' (A 3:30)
- (2) *'átxa baxtàsəl jári péši +k̥tilə.* 'Such women must be killed.' (A 1:7)
- (3) *'ánnə +'ánvəl ci-pešíva +jummiyyəl b-+k̥arçàlə.* 'The grapes were gathered in baskets.' (B 12:2)
- (4) *har-nipúxtxa=zə mən-míyyət +'ánvə pyášəla šk̥álta.* 'Molasses too is produced from grape juice.' (B 12:8)
- (5) *hál 'údyu yúma=zəl c-óya tanùya| ý +šúla ju-mátət Zumàllan| ju-+maštákxət 'Úrmi| pyášəla vida.* 'It may be said that to this very day this is being done in the village of Zumallan on the plain of Urmi.' (B 11:10)

Such constructions are passives of agentive transitive verbs, i.e. verbs expressing an event that has an initiator, typically a human, and a patient that is affected by the event (§ 4.25.1.2.). The affected patient is made the grammatical subject of *payəš*. The involvement of an agent or cause in the event is implied, though this is generally left unspecified. The agent or cause of the event is occasionally identified in an adjunct prepositional phrase as in (6) and (7):

- (6) *ka-mú pásli +'uldìyya! b-Nátan brùnux?* 'Why was I deceived by Natan your son?' (A 3:52)
- (7) *tálja pásłə mupšárra b-šəmša.* 'The snow was melted by the snow.'

A passive may be formed of transitive phrasal verbs, which consist of a light verb and noun complement (§ 4.26.). The noun complement is kept juxtaposed to the verb:

- (8) a. *bábi ránj mxílə jíyda.* 'My father painted the wall.'
- b. *jíyda pásłə ránj máxya.* 'The wall was painted.'
- (9) a. *bábi +básma bət-maxílə ctáva.* 'My father will print the book.'
- b. *'o-ctáva pásłə +básma máxya.* 'The book was printed.'

A dative complement of a ditransitive verb may be made the subject of a passive construction, e.g.

- (10) a. *bət-yávví zúyza k̥áti.* 'They will give me money.'
- b. *pásli yúvva zúyza.* 'I was given money.'
- (11) a. *+yávvá násá yuvválla zúyza k̥áti.* 'That man gave me money.'
- b. *pásli yúvva zúyza b-+dávvá násá.* 'I was given money by that man.'
- (12) a. *bət-+párri zúyza k̥áti.* 'They will pay me money.'
- b. *pásli +pórya zúyza.* 'I was paid money.'

In (13) the compound *vayəla ptixa* form of a transitive verb is used to express the passive (note that the long form of the auxiliary *bivayəla* is used):

- (13) *ju-cúllə +kéta é-ducta biváyəla +tuptápta b-ķvita.* ‘Throughout the summer this place has been trodden down making it hard.’ (B 10:6)

For more details concerning the semantics of resultative participles see § 4.25. For passive constructions with the infinitive see § 10.17.2.

### **10.16.2 Expressing the Passive by Labile Verbs**

Occasionally agentive transitive verbs are used intransitively to express an event that is not spontaneous and must have an agent. The agent, however, is de-emphasized and is typically non-specific. The verb, moreover, typically denotes a generic or habitual situation, which increases the non-specificity of the agent. Such constructions cannot take adjunct phrases that express the agent:

- (1) *+bar-náša ... járəc +násni.* ‘A human being must be bitten.’ (A 47:6, *+nayəs* I ‘to bite’)
- (2) *'ánnə +šulán járəc +járbi.* ‘These things have to be tested.’ (A 48:7, *+jarəb* II ‘to test’)
- (3) *jári maxnəkni vázzər.* ‘The vizier must be hanged (literally: caused to be throttled).’ (A 48:13, *maknək* III ‘to cause to be throttled’)
- (4) *é-+dān 'atíva násə,* *+búsra parómva ju-màta.* ‘When people came, meat would be slaughtered.’ (B 7:5)
- (5) *tanúyrət díyyan müjjur +šárva?* ‘How was our oven kindled?’ (B 7:10)

The intransitive alternant of the majority of labile verbs expresses a spontaneous action where there is no implication of the involvement of an agent (§ 4.25.1.1.).

### **10.16.3 Payəš with a Resultative Participle of Intransitive Verbs**

In some sporadic cases a form of the verb *payəš* I is used with the resultative participle of an intransitive verb. In (1), for example, it is used with the participle *xiša*. The motivation for this is to make explicit the non-volitional nature of the action:

- (1) *ju-dá 'ùrxal xá mənyána +júrət +'aturáya pəšlə| xiša mən-+'ára.* ‘On this journey a large number of the Assyrians vanished in the middle (before reaching their destination).’ (B 1:15)

## 10.17 Constructions with Infinitives and Verbal Nouns

### 10.17.1 Preliminary Remarks

The infinitive is a different morpheme from the progressive stem. This is shown by distinctions in form between the two in pattern I verbs. Most pattern I progressive bases have an initial *b-* element, which is lacking in the infinitive. As discussed in § 1.15.2., in the current synchronic state of the dialect this *b-* element is part of the progressive stem and not a prefixed preposition. In some pattern I verbs, the internal pattern of the progressive stem is different from that of the infinitive.

	Progressive	Infinitive	Verbal noun
Pattern I	'open' <i>bəptaxa</i>	<i>ptaxa</i>	<i>ptaxta</i>
	'eat' <i>+bixala</i>	<i>+xala</i>	<i>+xalta</i>
	'go' <i>bərraxša</i>	<i>xasa</i>	<i>xašta</i>

In roots with weak radicals, there is a greater tendency for the weak radicals to be contracted in the progressive stem than in the infinitive:

'see'	<i>bəxzaya</i> ~ <i>bəxzə</i>	<i>xzaya</i>	<i>xzeta</i>
'shake'	<i>+bəššaša</i> ~ <i>+bəšyaša</i>	<i>+šyaša</i>	<i>+šyašta</i>

### 10.17.2 Infinitive with Passive Diathesis

One construction in which the infinitive is used is where it is the complement of a form of the verb 'to be' to express that the referent of the grammatical subject of the verb 'to be' has the potential property of undergoing the action of the verb, e.g.

- (1) *'a-móndi c-ávə +xàla.'* 'This thing may be eaten.'
- (2) *'ánnə míyya c-ávi štàya.'* 'This water may be drunk.'
- (3) *'ánnə +'anvə c-avi mabrùzə.'* 'These grapes may be dried.'
- (4) *'ánnə +xəttə c-ávi txàna.'* 'This wheat may be ground.'
- (5) *'a-+tárra c-ávə ptàxa.'* 'This door may be opened.'
- (6) *'ánnə +xábrə c-ávi zmàra.'* 'These words may be sung.'
- (7) *'ánnə yumána lé-'avi mansùya káti.'* 'These days are unforgettable for me.'
- (8) *'a-náša lé-'avə šaxlùpə.'* 'This man is irreplaceable.'
- (9) *+'ávva náša c-ávə maјjùba.'* 'That man is lovable.'

In such cases the infinitive has passive diathesis and the verb 'to be' is typically in a habitual form. The referent of the grammatical subject is the internal

patient argument of the infinitive. One should contrast this with parallel constructions with the progressive stem (*bəptaxa*), which have active diathesis, in that the referent of the grammatical subject of the verb ‘to be’ is the external agent argument, e.g.

- (10) *c-áva +bixàla.* ‘He is (habitually) eating’ (tr.)
- (11) *cul-yúma 'e-+dánat ána ci-+máṭən béta bábi c-ávə bəštáya +čày.* ‘Every day, when I arrive home, my father is drinking tea.’

This potential construction with the infinitive is only possible with infinitives of transitive verbs. It is not available for intransitive verbs, e.g.

- \**c-avə myata* ‘He may die’
- \**c-avə npala* ‘He may fall’

The examples of the potential construction given so far have the imperfective present habitual form of *avə* (*c-avə*). The construction can be used with other forms of the verb, of both imperfective and perfective aspect, e.g.

- (12) *'ánnə míyya c-avíva štáya kùdməl* *'ína 'adíyya lè-'avi štáya.* ‘This water was drinkable yesterday, but is now not drinkable.’
- (13) *'a-+mixúlta víla +xála 'áxči ka-tré yumàna.* ‘This food was edible only for two days.’
- (14) *'a-+mixúlta t-óya +xála 'áxči ka-tré yumàna.* ‘This food will be edible only for two days.’

The subject of the verb may be impersonal, as in (15) and (16), in which the impersonal subject is expressed by the 3fs:

- (15) *cút béta c-óya tanúyə 'átvälə xa-càraz.* ‘Each family, it may be said, used to have a wine-press.’ (B 12:2)
- (16) *lé-'oya tanùvvə.* ‘It cannot be said (it is beyond words).’ (A 42:34)

On some occasions the final -ə of pattern II, pattern III and quadrilateral infinitives is replaced by -a, which is a marginal variant ending of such infinitives, e.g.

- (17) *lé-'avə +paxìlə* ~ *lé-'avə +paxìlə.* ‘It is unforgiveable.’
- (18) *lé-'avə šaxlùpə* ~ *lé-'avə šaxlùpə.* ‘It is irreplaceable.’

Some other verbs can take the place of *'avə* in this type of construction. These include *+bayyə* I 'to want, to need' and *+šarə* II 'to begin', e.g.

- (19) *'a-+cátra +báyyə šràya.* | 'This problem needs to be solved.'
- (20) *'ánnə dádvə +báyyi +ktàla.* | 'These flies must be killed.'
- (21) *'e-+mixúlta +báyya +xàla.* | 'This food needs to be eaten.'
- (22) *'áha móndi +báyyə mattúvvə +al-mìz.* | 'This thing needs to be put on the table.'
- (23) *'áha náša +báyyə +palútə mən-bèta.* | 'This man must be ejected from the house.'
- (24) *+cátra +šuríla šràya.* | 'The problem began to be solved.'
- (25) *batvatè ... +šurílun +matrúsə bí lòbna.* | 'Their houses ... began to be built with bricks.' (B 1:40)

The construction is also used with deontic expressions such as *+lazəm* and *jarəc*, e.g.

- (26) *'a-+tárra +lázəm dvàra.* | 'This door must be closed.'
- (27) *'a-xákla +lazəm dvàra.* | 'This field must be threshed.'
- (28) *'áha móndi jarəc mattúvvə +al-mìz.* | 'This thing must be put on the table.'

This type of construction may be formed from ditransitive verbs. In such cases either the direct object or the dative object can be made subject, e.g.

- (29) *'an-zúyzə +báyyə yáva ka-dán +sarbàza.* | 'The money needs to be given to the soldiers.'
- (30) *'an-sárbažə +báyyi yáva zùyzə.* | 'The soldiers must be given money.'

A further construction in which the infinitive has passive diathesis is one in which it is the complement of the verb *'atə* I 'to come'. In this construction the infinitive has the prefixed preposition *l-*. This is not the locative preposition *+al-* 'to, for, on', but rather appears to be a vestige of the original *\*l-* preposition, which has survived elsewhere in verbal L-suffixes:

- (31) *'áha +šúla bət-'átə l-vàda.* | 'This job can be done.'
- (32) *'áha +cátra bət-'átə l-šràya.* | 'This problem can be solved.'
- (33) *'áha +šúla lé-'atə l-mansùya.* | 'This matter cannot be forgotten (is unforgettable).'
- (34) *'áha +cátra tílə l-šràya.* | 'This problem came to be solved.'
- (35) *'ánnə +cátra tílun l-šràya.* | 'These problems came to be solved.'

### 10.17.3 Infinitive with Active Diathesis

The infinitive is used with active diathesis in a number of negative constructions in which the event expressed by the infinitive is not fulfilled. It is used, for example, in an adverbial function in contexts where it expresses the temporal circumstances of the event of an adjacent main clause, the subject of the infinitive being understood to be that of the main finite verb, e.g.

- (1) *lá +xàla,| xóšlə +al-+šùla.* ‘Not eating (= without eating), he went to work.’
- (2) *lá xzàya,| zvánli ‘a-bèta.* ‘Not seeing (= without seeing it), I bought this house.’
- (3) *lá tàyä,| zubánnə ‘a-beta kàti.* ‘Not coming (= without coming), he sold this house to me.’
- (4) *lá xáša +tàma,| ýána +bøddayən müdi ķuvvàmlə.* ‘Not going there (= without going there), I know what happened.’
- (5) *lá plàxa,| vílə márət zìyza.* ‘Not working (= without working), he became rich.’
- (6) *lá váda hàč móndi,| vílə márət zìyza.* ‘Not doing anything (= without doing anything), he became rich.’
- (7) *yúma lá zràka,| c-ázax jabàxən.* ‘When the sun has not risen, we go and pick (the tobacco).’ (B 3:26)
- (8) *hár la bakúra bæxnàkivat,| háč móndi lá bakúra?* ... *har-átxa bæxnàkivat lá háč móndi tanùya.* ‘Are you hanging without asking (questions), without asking anything? ... You are hanging me like this, without saying anything.’ (A 48:18)
- (9) *lá +bakùrə,| lá hamzùmə,| lá tanúyə xà-mändi,| ķa-díyyux +muktəlli.* ‘Without asking, speaking or saying anything, I had you killed.’ (A 3:45)
- (10) *+vərrə lá fxàca.* ‘He entered without laughing.’
- (11) *+vərrə lá bxàya.* ‘He entered without weeping.’
- (12) *tóvlə lá plàxa.* ‘He sat without working.’
- (13) *ku-tálux Nònvəl har-átxa la-+pláša b-yavvónna kàtux.* ‘Come to Nineveh and I shall give it to you without fighting (without a battle).’ (A 3:19)

The infinitive clause may contain a subject nominal, e.g.

- (14) *+tárra lá ptàxa,| ķàla +šmílə.* ‘The door not opening (= without the door opening), he heard a voice.’

This construction is often used in combination with the particle *+hala* ‘yet’, e.g.

- (15) *+hala lá +mṭáya +al-bèta,| +šmíla kálat +xòru.* ‘Not yet arriving at the house (= before he arrives at the house), he heard the voice of his friend.’
- (16) *+hála +’àvva| +’al-’árra la-kyàta,| vél-bərràká.* ‘While he is not yet touching the ground (= before he touches the ground), he (the other man) flees.’  
(A 6:15)
- (17) *+hála háč-məndi lá và,| bəšvárələ b-rišo| kát našèkla.* ‘Nothing yet happening (= before anything happened), he jumps on her to kiss her.’ (A 34:7, *và < vaya*)
- (18) *+hála la-hamzùməl +tárra mxàyuna.* ‘He not yet speaking (= before he can speak), there is a knock at the door (literally: they hit the door).’  
(A 6:8)

In these constructions the infinitive may take a pronominal object suffix, e.g.

- (19) *lá xzàyu,| fýorrí mənnu.* ‘Not seeing him (= without seeing him), I married him.’
- (20) *lá xzàyu,| +rdíla.* ‘Without seeing him, she liked him.’

A variant of this has *d-la* ‘without’ before the infinitive, typically placed after the main clause, e.g.

- (21) *+rdíla d-lá xzàyu.* ‘She like him without seeing him’

The infinitive may be used with passive diathesis, as in (22), in which the undergoer subject of the infinitive is the subject of the finite verb in the main clause:

- (22) *ju-bétan +mixulta +hála lá +xála baxràvala.* ‘In our house food not yet being eaten, it goes bad.’ (= food goes bad before it is eaten)

A verbal noun may also be used in such adverbial circumstantial constructions, e.g.

- (23) *la +xàlta,| dmàxla.* ‘Not eating (= without eating), he went to sleep’.

There is a greater tendency to use a verbal noun when the main verb is perfective and refers to a specific event with a definite subject, e.g.

- (24) *hammáša lá xzáya ci-zàvən məndiyána.* ‘Always not seeing (= without seeing) he buys things’ (habitual imperfective)

- (25) *la xzèta| zvánnə 'o-bèta.* 'Not seeing (= without seeing it), he bought that house.' (specific perfective)

#### 10.17.4 Infinitive Repeated in Circumstantial Phrases

An infinitive may be used in positive circumstantial phrases denoting progressive aspect if they are repeated. In such cases the infinitives may be placed before or after the main verb. Often, but not regularly, the pair of infinitives has a prosody that is commonly used with asyndetic repetitive constructions whereby the nuclear stress is placed on the final syllable of the first item and if the first item ends in *-ə* this is changed to *-i* (§ 9.13.), e.g.

- (1) *+várrəju-+ótax zmarà zmára.* 'He entered the room singing.'
- (2) *+várrəju-+ótax +xalà +xála.* 'He entered the room eating.'
- (3) *víla hamzúmələ xašà xáša.* 'He spoke as he went along.'
- (4) *víla +tar̥túma tayà táya.* 'He grumbled as he came.'
- (5) *vádli 'a-+šúla +dayà +dáya.* 'I did that consciously' (literally: 'knowing knowing')
- (6) *+várrəju-+ótax +savuri +savúro.* 'He entered the room cursing'
- (7) *+rxaṭà +rxáṭa xášla.* 'He went along running'
- (8) *xúvvə +jrà +jrá xášla.* 'The snake went sliding by'
- (9) *ka-mú myatà myáta bərráxšavət?* 'Why are you walking so slowly?' (Literally: dying dying)

When the verbs *faxəc* I 'to laugh' and *baxə* I 'to weep' are used in such constructions, the abstract nouns *faxca* and *baxya*, which are used as their progressive stems, are generally used instead of the infinitive forms, but the regular infinitive forms *fxaca* and *bxaya* are also used, e.g.

- (10) *+várrəju-+ótax fəxcà fxáca.* ~ *+várrəju-+ótax fxacà fxáca.* 'He entered the room laughing'
- (11) *+várrəju-+ótax bəxyà bxaya.* ~ *+várrəju-+ótax bxayà bxáya.* 'He entered the room weeping'

Abstract nouns corresponding to the progressive stems of the verbs *paləx* I 'to work' and *'azəl* I 'to go', viz. *pəlxana* and *rəxša*, are, by contrast, not used in these constructions. Only the infinitive forms *plaxa* and *xaša* are used:

- (12) *plaxà pláxa xášla.* 'He went along working (as he went)'
- (13) *xašà xáša mənni hamzúmələ.* 'He is speaking to me as he walks along'

In (14) the second pair of infinitives have suffixes that are coreferential with the subject:

- (14) *'ána bərráššən rkáda rkáda, švári švári'* 'I am going, dancing and leaping'  
(A 52:1)

The progressive stem is only marginally used in such constructions, e.g.

- (15) *+bixalà +bixála xášla.* 'He went along eating.'  
(16) *+bərxatà, +bərxáta xášla.* 'He went along running.'

Similar adverbial constructions are found with other repeated elements. This applies in particular to expressions that are related to quadrilateral verbs such as (17) and (18):

- (17) *bajù-baju xášla.* 'He crawled along.' (cf. *bajbaj* Q1 'to crawl')  
(18) *lənyò-lənyo xášla.* 'He limped along' (cf. *lanjən* Q1 'to limp')

In corresponding constructions with a negated circumstantial phrase, a single infinitive is used, including in constructions with the verbs *faxəc* and *baxə*, e.g.

- (19) *tóvlə là +xálə.* 'He sat without eating.'  
(20) *tunílə masála là fxáca.* 'He told a story without laughing.'  
(21) *+várrə là bxáya.* 'He came in without weeping.'

Negated infinitives can be fronted, as already seen, but this is not possible with single positive infinitives:

- (22) *lá xáša +támə, 'ána +bəddayən múdi kuvvəmlə.* 'Without going there, I know what happened.'  
(23) *\*xáša +támə, 'ána +bəddayən múdi kuvvəmlə.* 'By going there, I know what happened.'

### 10.17.5 Infinitive as Inner Object

Pattern 1 verbs may take an infinitive from the same root in object position in constructions such as the following:

- (1) *xá +xálə +xálə.* 'He ate a (great) eating (= he stuffed himself).'  
(2) *xá mxáya mxílə.* 'He hit a (great) hitting (= he beat hard).'  
(3) *xá zmára zmárrə.* 'He sang a (great) singing (= he sang so well).'

- (4) *xá rkàda rkádlə.* ‘He danced a (great) dancing (= he danced so well).’
- (5) *xá štàyá štíla.* ‘He drank a (great) drinking (= he had a good drink).’
- (6) *xá dmàxa dmáxlə.* ‘He slept a (great) sleeping (= he had a good sleep).’

Here the infinitive is the inner object of the verb rather than an affected argument. The function of the construction is to express intensity.

In (7) a progressive stem is used in place of the infinitive:

- (7) *xa-bóxya bàxyələ.* ‘He wept bitterly.’ (A 50:9)

In equivalent constructions with verbs from patterns II and III and with quadrilateral verbs the inner object is generally expressed by a verbal noun, e.g.

- (8) *xá bašálta bušálłə.* ‘He cooked a (great) cooking (= he cooked a lot).’
- (9) *xa +maddárta +muddárrə.* ‘He vomited a (great) vomiting (= he vomited a lot).’
- (10) *xa-+makréta +muķriyyélun.* ‘They gave them a (good) education.’ (A 42:4)
- (11) *xa čakčákta čakčékkvá.* ‘They were chattering a (great) chattering (= they were having a good old natter).’

In (12) an infinitive expressing an inner object is used in an interrogative construction. The motivation for this is to reinforce the verb to a desiderative bias in the question, i.e. the speaker wants the answer to be positive (§ 12.11.1.):

- (12) *kabúlə p-kábli árxə?* ‘Do they accept guests?’ (A 43:14)

A verbal noun object from the same root as the verb may be used also in contexts that do not express intensity, e.g.

- (13) *bæzmárəva xa zmàrtə.* ‘He was singing a song.’
- (14) *šmáyya karkúməva karkàmtə.* ‘The sky was thundering thunder.’

#### **10.17.6 Infinitive as an Argument of a Verb**

An infinitive sporadically occurs as an argument of a verb where it is not an inner object, e.g.

- (1) *tílə xmàra, +buťállə zmàrə.* ‘An ass has come and spoilt the singing.’ (said when an unwelcome guest arrives)
- (2) *slàba vâyələ.* ‘There is pillaging.’ (A 41:7)

- (3) *b-dá mərtùxa| xá txàra c-avíva.* ‘With this (festival of) cake dough a memorial took place.’ (B 11:5)
- (4) *lá ’ána kátux purðkli mán ... | kyàda?* ‘Did I not rescue you from the conflagration?’ (A 47:2)

It may also be the complement of a noun in an annexation construction, e.g.

- (5) *’átvalan kənyánət +xlàva.* ‘We had dairy cattle (literally: cattle of milking).’ (B 3:31)
- (6) *’an-júllə júrət dmàxa| t-ína malàpa.* ‘the big clothing of sleeping (bedding), that is sheets’ (B 17:27)
- (7) *’ánvət +xàla.* ‘grapes for eating’ (B 2:3)
- (8) *’át mändit pyáša lèt.* ‘You are not something worthy of living.’ (A 47:9)

#### **10.17.7 *The Syntax of Verbal Nouns and the Relative Distribution of Verbal nouns and Infinitives***

A verbal noun may take a pronominal suffix, which may refer to the subject of the main verb, e.g.

- (1) *’ú mən-dápñət mèša +vártu| pacúrəl kat-nùra +bəlláyələ.* ‘Having gone alongside a forest, he sees that a fire is flaming.’ (A 47:1)

The subject of the verbal noun may also be left unrepresented by a pronoun, e.g.

- (2) *mən-xúvva +taválta| jašúkələ +al-júyda xá dàna| sèpa.* ‘Whilst he was playing with the snake, he sees a sword on the wall.’ (A 46:3)
- (3) *mádənxa pràtta,| kedàmta,| +hala hác-xa +hayvàna,| hác-xa| mändi lèl jvìja,| +bar-náša bitàyəl pátu ’ídu +xallutéljáv +’äyna.* ‘As the dawn breaks, early in the morning, when no animal, nothing has moved, the human comes and washes his face and hands in the spring.’ (A 47:9)

If the verb in the non-finite verbal form in the subordinate clause has a following nominal object complement or prepositional phrase complement, a verbal noun rather than an infinitive is used, e.g.

- (4) *lá xzétət báxtu| xàšlə.* ‘Not seeing his wife (= without seeing his wife), he went.’
- (5) *lá +xaltət +tám̥ta,| xášlə +al-+šùla.* ‘Not eating breakfast (= without eating breakfast), he went to work.’

- (6) *lá ptáxtat<sup>+</sup>tàrra,| kálo<sup>+</sup>šmíla.* ‘Not opening the door (= without opening the door), he heard her voice.’
- (7) *lá téta<sup>+</sup>al-bèta,| zvànnə.* ‘Not coming to the house (= without coming to the house), he bought it.’
- (8) *lá parpálta bìyyu,| xàšla.* ‘Not pleading with him (= without pleading with him), she went.’

If, however, the complement comes before the non-finite verbal form, an infinitive may be used, as shown by:

- (9) *+hála<sup>+</sup>árra<sup>+</sup>al-árra la-kyàta,| vél-bàrràka.* ‘While he is not yet touching the ground (= before he touches the ground), he (the other man) flees.’ (A 6:15)

A negative infinitive is also attested with a postposed generic object *xa-məndi* in:

- (10) *lá<sup>+</sup>baķùra,| lá hamzùmo,| lá tanúyə xà-məndi,| ka-díyyux<sup>+</sup>mukṭəlli.* ‘Without asking, speaking or saying anything, I had you killed.’ (A 3:45)

The infinitive may be combined with the preposition *ka-* in constructions expressing potential events such as the following:

- (11) *kurkózla ka-xàša.* ‘He prepared to go.’
- (12) *’ána dún karbúna ka-myàta.* ‘I am getting close to dying.’ (A 32:3)
- (13) *’áyən-da bnítəla<sup>+</sup>pátvo xá mòtra<sup>+</sup>ka-dmàxa.* ‘It (a platform) is built a metre in width for sleeping.’ (B 17:33)
- (14) *e-pákka ka-jvàrəva.* ‘The frog was (read) to marry.’ (A 52:1)
- (15) *’è<sup>+</sup>dána<sup>+</sup>áxnan ci<sup>+</sup>maṭáxva šánnan ka-jvàra.* ‘when we used to reach the age of marrying (literally: we reached our years for marrying).’ (B 5:1)

When the verb is transitive and the argument that would serve as subject of the verb is mentioned in the construction, the infinitive is read as being of active diathesis with the same subject, e.g.

- (16) *’an-t-íva-Ruže<sup>R</sup> mən-+bár díyyan ka-maštùyə.* ‘those whose turn it was after us to irrigate’ (B 17:31)
- (17) *’ána nùyna ’ótli ka-zabùna.* ‘I have fish to sell.’ (A 34:3)
- (18) *brùni<sup>l</sup> hác-məndi látlan ka-+xàla.* ‘My son, we have nothing to eat.’ (A 35:2)

If the subject argument is not mentioned in the construction, the infinitive should be interpreted as being active with an unspecified subject, e.g.

- (19) *ju-dáha mdíta lát hæč-móndi ka-xzaya.* | 'In this town there is nothing to see (= there is nothing for anybody to see).'

In (20) there is no preposition linking the verbal argument with the infinitive:

- (20) *+dán-t sátva móndi +xála lèl váya.* | 'In the time of winter there is nothing to eat.' (B 15:1)

A verbal noun may be used instead of an infinitive, e.g.

- (21) *láttən hæč-móndi láxxa ka-štèta.* | 'There is nothing here to drink.'

- (22) *kurkázlə ka-xášta.* | 'He prepared to go.'

The use of a verbal noun is the norm in such constructions if it takes an object or prepositional phrase as a complement:

- (23) *mádrəjúyda bnáyəva áxči cùpa! ka-dmàxtat +állu,| ka-+xàltat +állu.* | 'They build another wall, but a low one for sleeping on, for eating on.' (B 17:34)

When a preposition is used before a non-finite verb in other contexts, it is the norm to use a verbal noun rather than an infinitive. The function of the construction varies according to the preposition, e.g.

Temporal Adverbial (*ju-/ja-, +bar, m-+bar, mən-ķam, b-*)

- (24) *har-ju-+várto +táma,| ó cačála xína kač-íva +tàjər vídu| ... bəkyáməl màra!*  
 'As soon as she enters there, the other bald man whom he had made into the merchant ... gets up and says ...' (A 1:37)
- (25) *'ína +arrá-óya ķíta! míyya ju-dreté míyya c-ázi.* | 'But (if) the ground is hard, when water is poured out, the water flows away.' (A 3:11)
- (26) *har-ju-béta ju-+vartè,| bráta máyala xáčča tiyma.* | 'As soon as they enter the house, the girl brings some garlic.' (A 35:17)
- (27) *+bár +mráčtət 'ánnə 'ánvə,| 'ánnə míyyət ... +'ánvə ci-darívalun ju-xácma ... +tajářat ci-+karáxlun.* | 'After crushing the grapes, they used to pour the juice of the grapes into what we used to call "bins."' (B 12:2)
- (28) *mən-ķám xzètu,| +štíli +čay.* | 'Before seeing him, I drank tea.'

Purpose (*ka-*)

- (29) *xá-mənne c-atíva*,<sup>1</sup> *ju-xa-mzída* *+júrta* *míyya ci-malíva mən-de-+’yna*  
*labólva ... ka-šteté*.<sup>2</sup> ‘One of them would come and fill up a big waterskin  
 with water from that spring, and would take it for them to drink.’ (A 37:7)
- (30) *’é-+dana b-yúma tanúyra c-odívalə ka-làxma pyéta*.<sup>3</sup> ‘At that time, during  
 the day they used the oven for baking bread.’ (B 14:2)
- (31) *’á ’axúna +júra kát ’átlə xačlánə +rāba* *bitáyəla* *+bačlábəla mən-’axínu*  
*+hayyárta* *kat-’ázəl* *+hayyər kátu* *ka-+xzáttə* *ka-’ráštət məndi*.<sup>4</sup> ‘The eldest  
 brother who has many fields comes and asks his brother for help, to go to  
 help him for harvesting, for transporting things.’ (A 38:2)
- (32) *+júrə +kərtálə ka-+’anvə frášta*.<sup>5</sup> ‘large panniers for transporting grapes’  
 (B 10:11)

Means (*b-*):

- (33) *b-jaššaktət +’al- dà +šúla* *’úp matvátə xìnə=zə* *+šurílun* ‘By looking at this,  
 also other villages began (to do so).’ (B 11:14)

Constructions with verbal nouns expressing purpose without a preceding preposition are occasionally found, e.g.

- (34) *t-azíva riša basámta*.<sup>6</sup> ‘They would go to offer their condolences.’ (B 5:6)

Negation (*b-la*)

- (35) *b-lá xášta +táma*,<sup>7</sup> *’ána +bəddáyən múdi* *kuvvəmlə*.<sup>8</sup> ‘Without going there, I  
 know what happened.’
- (36) *b-lá téta ləxxa*,<sup>9</sup> *’ána +bəddáyən múdi* *kuvvəmlə*.<sup>10</sup> ‘Without coming here, I  
 know what happened.’
- (37) *b-lá vátta háč məndi*,<sup>11</sup> *víla márət zùyzə*.<sup>12</sup> ‘Without doing anything, he  
 became rich.’

A temporal adverbial phrase containing a verbal noun may also be introduced by a noun with temporal adverbial function, e.g.

- (38) *brúnu +jura xəšlə* *+dánət +mṭétət xabùša*.<sup>13</sup> ‘His elder son went at the time  
 of the ripening of the apple.’ (A 39:2)

A pronominal argument of the event is expressed by a pronominal suffix. When the verb is transitive, a pronominal suffix on the verbal noun may express the subject of the action, as in (39), or its object, as in (40):

(39) *ju-xzéti kàtè| +dárri bëta.* ‘On my seeing them, I returned home.’

(40) *ju-xzetè| +dárri bëta.* ‘On seeing them, I returned home.’

The subject of the action may be left unindexed by a pronominal suffix, e.g.

- (41) *hár mən-+tárra ju-+vàrta,| átxa labùlə| bábo ríxu bəškàləl,| bəkyáməl bətyàvələ.* ‘As soon as she enters the door, she takes it, his father smells it and he sits up.’ (A 42:29)
- (42) *+áv +tárra ju-ptàxta| xá +rápsa ju-+xásu màxət.* ‘When he opens the door, give him a kick on his back.’ (A 42:8)

In (43)–(45), which lack a suffix on the verbal noun, the subject is impersonal, e.g.

- (43) *+tárra mxàyuna.| +tárra ju-mxèta,| mára +kótm̥a b-riši!| +jóri +vàrrə.* ‘They (impersonal) bang the door. When they (impersonal) bang the door, she says “Ash be on my head! My husband has entered.”’ (A 6:8)
- (44) *+tárra mxilun,| +tuktàkłun| ... +ták ju-vàtta| +tárra ptóxli +bar-dàha.* ‘They (impersonal) banged on my door, they (impersonal) knocked ... When they (impersonal) knocked, I opened the door after him (the presumed knocker).’ (A 2:26–29)
- (45) *har-šátla ja-mattéta bətpàyələ.* ‘As soon as they (impersonal) plant the seedling, it takes root.’ (B 3:2)

In (46) an object is fronted before a subject constituent. The pronominal suffix on the verbal noun is of ambiguous reference:

- (46) *hár +tárra +áv ju-ptàxtu| xá-dana b-+rápsa mxílə ju-+xásu.* ‘As soon as he opened the door, he gave him a kick on his back.’ (A 42:9)

A verbal noun is connected to a following nominal argument by nominal annexation. If the event involves an agent and an affectee, the dependent nominal may be either of these arguments, e.g. *+mráčtat úmna ànvə* ‘the crushing of those grapes’. (B 12:2), *bašáltat nipùxta* ‘the cooking of molasses’ (B 12:8), *b-+tráptat| nipùxta|* ‘through the beating of the molasses’ (B 12:5), *b-xá mxétat dá +čap̥pàltə|* ‘with one blow of this club’ (A 37:8).

A subject, direct object nominal or a prepositional phrase that is the complement of the verb may be placed before the verbal noun with verbal syntax, e.g. *m-+bára +barrànta ... hal-yúma, fnéta* ‘from light appearing ... until the day setting’ (A 47:6), *+dān +bára +barrànta* ‘at the time of light appearing’ (A 48:4), *ju-beta +tarasta* ‘in building a house,’ *ka-’árač +paláčta* ‘for producing arak’ (B 17:17), *ká dárta cnášta* ‘for sweeping the yard’ (B 17:38), *hal mən-+xalva +kteta* ‘until cutting off from milk (= until weaning).’ In (47) the object is placed after the verbal noun with verbal syntax and not by annexation:

- (47) *ja-’átxa +marámta á, jdàla| ’átxa hálka| napálva b-kdalo.* ‘When it raises the string, the ring would fall on its neck.’ (B 4:7)

The object of the second verbal noun in (48) is fronted before the preposition:

- (48) *ja-+púzo ’átxa mxéta rišo ja-+marámta, áha b-+xalàsva a-hálka.* ‘When it put its beak in and raised its head, this would tighten the ring.’ (B 4:9)

If the verb has both an object and a preposition phrase complement, one of these is placed after the verbal noun in an annexation relationship, e.g. *ká mändi mattétat +’allo* ‘for putting something on it’ (B 17:52).

If the verbal noun has a nominal determiner in the form, for example, of a demonstrative pronoun, the construction must have nominal syntax and the object is placed after the verbal noun in a nominal annexation, e.g. *ju-de-+tarastat beta* ‘in this building of a house.’

If the argument of the verb has a nominal determiner, then either the annexation or verbal construction is possible, e.g. *ju-+tarastat do beta* ‘in building that house,’ *ju-dá +xlíyla vátta* ‘when holding this wedding’ (A 55:5). As can be seen in the last example, in the verbal construction the determiner is in the oblique form after the preposition.

When a nominal object or prepositional phrase complement is fronted before the verbal noun, the verbal noun may take a pronominal suffix. The pronominal suffix may refer to the subject or the object of the verb, see (46). Further examples:

- (49) *+šrá ju-tapétu bæxzáyələ ’ína ’àrxa dmíxələ.* ‘When he lights the lamp, he sees that the guest is asleep.’ (A 5:17)
- (50) *+tárra ju-ptàxtu bæxzáyələ mujtàyyad mən-xa-bàxtalə.* ‘When he opens the door, he sees that the jurist is with a woman.’ (A 7:8)
- (51) *mən-vètu hál mən-+xálva +ktetu.* ‘from his birth until his weaning’ (literally: ‘cutting him from milk’)

The pronominal suffix may refer to the subject of intransitive verbs in constructions such as (52):

- (52) *+málla ju-kyàmtu| dúcto šaxlùpola.* ‘When the mullah rises, she changes her place.’ (A 5:15)

In the temporal constructions (49), (50) and (52) with the preposition *ju-* it can be seen that the definite nominal arguments are fronted before the preposition. In a construction such as *ju-beta +tarasta*, with the object kept adjacent to the verbal noun, the object is typically indefinite and generic ('in building a house'). This applies also to other prepositions combined with the verbal noun, e.g.

- (53) *+ktíla yála mən +xàlva +myásta.* ‘She weaned the child from sucking milk (generic).’

A verbal noun may be the subject of a clause, e.g.

- (54) *kát ... dyánti óya dùz.* ‘so that my judgement be just.’ (A 38:6)

A verbal noun is used as the complement of a verb or expression. This may be a direct complement (55–56) or one that is connected to its complement by a preposition (57–60), e.g.

- (55) *malúpon sxèta.* ‘I have taught her to swim.’ (A 20:2)

- (56) *’áxnan lìpəx| dùz dùcta xéta.* ‘We are used to living in a flat place.’ (B 16:2)

- (57) *blíjəvən b-ctàvta.* ‘I am busy with writing.’

- (58) *blíjəvən b-+bázar vátta.* ‘I am busy with shopping.’

- (59) *dún ƙarbúnə +al-prákta +šùla.* ‘I am approaching completion of the job.’

- (60) *ctáva ƙarbúnələ +al-prákta.* ‘The book is approaching completion.’

The infinitive that is the complement of a preposition in (61), which is found in the text corpus, is anomalous:

- (61) *’ána blájtən b-bašùlə.* ‘I am busy with cooking.’ (A 19:1)

## 10.18 Direct Object

### 10.18.1 Objects Expressed by Pronominal Suffixes

The expression of pronominal direct objects as suffixes on the various verbal forms has been described in § 4.16.–4.19. Here we shall restrict ourselves to some remarks concerning the marking of pronominal objects on past template verbs.

Examples from the text corpus of pronominal objects expressed with S-suffixes on past template verbs in an ergative type of construction include:

- (1) *+kt̥ilàli* 'I have killed her.' (A 1:9)
- (2) *là +kt̥iláli*.| *švi᷑kàli*.| 'I did not kill her. I spared her.' (A 1:35)
- (3) *mòtlal* 'u-+tumràli'.| *díva +xilála*.| 'She died and I buried her. A wolf ate her.' (A 1:17)
- (4) *muttálí cás +hàjìl* 'I placed her with the pilgrim.' (A 1:44)
- (5) *supyálə b-yòmmu*.| 'He delivered her into the care of his mother.' (A 1:15)
- (6) *'ána-da xumyèli*.| 'So I kept them.' (A 10:5)
- (7) *muyyàlux?* 'Have you brought her?' (A 2:10)
- (8) *'ána muyyèli*.| 'I have brought them.' (A 36:14)
- (9) *vidèlan*.| 'We have done them.' (A 3:55)

The 3ms S-suffix is zero:

- (10) *'ánnə dvòkluṇ*.| 'They seized him.' (A 36:6)
- (11) *'u-+pulàɬluṇ* *váddar lubàlluṇ*.| 'and they took him out, took him outside.' (B 6:2)
- (12) *màlcàl* *+pšòmləl* *+pšòmləl* *kat-ka-mùl* *+kt̥àlluṇ* *'ína 'ána lènva +kt̥ílu*.| *lubólli yuvvàlli ka-màlcà*.| 'The king was sad, he was sad (and wondered) why they killed him, but I had not killed him. I took him and gave him to the king.' (A 3:34)
- (13) *xurdílə b-kdàlu*.| *nšòkla*.| 'He wound himself around his neck and kissed him.' (A 3:85)

1st and 2nd person pronominal objects may also be expressed by S-suffixes on past template verbs, but these are less frequently used than 3rd person objects. They are rarely encountered in the text corpus, in which 1st and 2nd person objects of past template verbs are normally expressed by independent prepositional phrases. Some attested examples include:

- (14) *kàm +murrəššənnux?* ‘Why have you woken me?’ (A 42:34)
- (15) *mèymun vidánná, zubnànná.* ‘She made me (fs.) into a monkey, she sold me (fs.).’ (A 44:9)
- (16) *báxti har-kámtat cíllə +uldiyyànná.* *zubnànná báxti.* ‘My wife before everybody else tricked me. My wife betrayed me.’ (A 48:23)
- (17) *lubláxlun ju-de-mátat bi-savùni.* ‘They took us to the village of the family of my grandfather.’ (B 6:7)

Many speakers have difficulty processing past verbs with objects expressed by 1st or 2nd person S-suffixes. Particular processing difficulties are manifested by speakers when the pronominal subject of such verbs, expressed by an L-suffix, is also 1st or 2nd person, e.g.

- (18) *xəzyànnux.* ‘You saw me.’

When a past template verb has a 1st or 2nd person pronominal object, speakers find it easier to process when it has a 3rd person subject, e.g.

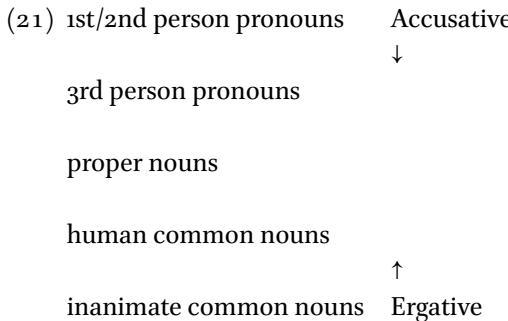
- (19) *xəzyànnə.* ‘He saw me.’

Some speakers who accept (19) do not accept (18). All speakers, however, unproblematically accept verbs with 3rd person objects irrespective of the person of the subject.

This scale of preferences can be represented thus (the symbol > being read as ‘more favoured than’):

- (20) 3rd S + 3rd L > 1st/2nd S + 3rd L > 1st/2nd S + 1st/2nd L

This situation can be explained by the relative morphological markedness of S-suffixes and L-suffixes. S-suffixes are morphologically unmarked whereas L-suffixes are morphologically marked since they are structurally more complex (Doron and Khan 2012). In constructions with 1st or 2nd person objects expressed with unmarked S-suffixes there is a mismatch between the syntactic status of the suffixes as object and the unmarkedness of their morphological coding. The role of object is a marked function for 1st and 2nd person pronouns, more so than for 3rd person pronouns, i.e. 1st and 2nd person pronouns are less likely to be objects than 3rd person pronouns. This is a reflection of Silverstein’s (1976) hierarchy for the split between accusative and ergative syntax on the basis of the property of arguments, which may be represented as follows:



This predicts that 1st and 2nd person pronominal objects are more likely to be accusative, i.e. more likely to have the morphologically marked accusative case than 3rd person pronominal objects in languages that exhibit both accusative and ergative alignment strategies. In C. Urmî ergative syntax is the expression of the object by S-suffixes and accusative syntax is its expression by independent prepositional phrases.

As for the preference hierarchy found in C. Urmî (20), this correlates with the predictions of Silverstein's hierarchy with regard to subject arguments. 3rd person pronoun subjects favour ergative marking more than 1st and 2nd person pronouns. A 1st and 2nd person subject expressed by an ergative L-suffix is, therefore, more semantically marked than a 3rd person ergative L-suffix. A verbal construction that has an object expressed by a 1st or 2nd person S-suffix and a subject expressed by a 1st or 2nd person L-suffix is, therefore, doubly marked semantically.

As indicated in § 4.3.5., this situation reflects the fact that the S-suffixes are the objects of an ergative construction and not the subjects of passive constructions, since there are no constraints on the subject of present template verbs expressed by S-suffixes. Further evidence can be adduced for analysing the referent of the L-suffix as the subject of an ergative construction and the S-suffixes as object rather than considering the S-suffixes as subject of a passive construction with the L-suffixes adjunct agentive phrases. This includes the fact that the subject expressed by the L-suffix binds a reflexive object, e.g.

- (22) *+kt̪iláłəjànu.* 'He killed himself' (the reflexive base *jan-* is fs.)

If the S-suffix was the subject of a passive construction and the L-suffix was an agentive adjunct, the reflexive pronoun could not be used in the way illustrated by this example, since a reflexive pronoun cannot be subject.

The ergativity is morphological ergativity and not syntactic ergativity,<sup>3</sup> i.e. the argument expressed by the unmarked S-suffix is not the syntactic pivot, rather the pivot is the argument expressed by the L-suffix. From a syntactic point of view, the argument expressed by the L-suffix of a past template verb behaves like the subject argument expressed by an S-suffix in a present template verb.

- (23) a. *'e-báxta bráto maxyàla| 'u-xàšla.|*  
          'The woman beat her daughter and went away.'  
 b. *'e-báxta bráto bət-maxyàla| 'u-bət-'àzla.|*  
          'The woman will beat her daughter and go away.'

In both (23a) and (23b) the default subject of conjoined clause is interpreted as being 'the woman' and this shows that in each case it is the syntactic pivot. If the speaker wishes to express the fact that the daughter went away, a strategy is needed that would indicate discontinuity and disjunction of an expected sequence, such as the use of an independent subject pronoun (§ 12.5.3.):

- (24) a. *'e-báxta bráto maxyàla| 'u-'áy xàšla.|*  
          'The woman beat her daughter and she (the daughter) went away.'  
 b. *'e-báxta bráto bət-maxyàla| 'u-'áy bət-'àzla.|*  
          'The woman will beat her daughter and she (the daughter) will go away.'<sup>4</sup>

#### 10.18.2 *Objects Expressed by Independent Nominal or Pronominal Phrases*

When the direct object is an independent nominal or pronominal phrase, various types of syntactic construction are used.

##### 10.18.2.1 No Grammatical Marking

The object has no grammatical marking either on the nominal or on the verb in the form of a pronominal suffix agreeing with the object on the verbal base.

This is the usual construction when the object nominal is indefinite, both when it has a specific referent and also when the referent is a generic class, e.g.

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3 For the distinction between morphological and syntactic ergativity see Dixon (1994).

4 For further discussion of the typology of ergative in C. Urmi and other NENA dialects see Khan (2016).

- (1) *mátti +alámat +al-dà-beta.* | 'Put a sign on this house. (= Mark this house).' (A 2:8)
- (2) *xa-+bózza bəšvákəna| kat-napásu lə-+kattá.* | 'They leave a hole so that his breathing would not be cut off.' (A 3:36)
- (3) *xa-dána +kátu dùkun.* | 'Catch a cat.' (A 3:78)
- (4) *dvíkələ xa-+kátu ju-+xiyávand.* | 'He has caught a cat in the street.' (A 3:79)
- (5) *ána +xəltá víðən.* | 'I have made an error (= I have erred).' (A 3:48)
- (6) *béta +tarsíva biyyé.* | 'They used to build a house with them.' (B 2:18)
- (7) *késa ci-mattíva +xlíma ýátxa.* | 'They used to place a piece of wood, thick like this.' (B 2:19)
- (8) *+šáda| kámta c-yáva +tárpa.* | 'An almond tree first gives leaves.' (A 3:12).
- (9) *+mardáxxax miyya jávu.* | 'Let's boil water in it.' (A 37:19)

When the reciprocal pronoun *+uydalə* has the syntactic position of direct object, there is no pronominal object copy on the verb, e.g.

- (10) *bóxya bəxþákəna +uydále.* | 'Weeping, they embrace one another.' (A 1:37)
- (11) *nšákłun +uydalə.* | 'They kissed one another.' (A 1:4)

There is no pronominal object copy when the verb takes a demonstrative pronoun as object that is non-referential in constructions such as (12):

- (12) *+bəxdàrəva,| bəxzáyəva +àvva,| bəxzáyəva +àvva,| bəxzáyəva àha.* | 'He wandered around and saw that one (i.e. some unspecified person), saw that one, saw this one.' (A 10:1)

When a clause introduces a class or non-specific referent by means of an indefinite noun and this has the status of object of the verb in the following clause, a pronominal object pronoun is often omitted on the verb in the second clause, e.g.

- (13) *ýázət xa-tóra zònət| màyyət.* | 'Go and buy an ox and bring it back.' (A 35:4)
- (14) *máyyət +rába jòzə,| +šámčax.* | 'You should bring walnuts and we shall break them.' (A 39:42)
- (15) *ye-+dánət c-azálva ptána c-avàdva,| níyna ju-+árra ci-+palčíva,| ci-mayyíva bëta.* | 'When he used to go and plough, fish used to come out of the ground and he would bring them home.' (A 36:13)
- (16) *ýna ána lénva +šámya xá-’axčá mèndi,| lén-xàzya.* | 'But I had not heard of such a thing, I have not seen it.' (A 36:13)

- (17) *'ána ƙa-riŋa b-yávvən bráta?* *'ána lè yávvən kátu.* 'Would I give a daughter to a servant? I will not give her to him.' (A 42:18)
- (18) *táni ƙa-yámmax šákla xá-dana +píra +palliyya.* 'Say to your mother that she should take a lamb and share it out.' (A 43:12)
- (19) *brát +aràllagj báššax dážmən maxàxlə* *šákłax màyyax.* 'We are going to attack the enemy, take a middle daughter and bring her back.' (A 45:11)

In (20) the omission of the pronominal object suffix extends over a sequence of two subsequent clauses, which form a tightly knit unit (§ 13.4.):

- (20) *c-àtəl cút-yum móriša +táma ƙésa +jàmməl lábəl zàbən.* 'He comes every day in the morning to gather wood, to take away to sell.' (A 43:18)

For further discussion of this phenomenon see § 13.4.

The pronominal copy is occasionally omitted when the object is definite. In the majority of the attested cases the object is placed after the verb. The occurrences may be classified as follows:

(i) Definite objects of irrealis verbs or verbs expressing a situation concerning which there is doubt, e.g.

- (21) *'ánnə +'ómza vódlun! kàt! hác-naša hák lòtlə* *'áta šákəl 'ánnə dàvə.* 'They signed (an agreement) that nobody has a right to come to take these gold coins.' (A 10:5)
- (22) *ju-de-+dánta +tárра mxílun!* *xášli +tárра pátxən xzili* *'an-tre-+xuravay-xínə tília.* 'At that moment there was a knock at the door. I went to open the door and I saw that the other two friends had come.' (A 10:7)
- (23) *lén +bəddá mú-tahar á +duxrána álahə p-ƙàbəl.* 'I do not know how God will accept this offering.' (A 43:10)
- (24) *'ána 'ánnə yálə mù-tar b-xámən?* 'How can I look after these children?' (A 45:1)

(ii) Definite object nominals of imperatives and deontic expressions, e.g.

- (25) *šálax tumbànux!* 'Take off your trousers!' (A 7:3)
- (26) *'át mxí zàrbux!* 'You strike your blow!' (A 39:13)
- (27) *xélux máxzil!* 'Show your strength.' (A 39:12) [Contrast what follows: *'ána hammáša yávvən pórṣat ká dážmànni,* *dážmànni kámta xélu maxzílə,* *+xàrta 'ána xéli maxzánna.* 'I always give the opportunity to my enemy for my enemy first to show his strength, then I show my strength.]

- (28) *+xóloxun +šàdərrun!* ‘Send your rope.’ (A 39:15)  
 (29) *’álaha tálax talmidux!* ‘May God destroy your disciples.’ (A 42:21)

The same applies to the reflexive pronoun *jan-* which normally takes a pronominal copy on the verb when it is an object (§ 9.3.2.) but there is no pronominal copy if the verb is an imperative, e.g.

- (30) *+ráppijánux* ‘Throw yourself’ (A 7:16)

Although in some of the cases cited above the object is placed before the imperative, there is a greater tendency for the pronominal copy to be omitted if the object is postposed. Compare, for example, (31) and (32):

- (31) *+súrun ’ídat dá +bər-càlba.* ‘Tie the hands of this son of a dog!’ (A 7:16)  
 (32) *’idə-aklé +súrunlun.* ‘Tie their hands and feet!’ (A 1:49)

When questioned, moreover, my informants accepted the omission of the pronominal copy in (33) but not in (34), in which they stated it is obligatory:

- (33) *+pášət ’ídux! ~ +pášətlə ’ídux!* ‘Stretch out your hand!’  
 (34) *’ídux +pášətlə!* ‘Stretch out your hand!’

### (iii) Clauses that express discourse background

A pronominal copy is occasionally omitted when the clause has low discourse prominence due to the fact that it supplies elaborative background rather than expressing the main concern of the speaker. This applies, for example, to the comment in bold in (35):

- (35) *’údyu ’ána xmíra škóltun mən-švèta. ci-xamívalə mən-’ída +’al-’ida. lé šokíva parðkvə. +’áv lè manšíva lá jári baxtátə manšíva.* ‘Today I have taken leaven from a neighbour. They preserved it from hand to hand. They did not let it finish. They would not forget it, the women were not supposed to forget.’ (B 10:12)

#### 10.18.2.2 Pronominal Copy

In such cases the verb has a pronominal suffix that is co-referential with the object. This construction is the most common one when the object is a definite nominal, e.g.

- (1) *'an-jardéyə xrúzlun +álju-dàrta 'átxa.* | 'Lay out the round loaves together in the courtyard like this.' (A 37:3)
- (2) *'axunvátux màxzilun ká-díyyi.* | 'Show your brothers to me.' (A 37:11)
- (3) *šámmat báxtu munšítun.* | 'I have forgotten the name of his wife.' (A 3:31)
- (4) *'á ... míyyat +'ánvə ci-+mardəxxivalun| xa-páljət +sá'at.* | 'They used to boil this grape juice for half an hour.' (B 12:5)
- (5) *škúllə 'a-Nátan| p-ídux.* | 'Take this Natan in your hands.' (A 3:88)
- (6) *rífavátə cíllə məxyélux.* | 'He beat all the servants.' (A 3:91)
- (7) *+šàda| ... +xárta ci-yavála +tùnto.* | 'An almond tree ... afterwards gives its fruit.' (A 3:12)
- (8) *cullóxun lípotun darsòxun?* | 'Have you all learnt your lesson?' (A 1:25)

The construction is used when the object is a nominative form of an independent pronoun, e.g.

- (9) *kémən 'ana-+jarbànnə 'áha.* | 'I shall test him.' (A 14:2)
- (10) *'ána bərrášxən 'áyən cítan 'odánna.* | 'I am going to plough it.' (A 36:11)
- (11) *zóda hác-naša lélə +bəddáyo 'áyya.* | 'Nobody else knows it.' (B 17:20)

A pronominal copy is added to the verb also when the reflexive pronoun is direct object, e.g.

- (12) *jáno +ruppála +al-sèpa.* | 'She threw herself onto the sword.' (A 2:35)
- (13) *yámma vítəla +tušito jáno.* | 'His mother had hidden herself.' (A 37:5)
- (14) *jáno bəknàzola.* | 'She huddles up.' (A 1:10)

The agreement is singular even when the suffix on *jan-* is plural, e.g.

- (15) *'ánnə láxxa cíllə jané +hùdrona.* | 'These here have all prepared themselves.' (A 1:27)

In some other NENA dialects there is no grammatical marking when the definite object is an information focus and bears the nucleus stress.<sup>5</sup> In C. Urmi the grammatical marking is retained in such contexts. In (16)–(17), for example, the focus is contrastive and in (18)–(20) it is inclusive:

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<sup>5</sup> E.g. Barwar, see Khan (2008, 777–779).

- (16) *'ána mímənva kátu baxtátə +katjällun| 'á díúl 'ürzə +ktile!|* 'I had told him that he should kill *the women*, but he has killed *the men*.' (A 2:23)
- (17) *'axùnux bət-xazzánna, lá xàtux.|* 'I shall see *your brother*, not *your sister*.'
- (18) *+àvva-da mattíyula +tàma.|* 'She puts also him there.' (A 6:8)
- (19) *ci-mattíval +àvun-da ka-sótva.|* 'They put also this aside for winter.'  
(B 17:16)
- (20) *škilálun ày-da mónnu.|* 'They took also that from him.' (B 6:2)

Occasionally a pronominal copy on a verb agrees with an indefinite direct object, e.g.

- (21) *xá mən-cačálə vádulə vazzər.| xá vádulə +tajər.|* 'He makes one of the bald men vizier. He makes one the merchant.' (A 1:24)
- (22) *xá cačála xína-da máyuna kamàytu.|* 'They bring another bald man before him.' (A 1:36)
- (23) *tré nýynə +jùrəl dvikévən yuvvén katax.|* 'I have caught two large fish and given them to you.' (A 5:9)
- (24) *xa-+áyno +palùčola.| yávola.|* 'She takes out one of her eyes and gives it to her.' (A 43:17)
- (25) *xá mən-dánnəl mattívvolə ju-mìyya.|* 'He puts one of them in the water.' (A 39:40)
- (26) *xá cmá-šənnə m-kám-adi xa-báxta +puščálun mən-+tàma,| šómmo +Máhəva.|* 'Several years ago they sent from there a woman whose name was Mahə.' (A 40:8)
- (27) *xá mənné +kutkàttón.|* 'I have cut one of them to pieces.' (A 44:6)
- (28) *xá mən-dán jválə +rámə b-lablivala.|* 'They would take one of those high sacks.' (B 10:8)
- (29) *b-xá +čap̪álta ána ... arpí dánə dévə +másən +katljonnun.| b-xá mxétət dá +čap̪álta.|* 'With one staff I can kill forty monsters, with one blow of this staff.' (A 37:8)
- (30) *+bəddáyat bət-kuraváy mù-inə?| násə +tamrílun javè.|* 'You know what a cemetery is? They bury people in it.' (A 1:10)
- (31) *+šulána zaràzlun.|* 'He fixes things.' (A 1:20)

In all these examples the object nominal is placed before the verb.

#### 10.18.2.3 Preposition *ka-* without a Pronominal Copy

On some occasions a definite direct object phrase is introduced by the preposition *ka-*, which is normally used elsewhere as a preposition expressing a dative relationship. This is used predominantly when the object is definite and its ref-

erent is human, or at least animate. When a direct object is marked with *ka-*, there is no pronominal copy on the verb, even though the nominal is definite in status, e.g.

- (1) *'o-+tájor ka-dá cačála +ràba ci-+bayyíva.* | 'The merchant used to like this bald man very much.' (A 1:2)
- (2) *+bìlə| kàt| +'ajjázva ka-+màlla.* | 'He wanted to annoy the mullah.' (A 14:2)
- (3) *ka-dáha +kátu +'ùxča mxáyələ.* | 'He beats this cat so hard.' (A 3:79)
- (4) *'ánnə nášə már-mítəl bitáyəna ka-dáha+ bənpásəna.* | 'The people who are the family of the dead person come and shake him.' (A 9:5)
- (5) *kámłə ka-da-báxta kat-máxə.* | 'He got up to beat this woman.' (A 5:10)
- (6) *cúllə +yat̪íva ka-+uydálə-xina.* | 'They all knew each other, you see.' (A 5:10)
- (7) *+byáyən ka-xmári +hayyərrən| kàt| buš-+rāhat ázəl.* | 'I want to help my donkey to go more comfortably.' (A 15:2)
- (8) *xà-yuma| ka-suríyya bəxzàyələ.* | 'One day he sees Suriyya.' (A 36:3)
- (9) *+hám ka-axúnə maplíuxəval+ hám ka-bàxtət 'axúnū.* | 'He employed both his brother and the wife of his brother.' (A 38:2)

Occasionally *ka* is used with an indefinite object nominal. In (10) the indefinite object nominal has a specific referent that plays a prominent role in the remainder of the narrative:

- (10) *ka-xá-dana +nàjjar| muyyíli làxxa| ju-bèti.* | 'I brought a carpenter here into my house.' (A 16:2)

The preposition *ka-* more frequently introduces pronominal objects than full nominal objects. The pronominal objects are expressed either as suffixes on the allomorph of the preposition *kat-* (e.g. *katu* 'him') or as complements of *ka-* in the form of the genitive particle *díyy-* or oblique pronouns (e.g. *ka-díyyi* 'me', *ka-+dav* 'him'). A distinction can be made between pronominal objects of verbs that are expressed by affixes and pronominal objects expressed by independent phrases introduced by *ka-*. The latter can be termed 'heavy coding' of the pronominal object:

Verbal forms	Light coding	Heavy coding
Present template	L-suffixes	<i>ka</i> -phrase
Past template	S-suffixes	<i>ka</i> -phrase
Resultative Participle and Progressive	Genitive suffixes	<i>ka</i> -phrase

Verbal forms	Light coding	Heavy coding
<i>xazə</i>	<i>xazila</i>	'he sees her'
<i>xzilə</i>	<i>xəzyalə</i>	'he saw her'
<i>xəzyalə</i>	<i>xázyolə</i>	'he has seen her'
<i>bəxzayələ</i>	<i>bəxzáyolə</i>	'he sees her'
		<i>xazə kato</i>
		<i>xzilə kato</i>
		<i>xázyolə kato</i>
		<i>bəxzáyolə kato</i>

The variant forms of *ka*-phrase can themselves be regarded as different degrees of heaviness of coding, compound forms such *ka-diyyux* being heavier than inflected forms such as *katux*. Some of the inflected forms themselves may be shortened further by the elision of the intervocalic /t/, e.g. *kax* < *katux*:

	Shortened	Inflected	Compound
3ms		<i>katu</i>	<i>ka-<sup>+</sup>dav, ka-<sup>+</sup>davun,</i> <i>ka-<sup>+</sup>davva, ka-daha</i>
3fs		<i>kato</i>	<i>ka-day, ka-dayən</i> <i>ka-dayya, ka-daha</i>
3pl		<i>katé</i>	<i>ka-dani, ka-dannə</i>
2ms	<i>kax</i>	<i>katux</i>	<i>ka-diyyux</i>
2fs	<i>kax</i>	<i>katax</i>	<i>ka-diyyax</i>
2pl		<i>katoxun</i>	<i>ka-diyyoxun</i>
1s	<i>kay</i>	<i>kati</i>	<i>ka-diyyi</i>
1pl		<i>katan, kateni</i>	<i>ka-diyyan</i>

#### 10.18.2.3.1 With Past Template Verbs

Pronominal objects expressed by *ka*-phrases most frequently express 1st or 2nd person objects of verbs derived from a past template. The main motivation for this is likely to be the lack of tolerance of the expression of 1st and 2nd person objects by S-suffix inflections of the past template (§ 10.18.1.), which is a syntactic constraint, e.g.

- (1) *ka-díyyux +ktəllun.* 'They killed you.' (A 3:68)
- (2) *ka-díyyux +mukṭəlli.* 'I had you killed.' (A 3:45)
- (3) *yámmat díyyux ka-díyyux tuybərra.* 'Your mother brought you up.' (A 3:91)
- (4) *náša xínə lətva kát ka-díyyux xa-šəcvana +šúdrələ cəs-xa-málcat +Məssər.* 'Were there no other people, that he sent you, an ant, to a king of Egypt?' (A 3:66)
- (5) *ína əláha bsámlə ka-díyyi +xumila.* 'But it pleased God to protect me.' (A 3:69)
- (6) *ína ka-díyyux muləpli avát +spày, vílux káti xərba.* 'ína kátx várli náša, ítən ka-díyyi dušdəšlux.' *ína ka-díyyux muttılı ju-bət-malcıuya,* 'ítən ka-

*díyyi muttílux ju-+àrra.* ‘I taught you to be good, but you were bad to me. I made you a man, but you trampled on me. I put you in the royal household, but you put me in the ground.’ (A 3:90)

- (7) *'ána! jùl duccàni 'ívna! dax-ot-údyu káti xxilux ju-duccána, u-xàdyá +psìxa.* ‘I was in my shop just as today you saw me in the shop, happy and merry.’ (A 1:12)

Pronominal objects of the 3rd person are generally expressed by S-suffix affixes of the past template. Some isolated cases of pronominal *ka*-phrases occur in the text corpus:

- (8) *ka-dáy-da +bèktàlələ.* ‘He kills also her.’ (A 30:3)  
 (9) *xášlə rkádlə cás-dé bràta, cás-dé +cásəb xášlə. cás-dáyən xášlə rkàdla.* <sup>RiR</sup> ‘*ka-dáyən +rdila.* ‘He went and danced with that girl, he went to that poor girl. He went and danced with her, and he liked her.’ (A 51:6)

In these examples the referent of the pronoun is in some kind focus. In (8) it is in an inclusive focus and in (9) it is set up in contrastive opposition with other referents (i.e. other women at the ball).

#### 10.18.2.3.2 *Verb Forms Derived from Other Bases*

Pronominal objects of verbs derived from other types of base are occasionally expressed with *ka*-phrases, e.g.

- (1) *ka-díyyi +bílun +kàtlí* ‘They wanted to kill me.’ (A 3:69)  
 (2) *ka-danno-mxàyələ.* ‘He beats them.’ (A 3:72)  
 (3) *'ána parpùləvən b-díyyux! ka-díyyan là +kátlət.* ‘I beg you, do not kill us.’ (A 37:10)  
 (4) *'átən lèjórat ka-+dàvun.* ‘You will not marry him.’ (A 55:3)

There is no syntactic constraint on the expression of pronominal objects by lighter affixes with these verbal forms. The motivation to use them, therefore, must be pragmatic. In the examples adduced above the narrator uses the heavier morphological coding of the construction to signal the heightened salience of the proposition expressed by the clause.

In (5) the construction is used to bring together in parallel three coordinated object phrases:

- (5) *'án 'ádi +yàttíl kàt-'átən cásli bəxxàyət! u-kàtax! kàtlí ka-+jórax bət-kàtlí.* ‘If they now know that you are living with me, they will kill you, me and your husband.’ (A 1:22)

The heavy coding of the pronominal object is sometimes used to signal the closure of a sequence of clauses that are presented as a single overall event:

- (6) *xá m-dēn-t-íva mxáyu +maṭṭusu| ó xína yár manpàlva ka-+dávən.* ‘One of those who were hitting it would stick it in, the other had to make it fall.’  
(B 17:1)

A *ka*-phrase is regularly used if the pronominal object has some kind of narrow focus, e.g.

- (7) *kùl +yàrmax| 'ázax| m-kám=at ka-díyyan-da cápsi jú +dússak.* ‘Come on, let’s go, before they bundle also us into prison.’ (A 1:39)  
 (8) *ka-dáy-da +bəktálələ.* ‘He kills also her.’ (A 30:3)  
 (9) *lá 'adíyya ka-díyyi-da +kàtəl?* ‘Will he now kill also me?’ (A 2:23)  
 (10) *'ína 'íman bəfrásol| 'ày bəfrásla kàtu| sáb lélə +msáya jarásla.* ‘But when he pulls it (the waterskin), it pulls him, because he cannot pull it.’ (A 37:15)

In (7)–(9) the pronominal object has narrow inclusive focus expressed by the particle *da*. In (10) the pronominal subject and object have contrastive narrow focus, since their roles are the opposite of what is expected.

In pragmatically unmarked clauses pronominal affixes are used, e.g.

- (11) *+báyyən xazànnux.* ‘I want to see you.’ (A 3:19)  
 (12) *kùdmə xazónnux.* ‘Tomorrow I shall see you.’ (A 3:74)  
 (13) *xúš 'aláha +baràxlux.* ‘May God bless you.’ (A 3:84)

#### 10.18.2.4 Preposition *ka-* with a Pronominal Copy

In some sporadic cases found in texts recorded in Armenia a definite object nominal marked with *ka-* is indexed also by a pronominal copy on the verb, e.g.

- (1) *+Báhar ka-+xóla +bəktàyula.* ‘+Bahar cuts the rope.’ (A 42:35)

#### 10.18.2.5 Preposition *+al-* without a Pronominal Copy

In some isolated cases a definite object is introduced by the preposition *+al*, which, like *ka-*, has among its other functions the marking of the dative, e.g.

- (1) *bəškáləl +al-dè bráta.* ‘He takes that girl’ (A 39:20)

This is likely to be the result of influence from the literary language, in which this preposition frequently takes the place of *ka-*.

### 10.19 Indirect Object

The indirect object expresses the recipient or beneficiary of the verbal action. Pronominal indirect objects have been described in § 4.20. They are expressed by L-suffixes, S-suffixes (on past template verbs), genitive suffixes (on resultative participles and progressive stems) or suffixes or phrases containing the preposition *ka-*. The pronominal *ka*-phrases are of varying morphological weight, as described above (§ 10.18.2.3.), e.g. *kax*, *katux*, *ka-díyyux*.

Indirect objects that are full nominals are in most cases introduced by the preposition *ka-*. There is no agreement with such nominals on the verb in the form of a pronominal copy, even when the nominal is definite in status, e.g.

- (1) *ka-màlca bæctávələ*. ‘He writes to the king.’ (A 3:20)
- (2) *+xábra yávələ ka-bàxtu*. ‘He sends word to his wife.’ (A 3:30)
- (3) *'ən-tánə ka-šámša clì bøt-càlyā*. ‘If he says to the sun “Stop!”, it will stop.’ (A 3:64)
- (4) *ka-dan-násət mònnu mára* ‘He says to the people with him ...’ (A 3:78)
- (5) *+Axíkar xùbba maxzíva ka-dá 'axúna*. ‘Axíqar showed love to this brother.’ (A 3:17)

In (6) and (7) pronominal *ka*-phrases of different weight are used. In both cases a clause is repeated, with the heavier *ka*-phrase in the second clause. Also the phrases are placed on different sides of the verb in the two clauses:

- (6) *+o-kaṭùla-dal xìna vâyələ bæštàya ... mårələ kàtu +Axíkar ka+dàv mårələ*, *mårələ 'àna jná lätli*. ‘(As) the executioner is drinking, ... he says to him, Axíqar says to him, he says “I am not guilty. Do not kill me.”’ (A 3:33)
- (7) *'a-+kátu +héyvan kákx mû vòttəla? mû vátta la ka-díyyux kat-xà-xča mxáyot?* ‘What has this cat, this animal, done to you? What has it done to you that you beat it so much?’ (A 3:80)

A heavy pronominal dative phrase is often used at the beginning of speech turns or discourse sections. This is the case in (8), in which the lighter suffix form is used subsequently when the verb is repeated:

- (8) *ú mû tánən ka-díyyux? ... 'ína màjbur=ín tanánnux*. ‘Oh, what should I say to you? ... But I must tell you.’ (A 1:17)

In (9) the pronominal dative phrase is made heavier still by juxtaposing an independent pronoun that is coreferential with the suffix. This occurs at the beginning of a narrative:

- (9) *‘á masàla! tanánna ka-dìyyux ‘átən.* | 'I shall tell you this story.' (A 1:1)

Examples from the text corpus of S-suffixes expressing a dative relationship:

- (10) *yuvvállun xa-dána +pàprus.* | 'They gave him a cigarette.' (B 6:4)  
 (11) *+tlájanáyat tílun càslíl yúvvənnun +tlammà-dane dávə.* | 'Three people who came to me gave me three hundred gold coins.' (A 10:4)  
 (12) *‘ána xášli míya màyyan! šamáša +‘áyna məxyánnəl ‘u-kàša +‘áyna məxyánnəl ‘u-‘abùna +‘áyna məxyánnə.* | 'I went to fetch water and the deacon winked at me, a priest winked at me and a bishop winked at me.' (A 6:3)  
 (13) *mádrə +zàya viyyàle.* | 'She again had young (literally: young became to her).' (A 53:2)

In (11) and (12) the S-suffix is 1st person and the L-suffix expressing the subject is 3rd person. See the remarks above about the scale of preference of S-suffixes (§ 10.18.1.). Forms such as *yuvvənnux zuzyə* 'You gave money to me' are disfavoured by speakers.

Examples from the text corpus of genitive suffixes expressing a dative relationship:

- (14) *fúr'un málca! xá-xča móndi +šudràñ-ilə.* | 'Pharaoh the king has sent to us such-and-such a task (literally: thing).' (A 3:55)  
 (15) *ctáva ‘atíkə-zə kat-víyyan-lə! bərráxšəna cíllə bəxzayèna.* | 'They go and see all the old books that we have.' (B 2:15)  
 (16) *‘ón ‘átxa tunítux-la, sí xá móndi b-yavvàlux.* | 'If it (the fish) has said this to you, go and it will give you something.' (A 54:3)  
 (17) *bərráxšəna ‘albáttə bətfákəna b-cmá ‘apəskúpə kat-vàyan-lə, +árpa xamšá ‘apəskúpə.* | 'They go and, of course, meet some of the bishops that we have (during that time), four or five bishops.' (B 2:14)  
 (18) *xá yàla! bábu myàtələ. xá yómma sòta vâyula.* | 'A boy—his father dies. He has an old mother.' (A 34:1)  
 (19) *šamáša +‘áyna bəkyásolə.* | 'The deacon winks at her.' (A 6:5)  
 (20) *bərráxšələ bədvákələ xá cərvəš.* | 'He goes and catches a rabbit for her.' (A 38:15)  
 (21) *mú muyyitivat?* | 'What have you brought me?' (A 38:18)

# The Syntax and Semantics of Prepositions

The morphology and basic uses of the prepositions have been described in § 8.4. 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.

## 11.1 *b-*

The preposition *b-* has a variety of uses. When it takes pronominal suffixes, these are attached to a longer base with the form *biyy-*.

### 11.1.1 *Spatial Location*

It may express location in a perceptible unenclosed space in contexts such as the following:

- (1) *tóvli* +*al-súysə* +*hàzər*, *sèpi-da* *p̄-ídi*.| ‘I sat on the horse ready, with my sword in my hand.’ (A 2:28)
- (2) *hállə* *p̄-ídət* *diyyi*.| ‘Give him into my hands.’ (A 3:26)
- (3) *’ánnə* +*’ánvə* *jári* *jaršívalun* *b-*+*xasé* *mán* *cárma* *hálju*-*čàraz*.| ‘They had to carry these grapes on their backs from the vineyard up to the winepress.’ (B 12:2)
- (4) *’ánnə* +*’ánvə* *ci-pešvíva* +*jummiyyəl* *b-*+*kərtàlə*.| ‘These grapes used to be gathered in pannier-baskets.’ (B 12:2)
- (5) *b-xà-tahar* *bitàyəla* *b-*+*xábrət* *Pna-poxtèP*.| ‘Among one group (of people) it originates in the (Persian) word *na-poxte*.’ (B 12:7)
- (6) *b-lišanət* *fársat* *har-mádra* +*manáyat* +*xámra* *yávəla*.| ‘In the Persian language it has (literally: gives) the meaning of “wine.”’ (B 12:8)
- (7) *b-lišan-díyyan* +*sùrvvaǵ* *ci-táni*.| ‘In our language we say +*suvvaǵ* (‘mortar’).’ (B 14:7)
- (8) *b-súysa* *ci-*+*xadárvə*, *b-xáčča* *júllə* *’atičə* *kat-là* *yattívalə*.| ‘He would travel around on a horse, in some old clothes, so that people would not recognize him.’ (A 35:3)

The preposition *ju-* (§ 11.2.) is far more commonly used to express location within an enclosed physical space.

### 11.1.2 *Temporal Location*

- (1) *b-lèlə| vázzər mən-málca +plàtəna.* ‘At night the vizier and king leave.’ (A 2:3)
- (2) *b-yúma tanúyra c-odívalə ķa-làxma pyèta.* ‘During the day they use the oven for baking bread.’ (B 14:2)
- (3) *b-+kèṭa ՚á +šúla c-odívala.* ‘They did this job in summer.’ (B 12:6)
- (4) *+’ojáxta b-šánnə ķamaya, ՚áx bətxàrən, ķesə ci-mattíva +’állo.* ‘The hearth—in the early years, according to what I remember, they used to put wood on it.’ (B 12:4)
- (5) *b-šánnə víyət ju-bèti.* ‘For years you have been in my house.’ (A 3:29)
- (6) *՚á +xábra b-mátxət šənnələ +xdırələ ՚skíllələ šámmət nipùxta.* ‘This word, in the course of the years, changed and assumed the form *nipuxta*.’ (B 12:7)

We may include here the expression *xa-b-xa* ‘suddenly’:

- (7) *xa-b-xá bəxzáyələ márzət +’áyna xá ... xa-nàša dílə dmíxa.* ‘All of a sudden he sees that there is a man asleep by the side of the spring.’ (A 37:7)

### 11.1.3 *Instrument*

It is often used in relation to the instrument or means by which an action is performed, e.g.

- (1) *xéslux cás nášət kát p-ida plíxəna.* ‘You went to people who were made by hand.’ (A 3:5)
- (2) *b-+tràptət̄l̄ nipùxta| ránjo mən-ránjət cùma| ci-+xavàrvəl̄ c-avíva +xvàra.* ‘Through the beating of the molasses its colour used to change from the colour black and it used to become white.’ (B 12:5)
- (3) *vá +ṭamàna c-ávə m-dó kát bí ... +nùyṭəl̄ b-+fazìyl váguna.* ‘It (bread of the oven) is more tasty than that which they make with oil or with diesel fuel.’ (B 14:4)
- (4) *b-ķənyàna| yán tòrəl̄ yán xmàrəl̄ ’ánnə jaršìva.* ‘They used to pull these with cattle, or oxen or asses.’ (B 2:8)
- (5) *b-susaváy b-cavádnə b-xmàrəl̄ c-azíva.* ‘They used to travel by horses, mules and donkeys.’ (B 2:12)
- (6) *b-cúl ’ùrxal xá-danajáldəjáldə bəjnàvula, +várələjavày.* ‘By any means (he can) he quickly snatches one, and comes back inside.’ (A 37:5)
- (7) *kát ՚áni +bári b-dé +čap̄pálta xá ... ՚áni +tála tílə +al-jáni bət-maxənnəl yán b-scànta.* ‘so that those coming after me ... if a fox comes after me I shall hit it with this staff or with the knife.’ (A 37:6)

- (8) *ci-xayyíva b-’òrbə.* ‘They lived by sheep.’ (B 1:23)
- (9) *ci-šaklíva zùyza, c-azíva, xayyíva biyyé.* ‘They used to take money, go off and live by it.’ (A 1:2)

#### 11.1.4 *Agent*

In passive constructions (§ 10.16.1.) the preposition *b-* may be used to express the agent, e.g.

- (1) *ka-mú pásli +’uldìyya b-Nátan brùnux?* ‘Why was I deceived by Natan your son?’ (A 3:52)

It is used before a noun denoting the agent in causative constructions of transitive verbs, in which the agent is expressed in an adjunct phrase (§ 4.25.3.1, § 4.25.4.7.), e.g.

- (2) *+maktúlul b-dan-cálba, b-dán +’avčíyya.* ‘He causes it to be killed by the dogs, by the hunters.’ (A 47:20)
- (3) *bøt-mamxílun cálba b-do-nàša.* ‘He will cause the dogs to be hit by that man.’

#### 11.1.5 *With*

On a number of occasions it is appropriate to translate the preposition by English ‘with’. The relation may be comitative, e.g.

- (1) *b-ricávə børràxšəna.* ‘They go with horsemen.’ (A 2:3)
- (2) *’át e-+dán b-nòšux-ivøt* ‘when you are alone (literally: with yourself)’ (A 37:14)

The preposition is also used to express various other types of association or linkage, e.g.

- (3) *lætlux +šúla býyu.* ‘You have no concern with him.’ (A 3:26)

#### 11.1.6 *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) *+rába b-šànnøla.* ‘He is very old (literally: with years).’ (A 3:24)
- (2) *’z̄ta xá ... móñ ’ùpra ... b-šómmat +xoràna.* ‘There was (a kind of) soil ... with the name of +xorana.’ (B 12:3)

- (3) *dàšta| b-dá +šúp̥ra 'áxnan lèx xázyə.|* ‘We have not seen a plain of such beauty.’ (B 2:14)
- (4) *b-+núyṭa buš-zóda +'ojaxyátə zùrzəva.|* ‘They had mostly made oil hearths.’ (B 12:4)

Occasionally the preposition is used before an adjective that has the function of a predicative complement (§ 12.7.1.) expressing an attribute resulting from an action, e.g.

- (5) *ju-cúlla +kéṭa é-ducta biváyəla +tuptápta b-ķvīta.|* ‘Throughout the summer this place has been trodden down making it hard.’ (B 10:6)

### 11.1.7 *Material*

It is occasionally used to denote the material out of which something is made, e.g.

- (1) *b-'ùpra +kusaryátə 'átvalan.|* ‘We had pots made of clay.’ (B 14:1)
- (2) *'ína kám̥ta juydànə| b-čarpíčət 'ùprəva.|* ‘But formerly the walls were made of clay bricks.’ (B 14:5)
- (3) *+xòla| +zakṛàtlí| ... b-síla.|* ‘Weave me a rope out of sand.’ (A 3:73)
- (4) *b-kèsə +tuŕsəva| b-táxtə +jùra.|* ‘They were made with wood, with big planks.’ (B 10:8)

### 11.1.8 *Price*

It denotes the price at which an item is fixed either in an amount of money or a bartered object, e.g.

- (1) *'átən láxxa yávət tré-danə láxma b-xá-'axča +tìma!|* ‘You here are selling two loaves of bread for such a price!’ (A 19:4)
- (2) *bi-mù zabúnət?|* ‘For what are you selling it?’ (A 42:28)
- (3) *zabúnən várda| bi-mù zabúnət?| mára 'ána zabúnən bí +'àyna.|* ‘I am selling flowers. What are you selling them for? He says I am selling for eyes.’ (A 43:20)
- (4) *'ánnə míyya yavéna b-+'àyna.|* ‘They give the water in exchange for eyes.’ (A 43:17)
- (5) *mú yávvən b-dá meymunòxun?|* ‘What should I give for this monkey of yours?’ (A 44:10)

### 11.1.9 *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) *b-xəžbùyna!* *yávulə làxma.* ‘He gives him bread by reckoning (i.e. in rations).’ (A 3:94)
- (2) *'u-sèpi mxíli b-cúllə xéli +tàma.* ‘I struck my sword there with all my might.’ (A 2:36)
- (3) *ķabuléna b-dó xubbè.* ‘They receive them with that love of theirs.’ (B 2:15)
- (4) *níxa b-níxa +marrùšula.* ‘He gently wakes him.’ (A 37:10)
- (5) *b-nobána +báyyi 'áha=zə 'áx t-an-pàləx.* ‘They want him to work as it were in turns.’ (A 37:14)
- (6) *hár xà-ja šetyálə! b-xá bìna.* ‘He has drunk it all at once, with just one breath.’ (A 37:16)
- (7) *cúllə e-máta háda b-+xadràxvala, járə b-jàrə.* ‘We would go around all of the village, roof by roof.’ (B 9:5)

### 11.1.10 *Oath*

The preposition is used in oaths or adjurations before the item by which the speaker is swearing, e.g.

- (1) *b-aláha ýá +málla hónu yùvvulə m-ída.* ‘By God, this mullah has lost his mind.’ (A 5:9)
- (2) *mammúyux-vən b-ríšət dó màrux! táníli mànívət.* ‘I adjure you by the head of your master, tell me who you are.’ (A 3:65)

### 11.1.11 *Preposition Elided*

In some cases the preposition *b-* is elided in contexts where it may be used to express a relationship between components of a clause. A distinction should be made between adverbial expressions in which the *b-* is optionally omitted, e.g. *+keṭa ~ b-+keṭa* ‘in summer’ (§ 9.16.) and expressions where the *b-* can be assumed to have been elided. We may include in the latter cases where a demonstrative pronoun after the elided preposition is in its oblique form, which demonstrates the original presence of the preposition, e.g.

- (1) *hár dé-+dana c-avívalun +kəttáṭat +'arràta.* ‘At the same time they used to have fields.’ (B 2:8 < *b-de-+dana*)

For the omission of prepositions before oblique demonstratives in appositional constructions see § 9.6.2.1. examples (8)–(10).

### 11.1.12 Complements of Verbs and Expressions

The preposition *b-* is used as the complement of some verbs, e.g.

<i>baləf</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to become busy with'
<i>baxxəl</i> QI <i>b-</i>	'to envy'
<i>hammən</i> QI <i>b-</i>	'to believe in'
<i>jaxəc</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to laugh at'
<i>jašək</i> II <i>b-</i>	'to look at'
<i>kayət</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to knock'
<i>mhumna</i> <i>b-</i>	'faithful to'
<i>modə</i> QI <i>b-</i>	'to confess'
<i>najəv</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to scold'
<i>naxəp</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to become ashamed of'
<i>nonə</i> QI <i>b-</i>	'to plead with'
<i>pacər</i> II <i>b-</i>	'to look closely at'
<i>parpə</i> QI <i>b-</i>	'to implore'
<i>šapər</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to flatter'
<i>šapləp</i> QI <i>b-</i>	'to implore'
<i>šarəz</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to become jealous of'
<i>tafək</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to meet'
<i>tapa</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to stick to'
<i>tarsə</i> QI <i>b-</i>	'to nourish with'
<i>xadə</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to become pleased with'
<i>xakər</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to praise'
<i>xanə</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to become happy with'
<i>xatər</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to become proud of'
<i>xayər</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to look at'
<i>yaləp</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to become used to'
+ <i>ajjəb</i> QI <i>b-</i>	'to be surprised at'
+ <i>dabər</i> II <i>b-</i>	'to lead'
+ <i>dakər</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to touch'
+ <i>karə</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to call on'
+ <i>macrəz</i> III <i>b-</i>	'to preach'
+ <i>masxər</i> III <i>b-</i>	'to scoff at'
+ <i>razi</i> <i>b-</i>	'pleased with'
+ <i>sabər</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to have companionship with'
+ <i>xabər</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to become informed about'
+ <i>xaṭə</i> I <i>b-</i>	'to sin against'

The preposition is used in the complement of some verbs to express an added nuance of disadvantage to the referent in the complement, e.g.

- (1) 'ən-šúk mən-da-+xəlti| xá-məndi xína xázət bìyyi| +ktülli.| 'If apart from this fault of mine, you find something else against me, kill me.' (A 3:48)
- (2) bət-maxzánna bìyyux.| 'I shall show you the consequences of your actions.'
- (3) xá +rába +muxáltəla bìyyi| kát lèt +bəddá xína.| 'She has made me so fed up (literally: she has fed me a lot), that you cannot understand.' (A 40:8)

A similar function is performed by the phrase *b-rišux* in constructions such as (4):

- (4) bəxzáyət mu-vádələ bábi b-rišux?| 'Do you see what your father is doing against you?' (A 3:22)

## 11.2 *ju*

### 11.2.1 *Spatial Location*

The preposition *ju*, has the allomorph *jav-* before pronominal suffixes and the rarer allomorphs *ja-*, *javət* or *jav* before nouns. It is the normal means of expressing location within an enclosed or bounded space, e.g.

- (1) *ju-bétux jurvàssələ*.| 'He has grown up in your house.' (A 3:22)
- (2) 'ána lè-+bayyən| háč xa-+šrà| óya ju-màta.| 'I do not want any lantern to be in the village.' (A 2:1)
- (3) *xa-náša 'áttən ju-+dùssak*.| 'There is a man in prison.' (A 3:35)
- (4) 'átən ka-díyyi muttílx *ju*-+àrra.| 'You put me in the ground.' (A 3:90)
- (5) +jóra škéllea *ju*-+sádro.| 'She took her husband in her breast.' (A 2:35)
- (6) *malúpulə +rába məndyànəl kat-jú malciýta* ... 'ávə,| lá *ju*-+alulàna.| 'He teaches him many things, so that he would be in the royal household, not in the streets.' (A 3:7)
- (7) *cúllə matvátət díyyan* | *kat-átvalan ju-dóštət 'Urmi*,| *ju dáštət Salàmas*| 'all our villages, which we had in the plain of Urmi and the plain of Salamas' (B 2:1)
- (8) *ju-árxə ci-taxnívalun*.| 'They used to grind them in water-mills.' (B 2:9)
- (9) é-+dán +várəna *jú dó jəppítə* ... *ju*-+túra.| 'When they entered the cave ... in the mountain, ...' (A 37:12)
- (10) *xa-mándi +báyyən tānat káti* | *kat-háč náša lā-'avə +šámyu ju-dúnyə*.| 'I want you to tell me something that nobody in the world has heard.' (A 3:75)

- (11) *bəctávələ ju-ctàva.* ‘He writes in a book.’ (A 3:75)  
 (12) *xá-yuma +malla +Nasràdən* *ju-+tùyra* *balbùyəva.* ‘One day mullah Nas-radin was searching in the mountains.’ (A 29:1)

The enclosure may be liquid or an intangible ambience, e.g.

- (13) *+bətlábələ mán +Nuxadnàsər* *für'un,* *kát xa-dana-bèta* *zarázlə ju-+hàva.* ‘Pharaoh asks Nebuchadnezzar to build him a house in the air.’ (A 3:44)  
 (14) *ci-+xoṭívalun* *ju-dánnə míyyət +ànva.* ‘They would mix them in this grape-juice.’ (B 12:3)  
 (15) *+’ánvə har-hàda* *tàzał* *čambəllivalun* ... *ju-xəšca.* ‘They hung the grapes like this, fresh, in the dark.’ (B 2:4)  
 (16) *madmuyévən +’al-càxvəl* *’ávi ju-šmáyya +balbùsa.* ‘I compare them to the stars that shine in the sky.’ (A 3:62)  
 (17) *ju-nášə šámmi t-àzəl.* ‘My (good) name among the people will be lost.’ (A 1:34)

The preposition *ju* generally expresses a more permanent location than is the case with *b*. This is seen, for example, when one compares constructions such as (18) with those with *ju* such as (19) and (20):

- (18) *tóvli +’al-súysə +házər,* *sèpi-da* *ŷ-ídi.* ‘I sat on the horse ready, with my sword in my hand.’ (A 2:28)  
 (19) *Nátan jurvásłə ju-’ídət +Axiqar.* ‘Natan grew up in the hands of Axiqar.’ (A 3:43)  
 (20) *Nátan brùnił* *’ána tuybèrrun,* *jurvàssuvən,* *mùlpun,* *’áxcí* *ka-dàha mändi,* *’áxcí* *ka-’ávə* *ju-’ídət* *dìyyux* *ka-malcùyta.* ‘Axiqar says to the king “Oh king, be well, I have raised Natan, my son, I have brought him up, I have taught him only for this purpose, only so that he would be in your hands, for your royal court.”’ (A 3:15)

The phrase *ju-’ídət* ‘in the hands of’ in (19–20) expresses a more permanent situation than *ŷ-ídi* in (18) and implies a greater degree of control by the person in whose hands the referent is located.

The use of *ju* rather than *b* may also be determined by the verb. Consider (21) and (22):

- (21) *’u-yálə súrə=da mattúyəna ju-xa-+kərtàla.* ‘And they put children in a pannier-basket.’ (A 3:58)  
 (22) *’ánnə +’ánvəl ci-pešvíva +jummìyyəl b-+kərtàla.* ‘These grapes used to be gathered in pannier-baskets.’ (B 12:2)

In (21) locative enclosure is a core complement of the verb 'to put' whereas in (22) it is more peripheral to the act of gathering. One may say that the verb 'to put' has greater control over the location than the verb 'to gather'.

The difference between *ju* and *b* may also be related to attitude. In (23) and (24), for example, the verbs of 'striking', 'kissing' and 'touching' take complements with *ju* and express a positive empathy and engagement with the complement. In (25) and (26), however, in which the complement has *b*, there is no empathetic engagement but rather negative hostility or confrontation.

- (23) *nšákłə ju-kòssu.*<sup>1</sup> 'He kissed his forehead.' (A 2:37)
- (24) *'áxči pàti ketáva ju-pàtu.*<sup>1</sup> 'If only my face could touch his face.' (A 3:46)
- (25) *baxzáyət mu-vádələ bábi b-rišux?*<sup>1</sup> 'Do you see what your father is doing against you?' (A 3:22)
- (26) *bakyátəl b-bàxtu.*<sup>1</sup> 'He touches his wife (in a confrontational way).' (A 5:3)

The construction in (27) also expresses positive engagement:

- (27) *ju-cúllə 'ánnə +xabráne ci-yavvátvələ +jìvvab.*<sup>1</sup> 'You could respond to all these requests.' (A 3:45)

In general, therefore, *ju* denotes greater fixture in, control over, or emotional engagement with, the referent of its complement than is the case with *b*.

In some cases *ju* is used in some kind of association with movement. In (28), for example, there is movement within the item that is the complement of the preposition:

- (28) *ju-+rába +atravátət dínyə +xdírəvax.*<sup>1</sup> 'We have travelled in many countries of the world.' (B 2:14)

In (29)–(32) there is ingressive movement into or towards the item:

- (29) *'áxnan tílan ju-dá +àtra.*<sup>1</sup> 'We have come to this land.' (A 2:6)
- (30) *xúš ju-nášət fànux.*<sup>1</sup> 'Go to your own people.' (A 37:22)
- (31) *mən-+bár bràzvalə, xína míyya 'é-+dán +míutra táļa +šúlə +rayyíva ju-béta lè +salíva.*<sup>1</sup> 'After it dried, when it rained or snowed and so forth, water would not come down into the house.' (B 2:22)
- (32) *ju-+tìyànə daríva.*<sup>1</sup> 'They used to pour (the must of the grapes) into cauldrons.' (B 2:4)

In (33)–(36) there is movement away from the item, which is expressed by combining *ju* with the preposition *mən*:

- (33) *+púləṭla m-ju-jibū xá xabùyša.* ‘He took an apple out of his pocket.’ (A 42:3)
- (34) *xáṭṭə ci-+palt̄ivalunl mən-ju-búlət +xáṭṭə.* ‘They extracted wheat grains from the head of the wheat.’ (B 2:8)
- (35) *bərráxšəla mən-’àltaxl mən-ju-pàjəl máyəla xa-śārxa.* ‘She goes and brings a calf from below, from the stable.’ (A 5:17)
- (36) *bí cálə bí xèla c-áziva m-áxxa mən-ju-da-+’alúla.* ‘They used to go with effort with carts, with buffaloes from here, from this street.’ (B 17:51)

In (37) and (38) the combination of *mən* + *ju* expresses movement through or across:

- (37) *práxələ m-ju-+hàva.* ‘It flies through the air.’ (A 42:11)
- (38) *+puláṭla xa-ķamči, yála mxíla m-ju-+xàsu.* ‘She took out a whip and struck the lad across his back.’ (A 42:31)

In (39) the preposition *+al* ‘upon’ is combined with *ju* to express the relation of ‘onto the enclosure of’:

- (39) *’an-jardéyə xrúzlun +’ál-ju-dàrta ’átxa.* ‘Lay out the round loaves together in the courtyard like this.’ (A 37:3)

The attested instances of the long allomorphs *javət* and *jāv* express spatial location, e.g.

- (40) *ka-mùdi suysavátət diyyòxunl jávət Nànvəl hurhòmlun?* ‘Why did your horses in Nineveh neigh?’ (A 3:78)
- (41) *+paláṭṭət məndi mən-jāv-+’àtrət díyyi!* ‘the produce from my land’ (A 3:41)

### 11.2.2 *Temporal Location*

This preposition is combined with a verbal noun to express deixis to a particular perfective event. The event of the following main clause is presented as occurring within the temporal frame of the initial perfective event, e.g.

- (1) *málca ju-+mṭétu rīš-díyyi maxíla.* ‘When the king arrives, he will strike off my head.’ (A 2:21)
- (2) *+tákju-vàttal +tárra ptáxli +bar-dàha.* ‘When there was a knock, I opened the door after him (i.e. the person who knocked).’ (A 2:29)

- (3) *'ína +'arra-óya ķvítā! míyya ju-dreté míyya c-àzi.* ‘But if the ground is hard, when water is poured out, it flows away.’ (A 3:11)

This should be contrasted with the progressive stem (*baptaxa*), expressing an ongoing activity, which was formed historically by combining *b* with the infinitive.

The preposition *ju* is also used with various temporal expressions to express a particular point in time (4) or a bounded period of time (5–6):

- (4) *+Nuxadnásər! ju-dè-+dana! bàxyələ.* ‘Nebechadnezzar at that time wept.’ (A 3:45)
- (5) *'íta 'áha-zə xá mən-+adáttat bne-'Ùrmila! kat-ju-mátxət šánnə vìdona.* ‘So this too is one of the traditions of the Urmi people that they have practiced for a period of (many) years.’ (B 12:9)
- (6) *'ána jàni=zə! jú xá šítə +'ám jvánkə m-+uydálə 'á-+šula vìdux.* ‘I myself together with the lads did this task one year.’ (B 2:7)

### 11.3      *+al*

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 *\*'al* ‘upon’. Generally the usage of *+al-* 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 *+al-* are here treated together.

#### 11.3.1    *Destination*

The preposition *+al-* is frequently used in the complement of a verb of movement to express the destination, e.g.

- (1) *bərráxšələ +'al-+'ayna.* ‘He goes to a spring.’ (A 37:15)
- (2) *'ána bərràxšəvən! +'al-Màcca.* ‘I am going to Mecca.’ (A 1:3)
- (3) *sáklə +'úllul +'al-+'tiyra.* ‘He went up to the mountain.’ (A 2:31)
- (4) *+m̄t̄lān +'al-dé-ducta kát málca márələ kátu!* ‘We reached the place where the king says to him ...’ (A 3:29)
- (5) *+bàyyən! +máṭat +'álli.* ‘I want you to come to me.’ (A 2:26)
- (6) *xáčča tá +'al-jànux!* ‘Come back to yourself a little (= recover a little).’ (A 3:53)
- (7) *ci-+paltíva +'al-váddar mən-màta.* ‘They went outside the village.’ (B 2:18)

- (8) *sábza daríva lablívala +al-mdita.* ‘They used to lay out the vegetables and take them to the town.’ (B 2:3)

It is used, likewise, to express the endpoint of processes and situations, e.g.

- (9) *har-nipúxta-zə mən-míyyət +ànvə pyášəla škálta, ’albátta lá +xdíra +al-xámra.* ‘Molasses too is produced from grape juice, but of course it has not turned into wine.’ (B 12:8)
- (10) *ķesa ci-mattíva +x líma ’átxa! mən-dà júyda +al-dò júyda.* ‘They used to place a piece of wood, thick like this, from this wall to that wall.’ (B 2:19)

In (11) the complement of the preposition is a temporal endpoint:

- (11) *ánnə šártə ’ázil máyyi javvəbbilun +’al-dó-yuma xína.* ‘They should go and bring the answer to these conditions by the next day’ (A 38:6)

When the destination of a verb of movement is a person, the preposition *cəs* is often used instead of *+al*, e.g.

- (12) *xášlux cəs-nášə xína.* ‘You went to other people.’ (A 3:5)
- (13) *+’Axíkar máyuna cəs-málca.* ‘They bring Axiqar to the king.’ (A 3:27)
- (14) *c-azənva cáslu.* ‘I used to go to him.’ (A 3:81)
- (15) *mélə cəsli.* ‘Bring him to me.’ (A 3:26)

### 11.3.2 *Dative*

The preposition *+al-* is used to express the recipient or beneficiary of an action, e.g.

- (1) *bədráyula ’a-bétət malcùytu +’al-+’Axíkar.* ‘He hands over his royal house to Axiqar.’ (A 3:53)
- (2) *yávulə +’al-’ídət xa-náša.* ‘He (the king) gives him to a man.’ (A 3:31)
- (3) *Nátan brúni hállə +’al-’idi.* ‘Hand over Natan my son to me (literally: to my hand).’ (A 3:87)
- (4) *+ràba! zlýzə xúrjəva +’allu.* ‘He had spent a lot of money on him.’ (A 3:89)

### 11.3.3 *Upon, on, onto*

In many cases *+al-* 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 *\*’al:*

- (1) *+mósta +al-rišu +rába lètva.* ‘There was not much hair on his head.’  
(A 37:1)
- (2) *ci-mayyívalun +al-+xasè.* ‘They brought them on their back.’ (B 12:2)
- (3) *tóvli +al-sùysi.* ‘I sat on my horse.’ (A 2:27)
- (4) *bølvášølø xa-lvøšta +al-jànul zàrdø.* ‘He puts on (literally: he put on himself) a yellow piece of clothing.’ (A 3:62)
- (5) *ú +týan ci-mattívala +al-+ojaxta.* ‘They put the cauldron on the hearth.’  
(B 12:4)
- (6) *mátti +al-ámøt +al-dà-beta.* ‘Put a sign on this house.’ (A 2:8)
- (7) *'íta +al-dáni daríva +tìna.* ‘Then on these they put mud.’ (B 2:21)
- (8) *sépi maxánvala +al-cípal +čambørrønvala.* ‘I used to strike my sword on a stone and split it.’ (A 2:25)

After verbs of involving movement towards the top of a referent it is often idiomatically rendered by English ‘onto’, e.g.

- (9) *pállø +al-'àrra.* ‘He fell on the ground.’ (A 7:14)
- (10) *maskívalø +al-jàrø.* ‘They take it up onto the roof.’ (B 2:22)
- (11) *jáno +ruppála +al-sèpa.* ‘She throws herself onto the sword.’ (A 2:35)
- (12) *brácølø +al-børcàcu.* ‘He kneels down onto his knees.’ (A 3:46)
- (13) *'ánnø míyya +maxduréna +àllu.* ‘They pour out the water onto him.’  
(A 37:20)

When the movement is away from the top, the preposition is combined with *møn/m-* ‘from’, e.g.

- (14) *m-+ál-susavaté +slílun.* ‘They dismounted from upon their horses.’ (B 2:13)
- (15) *'átøn +dílux 'ána bøt-náplønva m-+al-'ilàna.* ‘You knew that I would fall from the tree.’ (A 32:2)
- (16) *bøt-+šóri m-+al-čáppar.* ‘They will jump over the fence.’

The expression *+al-+uydalø*, which literally means ‘on one another’, is used in the sense of ‘together’, e.g.

- (17) *'áxnan jú ... dáštøt 'Úrmi Salámas +al-+uydálø 'átvalan 'ómmo tláy +tlà matvátø.* ‘We, in the plain of Urmi and Salamas, we had altogether a hundred and thirty-three villages.’ (B 2:2)
- (18) *'ána føddálul +házør vidèvøn, partúlø +al-+uydálø.* ‘I have prepared its threads, twisting (them) together.’ (A 3:74)

### 11.3.4 ‘Against’

- (1) *kóšun +jummévat +al-jáni.* ‘You have gathered the army against me.’ (A 3:27)
- (2) *für'un! hàmla t-ávəd +állux.* ‘Pharaoh will make an attack against you.’ (A 3:20)
- (3) *'ína 'adýya velə-víyya +xàyyən +állux.* ‘But now he has become treacherous against you.’ (A 3:22)
- (4) *'o-násət kát ... +al-málcat jànu! P xáyānàtP ávəd, +xèlṭa ávəd! +al-'alàha-zə vádələ! +xèlṭa.* ‘A man who does treachery against his own king, who commits a fault, he commits the fault also against God.’ (A 3:48)

In (5) after a verb of movement the preposition is preceded by *ka-* ‘to’:

- (5) *+Máhe ju-ùrxəla! néla bitáya ka+al-jánat dìyyux.* ‘Mahə is on the way, she is coming for you (literally to against you).’ (A 40:22)

### 11.3.5 ‘Concerning’

- (1) *+buķára bitáyələ +al-šámmət nipùxta.* ‘A question arises concerning the name *nipuxta*.’ (B 12:7)
- (2) *'ína léx +rába +suxsìyyə +állu.* ‘But we have not researched much concerning it.’ (B 12:7)

It is used in the context of betting in constructions such as (3):

- (3) *màrj dókax mónnax! +al-xá-'axča dàvə.* ‘We shall make a bet with you on such-and-such an amount of gold coins.’ (A 34:10)

### 11.3.6 *Temporal Location*

In some cases the preposition is used to denote location in time. This is found mostly in the varieties of the dialect spoken in the Caucasus:

- (1) *+al-dó-yuma xína mòdrə +plàṭla.* ‘On the next day she went out.’ (A 52:2)
- (2) *mòdrə +al-dé šítə xítə módrə 'átxa bìyyə muttíla.* ‘Again the next year she again laid eggs.’ (A 53:2)

### 11.3.7 *Complement of Verbs and Expressions*

The preposition *+al-* occurs as a complement to various verbs and expressions, e.g.

- (1) *bədmáyələ +'àlli.* 'He resembles me.' (A 3:35)
- (2) *lábbu +bətlába +'al-xá-naša 'ax-díyyu 'ávə.* 'His heart is seeking a man who is like him.' (A 3:14)
- (3) *bəspárən +'àllux.* 'I am waiting for you.' (A 3:53)
- (4) *jušáklun +'al-dáštət 'Ùrmi.* 'They looked at the plain of Urmi.' (B 2:13)
- (5) *ci-maxíva +'állu.* 'They used to strike it (the horse).' (A 1:1)
- (6) *káti +bətlabəva còmac 'azánva +'állu.* 'She had been seeking me in order to go and help him.' (A 2:33)
- (7) *clítəla +'al-+jurýytət +'týyan.* 'It depends on the size of the cauldron.' (B 12:5)
- (8) *'álli pəhtiyáj p +'állux.* 'I have need of you.' (A 2:26)
- (9) *+áynu bəkyátəla +'ál de-ctəvta.* 'His eye touches that writing.' (A 37:9)
- (10) *+áynu kliékéla +'álli.* 'He stared at me.'
- (11) *+másyət +'álli!* 'Listen to me.'
- (12) *báxta +tábba +'al-joro.* 'A wife obeys her husband.'
- (13) *clílə +'al-+xábru.* 'He was stubborn.'
- (14) *cálbi cušcásli +'al-jinávə.* 'I set my dog on the thief.'
- (15) *+'al-cépi mxilə.* 'He spoiled my pleasure, he offended me.'
- (16) *'ána kbólli 'et-šálmən +'al-kanunè.* 'I agreed to adhere to their rules.'
- (17) *njávla +'al-dó náša.* 'He rebuked that man.'
- (18) *bət-sánkən +'állux.* 'I will need you.'
- (19) *šavútəvən +'állu.* 'I am lusting for her.'

## 11.4 *ka*

### 11.4.1 *Dative*

A frequent usage of this preposition is to express the recipient, beneficiary or addressee, which can be termed a dative function, e.g.

- (1) *lubállyi yuvvállyi ka-málca.* 'I took him and gave him to the king' (A 3:34)
- (2) *+xábra yávələ ka-báxtu.* 'He gives word to his wife.' (A 3:30)
- (3) *+Axíkar málrlə ka-málca!* 'Axiqar says to the king ...' (A 3:15)
- (4) *ka-dan-nášət mənnu mára* 'He says to the people with him ...' (A 3:78)
- (5) *'ən-táno ka-šámsha clí, bət-cályā.* 'If he says to the sun "Stop!", it will stop.' (A 3:64)
- (6) *ka-málca bəctávələ.* 'He writes to the king.' (A 3:20)
- (7) *vúdlə ka-jánux brùna.* 'Make him a son for yourself.' (A 3:6)
- (8) *+ávun p̄t-ávə ka-sebúytux.* 'He will be for your old age.' (A 3:6)
- (9) *vìyyəvəlá vázzər ka-báb-díyyux.* 'He was vizier for his father.' (A 2:24)

- (10) *háč-məndi lélə váda ₯a-bàbu.* ‘He does not do anything for his father.’  
(A 3:37)

The preposition is used to express benefit to the speaker for the purpose of courtesy in expressions such as:

- (11) *'ād-lələ* | *átən p̄t-ávət káy 'árxa.* ‘Tonight you will be a guest of mine (literally: for me, for my benefit).’ (A 4:7)

#### 11.4.2 *Temporal Objective*

The preposition may be used to express a temporal objective or endpoint in constructions such as the following:

- (1) *'ána p̄t-ázən ₯a-xa-yàrxa.* ‘I shall go for a month.’ (A 2:11)  
 (2) *₯a-trè +sa'áttə malcútux hälla kày.* ‘Give me your kingdom for two hours.’  
(A 1:41)  
 (3) *yávola +dána ₯a-+Axíkar ₯a-'arpí yumànə.* ‘He gives the time to Axiqar, for forty days.’ (A 3:53)  
 (4) *b-+kèta á +šúla c-odívalə* | *kát ₯a-cúllə mótxat sátvə 'ánnə 'avílun nipùxta.*  
‘They used to do this thing in summer so that they would have molasses for the entire period of winter.’ (B 12:6)  
 (5) *daríva cəsmišə ₯a-sàtvə.* ‘They used to lay out raisins for the winter.’  
(B 2:4)  
 (6) *'ánnə míyyət +'ánvə kát c-avíva xvìtə* | *'áx míyya +tinànə* | *₯a-móriša c-avíva  
'ax-ət-'ámri +sápyə 'ax-zìja.* ‘The grape juices, which were mixed like muddy water, by the morning were, as they say, clear as a bell.’ (B 12:3)  
 (7) *₯a-kúdmə p̄t-atítun cèsli.* ‘You should come to me by tomorrow.’ (A 38:7)

#### 11.4.3 *Purpose or Cause*

- (1) *'án +adàttə*, | *c-óya tanùyə*, | *ju-matvátət 'Urmi* | *c-odívalun ₯a-bašáltət ni-pùxta.* ‘They used to practice these traditions, one may say, in the villages of Urmi for cooking molasses.’ (B 12:9)  
 (2) *'é-+dana b-yúma taníyra c-odívalə ₯a-làxma pyèta.* ‘At that time, during the day they used the oven for baking bread.’ (B 14:2)  
 (3) *ju-xa-mzída +júrtə* | *míyya ci-malíva mən-de-+'áyna labálva ₯á ... ₯a-štetè.*  
‘He would fill up a big waterskin with water from that spring, and would take it for them to drink.’ (A 37:7)  
 (4) *bərráxšəla +rába +p̄síma* | *₯a-dà móndi.* ‘He goes off sad because of this situation.’ (A 1:21)

- (5) *ḳà-del* +*ḳusártu yuvvàlə*.! ‘On account of that he gave his pot.’ (A 8:3)
- (6) *ḳa-mú pósli* +*'uldìyya*! *b-Nátan brùnux?*! ‘Why (literally: for what) was I treated treacherously by Natan your son?’ (A 3:52)
- (7) *ḳa-mùdī* *suysavátat diyyòxun*! *jávət Nènva*! *hurhàmlun?*! ‘Why did your horses in Nineveh neigh?’ (A 3:78)

#### 11.4.4 Direct Object Marker

When the preposition marks the direct object (§ 10.18.2.3.), the complement is most frequently a pronoun, especially 1st and 2nd person, rather than a full nominal, e.g.

- (1) *ḳa-díyyux* +*ḳṭàllun*.! ‘They killed you.’ (A 3:68)
- (2) *'ína 'aláha bsóm̥lə* *ḳa-díyyi* +*xumílə*.! ‘But it pleased God to protect me.’ (A 3:69)
- (3) *ḳa-dam̥moxàyələ*.! ‘He beats them.’ (A 3:72)
- (4) *'ína 'íman bəjràšolə* 'ay *bəjràšolə* *ḳàtu*! *sáb lèlə* +*msáya, jaróšla*.! ‘But when he pulls it (the waterskin), it pulls him, because he cannot pull it.’ (A 37:15)
- (5) *ḳa-dáha* +*ḳáṭu* +*'ùxča mxáyələ*.! ‘He beats this cat so hard.’ (A 3:79)

#### 11.4.5 Complements of Verbs

The use of the preposition before a verb complement is specific to some verbs. This applies in particular to +*ḳarə* i *ḳa-* ‘to call’, e.g.

- (1) *ḳa-dáni* +*karíva pardùvvə*.! ‘They called those laths.’ (B 2:19)
- (2) *ḳa-cúllə dánnə* +*parsúpə* *ḳátju-dé* *dáštət* 'Urmi ci-xáyil' *ḳát məššəlmànənəna* ci-+*ḳaráx* +*hošàrə*.! ‘We call all those people that live in the plain of Urmia who are Muslims *hošàrə*.’ (B 2:16)
- (3) *ḳa-Nátan* +*bəkràyəna*.! ‘They call Natan.’ (A 3:43)

#### 11.5 *mən, m-*

This preposition represents the merging together of two prepositions that were distinct in earlier Aramaic, viz. \**men* ‘from’ and \**'am* ‘with’ (§ 8.4.22.). The form +*'am* ‘with’ is sporadically used by speakers, but this should be regarded as a loan from the literary language, e.g.

- (1) *'ána jàni=zəl* *jú* *xá šítə* +*'ám jvánkə* *m-*+*uydálə* *á-*+*šula* *vìdux*.! ‘I myself together with the lads did this task one year.’ (B 2:7)

The relations the preposition *mən/m-* expresses may be classified as follows.

### 11.5.1 Separation or Removal

- (1) *ci-+paltíva +’al-váddar mən-màta.* ‘They went outside of the village.’ (B 2:18)
- (2) *cúllə nákvə mən-pátt +’arrə šaklónnun.* ‘I should remove from the face of the earth all females’ (A 2:17)
- (3) *mən-’álaha lèla +tšítla, mánnux mùt +tšítæla?* ‘It is not hidden from God, why is it hidden from you?’ (A 2:17)
- (4) *b-+traptæt! nipùxtal ránjo mən-ránjæt cùma! ci-+xavàrvæl c-avíva +xvàra.* ‘Through the beating of the molasses its colour used to change from the colour black and it used to become white.’ (B 12:5)
- (5) *’əsrí tláy +sántə prišə m-+uydála!* ‘twenty or thirty centimetres separated from each other’ (B 14:6)

In (6) and (7) it is combined with the preposition *+al-:*

- (6) *m-+ál-susavaté +slilun.* ‘They dismounted from upon their horses.’ (B 2:13)
- (7) *bæcnášəva m-+áljára.* ‘They swept it from off the roof.’ (B 17:37)

### 11.5.2 Source or Origin

- (1) *mən-+táma +šarúyəna bədra-kálə ’ánnə yál-súra.* ‘From there the children begin to shout.’ (A 3:72)
- (2) *bæxzáyələ mən-rèkkəl’ ína xá-dana +šrá véla bəlláya.* ‘He sees from afar a lantern burning in a house.’ (A 2:4)
- (3) *+bár=æt +xábra lá-víla mən-dànnəl* ‘after there was no word from them ...’ (A 3:4)
- (4) *xa-ctávæ ctávləl mən-púmmæt +Axìkar.* ‘He wrote a letter on behalf of (literally: from the mouth of) Axiqar.’ (A 3:19)
- (5) *’adíyya ’ánnə nákvəl cúllə +házər vágəna! mən-yál-súra nákvə hál +jùra.* ‘Now the women are all ready, from young girls to older women.’ (A 2:22)
- (6) *késa ci-mattíva +xlima ’átxa! mən-dà júyda +’al-dò júyda.* ‘They used to place a piece of wood, thick like this, from this wall to that wall.’ (B 2:19)
- (7) *háč məndi látlí-mənno.* ‘I have nothing of hers.’ (A 1:17)
- (8) *+šadurèləl mən-+bəzzæt buxàri.* ‘He sends them through the hole of the fireplace.’ (A 14:2)

### 11.5.3 Cause

- (1) *mən-cápnu lél +myása kām| mən-+tāma.* ‘On account of his hunger he is unable to rise from there.’ (A 49:12)
- (2) *mátli mən-cápna!* ‘I am dying of hunger!’
- (3) *lèla dmíxa| mən-+narahatìytu.* ‘He has not slept due to his being upset.’ (A 1:40)

### 11.5.4 Partitive

On numerous occasions the preposition expresses a partitive relationship, i.e. a part of a larger group or class, e.g.

- (1) *+rába mən-dánnə məndyánə malùpulə.* ‘He teaches him many of these things.’ (A 3:10)
- (2) *mónđi kát ’áta mən-+’átri| mən-+xəttə| mén ... dàva| mən-síma.* ‘What accrues from my land of wheat, of gold, of silver.’ (A 3:40)
- (3) *xa-mən-dan-šäcvànəvən| xut-’áklət málca.* ‘I am one of those ants under the feet of the king.’ (A 3:66)
- (4) *’ítá ’áha-zə xá mən-+adáttət bne-’Ùrmila.* ‘So this is one of the customs of the people of Urmia.’ (B 12:9)
- (5) *mən-dánnə tlívva ci-mayyíva.* ‘They used to bring some of those preserved grape-clusters.’ (B 2:4)
- (6) *lè-mačxət mən-do-láxma.* ‘You will not find any such bread.’ (B 2:10)
- (7) *júrrə júrrə mən-dánnə yemíšə+zarríva.* ‘They cultivated different kinds of such fruit.’ (B 2:10)
- (8) *’ítá cmá dánə mən-+dávun ’átxa ci-mattíva.* ‘So they used to place a few items of this.’ (B 2:19)
- (9) *háč-xa mənné látvalun carmàna.* ‘None of them had vineyards.’ (B 2:6)
- (10) *xáčča mən-+dávvə štílə.* ‘He drank a little of the yoghurt.’ (A 5:9)
- (11) *sátva mən-dáni c-+axlíva.* ‘In winter they would eat some of these.’ (A 35:2)
- (12) *zonáva móń +xàltə.* ‘She would buy some food.’ (B 17:5)

### 11.5.5 Comparison

- (1) *nàkva| mən-’úrza buš-xelàntəla.* ‘A female is stronger than a male.’ (A 2:36)
- (2) *’ána xáčča bùš-zoda mánnux| xìyyən.* ‘I have lived a little more than you.’ (A 2:16)
- (3) *+tamàna c-ávə m-dó kát bí ... +nùyṭa| b-+fazùyl váguna.* ‘It is more tasty than the one they make with oil or diesel fuel.’ (B 14:4)

- (4) *+rába zóda mən- +lázəm| mán +crəsyána xóšu le-’atyàva.* ‘He disliked Christians much more than was necessary.’ (JP 1:16)

For further details concerning the formation of comparative constructions see § 9.8.

### 11.5.6 *Material*

The preposition may express the material from which something is made, e.g.

- (1) *kát mən-síla| jøddàla zárəz.* ‘that he should make threads out of sand.’  
(A 3:56)
- (2) *’áxnan ’ótlan spadiyyàtə| mán párrət tèrəna.* ‘We have pillows made of birds’ feathers.’ (A 38:9)

### 11.5.7 *Spatial Location*

On some occasions it is used to refer to a spatial location. This is particularly common in adverbial expressions containing locations that typically stand in contrastive opposition, especially sides, e.g.

- (1) *fúr’un m-á-yba xína bitáyəla +al-jàni?* ‘Is Pharaoh coming against me on this side?’ (A 3:27)
- (2) *xá-sama xína-da +’álma ’áttən kət-ci-táni mən-jíbət nipùxtal* Pméye poxtè. P| ‘There is another group of people who say *meye poxte* instead of (literally: on the side of) *nipuxta*.’ (B 12:8)
- (3) *+’ál dáni ci-mattíva pardùvvə,| mən-dà-riša.* ‘On those they put laths, on this side.’ (B 2:20)
- (4) *’ána clíli +támə.| á sáklə mən-səmmálta.* ‘I waited there (on one side). He went up on a ladder (on the other side).’ (A 2:31)
- (5) *čarùxə| ’ax-dáhəna,| ’ax-dáha,| ’ína m-áxxa m-áxxa m-áxxa m-áxxa ’áttən jøddàla.* ‘Woven boots were like this, like this, but here, here, here and here there were threads.’ (A 4:2)
- (6) *’ína +málla m-cəs-dánnə bərràxšələ.* ‘The mullah passes by them.’ (A 9:2)
- (7) *síla bədráyəla mən-+támə +bázzə +bàzzə.* ‘He sprinkles sand there in holes.’ (A 3:73)

In (8)–(10) the preposition is used to express location of an action on part of a body:

- (8) *'átxa mən-<sup>+</sup>kássat brátu nšòkla.* 'He kissed her like this on her forehead.' (A 43:2)
- (9) *ka-bàbìl mxílun m-àxxu.* 'They struck my father here on him.' (B 6:5)
- (10) *mən-túpru mxàyələ, típ̥ru <sup>+</sup>bəktàyələ.* 'He strikes his tail.' (A 46:3)

### 11.5.8 'With'

When it is appropriate to translate the preposition with English 'with', the relation is generally comitative, e.g.

- (1) *lá 'ávət mən-xa-bàxta! kát ... <sup>+</sup>jóro mítələ.* 'Do not be with a woman whose husband has died.' (A 3:10)
- (2) *ku-ta-mènni!* 'Get up and come with me!' (A 3:23)
- (3) *'ána <sup>+</sup>báyyən hamzámmən mènnux.* 'I want to speak with you.' (A 3:53)
- (4) *cúllə-da 'an-<sup>+</sup>sarbàzə t-íva mónnu! cíllə šátyəna <sup>+</sup>rùyəna.* 'All the soldiers who were with him were drunk and inebriated.' (A 3:35)
- (5) *kòšun muyyéla! kat-'<sup>áti</sup> <sup>+</sup>pàləš mónnux.* 'He has brought the army in order to fight with me.' (A 3:20)

The preposition is used with this sense in the expression *m-<sup>+</sup>uydala* 'together', e.g.

- (6) *+rába məndyánə hamzúməna m-<sup>+</sup>uydàla.* 'They speak about many things togther.' (A 3:66)
- (7) *túrvante m-<sup>+</sup>údalə bərráxšəna bëta.* 'Both of them go home together.' (A 37:11)

### 11.5.9 'With regard to, concerning'

- (1) *'á cačàla! <sup>+</sup>ótlə <sup>+</sup>xàbra mən-da-báxta.* 'This bald man has a report concerning this woman.' (A 1:36)
- (2) *'átnən <sup>+</sup>valux *kválta mən-<sup>+</sup>hàji?** 'Did you have a complaint about the pilgrim?' (A 1:44)
- (3) *<sup>+</sup>tlábloxun but-<sup>+</sup>zrùta *katóxun xácmə məndyánə tánən!* mən-<sup>+</sup>Mùšáva, <sup>+</sup>inə! *'áha móndit 'ána <sup>+</sup>báyyən tanànnə! bədvákələ mən-cíllə matvátat diyyan.** 'You have asked me to tell you a few things with regard to agriculture with regard to Mushava, but what I want to say holds with regard to all our villages.' (B 2:1)

### 11.5.10 *Temporal*

The preposition is combined with *+bar* ‘after’ or *kam* ‘before’ in temporal adverbial expressions such as the following:

- (1) *m-+bàr-hada* ‘after this’ (A 3:22)
- (2) *mən-+bár brəzvalə*, *xína míyya ýe-+dán +mútra tálja +šúla +rayyíva ju-béta lè +salíva.* ‘After it dried, when it rained or snowed and so forth water would not come down into the house.’ (B 2:22)
- (3) *+’əsrá yumánə m-kám +dána káy-táni.* ‘Ten days beforehand tell me.’ (A 2:18)

### 11.5.11 *Complements of Verbs and Expressions*

The preposition *mən* is used as the complement of various verbs and expressions, e.g.

- (1) *lá +buķárri mónnux hàč-məndi.* ‘I did not ask anything of you.’ (A 3:52)
- (2) *+bətlábəla +paxàltá mónnu.* ‘He asks for forgiveness from him.’ (A 3:54)
- (3) *þučþəčlə mən-xà-mənne.* ‘He whispered to one of them.’ (A 19:2)
- (4) *’ána +byáyən mən-nášux lìpəl mən-jú +’átrət dìyyux +’árpa xamšá mənd-yánə kátil +jùvvab ódi.* ‘I want your learned men from your land, to give me a response to four or five things.’ (A 3:39)
- (5) *lótvali +zdúta mən-háč náša.* ‘I did not have fear of anybody.’ (A 2:28)
- (6) *’á-sapar ’òtvalun +’arràtəl šúk mən-carmàna.* ‘Now, other than vineyards they had fields.’ (B 2:6)

## 11.6 Repetition of Prepositions

Some prepositions are repeated in particular contexts. In all such cases the first component of the repetitive phrase has a long form of the preposition ending in an *-a* vowel and the second component has the normal form of the preposition.

### 11.6.1 *bíyya b-*

When the preposition *b-* has a comitative sense, it is sometimes repeated in constructions such as the following:

- (1) *bəškáləna bíyya b-dó sàla*, *bábat ... vàzzər*, *labíluna cəs-màlca.* ‘They take the father of the vizier together with the basket and carry it to the king.’ (A 2:25)
- (2) *bəškálələ +’Axíkar bíyya bí ... rijavàtu*, *+kòšun.* ‘Axiqar takes an army together with his servants.’ (A 3:60)

- (3) *'u-áyən bíyya b-ječítə +rába +rāhat bitáyəla.* ‘And she together with the goat comes very calmly.’ (A 38:18)
- (4) *bíyya b-sépa 'àtxa| ... bərràxšəla.* ‘He goes together with his sword.’ (A 39:9)
- (5) *+xúllə bíyya b-kálpu!* ‘Eat it together with its shell.’

### 11.6.2 +bara +bar

The repetition of this preposition is used when the prepositional phrase is a complement of a verb of movement, e.g.

- (1) *tílun +bara +bàru.* ‘They came behind him.’ (A 28:1)
- (2) *+bára-+bar sépa bərràxšəla.* ‘He goes after his sword.’ (A 39:9)
- (3) *'áxnan=da +bára +barè| t-azàxva.* ‘We followed behind them.’ (B 5:10)

### 11.6.3 java jav

The repetition is attested in cases such as the following in which the prepositional phrase has the sense of ‘in various places within’ an entity:

- (1) *'án=t 'ótvale cármət +'ànvəl cármət +'ànvəl jáva jávu c-odíva +màšəl jáv dán zulàlu.* ‘Those who had a vineyard of grapes, a vineyard of grapes, in various places within it they used to cultivate beans in its strips.’ (B 17:13)

### 11.6.4 kama kam

This phrase is found after dynamic perfective verbs expressing change of location:

- (1) *xzili| +slíla tilə| tóvlə +ul-sùysəl káma kam-dìyyi.* ‘I saw that he came down and sat on the horse in front of me.’ (A 2:32)
- (2) *dáryuna káma kamèl kat-là-'arək.* ‘They have put him in front of them so that he does not run away.’ (A 7:7)

# The Clause

## 12.1 The Copula Clause

Some aspects of the function of the various copulas and the clauses in which they occur have already been dealt with in § 10.5. 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. Each section will include consideration also of clauses containing compound verbal forms consisting of a copula and resultative participle (*ptixələ, dulə ptixa, velə ptixa*) or progressive stem (*bəptaxələ, dulə bəptaxə, velə bəptaxə*).

### 12.1.1 Enclitic Copula

#### 12.1.1.1 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) *karibàyəvax*.| 'We are foreigners.' (A 2:6)
- (2) *šulkètən*.| 'I am naked.' (A 1:11)
- (3) *bràtila* 'She is my daughter.' (A 1:14)
- (4) *+yakùrtəla*.| 'It (the waterskin) is heavy.' (A 37:15)
- (5) *+ràba racíxana*.| 'They are very soft.' (A 38:9)
- (6) *+rába b-šənnələ*.| 'He is very aged.' (A 2:24)
- (7) *bètət díyyivət*.| 'You are my home.' (A 3:54)
- (8) *+šavvá 'axunvàtəva*.| 'They were seven brothers.' (A 37:7)
- (9) *xàmməva*.| 'It was hot.' (A 37:21)
- (10) *+rába-zə naxùpəva* *+rába-zə +zadùyəva*.| 'He was very shy and was very timid (at that time).' (A 37:1)

When the predicate is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, the copula agrees with the predicate, e.g. *'ànəvən*| 'It is me', *àt-ivət*| 'It is you' (see § 12.5.6.8.). Examples from the text corpus:

- (11) *mára mániva mórrə Ɂat-mujtáyyəd +slúta +salùyəla?* *màrrəl +kúrbān ànənva.* ‘He said “Who said that the jurist is saying a prayer?” He said “Sir, it was me.”’ (A 7:9)
- (12) *xšávlə Ɂat-’át-ítva.* ‘It (the fire) thought it was you.’ (A 23:3)
- (13) *léxva hár ’áxnan.* ‘It was not just us.’ (B 9:5)

The predicate cannot be gapped and the copula retained where such gapping is acceptable in English, e.g.

- (14) A: *cpìnəvət?* B: *hì,* *cpìnəvən.* ‘A: Are you hungry? B: Yes, I am (literally: I am hungry).’

The same applies to the compound verbal forms containing a copula, e.g.

- (15) *’út ’áhmak-ívət!* *’ína mən-jánux buš-áhmaɁ xəz̥yat?* *+màlla mára!* *hìl xəz̥yən.* ‘“You are stupid, but have you seen a more stupid person than you?” The mullah said “Yes, I have (literally: I have seen).”’ (A 16:1–2)

#### 12.1.1.2 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 cliticized to the predicate with the nuclear stress occurring on the predicate, e.g.

- (1) *+Axíkar xàyəla.* ‘Axiqar is alive.’ (A 3:49)
- (2) *’áxnan +šavwá ’axunvàtəvax.* ‘We are seven brothers.’ (A 37:10)
- (3) *’ánnə +xuyravàtuna.* ‘These are his friends.’ (A 2:7)
- (4) *báxtu +rába honàntəva.* ‘His wife was very clever.’ (A 3:57)
- (5) *+’áv-da +rába lìpəva.* ‘He also was very learned.’ (A 3:1)
- (6) *’át +sàrəvət! ... ’áni-da palàxux-na.* ‘You are the moon ... and they are your workers.’ (A 3:63)
- (7) *’áha márət jnàyəla.* ‘This one is guilty of a crime.’ (A 3:80)
- (8) *bráta ju-bètula.* ‘The girl is in his house.’ (A 1:21)
- (9) *’áha +jòrax-lə?* ... *hìl ... ’áha +jòril.* ‘Is this your husband? ... Yes ... This is my husband.’ (A 1:38)

The clause may be given a slower prosody by placing the subject constituent in a separate intonation group. Constructions such as these often occur at some kind of boundary in the discourse. The clause in (10), for example, opens an explanatory background section of the narrative. The clause in (11) stands apart

from the adjacent discourse due to its gnomic nature. The slower prosody of the clause in (12) gives the proposition particular prominence:

- (10) *'a-ctàva| trè-saməla.* ‘The letter is (in) two parts.’ (A 3:21)
- (11) *nàkva| mən-’úrza buš-xelàntəla.* ‘A woman is stronger than a man.’ (A 2:36)
- (12) *’á +xàbra| +xábrət +’aturàyəla.* ‘This word is an Assyrian word.’ (B 2:17)

On some occasions the subject constituent is placed after the predicate. When a definite nominal subject is postposed in this way, the clause is bound pragmatically to what precedes. It normally expresses supplementary information that is tagged onto the preceding statement, e.g.

- (13) *+hàjil ’átvəla xá-dana rìja| +rába +spày-iva| o-rìja.* ‘The pilgrim had a servant. That servant was very good.’ (A 1:7)
- (14) *xá-yuma bərràšxalə| +hà| dàxivət? Ilíyyələ šámmu.* ‘Iliyya dàxivət? ‘One day he goes (to visit) “Ah, how are you?”—His name is Iliyya—“Iliyya how are you?”’ (A 36:5)
- (15) *ptàna vadónva| tre-nùyna| +plátlun ju-’úpra| ’ánnəna ’an-núyna.* ‘I was ploughing and two fish came out of the soil. These are those fish.’ (A 5:7)
- (16) *mən-ju-kúnya šxùnta +pláṭəla| +rába šaxinəva kúnya.* ‘Heat is coming out of the well. The well was very hot.’ (A 39:7)
- (17) *+doràna| ’átxa késa flùləla| +dorànlə šámmu lišán-t suràyə hí.* ‘A rolling pin is a round stick like this. Its name is rolling pin in the Assyrian language, yes.’ (B 17:22)
- (18) *’á t-íva bitáya bëta| +ravàyəva ’akúbra| pâkkka t-íva màyu| pólla ju-’ákłat càlla.* ‘When she (the frog) was going home—the mouse was drunk—when the frog was bringing him (the mouse) back, she fell into the hoof print of a buffalo.’ (A 52:6)

The clause in (19) occurs at the end of a section that describes the preparation of yoghurt water (+*davvə*):

- (19) *+davvəna-’anna.* ‘This is yoghurt water.’ (A 5:8)

The construction in (20) is a comment by a jurist on a preceding report of a witness in the court room:

- (20) *mára xób +rába xərbələ ’a-+šúla.* ‘He (the jurist) said “Well, this is a very bad situation.”’ (A 7:10)

In (21) the postposition of the subject expresses a close temporal cohesion of the clause with what precedes:

- (21) *yámmo tila.| +'úxča xdítøla bràta.| +rxáṭa +rxáṭa +bərxáṭøla kam-yàmмо.*  
 'Her mother comes. The girl is so happy, she runs, runs runs up to her mother.' (A 43:12)

Occasionally the enclitic copula is attached to the subject constituent, e.g.

- (22) *'á-ilø xá +bar-nàša.*| 'This is a human.' (A 37:12)

The placement of the copula on the subject can be explained as a reflection of the topical prominence of this constituent. 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 or give a clause distinctness for the sake of making it more prominent, as is the case in (22), in which the ascription to the subject referent of the property of 'human' is given prominence since it is presented in contrastive opposition to the expectations of those in the speech situation (§ 10.5.1. example 27).

In (23) 'the net' is the subject of the second clause and 'on her' is the predicate. The copula is attached to the subject to give it enhanced prominence. Here also this is topical prominence rather than focal prominence. The construction involves the setting up of two propositions in parallel opposition. The endowment of the subject topic with greater prominence marks the clause off distinctly from the other side of the opposition. In general, the enhancement of the prominence given to a topic marks a discourse boundary with greater distinctness. The topical prominence is also signalled by the nuclear stress.

- (23) *+hám šulxètøla| +hám jàrdøla +állu.*| 'She is naked and also a net is on her.'  
 (A 38:16)

#### 12.1.1.2 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) *xa-mən-dan-šəcvànəvən| xut-ákłat málca.* ‘I am one of those ants under the feet of the king.’ (A 3:66)
- (2) *’axúna +fùrələ-zə katé.* ‘He is the eldest brother in relation to them.’ (A 37:15)

The copula is also sometimes placed on a head noun that is modified by a following adjective, e.g.

- (3) *xá nášəva +rába ... +rába fanatičaya.* ‘He was a very, very fanatic person.’ (B 2:16)

The split of the predicate is regularly found when the head of the predicate has a subordinate clause as its dependent, e.g.

- (4) *+spày-ilə| kat-jú malciyta| t-ávə vazzər kátu.* ‘He is suitable to be a minister for him in the royal court.’ (A 3:16)

### **12.1.2 *Independent Copula***

#### **12.1.2.1 Basic Predicate**

An independent standing copula without a subject constituent may be placed either before or after the predicate:

- (1) *+várəljavay| bëta.* ‘*’ila +xorət +joro.* ‘He enters inside the house. He is the friend of her husband.’ (A 5:13)
- (2) *bəxzáyələ ’ina| a-+Hárun ’ar-Rašíd| vélə tívə.* ‘*’ila +kazi.* ‘He sees that Harun ar-Rashid is sitting there. He is the judge.’ (A 10:9)
- (3) *+rába sivəval ’ina ’íva vazzirət bábət málca.* ‘He was very old, but he used to be the vizier of the father of the king.’ (A 2:14)
- (4) *bas-múdilə ’o-mándi búš +tavána ju-dùnyə?* ‘*márra taxmántət +bar-nàša.* ... *’ila +rába ràba jáldə.* ‘“But what is the fastest thing in the world?” She said “The thought of a man. ... it is very very fast.”’ (A 36:11)
- (5) *+yakúyra ’ila.* ‘It is heavy.’

Constructions such as (1) and (2) occur in clauses that present background information in a narrative without a change in grammatical subject from that of the preceding clause. In (3) the background clause has a different temporal reference from the preceding clause ‘he was old’, the temporal reference of

which is that of the main narrative line. In (4) the independent copula is used to give the clause prominence due to its importance. Example (5) was uttered by a speaker as a parenthetical comment.

The construction is used where the predicate is constituted by the following discourse, e.g.:

- (6) *'ilə xà-dana| caçàla| ðtva| fu-xà| mdita.* | 'It (the story) is (as follows): There was a bald man in a town.' (A 1:1)

#### 12.1.2.2 Clauses Containing a Subject Constituent

Clauses containing an independent copula generally have a subject constituent in the form of an independent pronoun or a nominal. The constructions discussed in § 12.1.2.1., 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. In the majority of cases attested in the text corpus the copula is placed before the predicate immediately after the subject:

- (1) *ána 'ivən +'Axíkar.* | 'I am Axiqar.' (A 3:67)
- (2) *šámmət díyyi 'ilə ... +pàllan cás.* | 'My name is so-and-so.' (A 37:8)
- (3) *xá mən-caçála 'ilə +tàjər.* | 'One of the bald men is a merchant.' (A 1:30)
- (4) *bás 'áxnan 'ivax +shàvva.* | 'But we are (only) seven.' (A 37:9)
- (5) *bábət dáha 'iva vázzər ka-bábət málca| kámta.* | 'His father was formerly vizier to the father of the king.' (A 2:14)

If the predicate is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, the copula agrees in person with the predicate, e.g.

- (6) *+ávva 'ivən àna.* | 'That is me.' (The informant is pointing to a picture of himself)

In (7) an adverbial prepositional phrase intervenes between the subject and the copula:

- (7) *'áha málca káttí 'iva xá +karùvvə| kát +úxča šapíra kàla 'ðtvalə.* | 'This king was for me a rooster, which had such a beautiful voice.' (A 3:81)

Clauses with the independent copula have communicative salience which disjoins them from preceding clauses. They are typically used in identificatory clauses, specifical clauses or clauses that ascribe a permanent property to a subject. Such clauses, by their nature, are more independent of the context

than clauses predicating contingent properties. The placement of the copula after the subject endows the subject topic of the clause with greater prominence. Increasing the prominence of an initial topic is in general a strategy for marking boundaries in the discourse. As we have seen, a copula is occasionally cliticized to an initial subject (§ 12.1.1.2. example 22), in which case it has a similar function of marking topical prominence. The prosodic separation of the independent copula from the subject topic can be regarded as a further device for marking prominence, which is a kind of heavy coding. In sporadic cases this heavy coding is increased by extraposing the subject and resuming it by an independent pronoun, as in (8):

- (8) *míya 'ánnə 'ína 'o-mándi búš xelàna.* | 'Water—it is the strongest thing.'  
(A 38:11)

In (9) an independent copula is placed after an initial prepositional phrase in two successive clauses which are set up in a parallel opposition. Here the copula has an existential function, in that it expresses the existence of an item rather than predicating a property of an item. The prepositional phrases have the status of topics, in that they set the spatial frame for the clause. The placement of the copula after the initial topical prepositional phrases gives prominence to these. The motivation for this is to make a sharp distinction between the two sides of the opposition. In general, the enhancement of the prominence given to a topic marks a discourse boundary with greater distinctness.

- (9) *xut-xáčo 'íla càrvəšl b-xá-'ido-zə 'íla ... tèra.* | 'Under her armpit is a rabbit and in one of her hands is a bird.' (A 38:16)

In (10) an independent copula is placed after the predicate rather than the subject. This clause constitutes an elaborative comment on what precedes.

- (10) *'áyya rásmt díyán 'íla.* | 'This is our custom.' (A 36:16)

These constructions with the independent copula are used, therefore, to mark discourse boundaries (for further details see § 10.5.2.). Due to their function of marking discourse boundaries, the postposition of the subject constituent after the predicate is avoided, since this is a feature of discourse conjoining and continuity.

### 12.1.3 *Deictic Copula*

In this section the use of the deictic copulas in all constructions, including compound verbal forms with deictic copulas, will be considered.

#### 12.1.3.1 Basic Predicate

When the deictic copula occurs in a clause without a subject constituent, it is normally placed before the predicate:

- (1) *dúla xèta.*! 'She is alive.' (A 1:38)
- (2) *dúlə làxxa.*! 'He is here.' (A 6:12)
- (3) *vélə ju-kánna dmíxa.*! 'There he is asleep in the den.' (A 42:25)
- (4) *véna +tàmma.*! 'They are over there.' (A 1:11)

Occasionally it is placed after the predicate, e.g.

- (5) *ju-xá-dana kùnya véla.*! 'It is in a well.' (A 40:3)

#### 12.1.3.2 Clauses Containing a Subject Constituent

When a subject constituent in the clause is placed before the deictic copula, the subject is topical in status. It may have this status due to its being bound in some way to the preceding discourse:

- (1) *'ádi dayyána +hála bùš vélə críba.*! 'Now the judge (already mentioned) is yet more angry.' (A 38:14)
- (2) *'ád-lelə 'ána hal-kedám̩ta tóvli +slúta +sulíli.*! *+jóri dúla bsíma.*! 'This night I sat until the morning and prayed. My husband (previously mentioned) has been cured.' (A 36:17, end of story)
- (3) *jás yám̩mi dùla.*! 'Look, here is my mother (previously mentioned).' (A 44:12)

Indefinite nouns with a specific referent that is newly introduced into the discourse and typically plays a role in what follows are generally placed before the deictic copula, e.g.

- (4) *cmá-šənnə +vərtəla! xá-dana +còban!* *vélə 'ɔrbə!* *+marrúyə +tàma.*! 'Several years have gone by and a shepherd is grazing sheep there.' (A 40:6)
- (5) *xá tanína vélə +'ál xa-brát-málca xítə purtəllələ.*! 'A dragon has wrapped himself around another daughter of a king.' (A 40:17)
- (6) *kárjə véna +bixàlu.*! 'Crows are eating him.' (B 6:7)

In dialogue 1st and 2nd person pronouns are often placed before the deictic copula at the onset of a turn of conversation or a discourse boundary of some sort, e.g.

- (7) *'át +rába dívət sìva.* | 'You have become very old.' (A 3:14)
- (8) *'ána dún +rába sòvta.* | 'I am very old.' (A 39:24)

In (9) the predicate has an enclitic copula in addition to a deictic copula:

- (9) *'ánnə dúna kìdəna.* | *'oyátva ju-màšxa kùlité.* | 'These are burnt. You should have fried them.' (A 36:8, onset of speech)

In (10) the subject is placed in a separate intonation group. This sets up a clear opposition between 'the chickens here' and 'the chickens in the village':

- (10) *ctayatət lāxxa!* *véna máya bíyyə là b-+karúvva.* | 'The chickens here produce eggs without a rooster.' (B 7:4)

The subject constituent may be placed after the copula. In some such cases the subject is topically bound with what precedes and the clause is presented with a greater cohesion with what precedes than subject—copula clauses. In (11) the clause elaborates on the preceding request by pointing out the location of the forest in question. In (12) the initial relative clause with the pronominal head is a grammatical component of the clause containing the deictic copula and so there is clearly close cohesion:

- (11) *xúš kèsə mélan!* *món dáyya mèša.* | *véla méša kùrba.* | 'Go and bring us wood from the forest. The forest is over there nearby.' (A 37:14).
- (12) *mút vítəla!* *'ádi lāxxa!* *véx cùllan vàdo.* | 'What was (there in the village), now here we all make it.' (B 10:5)

In (13) a nominal phrase with a contrastive narrow focus on a numeral is placed after the deictic copula:

- (13) *véna trè 'áklu píšə.* | 'Two of its legs are remaining.' (A 39:28)

An indefinite subject is often placed after the deictic copula when the proposition is the complement of a verb of perception (14) or at least perception is implied (15):

- (14) *bəxzáyən vélə xa-yàlə| mən-xa-bàxtə +tamma| šulxàya.* ‘I see that there is a lad together with a woman over there (both) naked.’ (A 4:11)
- (15) *’ína mèdrə| sódu bitàyələ| vélə céca +támma piša.* ‘But again he is happy (when he sees) there is still a cake remaining there.’ (A 37:4)

#### 12.1.4 *Copula on Focused Elements*

The subject of an ascriptive clause typically expresses given information whereas the property that is ascribed to it typically expresses a new information focus. This is the case in the vast majority of such clauses that are attested in the text corpus. The focus of new information is signalled by the nuclear stress, which is typically placed on the item expressing the property. In some contexts, however, ascriptive copula clauses may have a different information structure, whereby the subject item is the focus of new information and the item expressing the property expresses given information. In such cases the enclitic copula is generally used, rather than an independent or deictic copula, and this usually remains in its position at the end of the clause after the property item. The basic syntactic structure of the predication, therefore, does not change and from a syntactic point of view the property item should still be regarded as the predicate. The nuclear stress, however, is placed on the subject rather than on the predicate. Also the focused element is typically moved to the front of the clause if it is not already situated there.

This is the case in clauses in which the subject is a contrastive focus. In such cases the speaker wishes to correct a misunderstanding by strongly asserting that one particular referent should be selected for the role in question rather than the one currently entertained by the hearer, e.g.

- (1) A: *bábi cpínələ.* B: *là,| +mamùnux cpínələ,| lá bábux.* ‘A: “My father is hungry.” B: “No, *your uncle* is hungry, not your father.”’
- (2) A: *’ávva cpínələ.* B: *là,| ’ána cpínəvən,| lá +’ávva.* ‘A: “He is hungry.” B: “No, *I* am hungry, not him.”’
- (3) A: *bábi ju-bétələ.* B: *là,| +mamùnux ju-bétələ,| lá bábux.* ‘A: “My father is in the house”. B: “No, *your uncle* is in the house, not your father.”’

This applies also to clauses containing compound verbal forms consisting of a copula and resultative participle (*ptixələ, dulə ptixa, velə ptixa*) or the progressive stem (*bəptaxələ, dulə bəptaxa, velə bəptaxa*):

- (4) A: *bábi tìyyələ.* B: *là,| +mamùnux tìyyələ,| lá bábux.* ‘A: “My father has come.” B: “No, *your uncle* has come, not your father.”’
- (5) A: *brúni +bixálələ ju-bèta.* B: *là,| ju-càrma +bixálələ,| lá ju-bèta.* ‘A: “My

son is eating in the house". B: "No, he is eating *in the vineyard*, not in the house."

When the subject of an equative copula clause is in contrastive focus, this item takes the nuclear stress and the predicate normally takes the enclitic copula, e.g.

- (6) A: *Yósəp* 'ílə +xòran.| B: *là*,| *Yònán* +xóran-ilə.| 'A: "Yosəp is our friend." B: "No, Yònán is our friend."

When a speaker wishes to give a particularly strong contrastive focus to an item, the copula may be moved from its normal position and cliticized to the focused item, thus:

- (7) A: *bábi ju-bétələ*.| B: *là*,| +mamùnux-ilə ju-béta,| *lá bábux*.| 'A: "My father is in the house". B: "No, *your uncle* is in the house, not your father."
- (8) A: *bábi cpínələ*.| B: *là*,| +mamùnux-ilə cpína,| *lá bábux*.| 'A: "My father is hungry." B: "No, *your uncle* is hungry, not your father."
- (9) A: +'ávva cpínələ.| B: *là*,| 'ànəvən cpína,| *lá* +'ávva.| 'A: "He is hungry." B: "No, I am hungry, not him."
- (10) A: *Yósəp* 'ílə +xòran.| B: *là*,| *Yònán*-ilə +xóran.| 'A: "Yosəp is our friend." B: "No, Yònán is our friend."
- (11) A: *bábi tìyyələ*.| B: *là*,| +mamùnux-ilə tíyya,| *lá bábux*.| 'A: "My father has come." B: "No, *your uncle* has come, not your father."
- (12) A: *brúni* +bixálələ ju-béta.| B: *là*,| *ju-càrmələ* +bixálə,| *lá ju-béta*.| 'A: "My son is eating in the house". B: "No, he is eating *in the vineyard*, not in the house."

This movement of the copula is highly marked in the C. Urmi dialect and is rarely used. Only a few sporadic examples are found in the text corpus, e.g.

- (13) +'ávun-va cíllə 'a-+'átrət díyyi| *tajbúru*.| 'He used to administer all this land.'  
(A 48:27)

The vast majority of clauses with narrow focus that are attested in the text corpus do not exhibit such movement:<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The movement of the copula onto the focused item is more frequent in some other NENA

- (14) +‘av *krímələ*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He has won (not you).’ (A 22:4)
- (15) +‘arabánət *dīyyi dáltolə*.<sup>1</sup> ‘My cart (not your mare) has given birth to it.’ (A 38:4)
- (16) ‘á *dúlə cílla nákvə xumyèl* ‘urzə +*ktilélə*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He has preserved all the women and has killed the men.’ (A 2:23)
- (17) ‘át *xšívət* +‘*vvā kíməl* +*al-jánux*.<sup>1</sup> ‘You thought that *he* (not the animal) mounted you.’ (A 5:18)
- (18) ‘an-cmá šánnə ‘ána *plíxən*.<sup>1</sup> ‘For so many years have *I* worked.’ (A 25:1)
- (19) ‘ína ‘íman *bəfrásələ* ‘áy *bəjrášəla* *kátlə* sáb *lélə* +*msáya jarášla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘But when he pulls it (the waterskin), *it* pulls *him*, because he cannot pull it.’ (A 37:15)
- (20) ‘ána +*várən*! *kaṭunti* +*pláṭələ*.<sup>1</sup> *kaṭunti* +*várələl* ‘ána +*pláṭən*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I come in and my cat goes out. My cat comes in and *I* go out.’ (A 42:13)

In (21)–(23) the focus is inclusive:

- (21) ‘ú +*hàji-da bərráxšələ* +*hàmmam*.<sup>1</sup> ‘And also the pilgrim goes to the bath-room.’ (A 1:6)
- (22) *bəxzáyələ* ‘áy-zə *dúz-ila*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He sees that this also is true.’ (A 38:11)
- (23) *xamšámma-da* ‘áva *mattúyələ*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He also puts down five hundred.’ (A 7:18)

### 12.1.5 *Interrogative Predicates Containing the Copula*

The predicate of a copula clause may be an interrogative particle or phrase, e.g.

- (1) *mànīlə?* ‘Who is he?’
- (2) *mù-iłə?* ‘What is it?’ (A 3:47)
- (3) *mù-ina?* ‘What are they?’ (A 3:56)
- (4) *mù-ivət?* ‘What are you?’ (A 3:82)
- (5) ‘ícələ?’. (A 3:50)
- (6) ‘əm-bətələ?’. ‘Which house is it?’

In (7) a pronominal suffix is attached to the interrogative particle *mudi* in an idiomatic expression:

- (7) *mùdyux-iva?* ‘What was wrong with you?’ (A 37:21)

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<sup>1</sup> dialects; see Khan (2002, 396–402) and Khan (2008a, 677–691, 824–827) for descriptions of the situation in the dialects of Qaraqosh and Barwar respectively. In the Jewish dialect of Urmi the position of the copula is completely fixed and it is never moved from its canonical position after the predicate (Khan 2008b, 317–318).

When a clause with an interrogative particle as predicate contains also a subject constituent, the subject constituent is placed either before or after the predicate. Examples of subjects before the predicate:

- (8) *+tína b-dokíla móñ ... túyna. | túyna mù-ilə?* ‘They bind the mud with straw. What is straw?’ (B 14:7)
- (9) *+jór dá-baxta 'icələ?* ‘Where is the husband of this woman?’ (A 2:7)
- (10) *bas-ànnə mó-iná láxxa?* ‘But what are these (people) here?’ (A 2:7)
- (11) *'at-mànivət kat-málca +šùdrux=la?* ‘Who are you that the king has sent?’ (A 3:65)

The basic principle determining the position of the subject is the same as in assertive clauses. The placement of the subject in initial position before the predicate typically marks some kind of boundary in the discourse, whereas a topical subject is postponed after the predicate when the speaker wishes to present that clause as having greater cohesion with what precedes. In (8) the clause occurs at the beginning of a section of discourse that supplies an explanatory comment on what precedes. The clauses in (9)–(11) occur at the beginning of speech turns. The constructions in (9) and (10) introduce new topic referents and so are orientated to the succeeding discourse rather than cohering with what precedes. In (11) the use of the independent pronoun in initial position marks the clause off from what precedes and so gives the question added prominence.

The nuclear stress is by default placed on the interrogative predicate, as in examples above except (10), in which the subject takes the nuclear stress due to the fact that it is presented in a contrastive opposition to the referent in the preceding question (9).

The subject constituent is postponed in various contexts where the clause is presented by the speaker as cohesive with what precedes. In (12)–(15) the question concerns a particular referent that has been evoked in the preceding turn in the dialogue.

- (12) *ka-bàxtu mórrə | kàt | +xàyəš vádən | á +bùsra | 'odátlə +tuyàtə. | +berášə baš-làtlə | 'ána t-avili-'ärxa. | +málla bərráxšəl +bár pəlxánu. | ... +berášə bitáyələ +màlla, | mára bas-cèla +búsra?* ‘He said to his wife “I would like you to make this meat into kebabs. Cook it in the evening, I shall have guests.” The mullah goes about his business. ... In the evening the mullah comes and says “But where is the meat?”’ (A 11:1–2)
- (13) *b-šàrt t-odánnə 'a +šúla. | mára mù-ilə šártux?* ‘“I shall do it on one condition.” He says “What is your condition?”’ (A 1:41)

- (14) *'áha márət fnáyəla.* | *mù-ila fnáyo?* | “It is guilty of a crime.” “What is its crime?”” (A 3:80)
- (15) *célə* | *é çàççə?* | ‘Where is the girl?’ (A 51:9)

If the interrogative element is the subject of a copula clause, the copula is generally placed after the particle rather than after the predicate. The copula may be enclitic or independent, e.g.

#### Enclitic copula

- (16) *mánilə hàccəm?* | ‘Who is a doctor?’
- (17) *mánilə ju-bèta?* | ‘Who is in the house?’
- (18) *'ámnela úrxə xàtta?* | ‘Which of them is a new road?’
- (19) *'əm-+sárbaz-ilə buš-+spày?* | ‘Which soldier is the best?’
- (20) *múdilə o-mándi búš xelàna ju-dúryə?* | ‘What is the strongest thing in the word?’ (A 38:7)

In such constructions 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 (for this concept see Khan 2008a, 627).

The nuclear stress is placed on the interrogative subject constituent when the predicate is a component of the presuppositional background the clause. The prosodic pattern *mánilə ju-béta*, for example, would typically be used when the speaker assumes that the hearer is entertaining the presupposition that somebody is in the house.

#### Independent copula

- (21) *máni 'ílə hàccəm?* | ‘Who is a doctor?’
- (22) *máni 'ílə ju-bèta?* | ‘Who is in the house?’
- (23) *'ámne 'ílə úrxə xàtta?* | ‘Which of them is a new road?’
- (24) *'əm-+sárbaz 'ílə buš-+spày?* | ‘Which soldier is the best?’

The independent copula is generally used when the predicate is not a component of the presuppositional background of the clause and so the nuclear stress is placed on the predicate.

Examples of the copula placed on other types of interrogative particle include (25), where it is cliticized to an adverbial interrogative:

- (25) *ka-mú-inə +ràba?* ‘Why are they so many?’ (A 37:17)

In clauses with compound verbal forms the copula component is likewise often cliticized to the interrogative element at the front of the clause. In (26)–(30) the nuclear stress is on the interrogative element since the remainder of the clause is presuppositional:

- (26) *mù-ilə výya?* ‘What has happened? (I assume that something has happened judging by your appearance).’ (A 2:15)  
 (27) *mànìlə ka-díyyux tunyé?* ‘Who has told them to you? (I assume that somebody has told them to you).’ (A 38:12)  
 (28) *ka-mù-itun cálva?* ‘Why have you stopped? (I can see that you have stopped).’ (A 3:72)  
 (29) *'a-mú-ila +šrá bəllá +tàmma?* ‘Why is a lantern burning there?’ (A 2:4)  
 (30) *mút-inə tanùya?* ‘What do they say?’ (A 3:51)

The movement of the copula onto the interrogative element is not, however, obligatory in interrogative copula clauses or clauses containing a compound verbal form. Many examples are found that do not exhibit such movement, e.g.

- (31) *máni hàccəm-ilə?* ‘Who is a doctor?’  
 (32) *máni ju-bètələ?* ‘Who is in the house?’  
 (33) *'ámne 'úrxa xàttela?* ‘Which of them is a new road?’  
 (34) *'əm-+sárbaž buš-+spày-ilə?* ‘Which soldier is the best?’  
 (35) *mú vítəla?* ‘What has happened?’ (A 40:8)  
 (36) *kám xá-xča +naràhat-ivət?* ‘Why are you so upset?’ (A 2:15)  
 (37) *mú vádət ləxxa?* ‘What are you doing here?’ (A 29:1)  
 (38) *mù mårət?* ‘What are you saying?’ (A 3:82)  
 (39) *'a-mút +šúla vídəvət?* ‘What work have you done?’ (A 2:24)  
 (40) *'ána mut-xərbayúta kátxux vídənva! kat-átən 'á-+šula vódlux b-riši?* ‘What evil had I done to you that you did this to me?’ (A 3:27)  
 (41) *'a-mù vídələ?* ‘What has he done?’ (A 2:23)  
 (42) *kám càlyatun?* ‘Why have you stopped?’ (A 3:59)  
 (43) *mónnux mùt +xítəla?* ‘Why is it hidden from you?’ (A 2:17)  
 (44) *'a-+kátu +héyvan kákx mú vòttəla? mü vóttəla ka-díyyux kat-xà-xča mxáyot?* ‘What has this cat, this animal, done to you? What has it done to you that you beat it so much?’ (A 3:80)

- (45) *+al-mú bədmàyələ?* ‘What does he resemble?’ (A 3:63)
- (46) *'ən-'ána yávən +sàra,| nášət xut-'ídət díyyi mùdi vâyəna?* ‘If I am the moon, what are the people under my hand?’ (A 3:61)
- (47) *'ica bərrássət?* ‘Where are you going?’ (A 52:1)

Examples of interrogative clauses containing an existential particle:

- (48) *mú-'at +xàbra?* ‘What news is there?’ (A 2:15)
- (49) *mù-'ətlux tánət káti?* ‘What do you have to tell me?’ (A 2:25)

### 12.1.6 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.

#### 12.1.6.1 Meteorological Expressions

This is most commonly found in meteorological expressions, where English would generally have an impersonal subject, e.g.

- (1) *xàmmələ.* ‘It is hot’ (literally: There is heat).
- (2) *kàrtəla.* ‘It is cold’ (literally: There is cold).
- (3) *màž-ilə.* ‘It is foggy (literally: There is fog).’
- (4) *béta xàčələ. jári +páltənju-dárta +bàrəl,| +ṭavíyən +bàro.* ‘It is dark in the house (literally: There is darkness). I must go out into the yard (where) there is light and look for it.’ (A 27:1)
- (5) *'é-+danət sátvə tìyyələ| táljələ| cùl díyca kàrtəla,| késə látłun| jári 'é-+dana ázi késə máyyi.* ‘When winter has come, there is snow, and everywhere there is cold, (if) they do not have wood, they must then go and fetch wood.’ (A 37:13)

In some expressions of this nature the experiencer is expressed by a pronominal suffix, e.g.

- (6) *xàmmila.* ‘I am hot (literally: There is my heat).’
- (7) *xámmələ +àlli.* ‘I am hot (literally: There is heat on me).’

By contrast ‘I am cold’ is expressed by a verb with the experiencer as subject:

- (8) *xabùləvən.* ‘I am cold.’ (*xabəl* II ‘to be cold’)

The verb *xayəm* I ‘to become hot’ is used with an animate subject only to denote sexual heat, or with an inanimate subject:

- (9) *bəxyàmələ*.! ‘He is on heat.’
- (10) +čáydan mút xəmtəla!.! ‘How hot the kettle has become!’

The pattern III verb *maxyəm* III ‘to cause to be hot’ is used to form the causative of all senses, e.g.

- (11) *xəmmux-ilə*.! ‘You are hot’—šámša bət-maxyəmmàlux.! ‘The sun will make you hot.’
- (12) *bəxyàməvət*.! ‘You are on heat’—áha báxta bət-maxyəmmàlux.! ‘That woman will turn you on (sexually).’

If the predicate of a meteorological expression is an adjective, the copula agrees with a subject such as *údyu* ‘today’, e.g.

- (13) *údyu +muṭrànələ*.! ‘Today it is rainy.’
- (14) *údyu šəmšànələ*.! ‘Today it is sunny.’
- (15) *údyu +ayvànələ*.! ‘Today it is cloudy.’

#### 12.1.6.2 Expressions of Sound

An existential copula is regularly used in constructions expressing sound that contain compound verbal nouns of the pattern *CəCCá-CəC* (or closely related patterns, § 4.25.4.8), e.g. *kəžžá-kəž* ‘rattling’, +šərrá-+šər ‘plashing sound’, +mərrá-mər ‘whining sound’. These verbal nouns, which are formed productively from quadrilateral verbal roots expressing sounds, are feminine in gender and so take the 3fs. copula, e.g.

- (1) *kəžžà-kəž-ila*.! ‘There is a rattling noise.’
- (2) +šərrá-+šər-ila!.! ‘There is a plashing sound.’
- (3) +mərrá-+mər-ila!.! ‘There is a whining sound.’

If a noun that is the source of the sound is included in the clause, this is a dependent modifier of the verbal noun. It is often placed at the front of the clause and resumed by a co-referential pronominal suffix on the verbal noun. In such cases the verbal nouns are generally split into two separate stress units, e.g.

- (4) *+múṭra kóžža kóžžola.* ‘The rain is rattling’
- (5) *+uśita jórra jórrola.* ‘The avalanche is making a rumbling noise.’
- (6) *náti čónna čónnola.* ‘My ear is buzzing’
- (7) *+kátu +márra +mòrrola.* ‘The cat is whining’
- (8) *cálba +vásta +vàstula.* ‘The dog is whining’
- (9) *+tárpa xóšša xóššela.* ‘The leaves are rustling’
- (10) *míyya +sórra +sórrèla.* ‘The water is making a plashing sound’
- (11) *’ánnə násə cmá čákka čákkelä!* ‘How those people chatter!’

The copula may also be deictic, as in (12)

- (12) *dívə véla závvva zárvé.* ‘The wolves are howling’

Alternatively the noun expressing the source of the sound follows the verbal noun and its dependency is expressed by nominal annexation. When the annexation suffix is added the form is likewise generally split into two separate stress units, e.g.

- (13) *jórra jórrat míyyala.* ‘There is the prattling of water’
- (14) *čárra čárrat násela.* ‘There is shouting of people’
- (15) *čávvva čávvat sàprala.* ‘There is a sound of the twittering of sparrows.’

The source of the sound is typically fronted if it has some topical connection to what precedes, whereas it is postposed if it is being newly introduced into the discourse.

These constructions with the verbal noun are equivalent semantically to clauses containing the verb from the same root, e.g.

- (16) *náti čančúnala.* ‘My ear is buzzing’
- (17) *kátu +marmùrsla.* ‘The cat is whining’

A pronominal suffix alone expresses the source of the sound pronominally, e.g.

- (18) *hárra hòrrula.* ‘He is laughing loudly’

The copula is often omitted when the construction expresses the circumstantial background of adjacent clauses (§ 12.4), e.g.

- (19) *dmòxlə, +xárra +xárru hàl móriša.* ‘He slept, snoring until morning’  
(A 45:5)

- (20) *'áyən=da +hàyan| tòvla,| víla bàxya,| +bárра +bárro bàxya.* | 'She, the poor beast, sat down and started crying, wailing and crying.' (A 51:3)

The copula is omitted also in other contexts in accordance with the general principles for the omission of the copula. In (21), for example, it is omitted after a verb of perception (§ 13.1.8.1.):

- (21) *jášək 'ína 'ánnə +zàyə| síra sirè,| +vásta +vástè.* | 'He looks, he sees that the young are yelling and whining.' (A 53:3)

The construction is negated by the negative copula, e.g.

- (22) *+kátu lèla +márra +màrro.* | 'The cat is not whining'  
 (23) *lèla čárra čárrux.* | 'You are not shouting'

When the source of the sound is questioned by using an interrogative particle, this is placed either before or after the verbal noun, e.g.

- (24) *mut +təppà-+təp-ilə?* | 'What is that sound of stamping?'  
 (25) *mút +márča +mərčoxun-la?* | 'What is that loud sucking noise (of kissing) that you are making?'  
 (26) *jórra jórrat mudila?* | 'What is that rumbling sound?'

It can be seen that when it precedes the verbal noun there is no resumptive pronoun, in contrast to constructions with referential nouns.

The verbal noun is also used in other constructions in which it is the subject of various intransitive verbs such as the following:

- (27) *jerrá-jər-ilə bitàya.* | 'A rumbling noise is approaching.'  
 (28) *xá čənná-čən npálta-la fu-nàti.* | 'There is a buzzing in my ear.'  
 (29) *mút zəvvá-zəv npálta-la b-dívə!* | 'What is that howling among the wolves?'

The causative of the constructions with the copula is expressed by the cognate verb, e.g.

- (30) *nàti čórra čérrola.* | 'My ear is buzzing.'—*a-kála +ráma bət-çarçérrola nàti.* | 'This loud noise will make my ear ring.'

Both the form and the syntax of the type of verbal nouns described above that express sounds have been borrowed from Kurdish. For examples of the form of

such nouns in Kurdish see § 4.25.4.8. Examples of the syntax, with an existential type of copula are (31) and (32):<sup>2</sup>

### Kurmanji

- (31) *šȋrešȋr-a baran-ê-ye*  
           rattling-EZ.FS rain-OBL.FS-COP.3SG  
       ‘The rain is rattling’

### Mukri

- (32) *manga bȏrebȏr-ye-t-ī*  
       cow low-COP.3SG-GLIDE=3SG  
       ‘The cow is lowing’

### 12.1.6.3 Other Cases

- (1) *hàl dé-+danta| +ràba +dánəla.* ‘Until that time there is much time.’ (A 2:18)
- (2) *é-+danət ána zúyza muttíli làxxa| ’íva xá-dana +’ayva| clítəva +’ullul m-rišan.* ‘When I put the money here, there was a cloud, which was standing over our head.’ (A 29:1)
- (3) *bàxzàyələ| ’ína xa-bàxčələ| +’úxča šapərta.* ‘He sees that there is a garden, which is so beautiful.’ (A 39:10)
- (4) *xá-dana bràtələ| ju-dé +’átra xíta.* ‘There is a girl in another land.’ (A 40:9)
- (5) *xá-dana ... marjanítələ| ju-xá-dana kùnya véla.* ‘There is a pearl, it is in a well.’ (A 40:3)
- (6) *sənjiyyəva,| jòzəva,| cəšmišəva,| ’ànnə=zə b-xamíva.* ‘There were jujube fruits, walnuts, raisins. They preserved these.’ (B 1:25)
- (7) *+táma miyyəna.* ‘There is water there.’ (B 17:18)
- (8) *’ánnə fnayèla.* ‘It is their fault (literally: their fault is).’ (A 45:12)

### 12.1.7 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) *lèla bšálta.* ‘It is not cooked.’ (B 12:7)
- (2) *léna +xlúma* ‘They are not thick.’ (B 14:6)

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<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Ergin Öpengin for supplying me with the data on Kurdish.

- (3) *lélə +t̪òlyá.* ‘He is not asleep.’ (A 37:19)
- (4) *léva pr̪òšta.* ‘It was not different.’ (B 2:3)
- (5) *léva ’áxči ju-mátat díyyan.* ‘It was not only in our village.’ (B 2:5)

When the clause contains a subject constituent, this is generally placed before the predicate, e.g.

- (6) *’axúnax lélə míta.* ‘Your brother is not dead.’ (A 1:14)
- (7) *+málla lélə béta.* ‘The mullah is not at home.’ (A 18:2)
- (8) *+jóri lélə láxxa.* ‘My husband is not here.’ (A 6:5)
- (9) *bétat díyi lélə +tlá tabákə.* ‘My house is not three floors.’ (A 7:16)
- (10) *márət díyyi lélə xšíxa | kat-’ána ’átxa hamzámmən bázú.* ‘My master does not need me to speak about him like this.’ (A 3:64)

In (11) additional prominence is given to negation by placing the deictic copula before the negative copula:

- (11) *+bár ... xà-+sa’at, | trè +sa’áttə, | bitáyəna kat-xázi ’ádi šlikələ | bšilələ | bəxzáz-yəna là, | dílə +áynu praxé | +hála táza +bərràša. | ’aybó ’á dílə lélə míta.* ‘After an hour or two, they come to see if he has been boiled and cooked by now, but they see that no, he is rubbing his eyes and is just now waking up. Alas, he is not yet dead.’ (A 37:21)

The negative copula is sporadically placed after the predicate. This is attested in contexts such as (12), 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.

- (12) *+’úxča tálja ci-+rayyíva. | ’ádi! xína ’áx kámta lélə.* ‘So much snow used to fall. Now it is not like before.’ (B 2:19)

## 12.2 The Existential Particles

The existential particles (*’ət*, *’ətva*, *lat*, *latva* and their variants) are placed either before or after the nominal with which they are combined.

### 12.2.1 Particle—Nominal

Constructions in which the positive existential particle is placed before the nominal are typically used to introduce at the beginning of a narrative referents that play a major role in what follows, e.g.

- (1) *'átvə xa-dana-màlca.*! 'There was once a king.' (A 2:1)  
 (2) *kám̥ta 'átvə xa-dána nàša.*! 'Once there was a man.' (A 7:1)

The construction is also used to introduce new referents within the body of the narrative that typically have durability over the succeeding clauses, e.g.

- (3) *+táma 'átvə +šavvá dèva.*! 'There were seven monsters.' (A 37:7)

This construction is used at the beginning of a new episode to introduce the spatial frame within which the events take place, e.g.

- (4) *kúrbət mdíta 'átvə bət-+kúravàtə.*! 'Near the town there was a cemetery.' (A 1:10)  
 (5) *+táma 'átvə xa-dána bëta,*! *'ína xrìva.*! 'There was a house, but (it was) a ruin.' (A 1:26)

### 12.2.2 *Nominal—Particle*

Constructions in which the existential particle is placed after the nominal are often used to introduce incidental referents that have no durability in the discourse, e.g.

- (1) *xa-náša 'áttən ju-+dùssa[k]! bədmáyələ +'àlli.*! 'There is a man in jail who resembles me.' (A 3:35)  
 (2) *+jàllad 'átvə +táma.*! 'There was an executioner there.' (A 1:40)  
 (3) *xa-cípa +rába +júra 'átvə +'àllu.*! 'There was a large stone on it.' (A 39:7)

The construction is used also when the fronted nominal is set up in an opposition with another referent, e.g.

- (4) *xá-sama xína-da +álma 'áttən kat-ci-táni mən-jíbət nipùxta!* <sup>P</sup>*méye pox-*  
*tè.*<sup>P</sup>! 'There is another group of people [opposed to the proponents of the aforementioned opinion] who instead of *nipuxta* say *meye poxte*.' (B 12:8)

It is also used in contexts such as (5), in which the referent of the nominal has already been introduced and the clause coheres with what precedes:

- (5) *bətxàràt! xa-kàssat 'átvəl xa-+tàjər 'átvə?*! 'Do you remember there was a story, there was a merchant?' (A 1:29)

### 12.2.3 Particle Alone

In certain contexts the existential particle is used by itself, without any other clause constituents. It may refer anaphorically to a referent in the previous discourse, e.g.

- (1) *'áni céca +bixalèla +tárrat dàrta-za šváktula ptíxa. baxzáyala +tárrat dárta-za 'òttən.'* 'He eats the cakes. She has left the door of the courtyard open. He sees that there are some at the courtyard door.' (A 37:4)

### 12.2.4 Negation of Existential Particles

The nominal that complements the negative existential particle is generally placed before the particle.

- (1) *+čára lát.* 'There is no solution.' (A 35:9)  
 (2) *é-+danta telefóna melefóna látva.* 'At that time there were no telephones and the like.' (A 2:2)  
 (3) *náša xína látva kát ka-díyyux xa-šácvána +šúdrəla cəs-xa-málcat Màssər.* 'Were there no other people, that he sent you, an ant, to a king of Egypt?' (A 3:66)  
 (4) *xá-’axča móndi látta.* 'Such a thing does not exist.' (A 36:14)

A modifier of the nominal may be placed after the particle, e.g.

- (5) *náša lát! kat-’á-məndi ’avàdlə.* 'There is nobody who can do this.' (A 3:45)  
 (6) *’ína kála lát mən-báxta.* 'But there is no word about the woman.' (A 1:16)

In (7) and (8) the nominal is definite:

- (7) *+málla bəspàrlə, bəspàrlə ’a-náša lát +hála.* 'The mullah waits and waits, but the man is still not there.' (A 21:3)  
 (8) *+’ávva húšu látva b-ríšu.* 'This one's mind was not in his head (i.e. He was not composed).' (A 10:6)

This syntax may be compared to the practice of placing incidental referents before the positive existential particle. Items the existence of which is negated clearly do not have any durability in the following discourse.

In (9) the nominal is placed after the negative copula. This seems to have been a strategy to express a contrastive opposition between the 'shoes' (*+solə*) and the 'sandals' (*čaruxə*) by paralleling the clause-final position of the 'sandals' in the first clause.

- (9) *kámta náša ci-lošíva 'annə-čariùxa. lètva +sóla.* 'In the old days people used to wear sandals. There were no shoes.' (A 4:2)

When two clauses are set up in parallel, the positive particle may be negated by placing the negator *la* at the front of the clause before the nominal complement, e.g.

- (10) *lá dàvə 'áttən. lá 'o-nàša 'áttən.* 'Neither are the gold coins there nor is the man there.' (A 10:8)

### 12.2.5 *Interrogative Predicates Containing the Existential Particle*

When an interrogative clause with the existential particle contains an interrogative particle, the existential particle is generally placed after this at the front of the clause, e.g.

- (1) *mú-'ot +xàbra?* 'What news is there?' (A 2:15)

### 12.2.6 *Possessive Constructions*

The existential particles are commonly used together with L-suffixes to express possession. The item possessed is placed either after or before the particle.

#### 12.2.6.1 Particle—Possessed Item

- (1) *'òtvalə 'øští-danə baxtàta.* 'He had sixty wives.' (A 3:2)
- (2) *'átlí trè +xábra kátxus tánən.* 'I have two words to tell you.' (A 2:25)
- (3) *bøjrásəla kátu| sáb lèlə +msáya jarášla, látlə xèla.* 'It pulls him, because he cannot pull it, he does not have strength.' (A 37:15)
- (4) *'átlux 'øsrí +dinàrə?* 'Do you have twenty dinars?' (A 30:6)

#### 12.2.6.2 Possessed Item—Possessor

- (1) *+rába čátun šømma 'átlə.* 'He has a very difficult name.' (A 3:47)
- (2) *cúllə móndi 'òtli.* 'I have everything.' (A 3:86)
- (3) *+'úxča šápíra kálə 'átvälə.* 'He had such a beautiful voice.' (A 3:81)
- (4) *+kúsárta +júrta látli.* 'I do not have a big pot.' (A 8:1)
- (5) *'ína yálə látvalə.* 'But he did not have children.' (A 3:2)
- (6) *késə látłun| jári é-+dana 'ázi késə máyyi.* '(If) they do not have wood, they must then go and fetch wood.' (A 37:13)

### 12.2.6.3 Possessor Expressed by a Nominal or Independent Pronoun

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 and cross-referenced by an L-suffix. This reflects the fact that the L-suffix has acquired the properties of verbal inflection as is the case in the *ptəxlə* form of the verb. In most cases the subject is placed at the front of the clause, e.g.

- (1) 'á cačálal' átlə +xábra mən-da-báxta. | 'This bald man has a report concerning this woman.' (A 1:36)
- (2) 'áxnan' átlan xayúyta šap̄ərta. | 'We have a beautiful life.' (A 5:4)
- (3) 'ána' átlí +xábra. | 'I have news.' (A 1:37)
- (4) 'átən' átvalux kvláta mən-+hàjì? | 'Did you have a complaint about the pilgrim?' (A 1:44)
- (5) +tájər' átval xa-báxta +rába šap̄ərta. | 'The merchant had a very beautiful wife.' (A 1:4)
- (6) 'ùl +hàjì' átvala xá-dana riža. | 'Now, the pilgrim had a servant.' (A 1:7)
- (7) 'ína' +Axíkar +xábra lòtlə. | 'But Axiqar had nothing to say (literally: he had no word).' (A 3:19)

Occasionally the possessor is placed after the existential particle. This is attested with a postposed independent pronoun in (8)–(11). The motivation appears to be to give the clause prominence through the heavy coding of the participants:

- (8) dàžmən' átli 'ána. | 'I have an enemy.' (A 43:2)
- (9) màyolə, háč-məndi lòtlun 'ánnəju-béta. | 'He brings her back, but they have nothing in the house.' (A 35:6)
- (10) xá náša lòtlux' átən. | 'You have nobody.' (A 36:1)
- (11) 'átlux +xábra' átən' mən-da-báxta tlàktal' ó mòtta, báxtat +hàjì' mán +tájər? | 'Do you have any news of the woman who has disappeared or died, the woman of the pilgrim, (taken) from the merchant?' (A 1:36)

In (12) and (13) the possessive constructions with the postposed independent pronoun supply supplementary background material regarding a referent mentioned in the preceding clause:

- (12) +bár clétat +rətxu| bədráyunaju-de-+kazànča. | 'átlə' áyən csèta, macùsona. | 'After its boiling stops, they put it in the pan. This has a lid and they cover it.' (B 17:18)

- (13) 'áni 'átle kánnatjanè,| kutíyyatjanè.| 'ásla +bàzza 'áyən.| 'áni +plátəna +várə-na +xálta vágəna ka-janè.| 'They have their own nest, their own box. It has a hole. They go out and come in, making food for themselves.' (B 17:43)

A nominal is postposed in (14), which is an elaborative tag at the end of a story, cohering with what precedes:

- (14) 'áyya-da xá +manáy jàno 'ásla xína 'a-məttálta.| 'This story has its own meaning.' (A 48:35)

Ongoing possession may be expressed by a form of the verb *payəš* I 'to remain,' with the possessor expressed by an L-suffix, e.g.

- (15) 'átl xácmá mənné t̄-avile pyáša| ju-<sup>R</sup>patvál,<sup>R</sup>| atíkə t̄-avíle,| 'ína 'áni 'ádi xína lèna maplúxa.| 'There are some who still have some in the basement, who have old ones, but they do not use them anymore.' (B 17:56)

For possessive constructions with the verb *ávə* I see the following section.

### 12.3 Predications with the Verb *ávə* I

In various contexts, which have been fully described in § 10.12., the copula and existential particle are replaced by a form of the verb *ávə* I. 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) 'up-bétət tanùiyra| +rába šaxína c-ávə.| 'Also, the oven house is very hot.' (B 14:2)
- (2) ju-máta| buxaríya 'átl-kësa c-ávi.| 'In the village stoves are of wood.' (B 14:3)
- (3) +rába basíma c-ávə, vá +tamàna c-ávə m-dó kát bí ... +nùytal b-+jazìyl váguna.| 'It is very delicious and is more tasty than the one that they make (in stoves fuelled) with oil or diesel fuel.' (B 14:4)
- (4) max-þòlla c-ávə ká-sàtvə.| 'It is like grass for winter.' (B 14:7)
- (5) +rába sodànta c-oyáva.| 'It was very pleasant.' (B 14:2)
- (6) +turšíyya +rába basíma c-avíva.| 'The pickles were very tasty.' (B 7:16)
- (7) +baǵvànə c-avíva| 'They used to be vineyard-keepers.' (B 2:7)
- (8) +ullíylu-da kësa p̄t-ávə.| 'Above it is a (beam of) wood.' (B 14:6)

- (9) *'e-xítə jəns p̄t-óya.* 'The other one will be good.' (A 44:5)
- (10) *'átxa čúp!* *kürba +al-'uydàlə t-ávi-xina.* 'Thus, thud, they are near to one anaother.' (B 14:6)

The frequent posposition of the verb *'avə* 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 *'avə* is generally placed before the predicate constituents, e.g.

- (11) *'ávən +xlápux.* 'May I be your substitute.' (A 3:52)
- (12) *t-ávə brùna kátux.* 'He will be a son for you.' (A 3:6)
- (13) *'ána ḳa-díyyux mulàpli!* *'ávət +spày.* 'I taught you to be good.' (A 3:90)
- (14) *ví macìxa.* *ví xubbàna.* *ví jaxùca.* *ví +spày náša.* 'Be humble. Be loving. Be jolly. Be a good man.' (A 3:13)
- (15) *lá-'avət +rába šaxìna.* *lá-'avət +rába +kàyra.* 'Do not be very hot. Do not be very cold.' (A 3:9)

If the clause contains a subject constituent, this is generally placed before the verb. Examples:

- (16) *clítəla mÙjjur béta 'ávə.* 'It depends on how the house is.' (B 14:13)
- (17) *'ána lè-+bayyən! hác xa-+šrà! óya ju-màta.* 'I do not want any lantern to be in the village.' (A 2:1)
- (18) *'àxči! ju-+átrət díyyi áha móndi 'ávə!* *'ána lè kablónnə.* 'But I do not accept that this thing should be in my land.' (A 2:12)
- (19) *'ən-'ána 'ávən +sàra!* ... 'If I am the moon ...' (A 3:61)
- (20) *'én béta 'ávə +jùra!* ... 'If the house is big ...' (B 2:19)

Occasionally the subject is placed after the verb. This is attested, for example, where the grammatical subject is an indefinite nominal and the verb is used to express the existence of an item rather than to predicate something of it:

- (21) *lá-'avilux +šùla.* 'Do not have concern (= Do not worry).' (A 3:57)
- (22) *lè-'avilux brúna.* 'You will not have a son.' (A 3:5)
- (23) *lá-vilə xa-+xábra mannè.* 'There was no word from them.' (A 3:3)

In many cases, however, an indefinite nominal in such existential constructions is placed before the verb. In most such cases the subject takes the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (24) *+duràša vâyəla bilé.* ‘An argument starts (literally: comes into existence) between them.’ (A 38:4)
- (25) *kɔnyàna=zə c-avívalun.* ‘They also had cattle.’ (B 2:10)
- (26) *cúl béta káttat +àrra-da c-avívalə carmànə=zə c-avívalo.* ‘Every house had a piece of land and had vineyards.’ (B 2:11)

In a number of cases the predicate is preposed before a non-habitual form of *avə*, e.g.

- (27) *'át výyyət bâba káti.* *mádrə har-ó-baba vi-kâti.* ‘You have been a father to me. Be the same father to me again.’ (A 3:92)
- (28) *'án mändyánət kat-kámta miréva kâtu kat-+spày-vi, xubbâna-vi, faxcàna-vi, 'àtxa-vi, 'átxa furvássuva +râba zúyzə xurjéva +àllu.* ‘The things that he had previously told him (saying) “Be good, be loving, be merry, be like this”—he had brought him up like this and spent a lot of money on him ...’ (A 3:89)
- (29) *'ána +narahât-ivan.* *+jòro mårəla lâ, lâ, +narahát lâ-vi.* ‘“I am uncomfortable.” Her husband says “No, no. Do not be uncomfortable.”’ (A 6:3)

In (27) the clause with the preposed predicate is bound cohesively to the preceding clause, with a high degree of overlap in content. The nominal in the predicate, moreover, has a referent that has been invoked in the preceding clause. In (28) the cited direct speech is a recapitulation of imperative clauses that occurred earlier in the discourse, so here the clauses cohere with what precedes at a greater distance. In (29) the imperative coheres with the preceding statement.

In other cases the preposing has another function, as in the following examples:

- (30) *Nátan brínu ... +narahat vîlo.* ‘Natan his son became upset.’ (A 3:17)
- (31) *málca +narahat vâyəla.* ‘The king becomes upset.’ (A 3:26)
- (32) *'adíyya 'ánnə nàkva! cùlla +házər vâyəna.* ‘Now the women are all ready.’ (A 2:22)
- (33) *mən-'álahə lèla +fšíta.* *mánnux müt +fšíta?!* *'àtxa vîla kóssat.* ‘It is not hidden from God. Why is it hidden from you? The story was like this.’ (A 2:17)

- (34) *+narahát là-’oyat.* | *’axúnax lèlə míta.* | ‘Do not be upset. Your brother has not died.’ (A 1:14)

In these constructions the preposing of the predicate may be compared to the preposing in verbal clauses of objects that have topical relevance in what follows, termed ‘topic-orientated’ preposing. The constructions occur in narratives and the predicate has relevance to, sets the framework for or is referentially linked to what follows. In (33) the definite subject constituent *kássat* is postposed after the verb, which expresses cohesion with what precedes, the clause being thus linked syntactically in both directions.

The perfective form of the existential particle *’at* ‘there is’ in possessive constructions with an indefinite subject is formed by the 3fs. *ptəxələ* form of the verb *’avə* i, e.g.

- (35) *mádrə viyyála +zàyə.* | ‘She again had children.’ (A 53:2, *viyya* [3fs.] + *la* [3fs])  
 (36) *vilálən xámša yàlə.* | ‘We had five children.’

The form *vilálən* in (36) corresponds to *’atlan* and includes a series of two consecutive L-suffixes (*vi-la-lan*).

Existential or possessive constructions in the *ptixələ* and *bəptaxələ* forms, on the other hand, generally have 3ms subjects, e.g.

- (37) *+ròba ’átxa kášə viyyan=la.* | ‘We had many priests like that.’ (B 16:11, *viyya* + *an* [1pl.] + *ilə* [3ms copula])  
 (38) *xa-bráta vàyolə.* | ‘A girl is born to her.’ (A 43:9)  
 (39) *cut-yál súr lél vàyū,* | *jabúyələ mónnu +bixàlə,* | *vàyulə yál sùrə.* | ‘Whoever does not have children picks (fruit) from it and eats, then he has children.’ (A 49:3)  
 (40) *+dòstə vàyələ.* | ‘There are friends.’ (A 41:1)  
 (41) *+árpa yál-súrə=zə vayélə* é *+dànta.* | ‘They have four children at that time.’ (A 41:14)  
 (42) *dəžmànnə vàyol.* | ‘It (*malcuta* fs. the kingdom) has enemies.’ (A 48:34)  
 (43) *+várəna šánnə lèlə váyan +xábra mənné.* | ‘Years pass and we do not have any information about them.’ (B 1:1)

Sporadically such constructions have a 3fs subject, e.g.

- (44) Óttoman Émpire *xína xèla vàyola +’al-’Urmi.* | ‘The Ottoman Empire gains control over Urmi.’ (B 1:8)

## 12.4 Verb 'to be' Omitted

In some cases the verb 'to be', in the form of a copula, existential particle or the verb *'avə I*, is omitted from a clause.

Cases of this phenomenon in clauses with compound verbal forms containing the resultative participle or progressive stem have been discussed already (§ 10.10.1.5., § 10.11.1.7.). In such cases the clause normally expresses circumstantial background information that is supplementary to what is expressed in the adjacent clauses, e.g.

- (1) *har-nipúxta=zə mən-míyyət +'ānvə pyášəla škólta,| 'albátta lá +xdíra +al-xàmra.* 'Molasses too is produced from grape juice, but of course it has not turned into wine.' (B 12:8)
- (2) *'ana jøddálū +házər vidèvən,| partúls +al-'uydàls.* 'I have prepared its threads, twisting (them) together.' (A 3:74)

In (3) the circumstantial clause contains predicates of both a qualitative adjective and a progressive, both lacking the copula:

- (3) *'ína +bar-našùyta cùllə jaššùkəla,| cùlləl +narahát bàxya.* 'Now, the people are all watching, all being moved and weeping.' (A 1:48)

In (4)–(11) the copula is omitted from various types of predicate that express a circumstantial situation:

- (4) *yúmat +tlə màra| 'ána júlli lvišèli,| tóvli +al-sútysə +házər,| sèpi=da p̄-ídi.* 'On the third day I put on my clothes, sat ready on the horse, my sword in my hand.' (A 2:28)
- (5) *'u-yála súra +al-+xàso| labláva lâxma| kəa-+jòro.* 'And the child (being) on her back, she would take food to her husband.' (A 5:6)
- (6) *'áha +rába xàdyə| xá-axča zúyzə palùtələ.* 'He (being) very pleased, he takes out a lot of money.' (A 35:10)
- (7) *bərrákəla márət xmára=da +bàru.* 'He runs, the owner of the donkey being behind him.' (A 7:5)
- (8) *xzíl xa-duccàna| +tárra ptìxa.* 'He saw a shop, the door being open.' (A 10:2)
- (9) *c-asķàxval 'áklan xupyày.* 'We used to go up, our feet (being) bare (= barefoot).' (B 17:14)
- (10) *ríšu cúpa +várələ.* 'He enters, his head (being) bowed (= with a bowed head).' (A 42:33)

- (11) *xá náša sáva tívələ +al-dápnət šákita| dáknu +xvàra.* ‘An old man is sitting by the side of the stream, his beard (being) white (= with a white beard).’ (A 42:6)

In (12) and (13) the clauses without the copula supply elaborative background relating to one of the protagonists of the narrative:

- (12) *'abúna +vàrəl.| 'abúna mən-dàni buš-xárba.* ‘The bishop enters. The bishop is worse than the others.’ (A 6:8)
- (13) *'áha| 'an-bnátu-da fvìrə.| tré xətnavày 'ótlə,| 'áha-da +tlà.* ‘As for him (the king), his (other) daughters are married. He has two sons-in-law, and this (boy made) three.’ (A 42:20)

In (14) a series of clauses without a copula describes the circumstantial activities attending the main event of clients coming into a shop:

- (14) *nášə bərrəxšəna| mändi bəzvànəna,| b-dá-'ídu zùyzə bəškálə,| b-dé-'ídu zùyzə bəškálə| 'ú fòxca| jánu laxiyma| 'ú palàxə| ju-duccàna.* ‘People go there and buy something, he (the owner) takes money with this hand and takes money with that hand, he laughs, he himself is handsome, and there are workers in the shop.’ (A 4:3)

On some occasions a verb without a copula expresses an event that does not overlap temporally with the main verb but is rather closely linked to it in a sequential relationship, e.g.

- (15) *dvíkələ xa-+kátu ju-+xiyàvand,| mxàyə.* ‘He has caught a cat in the street and is beating it’ (A 3:79)

One should contrast circumstantial clauses lacking the copula such as (16) with those that contain the *vayələ* form such as (17):

- (16) *yúmət +tlə màra| 'ána júlli lvišèli,| tóvli +al-súysə +hàzər,| sèpi-*da* p-ídi.* ‘On the third day I put on my clothes, sat ready on the horse, my sword in my hand.’ (A 2:28)
- (17) *sépu-*zə* vâyəla b-dàpnū| sépu bəškàlolə| 'átxa bədvačkólə kàm.* ‘His sword is by his side. He takes his sword and holds it like this in front.’ (A 39:9)

In (16) the clause presents supplementary background information, whereas in (17) the clause with *vayəla* presents background information that sets the frame for what follows.

In (18) the copula is omitted in the second clause not, it seems, because it is dependent or circumstantial to the first, but due to a gapping of the copula in a parallel structure:

- (18) *'átən brāt-màlcət, 'ána zabnánət nùyna!* 'You are the daughter of a king, but I a seller of fish.' (A 34:7)

The omission of the verb 'to be' is found after expressions of perception, either where there is an explicit verb of perception (10–20) or where there is simply the presentative particle *'ina* 'behold' (21):

- (19) *baxzàyələ +'Axíkar 'ína +tàma!* 'He sees that Axiqar is there.' (A 3:51)  
 (20) *baxzáyələ xàya!* 'He sees he is alive.' (A 3:88)  
 (21) *+palùtulə! 'ína +'Axíkar dáknu +rìxa, ránju +rùppu! zàrda víyya, cícu cílla xriñva!* 'He brings him out (and sees that) Axiqar's beard is long, he has lost his colour, he has become yellow and all his teeth are ruined.' (A 3:51)

The copula is omitted in prayers, curses and exclamations, such as the following:

- (22) *tæžbúxta +'al-'alàha!* ... *xkíra šómmət 'alàha!* 'Praise be to God ... May the name of God be glorified.' (A 25:1)  
 (23) *'ay-+kátmə b-rìš!* 'Oh, ash be on my head!' (A 1:37)  
 (24) *bétu +šìyya!* 'His house be sealed up!' (A 1:28)  
 (25) *'átən násə!* 'You are a man!' (A 28:2)  
 (26) *'at-xàya!* 'You are alive!' (A 32:4)  
 (27) *dí márət +dàwva-da +bàru!* 'Now also the master of this man is (chasing) after him!' (A 7:6)  
 (28) *'ána 'abùna!* *+abúyri t-àza!* 'I am a bishop! My reputation will be lost!' (A 6:9)  
 (29) *xa-jáššək mú kavvúmə ju-+átrət diyyan!* 'Just look (for once) what is happening in our land!' (A 1:39)  
 (30) *'áyən m-íca 'átxa jùllo?!* *m-íca júllət dàyən?!* 'From where are her clothes?! From where are her clothes?!' (A 51:5)  
 (31) *básət díva, díva b-+tàrra!* '(Talking) about the wolf, the wolf is at the door! (= Talking of the devil!)

Omission of a copula with resultative participles can have the function of deontic exclamations:

- (32) *ka-mú +ruppàlux?* *mùyyo!* ‘Why did you throw it (the fish) away? You should have brought it back!’ (A 54:3)
- (33) *’áha còlpat lá švíkò b-dá jùrra!* ‘I must not leave this family like this.’ (B 6:6)
- (34) *šòxna +xíla!* ‘(I wish) you had the plague!’

The copula is often omitted in proverbial expressions, e.g.

- (35) *zyarté ju-+tàrra, pòrdé ju-+kàrra.* ‘Their pride is out of doors (lit. in the door), but their pounded wheat is in a gourd (i.e. they keep up appearances, but they are poor).’
- (36) *màttálta crítá +xlita.* ‘A short proverb is sweet (= short and sweet).’
- (37) *+tarrána dvírə, +káddə +vírə.* ‘Doors locked, misfortunes past (= ignorance is bliss).’

When listing items of a group, the copula is omitted in contexts such as (38):

- (38) *’á dìyyi, ’á dìyyi, ’á la-dìyyi.* ‘This is mine, this is mine, this is not mine.’ (A 39:35)

A deictic demonstrative can be used in a presentative type of construction without a copula, e.g.

- (39) *’áha scànta.* *+’ávva +tízət yàla.* ‘This is the knife. That is the bottom of the lad.’ (A 7:11)
- (40) *’áha ka-dìyyux.* ‘This is for you.’ (A 39:15)
- (41) *’ánnə zìyzux.* ‘Here is your money.’ (A 7:2)
- (42) *’ánnə jùllux.* ‘Here are your clothes.’ (A 1:50)

The pronoun may be used alone with the enclitic particle *da* (§13.1.3.), e.g.

- (43) *’ánnə=da! škúl +xùl.* ‘Here they are. Take and eat.’ (A 36:9)

In (44) this construction is used to introduce a following proposition:

- (44) *’á-da mən-jíbət +dàvun! kàt-kày máxyələ!* *’ána kàx mxíli.* ‘There it is—instead of him, who has hit me, I have hit you.’ (A 21:3)

The form *bassa* ‘enough’ is used as a predicate without a copula (§ 8.5.1), e.g.

- (45) *'àna| +narahatíytət jáni ka-jáni bássa.|* ‘My own trouble is enough for me.’  
 (A 10:3)

## 12.5 Verbal Clauses

The term verbal clause refers to clauses with a predicate that contains a finite verb. They include clauses with inflected verbs derived from the past and present templates and also compound verb forms, which consist of a resultative participle or a progressive stem combined with a copula or a form of the verb *'avə* i. The compound verbal forms behave in the same way as other forms of finite verbs with regard to the order of components in the clause, which is the main concern of this section.

### 12.5.1 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) *buxxàllə|* ‘He became jealous.’ (A 3:17)
- (2) *+bixàlələ|* ‘He eats.’ (A 3:38)
- (3) *mxayèlə|* ‘He beats them.’ (A 3:38)
- (4) *+pàxəlli!|* ‘Forgive me!’ (A 3:52)
- (5) *št̪l!|* ‘Drink!’ (A 3:53)
- (6) *+bəddàyən|* ‘I know.’ (A 3:54)
- (7) *taxmùnələ|* ‘He thinks.’ (A 3:73)
- (8) *šuddànnət?|* ‘Have you gone mad?’ (A 3:82)
- (9) *nšàkłə|* ‘He kissed him.’ (A 3:85)
- (10) *+k̪tilàli|* ‘I have killed her.’ (A 1:9)

### 12.5.2 Clauses Containing a Subject Constituent

When the clause contains a subject constituent, this is placed either before or after the verb.

#### 12.5.2.1 Subject—Verb

Most subjects that are placed before the verb are definite, either because their referent is recoverable from the preceding context or because they refer to a generic class, e.g.

- (1) *'a-yála jarvùsəl.* 'This boy grows up.' (A 3:8)
- (2) *málca +rába xdila.* 'The king became very happy.' (A 3:34)
- (3) *Nátan bitáyələ.* 'Natan comes.' (A 3:37)
- (4) *+šúpra lè-paš kátux.* 'Beauty will not last for you.' (A 3:11)
- (5) *cúlla dínyə +yat̪tāvalə.* 'The whole world knew him.' (A 3:1)

In the foregoing examples the nuclear stress is placed on the predicate. In some cases the nuclear stress is placed on a definite subject that is before the verb, which gives the subject particular prominence. This is for various purposes.

In some such cases the subject is contrastive, e.g.

- (6) *Nátan brùnux ýá-məndi vódlə.* 'Natan, your son did this thing (not anybody else).' (A 3:54)
- (7) *yòmmax pitéla!* *'ána m-òdan?!* 'Your mother baked them (not me). What can I do?' (A 43:17)

In (6) 'Natan' is in contrastive narrow focus, the rest of the clause being presuppositional ('X did this thing'). The narrow focus expresses that Natan is the correct candidate for the role of subject in contrast to other possible candidates that the speaker assumes the hearer is entertaining. A similar construction is found in (7).

In (8), on the other hand, the contrastive construction does not involve putting narrow focus on 'Pharaoh' with the remainder of the clause presuppositional. Rather the event expressed by the clause as a whole is set up in opposition to the event expressed by the preceding clause. 'Pharaoh' and 'Axiqar' are the most prominent constituents in these events but are contrastive topics rather than contrastive foci, since the rest of the clause is not presuppositional:

- (8) *+jammíyol kòšun.* *'a-yba-xína-da für'un bitáyələ.* '(Axiqar) assembles the army. On the other side Pharaoh is coming' (A 3:25)

In (9) a definite subject is likewise given nuclear stress when the remainder of the clause is assertive and not presuppositional. Here again the subject should be identified as the topic. It is not, however, contrasted with another topic, as in (8). Rather the nuclear stress gives enhanced prominence to the topic in order to give prominence to the proposition as a whole, which is a sudden, surprising event. The enhancement of the prominence of a clause-initial topic is a strategy for marking off the clause distinctly from the preceding discourse, the purpose of which here is to give the content of the proposition distinctness:

- (9) +*téra* +*báyya yavvála* *kátu* | *ido ptáxola* *kát šakàlla*,| *téra práxala*.| 'She wants to give him the bird, she opens her hand for him to take it, but the bird flies away.' (A 38:19)

Likewise in (10) the placement of the nuclear stress on the initial definite topical nominal gives added prominence to the threat expressed by the clause:

- (10) *šúk sìl rìsux bálsax*.| 'Go away (or) we will crush your head.' (A 43:5)

A similar strategy is used by the speaker in (11) to give prominence to the clause as a whole, making it very clear that what she has just said is only a conjecture:

- (11) *'àna bəxšávən*.| 'I think so.' (B 9:7)

In (12) two events are set up in parallel opposition. The subject 'the goat' in the second clause has nuclear stress. Again, this is not narrow focus. This constituent should be regarded as the topic of the clause, since the remained is not presuppositional. It is presented as the most prominent constituent in the clause, signalled by the nuclear stress, to make a sharp distinction between the two sides of the parallel opposition. This is topical rather than focal prominence. In general, the enhancement of the prominence given to a topic marks a discourse boundary with greater distinctness. In the first clause the topic is the adverbial 'on the road':

- (12) +*ham-**ùrxə bərráxšəla* +*ham-ječita bərráxšəla*.| 'She is walking on the road and the goat is also walking.' (A 38:16)

In (13) the nuclear stress on the subject signals that 'my wife' was not expected to play this role. In such cases there is a presuppositional background that some other referent would be the agent of this event:

- (13) *'ò-yuma* *bàxti* +*tárra ptáxla* *káti*.| *hammáša rijavày* *káy* +*tárra patxívala*.| 'That day *my wife* opened the door for me. Always *the servants* (not my wife) used to open the door for me.' (A 4:14)

Indefinite subjects that are unexpected in particular roles may likewise be placed before the verb with nuclear stress. In (14) 'a bullet' is not expected to be in the role of 'not reaching':

- (14) *súysət þjóri +íuxča +tavàna c-ázəl júlla lé +matyálə.* ‘The horse of my husband goes so fast that a bullet cannot catch it.’ (A 38:9)

The subject with nuclear stress may be a new referent that is presented as an unexpected or significant arrival on the scene. This may be expressed by an indefinite or definite noun, e.g.

- (15) *nùynə dúna +plátlun!* ‘Fish have come out!’ (A 5:6)  
 (16) *'ay-+kótma b-riši! +jóri tíla!* ‘Oh, ash be on my head, my husband has come back!’ (A 6:6)  
 (17) *+cárvan bitáyla.* ‘A caravan comes.’ (A 43:4)  
 (18) *har-b-dé-+danta xá-dana siyssə tíla.* ‘Just at that moment a horse came.’ (B 6:6)

On some occasions the subject is separated from the following predicate by an intonation group boundary. This is generally used to mark a greater degree of disjunction from what precedes than clauses that do not have such a prosodic division. In narratives, for example, it occurs at the onset of new episodes, e.g.

- (19) *xa-yúma! fúr'un! xa-ctáva bæctàvələ! ka-+Nuxadnásər.* ‘One day Pharaoh writes a letter to Nebuchadnezzar.’ (A 3:39)  
 (20) *+Nuxadnásər málca! +bækráyla +rába náše lípa.* ‘King Nebuchadnezzar summons many learned men.’ (A 3:42)

Within a section of discourse this prosodic strategy is used to ensure that the clause is not interpreted as being in close causal sequence to the preceding clause. In (21), for example, the event of the king becoming sad does not follow in causal sequence to the event ‘I did not kill him’:

- (21) *xá +dána! bábət díyyux-zəl +bayyíva +kaṭlívalə! yna 'ána là +któlli! málca! +pšəmlə.* ‘Once they wanted to kill your father, but I did not kill him. The king became sad.’ (A 3:34)

Such prosodic separation of the subject is also used to give distinctness to two subject referents where they and their predicates are set up in a contrastive opposition, e.g.

- (22) *ka-mùdi! suysavátət diyyòxun! jávət Nènvəl hurhàmlun?!* *susyátət díyyan láxxa! murxàšlun?* ‘Why did your horses in Nineveh neigh? Our horses here aborted.’ (A 3:78)

It also occurs where there is a shift in subject referent without a contrastive opposition being set up between the events, e.g.

- (23) *'áha málca káti 'tva xá +karíuvva| kát +'úxča šapíra kála 'ztvalə. | ... 'ína ýá +kátañtət díyyux| m-áxxa kámila, | xášla 'ád-lelo kdálu +kčítula, | titəla. |* 'This king was a rooster to me, who had such a beautiful voice. ... But this cat of yours, he got up from here and went this night and has snapped his neck, then has come back.' (A 3:81)

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.

- (24) *xájúra xína +tína taròsva. |* 'Another type of mud used to be made.' (B 2:21)

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 constructions in (25) and (26), for example, set the scene at the beginning of the narrative:

- (25) *xá 'urxáči, | +bar-náša, | vágala 'urxa bárráxša. |* 'A wayfarer, a man, is going along a road.' (A 47:1)
- (26) *xa-yúma! xa-náša! mòrrə! 'ána járac 'ázən! jàvət! cílla dínyə! +xádrən! +táv-vən! máčxən kat-xa-náša! +'áx! látla. |* 'One day, a man said "I must go and travel throughout the whole world and seek to find whether there is a man who has no worries." (A 4:1)

### 12.5.2.2 Verb—Subject

In clauses expressing a foreground event the subject constituent is generally postposed after the verb if it introduces a new referent:

- (1) *tíla +tálā t-+axálle! |* 'A fox has come to eat me!' (A 37:5)
- (2) *'ína 'ána xá-yuma! 'ína ju-duccána, | 'ax-díyyux kat-káti tílux xzilux, | tíla xa-náša káti mòrrə! kát ta-jálda. |* 'I was one day in my shop, just as you came and saw me, a man came to me and said ...' (A 4:12)
- (3) *+méta ci-+mayyávala báxta. |* 'A woman would churn the churn.' (B 17:19)

The subject is sometimes in a separate intonation group:

- (4) *tilun! 'arpì dánə +harambášə. |* 'Forty master thieves came.' (A 43:2)

In (5) the postposed subject is placed at the end of the clause after a prepositional phrase complement of the verb:

- (5) *tàlma<sub>1</sub> | 'ótvälə káttə +xòla<sub>1</sub> | mattíval +'al-+rušané baxtátə<sub>1</sub> | c-azíva mən-šákítə miyya jaršíval kàl štèta<sub>1</sub>* 'A pitcher has a handle of rope. Women would put it on their shoulders and go to draw water from the stream for drinking.' (A 6:1)

This type of presentative function of clauses with a postposed subject is found also where the subject referent has been mentioned previously but has been temporally off the scene. The construction re-introduces the referent onto the scene:

- (6) *+tárra ptòxlə<sub>1</sub> | +vàrrə 'á náša<sub>1</sub>* 'The door opened and this man came in.' (A 42:5)  
 (7) *bitáyələ +màlla<sub>1</sub>* 'The mullah comes (into the court).' (A 1:31)  
 (8) *'u-tílə +kàssab<sub>1</sub> | tílə +màlla<sub>1</sub> | tílə +kàzi<sub>1</sub>* 'And the butcher came, the mullah came, the judge came.' (A 1:46)  
 (9) *bitáyələ +bérašə +málla šuršíyya<sub>1</sub> | jíyya<sub>1</sub>* 'The mullah comes back in the evening, exhausted and tired.' (A 5:8)

In (10) the subject is placed in a separate intonation group:

- (10) *'áyən b-+šešàvala<sub>1</sub> yòmma<sub>1</sub>* 'Mother used to shake it.' (B 10:16)

The subject is sometimes postposed if it is in focus. In (11) the subject is preceded by the exclusive focus particle *'axči* 'only':

- (11) *cúllə xàšlun<sub>1</sub> pásłə 'áxči +màlla<sub>1</sub>* 'They all went. Only the mullah remained.' (A 19:4)

On many occasions, however, the postposition of the subject after the verb does not have this presentative or focus function. In such cases the motivation for the construction is rather to express the existence of a close semantic relationship of the clause with the preceding discourse. The subject is familiar to the hearer from the previous context or is, at least, related in some way to the previous context. When it is used in narrative, the close relationship with what precedes may be one of close temporal sequence and spatial continuity, e.g.

- (12) *xá-yuma +málla +Nasràdən| báxtu mára kàtu| 'ən-lá muyyìlux| 'sri +di-nàrə| ju-dá béta là-+orət| lá +'orət| bərráxshələ +málla.* ‘One day the wife of mullah Nasradin says to him “If you do not bring back twenty dinars, you will not enter this house. You will not enter.” The mullah goes off.’ (A 30:1)
- (13) *bəsyákəna +'üllul| hál cma-+dána 'atxa-+'üllul bəsyákəna| bálcət| 'alpá mótrə +'üllul-inə| mən-+táma +šaríyəna bədra-kálə 'ánnə yāl-sùrə.* ‘They go up, until (when) they go up for some time, they are perhaps 1,000 metres above (the ground). From there the children begin to shout.’ (A 3:71–72)
- (14) *+xábra yávələ ka-für'un kət-násət díyi bitàyəna| bəškálələ +'Axíkar bíyya bí ... ríjavátu| +kóšun bərráxshəna.* ‘He (the king) sends word to Pharaoh (saying) “My people are coming.” Axiqar takes an army together with his servants and they march.’ (A 3:60)
- (15) *'adíyya 'ána 'a-+xábri kákx taníyur| 'adíyya cépux-la| 'ádi nàkva pármətlə 'ürza parmátlə mü +bayyət 'ódət| kómlə málca| nšáklə ju-+kòssu mórrə 'ána +púxlən cúlla móndi.* ‘“Now I am telling you this. Now it is up to you if you want to slaughter the woman or slaughter the man, whatever you want to do.” The king got up and kissed him on his forehead. He said “I have forgiven everything.”’ (A 2:36–37)
- (16) *márra 'átan 'a-+šúla víndlə| lá-'avilux +šúla| bitàyəna| +jár bədráyələ váz-zər.* ‘He said “You (vizier) do this and you shall have no worries.” They come and the vizier makes an announcement.’ (A 2:21–22)
- (17) *+rappuvvélə +'állu kat-páyəš b-+arallágge| bəndáyələju-+hàva +Ášur.* ‘He throws them (the millstones) at him in order for him to be between them. Ashur jumps in the air.’ (A 39:13)

The events expressed by clauses with postposed subjects may overlap in some way with the preceding clause. In (18), for example, the clause in question is a recapitulation of the contents of the previous clause. In (19) the clause ‘Natan dies’ is a tag that elaborates on the preceding event.

- (18) *+o-kaṭùla| ... mórrəl málca t-ávət basıma| +báyyən xà-məndi tanánnux| mára müylə?| tání!| bitáyələ 'o-+kaṭùla| mára kátu kát| málca t-ávət basıma| 'ána ci-+báyyən| +xtíti tanònna.* ‘The executioner ... said “King, be well, I want to tell you something.” He says “What is it? Speak!” The executioner comes, the servant, the servant of the king, the executioner. He says to him “King, be well, I want to tell my sin.”’ (A 3:47–48)
- (19) *+tlá yumána lélé vàyə| Nátan| bəzyárələ| bəzyárələ| bəzyárələ| bùm! p̄kàyələ| myàtələ Nátan.* ‘Hardly had three days past, when Natan begins to swell, he swells, he swells boom! He explodes. Natan dies.’ (A 3:95)

In (20) there is an interval of several years between the events, but the verb—subject word order presents the birth and coming-of-age of the daughter as a single episode:

- (20) *xa-bráta vàyola<sup>l</sup> šòcla<sup>l</sup> mən-jáno bùš šápárta<sup>l</sup> +xamsár šánnə vàyela 'á bráta<sup>l</sup> xákùvvala yámmo<sup>l</sup>* ‘She has a daughter, a picture (of beauty), more beautiful than herself. The girl becomes fifteen and her mother tells (the story).’ (A 43:9–10)

On some occasions the postposed subject is put in a separate intonation group, e.g.

- (21) *mùdiva kóssa<sup>?</sup> +tájər<sup>l</sup> módrə hakúyolə ka-màlca<sup>l</sup> mára xúš túy +támma<sup>l</sup> +dílux müjjur hukyálə xína<sup>l</sup> kat-báxtu màttəla<sup>l</sup> +tájər mattùyulə +támma<sup>l</sup> caçàla<sup>l</sup>* ‘“What was the story?” The merchant tells this again to the king. He (the bald man) says “Go and sit over there.” You know how he told it, that his wife had died. The bald man puts the merchant over there.’ (A 1:30–31)
- (22) *fu-màta<sup>l</sup> tívəva nàšəl +rába hamzùməva m-+uydálə<sup>l</sup> xá mən-do xína<sup>l</sup> hamzùməval<sup>l</sup> 'úrzə<sup>l</sup>* ‘In the village people were sitting talking a lot together. The men were talking with one another.’ (A 5:1)

In constructions such as (21) and (22) the addition of the subject after a hesitation seems to be primarily intended as a clarificatory tag with regard to the reference of the subject.

Finally, the postposition of the subject is exhibited also by deontic clauses, such as the curse in (23), which are isolated from the information structure of the context:

- (23) *méti cmá-t 'átlux lòtlux<sup>l</sup>* ‘May as many as you have and do not have die (= may all your family die).’ (A 4:14)

### 12.5.3 *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.

### 12.5.3.1 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 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) *cárvəš bərràkəla,| cálba bərráxšəna +bàro! 'u-áyən býya b-ječita +rába +ràhat bitáyəla.* 'The rabbit runs away, the dogs run after it, and she together with the goat comes very calmly.' (A 38:18)
- (2) *bərràxšəla,| +mṭáyəla +tàma,| mótnno +ṭavìləla,| +bəkràməla.* 'He goes, he arrives there, plays with her and wins. She flees.' (A 39:38)
- (3) *xá +dàna! bàbat díyyux-za! +bayyíva +kaṭlivála! 'ína 'ána là +ktálli.* 'Once they wanted to kill your father, but I did not kill him.' (A 3:34)
- (4) *'át ku-+al-àklux clí,| 'ána hamzámmən bàzu.* 'Stand on your feet (i.e. stop and listen). I'll speak about him.' (A 3:64)
- (5) *xàyəla.| +pàllan díuctəla! 'ána +túmrún kam-+tárrat bètu.* 'He is alive. He is in such-and-such a place. I have buried him outside his house.' (A 3:50)
- (6) *báxta xètəla.| 'ána mùčxon.* 'The woman is alive. I have found her.' (A 1:37)
- (7) *'áxči hálli 'árpi yumána +dána.| 'ána b-zarzənnun.* 'Only give me forty days. I'll deal with them.' (A 3:56)
- (8) *'ána clíli +tàma.| 'á sákla mən-sammálta.* 'I waited there. He went up by a ladder.' (A 2:31)
- (9) *'áltax 'átvə +tòpa.| 'an-míyya bətpáxəva +al-de-+tòpa,| 'áyən partùləva.* 'Underneath there was a wheel. The water would pour on the wheel and it would turn.' (B 17:6)

Subject pronouns are used also when there is a change of subject across subordinate clause boundaries, e.g.

- (10) *mù tánən?| mü +amsən ódən kat-át +paxlòtli?* 'What should I say? What can I do so that you will forgive me?' (A 3:54)
- (11) *xášlux cəs-nàša xína! kat-'áni lá-+msíva káktux ódīva.* 'You went to other people, who could not do this for you.' (A 3:5)
- (12) *'e-+dánət zamərva,| 'ána +šammənva.* 'When he sang, I used to listen.' (A 3:81)

- (13) *'ána mut-xərbayúta kátux vidiðenva| kat-'átən 'á-+šula vádlux b-riši?|* 'What evil had I done to you that you have done this against me?' (A 3:27)

Subject pronouns are used when subjects and their predicates are set up in a contrastive opposition, e.g.

- (14) *'ána| dokánat nùynəvən.| 'átən brät-xa-málcəvat.|* 'I am a fisherman. You are the daughter of a king' (A 34:12)
- (15) *'átən| brún málcəvat,| 'ána brún +casibəvan.|* 'You are the son of a king, I am the child of paupers.' (A 56:2)
- (16) *'ána kátux vádli násə,| 'átən ka-díyyi dušdàšlux.| 'ána ka-díyyux muttíli ju-béti-malcıtya,| 'átən ka-díyyi muttílux ju-+arrə.|* 'I made you a man, but you trampled on me. I put you in the royal household, but you put me in the ground.' (A 3:90)

An independent pronoun is often used at the beginning of a turn in conversation, e.g.

- (17) *cúllə mārəna| 'áxnan p-+hayyərràxlux.|* 'They all say "We shall help you." (A 1:23)
- (18) *màrrə| 'ána lè-+bayyən| hác xa-+šrà| óya ju-màta,| ju-mdita.|* 'He said "I do not want any lantern to be in the village, in the town." (A 2:1)
- (19) *mára 'ána +byáyən xa-dána +xòla.|* 'He says "I want a rope." (A 3:73)
- (20) *mára 'átən denánat ká ... +Nuxadnásər málca.|* 'He says "You are in debt to king Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Nineveh." (A 3:76)
- (21) *+Áxiqar,| 'át +rába dívət sìva.|* 'Axiqar, you have become very old.' (A 3:14)
- (22) *'áxtun xphúkun +uydalə.|* 'You embrace one another.' (A 1:38)

#### (ii) Discontinuity on Other Levels of Discourse

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 situation expressed by the clause and that of the adjacent discourse. The situation expressed by the clause may overlap temporally with it, e.g.

- (23) *+ávva síla bədráyələ,| síla bədráyələ mən-+táma +bázza +bázza.| +ávva síla 'átxa 'átxa partùlələ.|* 'He sprinkles sand. He sprinkles sand there in holes. He twists the sand like this.' (A 3:73–74)
- (24) *'ù| cúllə-da 'an-+sarbàzə t-éva mónnu| cúllə šótyəna +rùyəna.| 'ánnə hác-xa-*

*mənne lēna +bəddáya.*! 'All the soldiers who were with him are all drunk and inebriated. None of them knows about it.' (A 3:35)

The clauses may overlap also in content with that which precedes, e.g.

- (25) *'ána lén +bəddáya.*! *'ána lá-+msən 'ánnə +juvvába yavvənnun.*! 'I do not know. I cannot give you the answers.' (A 3:43)

Clauses with subject pronouns that involve a change of subject are sometimes also non-sequential to what precedes, e.g.

- (26) *màlca!* +*pšəmlə!* +*pšəmlə!* *kat-ka-mù!* +*ktxəllun!* *'ína 'ána lènva +ktxílu.*! 'The king became sad, he became sad (and wondered) why they killed him, but I had not killed him.' (A 3:34)
- (27) +*Axiqar xàyəla.*! *'ána lèn +ktxílu.*! 'Axiqar is alive. I have not killed him.' (A 3:49)
- (28) *ka-díyyux +muktxəlli.*! *átən ítva +maxdərránət +'àtri.*! 'I had you killed. You were the administrator of my land.' (A 3:45)
- (29) *šamašúyta mxáyəla +tàma.*! +*ávva sìla bədráyəla.*! 'The sun-ray strikes there. He sprinkles sand.' (A 3:73)

In the passage in (30) the 3ms independent subject pronoun in the final clause [3] follows a clause concerning the same referent [2]. The motivation for the use of the pronoun in the final clause [3] is to mark a shift back to the narrative after a section of elaborative background [2]. Note that the background clause in [2] has a clause-initial extraposed subject pronoun (§ 12.14.), which has a similar function of marking discourse boundaries, in this case from narrative [1] to background [2]:

- (30) [1] *'áxči é-+dān P Nādəršāh,*! *xá mən-málca!* +*Íran tīlə!* ... +*atüráyat díyyan bəškalèval mən-dáštat* 'Urmi labuléva la-dó-rišət +*'àtra!* +*Kòčan, Màšad,*! *la-dán jibànə.*! ... [2] +*áyun P Nādəršāh P afšär*! *'íva-da šómmu.*! [3] +*áyun šakálvalun mayyivalun +táma.*! '[1] Only at the time when Nadershah, one of the kings of Iran came ... he took our Assyrians from the plain of Urmi and deported them to the far end of the country, Kochan, Mashhad, to those parts. ... [2] He—his name was Nadershah *Afšar.* [3] He took them and brought them there.' (B 2:16–17)

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

applies to (31) and (32), where the clause occurs at the end of a discourse section where there is no change of subject from the preceding clauses:

- (31) *+páltxən mən-ju-’átri cùl-məndi| daválta +páltxən,| ka-tláy šónne ’ána b-yavvónna kàx.* ‘I shall bring everything out of my land, I shall bring out wealth, and give it to you for thirty years.’ (A 3:41)
- (32) *’én čarúxə| b-léla c-atíval| mačxívalun,| t-aztva marcəxxívalun,| +xallívalun| ’áni t-+axlívalun.* ‘At night they came and found the sandals, they went and softened them and washed them, then they ate them.’ (B 3:36)

This strategy of giving the clause a heavy coding of the subject for the sake of prominence is applied also to subordinate clauses. In (33), for example, the goal for the addressee to be able to work is a prominent one in the narrative, with which the speaker, the father of the addressee, is emotionally engaged.

- (33) *’ána jári málpxən kátux| ’áton +’ámsət pálxət.* ‘I must teach you so you can work.’ (A 36:1)

Occasionally a 2nd person independent pronoun is used with an imperative form. The motivation of this is likewise to mark off the construction clearly from what precedes in order to enhance its prominence:

- (34) *’áti sílux bëta.* ‘You go home.’ (A 54:8)
- (35) *ví ’áx tuyta| lá-vi ’áx +šàda.| +šàda| kámta| ci-yávva +tárpa| +xártá ci-yavvála +tùnto.| ’ína ’áti ví ’áx tuyta.* ‘Be like a mulberry. Do not be like an almond. An almond tree first produces leaves and then produces its fruit. But you be like the mulberry.’ (A 3:12)

### (iii) Pronoun bears Nuclear Stress

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.

- (36) *+’áv kríməla.* ‘He (not you) has won.’ (A 22:4)
- (37) *’áti jári yavvátla.* ‘You (not me) must give it.’ (A 3:41)
- (38) *’ána ci-+yáttən| mu-þt-ódən b-rišu.* ‘I know what to do to him (if you do not, which I presume is the case).’ (A 3:26)
- (39) *+’ávun þt-ávə ka-sebýytux.* ‘He (and nobody else) will be for your old age.’ (A 3:6)

In (40) nuclear stress occurs on two subject pronouns that are set up as contrastive topics ('he' vs 'we') with contrastive predicates:

- (40) *pályə +'àv šakálva| pályə 'àxnan mayyáxvalə.* | 'He took half and we brought back half.' (B 3:18)

In (41) the purpose of the nuclear stress is not to contrast the subject referent with another referent, but rather to give added prominence to the topic of the clause in order to increase the salience of the proposition expressed by the clause (for a similar function of nuclear stress on full nominal subjects see §12.5.2.1. examples (8)–(12)):

- (41) *'ána=da brūn-málcən.| 'ána=da lén tlíka yàla.* | 'I am the son of a king. I am not a lost child.' (A 43:15)

#### 12.5.3.2 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 (1) the motivation for the redundant pronoun appears to be to mark the end boundary of an introductory section of discourse about the general activities of protagonists. The next section concerns specifically one of the protagonists:

- (1) *'ína c-azíva +màlyat šaklívə mən-nášə| mən-ducanànə ci-+jammívə +màlyat| b-dó-məndi ci-xayyìva-'annə.* | *'ína 'á +fùrət cačálə| +fùrət cačálə| ... 'íva| bùš| +'ullul mòn| dan-xìna| xàšlə| còs| xá-dana +tàjər.* | 'Now, they used to go and take protection money from people. They used to gather protection money from shops. They used to live by this. Now, the elder of the bald men ... he was higher (in rank) than the others. He went to a merchant.' (A 1:2)

In (2) the postposed independent pronoun is used with the repeated verb marking the end of the discourse section:

- (2) *xà-dana| +'àttar| tánax duccàndar ja-mdítə| šámmu Mixàyəl 'átvalan.* | *ci-lablívə ka-+dàv| ... zavònvalun.* | *'é-+dana lén-+bədda| c-odívalun ka-+páltùynə| ka-kdàlə| ... zavánvalun +'àvun.* | 'We had a pedlar, let's say a shop-keeper, in the town, whose name was Mixayəl. They used to take them

(the rabbits' skins) to him ... He used to buy them. Then, I don't know, they used to make them into overcoats, for collars. ... He used to buy them.' (B 4:11)

At the beginning of speeches a 2nd person independent pronoun referring to the addressee is sometimes postposed after the predicate, e.g.

- (3) mára 'áttən láxxa xa-cačála| ... á cačála| 'átla +xàbra mən-da-báxta.| ... +júrət cačálət 'átən.| +báyyən +bákərən mənnux xa-+xàbra.| 'There is here a bald man ... this bald man has a report about this woman. ... "You are the elder of the bald men. I want to ask you something." (A 1:36)
- (4) mára +màlla t-ávət basima| +kusárta müyyovət 'átən| cmá-+dana kám 'adíyya.| 'He says "Mullah, if you please, you took the pot some time ago." (A 8:5)
- (5) 'ávət basima| ka-díyyi xàyyi purkélux 'átən.| 'Thank you. You have saved my life for me.' (A 40:8)

In many cases the motivation for this additional coding appears to be to give prominence to the clause as a whole, e.g.

- (6) là xášvət 'ádi 'ána kála lèn váda| cíu-məndit vādət.| ... mxáyola mədrə| mára xà-ilə xób.| kála lè-’odan 'ána| "Do not think that I do not speak out whatever you do" ... He beats her again. She says "Well, it is all the same. I shall not speak out." (A 36:10)
- (7) 'ádi maxzíyyànnna ka-díyyux 'ána! 'Now I'll show you!' (A 48:11)
- (8) lè joránnux 'ána! 'I will not marry you!' (A 52:1)
- (9) mára ka-mù-itun cályə?| hállun +tìna| hállun miyyal hállun cípə| mára müjjur yávvax 'àxnan?!| müjjur yávvax +támma 'úxnan +tìna| cípə| miyya?| müjjury yávvax?| 'He says "Why have you stopped? Give clay, give water, give stones." They say "How can we give? How can we give there clay, stones, water? How can we give?"' (A 3:72)
- (10) jári ju-dó xášca b-nòšux dámxət 'átən.| 'You must sleep alone in the dark.' (A 36:17)
- (11) 'áy +Àxiqar! ay-xàyyi!| jànivət 'átən! 'Oh Axiqar! Oh my life! You are my soul!' (A 3:52)
- (12) púš b-šlāma 'átən! 'Farewell!' (A 48:25)

In (6) the clause with the postposed pronoun stands in contrastive opposition to a previous statement. In (9) the pronoun gives added emotional force to the question 'How can we give?', which is an exhortation rather than the request

for instructions. The postposition of the pronoun binds the clause closely to what precedes. In (10) the statement is emotionally-charged since the speaker is using it as a deterrent to the hearer. The construction in (11) is an exclamation.

In (13)–(15) the clause has both preposed and postposed independent subject pronoun. The effect is to give the clause greater prominence. This is clear in (13), which is a question uttered in exasperation:

- (13) *'ána ḁa-diyyax mü-īn vída-'ana?* ‘What have I done to you?’ (A 47:9)
- (14) *'átən +'alduyit 'átən.* ‘You are tricking me.’ (A 47:13)
- (15) *'átən +spáy báxta lét 'át.* ‘You are not a good wife.’ (A 47:13)

#### 12.5.3.3 Long Independent Pronouns

The 3rd person and 2nd person singular independent pronouns have short and long forms:

	Short	Long
3ms.	+av	+avun
3fs.	'ay	'ayən
2ms.	'at	'atən

The distribution of the variant forms of these pronouns is conditioned largely by prosody. In general the short forms do not occur at the end of an intonation group, whereas the long forms occur in all positions within an intonation group, including the end. Examples:

#### Short forms

- (1) *+áv mánni bùš xmárlə.* ‘He is more of an ass than me.’ (A 16:3)
- (2) *'án xá-xta maxiva, +'áv bát-xayyiva.* ‘If he were to strike again, I would live.’ (A 39:14)
- (3) *'áy é +júrtəva ju-bnátə.* ‘She was the eldest among the girls.’ (A 39:15)
- (4) *'áy massùkona.* ‘They bring her up.’ (A 39:17)
- (5) *'át +dílux báxta mòttəla?* ‘Did you know that the woman had died?’ (A 1:31)
- (6) *'át t-ávət šópət vazziri.* ‘You shall be in place of my vizier.’ (A 1:50)

#### Long forms

- (7) *+avun-da 'ílə ríyət +hàji.* ‘He is the servant of the pilgrim.’ (A 1:33)
- (8) *márlə kət-+avun! 'ən-tána ḁa-šámša clì, bát-càlyā.* ‘He says that he, if he says to the sun “Stop!” it would stop.’ (A 3:64)

- (9) *'áyən=za k̄əmla.* | 'She rose.' (A 36:12)
- (10) *'ax-š̄ēr-ilə áyən.* | 'It is like a poem.' (A 37:8)
- (11) *átən 'átvələx k̄válta mən-+hàjì?* | 'Did you have a complaint against the pilgrim?' (A 1:44)
- (12) *+júrət cačálət átən.* | 'You are the leader of the bald men.' (A 1:36)

In some cases the occurrence of a long form instead of a short form before the end of the intonation group functions as a device to give added weight to a clause at the end of a discourse unit. This is seen, for example, in (13), in which a clause is repeated, the first containing a short form of the pronoun and the second a long form

- (13) *+àv krímalə.* ... *+àvun +krímalə.* | 'He has won. ... He has won.' (A 22:4)

#### 12.5.4 *Impersonal 3pl. Subjects*

If the identity of a subject referent is not known, the verb may be given 3pl. subject inflection. In such cases an independent subject pronoun is not used in the clause, e.g.

- (1) *+tárra +tačtùkuna.* | 'Somebody is knocking at the door.'
- (2) *é-+dana mándi zábniwa ju-+ahúla jári kàla dáriva.* | 'At that time when people sold something in the street, they had to cry out.' (A 34:2)
- (3) *mən-+málla +bakùrəna māra!* | 'People ask the mullah saying ...' (A 16:1)
- (4) *b-sùysa ci-+xadárva, b-xáčča júllə 'atíkəl kat-là yattívalə.* | 'He would travel around on a horse, in some old clothes, so that people would not recognize him.' (A 35:3)
- (5) *átən ... ka-díyyax ... brilun! kat-úrxə dùz 'azátvala.* | 'You were created to go on the straight path.' (A 30:3)
- (6) *'ána! ju-béti tivənva! e-+dántat 'ínvajvànka, +tarri mxílun, +tučtákłun.* | 'I was sitting in my house, when I was young, and somebody banged on my door. Somebody banged on my door, somebody knocked.' (A 2:26)
- (7) *'ána 'ád-lelə jári dàmxən, yátvən +al-do-búškət +nùyṭəl kat-lá-'ati janvíla.* | 'Tonight I must sleep sitting on the barrel of oil so that people do not come and steal it.' (A 6:10)
- (8) *núynə-da ju-míyya ci-bašlílun! ánnə lèna basímə.* | 'Fish that one cooks in water are not tasty.' (A 36:8)
- (9) *+xadárvánan məššəlmànəva.* | 'Around us they were Muslims.' (B 2:6)

### 12.5.5 *Clauses Containing a Direct Object Constituent*

#### 12.5.5.1 Verb—Direct Object

The default position for the placement of a direct object nominal is after the verb, e.g.

- (1) *+palúčulə +Axíkar.* ‘He brings out Axiqar.’ (A 3:53)
- (2) *bəškálulə Nátan.* ‘He takes Natan.’ (A 3:88)
- (3) *+jammúyol cíllə kòšun.* ‘He gathers the army.’ (A 3:25)
- (4) *+šáda! kámta ci-yávva +tárpa!* *+xárta ci-yavvála +túnito.* ‘An almond tree first produces leaves and then produces its fruit.’ (A 3:12)
- (5) *hálli xa-brùna.* ‘Give me a son.’ (A 3:4)
- (6) *škúlla +págrot bábu.* ‘Take the body of your father.’ (A 3:37)
- (7) *lá +’áxlət! láxma +háram.* *+’axlátłə láxma dùz.* ‘Do not eat forbidden food. Eat proper food.’ (A 3:9)
- (8) *mattúyøna miyya.* ‘They serve water.’ (A 3:36)
- (9) *vúd +támta ka-dá ... +xànəm.* ‘Make breakfast for this lady.’ (A 1:14)

In most cases the nuclear stress is put on the object, as in the examples above.

#### 12.5.5.2 Direct Object—Verb

On numerous occasions the object is placed before the verb. Although this word order is frequently attested, it is used as a strategy to perform various discourse functions and should be regarded as a marked order. The placement of the object after the verb, on the other hand, is unmarked.

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) *márrə xa-náša ’áttən ju-+düssak! bədmáyələ +àlli.* ... *’o-náša +bəktálulə.* *labúlulə ka-málca* ... *’o-ríšət do-náša labúlulə ká +Nuxadnásar* ‘He said “There is a man in prison who resembles me.” ... They kill this man. They take him to the king. ... They take the head of that man to Nebuchadnezzar.’ (A 3:35–37)

- (2) *málca ḁa-Nàtan márələ| kát ... mélə xázən ... ḁa-mù-ilə ‘átxa vída.| +Axíkar máyyuna cəs-málca.* ‘The king says to Natan “Bring him and let me see why he has done this.” They bring Axiqar to the king’ (A 3:26–27)
- (3) *ḥa-+Axíkar| ... kam-+tárrət bétu| +bəkkárəna xa-+čála,| ... +Axíkar mat-túyuna +támə.* ‘They dig a hole for Axiqar before his house. ... They put Axiqar there.’ (A 3:36)
- (4) *mára ‘ána +byáyən xa-dána +xòla| ... +zakròtlı b-sila| ... +‘ávva sīla bədrá-yələ.* ... +‘ávva sīla ‘átxa ‘átxa partūlələ. ‘He says “I want you to weave me a rope with sand.” ... He sprinkles sand ... He twists sand like this.’ (A 3:73–74)

In (5) the clause with the fronted object is bound to the preliminary background clause in that it expresses a defeated expectation of what would logically follow from it:

- (5) *‘áha málca káti ‘íva xá +karùvvə| kát +úxča šapíra ḁala ‘ótvalə.* ... ‘ína ‘á +kətúntət díyyux| m-áxxa ḁəmlə,| xəšla ‘ád-lelə ɭdálu +kçitula,| títəla. ‘This king was a rooster to me, who had such a beautiful voice. ... But this cat of yours, he got up from here and went this night and has snapped his neck.’ (A 3:81)

The cohesion may be one of overlap, in that the clause is a reiteration of the content of what precedes, e.g.

- (6) *mattúyəna miyya,| ləxma| cül-məndi mattúyəna ḁatū.* ‘They put there water, bread, they put there everything for him.’ (A 3:36)
- (7) *+Nuxadnásər málcal +bəkráyələ +rába náše lipəl vazzirə,| vaccilə,| cul-nášəl Prámoldàrə<sup>P</sup>| cül-našə +bəkrayéłə ...* ‘King Nebuchadnezzar summons many learned people, viziers, stewards, every kind of people, magicians, he summons every kind of people.’ (A 3:42)

The construction is sometimes used in clauses that provide clarification or elaboration on what precedes, e.g.

- (8) *susyátət díyyan ləxxal murxəšlun| yánə yalé munpəllun.* ‘Our horses here aborted, that is they aborted their young.’ (A 3:78)
- (9) *+xábra yávələ ḁa-báxtu.| šámmət báxtu munšítun,| xa-šəmma-‘otla.* ḁa-báxtu +xábra yávələ | ká-‘ána bitáyən bëta. ‘He sends word to his wife—I have forgotten the name of his wife, she has a name.—He sends word to his wife (saying) “I am coming home.”’ (A 3:31)

- (10) *Nátan brùnux á-məndi vádlə.* 'Natan your son did this thing.' (A 3:54)
- (11) *bæctávələ fu-ctával̥ kat-’átən fur’un̥ denánət ká ... málca!* *dúz-ila?* mára +*byáyələ dénuł šakəllə mónnux.* 'He writes in a book "You, Pharaoh, are in debt to the king. Is that true?" He says "He wants to collect your debt from you.'" (A 3:76)

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.

- (12) *málca ka-Nátan brúnu mārələ* *xùš̥ škúllə +pájrət bábułx* +*Axiłkar* +*ṭamər-rə.* *Nátan bitáyələ háč-məndi léłə váda ka-bàbu.* 'The king says to Natan his son "Go and take the body of your father, Axiqar, and bury him." Natan comes but does nothing to his father (in contrast to what he was ordered to do in the preceding context).' (A 3:37)
- (13) *márrə mü +báyyət ’ána kàx yávvən?* *márrə háč móndi mónnux lén +byáya.* 'He said "Whatever you want I shall give you." "I do not want anything from you.'" (A 3:87)

The fronting of the object may be used to express cohesion with a preceding subordinate clause, e.g.

- (14) *’e-+dān-sòvlux, t-ávə brùna kátux.* *’e-+dān-màtlux,* +*áynux p-+čámla.* 'When you have become old, he will be a son for you. When you die, he will close your eyes.' (A 3:6)

Fronting may take place in a subordinate clause to express cohesion with what precedes, e.g.

- (15) *’íman-t a-ctáva kabùlulə, +jammúyol kòšun.* 'When he receives this letter, he musters the army.' (A 3:25)
- (16) *náša lòt̥ kat-’á-məndi ’avədlə.* 'There is nobody who can do this.' (A 3:45)

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 typically retains its central topicality in what follows. The fronted referent is often a newly introduced referent, e.g.

- (17) *xa-ctàva ctávlə| mən-púmmət +Axìkar| ka-málcət Mèssər| ... 'a-ctàva| trè-samələ.* ‘He wrote a letter on behalf of Axiqar to the king of Egypt ... This letter is in two parts.’ (A 3:19–21)
- (18) *xá-dana +kátu dùkun.| +kátu bədvàkona.| ka-dáha +kátu +'ùxča mxáyələ,| +'ùxča mxáyələ| ju-+xiyàvand| +ajjùzolə,| čarçùrələ.* ‘“Take a cat.” They take the cat. He beats the cat hard and harries it in the street, and it whines.’ (A 3:78–79)
- (19) *'u-yálə súrə-da mattúyəna ju-xa-+kərṭàla,| 'ánnə nàšrə| bəškalèna| mas-suķéna| ju-+hàvə.* ‘They also put young children in a basket and the eagles pick them up and take them up into the air.’ (A 3:58)
- (20) *+báyyən xà-məndi tanónnux.* | *mára mù-ilə?* | *tàni!* | ‘I want to tell you something.’ He says ‘What is it? Speak!’ (A 3:47)
- (21) *'ína 'áha móndi 'ána +báyyən tanánnə kàtux.* | *mára mù-ilə?* | *hàmzəm!* | ‘But I want to tell you this thing.’ He says ‘What is it? Speak!’ (A 3:48–49)

This strategy is often used in descriptive discourse when speakers introduce new items that they wish to talk about, e.g.

- (22) *tlívvə ci-+tarsíva.* | *+ánvə har-hàda| tàza| čambəllívalun| jú ... čuxyàtə| čúxta c-avívalun ju-xdšca.* | ... *ci-yatvíval marzánət taníyral mən-dánnə tlívvə ci-mayyíval ci-+maslíval* | *'árxa darívalun c-+axlíva.* | ‘They used to make preserved grape-clusters. They used to hang up grapes, exactly as they were fresh (from the vineyards) in cellars—they used to have a cellar—in the dark. ... They used to sit around an oven and used to bring some of those preserved grape-clusters. They used to take them down and serve them to guests and they would eat them.’ (B 2:4)
- (23) *'ína| xína| mən-carmànə,| nipùxta ci-bašlíva.* | *+ánvə mayyívalun ju-čaràza| +marčívalun,| šíra| 'íta ju-+tiyàna daríva.* | *xuté mallíva niyra| nipùxta bašlíva.* | ‘Also from the (produce of) the vineyards they would cook molasses. They used to bring the grapes in water-jugs, they used to press them and pour the must into cauldrons. They used to light a fire beneath them and cook molasses.’ (B 2:4)

The topicality of the referent of the fronted object may relate specifically to a following subordinate clause. In such cases the referent of the object is generally not resumed in the subordinate clause, but rather it has some kind of relevance for the event expressed in the main clause, e.g.

- (24) *xa-+bózza bəšvàkəna| kat-napásu lə-+kat̥ta.* | ‘They leave a hole so that his breathing would not be cut off.’ (A 3:36)

- (25) *ka-báxtu* +*xàbra yávələ* | *kat-*<sup>‘</sup>*ána bitáyən bëta.* | ‘He sends word to his wife (saying) “I am coming home.”’ (A 3:31)
- (26) *xa-mándi* +*báyyən tānət káti* | *kat-háč náša lā-*<sup>‘</sup>*avə* +*šámyu ju-dúnyə.* | ‘I want you to tell me something that nobody in the world has heard.’ (A 3:75)
- (27) *kòšun muyyéla* | *kat-*<sup>‘</sup>*áti* +*pàləš mónnux.* | ‘He has brought the army in order to fight with you.’ (A 3:20)

When two or more such topic-orientated constructions are juxtaposed, they are presented as two parallel situations without being connected sequentially, e.g.

- (28) *‘a-ctáva* | *trè-samələ.* | *xa-ka-fír’uŋ* +*šadúrələ m-púmmət* +*Axíkar.* | *xà* | *ka-málca* +*šadúrələ.* | ‘The letter is in two parts. He sends one to Pharaoh on behalf of Axiqar and one he sends to the king.’ (A 3:21)
- (29) *fír’uŋ dúlə tílə láxxa hámlea váda* | *u-* +*Axíkar=da kòšun* +*jumméla.* | ‘Pharaoh has come here to make an attack and Axiqar has mustered the army.’ (A 3:25)

In (30) the verb is elided by gapping from the second clause:

- (30) *ví ‘ax-tílyta* | *kámta cíllə* +*tún̥ta ci-yavvála ka-nášə,* | +*xàrtə* +*tárpa.* | ‘Be like the mulberry. First it gives all the fruit to people and afterwards leaves.’ (A 3:12)

The initial object that is set up as the topic of the clause may be a generic relative phrase. The relevance of such topics often does not go beyond the clause, but within the clause they are the dominant referent, e.g.

- (31) *cúl-məndit* +*báyyət* | *b-yavvənnux.* | ‘I shall give you whatever you want.’ (A 3:85)
- (32) *cíllət* +*báyyət* *‘ódət b-rišu vùd.* | ‘Do whatever you want to do to him.’ (A 3:88)

As can be seen from the foregoing examples, when the referent that is set up as the topic of the following discourse is newly introduced and indefinite, it is often given added prominence by receiving the nuclear stress in the intonation group. A further type of object fronting is where the object is fronted and given the nuclear stress but does not have topical durability in what follows. In some such cases the nuclear stress is used to give prominence not to the referents so much as the descriptive contents of the nominal phrases, e.g.

- (33) *'ən-ávə xàya,| páljət malcùtyti b-yawwánna kátux.'* ‘If he is alive, I shall give you half of my kingdom.’ (A 3:50)
- (34) *'át +sàrəvət,| +bárət lèlə yávəvət.'* ‘You are the moon. You give the light of night (an important phenomenon).’ (A 3:61)

In other cases this type of fronting is used to express contrastive assertion, e.g.

- (35) A: *xzíli bábux!* B: *là,| +mamùni xzílux.* ‘A: “I saw your father.” B: “No, you saw my uncle.”’

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 (35) the presuppositional background of the clause with the fronted object is ‘You saw *x*’. A related type of contrastive focus is exhibited by cases such as the following:

- (36) *dìylə márət?* ‘Are you telling *lies*? (rather than the truth that you are ostensibly telling) (A 3:49)

The fronted objects in (37) are given focus to express a parallel opposition:

- (37) *hám nùyna zabúnəla,| hám +bùsra zabúnəla.* ‘Both does he sell fish and also does he sell meat (= Not only does he sell fish but he also sells meat).’ (A 34:6)

When a clause with a fronted object contains also a subject constituent, this may be placed either before or after the object, e.g.

- (38) *Nátan brùnux á-məndi vódlə.* ‘Natan, your son did this thing (not anybody else).’ (A 3:54)
- (39) *'áxnan nùyna zabúnəx.* ‘We are selling fish.’ (A 34:2)
- (40) *'é bráta súrṭa áyála +biyyàlə.* ‘The boy fell in love with the youngest girl.’ (A 42:15)
- (41) *'á meymunóxun ána b-zonònna.* ‘I shall buy this monkey of yours.’ (A 44:10)

In some cases the subject is placed after the verb. In (42) a topical subject is placed after the verb and a topical object is preposed, which are both strategies for expressing cohesion with what precedes:

- (42) *kalé +šmīlə 'á +sedàči.* ‘This hunter heard their voice.’ (A 53:4)

The fronting of objects in a number of constructions is likely to be the result of calquing of object preposing in Iranian languages. This applies in particular to a number of phrasal verbs, which often consist of a loaned object constituent of an Aramaic verb, e.g.

- (43) *'aláha +jùvvab yuvvállə kátu.* ‘God answered him.’ (A 3:5; cf. Pers. *javāb dādan*)
- (44) *+pállanyúma,| +póllan +tárax| málcət Mèssər,| fír'un| hámla t-ávəd +'állux.* ‘On such-and-such a day, on such-and-such a date, the king of Egypt, Pharaoh, will attack you.’ (A 3:20; cf. Pers. *hamle kardan*)
- (45) *fárk lélá váda.* ‘It does not make a difference.’ (A 3:48; cf. Pers. *farq-i námikonad*)
- (46) *+'ómza vídət.* ‘You have signed.’ (A 7:3; cf. Pers. *emza kardan*)
- (47) *+málla c-azálva ptána 'avádva.* ‘The mullah used to go to plough.’ (A 5:5; cf. Pers. *šoxm kardan*)
- (48) *xá mən-məššəlmànə| dást +námaz bəškáləva +táma.* ‘One of the Muslims was performing ablutions there.’ (A 6:15; cf. Pers. *dast namāz gereftan*)
- (49) *záhmat bəjrásax kát nùyna dókax.* ‘We are taking trouble to catch fish.’ (A 9:3; cf. Pers. *zahmat kašidan*)
- (50) *'ána xáslı míyya màyyan| šamáša +'áyna məxyánnə| 'u-ķàša +'áyna məx-yánnə| 'u-'abùna +'áyna məxyánnə.* ‘I went to fetch water and the deacon winked at me, a priest winked at me and a bishop winked at me.’ (A 6:3; cf. Turk. *göz kirpmak*, Azer. *göz vurmaq*, Pers. *cešmak zadan*)
- (51) *p-ùrxət šákítə| šamàša ... káto ... +'áyna +kásłə.* ‘On the way to the stream, a deacon winked at her.’ (A 6:1, see previous example)

The position of the loanword element before the verb is not, however, totally fixed in such phrasal constructions, as is shown by (52)–(54):

- (52) *'atətva,| ju-cúllə 'ánnə +xabráne ci-yavvátvələ +jùvvab.* ‘If only you would come, you would give me an answer for all these things.’ (A 3:45; cf. Pers. *javāb dādan*)
- (53) *táni ka-násux| tına| +kašíyyə,| carpiyčə,| míyya,| cúllə 'odílun +házər.* ‘Tell your people to prepare mud, tiles, bricks, water, everything.’ (A 3:70; Kurd. *házir-l kirin*)
- (54) *'ána lé maxánnə mùšta.* ‘I shall not give him a punch (literally: hit him a fist).’ (A 21:2, Pers. *mošt zadan*)

### 12.5.5.3 Independent Object Pronouns

The vast majority of the independent pronominal objects that are attested in the text corpus are placed before the verb.

When the direct object constituent is an independent 3rd person pronoun, either the nominative form or the oblique form after the preposition *ka-*, the principles of placement are similar to those for the placement of nominal phrase object constituents. When they are fronted without the nuclear stress, the clause is bound semantically in some way with what precedes, e.g.

- (1) *xá-yuma +Axíkar bəškáləl brùnu,| víyyələ xa-jvàñka,| +màtya,| labúlu cás +Noxadnásər.|| ... áha máttuyul +tàma.|| +Axíkarl bərráxšəl bëta.||* ‘One day Axiqar takes his son—he has become a mature young man—he takes him to Nebuchadnezzar. ... He (Nebechadnezzar) installs him there (in his palace) and Axiqar goes home.’ (A 3:16)
- (2) *+Axíkar-da bəškáləl mən-+sarbàzul ka-danno-mxàyələ.||* ‘Axiqar takes (the items) from his soldiers and beats them.’ (A 3:72)
- (3) *xa-náša ́ttənju-+dùssakl bədmáyələ +àlli.|| ... +ávun +ktul-làbəlla.||* ‘There is a man in jail who resembles me ... kill him and take him (to the king).’ (A 3:35)
- (4) *dévə ka-jané bərráxšəna! +sèda vágəna,| ýá švíkuna bëta.||* ‘The monsters go by themselves and hunt, they have left him at home (= having left him at him).’ (A 37:13)

In (1) the clause with the fronted object is temporally sequential to the preceding events. In (2) the act of beating overlaps temporally with the act of taking items from the soldiers. The initial clause in (3) provides the grounds for the action commanded by the clause with the fronted object. The clause (4) provides a circumstantial background for the events described in the preceding clauses.

When the fronted pronoun has the nuclear stress, it is generally a contrastive focus, the remainder of the clause being presuppositional, e.g.

- (5) *'ánnə +al-mú madmuyévət?||* ‘What do you compare *these* to?’ (as opposed to the other item just mentioned, which you have already compared with something) (A 3:62)

On some occasions a pronoun with nuclear stress is topical and the effect of the nuclear stress is to enhance the prominence of the topic in order to give prominence to the proposition as a whole. In (6) the eating of the children is a pivotal event:

- (6) *'áxnanjári 'ázax| cí +dánət +'ávun nára bədvàkula| xátréyála súrə +ráppax +al-márzət náral| +'ávun ci-+pálət kát 'ani +'axállun| 'ita míyya m-+xútū c-+óri c-àti.*| ‘Every time it blocks the river, we must go and throw one or two children onto the river bank. He comes out to eat them, then the water flows and comes from beneath him.’ (A 39:18)

Object pronouns placed after the verb, as in (7) and (8), do not have such a clear discourse function, but the heavier coding of the object by an independent pronoun rather than a pronominal object suffix gives greater prominence to the clause:

- (7) *'ína ý +kačúntat díyyux| m-áxxa kòmla,| xášla 'ád-lelə kdálu +kçitula,| titəla. bas-járəc 'ána maxənna 'áha.*| ‘But this cat of yours, he got up from here and went this night and has snapped his neck, then has come back. So I must beat it.’ (A 3:81)
- (8) *me-+moráxxə,| +tamràxxə +'ávva| ju-pajéni kat-náš là xázzi müjjurra bæxpárəx.*| ‘Bring him and we’ll take him in there, we’ll bury him in our stable, so people do not see us digging.’ (A 48:10)

When independent 1st or 2nd person object pronouns are used, they are generally placed before the verb. When the verb is derived from the past template, the primary motivation is to avoid 1st or 2nd person object agreement on the verbal base (§ 4.3.5., § 10.18.1.), e.g.

- (9) *ka-díyyux +ktəllun.*| ‘They killed you.’ (A 3:68)  
 (10) *yámmət díyyux ka-díyyux tuybòrra.*| ‘Your mother brought you up.’ (A 3:91)

With other forms of verb the motivation to use heavier coding than that of object pronominal suffixes appears to be to give heightened prominence to the proposition, e.g.

- (11) *'ána parpùləvən b-díyyux| ka-díyyan là +kátlət.*| ‘I beg you, do not kill us.’  
 (A 37:10)  
 (12) *ka-díyyi +bílun +kátlí.*| ‘They wanted to kill me.’ (A 3:69)

In (13) a nominative form of the 2nd person singular pronoun is placed after the verb:

- (13) *kédamta b-lablálxux +al-+ùmra 'átən.*| ‘In the morning we shall take you to church.’ (A 36:16)

If the pronoun takes the nuclear stress, the function is contrastive, e.g.

- (14) *lá +màxəllə| ka-dìyyi +máxəl!* 'Do not feed him. Feed me!'

### 12.5.6 *Verb and Copula Agreement*

In principle, the subject inflection of the verb or copula 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.

#### 12.5.6.1 Comitative Constructions

A singular subject has a plural agreement on the verb when the action is presented as being carried out comitatively with another participant, e.g.

- (1) *b-lèlə| vázzər mən-málca +plátəna.* 'At night the vizier leaves together with the king.' (A 2:3)
- (2) *xá-yuma kédamta jàldə| málca bíyya bi-vazzíru,| +nazzíru,| bi-+tazíyyu,| b-calbanànu,| +plátəna +al-+sèda.* 'One day early in the morning the king, together with his vizier, his overseer, his greyhound, his dogs, goes out hunting' (A 48:3)
- (3) *mən-brúnu m-+úydalə jarvùsəna.* 'He grows up together with his son.' (A 46:2)
- (4) *mən-+jóri +hála hamzùməx.* 'I am still speaking with my husband.' (A 36:9)
- (5) *'ána| 'á yála sùra 'átən| fu-dá béta jári xàyyax| b-xùbba.* 'I, the small child and you must live in this house with love.' (A 36:17)
- (6) *'ána mən-+dàvva +túmrux| 'o-nàša.* 'I have buried the man together with him.' (A 48:19)
- (7) *'ána bətxárəvən jàni| sùrəvənva| bábi-da sàvəva| ci-yaskákva mən-bábi m-+úydalə cùt-yum| tàyal| jári +rappáxvalə m-+ál-jàrə.* 'I myself remember, I was young and my father was old, I used to go up together with my father and every day we had to throw off the snow from the roof.' (B 2:19)

In (8) the referent of the speaker is entailed by the phrase 'all the grandchildren of my grandfather':

- (8) *cúlla navájjat savùni| calàtu| c-avákva tívə máccə pràxa.* 'All of the grandchildren of my grandfather, his daughters-in-law, we used to sit hulling the maize.' (B 17:4)

In (9) the 1pl. is used where the action of the clause is carried out by one person, but this is a component of a larger collaborative action:

- (9) *xá-mənnan t-azáxva mən-dò-yba! b-ķesa cašcəššàxva.* ‘One of us would go and drive the fish from the other side with a stick.’ (B 4:12)

In a similar manner, the plural pronominal object on the verb in (10) agrees with a singular object that has an item combined with it in a comitative relation:

- (10) *'ádi kat ... lét bəšváka +òrən! é +čappáltil! mán de-scənti! +ráppilun l-á-pát jùyda.* ‘Now, since you do not allow me to enter, throw me my club, together with my knife to this side of the wall.’ (A 37:6)

Likewise in (11) an adjective in a predicative complement (§ 12.7.1.) is plural in agreement with a singular noun and a second noun that is linked to it in a comitative relationship:

- (11) *bəxzáyən vélə xa-yàla! mən-xa-bàxta +támma! šulxàyo.* ‘I see that there is a lad together with a woman over there (both) naked.’ (A 4:11)

When one of a group expressed by the subject performs the action, the verb is singular, as in (12):

- (12) *'əmnən +sálə?* ‘Which one of us will go down?’ (A 42:35)

#### 12.5.6.2 Exclusive and Inclusive Subject

In (1) the subject is an exclusive disjunction ('either ... or') including a feminine and a masculine referent and the verb agrees with the masculine singular referent, which is nearest to it:

- (1) *'u-xá bàxta! yán xà! 'úrza yatávva kat-+mayyìvala.* ‘A woman or a man would sit in order to churn it.’ (B 7:1)

In (2) a plural verb is used where there is a disjunctive subject:

- (2) *yá xá jár +ķàrmí! yá 'o-xìna.* ‘Either one or the other must win.’ (B 17:3)

In (3) the subject is a list closing with the inclusive phrase ‘also the grandfather’. The verb is singular, agreeing with the last member of the list:

- (3) *yàmmo,| xàto,| yàmmu,| yàmmat bráta,| bábət bráta,| savùna-da tíyyəla.*  
 ‘Her mother, her sister, his mother, the mother of the girl, the father of the girl, also the grandfather has come.’ (A 43:24)

#### 12.5.6.3 Agreement with Class or Set rather than Members

In (1) and (2) the subject is the negative expression *hàč naša*, which excludes all members of the class designated by the noun. The verbs are plural, agreeing with the members of the class rather than the class itself:

- (1) *léna xázyu hàč náša.* ‘Nobody has seen him.’ (A 52:5)  
 (2) *hàč náša b-+arallə́jé lá +vírun.* ‘Nobody interfere with them.’ (A 56:5)

In (3) the subject denotes one member of a set of referents, but the verb agrees with all the members of the set and is plural:

- (3) *cút lèlə| xá mənnóxun t-atítun +’álli +karàvul.* ‘Every night one of you will come to guard over me.’ (A 45:4)

In (4) a 3pl. pronominal suffix (*katé*) refers back to an indefinite singular phrase referring to a non-referential class (*xa-náša*):

- (4) *’íman xa-náša kát tánə ’ána ’àtxən| ’ána ’àtxən,| ’áha ci-tanyànnə katé.*  
 ‘When somebody says “I am like this, I am like that”, I tell them this (anecdote).’ (A 4:16)

#### 12.5.6.4 Agreement according to Sense of Collective Noun

Agreement on the verb may be according to sense rather than form, as is the case in (1)–(3), in which the nouns *dasta* ‘group’ and *sama* ‘portion’ take plural subject agreement:

- (1) *dástə +várənaja-+tòr.* ‘A group enters the net.’ (B 4:2)  
 (2) *xá sáma hár +al-+kunṭòpa ci-pešíva brízə.* ‘Some became dry while still in a bunch (on the vine).’ (B 10:1)  
 (3) *+táma xá samé pòšlun.* ‘Some of them (literally: one portion of them) remained there.’ (B 1:14)

Likewise in (4) the direct object noun *košun* (f.) ‘army’ has 3pl. object agreement on the verb:

- (4) *kòšun tuyyéla.* ‘He has brought the army.’ (A 3:20)

In (5), by contrast, the object agreement is 3fs. in accordance with the gender of the noun *košun*:

- (5) *+jammúyol cíllə košun.* ‘He gathers all the army.’ (A 3:25)

Pluralia tantum occasionally exhibit variations in number agreement. The word *míya*, for example, is generally treated as a plural (6), but occasionally speakers treat it as a singular, as can be seen in (7), where it has both singular and plural agreement:

- (6) *kat-míya là bazbákki.* ‘so that the water does not disperse.’ (B 3:8)  
 (7) *'ína míyu +salíva +ávun nòšu.* | *'ína 'an-míyət +'ánvə +rába +sàpyə šápírə c-odáxvələ nipùxta.* | ‘But its juice flowed by itself. That grape juice was very pure and fine. We used to make grape molasses (like that).’ (B 7:16)

In (8) the subject is a nominal annexation phrase and the verb agrees with the dependent noun *dunyə* (fs.) ‘the world’ rather than the head noun *našət* (pl.) ‘people of’, presumably since the noun *dunyə* could be used by itself to express the same sense (cf. 9)

- (8) *cíllə nášət dúnýə=da +jmítəla* ‘All the people of the world (= everybody) is gathered.’ (A 3:71)  
 (9) *cíllə dúnýə +yat̪tāvalə.* ‘The whole world knew him.’ (A 3:1)

In (10)–(12) the subject nominals ‘our group’, ‘our people’, and ‘the children of the village’ are identified by the speaker as including herself in their reference and the verb is given a 1st person plural agreement:

- (10) *dástət díyyan 'æštájanáyə p̪t-avàxva.* | ‘Our group—we were ten people (= Our group was ten people).’ (B 9:5)  
 (11) *ju+bažarl zabbánnaðva 'almèni.* | ‘Our people used to sell (the bread) in the market.’ (Canda)  
 (12) *cíllə yál-súrət máta ò-leləl blíjəxva b-dà.* | ‘All the children of the village that night—we were busy with that (= All we children of the village that night were busy with this).’ (B 9:5)

#### 12.5.6.5 Newly Introduced Referents

Occasionally, when the referents of plural subject nominals are introduced onto the scene and are an information focus, the subject agreement on the verb is singular, e.g.

- (1) *ju-de-+dánta +tàrra mxílun.| xášli +tárra pátxən xzíli 'an-tre-+xuravay-xínə tilə.* | 'At that moment there was a knock at the door. I went to open the door and I saw that the other two friends had come.' (A 10:7)

#### 12.5.6.6 Temporal Situation

As discussed in § 9.15.2., 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.

- (1) *cmá-šənnə +várəla.* | 'Several years pass.' (A 40:6)  
 (2) *+tlá yumánə lélə vàyə,| Nátan| bəzyárəla.* | 'It is not three days (i.e. hardly had three days past), (when) Natan swells.' (A 3:95)

In such cases, however, the 3fs. inflection should be interpreted as referring to the general temporal situation: '(Time) passes (for) several years', etc.

#### 12.5.6.7 Existential Constructions

In existential constructions expressed by the verb *'avə* 1 'to be', the subject on some occasions does not agree with a plural nominal that refers to the item whose existence is predicated, but rather is in the 3ms or 3fs. In such constructions the nominal is indefinite, e.g.

- (1) *'átən-da máral jùr| càlu 'avíli.* | 'Get married so I can have a daughter-in-law.' (A 44:1)  
 (2) *mádrə viyyálə +zàya.* | 'She again had children.' (A 53:2, *viyya* [3fs.] + *la* [3fs])  
 (3) *vilálən xamšà yálə.* | 'We had 5 children.' (*vila* [3fs] + *lan* [1pl])  
 (4) *'apəskúpə kat-vàyən-lə.* | 'bishops that we had' (B 2:14 = *vaya* + *-an* [1pl] + *ilə* [3ms copula])

#### 12.5.6.8 Agreement of the Copula

It has been observed (§ 12.1.1.1.) that when the predicate is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, the copula agrees with the predicate, e.g.

- (1) *'ánəvən|* 'It is me.'  
 (2) *'át=ivət|* 'It is you.'

Note also a case such as (3)

- (3) +'ávva ́ivən ́àna.| 'That is me.' (the informant is pointing to a picture of himself on the wall)

Agreement of the copula with the predicate is also attested when the subject is singular and the predicate is plural, e.g.

- (4) *tré kèsəna pálla.*| 'A shaft is two pieces of wood.' (B 17:52)

It is worth pausing at this point to consider whether the items here that behave like the predicate pragmatically are indeed the predicate on the syntactic level.

In his classification of copular clauses in English, Higgins (1979) distinguishes a particular type of clause which he terms a 'specification' clause. Examples of such clauses in English include

- (5) *What I don't like about John is his tie*  
 (6) *The number of planets is nine*

They are termed 'specification' because the nominal phrase after the copula gives the value of the description in the first nominal phrase. It 'specifies' the identity of the nominal phrase before the copula by providing a referent that is known or accessible to the hearer. The second nominal phrase is referential, whereas the first typically gives an attributive, indirectly referential, or concealed-question description of a referent. Higgins (1979) distinguishes specificational copular clauses from predicational copular clauses, such as (7):

- (7) a. *That thing is heavy*  
 b. *Helen is a teacher*  
 c. *Bill is my best friend*

Predicational clauses contain an attributive description after the copula, which corresponds in some cases (e.g. in 7c) to the type of item that serves as the first nominal in a specification clause. For this reason it has been proposed by some theoretical linguists that specification clauses are derived by inverting the arguments of predicational clauses (Williams 1983, 1997; Partee 1986). Difficulties have been pointed out in finding evidence for inversion in English (Heycock and Kroch 1998). Evidence, however, has been identified in other languages, notably Russian, in which the first nominal in specification sentences may be in the instrumental case (Chvany 1975). In Russian copular clauses the referential argument is made the grammatical subject which is postponed after the less referential argument when the latter is more topical (Partee 1998).

In English specification clauses the initial less referential argument is topical but it is grammatically the subject not the predicate. Higgins (1979) distinguishes specification clauses from identification copular clauses such as:

- (8) *That is Joe Smith*

In the light of these theoretical issues, it is possible to explain the agreement patterns of the NENA copula in (1)–(4). Although it appears *prima facie* that the copula is agreeing with the predicate, one could interpret these constructions as being inversions of subject and predicate. If this is so, what looks like the predicate is, in fact, the grammatical subject, which is indeed the item that one would expect would control the agreement of the copula.

In (4) the plural copula could be taken as reflecting that the plural phrase ‘two pieces of wood’ is the grammatical subject. This plural phrase can be regarded as more referential than the nominal ‘a shaft’ and the clause can be regarded as specification, in that the ‘two pieces of wood’ specify the constituency of ‘a shaft’ rather than ascribe to it an attribute. Apart from lack of agreement with the copula, the nominal ‘a shaft’ has the pragmatic status and syntactic behaviour of a subject. It is topical, since it has been referred to in the immediately preceding discourse. It is placed in second position, which is the marked position for a subject. This, however, conforms to the normal discourse strategy of postposing a topical subject after the predicate to express cohesion with what precedes, typically when the clause expresses an elaboratory tag (§ 12.1.1.2.).

In (3) the subject could be considered to be the 1st person pronoun and this would explain why the copula agrees with it. The initial demonstrative would be the grammatical predicate. Apart from lack of agreement with the copula, the initial item has the pragmatic status and syntactic position of a subject, i.e. it is topical and is in clause-initial position. A clause such as (3) looks more like an identification clause than a specification clause according to the classification of Higgins. The analysis of the first person pronoun as the subject can, however, be correlated with the principle of Russian copular clauses whereby the most referential item is to be identified as the subject. This principle can be extended to a clause such as (3) even though it is identification since a 1st person pronoun is inherently more referential than a third person pronoun. This is because 1st and 2nd person pronouns are indexed for person whereas third person pronouns are unspecified for person.

In (1) and (2) the 1st and 2nd person pronouns could be taken to be the grammatical subject, as in (3). Unlike (3), however, there is no explicit con-

stituent that is the predicate item. This can be assumed to be an impersonal item with zero realization, which refers with a maximally low degree of specificity to a participant who is assumed to exist in the speech situation.

### 12.5.7 *Clauses Containing Prepositional Phrases as Complements of Verbs*

#### 12.5.7.1 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) *hállə þ-íðət diyyi.* 'Give him into my hands.' (A 3:26)
- (2) *labúlu cás +Noxadnásər.* 'He takes him to Nebuchadnezzar.' (A 3:16)
- (3) *lá-’azət +bár +šúp̥ra.* 'Do not go after beauty.' (A 3:11)
- (4) *málca márəl ḁa-+’Axìkar.* 'The king says to Axiqar.' (A 3:14)
- (5) *kóšun +jummévət +’al-žàni.* 'You have gathered the army against me.' (A 3:27)
- (6) *bráčələ +’al-bərcàcu.* 'He kneels on his knees.' (A 3:46)
- (7) *bitáyələ ju-bétət bábu.* 'He comes into his father's house.' (A 3:38)
- (8) *ku-ta-mònni.* 'Get up come with me.' (A 3:23)

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.

- (9) *fúr’un +báyyə +pàləš mánnux.* 'Pharaoh wants to fight with you.' (A 3:21)

In (10) the nuclear stress is on the subject constituent to express contrastive assertion, the verb and the prepositional phrase belonging to the presuppositional component of the clause:

- (10) *+’avun þt-ávə ḁa-sebúytux.* 'He will be for your old age.' (A 3:6)

#### 12.5.7.2 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 is in focus and those in which it is topical. The latter type of construction, where typically the initial phrase does not take the nuclear stress, may be 'event-orientated' or 'topic-orientated'. Event-orientated constructions are closely cohesive with what precedes, e.g.

- (1) *báxtu +rába honàntəva. | ka-báxtu +xábra yàvəla.* 'His wife was very clever. He gives a message to his wife.' (A 3:57)
- (2) *'a-ctáva Nátan yávulə ká ... +Noxadnásər, | málca. | 'ita, | m-+bár-hada, | Nátan ka-málca márəla* 'Natan gives this book to Nebuchadnezzar, the king. Then, afterwards, Natan says to the king ...' (A 3:22)

In (3)–(5) the fronted prepositional phrase is pronominal:

- (3) *+Axíkar máyyuna cəs-málca. | málca kátu mārəla* 'They bring Axiqar to the king. The king says to him.' (A 3:26)
- (4) *xáslux cəs-nášə xínəl ḳat-'áni lá-+msiva kátux 'odíva.* 'You went to other people who could not perform (the task) for you.' (A 3:5)
- (5) *+xártal 'átxa késa súra 'átxa ci-parmívalun | +katkattívalun. | ka-dáni +kári-vá pardívva.* 'Then, there was a small piece of wood—they cut them like this, they cut them into small pieces. They called those laths.' (B 2:19)

In verbs of low informational content such as 'to say' in narratives the nuclear stress is sometimes placed on the fronted phrase, e.g.

- (6) *ka-rýja márəla.* 'He (the pilgrim) says to the servant.' (A 1:7)
- (7) *ka-yàmmi márrun.* 'They said to my mother.' (B 6:4)

Topic-orientated types of the constructions are attested in contexts where two events are presented as occurring in parallel, e.g.

- (8) *'annə-tré yálə sùrəna. | ka-xá-mənne xúbba maxzùyət. | o-xína +naràhat vágəla.* 'They are two children. To one he shows love. The other becomes upset.' (A 3:17)
- (9) *'a-ctával trè-saməla. | xa-ka-für'un +šadúrəla m-púmmət +Axíkar. | xá | ka-málca +šadúrəla.* 'This letter is (in) two parts. One he sends to Pharaoh on behalf of (literally: from the mouth of) Axiqar. The other he sends to the king.' (A 3:21)
- (10) *ka-šamásá tání | +sa'átət 'òšta 'átə. | ... ka-kaša tání +sá'at 'òšta pàlyə. | ka-abúna tání +sá'at +šàvva.* 'Tell the deacon to come at six o'clock. ... Tell the priest half past six. Tell the bishop seven o'clock.' (A 6:4)

The fronted prepositional phrase may also express an information focus, the rest of the clause being presuppositional, or at least less prominent. In such cases it regularly bears the nuclear stress and is sometimes placed in a separate intonation group from the following verb. In (13) the prepositional phrase

expresses prominence due to the unexpectedness of the material and in (12) due to the unexpected location of the situation. In (11) the phrase is given prominence due to its crucial role in discrediting the action in the eyes of the speaker. In (14) the focus is exclusive ('only on one condition'):

- (11) *kàmtal xášlux cás nášət kát p̄-ida plíxona.* 'Previously you went to people (i.e. idols) who are made by hand.' (A 3:5)
- (12) *báxta xètala.* 'ána mùčxon. ádi *ju-bèti bəxxáyəla.* 'The woman is alive. I have found her. Now she is living in my house.' (A 1:37)
- (13) *xá-xina 'áttən kát mən-sila jəddàlə zárəz.* 'There is another one (i.e. another task) that he should make threads of sand.' (A 3:56)
- (14) *b-šárt t̄-odánnə 'a-+šúla.* 'I shall do this job (only) on one condition.' (A 1:41)

In (15)–(17) the prominence is contrastive:

- (15) *kat-ju malciyta ... ávə, lá ju-+alulàna.* 'So that he would be in the royal household, not in the streets.' (A 3:7)
- (16) *+màlla! 'átən! 'isàktux! ju-bèta tulkòt. ká-mu xíšət ju-dàrta +ṭarvúyə +báro?* 'Mullah, you lost your ring in the house. Why have you gone to look for it in the yard?' (A 27:1)
- (17) *xa-ctàva ctávlə mən-púmmat +'Axìkar! ka-málcət Məssər, ... ka-málca bəctávələ!* 'He wrote a letter on behalf of Axiqar to the king of Egypt ... to the king (of Assyria) he writes ...' (A 3:20)

#### 12.5.7.3 Prepositional Phrases as Subject and Object constituents

On some occasions a prepositional phrase is treated like a subject or direct object constituent of a verb and has subject or object pronominal agreement on the verb. The agreement corresponds to the gender of the noun in the prepositional phrase, e.g.

- (1) *xut-xáčo 'íla cərvəš! b-xá-'ido-zə 'íla ... t̄era.* 'Under her armpit is a rabbit and in one of her hands is a bird.' (A 38:16)
- (2) *xá tanína 'áttən ... kám nára ci-davàkla.* 'There is a dragon which blocks before the river (= blocks access to the river).' (A 39:18)

## 12.6 Experiencer Arguments

An argument that expresses an experiencer or the undergoer of some psychological internal process is in some cases made the grammatical subject of a verb (intransitive or transitive) or of a copula in a clause with a predicative adjective. In a number of cases, however, the experiencer is expressed with different grammatical roles, including direct object and possessor. In some cases the role is left uncoded grammatically.

### 12.6.1 Subject

- (1) *bəxdàyəla.* 'He is happy.'
- (2) *xabùləvən.* 'I am cold.'
- (3) *bəxzàyux-vən.* 'I see you.'
- (4) *ci-<sup>+</sup>bayyənnax.* 'I love you.'
- (5) *ci-maǵǵəbbánnun xòxə.* 'I like the peaches.'
- (6) *kàyrəvən.* 'I am cold.'
- (7) *šaxìnəvən.* 'I am hot'

### 12.6.2 Direct Object

- (1) *kàrta mxítila.* 'I have caught a cold (literally: A cold has struck me).'
- (2) *ńánnə várda kàrta +ruppítela.* 'Those flowers have caught the frost (literally: Cold has thrown down those flowers).'
- (3) *+ujába dvíkənnə.* 'I was amazed (literally: Amazement seized me).'
- (4) *xàrpu dvákla káti.* 'I hiccupped (literally: A hiccup seized me).'

### 12.6.3 Possessor

- (1) *xəmmilə.* 'I am hot (literally: There is my heat).'
- (2) *xóši bitáyəla mən-dàha.* 'I like this (literally: My goodness is coming from this).'
- (3) *bəxšávən ka-díyyax xòšax átya mánno.* 'I think you will like it (literally: your goodness will come to you from it).' (A 40:3)
- (4) *śánti bitáyəla.* 'I am sleepy (literally: My sleep is coming).'
- (5) *cépi là tíla.* 'I did not enjoy it (literally: My enjoyment did not come).'
- (6) *lábbi +tlábələ +àxlən.* 'I feel like eating (literally: My heart requests to eat).'
- (7) *záli bərráxšəla mən-dàha.* 'I do not like it (literally: My dislike is going from this).'

- (8) *sódux bitáyələ?* ‘Are you enjoying it? (literally: Is your enjoyment coming).’
- (9) *sóda látli.* ‘I don’t feel like doing it (literally: I do not have enjoyment).’
- (10) *hosála látli ’ázən.* ‘I don’t feel like going (literally: I do not have the disposition of mind to go).’

#### 12.6.4 Grammatical Role Not Coded

In this category fall constructions such as the following:

- (1) *’á náša +x̣ítō tila.* ‘This man felt sorry for it (the fish) (literally: This man—the sin of it came).’ (A 54:3)
- (2) *bratóxun xóši titəla.* ‘I have become fond of your daughter (literally: Your daughter—my goodness has come).’ (A 43:15)

#### 12.6.5 Experiencer Arguments in Languages in Contact

The expression of experiencer arguments as objects or possessors is generally due to borrowing of material and patterns from the non-Semitic languages of the region, which have closely related constructions. The Kurdish data below are from the dialect spoken in Şemdinli (south-eastern Turkey), which is very close that spoken in the Urmia region:

- (1) Kurdish

*sírr-ê                yê                li    min                day*  
cold-OBL.F.SG EZ.F.SG at 1SG.OBL give.PST.PTCP

Azeri (Tabriz)

*Män-ä soyox däy-ib*  
I-dat cold struck-EVID

Azeri (Baku)

*Mən-ə soyuq dəy-ib*  
I-DAT cold strike-EVID  
'I have caught a cold (literally: A cold has struck me)'

- (2) Kurdish

*sírr-ê                yê                li    wan                gul-a                day*  
cold-OBL.F.SG EZ.F.SG at DEM.PL.OBL rose-OBL.PL give.PST.PTCP

Azeri (Tabriz)

*o jǖl-lär-ä soyox vir-iþ*  
That flower-PLUR-DAT cold hit-EVID

Azeri (Baku)

*bu gül-lər-i şaxta vur-ub*  
This flower-PL-ACC cold/frost hit-EVID  
'These/those flowers have caught the cold (literally: Cold has hit these/those flowers).'

(3) Kurdish

*birrī hat-e min*  
hiccup come.PST.3SG-DIRECTIONAL 1SG.OBL  
'I hiccupped (literally: A hiccup came to me).'

Azeri (Tabriz)

*siksika tut-muš-am*  
hiccup hold-PAST-1SG

Azeri (Baku)

*huçqır-iq mən-i tut-du*  
hiccup-NOM.DER I-ACC catch-PAST-3  
'I hiccupped (literally: A hiccup held/caught me).'

Persian

*seksek-am gereft*  
hiccup-1S seize.PS.3S  
'A hiccup seized me.' (= I hiccupped)

(4) Kurdish

*min germ-e*  
1SG.OBL warm-COP.PRS.3SG  
'To me it is warm.' (= I am warm)

Azeri (Baku)

*isti-liy-im var*  
hot-NOM.DER-POSS1SG existing  
'I am hot (literally: my hotness is).'

Persian

*garm-am-e*

warm-1SG-COP.3S

'I am warm (literally: My warmth is).'

- (5) Kurdish

*xoši-ya min bi-wē t-ê-t*

pleasure-EZ.F.SG 1SG.OBL with-3SG.F IND-come.prs-3SG

'My pleasure comes from this.' (= I like this)

Azeri (Tabriz)

*xošbaxt-tzi-liğ-im bun-nan jäl-ir*

happiness-ADJ.DER-NOM.DER-POSS1SG this-ABL come-PRES

'My happiness comes from this (= I like this).'

Azeri (Baku)

*mən-im bun-dan xoş-um gəl-ir*

I-GEN this-ABL pleasant-POSS1SG come-PRES

'My pleasure comes from this (= I like this).'

Persian

*az īn xoš-am mīyād*

from this pleasure-1SG come.PRES.3S

'I like this'

- (6) Kurdish

*xew-a min-a t-ê-t*

sleep-EZ.F.SG 1SG.OBL-EZ.F.SG IND-come.PRS-3SG

'My sleep is coming.' (= I am sleepy)

Azeri (Tabriz)

*yuxu-m jäl-ir*

sleep-POSS1SG come-PRES

Azeri (Baku)

*Yuxu-m gəl-ir*

sleep-POSS1SG come-PRES

'My sleep is coming.' (= I am sleepy)

Persian

*xāb-am mīyād*  
sleep-1SG come.PRES.3S  
'My sleep is coming.' (= I am sleepy)

(7) Kurdish

*dil-ê min-ê di-ç-ît-e*  
heart-EZ.M.SG 1sg.OBL-EZ.M.SG IND-go.PRS-3sg-directional  
*sēv-a*  
apple-OBL.PL  
'My heart goes to apples' (= I feel like eating apples)

Azeri (Baku)

*ürəy-im ye-mək istə-yir*  
heart-POSS1SG eat-NOM.DER want-PRES  
'My heart wants to eat (= I feel like eating).'

Persian

*del-am mīxād bokor-am*  
heart-1SG want.3S eat.SUBJ-1S  
'My hearts wants me to eat (= I feel like eating).'

(8) Kurdish

*keyf-a min pê na-hê-t*  
joy-EZ.F.SG 1SG.OBL with.it NEG-come.PRS-3SG  
'My pleasure does not come with it' (= I do not like it)

Azeri (Tabriz)

*xoş-om jäl-mirə*  
pleasant-POSS1SG come-NEG.PRES  
'My pleasure does not come (= I do not like it).'

Azeri (Baku)

*mən-im bun-dan xoş-um gəl-mir*  
I-GEN this-ABL pleasant-POSS1SG come-NEG.PRES  
'My pleasure does not come from this (= I do not like this).'

Persian

*az ān badam mīyād*  
 from that bad-1SG come.PRES.3S  
 'From it my dislike is coming' (= I dislike it)

(9) Kurdish

*te pē xoš-e*  
 2SG.OBL with.it pleasant-COP.PRS.3SG  
 'To you is it pleasant? (= Are you enjoying it?)'

Azeri (Baku)

*bun-dan xoş-un gəl-ir*  
 this-ABL pleasant-POSS.2SG come-PRES  
 'From this is your pleasure coming? (= Are you enjoying it?)'

(10) Persian

*meyl be ān kār na-dār-am*  
 inclination in that matter NEG-have-PRES-1S  
 'I don't have the inclination to do that.'

(11) Persian

*hosele-ye raftan na-dār-am*  
 mood-EZ go.INF NEG-have.PRES-1S  
 'I do not have the mood to go.' (= I don't feel like going)

## 12.7 Other Complements

### 12.7.1 *Predicative Complements*

In some cases an adjective phrase or a non-referential noun phrase expresses a quality that is ascribed to one of the arguments of the verb. These may be termed 'predicative complements' in that they express semantic predicates.<sup>3</sup> In intransitive clauses they ascribe a quality to the subject (1–9) and in transitive clauses to the object (10–16) or the subject (17). They typically, though not obligatorily, follow the verb. They may be classified as optional or obligatory. Optional predicative complements include constructions such as (1–18). These are adjuncts that have a function similar to that of circumstantial predicates:

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<sup>3</sup> For an analysis of these constructions in English see Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 251–266).

- (1) *távli +al-súysə +hàzər.* ‘I sat on the horse ready (= while I was ready).’ (A 2:28)
- (2) *‘áha bëdmáxəla cpònta.* ‘She goes to sleep hungry.’ (A 35:7)
- (3) *mən-kédamta ’at-tívat làxxa, cpína +sìyya.* ‘You have been sitting here from the morning, hungry and thirsty.’ (A 4:5)
- (4) *bitáyələ +bérašə +málla šuršìyya, jiyya.* ‘The mullah comes back in the evening, exhausted and tired.’ (A 5:8)
- (5) *tíli bëta, cílla dëmmàna jvíla fu-dàmma.* ‘I came home, all bloody, covered in blood.’ (A 4:13)
- (6) *súysat +jóri ’úxča +tavàna c-ázəl! jùlla lé +matyálə.* ‘The horse of my husband goes so fast (= while being fast) that a bullet cannot catch it.’ (A 38:9)
- (7) *bërráxələ +rába +pšíma ka-dà mändi.* ‘He goes off sad (= while being sad) because of this situation.’ (A 1:21)
- (8) *’axunvátu tílun +bérašə +šìyyə, šuršìyyə, lišané dvíka.* ‘His brothers came in the evening, exhausted, tired, their tongue sticking (with thirst).’ (A 45:11)
- (9) *xmári pásłə d-la-čùp̄ra.* ‘My donkey remained without a tail.’ (A 7:13)
- (10) *báxta bëšvákol šulxéta.* ‘He leaves the woman naked (= while she is naked).’ (A 1:9)
- (11) *c-aváxva zúrzo šap̄árta.* ‘We had made it attractive.’ (B 7:1)
- (12) *’adíyya +bëddáyən kat-’aláha ka-díyyan lé-šavək cpína.* ‘Now I know that God will not leave us hungry.’ (A 30:6)
- (13) *báxtu mìttova cásli hemánta.* ‘He placed his wife with me as an item placed in trust (= she being an item placed in trust).’ (A 1:19)
- (14) *+zakránnna svítar.* ‘I should knit it into a sweater (= it becoming a sweater).’ (A 18:2)
- (15) *’íta b-+jammáxvalun kùxa.* ‘Then we gathered it into a heap.’ (B 3:12)
- (16) *sùrṭa xuķýáli ’áyya ka-díyyux.* ‘I have told you this short (= in a short version).’ (A 44:12)
- (17) *+tlájanày +’ärpá ci-+taláxva +badùšə.* ‘We played +*baduša* in threes and fours (literally: We played +*baduša* [being] three people or four).’ (B 17:1)
- (18) *xáčča susavày-na! xá mən-do-xína šap̄ira.* ‘There were some horses, each (being) more more beautiful than the other.’ (A 42:11)

The predicative complements in constructions such as (19)–(22), on the other hand, which cannot be felicitously paraphrased by circumstantial predicates, are obligatory components of the clause:

- (19) *+tárrat dàrta-zə šváktula ptíxa.* ‘She has left the door of the courtyard open.’ (A 37:4)
- (20) *kat-+xabré lá-+palət dùyla.* ‘So that their word does not turn out to be a lie.’ (A 1:22)
- (21) *ka-díyyi +byáyəna málca mattíni.* ‘They want to set me up as king.’ (B 16:12)
- (22) *+aturàya! ka-díyyi prášlun málca.* ‘The Assyrians selected me as king.’ (B 16:13)

Note that a non-referential noun in predicative complements, as in (9), (13)–(15), (20)–(22) above has no indefinite determiner *xa*.

Nouns that describe the resultant form of the object of the verb *'avəd* i ‘to do’ in constructions such as (23)–(27) can also be interpreted as predicative complements rather than as second direct objects of the verb:

- (23) *xá mən-cačála vádulə vázzər.* *xá vádulə +tājər.* ‘He makes one of the bald men vizier. He makes one the merchant.’ (A 1:24)
- (24) *+xáyəš vádən!* *á +bùsra!* *odátlə +tuyàtə.* ‘I would like you to make this meat into kebabs.’ (A 11:1)
- (25) *fánu vádol báxta.* ‘He makes himself a woman.’ (A 23:2)
- (26) *cúlla vádlun dòmma.* ‘They made him all blood (= they made him bloody [with beating]).’ (A 9:6)
- (27) *xmàru!* *cúlla vádlun +káttə +kèttə.* ‘They made his donkey pieces.’ (A 13:3)

This analysis is demonstrated by examples such as (28)–(30) in which the components in question are pronouns that are in their nominative rather than oblique form, which is not possible in these constructions. The nominative form is compatible with their status as predicates rather than direct objects of the verb:

- (28) *táclat 'odánnux +àvva.* ‘I wish I could make you him.’
- (29) *táclat 'avádvalux ýána ka-xá yùma.* ‘I wish he could make you me for one day.’
- (30) *t-odánnə 'àna.* ‘I shall make him me.’

Occasionally the preposition *ka-* is used before the complement, expressing directionality of a process, e.g.

- (31) *c-odívalun ka-+páltùyna.* ‘He used to make them into overcoats.’ (B 4:11)

The resultant state of the object of *'avəd* I may also be expressed by an adjective, which is a further demonstration that it should be identified as a predicate rather than a verbal object, e.g.

- (32) *'á béti súra| vúdlə +júra.* | 'Make this small house of mine big.' (A 54:5)

Occasionally the various types of predicative complement that are described above are fronted before the verb. When the fronted item rather than the verb takes the nuclear stress, particular focal prominence is given to the fronted item, e.g.

- (33) *+xàyən +plítələ +állux.* | 'He has turned out treacherous to you.' (A 3:23)  
 (34) *ka-díyyi málca vídat.* | 'You have made me a king.' (A 40:20)

The nominative form of pronouns is used after verbs of perception in construction such as (35)–(36):

- (35) *+báyyən xázzən 'át 'u-áy mən-+ùydalə.* | 'I want to see you and her together'  
 (= I want to see you and she being together)  
 (36) *xzíla 'át 'u-ána ju-béta.* | 'She saw you and me in the house.' (= She saw you and me being in the house)

The nominative can be explained by the fact that the pronouns are the subjects of reduced predicative propositions and that it is these predicates, rather than the arguments, that are the object of the verb. These constructions may be compared to a construction such as (37), which contains a verbal form within the perceived proposition:

- (37) *xzíla 'át 'u-ána +bixàla.* | 'She saw you and me eating.'

The oblique form of the pronouns may also be used, e.g.

- (38) *+báyyən xázzən kátux 'u-káto mən-+ùydalə.* | 'I want to see you and me together'

If the pronouns do not have a predicative locative adverbial, corresponding to 'together' and 'in the house' in the examples above, the oblique forms of the pronouns are obligatory, e.g.

- (39) *+báyya xázza kátux 'u-káto.* | 'She wants to see you and me.'

### 12.7.2 Expression of Content and Extent

Some verbs are complemented by nominals that describe the resultant content or extent of the changed state undergone by the direct object:

- (1) *'urxátə dvákluŋ jdila.* | 'The roads became blocked with ice.'
- (2) *'a-+ótaǵ mlítəla nášə.* | 'This room is full of people.'
- (3) *malánnə tìyna.* | 'I shall fill it with straw (= I shall make it fill, it being full of straw).' (A 1:33)
- (4) *b-+zarrénnə +'ámra.* | 'I shall sow it with wool.' (A 17:2)
- (5) *malúpulə +rába mändyána.* | 'He teaches him many things (= He makes him learned in many things).' (A 3:7)
- (6) *+mardáxxáxlə miyya.* | 'Let us boil it with water.' (A 37:19)
- (7) *b-tammazzíváluŋ cípa* *'én láttən javé.* | 'They cleaned it of stones in case there were any in it.' (B 10:7)
- (8) *bət-málvəš +casíbə jùllə.* | 'He will cause paupers to be dressed with clothes (= He will dress paupers with clothes).'

The complement in most such cases may alternatively be introduced by the preposition *b-*, e.g.

- (9) *malánnə b-tìyna.* | 'I shall fill it with straw.'

This *b-* is close semantically to the *b-* in attributive expressions such as *b-šəmma* 'with a name', *b-šənnə* 'with years (= aged)' (§ 6.8. ii). Its use is more frequent with the complement noun when the verb contains a direct object than when the verb is intransitive, e.g.

- (10) a. *luláffa dvákla 'ùpra.* | 'The pipe became blocked with mud.'
- b. *bət-dokánna +bázzət luláffa b-'ùpra.* | 'I shall block the hole of the pipe with mud.'
- (11) a. *+ótaǵ mlíla cursíyyə.* | 'The room became full of chairs.'
- b. *bət-malánnə +ótaǵ b-cursíyyə.* | 'I shall fill the room with chairs.'
- (12) a. *+xásət xmára +muṭánnələ +kərtàlə.* | 'The back of the ass has become loaded with bags.'
- b. *'ána bət-+maṭənnánnə +xásət xmára b-+kərtàlə.* | 'I shall load the back of the ass with bags.'

### 12.7.3 Inner Objects

An 'inner object' (§ 4.25.3.1. examples (48)–(56)), which is typically a verbal noun or abstract noun derived from the same root as the verb, does not express

a patient that is affected by the action of the verb, like a regular object, but rather comes about when the action takes place. Its clausal syntax, nevertheless, corresponds to that of regular objects. Its default position is after the verb, but it may be fronted before the verb in the same contexts as a regular object is fronted, e.g.

- (1) *zmárrə zmàrta.* 'He sang a song.'
- (2) *zmàrta zmárrə.* 'He sang a song.' (narrow focus)
- (3) *xílə xayúyta +yaràxta.* 'He lived a long life.'
- (4) *xayúyta +yaràxta xílə.* 'He lived a *long life.*' (narrow focus)

Examples from the text corpus:

- (5) *+xárta mammúyulə momìta.* 'He causes him to swear an oath.' (A 3:67)
- (6) *xa-+makréta +mukriyyélun.* 'They gave them a (good) education.' (A 42:4)

In (7) the noun '*urxa* 'road, journey' has the status of an inner object of the intransitive verb '*azəl* I 'to go':

- (7) *ctóvtəla ju-+oràyta| kát átən á 'urxa t-azətta.* 'It is written in the Torah that you will travel this journey.' (A 42:7)

#### 12.7.4 *Expression of Goal*

When a noun without a preposition expresses the goal of an action, it is normally placed after the verb, e.g.

- (1) *bitáyəna bëta.* 'They come home.' (A 3:32)
- (2) *bëškálulə Nàtan, mágulə bëta.* 'They take Natan and bring him home.' (A 3:88)
- (3) *ku-tálux Nànvə.* 'Get up and go to Nineveh.' (A 3:19)
- (4) *'ázax +póllan dùcta.* 'Let's go to such-and-such a place.' (A 3:23)
- (5) *á +kärtála sókla +'ullul.* 'This basket went upwards.' (A 3:59)

When there is narrow focus on the goal, typically to express contrastiveness, it may be fronted. In such cases it bears the nuclear stress:

- (6) *bëta bərráxšəna.* 'They are going *home.*'

If the clause contains a copula, this may optionally be placed on the focused goal, though such constructions are used only marginally, e.g.

- (7) *bètəna bərréxša.* ‘They are going *home*.’

## 12.8 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.

### 12.8.1 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-yuma +'Axíkar bəškáləl brùnu,| výyələ xa-jvànkə,| +màtya,| labúlu cás +Noxadnásər.|| +Noxadnásər málca ka-dáha ... cíl-məndi taniyəl.* ‘One day Axiqar takes his son, when he has become a mature young man, he takes him to Nebuchadnezzar. King Nebuchadnezzar tells him everything.’ (A 3:16)
- (2) *kúdmə bitáyələ mədrə.|| mára mu-+byàyət?||* ‘The next day he comes again. He says “What do you want?”’ (A 3:70)
- (3) *+jammúyol kòšun.|| 'a-yba-xína-da für'un bitáyələ.||* ‘He musters the army. On the other side Pharaoh approaches.’ (A 3:25)

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, marking the onset of a distinct discourse section, e.g.

- (4) *xa-yúma| für'un| xa-ctáva bəctávələ| ka-+Nuxadnásər.* ‘One day Pharaoh writes a letter to Nebuchadezzar.’ (A 3:39)
- (5) *xà-yuma| +kríla +rába mən-dánnə nášə lipə.* ‘One day he summoned many learned men.’ (A 3:3)
- (6) *+póllan yúma,| +póllan +tárəx| málcət Məssər,| für'un hámlea t-ávəd +állux,| hámlea,| +plásə.|| kòšun tuyyéla| kat'-áti +pálaš mánnox.* ‘On such-and-such a day, such-and-such a date, the king of Egypt, Pharaoh, will make an

attack on you, an attack, a war. He has brought an army in order to fight with you.' (A 3:20)

- (7) *úta b-+dánət +kèṭal +’álma c-azálva carmànəl +’ánvə ci-+jammívalun.* 'So, in the summer the people used to go to the orchards.' (B 12:3)
- (8) *hár ɻe-+dánał +šadúrəna xa-xína xáxča ’ázəl míyya mayyılun.* 'Then they send another one to go and get some water for them.' (A 37:16)
- (9) *làxxał cačàlał cíllə ɻánnə +bəšmayèlał.* 'Here, the bald man hears all these things.' (A 1:21)

In (10) two sections of discourse in the temporal framework of 'the day' and the 'the night' respectively are set up in an opposition, the first being marked by an adverbial in a separate intonation group, the second by an adverbial with the discourse boundary marking clitic *da* (§13.1.3.):

- (10) *úta b-yùmał bnàtə ci-yatvívał +baġvànał c-avívał kát jinávə +šúlə là-’atívał. tèrə=da c-atívał káat-+’ánvə +axlivalun ci-maprəxxivalun. b-léłə=da jvànkə c-azívał.* 'So during the day girls would sit (there). They used to be vineyard-keepers so that thieves and so forth would not come. Birds too used to come to eat the grapes and they used to drive them away. At night the lads used to go.' (B 2:7)

The temporal frame may be set by a distributive adverbial expression, e.g.

- (11) *cùt-yumł tàlfal jári +rappáxvalə m-+ál-jàrał.* 'Every day we had to throw snow off from the roof.' (A 3:1:19)

In temporally sequential discourse a shift to a new discourse section is often signalled by explicitly marking temporal sequence by an initial adverbial such as *+xarta* 'afterwards', *+bar-hada* 'after that', e.g.

- (12) *+baķúrəla mónnu +rába məndyànał +xárta mārəlał mammánnux b-momítə.* 'He asks him many things. Then he says "I pledge you with an oath." (A 3:63)
- (13) *+bár háda +dàrrəł cəs-’aláhət jànu.* 'Afterwards he appealed to his god.' (A 3:4)

In descriptive discourse, some kind of shift is often marked by a reidentification of the spatial or temporal frame by an anaphoric adverbial, e.g.

- (14) *'ita! ju-dánnə matvàtəl +zrùta! cíllə 'áx +iýdaləva.* | 'So, in these villages agriculture was all the same.' (B 2:3)

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.

- (15) *b-+kèta á +šúla c-odívalə.* | 'They did this job in summer.' (B 12:6)

An adverbial with narrow focus is also sometimes placed in a separate intonation group, e.g.

- (16) *'ádi cmá šònnəl cáslux +xìlələ,| šàtyələ! ju-bétux jurvàssələ.* | 'For how many years has he eaten and drunk in your presence! He has grown up in your house.' (A 3:22)

When narrow focus is placed on anaphoric adverbial expressions, its function is to strengthen the anaphoric bond with what precedes. This applies, for example, to the anaphoric adverbial *'atxa* in (17):

- (17) *'áxči pàti ketáva ju-pàtu,| bàss-iva.!* | 'If only my face could touch his face, that would be enough.' He says this. (A 3:46)

In (18) a copy of the 2nd person subject of the clause is attached to the initial adverbial *+xarta* 'afterwards':

- (18) *'átən +rába +spáy našàtva! 'ína +xàrtux! vádlux xórbə +šulànə.* | 'You were a very good man, but afterwards you did bad things.' (A 30:4)

### 12.8.1 *In Non-Initial Position*

When temporal or spatial adverbials are placed after one of the clause arguments or 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 their scope is restricted to that of the clause in which they occur and the clause is more cohesively bound to what precedes. This is seen in (1)–(3) in which, in each case, the second of the two clauses has a different spatial setting.

- (1) *ba-mújjurra susavátət márət díyyi +táma hehehé hurhàmlun,!* | *susavátət díyyux láxxa! murxàšlun?* | 'How is it that the horses of my master neighed there and your horses here aborted?' (A 3:83)

- (2) *'áha máttuyul +tàma. | +Axīkar| bərráxšəl bëta. |* 'They put him there. Axiqar comes home.' (A 3:16)
- (3) *c-azáxva móriša palxàxva | +bár +cavutràna c-atáxva. |* 'In the morning we went to work and in the afternoons we came back.' (B 5:7)

The adverbial in (4) relates only to the time reference of the division of property and does not hold for the events of the ensuing discourse:

- (4) *'á-naša +dánət mòtu tīla cíllə məndíyyu +pullila. |* 'This man, at the time of his death, came and divided all his property.' (A 38:1)

In (5) the adverbial *+berašə* occurs in the final clause of a section of discourse and does not set the temporal frame for what follows.

- (5) *'ànnəna 'an-núyna. | b-lablàtlun, | b-+xallàtlun | tammozàtlun | 'ú bašlàtlun | kalyàttun. | 'ána +berašə t-átən t-+axlònnum. |* 'These are the fish. You should take them, wash them, clean them, and cook and fry them. I shall come in the evening to eat them.' (A 5:7)

The comparative particle *buš* may be used adverbially before a verb, e.g.

- (6) *hár xá-ca-da buš muṭmorrálə ju-de-+àrra. |* 'He buried her more in the ground.' (A 52:7)

## 12.9 Clauses with an Interrogative Constituent

Interrogative constituents 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:

- (1) *mù vádlə?!* 'What has he done?' (A 3:19)
- (2) *mu-+byàyət?!* 'What do you want?' (A 3:70)
- (3) *bás mù 'óðən?!* 'But what should I do?' (A 3:35)
- (4) *+al-mú madmùyivət?!* 'What do you compare me to?' (A 3:62)
- (5) *mút +pásla +kaṭlàxla?!* 'In what way shall we kill him?' (A 37:19)
- (6) *dáx +kaṭlònna?!* 'How shall I kill him?' (A 3:50)
- (7) *mújjuryàvvax?!* 'How can we give?' (A 3:72)

In clauses with compound verbal forms the copula component is often cliticized to the interrogative element at the front of the clause (see §12.1.5. for further details), e.g.

- (8) *mút=ina tanùyə?* ‘What do they say?’ (A 3:51)
- (9) *mú-ilə viyya?* ‘What has happened?’ (A 5:10)

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 (§12.5.2.), e.g.

- (10) *'ána mú víðan kaar-díyyux kat-'áha vódlux?* ‘What have I done to you that you have done such a thing?’ (A 3:29)
- (11) *'ána mú tíla b-riši?* ‘What has befallen me?’ (A 3:52)
- (12) *'a-+kátu +héyan kákx mú vóttəla?* ‘What has this cat, this animal, done to you?’ (A 3:81)
- (13) *'át kaar-mùl xá-xča murkàllux?* ‘Why are you so late?’ (A 37:18)
- (14) *'át kám hónux yúvvut b-hōn-nášə?* ‘Why have you taken notice of the opinion of people?’ (A 5:4)
- (15) *mújjur yávvax 'áxnan?!* ‘How can we give?’ (A 3:72)

If a direct object is fronted before the verb, this is likewise placed before the interrogative particle, e.g.

- (16) *'an-núyna dàx vóttét?* ‘How have you done those fish?’ (A 5:9)

## 12.10 Negated Verbal Clauses

### 12.10.1 Negative Polarity

#### 12.10.1.1 Negative Particle before Verb

The negative particle *la* in the vast majority of cases expresses negative polarity. When a verbal clause is negated, the negative particle is placed before the most prominent constituent in the clause, which is in most cases the verb. The same applies to the negator *le* and the negative copula, which negates compound verbal forms that have an enclitic copula when positive.

Various stress patterns are attested in relation to the negative element. In some cases it is stressed and in others it is unstressed (§1.19.3.). 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 jorátlə.* 'Do not marry her.' (A 3:10)
- (2) *là +ktúlli.* 'Do not kill me.' (A 3:33)
- (3) *là táxmən.* 'Do not think about it.' (A 3:56)
- (4) *là-climun.* 'Do not stop.' (A 3:57)
- (5) *là +bákər.* 'Don't ask.' (A 2:16)
- (6) *'ána parpùləvən b-díyux<sup>1</sup> ̥ka-díyyan là +katłat.* 'I beg you not to kill us.' (A 37:10)
- (7) *là-'aviloxun +šúla.* 'Do not worry.' (A 37:17)
- (8) *'út hár 'ída là drí.* 'Don't you touch anything.' (A 37:18)
- (9) *háč xá +šrà! là-layya ju-bətvátə.* 'No lantern must be kindled in the houses.' (A 2:2)
- (10) *'átxa lè-'oya.* 'This should not be.' (A 37:18)
- (11) *hár lè +báyyax ̥ka-díyyan pálxət.* 'We do not want you to work for us anymore.' (A 37:18)
- (12) *'àxči! ju-+átrət díyi! 'áha móndi 'àvə! 'ána lè kablánna.* 'I will not permit this thing to exist in my country.' (A 2:12)

### (ii) Purpose Clauses

There is a tendency for the negator to receive the nuclear stress in irrealis purpose clauses, which are related to deontic expressions, e.g.

- (13) *+Axíkar mattúyuna +táməl xa-+bázza bəšvàkənəl kat-napásu là-+katłta.* 'They put Axiqar there and leave a hole so that his breathing would not be cut off.' (A 3:36)
- (14) *múttuvaju-xá ... +kərtálə! ju-ctána! kát là-+ajjəzva +págru.* 'They have put him in a basket, in cotton, so that his body would not be damaged.' (A 2:14)
- (15) *'út 'e-+dán b-nòšux-ivət! kát jánux-zə là sákdət! másalan xús kèsə mélan! món dáyya mèša.* 'When you are by yourself, so that you do not become bored, go, for example, and fetch wood for us from that forest.' (A 37:14)
- (16) *+baḡvànə c-avíá! kát jinávə +šúla là-'atíva.* 'They were vineyard-keepers so that thieves and so forth would not come.' (B 2:7)

- (17) *xá-dana stiyna-da xút ci-maxíva mən-+àrra| hál +tàmma| kát là taláxva.*  
 ‘They would drive in a post underneath, (coming up) from the ground until there, so that it (the house) would not collapse.’ (B 2:19)

### (iii) Adversative Contexts

The negator is given prominence when the clause defeats an expectation that arises from what precedes, e.g.

- (18) *+bayyíva +katlívalə| ’ína ’ána là +kṭálli.* ‘They wanted to kill him, but I did not kill him.’ (A 3:34)
- (19) *màlcal +pšəmlə| +pšəmlə| kat-ka-mù| +kṭəllun| ’ína ’ána lènva +kṭílu.* ‘The king became sad, he became sad (saying) “Why have they killed him,” but I had not killed him.’ (A 3:34)
- (20) *b-jíra kóšta mxilə| mxilə| ’ína +héyvan là npállə.* ‘He shot it with the bow and arrow. He shot it, but the animal did not fall.’ (A 39:5)
- (21) *hálli xa-brùna| ’aláha +jùvvab yuvvállə kátul mərrə| lè-’avilux brúna.* ‘“Give me a son.” God answered him and said “You shall not have a son.”’ (A 3:4–5)
- (22) *lá-’azat +bár +šúpра| +šúpра lè-paš kátux.* ‘Do not go after beauty. Beauty will not last for you (contrary to what you expect).’ (A 3:11)

A related context is where the negator follows a question, in which there is a presupposition of the possible truth of the proposition that is denied in the negated clause, e.g.

- (23) *+šómyutun ’áha mòndi?| ... là| lèx +šómyu.* ‘“Have you heard this thing?”  
 “No, we have not heard.”’ (A 3:76)
- (24) *’a-mú-ila +šrá bollá +tàmma?| ... ’ána lèn-+bədda ’áyya mù-ila.* ‘“What is that lantern burning there?” ... “I do not know what that is.”’ (A 2:4)

### (iv) Contrastive oppositions

When the negated clause is set up in a contrastive opposition with an adjacent proposition, the negator, which is the focus of contrast, has the nucleus, e.g.

- (25) *mádrə mən-šmàyya pállun| +tlá xabiýšə| xá ka-dó cačalùna| xá ka-bàba yuvvállə| xá ka-yòmma yuvvállə| ’ítə ka-díyan là pósłun xína mán dán xabúyšə.* ‘Again three apples fell from heaven. He (the story-teller) gave one to that bald man, one to the father, he gave another one to the mother, so none of those apples remains for us.’ (A 37:22)

- (26) *+rába dàšyàtə xázyøvax| ... dàšta| b-dá +šúp̥ra ́áxnan lèx xázyø.* ‘We have seen many plains, but we have not seen a plain with such beauty.’ (B 2:14)

(v) Verb ‘to be able’

- (27) *’ána lè-+msan ’a-+šíla ’odónna.* ‘I cannot do this job.’ (A 2:35)  
 (28) *’áxnan lè-+msax mónnux xáyyax.* ‘We cannot live with you.’ (A 37:22)  
 (29) *lèlə +másá hámzəm.* ‘He cannot speak.’ (A 3:30)  
 (30) *sáb lèlə +msáya jarášla.* ‘Because he cannot pull it.’ (A 37:15)

#### 12.10.1.2 Negative Particle Before Control Verbs and Deontic Particles

The negator is occasionally placed before a control verb or the deontic modal particle *jarəc* (or one of its variant forms) when these are not in the scope of the negation, e.g.

- (1) *lá +šurílun maǵjúba +událə.* ‘They began not to like each other.’ (B 1:29)  
 (2) *lájári baxtátə manšíva.* ‘The women were not supposed to forget.’ (B 10:12)  
 (3) *’á cálul lájárət ɔyàníl báx brùni.* ‘This bride must not be the wife of my son.’ (A 55:5)

In many cases, however, the negator is placed before the main verb, e.g.

- (4) *’ína ́ádi xína +šurílun lè +bəzdá mótnno.* ‘But now they began not to fear it.’ (B 1:30)  
 (5) *jári šaxína-da lá-’ativa, jári jarùsa-da lá-’ativa.* ‘It (the flour) must not come out hot nor must it come out coarse.’ (B 17:7)

#### 12.10.1.3 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 constructions such as the following.

When the negative particle precedes a clause-initial phrase, the scope of negation sometimes includes the phrase but not the verb. One construction in which this occurs is exemplified by (1). Here the initial phrase has topical status and is placed in a separate intonation group. The verb is new, non-presuppositional information:

- (1) *lá b-xábrət díyyan! xášla +’al-mèša.* ‘Not by our word (= without our permission), she went to the forest.’ (A 1:17)

Examples (2) and (3) are similar constructions:

- (2) *lá b-`atnàbəl| 'ána là-+msən 'átən.* ‘Without a car I cannot come.’
- (3) *la b-díyyux| là-+msax +sárax.* ‘Without you we cannot begin.’

In (4) the clause-initial phrase is given prominence by nuclear stress and this is enhanced by the placement of the negator. The prominence is not narrow focus but prominence within a broad focus that includes the verb. The clause-initial item, moreover, is not separated from the verb by an intonation group boundary. Both this item and the verb are in the scope of negation:

- (4) *tré-+‡la dánə=da +šurtìyyəl 'áti mənnóxun kat-lá p-ùrxa +katlila.* ‘Two or three policemen should come with you so that they do not kill her on the way.’ (A 1:47)

When two negated clauses are presented together in parallel, the negative particle is placed at the beginning of each clause. In (6) the negator at the head of the second clause has the enclitic *da*, which is characteristically used in constructions that set up parallels or contrastive oppositions between topical referents (§ 13.1.3.):

- (5) *lá 'axùni +xólləl 'u-lá bàbi štīlə.* ‘Neither did my brother eat nor did my father drink.’
- (6) *'áxnan lè-+bayyaxlun,| lá zuyzè +bayyáxlun| lá=da mité +tamràxlun.* ‘We do not want them. Neither do we want their money nor shall we bury their dead.’ (A 6:15)
- (7) *lá kàla vágəl,| lá +kòxa vágəl.* ‘He does not make a sound and he does not make noise.’ (A 42:33)

In (8)–(10) the verbal predicate is gapped after some of the items that are set up in parallel:

- (8) *lá kàla vágəl,| lá=da vágəl.* ‘She does not utter a sound or an “alas.”’ (A 44:12)
- (9) *lá bàba! lá yòmma! hác náša léva +bəxváta xína ju-+šùlət| bráta hám-da yàla.* ‘No father, no mother, nobody interfered again in the affairs of a girl and boy.’ (A 56:5)
- (10) *hác móndi lèla +bəddá,| hác móndi,| lá bašùlla,| lá júlla msàyla,| lá xyàpta,| lá msèta,| lá cnàšta. hác móndi lèla +bəddá brátan.* ‘She knows nothing, nothing, she does not cook, she does not wash clothes, (she does not know) bathing, washing laundry, sweeping. Our daughter knows nothing.’ (A 35:11)

In these clauses the fronted constituent that immediately follows the negator is given a degree of prominence but it is not in narrow focus with the scope of the negation restricted to these items. Rather they are set up as contrastive topics and the scope of the negators includes the entire clause. The negator is moved to the front of the clause due to the fact that in such constructions the initial constituent is presented as the most prominent item in the clause, but this is topical prominence rather than focal prominence. The initial topics are given prominence to make a sharp distinction between the two sides of the opposition.

The syntax of the negator in (11) can be interpreted in this light. Here the progressive form *pəlxanəla* 'she is working, she works' is negated by the negator *la* rather than the expected negative copula. This appears to have been conditioned by the fact that the clauses are set up in a parallel set-relationship, which is closely allied to the strategy of forming a balanced opposition structure:

- (11) *ú +Màhəl +úxča ka-da-náša +ajjùzəla. lá pəlxanəla, +tarčuməla.* 'This Mahə annoys this man so much. She does not work, she moans.' (A 40:2)

In (12) a set-relationship is created between two adjectival predicates, which are fronted and preceded by the negative particle:

- (12) *jár xáda 'oyáni kát bítal máx čáppəç átxa mabyønnáni +al-páta kát lá +šor 'oyáni lá-da pàxta 'oyáni.* 'It must be thus, so that the egg appears on the surface like a kopeck, so that it is not over-salted nor insipid.' (B 15:3)

### 12.10.2 Negation Used with Irrealis and Indefinite Constructions

In some contexts negation does not express negative polarity, i.e. it does not have the usual reversal effect on the truth conditions of the clause containing it. This is found in a variety of contexts. In such cases the negative particle is generally unstressed or is stressed with a non-nuclear stress.

It is occasionally found in counterfactual constructions such as (1):

- (1) *la-'aváxva xelànə, úxnan 'azàxva.* 'If only we were strong, we would go.' (A 45:7)

The negation expressed by the negative existential particle in the hypothetical conditional clause in the following construction falls into the same category:

- (2) *b-tammazzívalun cípə 'án lattən javé.* 'They cleaned it of stones in case there were any in it.' (B 10:7)

It occurs in clauses introduced by the particle *hal* 'until'. This arises from the fact that the 'until'-clause describes a necessary condition for a change in the main-clause event (Eilam 2009).

- (3) *ka-díyyi fvára lòt! hál yát lá mètat, +tamrònna.* 'Marriage is not for me until you die and I bury you (i.e. so long as you do not die and I do not bury you, marriage is not for me)' (A 44:12)

Also related to this phenomenon are cases in which positive and negative clauses are juxtaposed to express indefinite generality in constructions such as the following:

- (4) *mu-’òdax, mu-le-’òdax?* 'What on earth shall we do? (literally: What shall we do? What shall we not do?).' (A 1:24)  
 (5) *taxmùnəla, taxmùnəla! mu-’àvəd, mu-là-’avəd.* 'He thinks and thinks (wondering) what on earth he should do (literally: What he should do, what he should not do).' (A 3:73)  
 (6) *cmá-t ’òtlux lòtlux.* 'Whatever you may have (literally: As much as you have, you do not have).' (A 4:14)  
 (7) *’átlí lótlí xá brùna.* 'All I have is one son.' (A 42:25)  
 (8) *’átlít yá bitáyala lòxxa.* 'Come what may, she will come there.' (A 43:3)  
 (9) *lá-da màra! ... mànilə! mán lélə.* 'He does not say who he is.' (A 42:33)

Fictional narratives commonly open with constructions such as (10), in which the protagonist is introduced by a juxtaposition of the positive and negative existential particle. The purpose of this is to reduce the commitment of the storyteller to the truth of what follows.

- (10) *’átvá lòtvá! xá yàla ’átvá.* 'There was once a lad (literally: There was, there was not, there was a lad).' (A 37:1)

A variant of this introduces the protagonist by the *vayəla* form, e.g.

- (11) *vàyəla, lèl vâyala! xá dâna màlcá vâyəla.* 'There is, there is not, there is a king.' (A 45:1)

### **12.10.3 Negative Particle Used to Express Asseveration**

The negative particle may be used to express asseveration rather than negative polarity, especially to dispel possible doubt after questions. In such cases the particle never bears the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (1) A: *kúdmə қa-mú lá tìlux?*! B: *la-tìli ʼána.*! ‘A: “Why did you not come yesterday?” B: “I *did* come.”’
- (2) A: *lévat šátyu +čàyux!* B: *la-štìli +čáy.*! ‘A: “You have not (yet) drunk your tea.” B: “I *have* drunk the tea.”’
- (3) A: *қa-mú lét bitàya?*! B: *la-þt-àtən!* ‘A: “Why are you not coming?” B: “I *shall* come!”’

If the clause contains a copula or compound verbal form with a copula, the copula is not replaced by the negative copula, e.g.

- (4) A: *қa-mú lét bitàya?*! B: *la-bitàyən!* ‘A: “Why are you not coming?” B: “I *am* coming!”’
- (5) A: *+’əstícan +támma lèlə!* B: *la-+tàmmələ!* ‘A: “The cup is not there.” B: “It *is* there.”’

Likewise, it is used with a positive existential particle rather than a negative one, e.g.

- (6) A: *+’əsticána lət.*! B: *la-+’əsticána ’àttən!* ‘A: “There are no cups.” B: “*There are* cups.”’

The asseverative negative may be used before the deictic copula, e.g.

- (7) A: *+’əstícan +támma lèlə!* B: *la-dúlə +tàmma!* ‘A: “The cup is not there.” B: “But *there it is* over there.”’

Examples of *la* from the text corpus that can be interpreted as asseverative include:

- (8) *’ína m-áxxa l-ò-jiba-zə! ’àttən tré dévə xìnə-da.*! ... *mára lá þt-àzən.*! ‘But from here to the other side there are two other monsters (i.e. it is not advisable to go there) ... I *shall* go.’ (A 39:14)
- (9) *lá bəxzáyətun kat-mítən!* ‘Surely you see that I am dead!’ (A 32:4)
- (10) *lá màrən!* *+’al-xá kùnyáyya c-áviva kənyána,*! *+hayvàn.*! ‘Indeed I am saying, in one corner there were cattle, animals.’ (B 17:54)

This asseverative use of *la* developed by the incorporation of an original prosentential negator ('no!') into the grammatical structure of the clause. The negator would have originally denied the assumed presupposition of the hearer. The grammatical incorporation is reflected prosodically by its integration into the intonation group of the clause.

### 12.10.4 Interrogative Used as a Negator

The inanimate interrogative particle *mut* ‘what’ is sometimes used with the verb <sup>+</sup>*yattə* I ‘to know’ with the function of a negator rather than an interrogative. This is seen in examples such as (1) in which the verb takes an object complement, which demonstrates that the *mut* is itself not interpreted as the object:

- (1) *mut-*<sup>+</sup>*yattə dàva mú-ilə,| sìma mu-ilə,| bòrrənč mú-ilə.| lè-*<sup>+</sup>*yattə.* ‘He does not know what gold is, what silver is, what rice is. He does not know.’  
(A 31:1)

## 12.11 Polar Questions

The syntax of questions with interrogative constituents have been described in § 12.1.5., § 12.2.5. and § 12.9. Here we are concerned with questions that do not contain interrogative constituents. They may be categorized as polar questions, since they have as answers one of a pair of polar opposites, i.e. positive ('yes') or negative ('no').

### 12.11.1 Positive Questions

Basic positive questions have the same syntax as positive assertions and differ only in a distinct intonation pattern consisting of a higher level of pitch on the nuclear accent (§ 13.7.3.). Such clauses ask the addressee to confirm or deny whether the information predicated about the subject topic is true, e.g.

- (1) *'áha +jòrax-lə?* ‘Is this your husband?’ (A 1:38)  
 (2) *húcmat málcałə?* ‘Is it the order of the king?’ (A 1:13)  
 (3) *'àtlux! sàda?* ‘Do you have witnesses?’ (A 1:19)  
 (4) *'a-báxta xètəla?* ‘Is this woman alive.’ (A 1:35)  
 (5) *+purmilux ká-díyyi?* ‘Have you understood me?’ (A 43:17)  
 (6) *'á-mändi kabülutun?* ‘Do you accept this thing?’ (A 1:43)  
 (7) *'adíyya hammùnət?* ‘Now do you believe?’ (A 3:25)  
 (8) *+báyyət? har-'àtxa +báyyət?* ‘Do you want this? Do you want really this?’  
     (A 5:4)  
 (9) *cullóxun lípotun darsòxun?* ‘Have you all learned your lesson?’ (A 1:25)  
 (10) *muyyálux?* ‘Have you brought her?’ (A 2:10)  
 (11) *c-+ámsax +hayyərràxlux?* ‘Can we help you?’ (A 4:5)

Such positive questions may be neutral or biased. In a neutral question the speaker has no expectation that the answer will be positive rather than negative, or vice versa. In a biased question the speaker is predisposed to accept one particular answer as the right one, i.e. the question is biased towards a negative or positive answer.<sup>4</sup> The question in (1), for example, which is asked in a courtroom situation, is neutral. The question in (7), however, is biased since the speaker expects the answer to be 'yes'. This may be termed epistemic bias since the speaker thinks that the addressee now does believe. In this case the bias is towards a positive answer. The question in (8) also has an epistemic bias, but in this case it is towards a negative answer, in that the speaker is surprised with the situation and expects that in the circumstances the addressee would not want it. In (9) the bias can be said to be deontic since the speaker judges that the answer ought to be positive. In (10) the speaker wants the answer to be 'yes', so this can be said to have a desiderative bias. Similarly in (11) the speakers want to help the addressee.

In a positive polar question a bias can be expressed explicitly by some kind of lexical reinforcement. In (8) the particle *har* is such a reinforcement. In (12) the reinforcement is expressed by combining the verb with an inner object in the form of a cognate infinitive. This expresses here a desiderative bias, i.e. the speaker wants the answer to be 'yes':

- (12) *kabúlə ð-kábli ́árxə?* 'Do they accept guests?' (A 43:14)

In the polar questions illustrated above there is a broad focus on the predicate and the scope of the question includes this broad focus. A positive question may also have a narrow focus, in which the speaker is asking the addressee to confirm or deny that a particular item in the predicate is correct for this role with the presupposition that the remainder of the predicate is true. The item in narrow focus typically bears the nuclear stress. Examples from the text corpus include:

- (13) *’íta ’ánnə=da +báyyat šaklátlun mánni?* 'Now, do you want to take *these too* from me?' (A 1:13)
- (14) *dúz márələ ’áha?* 'Is he telling *the truth*?' (A 14:10)
- (15) *’íta ’at-ka-díyyi-+kəryət! ’ánnə xazzánnun?* 'So you have invited me to see *them*?' (A 4:11)

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<sup>4</sup> For the distinction between neutral and biased questions see Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 879–881).

### 12.11.2 Negative Questions

A polar interrogative clause may be negated by a negative element such the negative particle, the negative copula or the negative existential particle. Such negative clauses are in most contexts biased. An epistemic bias can be towards either a negative or a positive answer. Negative questions typically suggest some element of contrast.

When the negative question has a negative epistemic bias, this often contrasts with a positive deontic bias, i.e. it carries an implied contrast between the state of affairs which apparently obtains (negative) and what the speaker wants or his judgement of what should be the case. This applies to (1)–(3):

- (1) *bas-látlux xá nišánka?* ‘But do you not have a sign?’ (i.e. It is apparently the case that you do not have a sign but I wish you had) (A 1:17)
- (2) *lét +šámya?* *márra làl tén +šámya.* ‘“Have you not heard?” He said “No, I have not heard.”’ (i.e. It is apparently the case that you have not heard, but you ought to have heard) (A 19:3)
- (3) *'átən +hálá lét fvíra?* ‘Are you not yet married?’ (i.e. It is apparently the case that you are not yet married, but you ought to be) (A 35:5)

Exclamatory negative rhetorical questions introduced by *dax* ‘how?’ have this pragmatic function, in that they have a negative epistemic bias contrasting with a positive deontic bias, e.g.

- (4) *dàx lét-hammúna?* ‘How do you not believe (it)?’ (i.e. It is apparently the case that you do not believe it, but you should believe it) (A 47:13)
- (5) *dàx lét +díyyu?* ‘How did you not know him?’ (i.e. it is apparently the case that you did not know him, but you ought to have known him) (A 10:12)

The epistemic bias in (6)–(9) is positive:

- (6) *láxxa la-xzílux xa-+tála bərrákəva?* *lá +dílux bi-dəm-’úrxa xəšlə?* ‘Have you not seen a fox running away around here? (i.e. I assume that you must have seen a fox) Do you not know which way it went? (i.e. I assume you must know).’ (A 47:18)
- (7) *láxxa mándi lèlə píla?* *lètun škílə?* ‘Has not anything fallen? Have you not taken (anything)?’ (i.e. I assume something must have fallen and you must have taken something) (A 43:5)
- (8) *bá náša léna tìyyə,* *léna dmíxə?* ‘Have not people come and slept?’ (i.e. it is my belief that people have come) (A 42:36)

- (9) *lúšān-<sup>+</sup>hošára lèt<sup>+</sup>bədda-’átən?<sup>!</sup> lè yáttət?<sup>!</sup>* ‘Don’t you know the language of the Muslims? Don’t you know?’ (I assume you must know) (A 43:20)

Note that in (7) the word *məndi* is used without the negative polarity item *həč*.

Where the epistemic bias is positive, there is sometimes an implicit contrast between the belief of the speaker in some proposition and unwillingness on the part of the addressee or others to accept it:

- (10) *lámárri ka-díyyux?<sup>!</sup>* ‘Did I not say to you?’ (i.e. it is apparently the case that you do not accept that I said, but I maintain that I did say) (A 14:11)

In (11) the rhetorical question introduced by *dax* has a similar pragmatic function:

- (11) *dàx la-<sup>+</sup>díli?<sup>!</sup>* ‘How did I not know?!’ (i.e. it is apparently the case that you think that I did not know, but I maintain that I did know) (A 1:31)

In a few cases of negative interrogatives in the text corpus the negative particle is placed at the front of the clause before all other constituents. All such constructions have a positive epistemic bias:

- (12) *lá ’ána ₯a-díyyux xàyyux purkéli?<sup>!</sup>* ‘Have I not saved your life for you?’ (A 47:19)  
 (13) *lá ’ána ₯atux purə₯li mán ...<sup>!</sup> kyàda?<sup>!</sup>* ‘Have I not rescued you from the conflagration?’ (A 47:2)  
 (14) *lá ’adíyya ₯a-díyyi-da<sup>+</sup>₯atəl?<sup>!</sup>* ‘Will he not now kill also me?’ (A 2:23)

In some cases the initial negator is connected to the clause by the subordinating particle *₯at*, as in (15), which, likewise, has a positive epistemic bias:

- (15) *lá ₯at<sup>!</sup> +dránu<sup>x</sup> +rásťavən,<sup>!</sup> ’o-náš d-trévən?<sup>!</sup>* ‘(Is it) not (the case) that I am your right arm and I am the second man (in command)?’ (A 48:18)

In a disjunctive connection between positive and negative questions as in (16), however, the negative question is neutral without bias toward a negative or positive answer:

- (16) *+nesónna yán là +nesónna?<sup>!</sup>* ‘Should I bite him or should I not bite him?’ (A 47:5)

In most disjunctive questions of this nature in the text corpus the verb in the second clause is gapped with only the negator remaining:

- (17) *bušáltut yan-là?* 'Have you cooked it or not?' (i.e. is 'have not cooked' a true predication about 'you')? (A 11:2)
- (18) *b-hamzámmat yán là?* 'Will you speak or not?' (A 34:11)
- (19) *ú bráta plòxtəla yan-lá?* 'Has the girl worked or not?' (A 35:7)
- (20) *dúz-ivən yan-là?* 'Am I right or not?' (A 47:8)

### 12.11.3 Tag Questions

The focus of a question can be on a tag *hi?* 'yes?' or *la?* 'no?', which is appended to an assertion seeking the confirmation of its truth from the addressee, e.g.

- (1) *túyna ci-+yàttat hí?* 'You know straw, yes?' (B 17:32)
- (2) *bušála +šomyot hí?* 'You have heard of *bušala* (stew), yes?' (B 17:20)
- (3) *jórət +hošára láxxa-da ju-dá Rtséentr<sup>R</sup>-ət diyyan,| 'icət 'adlyya| 'ánnə Rmaga-zín<sup>R</sup> +šùlə 'ítən,| lā?* 'The tomb of the Afshars is here, in this centre of ours, where now there are the shops and so forth, no?' (B 16:5)

In (4) the tag is placed after the verb but before the complement of the verb, which is an indirect constituent question (§ 14.3.2.):

- (4) *damúrči +bəddáyət là mú-ilə?* 'Blacksmith, you know what it is, no?' (A 48:31)

### 12.12 The Particle *xu*

This particle, which is related etymologically to Syriac *kbar*, is cliticized to the predicate of a clause. In fast speech it is sometimes shortened to *x-*. It is used as an attitude marker in questions and assertions, which are distinguished by different intonation patterns.

When used in a positive question such as (1), the speaker has a positive epistemic bias and expects the answer 'yes'. Such questions are idiomatically translated with an English declarative sentence, which has an epistemic bias towards a positive answer (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 881):

- (1) *xu-xzilux tanúyra?* 'You have seen the oven? (I assume you have)'

When used with a negative question, the speaker has an epistemic bias towards a negative answer. This negative epistemic bias frequently contrasts with an associated positive deontic bias.

- (2) *xu-lévat cpìna?* 'You are not hungry?' (I assume you are not)
- (3) *xu-lévat tìyya láxxa +àxlat?* 'You have not come here just to eat?' (I assume you have not come just to eat. You ought not to have come here just to eat)
- (4) *'át xú-létvə xíša nùyma dokàtva?* 'You had not gone to catch fish?' (I assume you had not gone to catch fish. You ought not to have gone to catch fish)  
(A 5:9)

In polar questions, therefore, the particle forces an interpretation with a particular bias, positive epistemic bias for positive questions and negative epistemic bias for negative questions, whereas in polar questions without the particle the direction of the bias is unmarked.

The particle is also used in non-interrogative contexts in both positive and negative clauses. When used in a positive clause it expresses the speaker's presupposition of the truth of the proposition. The construction falls short, however, of unconditional assertion and typically invites confirmation from the addressee. In many contexts this can be idiomatically conveyed by English 'surely', e.g.

- (5) *túyta xu-lišān-dìyyan-la.* 'Surely (the word) *tuyta* is our language.' (B 17:44)
- (6) *xú xzilux!* ... 'Surely you have seen ...' (B 17:31)

Examples (7) and (8) have a tag question, which invites confirmation of the speaker's presupposition:

- (7) *+turšìyyə xu-+bəddàyat hí?* 'You know "pickles", yes?' (B 17:48)
- (8) *+kurtópa xíl lišān-dìyyan-la, hí?* "Potatoes" are our language, yes?  
(B 17:13)

Negative non-interrogative clauses with *xu* express the presupposition of the speaker that the negative proposition is true but not an unconditional denial:

- (9) *xu-lá-+msan paltànnə.* 'I surely cannot take it out.' (A 43:3)
- (10) *'áy x-lèla +ság.* 'She is surely not still alive.' (A 43:20)
- (11) *'áyya 'àtxəva, bá 'e-xítə 'átxa xu-lè-'oya.* 'That (wife) was like that, but another one will surely not be the same.' (A 44:5)

- (12) *bá +karávul mù-tar c-áva?* xu-lè-'azəl dáməx. | ‘Well, how should a watchman behave? Surely he should not go and sleep!’ (A 45:17)
- (13) *ka-mú ’áha móndi škəllux?* xu-lèva díyyux. | ‘Why did you take this thing? It was surely not yours!’

The particle is often used to counteract a presupposition or expectation that the speaker assumes is being entertained by the addressee. Examples such as the following are used in this type of pragmatic context:

- (14) *mujjùrra ódənnə ’ána ’a-+šùla?* mùjjur parmánna? xu-lèn maséta. | ‘How can I do this? How can I cut it? I am not a pair of scales (contrary to what you seem to think).’ (A7:12)
- (15) *’ita m-ídi xu-lè párkət ’átən.* | ‘You will indeed not escape from my hands (contrary to what you think).’ (A 50:5)
- (16) *’áni=da sátvə xú léna +myasa +xálta màčxi.* | ‘They also (the bees) in winter indeed cannot find food.’ (B 17:43)

A translation with an adversative ('but', 'however') is sometimes appropriate, e.g.

- (17) *tálja c-áva, jarpívalə. +múṭra x-là-+amsi jarpívala. +múṭra t-íva bitáya xelánta, lè-+amsi jarpívala.* | ‘When there was snow, they used to shovel it. They are not, however, able to shovel rain. When rain fell heavily, they were not able to shovel it.’ (B 17:36)

In (18) it is used in the apodosis of a concessive construction, in which the negation is reinforced since it is contrary to what one would normally expect in the situation expressed by the protasis clause:

- (18) *’ádi tálki-da, ’át xu-lì-+yáttət.* | ‘Even if they get lost now, you would indeed not know.’ (A39:32)

In (19) the speaker uses the construction insincerely as a politeness strategy, expressing a presupposition that he does not hold:

- (19) *’árbi xažbənnənnun.* xu-lét +mubsàrra mənné. | ‘Let me count my sheep. I assume you have not lost any of them.’ (In fact I am not so sure and want to check) (A39:35)

In (20) the clause with *xu* is introduced by the particle *kam* ('why'), which is not used here interrogatively but as a similar attitude marker counteracting the assumed presupposition of the addressee:

- (20) mára +bəzdàyən! jáns là xamyálax.! mára là-+zdi.! kám xu-lèla +janavar! xu-lè +axlálí.! 'He says "I am afraid that she would not look after you well." She says "Do not be afraid. Why, she is surely not a beast, she would surely not eat me."' (A 44:2)

### 12.13 The Particle *májar*

The Persian particle *májar* may be used in assertive contexts with the sense of 'unless', e.g.

- (1) 'a-ctáva lé-+masə ɔt-avílux! májar +párrət xa-zúyza +ràba.! 'You cannot have this book, unless you pay a lot of money.'
- (2) lé-+masət +áxlət +xa-+rámša! májar ́ídux +xallòttun.! 'You cannot eat dinner, unless you wash your hands.'
- (3) é +dána látvalan tré tabákə,! májár +otágə +matrəssáxvalun! tré tabákə xuté ́avíva másalan +ambárə ́odáxva.! 'At that time we did not have two floors, unless we had them built as rooms on two floors and we would make the lower ones into, for example, storerooms.' (B 3:41)

It sometimes has the sense of 'perhaps', e.g.

- (4) ́áxnan le-+yáttax! májar Nátan +yáttə,! Nátan jurvásłə ju-́ídət +Axíkar.! 'We do not know. Perhaps Natan knows, Natan was brought up by Axíkar.' (A 3:43)

The particle may also be used in questions. If the question is negative, the particle signals that the speaker has an epistemic bias to a positive answer and he expects the answer 'yes'. There is typically an implicit contrast between the belief of the speaker in a proposition and unwillingness on the part of the addressee or others to accept it or behaviour of the addressee that suggests the opposite:

- (5) májar là mórrı kátux 'aha la-’odàtla? 'Didn't I tell you not to do that.' (i.e. I maintain that I did say so, although you appear to be unwilling to accept that)

- (6) *májar* 'át lè'-azət +támə?| 'Won't you go there?' (i.e. I assume you will, although you appear to be unwilling to do so)
- (7) *májar* létva mútta nišánka! kat-mačxàtvalun?| 'Didn't you put down a sign so you could find them (the coins)?' (i.e. I assume you must have done so, but you are behaving as if you have not) (A 29:1)
- (8) +báyyə 'árək! bədvàkułə.| mára lá lá là.| 'ád-léla 'ärxivat! májar lét +ṭavvúyə +bár dà-məndi?| 'He wants to flee, but he (the shopkeeper) seizes him. He says "No, no, no. Tonight you are my guest. Are you not looking for this thing?"' (i.e. I assume you are looking for it, although you appear to be unwilling to do so) (A 4:9)

If the question is positive, the speaker has an epistemic bias towards a negative answer, e.g.

- (9) *májar* 'ána xàrba víðən! ka-dá-naša yúvvən 'alpá +dinárə zìyza?| 'Have I done wrong to have given this man one thousand dinars of money? (= Surely I have not done wrong ...)' (A 7:10)
- (10) *májar* 'óttən málca xína ju-da-+átrat díyi 'ána lēn-+bəddà?| 'Is there another king in my land I do not know?' (= Surely there is not another king in my land) (A 1:28)
- (11) *májar* šuddànnət?| 'Have you gone mad?' (= Surely you have not gone mad. I did not expect this from you)

As is the case with *xu*, the particle *májar* forces a specific interpretation of the bias of the polar question.

The particle *májar* is also used in constituent questions, e.g.

- (12) *májar* mū vítəla?| 'What has happened?' (A 40:8)

Here the pragmatic function of the particle is to confirm that the speaker assumes that something has happened and he does not expect that answer 'Nothing has happened.' It is similar, therefore, to its function with negative polar questions, in which it expresses a positive epistemic bias.

## 12.14 Extrapositional Constructions

### 12.14.1 Structure

The structure of extraposition involves placing a nominal or independent pronoun in syntactic isolation in clause initial position and resuming it by an anaphoric element later in the clause.

A distinction should be made between two types of extraposition structures. In one type the initial item is prosodically and grammatically integrated with what follows, e.g.

- (1) *'ána +šúli 'àhələ.* | 'I—my job is this.' (A 10:4)
- (2) *'át lè-'avilux brúna.* | 'You will not have a son.' (A 3:5)
- (3) *'o-+kačúla 'ótlə šòmma.* | 'The executioner has a name.' (A 3:33)
- (4) *'áxči +Axíkar páti kéta fu-pátu.* | 'Only let my face touch the face of Axiqar.' (A 3:50)

The initial item is prosodically integrated in that it is not separated from what follows by an intonation group boundary. The initial item is followed by a clause that contains a subject and predicate, so it has the structure of extraposition. The initial item is resumed in the clause by a pronominal affix, as opposed to an independent pronoun or a full nominal. As we shall see, such initial items have all the semantic and functional properties of normal grammatical subjects. These will be referred to in what follows as Ex1 structures. Such Ex1 constructions share with grammatical subjects the structural feature of resumption by a pronominal affix—in the case of subjects this is the pronominal subject-marker affix of the verb. The initial item of analogous Ex1 type constructions in Modern Hebrew and other languages are termed 'broad subjects' by Doron and Heycock (1999; 2003) and Alexopoulou, Doron and Heycock (2004), who regard the occurrence of the second subject as the result of the recursion of the subject–predicate relation.

A distinct type of construction is where the initial item is less integrated prosodically and, in some cases, also structurally with what follows. In such cases the initial item is separated from what follows by an intonation group boundary, e.g.

- (5) *'a-Nátan| 'átväl xa-'axùna.* | 'This Natan had a brother.' (A 3:17)
- (6) *'ána| +narahatúytət jáni ka-jáni bássa.* | 'My own trouble is enough for me.' (A 10:3)
- (7) *'ána| jná lètli.* | 'I do not have any guilt.' (A 3:33)
- (8) *'u-cačàla-dal| yémmu +yatčáva| kat-xá-məndi tunilə| t-avədla.* | 'The bald man—his mother knew that if he said something, he would do it.' (A 1:14)
- (9) *'ojáxta b-šánnə kàmaya,| 'áx bətxárən,| kèsə ci-mattíva +állo.* | 'The hearth—in the early years, according to what I remember, they used to put wood on it.' (B 12:4)

In (10) both the extraposed noun and the grammatical subject stand in separate intonation groups:

- (10) *'úrìya| lòbbu| bəkyàdələ.* ‘The servant—his heart burns (= the servant feels sorry).’ (A 1:8–9)

Occasionally an extraposed referent is not resumed by a pronominal affix but rather by a noun. This can be regarded as a lower degree of grammatical integration of the initial item. Such constructions may involve a repetition of the extraposed noun, e.g.

- (11) *tàlmə, miyya c-avívalan ja-dánnə tàlmə.* ‘Jars—we had water in these jars.’ (B 3:33)
- (12) *'ína 'árxa, mən-cúllə mavày 'árxa c-atíva.* ‘As for guests, guests came from all the villages.’ (B 10:22)

In some cases the resumptive noun is not identical to the extraposed item but is linked to it in an entailment relationship, e.g.

- (13) *+kàslə +rába kálatə ci-+zakràxva, 'áxnan bnátə +šúlət díyyan-iva, mən-káttat +xàttə.* ‘Straw—we would weave many baskets from the stem of wheat—it was the job of us girls.’ (B 10:11)
- (14) *'ánnə məššəlmànə 'ùrzə c-ávi b-nošé, nákvə c-ávi b-nošè.* ‘Those Muslims—the men are by themselves and the women are by themselves.’ (A 5:1)

Constructions such as (5)–(14), in which the initial item is less prosodically integrated with what follows and in some cases also less structurally integrated, as in (11)–(14), will be referred to as Ex2 constructions.

Fronted definite object nominals and fronted independent object pronouns do not have any case marking but are cross-referenced by object agreement suffixes on the verb (§10.18.2.2.). Clauses with such fronted direct objects, therefore, formally resemble extrapositional constructions, e.g.

- (15) *'axunvátux màxzilun ka-díyyi.* ‘Show your brothers to me.’ (A 37:11)
- (16) *'áha máttuyul +tàma.* ‘He places him there.’ (A 3:16)

These constructions, however, should be classified as object fronting, since the pronominal agreement is not restricted to clauses where the object occurs in initial position, e.g.

- (17) *škúlla 'a-Nàtan| p-ìdux.* | ‘Take this Natan in your hands.’ (A 3:88)

Constructions such as (15) and (16), therefore, will not be considered to be extraposition. In some cases, however, a fronted nominal with a referent that is co-referential with a direct object pronominal element in the clause is not fully integrated prosodically and/or grammatically with the clause. In (18), for example, the fronted nominal is separated from what follows by an intonation group boundary. In (19) the fronted nominal is separated prosodically and, moreover, is resumed by an independent pronoun rather than an affix. Such constructions will be considered to be extraposition. They, indeed, differ in their function from grammatically integrated object-initial clauses, as will be discuss below:

- (18) *'ánnə məndyànəl +ràba,| +ràba| kátu tanuyèlə.* | ‘He tells him these many things.’ (A 3:13)
- (19) *ó dàyku| +'ávun ci-payyíval làxma.* | ‘The fine one—they would bake it into bread.’ (B 17:9)

#### 12.14.2 *Initial Item*

An initial item in an Ex<sub>2</sub> structure that is not prosodically integrated is restricted to nominals that are topical, i.e. they function as the informational pivot or starting point of the following clause and typically their referent is identifiable from the context.

In many cases a clause-initial grammatical subject and an initial item in an Ex<sub>1</sub> structure have such a topical status:

Ex<sub>1</sub> item

- (1) *'o-náša +šúluju-+bàzar-ilə.* | ‘That man—his business is in the market.’

Subject

- (2) *'o-náša bət-'àtə.* | ‘That man will come.’

A clause-initial subject, however, can have a variety of other types of status. An initial item in an Ex<sub>1</sub> structure corresponds to a clause-initial grammatical subject with regard to this wider range of semantic and functional properties. In this respect Ex<sub>1</sub> items are different from Ex<sub>2</sub> items, since the latter are restricted to topical status. Properties that distinguish Ex<sub>1</sub> items and grammatical subjects from Ex<sub>2</sub> items include the possibility of their being a non-referential (3–4) or downward entailing item (5–6), e.g.

Ex1 item

- (3) *háč náša lábbu lé ḫáləb šárva ḫəšta.* | 'Nobody likes cold soup (Literally: Nobody—his heart seeks cold soup)'

Subject

- (4) *háč náša lé maǵjəblə.* | 'Nobody likes him.'

Ex1 item

- (5) *nášə +basúra ləbbé ci-+ᬁáləb šárva ḫəšta.* | 'Few people like cold soup (Literally: Few people—their heart seeks cold soup)'

Subject

- (6) *nášə +basúra ci-maǵjəbbilə.* | 'Few people like him.'

An Ex1 item, like a grammatical subject, may be in narrow information focus, which is signalled prosodically by placing on it the nuclear stress of the intonation group, e.g.

Ex1 item

- (7) *brùni tpáklí býyu, la bábi.* | 'I met my son, not my father.'

Subject

- (8) *brùni bət-áta, la bábi.* | 'My son will come, not my father.'

Both an Ex1 item and a normal subject may be interrogative constituents, e.g.

Ex1 item

- (9) *máni lábbu ci-+ᬁaləb xabùyšə?* | 'Who likes apples? (Literally: Who—his heart seeks apples?)'

Subject

- (10) *máni ci-maǵjóbla?* | 'Who likes her?'

Unlike the properties just described, which are restricted to clause-initial subjects and Ex1 items, topicality is a property that is shared by clause-initial subjects, Ex1 items and Ex2 items. The topic of the clause is the starting point or pivot for the predication of the clause. It is typically some item whose referent is recoverable from the context.

A clause-initial topic may occur at the onset of a discourse without any preceding context. In such cases it may be identifiable due to its being a proper name with a referent that is assumed to be identifiable by the hearer, e.g.

- (11) *xá-yuma +málla +Nasràdən| báxtu mára kàtu|* ‘One day mullah Nasradin—his wife says to him ...’ (A 30:1)

In (12) the initial topic in a clause in the onset of the discourse is referentially indefinite and so appears *prima facie* to be an unsuitable onset of a clause. It is made the frame-setting pivot since it has ‘forward-pointing’ topical status, in that it plays an important role in the ensuing discourse:

- (12) *xá yàla| bábu myàtələ| xá yómma sòta vâyula|* ‘A boy—his father dies. He has an old mother.’ (A 34:1)

The initial topic may refer to a generic class rather than a specific referent. The referent of the class is assumed to be recoverable from the descriptive content of the nominal, as is the case in the nominalized relative construction in (13):

- (13) *cut-mačàxlə| xá-dana +dínar b-yavvànnə|* ‘Whoever finds it, I shall give him a dinar.’ (A 26:1)

In dialogue, the referent of the initial topical item may be recoverable from the speech situation. This may be one of the conversation participants (1st or 2nd person) (14–15):

- (14) *‘ána kòlilə|* ‘I—it is my promise.’ (A 43:14)

- (15) *‘át ... šámmət šidaniyta muttítən +‘àllux|* ‘You—I have placed on you the reputation of being a madman.’ (A 36:17)

#### **12.14.3 Function of Topic-Initial Extrapolation Constructions**

When a clause initial item has topical status, whether it be a subject, an Ex1 item or an Ex2 item, the basic function of the construction is to express the onset of a discourse section and, if it occurs within the body of the discourse, a disjunction of some kind from what precedes.

On some occasions the protagonist of a narrative is introduced at the beginning of the first clause of the story and stands in extraposition if it is not the subject of the clause, e.g.

- (1) *xá yàla| bábu myàtələ| xá yámma sòta vágula.* ‘A boy—his father dies. He has an old mother.’ (A 34:1)

In the series of stories about mullah Nasradin in the text corpus some begin with the phrase referring to this character in extraposition when he is not the grammatical subject of the clause, e.g.

- (2) *xá-yuma +màlla| xmáru mòtlə.* ‘One day the mullah—his ass died.’ (A 28:1)  
 (3) *xá-yuma +málla +Nasràdən| báxtu mára kàtu.* ‘One day mullah Nasradin—his wife says to him ...’ (A 30:1)

When a new topic is introduced within the body of the discourse, it is sometimes extraposed. This is the case in (4) and (5), in which the fronted noun is integrated in the clause by repeating it rather than by pronominal reference. Unlike the extraposed nouns in (1)–(3), which have specific referents, these nouns have non-specific referents:

- (4) *tàlmə,| miyya c-avívalan| ja-dánnə tàlmə.* ‘Jars—we had water in these jars.’ (B 3:33)  
 (5) *’ína ’árxa,| mən-cúllə mavày ’árxa c-atíva.* ‘As for guests, guests came from all the villages.’ (B 10:22)

Extraposition is sometimes found at the beginning of speech turns in which a topical referent is placed at the front of the clause, e.g.

- (6) *’á mú-títəla b-rišo?* ‘She—what has happened to her?’ (A 1:12)

In conversation 1st and 2nd person pronouns referring to the participants of the current speech situation are often extraposed at boundary points. In (7) and (8) such constructions occur at the boundary of the main content of the speech turn:

- (7) *’ána báxtət díyyux ’ax-xa-xàtila. ’ána +rába +spày| bət-’àvən| muķàyyad mónnə.* ‘I—your wife is like a sister of mine. I shall look after her very well.’ (A 1:5)

- (8) *bálcət 'átən| túprət xmára díyyux| har-mən-kàmta +kətyəva.* ‘Perhaps you—the tail of your donkey was already cut.’ (A 7:14)

In (9)–(10) a 1st person extraposed pronoun occurs at the onset of a discourse section that supplies an explanation of what precedes where the grammatical subject is not topical:

- (9) *lé-'azən hòč dúca.| 'ána kòlilə.* ‘I shall not go anywhere (else). I—it is my promise.’ (A 43:14)
- (10) *+úx mùjórət ka-díyyi?| 'ána dámmət díyyi b-šaklilə mára.* ‘But why will you marry me? I—they want to have my blood.’ (A 43:6)

In dialogue a 2nd person pronoun is sometimes extraposed where the grammatical subject is 1st person. In (11) the construction presents an explanation for what precedes the topical frame of which is the 2nd person pronoun:

- (11) *járiju-dó xóšca b-nòšux dámxət 'átən,| čún 'át ... šámmət šidaniýta muttítən +'àllux.* ‘You must sleep alone in the darkness because you—I have placed on you the reputation of being a madman.’ (A 36:17)

A nominal with a referent that is absent from the speech situation may be extraposed where the grammatical subject is 1st person if the noun is topically prominent due to its having been introduced in what precedes and/or due to its dominance in what follows. In (12), for example, the wife of the speaker has been mentioned to the hearer previously and she is the grammatical subject of the following clauses:

- (12) *bàxti! xína mótlíju-'ido.| hár 'àtxa| +bətlàbəla,| +rázi léla bi-dó bëta,| mádra +byáyəla mən-+dávva=da yácca bëta.* ‘My wife—I am again dying at her hands. She keeps making demands, she is not satisfied with the house, she again wants a bigger house.’ (A 54:7)

Speakers use extraposed 1st person pronouns to mark boundaries in monologue discourse concerning personal reminiscences where the grammatical subject is not topically bound to what precedes. In (13) the extraposed pronoun occurs at the onset of a section about the speaker's father and in (14) it is used to shift to a section about old houses that existed in the speaker's childhood:

- (13) *'ína sàtva| cùl-məndi mattáxva váddar ju-tàlfə.| 'ána bábi! xzìlyrə| ci-paròmvalun,| tandóvalun vàddar.* ‘In winter we put everything outside in

the snow. I—my father used to slaughter pigs and hang them outside.' (B 7:6)

- (14) *'àna| tré betanána pyášəva ju-suriytət dìyyi.* | 'I—two (old) houses remained in my childhood.' (B 17:37)

A nominal phrase with a referent that has been mentioned in the preceding discourse sometimes stands at the front of the clause in extraposition when the speaker wishes to introduce into the discourse some item that is associated with it. This is often the case when the associated item is in a genitive relationship with the given referent. The extraposed item is still topically dominant in the ensuing clauses, in that it sets the topical frame of what follows, e.g.

- (15) *'ánnə kənyàna| 'e šəxté ci-mabrəzzàxvala| c-oyáva càmra. sàtval| 'áy +šeràxvala| ja-dá tanùyra.* | 'Cattle—we dried their excrement and it became dried blocks of dung. In the winter we burnt it in the oven.' (B 3:32)
- (16) *'e-+dān +bəsyápəva 'án +dàvvə. +dávvə miyyé zóda bərràxšəva, pyášəva kàttəj.* | '... when she filtered the buttermilk. The buttermilk—its surplus water goes away and buttermilk cheese remains.' (B 10:16)

A regular annexation construction would place the associated item first ('e *šəxtət danna kənyana, miyyət +davvə*). The extraposition is used to place the topical item in initial position to mark a discourse boundary.

Extraposition is used in constructions such (17)–(19), in which two referents are set up in parallel or contrastive opposition:

- (17) *ka-xa-vazzíru| šómmu müttuyələ| Alla-Vardi-+Xàñ. | 'u-'a-vazzírət kat-íla cəs-màlcə| šómmu-da Alla-Vardi-+Xàñ-ila.* | 'He gives his vizier the name Allah-Vardi-Khan. The vizier who is with the king—his name is also Allah-Vardi-Khan.' (A 1:28)
- (18) *+ávva 'axúna +jùrələ| vélə bušayútət màndi, +yána sáma zóda mòndi +'ávva vélə škílu. | 'axúna súra kátu +rába màndi lélə +mátya| 'áxcí xa-sústa 'u-xa-+àrra.* | 'That one is the elder brother and he has taken the majority of the property, that is most of the property. The younger brother—not much property has reached him, only a mare and a field.' (A 38:5)
- (19) *ójarùsa| c-odívala +bùlču. bašlívalə ju-míyya +bərdàxa| RíR daríval mèšxa. mèšxa| yá-da +xàlva. | ódàyku| +'ávun ci-payyíval lìxma.* | 'The coarse one (i.e. flour) they made into mash. They cooked it in boiling water and they put oil in it, oil or milk. The fine one—it they would bake into bread.' (B 17:9)

In some cases the construction marks a shift from the foreground of the discourse to an elaborative background section, e.g.

- (20) *ú +týan ci-mattívala +’al-+ojáxta. | +ojáxta b-šánnə ķamaya, | úx bətxà-rən, | ķesə ci-mattíva +állo. | ’na šánnə +xàrayəl kát +’álma ’stvala zùyzał c-+amsíva zoníva +nùyta. | b-+nùyta buš-zóda +ojaxyátə zùrzəva.* ‘They used to place this cauldron on the hearth. The hearth—in the early years, according to what I remember, they used to put wood on it, but in recent years, because the people had money and could purchase oil, they had mostly made oil hearths.’ (B 12:4)
- (21) *’áxci é-+dán P NádəršáhP, | xá mən-málcət +’Irán tīləl ... +’aturáyat díyan bəškələva mən-déštət ’Úrmilabuléva la-dó-rišət +’átrał +Kòčan, | Māšad, | la-dánjibənə. | ... +’ávun P NádəršáhP P afšárP ’íva-da šámmuł* ‘But at the time when Nadershah, one of the kings of Iran came ... he took our Assyrians from the plain of Urmi and deported them to the far end of the country, Kochan, Mashhad, to those parts. ... He—his name was Nadershah Afšar.’ (B 2:16–17)
- (22) *ka-yòmmu márələl ... ́n xa-náša buķərrə mənnáx | kat-’áhal mənila, | tányat bràtila. | ́n márrax lèlał lišánax parmənna. | u-cačala-dał yámmu +yat-ṭával | kat-xá-məndi tunila | ḥ-avədla.* ‘He (the bald man) says to his mother “... If somebody asks you who this is, say “She is my sister.” If you say that she is not, I shall cut out your tongue.” Now, the bald man—his mother knew that if he said something, he would do it.’ (A 1:14)
- (23) *ka-rijavátə, | mujtáyyəd +rába rijavàyəna fu-bétu, | mára mèmun scánta u-masèta.* ‘To the servants, the jurist—there are many servants in his house, he says “Bring a knife and scales.”’ (A 7:11)
- (24) *+tlá janáyat tílun cəslı yúvvənnun +ḥammà-dane dávə, | yuvvállun ķati. | ’ána +shúlı ’áhəla.* ‘Three people who came to me gave me three hundred gold coins. They gave to me. This is my job.’ (A 10:4)
- (25) *é-šabta xítal +málla +Nasrádən bərráxšəl mədrə. | mərələl +maxlèta, | xa-+ķusártə buš-+fùrta +byáyəvən. | +málla +Nasrádən +’áynu páltaوا +al-xa-+ķusártət švàva.* ‘The next week mullah Nasradin goes again. He says “Excuse me, I want a bigger pot. Mullah Nasradin—his eye had fallen on one of the pots of the neighbour.”’ (A 8:3)

The passage in (20) is from a text concerning the production of molasses. The extrapositional construction introduces a background section that describes the fuel of the hearth. In (21) the final clause with the initial extraposed independent pronoun marks a shift from narrative to a background statement concerning the name of the protagonist. In (22) the extrapositional construction

supplies background information about the character of the protagonist. In (23)–(25) the construction is an elaborative comment.

In (26) the main topical referent of the narrative is placed in extraposition both at the beginning of the story and also at the front of the clause that marks the shift from the introductory background of the story to the onset of the main narrative:

- (26) *xáyàla| yómmu myàtəla|’ína +rába šapìra yála víyyələ| yómmu myàtəla,| bábu pyášələ. ’á yàla| bábu márələ ’ána jári málpən kátux|’átən +’ámsət pàlxət.* ‘A boy—his mother dies, but he has become a very handsome boy. His mother dies, his father remains alive. This boy—his father says “I must teach you so you can work.”’ (A 36:1)

As remarked, the referent of the initial topic item in extrapositional constructions is the pivot that sets the frame for what follows, to which the information of the proposition is attached. Extraposition arises when the speaker makes an item that is not the immediate subject of the clause the pivot. This is the norm in some constructions in which the immediate subject of the clause is intrinsically unsuitable to be the topical pivot. In constructions containing experiencer arguments, the experiencer is sometimes not the immediate subject but rather the nominal expressing what is experienced (§ 12.6.). In such cases a nominal expressing the experiencer is regularly placed in initial position in an extraposition construction:

- (27) *’o-naša xàmmulə.* ‘That man is hot (Literally: That man—his heat is).’  
 (28) *’o náša xóšu bitàyələ.* ‘That man is happy (Literally: That man—his goodness is coming).’

In clauses denoting possession, the possessor is expressed by a dative L-suffix attached to an existential particle or verb ‘to be’. If the possessor is a full nominal, this is obligatorily placed in extraposition. Many of the extrapositional constructions that are attested in the text corpus are possessive constructions:

- (29) *’o-+kačúla ’ítłə šòmma.* ‘The killer has a name.’ (A 3:33)  
 (30) *’át lè-’avilux brúna.* ‘You will not have a son.’ (A 3:5)

Although *prima facie* it may appear that the possessed item is the immediate subject of the existential particle or verb in such constructions, in some cases it does not have the grammatical agreement expected of a grammatical subject. In constructions containing the verb ‘to be’, a possessed item that is indefinite

often does not have the expected subject agreement on the verb. In (31) the verb has 3ms agreement whereas the possessed item is feminine singular. In (32) the possessed item is plural, but the verb has 3fs agreement:

- (31) *fùr̥ calu 'avíli.* ‘Get married so I can have a daughter-in-law.’ (A 44:1)

- (32) *mádra viyyála +zàya.* ‘She again had children.’ (A 53:2)

This can be interpreted as reflecting a syntactic reanalysis whereby the possessor has become the immediate subject of the construction. In constructions such as (29) and (30) above, therefore, the initial nominal can be considered to be the immediate grammatical subject rather than an extraposed item. The possessed item has come to be analysed as the grammatical object. It is relevant to note that there is differential object marking of grammatical objects in C. Urmî whereby object marking or object agreement is in principle restricted to definite objects (§ 10.18.2.2.).

In transitive past perfective clauses the suffixes agreeing with the subject nominal are ergative:

- (33) *+xoraváti +frišálun bràti.* ‘My friends pulled my daughter.’

Ergative suffixes are derived historically from dative suffixes consisting of the dative preposition *l-* and a pronominal suffix. The historical origin of the construction is a passive construction in which the patient is the grammatical subject and the agent is expressed by an agentive adjunct by-phrase: ‘My daughter was pulled by my friends’. A construction such as (33) would, therefore, have originally been extrapositional, whereby the agent was not the immediate subject, but rather an extraposed item at the front of the clause resumed by an agentive dative phrase. In the contemporary NENA dialects, however, such passive constructions have developed into active ergative constructions in which the agent is syntactically the subject and the patient is syntactically the object. There are a number of arguments for this analysis (see Doron and Khan 2012; Khan 2016), the main one being that the verb in principle does not agree with the patient argument if it is indefinite in conformity with differential object marking conventions, e.g.

- (34) *+xoraváti +fréšlun bràta.* ‘My friends pulled a girl.’

In ergative perfective constructions, therefore, the initial item expressing the agent should be interpreted as the immediate subject of the clause rather than an extraposed item.

The discourse boundary marking function of extrapositional constructions with an initial topical constituent is performed also by subject—verb constructions with an initial topical subject constituent. This is seen clearly in the use of topical clause-initial independent subject pronouns, i.e. one that is not in narrow focus (§12.5.3.1.).

A clause initial subject constituent may be separated from the clause by an intonation group boundary, in which case it must be topical, as in Ex2 constructions:

- (35) *+Nuxadnásər málca! +bəkráyələ +rába náše lipo.* ‘King Nebuchadnezzar summons many learned men.’ (A 3:42)

All other things being equal, a construction in which a clause initial grammatical subject or extraposed item is separated from the rest of the clause by an intonation group boundary can be regarded as typically expressing a more prominent discourse boundary than one which consists of a single intonation group. According to Chafe (1994, 53, chapter 5) an intonation group coincides in cognitive terms with a single focus of consciousness and so an intonation group boundary constitutes a shift to another focus of consciousness. If we follow this view, we could say that a subject or extraposed item that is in its own intonation group and separated from what follows by an intonation group boundary is cognitively more prominent than one that is part of a cognitive unit that includes also other elements. The endowment of an initial topical item with greater prominence could be expected to constitute a greater discourse boundary.

The canonical, unmarked position of subject constituents in C. Urmi is before the verb. In some cases, however, a subject constituent is placed after the verb. The arrangement verb—subject should be considered to be the marked order. When this subject constituent has topical status and is linked anaphorically to the preceding discourse, the function of such marked verb—subject constructions is generally to express a close cohesion with what precedes (§12.5.2.2.). Such postposition of a topical constituent is attested in some Ex1 constructions. It is found in possessive constructions such as (36), or constructions such as (37) in which an experiencer argument is an extraposed item and a nominal expressing what is experienced is the grammatical subject:

- (36) *béta látvalun 'an-našə.* ‘Those people had no home.’  
 (37) *kàdlə lóbbu 'o-náša.* ‘His heart burnt (with emotion)—that man’ (= that man was upset)

As we have seen, extraposition structures are the norm in possession constructions and constructions with experiencer arguments. There is evidence, moreover, of the reanalysis of the LD structure of possessive constructions as a subject—predicate construction. Ergative constructions are clearly subject predicate constructions, although historically extrapositional. Such ergative constructions can have a topical subject postposed to express cohesion, e.g.

- (38) *ləbləla 'axúni.*! 'My brother had taken her away.'

Extrapositional constructions with experiencer arguments such as (27–28) do not exhibit any evidence of structural reanalysis, but the initial item behaves syntactically like a grammatical subject due to the inherent semantic properties of the arguments of the clause. Such inherent properties condition its behaviour like a grammatical subject on both the left and right periphery of the clause. Further examples of extrapositional constructions with experiencer arguments that allow inversion on the right periphery are (39)–(41). When extraposition is conditioned by the discourse topicality of a particular argument rather than due to semantic properties of the arguments internal to the clause, then dislocation is not possible on the right periphery (42)–(44).

- (39) *'o-náša xóšu tīla.*! *hìl tīla xóšu 'o-náša.*! 'That man was happy. Yes, that man was happy.'
- (40) *'o-náša šántu bitàyəla.*! *hìl bitàyəla šántu 'o-naša.*! 'That man is sleepy. Yes, that man is sleepy.'
- (41) *'o-náša xàmmulə.*! *hìl xàmmulə 'o-náša.*! 'That man is hot. Yes, that man is hot.'
- (42) *'o-náša bábu tīlə*! *hìl \*tīlə bábu 'o-náša.*! 'That man—his father came. Yes, his father came—that man.'
- (43) *'o-náša tpókli bìyyu.*! *hìl \*tpókli bìyyu 'o-náša.*! 'That man—I met him. Yes, I met that man.'
- (44) *'o-náša xzíli bábu*! *hìl \*xzili bábu 'o-náša.*! 'That man—I saw his father. Yes, I saw his father—that man.'

These data can be interpreted as reflecting that recursion of the subject in extraposition constructions may take place in the unmarked clause-initial position of the subject (sv) but not in the post-verb marked position of the subject (vs) unless the immediate grammatical subject of the verb has inherent properties that make it behave like a non-subject grammatical relation.

A construction with an object before the verb and a coreferential pronominal object suffix on the verb as in (45), although it resembles an extrapositional

structure on the surface, has a different function, since it does not mark a discourse boundary like extrapositional constructions. Rather when the object is topical it typically marks close cohesion with what precedes (§12.5.5.2.).

- (45) *'áha máttuyul +tàma.* | 'He places him there.' (A 3:16)

We may infer from this that the fronted nominal is not extraposed but is the direct object argument of the clause. So the grammatical relation of the fronted constituent has an impact on the discourse pragmatic function of the clause.

On the other hand, constructions such as (46), in which an initial topical constituent is disjoined from the clause by a prosodic break, and (47), where it is disjoined both prosodically, by an intonation group boundary, and structurally, by a redundant resumptive independent pronoun, have a discourse boundary marking function and they can be considered to be extraposition constructions:

- (46) *'ánnə məndyànəl +ràba,* | +ràba | *kátu tanuyèla.* | 'He tells him these many things.' (A 3:13)
- (47) *'ó dàykul* | +ávun ci-payyíval làxma. | 'The fine one—they would bake it into bread.' (B 17:9)

In conclusion, there are a variety of extrapositional structures. These differ in the degree of integration of the extraposed item into the clause. In some constructions that are historically extrapositional the initial constituent has now been reanalysed as the immediate grammatical subject and so the clause contains only one subject. This has taken place in ergative constructions and also in possessive constructions. In some constructions extraposition is the norm due to the fact that it is conditioned internally within the clause by the semantic properties of the arguments rather than by the external discourse. This applies to extrapositional constructions with experiencer arguments. In other extrapositional constructions, on the other hand, the extraposition is conditioned by the relationship of arguments to the external discourse.

The initial item in Ex1 structures, which is linked prosodically to the following clause and bound to it referentially by a light pronominal affix, has the semantic and functional properties of grammatical subjects, in that it can be in narrow focus or it can be a non-referential or downward entailing item. Such initial items, however, behave like grammatical subjects on the right periphery only if the extraposition is conditioned by the inherent properties of the arguments that are internal to the clause.

In Ex2 constructions the initial item is prosodically separated from the following clause and/or is disjoined from the clause by an intervening independent pronoun. Unlike Ex1 structures, the initial item of Ex2 structures does not have the full range of semantic and functional properties of grammatical subjects. It is restricted to topical subjects. It follows from this that intonation group boundaries have a crucial effect on the function of the extraposition constructions.

Ex1 and Ex2 topical constituents have a function analogous to that of topical grammatical subjects but different from that of clause initial topical objects, even when the object has pronominal agreement on the verb. Topicality of the initial item alone, therefore, does not determine the function of the construction, but rather the grammatical relation of the item is also a factor. It follows that Ex1 and Ex2 items should be considered to be types of subjects. Ex1 items are more grammaticalized as subjects than Ex2 items, which have greater pragmatic restrictions. It may be said Ex2 items have the prototypical property of subjects, i.e. topicality, whereas the Ex1 items, which are more advanced in their grammaticalization as subjects, allow, in addition to the prototypical property, also non-prototypical properties of subjects, such as narrow focus, which can be regarded as being rather a prototypical property of predicates. The grammaticalization process is more advanced in clauses in which the extraposition is conditioned internally by the semantic properties of the arguments. The completion of the grammaticalization process is exhibited by historically extrapositional constructions in which the original grammatical subject in the clause has become reanalysed as having a different grammatical relation and so now the construction has a single grammatical subject.

# Clause Sequences

## 13.1 Connective Particles

### 13.1.1 'u-

When functioning as a clausal conjunction, the particle 'u' is generally attached as a clitic to the initial word of a clause. Occasionally it bears its own independent stress.

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. The particle, therefore, should be regarded as an optional heavy coding of these connections.

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.

- (1) *sépa muttíla* 'àtxa! jáno mäxyála +'àllu. | kòl škólla mónni kát +tamrònna. | *sépa muttíla* 'àtxa! +fóra škólla ju-+sàdrol jáno +ruppála +al-sépa! 'u-pròkla. | 'She put the sword like this and thrust herself upon it. She made me promise that I would bury her. She took the sword like this, she held her husband to her breast and threw herself onto the sword, **and** met her end.' (A 2:35)
- (2) *bitáyəla* ju-bétat bábu, +bixàləla, bæštàyəla, bæzmàrəla, bærkàdəla, bæš-vàrəla. | 'u-+byáyəla mən-de-yàmmu! kat-íla xumítu! báxtat +Axi̥kar! 'ávə mónnó áx +fóra. | 'He comes to the house of his father, he eats, he drinks, he sings, he dances, he leaps around, **and** he wants to be with his mother, who has nurtured him, the wife of Axiqar, as a husband.' (A 3:38)

In (3)–(4) the clause with 'u, which marks the end of a chain of clauses that are presented as a composite event, is followed by a new event unit, which typically involves a spatial shift:

- (3) *muyyíla* kátu +rába dàva, sìma, jùlla, cílla yuvvélə kátu. | 'u-tlái šànnət p'darāmàdP-ət! +'àtra! cílla yuvvélə ka-+Axi̥kar. | *muttíla* +al-susavàtə

*+šudárrə́ká ... málca| Nànnə.* | He brought to him large amounts of gold, silver, clothes, he gave everything to him, and he gave to Axiqar the income of the land for thirty years. He loaded it on horses and sent it to the king in Nineveh.' (A 3:84)

- (4) *àna| ju-béti tìvənva| e-+dántət ́tnva jvànka,| +tarri mxílun. | +tarri mxílun,| +tuktlə́klun| 'u-+plàtlı. | áxči +smíli mára ta-jáldə| ́atlı ́əhtiyáj<sup>p</sup> +állux. | +bàyyən| +máłət +álli. | I was sitting in my house, when I was young, and somebody banged on my door. Somebody banged on my door, somebody knocked and I went out. I only heard somebody saying "Come quickly, I need you (to do something for me). I want you to come to me."* (A 2:26)

In (5) the *'u* marks the final event of the chain, but this final event is itself composite and consists of a series of clauses. This is the reason why it does not appear on the final clause of the episode:

- (5) *+mardúixəna míyya| +házər vadèna,| e-+dán̄ t̄-ílə +t̄olya. +ávun jánu +tùšyolə| šópu švíkələ xá ... xá késa| xá-məndi xína müttələ| ́annəl yán júlla +šíla müttələ ́txa vidélə| ́ax t̄-ən-dmíxələ| ́annə míyya +maxduréna +állu| 'u-bərràkəna, jané +tašuyona| har-lèna mabyúna. | They boil water, they prepare it when he is asleep. He has hidden himself and has left a piece of wood in his place, (or) he has put something else, he has placed clothes or the like, and arranged them as if he is asleep. The others pour the water over him and run away, hide and do not show themselves at all.'* (A 37:20)

Example (6), which contains a chain of habitual events, illustrates the same phenomenon, whereby the last two events are presented as two components of a single composite event with the connective particle placed before the first of these:

- (6) *sábza daríva lablívala +al-mdítə| ci-zabnívala| 'u-mándit +lázəm=va ́katé| ci-šáklival mayyivala. | They used to lay out the vegetables and take them to the town and sell them, and they would buy what they needed and bring it back.'* (B 2:3)

In (7) the particle marks the end of a chain of clauses expressing the components of the event of producing a sweater and this is followed by another clause introduced by the particle which closes the higher level chain of events in the section of discourse. This hierarchical structure can be represented thus [[A<sub>1</sub> + A<sub>2</sub> + A<sub>3</sub> + 'u-A<sub>4</sub>] + 'u-B]:

- (7) +məsté ̄kat-pólla +al-+àrra! ſaklànna! +jammànna!, 'odánnna jøddàlə! 'u-+zakránna svètar! 'u-zabnànnal ̄kat-máyyan zuyzæt-díyyux yavvànnə! '(that) I should take their hair that has fallen on the ground, gather it together, make it into threads and knit it into a sweater, and sell it in order to bring in your money to give it to you.' (A 18:2)

In (8) the final deontic verb 'fry' is an elaboration of the final verb of the chain 'cook' rather than being itself the final action in the chain:

- (8) 'ànnəna 'an-núyna!. b-lablàtlun!, b-+xallàtlun! tamməzàtlun! 'ú bašlàtlun! ̄kalyattun!. 'These are the fish. You should take them, wash them, clean them, and cook and fry them.' (A 5:7)

In some cases the final event of a chain, which is marked by the connective particle, is followed by some kind of background tag. In (9) this tag is recapitulatory. In (10) it is evaluative:

- (9) 'ú mújjurra xášla +kàtəl bót ... +arþámma xamšámma cilomátrə 'ùrxa, xášla +tàma! xa-lèlə! kdálət +karúvvæt díyyux +kçila! 'u-tila!, +dárra tila? 'How is it that the cat went there on a journey of four hundred or five hundred kilometres in one night, snapped off the neck of your rooster and came back, returned and came back?' (A 3:82)
- (10) 'á dúlə cùllə nákva xumyèl 'ùrzə +ktilélə!. 'ána mírənva ̄kátu baxtátə +kažál-lun! 'á dúl 'ùrzə +ktilélə! 'u-'ádi fu-+mžéti kây=da p-+kážəl 'a-mùt +kážma dáryəl b-rišu!. 'He has preserved all the women and killed the men. I had said to him that he should kill the women, but he has killed the men, and now, when I arrive, he will kill me also. What a shameful thing he has done (literally: he has put ash on his head).' (A 2:23)

In (11) the narrator presents a series of clauses at the end of an episode all of which are introduced by the connective particle. The clauses express temporally overlapping rather than sequential events and the effect of an accumulation of connective particles is to give the closing events of the episode end-weight:

- (11) 'áha mattúyola báxtu +tàma! 'ú +tajər! bərráxšələ Mäcca! kà! trè-yarxə! 'ú cacála bərráxšələ bëtu! 'u-báxta mattúyona cəs-+hàji!. 'He places his wife there. The merchant goes to Mecca for two months and the bald man goes to his house. They place the wife with the pilgrim.' (A 1:5)

The connective particle *'u* is occasionally used to express other types of connections. In (12) it introduces a series of clauses that express circumstantial background to the narrative:

- (12) *márrə xa-náša' ɿttənju-+dússak| bədmáyələ +'älli.| 'u| cíllə=da an-+sarbázə t-íva mánnu| cíllə šátyəna +riyəna.| 'ánnə háč-xa-monne lénə +bəddáya.*  
 'He said "There is a man in prison who resembles me." **And** all the soldiers who were with him are all drunk and inebriated. None of them knows about it.' (A 3:35)

In (13) it occurs before a clause that supplies the explanation for the preceding command:

- (13) *ta-jálđə| 'u-báxtux màtla.* 'Come quickly, (for) your wife is dead.' (A 4:12)

In (14) it connects the opening formula of the narrative, which introduces the main character, with the first event. This is a case of heavy coding marking a boundary in the discourse structure:

- (14) *ɿtva xa-dana-málca.| 'u-yuvvállə +xàbra| ɿka-vázzər.| mòrrəl* 'There was once a king. **And** he gave an order to the vizier. He said ...' (A 2:1)

In (15) two events that open a narrative after the temporal setting are both introduced by *'u*:

- (15) *+áččə sànnə ɿtvállı| 'u| tílun nášə| məššəlmànə| 'u-yuvvállun tuþþányə ɿka-màta.* 'I was nine years old. Muslims came and gave guns to the village.' (B 6:2)

Elsewhere it sometimes marks the onset boundary of a new discourse section rather than the closure of a section. This is the case in examples such as (16) and (17):

- (16) *báxta čarčürəla.| čarčürəla| 'u| +hájɪl| ɿtvalə xá-dana rýja.* 'The woman screams. She screams. Now, the pilgrim had a servant ...' (A 1:6–7)  
 (17) *cúl-məndít +báyyət škúllun.| ɿxči là +kłúlli| lé-+bayyan mètan.| 'u rýja| ləbbu bəkyàdəla| lélə +bəkłálo.* ('The woman says) "Take whatever you want, but do not kill me! I do not want to die." Now, the servant feels sorry (for her). He does not kill her ..." (A 1:8–9)

### 13.1.2 va

Some speakers occasionally use the Persian form of the connective particle *va* in place of *'u*, e.g.

- (1) +rábā basíma c-ávə| *vá* +ṭamàna c-ávə m-dó kát bí ... +nùyṭa| *b-*+ṭazìyl *váduna*.| 'It is very delicious, and it is more tasty than the one they make with oil or diesel fuel.' (B 14:4)
- (2) cúllə fuydána *b-*carpíčat 'íprəva| *va-*ṭáro=da 'átxəva| *kèsə*| *vá* íta ... *b-*+ṭína +ullüylu. 'All the walls were of mud brick, and its roof was thus, wood, and then with mud on top of it.' (B 14:9)
- (3) lubálloxun ka-dýyi cəs-dé +simáxur,| é +simáxur=da 'adíyya +zàyo 'átlə. | vídən xa-+šúla 'átlə +zàyo. | *va-*+báyya +palṭáli +al-de-dúnyət +bàra. 'You took me to the +simaxur bird. The +simaxur now has its young. I have done something and she has young. And she wants to take me out to the world of light.' (A 39:25)

### 13.1.3 da

The particle *da*, which is a loan from Turkish, is normally attached as an enclitic at the end of a nominal, independent pronoun, adverbial or particle. On some occasions it is attached to a verbal predicate or copula. Its function depends on the informational status of the item it is attached to, namely whether it is topical or focal in status. In general it enhances the prominence of these types of informational status, i.e. endowing the item it is attached to with topical or focal prominence.

#### 13.1.3.1 Topical

The particle is used with the following functions when the item to which it is attached has topical status. The examples are classified according to the grammatical category of the host of the enclitic.

##### 13.1.3.1.1 Nominal or Independent Pronoun

In some cases the particle is attached to an item that is set up in contrastive opposition or in parallel to an item mention in the preceding discourse. The item with the particle is typically the subject of the clause. The particle gives 'heavy coding' to the topical item, which marks the clause off distinctly from the preceding discourse. Its topical status may be due to the fact that its referent is recoverable from the preceding context, e.g.

- (1) fúr'un dúlə tílə láxxa hám̥la váda| *'u-*+Axíkar=da kòšun +jumméla. 'Pharaoh has come here to make an attack and Axiqar has mustered the army.' (A 3:25)

- (2) *'át +sàrəvət, +bárət lèlə yávəvət' áni-da palàxux-na.* 'You are the moon and you give the light of the night. They are your workers.' (A 3:61)
- (3) *málca +'ávva bəxšálulə báxtu-da láxma marcùxula.* 'The king pounds that (garlic) and his wife softens the bread.' (A 35:10)
- (4) *'ax-díyyux professor-ivət +'áv-da +rába lípəva.* 'Just as you are a professor, he was very learned.' (A 3:1)
- (5) *'át túy +táməl 'ána-da cálən dàpnax.* 'You sit there and I shall stand beside you.' (A 39:19)

It may be topical due to the fact that it stands in a set-relationship with an item that precedes, i.e. it is linked to a preceding item by associative anaphora in that both items belong to the same set, e.g.

- (6) *xá-sama xína-da +'álma 'áttən kət-ci-táni mən-jíbat nipùxta* P'méye poxté.<sup>P</sup> 'There is another group of people who instead of *nipuxta* say *meye poxté*.' (B 12:8)
- (7) *jàni sùrəvənva bábi-da sàvəva.* 'I myself was young and my father was old.' (B 2:19)

We may include here (8), in which the particle is used to express the parallel occurrence of tokens of the class of a particular sign:

- (8) *'ána xášli kédamta xzilí 'ína cùllə 'o-+xiyàvand +'ó nišánkət 'ána müttun +'áv-da vəl-+támma.* 'I went in the morning and saw that the sign that I had placed, the same one was (also) in the entire street.' (A 2:10)

In (9) the items in a list of items set up in parallel are marked by the particle:

- (9) *'ánnə cùllə šəmmané mattuyélə vadələ. šámmət vazzíru-da mattúyulə Alla-Várdi +Xàñ čúncət vazzírət málca 'aslí 'ílə Alla-Várdi +Xàñ. málca-da málca-lə.* 'He fixes all their names. He makes the name of his vizier Allah-Vardi-Khan, because the vizier of the original king is Allah-Vardi-Khan. The king is (called) king.' (A 1:24)

In some cases the particle is used more loosely with an initial topical item to express the onset of a distinct section of discourse with a shift in topic. This may be sequential to what precedes in a narrative. The topical item has been mentioned in the preceding context or is at least recoverable by associative anaphora, e.g.

- (10) *mən-+táma +šaríyəna bədra-kálə ́nnə yāl-sùrəl ̄kat-hállun cipa,| hállun miyya,| hállun +t̄ina.| +Axíkar-da bəškálələ mən-+sarbàzu| ̄ka-dannə-mxàylə.* ‘From there the children begin to shout “Give stones, give water, give clay.” Axiqar takes (things) from his soldiers and beats them.’ (A 3:72)
- (11) *mára yòmmi| bábi ̄ka-dýyi mülpələ| ́na mujjúrra ́nnə tòrə lablánnun,| +’árra +akrila,| mú ’odíla +shúla ’àtxa.| ́ha ́na c-+ámsən pàlxən.| yámmu-da màral+ bəzdáyən là +ámsət,| xá móndi ’oya.* ‘He says “Mother, my father has taught me how to take the oxen to plough the field, and what they do to it and so forth. So I can work.” But his mother says “I am afraid that you will not be able to and something will happen.”’ (A 35:1)
- (12) *bas-́nnə +tlá-našə tílun cəslí| káti yuvvállun +t̄la-mmà dáva.| mórrun xàmilun káti| ́na-da xumyèli.* ‘But these three people came to me and gave three hundred gold coins. They said “Look after them for me.” So I looked after them.’ (A 10:5)
- (13) *báxta +bəddáyələl mü-ila kóssat.| mára +rába honàntva,| +ràba.| +bəd-dáyələl kóssat mü-ila.| bitáyəna bétal+maxúləla maštìyəla.| ’o-+kat̄ula-da| xína| vâyəla bəstàya| ... +Axíkar ka-+dàv márələl márələ ́na| fná lətli.* ‘The wife knows what is happening. It is said that she was very clever. She knows what is happening. They come home and she offers food and drink. (As) the executioner is drinking ... Axiqar says to him, he says “I am not guilty. Do not kill me.”’ (A 3:32–33)
- (14) *mára bábil mən-’ála ha lèla +t̄sítələ,| mónnux müt +t̄sítələ?| ’àtxa víla kóssat.| málca-da yúvvəl dàstur| ̄kat-cílla panánnun.* ‘He says “Father, it is not hidden from God, why should it be hidden from you? This is what has happened. The king has given a command that I should eradicate everybody.”’ (A 2:17)

In (15) the enclitic *da* occurs at the onset of a clause that is circumstantial to the event expressed before it. In (16) it occurs at the onset of a section that is circumstantial to the main narrative. This is also marked by the connective particle *’u* (§ 13.1.1.):

- (15) *áha kédamta tílə,| xabúša-da müyyuva ̄ka-bàbu.* ‘He came back in the morning, bringing back the apple for his father (literally: he had brought back the apple to his father).’ (A 39:5)
- (16) *márrə xa-náša ́ttən fu-+düssak| bədmáyələ +’älli.| ’ù| cílla-da ’an-+sar-bàzə t-íva mónnu| cílla šátyəna +riyəna.| ́nnə háč-xa-mənne lēna +bəd-dáya.* ‘He said “There is a man in prison who resembles me.” All the soldiers who were with him are all drunk and inebriated. None of them knows about it.’ (A 3:35)

In (17) the phrase carrying the enclitic opens an evaluative section of discourse after the description of the preparation of bread:

- (17) *ci-pášva xá +árpa xamšà dakíkəl jáns ci-bašòlva. rába šapíra laxedma. hác áx do-láxmət matvátə=da* <sup>P</sup>aslán<sup>P</sup> *hác-ductal* *ánna láxxa b-ánnə ducána lè-mačxat mən-do-láxma* *+raba šapíra.* ‘It stayed there for four or five minutes, and baked well. (It was) very fine bread. Nothing like the bread of the villages—nowhere in these places (here) will you find such fine bread.’ (B 2:9–10)

In (18) the construction that opens with the noun carrying the particle marks a shift to a section that supplies background information about the character of the protagonist. In (19) the construction introduces a clause that supports what precedes by stating the identity of the referent evoked in what precedes:

- (18) *ka-yàmmu márləl ... ’án xa-náša +buķərrə mənnáx kat-’áha mànila, tányat bràtila. ’án márrax lèla lišánax parmənnə. u-cačàla=da* *yámmu +yatłáva kat-xá-məndi tunilə t-avòdla.* ‘He (the bald man) says to his mother “... If somebody asks you who this is, say “She is my sister.” If you say that she is not, I shall cut out your tongue.” Now, the bald man—his mother knew that if he said something, he would do it.’ (A 1:14)
- (19) *láxxa ’áttan xá-dana náša xìna búš +spáy-ila kat-yavállan +xàbra. ávun=da* *’ila ríjat +hàji.* ‘There is here another man, who is better (qualified) to give us a report. He is the servant of the pilgrim.’ (A 1:33)

In (20) the particle is used in a clause that recapitulates information that has already been given as supportive background to the preceding statement:

- (20) *+bəddáyonə ’adi-cúlla ’a-+tálta mù-ila, šəmmané=da* *cúlla mattuyèla.* ‘They now all know what this game is, (since) he fixes all their names.’ (A 1:25)

The particle sometimes occurs in a supplementary tag that is attached to the end of a narrative. As elsewhere, the basic function here is to mark a boundary and signal that there is a discontinuity with what precedes. In (21) the initial topic item is a pronoun referring to the preceding discourse as a whole:

- (21) *’áyya=da +Axiqar-ila.* ‘That is (the story) of Axiqar.’ (A 3:94)

In (22) the purpose of marking a boundary with the particle in the clause opening with the 1st person pronoun ('ana=da) appears to be to separate the clause from what precedes in order to give it added prominence:

- (22) mára 'áx brùni<sup>l</sup> 'ána=da bàbux=vən.<sup>l</sup> 'a-cúl dax-č-öya<sup>l</sup> 'ána xáčča bùš-zoda mónnux<sup>l</sup> xìyyən.<sup>l</sup> 'But my son, I am your father. Whatever the case may be, I have lived a little more than you.' (A 2:16)

### 13.1.3.1.2 Adverbial

A temporal or spatial adverbial that carries the enclitic is sometimes set up in clear contrastive opposition to an adverbial in the preceding context, resulting in the contrast of two different temporal or spatial frames. In such cases the adverbial has topical status due to it being in a set-relationship with the preceding adverbial, e.g.

- (1) 'íta b-yúma<sup>l</sup> bnàtə ci-yatvíva.<sup>l</sup> ... b-léla=da jvánkə c-azíva.<sup>l</sup> 'So during the day girls would sit (there) ... and at night the lads used to go.' (B 2:7)
- (2) +xàrtal<sup>l</sup> čé+dana b-yúma tanúyra c-odvíval<sup>l</sup> ka-làxma pyèta,<sup>l</sup> 'íta +beraš-vànə=da<sup>l</sup> kat-àrxa 'atíva<sup>l</sup> ju-dó bét tanúyra<sup>l</sup> mattívalun xá-dana mìz.<sup>l</sup> 'Now, during the day they used the oven for baking bread, then in the evenings, when guests arrived, in that oven house they laid for them a table.' (B 14:2)

In (3) the adverbial with the enclitic and its spatial frame is set up in opposition to the spatial frame of what precedes but there is no explicit expression of the latter in the form of an adverbial word:

- (3) +jammúyol cíllə kòšun<sup>l</sup> 'íman=ət 'a-ctáva kabùlulə,<sup>l</sup> +jammúyol kòšun<sup>l</sup> 'a-yba-xína=da fir'un bitáyələ.<sup>l</sup> 'He musters all the army when he receives this letter. He musters the army. On the other side Pharaoh approaches.' (A 3:25)

The particle occurs also on initial adverbials that mark the onset of a new section of discourse with a new spatial or temporal frame without being clearly set up in opposition to what precedes. The initial adverbials are often anaphorically linked to what precedes, e.g.

- (4) mən-+táma dásłət 'Ùrmil ci-mabyənnáva +rába šapòrta.<sup>l</sup> 'íta dápñət dé dàšta=da<sup>l</sup> 'ótlən xa-yàma<sup>l</sup> yámłat 'Ùrmi ci-+karíla,<sup>l</sup> yámłat mòlxə.<sup>l</sup> 'From there the plain of Urmı looked very beautiful. Now, next to the plain we have a sea, they call it the lake of Urmı, the sea of salt.' (B 2:13)

- (5) +ál dáni ci-mattíva pardúvvə, mən-dà-rišə. +ál dán pardúvvə-da ci-mattíva +pavánət 'ilànə brízə. ‘On those they put laths, from this side. On the laths they put dry branches of trees.’ (B 2:20)

The phrase *+ál dán pardúvvə-da* in (5) marks the onset of the next stage in the building of a house. The phrase *+ullíylu-da* in (6) likewise marks an incremental stage in the same process. The section opening with the adverbial *láxxa-da* in (6), however, is not an incremental stage but rather presents elaborative background. The particle here, therefore, marks the boundary between foreground and background rather than a shift in spatial frame. The same applies to (7), in which the section opening with the adverbial *moriša-jáldə-da* presents background elaboration:

- (6) fúyda 'àtxa bət-baníva. +ullíylu-da kësa p̄t-ávə kësa maxíva, daríva. láxxa-da 'ánnə kësəna, 'ína késət díyān fùləna, 'àtxa kësə. 'ilána kat-pràmuna! kësəl c-odílun 'àtxa ci-darilun. ‘They would build a wall like that. Above it there was wood, they put wood. Here they are wood, but our wooden beams were round, wood like this. When they cut the tree, they make the wooden beams like this.’ (B 14:5–6)
- (7) xèšla cáslu! kat-šakálvala zùyzə. moriša-jáldə-da ci-kemíva, m-kám nášə naplíva +al-+šùla, kat-zuyzé šaklivala mənné, nášə yavvíyalun +màlyat. ci-šaklívə zùyzəl c-azíva xayyíva biyyé. ‘He went to him to take money. In the early morning they used to get up, before people went to work, to take their money from them, the people used to give them protection money. They used to take money, go off and live by it.’ (A 1:2)

In (8) the clause with the adverbial *'adíyya-da* also constitutes elaborative background in relationship to what precedes. It should be noted, however, that here the adverbial does not occur in clause-initial position, but rather after the verb. Such a construction appears to be bound more tightly to what precedes than those in which the adverbials are in initial position. It has the status rather of a tag than as an independent section of discourse:

- (8) mən-+táma máyəva +afšariyyəl 'ánnə 'áxnan +karáxlun 'adíyya-da +hošárə. ‘From there he brought afšars. We now call these hošará.’ (B 2:16)

In (9) the particle is used both on an initial subject and on the following adverbial. The purpose of this is apparently to mark the clause off particularly sharply from what precedes to give the statement prominence. The speaker uses the additional strategy of using the deictic copula (§ 10.6.) to achieve this:

- (9) *'é +simáxur-da ádi-da xína véla +šuríta bəsyàva| mən-xəššo| mən-+nara-hatùyo.* ‘The *+simaxur* bird has now begun to age from its sorrow and distress.’ (A 39:21)

### 13.1.3.1.3 *Predicate*

Occasionally the particle is attached to a verbal or copular predicate. In such cases the clause that has the particle constitutes some kind of boundary in the discourse. In (1) the clause stands at the onset of a background section within a narrative:

- (1) *ka-dó brúnu +júra mərrəl brùni,| xùš,| ó xabúša +nṭùrrəl ... o-brùnu| ham-máša c-atíva-da xá +hèyvan,| mən-+háva c-atíva,| o-xabúša c-+axəlvalə,| c-azəlva,| lé-šavəkva pàyəšva,| o-brúnu +júra xəšlə.* ‘To the older son he said “My son, go and guard that apple.” ... That son of his—an animal would always come, it would come from the air, eat the apple and go away; it would not allow it to remain. That older son of his went—(the animal) used to come at night—his elder son went ...’ (A 39:2)

In (2) it marks the onset of a new event, which is separated from the event of preparing the nesting place of the hens by a time gap:

- (2) *ka-bíyyə ci-mattíva 'ərbàla,| 'ərbálə 'atéktə ci-mattíva jávo tìyna| yánət 'é ctéta ju-dé 'ərbàla mattáva bíyyə,| ci-maxpívala-da 'é-+danət 'an-bíyyo t-íva +bajmá zòda.* ‘They used to put a sieve for the eggs, an old sieve, in which they put straw, so that the hen would lay eggs in the sieve. They would make it brood when an excess of eggs gathered.’ (B 17:41)

In (3) the clause with the particle has an adversative relationship with what precedes, defeating an expectation:

- (3) *'ána lén lápta b-nóši +'àxlan,| hál bəkyámən-da kat-+àxlana,| cíllə vâyəna +xilə.* ‘I am not used to eating by myself, but before I get up to eat everybody has eaten.’ (A 35:13)

In (4) the conditional protasis ‘if you want to kill him (i.e. Axiqar)’ is set up in opposition to the preceding statement by the speaker that he himself did not kill Axiqar. This is similar in function to the use of *da* on nouns and pronouns to mark off items in contrastive opposition.

- (4) mára hè. | málca ḫ-ávət basıma, | 'ána +Axíkar lèn +᷊ktílu. | 'icələ?| mórrə xàyələ +pòllan dúctələ. | 'ána +túmrún kam-+tárrət bëtu, | 'ína xàyələ. | 'ita +báyyət +katlətlə=da, | +᷊ktùlla. | 'He says "Yes, oh king, be well, I have not killed Axiqar." "Where is he?" He said "He is alive in such-and-such a place. I have buried him outside his house, but he is alive. So, if you indeed want to kill him, kill him." (A 3:49–50)

#### 13.1.3.1.4 Particle

On some occasions the *da* is attached to a clause-initial particle.

In (1) the *da* is attached to the negative particle *la* at the front of the second of two parallel negative clauses:

- (1) 'áxnan lè-+bayyaxlun, | lá zuyzè +bayyáxlun | lá=da mité +᷊tamràxlun. | 'We do not want them. Neither do we want their money nor shall we bury their dead.' (A 6:15)

In (2) it is attached to the negative particle *la* that expresses an alternative situation that is set up in contrastive opposition to what precedes:

- (2) +bayyítun +bayyítun. | lá=da, | 'ána b-šókən ḫ-àzən. | 'If you want it, fine. If not, I shall leave (everything) and go.' (A 55:7)

In (3) the initial *la-da* introduces a phrase that is set up in parallel with what precedes:

- (3) jár xáda 'oyáni! ḫát bìta! máx çàppəç! átxa mabyənnáni +al-pàta! ḫát lá +šòr 'oyáni! lá=da pàxta 'oyáni. | 'It must be thus, so that the egg appears on the surface like a kopeck, so that it is not over-salted nor is it insipid.' (B 15:3)

In narratives speakers sometimes use the word *hi* 'yes' as a discourse connective marking the onset of a new section of discourse. In such cases the particle *da* is occasionally attached to *hi*, e.g.

- (4) hí=da xàšlə, | 'akúbra xàšlə. | xàšlə 'á 'akùbra. | 'Yes, he went, the mouse went, this mouse went.' (A 52:5)
- (5) hí=da 'á náša +x̄títə tila. | 'The man felt sorry for it.' (A 54:3)

## 13.1.3.2 Focal

13.1.3.2.1 *Focus on Constituent*

When combined with a constituent in focus, the enclitic *da* has the inclusive sense of 'also' or 'even'. It is attached with this function to nominals and adverbials. The inclusive phrase may occur anywhere in the clause. The item in focus often takes the nuclear stress, which is a prosodic marker of focal prominence, e.g.

- (1) 'ú +**hàji:-da** bərráxšələ +hàmmam.| 'And also the pilgrim goes to the bath-room.' (A 1:6)
- (2) '**át:-da** xuš-+támma.| 'You also go over there.' (A 1:31)
- (3) **mən-diyyi:-da** buš-šaþírəna.| 'They are more beautiful even than me.' (A 39:14)
- (4) málca-**da** yúvvəl dástur| kat-cùllə panánnun| báxtət jáni-zə, | **bax-málca:-da** cùllə náþvə mən-pát +àrra þaklónnun.| 'The king has given a command that I should eradicate everybody, even my own wife, also the wife of the king, that I should remove from the face of the earth all females.' (A 2:17)
- (5) +baþvánə c-avíva| kát fináva +šúla là-’atíva.| +**téro:-da** c-atíva ká-+ánvə +axlívalun| ci-maprəxxívalun.| 'They used to be vineyard-keepers so that thieves and so forth would not come. Birds too used to come to eat the grapes and they used to drive them away.' (B 2:7)
- (6) cül bëta káttət +àrra-**da** c-avívalə.| 'Every house used to have also a piece of land.' (B 2:11)
- (7) 'ánnə **məndyànə:-da** tanúyəna.| 'They speak also about these things.' (B 2:14)
- (8) 'u-’ádi ju-+mtéti **kay:-da** p̄-+kátləl.| 'And now when I arrive he will kill me also.' (A 2:23)
- (9) 'án béta ’áva +júra| xá-dana stùyna-**da** xút ci-maxíva mən-+àrra| hál +tám-ma| kát là talóxva.| 'If the house was big, they used to place also a pillar underneath (coming up) from the ground up to there, so that it would not collapse.' (B 2:19)
- (10) +xadərvánan məssəlmànəva| məssəlmánə=zə ... háč-xa mənné látvalun carmànə.| lá carmànə ’átvəlun| lá baxcánətyéməš| cùllə ’at-díyyən| +'aturáy| 'u-’arəmnáy-**da**.| 'Around us were Muslims, none of the Muslims had any vineyards. They had no vineyards nor fruit orchards. They all belonged to us, the Assyrians and also the Armenians.' (B 2:6)

In (11) an inclusive phrase occurs at the beginning of each of two parallel clauses:

- (11) *ka-dìyyax-da kátlən| ka-<sup>+</sup>jòrax-da kátlən.* ‘I shall kill you and I shall kill your husband.’ (A 43:8)

On some occasions the items in focus do not bear the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (12) *cəs-bábu-da vídəva vazzirùyta.* ‘He had held the post of vizier also with his father.’ (A 3:2)
- (13) *mádra<sup>+</sup>táma-da<sup>+</sup>bəkráməla.* ‘Again also there he wins.’ (A 3:72)

In (14) the particle expresses incremental progress of an action:

- (14) *<sup>+</sup>xàrta | xáčča-da kámta xòšlə.* ‘Then he went a little further forward.’ (A 1:11)

A series of two constituents with a focal *da* enclitic expresses ‘both ... and’ or, in a negative clause, ‘neither ... nor’, e.g.

- (15) *zuyzè-da<sup>+</sup>janè-da<sup>+</sup>áxnan lè-<sup>+</sup>bayyax.* ‘We want neither their money nor them themselves.’ (A 6:15)

The scope of the inclusive focus may include the proposition as a whole rather than being restricted to the item that carries the enclitic. This applies to (16) and (17), where it is appropriate to translate the clause with a discourse connective such as ‘moreover’:

- (16) *‘áxnan jvìrəx.<sup>+</sup> xá-dana-da brùna ‘átlan.* ‘We are married. Moreover we have a son.’ (A 36:10)
- (17) *‘ána bərrášxən dàmxən<sup>+</sup> rába šuršìyyən<sup>+</sup> xa-móndi-da látva ‘ána<sup>+</sup>axlən-va.* ‘I am going to sleep. I am very tired and moreover there was nothing to eat.’ (A 36:10)

The particle is used in its focal function with deictic pronouns in presentative constructions such as (18) and (19):

- (18) *‘ánnə-da<sup>+</sup> škúl<sup>+</sup>xiùl.* ‘Here they are. Take and eat.’ (A 36:9)
- (19) *‘ánnə-da xá dínyə dàvəna<sup>+</sup> kàtux.* ‘Here are a load (literally: world) of gold coins for you.’ (A 1:5)

In (20) this construction is used to introduce a following proposition:

- (20) *'á-da mən-jibət +dàvun| kət-kày máxyələ| 'ána kàx mxíli.'* ‘There it is—instead of him, who has hit me, I have hit you.’ (A 21:3)

### 13.1.3.2.2 *On Inclusive Particle*

The *da* is sometimes attached to the inclusive particle *ham* ‘also’ that joins one nominal constituent with another. In most cases the phrase *ham-da* that links the constituents is rendered idiomatically by English ‘and’, e.g.

- (1) *pákka hám-da +akùbra jvárre.* ‘The frog and the mouse got married.’ (A 52:4)
- (2) *+bár=t én brité hám-da bruné t-i-jurvàslə|* ‘After their daughter and their son grew up ...’ (A 55:2)
- (3) *'é yómma 'ýja,| škólla ánnə +xàttə| hám-da +rèzza,| hám-da mül 'àtxa dər-yéla +'al-+'árra,| buzbakkéla dəryéla kám dé brító 'ýja.* ‘The stepmother took grains of wheat, and rice and I don’t know what, and threw them on the ground, she scattered them, threw them before her stepdaughter.’ (A 51:3)

In (4) *ham-da* is placed before both the first and the second of the two joined constituents, in which case it is idiomatically rendered ‘both ... and’:

- (4) *hám-da jánu báxtu 'u-hám-da 'o-brúnu bəxxáyəva ju-dé čullùxta.* ‘Both he and his wife and also his son used to live in that hut.’ (A 54:1)

In (5) the *da* is attached to the disjunctive particle *ya* ‘or’. In this context it acts as a connective that signals a coordinative link of the ‘or’ phrase with what precedes (X and an alternative Y):

- (5) *bašlívələ ju-míyya +bərdàxa| RÍR daríval məšxa,| məšxa| yá-da +xàlvə.* ‘They cooked it in boiling water and they put oil in it, oil or milk.’ (B 17:9)

### 13.1.3.2.3 *Focus on Predicate*

On a few occasions the enclitic *da* is attached to a verb or copula with an inclusive focal sense, which can be rendered ‘also’, ‘even’ or ‘moreover’, e.g.

- (1) *'áxči 'é-+dān P NādəršáhP| xá mən-málcət +Íran tilə| ... +'aturáyət díyyan bəškələvəl mən-dáštat 'Úrmi labuléva la-dó-rišat +'átra| +Kòčan, Màšad,| lə-dán jibànə.| mən-+táma máyəva +afšariyyə| ... +'ávun P NādəršáhP P afšärP 'íva-da šámmu.* ‘But at the time when Nadershah, one of the kings of Iran came ... he took our Assyrians from the plain of Urmia and deported them

to the far end of the country, Kochan, Mashhad, to those parts. From there he brought afsars ... His name was also Nadershah Afšar.' (B 2:16–17)

- (2) *'át xa-náša sàvəvət. | cùrəva-da. |* ‘‘You are an old man.’’ He was also blind.’  
(A 39:32)

The construction is used to express concessive clauses, e.g.

- (3) *'ádi tálki-da | át xu-li-+yáttət. |* ‘Even if they get lost now, you would indeed not know.’ (A 39:32)
- (4) *yála mára jašùkələ | xá dána báxta | +'úxča +bјèrtəla-da, | 'ína | hár bəzmàrə-la. |* ‘The young man sees a woman who even though she has become very skinny, she is nevertheless singing.’ (A 44:8)

If the particle is attached to a negative predicate and the focus is inclusive, it is appropriate to translate the clause into English by the negative clausal connective ‘nor’, e.g.

- (5) *xá-'axča móndi 'ána lén mòrta | lén-da xzítə nūynə. |* ‘I have not said such a thing. Nor have I seen fish.’ (A 36:14)

#### 13.1.4 *zə*

The enclitic particle *zə*, which is of Kurdish origin, has a function that is similar to that of the particle *da*. As with *da*, the function of *zə* depends on the informational status of the item it is attached to, namely whether it is topical or focal and endows the item with topic or focal prominence accordingly.

##### 13.1.4.1 Topical

###### 13.1.4.1.1 *Nominal or Independent Pronoun*

The item the particle is attached to is generally in clause initial position, typically the subject. It has topical status due to the fact that its referent is recoverable directly from the preceding context or indirectly through associative anaphora and the fact that it sets the frame for the clause and often for a longer stretch of discourse. In general the particle enhances the topical prominence of the item to mark a topic shift, e.g.

- (1) *mláyolə pòxal | +bət̚tánolə | +'ál-+rùyšu | bitáyələ bëta. | dévə-zə | +sìyyəna. |* ‘He fills it with wind, lifts it onto his shoulder, and he returns home. The monsters are thirsty.’ (A 37:15)
- (2) *'áxnan | +šavvá 'axunvàtəvax. | láxxa cu-m-+báyyət b-yavvàxlux. | 'át-zə | ta-ví 'axiúnat tmànya ka-díyyan. |* ‘We are seven brothers. Here we will grant

you whatever you wish. You come and be the eighth brother for us.'  
(A 37:10)

- (3) *'é-+dān tilun,| 'é-+dana 'urxátə=zə 'ásfalt lèva víyya.|| 'urxátə P'susèPva| 'ásfalt lèva víyya| 'ita látva +mašinə=zə| kát b-+mašinə nášə 'azíva 'atíva.|| b-susavý b-cavádnə b-xmàrə c-azíva.* 'When they came, at that time the roads had not (yet) been laid with asphalt, the roads were surfaced (with sand), they had not (yet) been laid with asphalt. So there were no cars, so that people could come and go in cars, they used to travel by horses, mules and donkeys.' (B 2:12)

The shift in topic sometimes coincides with a shift to a description of circumstantial background, e.g.

- (4) *víyyələl| šuršíyya +tòlyə,| 'áy=zə vítala dàpnu.* 'He had become tired and fallen asleep, and that (inscription) was beside him.' (A 37:8)
- (5) *mára 'ay-+kátmə b-riši| +jóri tíla.|| mù-'ódən?!|| mù-'odən?!| +jóro=zə mìrəvə| mattátlun ju-búšk +nùȳta.* 'She says "Oh ash be on my head! My husband has come. What should I do? What should I do?" Her husband had said "Put them (the guests) in an oil barrel.'" (A 6:6)

The particle may occur on an item that continues a previous topical referent in order to mark a boundary on some other dimension of the discourse. In (6), for example, the subject pronoun *'ani=zə* 'they', which refers to a group of protagonists in the narrative, occurs at the onset of a new section of discourse after a section of direct speech:

- (6) *'áxnan jári +rába +myakràxlə.|| 'ána míttyəvən xá 'axúnət tmánya ka-jànán| 'ón macərbàxlə| +áv hár parpàslan| hár +dardàkłan| b-xá +čap̄páltu +masə máxə 'arþí dánə dèvə.|| cullana'ít| 'áni=zə cíllə hammùnənəl pyàšələ cəslé xà-sabta| tré šabáy| +tłà šabáy.* '“We should show him great respect. I have brought an eighth brother for us. If we upset him, he will totally destroy us, he will totally shatter us. He can strike forty monsters with just his one staff.” All in all, they all believe this and he stays with them for one week, two weeks, three weeks.' (A 37:12–13)

In (7) the particle is used on a pronoun referring to the protagonist when the discourse returns to the foreground of the narrative after a background section:

- (7) *'é-+dana +ràba| lè hamzəmmíva| nášə sùra| mən-nášə +jùra.|| masàlan| 'íman-ət xá náša +júra +avàrvə| jári kemótva +al-'ákłux| ka-xəmyànux| ka-*

*xmàtux<sup>1</sup> ka-savùnux.<sup>1</sup> áha-zə léva +bašúrə hamzámva mán +hàji.<sup>1</sup>* ‘At that time young people did not talk much with the older people. For example, when an old person entered, you would have to get up on your feet, for your father-in-law, for your mother-in-law, for your grandfather. So he (the merchant) did not manage to talk to the pilgrim.’ (A 1:16)

In (8) and (9) the initial items with *zə*, which have topical referents, occur at the onset of a section that presents elaborative background on what precedes:

- (8) *+xadərvánan məššəlmànəva.<sup>1</sup> məššəlmána-zə ... hác-xa mənné látvalun carmànə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Around us were Muslims. None of the Muslims had any vineyards.’ (B 2:6)
- (9) *+morívala<sup>1</sup>ju-+ambárə ka-kənyàna.<sup>1</sup> áyya-zə +mixùltət<sup>1</sup>+heyvànəva.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They brought it into the storerooms for the cattle. This was the food of the animals.’ (B 10:10)

In (10) the current topic is reiterated with the particle in a clause that has a status of a final tag that summarizes the preceding section of discourse. There is, therefore, a discourse boundary at this point. The initial particle *'ita* here has a similar boundary marking function (§ 13.1.7.):

- (10) *'ita<sup>1</sup> cíllə bátə-zə c-avívalun.<sup>1</sup>* ‘So all homes used to have (these).’ (B 2:11)

In (11) the construction has a concessive function:

- (11) *+šúla lèva yavé,<sup>1</sup> cíllə-zə +kəryànəva.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They did not give them work, although all of them were educated.’ (A 41:15)

Sporadically the topical constituent to which the particle *zə* is attached does not occur at the beginning of the construction. In (12), for example, the particle occurs on the subject of an embedded clause. The whole construction expresses an elaborative background comment on what precedes:

- (12) *+yánə b-nobánə +báyi<sup>1</sup> áha-zə 'áx t-ən-pálax.<sup>1</sup>* ‘That is they want him to work as it were in turns.’ (A 37:14)

#### 13.1.4.1.2 Adverbial

On some occasions the particle *zə* occurs on an initial adverb. This marks a boundary and sets the temporal or spatial frame of a new section of discourse, e.g.

- (1) *xá-yuma xína-zə k̥esə xíšəva mayyíva.* ‘On another day he had gone to bring logs.’ (A 37:17)
- (2) *'íta +'al-dáni daríva +t̥ína, t̥ína lá +rába miyyána.* ‘t̥ína ci-daríva, dašdəš-šívalə. +xárta-zə ci-+mačrivalə.

‘Then on those they would pour mud, mud that was not very watery. They used to pour the mud and stamp on it. Then they used to smooth it.’ (B 2:21)

#### 13.1.4.1.3 *Predicate*

Occasionally the particle *zə* is attached to a verb or copula. In the attested examples this occurs in clauses that constitute the onset of a background comment, e.g.

- (1) *'á m̥àrələ| l̥à! 'ána +hála šuršíyyən| jári kámta 'ána šátən.* ‘axúna +jùrə-lə-zə katé! +yánə 'axúnət tmánya víduna.

‘He says “No! I am still tired, I must drink first.” He is the eldest brother in relation to them, that is they have made him the eighth brother.’ (A 37:15)

In (2) it has a concessive sense:

- (2) *'ánnə m-+údalə bət-+dárši 'ón 'ána kémən ... dyànta 'ódən súsa yavvánnəl +záya yavvánnə ká ... 'axúna súral kát +bəddáyən-zə 'át sústələ.* ‘They will argue together if I make a judgement to give the horse, give the foal, to the younger brother, which I know to be (the foal) of the mare (= although I know it is the foal of the mare).’ (A 38:5)

#### 13.1.4.2 *Focal*

When combined with a constituent in focus, the enclitic *zə* generally has the inclusive sense of ‘also’ or ‘even’. The constituent may be a nominal, pronoun or adverbial. It sometimes has the nuclear stress, but this is not regularly the case in the attested examples, e.g.

- (1) *k̥onyàna-zə c-avívalun.* ‘They used to have also cattle.’ (B 2:10)
- (2) *ctávə 'atiķə-zə kat-víyyan-lə| bərráxšəna cílla bəxzayèna.* ‘They go and see also all the old books that we had.’ (B 2:15)
- (3) *'u-+Axiķar| cás bàbat| málca-zə plíxəva.* ‘Axiqar had worked also with the father of the king’ (A 3:2)
- (4) *xá +dàna| bàbat díyyux-zə| +bayyíva +katlívälə| 'ína 'ána l̥à +ktálli.* ‘Once they wanted to kill also your father, but I did not kill him.’ (A 3:34)
- (5) *'o-nášət ká ... +al-málcət jànu| PxáyānàtP 'ávəd,| +xəłta 'ávəd| +al-'alàha-zə vádələ| +xəłta.* ‘A man who does treachery to his own king, who commits a fault, he commits the fault also against God.’ (A 3:48)

- (6) *málca-da yúvvəl dàstur| Ɂat-cùlla panánnun| bàxtət jáni-zə.* ‘The king has given a command that I should eradicate everybody, even my own wife.’ (A 2:17)
- (7) *'ána jáni-zə| jú xá šítə +ám jvánkə m-+uydálə ú-+šula vìdux.* ‘Also I myself together with the lads did this task for a year.’ (B 2:7)

Examples where a noun with the particle does not bear the nuclear stress:

- (8) *har-nipúxta-zə mən-mýyət +'ánvə pyásəla škálta.* ‘Molasses too is produced from grape juice.’ (B 12:8)
- (9) *'áha-zə +bałlàyəla.* ‘He also goes to sleep.’ (A 39:3)
- (10) *xá-dana-zə lət?* ‘Is there not even one?’

Examples of focal adverbials with the particle:

- (11) *mára yá 'álaha! xá-ja xítə-zə +Axíkar xazənvalə.* ‘Oh God, if only I could see Axícar even just once again.’ (A 3:46)
- (12) *ú-+šula láxxa-zə c-odàxla.* ‘We carry out this practice also here.’ (B 12:9)

In some cases the placement of the particle on a gradable adverbial enhances its intensity, e.g.

- (13) *'átvə lətva| xá yála 'átvə| +másta +al-ríšu +rába lətva. ci-+karívalə cačáluna. +rába-zə naxíupəva| +rába-zə +zadíiyəva.* ‘Once up on a time, there was a lad who did not have much hair on his head. They used to call him baldy. He was indeed very shy and indeed very timid.’ (A 37:1)

In parallel or contrastive oppositions such as (14) the particle is attached to an initial constituent with nuclear stress, but this initial constituent is not in narrow focus and the scope of the inclusive focus of the construction is the whole clause. The initial items should rather be regarded as contrastive topics. In each clause the initial constituent is presented as the most prominent item in the clause, but this is topical prominence rather than focal prominence. The initial topics are given prominence to make a sharp distinction between the two sides of the opposition.

- (14) *'ón-là,| Ɂa-díyyax-zə p-kátləl,| záya-zə p-šakállə.* ‘If not, he will both kill you and also take the foal.’ (A 38:14)

### 13.1.4.3 Russian *'uže* for *-zə*

Speakers in the Caucasus sometimes use the Russian particle *'uže* 'already', which has a phonetic similarity to *-zə*, as a clitic substituting for *-zə* with the same pragmatic function, e.g.

- (1) *+xárta plátle 'æt-pràzla-RužeR|* 'Then also iron ones came out.' (B 17:28)
- (2) *ú-spar míya ci-šokàxvale,| c-azálva 'o-xína,| švàva,| xèzman,| švávan| ci-maštìva,| 'an-t-íva-RužeR mən-+bár díyyan ka-maštìya.|* 'Then we released the water, and another person would come, a neighbour, a relative, our neighbour, and would irrigate, those whose turn it was after us to irrigate.' (B 17:31)

### 13.1.5 *'up*

#### 13.1.5.1 Clause-Level

The particle *'up* can serve as a clause-level connective. In such cases it introduces clauses that are supplementary or recapitulative to a proposition in the preceding discourse, e.g.

- (1) *'u-sámət +jarbiyya kat-bàxxáyəva ju-+turànəl ci-xayyíva b-’ärba.| 'up kən-yána +rába látvalun| sáb ju-ťura kənyána +rába lélə +msá xáyyi.* 'In the northern region, where they lived in the mountains, they made a livelihood from sheep. They did not have many cattle, since cattle cannot live easily.' (B 1:23)
- (2) *xína lèva +lázəm buxàri tápi.| 'up-bétət tanùyra| +rába šaxína c-ávəl* 'There was no need to light a stove. So the oven house was very warm.' (B 14:2)

#### 13.1.5.2 Constituent-Level

In the majority of attested cases the scope of the particle is a constituent of a clause, which is in inclusive focus:

- (1) *cúl xá-mándi ... 'æt-snükəva,| +lázəm-iva +jammívalə ka-sàtvə.| 'up kəkənyàna| +jammíva jèlla.* 'Everything that they needed, that was necessary, they would gather for winter. Also for their cattle they would gather grass.' (B 1:25)
- (2) *'an-bìyyəl lótvalan +yàxčal ju-máta,| ci-mattáxvalun ju-mòlxə.| +mèta,| 'ætvalan +meyàtə-ze| 'up mòlxə ci-mattáxva javé.* 'We did not have a refrigerator in the village, we put the eggs in salt. Churning pot, we had churning pots, we put also salt in those.' (B 7:4)
- (3) *b-jaššákətət +al- dà +súla| 'up matváta xínə-zəl +šurílun +adáttət janè 'ætvalun,| 'ax +šaravátət kát ci-dokívalun.* 'By looking at this, also other villages

began, as they had their own customs, such as festivals of saints that they used to hold.' (B 11:14)

### 13.1.6 *xina*

The word *xina*, which is in origin a non-attributive modifier meaning 'other' (§ 9.7.11.) is often used by speakers as a discourse connective. It is inserted in various positions in the clause. In general it is used in clauses that express something that is supplementary in some way to the adjacent discourse.

In narratives it is sometimes used in clauses that express an activity or state that is circumstantial to the main events, e.g.

- (1) *'o-+kaṭùla-da| xina| vâyəla bəštāyal| kàtu mára|* 'The executioner (meanwhile) is drinking and says to him ...' (A 3:33)
- (2) *'áy bitàyəla.| ýha-da b-süysa vâyəla tíyya xína.|* 'She comes. He has come on a horse.' (A 39:28)
- (3) *vâyəla xína +rába ráx̥ka m-cós 'axùnu| m-cás bâbu xína.|* 'He is very far from his brother, from his father.' (A 39:30)
- (4) *+m̥ilun| +al-xa-ķunya,| xa-cípa +rába +fùra +állu,| +al-xa-ķunya.| dómma +táma xína +bəsláyəva ju-ķunya,| prákəva +táma.|* 'They arrived at a well, over which there was a very large stone, over a well. The blood was flowing there into the well and stopped there.' (A 39:6)

In several of these examples the *vayəla* form is used instead of the copula, which is also a strategy to express circumstantial situations (§ 10.12.14.1.).

In some cases the connective *xina* is used in narrative to express elaborative background comments or parenthetical statements, e.g.

- (5) *+xulásá ýha +bazbùzulə| b-sèpu,| bəndàyəla.| d̥ev vâyəla xína.|* 'In short he pierces him with his sword, but he jumps. He is a monster.' (A 39:11)
- (6) *+rába šapàrtət,| +rába laxùmtat.| +janàvar vâyəla xína,| ýna +áv +baxkàro-łə.|* 'You are very beautiful, you are very comely.' She is a monster, but he praises her.' (A 39:34)
- (7) *xína lé +báyyən +rába +maryəxənnə.|* 'I do not want to prolong it (the story) too much.' (A 39:15)
- (8) *+bəddàyəla xína| ýdi súysu t-+axlàłə| t-átya +al-jànū.| bəkyáməla bərràkə-łə.|* 'He knows that now she will eat his horse and attack him. He gets up and flees.' (A 39:28)
- (9) *ýdi,| cúra xambáša t-átə t-+axəllux.| cúra xambáša +jòrolə xína.|* "Now the blind giant will come and eat you." The blind giant is her husband.' (A 39:30)

In (10) and (11) the discourse boundary expressed by the particle has an adversative function:

- (10) *xášlə +rxàtlə| +rxàtlə +bàro,| là mučxálə xína.* ‘He went and ran and ran after her, but he did not find her.’ (A 51:8)
- (11) *ju-xá +čólə +vàrtəval čullùxta.| xína cút-jur t̄-ìva,| švávə +pultàle.* ‘She had gone into a hut, into a cabin, but one way or another, the neighbours brought her out.’ (A 51:10)

In (12) the *xina* connective occurs in a clause that is marked off from the surrounding discourse also by the use of the particle *da* and by the deictic copula:

- (12) *é +simáxur=da ýdi=da xína véla +šurítə bəsyàva.* ‘The *+simaxur* bird has now begun to age.’ (A 39:21)

In (13) *xina* is used in a question directed to the hearer:

- (13) *’átvälə čaríxə. čaríxə +bəddàyat mü-inə xína?* ‘He had sandals. You know what “sandals” are?’ (A 39:34)

In (14) the clause with *xina* that supplies supplementary information is a subordinate relative clause:

- (14) *cúlla ýnnə məndiyé +šúlə +jammùyuna| bitáyəna +al-do-kùnya| kát ýha +sèlyəva xína.* ‘They all gather up their belongings and so forth and come to the well where he had descended.’ (A 39:15)

In expository discourse speakers often use the *xina* connective when presenting additional information about a particular theme, e.g.

- (15) *xá-dana +’àdyl dárí| nášə ’aklatè p-čambəllívalun ju-dó tanùyra,| cúlla šaxína. xína lèva +lázəm buxàri tápi.* ‘They lay a blanket and the people hang their legs into the oven, all hot. It was not necessary to light a stove.’ (B 14:2)
- (16) *ju-màta buxaríyyə ’et-kësa c-ávi. ... kámta ... bárka ju-maváy lätva. | ’adíyya bárka tiyyələ xína.* ‘In the village the stoves were of wood. In the old days there was no electricity in the villages. Now electricity has come.’ (B 14:3)

### 13.1.7 *'ita*

The particle *'ita* general marks temporal or logical sequence. On some occasions it marks discourse boundaries.

#### 13.1.7.1 Temporal Sequence

When it marks temporal sequence, it is generally appropriate to translate it by English ‘then’, e.g.

- (1) *+tamrətli! 'ita 'azət!* ‘Bury me, then go.’ (A 2:34)
- (2) *+ánvə mayyivalun ju-čaràzəl +marçivalun, šìra! 'ita ju-+tiyànə daríva!*  
‘They used to bring the grapes in water-jugs, they used to press them and then they used to pour the must into cauldrons.’ (B 2:4)
- (3) *'ita mən-dánnə míyyət +ánvə +sàpyəl ci-šakliva xàčča! ci-darívalun ju-+tiyān!* ‘Then from this pure grape juice they used to take a little and pour it into a cauldron.’ (B 12:4)
- (4) *'ita ci-kašyàva! c-oyáva takrīban áx +çàrra!* ‘Then it thickened and became almost like butter.’ (B 12:6)

It is sometimes combined with a following temporal adverbial, e.g.

- (5) *'átlı trè +xábra kátux tánən! 'ita +xàrtal kámmtat cílla ríš-díyyi mxíla!* ‘I have a couple of things to tell you. Then cut off my head before all others.’ (A 2:25)
- (6) *+xàrtal é-+dana b-yúma taníyra c-odívalə ka-làxma pyèta!, 'ita +beraš-vànə-da! kat-àrxə 'atíval ju-dó bét taníyra mattívalun xá-dana mítz!* ‘Now, during the day they used the oven for baking bread, then in the evenings, when guests arrived, in that oven house they laid for them a table.’ (B 14:2)

#### 13.1.7.2 Logical Sequence

When expressing logical sequence, it is generally appropriate to translate the particle ‘so’, e.g.

- (1) *mára vázzer! 'ána kátux mìrənva! 'a-mú-ila +šrá bəllá +tàmma?* *márrə málca 'ávət basıma, 'ána mìrən! 'ita 'ána lèn-+bəddə 'áyya mù-ila!* ‘He (the king) says “Vizier, I told you, what is that lantern burning there?” He said “King, be well, I have said (what you ordered me to say) and so I do not know what that is.”’ (A 2:4)
- (2) *mára hè! málca t-ávat basıma, 'ána +Axíkar lèn +ktílu! 'icələ?* *márrə xà-yələ! +pòllan díuctələ! 'ána +túmrən kám-+tárrət bëtu, 'ána xàyələ! 'ita*

*+báyyət +kətlətlə=da,| +ktullə.||* ‘He says “Yes, oh king, be well, I have not killed Axiqar.” “Where is he?” He said “He is alive in such-and-such a place. I have buried him outside his house, but he is alive. So, if you indeed want to kill him, kill him.”’ (A 3:49–50)

- (3) *cúl bëta| ’at-cùlmáta| ’átvälə xa-+kóttət càrma| kátju-càrmu| +’ánvə,| +’ánvət +xàla| ’ítə mən-+’ánvə=zə| cəsmišə-zə doķíva| sàbzə=zə.||* ‘Every house of every village had a section of a vineyard and in his (the householder’s) vineyard there are grapes, grapes for eating, and so from the grapes they used to produce raisins, and (there were) vegetables.’ (B 2:3)
- (4) *mádrə mən-šmàyya pállun| +tlá xabúyšə.|| xá ka-dó cačalùna,| xá ka-bàba yuvválla,| xá ka-yòmma yuvválla.|| ’ítə ka-díyan là pásłun xína mán dán xabúyšə.||* ‘Again three apples fell from the heaven. He (the story-teller) gave one to that bald man, he gave one to the father and he gave another one to the mother. So then none of those apples remains for us.’ (A 37:22)

### 13.1.7.3 Onset of New Discourse Section

In some cases the particle is used as a device for marking the onset of a new discourse section, which is not sequential to what follows, e.g.

- (1) *cut-+álma ’átvälə xà-táxta,| ya-trè-taxta,| ya-xá-tanap carmàna.|| ’ítə b-+dánat +kètə| +’álma c-azálva carmàna| +’ánvə ci-+jammiyalun.||* ‘Each family had a plot or two plots or a *tanap* of orchards. Now, in the summer the people used to go to the orchards and gather grapes.’ (B 12:1)
- (2) *’ítə ’áha=zə xá mən-+adáttət bne-’Úrmila| katju-mátxət šónnə vïdonəl’údyu yúma=zə +n̄t̄irona.||* ‘So, this too is one of the traditions of the Urmi people that they have practiced for a period of (many) years and they have preserved it to this very day.’ (B 12:9)
- (3) *mən-+táma dáštət ’Úrmil ci-mabyənnáva +rába šap̄ərta.|| ’ítə dápnət dé dàšta-da| ’átlan xa-yáma| yámtət ’Úrmi ci-+karíla,| yámət məlxə.||* ‘From there the plain of Urmi looked very beautiful. Now, next to the plain we have a sea, they call it the lake of Urmi, the sea of salt.’ (B 2:13)

When it has this boundary marking function, it is sometimes presented in a separate intonation group, e.g.

- (4) *’áxnan jú ... dáštət ’Úrmi Salámas +al-+uydála ’átvalan ’ámmo tláy +tlá matváta,| matvátət| ’áxcí ’at-+aturáyəva.|| ’ítə ’átvalan xácmə ... +xvítə mən-’arəmnáy.|| cíllə ’ána šəmmanə ’stli,| hì,| láxxa ’stli šəmmanə.|| ’ítə ju-dánnə matvátə| +zrùta| cíllə ’áx +uydaləva.||* ‘We, in the plain of Urmi and Salamas, we had altogether one hundred and thirty-three villages, villages that

were only (those) of Assyrians. We had some that were mixed with Armenians. I have all their names, yes I have their names here. Now, in these villages agriculture was all the same.' (B 2:2–3)

- (5) *'ita| ju-dán +'arràtə| šúk mən-xàttə| šəptiyə, bašlə| júrrə júrrə mən-dánnə yemišə| +zarriva.* | 'Now, in those fields other than wheat, they used to cultivate watermelons, muskmelons, different types of these fruits.' (B 2:10)
- (6) *'ita| dáshtət 'Ùrmi xína| ràba šapártəva.* | 'Now, the plain of Urmi was very beautiful.' (B 2:12)

In (7) the particle marks an elaborative tag to what precedes and is placed at the end of the phrase:

- (7) *cút=da vâyələ +màryə,| mən-dó xabúša jabùyulə,| +bixàlələ,| +màrru,| bər-ràssəl,| parpùsəl,| mən-'alàha 'ita.* | 'Also whoever is ill, he picks from the apple tree and eats, then his illness goes away and is eliminated—it is from God.' (A 49:3)

### 13.1.8 *'ina*

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.

#### 13.1.8.1 In Association with Verbs of Perception

It is used in narrative to introduce what is perceived. It usually occurs after a verb of perception, especially 'to see', but in some cases the verb is not explicitly expressed. It generally introduces a proposition rather than a referent, though in some contexts the interpretation may be ambiguous (see §14.5.6 for further details). The proposition typically denotes a state or an imperfective progressive activity rather than a perfective action, e.g.

- (1) *bəxzáyələ mən-rèkkələ 'ína xá-dana +šrá véla bəlláya| ju-xa-bèta.* | 'He sees from afar a single lantern burning in a house.' (A 2:4)
- (2) *+xárta bəxzàyənəl xácma jáha bəxzáya bitàyənəl 'ína núyra lát +šíra| késə líttən* | 'Then they see, sometimes they see when they come back that there is no fire lit (= no fire has been lit) and there are no logs of wood.' (A 37:13)

The clause that expresses the proposition often lacks a copula element, e.g.

- (3) *bərráxšələ +várəl +táməl jaššúkələ 'ína xá-dana báxtəl mán təryəssər 'úrzə.* | 'He goes and enters there. He sees a single woman is with twelve men.' (A 2:5)

- (4) *bəxzàyələ| +'Axíkar 'ína +tàma.* | 'He sees that Axiqar is there.' (A 3:51)
- (5) *+palùtulə| 'ína +'Axíkar dòknu +rìxa,| ránju +rùppu| zàrda víyya,| cícu cùlla  
xriva.* | 'He brings him out (and sees that) Axiqar's beard is long, he has lost his colour, he has become yellow and all his teeth are ruined.' (A 3:51)

An informant from Armenia uses presentative clauses introduced by *+amman*, which also, like *'ina*, may have an adversative meaning of 'but', e.g.

- (6) *'ùl vazzírət málca bəxzàyəl| +'amman| 'axúnat málca tìvəl ... kam- +darvázət  
məndita.* | 'Then the vizier of the king sees that the brother of the king is sitting ... in front of the city gates.' (A 48:4)

In (7) the presentative particle *'ina* is combined with the interrogative *mu* 'what':

- (7) *xá +dana| lèlə| jušd̥klə| 'ína mù| xá póxa tilə.* | 'At some time in the night he sees what? A wind has come' (A 45:6)

In many cases the interrogative *mu* is combined in the same intonation group with the item perceived, which reflects grammatical integration:

- (8) *+harámbaš jašùkələ| 'ína mù təflito.* | 'The thief looks and sees her shoe.' (A 43:3)
- (9) *ptàxulə| 'ína mù xá +ðənsan-la.* | 'He opens it and sees that it is a human being.' (A 43:6)

### 13.1.8.2 Drawing Attention to Something Unexpected

The presentative particle *'ina* 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) *xá +dàna| bàbat díyyux=zəl| +bayyíva +kaṭlìvalə| 'ína 'ána là +kṭálli.* | *málca  
+pšòmlə| +pšòmlə| kat-ka-mùl| +kṭállun| 'ína 'ána lènva +kṭílu.* | 'Once they wanted to kill your father, but I did not kill him. The king was sad, he was sad (and wondered) why they killed him, but I had not killed him.' (A 3:34)
- (2) *yámmat díyyux ka-díyyux tuybàrra| 'ína 'át +bílux mánno əvátvə 'ax-xa-  
+jòra.* | 'Your mother brought you up, but you wanted to be with her like a husband.' (A 3:91)
- (3) *cu-+dána 'úklu mattùyolə| xáčča jašùkələ| +bəzdáyələ +várələ favày.* | 'ína

*màdrəl sódu bitàyələl vélə céca +támma piša.* ‘He is afraid and comes back inside. But again he is (constantly) tempted, there is still a cake remaining there.’ (A 37:4)

- (4) *sábab brúni +Nátan +xáyyən +plátlə +àlli| ka-díyyi +bílun +kàtlı,| ’ína ’aldáha la-švàkla.* ‘Since Natan my son turned out to be treacherous to me and they wanted to kill me, but God did not permit this.’ (A 3:69)

In (5) the verb of the clause has been gapped:

- (5) *har-ò-+šula c-odívalə,| ’ína búš hasanày,| búš támmez.* ‘They (the oil stoves) used to perform the same task, but more easily and cleanly.’ (B 12:4)

In (6) the particle is placed after a clause-initial subject and in (7) it is placed at the end of the clause as a tag:

- (6) *b-dáyən ci-+zakráxva kálata.* ‘úrzə ’ína ci-+zakrìva.‘ With this we wove baskets. The men, in fact, used to weave.’ (B 10:11)
- (7) *’ýən-da bnítələl pótvo xá mòtra| ka-dmàxa,| ... xína ő-t kámta,|  -jöt kám-ta.| ... ju-dá +dórət díyan ’átxa látva ’ína.* ‘It (the platform) is built a metre in width for sleeping, for sleeping, of the old times, in the old times. This was not, however, in our time.’ (B 17:33)

### 13.1.8.3 Marking Boundaries in Discourse

In some cases the particle *’ína* is used to mark the onset of discourse sections. This is generally found in sections that present the preliminary background of what follows. In (1) the particle occurs in the introductory sections of a narrative, which presents the background of the subsequent main chain of events. In (2) and (3), from within a narrative, the section in question sets the spatio-temporal background of the following foreground chain of events. In such cases it is equivalent to an English ‘when’-clause, e.g.

- (1) *’ína c-azíva +màlyat šaklíva mən-nášə,| mən-ducanàns ci-+jammíva +màlyat| b-dó-məndi ci-xayyíva-’anna.* ’ína á +jùrət cačáləl +júrət cačáləl +yànəl sar-dastèval ‘íva búš +’ullul mòn| dan-xína.‘ Now, they used to go and take protection money from people. They used to gather protection money from shops. They used to live by this. The elder of the bald men, the elder of the bald men, that is he was the head of their gang, he was higher (in rank) than the others.’ (A 1:2)
- (2) *’àna| jùl duccàni ’ína| dax-ət-’údyu káti xzìlux ju-duccána,| ... ’ína ’ána xà-yumal ’ína ju-duccàna,| ’ax-díyyux káti tílux xzìlux,| tílə xa-náša káti*

*màrrəl* ‘I was in my shop, as you saw me today in the shop ... When I was one day in my shop, just as you came and saw me, a man came to me and said ...’ (A 4:12)

- (3) *'ína +málla m-cəs-dánnə bərràxsələl mára həč, həč, həč, həč, 'ánnə yàləl +rába cribəva.* ‘The mullah passes by them saying ‘*həč, həč, həč, həč*’ and these lads are angry.’ (A 9:2)

In (4) the *'ína* particle is used at the beginning of a section that gives the circumstantial background against which the events narrated in the preceding discourse took place:

- (4) *yála +tajər har-bəxzáyolə báxtu, +hávar vádələ. mxáyələ ju-rišu. 'áy 'ávən +xlàpux, 'á báxtila, bás márəva məttələ. 'ína +bar-našüytal cùllə jaššù-kəla, cùlləl +narahát báxya.* ‘The lad, the merchant, as soon as he sees his wife, he yells. He beats his head. “Oh, may I be your substitute, this is my wife, but he had said that she was dead!” Now, the people are all watching, all being moved and weeping.’ (A 1:48)

In (5) and (6) the particle introduces a unit of discourse that gives explanatory background for what precedes:

- (5) *'ú ríja! lèbbul bəkyàdələ. lèlə +bəktálo. bəškaléla júllo šaluxèləl 'ína +háji mírəva kat-júllo dəmmána mayyátlun katíl ka-ríju.* ‘The servant takes pity. He does not kill her. He strips her clothes off, since the pilgrim had said to his servant “Bring her bloody clothes to me.”’ (A 1:9)
- (6) *mórrə həl bálcət +huyyárri katux-xina. 'ína +áyun lèlə-+bədda áha +Hárun ar-Rašíd-ilə.* ‘He said “Ah, well perhaps I might help you.” He does not know that he is Harun ar-Rashid.’ (A 10:3)

In (7) from a description of customs the construction introduces a new section about the preparation of molasses:

- (7) *'ína! xína! mən-carmàna, nipùxta ci-bašlíva. +'ánvə mayyívalun ju-čaràzəl +marçívalun, šíra! 'ita ju-+týàna daríva. xuté mallíva nùyra! nipùxta baš líva.* ‘Also from the (produce of) the vineyards they would cook molasses. They used to bring the grapes in water-jugs, they used to press them and pour the must into cauldrons. They used to light a fire beneath them and cook molasses.’ (B 2:4)

### 13.2 Correlative Particles

The propositional content of two main clauses may be linked by the demonstrative adverbials such as *hada/hadax* and *'atxa*. Some of the attested constructions of this type include:

- (1) *b-láblət* +*bár* +*šavvá* +*ṭuyrànə* | **háda** *jóldu* +*palṭòttə* | **kálū** *là* +*šammánnə*.| ‘You must take it beyond seven mountains and flay off his skin in such a way that I do not hear his cry.’ (A 42:26)
- (2) **hádax** *vàdəval* *yánət* +*ànvə-də* *'avívale* | +*màš-də* *'avívale*.| ‘They farmed it thus so that they would have grapes and would have beans.’ (B 17:13)
- (3) *tína* *'atxa* *ci-*+*mamṭívalə* | +*kíuya* *'avíva*.| ‘They would process the mud in such a way that it would be hard.’ (B 3:37)

### 13.3 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) +*bixàləla*,| *bəštàyəla*,| *bəzmàrəla*,| *bərkàdalə*,| *bəšvàrəla*.| ‘He eats, he drinks, he sings, he dances, he leaps around.’ (A 3:38)
- (2) +*xìl*,| *šti*,| *xùp*.| ‘Eat, drink and wash!’ (A 3:53)
- (3) *bərràxshəla*,| +*mṭáyəla* +*tāma*,| *mónno* +*ṭavùləla*,| +*bəkràməla*.| *'áha bərràkəla*.| ‘He goes, he arrives there, plays with her and wins. She flees.’ (A 39:38)
- (4) *hamzùməna*,| *tanùyəna*,| *fèxcəna*,| +*bixàləna*,| *bəštàyəna*.| ‘They are speaking, telling stories, laughing, eating, drinking.’ (A 2:5)
- (5) *'áxnanjānan=zə* *módra* *o-*+*šúla c-odàxlə*,| +*yána c-ázax* | *ci-zónax* +*ànvə* | *ci-*+*marχàxlun* | *ci-bašlàxlun*.| ‘We still practice this tradition, that is we go and buy grapes, we crush them and cook them.’ (B 12:9)
- (6) *sépa muttīla* *'atxa* | *jáno məxyála* +*àllu*.| *kòl škálla* *mánni kát* +*ṭamrònna*.| *sépa muttīla* *'atxa* | +*jóra škálla* *ju-*+*sàdro* | *jáno* +*ruppála* +*al-sépa* | *'u-pròkla*.| ‘She put the sword like this and thrust herself upon it. She made me promise that I would bury her. She took the sword like this, she held her husband to her breast and threw herself onto the sword, and met her end.’ (A 2:35)

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. *ptəxlə*, *bəptaxələ* 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 '*u*', e.g.

- (7) *'ázax xàzzax.*! 'Let's go and see.' (A 2:4)
- (8) *bitáyələ bəxzáyələ +támə.*! 'He comes and sees there.' (A 3:59)
- (9) *xášli +m̥ílli xít xa-+túrya.*! 'I went and arrived under a mountain.' (A 2:30)
- (10) *ku-ta-+vúr +čày ští.*! 'Get up, come, enter and drink tea.' (B 6:6)

In a series of compound verbal forms in sequences the cohesion of the two verbs in such prosodic units is sometimes reflected syntactically by the omission of the copula element on one of them (§ 10.11.1.7.), e.g.

- (11) *+Axíkar +pláṭa bərrəxšələ.*! 'Axiqar leaves and goes.' (A 3:78)
- (12) *'átxa +vára bərrəxšələ.*! '(Time) passes in this way.' (A 3:39)
- (13) *púmmu mšáya 'u-+pláṭələ.*! 'He wipes his mouth and goes out.' (A 7:8)
- (14) *bərráxša ḳa-báxta mārələ.*! 'He goes and says to the woman.' (A 1:22)
- (15) *+rxáṭa +rxáṭa +bərxáṭələ ḳam-yòmmo.*! 'She runs, runs, runs up to her mother.' (A 43:12)
- (16) *é +méta átxa labúlo màyova, +marúmo maccùpova.*! 'They push the churn back and forth (literally: take it and bring it), up and down (literally: raise it and lower it).' (B 17:20)
- (17) *candúrə candúrələ ...*! 'He rolls and rolls.' (B 16:8)

Another syntactic reflection of the cohesion is the fact that a pronominal object is sometimes placed only on the second verb, e.g.

- (18) *lábləl zabənnun.*! 'Take them away and sell them.' (A 1:9)
- (19) *lábləl +t̥ášilun.*! 'Take them and hide them.' (A 45:6)
- (20) *láblən mattànnna cásłu.*! 'I shall take her and place her with him.' (A 1:4)
- (21) *láblun +kt̥ùlunlə.*! 'Take him away and kill him.' (A 3:31)

- (22) *nášə bitàyəna| ƙat-lábli +tamrìlə.* ‘People come to take him and bury him.’ (A 6:11)
- (23) *+masyùdələ| ́ica dávək labəlla.* ‘He is watching where he could capture and take her.’ (A 43:3)
- (24) *+byáyəna dóki xànkili.* ‘They want to catch me and strangle me.’ (A 47:17)
- (25) *tá-me banènnun.* ‘Come, bring them for me to count them.’ (A 10:6)
- (26) *me-+moràxxə.* ‘Bring him and we’ll take him in.’ (A 48:10)
- (27) *máyyən zabnànnun.* ‘I shall bring them back and sell them.’ (A 34:1)
- (28) *máyələ ju-mdítə zabunèlə.* ‘He brings them to the town and sells them.’ (A 34:2)
- (29) *+’ávun +kṭul-làbəllə.* ‘Kill him and take him (to the king).’ (A 3:35)
- (30) *škúl lvùšlun.* ‘Take them and put them on.’ (A 1:13)
- (31) *’áha bəškálá čamčumèlə.* ‘He takes them and throws them away.’ (A 36:7)
- (32) *ci-+zarríva +xazdívala.* ‘They sowed it (the clover) and harvested it.’ (B 10:10)
- (33) *fníva mìyyol.* ‘He has kidnapped her and brought her.’ (A 50:4)

In (34)–(36) three verbs are joined with the pronominal suffix on the final one:

- (34) *háč-naša látle ’ázəl šákəl +tamàrrə.* ‘He has nobody to go and take him and bury him.’ (A 33:3)
- (35) *ku-škúl bāšəllun.* ‘Get up, take them and cook them.’ (A 36:8)
- (36) *símun máčxun mèmunklə.* ‘Go and find him and bring him.’ (A 10:11)

Likewise when there is a definite object nominal, only the second verb has a pronominal agreement suffix, e.g.

- (37) *kat-láblən ’a-báxta +katlònna.* ‘in order to take the woman and kill her.’ (A 1:35)
- (38) *škúl xuš-mèla ’e-báxta.* ‘Go and bring the woman (literally: Take, go, bring that woman).’ (A 1:37)
- (39) *dúk ’ido +sùrrun.* ‘Seize her and bind her hands.’ (A 1:7)
- (40) *+bəzdáyən ... ’ánnə tóra máxi císux +parṭila.* ‘I am afraid that those oxen will strike and rip your stomach.’ (A 35:1)

In (41) the degree of bonding of the two verbs has gone one stage further in that also the inflectional subject suffix of the first verb has been elided and the remaining stem cliticized to the following verb:

- (41) *’ína cíllə škəl-lublèlun.* ‘But they took everything away.’ (B 6:9)

In (42) the second verb takes a prepositional phrase as its complement:

- (42) *'á pátxi šáti mánnu.* | 'They open it and drink from it.' (B 3:17)

In (43)–(45) the second verb is intransitive and does not take the object suffix. As a result the definite object has no pronominal agreement.

- (43) *mádrə bacyàpələ| šákal +sólu àrək.* | 'Again he bends down to take his shoes and flee.' (A 4:11)
- (44) *navájjə p̄t-avili. híl b-xázyan xína b-xàdyan.* | 'I would have grandchildren. Yes, I would see them and be happy.' (A 44:1)
- (45) *'ádi zarduštáy dúna +trúppə xišə m-áxxa.* | 'Now the Zoroastrians have abandoned it and gone from here.' (B 1:5)

The object of the second verb in the series is sometimes fronted before the first, e.g.

- (46) *ju-dá-+danta 'at káy týyət zvínət.* | 'At that moment you came and bought me.' (A 28:3)

A negative particle placed before the first verb includes in its scope also the second verb without the particle being repeated, e.g.

- (47) *xína lá xúš ju-+alulána zábənnun 'ánnə.* | 'Do not go and sell them in the streets.' (A 34:5)

Syntactic properties such as these suggest that these constructions are verbal compounds expressing a single event rather than sequences of discreet verbs expressing discreet events. It should be noted, however, that they may be split by intervening material, e.g.

- (48) *dáxila 'ána láblən láxxa jú bēt-málca 'ánnə zabnànnun?* | 'How about I take them here into the house of the king and sell them?' (A 34:2)

In (49) the verbs are even more loosely connected, since the second object is not identical with that of the first but is associated with it in an inalienable relationship. The lack of an object pronoun on the first verb (*b-láblət*), however, is likely to be due to the fact that the sequence *b-láblət ... jéldu +paltəttəl* was conceived as a single event:

- (49) *b-láblat +bár +šavvá +tuyrànəl háda jóldu +palṭàttəl kálù là +šammánna.*  
 ‘You must take it beyond seven mountains and flay off his skin in such a way that I do not hear his cry.’ (A 42:26)

When the two verbs are habitual, the habitual pre-verbal particle *ci-* is often used only with the first verb, e.g.

- (50) *xa-yála láxxa ci-daváklun bašällun.* ‘A lad here catches them and cooks them.’ (A 34:9)

Prosodic combinations of main clauses are particularly common when the first verb denotes some kind of movement, e.g.

- (51) *bərráxšələ +várəl +támə.* ‘He goes and enters there.’ (A 2:5)  
 (52) *bərráxšəl +bərxáṭəl javày.* ‘He goes and runs inside.’ (A 1:7)  
 (53) *xášli +mṭíli xút xa- +tuyra.* ‘I went and arrived under a mountain.’ (A 2:30)  
 (54) *xášla ’ád-lelə kḍálu +kçítula.* ‘She went and this night has snapped his neck.’ (A 3:81)  
 (55) *’ázax xázzax.* ‘Let’s go and see.’ (A 2:4)  
 (56) *’átxa +vára bərráxšəla.* ‘(Time) passes in this way.’ (A 3:39)  
 (57) *bitáyála bəxzáyála +támə.* ‘He comes and sees there.’ (A 3:59)  
 (58) *bitáyála +várələ.* ‘He comes and enters.’ (A 3:80)  
 (59) *+bəsláyəna bitáyəna.* ‘They descend and come.’ (A 3:72)  
 (60) *+slíla tilə.* ‘He descended and came.’ (A 2:32)  
 (61) *’ána +rxáṭli xášli.* ‘I ran and went.’ (A 1:34)  
 (62) *ráklə xášla.* ‘He ran and went.’ (A 30:5)  
 (63) *ptóllə ká-díyyi mərrəl* ‘He turned round to me and said ...’ (A 2:29)  
 (64) *tubálli yuvválli ká-málca.* ‘I took him away and gave him to the king.’  
     (A 3:34)  
 (65) *láblun +kṭùlunla.* ‘Take him away and kill him.’ (A 3:31)

Sequences of other verbs are occasionally found, which are presented as components of unitary events, e.g.

- (66) *bəškaléla júllo šaluxèlə.* ‘He takes her clothes and strips them (= he strips off her clothes).’ (A 1:9)  
 (67) *’u-šáklən báxti mayyànnə.* ‘I shall take and bring my wife back (= I shall bring my wife back).’ (A 1:16)  
 (68) *’icət ’áttēn cačàləl bədvačé mayèna.* ‘Wherever there are bald men they seize them and bring them in.’ (A 1:40)

- (69) *xumxámla mètla.* ‘She got a fever and died.’ (A 1:46)  
 (70) *muttílə ríšu +tlila.* ‘He lay down his head and slept.’ (A 39:2)

The verb *kayəm* I ‘to rise’ is often combined with a following verb in the same intonation group, e.g.

- (71) *kómla zurázla káto +támta.* ‘She got up and prepared breakfast for her.’  
 (A 1:15)  
 (72) *ó brùnul kómla tilə bëta +rába +pšima.* ‘His son got up and went back home, very sad.’ (A 39:3)

This is particularly common with the imperative of the verb, which is combined with a following imperative or deontic form, e.g.

- (73) *ku-tálux còsli!* ‘Get up and come to me!’ (A 3:53)  
 (74) *ku-+yàrmox.* ‘Get up, let’s go!’ (A 2:8)  
 (75) *kú ‘ázax bëta.* ‘Get up, let’s go home!’ (A 37:11)  
 (76) *’át ku-+al-’áklux clí.* ‘Stand on your feet, stop!’ (A 3:64)

In (77) the imperative *ku* is combined with two other imperatives:

- (77) *ku-ta-xzi!* ‘Get up, come and see!’ (A 3:58)

Pairs of synonymous or near-synonymous verbs are sometimes combined together in the same prosodic unit. These are not necessarily verbs of movement, e.g.

- (78) *sphírri clíli.* ‘I waited and stood.’ (A 2:31)  
 (79) *+dárri tili.* ‘I returned and came back.’ (A 2:27)  
 (80) *+maxúləla maštiyəla.* ‘She feeds (them) and gives drink.’ (A 3:32)  
 (81) *cúllə-da ’an-+sarbázə t-íva mónnu! cílla šátyəna +rùyəna.* ‘All the soldiers who were with him were drunk and inebriated.’ (A 3:35)

Occasionally a series of two realis verbs that are linked paratactically are combined prosodically with a following verb when the first has some kind of semantic dependence on the second, e.g.

- (82) *’ína ’aláha bsámlə ka-díyyi +xumílə.* ‘It pleased God to protect me’ (A 3:69)

### 13.4 Pronominal Objects in Clause Sequences

Narratives typically concern specific referents and specific events. In sequences of clauses in narratives when these referents are pronominal objects of transitive verbs, they are typically indexed by pronominal object suffixes or independent pronominal object phrases. An exception is where verbs are combined in compound sequences and a suffix is added only to the final verb (§ 13.3.).

When non-specific referents and generic classes are introduced into the discourse, these are more frequently left without explicit grammatical expression in subsequent clauses. Some examples of this phenomenon from narratives have been given in § 10.18.2.1 (13–20). Further examples from expository discourse are as follows:

- (1) *cəšmišəva| mabrəzzivalun,| c-+axlīva [Ø].|* ‘There were raisins. They dried them and ate them.’ (B 3:15)
- (2) *+bár pšórvalə +’avun,| ja-+kazánča b-darīva [Ø].|* ‘After it (the potash) had dissolved, they poured it into a pan.’ (B 3:14)
- (3) *’ō-t lòtla +xáttəl ci-zonīva [Ø].|* ‘Whoever did not have wheat would buy it.’ (B 10:7)
- (4) *’īta +xārtəl ’āt +dána c-+asrīva dástə dástəl ’ax-dàrza c-odívalə.|| šaklīva [Ø],| maxíva [Ø] +’al-+arabàna,|| lablīva [Ø]| ja-+budràtəl xašlīvalə.||* ‘Then, at times they would tie the various handfuls. They made it like a sheaf (of corn). They took it and placed it on a wagon, took it and ground it on the threshing floors.’ (B 3:6)
- (5) *hàl ’ōm-+dān +bayyíva šatīva| c-atíva patxivaləl b-+tásə šaklīva [Ø]|| šatīva [Ø].|* ‘until whenever they wanted to drink, they would come and open it (the pot), they would take it (the wine) in a cup and drink it.’ (B 3:16)
- (6) *bí +tásə šaklīva [Ø],| ja-vádra malīva [Ø],| mayyíva [Ø] mattíva [Ø] ja-pí-palgət mágłəs.|| ’īta| ci-+maxdárriva [Ø] bí +tásə.||* ‘They took it (the wine) with a cup, and filled buckets with it, they brought it and placed in the middle of a gathering (of people) and handed it around in a cup.’ (B 3:17)
- (7) *+búsra kat-paràmva,| šakláxva +ràba,| ’u-kalàxvalə +búsra.|| kàlaxvalə,| +mardəxxàxva [Ø],| bašàlva,|| daráxva móšxa +’allu,|| mólxə +’allu,|| daráxva [Ø] ju-kadálə.||* ‘When meat was slaughtered, we took a lot and we fried the meat. We fried it, we boiled it and it cooked, we put clarified butter on it, salt on it, and put it in pots.’ (B 7:5)

### 13.5 Repetition of Clauses

In narrative the narrator sometimes repeats the mention of an event or situation that has already been given before advancing. The purpose of this is generally to give prominence to events or situations that the narrator deems to be of importance.

In many case the order of the constituents of the repeated construction is rearranged chiastically, e.g.

- (1) *+xábra yávələ ka-bàxtu. | ... ka-báxtu +xàbra yávələ. |* 'He sends word to his wife ... to his wife he sends word.' (A 3:31)
- (2) *+tàma ka-díyyan muttīlə. | ka-díyyan muttīlə +tàma. |* 'He put us there. He put us there.' (B 6:5)
- (3) *+Axíkar 'ána +ktòlli. | ... 'ána +Axíkar +ktòlli. |* 'I have killed Axiqar ... I have killed Axiqar.' (A 3:36–37)
- (4) *xá-yuma +màlla! +mutṭánnəva +rába +rába kèsə! +al-+xásət xmàra. | ?àtxa, | +mutṭánnəva +al-xmára kèsə +rába. |* 'One day the mullah had loaded a lot of pieces of wood on the back of a donkey. Like this, he had loaded on a donkey many pieces of wood.' (A 15:1)

In (5) chiasmus is achieved by using an extrapositional construction in the second clause:

- (5) *bətpákəna b-xa-+áynət mìyya. | +áynət mìyya bətpákəna bìyyo. |* 'They meet a spring of water. They meet a spring of water.' (A 47:7)

In (6) the two embedded interrogative clauses, which are overlapping in content, have the copula in different positions. Here also the motivation seems to be to create some kind of chiasmus:

- (6) *jáššək mù-ilə váyal mü kavvùmələ. |* 'Watch what is going on, what is happening' (A 1:28)

In (7) the repetition involves the chiastic positioning of a circumstantial adjunct:

- (7) *bərràkələ, | bərrákələ márət xmára-da +bàru. | márət xmára-da +bàra! bərrákəla bərràkələ. |* 'He runs and runs, with the owner of the donkey behind him. With the owner of the donkey behind, he runs and runs.' (A 7:5)

Repetition may be incremental, as in (8)–(9), where the second clause elaborates on the first:

- (8) *'ína c-azíva +màlyat šaklívá mən-nášə| mən-ducañanə ci-+jammíva +màlyat.* ‘Now, they used to go and take protection money from people. They used to gather protection money from shops.’ (A 1:2)
- (9) *'étva +rába cačálə| +kúrbət +'əsrà-danə cačálə-'étva.* ‘There were many bald men. There were nearly ten bald men.’ (A 1:1)

The repetition of clauses in many cases follows the insertion of some elaborative or parenthetic background material, e.g.

- (10) *'ánnə ka-dáyála xáčča +hayyùrəna| cút +dána xá-məndi bášli màyyi kátu| mára kátu| 'átən léša +tárəslə ta-láxxə| 'ána bašlánna ju-tanúrya kátu|x| +hayyùrəna ka-da-yála.* ‘They help this boy a little—every time they cook something, they bring it to him. They say “Make the dough, come here and I shall bake it in the oven for you.” They help this boy.’ (A 36:2)
- (11) *+xábra yávələ ka-báxtu| šómmət báxtu munšítun| xa-šómma-’ətlə| ka-báxtu +xábra yávələ| kat-ána bitáyən bëta.* ‘He gives word to his wife—I have forgotten the name of his wife, she has a name.—He sends word to his wife (saying) “I am coming home.”’ (A 3:31)
- (12) *báxta +bəddáyələ mü-ila kássat| mára +rába honàntəva| +ràba| +bəd-dáyələ kássat mü-ila.* ‘The wife knows what is happening.—It is said that she was very clever.—She knows what is happening.’ (A 3:32)

Another structural feature of repeated clauses is that they are sometimes made heavier than their initial counterpart by long morphology or reidentification of referents. This is seen in (13) and (14) where, as in the preceding examples, the repetition occurs after an elaborative or parenthetical insertion:

- (13) *cúllə +karavàšu| ríjavàtu| cúlla +byáyələ màxə| mxayèlə| +'ajuzèlə| +bəd-dáyət mu-màrən?* ‘He wants to beat all the housekeepers and servants. He beats them and harasses them. You know what I am saying? He harasses them a lot.’ (A 3:38)
- (14) *'o-+kačúla-dal xína| výyələ bəštäyal kátu mára| 'étlə šàmma| bas-šàmma +'úxča munšítun| 'o-+kačúla 'étlə šàmma| mårələ kátu|* ‘(As) the executioner is drinking, he (Axiqar) says to him—he has a name but I have forgotten the name, the executioner has a name—he says to him ...’ (A 3:33)

In (15) and (16) the subject of the second clause is expressed by an independent pronoun:

- (15) *npálələ +al-’áštat kùnya.* | *npálələ +al-’áštat kúnya ’àha.* | ‘He falls to the bottom of the well. He falls to the bottom of the well.’ (A 39:17)
- (16) *+bəzdàyən mónnax +’áxər,* | *’ána +bəzdáyən.* | ‘But I am afraid for you, I am afraid.’ (A 44:5)

In (17) the first clause has a contracted form of copula on the verb whereas an uncontracted form is used on the verb in the second clause:

- (17) *kámxa +bənxàlux.* | *kámxa +bənxàluvax,* | *’íta léša ci-lešàxlə.* | ‘We sieve the flour. We sieve the flour, then we knead the dough.’ (Canda)

In the second clause in (18) the independent pronoun serving as subject *’at* is replaced by the longer pronominal form *janax* and in (19) a genitive 3ms suffix *-u* is replaced by the longer form *jānu*:

- (18) *’át mùdivat?* | *jánax mùdivat?* | ‘What are you? What are you?’ (A 5:3)
- (19) *’u-baxxúləl bí ’axúnū.* | *baxxúləl bí hónat dó ’axún-jānu.* | ‘He is jealous of his brother. He is jealous of the intelligence of his own brother.’ (A 48:1)

Another example of the reidentification of a referent is (20) (see also 14 above):

- (20) *víla bràta.* | *+jéyran víla bràta.* | ‘It becomes a girl. The gazelle becomes a girl.’ (A 42:31)

In (21) the content of the first clause is repeated in two subsequent clauses with increasingly heavy coding of the subject referent:

- (21) *hí=da xòšla,* | *’akúbra xòšla.* | *xóšla ’á ’akúbra.* | ‘Yes, he went off, the mouse went off, the mouse went off.’ (A 52:5)

In some cases the narrator repeats the mention of an event that has already been narrated without any intervening insertion. 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 (§ 9.2.4.7., § 12.5.3.1, § 12.14.2.). This is, indeed, how the function of the construction can be interpreted here.

Such repeated clauses may be presented as subordinate temporal clauses, e.g.

- (22) *lá-vilə xa-<sup>+</sup>xábra mənnè.<sup>1</sup> +bár hàda<sup>1</sup> +bár=ət<sup>1</sup> +xábra lá-vilə mən-dànnə,<sup>1</sup> +bár háda<sup>1</sup> dàrrə<sup>1</sup> cəs-’aláhət jànu.<sup>1</sup>* ‘No word was forthcoming from them. Afterwards, after no word was forthcoming from them, he appealed to his god.’ (A 3:3-4)
- (23) *bəsyákəna<sup>1</sup> <sup>+</sup>üllul,<sup>1</sup> hál cma-<sup>+</sup>dána<sup>1</sup> atxa-<sup>+</sup>üllul bəsyákəna<sup>1</sup> bàlcət<sup>1</sup> ’alpá mótrə<sup>1</sup> <sup>+</sup>üllul-inə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They go up, until (when) they go up for some time, they are perhaps 1,000 metres above (the ground).’ (A 3:71)

On many occasions the repeated clause is not subordinated, e.g.

- (24) *’àha<sup>1</sup> bənpàlələ,<sup>1</sup> myàtələ,<sup>1</sup> myàtələ,<sup>1</sup> ’é húri pàri<sup>1</sup> ’é báxta šapòrta<sup>1</sup> márəla kátu<sup>1</sup>* ‘He falls down and dies. He dies, the nymph, the beautiful woman, says ...’ (A 39:14)
- (25) *šəp̪páščə mxàyolə<sup>1</sup> núyra bətpàyələ<sup>1</sup> núyra bətpàyələ<sup>1</sup> báxtat<sup>1</sup> <sup>+</sup>málla bità-yələ.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He strikes matches and the fire lights. The fire lights and the wife of the mullah comes back.’ (A 23:2)
- (26) *+dárrə cəs-’aláhət jànu.<sup>1</sup> +dárrə cəs-’aláhət mərrə kátu<sup>1</sup>* ‘He appealed to his god. He appealed to God. He said to him ...’ (A 3:4)
- (27) *’ána<sup>1</sup> ju-béti tívənva<sup>1</sup> ’e-<sup>+</sup>dántat<sup>1</sup> ’ína jvánka<sup>1</sup> +tarri mxílun,<sup>1</sup> +tuktòklun<sup>1</sup> ’u-<sup>+</sup>plàtlí.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I was sitting in my house, when I was young, and somebody banged on my door. Somebody banged on my door, somebody knocked, and I went out.’ (A 2:26)
- (28) *ju-bétux jurvàssələ<sup>1</sup> ’ína ’adíyya velə-víyya<sup>1</sup> xàyyən<sup>1</sup> <sup>+</sup>állux.<sup>1</sup> +xàyyən<sup>1</sup> plítəla<sup>1</sup> <sup>+</sup>állux,<sup>1</sup> +báyyə mamxílux b-ó ... fur'un málca.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He has grown up in your house but now he has become treacherous to you. He has turned out to be treacherous to you and wants to cause you to be smitten by Pharaoh.’ (A 3:22-23)

In (29) the subject *súysə* in the first clause takes the nuclear stress, marking it as a new referent, whereas in the repeated clause the verb takes the nuclear stress, since the subject referent is now topical:

- (29) *har-b-dé-<sup>+</sup>danta xá-dana sìysə tíla.<sup>1</sup> súysə tíla,<sup>1</sup> yámmyi<sup>1</sup> rxətla jáno<sup>1</sup> rup-pàla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Just at that moment a horse came. A horse came and my mother ran and threw herself down.’ (B 6:6)

In (30) there is a series of repetitions in the narration of a chain of actions. This clearly divides them into discrete events:

- (30) *'áha bərràkəla. bərràkəla,| +bərxáṭəl +bəro. +bərxáṭəl +bəro,| 'áha| +mṭà-yolə,| +bəktàlələ. +bəktàlələ| 'ína béto bəxzàyulə.* 'She flees. She flees and he runs after her. He runs after her, he catches her and kills her. He kills her and sees her house.' (A 39:38)

In some cases the motivation for repetition of clauses appears to be to give prominence to their contents. This is found in particular in the opening sections of narratives that set the scene for what follows (31–33), at the onset of major episodic breaks (34), or the beginning of speeches (35):

- (31) *'ína yálə lətvalə. +Axíkar yálə lətvalə. 'ətvalə| 'əští-danə baxtàta. 'əští baxtàta 'ətvalə.* 'But he did not have children. Axiqar did not have children. He had sixty wives. He had sixty wives.' (A 3:2)
- (32) *+bayyən +pàltən,| +báyyən +pàltən| xázzən +'átri mù-ilə,| xázzən 'átri mù-ilə.* 'I want to go out, I want to go out and see how my land is, see how my land is.' (A 2:1)
- (33) *'o-+tájər ka-dá cačála +rábə ci-+bayyíva. ... +rába ci-+bayyíva ka-dá cačála.* 'The merchant used to like this bald man very much. ... He used to like this bald man very much.' (A 1:2)
- (34) *málca bərràxšələ. ka-xa-yárxa bərràxšələ.* 'The king goes away. He goes away for a month.' (A 2:13)
- (35) *márrə málca t-ávət basíma| 'ána 'ína vazzírət bábat dìyyux. vazzírət bábat dìyyux-ínva.* 'He says "King, be well, I was the vizier of your father. I was the vizier of your father." (A 2:25)

In (36) the pair of clauses express a decision after much thought, which is a prominent point in the narrative:

- (36) *'á bəspàrələ| +rába taxmùnələ. b-léla b-yúma léla bədmàxa. PbəlāxaráP +bəkrayéla 'an-cačálə xínə. cačálə xínə cíllə +bəkrayéla.* 'He waits and thinks a lot. Night and day he does not sleep. In the end he calls the other bald men. He calls all the other bald men.' (A 1:23)

In (37), from dialogue in a narrative, the prominence of the statement is also expressed by the use of the independent copula (§ 10.5.2., § 12.1.2.) rather than the enclitic copula. Note the heavier morphological coding of the second clause by the use of the independent genitive particle and the heavier prosodic coding through the insertion of an intonation group boundary after the subject:

- (37) *+jóri 'íla +ràba xelána.* | *+jórət dìyyi'l 'íla +ràba xelána.* | 'My husband is very strong. My husband is very strong.' (A 38:8)

Another motivation for repetition is to clarify potentially ambiguous references of pronouns, e.g.

- (38) *márələ kàtu* | *+Axíkar ka-+dàv márələ* | 'He says to him. Axiqar says to him ...' (A 3:33)
- (39) *mórrə kàtu* | *+tājər márre ka-caçàla* | 'He said to him, the merchant said to the bald man ...' (A 1:3)

Some verbs are repeated to express a protracted continuous event (40–41) or intensity (42), e.g.

- (40) *'ína dòmmu +šaršùrə* | *+šaršùrə* | *xàšla.* | 'But as his blood drips and drips it (the animal) went away.' (A 39:5)
- (41) *xarbúsuna m-* | *+al-pallacàna.* | *candúrə candúrələ* | 'They throw him down from the stairs. He rolls and rolls.' (B 16:8)
- (42) *+úxča t-íva malyúzə malyúzə,* | *á +saválto šlèxla,* | *pólla +al-+pallacàna.* | 'She was in such a great hurry, that her shoe came off and fell on the stairs.' (A 51:8)

Occasionally a verb is repeated with a change of the initial consonant into a labial, as in (43):

- (43) *sákəl bákəl!* | 'Dress up dress up (= Dress up beautifully)!' (A 51:4)

This can be compared to the repetition of nouns with the replacement of the initial consonant of the second noun with *m-* (§ 9.13.).

### 13.6 Interrogative of Clause Sequences

A question can apply to the connection between clauses rather than the content of the clauses, e.g.

- (1) *á muújurra xášla +kàtu bíyyat ... +arpámma xamšámma cilomátrə 'ùrxə,*  
*xášla +tàma* | *xa-lèlə* | *kdálət +karúvvət dìyyux +kçila* | *'u-tìla,* | *+dórra tìla?* |  
 'How is it that the cat went there on a journey of four hundred or five hundred kilometres in one night, snapped off the neck of your rooster and came back, returned and came back?' (A 3:82)

- (2) *'áha xá-'axča +šúla +júra 'ávə výyya ju-da-+'átrət díyyi, 'ána lā-+yat̪ən?* '(Is it the case that) such a mighty matter as this has taken place in this land of mine and I do not know about it?' (A 1:38)
- (3) *'íman 'á málca víləl 'áxnan +xábra lòtlən?* 'When did this man become king (while) we had no word of it?' (A 1:42)

### 13.7 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.

#### 13.7.1 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) *'ázax xázzax. ↘* 'Let's go and see.' (A 2:4)
- (2) *málca +rába +naràhat výyələ. ↘* 'The king becomes very upset.' (A 2:8)
- (3) *'ánnə +xuyravátuna. ↘* 'They are our friends.' (A 2:7)

Speakers separate clauses with major juncture to express lack of sequentiality in a variety of contexts.

In (4) the short clauses that are separated by major juncture are not connected in temporal sequentiality, but rather are overlapping temporally:

- (4) *hamzùməna*,<sup>↓</sup> *tanìyəna*,<sup>↓</sup> *jàxcəna*,<sup>↓</sup> +*bixàləna*,<sup>↓</sup> *bəštəyəna*.<sup>↓</sup> ‘They are speaking, telling stories, laughing, eating, drinking.’ (A 2:5)

In (5) the events of sitting and drinking tea overlap temporally with the event of asking:

- (5) +*xárta* +*bakúrəna*,<sup>↓</sup> *bətyávəna* +*tàma*<sup>↓</sup> +*čày bəštá* +*šúla*,<sup>↓</sup> +*bakúrəna* *kát* +*jór dá-baxta* *ícalə*.<sup>↓</sup> ‘Then they ask—they sit and drink tea and so forth—they ask where the husband of the woman is.’ (A 2:7)

In (6) the effect of separating the three clauses by major juncture is to present them as overlapping aspects of the same overall event rather than closely sequential events:

- (6) *vázzər mən-málca* +*plàtəna*.<sup>↓</sup> *b-ricávə bərràxşəna*.<sup>↓</sup> +*bəxdàrəna*.<sup>↓</sup> ‘The vizier and the king go out. They go with horsemen. They tour around.’ (A 2:3)

Major juncture is used to join two clauses with overlapping content, as in (7):

- (7) *’ána ’ína vazzírət bábət dìyyux*.<sup>↓</sup> *vazzírət bábət dìyyux-ína*.<sup>↓</sup> ‘I was the vizier of your father. I was the vizier of your father.’ (A 2:25)

In (8) there is a discontinuity in illocutionary force. The first clause makes a statement where the second is deontic:

- (8) *bálcət lèna* +*šámyə*.<sup>↓</sup> *’ázax xàzzax*.<sup>↓</sup> ‘Perhaps they have not heard. Let’s go and see.’ (A 2:4)

A preliminary formula at the beginning of speech is generally separated from the main body of the speech, e.g.

- (9) *márrə málca ’ávət basıma*,<sup>↓</sup> *’ána mìrən*.<sup>↓</sup> ‘He said “King, be well. I have said (what you ordered me to say).”’ (A 2:4)

Occasionally major juncture breaks up even the constituents of clauses when the speaker wishes to present them with particular prominence. This is the case in (10), which is a stern public declaration:

- (10) *'ána lè-<sup>+</sup>bayyən<sup>↓</sup> háč xa-<sup>+</sup>šrà<sup>↓</sup> óya ju-màta.* <sup>↓</sup> 'I do not want any lantern to be in the village.' (A 2:1)

### 13.7.2 *Minor Juncture*

The intonational contour that is 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 ↗. Occasionally there is only a rise without a mid fall (↗). Minor juncture contour signals incompleteness and indicates that the content of the intonation group is closely related to what follows. Some of the ways it is used are described in this section.

It is generally 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 objects in (1)–(4) and clause initial adverbs (5):

- (1) *bàxta<sup>↗</sup><sup>↓</sup> lèla bəšvača.* <sup>↓</sup> 'The woman does not allow it.' (A 1:6)
- (2) *háčxá<sup>+</sup>šrà<sup>↗</sup><sup>↓</sup> là-layya ju-batvátə.* <sup>↓</sup> 'No lantern should be lit in the houses.' (A 2:2)
- (3) *'ína cùllə<sup>+</sup>o-<sup>+</sup>xiyàvand<sup>↗</sup><sup>↓</sup> ó nišànčələ.* <sup>↓</sup> 'The whole street is (marked with) the same sign.' (A 2:9)
- (4) *cúl-màndit<sup>+</sup>áttə nàčva<sup>↗</sup><sup>↓</sup> p-šaklátta m-pát<sup>+</sup>árra.* <sup>↓</sup> 'Whatever has female kind you must take away from the face of the earth.' (A 2:11)
- (5) *b-lèlə<sup>↗</sup><sup>↓</sup> vázzər mən-málca<sup>+</sup>plàtəna.* <sup>↓</sup> 'At night the vizier and king leave.' (A 2:3)

Minor juncture joins clauses that are syntactically dependent, such as main clauses and complement content clauses, e.g.

- (6) *málca=da yúvvəl dàstur<sup>↗</sup><sup>↓</sup> kat-cùllə panánnum.* <sup>↓</sup> 'The king has given a command that I should eradicate everybody.' (A 2:17)
- (7) *hál<sup>+</sup>dérən<sup>+</sup>átnən<sup>↗</sup><sup>↓</sup> cōc nàčva la-šóčat.* <sup>↓</sup> 'Before I return and come back, do not leave female kind (alive).' (A 2:11)
- (8) *bəxzáyələ mən-ràčka<sup>↗</sup><sup>↓</sup> 'ína xá-dana<sup>+</sup>šrávéla bəlláya.* <sup>↓</sup> 'He sees from afar a lantern burning in a house.' (A 2:4)
- (9) *ju-<sup>+</sup>átrət díyyi áha móndi<sup>+</sup>ávə<sup>↗</sup><sup>↓</sup> 'ána lè kablánna.* <sup>↓</sup> 'I will not permit this thing to exist in my country!' (A 2:12)

It is used to join a protasis of a conditional construction to the apodosis and a subordinate temporal clause to the following main clause, e.g.

- (10) *'án kāl-jóxca +šmílux ↗ xùš. ↘ ... 'án kāl-bàxya +šmílux, ↗ cl. ↘ 'If you hear the sound of laughter, go. ... If you hear the sound of weeping, wait.'* (A 2:30)
- (11) *'e-+dān-sòvlux, ↗ t-ávə brùna kátux. ↘ e-+dān-màtlux, ↗ +áynux p-+čamla. ↘ 'When you become old, he will be a son for you. When you die, he will close your eyes.'* (A 3:6)
- (12) *'e-+dántat 'ínya jvànka, ↗ +tàrri mxílun. ↘ 'When I was young, they banged on my door.'* (A 2:26)
- (13) *+ták ju-vàtta ↗ +tárra ptáxli +bar-dàha. ↘ 'When there was a knock, I opened the door after him.'* (A 2:29)

The same prosodic pattern is used with main clauses that are close in function to protases or temporal clauses, e.g.

- (14) *'útən 'a-+šúla vùdlə ↗ lá-'avilux +šùla. 'Do (= if you do) that task and you will have no problem.'* (A 2:21)
- (15) *sépi maxáñvala +al-cipa ↗ +čambərrònvala. ' (When) I used to strike my sword on a stone, I split it.'* (A 2:25)
- (16) *xá tré +tlá šabáta +várəla, ↗ áyya báxta bərráxšəla +hàmmam. ' (When) one, two, three weeks pass, the woman goes to the bathroom.'* (A 1:6)

Minor juncture is also used more generally to express a close sequential connection between events, e.g.

- (17) *málca bəkyàməla, ↗ júllu šaluxèla, ↗ yavél kàtu. 'The king gets up, takes off his clothes and gives them to him.'* (A 1:41)
- (18) *vázzər +plàtəla ↗ jàr bədráyəla. 'The vizier went out and made an announcement.'* (A 2:2)
- (19) *'ána júlli lvišéli, ↗ tálvi +al-síysə +házər, ↗ sépi=da p-ídi. 'I put on my clothes, sat ready on the horse, my sword in my hand.'* (A 2:28)
- (20) *ta:jàldə. ↗ 'átlı pəhtiyàj<sup>P</sup> +állux. 'Come quickly. I have need of you.'* (A 2:26)
- (21) *kámla zurázla káto +támota, ↗ 'u-júllo lvišéla, ↗ cačála +plàtəla. 'She got up and prepared breakfast for her, she put on her clothes and the bald man went out.'* (A 1:15)

When a clause is repeated in narrative (§13.5.) as in (22)–(23) the first is typically given major juncture and the second minor juncture, indicating that the second coheres closely with what follows:

- (22) *báxta čarčürəla.* ↗ *čarčürəla* ↗<sup>u</sup> + *hàjìl* 'stvalə xá-dana riya. ↗ 'The woman screams. She screams. Now the pilgim had a servant.' (A 1:6–7)
- (23) +*tàrri mxílun.* ↗ +*tárri mxílun,* ↗ +*tuktàkłun* ↗<sup>u</sup> + *plàtlì.* ↗ *áxči* +*šmíli* *mára ta-jálđa* ↗ *átli* Pəhtiyāj<sup>P</sup> +*állux.* ↗ 'Somebody banged on my door. Somebody banged on my door, somebody knocked, and I went out. I only heard somebody saying "Come quickly, I need you (to do something for me)." ' (A 2:26)

In (24) the chain of clauses in the complement after *kat* is connected by minor juncture. This reflects the packaging of the events as preparatory acts for the final core event of appearing before the king, which is expressed in the last clause and closes with major juncture.

- (24) *útən +xábra hal-ka-cíllə +'àtra* ↗ *kat-cíllə nòkva* ↗<sup>u</sup> *ó-t-átlə júllə šapírə*  
*šakèllun* ↗<sup>u</sup> *ó-t-làtlə-da* ↗<sup>u</sup> *zàvən* ↗<sup>u</sup>, | *tavoryàtu zabánnun* ↗, | *cut-* *átlə* ↗<sup>u</sup>  
*zabànnə* ↗<sup>u</sup> *šákəl áxči júllə šapírə* ↗<sup>u</sup> +*pàlət kam-málca.* ↗ 'Give an order to all the land that all women—whoever has fine clothes should take them, whoever does not have any should buy them, should sell his cows, should sell everything he has, and take fine clothes and come out before the king.' (A 2:20)

Minor juncture is typically used to connect a clause containing a verb of speaking together with the following reported speech, e.g.

- (25) *ka-vázzər màrələ* ↗<sup>u</sup> *ku-* +*yàrmox* ↗ 'He says to the vizier "Let's go!" ' (A 2:8)

In (26) the first clause has a correlative quantifier that requires completion in the second clause and so is marked by minor juncture:

- (26) *'ína +úxča sìvəva* ↗<sup>u</sup> *múttuva ju-xá ... +kərtàla* ↗<sup>u</sup> *ju-ctàna* ↗ 'But he was so aged that they had placed him in a basket, in cotton.' (A 2:14)

In (27) the anaphoric adverbial *'atxa* 'thus' points forwards and this is signalled prosodically by minor juncture:

- (27) *'atxa vília kóssat.* ↗ 'The story was as follows ... ' (A 2:17)

Minor juncture can be used to join together a series of parallel clauses that are presented as components of the same overall event, as in (28):

- (28) *cúllə myàtəna. ↘ abúna myàtəla. ↗ káša myàtələ. ↗ šamáša myàtəla. ↘*  
 'They all die. The bishop dies. The priest dies. The deacon dies.' (A 6:10)

Minor juncture signals that a clause is closely linked in information status to what follows. In (29), for example, the minor juncture is used to present the clause 'we are foreigners' as part of the primary message of the first clause. Major juncture would have been preferred if the speaker wished to present it as supplementary background information.

- (29) *'áxnan tílan ju-dá + àtra ↗ karibàyəvax. ↘* 'We came to this land (while) we are foreigners (i.e. we came to this land as foreigners).' (A 2:6)

Phrases that are attributes are joined to their head by minor juncture if they are part of the primary message, e.g.

- (30) *jaššúkələ 'ína xá-dana bàxta ↗ mán tøryəssàr 'úrza. ↘* 'He looks (and sees) a woman with twelve men.' (A 2:5)

If, on the other hand, they are presented as supplementary information they are separated from their head by major juncture, e.g.

- (31) *bæxzáyələ mən-ràkkə ↗ 'ína xá-dana + šrá véla bøllàya ↘ ju-xa-bèta. ↘* 'He sees from afar a lantern burning, in a house.' (A 2:4)

The binding of a clause to what follows is sometimes strengthened prosodically by giving the minor juncture contour greater prominence by shifting the stress to the final syllable and increasing the height of the rising intonation pitch (represented here by ^). This is often found in the protasis of conditional or temporal constructions, e.g.

- (32) *savúni-da é-+dán 'azálva + árra xapørvälà, ^| nitynə ci-+pal̥tíva m-jávo. ↘*  
 'When my grandfather went to dig the field, fish came out of it.' (A 36:15)
- (33) *'ón 'ázən| bnāt-málca mayyənnùn, ^| mü p-tanitùn? ↗* 'If I go and fetch the daughters of the king, what would you say?' (A 45:17)
- (34) *'ón 'ána 'ázən yámmi mayyənnà, ^| bá 'át mü b-tànyat? ↗* 'If I were to go and bring my mother, what would you say?'

- (35) *bas-’ən-xamšámma ’əštámma cilomətrənà|^ ba-mújjurra susavátət márət díyyi +táma hehehé hurhàmlun,| susavátət díyyux làxxal murxəšlun?^~|* ‘But if (the distance) is five hundred or six hundred kilometres, how is it that the horses of my master neighed there and your horses here aborted?’  
(A 3:82–83)

This prosodic pattern is also used to introduce a new topic of discourse which sets the topical frame for what follows, e.g.

- (36) *+bəddáyət kəssàttət| báxtət +tajər^| mən-+hàji?^~|* ‘Do you know the story of the wife of the merchant with the pilgrim?’ (A 1:34)

In (37) the strategy is used to re-introduce a given referent at the beginning of a new section of discourse, signalling that it is topically prominent in what follows:

- (37) *bábi kát +rábi Daryavuš-và|^ bitàyəla.^~|* ‘My father, who was Rabi Darius, comes.’ (A 41:16)

This prosodic strategy is sometimes used in vocative expressions when the speaker wishes to gain the attention of the hearer for what follows:

- (38) *mára brun|^ +bəddáyət mu-’ítən?^| cùlla fvìrəna.~|* ‘My son, do you know what? Everybody is married.’ (A 44:1)

The devoicing of the last mora of word-final *-i* [iç], which is a feature of words in pause before an intonation group boundary (§ 1.7.1.4.), typically occurs when the word has major juncture intonation but often does not occur when it has minor juncture. This is because the phenomenon is dependent on the duration of the final vowel being extended, which is a characteristic feature of the closure of a unit expressed by major juncture but is not so common with minor juncture, e.g.

- (39) *dámmo máttìla ’al-jùlli [-i]^~|* ‘Put its blood on my clothes.’ (A 1:9)  
(40) *+ktìlìali [-iç]~|* ‘I have killed her.’ (A 1:9)

### 13.7.3 *Interrogative Clauses*

Interrogative clauses are uttered with a rise from a higher level of pitch than that of minor juncture. There is a short fall on syllables after the nucleus. The contour is represented here by the symbol ^~:

- (1) *muyyàlux?^x̄|* 'Have you brought her?' (A 2:10)
- (2) *mú-'et +xàbra?^x̄|* 'What news is there?' (A 2:15)
- (3) *'a-mú-ila +šrá bəllá +tàmma?^x̄|* 'What is that lantern burning there?' (A 2:4)

In (4) the first intonation group, which contains the interrogative particle, has interrogative intonation, but the second group, which presents a nominal phrase that is a clarificatory supplement has major juncture:

- (4) *bas-'ànnə mó-inə láxxa,^x̄| 'ánnə 'ùrzə +šúlə?^x̄|* 'But who are these here, these men and so forth?' (A 2:7)

Greater prominence is sometimes given to questions by shifting the stress of the final word of the intonation group to the final syllable and increasing the height of the rising intonation pitch (represented here as '^'), e.g.

- (5) *+xámra mójjurra vaduxvà?^x̄|* 'How did we make wine?' (B 17:14)
- (6) *'adíyya-da lèt muxzíyyú?^x̄|* 'Have you not shown him?' (B 17:17)

When a question is rhetorical and does not expect an answer, it may have a low fall intonation characteristic of major juncture, e.g.

- (7) *mən-'álaha lèla +tšítə,↓| mónnux müt +tšítəla?^x̄|* 'It is not hidden from God, why should it be hidden from you?' (A 2:17)
- (8) *lá 'adíyya kə-díyyi-da +kàtəl?^x̄|* 'Will he now not kill also me?' (A 2:23)

# Syntactic Subordination of Clauses

## 14.1 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses take as their antecedent a nominal, a pronoun or an adverbial, which they follow. In most cases they are syndetic, in that they are introduced by a subordinating particle. On some occasions, however, they are asyndetic without any such particle.

### 14.1.1 *Syndetic Relative Clauses*

Relative clauses of this type are formed either by the subordinating particle *t* or by the form *kat*, which consists of the preposition *ka-* and the subordinating particle. On some occasions both *t* and *kat* are used in the same construction. The form *kat* is not used in the variety of the dialect spoken Georgia.

#### 14.1.1.1 Definite Nominal Antecedent

##### 14.1.1.1.1 *t*

The subordinating particle *t* is generally attached as an affix to an antecedent noun immediately before the relative clause. The relative clause in such constructions is generally restrictive. Restrictive relative clauses assist in the identification of the reference of the antecedent and are fully integrated syntactically in the nominal phrase of the antecedent, which serves as its syntactic head. They are non-assertive in that they do not express a proposition that can be evaluated as true or false. A definite antecedent nominal of a restrictive relative is generally introduced by an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun. This pronoun is generally from the default series of demonstratives (§ 2.2.8., § 9.2.4.5.). 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) *'u| +mixulta=zə ci-lablíva| ... ka-dán nášət c-atíva!* 'They also took food ... for those people who came.' (B 11:4)
- (2) *'an-nášət +báyyi 'áti xuš-'áti!* 'Those people who want to come, let them come!'
- (3) *lá šváklun hamzəmmíva lišána +aturáya| yán 'o +lázzət tánax suryoyo!* 'They did not allow the majority of Jacobites to speak the Assyrian language, or the dialect we call *suryoyo*.' (B 1:8)

- (4) *mádrə máxi ju-<sup>+</sup>xàsu hal-dé-<sup>+</sup>jøt <sup>+</sup>yáttə e-<sup>+</sup>ídət távtəla kàmtəl ... <sup>+</sup>ət-mànila.*  
 'They would again bang on his back, until when (literally: that time that) he knows whose is the hand that is put down first.' (B 9:9)

In (5) the near deixis singular demonstrative *'a* is used with this function and in (6) the near/middle deixis plural demonstrative *'annə*:

- (5) *'á-məndit báxta 'odálə hác-naša lè-avədla.* 'The thing that a woman does, no man can do.' (A 5:3)
- (6) *'ánnə nášə kát 'átvəlun tùp, xelànta tùp, t-azíva turànə, maxíva xzìyra.*  
 'Those people who had a shotgun, a powerful shotgun, would go to the mountains and shoot pigs.' (B 4:6)

In most cases a demonstrative is used with a head nominal whose referent has been mentioned or inferable in the preceding context. Even here, however, the restrictive relative clause, with which the head is syntactically linked, can be regarded as the primary referential link of the anaphoric demonstrative, e.g.

- (7) *'o-cačálət bràta mýyolə vágəla málca, šópət málca.* 'The bald man who has brought the girl becomes the king, in place of the (real) king.' (A 1:24)
- (8) *bəxzáyəl 'o-xmárət kúdmə zvìnuval 'ína +támələ.* 'He sees that the donkey that he had bought yesterday is there.' (A 28:6)
- (9) *e-dársət yávvonva kátu kámtəl lélə lípo bəxšávən +spày.* 'I don't think he has learnt well the lesson that I gave him some time ago.' (A 3:87)
- (10) *ó nišánkət 'ána mùttun +áv-da vél-+támma.* 'The sign that I had placed was in the entire street.' (A 2:10)
- (11) *ci-bašlákłun har-b-dé səstímət ju-màta c-odáxvala.* 'We cook them, just like the system that we used to practice in the village.' (B 12:9)

On some occasions the near deixis demonstrative is used, e.g.

- (12) *'áha móndit 'ána +báyyən tanònnəl bədvákələ mən-cúllə matvátət dìyyan.*  
 'This thing that I want to say (= what I want to say) holds for all our villages.' (B 2:1)

In the examples above a copula element remains in its normal position in the subordinate clause, i.e. an enclitic on the predicate or on a compound verbal form. Sporadically, however, it is moved to the front of the clause and is attached to the subordinating particle. In such cases the particle is detached

from the head noun and has the form of a tense stop *t*- due to coalescence with the initial laryngal of the copula (§ 1.15.2.), e.g.

- (13) *cúllə-da* 'an-<sup>+</sup>*sarbàzə* *t*-*íva mónnu* *cúllə* *šátyəna* *+rùyəna*.| 'All the soldiers who were with him are all drunk and inebriated.' (A 3:35)
- (14) *báva* 'avíla *marzanàna* *yánət míyya* *t*-*it-bəšvəké* *jávo* *m-l-á-yba* *xína* *lá* *tápxi*.| 'A basin has sides, so that the water that you release into it does not spill from the other side.' (B 17:30)

In (15) two nouns are presented as alternative heads:

- (15) *'ita* 'ó *nášət* *+accárət* *+dàna yúvvuval* *ju*-<sup>+</sup>*fəllan* *yúma* *ya*-<sup>+</sup>*fəllan* *šábtə* *jàři* *mən-kám-*<sup>+</sup>*dana* *avíva zíyzu* *+purriyyé*.| 'Now the man or the farmer to whom he had given (a deadline) on such-and-such a day or such-and-such a week had to have paid his money beforehand.' (B 13:2)

The head noun in (16) lacks the demonstrative pronoun. The relative clause, which should be interpreted as restrictive, is separated from the head by an intonation group boundary and the subordinator particle *t* is repeated at the front of the clause:

- (16) *cyùlət* *t*-*ívən cílu* *+tarra* *manšənnə*.| 'I shall forget the measurement that I made for the door.' (A 16:3)

In (17)–(19) the relative clause is non-restrictive. It is separated from its head by an intonation group boundary:

- (17) *láxxa* *+ántəla*, *’at-dokètla* *núyra pás šapìra*.| 'Here is the airhole, which you close for the fire to remain good.' (B 7:12)
- (18) *'an-júlla júrət dmàxə* *t*-*ína malàpə* | 'the big clothing of bedding, which are sheets' (B 17:27)
- (19) *+xárta* 'é *bráta* *t*-*íva tárta* *+al-’ilàna* *+róba* *+rədyálə* *’á brún-màlcə*.| 'Then the son of the king took a great fancy to the girl, who was sitting on the tree.' (A 56:2)

A prepositional phrase or adverb may modify a head noun with the subordinating particle *t* without a copula. Such constructions may be regarded as reduced relative clauses, e.g.

- (20) *ka-dan-nášat mònnu mára xá-dana +kátu dùkun.* ‘He says to the people with him “Take a cat.” (A 3:78)
- (21) *nášat xut-ýdat díyyi mùdi váyəna?* ‘What would the people under my command become?’ (A 3:61)
- (22) *ctayátat láxxa! véna máya bíyya là b-+karúvva.* ‘The chickens here produce eggs without a rooster.’ (B 7:4)

Likewise an adjective is occasionally found connected to the head noun with the subordinating *t* and this too can be interpreted as a reduced relative clause:

- (23) *cərvíšət dmáxta xazzívala.* ‘They used to see a rabbit that (was) asleep.’ (B 4:4)

In (24) the reduced relative clause is fronted before the head noun:

- (24) *+róba ’ət-košunàya +dóstə ’átvəla.* ‘He had many friends who (were) military (people).’ (A 41:17)

#### 14.1.1.1.2    *kat*

Relative clauses introduced by *kat* that have a definite nominal antecedent may be restrictive or non-restrictive.

A definite head of a restrictive relative clause is generally preceded by a demonstrative, which binds the noun anaphorically with the descriptive content of the relative clause. The demonstrative is either from the default or the near deixis series, e.g.

- (1) *é báxta kát pyàyəla láxma! bədráyula +al-de-màzrak.* ‘The woman who was baking bread would put it on the baking cushion.’ (B 10:14)
- (2) *ka-cúlla dánnə +parsúpə kátju-dé dóštət ’Ùrmi ci-xáyyi! kát məššəlmànəna! ci-+kárax +hošārə.* ‘We call all those people that live in the plain of Urmi who are Muslims *hošārə*.’ (B 2:16)
- (3) *án čám kamáyə məššənnérə kát tilun! ju-dóštət ’Ùrmi.* ‘the very first missionaries that came to the plain of Urmi’ (B 2:12)

In (4) the head nominal is fronted before the verb, which separates it from the following relative clause:

- (4) *xáti ka-dá yála +byáyəla kat-nùynə zabúnəla.* ‘My sister loves the lad who sells fish.’ (A 34:4)

A copula element within the relative clause is occasionally fronted and attached to the *kat* particle, in which case the final /t/ becomes a tense stop /t̪/, due to its coalescence with the initial laryngal of the copula, e.g.

- (5) *cačála kat-íla málca| ... bədráyələ kálə ...* 'The bald man who is the king ... shouts ...' (A 1:29)

In (5) the head noun does not have a demonstrative. This may be due to the fact that the referent is easily recoverable from the preceding discourse and additional anaphoric cues are unnecessary.

In many cases the relative clause introduced by *kat* after a definite nominal antecedent is non-restrictive, i.e. it occurs in a context where the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the referent of the head nominal without further modification. In such cases the function of the relative clause is to add supplementary, often recapitulatory, information concerning the antecedent and is assertive. In most cases such clauses convey information that has a background status in the discourse, e.g.

- (6) *Nátan brúnu kat-jurvássuva fú ... malciytəva| +naràhat víla.* 'His son Natan, whom he had brought up and (who) was (now) in the royal court, became discontent.' (A 3:17)
- (7) *'á 'axúna +júra kat 'ótłə xačlánə +raba| bitáyələ +bətlábələ mən-'axúnū +hayyárta.* 'The eldest brother, who has many fields, comes and asks his brother for help.' (A 38:2)
- (8) *'ánnə míyyət +'ánvə kat c-avíva xvítələ 'áx míyya +t̪inànəl ka-móriša c-avíva 'ax-ət-'ámri +sápyə 'ax-zýa.* 'The grape juices, which were mixed like muddy water, in the morning were, as they say, clear as a bell.' (B 12:3)

The non-restrictive relative is often separated syntactically from the head by intervening material and also detached prosodically by being presented in a separate intonation group. This suggests that they are not integrated syntactically in the nominal phrase of the antecedent but rather are related to the antecedent noun in a looser relationship, which may be termed supplementation,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

- (9) *+yánə 'an-jardéya xrúzlun +'ál ju-dàrta 'átxa,| +xárta xa-tre-+tlá dánə=za +'áil váddar mən-dàrtal kat 'áha| bát ... +'áxəl mənné| +xárta p̪t-ázəl.* 'Lay

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the terminology proposed by Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1058) for the syntax of English.

out the round loaves together in the courtyard like this, then two or three outside of the courtyard, which he will eat, then he will go along.' (A 37:3)

- (10) *'u-+byáyələ mən-de-yòmmu| kət-ilə xumìtu| báxtət +'Axìkar| ávə mónnō 'áx +jòra.'* 'He wants to be with his mother, who has nurtured him, the wife of Axiqar, as a husband.' (A 3:38)

Example (9) from a narrative contains a non-restrictive relative clause that serves to continue the event line of the narrative. Such continuative non-restrictive relatives in narratives convey foreground information.

#### 14.1.1.3 t + *k*at

These are functionally equivalent to constructions in which the head is marked by the affix *t* alone. The relative clause after a definite head is restrictive and the head is preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

- (1) *'o-násət kát... +al-málcat jànu| Pxäyānàt<sup>p</sup> 'ávəd,| +xəltə 'ávəd| +al-'alàha-zə vádələ| +xəltə|* 'The man who does treachery to his own king, who commits a fault, commits the fault also against God.' (A 3:48)
- (2) *'áyən xəzyálun| ju-ctávə bəctàvəna,| 'o-ctávət kət-ctívuna ká bòard-at diyyé| ju-Bòston,| láxxa ju-'Amèrica,| márəna ...* 'They saw it (the plain of Urmia) and write in their book, the book that they wrote to their board in Boston here in America, they say ...' (B 2:14)
- (3) *'án məndyánət kət-kámta mirevá kátu|* 'the things that he had previously told him' (A 3:89)
- (4) *'u-'a-vazzírət kət-ilə cəs-málca| šámmu-da 'Alla-Vardi-+Xàn-ilə|* 'And the vizier who is with the king, his name is also Allah-Vardi-Khan.' (A 1:28)

#### 14.1.1.4 Demonstrative Pronoun + t

Occasionally a non-restrictive relative construction is formed by resuming the head noun with a demonstrative pronoun combined with the relative particle *t*, rather than attaching the *t* directly to the head noun. This is often placed in a separate intonation group, but is occasionally in the same intonation group as the head noun, as in (4):

- (1) *cúllə mən-dánnə košüynu| 'án-t bitáyəna kát ka-díyyi ... +kàtlí| xá samé bət- +kətłənnə|* 'All of those troops of his, who are coming to kill me, I shall kill a part of them.' (A 39:42)
- (2) *'é cə́ččə xúš 'atyàni,| 'é t-ín 'ána +byàyo,| 'ána +spáy t-avìna|* 'Let that girl come, the one whom I love, and I shall get better.' (A 56:3)

- (3) *'o-súysət ḁat-múyyulə mənnu,| 'o=t-márən ḁat-m-ju-+hàva práxələ,| 'àha bətyávələ +'ällu.|* 'He sits on the horse that he brought with him, the one that I say flies in the air.' (A42:22)
- (4) *'átxa +bar-náša| zabúmal ḁa-+tálə,| +tálə 'o=t mən-cúllə bišələ.|* 'The man betrays the fox in this way, the fox, which is the most wicked of all (animals).' (A 47:20)

In (5), in a text from Georgia, the predicative adjective of the embedded clause is fronted before the relative particle:

- (5) *xášle ćen +karavàšu,| +šudrèlə| cás de-çàččələ | é +cásəb t-íva.|* 'His servants went off, he sent them to the girl, the one who was poor.' (A 56:3)

#### 14.1.1.5 $\dot{t}$ -i

In the variety of the dialect spoken in Georgia the relative particle occasionally has the form  $\dot{t}$ -i, e.g.

- (1) *+xárta árak=da ci-+pál̥ti b-dé pílluš- $\dot{t}$ -i-+jámmax-xina.|* 'Then they produce arak from the grape must that we gather.'

This particle, which is more frequently used in Georgia as a temporal particle or complementizer of a content clause (§14.5.3.2.), appears to have arisen by a shortening of the combination of the particle *t* with the copula, i.e.  $\dot{t}$ -i <  $\dot{t}$ -ilə.

#### 14.1.1.2 Indefinite Nominal Antecedent

##### 14.1.1.2.1 t

A relative clause following an indefinite antecedent nominal with the subordinating particle *t* may be restrictive or non-restrictive.

When the clause is restrictive the indefinite head by itself may refer to a set of referents or to a generic class, e.g.

- (1) *lá jáxcət bí ... nášət +dòstux=ina.|* 'Do not laugh at people who are your friends.' (A 3:9)

In such cases the head may be preceded by the universal quantifier, e.g.

- (2) *cíl-məndit +bàyyət b-yavvànnux.|* 'I shall give you everything that you want.' (A 3:85)

The phrase *cul-məndit* is often contracted in fast speech to *cu-mət*. In (3) the relative particle is elided, resulting in a further truncation:

- (3) *'ádi cù-m<sup>+</sup>báyyət̪ fu-da-dúnyə 'ána ka-díyyux yàvvən.*! ‘Now I shall give you everything that you want in the world.’ (A 40:8)

In (4) the head consists of two nouns linked by the disjunctive particle *yan* ‘or’. Each noun has the relative particle:

- (4) *fu-dan-<sup>+</sup>madrašyàtə<sup>!</sup> +rabíyyət̪ yán<sup>!</sup> rabíyyátət̪ 'átvə ci-<sup>+</sup>ma᷑krīva.*! ‘In those schools male teachers and female teachers that were there used to teach.’ (B 1:31)

When the indefinite antecedent has a specific referent, the relative clause is non-restrictive. In such cases the relative clause is often detached prosodically from the antecedent. This is likely to reflect the different pragmatic status of non-restrictive relatives. Whereas restrictive relatives typically contain presuppositional information, a non-restrictive relative is typically assertive and therefore more prominent, e.g.

- (5) *'átvəlun<sup>!</sup> +rába dàvə<sup>!</sup> t-íva<sup>!</sup> +júmma mán ... škilé mán ducána xìna.*! ‘They had a lot of gold coins, which they had gathered from ..., they had taken from other places.’ (A 37:22)
- (6) *'átvə hádax<sup>!</sup> +dána<sup>!</sup> 'at-kənyàna<sup>!</sup> tavərta<sup>!</sup> hám=da<sup>!</sup> +'álma m-<sup>+</sup>ùydalə ci-xayyíva.*! ‘There was such a time when cattle, a cow, and also people lived together.’ (B 17:39)
- (7) *'a-Nàtan<sup>!</sup> 'átvəl xa-'axúna.<sup>!</sup> +'Axiqar<sup>!</sup> xùbba maxzíva ka-dá 'axúna,<sup>!</sup> xá 'axúna xìna 'at-'átvələ<sup>!</sup>* ‘Natan had a brother. Axiqar showed love to this brother, another brother that he had.’ (A 3:17)

In (5) the subordinating particle is separated from the antecedent by an intonation group boundary and attached to a following copula. In (6) and (7) the particle stands independently from the antecedent and is a proclitic of what follows.

#### 14.1.1.2.2 *kat*

Likewise, after *kat* the indefinite antecedent may refer to a set of referents or generic class rather than a specific referent, in which case the relative clause is restrictive, or the antecedent may have a specific referent and the relative clause is non-restrictive.

In the attested examples clauses introduced by *kat* exhibit a greater syntactic and prosodic independence from the antecedent than constructions with the *t* particle even when the clause is restrictive. In the following examples of restrictive relatives the relative particle is in many cases separated from the head by an intonation group boundary:

- (1) *háč náša láttən kat-káti ́átə mák̥kəm mən-da-+’arrə.* ‘There is nobody to come and get me up from the ground.’ (A 33:1)
- (2) *háč náša ju-dúnyə láttən kat-ká-diyi +’aldə.* ‘There is nobody in the world who could trick me.’ (A 22:1)
- (3) *náša lət̥l̥ kat-’á-məndi ’avədla.* ‘There is nobody who can do this.’ (A 3:45)
- (4) *lāttən xá məndi<sup>l̥</sup> jáv +’átra<sup>l̥</sup> kat<sup>l̥</sup> xušbiyna ’ódət +’allu.* ‘There is nothing in the land that you can count on.’ (A 1:21)
- (5) *lá ’ávət mən-xa-bàxta<sup>l̥</sup> kat<sup>l̥</sup> jóro mítələ.* ‘Do not be with a woman whose husband has died.’ (A 3:10)
- (6) *xa-mándi +báyyən tānat kat-háč náša lə-’avə +šámyu ju-dúnyə.* ‘I want you to tell me something that nobody in the world has heard.’ (A 3:75)
- (7) *+’ràba məndyánə, šácar<sup>l̥</sup> yàn<sup>l̥</sup> xácmá məndyánə kat<sup>l̥</sup> ju-matvátə lətva<sup>l̥</sup> ci-zonìva.* ‘They used to buy many things, sugar or things that did not exist in the villages.’ (B 2:8)

Note that the unrealis *patəx* form is used after the antecedents that refer to generic classes (§ 10.2.1.1.5.). This is the case where the speaker is not committed to the existence of a referent in the class, i.e. the class may be empty of referents in reality. This is explicitly the case when the existence is denied as in (1)–(4).

Examples of non-restrictive relative clauses following an antecedent with a specific referent are:

- (8) *’áha málca káti ́va xá +karùvvəl̥ kat<sup>l̥</sup> +’úxča šapíra kàla ’átvələ.* ‘This king was a rooster to me, who had such a beautiful voice.’ (A 3:81)
- (9) *’ádi xa-bába xína týyələ kat-’át ’ax-brúnuvət.* ‘Now another father has come, whose son you are like.’ (A 3:93)
- (10) *’áha-zə xá mən-+adáttət bne-’Úrmila<sup>l̥</sup> kat<sup>l̥</sup> ju-mátxət šánnə vidoна.* ‘This too is one of the traditions of the Urmi people, which they have practiced for a period of (many) years.’ (B 12:9)
- (11) *bəškálələ mádrə xá-duryə ménđi šapíra<sup>l̥</sup> kat<sup>l̥</sup> müyyulə mən-Màcca.* ‘He again takes a load of beautiful stuff, which he has brought from Mecca.’ (A 1:16)

In (12) the head noun is qualified first by a restrictive relative clause introduced by the subordinator *t* and then subsequently by non-restrictive clauses introduced by *kat*:

- (12) *’áha jári ’avəl ’o-nášət ’ána +byàyun| kat-lá-’avilə +’àx| kat-lá-’avilə xàšša.*  
 ‘This must be the man I want, who does not have “ah!”, who does not have sorrow.’ (A 4:4)

#### 14.1.1.2.3 t + *kat*

Relative clauses in constructions combining the *t* particle on the antecedent with a following *kat* are restrictive in the attested examples:

- (1) *xáslux cás nášət kat p-ida plíxəna| là cəs-’aláha.* ‘You went to people who were made by hand (idols), not to God.’ (A 3:5)  
 (2) *+rába=zəjordéyə ci-maġjábva| jordéyə yán cècəl məndyánət kat yámmu é-dána bašlāva.* ‘He very much used to like round loaves, round loaves or cakes, things that his mother used to cook at that time.’ (A 37:2)

#### 14.1.1.3 Pronominal Antecedent

The antecedent of a relative clause may be pronominal. This is either a universal quantifier used pronominally, a demonstrative pronoun, an interrogative particle or an indefinite particle.

##### 14.1.1.3.1 Universal Quantifier

In most cases this is the quantifier particle *cút*, which is a contraction of *cul* + the subordinating particle *t*. The relative clause is restrictive in that it specifies which of the potential set of referents of the head the speaker has in mind, e.g.

- (1) *cút la-pàləx| lé +’àxəl.* ‘Whoever does not work does not eat.’ (A 35:17)  
 (2) *cút tílə t+axlənnə| maķdànnə.* ‘Whoever comes, I shall eat him, I shall burn him.’ (A 40:9)  
 (3) *cut-maččəlx| xá-dana +dínar b-yavvànnə.* ‘Whoever finds it, I shall give him a dinar.’ (A 26:1)  
 (4) *cút mučxélə| +záya ’ət-+dàvun-ilə.* ‘Whoever finds them, the foal is his.’ (A 38:7)  
 (5) *cúllət +báyyət ӯdət b-rišu vùd.* ‘Do whatever you want to do to him.’ (A 3:88)  
 (6) *cút-ilə bitáya màra.* ‘Whoever comes says ...’ (A 3:43)  
 (7) *cút +šrá tapəl ’ət-jarìma.* ‘Whoever lights a lantern (= if anybody lights a lantern), there is a fine.’ (A 2:2)

In (8) the relative clause has been reduced with loss both of the copula and the subordinating particle *-ət*:

- (8) *cul-víyya viyyələ.* ‘Whatever has been has been.’ (A 3:54)

#### 14.1.1.3.2 Demonstrative Pronoun

A default anaphoric pronoun is generally used when the relative clause is restrictive and the reference of the pronoun is internal to the noun phrase, the identity of the referent being established by the content of the relative clause. In most cases the relative particle is *t*, e.g.

- (1) *ð=ə=t-ləjúllə šaþírə šakəllun.* *ð=t-lətlə-dəl zàvən.* ‘Whoever has fine clothes should take them. Whoever does not have any should buy them.’ (A 2:20)
- (2) *kámēta +šadúrlə   =t mótyəva +  llo k  m  ta.* ‘First he sends the one (= the girl) whom he had reached first.’ (A 39:15)
- (3) *k  m  ta   n=t ju-m  y  a buþ  lt  la may  l  a yav  l  a k  tu.* ‘First she brings those that she has cooked in water and gives them to him.’ (A 36:8)
- (4) *m  t n  yn  ?* *  n=t   na m  nju-+  rra +pult  nva.* ‘“What fish?” “The ones I had taken out of the field.”’ (A 36:14)
- (5) *+þ  é +al-d  =t   ha v  d  l  l  .* ‘How fortunate for him who has done this.’ (A 45:16)
- (6) *x   m-d  n-t-  v  a mx  y  u +mat  l  su.* ‘One of those who were hitting it would stick it in.’ (B 17:1)
- (7) *    t mx  y  l  a r  x  k  l   =t l  axxa c  ly  l  l   +b  rx  k  t  l  l  .* ‘When he hits it far, the one who is standing here, he would run.’ (B 9:7)

Sporadically the relative particle is *kat*, e.g.

- (8) *+r  ba bas  ma c-  v  a,* *v   +þam  na c-  v  a m-d   k  t b   ... +n  y  l  a b-+jaz  yl v  duna.* ‘It (i.e. the bread of the traditional oven) is very delicious, and it is more tasty than the one they make with oil or diesel fuel.’ (B 14:4)
- (9) *  na +by  y  n   nn   +al-da-+m  ydan +j  my  na,* *+jam  hat +  lm  a,* *+b  kri* ... *  l   k  t-+k  tl  l  un m  nil  .* ‘I want these people who have gathered in this square, this crowd of people, to ask ... who is the one whom I have killed?’ (A 48:19)

On some occasions, the relative clause is non-restrictive. In such cases a deictic pronoun with a deictic function may be used (11):

- (10) *'á-da mən-jibət +dàvun| kat kày máxyələ| 'ána kàx mxíli.* ‘There, instead of him, who has hit me, I have hit you.’ (A 21:3)
- (11) *+'avva-t-ílə bitá +maṭilux.* ‘That one, who is coming, will reach you.’ (A 7:4)

In (12)–(15) a pronominal head is followed by an adverbial without a copula. This may be considered to be a reduced relative clause:

- (12) *bí jarúma +úllul 'átvala cipa,| trè cípəl| xà-dana| càlyələ| ő=t +úllul partùləva.* ‘On an axle on top it had a stone, two stones, one was stationary, the one on top turned.’ (B 17:6)
- (13) *ő=t cípələjári +yáttə 'ídət mág=la ę=t xùta.* ‘The one who is bending down must know whose hand is the one that is below.’ (B 9:9)
- (14) *ő=t kámta* ‘the one that (existed) formerly.’ (B 17:33)
- (15) *ę=t laxxa* ‘the one (f.) who is here’

In some comparative constructions the demonstrative head may be elided, e.g.

- (16) *'ána yuvválli káto xámša tákə mán dő-t yuvválli ka-+dàv.* ~ *'ána yuvválli káto xámša tákə mán d-yuvválli ka-+dàv.* ‘I gave her five times more than I gave him.’

In cases such as this where there is no syntactic head item the relative particle has the voiced form *d-*. One may compare this to the occurrence of voiced *d-* before a numeral in indefinite ordinal constructions without a head (§ 9.14.):

*xa xabuyšət +ar̥pa* ‘a fourth apple’  
*škúl d-+ar̥pa!* ‘Take a fourth one!’

#### 14.1.1.3.3 *Interrogative Pronoun*

The interrogative pronouns *mani* ‘who’ and *'əm-* ‘which’ may act as indefinite pronominal heads of a relative clause. These may be combined with the subordinating particle *-t* (*mani=t* and *'əmnət*), e.g.

- (1) *máni=t 'átvala jòzə,| józə +mráčəva bədráyəva jávo.* ‘Whoever had walnuts would crush walnuts and put them in it.’ (B 15:9)
- (2) *'əmnət tilə,| b-sépa kđálū mxila.* ‘Whoever came she beheaded.’ (A 43:2)

These types of heads are also combined with the relative clause asyndetically (§ 14.1.2.3.).

#### 14.1.1.3.4 *Indefinite Cardinal Numeral*

The head may be an indefinite numeral without a specific referent, e.g.

- (1) *'ána +bayyən xá=t lélə +šmīta.* | 'I want one that is not broken.'

#### 14.1.2 *Asyndetic Relative Clause*

##### 14.1.2.1 Indefinite Nominal Head

Relative constructions containing indefinite antecedent nominals may be asyndetic, with no connective particle.

In some cases the clause following the antecedent noun is restrictive in function and so may be identified on semantic grounds as a relative construction that is syntactically integrated with the antecedent noun, which functions as the head of the construction. The head generally does not have a specific referent. The verb of the relative clause is often an irrealis form (§ 10.2.1.1.5.), e.g.

- (1) *lábbu +bətlába +'al-xá-naša 'ax-diyyu 'áva.* | 'His heart was seeking somebody who would be like him.' (A 3:14)
- (2) *'átlux xa-násá! mattótlə šòpux?* | 'Do you have a person whom you could put in your place?' (A 3:14)
- (3) *xa-mándi-da látvá 'ána +axlənva.* | 'Moreover there was nothing that I could eat.' (A 36:10)
- (4) *májar 'áttən málca xína ju-da-+átrət díyyi 'ána lēn-+bəddà?* | 'But is there another king in this country of mine whom I do not know?' (A 1:28)

Constructions such as (5) may also be interpreted as asyndetic relative clauses:

- (5) *yávvat kátu xá móndi +'áxla.* | 'Give her something to eat (= something that she may eat).' (A 35:6)

In (6) and (7) the indefinite head has a specific referent:

- (6) *+kúsárta miyyovət 'átnə! cmá-+dana kám 'adíyya, +bayyənna.* | 'I want a pot that you took some time ago.' (A 8:5)
- (7) *xá yúma 'áttən ju-Zumállan ci-+jammilə.* | 'There is a day in Zumallan that they jointly hold.' (B 11:11)

In many cases a clause containing an indefinite noun with a specific referent is followed asyndetically by a clause that presents supplementary information about this referent. Such clauses are idiomatically translated into English by relative clauses. There is generally nothing structural or semantic in the NENA

dialect, however, that is clearly diagnostic of their subordinate status and integration into the matrix construction. Examples:

- (8) *xa-náša 'áttənju-<sup>+</sup>düssak<sup>l</sup> bədmáyəla<sup>+</sup>älli.* ‘There is a man in prison who resembles me.’ (A 3:35)
- (9) *'átvə lətval<sup>l</sup> xá yálə 'átvəl<sup>+</sup>másta<sup>l</sup> <sup>+</sup>al-ríšu<sup>l</sup> <sup>+</sup>rába lətva.* ‘Once upon a time, there was a lad who did not have much hair on his head.’ (A 37:1)
- (10) *xa-bàxta bəjvárələ<sup>l</sup> šámmo<sup>l</sup> <sup>+</sup>Máhəva.* ‘He marries a woman, whose name is <sup>+</sup>Mahə.’ (A 40:1)
- (11) *'áha málca<sup>l</sup> 'átvələ xa-báxča<sup>l</sup> <sup>+</sup>rába šap̄rta,<sup>l</sup> jávo<sup>l</sup> 'átvələ xa-'ilánət xabùšə.* ‘This king had a very beautiful garden, in which there was an apple tree.’ (A 39:1)
- (12) *ju-matvátə 'átvə tanúrə<sup>l</sup> tanúrə<sup>l</sup> <sup>+</sup>rába 'átxa<sup>l</sup> <sup>+</sup>ámku<sup>l</sup> javé láxma ci-yap̄iva.* ‘In the villages there were ovens, ovens, very deep like this, in which they used to bake bread.’ (B 2:9)
- (13) *<sup>+</sup>ál dán pardívvə-də ci-mattíva<sup>l</sup> <sup>+</sup>pavánət 'ilànə<sup>l</sup> brízə,<sup>l</sup> čarpívvə ci-tanáx-valun<sup>l</sup> <sup>+</sup>áxnan.* ‘On the laths they put dry branches of trees, which we used to call twigs.’ (B 2:20)

On some occasions such clauses are kept together with the noun they relate to in the same intonation group, e.g.

- (14) *dúlə 'axúnan muyyíla xá<sup>l</sup> <sup>+</sup>séda t-<sup>+</sup>axlàxlə.* ‘Look our brother has brought a item of prey that we shall eat.’ (A 37:12)
- (15) *ci-<sup>+</sup>pal̄tívalun<sup>l</sup> lablívalun<sup>l</sup> <sup>+</sup>érxa-<sup>+</sup>átvə.* ‘They used to extract it (the wheat) and take it to a water-mill that was (in the village).’ (B 2:9)

In (14)–(15) the relative clauses, although non-restrictive, do not present background information, as is typically the case with non-restrictive clauses, but rather are part of the primary message of the matrix clause. In (14) the main point is that the prey is something the speakers can eat. In (15) the assertion about the existence of the water-mill within the community of the speaker would be redundant as background information. Rather it should be interpreted as being within the foreground of the matrix clause, which could be paraphrased thus: ‘there was a water-mill and they take it to the water-mill’.

Similar remarks apply to (16), in which a generic antecedent ‘stars’ is followed by a non-restrictive relative clause. The relative clause cannot be restrictive, since all stars shine in the sky, but it is part of the primary message and not a piece of supplementary background information. In this case the relative clause is not joined prosodically to the head, since it is separated from it by

an intonation group boundary. The construction does, however, exhibit greater syntactic integration with the head than typical non-restrictive relative clauses, since the verb is irrealis, which is a feature of restrictive relative clauses after a generic head.

- (16) *madmuyévən +al-càxvəl ávíju-šmáyya +balbiùsə.* ‘I compare them to stars that shine in the sky’ (A 3:62)

The asyndetic construction is found when the head indefinite nominal phrase is preceded by the interrogative particle *'əm-* ‘whichever’:

- (17) *'əm- +jora +báyyə 'àtə, 'àtə.* ‘Whichever man wishes to come with me, let him come.’

In some cases a copula is elided from an asyndetic relative clause, e.g.

- (18) *jašúkələ xá báxta cóso bulmàlla ... dúla tila.* ‘He looks (and sees) that a woman with entangled hair has come.’ (A 39:33)  
 (19) *xá-yuma bøtpákələ bí xá dána xìvvəl túpru +kèçya.* ‘One day he meets a snake, the tail of which has been cut off.’ (A 46:4)  
 (20) *xá bráta átlun šámmo Suriyya.* ‘They have a daughter whose name is Suriya.’ (A 36:2)  
 (21) *mən-dó-yba bitáyəna susavàyl +allé +sayàdəl* ‘From the other side horses come, on which there are hunters.’ (A 47:18)  
 (22) *xa lišanu +yarixa* ‘somebody with a long tongue’ (i.e. a voluble person)

In these constructions the relative clause is syntactically integrated with the head both through the elision of the copula and also through the fact that it occurs in the same intonation group as the head. As in the constructions (14)–(16) above, the content of the relative clauses in (18)–(21) can be interpreted as a component of the primary message. In (22), which has an indefinite pronominal head, the relative clause is restrictive.

A clause with a locative predicate that lacks the copula may be juxtaposed with the head noun as its modifier. The lack of the copula reflects a degree of grammatical integration with the head, e.g.

- (23) *+m̄lìlunl +al-xa-kùnyal xa-cípa +rába +jùra +állu.* ‘They arrived at a well, over which there was a very large stone.’ (A 39:6)

When the subject of such locative phrases is the same as the head, they may be juxtaposed asyndetically after both definite and indefinite nouns. When the noun is definite, it is sometimes combined with an anaphoric pronoun binding the head to the modifier, which is a characteristic feature of the structure of restrictive relative clause constructions, e.g.

- (24) *xa-mən-dan-šəcvàñəvən| xut-’áklət málca.* ‘I am one of the ants under the foot of the king.’ (A 3:66)

#### 14.1.2.2 Definite Nominal Head

Sporadically a relative clause following a definite head is asyndetic, e.g.

- (1) *váy márrə +mámuni! ’ávət basíma! +’al-dá násyat ká-díyyi yuvválux.* ‘Oh, uncle, thank you for this advice that you have given me.’ (A 42:9)

#### 14.1.2.3 Pronominal Head

The subordinating particle *t* is omitted after the interrogative pronoun *’am-* ‘which’ when this has a pronominal or nominal complement, e.g.

- (1) *’á +xlúyla ’axnòxun! ’ámne +bayyítun mazmərrítun! ’ámne +bàyyəl ràkəd.* ‘In this wedding you make sing whoever you wish, who should dance.’ (B 5:4)
- (2) *’ámnoxun +báyyə ’áta mənni, ’ázax.* ‘Whichever of you wants to come with me, let’s go.’
- (3) *’ámnat násə ’átlə jøddášta motàna! +jammíva! p̄t-azíva ja-bēt-+dàvun.* ‘Whoever of the people has had an accident or somebody deceased, they would gather and go to his house.’ (B 5:6)

The *t* is sometimes omitted elsewhere after interrogative pronominal heads, e.g.

- (4) *máni +byáyələ ’áta mənni, ’ázax.* ‘Whoever wants to come with me, let’s go.’
- (5) *mánilə nòbu! +’avun ci-maštíva.* ‘Whoever’s turn it is, he would irrigate.’ (B 17:29)

In (6) the subordinating *t* has been omitted after the pronominal head *’annə*. This is followed by a predicate of the embedded clause which has the annexation particle *’at-*:

- (6) *'ánnə 'ət-+'àrbab=ina| dàj mxayéna.* ‘They mark with a stamp those that belong to the landlord.’ (B 3:18)

#### 14.1.2.4 No Head

Asyndetic relative constructions include relative clauses that lack both a relative particle and also the explicit syntactic expression of the head. The zero head has the sense of an indefinite pronoun with a non-specific referent ('some', 'something', 'things') and the relative clause is non-restrictive. This is found in existential constructions such as (1) and (2):

- (1) *'éttən háda banívalun.* | *'éttən cúlla bí +tìna ci-banívalun.* ‘There were (some who) built like that. There were (some who) built them all with mud.’ (B 3:37)
- (2) *ham=da 'át mənné 'átle miyya.* | ‘There are also (some) among them (who) have water.’ (B 17:31)

Zero heads can also be identified as existing in naming constructions such as those in (3)–(5) in which the name of the item in question takes the nuclear stress and is typically fronted before the verb:

- (3) *+arabána 'átvala tré pàlla +bøkráyøva.* ‘The cart had two (things that) they called shafts.’ (B 17:52)
- (4) *+bár +mráxtat 'ánnə +'ànvø,| 'ánnə míyyat ... +'ánvø ci-darívalun ju-xácma ... +tagjärət ci-+karáxlun.* | ‘After crushing the grapes, they used to pour the juice of the grapes into some ... (things) we used to call “bins.”’ (B 12:2)
- (5) *ci-+kattíva címo| 'áxnan ci-tanàxlun xína.* | ‘They used to cut (something) we called “sods.”’ (B 2:18)

#### 14.1.3 Adverbial Antecedent

A number of subordinate clauses that have adverbial antecedents are equivalent in structure to relative clauses. This is the case, for example, with the common construction in which the noun *+dana* ‘time’ is used adverbially at the head of a relative construction (§ 14.5.5.1), e.g.

- (1) *'é-+danət sátvə tìyyølə| ... jári 'é-+dana 'ázi kësə máyyi.* | ‘At the time that (= when) the winter has come, ... at that time they must go and fetch wood.’ (A 37:13)
- (2) *'é-+dánət lèx béta,| ... 'ázət xá xáčča miyya mayyátlan.* | ‘At the time that (= when) we are not at home, ... go and bring us some water.’ (A 37:14)

The subordinating affix *t* is often contracted, e.g.

- (3) *č-+dān +bīlan maplāxxax| mánno maplāxxax.* ‘Whenever we want to use (it), we can use some of it.’ (A 37:18)
- (4) *hàl’ ’ám-+dān +bayyíva šatíva c-atíva patxívalə| b-+tása šaklíva| šatíva.* ‘Until whenever they wanted to drink, they would come and open it, they would take it in a cup and drink it.’ (B 3:16)

In (5), in which iterative activities are expressed, the demonstrative is omitted before the adverbial:

- (5) *bərráxša bərráxša| +dánət tétu karbántu| xzílə là| xína hóč-məndi lèla macúxə.* ‘He goes and goes, but when he comes and approaches, he saw that no, he does not find anything.’ (A 4:3)

Other adverbial heads include cases such as the following:

- (6) *’ó-yumət xmártux +tlájáhə +’arṭàla,| ’ó-yuma mètət.* ‘On the day that your jenny farts three times, on that day you will die.’ (A 32:2)
- (7) *’é=jøt tile,| látva tàxta,| látvale hóč mándi.* ‘At the time that they came, there was no wooden bed, they had nothing.’ (B 17:34)

In (8) the adverbial *e=jøt* is followed by an adverbial without a copula. This may be regarded as a reduced relative clause:

- (8) *’é=jøt kàmta!* ‘in the time of before (= in former times)’ (B 17:33)

The adverbial interrogative *’ica?* ‘where’ may serve as a head, e.g.

- (9) *’à-sepət díyyi! ’ícət maxənva| c-odáñvalə trè.* ‘Wherever I struck my sword, I cut (the victim) in two.’ (A 2:28)
- (10) *’ícət ’áttēn cačàlə| bədvačé mayèna.* ‘Wherever there are bald men they seize them and bring them in.’ (A 1:40)
- (11) *’ícət ’átlax júllə šapírə| hállun káti jàldə!* ‘Wherever you have beautiful clothes, give them to me quickly!’ (A 1:13)
- (12) *jáldə m-ícət týyəvət +dùr.* ‘Quickly from wherever you have come, return (there).’ (A 39:11)

Sometimes the main clause contains a demonstrative element that has a correlative linkage to the adverbial relative clause:

- (13) *'ícət sítysi clilə,| 'ána +tàma.|* 'Wherever my horse stops, I (shall stop) there.' (A 42:32)
- (14) *'ícət ju-dəm-mándit sítysi' clilə,| kam-dəm-+tàrra,| 'ána t-+òrən fu-do-bèta.|* 'Wherever, at whatever thing my horse stops, before whatever door, I shall enter into that house.' (A 43:13)

In (15) it is connected to the clause by *kat*:

- (15) *xá-yuma +vára jàv! bétət yála súra 'íca kát dmìxələ| jašúkəna +al-jarjúšta xívva tìvalə.|* 'One day they go into the house where the child is sleeping and see that a snake is sitting on the cradle.' (A 46:1)

In (16), in a text from Georgia, the head *'ica* is connected to the embedded clause by two relative elements. These include the affix *-t* on the head and the particle *t-i* on the verb. The particle *t-i* is a distinctive feature of the variety of the dialect spoken in Georgia (§ 14.1.1.1.5., § 14.5.3., § 14.5.3.2.):

- (16) *xóšlə 'á náša sàval módrə +tàmal 'ícət ý nuýna t-í dvikàlə.|* 'The old man went off again there where he caught the fish.' (A 54:4)

In (17) a relative clause with the definite universal quantifier *culla* as head has a causal adverbial function:

- (17) *'axúna súra cílla t-ílə plíxa! +rába šuršìyyələ.|* 'The younger brother, due to all he has worked, is very tired.' (A 38:4)

#### **14.1.4    *The Internal Structure of Relative Clauses***

When the referent of the head nominal is the subject of the relative clause, it is expressed by the subject inflection of the verb or copula. When the referent of the head has some other grammatical relation in the relative clause, this is expressed by coreferential pronominal suffixes in the appropriate syntactic position. This is illustrated in the foregoing examples. Some structures, however, require further comment.

The resumptive pronominal element in the relative clause may occur on a verb that is embedded under another verb, e.g.

- (1) *'áha móndit 'ána +báyyən tanìnna! bədvákələ mən-cíllə matvátət dìyyan.|* 'This thing that I want to say (= what I want to say) holds for all our villages.' (B 2:1)

When the referent of the head has the function of complement of a preposition or adverbial within the relative clause, the resumptive element is sometimes omitted, e.g.

- (2) *ka-báxtu maxzúyol dúcta kat-mítələ*.| 'He shows his wife the place where he has died.' (A 33:2)
- (3) *ci-bašlaxlun* | *har-b-dé səstímət ju-màta c-odáxvala*.| 'We cook them, just like the system that we used to practice in the village.' (B 12:9)
- (4) *ducánə xína kát tpíkəna b-+Már +Avrám, +Már Yósəp, +Mar 'Illyya, +Már Yuxànnan* | 'other places in which they have met Mar Abraham, Mar Joseph, Mar Elijah and Mar John' (B 2:15)
- (5) *ána hác-ducta là mučáxlí* | *kat-báxti mattánna hemánta*.| 'I did not find any place to leave my wife in trust.' (A 1:5)
- (6) *+mṭílan +al-dé-ducta kát málca márləs kátu* | *kát ...* 'We reached the place in which the king says to him ...' (A 3:29)
- (7) *muttéla ju-‘upra +támə* | *é-duca kat-+màlla ptàna t-avádva*.| 'She put them in the ground, there, in the place where the mullah would plough.' (A 5:5)

When the referent of an indefinite head of a syndetic relative construction is a generic class and has the function of object in the relative clause, the resumptive object pronominal element is often omitted, e.g.

- (8) *cúl-məndit +báyyət b-yavvànnux*.| 'I shall give you everything that you want.' (A 3:85)
- (9) *cúllət +báyyət ódət bərríšu vùd*.| 'Do whatever you want to do to him.' (A 3:88)
- (10) *+rába-zəjərdéyə ci-májjábva, jərdéyə yán cècəl məndyánət kát yámmu é +dána bašlava*.| 'He very much used to like round loaves, round loaves or cakes, things that his mother used to cook at that time.' (A 37:2)
- (11) *cut-báxtət xázzət, méla làxxa*.| 'Bring here every woman you see.'
- (12) *cut-báxtət xzilə, miyyálə làxxa*.| 'He brought here every woman he saw.'

On some occasions a resumptive pronominal element is used, e.g.

- (13) *xa-mándi +báyyən tānət káti* | *kat-hác náša là-‘avə +šámyu ju-dúnyə*.| 'I want you to tell me something that nobody in the world has heard.' (A 3:75)
- (14) *cut-báxtət xazzətta, méla làxxa*.| 'Bring here every woman you see.'
- (15) *cut-báxtət xəzyálə, miyyálə làxxa*.| 'He brought here every woman he saw.'

When the relative construction is asyndetic, an indefinite head that has the function of object in the relative clause is regularly resumed by a pronominal object, e.g.

- (16) *'átlux xa-nàša| mattótło šòpux?'* 'Do you have a person whom you could put in your place?' (A 3:14)

As remarked above, a copula element within the relative clause is sometimes fronted and attached to the *t* element or the *kat* particle. This movement of the copula occurs only in a minority of relative clauses that contain it. In most of the attested examples the head noun of the construction has the role of subject in the relative clause and the copula is third person, e.g.

- (17) *cúllə=da 'an-+sarbàzə t-íva mónnu| cílla šátyəna +rùyəna.'* 'All the soldiers who were with him are all drunk and inebriated.' (A 3:35)
- (18) *'u-'a-vazzírət kat-íla cəs-màlca| šómmu-da 'Alla-Vardi-+Xān-ilə.'* 'And the vizier who is with the king, his name is also Allah-Vardi-Khan.' (A 1:28)
- (19) *sábab baxtày ci-bašliva làxma| +cavútra ci-lablíva ka-'urzán t-ína pəlxána +'al-vàddar.* 'because women would bake bread and take lunch to the men who were working ouside.' (A 5:6)
- (20) *cálba +bärkátna +'al-jánət dá móndi súra t-íla bità.* 'The dogs run to attack the little thing that is coming.' (A 38:18)
- (21) *cút-ilə bitáya màra|* 'Whoever comes says ...' (A 3:43)
- (22) *'u-+byáyələ mən-de-yòmmu| kat-íla xumítu| báxtat +Axiqar| ávə mónnō 'áx +jòra.* 'He wants to be with his mother, who has nurtured him, the wife of Axiqar, as a husband.' (A 3:38)

In these examples the relative clause is restrictive (17–21) or has the informational profile of restrictive relatives (22). In (22) the relative clause 'who has nurtured him' is non-restrictive on semantic grounds, but it is intended as part of the primary message of the matrix clause, rather than being presented as supplementary background information, as is typically the case with non-restrictive relative clauses. It is, therefore, more integrated with the head than typical non-restrictive clauses. The relative clauses in (17)–(22) are non-assertive, in that they do not express a proposition that can be evaluated as true or false.

In (23) and (24) the head noun is object in the relative clause:

- (23) *ó cačála xína kat-íva +tájər vídu| ... bəkyáməl màra|* 'The other bald man whom he had made into the merchant ... gets up and says ...' (A 1:37)

- (24) *cyùlət| t-ívən cílu +tàrra| manšènnə.* ‘I shall forget the measurement that I made for the door.’ (A 16:3)

The relative clause in (25) is non-restrictive and presents supplementary information:

- (25) *bitáyələ cəs-do-xóru xína| t-ílə xmárət +málla zùbnu.* ‘He comes to his other friend, who has sold the donkey of the mullah.’ (A 28:5)

In (26) the referent of the head noun has the role of genitive complement in the relative clause and the subject of the relative clause is the feminine noun *baxtu* ‘his wife’. The fronted copula of the relative clause, however, agrees with the head noun and is masculine singular:

- (26) *xá vádulə ... +tàyər| kat-ílə báxtu tlókta.* ‘He makes one into a merchant whose wife is lost.’ (A 1:24)

In (27) and (28) the copula is omitted in a relative clause with a pronominal head:

- (27) *cúlla kat-yívvə sadiyta| +jummél +tàma.* ‘He gathers there all who have given testimony.’ (A 1:42)  
 (28) *čén-t táza xátna càlu| ci-damxíva +tàma.* ‘Those who are recently the groom and bride (= the newlyweds) used to sleep there.’ (B 5:5)

Occasionally speakers disconnect the copula from the relative particle prosodically. This is found, for example, in several cases in text B1, e.g.

- (29) *’ína sámət kát ’íva ju-dòšta| ’átvəlun kənyànə.* ‘But the group who were on the plain had cattle.’ (B 1:23)

In (30) an independent copula is used in a non-restrictive asyndetic relative clause after an indefinite head with a specific referent. The relative clause is identificatory, which is one of the conditions of the use of the independent copula before the predicate (§ 10.5.2.):

- (30) *bədráyələ kálə ka-xá mən-cačáləl ilə| vazzər.* ‘He shouts to one of the bald men, who is the vizier.’ (A 1:29)

Some relative constructions with an indefinite head that refers to a class of entities have semantic parallels with conditional and temporal constructions. This is reflected also structurally by the use of verb forms that are characteristic of the protasis of conditional constructions (§ 14.6.), such as the *ptaxla* form referring to a possible situation in the future (31–32) and the irrealis *pataxva* form (33):

- (31) *cút mučxèla* +záya ’at-+dàvun-ilə. ‘Whoever finds them, the foal is his.’ (A 38:7)
- (32) *cút tíla t-+axlènnə*, *makdònna*. ‘Whoever comes, I shall eat him, I shall burn him.’ (A 40:9)
- (33) *cul-nášət* ... ó *xabúša* +axèlvalə, ... *ci-havíva jìl*. ‘Everybody who used to eat that apple would become young.’ (A 39:1)

This semantic overlap has occasionally resulted in blend constructions such as (34), which contains the temporal conjunction *íman* and the relativizer *kát*, and (35), which contains the conditional particle *’ən* and the relative head *cumandit*:

- (34) *íman xa-náša kát tánə* ’ána ’àtxən! ’ána ’àtxən, *’áha ci-tanyànnə katé*. ‘When a person says “I am like this, I am like that (= I am suffering)”, I tell this to them.’ (A 4:16)
- (35) *mattáva ju-de-sálta* ’án *cú-məndit* ’àtva. ‘She placed in that basket whatever there was.’ (B 9:5)

As for the word order of the core constituents of relative clauses, both subject and object constituents are generally placed before the verb.

Subject constituent:

- (36) ó *nišánkət* ’ána mütturn! +’áv-da vēl-+tàmma. ‘The sign that I had placed was in the entire street.’ (A 2:10)
- (37) *lá* ’ávət mən-xa-bàxta! *kát* +jóro mítəla. ‘Do not be with a woman whose husband has died.’ (A 3:10)
- (38) +rába-zəjordéyə ci-majgjábva, *jordéyə yán cèca*! *məndyánət kát yámmu* ’é-+dána bašlava. ‘He very much used to like round loaves, round loaves or cakes, things that his mother used to cook at that time.’ (A 37:2)
- (39) *xa-mándi* +báyyən tānat *kátíl* *kat-háč náša* *là-’avə* +šámyu *ju-dúnyə*. ‘I want you to tell me something that nobody in the world has heard.’ (A 3:75)

In (40) the subject and object are placed between the auxiliary and the resultative participle in a *vayələ ptixa* construction:

- (40) *'ína +bar-náša kát vágəl +tálə xáyyu purkè,| xáyyat +bar-náša,| +bar-náša ka-dó +tálə zabùnələ.* 'The man, whose life the fox had saved, the life of the man, the man betrays the fox.' (A 47:20)

In (41) the relative clause has an independent pronoun expressing the possessor in a dative possessive construction with the existential particle. The pronoun here is behaving like the subject of a verb.

- (41) *hákyaṭ bitáyələ +al-xá-dana mən-+adáttət áxnan žtlanju-mátat Zumàllan| b-šámmət mərtúxət +Márezə.* 'The story is about one of the customs that we have in the village of Zumallan by the name of (the festival of) the cake dough of St. Zayya.' (B 11:2)

Object constituent:

- (42) *náša lát! kat-á-məndi 'avádlə.* 'There is nobody who can do this' (A 3:45)  
 (43) *'íta ci-mapləxxíva táxta ... +doránəl mán mázrač! ó-t làxma ci-mattívələ +állu.* 'So they used to use a board, a rolling pin together with a dough-cushion, on which they used to put the bread.' (B 2:9)  
 (44) *ju-matváta átva tanúrə! tanúrə +rába átxa 'ámku! javé láxma ci-yapíva.* 'In the villages there were ovens, ovens, very deep like this, in which they used to bake bread.' (B 2:9)

Components of the embedded clause are occasionally fronted before the relative particle. In such cases the relative particle is positioned immediately before the verb or copula of the embedded clause.

In (45)–(47) an adverbial phrase is fronted in this way:

- (45) *'ána! +báyyan tányan! šámmənət xácmə +tálýátəl b-surútan kát +túlxəjumavátə.* 'I want to tell the names of some of the games that we played during our childhood in the villages.' (B 9:1)  
 (46) *yalé ju-madrásə kát 'íva +bəkrá c-avíva +rába zərrac.* 'Their children who were studying in the schools were very intelligent.' (B 1:41)  
 (47) *b-+kéṭəl tānax! 'ánnəl +tunyátə búš kámta kát 'íva +mṭá 'íva məšməšə.* 'In summer, we may say that the fruit that ripened first were apricots.' (B 1:23)

In (48) and (49), in texts from Georgia, a predicative adjective is fronted before the relative particle:

- (48) *xášle* ́én +*karavàšu*,| +*šudrèlə*| *cás de-çòččəl* ́é +*càsəb t-íva*.| ‘His servants went off, he sent them to the girl, the one who was poor.’ (A 56:3)
- (49) ’át *xácma mənné* ... *’atìkə t-avíle*.| ‘There are some ... who have old ones.’ (B 17:56)

When components of the embedded clause are fronted in this way, there is sometimes a double marking of the relative particle, one on the head nominal and the other before the verb or copula, e.g.

- (50) *ka-mù?*| *m-såbab*| *naravátət mən-dánnə* +*turánə t-íva* +*bəslàya*| +*várəvajuf-yámtət* ’Urmi,| +*’álmat dìyyan*,| *m-såbab* ́íva +*accàra*| *marzanánət dánnə naravátə matvátə muttílun*.| ‘Why? Because the rivers that descended from the mountains and entered the lake of Urmia—our people, since they were farmers, established villages around these rivers.’ (B 1:21)

In (51) an object referent is fronted in a double-marked relative construction:

- (51) *xášla* ́á *náša sàva*| *mádrə* +*tàma* | *’icət* ́é *núyna t-í dvíkàla*.| ‘The old man went off again there where he caught the fish.’ (A 54:4)

In (52) the non-restrictive relative clause contains a conditional construction:

- (52) *’ánnə=da* *xá dúnyə dàvəna*| *kàtux*| *kát* ́én *xurájlux* *ka-bàxti*,| ́én +*bsàrrun*| *’ána p̄t-átən b-yavvònun*.| ‘These are a load (literally: world) of gold coins for you, which, if you spend them on my wife, if they are insufficient, I shall come and pay them (back).’ (A 1:5)

In (53) the resumptive element in a non-restrictive relative construction is in a complement clause embedded under a matrix verb:

- (53) *’ánnə m-+údalə bət-+dárši* ́én *’ána kémən* ... *dyànta* *’ódən súsa yavvónna* +*záya yavvónna* *ká* ... *’axúna sùra*| *kát* +*bəddáyən=zə* | *’ét sùstələ*.| ‘They will argue together if I make a judgement to give the horse, give the foal, to the younger brother, although I know it (literally: which) is of the mare.’ (A 38:5)

The particle *kat*, which is used to introduce some relative clauses, originated as a combination of the dative particle *ka-* with the subordinating particle *t*. This is used to introduce purpose clauses, where its dative function is transparent (§ 14.5.3.1.4.), e.g.

- (54) *màyuna| kat-<sup>t</sup>kaṭlila|* ‘They bring him to kill him.’ (A 3:31)
- (55) *xa-<sup>t</sup>bázza bəšvàkəna| kat-napásu là-<sup>t</sup>kaṭta|* ‘They leave a hole so that his breathing would not be cut off.’ (A 3:36)

In some contexts there is some degree of ambiguity as to whether the construction should be interpreted as containing a purpose clause or a relative clause, e.g.

- (56) *<sup>t</sup>jámmila 'e-kóšun buš-xelànta| kat-xazzánna kam-für'un|* ‘Muster a stronger army so that I can see it (stand) before Pharaoh’ ~ ‘Muster a stronger army that I can see (stand) before Pharaoh.’ (A 3:24)
- (57) *náša lát| kat-á-məndi 'avòdla|* ‘There is nobody who can do this’ ~ ‘There is nobody for the purpose of doing this.’ (A 3:45)

In such cases the head noun, in the interpretation of the construction as a relative clause, refers to a generic class. Such nouns have an irrealis form of verb in the relative clause (§ 10.2.1.1.5.). The use of *kat* would then have been extended to realis relative clauses due to its reanalysis as a relative marker.

There is also a degree of ambiguity in constructions such as (58) in which the *kat* could be interpreted as a causal conjunction ‘on account of the fact that’, which corresponds to one meaning of the preposition *ka-* (§ 11.4.3.), or could be interpreted as a relative particle. These constructions also, therefore, could have driven the reanalysis of the *kat* particle as a relativizer:

- (58) *xá xabúša ka-díyyux kát <sup>t</sup>smìlux|* ‘one apple for you because you have listened/who have listened’ (A 38:19)

Constructions that contain both the subordinating particle *t* on the head noun and *kat* in the dependent relative clause (§ 14.1.1.1.3.) may be compared to annexation constructions in which the syntactic dependency is marked both on the head and on a dependent demonstrative item (§ 5.14.), such as *b-ríšət dó mārux* ‘by the head of that master of yours.’ (A 3:65), *márzət da-<sup>t</sup>dyna* ‘on the bank of this spring’ (A 37:8), *dópnət dé dàšta* ‘on the edge of that plain’ (B 2:13), or constructions with the independent genitive particle such as *betət diyyux* ‘your house’, in which the dependency is marked both on the head noun and on the genitive particle.

## 14.2 Cleft Constructions

The purpose of clefting is to put prominence on a particular component of the clause. In a fully formed cleft sentence the item in focus is made the predicate of a copula construction that takes as its subject a nominalization of the remainder of the clause formed by a relative particle, e.g. *I took it > It is I who took it*. In C. Urmi this fully formed type of cleft is rarely found. Rather the examples of clefting that are usually encountered are what Goldenberg (1973) calls ‘imperfectly-transformed cleft sentences’. In such constructions the item in focus has a copula enclitic but the remainder of the clause is not nominalized by a relative particle. This type of construction is common in Syriac (Goldenberg 1973, 129). Examples from C. Urmi are the following:

- (1) *'á +tuvvùltələ cúllə 'ánnə məndyánə +bixàlələ.* ‘It is this worm that is eating all these things.’ (A 39:30)
- (2) *'ánnə mút níyñənə bušòltət?!* ‘These are what fish that you have cooked? (= What [awful] fish have you cooked!)’ (A 36:7)
- (3) *'ána 'a-mút kàlat-íva vódlí?!* ‘What mistake did I make? (literally: This was what mistake that I made?)’ (A 4:10)
- (4) *+šavrá yumánələ bábo vádənə +xliyylə +šavrá lelavày.* ‘Her father’s family hold a wedding for seven days and seven nights. (literally: It is for seven days her father [and family] hold the wedding, seven nights.)’ (A 43:16)
- (5) *tré mátrəvəl míta ci-mattitunlə vúdunlə +tlà mátrə.* ‘(If) it was two metres that you used to place the dead body, make it three metres.’ (A 6:11)
- (6) *'átxa xakúvvələ kàtu! mu-táhar-va ó 'édmu dmíxələ +tàma.* ‘She tells him how it was (that) her brother-in-law had slept there.’ (A 42:36)

It can be seen from (1) that if the item in focus is the grammatical subject of the equivalent unclefted construction, then it remains the grammatical subject of the verb in the non-focused portion of the sentence.

Example (7), from a text recorded in Georgia, can be interpreted as a case of clefting to put focus on the predicate rather than a particular constituent. In this case the predicate is nominalized by the relative particle:

- (7) *+úxča t-íva jìs 'é çáččə.* ‘That girl (was) one who was so good (= so good was that girl).’ (A 51:4)

### 14.3 Indirect Questions

#### 14.3.1 Polar Questions

Indirect polar questions (i.e., yes—no questions) are asyndetic with no explicit syntactic marker, e.g.

- (1) *tíyən mənnòxun| hamzàmmən| xázzən b-ḳablítunli.* ‘I have come to speak with you to see whether you will accept me.’ (A 36:5)

If the indirect question consists of two alternatives, the second alternative may be introduced by the particle *yan*, e.g.

- (2) *'à yála| +bíl xázə dùz márəl +málla, yan-là.* ‘The lad wanted to know whether the mullah was speaking the truth or not.’ (A 14:3)

When the original question contains an imperative, this may be retained in the indirect construction, e.g.

- (3) *'ita tanánnux| +núsłə yan-là.* ‘Then I shall tell you whether to bite him or not.’ (A 47:14)

#### 14.3.2 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 say’, ‘to ask’, ‘to see’, ‘to understand’, ‘to forget’, or the expression ‘it depends on ...’, e.g.

- (1) *'ína lélə +bəddá 'ámneva.* ‘but he does not know which one it was.’ (A 2:9)  
 (2) *+bəddáyət mu-màrən?* ‘You know what I am saying?’ (A 3:38)  
 (3) *xázzən mü-+amsən ódən.* ‘I shall see what I can do.’ (A 1:22)  
 (4) *'ána! mānši mü humzàmlı!* ‘Forget what I said!’ (A 4:7)  
 (5) *mélə xázzən ... ḫa-mü-ilə 'átxa vída.* ‘Bring him so that I can see why he has done this.’ (A 3:26)  
 (6) *tánili mánivət.* ‘Tell me who you are.’ (A 3:65)  
 (7) *'átxa xa᷇uvvəla ḫatūl mu-táhar=va ó 'ódmu dmíxələ +tāma.* ‘She tells him how her brother-in-law had slept there.’ (A 42:36)  
 (8) *bába yámma ṭasmím dokíval 'ám brátal +ṭalbívala ḫátan.* ‘The father and mother made a decision as to which girl they would request in marriage for us.’ (B 5:1)  
 (9) *ju-matváta 'ótvalan bátə prišəl clítəva +al-nàšəl müjjurra másalan cmá*

*'á-’iva +cásəb yán dolàtmand.'* ‘In the villages we had various houses, it depended on the people, how, for example, how much he was poor or rich.’ (B 2:18)

In (10) and (11) the embedded question preserves the original wording of the direct question with a 2nd person verbal form and an imperative form respectively:

- (10) *+márya ’aláha xaltána mən-+táməl talmídu +šadúruləl mírələ kátu mū p-tánət қa-dá náša.* ‘Lord God Almighty sends his disciple from there and said to him what he<sup>2</sup> should say to this man.’ (A 49:7)
- (11) *+bəddàyət mū vùd?* ‘Do you know what you should do?’ (A 48:28)

In (12) a preposition after a matrix verb takes a demonstrative that anticipates the embedded interrogative clause:

- (12) *taxmúnəl +’al-da müjjurra +jaróblun ’ànnəl +tlá núkzət dàl ’áxún málca қátkunyél kátu.* ‘He thinks concerning how he could test the three points that the son of the king told him.’ (A 48:8)

In (13) the copula in the embedded question is omitted:

- (13) *’ána xá xázzən áyya mū +jéyran.* ‘Let me see what gazelle that is.’ (A 42:30)

A negative version of the embedded question is repeated to give the interrogative particle generic scope, e.g.

- (14) *taxmúnələl mu-’avəd, mu-lá-’avəd.* ‘He thinks (wondering) what on earth he should do.’ (A 3:73)
- (15) *+bəxdárənal xázzə mū-’ət! mū ləttən.* ‘They travel around in order for him to see whatever there is.’ (A 2:3)

When the subject of the embedded question is a full definite noun or an independent pronoun, these are often placed before the interrogative particle, e.g.

- (16) *+bəddáyəla kássat mū-ila.* ‘She knows what the story is.’ (A 3:32)
- (17) *’ita ’ána lén-+bədda áyya mū-ila.* ‘I do not know what that is.’ (A 2:4)

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: you.

- (18) *+báyyən +pàłtən| xázzən +’átri mù-ilə.* ‘I want to go out and see how my land is.’ (A 2:1)
- (19) *’átən jári tányat ḁa-díyyi| +’áynət bábi ’icəna.* ‘You must tell me where the eyes of my father are.’ (A 39:40)
- (20) *+báyyax +yattax ’áxnan ’icəvax.* ‘We want to know where we are.’ (A 2:6)
- (21) *bəxzáyələ +’átra müjjurra +bəxdárələ. bəxzáyələ málca müjjurra| +dívan vádələ.* ‘He sees how the country is being run. He sees how the king holds a court.’ (A 1:21)
- (22) *’á yámmyi +xánəm yámmyi| kàm ’átxa vítəla?* ‘This mother of mine, the lady my mother, why has she become like this?’ (A 44:5)

In constructions such as (23) and (24) the subject refers to a generic class. In (24) it is fronted before the main verb:

- (23) *bəl-díyyi| bəl-díyyux| ’aláha ḥ-ávəd +dívan| ... +bəddáyət +dívan mù-ilə?* ‘God will hold a court (and judge) between me and you. ... Do you know what a court is?’ (A 3:93)
- (24) *’á sákłə mən-səmmálta! səmmálta +bəddáyət mù-ilə?* ‘He went up by a ladder. Do you know what a ladder is?’ (A 2:31)

The subject of the complement clause is sometimes raised into the object position of the main clause, as shown by a pronominal object on the main verb, e.g.

- (25) *+bəddáyona ’adi-cúllə ’a-+ṭálta mù-ilə.* ‘They now know what this game is.’ (A 1:25)

On some occasions the definite subject follows the interrogative particle. In such cases the subject is placed after a copula (26–27) but may be placed either before (28) or after (29) a verb, e.g.

- (26) *báxta +bəddáyələ| mù-ilə kəssat.* ‘The wife knows what the story is.’ (A 3:32)
- (27) *+’a-málla bəkyáməl, jaššúkəl ju-cısu| xázə māniva +’ávva náša.* ‘The mullah gets up and looks in his purse to see who this man was.’ (A 30:5)
- (28) *xázzax ... ka-mù ’á xá-xca murkállə.* ‘Let’s see why he has delayed so much.’ (A 37:18)
- (29) *’o-násət +úllul jaššúkəl| xázə mù ḫ-ávəd +málla.* ‘The man who is above is watching to see what the mullah will do.’ (A 14:4)

The postposition of the subject appears to be a strategy to express the close semantic relationship of the clause with the preceding discourse rather than what follows, as is the case with the postposition of definite subject constituents in main clauses (§ 12.5.2.2.).

In (30) and (31) a locative adverbial is fronted before the interrogative particle:

- (30) *+bəddáyətun ju-da-+átra mū kavvùmələ?* ‘Do you know what is happening in this land?’ (A 1:43)
- (31) *xázən ju-dan-+otájə mù ́itən.* ‘I will see what there is in those rooms.’ (A 42:10)

The indirect question is sometimes introduced by the complementizer *kat*, e.g.

- (32) *+bakúrəna kát +jőr dá-baxta ́icəla.* ‘They ask where the husband of the woman is.’ (A 2:7)
- (33) *+bəddáyəl kát ́axúnət málca mánilə.* ‘He knows who the brother of the king is.’ (A 48:3)
- (34) *’ína bəxzáyələ ká-+háji mū-ilə vāda.* ‘He sees what the pilgrim is doing.’ (A 1:21)
- (35) *jasusùyta vágəna! ká-málca ́om-+dana ́ádi ́áklu mattíla +al-jára.* ‘They act as spies (to see) at what time the king puts foot on the roof.’ (A 1:26)
- (36) *tuxmənnə! ká-’a-báxta ́ica mattíla.* ‘He thought where he could put this wife.’ (A 1:4)
- (37) *xá nišánka káti yávvət kát müjjur məttəla?* ‘Could you give me a sign as to how she has died?’ (A 1:17)

Note the position of the subject nominal in (32)–(35) and the object nominal in (36) before the interrogative pronoun.

In (38) the indirect question clause stands in apposition to the noun *kássat* ‘story’:

- (38) *kássat káto márəl ká-mü-vila.* ‘He tells her the story of what happened (literally: He told her the story that what happened).’ (A 30:6)

## 14.4 Direct and Indirect Speech

### 14.4.1 Asyndetic Direct Speech

In most cases direct speech is presented asyndetically, e.g.

- (1) *xà-yuma! málca márəl ka-+Axíkar! +Àxikar! ’át +rába dívət sìva!* ‘One day the king says to Axiqar “Axiqar, you have become very old.”’ (A 3:14)
- (2) *Nàtan ka-málca márəl bəxzáyət mu-vádələ bábi b-rišux?* ‘Natan says to the king “Do you see what my father is doing against you?”’ (A 3:22)
- (3) *málca kátu márəl +’Axíkar! ’ána mut-xərbayúta kátu xvidənva! kat-’átən ’á-+šula vódlux b-riši?* ‘The king says to him “Axiqar, what evil had I done to you that you did this against me?”’ (A 3:27)
- (4) *márəna ’áxnan! fu-+rába +atravátət dínyə +xdírəvax!* ‘They say (in the book) “We have travelled to many countries of the world.”’ (B 2:14)

### 14.4.2 Syndetic Direct Speech

On some occasions direct reported speech is introduced by the particle *kat* after a verb of speaking or utterance, e.g.

- (1) *ká fúr’un! kámtət cùllə márələ márələ kát ’ən-’ána ’ávən +sàra, nášət xut-’ídat díyyi mìdi vâyəna?* ‘He says first of all to Pharaoh “If I were a moon, what would the people under my command be?”’ (A 3:61)
- (2) *mən-+táma +šarıyána bədra-kálə ’ánnə yāl-sùrəl ká hállun mìyya, hállun +tìna!* ‘From there the children begin to shout “Give stones, give water, give clay.”’ (A 3:72)
- (3) *ka-Nàtan márələ kát ... mélə cəslı!* ‘He says to Natan “Bring him to me.”’ (A 3:26)

Sometimes the particle *kat* introduces direct speech that is not preceded by a verb of speaking or utterance, e.g.

- (4) *labúlulə ka-málca! kat-+Axíkar ’ána +k̥t̥əlli!* ‘He takes him to the king (saying) “I have killed Axiqar.”’ (A 3:36)
- (5) *’o-rišət do-náša labúlulə ká +Nuxadnásar kat-’ána +Axíkar +k̥t̥əlli!* ‘He takes the head of the man to Nebuchadnezzar (saying) “I have killed Axiqar.”’ (A 3:37)
- (6) *+xábra yávələ ka-fúr’un kat-nášət díyyi bitàvəna!* ‘He sends word to Pharaoh (saying) “My people are coming.”’ (A 3:60)
- (7) *+rába xdíla biyyu! kat-cúl-məndit +bàyyət! b-yavvənnux!* ‘He was very pleased with him (saying) “I shall give you everything you want.”’ (A 3:85)

- (8) *cicé maxrupèna dévəl kát dúlə 'axúnan tuyyílə xá +séda t-+axlàxla.* ‘All the monsters are sharpening their teeth (saying) that “our brother has brought a prey for us to eat.”’ (A 37:12)
- (9) *yàvələl dàstur ka-palàxu kät-là-šukun 'ázəl.* ‘He gives an instruction to his workers (saying) “Do not allow him to go.”’ (A 4:7)

The particle *kat* is used also to introduce a direct citation from a message, letter or letter, e.g.

- (10) *ka-báxtu +xàbra yávələl kät-ána bitáyən bëta.* ‘He sends word to his wife (saying) “I am coming home.”’ (A 3:31)
- (11) *xa-ctàva ctóvləl mən-púmmət +Axīkar ka-málcət Məssər, kät-ána +Axīkar ku-tálux Nànvəl har-'átxa la-+pláša b-yavvənnna kätux.* ‘He wrote a letter on behalf of Axiqar to the king of Egypt saying “I, Axiqar—come to Nineveh and I shall give it to you without a battle.”’ (A 3:19)
- (12) *bæctávələ ju-ctàva kät-átnən fùr'un denánət ká ... málca.* ‘He writes in a book “You, Pharaoh, are in debt to the king.”’ (A 3:76)

#### 14.4.3 *Indirect Speech*

Indirect reported speech, in which the content but not the original wording of the speech is given, may be presented asyndetically, e.g.

- (1) *málca mórrə ríšux lablánnə +tàma.* ‘The king said that I should take your head to him there.’ (A 3:35)
- (2) *'á màra! b-xá +čap̪pàltal' á 'arþí dánə dèvə bət-+kátləl.* ‘This man says that with one staff he would kill forty monsters.’ (A 37:9)
- (3) *'ána mírənva kátu baxtàtə +käfslən.* ‘I had said to him that he should kill the women.’ (A 2:23)
- (4) *+hájì káti mórrə láblən +käfslənnə.* ‘The pilgrim said that I should take her and kill her.’ (A 1:34)
- (5) *'ána p-tánən brùnūvən.* ‘I shall say that I am his son.’ (A 39:31)

On some occasions it is introduced by *kat*, e.g.

- (6) *márələ kát ... yávvi láxma yāl-súrə-da ju-dé-+kərtàla.* ‘He says that they should put food and the children into the basket.’ (A 3:71)

## 14.5 Subordinate Content Clauses

A variety of subordinate clauses that are embedded as components of a higher clause will be brought together in this section under the broad classification of ‘content clauses’. These function either as direct object complements of a verb or are governed by clausal conjunctions consisting of prepositions, adverbials and quantifiers. In most cases these subordinate clauses are introduced by subordinating particles, though they are omitted in some circumstances.

### 14.5.1 *Asyndetic Irrealis Complement*

When a clause that is the direct complement of a verb expresses an event that is unrealized, its verb is in the *patəx* or *patəxva* form (§ 10.2.1.1. and § 10.2.2.1.). In many cases the clause is juxtaposed asyndetically to the main verb, e.g.

- (1) *fúr'un +báyyə +pàləš mánnu*x. | ‘Pharaoh wants to fight with you.’ (A 3:21)
- (2) *'ína át +bílux mánno 'avátva 'ax-xa-+fòra*. | ‘But you wanted to be with her like a husband.’ (A 3:91)
- (3) *'a-dáx c-+ámsən 'ana-'à-+šula 'odánnə??* | ‘Oh how can I do this thing?’! (A 2:12)

In (4) the subject of the subordinate clause is raised into the object position of the matrix verb in the form of a pronominal suffix:

- (4) *kúdmə k̄edamta* +*bayyánna* *átya c̄slı*. | ‘Tomorrow morning I want her to come to me (literally: I want her—she comes to me).’ (A 38:13)

In (5) the complement clause is fronted before the main verb:

- (5) *'áxči* +*ju-*+*átrət díyyi* *áha móndi* *'ávə* +*ána lè kablónnə*. | ‘But I do not accept that this thing be in my land.’ (A 2:12)

### 14.5.2 *Asyndetic Direct Factive Complement*

Direct complement clauses may also be of factual content. These are typically found as complements of verbs such as ‘to say’ and ‘to know’. Such constructions may be asyndetic, in that the factive complement clause is embedded under the verb without any marking of subordination, e.g.

- (1) *mòrri* +*báxtu* +*rába honàntəva*. | ‘I have said that his wife was very clever.’ (A 3:57)

- (2) *+yat̪ánva málca 'átlə +šúla mónni.* | 'I knew that the king had work for me.'  
(A 3:81)
- (3) *+bəddáyələ cíl-məndi zrəzla.* | 'He knows that he has arranged everything.'  
(A 3:67)
- (4) *+bəddáyən +kat̪litunli.* | 'I know that you will kill me.' (B 6:4)
- (5) *+áx bas-+səmyənva! ka-díyyux +ktəllun.* | 'But I had heard that they killed you.' (A 3:68)

In (6) and (7) the copula in the factive clause has been omitted:

- (6) *'át m-íca +yáttət 'ána +Báhar šəmmi?* | 'How do you know that my name is +Bahar?' (A 42:7)
- (7) *bitáyələ bətəl báxtu bət-lábbə +joro.* | 'He comes home and his wife thinks that he is her husband.' (A 42:36)

#### 14.5.3 General Subordinating Particles

Various particles are used that have the status as general subordinators before content clauses. These perform a variety of functions.

The subordinating element *t/’at* is only marginally used as an independent particle to introduce content clauses. Far more common are general subordinating particles that are composed of a base of some other element to which the *t* element is attached.

In the Urmî region and Armenia the most common general subordinator is *kat*. This developed from the combination of the dative and purposive preposition *ka* 'to' (§ 11.4.) with the subordinating particle *t*, and so is likely to have originally had the function of expressing purpose. The range of functions of the particle *kat* has now, however, expanded to include numerous other functions. In addition to its various functions before content clauses, which are described below, it is also used to introduce relative clauses (§ 14.1.1.).

In Georgia the particle *kat* is not used as a general subordinating particle. Instead the particle *yanət* (or its abbreviated form *yan*) and the phrase *t-i* are used. The latter is attested marginally also in relative clauses.

The particle *yanət* is likely to have developed from the explicative word *+yanə/yanə* 'that is to say' (Azer. *yəni*, Pers. *yāni* < Arab. *ya’ni*).

The phrase *t-i* has developed, it seems, by a contraction of phrases consisting of a subordinating particle *t* and a third person form of the present copula, e.g. *t-ilə* (3ms) or *t-ila* (3fs). It is used predominantly before verb forms that do not contain a copula element. Clauses that contain a copula element use subordinating phrases consisting of *t* + inflected copula with the same function as *t-i*. Moreover in certain contexts a variant of *t-i* is sometimes used which has

the form *t-iva* with a clear past copula element. The distribution of these forms may be represented as follows using the common function of *t-i* to introduce a temporal clause as an illustration:

<i>t-i ptəxla</i>	'when he opened'
<i>t-iva ptəxla</i>	'when he had opened'
<i>t-ilə ptixə</i>	'when he has opened'
<i>t-ilə bəptaxə</i>	'when he is opening'
<i>t-ilə ju-beta</i>	'when he is in the house'

The phrase *t-i* is attested sporadically also in recordings from Armenia, but in the variety of the dialect spoken in Armenia *kat* is predominantly used as a general subordinating particle.

#### 14.5.3.1    *kat* (Urmia and Armenia)

##### 14.5.3.1.1    *kat* with Direct Factive Complement

Direct factive complements may be introduced by *kat*, e.g.

- (1) +bəddáyələ *kát* +Axíkar mətlə. | 'He knows that Axiqar died.' (A 3:39)
- (2) léva +bəddá *kát* 'á +rišələ. | 'They did not know that he is awake.' (A 37:19)
- (3) sáb +bəddáyələ *kát* 'é ctávta +kàryola. | 'because he knows that he has read that writing' (A 37:10)
- (4) +rába +pšáməvax *kát* m-ídayùvvovax. | 'We are very sorry that we have now lost it.' (B 2:15)
- (5) 'ávət basíma +rāba | *kát* 'a-pórsat yuvválux *káti*. | 'Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.' (A 1:50)
- (6) +'u-háji cílla *kublálun* *kát*-at-məttət. | 'The pilgrim and everybody have accepted that you have died.' (A 1:22)
- (7) 'áyyəva *kát* +plətlun, | +'aturáyə +plətlun mən-+Úrmi. | 'It was (for) this (reason) that they left, that the Assyrians left Urmia.' (B 1:19)

In (8) a noun in the main clause contains the non-attributive modifier *xa-’axča*, which functions as a correlative and binds the reference of the nominal to the following subordinate content clause:

- (8) 'át xa-’axča | kválta 'átválux | mən-+háji | *kat-báxtux litən*, | məttəla. | 'You had such a complaint against the pilgrim (namely) that your wife was missing, that she had died.' (A 1:30)

The subject of the complement clause is sometimes raised into the object position of the main clause, e.g.

- (9) *+bəddáyolə́ áha kát baxt-+tājər=ila.* ‘He knows her—that she is the wife of the merchant (= He knows that she is the wife of the merchant).’ (A 1:12)

#### 14.5.3.1.2 *kát* with Direct Irrealis Complement

The particle *kát* is used in some circumstances to introduce a clause that is a direct irrealis complement of a verb, e.g.

- (1) *márət díyyi lèlə xšíxa| kát-ána átxa hamzámmən bàzu.* ‘My master does not need me to speak about him like this’ (A 3:64)
- (2) *málca-da yúvvəl dàstur| kát-cùlla panánnun.* ‘The king has given a command that I should eradicate everybody’ (A 2:17)
- (3) *kòl škálla mánni kát +tamrònna.* ‘She made me promise that I would bury her.’ (A 2:35)

#### 14.5.3.1.3 *kát* Expressing Cause

The particle *kát* can denote the cause of a situation. In most cases this is in a causal complement that follows the main clause, e.g.

- (1) *Nátan +rába +naràhat víla| kát +Axíkar muttíla +tapàvut, muttíla +tapàvut bəl-da-brùna bəl-+dàvva.* ‘Natan became very discontent that Axiqar made a distinction, made a distinction between this son and himself.’ (A 3:18)
- (2) *+bəttánən məntux| kát á-məndi káy tunìlux.* ‘I am grateful to you that you have told me this.’ (A 2:37)
- (3) *xúš ’aláha +barəxlux| kát-xá-’axča hòná| kərkópta kátux ’aláha yùvvəla.* ‘Go, God bless you, for God has given you such an intelligence and such a mind.’ (A 3:84)
- (4) *’ádi cù-m +báyyət ju-da-dúnyə ána ka-díyyux yàvvən, kát xàyyi purkélux.* ‘Now I’ll give you anything you want in this world, since you have saved my life.’ (A 40:8)
- (5) *basíma +rába kát ’atən-da +šəmyàlux.* ‘Thank you for listening to this.’ (A 2:37)
- (6) *+xàltə| vèdlí kát humzàmli mən-dá náša.* ‘I have made a mistake by speaking with this man.’ (A 4:8)

In some cases the causal complement precedes the main clause, e.g.

- (7) 'ànnə| *kat-màlca bərráxšələ*,| 'ánnə=da *bərráxšəna*.| 'Since the king sets off, they also set off.' (A 1:26)
- (8) *kat-íva bərráxša* 'átxa 'àtxa| léva *jaššúkəl* xášla pólle *ju-kùnyə*.| 'Because he was going like this and was not looking, he went and fell in a well.' (A 16:3)
- (9) 'ádi *kat* ... lét *bašvákə* +òrən| é +čap̄páltil| mán de-scàntil| +ráppilun *l-á-pát jiyda*.| 'Now, since you do not allow me to enter, throw me my club, together with my knife to this side of the wall.' (A 37:6)

#### 14.5.3.1.4 *kat Expressing Purpose*

A clause introduced by *kat* containing an irrealis verb form may express purpose, e.g.

- (1) *xa-+bézza bəšvákənəl* *kat-napásu lə-+kat̄ta*.| 'They leave a hole so that his breathing would not be cut off.' (A 3:36)
- (2) 'íta *b-yùma* bnàtəl ci-yatvíva *ju-+čolàtəl* *kat-jinávə la-avíva* +al-carmána +šùla.| 'During the day girls used to sit in the huts so that there would not be any thieves (breaking) into the vineyards, and so forth.' (B 2:6)
- (3) *màyuna* *kat-+kat̄lila*.| 'They bring him to kill him.' (A 3:31)
- (4) 'ó *xabúša* +nìurrəl hal-t-+màtəl *kat-ána* +axlànna,| 'ávən jíl.| 'Guard that apple until it ripens so that I can eat it and become young.' (A 39:2)

In (5) the referent of the word *cipa* is introduced here for the first time. The demonstrative pronoun has the function of binding the noun cataphorically with the content of the subordinate purpose clause, analogously to the demonstrative pronoun of nouns that are the head of relative clauses (§ 14.1.1.1.):

- (5) 'ó *cipa* +áv *xarbiùsuləl* *kat-árba* lə +pál̄ti.| 'He pushes a stone (over the entrance) so that the sheep do not escape.' (A 50:1)

Purpose clauses may also be asyndetic, without an introductory *kat* particle, e.g.

- (6) *hár* 'è-+dána +šadúrəna *xa-xína* xáčča 'ázəl míyya mayyilun.| 'They then send another one to go and get some water for them.' (A 37:16)

#### 14.5.3.1.5 *kat Expressing Result*

In some cases a clause introduced by *kat* refers to a realis event that is presented as the result of the situation expressed in the preceding clause, e.g.

- (1) *'ána mut-xərbayúta kátxux vidiðenva| kat-'átan 'á-+šula vádlux b-riši.* 'What evil had I done to you that you did this against me?' (A 3:27)
- (2) *'u-xá kənyána míyyula ktilulə. pálju +rúppula kam-+àslan| pálju kam-+káplan| kat-sikələ.* 'He has brought an ox and slaughtered it. He has thrown half of it before the lion and half before the tiger, so that he has been able to come up (literally: so that he has come up).' (A 43:8)
- (3) *mú váttəla ka-díyyux kat-xà-xča mxáyot?* 'What has it (the cat) done to you that you beat it so much?' (A 3:8o)
- (4) *bənpála bəxnákələ. +jamáhat mən-ídət dàl +pulad-dév kát prákəl.* 'He falls and is strangled, with the result that the community is saved from the hands of the great demon.' (A 50:9)

In (5) note the linkage of *kat* with the correlative *+uxča* in the preceding clause.

- (5) *'ína +Axíkar +úxča +narahàt vágələ| kat-háč xa-+xábra látla.* 'But Axiqar becomes so embarrassed that he has nothing to say.' (A 3:30)

After a negative main clause, the result clause may have an irrealis verb, since the action has not been realized:

- (6) *'ána šidána lèn kat-'átan ka-díyyux* 'I am not mad enough to come to you.' (A 40:20)

A result clause may also be expressed asyndetically without *kat*, e.g.

- (7) *'ína +úxča báxta bxila| +úxča nuníla biyyil| +úxča idə-'ákli nšíkəla| lábbi kàdlə duzúta káto.* 'But the woman wept so much, she pleaded with me so much, she kissed my hands and feet so much, that, in truth, I felt sorry for her.' (A 1:35)
- (8) *'ína +úxča sivəva| müttuva fu-xá ... +kárṭàla.* 'But he was so aged that they had placed him in a basket.' (A 2:14)

#### 14.5.3.1.6 *kat* with a Temporal Function

On some occasions *kat* is used in subordinate temporal clauses, e.g.

- (1) *kat-bitáyələ ka-dáha +àxəl| 'áha bəmxáyələ b-sèpa| mən-púmmu m-àxxa| xìvvəl +baktálulə.* 'When he comes to eat her, he strikes the snake with the sword, from its mouth, from here and kills it.' (A 39:19)

In (2) the clause introduced by *kat* is preceded by another temporal clause introduced by *'e-+dān*:

- (2) *'e-+dān tīlə| kat-cípa xurbəslə| dàna| dàna| 'árbu +pul̥lə.* ‘When he came and when he pushed the stone aside, he let out his sheep, one by one.’  
(A 50:6)

In many of the attested examples of this construction the particle is not in clause-initial position, but rather follows another fronted constituent of the clause. In (3)–(10) these are adverbials or prepositional phrase complements of the verb:

- (3) *kédamta kat-bákyməna| 'ína sústa 'u-+zayo.* ‘When they get up in the morning (they see) the mare and her foal.’ (A 38:3)  
 (4) *śítət m-+báro| kat| ... mèdrəl +tínəva xá-dana xabùša, brúnu súra márla bábi.* ‘The year after when it had again borne an apple, his youngest son says “Father ...”’ (A 39:4)  
 (5) *b-ákli kat-vòdli, kémət| 'átət còsli.* ‘When I move my leg, get up and come to me.’ (A 5:14)  
 (6) *'átxa kat-bátyàvələ, cípa dúlə bájvàja.* ‘When he is sitting like this, the stone moves.’ (A 40:7)  
 (7) *'ína 'e-+dān 'áxnan kát súrəxva| babavàtan| ... bí +bárun| bí +čarpàrəl túp malívala.* ‘But when we were young, our fathers ... used to fill the gun with gunpowder, with cartridges.’ (B 4:4)  
 (8) *'ína +xárta kat| pušányə plátlun, 'ánnəyálə jíla| mak̥kəmmívala| ci-+raxṭáva ci-maxívala.* ‘But later when bullets came out, the young lads would wake it up, it would run and they would shoot it.’ (B 4:4)  
 (9) *'ita b-šònnət| kuyáma kát kòmlə| násət mátət Zumállan| +šurílun +mašaxát-ta bitáya +'al-+átrət 'Amérca.* ‘Then, in the years when the revolution occurred, the people of the village of Zumallan began to immigrate to America.’ (B 11:11)  
 (10) *kupšína| mòriša, yúma lá zràka, c-azàxva| kát xína| kupšína kála mála lèla +bəsmáya.* ‘Quails, in the morning, before sunrise, we used to go, when the quail does not hear any sort of sound.’ (B 4:1)

In (11) the fronted element is a subject noun:

- (11) *+búsra kat-paròmva, šaklázva +ràba, 'u-kalàxvalə +búsra.* ‘When meat was slaughtered, we took a lot and we fried the meat.’ (B 7:5)

An irrealis form of the verb is used when the event of the subordinate clause has not yet taken place at the time when the event of the main clause occurs, e.g.

- (12) *+báru ƙat-yáska +ƙatlálə| +axlálə xína,| móñ +úllul mxáyələ b-sèpa.*  
‘When she is about to climb after him to kill him, to eat him, he strikes with his sword from above.’ (A 39:29)
- (13) *'ita +berašvánə-da| ƙat-àrxa 'atíva| ju-dó bét tanùyra| mattívalun xá-dana mìz.* ‘Then in the evenings, when guests (are expected to) arrive, in that oven house they laid for them a table.’ (B 14:2)

The construction in (14) casts some light on the possible original of the use of *ƙat* as a temporal subordinator. Here *ƙat* could be interpreted as a relative particle as well as a temporal particle. It is possible that the unambiguous usage of the particle as a temporal particle developed from such ambiguous contexts:

- (14) *+xárta bitàyəvax| b-+dánət mšíxayúta ƙat-íla jarvùsə.* ‘Then we come to the time when Christianity is growing (~ the time of Christianity that is growing).’ (B 1:3)

#### 14.5.3.2 *t-i* (Georgia)

One of the general features of the syntax of *t-i* and its past tense variant *t-iva* is that they are always placed immediately before the verb of the embedded clause and any other components of the clause are placed either before the *t-i/t-iva* phrase or after the verb. Moreover a subordinate clause containing these subordinating phrases sometimes has at its head another subordinating element such as *yanət/yan* or a word with the subordinator affix *t*. This has been seen already in the relative clause with an adverbial head cited in § 14.1.3. (example (16)):

- (1) *xáslə 'á náša sával módrə +táməl 'icət é níyna t-í dvíkálə.* ‘The old man went off again there where he caught the fish.’ (A 54:4)

##### 14.5.3.2.1 *t-i* with Direct Factive Complement

- (1) *txàrra| é tavórta zàrdəl t-i mórra 'én jármo +rappíle +támə.* ‘She remembered that the yellow cow said “throw its bones there.”’ (A 51:4)

#### 14.5.3.2.2 *t-i* with Temporal Function

In recordings from Georgia one of the most common functions of *t-i* and its past tense variant *t-iva* is to introduce a temporal clause:

- (1) *t-i-ptixéla* 'ani, *jušákla* *tíla* +*pltàtlə* *xá súysa smùka*.| 'When she opened them up, she saw that a red horse came out.' (A 51:4)

The *t-i* is generally placed immediately before the verb and any other components of the clause that are placed before the verb precede the *t-i*, e.g.

- (2) *'ó brūn-málca t-i pòlla* +*báro*, +*plátlə* +*báro* *tíla*, *é* +*saválta škilàla*.| 'When the son of the king went after her, went out after her, he came and took the shoe.' (A 51:8)
- (3) *'adíyya* *e-yámma* 'ýja *t-i xzila* *ka-dèxa* *brítol* *hám-da* *ánnə* *xatváto* 'ýja *mòrre*| 'Now, when the stepmother saw that daughter of hers, and also her stepsisters (saw her), they said ...' (A 51:5)
- (4) *'íta* +*xlíyla* *t-i xàsle*, *é* *yámma* 'ýja, *škólla* *ánnə* +*xàttə*.| 'Then when they went to the wedding, the stepmother took grains of wheat.' (A 51:3)

This is not regularly the case, as seen in (5), in which material intervenes between *t-i* and the following verb:

- (5) *t-i* 'at-táza +*alméni* *tíle láxxa lätvale* *háč móndi*.| 'When our people first came here, they had nothing.' (B 17:34)

When a non-verbal component is placed after *t-i*, the *t-i* is sometimes repeated before the verb, e.g.

- (6) *'é* *çáččə=da* *t-i* +*ávun* *t-i-màtlə*, *áyən=da* *jáno* +*ktilàla*.| 'Also the girl, when he died, killed herself.' (A 56:4)

Examples of constructions where the copula element after *t-* is inflected as a present enclitic copula:

- (7) *máccə* *t-ína bràza*, +*tára* +*palùtut*.| 'When maize dries, you take off the head of maize.' (B 17:46)
- (8) *t-íx* +*lavásə* *pyáya* *xá* 'ásri, *tláy* *dànə* +*xárta* *pyáyana* +*bár* *lavásə* *jordéya*, *jordéta*.| 'When we bake flat bread, (we bake) twenty or thirty of them, then, after flat breads, they bake loaves, a loaf.' (B 17:23)

When the subject of the clause has a non-specific referent there can be an ambiguity in some cases as to whether the *t-* has a temporal function or a relative function. This is the case in (9)

- (9) *bráta yála t-ína +byáya +'uydalə| 'áni járət hàammaša| 'ávi cəs-+ 'uydalə| jóri ka-+ 'uydalə.* 'When a girl and boy love each other/A girl and boy who love each other must always be together and marry each other.' (A 56:6)

It is plausible to assume that *t-* was originally a relative particle and ambiguous constructions such as these were the context in which the original relative *t-* was reinterpreted as a temporal particle. There is also ambiguity in the interpretation of the particle in (10). Note that the copula phrases with *t-* are placed at the end of the clauses:

- (10) *pučěčə| 'ánnə máccə prìmə t-ína,| máccə brìzə t-ína,| o-+ 'ákřé t-íla bràza,| + 'ávun šómmu pučěčəla.* 'Maize stalks, when the maize plants are cut, when the maize plants are dry, when their root dries, this is called "maize stalk" (*pučeča*). / 'Maize stalks, maize plants that are cut, maize plants that are dry, whose root dries—this is called "maize stalk" (*pučeča*).' (B 17:47)

Examples of temporal *t-* with the past copula element *iva* include:

- (11) *'á t-íva bitáya bëta,| +ravàyəva 'ákúbra,| pákka t-íva màyu,| pállea ju- 'áklət càlla.* 'When he was going home, the mouse was drunk, when the frog was bringing him back, she fell into a hoof print of a buffalo.' (A 52:6)
- (12) *t-íva xášle +al-+sèda,| jáški +al-xá 'ilàna| tóvtəla xá šapárta máx +šrá bəlláya bràta.* 'When they had gone hunting, they saw sitting on a tree a beautiful girl shining like a lantern.' (A 56:1)
- (13) *t-íva bəxmàya| +xárta bədráyəva cùndə| pyáyəva +lavàšə,| jərdèyə| ju-tanùyra.* 'When it leavened, they would then lay out balls of dough and bake flat breads, loaves, in the oven.' (B 17:10)
- (14) *+múṭra t-íva bitáya xelánta,| lè-+amsi jarpívala.* 'When rain fell heavily, they were not able to shovel it.' (B 17:36)

In (15) the past copula is inflected for person:

- (15) *'ána bətxárən t-ína sùra,| ju-dàrtal nanúnti ptáxəva bí laþàtka.* 'I remember when I was young my grandmother used to open up a path in the courtyard with a shovel.' (B 17:50)

In (16) the *t-íva* phrase takes the whole following clause as its complement ‘When it happened that ...’:

- (16) *'ína t-íva lèva xélo +mṭáya| bí dán pálə 'at-dáy +arabána xítə c-+asrívə xá jemášta xítə| kámáy bí +xòlə| yánət 'áyən-da +al-+hári 'odáva| jaršávala.*  
 ‘But when it happened that it did not have the strength, with the shafts of another cart they tied another buffalo at the front with ropes so that this also would help to pull it.’ (B 17:52)

#### 14.5.3.2.3 *t-i Expressing Cause*

Sporadically the particle marks the subordinate clause as the causal rather than temporal background of the main clause. This is the case in (1), in which the particle *t* is followed by the past copula:

- (1) *'íyən t-íva brítət +casibə| +'ávun brūn-málca| lèva bəšvákə| cəs-+dàvun.*  
 ‘Since she was the daughter of paupers and he was the son of a king, they did not allow her near him.’ (A 56:3)

In (2) the *t* is attached to full 3ms copula:

- (2) *pyášələ +ròba +dána| lélə bəxràva| t-íla kùlyə| ju-màšxa.* ‘It keeps for a long time without going off, because it is fried in oil.’ (B 17:16)

#### 14.5.3.3 *yanət, yan* (Georgia)

##### 14.5.3.3.1 *yanət/yan* *Introducing Direct Speech or Direct Factive Complement*

- (1) *'é tavárta zàrdə| tunítəva ká-dé čòččə| yán 'ón parmałi| éñjármo +jammàtte| +rappátte ju-xa-+čàlə| +tašyátte 'áni.* ‘The yellow cow had said to the girl that if she slaughters me, you should gather the bones and put them in a pit, hide them.’ (A 51:1)
- (2) *'átxa| xəzyən| +šəmyən| yánət ci-+xazdīva.* ‘I have heard that they used to harvest.’ (B 17:11)

It is likely that factive complements were the original context of use of this particle, e.g. ‘I have heard, namely that ...’

In (3) the factive clause introduced by *yan* also has the subordinator *t-i* before the verb:

- (3) *+xárta tíla 'é yəmma| 'u-'é jáška yan-éñ +záyo t-í púrtàcle 'éxa šítə xína.*  
 ‘Then the mother returned and sees that her young have survived that year.’ (A 53:4)

## 14.5.3.3.2 yanət/yan Expressing Direct Irrealis Complement

- (1) *+xárta R<sup>o</sup>užé<sup>R</sup> +bayyíva yán kemíva 'azíva.* ‘Then they already wanted to get up and go.’ (A 51:7)

## 14.5.3.3.3 yanət/yan Expressing Purpose

- (1) *ci-macsívalə léša!* yánət xamíva. ‘They used to cover the dough in order for it to leaven.’ (B 17:10)
- (2) *jú rùšnuc nimána! carməxxívalə!* yánət racəxva. ‘They rolled it in a damp towel so it would become soft.’ (B 17:25)
- (3) *'an-t'ína javay!* 'é tásma járət šačlila p'-ídux! yánət +kàrmi. ‘Those who are inside must take the belt from your hand in order to win.’ (B 17:3)
- (4) *ci-zonáva kámxa!* mayyáva yánət +al-dó-yuma xína mádrə payyíva. ‘They used to buy flour and bring it back so that they could bake again the next day.’ (B 17:5)
- (5) *hádax nàdəva!* yánət +ànva-da 'avívale! +máš-da 'avívale. ‘They farmed so they would have grapes and would have beans.’ (B 17:13)
- (6) *ci-daríva +állu ... 'ípral!* yánət šaxína 'avíva. ‘They put on this earth, so it would be warm.’ (B 17:35)
- (7) *'an-dárza-da bəxrazéx +al-+uydàla,* yánət +mútra javé là +sályá, là xárvi. ‘We arrange these bundles on top of each other, so that the rain does not flow down into them, so that they do not rot.’ (B 17:46)
- (8) *brún-málca!* +tavvíyəva +bàr=ət! càlu! càlu! yán javárva bràta. ‘The son of a king, was searching for a bride, a bride, in order to marry a girl.’ (A 51:2)

## 14.5.3.3.4 yanət/yan Expressing Result

In some cases a clause introduced by *yanət/yan* refers to a realis event or situation that is presented as the result of the situation expressed in the preceding clause, e.g.

- (1) *láxxa hádax kárta lèla ju-Júrjəs-+tan!* yánət xablíva. ‘Here in Georgia it is not so cold that they got cold.’ (B 17:40)

## 14.5.3.3.5 yanət/yan Expressing Cause

In the attested examples of this, *yanət/yan* introduces a causal complement with a realis verb that follows the main clause:

- (1) *búš cílla +hazərrúyta c-odívala қa-sàtva, yánət sàtva čàtun-va xéta.* ‘They made all possible preparation for the winter, because life in winter was difficult.’ (B 17:21)
- (2) *xáčča bəšvákət қa-dàni, yánət ’áni-da sàtva xú léna +myásá +xálta màčxi.* ‘You leave some for them (the bees), because also they indeed in winter cannot find food.’ (B 17:43)

#### 14.5.3.4 *t, ’at*

The subordinating particle *t/’at* is occasionally used to introduce subordinate clauses. In (1)–(2) it occurs before a purpose clause:

- (1) *ʃəddála sapkáxlə dána dána ’at-páršáxla.* ‘We take off the string, one by one, in order to separate it (the tobacco).’ (B 3:29)
- (2) *yámma bábət bráta bitáyəna b-xáčča júlla ’atíkə t-lá +yáttı ’ánnə málcalə ’áha.* ‘The mother and father of the girl come in old clothes, so that they do not know that he is the king.’ (A 35:8)

#### 14.5.4 *’ina*

This particle is occasionally used to introduce factive complements, e.g.

- (1) *+’ávva yála +bəddáyəla ’ína ýyya bráta kátu +hyáyəla.* ‘The lad knows that the girl loves him.’ (A 34:5)

For the use of *’ina* to introduce complements of verbs of perception and its other functions see § 13.1.8 and § 14.5.6.

#### 14.5.5 *Miscellaneous Heads of Content Clauses*

Content clauses may be introduced by various heads, which include prepositions, adverbials and quantifiers. Frequently these are combined with the subordinator element *t*, but this is not obligatory in some cases. In Georgia subordinate content clauses with these heads sometimes contain the subordinating phrase *t-i*, in some cases in addition to the *t* element on the head.

##### 14.5.5.1 *’e-+danət*

The adverbial phrase *’e-+danət* (literally: ‘at the time that’) is commonly used as the head of subordinate temporal clauses. The demonstrative pronoun *’e-* in the phrase is anaphoric and anticipates the content of the subordinate clause (§ 14.1.1.1.). The affix *-at* is often reduced phonetically and the phrase is contracted to the form *’e-+dān*. 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.

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) *'é-+dān +mṭ̥lun tāma! mən-+táma m-+ál-susavaté +sl̥lun, jušáklun +al-dáštat 'Urmi.'* 'When they arrived there, they dismounted from their horses and looked at the plain of Urmī.' (B 2:13)
- (2) *'é-+dān t-ílə šámmu +bəsmáyu +Axíkar! fir'un! brázələ šòpu.'* 'When he hears his name Axiqar, Pharaoh dries up on the spot.' (A 3:67)
- (3) *'é-+dān cálbə karbùnəna, áha cárvaš +rappiyola.'* 'When the dogs approach, she releases the rabbit.' (A 38:18)

The *ptəxlə* form is used in such temporal clauses not only to express the perfective past, but also to express a perfective future (4) and an iterative perfective (5):

- (4) *'e-+dān-səvlux, t-ávə brùna kátux. | 'e-+dān-màtlux, +áynux p-+čámla.'* 'When you become old, he will be a son for you. When you die, he will close your eyes.' (A 3:6)
- (5) *'é-+dān +bílan mapləxxax! mónnō mapləxxax.'* 'Whenever we want to use some of it, we can use it.' (A 37:18)

When the action of the main clause overlaps temporally with that of the *'e-+danət* clause, the verb of the *'e-+danət* clause and/or of the main clause has imperfective aspect without expressing any clear temporal boundaries. In (6)–(8) the imperfective verb in the *'e-+danət* clause is habitual and the *patəxva* form is used without the *ci-* particle, even in initial /Ø/ verbs. This can be interpreted as the use of lighter coding, without the *ci-* particle, to express discourse background (§ 10.2.2.2.2.):

- (6) *'é-+dān 'atíva 'ánnə míyyət +'ánvə kát c-avíva xvìtəl 'áx míyya +tinànəl ka-móriša c-avíva 'ax-t-'ámri +sápya 'ax-zíja.'* 'When they came, the grape juices, which were mixed like muddy water, in the morning were, as they say, clear as a bell.' (B 12:3)
- (7) *'e-+dánət zamərvə, ána +šammànva.'* 'When he sang, I used to listen.' (A 3:81)
- (8) *'é-+dān 'á-yuma 'atíva! ci-+jammíva b-àlpə nášə bálcət! ju-dá yúma ju+mašṭàxət mátət Zumàllan.'* 'When this day came, the people gathered in the open space of the village of Zumallan perhaps in thousands.' (B 11:6)

When the *'e-+danət* clause expresses a progressive situation in a narrative, a progressive *bəptaxələ* or *bəptaxəva* form is used:

- (9) *'é-dān á dúcta cùtan mxáyonva cmá nùynə plátlun m-áxxa.* ‘When I was ploughing this place, some fish came out from here.’ (A 36:13)
- (10) *'é-+dān +várəna jú déjəppítə ... ýán xína cùllə cicé maxrupèna dévə kát dúla' axúnān muyyílə xá +séda t-+axlāxlə.* ‘When they enter the cave, ... all the other monsters are sharpening their teeth thinking that “our brother has brought a prey for us to eat.”’ (A 37:12)
- (11) *'e-+dánət lèx béta, xiša +bar +séda, átən míyyan pràkəna' ázət xá xáčča míyya mayyótlən.* ‘When we are not at home, having gone out to hunt, and our water is running out, you should go and bring us some water.’ (A 37:14)

In some cases the adverbial head of the temporal clause is resumed in the main clause by the adverbial phrase *'e-+dana* ‘at that time’, e.g.

- (12) *'é-+dān tilun, 'é-+dana 'urxátə-zə' ásfalt lèva výyyə.* ‘When they came, at that time the roads had not (yet) been laid with asphalt.’ (B 2:12)
- (13) *'é-+danət sátvə tìyyələ táljələ cùl díyca kàrtəla, késə lòtlun jári 'é-+dana 'ázi késə máyyi.* ‘When winter has come, there is snow and everywhere is cold, and there are no logs of wood, they must at that time go and bring logs of wood.’ (A 37:13)

On some occasions, the temporal clause is inserted within the main clause, after its subject constituent. In such cases the temporal clause has less prominence and the scope of the temporal frame that it denotes is restricted to that of the main clause rather than a wider stretch of ensuing discourse. The content of the main clause is correspondingly foregrounded to a greater extent than in constructions with the temporal clause in initial position, e.g.

- (14) *míyya 'é-+dān +mútra tálja +šúlə +rayyíva ju-béta lè +salíva.* ‘When it rained or snowed and so forth, water would not come down into the house.’ (B 2:22)
- (15) *halbáttá á 'e-+dán +bərràšəl kámta bəxjálələ.* ‘Of course when he wakes he is first startled.’ (A 37:10)
- (16) *út 'e-+dán b-nòsxu=ivət kát jánux=zə là sákđət másalan xúš késə mélan món dáyya mèša.* ‘When you are alone, so that you also do not become bored, go, for example, and bring logs from that forest.’ (A 37:14)
- (17) *'o-+tína 'e-+dán-brázələ, jári lè pákka.* ‘When the mud dries, it must not crack.’ (B 14:8)

The temporal clause may be placed after the main clause, in which case the scope of its temporal frame is likewise restricted to that of main clause, e.g.

- (18) *míyya +bərdàxa dárax +állu| 'e-+dán t-íla tòlya.* | 'Let us pour boiling water on him when he is asleep.' (A 37:19)
- (19) *nákva buš-xelántəla m-cùl-məndi| +é-dán +bayya-óda xà-məndi.* | 'A female is stronger than anything, when she wants to do something.' (A 5:1)

In (20) from a text recorded in Georgia a subordinating element *t* occurs on the clause initial adverbial and also before the copula of the compound verbal form within the clause:

- (20) *ci-maxpívala-da é-+danət 'an-bíyyo t-íva +bəjmá zòda| t-íla kapkùpə ctéta,| kapkùpə| bíyyə t-íla mattúyə +ròba| kapkùpəla.* | 'They would make it brood when an excess of its eggs gathered and when the chicken was clucking, clucking, when it lays a lot of eggs it clucks.' (B 17:41)

In texts recorded from a speaker in Armenia temporal clauses are sometimes negated. Such constructions present the event of the main clause as occurring immediately after the event of the temporal clause:

- (21) *'é-+dán lélə +vàra,| jòxcəla.* | 'Just as she enters, she laughs.' (A 43:24)
  - (22) *'é-+dán lá +várrə ju-pàja,| 'é-+dán lá 'é +móstə škilàlə,| 'é-+dan lá məxyálə šəpjòška,| xá síysa +xvárá tilə.* | 'As soon as he entered the stable, as soon as he took the hair, as soon as he lit the match, a white horse came.'
- (A 45:14)

In (23) a sequence of clauses are subordinated under the temporal adverbial *'e-+dán* but only the first clause is negated:

- (23) *'é-+dán lá mxílə| xàšlə| cílla +kutkattəla,| purziyyəla,| škilálə brát +arallag,| tilə.* | 'When he struck and went and cut them all to pieces and chopped them to pieces, he took the middle daughter and came back.' (A 45:12)

It seems that these constructions present the situation figuratively as if the main event takes place before the event of the subordinate clause has taken place ('she had not even entered, when she laughed'). The negation does not, however, behave exactly like regular negation, as is apparent in the lack of negation in all subsequent verbs of the subordinated sequence in (23). Normally the negator is not gapped from negated verbs in a sequence.

Sporadically speakers use the variant form of the temporal adverbial *e-dántət*, with the feminine form of the noun, in temporal clauses, e.g.

- (24) *'àna| ju-béti tìvənva| e-+dántət 'ína jvànka,| +tarri mxílun.|* ‘I was sitting in my house, when I was young, and somebody banged on my door.’ (A 2:26)

#### 14.5.5.2 *e-jət*

A rarer construction is the formation of a subordinate temporal clause with the adverbial *e-jət* ‘at the time that’ (<*jah, jaha* ‘time’) at its head, e.g.

- (1) *'é-jət tile,| látva tàxta,| lòtvale hóč mändi.|* ‘At the time that they came, there was no wooden bed, they had nothing.’ (B 17:34)

In (2) from a text recorded in Georgia the adverbial does not have a subordinating enclitic but the subordinating phrase *t-i* occurs before the verb:

- (2) *'é-ja 'o-tálja t-i-c-atíva| +'ávun mlàyøva ká ...| do-màndi,| ka-ilànø,| ká ... yémäš mlàyøva.|* ‘When the snow came, it filled the ... the trees, it filled the fruit.’ (B 17:50)

#### 14.5.5.3 *íman*

Temporal clauses may be introduced by the temporal interrogative particle *íman*. This heads the clause asyndetically or is combined with the subordinating particle *t*. This is attached as a clitic rather than affix, which is the general practice when the head is not a noun (§ 5.14.), resulting in the form *íman=t* (sometimes pronounced *íman-t*) with the stress retained on the initial syllable.

In most cases the temporal clause is placed before the main clause, e.g.

- (1) *'íman škòllə| júllu šulkèlə| xzíli nòkvøla.|* ‘When he took off his clothes, I saw that it was a woman.’ (A 3:32)
- (2) *'ína 'íman bæxzáyələ 'a-déva dúlə parpùlə| kat-là +katóllə| mára mú p̄t-àva.|* ‘But when he sees the monster begging him not to kill him, he says “What does it matter?”’ (A 37:10)
- (3) *'ína 'íman bæfrášolə| 'ay bæfrášela kátu.|* ‘But when he pulls it, it pulls him.’ (A 37:15)
- (4) *'íman=t +Axíkar xùbba muxzíl ka-do-'axúna súra,| Nátan brínu kat-jurvássuva jú ... malcùytøval +naràhat víla.|* ‘When Axiqar showed love to that younger brother, his son Natan, whom he had brought up and was (now) in the royal court, became discontent.’ (A 3:17)

A habitual verb is generally in the *patəx* or *patəxva* form, without the habitual *ci-* particle, e.g.

- (5) *'íman=ət xá náša +júra +avàrval jári kemátva +al-àklux.* | 'When an old person entered, you had to get up onto your feet.' (A 1:16)

In such temporal clauses, the *ptəxlə* form may be used to refer to a future event, e.g.

- (6) *'íman tíli +dàrri! bət-yavvánヌx +ràba.* | 'When I come back, I shall give you a lot.' (A 1:3)

In some cases the temporal clause is placed within the main clause or after it, resulting in a reduction in its prominence and scope of its temporal frame, e.g.

- (7) *'á-deva 'íman bitáylə kat-xázza 'á-naša mùdilə +báyya +axəlla.* | 'When this monster comes to see what man this is, he wants to eat him.' (A 37:9)  
 (8) *+jammúyol cùllə kòšun! 'íman=ət 'a-ctáva kabùlulə.* | 'He musters all the army when he receives this letter.' (A 3:25)

In (9) from a text recorded in Georgia the subject of the content clause is placed before the subordinating particle:

- (9) *'íman +xáttə t-ilə pyàša! 'o-bàlma,| 'o-jálla hí bariyza,| +al-+dàvən ci-damxíva.* | 'When wheat remains, hay, the dried grass, they slept on this.' (B 17:33)

#### 14.5.5.4      *ax, dax*

The comparative preposition *ax* and the interrogative particle *dax* 'how?' are used as heads of comparative content clauses, e.g.

- (1) *dáx=ət márri kàtux!* 'as I said to you' (A 1:44)  
 (2) *'ána! jù! duccàni 'ína! dax=ət-ídyu káti xzilux ju-duccána,| 'u-xàdyá +psixa.* | 'I was in my shop just as today you saw me in the shop, happy and merry.' (A 1:12)  
 (3) *ci-maxíva +àllu,| c-avíva +bərxàta! m-dà-riša! +al-dò-riša! m-dà-riša! ...*  
*'áx=ət +maṭríyəna sìysə.* | 'They used to strike it (while) they ran from this side to that side ... as if they were riding a (real) horse.' (A 1:1)  
 (4) *'ánnə míyyat +ánvə kát c-avíva xvìtə! 'áx míyya +tinàna! ka-móriša c-avíva*

- 'ax-ət-ámri +sápyə 'ax-zjə.* | ‘The grape juices, which were mixed like muddy water, in the morning were, as they say, clear as a bell.’ (B 12:3)
- (5) *mádrə har-b-mátxət šənnəl̥ ý +xàbra| +xdírələ víyyələ nipùxta| 'áx-ət +bəd-dáyəx əkat-‘üdyu.* | ‘Again with the passage of the years this word has turned into *nipuxta*, as we know it today.’ (B 12:8)

In the examples above the preposition *'ax* is linked to the clause by the subordinator *t*, which has the form of an enclitic. An example of the subordinator *t-i* (§ 14.5.3.) is attested in a text from Armenia:

- (6) *masálo 'ila hàda| dá məttəltə| dák t-i 'àna šámyon mən| nanùnti| mən-yèmmi| mən-sàvan.* | ‘The story of this tale is thus, as I have heard it from my grandmother, my mother and my grandfather.’ (A 48:1)

On many occasions, however, the subordinator is omitted, e.g.

- (7) *'ita sábza ci-lablívala 'áx mərrí| +al-mdítə ci-zabnáva.* | ‘Now, they used to take the vegetables, as I said, to the town and sell them.’ (B 2:8)
- (8) *+ojáxta b-šánnə əkámaya| 'áx bətxàrən| kèsə ci-mattíva +állo.* | ‘In the early years, according to what I remember, they used to put wood on the hearth.’ (B 12:4)

The clause may be given generic scope by prefixing the universal quantifier, e.g.

- (9) *'a-cúl dax-t-òya| 'ána xáčča bùš-zoda mónnux| xiyyən.* | ‘However it may be, I have lived a little more than you.’ (A 2:16)

A function similar to that of comparative content clauses is performed by constructions such as (10) and (11), in which the pronominal subject of the subordinate clause has been raised and made the complement of the preposition in the form of the genitive particle *díyyux*. The *kat* in (10) can be interpreted as a marker of a relative clause:

- (10) *'ax-díyyux əkat-káti t'lux xzilux| t'ləxa-náša káti mərrə.* | ‘Like you who came and saw me, so a man came and said to me ...’ (A 4:12)
- (11) *'ax-díyyux proféssor=ivət| +'áv-da +rába lipəva.* | ‘Like you (who) are a professor, he also was very learned.’ (A 3:1:1)

In (12) the raising is straightforward without any relative construction:

- (12) *'áx dànnə vágðuna!* 'as they do it' (B 9:5)

The comparative preposition may head a conditional clause beginning with the conditional particle *'ən*. In such constructions it is regularly followed by the subordinator *t*, which has the alloform of tense *ₖ* due to the coalescence with the following laryngal, viz. *'ax-ₖ-ən*. Such constructions may function as comparative adverbial adjunct clauses expressing a possible situation, e.g.

- (13) *'ú +hála mára dún +ₖt̥atlí, +yánə 'ax-ₖ-án 'ánnə míyya mán +ₖt̥ata tíyyəna!*  
 'This one just says "I have sweated", as if this water has come from sweat.'  
 (A 37:21)

In (14) the comparative prepositional head is placed before the main lexical verb rather than at the beginning of the construction:

- (14) *+yánə b-nobánə +báyyi 'áha-zə 'áxₖ-ən-páləx!* 'That is they want him to work as it were in turns.' (A 37:14)

In (15) the comparative subordinate clause is linked to the main clause by the correlative particle *'atxa* 'thus':

- (15) *šópu švíkələ xá ... xá k̥esal xá-məndi xína müttələlə! 'ánnəl yán júllə +šúlə müttələ 'átxa vidéłə! 'áxₖ-ən-dmìxələ!* 'He has left a piece of wood in his place, (or) he has put something else, he has placed clothes or the like, and arranged them thus as if he is asleep.' (A 37:20)

The comparative clause and the main clause are sometimes presented in parallel opposition:

- (16) *dáx xá-txa janáy +ₖt̥alt̥et̥, 'át dámmat cílla dəžmənnax šaklónna!* 'Just as you have killed so many people, I shall avenge the blood of all of your enemies.' (A 3:4)

#### 14.5.5.5 *cma*

When the quantifier particle *cma* governs a subordinate content clause, it generally quantifies the proposition in the embedded clause and expresses the sense of 'as much as,' 'however much', or 'so long as.' It is generally combined with the subordinator enclitic *t*, e.g.

- (1) *cmá=t +byàyəna| léna +bašùrə.* ‘However much they want to, they cannot (do so).’ (A 3:74)
- (2) *cmá=t ... +byáyələ ’áta hámzəm| lélə +bašùrə.* ‘However much he wants to talk, he cannot (do so).’ (A 3:30)
- (3) *cmá=t ’áttən ’ánnə ’írbə káat-bárràxşəna| +məsté kat-pólla +’al-+’árra| šaklàn-na.* ‘As many as the sheep that pass by are, I should take their hair that falls (= I should take the hair that falls of as many sheep that pass by).’ (A 18:2)
- (4) *jáldə +nùslə,| cma-t-íla jáldə.* ‘Bite him as quickly as [it is] possible.’ (A 47:13)
- (5) *hádax vàdəva| yánət +’ánvə=da ’avívəle| +màš=da ’avívəle| cmá t-íva ’úpra mláya.* ‘They farmed so they would have grapes and would have beans, as much as the land would suffice.’ (B 17:13)

In (6)–(9) the verb in the subordinate clause is in the irrealis form, since it is referring to possible situations. Note also the correlative linkage between *cma* and *buš*:

- (6) *+’árra| cmá=t óya macàxta| buš-mìyya c-ázi, jávo.* ‘As much as the ground is soft (= the more soft the ground is), the more water sinks into it.’ (A 3:11)
- (7) *cmà=t| nášə=zə +rába ’avíva ká dá pyétət láxma +hayyárta ’avíval búš jáldə ci-parkíva.* ‘The more people there were for this baking of bread, the more help there was, the quicker they would finish.’ (B 10:13)
- (8) *cmá=t ráxka ’azàlvə b-+pasulyátə ci-banàxvalun.* ‘As far as it went, we would count with steps (= We would count how far it went with steps).’ (B 9:8)

In (9) *cma* has a temporal sense:

- (9) *jáldə +nùslə,| ... cmá=t lélə b-rišux xá-məndi vída.* ‘Bite him ... before he does something against you.’ (A 47:13)

The subordinator *t* is sometimes omitted, e.g.

- (10) *’íta ’ánnə bíyyə mattáxvalun ju-màlxə,| sab-cmá pésíva ju-màlxə| lè xarvíva bíyyə.* ‘So, we put the eggs in salt, because so long as they remain in salt the eggs would not go off.’ (B 7:4)
- (11) *cmá ’áxnan búš +rába ráxka mìxyux| ’áxnan +karmànəx.* ‘When we hit it the furthest, we would be the winners.’ (B 9:8)
- (12) *cmá ’órbə ’átlux| pályət dáni ’ána ’órbə b-yavvànnux.* ‘However many sheep you have, I shall give you half as many sheep.’ (A 39:34)

14.5.5.6 *culla*

The quantifier *culla* may be made the head of an adverbial subordinate clause such as (1), which has a causal sense of 'due to all that'. It is attached to the clause by the subordinator *t*:

- (1) 'axúna súra culla t-ílə plíxa| +rába šuršìyyəla.| 'The younger brother, due to all he has worked, is very tired.' (A 38:4)

14.5.5.7 *kam, mən-kam/m-kam*

The preposition *kam* 'before' is generally combined with *mən/m-* when used before a content clause. It is sometimes combined with the subordinator enclitic *t*, e.g.

- (1) moriša-jàldə=da ci-ķemìva,| m-ķám nášə naplíva +al-+šùla.| 'In the early morning they used to get up, before people went to work.' (A 1:2)
- (2) kùl +yàrməx| 'ázax| m-ķám-ət ķa-díyan-da cápši jú +dùssaķ.| 'Come on, let's go, before they bundle also us into prison.' (A 1:39)
- (3) jàldə m-axxa-xúš| mən-ķám-ət 'ána +xìyáli šaxløppønna.| 'Go from here quickly before I change my mind.' (A 7:19)

In (4) the preposition is joined to the main clause with *kat*:

- (4) jul-máxə patxàxvalun,| +hála +tlá +arpá +sa'áttə mən-ķám kat-yásķax| dàmxax.| 'We would open up the bedding, already three or four hours before we went up to sleep.' (B 10:21)

In (5) the phrase *mən kam +dana* that heads a subordinate clause introduced by the subordinator *t* has the sense of 'beforehand when ...':

- (5) móñ ķam-+dána ... t-áva skída máržət da-+àyna| +bəkyàrələ| b-de-scántu +bəkyàrəl dé +čap̄pál̄tu| xácma ... məndyànə +bəkyárələ| ká sòdu| kát +dánu talàkla.| 'Beforehand when he was bored by the spring he carves, he carves with his knife, with his staff, he carves some things for his amusement to pass the time.' (A 37:8)

14.5.5.8 *+bar, mən-+bar/m-+bar*

Subordinate temporal content clauses introduced by the preposition *+bar* 'after' or the synonymous phrase *mən-+bar/m-+bar* are generally placed before the main clause. The subordinator enclitic *t* is generally not used, e.g.

- (1) +bár +Axíkar myàtələ| +fúr'un bæctávələ xa-ctáva ķá ... +Nuxadnàsər márlə ... 'After Axiqar dies, Pharaoh writes a letter to Nebechadnezzar saying ...' (A 3:39)
- (2) mən-+bár brèzvalə| xína míyya   -+dān +mútra tálja +šúla +rayyíva ju-béta lè +salíva. | 'After it had dried, when rain, snow and so forth fell, the water used not to run down into the house.' (B 2:22)
- (3) m-+bár +  v brèzvalə| xá júra xína +  na +  taròsva. | 'After it had dried, another type of mud used to be made.' (B 2:21)
- (4) mən-+bár +bæsmáyələ   at-  assáttat dánnə mùdila,| +bæddáyəle   at-lé- +  aməs paròšlun. | 'After the judge hears what their story is, he realizes that he cannot decide between them.' (A 38:5)
- (5) +bár   nnə míyyət +  nvə ci-darívalun ju-+ta  rə|   tva xá ... mán   upra,| c-azíva mən-xácmə +rumyáta t  mməz,| ci-ma  xivalə,| b-  ammət +xorâna. | ci-mayyívalə| xá  xa m  nné ci-+xo  ivalun ju-dánnə míyyət +  nvə. | 'After they poured the grape juice into the bins, there was (a kind of) soil, they used to go to some clean hills and find it, (it is known) by the name of +xorana.' (B 12:3)

Examples of the construction with the subordinator enclitic include:

- (6) +bár h  da| +b  r-  t +x  bra lá-vilə m  n-d  nnə,| +b  r h  da +d  rrə| c  s-  l  h  t j  nu. | 'After that, after no word was forthcoming from them, after that he appealed to his god.' (A 3:4)

In (6) the temporal clause stands in apposition to the pronominal adverbial +bar hada 'after that'.

In (7) the initial adverbial clause has been reduced by the omission of the copula:

- (7) +bar-m  tta m  ttələ. | 'After she has died, she has died (you cannot do anything about it).' (A 1:20)

In texts recorded in Georgia, the preposition +bar has the subordinating clitic and, in addition, the subordinating phrase   -i occurs before the verb of the content clause:

- (8) +b  r=t   n brit   h  m=da brun     -i-jurv  sle,| ... +x  rta +d  n  a t  la,|   nnə tp  kle b-+  ydalə. | 'After their daughter and son grew up ... then the time came when they met.' (A 55:2)
- (9) +x  rta| +b  r=t bab   y  mm     i-+dile| y  n   nnə +by  y  na +  ydalə,| ... +rázi

*là vîle.*! ‘When their father and mother knew that they loved each other ... they were not pleased.’ (A 55:2)

#### 14.5.5.9 *hal*

When this preposition governs subordinate content clauses, it is optionally combined with the subordinator enclitic *t*. Its functions can be classified as follows.

##### 14.5.5.9.1 ‘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’. In the following examples the verb in the subordinate clause is in the irrealis *patəx* form, e.g.

- (1) *máttunlun ju-+dùssak!* *ka-hàl motè,*! *ka-hál=t metì.*! ‘Put them in jail until their death, until they die.’ (A 1:49)
- (2) *'à-sapar!* *p-xamánnun càslí!* *ánna zìtyzə!* *hál-t o-+dínar xína +šadràtla.*! ‘This once I shall keep this money with me until you send the other dinar.’ (A 14:4)
- (3) *lá yávvat hàč mändi káto +áxla!* *hál 'ána 'átən.*! ‘Do not give her anything to eat until I come back.’ (A 35:6)
- (4) *'ó xabúša +n̄tùrrə!* *hal-t-+màtə.*! ‘Guard that apple until it ripens.’ (A 39:2)

In (5)–(7) the irrealis *patəx* verb is accompanied by a negative particle. This does not express negative polarity, but rather makes explicit that the ‘until’-clause describes a necessary condition for a change in the main-clause event (Eilam 2009).:

- (5) *'áni xáčča +róba járət bášli,*! *hál=t lá sàmkı.*! ‘They must bake quite a lot, until they are brown (i.e. so long as they are not brown, they must wait).’ (B 17:24)
- (6) *ka-díyyi jvára lòt!* *hál 'át lá mètat,*! *+tamrənnax.*! ‘Marriage is not for me until you die and I bury you (i.e. so long as you do not die and I do not bury you, marriage is not for me).’ (A 44:12)
- (7) *le-+áxlaç hàč-mändi!* *hál +ba'útan katóxun là tanáxla.*! ‘We shall not eat anything until we tell you our request (i.e. so long as we do not tell you our request, we shall not eat anything).’ (B 8:3)

The subordinate clause may be placed before the main clause, e.g.

- (8) *hál-at lá pàlxat! hác-mändi là-+amsat +áxlat át ju-da-béta!* ‘Until you work (i.e. so long as you do not work), you cannot eat anything in the house.’ (A 35:7)

#### 14.5.5.9.2 ‘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’ or ‘by the time that’ 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’ or ‘by the time that.’ In many cases such factive clauses are placed before the asserted main clause, e.g.

- (1) *bašlattun! hal-ána ’átən!* ‘You should cook them before I come back.’ (A 36:14)
- (2) *hál +dérən ’átən! cóc nàkva la-šòkət!* ‘Before I return and come back, do not leave female kind (alive).’ (A 2:11)
- (3) *hál-at xášli +bàru mára tuláklo! ... hál kámli mádrəl távli +al-sùysi! júlli tvišèli! xášla!* ‘Before I got to him, he disappeared. ... Before I got up and sat on my horse and put on my clothes, he went.’ (A 2:27)
- (4) *’ána hál kámli mánkal tapyànvala! áyya +kàtul +xáltula cùllə +bùsra!* ‘Before I could light the grill, that cat ate all the meat.’ (A 11:2)
- (5) *hál t-ázət bëta, <sup>R</sup>úže<sup>R</sup> o-bètux! +’zsra háda bëta t-ávə yàcca!* ‘By the time you get home, your house will be already ten times bigger.’ (A 54:7)
- (6) *’ána hál ... ýzən +máṭən +tàmma! làxma páṛək! hál nóbət díyyi-da +máṭə xína xəšca vâyəla!* ‘Before I go and arrive there, the bread will run out. Before my turn arrives, it will be dark.’ (A 19:2)
- (7) *hal-t-ila bëkyàma! ýna ýnnə cùllə +xilə šàtyə!* ‘By the time she gets up (she sees) that they have all eaten and drunk.’ (A 35:13)

#### 14.5.5.9.3 ‘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 end point 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) *bësyákəna +ùllul!, hál cma-+dána ’atxa-+ùllul bësyákəna! bàlcət! ’alpá mótrə +ùllul-inə!* ‘They go up, until when they go up for some time, they are perhaps 1,000 metres above (the ground).’ (A 3:71)

#### 14.5.6 Content Clauses after Verbs of Perception

There are various ways to express a content clause that is the complement of a verb of perception. In many cases the complement clause is combined with the matrix verb asyndetically, e.g.

- (1) *xzili* +*slíla tilə* *távla* +*al-sùysəl* *káma kam-dìyyi*.| 'I saw that he came down and sat on the horse in front of me.' (A 2:32)
- (2) *xzili* *nàkvala*.| 'I saw that it was a woman.' (A 2:32)
- (3) *baxzáyələ* +*tárrət dárta=za* 'òttən.|| 'He sees that there are some also at the courtyard door.' (A 37:4)
- (4) *'ánnə baxzáyəna cíllə mzıda šetyála*.| 'They see that he has drunk the whole waterskin.' (A 37:16)
- (5) *xzilun* +*rábä murkàlla*.| 'They noticed that he took a long time.' (A 37:18)
- (6) *xášlun* *xzilun* +*xóla* +*sírulə mán xa-kësa*.| 'They went and saw that he has tied the rope to a branch.' (A 37:18)
- (7) *xzilun* *'átxa lè-oya*| 'They realized that it does not work like this.' (A 37:19)
- (8) *baxzáyəna xá-xča míyya* +*bərdàxa dóryəna*.| 'They see that they have poured so much boiling water.' (A 37:21)
- (9) *baxzáyələ* +*hála jàldəla*.| 'He sees that it is still early.' (A 1:11)
- (10) *málca 'aslìl* *mán-vazzìru* *baxzáyəna m-ràkkəl* *ju-+dávva béta tlíxa* 'òttən +*šrayàtə bəlláyəna*.| 'The real king with his vizier see from afar that in that ruined house there are lanterns burning.' (A 1:27)

The copula in the content clause is sometimes omitted, e.g.

- (11) *baxzàyət* | *ídə 'áklux* +*sírə*.| 'You can see that your hands and feet are tied.' (A 36:17)
- (12) *baxzáyələ cíllə* +*tárra dàva*, *rijavàtə*, +*karavàšə*, *cíllə ju-bètu* | *ríša macúpə kátu*.| 'He sees that the whole door is gold, servants and housekeepers in his house are all bowing their head to him.' (A 4:8)

In some cases the complement clauses of the verb of perception contains a deictic copula, e.g.

- (13) *xa-b-xá baxzáyələ márzət* +*áyna xá ... xa-nàša dílə dmíxa*.| 'All of a sudden he sees that there is a man asleep by the side of the spring.' (A 37:7)
- (14) *baxzáyələ* 'á +*kárkála sákla* +*úllul*, | 'u-+*táma véna bədráya kàlə* | *hállun cípə* *hállun lúgnə*.| 'He sees that the basket has gone upwards, and there they are crying out "Give stones, give bricks." (A 3:59)

- (15) *bəxzáyən vélə xa-yàla mən-xa-bàxta +támma šulxàya.* ‘I see that there is a lad together with a woman over there (both) naked.’ (A 4:11)

When the complement clause contains an indefinite subject nominal, the syntactic structure is ambiguous. The indefinite nominal could be interpreted as the object of the matrix verb. If this is the case, it may be the result of raising from the perceived proposition or the following clause could be a relative clause, e.g.

- (16) *xzílan áxči xa-+šrá làxxa bəlláyəla.* ‘We saw that only one lantern is burning here ~ We saw only one lantern—it is burning here ~ We saw one lantern, which is burning here.’ (A 2:6)

In (17) and (18) a pronoun is made unambiguously the object of the verb of perception and it is most easily interpreted as the result of raising from the following clause, which expresses the perceived proposition:

- (17) *xázə ka-díyyax +rábə šap̄òrtət.* ‘He will see you—you are beautiful (= He will see that you are beautiful).’ (A 24:3)
- (18) *bəxzàyux=vən b-dà-’idux b-dè-’idux zùyza bəškala.* ‘u-bəxzáyux=vən palàxa ’átlux. ‘I see that you take money with this hand and with that hand. I see that you have workers.’ (A 4:6)

On some occasions constructions are used such as (19), in which a nominal rather than a proposition is made the object of the verb, as shown by the object agreement pronoun on the verb, followed by a non-restrictive predicative complement without a copula (§ 12.7.1). The predicative complement presents new information about the referent of the nominal and so the construction has the same function as one with a propositional content on the informational level:

- (19) *bəxzàyolə ’áyya báxtal +rábə šap̄òrtəl b-+pàgро.* ‘He sees the woman, (who is) very beautiful in her body.’ (A 1:6)

In (20) the topic of an irrealis content clause after an irrealis verb of perception is raised into object position:

- (20) *xazzénnax m-púmmax várda +rózə tápxil m-+susyátax=da dàvə hár +xar-xérri.* ‘Let me see you—roses flow from your mouth and gold coins falling from your plaits.’ (A 43:12)

In some cases the complement clause contains the particle *'ina* (§ 13.1.8.1), e.g.

- (21) *baxzàyələ| 'ína xa-bàxčələ| +úxča šap̄ərta.* 'He sees that there is a garden, which is so beautiful.' (A 39:10)
- (22) *xzílə 'ína xá-dana rìša| +bəryàmələ, bəcyàpələ.* 'He saw that a head is going up and down.' (A 1:11)

In some cases such constructions contain a deictic copula, e.g.

- (23) *baxzáyələ mən-rèkkə| 'ína xá-dana +šrá véla bəllaya| fu-xa-bèta.* 'He sees from afar a lantern burning in a house.' (A 2:4)
- (24) *'ína xášli kédamta xzilə| 'ína cíllə 'o-+xiyàvand| ó nišánkət 'ína müttun| +'áv-da vēl-+tàmma.* 'I went in the morning and saw that the same sign that I had placed was in the entire street.' (A 2:10)
- (25) *cíllə +várajaššúkəna, 'ína málca vél tívā +tàmma.* 'They all enter and look (and see) that the king is sitting there, but he is a new king.' (A 1:42)
- (26) *baxzáyələ xá-dana xmàrlə| 'ína véləfu-+tìna.* 'He sees a donkey in the mud.' (A 7:4)
- (27) *xzíl xa-nára +rába +jùra| 'ína nášə dína bədvákə niyñə.* 'He saw a very large river and people catching fish.' (A 9:2)

A copula is often omitted after the particle *'ina*, e.g.

- (28) *baxzàyələ| +Axíkar 'ína +tàma.* 'He sees that Axiqar is there.' (A 3:51)
- (29) *baxzáyələ 'ína| +háji šulxaya| ú báxta šulxëta.* 'He sees that the pilgrim is naked and the woman is naked.' (A 1:7)
- (30) *xzílə 'ína xa-+dínar +basùra.* 'He saw that a dinar was missing.' (A 14:4)

The matrix verb of perception 'to see' is sometimes omitted before a clause opening with *'ina*, e.g.

- (31) *+palùčulə| 'ína +Axíkar dáknu +rixə, ránju +rùppu| zàrda víyya, cícu cíllə xriñə.* 'He brings him out (and sees that) Axiqar's beard is long, he has lost his colour, he has become yellow and all his teeth are ruined.' (A 3:51)
- (32) *jaššúkələ 'ína cíllə 'o-+xiyàvand| ó nišánkələ.* 'He looks (and sees that) the whole street is (marked with) the same sign.' (A 2:9)

In (33) an item that is perceived and introduced onto the scene for the first time has the near deictic pronoun:

- (33) *+várrəjavàyl' ína áha náša +rába átxa +pšima.* 'He went inside (and saw) a certain (literally: this) man who was very sad.' (A 10:2)

A clause that is the complement of a verb of perception is occasionally introduced by the particle *kat*, e.g.

- (34) *Nátan bæxzáyələ kat-bábu xàyəla.* 'Natan sees that his father is alive.' (A 3:88)

#### 14.5.7 Word Order of Subordinate Content Clauses

When the complement clause contains a subject nominal, this is generally placed before the verb and after the subordinator *t* or the particle *kat*, if these are used:

- (1) *ína lè-+bayyən! hác̚ xa-+šrál' ýya fu-màta.* 'I do not want any lantern to be in the village.' (A 2:1)
- (2) *márət díyyi lèla xšíxal' kat-ána átxa hamzámmən bázu.* 'My master does not need me to speak about him like this.' (A 3:64)
- (3) *bitáyəna! +jár bædráyələ vázzər! kat-cúllə baxtátə lóši lvášta šapárta.* 'They come and the vizier makes an announcement that all women should wear fine clothing.' (A 2:22)
- (4) *+bæddáyələ kát +Axíkar mətlə.* 'He knows that Axiqar died.' (A 3:39)
- (5) *xa-+bózza bæšvákəna! kat-napásu là-+kattá.* 'They leave a hole so that his breathing would not be cut off.' (A 3:36)
- (6) *bæxzáyələ ú +kær̚ála sákla +ùllul, i u-+táma véna bædráya kálə hállun cípa!*  
*hállun lügna.* 'He sees that the basket has gone upwards, and there they are crying out "Give stones, give bricks ..." ' (A 3:59)

The subject is sporadically placed after the verb. This is attested where the subject is indefinite and newly introduced into the discourse, e.g.

- (7) *'aláha ráxma 'ávəd +állo kat-lá-avi dívə +xiло.* 'God have mercy on her that wolves have not eaten her.' (A 1:35)

When the subject is topical it is sometimes fronted before the particle *kat*, e.g.

- (8) *jár xáda 'oyànl! ... júpta kat-lá xárva.* 'It must be thus ... so that the cheese does not go bad.' (B 15:3)

In (9) a subject of a verb is fronted before a subordinating verb in an asyndetic construction:

- (9) *+rázitən bábi yóm̥mi sápən 'atìni?* 'Are you pleased for me to send for my father and mother to come?' (A 43:15)

The subject of temporal clauses may be fronted before the subordinating head of the clause, e.g.

- (10) *'o-+tína 'e-+dān-bràzələ, jári lè pákka.* 'When the mud dries, it must not crack.' (B 14:8)
- (11) *'á-deva 'íman bitáyələ kat-xázza 'á-naša mùdilə +báyya +axəlla.* 'When this monster comes to see what man this is, he wants to eat him.' (A 37:9)

A direct object nominal is generally placed before the verb in the complement clause, e.g.

- (12) *+báyyən xá-məndi tanánnux.* 'I want to tell you something.' (A 3:47)
- (13) *+byáyələ dénuš šakàlla mánnux.* 'He wants to take your debt from you.' (A 3:76)
- (14) *'ána +báyyən cíllə 'a-méša xá-ja hár +tanánnə +al-+xási.* 'I want to carry the whole of this forest in one go on my back.' (A 37:18)
- (15) *'a-dáx c-+ámsən 'ana-'á-+šula 'odánnə?!* 'Oh how can I do this thing?!' (A 2:12)
- (16) *'ána mírənva kátu baxtátə +kaṭállun.* 'I had said to him that he should kill the women.' (A 2:23)
- (17) *+bəddáyələ cíl-məndi zrəzələ.* 'He knows that he has arranged everything.' (A 3:67)
- (18) *+áx bas-+šəmyənva ka-díyyux +kṭəllun.* 'But I had heard that they killed you.' (A 3:68)
- (19) *'íman-ət +Axíkar xùbba muxzíl ka-do-axúna súra, Nátan brúnu ḳat-jurvássuva jú ... malciyávəl +naràhat víla.* 'When Axiqar showed love to that younger brother, his son Natan whom he had brought up and was (now) in the royal court became discontent.' (A 3:17)
- (20) *+jammúyol cíllə kòšunl 'íman-ət 'a-ctáva kabùlula.* 'He musters all the army when he receives this letter.' (A 3:25)
- (21) *+bár 'ánnə míyət +árvə ci-darívalun ju-+tajárlə 'ávva xá ... mán 'ùpra, c-azíva mən-xácmə +rumyáta tám̥məz, ci-mačxívalə, b-šómmət +xorána.* 'After they poured the grape juice into the bins, there was (a kind of) soil, they used to go to some clean hills and find it, (it is known) by the name of *+xorana*.' (B 12:3)

- (22) *málca-da yúvvəl dàstur| kat-cùllə panánnun.* ‘The king has given a command that I should eradicate everybody.’ (A 2:17)
- (23) *+bəttánən màntux| kát ú-məndi káy tunílux.* ‘I am grateful to you that you have told me this.’ (A 2:37)
- (24) *sáb +bəddáyələ kát ý ctóvta +kàryola.* ‘because he knows that he has read that writing.’ (A 37:10)
- (25) *’ána mut-xərbayúta kátxux vídənva| kat-’átən ’á-+šula vádlux b-riši.* ‘What evil had I done to you that you did this against me?’ (A 3:27)
- (26) *’ánnə bəxzáyəna cùllə mzida šátyála.* ‘They see that he has drunk the whole waterskin.’ (A 37:16)

The direct object is occasionally fronted before the subordinating particle of the complement clause, e.g.

- (27) *kámłə ka-da-báxta kat-màxə.* ‘He got up to beat this woman.’ (A 5:10)
- (28) *’á-jiba ’án xelánə ó xelána paršílə| zábbun mən-dó-yba kat-’ázəl mayyila.* ‘On this side the strong ones would select the strongest one to go and fetch the weaker one from the other side.’ (B 9:2)
- (29) *xívvə m-+bár +bəktálulə,* *bitáyəna xína miyya.* ‘After he kills the snake, water flows again.’ (A 39:20)

Occasionally the object is placed after the verb. This is attested where the noun is indefinite, e.g.

- (30) *ci-maxíva +’allu,| c-avíva +bərxàṭa| m-dà-riša| +al-dò-riša,| m-dà-riša| ... úx-ət +matríyəna sìysə.* ‘They used to strike it (the wooden horse) while they ran from this side to that side ... as if they were riding a (real) horse.’ (A 1:1)

The object may be fronted before the main verb. This is attested in constructions where the main verb is combined with an unrealis verb asyndetically. In such cases the two verbs are typically combined in the same intonation group, e.g.

- (31) *ka-díyyi +bílun +kàṭli.* ‘They wanted to kill me.’ (A 3:69)
- (32) *xa-mándi +báyyən tānət káti| kat-háč náša là-’avə +šámyu ju-dúnyə.* ‘I want you to tell me something that nobody in the world has heard.’ (A 3:75)
- (33) *cúllə +karavàšu,| rijavàtu,| cùllə +byáyələ màxə.* ‘All his servants and housekeepers—he wants to beat everybody.’ (A 3:38)

- (34) *+átra +báyyət yavvátla 'ázəl?* ‘You want to let the country be ruined?’  
(A 3:27)
- (35) *xá-yuma xína-zə kèsə xišəva mayyíva.* ‘On another day he had gone to bring logs.’ (A 37:17)
- (36) *'íta 'ánnə-da +báyyət šaklítlun mònni?* ‘Now, do you want to take these too from me?’ (A 1:13)
- (37) *hemánti tíyən lablònna.* ‘I have come to take what I left in trust.’ (A 1:17)
- (38) *xa-+píra táni ka-yómmax šákla| kàtla.* ‘Tell your mother to take a lamb and slaughter it.’ (A 43:12)
- (39) *sábab kənyánə +jarbíva xamívalun| hál xamšà yárxa.* ‘Because they tried to keep the cattle for five months.’ (B 1:26)

In (40) the verb is separated from its fronted object by two intervening verbs:

- (40) *'ánnə +tlá məndyàna| +báyyən 'atítun kèdamta| ka-díyi tanítunlun.* ‘I want you to come tomorrow and tell me these three things.’ (A 38:7)

A prepositional phrase that contains a topic nominal is occasionally fronted before a subordinating head of a temporal clause, e.g.

- (41) *m-mdítə 'é-+dān +plàtəna,| à| vazzírət málca bəxzàyal* ‘When they go out of the city, the vizier of the king sees ...’ (A 48:4)

When the subordinate clause contains a copula, this generally remains in its normal position, e.g.

- (42) *cúllə +bəddàyəna| kát mòttəla.* ‘Everybody knows that she is dead.’  
(A 1:20)
- (43) *sáb +bəddáyəla kát 'é ctávta +kòryolə.* ‘because he knows that he has read that writing.’ (A 37:10)
- (44) *léva +bəddá kát á +rìšəla.* ‘They did not know that he is awake’ (A 37:19)
- (45) *+rábə +pšáməvax kát m-ída yùvvovax.* ‘We are very sorry that we have now lost it.’ (B 2:15)
- (46) *Nátan bəxzáyəla kát-bábu xàyəla.* ‘Natan sees that his father is alive.’  
(A 3:88)

In temporal clauses introduced by a head adverbial phrase that contains the subordinator particle *t*, the copula may be moved to the front of the clause and in some cases cliticized to the subordinator, e.g.

- (47) *'é-+dān t-íla šámmu +bəšmáyu +Axīkar! fǖr'un! brázələ šòpu.* ‘When he hears his name “Axiqar,” Pharaoh dries up on the spot.’ (A 3:67)
- (48) *míyya +bərdàxa dárax +'állu! e-+dān t-íla təlyə.* ‘Let us pour boiling water on him when he is asleep.’ (A 37:19)
- (49) *'ána! ju-béti tivənva! e-+dántət 'ína jvànkə, +tarri mxílun.* ‘I was sitting in my house, when I was young, and somebody banged on my door.’ (A 2:26)

Such temporal clauses are non-assertive, in that they do not express a proposition that can be evaluated as true or false. They share this property with restrictive or informationally integrated relative clauses, which also exhibit copula movement (§14.1.4. examples (17)–(22)).

## 14.6 Conditional Constructions

Conditional constructions consist of two components, the protasis clause, which presents the condition, and the apodosis clauses, 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 *'an* ('if'). In some marginal cases the Persian conditional particle *'ájar* is used. In Armenia the conditional particle *'anya* or *'anyat* is also found.

In what follows, we shall classify the conditional constructions according to the verb form of the protasis and the apodosis.

### 14.6.1 *Protasis*

#### 14.6.1.1 *patəx*

The *patəx* 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 generally perfective in aspect, since it presents actions delimited with a start and end point or at least with a start point, e.g.

- (1) *'ən-tána kə-šámša clí, bət-cályə.* *'ən-tána +məṭra +ri, bət-+rəyya.* *'ən-tána dúnýə clí bət-cályani.* ‘If he says to the sun “stop”, it will stop. If he says “rain”, it will rain. If he says “Stop world”, it will stop.’ (A 3:64)
- (2) *'ən macərbàxlə +áv hár parpəslən.* ‘If we upset him, he will totally destroy us.’ (A 37:12)
- (3) *'ən-šúk mən-da-+xəlti, xá-məndi xína xázzət biyyi, +ktùlli.* ‘If apart from this fault of mine, you find something else against me, kill me.’ (A 3:48)

The *patəx* form of some verbs in the protasis may have an imperfective aspect, expressing a possible situation in the present, e.g.

- (4) 'ən-ávə xaya,| páljat malcúyti b-yavvónna kàtux.| 'If he is alive, I shall give you half of my kingdom.' (A 3:50)
- (5) 'ən-ána ávən +sàra,| nášət xut-ídot díyyi mùdi vágəna?| 'If I were a moon, what would the people under my command be?' (A 3:61)

In habitual contexts the *patəx* form in the protasis can express a real situation that occurs in at least a subset of all occurrences of the situation, e.g.

- (6) 'án béta ávə +júra! xá-dana stüyna-da xút ci-maxíva mən-+àrra! hál +tàmma! kát là talóxva.| 'If the house was big, they used to place a pillar underneath (coming up) from the ground up to there, so that it would not collapse.' (B 2:19)

In (7) the conditional particle is gapped from the protasis of the second of two conjoined conditional constructions:

- (7) 'án mən-màskal! óya +ràba! mən-’òštux parmánna.| óya xàčča! mən-’òštux parmánna.| 'If it is more than a gram, I shall cut it from your bottom. (If) it is less, I shall cut it from your bottom.' (A 7:11)

#### 14.6.1.2 *patəxva*

The *patəxva* form, with the past converter suffix *-va*, is used in the protasis of conditional sentences that refer to a hypothetical condition in the past, which was not fulfilled (1–3), or to a hypothetical condition in the present or future, which the speaker assesses to be impossible to fulfil (4), e.g.

- (1) 'ən-+bačrətva,| bət-yavvánvalux zìzə,| 'ína là +bučérrex.| 'If you had asked, I would have given you money, but you did not ask.'
- (2) 'ən-+yattánva šámmu mùdiva,| bət-tanànvalux,| 'ína là +yattánva.| 'If I had known what his name was, I would have told you, but I did not know.'
- (3) 'án +'aturáya là-'aviva ju-'Úrmi,| 'áxči 'avíva +'iranáya| járac +'áv 'atíva +'avárva jú ... zarduštáya +macrázva but-mšíxa.| 'If there were not Assyrians in Urmi and there were only Iranians, he would have had to come and enter among the Zoroastrians to preach about Christ (which is inconceivable).' (B 1:3)
- (4) 'ən-+masànva,| bət-'atènva,| 'ína lè-+masən.| 'If I could, I would come, but I cannot.'

In (5) the *patəxva* form is used in an asyndetic counterfactual conditional. In this example the irrealis modality is strengthened by a negative particle:

- (5) *la-’aváxva xelàna,| ’áxnan ’azàxva.* ‘If only we were strong, we would go.’  
(A 45:7)

#### 14.6.1.3 *bət-patəx*

This is used when the protasis expresses a possible situation in the future, e.g.

- (1) *’ánya xošóxun t-àtya,| pešitun.* ‘If you are (i.e. will be) happy, stay.’ (B 16:4)  
(2) *’ánya ’át-da b-’úrxət †jórax t-azátən,| brúnux kám +’áynax +kaṭlàxxə.* ‘If you go in the way of your husband, we shall kill your son before your eyes.’ (B 16:7)

#### 14.6.1.4 *ptəxlə / kam-patəx*

The past perfective form *ptəxlə* and its alternant *kam-patəx* are used in the protasis to denote a possible situation in the future, e.g.

- (1) *’ón xa-náša bukərrə mənnáx| kat-’áha| mànila,| tányat| bràtila.* ‘If somebody asks you who she is, you should say “She is my daughter.”’ (A 1:14)  
(2) *’ən-’ána mətlı,| +págri mü p̄t-ávə?* ‘If I die, what will my body be (like)?’ (A 13:1)  
(3) *’ən-šrílun nášə díyyux ka-díyyi,| tláy šənnə| mán PdarāmàdP-ət| +’átri| ... ’ána yávvən kàtux.* ‘If your people solve it for me, I shall give you thirty years of the income of my land.’ (A 3:40)  
(4) *’ón +msílun| odílə nášə díyyux,| ’ána cíllə xárjət| tláy šənnə| b-yávvánna kàtux| ət+’átri.* ‘If your men can do this, I shall give to you all the expenditure of my land for thirty years.’ (A 3:44)  
(5) *’ən-+msíli,| +’áv bət-yávválla káti.* ‘If I can (do this), he will give it to me.’ (A 3:55)  
(6) *’ón kál-jáxca +šmilux| xùš,| xína lótli PəhtiyájP +’allux.* ‘If you hear the sound of laughter, go. I do not have need for you. If you hear the sound of weeping, wait.’ (A 2:30)  
(7) *’ón +tála tílə +al-jáni bət-maxənnə.* ‘If a fox comes against me, I shall strike him.’ (A 37:6)  
(8) *’ən-vidèlan,| vidèlan.* *lá vidèlan,| tláy šənnət| PdarāmadP-ət +’átrət díyyi| jári yávvánna ká ... fúr’un,| ’ən-lá +msíli,| ’ən-+msíli,| +’áv bət-yávválla káti.* ‘If we do them, we do them (and that’s fine). If we do not do them, I have to give thirty years income of my land to Pharaoh, if I cannot (do them). If I can, he will give it to me’ (A 3:55)

- (9) *'āʃar 'aláha lá +rxəmlà,| múʃári òdax 'áxnan?|* 'If God is not merciful, what should we do?' (A 35:2)

In (10) there are two parallel conditional constructions, in the first of which the protasis has the *ptəxlə* form and in the second it has the *kam-patəxlə* form:

- (10) *'ən-'ána kákx +uldılı,| 'ánnə 'alpá +dinàrə | kàtina. | 'ən-lá kam-+aldənnux,| 'at-diyyux-na.* 'If I trick you, these thousand dinars are mine. If I do not trick you, they are yours.' (A 22:2)

#### 14.6.1.5 *ptəxvalə*

- (1) *čún 'ən-kəmvala,| bàlcət! arkàva!* 'because, if it had got up, it would possibly run away' (B 4:4)

#### 14.6.1.6 Present Copula

The present copula is used in a protasis that denotes a continuous situation in the present, which the speaker considers likely to be true, e.g.

- (1) *'áʃar məndila,| ka-diyyòxun. | 'áʃar jəns móndila,| ka-diyyila.* 'If it is a (bad) thing, it is for you. If it is a good thing, it is for me.' (A 43:5)
- (2) *bas-'ən-xamšámma 'əštámma cilomətrənəl ba-mújjurra susavátət márət diyyi +táma hehehé hurhàmlun,| susavátət díyyux làxxa! murxàšlun?* 'But if (the distance) is five hundred or six hundred kilometres, how is it that the horses of my master neighed there and your horses here aborted?' (A 3:83)

#### 14.6.1.7 Past Copula

The past copula is used when the protasis expresses a continuous situation in the past that the speaker knows to be true:

- (1) *'án 'íva mən-katulikàya xá,| búš-+raba mánđit katulikàya bəzvánəva.* 'If some of the Muslims were allied to the Catholics, they purchased mainly the goods of the Catholics.' (B 1:30)

#### 14.6.1.8 *bəptaxələ*

The *bəptaxələ* form in the protasis may express an ongoing situation in the present that the speaker considers likely to be true, e.g.

- (1) *'ən-lèt hammúna,| ku-ta-mànni.* 'If you do not believe me, get up and come with me.' (A 3:23)

It is also used where the protasis expresses a habitual situation, e.g.

- (2) *'ánjət +byáyəna bí +xlıta 'odíni,| cəšmišəl mattúvvəna jàvo.* ‘If they want to make it with something sweet, they put raisins in it.’ (B 15:10)

#### 14.6.1.9 *'aviva ptixa*

This is used in counterfactual conditional constructions, in which the speaker knows that the condition in the past that is expressed in the protasis was not fulfilled, e.g.

- (1) *+kátu 'ən-óyava +xəlta,| ádi vítəva yàccə.* ‘If the cat had eaten, she would now be huge.’ (A 11:4)

#### 14.6.2 *Apodosis*

Apodosis clauses contain various types of verbal form. These include a number of forms that contain the prefixed particle *bət-*.

##### 14.6.2.1 *bət-patəx*

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) *'ən-tána kə-şámša clı,| bət-càlyा.* *'ən-tána +məṭra +ri,| bət-+rəyya.* *'ən-tána dúnýə clı bət-càlyani.* ‘If he says to the sun “stop”, it will stop. If he says “rain”, it will rain. If he says “Stop world”, it will stop.’ (A 3:64)
- (2) *'ən-ávə xàya,| páljət malcútyi b-yavvánna kàtux.* ‘If he is alive, I shall give you half of my kingdom.’ (A 3:50)
- (3) *'ón +tála tıla +al-jáni bət-maxənnə.* ‘If a fox comes against me, I shall strike him.’ (A 37:6)
- (4) *'ən-áyya tıla,| p̄-+karmàla kóssat.* ‘If she comes, she would win the case.’ (A 38:17)

##### 14.6.2.2 *lə-patəx*

This is the negative verbal form that corresponds to the *bət-patəx* form in the apodoses, e.g.

- (1) *'ən-vılun! +'əččámmo 'áčči 'áčča,| lè-+bayyənnun,| lè šaklónnun.* ‘If they are nine hundred and ninety-nine, I do not want them, I shall not take them.’ (A 14:3)

14.6.2.3 *bət-patəxva*

This form is used in the apodosis of conditional sentences that refer to a hypothetical condition in the past that was not fulfilled (1), or to a hypothetical condition in the present or future that the speaker assesses to be impossible to fulfil (2)–(3). It is perfective in aspect:

- (1) *'ən-+yattónva šómmu mùdiva,| bət-tanənvalux,| 'ína là +yattónva.* ‘If I had known what his name was, I would have told you, but I did not know.’
- (2) *'ən-+masənva,| bət-'atənva,| 'ína lè-+masən.* ‘If I could, I would come, but I cannot.’
- (3) *'ən-'avánva xàya| +bəddáyən mu-þt-ódənva b-rišòxun-xina.* ‘If I were alive, I know what I would do to you.’ (A 13:3)

14.6.2.4 *bət-'aviva (þt-aviva, t-aviva) ptixa*

This is used in the apodosis of counterfactual conditions referring to a possible situation in the past that was not fulfilled, e.g.

- (1) *'ávətva þt-ávətva xòzya hí?* ‘(If) you had been (here), you would have seen, heh?’ (B 17:22)

14.6.2.5 *patəx*

This form is commonly used in apodoses after protases referring to possible events in the present or future, e.g.

- (1) *'ən macərbàxlə| +'áv hár parpəslən| hár +dardàklan.* ‘If we upset him, he will totally destroy us, he will totally shatter us.’ (A 37:12)

It is also used when the apodosis is deontic, e.g.

- (2) *'ən xa-náša +buķàrrə mənnáx| ķat-'àha| mānila,| tānyat| bràtila.* ‘If somebody asks you who she is, you should say “She is my daughter.”’ (A 1:14)

14.6.2.6 *ci-patəx*

This is used when the apodosis expresses a real habitual situation:

- (1) *'ən +'òdda 'avíla| ci-+edàxla.* ‘If it has weeds, we weed it.’ (B 3:25)

14.6.2.7 *ci-patəxva*

This is found in apodoses after protases that refer to a real habitual situation in the past, e.g.

- (1) *'ón béta ávət <sup>t</sup>júral xá-dana stiúyna-da xút ci-maxíva mən-<sup>+t</sup>arrəl hál <sup>+t</sup>támma kát lá talóxva.* 'If the house was big, they used to place a pillar underneath (coming up) from the ground up to there, so that it would not collapse.' (B 2:19)

#### 14.6.2.8 *ptəxlə / kam-patəx*

The past perfective *ptəxlə* form and its functionally equivalent alternant *kam-patəx* are occasionally used in apodoses. It is attested in (1) and (2). In (1) it replicates the lexical verb and the verbal form of the protasis, referring to a possible situation in the future. In (2) it refers to a possible situation in the past that the speaker considers unlikely to be true:

- (1) *'ən-vidèlan,| vidèlan,| lá vidèlan,| tláy šənnət| <sup>P</sup>darāmad<sup>-at</sup> <sup>+átrət díyyi| jári yavvánna ká ... fūr'un.</sup>* 'If we do them, we do them (and that's fine). If we do not do them, I have to give thirty years income of my land to Pharaoh.' (A 3:55)
- (2) *bas-'ən-xamšámma <sup>ə</sup>štámma cilomətrənà| ba-mújjurra susavátət márət díyyi <sup>+t</sup>áma hehehé hurhàmlun,| susavátət díyyux láxxa| murxòšlun?* 'But if (the distance) is five hundred or six hundred kilometres, how is it that the horses of my master neighed there and your horses here aborted?' (A 3:83)

#### 14.6.2.9 Present Copula

An apodosis with the present copula is used to express a permanent situation, e.g.

- (1) *'ən-lá pšərrəl brùnilə. | 'ən-pšərrə,| ləla brúni.* 'If he does not melt, he is my son. If he melts, he is not my son.' (A 39:31)

#### 14.6.2.10 *bəptaxələ*

An apodosis with this form expresses a situation that overlaps temporally with the situation expressed in the protasis, e.g.

- (1) *'ən-ána ávən <sup>+s</sup>ára,| nášət xut-<sup>í</sup>dət díyyi mùdi vágəna?* 'If I were a moon, what would the people under my command be?' (A 3:61)

It is also used where the protasis expresses a habitual event, which follows from the protasis:

- (2) *'ányət <sup>+b</sup>yáyəna bí <sup>+x</sup>lítə 'odíni,| cəšmíšəl mattúvvəna jàvo.* 'If they want to make it with something sweet, they put raisins in it.' (B 15:10)

### 14.6.2.11 *ptixəva*

This is used in the apodosis of counterfactual conditions referring to a situation that the speaker knows is impossible since the condition in the past expressed in the protasis was not fulfilled, e.g.

- (1) +*kátu* 'ən-'*óyava* +*xəltə*,| 'ádi vítəva yàccə.| 'If the cat had eaten, she would now be huge.' (A 11:4)

### 14.6.2.12 Imperative

The apodosis may contain an imperative form:

- (1) 'ən-*šúk mən-da*-+*xəlti*,| xá-məndi xína xázzət bìyyi,| +*kxulli*.| 'If, apart from this fault of mine, you find something else against me, kill me.' (A 3:48)
- (2) 'én *kāl-jóxca* +*šmilux*| xùš.| xína látli <sup>P</sup>əhtiyáj<sup>P</sup> +*ällux*.| 'én *kāl-bàxya* +*šmilux*, *cl.*' 'If you hear the sound of laughter, go. I do not have need for you. If you hear the sound of weeping, wait.' (A 2:30)
- (3) 'ən-lèt hammúna,| *ku-ta-mənni*.| 'If you do not believe me, get up and come with me.' (A 3:23)
- (4) 'én á là humzámłə| ríšət-diyi prùmula.| 'If he does not talk, cut off my head.' (A 34:11)

### 14.6.3 'ən-la

The negation of a protasis that is placed before the apodosis is expressed by combining the conditional particle with the negator in the phrase '*ən-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 inferable from what precedes and the main information prominence is on the negator rather than the clause content, e.g.

- (1) 'ən-'ána kák +*uldili*,| 'ánnə 'alpá +*dinàrə*| kàtina.| 'ən-lá kam-+*aldànnux*, 'at-diyux-na.| 'If I have cheated you, these thousand dinars are for me. If I have not cheated you, they are yours.' (A 22:2)

The content of the protasis clause indeed is often gapped completely, e.g.

- (2) 'ən-*šrlun násə díyyux ka-díyyi*,| *tláy šónna*| mén <sup>P</sup>darāmàd<sup>P</sup>-at| +*ùtri*| ... 'ána yávvən kàtux.| ... 'ən-lá| 'átən xárjət *tlay-šónna díyyi*| 'atjári yávvátlə.| 'If your people solve it for me, I shall give you thirty years of the income of my land. ... If not, you must give me my expenditure for thirty years.' (A 3:40–41)

- (3) *xmári +pàlətłə| ɿn-là| +'avva-ł-íłə bitá +małlux.*! ‘Get my donkey out. If not, the one who is coming will reach you.’ (A 7:4)
- (4) *+'ávva kàlpulla.*! *ɿn-là, lè-+axlitun láxma, lé yavrúloxun lèxma.*! ‘Peel it. If not, you will not eat any food, they will not give you food.’ (A 35:17)

#### 14.6.4 Protasis after the Apodosis

A condition expressed in a protasis is occasionally placed after its consequent. The function of such constructions depends on the information status of the content of the protasis. If the situation expressed in the protasis is inferable from the foregoing discourse, the postposition of the protasis expresses the cohesion of the conditional construction with what precedes, e.g.

- (1) *+pállan náša vélə +póllan dúcta yávəłə ... láxma +xurrày.*! ... *'ána-da ɿdi t-ázən p-šákłən mən-+táməl ɿn-+'áv yávəłə.*! ‘Such-and-such a person in such-and-such a place is giving bread away free. ... I also shall now go and take from there, if he is giving away.’ (A 19:4–5)
- (2) *mára ɿa-mù-itun cálýa?*! *hállun +tìna!*! *hállun miyya!* *hállun cípa.*! ... *ba-mújjur ɿtən +byáyat +támma béta zárzən kàtux!* *ɿn-ɿtən lé-+baśrətyávvət cípa,*! *miyya.*! ‘He says “Why have you stopped? Give clay, give water, give stones.” ... “How do you want me to build here a house for you, if you cannot give stones and water.”’ (A 3:72)

In (3) the protasis has a different informational status, in that it presents new information, which has not been invoked previously. The effect of postponing such a protasis is to place enhanced focus on its contents:

- (3) *+túlvunte bnátax bət-+kàtlànnun!* *ɿn-+'áynət bábi lá yavàttun.*! ‘I shall kill the three daughters of yours if you do not give me the eyes of my father.’ (A 39:38)

In (4) and (5) the protasis expressing new information has the function of a deontic complement clause. The use of a conditional construction expresses the lack of certainty of fulfilment, which, in (4) at least, is a strategy of politeness, e.g.

- (4) *'áxnán +rába bət-xàdax!* *ɿn yavvítun ká-díyyan pərsat!* *+ijáza yavvítunlan!* *hár pésax làxxa!* *mašxàddax!* *ju-dá dùcta.*! ‘We would be very happy if you gave us the opportunity and you gave us permission to stay right here, to preach in this place.’ (B 2:14)
- (5) *'áxči xá +ba'úta ɿtli mənnòxun!* *ɿn ɿttən xá úrxə +masítun!* *ka-díyyi +mad-*

*dərrítun +'ál de-dúnyøt +'üllul.* I have only one request (to ask) from you (namely) that (literally: if) there is a way that you can return me to the world above.' (A 39:21)

#### 14.6.5 Word Order of Conditional Constructions

If there is a subject constituent in the protasis and/or apodosis in the form of a noun or independent pronoun, these are generally placed before the verb. In all attested cases of nouns or independent pronouns in the apodosis, these have different referents from the subject of the protasis, so subject—verb word order would be expected according to the normal principles of word order in main clauses (§ 12.5.2.), e.g.

- (1) *'ən-'ána ́ávən +sàra,| nášøt xut-'ídat díyyi mùdi vágøna?* 'If I were a moon, what would the people under my command be?' (A 3:61)
- (2) *'én béta ́áva +júral xá-dana stüyna-da xút ci-maxáva mən+àrra| hál +tàmma| kát là talóxva.* 'If the house was big, they used to place a pillar underneath (coming up) from the ground up to there, so that it would not collapse.' (B 2:19)
- (3) *'én xa-náša +buķàrrø mənnáx| ́kat-'áha| mánila,| tányat| bràtila.* 'If somebody asks you who she is, you should say "She is my daughter." (A 1:14)
- (4) *'ən-'ána mətlí,| +págri mù p̄t-ávə?* 'If I die, what will my body be (like)?' (A 13:1)

When the subject of the protasis is topical and has been mentioned in the preceding discourse, it is occasionally placed before the conditional particle, e.g.

- (5) *+kátu 'ən-'óyava +xèlta,| ́ádi vítøva yàccø.* 'If the cat had eaten, she would now be huge.' (A 11:4)
- (6) *+Már Túma! 'én tíyyølø +al-'Úrmi! lì +yárvø| ́atíva| ká zarduštàya +mácrózva.* 'If St. Thomas came to Urmi, he would not have dared to come to preach to the Zoroastrians.' (B 1:3)

When the subject of the protasis is topical and the proposition of the protasis coheres closely with the preceding context, the subject of the protasis may be placed after the verb, e.g.

- (7) *́ána +byáyøn mən-nášux lipø| mən-jú +'átrøt díyyux| +'árþa xamšá mən-dýánø káti! +jùvvab ́ödø ... 'ən-šrílun nášø díyyux ́ka-díyyi,| tláy šànnø| mán p̄darāmàdP-øt| +'átri! ... ́ána yávvøn kátu.* 'I want your learned men from

your land, to give me a response to four or five things ... If your people solve it for me, I shall give you thirty years of the income of my land.' (A 3:40)

- (8) *'é mumlóxta júpta| bədráyox ju-míyya mòlxá.| 'ánya +báyyax 'àxnan| kásatva| xamàxxa,| +tumòrta júpta.|* 'We put the salted cheese in salt water. If we want to keep it for the winter (we made) buried cheese.' (B 15:3)

In (9) a quantifier qualifying a gapped topical subject *kamxa* is placed before the conditional particle and in the apodosis the coreferential noun *kamxa* is placed after the verb. This follows the normal discourse principle of using verb—subject word order to express close cohesion with what precedes when there is subject continuity. This shows that the linkage between protasis and apodosis is analogous to the close coherence in discourse between main clauses:

- (9) *+róba 'ón 'átíl jarùsa vágøva kámxa.* 'If a lot (of flour) came, the flour was coarse.' (B 17:7)

In (10) there is subject continuity across the apodosis and protasis, but the subject of the protasis, which here is placed after the apodosis, comes before the verb. This is likely to be due to the fact that on the level of discourse structure the protasis constitutes a shift to elaborative background and subject preposing is the norm at such discourse boundaries.

- (10) *ba-mújjur 'átan +byáyat +támma béta zárzən kátu|x| 'ón-'átan lé-+bašrət yávvət cipa,| miyya.* 'How do you want me to build here a house for you, if you cannot give stones and water.' (A 3:72)

If a copula occurs in the predicate, this may be fronted before the predicate, e.g.

- (11) *'ón 'íva mən-katulikáyə xá,| búš-+raba mánđit katulikáyə bəzvánəva.* 'If some of the Muslims were allied to the Catholics, they purchased mainly the goods of the Catholics.' (B 1:30)
- (12) *bás 'ón 'íla 'át-+aturáyə| bás +aturáya ctívola.* 'So, if it is that of the Assyrians, then an Assyrian wrote it.' (B 1:7)

#### 14.6.6 Asyndetic Conditional 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 a English conditional sentence. They often contain verbal forms that are characteristic of *'on* conditional constructions, e.g.

- (1) *láxxa xá náša lá pàləx! lè-+aməs +áxəl!* 'Here if a man does not work, he will no be able to eat.' (A 35:10)
- (2) *'ína +arra-óya ķvítə míyya ju-dreté míyya c-àzi!* 'But if the ground is hard, when water is poured out, it flows away.' (A 3:11)
- (3) *xá-+dinar óya +basùrta, lè-+bayyənnun!* 'If one dinar is missing, I do not want them.' (A 14:3)
- (4) *'àtətva, ju-cúllə ánnə +xabráne ci-yavvátvələ +jùvvab!* 'If you would come, you would respond to all these requests.' (A 3:45)
- (5) *'íta 'avánva mār-zúyza, xá +čóla banánvala b-cárpač! t-odánvala bëta ķajáni!* *'íta lòtli, lèn mār-zúyza, b-ķèsəl xa-dána +čóla b-zarzánva!* 'Now, if I were wealthy, I would build a booth with bricks, I would make it into a house for myself. But, if I do not have (money) and am not rich, I would make a booth of wood.' (B 3:20)
- (6) *+al-yámmi xá lácca xzili, parzənnax!* 'If I see a mark on my mother, I will tear you apart.' (A 44:6)
- (7) *málca +dilə, maxnəkli!* 'If the kings knew about it, he would hang me.' (A 48:8)
- (8) *tunílux, tunílux! là tunílux, jòldux! p-šalxànnə malánna tiłyna!* 'If you say (the truth), you say (the truth). If you do not say the truth, I shall flay your skin and fill it with straw.' (A 1:33)
- (9) *xá-məndi tunilə t-avàdlə!* 'If he said something, he would do it.' (A 1:14)
- (10) *zúyzə muyyələ, àt škúl!* 'If he brings the money, you take it.' (A 21:3)
- (11) *'átvala yala-súra! yala-súra-da +tenávalə +al-+xàsə lablàvalə!* 'If she had a child, she would also carry the child on her back and take him (with her).' (A 5:6)

These constructions often contain the verb *+bayyə* i 'to want' in the first clause, e.g.

- (12) *'íta +bayyət +katlòtlə=da, +ktùlla!* 'So, if you want to kill him, kill him.' (A 3:50)
- (13) *+bayyət jánux bašlòtlun, ku-škúl bàšəllun!* 'If you want to cook them yourself, take them and cook them.' (A 36:8)

The first clause may have an imperative form, e.g.

- (14) *'a-+šúla vùdlə| lá-'avilux +šúla.|* 'Do this thing (= If you do this thing), and you will have no problems.' (A 2:21)

Verb forms characteristic of counterfactual conditional constructions are used to express wishes that the speaker believes cannot be realized, e.g.

- (15) *xá-ja xítə=zə +Axíkar xazzənvalə| tapókva bìyyi.|* 'áxči pàti ketáva ju-pàtu,  
bàss-iva.' 'If only I could see Axiqar once again, if only he could meet me again. If only my face could touch his face, that would be enough.' (A 3:46)
- (16) *'ávənva +xlàpux +Axíkar.|* 'Would that I were your substitute, Axiqar.'  
(A 3:60)

#### 14.7 Asyndetic Temporal Constructions

In some cases a syntactically independent clause that expresses a realis situation and is asyndetically joined to what follows supplies the setting of what follows and it is idiomatically translated by an English temporal clause, e.g.

- (1) *hár sarkàttə| dàvə tápxi.|* 'Whenever you comb it, gold coins poured down.'  
(A 43:12)
- (2) *'íta c-avíva +priṭə| +rappívalun +al-+kàṭma.|* 'Now, when they were torn,  
they used to throw them onto the ash.' (B 3:36)

#### 14.8 Concessive Constructions

A concessive construction presents a situation in the main clause that the speaker signals is unexpected as result of, or in the circumstances of, the situation expressed in the concessive clause.

The concessive clause may be introduced by the inclusive conditional expression *'up 'on* 'even if, although':

- (1) *'íp 'ón 'íva máx dót xinə| məššəlmànə|* 'ína 'íva +rába búš šap̄òrta.' 'Although it was like that of the others, the Muslims, it was much more beautiful.' (B 1:40)

The concessive clause may also be expressed by the enclitics *da* or *zə*, which are used here in their focal inclusive function with the sense of 'even including such-and-such a situation' and are appropriately translated 'even if' or

'although'. The concessive clause may be placed before or after the main clause, e.g.

- (2) *'ádi tálki=da| 'át xu-li-+yat̪tət.|* 'Even if they get lost now, you would indeed not know.' (A 39:32)
- (3) *+šúla lèva yavé,| cíllə=zə +kəryànnəvə.|* 'They did not give them work, although all of them were educated.' (A 41:15)
- (4) *'ánnə m-+údalə bət-+dárši 'én 'ána kémən ... dyànta 'ýdən súsa yavvánna| +záya yavvánna ká ... 'axúna súra| kát +bəddáyən=zə 'ít sústələ.|* 'They will argue together if I make a judgement to give the horse, give the foal, to the younger brother, which I know to be (the foal) of the mare (= although I know it is the foal of the mare).' (A 38:5)

Another type of concessive construction are cases such as (5) and (6), in which the concessive clause is subordinated under a quantifier with a correlative function ('as much as ...', 'however much ...'):

- (5) *cmá=t ... +byáyələ 'átə hámzəm| lélə +bašùrə.|* 'However much he wants to talk, he cannot do so.' (A 3:30)
- (6) *cmá=t +byàyənə| lénə +bašùrə.|* 'However much they want to, they cannot.' (A 3:74)



# The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmia

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# The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi

VOLUME 3

LEXICAL STUDIES AND DICTIONARY

*By*

Geoffrey Khan



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# The Lexicon

## 15.1 Remarks on the Lexicon

### 15.1.1 Lexical Borrowing

The most conspicuous feature of the lexicon of the C. Urmi dialect is the large number of loanwords from the languages of the Urmi region. These are mainly nouns, adjectives, adverbs and particles, but there are also some borrowed verbs. Many of the nouns and adjectives remain unadapted to NENA inflectional morphology (§ 5.11., § 6.11.). The borrowed verbs are always adapted to the NENA templates and inflection. These are generally quadriliteral and are often derived from nouns rather than directly from verbs, e.g.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <sup>+</sup> <i>daldən</i> QI ‘to shelter’ (root <sup>+</sup> <i>d-lđ-n</i> ) | < Azer. <i>dalda</i> ‘shelter’ (cf. Azer.<br><i>daldalamaq</i> ‘to shelter’)             |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>kandəx</i> QI ‘to swaddle’ (root <sup>+</sup> <i>k-nd-x</i> ) | < Azer. <i>qundaq</i> ‘swaddling clothes’<br>(cf. Azer. <i>qundaqlamaq</i> ‘to swaddle’) |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>dağğən</i> QI ‘to brand’ (root <sup>+</sup> <i>d-ğğ-n</i> )   | < Azer. <i>dağ</i> ‘brand’ (cf. Azer. <i>dağlamaq</i><br>‘to brand’)                     |

Many of the quadriliteral verbs expressing sounds have their source in Kurdish verbal nouns rather than verbs (§ 4.25.4.8.), e.g.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <sup>+</sup> <i>barbər</i> QI ‘to low, to roar’ | < Kurd. <i>bořeborž</i> ‘lowing (of oxen)’   |
| <sup>+</sup> <i>šaršər</i> QI ‘to splash’       | < Kurd. <i>šiřešiř</i> ‘plashing (of water)’ |

The common verb *hamzəm* ı ‘to speak’ is derived from the noun *heməzman* ‘word’, which appears to be a loan from Kurdish *hemziman* ‘mutual speech.’

#### 15.1.1.1 Origin of Loanwords

The majority of the loanwords are from Azeri and Persian, which are the languages that speakers of the NENA dialect have been most exposed to in recent times. Several loanwords are from Kurdish, which is spoken in the Urmi region. There are also several loanwords from Russian in all varieties of C. Urmi. In the Caucasus speakers insert numerous Russian words into their speech, as well as occasionally Armenian and Georgian, but in most cases these are unadapted loans and can be regarded as code-switching rather than lexical borrowing.

It is significant to note that a large proportion of Kurdish nouns have been adapted to NENA morphology by the addition of NENA inflectional endings, whereas only a small minority of the many Azeri and Persian loanwords have been adapted. This can be interpreted as reflecting that the Kurdish loans represent an older layer of the lexicon, which entered the dialect at an earlier historical period, before the dominance of Azeri and Persian. Nowadays speakers of C. Urmi in the Urmi region speak Azeri and Persian but generally not Kurdish.

Some of the Azeri words are found in the Azeri dialects spoken in north-west Iran but not, it seems, in Azerbaijan and are not listed in the standard Azeri dictionaries, e.g. *+candal* ‘precipice; small hill,’ *tunji* ‘pitcher, jug’ (standard Azer. *tunc* ‘bronze’), *čurətma* ‘trap, mousetrap, snare (for birds)’.

Conversely some Azeri loanwords in C. Urmi are still used in Azerbaijan but are no longer used by Azeri-speakers in north-west Iran, e.g. *+dussaq* ‘jail’ (< Azer. *dustaq*), *davula* ‘drum’ (< Azer. *davul*), *+kulluğ* ‘service’ (< Azer. *qluluq*).

A number of the loanwords are of Turkic origin but are not used today in Azeri dialects. Some of these words can be identified in Ottoman Turkish, e.g. *+karavat* ‘bed’ (< Ottoman Turk. *kerevet*), *+taslax* ‘disordered, unfinished’ (< Ottoman Turk. *taslaq*), *+oyma* ‘dress’ (cf. Ottoman Turk. *oyma* ‘decorated work’). The origin of some words that do not occur in Azeri can be traced to other Turkic languages (Ragagnin 2016), e.g. *+kapturma* ‘pouch’ (< Middle Mongol *qabturga* < Mongol *qabtag-a(n)*; cf. Lessing 1995, 899a), *čəm* ‘very, absolutely’ (cf. Chagatai *čum* (Nöldeke 1868, 168), *čung* (Zenker 1866, 375)). Such words would have entered the C. Urmi dialect at an earlier historical period when the Turkic language situation in the region was different from the present.

Many words of Arabic origin entered the dialect through the languages of the region, Azeri, Persian or Kurdish. Sometimes the phonological shape of such words gives us a clue as to which language they were taken from. Arabic loanwords in which an original initial *\*ŷ* has been devoiced to /x/ are likely to have come through Kurdish, where this shift occurs, e.g. *xam* ‘worry’ (Kurd. *xem* < Arab. *ǵam*), *+xulama* ‘servant’ (Kurd. *xulam* < Arab. *ǵulām*). Also semantic developments of some Arabic loanwords are characteristic of particular languages of the region, e.g. *şart* ‘bet’ (Kurd. *şert* ‘bet’ < Arab. *šart* ‘condition’), *+casəb* ‘poor’ (Azer. *kasib* ‘needy, poor’ < Arab. *kāsib* ‘earner’).

A number of words of Arabic origin are likely not to have been transferred to the dialect through the intermediary of the non-Semitic languages of the region. This applies in particular to words that have a pharyngal or emphatic consonant in Arabic and are emphatic in the C. Urmi dialect, e.g. *+jamma*

I ‘to gather’ (intr.), <sup>+j</sup>*jammə* II ‘to gather’ (tr.) (< Arab. *jama'a*), <sup>+'</sup>*ajjəb* QI ‘to be surprised’ (< Arab. ‘*ajiba*’), <sup>+'</sup>*ajjəz* QI ‘to be annoyed, to annoy’ (< Arab. ‘*ajjaza*’), <sup>+t</sup>*taləb* ‘to request’ (< Arab. *ṭalaba*), <sup>+x</sup>*xasina* ‘axe’ (< Arab. *xaṣīn*), <sup>+z</sup>*amət* I ‘to fill’ (< Arab. *dabaṭa?*). Arabic pharyngal and emphatic consonants are weakened when Arabic words are loaned into the non-Semitic languages of the area. These Arabic words must have entered the C. Urmī dialect at an earlier historical period. This is likely to have been when the ancestors of the C. Urmī-speakers were living in regions where Arabic was spoken in northern Mesopotamia before their eventual migration to the Urmī plain (Nöldeke 1868, xxiii; Yaure 1957, 77–79). Other words that are likely to have entered the C. Urmī dialect from Arabic in this way rather than through non-Semitic languages in the region include <sup>+t</sup>*jarəb* II ‘to try’ (< Arab. *jarraba*), <sup>+t</sup>*jarə* I ‘to flow’ (< Arab. *jarā*), *layəm* I ‘to blame’ (< Arab. *läma*), <sup>+r</sup>*ada* I ‘to like, to approve’ (< Arab. *radiya*), *tapək* I ‘to meet’ (Arab. ‘*ittafaqa*’), *sama* ‘share’ (< Arab. *sahm*). All these words are found in some of the NENA dialects of Iraq, in particular some of the Christian NENA dialects such as C. Barwar. In a few Arabic loanwords velar fricatives correspond to pharyngal fricatives in the Arabic source words, e.g. *xoda* ‘basin’ (< Arab. *ḥawḍ*), *tagala* ‘spleen’ (< Arab. *ṭihāl*). It is significant that a large proportion of Arabic loanwords discussed in this paragraph are verbs.

#### 15.1.1.2 Distribution of Loanwords in the Lexicon

A large proportion of loaned nouns are cultural loanwords, which refer to items in the cultural environment. The C. Urmī speakers shared this cultural environment with speakers of other languages and also spoke these languages, which facilitated the lexical borrowing. This applies in particular to the nouns presented in the lists in the next chapter, which relate to aspects of traditional life in the villages. In some cases a loanword is used to refer to a modern version of a traditional artefact. The native NENA word *cavə*, for example, refers to a traditional window in village houses without glass, but the loanword *panjara* (Azer. *pəncərə*, Pers. *panjare*, Kurd. *pencere*) is used to refer to a modern type of window with glass. Likewise the native word *ptana* is used to refer to a traditional wooden plough, but the loanword *cuytan* (Azer. *kotan*, Kurd. *cot*) is used to refer to a modern plough made of metal.

Within the core vocabulary of the dialect, which is not so clearly associated with the cultural environment, there are a lower proportion of loanwords. Some observations can be made on the distribution of the loanwords that do occur within areas of core vocabulary.

Within the class of adjectives, a few loanwords occur within the core semantic types of adjectives which have been identified as occurring in all languages

that have adjectives, namely those denoting dimension, age, value and colour (Dixon 2004; Dixon 2010, 2:62–114; Aikhenvald 2015, 158). The distribution of loanwords tends to correlate with the degree of basicness or semantic markedness.

In the field of colours (§ 15.2.53.4.), for example, the colours ‘black’ (*cuma*), ‘white’ (+*xvara*), ‘red’ (*smuka*) and ‘green’ (*kina*) are native NENA words, but other colours are loanwords. According to theories of the development of the colour lexicon of languages based on cross-linguistic typological studies, black, white, red and green are among the primary colours that are distinguished when the colour space is partitioned by languages. According to Kay and Maffi (1999) black and white constitute the basic partition. This is followed by the partition into ‘warm’ primary colours (red/yellow) and ‘cool’ primary colours (green/blue). Red is the most perceptually salient and this gives it primacy over other warm colours in the partition. This division of the lexicon is also reflected in the verbal system, in that verbs denoting the acquisition of the primary colours black, white and red have the morphologically unmarked pattern I, whereas verbs relating to the other colours, including green, have the morphologically marked pattern III (§ 4.25.3.1.).

Within the field of dimension adjectives listed below (§ 15.2.53.1.) ‘shallow’ is expressed by the loanword +*latṭa* (< Kurd. lat ‘flat’) whereas the term for ‘deep’ is of native NENA origin, viz. *'amku*. This can be correlated with the fact that in the pair of adjectives ‘deep’—‘shallow’, ‘deep’ is the unmarked member of the pair, whereas ‘shallow’ is semantically marked.<sup>1</sup> This is shown by the fact that *'amku* has generic value in expressions of quantified dimensions such as +*ṭla məṭra* *'amku* ‘three metres deep’ since in such constructions it is used irrespective of the depth. The term +*latṭa* is not used in such contexts. Likewise the generic abstract noun for this measure is *'amkuyta* ‘depth’ derived from *'amku*. Among the adjectives of the type expressing age, we find the loanword *jil* ‘young (person)’ (Kurd. çēl, Azer. cahil < Arab.) whereas ‘old’ (person) is expressed by native forms, e.g. *sava*, *b-šənna*. Again the item that is expressed by the loanword, ‘young’, can be regarded as the semantically marked member of the pair.

Elsewhere in the core semantic types of adjectives listed below, we find the value adjective ‘good’ expressed by the loanword +*spay* (< Kurd. spehi ‘pretty, beautiful’). This value adjective is expressed by a loanword in a large proportion of the NENA dialects. Other loanwords expressing the meaning ‘good’ that

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<sup>1</sup> For this phenomenon of dimension adjective pairs in English see Vendler (1963) and Givón (1970, 817).

are attested in the NENA dialects include *bāš*, *baš* (C. Derabun, C. Dere, C. Has-sana, C. Nargözine-Xarjawa [nr. Aqra], C. Peshabur, C. Shosh-u-Sharmen [nr. Aqra], C. Qaraqosh, J. Amedia, J. Challal, J. Nerwa), *randa* (C. Ankawa, C. Karəm-leşh), *taza* (C. Barwar, C. Dere), *xoš* (C. Barwar, C. Hamziye, C. Telkepe), *'ayza* (J. Sanandaj), *rek* (J. Sulemaniyya). The adjective *+spay* ‘good’ is typically used in emotion-driven evaluative constructions rather than objective factual descriptions. This is reflected by its frequent placement before the head noun when used attributively (§ 9.6.1.). The association of the adjective with emotive evaluation is likely to have conditioned innovation through lexical replacement. The motivation for this would have been the loss of force of the original lexical item by frequency of use. It is relevant to note that speakers of C. Urmi sometimes code-switch into another language in emotion-driven expressions such as endearments or insults, e.g. *ka-bàxtu márələl* <sup>P</sup>ayāl-jàn<sup>P</sup> ‘He says to his wife “Dear wife.”’ (A 24:1), *márra* <sup>P</sup>ahmak! *nādān!*<sup>P</sup> ‘He said “Fool, ignoramus!”’ (A 12:3).

Within the class of nouns relating to common animals, there is a greater tendency for a loanword to be used for the male than for the female. The native female term is generally related to the collective term or generic term. This tendency is exemplified by cases such as *'arba* ‘sheep’ (pl. *'arba*), *+vana* ‘ewe’ (cf. Syriac *ānā*), *barrana* ‘male sheep’ (< Kurd. beran); *'azzə* ‘goats’, *'azzita* ‘female goat’, *kočča* ‘male goat’ (< Azer. qoç); *jammışə* ‘buffaloes’ (cf. Syriac *gāmūšē*), *jeməšta* ‘female buffalo’, *calla* ‘male buffalo’ (< Azer. kəl). The young of animals are sometimes expressed by loanwords whereas the adults are expressed by native words, e.g. *xmara* ‘male ass’, *xmarta* ‘female ass’, *curra* ‘young ass’ (< Pers. kurra); *calba* ‘dog’, *caləbta* ‘female dog’, *çurçila* ‘puppy’ (< Kurd. *kurṭ* ‘short’).

In the semantic field of kinship terms loanwords are used for some close relatives such as ‘father’, ‘wife’, uncles and aunts (paternal and maternal), ‘nephew’ and ‘niece’. This may have been motivated by the tendency to innovate by lexical replacement for terms associated with emotion, as we saw for the evaluative adjective *+spay*. Some NENA dialects use a loanword also for ‘mother’, e.g. *da'a* (J. Arbel, J. Koy Sanjaq), *da'aka*, *day* (J. Sanandaj, J. Saqqez), *dae* (J. Urmi), all of which are derived from Kurdish (Sorani *dâya*, Kurmanji *dê*, *dayik*). Loanwords are used also for step relationships, and for terms denoting the extended family.

### 15.1.1.3 Features of Loanwords

Some compound phrases are borrowed as unanalysable units. This is the case, for example, with Persian words with the negative prefix *nā-*, e.g. *nahak* ‘unjust’ (< Pers. *nā-haqq*), *+narahat* ‘uncomfortable’ (< Pers. *nā-rāhat*). The original

prefix is integrated into the domain of emphasis of the various base words, showing that the phrases are treated as units. Multiple borrowings of some compounds, however, result in the elements of the phrase being transparent and productive. This is the case with the many phrases with the Iranian prefix *be-* ‘without’, e.g. *be-+həssab* ‘numberless’, *be-+namus* ‘dishonest’, with the result that the *be-* prefix is used productively also with words of NENA origin, e.g. *behona* ‘mindless’ (§ 6.8.).

In many cases loanwords do not replace existing words of the same or similar meaning in the lexicon but rather are used to express a metaphorical extension of meaning. The Azeri word *haça* ‘fork’, for example, is borrowed to refer to a ‘forked stick used to support vines and trees’ (+*hača*), the basic meaning of the implement ‘fork’ being expressed by *čanjal*, itself a loanword (Kurd. çengal f., Azer, çəngəl, Pers. čangāl). The loanword *cira*, which is derived from Kurd. *kîr* or Pers. *kîr* ‘penis’, is used to refer to the main long pole of a plough, the body-part ‘penis’ being expressed by +*buyta*. The Arabic word *sāq* means ‘foreleg, shank’ but when this is borrowed, through Persian, in the form +*saka*, the loanword is used to refer to a ‘woolen gaiter’ or ‘legging’, the cognate native NENA word *šaka* being retained to refer to the body-part. The word *čambara* is used in the context of the harvest to refer to a ‘heap of harvested corn stalks arranged in a ring around the threshing floor’. This is derived from Azer. çənbər, which has the more generic meaning ‘circle, rim’. The native NENA word *flula* or *flulta* is retained to express the generic meaning of ‘circle’. Azer. *sınıq* ‘broken, fractured’ is borrowed in the expression +*sənnəğ* ‘avə 1, which has the metaphorical sense of ‘to be bankrupt’, i.e. broken financially, but does not replace native NENA words expressing the generic notion of ‘breaking’. The expression *dara-tapa* has the sense of ‘bump’, e.g. *ju-da baxča itən +raba darə tapə* ‘There are many bumps in this garden’. This is a metaphorical development of the meaning of the Azeri source *dərə-təpə* ‘hilly country’. The loanword +*doğma* is used in the sense of ‘stepson, stepdaughter’. This is a metaphorical usage of the Azeri source word *doğma*, which, when used as an adjective, has the sense of ‘native’, ‘one’s own’, the noun *doğma* meaning ‘birth, childbirth.’ The value adjective +*spay* ‘good’ is derived from Kurd. *spehî*, which denotes the physical property ‘pretty, beautiful’. The shift from ‘beautiful’ to ‘good’ can be regarded as a metaphorical shift. The physical property ‘beautiful’ is expressed by a native NENA word *šapıra*.

Some loanwords replace a specific area of the basic meaning of a NENA word. The word +*püza*, for example, which is derived from Kurd. *poz* or Pers. *pūz* ‘nose’, is used to refer to an animal snout, whereas the NENA word *naxira* is retained to refer to a human nose. The loanword +*püza* is also used metaphorically to refer to the ‘mouth of a bag’, the ‘spout of a vessel’, etc. Azer. *çarx* ‘wheel’

is borrowed into the dialect with the specific meaning of the ‘shaft (of a mill) to control movement of a propeller’ rather than the generic meaning of ‘wheel’, which is express by *+topa*, another Azeri loanword.

Likewise a loanword may be used with only one aspect of the meaning it has in the source language. The loanword *+čubbux*, for example, which has the sense of ‘tobacco pipe (with a long shank)’, is derived from Azer. *çubuq*, which, in Azeri, has a wider range of meaning, including ‘rod, cane, twig’ as well as ‘tobacco-pipe.’ The loanword *kənnop̪ka* means ‘press-stud’. This is derived from the Russian word *кнопка*, which means both ‘button’ and ‘press-stud’. In C. Urmi ‘button’ is expressed by the word *tarukta*.

### 15.1.2 Doublets

Occasionally doublets are found. The word *ocaq* now means ‘hearth’ in Azeri but in Ottoman Turkish it also had the meaning of ‘extended family, clan’ (i.e. people gathering around the same hearth; cf. Clauson (1972, 22–23)). The word is borrowed in C. Urmi with both these meanings but they are formally distinguished. When the word means ‘hearth’ it is adapted morphologically as *+ojaxta*, but it has the unadapted form *+ojax* when it has meaning of ‘clan’.

Another type of doublet involves two words that derive ultimately from the same Semitic root, one being a native NENA word and the other an Arabic word loaned through one of the non-Semitic languages of the region. An example of this is the pair *+nədra* I ‘item dedicated as an offering’ (native NENA) and *+nəzra* ‘dedication to the priesthood’ (Pers. *nazr* < Arab. *nadr* ‘vow’), as well as the associated verbs *+nadər* I ‘to dedicate’ and *+nazər* I ‘to vow, to dedicate to priesthood’.

Some doublets have developed within Aramaic. In some such cases a single word or verbal root has undergone a bifurcation in meaning and one of the two resultant doublets is phonologically distinguished from the other by means of suprasegmental emphasis (§ 1.5.1.), e.g.

<i>darə</i> I ‘to pour, to put’— <i>+darə</i> II ‘to winnow’	< * <i>d-r-y</i>
<i>šarə</i> I ‘to untie’— <i>+šarə</i> II ‘to begin’	< * <i>š-r-y</i>
<i>maran</i> ‘our master’— <i>+maran</i> ‘our Lord’	< * <i>māran</i>

Sometimes one of the pair of doublets is conservative of the original meaning whereas the other is innovative. The C. Urmi verb *raxəš* I ‘to creep, to crawl’, for example, corresponds in meaning to the cognate Syriac verb *rxaš*. There is a doublet of this root, however, that is used in some of the paradigms of the verb ‘to go’ (e.g. *bərraxxəla* ‘He is going’), in which the original meaning

has undergone a development whereby the feature signifying the mode of movement has been removed.

### 15.1.3 Semantic Developments of Native NENA Words

Various historical developments can be identified in the meaning of the native NENA words of the dialect from their meaning in earlier Aramaic. Many of these have parallels in other NENA dialects (Khan 2002, 510–515; Khan 2008, 1029–1035).

Native lexical items in the dialect sometimes exhibit a meaning that is more specific than that of their cognates in earlier Aramaic such as 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 *'ərxa*, for example, denotes specifically a ‘water-mill’, whereas the cognate in Syriac *rahyā* refers to a ‘mill’ in general, including a hand-mill. The reason for the narrowing of the meaning range in the dialects is likely to be the existence of another lexical item that denotes specifically a ‘hand-mill’, viz. *jarusta*. The semantic range of the Syriac singular form *rahyā*, moreover, includes also the sense of ‘millstone’, which is a component of the mill, whereas the dialectal word *'ərxa* refers only to the mill as a whole. A ‘millstone’ in the dialect is referred to by the phrase *cipət 'ərxa*.

The cognate of Syriac *sa'rā* ‘hair’ (in general) is *+sara*, but this is restricted in sense to ‘horse’s hair’ (*+saret suysa*). Another word is used to refer to hair in general (of both humans and animals), viz. *+məsta*.

According to the Syriac dictionaries the nouns *'arbālā* and *meh̄holtā* (variant *mah̄holtā*) both mean ‘sieve’. The reflexes of these words in C. Urmi have a more specific meaning, in that they denote sieves with different sizes of hole, viz. *'orbala* ‘sieve with large holes (for wheat)’ and *məxxəltə* ‘sieve with small holes’.

The adjective *šammīnā* in Syriac has a range of meaning including the senses of ‘physically fat’ and ‘fertile’, e.g. *'ānā šammīnātā* ‘fat sheep’, *'ar'ā šammīnā* ‘fertile land’. In C. Urmi the word *šamina* is restricted to the more abstract sense of ‘fertile’, e.g. *+arrā šamənta* ‘fertile land’. The narrowing of the semantic range of the adjective in the dialect has arisen due to the existence of another adjective *+trisa*, which is used to express the sense of physically fat.

The verb *+xalləl QI* ‘to wash’ is more restricted in usage in the dialects than its Syriac cognate *hallel*. The dialectal verb 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. *masə* I. To wash oneself by covering the body in water, in a bath or a shower, is expressed by another verb, viz. *xayəp* I.

Several words in C. Urmi that are restricted in their usage to activities relating to animals had a more general application in Syriac. The Syriac noun *meklā*, for example, had the general meaning of ‘food, provisions’, whereas the dialectal reflex of this <sup>+</sup>*məxla* is used to denote the ‘fodder of animals’, the general word for ‘food’ being <sup>+</sup>*mixulta*. The Syriac verb *y-l-d* ‘to give birth’ was used in relation to all living creatures, humans and animals, including the laying of eggs. The reflex of this in C. Urmi *yadla* I (3fs), 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 verb <sup>+</sup>*hasəl* II.

In other cases, by contrast, a dialect word has a meaning that is wider than that of the Syriac cognate and subsumes it. This has often arisen as a result of additions or losses in related areas of the lexicon.

The verb *drā* in Syriac has the sense of ‘to sprinkle, scatter’. The cognate verb in C. Urmi, *darə* I, has a wider range of meanings including ‘to pour’ and ‘to put’. 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 actions of ‘scattering’ and ‘sprinkling’ are now expressed by other verbs, such as *bazək* II ‘to scatter (seeds)’ and <sup>+</sup>*maryəs* III ‘to sprinkle (water).’ The verb *sayəm* I, the cognate of which in Syriac is a general verb ‘to put’, has come to be restricted in C. Urmi to the sense of ‘to ordain (a priest)’ in pattern I (*pə’al*) and to the fixed collocation with the object *bala* ‘mind’ with the sense of ‘to pay attention’ in pattern III (*massəm bala*).

The basic meaning of the adjective *xriva* in C. Urmi includes both the sense of physically ‘damaged’ and also the general sense of ‘corrupt’ or ‘bad.’ The basic meaning of the cognate root in Syriac *h-r-b*, however, is restricted to the sense of ‘to be physically desolate, waste, dried up’.

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 *d-b-q* in Syriac, for example, means ‘to stick to, to adhere’ whereas the derivative of this in C. Urmi *davək* I 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 *davək* I ‘to hold, to keep’ takes a direct object, whereas the Syriac verb *d-b-q* ‘to adhere’ is connected to its complement by a preposition *b-* or *l-*. The verb *t-‘y* in Syriac has the sense of ‘to wander, to go astray’, whereas the reflex of this in C. Urmi <sup>+</sup>*tawwə* II 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 C. Urmi the word *+umra* denotes ‘a church’. This is the reflex of Syriac *‘umrā*, 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 *‘umra* is no longer used in the sense of ‘monastery’, which is expressed rather by the noun *+dera*.

The adjective *+xlima* in C. Urmi 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 meaning of a word occasionally shifts to the extent that it denotes a completely distinct referent from the one denoted by the earlier Aramaic cognate, though in the same semantic field. This generally arises due to the use of another lexical item to express the meaning of the earlier Aramaic cognate. The word *dabburta* in C. Urmi, for example, 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’).

#### **15.1.4 Regional Differences in the Lexicon**

There are some differences in the lexicon of C. Urmi across its regional varieties. A few cases are found on the Urmi plain, e.g.

Urmi S	Urmi N
‘knife’ <i>čakku</i>	<i>scənta</i>

There are also a few differences in the lexicon of the villages of Armenia, e.g.

Urmi (S and N)	Gulasor (Arm.)	Arzni (Arm.)
‘father’ <i>baba</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>çaccuna</i>

The greatest difference in the lexicon is found in the village of Canda in Georgia. The variety of C. Urmi spoken in Canda contains a number of lexical items that are not found in other varieties. Some examples include:

<i>pučeča</i>	'stalk of maize'
<i>+tara</i>	'head of maize'
<i>čančuyra</i>	'small plums'
<i>tambuyra</i>	'large plums'
<i>jaryarə</i>	'large apricots'
<i>+karəltə</i>	'storage pot'
<i>'aliza</i>	'mud brick'
<i>cadduda</i>	'hedgehog'

Some words that are found in all Urmi varieties have a different range of meanings in Canda, e.g.

	Urmi plain	Canda
'stomach of cow'	<i>pəssurta</i>	<i>pəssurta</i>
'stomach of a human'	<i>+stumca</i>	<i>pəssurta</i>

Semantic distinctions within the range of meanings of a single word are in a few cases given formal distinction in Canda by phonetic differences, e.g.

	Urmi plain	Canda
'girl'	<i>brata</i>	<i>brata</i>
'daughter'	<i>brata</i>	<i>brita</i>
'tomato'	<i>+badəmjan (smukta)</i>	<i>+badənjan</i>
'aubergine'	<i>+badəmjan (cumta)</i>	<i>+badərjan</i>

The first pair of words exploits the mixing in Canda of the two variant forms *brata*, which is the normal Urmi form, and *brita*, which is the form used in the Salamas group of dialects. In both Urmi and Salamas each has the range of meanings 'girl, daughter'. The distinction in the second pair appears to have developed under the impact of contact with Georgian, in which the word for aubergine is badrijani.

Some words in Canda have a different form from the cognate form in other varieties. The form in Canda often corresponds to the form used in the Salamas group of dialects, e.g.

Canda, Salamas	Urmi plain	
<i>caraz</i>	<i>caravuz</i>	'celery'
<i>penč</i>	<i>peč</i>	'screw; iron stove'
<i>sini</i>	<i>majma</i>	'tray'
<i>mešof</i>	<i>mecu</i>	'measuring bag'

## 15.2 Semantic Fields

In this chapter a selection of the lexical items of the spoken C. Urmi 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. The glossary is followed by a series of sketches illustrating various artefacts and structures that were found in the villages. Some cases where the lexical items differ in the dialects of Gawilan and Salamas are indicated, in particular in the semantic fields of artefacts.

### 15.2.1 *The Human Body*

*+paǵra* n.m. (pl. *+paǵrə*) **body**

*rīša* n.m. (pl. *rīšə*, *rīšanə*) **head**

*+məsta* n.f. **hair (collective)**

*+məstita* n.f. **hair (individual item)**

*+masusa* n.m. **clump of hair; quiff**

*+susita* n.f. (pl. *+susiyyatə*) **plait**

*bulət cosa* n.m. (pl. *bulə*, *bulalət cosa*) **lock of hair**

*bəsca* n.m. (pl. *bəscə*) **cock of hair**

*bukla* n.m. (pl. *buklə*) **curly lock of hair**

*çərṭa* n.m. (pl. *çərṭə*) (Kurd. *kurt* 'short') **curl**

*pata* n.f. (pl. *patvatə*) **face**

*yalma* n.f. (pl. *yalmə*) **countenance, physiognomy**

*+kəssa* n.m. (pl. *+kəssə*) **forehead**

*+munta* n.f. (pl. *+muntatə*) **fontanelle, soft part of front of head**

*caculta* **front of head without hair**

*kam-nata* **temple (on head)**

*+’ayna* n.f. (pl. *+’aynə*, *+’aynatə*) **eye**

*bəbbəlta*, *bibəlta* n.f. (pl. *bəbbəlyatə*, *bibəlyatə*), *bəbbəltət/bibəltət* *+’ayna* **pupil**

*təlpa* n.m. (pl. *təlpəpə*) **eyelash**

*+xasət +’ayna* n.m. **eyelid**

*jniwa* n.m. (pl. *jniwə*) **eyebrow**

*naxira* n.m. (pl. *naxirə*) **nose**

*+bəzzət naxira* (pl. *+bəzzazət naxira*) n.m. **nostril**

*miyyət naxira* n.pl.tantum **nasal mucus, snot**

*nəzla* n.m. **pus, matter**

*pudə* n.pl.tantum **snot, snivel**

*+čəmčə* n.pl.tantum **pus, mucus (from nose, ears)**

*rərə* n.pl.tantum, *rukə* n.pl. **saliva**

*rukta* n.f. **spittle**

*xabuyšət pata* n.m. cheek bone

*nata* n.f. (pl. *natyata*) ear

<sup>+</sup>*sasa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sasanə*) cheek

*jaxucə* n.pl. (sing. *jaxucta*) dimples

*pumma* n.m. (pl. *pummanə*) mouth

*šamaf* n.m., *šamaxta*, *šamacta* n.f. palate

*səpta* n.f. (pl. *səppatə*, *səpvatə*) lip

*səmbuylalə*, *sumbuylalə* n.pl. (sing. *səmbulta*, *sumulta*) (Kurd. simbēl)

### moustache

*cica* n.m. (pl. *cicə*) tooth

*xota* n.f. (pl. *xoyata*) molar tooth

*naštar* n.m. (pl. *naštarə*) (Pers. ništar) canine tooth

*cicət hona* n.m. wisdom tooth

*šamaja* n.m. (pl. *šamajə*) gum

*kopasta* n.f. (pl. *kopasyatə*) cover; cap (on teeth)

*lišana* n.m. (pl. *lišanə*) tongue

*'anya* n.m. (pl. *'anyə*) jaw (of human and animal) | *'anyət* <sup>+</sup>*ullul* upper jaw;

*'anyət* <sup>+</sup>*əltəx* lower jaw

<sup>+</sup>*baluta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*baluyatə*) throat

<sup>+</sup>*bəzzət* <sup>+</sup>*baluta* n.m. pharynx

<sup>+</sup>*xərxərrə* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xərxərrə*) larynx, wind-pipe

*xabuyšət կdala* n.m. Adam's apple

*čanna* n.m. (pl. *čannə*), *čannita*, *čannəcta* n.f. chin

<sup>+</sup>*buxaxta* n.f. place under the chin, fat under chin, fleshy (double) chin

(also of pelican)

*dəkna* n.m. (pl. *dəknə*) beard

*čacmita* n.f. (pl. *čacmiyyatə*) sideburn, side whiskers

*կdala* n.m. (pl. *կdalə*) neck

<sup>+</sup>*bar-կdala* back of neck

<sup>+</sup>*ruyša* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ruyšanə*) shoulder

<sup>+</sup>*rušta* n.f. shoulder blade

<sup>+</sup>*kursəltə*, <sup>+</sup>*kursulta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kursulyatə*, <sup>+</sup>*kursalyatə*) elbow

*'ida* n.f. (pl. *'idatə*) hand; arm

*laxta* n.f. (pl. *laxyatə*) palm (of the hand)

*laxpa* n.f. (pl. *laxpə*) palm of the hand

*javət 'ida* n.m. palm

*zulət 'ida* n.pl. lines of the hand

<sup>+</sup>*buğum* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*buğuymə*) (Azer. boğum) knuckle

*mušta* n.m. (pl. *muštə*) (Pers. mošt) fist

<sup>+</sup>*sişa* n.m. span of the hand

- bilacta* n.f. (pl. *bilacyatə*) (Azer. bilək) **wrist**
- lucma* n.m. (pl. *lucmə*) (Kurd. kulm) **fist**
- +*drana* n.m. (pl. +*dranana*) **arm**
- xut-xača* n.m. (pl. *xut-xačə*) **armpit**
- +*suþþa* n.f. (pl. +*suþþatə*) **finger**
- +*suþþa surta* n.f. **little finger**
- +*suþþatə aralləj* n.f. **middle finger**
- čəltəc* n.m. **little finger**
- maxziyyanta* n.f. **index finger**
- +*kučə* n.m. (pl. +*kučə*, +*kučačə*) **thumb, big toe**
- +*tupþurta* n.f. (pl. +*tupþuryatə*) **fingernail**
- +*sadra* n.m. (+*sadrə*) **breast, chest**
- cisa* n.f. (pl. *cisatə*) **belly (stomach + intestines)**
- +*stumca* n.f. (pl. +*stumcə*) **stomach**
- pəssurta, psurta* n.f. **stomach of an animal (Canda: also of a human)**
- şopət yala* n.m. **womb**
- dəpnə* n.f. (pl. *dəpnatə*) **side, flank**
- nica* n.f. (pl. *nicacə*) **thigh**
- +*ətma, uþma* n.f. (pl. +*ətmatə, uþmatə*) **thigh, lobe of buttocks**
- +*xasa* n.m. (pl. +*xasə*) **back**
- +*katrət xasa* **small of the back**
- jarmət tupra* n.m. **coccyx at bottom of spine**
- nəkkatta, nəkkattət xasa* n.f. **waist**
- camar* n.f. (pl. *camarə*) (Pers. kamar) **waist**
- šurta* n.f. (pl. *šuryatə*) **navel; umbilical cord**
- xana* n.m. (pl. *xanə*) **lap**
- +*maxusna* n.f. **groin**
- šurrə murra* n.pl. **sexual organs, private parts**
- 'əscita n.f. (pl. 'əscatə) **testicle**
- +*buyþa* n.m. **penis**
- +*buyþita* n.f. **small penis**
- 'era n.m. **penis, dick**
- +*kuyþa* n.m. **vulva**
- +*kuyþita* n.f. **small vulva**
- səbba* n.m. **hair of the crotch**
- 'əšta n.f. (pl. 'əštata) **bottom, buttocks, fundament**
- şərma n.f. (pl. şərma, şərmətə) **buttocks**
- +*tiza* n.m. (pl. +*tizə*) **anus, fundament**
- šaka* n.m. (pl. šakə) **shin, lower leg**
- luylət aklə* n.m. **shin**

*bərca* n.f. (pl. *bərcacə*) **knee**

*šəxxərtə* n.f. (pl. *šəxxəryatə*) **kneecap**

*'akla* n.f. (pl. *'aklə*) **leg; foot** | *patət 'akla* n.f. top of the foot; *məsrəktət 'akla* n.f. fan of bones at the top of the foot; *xut-'akla* n.m. bottom of the foot; *'əštət 'akla* n.f. heel of foot; *panjət 'akla* n.m./f. toes of the foot; *xabuyşət 'akla* n.m. ankle of the foot

<sup>+</sup>*payət 'akla* n.m. (Pers. pā 'leg') **calf muscle**

*'əštət 'akla* n.f. **heel**

*'əčca* n.f. (pl. *'əčcatə*) (Turk. ökçe) **heel; anklebone**

<sup>+</sup>*pəçuyra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*pəçuyrə*) **ankle, ankle bone**

*šaķula* n.m. (pl. *šaķula*) **ankle bone**

*xərda* n.m. (pl. *xərdə*) **small protruding bone in foot or wrist**

<sup>+</sup>*kuṭra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kuṭra*) <sup>+</sup>*kuṭrət 'akla* **arch of the foot**

*jəlda* n.m. (pl. *jəldə*) **skin**

<sup>+</sup>*mača* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*mačə*) (Pers. māhiče) **muscle**

*tarba* n.m. **fat**

<sup>+</sup>*tata* n.f. **sweat**

<sup>+</sup>*kurməçča* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kurməçčə*) **wrinkle**

*jarma* n.m. (pl. *jarmə*) **bone**

*muxət jarma* n.m. **marrow of bone**

*karkəpta* n.f. (pl. *karkəpyatə*) n.f. **skull** | *karkəptət rişa* crown of the head

*muxa* n.m. (pl. *muxə*) **brain**

<sup>+</sup>*varida* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*varidə*) **artery, vein**

*dəmma* n.m. **blood**

*ləbba* n.m. (pl. *ləbbə, ləbbavata*) **heart**

<sup>+</sup>*kaburğa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kaburğə*) (Azer. qabırğə) **rib**

<sup>+</sup>*jıyar cumta* n.f. **liver or simply cumta**

<sup>+</sup>*jıyar* <sup>+</sup>*xvarta* n.f. **lung**

<sup>+</sup>*rata* n.f. **lung**

<sup>+</sup>*mayə* <sup>+</sup>*jurə* n.pl. **large intestine**

<sup>+</sup>*mayə surə* n.pl. **small intestine**

*cəllita* n.f. (pl. *cəlliyatə*) **kidney**

*tagala* n.f. **spleen**

*prakta* n.f. (pl. *prakyatə*) **gland; tonsil**

<sup>+</sup>*mralta* n.f. **gallbladder**

<sup>+</sup>*jurə* n.pl. **tantum urine**

<sup>+</sup>*bra=jurta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bra=juryatə*) **bladder**

*'əxrə, +'axrə* n.pl. **tantum faeces, excrement**

### 15.2.2 *Illnesses*

<sup>+</sup>*marra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*marrə*) **illness**

<sup>+</sup>*mar-riša* n.m. **headache**

<sup>+</sup>*čiban* n.f. (Azer. čiban) **boil; ulcer**

<sup>+</sup>*uxla* n.m. **rash (on skin)**

*jørva* n.f. **leprosy**

*parta* n.f. **dandruff**

*muxu* <sup>+</sup>*skətłə* He had a stroke

*šəxna* n.m. (pl. *šəxnə*) **tumour, carbuncle, boil; plague, pestilence**

<sup>+</sup>*amma* n.f. (Arab. ‘āmma) **epidemic typhus**

<sup>+</sup>*mata* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*mayatə*) **pimple, pustule, spot (on skin)**

*rpupłyja* n.f. **rash**

*puppacta* n.f. **rash (wet)**

*paruxta* n.f. **eczema on skin**

<sup>+</sup>*karuva* n.m. **sty (on eye)**

*šalķu* n.f. **pox**

*šalķuntat* *miyya* **small pox**

*šalķu smukta* **measles**

*šalķu* <sup>+</sup>*xvarta* **smallpox, chickenpox**

*šalķunta* n.f. **small rash of pox**

*šoba* n.m. **cough**

*šoba mila* **whooping cough**

<sup>+</sup>*marra* *šaxina* n.m. **typhoid**

*xamxamta* n.f. **fever**

*zyura* n.m. **swelling**

<sup>+</sup>*kabar* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kabara*) (Azer. qabar) **blister**

<sup>+</sup>*səndan* n.m. **swelling in the glands**

*majju* n.f. (pl. *majjunyatə*) **swelling on skin**

*majjunta* n.f. (pl. *majjunyatə*) **small swelling on skin**

*čučumanta* n.f. (pl. *čučumanyatə*) **hard blister on skin**

<sup>+</sup>*šamma* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*šammata*) **mole on skin**

*parda* n.m. **cataract (lit. curtain)** (Azer. pərdə, Pers. parde) | *xa pardə*

*dvəktola* <sup>+</sup>*aynu* He had a cataract in his eye

*miyya cuməju-* <sup>+</sup>*aynu* n.pl. **ophthalmia (lit. black water in his eye)**

<sup>+</sup>*bavasər* n.m. (Arab. bawāsīr) **haemorrhoids**

*nvalta* n.f. **tuberculosis**

*čixotça* n.f. (Russ. чахотка) **tuberculosis**

### 15.2.3 *Kinship Terms*

*+jora* n.m. (pl. *+joravata*), *+t̪liba* n.m. (pl. *+t̪libə*) **husband**

*baxta* n.f. (pl. *baxtatə*) (Kurd. bext ‘honour’, ‘luck’) **wife**

*baba* n.m. (pl. *babavata*) (Kurd. bav) **father**

*çaçcuna* n.m. (Kurd. kek ‘elder brother’) **father** (Arzni)

*yamma* n.f. (pl. *yammata*) **mother**

*'avahatə* n.pl. **parents**

*'axuna* n.m. (pl. *'axunvata*) **brother**

*xata* n.f. (pl. *xatvata*) **sister**

*savuna* n.m. (pl. *savunvata*) **grandfather**

*nanunta* n.f. (pl. *nanunyata*) **grandmother**

*bruna* n.m. (pl. *bnunə*) **son, boy**

*brata* n.f. (pl. *bnatə*) **daughter, girl** (Sal. and Gaw. *brita*)

*brita* n.f. (pl. *bnatə*) **daughter** (esp. N and Canda, *brata* girl)

*buni* **my son (hypocoristic)**

*bati* **my daughter (hypocoristic)**

*buna, būna* n.m. **son (hypocoristic)**

*yala sura* n.m./f. (pl. *yalə surə*) **baby**

*yalə* n.pl. **children**

*jammə* n.pl., *jamməccə* n.pl. **twins**

*+buxra* n.m. **firstborn child**

*riš-ķenna* n.m. **firstborn child**

*xasra-ķenna* n.f. **last hatched in the nest, last born in a family**

*+mamuna* n.m. (pl. *+mamunvata*) (Kurd. mam) **paternal uncle**

*+amtə* n.f. (pl. *+amtavata*) (Arab. ‘amma) **paternal aunt**

*+xaluvva* n.m. (pl. *+xaluvvata*), vocative *+xalu* (Arab. kāl) **maternal uncle**

*xalta* n.f. (pl. *xaltavata*) (Arab. kāla) **maternal aunt**

*brunət +mamuna, brūn-+mamuna* n.m. (pl. *bnunət +mamuna*) **paternal**

**cousin (m.) (son of paternal uncle)**

*brunət-+amtə, brūn-+amtə* n.f. **paternal cousin (m.) (daughter of paternal aunt)**

*bratət +mamuna, brāt-+mamuna* n.f. (pl. *bnatət +mamuna*) **paternal cousin (f.) (daughter of paternal uncle)**

*bratət +amtə, brāt-+amtə*, n.f. **paternal cousin (f.) (daughter of paternal aunt)**

*brunət +xaluvva, brūn-+xaluvva* n.m. (pl. *bnunət +xaluvva*) **maternal cousin (m.) (son of maternal uncle)**

*bratət +xaluvva, brāt-+xaluvva* n.f. (pl. *bnatət +xaluvva*) **maternal cousin (f.) (daughter of maternal uncle)**

*brunət xalta, brūn-xalta* n.m. (pl. *bnunət xalta*) **maternal cousin (m.) (son of maternal aunt)**

*bratət xalta, brāt-xalta* n.f. (pl. *bnatət xalta*) maternal cousin (f.) (daughter of maternal aunt)

*xəmyana* n.m. (pl. *xəmyanə*) father-in-law

*xmata* n.f. (pl. *xmayata*) mother-in-law

*xətna* n.m. (pl. *xətnavata*) son-in-law

*calta* n.f. (pl. *calata*) daughter-in-law

*'idamta* n.f. (pl. *'idamyatə*) wife of the brother of husband

*'ədma* n.m. (pl. *'ədmavata*) brother of husband

*barəxmaya* n.m. (pl. *barəxmayə*) brother of wife

*barəxmeta* n.f. (pl. *barəxmayata*) sister of wife

*xətna* n.m. (pl. *xətnavata*) husband of sister

*+yaysa* n.m. (pl. *+yaysə*) husband of sister of wife

*bax-'axuna, calta* n.f. wife of brother

*bax-+mamuna, bax-+mamu* n.f. wife of paternal uncle

*bax-+xaluvva, bax-+xalu* n.f. wife of maternal uncle

*brunət 'axuna, brūn-'axuna* n.m. (pl. *bnunət 'axuna*) nephew (brother's son)

*bratət 'axuna, brāt-'axuna* n.f. (pl. *bnatət 'axuna*) niece (brother's daughter)

*xvarzaya, xvarza* n.m. (Kurd. *xwarzê*) nephew (sister's son)

*xvarzeta* n.f. (Kurd. *xwarzê*) niece (sister's daughter)

*yəmma 'uja/yəmma 'ujə, bax-baba* n.f. stepmother

*baba 'uja, +jorət yəmma* n.m. stepfather

*yala 'uja, yalət +jora, +doǵma* n.m. stepson

*brata 'uja/brata 'ujə, bratət +jora, +doǵma* n.f. stepdaughter

*xurja* n.m. (pl. *xurjə*) stepson, son of wife by another marriage, half-brother

*xurəfta* n.m. (pl. *xurəfyata*) stepdaughter, daughter of wife by another marriage, half-sister

*+'arta* n.f. (pl. *+artata*) rival wife

*cəlpət* n.f. (pl. *cəlpattə*) (Azer. *külfət*) nuclear family; wife

*betuyta* n.f. extended family

*+ojax* n.m. (pl. *+ojaxə*) (Azer. *oqaq*) extended family

*xəzmanə, xəz mavata* n.pl. (sing. *xəzma* n.m., *xəzmita* n.f.) (Kurd. *xizm*) blood relatives, members of extended family

*xəzmayuyta* n.f. family relationship

*+xnamiyə* n.pl. (sing. *+xnamı* n.m., *+xnamita*) (Kurd. *xinamî*) relatives by marriage

*yaluda* n.m. lad

*jvankə* n.m. (pl. *jvankə*) (Kurd. *ciwan*, Azer. *cavan*) young unmarried man

*xamta* n.f. (pl. *xamatə*) young woman of marriageable age

*navəffa* n.m. grandson

- navəʃta* n.f. granddaughter  
*navəʃʃə* n.pl. grandchildren  
*natija* n.m. (pl. *natijə*) (Arab. *natija*) great-grandson  
*natəʃta* n.f. (pl. *nataʃyatə*) great-granddaughter  
*nadida* n.m. (pl. *nadidə*) great-great-grandson  
*nadətta* n.f. (pl. *nadədyatə*) great-great-granddaughter  
*'armila* n.m. (pl. *'armilə*) widower  
*'arməlta* n.f. (pl. *'arməlyatə*) widow  
*yaççana* n.m. (pl. *yaççanə*) (Kurd. *yek*, Pers. *yak* 'one') only son  
*calu* n.f. (pl. *calunyata*) bride  
*xətna* n.m. (pl. *xətnavata*), *+tliba* n.m. (pl. *+tlibə*) groom  
*karıva* (N), *+karıva* (S) n.m. (pl. *karıvə*, *+karıvə*) best man (at wedding);  
 godfather (Sal., Gaw. *karıva*)  
*karuta* (N), *+karuta* (S), *+karita* (Dizatacyə S) n.f. bridesmaid; godmother  
*btuyla* n.m. (pl. *btuylə*) n.m. celibate bachelor  
*yatuyma* n.m. (pl. *yatuymə*) orphan

#### 15.2.4 Professions

- +accara* n.m. (pl. *+accarə*) farmer  
*+bukraya*, *+bukraci* n.m. keeper of cattle  
*'arbači* n.m. (pl. *'arbačiyə*) shepherd  
*'erxači* n.m. (pl. *'erxačiyə*) keeper of a watermill  
*darzi* n.m. (pl. *darziyə*) (Azer. *dərzi*) tailor  
*+xayyaṭa* n.m. tailor, sewer  
*+xayyaṭta* n.f. seamstress  
*čacmači* n.m. (pl. *čacmačiyə*) bootmaker  
*+raya* n.m. (pl. *+rayə*) shepherd  
*+čoban* n.m. (pl. *+čobanə*) (Azer. *çoban*, Pers. *čopān*) shepherd  
*+ašpaz* n.m. (pl. *+ašpazə*) (Pers. *āšpaz*) cook  
*jabbani* n.f. (pl. *jabbanyata*) cook (woman)  
*payana* n.m. (fs. *payanta*, pl. *payanə*) baker  
*laxmači* n.m. (pl. *laxmačiyə*) baker  
*čoracci* n.m. (pl. *čoracčiyə*) (Azer. *çörəkçi*) baker, bread-seller  
*+banna* n.m. (pl. *+bannə*) (Pers. *bannū* < Arab.) builder  
*+najjar* n.m. (pl. *+najjarə*) (Pers. *najjār* < Arab.) carpenter  
*+naqqāš* n.m. (pl. *+naqqāšə*) (Pers. *naqqāš*) painter, decorator  
*naqaşcar* n.m. (Pers. *naqaşgar*) painter, dyer  
*dallac* n.m. (pl. *dallacə*) (Azer. *dəllək*) barber  
*+farranət dəkna* n.m. (pl. *farranət dəkna*) barber  
*+tajər* n.m. (pl. *+tajirə*) (Pers. *tājer* < Arab.) merchant

- <sup>+</sup>*bazərjan* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bazərjanə*) (Pers. bāzārgān) **merchant, petty tradesman**  
*dəccanči, duccanči* n.m. (pl. *dəccančiyə, duccančiyə*) **shopkeeper**  
*taybərrana* n.m. (fs. *taybərranta*, pl. *taybərranə*) **manager, administrator, supervisor**
- sarparaz* n.m. (pl. *sarparazə*) (Pers. sar-parast) **governor, guardian, protector**  
*rīja* n.m. (pl. *rījavatə*) (Pers. rekā) **servant, housekeeper**
- <sup>+</sup>*xulama* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xulamə*) (Kurd. xulam < Arab.) **servant, man-servant**
- <sup>+</sup>*karavaš* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karavašə*) (Azer. qarabaş) **female servant, handmaid**
- xəlmatcar* n.m./f. (pl. *xəlmatcarə*) (Kurd. xilmətkar) **servant, attendant, employee; minister**
- <sup>+</sup>*kulluxči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kullxčiyə*) (Azer. qulluqçu) **employee, servant**  
*naşət 'aqla* n.pl. **servants**
- jamiči* n.m. (pl. *jamičiyə*) (Azer. gəmi) **boatman**  
*loťçači* n.m. (pl. *loťçačiyə*) (Russ. лодка) **boatman**
- <sup>+</sup>*torči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*torčiyə*) (Azer. tor) **fisherman**
- <sup>+</sup>*hammamči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*hammamčiyə*) (Azer. hamam, Pers. hammām < Arab.)  
**bath-attendant**
- damurči* n.m. (pl. *damurčiyə*) (Azer. dəmirçi) **blacksmith, locksmith**
- <sup>+</sup>*dussajči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*dussağčiyə*) (Azer. dustaq ‘prisoner’) **jailer**
- 'elči* n.m. (pl. *'elčiyə*) (Azer. elçi) **matchmaker, ambassador, consul**
- <sup>+</sup>*kapuči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kapučiyə*) (Azer. qapıcı) **door-keeper, porter**
- <sup>+</sup>*karavul* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karavuylə*) (Azer. qarovul) **guard**
- <sup>+</sup>*assasi* n.m. (Arab. 'asāsī) **police, night guard**
- comurči* n.m. (pl. *comurčiyə*) (Azer. kömür) **coal miner, collier**
- masalači* n.m. (pl. *masalačiyə*) **story-teller**
- <sup>+</sup>*muzkanči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*muzkančiyə*) **a musician, a bandsman**
- mešači* n.m. (pl. *mešačiyə*) **forester**
- tanapči* n.m. (pl. *tanapčiyə*) (Pers. tanāb) **land surveyor**
- <sup>+</sup>*sabunči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sabunčiyə*) **soap-maker**
- <sup>+</sup>*ruznamači* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ruznamačiyə*) (Pers. roznāme) **newspaper-seller**
- xaznači* n.m. (pl. *xaznačiyə*) **treasurer**
- comacči* n.m. (pl. *comacčiyə*) (Azer. kömək, Pers. komak) **assistant, employee**
- pudradči* n.m. (pl. *pudradčiyə*) (Russ. подряд) **contractor**

### 15.2.5 Solid Containers

- <sup>+</sup>*kavva* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kavvə*) (Azer. kubok, Pers. kūb) **mug (made of metal or pot)**
- kuruška* n.m. (pl. *kuruškə*) (Russ. кружка) **mug (made of metal or pot)**
- <sup>+</sup>*əstican* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*əsticanə*) (Pers. istakān, Azer. stəkan) **drinking cup of various shapes (see illustration 1)** (Sal. *pyala*)

*casa* n.m. (pl. *casə*) goblet (for wine) made of copper, gold or glass (see illustration 6)

+*badya* n.f. (pl. +*badyə*) (Pers. bādiya, < Arab.) bowl (see illustration 2) (Sal. and Gav. *badya*)

*kučka* n.m. (pl. *kučkə*) tall pot, intermediate in size between a +*lina* and a *kadala*, used for cheese (see illustration 3)

*kučkta* n.f. (pl. *kučktyatə*) small tall pot (see illustration 4) (Sal. +*zavərta*)

+*čollita* n.f. (pl. +*čəlliyyatə*) small pot (placed in the oven with rods [šišə]) (see illustration 5) (Gaw. *čəlla*, Sal. *jarra*, *jarrəcta*)

+*karəlta* n.f. (pl. +*karəlyay*) storage pot (Canda)

*mənya* n.m. (pl. *mənyə*) pot used for buried cheese (see illustration 7) (Sal., Gav. *jarra*, *jarrəcta*)

*talma* n.m. (pl. *talma*) pot for water with narrow mouth (approx 2 feet in height) (see illustration 8)

*taləmta* n.f. small *talma* pot (see illustration 9) (Sal. +*zavərta*)

+*lina* n.m. (pl. +*linə*) large tall pot (4–6 feet high), lifted with rope tied to its top, used for storing wine (see illustration 10)

+*lənta* n.f. (pl. +*lənyatə*) small earthenware pot (see illustration 11)

*kadala* n.m. (pl. *kadalə*) clay pot (approx. 1.5 feet high) with four handles, wider than *kučka* and +*lina*, used for storing oil (*məšxa*), *kalya* and pickles (+*tursiyya*) (see illustration 12) (Sal. *jarra*)

*kadalta* n.f. (pl. *kadalyatə*) small pot (see illustration 12) (Sal. *jarrəcta*)

*jardəlta* n.f. (pl. *jardəlyatə*) pot for storing wine (approx. 3 feet high), wider than *kučka* and +*lina* (see illustration 14)

+*masarta* n.f. (pl. +*masaryatə*) wine-vat

+*moda* n.m. (pl. +*modə*) large basin or platter; milk-pan (see illustration 15)

+*tabaxta* n.f. (pl. +*tabaxyatə*) basin (with sloping sides, used for holding water or dough)

+*tagar* n.m. (pl. +*tagarə*) (Pers. tagār) large clay container (see illustration 16)

*mzida* n.f. (pl. *mzidə*) leather bag, leather churn; waterskin (made of sheepskin) (see illustration 19)

*cərtvart* n.m. (pl. *cərtvartə*) large bottle

*cubba* n.m. (pl. *cubbə*) clay pot (filled with cheese and buried upside-down) (see illustration 20)

*kuti* n.f. (pl. *kutiyə*) (Pers. qūtī, Azer. qutu) box (Sal. *səndukta*)

*meju* n.f. (pl. *mejuryatə*) bowl used for kneading (see illustration 21) | used especially for crushing dried yoghurt cakes (*kaškə*) (Sal., Gav. *jəpnə*, *jerəcta*)

- cvara* n.m./f. (pl. *cvarə*, *cvaratə*) **large wooden box for storage of wheat**  
 +*kulina* n.f. (pl. +*kulinə*) **wooden box for storing flour (see illustration 22)**  
 (Sal. +*yučalta*)
- jəpnə* n.f. (pl. *jəpnə*) (Arab. *jafna*) **kneading trough; wooden box hung from ceiling to store bread**
- taxta* n.f. (pl. *taxtə*) (Azer./Persian *taxt*) **wooden bed, couch; wooden basin for cultivation (see illustration 53)**
- +*karavat* n.f. (pl. +*karavattə*) (Ottoman Turk. *kerevet*) **bed**
- taxta* n.f. (pl. *taxyatə*) (Azer. *taxta*) **wooden board**
- kappas* n.f. (pl. *kappazə*) (Azer. *qəfəs*, Pers. *qafas*, Kurd. *qefes*) **cage**
- +*meta* n.f. (pl. +*mayatə*, +*meyatə*) **pot used for churning yoghurt**
- cursi* n.m. (pl. *cursiyyə*) **frame of churn (illustration 18)** (Gaw. *sarja*)
- +*tarvada* n.m. (pl. +*tarvadə*) **big cup, ladle (Sal., Gaw. *baxušta*)**
- tunji* n.m. (pl. *tunjıyyə*, *tunja* (pl. *tunjə*) (Sal. *tunja*, Iranian Azer. *tunj*) **pitcher, jug (see illustration 42)**
- davri* n.m. (pl. *davriyyə*) (Kurd. *dewrî* f.) **plate**
- +*baškab* n.m. (pl. +*baškaba*) (Azer. *boşqab*, Pers. *bošqāb*) **saucer**
- +*čaydan* n.f. (pl. +*čaydana*) (Kurd. *çaydan* f., Azer. *çaydan*) **tea kettle (made of metal)**
- +*čaypaz* n.f. (pl. +*čaypazə*) **teapot**
- +*tasa* n.f. (pl. +*tasə*) (Pers. *tās*) **bowl (see illustration 43)**
- majma* n.m. (pl. *majmə*) (Azer. *məcməyi* < Arab.) **tray (see illustration 23)**
- sini* n.f. **tray (Canda, Salamas)**
- xōn* n.m. (pl. *xonə*) (Pers. *xān*) **tray (for carrying food, especially bread) (see illustration 24)**
- marəfla* n.m. (pl. *marəflə*) **large metal saucepan (see illustration 25)** (Sal. +*kučču*)
- marjəlta* n.f. (pl. *marjəlyatə*) **small metal saucepan (see illustration 26)** (Sal. +*kučču*)
- +*tiyan* n.m. (pl. +*tiyanə*) (Pers. *tiyān*) **large cauldron**
- +*simavar* n.f. (pl. +*simavarə*) (Azer. *simavar*, Pers. *simāvar*) **samovar**
- dola* n.m. (pl. *dolsə*) **wooden bucket (for a well)**
- vadra* n.m. (pl. *vadra*) (Russ. *ведро*) **metal bucket**
- jadušta* n.f. (pl. *jadušyatə*) **small bucket (half the size of a vadra), milking pale**
- sayna* n.f. (pl. *saynə*) **metal bath tub**
- pixarə* n.pl. (sing. *pixarta*) **broken pots/jars (used, e.g., for animals to drink from)**
- tašta* n.f. (pl. *taštə*) (Pers. *tašt*) **iron vessel for washing clothes (Sal. *taštən*)**
- +*kuşarta* n.f. **cooking pot (see illustration 27)** (Sal. +*kučču*)

- <sup>+</sup>*kazanča* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kazančə*) (Azer. qazan) **copper saucepan, copper kettle**  
 (see illustration 28)
- <sup>+</sup>*tava* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*tavə*) **frying pan**

#### 15.2.6 *Baskets and Bags*

- <sup>+</sup>*torba* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*torbatə*) (Azer. torba) **bag**
- <sup>+</sup>*kərtala* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kərtalə*) (Kurd. kurtan) **pannier basket carried on the back**  
 (see illustration 29) (Gaw. *sakur*)
- <sup>+</sup>*kərtalta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kərtalyatə*) **small pannier bag (see illustration 30)** (Gaw.  
<sup>+</sup>*kərtala*)
- <sup>+</sup>*sakur* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sakuyrə*) **large basket put on back of people (see illustration 31)**
- carta* n.f. (pl. *caratə*) **long load put horizontally on back (see illustration 32)**
- <sup>+</sup>*sapyana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sapyanə*), <sup>+</sup>*maspyəppana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*maspyəppanə*)  
**strainer for liquid (made out of basketwork)**
- <sup>+</sup>*janta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*janyatə*) (Azer. çanta, Pers. čante) **bag (with handles) (see illustration 33)**
- bukša* n.m. (pl. *bukšə*) (Pers. buqša, Azer. boğça) **knapsack (consisting of stick and bundle)** (Sal., Gaw *buxča*)
- <sup>+</sup>*xurjun* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xurjuynə*) (Azer. xurcun, Pers. xurjin) **saddle-bag; haversack (see illustration 34)**
- mecu* n.f., *mešof* (Canda, Sal.) (pl. *mešoʃə*) **measuring bag (see illustration 35)**  
 | *tre mecu* <sup>+</sup>*rəzza* two *mecu* bags of rice
- jvala* n.f. (pl. *jvalə*) (Azer. cuval) **sack**
- xaša* n.f. (pl. *xašə*) **large sack**
- taləs* n.f. (pl. *talisə*) (Kurd. telîs) **sack**
- taləsta* n.f. (pl. *taləsyatə*) **small sack**
- zambul* n.m. (pl. *zambuylə*) (Kurd. zembîl) **metal basket with holes and a wooden handle (used to blanch grapes to make *savzə*) (see illustration 36)**
- mucabba* n.m. (pl. *mucabba*) (Pers. moka”ab) **large overturned basket for storing cheese and yoghurt (see illustration 37)**
- sala* n.m. (pl. *sala*) **basket (see illustration 38)** (Sal. *salla*)
- salta* n.f. (pl. *salyatə*) **small basket (with a handle) (see illustration 39)** (Sal. *salləcta*)
- kuypa* n.m. (pl. *kuypə*) **long woven basket with thick sides, without handle on top (see illustration 40)**
- kalta* n.f. (pl. *kalata*) **shallow basket (for serving cheese, fruit etc.); basket with handle, lady’s handbag (see illustration 41)**
- cəsta* n.f. (pl. *cəsyatə*) **small bag, purse**

*cəstət* +*kattəj* n.f. bag for curds

+*kəptərja*, +*kapturja* n.f. (Middle Mongol *qabturga*) purse, leather pouch

#### 15.2.7 *Parts of Containers*

*cəssaya* n.m. (pl. *cəssayə*) lid (Sal. *csa*)

*cəsseta* n.f. (pl. *cəssayata*) small lid (Sal. *csayya*)

*'ida* n.f. (pl. *'idatə*) handle

*katta* n.f. (pl. *kattatə*) handle

*bambuyla*, *bumbuyla* n.m. (pl. *bambuylə*, *bumbuylə*) spout (Sal. *luğla*)

+*puza* n.m. (pl. +*puzə*) (Kurd. *poz*, Pers. *pūz*) spout | +*puzət* +*čaypaz* spout of a teapot

+*kramta* n.f. (pl. +*kramyata*) stopper for churn pot (+*meta*) made of the skin of an animal's belly

*carpičə* n.pl. stopper put in neck of *linə* sealed with mud so that gas does not escape

#### 15.2.8 *Tools*

+*napusa* n.m. (pl. +*napusə*) tool for beating wool consisting of two prongs and a handle (see illustration 45) (Sal. *yuxa*)

*burğı* n.m. (pl. *burğı*) (Azer. *burğu*) drill, auger (Sal. +*bazuvva*)

+*makkar*, +*mankar* n.m. (Pers. *manqār* < Arab.) chisel, gouge (Gaw. *niķara*, *niķarta*)

*randa* n.f. (pl. *randə*) (Azer. *rəndə*) plane (for smoothing wood) (Sal. *bardana*)

+*xasina* n.f. (pl. +*xasinə*) (Arab. *xaşīn*) axe (see illustration 46)

*xašula* n.m. (pl. *xašulə*) pounder, stone for pounding, pestle

*xaşulta* n.f. (pl. *xaşulyatə*) concave base used for grinding with the *xaşulta*, mortar

*makkas* n.m. (pl. *makkasə*), *makkasta* n.f. (Azer, *maqqas* < Arab.) shears; scissors; snuffers

+*makrəttana* n.m. (pl. +*makrəttanə*) clippers, snippers | +*makrəttanət* +*tupphuryatə* nail clippers

*casxana* n.m. (pl. *casxanə*) pruning scissors (for vine)

+*mayreta* n.f. (pl. *majrayatə*) shaving knife (Sal. *məfrayya*)

*calbatun* n.m. (pl. *calbatuynə*) (Azer. *kəlbətin*) pincers, pliers, forceps (Sal. *calbattən*)

*kiči*, *keči* n.m. (pl. *kičiyə*, *kečiyə*) (Pers. *qēčī*, Azer. *qayçı*) scissors (Sal., Gaw. *makkas*)

+*maša* n.m. (pl. +*mašə*) (Azer. *maşa*) tongs, pincers

*çołça* n.f. (pl. *çołçə*, *çołçatə*) (Russ. *щетка*) paintbrush

- <sup>+</sup>*mira* ~ <sup>+</sup>*mera* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*mira*) **spade** (Sal., Gaw. <sup>+</sup>*mera*)  
*belča* n.f. (pl. *belča*) (Azer. bel) **small spade** (Gaw. *balča*)  
<sup>+</sup>*səndan* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*səndanə*) (Pers. *sendān*) **anvil; metal instrument for sharpening tools**
- jarusta* n.f. (pl. *jarusyatə*) **handmill**
- jarupa* n.m. (pl. *jarupə*) **tool for digging paddy fields** | consisting of a spade with a blade set at an angle connected to a rope, operated by two men, one holding the spade and the other pulling the rope (Gaw. <sup>+</sup>*jaruča*)
- manjər* n.m. (pl. *manjirə*) (Pers. *minjar*) **large fork-like instrument for breaking up the soil pulled by oxen; harrow, rake**
- <sup>+</sup>*rušta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*rušyatə*) **shovel**
- <sup>+</sup>*mandərrunta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*mandərrunyatə*), <sup>+</sup>*mandərranta* (pl. <sup>+</sup>*mandərranyatə*) n.f. **roller**
- <sup>+</sup>*taptəppana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*taptəppanə*) **implement for compressing ground**  
*šapna* n.f. (pl. *šapnə*) **wooden harrow dragged on ploughed field to break up the lumps of soil** (see illustration 51); **file** (Sal. *šepranta*)
- cartəx* n.m. (pl. *cartiğə*) **file; tool for digging up weeds**
- <sup>+</sup>*carduvar* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*carduvarə*) (Pers. *kārduvār*) **digging instrument consisting of a spade held by one man and connected to a chain or rope, which is pulled by another man**
- <sup>+</sup>*karusa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karusə*) **broom made of twigs** | used for sweeping out stables
- zulta* n.f. (pl. *zulyatə*) **long stick for shaking walnut trees to bring down the walnuts**
- <sup>’</sup>*uti* n.f. (pl. <sup>’</sup>*utiyə*) (Azer. ütü, Pers. ūtū, Russ. утюг), **iron (for pressing clothes)** | <sup>+</sup>*sudri mxila* <sup>’</sup>*uti!* Iron my shirt!
- <sup>+</sup>*kasla* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kaslə*), *zila* n.m. (pl. *zilə*), *ney* n.f. **straw (for drinking)**
- čamča* n.m. (pl. *čamčə*) (Kurd. çemçik f., Pers. čamče ‘ladle’) **spoon**
- malanj* n.m. (Canda n.f., pl. *malanjə*) (Azer. mala, Pers. māle) **instrument used to smooth plaster**
- cartaj* n.f. (pl. *cartajə*) **small instrument for applying plaster** (Canda)
- čanyal* n.m. (pl. *čanyalə*) (Kurd. çengal f., Azer, çəngəl, Pers. čangāl) **fork**
- <sup>+</sup>*šapra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*šaprə*) **knife (for eating)**
- scina* n.m. (pl. *scinə*), *scənta* n.f. (pl. *scənyatə*) **small (folding) knife (carried around)**
- šləpta* n.f. (pl. *šləpyatə*) **blade**
- katta* n.f. (pl. *kattatə*) **handle (of a tool)**
- sepa* n.m. (pl. *sepə*) **sword**
- xəlta* n.f. (pl. *xəlyatə*) **sheath, scabbard**
- şəpsa* n.m. (pl. *şəpsə*) **small pliers (for breaking sugar)**

- <sup>+</sup>*ramuvva* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ramuvvə*) **funnel, syringe**
- šiš* n.m. (pl. *šišə*) (Azer. *şış*) **skewer; rod with hook for taking items out of an oven (see illustration 5)**
- mazrak* n.f. (pl. *mazrakə*) (Pers. *mazrāq* ‘javelin’ < Arab.) **cushion on a stick used to place items in an oven and extract them**
- baduvva* n.m. (pl. *baduvvə*) **wooden poker for stirring fire**
- <sup>+</sup>*maxusa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*maxusə*) **poker (Gaw. *bəstən*)**
- <sup>+</sup>*maxusta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*maxusyatə*) **small poker, instrument with long handle with small pan on the end of it for extracting burning coals from a fire**
- caraxa* n.m. (pl. *caraxə*) **instrument for raking coal and extracting coal (Sal., Gaw. *caraxan*)**
- bəsti* n.m. (pl. *bəstiyyə*) (Pers. *bast* ‘fastening’) **metal rod put over oven to support pans (Sal. *bəstin*)**
- caraxa* n.m. (pl. *caraxə*) **large <sup>+</sup>*maxusta* (instrument for extracting coals from fire)**
- <sup>+</sup>*xmaṭa* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xmaṭə*) **needle**
- 'urədxa* n.f. (pl. *'urədxə*) **large metal needle (Sal., Gaw. *'rudxa*)**
- <sup>+</sup>*bəzzət* <sup>+</sup>*xmaṭa* **eye of a needle**
- canušta* n.f. (pl. *canušyatə*) **broom, brush**
- <sup>+</sup>*karusa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karusə*) **broom consisting of coarse sticks, used to sweep animal shed (*paja*), rake**
- məlxava* n.m. (pl. *məlxavə*) **pitchfork used for winnowing, made of wood or metal (Sal. *məlxava*, *duvadar*, *dakra*)**
- <sup>+</sup>*mampər* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*mampirə*) **large fork used for harvest**
- <sup>+</sup>*rušta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*rušyatə*) **wooden spade (used to sweep snow from roof and dirt of animals in shed)**
- buspur* n.m. (pl. *buspuyrə*) **wooden prop in animal shed to hold a pannier basket (+*kərtala*) when it is being filled with dung**
- cuyša* n.m. (pl. *cuyšə*) **spindle (see illustration 44) (Sal. *cugša*)**
- <sup>+</sup>*kaṭva* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kaṭvə*) **knitting needle**
- <sup>+</sup>*narra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*narrə*) **large axe (see illustration 47)**
- <sup>+</sup>*xasina* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xasino*) (Arab. *xaṣīn*) **axe (see illustration 46)**
- <sup>+</sup>*balta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*balyatə*) (Azer. *balta*) **axe; chopper**
- <sup>+</sup>*kazma* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kazmə*) (Azer. *qazma*) **pickaxe**
- <sup>+</sup>*najəxta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*najəxyatə*) **chopper, small axe**
- čacuč* n.m. (pl. *čacuja*), *čacuš* n.m. (pl. *čacužə*) (Kurd. *çakûç*, Azer. *çəkic*, Pers. *čakoš*) **hammer (+Mawana *čacücta*)**
- <sup>+</sup>*toxmaķ* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*toxmaķə*) (Azer. *toxmaq*) **wooden mallet**
- <sup>+</sup>*čommax*, <sup>+</sup>*čommaxta* n.f. (Azer. *çomaq*, Pers. *čomaq*) **cudgel**

- <sup>+</sup>*mala* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*malo*) large wooden flat instrument for smoothing mud on roof
- laþatka* n.f. (pl. *laþatkə*) (Russ. лопатка) small spade, small shovel
- cardus* n.f. (pl. *cardusyatə*) trowel
- xapranta* n.f. (pl. *xapranyatə*) trowel
- mankaš*, *makkaš* n.m. (pl. *mankašə*, *makkašə*) instrument (for kindling fire)
- mayla* n.m. (pl. *maylə*) sickle
- majəsta* n.f. (pl. *majəsyatə*) small sickle; reaping-hook
- jalandi* n.m. (pl. *jalandiyə*) (Kurd. kēlindî, Azer. kərənti) scythe (Sal., Gaw. <sup>+</sup>*tərpan*)
- turpun* n.f. scythe
- nisarta* n.f. (pl. *nisaryatə*) saw with single handle (see illustration 48)
- sesa* n.f. (pl. *sesə*) buck saw with an upper handle (see illustration 49)
- <sup>+</sup>*məššar* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*məššarə*) large saw with two handles (see illustration 50)
- xərxı* n.f. (pl. *xərxıyyə*) small saw with two handles
- casuxta* n.f. (pl. *casuxyatə*) small trimming tool for orchards (Sal. *casxanta*)
- məšna* n.f. (pl. *məšna*) whetstone for sharpening tools
- kalyun* n.f. (pl. *kalyuynə*) (Pers. qalyūn, Azer. qəlyan), bubbly bubbly pipe
- bazəcca* n.m. (pl. *bazəccə*) pipe-stem, tobacco pipe
- <sup>+</sup>*cubbux* n.f. tobacco pipe
- <sup>+</sup>*čarpanta* n.f. tool used to whack or swat
- čərçərra* n.f. (pl. *čərçərrə*) rattle that is sounded in an orchard to scare away birds
- <sup>+</sup>*xatura* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xaturlə*) beater (for linen washing, for carpet)
- <sup>+</sup>*koþala* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*koþalə*) (Kurd. koþal) walking-stick
- <sup>+</sup>*koþalta* n.f. short walking-stick
- <sup>+</sup>*čap̄palta* n.f. short walking-stick; drumstick
- <sup>+</sup>*bazərخan* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bazərخanə*) walking frame

### 15.2.9 Vehicles and Machines

- cərša* n.f. (pl. *cəršə*) (Azer. kirşə) sledge (pulled by horses)
- jardun* n.f. (pl. *jarduynə*) (Pers. gardūn) wide open cart without sides, trailer (used in the harvest)
- <sup>+</sup>*arabana* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*arabanə*) (Azer. araba < Arab.) wagon (with sides)
- jaruma* n.m. (pl. *jarumə*) axle
- janjar, jarjar* n.f. (pl. *janjarə, jarjarə*) threshing machine pulled by oxen (Sal. *jarjar*)
- manjana* n.f. (pl. *manjənə*) wooden press for extracting juice

### 15.2.10 *Fire and Heating*

*nuyra* n.m. fire

*tapə* I (vn. *tpeta*) to be kindled | *nuyra tpilə* The fire is kindled

*tapə* II (vn. *tapeta*) to kindle (tr.)

+*šarə* I (vn. +*šyarta*) to stoke (fire)

*zabək* I (vn. *zbakta*) to arrange wood and fuel (e.g. +*paťuxə*) to make fire

(before lighting it) | *tanuyra zbułłə!* Arrange the fire

*baduvva* n.m. (pl. *baduvvə*) wooden poker

+*maša* n.m. (pl. +*mašə*) (Azer. maşa) tongs (Sal. *maša*)

+*šiš* n.m. (pl. *šišə*) metal poker (see illustration 5)

*yuyla* n.m. grass with long roots used to kindle a fire (Sal, Gaw. *yuğla*)

*mankaš*, *makkas* n.m. (pl. *mankašə*, *makkasə*) instrument for kindling fire

(Gaw. *čačmač*)

+*cakmač* n.m. flint (for kindling fire)

+*lahə* n.m. (pl. +*lahə*) flame

+*balbačə* pl. (sing. +*balbača* n.m.) small flames

*jumrə* n.pl. glowing coals

*jummurta* n.f. glowing coals; core of fire

*zənda* n.m. (pl. *zəndə*) spark

*buxari* n.m. (pl. *buxariyyə*) stove (Sal. *peč*)

*mankal* n.f. (pl. *mankala*) (Pers. manqal < Arab.) grill, brazier

+*truba* n.m. (pl. +*trubə*) (Russ. *труба*), *funja* n.m. (pl. *funjə*) chimney pipe of stove

*kursalta* n.f. elbow of chimney pipe of stove

*coz* n.f. (Azer. *köz*) burning wood, embers

*bəsti* n.m. (pl. *bətiyyə*) (Pers. bast ‘fastening’) metal rod put over oven to

support pans

+*maxusta* n.f. (pl. +*maxusyatə*) instrument with long handle with small pan

on the end of it for extracting burning coals from a fire

*caraxa* n.m. (pl. *caraxə*) large +*maxusta* (instrument for extracting coals from fire)

*camra* n.pl. (sing. *camra* m.) dried animal dung used as fuel for fire,

compressed by stamping down in an area known as *sulta*

*ptəlta* n.f. (pl. *ptəlyatə*) wick

*punda* n.m. (pl. *pundə*) candle

+*šamma* n.f. wax

+*pənnar* n.m. (pl. +*pənnarə*) lamp with handle

+*šraya*, +*šra* n.f. (pl. +*šrayatə*) lamp | +*šrayət* +*nuyta* oil-lamp; +*šrayət* *pułpu* small lamp

**15.2.11 Hunting**

- <sup>+</sup>*seda* n.m. hunt | *bərrəxşəvən* <sup>+</sup>*seda* I am going hunting  
<sup>+</sup>*sayəd* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*syadta*) to hunt | *bərrəxşəvən* <sup>+</sup>*sedən* *’elə* I am going to hunt deer  
*jira* n.m. (pl. *jirə*) arrow | *jira* *’u-kəšta* bow and arrow  
<sup>+</sup>*zaþpanj* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*zaþpanjə*) (Azer. sapand) sling  
*kəštət cipa* n.f. (pl. *kəþyatət cipa*) slingshot  
*kulta* n.f. (pl. *kulyatə*), *bra-kulta* n.f. (pl. *bra-kulyata*) trap  
*tala* n.f. (pl. *talə*) (Azer. tələ) trap, snare (for animals)  
*čurətma* n.f. (pl. *čurətma*) trap, mousetrap, snare (for birds)  
*jarda* n.m. (pl. *jarda*) net  
*sapma* n.m. (pl. *sapmə*) (Azer. səpmə) large net for fishing  
*tuppanj* n.f. (pl. *tuppanjə*), *tup* (pl. *tupə*) n.f. (Azer. tüfəng, Pers. tofang) rifle  
<sup>+</sup>*tor* n.m. (pl. *torə*) (Azer. tor) net  
<sup>+</sup>*çupranta* n.f. camouflage behind which hunters of birds hide  
<sup>+</sup>*şariþa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*şariþə*) snare to catch birds

**15.2.12 Wool**

- <sup>+</sup>*amra* n.m. wool  
*taþka* n.m. (pl. *taþə*) fold; part of cloth; strand of wool  
*mərrəz* n.m. (Kurd. merez) wool of lambs; wool of Angora goat  
*luvva, luvvə* n.m. (Kurd. liva) fleece, lambs' wool  
*cuyša* n.m. (pl. *cuyšə*) spindle (see illustration 44) (Sal. *cuğša*)  
*dulaba* n.m. (pl. *dulabə*) (Pers. dūlāb < Arab.) spool for winding wool  
*jaməš* I (vn. *jmaþta*) to grab with five fingers; to wring  
*žadə* I (vn. *ždeta*) to tease (wool, cotton)  
*žadaya* n.m. (pl. *žadayə*), *žadyana* n.m. (pl. *žadyanə*) teaser of wool  
<sup>+</sup>*napəs* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*npasta*) to card or shake wool  
*patpət* QI (vn. *patpatta*) to card (wool), to tease (fibres of wool); to come apart (wool) | <sup>+</sup>*amra patputələ* The wool is coming apart  
<sup>+</sup>*azəl* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*zalta*, prog. <sup>+</sup>*bəzzalələ*, pst. <sup>+</sup>*zəllə*, rsp. <sup>+</sup>*zila*) to spin (wool)  
<sup>+</sup>*əzla* n.m. yarn  
*jəflə* n.m. (pl. *jəflə*) skein of wool

**15.2.13 Weaving, Sewing and Materials**

- <sup>+</sup>*xyuþta* n.m. sewing, stitch  
<sup>+</sup>*maþinat* <sup>+</sup>*xyuþta* sewing machine  
<sup>+</sup>*karkara* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karkarə*) (Azer. qarqara) reel, bobbin  
<sup>+</sup>*fulþola* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*fulþolə*) bobbin  
<sup>+</sup>*zakara* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*zakarə*) weaver

- <sup>+</sup>*s̥kura* n.m. (pl. *s̥kurə*) woven product  
<sup>+</sup>*mašinət* <sup>+</sup>*s̥kura* weaving machine  
*hasira* n.f. (pl. *hasirə*) mat (woven with the grass known as *jayan*)  
*š̥etya* n.m. warp (vertical threads on loom) (Gaw. *š̥atla*)  
*maštə* III (vn. *mašteta*) to arrange the warp (Gaw. *šatəl*)  
*macuc* n.m. (pl. *macucə*, *macuyçə*) (Azer. məkik) shuttle, spool (of a sewing machine)  
<sup>+</sup>*xyaṭṭa* n.f. stitch  
*šucluca* n.m. plain straight stitch (without looping back and producing a broken line of stitches on the surface of the cloth)  
*baxyə* n.f. (pl. *baxyə*) stitch formed by looping the needle back and thus producing an unbroken line of stitches on the cloth  
*tartəb* QI (vn. *tartabta*) to tack, to stitch, to baste  
*puzma* n.m. (Azer. pusma?) decorative stitch  
*gabeta* n.f. hem of clothes  
*cuba* n.m. (pl. *cubə*) (Azer. köbə) hem of dress; flounce of a different material from the dress  
*š̥appula* n.m. (pl. *š̥appula*, *š̥appulalə*) end of skirt or robe  
<sup>+</sup>*arə* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*areta*) to patch, to darn, <sup>+</sup>*marra* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*marreta*) to patch  
<sup>+</sup>*areta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*areyata*) patch  
*jdala* n.m. (pl. *jdala*) thread  
<sup>+</sup>*sənjał* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sənjałə*) (Azer. sancaq, Pers. sanjāq) pin, safety pin; crochet hook  
<sup>+</sup>*xayaṭə* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xayaṭə*) tailor  
*darzi* n.m. (pl. *darziyyə*) tailor

#### 15.2.14 Fabrics

- julla* n.m. (pl. *jullə*) cloth  
<sup>+</sup>*parča* n.m. (Azer. parça, Pers. pârče) (pl. <sup>+</sup>*parčə*) large piece of cloth, fabric  
<sup>+</sup>*kərtə* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kərtə*) patch of cloth, rag  
*xlepa* n.m., (pl. *xlepə*), *xlepət* <sup>+</sup>*kərtə* quilt  
*lxepə* n.m. (pl. *lxepə*) (Kurd. lihēf < Arab.) quilt  
*lxəpta* nf. (pl. *lxəpyata*) small quilt, small blanket  
*jrīva* n.m. raw linen cloth  
<sup>+</sup>*apeta* n.f. thick cloth for wrapping food (for picnic)  
<sup>+</sup>*supra* n.m. (Pers. sofre, Azer. süfrə) tablecloth  
<sup>+</sup>*adyal* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*adyalə*) (Russ. одеяло) blanket  
*malapa* n.m. (pl. *malapə*) (Azer. mələfə < Arab.) bed-sheet (for bed)  
<sup>+</sup>*čarčav* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*čarčava*) (Turk. çarşaf ‘bed sheet’ < Pers.) piece of material for wrapping bedding

- +lək̥ta** n.m. **embroidery**
- jannə** n.f./m. (pl. *janniyə*) **patchwork blanket (put on oven to sit on in winter)**
- pešcər** n.m. (pl. *pešcirə*) (Pers. *pešgir*) **towel, napkin**
- +dasmal** n.f. (pl. *+dasmalə*) (Azer. *dəsmal*, Pers. *dastmāl*) **towel, napkin, handkerchief; baby's nappy**
- rušnuc** n.m. (pl. *rušnujə*/*rušnuʃə*) (Ukrainian *пушник*) **towel** (Canda, Sal., Gaw.)
- +xalla-manə** n.f. (pl. *+xalla-maniyə*) **dish cloth**
- +yaləxtə** n.f. (pl. *+yaləxyatə*) (Azer. *yaylıq*) **handkerchief; towel napkin**
- toriyya** n.f. (pl. *toriyyə*) **loofah (for washing)**
- +top** n.f. (pl. *+topə*) (i) (Azer. top, Pers. tup) **roll (of material)** | *xa +top +parca* a roll of material; *tre +topə +parca* two rolls of material
- barra** n.m. (pl. *barra*) **edge of material**
- hašya** n.m. (Azer. *haşıyə* < Arab.) **woven lace; border, selvedge, edging (especially of lace)**
- parda** n.m. (pl. *pardə*) (Azer. *pərdə*, Pers. *parde*) **curtain**
- juna** n.m. (pl. *junə*) **net curtain; net veil of brides**
- cuyraxa** n.m. (pl. *cuyraxə*) **shroud** (Sal., Gaw. *čuğraxa*)
- ciṭa** n.m. (Kurd. *çît*) **embroidered fabric**
- maxmar** n.m. (Azer. *məxmər*) **velvet**
- brisəm** n.f. **silk**
- +mət̥kal** n.m. (Azer. *mitkal*) **calico, thin calico of pale-yellow colour** | used for *cəstət +kattəj* (bag in which they put *+davvə*)
- şila** n.m. (Azer. *şılə*) **red coarse calico**
- +bambazyə** n.m. (medieval Latin *bambax -acis*, from Greek βάμβαξ -ώκος, βάμβακιον 'cotton') **cotton fabric that is fluffy on the inside and smooth on the outside, used for clothing in winter**
- +kənja** n.m. **type of fabric**
- +təndi** n.m. **type of fabric**
- səlc** n.m. **type of fabric**
- +tafta** n.m. **type of fabric**
- batış** n.m. **type of fabric**
- +sablé** n.m. **type of fabric**
- fırfı́t** n.m. **type of fabric**

#### 15.2.15 Sieves

- məxxəlta** n.f. (pl. *məxxəlyatə*) **fine sieve**
- 'ərbala** n.f. (pl. *'ərbalə*) **sieve for wheat with large holes (larger than those of *məxxəlta* but smaller than those of a *sarida*)**

- sarida, sarada* n.m. (pl. *saridə, saradə*) sieve with large holes for beans  
 +*dašcər* n.m. (pl. +*dašcırə*) (Azer. daş ‘stone’ + derivative suffix ‘keeper’) sieve with large holes
- +*nəxla* n.m. fine grains that fall from sieve (*məxxəltə*) after sieving wheat  
 (+*xəttə*) (Gaw. +*mxalta*)
- parta* n.f. fine dust falling from sieve
- cuzar* n.f. (pl. *cuzarə*) husks and stones remaining in sieve (‘*ərbala*) after sieving; refuse of wheat in the threshing floor when the ear and chaff will not separate
- cuylaş* n.m. (Azer. küləş ‘straw’) thick stems of wheat that remain in sieve

#### 15.2.16 Structures and Enclosures

- beta* n.m. (pl. *bətvatə, batvatə*) house (Sal, Gaw. *biya*, pl. *biyanə*)
- paya* n.m. (pl. *paya*) (Azer. pəyə; Pers. pāgāh) stable, animal shed (Sal, Gaw. *paya*, pl. *pajanə*)
- čulə* n.f. (pl. *čuliyatə*) place where people would wash in *paya* in winter (since it was warm) consisting of a sloping slab
- +*čola* n.m./f. (pl. +*čolatə*) hut
- čardak, čardac* n.f. (pl. *čardaķə, čardacə*) (Azer. çardaq) booth made with branches, shed, attic, awning
- čulluxta* n.f. (pl. *čulluxyatə*) hut made of mud
- ‘*urə* n.f. (pl. ‘*uravatə*) manger
- ninə* n.f. (pl. *niniyyə*) (Azer. nin) chicken coop
- juma* n.m. (pl. *jumanə*) sheepfold
- cuyra* n.f. (pl. *cuyratə*) kiln (Sal., Gaw. *cugra*)
- xoda* n.f. (pl. *xodə*) (Arab. ḥawḍ) basin; water trough for animals
- +*saray* n.f. (pl. +*sarayə*) (Russ. saray ‘shed’ < Azer. saray ‘palace’) shed open on two sides (containing the oven of a household)
- mula* n.f. (pl. *mulə*) barn
- jəšra* n.m. (pl. *jəšrə*) bridge
- dalma* n.m. (pl. *dalmə*) (Azer. dəlmə) aqueduct (carrying water from the mountain to villages)
- +*abarə* n.f. (pl. +*abarə*) (Pers. ābrāh) raised channel that brings water to a watermill
- pandam* n.f. (pl. *pandamə*) (Kurd. bendav) dam; pool of dammed water
- banda* n.m. (Azer. bənd) dam
- čima* n.m. (pl. *čimə*) block of compact earth and grass used to build dams etc. → *čiman* grass, lawn
- mohra* n.m. (pl. *mohrə*) (Azer. möhrə) large block of dried mud (used for building walls)

- havuz* n.f. (pl. *havuyzə*) (Turk. havuz, Azer. hovuz, Pers. howz < Arab.) **pool (man-made)**
- čuxta* n.f. (pl. *čuxyatə*) **windowless storage room, cellar**
- <sup>+</sup>*čadra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*čadrə*) (Pers. čādor) **tent**
- xarrac* n.m. (pl. *xarraʃə*) (Azer. xərək, Pers. xarak) **wooden frame for growing tobacco**
- carma* n.m. (pl. *carmanə*) **vineyard; orchard (with fruit trees)** (Sal, Gaw.  
cərma, pl. cərmanə)
- <sup>+</sup>*bustana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bustanənə*) (Azer. bostan, Pers. bostān) **kitchen garden (esp. for melons)** (Sal., Gaw. bəstana, pl. bəstananə)
- baxča* n.f. (pl. *baxčanə*) (Kurd. bexče, Azer. bağça, Pers. bāğče) **kitchen garden for fruits**
- darta* n.f. (pl. *daryatə*) **kitchen garden for fruits**
- janta* n.f. (pl. *janatə*) **garden (for fruit and flowers)**
- xakla* n.f. (pl. *xalkanə*) **field (cultivated)**
- marja* n.m. (pl. *marʃə*) **meadow**
- čiman* n.f. (pl. *čimanə*) **grass, lawn**
- <sup>+</sup>*mariyya* n.m. **pasture**
- <sup>+</sup>*mazraya* n.m. **cultivated land**
- criva* n.m. **ploughed field left fallow**
- <sup>+</sup>*budra*, <sup>+</sup>*bədra* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*budratə*, <sup>+</sup>*bədratə*) **threshing floor**
- <sup>+</sup>*ojaxta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ojaxyatə*) (Azer. ocaq) **fireplace, hearth**
- künya* n.m. (pl. *kunyə*) (Kurd. kanî, Azer. quyu) **well (for drawing water)**

#### 15.2.17 *Parts of Structures*

- <sup>+</sup>*tarra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*tarranə*) **door**
- skupta* n.f. (pl. *skupyatə*) **threshold**
- juyda* n.m. (pl. *juydanə*, *juydanənə*) **wall** (Sal, Gaw. fuğda)
- panjara* n.f. (pl. *panjarə*) (Azer. pəncərə, Pers. panjare, Kurd. pencere)  
**window (with glass)**
- cavə* n.f. (pl. *cavata*) **window (without glass); opening in a roof functioning as a chimney and a window**
- cavət kubba* **window in the middle of a roof**
- lampa* n.m. (pl. *lampə*) (Azer. ləmpə 'ceiling') **ceiling; lamp**
- <sup>+</sup>*karita* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kariyyatə*) **main beam in a roof; a crossbeam** (Sal, Gaw.  
<sup>+</sup>*kariyya*)
- parduvva* n.m. (pl. *parduvvə*) **lath (laid on timbers in roof of house and floors of upper rooms)**
- šcurə* n.m. (pl. *šcuravatə*) **ceiling, inside of roof, space between roof beams**
- palla* n.f. (pl. *pallə*) (Pers. pelle, Azer. pillə) **rung (of ladder)**

- <sup>+</sup>*pallacanə* pl. (sing. <sup>+</sup>*pallacanta*) (Pers. pellegān, Azer. pilləkan) stairs  
*čuxta* n.f. basement; storeroom  
<sup>+</sup>*dalapčə* n.m. (pl. *dalapčə*) (Pers. dūlābče) pantry, closet  
<sup>+</sup>*suypa* n.m. porch, ante-room, passage  
*pastuc* n.f. (pl. *pastuyjə*) (Pers. pastū) closet  
<sup>+</sup>*maleta* n.f., <sup>+</sup>*suvvajğ* n.m. layer of mud put on beams of a house  
<sup>+</sup>*mačriyyana* n.m. mud mixed with straw applied to surfaces of a house  
 and between bricks (*carpičə*) (in recent years replaced by *símənt* n.m. cement)  
<sup>+</sup>*šoratan* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*šoratana*) (Arm. juratan) gutter  
*ķdila* n.m. (pl. *ķdilə*) key  
*dora, bra-dora* n.m. (pl. *dora, bra-dora*) wooden lock  
*kulkulta* n.f. (pl. *kukulyata*) hinge; row of teeth of lock  
*parda* n.m. (pl. *pardə*) (Azer. pərdə, Pers. parde) curtain  
*juna* n.m. (pl. *junə*) (Azer. cuna) net curtain; net veil of brides  
*cərcərrə* n.pl. blinds on window  
<sup>+</sup>*balkun* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*balkuynə*) balcony  
*tabaka* n.m. (pl. *tabaka*) (Pers. tabaqe < Arab.) shelf, storey  
*bənnavra* n.f. (pl. *bənnavrə*) (Azer. bünövrə) foundation  
*carpač* n.f. (pl. *carpičə*) (Azer. kərpic) mud brick; diamonds at cards | *carpičət*  
 +*tīna* bricks of mud; *carpač neta* unbaked brick; *carpač bşəlta* fired brick  
*'aliza* n.m. (pl. *'alizə*) mud brick (Canda)  
<sup>+</sup>*kaši* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kaşıyyə*) (Pers. kāšī) tile  
<sup>+</sup>*ašpaz-*<sup>+</sup>*xana* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ašpaz-*<sup>+</sup>*xanə*) (Pers. āšpazxāne) kitchen  
*bət-başalta* n.m. kitchen (literary)  
*jarə* n.m. (pl. *jaravata*) roof | constructed with the following layers from  
 the bottom upwards in this order: <sup>+</sup>*karita* (beam), <sup>+</sup>*pavanə* (branches),  
*parduvva* (large laths), *nuvvə* (small laths), *tuyrə* (twigs), <sup>+</sup>*tīna* (mud)  
*marza* n.m. (pl. *marzanə*) edge; border | *marzət jarə* edge of the roof  
*biva* n.m. (pl. *bivə*) hole in the wall of an orchard or vineyard to allow  
 irrigation water to enter  
*banja* n.m. (pl. *banjə*) bank dividing a field  
*čappar* n.f. (pl. *čapparə*) (Azer. çəpər) fence  
*majjar* n.f. (pl. *majjarə*) (Pers. mahjar < Arab.) handrail, fence, grate; hedge

### 15.2.18 Church

- <sup>+</sup>*umra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*umrana*) church (building)  
<sup>+</sup>*ita* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*idatə*) church (institution)  
<sup>+</sup>*dera* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*derə*) monastery  
<sup>+</sup>*buraxa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*buraxə*) blessing

*kurbana* n.m. communion

+*raza* n.m. (pl. +*razə*) church mass

+*xuṭra* n.m. (pl. +*xuṭrə*) thurible

*casa* n.m. (pl. *casə*) goblet (for wine) made of copper, gold or glass; chalice  
(see illustration 6)

*naḱusa* n.m. (pl. *naḱusə*) wooden bell

+*tāğ* n.m. (pl. +*tagə*) (Pers. tāq, Azer. tağ) arch

*mādābxa* n.m. altar (Gaw. +*maṣṭapta*)

*bīm* n.f. (pl. *bimə*) raised space between the sanctuary wall of a church and  
the nave, platform of the altar

*šxumta* n.f. sanctuary, altar stone of church (transferred from another  
church at time of foundation) (Gaw. šxəmta)

*kancə* n.pl. chancel

+*mirun* n.m. myrrh used as holy anointing oil

#### 15.2.19 Furniture

*nora* n.m. (pl. *nora*) mirror

+*supra* n.m. (pl. +*suprə*) (Pers. sofre, Azer. süfrə) tablecloth

*buri* n.m. (pl. *buriyyə*) tap

+*frand* n.m. (pl. +*franda*) (Azer. kran) tap

šīr n.m. (pl. šīrə) (Pers. šīr) tap

+*bəzzət xoda* n.m. plughole of the sink

*pašaband* n.m. (pl. *pašabandə*) (Pers. paše-band) mosquito net

*cursi* n.m. (pl. *cursiyə*) (Pers. kūrsī, Azer. kürsü < Arab.) chair; seat over oven;  
frame of churn (+*meta*) (illustration 18)

*nəmcat* n.f. (pl. *nəmcattə*) (Pers. nīmkat) sofa

*mīz* n.m. (pl. *mizə*) (Pers. mīz, Azer. miz) table

*došeca* n.f. (pl. *došecə*) (Kurd. doşeg; Azer. döşək) mattress

*taxta* n.f. (pl. *taxtə*) (Azer./Pers. taxt) wooden bed, couch; wooden basin for  
cultivation (see illustration 53)

*darjušta* n.f. (pl. *darjušyatə*) cradle with frame

*banda* n.m. (pl. *bandsə*) (Azer. band, Pers. bānd) band of cradle

*luləffa* n.f. (pl. *luləffə*) (Pers. lule) pipe (on cradle for excrement of baby boy)

*luləjta* n.f. (pl. *luləjyatə*) pipe (on cradle for excrement of baby girl)

+*xasət darjušta, xmarət darjušta* n.m. horizontal upper section of the cradle  
frame

*nannə* n.f. (pl. *nanniyə*) (Azer. nənni) cradle rocked on the legs; hammock

+*kundaxta* n.f. (pl. +*kundaxyatə*) (Azer. qundaq) swaddling bands, swaddling  
clothes

+*xali* n.f. (pl. +*xaliyyə*) (Kurd. xalî, xalîçe, Azer. xalı, Pers. qâlî) carpet

*hasira* n.f. (pl. *hasirə*) (Azer. həsir < Arab.) **mat (woven with the grass known as *jayan*); matting put under a carpet to protect it from the earthen floor**

+*kurrán* n.f. (pl. +*kurranə*) **mat (of threads) put on wall to lean against**  
*švita* n.f. (pl. *šviyyatə*) **mattress**

*jul-maxə* pl. **tantum bedding**

+*adyal* n.m. (pl. +*adyalə*) (Russ. одяло) **blanket**

*malapa* n.m. (pl. *malapə*) (Azer. mələfə < Arab.) **bed-sheet (for bed)**

*lxepa, xlepa* n.m. (pl. *lxepə*) **quilt**

*lxəpta* n.f. (pl. *lxəpyatə*) **small quilt, small blanket**

*spadita* n.f. (pl. *spadiyyatə*) **pillow**

*patət spadita* n.f. **pillow case**

+*čarčav* n.m. (pl. +*čarčava*) (Turk. çarşaf ‘bed sheet’ < Pers.) **piece of material for wrapping bedding**

*punda* n.m. (pl. *punda*) **candle**

*prəsta* n.f. (pl. *prəsyatə*) **thin cloth spread on floor made of wool**

+*lamṭa* n.m. (pl. +*lamṭə*) **mat of compressed wool**

*čambəlta* n.f. **frame for a churn (+*meta*)**

### 15.2.20 Stones and Minerals

+*parša* n.m. (pl. +*paršə*) **large flat wide stone**

+*parušta* n.f. (pl. +*parušyatə*) **small flat stone**

+*šəmra* n.m. **soot**

*baklušə* n.pl. (sing. *baklušta*) **smooth pebbles**

*comur* n.f. (Azer. kömür) **coal; charcoal** | *comur=t cipa* coal, *comur=t kesa* charcoal

*kaya* n.m. (pl. *kayə*) (Azer. qaya) **large rock, crag**

*marmar* n.f. (Azer. mərmər) **marble**

*sila* n.m. **sand**

*zāğ* n.m. (Pers. zāğ, Azer. zəy) **alum**

### 15.2.21 Tethers and Whips

+*xola* n.m. (pl. +*xolə*) **rope**

*jdala* n.m. (pl. *jdalə*) **thread**

*tanap* n.m. (pl. *tanapə*) (Pers. tanāb) **line, cord (used to hang out washing and to measure dimensions)**

+*cətra* n.m. (pl. +*cətrə*) **knot**

+*catər* I (vn. +*ctarta*) **to knot** | +*bəctarévən b-* +*uydalə* I am knotting them together

+*catrən* QI (vn. +*catranta*) **to knot**

*təcta* n.f. (pl. *təcyatə*) trouser tie, threads running in a hem to hold up trousers

<sup>+</sup>*jəllav* n.m. (Azer. cilov, Pers. jalaw) reins of horse; rope for leading animal

*horəc* n.f. (Azer. hörtük) (pl. *horica*) tether (of animal)

*kəmpa* n.m. hemp

*šəsshəlta* n.f. (pl. *šəsshəlyatə*) chain

<sup>+</sup>*kaṭiyya* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kaṭiyə*) whip (made of wood)

*xarazan* n.f. (pl. *xarazanə*) (Pers. xarzan) whip (made of rope)

#### 15.2.22 Cultivation and Harvest

*zula* n.m. (pl. *zulə*) (Azer. zol) line, strip, furrow (Gaw. *saravand*)

*ptana* n.m. (pl. *ptanə*) plough (see illustration 52) | *ptana* 'avəd I to plough

<sup>+</sup>*zivana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*zivana*) (Pers. zavān) weed

<sup>+</sup>*əddə* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*əddə*) weed

<sup>+</sup>*ayəd* (vn. <sup>+</sup>*yatta*, prog. <sup>+</sup>*biyadələ*, pst. <sup>+</sup>*ədlə*, rsp. <sup>+</sup>*ida*, imper. <sup>+</sup>*ud*, <sup>+</sup>*udun*) to weed

*losa* n.m. (pl. *losə*) clod of earth

<sup>+</sup>*ændula*, <sup>+</sup>*ænduláy* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ændulə*, <sup>+</sup>*ænduláyyə*) clod of earth

*pampəx* QI (vn. *pampaxta*) to break up (ground)

*pandən* QI (vn. *pandanta*) to grow like a candle (*punda*) dripping sap

*jumšə* n.m. (pl. *jumšə*) handful

*jaməš* I (vn. *jmašta*) to grab with five fingers

*čaculta* n.f. (pl. *čaculyatə*) handful (in one hand)

<sup>+</sup>*čanya* (N.), *čanja* (S.) n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*čanyə*, *čanjə*) handful (in two hands)

*xpaķa* n.m. armful (of produce)

<sup>+</sup>*dara* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*dareta*) to winnow

*davər* I (vn. *dvarta*) to thresh

*xakłət demə*, *xakłət demətə* unirrigated field

*marzət xakla* n.m. boundary of a field (natural)

*priza* n.m. (pl. *prizanə*), <sup>+</sup>*xozan* n.m. (Kurd. xozan) harvested field of stubble

*xakla dməxtə* a field the corn of which is lying flat (having been flattened by rain and wind)

*xakla kməxtə* a field with corn that is compacted by rain and wind

*xakla krəxtə* a field with corn that is dry and brown, ready for harvest

*bara* n.f. (pl. *baravata*, *barə*) sluice in side of large irrigation channel (*šakita*) or irrigation ditch (*koşa*); sluice of dam that is opened to irrigate a field

*xakłət +rəzza* paddy field

*bava* n.f. (pl. *bavata*) (1) mound in an orchard (*carma*) enclosing a small

- basin that was a component of a larger basin known as *taxta*. (2) a large basin in a wheat field(= *taxta*) (see illustration 53)
- <sup>+</sup>*ardav* n.f. (Kurd. ardû ‘fuel’) watery mud
- <sup>+</sup>*yaya* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*yayə*) wall of basin of paddy field
- taxta* n.f. (pl. *taxtə*) basin for cultivation (created by <sup>+</sup>*yaya* in paddy field and by *bavata* in an orchard) (see illustration 53)
- tira* n.m. (pl. *tirə*) (Azer. tirə) small dividing bank in field or field basin (man-made with earth)
- <sup>+</sup>*yəssura* n.m. connecting channel between basins
- cardi* n.m. (pl. *cardiyə*) (Pers. card ‘sill’) vegetable garden plot with wooden sides
- cardita* n.f. (pl. *cardiyə*) small vegetable garden plot
- səcta* n.f. (pl. *səccacə*) (wooden) stake
- koşa* n.m. (pl. *koşə*) (Azer. qoşa ‘pair, double’) ditch of water bringing water to basins (*taxta*) of a paddy field (see illustration 53)
- pandəm* QI (vn. *pandamta*) to dam | *miyya pundəmmə* dammed water
- ʃdiša* n.m. (pl. *ʃdišə*) pile of leaves
- suyla* n.m. pile of ash used as fertilizer (Sal, Gaw. *suǵla*)
- darza* n.f. (pl. *darzə*) (Azer. dərz) sheaf of corn
- carta* n.f. (pl. *caratə*) load put on back (e.g. of grass) (see illustration 32)
- kuxa* n.m. (pl. *kuxə*) pile, heap
- tayəc* I (vn. *tyacta*) to plant (small branches of trees)
- šatəl* I (vn. *šalta*) to plant (seedlings)
- peyvand* <sup>'avəd</sup> I to graft | *peyvand vədlə* <sup>+'al-</sup>*ilana xina* He grafted it onto another tree; *tuyrət* *peyvand* scion (for grafting)

### 15.2.23 Threshing-floor

- <sup>+</sup>*budra*, <sup>+</sup>*bədra* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*budratə*, <sup>+</sup>*bədratə*) threshing floor
- xayyan* n.f. (pl. *xayyanə*) pile of unwinnowed threshed corn on a threshing floor
- dāj* n.m. (pl. *dajə*) imprint made on wood indicating ownership of harvested produce in the threshing-floor
- tirət tuyna* n.m. row of stacked hay
- məlxava* n.m. (pl. *məlxavə*) threshing fork
- pərpərrə* n.f. (pl. *pərpərrə*) propeller (indicating direction of wind) (Sal, Gaw. *parra*)
- parra* n.m. (pl. *parrə*) (Pers. par, Kurd. per m.) feather; vane (of a fan); spoke (of a mill wheel)
- torət marza* n.m. ox pulling the threshing machine (*janjar*) on outside of the ring

*torət kubba* n.m. ox pulling the threshing machine (*janjar*) on inside of ring  
*čambara* n.f. (pl. *čambarə*) (Azer. çənbər) heap of harvested corn stalks that

are ready for threshing arranged in a ring around the threshing-floor

*cuyaš* n.m. (Azer. küləş ‘straw’) thick stems of wheat that have not been put  
 in the threshing machine

*tuyna* n.m. straw that is produced by threshing machine

*darza* n.f. (pl. *darzə*) (Azer. dərz) sheaf of corn; bundle

*janjar/jarjar* n.f. (pl. *janjarə/jarjarə*) threshing machine pulled by oxen

*'akla* n.f. ring on threshing floor on which oxen that pull the threshing  
 machine walk

#### 15.2.24 Plough

*cuytan* n.f. (pl. *cuytanə*) (Azer. kotan, Kurd. cot) large plough (made of metal)

*ptana* n.f. (pl. *ptanana*) wooden plough (see illustration 52)

*sacta, sita* n.f. (pl. *sacyata, saccacə*) ploughshare, blade of plough

*dəpna* n.f. (pl. *dəpnatə*) block of wood behind blade of plough, also known  
 as *tana* (Pers. tane)

*'akla* n.f. (pl. *'aklatə*) vertical stick on which plough handle is fixed

*'ida* n.f. ('idatə) handle of plough

*jalla* n.m. (pl. *jalla*) wooden peg, wedge (used to fix height of main pole of  
 the plough)

*cira* n.m. (Kurd. kîr, Pers. kîr ‘penis’) main pole of plough

*bosa* n.m. (pl. *bosə*) wooden ring at top of main pole of plough to which the  
 yoke of oxen is attached

*'əpta* n.f. (pl. *'əpyatə*) leather strap attaching yoke to the main pole of the  
 plough

*clama* n.m. (pl. *clama*) wooden rods descending from yoke beam that fixes  
 the yoke to the neck of oxen

*xaniķa* n.m. (pl. *xaniķə*) rope tied around the neck of oxen

*nira* n.m. (pl. *nirə*) yoke

*+čopan* n.f. (pl. *+čopano*) strap (of leather), thong or a leather band on a  
 wagon or plough

*callət +yaya* n.m. strong buffalo pulling the plough that walks down the  
 ditch (+yaya) when the ploughman is digging the ditch with the plough  
*callət marza* n.m. less strong buffalo pulling the plough while walking on  
 the flat ground

#### 15.2.25 Watermill

*'ərxə* n.f. (pl. *'ərxavata*) watermill

*betət 'ərxə* n.m. building containing watermill

*'ərxac̪i* n.m. owner of watermill

*taxana* (Dizatacya S. *+texana*) n.m. miller

*čakčaka* n.m. (pl. *čakčakə*) component in a watermill consisting of two pieces of wood that knock against each other to make noise in order to indicate that mill-wheel is turning

*tapłapa* n.m. (pl. *tapłapə*) = *čakčaka*

*+abarə* n.f. (pl. *+abarə*) (Pers. ābrāh) raised channel that brings water to the mill

*šiva* n.m. (pl. *šivə*) sloping wooden trough that brings water to the mill from the *+abarə* (raised channel)

*+paya* n.m. (pl. *+payə*) (Pers. pā 'leg') wooden prop that supports the water channel (*šiva*)

*dola* n.m. (pl. *dolə*) (Pers. dohol, Kurd. dehol f. drum) tall bin (for corn above watermill)

*cipət +ullul* n.m. upper millstone

*cipət əltəx* n.m. lower millstone

*+bəzza* n.m. hole (in the millstone)

*cipa dandana* n.m. rough stone (full of small holes) used for the millstone

*čulli* n.f. (pl. *čulliyə*) hole for gathering flour

*'urə* n.f. (pl. *'uravatə*) long round receptacle that catches the flour from the rotating millstones

*pərpərrə* n.f. (pl. *pərpərrə*) propeller

*čarx* n.m. (pl. *čarxə*) (Azer. čarx) shaft (of a mill) to control movement of propeller

*mila* n.m. (pl. *milə*) (Azer. mil) rod that connected propeller to upper grindstone; axle pin

*cyula* n.m. (pl. *cyulə*) measure; large cup for measuring flour

*'aklat ərxə, 'aklat miyya* lever of watermill to stop water or redirect it in order to adjust speed of propeller | *'akla +máslıla!* Put down the lever (to stop the water turning the propeller)

*+čalə* n.f. (pl. *+čalavatə*) (Azer. čala/ Pers. čāle) hole (into which the flour fell)

*turmuz* n.m. (pl. *turmuyzə*) (Azer. tormoz) brake (of watermill)

*+tapan* n.f. (pl. *+tapanə*) butt of upper stone

### 15.2.26 Flowers and Herbs

*varda* n.m. (pl. *vardə*) flower

*čučaya* n.m. (pl. *čučajə*) (Azer. çiçək) blossoming flower

*hababa* n.m. (pl. *habbabə*) blossoming flower (literary)

*xəblu* n.f. ivy

- bebuna* n.f. (pl. *bebunə*) (Kurd. beybûn) **camomile; general term for wild flower**
- juna-+baxan* n.f. (pl. *juna-+baxanə*) (Azer. günəbaxan) **sunflower**
- +halala* n.m. (pl. *+halalə*) (Pers. ālāle) **tulip**
- +roz* n.m. (pl. *+roza*) (Russ. rosa) **rose**
- yasmən* n.f. (pl. *yasminə*) (Azer. jasmin, Pers. yasamīn) **jasmine** (Gaw. *+yalsaman*)
- +bar-miyya* n.m. **small water plant**
- vardət* *+data* n.m. **flower that produces gum**
- narjəs* n.f. (pl. *narjisə*) (Azer. nərgiz, Pers. narges) **narcissus**
- mixac* n.m. (Pers. mīxak) **clove** | *vardət mixac* clove flower
- þəçxət* *+Maryam* n.m. **tuberose**
- þəçxət Davəd* n.m. **daisy**
- +ladan* n.f. (pl. *+ladanə*) (Pers. lādan) **ladanum**
- bazruka* n.m. (pl. *bazrukə*) **marigold**
- xənna* n.m. **henna, garden balsam**
- lişanət tora* n.m. **borage**
- šušanna* n.m. (pl. *šušanno*) **lily**
- xašxaš* n.f. (pl. *xašxašə*) (Pers. xašxāš < Arab.) **poppy, corn-poppy**
- ctana* n.m. **cotton**
- tuttun* n.f. (Kurd. tütin, tiğün, Azer. tüttün) **tobacco**
- +rayət yonə* n.m. **verbena ( vervain )**
- +xlamta* n.f. **marshmallow**
- yonja* n.f. (Azer. yonca) **clover** (Sal., Gaw. *spasta*)
- spasta* n.f. **clover (= yonja)**
- madanuz* n.f. (Turk. maydanoz) **parsley**
- þəbbət* n.f. (Pers. šebet) **dill** | with suffix *þəbbidi* my dill
- +talxun* n.f. **tarragon**
- mazra* n.f. (Pers. marze) **rosemary**
- bəsma* n.m. **rosemary**
- taxla* n.? **garden cress (lepidium sativum)**
- +buslə kinə* n.pl. **chives**
- şəmxa* n.m. **herb similar to chive**
- +bitbar, +buybar* n.f. (Azer. bibər) **pepper** | *+buybar smuķta* red pepper (Sal., Gaw. *+buğbar*)
- şambalila* n.f. (Pers. şambablıle) **fenugreek**
- zira* n.m. (Pers. zīre) **cumin**
- +xəmsa* n.f. **sorrel**
- +tolə* n.pl. **coriander, sing. +tolə piece of coriander**
- jašniš* n.f. **coriander**

- zardačuvva* n.f. (Pers. zardčūbe) turmeric  
 'əryana n.pl. basil  
*jafarī* n.? (Pers. ja'farī) parsley  
<sup>+</sup>sətra n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>sətrə) thyme, savoury  
*rexana* n.m. (pl. *rexanə*) wild thyme  
<sup>+</sup>*nana* n.f. (Kurd. nane f., Azer. nanə, Pers. na'nā' < Arab.) mint | <sup>+</sup>*nana* 'əryana  
 mint and basil  
*nənxa* n.f. mint | different type of mint from that of <sup>+</sup>*nana*  
*šuyša* n.m. (pl. šuyšə) liquorice plant | It was spread on beams of houses. The  
 dust of the dried leaves was rubbed on the head to prevent the loss of hair  
 (Sal., Gaw. šugša)  
<sup>+</sup>*nareta* n.f. edible herb  
<sup>+</sup>*pəssa* n.f. herb growing in bogs, like sugar cane  
*jayan* n.f. herb used for weaving mats (*hasirə*)  
<sup>+</sup>*kazi* <sup>+</sup>*ağa* n.m. type of herb  
<sup>+</sup>*xmaṭu* n.f. type of bitter herb  
*kiji* n.m. type of bitter herb  
<sup>+</sup>*šamṭa-manə* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*šamṭa-manə*) type of herb (literally: breaker of  
 vessels)  
*ful-*<sup>+</sup>*ağa* n.m. type of herb (literally: the lord's flower)  
<sup>+</sup>*kazi-*<sup>+</sup>*ağa* n.f. type of herb (literally: the lord's judge)  
*kətpu* n.f. pigweed  
*耶穌-xaymə* n.pl. dried powdered hot peppers  
*pərxə* n.pl. mixture of spices | consisting of basil ('əryana), rosemary (*mazra*)  
 and tarragon (<sup>+</sup>*ṭalxun*), used in the dish *captə*  
<sup>+</sup>*sərpa* n.m. hot spice  
<sup>+</sup>*advə* n.pl. spices  
<sup>+</sup>*axrət pəkkakə* algae (on pond), moss (Sal., Gaw. <sup>+</sup>*axrət pəkkakə*)

### 15.2.27 Trees

- <sup>+</sup>*xelapa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xelapə*) willow | <sup>+</sup>*xelapət bəxya* weeping willow (Canda)  
<sup>+</sup>*ušana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ušanə*) palm tree  
*calanbur* n.m. (pl. *calanbuyrə*) poplar tree  
*karajaj* n.m. (pl. *karajajə*) (Azer. qara ağac 'black wood') elm  
<sup>+</sup>*čənnar* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*čənnarə*) (Azer. çınar, Pers. canār) plane tree, black poplar  
*xurta* n.f. (pl. *xuratə*) white poplar  
*xuyra* n.m. (pl. *xuyra*) white poplar  
*kalama* n.m. (pl. *kalamə*) (Azer. qələmə) white poplar  
<sup>+</sup>*ilanət* <sup>+</sup>*pərma* n.m. high tree used for beams  
<sup>+</sup>*ilanət* <sup>+</sup>*apsə* n.m. tree with dry buds known as <sup>+</sup>*apsə*

- <sup>+</sup>*baluṭa* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*baluṭə*) acorn; oak tree | *'ilanət* <sup>+</sup>*baluṭa* oak tree  
<sup>+</sup>*bəṭma* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bəṭmə*) fruit of terebinth; terebinth tree | *'ilanət* <sup>+</sup>*bəṭmə* terebinth tree  
*sənjiyya* n.f. (pl. *sənjiyyə*) silver willow tree; fruit of the silver willow, jujube  
*xabuyša* n.m. (pl. *xabuyšə*) apple; apple tree (Sal., Gaw. *xabuğşa*)  
*xabušta* n.f. (pl. *xabušyata*) apple tree  
<sup>+</sup>*camutra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*camutra*) pear; pear tree  
*sparəfla* n.m. (pl. *sparəflə*) quince; quince tree (Sal, Gaw. *sparila*)  
*məšməšša* n.f. (pl. *məšməššə*) apricot; apricot tree  
*tuyta* n.f. (pl. *tuyta*) mulberry; mulberry tree  
*tina* n.f. (pl. *tinə*) fig; fig tree  
*tinita* n.f. small fig tree  
*foza* n.m. (pl. *fozə*) walnut, walnut tree  
*jumlanə* n.m. (pl. *jumlanə*) festive tree at wedding, filled with sweets and gifts for the bride

#### 15.2.28 *Bushes*

- butta* n.f. (pl. *buttata*) bush  
<sup>+</sup>*sussina*, <sup>+</sup>*sursina* n.f. thistle, azarole  
*xexəffa*, *xixəcca* n.f. hawthorn bush or tree (bigger than <sup>+</sup>*sussina*) with yellow and red fruit (Sal. *xexəffa*)

#### 15.2.29 *Parts of Plants and Trees*

- coca* n.m. (pl. *cocə*) (Azer. kök ‘root’) trunk of a tree, stock of a tree  
<sup>+</sup>*pağrət* *'ilana* n.m. trunk of a tree  
*čəlla* n.m. (pl. *čəllalə*) (Pers. čelle ‘bow string, selvage’) root; fine root branching from central root(s)  
*şətla* n.m. (pl. *şətlə*) seedling, sapling  
*jallaxta* n.f. bark of a tree or branch; skin, hide  
*cətva* n.m. (pl. *cətva*) thorn  
*çaltuc* n.m. (Azer. çəltik rice paddy) stalk and head of rice  
*balma* n.m. rice hay; trodden flax stalks | used for roofs; burnt and used as fertilizer  
*bula* n.m. (pl. *bula*, *bulalə*) hairy head (of corn or rice) | *bulət maccə* head of maize  
*şəbla* n.m. (pl. *şəblə*) head of corn on the stalk | *şəbla* <sup>+</sup>*jammuyələ* He is gathering heads (of wheat)  
*pučeča* n.m. (pl. *pučečə*) stalk of maize (Canda)  
<sup>+</sup>*ṭara* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ṭarə*, <sup>+</sup>*ṭarana*) head of maize (*maccə*) (Canda)  
<sup>+</sup>*pava* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*pavə*, <sup>+</sup>*pavana*) branch (large)

*nuvva* n.m. (pl. *nuvvə*) **small shoot**

*čarpuvva* n.m. (pl. *čarpuvvə*) **dried shoot (*nuvva*) with leaves (used as fuel)**

*tuyra* n.m. (pl. *tuyrə*) **fine twig, cane**

*tuyrət peyvand* n.m. **scion (for grafting)**

*parduvva* n.m. (pl. *parduvvə*) **lath (laid on timbers in roof of house and floors of upper rooms)**

*zila* n.m. (pl. *zilə*) **cane, rush (for making mat *hasira* and baskets); straw for drinking**

*ziləcca* n.m. (pl. *ziləccə*) **straw, bit of dried herb**

*+kətiyya* n.m. (pl. *+kətiyyə*) **long flexible shoot (of tree) | longer than *nuvva*, shorter than *tuyra* shoot and *+pava* branch**

*+ṭapta* n.f. **flexible cutting (of plant or tree)**

*+ṭarpa* n.m. (pl. *ṭarpə*) **leaf**

*+ṭarpət varda* n.m. **petal**

*pherexa* n.m. (pl. *pherexə*) **bloom, blossom, head of flower**

*konča* n.m. (pl. *končə*) (Azer. qönçə, Pers. ғонче) **bud**

*+bərtə* n.m. (pl. *+bərtə*) **bud**

*zəcta, zita* n.f. (pl. *zəcyatə*) **bud, pod**

*varda* *zuczəcca* n.pl. **budding flowers**

*nəsrana* adj.ms. (fs. *nəsranta*, pl. *nəsrənə*) **not full of seeds**

*miyyət ilana* n.pl. **sap of a tree**

*şirət ilana* n.m. **sap of a tree**

*miyyət Mát-Maryam* n.pl. **water of St. Mary (name given to sap of certain trees that was thought to have curative properties)**

*+buča* n.m. (pl. *+bučə*) **dried ball of tree sap (used as chewing gum) (Gaw. +datət ilana)**

*'urzaja, 'urzajəja* n.m. (pl. *'urzajəjə*) **pistil of a plant, pith, core; edible pistil of the *hamzə* plant; stick on head of maize**

*katta* n.f. (pl. *kattata*) **stem of plant**

*+kasla* n.m. (pl. *+kasla*) **stem of plant**

*cəlša* n.m. (pl. *cəlšə*) **stem (of wheat, plant)**

*+əkrət maccə* n.m. **stem of maize**

*+bazəcca* n.m. (pl. *+bazəccə*) **stamen of flower**

*tuþrət xabuyša* n.m. **stem of apple**

*tappacta* n.f. (pl. *tappacyatə*) **head of seeds (Gaw. *patacta*)**

*+popaxta* n.f. (pl. *+popaxyatə*) (Azer. *papaq*) **head of seeds that fly away in the wind; hat, cap**

*sumbultət +sarə/+xəttə* n.f. **hair of corn**

### 15.2.30 *Vine and Grapes*

<sup>+</sup>*anvə* pl. (sing. <sup>+</sup>*anvita*) grapes

<sup>+</sup>*mata* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*mayatə*) single grape

*juja* n.m. (pl. *juja*) trunk of a vine

*kema* n.f. (pl. *kemata*) tendril (of vine) (Gaw. *kayma*, pl. *kaymatə*)

*punda* n.m. (pl. *punda*) shoot of vine

<sup>+</sup>*hača*, <sup>+</sup>*hačča* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*hačə*, <sup>+</sup>*haččə*) (Azer. haça ‘fork’) forked stick used to support vines and trees

*xərdalus* n.f. small grapes | *xa* <sup>+</sup>*matət xərdalus* a single *xərdalus* grape

*kuyra* n.m. (pl. *kuyrə*) (Azer. qora) young sour (unripe) grape (Sal., Gaw. *kuğra*)

*tabbarza* n.f. large sweet green grape

*xalili* n.f. type of green grape that ripens early

<sup>+</sup>*doz mari* n.f. type of grape that ripens early (green or white) (Gaw. <sup>+</sup>*bəzmari*)

*jabušta* n.f. (pl. *jabušə*) type of large grape (green or red) used for raisins (*caşmışə*)

*malláy* n.f. medium-sized grapes | either white (<sup>+</sup>*xvarta*) or black (*cumta*) in colour

*huseni* n.f. type of long grape

*rišu-*<sup>+</sup>*baba* n.f. large round grape | either white (<sup>+</sup>*xvarta*) or red (*smukta*) in colour

*bəzzazət jaməšta/tavərtə* n.pl. type of green grapes shaped like teats

*šira* n.m. (Pers. šire) grape juice

*šira* <sup>+</sup>*xvara* n.m. grape with little juice used for making wine

*'ascari* n.f., *šira* *'ascari* n.m. juicy white grape

*širət* <sup>+</sup>*xamra* n.m. type of red grape

<sup>+</sup>*fəndəmmu* n.f. type of red grape

<sup>+</sup>*kara-maccə* type of red grape

<sup>+</sup>*curdboğan* n.f. (Azer. kürd boğan ‘choking a Kurd’) type of green grape

<sup>+</sup>*sahibi* n.f. type of red grape

<sup>+</sup>*jazandáy* n.f. type of grape (red or white)

*cəşmişə* n.pl. (sing. *cəşməšta*) raisins

<sup>+</sup>*yamuysa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*yamuysə*) young branch of vine

<sup>+</sup>*kunṭepə*, <sup>+</sup>*kunṭopa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kunṭepə*, <sup>+</sup>*kunṭopa*) large bunch of grapes

*zənŷərtə* n.f. (pl. *zənŷəryatə*) (Azer. zəncir ‘chain’) small bunch of grapes

*tluvvə* n.pl. grapes hung in the basement to preserve them

*taleta* n.f. suspended shelf from which *tluvvə* are hung

*jayan* n.f. type of grass used to hang grapes and form *tluvvə*

*pulluš* n.m., *pullu* n.f. (Armenia) (pl. *pulluyşə*) pulp; grape must

*parpašə* n.pl. discarded skins of grape pulp (*pulluš*)

*savzə* n.pl. grapes blanched in boiling water | to the water is added the substance known as *kalya-+dašə*, lit. 'cooker of stones' (Azer. daş)

*+tizab* n.f. (Pers. tez-āb) grapes blanched in boiling water (= *savzə*)

*varazan* n.f. (pl. *varazanə*) (Pers. varz 'a field with a raised border') slope of earth at the end of a field for drying grapes

*balkən* QI (vn. *balkanta*) to become ripe (grapes) | <sup>+</sup>*anvə vena* *bulkənnə* The grapes have become ripe

*balķa* n.m. ripeness | <sup>+</sup>*anvə balķa npilələ biyyé* The grapes are beginning to get ripe

*čaraz* n.m. (pl. *čarazə*) grape press

*kalya-+dašə* n.f. chemical used in production of grapes

### 15.2.31 Fruits and Vegetables

*yeməš* n.f. (Azer. yemiş) fruit

<sup>+</sup>*tunta* n.f. fruit

<sup>+</sup>*armunta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*armunyatə*) pomegranate

<sup>+</sup>*ṭamaṭa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ṭamatə*) tomato

<sup>+</sup>*ȝənnanarta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ȝənnanarə*) (Azer. gilənar) sour cherry

<sup>+</sup>*jilasa*, <sup>+</sup>*jilasta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*jilasə*) (Azer. gilas, Pers. gīlās) sweet cherry

*balbalukə* n.pl. dark cherries

<sup>+</sup>*baluṭa* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*baluṭə*) acorn

<sup>+</sup>*bəṭma* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bəṭmə*) fruit of terebinth

*sənjiyya*, *sənjiita* n.f. (pl. *sənjiyyə*) fruit of the silver willow, jujube | *sənjiyyətə* xurmə small jujube fruits

*xabuyşa* n.m. (pl. *xabuyşə*) apple

<sup>+</sup>*camutra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*camutrə*) pear

*sparəfla* n.m. (pl. *sparəfə*) quince

*məšməššə* n.f. (pl. *məšməšə*) apricot

*jarjarə* n.pl. (sing. *jarjarta*) large apricots (Canda)

<sup>+</sup>*alucta*, <sup>+</sup>*halucta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*aluyjə*, <sup>+</sup>*haluyjə*) (Pers. ālū, Kurd. hilū, alū) plum, damson (Sal, Gaw. ḡalūḡca)

<sup>+</sup>*karyluc*, <sup>+</sup>*karylucta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karyluyjə*) (Azer. qara + Pers. ālū) black sour plum

<sup>+</sup>*karylucta* n.f. small black plum

<sup>+</sup>*saryluc*, <sup>+</sup>*sarylucta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*saryluyjə*) (Azer. sarı + Pers. ālū) yellow plum

*čančuyrə* n.pl. small wild plums (Canda)

*tamburta* n.f. (pl. *tambuyrə*) large plum; tree of large plums (Canda)

*xoxa*, *xoxita* n.f. (pl. *xoxə*) peach (yellow)

- huli* n.f. (pl. *huliyə*) peach (dark)
- tuyta* n.f. (pl. *tuytə*) mulberry (Sal, Gaw. *tuğta*)
- smukə* n.pl. barberries, sumac
- bašila* n.f. (pl. *bašila*) large musk melon (so-called because it is ripened by  
burying it in warm earth)
- şallak* n.f (pl. *şallakə*) large melon, muskmelon
- cəndurta* n.f. (pl. *cənduyrə*) green small musk melon
- +*şamama* n.f. (pl. +*şamamə*) (Arab. šammām) small wild melon
- +*karrəcca* n.f. (pl. +*karrəccə*) small melon
- şəptiyya*, *şəptita* (Canda) n.f. (pl. *şəptiyyə*) (Kurd. şiftî m.) watermelon
- xona* n.m. (pl. *xonə*) long watermelon
- səlkə* n.m. (pl. *səlkə*) beetroot
- +*busla* n.m. (pl. +*busla*) onion
- tuyma* n.m. (pl. *tuymə*) garlic (Sal, Gaw. *tuğma*)
- zanjapəl* n.m. (Azer. zəncəfil) ginger
- +*cavar*, +*cabar* n.m., +*cavarta*, +*cabarta* n.f. (pl. +*cavarə*, +*cabarə*) (Azer. kəvər,  
kavar) leek (Sal, Gaw. +*cabarta*)
- xasta* n.f. (pl. *xassə*) (Pers. xas < Arab.) lettuce (Sal, Gaw. +*cahə*)
- caravuz* n.f. (Azer. kərəviz, Pers. karafs) celery (Canda, Gaw. *caraz*)
- +*jizara* n.m. (pl. +*jizərə*) carrot
- kərtəpa* n.pl. (sing. *kərtəpta*) (Azer. kartof, Russ. картофель, < Ger. Kartoffel)  
potatoes
- xabuyşət* +*arra* n.m. (pl. *xabuyşət* +*arra*) Jerusalem artichoke
- calama* n.f. (pl. *calamə*) (Azer. kələm, Pers. kalam, Kurd. kelem) cabbage
- lappə* n.pl. (sing.m. *lappa*, *lappita*) split peas
- +*maşə* n.pl. (sing.f. +*maşita*) beans | +*maşə* *balıkə* multicoloured peas
- bakla* n.pl. (sing.m. *bakla*) green beans
- +*xərtmanə* n.pl. (sing.f. +*xərtmanta*) chickpeas
- +*badəmjən*/+*badəmjanta* *smukta*, +*badənjan* (Canda) n.f. tomato
- +*badəmjən*/+*badəmjanta* *cumta*, +*badərjan* (Canda; cf. Georgian badrijani)  
n.f. aubergine
- +*karra* n.m. (pl. +*karrə*) marrow, pumpkin
- xardal* n.f. (Azer. xardal, Pers. xardal) mustard
- +*xyarə* n.pl. (sing.f. +*xyarta*) (Arab. xiyr) cucumbers
- +*spanağ* n.f. (Azer. ispanaq) spinach
- dəxna* n.m. millet
- macca* n.m. (pl. *maccə*) (Azer. məkə) maize
- ķənnora* n.f. type of wild vegetable
- hamzə* n.pl. (sing.m. *hamza*) vegetable with white root, growing in a  
bush

*şəmxa* n.m. wild garlic

*yarkə* n.pl. (sing.m. *yarkə*) green vegetables. The singular *yarkə* is used specifically in the sense of wild garlic (= *şəmxa*) in some villages

*+pulla* n.f. (pl. *+pullə*) radish

*şəlğəmma*, *şərjəmma* n.pl. (sing.f. *şəlğəmtə*, *şərjəmtə*) (Pers. *şalğam*) turnips

*jališə* n.pl. (sing. *jališə*) spring onions

*+lobya* n.f. (pl. *+lobyatə*, *+lobyə*) (Azer. *lobya*, *lubyā*) haricot bean

### 15.2.32 Nuts and Grains

*+bər-+zarra* n.m., *+bər-+zarta* n.f. (pl. *+bər-+zarrə*) seed

*dəndəkyatə* n.pl. small seeds

*joza* n.m. (pl. *jozə*) walnut

*+şada* n.f. (pl. *+şadə*) almond

*+şadita* n.f. (pl. *+şadiyyatə*) almond, small almond

*pəsta* n.pl. (sing.f. *pəstita*) pistachios | *xa dana pəsta* a single pistachio

*pəndəkkə* n.m. (pl. *pəndəkkə*) hazelnut

*pəndəkta* n.f. small hazelnut

*kərkəçčə* pl. sunflower seeds

*+fullə* n.f. (pl. *+fullatə*) (Azer. *güllə* ‘bullet’ < Pers.) stone of fruit

*kanita* n.f. (pl. *kanyatə*) stone of fruit

*+kočə* n.m. (pl. *+kočə*) stone of fruit (Dizatacya S)

*+tləxə* n.pl. (sing.f. *+tluxta*) lentils

*nəsra* n.m. fine groats (*jərsə*) (both *nəsra* and *jərsə* are *pərdə*)

*jərsə* n.pl. cracked wheat

*jlulə* n.pl. grains with their husks removed before cooking

*pərda* n.m. grains boiled in water before their husks are removed

*+xəttitə* n.f. grain of wheat

*+sarita* n.f. grain of barley

*+rəzzitə* n.f. grain of rice

*čat* n.m. unsieved grain

*jarčac, jarčaj* n.f. (Azer. *gənəgərçək*, Pers. *karčak*) castor oil seed (*+bazra*

castor oil)

*+mayana* n.m. fennel seed

*xaruztət* *+şadə* n.f. string of walnuts threaded together

*kalpa* n.m. (pl. *kalpə*) shell (of nut); pod

*+apsa* n.m. (pl. *+apsə*) dry bud on the tree known as *'ilanət* *+apsa*; gall, gall-nut

15.2.33 *Animals*

- suysa* ~ *suysə* n.m. (pl. *suysavatə*) **horse** (Sal., Gaw. *suğsa*)  
*'ela* n.f. (pl. *'elə*) **deer (species); female deer**  
*'arbət vala* n.f. **deer; wild sheep** (Sal., Gaw. *'arbət vala*)  
*neriyya* n.m. (pl. *neriyyə*) (Kurd. *nêr* ‘male’) **male deer**  
*+jeyran* n.f. (pl. *+jeyranə*) (Azer. *ceyran*) **gazelle, roe deer**  
*+čakkal* n.m. (pl. *+čakkalə*) (Azer. *çaqqal*, Pers. *šaḡd*) **jackal**  
*xuvva* n.m. (pl. *xuvvavə*) **snake** | *xuvva sammana* poisonous snake  
*xuvvavita* n.f. **snake** (Sal., Gaw. *xuvvita*)  
*+kaṭa* n.m. (pl. *+kaṭə*) **tomcat**  
*+kaṭu* n.f. (pl. *+kaṭunyatə*) **cat; female cat**  
*+nəmrə* n.m., *+nəmrīta* n.f. (pl. *+nəmrə*) **tiger**  
*diva* n.m. (pl. *divə*) **wolf**  
*divita* n.f. **she-wolf** (Sal. and Gaw. *duxta*)  
*+tala* n.m. (pl. *+talə*) **fox**  
*+talita* n.f. **female fox**  
*ctulta* n.f. (pl. *ctulyatə*) (cf. *cətva* ‘prickle’) **hedgehog** (*cadduda* Canda)  
*+jaruf* n.f. (pl. *+jaruŷə*) **weasel**  
*+haṭṭar* n.f. (pl. *+haṭṭarə*) (Pers./Azer. *kaftar*) **hyena**  
*+tazi* n.m./f. (pl. *+taziyyə*) (Azer. *tazı*) **greyhound**  
*'akubra* n.m. (pl. *'akubra*) **mouse** (Sal., Gaw. *'ikubra*)  
*'abuḳra* → *'akubra*  
*'akubrat miyya* n.m. **water-rat**  
*+mazuzta* n.f. (pl. *+mazuzyatə*) **lizard**  
*tašši* n.f. (pl. *taššiyə*) **porcupine**  
*xzuyra* n.m., *xzurta* n.f. (pl. *xzuyrə*) **pig** (Sal., Gaw. *xzuğra*)  
*+kaban* n.m. (pl. *+kabana*) (Azer. *qaban*) **wild boar**  
*dəbba* n.f. (pl. *dəbbatə*) **bear (general)**  
*dəbbita* n.f. **female bear**  
*jumla* n.m. (pl. *jumlə*) **camel**  
*cərvəš* n.f. (pl. *cərvıšə*) (Kurd. *kêrûşk*) **rabbit, hare**  
*+pursux* n.m. (Azer. *porsuq*) **badger**  
*koja, kuya* n.m. **marten**

## Sheep and Goats

- 'erba* n.m. (pl. *'erba*) **sheep** (Sal., Gaw. *'arba*, pl. *'arbə*)  
*pəška* n.m. (pl. *pəškə*) **herd, flock, small cattle (sheep and goats)**  
*suri* n.f. (pl. *suriyyə*) (Azer. *sürü* ‘flock’) **flock** | *suriyyət* *'erba* flocks of sheep  
*+pira* n.m. (pl. *+pirə*) **lamb**  
*kučča* n.m. (pl. *kuččə*) (Azer. *qoç*) **male sheep, ram**

*barrana* n.m. (pl. *barranə*) (Kurd. beran) **male sheep, ram**

+*vana* n.f. (pl. +*vana*) **ewe**

*tumba* | 'erba *tumba* **sheep without a tail**

'azzə n.pl. **goats**

*kuçxa* n.m. (Azer. qoç) **male goat**

*jeçita* n.f. (Azer. keçi) **female goat**

'azzita n.f. **female goat**

*jaðya* n.m./f. **young goat (male and female)**

### Oxen and Cows

+*bukra* n.m. (pl. +*bukra*) **herd of cattle**

*tora* n.m. (pl. *tora*) **ox**

*tavərta* n.f. (pl. *tavəryatə*) **cow**

*šarxa* n.m. (pl. *šarxə*) **calf up to 2 years old** (Sal, Gaw. *šərxa*)

*šarəxta* n.f. (pl. *šarəxyatə*) **heifer up to 2 years old** (Sal, Gaw. *širəxta*)

*muja* n.m. (pl. *muja*) **calf from 2 to 4/5 years old**

### Asses

*xmara* n.m. (pl. *xmarə*) **ass**

*xmarta* n.f. **female ass**

*curra* n.m. (pl. *curra*) (Pers. kurra) **young ass (up to 2 years old)**

+*jaša* n.m. (pl. +*jašə*) (Arab. jahš) **young ass (3–4 years old)**

### Horses

*suysa* ~ *suysə* n.m. (pl. *suysavatə*) **horse**

*susta* n.f. **mare**

+*zaya* n.m. (pl. +*zayə*) **young horse (up to 2 years old)**

*bərya* (m.), *bəryita* (f.) **young horse (up to 2 years old, after it has been**

**weaned up to the time you can ride it)**

+*bukrət suysavatə* n.m. **stud of horses**

+*katər* n.m. (fs. +*katərtə*, pl. +*katırə*) (Azer. qatır) **mule**

### Buffaloes

*jammışə* n.pl. **buffaloes**

*calla* n.m. (pl. *callə*) (Azer. kəl) **male buffalo**

*jeməšta* n.f. (pl. *jeməşyatə*) **female buffalo**

*jadaya* n.m. **young buffalo (up to 2 years old)**

*calija* n.m. **young buffalo (from 2 years old until adult)**

*yavarta* n.f. **young female buffalo (up to 2 years)**

+*bukrət* +*jammuş* n.m. (Azer. camış) **herd of buffaloes**

## Dogs

- calba* n.m. (pl. *calba*) **dog** (Sal, Gaw. *cəlba*)  
*caləbta* n.f. **female dog** (Sal, Gaw. *cəlibta*)  
*çurçila* n.m. (pl. *çurçila*) (Kurd. *ḳurṭ* ‘short’) **puppy dog**

## Lions

- 'arya* n.m. **lion**  
*'aryita* n.f. **lioness**  
*jurya* n.m. (pl. *jurya*) **lion cub**

## 15.2.34 Birds

- +terə* n.m. (pl. *+terə*) **bird**  
*paraxta* n.f. (pl. *paraxyata*) **flying creature**  
*+repa* n.m. (pl. *+repə*) *+repət +terə* **flock of birds**  
*+rayəp/+rāp* I (vn. *+ryapta*) **to flock** | *+terə +raplun* The birds flocked  
*+zaya* n.m. (pl. *+zayə*) **young bird**  
*+nəšra* n.m. (pl. *+našra*) **eagle**  
*+nəssa* n.m. (pl. *+nəssə*) **sparrow-hawk**  
*+terlan* n.f. (pl. *+terlanə*) (Azer. tərlan) **hawk (used for hunting)**  
*+bazza-kesə* n.f. (pl. *+bazza-kesə*) **woodpecker**  
*+čučana* n.f. (pl. *+čučana*) (cf. čočeta to twitter) **magpie**  
*kukku* n.f. (pl. *kukkuyə*) **cuckoo**  
*+karuvva* n.m. (pl. *+karuvvə*) **cock, rooster**  
*cteta* n.f. (pl. *ctayata*) **chicken, hen** (Sal., Gaw. *ctayya*)  
*hənduška* n.f. (pl. *hənduškə*) (Azer. hinduşka) **turkey**  
*+tavus-kuši* n.m. (pl. *+tavus-kušiyə*) (Azer. tovuz quşu) **peacock**  
*+terət malca Šlimun* n.m. **King Solomon's bird**  
*+urva* n.m. (pl. *urvə*) **crow**  
*bavəcca, babəcca* n.m. (pl. *bavəccə, babəccə*) **male sparrow**  
*+bazza-jozə* n.f. (*+bazza-fozə*) **type of bird that eats nuts**  
*bulbul* n.f. (pl. *bulbuylə*) (Azer. bülbül, Pers. bolbol) **nightingale**  
*buyma* n.f. (pl. *buymə*) **owl**  
*cačrakuš* n.f. (pl. *cačrakušə*) **small coloured bird**  
*čačkurka* n.m. (pl. *čačkurkə*) **a small bird**  
*cəccərtə* n.f. **small type of sparrow**  
*corcor* n.m. **hawk**  
*janva-nuynə* n.f. (pl. *janva-nuynə*) **kingfisher**  
*jaxucət miyya* n.m. **type of water-bird (literally: laugher of the water)**  
*jurjuyma* n.f. (pl. *jurjuymə*) **turtledove; wood pigeon** (Sal, Gaw. *jurjuğma*)  
*karǵa* (N), *+karǵa* (S) n.f. (pl. *karǵə*) (Azer. qarǵa) **crow** (Sal. and Gaw. čərǵa)

- +kazalağ* n.f. (pl. *+kazalağə*) (Pers. گازالاگ) lark  
*+kelankuş* n.m. (*+kelankuşə*) bee-eater bird  
*kəkvana* n.f. (pl. *kəkvana*) partridge  
*kumri* n.f. (pl. *kumriyyə*) (Pers. qumrī) large dove  
*kupşina* n.f. (pl. *kupşinə*) quail  
*laflaj* n.f. (pl. *laflajə*), *+haji-laflaj* n.m. (pl. *+haja-laflajə*) (Azer. leyłek, Pers. laklak) stork  
*laqla-kəssə* n.f. (pl. *laqla-kəssə*, but *laqla-kəssiyə* if in separate groups) wild goose; crane | *labəl +xabra +mamṭi ka-xəzmanan!* Take news to our relatives (said to the wild geese when flying overhead)  
*+sakkav* n.f. (pl. *+sakkavə*) (Pers. saqqā) pelican  
*mandi-+fəztu* n.f. bird that throws its behind upwards  
*milaloc* n.f. blue-bellied roller  
*'ordac* n.f. (pl. *'ordajə*) (Azeri ördək) duck  
*+sona*, *+sonordac* n.m. (pl. *+sonordajə*) (Azer. sona + ördək) drake  
*+vaza* n.f. (pl. *+vazə*) (small) duck  
*+karabattux* n.f. (pl. *+karabattuyxə*) (Azer. qara 'black' + Pers. batak < Arab. 'duckling') small black duck  
*+kaza* n.f. (*+kazə*) (Azer. qaz, Pers. گاز) goose  
*+kazalaxta* n.f. bird with large horn-like growth on head  
*puçpu* n.f. (pl. *puçpuñyata*, *puçpuuya*) (Azer. hop-hop, Armenian hopop) hoopoe  
*səpra* n.m. (pl. *səprə*) sparrow, species of sparrow (Sal. and Gaw. *sipərra*, +Mawana *süpra*)  
*səppərtə* n.f. (pl. *səprə*) female sparrow (Sal. and Gaw. *sipərtə*, +Mawana *süppürta*)  
*smukta* n.f. (pl. *smukyatə*) flamingo  
*snunita* n.f. (pl. *snuniyyatə*) swallow (Gaw. *susuniyya*)  
*yonə* n.f. (pl. *yonatə*) dove  
*šupnina* n.m. (pl. *šupninə*) turtledove (m.)  
*šupnəntə* n.f. (pl. *šupnənyatə*) turtledove (f.)  
*şxurta*, *şuxxurta* n.f. (pl. *şxuryatə*) blackbird  
*xadxiza ~ xaxiza ~ xaziza* n.f. (pl. *xadxiza*, *xaxizə*, *xazizə*) canary  
*+yahuya* n.f. (pl. *+yahuyə*) type of small bird  
*yoşa* n.f. (pl. *yoşə*) bustard  
*kupta* n.f. (pl. *kupyatə*) large owl, eagle owl  
*bujma* n.f. (pl. *bujma*) type of owl

### 15.2.35 Insects

*bajujə* n.pl. insects

*şəcvana* n.m. (pl. *şəcvanə*) ant

- ‘akərvə* n.f. (pl. *‘akərvə*) **scorpion** (Sal., Gaw. *‘ikərvə*)  
*+zakra-jardə* n.f. (pl. *+zakra-jardə*) (lit. ‘weaver of webs’) **spider**  
*+azla-cuyşə* n.f. (pl. *+azla-cuyşə*) (lit. ‘weaver of webs’) **spider** (Sal., Gaw.  
*+azla-cugşə*)  
*jarda* n.m. (pl. *jarda*) **net; spider’s web**  
*jarda-kuti* n.f. (pl. *jarda-kutiyə*) **spider’s web, cobweb** (< *jarda* ‘net’ + *kuti*  
‘spider web’)  
*dədvə* n.m. (pl. *dədvə*) **fly**  
*dədvət jumla* n.m. **firefly**  
*dəbburta, dəbbur* n.f. **gadfly; hornet**  
*bakta* n.f. (pl. *bakyata*) **mosquito**  
*mağmaç* n.f. (pl. *mağmaçə*) (cf. Kurd. mixmixk) **small mosquito, gnat, midge**  
(Sal, Gaw. *məkməç*)  
*+səsra* n.m. (pl. *+səsra*) **cricket; grasshopper**  
*kəmsə, +kəmsə* n.m. (pl. *kəmsə, +kəmsə*) **locust, grasshopper; dragon-fly**  
*parxanita* n.f. (pl. *parxanyatə*) **butterfly**  
*pərpərra* n.f. (pl. *pərpərrə*) **butterfly**  
*pərpərru* n.f. **butterfly**  
*parxa-lelə* n.f. (pl. *parxa-lelə*) **bat; butterfly** | also called *parxa-lelət jəldə*  
*jejaķuşə* n.f. (pl. *jejaķuşə*) (Azer. gecəqusu) **bat**  
*kalma* n.f. (pl. *kalna*) **louse** | *kalmat* *ilanə* green flies; *kalmat taxta* weevil  
*navə* n.pl. **nits**  
*+pərčana* n.m. (pl. *+pərčanə*) **flea**  
*+zarkəttə* n.m. (pl. *+zarkəttə*) **wasp** | *+zarkəttət xmara* black wasp (lit. ‘wasp  
of the ass’); *+zarkəttət suysa* red wasp (lit. ‘wasp of the horse’) (Sal., Gaw.  
*+zərkəttə*)  
*dabaşa* n.m. (pl. *dabaşə*) **bee**  
*pasusa* n.m. (pl. *pasusə*) **beetle; cockroach**  
*mreta* n.f. **moth, moths**  
*‘urxət +xalu* n.f. (pl. *‘urxət +xalu*) **ladybird** (lit. ‘way of the uncle’—children  
were told that if they made it fly their uncle would come)  
*+mamtiyya-məšməşə* n.f. (pl. *+mamtiyya-məšməşə*) **coloured flower beetle**  
(lit. ‘ripener of apricots’—since it shows when apricots are ripe)  
*čaçurça* n.m. (pl. *čaçurçə*) **locust** | *čarçurça kina* praying mantis  
*janna* n.f. (pl. *jannə*) (Azer. gənə) **tick**  
*+təvvəlla, +tuvvulla* n.m. (pl. *+təvvəlla, +tuvvulla*), *+təvvəlta, +tuvvulta* n.f. (pl.  
*+təvvəlyata, +tuvvulyata*) **worm**  
*+tuvvultət +karra* n.f. **short flat tapeworm**  
*+tuvvəllət brisəm* n.m. **silkworm; caterpillar**  
*kurkana* n.m. (pl. *kurkana*) **long stomach-worm**

*'arpi-'aklə* n.f. (pl. *'arpi-'aklə*) (cf. Azer. *kərx-ayax* forty legs) **centipede**  
*'alpa-'aklə* n.f. (pl. *'alpa-'aklə*) **millipede**  
*+karta-'kuyčə* n.f. (lit. 'biter of vulvas') **earwig** | seen in particular on *varazanə*  
 (slope of earth at the end of a field for drying grapes) (Gaw. *+karta-kubiyyə*)  
*+zallu* (N), *zallu* (S) n.f. (pl. *+zallunyata*) (Azer. *zəli*, Pers. *zälü*) **leech** (Sal. and  
 Gaw. *+zallu*)

### 15.2.36 *Fish and Amphibious Creatures*

*nuyna* n.f. (pl. *nuynə*) **fish**  
*+cəxlanta* n.f. (pl. *+cəxlanyata*) n.f. **trout**  
*nuynət səmbuyłalə zarda* n.f. **catfish**  
*nakka* n.f. (Azer. *naqqabaliq*) **sheatfish, shark, beluga (great sturgeon); whale**  
*nuynət pəkkakə* n.pl. **small river fish**  
*saribalx* n.f. (Azer. *sarı* 'yellow' + *baliq* 'fish') **yellow fish**  
*pəkkə* n.f. (pl. *pəkkakə*) **frog**  
*nuynət calba* n.f. (pl. *nuynət calba*) **tadpole**  
*+kraya, +kra* n.m. **turtle; tortoise**  
*kəržala* n.f. (pl. *kəržalə*) (Kurd. *kevjal*, Azer. *xərçəng*) **crab**  
*xərzə* n.pl. **eggs of fish, frogspawn**

### 15.2.37 *Parts of Animals*

*tuþra* n.m. (pl. *tuþrə*) **tail**  
*+þuza* n.m. (pl. *+puzə*) (Pers. *pūze* 'snout'; Kurd. *poz* m. 'nose, snout') **snout (of animal), beak (of bird), sting (of bee or wasp)** | *+þuza čumbəlla*  
 hooked beak  
*+nakruza* n.m. (pl. *+nakruzə*) **beak**  
*+nəpruza* n.m. **beak**  
*'anya* n.m. (pl. *'anyə*) (Pers. *anj*) **jaw (of human and animal)**  
*+xərtum* n.f. (pl. *+xərtuymə*) (Arab. *xurṭūm?*) **gizzard**  
*psurta, pussurta* n.f. **stomach of cow; crop of bird**  
*cətva* n.m. **prickle, thorn, needle, sting** | *cətvət dabaşa* bee-sting, *cətvət*  
*+zarkəttə* wasp-sting  
*+tata* n.f. **crest of flesh or feathers** | *+tatət +karuvva* comb of a cock  
*bəzza* n.m. (pl. *bəzzazə*) **teat; breast**  
*luya* (Ardishay *lucta*, Gulpashan *lučta*, Abdallakande *luxta*, Sal. and Gaw.  
*luxta*) n.f. **udder** (Sal., Gaw. *luğta*)  
*'eləcta, 'elita* n.f. (pl. *'eləcyata*) (1) **fat of sheep's tail.** (2) **udder** (in some S  
 villages, e.g. *+Satluvvə*) | *'eləctət tavərta* udder of cow (*+Satluvvə*) (Sal., Gaw.  
*'elita*)

*čapulta* n.f. paw

*səmma* n.f. (pl. *səmma*, *səmmatə*) hoof

*šubba* n.f. (pl. *šubbə*) sheepskin, fleece

*+yāl* n.m. (pl. *+yalə*) (Azer. *yal*) mane (of horse)

*+sarət suysa* n.m. hair of horse, mane of a horse

*+məsta* n.f. animal hair

*kana* n.f. (pl. *kananə*) horn

*pullaca* n.pl. (sing.f. *pullacta*) scales of fish

*šulluxta* n.f. shed snake's skin

*purčuta* n.f. bone protruding at back of horses' foot

*+p̄čuyrə* pl. (sing. *+p̄čuyra*) ankle bones of sheep used in games (Sal. Gaw.

*+p̄čuğrə*)

*balkə* n.pl. spots (on skin, e.g. of a leopard)

*kalpat +kraya* n.m. shell of a tortoise

*+kuturta* n.f. (pl. *kuturyata*) hump (of camel)

### 15.2.38 Animal Droppings

*čuvvə* pl. animal droppings (general term)

*varvarta* n.f. watery excrement

*purta* n.f. (pl. *p̄uryata*) droppings of sheep

*+pałuxta* n.f., *+pałuxa* n.m. (pl. *+pałuxə* collective, *+pałuxyata* perceptible individual pieces) dried piece of natural solid excrement of animals used as fuel

*camrə* n.pl. (sing. *camra* m.) dried animal dung used as fuel for fire, compressed by stamping down in an area known as *sulta*

*pān* n.m. very fine dried droppings spread on floor as a surface for animals to sleep on

*dəkka* n.f. small dry piece of dung (larger than *pān*) used for fuel

*cərsəlla* n.pl. hard dung of animals (which are excreted hard)

*curta* n.f. pile of *+pałuxə* (cakes of dung)

*sulta* n.f. area in which dried animal dung known as *camrə* is compressed by stamping it down in order to prepare it for fuel

### 15.2.39 Accoutrements of Animals

*sarja* n.m. (pl. *sarjə*) saddle; saddle of horse for carrying goods; wooden frame of churn (+*meta*)

*+palan* n.m. (Azer. *palan*) pack-saddle for ass consisting of pannier bags of tough cloth; blanket on back of ass

*došeca* n.f. (pl. *došecə*) (Kurd. *doşeg*; Azer. *döşək*) small mattress under saddle on *+palan* (Gaw. *doşayča*)

*tasma* n.f. (pl. *tasmatə*) (Pers. tasme) strap for securing cloth; collar of animal

+*nala* n.m. (pl. +*nalə*) horseshoe

+*čulla* n.m. (pl. +*čullə*, +*čullalə*) (Azer. çul) horse-blanket

*zanjulta* n.f. (pl. *zanjulyatə*) (Azer. üzəngi) stirrup

*rica* n.m. (pl. *rica*) spur (Sal. +*bar-zuvva*)

+*jəllav* n.m. (Azer. cilov, Pers. jalaw) reins of horse; harness; rope for leading animal

*jozlaç* n.f. (Azer. gözlük) eye-patch of horse, blinkers

+*məxla* n.m. fodder for animals

#### 15.2.40 Metals

*prəzla* n.m. iron

+*pulad* n.m. (Azer. polad < Arab.) steel

*sima* n.m. silver

*dava* n.m. gold

*juvva* n.m. (Azer. civə, Pers. žīve) mercury, quicksilver

*mīs* n.m. (Azer. mis, Pers. mes) copper

*tanica* n.m. (Kurd. teneke) tin

*kurkuşun* n.m. (Azer. qurğuşun) lead (metal)

#### 15.2.41 Sounds of Animals

+*barbər* QI (vn. +*barbarta*) to roar (lion); to low (oxen)

*navəx* I (vn. *nvaxta*) to bark (dog)

*nañnañk* QI (vn. *nañnakta*) to grunt (pig)

*zoza* QI (vn. *zozeta*) to howl (wolf, jackal)

+*fayyə* I (vn. +*fyeta*, prog. +*bəffaya*) to bell (stag)

+*karkər* QI (vn. +*karkarta*) to caw (crow)

+*katkət* QI (vn. +*katkatta*) to cluck (hen)

*kapkəp* QI (vn. *kapkpta*) to cluck (hen)

*kokə* QI (vn. *koketa*) to croak (frog)

+*kaxkəx* QI (vn. +*kaxkaxta*) to honk (goose); to cackle (partridge, turkey)

+*moma* QI (vn. +*mometa*) to purr, to mew (cat)

+*marmər* QI (vn. +*marmarta*) to whine (cat)

+*narnər* QI (vn. +*narnarta*) to bellow (buffalo)

*þoþə* QI (vn. *þoþeta*) to bleat (sheep); to growl (rabbit)

+*sarsər* QI (vn. +*sarsarta*) to chirp (cricket); to roar (lion)

+*vasvəs* QI (vn. +*vasvasta*) to squeak (mouse)

+*vazvəz* QI (vn. +*vazvazta*) to buzz (bee)

+*zarzər* QI (vn. +*zarzarta*) to bray (donkey, ass); to utter a loud harsh cry

*harhəm* QI (vn. *harhamta*) **to neigh (horse)**  
*čočə* QI (vn. *čočeta*) **to twitter (bird)** (Sal., Gaw. *čavčəv*)  
*jojə* QI (vn. *jojeta*) **to coo (doves); to prattle, to babble (inarticulately)**  
*vajvəj* QI (vn. *vajvajta*) **to coo (turtledove)**  
*jarjəm* QI (vn. *jarjamta*) **to coo (turtledove *furyuyma*); to thunder;**  
*vakvək* QI (vn. *vakvakta*) **to quack (duck)**  
*mašrək* III (vn. *mašrakta*) **to hiss (snake)**  
*čakčək* Q (vn. *čakčakta*) **to chatter; to prattle; sound made by a stork**  
<sup>+</sup>*karə* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*kreta*) **to call (cock)**

#### 15.2.42 Bees

*dabašə* n.m. (pl. *dabašə*) **bee**  
<sup>šəlxət</sup> *dabašə* n.m. **swarm of bees**  
*šana* n.f. (pl. *šanatə*) (Azer. şan; Pers. şane) **honeycomb** (Gaw. *patacta*)  
*tappactət* *dabašə* n.f. **bees' nest**  
<sup>kuypət</sup> *dabašə* n.m., <sup>+</sup>*kərtəlat* *dabašə* n.f. **beehive**

#### 15.2.43 Dairy Products

<sup>+</sup>*xalva* n.m. **milk**  
<sup>+</sup>*xlota* n.f. **dairy products**  
*zama* n.m. **dairy product**  
*jira* n.m. **top of unboiled milk**  
*kurrušta* n.f. **top of boiled milk (*patət* <sup>+</sup>*xalva*) or yoghurt; cream; sour cream**  
<sup>+</sup>*carra* (N.), *carra* (S.) n.m. (Azer. kərə, Pers. kara) **butter** (Sal., Gaw. <sup>+</sup>*carra*)  
*juptə* n.f. (pl. *jupyatə*) **cheese**  
*masta* n.f. **yoghurt**  
*xmira* n.m. **yeast**  
<sup>+</sup>*xəmsa* n.m. **starter for yoghurt**  
*marrə* III (vn. *marreta*) **to set (tr. and intr.) (yoghurt, boiled milk) | masta**  
<sup>murritəla</sup> The yoghurt has set  
*marreta* n.f. **rennet; yoghurt culture**  
<sup>+</sup>*maya* n.m. **rennet; yoghurt culture**  
*yəmmət jubta* n.f. **cheese culture**  
<sup>+</sup>*kətpə* n.pl. **whey, liquid that drains from churned yoghurt**  
<sup>+</sup>*davvə* n.pl. (Kurd. dew) **buttermilk, liquid of churned yoghurt, which separates from the butter (<sup>+</sup>*carra*) | buşalət <sup>+</sup>*davvə* stew made of buttermilk**  
<sup>+</sup>*kattəj* n.m. (with pron. suffix *kattiği*, *kattgxux*, etc.) **white cheese that is left after draining the liquid (<sup>+</sup>*kətpə*) from buttermilk (<sup>+</sup>*davvə*) (Sal. *štukə*)**  
*cəsta* n.f. (pl. *cəsyatə*) **bag for draining churned yoghurt**

*jajəc, jaji* n.m. (Turk. cacik, Azer. caci) dairy product made by boiling *kattəj* with added water, salt, herbs (e.g. <sup>+</sup>*tolə* coriander, <sup>+</sup>*oryanə* basil), pepper and butter (<sup>+</sup>*carra*)

*məšxa* n.m. clarified butter (with froth (<sup>+</sup>*daveta*) removed after being melted)

*ʃəbbu, ʃabbuc, ʃubbuc* n.f. foam, froth (Sal., Gaw. *ʃubbuc*)

<sup>+</sup>*daveta* n.f. froth on melted butter

*šila* n.m. boiled milk and rice

*luvva, luvvə* n.m. (Kurd. liva) beestings, first milk after birth of calf

*kaləb* n.f. (pl. *kalibə*) (Azer. qəlib < Arab.) mould for cheese

*kaška* n.m. (pl. *kaškə*) (Kurd. keşk) dried curds cake

*meju* n.f. (pl. *mejunyatə*) tray for kneading *kaškə* (see illustration 21)

*mayaʃ/māj* I (vn. *myajta*) to knead in a *meju*

#### 15.2.44 Bread and Baking

*laxma* n.m. bread

*tanuyra* n.m. (pl. *tanuyrə*) clay oven for making bread

<sup>+</sup>*ānta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ānyatə*) hole at the bottom of an oven for the intake of air

*šiʃ* n.m. (pl. *šiʃə*) (Azer. şış) skewer; rod with hook for taking items out of an oven (see illustration 5)

*mazrak* n.f. (pl. *mazraka*) (Pers. *mazrāq* ‘javelin’ < Arab.) cushion on a stick used to place items in an oven and extract them

<sup>+</sup>*baʃuvva* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*baʃuvvə*) flake of baked bread on floor of oven

<sup>+</sup>*lavaʃə* n.pl. (sing. <sup>+</sup>*lavaʃta*) (Azer. *lavaş*) thin breads baked on hot plate

<sup>+</sup>*sāj* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sajə*) (Azer. *saç*) large hot plate for baking <sup>+</sup>*lavaʃə* | <sup>+</sup>*aʃklət* <sup>+</sup>*saj* trivet

*ʃərdəta, ʃərdeya* n.f. (pl. *ʃərdeyə*) (Pers. *gerde*) thick round bread

*čundə* n.pl. large flat breads

*čuyta* n.f. bread made from maize

<sup>+</sup>*paʃira* n.pl. (sing. <sup>+</sup>*paʃira*) large round flat bread baked on coals

<sup>+</sup>*jalla* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*jallə*) bread filled with kidney beans

*pačućta* n.f. small flat bread, pita

*ceca* n.m. (pl. *ceçə*) cake

*cadə* n.pl. cakes with sweet filling (*mərtuxa*)

*mərtuxa* n.m. filling of cakes (*cadə*) consisting of flour, butter and salt

*šacar* n.m. (Azer. *şəkər*) refined sugar

*kand* n.m. (Azer. *qənd*) loaf sugar

*cunda* n.m. (pl. *cundə*) ball of dough

<sup>+</sup>*lumba* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*lumbə*) lump | *škulxa* +*lumba mən da cunda* Take a lump from that ball (of dough)

<sup>+</sup>*dorana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*doranə*) **rolling pin**

<sup>+</sup>*kərnac* n.m. **rolling pin (Armenia)**

*taleta* n.f. (pl. *talayatə*) **basket hung up for bread (to stop mice getting to it)**

*kərzənka* n.f. (pl. *kərzənķə*) (Russ. карзинка) **wicker basket for bread and fruits**

#### 15.2.45 *Other Foods*

*xurac* n.f. (pl. *xurajə*) **food (Pers. xorāk)**

<sup>+</sup>*spira* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*spirə*) **omelette (Sal, Gaw. <sup>+</sup>*spera*)**

<sup>+</sup>*xala* n.m. **vinegar**

*zeta* n.m. (pl. *zeta*) **olive; olive oil, vegetable oil**

*zetətjuna*-<sup>+</sup>*baxan* **sunflower oil**

*məšxa* n.m. **oil**

*kalya* n.m. **preserved meat cooked in oil**

*čəzva* n.m. (pl. *čəzvə*) **rendered fat of tail used for cooking**

*yaxni* n.f. **stew of meat and vegetables**

<sup>+</sup>*surva*, <sup>+</sup>*sorva* n.f. (Azer. şorba) **stew | often contains partridges (*kupśinə*)**

includes potatoes (<sup>+</sup>*kərłopə*), split peas (*lappə*), chickpeas (<sup>+</sup>*xərtmənə*) and spices (*pərxə*)

*cəptə* n.f. (pl. *cəptiyə*) **meat-ball, ball of minced meat**

<sup>+</sup>*tuyata* n.pl. (sing. <sup>+</sup>*tuvita*) **roasted meat on skewers**

*harisa* n.f. (Pers. harīse < Arab.) **dish consisting of meat, boiled crushed wheat, butter and spices (more cooked than *haləm*)**

*haləm* n.f. (Pers. halim) **dish of huskless corn and meat (less cooked than *harisa*)**

*catleta* n.f. (pl. *catleta*) **meat cutlet**

*dolmə* n.pl. **stuffed vine-leaves or cabbage-leaves | dolmət ranjə** stuffed peppers

*xurruş* n.f. (Azer. xuruş < Pers.) **stew made of meat and string beans (*lubyə*)**

<sup>+</sup>*rəzza* n.m. **rice | <sup>+</sup>*rəzza smuķa* rice cooked with tomatoes (= <sup>+</sup>*rəzza* <sup>+</sup>*əstambulli*)**

<sup>+</sup>*halva* n.m. **sweet consisting of *məšxa*, *kamxa* and *nipuxta***

*riş-aklə* n.f. **stew containing bones**

*puxun* n.f. (pl. *puxuynə*) **wheat-meal; coarse flour (made of a mixture of seven grains according to what is available, e.g. wheat, rice, beans, chickpeas)**

*rəcta* n.f. **flat noodles (made of eggs and flour)**

<sup>+</sup>*əlləx* adj.invar. (Azer. iliq 'softly' [boiled]) **soft-boiled (egg) | <sup>+</sup>*bijya* <sup>+</sup>*əlləx* soft-boiled eggs (cf. <sup>+</sup>*bijya* <sup>+</sup>*xlisə* hard-boiled eggs)**

- +xl̥isa* adj.m. (fs. *+xl̥esta*) **tight; hard** (egg) | *+biyyə +xl̥isa* hard-boiled eggs  
*zarda* n.m. **yoke** | *zardət +bita* the yoke of an egg  
*+xvarət +bita* **white of an egg**  
*nipuxta* n.f. **cooked molasses**  
*+maxvərrana* n.m. **whitening agent (used in the preparation of *nipuxta*)**  
*šıra* n.m. (Pers. šīre) **grape juice**  
*šila* n.f. (Azer. şılə) **cooked rice or wheat with meat or oil** | *šilət +xalva, šıl-*  
     *+xalva* rice-pudding  
*+data* n.f. **chewing gum** | *vardət +data* flower that produces gum  
*+hasida* n.m. **sweet cake filling**  
*zəlpə* n.pl. **cooked quince**  
*+qaxə* n.pl. (Azer. qax) **dried fruit** (Gaw. zəlpə)  
*+xvisə* n.m. **bread fried in butter; hot bread cut up with butter added; cake made of flour and honey**  
*rijul* n.f. (pl. *rijulya*) (Azer. riçal) **jam** | *rijuylət +karra* pumpkin jam  
*+murabba* n.f. (Azer. mürəbbə, Pers. morabba < Arab.) **jam, preserve**  
*burani* n.f. **dish consisting of pumpkins (or potatoes or tomatoes or beans or beetroot) with garlic, curdled milk and butter**  
*buşala* n.f. **stew**  
*şarva* n.f. **soup**  
*+zād* n.f. **soup**  
*+turşiyə* n.pl. **pickles**  
*+čay* n.m. **tea**  
*kava* n.m. **coffee**  
*+xamra* n.m. **wine**  
*durd* n.f. (Pers. dord) **dregs (liquid, such as wine, food)**  
*xəlt* n.f. (Azer. xilt) **sediment, dregs, lees; dross (separate solid items, such as stones)** | *xəltət +xamra* lees of wine; *xəltət +xala* dregs of vinegar

#### 15.2.46 Meals

- +tamta* n.f. (pl. *+tamyata*) **breakfast**  
*+cavutra* n.f. (pl. *+cavutra, +cavutranə*) **lunch**  
*+şaruta* n.f. (pl. *+şaruyatə*) **light afternoon meal (5pm approx.)**  
*+xa-+ramšə* n.f. (pl. *+xa-+ramşanə*) **dinner, supper**

#### 15.2.47 Clothes

- čacma* n.f. (pl. *čacmə*) (Azer. çəkmə, Pes. čakme) **boot**  
*čaruyxə, čarixə* n.pl. (sing.f. *čaruxta, čarəxtə*) (Kurd. çarox, Azer. çarıq) **light leather sandals**  
*ķalošə* n.pl. (sing.f. *ķalošta*) (Azer. qalos) **snow boots**

- čunniyyə* n.pl. (sing. *čunnita*) **short rubber boots**
- +kapkapa* n.pl. (sing.f. *+kapkapa*) **shoes with wooden soles**
- jivi* n.f. (pl. *jiviyə*) **type of light shoe with laces**
- yamani* n.f. (pl. *yamaniyyə*) **leather flat shoes without laces or heel**
- +solə* pl. (sing. *+savolta*) **modern shoes**
- tasma* n.f. (pl. *tasmata*) (Pers. tasme) **strap (of shoes); belt**
- ʃdalə* n.pl. (sing.m. *ʃdala*) **laces, strands** | *ʃdalət +solə* **shoe laces**
- +kaytanə* pl. (sing. *+kaytan*) (Azer. qaytan) **cotton or silk lace**
- kəmpa* n.m. (Pers. qonnab) **hemp** | used for cloth and cordage, such as laces  
for boots, *ʃdalət kəmpa* hemp laces
- +jərvə* n.pl. (sing. *+jərvita*) **sock**
- +tumbana* n.f. (pl. *+tumbanə*) (Pers. tombān) **trousers** | *+tumbanət xuta* under  
trousers, *+tumbanət pata* outer trousers
- nunta* n.f. **fly of trousers**
- suspendə* n.pl. **braces**
- +sudra* n.f. (pl. *+sudratə*) **shirt**
- vasta* n.f. (pl. *vasyatə*) **blouse**
- butta* n.f. (pl. *buttatə*) **sleeve**
- banta* n.f. (pl. *banyatə*) **sleeve**
- ķdalət +sudra* n.m. **collar of a shirt**
- tarukta* n.f. (pl. *tarukyata*) **button**
- jiba* n.f. (pl. *jibatə*) (Azer. cib, Pers. jīb < Arab.) **pocket**
- yupka* n.f. (*yupkata*) (Russ. юбка, Azer. yubka) **skirt**
- +oyma* n.f. (pl. *+oymatə*) (Ottoman Turk. oyma ‘decorated work’) **long dress**
- judda* n.m. (pl. *juddə*) (Azer. gödəkcə?) **waistcoat**
- jəllətka* n.f. (pl. *jəllətkə*) (Russian жилетка) **waistcoat** | *jəllətət +sadranə*  
brassière
- šuba* n.f. **jacket with sleeves**
- məsrəkta* n.f. (pl. *məsrəkyata*) **comb**
- +rubbun* n.m. (pl. *rubbuynə*) (Pers. rūbān) **ribbon**
- +yaləxta* n.f. (pl. *+yaləxyata*) (Azer. yaylıq) **headscarf**
- ķəkkəşta* n.f. (pl. *ķəkkəşyatə*) (Azer. qiyqac) **head kerchief**
- +śāl* n.m. (pl. *+śala*) (Azer. şal, Pers. šāl) **shawl**
- cusiyya* n.m. (pl. *cusiyə*) **hat (for men)**
- cusita* n.f. (pl. *cusiyatə*) **hat (for men)**
- pušiyya* n.f. (pl. *pušiyyə*) (Pers. pūše ‘covering’) **turban (worn around head by  
women)**
- +pəl̥tun* n.f. (pl. *+pəl̥tuynə*) (Russ. пальто, Pers. pāltō) **overcoat**
- lavanda* n.m. (pl. *lavandə*) (Kurd. lewendî m.) **long sleeve**
- tæcta* n.f. (pl. *tæcyata*) (Pers. tikke) **belt (sewn with threads)**

*camar* n.f. (pl. *camarə*) (Pers. kamar, Azer. kəmər) **belt (worn by women)**

*lačita* n.f. (pl. *lačiyyatə*) **headscarf**

+*xdarta* n.f. **top of shirt front** | *dvičali* +*xdartu* I seized the front of his shirt

*burvana, bərvana* n.m. (pl. *burvanə, bərvanə*) (Pers. barvān) **apron**

*bəffə* n.m. (pl. *bəffə*) **tassel**

*kənnopôkə* n.f. (pl. *kənnopôkə*) (Russ. кнопка) **press-stud**

#### 15.2.48 *Jewelry*

*jardan-+bāğ* n.m. (pl. *jardan-+bağə*) (Azer. gərdən + bağ) **necklace**

*šišəltət կdala* n.f. (pl. *šišəlyatət կdala*) **necklace**

*xəmrə* n.pl. (sing.f. *xəmmərtə*) **beads**

+*kalbağ* n.f. (pl. +*kalbağə*) (Azer. qolbağı) **bracelet**

*šəbbərta* n.f. (pl. *šəbbəryatə*) **bracelet**

*'isakta* n.f. (pl. *'isakyatə*) **ring**

*xəzzəmtə* n.f. (pl. *xəzzəmyatə*) **nose-ring**

*kannəşta* n.f. (pl. *kannəşyatə*) **earring**

*halķa* n.m. (pl. *halķə*) (Pers. halqe < Arab.) **ring (metal), hook**

*halakta* n.f. (pl. *halakyatə*) **small ring (metal)**

*sarkalla* n.m. (pl. *sarkallə*) (Pers. sar qullat) (**silver**) **necklace (also put on head)**

*kazma* n.m. (pl. *kazmə*) **decoration for forehead**

*toķa* n.f. (pl. *toķə*) (Pers. tōq < Arab.) **solid necklace**

#### 15.2.49 *The Natural World*

+*ṭuyra* n.m. (pl. +*ṭuyranə*) **mountain**

*šišəltət +ṭuyranə* **chain of mountains**

+*rumta* n.f. (pl. +*rumyatə*) **hill**

*karkəptə* n.f. (pl. *karkəpyatə*) **summit** | *karkəptət +ṭuyra* **summit of a mountain**

+*sadra* n.m. **mountain face** | *bəssakələju-+sadrət +ṭuyra* He is climbing on the **mountain face**

+*mašťaxət +ṭuyra* **foot of a mountain**

*mašxuna* n.m. (pl. *mašxunə*), *mašxunta* n.f. (pl. *mašxunyatə*) **foothill, slope**  
(Gaw. +*ṭəllana*)

*kačra* n.m. (pl. *kačrə*) **ridge of a mountain**

+*xasət +ṭuyra* **plateau of mountain**

+*avura* n.m. (pl. +*avurə*) **mountain pass**

*jaduc* n.f. (pl. *jaduyjə*) (Azer. gədik) **mountain pass**

+*ravula* n.m. (pl. +*ravulə*) **valley**

*dara* n.m. (pl. *darə*) (Pers. darre) **valley; gully**

*škipa* n.m. (pl. *škipə*) **canyon**

- dəšta* n.f. (pl. *dəšyatə*) (Kurd. deşt, Pers. dašt) **plain, open ground, level ground, open fields**
- +*mašṭaxa* n.m. **flat area, plain**
- +*arrā duz* n.f. **flat land**
- ječay* n.f. (pl. *ječayə*) (Azer. keçid) **pass, crossing, ford, cross bar (across a river or across a ditch)**
- +*ašita* n.f. (pl. *ašiyatə*) **avalanche** (Sal., Gaw. +*ašiyya*)
- +*ayna* n.f. (pl. *aynatə*) **spring of water**
- nara* n.m. (pl. *naravatə*) **river**
- yama* n.f. (pl. *yamatə*) **sea**
- yamta* n.f. (pl. *yamyatə*) **lake**
- jol* n.f. (pl. *jolavatə*) (Azer. göl) **(natural) pool, pond**
- šakita, šakiyya* n.f. (pl. *šakiyyatə*) **stream, irrigation channel**
- +*šoršora* n.f. (+*šoršorə*) **waterfall**
- partalta* n.f. (pl. *partalyatə*) **whirlpool**
- kubi* n.m. (pl. *kubiyə*) **wetland; moorland**
- jəppa* n.m. (pl. *jəppə*) **cave**
- jəppita* n.f. (pl. *jəppiyatə*) **small cave**
- +*čalə* n.f. (pl. +*čalavatə*) (Azer. çala, Pers. čale) **hole, pit**
- +*čəkkurta* n.f. (pl. +*čəkkuryatə*) (Azer. çukur) **hole, hollow | smaller than +*čala***
- +*rodana* n.m. (pl. +*rodanə*) **earthquake**

#### 15.2.50 *The Night Sky*

- +*sara* n.m. **moon**
- cuxva* n.m. (pl. *cuxvə*) **star**
- šəmši-+*sara* n.f. **moonlight**
- ’urxətjinavə n.f. **the Milky Way (lit. the way of thieves)**
- dəbba* +*furla* n.f. **Ursa Major**
- dəbba surta* n.f. **Ursa Minor**
- cuxvət* +*sliva* n.m. **Crux, the Southern Cross**
- cuxvət* +*jarbiyya* n.m. **the North Star (Pole Star)**
- cuxvət mórişa* n.m. **the morning star | also known as Majnun**
- cuxvət* +*accarə*, *cuxvət* +*bağyanə* n.m. **farmers' star | also known as Leyla**
- cima* n.f. **the Pleiades**
- burja* n.m. (pl. *burjə*) (Pers. borj < Arab.) **zodiac**
- maseta* n.f. **Libra**
- ’əzza n.f. **Capricorn**
- ’akərva n.f. **Scorpio**
- jamma* n.pl., *jamməccə* n.pl. **Gemini**

*cuxva* *+majrəttana* n.m., *cuxvət* *+susyanə* n.m. comet

*cuxva* *+jaryana* n.m. meteor

### 15.2.51 *The Weather*

*+muṭra* n.f. (pl. *+muṭratə*) rain

*+muṭra* *+naxlanta* n.f. light rain

*+muṭra* *+śaršərranta* n.f. torrential rain

*sēl* n.f. (Pers. *sēl* < Arab.) flood, spate, heavy rain

*+muṭra* *+haravaš* n.f. spring rain

*+muṭra sivatta* (< *sivadta* < Azer. *sivad*) late rain

*tantasta* n.f. drizzle | *dula tantusə* it is drizzling

*+aryanuyta* n.f. rain and snow

*+xluyłət* *+saṭana* n.m. sun and rain alternating (lit. the wedding of the devil)

*+ṭlula* n.m. dew

*karta* n.f. cold

*karta* *+sansəppanta* n.f., *karta* *+sarupta* n.f. intense cold | *+sansupəla* It is very cold

*talja* n.m. snow

*šalašur* n.f. sleet (rain and snow)

*šrupta* n.f. sleet (rain and snow)

*parpašə* n.pl. light snow

*pərdət* *məscinə* n.pl. very small grains of snow (lit. grains of the poor)

*barda* n.m. hail

*+ṭlulət talja* n.m. slush

*jdila* n.m. ice

*+ṭlulət jdila* n.m. frozen slush

*+sursara* n.f. frost

*məž* n.f. (Kurd. *mij*) mist, fog, haze

*xəmma* n.m. heat

*bərkə* n.m. lightning

*+karkamyatə* n.pl. thunder | *šmayya* *+karķuməla* it is thundering

*poxə* n.m. wind

*tre poxə* n.pl. draught (lit. two winds) | *tre poxəna* there is a draught

*jardabulə* n.f. (cf. Pers. *gerdbād*) whirlwind

*+buran* n.f. (pl. *+buranə*) (Azer. *boran*) storm

### 15.2.53 *Basic Adjectives*

#### 15.2.53.1 Dimension

*+jura* adj.ms. (fs. *+jurta*, pl. *jurə*) big

*sura* adj.ms. (fs. *surṭa*, pl. *surə*) small

- +yarixa* adj.ms. (fs. *+yarəxta*, pl. *+yarixə*) **long**  
*cərya* adj.ms. (fs. *crita*, pl. *cəryə*) **short**  
*+rama* adj.ms. (fs. *+ramta*, pl. *+ramə*) **high**  
*cupa* adj.ms. (fs. *cupta*, pl. *cupə*) **low**  
*pətya* adj.ms. (fs. *ptita*, pl. *pətyə*) **wide**  
*‘iķa* adj.ms. (fs. *’əķta*, pl. *’iķa*) **narrow**  
*‘amku* adj.invar., *xanķu* adj.invar. **deep**  
*+lat̥ta* adj.ms. (fs., pl. *+lat̥tə*) (Kurd. lat ‘flat’) **shallow**

## 15.2.53.2 Age

- xata* adj.ms. **new**  
*‘atika* adj.ms. **old (thing)**  
*sava* adj.ms., *siva* adj.ms. **old (person)**  
*marət-śənnə* adj.invar. **elderly**  
*b-śənnə* adj.invar. **elderly**  
*kadimi* adj.invar. (Azer. qədimi < Arab.) **ancient**  
*jil* adj.ms./fs. (Kurd. çēl, Azer. cahil < Arab.) **young**

## 15.2.53.3 Value

- +spay* adj.invar. (Kurd. spehî ‘pretty, beautiful’) **good**  
*xərba* adj.invar. **bad**  
*basima* adj.ms. **pleasant**

## 15.2.53.4 Colour

- +xvara* adj.ms. (fs. *+xvarta*, pl. *+xvarə*) **white**  
*cuma* adj.ms. (fs. *cumta*, pl. *cumə*) **black**  
*smuķa* adj.ms. (fs. *smuķta*, pl. *smuķə*) **red**  
*kīna* adj.ms. (fs. *kōnta*, pl. *kīnə*) **green**  
*zarda* adj.m. (fs., pl. *zardə*) (Kurd. zerd, Pers. zard) **yellow**  
*mila* adj.ms. (fs. *məlta*, pl. *milə*) (Pers. mīnā ‘azure’) **blue, blue/green**  
*javarnaya* adj.ms. (fs. *javarneta*, pl. *javarnayə*), *joranaya* adj.ms. (fs. *joraneta*, pl. *joranayə*) (Kurd. gewr) **grey**  
*kahvayi* adj.invar. (Pers. qahva’ī) **brown**

## 15.2.53.5 Physical Property

- +trisa* adj.ms. (fs. *+trəsta*, pl. *+trisə*) **fat**  
*+xlima* adj.ms. (fs. *+xləmta*, pl. *+xlimə*) **thick (solid object)**  
*+kalən* adj.invar. (Azer. qalın), *+amuyra* adj.ms. (fs. *+amurta*, pl. *+amuyrə*)  
**thick, dense (hair, trees, plants) | cosa +kalən thick hair; meša +amurta  
thick forest**

- <sup>+</sup>*bajira* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*bajərta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*bajirə*) **thin (person)**  
*nakida* adj.ms. (fs. *nakətta*, pl. *nakidə*) **thin (object)**  
*dayka* adj.ms (fs. *dakta*, pl. *daykə*) **fine (ground substance, e.g. flour)**  
*xelana* adj.ms. (fs. *xelanta*, pl. *xelana*) **strong, powerful**  
<sup>+</sup>*rəpya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*rpita*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*rəpyə*) **weak, loose**  
<sup>+</sup>*yakuyra* adj.ms. (fs. *yakurta*, pl. *yakuyra*) **heavy**  
*kaluyla* adj.ms. (fs. *kalulta*, pl. *kaluylə*) **light**  
*racixa* adj.ms. (fs. *racəxta*, pl. *racixə*) **soft**  
*kuya* adj.ms. (fs. *ķvita*, pl. *ķuyə*) **hard, firm, rigid**  
<sup>+</sup>*xəlyə* ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*xlita*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*xəlyə*) **sweet**  
<sup>+</sup>*mayra* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*marta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*mayrə*) **bitter**  
<sup>+</sup>*maχču* adj.invar., <sup>+</sup>*χuvva* ms. (fs., pl. *χuvvə*) **smooth**  
*səcrana* adj.ms. (fs. *səcranta*, pl. *səcrana*) **rough**  
*tayla* adj.ms. (fs. *talta*, pl. *tayla*) **wet (damp)**  
*taza* adj.invar. (Azer. *təzə*) **fresh, clean, new**  
*tərya* adj.ms. (fs. *trita*, pl. *təryə*) **wet (soaked)**  
*baruyza* adj.ms. (fs. *baruzta*, pl. *baruyzə*), *briza* adj.ms. (fs. *brəzta*, pl. *brizə*)  
**dry**  
<sup>+</sup>*xamuya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*xamusta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*xamuysə*) **sour**  
<sup>+</sup>*šapıra* adj.ms. (fs. *šapərta*, pl. *šapırə*) **beautiful**  
<sup>+</sup>*savana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*savanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*savanə*) (Kurd. *saw*) **ugly, terrible**  
<sup>+</sup>*šəxtana* adj.ms. (fs. *šəxtanta*, pl. *šəxtanə*) **dirty**  
*tamməz* adj.invar. (Azer. *təmiz*) **clean**

#### 15.2.53.6 Corporeal Properties

- cpina* adj.ms. (fs. *cpənta*, pl. *cpinə*) **hungry**  
<sup>+</sup>*siyya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*sita*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*siyyə*) **thirsty**  
*şurşıyya* adj.ms. (fs. *şurşita*, pl. *şurşıyyə*) **tired**  
<sup>+</sup>*aklo* <sup>+</sup>*yakurtəla*, *pəsla b-yala*, *bəntəla* **She is pregnant**  
<sup>+</sup>*bañna* adj.invar. **pregnant (animal)**

#### 15.2.54 Weights and Measures

- put* n.? (pl. *putə*) **weight (= 8 kilos)**  
<sup>+</sup>*xoyncar* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*xoyncara*) **measure for vegetables (4 putə = 32 kilos)** | *halli*  
     *tre* <sup>+</sup>*xoyncara sabzə* Give me two xoyncar measures of vegetables  
<sup>+</sup>*ṭana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ṭanə*) **measure for wheat** | <sup>+</sup>*ṭla* <sup>+</sup>*ṭanə* <sup>+</sup>*xəttə* three ṭana  
     measures of wheat  
<sup>+</sup>*moca* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*mocə*) **measure for rice (10 putə = 80 kilos)** | *tre* <sup>+</sup>*mocə*  
     <sup>+</sup>*rəzza* two mocə measures of rice  
<sup>+</sup>*xalvar* n.m. (Azer. *xalvar*) **measure for wood (25 putə = 200 kilos)**

*punt* n.? weight (= 16 pounds)

*tica* n.m. (pl. *ticacə*) (Azer. *tikə*; Pers. *tīke*) small piece | *xa tica laxma* a morsel of bread

#### 15.2.55 Verbs Relating to Basic Activities

+*trayəš/+rāš* I (vn. +*ryašta*, +*rašta*) to wake up

*daməx* I (vn. *dmaxta*) to lie down to sleep

+*ṭalla* I (vn. +*ṭleta*) to sleep, to fall asleep

*kayəm/kām* I (vn. *kyamta*) to rise

*xayəp/xāp* I (vn. *xyapta*) to wash, to bathe, to take a shower

*saxə* I (vn. *sxeta*) to swim, to bathe

+*xalləl* QI (vn. +*xallalta*; pres. 3fs +*xalləlla* ~ +*xalla*, 3pl. +*xalləlli* ~ +*xalli* etc.)

to wash; to be washed; to wash (body surface, vessels); to wash face and hands

*masə* I (vn. *mseta*) to wash (linen)

*lavəš* I (vn. *lvašta*) to put on (clothes), to dress

*šaləx* II (vn. *šalaxta*) to strip, to undress

*zavən* I (vn. *zvanta*) to buy

*zabən* II (vn. *zabanta*) to sell

*mattə* III (vn. *matteta*) to put (on solid surface)

*dara* I (vn. *dreta*) to put (on non-solid surface), to pour

*šakəl* I (vn. *škalta*) to take

*labəl* II (vn. *labalta*) to take away

*taxər* I (vn. *txarta*) to remember

*manšə* III (vn. *manšeta*) to forget

+*ṭavvə* II (vn. +*ṭavveta*) to look for, to search

*mačəx* II (vn. *mačaxta*) to find

*hamzəm* QI (vn. *hamzamta*) to speak

*jarvəs* QI (vn. *jarvasta*) to grow, to grow up

*vilə, m-yəmmu vilə* He was born

#### 15.2.56 Verbs Relating to Movement

'azəl I (vn. *xašta*, prog. *bərrəxšələ*, *bəššələ*, pst. *xəšlə*, rsp. *xiša*, imp. *xuš*, *xušun*) to go

'atə I (vn. *teta*, prog. *bitayələ*, pst. *tilə*, rsp. *tiyya*, imp. *ta*, *temun*) to come

+*dayər/+dār* I (vn. +*dyarta*) to return

*calə* I (vn. *cleta*) to stop, to stand

'asək I (vn. *syakta*, *sakta*, pst. *səklə*) to ascend

+*salə* I (vn. +*sleta*) to descend

+*avər* I (vn. +*varta*) to enter

- <sup>+</sup>*maṭṭa* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*mṭeta*) **to arrive**  
<sup>+</sup>*palaṭ* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*plaṭta*) **to go out, to leave**  
<sup>+</sup>*raxaṭ* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*rxatṭa*) **to run, to rush**  
<sup>'</sup>*arək* I (vn. *rakta*, prog. *bərrakələ*, pst. *rəkla*) **to run, to run away**  
<sup>'</sup>*azəl b-'**aḳla* **to walk**  
<sup>+</sup>*avar* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*varta*) **to cross**  
*karbən* QI (vn. *karbanta*) **to approach**  
*parəx* I (vn. *praxta*) **to fly**  
<sup>š</sup>*avər* I (vn. *švarta*) **to jump**  
*jarəš* (N), <sup>+</sup>*jarəš* (S) I (vn. *frašta*, <sup>+</sup>*frašta*) **to pull**  
*xarzəp* QI (vn. *xarzapta*) **to push**

### 15.2.57 Verbs of Perception

- xazə, xazzə* I (vn. *xzeta*) **to see**  
<sup>ja</sup>*šək* II, <sup>ja</sup>*ššək* QI (vn. *jašakta, jaššakta*) + <sup>+</sup>*al* **to look at**  
<sup>+</sup>*šamma* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*šmeta*) **to hear**  
<sup>+</sup>*masyaṭ* III (vn. <sup>+</sup>*masyatṭa*) **to listen to**  
<sup>+</sup>*dakər* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*dkarta*) **to touch**  
<sup>+</sup>*tammə* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tmeta*) **to taste**  
<sup>+</sup>*parma* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*parmeta*) **to understand**  
*rexa šaḳal* I (vn. *škalta*) **to smell**  
*mamməx* III (vn. *mammaxta*) **to smell, to sniff**

### 15.2.58 Verbs Relating to Miscellaneous Semantic Fields

#### 15.2.58.1 Beating

- maxə* I (vn. *mxeta*) **to beat, to hit**  
<sup>+</sup>*ṭarəp* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*ṭrapta*) **to beat**  
*baləs* I (vn. *blasta*) **to bruise (tr. and intr.), to mash, to crumple, to wrinkle, to beat**  
<sup>+</sup>*zapzəp* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*zapzapta*) **to beat, to bash; to whip**  
<sup>+</sup>*naḳər* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*nḳarta*) **to beat, to batter, to butt, to bump**  
<sup>+</sup>*xaṭər* I (<sup>+</sup>*xṭarta*) **to beat (linen when washing) with a beater (**<sup>+</sup>*xaṭura***); to bray in mortar, to pound, to smite**  
<sup>+</sup>*xašəl* I (vn. *xšalta*) **to pound, to beat, to bray in a mortar, to thresh; to mould, to forge**  
<sup>+</sup>*čalbəx* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*čalbaxta*) **to beat with a stick**

#### 15.2.58.2 Knocking

- <sup>+</sup>*dakər* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*dkarta*) **to knock against, to bump**  
*kayət/kāt* I (vn. *kyatta*) **to touch, to come across, to knock**

<sup>+</sup>*taktaₖ* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*taktaₖta*) **to knock (at the door)**  
*šakšaₖ* QI (vn. *šakšaₖta*) **to clatter, to rattle, to knock**

## 15.2.58.3 Cutting

<sup>+</sup>*kattₙ* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*kₙeta*) **to cut, to cut off; to be cut off (intr.); to cut down (tree); to chop off**

*makkas* III (vn. *makkasta*) **to cut with scissors or shears**

*parəm* I (vn. *pramta*) **to cut off, to chop off; to hew; to behead; to kill, to slay; to sacrifice an animal**

<sup>+</sup>*makrəₖ* III (vn. <sup>+</sup>*makrₙta*) **to gnaw, to bite at; to cut with scissors; to shear, clip**

<sup>+</sup>*kaₙkₙat* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*kaₙkₙta*) **to chop; to cut up, to hew into pieces**

<sup>+</sup>*pasəl* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*pasalta*) **to cut (a dress as part of tailoring process); to cut out clothes, to shape; to engrave, to carve an image; to design**

*parzə* QI (vn. *parzeta*) **to chop, to chop up, to cut in to pieces, to cut out, to dress (an animal by eviscerating it), to smash**

*pašəx* II (vn. *pašaxta*) **to tear, to disjoint, to cut asunder, to pull in pieces**

<sup>+</sup>*čalɔp* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*člapta*) **to cleave, to chop, to cut off a branch; to split (tr. and intr.), to dissect, to burst (tr. and intr.)**

## 15.2.58.4 Scratching

<sup>+</sup>*zarəč* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*zračta*) **to scratch (with nails and break skin), to claw**

<sup>+</sup>*čanjər* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*čanjarta*) **to scratch with a paw or claw**

## 15.2.58.5 Biting

<sup>+</sup>*karəₖ* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*krₙta*) **to bite (not necessarily breaking the skin)**

<sup>+</sup>*nayəs*/<sup>+</sup>*nās* (vs. <sup>+</sup>*nyasta*) **to bite and break skin, to sting**

<sup>+</sup>*parpət* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*parpatta*) **to bite (all around)**

## 15.2.58.6 Tearing

<sup>+</sup>*čanbər* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*čanbarta*) **to tear (material), to rip, to break off, to tear to pieces | implies greater force than → <sup>+</sup>*parəₖ* to tear**

<sup>+</sup>*parəₖ* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*prₙta*) **to tear**

<sup>+</sup>*čančər* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*čančarta*) **to tear, to break off, to tear to pieces**

*jarəd* I (vn. *fratta*) **to scrape (with a knife, a lancet), to nibble (sunflower seeds), to tear off (leaves); to rub out, to efface, to erase**

*zanbəl*, *zambəl* QI (vn. *zanbalta*, *zambalta*) **to rip, to tear open, to tear into strips (clothes)**

*zaləp* I (vn. *zlapta*) **to rip, to tear (a piece from clothes)**

*zalzₖ* I (vn. *zlakta*) **to rip, to tear apart**

*parpəs* QI (vn. *parpasta*) to devastate, to destroy, to tear to pieces; to bite, to bite to death, to delete  
 +*parpət* QI (vn. +*parpatta*) to tear  
*pašəx* II (vn. *pašaxta*) to tear, to disjoint, to cut asunder, to pull in pieces

#### 15.2.58.7 Destroying

*taləx* I to destroy (tr.); to collapse  
*maxrəv* III (vn. *maxravta*) to destroy, to ruin, to spoil  
*parpəs* QI (vn. *parpasta*) to devastate, to destroy, to tear to pieces; to bite, to bite to death, to delete  
*panə* II (vn. *paneta*) to exterminate, to eradicate, to destroy, to exhaust  
*sažər* I (vn. *sžarta*) to rip; to unstitch, to unwind, to become unstitched (intr.); to untwine, to pull down, to pull up (roots), to take to pieces, to break up, to destroy  
 +*sažəm* I (vn. +*štamta*) to destroy, to be destroyed; to be ruined, to ruin; to fall in (e.g. well or a roof); to stop up or fill up (e.g. well)  
*talək* II (vn. *talačta*) to lose; to waste; to destroy

#### 15.2.58.8 Searching

+*tavvə* II (vn. +*tavveta*) to look for, to search, to rummage around; to wander, to stray  
*balbə* QI (vn. *balbeta*) to dig around, to pick around (a hen); to search around for sth.  
 +*saxsə* QI (vn. +*saxseta*) to investigate, to research; to examine; to interrogate, to question, to try to prove; to search out, to search for  
 +*baxər* II (+*baxurə*, +*baxarta*, +*buxərrə*) to discern; to foretell; to examine, to search, to test, to prove  
*xalda* QI (vn. *xaldetra*) to dig, to burrow, to undermine; to search  
*tavtəš* QI (vn. *tavtašta*) (Arab. *taftiš*) to investigate, to search, to inspect  
 +*xačxəč* QI (vn. +*xačxačta*) to search around (for something); to pick the teeth; to pick out with a knife

#### 15.2.58.9 Mixing

+*xavət* I (vn. +*xvattra*) to mix, to mingle; to stir together, to stir up, to agitate, to confuse, to become mixed up; to implicate, to become implicated | +*xvətla* +*allı* I am confused  
*barxəš* QI (vn. *barxašta*) to stir, to stir up; to mix  
*balbəl* QI (vn. *balbalta*) to mix up, to confuse, to confound, to make untidy; to become confused  
*xarbaš* QI (vn. *xarbašta*) to become mixed up; to mix up in confusion, to become in a mess

### 15.2.59 *Social Interaction*

*šlama* +*alloxun!* greetings!

*b-šena tiyyat.* You have come in peace (= welcome)

*b-šenət 'avilux!* With the peace that (I wish) to be for you (= thank you)

*cepux daxila?* How are you?

*ləbban* +*xlisəla katoxun.* We are pleased to see you

*šlama* +*ṭava!* hearty greetings!

*kedamtux* +*brəxta* good morning

+*ramšux* +*ṭava!* good evening!

+*ramšoxun b-šena*, +*ramša* +*brixə* +*alloxun* good night

*puš b-šena* goodbye (literally: Remain in peace)

*'alaha mənnux.* May God be with you.

*'ən basmalux* if you please, please

*'ən basmalux, drili xa* +*čay.* Please pour me some tea.

*'ən basmalux, +paščatla* 'a *kay.* Please pass me that.

*yavvətlə məlxə kay, 'ən basmalux* Please give me the salt.

+*xlapux vili.* Please (lit. I have become your substitute).

*'avənva* +*xlapux* 'a- +*šula vud kati.* Please do this for me.

A: *'ávət basıma!* Thank you. B: *'at 'ávət basıma!* Thank you.

*basıma* +*raba* (*basəmta* +*raba* said to woman). Thank you.

*'idux la* +*marra.* Thank you (literally: May your hand not be ill. Said when somebody gives you something).

+*maxlili, maxleta* Forgive me.

*nanilux.* Enjoy the food.

*'idi la* +*madərra!* Do not turn back my hand (said by host when persuading guest to eat food).

*'annə miyya frušlun, b-rišux.* Drink down this water, please (said to somebody who is reluctant to drink).

*xubboxun!* Cheers!

A: *'alaha mazyəd* +*suproxun.* May God give increase to your table (said after eating food). *'alaha darə* +*burəcta* +*'al-* +*suproxun.* May God give a blessing to your table.

B: *nanilux.* *'avə kətux dəmma* 'u- +*busra.* Enjoy it. Let it be blood and flesh for you (= may it make you strong). *nanilux.* +*sələ banə.* Enjoy it. May it go down and build (= may it make you strong).

+*aynuł* +*barana!* Congratulations!

*'avə* +*brixə cosux!* I like your haircut!

*ya hak 'alaha! ya mšixa!* Oh truth of God! Oh Messiah! (said when somebody sneezes).

+*'al-xeyr 'oya!* May it be for good (said when somebody coughs).

- 'oya +brəxta xadutoxun.* May you have happiness (said at a wedding).  
*'avə +xluyloxun +brixə.* Congratulations on your wedding.  
*'aklət brunux 'oya brəxta.* My the foot of your son be blessed (said on the birth of a son).  
*'alaha yavəllux basimuyta.* My God grant you curing (said to an ill person).  
*+sax +salamat 'avət.* May you be healthy.  
*'alaha yavvəllux ķuvvat!* May God give you strength (said to a man who is working hard).  
*rišoxun 'avə basima.* May your head be comforted (said when somebody dies).  
*'alaha manəxlə.* May God grant him rest (said when mentioning a deceased person).  
*'alaha yavvəllə manyaxta.* May God grant him rest (said especially when somebody is ill near death).  
*'alaha yavəl sabr ķa-pešanə.* May God grant patience to the survivors (said to the relatives of the deceased).  
*ləbba yavəx ķatu.* We express our sympathy with him (said regarding a person who has suffered the loss of a relative).  
*xayyət əmma šənnə.* May you live a hundred years (said on a birthday).  
*'alaha yavvəllux šənnə +yarixə.* May God grant you long years (said on a birthday).  
*'avilux beta bənna.* May you have a house-foundation.

### At Festivals

- 'idoxun +brixə.* Happy festival.  
*bət-yalda 'avə +brixə.* Happy Christmas.  
*šitoxun +brəxta.* Happy New Year.  
*šıta xatoxun +brəxta.* Happy New Year.  
*mənta mən-'alaha.* Thank God! (said, for example, when one arrives safely after a journey).

### 15.2.60 Names of Persons

#### 15.2.60.1 Men

Name	Short form
<i>+Ammanuvəl</i>	<i>+Ammo</i>
<i>+Sliva</i>	<i>+Slivo</i>
<i>'Odorıl</i>	<i>'Ado</i>
<i>'Odišu</i>	<i>'Odo</i>
<i>'Isa</i>	<i>'Isu</i>
<i>'Iša</i>	

Name	Short form
Šar'íl	Šaro
Ninus	Nino
	Dano
	Beno
'Edvard	'Edo
'Edvin	'Edo
Jvarjøs	Jivo
Jori'øl	—
+Sanxirus	+Sanxo
Sarjon	Saffo, Saffi
Yosøp	'Ošo
Fredun	Pedo
'Albert	+Abbo
Mattay	Matto
Mixayøl	Mixo
Sarjis	Čøkko
Šavul	Šavo
Havil	Havo
Natan	Natto
Yutam	'Uto
Šlimun	Šlimo
Havøl	Havo
Polus	Polo
'Alecsandrus	Šørka

### 15.2.60.2 Women

Name	Short form
+Šammiran	+Šammo
Nargis	Najfo
'Alis	'Alo
+Nazø	—
+Nanajan	Nano
+Maryam	+Mayyo
Šušan	Šušo
Cøtrina	Čøtto
+Carmøn, +Carmølla	+Cammo
+Margret	+Majfo
+Anna	+Anno

Name	Short form
+ <i>Carolín</i>	+ <i>Carro</i>
<i>Jennifer</i>	<i>Jeno</i>
	' <i>Ado</i>
+ <i>Valudya</i>	+ <i>Valo</i>

### 15.2.61 Child Language<sup>2</sup>

- þapþþa* daddy  
 +*mama* mummy  
*baba* grandfather  
*nana* grandma  
*hattu* maternal aunt  
 +*halu* maternal uncle  
 +'attu paternal aunt  
 +'amuna paternal uncle  
*buna* son, boy  
*bata* daughter, girl  
 +'tatta baby  
 čəččə (pl. čəččanə) (give me the) breast  
 +*nanna* n.f. (pl. +*nannə*) eye  
 čaχχa n.f. (pl. čaχχə) hand  
 þapþþa n.f. (pl. þapþþə) foot, shoe  
*tumma* n.m. mouth  
 +'wawwa milk or water  
*mamma* bread; food (The word is used in the sense of 'food' when the child is very young. At a later age the word is used only in the sense of bread)  
 þuþþa food  
 +'kakka sweet  
 žažža n.m. meat  
*tutta* n.f. clothes  
*tuťu* car  
 +'kučču n.m. dog  
 pəššə n.f. cat | pəššə pəššə Come here cat  
 čuču n.f. (čučuyə) bird  
 bəžžə animal (ox, cow, buffalo)  
*hošša* horse, ass  
*xuxxu* something frightening, monster | +'tama xuxxulə There is something frightening there

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<sup>2</sup> See Karoukian (1992).

*bubu* good, nice | *‘a-tutta bubula* These clothes are nice.

*bəššə-bəššə!* bath, bathtime!

*t-azax* +*‘a’a*. Let's go to the bathroom and do poo.

*t-azax pəzz*. Let's go and piss.

*šuššu!* Urinate!

*bačə* n.f. kiss | *halli xa bačə*. Give me a kiss.

*čap̪pə* *čap̪pə* clap

*hamham, hamham ‘odax*. Let's eat (said to baby).

*čəz* | *čəz t-avət*. (Be careful), it will hurt you. *pumdux čəz t-avə*. (Don't eat this) your mouth will hurt.

+*cəx*. Don't touch, its dirty.

*ta baki* (< *ta xbakí*). Come to my embrace.

*ta kučči*. Come on to my back.

*či vilə*. It has broken.

*či p̪t-avə*. It will break.

*loláy ‘odax, boláy*. Let's sleep.

*nánana vud!* Dance!

*þap̪pə* *þap̪pə* *‘azax*. Let's go for a walk.

*kəžžə!* *kəžžila!* Don't touch it!

*kəžžə kəžžə vud* bite!

+*tap vədlux?* Have you fallen?

*təkkə t-odənnux*. I shall spank you.

*‘uvva vila?* Is it hurt?

+*þa*. It has gone.

### 15.2.62 Bird Language (*lišanət səprə*) Used by Children

An inserted /b/ splits each vowel nucleus, e.g.

*xəbəšlabi* = *xəšli* I went

*ləbaxməba* = *laxma* bread

# Dictionary

*'abād* eternity (Pers. 'abad < Arab.) | *hal 'abād* forever

*'abāddu* n.m. Anti-christ (Abaddon)

*'abrisəm, brisəm* n.f. (Arab. 'ibrīsam, Azer. əbrişim, Pers. abrīšam) silk | *+tuvvallət  
brisəm* n.m. silkworm; caterpillar

*'abrišəm* → *brišəm*

*'abukra* → *'akubra*

*'abuna* n.m. (pl. *'abunə*) bishop

*'adiyya, 'adi, di* part. now | *har 'adiyya* right now; *mən-'adiyya +al-+barə, m-*  
*adi +al-+barə, +madəlbarə* from now onwards; *'et-'adiyya* current, present;  
*dí márat +dàrva-da +bàru!* Now also the master of this man was (chasing)  
after him! (A 7:6)

*'ad-lelə* adv. tonight

*'advə* n.pl. spices

*'agallan* part. (Pers. aqallan) at least

*'aha, 'a* (oblique *daha, da*) pron.ms./fs. this (near deixis demonstrative)  
(§ 2.2.1, § 2.2.5.) | *'aha mudila?* What is this? *'á-jiba, 'á-yba* this side

*'ahac* n.m. (Pers. ahak) lime (extracted from limestone) used for preserving  
food; cement

*'ahmaq* adj.invar. (Pers. ahmaq < Arab.) stupid, foolish

*'ağar* part. (Pers. agar) if

*'akərvə* n.f. (pl. *'akərvə*) scorpion; Scorpio

*'akəš* I (vn. *kyašta*, pres. *kayəš//kāš* Canda, pst. *kəšlə*) to cool down, to be cooled,  
to feel cold | *ləbbu kəšlə* His heart became cold; *miyya šaxinə bət-'akši* The hot  
water will cool; *+čayux kəšlə* You tea has got cold; *+hava kəšlə* The weather  
has cooled down

*'akla* n.f. (pl. *'akla, 'aklatə*) (1) leg; foot | *patət 'akla* top of the foot; *məsrəktət*  
*'akla* fan of bones at the top of the foot; *xut-'akla* n.m. bottom of the foot;  
*'əštət 'akla* heel of foot; *panjət 'akla* toes of the foot; *xabuyšət 'akla* ankle  
of the foot; *'aklu 'avə +brixə* May his foot be blessed (said on the birth of a  
child); *'aklu plaxəla* He has diarrhoea; *'ətvalə pláxtət 'akla!* He had diarrhoea  
(A 25:1); *maxə* I *'akla* to act in a cunning and/or conniving way against  
somebody; *maxə* I *+bar 'akla* to backbite, to undermine cunningly; *b-'akla* by  
foot, walking; *'aklu p̄çila* club-footed, splay-footed; *mār-xa 'akla* one-legged;  
*ka-+davva naša +bar-'akla drili* I caused that man to trip, to make a mistake,  
fail (I undermined him); *bəclayəla +al-'aklu* He is standing straight; *'akli*

*tvənnun* My legs have gone numb (said when you see something disturbing such as a wound); *našət ʼakla* servants; *ʼaklət kesa* wooden leg, crutch; *ʼaklət +sāj* tripod for supporting cooking pots. (2) trigger (of weapons). (3) lever | *ʼaklət ʼərxə*, *ʼaklət miyya* lever of watermill to stop water or redirect it in order to adjust speed of propeller: *ʼakla +máslıla!* Put down the lever (to stop the water turning the propeller). (4) vertical stick on which plough handle is fixed. (5) ring on threshing floor on which oxen that pull the threshing machine walk

*ʼakubra*, *ʼabuķra* n.m. (pl. *ʼakubrə*, *ʼabuķrə*) mouse | *ʼakubrət miyya* n.m. water-rat  
*ʼalaha* n.m. God | *ʼalaha munyəxxu* deceased, the late, *ʼalaha munyəxxət bəbi* my late father; *b-alaha*, *b-ala* inter. by God! *ʼa-+spayutət diyyux ʼalaha kabəlla* My God accept the goodness that you have done to me

*ʼalahaya* adj.ms. (fs. *ʼalaheta*, pl. *ʼalahayə*) pious, godly

*ʼalbál*, *ʼálbal* part. (Azer. əlbəhəl) immediately

*ʼalzə*, *ʼaliza* n.m. (pl. *ʼalizə*) mud brick (Canda)

*ʼalhadda* adv. (Azer. əlahiddə < Arab.) especially, specifically

*ʼallabət* alphabet | *ctavət ʼallabət* textbook

*ʼalpa* num. thousand

*ʼalpa-ʼaklə* n.f. (pl. *ʼalpa-ʼaklə*) millipede

*ʼamac*, *ʼamajuyta* n.f. (Azer. əmək) toil, work, care; merit | *marət ʼamac* distinguished

*ʼamal* n.m. (Azer. əməl < Arab.) deed; means, trick

*ʼamər* I (vn. *marta*) to say, to tell

*ʼamin* interj. amen!

*ʼamku* adj.invar. deep | *ʼamku ʼavəd* I to deepen; *buš ʼamku* deeper; *miyya +raba ʼamku-na* The water is very deep; *+tla matrə ʼamku* three metres deep

*ʼamkuyta* n.f. depth

*ʼamr*, *ʼomr* (Pers. omr < Arab.) n.m. age (of human)

*ʼamricaya* adj.ms. (fs. *ʼamriceta*, pl. *ʼamricayə*) American

*ʼamzuc* n.f. (pl. *ʼamzuycə*) (Azer. əmzik) baby's dummy, baby's bottle

*ʼan* (oblique *dan*) pron.pl. those (attributive default demonstrative) (§ 2.2.8.)

*ʼana* pron. I

*ʼani* (oblique *dani*) pron.pl. those (independent default demonstrative) (§ 2.2.4.) | *bəbi dani* my father and those of his family (§ 9.6.2.1.)

*ʼanya* n.m. (pl. *ʼanjə*) (Iranian Azer. äng; Pers. anj) jaw (of human and animal) | *ʼanjət +ullul* upper jaw; *ʼanjət ʼəltəx* lower jaw

*ʼanya* part. (< *ʼan-jahə* those times?) (Armenia) if | *ʼanya xošóxun t-àtya, peštun* If you are happy, stay (B 16:4); sometimes used with subordinating particle:

*ʼanya +byáyəna bí +xlita ʼodníl cəsmišəl mattúvəna jəvəl* If they want to make it with something sweet, they put raisins in it (B 15:10)

- 'anna* (oblique *danna*) pron.pl. **these, those (near and middle deixis demonstrative)** (§ 2.2.1., § 2.2.2., § 2.2.5., § 2.2.6.)
- 'annəc* n.? (Azer. ənlik) **rouge, blusher** | *maxə* I *'annəc* to apply rouge, blusher
- 'anni*, *'anné*, *'annihi* (oblique *danni*, *donné*, *dannihi*) pron.pl. **those (far deixis demonstrative)** (§ 2.2.3., § 2.2.7.)
- 'antar* n.m. (pl. *'antara*) (Pers. *antar*) **monkey (male), ape**
- 'apəskupa* n.m. (pl. *'apəskupə*) (Greek επίσκοπος) **bishop**
- 'apeta* n.f. **thick cloth for wrapping food (for picnic)**
- 'arabaya* n.m./adj.ms. (f. *'arabeta*, pl. *'arabayə*) **Arab**
- 'arak* n.m. *arak* | *jarəš* I *'arak* to distil arak; *carxanət* *'arak* arak distillery
- 'aramuc* adj.invar. (Azer. ərəmik) **barren, unfertile**
- 'arbasar* num. **fourteen**
- 'arə* I, *rayyə* I (vn. *reta*, pst. *rila*, rsp. *riyya*, prog. *bərraya*) **to set (liquid, esp. yoghurt)** | *masta rila* The yoghurt has set → *marreta* rennet
- 'arək* I (vn. *rakta*, prog. *bərrakələ*, pst. *rəklə*; Caucasus pres. *rayək*) **to run, to run away, to escape, to flee, to evade, to avoid** | *m-kam +'aynu riķələ* It has escaped his notice
- 'arəmnaya* n.m. (fs. *'arəmneta*, pl. *'arəmayə*) **Armenian**
- 'arjəj* QI (vn. *'arjajta*) (Azer. ağrı-acı 'pain?') **to ache (joints in the cold); to become numb (from cold), to make numb** | *'urjəjli mən-karta* I became numb with cold
- 'arkəl* QI (vn. *'arkalta*) **to be late; to be slow, to linger; to delay (intr.)**
- 'arkəllana* adj.ms., n.m. (pl. *'arkəllanə*, fs. *'arkəllanta*) **lingering**
- 'armanəs-+tan* n.f. **Armenia**
- 'arməltə* n.f. (pl. *'arməlyata*) **widow**
- 'armila* n.m. (pl. *'armilə*) **widower**
- 'arpi* num. **forty**
- 'arpi-'aklə* n.f. (pl. *'arpi-'aklə*) (cf. Azer. қərx-ayax forty legs) **centipede**
- 'aruķa* adj.ms. (fs. *'aruķta*, pl. *'aruķə*) **fugitive**
- 'arxa* n.m. (pl. *'arxə*) **guest** | *'arxa* *'avəd* I to show hospitality, to treat (with food); *jarşanət* *'arxa*, *kablanət* *'arxa* hospitable; *+karáttun* *'arxa!* You should invite them (A 43:22)
- 'arxuyta* n.f. (pl. *'arxuyata*) **visit, banquet, feast, invitation** | *'arxuyta* *'avəd* I to entertain, to treat (with food)
- 'arya* n.m. (pl. *'ryə*) **lion**
- 'aryita* n.f. (pl. *'aryiyyata*) **lioness**
- 'arz*, *'arza* n.f. (pl. *'arzə*) (Azer. ərz, Pers. *arz*) **request, application; complaint, petition; claim, suit** | *'avəd* I *'arz +'al-* to complain to, to plead, to request, to petition; *'avəd* I *'arz mən* *'idət* to prosecute, to appeal against or from
- 'arzači* n.m. (pl. *'arzačiyə*) (Azer. ərz, Pers. *arz*) **claimant**

*'arzan* adj.invar. (Pers. arzān, Kurd. erzan) **cheap** | *'arzan 'avəd* I to make cheap  
*'arzanuya* n.f. **cheapness**

*'arzən* QI (vn. *'arzanta*) **to become cheap**

*'asa* n.f. (pl. *'asə*) **caracass, corpse (of human)**

*'asar* n.m. **epilepsy** | *mar-'asar* epileptic

*'ascari* n.f. **juicy white grape**

*'asək* I → *yasək* I

*'asir* n.m. (pl. *'asira*) (Azer. əsir, Pers. asīr) **captive** | *'asir 'avəd* I to capture

*'asiruya* n.f. **captivity**

*'aslan* part. (Pers. aslan < Arab.) **fundamentally; in negative and interrogative clauses: at all, never** | *á 'aslán ka-mú 'ánnə bušləlax 'átən?*! Oh, why did you cook them at all? (A 36:8)

*'asli* adj.ms./fs. (pl. *'asliyyə*) (Pers. aslī < Arab.) **original, genuine**

*'ašcara* adj.invar. (Kurd. aşkere, Azer. aşkar) **evident, clear, comprehensible, known, loud, audible, openly proclaimed**

*'at, 'atən* pron. **you (sg.)**

*'ata* n.f. (pl. *'atə*) **flag**

*'atə* I (vn. *teta*, prog. *bitayələ*, pst. *tilə*, rsp. *tıyya*, imper. *ta, temun*) (1) **to come, to arrive; to come back, to return** | *xáčča tá +'al-jánux!* Come back to yourself slightly (i.e. recover a little) (A 3:53). (2) **to appear, to arise, to be reported** | *hákya!* *bitáyala +'al-xá-dana mən-*+*adáttat 'áxnan 'átlan ju-mátat Zumállan!* The story is about one of the customs that we have in the village of Zumallan (B 11:2); *+buğára bitáyala +'al-şámmət nipùxta!* The question arises regarding the (origin of the) name *nipuxta* ('molasses') (B 12:7). (3) **to be born** | *á brùna!* *tílə vılə!* This son was born (B 11:2)

*'atər* n.m. (pl. *'atırə*) (Azer. ətir, Pers. 'itr < Arab.) **perfume**

*'atiķa* adj.ms. (fs. *'atəkta*, pl. *'atikə*) **old, ancient, antique** | *'atikə matikə* n.pl. old things, worthless antiques

*'atkən* QI (vn. *'atkanta*) **to become antiquated (objects), to wear out** | *'utkən-nələ* It is old fashioned, it is worn-out

*'atnabəl, 'atmabəl* n.f. (pl. *'atnabelə, 'atmabelə*) (Eng. automobile) **car, automobile**

*'atuta'ít* adv. **letter by letter, in detail (literary)**

*'atuya* n.f. (pl. *'atvatə*) **letter (character)** | *'atuytət 'arabay* an arabic letter, numeral

*'atxa* (oblique *datxa*), *hatxa*, *xatxa* (Armenia) mod., adv. **so, this way, thus, such, such a** (§ 9.7.10.) | *ləla 'atxa* not so, on the contrary; *'atxa lè-'oya!* Such a thing should not be (A 37:18); *'atxa məndyánə malùpulə!* He teaches him such things (A 3:13); *ju-dátxa +dána* at such as time as this (A 38:19); *késə ci-mattíva +xlıma 'átxa!* They used to place a piece of wood, thick like this

- (B2 1:19); *har-átxa čamčumulə* He throws (him) down just like that (A 3:37); *xá-’atxa +rámta* this high (B 10:14)
- ’avaha, ’avahatə n.pl. parents; ancestors**
- ’avaz n.f. (Azer. əvəz, Pers. evaz < Arab.) recompense, payment | ’avaz ’avəd i, ’avaz yavvəl i to pay, to remunerate; to revenge; ’avazu instead of it**
- ’avə i, havə i (vn. *veta*, prog. *vayələ*, pst. *vilə*, rsp. *viyya*, imper. *vi, vimun*) (1) to be, to stay, to happen, to become. (2) to be formed, to be born. (3) to fit (*ka-*) | ’á +saválta *ka-cút óya* | ’ána ’áyanjorənna I shall marry whoever this shoe fits (A 51:8)**
- ’avəd i (vn. *vatta*) (1) to do; to make; to perform, to create | xá mən-cačála vádulə vázəzər He makes one of the bald men vizier (A 1:24); *c-odívalun ka-+páļtýyna* He used to make them into overcoats (B 4:11); *’alaha la-’avəd!* God forbid! (2) to cultivate | *jáva jávu c-odíva +másəl* Within it they used to cultivate beans (B 17:13). (3) to move | *b-áklı ķat-vàdli, kémət* | ’átat cásli| When I move my leg, get up and come to me (A 5:14). (4) to say | *’idé +xálli, ’aklé +xálli, besməllə, besməllə váda* They wash their hands, they wash their legs, saying *bismillāh, bisimillāh* (A 6:15); *vádlun xəšlun* They said goodbye and went (A 42:6); *+xárta +’akúbra vádələ káto* Then the mouse says to her (A 52:7)**
- ’avus | xəlmət ’avus (a formula to take leave): Do you have any business for me? Is there anything I can do for you? If you will allow me I will take leave | The reply to this may be *basimuytux* I have come on a visit of friendship only (not business)**
- ’ax, max part. as, like, alike, corresponding to | ’ax/max-do-naša like that man; ’ax/max-diyu like him; dák d-mák +’álma c-avíva sáprə-da xína hamzùmə, tanùya Just like people the birds also used to speak and talk (A 55:1); ’ax ... jora according to: *ka-cut naša yuvvəllan zuyza, ’ax šənnu jora* We gave money to each man, according to his age**
- ’axči part. (1) only | +’aturáya=zə máyələ ’áxči trè bnúnə An Assyrian gives birth to only two children (B 1:19); ci-xayyíva ’áxči +’al-+’accarùta They lived only on agriculture (B 1:23). (2) just | ’áxči jašūkələl +bəddàyolə As soon as he looks he recognizes her (A 1:12). (3) but | +paxlátli +ràba, | ’áxči +bíli ’áyya +maddənvala Forgive me, but I wanted to let (you) know this (B 1:30)**
- ’axnan pron. we**
- ’axnoxun → ’axtun**
- ’axta (i) | ’axta ’avəd i (Azer. axta) to castrate, to neuter (animal) | šarxa ’axta vədlən We neutered the ox**
- ’axta (ii) n.m. (pl. ’axta) willow tree sapling**
- ’axtoxun → ’axtun**
- ’axtun, ’axtoxun, ’axnoxun pron. you (pl.), you (sing. polite)**

- ‘axuna** n.m. (pl. ‘axunvata) **brother**
- ‘axunuya, ‘axunvayuya** n.f. **brotherhood**
- ‘axxa** adv. **here** → *laxxa*
- ‘ay exclam. **oh!** | ‘áy +*havār!* Help! (A 4:14); ‘áy +*káṭma b-riši!* Oh ash on my head! (A 4:10); vocative: ‘áy xálta! Oh my aunt (A 42:13)
- ‘ay, ‘ayən** (obl. *day, dayən, dayya*) pron.fs. **she, that (f.) (independent default demonstrative)** (§ 2.2.4.)
- ‘a-yba** → *jiba*
- ‘aybó exclam. **Alas!** | ‘aybó ‘á dúla lèla míta! Alas, he is not yet dead (A 37:21)
- ‘ayək/‘āk** I (vn. *yakta*) **to become narrow, to become tight** | ‘əkla +*alli* It was tight on me
- ‘ayya** (oblique *dayya*) pron.fs. **that (middle deixis demonstrative)** (§ 2.2.2., § 2.2.6.)
- ‘ayyé, ‘ayyéha** (oblique *dayyé, dayyéha*) pron.fs. **that (far deixis demonstrative)** (§ 2.2.3., § 2.2.7.)
- ‘azana** n.m./adj.ms. (fs. ‘azanta, pl. ‘azanə) **traveller; goer; going, about to go; passing by (time)** | ‘azanət +*umra* churchgoer; ‘axnan ‘azanəvax We are about to go
- ‘azbar** part. (Azer. əzbər, Pers. az bar) **by heart** | ‘azbar ‘avəd I to learn by heart
- ‘azəl** I (vn. *xašta*, prog. *bərrəxşələ, bərrəşxələ* (e.g. Barbari S), *bərrəşşələ* (e.g. Dizatacya S, Guylasar, Arm.), *bəşşələ* (e.g. Guylasar, Arm.), pst. *xəšlə*, rsp. *xiša*, imper. *xuš, xušun*, marginally imper. sing. *si, se*) **to go** | *si-dmùx!* Go and sleep (A 3:77); *si l-o-yba!* Move aside, move away; *si l-a-yba!* Come here! With locative direct object: ‘átən ... əka-díyyax ... brilun! kat-‘úrxə dütz ‘azátvala! You were created to go on the straight path (A 30:3); *ctávtəla, fu-+oráytal kát ‘átən ‘á ‘úrxə t-azəttal* It is written in the Torah that you would go on this road (A 42:7);
- ‘azizi** m., ‘azəzti f. exclam. (Azer. əziz, Pers. azīz < Arab.) **my dear!**
- ‘azyat** n.f. (Azer. əziyyət < Arab.) **trouble, suffering** | ‘azyat ‘avəd I, ‘azyat *yavvəl* I to distress; ‘azyat *jarəš* I to endure, to suffer
- ‘əcca** n.m./f. (pl. ‘əccə, ‘əccatə) (Turk. ökçe) (1) **heel.** (2) **anklebone.** (3) **a projection at the bottom for the door to turn on; unhinged door.** (4) **sill, threshold**
- ‘əččasar** num. **nineteen**
- ‘əčči** num. **ninety**
- ‘ədma** n.m. (pl. ‘ədmavata) **brother of husband**
- ‘əlləx** adj.invar. (Azer. ilıq ‘softly’ [boiled]) **soft-boiled (egg)** | +*biyyə* ‘əlləx soft-boiled eggs (cf. +*biyyə* +*xlisə* hard-boiled eggs)
- ‘əltəx** → +*ultux*
- ‘əm** (‘əmn- with pronominal suffixes, obl. *dəm, dəmn-*) interrog.part. **which?**

- (§ 2.8., § 14.3.2.) | *'əm-'urxa bərrəxšəla* +*al-mata?* Which road goes to the village?; *'əm-+dana?* at what time?; *'əmne* which of them?, *'əmnoxun* which of you? *'ət-dəm-nášələ nòbu?* Which person's turn is it?
- 'əmma** num. (pl. *'əmmayə*) **hundred** | *'əmma ka-***'əmma** a hundred percent; *'əčči ka-***'əmma** ninety percent
- 'ən** part. (1) **if** (§ 14.6.1.) | *'ən-'ávə xàya,* *páljət malcúyti b-yawwónna kàtux!* If he is alive, I shall give you half of my kingdom (A 3:50); *lá hádax xína* *'ən tili ci-***'ó yúmax b-yawwónna!** If (you have not done) thus when I come back, I shall indeed give your doomsday (i.e. give you hell) (A 51:3). (2) **when** | *kát lā šákłax móanno!* *hál* *'án* +*dān-+dána* *avilə!* *Yáta* +*pallila!* so that we do not take from it until, when he has time to come, he divides it (B 3:12)
- 'ənyləznaya** n.m. (fs. *'ənyləzneta*, pl. *'ənyləznayə*) **English**
- 'əns** adj.invar. | *'əns-ivət!* *jóns-ivət!* whether you are bad or good (A 42:25)
- 'ənyat** n.f. **conscience** | *'ənyatti manxusila* My conscience is pricking me; *'əny-attı* +*madduyəla* *kat* *'adi* +*muṭra b-*+*rayya* I have the feeling that it will rain
- 'əpta** n.f. (pl. *'əpyatə*) **leather strap attaching yoke to the main pole of the plough** (see illustration 52)
- 'ərba** n.m. (fs. *'ərbita*, pl. *'ərbə*, *'ərbiyə* Armenia) **sheep**
- 'ərbači** n.m. (pl. *'ərbačiyə*) **shepherd**
- 'ərbala** n.f. (pl. *'ərbalə*) **sieve for wheat with large holes (larger than those of *máxxalta* but smaller than those of a *sarida*)**
- 'ərbət vala** n.f. **deer; wild sheep**
- 'ərvana** n.m. **charity, alms, donation, grant** | +*'al-***'ərvanət diyyux *'ana-da* *pit-*+*axlən* I would like you to eat with me (lit. on your charity, also I shall eat)**
- 'ərxaci** n.m. (pl. *'ərxaciyyə*) **keeper of a watermill**
- 'ərxə** n.f. (pl. *'ərxavatə*, Caucasus *'ərxiyə*; annex. *'ərxiyət*) **watermill** | *betət* *'ərxə* building containing watermill; *'aha xmarat* *'ərxələ* He is an ass of the watermill (said of somebody who works double like an ass who takes corn to the mill and brings back flour); *'ərxiyət miyyəva!* It was a mill (operated by) water (B 17:6)
- 'əryana** n.pl. **basil** | +*ṭarpət* **'əryana** a basil leaf
- 'əsculaya**, *'usculaya* n.m. (fs. *'əsculeta*, *'usculeta*, pl. *'əsculayə*, *'usculayə*) **pupil, student; scholar**
- 'əsri** num. **twenty**
- 'əssot** n.f. (Azer. istiot) **fine black pepper** (= +*buybar cumta*)
- 'əstabəl** n.m. (pl. *'əstabla*) (Pers. establ) **stable**
- 'əšcita** n.f. (pl. *'əšcatə*) **testicle** | *'əšcatu buš* +*yarixəna mən-**'eru* His testicles are longer than his penis (i.e. he is impotent)
- 'əşjəl** n.f. (pl. *'əşjilə*) **hinge (of door)**

’əšk̥ n.f. (Azer. eşq) **love, passion**

’əškanə n.m. (pl. ’əškanə) **womanizer**

’əšta n.f. (pl. ’əštata) (1) **bottom**. | ’əšta məšta scum, residue; ’əštat ’akla heel;

’əštat +*balta* butt of an axe, hatchet; *npálələ* +’al-’əštat kùnya! He falls to the bottom of the well (A 39:17). (2) **buttocks, fundament** | ’ána xá-məškal mən-’əštux pàrmən! I shall cut one gram from your buttocks (A 7:3)

’əšta num. **six**

’əšti num. **sixty**

’əštunt- num. **six of + pron. suffix** | ’əštunte the six of them

’ət part. (-t, t̥-, d, obl. dət) **annexation and subordinating particle** (§ 5.14., § 9.9., § 14.1.1., § 14.5.3.4.)

’ət, ’əttən, ’itən part. (pst. ’ətva) **there is/are (existential particle)** (§ 4.23., § 10.8., § 12.2.) | ’ətva xa-dana-màlcə! There was once a king (A 2:1); ’ətva lətvəl xá yàla ’ətva! There was once a lad (lit. There was, there was not, there was a lad) (A 37:1); xázən fu-dan-+’otágə mù ’itən! I shall see what there is in those rooms (A 42:10); mù-’ət +xàbra? What news is there? (A 2:15)

’əttərtə n.f. (pl. ’əttəryatə) **gland, scrofula; tumour**

’əxrə, +’əxrə n.pl. **tantum human faeces, excrement** | ’əxrə +xul! Eat shit! (curse); ’əxrə +xəlli I am very contrite [and promise not to do it again] (lit. I have eaten shit); ’əxrət pəkkačə algae (on pond), moss

’əzn n.f. (Azer. izin < Arab.) **permission, permit** | ’əzn šakəl ı to ask for permission (to leave)

’əzzə n.f. **Capricorn**

’əzzət n.f. (Azer. izzət < Arab.) **respect, honour** | marət ’əzzət respectable, honourable

’əzzətuyta n.f. **respect, honour**

’əzzə n.pl. **goats**

’əzzita n.f. **female goat**

’e (oblique *de*) pron.fs. **that (attributive default demonstrative)** (§ 2.2.8.) | ’e-ja at that time

’el (Azer.), ’il (Pers.), n.f. **tribe, society**

’el-+aǵasə n.m. (pl. ’el-+aǵasiyyə) (Azer. elağası) **master of ceremonies**

’ela n.f. (pl. ’elə) **deer (species); female deer**

’elči n.m. (pl. ’elčiyə) (Azer. elçi) (1) **matchmaker, ambassador, consul. (2) suitor**

’elčiyuyta n.f. **mission of a matchmaker** | xúš tání ka-màlcə! ’ayyé brátu súrta ’elčiyuyta xzí b-yawwálla ka-dìyyi! Go and tell the king in the capacity of a matchmaker and see whether he will give that young daughter of his to me (A 42:18)

’elita, ’elæcta n.f. (pl. ’elæcyatə) (1) **fat of sheep's tail.** (2) **udder** (in some S

- villages, e.g. <sup>+</sup>Satluvvə, Dizatacya) | *'eləctət tavərtə* udder of cow (<sup>+</sup>Satluvvə, Dizatacya) (Sal., Gaw. *'elita*)
- 'era** n.m. (Pers. *eyr*) **penis, dick**
- 'eybajar** adj.invar. (Azer. *eybəcər*) **ugly**
- 'ynacə** n.pl. (Azer. *eynək*, Pers. *eynak*) **spectacles**
- 'ällaci** part. (Arab. Pers. *'illā ke* ‘but what’; cf. Nöldeke 1868, 166) **especially**
- 'ica** interrog.adv. **where?** | *'icət 'oya* wherever it maybe
- 'icramuyta** n.f. **respectfulness**
- 'ida** n.f. (pl. *'idatə*) (1) **hand** | Idiomatic phrases: *ctava +m̩ilə +'al-'idu* He received the book; *'idi le-+matya* I cannot afford it (lit. my hand does not reach); *'idu ptuxtəla* He is generous (lit. his hand is open); *'idu critəla* He is stingy (lit. his hand is short); *'idu +xləstəla* He is stingy (lit. his hand is tight); *'idu +rpitəla* He is lazy (lit. his hand is loose); *'idux +šamčava!* May your hand break! (said to somebody who hits a child); *darə i 'ida +'al-* to begin; *jarəš i 'ida mən* to withdraw support from; *'ida fruš!* Stop it! Let it drop!; *bət-dokənna 'idux kət mantətju-+šula* I shall help you succeed in the task (lit. I shall hold your hand so that you succeed in the task); *mən-'idu bitayələ* He is handy (i.e. capable of doing things); *'ida 'akla mxayələ* He is trying hard (to do sth.); *+rába +pšāməvax!* *kát m-ída yùvvo!* We greatly regret that we have lost it (B 2:15); *hónu yùvvulə m-ída!* He has lost his mind (A 5:9). (2) **arm.** (3) **handle (e.g. of plough).** (4) **authority** | *paláxə xut-'idu* workers under his authority (A 4:4). (5) **loan, offer** | *+rába bəknayələ biyyé!* *sábab 'ídət +háji +rába +spày-výla kátu!* He makes a big profit with them, because the loan (lit. hand) of the pilgrim turned out to be profitable for him (A 7:2).
- 'ida** n.m. (pl. *'idavatə*) **festival** | *'avəd i 'ida* to celebrate; *'ida +jura* Easter (lit. great festival), *'idət kyamta* Easter (lit. festival of resurrection); *'idux 'avə +brixə!* May your festival be blessed!
- 'idamta** n.f. (pl. *'idamyatə*) **wife of the brother of husband**
- 'i-hada** → *hada*
- 'ikə** adj.ms. (fs. *'əktə*, pl. *'ikə*) **narrow, cramped (space)** | *ducta 'əktəla* There is no room; *+divan 'əktəla* It is not possible to speak freely (lit. the parlour is narrow)
- 'ikuyta** n.f. **narrowness, tightness, difficulty, need**
- 'ilanə** n.m. (pl. *'ilanə*) **tree** | *'ilanət +'apsə* tree with dry buds known as <sup>+</sup>*apsə*; *'ilanət +pərma* high tree used for beams
- 'ilul** n.m. **September**
- 'iman** n.m. (Azer. *iman* < Arab.) **faith, belief, religion**
- 'iman** part. **when?**
- 'ina** part. **but; presentative particle** (§ 13.1.8.)

*'iranaya* adj.ms. (fs. *'iraneta*, pl. *'iranayə*) **Iranian**

*'isakta* n.f. (pl. *'isakyatə*) **ring (with a stone)** | *'isakta ci-maxiva* They used to put on a ring (in a wedding)

*'ita, 'itar* part. **then, afterwards, therefore** (§ 13.1.7.)

*'itən* → 'ət

*'ixidaya* n.m. (fs. *'ixideta*, pl. *'ixidayə*) **only son; solitary, hermit, monk (literary)**

*'iz* n.f. (Azer. *iz*) **footprint, trace** | *'izé dula pəšta* The trace of them has remained 'o (oblique *do*) pron.ms. **that (attributive default demonstrative)** (§ 2.2.8.)

*'ordac* n.f. (pl. *'ordayə*) (Azeri *ördək*) **duck**

*'ortəc* n.f. (Azer. *örtük*) **cover (for a bed)**

'o-yba → *jiba*

'u part. **and** (conjoining phrases or clauses § 9.12.1., § 13.1.1.)

*'udyu, 'udyum* adv. **today** | *hál 'údyu yúma=zəl* to this very day (B 11:10)

*'uya* adj.invar. or f. *'uya* (Azer. *ögey*) **not related by blood** | *yala 'uya* stepson; *brata 'uya/'uyə* stepdaughter; *yəmma 'uya/'uyə* stepmother; *'uya baba* stepfather

*'ulaymuta* n.f. **youth (literary)**

*'umta* n.f. **nation, people**

*'up* part. **also, too** (§ 13.1.5.)

*'upra* n.m. (pl. *'uprana*) **earth, soil, clay; land** | *'upra cuma* black earth, humus; *ranjət 'upra* grey; *'uprānat díyyan xàččəval* Our lands were few (B 17:13)

*'urə* n.f. (pl. *'uravatə*) (1) **manger.** (2) **long round receptacle that catches the flour from the rotating millstones of a watermill**

*'urədxə* n.f. (pl. *'urədxə*) **large metal needle**

*'urməžnaya* n.m. (fs. *'urməžnetə*, pl. *'urməžnayə*) **from Urmia**

*'urxa* n.f. (pl. *'urxatə, 'urxavatə*) **road, way, course, entrance, access** | *'urxa 'əkta*, *'urxa načetta* track; *kam-'urxi tilə xa-calba* A dog came in my way; *'urxu jaššukovən* I am waiting for him; *'urxu +kətyali* I blocked his way; *dəryeli +al-'urxa* I saw them off; *npəllə +al-'urxa* He has set off/He has learned the job; *xəšlə +al-urxa* He went ahead; *mən-'urxa +plətlə* He was out of line; *+av kati mən-'urxa +pulačlə* He corrupted me; *muyyali kati +al-'urxa* I convinced her to accept, I brought her to reason; *b-dé júpta p-urxa bósšəna* They make do with that cheese (B 15:1); *báxtu yavrálə 'urxal* (so that) his wife allows him access (A 30:1); *xəšli p-urxa mənnu* I got along with him, I was able to work with him

*'urxači* n.m. (pl. *'urxačiyə*) **traveller, passerby**

*'urxət +xalu* n.f. (pl. *'urxət +xalu*) **ladybird** (lit. 'way of the uncle')—children were told that if they made it fly their uncle would come

*'urxətjinavə* n.f. **the Milky Way** (lit. the way of thieves)

*'urza* n.m. (pl. *'urzə*, *'urzanə*) **male; man** | *+cavútra ci-lablíva ḫa-'urzán t-ína pəlxána +al-vàddar!* They (the women) would take lunch to the men who were working outside (A 5:6)

*'urzaya, 'urzajaya* n.m. (pl. *'urzajayə*) (1) **pistil of a plant, pith, core.** (2) **edible pistil of the *hamzə* plant.** (3) **stick on head of maize**

*'urzuyta* n.f. **manliness; generosity** | *vədlə 'urzuyta* He behaved like a man, he was generous

*'usa* → *+yuxsa*

*'uti* n.f. (pl. *'utiyə*) (Azer. ütü, Pers. ütū, Russ. утюг), **iron (for pressing clothes)** | *maxə i 'uti* to iron: *+sudri mxila 'uti!* Iron my shirt!

*'utkənna* adj.ms. (fs. *'utkənta*, pl. *'utkənna*) **time-worn, dilapidated**

*'uvva* (child language) | *'uvva vila?* Is it hurt?

→

*+abara* n.f. (pl. *+abarə*) (Pers. ābrāh) **raised channel that brings water to a watermill; ditch, ford; shallow area of the river where one could cross**

*+abasi* n.m./f. (pl. *+abasiyyə*) (Pers. abāsī) **a Persian silver coin (four *+šahis*, one fifth of a *+krān*)**

*+abba* n.m. (pl. *+abba*) **bosom** | *ju-+abbət +uydalə dmixəna* They are sleeping in each other's arms; *muttilə xa-məndi ju-+abbu* He put something in his bosom (to hide it); *jibət +abba* breast pocket

*+abeta* n.f. (pl. *+abayata*) **(rough woolen) cloak**

*+abi* adj.invar. (Pers. ābī) **blue**

*+abur, +abuyra* n.f. (Azer. abır, Pers. āberū) **dignity; honour; modesty** | *+abuyri lublalux* You embarrass me; *+abuyri xəşla* I am embarrassed; *ńána 'abùna!* *+abúyri t-àza!* I am a bishop! My reputation will be lost! (A 6:9)

*+abuyruytə* n.f. **dignity; honour; modesty**

*+accara* n.m. (pl. *+accara*) **farmer**

*+accaruyta* n.f. **farming, agriculture**

*+ačux* adj.invar. (Azer. açıq) (1) **open, bright (of colour).** (2) **bold, fearless**

*+adar* n.m **March**

*+adat* n.f (pl. *+adattə*) (Azer. adət, Pers. ādat < Arab.) (1) **custom, fashion; habit.** (2) **belief, rite** | *avəd i +adat* to get used to, *+adat-ilə* It is normal, usual, dull; *mən-+adat +pliṭə* obsolete, out-of-date, unfashionable, unconventional, disrespectful, impolite

*+adataya* adj.ms. (fs. *+adateta*, pl. *+adatayə*) **usual**

*+adavatuyta* n.f (Azer. iddia) **claim, pretension**

*+adyal* n.m. (pl. *+adyalə*) (Russ. одеяло) **blanket**

- <sup>+</sup>*ağa* n.m (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ağalarə*) (Azer. ağa) **lord, master, noble**
- <sup>+</sup>*ağayuya* n.f. **mastery, domination, supremacy** | *'avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*ağayuya* to dominate, to master
- <sup>+</sup>*ağeta* n.f. (pl. *ağayata*) **lady**
- <sup>+</sup>*ahavva* pl. (< *'aha* this + <sup>+</sup>*av* that) **odds and ends; (minor and inexpensive) belongings, possessions** | <sup>+</sup>*ahavva* *ka-*<sup>+</sup>*mixulta* food, provisions, victuals; <sup>+</sup>*ahavvət* <sup>+</sup>*umra* church utensils
- <sup>+</sup>*ahəl* adj.invar. (Azer. ahil) **elderly**
- <sup>+</sup>*ahval*, <sup>+</sup>*ahvalat*, <sup>+</sup>*ahval* n.f. (Pers. ahvāl < Arab.) **condition (spiritual or physical), circumstances; life circumstances**
- <sup>+</sup>*ajəbbana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*ajəbbanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*ajəbbanə*) **amazing, astonishing**
- <sup>+</sup>*ajəz* adj.invar. (Arab. 'ājiz) **vexed, ill, weak, bashful**
- <sup>+</sup>*ajibuya*, <sup>+</sup>*ajibbuyta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ajibuyatə*, <sup>+</sup>*ajəbbuyatə*) (Arab. 'ajib) **miracle, wonder, rarity; surprise, curiosity** | <sup>+</sup>*ajibuya* *payəš* to wonder, to be astonished; *'at-*<sup>+</sup>*ajibuya* wonderful, amazing, unusual; <sup>+</sup>*ajibuytələ* it is amazing; *'idu* <sup>+</sup>*ajibuya* *baruztəla* His hand is amazingly dry (i.e. he has a hard hand, he is strong)
- <sup>+</sup>*ajjazta* n.f. **vexation, annoyance** | *'avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*ajjazta* to shy away, to fail
- <sup>+</sup>*ajjəb* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*ajjabta*) (Arab. 'ajiba) **to be surprised, astonished (b- at); to wonder** | <sup>+</sup>*ujjəblə* *biyyé* He was astonished at them
- <sup>+</sup>*ajjəz* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*ajjazta*) (Arab. 'ajjaza) (1) **to be annoyed.** (2) **to annoy; to trouble, to bother, to suppress.** (3) **to be harmed; to harm, to torture** | *múttuva ju-xá ... +kərtələ| ju-ctənə| kát lə-*<sup>+</sup>*ajjəzva* *+págru.* They had placed him in a basket, in cotton, so that his body was not harmed (A 2:14)
- <sup>+</sup>*ajjəzzana* n.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*ajjəzzanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*ajjəzzanə*) (1) **persecutor, oppressor.** (2) **adj. annoying, difficult** | *rába* <sup>+</sup>*ajjəzzənta* *xayyútəvə* It was a very difficult life (B 3:34)
- <sup>+</sup>*akəl* n.m. (Azer. ağıl, Pers. 'aqil < Arab.) **intelligence**
- <sup>+</sup>*akəldar* adj.ms./fs. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*akəldarə*) **intelligent, wise**
- <sup>+</sup>*akər/ +kayər/ +kār* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*kyarta*, pst. <sup>+</sup>*kərrə*, rsp. <sup>+</sup>*kira*) **to dig; to hollow out; to chisel out, to carve; to gouge** | *duna* <sup>+</sup>*spay* <sup>+</sup>*šiyyə*, *la-*<sup>+</sup>*msən* <sup>+</sup>*akrənnun* They have stuck together well and I cannot pull them apart
- <sup>+</sup>*aklən* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*aklanta*) **to bring to reason**
- <sup>+</sup>*al* prep. (§ 8.4.3., § 11.3.) (1) **to** | *bərróxşələ* <sup>+</sup>*al-*<sup>+</sup>*àyna* He goes to a spring (A 37:15); *bədrýulə* *'a-bétət malcùytul* <sup>+</sup>*al-*<sup>+</sup>*Axiqar* He hands over his royal house to Axiqar (A 3:53). (2) **on, upon** | Spatial location: *tóvli* <sup>+</sup>*al-siysi* I sat on my horse (A 2:27). Temporal location: <sup>+</sup>*al-dó-yuma xína mədrəl* <sup>+</sup>*plətələ* On the next day she went out (A 52:2). (3) **about, concerning** | *'ína téx* <sup>+</sup>*rába* <sup>+</sup>*suxsiyyə* <sup>+</sup>*állu* But we have not researched much concerning it (B 12:7). (4) **against** | *koşun* <sup>+</sup>*jummévət* <sup>+</sup>*al-jəni* You have gathered the army against me (A 3:27)

- +*alamat* n.f. (Pers. alāmat < Arab.) **sign, mark** | *mátti* +*alámat* +*al-dà-beta* Put a sign on this house. (= Mark this house) (A 2:8)
- +*alda* QI (vn. +*aldetə*) (Azer. aldat-) **to cheat, to trick, to tempt, to seduce, to deceive**
- +*aldiyyana* (fs. +*aldiyyanta*, pl. +*aldiyyanə*) **cheater; seducer**
- +*alma* n.m **people, society, population, inhabitants** | *'et-*+*alma* public; *b-*+*dánət* +*kèṭəl* +*álma c-azálva carmànə* In the summer the people used to go to the orchards (B 12:1)
- +*almas* n.m. (pl. +*almasə*) (Azer. almaz < Arab.) **diamond**
- +*alucta*, +*halucta* n.f. (pl. +*aluyʃə*, +*haluyʃə*) (Pers. ālū, Kurd. hilû, alû) **plum, damson**
- +*alula* n.m. (pl. +*alulə*, +*alulanə*) **street** | +*alula sura* lane
- +*alulta* n.f. (pl. +*alulyatə*) **lane, passageway**
- +*am* part. (with pron. suffixes: +*ammu*, +*ammo*, +*ammé* etc.) **with** | +*ámma* +*ammel* together with them (B 1:17)
- +*amarat* n.f. (pl. +*amarattə*) (Pers. emārat < Arab.) **building**
- +*ambar* n.f. (pl. +*ambara*) (Azer. anbar, ambar, Pers. ambar) **barn, storehouse** | +*umbarət daxla* granary, grain-storehouse; +*umbarət* +*xəttə* grain bin (in granary)
- +*aməd* I (vn. +*matta*) **to be baptized**
- +*aməl* I (vn. +*malta*) **to process, to put together (especially foods in cooking)**
- +*aməl* II (vn. +*amalta*) **to work on, to process** | *'o-*+*najjar* +*šulu* +*umlulə* The carpenter worked a lot on his job
- +*amər* I (vn. +*marta*) **to reside, to dwell, to settle (in a place of residence)**
- +*aməs*, +*mayəs*/+*mās* I (vn. +*myasta*, +*masta*), +*masə* (vn. +*msetə*) **to be able; to prevail over, to be stronger than**
- +*amma* (i), +*amman* part. (Azer. amma, Pers. ammā) (1) **but, however.** (2) **presentative particle** | *jašúkəna* +*ámman* *ó vazzırulə* They see that he is his vizier (A 48:33); *àl* *vazzırət málca bəxzàyəl* +*ámman* *'axúnət málca tıvəl* ... *kam-*+*darvázət mənditə* The vizier of the king sees that the brother of the king is sitting ... in front of the city gates (A 48:4)
- +*amma* (ii) n.f. (Arab. 'ámma) **epidemic typhus**
- +*amma* (iii) → +*am*
- +*amra* n.m. **wool**
- +*amrana* n.m. (pl. +*amranə*) **inhabitant** | +*amranət* *'Urmi* inhabitant of Urmi
- +*amtə* n.f (pl. +*amtavatə*), +*amtə*, +*anta* **paternal aunt**
- +*amuna* (child language) **paternal uncle**
- +*amuyra* adj.ms. (fs. +*amurta*, pl. +*amuyrə*) **thick, dense (hair, trees, plants)** | *meşa* +*amurta* thick forest

- <sup>+</sup>*anam* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*anamə*) (Pers. en'ām < Arab.) **prize, present, gift of money |**  
<sup>+</sup>*avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*anam, yavvəl* I <sup>+</sup>*anam* to award, to present
- <sup>+</sup>*ancər* Q1 (vn. <sup>+</sup>*ancarta*) **to be dissatisfied; to disapprove; to scold; to shun |**  
<sup>+</sup>*ancurəvən mənnu* I am shunning him
- <sup>+</sup>*ancərrana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*ancərranta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*ancərranə*) **dissatisfied, scolding,**  
**disapproving**
- <sup>+</sup>*anjağ* part. (Azer.ancaq) **rarely; hardly; only |** *'áyən xáttı* <sup>+</sup>*ánjağ* <sup>+</sup>*jammálə*  
 She could hardly manage to gather up the wheat (A 51:5)
- <sup>+</sup>*ánta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ányatə*) **hole at the bottom of an oven for the intake of air**
- <sup>+</sup>*anva* n.f., <sup>+</sup>*anvita* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*anvə*) **grape**
- <sup>+</sup>*apsa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*apsə*) **dry bud on the tree known as** *'ilanət* <sup>+</sup>*apsa*; **gall, gall-**  
**nut**
- <sup>+</sup>*aptapa* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*aptapə*) (Pers. ābtāpe) **water dispenser for hand washing**
- <sup>+</sup>*är* n.f. (Azer. ar, Pers. ār < Arab.) **honour; modesty, shame, disgrace |** *marət*  
<sup>+</sup>*är* proud, dignified, respectful
- <sup>+</sup>*ara* n.f. (Azer. ara) (1) **space, interval.** (2) **area surface |** *xəšlə mən-*<sup>+</sup>*ara* He  
 vanished/he perished
- <sup>+</sup>*arabana* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*arabanə*) (Azer. araba < Arab.) **cart, wagon (with sides and**  
**two wheels); coach |** <sup>+</sup>*taryanət* <sup>+</sup>*arabana* coachman
- <sup>+</sup>*arabət* **Arabic language**
- <sup>+</sup>*aralləj* part. (Azer. aralıq) **place between; amidst |** *b-*<sup>+</sup>*arallağ* between; <sup>+</sup>*aral-*  
*läggət* <sup>+</sup>*aynə* bridge of the nose; *háč náša b-*<sup>+</sup>*aralləjé lə* <sup>+</sup>*vúrun*! Nobody inter-  
 fere with them (A 56:5); *xá késə* <sup>+</sup>*yasráxva* <sup>+</sup>*al-dó* <sup>+</sup>*arallağ* <sup>+</sup>*kát* <sup>+</sup>*yattáxva*  
<sup>+</sup>*arallağ* <sup>+</sup>*dá ýrra* <sup>+</sup>*icələ*! We used to bind a stick to the middle, so we would  
 know where the middle of the ground (of the threshing floor) was (B 3:11)
- <sup>+</sup>*arava* n.pl. **dirty water (which drains off body when washing); dregs at**  
**bottom of a pan**
- <sup>+</sup>*arbab* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*arbabə*) **master; landlord; boss**
- <sup>+</sup>*arbət* Q1 (vn. <sup>+</sup>*arbaṭta*) **to writhe |** <sup>+</sup>*arbuṭələ mən-*<sup>+</sup>*marru* He is writhing from  
 his pain
- <sup>+</sup>*ardav* n.f. (Azer. əndo, ərov, aro) **mess, slops; watery mud |** <sup>+</sup>*tina* <sup>+</sup>*ardav vədlə*  
 He made the mud turn into a mire
- <sup>+</sup>*arə* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*areta*; pst. <sup>+</sup>*urilə*, <sup>+</sup>*uryalo*; imper. <sup>+</sup>*ari!*, <sup>+</sup>*árimun!*; rsp. <sup>+</sup>*urya*,  
<sup>+</sup>*urita*) **to patch, to darn |** <sup>+</sup>*bayyə* <sup>+</sup>*arila* <sup>+</sup>*tumbanu* He wants to darn his  
 trousers
- <sup>+</sup>*arətmatikə* n.f. **arithmetic**
- <sup>+</sup>*arət*, <sup>+</sup>*rayət*/<sup>+</sup>*rət*I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*ryatta*) **to break wind (noisily), to fart (noisily) |** Used  
 with non-referential 3fs. object: <sup>+</sup>*riṭali* I farted; *bət-*<sup>+</sup>*rayətla* He will fart; *'íman*  
*xmártux* <sup>+</sup>*tlájáhə* <sup>+</sup>*arṭala*, <sup>+</sup>*ó-yuma mətətə*! When your jenny farts three times,  
 on that day you will die (A 32:2) → <sup>+</sup>*ṭər*

- <sup>+</sup>*areta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*areyatə*) **patch**
- <sup>+</sup>*armunta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*armunyata*) **pomegranate**
- <sup>+</sup>*arþa* num. **four** | <sup>+</sup>*am* <sup>+</sup>*arþajanata* in a foursome; <sup>+</sup>*arþajibana* on four sides, all around
- <sup>+</sup>*arþamma* num. **four hundred**
- <sup>+</sup>*arþo-þiba* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*arþo-þibanə*, <sup>+</sup>*arþo-þibavata*) **Wednesday**
- <sup>+</sup>*arþunté* num. **the four of them**
- <sup>+</sup>*arra* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*arratə*, <sup>+</sup>*arranə*) **ground, land, earth** | <sup>+</sup>*arrat beta* the ground of the house, the land of the house; <sup>+</sup>*arra dūz* flat land
- <sup>+</sup>*arta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*artata*) **rival wife**
- <sup>+</sup>*arvadbaz* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*arvadbaza*) (Azer. arvadbaz) **philanderer, womanizer**
- <sup>+</sup>*arxayən* adj.invar., adv. (Azer. arxayın) **safe, secure** | c-<sup>+</sup>*ámsət* <sup>+</sup>*spáy* <sup>+</sup>*arxayən* <sup>+</sup>*ázət*, | <sup>+</sup>*ráhat* <sup>+</sup>*ázət cəs-málca*! You can go safely, you can go at ease to the king (A 48:31)
- <sup>+</sup>*arya* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*aryə*), *arya* (Armenia) **holiday, holy day, saint's day, festival** | <sup>+</sup>*avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*arya* to celebrate
- <sup>+</sup>*aryana* n.m. **rain**
- <sup>+</sup>*aryanuyta* n.f. **rainy weather; rain and snow**
- <sup>+</sup>*asbab* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*asbabə*) (Pers. asbāb < Arab.) **instrument(s); arms** | *marət-+asbab* armed
- <sup>+</sup>*aslə* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*aslə*) **origin; nature** | *marət +aslə* of good birth; <sup>+</sup>*aslə* <sup>+</sup>*aslət* *xmarələ* He has the nature of an ass
- <sup>+</sup>*aslan* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*aslanə*) (Azer. aslan) **lion**
- <sup>+</sup>*asləya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*asleta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*asləyə*) **original**
- <sup>+</sup>*assasi* n.m. (Arab. 'asāsī) **police, night guard** | <sup>+</sup>*assasi racavə* equestrian night guard
- <sup>+</sup>*astar* n.f. (<sup>+</sup>*astara*) (Azer. astar) **lining; side with seam, wrong side; roll (of clothing)** | *davək* I <sup>+</sup>*astar* to hem
- <sup>+</sup>*asuṭa* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*asuṭta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*asuṭə*) (Syr. < Greek ἀσωτος) **prodigal** | *bruna +asuṭa* prodigal son
- <sup>+</sup>*asirat* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*asiratta*) (Arab. 'ašīra) **tribe**
- <sup>+</sup>*ašita* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ašiyatə*) **avalanche**
- <sup>+</sup>*ašpaz* n.m. (Pers. āšpaz) (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ašpazə*) **cook**
- <sup>+</sup>*ašpaz-*<sup>+</sup>*xana* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ašpaz-*<sup>+</sup>*xanə*) (Pers. āšpazxāne) **kitchen**
- <sup>+</sup>*ata-*<sup>+</sup>*baba* n.pl. (Azer. ata 'father' + baba 'grandfather') **ancestors** | <sup>+</sup>*áxnan dàžmən-vax*, | *mən-šánnə* <sup>+</sup>*dòrə*, | *mən-*<sup>+</sup>*áta-*<sup>+</sup>*bàba*.! We have been enemies for generations, since the time of our ancestors (A 55:3)
- <sup>+</sup>*atli* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*atliyyə*) (Azer. atlı) **rider, horseman, horse-soldier**; pl. **cavalry**
- <sup>+</sup>*atra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*atravata*) **land, region, state; motherland**
- <sup>+</sup>*attu* (child language) **paternal aunt**

- <sup>+</sup>*attar* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*attarə*) (Arab. ‘atṭār) **pedlar, merchant of small goods**
- <sup>+</sup>*av*, <sup>+</sup>*avun* (oblique: <sup>+</sup>*dav*, <sup>+</sup>*davun*) pron.ms. **he, it (independent default demonstrative)** (§ 2.2.4.)
- <sup>+</sup>*ava* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*avə*) **forest; wood**
- <sup>+</sup>*avam* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*avamə*) (Azer. avam) **ignoramus, boor**
- <sup>+</sup>*avana* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*avanə*) **hall (for meetings etc.) (literary)**
- <sup>+</sup>*avara* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*avara*) **vagrant**
- <sup>+</sup>*avay*, <sup>+</sup>*avayuyta*, <sup>+</sup>*avadanuyta* (Pers. ābādān) n.f. **habitation; population; organization of public services** | *‘avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*avay* to populate; <sup>+</sup>*avay=la* it is inhabited/inhabitable, populated
- <sup>+</sup>*avči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*avčiyə*) (Turk. avci, Azer. ovçu) **hunter**
- <sup>+</sup>*avər* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*varta*, <sup>+</sup>*vərrə*) **to enter, to pass, to overtake, to outpace, to cross, to enter service; to grow into; to move, to drive around** | <sup>+</sup>*avər mən-jnaha* to pardon, to forgive; <sup>+</sup>*vərri mən-hakuyti* I waived my salary; <sup>+</sup>*avər ju-+ayna* to fawn, to smarm; *b-xela* <sup>+</sup>*avər* to break in(to), to cut into; *mən-jənvət* <sup>+</sup>*avər* to creep; <sup>+</sup>*vira* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*vərta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*virə*) past. It takes complements with *ju* or direct objects: *xáčxa* <sup>+</sup>*órən ju-dan-+otāğ* ... <sup>+</sup>*vərrə xa-’otāğ* I shall just go into these rooms ... He entered one room (A 42:10)
- <sup>+</sup>*avun* → <sup>+</sup>*av*
- <sup>+</sup>*avura* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*avurə*) **mountain pass**
- <sup>+</sup>*avurda* n.? (Ottoman Turk. avurt) **the inner or lower part of the cheek (used for storing food by monkeys)** | <sup>+</sup>*pəllu b-mletət* <sup>+</sup>*avurda ləla* Pilaff is not for filling the mouth (said when a man is not careful in his eating) (cf. Maclean 1895, 345)
- <sup>+</sup>*avva* (oblique: <sup>+</sup>*davva*) pron.ms. **that (middle deixis demonstrative)** (§ 2.2.2., § 2.2.6.)
- <sup>+</sup>*avvó*, <sup>+</sup>*avvóha*, <sup>+</sup>*avvóxa* (oblique: <sup>+</sup>*davvó*, <sup>+</sup>*davvoha*, *davvóxa*) pron.ms. **that (far deixis demonstrative)** (§ 2.2.3., § 2.2.7.)
- <sup>+</sup>*āx* exclam. **oh! (expression of pain or distress)** | *jarəš* <sup>+</sup>*āx* to sigh, to moan; *‘ána járəc ‘ázən!* *jávət!* *cúlla dùnyəl* <sup>+</sup>*xàdrən!* <sup>+</sup>*tàvvən!* *máčxən* *kat-xa-násə!* <sup>+</sup>*āx!* *lətlə!* I must go and travel throughout the whole world and seek to find whether there is a man who has no worries (A 4:1)
- <sup>+</sup>*axə* <sup>+</sup>*uxə* n.pl. **pains, suffering** | *‘ana* <sup>+</sup>*raba* <sup>+</sup>*axə* <sup>+</sup>*uxə* *frišən* I have suffered a lot in my life
- <sup>+</sup>*axəl* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*xalta*, prog. <sup>+</sup>*bixalələ*, pst. <sup>+</sup>*xəlla*) **to eat, to be fed; to consume; metaphor. to embezzle (money)** | *xam* <sup>+</sup>*axəl* I to take care (Pers. ġam xordan); <sup>+</sup>*axláva mən-rišux!* May (what you stole) bring bad fortune to you (lit. May it eat from your head); <sup>+</sup>*byáyəla riš-da-bráta* <sup>+</sup>*axlələ!* She wants to get rid of this girl (A 43:16)
- <sup>+</sup>*axəl* n.m. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*axla*) **eater** | In compound expressions: <sup>+</sup>*axəl məndiyə* n.m.,

- (fs. *+’axla məndiyə*) eater of property, *’o-naša +’axəl məndiyət babulə* That man is eating his father out of house and home; *e-baxta +’axla məndiyət babola* That woman is eating her father out of house and home; *ci-+karıvala-da +’axla mdítət bəbo* They used to call her ‘the eater of the town of her father’ (A 39:27); *+’axəl-+karsa* n.m. demon, devil, satan
- +’axər** part. (Azer. axır, Pers. āxir < Arab.) **in the end, eventually; after all, but** | *+’axər ka-mu vadət o-+šula?* After all, why are you doing that job?; *+’axərro* finally, in conclusion
- +’axmağuyta** n.f. (Pers. ahmağ < Arab.) **stupidity**
- +’axmax, ’ahmaķ** (Azer. axmaq < Arab.) adj.invar **stupid, moron**
- +’axula, +’axlana** adj.ms. (fs. *+’axulta, +’axlanta*, pl. *+’axulə, +’axlanə*) **gluttonous**
- +’ayba** n.m (pl. *+’aybə*) (Arab. ‘ayb) **shame, indecency; indecent** | *+’aybələ* it is shameful
- +’aybuyta** n.f **shame, obscenity**
- +’ayəd/+’ād** I (vn. *+’yatta*, prog. *+’biyadələ*, pst. *+’ədlə*, rsp. *+’ida*, imper. *+’ud, +’udun*) **to weed**
- +’ayna** n.f (1) **eye** (pl. *+’aynə* [two], *+’aynatə* [more than two]). | *+’marrət +’ayna* illness of the eye; *+’xvarət +’ayna* white of the eye; *+’kypət +’ayna* eyelid; *’wəd* I *b-+’ayna* to blink; *maxə* I *b-+’ayna* to cast the evil eye on; to jinx; *’o-naša +’ayna kam-maxili* That man put a jinx on me; *+’ayna drılə* He cast an evil eye (on something of mine); *+’ayna mxılə kat’azax* I indicated to me by winking that we should go; *mən-xut +’ayna juşşəkli* I looked secretively; *+’ayna knəzələ* He winked, *+’ayna +’kəslə* He winked; *+’ayna vədli katu kat’azax* I beckoned to him indicating that we should go; *ju-xa təpətəpətət +’ayna* in an instant (lit. in a blink of an eye); *+’aynu muccəmmovən* I have given him a black eye; *nəllə mən-+’ayni* He has lost my respect (lit. he has fallen from my eyes); *+’al-+’ayni, +’al-+’barət riši* I'll do it willingly (lit. on my eyes, on the light of my head); *’ına +’ynux ’óya +’al-məndiyəl* But keep an eye on my property (A 1:3). (2) **spring (of water)** (pl. *+’aynatə*) | *tre +’aynatət miyyə* two water springs. (3) **side, opening, e.g. of a storage box** (*+’kulina* B 7:7). (4) **(window) pane of glass, section of window** (pl. *+’aynatə*) (Azer. ayna)
- +’ayva** n.f. (pl. *+’ayvə*) **cloud, rain cloud** | *ju-England +’raba +’ayvə +’mayvəna* In England it is very dull and cloudy
- +’ayvən** QI (vn. *+’ayvanta*) **to become cloudy**
- +’azad** adj.invar. (Azer. azad, Pers. āzād) **free, independent** | *+’azad-ilə* he is free, independent; *’avəd* I *+’azad* to release, to free; *’áni +’azad +’bərxátxəna* They are running freely (B 9:4)
- +’azaduyta** n.f. **freedom, independence**
- +’azəl** I, Siri S *+’zayal* (vn. *+’zalta*, prog. *+’bəzzalələ*, pst. *+’zəlla*, rsp. *+’zila*) **to spin (wool)**

- <sup>+</sup>*azla-cuyšə* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*azla-cuyšə*) (lit. weaver of webs) **spider**
- <sup>+</sup>*ə'tubar* n.f. (Pers. e'tebār, Azer. etibar < Arab.) **trust** | *marət* <sup>+</sup>*ə'tubar* reliable, devoted, trustworthy; *'avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*ə'tubar* to trust; *ṭulkali* <sup>+</sup>*ə'túbar* *díyyi cəslu* I have lost my trust in him
- <sup>+</sup>*əcram* n.f. (Azer. ikram, Pers. ikrām < Arab.) **respect, deference**
- <sup>+</sup>*əčča* num. **nine**
- <sup>+</sup>*əččamma* num. **nine hundred**
- <sup>+</sup>*ədda* (i) n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*əddə*) **weed** | *baxča* <sup>+</sup>*ədda* *vidalə* He weeded the garden; *carma* <sup>+</sup>*ədda* *dišulə* Weeds covered the vineyard
- <sup>+</sup>*ədda* (ii) n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*əddə*) (Azer. iddia < Arab.) **claim** | *'avəd* <sup>+</sup>*ədda* to claim
- <sup>+</sup>*ədra* n.m. (Pers. odre) **skin sore, rash, impetigo**
- <sup>+</sup>*ədrana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*ədranta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*ədranə*) **suffering from a rash or skin sore, suffering from impetigo**
- <sup>+</sup>*əkbal* n.f. **luck** | *marət* <sup>+</sup>*əkbal* lucky
- <sup>+</sup>*əkra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*əkra*) (1) **trunk (of tree)**. (2) **stump, stub; stem** | <sup>+</sup>*əkrət* *maccə* stem of maize. (3) **origin** | *lè yáttən!* *'ákro m-içəl* *'á mattólta!* I do not know what the origin of this story is (A 48:35); *mən* <sup>+</sup>*əkrət* *nata* of necessity
- <sup>+</sup>*əktar* n.? (pl. <sup>+</sup>*əktarə*) **hectare**
- <sup>+</sup>*əllaya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*əlleta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*əllayə*) **high-class**
- <sup>+</sup>*əmza* n.m. (Azer. imza, Pers. emza < Arab.) **signed agreement** | *'avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*əmza* to sign an agreement: *ánnə* <sup>+</sup>*əmza* *vádlun!* *kát!* *háč-naša* *hák látłə!* *'áta* *šákəl* *ánnə* *dàvə!* They signed (an agreement) that man has a right to come to take these gold coins (A 10:5)
- <sup>+</sup>*ənana* n.f. **cloud (literary)**
- <sup>+</sup>*ənsan* n.m. (Azer. insan < Arab.) **human**
- <sup>+</sup>*əska* adj.ms./fs. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*əska*) | *xayuya* <sup>+</sup>*əska* a difficult life
- <sup>+</sup>*əskuyta* n.f. **difficulty, problem**
- <sup>+</sup>*əsra* num. **ten**
- <sup>+</sup>*əsraya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*əsreta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*əsraya*) **tenth (literary)** | *xa* <sup>+</sup>*əsraya* one tenth
- <sup>+</sup>*əstican* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*əsticanə*) (Pers. istakān, Azer. stəkan) **drinking cup of various shapes (see illustration 1)**
- <sup>+</sup>*əštasar* num. **sixteen**
- <sup>+</sup>*əštav* n.f. (Azer. iştaha, Pers. ištihā' < Arab.) **appetite** | <sup>+</sup>*əštav* *lətli* I have no appetite; <sup>+</sup>*əštavu* *+raba* *+spay-ila* He has a good appetite; <sup>+</sup>*əštav* *ptixalə* That has given me an appetite
- <sup>+</sup>*əštara* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*əštara*) **document (literary)**
- <sup>+</sup>*əšvat* n.m. **February**
- <sup>+</sup>*ətma*, <sup>+</sup>*uṭma* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*ətmatə*, <sup>+</sup>*uṭmatə*) (1) **thigh.** (2) **lobe of buttocks**
- <sup>+</sup>*əzla* n.m. **yarn; web**
- <sup>+</sup>*əzza* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*əzza*) **goat, billy-goat** | <sup>+</sup>*əzzət* <sup>+</sup>*tuyra* mountain goat, chamois

- <sup>+</sup>əzzīta n.f. **nanny-goat** | <sup>+</sup>zayət <sup>+</sup>əzzīta kid
- <sup>+</sup>ehtiyat n.f. (Azer. ehtiyat < Arab.) **caution, care** | <sup>+</sup>ehtiyat vud be careful (→ *həşyar vi* is the more usual way of expressing this); *marət* <sup>+</sup>ehtiyar cautious; *b-*<sup>+</sup>ehtiyar carefully, cautiously
- <sup>+</sup>əstifāda n.f. (Arab. istifād) **benefit**
- <sup>+</sup>ijāra n.f. (Azer. icarə, Pers. ijāra < Arab.) **rent, lease, the sum paid for the use of money, interest** | <sup>'</sup>ana beta <sup>+</sup>ijāra dvəkli I rented the house
- <sup>+</sup>ijāradar n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>ijāradarə) (Azer. icarədar, Pers. ijāradār) **tenant, contractor**
- <sup>+</sup>ijāza n.f. (Azer. icazə, Pers. ejāze < Arab.) **permission** | *lətlux* <sup>+</sup>ijāza You don't have permission; <sup>+</sup>ijāza le-yavvən 'azət I shall not allow you to go
- <sup>+</sup>išārat n.f. (Azer. işarə, Pers. išāre, išārat < Arab.) **hint, reference, signal, beckoning** | *b-*<sup>+</sup>išārat <sup>+</sup>muddilə ḫati He let me know by a hint
- <sup>+</sup>īta n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>īdatə, <sup>+</sup>ītətə) **church (institution)**
- <sup>+</sup>izāfa 'avəd I (Pers. ezāfe < Arab.) **to multiply; to add**
- <sup>+</sup>o! exclam. **oh!**
- <sup>+</sup>ojax n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>ojaxə) (Azer. ocaq) **extended family; tribe**
- <sup>+</sup>ojaxta n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>ojaxyatə) (Azer. ocaq) **fireplace, hearth** | <sup>+</sup>ojaxto čmitəla She is barren, i.e. she cannot bear children (lit. Her hearth has been extinguished)
- <sup>+</sup>okəb n.f. **knack, skill**
- <sup>+</sup>orāna n.m./adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>orānta, pl. <sup>+</sup>orānə) (1) n. **passerby, traveller.** (2) adj. **flowing (water), transitory** | *zona* <sup>+</sup>orāna transitory time. (3) adj. **entering**
- <sup>+</sup>orāyta, <sup>+</sup>ureta n.f. **Torah, Old Testament** | *ctóvtəla ju-*<sup>+</sup>orāytələ ḫát 'átən á 'úrxa t-azəttə! It is written in the Torah that you would go on this road (A 42:7)
- <sup>+</sup>orušlum n.f. **Jerusalem**
- <sup>+</sup>otağ n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>otağə) (Azer. otaq, Pers. otāğ) **room**
- <sup>+</sup>oyax adj.invar. (Azer. ayıq) **sensitive, sober**
- <sup>+</sup>oyma n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>oymatə) (Ottoman Turk. oyma 'decorated work', Azer. oyma 'chiselling, carving') **long dress**
- <sup>+</sup>oyun, <sup>+</sup>oyən n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>oynə) (Azer. oyun) **juggling, trick, play, entertainment** | á müt <sup>+</sup>oyən-la? What game is this? (A 43:12); ánnə <sup>+</sup>óynə <sup>+</sup>paluṭəla, <sup>+</sup>xárta cùra t-odálux! <sup>+</sup>axlálux! She comes up with these games, but in the end she will make you blind and she will eat you (A 39:36)
- <sup>+</sup>oyunbaz, <sup>+</sup>oyənbaz n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>oyunbazə) (Azer. oyunbaz) **conjurer, juggler, clown, buffoon**
- <sup>+</sup>ujaba n.m. (Arab. 'ajiba) **amazement** | <sup>+</sup>ujaba dvikənnə I was seized by amazement
- <sup>+</sup>ullaya adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>ulleta, pl. <sup>+</sup>ullayə) **upper, highest**

- +*ullul*, +*al* adv. **upstairs, above; upward** | +*al*-+*ullul* above, upwards; *íva xá-dana* +*àyval clítəva* +*úllul m-rìšan*! There was a cloud, which was standing over our head (A 29:1); *mattáxva* +*al*-+*úllul* *cúlla barəzva*! We used to lay it up (in storage) in order for it dry (B 7:17)
- +*ultux*, *əltəx* adv. **below** | +*al*-+*ultux* downwards
- +*umla* adj.ms. (fs. +*umolta*, +*umlə*) **processed, worked on**
- +*umra* n.m. (pl. +*umranə*) **church, church building**
- +*urğita* n.f. (pl. +*urğiyatə*) **fart (making noise)** | cf. *pšita* silent fart
- +*urusnaya* adj.ms. (fs. +*urusnetə*, pl. +*urusnayə*) **Russian**
- +*urvə* n.m. (pl. *urvə*) **crow**
- +*usta* n.m. (pl. +*ustə*) (Azer. *usta*) **master-workman, foreman, craftsman**
- +*ustacar* adj.invar. (Pers. *ustūkar*) **skilled**
- +*ustacaruyta* n.f. **skill** | *b*-+*ustacaruyta* skillfully
- +*ustol* n.m. (pl. +*ustolə*) (Russ. *стол*) **chair, armchair, table**
- +*ušana* n.m. (pl. +*ušanə*) **palm tree**
- +*uṭma* → +*əṭma*
- +*uxča* mod., adv. **so much; thus** (§ 9:7.8.) | +*úxča tálja ci-* +*rayyáva*! so much snow used to fall (B2 1:19); *ína* +*úxča sívəva*! *múttuva ju-xá ... kərtàla*! But he was so old that they had put him in a basket (A 2:14); *ka-dáha* +*kátu* +*úxča mxáyələ* He beats the cat so much (A 3:79); *śtlə* *śámma*! *bas-śámma* +*úxča munšitun*! He has a name but I have simply forgotten the name (A 3:33); *xa*-+*úxčet* *ilə*, *xa*-+*úxča-zə* *xut*-+*àrrələ*! As much as he is, so much is he also under the ground (i.e. you do not know half of him, he is cryptic, sneaky)
- +*uxla* n.f. (pl. +*uxla*) (1) **scab; rash (on skin)** | +*uxla* +*axlalux* May a scab eat you (curse). (2) **tiresome person** | +*uxlələ* He is a nuisance
- +*uydalə* pron. (obl. +*duydalə*) **each other** | *nšáklun* +*uydalə*.! They kissed one another. (A 1:4); *ka*-+*uydalə* +*hayyùrəx*! We help each other. *m*-+*uydalə* together: +*rába məndyána hamzúməna* *m*-+*uydalə*.! They speak together about many things (A 3:66); *áxnan jú ... dóštət* *Úrmi Salámas* +*al*-+*uydálə* *átvalan* *źmmo tláy* +*tlá matvátəl*! We, in the plain of Urmī and Salamas, we had altogether one hundred and thirty three villages (B2 1:2); *m*-+*uydalə*, *mən*-+*uydalə* together
- +*uyvənna* adj.ms. (fs. +*uyvəntə*, pl. +*uyvənnə*) **cloudy**

**b**

*b*-, *bi*- (with pron. suffix *biyy-*) prep. (§ 8.4.7., § 11.1.) (1) **in** | Spatial location: *ánnə* +*ànva*! *ci-pešíva* +*jummíyyə*! *b*-+*kərtàlə*! These grapes used to be gathered in

pannier-baskets (B 12:2); *b-líšanət* +fársət in the Persian language (B 12:8). Temporal location: *b-+kèṭa* in summer (B 12:6); *b-šánnə* kámaya in the early years (B 12:4). (2) at | Temporal location: *b-léłə* at night (A 2:3). (3) by | Instrument or agent: *þ-ida plíxəna* They are made by hand (A 3:5); *b-susaváy* *b-cavádnə* *b-xmára* c-azívá! They used to travel by horses, mules and donkeys (B 2:12); *ka-mú póšli* +uldiyya! *b-Nátan brùnux?*! Why was I deceived by Natan your son? (A 3:52). Oath: *b-aláha* by God (A 5:9). (4) with | Comitative: *b-ricáva* *b-erràxšəna*! They go with horsemen (A 2:3). Manner: *'u-sépi mxíli*! *b-cúlla* xéli +támá! I struck my sword there with all my might (A 2:36). (5) of, out of (material) | *'ína kámta* *juydànə*! *b-čarpíčət* 'íprəva! But formerly the walls were of clay bricks (B 14:5). (6) for (price) | *bi-mù zabúnat?*! For what are you selling it? (A 42:28). (7) attributive | +rába *b-šánnələ*! He is very old (literally: with years) (A 3:24); *dàšta*! *b-dá* +shúpра áxnan lèx xázyə! We have not seen a plain of such beauty (B 2:14)

*ba* → *bas*

*baba* (child language) **grandfather**

*baba* n.m. (pl. *babavətə*) **father** | *baba yəmma* father and mother, parents; *baba sava* ancestors; family; *bába sávət díyyan* our ancestors (B 16:3); *baba* 'uya stepfather; *babət savuna* great-grandfather; *babi dani/babi day* my father and his family members (§ 9.6.2.1.)

*babəcca* n.m. **little father**

*babuni* n.m. **my little father (usually said to a child)**

*bac* n.m. (Azer. toy bəyi 'lord of the wedding') **organizer of wedding**

*bačə* n.f. (child language) **kiss** | *halli xa bačə*. Give me a kiss.

*bad-+dava* n.m./f. (Pers. bad-da'vā) **mischiefous child, a child who likes to fight with others**

*bad-+daviyyuta* n.f. **mischief, pugnacity**

*badal* prep. (Pers. badal < Arab.) (1) **repayment**. (2) **instead of, for the sake of** | *yuvvux-ivən xa-məndi*, *badal daha halli xa-məndi* I have given you something, give me something in exchange for this. (3) **on account of**

*badan* n.m. (pl. *badanə*) (Pers. badan < Arab.) (1) **body**. (2) **rampart, wall (of city), fence**

*bad-baxt* n.invar./adj.invar. (Kurd. bed-baxt, Pers. bad-baxt) **unfortunate, unlucky**

*bad-baxtuyta* n.f. (Pers. bad-baxt) **adversity, misfortune**

*badə* I (vn. *bdeta*) **to be delirious, to rave, to talk wildly**

*bad-hosala* n.f. (Pers. bad-howsele) **short-temper, bad temper**

*badla* n.f. (pl. *badlə*, *badlatə*) (Arab. badla) (1) **vestment worn by priests**. (2) a **watch, the period in which a person stands as a sentinel**

*badla* n.m. **dawn (before sun rises)** | *badlət* *kedamtələ* It is dawn

- bad-šāns* n.m. (Pers. bad + French chance) **ill fortune; unfortunate** | *bad-šāns-ilə* He is unluckily
- bad-šūm* adj.invar. (Pers. bad-šūm) **ill-fated; unlucky**
- baduķə* n.pl. **boy scouts**
- badula* adj.ms. (fs. *badulta*, pl. *badulə*) **garrulous**
- baduvva* n.m. (pl. *baduvva*) **wooden poker for stirring fire**
- bad-xarj* adj.invar. (Pers. bad-xarj) **wasteful, thrifless, extravagant**
- bad-xarjuyta* n.f. **wastefulness, profligacy, thriflessness** | *bad-xarjuyta 'avəd* I to waste, to spend extravagantly
- bad-xurrac* adj.invar (Pers. bad-xorāk) **gluttonous; lacking good table manners**
- bad-xurrajuyta* n.f. **gluttony**
- bahra* n.f. (Pers. bahre) **monetary interest**
- baj-+zada* n.m. (pl. *baj-+zada*) (Pers. bagzāde prince's son, Azer. bəyzada) **nobleman; gentleman, a well-bred and honourable man**
- bajraz* n.? **purple; dark crimson** | <sup>+parčət</sup> *bajraz* purple cloth
- bajbəj* QI (vn. *bajbajta*) **to crawl (especially child), to creep** | *tilə bajbuja bajbuja* He came crawling
- bajər* II (vn. *bajarta*) (1) **to bring up, to nurture, to feed; to cultivate, to care for** | *ka-do yala bujərrun* They brought up the child. (2) **to manage to do sth.; to be able, to be competent**
- bajət* adj.invar. (Pers. bā-jidd) **diligent, accurate,**
- bajituyta* n.f. **accuracy, diligence** | *bajituyta 'avəd* I to do sth. diligently, to strive
- bajuja* n.m. (pl. *bajuja*) **insect**
- baķbək* QI (vn. *baķbaķta*) **to bubble, to bubble up; to cause to bubble** | *miyya buķbəklun* The water bubbled; *nuyra buķbəklə ka-miyya* The fire made the water bubble
- baķi* (i) (Pers. bāqī < Arab.) adj.invar. **remaining** | *baķi +šulənə-da* the remaining jobs (B 3:13)
- baķi* (ii) (child language) | *ta baķi* (< *ta xbaķi*) Come to my embrace
- bakiyya* n.f. (Pers. baqiyye < Arab.) **remainder**
- baķla* n.pl. (sing.m. *baķla*) (Arab. baqla) (1) **green beans.** (2) **nonsense** | <sup>+avva naša +raba baķla ci-hamzəm</sup> That man talks a lot of nonsense; <sup>'a-+šula šaklə baķlələ</sup> This job is all mixed up
- baķluyša* n.m., *baķlušta* n.f. (pl. *baķluyšə*) **smooth pebble, river pebble** | pl. *baķluyšə* gravel; game played with pebbles
- baķta* n.f. (pl. *baķyatə*) **mosquito**
- bala* n.m. **memory, attention, mind; face** | *darə* I <sup>+al-</sup>*bala* to recall; *xamə* II <sup>+al-</sup>*bala* to preserve in memory, to memorize; <sup>+palət</sup> II *mən-bala* to put out of one's mind; *xamyanaju-bala* retentive in one memory; *mən-bala la-+paltana*

retentive in one's memory; *massəm* III *bala* to be attentive, to be alert, to care for; <sup>+</sup>*al-bàlila* *ána* I remember (B 10:21); *balux* *'ilə* <sup>+</sup>*al-tåyəmna* you are facing south

*balad* adj.invar. (Azer. bələd, Pers. *balad*) **experienced, knowing; familiar, personally known** | *balad* *'avəd* I to acquaint, to accustom; *'avə* I *balad* to get acquainted, accustomed

*baladči* n.m. (pl. *baladčiyə*) **guide, leader**

*balbaluyka* n.f. (pl. *balbaluykə*) **sour black cherry; sour black cherry tree**

*balbə* QI (vn. *balbeta*) **to dig around, to pick around (a hen); to search around for sth., to poke around in** | *balbuyələ* *nuyra* He is poking a fire

*balbal* QI (vn. *balbalta*) **to mix up, to confuse, to confound, to make untidy; to become confused** | *balbulələ* He is confused; *cosu bulbəllələ* His hair is untidy; *balbaltə* *lišanə* the confusion of languages (Babel), pandemonium

*balci, balcət* part. (Kurd. belkî, Pers. *balke*) **perhaps, perchance**

*băla* part. (Pers. *bale*) **yes (answer to a summons)**

*balə* I (vn. *bleta*) **to wear out, to decay, to grow old, to languish**

*baləs* I (vn. *blastə*) **to bruise (tr. and intr.), to crush; to stamp on; to pulp, to mash, to crumple, to wrinkle** | *ríšət xiúvva blùslə* Stamp on the head of the snake (A 47:15)

*balķa* adj.ms. (fs., pl. *balķa*) (Kurd. *belek*) (1) **spotted, speckled, piebald, multi-coloured.** (2) **having a patch on the leg (horses).** (3) **wide open (eyes).**

*balķa* n.m. **ripeness** | <sup>+</sup>*anvə* *balķa npilələ* *biyyé* The grapes are beginning to get ripe

*balķə* n.pl. **spots (on skin, e.g. of a leopard)** | <sup>+</sup>*sadru* *balķi-balķəla* His shirt is multicoloured

*balķən* QI (vn. *balķanta*) **to become ripe (grapes)** | <sup>+</sup>*anvə* *vena* *bulķənnə* The grapes have become ripe

*balləs* QI (vn. *ballasta*) **to masticate, to chew (with mouth closed)** | cf. <sup>+</sup>*lasləs* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*laslasta*) **to chew (with mouth open)**

*ballu, banluy* adj.invar. (Turk. *belli*) **clear, comprehensible, obvious, apparent** | *ballu* *'avəd* I to clarify

*balma* n.m. (1) **rice hay.** (2) **wheat hay.** (3) **trodden flax stalks** | used for mattresses; used for roofs; burnt and used as fertilizer

*balməl* QI **to be untidy, entangled (hair); to be confused** | *xá báxta* *cóso bulməlla* a woman with entangled hair (A 39:33)

*balzam* n.m. (Azer. *balzam* < Arab.) **balm**

*bambuyla, bumbuyla* n.m. (pl. *bambuylə, bumbuylə*) (1) **spout (of jug).** (2) **icicle**

*bampər* QI (vn. *bamparta*) **to crown, to coronate**

*bancita* n.f. (pl. *bancyay*) (Russ. *банка*) **jar, can (Canda)**

*band* | *mut band* *víyyat* *biyyu?* Why do you keep bugging him?

*banda* n.f. (pl. *bandə*) (Azer. bənd) (1) **dam** | *davək* i *banda* to dam. (2) **frame of a loom.** (3) **band**

*bandar* n.f. (pl. *bandarə*) (Pers. bandar) **harbour, port**

*banə* I (vn. *bneta*) (i) **to build, to found** | *le* +*masət banət* +*allu* You cannot rely on him

*banə* I (vn. *bneta*) (ii) **to count**

*banə* II (vn. *baneta*) **to prepare food** | *ka-dánnəyál-súrə mūjárə bášli?* | *mù báni?*

What should they cook for those children? What can they prepare? (A 52:4)

*banja* n.m. (pl. *banjə*) **bank dividing a field**

*banoša* **children's team game** (B 9:2)

*banpər* QI (vn. *banparta*) **to flutter; to cause to flutter** | *'ata banpurələ ju-poxa*

The flag is fluttering in the wind; *poxa bunpərra ka-'ata* The wind made the flag flutter

*banta* n.f. (pl. *banyatə*) **sleeve (of a garment)**

*bar* n.f. (Kurd. bar) **side, shore** | *xəšli bar-yama* +*raba* +*sa'attə* I went along the shore for many hours; *bar-yama mlitəva našə* The shore of the sea was full of people; *bar-'urxa zabunəva yeməš* They were selling fruit on the side of the road; *zəbla tpixəva bar-'urxa* rubbish was poured out along the side of the road

*bara* n.f. (pl. *baravata*, *barə*) **sluice in side of large irrigation channel (*šakita*) or irrigation ditch (*koša*); sluice of dam that is opened to irrigate a field**

*barbəz* QI (vn. *barbazta*) **to scatter (intr. and tr.), to disperse (intr. and tr.)** | *našə burbəzlun* *ju-*+*atra* The people scattered in the land; *malca burbəzzələ našə* The king scattered the people

*barda* n.m. **hail**

*barə* I (vn. *breta*) (1) **to create** | *bretət dunyə* creation of the world. (2) **to be born** *bəryəven laxxa* I was born here

*barəc* I (vn. *bracta*) **to kneel**

*barəd* I (vn. *bratta*) **to abrade, to scrape off**

*barək* I (vn. *brakta*) **to have sudden pain, to have a stiff neck**

*barəx* → +*barəx*

*barəx* II (vn. *baraxta*) **to bless**

*barəxmaya* n.m. (pl. *barəxmaya*) (< *bar-xmaya* 'son of parents-in-law') **brother of wife**

*barəxmeta* n.f. (pl. *barəxmaya*) **sister of wife**

*barəz* I (vn. *brazta*) **to dry (intr.)**

*barham* 'avəd I (Pers. barham) **to change one's mind; to annul**

*barkul* part. **opposite; facing; against** | *maxə* I *barkul* to hinder; *tuy barkuyli* Sit opposite me → *darkul*

*barra* n.m. (pl. *barra*) **edge of material**

- barrana* n.m. (pl. *barranə*) (Kurd. beran) **male sheep, ram**
- barriyya* n.f. (pl. *barriyyə*) (Arab. barriyya) **desert**
- baruyza* adj.ms. (fs. *baruzta*, pl. *baruyzə*) **dry**
- baruzuya* n.f. **drought**
- barxəş* QI (vn. *barxaştə*) **to stir (tr.), to stir up; to mix** | *barxušulə bušala* He is stirring the stew
- baryana* n.m. **creator, God**
- bās* n. (Arab. baht) **report, fame.** prep. *basət, bazət* **about, concerning** | *ńána hamzúməvan bázət!* šítət ńárpi ńóšta! I am talking about the year forty-six (B 6:1)
- bas, ba* part. (Azer. bəs, Pers. bas) (1) **but, however.** (2) **then**
- basəm* I (vn. *bsamta*) (1) **to be healed, to recover (from illness).** (2) **to be pleasing** | *ńn basmalux, drili xa +čay* Please pour me some tea
- basəm* II (vn. *basamta*) **to cure** | *haccəm bət-basəmlə +marrana* The doctor will cure the patient; *ríša basámta b-yavvíválə!* They offered him their condolences (B 5:6)
- basər* I (vn. *bsarta*) **to be deflowered (girl)**
- basər* II (vn. *basarta*) **to deflower, to rape (a virgin)**
- basima* adj.ms. (fs. *basəmta*, pl. *basimə*) **pleasant, tasty, delicious** | *basima +raba* thank you; *ńavət basima* thank you: *ńavət basíma +rábəl kát a-pársat yuvválux kàti!* Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity (A 1:50); *ńavət basíma! +al-dá násyat ka-díyyi yuvválux!* Thank you for this advice that you have given me (A 42:9)
- basimuyta* n.f. **delight, pleasure, happiness** | *basimuytux* I have come on a visit of friendship only (not business)
- basmana* n.m. (fs. *basmanta*, pl. *basmanə*) **healer.** adj. **curable, salubrious** | *+marra basmana* curable disease
- bassa* part. (Pers. bas) **enough, sufficient** | *bassa!* That's enough! *bassi* That is enough for me; *bassux-ila* That is enough for you; *bassux mən daha* You have enough of that, you have done enough of that (stop it!); *tre dane bassa* two (e.g. eggs) are enough; *lena bassa vaya* They are not sufficient
- bastə* QI (vn. *basteta*) **to feel at home, to feel at ease (with [+al-] so.)** | *bastuyəvən +allux* I feel at home with you → *bəsta*
- basumana* adj.ms. (fs. *basumanta*, pl. *basumana*) **healing** | *+darmana basumana* healing drug
- bašəl* I (vn. *bšalta*) **to cook (intr.)** | *bšila* cooked; *suysa bšilələ* The horse is hardened (to heat, cold, etc.)
- bašəl* II (vn. *bašalta*) **to cook (tr.)**
- bašila* n.f. (pl. *bašilə*) **large musk melon (so-called because it is ripened by burying it in warm earth)**

*bašķa* → *bušķa*

*bašša* adj.ms. (fs., pl. *baššə*) **with black spot on forehead (animal)** | *baššə* is used as the name of a cow: *ta baššə!* Come along Baššə!

*bat-* + *kuyra* → *bat-* + *kuyra*

*bata* (child language) **daughter, girl** | *bati* (child daughter) **my daughter (hypo-coristic)**

*batīs* n.m. **type of fabric**

*bava* n.f. (pl. *bavata*) (1) **mound in an orchard (*carma*) enclosing a small basin that was a component of a larger basin known as *taxta*.** (2) **a large basin in a wheat field (= *taxta*)** (see illustration 53)

*bavəcca, babəcca* n.m. (pl. *bavəccə, babəccə*) **male sparrow**

*bax-* + *axuna* n.f. (pl. *bax-* + *axunvatə*) **wife of brother** → *calta*

*bax-baba* n.f. (pl. *bax-babavatə*) **stepmother**

*bax-* + *mamuna, bax-* + *mamu* n.f. (pl. *bax-* + *mamunvatə*) **wife of paternal uncle**

*bax-* + *xaluvva, bax-* + *xalu* n.f. (pl. *bax-* + *xaluvvata*) **wife of maternal uncle**

*baxča* n.f. (pl. *baxčanə, baxčanana* Canda) (Kurd. *bexçe*, Azer. *bağça*, Pers. *bāḡče*) **kitchen garden for fruits**

*baxə* I (vn. *bxeta*, prog. *bəxyələ*) **to cry, to weep**

*baxt* n.m. (Azer. *bəxt*, Pers. *baxt*) **luck; good fortune, fate, honour** | *baxt-* + *ávərišux!* May you have good fortune (A 44:12)

*baxta* n.f. (pl. *baxtata*) (Kurd. *bext* 'honour', 'luck') **woman; wife, spouse** | *baxtətə* **beta house-wife**

*baxtavar* adj.invar. (Azer. *bəxtəvər*, Pers. *baxtvar*) **fortunate, happy** | *baxtávar rišan!* How fortunate we are! (A 45:16)

*baxtunta* n.f. **little woman** | *baxtunti* **my dear wife**

*baxušta* n.f. (pl. *baxušyata*) **ladle**

*baxxəl* QI (vn. *baxxalta*) (Pers. *baxıl* < Arab.) **to envy (b- so.); to become jealous** | *baxxúləl bí 'axınul* He is jealous of his brother (A 48:1)

*baxxila* adj.ms. (fs. *baxxalta*, pl. *baxxilə*) **envious; jealous**

*baxxilanuya* n.f. **envy, jealousy** | *baxxilanuya ḥavəd* I to envy, to become jealous

*baxyə* n.f. (pl. *baxyə*) **stitch formed by looping the needle back and thus producing an unbroken line of stitches on the cloth** | *baxyə maxə* I to sew with the *baxyə* stitch

*baxyana* adj.ms. (fs. *baxyanta*, pl. *baxyanə*) **weepy, crybaby**

*bayəscəl* n.f. (pl. *bayəscilə*) (English) **bicycle**

*baykuš* n.m. (Azer. *bayquş* 'owl') **an ugly person; a person who brings bad luck**

*bazbək* QI (vn. *bazbałta*) **to scatter, to disperse** | *košanə b-ajaršáxva* | *kat-míyya là bazbókkı* We would build ditches (in the field) so that the water would

- not disperse (B 3:8); *u-fólla fu-uraváy bədràyuna!* yánət lá bazbəkkílə xút  
*’aklè!* They put grass in the mangers, so they do not scatter it under their feet  
(B 17:47)
- bazəcca* n.m. (pl. *bazəccə*) **splinter**
- bazək* II (vn. *bazakta*) **to scatter seeds, to sow**
- bazət* → *bās*
- bazruķa* n.m. (pl. *bazruķə*) **marigold**
- bázzuyna* adv. **last year**
- bəbbalta, bibalta* n.f. (pl. *bəbbalyata, bibalyata*), *bəbbaltət/bibaltət* +’ayna **pupil of the eye**
- bə-dyuyta, ba-dyuyta* n.f. **ink; inkwell** | *kalamı latlə bə-dyuyta* My pen has no ink,  
*manət bə-dyuyta* **inkpot**
- bəffa, bubəffa* n.m. (pl. *bəffə, bubəffə*) **tassel**
- bəmpar* n.m. (pl. *bəmpara*) **crown, diadem**
- bənna* → *d-la bənna*
- bənnavra* n.m. (pl. *bənnavrə*) (Azer. bünövrə, Pers. bonāvar) **foundation, platform, stage, basis**
- bənyana* n.m. (pl. *bənyana*) (i) **building** | *bənyanət cənšə* public building
- bənyana* n.m. (pl. *bənyana*) (ii) **number**
- bənyat* n.f. (pl. *bənyattə*) (Arab. binya, Kurd. binî, Pers. bonyād) **foundation, basis** | +’maṭə t +’al-bənyat to investigate, to get to the source
- bərca* n.f. (pl. *bərcacə*) **knee** | *maxə t bərca* to kneel; to stand one’s ground (as in a battle); *maxə t bərcacə* to be appalled (by bad news. Lit. to knock knees);  
*’anna laxmē +’al-bərcé ’ina* These people—their bread is on their knees (i.e. they keep food for themselves, they are in it for themselves)
- bərķa* n.m. (pl. *bərķə*) **lightning; electricity**
- bərrənč* n.m. (Turk. pırıncı) **rice**
- bərya* n.m. (fs. *brita*, pl. *bəryə*) (i) **created; creature, creation**
- bərya* n.m. (fs. *brita*, pl. *bəryə*) (ii) **foal; a colt, young horse (up to 2 years old, after it has been weaned up to the time you can ride it)**
- bərza* n.m. (1) **dry land; firm ground.** (2) **drought**
- bəscə* n.m. (pl. *bəscə*) **cock of hair**
- bəsma* n.m. **rosemary; incense, frankincense**
- bəsta* adj.invar. **at ease, at home (+’al with)** | *bəstəvən +’allux* I feel at ease with you; *’ay bəstəla +’allux* She feels at ease with you
- bəstana* → +’*bustana*
- bəstayuta* n.f. **familiarity; feeling at ease**
- bəsti* n.m. (pl. *bətiyyə*) (Pers. bast ‘fastening’) **metal rod put over oven to support pans (Sal. *bəstin*)**
- bəššə-bəššə* (child language) **bath, bathtime!**

- bət-+kuyra, bat-+kuyra* n.m. **grave** | *cipət bət-+kuyra* grave stone; pl. *bət-+kuyra-vatə* cemetery
- bət-josə* n.m. (pl. *bət-josə*) **refuge, shelter; support**
- bəttav* adj.invar. (Azer. bütöv) **integral, whole, unbroken** | *bəttav čiman* virgin soil
- bəttavuya* n.f. **integrity**
- bət-yalda* n.m. **Christmas**
- bəxyə* n.m. **weeping, crying.** adj.ms. (fs. *bxita*, pl. *bəxyə*) weeping, in tears
- bəzza* n.m. (pl. *bəzzazə*) **nipple, teat; breast** | *yalət bəzza* suckling; *+kattə* I *mən-bəzza* to wean a child
- bəzzazətjaməšta/tavərta* n.pl. **type of green grapes shaped like teats**
- bəžžə* (child language) **animal (ox, cow, buffalo)**
- be-+abur* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Azer. abır, Pers. āberū) **shameless**
- be-+ār* adj.invar. (Kurd. bēar) **shameless, vile**
- be-+ə'tubar* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Pers. e'tebār, Azer. etibar < Arab.) **unreliable, inconsiderate**
- be-+čara* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê-čare) **helpless, without remedy; hopeless**
- be-+haya* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Pers. hayā' < Arab.) **impertinent, shameless, vile, unabashed, dishonourable**
- be-+hayuya, be-+hayta* n.f. **impertinence, shamelessness, immodesty, indecency**
- be-+həssab* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Pers. hesāb < Arab.) **countless, innumerable**
- be-+kayda* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Azer. qayda < Arab.) **in disorder** | *'a-naša+śulanu+raba be-+kaydəna* That man's affairs are in a mess
- be-+namus* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Pers. nāmūs) **dishonest, rascal, scoundrel**
- be-+payda* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Azer. fayda/Pers. fāyede < Arab.) **unprofitable, useless**
- be-+párma* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê) **not (easily) teachable, with poor mental capacity, stupid**
- be-+suppat* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Pers. sefat 'qualities' < Arab.) **unsociable, unfriendly** → *be-sappat*
- be-+tab* adj.invar. (Kurd bê + Pers. tāb) **flimsy, lacking strength, intolerant**
- be-+ṭama* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê) **tasteless**
- bebuna* n.f. (pl. *bebunə*) (Kurd. beybûn) **camomile; general term for wild flower**
- be-cepuuya* n.f. (Kurd. bê + Azer. kef/Pers. keyf) **insult; disrespect**
- be-cēp* adj.invar. (Kur. bê + Azer. kef) **displeased, unwell**
- be-din* adj.invar. (Kurd. bēdīn) **lawless**
- be-hivi* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê-hēvî) **hopeless**
- be-hona* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê) **unwise, unreasonable**

*be-hosala* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Pers. howsele) **impatient**

*be-huš* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Pers. hūš) **unconscious** | *be-huš vilə* He fainted

*be-jur'at* adj.invar. (Kurd bê + Pers. jor'at) **without courage, weak-spirited, indecisive**

*be-kuvvat* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Azer. qüvvət/Pers. qovvat < Arab.) **feeble, weak; incapable**

*belča* n.f. (pl. *belčə*) (Azer. bel) **small spade**

*be-marifat* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Pers. ma'refat < Arab.) **impolite; uneducated, mannerless**

*be-našuyta* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê) **unsociable, unpleasant**

*be-naxpa* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê) **shameless**

*be-raxmə* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê) **merciless; severe, strict**

*be-raxmuyta* n.f. **lack of mercy; severity**

*be-sappat* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Pers. seffat < Arab.) **unpleasant, without good manners** → *be-+suppat*

*be-soda* adj.invar., adv. (Kurd. bê + Pers. sowdā ‘love’) **unwilling, reluctant; unwillingly, reluctantly**

*beta* n.m. (pl. *bətvatə, batvata, batə*, Canda *betanana*) **house, building** | *marət beta* (pl. *maravatət batvata*) house owner, landlord; *betət ərxə* building containing watermill

*be-tarcab* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê + Arab. tarkīb) **uncouth**

*betuya* n.f. **household, household objects, extended family**

*bevač* adj.invar. (Kurd. bêweç ‘sterile, puny’) | *fəlla bevač* weed

*be-xam* adj.invar. (Kurd. bê-xem < Arab.) **careless, insensitive**

*beža* adj.invar. **beige** | *tora beža* beige ox

*bi-* n.cst. **family of** | *bi-savuni* the family of my grandfather; *bərráxəna cmá janàtəl +mašmúyəna ká bí bràtal* Several people would go and present the marriage request to the family of the girl (B 10:22)

*bi-+abur, bi+yabur* adj.invar. (Pers. bī-ābrū) **shameless, disgraceful, dishonourable** | *bi-+abur 'avəd* 1 to defame, disgrace, shame

*bi-+aburyta* n.f. **dishonour, ignominy, infamy, shame**

*bi-+ənsaf* adj.invar. (Pers. bī-ensāf) **unjust**

*bila-bila* adv. (Azer. bilə-bilə) **consciously, knowingly**

*bilacta* n.f. (pl. *bilacyata*) (Azer. bilək) **wrist**

*bīm* n.f. (pl. *bīmə*) **raised space between the sanctuary wall of a church and the nave, platform of the altar**

*bina* n.f. (Kurd. bîhn, bén) (1) **breath** | *hár xà-ja šətyáləl b-xá bına* He has drunk it all at once, with just one breath (A 37:16); *+maryəx* III *bina* to be long suffering. (2) **What do you want? (response to a call).** (3) **Please repeat (said when you do not hear somebody's words)**

*bí-nisanə, nisanə* n.m. spring (season)

*bışə* n.m. (pl. *bışə*) demon, devil, satan. adj.ms. (fs. *bəšta*, pl. *bışə*) wily, evil

*bi-şarmuyta* n.f. (~ *be-şarmuyta*) (Pers. šarm) immodesty

*bışuya* n.f. malice, malevolence, viciousness, slyness, vileness

*bita* n.f. (pl. *biyyə*) egg | *zardət bita* yoke of an egg; *+xvarət bita* white of an egg

*bitun* part. (Azer. bütün) whole, entire | *+tla bitun +xilelə* He ate the three of them completely (without leaving anything)

*biva* n.m. (pl. *bivə*) hole in the wall of an orchard or vineyard to allow irrigation water to enter

*bız* n.m. (pl. *bızə*) (Azer. biz) awl, bradawl. adj.invar. sharp, pointed | *+məstü bız bız bəclayəla* his hair is bristling, standing on end

*bne* n.pl. inhabitant(s), native(s) | *'ana bne 'Urmi=vən* I am an inhabitant of Urmi; *bne-Javilan-ıvən* I am from Gavilan; *bne-Torəz-ila* She is from Tabriz; *bne-Munşavəvəx* We are from Munşava; *bne-+Azerbaijan-ina* They are from Azerbaijan. Followed by oblique demonstrative: *'ana bne da-+atrəvən* I am a native of this country; *bne-dé mətəl* the people of that village (A 39:21). With annexation particle: *bnē-t 'umtat jánu* people of his own community (A 48:24)

*bne-kyama* n.m. (pl. *bne-kyamə*) ally

*bne-naša* n.pl. (sing. *+bar-naša*) people

*bne-naşuya* n.pl. population, humanity

*boláy* (child language) Let's sleep

*bosa* n.m. (pl. *bosə*) wooden ring at top of main pole of plough to which the yoke of oxen is attached (see illustration 52)

*bra-akulta* n.f. trip, stumbling block

*bra-ida* n.f. (pl. *bra-idsə*) glove

*bra-dora* n.m. (pl. *bra-dorə*) wooden lock

*bra-kala* n.m. (pl. *bra-kalə*) echo

*bra-kənna* n.f. (pl. *bra-kənnatə*) egg put under the hen so that it will lay more eggs

*bra-kulta* n.f. (pl. *bra-kulyata*) trap | *bra-kulta drilux kati* You caused me to fall into a trap

*brata* n.f. (pl. *bnata*) daughter, girl | *brata xumita* adopted daughter; *brata 'uya*, *brata 'uyə*, *bratət +fora* n.f. stepdaughter; *bratət +amta*, *brät-+amta* n.f. (pl. *bnatət +amta*) cousin (daughter of paternal aunt); *bratət +mamuna*, *brät-+mamuna* n.f. (pl. *bnatət +mamuna*) cousin (daughter of paternal uncle); *bratət +xaluvva*, *brät-+xaluvva* n.f. (pl. *bnatət +xaluvva*) cousin (daughter of maternal uncle); *bratət 'axuna*, *brät-'axuna* n.f. (pl. *bnatət 'axuna*) niece (brother's daughter); *bratət xalta*, *brät-xalta* n.f. (pl. *bnatət xalta*) cousin

(daughter of maternal aunt); *bratət xata, brāt-xata* n.f. (pl. *bnatət xata*) niece (sister's daughter)

*bratunta* n.f. little daughter | *bratunti* my little daughter

*bratuya* n.f. girlhood, virginity | *škaltət bratuya* deflowering of virginity

*brisəm, 'brisəm* n.f. (Arab. 'ibrīsim) silk

*brisəm, 'brisəm* n.m. (Azer. əbrişim, Pers. abrīšim) silk

*brita* (i) n.f. (pl. *bnatə*) daughter (esp. N and Canda, opposed to *brata*, the meaning of which is 'girl')

*brita* (ii) n.f. creation, world

*briza* adj.ms. (fs. *brəzta*, pl. *brizə*) dried, dry

*bruna* n.m. (pl. *bnunə*) (1) son | *brunət +'amta, brūn-+'amta* n.m. (pl. *bnunət +'amta*) cousin (son of paternal aunt); *brunət +mamuna, brūn-+mamuna* n.m. (pl. *bnunət +mamuna*) cousin (son of paternal uncle); *brunət +xaluvva, brūn-+xaluvva* n.m. (pl. *bnunət +xaluvva*) cousin (son of maternal uncle); *brunət 'axuna, brūn-'axuna* n.m. (pl. *bnunət 'axuna*) nephew (brother's son); *brunət xalta, brūn-xalta* n.m. (pl. *bnunət xalta*) maternal cousin (m.) (son of maternal aunt); *brunət xata, brūn-xata* n.m. (pl. *bnunət xata*) nephew (sister's son); A: *bruna vīlə yan brita?* B: *bruna vīlə!* A: Was a son or daughter born? B: A son was born! (= Were you successful, e.g. in your job application? Yes, I was successful!). (2) boy, child | *bruna xumya* adopted child. (3) unmarried virgin man

*btulta* n.f. (pl. *btulyata*) virgin

*btuyla* n.m. (pl. *btuylə*) n.m. celibate bachelor

*bu* n.m. side (Canda) | *mən da-bu, mən do-bu* on this side and that side

*bubəʃə* → *bəʃə*

*bubu* (child language) good, nice | *'a-tutta bubula* These clothes are nice

*buğum* n.f. (pl. *buğuymə*) (Azer. buğum) (1) joint (including body joint), connection, knot in wood | *buğuymi +mrayıla* My joint aches; *buğuymət 'idata* armpit. (2) a small linear measure (about an inch)

*buyma* n.f. (pl. *buymə*) type of owl

*bukla* n.m. (pl. *buklə*) curly lock of hair | *coso buklı-buklə vittula* She has made her hair curly

*bukša* n.m. (pl. *bukšə*) (Pers. buqša, Azer. boğça) knapsack (consisting of stick and bundle) → *buxča*

*bukta* n.f. (pl. *bukyatə*) (Kurd. bûk) doll

*bula* n.m. (pl. *bulə, bulalə*) (1) hairy top (of corn), spike (of corn) | *+palət II bula* to remove the top of corn; *bulət maccə* head of maize. (2) lock (of hair); untidy hair | *bulət cosa* lock of hair; *'axči tre +tla bulə pišena +al-rišu* Only two or three locks remain on his head

*bulana* adj.ms. (fs. *bulanta*, pl. *bulanə*) full of hairy heads of corn (*bulalə*) | *xakla bulanta* field full of corn heads

- bulbul* n.m./f. (pl. *bulbuylə*) (Azer. bülbül, Pers. bolbol) **nightingale** | 'ax *bulbul* ci-+karə He reads very well
- buljana* n.m. (pl. *buljanə*) **occupation; amusement**
- bumbast* n.f. (Pers. bun-bast) **blind alley, dead end (of street)**
- bumbuyla* → *bambuyla*
- buna, būna* n.m. son (hypocoristic); (child language) **boy** | *buni* my son
- burani* n.f. dish consisting of pumpkins (or potatoes or tomatoes or beans or beetroot) with garlic, curdled milk and butter
- burbəzza* adj.ms. (fs. *burbəzta*, pl. *burbəzzə*) scattered, ravaged, destroyed; spreading, forked (tree)
- burcatə* n.pl. blessings, grace, abundance | *yavval* i *burcatə* to bless; *yavanət* *burcatə* granting blessings; 'alaha *yavanət burcatələ* God is the giver of blessings
- burji* n.m. (pl. *burğı*) (Azer. burğu) **drill, auger**
- buri* n.m. (pl. *buriyyə*) (Azer. *boru* 'tube') **tap**
- burja* n.m. (pl. *burjə*) (Azer. bürc, Pers. borj) (1) **tower.** (2) **zodiac**
- burnotə* n.tantum (Azer. burunotu) **snuff**
- burvana, bərvana* n.m. (pl. *burvanə, bərvanə*) (Pers. barvān) **apron**
- busama* n.m. (pl. *busamə*) **pleasure, fun, feast**
- buspur* n.m. (pl. *buspuyrə*) **wooden prop in animal shed to hold a pannier basket** (+*kərtəla*) when it is being filled with dung
- buš* part. (Pers. bīš) **more, most** | nəkva! mən-'úrza buš-xeləntəla! A female is stronger than a male (A 2:36); mūdila 'o-mándi buš xeləna ju-dúnyə?! What is the strongest thing in the word? (A 38:7); məndíyyu buš-+rába yuvvóllə ka-brúna +júra! He gave most of his property to the eldest son (A 38:1); +'arrəl cmá-t 'óya macəxtəl buš-miyya c-ázi jávo! The more soft the ground is, the more water sinks into it (A 3:11)
- bušala* n.f. **stew** | *bušál-*+*xalva* n.m. boiled milk cereal; rice pudding
- bušayuya* n.f. **majority**
- buška, baška* n.m. (pl. *buškə*) (Russ. бочка) **barrel** | *buškət* +*nuyğa* barrel of oil
- bušlunya* n.m. **heat (of weather)** | *mut bušlunyələ!* How hot it is!
- but* part. **about** | xá-naša lítən! táxmən but-díyyi! There is nobody who will think about me (A 33:1); kát... xá náša xína lè-'azəl bút dé bràta! so that another man would not go and (ask) for the girl (in marriage) (B 10:22); ka-bút mù týyyət?! Why have you come? (A 42:27)
- butta* n.f. (pl. *buttata*) (i) **sleeve**
- butta* n.f. (pl. *buttata*) (Pers. bûte) (ii) **bush, thicket, shrub, clump of grass** | *buttata* bush (expanse of land covered in bushes)
- butun* → *bitun*
- buxari* n.f. (pl. *buxarıyyə*) (Azer. buxarı, Pers. boxārī) **iron stove**

*buxča* n.f. (pl. *buxčə*) (Azer. boğça) **bundle, wrapper for holding clothes** → *bukša*

*buyma* n.f. (pl. *buymə*) **owl**

*buzma* n.m (pl. *buzmə*) **pleat, fold (in material)** | <sup>+oymo</sup> *buzmə ətla* Her skirt has pleats

## <sup>+</sup>**b**

<sup>+</sup>*ba'uta* n.f. **wish, request** | *áxči xá +ba'úta ́tlí mənnòxun!* I have only one request (to ask) from you (A 39:21)

<sup>+</sup>*badəl* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*bdalta*) **to change, to take the place of, to fade as light or colour (literary)**

<sup>+</sup>*badəmjən* n.f., <sup>+</sup>*badəmjanta cumta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*badəmjəna cumə*) (Azer. badimcan, Pers. bādīnjān), <sup>+</sup>*badərjan* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*badərjanə*) (Canda; cf. Georgian badrijani) n.f. **aubergine**

<sup>+</sup>*badəmjən* n.f., <sup>+</sup>*badəmjanta smukta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*badəmjəna smukə*), <sup>+</sup>*badənjan* (Canda) n.f. **tomato**

<sup>+</sup>*badər* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*badarta*) **to pour, to spill, to scatter**

<sup>+</sup>*baduša* n.m. **sharpened stick used in children's game** (B 17:1)

<sup>+</sup>*badya* n.f., Piğabayluvvə N, Siri S *badya* (pl. <sup>+</sup>*badyə*, *badyə*) (Pers. bādiya, < Arab.) **bowl (of clay) (see illustration 2)** (Sal. and Gaw. *badya*)

<sup>+</sup>*bağyan* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bağvana*) (Azer. bağban, Pers. bāḡbān) **gardener; guardian of orchard**

<sup>+</sup>*bajər* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*bjarta*) **to become thin, to get weaker, to languish**

<sup>+</sup>*bajərnaya* adj.ms. (fs. *bajərneta*, pl. *bajərnaya*) **thin, skinny**

<sup>+</sup>*bajira* adj.ms. (fs. *bajərta*, pl. *bajırə*) **thin, skinny**

<sup>+</sup>*bajiruya* n.f. **thinness**

<sup>+</sup>*bağbək* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*bağbakta*) **to bubble over (boiling water), to bubble up; to gurgle** | *miyya +bağbuğna* The water is bubbling; fizzing

<sup>+</sup>*bağər* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*bağarta*) **to ask (mən so.), to inquire, to find out** | *mən-şvávə +bağúrələ* He asks the neighbours (A 44:5)

<sup>+</sup>*bağkal* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bağkalə*) (Azer. baqqal, Pers. baqqāl < Arab.) **grocer**

<sup>+</sup>*bağlan* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bağlanə*) (Russ. баклан) **gannet, cormorant**

<sup>+</sup>*bağrana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*bağrana*) **questioner**

<sup>+</sup>*balaban* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*balabanə*) (Pers. bālābān, Azer. baraban) **drum**

<sup>+</sup>*balabanči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*balabančiyə*) (Pers. bālābānčī) **drummer**

<sup>+</sup>*balavčiyuyta* n.f. **pottery (occupation)**

<sup>+</sup>*balbaṭa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*balbaṭə*) **spark, small flame**

<sup>+</sup>*balbal* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*balbalta*) **to babble, to talk confusedly**

- +*balbəs* QI (vn. +*balbasta*) **to twinkle, to glitter, to glisten, to gleam**
- +*balbəssana* adj.ms. (fs. +*balbəssanta*, pl. +*balbəssanə*) **twinkling, glittering, glossy, lustrous** | *cuxva* +*balbəssana* twinkling star
- +*balbəssanuya* n.f. **glitter, shining**
- +*baləč* I (vn. +*blačta*) **to crush, to mash (with fist); to smash, to crunch** | cf. +*marəč* I to crush with fingers
- +*baləxči* n.m. (pl. +*baləxčiyə*) (Azer. baliqçı) **fisherman**
- +*balķət* QI (vn. +*balķat̪ta*) **to dazzle; to be dazzled; to blur; to see objects blurred**
- +*balkun* n.f. (pl. +*balkuynə*) **balcony**
- +*balla* n.f. (pl. +*ballə*) (Azer. bəla, Pers. balā' < Arab.) **disaster, calamity** | +*xattə* +*balla* catastrophe
- +*ballə* I (vn. +*bleta*) **to swallow** | +*arrə cumta* +*ballalux* May the black earth swallow you (curse)
- +*balta* n.f. (pl. +*balyatə*) (Azer. balta) **axe, hatchet, chopper** | əštət +*balta* butt of an axe, hatchet
- +*baltači* n.m. (pl. +*baltačiyə*) (Azer. baltaçı) **axeman; feller**
- +*baluta* n.f. (pl. +*baluyatə*) **throat** | +*bəzzət* +*baluta* pharynx
- +*baluṭa* n.f. (pl. +*baluṭə*) **acorn; oak tree** | *ilanət* +*baluṭə* oak tree; *meşət* +*baluṭə* oak forest; +*tuntət* +*baluṭa* acorn
- +*baluvvana* adj.ms. (fs. +*baluvvanta*, pl. +*baluvvana*) **varacious, glutinous**
- +*baluvvanuya*, +*balvanuya* n.f. **gluttony**
- +*balxam* n.f. (Azer. bəlğəm < Arab. balğam) **phlegm, sputum** | +*balxam sažər* I to spit; +*balxam* +*rappə* II to expectorate, cough up
- +*ba-marifat* adj.invar. (Pers. bā-ma'refat < Arab.) **respectful, polite**
- +*bambazya* n.m. (medieval Latin *bambax -acis*, from Greek βάμβαξ -ακος, βάμβακιον 'cotton') **cotton fabric that is fluffy on the inside and smooth on the outside, used for clothing in winter**
- +*bambəč* QI (vn. +*bambačta*) **to squeeze and shake another person out of frustration; to embrace tightly** → *kambəč*
- +*bambəl* QI (vn. +*bambalta*) **to stagger**
- +*banna* n.m./f. (pl. +*bannə*) (Pers. bannā < Arab.) **builder** | *'urza* +*palələ*, *baxta* +*bannəla* The husband is a labourer, the wife a builder (said when a wife is a good manager though her husband's earnings are small; cf. Maclean 1895, 352)
- +*bannayta* n.f. **building work**
- +*bapadar* adj.invar., +*bapana* adj.ms. (fs. +*bapanta*, pl. +*bapanə*) **reliable**
- +*bar* prep. after (temporal and spatial); behind; outside of | +*bár·arpiyumànə* after forty days (A 3:58); +*bár hàdal* after that (A 3:4); +*šádrun* +*bar* +*malla!* Send after the mullah (A 1:31); *lá·azət* +*bár* +*šùp̄ra!* Do not go after beauty

(A 3:11); *tá +bàri* Come after me, follow me (A 1:13); *+bár m-mdítəl* outside of the town (A 1:9). Often preceded by *mən*: *mən-+bar xa-šabta* after a week; *+bara +bar* after, behind (implying movement): *tílun +bara +bàru* They came behind him (A 28:1). Followed by oblique forms: *hár +vártəva +bár dé tavórta zàrdəl* She was always after that yellow cow (A 51:1); *mən-+bár dýy-da xəšla* He went also after her (A 39:25); head of subordinate clause: *+bár +Axíkar myátələl* After Axiqar dies ... (A 3:39); *mən-+bár brəzvaləl* After it had dried (B 2:22)

*+bar-+zarra, +bər-+zarra* n.m. (pl. *+bar-+zarrə*) seed, pit of fruit

*+bara* adv. afterwards

*+bara* n.m. light; dawn

*+barabar* adj.invar. (Pers. barābar) equal, in equal portions, equally, on a level with; opposite, facing | *'avəd* I *+barabar* to equal; *+barabar=ilə* it is equal; *+barabaro bərraxšələ* He is following her/He is insistent on the matter; *'aha tre +barabarət daha* twice as much as this; *našə xrəzlun +barabar +'uydala* The people stood in a line one after the other

*+barabaruya* n.f. equality

*+baram* part. but (Canda)

*+barana* adj.ms. (pl. *+baranta*, pl. *+baranə*) light, bright; sharp-sighted; discerning, perspicacious | *+hava +barantəla* The weather is bright

*+baraya, +baráy, +bara* adv. behind; back | *mən-+baray* from behind; *+al-+baray* backwards. *+baray* expresses a greater distance behind than *+bar +xasu* close behind him; *xayyúta +ràba! +baràyəva* Life was very backward (B 5:5); *mújjur mačxánnə 'ána 'o-vàzzər, nónən bíyyu +paxàltə mánnu +ťál-bən, kat-'atíni +barày!* How can I find the vizier to plead with him and beg forgiveness from him, so that he will come back? (A 48:27)

*+barbər* Q1 (vn. *+barbarta*) (1) to roar (lion); to cause to roar; to low (oxen); to bellow | *'arya +barburələ* The lion is roaring; *cətvəju-'aklu bət-+barbərrə 'arya* A thorn in his foot will cause the lion to roar. (2) to yell, to wail, to shout in rude voice. (3) to attack.

*+barbərrana* n.m. (pl. *+barbərranə*) screamer

*+barbraya* n.m. (fs. *+barbreta*, pl. *+barbrayə*) barbarian; wild

*+barbrayuya* n.f. barbarity

*+barəx* I (vn. *+braxta*) to be consecrated (marriage); to marry Also *barəx*

*+barəx, barəx* II (vn. *+baraxta*) (1) to sanctify, to consecrate, to bless | *xúš 'aláha +barəxlux!* May God bless you (A 3:84). (2) to join in matrimony; wedding, marriage. (3) to congratulate | *'ídu barxívələl* They wished him a happy festival [Easter] (B 5:6); *yúmət trè! t-azívəl xá 'ídət do-xìna barxívəl* On the second day they went and wished each other a happy festival [Easter] (B 5:7); *+barəx xallat* to congratulate on receiving a present; *+barəx carma* to

congratulate on buying a vineyard; *+barəx batə* to congratulate on building a new house; *+baraxtət batə* a house-warming

*+bar-kdala* n.m. back of neck

*+bar-miyya* n.m. small water plant

*+bar-naša* n.m. (pl. *+bar-našə, bne-našə*) man (human), person, individual

*+bar-našuyta* n.f. humanity; people, population | *marət +bar-našuyta* populous; *'ína +bar-našuyta!* *cùllə jaššùkəla!* Now the people are all watching (A 1:48)

*+barrana* n.m. (pl. *+barranə*) (Kurd. beran) ram for breeding

*+barrən* QI (vn. *+barranta*) to become light; to cause to become light; to dawn | *šəmšə +burrənnala 'otax* The sun made the room light; *m-+bára +barranta* from first light (A 47:6)

*+barṭən* QI (vn. *+barṭanta*) to bud; to cause to bud; to blossom; to cause to blossom | *'ilana +burṭənnə* The tree budded; *xəmma +burṭənnə ka-'ilana* The heat caused the tree to bud

*+barut* n.m. (Turk. barut, Azer. barit) gunpowder, irritable, short-tempered | *+barutu* his gunpowder; *+rappetət +barut* firing explosive shells

*+bar-zoja* n.m./f. partner (husband or wife)

*+basər* I (vn. *+bsarta*) to decrease, to be reduced, to diminish, to fall down; to be insufficient, to be wanting; to become poor | *zuyzə bət-+basri* The money will diminish

*+basər* II (vn. *+basarta*) to reduce (tr.)

*+basma* n.f. (pl. *+basmə*) (Azer. basma, Pers. bāsme) stamp; print, printing type, printing-press, mark or character | *+basma maxə* I to print

*+basmaxana* n.f. (pl. *+basmaxana*) printing house

*+basmən* QI (vn. *+basmanta*) (Pers. bāsme) to print

*+basmər* QI (vn. *+basmarta*) (< *+bəsmara* nail) to nail down; to remain motionless; to stand to attention

*+basura* adj.ms. (fs. *+basurta*, pl. *+basurə*) poor; deficient; less, in a small or a lower degree; inferior, wanting, mean | *'avəd* I *+basura* to minimize; *+basurələ* it is less; *xzılə 'ína xa-* *dínar +basúra!* He saw that one dinar was missing (A 14:4); *šənnu +basurə* minor (in age); *'aha mata našo +basurəna* This village is not populous; *+bayyən +basura* I want less; *xačča ranju +basura vudlə* Make it slightly lighter; *xá cilométr,* *zóda +basúra!* one kilometer, more or less (B 13:3); *'átən +basúra* *'átvəlux tilux?* Did you not have anything better to do than to come? (A 10:2)

*+basuryuta* n.f. (pl. *+basuryatə, +basuryatə*) deficit, poverty, omission, lapse | *+basuryatə* *'ətlux?* Are you missing anything? *?ana +basuryatux malənnun* I shall make up what you are missing

*+bašər* II (vn. *+bašarta*) (Pers. mobāšarat ‘supervision’ < Arab.) to be able, to

- manage; to be dexterous, to do skilfully** | *áha-zə léva +bašúra hamzámva món +hájíl* He did not manage to talk to the pilgrim (A 1:16)
- +**bašibošuyta** n.f. (Azer. başıboş) empty-headedness; inaccuracy, carelessness | *'avəd I +bašibošuyta* to fail
- +**baškab** n.m. (pl. +*baškabə*) (Azer. boşqab, Pers. bošqāb) saucer
- +**bašrana** adj.ms. (fs. +*bašranta*, pl. +*bašrana*) **dexterous, skilful, resourceful**
- +**batlağ** n.f. (Azer. batlaq 'swampy') **mire, marsh, swamp, slough**
- +**batman** n.f. (pl. +*batmanə*) (Ottoman Turk. batmān, Chagatai bātmān) **weight formerly used in Urmi** | Maclean (1901, 41): the usual Urmi batman is about 32 lb. avoirdupoids = 8 haptas = 3200 misqals, one tenth of a load. The grocer's *batman*, for weighing sugar, medicine, tobacco etc. is one fifth of the above, being 640 misqals, the goldsmith's batman is 64 misqals
- +**baṭəl I** (vn. +*baṭalta*) **to become idle**
- +**baṭəl II** (vn. +*baṭalta*) **to render vain or idle; to spoil** | *tílə xmàra, +buṭalla zmàra* An ass has come and spoilt the singing (said when somebody interrupts with a trivial matter)
- +**baṭila** adj.ms. (fs. +*baṭulta*, pl. +*baṭilo*) (1) **idle, unemployed.** (2) **empty, free, unused.** (3) **metaphorical foolish, vain** | +*dana +baṭulta* free time, leisure
- +**baṭiluyta** n.f. **emptiness; nonsense, balderdash; laziness, idleness, unemployment**
- +**baṭna** adj.invar. **pregnant (animal)** | *tavərtan +baṭnəla ka- +zaya* Our cow is pregnant with young
- +**baṭna I** (vn. +*baṭanta*) **to get pregnant**
- +**baṭrən QI** (vn. +*baṭranta*) (1) **to become big, to grow fat; to cause to become big, grow fat** | +*mixulta +buṭrənna ḫatu* The food made him grow fat. (2) **metaphorical: to be haughty or shameless, to become wanton**
- +**baṭuvva** n.m. (pl. +*baṭuvvə*) **flake of baked bread on floor of oven**
- +**bavam** voc. (Pers. bābām) **my dear**
- +**bavaruyta** n.f. (Kurd. bawer) **trust, belief**
- +**bavasər** n.f., +**babasər** n.f. (Pers. bavāsīr < Arab.) **haemorrhoids**
- +**baxər II** (vn. +*baxarta*) **to test, to examine; to discern; to foretell; to examine, to search** | *'alaha bət- +baxər labban* God will test our heart
- +**baxərrana** adj.ms. (fs. +*baxərranta*, pl. +*baxərranə*) **prophetic, farsighted**
- +**baxrana** n.m. (n.f. +*baxranta*, pl. +*baxranə*) **tester**
- +**baxxəv QI** (vn. +*baxxavta*) (Azer. buxov) **to fetter, chain**
- +**bayat** adj.invar. (Azer. bayat) **dry, stale (bread, meat)**
- +**baydax** n.f. (pl. +*baydağə*) (Pers. beydaq) **flag, banner**
- +**baydaxči** n.m. (pl. +*baydaxčiyyə*) **standard-bearer**
- +**bayər** adj.invar. (Pers. bāyer) **fallow (field)** | +*'arra +bayər* land left fallow

- +*bayəs* n.f (pl. +*bayisə*) (Pers. bā'es < Arab.) **reason, cause** | +*bayisət sapari ʔila zabantət beti* The reason for my trip is the sale of my house
- +*baytal* n.m. (pl. +*baytalə*) (Azer. baytar, Pers. beytār < Arab.) **veterinary surgeon, a horse-doctor; farrier**
- +*bayyə* I (vn. +*byeta*) (1) **to want, to desire, to wish** | *cúllət* +*báyyət* ɔdət b-rišu vùd! Do whatever you want to do to him (A 3:88); ́ána +*byáyən mən-nášux lipəl mən-jú* +*átrət díyyuxl* +*árpa xamšá məndyánə қàtił* +*júvvab* ɔd! I want your learned men from your land to give me a response to four or five things (A 3:39); +*báyyət lè-+bət!* whether you want or not (A 54:5). (2) **to love, to fall in love** | +*o-tájər қa-dá cačála* +*ràba ci-+bayyíva*! The merchant loved the bald man very much (A 1:2); ɔ yála hám-da ́é bráta +*bíle* +*iyydalə*! The boy and the girl fell in love with each other (A 55:2). (3) **to demand; to need** | *xazzáxval* +*báyya miyya*, le-+*báyya miyya*! We saw whether it needed water, or did not need water (B 7:1).
- +*bazar* n.f. (pl. +*bazara*) (Azer. bazar, Pers. bāzār) **market, bazaar** | +*spay +bazar* good trade
- +*bazbəz* QI (vn. +*bazbazta*) **to pierce, to prick, to goad, to drive with a goad; to inject** | +*mxáta* +*buzbzəzzalə* ɔdi The needle pricked my hand; ́áha +*bazbi-zuləl b-sépu*! He pierces him with his sword (A 39:11)
- +*bazəcca, bazəcca* n.m. (pl. +*bazəcca, bazəcca*) (Kurd. bazik) (1) **pipe-stem, tobacco pipe.** (2) **stamen of plant (of a flower, plant, corn).** (3) **brow of a mountain.** (4) **ally**
- +*bazərjan* n.m. (pl. +*bazərjanə*) (Pers. bāzārgān) **merchant, petty tradesman**
- +*bazərxan* n.f. (pl. +*bazərxanə*) **walking frame**
- +*bazra* n.m. **castor oil**
- +*bazyana* adj.ms. (fs. +*bazyanta*, pl. +*bazyanə*) **drilling; caustic**
- +*bazza-jozə* n.f. (+*bazza-jozə*) **type of bird that eats nuts**
- +*bazza-kesə* n.f. (pl. +*bazza-kesə*) **woodpecker**
- +*bazzə* I (vn. +*bzeta*) **to bore a hole, to drill, to prick, to puncture, to strike through, to chisel out** | *jibu* +*bzitəla* His pocket has a hole in it (said of a spendthrift) (cf. Maclean 1895, 358)
- +*bəkkə-+bək* n.f. **bubbling sound** → +*bačbək* QI
- +*bər-+zarra* n.m., +*bər-zarta* n.f. (pl. +*bər-+zarrə*) **seed**
- +*bər-calba* n.m. (pl. +*bər-calba*) **son of a dog (abusive)**
- +*bərra-+bər* n.f. **sound of roaring, yelling, wailing** | *víla bəxyə,* +*bərra* +*bérro bəxyə* She started to cry, wailing and crying (A 51:3) → +*barbər*
- +*bərṭə* n.m. (pl. +*bərṭə*) **bud**
- +*bəsla, +busla* n.m. (pl. +*bəslə, +buslə*) **onion** | +*buslə қinə* chives
- +*bəṭma* n.f. (pl. +*bəṭmə*) **fruit of terebinth; terebinth tree** | ̄ilanət +*bəṭmə* terebinth tree

- +bəxxav** n.m. (Azer. buxov) **tether, shackle, fetter** | **+bəxxav maxə** I to fetter, to shackle
- +bəzza** n.m. (pl. **+bəzzə**, **+bəzzazə**) **hole** | **+bəzzət +xmaṭa** eye of a needle; **+bəzzət +baluta** pharynx; **+bəzzət naxira** (pl. **+bəzzazət naxira**) nostril; **+bəzzət xoda** plughole of the sink; **+arra +bəzzazə** children's game: **+árra +bəzzazə +taláxval** We played 'holes in the ground' (B 5:7)
- +berašə** n.m. (pl. **+berašvanə**) **evening; in the evening; last night** | **ci-+jámmi módre mən-+rýta +bérašə +al-+hadártət +duxrànə!** They gather starting on Friday evening to prepare the (meat for the) votive offering (B 11:13)
- +bexaráy** adv. (Pers. < Arab. *bel-āxare*) **finally**
- +bibar, +buybar** n.f. (pl. **+bibarə**, **+buybarə**) (Azer. bibər) **green pepper** | **+buybar smukta** red pepper; **+buybar +sarəpta** hot pepper
- +bičə, +buyčə** adj.ms. (fs. **+bəčta**, **+bučta**, pl. **+bičə, +buyčə**) (Azer. bic) **illegitimate offspring, bastard**
- +biyaban** n.m. (Azer. biyaban, Pers. *biyābān*) **desert, steppe**
- +biyya** n.m. (fs. **+bita**, pl. **+biyyə**) **beloved, favourite** | **+biyyət 'alaha** beloved (m.) of God, righteous; **+bitət 'alaha** beloved (f.) of God, righteous
- +biyyuyta** n.f. **love**
- +boci** n.f. (Azer. bacı) **sister** | **'áy pâkkə +bòci!** Oh sister frog (A 52:1)
- +boṭul** n.f. (pl. **+boṭuyłə**) (English) **bottle**
- +boz** adj.invar. (Azer. boz) **grey**
- +bra-ayna** n.f. **spectacles** (lit. daughter of eyes)
- +bra-jurta** n.f. (pl. **+bra-juryatə**) **bladder**
- +bra-suþþa** n.f. (pl. **+bra-suþþə**) **thimble**
- +brixə** adj.ms. (fs. **+brəxtə**, pl. **+brixə**) (1) **blessed, fortunate, happy.** (2) **lovable, cute** | Also used pejoratively *naša +brixə! қa-mu 'atxa vədlux?* You blessed (fool of a) man! Why did you do that?
- +bučə** n.m. (pl. **+bučə**) (1) **fruit stone.** (2) **dried ball of tree sap (used as chewing gum)**
- +budala** n.m. **simpleton**
- +budnam, +bədnam** (Pers. *bad-nām* 'bad name') | **'avəd** I **+budnam** **to bring shame, defame, disgrace;** **'avə +budnam** **to be defamed, notorious**
- +budnamuyta, +bədnamuyta** n.f. **shame, scandal**
- +budra, +bədra** n.f. (pl. **+budratə, bədratə**) **threshing floor**
- +buğum** n.f. (pl. **+buğuymə**) (Azer. *buğum*) **knuckle**
- +buķara** n.m. (pl. **+buķarə**) **question**
- +buķra** n.m. (pl. **+buķrə**) **herd (of cattle, horses)** | **+buķrət tavəryatə** herd of cows, **+buķrət suysavata** stud of horses; **+buķrət +jammuš** (Azer. *camış*) herd of buffaloes
- +buķrači** n.m. (pl. **+buķračiyə**) **keeper of cattle, cowboy**

- +buğraya** n.m. (pl. **+buğrayə**) keeper of cattle
- +bulçu** n.f. (1) mashed material (e.g. melted flour and butter, potato). (2) piece taken from fermented dough to leaven other dough (B 7:8)
- +buran** n.f. (pl. **+buranə**) (Azer. boran) blizzard, windy weather with heavy snow, hurricane
- +buraxa** n.m. (pl. **+buraxə**) blessing
- +buracta** n.f. (pl. **+burcatə**) blessing
- +busla** → **+bəsla**
- +busra** n.m. (pl. **+busrə**) meat, flesh | **+busrət şarxa** veal; **+busrət kənyana** beef; **+busrət ərba** lamb; **+busra tuntənna** smoked meat, cured meat, ham; *miyyət* **+busra** meat broth; **+busru** **+mayrələ** He is unfriendly (lit. his flesh is bitter); *nanilux, əvə ķatux dəməmma ‘u-* **+busra** I hope you enjoyed your food, may it be for you blood and flesh (i.e. help you grow and make you healthy)
- +bustana, bəstana** n.m. (pl. **+bustanə, bəstanə**) (Azer. bostan, Pers. bostān) kitchen garden (esp. for melons)
- +buxaxta** n.f. place under the chin, fat under chin, fleshy (double) chin (also of pelican)
- +buxra** n.m. (pl. **+buxrə**) first-born child | **+buxrət beta** firstborn of the family; *‘avəd* 1 **+buxra** to sacrifice sheep that is slaughtered first in season
- +buxtan** n.f. (pl. **+buxtənə**) (Kurd. buxtan, Azer. böhtan < Arab. buhtān) defamation, slander, libel, slander | *dara* 1 **+buxtən, tənə 11 **+buxtən, ‘avəd** 1 **+buxtan** to slander, to libel, to revile**
- +buxtancar** n.m. (pl. **+buxtancarə**) slanderer, telltale
- +buxtancaruya** n.f. slandering
- +buxur** n.f. (Pers. buxār) steam
- +buyğa** n.m. penis
- +buyğita** n.f. small penis
- +buzxana** n.f. (pl. **+buzxanə**) (Azer. buzxana) refrigerator, ice-box; ice-house (a place where items were frozen); glacier

## c

*ca* → *jaha*

**caculta** n.f. (pl. **caculyatə**) (Azer. kəkil, Pers. kakol, < Mongol kekül and kökül 'long hair, braid; forelock of a horse; crest of a bird'; cf. Lessing 1995, 446a and 483b; Ragagnin 2016) a single lock of hair when the rest of the head is shaved; tuft of hair; the scalp; forelock. (2) the top of the head, the pate, scalp; crown | **caculti ilə** **+ntərtə** My scalp has lost its hair. (3) a cock's comb

- cačala* adj.ms./n.m. (fs. *cačalta*, pl. *cačalə*) (Azer. keçəl, Pers. kačal) (1) **bald.** (2) **mangy**
- cačaluna* n.m. little bald man, baldy
- cačaluya* n.f. baldness; itch, scab
- cačlən* QI (vn. *cačlanta*) to become bald
- cadduda* n.m. (fs. *caddutta*) hedgehog (Canda) → *ctulta*
- cadə* n.pl. cakes with sweet filling (*mərtuxa*)
- cahar* adj.invar (Azer. kəhər) bay (colour of horse)
- cačrakuš* n.f. (pl. *cačrakušə*) small coloured bird
- calac* n.f. ferry, raft supported by inflated sheepskins
- calama* n.f. (pl. *calamə*) (Azer. kələm, Pers. kalam, Kurd. kelem) **cabbage, kale**
- calanbur* n.m. (pl. *calanbuyrə*) poplar tree
- calba* n.m. (pl. *calbə*, Armenia *calbananə*) dog | *calbət* +čoban sheep-dog; *calba brūn calba* son of a bitch (lit. dog son of a dog) (insult)
- calbatun* n.m. (pl. *calbatynə*) (Azer. kəlbətin) pincers, pliers, forceps
- calə* I (vn. *cleta*) (1) **to stand, to stop (intr.), to wait** | *clili mən-ctavta* I stopped writing; *cli!* Stop! Hold on! *clili mən-+šula* I have resigned; *calə* +al +xabra to insist on what one says. (2) **to subside (pain).** (3) **to depend** | *clítəla müjjur béta ávə* It depends on how the house is (B 14:13); *clítəva* +ál-nášə, | müjjurra másalan cmá á-íva +cásəb yán dolàtmand! It depended on the people, for example, how poor he was or how rich (B2 1:8)
- caləbta* n.f. (pl. *caləbyata*) female dog, bitch
- calija* n.m. (pl. *calijə*) young buffalo (from 2 years old until adult)
- calla* n.m. (pl. *callə*) (Azer. kəl) male buffalo | *callət* +yaya strong buffalo pulling the plough that walks down the ditch (+yaya) when the ploughman is digging the ditch with the plough; *callət marza* less strong buffalo pulling the plough while walking on the flat ground
- callajoz* adj.invar. (Azer. kəlləgöz) one-eyed
- calta* n.f. (pl. *calatə*) (1) daughter-in-law. (2) wife of brother
- calu* n.f. (pl. *calunyatə*) (1) bride. (2) daughter-in-law
- camanča* n.f. (pl. *camančə*) (Kurd. kemançe, Azer. kamança) **fiddle, musical instrument similar to a violin**
- camar* n.f. (pl. *camarə*) (Pers. kamar, Azer. kəmər) **belt (worn by women); waist**
- camcəm* QI (vn. *camcama*) to be smothered | *nuyra camcumələ* The fire is smothered (through lack of oxygen)
- camra* n.pl. (sing. *camra* m.) (Pers. kamra) dried animal dung used as fuel for fire, compressed by stamping down in an area known as *sulta*
- cana* n.m. (pl. *canə*) priest
- canaša* n.m. (pl. *canašə*) sweeper
- candər* QI (vn. *candarta*) to roll (tr. and intr.), to roll away (tr. and intr.) | 'ana

*candurovən futta* I am rolling the ball; *futta cundərra* The ball rolled; <sup>+</sup>*topa*  
*candurovən* I am rolling the tire

*canəš* I (vn. *cnašta*) **to sweep**

*canun* <sup>+</sup>*xaraya* n.m. **January**

*canun kamaya* n.m. **December**

*canušta* n.f. (pl. *canušyatə*) **broom, brush, besom** | *naša b-tvəštu, beta b-canuštu*

A man (should be judged) by his clothing, a house by its broom (i.e. the care taken over appearances reflects the character of the man or household)

*canuyta* n.f. **priesthood, clergy**

*caparta* n.f. **crockery (esp. of coarse earthenware)**

*capən* I (vn. *cpanta*) **to become hungry, to starve** | *cpənni* I became hungry

*capər* I (vn. *cpara*) (1) **to deny (one's religion), to renounce (b- so., sth.), to become an apostate** | *cpərrə b-mšixa* He denied the Messiah. (2) **to repudiate, scold (a person).** (3) **to be offended**

*capəš* I (vn. *cpašta*) **to gather (intr. or tr.)** | *cpəšlan* We gathered together; *cpùšunlun!* Gather them up! (A 1:38)

*capəš* II (vn. *capašta*) **to gather (tr.)**

*capura* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *capurta*, pl. *capurə*) **apostate, infidel, heathen; unbelieving, ungodly, impious; outcast**

*caram* n.f. (Azer. kərəm < Arab.) n.f. **mercy, pity** | *'avəd* I *caram* <sup>+</sup>*al-* to pity

*caravuz* n.f. (Azer. kərəviz, Pers. karafs) **celery**

*caraxa* n.m. (pl. *caraxə*) **instrument for raking coal and extracting coal (large +maxusta)** (Sal. *caraxan*)

*caraz* n.f. (pl. *carazə*) **celery (Canda)**

*carba* n.f. (Kurd. kerb < Arab.) **anger, disappointment, revenge, hatred** | *maxə* I *carba* to be angry

*carbana* adj.ms. (fs. *carbanta*, pl. *carbanə*) **angry, irritable, severe**

*carda, cardi* n.m., *cardita* n.f. (pl. *cardə*, *cardiyə*) (Pers. kard 'sill') **vegetable garden plot with wooden sides**

*cardus* n.f. (pl. *cardusyatə*) **trowel**

*carə* I (vn. *creta*) **to become short**

*carəb* I (vn. *crabta*) **to be angry; to be indignant, to be irritated**

*carəx* I (vn. *craxta*) (1) **to bind on, to wind on (e.g. turban); to tie a scarf on the head; to be wrapped around** | <sup>+</sup>*parča crəxlə b-rišu* He bound the cloth around his head. (2) **to go round; to surround** | *dəžmən mdita crixalə* The enemy surrounded the town. (3) **to close a volume or a roll**

*carhən* QI (vn. *carhanta*) **to flare up**

*carjar* n.m. (pl. *carjarə*) (Pers. kārgar) **workman; journeyman, apprentice**

*arma* n.m. (pl. *carmanə*) **vineyard; orchard (with fruit trees)**

*carmax* QI (vn. *carmaxta*) (1) to roll up (material); to wrap up; to coil | *paščaš* *curməxxali ju-varaka* I wrapped the gift in paper. (2) to close up a volume or a roll. (3) to cut the navel of

*carpač*, *čarpač*, *carpuč*, *čarpuč* n.f. (pl. *carpičə*, *carpuyčə*) (Azer. *kərpic*) (1) mud brick | *carpičət +čina* bricks of mud; *carpač neta* unbaked brick; *carpač bşalta* fired brick. (2) stopper put in neck of *linə* sealed with mud so that gas does not escape. (3) diamonds at cards

*carpaš* QI (vn. *carpašta*) to collect together (with a hand, with arms)

*carra* → <sup>+</sup>*carra*

*carta* n.f. (pl. *caratə*) long load put horizontally on back (e.g. of grass) (see illustration 32)

*cartaj* n.f. (pl. *cartajə*) small instrument for applying plaster (Canda)

*cartəx* n.m. (pl. *cartiğə*) (Azer. *kərtik*) file; tool for digging up weeds

*caruba* adj.ms. (fs. *carubta*, pl. *carubə*) irascible, prone to angry

*carxana* n.f. (pl. *carxanə*, *carxanana*) (Azer. *karxana*, Pers. *kārxāne*) workshop, factory

*casa* n.m. (pl. *casa*) bowl, chalice, glass (for wine)

*casə* I (vn. *cseta*) to cover, to put a lid on

*casə* II (vn. *casetə*) (1) to cover, to hide; to be covered. (2) to blindfold

*casəx* I (vn. *csaxta*) to prune (trees), to trim

*casuxta* n.f. (pl. *casuxyata*) small trimming tool for orchards

*casxana* n.m. (pl. *casxanə*) pruning scissors (for vine)

*caščaš* QI (vn. *caščašta*) to set (a dog on somebody); to scare, to chase away (flies, birds, animals) by making noise (by crying 'ciš' or beating the ground); to chase (e.g. fish into a net)

*cat* part. while | <sup>+</sup>*ávva-da c-azəlva* *ju-bēt-bàbul* *ju-bēt-yàmmu* | *cát +palóčva* *+šaríva pəlxàna* *ju-čarmàna* *ju-mulcàna* | He also goes (to live) in the house of his father, the house of his mother, while beginning to go out to work in the vineyards and estates (B 8:11); *bušayuté* *'átvälun* *'òrbə*, | *cát mən-dánnə* *'òrbə b-* <sup>+</sup>*xalvıva*, | *mən-+ámrat* *'òrbə b-zabnıva*, | <sup>+</sup>*cárra fúpta* *átxa məndýána* *bət-xayyıva*. | Most of them had sheep and lived by (lit. while) milking the sheep and selling the wool of the sheep, butter, cheese and such things (B 1:23)

*catara* adj.ms (fs. *catarta*, pl. *catarə*) humourless, unsociable; aggressive

*cataruya* nf. obstinacy

*catava* n.m. (fs. *catota*, pl. *catavə*) writer, scribe, copyist, clerk

*catçət* QI (vn. *catcatta*) (1) to crack open (dry earth); to be dry with thirst. (2) to crackle (dry kettle). (3) to sob

*catəv* I (vn. *ctavta*) to write

*catlən* QI (vn. *catlanta*) (1) to tangle (hair). (2) to wind, to contort (snakes)

*catleta* n.f. (pl. *catletə*) **meat cutlet**

*cavə* I (vn. *cveta*) **to cauterize; to brand, to sear**

*cavə* n.f., Canda *cava* (pl. *cavatə*, Canda *cavə*) **unglazed window; opening in a roof, functioning as a chimney and a window** | *cavət kubba* window in the middle of a roof

*cavəč* I (vn. *cvačta*) (Kurd. koč ‘migration’, Azer. köç- ‘to transmigrate’) **to migrate, to move house, to move on; to be a nomad; to travel as nomads**

*cavədna* n.m. (pl. *cavədnə*) **mule**

*cavəš* I (vn. *cvašta*) **to thrust (into sth.), to stuff (into sth.)** | *cvəšlə cuylaš ju-jvala* He stuffed the straw into the sack; *cvišali ńidi ju-<sup>+</sup>balutət ńarya* I thrust my hand into the throat of the lion

*cayəl/cāl* I (vn. *cyalta*) **to measure, to try on**

*cayəm/cām* I (vn. *ciamta*) **to be black; metaph. to be guilty, to be convicted**

*cayəp/cāp* I (vn. *cyapta*) (1) **to bend down, to be bent.** (2) **to fly down, to swoop down (bird).** (3) **to be outweighed, to be slanted, lopsided.** (4) **metaph. to be far spent (day), to be low (sound)**

*cayəs/cās* I (vn. *cyasta*) **to cover** | *pummu cesivalə* They used to cover its mouth → *cəsa* I, II, *maccəs*, *macəs* III

*cayəš/cāš* I (vn. *cyašta*) **to be settled (a debt, an account)** | *denan cəšlə* Our debt has been settled (by equal exchange)

*cabrat* n.m. (Azer. *kibrit* < Arab.) **sulphur, brimstone; match**

*cəccərta* n.f. **small type of sparrow**

*cəcta* n.f. (pl. *cəcyata*) **tooth of a key, of a comb**

*cəllita* n.f. (pl. *cəlliyyatə*) **kidney; metaph. inward parts**

*cəlpət, culpat* n.f. (pl. *cəlpattə, culpattə*) (Azer. *külfət* < Arab.) **nuclear family; wife**

*cəlšə* n.m. (pl. *cəlšə*) **stem (of wheat, plant)**

*cəlyə* adj.ms. (fs. *clita*, pl. *cəlyə*) **standing**

*cəlyana* ms.adj. (fs. *cəlyanta*, pl. *cəlyanə*) **standing, stopping** | *+al-<sup>+</sup>xabru cəl-yana* stubborn (ms.) (lit. standing on his word)

*cəndura, cəndurta* n.f. (pl. *cəndurə*) **green small musk melon**

*cənšə* n.m. (pl. *cənšə*) **gathering of people** | *bənyanət cənšə* public building

*cənyana* adj.ms. (fs. *cənyanta*, pl. *cənyanə*) **vindictive; bearing a grudge**

*cəpna* n.m. **hunger** | *mətlı mən-cəpna!* I am dying of hunger! *mita mən-cəpnu* dead from hunger (said of a stingy person who does not spend his own money)

*cəpnuyta* n.f. **famine, starvation**

*cəppər* n.m. (Azer. *küfr* < Arab.) **blasphemy, sacrilege**

*cəptə* n.f. (pl. *cəptiyyə*) (Azer. *küftə*) **meat-ball, ball of minced meat**

*cərcərrə* n.pl. **blinds on window**

*cərri* n.f. (Kurd. kirê, Azer. kirayə) **rent, hire** | *b-cərri* for rent; *davək* i *b-cərri* to rent, to hire; *'ana beta cərri dvəkli* I rented the house

*cərsəllə* n.pl. (Kurd. kersil ‘donkey dung’) **hard dung of animals (which are excreted hard)**

*cəršə* n.f. (pl. *cərşə*) (Azer. kirşə) **sledge (pulled by horses)**

*cərtvart* n.m. (pl. *cərtvartə*) **large bottle**

*cərvəš* n.f. (pl. *cərvıšə*) (Kurd. kērūşk) **rabbit, hare**

*cərxə* n.m. (pl. *cərxə*) **scroll**

*cəryə* adj.ms. (fs. *crita*, pl. *cəryə*) **short**

*cəryuyta* n.f. **shortness; summary**

*cəs* prep. (*cəsl-* + pron. suffixes) **at, near, in the presence of, at the home of** | *pyàšələ cəslə!* He stays with them (A 37:13); *bətyávələ cás do-cipa!* He sits by that stone (A 40:6); after verbs of movement: *xášlux cəs-nàšə xínə!* You went to other people (A 3:5)

*cəssaya* n.m. (pl. *cəssaya*) **lid**

*cəsseta, ceta* n.f. (pl. *cəssayatə*) **small lid**

*cəsta* n.f. (pl. *cəsyatə*) **bag for draining churned yoghurt; small bag, purse** | *cəstət +kattəg* bag for curds

*cəšmišə* (sing, *cəšməšta*) (Azer. kişmiş) **raisins**

*cətva* n.m. (pl. *cətvə*) (1) **prickle, thorn, thorn-bush.** (2) **needle, sting** | *cətvət dabaşa* bee-sting, *cətvət +zarkətta* wasp-sting

*cətvana* n.m. (fs. *cətvanta*, pl. *cətvana*) **prickly, thorny**

*ceca* n.m. (pl. *ceca*) **cake**

*celə?* **where is he?**

*cepxošuya* n.f. (Azer. kef + xoš) **cheerfulness, pleasure**

*cēp* n.f. (Azer. kef < Arab.) **pleasure, enjoyment, health, condition (mental, spiritual)** | *cēp vadələ* He is having fun; *+al-cēp, +al-cepi mxilə, +al-cepi +dķərrə* He spoiled my pleasure, he offended me; *cepux pəštəla mənni* You are offended with me; *+al-cepu +buķərri, cepu +buķrali* I asked after his health; *marət cēp-ilə* He is a fun-loving person; *cepi la tilə* I did not enjoy it; *lə +báyyat, cēpjanáx-la!* (If) you do not want to, that is up to you (A 42:19); *cépax dàxila?* How are you? (A 39:34); *cépux dák mənnux?* How are things with you? (A 36:5)

*ci-* part. (i) (N marginally *i-*) **habitual preverbal particle**

*ci-* part. (ii) (Pers. *ke*) **certainly, indeed** | *ju-xàkla, ju-'ùpral nýyna ci-lè-'oya!* It is certainly not possible for a fish to be in the field, in the soil! (A5:11) (cf. Pers. *ke na-mī-āyad* He will certainly not come); *mástə cí-xina 'àtxa!* Yoghurt—indeed now it is like this (B 10:15; *ci* + discourse connective *xina*); *lá hádax xína 'án tili!* *ci-'ó yúmax b-yavvònna!* If (you have not done) thus when I come back, I shall indeed give you hell (A 51:3)

*cica* n.m. (pl. *cicə*) **tooth** | *cicət hona* wisdom tooth; *cici dule kiyya*, *cici bəkkayəla*

My tooth is smarting; *cicu xrizelə* He grinned; +*busrət cicə* gums

*cif, cip* n.f. (Pers. *kif*) (pl. *cifa, cipa*) **purse, wallet, bag**

*cima* adj.ms. (fs. *cəmta*, pl. *cimə*) **blackened, smoky**

*cima* n.f. **the Pleiades**

*cīn* (i) n.f. (Azer. *kin*, Kurd. *kîn*) **grudge, rancour, hate, animosity, revenge** |

+*palaṭ* II *cīn* to take revenge; *xamyanət cīn* vindictive, bearing a grudge

*cīn* (ii) adj.invar. **just, correct** | *kāt 'óya b-ùrxət*! +*rāba!* *cīn 'óya*! so that it would be by a very just means (A 38:6)

*cipa* n.m. (pl. *cipə*) (1) **stone, rock** | *cipət* +*čaḳmaḳ* flint; *cipət* +*ullul* upper millstone; *cipət* +*alṭax* lower millstone; *mattə cipa* +*al-* to shelve a matter, to leave it be. (2) **a weight in weighing stones; plummet** | *cipət t̪ulta* weight, bob. (3) **draughtsman in the game of draughts**

*cipana* adj.ms. (fs. *cipanta*, pl. *cipana*) **stony**

*cira* n.m. (Kurd. *kîr*, Pers. *kîr* 'penis') **main pole of plough** (see illustration 52)

*cisa* n.f. (pl. *cisata*) (1) **belly (stomach + intestines)** | *saməjavayət cisa* intestines (of animal). (2) **womb.** (3) **the crop of a bird**

*civay* adj.invar. (Kurd. *kuvî*) **wild** | +*heyvan civay* wild animal; *fəpta civay* wild vine

*civi* adj.invar. (Kurd. *kuvî*) **wild; ill-bred** | +*heyvan civi* wild animal

*civiyuyta* n.f. **wildness**

*clama* n.m. (pl. *clamə*) **wooden rods descending from yoke beam that fixes the yoke to the neck of oxen** (see illustration 52) | *'o naša +raba +šamṭanət claməla* That man is work-shy (lit. that man is very much a breaker of yoke rods)

*clila* n.m. (pl. *clilə*) **crown, chaplet, garland, wreath, helmet**

*cma* mod., part. **how many? how much?; how many! how much!** (§ 9.7.6.) | *cma jahə?* how many times?; *cma šənnə* +*ətlux?* How old are you?; +*t̪íma dáha cmà-ilə?* How much is the value of this? (= What does this cost?); *cmá xmàrənva!* What an ass I was! (A 1:29). When used in an exclamatory sense it is sometimes abbreviated to *ma:* *ma-t̪-ilə* +*ràma!* How tall he is! (A 42:5). (2) **some** (§ 9.7.6.) | *'albátta bətfákəna b-cmá* +*apəskúpə kat-vàyan-lə*! Of course they meet some bishops that we have (B2 1:14); *cút-cma xa-+dàna!* ... *ci-+palaṭ!* Every once in a while ... he goes out (A 1:25); *cút cmá xá* +*báyyi* 'ázi *táxni* +*al-*-*ərxə*! Every once in a while they need to go to grind (the wheat) on the water-mill (B 10:8). (3) **as much as, however much (conjunction before content clause § 14.5.5.5.)** | *cmá-t̪* +*byàyənəl* *léna* +*bašùrə*! However much they want to, they cannot (do so) (A 3:74); *cmá t̪-ilə* *jàldə*! as quickly as is possible (A 47:8).

*cmayuya* n.f. **quantity**

*cnušta* n.f. (pl. *cnušyata*) **synagogue**

*cnušya* n.m. **meeting**

*coca* n.m. (pl. *cocə*) (Azer. kök ‘root’) (1) **trunk of a tree, stock of a tree** | *cocu* +*xlimələ* He is thickset, stout. (2) **root** | *şərjəmta dalta cocu* +*xlima c-avə* A slender turnip has a thick root (i.e. quality is better than quantity) (cf. Maclean 1895, 349). (3) **kind, species** | *panə II mən-coca* to eradicate; *cócət nàkva*! *cúllə dòkət!* Seize all female kind (A 2:11)

*cocarta* n.f. **thin black clouds in sky**

*coč* n.m. (Azer. köç) **camping ground, camp; nomad horde**

*cočana* n.m. (fs. *cočanta*) **nomad; travelling, wandering**

*cočila* n.? **venom; disease of a dog**

*coda* n.f. **liver; lungs**

*comac, comacuya* n.f. (Azer. kömək, Pers. komak) **help, protection** | *káti* +*bətlá-bəvə* *còmac* *'azénva* +*állu*! She was seeking me in order that I go and help him (A 2:33)

*comacči* n.m. (pl. *comacčiyə*) **assistant, employee; auxiliary. pl. forces**

*comur* n.f. (Azer. kömür) **coal; charcoal** | *comur-t cipa* coal, *comur-t kesa* charcoal

*comurči* n.m. (pl. *comurčiyə*) **coal miner, collier; charcoal-burner**

*corcora* n.f. (Azer. qargara < Mongol; cf. Räsänen 1969, 238a; Ragagnin 2016) **kite (bird of prey)**

*coruc* n.f. (Azer. körük) **bellows**

*cotac* n.f. (Azer. kötək) **beating, blow; force, compulsion** | *cotac maxə* i to beat | *ka-dá* +*rába* *còtac yuvvállun*! They gave him a sound beating (A 9:6); *cótac* +*xilət*! You have suffered beating (A 9:9)

*coxa* n.m. (pl. *coxə*) (Kurd. kewxwe) **headman of village; foreman, overseer, head of a work party**

*coz* n.f. (Azer. köz) **burning wood, embers**

*cpina* adj.ms. (fs. *cpənta*, pl. *cpinə*) **hungry**

*craceš* n.m. (Pers. *kerā-keš* ‘hire pulling’) **caravan-owner, cab-driver, a mule-proprietor, carrier**

*cracešuya* n.f. **cab-driving** | *cracešuya* *'avəd* i to be a cab-driver

*criba* adj.ms. (fs. *crəbta*, pl. *cribə*) **angry, annoyed, agitated** | *'ən cribət, miyya* +*kayra šti* If you are angry, drink cold water

*criva* n.m. **ploughed field left fallow** | *torət criva* ox harnessed to a plough on the side of the ploughed field; +*'arral* *criva* *c-odáxvala*! We would leave the ground fallow (B 3:8)

*cseta* → *cæsseta*

*ctana* n.m. **cotton; cotton wool, cotton paper** | *kesət ctana* cotton (plant)

*ctava* n.m. (pl. *ctavə*) **book, letter, message, note, receipt, bill** | *ctavət +’otağə* wall-paper; *b-ctava* in writing; *patxanət ctava* (fs. *patxantət ctava*) letter-opener, *jaškana* (fs. *jaškanta*) *+’al-ctava* sorcerer; *zabnanət* (fs. *zabnantət*) *ctavə* bookseller (m. and f.)

*ctavuna* n.m. **booklet**

*ctəvta* n.f. **writing, handwriting; text** → *ctuya*

*cteta* n.f. (pl. *ctayata*) **hen, chicken** | *ctetət məssər* turkey; *ctetət dəšta* pheasant (f.)

*ctiva* adj.ms. (fs. *ctəvta*, pl. *ctivə*) **written**

*ctulta* n.f. (pl. *ctulyata*) (cf. *cətva* ‘prickle’) **hedgehog** (*cadduda Canda*)

*ctuya* n.f. (1) **handwriting** | *’axči +bəddáyəla kréta ctuya*.<sup>1</sup> She only knows reading and writing. (A 35:12). (2) **letter, inscription.** (3) **talisman**

*cuba* n.m. (pl. *cubə*) (Azer. *köbə*) **hem of dress; flounce of a different material from the dress**

*cubba* n.m. (pl. *cubbə*) **clay pot (filled with cheese and buried upside-down)** (see illustration 20)

*cuc ’avəd* 1 (Azer. *kök* ‘tune’) (1) **to tune (musical instrument).** (2) **to wind (a watch), to adjust** | *violoni mən-cuc npəlla* My violin has become out of tune; *violoni lətla cuc* My violin is out of tune

*cuča* n.f. (pl. *cučə*, *cučanə*) (Kud. *kuçe*, Azer. *küçə*, Pers. *kūče*) (1) **street, lane.** (2) **quarter (of a town)**

*cudrat* n.f. (Azer. *qüdrət* ‘power; rancour, hostility’, Pers. *qudrat* < Arab.) **grudge, enmity, ill-will, vindictiveness** | *heməzman cudrat* insulting word

*cudratči* adj.invar. (Azer. *qüdrət* ‘power’) **vindictive**

*cuyurt* n.m. (Azer. *kükürd*) (1) **sulphur, phosphorus.** (2) **match**

*cul, cu* mod. **each, every** (§ 9.7.1.) | *cúl bəta* every house (B2 1:11); *cúl-məndi* everything (A 3:7); *cúl xa-mándi* every single thing (B2 1:10); *cúl yùma* every day (B2 1:19); *cúl-yum* every day (A 37:18); *cul-nàšə* every (kind of) people (A 3:42)

*cullanačit* adv. **all in all; in general (literary)**

*cullə* mod. (base for pron. suffix: *cullunt-*) **all; the whole (of)** (§ 9.7.3.) | *cúllə matvátət dáštət ’Ùrmi* all the villages of the plain of Urmia (B2 1:5), *cúllə dánnə +parsúpa* all those people (B2 1:16); *cícu cúllə xrıvəl* all his teeth are ruined (A 3:51); *cúllə dínyə* the whole world (A 3:1), *cúllə +págri* the whole of my body (A 2:33); *cúllə-yuma šíma* the entire day (A 5:8); *cúllə ’ax +’iydaləvəl* They were all like one another (B2 1:3); *kámtət cúllə mārələvəl* Before everything he says (A 3:61); *cullunte* all of them

*culluny* n.m. (pl. *cullunjə*) (Azer. *külüng*) **crowbar; mattock; pickaxe**

*cum* < *cul-məndit* **everything that, whatever** | *cúm +báyyətju-da-dúnyə ’ána ká-díyyux yàrvən*.<sup>1</sup> Whatever you want in this world I shall give you (A 40:8)

*cuma* adj.ms. (fs. *cumta*, pl. *cumə*) **black**

*cumnaya* adj.ms. (fs. *cumneta*, pl. *cumnayə*) **blackish**

*cunda* n.m. (pl. *cundə*) (Azer. kündə) (1) **lump (of dough)**. (2) **hub (of a wheel)**.

(3) **shackles, fetters** | *maxə* I *cunda* to fetter

*cupa* adj.ms. (fs. *cupta*, pl. *cupə*) (1) **low, stout; lowly** | *cupa-cupa* stealthily;

+*arrə* +*ramə-cupə* *'atla* The ground is hilly. (2) **courteous; simple**

*cupuya* n.f. (1) **lowness, simplicity**. (2) **complaisance; courtesy**

*curapan* n.m./adj.invar. (Azer. körpe ‘baby, suckling’ ?) **having insufficient capabilities, fool, clumsy, thick-headed**

*curaxa* n.m. (pl. *curaxə*) **shroud**

*curc, curca* n.f. (Azer. kürk) **fur coat, sheepskin coat**

*curməxxa* n.m. (pl. *curməxxə*) **parcel; wrap**

*curra* n.m. (pl. *currə*) (Pers. kurra) **young ass (up to 2 years old)**

*cursi* n.m. (pl. *cursiyyə*) (Pers. kursī, Azer. kürsü < Arab.) (1) **chair**. (2) **seat over oven**. (3) **frame of churn (+meta)** (illustration 18)

*curta* n.f. **pile of +pałtuxə (cakes of dung)**

*cusita* n.f. (pl. *cusiyatə*) **hat (for men), cap** | *cusitət* +*kazanča* **bowler hat; o-naša cusita muttilə b-riši** That man cheated me (lit. that man put a hat on my head); *cusitu pəšta b-idatə* May his hat remain in his hands (i.e. may he die young while his hat, which is an emblem of young adulthood, is still in his hands)

*cusiyya* n.m. (pl. *cusiyə*) **hat (for men)**

*cušti* n.f. (Pers. kuštī) **wrestling** | *cušti davək* I, *cušti tapə* I to wrestle

*cuštijar* n.m. (Pers. kuštigīr) **wrestler**

*cut* adj.invar. (Azer. küt) **blunt** | *cut 'avəd* I to blunt

*cut* mod. **each, every** (§ 9.7.2.) | *cút béra* every house (B 12:2); *cút-xa* everybody (A 1:43); *cut-ducta* everywhere; *cút-yum* every day (B2 1:19); *cut-+dana* always; *cut-cmaſahə xa* occasionally; *cút xa-+dàna* ... *cút trè-yarxə* | *cút +tlá-yárxa xà* every once (in a while), once every two or three months (A 1:25); *cut šita* annually

*cutuyta* n.f. (Azer. küt) **bluntness; dullness**

*cuxva, cəxva* n.m. (pl. *cuxvə, cəxvə*) **star** | *cuxva* +*balbəssana* twinkling star; *cuxvət móriša/ķedamta* morning star; *cuxvət* +*berašə* evening star (also known as *Majnun*); *cuxvət* +*slīva* Crux, the Southern Cross; *cuxvət* +*járbiyya* the North Star (Pole Star); *cuxvət* +*accarə* farmers’ star (also known as *Leylə*); *cuxva* +*majrəttana*, *cuxvət* +*susyanə* comet; *cuxva* +*jaryana* meteor

*cuylaš* n.m. (Azer. küləş ‘straw’) (1) **thick stems of wheat that have not been put in the threshing machine**. (2) **remains of chaff in sieve**

*cuyra* n.f. (i) (pl. *cuyratə*) **kiln; furnace** | *tunuyra* *cuyra* +*sərrə* He compacted the oven (with the result that it smoked)

*cuyra* n.f. (ii) **pile**

*cuyša* n.m. (pl. *cuyšə*) **spindle** (see illustration 44) (Sal. *cugša*) | +azla-*cuyšə* spider

*cuytan* n.f. (pl. *cuytanə*) (Azer. kotan, Kurd. cot) **large plough (made of metal)**

| *cuytan* 'avəd I to plough: 'ána bərrášxən 'áyən cùtan 'odánna| I am going to plough it (A 36:11)

*cuzar* n.f. (pl. *cuzarə*) (1) **husks and stones remaining in sieve ('arbala) after sieving.** (2) **refuse of wheat on the threshing floor when the ear and chaff will not separate**

*cvara* n.m./f. (pl. *cvarə*, *cvaratə*) (1) **large wooden box for storage of wheat.** (2) **flour-bin**

*cyula* n.m. (pl. *cyulə*) (1) **measure, measurement** | *d-la cyula* immense; *b-’idàtuškólla cyula* He took a measurement with his hands (A 16:2). (2) **large cup for measuring flour.** (3) **level, rank**

+c

+*calcəl* QI (vn. +*calcalta*) (1) **to bubble (boiling water)** | *miyya* +*culculəna ju-marəyla* The water is bubbling in the pan. (2) **to sob** | +*calculələ mən-bəxyə* He is sobbing from weeping

+*camal* n.f. (Azer. kamal < Arab.) **wisdom, reason; perfection**

+*caməl* adj.invar. (Azer. kamil < Arab.) **mature, perfect**

+*caməl* I (vn. +*cmalta*) (Azer. kamil < Arab.) **to be completed, to become mature; to reach puberty; to ripen; to be fulfilled, to come to an end**

+*camər* II (vn. +*camarta*) **to drive away; to expel, to disperse; to pursue, to interfere, to frighten off; to persecute** | *calba* +*cumərri* I drove away the dog

+*camiluyta* n.f. **maturity, perfection**

+*camrana* n.m. (fs. +*camranta*, pl. +*camranə*) **persecutor, expeller**

+*camutra* n.m. (pl. +*camutə*) **pear; pear tree**

+*candal*, +*candala* n.m. (pl. +*candalə*) (Iranian Azeri kandal) **precipice; knoll, a small hill, steep place**

+*cār* n.m. (Pers. kār) **influence** | 'aha +*cār muttilə* +*alli* This influenced me; *ju-zvánta zabánta-zəl* +*rába* +*cār muttília katé* They had an influence on them in commerce (B 1:30); *bás á +cár bitáyələ* So, this influence is brought about (B 1:9)

+*carduvar* n.m. (pl. +*carduvara*) (Pers. kārduvār) **digging instrument consisting of a spade held by one man and connected to a chain or rope, which is pulled by another man**

+*carra* (N), *carra* (S), +*çarra* (Armenia) n.m. (Azer. kərə, Pers. kara) **butter**

- +caruza** n.m. (fs. **+caruzta**, pl. **+caruzə**) **preacher, instructor**
- +caruzuya** n.f. **preaching, sermon** | *kaša +caruzuya vədlə* The priest gave a sermon
- +carvan** n.f. (pl. **+carvanə**) (Pers. kārvān, Azer. karvan) **caravan**
- +carvan-sara, carvansara** n.f. (Pers. kārvānsarā) **caravanserai, inn, hotel**
- +casəb** adj.ms./fs. (pl. **+casibə**) (Azer. kasib < Arab.) **poor, pauper** | **+casibə +cusibə** wretched paupers (A 50:1)
- +casəbbuya** n.f. **poverty** | *b-+casəbbuya xayyə* I to live in misery
- +cašira** adj.ms. (fs. **+cašərta**, pl. **+caširə**) **industrious, studying hard**
- +catər** I (vn. **+ctarta**) **to knot; to tie a knot; to tie up; to bind; to fold (arms); to twist (threads, hands)** | **+bəctarévən b-+uydalə** I am knotting them together
- +catrana** adj.ms. (fs. **+catranta**, pl. **+catranə**) **knotty, difficult** | *heməzmanə +catranə* difficult words
- +catrən** QI (vn. **+catranta**) **to knot**
- +catura** adj.ms. (fs. **+caturta**, pl. **caturə**) **difficult, problematic** | **+caturə heməz-manə** difficult words
- +cavar, +cabar** n.m., **+cavarta, +cabarta** n.f. (pl. **+cavarə, +cabarə**) (Azer. kəvər, kavar, Pers. kavar) **leek**
- +cavutra** n.f. (pl. **+cavutra, +cavutranə**) **midday; midday meal, lunch** | **+bar +cavutra** afternoon
- +caxəl** I (vn. **+cxalta**) **to paint (lashes and eyebrows) with kohl** | **+ayno vena +cxilə** Her eyes are painted with kohl
- +cənnar 'azəl** I (cf. Azer. kənar gəzmək), **+cənnarjarəş** I (cf. Pers. kenār gozaştan, kanāra gereftan) **to step aside, to keep out of, to avoid, to estrange oneself**
- +cərşən** n.m. (Azer. kirşən) **cosmetic paint (for face), cosmetic powder**
- +cətra** n.m. (pl. **+cətrə**) **knot; bond, band; metaph. problem; riddle** | *lət +cətra!* no problem!
- +cəx** (child language) **Don't touch, it's dirty**
- +cəxla** n.m. (Pers. kohl < Arab.) **kohl, paint for eyebrows and lashes**
- +cəxlana** adj.ms. (fs. **+cəxlanta**, pl. **+cəxlanə**) **covered in kohl**
- +cəxlanta** n.f. (pl. **+cəxlanyata**) **n.f. trout**
- +cmila** adj.ms. (fs. **+cməlta**, pl. **+cmilə**) **mature, adult, perfect**
- +coramal** n.m. (Azer. koramal, Kurd. koramar) **grass snake**
- +crəstiyana** n.m. (fs. **+crəstiyanta**, pl. **+crəstiyana**) **Christian**
- +cşıquya** n.f. **good, kindness** | *čəm +cşıquya* magnificence
- +cumra** adj.ms. (fs. **+cumərtə**, pl. **+cumrə**) **expelled, exile**
- +curasa** n.m. (pl. **+curasa**) **quire of paper (large sheet of paper folded into several leaves for binding)**
- +curdbojan** n.f. (Azer. kürd boğan ‘choking a Kurd’) **type of green grape**
- +curra** n.m. (Pers. kūra) **mud, slime; marshy place, slough**

ç

*çaççuna* n.m. (Kurd. *kek* 'elder brother') **father** (Arzni)

*çaçu* n.m. (Kurd. *kek* 'elder brother') **daddy** (Arzni)

*çam, çəm* part. (Azer. *kəm*, Pers. *kam*, Kurd. *kêm*) **little, less, seldom; wanting**

*çam-hona, çəm-hona* adj.invar. (Kurd. *kêm*) **feeble-minded, without understanding, stupid**

*çam-honuya, çəm-honuya* n.f. **stupidity, dumbness**

*çam-kuvvat* adj.invar. **weak, feeble**

*çam-ranj* adj.invar. **light coloured, weak (tea)** | +*bayyət por-ranj yan çam-ranj?*

Do you want (your tea) much colour (strong) or little colour (weak)?

*çamuyta* n.f. **scarcity, crop failure**

*çançaştə* n.f. (pl. *çançaşyata*) **swing (for children)**

*çançəş* QI (vn. *çançaştə*) (1) **to pull along ground** | +*sarbaz çançuşolə janu +al-*

+*arrə* The soldier is pulling himself along the ground. (2) **to jostle; to sweep away (in a heap)** | *çançuşəna +uydalə* They are jostling each other. (3) **to swing (on a swing).** (4) **to throw, to sling** | *'ayya futta çánçəsla kati* Throw that ball to me

*çapğəç* n.m. (pl. *çapğıçə*) (Russ. *копейка*) **kopeck**

*çarçər* QI (vn. *çarçarta*) (1) **to become deaf (with loud sound); to deafen** |

*çarçarıla* It is deafening me. (2) **to make buzz; to buzz (ear due to loud sound)** | *nati çarçurəla* My ear is buzzing; *kala +rama kam-çarçerra nati* The loud noise made my ear ring

*çarçət* QI (vn. *çarçat्तə*) **to tickle** | +*baluti çarçutəla* My throat tickles; *çarçət ləbba* to tickle the fancy

*çarçəttana* adj.ms. (fs. *çarçəttanta*, pl. *çarçəttanə*) **ticklish**

*çaréť* n.f. (pl. *çarattə*) (Russ. *капета*) **hearse (for coffins)**

*çarra* adj.ms. (fs. *çarrə/çarreta*, pl. *çarra*) (Kurd. *kerr*) **deaf** | *çarra vadılə* It is making me deaf; +*lala çarra* deaf-mute

*çəççə* n.f., with pronominal suffix *çəççəntu, çəççənto, çəççəntux* etc. (pl. *çəççənyata, çəççətə*) (Kurd. *keç*) **girl in her teens, lass, maiden, old maid** | *çəççə, la vud* Don't do that, girl!

*çəm → çam*

*çəm hona → çam-hona*

*çərra-çər* n.f. **buzzing (of ear)** | *nati çərra çərrola* My ear is buzzing → *çarçər* QI

*çərtə* n.m. (pl. *çərtə*) (Kurd. *kurt* 'short'; *kirt* 'forelock' (Tsereteli 2001, 134)) **curl** | *çərti-çərtə* in curls

*çərtəna* adj.ms. (fs. *çərtənta*, pl. *çərtəna*) **curly**

*çoc* n.f. **mother** | *çoc Narjəs* mother *Narjəs*

*çučça* n.f. (pl. *çućçə*) (Kurd. *kuç*) **pile**

*çura* adj.ms (fs., pl. *çurə*, Armenia pl. *çuriyyə*) (Kurd. *kûr*, Azer. *kor*, Pers. *kûr*)  
**blind** | *çura 'avəd* 1 to blind, *şəmšə +'ayni çurə videla* The sun blinded my eyes; *çura brūn çurə* blind man son of a blind woman (insult)  
*çurṭila* n.m. (pl. *çurṭilə*) (Kurd. *kurṭ* ‘short’) **puppy dog**  
*çutṭa* n.m./adj.ms (fs., pl. *çutṭə*) (Kurd. *qut*) (1) **dwarf**. (2) **short, brief, curt (not coming up to measure or standard)** | *naşa çutṭa hammaşa zayara c-avə* A short man is always boastful (cf. Kampffmeyer 1905, 11)

## +ç

*+çal* adj.invar. (Canda pl. *+çalə*) (Kurd. *kal*, Azer. *kal*) **raw, unripe, green (fruit)**  
| *'annə xabušə +çal-ina* Those apples are unripe

## č

*čabləz* QI (vn. *čablazta*) **to tack, to baste (sewing)**  
*čacčəc* QI (vn. *čacčacta*) **to crash, to smash** | *'atnabəl čucčəccalə* He has crashed the car  
*čacma, čacmita* n.f. (pl. *čacmə*) (Azer. *çəkmə*, Pes. *čakme*) **boot**  
*čacmači* n.m. (pl. *čacmačiyə*) **bootmaker**  
*čacmita* n.f. (pl. *čacmiyyatə*) **sideburn, side whiskers**  
*čacuč* n.m (pl. *čacujə*), *čacus* n.m. (pl. *čacužə*) (Kurd. *çakûç*, Azer. *çəkic*, Pers. *čakoš*) **hammer** (+Mawana *čacücta*)  
*čaculta* n.f. (pl. *čaculyatə*) **handful (in one hand)**  
*čakčaka* n.m. (pl. *čakčakə*) (1) **component in a watermill consisting of two pieces of wood that knock against each other to make noise in order to indicate that the mill-wheel is turning.** (2) **rattle used by watchmen for scaring birds**  
*čakčək* QI (vn. *čakčakta*) (1) **to chatter; to prattle** | *baxtata čakčukəna* The women are chattering; *laʃlaʃə čakčukəna* The storks are chattering (with their characteristic sound). (2) **to rattle; to crackle.** (3) **to flicker**  
*čakka* n.m. (Uyghur *čaqqa*, Yakup 2005, 163) **dried black sap of oleaster trees used as chewing-gum** (Younansardaroud 2001, xv)  
*čakkı* n.f. (pl. *čakkunyatə*) (S) (Sorani Kurd. *çeço*, Pers. *čāqū*) **knife** | = *scənta* of northern villages  
*čaləj* 1 (vn. *člajta*) **to rob, to seize; to take away, to pull out (of hands), to exploit**  
*čaltuc* n.m. (Azer. *çəltik* rice paddy) **stalk and head of rice**  
*čaluja* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *čalujta*, pl. *čalujə*) **extortioner; greedy**

*čambara* n.f. (pl. *čambarə*) (Azer. çənbər ‘circle, hoop’) **heap of harvested corn stalks that are ready for threshing arranged in a ring around the threshing floor**

*čambəl* QI (vn. *čambalta*) (1) **to hang (intr. and tr.)** | *'ana čumbəlli b-'ilana* I hung on a tree; *čumbəlleli julli* *+'al-'ilana* I hung my clothes on the tree; *+'al-mixa* *čambululə* He is hanging it on a nail; *janu čambulolə* He is doing pull-ups; *čambəl səpta* to pout. (2) **to hang (forwards), to bend (forwards), to droop, to sag, to outweigh** | *xá-dana* *+'adyal dári* *násə* *aklaté p-čambəllívalun ju-do* *tanıyra*, | *cúllə šaxınə* They laid out a blanket and the people would dangle their legs in the oven, all (keeping) warm (B 14:2)

*čambəltə* n.f. **frame for a churn (+meta)**

*čamčə* n.m. (pl. *čamčə*) (Kurd. şemçik f., Azer. çömçə, Pers. čamče ‘ladle’) **spoon** | *čamčət la* *+'xallulə* an unwashed spoon (one who interrupts a conversation) *čamčəm*, *+'camčəm* QI (vn. *čamčamta*, *+'camčamta*) **to throw, to throw down, to dump, to reject; to expel, to make an outcast**

*čamxəm* QI (vn. *čamxamta*) **to be rough (with somebody by pushing about)** | *ka-mu* *+'uxča* *čamxuməvət?* Why are you behaving so roughly?

*čančuyra* n.pl. (sing. *čančurta*) **small wild plums (Canda)**

*čanjəl* n.m. (pl. *čanjələ*) (Kurd. çengal f., Azer, çəngəl, Pers. čangāl) (1) **fork.** (2) **hook**

*čanjalušta*, *čənjelušta* n.f. (pl. *čanjalušyatə*, *čənjeluštyatə*) **swing (on a tree for children)** | *'ana čanjuləvən* *+'al-čanjalušta* I am swinging on a swing; *yalə* *duna* *+'maššušo jané* *+'al-čanjalušta* The children are swinging on the swing

*čanjəl* QI (vn. *čanjalta*) (1) **to swing (on a swing)** | *'ana čanjuləvən* *+'al-čanjalušta* I am swinging on a swing. (2) **to curve, to bend**

*čanna* n.m. (pl. *čannə*) (Azer. çənə) **chin**

*čannita*, *čannəcta* n.f. (Azer. çənə) **chin**

*čanxəs* QI (vn. *čanxasta*) **to reprove, to tell off** | *kam-čanxəssənnə* I told him off

*čaplən* QI (vn. *čaplanta*) (1) **to spoil, to be spoiled; to decay, to stink.** (2) **to whore, to make into a scoundrel** | *David čuplənlə* *ka-Şum'un* David made Shum'un into a scoundrel

*čappal* n.m. **scoundrel.** adj.invar. **nasty, unclean, dirty, spoiled, dissolute, immoral** | *čappal naşələ* He is a scoundrel

*čarac* n.m. (pl. *čarajə*) (Kurd. çarêk, Pers. čárak) **quarter** | *+'la* *čarajə* three quarters

*čaraz* n.m./f. (pl. *čarazə*) (Azer. çərəz ‘sweetmeats’) **grape-press; wine-press**

*čarčuvva* n.m. (pl. *čarčuvvə*) (Pers. čár čüb) **frame, lattice** | *čarčuvvat* *šəcla* frame of a picture

*čardak*, *čardac* n.f. (pl. *čardakə*, *čardacə*) (Azer. çardaq) **booth made with branches, shed, awning, attic**

**čarət** I (vn. čratta) (1) to fire (gun) (tr. and intr.) | *tup čritalə* He fired the gun; *tup jano ka-jano črətla* The gun went off by itself. (2) to slip away. (3) to split (seeds) | *bəčrátəla +bər-+zarra b-cicu* He is splitting the seed with his teeth

**čarəx** I (vn. čraxta) to climb, to clamber, to scramble | *+al-simalta bəčrəxələ* He is climbing a ladder

**čarəz** I (vn. črazta) (1) to plunge, to knock in (sharp object), to thrust through; to stab (with a spear or a bayonet); to prod, to urge | *scənta črizalə ju-šəptiyya* He pushed the knife into the watermelon; *xa mixa črəzlə b-ķesa* He knocked a nail into the wood; *črəzlə sepaju-diva* I plunged the sword into the wolf. (2) to shoot (arrow) | *jira črəzlə* He shot an arrow

**čarja** n.m. (Pers. čahār jā four places) threads on loom

**čarpuvva** n.m. (pl. čarpuvvə) (1) dried shoot (*nuvva*) with leaves (used as fuel). (2) cane (of teacher) | *bət-maxənnux xa-tre čarpuvvə* I shall give you one or two strokes of the cane

**čaruyxə, čarixa** n.pl. (sing.f. čaruxta, čarəxta) (Kurd. çarox, Azer. çarıq) light leather sandals

**čarx** n.m. (pl. čarxə) (Kurd. çerx, Azer. çarx) shaft (of a mill) to control movement of propeller; windlass, pulley

**čaš** adj.invar. (Azer. çavaş) squint-eyed, skew-eyed

**čašni** n.f. (Pers. čāšnī) (1) blasting cap (of a gun). (2) sample, specimen

**čat** n.m. unsieved grain

**čatər** n.f. (pl. čatirə) (Azer. çətir, Pers. čater) umbrella

**čatun** adj.invar. (Kurd. çetin, Azer. çətin) difficult, heavy, burdensome

**čatunuya** n.f. difficulty, onerousness | *b-čatunuya* with difficulty

**čaxəs** I (vn. čxasta) to thrust, to stick into, to push into | = *taxəs* (vn. txasta)

**čayəd/čād** I (vn. čyatta) to invite (guests)

**čayal/čāl** I (vn. čyalta) (1) to flick (with hand), to roll, to toss (dice) | *tašalla čilalə* He flicked the marble. (2) to swing (hands) | *idi čilali* I swung my hand.

(3) to prepare for battle | *čilali janı* I went ahead (to help, to fight)

**čəččə** (pl. čəččəna) (child language) (give me the) breast

**čəččərtə** n.f. vulva

**čəkkə-čək** n.f. sound of chattering | *'annə našə cma čəkkə čəkkəla!* How those people chatter! → *čakčək* QI

**čəlla** n.m. (pl. čəllalə) (Pers. čelle ‘bow string, selvage’) fine root branching from central root(s)

**čəltəc** n.m. little finger

**čəm** part. (Turk. cf. Chagatay čum (Nöldeke 1868, 168), čung (Zenker 1866, 375)) very, absolutely, extremely, greatly, completely, utterly | *čəm +raba* very much

čənŷərra n.m. (pl. čənŷərrə) **rag** | *cúllə júllu čənŷárru bəškələlə!* He gets up and takes all his clothes and belongings (lit. his rags) (A 4:16)

čənŷərrana adj.ms. (fs. čənŷərranta, pl. čənŷərranə) **ragged**

čənna n.f. (pl. čənnata) **base for games** | usually applied to hole dug in wall or tree as base for game of *+fullatə* ‘fruit stones’

čənnur n.? **tuberculosis** | used in curses (cf. Rosenberg 1903, 142)

čəzva n.m. (pl. čəzvə) **rendered fat of tail used for cooking**

čida adj.ms. (fs. čətta, pl. čidə) **invited (guest)**

čiķa adj.ms. (fs., pl. čiķə) (Kurd. qîç, Azer. qiyiq) **squinting (eye), cross-eyed** | *naša čiķa* a man with a squint; *+’aynatu čiķəna* His eyes are squinting

čima n.m. (pl. čimə) (Azer. çim) **turf, sod of earth; block of compact earth and grass used to build dams etc.** → *čiman* grass, lawn

čiman n.f. (pl. čimanə) (Azer. çəmən) **grass, lawn** | *jarəc +makrəttənna čimani* I must cut my lawn

čin n.f. (i) **China** (ii) **porcelain, china**

činaya adj.ms. (fs. čineta, pl. činayə) **Chinese**

činəs-<sup>+</sup>tan n.f. **China**

čiri *+xaraya* n.m. **November**

čiri *kamaya* n.m. **October**

čiriyə n.m. (pl. čiriyavatə) **autumn**

čixotča n.f. (Russ. чахотка) **tuberculosis**

čōl n.m. (pl. čolə) (Azer. çöl) **wilderness, waste ground, steppe, grassland**

čora adj.ms. (fs., pl. čorə) **with white mark on forehead (animal)** | *tora čora* ox with white spot on forehead; *čorə* is used as name of a cow: *ta čorə!* come along Čorə!

čorac-<sup>+</sup>xana n.f. (pl. čorac-<sup>+</sup>xanə) (Azer. çörəkxana) **bakery; bakehouse**

čoracči n.m. (pl. čoracčiyə) (Azer. çörəkçi) **baker, bread-seller**

čort maxə i (Pers. čort zadan) **to doze**

čoťča n.f. (pl. čoťčə, čoťčatə) (Russ. щетка) **paintbrush**

čučajə n.m. (pl. čučajə) (Azer. çiçək, Pers. čičak) **blossoming flower** (= *hababə* in literary language)

čučumanta n.f. (pl. čučumanyatə) **hard blister on skin**

čulə n.f. (pl. čuliyatə) **place where people washed in *paya* in winter (since it was warm) consisting of a sloping slab**

čulli n.f. (pl. čulliyə) **hole for gathering flour in watermill**

čulluxta n.f. (pl. čulluxyatə) **hut made of mud; cabin, hovel**

čumbəlla adj.ms. (fs. čumbəltə, pl. čumbəllə) **loose-hanging, flabby**

čun → čuncət

čuncət, čun part. (Azer. čünki, Pers. čunke) **because, since, as**

čunda n.pl. **large flat breads**

čunyul, čuffur n.f. **gusli (stringed musical instrument), harp, lute**

- čunniyyə** n.pl. (sing. *čunnita*) **short rubber boots**  
**čuplənna** adj.ms. (fs. *čuplənta*, pl. *čuplənnə*) **defiled, unclean; rotten, immoral**  
**čurətma** n.f. (pl. *čurətmə*) (Iranian Azer.) **trap, mousetrap, snare (for birds)**  
**čuvvə** n.pl. **animal droppings (general term); manure**  
**čuxta** n.f. (pl. *čuxyata*) **basement storage room, cellar, pantry**  
**čuyna** n.f. (pl. *čuynə*) **inkwell, inkpot, inkstand**  
**čuyta** n.f. **bread made from maize**

## +č

- +čāğ** n.m. (pl. *+čaǵjə*) (Azer. çağ) **season | +čaǵjət šita** seasons of the year  
**+čakkala** n.m. (fs. *+čakkalta*, pl. *+čakkalə*) (Azer. çağ ‘season’+ kal ‘unripe’) **unripe fruit, immature fruit**  
**+čakmaķ** n.m. (pl. *+čakmaķə*) (Azer. çaxmaq) **flint, tinderbox, cock (of a gun)**  
  | *maxə* i **+caǵmaķ** to strike a flit (to make fire)  
**+čalbə** QI (vn. *+čalbeta*) **to sting, to smart | +súppu primàlə, mòlxə drílə +àllo,**  
  ... *áha +čulbila* He cut his finger and put salt on it ... and it smarted (A 39:4);  
*áklo +čalbùvvəna* Her feet smart (from the salt) (A 39:29)  
**+čalə, +čalə** n.f. (pl. *+čalavatə, +čalavatə*) (Azer. çala, Pers. čale) **hole, pit; storage pit into which the flour fell**  
**+čalə-čaǵčura** adj.invar. **hilly**  
**+čaləš** n.f. (Ottoman Turkish: *çalış* ‘war, battle’; Azer. *çalış-*) **trouble, labour, industry | +čaləš əvəd** i to bestir oneself, to endeavour, to strive  
**+čallaş** QI (vn. *+čallaştə*) (Azer. *çalış-*) **to try, to attempt; to endeavour**  
**+čalma** n.m. (pl. *+čalmə*) (Azer. *çalma*) **turban; kerchief for the head, eye-band for children**  
**+čalšana** n.m. (n.f. *+čalšanta*, pl. *+čalšanə*) **somebody who tries hard**  
**+čaluvvə** n.m. (pl. *+čaluvvə*) **prickle, thorn; thornbush**  
**+čaluvvana** adj.ms. (fs. *+čaluvvanta*, pl. *+čaluvvənə*) **prickly**  
**+čalxama** n.f. (Azer. *çalxama*) **agitation, hubbub; whirlwind, storm**  
**+čamadan** n.f. (pl. *+čamadanə*) (Azer. *çamadan*, Pers. *čamdān*) **suitcase**  
**+čana** n.? **nutshell; shell of a fruitstone; husk | *jumla fu- +čanət jozə maštuyula***  
  He is giving the camel to drink out of a walnut shell (said when a man gives a ridiculously small gift to one in need)  
**+čančəl** QI (vn. *+čančalta*) (1) **to become exhausted, to exhaust; to wear out | +raba +čunčəlli** I am completely exhausted; *o- +šula kam- +čančəlli* The work exhausted me. (2) **to writhe (with spasms of pain).** (3) **to bustle around, to bestir oneself.** (4) **to drive to and fro.** (5) **to tousle (one's hair)**  
**+čara** n.f. (pl. *+čarə*) (Kurd. *čare*, Azer. *çarə*, Pers. *čāre*) **solution (for a difficult**

- situation), means, way | +čára *lət̪l*** There is no alternative (you must do it) (A 35:9)
- +čarčav n.m. (pl. +čarčavə) (Turk. çarşaf ‘bed sheet’ < Pers.) **piece of material for wrapping bedding**
- +čarəp I (vn. +črapta) **to swat, to whack**
- +čarjuš, +čarjuša n.m. (Pers. čahārgūš) **quadrangle, square, quadrilateral; square (adj.)**
- +čarpanta n.f. **tool used to whack or swat**
- +čarpaṛta n.f. (pl. +čarpaṛta) (Pers. čahārpar) **cartridge, gunshot**
- +čay n.m. (Azer. çay, Pers. čāy) **tea**
- +čaydan n.f. (pl. +čaydanə) (Kurd. çaydan f., Azer. çaydan) **tea kettle (made of metal)**
- +čayər/+čār I (vn. +čyarta) **to take offense, to be angry (*mən* with), to be upset, to pout | sí sí mánnux +čərtən̪l** Go away I (fs.) am upset with you (A 52:7); +čirəvən *mənnu* I am angry with him
- +čaynaç n.f. (pl. +čayniçə) (Azer. çaynik) **teapot**
- +čaypaz n.f. (pl. +čaypazə) (Pers. čāy ‘tea’ + paz ‘cooking’) **teapot**
- +čayura adj.ms. (fs. +čayurta, pl. +čayurə) **sulky, morose**
- +čəkkurta n.f. (pl. +čəkkuryata) (Azer. çukur) **hole, hollow | smaller than → +čalə**
- +čənnar n.m. (pl. +čənnarə) (Azer. çınar, Pers. canār) **plane tree, black poplar**
- +čerana adj.ms. (fs. +čeranta, +čerana) **touchy, sensitive**
- +čiban n.f. (Azer. çibən) **boil; ulcer**
- +čoban n.m. (pl. +čobanə) (Azer. çoban, Pers. čopān) **shepherd**
- +čola, +čolə n.m./f. (pl. +čolatə, +čolavata) **canopy, tent; a building in a vineyard, a cottage or summer-house inhabited during the vintage; a booth made with branches**
- +čommax, +čommaxta n.f. (pl. +čommaxyatə) (Azer. çomaq, Pers. čomaq) **cudgel; club | *jinava ka-jinava xazə, +čommaxtu ci-+ṭašila* When a thief meets a thief, he hides his club (cf. Maclean 1895, 351)**
- +čopan n.f. (pl. +čopanə) **strap (of leather), thong or a leather band on a wagon or plough**
- +čopur adj.invar. (Azer. çopur) **pockmarked | *patu +čopur-ilə* His face is pock-marked**
- +čor n.? (1) **disease of vines on their trunks | used as an insult: +čor-ilə He is (as evil as) a disease. (2) adj.invar. sad, upset | +čor +pašima sad and upset**
- +čraqyan (Azer. çırąqban) **illumination (at party)**
- +čubbux n.f. (pl. +čubbuxə) (Azer. çubuq, Pers. čopoq) **tobacco pipe (with long shank usually about a foot in length)**
- +čulla n.m. (pl. +čullə, +čullalə) (Azer. çul) **horse-blanket; rag**
- +čullax adj.invar. (Azer. çolaq) **lame**

## č

- čaçbən** QI (vn. *čaçbanta*) (Kurd. çek) **to arm (with weapons)** (intr. and tr.) | *čaçbunələ* He is arming himself; *čaçbunolə koşun* He is arming the army
- čaçça** n.pl. (Kurd. çek) **weapons, arms**
- čaçurça** n.m. (pl. *čaçurçə*) **locust** | *čarçurça kina* praying mantis
- čaçşa** n.f. (pl. *čaççə*) (child language) **hand**
- čakurka** n.m. (pl. *čakurkə*) **a small bird**
- čançən** QI (vn. *čançanta*) (1) **to clash a cymbal; to tingle (ear); to tinkle** | *natyati* *čançunəna* My ears are ringing (due to noise). (2) **to cause to tingle, tinkle; to buzz (ear)** | *sənjičançunulə* He is clashing the cymbal; *kalət pəkəta čunçənnelə* *natyati* The sound of the explosion made my ears tingle; *bassa, la čançən!* Do not make such a clanking noise (e.g. with the knocking together of metal pans)
- čanjər** QI (vn. *čanjarta*) **to jingle**
- čappa** n.m. (pl. *čappə*) **hand, palm; applause, clapping of hands; handful** | *čappə maxə* I to clap
- čappar** n.f. (pl. *čapparə*) (Azer. çəpər) **fence, fencing; barrier, earthwork used in war** | *čappar mxayələ kam-beta* He is building a fence in front of his house
- čapula** n.m. (pl. *čapuylə*), **čapulta** n.f. (pl. *čapulyatə*) (1) **paw.** (2) **slap in the face** | *čapula mxili ka-do naşa* I slapped that man; *tuy şəlyə čapula tilə* Be quiet otherwise you will get a slap
- čapəpə** (child language) **clap**
- čarçər** QI (vn. *čarçarta*) **to shout, to scream, to wail** | *čurçərrə xa čarçarta xelanta* He screamed a big scream; *+bayyə mavvədlə čarçər xelana* He wants to make him scream loudly
- čarçərrana** n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *čarçərranta*, pl. *čarçərranə*) **shouter**
- čazçəz** QI (vn. *čazçazta*) **to hiss (fire); to sputter, to sizzle (meat in a frying pan); to cause to splutter** | *+busra čazçuzələ* The meat is spluttering; *şxunya čazçuzulə +busra* The heat is causing the meat to splutter
- čənna-čən** n.f. **sound of buzzing** | *nati čənna čənnola* My ear is buzzing; *xa čənna-čən npəltəla ju-nati* There is a buzzing in my ear → *čançən* QI
- čərçərrə** n.f. (pl. *čərçərrə*) (1) **rattle that is sounded in an orchard to scare away birds.** (2) **machine gun**
- čərrə-čər** n.f. **sound of shouting, screaming** | *čərrə čərrət naşəla* There is shouting of people
- čərtəccə** n.m. (pl. *čərtəccə*) **click** | *čərtəccə mxilə* He snapped (with his fingers)
- čəvvə-čəv** n.f. **chirping noise; twittering noise** | *čəvvə čəvvət səprəla* There is a sound of the twittering of sparrows

čəz (child language) | čəz t-avət (Be careful), it will hurt you; pummux čəz t-avə  
(Don't eat this) your mouth will hurt

či (child language) | či vilə It has broken; či p̄t-avə. It will break.

čilaza (N), +čilaza (S) adj.ms. (fs. čilazta, +čilazta, pl. čilazə, +čilazə) (Azer. ciliz)  
lean, thin; flimsy, frail, weak

čilazuya (N), +čilazuya (S) leanness

čita (Azer. čit, Kurd. čit) n.m. patterned fabric, chintz, calico | čitət ctava wall-  
paper

čočə QI (vn. čočeta), Siri S čavčəv to twitter (bird); to chirp (young birds)

čuču n.f. (čučuya) (child language) bird

+čadra n.f. (pl. +čadrə) (Azer. çadır, Pers. čādor) (1) tent | maxə I +čadra to pitch  
a tent. (2) cover (for female). (3) sail

+čakkal n.m. (pl. +čakkalə) (Azer. čaqqal, Pers. šağāl) jackal

+čalbəx QI (vn. +čalbaxta) to itch, to ache, to give pain (wound, burn); to beat  
with a stick

+čalčə QI (vn. +čalčeta) to strike with a rod, to whip, to birch; to smart, to feel  
a local pain

+čalčiyana n.m. (pl +čalčiyana) rod, birch

+čaləp I (vn. +člapta) to cleave, to chop, to cut off a branch; to split (tr.  
and intr.), to dissect, to burst (tr. and intr.) | kesa +čləplə The wood split;  
+bəčlapələ +məsta He is splitting hairs

+čalpana adj.ms. (+čalpanta, pl. +čalpanə) easily chipped (firewood); so. who  
makes problems between people

+čambər QI (vn. +čambarta) (1) to tear (material, paper), to tear off, to tear  
to pieces, to rip (tr. and intr.) | +parča čamburəva He was tearing material;  
'ana +čumbərreli varakə I tore the papers; varakə +čumbərrun the papers tore  
(expressing greater force than +parət I to tear). (2) to split | səpil maxónvala  
+al-čipa! +čambərrənvala! I used to strike my sword on a stone and split it  
(A 2:25)

+čaməč I (vn. +čmačta) to wither, to become wrinkled | varda +čmičələ The  
flower withered

+čammə I (vn. +čmeta) (1) to be extinguished, to go out (fire, light) | nuyra  
+čmilə The fire went out; +šra +čmilə The lamp went out; +ojaxto čmitala She  
is barren, i.e. cannot bear children (lit. Her hearth has been extinguished).  
(2) metaphor. to die | +čmilə b-şopu He died where he stood (i.e. he died  
suddenly)

- +čančər** QI (vn. +čančarta) **to tear, to break off, to tear to pieces**
- +čanja** (N.), čanya (S.) n.m. (pl. +čanjə, čanjə) **handful (in two hands)** | *xa +čanja rəzza halli* Give me a handful of rice
- +čanjər** QI (vn. +čanjarta) **to scratch with a paw or claw**
- +čanjurta** n.f. (pl. +čanjuryatə) (Pers. čangāl) **claw, paw**
- +čapčəp** QI (vn. +čapčapta) **to splash in the water, to hit water with the palm; to clap; to chirp** | *'idu +čupčəppelə* He clapped his hands
- +čaplaya** adj.ms. (fs. +čapleta, pl. +čaplayə) **left-handed; left-wing**
- +čaplə** n.f. (Kurd čep, Pers. čap) **left side** | *+al-+čaplə* on the left, to the left; *mən-+čaplə* on the left
- +čap̄palta** n.f. (pl. +čap̄palyatə) **short walking-stick; staff; drumstick** | *b-xá +čap̄pálta ána ... 'arpi dána déva +másən +kaflənnun!* With one staff I can kill forty monsters (A 37:8) → *kopalta*
- +čarčə** QI (vn. +čarčeta) **to soil (tr. and intr.), to stain (tr. and intr.), to do something sloppily** | *+xali +čurčila* The carpet stained; *kava +čurčiyalə +xali* The coffee stained the carpet; *u-+šula +čurčilux* You did the job badly; *b-jaṛastət šacla +lap +čurčila* He made a real mess of the drawing
- +čarčər** QI (vn. +čarčarta) **to creak (door)**
- +čaxčəx** QI (vn. +čaxčaxta) **to hew, to smash to pieces (tr. and intr.); to split, to crash** | *+čuxčəxli cipa* I smashed a stone; *cipa +čuxčəxlə* The stone smashed
- +čayəd/+čād** I (vn. +čyatta, +čatta) **to carve, to whittle (wood with knife); to hew** | *b-scənta +bəčyadəvən ķesa* I am hewing the wood with a knife
- +čayəm/+čām** I (vn. +čyamta) **to close (tr. and intr.) (eyes, door without locking), to shut** | *+tarra +čumla 'ina la durrə* Close the door but do not lock it; *+tarra +čəmlə* The door closed; *xa +čyamtət +'ayna* in a trice
- +čəllita** n.f. (pl. +čəlliyyatə) **small pot (placed in the oven with rods [šišə]) (see illustration 5)** (Gaw. čəlla, Sal. jarra, jarrəcta)
- +čəlpə** n.m. (pl. +čalpə) **crack, fissure**
- +čəmčə** n.pl.tantum **pus, mucus (from nose, ears)**
- +čənčina** n.f. (pl. +čənčina) **violin, harp, psaltery**
- +čəxṭə** n.f. **brushwood, splinters, chips** | *xuš +čəxṭə +jammi* Go and gather some brushwood; *+čəxṭə +məxṭə* a load of assorted items
- +čmičə** adj.ms. (+čməčta, pl. +čmičə) **withered, faded**
- +čučana** n.f. (pl. +čučanə) **magpie**
- +čupranta** n.f. **camouflage behind which hunters of birds hide**
- +čuvva** adj.ms. (fs., pl. +čuvvə) **smooth** | *lišana +čuvva* smooth tongue

## d

*d* → *di*, 'at

*da* enclitic part. (Azer. *da*, *də*) (§ 13.1.3.) (1) and | 'át túy +táma| 'ána-da cálən dàpnax| You sit there and I shall stand beside you (A 39:19); pókka hám=da +'akúbra fvárrel| The frog and the mouse got married (A 52:4). (2) also | 'át-da xuš-+támma| You also go over there (A 1:31). (3) combined with miscellaneous particles | mǎšxal yá=da +xálva| oil or milk (B 17:9); 'áxnan lè-+bayyaxlun, lá zuyzè +bayyáxlun| lá=da mité +tamrásxlun| We do not want them, neither do we want their money nor shall we bury their dead (A 6:15); hí=da xàšla, 'akúbra xàšla| Yes, he went, the mouse went (A 52:5)

*daba* n.m. (pl. *dabə*) monster (in tales) → *deva*

*dabaša* n.m. (pl. *dabašə*) n.m. bee | kuypət dabašə, +kərtalət dabašə beehive

*dabəš* I (vn. *dbaštə*) to stick, to be sticky, to be adhesive | dbíšəna 'an-cálba b-ríšu bədvákuna| The dogs seized his (the fox's) head and stuck to it (A 47:19)

*dabləb* QI (vn. *dablabta*) to be hypocritical, to equivocate; to change sides; to become duplicitous

*dabləbbana* n.m. hypocrite

*dacdəc* QI (vn. *dacdacta*) to throb; to stamp | +varidi dacducəla My vein is throbbing; 'aklu dacducala mən-+marra His leg is throbbing from pain

*dahna* n.m. (Pers. *dahane*) animal's bit with a mouthpiece

*dajala* n.m. (fs. *dajalta*, pl. *dajalə*) liar

*dajəl* II (vn. *dajalta*) to lie, to tell a falsehood (*b-* about, against) | xa duylə dujəllə biyyi He told a lie about me

*dajlana* n.m. (fs. *dajalta*, pl. *dajalə*) liar

*dāj* n.m. (pl. *dajə*) (Pers. *dāg* 'brand') imprint made on wood indicating ownership of harvested produce on the threshing floor

*daķdək* QI (vn. *daķdaķta*) to become small, fine; to cause to become small, fine, to chop finely; to break in small pieces, to make small or fine, to crumble, to powder | +busra buš duķdəkłə The meat became finer; +busra duķdəkli I chopped the meat finely

*daķta-maķta* n.f. bits and bobs, collection of things | 'ána p̄t-àzən| xáčča xáčča dáķta máķta b-+jammina| I shall go and gather some bits and bobs (A 52:5) → *daykə-maykə*

*dala dalpa* n.f. event taking place in winter (February) in which children went around the village and asked for presents by lowering a container into houses (B 6:9)

*dalan* n.f. (pl. *dalana*) (Azer. *dalan*) alley, sidestreet

*daldəl* QI (vn. *daldalta*) to become thin, sparse, widely spaced (crops, vegeta-

- tion, hair); to thin out, to space widely; to plant out thinly | *fəllalə duldəllun***  
 The grasses became sparse; *xəmma cullə fəllalə duldəllələ* The heat caused all  
 the grasses to become sparse. Cf. *dayla* thinly spaced
- daldən* QI (vn. *daldanta*) to settle (intr. and tr.) | *duldənnan +tama* We settled  
 there; *duldənnelə +tama* He settled them there**
- daləl* n.f. (Azer. dəlil, Pers. dalil) purpose, motive, argument | *dalilux mudila?***  
 What is your purpose?
- daləp* I (vn. *dlapta*) to leak**
- dallac* n.m. (pl. *dallacə*) (Azer. dəllək) barber**
- dalləl* QI (vn. *dallalta*) to stroke | *calba dallululə* He is stroking the dog**
- dallucuya* n.f. profession of barber**
- dalma* n.m. (pl. *dalmə*) (Azer. dalma, originally ‘something sunk’, < dal- ‘to  
 sink’, i.e. underground water system) aqueduct (carried water from the  
 mountain to villages)**
- dalupa* adj.ms. (fs. *dalupta*, pl. *dalupə*) leaking, leaky. n.m. leak | *mən-xut  
 +muṭra xut dalupə* from the frying pan into the fire (lit. from under the rain  
 (to) under the leaks)**
- dalupta* n.f. (pl. *dalupə*) drop (from a leaking roof)**
- dam* n.? (Azer. dəm) brew | *+čay dam bət-avəd* He will brew tea; *+čay dam  
 viyyələ* The tea is brewed; *+čaydan dvəkla dam* The teapot brewed**
- damdəm* QI (vn. *damdamta*) to bleed (intr.), to draw blood (tr.) | *'idi damdu-  
 məla!* My hand is bleeding; *mixa bət-damdəmla 'idi* The nail will draw blood  
 from my hand**
- damə* I (vn. *dmeta*) to resemble (+'al so., sth.) | *xa-náša 'öttən ju-+diśsak!*  
 bədmáyələ +'älli! There is a man in jail who resembles me (A 3:35); *la damə  
 +'al-našə* He does not resemble men, he is inhuman (said of somebody who  
 is physically unattractive, but has a high opinion of himself)**
- daməx* I (vn. *dmaxta*) (1) to lie down, to sleep | *+otağət dmaxta* (pl. *otağət  
 dmaxyatə* B 1:41) bedroom. (2) to lie fallow (field) | *+arrə! ... damxāva xa-  
 šítə!* The ground would lie fallow for a year (B 3:8). (3) to become flat (crops)  
 | *duna +xəttə dmixə* The wheat is flat. (4) to die. (5) to stop (clock). (6) to  
 subside (pain or wind)**
- damurči* n.m. (pl. *damurčiyə*) (Azer. dəmirçi) blacksmith, locksmith**
- damurči-+xana* n.f. (Azer. dəmirçixana) smithy**
- damuxa* ms.adj. (fs. *damuxta*, pl. *damuxə*) sloping | *+arrə damuxta* sloping  
 land**
- damyana* adj.ms. (fs. *damyanta*, pl. *damyana*) similar, identical (+'al- to)**
- dana* part. (pl. *dana*) (Kurd. dane, Pers. dāne, Azer. dən) determiner particle  
 used in numbering | *xa-dana xabuyša* an apple, *xa-dana +jilasta* a cherry;  
*dani-dana* one by one; *ánna cül dána dána +jammátte b-noşə!* You must pick**

up each one of these by itself (A 51:3). With verb: *'ána xá-dana ázən +bàzar'*  
I shall just go to the market (A 42:5)

**dandan** adj. invar. **spiky, full of small teeth** | *dandan vayələ* It becomes spiky  
**dandana** adj.ms. (fs. *dandanta*, pl. *dandana*) **spiky; rough** | *cipa dandana* rough stone (full of small holes, used to grind corn); *varača dandana* rough paper; sand paper

**dandæcta** n.f. (pl. *dandæcyatə*) (Kurd. *dendik*) **a single grain** | *xa dandæctət +xəttə* a grain of wheat; *halli +tla dandæcyatət zeta* Give me three olives

**dani** → *'ani*

**daptar** n.f. (Aver. *dəftər* < Arab.) **notebook, exercise book; record, register**

**dara** n.m. (pl. *dara*) (Pers. *darre*) **valley; gully, ravine, chasm**

**dara-tapa** n.m. (pl. *darə tapə*) (Azer. *dərə-təpə* 'hilly country') **bump** | *ju-da baxča itən +raba darə tapə* There are many bumps in this garden

**darba** n.f. (pl. *darbə*) (Kurd. *derb* < Arab.) **wound, ulcer, abscess** | *maxə i darba* to wound

**darbana** adj.ms. (fs. *darbanta*, pl. *darbanə*) **wounded**

**darbən** QI (vn. *darbanta*) **to wound**

**dard** n.m. (pl. *dardə*) **pain, grief, sadness** (Azer. *dərd*) | *dard jařəš i* to have chronic pain, to suffer, to grieve; *dárdət diyyux!* *+xvárə zárdəna!* Your sorrows are white and yellow (i.e. your sorrows pale in comparison to mine) (A 4:15); *dard-ila!* He is a pain!

**dardəx** QI (vn. *dardaxta*) **to become sad, depressed; to cause to become sad, depressed** | *durdəxli* I became depressed; *+marrət bruni durdəxxənnə* The illness of my son depressed me

**dardəž** QI (vn. *dardažta*) **to be stressed; to grieve, to mourn, to be sad**

**dardusar** n.f. (Pers. *darde sar*) **headache**

**darə i** (vn. *dreta*) (1) **to pour** | *+čay daryannux?* Should I pour you some tea? (2) **to put, to set, to place** | *'ida la darət állu* Do not lay a hand on him! *'ida drilə +allé* He hit them; *'ida drilə b-do +šula* He began that work. (3) **to cast, to cast forth** | *xá járdət nùynəl bədráyəla +àllo!* She casts a fishing net over her (A 38:16). (4) **to contribute, to subscribe.** (5) **to bring forth prematurely** | *baxta bruno drila* The woman miscarried her son

**darəc** → *jarəc*

**darjušta** n.f., Armenia *jarjušta* (pl. *darjušyatə*) **cradle (with a frame)** | *+xasət darjušta, xmarət darjušta* the top handle of a cradle

**darkul** part. **against** | *'ana t'vən darkuylux* I am against you → *barkul*

**darkuluya** n.f. **opposition**

**dars** n.f. (pl. *dərsə*) (Azer. *dərs* < Arab.) **lesson** | *cullóxun lípotun darsòxun?* Have you all learnt your lesson? (A 1:25)

**darta** n.f. (pl. *darata*) **courtyard, yard; kitchen garden for fruits; pl. premises (in courtyard)**

*darza* n.f. (pl. *darzə*) (Azer. dərz) sheaf of corn; bundle

*darzi* n.m. (pl. *darziyyə*) (Azer. dərzi) tailor

*dast* +*namaz šakəl* ı (Pers. *dast namāz gereftan*) to perform ablutions

*dasta* n.f. (pl. *dasta*, *dasyata*) (Azer. dəstə, Pers. *daste*) (1) group, party, band, company, gang, team | *dastət palaxə* a group of workers; *dastət* +*karçə* card deck; *sar-dasta* head of the group. (2) bunch | *dástə dástə* +*xazdáxva bí ... mayəsta*! Then we would harvest it, bunch by bunch, with a sickle (B 3:10). (3) class (general word, also school class). (4) suit (of clothes)

*dastay* n.m. (Azer. dəstək ‘support’, Pers. *dastyār* ‘accomplice’) accomplice, supporter of crime

*dastajuyta* n.f. acting as an accomplice, support of crime | *dastajuyta* ‘avəd ı to act as an accomplice, to support a crime

*dastur* n.f. (pl. *dastuyra*) (Pers. *dastūr*) command, permission: *yavvəl* ı *dastur* to issue a command, to grant permission: *málca-da yúvvəl dàstur!* *kat-cùlla panánnun!* The king has given a command that I should eradicate everybody (A 2:17)

*dašdəš* QI (vn. *dašdašta*) to tread, to trample, to tread down on | *suysa ka-davva naşa dušdəšlə b-səmmatu* The horse trampled that man with his hoofs

*dava* n.m. (pl. *davə*) gold; gold coin | *maškəl III b-miyət dava* to gild, to plate with gold; *cúlla škáltəla b-miyət dàva*! It is all plated with gold (A42:10); *’ätzvalun +rába dàva*! They had many gold pieces (A 37:22)

*davacaruuya* n.f. pugnacity, mischief, strife

*davanaya* adj.ms. (fs. *davaneta*, pl. *davanayə*) golden

*davək* ı (vn. *dvakta*) (1) to seize, to catch, to hold | +*kátu bədvàkona*! They catch the cat (A 3:79); *’na nášə dúna bədvákə nùyna!* (He sees) that people are catching fish (A 9:2); +*rába dvíkən’ ána b-səprəl* (with preposition *b-* before complement) I have caught many sparrows (B 4:10); *bət-dokənna* *’idux kat mantət ju-+šula* I shall help you succeed in your job; *cúllan ci-dokáxva* *’ida* *’ida*! We would all hold hands (B 9:6); *níxa níxa* *á bəznísu jóns bədvákələ*! Gradually his business takes hold well (A 34:6); *duk nata!* Pay attention! (2) to take prisoner, to capture. (3) to restrain, to restrain oneself, to be temperate | +*Axičar lišánu bədvákələ*! Axičar holds his tongue (A 3:28); *málca pímmu dvəkələ*! The king held his tongue (lit. his mouth) (A 1:28); *kali xvīlə*, *dvəkli* My voice has become hoarse, I cannot speak. (4) to block, to cut off; to be blocked, to be frozen | *kam-diyyux bət-dokəxələ* We shall block your passage; *kam-miyya bət-dokənna* I shall block the (flow of the) water; *dvəkələ kamayté* He stood in their way, he blocked their way; *’urxatə dvəkələn* The roads became blocked; *bəzza dvíkələ* The hole is blocked; *tálja cül dúcta davəkvala*! The snow cut off every place (B 10:4). (5) to be eclipsed, to be

**overcast** | šəmša dvəktəla The sun is eclipsed; dvəktət šəmša solar eclipse; +hava dvəktəla It is overcast. (6) **to hire**. (7) **to correspond to, to fit together, to apply** | áha móndit ána +báyyən tanənnəl bədvákəla mən-cúlla matvátat díyyan! What I want to tell you holds for all of our villages (B2 1:1). (8) **to celebrate/keep a feast** | idá-+jura idá-sura cáslan +rāba! ci-dokáxvala b-kəšya! We used to observe Easter and Christmas in our community very strictly (B 9:12). (9) **to contain**. (10) **to pickle in vinegar** | adiyya turšíyyə dokaxlux Now we shall pickle you (said when a man or woman has passed thirty and has not married).

**davəltə** n.f. (Azer. dövlət, Pers. dowlat) **wealth, riches, treasure** | marət-davəltə rich; á davəltan áxnan ka-màn! šokàxxa? To whom shall we leave this wealth? (A 42:2)

**davən** I (vn. dvanta) **to cement (crack)** | +zəlla dvənni I cemented the crack

**davər** I (vn. dvarta) (i) **to close (intr. and tr.), to lock** | durra +tarra! Close the door!; +tarra dvərrə The door closed; +tarra +çumlə ina la durrə Close the door but do not lock it; +tarra dvərə b-kdila I locked the door with a key.

**davər** I (vn. dvarta) (ii) **to thresh (oxen going round a heap of corn treading it with their feet)** | b-janjar bət-davrilun +xəttə They will thresh the wheat with the threshing machine

**davəx** I (vn. dvaxta) **to sacrifice (a sacrifice of animals); to dedicate** | 'atjanux dvixovət ka-+nərtət lišanət diyyan You have dedicated yourself to preserving our language

**davlači** n.m. (pl. davlačiyyə) **drummer**

**davlatmand, dolatmand, dolatman** adj.ms./fs. (pl. dalvatmandə, dolatmandə) (Pers. dowlatmand, Kurd. dewlemend) **rich, wealthy**

**davlatmanduya** n.f. **wealth**

**davri** n.m. (pl. davriyyə) (Kurd. dewrî f., Pers. douri < Arab.) **plate, platter**

**davula, davla** n.m. (pl. davulə) (Azer. davul) **flat drum** | +zurna davula n.f. pipe and drum music; dávla maxyàna! drummers (B 10:22)

**dax, daxi** part. **how, as** | dàxivət? How are you? (A 36:5); an-núynə dàx vəttét? How have you done those fish? (A 5:9); dàx lēt-hammúna? How do you not believe (it)? (i.e. It is apparently the case that you do not believe it, but you should believe it) (A 47:13); xá-mənne b-cápval dák-t tívəna +al-taníyra! One of them would bend down as they were sitting on the oven (B 9:9); dákila ána láblən láxxa jú bēt-málca ýánnə zabnənnun? How about I take them here into the house of the king and sell them? (A 34:2); cul daxi anyhow; a-cúl dax-t-øyə! ána xáčxa bùš-zoda mánñux! xíyyən! Whatever the case may be, I have lived a little longer than you (A 2:16); márəla ləl! ána brúna lətvali! márəla dàx! 'tvalan brúna! He says 'No, I did not have a son.' She says 'But yes (lit. how [could that be]), we did have a son.' (A 39:31); dàx d-máx +álma c-avíva

- sáprə=da xína hamzùmə, tanùyə!* Just like people the birds also used to speak and talk (A 55:1); *dax mənnux tilux!* What a surprise that you have come
- daxə I** (vn. *dxeta*) **to become pure, to be clean, to be cleansed**
- daxə II** (vn. *daxeta*) **to purify, to clean; to select; to prune** | *+rəzza duxili* I cleaned the rice; *kəšmišə duxyeli* I prepared the raisins (by removing stalks)
- daxəl** | *ka-diyyux daxəl lelə* It is not your business
- dayən/dān I** (vn. *dyanta*) **to judge** | *bət-dayən ka-+davva naša* He will judge that man; *la dunnə!* Don't judge him!
- dayəš/dāš I** (vn. *dyašta*) **to tread, to trample on, to tread down; to press down, to stuff (into)** | *lá švəkłə! siyysə! ka-yámmyi +marəčval dāšva!* He did not let the horse crush, trample my mother (B 6:6); *tálja +rába dišəva!* Much snow had settled (B 9:9)
- dayķa** adj.ms. (fs. *dakta*, pl. *dayķə*) **fine, small** | *dayķa jašək* II to examine; *dayķa dayķa* little by little, gradually; *dayķa dayķa ՚avəd* I to crush into small pieces; *dayķə mayķə* insignificant details or items, bits and bobs: *dayķə-mayķux +jammilun* Gather together your things
- dayķa, dakika, dakķa** n.f. (pl. *dayķə, dakika, dakķə*) (cf. Azer. dəqiqə) **minute** | *b-xa dayķa* instantly
- dayķən QI** (vn. *dayķanta*) **to become fine; to make fine, to grind to powder, to beat small**
- dayķuna** adj.ms. (fs. *dayķunta*, pl. *dayķuna*) **very small (child); baby**
- dayla** adj.ms. (fs. *dalta*, pl. *daylə*) **thin (hair on head); thinned out (trees or plants); sparse** | *šərjəmta dalta cocu +xlima c-avə* A slender turnip has a thick root (i.e. quality is better than quantity) (cf. Maclean 1895, 349)
- dayluya** n.f. **sparcity (crops); thinness (of hair on head)**
- dayyana** n.m. (pl. *dayyana*) **judge**
- daz-+jah** n.f. (pl. *daz-+jahə*) (Pers. *dazgāh*) **work bench, counter**
- dəbba** n.f. (pl. *dəbbatə, dəbbabə* Armenia) **bear (both male and female)** | *+zayət +dəbba* bear cub; *dəbba +jurta* Ursa Major; *dəbba surta* Ursa Minor
- dəbbita** n.f. (pl. *dəbbatə*) **female bear**
- dəbburta, dəbbur** (Syr. *debbōritā* ‘bee’) n.f. **gadfly; horsefly; hornet**
- dəcca** n.m. **bump** | *dəcca dəcci* name of a game in which people knocked their hands one on top of the other (B 9:9)
- dəccca-dəc** n.f. **throbbing** | *+varidi dəcca dəccola* My vein is throbbing → *dacdəc* QI
- dəccana** adj.ms. (fs. *dəccanta*, pl. *dəccanə*) **bumpy** | *՚aha ՚urxa +raba dəccantəla* This road is very bumpy
- dədva** n.m. (pl. *dədvə*) **fly (insect)** | *dədvət jumla* firefly
- dəkķa** n.m. (pl. *dəkķə*) **small piece of dried dung used as fuel (in small compressed cakes, larger than pān)**

*dəkkat* n.f. (Azer. diqqət, Pers. diqqat) **attention, care, vigilance** | *jašək* II *b-dəkkat* to look intently

*dəknə* n.m. (pl. *dəknə*) **beard** | *dəknə pətya/məlyə* bushy beard; <sup>+</sup>*farranət dəknə* barber; *švəklə dəknu, la* <sup>+</sup>*yrilə* He let his beard grow, he did not shave; *mār-dəknə náša* a bearded man (A 43:10)

*dəknana* adj.ms. (fs. *dəknanta*, pl. *dəknana*) **bearded**

*dəkra* n.m. **bump (with body), butt** | *maxə* I *dəkra* to bump, to butt

*dəlčacta* n.f. (Azer. dilçək) (1) **uvula.** (2) **tongue of a pipe or flute**

*dəmma* n.m. (1) **blood** | *demmi* <sup>+</sup>*bərdaxələ* I am furious (lit. my blood is boiling); *dəmmu* <sup>+</sup>*mayrələ* He is a nasty person (despite external appearances; lit. his blood is bitter); *dəmmu šaxinələ* He is friendly (lit. his blood is warm); *dəmmu* <sup>+</sup>*xəlyulə* He is kind (lit. his blood is sweet); *dəmma zvənnə* He bought off the relatives of a murder victim; *tapaxtət dəmma* bloodshed. (2) **bloodshed** (pl. *dəmmə*) | <sup>+</sup>*raba dəmmə* *küvvəmlun* There was great bloodshed

*dəmmana* adj.ms. (fs. *dəmmanta*, pl. *dəmmana*) **bloody**

*dəndəkta* n.f. (pl. *dəndəkyatə*) **small seed**

*dəpnə* n.f. (pl. *dəpnata*) (1) **side, edge.** (2) **block of wood behind blade of plough, also known as *tana*** (Pers. tane) | *dəpnátət* <sup>+</sup>*kálla bitəyənə* They come to the environs of the fortress (B 16:5)

*dərranj* adj.invar. (Kurd. dereng) (1) **late, behind time, unpunctual** | *dərranj vadəx* We are late. (2) **long ago** | *'áyya lélé* <sup>+</sup>*róba dərranj* *kám xá šávvı* <sup>+</sup>*tmáni* *šónna* *'átxəvəl* This was not very long ago, something like seventy or eighty years ago (B 17:56)

*dərranjaya* adj.ms. (fs. *dərranjeta*, pl. *dərranjayə*) **late**

*dəšša-dəš* n.f. **sound of tramping of feet** → *dašdəš* QI

*dəšta* n.f. (pl. *dəšyatə*) (Kurd. deş, Pers. dašt) **plain, open ground, level ground, open fields**

*dəvxa* n.m. (pl. *dəvxa*) **sacrifice, sacrificial victim, offering**

*dəxna* n.m. (pl. *dəxna*) **millet**

*dəxyə* adj.ms. (fs. *dxita*, pl. *dəxyə*) **clean, tidy, morally pure**

*dəxyuyta* n.f. **purity, decorum, morality**

*dəžmən* n.m. (pl. *dəžmənnə*) (Kurd. dijmin, Azer. düşmən, Pers. došman) **enemy, adversary**

*dəžmənnayuyta*, *dəžmnayuyta*, *dəžmnayta* n.f. **enemy** | *b-dəžmənnayuyta* *humzəmlə* he slandered

*dəžvar* adj.invar. (Kurd. dijwar) **wild, uncontrollable** | *calba dəžvar* uncontrollable dog

*dēna* n.m. (pl. *dēna*) (Pers. deyn < Arab.) **debt, loan, obligation** | *'avəd* I *dēna*, *šakəl* I *dēna* to borrow; *xut dēna napəl* to fall into debt; *yavvəl* I *dēna* to pay a debt

*denana* n.m. (fs. *denanta*, pl. *denanə*) **debtor, borrower.** adj. **in debt** | *'átən fúr'un!* *denánət ká málca* You, Pharaoh, are in debt to the king (A 3:76)  
**dešu-dešu** *'avəd i to crowd*

*devana* adj.ms. (fs. *devanta*, pl. *devanə*) **possessed by a devil, demoniac**

*dēv, deva* n.m. (pl. *devə*) (Kurd. dêw) **demon; giant; monster**

*di, d* part. (< *'adi, 'adiyya*) (1) **particle that adds immediacy to imperatives and deontic expressions (Caucasus)** | *dí sí!*! Go away! (A 52:2); *d-+sli!*! Come down! (A 47:14); *'álaha d-lá-'avəd!*! May God not do so (= God forbid) (A 44:2). (2) **Discourse connective: now, then** | *d-mára* Then he says ... (A 47:18); *dí márət +dávv-a-da +báru!*! Now also the master of this man was (chasing) after him! (A 7:6)

*diva* n.m. (pl. *divə*) **wolf** | *basət diva, diva b-+tarra!* Talk of the devil, here he is!  
(lit. about the wolf, the wolf is at the door)

*divita* n.f. **she-wolf** (Sal. and Gaw. *duxta*)

*diyy-* part. **base for pronominal genitive particle** (§ 2.4., § 9.10.)

*d-la* part. **without** | *d-la akla* adj.invar. one legged: *'a-naša d-la 'aklələ* This man is without a leg; *d-la 'alaha* adj.invar. godless; *d-la baxta* adj.invar. without a wife; *d-la bərnna* adj.invar. (Azer. bina, benā' < Arab.) without home: *d-la beta 'u-bənnna* without house or home; *d-la bənyat* adj.invar. (Arab. binya, Kurd. binî, Pers. bonyād) without a home or base; *d-la dəkna* adj.invar. beardless; *d-la ducta* adj.invar. homeless; *d-la had* adj.invar. (Pers. had < Arab.) boundless; *d-la hivi* adj.invar. (Kurd. hêví) without hope; *d-la hona* adj.invar. without intelligence; *d-la 'oz* adj.invar. (Azer. iz) without trace, without footprint; *d-la jana* adj.invar. lifeless; *d-la jnaha* adj.invar. guiltless; *d-la fulpanə* adj.invar. wingless; *d-la jur'at* adj.invar. without courage; *d-la kanuna* adj.invar. unlawful; *d-la mənyana* adj.invar. countless; *d-la nxəpta* adj.invar. shameless; *d-la šəc* adj.invar., adv. (Azer. şəkk < Arab.) doubtless, certain; without doubt, certainly: *d-la šəc 'a-+sula t-odətłə* Without doubt you will do that job; *d-la xela* adj.invar. frail, weak; *d-la xəžbuna* adj.invar. countless, numberless; *d-la zarar* adj.invar. (Azer. zərər) without harm; *d-la zuyzə* adj.invar. without money, impecunious; *d-la +'abur* adj.invar. shameless (→ *be-+'abur, bi+yabur*); *d-la +'asbab* (Pers. asbāb < Arab.) unarmed; *d-la +dyarta* adj.invar. with no return; *d-la +həssab* adj.invar. (Pers. hesāb < Arab.) numberless; *d-la +jəllav* adj.invar. (Azer. cilov, Pers. jalaw) unbridled, without restraint; *d-la +xabra* adv. (Pers. xabar < Arab.) unexpected; uninformed: *tilə d-la +xabra* He came without notice, *'o-naša d-la-+xabrəłə* That man is not well-informed; *d-la +zduta* adj.invar. without fear

*dmixa* adj.ms (fs. *dməxta*, pl. *dmixə*) **lying** | *xakla dməxta* a field the corn of which is lying flat (flattened by rain and wind)

*dokana* n.m. (fs. *dokanta*, pl. *dokanzə*) **catcher** | *dočənət nuynə* fisherman

*dola* n.m. (pl. *dolə*) (Pers. dohol, Kurd. dehol f. drum) (1) tall bin (for corn above watermill). (2) wooden bucket (for a well)

*dolmə* n.pl. (Azer. dolma < dol- 'to fill') stuffed vine-leaves or cabbage-leaves | *dolmət ranjə* stuffed peppers

*donja* n.m (pl. *donjə*) portion, share

*donuc* adj.invar. (Azer. dönük) rebellious; treacherous (+*al* against)

*donuyuya* n.f. rebelliousness; treachery | *darə* 1 *donuyuya* to incite to rebelliousness; *'odanət donuyuya* rebel, troublemaker

*dora, bra-dora* n.m. (pl. *dorə, bra-dorə*) wooden lock

*dorana* n.m. (pl. *doranə*) doorman

*došeca* n.f. (pl. *došecə*) (Kurd. doşeg; Azer. döşək) (1) mattress. (2) padded under saddle on +*palan*

*drušuyta* n.f. naughtiness → *durruš*

*dua* n.f. (pl. *duatə*) (Azer. dua < Arab.) prayer, blessing

*dubaka* n.m. (pl. *dubaķə*) volume (of book)

*dubara* n.m. behaviour

*duca, ducta, duytə* n.f. (pl. *ducana*) place, land, abode | *b-è-ducta*! in that place (B 6:1), *b-ánnə ducánə* in these places (B 2:10); *yavvənnux duca ju-beti* I shall put you up in my home; *duvən duca drili ķatux* I have prepared a bed for you; +*al-ducula* It is in its place; *ductula, ductu mučəxtula* It serves him right; *ductu mabyunala* He is missed; *súpyala bi-dùco*! He committed her to her grave (lit. place) (A 45:1)

*duccana, dəccana* n.m. (pl. *duccananə, dəccanana*) shop

*duccanči, dəccanči* n.m. (pl. *duccančiyə, dəccančiyə*) shopkeeper

*duccandar* n.m. (pl. *duccandarə*) shopkeeper

*duyła* n.m. (pl. *duyła*) lie, fiction; falsehood | *xa tuyla tuyəllə biyyi* He told a lie about me; *'u-ķatax! ķati! ka-+jórax bət-ķatlı! kat-+xabré lá-+palət tuyla!* They will kill you, me and your husband so that their word does not turn out to be a lie (A 1:22)

*duylana* n.m. (fs. *duylanta*, pl. *duylanə*) liar; lying; deceitful

*dulaba* n.m. (pl. *dulabə*) (Pers. dūlāb < Arab.) spool for winding wool

*dula* near deictic copula (§ 3.3.1., § 10.6.1.)

*dunya, dənyə* n.f. (Azer. dünya < Arab.) world, universe | *tyamtət dunyə* the end of the world, doomsday; *'ánnə-da xá dúnyc dàvəna!* Here are a load of gold coins (A 1:5); *bəškálələ mádrə xá-dunyə mándi šapıra!* He takes again a load of beautiful things (A 1:16)

*dür* adj.invar. (Pers. dūr) far, distant | *mán dür!* from afar (A 41:20)

*durbən* n.f. (pl. *durbinə*) (Pers. dūrbīn) (1) telescope, binoculars. (2) camera

*durbənna* adj.ms. (fs. *durbənta*, pl. *durbənna*) wounded

*durd* n.f. (Pers. dord, Azer. torta) dregs (liquid, such as wine, food) | *durdət* +*xamra* dregs of the wine

*durməc* n.? (Azer. dürmək) **bread roll**

*durruš, drūš* adj.invar. **naughty, misbehaved (child)** | *yala durruš*

*durunda* adj.invar. **rapacious, used to seizing with violence** | *durunda rišavə*

*jəsyə* you barbarous man, may you vomit blood (cf. Rosenberg 1903, 142)

*duvalačbaz* n.m. (cf. Pers. duvalbāz ‘knave, cheat’, duvalak bāxtan ‘to cheat’)

**cheat, dodger**

*duvana* n.m. **cement used to fill cracks; glue**

*duxtor* n.m. (pl. *duxtorə*) **doctor**

*duyša* n.m. **honey**

*dūz* adj.invar. (Azer. düz) (1) **straight, flat** | *dūz əvəd* I to level, to straighten,

to unbend, to settle (a matter); <sup>+</sup>*xyuṭa dūz* straight stitch; *jarə dūz* flat roof;

<sup>+</sup>*maṭrūyələ dūz-bətə*! He gallops straight home (A 1:12). (2) **right, upright;**

**correct, exact** | <sup>+</sup>*támmam dūz mārrux*! You said it completely correctly; *dūz bətyávələ cás do-cipał* *cás do-cípət kət-’e-* <sup>+</sup>*Máhəju-de-* <sup>+</sup>*bəzzələ*.! He sits exactly

by that stone, by the stone of the hole where Mahə is. (A 40:6). (3) **equitable**

| *duza dūz* at par e.g. of bill cashed without discount or interest

*duzuyta* n.f. **accuracy, fairness**

*dviķa* adj.ms. (fs. *dvəkta*, pl. *dvikə*) **blocked** | *nxiri dvikələ* My nose is blocked

*dvira* adj.ms. (fs. *dvərta*, pl. *dvirə*) **closed; locked**

*dyari* n.m. (Kurd. diyarî) **present, gift**

## +d

<sup>+</sup>*daban* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*dabana*) (Azer. daban) **heel, shoe-tag**

<sup>+</sup>*dabbağ* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*dabbağə*) (Azer. dabbağ, Pers. dabbāg < Arab.) **tanner**

<sup>+</sup>*dabbağana* n.f. (Azer. dabbağxana) **tannery**

<sup>+</sup>*dabər*, <sup>+</sup>*mdabər* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*dabarta*, <sup>+</sup>*mdabarta*) **to manage, to govern; to lead,**

**to provide for** | *bət-*<sup>+</sup>*dabrən biyyux* I shall be your companion

<sup>+</sup>*dabrana* n.m. **companion** | cf. <sup>+</sup>*mdabrana* leader; manager (literary)

<sup>+</sup>*dağ* n.f. (Azer. dağ, Pers. dāğ) **brand, mark, sign** | <sup>+</sup>*dağ maxə* I, <sup>+</sup>*dağ mattə* III  
to brand → *dāj*

<sup>+</sup>*dağala* n.m., adj.ms (fs. <sup>+</sup>*dağalta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*dağala*) (Azer. dağal) **knave, cheat;**  
**unscrupulous**

<sup>+</sup>*dağaluya* n.f. **swindling, trickery, fraud**

<sup>+</sup>*dağğən* (vn. <sup>+</sup>*dağğanta*) (Azer. dağla-) **to brand, to cauterize (a wound)**

<sup>+</sup>*dakər* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*dakarta*) (i) **to touch, to knock against, to bump; to hit (the target)** | *b* + complement: *dakərrə biyyé* He touched them

<sup>+</sup>*dakər* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*dakarta*) (ii) **to cost, to be worth** | *'aha cma b-*<sup>+</sup>*dakər* How much does this cost?

**+dalapča** n.m. (pl. *dalapčə*) (Pers. dūlābče) **pantry, closet**

**+dalda** n.f. (Azer. *dalda* < Mong.) **shield, shelter, protection, privacy, solitude, screen** | *'ana bət-calən +dalda diyyux ƙat poxa la kayət +'alli* I shall shelter you so the wind does not blow on you

**+daldən** QI (Azer. *dalda*) **to hide, shelter** | *bət-+dandənnə* *'a-yala +bar-juyda* He will hide the child behind the wall; *bət-+daldənnənnux mən-poxa* I shall shelter you from the wind

**+dallal** n.m. (pl. *+dallalə*) (Azer. *dəllal*, Pers. *dallāl*) (1) **broker, agent, pedler, hawker.** (2) **herald, crier**

**+damağ** n.f. (Azer. *damaq*) **palate**

**+daməğ** II (vn. *+damağta*) **to brand, to sear, to cauterize (wound)** | *'ana 'idi +damuğovən ƙat xa-xta 'ida la +marmən +al-+davva yala sura* I swear (lit. I brand my hand) that I shall not raise a hand again against that child; *xəşli b-rixət +tuyata 'ina xmarə +damuğə* I went after the smell of the chops, but (they were only) branding donkeys (said when a man is disappointed) (cf. Maclean 1895, 352)

**+damğa** n.f. (Azer. *damğa*) (1) **brand; seal.** (2) **customs duty**

**+damğana** n.m. **branding iron**

**+dana** n.f. (pl. *+danatə*) **time, point in time** | *+al-+dana* on time, in good time; *xa +dana* once upon a time; *'e-+dana* at that time; *+raba +dana* mostly, in the majority of cases; *+dana b-+dana* at times, sometimes; *+avva xà-+danəla* He is one off, unique; *'zət +dána ci-maxívə +hàlvəl* There were times that they used to make sweetmeat (B 11:9); *m-ķam +dana* previously: *mən-ķam-+dána bəbil қa-bnē +Babá-čanja məşşəlmánə xùmyəvəl* My father had previously looked after the Muslim inhabitants of *+Baba-čanja* (B 6:2)

**+danta** n.f. (pl. *+danatə*) **time, instance** | *har-b-dé-+danta xá-dana sùysə tíləl* Just at that moment a horse came (B 6:6); *xá +dánta ńjdíla xà-xča p̄t-avívəl tálma lè +ma᷑ívə +al-míyyəl* Once the ice was such that the jugs did not reach the water (B 3:34)

**+dar-***+ağajə* n.m. (Azer. *dar ağacı*) **gallows** | *+avva naša mxilun +al-+dar-+ağajə* They hung that man on the gallows

**+dara** n.m. (pl. *+darə*) **generation; century**

**+daraja** n.m. (Azer. *dərəcə*, Pers. *daraje*) (1) **degree, estate, class, rank.** (2) **mark in school.** (3) **step, stair**

**+darčən** n.m. (Azer. *darçın*, dārčīn) **cinnamon**

**+dardək** QI (vn. *+dardaňta*) **to shatter** | *'zn macərbəxəlxəl +'áv hár parpəslən* hár *+dardəxlan* If we upset him, he would totally destroy us, he would totally shatter us (A 37:12)

**+dara** II (vn. *+dareta*) **to winnow**

**+darəš** I (vn. *+draňta*) **to argue, to quarrel; to debate**

- +darjə** n.m. (pl. +*darjə*) **rank, degree**
- +darmana** n.m. (pl. +*darmana*) (Azer. dərman, Pers. darmān) (1) **drug, medicine; poison** | +*darmana basumana* curing drug. (2) **paint** | *maxə* I +*darmana* +*al-* to paint, to treat (e.g. wood with paint, varnish etc.)
- +darmən** QI (vn. +*darmanta*) **to apply medicine, to treat, to heal; to poison** | *haccəm* +*durmənnə* *ka-* +*marrana* The doctor applied medicine to the patient; *bət-*+*darmənnə* *b-samma* he will poison him (= *bət-sammənnə*)
- +darrən** QI (vn. +*darranta*) **to roll with a rolling pin** (+*dorana*)
- +darrənnanta** n.f. (pl. +*darrənnanyatə*) **woman who rolls out dough with a rolling pin**
- +darvaza** n.m. (Azer. darvaza, Pers. darvāze) **gate (of a city or courtyard)** | +*darvaza* +*darvaza* name of a children's game (B 9:11)
- +darvəd** QI (vn. +*darvatta*) **to rock (cradle) (intr. and tr.)** | +*darjušta* +*darvudəla* The cradle is rocking; +*darvudəla* *darjušta* He is rocking the cradle
- +dasmal** n.f. (pl. +*dasmalə*) (Azer. dəsmal, Pers. dastmāl) **towel, napkin, handkerchief; baby's nappy**
- +dastán** n.f. (Pers.) **story**
- +dašcər** n.m. (pl. +*dašcərə*) (Azer. daş 'stone' + derivative suffix 'keeper') **sieve with large holes**
- +data** n.f. **chewing gum** | *vardət* +*data* flower that produces gum
- +davacar** n.m. (Azer. davakar) **fighter, rowdy, belligerent**
- +davam mayyə** III **to suffer, to endure.**
- +daveta** n.f. **froth on melted butter**
- +davi** n.f. (Azer. dava) **war, battle, fight, argument** | +*davi vədli mən do našə* I had an argument with that man
- +davvə** n.pl. (Kurd. dew) **buttermilk, liquid of churned yoghurt, which separates from the the butter (+carra)** | *bušalət* +*davvə* stew made of buttermilk
- +daxla** n.f. (Azer. taxıl) **crop of corn; cereals, grain**
- +dayaz** adj. invar. (Azer. dayaz) **shallow (river)** | more commonly 'shallow' is expresed by +*lattə*
- +dayəl/+dāl** I (prog. +*bəddalələ*) **to be sightless** | +*ayni* +*bəddaləna* My eyes do not see
- +dayəm** adv. (Azer. daim) **always**
- +dayər/+dār** I (vn. +*darta*/+*dyarta*) **to return**
- +dayra** n.f. (Azer. dairə, Pers. dāire < Arab.) **circle; small circular drum**
- +dəlmənj** n.m. (Azer. dilmanc) **translator, interpreter**
- +dəlmənuyta** n.f. **translation**
- +dəmməta** n.f. (pl. +*dəmma*) **tear (of the eye)**
- +derə** n.m. (pl. +*derə*) (1) **monastery, convent. (2) den, a cave (in which hermits live)**

- <sup>+</sup>*derana* adj. returning | <sup>+</sup>*av* <sup>+</sup>*deranəla* He will return (he has not gone for ever)
- <sup>+</sup>*deraya* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*derayə*) hermit
- <sup>+</sup>*dilavar* n.m. (Pers. *delāvar* 'bold', Azer. *dilavər* 'bold (to speak)') talker, gossip
- <sup>+</sup>*divan* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*divanə*) (Azer. *divan*, Pers. *dīvān*) court; lawsuit judgement, judgement-seat | <sup>+</sup>*divan* <sup>+</sup>*kattə* I to pass judgement; <sup>+</sup>*divano* <sup>+</sup>*kətyalə* He decided his case; <sup>+</sup>*kattanət* <sup>+</sup>*divan* judge; <sup>+</sup>*avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*divan* to go to law; *bəl-diyi*! *bəl-diyux*! *'aláha t-ávəd* <sup>+</sup>*divan*! God will hold a court (and judge) between me and you (A 3:93); <sup>+</sup>*divan* <sup>+</sup>*əktəla* It is not possible to speak freely
- <sup>+</sup>*divan-* <sup>+</sup>*xana* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*divan-* <sup>+</sup>*xanə*) (Azer. *divanxana*, Pers. *dīvānxāne*) court-room, administrative office
- <sup>+</sup>*diyya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*dita*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*diyyə*) well-known, famous; fixed, appointed
- <sup>+</sup>*doğma* n.m./f. (Azer. *doğma*) stepson, stepdaughter
- <sup>+</sup>*dolapča* n.f. (Azer. *dolabça*) cupboard
- <sup>+</sup>*dora* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*dorə*) (1) generation. (2) age, period, era, century | *'áxnan dəz mən=vax*, *mən-şənnə* <sup>+</sup>*dörə*, *mən-* <sup>+</sup>*úta*- <sup>+</sup>*bàba*. We have been enemies for generations, since the time of our ancestors (A 55:3); <sup>+</sup>*dórət mən-kàm díyyan*! the age before us (i.e. in an earlier age) (B 1:5)
- <sup>+</sup>*dorana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*dorana*) rolling pin | *maxə* I <sup>+</sup>*dorana* to roll (dough)
- <sup>+</sup>*dost* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*dostə*) (Azer. *dost*, Pers. *dost*) friend, acquaintance
- <sup>+</sup>*dostuyta* n.f. friendship, acquaintance
- <sup>+</sup>*dozmari* n.f. type of grape that ripens early (green or white)
- <sup>+</sup>*drana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*dranənə*) arm | <sup>+</sup>*drana* <sup>+</sup>*jarəš* I to sign; <sup>+</sup>*al-* <sup>+</sup>*dranano* in her arms
- <sup>+</sup>*draya* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*drayə*) Persian yard (about 39 inches) | *lišanux* <sup>+</sup>*šavvassər* <sup>+</sup>*drayə*! You have an insolent tongue! (lit. Your tongue is 17 yards)
- <sup>+</sup>*duraša* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*durašə*) argument | <sup>+</sup>*duráša váyələ bilé* An argument starts between them (A 38:4)
- <sup>+</sup>*durtə* n.f. intestine (of animal)
- <sup>+</sup>*dussağči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*dussağčiyə*) jailer
- <sup>+</sup>*dussağxana* n.f. (Azer. *dustaqxana*) jail-house, prison
- <sup>+</sup>*dussak*, <sup>+</sup>*dussağ* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*dussakə*, <sup>+</sup>*dussağə*) (Azer. *dustaq* 'prisoner') prison; n.m. prisoner | *'avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*dussağ* to arrest
- <sup>+</sup>*duxrana* n.m. (1) commemoration, memorial; sacrifice or votive offering (in the form of boiled meat to be divided between poor). (2) saint's day, a holy day | *'avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*duxrana* to perform a sacrifice, to make a votive offering; *yavvəl* I <sup>+</sup>*duxrana* to sacrifice
- <sup>+</sup>*duyman* n.m. (Azer. *duman*) fog, mist, haze | <sup>+</sup>*toz* <sup>+</sup>*duyman* dust and fog, storm

**f**

*facər* I (vn. *fcarta*) **to understand** (Canda)

*fakat* part. (Pers. *faqat* < Arab.) **only**

*fanatiķaya* adj.ms. (fs. *fanatiķeta*, pl. *fanatiķaya*) (English) **fanatic**

*fark* → *park*

*fur'un* n.m. **Pharaoh**

**+f**

**+farsaya** adj.ms. (fs. **+farseta**, pl. **+farsayə**) **Persian**

**+farsət Persian language** | *ci-tani ju-+farsət* They say in Persian

**+fayṭun, +payṭun** n.f. (pl. **+fayṭuna, +payṭuna**) (Russ. фаэтон, Turk. fayton <

French Phaéton) **phaeton, open carriage** | **+fayṭun +ṭaryana** carriage-driver

**ḡ**

*ǵam, ǵam* n.f. (Pers. ǵam) **care, trouble, grief** | *yavvəl* I *ǵam* to afflict, to cause

grief; *jarəš ǵam* to be afflicted → *xam*

**+ǵ**

**+ǵabama** n.f. **pumpkin stuffed with rice, raisins and honey** (B 15:10)

**+ǵaləb** I (vn. **+ǵlabta**) (Arab. ǵalaba) **to conquer, to overcome; to win a war**

**h**

*hababa* n.m. (pl. *habbabə*) **blossoming flower (literary)**

*habas* adj.invar. (Azer. əbəs, Pers. abas < Arab.) **vain, to no purpose; futile** | *culla hamzamta habas-iva* All talking was in vain

*habasuyta* n.f. **vanity, futility, nonsense** | *hamzumələ habasuyta* He is talking nonsense; *zuyzə mutteli ǵa-habasuyta* I put my money in something worthless; *+danux xəšla +al-habasuyta* Your time has been wasted

*habsa* n.f. (pl. *habsə*) (Azer. həbs < Arab.) **jail, prison**

*haccəm* n.m. (pl. *haccimə*) n.m. (Azer. həkim < Arab.) **doctor** | *haccimət suysa farrier*

*hacəm* II (vn. *hacamta*) **to rule**

*had* n.m. (pl. *haddə*) (Pers. had < Arab.) **boundary** | *d-la had* boundless → *had-u-sad*

*hada, hadax* (esp. Canda), Canda also *‘i-hada*, Armenia *xada* part. **thus** | *hádax* *vàdəvəl* They did thus (B 17:13); *+bar hada* afterwards; *+‘ánvə har-hàda tázə* | *čambəllívalun* *jú ... čuxyátə* They used to hang up grapes, exactly as they were fresh (from the vineyards) in cellars (B2 1:4); *júllan ‘i-háda bəštákəx* *+al-tanàpə* We hang out our clothes on lines thus (Canda). As correlative: *háda jóldu +paljóttə* *kálu là +šammánnə* You should take off his skin in such a way that I do not hear his cry (A 42:26); *láxxa hádax kárta lélə ju-Júrjəs-+tan* *yánət xablíva* Here in Georgia it is not so cold that they get cold (B 17:40); *málca bùš pís vágələ* *kát but-háda jóns +xálva lélə* The king becomes worse on account of this, that it is not good milk (= because it is not good milk) (A 42:28)

*hadara* adv. **for nothing, in vain, fruitlessly, uselessly** | *túpu pít-áza hadàra* His gun would go off in vain (B 4:5)

*hadax* → *hada*

*had-u-sad* n.f. (Pers. *hadd-o-sadd* 'boundary and side') **border, boundary, limit** | *xakla had-u-sad lətla* The field has no boundary → *sadda*

*hajə* II (vn. *hajeta*) **to spell; to analyse, to study** | *hajetət da +xabra mudila?* What is the spelling of this word? *‘a +xabra daxi hajaxla?* How do we spell that word? *hujili +al-da-hakyat* I analysed this case

*hajat* n.f. (pl. *hajattə*) (Kurd. *hacet*, Azer. *hacat* < Arab.) (1) **cause, reason, need** | *davək i hajat* to find an excuse (for fighting etc.); *bálcət hájat-’ət daráxva* *míyya jàvo* Perhaps it is necessary to put water into it (B 7:1); *+al dá-hajat* *’ət-+dànəl c-avívəl +płásə* For this reason at times there were fights (B 13:4). (2) **subject (of a book).** (3) **accusation.** (4) **tool, instrument, vessel, weapon** | *hajattət beta* homeware

*hajjəj* QI (vn. *hajjata*) (Pers. *hojjat āvardan*) **to encourage; to incite** | *hujjəjlí suysa ɻat ’azəl* I spurred the horse to go; *bət-hajjəjjənnə ɻat manta* I shall encourage him to succeed

*hač* n.m. (Azer. *haqq* < Arab.) (1) **right, permission** | *háč-naša háč lətlə* *’átə šákəl* *’ánnə dàvə* Nobody has a right to come to take these gold coins (A 10:5). (2) **salary, reward, pay** | *hakux +ktilan* We have cut off your salary

*hakə* II (vn. *haketa*) **to tell (a story), to narrate**

*hakuya* n.f. (Pers. *haqq* < Arab.) (1) **right, permission.** (2) **salary, reward, pay**

*hakyana* n.m. (pl. *hakyansə*) **storyteller**

*hakyat* n.f. (pl. *hakyattə*) **story** | *hakyattə ci-hakə* He tells stories

*hal* part. Armenia *xal* **until, up to** | *hal da +dana* until this moment; *hal ’udyu* until nowadays; *hal +berašə* until the evening; *hal +sveta* until being sated;

*hal mdita* up to the city; *hal abad* forever. Combined with *ka*: *xá cùnda*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-cùnda lèša*,<sup>1</sup> *ci-+ṭamráxa fu-ṭàmxa* *[ka-hál da-sápar xítal]* *+’av +táma c-avíva +pəspəssa*<sup>1</sup> *+màtya*<sup>1</sup> We buried a ball of dough, a ball of dough in flour and until the next time it would be there hissing and ready (B 7:9)

*halakta* n.f. (*halakyatə*) (Azer. həlqə, Pers. halqe < Arab.) **small ring (metal); link in chain**

*halam* n.? (Azer. lehmə?) **slush** | *+’árru ci-maštivala*,<sup>1</sup> *+xárta b-ptána +ṭarívala*,<sup>1</sup> *’azáva ’atyáva*,<sup>1</sup> *ja-mìyya, hár ja-mìyya*,<sup>1</sup> *kat-cùllə ’áx hàlam ’avíval* *’á úprət dàha*<sup>1</sup> They used to water the ground. Then they used to drive a plough through it, so that it went back and forth, in the water, always in the water, so that all its soil was like slush (B 3:1)

*halbat, halbatta* part. (Azer. əlbəttə, Pers. albatte) **of course, certainly**

*halom* n.f. (Pers. halīm) **dish of huskless corn and meat (less cooked than → harisa)**

*halhal* QI (vn. *halhalta*) **to fall apart (e.g. overcooked vegetables)** | *+busra +raba +murdəxli ’u-hulhällə* I boiled the meat a lot and it fell apart; *+kərṭopə hulhällun* The potatoes fell apart

*halka* n.m. (pl. *halkə*) (Pers. halqe < Arab.) **ring (metal); hook** | *šišəlta ’ətla halkı hálkə* A chain has many links

*ham, +ham* part. (Pers. ham) **also** | *hám nùyna zabúnələ*,<sup>1</sup> *hám +bùsra zabúnələ* He sells fish and also he sells meat (A 34:6); *+hám šulkətələ*,<sup>1</sup> *+hám jàrdələ +állu*<sup>1</sup> She is naked and also a net is on her (A 38:16)

*ham-+atra* n.m. (cf. Azer. həmvətən, Pers. hamvatan) **countryman**

*hamham, hamham ’odax* (child language) **Let's eat (said to baby)**

*hamla* n.f. (Pers. hamle < Arab.) **attack** | *hamla ’avəd* i to attack: *+póllan yùma*,<sup>1</sup> *+póllan +tárax*,<sup>1</sup> *málcat Məssər*,<sup>1</sup> *für’un*,<sup>1</sup> *hamla ṭ-ávəd +állux*<sup>1</sup> On such-and-such a day, on such-and-such a date, the king of Egypt, Pharaoh, will attack you (A 3:20)

*hammanuyta, hammananuyta* n.f. **faith, belief**

*hammaša* part. (Azer. həmişə, Pers. hamīše) **always, all the time**

*hammən* QI (vn. *hammanta*) **to believe (b- so., sth.), to trust; to entrust** | *hammunələ b-alaha* He believes in God

*hammənnana* n.m. (fs. *hammənnanta*, pl. *hammənnanə*) **believer, pious trusting, faithful**

*hammənnuyta* n.f. **faithfulness, belief; credulity**

*hamzə* n.pl. (sing.m. *hamza*) **vegetable with white root**

*hamzəm* QI (vn. *hamzamta*) (→ *heməzman*), Armenia *xamzəm* **to speak; to talk** | *humzəmlə +šrara* He spoke the truth; *+hayay hamzəm* **to chat, to blurt, to gab;** *’ána ’átlı xá hamzámta mónnax*<sup>1</sup> I would like to talk to you (A 54:4)

*hamzəmmana* n.m. (pl. *hamzəmmənə*) **talker, talkative; speaker** | *+havay ham-*  
*zəmmana* chatty, garrulous

*hanajči* n.m. (pl. *hanajčiyə*) **joker, jester**

*hanajuyta* n.f. (pl. *hanajuyatə*) (Azer. hənək) **joke**

*hanə* I (vn. *hneta*) **to feel pleasure** | *'ana hnili b-tetux* I was pleased that you  
 came → *nanilux*

*hanəz* part. (Pers. hanuz) **still** | *móriša hánəz kedàmtəl* in the morning when it  
 was still early (A 42:5)

*hanhən* QI (vn. *hanhanta*) **to relax, to enjoy oneself** | *tivəna vena hanhunə* They  
 are sitting and relaxing

*har* part. (Kurd. her, Azer. hər, Pers. har) (1) **just; as soon as; certainly, exactly, undoubtedly** | *hár ó-yuma* the same day (B 10:4); *har þ-ida* with one's own hand(s); *har-b-dé-+danta xá-dana sùysə tiləl* Just at that moment a horse came (B 6:6); with *b-* elided: *hár dé-+dana* at the same time (B 2:8); *har-márri kédli bşəlli*, *+pálqunli* As soon as I say 'I have burnt, I have cooked', take me out (A 39:7); *tanína hár +áynu bəkyátəla +ál dá +čöban*, *bráta +rappiùyolə* As soon as the dragon notices the shepherd, he releases the girl (A 40:13); *'áha hár +báyya ràkəd*, *pályu npáləla l-à-jibal pályu l-ò-yba*. As soon as he wants to dance, one half of him falls on one side and the other on the other side (A 39:14). (2) **in any case; nevertheless, yet** | *hár bəzmárəla* She is nevertheless singing (A 44:8). (3) **only; at all.** (4) **further** | *har-+šádrunli 'ältəx* Send me further down (A 39:8).

*haracat* n.f. (Pers. < Arab.) **movement, progress** | *haracat +furta vədli* I made big progress; *mən-haracat npälli* I lost energy, I could not move; *'atnabeli dəryon mən-haracat* I have put my car out of service

*haram+xana* n.f. (pl. *haram+xanə*) **harem, harem quarters**

*harba* *+axəl* I **to be aggressive** | *'o-naša velə harba +bixala* That man is being aggressive

*harbək* QI (vn. *harbakta*) **to cuddle, to embrace (lovers)**

*hardək* QI (vn. *hardaqtə*) **to be gregarious, to be sociable** | *'a-brata hammaša c-oya harduğə* That girl is always socializing

*harhəm* QI (vn. *harhamta*) **to neigh (horse)**

*harhər* QI (vn. *harharta*) **to burst into laughter, to laugh loudly, to giggle** | *jáxcət harhürəvət* You are laughing and giggling (A 4:6)

*harisa* n.f. (Pers. harīse < Arab.) **dish consisting of meat, boiled crushed wheat, butter and spices (more cooked than → *haləm*)**

*harsən* QI (vn. *harsanta*) (Azer. hirs 'anger') **to become angry; to fly off the handle**

*hasanay* adj.invar., adv. (Kurd. hēsan, Azer. asan, Pers. āsān) **easy; easily** | *hasanay 'avəd* I to simplify

*hasanayuya, hasanuya* n.f. **ease** | *lèla b-dá hasanúyta* It is not that easy (A 1:41)  
*hasira* n.f. (pl. *hasirə*) (Azer. həsir < Arab.) **mat (woven with the grass known as *jajan*)**; **matting put under a carpet to protect it from the earthen floor**  
*hašya* n.m. (Azer. haşiyə < Arab.) **woven lace; border, selvedge, edging (especially of lace)**

*hatman* part. (Pers. hatman < Arab.) **surely, sure, absolutely** | *hatman o-+šula t-odatle?* Are you sure you will do that job?

*hatta* part. **even** (Pers. hatta < Arab.)

*hattu* (child language) **maternal aunt**

*hatxa* → *'atxa*

*havə* I → *'avə* I

*havuz* n.f. (pl. *havuyzə*) (Turk. havuz, Azer. hovuz, Pers. howz < Arab.) **pool (man-made)**

*haycuy* *'avəd* I **to make a lot of noise**

*hayvən* Q1 (vn. *hayvanta*) **to fade** | *ranju huyvənna* Its colour faded

*haz* n.f. (Pers. hazz < Arab. ھازز) **enjoyment, pleasure** | *'avəd* I *haz mən/b-* to take pleasure in, to enjoy

*həč* mod., adv. (Azer. heç, Pers. hīč) **none, nothing, never, certainly not** (§ 9.7.12.) | *həč-+dana, həč xa-+dana* never; *həč-duca, həč xa-duca* nowhere; *həč-məndi, həč xa-məndi* nothing; *həč leya/le-hoya* It will never happen; *həč-náša le-hámzəm* Nobody will speak (A 3:88); *háč-xa mənné látvəlun carmàna* None of them had vineyards (B2 1:6); *háč mən-béta léva +pláṭa +al-vàddar* He never went out of the house (A 37:1)

*həlma* n.m. (Kurd. hilim f.) **breath; steam**

*həndavaya* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *həndaveta*, pl. *həndavayə*) **Indian**

*həndus-+tan* n.f. **India**

*hənduška* n.f. (pl. *hənduškə*) (Azer. hinduşka) **turkey**

*hənna* n.m. **thing (used as a place filler)** | *+simákur bəxšàvələ* *'áhələ* ó *+janàvar* yán ó *hənna* | *+bar-násət kát bitáyələ* *ánnə* *býyo* *+bəšmaṭələ*, *+bixalèlə* | The *+simaxur* bird thinks he is the monster, or the thing, the man who is coming to break and eat her eggs (A 39:22)

*hərra-hər* n.f. **loud laughing** | *hərra hərrula* He is laughing loudly → *harhər* QI

*hərs* n.f. (Azer. hirs) **anger, rage** | *mələ* I *hərs* to get embittered, to sour, to be hardened in heart; *mamlə fu-hərs* to embitter; *+axəl* I *hərs* to be angry: *hərs la +xul!* Don't be angry!

*hərsana* adj.ms. (fs. *hərsanta*, pl. *hərsanə*) **angry, furious, irritable**

*həšyar, hušyar* adj.invar. (Pers. hošyār) adj.invar. **careful, cautious (*mən* of), sensitive, prudent, vigilant** | *həšyar lelə* He is careless; *həšyar c-avaxva mənné* We looked after them

*həšyaruya, hušyaruya* n.f. caution, prudence, vigilance, sensitivity | *b-həšyaryta* carefully

*həzzur, huzzur* n.f. presence, the state of being present | *həzzurux* your lordship

*hemanta* n.f. trust; item placed in trust | *čána hác-ducta là mucáxlí kat-báxti mattónna hemánta* I have not found anywhere to place my wife in trust (A 1:5); *hemánti týyən lablónna* I have come to take my item placed in trust (A 1:17)

*hemanuya* n.f. belief, faith

*heməzman* n.f. (pl. *heməzmanə*) (Kurd. hem-ziman ‘mutual language, [people] speaking same language’ < recip. pron. + ziman ‘language’) word, speech | *heməzmanu yuvvalla* He gave his word, he promised; *heməzmané škəlla* He got them to promise; *heməzmano +muddərralə* He contradicted her; *heməzmanu +kətyalun* They interrupted him; *heməzmané xa-ilə* They are unanimous; *heməzman cudrat* insulting word; *clilə +al-heməzmanu* He was stubborn; *clilə +bar-heməzmanu* He kept his word; *heməzman lat* It is over

*hi, he* interj. yes

*hila* n.f. (pl. *hilə*) (Azer. hiylə < Arab.) plot, subterfuge, trick

*hirudiyya* n.f. Herodias; a woman who is a flirt, a woman using her sexual powers for evil ends

*hivi* n.f. (pl. *hiviyə*) (Kurd. hēvî) hope | *+kattə i hivi* to despair; *yavval i hivi* to give hope, reassurance; *payəš i be-hivi* to become hopeless; *b-hivivən biyyé* I trust them; *'avəd i hivi mən xa naša* to trust so.

*hīz* adj.invar. (Pers. hīz) dirty-minded

*hoja* n.m. perspiration; evaporation; steam | *hoja vilə* It evaporated, *miyya hoja vilun* The water evaporated; *hoja ci-+palətva mənnu* It gave off steam

*hona* n.m. mind, intellect, intelligence, wisdom, judgment | *cicət hona* wisdom tooth; *+al-honu muyyilun* They brought him to his senses; *mən-hono +pulṭalun* They drove her out of her mind; *'a-+šula mən-honé +pulṭlun* They put that matter out of their mind; *hónu +rùppulə* He has lost his mind (A 48:2); *hónu yùvvulə m-ídə* He has lost his mind (A 5:9); *mən-honu vilə* He went out of his mind; *'á +mällə hónu yávulə b-dan-+mällə xinə* The mullah takes notice of the other mullahs (A 5:3); *honux la-hallə b-honət našə!* Do not follow the ideas of others (be independent)! *yàla hóna b-+fúra súra lèlə* a boy who had not a little intelligence (A 50:3); *kúrba +al-hònəla* It is plausible (A 38:11)

*honana* adj.ms. (fs. *honanta*, pl. *honana*) intelligent, wise, sensible

*horəc* n.f. (Azer. hörük) (pl. *horicə*) tether (of animal) | *maxə i horəc* to tether, to hobble (animal)

*horra* n.m. **attack, assault** | *horra jarəš* I to launch an attack

*hosala* n.f. (Azer. hövsələ, Pers. howsele) **patience, temper, disposition of mind**

| *'ana hosala lətli* I don't have patience; *hosala vədli kat hamzəmmən mənnu*

I had the patience to talk to him; *'a-naša marət hosalələ* He is a patient man;

*hosala lətli 'azən* I don't feel like going

*hoşşa* (child language) **horse, ass**

*hoziyyuta* n.f. **folly**

*hrəmما-hrəm* n.f. **sound of neighing** | *fuşáklə xá súysa tılə* *hrəmما hrəmmu*

He saw a horse come, neighing (A 45:9) → *harhəm* QI

*hucma* n.m. (Azer. hökm < Arab.) **(1) power, authority, government. (2) order,**

**decree** | *hucman* without delay, by all means; *dara* I *xut hucma* to subordinate;

*húcmət málcałə?* Is it the order of the king? (A 1:13)

*hudaya* n.m. (fs. *hudeta*, pl. *hudayə*) **Jew**

*hujaya* n.m. **spelling**

*hujum* n.f. (Azer. hücum < Arab.) **attack, onset, assault** | *jarəš* I *hujum* to attack,

to storm

*huli* n.f. (pl. *huliyyə*) (Azer. hulu) **peach (dark)**

*hummənna* adj.ms. (fs. *hummantə*, pl. *hummənnə*) **sure, assured** → *mhumna*

*hunnar* n.f. (Azer. hünər, Pers. honar) **courage, determination, skill**

*huri-pari* n.f. (pl. *huri-pariyyə*) (Kurd. perî) **fairy; jinn**

*hurmat* n.f. (Azer. hörmət < Arab.) **respect, honour, politeness** | *'odanət hurmat*

obliging, accommodating

*huseni* n.f. **type of long grape**

*huš* n.f. (Azer. huş, Pers. hūš) **consciousness, sense, perception** | *+al-huš tilə* He

sobered up, he woke up; *+ávva hušu lətva b-rıšu* His mind was not composed

(A 10:6)

*hušyar* → *həšyar*

## +h

*+hača*, *+hačča* n.m. (pl. *+hačə*, *+haččə*) (Azer. haça 'fork', Kurd. heçî) **(1) forked stick used to support vines and trees. (2) branch (of river)**

*+hadarta* n.f. (pl. *+hadaryata*) **preparation**

*+hadər* I (vn. *+hdarta*) **(1) to be prepared, to be ready. (2) to attend, to come into the presence of (kam)**

*+hadər*, *+mhadər* II (vn. *+hadarta*, *+mhadarta*) (Arab. *hadara*) **to prepare** |

*+mhádər +xa-+rəmšə* | *ştəta*, *cül-məndi* Prepare dinner and drink, everything (A 3:31)

*+haji-lajlat* n.m. (pl. *+hajə-laylayə*) **stork (bird)**

+*hāl* n.f. (Azer. hal, Pers. hāl < Arab.) **state (mental or physical); circumstances, condition of life** | +*hāl nāğəl* This is the report of the situation (A 42:25)

+*hala*, +*halam* part. (Pers. hālā, hālan) **yet, still, already** | +*hála lélə tìyya*! He has not come yet; +*hála la-hamzùmə*! +*tárra mxàyuna*! While he is not yet speaking (= before he can speak), somebody knocks on the door (A 6:8, § 10.17.3.); *údi dayyána* +*hála bùš vélə críba*! Now the judge is yet more angry (A 38:14)

+*halal* adj.invar. (Azer. halal, Pers. halāl < Arab.) **(1) lawful, permitted; law-abiding** | +*halal vədli ķatu* I released him from the obligation; I forgave him for his actions. **(2) honest, conscientious**

+*halala* n.m. (pl. +*halalə*) (Pers. ālāle) *tulip*

+*halav* n.f. (pl. +*halavə*) (Kurd. alav, Azer. alov) **flame**

+*halu* (child language) **maternal uncle**

+*halucta* → +*alucta*

+*halva* n.m. (Azer. halva) **sweet consisting of məšxa, kamxa and nipuxta**

+*ham* → *ham*

+*hammal*, +*hambal* n.m. (pl. +*hammalə*, +*hambalə*) (Pers. hammāl, Azer. ham-bal < Arab.) **porter, carrier**

+*hammam* n.f. (pl. +*hammamə*) (Azer. hamam, Pers. hammām < Arab.) **bath-house, bath; toilet** | *úyya báxta*! *barráxšəla* +*hàmmam*! The woman goes to the bathroom (A 1:6)

+*hammamči* n.m. (pl. +*hammamčiyə*) **bath-attendant**

+*hana* part. **here you are, here you go (said when offering something)** | +*hána* *‘á mána* +*zàd!* Here is a bowl of soup (A 45:12); +*hana-láxxa* *‘á bét-màlcələ*! Here you are, this is the house of the king (A 42:32)

+*hár* adj.invar. (Pers. hár < Arab.) **hot (with passion)** | +*hár vítəla*! She has become hot with passion (A 1:7)

+*haram* adj.invar. (Azer. haram, Pers. harām < Arab.) **unclean (animals), unlawful, prohibited, sinful** | *‘a-məndi* +*haram-iłə* That thing is forbidden; *lá* +*‘axlət!* *láxma* +*haram!* Do not eat forbidden food (A 3:9)

+*haram-*+*zada* n.m. (pl. +*haram-*+*zadə*) (Azer. haramzadə, Pers. harāmzādeh) **rascal, scoundrel, bastard**

+*harami* n.m. (pl. +*haramiyə*) **wicked man; outlaw, thief** | +*yataxət* +*haramiyə* den of robbers (Azer. yataq den)

+*haramiyyuta* n.f. **robbery, crime**

+*haramuya* n.f. **forbidden thing; prey (of animals, forbidden to eat)** | *‘ana ‘a-* +*haramuya* *le-*+*‘axlənna* I shall not accept that wicked thing

+*haravaš* | +*muṭra* +*haravaš* **spring rain**

+*hari*, +*hár* n.f. (Kurd. arî, Pers. yārī) **help** | *yánət* *‘ýən-da* +*al-*+*hári* *‘odàva*

- jaršàvala* so that that (buffalo) also would help to pull (B 17:52); *+al-+harè vádəxva* We were helping them (B 17:4)
- +harraj** n.f. (Azer. hərrac,) **auction** | *'a-məndi +harraj muttuvən* I auctioned that thing
- +harrajabazar** n.f. (pl. *+harrajabazarə*) (Azer. harrac bazarı) **auctioning, auction**
- +harratiķika** n.m. (fs. *+harratiķka*, pl. *+harratiķə*) **heretic**
- +hasəl** II (vn. *+hasalta*) (Arab. ḥasala) **to bring forth, to beget** | *baxta +hasuləla* The woman is giving birth
- +hasəl** n.f. (pl. *+hasilə*) (Pers. hāsel < Arab.) **crop, produce** | *'a-'upra marət +hasəl-ilə* This soils is fertile, productive
- +hasida** n.m. **sweet cake filling**
- +hassab, +həssab** n.m. (Azer. hesab, Pers. hesāb < Arab. ḥisāb) **account, reckoning, bill; calculation** | *d-la +hassab* innumerable;
- +hassapcaruyta** n.f. **accounting, arithmetic**
- +hattar** n.f. (pl. *+hattarə*) (Azer. kaftar, Pers. kaftār) **hyena**
- +hava** n.f. (Azer. hava, Pers. havā < Arab.) **air, atmosphere, climate, weather** | *+hava +yakurta* sultriness, fug; *+hava maxləp* to air
- +havár** n.f. (pl. *+havarə*) (Kurd. hawar) **oh woe!; oh joy! yelling for help, screaming** | *'ay +havár! ýá +jòrilə!* Oh joy, this is my husband! (A 1:48); *+havár darə* I, *+havár 'avəd* I to scream for help
- +haváy** adj.invar., adv. (Azer. havayı, Pers. havā'ī < Arab.) **vain, futile, groundless; meaningless (words); inconsiderate** | *'aha məndi +haváy vədli, 'axči ka-sodi* I did that without thinking, just for fun; *+haváy +xdərri* I went gadding about it
- +haypa** interj. (Pers. heyf < Arab.) **What a pity (for +al-)** | *+haypu!* What a pity we have lost him (said when somebody dies); *+haypux-la, la xuš +plaša* It is a pity for your sake, do not go to war; *+haypo-la kat 'atxa vədlux* It is a pity you did that; *+haypo-la peşət +ktılı fu-+plaša* It is a pity to get killed in the war; *+haypo 'a-+keta le-+masən 'atən* I am sorry that I cannot come this summer; *+haypi bitayəla 'a-şəptiyə +rappənna* It would be a pity for me to throw away this watermelon
- +hayvan, +heyvan** n.m. (pl. *+hayvana, +heyvana*) (Azer. heyvan, Pers. hayvān < Arab.) **animal, tame animal** | Used occasionally as designation of a person in a miserable situation: *'ayən-da +həyvan! təvla, víla bəxyal* But she, poor creature, sat down and began to cry (A 51:3)
- +hayyər** QI (vn. *+hayyarta*) (Kurd. arî, Pers. yārī) **to help, to assist**
- +hayyərrana** n.m. (fs. *+hayyərranta*, pl. *+hayyərranə*) **helper, assistant**
- +hazər** adj. invar. (Azer. hazır, Pers. hāzir) **ready; present** | *'avəd* I *+hazər* to make ready

- <sup>+</sup>*hazərruyta* n.f. readiness, preparedness, preparation  
<sup>+</sup>*həssab* → <sup>+</sup>*hassab*  
<sup>+</sup>*heyvan* → <sup>+</sup>*hayvan*  
<sup>+</sup>*hoşarə* n.pl. Afshar Muslims, Muslims  
<sup>+</sup>*hoşarıyta* n.f. Afshar Muslim dynasty, Islam  
<sup>+</sup>*hozi* adj.invar. (Iranian Azer. hozi) reckless  
<sup>+</sup>*humáyl* n.m. fine linen, muslin  
<sup>+</sup>*hurara* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*hurarə*) band of priest's vestment

## J

- ja* → *jav*  
*jabbani* n.f. (pl. *jabbanyatə*) cook (woman)  
*jabə* I (vn. *jbeta*) to foam, to boil over, to run over the top of the vessel; to flood (river); to ferment (wine) | <sup>+</sup>*xalvajbilə* The milk has boiled over  
*jabə* II (vn. *jabeta*) (1) to choose, to select, to elect. (2) to gather (fruit); to collect (berries), to pick (flowers) | <sup>+</sup>*tuntafabuyolə* He is gathering the fruit.  
(3) to gather (hem of garment)  
*jabeta* n.f. gathering; hem of clothes  
*jabʃəb* QI (vn. *jabfabta*) to foam, to form a scum; to acquire (lime)scale → *japʃəp*  
*jabušta* n.f. (pl. *jabušə*) type of large grape (green or red) used for raisins (*cəsmišə*)  
*jadaya* n.m. (pl. *jadajə*) male buffalo calf (up to 2 years old)  
*jaddiša* n.m. (pl. *jaddišə*) stack, heap, stool, shock, haycock  
*jadə* I (vn. *jdeta*) to become dirty | *la šoklə* <sup>+</sup>*tamma*, *bət-jadə* Do not leave it there, it will get dirty  
*jadə* II (vn. *jadeta*) to dirty (tr.), to defile | *'o-calba bət-jadila janta* The dog will dirty the garden  
*jadəl* I (vn. *jdalta*) to braid (hair); to weave  
*jadəp* I (vn. *jdapta*) to blaspheme, to mock, to insult  
*jadəš* I (vn. *jdasha*) to stack up (hay), to lay hay in a stack  
*jadpana* adj.ms. (fs. *jadpanta*, pl. *jadpanə*) blasphemous  
*jadpanuyta* n.f. blasphemy  
*jaduc* n.f. (annex. *jadujjət* B 2:13, pl. *jaduyjə*) (Azer. gədik) mountain pass  
*jadušta* n.f. (pl. *jadušyatə*) (Pers. gāh 'place'+ dūšīdan 'to milk') (1) small bucket (half the size of a vadra), milking pale. (2) bowl for eating  
*jaha, ja, ca* n.f. (pl. *jahə*) (Pers. gāh) time, instance | *xa-ja, xa-jaha* once, in former times; *xa-xa-jaha, xa-xa-ja* sometimes; *b-xa-ja* at once, suddenly; *xa-*

- ja xita* again, next time; *+raba jaħa* many times, often; *‘a-jaħa* this time; *cut +šavva šənnə xa-ja* Once in a blue moon (lit. once every seven years); *cut mōt-xmara xa-ja* Once in a blue moon (lit. once every death of an ass); *ja-t-ilā* almost; *já-ṭ-ilā húšo ‘azal* She almost loses her mind (A 43:12); *‘á-spar d-trè-ca!* *+al-dó yúmat d-trè-ca!* the second time, the next day (A 51:6)
- jaħ* n.m. (Pers. gač) gypsum (used as a white plaster for walls)
- jalandi* n.m. (pl. *jalandiyyə*) (Kurd. kēlindî, Azer. kərənti) scythe
- jalda* QI (vn. *jaldetə*) (1) to clean away, to wipe away, to sweep, to dig (with a shovel) (2) to burst, to wear out, to be threadbare, to fade
- jalə* I (vn. *jaleta*) to reveal, to disclose, to tell, to uncover, to bare, to uncover
- jalə* II (vn. *jaleta*) to disclose, to uncover, to expose | *la-julilə* He kept silent
- jalaj* I (vn. *jlajta*) (1) to gape, to open wide (mouth, hole); to rip open, tear open | *jlajli pummət dayya jvala* I opened the mouth of this sack; *+arva naša velz b-tica pummu jliju* That man has opened his mouth wide with a piece of bread. (2) to squeeze | *cəstət masta bəjlajola* She is squeezing the bag of yoghurt
- jalət* part. (*ja* 'time' + *lət* none?) almost | *jalət-ilə parək* He has almost finished; *jalət-ivən parkən* I have almost finished
- jališə* n.pl. (sing. *jališa*) spring onions
- jalyal* QI (vn. *jaljalta*) to spin round, to whirl round
- jalla* n.m. (pl. *jallə*) wooden peg, wedge (used to fix height of main pole of the plough) (see illustration 52)
- jambəl* QI (vn. *jambalta*) to tumble, to stumble; to cause to tumble, to cause to stumble | *jumbəlla +al-jolla* He tumbled on the grass; *+arrə miyyanta jumbəlla ka-yala* The wet ground caused the boy to tumble
- jambəx* QI (vn. *jambaxta*) to cave in; to cause to cave in | *jarə jumbəxlə* The roof caved; *poxa bətvatə jumbəxxələ* The wind caused the houses to cave in
- jamər* I (vn. *jmarta*) (1) to full (cloth), to tan (skin), to felt (wool), to dress (leather), to temper (by heat or cold). (2) to compress. (3) to become solid, to become strong | *‘aha naša jmirlə ju-lišana swadaya* This man is well-versed in the spoken language; *+paǵri jmirlə ju-pəlxana* My body is fortified through work
- jaməš* I (vn. *jmašta*) to squeeze, to grab with five fingers; to wring; to hold tight in the hand; to take a handful | cf. *jumša* handful
- jami* n.f. (pl. *jamiyyə*) (Azer. gəmi) boat
- jamiči* n.m. (pl. *jamičiyə*) boatman
- jamjəm* QI (vn. *jamjamta*) (1) to thunder, to roar, to make a loud sound (such as cannon or drum). (2) to reverberate, to echo; to hum; to cause to hum

- | *kalət šabiba jamʃumələ* The sound of the pipe is humming; *kala +rama jumʃəmlə riši* The loud noise made my head hum
- jamməs* Q1 (vn. *jammasta*) **to suffer from diarrhoea, to become upset (stomach)**
- jamməšta* n.f. (pl. *jamməšyata*) (Pers. gāvmīš) **she-buffalo**
- jammišə* n.pl. (Pers. gāvmīš) **buffaloes**
- jamusta* n.f. **upset stomach, diarrhoea**
- jana* n.f. (pl. *janata, janavata*) (Kurd. giyan, Azer. can, Pers. jān) (1) **soul, spirit, life; person** | *jani!* interj. my soul! my dear!; *yavvəl* I *jana* to animate, to encourage; *mən-janu xəšla* He fainted; *janu +pləłla* He died; *kam-jana* near to death; *bəškalələjani* He is greatly annoying me; *+háji +xárta kám +al-jáno!* The pilgrim then rises against her (= assaults her) (A 1:43); *t-átya +al-jánu!* She will attack him (A 39:28); *véla bitáya ka-+al-jánət díyyux!* She is coming for you (A 40:22); *ju-mata ətva trəmma janáy* In the village there were two-hundred souls/people; *’ax-babi janáy* people like my father. (2) **Base for reflexive pronouns** (§ 2.5.) | *jani* myself, *janux* yourself(ms), *janax* yourself(fs.), *janu* himself, *jano* herself, *janan* ourselves, *janoxun* yourselves, *jané* themselves. *típ jáno ka-jáno črətlə!* The gun went off by itself
- jandal* Q1 (vn. *jandalta*) **to roll (intr. and tr.)** | *jutta jundəlla* The ball rolled; *+bayyən jandəllənna jutta* I want to roll the ball; *bət-mavvəddənnux jandəl-latla jutta* I shall make you roll the ball
- janduyla* n.m. **lump of earth, clod, tussock**
- janə* I (vn. *jnetə*) (1) **to lean, to lean down, to recline, to rest oneself. (2) to set (sun)** | *jnetət šəmšə* sunset
- janəv* I (vn. *jnavta*) **to steal**
- janəz* Q1 (vn. *janfazta*) **to be disgusted with, to loathe, to shrink from, to disdain,** | *patu junjəzələ* He showed his disgust in his face
- janjəzzana* adj.ms. (fs. *janjəzzanta*, pl. *janjəzzanə*) **loathsome, abominable; squeamish**
- janjəzzanuya* n.f. **disgust, revulsion**
- janjapa* n.m. (pl. *janjapə*) **playing card**
- janna* n.f. (pl. *jannə*) (Azer. gənə) **tick, mite**
- jannana* n.m. (pl. *jannanə*) **gardener (literary)**
- janta* n.f. (pl. *janatə*) **garden (for fruit and flowers)**
- janvana* n.m. (fs. *janvanta*, pl. *janvana*) **robber, raider**
- janva-nuynə* n.f. (pl. *janva-nuynə*) **kingfisher**
- japʃəp* Q1 (vn. *japʃapta*) (1) **to foam, to foam up; to cause to foam, to froth (at the mouth, e.g. when rabid)** | *miyya jafʃupəna* The water is foaming; *jami jupʃəppələ miyya* The boat caused the water to foam. (2) **to prate, to brag, to talk much with little meaning**

*jar* → *jarəc*

*jarčac, jarčaj* n.f. (Azer. gərçək, Pers. karčak) castor oil seed (+*bazra* castor oil); castor oil plant (*ricinus*) | +*bazrat jarčaj* castor oil

*jarda* n.m. (pl. *jarda*) (1) net | *dara* i *jarda* to cast a net (figuratively: to plot against). (2) spider's web

*jarda-bulə* n.f. (cf. Pers. gerdbād) whirlwind

*jarda-kuti* n.f. (pl. *jarda-kutiyə*) spider's web, cobweb (< *jarda* 'net' + *kuti* 'spider web')

*jardan-+bāğ* n.m. (pl. *jardan-+bağə*) (Azer. gərdən + bağ) necklace

*jardanband* n.m. (pl. *jardanbandsə*) (Azer. gərdənbənd, Pers. gardanband) necklace

*jardalta* n.f. (pl. *jardalyata*) pot for storing wine (approx. 3 feet high), wider than *kuğa* and +*lina* (see illustration 14)

*jardun* n.f. (pl. *jarduynə*) (Pers. gardūn) wide open cart without sides, trailer (used in the harvest)

*jarə* n.m. (pl. *jaravata*) roof | constructed with the following layers from the bottom upwards in this order: +*karita* (beam), +*pavana* (branches), *parduvva* (large laths), *nurvə* (small laths), *tuyrə* (twigs), +*tina* (mud)

*jarəc, járəc, jarac, jarə, jari, jári* (Armenia, Canda *jar, jarət*, Canda *yara, yar*, Armenia *darəc*) part. (Azer. gərək) particle expressing deontic necessity (it is necessary) | *'ána járəc 'ázən!* *jávət! cílla dímyə!* +*xàdrən!* I must go and travel around the whole world (A 4:1); *'átxa jári 'òdət!* You must do it this way (A 35:9); *ka-dánnə yäl-súrə mù járə bášli?* What should they could for those children? (A 52:4)

*jarəd* i (vn. *fratta*) to scrape (with a knife, a lancet), to nibble (sunflower seeds), to tear off (leaves); to rub out, to efface, to erase

*jarəp* i (vn. *frapta*) (1) to shovel away (especially snow), to sweep off (flood). (2) (metaphorical) to overwhelm

*jarəs* i (vn. *frasta*) to grind (with a hand mill)

*jarəš* (N), +*jarəš* (S) i (vn. *frašta, +frašta*) (1) to pull, to haul, to drag, to draw (a weapon) | *jarəš 'ida mən* to withdraw support from; *jarəš hujum* to attack; +*drana fruš!* Sign your name!; *jarəš keyrat* to be zealous, to have the courage (to do sth.). (2) to prolong, to take (time) | *jarəš +dana* to take time; *frəšla +tla +sa'attə* It took three hours (3) to sip, to serve food | *mana fruš!* Help yourself (to the food in the bowl). (4) to serve (penalty) | *babi frəšla +dussaq ka-+tla šənnə* My father served in prison for three years. (5) to undergo, to endure (offense, adversity) | +*raba +kattə-+ballə frəšlən* They suffered many ordeals (6) to smoke or sniff (tobacco). | *bəyraşələ kalyun* He is smoking a bubbly bubbly pipe (7) to draw (a painting), to take (a photograph) | *bəyraşələ šəclə* He is drawing a picture/taking a photograph. (8) to enclose

- (with fence) | *bəʃraʃəvən čappar marzanət beti* I am fencing around the borders of my house
- jarəv* I (vn. *jaravta*) **to starve** | *ʃrəvlə mən-çəpna* He starved
- jarjarə* n.pl. (sing. *jarjarta*) **large apricots** (Canda)
- jarjəm* QI (vn. *jarjamta*) (1) **to thunder, to roar; to growl; to rattle.** (2) **to coo (turtledove *jurjuyma*)**
- jarjər* QI (vn. *jarjarta*) **to gurgle; to prattle (stream); to make low roar (animals, water, avalanche)** | *+ašita jarjurəla* The avalanche is making a low roaring noise
- jarjəš* (N), *+jarjəš* (S) QI (vn. *jarjašta*) **to drag** | *calba bət-jarjəššilə* Dogs will drag him
- jarjušta* → *darjušta*
- arma* n.m. (pl. *armə*) **bone** | *farmət tūpra* coccyx at bottom of spine; *dməxlə +al-farmət +xasu* He slept on his back
- jarmal* QI (vn. *jarmalta*) **to wallow; to cause to wallow; to roll (so., sth. in flour, in dust, in mud)** | *xzura farmulələ fu-+tina* The pig is wallowing in the mud; *cunda farmululə fu-ķamxa* He is rolling the dough in flour; *xazənnux fu-dəmmux farməllət!* May I see you rolling in your blood! (curse)
- jarmon* n.f. (pl. *jarmonə*) (Russ. гармонь) **accordion**
- jaruma* n.m. (pl. *jarumə*) **axle**
- jarupa* n.m. (pl. *jarupa*) **tool for digging paddy fields** | consisting of a spade with a blade set at an angle connected to a rope, operated by two men, one holding the spade and the other pulling the rope
- jarusta* n.f. (pl. *jarusyata*) **hand-mill**
- jaruya* adj.ms. (fs. *jarusta, jaruysə*) **big, large, broad, course, burly** | *+jiləsa jaruysə* big cherries; *+zor jaruysa bətxanələ* He is exaggerating (especially by tell huge lies. Lit. He is milling very coarsely)
- jarvən* QI (vn. *jarvanta*) **to become sick with leprosy or scabies**
- jarvəs* QI (vn. *jarvasta*) **to grow, to grow up, to increase; to bring up, to educate** | *yala jurvəslə* The boy grew up; *baba jurvəslə ka-brunu* The father brought up his son
- jasə* I (vn. *jseta*) **to vomit, vomit up** | *durunda rišavə jəsya* you barbarous man, may you vomit blood (curse) (cf. Rosenberg 1903, 142)
- jašək* II, *jaššək* QI (vn. *jašakta, jaššakta*) (1) **to look (+'al, b- at), to stare** | *jaššək +'al-yəmma fur brata* Look at the mother, marry the daughter; *b-dəkkat jašək* to peer; *xa-ja! xa-ja!* Take a look! Look here! <*xa-jaššək*. (2) **to observe, to see** | *jušəklun xá náša sáva tívələ +'al-dəpnət šákital* They saw an old man sitting by the stream (A 42:6). (3) **to look after (+'al), to care for (+'al), to oversee (+'al); to check** | *ci-jaškən ka-xatvatı* I look after my sisters; *jašúkuva kámxa p-idi* He checked the flour with his hand (B 17:8)

*jaškana* adj.ms., n.m. (fs. *jaškanta*, pl. *jaškanə*) **seeing; overseer**

*jašniš* n.f. (Azer. keşniş, Pers. keshniz) **coriander**

*jav, ju, ja, javət* (with pron. suffix: *jav-*) prep. (§ 8.4.17., § 11.2.) (1) **in | Spatial location:** *ju-bétux* in your house (A 3:22); *ju-màta* in the village (A 2:1); *ju-xàšca* in the dark (B 2:4). With *mən:* *práxələ m-ju-+hàval* It flies in the air (A 42:11). (2) **at | Temporal location:** *+Nuxadnàsər! ju-dè-+dana!* *bàxyələ!* Nebechadnezzar at that time wept (A 3:45); *málcaju-+mtétu riš-diyyi maxílə!* The king at his arrival will strike off my head (A 2:21).

*java* n.m. **interior, internal part |** *javət ıda* palm of the hand; *jáva jávu c-odíva +màšə!* Within it they used to cultivate beans (B 17:13)

*javarnaya* adj.ms. (fs. *javarneta*, pl. *javarnayə*) (Kurd. gewr) **grey**

*javáy* part. **inside |** *+vúrun javáy!* come inside! (A7:9)

*javayuta, javeta* n.f. **interior, internal part**

*javə I* (vn. *javeta*) **to beg**

*javəl I* (vn. *javalta*) (i) (< \**g-b-l*) (1) **to form, fashion.** (2) **to stir, knead, to roll |** *tíli bëta!* *cúlla dàmmàna!* *fvila ju-dàmma!* I came home, all bloody, covered (lit. stirred) in blood (A 4:13); *ıdi fvältəla ju-dàmma* My hand is covered in blood; *ju-dàmmu fvila!* May he be covered in blood!

*javəl I* (vn. *javalta*) (ii) (< \**g-w-l*) **to vomit |** *ləbbi bəfvälələ!* I feel nauseous

*javər I* (vn. *javarta*) **to marry**

*javəx I* (vn. *javaxta*) **to cave in, to cause to cave in |** *fara fvaxla!* The roof caved in; *+rodana kam-javəxləjarə* The earthquake caused the roof to cave in

*jaxcana* adj.ms. (fs. *jaxcanta*, *jaxcanə*) **laughing, cheerful |** *jaxcana b-naša* mocker of somebody

*jaxəc I* (vn. *jaxacta*; prog. *jaxcələ, bəfxacələ*) (1) **to laugh (*b-* at), to deride, to mock |** *jaxcələ biyyé* He is laughing at them; *bəfxacələ xut-sumbultu* He is chuckling (lit. laughing under his moustache). (2) **to smile |** *xa jxuc!* Smile!

*jaxucə* n.pl. (sing. *jaxucta*) **dimples**

*jaxucət miyya* n.m. **seagull (lit. laugher of the water)**

*jaxuyca* adj.ms. (fs. *jaxucta*, pl. *jaxuycə*) **merry**

*jazəm II* (vn. *jazamta*) **to threaten**

*jazjəz QI* (vn. *jazjazta*) **to whine (dog)**

*jažjəž QI* (vn. *jažjažta*) **to spin (head), to ring (head), to become confused; to cause to spin (head), to confuse |** *riši južjəžlə* My head span; *muxan južjəžlə* He made our brain confused; *+uxča humzəmləjužjužžaxlə* He spoke so much that he made us (= our head) spin

*jažžən QI* (vn. *jažžanta*) (Kurd. gêj) **to become dizzy, to get befuddled (of the head), to become confused**

*jdala, jəddala* n.m. (pl. *jdalə*) **thread; lace, strand |** *jdalət +solə* shoe lace

- jdila* n.m. ice | *'urxatə dvəklun jdila* The roads are iced up
- jdīša, jəddiša* n.m. (pl. *jdīšə, jəddišə*) stack, pile (of wheat, corn, leaves)
- jəbbu, jəbbuc, jubbuc* n.f. (Azer. köpük, Pers. kaf) foam, froth, scum | *yavvəl* I  
*jəbbuc* to foam
- jəbbunta* n.f. froth (on top of broth)
- jəddala* → *jdala*
- jəddəšta* n.f. misfortune, accident, unexpected disaster, danger | +*bár +ca-vùtra* 'ànnəl dà mátal' 'ánnə 'ax-sakáləl' +*xadrıva* 'ámnat násə 'átlə *jəddášta* motànał +*jammivíva* p̄t-azívə ja-bé-t-+*dávun* After lunch, those that were like the dignitaries of the villages would go round, whoever has had an accident or somebody deceased, they would gather and go to his house (B 5:6)
- jədša* n.m. (pl. *jədšə*) misfortune, accident, unexpected disaster, danger
- jədyā* n.m./f. young goat (male and female)
- jəjlə* n.m. (pl. *jəjlə*) skein of wool | *xuš jəjlə mattilun b-nošé* Let him put his skeins by themselves (said by a man when told that another is angry with him, i.e. Let me have nothing to do with him)
- jəlda* n.m. (pl. *jəlda*) skin, fur | *jəldət 'ərba* sheepskin; *jəlda* +*mətya, jəlda xam* rawhide
- jəlla* n.m. (pl. *jəllalə*) grass | *jəlla ķina* greens; *jəlla baruyza* dry grass, hay; *jəlla makkudana* nettle; *jəlla bevač* weed; *jəlla xayma* pepper, *jəl-xaymə* n.pl. dried powdered hot peppers
- jəl-xaymə* → *jəlla*
- jəmdana* adj.ms. (fs. *jəmdanta*, pl. *jəmdanə*) huge
- jəmma-jəm* n.f. humming sound → *jəməjəm* QI
- jənsa* n.m. kind, form, race | *jənsət našuyta* human race
- jənvət* | *b-jənvət, mən-jənvət* adv. secretly, undercover | *b-jənvət jašək* II, *mən-jənvət jašək* II to look secretly, to peep; *b-jənvət 'azəl* I to slip away secretly
- jənya* adj.ms. (fs. *jnita*, pl. *jənyə*) sloping
- jəppa* n.m. (pl. *jəppə*) cave
- jəppita* n.f. (pl. *jəppiyatə*) small cave
- jəpta* n.f. (pl. *jəpyatə*) vine
- jərdeta, jərdəya* n.f. (pl. *jərdəya*) (Pers. gerde) thick round bread
- jərra-jər* n.f. sound of gurgling, Prattling; rumbling | *jərra jərrət miyyəla* The water is Prattling
- jərsə* n.pl. cracked wheat
- jərva* n.f. mange, leprosy, scabies, scab | *jərva tapə* I to catch scabies, leprosy
- jərvana* n.m., adj.ms. (fs. *jərvanta*, pl. *jərvanə*) leper; leprous, itchy, mangy
- jərvançə* n.f. (pl. *jərvançə*) (Russ.) a weight used for tea etc = 88 misqals, about  $\frac{3}{4}$  avordupois pound
- jəssita* n.f. vomiting, vomit → *jəsə* I

- jəšra* n.m. (pl. *jəšrə*) **bridge**
- jəvvə-jəv* n.f. **babbling sound** | *yala sura jəvvə-jəvvula* The baby is babbling
- jəxca* n.m. **laughter** | *'at-jəxca* funny
- jəxcuyta* n.f. **mockery, joking**
- jəzma* n.m. (pl. *jəzmə*) **threat, attack** | *+axəl* I *jəzma* to threaten
- jəžžana* adj.ms (fs. *jəžžanta*, pl. *jəžžanə*) **dizzy; confused; crazy**
- ječay* n.f. (pl. *ječayə*) (Azer. keçid) **pass, crossing, ford, cross bar (across a river, or across a ditch)**
- ječi* n.m. (fs. *ječita*, *ječəcta*) (pl. *ječiyə*) (Azer. keçi) **goat** | *ječi=t* *+tuyra* ibex; *+zayət* *ječəcta* kid
- ječita* n.f. (Azer. keçi) **female goat**
- jejaķušə* n.f. (pl. *jejaķušə*) (Azer. gecəquşu) **bat**
- jeməsta* n.f. (pl. *jeməşyata*) **female buffalo** → *jamməšta*
- jiba* n.m. (pl. *jibənə*) **side** | *mən-jibət* instead of: *xá-sama xína-da* *+álma* *'ttən kat-ci-táni mən-jibət nipùxta* <sup>P</sup>méye poxtè<sup>P</sup>! There is another group of people who instead of *nipuxta* say *meye poxte* (B 12:8); *mən ... jiba* according to, on account of: *mən-snìkúta jíba xóslun* *+al-+idátə prıšə*! According to need they went over to different churches (B 1:29); *mən-jibət* *'alaha* divine; *mən-xa,jiba* on the one hand; *t-avən* *+al-jibət* *+davva naša* I shall take the side of that man; *l-a-yba* (< *+al-'aha-jiba*) to(ward) this side, here; *l-a-yba l-o-yba* here and there; *mut-+dana* *+mañitun l-a-yba?* When will you arrive here?; *mən-daha l-a-yba*, *mən-da l-o-yba* from now on; *bitáyəx* *'alpá-śənnə* *l-á-yba xína!* We come (to the period) a thousand years later (B 1:6); *xá sáma* *'ila* *'á-ybət +Sùlduz*! One part is this side of Solduz (B 1:20)
- jihanna* n.f. **gehenna, hell**
- jıl* n.m. **fine clay; crayon**
- jinava* n.m. (fs. *jinota*, pl. *jinavə*) **thief**
- jinavuya, jinayta* n.f. **theft**
- jır* n.f. (Pers. *gır*) **hold, grip** | *šänsət dayya jırət* *+davva npəllə* Her fortune has fallen into his grip (said when there is a mismatch in marriage); *jır* *'avəd* I to get stuck: *jır vədlı* I got stuck
- jıra* (i) n.m. (pl. *jırə*) **arrow** | *jıra* *kəšta* *'ätvalə*! He had a bow and arrow (A 39:4)
- jıra* (ii) n.m. (Pers. *gırā*) **cream from raw milk; top of unboiled milk**
- jıvaya* n.m. (fs. *jıveta*) **beggar, pauper**
- jívı* n.f. (pl. *jíviyə*) **type of light white shoe with laces and knitted front part(s)**
- jlula* adj.ms. (fs. *jlulta*, pl. *jlulə*) **round.** n.m. **ball; circle**
- jlulə* n.pl. **grains with their husks removed before cooking** | *cul xa jlulət janu maxšulélə* Everybody causes his own corn to be pounded (i.e. Everybody looks to his own interest)

*jlulta* n.f. (pl. *jlulyatə*) **circle**

*jluluyta* n.f. (1) **roundness, circularity.** (2) **the world, the earth** | *'ət +raba miyya*

*+al-daha jluluyta* There is a lot of water on this earth; *tre samət daha jluluyta miyyəna* Two thirds of this earth is water

*jmurta, jummurta* n.f. (pl. *jmuryata, jummuryatə*) **burning coal, ember, live coal; core of fire**

*jnaha, jnaya, jna* n.f. (pl. *jnahə*) (Azer. günah, Pers. gonāh) **crime, sin, fault, wrongdoing** | *marət jnaha* guilty; *'ana jná lətli* I am not guilty (A 3:33); *'avəd I jnaha b-* to commit a crime against, to sin against

*jniva* n.m. (pl. *jniva*) **eyebrow**

*jnuna* n.m. **bridal chamber**

*jobalac* n.f. (pl. *jobalacə*) (Azer. göbələk) **mushroom**

*jojə* QI (vn. *jojeta*) **to coo (doves); to prattle, to babble (baby)**

*jöl* n.f. (pl. *jolavata, jolalə*) (Azer. göl) **(natural) pool, pond**

*jolča* n.f. (Azer. gölča) **puddle, pond**

*jōr* n.m. (pl. *jorə*) (Kurd. gor, Pers. gūr) **tomb**

*jora* n.f. (Azer. görə) **aim, purpose** | *ka-day jora 'atxa vədli* I did it for this purpose. *'ax ... jora* according to: *ka-cut naša yuvvəllan zuyza, 'ax šənnu jora* We gave money to each man, according to his age

*joranaya* adj.ms. (fs. *joraneta*, pl. *joranaya*) (Kurd. gewr) **grey**

*jorfét* n.m. **type of fabric**

*jorsatma* adj.invar. (Azer. görsətmək) **flamboyant (in positive and negative senses)**

*joza* n.m. (pl. *jozə*) (1) **walnut; walnut tree.** (2) **nut (in general)**

*jozləc* n.f. (Azer. gözlük) (1) **eye-patch of horse.** (2) **blinkers**

*jriva* n.m. (pl. *jriva*) **coarse untreated cotton material; calico**

*ju → jav*

*jubbuc → jəbbuc*

*jučma* n.m. (pl. *jučmə*) **fist, blow with the fist** | *maxə I jučma* to punch

*judapa* n.m., *judapta* n.f. **blasphemy** = *fadpanuyta*

*judya* adj.ms. (fs. *judita*, pl. *judyə*) **filthy**

*juja* n.m. (pl. *jujə*) **stock (of vine, of tree when trunk is cut)** | *velə viyya xa juja +busra* He has become a block of meat (said of old man who has shrunk and has no strength)

*ful-+ağa* n.m. **type of herb (lit. the lord's flower)**

*fulla* n.f. (pl. *fullata*) (Azer. güllə, Pers. gula) (1) **bullet** | *+rappə II fulla* to shoot;

*+spay +rappanət fulla* a good marksman; *maxə I b-fulla* to hit with a bullet;

*'ax fulla lublatə* He snatched her away; *'ax fulla +rxətlə* He raced by. (2) **stone of fruit**

*fulpa* n.m. (pl. *fulpanə*) **wing; fin** | *fulpa maxə I* to flap; *mar fulpa* winged

- julpana* adj.ms. (fs. *julpanta*, pl. *julpanə*) **winged**
- juma* n.m. (pl. *jumanə*) **sheepfold**
- jumbaz, jubbaz* n.f. (pl. *jumbazə, jubbazə*) (Azer. günbəz) (1) **dome; saint's tomb** | *'ax=t ən fozə mattaxlun rişət jumbaz* As if we put walnuts on top of a dome (said of a person who does not take advice). (2) **shield** | *sépu-dajúbbaz cùmtal* his sword and black shield (A 45:10)
- jumla* n.m. (pl. *jumlə*) **camel**
- jumrə* n.pl. **glowing coals**
- jumšə* n.m. (pl. *jumšə*) **handful**
- junyə* n.m. (pl. *junyə*) **chimney pipe of stove**
- jupta* n.f. (pl. *jupyatə*) **cheese**
- jurbajur* n.m. (Pers. gür-bā-gür 'grave to grave' i.e. not deserving rest when dead) **villain, scoundrel, wretch** | *brūn jurbajur* Son of a scoundrel; *'ən mita mitət diyyilə, ci-+yaṭṭən mut jurbajur-ilə* If the dead man is my dead (relative), I know what a scoundrel he is (said when the speaker is familiar with the evil ways of a dead relative)
- jurjuymə* n.f. (pl. *jurjuymə*) **turtledove; wood pigeon** → *jarʃəm* Q1
- jurjaya* n.m., adj.ms. (fs. *jurjeta*, pl. *jurjaya*) **Georgian**
- jurjəs-+tan* n.f. **Georgia**
- jurmaməş* adj.invar. (Azer. görəməmiş) **greedy; uncouth**
- jurya* n.m. (pl. *juryə*) **lion cub**
- jurza* n.m. (pl. *jurzə*) (Azer. gürz, Pers. gorz) **iron club; pestle**
- jutta* n.f. (pl. *juttatə*) **ball** | *jutti júttə* in (lots of) balls
- juyba* n.f. (pl. *juybə, juybatə, juybananə* Canda) (1) **pit, ditch** | *labúluna kat-+rappilə fu-xa! juybal +ṭamrilə!* They are taking it (a dead dog) to throw it into a pit to bury it. (2) **den, hole in a rock**
- juyda* n.m. (i) (pl. *juydanə, juydananə*) **wall (of building or field)** | *jarəş ı juyda* to build a wall (of a house or field); *juydat mohra* cob wall; *rişux +al-juyda mxı* Stop bugging me (lit. Hit your head on a wall)
- juyda* n.m. (ii) (pl. *juydə*) (1) **water-skin (for storing cold water)**. (2) **leather bag of a churn** | *júdət ḍaryal* The churn-bag of a lion (A 42:20)
- javayuta, javyta* n.f. **poverty, begging** | *javayuta 'avəd* ı to beg
- javira* adj.ms. (fs. *javerta*, pl. *javirə*) **married**
- jzurta* n.f. **circumcision (literary)**

+*j*+*jabbara* n.m. (fs. *jabbarta*, pl. *jabbarə*) **valiant hero**+*jandi* n.m. **type of fabric**

- +*jandula*, +*janduláy* n.m. (pl. +*jandulə*, +*janduláyyə*) **clod of earth**
- +*járbiyya* n.m. **north**
- +*jarbiyyaya* adj.ms. (fs. +*jarbiyyeta*, pl. +*jarbiyyayə*) **northern**
- +*jarəč* I (vn. +*fračta*) **to scratch**
- +*jarəš* → *jarəš*
- +*jarrana* n.m. **shaver, barber** | +*jarranət dəkna* **barber**
- +*jarrə* I (vn. +*reta*) **to shave, to shave away, to shear**
- +*jarrəl* QI (vn. +*jarralta*) **to wallow (in the mud), to roll (in the dust)** | *xzuyra*  
+*jurrəllə ju-* +*tina* The pig wallowed in the mud
- +*jaruy* n.f. (pl. +*jaruyə*), +*jaruy* n.f. (pl. +*jaruvvə*) **weasel**
- +*jayya* I (vn. +*fyeta*, prog. +*bəffaya*) **to bell (stag)**
- +*jazandáy* n.f. **type of grape (red or white)**
- +*jazarta* n.f. (pl. +*jazaryatə*) **island**
- +*jazər* I (vn. +*żazarta*) **to circumcise (literary)**
- +*jazjəz* QI (vn. +*jazjazta*) **to whiz (arrow, or bullet)**
- +*jazuyl* n.m. (Pers. gāzū'īl) **diesel fuel**
- +*jəndəmmu* n.f. **type of red grape that ripens early**
- +*jənnanarta* n.f. (pl. +*jənnanarə*) (Azer. gılənar) **sour cherry**
- +*jərran* adj.invar. (Kurd. giran, Pers. gerān) **expensive** | 'avəd I +*jərran* to make  
expensive; *jaz duna* +*jərran vidu* They have made gas expensive
- +*jərranuya* n.f. **costliness**
- +*jərvə* n.pl. (sing. +*jərvita*) **sock**
- +*jəzjəzza* n.m. **whiz (of an arrow)**
- +*jilasa*, +*jilasta* n.f. (pl. +*jilasə*) (Azer. gilas, Pers. gīlās) **sweet cherry; sweet  
cherry tree**
- +*jizara* n.m. (pl. +*jizarə*) **carrot**
- +*jora* n.m. (1) **man** (pl. +*jurə*). (2) **husband** (pl. +*joranə*, +*joravata*)
- +*joruni* my dear husband → +*jora*
- +*jrənd* n.m. (pl. +*jrəndə*) (Azer. kran) **tap**
- +*julgola* n.f. (pl. +*julgolə*) **bobbin**
- +*julla* n.f. (pl. +*fullata*) (Azer. güllə 'bullet', Pers. gula) **stone of fruit**
- +*jumrah* adj.invar. (Pers. gomrāh) **vigorous, cheerful; active beast of burden,  
one quick on the road**
- +*junahcar* adj.invar. (Azer. günahkar, Pers. gonāhkār) **accused, sinful, guilty,  
condemned** | 'avəd I +*junahcar* to condemn; to blame, to accuse; +*junahcar*  
'odana ms. (fs. 'odanta) **accuser**
- +*junahcaruya* n.f. **guilt**
- +*jura* n.m., adj.ms. (fs. +*jurta*, pl. +*jurə*) (Kurd. guř?) **big, great, old, senior,  
superior. n.m. leader, ruler. great man, nobleman** | 'a-naša +*jura sura lelə*  
+*bəddə* He does not respect anybody

<sup>+</sup>*juranə* n.pl. nobility, ruling class

<sup>+</sup>*juranuyta* n.f. high post

<sup>+</sup>*juriyta* n.f. greatness, size, authority, rule | *'avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*juruyta* to rule, *malca*

<sup>+</sup>*juruyta vədlə* The king ruled

<sup>+</sup>*juvara* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*juvarə*) line (of vegetables, vines, bushes etc.) | <sup>+</sup>*juvarət*  
*ʒəndərə* line of melons

<sup>+</sup>*juymən* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*juymənə*) (Azer. güman, Pers. gomān) suspicion, doubt

## j

*jabbal* n.f. (Arab. *jabal*) (1) mountain. (2) forest; reed-bed

*jabla* n.f. (pl. *jablə*) (Arab. *jbbl?*) swarm (of insects); drove (of cattle) | *tilun b-jablə* They came in swarms

*jafari* n.f. (Pers. *ja'fari*) parsley

*jayan* n.f. grass used for weaving mats (*hasirə*); type of grass used to hang grapes and form *tluvvə*

*jajəc, jaji* n.m. (Turk. *cacik*, Azer. *caci*) dairy product made by boiling *kattaq* with added water, salt, herbs (e.g. <sup>+</sup>*tolə* coriander, *'oryanə* basil), pepper and butter (<sup>+</sup>*carra*)

*jaldə* adv. (1) fast, quickly | *jaldı jáldə* very quickly; frequently. (2) deftly, fluently. (3) soon, early | <sup>+</sup>*hála jàldələ* It is still early (A 1:11); *móriša jaldə* early in the morning; *m-jaldə* long ago, a long time ago, *m-jaldə tiyyələ laxxa* He came here a long time ago

*jalduya* n.f. speed, agility, quickness | *b-jalduya* immediately, quickly

*jaləx* I (vn. *jlaxta*) to peel off (intr. skin); to lose the bark (tree)

*jaləx* II (vn. *jalaxta*) to strip off bark; to shed skin (snake) | *kalpət 'ilana juləxlə* He stripped off the bark of the tree

*jallaxta* n.f. (1) bark of a tree or branch. (2) skin, hide | *xuvva šaluxolə jallaxto* The snake is shedding its skin

*jam* n.m. (Azer. *cəm* < Arab.) sum, total, result, group | *jam* *'avəd* I to add up, to sum up; *'ax jam* on the whole, on average; *c-atyáva mən-jam-mavətə* It (the stream) came from a group of villages (B 7:18)

*jamma* n.pl., *jamməccə* n.pl. twins; Gemini (zodiac)

*jamməccə* → *jamma*

*jandac* n.f. (pl. *jandacə*) (Azer. *cəmdək*) carcass; carrion, dead body of an animal

*janəv* I (vn. *jnavta*) to snatch (from hands of so.); to abduct

*janj* n.m. (Kurd. *jeng*, *zeng*; Pers. *zang*) rust | *janj dvəkələ* It rusted

*janjal* n.f. (Pers. *jangal*) forest, jungle, wood

*janjən* QI (vn. *janyanta*) **to rust; to cause to rust** | *prəzla bət-janjən* The iron will rust; *+muṭra bət-janjənnalə prəzla* The rain will cause the iron to rust; *mixa dulə junjənna* The nail has rusted

*janjar, jarjar* n.f. (pl. *janjarə, jarjarə*) **threshing machine pulled by oxen** | *janjar +xəttə +paluṭələ mən-bula* The threshing machine extracts the wheat from the heads of corn; *kát ... jánjár víða plítənal* when it (*+xəttə* the wheat) has been processed by the threshing machine and extracted (from the heads of wheat) (B 10:8)

*jannə* n.f./m. (pl. *janniyyə*) (Arab. *junna* ‘covering’?) **patchwork** (*+kərtə*) **blanket (put on oven to sit on in winter)**

*janvana* n.m. **helper of elopers** → *janəv*

*japa* n.m. **labour, toil, exertion** | *+axəl ı japa* to take trouble, to strive

*jarəd* ı (vn. *jratta*) **to strip off (leaves, shells); to be stripped off; to scrape** | cf. *jarəd* ı to scrape and efface

*jarəp* ı (vn. *jraptə*) **to slip (on ground, ice)** | *jrəplə +al-+arrə məšxanta* He slipped on slippery ground

*jarima* n.f. (pl. *jarimə*) (Azer. *cərimə* < Arab.) **fine, penalty** | *jarima šakəl* ı to fine; *jarima jarəş* ı to receive a fine

*jarja* n.m. (pl. *jarjə*) (Azer. *cərgə*) (1) **line, row, furrow.** | *b-jarja* one by one, in a systematic fashion; *davək ı b-jarja* to do line by line, to do sth. in a systematic fashion; *xa-xá-jarja bərrəxşələləl járjət d-trəl járjət +flàl járjət +ärpəl* He (ploughs and) goes a single furrow, the second furrow, the third furrow, the fourth furrow (A 5:6). (2) **verse of poetry, song** | *bət-tanyálə ýá járjal* She says this line (of a ditty) ... (B 9:2)

*jarjar* → *janjar*

*jarupa* adj.ms. (fs. *jarupta*, pl. *jarupə*) **slippery** | *+arrə jarupta* slippery ground

*jassəs* QI (vn. *jassasta*) (Azer. *casus* < Arab.) **to spy; to scout**

*jasusa* n.m. (pl. *jasusa*) (Azer. *casus* < Arab.) **spy**

*jasusuyta* n.f. **spying, espionage** | *jasusùyta vágəna* They act as spies (A 1:26)

*javəj* ı (vn. *javajta*) **to move, to walk, to stir**

*javuja* adj.ms. (fs. *javujta*, pl. *javujə*) **agile**

*javvəb* QI (vn. *javabta*) **to answer, to reply** → *+juvvab*

*jayyana* adj.ms. (fs. *jayyanta*, pl. *jayyanə*) **constantly tired, languid**

*jayyə* ı (vn. *jeta*, prog. *bəjjayələ*, rp. *jiyya*) **to become tired**

*jəd* part. (Pers. *joz*, *judā*) **except, besides** | *jəd mən-diyyux* except for you

*jəddə* n.f. (pl. *jəddə*) (Azer. *cida* < Mongol; cf. Schönig 2000, 117) **spear, bayonet**

*jəllətəkə* n.f. (pl. *jəllətəkə*) (Russ. *жилетка*) **waistcoat** | *jəllətəkət +sadrənə* brassière

*jəm* **diving** (Azer. *cumma*) | *b-jəm xəşli fu-miyya* I dived into the water; *+nəšra*

*jəm mxılıfju-şmayya* The eagle swooped in the sky; *jəm dvəklə* He dived

*jənnak* n.f. (*jənnakə*) (Azer. cınağ) **clavicle, wish-bone** | *dvaštat jənnak* game played by breaking wish-bone

*jəns, jīs, jīs* adj.invar. (Azer. cins ‘race, breed’ < Arab., metaphorical ‘thoroughbred’) **good, agreeable, pleasant.** adv. **well** | *jáns ci-bašəlva* It cooked well (Bz 1:9); *'àxnan=žəl jíš bətxàrox e'-árxa xína* We remember that watermill well (B 17:6); *'èns-ivət* *jáns-ivət* whether you are bad or good (A 42:25)

*jəpnə* n.f. (pl. *jəpnə*) (Arab. jafna) (1) **kneading trough.** (2) **wooden box hung from ceiling to store bread**

*jərra* n.f. (Azer. cirə, Pers. jarā < Arab.) (1) **ration of food** | *jərra yavvəl* I to supply food, to sustain. (2) **pension, annuity; alimony given after a judicial separation** | *+axəl* I *jərra* to receive a pension

*jiba* n.f. (pl. *jibatə*) (Azer. cib, Pers. jib < Arab.) **pocket** | *maxyanət jiba* pick-pocket

*jīl* adj.ms./fs. (pl. *jīl, jīla*) (Kurd. çēl, Azer. cahil) (1) **young, youthful** | *yálə jīl ju-'Urml̥* young people in Urmi (A 41:1); *jīla* young people (2) **foolish**

*jiluyta* n.f. **youth** | *ju-jiluytə* in their youth; *mən-jiluyta* from an early age

*jīs* → *jəns*

*jiyaz* n.f. (pl. *jiyazə*) (Pers. jihāz < Arab.) **dowry**

*jiyya* adj.ms. (fs. *jita*, pl. *jiyyə*) **tired**

*jnina* n.m., adj.ms. (fs. *jnəntə*, pl. *jnina*) **voracious person, greedy** | *+bixaləla max jnina* He is eating voraciously; *+xalta jnanta* eating without manners

*jojana* adj.ms. (fs. *jojanta*, pl. *jojanə*) **moving, wobbly**

*jorana* adj.ms. (fs. *yoranta*, pl. *yoranə*) **ill-behaved (child), petulant; annoying; peevish**

*juda* n.m. (pl. *judə*) (Kurd. cuda ‘separate’) **group**

*judda* n.m. (pl. *juddə*) **waistcoat**

*julla* n.m. (Armenia also f.) (pl. *jullə*) (Kurd. cil) **cloth, rag; pl. clothes** | *jullət xuta* underwear; *jullət kaša* priest’s robe; *jullət +umra* ecclesiastical robe

*julluxta* n.f. **shed skin of snake**

*jul-maxə* pl. **tantum bed, bedding** | *pólla ju-jul-màxəl* He became bedridden (A 42:19)

*jumhana* n.m. (pl. *jumhana*) **festive tree at wedding filled with sweets and gifts for the bride**

*juna* n.m. (pl. *junə*) (Azer. cuna) (1) **net curtain.** (2) **net veil of brides**

*juna-+baxan* n.f. (pl. *juna-+baxanə*) (Azer. günəbaxan) **sunflower**

*jur'at* n.f. (Pers. *jur'at*, Azer. *cürət*) **courage, daring, valour, bravery** | *jur'at avəd* I to dare, to risk; *lətli jur'at +orən* I dare not enter

*jura* → *jurra*

*jurra, jura, jur* n.m. (pl. *jurrə*) (Azer. cür, Pers. jür) **kind, type** | *b-a jurra* in this way; *b-xa jurra* somehow, in one way or another; *'a-jurrət kesa lətva cəslən*

That type of wood did not exist in our community; *jurri júrrə* of various types; *ja-nárət díyyan* ‘*átvə tré júrrə nùynəl*’ In our river there were two types of fish (B 4:13); *cút-jur t-iləl* in one way or another (A 54:8)

*juvva* n.m. (Azer. civə, Pers. žive) **mercury, quicksilver**

*jvalə* n.f. (pl. *jvalə*) (Azer. çuval, Pers. jovāl) **sack**

*jvanəkta* n.f. **young woman**

*jvančka* n.m. (pl. *jvančə*) (Kurd. ciwan, Azer. cavan, Pers. javān) **young (unmarried) man, beautiful, comely**

*jvančuyta* n.f. **youth**

*jvuja* n.m. **movement (physical or political)**

## +j

*+jadi* n.f. (Pers. jādū) **magic, sorcery**

*+jadujar, +jadu-jar* n.m. (Azer. cadugər, Pers. jādū-gar) **magician**

*+jalali* n.m. (pl. *+jalaliyyə*) (Kurd., cf. Pers. jalālī ‘terrifying’) **brigand, thief, evildoer, offender**

*+jalaliyyuta* n.f. **robbery, crime**

*+jalla* n.m. (pl. *+jallə*) **bread filled with kidney beans (eaten during fast of Easter)**

*+jallad* n.m. (pl. *+jalladə*) (Azer. cəllad, Pers. jallād < Arab.) **executioner**

*+jama'at, +jamahat* n.f. (Pers. jamā'at < Arab.) **assembly, gathering, congregation, society, meeting**

*+jammə* I (vn. *+jmeta*) (Arab. jama'a) (1) **to gather (intr.), to assemble (intr.).**

(2) **to be closed (wound), to be comforted** | *majvərrənnuxl* rīšan *+áynan* *+jámmi, xàdax, navàffə* ‘avílanl’ I shall marry you off, so that our thoughts and vision be comforted, so we can rejoice and have grandchildren (A 43:13)

*+jammə* II (vn. *+jammeta*) (Arab. jama'a) (1) **to collect (tr.), to gather (tr.), to assemble (tr.)** | *zùtyzə* *+jammúvvəna* They gather money (A 44:8); *+jummilə* *mīz* He cleared the table; *xá yúma* ‘*áttən\_ju-Zumállan ci-+jammiləl*’ There is a day in Zumallan that they jointly hold (B 11:11); ‘*átvalan júlla zurzàxva* *kat-dešáxva* *+al-do-+bàzza.*’ *kát là* *+jammíva tanýyra* We had a cloth which we had prepared for us to stuff into the hole so that the oven did not take in (air) (B 7:12). (2) **to store up. (3) to close (wound). (4) to do jointly**

*+janam, +jān* voc. (Pers. jānam, jān) **my dear**

*+janavar* n.m. (Azer. canavar < Pers. jānavār) **beast, predatory (animal), monster** | *sodi lelə bitayələ mənnu har* *+lap* *+janavar-ilə* I do not like him, he is just like an animal

*+janavaruyta* n.f. **rapacity**

- <sup>+</sup>*janiman, janiman* n.m. type of dance
- <sup>+</sup>*janjər* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*janjarta*) to suffer, to be tormented; to cause to suffer, to torment, to torture | <sup>+</sup>*janjurələ mən-*<sup>+</sup>*marra* He is tormented by an illness; <sup>+</sup>*marra* <sup>+</sup>*janjurulə* The illness is tormenting him
- <sup>+</sup>*janjərranuyta* n.f. torture, torment, oppression
- <sup>+</sup>*janta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*janyatə*) (Azer. çanta, Pers. čante) bag (with handles) (see illustration 33)
- <sup>+</sup>*jār* n.f. (Pers. jār) proclamation, announcement | <sup>+</sup>*jār darə* I to proclaim, to announce; <sup>+</sup>*jār daryana* announcer, herald
- <sup>+</sup>*jarə* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*jreta*) (Arab. jarā) (1) to flow (of water, river). (2) to slip by, to crawl | *xuvvə* <sup>+</sup>*jrlə* The snake slipped by. (3) to fly by | *julla* <sup>+</sup>*jrlə* The bullet flew by. (4) to sail (ship). (5) to expire (time) | *šənnə* <sup>+</sup>*jrlun max bərkə* The years flew by like electricity.
- <sup>+</sup>*jarə* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*jarabta*) (Arab. jarraba) (1) to try, to attempt; to tempt; to test, to prove | *kémán* *‘ana-*<sup>+</sup>*jarbənnə* *‘ħal* I shall test him (A 14:2). (2) to be tested, to be attempted | *‘anna* <sup>+</sup>*šulān* *járəc* <sup>+</sup>*járbi* These things have to be tested (A 48:7)
- <sup>+</sup>*jarət* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*jratta*) (1) to stumble, to slip (from a height). (2) to commit a fault, to trespass | cf. *jarəp* I to slip (on slippery ground)
- <sup>+</sup>*jaryana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*jaryanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*jaryanə*) flowing; sliding along on belly (snake, etc.) | *cuxva* <sup>+</sup>*jaryana* meteor
- <sup>+</sup>*jaša* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*jašə*) (Arab. jahš) young ass (3–4 years old)
- <sup>+</sup>*javvaqt* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*javvaqtta*) to belch, to burp
- <sup>+</sup>*jayər*/<sup>+</sup>*jār* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*jyarta*) to urinate
- <sup>+</sup>*jaza*, <sup>+</sup>*jazyta* (Azer. cəza, Pers. jezā < Arab.) punishment, torture, penalty | <sup>+</sup>*jaza yavvəl* I to punish, to torture; <sup>+</sup>*jaza* <sup>+</sup>*jarəš* to suffer, to be tormented, to be punished
- <sup>+</sup>*jəllav* n.m. (Azer. cilov, Pers. jalaw < Mongolian čiluy-a; cf. Lessing 1995, 1055b; Ragagnin 2016) reins of horse; harness; rope for leading animal | *d-la* <sup>+</sup>*jəllav* unbridled; <sup>+</sup>*jəllav* <sup>+</sup>*jarəš* I to curb, to stop (a horse)
- <sup>+</sup>*jeyran* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*jeyranə*) (Azer. ceyran) gazelle, roe deer
- <sup>+</sup>*jijar* <sup>+</sup>*xvarta* n.f. lung
- <sup>+</sup>*jijar cumta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*jijara cumə*) (Azer. ciyər) or simply *cumta* liver
- <sup>+</sup>*junjara* n.m. anguish, suffering, torture | *‘avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*junjara* to torture; <sup>+</sup>*junjara* <sup>+</sup>*jarəš* I to suffer
- <sup>+</sup>*junjərra* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*junjərta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*junjərrə*) tormented, tortured
- <sup>+</sup>*juraba* n.m. trial, difficult condition (e.g. famine, war) | *drilux ju-*<sup>+</sup>*juraba kati* You have put me in a difficult situation
- <sup>+</sup>*jurba* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*jurəbta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*jurba*) tested, trialed
- <sup>+</sup>*jurə* pl.tantum urine | <sup>+</sup>*juri tilun*, <sup>+</sup>*juri tpəxlun* I need to urinate

*+juvvab* n.m. (pl. *+juvvabə*) (Azer. cavab, Pers. javāb) **answer, reply, objection** |  
*+juvvab yavvəl* to reply; to object

## k

*ka-* prep. (§ 11.4.) (1) **to** | *+xábra yávələ ka-bàxtu* He gives word to his wife (A 3:30). (2) **for** | For the benefit of: *háč-məndi lélə váda ka-bàbu* He does not do anything for his father (A 3:37). Temporal objective: *ána p̄t-ázən ka-xa-yàrxa* I shall go away for a month (A 2:11). Purpose: *é-+dana b-yúma tanúyra c-odívələ ka-láxma pyèta* At that time, during the day they used the oven for baking bread (B 14:2). (3) **on account of, due to** | *ķà-de!* *+ķusártu yuvválə* On account of that he gave his pot (A 8:3); *ka-but-dayən* on account of this, therefore. (4) **object marker** | *ķa-díyyux +ktəllun* They killed you (A 3:68)

*kabəl* I (vn. *ķabalta*) (1) **to accept** | *‘ana pəšli ķbila ju-šotaputa +’atureta* I was accepted (to join) the Assyrian Association. (2) **to agree** | *‘ana ķbəlli kat ‘atən cəslux* I agreed to come to you; *‘ana ķbəlli ‘at-śalmən +’al-ķanunə* I agreed to adhere to their rules. (3) **to pass (examination)** | *ķbəlli mən-+saxseta* I passed the examination

*kabəl* II (vn. *ķabalta*) (1) **to accept, to receive** | *ķubəlli xa ctava* I received a book. (2) **to receive/entertain a guest** | *ķabúla p̄-kàbli ‘árxa?* Will they receive guests? (A 43:14). (3) **to approve, to agree; to permit**

*ķablana* adj.ms. (fs. *ķablanta*, pl. *ķablana*) tolerant, accepting

*ķadala* n.m. (pl. *ķadalo*) clay pot (approx. 1.5 feet high) with four handles, wider than *ķuka* and *+lina*, used for storing oil (*məšxa*), *ķalya* and pickles (*+turšiyə*) (see illustration 12) (Sal. *jarra*)

*ķadalta* n.f. (pl. *ķadalyata*) small pot (see illustration 13) (Sal. *jarrəcta*)

*ķadda* n.f. (pl. *ķaddə*) (Azer. qədd < Arab.) log, piece of timber

*ķaddiša* adj.ms/n.m. (fs. *ķaddəšta*, pl. *ķaddišə*) holy; saint

*ķaddišuya* n.f. holiness, sacredness | *maxzə* III *ķaddišuya* to put on a saintly air; *maxziyyənət* *ķaddišuya* sanctimonious person, hypocrite

*ķadəm* I (vn. *ķdamta*) (1) **to go in front or before; to overtake.** (2) **to come on a person unawares.** (3) **to seek early**

*ķadəm* II (vn. *ķadamta*) (1) **to go in front or before.** (2) **to come to a person unawares.** (3) **to seek early.** (4) **to advance**

*ķadəš* I (vn. *ķdašta*) **to be consecrated; to sanctify** | *kaša bəķdašələ ķurbana* The priest is sanctifying the offering

*ķadəš* II (vn. *ķadašta*) **to sanctify, to consecrate; to celebrate the Eucharist**

*ķadəx* I (vn. *ķdaxta*) (1) **to join together, to attach, to join, to fit into, to dovetail, to knit together.** (2) **to strike a light, to kindle; to solder** | *‘annə*

- tre məndiyənə ƙduxlun b-+udayla* Join these two things together; *+’avva cursi velə ƙdixa b-fuyda* That chair is attached to the wall
- kadimi** adj.invar. (Azer. qədimi, Pers qadimī < Arab.) **ancient, old (times)** | *mən-kadimi* since ancient times
- kadimuya** n.f. **antiquity**
- kadra** n.m. **worth, amount** | *dvəklə ƙadrət +xoru* He did honour to his friend; *+’al-ƙadra* respectively, accordingly; *ƙadrət +jura sura lelə +bəddayu* He does not have respect for his seniors; *’ən la ’atə o +xaraya le-+yattax ƙadrət do ƙamaya* If the last does not come, we shall not know the measure of the first (i.e. no one knows when he is well off) (cf. Maclean 1895, 346)
- kadšana** n.m. (pl. *kadšanə*) **holy hierarch**
- kahba** n.m./f. (pl. *kahbə*) (Azer. qəhbə < Arab.) **whore, prostitute; fornicator**
- kahba-+xana** n.f. (pl. *kahba-+xanə*) (Azer. qəhbəxana) **brothel**
- kahbən** QI (vn. *kahbanta*) **to whore, to fornicate**
- kahbuyta** n.f. **debauchery, adultery**
- kahvayi** adj.invar. (Pers. qahvā’ī) **brown, coffee-coloured**
- kala** n.m. (pl. *kalə*) **voice, sound, exclamation** | *darə I ƙala I* to cry out; *é-dana məndi zábniva ju-+alúla jári ƙálə dárival* At that time when people sold something in the street, they had to cry out (A 34:2); *yavwəl I ƙala* to make a sound; to vote; *ƙali xvilə* My voice has become hoarse; *ƙalu dvikálə* My voice is blocked (I cannot speak); *ƙálax là-’atəl* Do not make a sound (A 43:8); *c-azàxval* *ƙát xína* *ƙupšína* *ƙála* *mála* *lèla* *+bəsmáya* We used to go, when the quail does not hear any sort of sound (B 4:1)
- kala-+koxa** n.m. **yelling, tumult** | *+raba ƙala-+koxələ* There is a lot of noise; *la ƙala la +koxa* quietly
- kalama** (i) n.f. (pl. *kalama*) (Azer. qələm < Arab.) **pen** | *ƙalamət zila* reed pen; *ƙalamət parra* quill
- kalama** (ii) n.m. (pl. *kalama*) (Azer. qələmə) **white poplar**
- kalat** n.m. (pl. *kalattə*) (Azer. qələt < Arab.) **mistake** | *dáx ƙalat vádlı* ... *ƙát humzəmli mən-dá náša* What a mistake I made to talk to this man (A 4:8)  
→ *+xəltə*
- kalb, kalp** adj.invar. (Azer. qəlp < Arab.) **false; counterfeit**
- kalbuyta** n.f. **falsity, falsehood.**
- kalə I** (vn. *ƙleta*) **to be fried, baked; to become parched, to become roasted**
- kalə II** (vn. *kaleta*) **to fry, to roast** | *’ánnə fu-màšxa ƙulitén* I have fried these in oil (A 36:8)
- kaləb** n.m. (pl. *kalibə*) (Azer. qəlib < Arab.) **mould (for cheese); form, matrix** | *kaləb ka-+pəsla* pattern
- kalək I** (vn. *klakta*) **to stare, to gaze** | *+’aynu ƙlikelə +alli* He stared at me

*kaləp I* (vn. *klapta*) **to peel (intr.), to lose bark (tree)** | *'a-'ilana klipələ* This tree has lost its bark; *'a-'ilana dulə +lap kləplə* The tree has lost all its bark; *'ilana +šurilə bəklapa* The tree has begun to lose its bark

*kaləp II* (vn. *kalapta*) **to peel (tr.); to shell**

*kalkəl QI* (vn. *kalkalta*) (1) **to lighten, to ease, to reduce; to make little of, to despise** | *+yukrət +mašina kálkəllə* Reduce the weight of the car; *+pagri kulkəllələ* I have lost weight. (2) **to remove shells (from walnuts, almonds)**

*kallil-hona* adj.invar. **void of understanding**

*kalma* n.f. (pl. *kalma*) **louse** | *kalmat darjušta* bed-bug; *kalmat kesa* woodworm; *kalmat 'ilanə* green flies; *kalmat taxta* weevil

*kalmana* adj.ms. (fs. *kalmanta*, pl. *kalmanə*) **lousy**

*kalmən* QI (vn. *kalmanta*) **to become lousy**

*kalošə* n.pl. (sing.f. *kalošta*) (Azer. qaloş, French galochette) **snow boots**

*kalpa* n.m. (pl. *kalpə*) (1) **shell (of nut, fruit or animal), pod, peel; bark** | *kalpat +kraya* the shell of a tortoise; *kalpat darba* scab. (2) **scale of a fish** | *kalpat nuyna* scale of a fish. (3) **a small plate or link as in chain armour**

*kalta* (i) n.f. (pl. *kalata*) **shallow basket (for serving cheese, fruit etc.); basket with handle, lady's handbag (see illustration 41)**

*kalta* (ii) n.f. **utterance** | *kála lət, kálta lət.* There is no sound at all (A 45:4)

*kaluya* adj.ms. (fs. *kalulta*, pl. *kaluylə*) (1) **light (in weight).** (2) **easy, quick**

*kaluyluya* n.f. **ease**

*kalya* n.m. **preserved meat and fat cooked in oil (prepared for the winter)**

*kalya-+daš, kalya-+dašə* n.m. (Azer. qələvi-das) **herb used in the production of grapes; potash, soda ash, alkali**

*kalyun* n.f. (pl. *kalyuynə*) (Pers. qalyūn, Azer. qəlyan), **hubbly bubbly pipe**

*kam* (i) prep. **before, in front** | *mən-kám +dána* beforehand, formerly (B 1:22);

*kam-šómšə bət-barzıva*! They would dry in the sun (B 14:5); *sépu bəškələlə*! *'átxa bədvakóla kám!* He takes his sword and holds it like this in front (A 39:9).

With *la* expressing direction: *b-ayyé hávuz la-kám +tárra!* *'ázən sákən?* Can I go and swim in that pool outside (lit. towards what is before the door) (A 42:15); *xəšli la-kamu* I went to meet him (arriving from a journey); *maxə i la-kam xa naša* to undermine so; *la-kama* adv. forwards; *la-+msili la-kam jani xamina* I could not hold on (I pissed in my pants)

*kam* (ii) part. **past converter prefix before present template verbs (§ 4.4.4.)** | *kam-xazənnux* I saw you

*kam* (iii) part. **why? → ka-mú**

*kama-kam* part. **in front of** | *xzılıl +slılə tıla!* *távlə +al-suýsa!* *káma kam-diyyıl!* I saw that he came down and sat on the horse in front of me. (A 2:32)

*kamáy* part. **forwards; at first** | *'ana +bayyən pəlxani lablənnə kamáy* I want to carry my work forward/continue my work → *la-kama*

*kamaya* adj.ms. (fs. *kameta*, pl. *kamayə*) first | *mən-kamaya* previously, from time immemorial; 'o-+*pláša kámaya* The First (World) War (B 1:27)

*kamayt-* part. in front | *xəšla* +*al-kamaytu* He went to meet him on the way;  
*ádi mayyálun nùynał mattálun kamàtyuxł* Now she will bring the fish and  
place them in front of you (A 5:19); *dvəkłə kamayté* He stood in their way, he  
blocked their way

*kambəč* QI (vn. *kambačta*) (1) to squeeze and shake another person's head out of frustration. (2) to embrace tightly → <sup>+</sup>*bambəč*

*kamči* n.m. (pl. *kamčiyyə*) (Azer. qamçı) lash, whip

*kaməx* I (vn. *kmaxta*) to be crushed, to be flattened (corn) | +*xəttə kmixəna le-amsax xazdaxlun* The wheat has been crushed (in the field), we cannot harvest it; *xakla kmaxta* a field with corn that is compacted by rain and wind

*kameta* n.f. **status of being first** | Expresses ordinal 'first' after nouns in annexation: *yúmat k̥ametaḥ h̥al +cavútraḥ ja-+’umra c-avívaḥ* The first day until lunchtime they used to be in church (B 5:6); *+plášət k̥ameta* The First (World) War (A 41:4)

*kamma* I (vn. *kmeta*) to scorch (material); to burn (the linen with iron) | *la šuk*  
+*sudrukamma* Do not let your shirt be scorched

*kam-nata* temple (on head)

**kámta** adv. (1) formerly, in the old days | *kámta ... bárka ju-maváy lètva* In the old days there was no electricity in the villages (B 14:3); *'ína b-kámtnat kámta-da hár +al-ja-raváy dmíxəna +kètəl* But long ago they slept on roofs during the summer (B 10:21). (2) at first, first | *kámta baxjálələləl* At first he is startled (A 37:10); *kámta mān-sòta mlílələl* Fill the old lady's plate first (A 42:29); *b-+kètəl tànaxl 'ànnəl +tunyátə búš kámta kát 'íva +mṭá 'íva məšməsšəl* In summer, we may say that the fruit that ripened first were apricots (B 1:23). (3) forward | *xáčča-da kámta xàšləl* He went a little further forward (A 1:11)

*ka-mu*, *ka-mudi*, *kam* part. **why?** | *ka-mùdi suysavátat diyyòxun*! *jávát Nànvá*  
*hurhàmlun*?| Why did your horses in Nineveh neigh? (A 3:78); *ána lévən*  
*+bəddá ka-mùdi* *ána ó-yuma žgišənva*! I do not know why I was confused  
that day (A 1:38); *ka-múdi xmárux tlíkələ*,<sup>1</sup> *’ína ýát tæzbúxta massúkət +al-*  
*’aláha*?| Why is it that your donkey has disappeared but you send up praise  
to God? (A 26:2); *ka-mú mxáyot ’á bràta*?| Why are you beating this girl?  
(A 36:15); *ka-mú ’ánnə bušlélax ýátən*?| Why have you cooked them? (A 36:8);  
*ka-mú-ivət +támma*? Why are you there? (A 32:4); *kám xá-’axča +naràhat-*  
*ivət*?| Why are you so upset? (A 2:18). Declarative use to express lack of doubt  
of speaker: *kám xu-léla +janavar xu-lé +axláli*| Why, she is surely not a beast,  
she would surely not eat me (A 44:2)

*kamxa* n.m. flour

*kana* n.f. (pl. *kanañə*) horn; trumpet

*kanaña* adj.ms. horned

*kancə* n.pl. chancel

*kand* n.m. (Azer. qənd, Pers. qand) loaf sugar

*kana* I (vn. *kneta*) to gain, to earn, to acquire, to obtain | +räba bəknayəla biyyé' sábab ídət +háji +räba +spàv víla kátu| He makes a big profit with them, because the loan (lit. hand) of the pilgrim turned out to be profitable for him (A 7:2)

*kanəz* I (vn. *knazta*) (1) to wrinkle (tr. and intr.). (2) to squeeze, to tighten and close up | janə knizolə, le-+bayyə xarəj He is very tight and does not want to spend (money); 'ana b-kanzənnə jani biloxun I'll squeeze in between you; jáno bəknázola| She huddles up (A 1:10). (3) to screw up (eyes) | +'aynu knizelə kat xazzilun He screwed up his eyes so he could see them; ka-mudivet knizelux +'aynux biyyi 'atxa? Why have you screwed up your eyes at me like that? (4) to wink (eye) | +'ayno bəknazolə He is winking

*kanita* n.f. (pl. *kanyatə*) stone of fruit

*kannəšta* n.f. (pl. *kannəšyatə*) earring

*kanuna* n.m. (pl. *kanunə*) law; custom | bálcət +kanúnət dánnə 'atxələ| Perhaps their custom is thus (A 1:16)

*kapa* n.m. (pl. *kapə*) (Azer. qab, qapaq) lid, cover

*kapə* I (vn. *kpeta*) (1) to gather | našə kəpyəna b-+uydalə The people have gathered together. (2) to seize; to catch (with hands, teeth); to snatch out | 'o-'arya kpilə ka-do +jeyran The lion seized the gazelle; kəpyali cteta I caught the chicken. *kapa* expresses seizing with greater force than the verb *davək* I. (3) to close tightly | 'a-+tarra kəpyələ The door is closed tightly

*kapkap* QI (vn. *kapkapta*) to cluck (hen)

*kapla* n.f. (pl. *kapla*) (Azer. qafilə < Arab.) caravan, transport

*kappas* n.f. (pl. *kappazə*) (Azer. qəfəs, Pers. qafas, Kurd. qefes) cage

*kappa* n.f. (not used in pl.) brooding hen (after birth of chicks)

*kaps* n.f. (Azer. qəbz, Pers. qabz < Arab.) constipation

*karabina* n.f. (Azer. karabin) carbine

*karağaj* n.m. (pl. *karağaja*) (Azer. qara ağaç 'black wood') elm

*karamixə* n.pl. (Azer. qara 'black' + mix 'nail') blackberries

*karbən* QI (vn. *karbanta*) to approach; to come nearer; to cause to approach | níxa níxa níxa níxa| karbúnəla la-mdítə| Very slowly she comes near to the town (A 1:10)

*karəp* I (vn. *krapta*) to beat, to dash | krəplə b-+arra He dashed it to the ground; krəplə b-rišu He beat his head (as a sign of grief)

*karəv* I (vn. *kravta*) (1) to approach. (2) to take communion (in church). (3) to fight

*karəx* I (vn. *kraxta*) (1) to become dry (plants, corn that is ready to harvest); to turn brown | *+xəftə krixəna* The wheat has become dry (and is ready to harvest); *xakla krəxtə* a field with corn that is dry and brown, ready for harvest. (2) to fade | *'o-julla ranju krixələ* The colour of this cloth has faded

*karja* (N), *+karja* (S) n.f. (pl. *karjə*) (Azer. qarğā) crow (Sal. and Gaw. čərgə)

*karibaya* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *karabeta*, pl. *karabaya*) (Azer. qəribə < Pers/Arab.) (1) foreigner, stranger. (2) unusual, rare, strange

*karibuya* n.f. (1) foreign land, abroad. (2) strangeness, rarity | *+jór dá-baxta xášla karibiyta* The husband of this woman has gone abroad (A 2:7)

*kariva* (N), *+kariva* (S) n.m. (pl. *karivə*, *+karivə*) best man (at wedding); godfather (Sal., Gaw. *kariva*)

*karkəpta*, *kərkəpta* n.f. (pl. *karkəpyatə*, *kərkəpta*) n.f. (1) skull, top of head | *karkəptət rišə* crown of the head. (2) brain, mind | *xíš 'aláha +barəxlux kat-xá-axča hóna* *karkəpta kátux 'uláha yùvvələ* Go, God bless you, for God has given you such an intelligence and such a mind (A 3:84). (3) summit (of mountain) | *karkəptət +tuyra* summit of a mountain

*karkəš* QI (vn. *karkašta*) to separate and gather (e.g. raisins from stalks)

*karkəz* QI (vn. *karkazta*) to pack, to pack up, to get ready, to make ready; to gather up; to fit out, to be fitted out; to economise, to save (money) | *labúluna bëta* *karkázzi kat- +xliyla ódi* They bring him to the house in order for them to prepare to hold a wedding (A 42:29)

*karmana* n.m. (fs. *karmanta*, pl. *karmanə*) winner

*karpəx* QI (vn. *karpaxta*) (1) to bang on the head with hand. (2) to shock, to distress

*karta* n.f. (1) cold. | *kartəla* It is cold; *'annə vardə karta +ruppitela* Those flowers have been damaged by the cold; *karta +sansəppanta/ +sarupta* intense cold. (2) head cold | *karta mxitila* I have caught a cold

*karuta* (N), *+karuta* (S), *+karita* (Dizatacyə S) n.f. bridesmaid; godmother

*kaša* n.m. (pl. *kašə*) priest; elder

*kašany* adj.invar. (Azer. qəşəng < Pers. qašang) beautiful, comely, well fitting (clothes); well groomed (horse); gracious, elegant

*kašanjuyta* n.f. grace, elegance

*kašə* I (vn. *kšeta*) to become thick, hard; to set, to congeal; to be obstinate | *+murabba kṣila* The jam has set

*kaška* n.m. (pl. *kaškə*) (Kurd. keşk) dried curds cake

*kašuyta* n.f. priesthood

*kat* part. subordinating particle (§ 14.5.3.)

*katta* n.f. (pl. *kattatə*) (1) handle, hilt. (2) arm (of chair) | *kattátət sandalıyyə* arms of chairs (A 41:13). (3) stem of plant

*kattəj* n.m. (with pron. suffix *kattiğī*, *kattiğux*, etc.) (Azer. qatıq) white cheese  
that is left after draining the liquid (+*kətpə*) from yoghurt whey (+*davvə*)

*katrə* n.m. (pl. *katrə*) ridge of a mountain

*kava* n.f. coffee

*kava-*+*xana* n.f. (Azer. qohvəxana) (1) coffee house. (2) ante-room, lobby

*kavə* I (vn. *kvetə*) to become hard; to become strong; to stiffen; to be established | +*xárta* +*ávun t-íva* +*bəxmásə*, *bəkváya* *alkólat* +*xámru* Then, when it was becoming sour, and the alcohol of the wine is becoming strong ... (B 17:15)

*kavəl* I (vn. *kvalta*) to complain; to reproach | *átən* *śtvalux* *kválta mən-*+*hàji*?

Did you have a complaint about the pilgrim? (A 1:44)

*kavər* I (vn. *kvarta*) to bury

*kavvəl* QI (vn. *kavvalta*) to promise | *'ana xa-*+*nədra* *kuvvəlli* I offered an offering (for a memorial in church)

*kavvəm* QI (vn. *kavvamta*) to happen, to occur | *kavvamta* n.f. (pl. *kavvamyatə*) event; accident

*kaxkəx* QI (vn. *kaxkaxta*) to cackle (turkey); to laugh loudly

*kaya* n.m. (pl. *kaya*) (Azer. qaya) large rock, crag

*kayəj* n.? (Azer. qayıq) small boat, ferry

*kayəm*/*kám* I (vn. *kyamta*) to rise, to stand up, to grow (crops in a field) | +*háji* +*xárta* *kám* +*al-jáno*! The pilgrim then accosts her (A 1:43)

*kayət*/*kât* I (vn. *kyatta*) to touch, to knock, to come across | *mut* *kətət* *biyyu*? Why are you bugging him? +*rábə* *kátlə* *biyyu*! He pressed him (to speak) (A 10:4); +*aynu* *kətla* +*alli* He saw me; he cast the evil eye on me

*kayəx*/*käx* I (vn. *kyaxta*) to dry (grass); to ripen | *'a-xakla* *dula* *kəxta* The field has dried (and the crops are ripe)

*kayə* I (vn. *keta*/*kyeta*, prog. *bəkkayələ*, pst. *kilə*, rp. *kiyya*) to smart (after eating something sour or pungent), to become sore (teeth, mouth) | *cici* *dulə* *kiyya*, *cici* *bəkkayələ* My tooth is smarting

*kayəm* n.m. (Azer. qəyyum < Arab.) trustee

*kazəd* II (vn. *kazatta*) to look, to keep watch

*kazma* n.m. (pl. *kazmə*) (qazmaq 'embellishment of plov dish') decoration for forehead

*kazzab* n.f. (Azer. qəzəb < Arab. ǵađab) rage, fury, calamity

*kazzəd* QI (vn. *kazzatta*) to stare

*každər* QI (vn. *každarta*) (1) to dare, to risk, to venture | *dax* *kuždərrux* *'a-*+*šula* *vədlux*? How did you dare to do such a thing?; *levən* *každura* I do not dare (= *levən* +*biyara*). (2) to have dominion (+*al* over)

*každərrana* adj.ms. (fs. *každərranta*, pl. *každərranə*) daring

*každərranuyta* n.f. risk, daring act

*kažķaž Q1* (vn. *kažķažta*) (1) to sizzle | *məšxa kažkužələ* The oil is sizzling. (2) to rattle (rain) | *+muṭra kažkužələ* The rain is rattling (on the roof).

*kdala* n.m. (pl. *kdalə*) neck; collar, neckcloth | *kdalət +sudra* collar of a shirt; *škəlla +al-kdalu* He took responsibility; *‘a-+ṣula la drilə +al-kdali* Don't give me the responsibility of that job; *jani +mṭila +al-kdali* I am almost dead (lit. my soul has reached my neck); *mənta la matti b-kdali* Don't make me feel that I owe you gratitude; *dvəklə kdalət +xoru* He restrained his friend/he coerced his friend; *kdalət čacmə* top of boots

*kdila* n.m. (pl. *kdilə*) key

*kəbla* n.m. (Azer. qiblə < Arab.) direction of Muslim prayer

*kəkkəsta* n.f. (pl. *kəkkəşyata*) (Azer. qiyqac) head kerchief

*kəkvana* n.f. (pl. *kəkvanə*) partridge

*kəmsa, +kəmsa* n.m. (pl. *kəmsə, +kəmsə*) (1) locust, grasshopper | *kəmsa bəmxayələ* There is a plague of locusts. (2) dragon-fly

*kənna, kənta* n.f. (pl. *kənnatə*) (1) nest, hole, den. (2) kernel (of nut) | *kənnatəjozə/kəntətjozə* walnut kernels

*kənnopıkə* n.f. (pl. *kənnopıkə*) (Russ. кнопка) press-stud

*kənnora* n.f. type of wild vegetable

*kənpa, kəmpa* n.m. (Pers. qonnab, JBA קַנְפָה) hemp | used for cloth and cordage, such as laces for boots, *jdalət kəmpa* hemp laces

*kənta* n.f. melody | *bət-ṭanṭənnən xa-kənta* I shall play a melody

*kənyana* n.m., *kənyanta* n.f. cattle | *kənyanət-+ṭana* pack animal

*kəppəl* n.m., Siri S *+kəppəl* (pl. *kəppilə, +kəppilə*) (Azer. qıfil) lock, padlock

*kərkəčə* pl. sunflower seeds

*kərnac* n.m. rolling pin (Armenia)

*kərrəška* n.f. (pl. *kərrəškə*) (Russ. крышка) lid, cover

*kərša* n.m. (pl. *kəršə*) sing. firewood, wood. pl. brushwood, stubble, dry weeds for fuel

*kərzənka* n.f. (pl. *kərzənökə*) (Russ. карзинка) wicker basket for bread and fruits

*kəržala* n.f. (pl. *kəržalə*) (Kurd. kevjal, Azer. xərçəng, Pers. xārčāng) crab

*kəsmat* n.f. (pl. *kəsmattə*) (Azer. qismət) destiny, fate, lot, share, part

*kəssat* n.f. (pl. *kəssattə*) (Pers. qesse < Arab.) story | *báxta +bəddāyələl mü-ila kəssat!* The woman knows what the situation is (A 3:32)

*kəšlağ* n.f. (Azer. qışlıq) wintering; hamlet, small village

*kəšta* n.f. (pl. *kəšyatə*) bow (weapon) | *jira-u kəšta* bow and arrow; *kəštət +maran, kəštə-+maran* (pl. *kəštə-+maranə*) rainbow; *kəštət cipa* slingshot; *kəštət ždeta* cotton cleaner in the form of a bow

*kəšya* adj.ms. (fs. *kəšita*, pl. *kəšya*) (1) thick (liquid), dense | *bušala kəšita* thick stew. (2) hard | *pləxli kəšya* I worked hard. (3) strict | *‘idá-+jura ‘idá-sura*

*cáslan* +*raba* | *ci-dokáxvala b-kàšya* | We held Easter and Christmas very strictly in our community (B 9:12)

*kàšyuya* n.f. thickness, density

*kàtpu* n.f. pigweed

*kàvraqayuta*, +*kàvraqayuta* n.f. (Azer. qıvraq) swiftness, speed, dexterity

*kàzza-kàz* n.f. wailing, sobbing | +*xábra yávvax mən-dá bràta* | *kàzza kàzzo ju-dá šakita* | Let us talk about the girl, who was sobbing in the stream (A 43:18)

*kàzža* adj.ms (fs. *kàzža*, pl. *kazža*) shaggy, uncombed (hair)

*kazža* (child language) | *kazža!* *kazžila!* Don't touch it!; *kazža kazža vud* bite!

*kazža-kazž* n.f. (Kurd. qajeqaj) rattling noise (of rain) | +*muṭra kazža kazžola* The rain is rattling → *kazkaz* QI

*kedamta* n.f. (pl. *kedamyata*) morning, early morning (immediately after dawn). *kédamta* adv. in the morning (Canda: in the early morning after dawn), tomorrow morning | *kedamta jaldə* early in the morning; *kedamtux +braxta* good morning! *móriša hánəz kedàmta* in the morning when it was still early (A 42:5)

*kema* n.f. (pl. *kemata*) tendril (of vine)

*kesa* n.m. (pl. *kesə*) (1) wood, stick. (2) shaft (of a spear). (3) tree | *kèsət kalama* poplar; *kesət jarčac* castor-bean tree; *kèsət +šamma* pine; *kesət xoxa*, *kesət huli* peach tree; *kesət +xurma* date palm tree. (4) gallows

*keybat* n.f. (Azer. qeybat < Arab.) slander, gossip, malignant gossip | *'avəd* I *keybat* to slander, gossip, to backbite; *keybatti vidot?* Have you gossiped about me? *'odanət keybat* slanderer

*keybatcar* n.m. (pl. *keybatcərə*) gossip

*keyrat*, *kirat* n.f. (Azer. qeyrat < Arab.) zeal, enthusiasm, energy; emulation, envy; jealousy | *'avəd* I *keyrat* to be eager, to compete; *jarəš* I *keyrat* to be zealous, to have the courage (to do sth.)

*kic̥i*, *keči* n.m. (pl. *kic̥iyə*, *kečiyə*) (Pers. qēči, Azer. qayıç < Mongolian qaiči(n) (Lessing 1995, 912a)) scissors

*kida* adj.ms. (fs. *kätta*, pl. *kida*) burned, burnt food

*kiji* n.m. type of bitter herb

*kikäč* n.f., adj.invar. (Pers. kajī 'crookedness') slope; slanting, crooked, oblique

*kina* adj.ms. (fs. *känta*, pl. *kina*) green

*kinana* adj.ms. (fs. *kinanta*, pl. *kinanə*) greenish

*kinaya* adj.ms. (fs. *kineta*, pl. *kinayə*) greenish

*kışa* adj.ms. (fs. *käšta*, pl. *kışə*) cooled down, cold

*klapsəs* n.f. eclipse | *klapsisət šəmšə* eclipse of the sun; *klapsisət +sara* eclipse of the moon

*kobi* n.m. (Azer. qobu) bog, marshland

*koja*, *kuja* n.m. marten

*koķə QI* (vn. *koķeta*) **to croak (frog)**

*kola*, *köl* n.m. (Pers. qōl < Arab.) **promise, agreement, covenant, contract, conspiracy** | *‘avəd i kola*, *+kattə i kola* to fix, to agree, to order, to promise; *+šamṭanət kola* perfidious; *la-calyanət +al-kola* changeable, inconstant; *‘át köl vīdat mən-‘alāha!* You made a promise with God (A 14:5); *köl škálla mónni kát +tamrənnə!* She made me promise that I would bury her (A 2:35)

*kolana* adj.ms. (fs. *kolanta*, pl. *kolana*) **plaintiff, complainer, unsatisfied person**

*koluniyya* n.m. **colony**

*koma* (i) n.m. **growth, age, size, height, stature** | *tīlan túttun vīla xá kòmi!* We have come (to the point) where the tobacco has become my height (B 3:26)

*koma* (ii) part. **would that, I wish** (cf. *kavvəm* QI ‘to happen’) | *koma-t ctavux jaldə parəkva* I wish your book would have been finished earlier

*konča* n.m. (pl. *končə*) (Azer. qönçə, Pers. ġonče) **bud**

*konsul* n.m. (pl. *konsuylə*) **consul**

*kopasta* n.f. (pl. *kopasyata*) **cover; cap (on teeth)**

*korə* exclam. (Kurd. kor) **oh dear! what a pity** | *kórə mónni!* Oh dear me (A 44:9)  
*koşa* n.m. (pl. *koşə*, *koşanə*) (Azer. qoşa ‘pair, double’) **ditch of water bringing water to basins (*taxta*) of a paddy field (see illustration 53)**

*koşa-luyla* n.f. (Azer. qoşa ‘double’ + lülə ‘barrel’) **double-barrelled gun**

*koşun* n.f. (pl. *koşynə*) (Azer. qoşun) **army** | *koşynət-racavə* cavalry

*koşyyna* adj.ms. (fs. *koşyneta*, pl. *koşyyna*) **military**

*koşynuya* n.f. **military matters, warfare**

*krixa* adj.ms. (fs. *krixta*, pl. *krixə*) **dried, turned brown (plants, corn); faded**

*kubba* n.f. (Azer. qübbə < Arab.) **arch, dome, shrine**

*kubbuxta* n.f. (pl. *kubbuxyata*) **group** | *kubbúxtət sáprə* flock of birds (A 55:1)

*kubi* n.m. (pl. *kubiyə*) **wetland; moorland**

*kuččar* adj.invar. (Turk. participle of köč- ‘to wander’; Kurd. kočerî, Azer. köçəri ‘nomad’) **wild, tough, indomitable** | *kuččar brátəva!* She was a tough girl (A 43:1)

*kučča* n.m. (pl. *kuččə*) (Azer. qoç) **male sheep, ram; male goat**

*kučči* (child language) | *ta kučči* Come onto my back

*kuddurta* n.f. **determination; decree** | *mən-kuddúrtət ‘alāha!*, *‘ána módrə dívən +dárri vīli náša!* By the decree of God I have again returned and become a man (A 28:3)

*kudma* n.m. (1) **yesterday** | *kudmət +vərrə* yesterday; *kudma +bérašə* last night; *m-kám-kudma* the day before yesterday. (2) **tomorrow; the next day** | *kudmət ‘atə* tomorrow; *kudma mórišə* tomorrow morning; *kúdmə bitáyəla módra!* The next day he comes again (A 3:70).

*kukə* n.m. (pl. *kukə*) tall pot, intermediate in size between a *+lina* and a *kadala*, used for cheese (see illustration 3)

*kukku* n.f. (pl. *kukkuyə*) cuckoo | *kukku* *kukku* *'avəd* 1 to make the sound of a cuckoo (human)

*kukta* n.f. (pl. *kukyatə*) small tall pot (see illustration 4)

*kululta* n.f. (pl. *kukulyatə*) hinge; row of teeth of lock

*kulta* n.f. (pl. *kulyatə*), *bra-kulta* n.f. (pl. *bra-kulyatə*) trap

*kulya* adj.ms. (fs. *kulita*, pl. *kulyə*) roast

*kumri* n.f. (pl. *kumriyyə*) (Pers. *qumrī*) large dove

*kumta* n.f. short stature

*kunjita* n.f., *kunjıyya* (Canda) (pl. *kunjıyyatə*) (Azer. *künc*, Pers. *kunj*) corner | *kunjıtət* *'urxa* turn in the road

*kunya* n.m. (pl. *kunyə*) (Kurd. *kanî*, Azer. *quyu*) well (for drawing water)

*kupšina* n.m. (fs. *kupşənta*, pl. *kupšinə*) quail

*kupšita*, *kupšənta*, n.f. (pl. *kupšənyatə*) (Armenia) (Russ. *ковши*) pot, cooking pot, bucket

*kupta* n.f. (pl. *kupyatə*) large owl, eagle owl

*kurba* adj. invar., adv. close, near, almost | *b-kurba* close, near; *kürba* *+al-'uydála* near to each other (B 14:6); *kúrbət māt-díyyan*! near our village (B 3:36); *+báyyə* *'ázəl kürbo*! He wants to go close to her (A 1:6); *kúrbət* *+əsrà-danə caçàla-* *ətva*! There were nearly ten bald men (A 1:1)

*kurbabət* adv. in the proximity of, near, around | *kurbábət* *+əšvat c-avívə*! It took place around February (B 5:9)

*kurbana* n.m. (pl. *kurbanə*) offering (especially the Eucharist); communion (Eucharist) | *kurbanət mitə* memorial service

*kurbayuya* n.f. closeness, proximity

*kurdaya* n.m./adj.ms (fs. *kurdeta*, pl. *kurdayə*) Kurd

*kurkana* n.m. (pl. *kurkənə*) long stomach-worm

*kurkuşun* n.m. (Azer. *qurğuşun*) lead (metal) | *cipət kurkuşun* plummet

*kurrušta* n.f. top of boiled milk (*patət +xalva*) or yoghurt; cream; sour cream

*kuruş* n.m. (pl. *kuryışə*) (Azer. *quruş*) piastre (coin)

*kuruška* n.m. (pl. *kuruškə*) (Russ. *кружка*) mug (made of metal or pot)

*kuti* → *jarda-kuti*

*kuti* n.f. (pl. *kutıyyə*) (Azer. *qutu*, Pers. *qüti*) box, alms-basket

*kuvvat* n.f. (Azer. *qüvvət*, Pers. *qovvat*) force, power | *'alaha yavvəllux kuvvat!*

May God give you strength (said to a man who is working hard); *napəl* 1 *mən-* *kuvvat* to weaken (intr.), to be exhausted; *dara* 1 *kuvvat* to exert force

*kuxa* n.m. (pl. *kuxə*) pile, heap | *'ita b-+jammáxvalun kùxa*! Then we gathered them into a heap (B 3:12)

*kuya* adj.ms. (fs. *kvita*, pl. *kuyə*) (1) strong, strengthened, adv. strongly | *pəšlə*

*kuyà-kuya* He became very strong. (2) **hard, hardened, avaricious** | <sup>+arrá-</sup>*óya kvítal míyya fu-dreté míyya c-àzi* If the ground is hard, when water is poured out, it flows away (A 3:11). (3) **loud** | <sup>+rába</sup>*kuya hamzúmələ mən-báxtu* *kat-áni +šàmmi!* He speaks very loudly with his wife so that they can hear (A 6:10)

*kuyama* n.m. **uprising, revolution**

*kuypa* n.m. (pl. *kuypə*) **long woven basket with thick sides, without handle on top** (see illustration 40) | *kuypat dabašə* beehive; *kuypat* <sup>+ayna</sup> eyelid

*kuyra* n.m. (pl. *kuyrə*) (Azer. qora) **young sour (unripe) grape** (Sal., Gaw. *kuğra*)

*kuyuya* n.f. **firmness, hardness, rigidity, indestructibility, avarice** | *kuyuytət* *pata* **importunity**

*kveta* n.f. **arkhalig (a type of Caucasian dress)**

*kyuda* n.m. **burn, heartburn, inflammation**

## <sup>+k</sup>

<sup>+kaban</sup> n.m. (pl. <sup>+kabanə</sup>) (Azer. qaban) **wild boar**

<sup>+kabar</sup> n.f. (pl. <sup>+kabarə</sup>) (Azer. qabar) **blister**

<sup>+kaburğa</sup> n.m. (pl. <sup>+kaburǵə</sup>) (Azer. qabırğı, Pers. qaburğa ~ qaburqa < Mongolian qabirga(n) ‘rib; side, flank, wing; spur of a mountain between two valleys’; cf. Lessing 1995, 898a; Ragagnin 2016) **rib** | <sup>+kaburǵa calə</sup> i to be obstinate, to persist: <sup>+kaburǵa la cli!</sup> Don’t be obstinate!

<sup>+kaburǵana</sup> adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+kaburǵanta</sup>, pl. <sup>+kaburǵanə</sup>) (cf. Azer. qabırǵali ‘thick-set’) **stubborn, obstinate, persistent**

<sup>+kabz</sup> n.f. (Azer. qəbz < Arab.) **receipt, acknowledgement**

<sup>+kačax</sup> n.m. (pl. <sup>+kačaxə</sup>) (Azer. qaçaq) **brigand, smuggler, fugitive**

<sup>+kačə</sup> i (vn. <sup>+kçeta</sup>) **to pull off (e.g. fruit); to break off** | with greater force than ‘cutting’ expressed by the doublet <sup>+kattə</sup>

<sup>+kadağan</sup> n.m. (Azer. qadağan < Mongolian qadagala- ‘to place in safekeeping, preserve, conserve, save, keep; to keep in confinement’; cf. Lessing 1995, 902b) (1) **prohibition; contraband** | <sup>avəd</sup> <sup>+kadağan</sup> to prohibit. (2) adj. invar. **prohibited, forbidden**

<sup>+kadda, +katta</sup> n.f. (pl. <sup>+kaddə, +kattə</sup>) (Azer. qada) **disaster, misfortune, calamity** | <sup>+kattət</sup> <sup>'alaha</sup> calamity; <sup>+tarrañə dvırə, +kaddə +virə</sup> Doors locked, misfortunes past (= ignorance is bliss) (cf. Maclean 1895, 357) → <sup>+kattə-</sup><sup>+bal-la</sup> *la*

<sup>+kakka</sup> (child language) **sweet**

<sup>+kalayči</sup> n.m. (pl. <sup>+kalayčiyə</sup>) (Azer. qalayçı tinsmith) **polisher of metal vessels (especially copper vessels)**

- +*kalbağ* n.f. (pl. +*kalbağə*) (Azer. qolbağı) **bracelet**
- +*kalən* adj.invar. (Azer. qalın) **dense, thickly packed; frequent** | *cosa* +*kalən* **thick hair**
- +*kalla* n.f. (pl. +*kallə*, +*kallata*) (Azer. qala) **fortress, citadel, stronghold, castle, jail**
- +*kallabanduya* n.f. (Azer. qala 'fortress' + bənd 'barrier') **siege (of city)** | +*kalla-banduya* *dara* I to besiege; +*kallabanduya* *nəpəl* to be besieged (city)
- +*kallayča* n.m. (pl. +*kallayčə*) **hut, cottage**
- +*kalmaqal* n.f. (Azer. qalmaqlı) **noise, shouting, bedlam, alarm, confusion**
- +*kaltaxsaz* n.m. (pl. +*kaltaxsazə*) (Azer. qaltaq 'saddle-tree' + Pers. sāz) **maker of saddle-trees**
- +*kalxan* n.f. (Azer. qalxan) **shield**
- +*kaməç* I (vn. +*kmaçta*) **to pinch, to nip**
- +*kamət* I (vn. +*kmatta*) **to twist; to tighten (rope); to squeeze; metaphor. to distort truth**
- +*kanağat* n.f. **economy** (Azer. qənaət) | *marət* +*kanağat* managing financial matters well
- +*kandax* QI (vn. +*kandaxta*) (Azer. qundaq) **to swaddle, to wrap up (a child)**
- +*kanja* n.m. **type of fabric**
- +*kanjibağ* n.pl. (Azer. qamçı bağlı 'tie of whip') **leather strips attached to the cantle of the saddle, to which other objects can be attached**
- +*kanṭar* QI (vn. +*kanṭarta*) **to bend (backwards)** | +*kuntərrə* +*baray* He bent backwards
- +*kanun*, +*kanur* n.m. (Azer. qanun, Pers. qānūn) **order, rule, law; custom** | *bálcət* +*kanúnət dánna* 'àtxələl' Perhaps this is their custom (A 1:16)
- +*kapkapa* n.pl. (sing.f. +*kapkapa*) **shoes with wooden soles**
- +*kaplan* n.m. (pl. +*kaplanə*) (Turk. kaplan) **tiger**
- +*kappaxta* n.f. (pl. +*kappaxyatə*) (Azer. qapaq) **lid, cover**
- +*kapuči* n.m. (pl. +*kapučiyə*) (Azer. qapıcı) **door-keeper, porter**
- +*kara* adj.invar. (Azer. qara) **black** | *xazənnux* +*kara* +*xabrux* 'ayta Bad luck to you! (lit. May I see your black news come)
- +*karabattux* n.f. (pl. +*karabattuyxə*) (Azer. qara 'black' + Pers. batak < Arab. 'duckling') **small black duck**
- +*karačaya* n.m. (pl. +*karačeta*, pl. +*karačayə*) **gypsy**
- +*karačul* n.f. (Mongolian qarayul 'watch, sentry, guard, scout'; Lessing 1995, 933b; Ragagnin 2016) **sentry station, guard-house** → +*karavul*
- +*karaluc*, +*karalucta* n.f. (pl. +*karaluyjə*) (Azer. qara alça, Pers. īlū) **black sour plum**
- +*karalucta* n.f. **small black plum**
- +*kara-maccə* **type of red grape**

- <sup>+</sup>*karantuy* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karantuyaš*) (cf. Azer. qaranqu ‘dark’) **shadow (of something); delusion**
- <sup>+</sup>*karavaš* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karavašə*) (Azer. qarabaş) **female servant, handmaid**
- <sup>+</sup>*karavat* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karavattə*) (Ottoman Turk. kerevet) **bed**
- <sup>+</sup>*karavul* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karavylə*) (Azer. qarovul, Pers. qārāvūl < Mongolian qara-yul ‘watch, sentry, guard, scout’; cf. Lessing 1995, 933b; Ragagnin 2016) **guard, watchman, sentry, garrison** | *jarəš* I <sup>+</sup>*karavul* (Azer. qarovul çəkmək), *davək* I <sup>+</sup>*karavul* to guard; *cüt lələl* xá mənnóxun t-atítun <sup>+</sup>álli <sup>+</sup>*karavul*.<sup>I</sup> *atítun* <sup>+</sup>*albat*-<sup>+</sup>*kùyri* <sup>+</sup>*karavul* calítun.<sup>I</sup> Every night one of you will come to guard over me. You will come to my grave and stand guard. (A 45:4)
- <sup>+</sup>*karə* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*kreta*) (1) **to read, to study** | *b-dəkkat* <sup>+</sup>*karə* to read with attention. (2) **to call (b- on), to appeal (b- to so. for help), to invite (guests), to hail.** (3) **to crow (rooster), to give forth a sound.** (4) **to proclaim**
- <sup>+</sup>*karəltə* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karəlyay*) **storage pot** (Canda)
- <sup>+</sup>*karəm* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*kramta*) (i) **to win, beat** | <sup>+</sup>*krəmlə* zuyzə He won money; <sup>žn</sup> *munpəlvalux*, <sup>+</sup>*bəkrəmutva* If you made it (the stick) fall, you would win it (B 17:1)
- <sup>+</sup>*karəm* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*kramta*) (ii) **to cover, to wrap, to overlay, to inlay** | *ci-*<sup>+</sup>*karmi* *+busra b-fəllələ* They cover meat with herbs
- <sup>+</sup>*karət* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*kräftta*) **to bite (not necessarily breaking the skin), to bite off, to gnaw, to pick (a bone)** | cf. <sup>+</sup>*nayəs*/<sup>+</sup>*nās* (vs. <sup>+</sup>*nyasta*) to bite and break skin, to sting
- <sup>+</sup>*karəx* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*kraxta*) **to become shrivelled; to shrivel (tr.)** | *o-naša* <sup>+</sup>*krixələ* That man is shrivelled up; *sebuyta* <sup>+</sup>*krəxtula* Old age has shrivelled him
- <sup>+</sup>*karita* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kariyyatə*) **main beam in a roof; a crossbeam**
- <sup>+</sup>*karkamyatə* n.pl. **thunder** | *šmayya* <sup>+</sup>*karkuməla* it is thundering
- <sup>+</sup>*karkara* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*karkarə*) (Azer. qarqara, Pers. ġargāra ‘gargling’ < Arab.; cf. Ragagnin 2016) **reel, bobbin**
- <sup>+</sup>*karkəm* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*karkamta*) **to thunder** | *šmayya* <sup>+</sup>*karkuməla* it is thundering; <sup>+</sup>*karkamyatə* thunder, thunder storm
- <sup>+</sup>*karkər* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*karkarta*) **to croak, to caw; to gargle; to grumble; to rumble (stomach); to bubble (water-pipe)**
- <sup>+</sup>*karkət* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*karkatta*) **to chew**
- <sup>+</sup>*karmač* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*karmačta*) **to wrinkle, to crumple** | <sup>+</sup>*sadri* <sup>+</sup>*kurməčtəla* My shirt is crumpled
- <sup>+</sup>*karmət* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*karmatə*) **to have colic, to have stomach cramps** | *cisi* <sup>+</sup>*kurməttəla* I have stomach cramps; <sup>+</sup>*mayi* <sup>+</sup>*karmutəna* I have cramps in my intestines
- <sup>+</sup>*karnaltı* n.f. (Azer. qarınaltı) **girth**
- <sup>+</sup>*karnəz* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*karnazta*) **to coil up**

- +*karrə* n.m. (pl. +*karrə*) **marrow, pumpkin; gourd** | *mīyya b-rīš +karrə, jozə b-rīš jumbaz* Water on the top of a gourd, walnuts on the top of a dome (one can get nothing into a fools head) (cf. Maclean 1895, 347)
- +*karras* adj.ms./fs. (pl. +*karrasə*) **stubborn** | *xa naşa +karras-ilə* He is a stubborn man
- +*karrasa* adj.ms. (fs. *karrasta*, pl. +*karrasə*) **stubborn** | marginal, the normal form being → +*karras*
- +*karrasuya* n.f. **stubbornness**
- +*karrəcca* n.f. (pl. +*karrəccə*) **small marrow, small melon**
- +*karrəs* QI (vn. +*karrasta*) **to get stuck, to get trapped (in narrow passage)** | +*kurrəsləju-+şula 'u-la tilə* He got stuck at work and did not come
- +*karṭa-+kuyṭə* n.f. (lit. biter of vulvas) **earwig**
- +*kartə* n.pl. (Russ. карты) **playing cards**
- +*karṭə* QI (vn. +*karṭeta*) **to roll up; to turn up (sleeves); to kilt (a dress); to be rolled up**
- +*karusa* n.m. (pl. +*karusə*) **broom consisting of coarse sticks (used to sweep animal shed known as paja), rake**
- +*karusta* n.f. (pl. +*karusyatə*) **small rake**
- +*karuṭə* n.m. (pl. +*karuṭə*) **tendon, cartilage**
- +*karuvva* n.m. (pl. +*karuvvə*) (1) **cock, rooster** | +*karuvvat məssər* turkey-cock; (2) **sty (on eye)** | +*karuvva +plitəla +al-+ayni* I have a sty on my eye
- +*karyana* n.m. (fs. +*karyanta*, pl. +*karyanə*) **student**
- +*kasəd* n.m. (pl. +*kasidə*) (Pers. qāsed < Arab.) **messenger**
- +*kasla* n.m. (1) **stem (of plant).** (2) **straw for drinking.** (3) **page frame in typesetting**
- +*kasra*, *kasra* n.m. (pl. +*kasrə, kasrə*) (Arab. qaṣr) **palace, castle**
- +*kassab* n.m. (pl. +*kassabə*) (Azer. qəssab, Pers. qassāb < Arab.) **butcher**
- +*kassə* I (vn. +*ksetə*) **to break off (bread of Eucharist, wood); to snap** | *kaşa bət+kassılə kurbana* The priest will break the bread of the host; 'a-taxta +ksilə He snapped the wood; +əçči +ksila +al-+tlə 'ila +tlay 90 divided by 3 is 30
- +*kaşa* n.f. (Russ. каша) **porridge**
- +*kaşı* n.m. (pl. +*kaşıyyə*) (Pers. kāšī) **tile**
- +*kaškəš* QI (vn. +*kaškaştə*) **to making a cracking sound (e.g. wood breaking under foot)**
- +*kašov* n.f. (Azer. qaşov) **horse-comb**
- +*katar* n.? (Azer. qatar, Pers. qitār) **caravan, line**
- +*katər* n.m. (fs. +*katərtə*, pl. +*katirə*) (Azer. qatır) **mule**
- +*kaṭa* n.m. (pl. +*kaṭə*) **tomcat**
- +*kaṭara* n.m. (pl. +*kaṭarə*) **maker of arches**

- +*kaṭəl* I** (vn. +*kaṭalta*) **to kill, to execute, to murder**
- +*kaṭəp* I** (vn. +*kaṭpta*) **to gather (grapes), to pick (grapes)**
- +*kaṭyya* n.m. (pl. +*kaṭyyə*)** (1) **long flexible shoot (of tree)** | longer than *nuvva*, shorter than *tuyra* shoot and +*pava* branch. (2) **whip (made of wood).** (3) **teacher's cane**
- +*kaṭkət* QI** (vn. +*kaṭkatta*) (i) (1) **to chop; to cut up, to split (firewood), to hew into pieces** | +*bayyə* +*kaṭkətə* +*busra* He wants to chop the meat. (2) **to disperse, to split up (people)** | +*bár-t* +*kaṭkúṭəna* xá sáma mən-+*aturáyat* *Haccárəl* lè +*báyyi* +*čaçcé yavvúlun* After they disperse, a number of the Assyrians of Hakkari do not want to hand over their weapons (B 1:15)
- +*kaṭkət* QI** (vn. +*kaṭkatta*) (ii) **to cluck (hen)** | *cteta* +*kaṭkuṭəla* m-+*bar* *dyaltət* +*bita* A hen clucks after laying an egg
- +*kaṭlana* n.m. (fs. +*kaṭlanta*, pl. +*kaṭlanə*)** **murderer; slaughterer (of animal)** | +*kaṭlánat kənyānəl* lè-*ativa* +*rábə* The slaughterers of animals did not come often (B 10:4)
- +*kaṭmən* QI** (vn. +*kaṭmanta*) **to cover in ash; to fertilize the earth with ashes**
- +*kaṭpana* n.m. (fs. +*kaṭpanta*, pl. +*kaṭpanə*)** **grape-picker**
- +*kaṭrən* QI** (vn. +*kaṭranta*) **to arch, to bow down (intr. and tr.), to stoop; to be hunchbacked, crooked**
- +*katta-*+*balla* n.f. (pl. +*katta-*+*ballə*)** (Azer. qada-bala < Arab.) **disaster, misfortune, calamity** | 'ana *purtəcli man danna* +*katta-*+*ballə* I was saved from the disasters → +*kadda*
- +*kaṭṭana* adj.ms. (fs. +*kaṭṭanta*, pl. +*kaṭṭanə*)** **determined, decisive**
- +*kaṭṭə* I** (vn. +*kteta*) (1) **to cut, to cut off; to be cut off (intr.); to cut down (tree); to chop off** | 'ana +*kəṭyəvən mən-cullə* našə I have cut everybody off (I am not talking to anybody); *haṭux +kṭilan* We have cut off your salary. (2) **to interrupt, to break off** | *napasi +kṭila* I was breathless (lit. my breath was cut); +*kaṭṭə mən-bəzza/+xalva* to wean a child, *mən vetu hal mən-*+*xalva* +*kṭetu* from his birth to his weaning, +*kṭila yala mən +xalva +myasta* She weaned the child from sucking milk. (3) **to bereave.** (4) **to partition off, to block, to fence off.** (5) **to solve; to decide** | +*kaṭṭivala īman +xlüyla p̄t-odíval* They decided when they would hold the wedding (Canda); +*kaṭṭə +šula* to settle or arrange a matter. (6) **to curdle** | +*dávvə +bəkṭayəna* The whey curdles (B 15:4)
- +*kaṭu* n.f. (with pron. suffix: +*kaṭunt-*, pl. +*kaṭunyatə*)** **cat; female cat**
- +*kaṭula* n.m. (fs. +*kaṭulta*, pl. +*kaṭulə*)** **murderer; executioner**
- +*kaṭunta* n.f.** **small cat**
- +*kaṭva* n.m. (pl. +*kaṭvə*)** **knitting-needle**
- +*kavrə* n.m. (pl. +*kavrə*)** **large file (tool)**
- +*kavrana* adj.ms. (fs. +*kavranta*, pl. +*kavrana*)** **rough (on surface)** | only in

marginal use, the adjective that is normally used with this meaning is *sacra-na*

+*kavva* n.m. (pl. +*kavvə*) (Azer. kubok, Pers. küb) **mug (made of metal or pot), bowl**

+*kax* | *jozə* +*kax vilun* **The walnuts have split open** (Iryava: +*kakəl vilun*)

+*kaxə* n.pl. (Azer. qax) **dried fruit**

+*kaxkəx* QI (vn. +*kaxkaxta*) (1) **to honk (goose); to cackle (partridge, turkey).**  
(2) **to laugh loudly, to guffaw**

+*kaxkəxxana* n.m. (fs. +*kaxkəxxanta*, pl. +*kaxkəxxanə*) **person who guffaws**

+*kayda* n.f. (Azer. qayda, Pers. qā‘ida < Arab.) **custom, order, rule** | +*raba b-*  
+*kayda* +*šula vədlə* He did the job exactly as it should be done; +*kaydələ* it  
is appropriate; ‘atxa ləla! +*káydət diñyə!* This is not the custom of the world  
(A 47:3)

+*kayəs/+kās* I (vn. +*kyasta*) **to bruise; to pinch; to be bruised** | šamáša +*dyna bəkýásols!* The deacon winks at her (A 6:5)

+*kayra* adj.ms. (fs. +*karta*, pl. +*kayrə*) **cold** | *labbu* +*kayra* merciless

+*kayruyta* n.f. **rheumatism**

+*kaytanə* n.pl. (sing. +*kaytan*) (Azer. qaytan) **cotton or silk lace**

+*kaza* n.m. (pl. +*kazə*) (Azer. qaz, Pers. ғāz) **goose**

+*kazalağ* n.f. (pl. +*kazalağə*) (Pers. ғazalāğ) **lark**

+*kazalaxta* n.f. **bird with large horn-like growth on head**

+*kazanča* n.f. (pl. +*kazančə*) (Azer. qazan) **copper saucepan, copper kettle (see illustration 28)**

+*kazanj* n.f. (Azer. qazanc) **profit, advantage, benefit; gain, earning of wages, wages** | ‘avəd I +*kazanj* to gain; +*kazanj* ‘u-zarar gain and loss

+*kazi-*+*ağa* n.f. **type of herb (lit. the lord's judge)**

+*kazma* n.m. (pl. +*kazmə*) (Azer. qazma) **pickaxe** | *cipə məxyelə* +*kazma* He  
struck the stones with a pickaxe

+*kazzax* n.m. (pl. +*kazzaxə*) **cossack**

+*kəmčə* n.m. **pinch, nip**

+*kəptərja*, +*kapturja* n.f. (Middle Mongol *qabturga* ‘a kind of bag’; cf. Lessing  
1995, 899a; Schönig 2000, 147; Ragagnin 2016) **purse, leather pouch**

+*kərkəpta* → +*karkəpta*

+*kərnəs* adj.invar. (Azer. qarni ac ‘his/her stomach hungry’) **avaricious, miserly, greedy; surly**

+*kərnisuyta* n.f. **avarice, greed** | ‘avəd I +*kərnisuyta* to be niggardly, to be greedy

+*kərrə*-+*kər* n.f. **croaking noise, gargling noise, rumbling noise (in stomach)**  
→ +*karkər* QI

+*kərtə* (i) n.m. (pl. *kərtə*) (1) **bite** | *xa* +*kərtə mən xabuya* a bite out of an apple;  
*kərti*-*kərtə* in bites: *krótlə xabúyə* +*kərti*- *kórtə!* He bit the apple into pieces.

(2) **morsel. (3) the hard part of hay which sheep cannot eat**

- <sup>+</sup>*kərtə* (ii) n.m. (pl. *kərtə*) (Kurd. կորտ ‘short’) **rag, patch of material (in embroidery)** | <sup>+</sup>*āvvā xlépa* <sup>+</sup>*kərti* <sup>+</sup>*kártałə* That quilt is made of patches
- <sup>+</sup>*kərtala* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kərtalə*) (Kurd. kurtan) **pannier basket carried on the back (see illustration 29)**
- <sup>+</sup>*kərtalta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kərtalyatə*) **small pannier bag (see illustration 30)**
- <sup>+</sup>*kərtesa* n.m. **certificate, document, diploma**
- <sup>+</sup>*kərtopə*, <sup>+</sup>*cərtopə* n.pl. (sing. <sup>+</sup>*kərtopta*, <sup>+</sup>*cərptopta*) (Azer. kartof, Russ. картофель, < Ger. Kartoffel) **potatoes**
- <sup>+</sup>*kərya* adj.ms (fs. <sup>+</sup>*krita*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*kəryə*) **literate, educated**
- <sup>+</sup>*kəryana* adj.ms (fs. <sup>+</sup>*kəryanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*kəryana*) **literate, educated**
- <sup>+</sup>*kəsravuyta* n.f. **drought**
- <sup>+</sup>*kəssə* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kəssə*) **forehead**
- <sup>+</sup>*kəssər* adj.invar. (Azer. qıṣır) **barren (cow, field)** | *'a-xakla kəssər-ila* This field is barren
- <sup>+</sup>*kəšə-* <sup>+</sup>*kəš* n.f. **cracking sound (of breaking wood underfoot)** → <sup>+</sup>*kaškəš* QI
- <sup>+</sup>*kətpə* n.pl. **liquid that drains from boiled yoghurt whey | used as a shampoo to wash hair (B 10:16)**
- <sup>+</sup>*kətla* n.m. **murder, killing**
- <sup>+</sup>*kətma* n.m. **ash** | <sup>+</sup>*kətma b-rišux!* Curse you! (lit. [may there be] ash on your head); *'ay-* <sup>+</sup>*kətma b-riši!* Oh, woe to me! (A 1:37); <sup>+</sup>*kətma b-ríšət* <sup>+</sup>*ačúbra tilə* *pásbla dmáxlə* <sup>+</sup>*támala* The accursed mouse came, stayed and went to sleep there (A 52:5); *ranyət* <sup>+</sup>*kətma* grey
- <sup>+</sup>*kətmanaya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*kətmaneta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*kətmanayə*) **greyish**
- <sup>+</sup>*kətmaya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*kətmeta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*kətmayə*) **grey**
- <sup>+</sup>*kəttə* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kəttətə*) **piece, fragment, crumb, rag, part, stump; fraction (arithmetic); plot of ground** | <sup>+</sup>*kəttə káttə* lots of pieces: *xmáru* *cúlla vádlun* <sup>+</sup>*kəttə* <sup>+</sup>*káttə* They (the wolves) tore (lit. made) his donkey into lots of pieces (A 13:3)
- <sup>+</sup>*kəttə-* <sup>+</sup>*kət* n.f. **clucking noise** → <sup>+</sup>*katkət* QI
- <sup>+</sup>*kətya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*kətita*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*kətyə*) **cut off; certain, agreed**
- <sup>+</sup>*kəvraq* adj.invar. (Azer. qıvrəq) **quick, swift, nimble, prompt. adj. quickly**
- <sup>+</sup>*kelankuš* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kelankušə*) **bee-eater bird**
- <sup>+</sup>*keṭa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*keṭanə*, <sup>+</sup>*keṭavatə*) **summer**
- <sup>+</sup>*koča* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kočə*) **stone of fruit (Dizatacya S)**
- <sup>+</sup>*kolay* adj.invar. (Azer. qolay ‘easy’) (1) **bad, indifferent, ordinary-looking.** (2) **slight** | *xa-* <sup>+</sup>*kólay* <sup>+</sup>*bára bəxzáyələ* He sees a slight light (A 39:9)
- <sup>+</sup>*konaxləx* n.f. (Azer. qonaqlıq) **feast, banquet, dinner party, entertainment**
- <sup>+</sup>*kopala* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kopalə*) (Kurd. kopål) **walking-stick**
- <sup>+</sup>*kopalta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*kopalyatə*) **short walking-stick, staff** → *čap̪palta*
- <sup>+</sup>*kora* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*koravatə*) **grave**

- +*koxa* n.m. **utterance, noise** | *lá kàla vádəl.* | *lá +kòxa vádəl.* | He does not say a word. He does not utter a sound. (A 42:33) → *kala-*+*koxa*
- +*kramta* n.f. (pl. +*kramyatə*) **stopper for churn pot (+meta)** made of the skin of an animal's belly
- +*kran*, +*kərrān* n.m. (pl. +*kranə*, +*kərranə*) **silver coin (1/10 of a +tuymān)**
- +*kraya*, +*kra* n.m. (pl. *krayə*) **turtle; tortoise**
- +*k̥tira* n.m. (pl. +*k̥tirə*) (1) **handful.** (2) **hollow of hand**
- +*kuča* n.m. (pl. +*kučə* when referring to two thumbs of one person, pl. +*kučačə* when referring to those of different people) **thumb, big toe**
- +*kučču* n.m. (child language) **dog**
- +*kulina* n.f. (pl. +*kulinə*) **wooden box for storing flour (see illustration 22)**
- +*kulla*, +*kul* n.m. (fs. +*kulta*, pl. *kullə*) (Azer. qul) **slave, lackey** | *avəd* i +*kulla* to enslave
- +*kullayuya* n.f. **slavery**
- +*kullux* n.f. (Azer. qulluq) (1) **service, duty** | *avəd* i +*kullux* to serve. (2) **police-man's fees**
- +*kulluxcaruya* n.f. **service** | *avəd* i +*kulluxcaruya* to serve (servant)
- +*kulluxči* adj.invar. (Azer. qulluqçu) **officious, serving, respectful.** n.m. **employee, servant**
- +*kulunj* n.f. (Azer. qulunc) **colic**
- +*kumarbaz* n.m. (pl. +*kumarbazə*) (Azer. qumarbaz, Pers. qimārbāz) **player, gambler**
- +*kumbara* n.f. (pl. +*kumbarə*) (Azer. qumbara) **grenade, cannon-ball, bomb**
- +*kundaǵ* n.m. (pl. +*kundaǵə*) (Azer. qundaq, Pers. qundāq) **butt of a rifle, tool or weapon, gunstock**
- +*kundara* n.f. (pl. +*kundara*) (Kurd. qondere) **leather shoe with wooden heel**
- +*kundaxsaz* n.m. (pl. +*kondaxsazə*) (Azer. qundaqsaz, Pers. qundāqsāz) **gunstock-maker, gunsmith making wooden parts of a gun**
- +*kundaxta* n.f. (pl. +*kundaxyatə*) (Azer. qundaq, Pers. qundāq) **swaddling clothes of baby; swaddling bands**
- +*kunṭepa*, +*kunṭopa* n.m. (pl. +*kunṭepə*, +*kunṭopə*) **large bunch of grapes**
- +*kuran* n.m. **the Koran**
- +*kurban* voc. (Pers. qorbān) (may I be your) **sacrifice (deferential address)**
- +*kurčəppa* n.m. **cut off, damned** | +*kurčəppa!* May you be damned!
- +*kurməčča* n.m. (pl. +*kurməččə*) **wrinkle**
- +*kurnita* n.f. (pl. +*kurniyatə*) **corner (of room, street)**
- +*kurrān* n.f. (pl. +*kurranə*) **mat (of threads) put on wall to lean against**
- +*kursəlta*, +*kursulta* n.f. (pl. +*kursulyatə*, +*kursalyatə*) **elbow (of an arm or of a stove-pipe)**
- +*kurumsaǵ* n.m. (pl. +*kurumsaǵə*) (Azer. qurumsaq) **pimp**

- +kurumsağuya** n.f. (Azer. qurumsaq) **acting as a pimp** | *'avəd i +kurumsağuya to pimp*
- +kusarta** n.f. (pl. **+kusaryata**) **cooking pot** (see illustration 27)
- +kutkətta** adj.ms. (fs. **+kutkətta**, pl. **+kutkəttə**) **chopped up, shattered, broken**
- +kütra** adj.ms. (fs., pl. **+kütrə**) **hunchbacked, humpbacked, round-shouldered**
- +kütra** n.m. (pl. **+kütrə**) **arch** | **+kütrət +xasa** small of the back; **+kütrət akla** arch of the foot
- +kütrayuyta** n.f. **the condition of being humpbacked**
- +kürtura** n.f. (pl. **küturyata**) **hump (of camel)**
- +kuymar** n.f. (Azer. qumar < Arab.) **gambling** | **+tálax +küymar!** Let us play gambling (A 39:34)
- +kuyra → bət- +kuyra**
- +kuyta** n.m. **vulva**
- +kuytita** n.f. **small vulva**
- +kuza** n.m. (Pers. qūz) **hump, protuberance; spire, projecting top** | **+kuzətzəcta** top of a bud, **+kuzətfumbaz** the top of a dome; *mut +küza videt?* Why are you so hunched up?

## I

**la** part. **negative particle** | *'ána lə-+msən 'a-+šúla 'odánnə!* I cannot do this job (A 2:35); *lə +ktúlli!* Do not kill me (A 3:33); *lá-'azət +bár +šúpра* Do not go after beauty (A 3:11). With adjective complement: *la xšíxa* unworthy, *la +masyəttana* inattentive, *la +pármíyyana* not understanding, *marət la jnaha* innocent (lit. owner of non-guilt). *la b-* without: *la b-do naša* without that man; *la b-diyyux* without you

**la** prep. (§ 8.4.4. → **+al**) (1) **on** | Spatial location: *l-a-jiba ~ l-ayba* on this side; *l-o-jiba ~ l-oyba* on that side. (2) **to, towards** | Spatial direction: *la-kama* forwards; *la-+bara* backwards; *l-a-jiba ~ l-ayba* to this side; *l-o-jiba ~ l-oyba* to that side; *la-mdita* to the town (A 1:10) *la-díyyi* to me (A 42:36)

**lab, la-bi** part. (→ *bi* 'family of') **at/to the home of** | *dúvən lab +mamuni* I am at my uncle's home; *xəslı lab +mamuni* I went to my uncle's home; *+šavvá yumáñə láxxa vádlun +xliyla!* *+šavvá yumāñ-da vádlun lab-babə!* *lab-bábu lubəllun!* *+šavvá yumáñə +xliyla vádlun la-bí bràta!* R<sup>a</sup> patóm<sup>R</sup> *+šavvá yumāñ-da vádlun la-bí yàla!* They held a wedding for seven days. They held it for seven days also at their father's house. They took him to his father's house. They held it for seven days at the girl's home, then they held it for seven days at the lad's home. (A 42:37). It cannot be combined with the preposition of separation *mən* (\**mən lab +mamuni*)

*labəl* II (vn. *labalta*) **to take away, to carry away, to carry, to bear, to conduct, to overcome**

*labləb* QI (vn. *lablabta*) **to talk to oneself**

*lacca* n.m. (pl. *laccə*) (Pers. laka, lakka, Azer. ləkə) **spot, mark, stain, blemish, blot, defect**

*laccana* adj.ms. (fs. *laccanta*, pl. *laccanə*) **spotted**

*laccən* QI (vn. *laccanta*) **to cover with spots, to stain, to blot, to slur**

*lacəx* I (vn. *lcaxta*) **to lick; to lick up, to lick around** | *calba miyya lcixələ* The dog licked up the water. Cf. *lağə* I (vn. *lketa*) to lap up

*lacəz* I (vn. *lcazta*) **to make signs, to nod; to nudge, to poke; to jog with hand (in order to check something)**

*lačəcta* n.f. (Azer. ləçək) **white cotton headscarf, headkerchief**

*lačita* n.f. (pl. *lačiyiyata*) (Iranian Azer. lečče) **headscarf**

*lağəm, logəm* n.f. (Azer. lağım) **underground passage; tunnel, drain, sewer; undermining** | *lağəm maxə* I to undermine, to dig through (earth)

*lahləl* QI (vn. *lahlalta*) (Azer. ləhlə-) **to puff, to pant**

*lajan* n.f. (Kurd. legan, Azer. ləyən) **metal container (for water), metal bowl**

*laflaq* n.f. (pl. *laflaqə*) (Azer. leyłək, Pers. laklak) **stork**

*lajləj* QI (vn. *lajlajta*) **to glitter, to glisten**

*lajləjjana* adj.ms. (fs. *lajləjjanta*, pl. *lajləjjanə*) **glittering**

*lajləjjanuyta* n.f. **glitter, luster**

*la-kama* adv. **forwards** → *kam* (i)

*lağə* I (vn. *lketa*) **to lap up (liquid); to guzzle; to gulp down (animals)**

*lakka* **push, bang** | *calba lakka mxilə +'al-'arya* The dog banged against the lion

*laqlaka* n.m. **curling flame** | *nuyra laqlakə mxayələ* The fire is burning with curling flames

*lakla-kəssə* n.f. (pl. *lakla-kəssə*, but *lakla-kəssiyə* if in separate groups) **wild goose; crane** | *lakla-kəssə labəl +xabra +mamətə ka-xəzmanan!* Oh wild goose, take news to our relatives (said to the birds when flying overhead)

*laqlək* QI (vn. *laqlakta*) **to loosen (tr. and intr.) by banging** | *'a-şəptiyya luqlək-*  
*kələ* The watermelon has gone squijjy

*lala* adj.ms. (fs., pl. *lalə*) (Kurd. lal) **dumb**

*lala* n.m./f. (Azer. lələ, Pers. lālā) **nurse**

*lalabun* n.? **name of a disease used in curses**

*laluuya* n.f. (Azer. lələ) **nursing** | *laluuya 'avəd* I to nurse

*lamləm, +lamləm* QI (vn. *lamlamta, +lamlamta*,) (1) **to mutter to oneself and complain (about something); to grumble. (2) to growl (bear)**

*lampa* n.m. (pl. *lampə*) (Russ. лампа, Azer. ləmpə 'ceiling') **lamp; ceiling**

*lampar* n.m. (pl. *lamparə*) **pitchfork (with four teeth)**

*lang* adj.invar. (Azer. ləng, Pers. lang) (1) **limping, lame. (2) delaying, slow**

- lanjar* n.m. (pl. *lanjarə*) (Azer. ləngər, Pers. langar) **anchor**
- lanjəllana* adj.ms. (fs. *lanjəllanta*, pl. *lanjəllana*) **limping, lame**
- lanjən* QI (vn. *lanjanta*) (1) **to limp; to go lame; to cause to limp** | *npalta lunjənna ƙati* The fall made me limp. (2) **to be late, to be slowed down (business); to cause a delay, to detain, to slow down**
- lapə* I (vn. *lpeta*) **to gobble, to devour greedily; to lap up, to guzzle, to gulp** | *calba miyya bəlkayéla 'u-+mixulta bəlpayola* The dog guzzles down the water and gobbles up the food
- lappa* n.m. (pl. *lappə*) (Azer. ləpə) **wave**
- lappa* n.pl. (sing. *lappa*, *lappita*) **split peas; hulled peas split and ready for cooking**
- laþatka* n.f. (pl. *laþatkə*), Armenia +*laþatka* (Russ. лопатка) **small spade, small shovel**
- laš* n.f. (Azer. leş, Pers. lāš) **carrion; body, carcass**
- lašxor* n.m. (pl. *lašxora*) (Pers. lāšxōr) **carrion-kite, vulture; metaph. glutton, omnivorous**
- lašxoruya* n.f. **gluttony** | *lašxoruya* 'avəd I **to pig oneself, to eat too much**
- latlət* QI (vn. *latlatta*) **to tear up** | *calba spadita latlutola* The dog is tearing up the cushion
- lavanda* n.m. (pl. *lavandə*) (Kurd. lewendî m.) **long sleeve**
- lavaza* adj.ms (fs. *lavazta*, pl. *lavazə*) **thin**
- lavəš* I (vn. *lvasha*) **to put on (clothes), to wear, to dress**
- lavəx* I (vn. *lvaxta*) (1) **to catch fire, to ignite, to flare up, to flame; to inflame, to flash, to dart out (spark).** (2) **to attack suddenly, fly upon**
- laxəm* I (vn. *lxamta*) **to suit, to be fitting; to be proper** | *bəlxamux-ilə, bəlxamələ +allux* It suits you; *'ána lxímən adíyya +al-de-+katòrta yátvən?* Is it appropriate for me to sit on that mule? (A 42:22)
- laxləx* QI (vn. *laxlaxta*) (1) **pant (dog when thirsty).** (2) **to sniff about (dogs)**
- laxma* n.m. (pl. *laxmə*) (1) **bread** | *laxma zabnana* bread seller. (2) **food** | *lxmət +cavutra* lunch; *baxtəy ci-baþliva laxma* | *+cavútra ci-lablíva ƙa-'urzán t-ína pəlxána +al-vàddar!* The women would cook food and take lunch to the men who were working in the field (A 5:6)
- laxmači* n.m. (pl. *laxmačiyə*) **baker**
- laxpa* (i) n.f. (pl. *laxpə*) **palm of the hand**
- laxpa* (ii) n.m. (pl. *laxpə*) **slope; side of mountain, ledge**
- laxta* n.f. (pl. *laxyatə*) **palm (of the hand); hollow**
- laxumuyta* n.f. **handsomeness, comeliness, stateliness, grace**
- laxuyma* adj.ms. (fs. *laxumta*, pl. *laxuymə*) **handsome, beautiful, comely, elegant, graceful; fit, proper** | ... *+rába šáþòrtat.* | *+rába laxùmtət!* You are very beautiful. You are very comely (A 39:34)

*laxxa, 'axxa* adv. **here** | With pronominal suffix: *hál láxxu píšəla ju-cipa* He is (stuck) in a stone up to here on him (A 49:6); *ka-bàbil mxílun m-àxxu* They struck my father here on him (B 6:5)

*laxxanə* adv. **around here**

*láxxanə* adv. **around here, nearby**

*layəm/lám* I (vn. *lyamta*) (Arab. lāma, lawm) **to blame, to reproach, to rebuke, to admonish, to accuse, to rail against** | *bəlyamolə* He is rebuking her

*layəš/lāš* I (vn. *lyašta*) **to knead (dough); to make dough**

*layəz/lāz* I (vn. *lyazta*) **to hasten, to accelerate** | *'ána bəlyázən* I am in a hurry (A 47:11); *bəlyaza bəlyaza* headlong, hurriedly; *b-lyazta* hurriedly → *malyəz* *layya* I (vn. *leta*, prog. *bəllayəla*, pst. *lilə*) **to burn, to be kindled** | *nuyra bəllayəla* The fire is burning; *bəxzáyəla mən-rək̥kal* *'ína xá-dana +šrá véla bəllàya* *ju-xa-béta* He sees from afar a single lantern burning in a house (A 2:4)

*lazja* **rolling, jolting** | *+arabana lazja mxayəla* The car is jolting

*lazləz* QI (vn. *lazlazta*) **to feel disgust** | *+pagri luzləzla* My body felt disgust

*lazzat* n.f. (Azer. ləzzət < Arab.) **enjoyment, pleasure, delight; condiment, relish** | *+raba b-lazzat +xilalə* He ate it with relish

*ləbba* n.m. (pl. *ləbbə*, *ləbbavata*) (1) **heart** | *ləbbi +bila* *'atxa* *'odən* I ventured to do this (lit. my heart wanted to do this); *ləbbi +varəla* *kato* I love her so much (lit. my heart enters into her); *ləbbi +vərrə* *ka-de brata* I am infatuated about that girl; *ləbbu +vərrə* He fainted/He was scared/He was in ecstasy; *yavval* I *ləbba* to encourage, to console; *+karəm* I *ləbba*, *šakəl* I *ləbba* to please; *+šamət* I *ləbba* to sadden, to grieve; *+xaləs* I *ləbba*, *'ayək* I *ləbba* to miss; *ləbbi kədələ* *kətu* I felt sympathy for him; *ləbbu pəšla mənni* He was displeased/annoyed with me; *matta* III *b-ləbba* to plan; *bət-ləbbi* I think, I intend, *bət-ləbbo +tlibolə* She thinks he is her husband (A 42:33); *ləbbu kəšya* strict; *ləbbi pšərrə* My heart has melted (said, for example, when you feel emotional about a young child); *ləbbu ptuxa* sincere, frank; *ləbbu pətya* courageous; *ləbbu +səpya*, *ləbbu +sāğ* simpleton; *mən-ləbbi zmarta lipali* I learnt the song by heart; *mən-cullə ləbba* sincerely; *ləbbi p̥kilə* I was terrified (lit. my heart burst); *ləbbi +tlabəla +axlən* I feel like eating; *mən cullə ləbbi bət-+hayyərrənnux* I shall help you with all my heart; *+m̥ilun +al-mándit ləbbə* They found their heart's desire (A 43:22). (2) **intention** | *'ət b-ləbbi, 'ətli ləbba* I intend. (3) **stomach** | *ləbbi +bəryamolə*, *ləbbi +mrəyəla*, *ləbbi bəfvaləla* I feel nauseous

*ləbbana* adj.ms. (fs. *ləbbanta*, pl. *ləbbanə*) **brave, bold, courageous**

*ləbna* n.m. (pl. *ləbnə*) **brick**

*lənyo-lənyo* **limpling** | *lənyò-lənyo xəšlə* He limped along

*lənyula* adj.ms. (fs., pl. *lənyulə*) (Kurd. ling 'leg') **crippled**

*lət, ləttən, l̥it, litən* part. (pst. *lətva*) **there is/are not (negated existential particle)** (§4.23., §10.8., §12.2.)

*lelə* n.m./f. (pl. *lelavatə*) **night** | +*mavartət* *lelə* spending the night, sleeping over  
*leša* n.m. **dough**

*leytayuyta* n.f. (1) **poverty, need.** (2) **absence**

*liba* n.m. (pl. *libə*) (Kurd. lêp) **deceit, trick, treachery** | *libə vədlə* he cheated

*libana* adj.ms. (fs. *libanta*, pl. *libanə*) **tricky, cunning, deceitful, crafty**

*lilančka* → *yalančka*

*lipa* adj.ms (fs. *lopta*, pl. *lipə*) (1) **learned, educated, skilled.** (2) **tamed (animal)**

*lišana* n.m. (pl. *lišanə*) **tongue; language** | *lišanu* +*yarixalə* He is voluble; *lišanət* *tora* wormwood; *b-lišana* verbally, orally; *lišanu dvičələ* his tongue is tied, he stammers; *lišana məšxana* flatterer

*lišanana* adj.ms. (fs. *lišananta*, pl. *lišananə*) **loquacious, diffuse, voluble; eloquent.** n.m. **orator**

*lišanta* n.f. (pl. *lišanyata*) (1) **reed (of musical instrument).** (2) **whistle (for quail hunting).** (3) **tenon or projection.** (4) **the clapper of a bell.** (5) **uvula**  
*loğəm* → *lağəm*

*loja* n.m. **splendour, brightness**

*lojana* adj.ms. (fs. *lojanta*, pl. *lojanə*) **glittering, shining** | *čuxva lojana* glittering star

*loláy* (child language) | *loláy ḡodax, boláy* Let's sleep

*loma* n.m. (1) **blame** | *'ána lé-+bayyən lòma!* *máyyən!* +*al-málca* *'aslı!* I do not want to blame the original king (A 1:43). (2) **nap** | *loma lubəllə* He took a nap

*losa* n.m. (pl. *losə*, *losanə*) **clod of earth**

*loti* n.m. (Pers. loti) (1) **disreputable person, one devoted to self-amusement.** (2) **vagabond, tramp**

*lotiyuyta* n.f. (Pers. loti) **lasciviousness, lustfulness, immorality**

*lotča* n.f. (pl. *lotčə*) (Russ. лодка) **boat, skiff, wherry**

*lotčači* n.m. (pl. *lotčačiyə*) (Russ. лодка) **boatman**

*lucma* n.m. (pl. *lucmə*) (Kurd. kulm) **fist, blow with the fist** | *tre lucma ḡati mxila* He gave me two blows of his fist

*luğna* n.pl. **bricks** | *hállun cipa!* *hállun luğna!* *'ánnə* +*kašiyya!* *carpičə!* *'u-*+*tına!* *míyya!* Give stones, give bricks, those tiles, bricks, and mud, water! (A 3:59)  
→ *lobna*

*lukkum* n.m. (Azer. ləqəb < Arab.) **nickname**

*luləffa* n.f. (pl. *luləffə*) (Pers. lule) **pipe (on cradle for excrement of baby boy)**

*luləfta* n.f. (pl. *luləfyatə*) **pipe (on cradle for excrement of baby girl)**

*luvva, luvvə* n.m. (Kurd. liva) (1) **beestings, first milk after birth of calf.** (2) **fleece, lambs' wool**

*luxa* n.m. (pl. *luxə*) **tablet**

*luylə* n.m. (pl. *luylə*) (Azer. lülə, Pers. lüle) (1) **tube, pipe** | *luylət* *'akla* shin. (2) **barrel of gun** | *mār-xa luylə* single-barrelled gun

*luya* (Ardishay S: *lucta*, Gulpashan S *lučta*, Abdallakande N *luxta*, Sal. and Gaw. *luxta*) n.f. **udder**

*lvəšta* n.f. (pl. *lvəšyatə*) **clothes, attire, apparel, garment, dress**

*lviva* adj.ms. (fs. *lvəvta*, *lvivə*) **brave**

*lxəpta* n.f. (pl. *lxəpyatə*) **small quilt, small blanket**

*lxepa*, *lxipa*, *xlepa* n.m. (pl. *lxipə*) (Kurd. lihēf < Arab.) **quilt, blanket**

## +l

**+ladan** n.f. (pl. *+ladanə*) (Pers. lādan) **ladanum**

**+lahā** n.m. (pl. *+lahə*) **flame**

**+laķət** I (vn. *+lkaṭta*) (1) **to peck up (food).** (2) **to gather, to pluck (flowers); to reap; to snatch up.** (3) **to embroider; to decorate with patterns, to paint (house)**

**+laķlaķ** QI (vn. *+laķlaķta*) **to splash (water), to spill (intr. and tr.)** | *hašyar vi kat*  
*+xalva la +laķlaķ mən daha vadra* Be careful that the milk does not splash  
 and spill from this bucket; *poxa +luķlaķkelə miyya* The wind splashed the  
 water

**+lal** adv. (= *+al*-*+ullul*) **above, upwards; upstairs, upward** | *'a-+janta másəkla*  
*+lal* Take this bag upstairs

**+lala** adj.ms. (fs. and pl. *+lalə*) (Kurd. lal) **dumb, mute** | *+lala çarra* deaf-mute

**+lallən** QI (vn. *+lallanta*) **to become dumb**

**+laluyta** n.f. **dumbness**

**+lām** (Arab. letter lām representing la'anahu 'May he curse him' or the like, cf. Pers. lām kāf = la'anaka 'May he curse you' Steinglass (1892, 1113)) **accursed** |  
*'o-+lām +saṭána mán fu-púmmu +pàlət̪!* The accursed devil will come out of  
 his mouth (A 49:9)

**+lama** n.m. (pl. *+lamə*) **bridle, bit** | *+lama maxə* I, *darə* I **to bridle**

**+laməs** I (vn. *+lmasta*) **to absorb** | *julla miyya +lmiselə* The cloth absorbed the  
 water

**+lamləm** QI (vn. *+lamlamta*) **to mumble, to grumble to oneself**

**+lamṭa** n.m. (pl. *+lamṭə*) **felt, mat of compressed wool** | *+lamṭət xut-sarja*  
 saddle-blanket

**+lap** adv. (Azer. lap) (1) **absolutely, entirely, exactly, just, just now.** | *har +lap*  
*+janavar-ilə* He is just like an animal; *har +lap +tamələ* Right now he is there;  
*har +lap +mṭilan* We have just arrived; *+mṭilun +á'l +láp karkáptat +tùyral*  
 They arrived at the very top of the mountain (B2 1:13) (2) **extremely, too, excessively, greatly** | *b-fraštət šəcla +lap +čurčila* He made a real mess of the  
 drawing

- +lasləs QI** (vn. **+laslasta**) (1) **to gnaw** | *’akubra +lusləssolə taləsta* The mouse gnawed the sack. (2) **to chew (with mouth open)** | cf. *balləs QI* (vn. *ballasta*) to chew (with mouth closed). (3) **to gnash the teeth**
- +latxa** adj.ms. (fs., pl. **+latxə**) (Kurd. lat ‘flat’) **shallow; ford** | *miyya +latxə* shallow water
- +latxən QI** (vn. **+latxanta**) **to become shallow, to make shallow**
- +lavašə** n.pl. (sing. **+lavašta**) (Azer. lavaş, Pers. lavāš) **thin breads baked on hot plate**
- +lay- +lay** (Azer. laylay, Pers. lāylāy) **lullaby** | *’avəd I +lay- +lay* to sing a lullaby
- +layəğ** adj.invar. (Azer. layiq, Pers. lā’iq < Arab.) **fitting, worthy, deserving, comely, elegant**
- +layəğguyta** n.f. **decorum, decency, merit, desert**
- +laysə/+ləs I** (vn. **+lasta/+lyasta**) **to chew**
- +layət/+lāt I** (vn. **+tyatxa**) **to curse, to damn**
- +lazəm** adj.invar. (Azer. lazım < Arab.) **necessary** | *’avəd I +lazəm* to be useful, necessary; *ka-díyyi lét +lazəm!* I have no need of you (A 44:7)
- +lazəmmuyta** n.f. **need, necessity** | *+lazəmmuyta,farəš I* to need
- +labbas** n.f. (Azer. libas < Arab.) **clothing; apparel**
- +laqtə** n.m. (pl. **+laqtə**) **embroidery, ornament, pattern**
- +laqtana** adj.ms. (fs. **+laqtanta**, pl. **+laqtəna**) **ornamented; speckled**
- +lənta** n.f. (pl. **+lənyatə**) **small earthenware pot** (see illustration 11)
- +ləzza** n.m. (pl. **+ləzzə**) **dialect**
- +leştənə** adj.ms. (fs. **+leştanta**, pl. **+leştənə**) **cursing; ominous**
- +lina** n.m. (pl. **+linə**) **large tall pot (4–6 feet high) used for storing wine (with rope tied to its top for lifting)** (see illustration 10)
- +lişa** adj.ms. (fs. **+lişta**, pl. **+lişə**) **cursed, damned**
- +lobya** n.f. (pl. **+lobyata**, **+lobyə**) (Azer. lobya, lübyā, Pers. lübiya) **haricot bean**
- +loğaz, +luğaz** n.f. (Pers. loğaz < Arab.) **mockery; fun** | *’avəd I +loğaz* to laugh, to banter, to reproach
- +loğabaz** (Pers. loğaz + bāz) adj.invar. **funny.** n.m. **comedian**
- +lullul** adv. **upward** → **+lal**
- +lumba** n.m. (pl. **+lumbə**) **lump** | *şkul xa +lumba mən da cunda* Take a lump from that ball (of dough)
- +lutxa** n.f. (pl. **+lutxatə**) **curse, damnation**

**m**

*mabləs* III (vn. *mablasta*) **to cause to be bruised, to cause to be mashed | mublässalə janu** He caused himself to be bruised

*mabrək* III (vn. *mabrakta*) (1) **to polish, to make bright | +solə mubrəkkeli** I polished the shoes. (2) **to be bright, to flash (lightning), to shine, to glitter.** (3) **to burst into sores**

*mabrəx* III (vn. *mabraxta*) **to bless | mabruxéna** They bless them (the bride and groom to sanctify a wedding)

*mabrəz* III (vn. *mabrazta*) **to dry (tr.)**

*mabsəm* III (vn. *mabsamta*) (1) **to cause to be cured (indirectly) | bət-mabsəmlə +marrana b-+darmana** He will cause the patient to be cured by a drug; *mubsəmmalə janu* He caused himself to be cured. (2) **to enjoy oneself | mabsumələ** He is enjoying himself

*mabsəmmanna* adj.ms. (fs. *mabsəmmanta*, pl. *mabsəmmana*) **cheerful**

*mabxə* III (vn. *mabxeta*) **to cause to weep**

*mabyən* III (vn. *mabyanta*) (1) **to be seen, to appear, to seem | mabyunələ** it is visible, it seems; *ductux mabyunəla* You are missed (lit. your place can be seen). (2) **to make an appearance, to show up | xà-yumal +málla +Nasràdən l'éva mabyùnəl** One day mullah Nasradin did not show up (A 20:1); *bət-mabyánnən* I shall make an appearance. (3) **to cause to be seen | bət-mabyánnux** He will cause you to be seen

*mabyənnana* adj.ms. (fs. *mabyənnanta*, pl. *mabyənnanə*) **visible, noticeable**

*mabyət* III (vn. *mabyatta*) (1) **to fast (not to accept food), to abstain from all food | cf. +sayəm** I to fast (from meat). (2) **to keep over till next day. (3) to be stale**

*macca* n.m. (pl. *maccə*) (Azer. məkə) **maize**

*maccəm* III (vn. *maccamta*, I *cayəm*) (1) **to blacken. (2) to smoke. (3) to cross out. (4) to convict**

*maccəp* III (vn. *maccapta*, I *cayəp*) (1) **to bend (tr.), to bend down (tr.), to lower | riša maccapta** lowering one's head in respect; *rífavàtə, +karavàšə, cíllə ju-bètu* *riša macúpə kátu* Servants and housekeepers in his house are all bowing their head to him (A 4:8); *+šula la-avilux mənnu, rišux maccəp +darsux +kri* Do not take any notice of him, keep your head down and learn your lesson. (2) **to bring down, to pull down. (3) to outweigh (scales)**

*maccəs, macəs* III (vn. *maccasta*, *macasta*; pres. 3ms. *maccəs*, 3fs. *maccəssa*/ *macsa*, 3pl. *maccəssi/macsi* etc.) (1) **to cover | talja bət-maccəsla +arra** The snow will cover the ground; *+arra pəšla muccəsta b-talja* The ground became covered with snow; *+arra muccəstəla b-talja* The ground is covered with snow; *jul-máxə +táma ci-macsàxvalun* We covered our bedding there

- (B 10:21). (2) to put a lid on. (3) to close; to draw (curtain). (4) to blindfold.  
 (5) to wrap up; to hide sth. → *cayəs*
- maccaš*, III (vn. *maccašta*, I *cayəš*) to pay a debt, to settle scores, to pay off |  
*bət-maccəšənna deni* I shall pay my debt
- macəx* I (vn. *mcaxta*) to become humble, meek; to become soft, pacified
- macixa* adj.ms. (fs. *macaxta*, pl. *macixə*) mild, quiet, modest, obedient, meek,  
 compliant
- macixuya* n.f. humility, modesty, meekness, tractability
- maclə* III (vn. *macleta*) (1) to cause to stop; to cause to stand | *bət-maclənnux* I  
 shall stop you; *bət-macliyənnux mən-ctavta* I shall cause you to stop writing  
 writing. (2) to detain, to withhold; to suspend (an employee) | *kam-maclili  
 mən +šula* He gave me the sack. (3) to inhibit, prevent, to excommunicate
- macnəš* III (vn. *macnašta*) to cause to be swept | *bət-macnəšənna beta b-do  
 naša* I shall have the house swept by that man
- macpən* III to cause to become hungry | *mucpənnənnux* You made me hungry
- macra* III (vn. *macreta*) to shorten, to reduce, to cut short
- macrəb* III (vn. *macrabta*) to make angry, to annoy, to irritate, to provoke |  
*mucrəbbaləjanu* He pretended to be angry
- macsəl* III (vn. *macsalta*) (Azer. *kəsalət* < Arab.) to become lazy, idle, unwilling,  
 apathetic | *mucsəlli 'azənva* I was too lazy to go
- macsəllana* adj.ms. (fs. *macsəllanta*, pl. *macsəllanə*) unwilling, idle
- macsəllanuya* n.f. laziness, unwillingness
- mactəv* III (vn. *mactavta*) to cause to be written, to dictate
- macuc* n.m. (pl. *macuycə*) (Azer. *məkik*) weaver's shuttle, spool (of a sewing  
 machine)
- macvəč* III (vn. *macvačta*) to move, to resettle
- macxana* adj.ms. (fs. *macxanta*, pl. *macxanə*) indulgent
- mačəx* I (vn. *mčaxta*) to be found; to be present; to be retrieved | *mčəxlə +tama*  
 He was found there; *dulə mčixa laxxa* It is found here
- mačəx* II (vn. *mačaxta*) (1) to find; to obtain; to invent; to be found; to be  
 present. (2) to solve a riddle | *'ánnə šártəl jári... mačxítunlun!* You must solve  
 these riddles (A 38:7).
- mačrəx* III (vn. *mačraxta*) to cause to climb; to mount sth. (+*al-* on) | *mačru-  
 xələ taləmta +al-+rušani* He is mounting a pot on my shoulders
- mačcən* III (vn. *mačcanta*) (1) to blister, to bulge, to swell. (2) to become/make  
 callous (one's hands from work); to become/make chapped | *'idi mučcən-  
 nun mən-ķarta* My hands have become chapped from cold. (3) to become/  
 make withered | *+halucta mučcənna* The plum has withered. (4) to dry  
 (wound) (tr. and intr.) | *darba vela mučcənna* The wound has dried. (5) to  
 prick up one's ears

- madan* n.f. (Azer. mədən < Arab.) (1) **mine, quarry.** (2) **ore**
- madanuz* n.f. (Turk. maydanoz) **parsley**
- mădăbxă* n.m. **altar**
- mădănxă, mădănxă* n.f. **east**
- madănxaya* adj.ms. (fs. *madănxeta*, pl. *madănxaya*) **eastern**
- madəv* II (vn. *madavta*) (Arab. 'amad 'end point') (1) **to manage (to do sth.), to find time (to do sth.).** (2) **to take things quietly, to do at one's leisure**
- madmə* III (vn. *madmeta*) **to cause to resemble, to compare; to imitate**
- madməx* III (vn. *madmaxta*) (1) **to cause to lie down; to put (children) to bed**  
| *fánu mudməxxálə* *+al-* *+àrra* | He lay himself down on the ground (A 32:4).  
(2) **to cause to stop working.** (3) **to leave ground fallow.** (4) **to flatten (corn)**  
| *poxa bət-madməxlun* *+xəttə* The wind will flatten the corn; *duna* *+xəttə*  
*mudməxxə* The corn is flattened
- madrasa* n.f. (pl. *madrasə*) (Azer. mədrəsə, Pers. madrasa < Arab.) **school**
- madrə* III (vn. *madreta*) (1) **to cause to be spilt, to cause to be poured.** (2) **to cause to be thrown.** (3) **to cause to be scattered**
- madvək* III (vn. *madvakta*) (1) **to cause to be held; to fasten, to join together.**  
(2) **to compare**
- madvər* III (vn. *madvarta*) **to cause to be closed** | *bət-madvərrənnə* *+tarra*  
*biyyux* I shall cause the door to be closed by you
- madyəl* III (vn. *madyalta*) **to cause to be born**
- madyən* III (vn. *madyanta*) (1) **to lend** | *mudyənnə ctava kətu* He lent the book to him. (2) **to borrow** | *mudyənni ctava mənnu* I borrowed the book from him. (3) **to run into debt**
- madyəš* III (vn. *madyašta*) (1) **to tread on, to stamp on.** (2) **to shove down; to bury, to dig in.** (3) **to overgrow (plants).** (4) **to shroud.** (5) **to cause (a cow) to be covered (with a bull)**
- mağjəb* QI (vn. *mağjabta*) **to like, to be fond of, to love** | cf. *+bayyə* I to love, to want
- mağjəbbana, mağjubana* adj.ms. (fs. *mağjəbbanta/mağjubanta*, pl. *mağjəbənə/mağjübənə*) **loving**
- mahalla* n.f. (Azer. mahal < Arab.) (1) **quarter (of town).** (2) **province, district, region, suburb, street** → *+mahal*
- mahlum, malum, mahləm, maləm* adj.invar. (Azer. məlüm < Arab.) **known, obvious, clear, indisputable, public** | *mahlum* *'avəd* I to declare, to indicate, to discover
- mahlumuya, malumuya* n.f. **clearness, familiarity, indisputability**
- mahnə* III (vn. *mahneta*) **to give pleasure** | *tetux kam-mahniyyali* Your coming gave me pleasure
- măjar* part. (Pers. magar) (§ 12.13.) (1) **unless** | *'a-ctava le-* *+masə* *'ət-'avilux* | *măjar*

- +parrət xa-zuyza +raba* You cannot have this book, unless you pay a lot of money. (2) **perhaps** | *măjar Nàtan +yáttə!* Perhaps Natan knows (A 3:43). (3) **interrogative particle** | with expectation of the answer 'yes' before negative questions: *măjar 'at le-'azət +tama?* Won't you go there? (= Surely you will go there). With expectation of answer 'no' before positive questions: *măjar 'áttən málca xína fu-da-+átrət díyyi 'ána lēn-+bəddə?* Is there another king in my land I do not know? (= Surely there is not another king in my land) (A 1:28)
- majdəl* III (vn. *majdalta*) **to freeze (tr. and intr.)** | *majduləvən mən-karta* I am freezing from the cold; *+mixulta mujdəltə* frozen food; → *jdila* ice
- majəsta* n.f. (pl. *majəsyatə*) **small sickle; reaping-hook**
- majla* n.m. (pl. *majlə*) **sickle** | *maxə i majla* to reap
- majnə* III (vn. *majneta*) **to cause to incline; to bend down (tr.)**
- majrəš* III (vn. *majrašta*) **to tolerate, to put up with** | *majrušəvən mənnux* I am putting up with you
- majval* III (vn. *majvalta*) **to cause to vomit** | *ləbbi mujvəllux* You have made me sick
- majvər* III (vn. *majvarta*) **to cause to be married; to give in marriage**
- majxəc* III (vn. *majxacta*) **to cause to laugh; to make laugh; to amuse** | *məttəltə mujxəccela* The story made them laugh
- majxəccana* adj.ms. (fs. *majxəccanta*, pl. *majxəccanə*) **amusing, causing (so.) to laugh**
- majbur* adj.invar. (Pers. *majbūr* < Arab.) **forced** | *majbur t-odənnux 'odətlə 'aha məndi* I shall force you to do this thing; *'ína màjbur=ín tanánnux kát hemántət díyyux mətlə!* I am obliged to tell you that your trust (= the woman you left in trust with me) died (A 1:17); *+ávva +tājər! màjbur pyášələ bərráxşələ cəs-málca!* The merchant has no choice but to go to the king (A 1:18)
- majfu* n.f. (pl. *majfunyatə*) **bubble; balloon; swelling on skin** → *mašçən* III
- majfunta* n.f. (pl. *majfunyatə*) **small swelling on skin**
- majar* n.f. (pl. *majjarə*) (Pers. *mahjar* < Arab.) **handrail, fence, grate; hedge**
- majjə* III (vn. *majjeta*) **to tire (tr.), to exhaust (with work)**
- majləs* n.f. (pl. *majlisə*) (Arab. *majlis*) (1) **company of guests.** (2) **committee, council**
- majma* n.m. (pl. *majmə*) (Azer. *məcməyi* < Arab.) **tray (see illustration 23)**
- majrap* III (vn. *majrapta*) (1) **to cause to slip.** (2) **to skate; to slip**
- majrəppana* adj.ms. (fs. *majrəppanta*, pl. *majrəppanə*) **slippery**
- majvəj* III (vn. *majvajta*) **to move (tr.), to shift (tr.), to remove**
- majyən* III (vn. *majyanta*) (Kurd. *śin* 'green', *śinkatî* 'vegetation') **to sprout; to cause to sprout** | *+tarpa mujyənnun* The leaves sprouted; *śəmšə majyunela +tarpa* The sun is causing the leaves to sprout

*majyənnana* adj.ms. (fs *majyənnanta*, pl. *majyənnanə*) sprouting

*mağdana* → *makkəddana*

*makkas* n.m. (pl. *makkasə*), *makkasta* n.f. (Azer, maqqaş < Arab.) shears; scissors; snuffers

*makkəd* III, *mağəd* III (vn. *makkatta*, *mağatta*, I *yakəd*) to cause to burn, to cause to be consumed by fire, to set on fire; to heat (oven), to scorch; to fire (clay) | *mukkədələ* گesa He burnt the wood; *mukkədələ* nuyra b-گese He made the fire burn with wood; *kupşanta bí ... +tına c-odila*, *| makkùdona|* They make the pot with clay and fire it (B 15:5)

*makkəddana*, *mağdana* adj.ms. (fs. *makkəddanta*, *mağdanta*, pl. *makkəddanə*, *mağdanə*) burning; inflammable; corrosive (acid) | *mağdanət ləbba* moving, causing emotion

*makkəm*, *makyəm* III (vn. *makkamta*, *makyamta*, I *kayəm*) (1) to cause to stand up, to raise up, to lift up. (2) to found, to institute, to set up, to appoint. (3) metaph. to make firm, to establish, to perform a promise

*makkəs* III (vn. *makkasta*) to cut with scissors or shears

*makkəš* III (vn. *makkasha*, I *'akəš*) to cool (tr.), to cool down (tr.) | *mukkəšlə* گebbu He made his heart cold

*makkəššanta* n.f. cooling system, air conditioning

*mağkət* III (vn. *makkatta*, I *kayət*) (1) to cause to be hit; to cause to be knocked. (2) to hook, to pin

*mağkudana* adj.ms. (fs. *makkudanta*, pl. *makkudanə*) burning, stinging

*mağmał* n.f. (pl. *mağmałə*) (cf. Kurd. mixmixk) small mosquito, gnat, midge

*mağnəz* III (vn. *mağnazta*) to cause to wrinkle | *mağnəz sərvatə* to pout

*mağrəv* III (vn. *mağravta*) (1) to bring closer. (2) to give communion (church); to celebrate the Eucharist

*mağşa* III (vn. *mağşeta*) (1) to harden. (2) to condense; to make thick

*makul* adj.invar. (Pers. ma'qūl < Arab.) acceptable

*mağva* III (vn. *mağveta*) (1) to strengthen. (2) to support. (3) to attach, to fasten, to press together | *cicu mağuyelə* He presses his teeth together; *mağva* گata to importune. (4) to construct | *mız mağvuyulə* He is constructing the table (from pieces). (5) to fortify. (6) to confirm, to appoint

*mağvəx* III (vn. *mağvaxta*) to shout, to roar, to cry, to cry out

*makyən* III (vn. *makyanta*) to become green/blue, to sprout; to make green/blue | *jəllalə* muğyənnun The plants became green. The stem I verb \**kayən* is not used, only the adjective *ķina* green/blue

*makyəp* III (vn. *makyapta*) (1) to argue, to compete (in words), to dispute, to debate. (2) to cause to cluck. (3) to cause to be in heat → *kappə*

*makyəppana* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *makyəppanta*, pl. *makyəppanə*) contender (in argument); argumentative

*malanj* n.m. (Canda n.f.) (pl. *malanjə*) (Azer. mala, Pers. mālē) **instrument used to smooth plaster**

*malapa* n.m. (pl. *malapə*) (Azer. mələfə < Arab.) **bed-sheet**

*malaxa* n.m. (fs. *malaxta*, pl. *malaxə*) **angel**

*malca* n.m. (pl. *malca*, *malcavatə*) **king | betət malca** palace

*malcaya* adj.ms. (fs. *malceta*, pl. *malcayə*) **royal | bēta malcāyat +Harūnəl** the royal house of the Harunids (B 1:9)

*malcuya* n.f. **kingdom, reign | malcuya** 'avəd i to reign

*malə* i (vn. *mleta*) (1) **to fill (intr. and tr.) | vadra bət-malə b-miyya** The bucket will fill with water; *+bayyən malənnə vadra b-miyya* I want to fill the bucket with water; *ci-malivalə miyya* He used to fill it with water; *ju-xa-mzida +fūrtəl miyya ci-malīva mən-de-+‘ayna*! He would fill up a big waterskin with water from that spring (A 37:7); *malīvalun ju-jvālə* They filled it (*+xəttə* the wheat) into sacks (B 10:7); *mlāyəna jāvu +rəzzəl* They fill it with rice (B 15:10); *dyaśa-dyaśa malə* to stuff. (2) **to suffice | hādax vādəvəl yánət +‘anvə=da ‘avívalel +māš=da ‘avívalel cmá t-iva ‘úpra mlāyāl** They farmed so they would have grapes and would have beans, as much as the land would suffice (B 17:13); *kúdmə píli ... ka-xá šábta mlāyan!* Yesterday I baked ... for it to be sufficient for us for one week (B 17:25)

*maləc* n.m. (pl. *maləffə*) **headman**

*maləcta* n.f. (pl. *maləcyata*) **queen**

*maləp* III (vn. *malapta*, i *yaləp*) (1) **to teach, to train | ‘ána ka-díyyux muləpli!** ‘ávət +spāy! I taught you to be good (A 3:90). (2) **to accustom. (3) to persuade, to induce**

*malham* n.f. (Azer. məlhəm) **ointment, plaster**

*malhəd* III (vn. *malhatta*) **to pant, to be out of breath**

*mallāy* n.f. **medium-sized grapes | either white (+xvarta) or black (cumta) in colour**

*mallə* III (vn. *malleta*, i *layyə*) **to cause to burn; to ignite; to turn on (light); to warm (stove) | nuyra bət-mallənnə** I shall light the fire; *bət-mallən nuyra* I shall turn on a light

*malpana* n.m. (fs. *malpanta*, pl. *malpanə*) **teacher, instructor, trainer**

*malvəš* III (vn. *malvašta*) **to dress, to dress up, to put on (shoes)**

*malvəx* III (vn. *malvaxta*) **to set on fire, to set ablaze**

*malxəm* III (vn. *malxamta*) (1) **to compose (music), to write (book); to invent. (2) to fit, to adjust, to try on**

*malxəmmanna* adj.ms. (fs. *malxəmmanta*, pl. *malxəmmənə*) **author (of book), composer (of music)**

*malyana* adj.ms. (fs. *malyanta*, pl. *malyanə*) **sufficient | ‘aha malyanələ** This is sufficient

*malyəz* III (vn. *malyazta*) **to hasten (intr. and tr.), to hurry; to hasten, to be urgent** | *+úxča t-íva malyúza malyúza| á +saválto šlèxla| pólla +al-+palla-cànə|* She was in such a great hurry, that her shoe came off and fell on the stairs (A 51:8)

*malyazzana* adj.ms (fs. *malyazzanta*, pl. *malyazzanə*) **in a hurry, impatient**  
*mamcəx* III (vn. *mamcaxta*) (1) **to pacify, to tame, to make gentle.** (2) **to humble, to humiliate**

*mamlə* III (vn. *mamleta*) **to cause to be filled** | *+bayyən mamlənnə vadra biyyux*  
 I want to cause the bucket to be filled by you

*mamləx* III (vn. *mamlaxta*) **to salt, to season** | *é mumláxta fùpta| bədráyox ju-míyya məlxəl|* We put the salted cheese in salt water (B 15:3)

*mamma* (child language) **bread; food** | The word is used in the sense of 'food' when the child is very young. At a later age the word is used only in the sense of bread

*mamma* III (vn. *mammeta*) (1) **to swear, to take an oath.** (2) **to cause to swear**  
 | *mammənnux b-momita|* I pledge you with an oath (A 3:63)

*mamməx* III (vn. *mamaxta*) **to smell, to sniff** | *xa mámməxlə* Have a smell!

*mamur* n.m. (pl. *mamuyrə*) (Azer. məmur < Arab.) **official, overseer, steward, clerk**

*mamxə* III (vn. *mamxeta*) **to cause to be beaten** | *mamxə +nala* to cause to be shod

*mamyəl, mamməl* III (vn. *mamyalta, mammalta*) **to become blue; to make blue; to bruise** | *fəldi mumyəllə* My skin became bruised

*mamyət* III (vn. *mamyatta*) **to cause to die (gradually)** | *+av fənu mamyutolə*  
 He is pretending to die

*mana* n.m. (pl. *manə*) **vessel, basin, dish, bowl** | *manət tanica* can; *manət +barut*  
 powder flask; *manə fruš!* Help yourself (to food from the bowl)

*mandə* III (vn. *mandeta*) **to throw, to sprinkle**

*mandi-+fəztu* n.f. **bird that throws its behind upwards**

*manə* I (vn. *mneta*) **to count** → *banə* I (ii)

*mani, mân* pron. **who?** (§ 2.8., § 12.1.5., § 14.3.2.) | *mànilə?* Who is he?; *máni fu-bètlə?* Who is in the house?; *tánili mánivət!* Tell me who you are (A 3:65);  
*lá=da màra| ... mànilə| mân lélə|* He does not say who he is (A 42:33)

*manjana* n.f. (pl. *manjanə*) (Azer. məngənə) **vice, wooden press (especially for extracting juice from grapes)** | *fu-manjana muttili katu* I put him in a press,  
 I squeezed him

*manjər* n.m. (pl. *manjira*) (Pers. minjar) **large fork-like instrument for breaking up the soil pulled by oxen; harrow, rake**

*mankal* n.f. (pl. *mankalə*) (Pers. manqal < Arab.) **grill, brazier**

*mankaš, makkaš* n.m. (pl. *mankašə, makkašə*) (Pers. manqāš < Arab.) **instrument (for kindling fire)**

- mankəd* III (vn. *mankatta*) **to make thin** | *kesa mánkədlə* Make the wood thin
- manpəl* III (vn. *manpalta*) (1) **to cause to fall; to drop, to throw down, to dump** | *munpəllala janu* He pretended to fall. (2) **to knock (down), to overthrow; to reduce (a price)**
- mansər* III (vn. *mansarta*) **to cause to be sawed** | *bət-mansərrənnə ՚a-kesa b-do naša* I shall have this wood sawed by that man
- manšə* III (vn. *manšeta*) **to forget** | *mànšila!* *cul-víyya vìyyələ!* Forget it! What has been has been (=let bygones be bygones) (A 3:54); *՚ána munšili tanyámv-lux!* I forgot to tell you (A 5:16)
- manšək* III (vn. *manšakta*) **to cause to be kissed**
- manšíyyana* (fs. *manšíyyanta*, pl. *manšíyyanə*) **forgetting, forgetful**
- manšíyyanuyta* n.f. **forgetfulness**
- manta* III (vn. *manteta*) **to become successful; to prosper**
- mantiyyana* (fs. *mantiyyanta*, pl. *mantiyyanə*) **successful, prosperous**
- manxəl* III **to sieve** (vn. *manxalta*) | *manxulsla kamxa* She is sieving flour
- manxəp* III (vn. *manxapta*) **to shame, to embarrass**
- manxəs* III (vn. *manxasta*) **to reproach, to reprove, to rebuke, to scold, to blame** | *cəs našə la manxəsli, +’aybələ!* Do not reprove me in front of people, it is wrong!
- manxəssana* adj.ms. (fs. *manxəssanta*, pl. *manxəssanə*) **reproaching, captious, blaming, scolding**
- manyəx* III (vn. *manyaxta*) (1) **to rest; to allow to rest, to give rest; to comfort.** (2) **to go to one's rest, to die** | *’alaha yavvəllə manyaxta* May he rest in peace. (3) **to extinguish (fire).** (4) **to pull down a church.** (5) **to put away sin**
- manzəl* III (vn. *manzalta*) (Pers. nazlat < Arab.) **to become infected, to fester; to cause to be infected (wound, boil), to cause to fester** | *darba munzəlla* The wound has become inflected; *šəxta munzəllala darba* The dirt made the wound inflected
- manzəl* n.f. (pl. *manzilə*) (1) **lodging place (on journey), camping-place.** (2) **stage (of journey)** | *m-áxxa +’al-de-dúnyət diyyəxur! +šəvvá manzilə ՚at.* | *cút mánzəl jári xáčča cá lax manyəxxax.* From here to your world there are seven stages. At each stage we have to stop and rest a little. (A 39:24)
- mapləx* III (vn. *maplaxta*) (1) **to cause to work** | *mapləx ՚akla* to open the bowels. (2) **to use.** (3) **to spend (resources)**
- mappə* III (vn. *mappeta*, 1 *yapə/payyə*) **to cause to be baked**
- mappax* III → *mapyəx* III
- maprək* III (vn. *maprakta*) **to cause to be finished**
- maprəš* III (vn. *maprašta*) **to separate, to divide**
- maprax* III (vn. *mapraxta*) **to cause to fly; to scare away (birds)**

*mapšər* III (vn. *mapšarta*) **to cause to melt** | šəmšə bət-mapšərralə *talja* The sun will melt the snow; *talja pəslə mupšərra b-şəmšə* The snow was melted by the sun

*maptə* III (vn. *mapteta*) **to make wide, to expand; to enlarge; to spread out (e.g. bread dough)**

*maptəl* III (vn. *maptalta*) **to cause to turn, to cause to turn around**

*maptul* n.m. (Azer. məftil, Pers. maftūl) **wire**

*mapvər* III (vn. *mapvarta*) **to cause to yawn** | *hamzamtu mupvərrənna xa pavvarta +jurta* His speech made me yawn a big yawn

*mapyəš* III (vn. *mapyašta*) **to cause to remain** | *mapyəš b-šena* to take leave of

*mapyəx* III, *mappəx* III (vn. *mapyaxta*, *mappaxta*, I *payəx*) (1) **to cool (especially hot liquid by blowing or by tossing in the air)** | *mappuxola +čayu* He is blowing on his tea to make it cool. (2) **to refresh.** (3) **to appease** | *mappuxula carbo* He is appeasing her

*maþkə* III (vn. *maþketa*, I þak̥kə) (1) **to blow up, to explode; to bust open** | þarut bət-maþkilə *fuyda* The gunpowder will blow up the wall. (2) **to crack, to split (tr.)** | *bət-maþkənnə cipa b-čacuč* I shall cause the stone to split with a hammer

*maþkiyyana* (fs. *maþkiyyanta*, pl. *maþkiyyanə*) **explosive**

*mar* n.? **challenge** | *mar dokax kət 'aha nara šorənnə* Let's take up the challenge of jumping over this river

*mara* n.m. (pl. *maravatə*) **owner, possessor; lord, master** | *marət-beta* (pl. *maravatət bətvatə*) house-owner, landlord; *marət dəccana/duccana* (pl. *maravatət dəccanana/duccanana*) shopkeeper. The annexation form *marət* (sometimes contracted to *mār*) is used productively to form adjectival phrases (§ 6.8. i). In such cases it is invariable and does not inflect for gender or number in agreement with the noun it modifies: *marət-baxt* adj.invar. (Azer. bəxt) happy; *marət-čaçə* adj.invar. (Kurd. çek) armed; *marət-cəlpət* adj.invar. (Azer. külfət) possessing a family; *marət-davəltə* adj.invar. (Azer. dövlət, Pers. dowlat) rich; *marət-dəkkət* adj.invar. attentive, vigilant, strict; *marət-hona* adj.invar. intelligent; *marət-hosala* adj.invar. (Azer. hövsələ, Pers. howsele) patient, self-possessed; *marət-huš* adj.invar. (Pers. hūš) capable, sensible; *marət-jnaha* adj.invar. guilty; *marət-jur'at* adj.invar. (Pers. jur'at < Arab.) courageous, brave, resolute; *marət-kana* adj.invar. horned; *marət-kaya* adj.invar. (Azer. qaya) rocky, mountainous; *marət-keyrat* adj.invar. (Azer. qeyrət < Arab.) zealous, ambitious; *marət-kuvvat* adj.invar. (Azer. qüvvət < Arab.) strong, powerful; nutritious, nourishing; *marət-la jnaha* adj.invar. innocent; *marət-məndi* adj.invar. prosperous, propertied; *marət-şəmma* adj.invar. well-known, notable, eminent; renowned, famous; *marət-şənnə* adj.invar. elderly,

old; *marət-xatər* adj.invar. honourable; *marət-xēr* adj.invar. (Azer. xeyir, Pers. xeyr < Arab.) bringing good, causing gain; *marət-zēn* adj.invar. (Azer. zehin, Pers. zehn < Arab.) capable, talented; *marət-zuyzə* adj.invar. rich; *marət-+abur* adj.invar. conscientious, moral; *marət-+ajjibuya* adj.invar. wonderful, strange; *marət-+aķəl* adj.invar. clever, wise; *marət-+balla* adj.invar. harmful; *marət-+bapa* adj.invar. (Pers. wafā < Arab.) reliable; faithful; *marət-+bar-našuyta* adj.invar. populous; *marət-+əkbal* adj.invar. (Pers. eqbāl) happy lucky, fortunate, gifted; *marət-+ə'tubar* adj.invar. reliable, devoted; *marət-+hasəl* adj.invar. fertile; *marət-+jjıjar* adj.invar. brave, venturesome; *marət-+jora* adj.invar. married (woman); *marət-+kayda* adj.invar. (Azer. qayda < Arab.) well-ordered; *marət-+marduyta* courteous, cultured; *marət-+mudaxəl* adj.invar. (Pers. madāxel, Azer. mədaxil < Arab.) profitable; *marət-+namus* adj.invar. (Pers. nāmūs) respectable, honourable; *marət-+p̄armeta* adj.invar. intelligent, prudent, smart, astute; *marət-+suppat* adj.invar. (Pers. sefat 'qualities' < Arab.) friendly, sociable; *marət-+tab* adj.invar. enduring; *marət-+tima* valuable; *marət-+tlanita* adj.invar. shady; *marət-+tunta* adj.invar. fertile; *marət-+zduyta* adj.invar. dangerous, risky; *marət-+zyana*, *marət-+zyanta* harmful. Also: *nášə mār-mīta* the family of the dead person (A 9:5)

*maraca* n.m. (Azer. mərəkə) **crisis; hullabaloo; momentous occasion** | *bəʃvā-rəna*,<sup>1</sup> *+xliyla*,<sup>1</sup> *maráca m-áxxa* *+al*,<sup>2</sup> *+təmma*<sup>1</sup> They get married (and have) a wedding, a momentous occasion, from here to there (A 34:6)

*marcəv* III (vn. *marcavta*) (1) **to cause to mount, to help mount, to place one thing upon another.** (2) **to fit together.** (3) **to serve (a cow with a bull)** | *murcəvli xa* *'erba b-*<sup>3</sup> *vana* I joined a sheep with a ewe

*marcəx* III (vn. *marcaxta*) **to soften, to loosen, to moisten**

*marda* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *marda/mardita*, pl. *marda*) (Kurd., merd, Azer. mərd, Pers. mard) **hero; generous; courageous, brave, daring, energetic** | *vi marda* Be a gentleman/generous; *'ax marda* as hero, heroically; *suysa marda* *ķamči la ķabəl* Let not the brave horse receive the whip (i.e. Do not beat a willing horse) (cf. Maclean 1895, 355)

*mardən* QI (vn. *mardanta*) **to become brave, courageous; to make bold**

*marduyta* n.f. **bravery, courage, heroism; heroic deed**

*marəd* I (vn. *mratta*) (1) **to become rubbed (skin); to rub (to make soft).** (2) **to sculpt (stone)** | *fəldi mridələ* My skin is chaffed

*marəflə* n.m. (pl. *marəflə*) **large metal saucepan (see illustration 25)**

*marək* I (vn. *mrakta*) **to suck strongly with lips; to suck out**

*marəs-+xana* n.f. (pl. *marəs-+xanə*) (Azer. marixhana) **hospital**

*marifat* n.f. (Pers. ma'refat < Arab.) **good manners, good breeding** | *ka-xmara mərrun marifatux maxzi* *+av tūp̄ru* *+murəmələ* They said to the ass 'Show your good breeding' and he lifted up his tail (said when a man plays the fool, when

he ought to be serious) (cf. Maclean 1895, 348); *+ba-marifat* respectful, polite; *be-marifat* impolite; uneducated, mannerless

*marjə* n.m. (pl. *marjə*) **meadow**

*marjanita* n.f. (pl. *marjanyata*) **pearl**

*marjə* III (vn. *marjeta*) (1) **to ask, to ask for; to beg, to beseech.** (2) **to importune**

*marjəd* III (vn. *marjatta*) **to cause to shiver, to cause to shudder; to shiver, to shudder; to shake (from fever)** | *karta bət-marjəddali* The cold will make me shiver; *marjudəvən mən-karta* I am shivering from the cold

*marjəltə* n.f. (pl. *marjəlyata*) **small metal saucepan (see illustration 26)**

*marjumuš* n.m. (Azer. mərgümüş) **arsenic**

*marj* n.f. (pl. *marjə*) (Azer. mərc) **bet** | *marj 'avəd* I, *marj davək* I to bet; *mərj dökəx mənnax*! *+al-xá-'axča dāvə!* We shall make a bet with you over so many gold coins (A 34:10)

*markəl* QII (vn. *markalta*, QI *'arķəl*) **to delay (tr. and intr.)** | *+muṭra murkəllənna* The rain delayed me; *+rába murkəllə!* He is very late (A 37:18)

*marmar* n.f. (Azer. mərmər, Pers. marmar) **marble**

*marməl* QII (vn. *marmalta*) **to become a widow/widower; to make a widow/widower** | *ő-t javər 'u-la* *+baķər marməl 'u-la* *+reši biyyu* He who marries without asking (advice) may lose his wife and no one will take any notice of him (i.e. no one should act without advice) (cf. Maclean 1895, 346)

*marrə* III (vn. *marreta*) **to set (tr. and intr.), to curdle (tr. and intr.) (yoghurt, boiled liquid)** | *+xalva bət-marrə* The milk will become thick; *masta murritəla* The yoghurt has set; *b-dé marrúvvəxva ... júptə!* With that we set cheese (B 15:2)

*marrək* III (vn. *marrakta*, I *'arək*) (1) **to cause to run, to drive away.** (2) **to allow to escape, to save**

*marreta* n.f. **rennet, yoghurt culture** | *marreta bət-marriyya masta* The rennet will curdle the yoghurt

*marta* n.f. (pl. *maratə*) **owner (f.); mistress**

*maruya* n.f. **possession, dominion, domination, authority** | *maruya* *'avəd* I to possess, to own; to rule, to dominate

*marxək* III (vn. *marxaňta*) **to cause to be distant; to isolate so. or sth.** | *sebuyta murxəkla ḫa-dannə m-+uydala* Old age made them distant from one another

*marxəš* III (vn. *marxaňta*) **to abort (a foetus); to miscarry** | *baxta murxəšla yala sura* The woman miscarried a baby; *susyátət díyyan ləxxa!* *murxəšlun!* Our mares here aborted (A 3:78)

*maryəz* III (vn. *maryazta*) **to arrange, to put in order, to prepare, to organize**

*marza* n.m. (pl. *marza*, *marzanə*, *marzanaňa*) (Azer. mərz, Pers. marz) **side, edge, margin; border; boundary; coast, bank (of river)** | *marzət jarə* edge

- of the roof; *marzət xakla* the side of the field; *marzət Turciyya* the border of Turkey; *marzə duna dvirə* The borders are closed; *kámxa ci-maxáxvalə +al-márza!* We put the flour on the side (for storage) (B 7:9); *marzanət, marzanənət* prep. **around** | *məššəlmána=zə marzanána +rábəna!* The Muslims in the surrounding area were many (B 1:19)
- marzəbbənə* n.pl. **edges, borders;** *marzəbbənət* prep. **around**
- mas'ul* adj.invar. (Pers. < Arab.) **responsible** | *'ana mas'ul-ivən b-daha məndi* I am responsible for this
- masala* n.f. (pl. *masalə*) (Azer. məsəl, Pers. masal < Arab.) (1) **example, proverb, saying, parable.** (2) **fable, story.** (3) **matter, issue** | *şəryali masala* I resolved the matter
- masalači* n.m. (pl. *masalčiyə*) **story-teller**
- masalan* part. (Pers. masalan < Arab.) **for example**
- mascən* III (vn. *mascanta, I sacən*) (Arab. sakana) (1) **to calm (tr.), to appease, to satisfy (thirst)** | *muscənni ka-yala* I calmed the child down. (2) **to console** | *'ana bət-mascənnənə +xori +bar motət baxtu* I shall console my friend after the death of his wife. (3) **to entertain, treat kindly**
- mascən* QI (vn. *mascanta*) **to grow poor, to become impoverished; to make poor or weak, to impoverish**
- masčəd, mačəd* n.m. (pl. *masčida, mačida*) (Azer. məscid < Arab.) **mosque**
- masa* I (vn. *msetə*) **to wash (clothes)**
- maseta* n.f. (pl. *masayatə*) (1) **scales, balance.** (2) **Libra (constellation)**
- maskəd* III (vn. *maskatta*) **to annoy; to offend** | *le +bayyən maskəddənnun +xyalo* I do not want to offend her
- maskəl* III (vn. *maskalta*) **to dress up, to decorate; to adorn**
- maskət* III (vn. *maskatta*) **to cripple, to paralyse** → *sakkat*
- maslə* III (vn. *masleta*) **to despise, to reject, to deny (someone's merit)**
- masmək* III (vn. *masmaṭta*) (1) **to cause to become red, to redder** | *şxunya mus-məklə ka-do naşa* The heat made him become red. (2) **to cause to become brown (bread in the oven); to roast (tr.)** | *bət-masməkkalə +busra* She will roast the meat. (3) **to shame**
- masnəd* III (vn. *masnatta*) **to prop up, to support, to bear up; to attach to** | *ci-masnəddívalun bí fùyda!* We attached them (the carpets) to the wall (B 10:19)
- maspək* III (vn. *maspakta*) **to cause to be emptied; to cause to be spilled** | *bət-maspəkələ vadra b-xa naşa xina* He will cause the bucket to be emptied by another man
- masrap* adj.invar. (Azer. məsrəf, Pers. *masraf* < Arab.) **useful; suitable**
- masrap* III (vn. *masrapta*) **to cause to be inhaled (air), to cause to be imbued (liquid)**

*massab* n.m. (Azer. məzhəb, Pers. mazhab) **religion, belief** | *ka-massab kullux* 'avəd I to practise religion

*massək*, *masək* III (vn. *massakta*, *masakta*) (1) **to cause to ascend, to carry up (on a mountain); to take up.** (2) **to offer a sacrifice.** (3) **to levy a tribute.** (4) **to raise a levy**

*massəm* III (vn. *massamta*) | *massəm bala* (1) **to pay attention (+'al to).** (2) **to take care; to look after (child, patient)** | *massəm bala +allu* Take care of him  
*masta* n.f. (Kurd. mast, Pers. māst) **yoghurt**

*masyakta* n.f. **rising slope** | *masyaktət +tuyra* slope up a mountain

*masyəl* III (vn. *masyalta*) **to copulate** | *masyəl!* F. off!

*masyəv* III (vn. *masyavta*) **to cause to age** | *motət yəmmi musyəvlə* *ka-babi* The death of my mother caused my father to age

*mašcən* III (vn. *mašcanta*) **to swell (before blister)**

*mašə* I (vn. *mšeta*) **to wipe, to wipe up, to swab.** | *púmmu mšáya 'u-+plàtələ!* He wipes his mouth and goes out (A 7:8). (2) **to rub, to stroke gently; to erase**

*mašəx* I (vn. *mšaxta*) **to anoint; to butter, to spread, to rub (with oil)**

*mašk* n.? **exercise (physical)** | *+sarbazə mašk vədlun* The soldiers carried out an exercise; *mašk b-yavvənnux* I shall set you an exercise (e.g. as a punishment)  
*maškəl* III (vn. *maškalta*) (1) **to cause to be taken** | *maškaltət dəmma* letting of blood, *muškəlli dəmma* I gave blood. (2) **to overlay with metal** | *maškalta b-dava* gilding, *'aha 'isakta muškəllali b-dava* I gilded the ring. (3) **to intertwine** | *maškalta b-prəzla* fettering with iron

*maškul* 'avəd I **to enchant, to cause to fall in love.** 'avə *maškul* **to be fond, to acquire a taste for (marginal)**

*mašlə* III (vn. *mašleta*) **to calm (tr.); to relieve** | *kam-mašlili mən +šula* He gave me the sack

*mašlək* III (vn. *mašlakta*) **to cause to be boiled** | *mušləkkeli biyyə* I caused the eggs to be boiled (by somebody else)

*mašləm* QI (vn. *mašlamta*) **to convert to Islam**

*mašləmmana* n.m. (fs. *mašləmmanta*, pl. *mašləmmənə*) (1) **convert to Islam.** (2) **traitor**

*mašləmmanuya* n.f. (1) **conversion.** (2) **treachery, betrayal**

*mašmaš* QI (vn. *mašmašta*) **to grope; to feel (so.)** | *brata mušməšsalə* He groped the girl

*mašnə* III (vn. *mašneta*) (1) **to resettle; to move (home).** (2) **to cause to faint** | 'ana *mušniyyali janı* I pretended to faint

*mašneta* n.f. **tranquillizer**

*mašpəx* III (vn. *mašpaxta*) **to cause to overflow** | *+muṭra mušpəxla nara* The rain caused the river to overflow

*mašpər* III **to flatter, to be hypocritical** | *la mašpərri!* Do not flatter me!

*mašpərrana* n.m. (fs. *mašpərranta*, pl. *mašpərranə*) **hypocrite**

*mašrə* III (vn. *mašreta*) (1) **to cause to be untied** | *bət-mašrənnə* <sup>+cətra b-xa naşa</sup> *xina* I shall get the knot untied by another person. (2) **to cause to dwell; to host (guest)** | *ductət mašreta* lodging place

*mašrək* III (vn. *mašrakta*) **to whistle; to hiss (snake)**

*mašrəz* I (vn. *mašrazta*) (1) **to crack (pot)** (tr.). (2) **to hurt somebody's feelings**

*maštə* III (vn. *mašteta*) (i) **to give to drink; to water, to irrigate**

(ii) **to arrange the warp (šətya)**

*maštək* III (vn. *maštaktə*) **to cause to be silent, to calm**

*mašvə* III (vn. *mašveta*) (1) **to caused to be laid (carpet, bed), to cause to be furnished.** (2) **to flatten (ground)**

*mašxatta* n.f. (1) **preaching.** (2) **church collection**

*mašxəd* III (vn. *mašxatta*) (1) **to bring tidings; to announce.** (2) **to preach (the gospel).** (3) **to make a collection from parishioners for the clergymen**

*mašxəddana* n.m. **preacher, head of preachers**

*mašxən* III (vn. *mašxanta*) **to cause to be hot; to heat, warm, to warm up**

*mašxuna* n.m. (pl. *mašxunə*), *mašxunta* n.f. (pl. *mašxunyatə*) **foothill, slope**

*mašyəp* III (vn. *mašyapta*) **to cause to be erased** | <sup>+bayyə</sup> *mašyəppənnə* *biyyux*  
He wants to have it erased by you

*mata* n.f. (pl. *matvata*, *matvətə*) **village; settlement**

*matal* adj.invar. **delayed, suspended, at a loss** (Pers. mu'attal < Arab.) | *matal*  
'avəd I **to keep waiting; to drive so. into a hopeless situation, to surprise, to amaze;** *payəs* I **matal** to become frustrated due to inactivity; to be surprised, astonished, perplexed: *'ánnə nášə matal pyášəna!* *'á mü-ila masála!* The people are perplexed as to what the story is (A 36:5); *'ánnə xətnavay!* *pyášəna matal!* *mu-'ödi!* The sons-in-law are perplexed as to what to do (A 42:21); *matal vili* I wasted time waiting (for somebody, without being able to do anything)

*mataluyta* n.f. **need** | *mataluyta fərəş* I **to need**

*matəl* I (vn. *mtalta*) (1) **to tell a story or a parable** | *mtalələ mattəlta* He is telling a story. (2) **to compare, to liken; to describe (b- sth.)**

*matəx* I (vn. *mtaxta*) **to pull a bow, to shoot an arrow** | *mtixalə kəšta* He pulled the bow

*matkən* QII (vn. *matkanta*, QI 'atkən) **to age (tr.), to wear out**

*matla* n.m. (pl. *matlə*) **epic, long story**

*matlab* n.f. (pl. *matlabba*) (Azer. mətləb < Arab.) **wish, request, purpose**

*matlana* n.m. (fs. *matlanta*, pl. *matlanə*) **story-teller**

*matlək* III (vn. *matlaktə*) **to cause to disappear (indirectly)** | *bət matləkkənnun*  
čaççə I shall cause the weapons to disappear

*matləx* III to cause to be destroyed (indirectly) | *mutləxli beta b-xa naša xina* I caused the house to be destroyed by somebody else

*matnə* III (vn. *matneta*) to begin to talk to somebody, to address; to bring to speaking terms, to make up a quarrel with | *matnuyuvən +xori* I am making up with my friend (after I was angry and did not talk to him); *xuš mátnilə* Go and start to speak to him

*matpək* III (vn. *matpəkta*) to cause to meet | *ána matpəkkánna bìyyux!* I shall cause her to meet you (A 36:3)

*matpət* III (vn. *matpatta*) to cause to sneeze | *+buybar mutpəttənna tpatta xelanta* The pepper made me sneeze a loud sneeze

*matrə* III (vn. *matreta*) to make wet, to moisten, to wet | *+muṭra bət-matriyyala* The rain will make him wet; *bət-matrənnə +savi* I shall slake my thirst

*matrəj* III (vn. *matrəfta*) (Arab. taraka) to wean; to cause to be given up (a bad habit), to eradicate

*matta* III (vn. *matteta*) (§ 4.14.9.) to put, to place | *matta +malyat* to impose a tax; *śómmu muttīla 'Odīšu'* She named him Odishu (B 11:2)

*matunta* n.f. small village, settlement

*matvən* III (vn. *matvanta*) to make numb

*matxən* III (vn. *matxanta*) to cause to be ground | *+bayyən matxənnun 'annə +xəttə bìyyux* I want to cause the wheat to be ground by you

*matyəv* III (vn. *matyavta*) to cause to sit; to seat (guests); to set sth. down

*mavvəd* III (vn. *mavvatta*, 1 *'avəd*) (1) to make do, to cause to be done | Used in periphrastic causative constructions: *bət-mavvəddən ḳat-maxətlun*, *bət-mavvəddənnux ḳat-maxətlun* I shall cause you to hit them. (2) to convince | *ḳam-mavvəddali* She convinced me (to do something)

*max* prep. → *'ax*

*maxbəl* III (vn. *maxbalta*) to cause to be cold | *talja bət-maxbəlli* The snow will make me cold; → *xabal* II to be cold

*maxdə* III (vn. *maxdeta*) to make enjoy, to amuse, to please

*maxdiyyana* adj.ms. (fs. *maxdiyyanta*, pl. *maxdiyyanə*) amusing, pleasing

*maxə* I (vn. *mxeta*) (1) to beat, to strike, to hit (+ direct object, *+al-* or *ju-*) | *xá 'átxa mxáyələ +alle'* He strikes them (A 39:40); *mxáyələ ju-rišu!* He beats his head (A 3:45); *bás 'áxnan pásłan +támə, mxáya ju-rišan!* Then we stayed there, beating our head (in grief) (B 6:5); *ju-rišət +uydalə mxilun* They beat each other up; *ḳa-bàbı!* *mxilun m-àxxu!* They struck my father here on him (B 6:5); *mxayələ javáy* He is beating inside (i.e. putting up with sth., e.g. insults, without reacting). (2) to hammer, to drive in. (3) to put, to put on, to spread | *čarúxə maxívalun p-àklu!* He would put boots on his feet (A 4:2); *síysu vágylə móxyu ju-pàjə!* He has put his horse in the stable (A 39:28). (4) to put together, to make (cakes) | *źt +dána ci-maxíva +hàvla!* There were

- times that they used to make sweetmeat (B 11:9). (5) **to play (a musical instrument)** | *dávla ci-maxívá* They would play the drum (B 5:7). (6) **to blow (wind)**
- maxjál* III (vn. *maxjalta*) **to startle (tr.), to frighten** | *kalux kam-maxjólli* Your voice startled me
- maxláp* III (vn. *maxlapta*) **to exchange, to substitute** | *bæt-maxlópənnə b-daha mændi* I shall exchange it for this
- maxmar* n.m. (Azer. *məxmər*) **velvet**
- maxmə* III (vn. *maxmeta*) **to leaven** | *bæt-maxmənnə leša b-+maya* I shall leaven the dough with rennet
- maxmaḱ* III (vn. *maxmaḱta*) **to cause to go putrid; to cause to rot; to cause to go off (food)** | *šəmša bæt-maxməkkala +mixulta* The sun will make the food go off
- maxmeta* n.f. **leaven**
- maxnə* III (vn. *maxneta*) **to miss (mən so.), to desire so. passionately, to long after (mən so.)** | *mxnxiyyəvən mənnux* I miss you; *mxnitəva mənnu* She missed him
- maxnəḱ* III (vn. *maxnáktə*) (1) **to throttle, to hang (execution); to cause to be drowned** | *+ávva járac maxnəkkáttə* You must throttle him (A 48:12); *mxnxnəkkalə janu* He caused himself to be drowned. (2) **to be throttled, to be hanged** | *jári maxnəkni vázzər* The vizier must be hanged (A 48:13)
- maxpə* III (vn. *maxpeta*) (1) **to cause to brood (hen), to cause to crouch. (2) to turn over (tr.) (a cup etc.)**
- maxpəl* III (vn. *maxpalta*) (1) **to neglect, to neglect one's duties, to avoid work; to be careless about** | *mxpəllə o-+šula ávədla* He neglected to do that thing (carelessly). (2) **to hesitate; to turn aside. (3) to refuse, to be reluctant**
- maxrap* III (vn. *maxrapta*) **to sharpen** | *+badíša muxráppa kèsələ* A *+baduša* is a sharpened stick (B 17:1)
- maxrəv* III (vn. *maxravta*) **to destroy, to ruin, to spoil, to condemn** | *maxrəv šəmmət xa naša* to defame, to calumniate; *maxravtət brata* the deflowering of a girl
- maxsusən* adv. (Pers. *maxsūsan* < Arab.) **especially**
- maxšəl* III (vn. *maxšalta*) **to cause to be pounded** | *cul xajlulət janu maxšuléla* Everybody causes his own corn to be pounded (i.e. everybody looks to his own interest)
- maxšəv* III (vn. *maxšavta*) **to cause to be thought, to pretend** | *maxšuvəla +crəstyanəla* He pretends that he is a Christian
- maxšəx* III (vn. *maxšaxta*) (1) **to recommend, to advise; to deem worthy; to think fit** | *'ana maxšuxəvən kat zonət xa beta* I advise you to buy a house;

*mudi maxšuxəvət +axlax* What do you recommend we eat? (2) to resolve to do a thing; to prefer

*m-axxa, mən-laxxa* adv. from here | *m-áxxa l-ò-yba* from now on (A 56:5)

*maxxə* III (vn. *maxxeta*) to revive, to resurrect

*maxxiyyana* (fs. *maxxiyyanta*, pl. *maxxiyyanə*) reviver, resurrecter

*maxyana* n.m., adj.ms. (fs. *maxyanta*, pl. *maxyanə*) striker; striking, beating, butting | *maxyanət nišanka* marksman, shooter

*maxyəm* III (vn. *maxyamta*) (1) to cause to become hot (temperature) | *šəmša bət-maxyəmmalux* The sun will make you hot. (2) to put on heat, to arouse (sexually) | *baxta kam-maxyəmmali* The woman turned me on (sexually)

*maxzə* III (vn. *maxzeta*) to cause to be seen, to show, to demonstrate, to instruct | *'ana maxzənnux xa šəcla* I shall show you a picture (lit. I shall cause a picture to be seen to you), *'ana maxzənnə 'aha šəcla katux* I shall show you this picture (lit. I shall cause this picture to be seen to you); *ka-mu lət maxzuya janux* Why don't you show yourself?; *bət-maxzənnə biyyux* I shall show you the consequences of your actions; *'ádi maxziyyənnə ka-díyyux 'ána!* Now I'll show you! (A 48:11)

*maxzər* III (vn. *maxzarta*) to slander, to talk against

*maxziyyanta* n.f. index finger

*mayaj/māj* I (vn. *myajta*) to knead in a kneading-bowl (*meju*)

*mayat/māt* I (vn. *myatta*) (1) to die. (2) to become lifeless, still | *ka-mú myatə myáta bərráxšəvət?* Why are you walking so slowly? (lit. dying dying)

*mayuta* adj.ms. (fs. *mayutta*, pl. *mayuta*) mortal

*mayə* III (vn. *mayeta*, I *'ata*) (1) to bring, to deliver, to supply. (2) to bear fruit, to produce | *ctayátət ləxxa* véna máya bíyyə là b-+*karúvva* The chickens here produce eggs without a rooster (B 7:4)

*mayyək* III (vn. *mayyakta*) (1) to make narrow; to restrict, to constrain. (2) to distress; to squeeze, to press

*mazmər* III (vn. *mazmarta*) to cause to sing, to cause to be sung | +*bayyən*

*mazmərrənnux* 'ay zmarta I want to cause you to sing that song; +*bayyen*

*mazmərrənnə* 'ay-zmarta biyyux I want to cause that song to be sung by you

*mazra* n.f. (Pers. marze) rosemary

*mazrak* n.f. (pl. *mazrakə*) (Pers. mazrāq 'javelin' < Arab.) cushion on a stick used to place items in an oven and extract them

*mazvə* III (vn. *mazveta*) to inflate (with air); to cause to swell | *muzvilə futta* He inflated a ball

*mazyəd* III (vn. *mazyatta*) (Arab. zāda) (1) to add, to increase; to multiply (arithmetic). (2) to exceed; to profit

*mazyər* III (vn. *mazyarta*) to cause to swell | *bałta bət-mazyərrəla jəldi* The mosquito will cause my skin to swell

- mažgəš* III (vn. *mažjašta*) **to disturb, to startle**
- mbajbəj* QII (vn. *mbajbajta*) **to cause to creep**
- mbarxəš* QII (vn. *mbarxašta*) **to cause to be stirred** | *bət-mbarxəšənnə bušala biyyo* I shall cause the stew to be stirred by her
- mcandər* QII (vn. *mcandarta*, QI *candər*) **to cause to roll**
- mcarməx* QII (vn. *mcarmaxta*, QI *carməx*) **to cause to be wrapped up, to wrap up**
- mčixa* adj.ms. (fs. *mčəxtə*, pl. *mčixə*) **found, retrieved**
- mčančən* QII (vn. *mčančanta*) **to cause to tingle, tinkle** | *kalət pəketa mčunčənen-nələ natyati* The sound of the explosion made my ears tingle
- mdamdəm* QII (vn. *mdamdamta*) **to cause to bleed (through another agent or instrument)** | *+'avva +bayyə mdamdəmlə idı b-mixa* He wants to cause my hand to bleed with a nail
- mdita* n.f. (Piğabayluvvə N, Arm. *məndita*, Abdallakande N, Salamas *mdəcta*) (pl. *mdənyatə*, *məndiyatə*) **town, city**
- mədrə* part. **again, still, once again, for the second time**
- məjjət* part. (Kurd. < Arab. mujidd; cf. Nöldeke 1868, 168) **really, truly; indeed, certainly**
- məjjəttuyta* n.f. **truthfulness, reliability**
- məllət* n.f. (pl. *məllattə*) (Azer. millət) **nation, tribe, people, race**
- malta* n.f. (pl. *məlyata*) (1) **string of a bow or musical instrument** | *maltaç kəştə* bowstring. (2) **sling**. (3) **bow for beating out cotton**
- məlxə* n.f. **salt** | *məlxət yama* sea salt; *miyyə məlxə* salt water
- məlxana* adj.ms. (fs. *məlxanta*, pl. *məlxanə*) **salty**
- məlxava* n.m. (pl. *məlxavə*) **pitchfork used for winnowing (with five or six teeth) made of wood or metal**
- məlyə* adj.ms. (fs. *mlita*, pl. *məlyə*) (1) **full** | *'áyya c-oyáva mlita xóttəl* It (the storage bin *cvara*) was full of wheat (B 10:8); *jibátu məlyáva mən-dánnə* <sup>E</sup>pencil<sup>Eə</sup> <sup>+xodcárə</sup> *davanəyəl* His pockets were full of golden automatic pencils (A 41:6). (2) **nourishing**. (3) **chubby, portly, fat**
- mən*, *m-* (with pron. suffixes: *mənn-*) part. (§ 8.4.22., § 11.5.) (1) **from** | *cúlla nákyə mən-pát +'arrə šaklánnum* I should remove from the face of the earth all females (A 2:17); *mən-'álaha ləla +tšítəl* It is not hidden from God (A 2:17); *mən-dà fíyda +al-dò fíyda* from this wall to that wall (B 2:19). (2) **through** | *+şadurələl mən-+bəzzət buxarı* He sends them through the hole of the fireplace (A 14:2). (3) **on account of** | *mən-cápnu lél +myásə kám* mən-+támá! On account of his hunger he is unable to rise from there (A 49:12). (4) **of** | Partitive: *'íta 'áha-zə xá mən-+adáttət bne-'Ùrmila* So this is one of the customs of the people of Urmia (B 12:9). Material: *'áxnən 'átlən spadiyyátəl món párrət tərəna* We have pillows made of birds' feathers

ers (A 38:9). (5) **than (comparative § 9.8)** | *nàkva!* *mən-*-úrza *buš-xelàntəla* A female is stronger than a male (A 2:36). (6) **on** | Spatial location: *mən-dà-riša* on this side (B 2:20); *m-á-yba xína* on this other side (A 3:27); *útxa mən-*-*kássat brátu nšòklə!* He kissed her like this on her forehead (A 43:2). (7) **with** | *ku-ta-mənni!* Get up and come with me! (A 3:23); *m-+uydalə* with one another (= together). (8) **concerning** | *á cačálə!* *'átlə +xàbra mən-dá-báxta!* This bald man has a report concerning this woman (A 1:36). (9) **Temporal location** | with prepositions *+bar* and *kam*: *m-+bár-hada* after this (A 3:22); *+əsrá yumána m-kám +dána կay-tànı!* Ten days beforehand tell me (A 2:18)

*məndi* n.m. (pl. *məndiyana*, *məndyanə*) **thing, object; pl. belongings, goods, property**

*mənta* n.f. **gratitude** | *+tayən* I *mənta* to be grateful: *+bətyanəvən mənta* I am grateful; *'áha +rába +tyántət mənta vádələ!* He expresses his gratitude a lot (A 34:5); *+bəttánən məntux!* *kát á-məndi káy turilux!* I am grateful to you that you have told me this thing (A 2:37)

*mənya* n.m. (pl. *mənyə*) **small pot used for buried cheese (see illustration 7)**

*mənyana* n.m. (pl. *mənyana*) **number, calculation**

*məptaxor* n.m. (pl. *məptaxora*) (Azer. müftəxor, muft-xor) **parasite, hanger-on, freeloader**

*mərrəz* n.m. (Kurd. merez) **wool of lambs; wool of Angora goat**

*mərtuxa* n.m. **filling of cakes (*cadə*) consisting of flour, butter and salt**

*mərza* n.m. (pl. *mərza*) (1) **clerk; scribe, secretary.** (2) as a title following a name = prince, preceding a name = esquire

*məscar* n.m. (pl. *məscarə*) (Pers. mesgar) **coppersmith**

*məscina* adj.ms. (fs. *məscinta*, pl. *məscinə*) **poor, needy**

*məscinuya* n.f. **poverty** | *məscinuya jarəš* I, *b-məscinuya xayyə* I to live in misery, need

*məskal* n.m., Piğabayluvvə N *+məskal* (pl. *məskalə*, *+məskalə*) (Pers. mesqāl < Arab.) **unit of weight, mainly for precious metals (ca. 4.26 grams)**

*məsrəktə* n.f. (pl. *məsrəkyata*) **comb** | *məsrəktət 'akla* fan of bones at the top of the foot

*məsyo* n.m. (pl. *məsyoyə*) (French monsieur) **French Catholic missionary**

*məšməššə* n.f. (pl. *məšməššə*) (Pers. mešmeš) **apricot; apricot tree**

*məšna* n.f. (pl. *məšnə*) (1) **grindstone (for sharpening blade), hone.** (2) **touch-stone.** (3) **strop**

*məššəlməna* → *mšəlməna*

*məššənnér*, *məššinər* n.m. (pl. *məššənnərə*) **missionary**

*məšta'lana* adj.ms. (fs. *məšta'lanta*, pl. *məšta'lana*) **responsible (literary)** → *mas'ul* | *'ana məšta'lana vən b-daha məndi* I am responsible for this

*məšxa* n.m. (1) **oil, fat** | *məšxət šəbbət* sesame oil; *məšxət +kuttu* linseed oil;  
*məšxa maxə* I to flatter, *məšxa mxayula* He is flattering him; *ka-do naşa məšxa mxili* I flattered that man. (2) clarified butter with froth (+*daveta*) removed after being melted

*məšxana* adj.ms. (fs. *məšxanta*, pl. *məšxanə*) **oily, greasy** | *lişana məšxana* flattering tongue

*məttəlta* n.f. (pl. *məttəlyatə*) **story, fable, fairytale**

*mətxa* n.m. **period** | 'á +xábra b-mátxət šənnəl +xdırələ šķılələ šámmət *nipuxta* This word, in the course of the years, changed and assumed the form *nipuxta* (B 12: 7)

*məxxəlta* n.f. (pl. *məxxəlyatə*) **fine sieve**

*məž* n.f. (Kurd. mij) **mist, fog, haze**

*mecu* n.f. **measuring bag** (see illustration 35) | *tre mecu +rəzza* two mecu bags of rice

*mehl* n.f. (Azer. meyil, Pers. meyl < Arab.) **inclination, proclivity, desire**

*meju* n.f. (pl. *mejunyata*) **bowl used for kneading** (see illustration 21) | used especially for crushing dried yoghurt cakes (*kaškə*)

*meša* n.f. (pl. *mešatə*, *mešavatə*) (Azer. meşə) **wood, forest**

*mešači* n.m. (pl. *mešačiyə*) **forester**

*mešof* n.f. (pl. *mešoja*) (Canda, Sal.) **bag, measuring bag; sack**

*mešon, mišon* n.m. (Pers. mīšīn, mešān) **sheepskin, leather; morocco (skin)**

*meymun* n.m. (Armenia n.f.) (Azer. meymun, Pers. meymūn) **monkey (male)**

*meytar* n.m. (pl. *meytarə*) (Azer. mehtər) **ostler, groom (horseman)**

*mǵalta* n.f. (pl. *mǵalyatə*) **journal, magazine, periodical (literary)**

*mǵušaya* n.pl. (sing. *mǵušaya*) **Magi**

*mhada* II (vn. *mhadeta*) **to guide**

*mhumna* adj.ms. (fs. *mhummənta*, pl. *mhumnə*) **righteous, reliable, trustworthy; faithful** | +rábə *mhùmna nášələ* He is a very righteous man (A 1:4); *mhumna biyyi* faithful to me

*m-ica* part. **from where?**

*mila* adj.ms. (fs. *məlta*, pl. *milə*) (Pers. mīnā ‘azure’) **blue, green** | *mila ptuxa* light blue, azure; *mila +sayyə* (vn. +*sveta*) to become blue/green; *mila +masvə* to paint blue/green; +áynu *mıləva* His eyes were blue (A 41:4)

*mila* n.m. (pl. *milə*) (Azer. mil) (1) **axle pin.** (2) **rod that connected propeller to upper grindstone on watermill.**

*milaloc* n.f. **blue-bellied roller**

*milnaya* adj.ms. (fs. *milnetə*, pl. *milnaya*) **bluish**

*mīr-+kassab* n.m. (pl. *mīr-+kassabə*) (Pers. mīr-ğazab) **executioner**

*miratjaruya* n.f. **heritage**

*mīs* n.m. (Azer. mis, Pers. mes) **copper**

*mita* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *motta*, pl. *mitə*) **dead, dead person** | +*nora* +*al-mitux* light to your dead! (greeting on Good Friday and Easter evening)

*mixa* n.m. (pl. *mixə*) (Pers. *mīx*, Azer. *mix*) **nail** | *mixa mxiləju-juyda* He knocked a nail into the wall

*mixac* n.m. (Pers. *mīxak*) **clove; carnation** | *vardət mixac* clove flower

*miyya* n.pl.tantum (1) **water** | *miyya +xalyə* sweet (not salty) water; *miyyət parpetə* slops. Used in plural: +*tlá miyyə b-yavvàxla* We give it three lots of water (B 3:25). (2) **juice, liquid** | *miyyət +anva* grape juice; *miyya zavurə* phlegm; *miyyət naxira* nasal mucus, snot; *miyyət 'ilana* sap of a tree; *miyyət Mát-Maryam* water of St. Mary (name given to sap of certain trees that was thought to have curative properties). (3) **In idiomatic expressions** | *miyyət pata* modesty; *'o-naša marət miyyət 'idələ* That man is very capable (can do lots of things successfully); *miyya cumə ju-+aynu* ophthalmia (lit. black water in his eye); *'ax miyya ci-hamzəm* He speaks fluently; *ləplə 'ax miyya* He has learnt fluently; *maškəl III b-miyyət dava* to gild, to plate with gold; *cüllə šķálta b-miyyət dava* It is all plated with gold (A42:10).

*miyyana* adj.ms. (fs. *miyyanta*, pl. *miyyanə*) **watery, juicy, liquid; soft-boiled (egg)**

*mız* n.m. (pl. *mizə*) (Pers. *mīz*, Azer. *miz*) **table**

*myambəl* QII (vn. *myambalta*) **to cause to tumble** | +*arra miyyanta myumbəlla ka-yala* The wet ground caused the boy to tumble

*myandəl* QII (vn. *myandalta*) **to cause to be rolled** | *bət-myandəllənna jutta biyyux* I shall cause the ball to be rolled by you

*myarjəš* QII (vn. *myarjašta*) **to cause to be dragged** | *bət-myarjəšlə b-calbə* I shall cause him to be dragged by dogs

*myarvəs* QII (vn. *myarvasta*) **to cause to grow** | +*mixultət yəmmu myurvəsla ka-yala* The food of his mother caused the boy to grow

*myazžən* QII (vn. *myazžanta*) **to cause to become dizzy, to confuse** | *bət-myazžənni* He will confuse me

*modə* QI (vn. *modeta*) (1) **to confess (b- sth.), to receive confession, to repent** | *'ána ci-+báyyənl +x̣ití tanənna, modənnə kátxəl* I want to tell my sin, confess it to you (A 3:48). (2) **to acknowledge (b- sth., so.)** | *moduyələ b-+x̣itū* He acknowledges his sin

*modiyyanuya* n.f. **confession, repentance**

*mohra* n.m. (pl. *mohra*) (Azer. *möhrə*) **large block of dried mud (used for building walls)**

*mohtabar* (Pers. *mo'tabar* < Arab.) adj.invar. **reputable, of good standing, well-off, rich**

*momita, mometa* n.f. (pl. *momatə*) **oath, swearing** | *mammi momita* Swear an oath!; +*šmat̄tət momita* breaking of an oath; +*šamçanət momita* breaker of an

oath, perjurer; *mammánnux b-momita* I pledge you with an oath (A 3:63); *bí momátət kámēta* ... 'ida +'állux lè dáryan! By the ancient oaths I shall not lay a hand on you (A 42:25)

*móriša* n.m. (pl. *morišana*, *morišavata*) (< *mən o riša*) **morning** | *pyášəva ka-dó móriša xína* It remains until the next morning (B 17:19). adv. **in the morning; tomorrow morning** | In most varieties *moriša* and *kedamta* are used interchangeably, but in some, e.g. Canda, *kedamta* denotes 'early morning' (immediately after dawn) and *moriša* 'later morning' (after 8am); *t-azən moriša* I shall go tomorrow morning; *moriša jaldə* early in the morning

*mota* n.m. **death, execution** | *ka-báxtu bəkyámələ mxáyələ +'al-mòtə* He gets up and gives his wife a thorough beating (lit. beats to her death) (A 11:4)

*motana* adj.ms. (fs. *motanta*, pl. *motanə*) (1) **mortal; about to die.** (2) n. dead | +*bár +cavútral* 'ánnəl dà máta! 'ánnə 'ax-sakálələ +*xadríval* 'óm̥nət násə 'ztla jøddášta motána! +*jammíval* p̄t-azíva ja-bēt-+dàvun! After lunch, those that were like the dignitaries of the villages would go round, whoever has had an accident or somebody deceased, they would gather and go to his house (B 5:6); 'álahə mánəx motánux bábi! my father, may God grant rest to your deceased (and to him) (B 3:34)

*mreta* n.f. **moth, moths**

*msazjər* QII (vn. *msazjarta*, QI *sazjər*) (Pers. sāzgār) **to reconcile, to make peace; to make friends; to agree consent, to stipulate; to arrange a price** | +*bayyən msazjərrənnux mən-do naša* I want to make you become the friend of that man

*msazjərrana* n.m. (fs. *msazjərranta*, pl. *msazjərrana*) **conciliator, intermediary**

*mšamha* adj.ms. **famous (literary)**

*mšaršə* QII (vn. *mšaršeta*, QI *šaršə*) **to cause to tire**

*mšəlməna, məššəlməna* adj.ms. (fs. *mšəlmanta*, pl. *mšəlmənə*) **Muslim**

*mšəlmənuyta, məššəlmənuyta* n.f. **Islam**

*mšixa* n.m. **Christ** | *kyamtət mšixa* resurrection of Christ

*mšixaya* adj.ms. (fs. *mšixeta*, pl. *mšixə*) **Christian**

*mšixayuya* n.f. **Christianity**

*mu?mudi?muy?* part. **what?** (§ 2.8., § 12.1.5., § 12.2.5., § 12.9., § 14.3.2.) | *mù vádlə?*

What has he done? (A 3:19); *mù=ilə?* What is it? (A 3:47); *mú-'at +xábra?* What news is there? (A 2:15); *xázən mù+'amsən 'ódən!* I shall see what I can do (A 1:22); *škálla 'ánnə +xəttəl hám-da +rəzza!* hám-da *mùl* She took wheat, also rice and I don't know what (A 51:3). Presentative function (§ 13.1.8.1.): *'áha bitáyələ bëta, ptáxuləl* 'ína mú xá +'önsan-la. xá šapárta brátəla. He comes homes and opens it and what (does he see?) it is a human being. It is a beautiful girl. (A 43:6). With pronominal suffixes: *mudyux-lə?* (i) What is the matter with you? (ii) How is he related to you? → *mut*

*mucabba* n.m. (pl. *mucabba*) (Pers. moka<sup>”</sup>ab) (1) cube. (2) large overturned basket for storing cheese and yoghurt (see illustration 37) | Also termed: *sala mucabba*

*muddat* n.f. period | *ka-xa muddat* temporarily

*mufləs* adj.invar. (Azer. müflis < Arab.) insolvent, bankrupt; beggar

*muğjəbbi* n.m. (fs. *muğjəbtı*) my dear

*muğdəlla* adj.ms. (fs. *muğdəltı*, pl. *muğdəllə*) frozen

*muja* n.m. (pl. *muja*) bull-calf from 2–4/5 years old, bullock

*mujjur, mujurra, mujja* (Armenia), *mú-jurra* (Canda) part. (< *mu* ‘what’ + *jur/jurra* ‘kind’ Pers. *jür*) how? what kind of? | *mùjjur málta?*! How did she die? (A 1:31); *xázzax müjjur yálələ!* Let us see what kind of boy he is (A 34:4)

*mujtayyəd* n.m. (Pers. mujtahed) jurist

*muķayyad* adj.invar. (Arab. muqayyad; cf. Azer. qeyd, Kurd. miqatī) caring, careful | *bət-‘avən*! *muķayyad móanno!* I shall look after her (A 1:5)

*muķkəšša* adj.ms. (fs. *muķəšta*, pl. *muķkəšta*) cooled

*muķrəmma* n.m. loss; loser

*mula* n.f. (pl. *mula, mulavata*) (1) barn, granary. (2) shed used to produce sun-dried bricks

*mulc* n.f. (pl. *mulcanə*) (Azer. mülk < Arab.) landed property, manor, estate, | *marət mulc* landlord, landowner

*mumcun* adj.invar. (Azer. mümkün < Arab.) possible

*mumyəlla, mumməlla* adj.ms. (fs. *mumyəltı, mumməltı*, pl. *mumyəllə, mumyəl-lə*) turned green/blue, bruised → *mamyəl/mamməl*

*munšukta* n.f. (pl. *munšukyata*) kiss

*munxəppa* adj.ms. (fs. *munxəpta*, pl. *munxəppə*) to put to shame → *manxəp*

*mupatiəš* n.m. (pl. *mupatišə*) (Pers. mofatteš < Arab.) investigator | *mupatišə tavtušəna betux* The inspectors are searching your house

*muppəxxa* adj.ms. (fs. *muppəxta*, pl. *muppəxxə*) cooled → *mapyəx/mappəx*

*murad* n.f. (pl. *muradə*) object of a wish; desire | *xazənnux +al-+muradux la +maṭət!* May I see you not achieving what you wish! (curse)

*muraxxas, muraxxast* n.f. (Azer. mürəxxəs < Arab.) (1) freedom, holiday, vacation. (2) permission | *muraxxas ‘avəd* 1 to dismiss, to release; *ka-do-yálə!* | *muràxxas vádələ!* He releases the lad (A 10:12); ‘avə 1 *muraxxast* to leave, to be released. (3) free, freely

*muraxxastuyta* n.f. liberty, liberation

*murcəxxa* adj.ms. (fs. *murcəxta*, pl. *murcəxxə*) softened → *marcəx*

*murxəssə* adj.ms. (fs. *murxəšta*, pl. *murxəssə*) aborted (foetus) → *marxəš*

*musarda* n.m. seventh Sunday in Whitsuntide

*musməkkə* adj.ms. (fs. *musməkta*, pl. *musməkkə*) reddened, shamed → *mas-mák*

- musnədda* adj.ms. (fs. *musnətta*, pl. *musnəddə*) **leaning** | *musnədda* <sup>+al-</sup>*ilana* leaning on a tree
- mušaxa* n.m. **extent, size**
- mušrukta* n.f. **whistle**
- mušta* n.m. (pl. *muštə*) (Pers. mošt) **fist; fistful** | *xá-mušta* <sup>ka-</sup>*málla mxilə!* He punched the mullah (A 21:1)
- muštari* n.m. (pl. *muštariyyə*) (Azer. müştəri < Arab.) **buyer, customer** | *jarəš* I *muštari* to attract a customer
- mut* mod. **what?; why? exclamatory particle** (§ 9.7.13.) | with nominal complement: *'a-mút* <sup>+šülələ?</sup>! What matter is this? (i.e. What is this?) (A 2:21); *mút kétət bìyyu?*! Why are you bugging him?; *mút bušlùnyələ!*! How hot it is! (what a hot day it is!); <sup>+čáydan</sup> *mút xəmtələ!*! How hot the kettle has become!
- mutta* adj.ms. (fs. *muttita*, pl. *muttə*) **placed** → *matta* III
- muttacca* n.f. (pl. *muttacca*) (Azer. mütskkə < Arab.) **bolster, long round cushion** | placed under the churn (+*meta* B 19:17)
- mutvə* n.m. (pl. *mutvə*) **council; club**
- mutvənna* adj.ms. (fs. *mutvənta*, pl. *mutvənnə*) **numbed**
- muxa* n.m. (pl. *muxə*) **brain** | *muxət farma* marrow of bone; *muxu* <sup>+skətlə</sup> He had a stroke
- muxabna* interj. (Kurd. mixabin, muxabin) **what a pity!** | *muxabnu* It is a pity we lost him (also *mən-xabnu*); <sup>+avva naša</sup> *muxabnu* <sup>kat-</sup>*mətlə* It is a pity that that man died; *'annə varda muxabné-na* <sup>kat</sup> <sup>+rappaxlun</sup> It is a pity to throw these flowers out; *tilalə* *muxabné* He pitied them
- muxcum, muxcam, mohcam* adj.invar. **strong, sturdy, indestructible (construction)**
- muxcumuyta, muxcamuyta, mohcamuyta* n.f. **durability, sturdiness, indestructibility**
- muziyya* n.f. (1) **prostitute.** (2) **derogative term referring to a woman**
- mxašcən* QII (vn. *mxašcanta*, QI *xašcən*) **to cause to become dark; to sadden** | <sup>+ayva</sup> *bət-mxašcənna lelə* The cloud will make the night dark; <sup>+ayva</sup> *mxušcənla yuma* The cloud darkened the day
- mzida* n.f. (pl. *mzidə*) **leather bag, leather churn; waterskin (see illustration 19)** | *'ánnə bəxzáyəna* *cúllə mzida* <sup>šətyálə!</sup> They see that he has drunk the whole waterskin (A 37:16)

## +m

+*mārva* n.f. **west**

+*mabbə* III (vn. +*mabbeta*) **to cause to be liked** | *ci-*+*mabbila janu b-yad švavə*  
He charms the neighbours

+*mabbuwa* n.m. (pl. +*mabbuwə*) (1) **source, fountain, well.** (2) **upper course  
(of a river)**

+*mabsər* III (vn. +*mabsarta*) **to diminish (tr.), to reduce (tr.); to cause to lack,  
to cause loss to; to subtract** | *samət diyi bət-*+*mabsərrənnə* I shall subtract  
my share

+*macməl* III (vn. +*macmalta*) (Azer. kamil, Pers. kāmil < Arab.) (1) **to make  
perfect, to make fulfilled, to cause to end.** (2) **to maintain**

+*macrəz* III (vn. +*macrazta*) **to preach** | +*macruzələ b-hammanuyta* He is  
preaching the faith

+*macrəzzana* n.m. (pl. +*macrəzzanə*) **preacher**

+*macrəzzanuyta* n.f. **preaching**

+*mačə* n.m. (pl. +*mačə*) (Pers. māhīče) **muscle**

+*mačyər* III (vn. +*mačyarta*) **to offend; to anger, to displease**

+*mačyərrana* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. +*mačyərranta*, pl. +*mačyərranə*) **offender; offen-  
sive**

+*maččə* III (vn. +*maččeta*) **to smooth, to iron, to polish, to roll (in order to  
flatten)**

+*maččəm* III (vn. +*maččamta*) **to cause to be closed** | +*muččəmli* +*tarra biyyu* I  
caused the door to be closed by him

+*mačču* adj.invar. **smooth** | *avəd* I +*mačču* to smooth

+*mačmə* III **to extinguish, to switch off** | +*bayyə* +*mačmila nuyra b-miyya* He  
wants to extinguish the fire with water

+*mačməx* III (vn. +*mačmačta*, I +*čaməx*) **to cause to wither** | +*hava šaxina*  
+*mučməčələ varda* The hot air caused the flowers to wither

+*mačməx* QI (vn. +*mačmačta*) **to kiss loudly; to make a sound with mouth**

+*mačrə* III (vn. +*mačreta*) **to plaster, to smear**

+*mačriyyana* n.m. (fs. +*mačriyyanta*, pl. +*mačriyyanə*) (1) **plasterer.** (2) **mud  
mixed with straw applied to surfaces of a house and between bricks (*car-  
pičə*) (in recent years replaced by *sımənt* n.m. cement)**

+*mada* n.m. **baptism** → +*aməd*

+*maddə* III (vn. +*maddeta*, I +*yattə*) **to cause to know, to cause to be known,  
to inform, to declare, to express; to explain, to clarify** | *'ana* +*maddən-  
nux but-*+*sarastuyta* I shall let you know about the truth; *'ana* +*sarastuyta*  
+*maddənna katux* I shall let the truth be known to you; *b-*+*šarat* +*maddə* to  
hint

*+maddər* III (vn. *+maddarta*, *+madyarta*) (1) to return (tr.); to repay, to bring or send back | *bət-+maddərrənnə* *+al-ducta* I shall reinstate him. (2) to turn back or away. (3) to win back. (4) to vomit | *+muddərrə* *+mixulta* He vomited food. (5) to translate. (6) to convert, to pervert, to subvert | *mən-zarduštáyə=zə* *+maddürəna* They convert (them) from (being) Zoroastrians (B 1:7)

*+madəlbarə* adv. from now onwards

*+mağazya* n.f. (pl. *+mağazyə*) (Pers. mağāze < French magasin) shop, store

*+mağnatıṣ* n.m. (Azer. maqnit, Pers. mağnatış) magnet

*+mahal* n.f. (Azer. mahal < Arab.) area, district, province, region

*+mahana* (Pers. bahāne, Azer. bəhanə) pretext, excuse, occasion | *xa +mahana dvəkłə kat parəš mənnu* He seized a pretext to separate from him; *b-+mahana* under a pretext

*+mahud* n.m. (Azer. mahud) cloth, broadcloth

*+mayreta* n.f. (pl. *+mayrayata*) razor, shaving knife

*+majjəb* QII (vn. *+majjabta*) to surprise, to amaze

*+majjəbbana* adj.ms. (fs. *+majjəbbanta*, pl. *+majjəbbənə*) miraculous, amazing

*+majrəm* III (vn. *+majramta*) to impose a fine, to fine; to punish

*+majrət* III (vn. *+majratta*) to slip (from a height); to cause to slip

*+majrəttana* adj. slippery

*+majyər* III (vn. *+majyarta*) to urinate

*+mak̤kar*, *+mančkar* n.m. (pl. *+mak̤karə*) (Pers. manqār < Arab.) chisel, gouge

*+mak̤kar* III (vn. *+mak̤karta*) to cause to be dug (earth), to cause to be hollowed (tree)

*+mak̤rasuyta* n.f. quarrel, contention | *+mak̤rusuyta darə* I to foment a quarrel

*+mak̤ra* III (vn. *+mak̤reta*) to teach (to read) | *xa-+mak̤réta* *+mučriyyəlun*! They gave them a good education (A 42:4)

*+mak̤ram* III (vn. *+mak̤ramta*) to cause to be won; to lose | *+mučrəmlə* *zuyza* He lost money

*+mak̤ras* III (vn. *+mak̤rasta*) to quarrel, to squabble, to exchange angry words, to dispute, to go to law | *+mučrəslə* *mənni* He quarreled with me

*+mak̤rəssana* adj.ms. (fs. *+mak̤rəssanta*, pl. *+mak̤rəssanə*) quarrelsome, contentious

*+mak̤rəssanuyta* n.f. peevishness, contentiousness

*+mak̤rať* III (vn. *+mak̤raťta*) (1) to cause to be cut | *xá-yuma xášlə* *+málla kat-*

*-cəsu* *+mak̤ráťvalə* *cəsl* *+mak̤rəttān-cəsəl* One day the mullah went to have

his hair cut at the barber's (A 17:1). (2) to cut with scissors; to shear, clip |

*+ava varaka b-keči* *+mak̤ruťələ* He is cutting paper with scissors; *darzi ci-*

*+pasəl u-ci-* *+mak̤rať* A tailor designs and cuts. (3) to gnaw, to bite at. (4) to

- articulate, to pronounce | *surət* +*spay* +*maₖruₗəvət*** He speaks Assyrian well.
- (5) metaph. to keep back part of price or debt
- +*maₖrətₗana* n.m. (pl. +*maₖrətₗanə*) (1) **barber** | +*maₖrətₗān-cōsa* barber  
 (A 14:1). (2) **clippers, snippers** | +*maₖrətₗanət* +*tupₗpuryatə* nail clippers
- +*maₖrəx* III (vn. +*maₖraxta*) **to whiten, to shrivel (crop under the sun)**
- +*maₖriyyana* n.m. (fs. +*maₖriyyanta*, pl. +*maₖriyyanə*) **teacher. adj. legible (handwriting)**
- +*maₖtəl* III (vn. +*maₖtalta*) **to cause to be killed**
- +*maₖtəp* III (vn. +*maₖtaptə*) **to cause to be picked (grapes)**
- +*māl* n.m. (Azer. *mal* < Arab.) **goods, property of any kind, possessions, wares, money, riches, finance**
- +*mala* n.m. (pl. +*malə*) **large wooden flat instrument for smoothing mud on roof**
- +*maleta* n.f. **layer of mud put on beams of a house**
- +*malpə* III (vn. +*malpetə*) **to stick out the tongue** | +*malpuyux=ile* He is sticking his tongue out at you
- +*malyat* n.f. (Arab. *māl* *alyad*) **tax, protection money; custom duties; rent**
- +*malyas* III (vn. +*malyasta*) **to torment; to oppress; to constrain**
- +*mama* (child language) **mummy**
- +*mamača* n.f. (pl. +*mamačə*) (Azer. *mamaça*) **midwife**
- +*mamla* n.m. **trade, deal** | *xer yavvəl* +*mamloxun* 'alaha May God give you a good deal; *cma vilə* +*mamla*? How much was your deal? How much did you sell it for?; +*əsra* +*tuymanə* +*mamla vədli* I sold it for 10 tumans
- +*mamməd* III (vn. +*mammatta*) **to baptise**
- +*mamməddana* adj.ms. **baptist** | *Yuxanna* +*mamməddana* John the Baptist
- +*mammək* III (vn. +*mammaktə*) **to deepen; to do thoroughly, to dig deep**
- +*mamməl* III (vn. +*mammalta*) (Arab. *mu‘āmala*) **to fix (a price), to establish the price; to trade, to barter, to value, to appraise** | *bət-*+*mamməllən b-da məndi* I shall barter this
- +*mamməllana* n.m. (fs. +*mamməllanta*, pl. +*mamməllanə*) **appraiser, assessor**
- +*mammər* III (vn. +*mammarta*) **to build, to construct; to colonise (a country)** | 'alaha +*mammərrə betoxun!* May God build your house (positive); 'alaha +*mammərrə betoxun!* *kam* 'a-+*šula vədlux?* My God, why did you do this? (negative); 'akubrət +*mammər* +*katu ci-dokala* A mouse who delays (lit. who builds)—a mouse catches it
- +*mamməs* III (vn. +*mammasta*) **to allow to suck, to suckle, to nurse; to suck up (as a sponge)**
- +*mamməssanta* n.f. (pl. +*mamməssanə*) **wet nurse**
- +*mamməz* QI (vn. +*mammazta*) **to become chilled; to chill** | +*mammuzəvən*

- I am chilled; *mən-ḳarta* +*mumməzli* I became chilled by cold; *ḳarta kam-* +*mamməzzali* The cold has chilled me
- +*mammuduyta* n.f. **baptism**
- +*mampər* n.m. (pl. +*mampirə*) **large fork used for harvest**
- +*mamrə* III (vn. +*mamreta*) **to cause to be ill; to cause to ache, to hurt** | +*mamrə labbat xa naša* to displease somebody; +*av* +*mumriyyaləjanu* He pretended to be ill; *rīšux là* +*mamriyyánna* I shall not tire you [lit. give you a headache] (by speaking too much) (A 4:9)
- +*mamrəč* III (vn. +*mamračta*) **to cause to be crushed** | *bət-*+*mamrəččən-nun* +*anvə b-xa* +*mašina* I shall cause the grapes to be crushed by a machine
- +*mamrəl* III (vn. +*mamralta*) **to make bitter; to treat badly; to afflict**
- +*mamṭə* (vn. +*mamṭeta*) (1) **to cause to arrive, to lead, to bring forward** | +*mamṭuyələ* +*al-janu* He is being importunate, he is insisting. (2) **to send a letter; to transfer, to deliver.** (3) **to inform (spy).** (4) **to produce, to bring forth.** (5) **to process (hides, roofs)** | *dašdəššivalə* átxa jáns +*mamṭivalə* They used to stamp (the roof) very well like this and processed it (B2 1:21); *tína* átxa ci-+*mamṭivalə* +*küya* 'avíva They would process the mud so that it would be hard (B 3:37). (6) **to tend (garden).**
- +*mamṭiyaya-məšməššə* n.f. (pl. +*mamṭiyaya-məšməššə*) **coloured flower beetle** (lit. 'ripener of apricots'—since it shows when apricots are ripe)
- +*mamṭiyana* n.m. (fs. +*mamṭiyanta*, pl. +*mamṭiyana*) **informer, spy** | +*mamṭiyanət* +*xabrx=ivən* I am your messenger
- +*mamṭiyanyuta* n.f. **spying; denunciation**
- +*mamuna* n.m. (pl. +*mamunvatə*), vocative +*mamu* (Kurd. mam) **paternal uncle**
- +*manáy*, +*maná* n.f. (Azer. məna, Pers. ma'nā < Arab.) **meaning, sense, significance, contents**
- +*mancar* III (vn. +*mancarta*) **to threaten**
- +*mandərrunta* n.f. (pl. +*mandərrunyatə*), +*mandərranta* (pl. +*mandərranyatə*) **n.f. roller**
- +*manət* n.m. (Russ. монет) **coin, Russian rouble**
- +*manjər* III (vn. +*manjarta*) **to rake up, to harrow**
- +*manpəs* III (vn. +*manpasta*) **to cause to be shaken off**
- +*mansər* III (vn. +*mansarta*) **to leak, to let fluid out through a crevice**
- +*manšər* III (vn. +*manšarta*) **to cause to fight among themselves (rams or buffaloes)** | +*manšurena* ánnə tre callə ḷaṭ +*ḥalši* They make the two buffaloes fight
- +*mantər* III (vn. +*mantarta*) **to cause to fall (leaves, fruits, hair); to knock down (fruit from a tree)** | +*mantartət foza* The bringing down of walnuts (from the trees)

+*manṭəp* III (vn. +*manṭapta*) **to cause to drip, to dip**

+*manvər* III (vn. +*manvarta*) **to frighten away**

+*maplət* III (vn. +*maplətta*) **to cause to go out (indirectly); to cause to be ejected** | *bət-*+*maplətlə mən-*+*otağ b-našə xina* He will cause him to be ejected from the room by other people; +*av* +*mupləttaləjanu* He caused himself to be ejected; he pretended to leave

+*maprə* III (vn. +*mapreta*) (1) **to increase, to multiply.** (2) **to flood (with water)**

+*maprət* III (vn. +*maprattta*) **to screw (sexual)** | +*maprət!* F. off!

+*mapsəx* III (vn. +*mapsaxta*) **to cause to rejoice, to cause to be happy; to amuse, to entertain; to please**

+*mapšə* III (vn. +*mapšeta*) **to make lukewarm**

+*mapšəm* III (vn. +*mapšamta*) **to cause to be sad, to cause to be sorry; to cause to repent**

+*mapšət* III (vn. +*mapšattta*) (1) **to see off, to accompany; to escort.** (2) **to guide**

+*maþčəl* III (vn. *maþčalta*) **to twist; to bend; to change, to pervert; to turn aside; to prevaricate; to grimace (face)**

+*maþləš* III (vn. +*maþlašta*) **to cause to fight, to cause to quarrel**

+*maþrəm* (vn. +*maþramta*) **to cause so. to understand; to cause sth. to be understood, to explain, to clarify; to convince** | *bət-* +*maþrəmmənna 'aha naša* I shall make this man understand, I shall convince this man; *bət-*+*maþrəmmənna 'aha-məndi kətux* I shall cause this thing to be understood by you.

+*maþtəx* III (vn. +*maþtaxta*) **to widen, to stretch wide**

+*mar* n.m. **title of saint or archbishop**

+*maran*, +*marya* **The Lord, God, Christ** | *vetət* +*maran* the birth of Christ, Christmas

+*mardən* QI (vn. +*mardanta*) **to become civilized** | *hal diman le-*+*mardənnət* Until when will you not be civilized?

+*mardər* III (vn. +*mardarta*) (1) **to die a natural death (cattle).** (2) **to profane, to defile**

+*mardəx* III (vn. +*mardaxta*) **to boil (tr.), to cause to boil** | +*murdəxxeli miyya b-nuyra* I caused the water to boil with fire

+*marduyta* n.f. **culture; learnedness; eloquence**

+*marəč* I (vn. +*mračta*) **to squash, to crush by squeezing with fingers; to become crushed; to press (to extract juice)** | +*mričela* +*anvə* He crushed the grapes; +*anvə* +*mrəčlun* The grapes became crushed

+*marəl* I (vn. +*mralta*) **to become bitter, rancid**

+*marəm* III (vn. +*maramta*) (1) **to raise, to lift; to magnify, to exalt; to elevate** | +*murmalažjanu* he became proud. (2) **to remove, to take away, to clear (from a table)**

- +marət I** (vn. **+mraṭta**) **to rub off skin**
- +marla** n.f. (Russ. марля) (Caucasus) **gauze, cheesecloth**
- +marmər QI** (vn. **+marmarta**) (1) **to whine (cat).** (2) **to growl (dog).** (3) **to be angry; to mutter; to brawl**
- +marpə III** (vn. **+marpeta**) (1) **to loosen, to weaken.** (2) **to divorce (wife)**
- +marra** n.m. (pl. **+marra**) **illness, sickness, pain, epidemic** | *jarəš I +marra* to contract an illness; **+marra +kaṭula** epidemic illness; **+marra šaxina** typhoid; **+marrət šlapta** paralysis; **+marrət ḫdala,** **+mar-ḳdala** disease of the throat, inflammation of the tonsils; **+marrət cisa,** **+mar-cisa** stomach ache; diarrhoea; **+marrət riša,** **+mar-riša** headache; **+marra yavvəl I** to bother, to cause trouble; **o naša +raba +marrət riša yavanəla** That man is a real headache
- +marrana** adj.ms. (fs. **+marranta**, pl. **+marranə**) **sick, weak, painful.** n. **patient**
- +marranuyta** n.f. **illness, ill health, morbidity**
- +marra I** (vn. **+mreta**) **to become ill, to hurt, to ache** | *ləbbi +mrəyəla* I feel nauseous; *idi +mrəyəla* My hand hurts; *póllə +mrɪlə brūn-málca!* The son of the king fell ill (A 56:3)
- +marra III** (vn. **+marreta**) (i) (1) **to patch, to have repaired.** (2) **metaph. to make up, to forge.** (3) **to finish a business well**
- +marra III** (vn. **+marreta**) (ii) (1) **to graze (cattle, birds), to feed a flock, to pasture (a field)** | *átlan +kàzə! xuš-ázal lábəl +marrilun!* We have geese. Let him go and take them to feed (A 42:16). (2) **metaph. to govern a diocese, to manage**
- +marra III** (vn. **+marreta**) (iii) **to cause to rain or snow**
- +marrəš III** (vn. **+marrašta**) (1) **to wake (tr.), to make sober.** (2) **to warn, to remind** | **+murrəšli kat a-+šula ḫdatla** I reminded you to do that job. (3) **to stir up**
- +marriyya**, n.m., **+marrita** n.f. (1) **pasture, fields round a town.** (2) **parish**
- +marvə III** (vn. **+marveta**) **to make drunk, intoxicated**
- +maryəs III** (vn. **+maryasta**) **to splash, to sprinkle, to drizzle**
- +maryəx** (vn. **+maryaxta**) (1) **to lengthen, to extend, to draw out, to grow (hair).** | *le-+bayyan +maryəxxanna* I don't want to make it (the story) too long; **+maryəx bina** to be long suffering; **+maryəx +šulət xa naša** to remand somebody (e.g. after judgement in court). (2) **to cause to lie down** | *+bayyən +maryəxxənnə* I want to lay him down. (3) **to prolong, to defer, to put off** | *ḳàm!* **+maryūxot?** Why are you taking so long? (A 48:15)
- +masalla** n.f. **material, stuff (in all trades)**
- +masarta** n.f. (pl. **+masaryatə**) **wine-press, wine-vat**
- +masə → +'aməs**
- +maslahat** n.f. (Azer. məsləhət, Pers. maslahat < Arab.) **advice, counsel; meet-**

- ing | *yavvol* I +*maslahat* to advise; *xazə* I +*maslahat* to advise; *'avəd* I +*maslahat* to discuss
- +*maslo* III (vn. +*masleta*) (1) to cause to descend, to bring down, to lower, to cast down. (2) to unload. (3) to let down (sleeve). (4) to reduce fraction (arithmetic)
- +*masleta* n.f. (pl. +*maslayata*) slope (of hill, mountain) | +*masletət* +*tuyra* the slope down a mountain
- +*masməs* QI (vn. +*masmasta*) to keep silent (not revealing what one knows); to be hushed, to hush | +*masməs!* Keep your thoughts to yourself and be quiet
- +*masməssana* adj.ms. (fs. +*masməssanta*, pl. +*masməssanə*) keeping silent, gloomy
- +*masnən* III (vn. +*masnanta*) to cause to burn (meat)
- +*maspə* III (vn. +*maspeta*) to cause to be purified | +*muspiyyeli miyya b-*+*maši-na* I caused the water to be purified by a machine
- +*maspyəppana* → +*sapyana*
- +*masrəp* III (vn. +*masrapta*) to cause to smart | +*musrəplux pummi* You have made my mouth smart
- +*masrəx* III (vn. +*masraxta*) (1) to cause (animal, child) to be enraged. (2) to spoil (child)
- +*mašṭapta* n.f. (pl. +*mašṭapyatə*) (1) raised step or platform. (2) low wall in front of the sanctuary of a church
- +*mašṭar* n.m. (pl. +*mašṭarə*) (Pers. mastar < Arab.) ruler (writing accessory) | +*mašṭar jarəš* I to rule (paper)
- +*masusa* n.m. clump of hair; quiff
- +*masvə* III (vn. +*masveta*) (1) to sate, to satiate. (2) to rinse laundry in the water with laundry blue; to dye (fabric); to dip
- +*masxara* n.m., +*masxarači* n.m. (pl. +*masxara*, +*masxaračiyə*) (Pers. masxara, masxaragī; Azer. masqaraçı < Arab.) buffoon, joker, clown, comedian; mocking person
- +*masxarat* n.f. (pl. +*masxarattə*) laughing-stock
- +*masxaruya* n.f. jesting, mockery, sneer | *'avəd* I +*masxaruya* to joke, to mock
- +*masxə* III (vn. +*masxeta*) to cause to swim; to make wet, to bathe (tr.)
- +*masxər* III (vn. +*masxarta*) to joke, to sneer, to mock; to banter, to scoff (*b-at*) | +*masxurəvət biyyi* You are mocking me; *ka-mú-it* 'átxa màrl *kat-náše* +*masxárri biyyi?* Why are you saying this, so that people will despise me? (A 24:2)
- +*masxərrana* adj.ms. (fs. +*masxərranta*, pl. +*masxərranə*) derisive; mocker
- +*masyəd* III (vn. +*masyatta*) to track down, to cause to be hunted; to watch

- out for; to observe, to watch (from a distance); to peep at; to lie in wait for; to spy | <sup>+</sup>*musyəddelə*** He spotted them
- +*masyəp* III (vn. <sup>+</sup>*masyapta*) to filter, to distill (water); to wring liquid out of sth.**
- +*masyəppana*, +*masipana* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*masyəppanə*, <sup>+</sup>*masipanə*) strainer for liquid**
- +*masyər* III (vn. <sup>+</sup>*masyarta*, I <sup>+</sup>*yasər*) to cause to be tied**
- +*masyət* III (vn. <sup>+</sup>*masyat्तa*) to listen (<sup>+</sup>*al-* to), to obey, to pay heed**
- +*masyəttana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*masyəttanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*masyəttanə*) obedient, compliant, attentive; listener | *la* +*masyəttana* inattentive**
- +*maša* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*mašə*) (Azer. maşa) tongs, pincers**
- +*mašaxət* n.m. immigrant, stranger**
- +*mašaxətta* n.f. immigration | *nášət mátət Zumàllan* | +*šurílun* +*mašaxáttta bítáya* +*al-*+*átrət Amérca* | The people of the village of Zumallan began to immigrate to America (B 11:11)**
- +*mašə* n.pl. (sing. <sup>+</sup>*mašita*) (Azer. maş, Pers. māš) beans | +*mašə smukə* haricot beans; +*mašə balķə* multicoloured peas; *ju-*+*mašə vərrə* He got carried away (lit. he entered into the beans); *ju-*+*mašə la-*+*orax* Let's not get carried away**
- +*mašina* n.f. (Pers. māšīn) machine; car | +*mašinət* +*s̄kura* weaving machine; +*mašinət* +*xyuṭa* sewing machine**
- +*mašma* III (vn. <sup>+</sup>*mašmeta*) (1) to cause to be heard, to proclaim | +*mašmənnux xa-hakyat* I shall let you hear a story (lit. I shall let a story be heard to you), +*mašmənna ķatux a-hakyat* I shall let you hear this story (lit. I shall let this story be heard to you). (2) to pay attention, to listen (<sup>+</sup>*al* to). | *bət-*+*mašmə allo* He will listen to her. (3) to cause to listen | *ő-t le* +*šamma b-natu m-* +*bar ķdalu bət-*+*mašmilə* If a man will not listen with his ear, they will make him listen at the back of his neck (i.e. beat him) (cf. Maclean 1895, 346). (4) to ask a girl's parents for her hand in marriage | *bərráxšəna cmájanatə* | +*mašmúyəna ķá bí bràta* Several people would go and present the marriage request to the family of the girl (B 10:22)**
- +*mašmət* III (vn. <sup>+</sup>*mašmaṭta*) to cause to be broken | +*mušməṭṭalə idu* He caused his hand to break**
- +*mašsaṣta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*mašsaṣyata*) swing (for children)**
- +*mašsə* III (vn. <sup>+</sup>*mašsəta*, I <sup>+</sup>*šayyə*) to cause to stick; to cause to be plastered**
- +*mašsəš* III (vn. <sup>+</sup>*mašsaṣta*, I <sup>+</sup>*šayəš*) to cause to swing, to shake (tr.), to shake off**
- +*mašsəššana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*mašsəššanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*mašsəššanə*) moving, causing-emotion**
- +*maštaxa* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*maštaxə*) flat area, plain | +*maštaxət* +*tuyra* foot of a mountain**

- +mašxət** III (vn. **+mašxaṭṭa**) **to wander; to cause to wander; to move, to exile (so. to another country)** | *kam-+mašxətli* He made me wander
- +mašyəl** III (vn. **+mašyalta**) **to cause to cough** | **+buybar ci-+mašyəllali** The pepper makes me cough; **+buybar ci-+mašyəllali +šyalta xelanta** The pepper makes me cough a big cough
- +mat** adj.invar. (Kurd. mat) **bewildered, confused** | *'avəd* I **+mat, šavək** I **+mat** to amaze, to bewilder; *jarəš* I **+mat, 'avə +mat, payəš +mat** to be surprised, perplexed
- +māt** **checkmate** | *maxə* I **+māt** to die
- +mata** n.f. (pl. **+mayata**) (1) **a single grape, berry** | *muyyili +mayata* I've brought grapes (separate grapes taken off bunch). (2) **pimple, pustule, spot (on skin)** | **+pağri +plaṭla +mayata** My body has come out in spots
- +matəc** n.f. (Pers. mātīk) **lipstick** | **+mātəc mx̥l** Put on lipstick (A 24:1)
- +matrəs** III, Caucasus **+matrəs** (vn. **+matrasta, +matrasta**) **to cause to be repaired** | **+mutrəssali +mašini b-xa naša xina** I had my car repaired by somebody else
- +matta** n.f. (Pers. matā' < Arab.) **goods, merchandise, wares**
- +matbata** n.f. (pl. **+matbayata**) **printing house; printing-press**
- +matbə** III (vn. **+matbeta**) (i) **to cause to sink** | *cipa +muṭbiyyala ju-miyya* The stone made her sink in the water; **+muṭbiyyala janu** He pretended to sink
- +matbə** III (vn. **+matbeta**) (ii) **to print**
- +matə** (vn. **+mṭeta**) (1) **to arrive, to reach** | **+mṭilə +'al-xa-dūcta**! He arrived at a place (A 9:2); **+mṭili bēta** I arrived home (A 4:14); *ctava +mṭilə +'al-'idu* He received the book; **+mṭila +'al-jani** I have had enough! *vela +mṭaya 'e-diyyi-da* I am getting (to feel) the same too. (2) **to overtake.** (3) **to ripen, to develop a head (boil)** | **+rōzza +matīva.** *+bár=t +mṭivalə, bí majásta +xazdīvalə.*! The rice used to ripen. After it ripened, they used to harvest it with a sickle. (B 3:6). (4) **to manage (to do sth.)** | *leva +mṭaya ḥoriva* They did not manage to get married; *'idi le-+matya* I cannot afford it (lit. My hand does not reach). (5) **to look after** | **+mṭili +allu** I looked after him
- +matlə** IIII (vn. **+matleta**) **to put to sleep, to lull to sleep**
- +matmə** III (vn. **+matmeta; i +ṭammə**) **to cause to be tasted** | *'ana +matmənna 'aha xurrac ḫatux, 'ana +matmənnux 'aha xurrac* I shall let you taste this food (lit. I shall let this food be tasted to you),
- +matmər** III (vn. **+matmarta**) **to cause to be buried**
- +matrapulita** n.m. (pl. **+matrapulitə**) **metropolitan, archbishop**
- +matrə** III (vn. **+matreta**) **to drive, to ride (animal)** | **+matruyəvən xmara** I am driving a donkey (from behind); **+matruyì +matrúyə** at a gallop. Cf. pattern I **+bəṭrayəvən xmara** I am riding a donkey (sitting on it)
- +matrəs** III (vn. **+matrasta**) **to cause to become fat; to fatten**

- +matrīyyana* n.m. (fs. *+matrīyyanta*, pl. *+matrīyyanə*) (1) **rider, racer (person).**  
 (2) **jigolo, womanizer**
- +matṭən* III (vn. *+matṭanta*, I *+ṭayən*) **to load, to pack with** | *'ana bət-+maṭənnən-nə* *xmara b-+kəṛṭalə* I shall load the ass with panniers; *'ana bət-+maṭənnən-nun* *+kəṛṭalə* *+al-xasət xmara* I shall load the panniers on the back of the ass; *+xasət xmara* *+muṭənnələ* *+kəṛṭalə* The back of the ass is loaded with panniers
- +matṭəs* III (vn. *+matṭasta*) (1) **to stick into, to shove into.** (2) **to dip**
- +matṭət* III (vn. *+matṭatta*, I *+ṭayət*) (1) **to cause to sweat.** (2) **to shame**
- +matyəp* III (vn. *+matyapta*) **to cause to bend; to bring a branch down** | → *tayəp*  
 I (tr., intr.)
- +matyəx* III (vn. *+matyaxta*) **to flatten, to press into**
- +mavanaya* n./adj.ms. (fs. *+mavaneta*, pl. *+mavanayə*) **inhabitant of Mavana**
- +mavər* III (vn. *+mavarta*, pres. 3ms. *+mavər*, 3fs. *+mora*, 3pl. *+mori*) (1) **to bring in, to introduce, to lead into.** (2) **to remove, to take away.** (3) **to overlook, to take no notice of, to pass by.** (4) **to move (goods), to transport (by river, through mountains); to drive (cattle into a shed).** (5) **to pass (time), to spend (time)** | *lēna vāya* *+áxči xá yúma* *+mavúra b-+xáltət mərtūxa* They do not spend the day only eating cake dough (B 11:13); *xayuté b-dà mändi* *+mavúrova* They passed their life in this way (B 1:24). (6) **to cause to be passed** | *á tūttun* *cút* *+ṭárpa ka-jánu b-+xmàṭa* *+morila* They cause the tobacco to be passed through by a needle (= They pass a needle through the tobacco), each leaf by itself (B 3:27) (7) **to bear fruit.**
- +maxarəj* (Pers. *maxārej* < Arab.) **expenses** | *halli* *+maxarijət suysux* Give me the expenses (I have incurred on account of) your horse
- +maxbər* III (vn. *+maxbarta*) (1) **to inform, to notify.** (2) **to telephone.** (3) **to report; to announce**
- +maxdər* III (vn. *+maxdarta*) (1) **to overturn, to pour (from a container)** | *'ánnə* *míyya* *+maxduréna* *+állu* *'u-bərràkəna* They pour the water over him and run away (A 37:20). (2) **to turn, to make revolve, to administrate.** (3) **to pervert (sense of sth), to change.** (4) **to overthrow.** (5) **to pass round at a table.** (6) **to tell one's beads.** (7) **to turn (a page of a book), to leaf through (book)** | *+muxdərrə* *pata* He turned a page. (8) **to copy (from a book), to translate (a book)**
- +maxdərrana* n.m. (fs. *+maxdərranta*, pl. *+maxdərranə*) **administrator** | *+maxdərránət* *+átri* the administrator of my land (A 3:45)
- +maxəl* III (vn. *+maxalta*, I *+axəl*) **to cause to eat, to feed; to cause to be eaten** | *xá* *+rába* *+muxálta* *bìyyil* *kát lèt* *+bəddá xína* She has made me so fed up, that you cannot understand (A 40:8); *bət-yavvən babux* *+maxlilə* *bìyyux* I shall ensure that people cause your father to be eaten by you (curse)

- +*maxlana* adj.ms. (fs. +*maxlanta*, pl. +*maxlanə*) **feeding; hospitable** | +*maxlana našələ* He is a very hospitable man
- +*maxlə* III (vn. +*maxleta*) (1) **to sweeten** | +*maxluyoləjanu* He is talking sweetly, he is flattering. (2) **to forgive, to pardon, to spare, to excuse** | +*maxleta!* Pardon me! +*ṭləblə* +*maxleta* He took his leave (from a superior). (3) **to give presents to, to bribe**
- +*maxlət* III (vn. +*maxlatta*) (Arab. ḡaliṭa) **to cause to make a mistake, to confuse, to tempt, to pervert**
- +*maxliyyana* (fs. +*maxliyyanta*, pl. +*maxliyyana*) **sweetening, granting, forgiving**
- +*maxməs* III (vn. +*maxmasta*) **to make sour; to frown** | +*maxmusuləranju* He is frowning
- +*maxrəm* III (vn. +*maxramta*) (1) **to excommunicate; to damn, to curse, to anathemize** | 'ana pišən muxrəmma b-kaša I have been excommunicated by the priest. (2) **to be accursed**
- +*maxrəmmanna* n.m. (fs. +*maxrəmmanta*, pl. +*maxrəmmana*) **curser, condemner**
- +*maxusa* n.m. (pl. +*maxusə*) **poker**
- +*maxusna* n.f. **groin**
- +*maxusta* n.f. (pl. +*maxusyata*) **small poker (instrument with long handle with small pan on end of it for extracting burning coals from a fire)**
- +*maxvər* III (vn. +*maxvarta*) **to make white; to bleach; to whitewash; to plaster with white plaster** | šəmša bət-+*maxvərralun vards* The sun will make the flowers white; +*maxvartət bətvətə* whitewashing of houses with +*xorana* (whitewash, B 10:18)
- +*maxvərrana* n.m. **whitening agent (used in the preparation of *nipuxta*)**; (fs. +*maxvərranta*, +*maxvərranə*) **bleacher; fuller; plasterer**
- +*maya* (i) n.m. (pl. +*maya*, +*mayavatə*) **guts, intestines; womb; metaph heart** | +*maya* +*jurə* large intestine; +*maya* +*surə* small intestine
- +*maya* (ii), +*mayana* n.m., Armenia n.f. (Azer. maya) **rennet; yoghurt culture**
- +*maya* (iii) n.m. (Pers. māye) **money given to another, earnest money; a stake at play, capital (of money); treat (of food)** | 'ən basmalux, +*maya mattili* Please pay for me; xa +*maya muttila* կատէ She gave them a treat
- +*mayallax* (Azer. mayallaq) **somersaults** | +*mayallax* +*rappə* II to somersault
- +*mayana* n.m. **fennel seed**
- +*maydan*, +*meydan* n.f. (pl. +*maydanə*, +*meydanə*) (Azer. meydan < Arab.) **square (in town)** | +*maydan patax* I to part, to divide (crowd)
- +*mayəs/+mās* I (vn. +*myasta*) (i) (1) **to suck (milk from teat, also with sexual connotation)** | yala sura bəzza ci-+*mayəs* A baby sucks a teat. (2) **to sip.** (3) **to exhaust** | Cf. šarək I (vn. šrakta) to suck up (with energy)

- +*mayəs/+mās* I (vn. +*myasta*, +*masta*) (ii) → +*aməs*
- +*mayra* adj.ms. (fs. +*marta*, pl. +*mayrə*) **bitter**
- +*mayruyta* n.f. **bitterness**
- +*mayyə* I (vn. +*myeta*) **to churn butter, to stir up**
- +*mazbət* III (+*mazbatta*) (Azer. sübut, Pers. esbāt < Arab.) **to prove, to convict, to affirm, to claim**
- +*mazbəttana* adj.ms. (fs. +*mazbəttanta*, pl. +*mazbəttanə*) **proving; evidence, proof; someone providing proof**
- +*mazdə* III (vn. +*mazdeta*) **to frighten, to intimidate, to threaten**
- +*mazdiyyana* adj.ms. (fs. +*mazdiyyanta*, pl. +*mazdiyyanə*) **frightening, terrible**
- +*mazlə* III (vn. +*mazleta*) **to cause to crack (indirectly)** | *bət-*+*mazlənnə šuyša b-cipa* I shall cause the glass to crack by the stone
- +*mazmət* III (vn. +*mazmuṭta*) **to prove**
- +*mazmura* n.m. (pl. +*mazmura*) **psalm**
- +*mazraya*, Caucasus +*mazrá* n.m./f. **cultivated land, arable field; cornfield; shelter, manor**
- +*mazuzta* n.f. (pl. +*mazuzyatə*) **lizard**
- +*mazzə* I (vn. +*mzeta*) **to mix (liquid)**
- +*mazzəz* QI (vn. +*mazzazta*) **to shiver; to have a fever**
- +*mbarrən* QII (vn. +*mbarranta*, QI +*barrən*) **to light up; to make bright, to cause to shine; to light a candle**
- +*mčarčə* QII (vn. +*mčarčeta*) **to stain (tr.)** | *kava +mčurčiyalə +xali* The coffee stained the carpet
- +*mdabbaranuta* n.f. **leadership; management (literary)**
- +*mdabrana* n.m. (pl. +*mdabranə*) **leader; manager (literary)**
- +*mdarvəd* QII (vn. +*mdarvatta*) **to cause to be rocked** | *bət-*+*mdarvədla darjuştə b-bərka* He will cause the cradle to be rocked by electricity
- +*mərčə-*+*mərč* n.f. **sound of sucking (of lips)** | *mut +mərča +mərčoxun-la?* What is that loud sucking noise (of kissing) that you are making? cf. +*marəč* I
- +*mərra-*+*mər* n.f. **whining sound** | +*kaṭu +mərra +mərrola* The cat is whining → +*marmər* QI
- +*mərṭə-*+*mərṭ* n.f. **grumbling noise** | +*mərṭa +mərṭula* He is grumbling; cf. +*tərəməm* QI
- +*məryə* adj.ms. (fs. +*mrita*, pl. +*məryə*) **ill; n. ill person** | *beté +məryə, Yəsəp=ilə* Talk of the devil (lit. their house be ill), it is Yosip
- +*məsməs* adj.invar. **gloomy, cross, ill-tempered, unsociable**
- +*məsta*, +*musta* n.f. **hair (single strand of hair or all the hair); animal hair** | +*məsta +rappə* II **to fade; +məstu xelana, marət-**+*məsta* **hairy, shaggy; +məs-tət dəbba** the fur of a bear; +*bəčlapələ +məsta* He is splitting hairs → +*məstita*

- +*məstana* adj.ms. (fs. +*məstanta*, pl. +*məstanə*) hairy; shaggy, fluffy
- +*məstita* n.f. hair (**individual item**)
- +*məššar* n.m. (pl. +*məššarə*) (Azer. mişar < Arab.) large saw with two handles  
(see illustration 50)
- +*mət'axlana* adj.ms. (fs. +*mət'axlanta*, pl. +*mət'axlanə*) edible (literary)
- +*mət'orana* adj.ms (fs. +*mət'oranta*, pl. +*mət'orana*) crossable (river); dispensable (literary)
- +*mət'kal* n.m. (pl. +*mət'kalə*) (Azer. mitkal) **calico, thin calico of pale-yellow colour** | used for *cəstət* +*kattəğ* (bag in which they put +*davvə*)
- +*mətrəbba* n.m. (Arab. muṭrib ‘entertaining with music’) **gypsy (insult)**
- +*mətyə* adj.ms. (fs. +*mətyita*, pl. +*mətyə*) mature, ripe
- +*mehmanxana* n.f. (Pers. mehmānxāne) **guesthouse**
- +*mesana* n.m. (fs. +*mesanta*, pl. +*mesanə*) sucker; suckling
- +*meta* n.f. (pl. +*mayata*, +*meyatə*) pot used for churning yoghurt
- +*mhadər* → +*hadər*
- +*mhaslanuta* n.f. **product (literary)**
- +*mira* n.m. (pl. +*mirə*) (Kurd. mîr < Arab.) **foreman (of landlord B 13)**
- +*mira*, +*mera*, +*muyra* n.m. (pl. +*mirə*, +*merə*, +*muyrə*) **spade, shovel**
- +*mirun* n.m. **myrrh used as holy anointing oil**
- +*mixulta* n.f. (pl. +*mixultyata*) **food**
- +*mkatkət* QII (vn. +*mkatkətta*) **to cause to be chopped** | +*bayya* +*mkatkətla*  
+*busra biyyo* He wants to cause the meat to be chopped by her
- +*moca* n.m. (pl. +*mocə*) **measure for rice (10 putə = 80 kilos)** | *tre* +*mocə* +*rəzza*  
two *moca* measures of rice
- +*moda* n.m. (pl. +*modə*) **large basin or platter; milk-pan (see illustration 15)**
- +*mohur*, +*mohər* n.f. (Azer. möhür, Pers. muhr) **seal** | *maxə* I +*mohur* to seal
- +*momə* QI (vn. +*mometa*) **to purr, to mew (cat)**
- +*mralta* n.f. **gallbladder**
- +*mraxmana* n.m., adj.ms. (fs. +*mraxmanta*, pl. +*mraxmanə*) **merciful; benefactor**
- +*mraxmanuya* n.f. **compassion; blessing** | *'avəd* I +*mraxmanuya* to act as a benefactor
- +*mubla* n.pl. (Pers. mobl < French) **furniture**
- +*mudaxəl* n.m. (Pers. madāxel, Azer. mədaxil < Arab.) **income** | +*mudaxilux*  
*mudilə?* What is your income?
- +*muğayad* *'avə* I **to guard, to protect**
- +*multani* n.m. (Pers. multānī ‘of the city of Multan’) **renegade**
- +*mummədda* adj.ms. (fs. +*mummətta*, pl. +*mumməddə*) baptised → +*mamməd*
- +*munta* n.f. (pl. +*muntatə*) **fontanelle, soft part of front of head**
- +*muğtexxa* adj.ms. (fs. +*muğtexta*, +*muğtexxə*) flattened; widened → *mağtex*

- <sup>+</sup>*murabba* n.f. (Azer. mürəbbə, Pers. morabba < Arab.) **jam, preserve** | <sup>+</sup>*murab-*  
*bət* <sup>+</sup>*badəmjanə* tomato paste; <sup>+</sup>*murabba kṣila* The jam has set
- <sup>+</sup>*murapa* n.f. (Pers. morāfa'a < Arab.) **lawsuit** | <sup>'avəd</sup> i <sup>+</sup>*murapa* to undertake  
 legal proceedings
- <sup>+</sup>*murdar* (Azer. murdar) **dirty, unclean, nasty** | <sup>'avəd</sup> i <sup>+</sup>*murdar* to profane;  
<sup>+</sup>*murdar* <sup>'ava</sup> i to be profaned
- <sup>+</sup>*murdərrə* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*murdərta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*murdərrə*) **befouled, profaned; dead**  
 (animal) → <sup>+</sup>*mardər*
- <sup>+</sup>*musafər-*<sup>+</sup>*xana* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*musafər-*<sup>+</sup>*xanə*) (Azer. müsafirxana) **lodging house**
- <sup>+</sup>*muštullux* n.f. (Azer. muştuluq ‘good news’) **gift for giving good news** | <sup>+</sup>*muš-*  
*tullux mu b-yavvətli?* What gift will you give me (for delivering the good  
 news)?
- <sup>+</sup>*muṭra* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*muṭratə*, <sup>+</sup>*muṭravatə*) **rain** | <sup>+</sup>*muṭra ci-*<sup>+</sup>*rayya* <sup>+</sup>*al-jarə* The rain  
 falls on the roof; <sup>+</sup>*muṭra ci-*<sup>+</sup>*jamma* <sup>+</sup>*al-jarə* The rain gathers on the roof;  
<sup>+</sup>*muṭra* <sup>+</sup>*śarṣərranta* torrential rain; <sup>+</sup>*muṭra* <sup>+</sup>*naxlanta* light rain; <sup>+</sup>*muṭra*  
<sup>+</sup>*haravaš* spring rain; <sup>+</sup>*muṭra sivatta* (< *sivadta* < Azer sivad) late rain
- <sup>+</sup>*muṭrana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*muṭranta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*muṭrana*) **rainy**
- <sup>+</sup>*muṭṭətta* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*muṭṭətta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*muṭṭətə*) **sweaty** → <sup>+</sup>*matṭət*
- <sup>+</sup>*muṭṭun* n.? **disease, pest** | <sup>+</sup>*muṭṭun-ilə!* He is a pest!
- <sup>+</sup>*muṭviyya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*muṭvita*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*muṭviyyə*) **printed**
- <sup>+</sup>*muxcum* adj.invar. (Arab. muḥkam) **hard**
- <sup>+</sup>*muxla*, <sup>+</sup>*məxla* (i) n.m. **fodder, forage (for animals)**
- <sup>+</sup>*muxla* (ii) n.m. **tiresome fool** (Armenia A 48:2)
- <sup>+</sup>*muxliyya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*mxlxita*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*mxliyyə*) **sweetened; pardoned**
- <sup>+</sup>*muxrəmma* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*mxrəmta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*mxrəmmə*) **damned; excommuni-**  
**cated, anathemized, accursed** → <sup>+</sup>*maxrəm*
- <sup>+</sup>*muzbətta* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*muzbətta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*muzbəttə*) **proved**
- <sup>+</sup>*muzək* n.f. **music**
- <sup>+</sup>*muzkanči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*muzkančiyə*) **a musician, a bandsman**
- <sup>+</sup>*myakər* III (vn. <sup>+</sup>*myakarta*) **to respect; to honour** | <sup>+</sup>*raba* <sup>+</sup>*myakurux-ivən* I  
 respect you very much
- <sup>+</sup>*myukərtə* n.f. **lady; Mrs**
- <sup>+</sup>*myukra* n.m. **gentleman; Mr**

**n**

- nabalad* adj.invar. (Pers. nā-balad) **ignorant, not acquainted; inexperienced**
- nabə* II (vn. *nabeta*) **to predict, to foretell, to prophesy** | <sup>+</sup>*tammamtət nabeta*,  
<sup>+</sup>*palattət nabeta* the coming true of a prediction

*nabiyana* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *nabiyanta*, pl. *nabiyana*) predicting, predictor  
*nacnəc* QI (vn. *nacnacta*) to groan (from pain, from illness), to whine; to be disquieted

*načəl* I (vn. *nčalta*) to pull out with force (plant, tree from ground); to root out; to pluck | *xa parra nčəllə mən-cteta* He plucked a feather from the chicken; cf. *šaləf* I (vn. *šlayta*) to pull at; to pull off

*nadə* I (vn. *ndeta*) to jump, jump up; to leap, to spring, to bound

*nadətta* n.f. (pl. *nadədyatə*) great-great-granddaughter

*nadida* n.m. (pl. *nadidə*) great-great-grandson

*nadrus* adj.invar. (Pers. nā-dorost) incorrect, disgraceful; crooked, dishonest

*naǵəl* n.f. (Azer. naǵıl, Pers. naql < Arab.) story, fable, tale | *naǵəl ˊavəd* I to tell, to narrate; +*hál náǵəl ˊàtxa!* The situation is as follows (A 43:2)

*nahak* adj.invar., (Pers. nā-haqq < Arab.) (1) unfair; unjust, wicked. (2) adv. unfairly. (3) n. wickedness. (4) n. informer

*nahakuya* n.f. injustice

*nahə* I (vn. *nheta*) to have the heart to (do sth.) | *lēn bənha maxyənnə* I do not have the heart to hit him; *dax nhilux!* How could you have done this!

*najər* I (vn. *njarta*) (1) to hew; to hollow out (e.g. a basin in a rock). (2) to carve wood. (3) to cut out projections from a stick

*nájəstan, mən-nájəstan* part. (Pers. nā-gāh + stān) suddenly, unexpectedly, accidentally

*najəb* adj.invar. (Pers. najib < Arab.) noble; adv. nobly

*najəbbuya* n.f. nobility

*najəns* adj.invar. (Pers. nā-jens) unclean, ignoble, unpleasant

*najəv* I (vn. *njavta*) to rebuke (b-, +*al-* so.), to scold, to reprove, to command strictly | *njəvlə b-do naša, njəvlə +al-do naša* He rebuked that man

*nakə* I (vn. *nketa*) to gulp down | *bənkayulə +xamra* He is gulping down the wine; *mut +siyyəva bənkaya bənkaya štilə* He was so thirsty that he drank in gulps

*nakəd* I (vn. *nkatta*) to become slender, thin; to become refined

*nakəš* I (vn. *nkašta*) to drive in (a nail, pole), to nail

*nakəz* I (vn. *nkazta*) (1) to prod, to prick | *nkəzələ қa-+davva naša қat jaššək +alli* He prodded him lightly to make him look at me. (2) to wink | *nkizalə +aynu*

He winked (3) to shoot | *e-cərvəš nkuzla b-tup* Shoot that rabbit with a rifle

*nakida* adj.ms. (fs. *naketta*, pl. *nakida*) (1) thin, slim | *kesa nakida* a thin piece of wood; *bullalə naķida* thin heads of corn. (2) tender (voice)

*nakiduya* n.f. fineness, subtlety; gentleness, tenderness

*nakka* n.f. (Azer. naqqabaliq) sheatfish, shark, beluga (great sturgeon); whale

*naknək* QI (vn. *naknakta*) (Pers. naq zadan) (1) to grumble; to stammer. (2) to sob. (3) to grunt (pig)

*naknəkkana* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *naknəkkanta*, pl. *naknəkkana*) stammering; stutterer

*nakš, naša* n.m. (Pers. *naqš*) (1) pattern, drawing, design. (2) plan | *'ztlə nākša b-riši* He has a plan to harm me (A 4:10); *nākša frīšəva* He had made a plan (A 8:3). (3) painting, painted thing; inlaid work. (4) embroidery. (5) paint | *maxə I naš* to colour, to paint

*nakuša* n.m. (pl. *nakušə*) wooden bell

*namahləm* adj.invar. (Pers. *nā-ma'lūm*, Azer. *naməlum*) unknown, uncertain, unclear

*namahləmmuya* n.f. uncertainty, vagueness, incomprehensibility

*namarbut* adj.invar. (Pers. *nā-marbūt* < Arab.) simple, uncomplicated

*namard* adj.invar. (Pers. *nā-mard*) ignoble, mean, cowardly, inhuman

*namarduyta* n.f. ignobility, meanness, cowardliness

*nammən* QI (vn. *nammantə*) (Azer. *nəm* 'damp', Pers. *nam*) to become damp; to make damp | *julla nummənlə* The cloth has become wet; *bət-nammənnənna*

*julla* I shall dampen the cloth

*namuxcum* adj.invar. fragile

*nana* (child language) grandma, granny (term of endearment)

*nana* n.f. (pl. *nana*) (1) grandmother. (2) old woman. (3) mother (vocative)

*nanajəb* adj.invar. (Pers. *nā-najib*) ignoble, rough, unrefined

*nánana* (child language) dance | *nánana vud!* Dance!

*nanilux* May it be pleasant for you; enjoy | said to a person about to eat or drink, and also after eating or drinking; *nanilux, 'avəkatux dəmma 'u-+busra* I hope you enjoyed your food, may it be for you blood and flesh (i.e. help you grow and make you healthy) → *hanə* I

*nannə* n.f. (pl. *nanniyyə*) (Azer. *nənni*, Pers. *nānū*) cradle rocked on the legs; hammock

*nanunta* n.f. (pl. *nanunyatə*) grandmother

*napar* n.m. (pl. *naparə*) (Azer. *nəfər*, Pers. *nafar* < Arab.) person; pl. family | *napárət máləc Tùma* the family of Malik Tuma (B 16:1)

*napas* n.f. (Pers. *nafas* < Arab.) breath | *napas jarəš* I to breathe; *napas šaķəl* I to breathe: *'na bábi +hàla* *nàpas bəškáləva* But my father was still breathing (B 6:5); *napas +pulṭalə* He exhaled; *napas maxə* I to be out of breath, *napas mxayələ* He is panting; *napas davək* I to choke; *napasi +ktila* I was breathless; *+uxča +rxəṭli napasi +ktila* I ran so much that I was breathless; *napasan +ktila hal +pləṭlə mən-amal* We waited with bated breath until he came out of surgery; *xa napas ci-hamzəm* He is very talkative

*napəl* I (vn. *npalta*, pst. *npəllə ~ pəllə*, rsp. *npila ~ pila*, imper. *npul ~ pul*) (1) to fall, to fall down | *+málla +Nasràdən* | *+áynu pálτəva +'al-xa-+kusartət švàvə* The eye of mullah Nasradin had fallen on one of the pots of the neighbour

(A 8:3). (2) to alight, to descend from a carriage. (3) to set out (on journey), to follow after | *moriša-jáldə=da ci-keñiva*,<sup>1</sup> *m-kám nášə naplíva* +<sup>2</sup>*al-*+<sup>3</sup>*šúla*  
Early in the morning they got up, before people set out for work (A 1:2); *npúlun* +*báru!*<sup>1</sup> Follow him! (A 39:41). (4) to be dethroned or dismissed. (5) to be cut down; to be downhearted; to fail; to be void. (6) to lie down; to be situated; to happen | *Zumállan*<sup>1</sup> ... *npálta la kúrbət* +*Názlu-*+<sup>2</sup>*čáy*<sup>1</sup> Zumallan is situated near the Nazlu river (B 11:1)

*napəx* I (vn. *npaxta*) (1) to blow, to blow away. (2) to gasp, to pant. to breathe.  
(3) to lie, to tell a falsehood

*nara* n.m. (pl. *naravatə*) river | *'ultuxət nara* down river; *pummət nara* mouth of a river

*naratuyta* n.f. hostility

*narjəs* n.f. (pl. *narjisə*) (Azer. nərgiz, Pers. narges) narcissus

*nasb* 'avəd I to erect, to establish | +<sup>2</sup>*čadra nasb c-odaxva* We used to erect a tent

*nasbey-b-appé* (Syriac *nāsbay b-appe*) double-faced, hypocrite (literary)

*nasər* I (vn. *nsarta*) to saw, to saw off, to saw into parts | *'a-ķesa dulə nsaru* He is sawing this piece of wood

*nast* adj.invar. (Pers. *nastūh*) vicious (animals), nasty (person); stubborn, disobedient; harmful | *'o-naša* +*raba nast-ilə* That man is nasty

*nastuyta* n.f. vice, bad habit | *la cli* +<sup>2</sup>*al-nastuytux* Don't be stubborn

*nasyat* n.f. (pl. *nasyattə*) (Pers. *nasīhat* < Arab.) (1) advice, piece of advice; admonition, suggestion | *yavvəl* I *nasyat*, 'avəd I *nasyat* to admonish; *b-yavvənnux xa nasyat* I'll give you a piece of advice; *'ávət basıma* +<sup>2</sup>*al-dá násyat* *ka-díyyi yuvvàlux*<sup>1</sup> Thank you for this advice that you have given me (A 42:9).

(2) will, bequest | *yavvəl* I *nasyat*, 'avəd I *nasyat* to bequeath

*naša* n.m. (pl. *našə*) man, person; pl. family | *marət našə* populated; *'áxnan-da xáčča mən-nášan járə hamzàmmax*<sup>1</sup> We have to speak a little with our family (A 36:5); *našət* *'akla* servants

*našana* adj.ms. (fs. *našanta*, pl. *našə*) crowded

*našək* I (vn. *nšakta*) to kiss | *'átxa mən-+kássat brátu nšəkla*<sup>1</sup> He kissed her like this on her forehead (A 43:2)

*našəm* I (vn. *nšamta*) (1) to blow (wind). (2) to breathe in, to inhale. (3) to smell | *rexə basıma nšəmli*<sup>1</sup> I smelt a pleasant smell. (4) to blow the nose. (5) to inspire

*našəp* I (vn. *nšapta*) (1) to dry, to subside (flood); to drain (tumour). (2) to wither

*naštar* n.m. (pl. *naštarə*) (Pers. ništar, Azer. neştər) (1) canine tooth. (2) lancet. (3) sting of a snake

*našuna* n.m. little man | *našuni* my little man (said by wife to husband)

*našunta* n.f. little woman

*našuyta* n.f. humanity

*nata* n.f. (pl. *natyatə*) ear | *davək* I *nata* to obey, to listen attentively; to overhear; attention; *duk nata!* Pay attention!; *nata dokana* obedient, compliant, attentive, *nata la-dokana* disobedient, defiant, inattentive; *kam-nata* temple (on head); *dəryalə* +*bar-nata* He ignored it (lit. He put it behind his ear)

*natajta* n.f. (pl. *natajyatə*) great-granddaughter

*natija* n.m. (pl. *natijə*) (Arab. *natija*) great-grandson

*navə* n.pl. nits

*navəffə* n.m. (pl. *navəffə*) (Kurd. *nevî*, Azer. *nəvə*, Pers. *nave*) (1) grandson. (2) pl. grandchildren

*navəfta* n.f. granddaughter

*navəl* I (vn. *nvalta*) (1) to grow thin, to become emaciated. (2) to become weak, to fade away, to pine away | +*pağru dule nvila* His body has wasted away

*navəx* I (vn. *nvaxta*) to bark (dog)

*naxəm* I (vn. *nxamta*) to resurrect (the dead on judgement day); to be raised from the dead

*naxəm* II (vn. *naxamta*) to raise (the dead) | 'alaha bət-naxəmlun mitə He will raise the dead

*naxəp* I (vn. *nxapta*) (1) to be ashamed (*b-* of), to be put to shame, to become confused, embarrassed. (2) to be modest, shy

*naxira* n.m. (pl. *naxirə*) nose | +*bəzzət naxira* nostril; +*marəm naxira* to assume airs, to be pompous

*naxnəx* QI (vn. *naxnəx*) to pant, to breathe | predominantly used in phrases such as *naxnaxti* +*plətla*, *naxnaxti* +*ktila* I am worn out

*naxob* n.f. (Pers. *nā-xōb*) misfortune, bad | *náxob b-rişan* 'àtxa titəla! Such misforutne has come upon us (A 42:4)

*naxoš* adj.invar. (Pers. *nā-xōš*, Kurd *nexweş*) ill, in bad health

*naxpana*, *naxupa*, *naxupana* adj.ms. (fs. *naxpanta*, *naxupta*, *naxupanta*, pl. *naxpanə*, *naxupə*, *naxupanə*) bashful, timid, shy

*naxt* n.m. (Azer. *nağd* < Arab.) cash, ready money

*naxupa* → *naxpana*

*naya* adj.ms. (fs. *neta*, pl. *nayə*) raw (meat, food) | +*xalva naya* newly drawn milk

*nayəm/nām* (vn. *nyamta*) to doze, to doze off, to take a nap; to snooze, to sleep lightly

*nayəx/nāx* I (vn. *nyaxta*) (1) to go to one's rest, to die. (2) to go out (lamp). (3) to fall into ruins (e.g. church)

*nazəl* I (vn. *nzalta*) (Pers. *nazlat* < Arab.) to suppurate (boil), to fester

- nazuc* adj.ms./fs. (pl. *nazuyca*) (Pers. nāzok) **slim, thin, fine, weak, feeble, tender** | *luyla* +*raba nazuc* a very thin pipe; *ləbbu nazuc* impetuous
- nəcca-nəc* n.f. **groaning noise** → *nacnəc* QI
- nəkbə* n.m. (pl. *nəkbə*) **sting** | *nəkbət* +*zərkətta* the sting of a wasp
- nəkkatta, nəkkattat* +*xasa* n.f. **waist**
- nəkvə* n.f. (pl. *nəkvə*) **female**
- nəkza* n.m. (pl. *nəkzə*) **sting, goad**
- nəmcat* n.f. (pl. *nəmcattə*) (Pers. nīmkat) **sofa**
- nənxa* n.f. **mint** | different type of mint from that of +*nana*
- nəsbat* n.f. (Pers. nesbat < Arab.) **relation, connection** | +*şurılun cülla* | *bətvátət mātal* +*hayyúrə* +*al-dá nəsbat*! All the families of the village began to help in this connection (B 11:4)
- nəsná, nəsnaya* n.f. **name of a type of wheat**
- nəsra* n.m. **fine groats** (*jərsə*) (both *nəsra* and *jərsə* are *pərdə*)
- nəsrana* adj.ms. (fs. *nəsranta*, pl. *nəsrəna*) **not full of seeds**
- nəsyə* n.m. (Azer. nisyə, Pers. nasya < Arab.) **credit; on credit**
- nəšva* n.m. (1) **sting (of wasp, bee, nettles).** (2) **trap made of horsehair for birds and small animals**
- nəxpa* n.m. **shame**
- nəzla* n.m. (Pers. nazlat < Arab.) **infected pus, matter**
- nəzvana* adj.ms. (fs. *nəzvanta*, pl. *nəzvana*) **thin, weak (due to illness)**
- nəzzam* n.f. (Azer. nizam, Pers. nezām < Arab.) **military service; government service; uniform (also *jullət nəzzam*)** | *naşət nəzzam* soldier, military person
- neriyya* n.m. (pl. *neriyyə*) (Kurd. nêr ‘male’) **male sheep, male deer**
- ney* n.f. (1) **pipe (music).** (2) **straw (for drinking)**
- nica* n.f. (pl. *nicacə*) **thigh**
- nimana* adj.ms. (fs. *nimanta*, pl. *nimanə*) **wet, damp**
- nimanuya* n.f. **dampness, humidity**
- ninə* n.f. (pl. *niniyyə*) (Azer. nin) **chicken coop**
- nipuxta* n.f. (pl. *nipuxyatə*) **molasses, treacle (from grape juice)**
- nira* n.m. (pl. *nirə*) **yoke**
- nisan* n.m. **April**
- nisarta* n.f. (pl. *nisaryatə*) **saw with single handle (see illustration 48)**
- nişa* n.m. **aim, intention**
- nişanča* n.m. (pl. *nişančə*) (Kurd. nişân, Azer. nişan) (1) **sign, mark; proof** | *'avəd I nişanča, maxə I nişanča* to mark, to note; *xá nişanča káti yávət kát müjjur məttəla?* Could you give me a sign as to how she has died? (A 1:17). (2) **target, aim (for a shot)** | +*avər b-nişanča* I to aim; *maxə I nişanča* to hit the target. (3) **betrothal gift, down payment** | *mattə III nişanča* to betroth; *xá nişanča*

- mattúyəna* They deposit a betrothal gift (B 10:22). (4) rank, epaulettes, medal
- nixa* adj.ms. (fs. *nəxta*, pl. *nixə*) (1) quiet, silent, slow | *nixa-nixa, nixa b-nixa* little by little, slowly, gradually; *níxa níxa níxa níxa* *karbúnala la-mdítə* Very slowly she comes near to the town (A 1:10). (2) dead person | *brūn la nixa* son of one who is not at rest (i.e. son of a scoundrel who does not deserve to rest in his grave)
- nixunta* adj. very slowly; very quietly
- nixuya* n.f. (1) rest, tranquillity. (2) convenience
- niyyat* n.f. (Azer. *niyyət* < Arab.) purpose, intention | *niyyatti muttali* 'a-ctava *parkənnə* I have made it my purpose to finish this book
- njira* adj.ms. (fs. *njərta*, pl. *njirə*) hewed, cut
- noba* n.m. (pl. *nobanə*) (Azer. *növbə* < Arab.) turn | *davək i noba* to take one's turn; *b-noba* in turn; *b-nobána* *+báyyi* *áha-zə* *áx t-ən-páləx* They want him to work as it were in turns (A 37:14)
- nomur* n.f. (pl. *nomuyrə*) (Azer. *nömrə*, Pers. numra) number | *nomuyrə zoja* 'u-nomuyrə *+parə* even numbers and odd numbers
- nonə* QI (vn. *noneta*) to implore, to plead | *nonuyəvən bıyyux* I implore you
- noniyana* adj.ms. (fs. *noniyanta*, pl. *noniyana*) imploring
- nora* n.m. (pl. *nora*) mirror
- nosa* n.f. appetite | *nosi* *+šmaťla* My appetite has gone
- noša* n.f. pronoun of isolation (§ 2.6., § 9.4.) | *b-nošu* by himself, alone
- nošuya* n.f. loneliness, privacy, isolation
- nšasta* n.f. (Pers. nešāste) starch | *maxə i nšasta* to starch
- nukzə* n.m. (pl. *nukzə*) (1) dot, point. (2) tapering end of anything pointed. (3) issue | *+rába taxmùnəl* *+al-dánnə* *+tlá nùkzə* He thinks a lot about those three points (issues) (A 48:7). (4) a grammatical point, a stop
- nunta* n.f. fly of trousers
- nurana* adj.ms. (fs. *nuranta*, pl. *nurana*) fiery
- nuvvə* n.m. (pl. *nuvvə*) small shoot
- nuxama* n.m. resurrection | *yumət nuxama* Judgement Day
- nuyna* n.f. (pl. *nuyna*) fish | *nuynət pəkkəkaķə* small river fish; *nuynət səmbuylalə* zarda catfish; *nuynət calba* tadpole
- nuyra* n.m. fire, bonfire
- nuzul* n.f. (Pers. *nuzūl* < Arab.) interest on a loan
- nvalta* n.f. tuberculosis
- nvila* adj.ms. (fs. *nvalta*, pl. *nvilə*) thin, weak, gaunt, emaciated
- nxəpta* n.f. shame
- nxila* adj.ms. (fs. *nxəlta*, pl. *nxilə*) sieved (flour) | There is no active verb *naxəl*
- i. The pattern III form → *manxəl* is used instead.

## +n

+*nabat* n.m. (Azer. nabat, Pers. nabāt) **rock candy, sugar candy**

+*nacaməl* adj.invar. (Pers. na-kāmel < Arab.) **unripe, crude, undeveloped; not grown up, of tender age; imperfect**

+*načari* (Pers. nā-čārī) n.f. **necessity, helplessness, a state of things which cannot be helped**

+*načaruyta* n.f. **compulsion, need; shortcoming**

+*nadər* I, +*nadər* II (vn. +*ndarta*, +*nadarta*) **to dedicate, to endow; to vow, to devote; to donate, to contribute**

+*najəxta* n.f. (pl. +*najəxyata*) **chopper, small axe**

+*najjar* n.m. (pl. +*najjarə*) (Pers. najjār < Arab.) **carpenter, joiner**

+*najjaruyta* n.f. **carpentry | 'avəd I +najjaruyta to work as a carpenter**

+*nakər* I (vn. +*nkarta*) (1) **to chisel, to engrave, to carve, to hew, to gouge. (2) to beat, to batter, to butt, to bump. (3) to drive a nail, to fasten with a nail**

+*nakkaš* n.m. (pl. +*nakkašə*) (Pers. naqqāš < Arab.) **painter, decorator**

+*nakkašcar* n.m. (pl. +*nakkašcara*) (Pers. naqašgar) **painter, dyer**

+*nakkaši* n.f. **painting work, decoration | +nakkaši 'ət-diyux +raba šařirəla  
Your painting work is very beautiful**

+*nakkašuyta* n.f. **job of a decorator**

+*nakruza* n.m. (pl. +*nakruzə*) **beak**

+*nala* n.m. (pl. +*nalə*) (Azer. nal, Pers. na'l < Arab.) **horseshoe | +nala maxə I to shoe horses**

+*nalazəm* adj.invar. (Pers. nā-lāzem) **unnecessary; inappropriate**

+*nallən* QI (vn. +*nallanta*) **to shoe horses**

+*namnəm* QI (vn. +*namnamta*) **to speak through one's nose**

+*namus* n.f. (Pers. nāmūs < Arab. < Greek νόμος) **honour, vanity, conscience | marət +namus conscientious**

+*nana* n.f. (Kurd. nane f., Azer. nanə, Pers. na'nā' < Arab.) **mint | +nana 'əryana**  
mint and basil

+*nanaqoš* n.f. (Pers. nān 'bread' + gošt 'meat') **bread and meat, the food or equivalent provided at the marriage by the bridegroom and sent to the bride's house**

+*nanna* n.f. (pl. +*nannə*) (child language) **eye**

+*napəs* I (vn. +*npasta*) (1) **to shake out (clothes) | +spay +npəslux You gave him a good shake. (2) to dust off, to wipe (dust) | +npəslə +toz mən-+aķlu He knocked the dust off from his foot. (3) to beat carpets. (4) to beat down fruit. (5) to card wool, to shake wool. (6) to move (bowels) | xəçxa +čay šatən cisi +napsa I shall drink some tea to help move my bowels. (7) metaphorical: to over-eat, to drink too much**

*+napsana* n.m. laxative

*+napusa* n.m. (pl. *+napusə*) tool for beating wool (consisting of two prongs and a handle, see illustration 45) (Sal. *yuxa*)

*+narahat* adj.invar. (Pers. nā-rāhat) **inconvenient, uncomfortable, ill at ease, upset** | *'avəd* I *+narahat* to bother, to upset; *+narahát là-'oyat* Do not be upset (A 1:14)

*+narahatuya, +naratuuya* n.f. **inconvenience, discomfort, distress** | *'é +simáxur=da ádi=da xína véla +šurítá bəsyáva* mən-xəššo! mən-*+narahatùyto!* The *+simaxur* bird has now begun to age from its sorrow and distress (A 39:21)

*+narazi* adj.invar. (Pers. nā-rāzī) **dissatisfied, displeased, unwilling**

*+naraziyuyta* n.f. **displeasure, unwillingness**

*+nareta* n.f. **edible herb**

*+narnər* QI (vn. *+narnarta*) **to bellow (buffalo, buffalo calf, camel)**

*+narra* n.m. (pl. *+narrə*) **large axe (see illustration 47)**

*+narrast* adj.invar. (Pers. nā-rāst) (1) **wrong, incorrect; unsuccessful, unlucky.** (2) **dishonest, untrustworthy**

*+narrastuya* n.f. (1) **wrongness.** (2) **failure, lack of success**

*+nasəv* I (vn. *+nsavta*) **to plant; to pitch (a tent)**

*+nasus* n.m. (Russ. *насос*, Azer. *nasos*) **pump**

*+našər* I (vn. *+nšarta*) **to attack (especially animals), to set upon (animal), to butt, to rush on so., to threaten** | *calba +nšərrə +alli* The dog set upon me

*+našət* I (vn. *+nšaṭta*) **to skin (an animal); to flay**

*+naštav* adj.invar. (Pers. nāštāb) **on an empty stomach**

*+natammam* adj.invar. (Pers. nā-tamām < Arab.) **imperfect, unfinished**

*+natammamuya* n.f. **imperfection, lack of completion**

*+natər* I (vn. *+ntarta*) **to fall (leaves, hair), to disappear** | *+ntartət þəçxa* the loss of blossom (trees); *caculti 'ila +ntarta* The front of my head has no hair

*+naṭəp* I (vn. *+nṭapta*) **to drip; to drop (water)**

*+naṭər* I (vn. *+nṭarta*) (1) **to guard, to keep** | *+naṭərvala 'Úrmi!* He kept (residence) in Urmi (B 19:1). (2) **to observe, to watch for.** (3) **to look after, to take care of**

*+naṭər-cursi* n.m. (fs. *+naṭrat-cursi*) **successor of a throne**

*+naṭupta* n.f. (pl. *+naṭupyatə*) **drop**

*+navər* I (vn. *+nvarta*) **to be startled (animals), to bolt, to be restive** | *suya +nvərrə* The horse bolted

*+navura* adj.ms. (fs. *+navurta*, pl. *+navurə*) **timid (animals)** → *+navər*

*+navvə* I (vn. *+nveta*) **to spring up, to bubble up, to gush forth (water)** | *miyya +bənvayəna mən-+arrə* The water is springing up from the ground

*+naxəl* I (vn. *+nxalta*) **to sieve, to sift; metaphorical: to grow thin**

- +*naxlana* adj.ms. (fs. +*naxlanta*, pl. +*naxlanə*) **light (rain)** | +*muṭra* +*naxlanta* light rain
- +*nayəs/ nās* I (vn. +*nasta/ nyasta*) **to sting, to bite (harmful bite of animal penetrating flesh); to be bitten** | +*nesánnə mātni* I (a snake) shall bite him and he will die (A 47:5); +*bar-náša ... járəc nāsnī* A human being must be bitten (A 47:6). Cf. +*karət* I (vn. +*krat̥ta*) to bite (not necessarily breaking the skin)
- +*nāz, nazə* (i) n.f. (Pers. nāz) (1) **blandishment, expression of endearment** | +*nāz, jarəš* I (Pers. nāz kašīdan) to spoil (a child); +*nazé bəjrašələ* He is spoiling them. (2) **tricks, play.** (3) **coquetry, trifling** | +*avəd* I +*nazə* to wheedle, coquet. (4) adj.invar. **charming, fascinating**
- +*nazə* (ii) n.pl. **whining** | +*atxa nazə la vud!* Stop whining (and do it!)
- +*nazər* (vn. +*nzarta*) (Pers. nazr ‘vow’ < Arab.) **to dedicate (to priesthood); to vow, to promise; to replace (so. by a successor); to abstain (e.g. from meat)** | +*bruni nziruvən ka-kašyta* I have dedicated my son to the priesthood
- +*nazər, nazzər* n.m. (pl. +*nazirə, nazzirə*) (Pers. nāzer < Arab.) **steward, overseer, intendant, agent, salesman; managing director**
- +*naznaz* QI (vn. +*naznazta*) (1) **to whine (child); to groan quietly (e.g. an ill person).** (2) **to flirt (woman)**
- +*nədra* n.m. (pl. +*nədrə*) **offering, item or animal dedicated** | +*avəd* I +*nədra* to dedicate, to donate an offering vowed; +*ana xa- nədra kuvvəlli* I made an offering (as a memorial); +*ana nədrux* I am your protector (said to child or relative or friend) = +*ana xlapux*
- +*nəmra* n.m., +*nəmrīta* n.f. (pl. +*nəmrə*) **tiger; leopard**
- +*nəpruza* n.m. (pl. +*nəpruzə*) **beak**
- +*nəssa* n.m. (pl. +*nəssə*) **sparrow-hawk**
- +*nəšra* n.m. (pl. +*nəšrə*) **eagle**
- +*nəxla* n.m. **fine grains that fall from a sieve (*məxxəltə*) after sieving wheat (+xəttə); powder**
- +*nəzra* n.m. (pl. +*nəzrə*) (Pers. nazr < Arab.) **dedication (to the priesthood)**
- +*nəzza-*+*nəz* n.f. **whining, crying (baby)** | +*yala sura nəzza- nəzzula* The baby is crying
- +*nijaran* adj. invar. (Pers. negarān) **worried, anxious** | +*nijáran là-vi* Don’t worry (A 35:1); +*jóra šuríla nijáran vá* The husband began to become worried (B 1:19); +*nijaran* ‘ət-yəmmivət I am worried about my mother
- +*nijaranuyta* n.f. **concern, anxiety, solicitousness** | +*nijaranuyta jarəš* I to worry
- +*nora* n.m. **glow, halo, light** | +*yavvəl* I +*nora* to shine; +*nora al-mitux* light to your dead! (greeting on Good Friday and Easter evening)
- +*nuxraya* adj.ms. (fs. +*nuxreta*, pl. +*nuxrayə*) **stranger, alien, visitor, foreigner**

**+nuyṭa** n.m. (crude) oil; kerosene oil

**+nzira** n.m. (pl. +nzirə) (1) dedicated to priesthood. (2) successor, deputy

## P

**pacər** II (vn. *pacarta*) (Arab. fakara) (1) to consider. (2) to look closely at (*b-*, +*al*) | *clílə pucárrə +al-dá sòta!* He stood and looked at the old woman (A 42:14). (3) to think

**paya** n.m. (pl. *pajə*, *pajənə*) (Azer. pəyə; Pers. pāgāh) stable, animal shed

**paḳdana** n.m. (fs. *paḳdanta*, pl. *paḳdanə*) commander

**paḳəd** I (vn. *pakṭta*) to command | stem II *paḳəd* (vn. *pakṭta*) is more commonly used

**paḳəd** II (vn. *pakṭta*) (1) to order, to command, to instruct | *'ana paḳudən kādiyyux* I am commanding you. (2) to appoint. (3) to visit, to go and see or look at. (4) to send a person with a message. (5) used as a polite substitute for ‘to say’ | Expressions of invitation: *paḳəd!* Please come in, please sit down!; *paḳəd tuy laxxa!* Please, sit here!; *mən danna cadas paḳditun!* Please help yourself to these cakes!

**paḳudana** adj.ms. (fs. *paḳudanta*, *paḳudanə*) always giving orders, dictatorial, bossy

**pala** n.m. (pl. *pala*) slice (of fruit)

**palaka** n.m. (pl. *palakə*) (Pers. falak, falaqe) stout pole used to tie the feet of those who are to be bastinadoed; instrument for punishing pupils

**palaxa** n.m., adj.ms. (fs. *palaxta*, pl. *palaxə*) worker (skilled); hard-working, diligent | *dastət palaxə* a band of workers. Cf. +*pala* unskilled labourer

**palə** I (vn. *pleta*) to search for lice in hair; to delouse | *'ana palyali +kaṭu* I deloused the cat; *dàknu! plàyula!* She delouses his beard (A 50:2)

**paləx** I (vn. *plaxta*, prog. *pəlxanələ*) to work (person or machine), to labour, to cultivate, to act | *'aḳlu bəplaxəla* He has diarrhoea

**palja** n.m. half, middle | *xa-paljə* one and a half; *paljət yarxa* half of a month, fortnight; *paljət lelə* midnight; *paljət +sara* half moon; *paljət šita* half-year; *pi-palja* in the middle, among, in between; *pi-paljət babu yəmmu tivələ* He is sitting between his father and his mother; *tivələ pi-paljé* He is sitting between them; *'at-pi-palja* average; *'atxa mən-pi-pálju +ktılə!* He cut it (the apple) down the middle in this way (A 42:3);

**paljaya** adj.ms. (fs. *paljajta*, pl. *paljajə*) half-done, unfinished. adv. by halves | +*'əstican paljaya drila* Fill half of the cup

**paljuya** n.f. partnership | *'o-+šula t-odəxlə paljuya* We shall share the job between us

*palla* n.f. (pl. *pallə*) (Pers. pelle, Azer. pillə) (1) **rung (of ladder), step or stair of a staircase.** (2) **shaft (of cart)** | *+’arabána ’átvala tré pàllə +bəkráyəva* The cart had two shafts, as they call them (B 17:52). (3) **stick** | *šakká palla* children's game played with sticks (B 9:8)

*pallacanə* n.pl., Canda *+pallacanə* (sing. *pallacanta*, *+pallacanta*) (Azer. pil-ləkan, Pers. pellegān) **stairs, staircase**

*paltəš* QI (vn. *paltašta*) **to rummage around, to grope around** | *b-paltašta* by groping

*pampəx* QI (vn. *pampaxta*) **to break up (ground)**

*pān* n.m. (Azer. peyin) **very fine dried droppings spread on floor as stable litter (as a surface for animals to sleep on)**

*pand* n.f. (pl. *pandə*) (Azer. fənd) **trick, prank, intrigue, deception, pretence** | *’avəd i pand* to pretend, to feign, to deceive

*pandam* n.f. (pl. *pandamə*) (Kurd. bendav) (1) **dam; pool of dammed water.** (2) **sluice.** (3) **flood of water** | *miyya pandam vilun* The water flooded

*pandana* adj.ms. (fs. *pandanta*, pl. *pandanə*) **crafty, cunning, sneaky; rascal, cheat** | *+tala pandana p̄-aķlət janu ci-ķayət* The sly fox is caught by (lit. knocks against) his own foot (said when a guilty man is convicted by his own words; cf. Maclean 1895, 354)

*pandəm* QI (vn. *pandamta*) **to dam up (water); to be dammed up and swell (water)** | *miyya pundəmlun* The water swelled up; *miyya panduməna kəmbara* The water is rising before the dam; *cipa bət-pandəmmilun miyya* The stones will dam up the water; *miyya pundəmmə* dammed water

*pandən* QI (vn. *pandanta*) **to grow like a candle (*punda*) dripping sap**

*panduyta* n.f. **slyness, cunning; prank, trick**

*panə* I (vn. *pneta*) (Arab. faniya) (1) **to be exterminated, to be eradicated, to be destroyed, to be annihilated, to die out, to pine, to be exhausted** | *pnili duxtòra mává* I was exhausted bringing doctors (A 44:5). (2) **to exterminate (tr.), to destroy, to annihilate** | *suráyat diyyan* šít tláy *+šàvvá* *+ròba* *pənyèlun* in the year thirty-seven they annihilated many of our Assyrians (B 16:11)

*panə* II (vn. *paneta*) **to exterminate, to eradicate, to destroy, to exhaust**

*panja* n.m./f. (Pers. panj) (1) **the five fingers/toes** | *panjət aķla* toes of the foot. (2) **sole of a shoe or a boot.** (3) **patch on the shoe**

*panjara* n.f. (pl. *panjara*) (Azer. pəncərə, Pers. panjare, Kurd. pencere) **window (with glass)** | cf. *cavə* window without glass

*paraxta* n.f. (pl. *paraxyatə*) (1) **flying creature.** (2) **flat stone that flies over water when thrown**

*parčən* n.m. (pl. *parčinə*) (Pers. parčīn, Azer. pərçim) **wedge, nail clip**

*parčən* QI (vn. *parčanta*) **to drive a wedge; to drive in nail clips**

*parda* n.m. (pl. *pardə*) (Azer. pərdə, Pers. parde) (1) curtain; veil | *darə* i *parda*, *davək* i *parda* to veil, to curtain. (2) cover. (3) membrane, cataract (in eye) | *xa parda dvəktola* +*aynu* He had a cataract in his eye

*pardən* QI (vn. *pardanta*) to veil, to cover with a curtain (Canda)

*parduvva* n.m. (pl. *parduvvə*) lath (laid on timbers in roof of house and floors of upper rooms)

*parə* I (vn. *preta*) (1) to burst out, to water abundantly; to let out (water) | *pri miyya* +*al-de xakla* Flood the field with water (by opening a dam). (2) to open and exude liquid (wound) (intr. and tr.) | +*kavar prila* The blister has opened; *darbi prila* My wound has opened; *darbi pəryali* I lanced my wound (and drained it)

*parəc* I (vn. *practa*) to break open (intr. and tr.), to burst open (intr. and tr.) | *cvašli* +*raba məndiyənə fu-jvala* 'u-jvala *præcla* I stuffed many things into the sack and the sack burst open; *la vudla* 'a-+*šula*, *bət-parcənnux!* Don't do that or I'll thrash you

*parəd* I (vn. *pratta*) (1) to open (intr.) (curtain). (2) to rise (the sun), to emerge over the horizon | *šəmša prədla* The sun has risen (fully over the horizon); cf. *šəmša zrəkla* The sun (has begun) to rise; *máðənxa pràtta* at the break of dawn (A 47:9). (3) to pass (a dream), to flee (esp. sleep from a wakeful person) | *šənti prədla* I could not sleep (lit. my sleep fled)

*parək* I (vn. *prakta*) (1) to finish (intr.) (*mən* with sth.), to terminate (intr.) | *prækli mən* 'idət do *naša* I have finished with that person. (2) to be saved, to escape | *át b-dáyya parķitən!* You will get away (lit. be saved) by this (B 16:12)

*parək* II (vn. *parakta*) (1) to finish (tr.), to stop (tr.), to terminate | *mút +spayúta* 'ódən *ka-díyyux!* *kat* *párkən m-xut-dá!* +*spáy* +*šūl-díyyux* *kat-vədlux* *ka-díyyi?* What good deed can I do for you so I can return (lit. finish from under) the favour that you have done to me? (A 47:16). (2) to release, to rescue, to save, to redeem | *puráklux* *ka-díyyi mən-mòta!* You saved me from death (A 47:16)

*parəm* I (vn. *pramta*) (1) to cut; to cut off, to chop off; to hew | *'idi primali* I cut my hand. (2) to behead; to kill, to slay | *pramta* 'u-+*katkatta* slaughter. (3) to sacrifice an animal

*parəs* I (vn. *prasta*) (1) to spread out (in the air); to spread (fishing net, news); to unfurl a flag or sail | *priselə* +*drananu fu-+hava* He spread his arms in the air; 'á +*xábra pášla* *prisəl* This news became spread (B 11:3). (2) to scatter | *suraya prisənaju-dunyə* The Assyrians are scattered all over the world. (3) to lay down carpets in a room, a tablecloth, a table spread for a meal

*parəš* I (vn. *prašta*) (1) to separate (tr.), to be separated, to leave; to divide, to set apart. (2) to choose, to elect | *'ína bət-paršilun* *máy* +*báyyə* +*ràxə!* They

would select who should run (B 9:2); *+aturāyəl ḫa-dýyi prášlun málca!* The Assyrians chose me as king (B 16:13). (3) to judge, to decide, to determine, to resolve | *lé-+’aməs paràšlun!* He (the judge) cannot decide between them (A 38:5). (4) to discern, to understand | *pràšlux mú-ila masála!* You have understood what the story is (A 1:29)

*parəš* II (vn. *parašta*) (1) to separate, to distinguish, to differentiate, to set apart (physically). (2) to choose, to elect. (3) to grasp the meaning

*parəx* I (vn. *praxta*) (i) (1) to fly, to fly away. (2) metaphor. to spread; to break out (sore)

*parəx* I (vn. *praxta*) (ii) (1) to rub, to scrub. | *dúlə +’áynu praxé!* He is rubbing his eyes (A 37:21); *prəxlə +paǵru* He scrubbed his body; *prixalə cisu* He made himself angry (lit. He rubbed his stomach). (2) to rub together (e.g. ears of corn to hull them) *c-aváxva tívə máccə práxal* We used to sit hulling corn (B 17:4). (3) to massage. (4) to wipe off

*parəz* n.f. (Azer. pəhriz) fast, fasting

*parišan* adj.invar. (Azer. pərişan) sad, despondent

*parjər* n.m. (Azer. pərgar) (a pair of) compasses

*park*, *fark*, *parkuyta* n.f. (Azer. fərq, Pers. farq < Arab.) difference, distinction | *mattə* III *park* to distinguish, to tell apart; *fárk lèla váda!* It does not make a difference (A 3:48)

*parkana* adj.ms. (fs. *parkanta*, pl. *parkana*) coming to an end, terminating; rescued | *’a-+šula parkanələ* This job is coming to an end

*parkana* n.m. (fs. *parkanta*, pl. *parkana*) deliverer, saviour

*parpašə* n.pl. (1) discarded skins of grape pulp (*pullusč*). (2) snowflakes; light snow

*parpa* QI (vn. *parpeta*) to rinse, to wash out (mouth) | *parpuyelə manə* He is rinsing the vessels; *’idux párpilun* Rinse your hands

*parpəl* QI (vn. *parpalta*) to implore, to plead, to intercede; to beseech | *parpu-ləvən biyyux* I implore you

*parpər* QI (vn. *parparta*) (1) to flap (flag); to flutter. (2) to whirl, to twirl; to turn (propeller) | *pərpərra parpurəla* The propeller is turning

*parpərrana* adj.ms. (fs. *parpərranta*, pl. *parpərranə*) spinning, rotating

*parpəs* QI (vn. *parpasta*) (1) to devastate, to destroy, to tear to pieces | *pur-pəssəvən* I am exhausted; *parpəs šlama* to break the peace. (2) to bite, to bite to death. (3) to delete

*parpəssana* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *parpəssanta*, pl. *parpəssanə*) (1) devastator, destroyer, tearing apart, breaking off. (2) wasting, spendthrift

*parra* n.m. (pl. *parra*, *parranə*) (Pers. par, Kurd. per m.) (1) feather. (2) vane (of a fan). (3) spoke (of a mill wheel). (4) gills. (5) scales

*paršana* n.m. (pl. *paršanə*) pointer (used when reading), bookmark

- parta* n.f. (1) sawdust. (2) fine dust falling from sieve, chaff. (3) dandruff
- partalta* n.f. (pl. *partalyata*) whirlpool
- partal* QI (vn. *partalta*) (1) to spin, to twist (tr. and intr.), to whirl (tr. and intr.).  
 (2) to curl (tr. and intr.). (3) to unscrew (tr. and intr.). (4) to wind a clock
- partax* QI (vn. *partaxta*) to crumble, to powder (tr. and intr.) | *'ana purtəxli laxma* 'u-laxma purtəxla I crumbled the bread and the bread became crumbs
- paruğa* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *paruğta*, pl. *paruğə*) deliverer, saviour; finishing
- paruşa* n.m. (pl. *paruşə*) pointer (used when reading), bookmark
- paruştə* n.f. (pl. *paruşyatə*) parting (of hair)
- paruxta* n.f. eczema, skin eruption | *paruxta npəlla b-ʃoldi* eczema afflicted my skin
- parxa-lelə* n.f. (pl. *parxa-lelə*) bat | also called *parxa-lelətʃolda*
- parxana* adj.ms. (fs. *parxanta*, pl. *parxanə*) flying, volatile
- parxanita* n.f. (pl. *parxanyatə*) butterfly
- parzə* QI (vn. *parzeta*) (1) to chop, to chop up, to cut into pieces | *ʃəllála purziyyəla* šaþórtla She chopped the herbs beautifully (A 36:12). (2) to cut out. (3) to dress (an animal by eviscerating it)
- pastuc* n.f. (pl. *pastuyjə*) (Pers. *pastū*) closet
- pasuğa* n.m. (pl. *pasuğə*) section (of text)
- pasusa* n.m. (pl. *pasusə*) beetle; cockroach
- pašaband* n.m. (pl. *pašabanda*) (Pers. *paše-band*) mosquito net
- pašaruc* n.f. gleaning (of grapes left on the vines after harvest) | *'avəd ı pašaruc* to glean
- pašcaš*, *pəšcaš* n.f. (pl. *pašcašə*, *pəšcašə*) (Kurd. *pêşkeş*, Pers. *peškaš*) gift, award, tribute | *'avəd ı pašcaš*, *yavvəl ı pašcaš* to award, to present
- pašə* ı (vn. *pšeta*) to fart (silently) | Used with a non-referential 3fs. pronominal object: *pəšyali* I farted; *bət-pašila* He will fart
- pašək* ı (vn. *pšakta*) (1) to be translated. (2) to stretch oneself, to stand upright or straight; to be straightened. (3) to be smoothed out
- pašək* II (vn. *pašakta*) (1) to translate; to explain, to expound. (2) to stretch out | *+dranani puškeli* I stretched out my hands; *'ana +bayyən əklatı paškənnun* I want to stretch my legs (and go for a walk); *puškalijanı* I stretched myself out
- pašər* ı (vn. *pšarta*) (1) to melt, to thaw | *talğa pšərrə* The snow melted. (2) to digest (intr.) | *+mixulta pšərra ju-cisi* The food digested in my stomach. (3) metaphor. to vanish
- pašər* II (vn. *pašarta*) (1) to melt (tr.). (2) to digest (in stomach); to chew the cud
- pašəx* ı (vn. *pšaxta*), *pašəx* II (vn. *pašaxta*) to tear, to disjoint, to cut asunder, to pull to pieces

*pašpəš* Q1 (vn. *pašpašta*) (1) to melt (intr. and tr.), to dissolve (intr. and tr.). (2) to reduce to pulp; to become squishy (e.g. overcooked vegetables, rice). (3) to mortify (flesh)

*pata* n.f. (pl. *patvatə*) (1) face, physiognomy | *patəl* I *pata* to turn away; *xazə* I *pata* to be biased, to do an injustice; *b-pata* *xzeta* unfairly, in a biased way; *xazyanət pata* biased, unfair; *kayəm* I +*al-pata*, *'atə* I +*al-pata* to be rude; +*al-pata* *kemana* rude person; *ju-pát bába yəmma* +*rába k̄imələ* He has very much disrespected his father and mother (A 49:8); *maxə* I +*al-patət* to recriminate; *'ən-'ázət +rába pàta yavvátlə* if you were to go and indulge him (A 14:11); *pata* +*al-pata*, *pata ju-pata* face to face; *patu cumələ* He is guilty (lit. his face is black), he is lazy; *patu* +*xvarəla* He is innocent (lit. his face is white). (2) side, surface | +*al-pata* flatwise; *patət miyya* the surface of the water, *patət +arrə* the surface of the earth; *patət spadita* pillow case; +*al-pàtət tanúyra* on top of the oven (B 14:2). (3) front. (4) page of a book. (5) presence, outward appearance. (6) pretence | *šakəl* I *pata* to be a hypocrite; *škalta b-pata* hypocrisy; *'ətlə tre patvatə* He is double-faced, he is a hypocrite

*patana* adj.ms. (fs. *patanta*, pl. *patanə*) impudent; rascal, beggar

*patanuya* n.f. impudence; prank; begging | *'avəd* I *patanuya* to be impudent, to play pranks, to beg;

*patə* I (vn. *pteta*) to extend (intr.), to become wide, broad

*patəl* I (vn. *ptalta*) to twist (threads, a rope), to turn, to unscrew, to turn (face) | *balux ptullə* +*alli* Turn to face me; *ptul* +*al-*+*čaplə* Turn to the left

*patəx* I (vn. *ptaxta*) (1) to open (tr. and intr.), to part (crowd) | *labbu ptəxlə* He was pleased. (2) to dissolve (tr. and intr.). (3) to unbend (tr. and intr.). (4) to unlock, to untie, to unclench, to solve (riddle) | *'ánnə šártəl* *jári patxitunlun* You must solve these riddles (A 38:78). (5) to uncover. (6) to utter. (7) to go off (gun). (8) to brighten (colour) | *šámmu ránju lèlə ptáxa* His colour does not brighten even a little (A 43:20)

*patpət* Q1 (vn. *patpatta*), *þatþət* (Caucasus) (1) to card (wool), to tease (fibres of wool); to pull apart, to tear into pieces. (2) to come apart (wool) | +*amra* *patputələ* The wool is coming apart

*patxanta* n.f. (pl. *patxanyatə*) opener (of can, bottle etc.)

*pavvər* Q1 (vn. *pavvarta*) to yawn; to gape

*pavvərrana* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *pavvərranta*, pl. *pavvərranə*) yawning; one who yawns (often)

*paxara* n.m. (pl. *paxarə*) potter

*paxma* adj.ms./fs. (pl. *paxmə*) slow to understand, not understanding

*payəc/pāc* I (vn. *pyacta*) to become tasteless, to lose taste (food)

*payáš/pāš* I (vn. *pyašta*) (1) to remain, to remain behind, to stay | *'ána xina-lé-pešən láxxal* I shall not stay here any longer (A 4:15); +*aturáyət* +*Íran*

*pášlun b-nošē!* The Assyrians of Iran remained by themselves (B 1:16); *xmári pásłə d-la-čúprə!* My donkey remained without a tail (A 7:13); *‘áyya póstəla cpónṭa!* She remained hungry (A 35:13); *háč xá náša ju-bétu lát pyàša!* Nobody remained in his house (A 39:27); *hál sátva bót-peštva!* They remained until winter (B 1:24); *‘ana xačča pyaša prákəvən* I am almost finished; *xačča pəšla naplənva* I almost fell; *xáčča píšava xáyyi šakə́lvala!* It almost took my life (A 23:3); *ci-+kármaxva késə ka-pišə!* We used to win pieces of wood for keeps (B 17:1); *puš b-šena* Remain in peace (farewell); *púš b-šlāma ‘átən!* Remain in peace (farewell) (A 48:25). (2) to stay | *pásłə dmáxla +támə!* He stayed and slept there (A 52:5); *‘ána pášli tré-šənnə ju-bét-+rabbanyáta!* I stayed in a convent for two years (B 6:8). (3) to be alive, to survive | *yómμu myátəla,* *bábu pyášəla!* His mother dies and his father remains alive (A 36:1). (4) to become | *é malcúyta pešáva ka-díyyan!* The kingdom would become ours (A 45:7); *xá sáma hár +al-+kunṭópa ci-peštva brízə!* Some became dry while still in a bunch (on the vine) (B 10:1); *+xárta yómμi pósłə ‘arməltə!* Then my mother became a widow (B 6:9); *ú báxtu pyášəla +yaķürtal b-yálə!* The woman becomes pregnant (A 43:7). In passive constructions: *ka-mú pósli +uldíyya!* *b-Nátan brùnux?* Why was I treated treacherously by Natan your son? (A 3:52); *‘ánnə +ànva! ci-peštva +jummiyyə!* *b-+kərtálə!* The grapes were gathered in baskets (B 12:2)

*payəx/páx I* (vn. *pyaxta*) (1) to cool down | *pyaxəvən* I am getting cold. (2) to abate (anger), to wind down. (3) to become frigid (sexually)

*paytaxt* n.f. (pl. *paytaxtə*) (Pers. *paytaxt*) capital (of a country)

*payuxa* adj.ms. (fs. *payuxta*, pl. *payuxə*) cool

*payxa* adj.ms. (fs. *paxta*, pl. *payxə*) (1) cool, fresh (water). (2) tasteless (food without salt)

*payxuya* n.f. coolness, freshness (of water)

*payyana* n.m. (fs. *payyanta*, pl. *payyanə*) baker

*payya I, yapə I* (vn. *pyeta*) (1) to bake (bread). (2) to knead

*pəccər* n.f. (pl. *pəccirə*) (Pers. *fekr*, Azer. *fikir* < Arab.) thought, idea, plan | *‘át háč páccər là-’odat!* Do not have a thought (i.e. do not worry) (A 43:6)

*pəlxana* n.m. (1) work, labour, business, action, product | *+málla bərráxšəl +bár pəlxánu!* The mullah goes about his business (A 11:1). (2) progressive stem of *+paləx* to work | *pəlxanələ* He is working

*pəndəkkə* n.m. (pl. *pəndəkkə*) hazelnut; hazelnut tree

*pəndəkta* n.f. small hazelnut

*pənti* adj.invar. (Azer. *pinti*) unkempt, untidy, careless, sluttish, dirty

*pəntiyuyta* n.f. untidiness, sloppiness, carelessness

*pərda, pərda* (Caucasus) n.m. grains boiled in water before their husks are removed | *pərdət məscinə* very small grains of snow (lit. grains of the poor)

*pərdesa* n.f. paradise, garden

*pərkuyna* n.m. end, finish

*pərma* n.m. (pl. *pərmə*) (1) cut, shape, form | *xzi +pəslu pərmu* Look at that face and shape (= look at that disgusting man). (2) slaughter

*pərpərra* n.f., Armenia *pərpıra* (pl. *pərpərrə*, Armenia *pərpırə*) (Azer. firfira, Pers. farfara) (1) butterfly. (2) propeller, fan. (3) spinning top. (4) of light weight | *'a-sala pərpərrələ* This basket is of light weight

*pərpərru* n.f. butterfly

*pərsa* n.m. slaughter

*pərsat* n.f. (pl. *pərsattə*) (Pers. fursat < Arab.) occasion, opportunity, time, leisure | *'avət basıma +rābal kát 'a-pórsat yuvválux kàti!* Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity (A 1:50)

*pərxə* n.pl. mixture of spices | consisting of basil ('əryanə), rosemary (*mazra*) and tarragon (+*ṭalkun*), used in the dish *cəptə*

*pəška* n.m. (pl. *pəškə*) herd, flock, small cattle (sheep and goats)

*pəssurta, psurta* n.f. (1) stomach of cow, crop of birds. (2) stomach of human (Canda) | *psurtu +əktələ* He is short-tempered

*pəsta* n.pl. (sing.f. *pəstīta*) pistachios | *xa dana pəsta* a single pistachio

*pəšcə* n.m. (pl. *pəšcə*) (Azer. püşk) lot (i.e. for drawing lots) | *pəšcə drilun, pəšcə +ruppilun* They cast lots

*pəššə* n.f. (child language) cat | *pəššə pəššə* Come here cat

*pəššən-pəššən* 'avəd I to flatter, to cajole

*pətlə* n.m. (pl. *pətlə*) bend | *pətlı-pətlə* curving, winding

*pətva* n.m. width, extensiveness, roominess | *+yurxux pətvux xa ḫ-odənnun* I shall make your length and breadth the same (= I shall beat you up); *xəşli +al-pətvət 'urxa* I went across the road; *pətva yavval* I to instigate

*pətya* adj.ms. (fs. *ptita*, pl. *pətyə*) wide, extensive, spacious | *+tla mətrə pətya* three metres wide

*pətyuyta* n.f. width, extensiveness

*pecu* 'avəd I (vn. *vatta*), *pecu* 'azəl I (vn. *xaştə*), *pecu* *maxə* I (vn. *mxeta*) to go along crouched (said of hunters when hunting animals and birds)

*pečat* n.f. (Russ. печать) seal | *pečat maxə* I to seal (a document)

*perə* n.pl. fruits | *perə merə* all kinds of fruits

*perəz* n.m. (Per. pérüz, ferüz) champion; athlete, giant

*pešana* adj.ms. (fs. *pešanta*, pl. *pešanə*) (1) remaining, remnant | *+raba pešana* long-lived, durable; *pešana litən ju-matváy* There are none remaining in the villages; *pešana* 'íva kàttəj! What remained was whey cheese (B 10:16). (2) intending to stay | *'ána lén pešánət làxxal* I do not intend to stay here (A 39:21)

*pešçər* n.m. (pl. *pešçirə*) (Pers. pešgīr) towel, napkin

*peyvand* 'avəd 1 **to graft** | *peyvand vədlə* <sup>+al-</sup>*ilana xina* He grafted it onto another tree; *tuyrət peyvand* scion (for grafting)

*pēč* n.m. (Azer. piç) (pl. *pečə*) (1) **screw** (Canda, Sal. *pənč*). (2) **diarrhoea**. (3) n.f. **iron stove**

*pica* n.pl. **fruit**

*pil*, *pila* n.m. (pl. *pilə*) (1) **elephant**. (2) **the bishop in chess**

*pi-palya* → *palya*

*pīs* adj. invar. (Kurd. pīs, Azer. pis) **bad, worthless, disgusting, nasty** | *'o-naša raba pīs-ilə* That man is very bad; *yá nāša ḫa-surāyət dīyyan* <sup>l</sup>*pīs lēlə vīyāl* This man has not been bad for our Assyrians (B 16:13); *'urxāy* <sup>r</sup>*óbā pīs=va* The roads were very bad (B 17:51)

*pisuyta* n.f. **badness, disgust, annoyance** | *cúllə* <sup>+állan</sup>*pisùyta vádəna* They are all annoying us (B 16:2)

*piša* adj.ms. (fs. *pəšta*, pl. *pišə*) **remaining, remnant**

*piša* n.f. (Pers. piše) **craft, trade, office, occupation**

*pixa* adj.ms. (fs. *pəxta*, pl. *pixə*) **cool, cooled down**

*pixara* n.pl. (sing. *pixarta*) **potsherds; clay earthenware vessels**

*plixa* adj.ms. (fs. *pləxta*, pl. *plixə*) **used, second-hand (object)**

*polīs* n.f. (Azer. polis, Pers. pulīs < English) **police**

*por-ranj* adj.invar. (Kurd. pir ‘much’ + reng ‘colour’) **dark coloured; strong (tea)** | *smuka por-ranj* dark red; <sup>+</sup>*bayyat por-ranj yan çam-ranj?* Do you want (your tea) much colour (strong) or little colour (weak)?

*poxa* n.m. (pl. *poxə*) **wind; breath** | *tre poxə* draught (lit. two winds): *tre poxəna* there is a draught

*poxana* adj.ms. (fs. *poxanta*, pl. *poxanə*) **windy, airy**

*prakta* n.f. (pl. *prakyatə*) (1) **end, completion** | *m-cul-prákta vágələ* *káša Mixāyāl* The last of all (the line of priests) is father Mixayəl (B 16:11). (2) **gland; tonsil**

*prašta* n.f. **separation, division** | <sup>+tāma</sup>*xàl pràšta víla* <sup>ju-</sup><sup>+álmə</sup>*šotapúta* <sup>+aturēta</sup> There a division took place in the people, in the Assyrian community (B 1:29)

*prənyaya, pərranj* n.m. (fs. *prənyeta*) **Frenchman (French woman), European**

*prəsta* n.f. (pl. *prəsyatə*) **thin cloth spread on floor made of wool; mat (made of threads)** | *'aklux 'ax-prəstux jora* <sup>+pašətla</sup> Stretch out your foot according to the measure of your carpet (i.e. Cut your coat according to your cloth) (cf. Maclean 1895, 354)

*prəzla* n.m. **iron** | *maškəl III b-prəzla* to plate with iron (e.g. a chest)

*priša* adj.ms. (fs. *prəšta*, pl. *prišə*) (1) **separate, different** | *dasyáta* <sup>+rába</sup>*prišə* <sup>prišəva</sup> There were many different groups. (B 9:5). (2) **selected.** (3) **Pharisee**

*priza* n.m. (pl. *prizanə*) **harvested field of stubble** → <sup>+xoza</sup>*n*

*pšita* n.f. (pl. *pšiyatə*) **fart (silent)**

*ptana* n.f. (pl. *ptanana*, *ptanatə*) **plough (made of wood)** (see illustration 52) |

*ptana* 'avəd 1 to plough; *cúlla-yuma šíma výəl* +*bətráya ptána* +*bár kənyàñə* |

The entire day he has been driving the plough behind animals (A 5:8). Cf. →  
*cutan* plough made of metal

*ptəltə* n.f. (pl. *ptəlyatə*) **wick, match**

*ptixa* adj.ms. (fs. *ptəxta*, pl. *ptixə*) **open**

*ptulta* n.f. (pl. *ptulatə*) ms. *ptula* **virgin**

*ptuxa* adj.ms (fs. *ptuxta*, pl. *ptuxə*) (1) **open, wide open, unrestricted** | *'idu*

*ptuxta* generous. (2) **bright (colour)** | *rany ptuxa* bright colour; *smuka ptuxa* bright red

*ptuxuyta* n.f. **openness, brightness (colour)** | *ptuxuytət* *'ida* generosity

*pučečə* n.m. (pl. *pučečə*) **stalk of maize (Canda)**

*pudə* n.pl. **snot, mucus (of nose)** | *mašə* 1 *pudə* to blow one's nose

*pudrad* n.f. (Russ. подряд) **contract; wholesale (in trade)** | *šakəl* 1 *b-pudrad* to contract; to sell wholesale

*pudradči* n.m. (pl. *pudradčiyə*) (Russ. подряд) **contractor**

*pukdana, puydana* n.m. (pl. *pukdanə*, *puydanə*) **order, command, instruction, commandment**

*pullacə* n.pl. (sing.f. *pullacta*) **scales of fish**

*pulluš* n.m., *pullu* n.f. (Armenia) (pl. *pulluyšə*) **pulp; grape must**

*pumma* n.m. (pl. *pummanə*) (1) **mouth** | *xa-ka-für'un* +*šadúrələ* *m-púmmət*

+*Axičkar!* One (letter) he sends to Pharaoh on behalf of (lit. from the mouth of) Axiqar (A 3:21). (2) **chaps (of animals).** (3) **brim (of vessel)** | +*əstican hal*

*pumma mlilə* He filled the glass to the brim. (4) **opening**

*pummaxta* adv. **upside-down, face downwards** | *pummaxta mattivalə fu-'upra*

They put it upside down in the ground

*punda* n.f. (pl. *pundə*) (1) **candle** | *pundət* +*šamma* a wax candle; taper; torch, fireband. (2) **bud (of a tree).** (3) **shoot of vine**

*puppəcta* n.f. **rash (wet)**

*purčuta* n.f. **bone protruding at back of horses' foot**

*purkana* n.m. **salvation**

*purkunya* n.m. **salvation**

*purpəssa* adj.ms. (fs. *purpəsta*, pl. *purpəssə*) (1) **ravaged, destroyed; smashed;**

**torn to pieces, bitten to death.** (2) **spreading, forked (tree)**

*pušaka* n.m. (pl. *pušakə*) **interpretation, translation, sense**

*pušany* n.f. (pl. *pušanyə*) **rocket, squib; bullet**

*pušiyya* n.f. (pl. *pušiyə*) (Pers. pūše 'covering') **turban (worn around head by women)**

*put, punt* n.? (pl. *putə*) (Russ. пуд) **weight (approx. 16.38 kilograms)**

*puxun* n.f. (pl. *puxuynə*) (1) wheat-meal. (2) coarse flour (made of a mixture of seven grains according to what is available, e.g. wheat, rice, beans, chickpeas)

<sup>+</sup>**p**

<sup>+</sup>*pac* adj.invar. (Pers. pāk) **candid, pure**

<sup>+</sup>*pağra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*pağrə*) **body, flesh** | <sup>+</sup>*pağrat* 'ilana trunk of a tree

<sup>+</sup>*pahluvvan* (Azer. pəhləvan, Pers. pahlavān) (1) **champion, warrior, hero** | *xá pahlúvvan nàšələl* He is a heroic man (A 40:15). (2) **athlete, wrestler**

<sup>+</sup>*pal patəx* I, <sup>+</sup>*pala patəx* I (vn. *ptaxta*) (Azer. fal, Pers. fāl < Arab.) **to tell fortunes, to guess, to conjure** | <sup>+</sup>*palačiyəl* <sup>+</sup>*pála ptəxəval* Fortune-tellers— they read (lit. opened) a fortune (A 3:3)

<sup>+</sup>*pala* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*pals*) **labourer (unskilled), worker**

<sup>+</sup>*palačaši* n.m. (Azer. baş) **head of workers, contractor**

<sup>+</sup>*palačan* n.m. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*palačanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*palačanə*) (Azer. fal 'fortune' < Arab.+ açan 'opener') **fortune-teller, soothsayer, sorcerer**

<sup>+</sup>*palači* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*palačiyə*) **fortune-teller**

<sup>+</sup>*palan* n.m. (Azer. palan, Pers. pālān) (1) **pack-saddle for ass consisting of pannier bags of tough cloth.** (2) **blanket on back of ass**

<sup>+</sup>*palat* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*plaṭṭa*) (1) **to leave, to get out, to escape.** (2) **to depart (soul).** (3) **to sheer (from the way).** (4) **to dislocate (e.g. a joint).** (5) **to grow (plants, hair).** (6) **to be uttered (sound).** (7) **to come true (a prediction)**

<sup>+</sup>*palat* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*palaṭṭa*) (1) **to take out, to bring out, to eject, to pull out.** (2) **to redeem (pledge).** (3) **to extort.** (4) **to discharge.** (5) **to solve (problem)**

<sup>+</sup>*pallacanə* pl. (sing. <sup>+</sup>*pallačanta*), *pallacanə* (Armenia) (Pers. pellegān, Azer. pilləkan) **stairs**

<sup>+</sup>*palla* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*palleta*) **to divide; to share; to be divided** | *'Urmi* <sup>+</sup>*pallúyəla* <sup>+</sup>*al-* <sup>+</sup>*tlà sáməl* Urmi is divided into three parts (B 1:20)

<sup>+</sup>*pal-patxana* n.m. (<sup>+</sup>*pal-patxanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*pal-patxana*) (Azer. fal, Pers. fāl < Arab.) **fortune-teller, soothsayer, sorcerer**

<sup>+</sup>*pamal* n.f. (Pers. pāmāl) **disaster, calamity.** adj.invar. **trodden under foot** | *'avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*pamal* to ruin, to exhaust, to exterminate, to spoil; <sup>+</sup>*pamal* *'avə* I to be lost, to vanish, to be exterminated, to deteriorate

<sup>+</sup>*paməl* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*pamalta*) **to ruin, to exhaust, to exterminate, to spoil**

<sup>+</sup>*parča* n.m. (Azer. parça, Pers. párče) (pl. <sup>+</sup>*parčə*) **large piece of cloth, fabric**

<sup>+</sup>*pardax* adj.invar. (Azer. pardaq 'gloss', Pers. pardāx 'splendour') **even, level** | *'avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*pardax* to make even, level

<sup>+</sup>*para* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*preta*) **to increase, to crowd**

- +parət** I (vn. *+praṭṭa*) (1) to tear to pieces, to tear apart, to become torn |  
*varaṛka +praṭṭələ* He is tearing paper; *pummi +praṭṭə hal-t 'aha +śula vədli* I took extreme measures and did this thing. (2) to wear into holes (clothes).  
(3) to burst (tr. and intr.)
- +parpər** QI (vn. *+parparta*) to blow (one's nose) loudly; to sniff about (horse) | *naxiru +parpurulə* He is blowing his nose
- +parpət** QI (vn. *+parpatta*) to bite (all around)
- +parpət** QI (vn. *+parpaṭṭa*) to tear
- +parrə** I (vn. *+preta*) to pay | *+prilə denux!* Pay your debt; *denu +prilə* He paid his debt; *+parrot cma xelux 'ilə* Pay whatever you can manage
- +parsən** QI (vn. *+parsanta*) (1) to become crisp from cold (snow). (2) to ripple, to curl (mouth in smile) | *pato +pursəntəla* Her face is smiling
- +parsupa** n.m. (pl. *+parsupə*) person
- +paršə** n.m. (pl. *+paršə*) hewed flat stone, slab; paving-stone | *+paršət beta* floor (of stone or brick)
- +paršən** QI (vn. *+parṣanta*) to cover with slabs; to pave, to make a floor
- +paruṣta** n.f. (pl. *+paruṣyatə*) small flat stone
- +pasə** I (vn. *+pseta*) to escape, to be delivered; to shun, to avoid; to step
- +pasə** II (vn. *+paseta*) to deliver, to save, to relieve
- +pasəl** II (vn. *+pasalta*) to cut (a dress; as part of tailoring process); to cut out clothes, to shape; to engrave, to carve an image; to design | *darzi ci-+pasəl 'u-ci-+maṛkrət* A tailor designs and cuts
- +pasəx** I (vn. *+psaxta*) to rejoice, to exult, to be glad, to have fun
- +paspəs** QI (vn. *+pasposta*) to breathe hard; to hiss; to snuffle; to wheeze; to snore; to be asthmatic; to whistle
- +paspəssana** n.m. (fs. *+paspassanta*, pl. *+paspassanə*) snuffler
- +passə** I (vn. *+pseta*) to step, to march
- +pasulta** n.f. (pl. *+pasulyata*) step, pace | *+hàləl 'o-náša léva xíša xá +əsrá +pasulyày, +málla bitáyələ drúm +'al-+'arrə* Before the man had gone a (distance of) ten steps, the mullah falls (lit. comes) bump on the ground (A 32:2)
- +pasyana** n.m. (fs. *+pasyanta*, pl. *+pasyanə*) deliverer, redeemer
- +pašə** I (vn. *+pšeta*) to become lukewarm | *duna miyya +pəšyə* The water has become lukewarm
- +pašəm** I (vn. *+pšamta*) (Azer. peşman, Pers. pišmān) to become sorry; to regret, to repent, to grudge | *patu +pšəmlə* His face fell. Cf. *+pašəm* II
- +pašəm** II (vn. *+pašamta*) (Azer. peşman, Pers. pišmān) to regret, to repent
- +pašət** I (vn. *+pšat̥ta*) (1) to stretch out (a hand) (tr. and intr.). (2) to push forward, to stretch forward. (3) to go a long distance, to go forth, to travel; to make a raid, to rush upon. (4) to start a journey; to go ahead, to be ready

- to start** | *'ana +pšətli la-ķama ķat ķablənvala b-šena* I went ahead to welcome him. (5) **to begin to do something**
- +pašət** II (vn. **+pašaṭta**) (1) **to stretch, to put out (a hand); to pass (sth. by hand)** | *+puštali 'idi* I stretched out my hand; *+pašət 'idux!* Stretch out your hand!; *'ən basmalux, +pašətlə 'a ķay* Please pass me that; *xá-dana +ķavva +yasriva mən-cávə +paštival* They would tie a bowl and let it in through a roof-window (B 5:9). (2) **to move sth. away**
- +pašpəš QI** (vn. **+pašpaštta**) (1) **to hiss.** (2) **to jingle, to clink**
- +pašuvva** adj.ms. (fs., pl. **+pašuvvə**) lukewarm, tepid
- +pataryarc** n.m. **patriarch**
- +paṭirə** n.pl. (sing. **+paṭira**) **large round flat bread baked on coals**
- +paṭurta** n.f. (pl. **+paṭuryatə**) **mushroom**
- +pava** n.m. (pl. **+pavə, +pavanə**) **branch (large)**
- +pavana** adj.ms. (fs. **+pavanta**, pl. **+pavanə**) **covered in branches**
- +pavara** n.f. (pl. **+pavara**) (Azer. fəvvərə, Pers. favvārē ‘fountain’) **current, stream (of water)** | *šıva +pavara +pavara miyya yavəla* The channel is providing abundant water
- +paxəl** II (vn. **+paxalta**) **to forgive, to pardon, to spare, to excuse**
- +paxər** n.m. (Azer. paxır) **verdigris, copper rust** | *'anna manə +paxər dvikəva* The pans were covered in copper rust
- +paxlana** adj.ms. (fs. **+paxlanta**, pl. **+paxlana**) **forgiving, excusing, indulgent**
- +paxulana** adj.ms. (fs. **+paxulanta**, pl. **+paxulana**) **forgiving**
- +paya** n.m. (Pers. pāye ‘leg, base’) **wooden prop that supports the water channel (*šiva*) of a watermill** | **+payət əkla** calf muscle
- +payda, peyda** n.f. (pl. **+payda, peyda**) (Azer. fayda, Pers. fāyede < Arab.) **advantage, use, profit, interest** | *xazə I +payda* to profit, to use
- +paytun → +faytun**
- +pəllan, +fəllan** mod. (Azer. filan, Pers. folān < Arab.) **so-and-so, such-and-such** (§ 9.7.9.) | *'à-śabta mälca! +póllan yùma, +póllan +dàna, +póllan sà'at! +plàṭələ! +al-dà 'úrxa!* This week the king, on such-and-such a day, at such-and-such a time, at such-and-such an hour, is going out on this journey (A 1:25); **+pəllan cas, +fəllan cas** (Pers. folān kas) so-and-so: *śámmət díyyi 'ilə ... +pəllan cás!* My name is so-and-so (A 37:8)
- +pəllu** n.f. **pilaff (dish)**
- +pənnar** n.f. (pl. **+pənnarə**) (Ottoman Turk. fenar, Azer. fənər < Greek φανός) **lantern (with handle)**
- +pəṛtana** n.m. (pl. **+pəṛtana**) **flea**
- +pərya** adj.ms. (fs. **+prita, +pəryə**) **plentiful; copious** | *+xámra +pərya c-avívalun!* They had plenty of wine (B 5:8)
- +pəryuyta, priyyuyta** n.f. **abundance**

- <sup>+</sup>*pəsla* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*pəslə*) (1) **form, type, shape, form, manner** | *xá +pásla ʔilána*  
*'átval šámmu týra ci-+karívalə|* There was a type of tree called osier (B 10:11);  
*mút +pásla +kaṭlaxlə?|* In what manner shall we kill him (A 37:19); *xzi +pəslu*  
*pərmu* Look at his face and shape (= look at that disgusting man). (2)  
**appearance; design, cut of cloth** | *kaləb ka-+pəsla* mould acting as pattern
- <sup>+</sup>*pəspəssa* n.m. **hissing** | <sup>+</sup>*av* <sup>+</sup>*táma c-avíva* <sup>+</sup>*pəspəssa|* It (a ball of fermented dough) was hissing there (B 7:8)
- <sup>+</sup>*pəssə* n.m./f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*pəssə*) (1) **reed (used for making mats); herb growing in bogs, like sugarcane.** (2) **column on a page**
- <sup>+</sup>*pəščav* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*pəščavə*) (Russ. пистолет) **pistol**
- <sup>+</sup>*pešvaz* n.f. (Azer. pişvaz, peşvāz) **procession to welcome or see off a guest; meeting** | *'avəd i +pešvaz* to go out to meet (guests)
- <sup>+</sup>*pira* n.m., Armenia *pira* (fs. <sup>+</sup>*pərta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*pirə*) **lamb, kid, first-born (also personal name of man)**
- <sup>+</sup>*popaxta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*popaxyata*) (Azer. papaq) (1) **hat, cap.** (2) **head of seeds that fly away in the wind**
- <sup>+</sup>*psappəs* n.f. **hissing sound** → <sup>+</sup>*paspəs*
- <sup>+</sup>*psixa* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*psəxta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*psixə*) **cheerful; happy, joyful**
- <sup>+</sup>*pulad* n.m. (Azer. polad, pūlād < Arab.) **steel**
- <sup>+</sup>*pulla* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*pullə*) **radish**
- <sup>+</sup>*pursux* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*pursuxə*) (Azer. porsuq) **badger**
- <sup>+</sup>*pxuxala* n.m. **pardon**
- <sup>+</sup>*pxuxla* adj.ms. (fs. *pxuxalta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*pxulə*) **spared, pardoned, granted**
- <sup>+</sup>*pyada* adv. (Pers. piāde) **on foot** | *'azəl i +pyada* to go on foot; <sup>+</sup>*mällä max-diyi*  
*'ätə| +pyàda?|* Can a mullah like me come on foot? (A 14:7)
- <sup>+</sup>*pyala* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*pyalə*) (Azer. piyalə, Pers. piyāle) **small glass, phial, cup**

## P

- paçəx* i (vn. *paçaxta*) **to blossom; to bud, to bloom** | *vardux* *paçəxlə* Your flower has blossomed (said to people when they experience a change in fortune for the best)
- paččən* QI (vn. *paččanta*) (1) **to decay, to rot, to go off (milk).** (2) **to deteriorate, to degenerate**
- paččənnana* adj.ms. (fs. *paččənnanta*, pl. *paččənnanə*) **decaying**
- paččəx* QI (vn. *paččpačta*) **to whisper** | *'átxa níxa* *puččəxələ|* He whispered softly like this (A 19:2)
- paččučta* n.f. **small flat bread, pita**

*þakka* I (vn. *þakta*) (1) to explode (intr.), to burst (intr.); to go off (gun). (2) to crack, to split; to break open (intr.), to break in pieces (intr.) | *cipa þkilə* The stone split open; *ləbbu þkilə* His heart burst (with fear)

*þalṭəç* QI (vn. *þalṭaçta*) (Azer. pəltək 'stammerer', pəltəklə- 'to stammer') to stammer, to stutter

*þap̪pa* (i) (child language) daddy

*þap̪pa* (ii) n.f. (pl. *þap̪pə*) (child language) foot, shoe | *þap̪pə ðap̪pə əzax* Let's go for a walk

*þarṭəç* QI (vn. *þarṭacta*) to save, to rescue; to be saved, to be released (from misfortune) | *'alaha þarṭəclən mən-*+*kaṭṭa-*+*ballə* God save us from disasters; *'ana þurṭəcli mən danna-*+*kaṭṭa-*+*ballə* I was saved from the disasters; *'á cālu*| *þurṭəccāle*! They rescued the bride (from the hands of kidnappers) (A 55:7)

*þarṭən* QI (vn. *þarṭanta*) (1) to peel off; to scale. (2) to turn to crumbs. (3) to become full of dandruff (hair) | *cosi þurṭənnun* My hair became full of dandruff

*þat̪pət̪* QI (vn. *þat̪paṭṭa*) to whisper

*þazpəz* QI (vn. *þazpazta*) to squirt

*þəçxa* n.m. (pl. *þəçxə*) bloom, blossom, head of flower | +*rappə* II *þəçxa* to shed blossom; *tapəx* I *þəçxa* to shed blossom; *þəçxət̪* +*Maryam* tuberose; *þəçxət̪* *Davəd* daisy

*þəçxana* adj.ms. (fs. *þəçxanta*, pl. *þəçxanə*) blossoming, florid, colourful

*þəkkə* n.f. (fs. *þəktə*, *þkita*, pl. *þəkkəkə*) frog | *'əxrət̪ þəkkəkə* algae, moss

*þəkyə* n.m. split, slit, crack, break. adj.ms. (fs. *þkita*, pl. *þəkyə*) split, cracked, exploded

*þəltəç* adj.invar. (Azer. pəltək) stuttering, stutterer

*þərça* n.m. (pl. *þərçaçə*) small quantity, small piece (e.g. of bread), crumb; a single item | *xa þərça* +*bər-*+*zarra* a single seed; *xa-þərça* a little: *xa-þórça* *xırrac dárýəna káto*! *xa-þərça-da ləxma*! They have laid for her a tiny amount of food and a crumb of bread (A 35:7)

*þərṭə* n.m. (pl. *þərṭə*) crumb | *þərṭi þərṭə viyyələ* It has become crumbs

*þərṭuxə* n.pl. (sing. *þərṭuxta*) crumbs (of bread) | *xa* +*rapsa maxənnux* *'əmma* *þərṭuxə bət-naplı mən fu-cisux* I shall kick you (so hard) that one hundred crumbs fall from your stomach

*þəttə-þət̪* n.f. sound of whispering → *þat̪pət̪* QI

*þəzz* (child language) | *t-azax þəzz* Let's go and piss

*þliṭa* n.f. (pl. *þliṭə*) (Russ. плита) hot plate

*þop̪ə* QI (vn. *þop̪eta*) (1) to bleat (sheep). (2) to growl (rabbit)

*þuṛṛpa* (child language) food

*þuṛṛpu* n.f. (pl. *þuṛṛpunyata*, *þuṛṛuyə*) (Azer. hop-hop, Armenian hopop) hoo-poe | +*šrayət̪* *þuṛṛpu* small lamp

*purčajə* n.pl. (sing. *purčajta*) (Kurd. pirç) locks of hair

*purta* n.f. (pl. *þuryatə*) dung droppings of sheep and goats

*þuzma* n.m. (Azer. pusma?) decorative stitch

+<sup>h</sup>p

*+þa* (child language) It has gone

*+þačəl* I (vn. *+þičalta*) (1) to become bent, curved, crooked. (2) to make crooked; to twist. (3) to turn, to turn the face. (4) to wind a clock or string

*+þaləm* I (vn. *+þlamta*) to cheat, to deceive; to be crafty, wily, wicked

*+þašč* I (vn. *+þlašta*) to fight, to battle

*+þaščun* n.f. (pl. *+þaščuynə*) (Russ. пальто, Pers. pāltō) overcoat

*+þaluša* n.m. (fs. *+þalušta*, pl. *+þalušə*) fighter; violent, aggressive

*+þampəl* QI (vn. *+þampalta*) to reel, to stagger, to stumble, to become unsteady; to be intoxicated

*+þampəllana* adj.ms. (fs. *+þampəllanta*, pl. *+þampəllanə*) unsteady (drunkard)

*+þapara* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *+þaparta*, pl. *+þaparə*) clueless, silly, simpleton, foolish talker, one who drawls

*+þaprus* n.f. (pl. *+þaprusə*) (Russ. папироса) cigarette

*+þara* n.m. (pl. *+þara*) odd number | *+þara* 'u-zoja odd and even numbers

*+þarma* QI (vn. *+þarmeta*) to understand, to comprehend, to have the intelligence to grasp the meaning; to be skilled in | *lelə +þarmuya* He does not have the intelligence to grasp the meaning (i.e. he is stupid); *+þarmeta lətlux* You are stupid

*+þarmiyana* adj.ms. (fs. *+þarmiyanta*, pl. *+þarmiyyanə*) clever, bright, quick-witted, ingenious

*+þaťax* I (*+þťaxta*) to become wide; to lie flat; to flatten, to spread by pressing on sth. | *+þťaxula a:jajəc kat-miyyu sepi* She is pressing the jajəc so that its water drains

*+þaťuxta* n.f., *+þaťuxa* n.m. (pl. *+þaťuxə* collective, *+þaťuxyata* perceptible individual pieces) dried piece of natural solid excrement of animals used as fuel

*+þičila* adj.ms. (fs. *þičelta*, pl. *+þičilə*) curved, crooked, slanting, twisted, disgraceful | *kesət sənjiyya +þičila* the wood of a crooked jujube (used to refer to a crook or dishonest person)

*+þičiluya* n.f. bend, curvature, disgrace

*+þičuyra* n.m. (pl. *+þičuyrə*) ankle, anklebone | Anklebones were used in games

*+þəčla* n.m. (pl. *+þəčlə*) bend, curvature, disgrace

*+þərtə* n.m. tear, rip

- +pər̥tu** adj. invar. **spendthrift, profligate, wasteful** | *'o-naša +pər̥tułə, xarujəłə*  
 +*raba zuyzə* That man is spendthrift, he spends lots of money
- +płaša** n.m. **fight, combat, battle, war** | *'o-+płaša kámaya* The First (World)  
 War (B 1:27); *+płašət kámēta* The First (World) War (A 41:4); *+płašət trè*  
 The Second (World) War (B 1:16); *darə* I +*płaša* to give battle; to stir up  
 trouble
- +płixa** adj.ms. (fs. +*płɔxta*, pl. +*płɔxə*) **flattened**
- +płuxa** adj.ms. (fs. +*płɔxta*, pl. +*płɔxə*) **flat, level**
- +purpətta** adj.ms. (fs. +*purpətta*, pl. +*purpətə*) **torn**
- +puza** n.m. (pl. +*puzə*) (Kurd. poz, Pers. pūz) (1) **snout (of animal)** | +*puzu*  
*cuməłə* He is grumpy (lit. his snout is black). (2) **muzzle (animals), beak**  
 (of bird). (3) **spike, tip; sting (of bee or wasp).** (4) **spout (of vessel); mouth**  
 (of bag) | +*puzət* +*čaypaz* spout of a teapot; +*púzət* *póxa xáčča ptàxuləl* He  
 opens the mouth (of the bag of) wind a little (A 37:16)
- +puzana** adj.ms. (fs. +*puzanta*, pl. +*puzanə*) **grumpy, sullen**

**r**

- racava, ricava* n.m. (fs. *racota, ricota*, pl. *racavə, ricavə*) **horseback rider, cavalryman, jockey**
- racəv* I (vn. *rcavta*) (1) **to ride; to mount (a horse).** (2) **to be placed on sth.**
- racəx* I (vn. *rcaxta*) **to become soft**
- racixa* adj.ms. (fs. *racəxta*, pl. *racixə*) **soft, tender**
- rad 'avəd* I (Pers. rad kardan < Arab.) **to remove, to eliminate;** *rad 'avə* I **to be removed, to be eliminated** | *rad vi!* Get out!
- rajə* I (vn. *ryilə*), *rajjə* QI (vn. *raffeta*) **to become tired**
- rajəd* I (vn. *ryatta*) **to shiver, to shudder, to tremble; to be startled** | *bərjadəłə*  
*m-karta* He is shivering from cold
- rajjana* adj.ms. (fs. *rajjanta*, pl. *rajjanə*) **tired** | *la-rajjana* tireless
- rak 'avə* I **to be stiff**
- rakada* n.m. (pl. *rakadə*) **dancer**
- rakəd* I (vn. *rkatta*) **to dance**
- rakkîyyana* adj.ms. (fs. *rakkîyyanta*, pl. *rakkîyyanə*) **stubborn**
- rakrək* QI (vn. *rakrakta*) **to become crinkled (skin, paper after being wet)** |  
*jəlda rukrəkłə* The skin became crinkled
- randa* n.f. (pl. *randə*) (Azer. rəndə, Pers. randa) **plane (for smoothing wood)** |  
*kesa randa mxilə* He planed the wood
- ranj* n.m. (pl. *ranjə*) (Kurd. reng, Pers. rang) **colour, paint** | *ranj maxə* I, *ranj*  
*šayəp* I **to colour, to paint;** *ranj maxiləfuyda* He paints the walls; *pəšlə ranj*

*məxyə* It was painted; *ranju xəšlə* It has faded; *ranju +ruppulə* He has lost colour (is looking pale from illness); *+bayyət por-ranj yan çam-ranj?* Do you want (your tea) with much colour (strong) or little colour (weak)? *ranjət 'upra* grey; *ranjət +kətma* ashy, grey colour; *ranjı ranjə* multi-coloured: *toķə ranjı ranjə* multi-coloured rings; *ranjət nəkva lelə xəzyu* He has never had a woman (he is a virgin)

*ranyana* adj.ms. (fs. *ranjanta*, pl. *ranyanə*) coloured | *+čay ranjana* dark tea, strong tea

*rapə* I (vn. *rpeta*) to become loose

*rapt* n.m. (pl. *raptə*) (Azer. raf, Pers. raf) (1) shelf, wooden stand. (2) hen-roost.

(3) upper storey. (4) low roof of an inner room

*rašpar* n.m. (pl. *rašparə*) (Pers. ranjbar) labourer, farmer

*rašparuya* n.f. agriculture

*ratrət* QI (vn. *ratratta*) to tremble, to shiver | cf. *rajəd* I to shiver

*raxək* I (vn. *rxakta*) to become distant; to keep far, to move away, to abstain, to avoid, to shun | *bərxakəna m-+uydalə* They are distant from one another

*raxəm* I (vn. *rxamta*) to be kind; to have mercy | *rxum +alli* Be kind to me; *'aláha ràxəm +al-màlla!* May God have mercy on the mullah (A 4:11)

*raxəš* I (vn. *xašta*, prog. *bərraxšələ*, pst. *xəšlə*) to crawl, to creep | *+mazuzta ci-raxša* A lizard crawls

*raxmana*, Armenia *+raxmana* adj.ms. (fs. *raxmanta*, pl. *raxmanə*) merciful, compassionate; kind

*raxmanuya*, *raxmuya* n.f. compassion, mercy, generosity | *raxmanuya 'avəd* I to be a benefactor

*raxmə* pl.tantum mercy, pity, conscience | *raxmə 'avəd* I to have mercy: *'aláha ráxmə 'ávəd +állo ɻat-lá-'avi dívə +xiло!* God have mercy on her that wolves have not eaten her (A 1:35)

*raxt* n.f. (Kurd. rext) harness, trappings of a horse

*raxuša* n.m. (pl. *raxušə*) reptile

*rayək/rāk* I (vn. *ryakta*, *rakta*, prog. *bəryakələ*, *bərrakələ*) to spit

*rayyə* I (vn. *reta*, prog. *bərrayələ*, pst. *rila*) (1) to become thick (liquid), to curdle. (2) to sour (milk). (3) to cake (blood)

*rayyə* → *'arə* I

*razzəl* QI (vn. *razzalta*) (Pers. razil < Arab. worthless, ignoble) to despise, to ridicule

*rcixa* adj.ms. (fs. *rcəxta*, pl. *rcixə*) softened

*racta* n.f. flat noodles (made of eggs and flour)

*rəkda* n.m. (pl. *rəkda*) dance, dancing

*rəkki* n.f. stubbornness | *rəkki bədvaķələ* He is stubborn

*rəkkiyana* adj.ms. (fs. *rəkkiyanta*, pl. *rəkkiyənə*) stubborn

*rəska* n.m. **lot, good fortune** | *rəska lətlə* He is unlucky (lit. he has no lot [granted by God])

*rəskana* adj.ms. (fs. *rəskanta*, pl. *rəskanə*) **lucky, of good fortune**

*rəšvat* n.f. (Azer. rüşvət, Pers. reşvat < Arab.) **bribe, bribery, requisitions** | *+axəl* I *rəšvat* to take bribes

*rəšvat-xor* n.m. (Pers. rəšvat + xor ‘eater’) **taker of a bribe**

*rəšvat-xoruyta* n.f. **bribery** | *rəšvat-xoruyta əvəd* I to take bribes (regularly)

*rəxə* (N), *rəkə* (S) adj.invar. **distant, remote, far** | *mən-raxə* from a distance, from far away; *rəxə mən dənnə ducanə* May it be far from here, *rəxə mənnux* May it be far from you (both said when mentioning a disaster)

*rəxəyuyta* n.f. **remoteness, distance**

*rexə* n.m. **smell, (pleasant) odour**

*rexana* adj.ms. (fs. *rexanta*, pl. *rexanə*) **odorous; sweet-smelling**

*rexana* n.m. (pl. *rexanə*) **wild thyme**

*rezən* n.m. (pl. *rezinə*) (Pers. rezin < English resin) **rubber, rubber band**

*rica* n.m. (pl. *ricə*) **spur** (Sal. *+bar-zuvva*)

*ricava* → *racava*

*rīja* n.m. (pl. *rījavatə*) (Pers. rekā) **servant, housekeeper**

*rījayuyta, rījaya* n.f. **service** | *əvəd* I *rījayuyta* to serve

*rijul* n.f. (pl. *rijulyə*) (Azer. riçal, Pers. rīčäl) **jam** | *rījuylət +karra* pumpkin jam

*riša* n.m. (pl. *rišə, rišanə*) (1) **head** | *+mar-riša yuvəlla kati* He gave me a headache; *riša +mamrə* I to give so. a headache, to bother, to hassle. Idiomatic phrases: *'o-bruna rişət babu +murrəmlə* The son honoured his father; *rişət babu muccəplə* He dishonoured/humiliated his father; *rišu cəplə* He was humiliated; *'a-məndi hammaşa +al-riša bitayələ* This is always coming to my mind; *npəllə b-rišu* He understood it; *+bıləl mattıvəl rīša b-riša mən-+malla* He wanted to outsmart the mullah (A 14:2); *xa-+kəftə b-riši tilə* A disaster befell me; *'ána mü tíla b-riši?* What has come upon me? (A 3:52); *ka-mu 'a-+şula xut rīš-yanux vədlux?* Why did you do that of your own accord (without consulting others)?; *riša pulətli mən-da-+şula* I solved that matter; *riša le-+palətət mənnu* You cannot fathom him (he is inscrutable); *+avva 'adiyya b-riša npəllə* He now understands; *'o-naşa +raba b-riša ci-napəl* He is very intelligent; *rišu mxilun* They beheaded him; *riša ci-maxáxval* We snoozed (B 3:20); *b-riši* (I swear) by my head; *b-riş yəmmi* (I swear) by the head of my mother; *rišux əvə basima* May your head be healed (condolence after a death); *'azax riša basamta* Let's go and give our condolences; *riša basámpta b-yavviválə* They offered him their condolences (B 5:6); *riši xəşlə* I cannot stand it (said, for example, when there is very loud music); *cülləl cülpətəl xamşə-rişə, 'əştə-rişəl cüllə ja-xà béta ci-damxáxval* The whole family, five people, six people—we all slept in one house (B 3:32); *riş-aklə* n.f. stew containing

bones; adv. upside down. (2) **end, tip, top** | *'ita 'átxa nàzuc rišu t-odáttə*  
 Then make its (the cane's) end fine like this (A 42:24). Idiomatic phrases:  
*'a-+šula +al-riša muyyili* I carried out the job successfully; *'a-+šula b-riša pulačli* I brought the job to a successful conclusion; *riša rišaxta, riš-rišaxta* adv. upside down. (3) **beginning** | *riš-šita* New Year; *riš-yarxa* beginning of the month; *mən-riša* from the beginning; *davək i mən-riša* to read/do from the beginning; *xá-riša tilə* He came directly. (4) **side** | *c-avíva +bərxàṭa| mdà-riša| +al-dò-riša* They ran from this side to that side (A 1:1); *l-ò-rišət máta|* at that end of the village (B 10:4); *mən-tre rišanə +šarəx palxax* Let's start to work together at the same time (lit. from two sides);  
*rišavə* n.f. (Kurd. *reşav* 'black water') **discharge from the mouth of a corpse** | *durunda rišavə jəsyə* You barbarous man, may you vomit blood  
*rišaya* adj.ms. (fs. *rišeta*, pl. *rišayə*) (1) **primary, first.** (2) **excellent, first-class in quality.** (3) **n. principle, chief**  
*rišayuya* n.f. **headship, domination, superiority** | *rišayuya əvəd i* to predominate, to take priority, to command  
*riš-ķənna* n.m. **firstborn child**  
*rišu-+baba* n.f. **large round grape** | either white (*+xvarta*) or red (*smukta*) in colour  
*rixa* n.m. (pl. *rixa*) **smell, odour, fragrance** | *šakəl i rixa* to smell (tr.); *rixa bitayələ* There is a (bad) smell; *ríxət +bar-nàša bitáyələ|* There is a smell of a human (A 39:31)  
*riza* n.m. (Kurd. *řēz*, Azer. *riz*) **order, method, system, organization, custom** | *matta III riza* to order; *b-riza* nearby; *'ayya-da rízət +xliyləva|* This was the organization of the wedding (B 10:23)  
*rjuda* n.m. **trembling, quaking, shivering, spasm**  
*rpupiyya* n.f. **rash**  
*rukə* n.pl. **tantum spit**  
*rukta* n.f. **spittle** | *rukta +ruppilə* He spat  
*rušnuc* n.m. (pl. *rušnuŷə/rušnuŷə*) (Ukrainian *рушник*) **towel** (Canda, Sal.)  
*ruxsat, rusxat* n.f. (Pers. *roxsat* < Arab.) **permission, authorization** | *yawwəl i ruksat* to allow, to resolve; *šakəl i ruksat* to ask for leave, to receive permission

*+raba, +roba* (e.g. *+Satluvvə* S, *Dizatacyə* S, *Canda Georg.*) mod., adv. (§ 9.7.4.)  
 (1) **much, a lot of; many (quantifier)** *+raba jahə* frequently; *lá-'azət +bár +rába davəlta|* Do not go after a lot of wealth (A 3:11); *malúpulə +rába mən-dyànə|* He teaches him many things (A 3:7). (2) **very (intensifier), too** *+áv-da*

- +rába lípəva* | He also was very learned (A 3:1); *+rába čátun šòmma 'ótla* | He has a very difficult name (A 3:47); *lá-'avət +rába šaxìna*. | *lá-'avət +rába +káyra* | Do not be too hot and do not be too cold (A 3:9); *málca +rába xdilə* | The king rejoiced greatly (A 3:34). (3) often | *'áyya ci-majdəllàva +rába*. | It (the stream) used often to freeze (B 3:34)
- +rabban** n.m. (pl. *+rabbana*) monk
- +rabbanta** n.f. (pl. *+rabbanyatə*) nun | *betət +rabbanyatə* convent
- +rabi** n.m. (pl. *+rabiyyə*) teacher; master
- +rabita, +rabuya** n.f. (pl. *+rabiyyatə*) teacher (f.)
- +radə** I (vn. *+rdeta*) (Arab. *rađiya*) to like; to be pleased, or satisfied with, to approve, to take pleasure in | *'a +sudra buš +rədyali* I liked this shirt the best; *ju-xa xzeta +rədyali* I liked her the first time I saw her
- +radəx** I (vn. *+rdaxta*) to boil (intr.), to begin to boil | *bašlívələ ju-míyya +bərdàxa* | They cooked it in boiling water (B 17:9)
- +radrəd** QI (vn. *+radratta*) to darn
- +radxana** adj.ms. (fs. *+radxanta*, pl. *+radxanə*) boiling, quick to boil
- +rahat** adj.invar. (Azer. *rahət*, Pers. *rāhat*) quiet, comfortable, at ease; deceased → *+narahat* uncomfortable, upset
- +rahatuya** n.f. comfort, tranquillity, rest, convenience
- +rajəm** I (vn. *+rjamta*) (Arab. *rajama*) to stone
- +rajrəj** QI (vn. *+rajrajta*) to crawl, to creep (insect)
- +rama** adj.ms. (fs. *+ramta*, pl. *+ramə*) high | *+tla mətrə +rama* three metres high; *+arra +ramə-cupə 'ətla* The ground is hilly
- +ramana** adj.ms. (fs. *+ramanta*, pl. *+ramanə*) haughty
- +ramə** I (vn. *+rmeta*) (1) to cast, to inject, to toss. (2) to become close to birth (mammal animal) with milk gland enlarged
- +ramša** n.m. (1) evening, in the evening | *+ramšoxun b-šena* goodnight; *+ramšux +čava* good evening. (2) sunset | *'ən b-zrak̡tat šəmša la šaxnət, b-+ramšu le šaxnət* If you do not get warm at sunrise, you will not get warm when it sets (i.e. if the beginning is wrong, the end cannot be right) (cf. Maclean 1895, 346)
- +ramuvva** n.m. (pl. *+ramuvvə*) funnel, syringe
- +ramuya** n.f. height, elevation (of ground), arrogance
- +rapə** I (vn. *+rpeta*) to become weakened; to become loose
- +rappə** II (vn. *+rappeta*) (1) to throw, to hurl. (2) to shoot; to throw away. (3) to leave, to abandon, to overthrow, to divorce | *ranj +rappə* to become pale; *+rappə 'ida mən* to give up, to renounce; *'ádi zarduštáyə dína +rúppə xíšə m-áxxa* | Now the Zoroastrians have abandoned it (the place of worship) and gone from here (B 1:5). (4) to have a break (from work). (5) to give respite

- +*raprəp* QI (vn. +*rapraptə*) **to flap the wings** | *cteta* +*raprupela fulpano* The chicken is flapping its wings
- +*rapsə* n.m. (pl. +*rapsə*) **kick; crowhop (of horse or other similar animal)** | *xa* +*rapsə mxili ḫatu* I kicked him; *bət-maxilun b-*+*rapsə* He will kick them; +*rapsə mxayulə* He is kicking him; +*rapsə* +*rapsə* II to kick
- +*rapsana* adj.ms. (fs. +*rapsanta*, pl. +*rapsanə*) (constantly, habitually) **kicking**
- +*raptaruyta* n.f. (Azer. rəftar, Pers. raftār) **behaviour, conduct; good treatment; consent, friendliness, peacefulness, good manners**
- +*rast*, +*rastə* n.f. (Kurd. ḫast, Pers. rāst, Azer. rast) **correct; right side; good luck** | +*al-*+*rasta*, +*al-*+*rastə* to the right; *mən-*+*rastə* on the right; *lá ḫat* +*dránu*x +*rastəvən?* Am I not your right arm (A 48:18)
- +*rastaya* adj.ms. (fs. +*rasteta*, pl. +*rastayə*) **right-handed**
- +*rašəm* I (vn. +*rašamta*) (1) **to make a sign of the cross (on so. or on oneself)** | +*slıva* +*rašəmlə* He made the sign of the cross. (2) **to mark, to sign a letter** | *aha məndi* +*rašumlə* Mark this; +*jora u-baxta* +*rašiməna* The man and woman are marked (to be married, before being engaged); *ánna* +*tlibəlun*,! *áx* +*bəršəmona*! They have requested her hand in marriage, as if marking her (B 10:22)
- +*rata* n.f. **lung**
- +*ravaya* adj.ms., n.m. (fs. +*raveta*, pl. +*ravayə*) **drunk, drunkard**
- +*ravayuya* n.f. **drunkenness, alcoholism** | *avəd* I +*ravayuya* to booze, to binge (on drink)
- +*ravə* I (vn. +*rveta*) (1) **to get drunk, to become intoxicated; to drink abundantly.** (2) **to be well watered**
- +*ravəx* I (vn. +*rvaxta*) **to become broad**
- +*ravula* n.m., +*ravulta* n.f. (pl. +*ravulə*) **valley, gorge, mountain torrent**
- +*raxət* I (vn. +*rxat̥ta*) **to run, to rush (on foot)**
- +*raxrəx* QI (vn. +*raxraxta*) **to be drawn to so., to sympathize; to desire, to covet, to yearn for** | *dəmmu* +*ruxrəxlə* He heaved with emotion (he felt a close bond with so.); *dəmmi* +*ruxrəxvalo* +*allu* My heart went out to him; I felt close to him
- +*raxuṭa* adj.ms. (fs. +*raxuṭta*, pl. +*raxuṭə*) **swift (animal); quick runner**
- +*raxuyma* n.m. (fs. +*raxumta*, pl. +*raxuymə*) **lover**
- +*ray* n.f. (Azer. rəy, Pers. ray < Arab.) **advice, council, plan** | *avəd* I +*ray* to consult, to confer, to discuss, *xazə* I +*ray* to advise; *'atə* I +*al-*+*ray* to surrender (to enemy)
- +*raya* n.m. (pl. +*rayə*) **shepherd**
- +*rayat* n.c. (Azer. rəiyyət, Pers. ra'iyyat < Arab.) **subject(s) (of a ruler), vassal, peasant**
- +*rayəm/ram* I (vn. +*ryamta*) (1) **to rise, to fly up.** (2) **to become exalted, to become proud, presumptuous, to boast**

- +rayəp/+rāp I** (vn. *+ryapta*, Canda prs. *+yarəp*) **to roost (birds); to flock (birds)** |  
     <sup>+terə +rəplun</sup> The birds flocked
- +rayəs/+rās I** (vn. *+ryasta*) **to sprinkle, to splash**
- +rayəš/+rāš I** (vn. *+ryašta*, *+rašta*) (1) **to wake up, to regain consciousness, to become sober.** (2) **to feel, to be aware of** | *baxta +rəšla b-yala* The woman became aware that she was pregnant; *+rəšli biyyu* I have found out about it
- +rayət yonə n.m. verbena (verbain)**
- +rayət/+rāt I → +arət I**
- +rayəx/+rāx I** (vn. *+ryaxta*) **to extend, to become long, to stretch, to stretch out (on the ground), to lie down** | *+rəxlə +al-+arra* He lay down on the ground;  
     <sup>+al-+arra +rixələ</sup> He is lying on the ground; *bəškálot ətxal +bəryáxələ* You take it (the *harisa* stew) like this, and it stretches (i.e. it sticks together) (B 15:8)
- +rayəzə I** (vn. *+reta*, prog. *+bərrayələ*, pst. *+rilə*) (i) **to rain; to fall (rain or snow)**
- +rayəzə I** (vn. *+reta*, prog. *+bərrayələ*, pst. *+rilə*) (ii) **to graze (animals)**
- +raza n.m. (pl. +razə)** (1) **church mass, Eucharist** | *'avəd I +raza* to celebrate the Eucharist. (2) **secret**
- +razi adj.invar. (Azer. razi, Pers. rāzī < Arab.)** **willing, content, pleased (*mən, b-* with); grateful, appreciative** | *'avəd I +razi* to satisfy, to thank; *+razilə, payəš I +razi* to agree, to be satisfied, to be content
- +raziyyuya, +razuyta n.f. agreement, consent, content, gratitude, satisfaction, (business) transaction** | *b-+raziyyuya* in agreement, in consent
- +rdixa adj.ms. (fs. +rdaxta, pl. +rdixə)** **boiled**
- +rədxa n.m. boiling** | *+bár cléétat +rədxul bədráyuna ju-de-+kazànča* After its boiling stops, they put it in the pan (B 17:18)
- +rəğja n.m. vermin**
- +rəğjana adj.ms. (fs. +rəğjanta, pl. +rəğjanə)** **lousy, a person with lice**
- +rajba n.m. reptile, reptiles (coll.); insect (literary)**
- +rəpya adj.ms. (fs. +rpita, pl. +rəpyə)** **weak, loose, relaxed, tender, soft-boiled (egg)**
- +rəpyuyta n.f. weakness** | *'ána +rába +rəpyùta vádli* I acted with great weakness (A 1:30)
- +rəzza n.m. (Armenia n.f.) rice** | *+rəzza sadri* very large, white rice (premium variety); *+rəzza zarnišan* large, white rice that does not swell when cooking; *+rəzza flula* round rice, *+rəzza 'ambarbuy* Mazandaran rice, with thin grains; *+rəzza +jampa* white rice that swells a lot when cooking; *+rəzza smuča* rice cooked with tomatoes (= *+rəzza +əstambulli*)
- +rəzzaya n.m. will, free will** | *b-+rəzzaya* voluntarily
- +rəzzita n.f. grain of rice**
- +repa n.m. (pl. +repə)** **flock of birds**

- +*rerana* adj.ms. (fs. +*reranta*, pl. +*reranə*) **slobbering**
- +*rerə* n.pl. **saliva; mucus running from the nose or mouth, slobbering**
- +*rey* adj.invar. **fertile, productive.** n.f. **goodness (of crop), fruit | marət-+rey**  
fertile, fruitful
- +*rima* adj.ms. (+*rəmta*, pl. +*rimə*) **elevated | +xasu +riməle** He is lazy (lit. his back is raised up, i.e. he does not stand straight)
- +*rixə* adj.ms. (fs. +*rəxta*, pl. +*rixə*) **lying down, stretched out; prolonged, tedious**
- +*rodana* n.m. (pl. +*rodanə*) **earthquake | +rodana bətvatə muxrəvlə** The earthquake destroyed houses
- +*roma* n.m. (pl. +*romə*) **height | mən-+roma +səlyələ** He has descended from on high
- +*roz* n.m. (pl. +*rozə*) (Russ. *поза*) **rose**
- +*rpapa* n.m. (pl. +*rpapə*) **second (unit of time)**
- +*rubbun* n.m. (pl. *rubbuyaña*) (Pers. *rūbān*) **ribbon**
- +*ruma-*+*čala* (fs. +*rumta-*+*čalta*) **hilly**
- +*rumta* n.f. (pl. +*rumyata*) **hill, hillock, elevation; high position (rank)**
- +*rumxa* n.f. (pl. +*rumxə*, +*rumxata*) **spear**
- +*ruppa* adj.ms. (fs. +*ruppita*, pl. +*ruppə*) **thrown away, abandoned**
- +*rusva*, +*russa* n.m. (Pers. *rosvā*) **disgrace, shame; penalty.** adj.invar. **disgraced, ignominious, infamous | ʼavəd ı +rusva** to dishonour, to shame, to disgrace; ʼavə ı +rusva to be dishonoured, disgraced; +rusva *vijya* dishonoured, shamed, disgraced; +rüssu mü-ilə?| What is his penalty? (in children's game B 9:11)
- +*rusvači* adj.invar. **scandalous, impudent, shameful, disgraceful**
- +*rusvayuya* n.f. **infamy, shame, scandalousness**
- +*rušta* n.f. (pl. +*rušyata*) (1) **shoulder blade.** (2) **wooden shovel (used to sweep snow from roof and dirt of animals in shed).** (3) **winnowing fan.** (4) **oar**
- +*ruxa* n.f. (pl. +*ruxatə*) (1) **spirit.** (2) **breath.** (3) **rheumatism**
- +*ruyša* n.m. (pl. +*ruyšanə*, Armenia +*rušananə*) (1) **shoulder; shoulder-blade.** (2) **arm.** (3) **the shoulder-piece of a garment.** (4) **metaphor. prop, support**
- +*ruyta* n.f. (pl. +*ruytanə*, +*ruytavatə*) **Friday**
- +*ruznama* n.f. (pl. +*ruznama*) (Pers. *roznāme*) **newspaper**
- +*ruznamači* n.m. (pl. +*ruznamačiyə*) (Pers. *roznāme* + Turkic -či) **newspaper-seller**
- +*rvičaya* adj.ms. (fs. +*rvičeta*, pl. +*rvičayə*) **fourth (literary) | xa +rvičaya** a quarter
- +*rvixə* adj.ms. (fs. +*rvəxta*, pl. +*rvixə*) **capacious**

## S

*sābab, sabab* n.m./f. (pl. *sābabə*) (Pers. *sabab* < Arab.) **cause** | *jdila sābab vilə 'ana jarpən* The ice caused me to slip; *mən-sābab, m-sābab, sābab, sab* because: *jāri 'ána +bákərən mən-yəmmo| sābab yəmmo, jürvəstola|* I must ask her mother, because her mother has brought her up (B 8:4); *májbur vīlə +palətva| sáb lətva ju-'Úrmi +šulánə|* He had to leave, because there were no jobs in Urmi (B 1:19), *m-sābab məššəlmanúta marzanané zəttəla|* because Islam had increased around them (B 1:22)

*sabt* *'avəd* I **to register, to make a register**

*sabzə* n.pl. (Pers. *sabz*, *sabzī*) **vegetables, greens**

*sabzə-+xana* n.f. (Pers. *sabzī-xāne*) **kitchen garden; vegetable-garden**

*saccu, saccun, saccunta* n.f. (pl. *saccunyata*) (Azer. *səki*) **platform used for sleeping** (Canda). (2) **terrace (usually laid with turf)**

*sacən* I (vn. *scanta*) **to calm down, to become quiet; to be relieved (of pain)**

*sada* n.m. (pl. *sadə*) **witness; martyr**

*sadda, sad* n.m. (pl. *saddə*) (Azer. *sədd*, Pers. *sadd* < Arab.) **dam; embankment** | *xakla had-ú-sad lətla* The field has no boundary

*sadri* **type of rice** → *+rəzza*

*saduyta* n.f. (1) **testimony** | *saduyta yavələ b-daha* He bears witness to this; *dúna cùlla sadýtya yàvəna|* They are all bearing witness (A 1:20). (2) **martyrdom**

*sahəd* I (vn. *shatta*) **to bear witness; to testify; to certify, to confirm; to protest**

*sahm* n.f. (Kurd. *sehm*) **fear, horror**

*sakala* n.m. (pl. *sakalə*) **one who is dressed in formal clothes; dignitary** | *+bár +cavùtral| 'anna| dà máta| 'anna 'ax-sakàlə| +xadrıval| 'ámnət násə 'ztla jəddášta motàna| +jammıval| p̄t-azíva ja-bēt-+dàvun|* After lunch, those that were like the dignitaries of the villages would go round, whoever has had an accident or somebody deceased, they would gather and go to his house (B 5:6)

*sakəd* I (vn. *skatta*) (1) **to become weary, to become annoyed; to become bored.** (2) **to shrink back from.** (3) **to grow decrepit**

*sakəl* I (vn. *skalta*) **to become beautiful, to be well-groomed, to beautify oneself** | *cma skəllax!* How fine you (fs.) look!

*sakəl* II (vn. *sakalta*) **to dress up (tr. and intr.), to beautify, to decorate, to adorn** | *suķlala jano* She dressed up; *cút-yum cút-yum saklava, baķlava| c-oyáva bərrášsa ndáya ndáya|* Every day she used to dress herself beautifully and used to go leaping, leaping (A 52:1)

*sakəm* I (vn. *skamta*) **to criticize so. behind their back** | *bəskamolə ka-šavu* He is criticizing her to his neighbour

*sakiyya* n.f. (Pers. *sāq* 'foreleg' < Arab.) **leg-wrapper, gaiter**

*sakkat* adj.invar. (Kurd. *seqqet*, Pers. *saqat* < Arab.) **crippled, cripple**

*sakkattuya* n.f. **mutilation**

*sakkat* QI (vn. *sakkatta*) (Pers. saqat < Arab.) (1) to cripple, to maim; to be crippled, maimed. (2) to mutilate, to be mutilated

*sala* n.m. (pl. *salə*) **basket** (see illustration 38)

*salbana* n.m. (pl. *salbanə*) (Arab. salaba) **robber**

*saləb* I (vn. *slabta*) to plunder, to steal, to rob

*salǵa* n.f. **dexterity, skill; good house-keeping**

*salǵana* (fs. *salǵanta*) **skillful; good house-keeper** | *xa baxta marət salǵa 'u-sarəšta* a woman with good skills in house-keeping

*salmasnaya* adj.ms. (fs. *salmasnetə*, pl. *salmasnaya*) **from Salamas**

*salta* n.f. (pl. *salyatə*) **small basket (with a handle)** (see illustration 39)

*sama* n.m. (Armenia n.f.) (pl. *samə*) (Arab. sahm) **share, portion, proportion, part; group** | *yavvəl* I *sama* to allocate a portion; *'a-ctāval* *trè-samələ* The letter is in two parts (A 3:21); *xa-sáma 'ən-+rāba 'áviva ci-zabnīval* If a proportion (of them) were surplus, they used to sell (them) (B2 1:1); *xá-sama xína-da +'álma 'óttən* There is another group of people (B 12:8); *sama zoda* the majority: *sáma zódət bátət màtəl* most houses of the village (B 2:17), adv. mostly

*samə* I (vn. *smeta*) **to become blind; to go out (fire)**

*samək* I (vn. *smaktə*) (1) **to become red; to blush** | *vardə bət-samki* The flowers will become red; *duna smikə* They have become red; *baxti sməkla* My wife blushed; *jári jáns 'ó tanúyra saməkníl* The oven must become nice and red. (2) **to become brown (bread in oven)** | *laxma sməkla fu-tanuyra* The bread became brown in the oven. (3) **to roast (intr. meat)**

*samm* (i) | *samm darə* I (Pers. *samm*) **to make a proposal, to make an agreement** | *sámm dárýala mən-dá bràta* He made an agreement with the girl (A 42:19)

*samm* (ii), *amma* n.m. (Pers. *samm* < Arab.) **poison, venom; poisonous**

*sammana* adj.ms. (fs. *sammanta*, pl. *sammanə*) **poisonous** | *+róba sammàna málcəval* He was a very malicious (lit. poisonous) king (A 41:15)

*sandana* n.m. (fs. *sandanta*, pl. *sandanə*) **supporter, assistant**

*sanduykə* n.m. (pl. *sanduykə*) (Pers. sanduqe, Azer. sandıq < Arab. şandūq) **box; chest; coffin** | *sanduykət mita* coffin

*sanə* I (vn. *sneta*) **to despise, to hate, to loathe, to abhor**

*sanəd* I (vn. *snatta*) (1) **to lean, to lean against, to be propped up.** (2) **to rest, refresh, to refresh oneself.** (3) **to bear, to support, to prop up.** (4) **to assist, to protect**

*sanək* I (vn. *snaktə*) **to need** (+*al-* sth.), to be in want, to require | *bət-sankən +'allux* I will need you

*sanj* n.m. (pl. *sanjə*) (Pers. senj) **cymbal**

- sannam* n.m. (pl. *sannammə*) (Pers. sanam < Arab.) **idol; molten image, statue**  
 | zaǵdanət *sannammə* idolater, pagan
- sannat, san'at* n.f. (Pers. san'at < Arab.) **craft, skill, art**
- sannatcár* n.m. **craftsman, workman**
- sansəl* (vn. *sansalta*) (Arab. salsala) **to descend from father to son; to originate (from a clan, family)**
- sap, sapa* n.m. (pl. *sapə*) (Pers. saff < Arab. şaff) **queue**
- sapar* n.f. (Pers. safar < Arab.) **(1) travel, departure, campaign** | 'avəd 1 *sapar* to travel; *saparux* 'avə +brəxta Have a good journey. **(2) time, instance** | 'a *sapar*, 'á-*spar* this time; 'á-*spar* kátux màrril I have just now told you (B 7:20); 'á-*spar* d-tré-cal the second time (A 51:6)
- saparči* n.m. (pl. *saparčiyə*) **traveller**
- saparčiyuya* n.f. **travel, wandering** | *saparčiyuyta* 'avəd 1 to travel, to tour around
- sapə* 1 (vn. *speta*) **to transfer from one vessel to another, to draw off (liquid)**
- sapə* II (vn. *sapeta*) **(1) to hand over, to deliver, to entrust** | *sapuyuvən* p-idux 1 entrust it into your hands; *súpyálə b-yàmmu*! He entrusted her into the care of his mother (A 1:15); *súpyalə bi-dùco*! He committed her to her grave (lit. place) (A 45:1); +*bakúrəna mən-bàba*, *bába sapíyol b-yàmma*! They ask the father. The father defers to the mother. (B 8:4). **(2) to betray, to be disloyal** | *kam-sapilan ka-dəzmən* He betrayed us to the enemy. **(3) to enjoin, to command, to advise** | +*rázitən bábi yóm̄mi sápən* 'atìni? Are you happy for me to give instructions for my father and mother to come? (A 43:15); *sapeti kátax* 'ahəla: My advice to you is ...
- sapək* 1 (vn. *spakta*) **to empty (intr.); to empty out, to spill** | *miyya spəklun* The water spilt
- sapək* II (vn. *sapakta*) **(1) to empty (tr.)** | +*bayya sapəklə vadra* He wants to empty the bucket; *miyya sapùkolə*! He empties it (the waterskin) of water (A 37:15). **(2) to spill (tr.)** | *miyya supkeli* I spilt the water. **(3) to unload, to discharge (a gun)**
- sapeta* n.f. (pl. *saþeyata*) **assignment, commission**
- sapma* n.m. (pl. *sapmə*) (Turkic sapma ‘something knitted’ < sap- ‘to thread (a needle)’ + suff. -MA) **large net for fishing**
- sapyana* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *sapyanta*, pl. *sapyanə*) **(1) handing over. (2) traitor, deserter**
- sapyanuya* n.f. **tradition, assignment, trust; handing over** | *sapyanuya* 'avəd 1 to betray
- sapýəc* adj.invar. (Turk. sapik ‘perverted, crazy’) **(1) fool, simpleton. (2) frenzied, perverse**
- sapyejuya* n.f. **insanity, madness, stupor**

*sapər* I (vn. *sparta*) **to wait, to wait for; to hope, to expect** | *bət-saprən* <sup>+allux</sup> I shall wait for you; *bət-saprən kat* 'a-<sup>+</sup>šula 'odətlə I expect you to do this

*sapəs* I (vn. *spasta*) **to decay, to rot, to decompose**

*sar-*<sup>+</sup>*subay* n.? (Pers. sahar sabāh ‘early morning’) **type of pipe music played at a wedding (when the bride leaves her parent’s home, traditionally in the morning)**

*sarada* n.m. (pl. *saradə*) **sieve**

*sardana* n.m. (fs. *sardanta*, pl. *sardanə*) **siever** | *sardana b-sarada bəsrədələ* <sup>+xəttə</sup> The siever sieves the wheat with the sieve

*sar-dasta* n.m. **head of a group, head of a gang** | <sup>+júrət cačàlə</sup> ... *sar-dastəva* | The elder of the bald men ... was the head of their gang (A 1:2)

*sarə* I (vn. *sreta*) **to become unappetizing (food), to become putrid; to become repulsive** | *'aha məndi səryələ* That thing is repulsive; *'o-naša srila kam-*<sup>+</sup>*ayni* He was bad in my view; *'a-<sup>+</sup>mixulta srila kam-*<sup>+</sup>*ayni* The food was unappetizing for me (I don’t want to eat)

*sarəd* I (vn. *sratta*) (1) **to sieve; to sift (wheat)** | *bət-sarəd* <sup>+xəttə</sup> he will sieve wheat; *sarada bəsrədələ* <sup>+xəttə</sup> The sieve sieves the wheat. (2) **to pull down, to knock down, to pull apart** | *bəsrədələ* <sup>+tarə mən-</sup><sup>+</sup>*al-*<sup>+</sup>*pava* He is pulling down leaves from the branch; *lə sardívalun* 'átxa xína mən-<sup>+</sup>*úydələ* They would not pull them (the grapes) apart (B 10:1)

*sarəf* II (vn. *sarafta*), *sarrəf* QI (vn. *sarrafta*) **to saddle** | *dulə surraffu suysu* He has saddled his horse

*sarək* I (vn. *srakta*) **to comb**

*sarəp* I (vn. *srapta*) (1) **to suck in (liquid)** | *miyya bəsrəpelə b-ney* He is sucking up the water with a straw; *srəplə* <sup>+zət</sup> He sucked in soup. (2) **to soak up (a liquid).** (3) **to imbibe.** (4) **to inhale** | *ka-<sup>+</sup>hava srup!* Breath in the air

*sarəšta* n.f. (Pers. sar-rešte) **dexterity, skill** | *xa baxta marət salja* 'u-sarəšta a woman with good skills in house-keeping

*sarəv* I (vn. *sravta*) **to deny, to reject, to disown, to renounce, to refuse** | *bət-sarvənnux* I shall reject you, disown you; *násətjánu bəsrəvələ* | He disowns his own family (A 48:6)

*saribaləx* n.f. (Azer. sari ‘yellow’ + baliq ‘fish’) **yellow fish**

*sarida, sarada* n.m. (pl. *saridə, saradə*) **sieve with large holes for beans or earth**

*sarja* n.m. (pl. *sarjə*) (1) **saddle; saddle of horse for carrying goods** | *maxə* I *sarja* to saddle; *patət sarja* saddle blanket. (2) **wooden frame of churn** (<sup>+meta</sup> B 7:1)

*sarjəd* QI (vn. *sarjatta*) (1) **to quake, to shake; to tremble, to cause to tremble** | *sarjudəvən* <sup>+xəttə</sup> *ju-*<sup>+</sup>*ərbala* I am shaking wheat in the sieve; *surjədli mən-karta* I trembled from the cold; *karta kam-sarjəddali* The cold made me tremble. (2) **to make a calendar**

*sarjən* QI (vn. *saryanta*) **to saddle**

*sarjəsta* n.f. **story, anecdote**

*sarkalla* n.m. (pl. *sarkallə*) (Pers. sar qullat) (**silver**) **necklace (also put on head)**

*sarpana* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *sarpanta*, pl. *sarpanə*) **haughty, unapproachable (person)**

*zarpanuyta* n.f. **arrogance, inaccessibility**

*sarparaz* n.m. (pl. *sarparazə*) (Pers. sar-parast) **governor, guardian, protector**

*sarsəm* QI (vn. *sarsamta*) (Pers. sarsām ‘delirium’) (1) **to bother, to irritate, to disturb, to annoy** | *kala sarsumilə* The sound is annoying me; *kam-sarsəmmatlı* You have irritated me. (2) **to cause a headache, to have a headache.** (3) **to cause one’s ears to ring**

*sarsəmmana* adj.ms. (fs. *sarsəmmanta*, pl. *sarsəmmana*) **irritating, causing a headache, causing one’s ears to ring** | *kala sarsəmmana* a sound that gives one a headache

*sarsər* QI (vn. *sarsarta*) **to hiss; to whistle (sound of whistle), to howl, to yell (in high tone), to growl, to roar**

*sartəp* n.m. (pl. *sartipə*) (Pers. sartip) **brigadier, general (army)**

*sarṭən* QI (vn. *sarṭanta*) (< *surṭa* fs. of *sura*) **to become small**

*satər* I (vn. *ṣṭarta*) **to rip; to unstitch, to unwind, to become unstitched (intr.); to untwine, to pull down, to pull up (roots), to take to pieces, to break up, to destroy** | *a-+parča bəştarulə* He is unstitching this cloth; *dulaʃdalə bəştaré* She is undoing the threads; *+parča +tyapula ḫat la satər* He is hemming the cloth so that it does not become unstitched; *miz bəştarulə* He is taking the table apart; *e-kuṭi duna bəştarō tica tica* They are taking the box apart piece by piece; *calba dulə bəştarolə +arrə* The dog is digging up the ground; *la sṭur muxi!* Don’t freak me out!

*sava* adj.ms. (fs. *sota*, pl. *savə*) **elderly, old**

*savəcca* n.m. **little old man**

*savi* → <sup>+</sup>*sevay*

*savuna* n.m. (pl. *savunvatə*) **grandfather**

*savzə* n.pl. (sing. *savza*) **grapes blanched in boiling water** | to the water is added the substance known as *kalya-+dašə*, lit. ‘cooker of stones’ (Azer. daş)

*säx* adj.ms./fs. (pl. *saxə*) (Kurd. *sax*) **healthy, alive**

*saxbər* QI (vn. *saxbarta*) (Arab. istaxbara) (1) **to visit (the sick, a friend).** (2) **to go out to ask after the health of** | *bərraxşən saxbərrənnun* I am going to visit them

*saxə* I (vn. *sxeta*) (1) **to swim, to bathe** | *ju-miyya bəsxayələ* He is swimming in the water. (2) **to float.** (3) **to be washed or purified**

*sayəl/säl* I (vn. *syalta*) **to copulate**

- sayəm/sām* I (vn. *syamta*) **to ordain (deacon, priest)** | *səmlun taza kaša* They ordained a new priest
- sayəv* I (vn. *syavta*) **to grow old, to turn grey**
- saymas* adj.invar. **naughty**
- sayna* n.f. (pl. *saynə*) **bath tub (made of wood or metal)**
- sazjar* adj.invar. (Pers. *sāzgār*) **in agreement, of like mind** | *'ana sazjar=ivən mənnu* I agree with him (always), I am of like mind with him
- sazjər* QI (vn. *sazjarta*) (Pers. *sāzgār*) **to become reconciled; to agree (e.g. on a price), to settle; to befriend** | *+čirəva, suzjərrun* They were alienated and have become reconciled; *'én +xnamíyyə-da suzjərre +'iydalə*! The in-laws made peace with each other (A 55:8)
- sazjərrana* adj.ms. (fs. *sazjərranta*, pl. *sazjərranə*) **peaceful, easygoing**
- scala* n.m./f. (pl. *scalə*) (Turk. *iskele*, Pers. *eskele* < Italian) **pier, landing-place, jetty**
- scina* n.m. (pl. *scina*), *scanta* n.f. (pl. *scənyatə*) **small (folding) knife** → *čakku*
- səbba* n.m. **hair of the crotch**
- Səbbər* (Russ. Сибирь) **Siberia**
- səcca* n.m. (1) **pass of the plough** | *'a-xakla xa səcca mxilə* He ploughed the field with one passing of the plough. (2) **inscription on a coin** (Pers. *sikka* < Arab.) | *maxə* I *səcca* to mint, to coin
- səcrana* adj.ms. (fs. *səcranta*, pl. *səcrana*) **rigid, rough, uneven**
- səcta, sita* n.f. (pl. *səcyatə, səccacə*) (1) **ploughshare, blade of plough** (see illustration 52). (2) **(wooden) stake, pole.** (3) **peg or pin of wood or brass**
- səklə* n.m. (pl. *səklə*) **ornament**
- səlc* n.m. **type of fabric**
- səlkə* n.m. (pl. *səlkə*) **beetroot**
- səmbuylalə, sumbuylalə* n.pl. (sing. *səmbulta, sumulta*) (Kurd. *simbēl*) **moustache** | *marrək* III *səmbulta* to grin, to laugh in one's beard, to smile; *səmbultət +sarə/+xəttə* hair of corn
- səmcət* n.m. | *+xabrat səmcət la tani!* Don't say the 'S' word (i.e. *syalta* to copulate)
- səmma* n.f. (pl. *səmma*, *səmmatə*) (Kurd. *sim*) **hoof**
- səmmala* n.m. **left side** | *səmmala, +al-səmmala* to the left, on the left; *mən-səmmala*
- səmmalta, simalta* n.f. (pl. *səmmalyatə, simalyatə*) **ladder** | *səmmaltət mitə* ladder of the dead (insulting reference to a tall person with little intelligence)
- səmya* adj.ms. (fs. *smita*, pl. *səmyə*) **blind**
- sən* n.m. (Pers. *senn* < Arab.) **age, age of puberty**
- sənda* n.m. (pl. *səndə*) **support, protection, prop, column**

- sənjiyya, sənjita* n.f. (pl. *sənjiyyə*) silver willow tree; fruit of the silver willow, **jujube** | *sənjiyyət xurmə* small jujube fruits; *kesət sənjiyya + p̄çila* the wood of a crooked jujube (used to refer to a crook or dishonest person)
- sənnur* n.f. (pl. *sənnuyrə*) (Turk. sınır < Greek σύνορο) (1) frontier. (2) terms of treaty
- sənsəl* n.m. clan, family
- səppat* n.f. (Pers. seffat < Arab.) appearance, attribute; esp. beauty, elegance; **good manners** | *marət səppat-ilə* He has a pleasant aspect; *be-səppat-ilə* unpleasant, without good manners → *marət-+suppat, be-+suppat*
- səppərtə* n.f., Siri S. *sipərtə* (pl. *səprə*) female sparrow (Sal. and Gaw. *sipərtə*, +Mawana *süppürta*) → *səpra*
- səpra* n.m. (pl. *səprə*) sparrow, species of sparrow (Sal. and Gaw. *sipərrə*, +Mawana *süpra*) | +*zayət səpra* chick of sparrow
- səpta* n.f. (pl. *səppatə, səpvatə*) (1) lip. (2) edge, ledge, rim, brim, brink, bank of a river; sea shore. (3) binding on the edge of a garment. (4) start, beginning
- səpsə* n.m. decay
- sər* n.m., with pron. suffix *síru* or *sárru* (Azer. sirr, Pers. serr < Arab.) secret, mystery
- səryə* adj. (fs. *srita*, pl. *səryə*) (1) bad, badly behaved | *səryə naşələ* He is a bad man. (2) unappetizing (food), repulsive
- sətva* n.m. (pl. *sətva, sətvana*) winter
- se* → 'azəl I
- sebuyta* n.f. old age
- sepa* n.f. (pl. *sepə*) sword, sabre | *pummət sepa* the edge of the sword
- sesə* n.f. (pl. *sesə*) buck saw with an upper handle (see illustration 49)
- seyr* n.f. (Azer. seyr < Arab.) walk, picnic | *seyr əvəd* I to go for a walk; to have a picnic
- səl* n.f. (Pers. *səl* < Arab.) flood, spate, heavy rain
- si* → 'azəl I
- sila* n.m. sand | *manət sila* sandbox
- sima* (i) n.m. silver
- sima* (ii) n.m. (pl. *simə*) (Pers. *sīm*) string (chord)
- sima* adj.ms. (fs. *səmta*, pl. *simə*) ordained, appointed
- simalta* → *səmmalta*
- sini* n.f. (pl. *siniyyə*, annex. *siniyyət*) (Azer. *sini*, Pers. *sīnī*) tray
- sipa* n.m. river bank; edge; seashore, beach | *sipət nara* riverbank; *sipət + tuyra* the foothills
- sipar* n.f. (Pers. *sefr* < Arab.) zero
- sira-sər* n.f. yelling, crying
- sıva* adj.ms. (fs. *səvta*, pl. *sıvə*) old, aged

*sivatta* | *+muṭra sivatta* (Azer sivad) late rain

*skida* adj.ms. (fs. *skətta*, pl. *skidə*) (1) apathetic, bored. (2) decrepit

*skupta* n.f. (pl. *skupyatə*) threshold; lintel, doorstep

*smučka* adj.ms. (fs. *smučta*, pl. *smučka*) red, ruddy, bay (horse)

*smučə* n.pl. barberries, sumac

*smučnaya* adj.ms. (fs. *smučneta*, pl. *smučnayə*) reddish

*smučta* n.f. (pl. *smučyatə*) flamingo

*smučuya* n.f. redness

*snička* adj.ms. (fs. *snəčta*, pl. *sníčə*) needy, in need

*sníčuya* n.f. need | *mən-sníčúta fíba xăšlun +’al-+’idátə prišəl* According to need  
they went over to different churches (B 1:29)

*snunita* n.f. (pl. *snuníyyatə*) swallow

*soda* (i) n.m. (Pers. sowdā ‘love’) enjoyment, contentment, feeling at home,  
disposition, inclination | *sodux bitayələ?* Are you enjoying it?; *soda lətli* I  
don’t feel like doing it; *ju-+tuyranə sodu bitayələ* He is happy in the moun-  
tains; *ka-sodi ’a-+šula vədli* I did that purposely; *xácma ... məndiyàna +bəkyá-  
raləl ká sòdu* He carves some things for his amusement (A 37:8)

*soda* (ii) n.f. (Pers. sowdā) retail trade

*sodana* adj.ms. (fs. *sodanta*, pl. *sodanə*) pleasant, diligent

*sohbat* n.f. (Azer. söhbət, Pers. sohbat < Arab.) conversation, talk, dialogue,  
speech | *sohbat əvəd* I to talk, to converse, to chat

*sohbatči* n.m. (pl. *sohbatčiyə*) interlocutor, talkative

*sojul* (fs. *sojulta*, pl. *sojuylə*) (Azer. sevgili) beloved, dear | *sojuyli* my dear  
beloved; *xá ó xá brúna sójul ’ótvalel* They only had that single beloved son  
(A 55:8)

*sota* n.f. (pl. *soyata*) elderly woman

*sotəcta* n.f. little old woman

*sotunti* my dear old woman < *sota*

*sovđágár* n.m. (pl. *sovđágare*) (Pers.) merchant, dealer, shopkeeper

*spadita* n.f. (pl. *spadiyyatə*) pillow | *patət spadita* pillow case; *spaditət xuvva*  
snail shell

*spar* → *sapar*

*sparəfla* n.m. (pl. *sparəflə*) quince; quince tree

*spasta* n.f. clover (= *yonja*)

*spička* adj.ms (fs. *spəčta*, pl. *spičə*) empty | *ducu spəčtəla* I miss him (lit. his place  
is empty); *šopux spičələ* I miss you (lit. your place is empty)

*spîsa* adj.ms. (fs. *spəsta*, pl. *spîsə*) rotten

*stuyna* n.m. (pl. *stuynə*) stake, column

*stıra* adj.ms. (fs. *stərta*, pl. *stırə*) broken, destroyed, ruined, ripped, unwound,  
disassembled

- ştolba* n.m. (pl. *ştolbə*) (Russ. столб) **post, pole**
- sukla* adj.ms. (fs. *suķalta*, pl. *suķlə*) **well-dressed, adorned, beautified**
- sulaka, suylaķa* n.m. **Ascension, Ascension Day**
- sulta* n.f. **area in which dried animal dung known as *camrə* is compressed by stamping it down in order to prepare it for fuel**
- sumba* n.m. (pl. *sumbə*) (Pers. sombe) **ramrod**
- sumbuylala, sumbulta* → *səmbuylala*
- sunkana* n.m. (pl. *sunkanə*) **need, livelihood** | *laxmət sunkanan* our daily bread; *sunkané +palútuvə b-dó yulpanə!* They made their livelihood by their education (B 1:31)
- sunnat* n.f. (Azer. sünnet < Arab.) **circumcision** | *sunnat 'avəd* i to circumcise, *+malla 'a-yala sunnat vidulə* The mullah has circumcised the boy
- sura* adj.ms. (fs. *surta*, pl. *surə*) **small, young**
- suraya* adj.ms./n.m. (fs. *sureta*, pl. *surayə*) **Assyrian Christian**
- surayət* → *surət*
- surət, surayət* **Assyrian language** | *surət +spay +maķrużəvət* You speak Assyrian well; *xamzùməxva! bí suráyət jānan!* We spoke in our Assyrian language (B 16:13)
- suri* n.f. (pl. *suriyyə*) (Azer. sürü 'flock') **flock (of sheep or goats)** | *suriyyət 'ərbə* flocks of sheep, *suri-t 'əzzə* herd of goats
- surjada* n.m. (pl. *surjada*) **calendar**
- surjun* | *surjun 'avəd* i (Azer. sürgün etmək) **to exile, to expel, to deport**
- surjunuya* n.f. **exile, banishment**
- surma* n.m. (pl. *surmə*) (Azer. siyirmə) **door-bar**
- suruna* adj.ms. (fs. *surunta*, pl. *surunə*) **very small (child); baby** | *yala suruna*
- suruyta* n.f. (1) **smallness.** (2) **childhood, youth** | *+'avva naşa suruyta vadəla* That man is behaving like a child; *é-jət suriyti +ròba c-atıva tálja!* In the time of my childhood a lot of snow used to fall (B 17:50)
- susapan* n.f. (pl. *susapanə*) (Azer. susəpən) **watering-pot**
- suspendə* n.pl. **braces**
- susta* n.f. (pl. *susyatə*) **mare**
- suyla* n.m. **pile of ash used as fertilizer; manure** | *siýla b-rišux!* May you have manure on your head (insult) (A 52:1)
- suysa, suysə* n.m. (pl. *suysavatə*) **horse** | *suysət dol, suysa marət 'əšcatə* a stallion for insemination
- svetar, svitar* n.f. (pl. *svetara, svitarə*) (Russ. свитер, Azer. sviter) **sweater**

## +s

- +sa'at, +sahat n.f. (pl. +sa'attə, +sahattə) (Pers. sā'at < Arab.) **hour; watch** | *b-e-*  
+sa'at, +büssahat (A 45:9) immediately; *har-b-a* +sa'at right now
- +sabaxta n.f. (Azer. sabah ‘tomorrow’ < Arab. sabāḥ ‘morning’) **ceremony of giving wedding gifts to holders of the wedding (originally given on the morning after the consummation of the marriage)**
- +sabər I (vn. +sbarta) **to feel at home, to trust (b- so.); not to feel homesick, to have companionship; to talk, to chat** | *'ana bət-*+sabrən biyyux I shall feel at ease with you; *bət-*+sabər +tama He will have companionship there
- +sabət, +sabut | *'avəd* I +sabət (Pers. sābet kardan < Arab.) (1) **to prove.** (2) **to convict, to establish guilt.** (3) **to approve.** *'avə* I +sabət (1) **to be proved.** (2) **to be convicted, to be shown guilty, to be claimed**
- +sabəttuya n.f. **proof**
- +sablé n.m. **type of fabric**
- +sabrana adj.ms. (fs. +sabranta, pl. +sabrənə) **patient, tolerant**
- +sabun n.m. **soap** | *maxə* I +sabun to soap
- +sabunci n.m. (pl. +sabunciyyə) **soap-maker**
- +sabur n.f. (Azer. səbir, Pers. sabr < Arab.) **patience** | *'avəd* I +sabur to suffer, endure
- +sacət adj.invar. (Azer. sakit, Pers. sāket < Arab.) **quiet, calm** | *'avəd* I +sacət to pacify, to calm (tr.); *'avə* I +sacət to calm down, to become quiet
- +sadda n.m. (pl. +saddə) **rootlet, fibre**
- +sadra n.m. (+sadrə) **breast, chest** | +sadrət +tuyra mountain side, mountain face; *bəssəkələju-*+sadrət +tuyra He is climbing on the mountain face
- +sāğ adj.invar. (Azer. sağ, Kurd. sax) **whole, integral, entire, healthy** | *yá náša átxa prákəl* +sāğ pyášəl That man was saved in this way and survived (B 16:13)
- +saǵuyta n.f. **health, integrity** | *b-*+saǵuyta alive in good health
- +sahibi n.f. **type of red grape**
- +sāj n.m. (pl. +sajə) (Azer. sac) **large hot plate for baking thin flat bread** (+lavašə) | *'aklət* +sāj trivet
- +saķa n.f. (pl. +saķə) (Pers. sāq ‘foreleg’ < Arab.) **woolen gaiter, legging** | +sakət jəlda leather gaiter
- +sakət I (vn. +skat̥ta) (1) **to crouch, to squat, to sit on one's haunches.** (2) **metaphor. to become dysfunctional, to die** | *muxu* +sķət̥la He had a stroke; *varidət ləbbi* +skit̥lə The artery of my heart has stopped working
- +sakkav n.f. (pl. +sakkavə) (Pers. saqqā) **pelican**
- +saķur n.m. (pl. +sakuyrə) **large basket put on back of people (see illustration 31)**

- <sup>+</sup>*sala* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*salə*) (Russ. *сало*) fat of pig, lard; lump of fat → <sup>+</sup>*smala*
- <sup>+</sup>*salamat* adj.invar. (Azer. *salamat*, Pers. *salāmat*) healthy, safe; adv. safely |  
<sup>+</sup>*salamat-ila* She is well
- <sup>+</sup>*salamatuya* n.f. health, well-being
- <sup>+</sup>*salə* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*sleta*) (1) to go down; to descend, to fly down | *le* <sup>+</sup>*salə b-ləbbi* I don't like him. (2) to dismount, to get down from a horse. (3) to compromise (concerning a price)
- <sup>+</sup>*salə* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*saleta*) to pray
- <sup>+</sup>*salila* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*salalta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*salilə*) sober; astute, smart, clever
- <sup>+</sup>*salla* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sallə*) block, clod
- <sup>+</sup>*salləl* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*sallalta*) to sober up; to get well; to recover; to come to (after fainting)
- <sup>+</sup>*salma* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*salma*) (1) feature, appearance; likeness. (2) cheek, face. (3) surface. (4) page of a book
- <sup>+</sup>*sandal* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*sandalta*) (1) to stand upright, to sit upright (especially animal) | *calba* <sup>+</sup>*sundəllələ* <sup>+</sup>*bayyə* <sup>+</sup>*mixulta* The dog is sitting upright, it wants food. (2) to hang the head (especially animal)
- <sup>+</sup>*sanjuyyə* n.pl. (sing.f. <sup>+</sup>*sanjuy*) (Azer. *sancı*) birth pains
- <sup>+</sup>*sannən* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*snanta*, pres. <sup>+</sup>*sannən*, <sup>+</sup>*sannənna*, <sup>+</sup>*sannənni*, pst. <sup>+</sup>*snənnə*, rsp. <sup>+</sup>*snina*, prog. <sup>+</sup>*bəsnənələ*) (1) to burn (food) (intr.); to turn rancid (food) | <sup>+</sup>*busra* <sup>+</sup>*snənnə* The meat burnt; *farmət əkli* <sup>+</sup>*snənnə* The bone of my leg panged with pain. (2) to be saturated with smoke. (3) to sag
- <sup>+</sup>*sansəl* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*sansalta*) (1) to drip down, to trickle down | *dəmma mən* <sup>+</sup>*sup̪pətu* <sup>+</sup>*sansulələ* Blood is dripping from his fingers. (2) to pour down, to offer a libation
- <sup>+</sup>*sansəp* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*sansapta*) (1) to have darting pains; to smart; to cause to smart | *darbi* <sup>+</sup>*sup̪pi* <sup>+</sup>*sansupələ* My wound is making my finger smart; <sup>+</sup>*sansəpva*, *ka-mu mana* <sup>+</sup>*šmətlux?* May it smart, why have you broken the pot? (curse). (2) to become intensely cold | <sup>+</sup>*sansupələ* It is very cold
- <sup>+</sup>*sansəppana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*sansəppanta*, <sup>+</sup>*sansəppanə*) intensely cold | *karta* <sup>+</sup>*sansəppanta*/<sup>+</sup>*sarupta* intense cold
- <sup>+</sup>*santimətra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*santimətrə*) (Pers. *sāntīmetr*) centimetre; tape-measure
- <sup>+</sup>*santur* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*santuyrə*) (Pers. *santür*) (1) organ. (2) harp, dulcimer. (3) concertina, accordion | *maxə* I <sup>+</sup>*santur* to play the organ, harp, etc.
- <sup>+</sup>*sapə* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*speta*) to become pure; to become clear (liquid) | *miyya* <sup>+</sup>*spilun* The water became clear
- <sup>+</sup>*sapə* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*sapeta*) to filter, to purify, to make clear; to purge; to strain water; to strain out | *supyeli miyya* I purified the water
- <sup>+</sup>*sapləp* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*saplpta*) to plead, to beg, to implore; to desire greatly, to ask for alms

- +*sapyana* n.m. (pl. +*sapyanə*), +*maspyəppana* n.m. (pl. +*maspyəppanə*) **strainer for liquid (made out of basketwork)**
- +*sara* n.m. (i) **moon** | *dvaktət* +*sara*, *kłapsisət* +*sara* **lunar eclipse; šəmšə-**+*sara* **moonlight**
- +*sara* n.m. (ii) **animal hair** | +*sarət suysa* n.m. **hair of horse, mane of a horse**
- +*saraluc*, +*saralucta* n.f. (pl. +*saraluyja*) (Azer. sari + Pers. əlū) **yellow plum**
- +*saray* n.f. (pl. +*sarayə*) (Russ. *capaň* ‘shed’ < Azer. *saray*, Pers. *sarāy* ‘palace, court’) **shed open on two sides** | containing the oven of a household
- +*sarbar* n.? (Pers. *sarbār*) **box placed on top of a load**
- +*sarbaz* n.m. (pl. +*sarbaza*) (Pers. *sarbāz*) **soldier**
- +*sarə* n.pl. (sing. +*sarita*) **barley** | +*sarət tre xmarə le-*+*məs* +*pallilun* He cannot divide the barley of his two asses (i.e. he is stupid)
- +*sarəp* I (vn. +*srapta*) **to be pungent, to smart (mouth)** | +*srapla pummi* My mouth is smarting
- +*sarət* I (vn. +*sraťta*) **to draw line, to scratch; to write badly, to scribble**
- +*sarəx* I (vn. +*srxasta*) (1) **to be mad (animals, especially with rabies); to become enraged, furious.** (2) **to be ignited (with passion)**
- +*sarita* n.f. **grain of barley**
- +*sarraj* n.m. (pl. +*sarrajə*) (Pers. *sarrāj* < Arab.) **saddler making leather accessories for a saddle; a tent-maker**
- +*sarrap* n.m. (Azer. *sərraf*, Pers. *sarrāf* < Arab.) **money-changer**
- +*sarrast* adj.invar. (Kurd. *ser̠ast*) **truthful, true, right, exact, valid, reliable.** adv. **in fact, indeed, exactly** | 'avəd I +*sarrast* **to correct, to fix;** 'avə I +*sarrast* **to be improved**
- +*sarrastuyta* n.f. **truthfulness, accuracy, effectiveness, reliability**
- +*sarrəp* QI (vn. +*srapta*) **to exchange money**
- +*sarsaq* adj.invar. (Azer. *sarsaq*) **foolish, daft, flighty; gawky, awkward**
- +*sarsaqjuyta* n.f. (Azer. *sarsaq*) **foolishness, daftness**
- +*sarsər* QI (vn. +*sarsurə*) **to chirp (cricket); to roar (lion)**
- +*sārtə* n.f. (pl. +*sāryatə*) **swearing, abuse, curse**
- +*saruxa* adj.ms. (fs. +*saruxta*, pl. +*saruxə*) **vicious**
- +*saruypa* adj.ms. (fs. +*sarupta*, pl. +*saruypə*) **pungent (spice); biting (cold)** | *karta*+*sarupta* **biting cold**
- +*sasa* n.m. (pl. +*sasanə*) **cheek**
- +*saťana* n.m. (fs. +*saťanta*) (1) **Satan, devil, demon (m. and f.).** (2) **informer, spy; shrewd**
- +*satənuyta* n.f. **devilry, evilness; denunciation, spying** | 'avəd I +*satanuyta* **to denounce, to inform, to spy**
- +*satə* I (vn. +*steta*) (1) **to swoop, to swoop down** | +*nəšra* +*stilə* +*al-*+*seda* The eagle swooped onto the prey. (2) **to turn aside**

- <sup>+</sup>*saṭṣam* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*ṣṭamta*) (1) to destroy, to be destroyed; to be ruined, to ruin; to fall in (e.g. well or a roof) | <sup>+</sup>*ṣṭəmłə beti* My house was ruined (everything in my life went wrong); *'ana bət-*<sup>+</sup>*saṭmənna betux* I shall make your life hell. (2) to stop up or fill up (e.g. well)
- <sup>+</sup>*saṭlət* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*saṭlatta*) to stare, to gaze, to prick up (ears), | <sup>+</sup>*aynu* <sup>+</sup>*sutləttelə* He stared; <sup>+</sup>*sutləttelun* *natyatu* He pricked up his ears
- <sup>+</sup>*sav* n.f. (Kurd. saw) fear, horror | *yavvol* I <sup>+</sup>*sav* to frighten, to terrify
- <sup>+</sup>*sava* n.m. thirst
- <sup>+</sup>*savana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*savanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*savanə*) (Kurd. saw) terrible, awful; ugly. n. monster
- <sup>+</sup>*savolta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sola*) shoe, boot → <sup>+</sup>*sola*
- <sup>+</sup>*savar*/<sup>+</sup>*sār* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*savarta*, <sup>+</sup>*sārta*) to swear, to scold, to abuse, to revile, to call names
- <sup>+</sup>*savura* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*savurə*) sacristan, sexton; a representative or chancellor of the patriarch; an overseer
- <sup>+</sup>*savvə* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*sveta*) to be sated; to be satisfied with
- <sup>+</sup>*savvən* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*savanta*) to fear, to be terrified
- <sup>+</sup>*saxaya* n.m. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*saxəta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*saxaya*) swimmer
- <sup>+</sup>*saxləx* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*saxlaxta*) to have darting pains | *cici dulə* <sup>+</sup>*suxləxlə* My tooth has darting pains
- <sup>+</sup>*saxsə* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*saxseta*) (1) to investigate, to research; to examine | *lēx* <sup>+</sup>*rába* <sup>+</sup>*suxsiyyə* <sup>+</sup>*ällu* We have not researched it much (B 12:7). (2) to interrogate, to question, to try to prove. (3) to search out, to search for
- <sup>+</sup>*saxseta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*saxsayata*) examination; interrogation, investigation | *kəlli mən-*<sup>+</sup>*saxseta* I passed the examination
- <sup>+</sup>*saxsiyyana* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*saxsiyyanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*saxsiyyanə*) interrogating, investigating; investigator, researcher
- <sup>+</sup>*saxvən* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*saxvanta*) to become clear (weather) | *śmayya dula* <sup>+</sup>*suxvənta* The sky has become clear
- <sup>+</sup>*saya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*seta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*sayə*) thirsty
- <sup>+</sup>*sayada* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sayada*) hunter
- <sup>+</sup>*sayəd* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*syatta*) (1) to hunt, to chase, to fish, to trap | *bərraxšəvən* <sup>+</sup>*sedən elə* I am going to hunt deer. (2) to look out, lie in wait for, to catch a person unawares
- <sup>+</sup>*sayəm*/<sup>+</sup>*sām* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*syamta*) to fast
- <sup>+</sup>*sayən*/<sup>+</sup>*sān* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*santa*, prog. <sup>+</sup>*bəssanələ*) to have darting pains | *riši* <sup>+</sup>*sənnə* My head had pains; *farmi* <sup>+</sup>*bəssanələ* My bone is hurting
- <sup>+</sup>*sayəp* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*syapta*) (1) to drain (intr.), to be filtered, to flow out, to leak, to dry up | *miyya* <sup>+</sup>*səplun fu-*<sup>+</sup>*bəzzat luyla* The water drained away in the hole of the pipe. (2) to expire. (3) to get well, to recover

- +*sayya* I (vn. +*syeta*, prog. +*bəsyayələ*, +*bəssayələ*, pst. +*silə*) to thirst
- +*sāz* n.f. (i) (Pers. *sāz*) **stringed musical instrument, long-necked lute**
- +*saz* n.f. (ii) (Azer. *saz*) **state of good repair | +saz 'avəd** I to repair
- +*sazanda* n.m. (Pers. *sāzande*) **musician; lute-player**
- +*səndan* n.m. (pl. +*səndanə*) (Pers. *sendān*, Azer. *zindan*) (1) **anvil.** (2) **metal instrument for sharpening tools.** (3) **swelling in the glands**
- +*sənjač* n.m. (pl. +*sənjačə*) (Azer. *sancaq*, Pers. *sanjāq*) **pin, safety pin; crochet hook**
- +*sənnara* n.m. (pl. +*sənnarə*) **jaw, jawbone; hammer**
- +*sənnəğ* adj.invar. (Azer. *sınıq*) **bankrupt | 'avə** I +*sənnəğ* to become bankrupt, to go out of business
- +*sənta* n.f. **smell of burning food when cooking**
- +*səpya* adj.ms. (fs. +*spita*, pl. +*səpyə*) (1) **clear, transparent, distinct | 'avəd** I +*səpya* to clarify. (2) **legible (handwriting).** (3) **trustful, candid**
- +*səpyuyta* n.f. **transparency, distinctness, trustfulness, candidness**
- +*sərpa* n.m. **hot spice**
- +*sərsərrə* n.m. (pl. +*sərsərrə*) **cricket, grasshopper**
- +*sərtə* n.m. (pl. +*sərtə*) **line**
- +*səsra* n.m. (pl. +*səsra*) **cricket; grasshopper**
- +*sətra* n.m. (Armenia n.f.) (pl. +*sətra*) **thyme, savoury**
- +*səxva* adj.invar. **clear, cloudless | maxə** I +*səxva* to swim (the crawl), +*səxva bəmxayələ* He is swimming the crawl; *b-*+*səxva* by swimming
- +*səxvana* adj.ms. (fs. *səxvanta*, pl. *səxvanə*) **clear | +hava səxvantəla** The wetaher is clear
- +*seberta* n.f. **companionship**
- +*seda* n.m. (1) **hunt, hunting | bərrəxşəvən** +*seda* I am going hunting. (2) **something caught in a hunt | dúlə 'axúnən müyyílə xá +séda t̪-+axləxələ** Our brother has brought an item of prey for us to eat (A 37:12)
- +*sedači* n.m. (pl. +*sedačiyə*) **hunter**
- +*sevay, səvi* part. (Azer. *savay*, Pers. *sivāy* < Arab.) **excluding, except | +sevay mənni** except me, excluding me
- +*simavar* n.f. (pl. +*simavarə*) (Azer. *samavar*, Pers. *samāvar*) **samovar**
- +*simaxur* n.f. (Kurd. *sîmerx*, Pers. *simorğ*) **legendary giant bird**
- +*sipa* adj.ms. (fs. +*səpta*, pl. +*sipə*) **filtered; flowed out (liquid)** → +*səyəp*
- +*sira* adj.ms. (fs. +*sərtə*, pl. +*sirə*) **tied, attached** → +*yasər*
- +*sita* n.f. **committee; sect, faction**
- +*siṭə* n.m. (pl. +*siṭə*) **span of the hand | xa-+siṭələ komu!** *ina xzi mut +šulalə +jurə +jurə vadələ!* He is only a span tall, but look at what a commotion he makes (said of a small child); *xa-+siṭə komula!* *ina xzi mut +alduyələ naşa!* He is only a span tall, but look what a deceptive man he is; +*siṭə +suþpə* span of a finger (tall, said of a deceptive person)

- <sup>+</sup>*sīyya* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*sīta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*sīyyə*) thirsty
- <sup>+</sup>*skura* n.m. (pl. *skurə*) woven product
- <sup>+</sup>*slīva* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*slīvə*) cross | *jarəš* 1 <sup>+</sup>*slīva* to make a sign of the cross
- <sup>+</sup>*sluta* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*slavatə*) prayer | <sup>+</sup>*slutət mitə* memorial service; *c-azáxva* <sup>+</sup>*slūta* | We used to go to prayer (i.e. to the place of prayer) (B 5:6)
- <sup>+</sup>*smala* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*smalə*) fat of pig, lard; lump of fat | melted and mixed with bread to make <sup>+</sup>*xvisa*
- <sup>+</sup>*soda* n.m. soda
- <sup>+</sup>*soķur* adj.invar. (Ottoman Turk: *sokur* ‘mole, blind’ < Mongolian *soqur* ‘blind’; cf. Lessing 1995, 730a; Ragagnin 2016) can only see at night (since cannot tolerate light)
- <sup>+</sup>*solə* pl. (sing. <sup>+</sup>*savəlta*) (Kurd. sol) shoes | <sup>+</sup>*solə sandalı* sandals; *solu dāryeli* I saw him on his way, I saw him off (lit. I put his shoes on); *fđalət* <sup>+</sup>*solə* shoe lace
- <sup>+</sup>*soma* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*somə*) fast (abstention from food); Lent
- <sup>+</sup>*sona*, <sup>+</sup>*sonordac* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sonordaya*) (Azer. *sona* + ördək) drake
- <sup>+</sup>*sosə* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*sozeta*) to beg, to plead
- <sup>+</sup>*spanaq* n.f. (Azer. *ispanaq*, Ottoman Turk. *ıspanak* < Greek σπανάκι) spinach
- <sup>+</sup>*spay* adj.invar. (Kurd. *spehî* ‘pretty, beautiful’) good, pleasant, fine, well | *ána spáy t-avında* I shall get better (recover from an illness) (A 56:3); *'adiyya buš- spáy ka-díyyi lâba!* Now it is best for you to take me (A 43:11)
- <sup>+</sup>*spayuyta* n.f. good, kindness, benefit, benefaction
- <sup>+</sup>*spira* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*spirə*) omelette
- <sup>+</sup>*srixə* (fs. <sup>+</sup>*srəxtə*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*srixə*) mad (with desire), passionate; rabid (dog) | *baxzáyət* 'a-báxta <sup>+</sup>*rába* <sup>+</sup>*srəxtəla* ... <sup>+</sup>*hârvítəla*! You can see that this woman is mad with passion ... she is on heat. (A 1:7)
- <sup>+</sup>*stumca* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*stumcə*) stomach
- <sup>+</sup>*suba*, <sup>+</sup>*subaya* n.m. (Azer. *subay*) bachelor, celibate
- <sup>+</sup>*subara* n.m. the Annunciation
- <sup>+</sup>*subayuyta* n.f. celibacy, the state of being unmarried
- <sup>+</sup>*sudra* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sudratə*) shirt; tunic; priest’s garment; surplice
- <sup>+</sup>*sultan* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sultanə*) (Pers. *sultān* < Arab.) sultan, officer, captain
- <sup>+</sup>*sumurkuš* n.f. (Pers. *sīmurğ* ‘a fabulous bird’ + Azer. *quş*) mythical giant bird (A 45:9) → <sup>+</sup>*simaxur*
- <sup>+</sup>*supra* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*suprə*) (Azer. *süfrə*, Pers. *sofre*) tablecloth; table set for dinner | *bətyavalə* <sup>+</sup>*al-* <sup>+</sup>*supra* He is sitting at the dinner table
- <sup>+</sup>*sup̄pa* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*sup̄patə*) (1) finger | <sup>+</sup>*sup̄pa surṭa* little finger; <sup>+</sup>*sup̄pat* <sup>+</sup>*arallag* n.f. middle finger. (2) wheel spoke
- <sup>+</sup>*sup̄pita* n.f. little finger
- <sup>+</sup>*sursara* n.f. frost

- +surta** n.f. (pl. **+suryatə**) **shape, icon, face, image**
- +sus, +sust** adj.invar. (Azer. sus-) **silent, silence** | *'avə* I **+sus** to become silent, to calm down (pain, patient)
- +susina, +susyana** n.m. (pl. **+susyanə**) **comet**
- +susita** n.f. (pl. **+susiyatə**) (1) **plait, braid (on the head).** (2) **withers**
- +sussina, +sursina** n.f. **thistle, azarole**
- +sustuya** n.f. **silence**
- +suvvağ** n.m. **mortar (building material) consisting of mud mixed with straw**  
→ **+maleta**
- +suya** adj.ms. (fs. **+svita**, pl. **+suyə**) (i) (1) **sated, saturated.** (2) **stale, dry (bread)**
- +suya** adj.ms. (fs. **+svita**, pl. **+suyə**) (ii) **painted**
- +suypa** n.m. **porch, ante-room, passage**

## š

- šab** n.f. (Kurd. šeb < Arab.) **alum**
- šabbiba** n.f. (pl. **šabbibə**) (Arab. šabbāba) **pipe (woodwind instrument); flute, flageolet**
- šabəx** II, **šabbəx** QI (vn. **šabaxta, šabbaxta**) **to glorify, exalt, to praise**
- šabta** n.f. (pl. **šabata**) **week, Saturday** | **šabta smukta** Holy Week
- šacar** n.m. (Azer. şəkər, Pers. šakar) **sugar, refined sugar** | → **ķand** loaf sugar
- šacər** I (vn. **šcarta**), **šacər** II (vn. **šacarta**) **to praise, to give thanks** (**+al-/ķa-** to)  
→ **šcira**
- šacləc** QI (vn. **šaclacta**) **to sew with plain stitch** → **šucluca**
- šacšəc** QI (vn. **šacşacta**) **to shake** | *'ilanət* **+šadə ci-šacşəccivalun** They used to shake the almond trees. Cf. **+napəs** I (vn. **+npasta**) to shake by beating, to shake off
- šaddən** QI (vn. **šaddanta**) (1) **to go mad, to madden** | **šuddənnət?**! Have you gone mad? (A 3:82); **+raba ramələ ķala, bət-šaddənli** The noise is very loud, it will drive me mad. (2) **to become enraged.** (3) **to grow profusely (plants)** | **baxčət diyyan šuddənna** Our garden has grown profusely
- šadəl** II (vn. **šadalta**) **to make a fuss of, to flatter; to stroke** | *yala sura šadulula*  
She is making a fuss of the baby; *calba šadululə* He is stroking the dog
- šadlana** adj.ms. (fs. **šadlanta**, pl. **šadlanə**) **suave (voice); fussing (over children), flattering**
- šajərd** n.m. (pl. **šajərdə**) (Azer. şagird, Pers. šāgerd) **pupil (of a craftsman), apprentice, learner**
- šak** adj.invar. (1) **graceful (gait), athletic, upright, erect.** (2) **sound, fresh (of plant).** (3) **brittle, inelastic, crisp** | *šak 'u-trak* outspoken, straight-talking

**šaka** n.m. (pl. šakə) (1) shin. (2) lower leg. (3) pl. greaves | šakət 'akli +mrayəla  
My shin hurts

**šakə** I (vn. šketa) (1) to run away (out of fear); to escape, to hide from prosecution. (2) to emigrate to run fast. (3) to run to and fro; to stray

**šakəl** I (vn. škalta) (1) to take, to receive | škul Here it is! (lit. Take!). It generally takes a direct object complement, but occasionally is used with *b*: *b*-šakliva *b*-dán canušyáy dàykəl They used to take hold of those fine brooms (B 10:18). (2) to take away, to deprive, to subtract. (3) to buy | xášla škálla xá Rbukét<sup>R</sup> 'átxa várda! He went and bought a bouquet of flowers like this (A 42:5). (4) plate (with metal) | cílla škálta b-míyyət dàva! It is all plated with gold (A42:10).

**šakita, šakiyya** n.f. (pl. šakiyyatə) stream, irrigation channel, brook

**šakka** n.m. slap | bassux, xa šakka *b*-tapənnux Stop it, I'll slap you (if not)

**šakka palla** children's game played with sticks (B 9:8) → *palla*

**šakki** adj.invar. (Arab. šaqī) miserable, wretched; ascetic; tough (person)

**šakkiyyuta** n.f. (pl. šakkiyyuyatə) calamity, misery, asceticism

**šaklə baklə** n.pl. confused affair, confusion | 'a-+šúla šákla báklala! This job is all mixed up

**šaklək** QI (vn. šaklačta) to smart; to make smart; to burn (skin with hot water, poisonous leaves) | lišani šaklučələ mən-+sərpət +buybar My tongue is smarting from the hotness of the pepper; bət-šaklakkənna +pağrux I'll make your body hurt (I'll beat you); +šulanə šukləkkə vədlux You have done some shocking things

**šakrək** QI (vn. šakrakta) to empty out

**šakšək** QI (vn. šakšakta) (1) to clatter (*šak*) (e.g. by shaking pebbles in a box), to rattle. (2) to knock, to ring. (3) to roar with laughter

**šakula** n.m. (pl. šakulə) ankle bone

**šakyana** adj.ms. (fs. šakyanta, pl. šakyana) escaping, fugitive

**šalašur** n.f. sleet (rain and snow)

**šalə** I (vn. šleta) to become quiet, to subside, to cease, to calm down (wind, the sea) | šlili mən-+šula I have resigned

**šaləf** I (vn. šlafta) to pull at; to pull off, to pull out, to uproot, to pluck, to pluck up, to pick | 'ana cosu šləfli I pulled at his hair; šláflə türprət xməri! He pulled off the tail of my donkey (A 7:13); bulə šləfə He pulled off the heads of corn. Cf. načəl I (vn. nčalta) to pull out with force (plant, tree from ground)

**šalək** I (vn. šlakta) to boil (intr. and tr.); to scald, to be scalded | šləkli biyyə I boiled eggs; biyyə šlikə boiled eggs

**šalək** II (vn. šalačta) to scald, to dip in boiling water; to cook in boiling water | +biyyə šulkə boiled eggs

**šaləm I** (vn. šlamta) (1) to consent (<sup>+</sup>al to), to agree (<sup>+</sup>al- to) | *'ana kbəlli 'at-*  
**šalmən** <sup>+</sup>al-*kanuné* I agreed to adhere to their rules. (2) to be at peace. (3)  
 to be made perfect

**šaləp I** (vn. šlapta) to become dislocated | <sup>+</sup>ruši šləpli My shoulder was dislocated

**šaləp II** (vn. šalapta) to dislocate (tr.)

**šaləx I** (vn. šlaxta) to peel off (intr.), to lose skin, to slough off | *jəldət* <sup>+</sup>heyvan  
*šləxlə* He stripped off the skin of the animal

**šaləx II** (vn. šalaxta) (1) to strip off (especially clothes, possessions), to undress | *julli šulxeli* I undressed. (2) to peel, to rip (skin). (3) to plunder, to rob | *jinavə šuləxlun kati* The robbers stripped me (of my possessions)

**šaljəd QI** (vn. šalyatta) (1) to be exhausted, to be shattered (by fatigue) | *šuljədli!* I'm knackered! (2) to be dishevelled, scruffy | *lvəštu šuljəttəla* His clothing is scruffy. Cf. šaləf I to pull off

**šalķu** n.f. (annex. šalkuntət) (1) pox, smallpox | *šalkuntət miyya* small pox; **šalķu**  
*smuķta* measles; **šalķu** <sup>+</sup>xvarta smallpox, chickenpox. (2) vaccine, vaccination | *šalķu maxə* I to vaccinate somebody against smallpox

**šalķunta** n.f. small rash of pox | *šalķuntət miyya* small pox

**šallaķ** n.f. (pl. šallakə) large melon, muskmelon

**šalləl QI** (vn. šallalta) to become quiet

**šamaj, šamaja** n.m., **šamaxta**, **šamacta** n.f. palate, gum

**šamaša** n.m. (pl. šamašə) deacon

**šamašuyta** n.f. (i) deaconate

**šamašuyta** n.f. (ii) beam (of sun), sunray | *šamašuyta mxáyəla* <sup>+</sup>tāma! The sunray strikes there (A 3:73)

**šambalila** n.f. (Pers. šambalile) fenugreek

**šamina** adj.ms. (fs. šamənta, pl. šamina) fertile | <sup>+</sup>arra šamənta fertile ground

**šamla** n.m. (pl. šamlə) (Azer. çalma) turban

**šamšəm QI** (vn. šamšamta) to feel nauseous; to become faint

**šamxən QI** (vn. šamxanta) to become musty; to make musty | <sup>+</sup>mixulta šumxənna The food has become musty; *miyya šumxənnalun* <sup>+</sup>mixulta The water made the food musty

**šana** n.f. (pl. šanatə) (Azer. şan; Pers. šane) honeycomb

**šanə** | *mən-tre šanə bitayəvət laxxa* you are coming here anyhow; *mən-tre-šanə kat bərrəxşət* <sup>+</sup>tama, *'a-ctava-da zvunla* Since you are going there anyhow, buy also that book

**šanə I** (vn. šnetə) to fade, to faint

**šanə II** (vn. šaneta) (1) to shift, to transfer, to move, to carry away, to resettle. (2) to rearrange, to raze (mountain). (3) metaphor. to die, to change one's religion

**šanəz I** (vn. šnazta) **to swerve, to turn aside; to stray from duty**

**šannən QI** (vn. šannanta) **(1) to tame (wild animal). (2) to pacify, to placate.**

**(3) to civilise. (4) to regain one's temper; to be at peace, to be quiet**

**šāns n.m.** (Pers. < French chance) **chance, fortune | šāns lətlə** He is unluckily;

**šānsət dayya firət +davva npəllə** Her fortune has fallen into his grip (said when there is a mismatch in marriage)

**šanšəl QI** (vn. šanšalta) **(1) to hang loose, to dangle; to be limp or languid, to droop. (2) to relax. (3) to become lazy; to waddle; to drawl**

**šanyana adj.ms.** (fs. šanyanta, pl. šanyanə) **resettling, moving; settler**

**šapa adj.ms.** (fs., pl. šapə) **flat**

**šapən II** (vn. šapanta) **to flatten arable land with a → šapna | šapna +'arra šupnələ** The šapna made the ground level; +'arra šupnəta flattened land

**šapəx I** (vn. špaxta) **to overflow, to burst forth, to flood (river); to overwhelm; to pour, to pour out | nara špəxlə** The river overflowed. Cf. tapəx I (vn. tpaxta) to spill (intr.)

**šapləp QI** (vn. šaplanta) **to beg, to implore; to desire greatly | šaplupəvən biyyux I implore you**

**šapləppana n.m.** (fs. šapləppanta, pl. šapləppanə) **begging, imploring**

**šapna n.f.** (pl. špnə) **(1) wooden harrow dragged on ploughed field to break up the lumps of soil (see illustration 51). (2) file (Sal. šepanta)**

**šapra, +šapra n.m.** (pl. šapra, +šapra) (Arab. šafra) **knife (for eating)**

**šapšəp QI** (vn. šapšpta) **(1) to drag, to be dragged. (2) to crawl, to glide, to shuffle the feet. (3) to grope, to rub | 'idi šupšəppali ju-xəšca** I groped with my hand in the dark; **la šapšəp biyyi!** Do not grope me (sexually)! **(4) to splash in water**

**šapəl I** (vn. špalta) **to become lame, to become paralyzed**

**šapər I** (vn. šparta) **to flatter, to butter up, to make seem good when not | bəš̪parələ biyyu** He is buttering him up → maš̪pər III

**šapira adj.ms.** (fs. šapərta, pl. šapirə) **beautiful, pretty | xa-báxta +rába šapərta| a very beautiful woman (A 1:4); +mixulyatə šapírəl beautiful dishes (of food) (A 3:8); +úxča šapíra kələ 'ztvaləl** He had such a beautiful voice (A 3:81). **šapərta adv.** beautifully: **fəllálə purziyyəla šapárta|** She chopped the herbs beautifully (A 36:12)

**šaprən QI** (vn. šapranta) **to make beautiful, to become beautiful; to get prettier, to smarten up (tr. and intr.), to decorate, to be decorated | +pəllán-cas +jóro myátələ| 'ína véla xášta jáno šuprəntolə|** So-and-so's husband is dying but she has gone and beautified herself (A 24:2)

**šar n.m.** (Arab. šar<sup>c</sup>) **law, rule, court; judgement, lawsuit; informer, slander | +rappə II šar to libel, to slander**

**šarə I** (vn. šreta) **(1) to untie, to unfasten (tr. and intr.), to unharness, to**

- disentangle, to loosen, to solve, to resolve** | šrilə +cətra He untied the knot;  
 šəryali masala I resolved the matter. (2) **to dwell, to lodge (for a night)**
- šarəc I (vn. šracta) (1) **to take part, to share, to become a partner or companion.** (2) **to take the sacrament, to marry**
- šarək I (vn. šrakta) (1) **to suck (with energy, esp. a whole egg).** (2) **to eat all the inside (of a bird).** (3) **to peck out the eyes** | Cf. +mayəs/+mās I to suck (milk), to sip
- šarəxta n.f. (pl. šarəxyatə) (1) **heifer (up to 2 years old).** (2) **a barren cow (that has never calved)**
- šarəz I (vn. šrazta) (i) **to become jealous (of b-); to desire strongly (something tasty or beautiful)** | bəšrazəvən biyyux I am jealous of you; 'ana šrəzli b-do naša I became jealous of that man
- šarəz I (vn. šrazta) (ii) **to crack, to fissure (with small cracks)** | mana šrizələ The pot is cracked
- šarica n.m. (fs. šarəcta, pl. šaricə) (Arab. šarīk) **companion, associate, partner** | 'avəd I šarica to make so. a partner, companion
- šaricuya n.f. **companionship, community, company**
- šarkə QI (vn. šarketa) **to click (fingers, lips); to snap (tr. and intr.)** | pummu šurkilə He clicked with his mouth
- šarkəp QI (vn. šarkapta) **to crack** | bita šurkəpla The egg cracked; +arra šurkəpla +bar-+rodana The ground cracked after an earthquake
- šarpək QI (vn. šarpakta) **to crack, to break**
- šarrəc QI (vn. šarracta) **to share, to participate** | 'ana bət-šarrəccən mənnu ju-ctavtə do ctava I will collaborate with him in writing that book
- šarşə QI (vn. šarşeta) **to become tired, to become languid, to droop (leaves); to make tired, to let down; to hang down** | le-+bayyən šarşiyənnux I do not want to tire you
- šart n.m. (pl. šartsə) (Kurd. şert < Arab.) (1) **condition** | b-šart ḫ-odənnə 'a-+šúla| I shall do that on one condition (A 1:41). (2) **riddle** | 'ánnə šartəl jári patxitunlun| You must solve these riddles (A 38:78). (3) **bet** | šart ḫ-odən ḫat le-'ata I bet that he does not come
- šarva n.f. **soup**
- šarxa n.m. (pl. šarxə) **calf up to 2 years old**
- šatə I (vn. šteta) (1) **to drink.** (2) **to be irrigated with** | báva 'avíla marzanànə yánət míyya ḫ-īt-bəšvaké jávo| m-l-á-yba xína là tápxi,| é báva šàtya.| A basin has sides, so that the water that you release into it does not spill from the other side, but the basin drinks/is irrigated by it. (B 17:30). (3) **to smoke (a pipe, cigarette)**
- šatəl I (vn. štalta), II (vn. šatalta) **to plant, to transplant (plants, so that they will be less dense); to plant out seedlings**

**šattəš** QI (vn. *šattašta*) II to found, to establish

**šatyana** adj.ms. (fs. *šatyanta*, pl. *šatyanə*) drinking, regularly drinking

**šaṭək** (vn. *štakta*) to become silent, to keep silent, to calm down | *štuł!* silence!

**šaṭəx** I (vn. *štaxta*) to spread out (on an object), to hang out (washing) | +*anvə*

*bəšṭaxéłə* +*al-varazan* *kat'-avi cəšmišə* He is spreading out the grapes on the slope so that they become raisins; *štixeli jullə* +*al-dala* *ķam-šəmšə*; I hung the clothes out on a string in the sun +*supra* *bəšṭaxuna* +*al-*+*arra* They are spreading the picnic cloth on the ground → +*šaṭəx*

**šava** n.m. (Azer. *şəvə*) jet (black smooth stone)

**šavə** II (vn. *šaveta*) (1) to spread, to lay | +*al-dé* *mázraķ* *šaviùyut!* You lay it (the dough) on that baking cushion (B 17:23). (2) to make a bed. (3) to carpet, to lay down carpets in a room. (4) to furnish (room)

**šavək** I (vn. *švakta*) (1) to leave. (2) to permit, to allow, to admit | *šukli!* Let it be! *le šokən ɬazət* I shall not allow you to go; *švəkla dəknu, la* +*frila* He let his beard grow, he did not shave. (3) to release, to pardon, to forgive, to excuse | *švuł* Sorry! *ju-de-báva* *míyya bəšvaké́tva!* In that basin you would release the water (B 17:31)

**šavor** I (vn. *švarta*) (1) to jump, to jump out, to jump over, to jump off, to jump upon, to pounce on, to spring up or forth. (2) to jig (in dance) | *bət-šori m-*+*al-**čappar* They will jump over the fence

**šavvat** QI (*šavvatta*) (Pers. *šahvat* < Arab.) to desire passionately (so. +*al-*, *b-*, +*bar*), to lust for | *šavvütəłə* +*állo!* He desires her (A 1:6); *šavvutəvən* +*bar de baxta* I am lustng for that woman; *xa baxta* *šuvvətta* a desirable woman; *marət-šavvatta* desirable

**šavvəttana** adj.ms. (fs. *šavvəttanta*, pl. *šavvəttanə*) desiring passionately, passionate

**šavya** adj.ms. (fs. *švita*, pl. *šavyə*) equal, in parallel | +*an-késə ci-mattívalun* *ńátxa šavya!* They used to lay those sticks equal (i.e. parallel) like this (B2 1:20)

**šaxən** I (vn. *šxanta*) to become warm, to become hot | *b-dó* *nuyra bəšxənəva!* They would warm themselves by the fire (B 17:55)

**šaxina** adj.ms. (fs. *šaxənta*, pl. *šaxinə*) hot, warm

**šaxinuyta** n.f. heat, warmth

**šaxləp** QI (vn. *šaxlapta*) to change (tr. and intr.); to modify, to distort | +*bayyət* +*havux šaxlap?* Do you want your air to change? Do you want a change

**šaxləppana** n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *šaxləppanta*, pl. *šaxləppanə*) changeable, changing, traitor

**šaxtən** QI (vn. *šaxtanta*) to become dirty; to make dirty; to pollute, to soil, to litter, to blight, to stir up (water) | +*sudri* *šuxtənna b-ķava* My shirt became dirty with the coffee; *ķava* +*sudri* *šuxtənnalə* The coffee has made my shirt dirty; *šaxtantət ləbba* nausea

**šayəc/šāc** I (vn. šyacta) **to deflate, to go down (swelling); to subside (flood)** | *majfu šacla* The balloon has gone down; <sup>+</sup>*topət ətnabeli dula šacta* The tire of my car has gone down

**šayəp** I (vn. šyapta) (1) **to rub** | *šyapa-šyapa* sliding, crawling. (2) **to rub off, to erase** | <sup>+</sup>*bayəš šayəplə šəmmu* He wants to erase his name. (3) **to rub into; to smear, to grease, to spread** | *švalta bəšyapola* He is spreading the glue. (4) **to stroke (an animal)**

**šcira** adj.ms. (Arab. šukr ‘thanks’) **praised** | *šcira šəmmət əlaha* God’s name be praised

**šcurə** n.m. (pl. šcuravatə) **ceiling, inside of roof, space between roof beams** | <sup>+</sup>*at šcurə la maccəmmət* You will not make the ceiling black (i.e. you will not inhabit my house and burn a stove that will blacken the roof) (cf. Kampffmeyer 1905, 18)

**šəbbərtə** n.f. (pl. šəbbəryatə) **bracelet**

**šəbbət** n.f., with pron. suffix šəbbidu (Pers. šebet) **dill** | *ju-dáyya xá šəbbət bədrəyəna mən-+tələ!* In that one (*dolma* made of vine leaves) they put a sprig of dill together with coriander (B 15:11)

**šəbla** n.m. (pl. šəblə) **head of corn on the stalk** | *šəblə +jammyələ* He is gathering heads (of wheat)

**šəc** n.f. (Azer. şəkk < Arab.) **doubt, suspicion** | *šəc lətli* I have no doubt; *šəc əvəd*, *payəš* I *b-šəc*, *labəl* I *šəc* to suspect, to doubt; *pişa b-šəc* suspicious, doubtful  
šəccayat, šceta n.f. (pl. šəccayattə, šcayatə) (Azer. şikayət, Pers. šekayet < Arab.) **complaint** | <sup>+</sup>*ətli šceta +allux* I have a complaint about you

**šəccuya** n.f. (Arab. šakk) **doubt**

**šəcla** n.m. (Azer. şəkil, Pers. šakl < Arab.) **picture, image, photograph; portrait, shape, icon, reflection** | *jarəš* I *šəcla* to draw, to make a portrait; *šəcla frəşli mənnux b-ķalamə* I drew a picture with you with a pen; *šəcla škəlli mənnux b-durbən* I took a photo of you with a camera; *'a-yála šəclələ!* This boy is (like) a picture (of beauty) (A 42:16)

**šəcvana** n.m. (pl. šəcvanə) **ant**

**šədda** n.f. **female demon**

**šəğda** n.m. **good news, the Annunciation** | *šəğda yuvvəllə* He announced good news

**šəlyəmmə, šərjəmmə** n.pl. (sing.f. šəlyəmta, šərjəmta) (Pers. šalğam) **turnips** | <sup>+</sup>*aķubra b-+bəzza la +vərrə 'u-šərjəmta-da tundəllalə b-ṭupru* The mouse could not enter the hole and he has hung also a turnip onto his tail (said when a man after failing to do something tries to do something more difficult) (cf. Maclean 1895, 345)

**šəlla** adj.ms./fs. (pl. šəllə) (Pers. šal < Arab.) **crippled, paralysed**

**šəlxə** n.n. (pl. šəlxə) **swarm** | *šəlxət dabaşə* swarm of bees

**šəlyə** adj.ms. (fs. *šlita*, pl. *šəlyə*) **silent, quiet, gentle, manageable**

**šəlyuya** n.f. **peace, tranquility, quiet**

**šəmma** n.m. (pl. *šəmmənə*) (1) **name; reputation, renown** | *šəmmu +plətə* He become famous/infamous; *šəmmi maxrəvvələ* *ju-nášə šámmi t-əzəl* She will ruin my (good) name, my (good) name among the people will be lost (A 1:34); +*bar-šəmmi* my namesake; *šámmət əlahə*! (In) the name of God! Oh dear! (A 44:7). (2) **a very little (of something)** | *šəmmət məndi* a very little of (or with negative: nothing); *šámmu ránju lələ ptáxə*! His colour does not brighten even a little (A 43:20)

**šəmšə** n.f. (1) **sun (heat)**. (2) n.m. **sun (disk)**. (3) **ruler (used by bricklayers)**

**šəmšana** adj.ms. (fs. *šəmšanta*, pl. *šəmšanə*) **sunny** | *'uđyu šəmšanələ* Today it is sunny

**šəmšaya** adj.ms. (fs. *šəmšeta*, pl. *šəmšayə*) **sunny**

**šəmšə-+sara** n.f. **moonlight**

**šəmxə** n.m. **wild garlic**

**šəntə** n.f. **sleep, dream** | *palju šəntə* dozing; *šənti bitayəla* I feel sleepy

**šəntana** adj.ms. (fs. *šəntanta*, pl. *šəntanə*) **sleepy, half asleep**

**šənza** n.m. **swerving; failure**

**šəppula** n.m. (pl. *šəppulə*, *šəppulalə*) **end of skirt or robe**

**šəppulta** n.f. (1) **lower hem of a dress.** (2) **flap of a coat-tail or skirt.** (3) **border.** (4) **side of a hill**

**šəpsə** n.m. (pl. *šəpsə*) **small pliers (for breaking sugar)**

**šəptiya, šəptita** (Canda) n.f. (pl. *šəptiyə*) (Kurd. *şiftî* m.) **watermelon**

**šəpərəška, šəpərəščə** n.f. (pl. *šəpərəškə*, *šəpərəščə*) (Russ. спичка) **match (for igniting fire)** | *šəpərəščə mxəyolə* *nútyra bətpəyələ*! He strikes matches in it (the fire) and the fire kindles (A 23:2)

**šərjəmma → šəljəmma**

**šərma** n.f. (pl. *šərmə*, *šərmətə*) **buttocks**

**šərnijə** n.pl. (sing. *šərnita*) (Azer. şirniyyat,) **sweets, candies**

**šəryə** adj.ms. (fs. *šrita*, pl. *šəryə*) (1) **untied.** (2) **forbidden for consumption during Orthodox Christian fasting (food)**

**šətkə** n.m. **silence, quiet**

**šətkuyta** n.f. **silence.**

**šətlə** n.m. (pl. *šətlə*) (1) **seedling, sapling, shoot, young plant.** (2) **thread on loom** | *šətlə 'avəd* i to plant a seedling

**šətya** n.m. **warp (vertical threads on loom)**

**šəxna** n.m. (pl. *šəxna*) (1) **tumour, carbuncle, boil.** (2) **plague, pestilence** | *šəxna dvəklən* We caught the plague; *šəxna +xila!* May you have the plague!

**šəxtə** n.f. (Caucasus also m.) **dirt** | *šəxtət kənyanə* animal muck; *šəxtət +ayna* pus from the eye; *'anna mana šəxtə dviķəva* Those pans were dirty

šəxtana adj.ms. (fs. šəxtanta, pl. šəxtanə) **dirty, soiled, easily soiled (e.g. dress); impure, ethically corrupt**

šəxxərtə n.f. (pl. šəxxəryatə) **kneecap**

şef n.m. (French chef) **boss**

şena n.m. **rest, tranquillity, content** | šviķelə b-şena He said goodbye to them; *puš b-şena* farewell!

şenaya adj.ms. (fs. şeneta, pl. şenayə) **tame (animals); gentle**

şenayuyta n.f. **peace, peacefulness**

şēr n.m. (Pers. še'r < Arab.) **poem**

şida n.m. (pl. şidə) **demon, evil spirit**

şidana adj.ms. (fs. şidanta, pl. şidanə) **mad, frenzied, foolish, wacky**

şidanuyta n.f. **madness, insanity, frenzy**

şila (i) n.m. (Azer. şılə) (1) **red coarse calico.** (2) **seam formed by sewing together two pieces of cloth**

şila (ii) n.f. (Azer. şılə) **cooked rice or wheat with meat or oil** | šilət +xalva, šil- +xalva **rice-pudding**

şima part. **entire, whole** | *culla* šita şima for the entire year, all year long; *culla lelə* şima all night long; *xa-*şima mòscina| such a poor wretch (A 33:3)

şır n.m. (pl. şirə) (Pers. šīr) **tap (for water)**

şır, şira n.m. (Azer. şıra, Pers. šīr, şire) **sweet juice (of grapes, fruit)** | şır maxə i to flatter; maxyanat şır flatterer; şira +xvara n.m. grape with little juice used for making wine; şira əscari n.m. juicy grape; şırət +xamra n.m. type of red grape; şirət ə'lana sap of a tree

şira n.m. (Azer. şır) **enamel** | kadalət şira enamel pot

şirana adj.ms. (fs. şiranta, pl. şiranə) **sticky**

şirənləx, şirənnəx n.f. (Azer. şirinlik) (1) **party after betrothal (+**talabuya**) held by bride's family.** (2) **betrothal present (sent by the suitor to his future bride consisting of loaves of sugar, raisins etc.)**

şış n.m. (pl. şışə) (Azer. şış) (1) **skewer.** (2) **rod with hook for taking items out of an oven (see illustration 5).** (3) **metal poker**

şışəltə, şəssəltə n.f. (pl. şışşəlyatə, şəssəlyatə) **chain** | şışəltət +xasa spine, spinal column; şışəltət ədala necklace; şışəltət +tuyranə chain of mountains

şita n.f. (pl. şənnə) **year** | şita xatta New Year; şita +vərta last year; b-şənnət şənnə for many years (B 1:4); cma şənnəvət? ~ şənnux cma-ina? ~ mu-ina şənnux? ~ cma şənnə ətlux? How old are you?; xa-bráta ətli şavvə şənnə I have a seven-year-old daughter (A 38:13)

şiva n.m. (pl. şivə) **sloping wooden trough that brings water to a watermill from the +abarə (raised channel)**

şkipa n.m. (pl. şkipə) **canyon**

şladda n.f. (pl. şladdə) **corpse, dead body, carrion**

- šlama* n.m. (pl. *šlamə*) **peace, welfare, greeting** | *yavvəl* I *šlama* to greet, to welcome; *šlama-*+*allux!* hello! *darə* I *šlama ka-* to convey greetings to  
*šlapçə* n.f. (pl. *šlapçə*) (Russ. шапка) **cap**
- šləpta* n.f. (pl. *šləpyata*) **blade**
- šlikə* adj.ms. (fs. *šləkta*, pl. *šlikə*) **boiled**
- šlixə* n.m. (pl. *šlixə*) **apostle; missionary**
- šluxta* → *šulluxta*
- šmayya* n.f. **sky, heaven**
- šmayyana* adj.ms. (fs. *šmayyanta*, pl. *šmayyə*) **heavenly**
- šoba* n.m. **cough; cold** | *šoba mila* whooping cough
- šoda* n.m. **joy, jollity** → +*šād*
- šoǵul* n.m. (pl. *šoǵuylə*) (Pers. šāqūl) **plumb (weight); plumb-line; plumb-met**
- šoķa* n.m. (Kurd. şewq, Azer. şəfəq < Arab.) **lustre, glow, shine, brightness** | *yavvəl* I *šoķa* to shine, to glow
- šoķana* adj.ms. (fs. *šoķanta*, pl. *šoķanə*) **shining, lustrous, glowing**
- šopa* n.m. (pl. *šopə*) (1) **place.** (2) **trace, footprint.** (3) **socket** | *šopət* +*šəmṭa* fracture (of a bone); *šopət nara* bed of a river; *šopət šakita* course of a stream, ditch; *šopət punda* candlestick; *šopət yala* womb; +*šurīla bəškála šópa ju-cúlla* 'Urmi' It began to take place in the whole of Urmi (B 11:6); *dvəklə šopi* He took my place. adv. *šopət* in place of: *šopət mālca* in place of the king (A 1:24); 'é-+*dān t-ilə šómmu* +*bəšmáyu* +*Axiqar!* *für'un!* *brázələ šópu!* When he has heard his name Axiqar, Pharaoh dries up on the spot (A 3:67)
- šotaputa* n.f. (pl. *šotapuyatə*) **association** | *pəšli կbila ju-šotaputa* +*atureta* I was accepted (to join) the Assyrian Association
- špila* adj.ms. (fs. *špəlta*, pl. *špilə*) **lame, paralyzed**
- šrupta* n.f. **sleet (rain and snow)**
- štikə* adj.ms. (fs. *štəkta*, pl. *štikə*) **silent, quiet**
- štikuya* n.f. **silence, quietness**
- štítaya* adj.ms. (fs. *štíteta*, pl. *štítayə*) **sixth (literary)** | *xa štitaya* one sixth
- šuba* n.f. **jacket with sleeves**
- šubba* n.f. (pl. *šubbə*) **sheepskin, fleece**
- šucluca* n.m. **plain straight stitch (without looping back, producing a broken line of stitches on the surface of the cloth)**
- šuk* (imp. of *šavək* 1) **except, excluding** | *šuk mənni* except me, excluding me
- šuķa* n.m. (pl. *šukə*) **market, bazaar**
- šulama* n.m. **end, termination**
- šulluǵ* adj.invar. (Azer. şuluq) (1) **naughty; misbehaved (child)** | *yala šulluǵ* naughty child. (2) **busy; riotous** | *riši šulluǵ=la* I am busy, preoccupied
- šullur* n.f. (Kurd. Kurm. silop'e, Sor. şħēwe) **mixture of rain and snow**

- šulluxta, šluxta** n.f. (1) slough of a snake. (2) skin (of insects, worms, snakes, animals) | <sup>+rappə</sup> II **šulluxta** to slough, to shed skin. (3) peelings, bark, scab
- šulxaya** adj.ms. (fs. *šulxeta*, pl. *šulxayə*) **naked, nude**
- šulxayuya** n.f. **nakedness**
- šumxənna** adj.ms. (fs. *šumxənta*, pl. *šumxənnə*) **musty, spoilt (food)**
- šunşəlla** adj.ms. (fs. *šunşəlta*, pl. *šunşəlla*) **flabby, sluggish**
- šupnənta** n.f. (pl. *šupnənyatə*) **turtledove (f.)**
- šupnina** n.m. (pl. *šupninə*) **turtledove (m.)**
- šura** n.m. (pl. *šurə*) **wall (of the city)**
- šurrə murra** n.pl. **sexual organs, private parts**
- šuršiyə** adj.ms. (fs. *šuršita*, pl. *šuršiyə*) **tired; dangling, drooping**
- šurta** n.f. (pl. *šuryatə*) **navel; umbilical cord**
- šušanna** n.m. (pl. *šušannə*) **lily**
- šuššu!** (child language) **urinate!**
- šuxləppə** n.m./adj.ms. (fs. *šuxləpta*, pl. *šuxləppə*) (1) **changed.** (2) **apostate, renegade (from religion)**
- šuxtənna** adj.ms. (fs. *šuxtənta*, pl. *šuxtənnə*) (1) **polluted, muddy (liquid).** (2) **corrupted in manners**
- šuyşa** (i) n.m. (pl. *šuyşə*) (Azer. şüşə, Pers. šiše) (1) **glass, glass bottle.** (2) **spirit level**
- šuyşa** (ii) n.m. (pl. *šuyşə*) **liquorice plant** | It was spread on beams of houses. The dust of the dried leaves was rubbed on people's head to prevent the loss of hair
- švava** n.m. (fs. *švota*, pl. *švavə*) **neighbour**
- švavuyta** n.f. **neighbourliness, neighbourhood**
- švita** n.f. (pl. *šviyyatə*) **mattress** | *npila ju-švita* bedridden
- švota** → **švava**
- šxumta** n.f. **sanctuary, altar stone of church (transferred from another church at time of foundation)**
- šxunta** n.f. **heat** | *mən-ju-kúnya šxùnta +pláṭəla* | Heat is coming out of the well (A 39:7)
- šxunya** n.m. **heat**
- šxurta, šuxxurta** n.f. (pl. *šxuryatə, šuxxuryatə*) **blackbird**
- šxuyna** n.m. **heat**

- +*saddu* n.f. black and white seed (grown in kitchen gardens B 7:20)
- +*sadər* II (vn. +*sadarta*) to send, to send away, to dispatch, to let go
- +*sadita* n.f. (pl. +*sadiyyatə*) almond, small almond
- +*sahi* n.m. (pl. +*sahiyya*) copper coin
- +*sahzada* n.m. (pl. +*sahzadə*) (Pers. šāhzāde) prince
- +*sahzatta* n.f. princess
- +*śāl* n.m. (pl. +*śalə*) (Azer. şal, Pers. šāl) shawl; any woolen cloth, esp. for rubbing horses
- +*śallač* n.m. (pl. +*śallačə*) (Pers. šallāq) lash, whip | *mäxyelun* +*əsra* +*śallačə*  
They gave him ten strokes of the whip
- +*śalṭə* QI (vn. +*śalṭeta*) to run wild, to behave without restrain (child) | *bruni sura* +*śalṭuyələ* My little son is behaving badly
- +*śalvar* n.m. (Pers. šalvār) shalwar
- +*śamama* n.f. (pl. +*śamama*) (Arab. šammām) small wild melon
- +*śamət* I (vn. +*śmaṭta*) (1) to break (tr. and intr.), to smash (tr. and intr.); to break off (tr. and intr.) | +*śmətla* *bita* He broke an egg. (2) to overthrow, to conquer; to be overthrown, to be conquered | *śmətlun mən-dəžmən* They were defeated by the enemy. (3) to lower/go down in price
- +*śamma* (i) n.f. (pl. +*śammata*) (Arab. šam', Kurd. şema, Azer. şam, Pers. šam') wax; beeswax; candle
- +*śamma* (ii) n.f. (pl. +*śamma*) mole (on body), wart, birthmark
- +*śammana* adj.ms. (fs. +*śammanta*, pl. +*śhammadə*) waxy, waxed
- +*śamma* I (vn. +*śmeta*) to hear; to listen (+*al* to), to obey, to be obedient | +*śomyəttə harisə?*! Have you heard of *harisa*? (B 17:48)
- +*śamta-manə* n.f. (pl. +*śamta-manə*) type of herb (lit. breaker of vessels)
- +*śamṭana* adj.ms. (fs. +*śamṭanta*, pl. +*śamṭanə*) breaking, smashing, fragile, brittle; the winner
- +*śar'at* n.f. (Arab. šari'a) law | *b-*+*śar'at kam-denilə* They judged him by the law
- +*śara* n.m., Armenia šara (pl. +*śaravatə*) (1) village festival, saint's festival. (2) party | +*śavrá yumànəl* +*śavrá lelaváy*! *víyyələ* +*xlúyla* +*śàra*! Then there was a wedding party for seven days and seven nights (A 51:11)
- +*śarat* | +*madda b-*+*śarat* to hint
- +*śarə* II (vn. +*śareta*) to begin (tr. and intr.), to commence (tr. and intr.), to start (tr. and intr.); to embark on, to undertake | +*śurilun bərračə* They began to run; +*jóra* +*śurílə* +*nijáran vá*! The husband began to become worried (B 1:19); *batvatèl* ... *ju-*Urmi +*śurílun* +*matrúsə bí ləbnəl* Houses in Urmi began to be built with bricks (B 1:40); *zá* +*śúla* +*śurílə*! This thing began (B 11:12)
- +*śarəs* I (vn. *śrasta*) to burst out, to burst open; to crack open (e.g. glass from heat)

+šarət̥ I (vn. +šraṭṭa) (1) to sag down, to hang loosely, to come down (e.g. trousers), to flow down (wheat from storage bin) | +pava +šrəṭṭla mən-  
+tunta The branch sagged on account of the fruit; jaṛa šrəṭṭla The roof fell in;  
+tumbanu +šrəṭṭla His trousers fell down; +ṭarpa +yarixə +šriṭṭa long, hanging  
leaves. (2) to slip or drop out of place; to fall from the hand; to fall off. (3)  
to pull off, to put out the eyes. (4) to look down in token of refusal

+šariṭṭa n.m. (pl. +šariṭṭa) snare to catch birds

+šarrər QI (vn. +šarrarta) to confirm, to prove

+šarṣər QI (vn. +šarṣarta) (1) to gush (water), to flow down with plashing  
sound (waterfall, fountain). (2) to pour (intr. and tr.) | miyya +šuršərrun  
+alli The water poured onto me; 'ana miyya +šaršurəvən I am pouring water.  
→ +šərṣər plashing noise; → +šoršora waterfall

+šarṣət̥ QI (vn. +šarṣatta) to sag; to hang down; to slide | +tumbanu +šarṣuṭṭələ  
His trousers are sagging

+šaruyta n.f. (pl. +šaruyatə) light afternoon meal (5 pm approx.)

+šaryana n.m. pioneer; initiator

+šat̥ə I (vn. +štetə) (1) to collapse (wall). (2) to fall slowly; to bend (as a roof  
weighed down by snow). (3) to drip, to flow slowly (as honey)

+šat̥əx I (vn. +štaxta) to stretch out (on the floor to rest); to stretch so. out  
(on the ground) | dulə +štixa +al-+arra He is stretched out on the ground;  
+šat̥ənnux! I'll knock you to the ground! → šat̥əx I

+šavalta n.f. glue | maxə I šavalta to glue; šavalta bəšyapola He is spreading the  
glue

+šavva num. seven | cut +šavva šənnə xa-ja Once in a blue moon (lit. once every  
seven years)

+šavvamma num. seven hundred

+šavvasar num. seventeen

+šavvi num. seventy

+šaxrən QI (vn. +šaxranta) to become black (with soot); to make black (with  
soot) | betət tanuyra +šuxrənnə The oven house has become black

+šayəl/+šäl I (vn. +šyalta, +šalta) to cough, to have a fit of coughing, to cough  
up

+šayər/+šär I (vn. +šyarta) to stoke (fire); to kindle fire (in a stove, a fireplace)  
| cùt-yum! báxti +bəšyárəla nütýra! Every day my wife lights a fire (A 23:1)

+šayəš/+šāš (vn. +šyašta, +šašta) (1) to shake (intr. and tr.), to wave (intr. and  
tr.) | +bayyən +šešənna 'idux I want to shake your hand. (2) to wag (tail) (intr.  
and tr.). (3) to become rough (sea). (4) metaphor. to waver; to be troubled,  
amazed or disturbed

+šayyə I (vn. +šyeta, prog. +bəšyayələ/+bəššayələ, pst. +šilə, rsp. +šiyya) (1) to  
plaster, to smear, to stick | 'axunvátu tílun +bərašəl +šiyə, | šuršiyə, | lišané

*dvìķa* His brothers came in the evening, exhausted, tired, their tongue sticking (with thirst) (A 45:11). (2) **to stick together, to seal up** | *duna* +*spay* +*šiyə* They have stuck together well; +*tarru* +*šiyə* May his door be sealed! (If a man committed a crime, his house was confiscated and the door was sealed with plaster); *bétu* +*šiyə*! May his house be sealed! (A 1:28); *bēt-babu la* +*šiyə* May the house of his father not be sealed (for God's sake!): *bēt-bábu la* +*šiyə*,! ‘át mù márat?! For God's sake, what do you say?

+*šəmra* n.m. **soot**

+*šəmşət* n.m. (Azer. şümşəd, Pers. šimšād) **box-tree**

+*šərra*-+*šər* n.f. **plashing sound** | *miyya* +*šərra* +*šərréla* The water is making a plashing sound → +*šarşər* QI

+*šərşər* n.f. **plashing noise of waterfall** | *kalət* +*šərşər* the noise of plashing

+*šəxra* n.m. **soot**

+*šešana* adj.ms. (fs. +*šešanta*, pl. +*šešanə*) **shaky, unsteady**

+*šivan* n.f. (Azer. şivən < Pers.) **alarm, shouting, noise, pandemonium**

+*šiyə* n.m. **plaster** | *maxə* I +*šiyə* to plaster

+*šlanq* n.m. (Azer. şlanq) **hose**

+*šmiṭa* adj.ms. (fs. +*šməṭta*, pl. +*šmiṭə*) **broken, crushed, defeated**

+*šor* adj.invar. (Azer. şor, Pers. šūr) **salty, over-salted; brackish**

+*šorakat* n.f. (+*šorakattə*) (Azer. şorakət) **salt land**

+*šoratan* n.f. (pl. +*šoratana*) (Armenian juratan) **gutter**

+*šoršora* n.f. (+*šoršora*) **waterfall**

+*šoṭa* n.m. (pl. +*šoṭə*) **tribe**

+*šraya*, +*šra* n.f (pl. +*šrayatə*) **lamp** | +*šrayət* +*nuyṭa* oil-lamp; +*šrayət* *pup̄pu* small lamp

+*štavhər* (vn. +*štavharta*) **to become proud, to become arrogant, presumptuous; to vaunt oneself** | +*štavhurəvən* *bijyux* I am proud of you

+*štavhərrana* adj.ms. (fs. +*štavhərranta*, pl. +*štavhərrana*) **proud, haughty, vain**

+*šudra* n.m./adj.ms. (fs. +*šudərtə*, pl. +*šudrə*) **sent; apostle, prophet**

+*šuhara* n.m. **pride, arrogance, haughtiness**

+*šula* n.m. (pl. +*šulanə*, +*šulalə*) (1) **business, work, occupation** | *latlə* +*šula mən* *daha* It is not his business; *lá-**avilux* +*šula*! Do not have concern (= Do not worry) (A 3:57). (2) **trouble, commotion** | *xa-*+*siṭələ* *komu*! *'ina* *xzi mut* +*šulalə* +*furə* +*furə vadələ*! He is only a span tall, but look at what a commotion he makes (said of a small child). (3) **filler word used to expand semantic range ('and the like, and so forth')** | *kát* *finávə* +*šúlə* *là-**ativə*! so that thieves and so forth would not come (B2 1:7); *é-*+*dān* +*múṭra* *tálja* +*šúlə* +*rayyíva* *ju-béta* *lè* +*salíva*! When it rained or snowed and so forth water would come down into the house (B2 1:22); *bətyávəna* +*táma*! +*čày* *bəstá* +*šúlə*! They sit down, drinking tea and so forth (A 2:7)

**+śūp̄ra** n.m. **beauty, comeliness**

**+śuraya** n.m. (pl. +śurayə) **beginning** | *mən-*+śuraya from the beginning, at first; *b-*+śuraya in the beginning; +śuraya (adv.) in the beginning, at first

**+śuršət̄ta** adj.ms. (fs. +śuršət̄ta, pl. +śuršət̄ta) **loose-hanging, sluggish, flabby**

**+śurt̄i** n.m. (pl. +śurt̄iyə) (Arab. šurt̄i) **policeman**

**+śurma, +śorva** n.f. (Azer. şorba) **soup, broth, stew** | often contains partridges (*kupšinə*), includes potatoes (+kər̄topə), split peas (*lappa*), chickpeas (+xərt̄manə) and spices (*pərxə*)

**+śurya** adj.ms. (fs. +śurita, pl. +śuryə) **started**

**+śuxra** n.m. (1) **corvée duty; forced labour, task work.** (2) **levy of men.** (3) **compulsion.** (4) **tribute**

**+śvīaya** adj.ms. (fs. +śvīeta, pl. +śvīaya) **seventh (literary)** | *xa* +śvīaya one seventh

## t

**tabaka** n.m. (pl. tabakə) (Pers. tabaqe < Arab.) (1) **leaf (of paper, iron).** (2) **layer, sheet, stratum.** (3) **large plate or dish.** (4) **storey** | *mən-*+tlá tabákə jánu +rappiyolə! He throws himself down from (a height of) three storeys (A 7:6). (5) **shelf**

**tabakča** n.m. (pl. tabakčə) **plate, dish**

**tabbarza** n.f. **large sweet green grape**

**tabləb** (vn. tablabta) **to be well organized** | +raba tubləbbələ He is well organized; *jullu tubləbbəna* His clothes are well tended; *'ana tabləbənnə* 'a-+śula I shall organize that job well

**tacla** part. (Azer. tək 'only'+ *ila*; cf. Nöldeke 1868, 186) **if only, I wish** | *tacla* t-avənva +tama! If only I were there!; *taclat* 'azənva +tama! If only I could go there!

**taç** part. (Azer. tək, Kurd. tek, Pers. tak) **a single one** | *táç brùna* 'átlə! He has a single son (A 43:13)

**taçça, taçça** n.m. (Azer. tək, Kurd. tek, Pers. tak) **one item, odd number; a single piece** | *xa taçça la* +xəllə he did not eat a single piece

**tağala** n.f. (Kurd. tēhl < Arab.) **spleen**

**tahar** n.m. (pl. taharə) (Kurd. teher) **kind, sort, manner, form, manner, way, appearance, similarity** | *tahar-t* kesa a type of wood; *b-a-tahar* in such a way, so; *b-xa tahar* somehow; *cul-tahar* in every possible way; *xa tahar-ilə* It is something like this; *taharı taharə* of various kinds; *mú-tahar?* *mú-tar?* how?; *lén* +bəddá *mú-tahar* 'á +duxrána 'álaha p-ķābəl! I do not know how God will accept this offering (A 24:10); *bá mù-tar!* Well of course (A 44:2)

*taybər, taybər* QI (vn. *tajbarta, taybarta*) (1) to manage, to govern, to supervise, to oversee, to lead. (2) to support, to provide for (a family), to bring up | *yámmət díyux ḁa-díyux tuybərra!* Your mother brought you up (A 3:91). (3) to patronize. (4) to steer a ship. (5) to behave, to conduct oneself

*taybərrana* n.m. (fs. *tajbərranta*, pl. *taybərranə*) manager, administrator, supervisor

*taybərranuya* n.f. administration, supervision, management, support (of family)

*taḱa* n.m. (pl. *taḱə*) (1) fold (of material or abstract) | *mudi=t yuvvəllə ḁato īva tre taḱat yuvvəllə ḁati* What he gave her was twofold what he gave me; *mudi=t yuvvəllə ḁato īva tre taḱə mən d-yuvvəllə ḁati* What he gave her was twofold more than he gave me. (2) part of cloth. (3) strand of wool

*taḱəl* I (vn. *tkalta*) to weigh; to swing

*taḱnaḱ* QI (vn. *taḱnakta*) to make neatly, to make tidy, to organize | *xa naša tuḱnaḱka* a neat man

*taḱriban* part. (Pers. *taqrīban* < Arab.) approximately

*tala* n.f. (pl. *talə*) (Azer. *tələ*) trap, snare (for animals) | *ju-talət xubba npəlli* I fell in love (lit. I fell into the trap of love)

*talə* I (vn. *tleta*) (1) to hang; to suspend. (2) to hang upon a person's words, to fix the eyes. (3) to depend

*talək* I (vn. *tlakta*) to be lost, to vanish, to cease to exist, to disappear, to perish | *cifi tləkla* My wallet has disappeared (= I have lost my wallet); *tluk!* Get out!; *tləkla +allé* They were baffled; they were dazed

*talək* II (vn. *talakta*) to lose; to waste; to destroy | *tulkali cifi* I have lost my wallet; *lēn +byaya +raba +dana taləkən* I do not want to waste much time; *xácma ... məndiyāna +bəkyárələ ... kát +dánu taləkla!* He carves some things ... to pass the time (A 37:8)

*taləmta* n.f. (pl. *taləmyata*) small jug, watering can, small *talma* pot (see illustration 9) (Sal. *+zavərta*)

*taləp* I (vn. *tlapta*) to remove oneself, to go away; to be ruined or lost | *tlup xuš!* Get lost!; *tlup mən-ķam +ayni!* Get out my sight!; *tlup jahannam vi* Go to hell! *tləpla xəšla* Good riddance!

*taləs* n.f. (pl. *talisə*) (Kurd. *telîs*) sack

*taləsta* n.f. (pl. *taləsyatə*) small sack

*taləx* I (vn. *tlaxta*) (1) to collapse, to fall down (e.g. a wall), to be ruined, to fall apart | *beta tləxlə* The house collapsed; *betu tlixa!* May his house collapse. (2) to break, to pull down, to overthrow, to dash down, to demolish | *tləxlux beta* You destroyed the house; *ǵálah la-táləx bēt-bàbux!* May God not destroy your father's house (oath expressing pleading) (A 42:25); *ǵálah táləx talmidux!* ǵánnə xətnavàyl pyášəna màtal! *mu-ጀdi!* May God destroy your

disciples (oath expressing shock), the sons-in-law are perplexed as to what to do (A 42:21)

*taleta* n.f. (pl. *talayatə*) (1) suspended shelf from which *tluvvə* are hung. (2) basket hung up for bread (to stop mice getting to it)

*talja* n.m. snow

*talyana* adj.ms. (fs. *talyanta*, pl. *taljanə*) snowy

*talma* n.m. (pl. *talmə*) pot for water with narrow mouth (approx 2 feet in height) (see illustration 8)

*talməd* QI (vn. *talmatta*) (1) to make a disciple of, to convert. (2) to chastise, to torment

*talməs* QI (vn. *talmasta*) to shrink up, to wrinkle (intr. and tr.) | *sebuyta kam-talməssalə* Old age has shrunk him

*talmida* n.m. (fs. *talmatta*, pl. *talmida*) pupil, student, apostle | *álaha tálax talmidux!* ‘ánnə xətnavay! pyásəna mātal! mu-‘ödi! May God destroy your disciples (oath expressing shock), the sons-in-law are dumbstruck as to what to do (A 42:21)

*tamba* n.f. (Pers. *tanbih* < Arab.) punishment, retribution, reprisal; lesson | ‘avəd I *tamba*, *yavrəl* I *tamba* to punish, to penalize, to avenge

*tambal* adj.invar. (Azer. *tənbəl*, Pers. *tambil*) lazy, idle

*tambaluyta* n.f. laziness | ‘avəd I *tambaluyta* to become lazy

*tambəl* QI (vn. *tambalta*) to become lazy, idle

*tamburta* n.f. (pl. *tambuyrə*) large plum; tree of large plums (Canda)

*tamməz* adj.invar. (Azer. *təmiz*, Pers. *tamīz*) clean, pure moral, innocent, natural

*tamməz* QI (vn. *tammazta*) (Azer. *təmiz*, Pers. *tamīz*) to clean, to clean off, to clear away; to become clean, to cleanse oneself, to purify oneself | *b-tamməzzívalun cípə* They cleaned it (the wheat) of stones (B 10:7)

*tamməzzana* n.m. (fs. *tamməzzanta*, pl. *tamməzzanə*) cleaner

*tamməzzuyta* n.f. cleanliness, purity, naturalness

*tamuz* n.m. July

*tana* n.f. (pl. *tana*) (Pers. *tane* ‘trunk’) block of wood behind blade of plough (see illustration 52)

*tanap* n.m. (pl. *tanapə*) (Pers. *tanāb*) (1) line, cord (used to hang out washing). (2) tent rope. (3) measuring line; area measure (256 square +*draya* [yards])

*tanapči* n.m. (pl. *tanapčiyə*) land surveyor

*tandurta* n.f. (pl. *tanduryatə*) small oven (B 7:12)

*tana* I (vn. *tneta*) to repeat; to be repeated

*tana* II (vn. *taneta*, imper. sing. *tani/tay*, pl. *tánimun/taymun*) (§ 4.14.2.) (1) to repeat, to say again, to do again. (2) to say, to tell. | *táymunlan!* Tell (pl.) us!

- +basúra tanéta lél xà-txa!* ‘less’ means ‘not much’ (A 48:1); *lá táni +tàla víyyələ!* What do you know, it was a fox (A 53:2). (3) **to harp on a matter**
- tanəx* II (vn. *tanaxta*) (1) **to sigh, to groan.** (2) **to grieve, to feel sad**
- tanica* n.m. (Kurd. teneke, Azer. tənəkə) **tin, tin vessel**
- tanicar* n.m. (pl. *tanicarə*) **tin-maker**
- tanina* n.m. (pl. *taninə*) **dragon**
- tanj* adj.invar. **tight** | *tanj napas* (Pers. tang + nafas) short of breath
- tanya-napasuyta* n.f. **short breath, asthma**
- tantasta* n.f. **drizzle** → *tantəs* QI
- tantən* QI (vn. *tantanta*) (1) **to smoke, to fill with smoke, to blacken with smoke.** (2) **to kindle a censer, to burn incense, to fumigate.** (3) **to light (a cigarette)**
- tantər* QI (vn. *tantarta*) **to shake**
- tantəs* QI (vn. *tantasta*) (1) **to drizzle (rain)** | *+muṭra tantusəla* It is drizzling. (2) **to smoulder (slow burning fire), to smoke**
- tanuyra* n.m. (pl. *tanuyrə*) **clay oven for making bread**
- tapa* I (i) (vn. *tpeta*) (1) **to stick (intr.), to stick to (b-) (intr.)** | *laxma tpila +al-tanuyra* The bread stuck to the oven; *duna +spay tapyə* They have stuck together well; *tapyənva biyyu, leva +rappuyi* I was stuck with him (in conversation), he did not let me go; *+mixulta tpila!* The food hit the spot! (2) **to catch hold of, to be infectious (disease)**
- tapa* I (ii) (vn. *tpeta*) **to light, to kindle (intr.)** | *nuyra tpila* The fire lit
- tapə* II (i) (vn. *tapeta*) **to stick (tr.), to glue, to paste, to stick together, to solder** | *'ana tupili laxma +al-tanuyra* I stuck the bread to the oven; *cút-mənne xà kámči tapuvvélə!* He strikes each one with a whip (lit. sticks them a whip) (A 45:10)
- tapə* II (ii) (vn. *tapeta*) **to light, to kindle (tr.)** | *'ana tupili nuyra* I lit the fire; *tápi +šrà!* Light a lamp! (A 5:15)
- tapək, tafək* I (vn. *tpakta, tfakta*) (Arab. 'ittafaqa) (1) **to come accidentally** → *tapku.* (2) **to meet, to meet, to visit** | *tpəkla biyyux* She met you; *'albáttā bətfákəna b-cmá 'apəskúpə ḳat-vàyān-lə!* Of course they meet bishops that we have (B 2:14). (3) **to come together, to see each other.** (4) **to happen** | *bi-yəmmi! ... xá-məndi tpəkla, p-+ḳatkət̄nnax!* If anything happens to my mother, I shall cut you to pieces (A 44:2)
- tapən* I (vn. *tpanta*) **to become mouldy** | *xurraq tpənna* The food has become mouldy
- tapət* I (vn. *tpatta*) **to sneeze**
- tapəx* I (vn. *tpaxta*) **to spill (intr.), to be scattered, to stream from, to flow** | *miyya tpəxlun* The water spilt. Cf. *šapəx* I (vn. *špaxta*) to overflow
- tapəx* II (vn. *tapaxta*) (1) **to pour, to pour out; to spill** | *+čay tupəxli* I have spilt the tea. (2) **to upset, to shed; to empty.** (3) **to rush upon, to attack**

*tapku* n.f. **chance** | *b-tapku* by chance

*tappacta* n.f. (pl. *tappacyatə*) **head of seeds** | *tappactət dabašə* bees' nest

*tapuvvana* adj.ms. (fs. *tapuvvanta*, pl. *tapuvvanə*) **sticky** | <sup>+</sup>*suþpati tapuvvanəna*

My fingers are sticky

*tapyana* adj.ms. (fs. *tapyanta*, pl. *tapyanə*) (1) **sticky**. (2) **infectious (illness)**

*tarazi* n.f. (Azer. *tərəzi*) **balance, scales**

*tarba* n.m. **fat, tallow, lard** | *davək* I *tarba* to grow fat

*tarbən* QI (vn. *tarbanta*) **to become fat, to fatten; to smear with fat**

*tarə* I (vn. *treta*) **to become wet** | <sup>+</sup>*savi trilə* My thirst has been quenched

*tarəc* II (vn. *taracta*) (Arab. *taraka*) (1) **to give up, to desert, to leave off (esp. a bad habit)** | *'ana þáþrus fraþta turcali* I have given up smoking; *c-óya átən tarcáttá yá 'úrxal* You may abandon this path (B 16:8). (2) **to disobey a command**

*tarəd* I (vn. *tratta*) **to break up (usually bread), to crumble (bread to put in broth etc.)** | *laxma bətradələ kat darə ju-yaxni* He is breaking up bread to put in the stew

*tarək* I (vn. *trakta*) **to button; to be buttoned**

*tarək* II (vn. *tarakta*) **to button, to clasp**

*tarij* (Pers. *tariq* < Arab.) **way, means** | *mən-tarijət +dóstat bába* by means of the friends of the father (A 41:17)

*tarkəl* QI (vn. *tarkalta*) **to stumble; to make stumble** | *kam-tarkəlli* He tripped me up, misled me; *la vi sababət tarkəltət xina* Do not be the cause of other people's mishaps

*tarsə* adj.invar. (Azer. *tərs*) **inverse. adv. inside-out, back-to-front** | *düt +sudrux tarsə lviþo* You have put on your shirt back-to-front; *'o-naþa +raba tarsələ* He is very contrary

*tarsə* QI (vn. *tarseta*) **to nourish; to feed; to supply (with *b-*)**

*tarþən* QI (vn. *tarþanta*) (1) **to be pickled; to become sour** | *naþa turþənna* a sour person. (2) **to turn pale (from an illness), to turn yellow (leaves).** (3) **to screw up (mouth, lips in disgust)** | *səpvatu turþənnélə* He screwed up his lips in disgust → <sup>+</sup>*turþiyə* pickle

*tartəb* n.f. (Arab. *tartib*) **arrangement, putting in order** | *tartibux yavvənna* I shall teach you a lesson!

*tartəb* QI (vn. *tartabta*) (Arab. *tartib*) (1) **to tack, to stitch, to baste** | *tartabtət xlepa* sewing together a quilt. (2) **to be pitted with smallpox**

*tartər* QI (vn. *tartarta*) **to become pale**

*tartəx* QI (vn. *tartaxta*) **to recoil** | *'ana tartuxəvən mənno* I cannot stand her; *'ana tartuxəvən mən-heməzmanu* I cannot stand what he says

*taruþta* n.f. (pl. *taruþyatə*) (1) **button.** (2) **hook (on a dress).** (3) **a cuff link**

*tarxəs* QI (vn. *tarxasta*) **to pant**

*taryəssar, təryəssar* num. twelve

*tasma* n.f. (pl. *tasmatə*) (Pers. tasme) leather strap (of shoes, securing cloth),

belt, lace, collar of animal | *tasmat-*+*xasa* belt of leather straps

*tasmīm davək* I (Pers. *tasmīm* gereftan) to decide

*tašalla* n.f. (pl. *tašallə*) marble (ball)

*tašməš* QI (vn. *tašmašta*) (1) to read the burial service over somebody. (2) to celebrate the memorial of the dead

*tašši* n.f. (pl. *taššiyə*) porcupine

*tašta* n.f. (pl. *taštə*) (Pers. *tašt*) iron vessel for washing clothes (Sal. *taštən*)

*tavən* I (vn. *tvanta*) to become numb; to have cramp, to have 'pins and needles'

*tavərta* n.f. (pl. *tavəryatə*) cow

*tavtəš* QI (vn. *tavtašta*) (Arab. *taftīš*) to investigate, to search, to inspect | *mupatišə tavtušəna betux* The inspectors are searching your house

*tavvəb* QI (vn. *tavvabta*) to repent

*taxana* n.m. (pl. *taxanə*) (Dizatacyə S +*texana*) n.m. miller

*taxən* I (vn. *txanta*) to grind; to be ground | *txənni* +*xətṭə* I ground wheat; +*xətṭə* *txənnun* The wheat was ground → +*taxən*

*taxər* I (vn. *txarta*) to remember, to recollect, to memorize, commemorate (dead person)

*taxəs* I (vn. *txasta*) to thrust, to pierce, to push into

*taxla* n.? garden cress (*lepidium sativum*)

*taxmən* QI (vn. *taxmanta*) (Kurd. *texmîn* 'assumption' < Arab.) to think, to deliberate, to ponder, to consider, to contemplate | *la taxmən!* Don't think about it (no worries!)

*taxmənnana* adj.ms. (fs. *taxmənnanta*, pl. *taxmənnanə*) (1) thinking. (2) clever, judicious, considerate

*taxnana* n.m. (pl. *taxnənə*) miller

*taxrana* adj.ms. (fs. *taxranta*, pl. *taxranə*) remembering, retentive

*taxsər* n.f. (Azer. *təqsir* < Arab.) guilt, offense, fault, shortcoming

*taxta* n.f. (pl. *taxtə*) (Azer. *taxta*, Pers. *taxte*) (1) wooden bed, couch. (2) wooden board, plank. (3) basin plot for cultivation (created by +*yayə* in paddy field and by *bavatə* in an orchard) (see illustration 53) | *cut-*+*álma* 'árvás xá-táxta', *ya-tré-taxtə*! Each family had a plot or two plots (B 12:1)

*tayəc/tác* I (vn. *tyacta*) (Azer. *tik-* 'to erect, build') to plant (e.g. cuttings of trees), to propagate (trees) | *tayəc* +*ayna* to set one's eyes on, to stare

*tayəm/tām* I (vn. *tyamta*) (1) to come to an end, to be destroyed | *yárxa təmlə*! The month has come to an end (A 44:7). (2) to fail, to faint. (3) to terminate, to finish; to destroy, to accomplish. (4) to make up a number. (5) to be due (debt)

*tayər/tár* I (vn. *tyarta*) to come to oneself; to recover

*tayla* adj.ms. (fs. *talta*, pl. *tayla*) wet, damp, moist

*tayluya* n.f. dampness, humidity, moistness

*taza* adj.invar. (Azer. təzə) (1) new, fresh. (2) clean. (3) young, blooming, beautiful. (4) adv. anew, newly, recently | *táza* 'ət-'ína *tíyyəl* when they had just arrived (B 17:32); *táza číriyyəvəl* It was recently autumn (i.e. autumn had recently finished) (B 6:3)

*tazbiyyə* n.pl. (Azer. təsbeh < Arab.) rosary, string of beads used for religious purposes

*tazi* n.f. (ta'ziyat < Arab.) mourning, funeral | *'avəd* i *tazi* to mourn

*tazuyta* n.f. newness, freshness

*tažbəx* QI (vn. *tažbaxta*) to glorify, to praise, to laud

*təcta* n.f. (pl. *təcycatə*) (Pers. tikke) belt (sewn with threads), trouser tie, threads running in a hem to hold up trousers

*taflita* n.f. (pl. *taflı*) (Russ. туфли 'shoes') (fancy) shoe

*təllisəm* n.m. talisman, sorcery

*təlyə* adj.ms. (fs. *tlita*, pl. *təlyə*) hanging

*tənna* n.m. smoke

*təpna* n.m. mould

*taptəc* n.f. (Azer. tiftik) fluff, down, small feather

*təpyə* adj.ms. (fs. *tpita*, pl. *təpyə*) stuck, infected

*tərtuba* n.m. (pl. *tərtubə*) stitch, tack

*təryə* adj.ms. (fs. *trita*, pl. *təryə*) wet, soaked

*təryac* n.m. (Azer. tiryək, Pers. teryāk) opium

*təsməšta* n.f. funeral; church service

*təxra* n.m. memory (= *tuxrunya*)

*təžbuxta* n.f. glorification, glory | *təžbúxta* +*al-*+*alàha!*! Praise be to God (A 26:1)

*tica* n.m. (Azer. tikə; Pers. tīkē) (1) small piece, morsel, splinter, fragment | *xa tica laxma* a morsel of bread; *'avəd* i *tica tica* to break into pieces; *tici tica viyyələ* It has been broken into pieces; *'o-nora* +*şmaṭla* *tici tica!* The mirror broke into lots of pieces; *ticə micə* bits and bobs. (2) mouthful

*tina* n.f. (pl. *tinə*) fig; fig tree

*tinita* n.f. small fig tree

*tira* n.m. (pl. *tirə*, *tiranə*) (Azer. tirə) small dividing bank in field or field basin | *tirət xakläla* boundary of a field (man-made with earth); *tirət tuyna* row of stacked hay

*tkulta* n.f. weight, balance | *cipət tkulta* weight, bob

*tlay* num. thirty

*tlıka* adj.ms. (fs. *tləkta*, pl. *tlıkkə*) lost

*tlitaya* adj.ms. (fs. *tliteta*, pl. *tlitayə*) third (literary) | *xa tlitaya* one third

*tlixa* adj.ms. (fs. *tləxta*, pl. *tlıixə*) collapsed, destroyed

- tluvvə* n.pl. grapes hung in the basement to preserve them
- tmanyā* num. eight
- tmanyamma* num. eight hundred
- tminaya* adj.ms. (fs. *tmineta*, pl. *tminaya*) eighth (literary) | *xa tminaya* one eighth
- todita* n.f. (pl. *todiyyə*) confession, belief, faith, religion
- tokə* n.f. (pl. *tokə*) (Azer. *toqqa*, Pers. *tōq* < Arab.) (1) ring | *xa tokə mxilun +al-'*aklu They put a ring on his leg. (2) hub | *tokət bayscili dula +təpta* The hub of the wheel of my bicycle is bent; *tokət +topa* the hub of a wheel. (3) solid necklace
- tora* n.m. (pl. *tora*) ox, bull | *torət kubba* ox pulling the threshing machine (*janjar*) on the inside of the ring on the threshing floor; *torət marza* ox pulling the threshing machine (*janjar*) on the outside of the ring on the threshing floor
- toriyə* n.f. (pl. *toriyə*) loofah (for washing)
- totava* n.m. (pl. *totavə*) refugee
- tpina* adj.ms. (fs. *tpəntə*, pl. *tpinə*) mouldy
- trəmma* num. two hundred
- tre* num. two | *tre jahə* twice; *tre tağə* double; *tre jura*, *tre tahara* two types, double; *xa b-tre* doubly; *tre poxə* draught (lit. two winds): *tre poxəna* There is a draught
- trida* adj.ms. (fs. *trətta*, pl. *trida*) crumbled. n.m. broth
- tró-šiba* n.m. (pl. *tro-šibənə*, *tro-šibavatə*) Monday
- tucma* adj.invar. (pl. *tucmə*) molten, melted. n.m. cast-iron; casting mould
- tulunji* adj.invar. (Azer. *tü längü*) sly, cunning (like a fox)
- tumma* n.m. (child language) mouth
- tunji* n.m. (pl. *tunjiyyə*), *tunja* (pl. *tunjə*) (Iranian Azer. *tunc* 'jar') pitcher, jug (see illustration 42)
- tup mayə* III to suffer, to tolerate | *+raba šənnə tup muyyili* I suffered for many years
- tup* n.f., Canda *tupi* (pl. *tupə*) rifle, single-barrelled gun (= *tu(pp)anj*)
- tu(pp)anj* n.f. (pl. *tu(pp)anjə*) (Azer. *tüfəng*, Pers. *tofang*) rifle, single-barrelled gun | *+rappə* II *tu(pp)anj +al-*, *darə* I *tu(pp)anj +al-* to shoot; *davək* I *tu(pp)anj +al-* to aim a gun at; *malə* I *tu(pp)anj* to fill a gun
- tu(pp)ançı* n.m. (pl. *tu(pp)ançiyə*) shooter
- turcaya* adj.ms. (fs. *turceta*, pl. *turcaya*) Turkish
- turcət* Turkish language | *humzəmlun b-türçət!* They spoke in Turkish (B 1:8)
- turmuz* n.m. (pl. *turmuyzə*) (Azer. *tormuz*) brake (of watermill)
- turpun* n.f. (pl. *turpuynə*) (Turk. *tirpan*) scythe
- turvənt-* num. two of | *tírvənte* the two of them

*tušnača* n.m. suffering

*tutta* n.f. (child language) clothes

*tuttun* n.f. (Kurd. tūtin, tiqūn, Azer. tütin, Pers. tūtūn) tobacco | *jarəš* I *tuttun* to smoke tobacco

*tuxma* n.m. (pl. *tuxmə*) type, kind | *tuxmət kesa* type of wood

*tuxrunya* n.m. memory, commemoration

*tuyma* n.m. (pl. *tuymə*) garlic

*tuymana* adj.ms. (fs. *tuymantə*, pl. *tuymanə*) full of garlic

*tuya* n.m. (1) straw, chopped straw (produced by threshing machine) used as fodder. (2) chaff

*tuyra* n.m. (pl. *tuyrə*) (1) fine twig, cane (used to weave baskets), shoot, sprout, sprig (of a tree) | *tuyrət peyvənd* scion (for grafting). (2) osier tree

*tuyta* n.f. (pl. *tuytə*) berry, especially mulberry; mulberry tree | *tuytət cətva* blackberry; *tuytət +'arra*, *tuytət pərranj* wild strawberry, strawberry

*tvina* adj.ms. (fs. *tvanta*, pl. *tvinə*) numb

*txara* n.m. memory, memorial | *'áha-zə xá txàrələ* | *kát 'ána bətxàrun*! This is a memory I have (B 13:5)

*txurta* n.f. memory | *'ət-txiúrtət díyyi 'ána*! as far as I remember (B 17:55)

*tyama* n.m. termination; consequence

*tyavuyta* n.f. repentance, pledge

## +t

*+tab* n.f. (Azer. tab, Pers. tāb) strength of body, endurance, tolerance, stamina

| *+tab=t daha le-+masət jarşətla* You cannot get the better of him, you cannot take sth. from him; *+tab muyyilux* You were able to withstand it; *+tab mayvana* enduring, patient, steady; *be-+tab* flimsy

*+tabaxta* n.f., Canda *+ṭabaxta* (pl. *+ṭabaxyatə*, *+ṭabaxyatə*) basin (with sloping sides, used for holding water or dough)

*+tabba* adj.invar. (Arab. tabi'a 'to follow') obedient | *+tabba vili +'allux* I obey you; *cálu jári 'oyáva +tábbə +'al- bábu yèmmu*! The bride had to obey his father and mother (B 8:11); *+tabbat ... mayya* to be able to stand (the weight, the force of) sth.: *+tabbat muštux le mayyilə* He cannot take your punch; *'ayyé bayəscal +tabbat +yukrux le mayyalə* That bicycle will not be able to take your weight

*+tabbə* I (vn. *+tbeta*) (Arab. tabi'a 'to follow') to obey (+*al-* so.), to adhere (+*al* to) | *baxta +tabba +'al-joro* A wife obeys her husband; *+bətbayən +'allu* I am obeying him

*+tablo* n.f. (French tableau) portrait

- <sup>+</sup>*tafta* n.m. **type of fabric**
- <sup>+</sup>*tāj* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*tagə*) (Pers. tāq, Azer. tağ) **arch**
- <sup>+</sup>*tajar* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*tagarə*) (Pers. tağār) **large clay container (see illustration 16)**
- <sup>+</sup>*tāj* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*tajə*) (Pers. tāj < Arab.) **crown, wreath**
- <sup>+</sup>*tajər* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*tajirə*) (Pers. tājer < Arab.) **merchant**
- <sup>+</sup>*taktək* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*taktakta*) **to knock (at the door); to bang; to tick, to click**  
 | <sup>+</sup>*tárru mxilun* <sup>+</sup>*tuk̥təklun*! There was a knock at his door (A20:1); *prəzla*  
<sup>+</sup>*kayra* <sup>+</sup>*taktukən* I am doing it in vain (lit. I am knocking on cold iron); *brūn*  
<sup>+</sup>*tuk̥təkkə* son of a madman
- <sup>+</sup>*tala* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*tala*) **fox**
- <sup>+</sup>*talan* n.f. (Kurd. talan, Azer. talan) **robbery, plunder, spoil**
- <sup>+</sup>*taləm* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*talamta*) (Arab. ta'lim) **to punish, chastise; to train, to teach** |  
 'alaha <sup>+</sup>*taləmlux!* May God chastise you
- <sup>+</sup>*talita* n.f. **female fox**
- <sup>+</sup>*tama* adv. **there** | *mən-*<sup>+</sup>*tama* from there
- <sup>+</sup>*tamananə* adv. **around there**
- <sup>+</sup>*tamaša* n.m. (Kurd. temâşe, Azer. tamaşa, Pers. tamāšā) **spectacle, show, sight; curiosity, a curious thing; a play; an object of derision** | <sup>+</sup>*tamaša vud!* Look here!
- <sup>+</sup>*tamma* adv. **over there (medium deixis)**
- <sup>+</sup>*tammacar* adj.invar. (Pers. tam̥kār) **greedy, insatiable, covetous, avaricious**
- <sup>+</sup>*tammacaruyta* n.f. **greed, insatiability, avarice** | *'avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*tammacaruyta* to be greedy
- <sup>+</sup>*tammam* adv. (Azer. tamam, Pers. tamām < Arab.) **wholly, absolutely; complete, finished** | <sup>+</sup>*tammam dūz mərrux* You said it completely correctly
- <sup>+</sup>*tammananə* adv. **around there (medium deixis)**
- <sup>+</sup>*támmanə* adv. **around there (medium deixis)**
- <sup>+</sup>*tamməm* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tammamta*) **to finish, to complete, to carry out, to finalize**  
 | *'a-*<sup>+</sup>*šula bət-*<sup>+</sup>*tamməmmənnə* I shall finish this job
- <sup>+</sup>*tammó* adv. **there (far deixis)**
- <sup>+</sup>*tammoha*, <sup>+</sup>*tammoxa* adv. **there (far deixis)**
- <sup>+</sup>*tamtəm* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tamtamta*) **to speak when nose is blocked; to mumble; to whine**
- <sup>+</sup>*tamtəmmana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*tamtəmmanta*, <sup>+</sup>*tamtəmmənə*) **mumbling, whining**
- <sup>+</sup>*tanəš* n.m./f. (Azer. tanış) **acquaintance** | *'avəd* I <sup>+</sup>*tanəš* to acquaint; *'avə* I <sup>+</sup>*tanəš* to get acquainted
- <sup>+</sup>*tanəšşuyta* n.f. **acquaintance**
- <sup>+</sup>*tap* (child language) | <sup>+</sup>*tap vədlux?* Have you fallen?

- +tapan* n.f. (pl. *+tapanə*) (Azer. daban ‘heel’ (also of the door)) **butt of door, butt of upper millstone**
- +tapanča* n.f. (Azer. tapança, Pers. tapanče) **pistol**
- +tapavut* n.f. (Pers. tafāvot) **difference, distinction** | *mattə* III *+tapavut* to distinguish: *muttīla* *+tapavut* *bəl-da-brūna* *bəl-**+dārvā*.| He made a difference between this son and him (i.e. treated them differently) (A 3:19)
- +tapmaja* n.f. (pl. *+tapmaja*) (Azer. tapmaca) **riddle**
- +tappa-**+tap* n.f. **sound of pounding, sound of galloping** | *jašúkəla mən-**+últux* *'axunvátu* *'inal* *+táppa* *+tappé b-sùysa*| He sees from above his brothers galloping on a horse (A 45:9)
- +taptap* QI (vn. *+taptapta*) **to tap; to bash, to pound; to stamp**
- +taptəppana* n.m. (pl. *+taptəppanə*) **implement for compressing ground**
- +tarəs* I (vn. *+trasta*), *+tarəs* (N and Caucasus) (1) **to be constructed, to be made** | *xájúra xína* *+tına* *+tarəsва* | Another type of mud was made (B 2:21). (2) **to mend (intr.); to become repaired** | *+mašina* *+trəsla* The machine became repaired (spontaneously)
- +tarəs* II (vn. *+tarasta*), *+tarəs* (N and Caucasus) (1) **to build, to manufacture, to construct.** (2) **to repair, to correct, to adjust** | *+mašina* *+tursali* I repaired the machine; *+mašina pəšla* *+turəsta* The machine was repaired (by so.)
- +tarax* n.f. (Pers. tārīx < Arab.) (1) **date** | *+pállan yùma*,*| +pállan +tarax* *málcət Məssər*,*| fır'un*,*| hámلا t-ávəd* *+állux*| On such-and-such a day, on such-and-such a date, the king of Egypt, Pharaoh, will attack you (A 3:20). (2) **history.** (3) **account.** (4) **epitaph**
- +tarra* n.m. (pl. *+tarranə*) (1) **door, threshold.** (2) **lid** | *+tárra mattiyuna* They put on the lid (of the barrel) (A 6:9). (3) **yard, outside** | *mən-**+tarra* from outside; *bábi pulətlun* *+al-tàrra*| They took my father outside (B 6:4); *+tlájanáy javáy-na* *+tláju-**+tarra* Three people are inside and three are outside (the circle in a children’s game) (B 17:2)
- +tarsana*, *+tarsana* n.m. (fs. *+tarsanta*, *+tarsanta*, pl. *+tarsanə*, *+tarsanə*) **maker; founder, creator** | *+tarsanət-čacmə* n.m. **bootmaker**
- +tarvada* n.m. (pl. *+tarvadə*) **big cup; ladle**
- +tasa* n.f. (pl. *+tasə*) (Pers. tās) **bowl (see illustration 43)** | *muttīla xá* *+tása* *+fúrta* *+dàvvə* *kátu*| She put out for him a large bowl of yoghurt (A 5:8)
- +taslax* adj.invar. (Ottoman Turk. taslaq) **disordered** | *jullux* *+taslax-ina* Your clothes are in a mess
- +taš'ita* n.f. (pl. *+taš'iyyatə*) **history**
- +tata* n.f. **crest of flesh or feathers** | *+tatət* *+karuvva* comb of a cock
- +tav* | *b-**+tav* *xəšla* He went very fast
- +tava* n.m. (pl. *+tava*) (Pers. tāve) **frying pan**

- +tavana** n.m. (Pers. tuvānā) **strong, fast man.** adj.ms. (fs. *+tavanta*, pl. *+tavanə*) **fast** | *múdilos o-mándi búš +tavána! ju-dùnyo?* What is the fastest thing in the world (A 38:7)
- +tavus-kuši** n.m. (pl. *+tavus-kušiyə*) (Azer. tovuz quşu) **peacock**
- +taxxəb** QI (vn. *+taxxabta*) **to make a border** → *+təxxub*
- +tay** n.m. (annex. *+tayyət*) (Azer. tay) (1) **mate, peer, one of the same rank; an equal, a match** | *xa +tay-t +savəlti ləttən* One of my shoes is missing; *'atən +tayyət diyyivət* You are the same age as me; *'avəd I +tay* to make a pair. (2) **one of a pair of saddle-bags. (3) a leaf of a folding door**
- +taypa** n.m. (pl. *taypə*) (Azer. tayfa, Pers. tāefat < Arab.) **tribe, people, nation**
- +tayyar** adj.invar. (Pers. tayyār ‘ready’ < Arab. ṭayyār ‘ready to fly’) (1) **ready, prepared, accoutred. (2) complete, full, perfect**
- +tazi** n.m./f. (Azer. tazi) (pl. *+taziyə*) **greyhound**
- +tči'aya** adj.ms. (fs. *+tči'eta*, pl. *+tči'ayə*) **ninth (literary)** | *xa +tči'aya* one ninth
- +təppa-+təp** n.f. **sound of stamping, galloping** | *mut +təppa-təp-ila?* What is that sound of sound of stamping? → *+taptəp* QI
- +təvvəllana** adj.ms. (fs. *+təvvəllanta*, pl. *+təvvəllanə*) **worm-eaten**
- +təvvəllət brisəm** n.m. **silkworm; caterpillar**
- +təvvəlta, +tuvvulta** n.f. (pl. *+təvvəlyata*, *+tuvvulyata*, *+təvvəlla*, *+tuvvulla*) **worm, a stomach worm, caterpillar** | *+tuvvultət +karra* short flat tapeworm
- +taxxub** n.m. (pl. *+taxxiybə*) (Kurd. tixûb) **border, boundary, boundary line** | *'avəd I +təxxub* to make a border
- +terlan** n.f. (pl. *+terlanə*) (Azer. tərlan) **hawk (used for hunting)**
- +tiyan** n.m. (pl. *+tiyanə*) (Pers. tiyān) **large cauldron**
- +tizab** n.f. (Pers. tez-āb) **grapes blanched in boiling water (= savzə)**
- +tmanəssar** num. **eighteen**
- +tmani** num. **eighty**
- +toba** n.f. (Azer. tövbə, towbe, Pers. tawbat, tawba, toba < Arab.) (1) **repentance** | *+toba vadəvən, le +axlən +busra* I am repenting, I shall not eat meat. (2) **penance, punishment** | *+toba muttili +allu ķat la +palət mən-beta* I punished him by not letting him leave the house
- +tobacaruyta** n.f. **repentance; pledging**
- +tolə** n.pl. **coriander, sing. +tola piece of coriander**
- +top** n.f. (pl. *+topə*) (i) (Azer. top, Pers. tup) (1) **roll (of material), bale** | *xa +top +parča* a roll of material; *tre +topə +parčə* two rolls of material. (2) **ball. (3) wheel**
- +top** n.f. (pl. *+topə*) (ii) (Azer. top, Pers. tup) **cannon**
- +topa** n.f. (pl. *+topatə*) (Azer. topa) **wheel, tire**
- +tor** n.m. (pl. *torə*) (Azer. tor) **net, dragnet (for fish)** | *torət nuynə melə!* Bring the fishing net!

- <sup>+</sup>*torba* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*torbatə*) (Azer. torba) bag
- <sup>+</sup>*torči* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*torčiyə*) (Azer. tor) fisherman
- <sup>+</sup>*toxmał* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*toxmałə*) (Azer. toxmaq) wooden mallet
- <sup>+</sup>*toz* n.f. (Azer. toz) (i) dust | <sup>+</sup>*toz vadəłə* It is making dust
- <sup>+</sup>*toz* n.m. (ii) muslin, fine net
- <sup>+</sup>*tozana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*tozanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*tozanə*) dusty
- <sup>+</sup>*trayyana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*trayyanta*) second (literary) | <sup>o-tora</sup> <sup>+</sup>*trayyana* the second ox; *xa* <sup>+</sup>*trayyana* a half
- <sup>+</sup>*tula* n.f. (Kurd. tol) revenge | <sup>+</sup>*tula šakəł* I to revenge
- <sup>+</sup>*tullux* adj.invar. (Azer. tuluq) watery (yoghurt after being shaken)
- <sup>+</sup>*tumbana* n.f. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*tumbanə*) (Pers. tombān) trousers | <sup>+</sup>*tumbanət xuta* under trousers, <sup>+</sup>*tumbanət pata* outer trousers
- <sup>+</sup>*tursa*, <sup>+</sup>*tursa* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*turəsta*, <sup>+</sup>*turəsta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*tursə*, <sup>+</sup>*tursə*) made, built, invented → <sup>+</sup>*tarəs*
- <sup>+</sup>*turšiyə* n.pl. (Pers. toršī, Kurd. tiršī) pickles | *turšiyə ci-dok̚iva!* They used to make pickles (B 17:48); <sup>adiyya</sup> <sup>+</sup>*turšiyə dokaxlux* Now we shall pickle you (said when a man or woman is more than thirty years old and has not married)
- <sup>+</sup>*tuvvalla* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*tuvvolta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*tuvvallə*) worm-eaten
- <sup>+</sup>*tuyman* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*tuymanə*) (Pers. tūmān) monetary unit; a goldsmith's weight; legion of ten thousand men

- <sup>+</sup>*tančən* QI (vn. *tančanta*) (Dizatacyia S <sup>+</sup>*tančən*) (1) to sing quietly (to oneself), to murmur, to hum. (2) to play a tune | *bət-čančənnən xa-čəntə* I shall play a melody
- <sup>+</sup>*tapčapa* n.m. (pl. *tapčapə*) = čačkačka
- <sup>+</sup>*taþtəþ* QI (vn. *taþtəþta*) (1) to blink; to flicker; to cause to flicker; to twinkle | <sup>+šraya</sup> *taþtupəla* flickering lamp; *poxa taþtupolə* <sup>+šraya</sup> The rain is making the lamp flicker. (2) to flutter
- <sup>+</sup>*taþtəþpəna* adj.ms. (fs. *taþtəþpanta*, pl. *taþtəþpənə*) flickering | <sup>+šraya</sup> *taþtəþ-pənta* flickering lamp
- <sup>+</sup>*təkkə* (child language) | *təkkə t-odənnux*. I shall spank you
- <sup>+</sup>*þelpa* n.m. (pl. *þelpapə*) eyelash | *maxə i þelpa* to blink, to wink
- <sup>+</sup>*tumba* | <sup>’</sup>*arba tumba* sheep without a tail
- <sup>+</sup>*tuþra* n.m. (pl. *tuþrə*) tail | *tuþrət xabuysə* n.m. stem of an apple
- <sup>+</sup>*tuþurta* n.f. small tail
- <sup>+</sup>*tuþtu* (child language) car

+**ṭ****+ṭabbax** n.m. August**+ṭabba** I (vn. +*ṭbeta*) to sink | *jami* +*ṭbila* The ship sank; +*savulti* +*ṭbilaju-miyya* My shoe sank in the water**+ṭalabuyta** n.f. request for hand of girl in marriage, engagement, betrothal | *'avəd* I +*ṭalabuyta* to betroth; *bərróxšəna ḡalabiyta* They go to make the marriage request (B 8:2)**+ṭalana** n.m. (fs. +*ṭalanta*, pl. +*ṭalana*) player, actor. adj. playful, quick**+ṭalaša** n.m. (pl. +*ṭalašə*), +*ṭalašta* n.f. (pl. +*ṭalašyatə*) (Azer. *taraş*) splinter, shaving, strip (e.g. of bark), chip, layer**+ṭaləb** I (vn. +*ṭlabta*) (Arab. *ṭalaba*) (1) to ask (*mən* from), to request, to demand, to require. (2) to seek in marriage. (3) to act as a matchmaker | *ləbbi* +*ṭlabələ* +*axlən* I feel like eating; +*ṭaləb* +*xaṭər* to take leave (of so.); *ləbbu* +*baṭlāba* +*al-xá-naša ḥax-diyu* *'ávəl* His heart was seeking somebody who would be like him (A 3:14)**+ṭalla** I (vn. +*ṭleta*) to sleep, to fall asleep | +*ṭalla palju* to doze, take a nap**+ṭalləz** QI (vn. +*ṭallazta*) (Kurd. *ṭolaz* ‘idler, womanizer, rascal’) to spoil (a child), to pamper, to indulge, to be indulged; to coddle, to be coddled**+ṭalta** n.f. (pl. +*ṭalyata*) game, fun, entertainment**+ṭaltasar** num. thirteen**+ṭalxun** n.f. (Azer. *tərxun*, Pers. *tarxūn*, Arab. *ṭarxūn*) tarragon**+ṭama** n.m. taste**+ṭamana** adj.ms. (fs. +*ṭamanta*, pl. +*ṭamana*) tasty, delicious**+ṭamaṭa** n.m. (pl. +*ṭamaṭə*) tomato**+ṭamər** I (vn. +*ṭmarta*) (1) to be buried, to sink down | +*arabána ci-* +*ṭamrəva* A cart used to sink (and get stuck in the mud) (B 17:51). (2) to be stained with dirt**+ṭamər** II (vn. +*ṭamarta*) to bury, to immerse, to plant (tree)**+ṭaməš** I (vn. +*ṭmašta*) to dip (tr. and intr.); to be wetted, to plunge (into liquid)**+ṭaməš** II (vn. +*ṭamašta*) to dip, to immerse (in liquid); to plate**+ṭammə** I (vn. +*ṭmeta*) to taste, to try (food) → +*ṭayəm* I**+ṭammən** QI (vn. +*ṭammanta*) to go off (food), to stink (meat), to deteriorate**+ṭamta** n.f. (pl. +*ṭamyata*) breakfast**+ṭana** n.m. (pl. +*ṭanə*) (1) load, freight, baggage, burden, pack, bale. (2) measure for wheat | +*ṭla* +*ṭana* +*xaṭṭə* three measures of wheat**+ṭanṭəl** QI (vn. +*ṭanṭalta*) to delay, to be delayed; to hang back, to procrastinate, to fool around; to hinder, to be hindered (business) | +*ṭantulələ* He is procrastinating (fooling around)

+*tappən* QI (vn. +*tappanta*) **to become mad** | šuddənnət?| +*tup̪pənnət?*| Have you become crazy? Have you become mad? (A 3:82)

+*tapta* n.f. **flexible cutting (of plant or tree)** | +*tapta dula tpita* The cutting has taken (after being planted)

+*taþəx* I (vn. +*tpaxta*) **to smash (tr. and intr.), to crush, to be crushed; to bruise, to strike**

+*tarə* n.m. (pl. +*tarə*, +*tarana*) **head of maize (*maccə*)** (Canda)

+*tarbaþ* QI (vn. +*tarbaþta*) **to move around aimlessly; to cause to move around aimlessly** | 'arya +mərya +*tarbuþla* The sick lion moves around aimlessly; +*marra* +*tarbuþula* The illness is making him wander aimlessly

+*tarə* I (vn. +*tretra*) (1) **to drive, to rein (horses, bulls)** | +*bəþrayəvən xmara* I am riding a donkey (sitting on it), +*bəþrayəvən* +*maþina* I am driving a car. Cf. stem III +*maþruyəvən xmara* I am driving a donkey (from behind). (2) **to plough** | +*tlá-ja* +*taràxvala b-ptāna*! We would plough it three times (B 3:8)

+*tarəd* I (vn. +*tratta*) **to drive away, to expel, to banish, to force out; to persecute**

+*tarəp* I (vn. +*trpta*) **to beat, to knock so. to the ground; to whisk (e.g. eggs, yoghurt)** | 'o-naþa +*spay* +*trəpli* I beat that man up well; *tre yāl-surə* +*uydalə* +*bəþrapəna* Two children are beating one another; +*trəpli* +*amra* 'u-pəþpətla I beat the wool and it fell apart; +*trəpla* *biyyə* He whisked eggs; *másta ci-þarpila*! They used to beat yoghurt (A 5:8); *biyyə* +*bəþrápəla* She is beating eggs

+*tarəs* I (vn. +*trasta*) **to become fat**

+*tarpa* n.m. (pl. +*tarpa*) **leaf; leaf of a book** | +*tarpat varda* petal

+*tarpana* adj.ms. (fs. +*tarpana*, pl. +*tarpanə*) **leafy**

+*tarþəm* QI (vn. +*tarþamta*) **to grumble, to moan, to mutter, to murmur (+al against)**

+*taryana* n.m. (fs. +*tarynanta*, pl. +*taryana*) **driver; goadman**

+*taþə* I (vn. +*þeta*) **to hide (oneself), to disappear, to be concealed**

+*taþə* II (vn. +*taþeta*) (1) **to hide, to conceal, to reserve. (2) to put away, to store** | +*kərtópə ci-þaþiva*! They stored potatoes (B 17:48); +*maþrúyūva bíjájí bíúpra zárda*, <sup>RiR</sup> +*þaþíya ká sòtva*.! They sealed it (the barrel of wine) with gypsum, with yellow earth, and stored it away for winter (B 17:15)

+*tata* n.f. **sweat, perspiration**

+*tatana* adj.ms. (fs. +*tatanta*, pl. +*tatanə*) **sweaty**

+*tat̪ta* n.m. (child language) **baby** | +*tat̪ta sura* baby

+*tava* adj.invar. | +*ramšux* +*tava!* good evening!; *slama* +*tava* hearty greetings

+*tavə* I (vn. +*þveta*) **to be roasted, to grill (intr.), to bake (intr. in ashes, eggs, apples, potatoes)**

- <sup>+</sup>*tavə* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*taveta*) **to roast** (tr.), **to grill** (tr.), **to bake** (tr. in ashes, eggs, apples, potatoes)
- <sup>+</sup>*tavəl/+tāl* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tavalta*, pst. <sup>+</sup>*tuvəlla*) **to play**, **to be amused**, **to gambol**, **to frolic** | <sup>+</sup>*tálax* <sup>+</sup>*tálta* Let's play a game (A 1:24)
- <sup>+</sup>*tavəx* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tvaxta*) **to break to pieces** (fragile things), **to crush**, **to bruise**
- <sup>+</sup>*tavvə* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tveta*) **to print** (in a printing house)
- <sup>+</sup>*tavvə* II (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tavveta*) (1) **to look for** (<sup>+</sup>*bar*), **to search for** (<sup>+</sup>*bar*), **to rummage around**. (2) **to wander**, **to stray**
- <sup>+</sup>*tavviyyana* n.m. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*tavviyyanta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*tavviyyanə*) **searcher**, **hunter**
- <sup>+</sup>*taxən* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*txanta*) (Dizatacyā S) **to grind** → *taxən* I
- <sup>+</sup>*taxtəx* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*taxtaxta*) **to smash to pieces**, **to be smashed to pieces**; **to pulverize**, **to be pulverized**; **to pound**, **to be pounded** | *'ana cipa* <sup>+</sup>*tuxtxəli* I crushed the stone; *cipa* <sup>+</sup>*tuxtxəla* The stone became crushed
- <sup>+</sup>*tayəm/+tām* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tyamta*/<sup>+</sup>*tyamta*) **to taste** → <sup>+</sup>*tammə* I
- <sup>+</sup>*tayən/+tān* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tanta*/<sup>+</sup>*tyanta*) **to bear** (a load, fruit), **to carry**, **to be loaded**, **to load oneself up with**, **to be packed** | *'a-déva* <sup>+</sup>*bətənəola* <sup>+</sup>*ál-*<sup>+</sup>*xàsu* The monster lifts it onto his back (A 37:11); *šítə xà-dana xabúša ci-ťánva*! It (the tree) used to bear one single apple a year (A 39:1); <sup>+</sup>*bətyanəvən mənta* I am grateful
- <sup>+</sup>*tayəp/+tāp* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tyapta*) (1) **to bend** (tr. and intr.), **to fold** (tr. and intr.), **to curve** (tr. and intr.). (2) **to hem** (material). (3) **to incline** (tr. and intr.), **to hang down**. (4) **to draw to a close** (day)
- <sup>+</sup>*tayəs/+tās* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tyasta*) **to stick in**, **to thrust in**, **to indent**, **to prick**, **to pierce**; **to stick fast** | *kətva dula* <sup>+</sup>*čisa ju-**ida* The thorn is stuck in my hand
- <sup>+</sup>*tayət/+tāt* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*tatta*/<sup>+</sup>*tyatta*) **to sweat**, **to perspire**
- <sup>+</sup>*tayəx/+tāx* I (vn. <sup>+</sup>*taxta*/<sup>+</sup>*tyaxta*) (1) **to subside**; **to come to an end**. (2) **to be pressed**, **to be flattened**, **to become flat** (from pressure)
- <sup>+</sup>*taymən* QI (vn. <sup>+</sup>*taymanta*) **to rise in price**; **to value**, **to raise the price**; **to make expensive**
- <sup>+</sup>*tayusa* adj.ms (fs. <sup>+</sup>*tayusta*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*tayusa*) **prickly**
- <sup>+</sup>*təlyə* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*tlita*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*təlyə*) **asleep**, **sleepy**
- <sup>+</sup>*təppə* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*təppə*) **point**, **dot**, **full stop** | <sup>+</sup>*təppə b-*<sup>+</sup>*təppə* verbatim
- <sup>+</sup>*tər* **sound of loud fart** | *tər*, | *ričála*! Trr, she farted (A 32:3)
- <sup>+</sup>*tərra*-<sup>+</sup>*təm* n.f. **sound of grumbling** → <sup>+</sup>*tarčəm* QI
- <sup>+</sup>*təšva* n.m. **privacy**, **secrecy**, **mystery** | *b-*<sup>+</sup>*təšva* confidentially, secretly, furtively
- <sup>+</sup>*təttə* n.m. (pl. <sup>+</sup>*təttə*) **dot** (on paper or material) | *'o-varaka* <sup>+</sup>*təttı* <sup>+</sup>*təttə* *vədli* I put dots on the paper
- <sup>+</sup>*təzta* n.f. **small fundament**, **small anus** | *mandi-*<sup>+</sup>*təztu* n.f. **bird that throws its behind upwards** → <sup>+</sup>*tiza*
- <sup>+</sup>*tepana* adj.ms. (fs. <sup>+</sup>*tepana*, pl. <sup>+</sup>*tepanə*) **flexible**, **bending**

- +*ṭera* n.m. (pl. *ṭerə*) **bird** | +*ṭerət malca Šlimun* n.m. King Solomon's bird  
 +*ṭexana* → *taxana*
- +*ṭima* n.m. **price, cost, value** | *marət* +*ṭima* **expensive**; *avəd* I +*ṭima, mattə* III  
 +*ṭima* to charge price, to estimate price; +*ṭima daha cmà-ilə?* How much does this cost? *'a-xabuyša* +*ṭimələ* This apple is expensive
- +*ṭimana* n.m. (fs. +*ṭimanta*, pl. +*ṭimana*) **valuable, precious, expensive**
- +*ṭimuya* n.f. **high costs, costliness, scarcity**
- +*ṭina* n.m. **mud, dirt** | *tina smuča* red earth, clay
- +*ṭinana* adj.ms. (fs. +*ṭinanta*, pl. +*ṭinana*) **muddy, dirty**
- +*ṭipa* adj.ms. (fs. +*ṭəpta*, pl. +*ṭipə*) **curved, bent, hanging down; folded**
- +*ṭiza* n.m. (pl. +*ṭizə*) **anus, fundament**
- +*ṭla* num. **three** | +*ṭla jahə* three times; *mən-*+*ṭla-xa* third
- +*ṭlamma* num. **three hundred**
- +*ṭlanita* n.f. (pl. +*ṭlaniyatə*) **shadow, shade**
- +*ṭləbta* n.f. **fiancée, bride**
- +*ṭlibə* n.m. (pl. +*ṭlibə*) (1) **fiancé, groom.** (2) **husband**
- +*ṭlo-šiba* n.m. (pl. +*ṭlo-šibənə*, +*ṭlo-šibavatə*) **Tuesday**
- +*ṭloxa* n.pl. (sing.f. +*ṭloxa*, +*ṭluxta*) **lentils**
- +*ṭlula* n.m. **dew** | +*ṭlulət jdila* frozen slush; +*ṭlulət talja* slush
- +*ṭlulana* adj.ms. (fs. +*ṭlulanta*, pl. +*ṭlulana*) **dewy**
- +*ṭrisa* adj.ms. (fs. +*ṭrəsta*, pl. +*ṭrisə*) **fat, fattened; fatling**
- +*ṭraktur* n.m. (pl. +*ṭraktyrə*) **tractor**
- +*ṭruba* n.m. (pl. +*ṭrubə*) (Russ. *труба*) **chimney pipe of stove; pipe used for distilling arak**
- +*ṭrusa* adj.ms. (fs. +*ṭrusta*, pl. +*ṭrusə*) **true, truthful, reliable. adv. truly, indeed, surely**
- +*ṭrusuyta* n.f. **truthfulness, validity, reliability**
- +*ṭubya* adj.ms. (fs. +*ṭubita*, pl. +*ṭubyə*) **sunken, caved in**
- +*ṭulaza* n.m. (Kurd. *ṭolaz* 'idler, womanizer, rascal') **foolish man, rascal, idler**
- +*ṭulləzza* adj.ms. (fs. +*ṭulləzta*, pl. +*ṭulləzzə*) **spoiled, coddled**
- +*ṭúlvunt-, +ṭúllunt-* num. | +*ṭúlvunte*, +*ṭúllunte* the three of them
- +*ṭunta* n.f. (pl. +*ṭunyata*) **fruit, produce** | *marət* +*ṭunta* **fertile**
- +*ṭup̪purta* n.f. (pl. +*ṭup̪purə*, +*ṭup̪puryata*, +*ṭup̪ratə*) **fingernail, toenail, claw, hoof**
- +*ṭuvana* adj.ms. (fs. +*ṭuvanta*, pl. +*ṭuvana*) **blessed, fortunate, happy**
- +*ṭuvita* n.f. (pl. +*ṭuyata*) **meat grilled on a spit, shish kebab**
- +*ṭuvva* n.m. (pl. +*ṭuvvə*) **gemstone, jewel of ring**
- +*ṭuvva, +ṭve* part. **may there be a blessing; it is a blessing** | +*ṭuvva* +*allux*, +*ṭve-*  
 +*allux* Bless you; +*ṭuvva t-aviva laxxa* It would have been a blessing if he were

- here (= Would that he were here); *tvé +al-dō=t áha vīdəla* How fortunate for him who has done this (A 45:16)
- +tūrvita** n.f. (pl. *+tūrviyyatə*) **bead**
- +tuya** adj.ms. (fs. *+tvita*, pl. *+tuyə*) **concave**
- +tuyatə* → *+tuvitə*
- +tuyra** n.m. (pl. *+tuyranə*) **mountain**
- +tve* → *+tuvvə*
- +tveta** n.f. **printing** → *+tavvə*

**v**

*va* part. (Pers. va) **and** (conjoining clauses § 13.1.2.)

*vaccəl* n.m. (pl. *vaccilə*) (Azer. vəkil < Arab.) **lawyer, attorney, trustee** | *'avəd* I *vaccəl* to trust, to empower

*vacciliyta* n.f. **empowerment** | *'avəd* I *vacciliyta* to act as an attorney, guardian

*vacallama* n.f. (pl. *vacəllama*) (Azer. vəkalətnamə) **power of attorney**

*vaddar*, *+al-vaddar* part. (Kurd. ba-der) **outside**

*vadra* n.m. (pl. *vadra*) (Russ. ведро) **metal bucket**

*vajvəj* QI (vn. *vajvajta*) **to coo (turtledove)**

*vakvək* QI (vn. *vakvakta*) **to quack (duck)**

*var mattə* III **to hoe**

*varačka* n.m. (pl. *varačə*) (Pers. varaqa < Arab.) **sheet of paper**

*varazan* n.f. (pl. *varazana*) (Pers. varz ‘a field with a raised border’) **slope of earth at the end of a field for drying grapes**

*varda* n.m. (pl. *vardə*) **rose; flower** | *vardət norus* violet; *vardət +data* flower that produces gum; *ó várdat bëti!* oh the flower of my house! (= oh my dear!) (A 3:45)

*varvarta* n.f. **watery excrement**

*varvər* QI (vn. *varvarta*) **to have diarrhoea**

*vasila* n.f. (pl. *vasila*) (Arab. wasila) **method, means**

*vasta* n.f. (pl. *vasyatə*) **blouse**

*vasyat, vasiyyat* n.f (pl. *vasyatə*) (Pers. vasiyat < Arab.) **testament, will**

*vašnəš* QI (vn. *vašvašta*) **to swarm**

*vatan* n.f. (pl. *vatanə*) (Azer. vətən < Arab.) **homeland, birthplace**

*vazvəz* QI (vn. *vazvazta*) **to buzz** | *dədva vazvuzələ* The fly is buzzing

*vazyat* n.f. (pl. *vazyattə*) (Pers. vaz'iyat < Arab.) **condition, situation**

*vazzər* n.m. (pl. *vazzirə*) (Pers. vazir < Arab.) **vizier**

*vazziruyta* n.f. **vizierate, office of vizier** | *cəs-bábu-da vídəva vazziriyta* He had served as vizier for his father (A 3:2)

*veyl* n.m. (pl. *veyla*) (Azer. *veyl* > Arab.) **loafer, truant, vagabond** | *veyl* +*xadər* I  
to wander, to hang about  
*veyluyta* n.f. **laziness, idleness, vagrancy** | *veyluyta* 'avəd I to wander

+*vada* n.m. (pl. +*vadə*) **a certain period of time, appointment, deed, term, agreement, contract** | *mən-*+*vada* +*al-*+*vada* from time to time; *mattə* III  
+*vada* to designate (a term)

+*vajəb* adj.invar. **necessary**

+*vajibuya* n.f. **need, necessity; duty**

+*vakvək* QI (vn. +*vakvakta*) **to croak, to bark**

+*valita* n.f. **duty**

+*valvəl* QI (vn. +*valvalta*) **to wail**

+*vana* n.f. (pl. +*vana*) **ewe**

+*varavurd* n.f. (Pers. bar-āvard ‘evaluation, estimate’) **attention, looking closely** | 'avəd I +*varavurd* to try; to attempt; to manage; +*varavurd vud kat zuyzə mali* Manage things well so that the money is sufficient.

+*varida* n.m. (pl. +*varidə*) **artery, vein**

+*varli*, +*varlu* adj.invar. (Azer. varlı) **wealthy, rich, propertied**

+*varuyta* n.f. (Azer. varlı wealthy) **sufficiency, prosperity**

+*vasvas* adj.invar. **fussy**

+*vasvəs* QI (vn. +*vasvasta*) **to squeak (mouse); to whine; to hiss**

+*vasvəssana* adj.ms. (fs. +*vasvəssanta*, pl. +*vasvəssanə*) **squeaking, whirring, shrill**

+*varva* (child language) **milk or water**

+*vay* exclam.

+*vaza* n.f. (pl. +*vazə*) **(small) duck**

+*vazvəz* QI (+*vazvuzə*) **to buzz (bee)**

+*vəsta*-+*vəst* n.f. **sound of whining** | *calba* +*vəsta* +*vəstula* The dog is whining;  
cf. +*vasvəs* QI

+*veran* n.f. (pl. +*veranə*) (Azer. viran, Pers. verān) **deserted place, desolate, forsaken place** | 'avəd I +*veran* to make wretched, to make miserable

+*veranuyta* n.f. **pogrom, destruction**

## x

*xa, xa'a* num. (1) **one; one time; the same; indefinite article** | *'avəd* I *xa mən* to unite with, to connect with; *'avə* I *xa* to get united, connected: *vílun m-málca* *xá*! They became allied with the king (B 1:18); *xá vágylə*! It is the same (i.e. one with the previously mentioned state) (A 48:30); *xa-xa* one by one; *xa-b-xá, xa-b-xá-ja* adv. suddenly: *cačala* *xa-b-xá-ja* *márra*! The bald man suddenly said ... (A 1:28), *xa-b-xá baxzáyələ* *márzat* +*áyna* *xá* ... *xa-náša* *dúla dmíxa*! All of a sudden he sees that there is a man asleep by the side of the spring (A 37:7); *xá 'átxa mxáyələ* +*allè*! He gives them a knock (A 39:40). With glottalization: *'áyya* *'íva* *xá'a* *mən*-+*tályátan*! This was one of the games (B 9:3). (2) **just, only** | Softening deontic expressions: *xa jaššək!* Just have a look; *xá 'ázən yáskən* +*al-*+*dávva* +*túyra*! Let me just go up to that mountain. (A 39:33). Elsewhere: *'áha* *xá bəsyákələ*! *xá jaššúkələ* *'áltəx*! He just goes up and has a look down (A 7:17). (3) **exclamatory particle** | *xá šápirə!* How beautiful (were they)! (A 42:4); *xá 'ánnə* *tívəna* *bóxyəna* *kátu*! He is surprised to see that they have sat down and wept for him (A 48:16)

*xa-'atxa, xa-txa* mod. **so much** (exclamatory or deictic § 9.7.10.) | *xá-'atxa* *dávə* so much gold (A 43:1); *xá-'atxa* +*naráhat-vət*! You are so stressed (A 39:32); *xá-'atxa* +*rámta*! this high (B 10:14)

*xa-'axča, xa-xča* mod. **such a, so much** (§ 9.7.7.) | *xá-'axča* *mándi* *ána lén* *mártal*! I have not said such a thing (A 36:14); *márdókax* *mánnax*! +*al-xá-'axča* *dávə*! We shall make a bet with you on such-and-such an amount of gold coins (A 34:10); *kám* *xá-xča* +*naráhat-ivət*?! Why are you so uncomfortable? (A 2:15); *xázax* ... *ka-mù* *'á* *xá-xča* *murkállə*! Let us see why he has delayed so much (A 37:15)

*xabəl* II (vn. *xabalta*) **to become cold, to feel cold, to shiver from cold** | *xabuləvən, balci* *karta* *mxitila* I am cold, perhaps I have caught a cold; *'ən +hava* *'ákəš*, +*bar-naša* *ci-xabəl* If the weather gets cold, one is cold; +*maya* *xubla* chilled intestines

*xablana* adj.ms. (fs. *xablanta*, pl. *xablana*) **feeling cold; somebody who easily feels cold**

*xabulana* adj.ms (fs. *xabulanta*, pl. *xabulanə*) **liable to feel cold**

*xabušta* n.f. (pl. *xabušyata*) **apple tree**

*xabuyša* n.m. (pl. *xabuyšə*) **apple; apple tree** | *kesət* *xabuyša* apple-tree; *xabuy-šət* +*arra* Jerusalem artichoke; *xabuyšət* *pata* cheek bone; *xabuyšət* *kdala* Adam's apple

*xa-b-xa-ja, xa-b-xá* → *xa*

*xacəm* I (vn. *xcamta*) (Arab. *ḥakama*) **to rule, to get the mastery over; to become strong, to assert oneself, to become established**

*xacma* mod. **some** (§ 9.7.6.) | *xacma jahə* sometimes; *úzət xácmə kəsə mayyát-lan* Go and bring us some pieces of wood (A 37:14)

*xačča* mod., adv. **a little, a few, some; slightly** (§ 9.7.5.) | *xačča-xačča* little by little, gradually; *xúš xáčča lásma mélan* Go and bring some bread (A 19:1); *á yála xáčča švàvə 'átlə* The boy has some neighbours (A 36:2); *úzət xá xáčča miyya mayyátlan* Go and bring us some water (A 37:14); *bəštáyələ xáčča mən-de-+`áyna* He drinks a little from the spring (A 37:6); *xáčča macriyyànnə* I shall shorten it slightly (A 3:14); *xačča pəšla naplənva* I almost fell; *ci-pešňva ka-tré-yarxəl xáčča péša +tlə yárxa 'átxa* They used to last for two months, almost three months, like that (B 10:2)

*xaččunta* part. **very little, very small quantity**

*xaddəssar* num. **eleven**

*xaddət* QI (vn. *xaddatta*) **to renew, to recommence, to restore**

*xadə* I (vn. *xdata*) **to become joyful, to become happy, to rejoice, to be delighted, to exult** | *+rába xdíli kam-xazzənnux* I am very pleased to see you (A 5:13); *áxnan +rába bət-xádax* *'ón yavrítun ká-díyyan pərsat* *+ijáza yavrítunlan* *hár pésax lásxa mašxəddax* *fu-dá dícta* We would be very happy if you gave us the opportunity and you gave us permission to stay right here, to preach in this place (B2 1:14)

*xaduyta* n.f. **pleasure, joy**

*xadxiza ~ xaxiza* n.f. (pl. *xadxizə, xaxizə*) **canary** → *xaziza*

*xajəl* I (vn. *xjalta*) (Arab. *xajila*) **to be startled, to be astonished; to have cramp** | *xjälli mən-kalux* I was startled by your voice; *kámta bəxjálələ* At first he is startled (A 37:10)

*xajlana* adj.ms. (fs. *xajlanta*, pl. *xajlana*) **timid**

*xakla* n.f. (pl. *xal̥kanə*) (1) **field (cultivated); crop-land** | *xaklət +rəzza* paddy field; *xaklət dema, xaklət dematə* unirrigated field. (2) **column of a book. (3) stripe**

*xaldə* QI (vn. *xaldetə*) **to dig, to burrow, to undermine; to search**

*xaləp* I (vn. *xlapta*) **to change** (Caucasus) | *xləpla dənyə* The world has changed; *mán +nəstərnáyə bəxlápəx +al-R* pravaslávní<sup>R</sup> We change from (being) Nestorian to (being) Orthodox (B 16:10) → *šaxləp* QI

*xaliča* n.f. (pl. *xaličə*) (Azer. *xalçə*, Pers. *qāliče*) **rug, little carpet**

*xalili* n.f. **type of green grape that ripens early**

*xallat* n.f. (pl. *xallattə, xalyatə*) (Kurd. *xelat*, Azer. *xələt* < Arab.) (1) **robe bestowed as an honour.** (2) **award, gift.** (3) **bride-gift.** (4) **talent** | *'o-naša marət xallat-ilə* That is a gifted man

*xallən* QI (vn. *xallanta*) (1) **to strengthen, to become strong.** (2) **to make an effort, to strain.** (3) **to encourage; to take courage**

*xalta* (i) n.f. (pl. *xaltavatə*, voc. *xaltu*) (Azer. *xala*, Pers. *xâle*) **maternal aunt** | *'ay xáltu* oh aunt (A 42:13)

*xalta* (ii), *xəlta* n.f. (pl. *xaltatə*, *xəltatə*) **scabbard of sword**

*xaltana* adj.ms. (fs. *xaltanta*, pl. *xaltanə*) **powerful, mighty** | *yá +márya xaltàna*! Oh mighty Lord God (A 45:8)

*xam* n.f. (Kurd. *xem* < Arab.) **grief, worry, care, custody** | *xammət +davvən frıšali* I took care of him; *xammət +davvən +xəlli* I took care of him; *+axəl i xam* to worry: *la +axlət xam!* Don't worry! → *jam*

*xambaša* n.m. (pl. *xambašə*) **giant** | *cúra xambáša t-átə t-+axəllux!* Now the blind giant will come and eat you (A 39:30)

*xamə* I (vn. *xmeta*) **to ferment, to rise (dough), to leaven (tr.), to be leavened; to turn sour** | *leša bəxmayəla* The dough is rising; *'ana xmili leša* I leavened the dough

*xamə* II (vn. *xameta*) (1) **to preserve; to keep; to look after** | *'ád-lelə xámili cəslax!* Let me stay with you tonight (A 42:13); *'ána mü-tahar xámənnoxun?* How can I provide for you (A 43:18); *lè'va +myásá ríša xamíva*! He was not able to sustain himself (i.e. make ends meet) (A 49:1); *rišé xamúyəva bi-déñ nùynə!* He used to sustain them with those fish (A 54:11); *'ax-diyux məndiyyanə kəm+tarri le-xamənnun* I shall not keep the likes of you before my door (i.e. you are below me and I do not want anything to do with me). (2) **to reserve, to store.** (3) **to bring up, to nurse, to adopt (child)** | *brata xumita* an adopted daughter. (4) **to detain, to constrain, to stop, to contain** | *mújjur ódax 'a+šúla xamàxxa?* What should we do to deal with this matter? (A 48:27); *xamə* II *kam* to beat back, to parry; *la-+msili la-kam janı xamina* I could not hold on (I pissed in my pants)

*xamək* I (vn. *xmałta*) **to decay, to become rotten, to stink, to putrefy** | *+mixulta xmałka* The food went off

*xaməl* I (vn. *xmalta*) (1) **to wait, to stand, to stand still** | *xmul!* Wait! Patience! (2) **to endure, to bear, to sustain, to be patient** | *'a-+šula bət-xaməl* He can take it

*xamima* adj.ms. (fs. *xaməmta*, pl. *xamimə*) **on heat (sexually)**

*xamlana* adj.ms. (fs. *xamlanta*, pl. *xamlanə*) **patient, uncomplaining, self-possessed**

*xammə* I (vn. *xmeta*) **to ferment (intr. and tr.)** | *+búlču 'áxnan jánan ci-xam-màxvala!* We fermented *+bulču* [starter for leavening dough] ourselves (B 7:8)

*xammima* adj.ms (fs. *xamməmta*, pl. *xammimə*) **enthusiastic, industrious**

*xampa* n.m. (fs., pl. *xampa*) **pagan**

*xamša* num. **five**

*xamšamma* num. **five hundred**

*xamši* num. **fifty**

*xamšó-šiba* n.m. (pl. *xamšo-šibənə*, *xamšo-šibavatə*) **Thursday**

*xamta* n.f. (pl. *xamatə*) young woman of marriageable age, maiden; courageous woman

*xamuyta* n.f. womanly appearance, fine womanly physique | *xamuyto +raba šapərtəla* She has a beautiful physique

*xamxamta* n.f. fever | *+rába xamxámta kam-’ávila mòtla* She had a great fever and died (A 1:32)

*xamxəm* QI (vn. *xamxamta*) to become feverish, to get a fever; to become hot with a fever | *’aha naša xamxumələ* This man has a fever; *o-+marra yuvvəlla katu xamxamta* The disease gave him a fever

*xamxəmmanna* adj.ms. (fs. *xamxəmmanta*, pl. *xamxəmmana*) feverish

*xamyana* adj.ms. (fs. *xamyanta*, pl. *xamyana*) keeping, constraining, parsimonious

*xana* n.m. (pl. *xanə*) (1) lap. (2) lower hem (of a dress)

*xandək*, *xandac* n.f. (pl. *xandakə*, *xandacə*) (Azer. xəndək, Pers. xandaq) ditch, moat, entrenchment, canal

*xandakta* n.f. (pl. *xandakyata*) small ditch

*xandək* QI (vn. *xandakta*) to make a ditch, to dig round

*xanə* I (vn. *xneta*) to rejoice, to be consoled, to be happy (with *b-*), to become content | *’ana xnili biyyux* You gave me great pleasure

*xanək* I (vn. *xnakta*) (1) to choke (tr. and intr.), to be smothered. (2) to be hanged. (3) to drown (tr. and intr.); to be flooded

*xaniķa* n.m. (pl. *xaniķə*) rope tied around the neck of oxen (see illustration 52)

*xanku* adj.invar. deep | = *’amku*

*xanxək* QI (vn. *xanxakta*) to strangle, to throttle

*xapə* I (vn. *xpeta*) (1) to brood (hen), to incubate | *cteta bəxpayəla +’al-biyyo* The chicken is covering her eggs. (2) to crouch | *’ana xpili fu-ʃəlla* I crouched in the grass; *xpili xut-miz* I crouched under the table

*xapuyta* n.f. nightmare, raving

*xapək* I (vn. *xpəkta*) to embrace; to hug

*xapər* I (vn. *xpərta*) to dig, dig up, to loosen (earth)

*xapranta* n.f. (pl. *xapranyata*) trowel

*xaprəc* QI (vn. *xapracta*) to dig little holes, to loosen earth that has been dug

*xapxəp* QI (vn. *xapxapta*) to faint from heat; to become overheated; to overheat | *xapxuþəvən* I am getting overheated (and am fanning myself); *mən-xəmma xapxuþəla* He is fainting from the heat; *xəmma xapxuþila* The heat is making me overheated

*xaraba* n.m. (Azer. *xaraba*, Pers. *xarāba* < Arab.) ruin, wreck, ruined place, uninhabited place | *’ərxə xaraba* a ruined watermill; *şəmma +spay mata*

*xaraba* A good name, a deserted village (said of a famous man or place that is poor) (cf. Maclean 1895, 349)

*xarabuya* n.f. damage, wreckage, ruin

*xarazan* n.f. (pl. *xarazanə*) (Pers. *xarzan*) whip (made of rope)

*xarbəs* QI (vn. *xarbasta*) (1) to push, to push aside, to cast out | *xarbusolə* +*mašina* He is pushing the car. (2) to thrust down or away. (3) to drive on, to urge (a person) | *jarəc xarbəssətlə* You have to urge him

*xarbəš* QI (vn. *xarbašta*) to become mixed up; to mix up in confusion, to become in a mess | *varağə xurbəşlun* The papers have become mixed up; *bət-xarbəşşənnun varaqə* I shall mix up the papers; *xvətla xurbəşla* +*alli* I'm confused

*xardal* n.f. (Azer. *xardal*, Pers. *xardal*) mustard

*xarda* QI (vn. *xardeta*) to wind, to reel up, to braid, to swaddle, to twist, to surround; to coil round; to cling to (as a creeper) | *xurdılıb b-ķdālu!* He wrapped himself around his neck (A 3:85); *xardúyəna b-ķdálat* +*dùydalə!* They wrap themselves around the neck of each other (A 1:16)

*xara*, +*xara* I (vn. *xreta*, +*xreta*) to defecate

*xaraj* II (vn. *xarajta*) to spend (money), to expend, to disburse

*xarək* I (vn. *xrakta*) to be wrecked (ship); to wreck | *jami xrəkla* The ship was wrecked; +*buran kam-xarkala jami* The storm wrecked the ship; *xraktat* *dunya* end of the world

*xarəp* I (vn. *xrapta*) to become sharp (knife); to become pungent | *'e-scənta xrəptəla* The knife is sharpened

*xarəv* I (vn. *xravta*) to decay, to get damaged, to deteriorate, to be spoilt, to be destroyed, to be lost, to corrupt | *xayuté +šurıla níxa níxa bəxrəva!* Their life gradually began to deteriorate (B 1:30); *xrəvlə ləbbi* I do not feel well; *betux la xarəv* May your house not be destroyed (idiom used to express emotional engagement)

*xarəx* I (vn. *xraxta*) to singe

*xarəz* I (vn. *xrazta*) (1) to arrange in order, to string together | *mixə xrizelə* He arranged the nails in a line; *'an-jardéyə xrúzlun +'álju-dàrtə átxa!* Lay out the round loaves in a line in the courtyard like this (A 37:3); *cicu xrizelə* He grinned. (2) to stand in a line | *našə xrəzlun +barabar +uydala* The people stood in a line one after the other. (3) to typeset

*xá-riša* adv. directly → *riša*

*xarj* n.f. (Azer. *xərc*, Pers. *xarj* < Arab.) (1) expense, expenditure, expenses, cost | *xa-txa +roba xarj c-odiva* They used to spend a lot (e.g. on a wedding). (2) tax, levy, tribute, duty. (2) levy of men

*xarjana* adj.ms. (fs. *xarjanta*, pl. *xarjana*) wasteful, spendthrift

*xarrac* n.m. (pl. *xarrajə*) (Azer. *xərək*, Pers. *xarak*; cf. Rahmati 1998, 344) wooden frame for growing tobacco

*xarupa* adj.ms. (fs. *xarupta*, pl. *xarupə*) (1) sharp. (2) pungent. (3) fervent

*xarupuya* n.f. sharpness

*xaruztət* +*šada* n.f. string of walnuts threaded together

*xarvana* adj.ms. (fs. *xarvanta*, pl. *xarvanə*) decaying

*xarzəp* QI (vn. *xarzapta*) (1) to push, to push away, to push over (a person). (2) to overthrow

*xas-* interj. far be it (+ *mən* or L-suffix) | *xas mənni* 'ən 'odən 'atxa məndi Far be it from me to do such a thing; *xasli lən tunya* Far be it from me to have said such a thing, I swear I did not say such a thing

*xasə* I (vn. *xseta*) to emasculate, to castrate (human or animal)

*xasəx* I (vn. *xsaxta*) (1) to deduct. | *xsəxlə mən-haķuyti* He deducted from my salary. (2) to prohibit | *'a-varaķa bəxsaxuvən mənnux* I prohibit you (to read) this document.

*xasra-kənna* n.f. last hatched in the nest, last born in a family

*xasta* n.f. (pl. *xassə*) (Pers. *xas* < Arab.) lettuce

*xasyat, xasiyyat* n.f. (Pers. *xāssiyya* < Arab.) character, characteristic, trait, temper, nature, disposition | *'avəd* I *xasyat* to acquire a habit

*xašə* n.f. (pl. *xašə*) large sack

*xašcən* QI (vn. *xašcanta*) to become dark; to become dim; to make dark | *lelə xušcənna* The night became dark; *yuma xašcunələ* The day is getting dark; +*ayva xušcənla/mxušcənla yuma* The cloud darkened the day

*xašəl* I (vn. *xšalta*) (1) to pound, to beat, to bray in a mortar. (2) to mould, to forge

*xašəv* I (vn. *xšavta*) (1) to think, to believe, to reckon | *'ana bəxšavən* I think so; *cma-t xašvət* +*spay-ilə* He is very good. (2) to consider. (3) to invent

*xašəx* I (vn. *xšaxta*) to be useful, to be worthy, to deserve; to be fitting, to suit

*xašula* n.m. (pl. *xašulə*) pounder, stone for pounding, pestle

*xašulta* n.f. (pl. *xašulyatə*) concave base used for grinding with the *xašulta*, mortar

*xašvana* adj.ms. (fs. *xašvanta*, pl. *xašvanə*) thinking | *xašvanət janu-lə* He is always thinking of himself

*xašxana* adj.ms. (fs. *xašxanta*, pl. *xašxanə*) suitable, acceptable, fitting

*xašxaš* n.f. (pl. *xašxašə*) (Pers. *xašxāš* < Arab.) poppy, corn-poppy

*xašxəš* QI (vn. *xašxašta*) to rustle (leaves), to crackle (paper); to cause to rustle, to hiss, to crack | *poxa xašxušelə* +*ṭarpə* The wind makes the leaves rustle

*xat* n.m. (pl. *xattə*) (Azer. *xətt*, Pers. *xatt* < Arab.) line, boundary

*xata* adj.ms. (fs. *xatta*, pl. *xata*) new, fresh, recent

*xata* n.f. (pl. *xatvatə*) sister

*xatəm* I (vn. *xtamta*) (1) to seal. (2) to finish, to be finished, completed | *'iman bət-xatmətə* 'o-+*šula?* When will you finish that job? (3) to give the final

- blessing in church; to say grace after meal. (4) to stop, to quell a flow of blood**
- xatər* I (vn. *xtarta*) to be boastful, to be proud; to boast | *xtərri biyux* I am proud of you**
- xatər* n.f. (Azer. xatir, Pers. xater < Arab.) (1) honour, respect; favour; good name, reputation | *xatərux ci-+bayyənna* I speak well of you; 'a-naša marət-xatər-ilə cəslə I respect him. (2) *b-xatər* in consideration of, because of | *b-xatər da məndi ana ka-diyux +huyyərri* Because of this I helped you**
- xatərjam* adj.invar. (Azer. xatircəm) sure, certain, confident | 'avəd i *xatərjam* to assure, to reassure**
- xatərjammuya* n.f. (Azer. xatircəm) certainty; confidence, certainty**
- xatma* n.f. (pl. *xatmə*) seal | *bət-maxən xa xatma +al-da +əşətara* I'll put a seal on that document**
- xatrana* adj.ms. (fs. *xatranta*, pl. *xatranə*) proud, pompous**
- xatuyta* n.f. (1) novelty. (2) sisterhood**
- xavə* I (vn. *xveta*) (1) to become dark; to be blinded (eyes) | šmayya *xvila* The sky became dark. (2) to become hoarse | *kali xvilə* My voice has become hoarse**
- xavəš* I (vn. *xvaſta*) (1) to confine, to enclose, to shut in, to shut up. (2) to include, to contain | *şuttóslun xá +sitàl xváſta mən-cmà janátəl* They established a committee, composed of several people (B 11:12)**
- xa-xa-já* adv. sometimes → *xa***
- xa-xta* part. another; also; once more, again (§ 9.7.11.2.) | *hálli xà-xta!* Give me another!; *+báyyən xa-ctávət Yösəp!* 'u-xá-xta ctávət *+xòrul* I want a book of Yosip's and also a book of his friend's; *xá-xta mxìl!* Strike again! (A 39:14)**
- xaya* adj.ms. (fs. *xeta*, pl. *xaya*) live, alive**
- xayəc/xāc* I (vn. *xyacta*) (1) to brush, to rub, to curry | *rišux bəxyacələ?* Are you looking for trouble? (lit. are you rubbing your head [on another animal]?). (2) to itch | *jəldi bəxyacələ* My skin is itching; *riši dulə bəxyaca* My head is itching**
- xayəm/xām* I (vn. *xyamta*) (1) to become hot (inanimate objects) | *+čaydan mut xəmtələ!* How hot the kettle has become! (2) to be on heat (sexually) | *xyamələ* He is on heat (sexually). (3) to get excited, to become furious**
- xayəp/xāp* I (vn. *xyapta*) to wash, to bathe, to take a shower**
- xayər/xār* I (vn. *xyarta*) to look, to look out, to take heed | mainly used in imperative: *xur!* Look! *xur biyyi!* Look at me! *la xur +allı!* Don't look at me (like that); *+aynu xirelə* He stared**
- xayma* adj.ms. (fs. *xamta*, pl. *xaymə*) (1) hot, warm (inanimate entity). (2) fervent, strong; quick tempered | *+čay xaymələ* The tea is hot**

*xaymuyta* n.f. warmth, enthusiasm

*xayuya* n.f. life; vigour | *xila xayúyta* *+yarəxta*! He lived a long life

*xayvən* QI (vn. *xayvanta*) to darken, to get dark, to become dull

*xayyan* n.f. (pl. *xayyanə*) pile of unwinnowed threshed corn on a threshing floor

*xayya* I (vn. *xyeta*, prog. *baxyayəla*, *baxxayəla*, pst. *xila*, rsp. *xiyya*, imper. *xi*, *ximun*) to live

*xayya* n.pl. life, age | Address of beloved: *xàyyi!* My life (A 24:2)

*xayyəd* QI (vn. *xayyatta*) to unite, to make one; to attach, to equate

*xayyuya* n.f. life; livelihood | *béta xayyùyta* *'átlux*! You have a house and livelihood (A 36:5)

*xazdəf* QI (vn. *xazdayta*) to injure, to hurt; to become injured, to be hurt; to suffer loss; to endure unexpected misfortune | *+mašina xuzdəfla* *'o-naša* The machine injured that man; *'o-naša xuzdəfla* The man was injured; *npəlli u-akli xuzdəfla* I fell and hurt my leg

*xazə*, *xazzə* I (vn. *xzeta*) (1) to see, to look, to look at; to consider, to notice. | *baxzáyalə mən-rəkkəl* *'ina xá-dana* *+šrá vélá bəllàya* *ju-xa-bèta*! He sees from afar a single lantern burning in a house (A 2:4); *baxzàyalə* *+Axíkar* *'ina* *+tàma*! He sees that Axiqar is there (A 3:51); *xazzən?* May I see (asking somebody to pass something in order to look at it); *la xazzət mu vila* You won't believe what happened; *xívva baxzáyalə* *+al-tùpru*! The snake looks at his tail (A 46:3). (2) to suffice (money, resources) | *é-mzida ci-xazyáva* *ka* ... *cíllə xa-šábta diyyə*! That waterskin would suffice for a whole week of theirs (A 37:7); *'aha bət-xazə* This will do

*xaziza* n.m./f. (pl. *xazizə*) canary → *xadxiza*

*xazna* n.f. (pl. *xaznə*, *xaznata*) treasury; treasure | *xaznux b-ʃanux* *+pyada, lax-mux rciva* May you always be walking (to find) your wealth, may your bread be loaded on a horse (i.e. may you always struggle to earn your livelihood) (curse)

*xaznači* n.m. (pl. *xaznačiyə*) treasurer

*xaznadər* n.m. (pl. *xaznadara*) treasurer

*xazyana* adj.ms. (fs. *xazyanta*, pl. *xazyana*) seeing, able to see | *xazyanət pata* unfair, biased

*xazzaya* n.m. (pl. *xazzayə*) overseer (of house); seer | *'átən b-xazzáy bëtəvət*! You are in the role of overseer of the house (A 45:2)

*xažbən* QI (vn. *xažbanta*) to reckon, to count, to estimate, to calculate | *'árbi* *xažbənniññur*! Let me count my sheep (A39:35)

*xdatta* n.f. Gospel, the New Testament

*xdeta* n.f. New Testament

*xəblu* n.f. ivy | *xəblu črəxtəla* *+al-fuyda* The ivy has climbed on the wall

- xədya* adj.ms. (fs. *xdita*, pl. *xədyə*) **cheerful, merry, joyful, happy** | *xəšlə xədya*-  
*xədya* He went along very happily; *la xədya b-janu!* May he never be happy!  
*xədyuya* n.f. **pleasure, cheerfulness, fun, amusement**
- xəjə* n.m. **dance in a circle** | *ÿannə cüllə b-rakdívə|rīš-xəjə b-lablívə|* Everybody  
 would dance and lead a jig in a circle (B 5:7)
- xəlmət* n.f. (pl. *xəlmattə*) (Kurd. xilmət < Arab.) (1) **service, attendance; assistance** | *'avəd i xəlmət* to serve. (2) **church service, worship** | *'avəd i xəlmət ka-'alaha* to serve God, to worship God. (3) **affair, business.** (4) **office, position**
- xəlmətcar* n.m./f. (pl. *xəlmətcarə*) (Kurd. xilmətkar) (1) **servant, attendant.** (2) **employee; minister**
- xəlt* n.f. (Azer. xilt) **sediment, dregs, lees; dross (separate solid items, such as stones)** | *xəltət +xamra* lees of wine; *xəltət +xala* dregs of vinegar
- xəlta* → *xalta*
- xəmkə* n.m. **stench, stink; putrefaction**
- xəmkəna* adj.ms. (fs. *xəmkanta*, pl. *xəmkana*) **stinking, foul; rotten, putrefied**
- xəmma* n.m. **heat** | *xəmmilə* I am hot, *xəmmule* He is hot; *ju-beta xəmmələ* It is hot in the house; *xəmmələ +alli* It is hot for me
- xəmmana* adj.ms. (fs. *xəmmanta*, pl. *xəmmana*) **hot** | *beta +rabə xəmmənələ* The house is very hot
- xəmra* n.pl. (sing.f. *xəmmərta*) **beads**
- xəmyana* n.m. (pl. *xəmyana*) **father-in-law**
- xənna* n.m. **henna, garden balsam** | *lelət xənna* henna night (night before a wedding begins in which henna is prepared and put on hands of bride B 10:24); *xazənnux xənnət xətnuytux la xazət b-+aynux!* May I see you never seeing the henna of your wedding! (curse)
- xənya* adj.ms. (fs. *xnita*, pl. *xənyə*) (Kurd. xenî) **pleased, happy**
- xərba* adj.invar. (1) **bad, nasty, disgusting, mean, evil.** (2) adv. **badly** | *+rabə xərba bónyulə|* He has built it very badly. (3) n.m. **harm** | *bēt-bábux lá xərba| mü vídat?!* May the house of your father not suffer harm! (oath expressing shock) What have you done? (A 42:18); *xərba +jura cpinən* I'm very hungry, *xərba +jura +kəmlən* They won by a lot
- xərbayuya* n.f. **evil**
- xərda* n.m. (pl. *xərdə*) **small protruding bone in foot or wrist**
- xərdalus* n.f. **small grapes** | *xa +matət xərdalus* a single *+xərdalus* grape
- xərpu* n.f. **hiccup** | *xərpu dvəktula* He has hiccupped; *xərpu dvikənna/xərpu dvəkla kati/xərpu kam-dokali* I hiccupped
- xərşə* n.pl. **charms, sorcery** | *'avəd i xərşə* to bewitch
- xərxi* n.f. (pl. *xərxiyyə*) **small saw with two handles**
- xərzə* n.pl. **eggs of fish, frogspawn**

*xəsyə* n.m. (fs. *xsita*, pl. *xəsyə*) **eunuch, castrato, hermaphrodite**

*xəšca* n.m. **dark, darkness, twilight, gloom**

*xəšcuya* n.f. **darkness**

*xəššə* n.m. (1) **grief, sadness, melancholy, sorrow, suffering, care.** (2) **feelings, passion**

| 'avəd i *xəššə* to mourn, grieve, to worry, *xəššə là vúd!* Don't worry!

(A 39:26); *yavval* i *xəššə* to sadden, to distress; *kabəl* i *xəššə* to suffer

*xəššana* adj.ms. (fs. *xəššanta*, pl. *xəššanə*) **sad, grieving, suffering**

*xəššə-xəš* n.f. **rustling sound** | +*tarpə* *xəššə* *xəššəla* The leaves are rustling → *xašxəš* QI

*xətna* n.m. (pl. *xətnavatə*) (1) **son-in-law.** (2) **groom (at wedding).** (3) **husband of sister**

*xətnuyta* n.f. **marriage, wedding** | *xazənnux xənnət xətnuytux la xazət b-+ay-nux!* May I see you never seeing the henna of your wedding!

*xətra* n.m. **pride**

*xəvya* adj.ms. (fs. *xvita*, pl. *xəvyə*) (1) **darkened.** (2) **husky, hoarse (voice)**

*xəzma* n.m., *xəzmita* n.f. (pl. *xəzmanə*, *xəzmavatə*) (Kurd. xizm) **blood relative, member of extended family**

*xəzmayuya*, *xəzmaya* n.f. **(family) relationship**

*xəzva* n.m. (1) **vision, dream.** (2) **appearance; shape, form, fashion.** (3) **countenance**

*xəzzəmta* n.f. (pl. *xəzzəmyata*) **nose-ring**

*xəžbuyna* n.m. **calculation, account, quantity, ration, report** | *b-xəžbiyna* | *yávula làxma* | 'u-mìyya! He gives bread and water in rations (A 3:94)

*xela* n.m. (pl. *xelə*, *xelavata*) (1) **strength, force, power, violence** | 'avəd i *xela* to force, to violate; *maxə* i *xela* to exert oneself; *b-xela* by force, violently; 'a-naša ķa-diyyi mən-xela *drlə* He exhausted me; *mən-xela npəlli* I became weak; *vədli xela* +*allu ctavu škəlli mən-'idu* I forcibly took his book from his hand. (2) **army.** (3) **miracle**

*xelana* adj.ms. (fs. *xelanta*, pl. *xelanə*) (1) **strong, powerful.** (2) **adv. strongly, loudly** | *çarçurəla xelana* She is screaming loudly

*xelanuya* n.f. **effort, power, violence**

*xemana* adj.ms. (fs. *xemanta*, pl. *xemənə*) **heated, on heat (animals and people)**

*xexəffa*, *xixəcca* n.f. **hawthorn tree or bush (bigger than +sussina) with yellow and red fruit**

*xēr* n.m./f. (Azer. *xevir*, Pers. *xeyr* < Arab.) **advantage, profit, benefit, interest**

| *xēr-ilə* It is useful, profitable; it is fine; *marət-xēr* adj.invar. bringing good, causing gain

*xəšxəššə* n.? **diphtheria** | used as a curse: *xəšxəššəla!* He is a pain! (cf. Rosenberg 1903, 142)

*xima* adj.ms. (fs. *xəmta*, pl. *ximə*) (1) hot (inanimate objects). (2) on heat (sexually) → *xayəm* i

*xina* mod.ms (fs. *xita*, pl. *xinə*) (1) other (§ 9.7.11.) | *xá-məndi xína müttələ!* He has placed (there) something else (A 37:20); *xá-ja xítə-zə +Axíkar xazənvala!* (If only) I could see Axıqar one more time! (A 3:46); *ó-yuma xína mədrə ó-məndi vília!* The next day (lit. the other day), again the same thing happened (A 2:27); *+şadúrəna xa-xína* They send another one (A 37:16). (2) more, anymore; again adv. | *ána lèn +byáyo xína!* I do not want it any more (A 1:50); *xína bássa!* No more! (lit. more enough) (A 39:14); *xina la xuš +baru* Drop it! (lit. Do not go after it anymore); *bitáyəna xína miyya!* The water comes again (A 39:20). (3) discourse connective (§ 13.1.6.)

*xixəcca* → *xexəffa*

*xlepa, lxepa* n.m. (pl. *xlepa, lxepə*) quilt | *xlepət +kərta* quilt containing patches (of cloth)

*xmara* n.m. (pl. *xmarə*) (1) donkey, ass | *xmarələ!* He is an ass! He is stupid! *tilə xmara, +buğəllə zmara* An ass has come and spoilt the singing (said when somebody interrupts with a trivial matter); *cut mōt-xmara xa-ja* Once in a blue moon (lit. once every death of an ass); *xmara ci-napəlju-juba xa-ja 'u-xina le-'azəl b-de 'urxa* You have not learned your lesson (lit. An ass falls in a hole once and does not go on that road again); *xmara vília naşa 'ina 'at la* You are worse than an ass (lit. the ass has become a man but you not); *cul xa xmarətjanu +maṭrūyula* Everybody drives his own donkey (i.e. Everybody looks to his own interest). (2) handle of a cradle | *xmarət daryuştə* the top handle of a cradle

*xmarta* n.f. (pl. *xmaryata*) she-ass

*xmata* n.f. (pl. *xmayata*) mother-in-law | *xmatux ci-+bayyalux* Your mother-in-law loves you (said to somebody who arrives during a meal unexpectedly in order to invite him to join the meal)

*xmiķa* adj.ms. (fs. *xməķta*, pl. *xmiķə*) decayed, rotten, putrefied, smelly

*xmira* n.m. leaven, yeast | *'avəd i xmira* to leaven: *xmíra-da müjjur vádut?* How do you do the leavening? (B 10:12)

*xmišaya* adj.ms. (fs. *xmišeta*, pl. *xmišayə*) fifth (literary) | *xa xmišaya* one fifth

*xniķa* adj.ms. (fs. *xnəķta*, pl. *xniķə*) strangled, drowned

*xob, xub* interj. (Pers. xob) good, fine

*xoda* n.f. (pl. *xodə*) (Arab. ḥawḍ) basin; water trough for animals; vat; large pot vessel (for water)

*xoja* n.m. (pl. *xoja*) (Ottoman Turk. xoja ‘master’) eunuch

*xōn, xona* n.m. (pl. *xonə*) (Pers. xāñ) long tray (for carrying food, especially bread or for carrying delicacies to a bride at a wedding) (see illustration 24)

*xona* n.m. (pl. *xonə*) **type of long watermelon** (B 7:20)

*xoš* adj.invar./adv. (Azer. xoş, Pers. xoš) (1) **pleasant, glad, joyful, affable.** (2) adv. **pleasantly, nicely.** (3) n.m. **happiness, enjoyment** | *xošu bitayələ* He is happy; *xošux tilə mənnu?* Did you enjoy it?; *xoši bitayəla mən-daha* I like that, *xoši bitayəla +'axlən* I like to eat; *bəxşáven ka-díyyax xòšax átya mónnol* I think you will like it (lit. your happiness will come from it) (A 40:3); *'o brùnu'l +róba xóšu c-atyával +sèda +xdárta!* His son very much liked going hunting (A 56:1); *xoš-beš 'avəd* I to greet, to say goodbye

*xoš-+raptar* adj.invar. **affable**

*xošiba* n.m. (pl. *xošibana*, *xošibavatə*) **Sunday**

*xošiyuyta* n.f. **prosperity** | *xošiyuyta 'avəd* I to flourish

*xota* n.f. (pl. *xoyata*) **molar tooth**

*xoxa, xoxita* n.f. (pl. *xoxə*) **peach (yellow)**

*xpáka* n.m. (1) **armful** | *xá xpáka-da jəlla bədráyəx! ju-pàja!* We also put an armful of grass in the stable (B 17:46). (2) **embrace.** (3) **bosom**

*xriva* adj.ms. (fs. *xrəvta*, pl. *xrivə*) (1) **spoiled, damaged.** (2) **bad** | *'a-baxta! xrəvta báxtələ!* This woman is a bad woman (A 1:34)

*xšíxa* adj.ms. (fs. *xšíxta*, pl. *xšíxə*) **worthy, suitable, decent, appropriate** | *naša la xšíxa* unworthy man

*xšíxuyta* n.f. **validity, suitability, appropriateness, decency**

*xtira* adj.ms. (fs. *xtərta*, pl. *xtirə*) **proud**

*xu, x-* part. **surely, indeed** (§ 12.12.) | It is used in a positive question when the speaker expects a positive answer: *xu-xzilux tanúyra?* You have seen the oven? (I assume you have). It is used in a negative question when the speaker expects a negative answer: *xu-lévat cpına?* You are not hungry? (I assume you are not). It is used in non-interrogative contexts to invite confirmation of speaker's presupposition from the addressee: *túyta xu-lišān-díyyan=la!* Surely (the word) *tuyta* is our language (B 17:44); *áy x-ləla +sāğ!* She is surely not still alive (A 43:20)

*xub* → *xob*

*xubba* n.m. **love, peace, affection**

*xubbana* adj.ms. (fs. *xubbanta*, pl. *xubbanə*) **loving, amicable, affectionate**

*xumya* adj.ms. (fs. *xumita*, pl. *xumyə*) **preserved, kept**

*xuni* voc. (< 'axuni) **my brother!** | *xuni! xùni!* my brother, my brother (A 4:5)

*xupyaya* adj.ms. (fs. *xupyeta*, pl. *xupyayə*) (1) **barefoot** | *xəşlə p-aklə xupyáy* He went barefoot; *c-askàxval 'ákłan xupyày!* We used to go up barefoot (B 17:14).

(2) **metaphor. mentally incapable, uneducated**

*xurbəšša* adj.ms. (fs. *xurbəšta*, pl. *xurbəšə*) **confused, in a mess**

*xurəfta* n.f. (pl. *xurəfyata*) (1) **stepdaughter, daughter of wife by another marriage** | *brata xurəfta* stepdaughter. (2) **half-sister**

- xurja* n.m. (pl. *xurjə*) stepson, son of wife by another marriage, half-brother | *bruna xurja* stepson
- xurja* n.f. (pl. *xurjə*) pack-saddle; carpet bag
- xurrac* n.f. (annex. *xurrajət*, pl. *xurraja*) (Pers. xorāk) (1) food, forage; provisions. (2) dose | *xa-p̄r̄ça xùrrac dárýəna káto* | *xa-p̄r̄ça-da lâxma* | They have laid for her a tiny amount (literally: crumb) of food and a crumb of bread (A 35:7)
- xurruš* n.f. (Azer. xuruş) stew made of meat and string beans (*lubya*)
- xurta* n.f. (pl. *xuratə*) white poplar
- xušava* n.m. (pl. *xušavə*) thought, idea, opinion, purpose
- xut, xuta* prep. under. adv. underneath, below | *xutat mīz* under the table, *xuta da mīz* under this table; *mən-xuta* from below; 'én bétá 'ávə +júra | *xá-dana stíyna-da xít ci-maxívá mən-+àrra* | *hál +tâmma* | *kát là taláxva* | If the house was big, they used to place a pillar underneath (coming up) from the ground up to there, so that it would not collapse (B 2:19); 'é-t cípalə jári +yáttə 'idət máy-la 'é-t xúta | The one who is bending down must know whose hand is the one that is below (B 9:9); *móriša ci-kémax xuté ci-tammazzilə* | In the morning we get up and they clean under them (B 17:47); *mən-xúta +bəsyárova bí +xòlə* | They would tie it (the buffalo) from underneath with ropes (B 17:52)
- xut-ákla* n.m. bottom of foot
- xut-xača* n.m. (pl. *xut-xačə*) armpit | *yavwəl* i *xut-xača* to incite, to instigate
- xuvva, xuvvə* n.m. (pl. *xuvvavə*) snake | *xuvva sammana* poisonous snake; *naš-tarət xuvva* sting of a snake; *spaditət xuvva* snail
- xuvvavita* n.f. snake
- xuxxu* (child language) something frightening, monster | *+tamaxuxxulə* There is something frightening there
- xuya* n.m. dusk, darkness
- xuyada* n.m. unity
- xuyba b-riši!* woe to me! (said by a woman when hearing bad news)
- xuyra* (i) n.m. (pl. *xuyrə*) white poplar → *xurta, kálama*
- xuyra* (ii) → *+xuyra*
- xuzdaca, xuzdaya* n.m. damage, hurt, injury, loss
- xvarzaya, xvarza* n.m. (Kurd. xwarzê) nephew (sister's son)
- xvarzeta* n.f. niece (sister's daughter)
- xzəmta* n.f. (pl. *xzəmyatə*) (Kurd. xizêm < Arab.) nose-ring
- xziran* n.m. June
- xzurta* n.f. (pl. *xzuryata*) sow (female pig)
- xzuyra* n.m. (pl. *xzuyrə*) pig

+x

+xa-+ramša n.f. (pl. +xa-+ramšanə) dinner, supper

+xabər 1 (vn. +xbarta) to become informed (about b-), to be aware (of b-) | +xbərri biyyu I have heard of him; bət-+xabrən biyyu I shall find out information about him

+xabər 11 (vn. +xbarta) to send regards; to visit | mən-jibi +xabərrə ɔ-naša Give that man my regards; xubərrənna He gave me his regards

+xabra n.m. (pl. +xabranə) (Kurd. xeber < Arab.) word, message, news, statement, notice; command, advice | +xabrət do naša škəlli I listened to what that man said; +xabru vədli I did what he said; mən-jinavə vədla +xabru xa He was an accomplice of thieves; +xábra yávvax mən-+Àlmas! Let us talk about +Almas (A 42:32); clilə +al-+xabru He was stubborn; clilə +bar-+xabru He kept his word; lá b-+xábrət diyyən! xášla +al-məšə! She went to the forest without our permission (A 1:17)

+xačxəč QI (vn. +xačxačta) to search around (for something); to rustle around; to pick the teeth; to pick out with a knife | +bar-mu +xačxučəvət +tamma? What are you searching about for over there?

+xadər 1 (vn. +xdarta) (1) to go round, to make a circuit. (2) to walk around, to travel, to go on a journey | +bəxdàrənəl xázza mü-’ət! mü ləttən! They travel around seeing what the situation is (A 2:3); ’axnan! ju-+rába +atravátət dúnya +xdırəvax! We have travelled to many countries of the world (B2 1:14). (3) to search for (+bar). (4) to be a vagabond, to beg. (5) to bypass, to avoid. (6) to be administered, to run (affairs) | bəxzáyələ +átra müjjurra +bəxdàrələ! He sees how the country is being run (A 1:21). (7) to change, to turn (+al into); to change one's mind | +xdírət xmàra? Have you become an ass? (A 28:6); har-nipúxta-zə mən-míyət +’ənvə pyášəla škálta,! ’albáttə lá +xdíra +al-+xámra! Molasses too is produced from grape juice, but of course it has not turned into wine (B 12:8)

+xadərvanət prep. around | násət béta cíllə tívənəl +xadərvánət taníyra! The people of the house are all sitting around the oven (B 9:5)

+xadrana adj.ms. (fs. +xandranta, pl. +xandranə) spinning, moving. n. traveller

+xakər 1 (vn. +xkarta) to honour, to praise (so. to another person), to eulogize, to approve | ’ana ka-diyyux +raba +bəxkarəvən I admire you a lot; +xkərri biyyux ka-+xori I said many good things about you to my friend; +bəxkaruvənva I was praising him; +xkíra šómmət ’aláha! May the name of God be praised (A 26:1)

+xakura n.m./adj.ms. (fs. +xakurta, pl. +xakura) boaster; boastful

+xala n.m. vinegar

- +xalə** I (vn. **+xleta**) **to become sweet; to please** | **+xlilə kam-** **+aynē** He pleased them
- +xaləm** I (vn. **+xlamta**) **to become thick; to become stout, strong; to become fat, to grow fat**
- +xaləs** adj.invar. (Arab. xālīṣ) **free, acquitted, innocent** | **+palət** I **+xaləs** to be acquitted; **+palət** II **+xaləs** to acquit
- +xaləs** I (vn. **+xlasta**) (1) **to press, to be pressed; to squeeze, to be squeezed; to squeeze out, to press down.** (2) **to bind, to tighten; to gird, to be girded.** (3) **to shut tight, to close** | **+tárra +baxłasula** She closes the door (A 37:5). (4) **to strive, to be zealous.** (5) **to urge**
- +xalət** I (vn. **+xlaṭta**) (Arab. ḡalīṭa) (1) **to err, to make a mistake, to be mistaken.** (2) **to get confused, to miss a target**
- +xaləv** I (vn. **+xlavta**) **to milk; to give milk; metaphor. to get money from somebody**
- +xali**, Armenia **xali** n.f. (pl. **+xaliyyə, xaliyyə**) (Kurd. xalî, xalîce, Azer. xalı, Pers. qālī) **carpet, large rug**
- +xalla-manə** n.f. (pl. **+xalla-maniyyə**) **dish cloth**
- +xalləl** QI (§ 4.3.3.4.) (vn. **+xallalta**; pres. 3fs **+xalləlla** ~ **+xalla**, 3pl. **+xalləlli** ~ **+xalli** etc.; pst. 3ms. obj. **+xulləll-**, 3fs. obj. **+xulləlla** ~ **+xulla-**, 3pl. obj. **+xulləlle-** ~ **+xulle-**; rsp. ms. **+xulləlla** ~ **+xulla**, fs. **+xulləltə**, pl. **+xulləlla** ~ **+xulla**; imp. s. **+xalləl**, pl. **+xálləllun** ~ **+xállum**) **to wash; to be washed; to wash (body surface, vessels); to wash face and hands** | **mana +xulləlli** I washed a vessel, **‘idati xulléli** I washed my hands
- +xalsa-+xalsu** n.f. **crush, crowd, hustle** | **xa +xalsa-+xalsula lēn mačuxə ducta kat-tyava** There is a crowd, I cannot find a place to sit
- +xalta** n.f. **eating; food, dish** | **+xálta +rába +basúrtəva** Food was very scarce (B 5:5); **+xáltət suráyəla** It is an Assyrian dish (B 17:20)
- +xaluvvə** n.m. (pl. **+xaluvvatə**), vocative **+xalu** **maternal uncle**
- +xalva** n.m. (Armenia n.f.) **milk** | **+xalva naya** newly drawn milk; **+avva naša +xalva naya +misəla** That man has not been brought up well; **mən vetu hal mən-+xalva +kłetu** from his birth to his weaning
- +xalvana** adj.ms. (fs. **+xalvanta**, pl. **+xalvanə**) **milch, in-milk; milker** | **tavərta +xalvanta** a cow with much milk; **baxta +xalvanta** woman who milks
- +xalvanaya** n.m. (fs. **+xalvaneta**, pl. **+xalvanayə**) **mammal, drinker of milk**
- +xalvar** n.m. (Azer. xalvar < Pers.) **measure for wood (25 putə = 200 kilos)**
- +xalxəl** QI (vn. **+xalxalta**) **to erode (tr. and intr., e.g. river bank); to deteriorate, to perish (material); to cause to deteriorate, to cause to perish** | **miyya +xulxəllalun bara** The water eroded the dam; **ķesa +xulxəllə** The wood perished (rotted); **fuyda +xulxəllə** The wall eroded (became dilapidated); **nimanuyta +xulxəlla fuyda** The damp caused the wall to perish; **spasta +xulxəlla ķesa** The rotting caused the wood to perish

- +*xam* adj.invar. (Azer. xam) **inexperienced, immature; virgin soil, unbroken soil** | +*arrə* +*xam* untilled ground
- +*xaməs* I (vn. +*xmasta*) **to turn sour; metaphor. to become angry**
- +*xaməš* adj.invar. (Azer. xamuş, Pers. xāmūš) **silent, quiet**
- +*xaməššuya* n.f. **silence, quietness**
- +*xamra* n.m. **wine (made from grapes)**
- +*xamšasar*, +*xamsar* num. **fifteen**
- +*xamurnaya* adj.ms. (fs. +*xamurneta*, pl. +*xamurnayə*) **between sweet and sour**
- +*xamuya* adj.ms. (fs. +*xamusta*, pl. +*xamuysə*) **sour; metaphor. bitter person; unfriendly**
- +*xamuyta* n.f. **inexperience, strangeness**
- +*xān* n.m. (pl. +*xanə*) (Azer. xan, Pers. xān) **prince; nobleman**
- +*xanəm* n.f. (Azer. xanim) **lady, madam, princess**
- +*xanzər* QI (vn. +*xanzarta*) **to threaten to fight; to strut; to growl; to raise the feathers (bird)**
- +*xapət* II (vn. +*xapaṭṭa*) **to encourage; to try, to endeavour** | 'ana +*xapuṭuvən*  
*kat'-a* +*ṣula* 'avədlə I am encouraging him to do that
- +*xaptana* adj.ms. (fs. +*xaptanta*, pl. +*xaptanə*) **diligent, earnest**
- +*xara*, *xara* I (vn. +*xreta*, *xreta*) **to defecate**
- +*xarət* I (vn. +*xraṭṭa*) **to scoop out; to make an incision, to nick with a knife; to turn with a lathe; to pluck, pull down; to gnaw**
- +*xariṭa* n.m. (pl. +*xariṭə*) (Arab. xariṭa) **map**
- +*xarrašcar* n.m. (pl. *xarrašcarə*) **magician**
- +*xarraṭ* n.m. (Pers. xarrāt) **turner; lathe** | *maxə* I +*al-*+*xarraṭ* to turn on a lathe
- +*xarta* n.f. **subsequent period, end** | +*ṭaṣuyévax* xína ká +*xartə*! We store them  
 (the bottles of arak) for their later use (B 17:18); +*xarta*, b-+*xarta* adv. (Armenia +*xarto*, +*xar*) **at last, finally; then, afterwards, subsequently** | +*šāda*!  
*kāmta* ci-yávva +*ṭarpəl* +*xárta* ci-yavvála +*ṭunto*! An almond tree first produces leaves and then produces its fruit (A 3:12); 'átən +*rába* +*spáy našətvə*!  
'iña +*xártux*! vádlux xárba +*ṣulàna*! You were a very good man, but afterwards you did bad things (A 30:4); +*xártol* kát +*díyyənəl* kát bába sávət díyyan +*bəd-dárəna* báššəna +*īran*, +*kəryènəl* mírəna ... Then, when they knew that our forefathers were returning and going to Iran, they called them and said ... (B 16:4); +*xárta* +*xárta* +*dána*! *tila*! In the very end the time came ... (A 51:8); b-+*xártət* +*xárta* +*xártət* +*xártal* xóšla cəs-dé cəsəb! At the very end he went to that poor girl (A 51:9). It is used to mark boundaries in discourse that are not sequential temporally: *hár ṭ-avíva* +*číra*,! 'ánnə nášə yáccə,! +*xárta* 'ánil xá 'ó málcal 'átvəla xa-brúnəl 'o xína 'átvəla brítə,! They were always indignant with each other, those big people. Now, one of them, a king, had a son, and another had a daughter. (A 55:1-2)

- +xarxač QI** (vn. *+xarxačta*) **to gnash (teeth)** | *cici +xurxaččelə* He gnashed his teeth
- +xarxər QI** (vn. *+xarxarta*) **to snore; to roar (water); to gargle; to ripple, to purl; to flow (tears)**
- +xarxət QI** (vn. *+xarxaṭṭa*) **to gnaw (animal), to nibble, to hollow out**
- +xasa n.m. (pl. +xasə)** **back; support, protection** | *+xàsu vádulə la-dày!* He turns his back on her (A 42:33); *+bar +xasi* (close) behind me; *+bar-+xasu clili* I supported him; *ma᷑kəm* III *+xasət xa naša* to defend somebody; *+xasa mak̑kuməvən ḳatu* I support him; *bədvakūvələ +xasi* He is protecting me; *+ḳara b-+xasət* to appeal to (a higher court); *+xásu +bəsyárul b-hùcma!* He relies on the government (A 48:6); *+xasu +xvarələ* He is lazy (lit. his back is white); *+xasu +šmiṭələ* He is lazy (lit. his back is broken); *+xasət darjušta* the top of the frame of a cradle; *+xasət +tuyra* plateau; *+xasət +ayna* eyelid; *+xasə xásā mxílun!* *ḳat-dážmən +ḳatlı* They stood back to back (helped each other) to kill the enemy
- +xasər I** (vn. *+xsarta*) **to suffer loss; to fail, to run short, to fall short of, to be in want of; to grow less, to shrink; to be missing** | *ju-da-+mamla +xsərri* I lost in this deal; *zuyzi bət-+basri ɔn-ju da +mamla +xasrən* My money will reduce if I lose in this deal; *maxə I xsarta +al* to cause loss to
- +xasina n.f. (pl. +xasinə)** (Arab. *xaṣīn*) **axe (see illustration 46)**
- +xasxəs QI** (vn. *+xaxxasta*) **to groan, to screech; to breathe heavily; to cause to breathe heavily** | *xəmma +xasxusulə* The heat is making him breathe heavily
- +xasxəssana adj.ms. (fs. +xasxəssanta, pl. +xasxəssanə)** **hoarse, raucous**
- +xasxəssanuya n.f** **hoarseness, raucousness**
- +xaṭə I** (vn. *+xṭeta*) **to sin, to do wrong, to commit a fault (*b-* against)** | *+xṭilə biyyo* He committed a fault against her
- +xaṭər I** (*+xṭarta*) **(1) to beat (linen when washing) with a beater (*+xaṭura*); to bray in a mortar, to pound, to smite** | *'ana +bəxṭarovən xali b-+xaṭura* I am beating the carpet with a beater. **(2) to throw down (on the ground)** | *bət-+xaṭərrə +al-+arra* He will throw him down on the ground. **(3) to copulate with**
- +xattaya n.m. (fs. +xatteta, pl. xattaya)** **sinner**
- +xaṭura n.m. (pl. +xaṭurə)** **beater (for linen washing, for carpet)**
- +xavər I** (vn. *+xvarta*) **to become white, to turn pale, to fade (paint)** | *vardə bət-+xori* The flowers will become white
- +xavərta n.f. (pl. +xavəryata)** **girlfriend, wife, concubine, female companion**
- +xavət I** (vn. *+xvatṭa*) **to mix (tr. and intr.), to mingle; to stir together, to stir up, to agitate, to confuse, to become mixed up; to implicate, to become implicated** | *+xvəṭla +alli* I am confused; *+xvəṭla ju-+šulé* He interfered with them

- +*xayanat* n.f. (Azer. xəyanət, Pers. xiyanat < Arab.) **treachery**
- +*xayaṭa*, +*xayyaṭa* n.m. (pl. +*xayyaṭa*, +*xayyaṭa*) **tailor**
- +*xayaṭta*, +*xayyaṭta* n.f. **seamstress**
- +*xayən* adj.invar. (Azer. xain, Pers. xā'en) **treacherous, jealous** | +*xayən* +*plítələ*  
+*'allux*! He has turned out treacherous to you (A 3:23)
- +*xayəš*, +*xayəšt* (Azer. xahiş) **request** | +*xayəš* 'avəd ı to request, to plead,  
to implore: +*xayəš vádən mánnux*! I implore you (A 1:8); +*xayəš vádən*! 'á  
+*bùsral* 'odátlə +*tuyàtlə* I would like you to make this meat into kebabs  
(A 11:1)
- +*xayət*/+*xāṭ* ı (vn. +*xyat̥ta*) **to sew, to sew up**
- +*xayinuya* n.f. **treachery, jealousy** | +*xayinuya* 'avəd ı to be jealous
- +*xazada* n.m. (fs. +*xazatta*, pl. +*xazada*) **harvester, reaper, mower**
- +*xazəd* ı (vn. +*xzatta*) **to harvest, to reap, to mow**
- +*xbira* adj.ms. (fs. +*xbərtə*, pl. +*xbirə*) **aware**
- +*xdərta* n.f. (pl. +*xdəryatə*) **top of shirt front** | *dviğali* +*xdərtu* I seized the front  
of his shirt
- +*xdıra* adj.ms. (fs. +*xdərta*, pl. +*xdırə*) **rounded, turned, travelled, changed  
position or mind**
- +*xəkra* n.m. **praise, bragging, approval, encouragement, honour**
- +*xəlməna* adj.ms. (fs. +*xəlmanta*, pl. +*xəlmənə*) **healthy**
- +*xəlṭa* n.m. (pl. +*xəlṭa*) **mistake, error** | 'ána +*xəlṭa* vídən! I have made an error  
(= I have erred) (A 3:48); 'át +*xəlṭət*! You are wrong (A 22:4)
- +*xəlyə* adj.ms. (fs. +*xlıta*, pl. +*xəlyə*) **sweet, delicious**
- +*xəlyuya* n.f. **sweet treat, delicacy, pleasant appearance** | *məndi* +*xəlyuya*  
something sweet
- +*xəmsa*, +*xumsa* n.m. (1) **sour food, pickle, food preserved in vinegar.** (2) **type  
of sour stew (without meat).** (3) **acid.** (4) **leaven, starter for yoghurt or  
dough.** (5) **sorrel**
- +*xərma* n.m. **damnation, penance, curse, ban; forbidden thing, impurity** |  
*kaša* +*xərma muttilə* +*al-do naša* *kat la* +*avərju*-+*umra* The priest put a ban  
on that man in order that he does not go to church
- +*xərra-*+*xər* n.f. **sound of snoring** | *dməxlə*, +*xárra* +*xárru* *hàl móriša*! He slept,  
snoring until morning (A 45:5)
- +*xəršə* n.pl. **magic** | 'o-naša +*xəršə vadələ* That man is performing magic
- +*xərṭa* n.m. (pl. +*xərṭə*) **cut, notch, groove; scollop**
- +*xərṭmənə* n.pl. (sing.f. +*xərṭmanta*) **chickpeas. sing. a goldsmith's and silver-  
smith's weight**
- +*xərṭum* n.f. (pl. +*xərṭuymə*) (Arab. xurṭūm?) **gizzard**
- +*xərxərra* n.f. (pl. +*xərxərrə*) **larynx, wind-pipe**
- +*xəttə* n.pl. **wheat**

- +xətt̥ita** n.f. **grain of wheat**
- +xəzda** n.m. **harvest, haymaking; mowing**
- +xelapa** n.m. (pl. **+xelapə**) **willow** | **+xelapət bəxya** weeping willow (Canda)
- +xeṭana** n.m. (fs. **+xeṭanta**, pl. **+xeṭanə**) **sewer** | **+xeṭanət-+solə** shoemaker; **+xeṭanət čacmə** bootmaker
- +xiṭa** adj.ms. (fs. **+xəṭta**, pl. **+xiṭə**) **sewn, sewn up**
- +xiyal** n.f. (pl. **+xiyalə**) (Pers. xiylā < Arab.) **thought** | **+xiyal 'avəd** I to think; **kát +xiyálu 'ávi +rəhat** so that he would feel at ease (A 1:4)
- +xiyavand** n.f. (pl. **+xiyavandə**) (Pers. xiybān) **street**
- +xlamta** n.f. **marshmallow**
- +xlapa** n.m. **substitute** | **+xlapux 'avən** If you please (lit. May I become your substitute [victim]); **+xlapux vili** please; **'avənva +xlapux 'a-+šula vud kati** Please do this for me.
- +xlima** adj.ms. (fs. **+xlamta**, pl. **+xlimə**) **thick, fat (person)**
- +xlimuyta** n.f. **fatness, thickness**
- +xlisə** adj.ms. (fs. **+xləsta**, pl. **+xlisə**) **tight, squeezed, compressed; compact; hard (egg)** | **+biyyə +xlisə** hard-boiled eggs; **ləbban +xlisələ katoxun** We are pleased to see you; **ləbbu +xlisələ** He is sad, homesick
- +xliṭa** adj.ms. (fs. **+xləṭta**, pl. **+xliṭə**) **mistaken, confused, lost**
- +xlotə** n.f. **dairy products**
- +xluyla** n.m. (pl. **+xluylə**, **+xluylənə**) (1) **wedding**. (2) **a dance at a village feast** | **+xluylət +saṭana** sun and rain alternating (lit. the wedding of the devil)
- +xmaṭa** n.f. (pl. **+xmaṭə**) **needle** | **+bəzzət +xmaṭa** eye of a needle
- +xmaṭu** n.f. **type of bitter herb**
- +xmisa** adj.ms. (fs. **+xməsta**, pl. **+xmisa**) **turned sour; metaphor. upset, unsatisfied with something or someone** | **lěša +xmīsa** sour dough (B 19:10)
- +xnamiyə** n.pl. (ms. **+xnami**, fs. **+xnamita**) (Kurd. xinamî) **relatives by marriage**
- +xodkar** adj.ms./fs. (pl. **+xodkarə**) (Pers. xodkār) **automatic** | **ᴱpencílᴱə +xod-kārə** automatic pencils (A 41:6)
- +xola** n.m. (pl. **+xolə**) **rope** | **+al-+xolu le-+masət +yəsrət kəsə** You cannot rely on him (lit. you cannot tie wood onto his rope)
- +xora** n.m. (pl. **+xoravata**) **friend, companion, ally, fellow traveller, accomplice**
- +xorana** adj.ms. (fs. **+xoranta**, pl. **+xorana**) (1) **growing white, looking white, prone to fading**. (2) n.m. **whitening agent used in cooking of molasses (*nipuxta*); whitewash for walls** (B 10:18)
- +xoriuya, +xoravayuya** n.f. **friendship** | **+xoravayuya vədli mən +davva yala** I made friends with that boy
- +xoṭana** adj.ms. (fs. **+xoṭanta**, pl. **+xoṭanə**) **mixing, disturbing, frolicsome**

- +xoyn̩car n.f. (pl. +xoyn̩carə) **measure for vegetables** (*4 putə = 32 kilos*) | *halli tre* +xoyn̩carə *sabzə* Give me two xoyn̩car measures of vegetables
- +xozan n.m. (Kurd. xozan) **stubble, harvested field of stubble** → *priza*
- +xsiruyta n.f. (pl. +xsiruyatə) **minority** | *lēla bəšvāka ՚ánnə* +xsiruyatə| *hamzám-mi lišánət janəl* It does not allow the minorities to speak their own language (B 1:8)
- +x̩̩ita n.f. (pl. +x̩̩iyatə) **sin, error, offense, temptation** | +x̩̩iti *bitayəla* I regret; *b-*+x̩̩ita *nɒllə* He fell into sin, he sinned; +x̩̩ilula, šukla! Have pity on him, leave him alone!; *á násə* +x̩̩ito *tîlə* He felt sorry for it (fs.) (A 54:3)
- +xulafa n.m. (pl. +xulafaya) (Arab. xulafâ') **caliph**
- +xulama n.m. (pl. +xulamə) (Kurd. xulam < Arab.) **servant, man-servant**
- +xulasa adv. **in sum, in general, in conclusion; in short**
- +xulma n.m. (pl. +xulmə, +xulmanə) **dream, vision** | +xulma *xzili* I dreamt
- +xumča n.f. (pl. +xumčə) (Pers. xumče) **small jug (for wine)**
- +xumsa → +xəmsa
- +xurda (Azer. xırda, Pers. xurda) **small item, small change (money)** | +xurdət *laxma* a small amount of bread; *zuyza* +xurda *vədələ* He broke down the money into small change
- +xurjun n.f. (pl. +xurjuynə) (Azer. xurcun, Pers. xurjīn) **saddle-bag; haversack (see illustration 34)**
- +xurma n.f. (pl. +xurma) (Azer. xurma, Pers. xormā) **date (fruit)**
- +xurráy adj./adv. (Kurd. xurray) **free of charge, gratis, for nothing, vainly, in vain** | +mixulta +xurráy free food; škilali +mixulta +xurráy I got the food for free
- +xusrana n.m. **loss**
- +xuṭra n.m. (pl. +xuṭrə) **staff, rod, sceptre**
- +xuymar adj.invar. (Azer. xumar < Arab.) **drunken; hungover; suffering from lack of sleep** | *o našə* +xuymar=ilə, *lelə dmixa* +spay That man is suffering from lack of sleep, he did not sleep well; +xuymar *pəšli* I have not slept well
- +xuymaruyta n.f. **sickness caused by hard drinking, hangover**
- +xuyra, xuyra n.m. (pl. +xuyravata, xuyravata) **friend**
- +xvara adj.ms. (fs. +xvarta, pl. +xvarə) **white** | +xvarət +bita white of an egg; +xvār-dəkna grey-bearded, elder; +xvār-cosa grey-haired; dárdət *diyyuxlə* +xvárə zàrdənə Your sorrows are white and yellow (i.e. your sorrows pale in comparison to mine) (A 4:15); pl. +xvarə white garments
- +xvarnaya adj.ms. (fs. +xvarneta, pl. +xvarnaya) **whitish**
- +xvaruyta n.f. **whiteness, pallor, grey hair**
- +xvira adj.ms. (+xværta, pl. +xvirə) **turned white, grey-haired, pale**
- +xvisa n.m. (pl. +xvisə) **bread fried in butter or pig's fat; hot bread cut up with butter added; cake made of flour and honey** → +smala

- +xviṭta** adj.ms. (fs. **+xvəṭṭa**, pl. **+xviṭṭa**) **mixed, confused** | *miyya +xviṭṭa* murky water
- +xyarə** n.pl. (sing.f. **+xyarta**) (Arab. xiyyār) **cucumbers**
- +xyaṭṭa** n.f. **stitch**
- +xyuṭṭa** n.m. **sewing, stitch, seam**
- +xziran** n.m. **June**

**y**

**ya** part. **vocative particle**

**ya, yan** part. (Azer. ya, Pers. yā, Kurd. yan) **or**

**yacca** adj.ms. (fs., pl. **yaccə**) (Azer. yekə < Mongol) (1) **huge, enormous, giant.** (2) **adult** | *‘anna nášə yáccə* the adult people (A 55:1)

**yaççana** n.m. (pl. **yaççana**) (Kurd. yek, Pers. yak ‘one’) **only son**

**yad** | *b-yad* **by (expressing author)** | *pyášla tuníta b-yád Váktur ‘Uršan* mən-mátət Zumállan | It is being told by Victor Urshan from the village of Zumallan (B 11:14)

**yadla** I (vn. *dyalta*, pst. *dælla*) **to give birth (animal); to lay (an egg)** | *susta dælla* +*zaya* The mare gave birth to young; *cteta +bita dilala* The hen laid the egg

**yağin** adj.invar. (Pers. yaqīn) **confident, sure**

**yahla** n.m. (pl. *yahlə*) **team**

**yaķdana** adj.ms. (fs. *yaķdanta*, pl. *yaķdanə*) **burning, combustible; n.m. fuel (especially wood)**

**yaķəd** I (vn. *kyatta*, pst. *kədłə*) (1) **to burn (intr.), to burn out** | *kesa kədłə* The wood burnt; *ləbbi kədli* I felt emotion. (2) **to flare, to itch**

**yaķubaya** n.m. (fs. *yaķubeta*, pl. *yaķubaya*) **Jacobite**

**yala** n.m. (pl. *yala*) (1) **boy, son; adolescent, young man.** | *yala sura* child (m. and f., pl. *yala surə*), *yala surə surə* young children; +*arþá šánnə yála súri* my four year old child (B 16:8); *yalət bəzzə* infant, baby (m. and f.); *baxta +rəšla b-yala* The woman felt pains of childbirth; *yala ‘uya, yalət +jora* stepson. (2) **pupil.** (3) **fellow (not necessarily a minor)**

**yalə** I (vn. *lyeta*, prog. *bəlyayalə*, pres. *yalə/layə*, pst. *lyilə*, rsp. *yəlyə, lyita*) **to wail, to mourn, to lament (the dead)**

**yalənka, lilanka** n.f. (pl. *yalənķə*) **carriage**

**yaləp** I (vn. *lyapta*) (1) **to learn, to be trained, to study.** (2) **to practise, to get used, to acquire habit** | *lipəx biyyu* We are used to it; *úxnan lípəx! díz dícta xéta!* We are used to living in a flat place (B 16:2)

**yalma** n.f. (pl. *yalma*) **countenance, physiognomy** (Sal., Gaw. *yəlma* cheek)

**yalpuc** n.f. (Azer. yelpik) **fan** | *yalpuc maxə* I to fan

*yaluda* n.m. lad

*yaluna* n.m. boy

*yaluyta* n.f. childhood, adolescence; childishness

*yalyanta* n.f. (pl. *yalyanyata*) (professional) wailing woman

*yalzana* adj.ms. (fs. *yalzanta*, pl. *yalzana*) hurrying, hasty

*yalzu* adv. hastily, hurriedly, urgently

*yama* n.f. (pl. *yamatə*) sea

*yamani* n.f. (*yamaniyyə*) leather shoe (without laces or heel)

*yamə* I (vn. *myeta*) to swear, to take an oath | *myayəvən b-alaha* I swear by God

*yaminaya* adj.ms (fs. *yamineta*, pl. *yaminaya*) right-handed

*yammina* adj.ms. (fs. *yammənta*, pl. *yammina*) right | <sup>+'</sup>*al-yammina* to the right

*yamta* n.f. (pl. *yamyata*) lake | *yámtət 'Urmi* lake Urmi (B 1:20)

*yan* → *ya*

*yanə* → <sup>+'</sup>*yanə*

*yanət*, *yan* part. (Canda, § 14.5.3.3.) that, in order that, with the result that, because

*yapə* I → *payyə* I

*yapyana* n.m. (fs. *yapyanta*, pl. *yapyana*) baker

*yar*, *yara* → *jarəc*

*yarbayər* 'avəd I (Azer. *yerbəyer* et-) to organize; to set, to settle

*yarkə* n.pl. (sing.m. *yarkə*) green vegetables | The singular *yarkə* is used specifically in the sense of wild garlic (= *šəmxa*) in some villages

*yarxa* n.m. (pl. *yarxə*) month

*yasək*, *asək*, I (vn. *syakta*, *sakta*, pst. *səkla*) (1) to ascend, to climb up. (2) to pass (an examination) | *mən-əmtahān səkli* I passed the examination. (3) to graduate

*yasmən* n.f. (pl. *yasminə*) (Azer. *jasmin*, Pers. *yasamīn*) jasmine

*yatəv* I (vn. *tyavta*, prog. *bətyavələ*, pst. *təvələ*, imper. *tuy*, *tuymun*) (1) to sit, to sit down. (2) to dwell, to reside, to live, to sojourn, to encamp. (3) to stay, to abide. (4) to lie (e.g. snow). (5) to cease, to stop

*yatuyma* n.m. (fs. *yatumta*, pl. *yatuymə*, pl. *yatumyata*) orphan

*yatvana* n.m. (fs. *yatvanta*, pl. *yatvanə*) sitter, somebody who sits

*yavalta* *škalta* n.f. trade, commerce

*yavana* n.m. (fs. *yavanta*, pl. *yavanə*) giver, deliverer

*yavarta* n.f. (pl. *yavaryata*) young female buffalo (up to 2 years)

*yavvəl* I (vn. *yavalta*, inf. *yava*, pst. *yuvvəlla*, rsp. *yuvva*, imper. *hal*) (1) to give; to hand over, to deliver; to give out. (2) to exude (smell)

*yaxni* n.f. (Pers. *yaxnī*, Turk. *yahni*) stew of meat and vegetables

*yaxsər* n.m. (pl. *yaxsirə*) (Kurd. *yexsîr*) prisoner, prisoner of war, slave | *yaxsər* 'avəd I to capture

*yaxsiruya* n.f. **captivity**

*yəkdana* n.m. **fuel (firewood, caked dung)**

*yəkna* n.m. **herb, grass**

*yəmma* n.f. (pl. *yəmmatə*) **mother** | *m-yəmmi viyyəvən* I was born; *yəmma 'uja* stepmother; *yəmmət jubta* cheese culture

*yəmmunti* my dear mother

*yeməš* n.f. (pl. *yemişə*) (Azer. *yemiş*) **fruit**

*yona* n.f. (pl. *yonatə*) **dove**

*yonja* n.f. (Azer. *yonca*) **clover; clover hay**

*yoşa* n.f. (pl. *yoşə*) **bustard**

*yubava* n.m. **jubilee; ceremony**

*yulpana* n.m. (pl. *yulpanə*) **learning, education; doctrine; sect**

*yuma* n.m. (pl. *yumə, yumanə*) (1) **day** | *yumi* +*muvvərri mənnux* I spent the day with you; *b-annə yumanə* recently; *yumá-xina* the day after tomorrow; *ö-yuma xina* the day before yesterday; +*al-dó-yuma xína* on the next day (A 42:18); *xa-cma yumanə mən-kam 'adiyya* several days ago; *hál 'údyu yúma-zəl* to this very day (B 11:10); *lá hádax xína 'án tili* ci-'ó yúmax *b-yawwən-nəl* If (you have not done) thus when I come back, I shall indeed give your doomsday (i.e. give you hell) (A 51:3). (2) **sun** | *ci-mabrazzívale* +*al-yúma* They used to dry them (mud bricks) in the sun (B 17:32); *dvakətət yuma* sun eclipse.

*yupka* n.f. (*yupkətə*) (Russ. *юбка*, Azer. *yubka*) **skirt**

*yuyla* n.m. **grass with long roots used to kindle a fire, kindling**

## +y

*+yağı* n.m. (pl. *+yağıyyə*) (Azer. *yağı* 'enemy', Iranian Azer. 'unwanted friend') **deserter**

*+yağıyyuta* n.f. **deserting**

*+yahu* n.f. (pl. *+yahuyə*) **Jehu; type of small bird**

*+yakrən* QI (vn. *+yakranta*) **to become heavy; to cause to become heavy** | *+yakrunələ* He is becoming heavy; *+raba +xalta +yakrunulə* Eating a lot is making him heavy

*+yakuyra* adj.ms. (fs. *yakurta*, pl. *yakuyrə*) (1) **heavy, burdensome.** (2) **slow, inactive, sedate.** (3) **pregnant (fs.)** | *'aklo +yakurtəla* She is pregnant; *báxti +yakürta vília* My wife became pregnant (A 7:17); *'á báxtu pyášəla +yakürtəl b-yàla* His wife becomes pregnant with a child (A 43:7). (4) **important, majestic, responsible.** (5) **lingering (sound or voice).** (6) **unhealthy (climate or water)**

**+yakuyruytə** n.f. (1) weight, responsibility. (2) awkwardness, slowness, inactivity, sedateness. (3) importance, grandeur, stateliness. (4) harmfulness (climate, water). (5) pregnancy

**+yāl** n.m. (pl. **+yalə**, **+yaliyyə**) (Azer. yal) **mane (of horse)** | **+yaliyyət xzuyra** bristles of a pig; **+yāl maxə** I to trot, **suysa +yāl mxayələ** The horse is trotting

**+yaləxtə** n.f. (pl. **+yaləxyatə**) (Azer. yaylıq) **handkerchief; towel napkin** | **+yaləxtət rišə** headscarf, kerchief

**+yalsuy** n.f. (pl. **+yalsuvvə**) **distress, trouble**

**+yamuysə** n.m. (pl. **+yamuysə**) **young branch of vine**

**+yanə, yanə** part. (Azer. yəni < Arab.) **that is to say**

**+yapəškan** n.f. (Azer. yapışqan) **glue**

**+yār** I (vn. **+yarta**, pres. 3ms. **+yayər** / **+yār** / **+yarə**, 3fs. **+yara**, 3pl. **+yari**; pst. **+yərrə**; rsp. **+yira**; prog. **+bəyyarələ**) **to dare**

**+yār** n.m. **May**

**+yarəm** I (vn. **+ryamta**) **to get up and go** | **ku- +yārməx**! Get up, let's be off (A 2:8)

**+yarəp** Canda → **+rayəp**

**+yarət** I (vn. **+ratta**) **to inherit**

**+yarəxnaya** adj.ms. (fs. **+yarəxnetə**, pl. **+yarəxnayə**) **longish** | **báva mújjurra tanànnux?** 'átxa vádoxva! **+yarəxnətə** láxxa vádaxva tìra.' Basin, what should I tell you? We used to make it like this, longish, and here we would make a bank. (B 17:30)

**+yarğə** n.? (Azer. yaraq) **armour, weaponry** | **naša ju-beta leva švíku, mirəva čaççı 'u- +yarği labəllun lab coxa** They had not left a man in the house and he said 'Take my armour to the chief man's house' (said of a man after failing to do a thing tries to do something more difficult) (cf. Maclean 1895, 349)

**+yarixa** adj.ms. (fs. **+yarəxtə**, pl. **+yarixə**) **long**

**+yarixuya** n.f. **length**

**+yarxana** adj.ms. (fs. **+yarxanta**, pl. **+yarxanə**) **constantly lying down and sleeping; floppy (like rubber)**

**+yasər** I (vn. **+syarta**, prog. **+bəsyarələ**, pst. **+sərrə**, Armenia pres. 3ms. **+sayər**, 3pl. **+seri**) **to tie, to bind, to tie up, to tie together; to twist, to entangle, to bandage, to harness**

**+yassar** adj.invar. (Azer. yassar) **aggressive, pugnacious, stubborn (esp. of dogs)**

**+yassaruyta** n.f. **aggression, pugnaciousness**

**+yatağ** n.f. (pl. **+yatağə**) (Azer. yataq) **place where animals rest in shade** | **vəna kənyana** **+yatağ məxyə** The animals have gathered together to rest

**+yatənə** n.m. (fs. **yatəntə**, pl. **+yatənə**) **expert, clever, talented, skilled**

**+yatə** I (inf. **+daya**, vn. **+deta**, prog. **+bəddayələ**, short 2ms form: **+dayət** B 3:2 etc., pst. **+dila**) (1) **to know** | **vədli 'a- +šula +dayə +daya** I did that consciously;

- vədli* 'a-+šula la +dayà +daya| I did that without being aware. (2) **to understand** | +*dilux?* Do you understand?
- +*yattuvva* adj.m.s. (pl. +*yattuta*, pl. +*yattuvvə*) knowledgeable
- +*yattuvvuya* n.f. **knoweldge, craft, slyness**
- +*yaxčal* n.f. (Pers. *yaxčāl*) **fridge**
- +*yaya* n.m. (pl. +*yaya*) **wall of basin of paddy field** | *torət* +*yaya* ox harnessed to a plough on the side of the paddy field basin
- +*yaylağ* n.f. (Azer. *yaylaq*) **summer pasture of animals in the mountains**
- +*yaysa* n.m. (pl. +*yaysə*) **husband of sister of wife**
- +*yazan* n.f. (pl. +*yazanə*) (1) **circle** | *járət* é tásma mán dé +*yázan* *jannəvvətta*| You must steal the belt from that circle (children's game) (B 17:2). (2) **children's ball game** (B 9:7)
- +*yəssura* n.m. (pl. +*yəssurə*) **connection, relationship**
- +*yuķra* n.m. (pl. +*yuķrə*) **burden, weight**. pl. **baggage**
- +*yurxa* n.m. **length** | +*yurxux pətvux xa t-odənnun* I shall make your length and breadth the same (i.e. I shall beat you up)
- +*yurxuyta* n.f. **length**
- +*yuxsa* part., Canda *'usa* (Azer. *yoxsa*) **otherwise, or**

**z**

- za'farān, zapran* n.m. (pl. *zapranə*) (Pers. *za'farān*, Azer. *zəfəran*,) **saffron, saffron flower**
- zabbən* QI (vn. *zabbanta*) (Azer. *zəbun*, Pers. *zabūn*) **to become weak, to wither, to fade**
- zabbun* adj.invar. (Azer. *zəbun*) **weak, frail, sickly**
- zabbunuya* n.f. **weakness, feebleness**
- zabək* I (vn. *zbałta*) **to arrange wood and fuel** (e.g. +*pałtuxə*) **to make fire (before lighting it)** | *tanuyra zbułla!* Arrange the fire
- zabən* II (vn. *zabanta*) (1) **to sell** | *bi-mù zabúnət?* What are you selling it for? (A 42:27); *zvanta zabanta* commerce. (2) **to hand over, to betray** | +*bar-nàša*| *zabúnəl ka-+tala!* The man betrays the fox (A 47:20)
- zablən* QI (vn. *zablanta*) **to litter, to cover in rubbish, to trash** | +*'avvó yala sura* *zablunulə beta* That young child is trashing the house; *beta zablənnə* The house was trashed; +*otağ zabləntəla* The room is covered in rubbish
- zabnana* n.m. (pl. *zabnana*) **vendor, salesman**
- zabt* n.f. (Azer. *zəbt* < Arab.) **capture, conquest, appropriation, violence** | *zabt 'avəd* I **to capture**
- zacząc* QI (vn. *zaczacta*) (1) **to become pale or yellow** | *ranjət patu zuczucəłə.* (2)

- to crack open (ground, buds)** | *+’arra zuczəcla* The ground became cracked;  
*varda zuczəccə* budding flowers → *zəcta*
- zāğ** n.m. (Pers. zāğ, Azer. zəy) alum
- zağəd** I (vn. *zjatta*) (1) **to worship (a god, an idol)** | *’ayya brata bəzğadələ* He  
 worships that girl. (2) **to bow down, genuflect; to make an obeisance**
- zahar** n.m. (Azer. zəhər, Pers. zahr) poison
- zahmat** n.f. (Azer. zəhmət) trouble, bother, burden | *yavvəl* I *zahmat* to bother,  
 hassle; *jarəş* I *zahmat* to take trouble: *záhmat bəfrášəx kát nùyna dókax!* We  
 are taking trouble to catch fish (A 9:3)
- zahrana** adj.ms. (fs. *zahranta*, pl. *zahrana*) poisonous
- zakzək** QI (vn. *zakzaqtə*) **to throb (with pain)** | *+suþþi zakzuþəla* My finger is  
 throbbing (with pain)
- zala** ’aza I, **zala labəl** I (Azer. zəhlə tökmək) **to despise, to dislike** | *zali xəþli mən*  
 da məndi I disliked that thing; *zali bərraxşəla mən-daha* I do not like it; *xuvva*  
*mən-nənxa zalu c-aza, ’ina +’av ci-kayəmju-+bəzzu* A snake dislikes mint, but  
 it grows at his door (lit. hole) (i.e. If you do not like a thing, it is sure to be  
 always meeting you) (cf. Maclean 1895, 354)
- zalək** I (vn. *zlakta*) **to rip, to tear apart**
- zaləp** I (vn. *zlapta*) **to rip, to tear (a piece from clothes)**
- zaləz** II (vn. *zalazta*) **to recoil, to feel disgust** | *zuləzli mənnu* I recoiled from  
 him; *+paþri zuləzla* My body felt disgust
- zalləz** QI (vn. *zallazta*) **to ache; to have rheumatic pains**
- zama** n.m. dairy product
- zamara** n.m. (fs. *zamarta*, pl. *zamarə*) singer
- zambəl, zanbəl** QI (vn. *zambalta*, *zanbalta*) **to rip, to tear (into strips) (clothes),  
 to tear open** | *cisu zumbəlləli* I tore his stomach open
- zambul** n.m. (pl. *zambuylə*) (Kurd. zembîl) metal basket with holes (used to  
 blanch grapes to make → *savzə*) (see illustration 36)
- zaməc** I (vn. *zmacta*) **to frown; to be sullen or sulky; to be melancholy, to be  
 moodily silent**
- zamər** I (vn. *zmarta*) **to sing** | *tilə xmara, +buþəllə zmara* An ass has come and  
 spoilt the singing (said when an unwelcome guest arrives)
- zampər, zanpər** QI (vn. *zamparta*, *zanparta*) **to swagger; to sway**
- zamzəm** QI (vn. *zamzamta*) **to ring, to tinkle; to buzz** | *zamzumələ* It is buzzing
- zanbəl* → *zambəl*
- zanə** I (vn. *zneta*) **to fornicate, to commit adultery**
- zanjər** QI (vn. *zanjarta*) **to ring (a bell)**
- zanjərrana** adj.ms. (fs. *zanjərranta*, pl. *zanjərrana*) **clear sounding (bell)**
- zanjuyla** n.f. (pl. *zanjuylə*), **zanjulta** n.f. (pl. *zanjulyatə*) (Azer. üzəngi) stirrup
- zanjapəl** n.m. (Azer. zəncəfil, Pers. *zanjabil*) **ginger**

*zannat* n.f. **jewellery**

*zannaya* n.m. (fs. *zanneta*, pl. *zannayə*) **fornicator, libertine**

*zannayuya* n.f. **fornication**

*zanpər* → *zampər*

*zanyana* n.m. (fs. *zanyanta*, pl. *zanyanə*) **fornicator, libertine**

*zanyuya* n.f. **fornication, adultery** | *'avəd* I *zanyuya* to whore, to fornicate, to commit adultery

*zapar* n.f. **damage, loss** | *maxə* I *zapar* to damage, to cause loss; *jarəš* I *zapar* to suffer loss, damage

*zapran* → *za'farān*

*zar-+nišān* n.m. **type of rice**

*zarar* n.f. (Azer. *zərər*) **harm, loss, injury** | *zarar lət* Never mind; *maxə* I *zarar* +*al/ka*- to injure (personal agent); *'avəd* I *zarar* to injure (impersonal agent); *d-la zarar* adj.invar. harmless; *+kazanj* *'u-zarar* gain and loss

*zarb* n.m. (pl. *zarbə*) (Pers. *zarb*, Azer. *zərbə* < Arab. *ḍarb*) **blow (of sword)** | *út mxí zàrbux!* Strike your blow (A 39:13)

*zarda* adj.ms (fs., pl. *zardə*) (Kurd. *zerd*, Pers. *zard*) **yellow** | *dárdət dìyyux!* +*xvárə zàrdənəl* Your sorrows are white and yellow (i.e. your sorrows pale in comparison to mine) (A 4:15)

*zarda* n.m. **yoke (of egg)** | *zardət* +*bita* the yoke of an egg

*zardačuvva* n.f. (Pers. *zardčūbe*) **turmeric**

*zardanaya* adj.ms. (fs. *zardaneta*, pl. *zardanaya*) **yellowish, blond**

*zardən* QI (vn. *zardanta*) **to become yellow; to make yellow**

*zarduštaya* n.m. (pl. *zardušteta*, pl. *zarduštaya*) **Zoroastrian**

*zarək* I (vn. *zrakta*) **to rise (sun or stars); to dawn** | *šəmšə zrəkla* The sun (has begun) to rise; cf. *šəmšə prədla* The sun has risen (fully over the horizon); *m-kam-ət yuma zarək* +*plətli mən-beta* I left the house before sunrise; *yúma lá zrəkə*, +*c-ázax jabàxən!* When the sun has not risen (i.e. Before the sun rises), we go and pick (the tobacco) (B 3:26)

*zarəz* I (vn. *zrazta*) **to prepare oneself, to become ready**

*zarəz* II (vn. *zarazta*) (1) **to prepare, to arrange, to make** | *ci-zarzi* +*mixulta* They prepare food. (2) **to construct** | +*bətlábələ mán* +*Nuxadnásər!* *für'un*, +*kát xadana-bèta* *zarázla ju-* +*hàval* Pharaoh asks Nebuchadnezzar to construct a house in the air (A 3:44). (3) **to fit, to adjust**

*zarjar* n.m. (pl. *zarjarə*) (Azer. *zərgər*, Pers. *zargar*) **goldsmith, coppersmith**

*zarra* n.m. (Azer. *zərrə* < Arab.) **a little, a jot** | *xa zarra mən da* +*mixulta halli* Give me a little of this food

*zavə* I (vn. *zveta*) **to expand (with air), to inflate (intr.)** | *cisi zvitəla* My stomach is inflated (full of wind)

*zavən* I (vn. *zvanta*) **to buy** | *zvanta zabanta* commerce

- zavvaj** QI (vn. *zavvajta*) **to mate, to join, to couple, to unite (by marriage)**
- zaxma** adj.ms. (fs., pl. *zaxmə*) (Kurd. *zaxm* < Arab.), *zaxama* adj.ms. (fs. *zaxamta*, pl. *zaxamə*), *zaxmana* adj.ms. (fs. *zaxmanta*, pl. *zaxmanə*) **huge, powerful, bold, courageous**
- zaxmən** QI (vn. *zaxmanta*) **to become powerful, strong; to make powerful, strong**
- zaxmuyta, zaxmanuyta** n.f. **power, strength, bravery, courage**
- zaxra** n.f. (Pers. *zaxīra* < Arab.) (1) **food provisions (for road)** | *zaxra 'avəd* I to prepare provisions (for road). (2) **equipment, appurtenances**
- zayara** adj.m. (fs. *zayarta*, pl. *zayarə*) **proud, arrogant, haughty**
- zayaruyta** n.f. **haughtiness**
- zayəd/zād** I (vn. *zyatta*) (Arab. *zā'id*) (1) **to increase (intr.), to multiply (intr.), to exceed (intr.). (2) to be left over. (3) to swarm (bees)**
- zayən/zān** I (vn. *zyana*) **to harm**
- zayəp** adj.invar. (Azer. *zəif* < Arab.) **weak, feeble, tender**
- zayər/zār** I (vn. *zyarta*) (1) **to swell (with food or liquid)** | <sup>+suþþi</sup> *zərtəla* My finger is swollen. (2) **to be boastful; presumptuous** | *bəzyarəla* but *brunu* He is boasting about his son; *zyartéju-*<sup>+tarra</sup>, *pardéju-*<sup>+karrə</sup> Their pride is out of doors (lit. in the door), but their pounded wheat is in a gourd (i.e. they keep up appearances, but they are poor) (cf. Maclean 1895, 351)
- zə** enclitic part. (Kurd. *jî*) **also; connective particle** (§ 13.1.4.)
- zəbla** n.m. **rubbish, litter**
- zəcca-zəc** n.f. **sound of cracking wood**
- zəcta, zita** n.f. (pl. *zacyatə*) **bud, pod, early blossom (still without colour before *pəçxa*)**
- zəd** prep. (Pers. *zedd* < Arab.) **against** | *'ana zəd mənnux* I am against you
- zədduyta** n.f. **opposition**
- zəl** adj.invar. (Arab. *zalla* ‘to slip?’) (1) **sliding** | *maxə* I *zəl* to slide (e.g. in a game). (2) **piercing, sharp (sound), hissing (sound).** | *kala zəl* piercing sound. (3) adv. **directly** | *zəlfušəkla* <sup>+alli</sup> He looked straight at me
- zəlpə** n.m. (pl. *zəlpə*) **slice, piece (of fruit put in compote), torn piece** | *zəlpə* cooked quince
- zənčəlləj** (pl. *zənčəlligə*) (Azer.) **kicking (of horse)** | *xmàra* *zənčəlligə* <sup>+rappú-yələ</sup> The ass kicks back (A 33:1)
- zənda** n.m. (pl. *zəndə*) **spark**
- zənʃərta** n.f. (pl. *zənʃəryatə*) (Azer. *zəncir* ‘chain’, Pers. *zinjir*) **small bunch of grapes**
- zənna** n.f. (pl. *zənnatə*) **puddle, swamp**
- zərrac** adj.invar. (Azer. *zirək*, Kurd. *zêrek*) (1) **brave.** (2) **quick, agile.** (3) **intelligent**

- zərrafuyta* n.f. (1) **bravery**. (2) **agility**. (3) **cleverness, acuteness, intelligence**
- zərzami* n.f. (pl. *zərzamiyə*) (Azer. zırzəmi, Pers. zīrzamīn) **cellar, basement**
- zəvvə-zəv* n.f. **howling noise** | *mut zəvvə-zəv npəltela b-đivə?* What howling is that among the wolves? *đivə vela zəvvə-zəvvé* The wolves are howling
- zeləcca, zelucca* n.m. (pl. *zeləccə, zeluccə*) **splinter; small chip of wood, mote**
- zenana* adj.ms. (fs. *zenanta*, pl. *zenanə*) **gifted, clever, capable, smart**
- zeta* n.m. (pl. *zetə*) (1) **olive** | *halli xa zeta* Give me an olive; *halli +tla danə zetə* Give me three olives; *+bər-+zarrət zeta* olive stone. (2) **olive tree**. (3) **olive oil** | *halli xa čamča zeta* Give me a spoon of olive oil; *məšxət zeta* olive oil. (4) **oil (general)** | *zetət juna-+baxan* sunflower oil
- zeyna* n.f. (pl. *zeynə*) **arms, weapons, armour**
- zēn, zehn, zeyn* n.f. (Azer. zehn < Arab.) **ability, talent, genius, intellect** | *marət zēn* gifted, clever, smart
- zığa* n.m. (pl. *zığə*) **bell** | *maxə i zığa* to give a call, to telephone, *mxili zığa!* Give me a bell (= Phone me!); *+sápyə 'ax-zığa* clear as a bell (B 12:3)
- zığači* n.m. (pl. *zığačiyə*) **ringer**
- zila* n.m. (pl. *zilə*) (1) **cane**. (2) **rush (for making mats [*hasirə*] and baskets)**. (3) **straw for drinking** → *ney, +kasla*
- ziləcca* n.m. (pl. *ziləccə*) **straw, bit of dried herb**
- zira* adj.ms. (fs. *zərtə*, pl. *zirə*) **swollen, puffed up; haughty**
- zira* n.m. (Pers. *zīre*) **cumin**
- zmarta* n.f. (pl. *zmaryatə*) **song**
- zoda* part. **more** | *+rába zóda mən-+lázəm!* *mán +crəsyánə xóšu le-'atyàvə!* He disliked Christians much more than was necessary (A 3:16); *'əmmə-fanə zódəla!* It (the queue) is more than one hundred people (A 19:2); *'áxči 'à p̄t-+axlátla!* *là zódə!* You may eat only this, no more (A 35:7); *'ána xáčxa bùš-zoda mánnuxl xìyyən!* I have lived a little more than you (A 3:16); *búš xá mändi zòda b-yávvi káti!* They will give me something more (for them) (A 34:2); *zóda hác-naša lélə +bəddáyo 'áyya!* Nobody else knows it (B 17:20); *xá cilométr, zóda +basúra!* one kilometer, more or less (B 13:3). Combined with *sama: sáma zóda məndi!* *+'ávva véla škílu!* He has taken most of the property (A 38:5)
- zodunya* n.f. **interest, usury** | *zodunyət zuyzux cma-iva?* How much profit did you make?
- zodunyuya, zoduyta* n.f. **abundance, increase, benefit, advantage, pre-eminence, excellence**
- zoja* n.m. (pl. *zojə*) (1) **pair**. (2) **even number** | *+p̄ara 'u-zojə* odd and even numbers
- zona* n.m. **time, period, season** | *zonət +'anvə +m̄tilə* The season of grapes arrived

*zonana* n.m. (fs. *zonanta*, pl. *zonana*) buyer, purchaser | *mèymun zonána* monkey-dealers (A 44:6)

*zozə*, <sup>+zozə</sup>, Siri S. <sup>+zavzəv</sup> QI (vn. *zozeta*, vn. <sup>+zozeta</sup>) to howl (wolf, jackal)

*zuczəcca* adj.ms. (fs. *zuczəcta*, pl. *zuczəccə*) (1) pale, yellow. (2) cracked open (ground, buds) | *vardə zuczəcca* budding flowers

*zula* n.m. (Azer. *zol*) (pl. *zulə*, *zulalə*) (1) line; stripe (on material) | *xa zula frəšlə* He drew a line; *zulət ida* lines of the hand; *'a xakla zulə zulə +puslali* I designed that field in lines; <sup>+oyma</sup> *zulə zulə +puslala* She designed the dress with stripes. (2) strip, furrow. (3) route (of walking, travel) | *'ám zulət doğátla ju-'Urmi* whichever route you take in Urmi (B 1:36)

*zulta* n.f. (pl. *zulyatə*) long stick (used especially for shaking walnut trees to bring down the walnuts)

*zuyza* n.m. (pl. *zuyzə*) coin; amount of money, pl. money | *drilə zuyza +allé* He poured money onto them (e.g. newly married couple); *zuyza +xurda vədlə* He broke down the money into small change; <sup>+axəl</sup> i *zuyza* to embezzle; *xa-zuyza +raba* a lot of money; *jári ka-+árbab cmayútət xá zúyzə yavvıvalun* They had to give the landlord a certain sum of money (B 13:2)

*zuzanayít* adv. in the form of money (literary) | <sup>+sabáxta</sup> *'iva* <sup>cúlla</sup> *násə ci-yavvívə xá páscaš bízuzanayít* <sup>kál</sup> *násət +xlüyəla* The wedding-gift ceremony was where everybody gave a gift, in the form of money, to the holders of the wedding (B 10:26)

*zvadə* n.pl.tantum provisions

*zyana* n.m. (Azer. *ziyan*, Pers. *ziyān*) harm, injury | *marət zyana* harmful; *zyàna vódlox* You did damage (A 30:3)

*zyanana* adj.ms. (fs. *zyananta*, pl. *zyanana*) harmful, malicious

*zyura* n.m. (pl. *zyurə*) n.m. swelling, tumor, abscess, hernia

<sup>+zabṭən</sup> QI (vn. <sup>+zabṭanta</sup>) (Arab. *ḍabṭ*) to seize, to capture, to confiscate | *turcaya* <sup>+zubṭənnalun</sup> *'Urmi* The Turks seized Urmi; *'Urmi pəšla* <sup>+zubṭənta</sup> Urmi was seized; *hucma* <sup>+zubṭənnə</sup> *ka-məndiyət dahanəša* The government confiscated the property of this man

<sup>+zād</sup> n.f. (Pers. *zād* 'provisions') (1) food, provisions (for journey). (2) soup

<sup>+zadə</sup> i (vn. <sup>+zdəta</sup>) to fear; to be afraid (*mən* of), to be timid, to be anxious | *kámta ci-+zadıva mánno* <sup>ína</sup> *údi xína* <sup>+surılun</sup> *là +bəzdá mánno* Before they would fear it, but now they began not to fear it (B 1:30); <sup>+bəzdàyən</sup> *mánnax* I am afraid for you, for your sake (A 44:5)

- +*zaduya*, +*zaduvva* adj.ms. (fs. +*zaduta*, pl. +*zaduyə*, +*zaduvvə*) **fearful, timid, coward**
- +*zadyana* adj.ms. (fs. +*zadyanta*, pl. +*zadyanə*) **fearful, timid, coward**
- +*zadyanuya* n.f. **timidity, cowardice**
- +*zaǵa* n.m. (pl. +*zaǵə*) (Azer. zaǵa) **cave, grotto, lair; cliff, cleft in the rock**
- +*zakara* n.m. (pl. +*zakarə*) **weaver**
- +*zakər* I (vn. +*zakarta*) **to weave; to knit**
- +*zakra-*+*bəzzazə* n.f. **children's game** (B 9:6)
- +*zakra-jarda* n.f. (pl. +*zakra-jarda*) (lit. 'weaver of webs') **spider**
- +*zakrana*, +*zakara* n.m. (pl. +*zakrana*, +*zakara*) **weaver**
- +*zakzək* QI (vn. +*zakzakta*) (1) **to shiver (from cold).** (2) **to burst into laughter.**  
 (3) **to make clashing sound; to clatter, to chatter (teeth, jaw)** | +*anju*  
 +*zakzukəna mən-karta* His jaw is chattering from the cold
- +*zaləm* adj.invar. **merciless, ruthless, evil**
- +*zaləm* I (vn. +*zlamta*) **to oppress (+'al so.), to harass, to wrong, to burden, to rape, to treat unjustly**
- +*zaləm* n.m. (pl. +*zalimə*) (Azer. zalim < Arab.) **oppressor, tormentor, despot**
- +*zalimuya* n.f. **oppression, despotism, barbarity**
- +*zallə* I (vn. +*zleta*) **to split, to crack (intr. and tr.), to break with small fissure |**  
 šuyša +*zlilə* The glass cracked; kesa +*zlilə* The wood cracked; cipa bət-+*zallilə*  
 šuyša The stone will crack the glass
- +*zallu* (N), *zallu* (S) n.f. (pl. +*zallunyatə*) (Azer. zəli, Pers. zālū) **leech (Sal. and Gaw. +*zallu*)**
- +*zamət* I (vn. +*zmaṭta*) (Arab. ḍabata?) **to fill to the brim, to fill full**
- +*zamun* n.m. (Azer. zamin < Arab.) **bail, surety |** +*zamun* 'avəd I, +*zamun* *maxə*  
 I **to give a pledge**
- +*zamunuya* n.f. **bail**
- +*zapzəp* QI (vn. +*zapzapta*) **to beat, to bash; to whip**
- +*zap̄panj* n.f. (pl. +*zap̄panjə*) (Azer. sapand) **sling**
- +*zaraya* n.m. (pl. +*zarayə*) **sower, cultivator**
- +*zarvana* adj.ms. (fs. +*zarbanta*, pl. +*zarvana*) (1) **giant, strong (person).** (2)  
**stubborn, rough (wind)**
- +*zarbən* QI (vn. +*zarbanta*) **to become strong; to make strong |** +*zurbənnəla*  
 He has become strong; +*mixulta bət-+zarbənnalə* Food will make him  
 strong
- +*zarəč* I (vn. +*zračta*), +*zarzəč* QI (vn. +*zarzačta*) **to scratch (with nails and break skin), to claw |** *idi dula* +*zrəčta* My hand is scratched
- +*zarət* I (vn. +*zrat̄ta*) **to rule line; to scratch on a board; to write badly, to scribble**
- +*zarira* n.m. (pl. +*zarirə*) **ray of light**

- +*zarkət̪ta* n.m. (pl. +*zarkət̪ta*) (Kurd. zirkētk) **wasp** | +*zarkət̪t̪txmara* black wasp  
 (lit. wasp of the ass); +*zarkət̪t̪suysa* red wasp (lit. wasp of the horse)
- +*zarra* n.m. (pl. +*zarrə*) **descendant, offspring** | 'a +*zarrat manila?* Whose child  
 is this?; *lēla* +*msá xá* +*zárra-da jarvəssa!* It is not able to raise a single  
 offspring (A 39:21)
- +*zarrə* I (vn. +*zretə*) **to sow, to cultivate**
- +*zarumar* n.? snake's venom
- +*zarzač* QI (vn. +*zarzačta*) **to scribble**
- +*zarzər* QI (vn. +*zarzarta*) **to bray (donkey, ass); to utter a loud harsh cry**
- +*zarzəx* QI (vn. +*zarzaxta*) **to develop sores** | *səppatu* +*zurzəxlun* His lips  
 developed sores; *darba vela* +*zurzəxta* The wound has become inflamed into  
 a sore
- +*zaya* n.m. (fs. +*zata*, +*zayita*, pl. +*zayə*) **young of an animal or a bird; young**  
**horse (up to 2 years old); cub, whelp** | +*palət* II +*zayə* to breed young ones
- +*zduyta* n.f. **fear**
- +*zəkka-*+*zək* n.f. **sound of clashing metal, banging**
- +*zəlla* n.m. (pl. +*zəlla*) **crack, split**
- +*zəppa-*+*zəp* n.f. **sound of beating**
- +*zərča* n.m. (pl. +*zərčə*) **scratch**
- +*zərra-zər* n.f. **braying (of donkey, ass)**
- +*zivana* n.m. (pl. +*zivana*) (Pers. zavān) **weed**
- +*ziyarat* n.f. (Azer. ziyanət, Pers. ziyārat < Arab.) **worship of a sanctuary, a**  
**shrine, a place of worship**
- +*zlumya* n.m. (pl. +*zlumya*) (Arab. զուլմ) **oppression, injustice**
- +*zmiṭa* adj.ms. (fs. +*zməṭta*, pl. +*zmiṭə*) **very full; stuffed**
- +*zoğal* n.f. (Azer. zoğal) **cornel, dogwood**
- +*zol* n.m. (Azer. zol) **line, strip, queue**
- +*zor* (Azer. zor, Kurd. zor) (1) n.f. **strength, force.** (2) adj.invar. **strong, oppres-**  
**sive, terrible.** (3) adj.invar. **stiff (hair).** (4) adv. **very** | +*zorjarusa bətxanələ* He  
 is exaggerating (especially by telling huge lies. Lit. He is milling very coarsely)
- +*zor-*+*bazor* n.f. **forcing** | *mút* +*zor-*+*bazor-ila?* What is this forcing (me to do  
 something I do not want to do)?
- +*zoruyta* n.f. (Azer. zor, Kurd. zor) **force; oppression**
- +*zrəčta* n.f. **scratch**
- +*zruta* n.f., +*zrayta* n.f. **cultivation, tillage; sowing, husbandry, farming**
- +*zulm*, +*zullum* n.m. (Azer. zülm < Arab.) **oppression, persecution, injustice**
- +*zurna* n.f. (pl. +*zurnə*) **pipe (wind instrument)** | +*zurna davula* n.f. pipe and  
 drum music; *maxə* I +*zurna* to blow a pipe; to waste one's time (metaphori-  
 cal)

## ž

žadaya n.m. (pl. žadayə), žadyana n.m. (pl. žadyanə) teaser of wool

žadə i (vn. ždeta) to tease (wool, cotton); to comb out (flax) | bət-žadənnux I'll take you apart!; kəštət ždeta cotton-cleaner in the form of a bow

žadyana → žadaya

žaǵəš i (vn. žgašta) (1) to shake, to be alarmed, to be moved. (2) to be troubled; to be rough (sea)

žarjor n.f. stew of meat and vegetables

žažža n.m. (child language) meat

žǵušya n.m. (pl. žǵušyə) tumult, turmoil, agitation | ˊavəd i žǵušya, darə i žǵušya to alarm, to arouse

## Illustrations

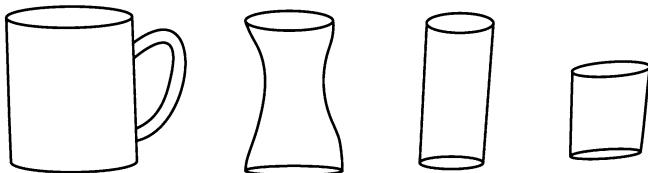


FIGURE 1    *+əstican* 'cup, glass'

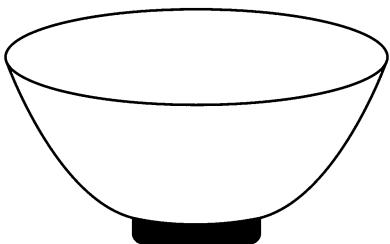


FIGURE 2    *+badya* 'bowl'

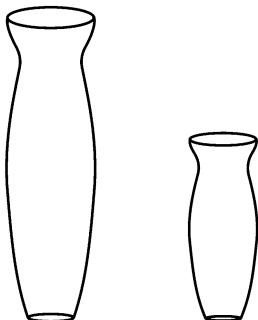


FIGURE 3  
*ku̯ka* 'tall  
pot'

FIGURE 4  
*ku̯kta* 'small pot'

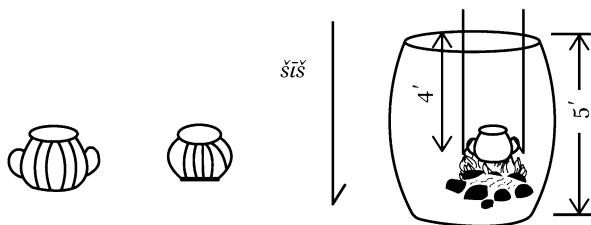


FIGURE 5    *+čallita* 'small pot' placed in the oven with rods (*šiša*)

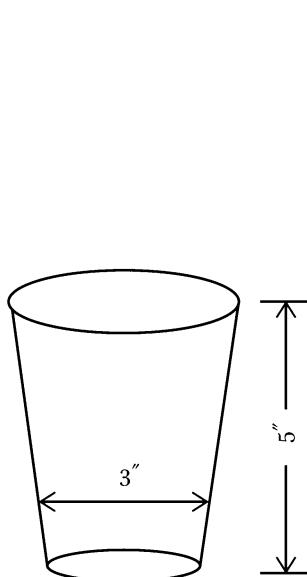


FIGURE 6  
*casa* 'goblet'

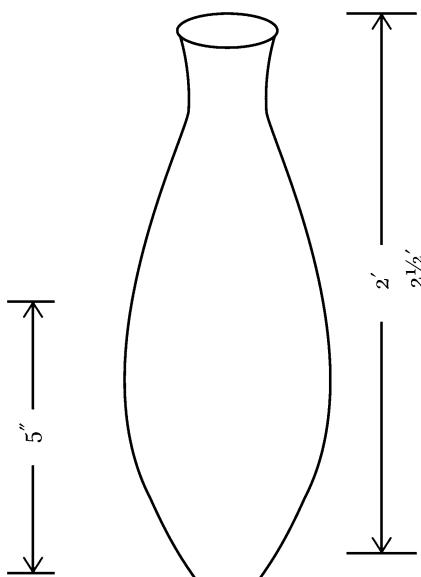


FIGURE 7  
*manya* 'pot used for buried cheese'



FIGURE 8  
*talma* 'pot  
for water'



FIGURE 9  
*taləmta*  
'small pot'

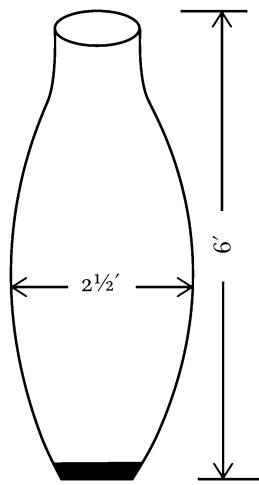


FIGURE 10  
*+lina* 'large tall pot'



FIGURE 11  
*+lənta*  
'small pot'



FIGURE 12  
*kadala* 'pot  
with four  
handles'



FIGURE 13  
*kadalta*  
'small pot'

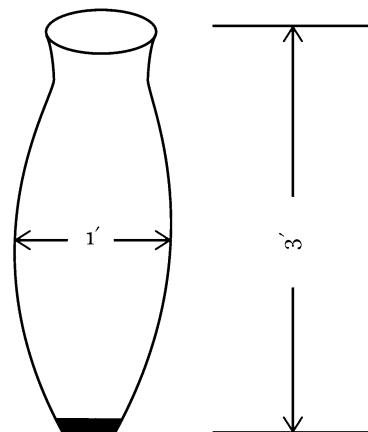


FIGURE 14  
*jardəlta* 'pot for storing wine'

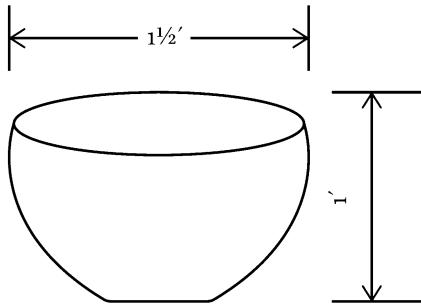


FIGURE 15  
+moda 'large basin or platter; milk-pan'

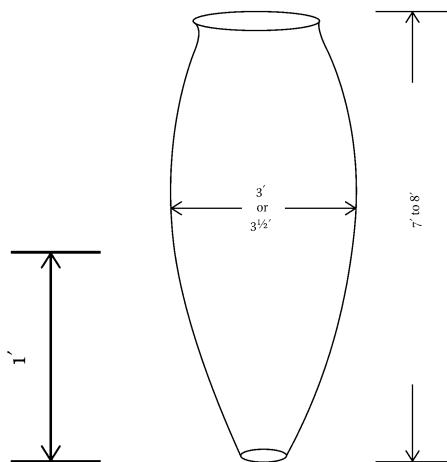


FIGURE 16  
+tajar 'large container'

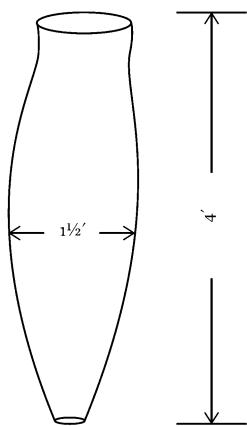


FIGURE 17  
+meta 'pot used for churning'

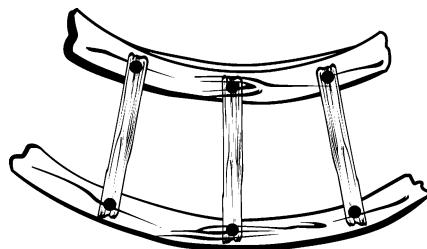


FIGURE 18  
cursi 'frame of churning pot'

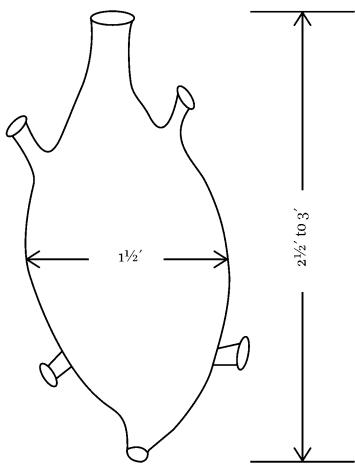


FIGURE 19  
*mzida 'leather bag, leather churn'*

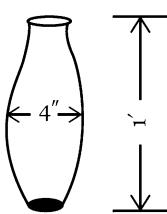


FIGURE 20  
*cubba 'pot (filled with cheese and buried upside-down)'*

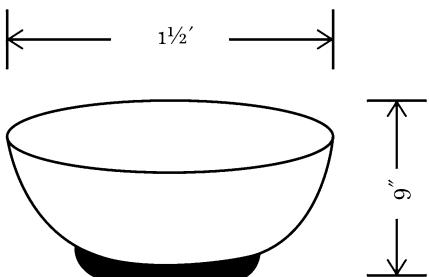


FIGURE 21 *meju 'bowl used for kneading'*

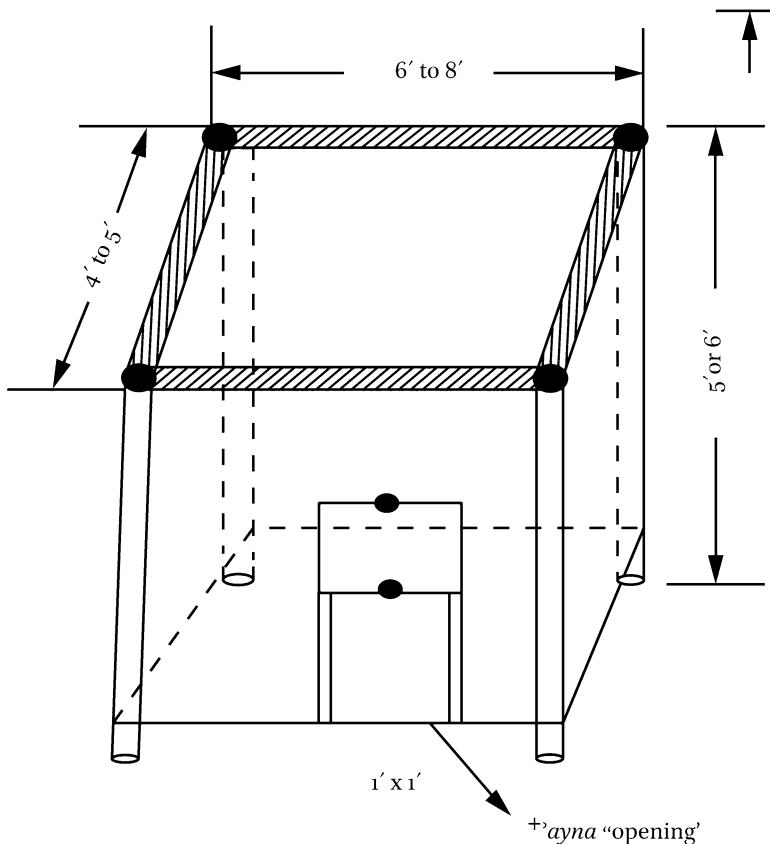


FIGURE 22 *+kulina* 'wooden box for storing flour'

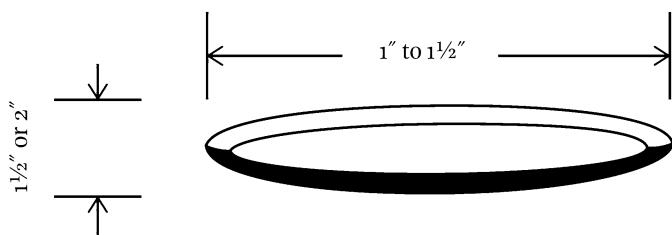


FIGURE 23 *majma* 'tray'

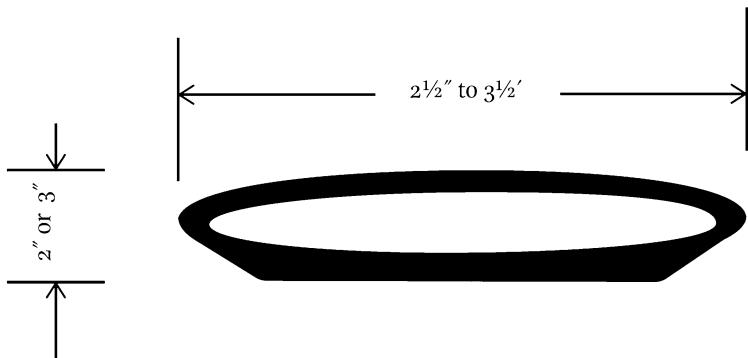


FIGURE 24 *xōn 'tray (for carrying food, especially bread)'*

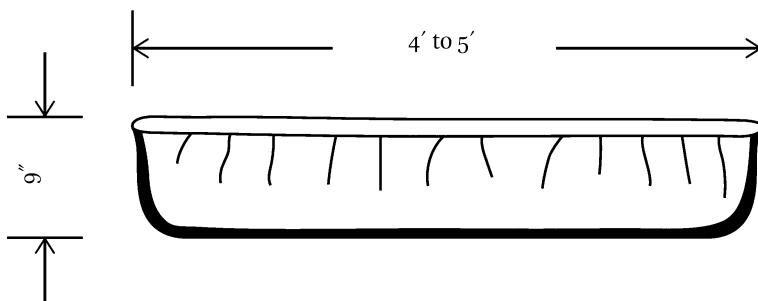


FIGURE 25 *marəjla 'large metal saucepan'*

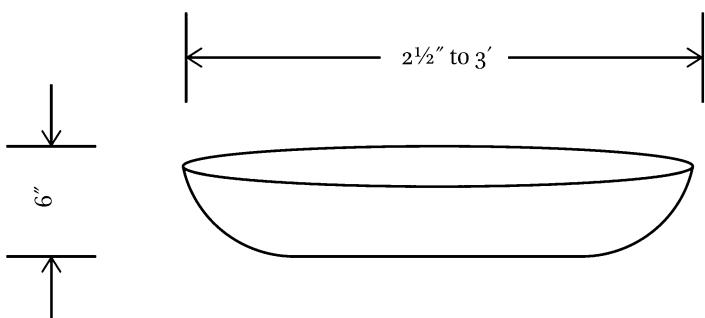
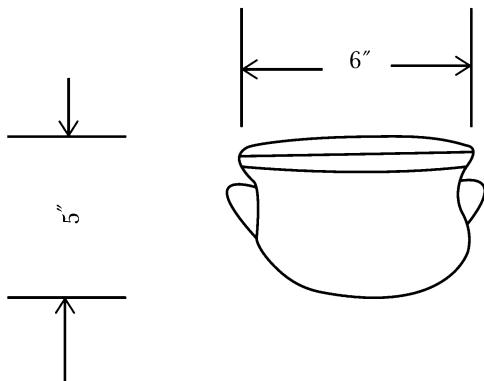
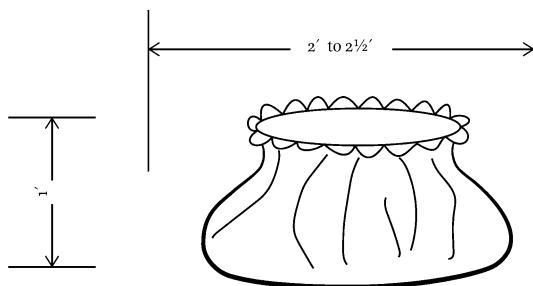
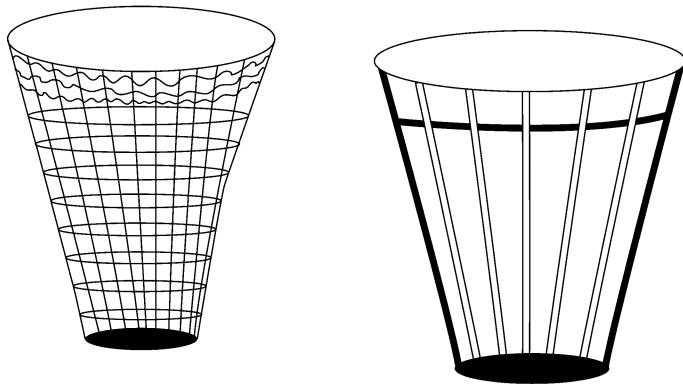


FIGURE 26 *marjəlta 'small metal saucepan'*

FIGURE 27 *+kusarta 'cooking pot'*FIGURE 28 *+kazanča 'copper saucepan'*FIGURE 29 *+kartala 'pannier basket carried on the back'*

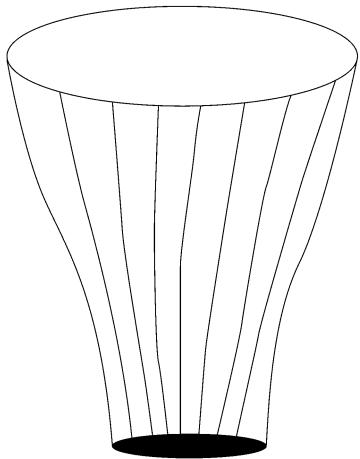


FIGURE 30  
+kərṭalta 'small pannier basket'

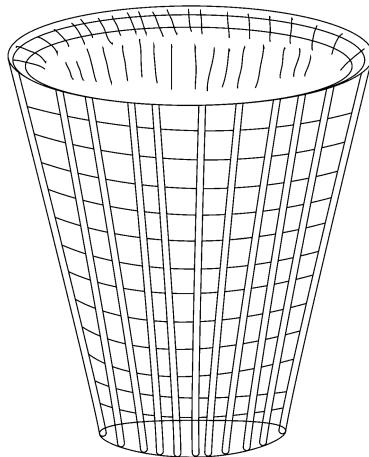


FIGURE 31  
+sakur 'large basket carried on back'

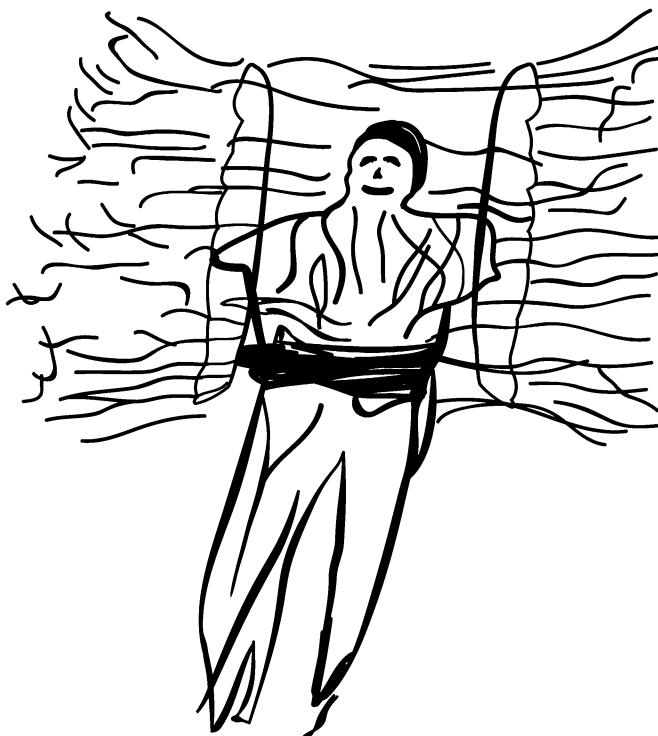


FIGURE 32 carta 'long load put horizontally on back'

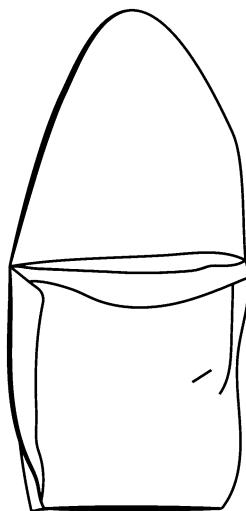


FIGURE 33  
*+janta 'bag (with handles)'*

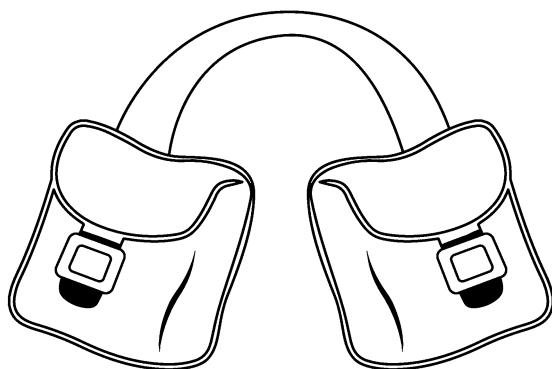


FIGURE 34  
*+xurjun 'saddle-bag'*

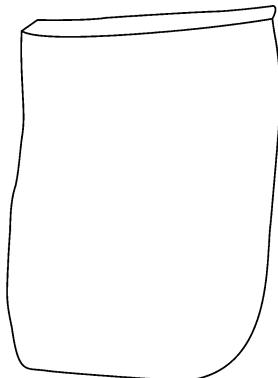


FIGURE 35  
*mecu 'measuring bag'*

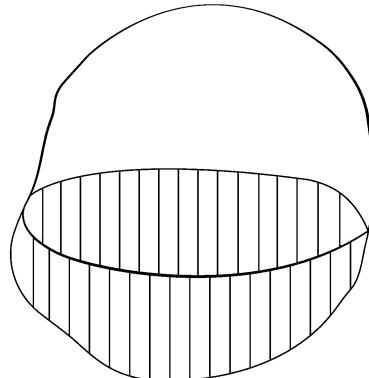


FIGURE 36  
*zambul 'metal basket'*

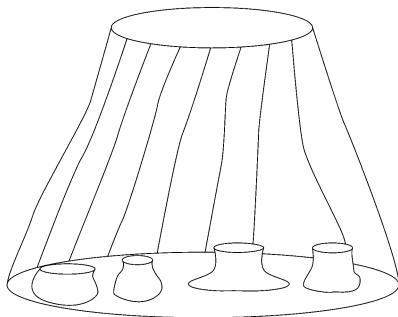


FIGURE 37 *macubba* 'large overturned basket for storing food'

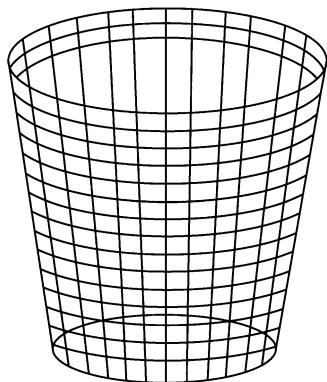


FIGURE 38  
*sala* 'basket'

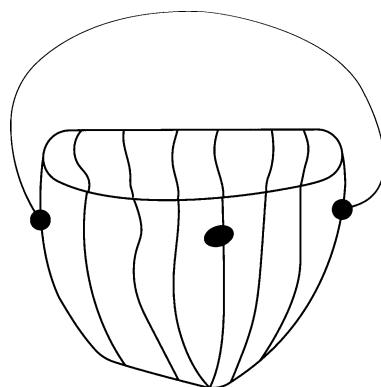


FIGURE 39  
*salta* 'small basket'

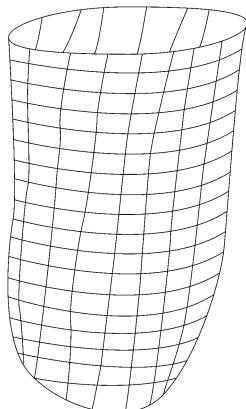


FIGURE 40  
*kuyupa* 'long woven basket'

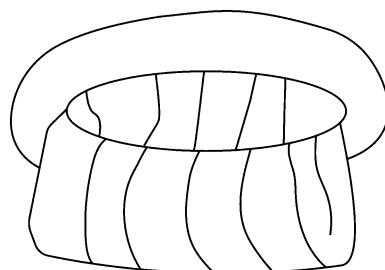


FIGURE 41  
*kalta* 'shallow basket'

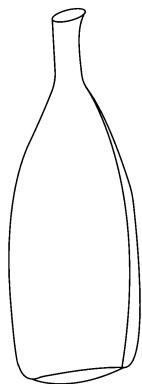


FIGURE 42  
*tunji* 'pitcher'

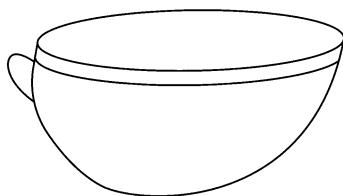


FIGURE 43  
+*tasa* 'bowl'

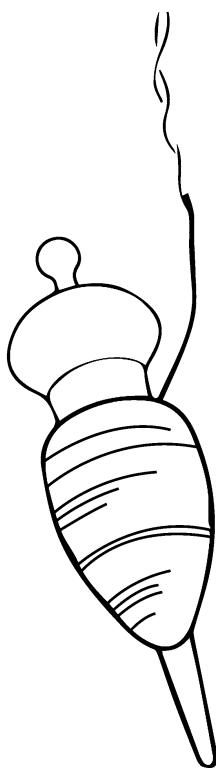


FIGURE 44  
*cuya* 'spindle'



FIGURE 45  
+*napusa* 'tool for  
beating wool'



FIGURE 46  
+*xasina* 'axe'



FIGURE 47  
+*narra* 'large  
axe'

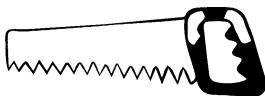


FIGURE 48  
*nisarta* 'saw with single handle'



FIGURE 49  
*sesa* 'buck saw with single handle'



FIGURE 50  
<sup>+məššar</sup> 'saw with two handles'

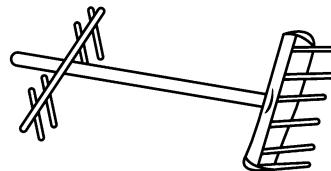


FIGURE 51  
*šapna* 'wooden harrow dragged on ploughed field'

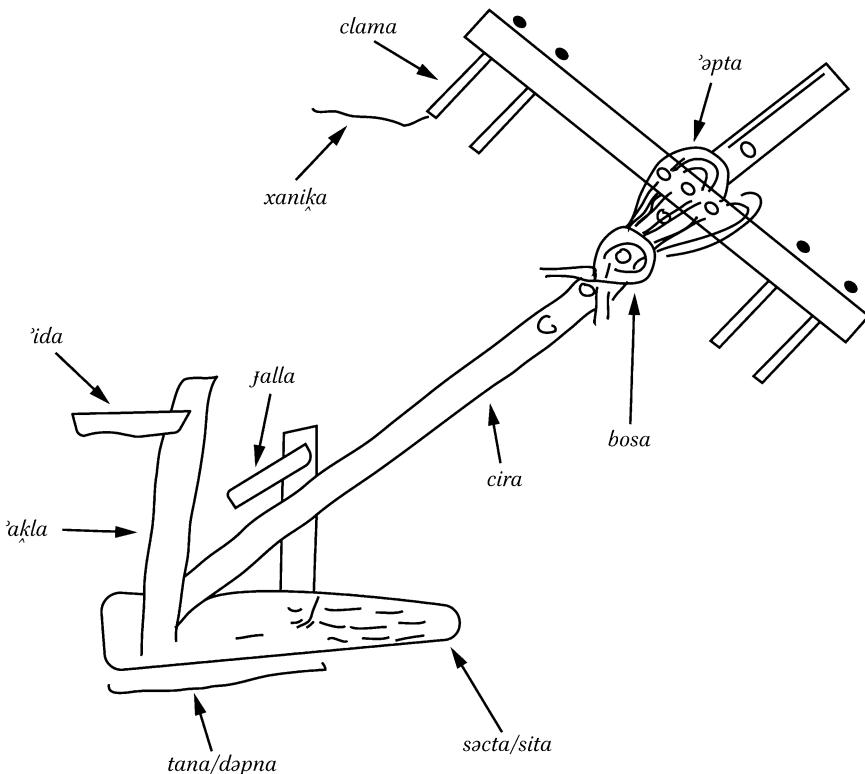


FIGURE 52 *ptana* 'wooden plough'

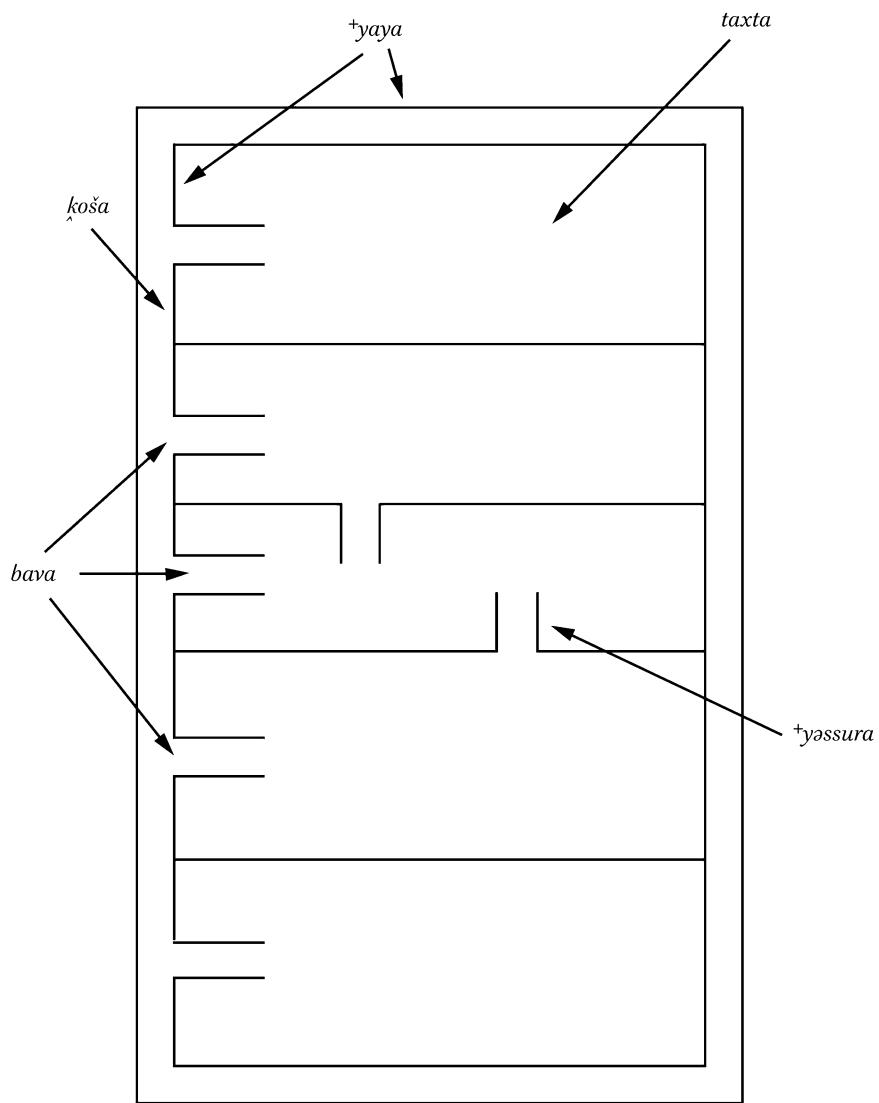


FIGURE 53 *Irrigated field*

# The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmia

# **Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics**

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# The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi

VOLUME 4

TEXTS

*By*

Geoffrey Khan



B R I L L

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*Texts*

• •

# Folktales

## A1 The Bald Man and the King (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) 'á masàla! tanánna қa-dìyyux ́átom! 'ila! xà-dana! cačàla! 'òtval ju-xà! mdita! ́átya +rábä cačàla! kúrbæt +əsrà-danæ cačàla-ətva! ́átvalun ... sítysæt կësa xuté! ci-maxíva +àllu, c-avíva +børxača! m-dà-riša! +al-dò-riša, m-dà-riša! +al-dò-riša, c-áviva vàdal nù búbaška! nù búbaška! ́áx-ət +matrìyøna sìlysæ! (2) 'ína c-azíva +màlyat šaklìva mən-náša, mən-duccanànæ ci-+jammíva +màlyat b-dó-mändi ci-xayyìva-’anna! 'ína 'á +juræt cačàla! +juræt cačàla! +yànæ! sar-dastéval 'íva! biš! +'illul mòn! dan-xinæ! xàšla! cás! xá-dana +tajær. 'o-+tajær қa-dá cačala +rábä ci-+bayyíva! +rábä ci-+bayyíva! +tajær +bøddayæt mü-ilæ-xina? +rábä ci-+bayyíva қa-dá cačala! xàšla! cás! kat-šaklìvala zìuyza! moriša-jáldæ-da ci-kemìva, m-kám náša naplíva +al +šüla, kat-zuyzé šaklìvala mənné, náša yavví-valun +màlyat! ci-šaklìva zìuyza, c-azíva, xayyìva biyyé! (3) ́ó-yuma 'á cačala xášla cás ... +tajær. márra қatul +tajær márra қa-cačala! қat-ána børràxšævæn! +al-Màcca! Måcca +bøddayæt mü-ilæ? 'ánnæ mæssølmána c-ázi Måcca! Madína! Måcca! Pziyärät. márra 'ána børràxshæn +al-Màcca! қa-tré yàrxæ! 'u-zúyzæt treyárxa b-yávvæn kátxus buš-+rábä! 'ína +'aynuš ́ýya +al-mändìyyi! +al-xayyütyi! 'íman tili +dàrril bøt-yavvánnuš +rábä! (4) márra +rábä +spày! 'u-švákla b-šèna! nšáklun +'uydalæ! cačala xàšla! 'u-+tajær xàšla bèta! +tajær 'òtval xa-báxta +rábä šapþærtæ! tuxmænnæ! қat-’a-báxta 'ica mattíla! kát +xiyalu 'ávi +ràhat! tuxmænnæ +rábä +rábä, márra қat-’átl xá-dana +xòra, +hàjilæ! +'áv=da xíšelæ Måcca, xíšelæ Madína, xíšelæ +hàj. +rábä mhùmna nášelæ! cíl-naša +yatçila! láblæn mattænnæ cás! (5) bøskálolæ báxtu børràxshæla cæs-+hàj. márlæ +hàj, +xòri, 'ána hác-ducta là mučázli! қat-báxti mattænnæ hemánta! müyyon cæslux! 'ánnæ-da xá dúnæ dàvæna! kátxus! kát 'án xurójlux қa-báxti, 'án +bsærrun! 'ána p̄t-átæn b-yavvænnun! 'u-+hàj. márlæ! 'ol +rábä +spày! 'ána báxtæt díyyux 'ax-xa-xàtila! 'ána +rábä +spày! bøt-’ávæn! mučázayad mánno, hásyar! 'áha mattúyolæ báxtu +tämæl 'ú +tajær! børràxshæla Måcca! kà! trè-yarxæ! 'ú cačala børràxshæla bètu! 'u-báxta mattúyona cæs-+hàj.

## A1      The Bald Man and the King (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) I shall tell you this story. It is (as follows): There was a bald man in a town. There were many bald men. There were nearly ten bald men. They had a wooden horse beneath them. They used to strike it (while) they ran from this side to that side, from this side to that side, and (while) they used to shout<sup>1</sup> '*nu bubəška! nu bubəška!*' as if they were riding a (real) horse. (2) Now, they used to go and take protection money from people. They used to gather protection money from shops. They used to live by this. Now, the elder of the bald men, the elder of the bald men, that is he was the head of their gang, he was higher (in rank) than the others. He went to a merchant. The merchant used to like this bald man very much. He liked him very much. You know what a merchant is, right. He used to like this bald man very much. He went to him to take money. In the early morning they used to get up, before people went to work, to take their money from them, the people used to give them protection money. They used to take money, go off and live by it. (3) On that day the bald man went to the merchant. He said to him, the merchant said to the bald man, 'I am going to Mecca.' Do you know what Mecca is? The Muslims go to Mecca, Medina, Mecca, pilgrimage. He said 'I am going to Mecca for two months, and the money of two months I shall give to you, and more too, but keep your eye on my belongings, my livelihood. When I come back and return, I shall give you a great deal.' (4) He said 'Very well' and left him with (a greeting of) peace. They kissed each other. The bald man went (on his way) and the merchant went home. The merchant had a very beautiful wife. He thought about where he could he put this wife of his so his thoughts could be at peace. He thought a lot. He said 'I have a friend. He is a pilgrim. He too has gone to Mecca and Medina, he has gone on the pilgrimage. He is a very pious man. Everybody knows him. I will take her and place her with him.' (5) He takes his wife and he goes to the pilgrim. He says 'Pilgrim, my friend. I did not find any place to leave my wife in trust. I have brought her to you. These are a load<sup>2</sup> of gold coins for you, which, if you spend them on my wife, if they are insufficient, I shall come and pay them (back).' The pilgrim says 'Oh, very good! Your wife is like a sister of mine. I shall be very careful with her, vigilant.' He places his wife there. The merchant goes to Mecca for two months and the bald man goes to his house. They place the wife with the pilgrim.

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally: do.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: world.

(6) xá tré †flá šabátə +vàrəla. | 'áyya báxtal bərráxšəla +hàmmam. | 'ú +hàjí-da bərráxšələ +hàmmam. | bəxzàyolə 'áyya báxtal +rába šapòrtal b-+págrol 'ú šavvùtələ +'állo. | +báyyə 'ázəl kùrbo. | báxtal lèla bəšvakal. +'ávva +hàjí +ràbal +nərvàs-ləl +byàyələl xèla 'ávəd +'állo. | báxta čarčùrəla. | (7) čarčùrəla 'ùl +hàjí 'átvələ xá-dana ríja. | +rába +spày-iwal 'o-ríja. | +rába mhùmnəva ķa-+hàjí. | bərráxšəl +bərxátləl javàyl bəxzáyolə 'inəl +hàjí šulxàyal 'ú báxta šulcèta. | +hàjí +bəddáyələ kássat mù-iləl ķa-ríja márələl ķat| bəxzáyat 'a-báxta +rába +sràxtəla, | +sràxta +yánəl +hàr vítələl +yána xərbəla. | átxa baxtátəl jári péši +k̄tiləl dúk 'ido +sùrrun, | lābəlla jú ... váddar mən-mdítal ju-méša, | +k̄tilüllə. | (8) ríja májbur-ila. | májbur-ila šakállə báxta labəlla. | 'ido +bəsyarèləl labúlolə ķat-+k̄atəlla. | 'u-'áyya báxtal +rába nonùyələl +xayəš vádən mánnuxl là +k̄túlli bəxya, | +ràbal bənpála 'áklu bənšaķəl ķat-là +k̄túlli. | cùl-məndit +báyyət yavvànnux, | 'o-jülli, | cùl-məndit +báyyət dàvi, | +rába dàvə 'átlı, | kannášyátət dával jardànbənd dáva, | 'isákłət dáva. | cùl-məndit +báyyət škúllun. | 'áxči là +k̄túlli! lé-+bayyan mètan. | (9) 'ú ríja lābbu bəkyàdələ. | lèlə +bəktálo. | bəškalélə júllo šaluxèləl 'inəl +hàjí mírəva ķat-júllo dəmmána mayyátlun ķatl ķa-ríju. | báxta márəla ķatl b-yavvánnux +rába zùyzəl 'ú 'a-zannàtti, | zannátti +yánəl dàvi! lābəl zabənnun. | škúllux xá-dana 'árba, | +k̄túlla dómmo máttılə +al-jülli lābəlla ķá mārux. | 'ú ríja 'ú-məndi vàdulə. | báxta bəšvákol šulxètal +táməl ju-méša! +bár m-mdítal. | bəšvákol +táməl. | ríja bərráxšələ. | bəškála xá-dana +térəl +bəktálulə. | dámma mattíyulə +al-jüllə, | mayyéla ķa-+hàjí. | mára +k̄tilàli. | +hàjí +ràhat-ila.

(10) 'áyya báxtal +tamma xabùlələ. | +várəla xítjəllələl ķalpəl 'ù ... | ķat-là xábla. | níxa níxa níxa níxa ķarbúnəla la-mdítal. | kúrbət mdítal 'átvə bət-+ķuravátə. | +bəddáyət bət-+ķuraváy mù-inə?| nášə +tamrılıl javé. | bərráxšəla +táməl jáno bəknázola. | (11) cačáləl móriša jáldə kímələl. | nú bubùškal +matrúyələ b-dó ķesu sùysə. | bəxzáyolə +hála jáldələ. | +sá'at xámšəla. | 'ica p̄t-ázəl 'adíyya?| mára 'ázən xáčča ... +maxlètal mìyya 'ávəd mìyya +yánə +jár! xášlə +táməl ķat-+jár. | xzílə 'ína xá-dana rišəl +bəryàmələ, | bəcyàpələ, | +bəryàmələl bəcyàpələ. | xáčča buš-ķurba xàšləl xzílə násələ. | +xàrtə | xáčča=da kámta xàšlə. | márra ķatul ķat 'óyan +xlápux, | lā-ta ķurba, | šulxètən. | (12) bərráxšəa 'áxči jašùkələl +bəddáyolə +bəddáyolə 'áha ķat bax-+tajər-ila. | 'áha 'áy +havàrl māral 'á mū-titəla b-rišo?

(6) One, two, three weeks pass. The woman goes to the bathroom. The pilgrim also goes to the bathroom. He sees the woman, beautiful in her body, and he desires her. He wants to go near her. The woman does not allow it. The pilgrim became very upset and wants to force her. The woman screams. (7) She screams. Now, the pilgrim had a servant. That servant was very good. He was very faithful to the pilgrim. He goes and runs inside. He sees that the pilgrim is naked and the woman is naked. The pilgrim knows what the situation<sup>3</sup> is and says to the servant 'You can see that this woman is in a mad passion, in a mad passion, that is, she is hot (with passion), that is, she is wicked. Such women should be killed. Seize her and tie her hands. Take her outside the city into the forest and kill her.' (8) The servant is forced (to do so). He is forced to take the woman away. He ties her hands and takes her to kill her. But the woman begs very much 'Please. I plead with you don't kill me,' crying very much, falling kissing his feet (saying) 'Don't kill me. I shall give you everything you want—these clothes of mine, everything you want, my gold, I have a lot of gold, gold earrings, a golden necklace, a gold ring, take everything you want. Just don't kill me! I don't want to die.' (9) The servant feels sorry for her.<sup>4</sup> He does not kill her. He strips her clothes off, since the pilgrim had said to his servant 'Bring her bloody clothes to me.' The woman says 'I shall give you a lot of money, this ornament of mine, my ornament'—meaning 'my gold.' 'Take them away and sell them. Take a sheep, kill it, put its blood on my clothes and take it to your master.' The servant does this. He leaves the woman naked there in the forest, outside of the town. He leaves her there. The servant goes. He takes a bird and kills it. He puts the blood on her clothes and brings them to the pilgrim. He says 'I have killed her.' The pilgrim is content.

(10) The woman becomes cold there. She enters under shrubs and bark in order not to get cold. Very slowly she comes near to the town. Near the city there was a cemetery. You know what cemeteries are? They bury people in them. She goes there and huddles up. (11) The bald man is awake in the early morning. '*nu bubuška*', he is galloping with his piece of wood, the horse. He sees that it is still early. It is five o'clock. Where will he go now? He says 'I shall go ...'—pardon, 'to pass water,'—that is urinate. He went there to urinate. He saw a head going up and down, going up and down. He went a little nearer and saw that it was a person. Then, he went a little further forward. She said to him 'Please, do not come near, I am naked.' (12) He goes forward and as soon as he looks, he recognizes her. He knows that she is the wife of the merchant. He says 'Oh dear! What

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: story.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: His heart burns.

mára xáti spúr +àlli dūn-bità. bətyávələ +al-súysu ķesa +maṭrúyələ dūz-bèta. (13) ka-yámmu mārələ ՚cət ՚tlax júllə ՚sañirə hállun ՚káti jáldə! ՚yan +xlápux ՚ka-mù-inə? mārala là hámzəm ՚áxči hällun ՚é buš-՚sañárta lváštax hälla. mārala xina-á mút hùcməla? húcmət málcəla? mü=ilə? +rába júllə škíləvət! íta ՚annə=da +báyyət šaklótlun mánni? mára là hámzəm ՚áxči hällun. bəškaléla júllət yòmmu labulələ, +rappuyéł ՚káto. mārala xáti ՚skúl lvùšlun, tá +bári. (14) báxtal bəškaléla júllə bəlvəsəla. bitáyələ mára +narahát là-oyat! ՚axúnax lélə míta. ՚ána xáyən ՚ka-díyyax tú +al-súysi lablənnax. ՚ay-da ՚áklo mattúyola l-á-pát l-é-patət ՚esa +u-mxáyəna bərráxələ bëta, labúlol bëta. ՚ka-yámmu mārələ yòmmi ՚ku-jáldə vúd +tám̄ta ՚ka-dá ... +xánəm ՚cúncət hác léla +xəltə xáti. +axla. ՚ón xa-náša +buķərrə mənnáx ՚kat-՚áhal mānila, tányat! bràtila. ՚ón márrax lélə lišanax parmənnə. ՚u-caçála=da yámmu +yaṭṭával ՚kat-xá-məndi tunilə t-avədlə. (15) kómla zurázla ՚káto +tám̄tal ՚u-júllo lvišəla. caçála +plátlə supyála b-yámmu +plátlə xášla +bár ... +šulu. xášla +al-dà duccána +al-dé duccána, +al-dé duccána. xá-ja +várra xá +dána +smílə ՚kat! +tájər tìyyələ. +tájər bitáyələ +ál ... mdita +máyələ. u-+sadúrələlə ՚ánnə mára xallättəl ՚ka-+háji. +sadúrul présent +rába +timánta +sadúrol ՚ka-+háji ՚kat-báxtul +maddərra. (16) +háji bəškaléla ... présent ՚na ՚kála lót mən-báxta. +tájər mārələlə bálcət ՚ána jáni ՚ázən lablánna p-ídi xa-məndi ՚u-šákən báxti mayyənna, bálcət +kanúnət dánnə ՚atxələ. bəškaléla mádra xá-dunyə məndi ՚sañira ՚kat-múyyula mən-Màcca labulú ՚ka-+háji. xardiýəna b-kdálat +diyadala, bənšákəna +uydala. ՚u-bətyávəna xa-+cáy bəstáyəna, e-pášcas yávol ՚ka-+háji. +xárta mārələ ՚kat! é-+dana +raba lè hamzəmmíva nášə súrəl mən-nášə +júra. masàlan ՚iman=ət xá náša +júra +avərvəl jári ՚emótvə +al-aklux ՚ka-xəmyànu ՚ka-xmàtux ՚ka-savùnux. ՚áha-zə léva +bašúra hamzámva mán +háji. (17) mórrə +háji +rába +maxlëta +baṭlábən +rába bənxàpən ՚kat-tánən hemánti tìyyən lablənnə. hemántu báxtuva. mórrə +šurílə +háji ՚átxa báxya +šülə ՚kat! á mù tánən ՚ka-díyyux? báxtux! lèn-+bašurə

has happened to her?' He says 'My sister, wait for me. I am coming back.' He sits on his horse of wood and gallops straight home. (13) He says to his mother 'Wherever you have beautiful clothes give them to me quickly!' 'May I ask<sup>5</sup> what are they for?' He says 'Don't speak, just give them. Give (me) your most beautiful dress.' She says 'What order is this? Is it the order of the king? What is it? You have taken many clothes, now, do you want to take these too from me?' He says 'Don't speak, just give them (to me).' He takes the clothes of his mother. He takes them (with him) and throws them to her. He says 'My sister, take them and put them on, (then) come after me.' (14) The woman takes the clothes and puts them on. She comes and he says 'Don't be upset. Your brother has not died. I am alive for you. Sit on my horse and I shall take you away.' She puts her leg this side and that side of the wood, they strike (the horse) and he goes home, he takes her home. He says to his mother 'Mother, get up quickly, make breakfast quickly for this lady, because my sister<sup>6</sup> has not eaten anything. Let her eat. If somebody asks you who this is, say "She is my sister." If you say that she is not, I shall cut out your tongue.' Now, the bald man—his mother knew that if he said something, he would do it. (15) She got up and prepared breakfast for her, she put on her clothes and the bald man went out. He delivered her into the care of his mother and he went out to work. He went to this shop, to that shop, to that shop. Once some time had passed, he heard that the merchant had come back. The merchant comes back and arrives at the town. He sends gifts<sup>7</sup> to the pilgrim. He sends him a very expensive present. He sends it to the pilgrim so that he will return his wife. (16) The pilgrim takes them ... the present, but there is no word about the woman. The merchant says 'Perhaps I myself should go and take something by my own hand and bring my wife back. Perhaps the custom of these people is like this.' He takes a load of beautiful things, which he has brought from Mecca, and takes them to the pilgrim. They embrace each other around the neck<sup>8</sup> and kiss one another. They sit down, drink tea and he gives the present to the pilgrim. Then he says—at that time young people did not talk much with the older people. For example, when an old person entered, you would have to get up on your feet, for your father-in-law, for your mother-in-law, for your grandfather. So he (the merchant) did not manage to talk to the pilgrim. (17) He said 'Pilgrim, I beg your pardon, I am very ashamed to say that I have come to take what I left in trust.' His trust was his wife. He said, the pilgrim began crying like this and so forth, (saying) 'What can I tell you? Your wife—I

<sup>5</sup> Literally: May I be your substitute.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. the lady.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: These—they say gifts.

<sup>8</sup> Literally: They wind themselves around each other's neck.

tánən| 'ína màjbur-īn tanánnux| kát hemántət díyyux màtla.| +tájər mxáyələ ju-rišu| bòxyal +bækjálol jànu.| dàx móttəla?!| márrə móttəla lá b-+xábrət diyyan| xásla +al-mèša.| 'u-díva +xilolə| bòxyal bòxyal bas-lótlux xá nišánka?| xá nišánka káti yávvat kát mújjur móttəla?! márrə lā hóč móndi látli-mənno.| 'áxčil móttəla 'u-+tumrálə.| díva +xilála.| (18) +ávva +tájər| màjbur pyášələ| bərráxšələ cəs-málca,| cəs-málca| ká-málca márələ kóssat.| Pdāstān-Pu| márol ká-málca ká-ána báxti müttonva cás +háji.| 'ádi týyən šaklənna,| márələ móttəla.| 'a-mújjur-oya-+yana?!| (19) málca| +šadúrələ +bár +háji.| +bækráyulə| +baķúrələ mónnu| bút báxtət +tájər.| māra! 'ávən +xlápux| 'áha dùz-ilə. báxtu müttova cásli hemánta| 'ána 'ax-xáti xúmyonya| 'ína lā-b-+xabrat díyyi| xáštəla +al-mèša,| díva +xilolə| mújjurra yavvónna xína?!| +bar-móttəla móttəla.| málca márələ 'ótlux| sádə?! márrə hí| +kúrban,| 'ávən +xlápux| mánina?!| (20) márrə ríjilə| 'ú +kazí ká-ka-cúllə dá mdítə c-ávəd +kazí,| +šulánə zarəzlun.| 'u-+mállələ| 'ú xá-dana +kássab=ilə| +kássab| ríšət cùčal +alùla,| +'ávun-ilə| cúllə +bəddáyəna| kát móttəla.| málca márələ xíub mù-+bayyat mónnu xína?!| +bar-máttəla móttəla| díuna cúllə sadýta yávəna.| +káryéél cullə-ánnə-da málca +támə.| márrə hí móttəla.| ká-yála| ká-+tájər mórnəna| xub-máttəla móttəla báxtux,| mù-+bayyat mónnu?|

(21) láxxal cačálə| cúllə 'ánnə +bəsmayələ.| bráta ju-bétula.| 'ína bəxzáyələ ká-+háji mü-ilə vāda.| bəxzáyələ +átra mújjurra +bəxdárələ| bəxzáyələ málca mújjurral +díván vádələ.| 'ánnə cúllə bəxzayələ| cúllə +bəsmayələ| bərráxšələ +rába +pšíma| ká-dá móndi| ká-láttən| xá móndi| jáv +átra| ká-t| xázbùyna 'ódat +állu.| (22) bərráxša ká-báxta márələ| māra| +rába +bəpšáməvən xáti| +jórax týyələ| 'ína mírəna ká-+at-móttəvət| 'u-málca=zə kúblolə| 'u-+háji cúllə kúblálun ká-+at-máttət| báxta bəxyələ| mára 'óyan +xlápux| lábəlli cəs-+jóri.| mára xáti| mújjur lablánnaç cəs-+jórax?| cúllə +bəddáyəna 'at-máttət| 'én 'ádi +yáttı| ká-+atən cásli bəxxáyət| 'u-kátax| káti| ká-+jórax bət-kátlı| ká-+xabré lá-+palət dùyla.| bas-spür| xázzən mù-+amsən 'ódən.| (23) 'á bəspárələ| +rába taxmünələ| b-léla b-yúma lélə bədmáxa.| PbəlāxaráP +bækrayələ 'an-cačálə xínə| cačálə xínə cúllə

cannot say (it), but I must tell you that what you left in trust died.' The merchant beat his head, weeping. He kills himself (in anguish). 'What do you mean she died!?' He said 'She died. Without our permission, she went to the forest and a wolf ate her.' He weeps and weeps 'But do you not have a sign? Can you give me a sign as to how she died?' He said 'No, I have nothing of hers. She just died and I buried her. A wolf ate her.' (18) The merchant has no choice.<sup>9</sup> He goes to the king, the king. He tells the king the story. He tells his story to the king (saying) that 'I placed my wife with the pilgrim. Now I have come back to take her and he says "She has died." How could this be?' (19) The king sends for the pilgrim. He summons him and asks him about the wife of the merchant. He says 'With respect,<sup>10</sup> this is true. He placed his wife with me in trust and I looked after her like my sister, but, without my permission she went to the wood and a wolf ate her. How can I give her back?! After she has died, she has died.' The king says 'Do you have witnesses?' He says 'Yes, with respect.'<sup>11</sup> 'Who are they?' (20) He said 'There is my servant, my servant, and the judge, who works as judge for the whole town and sorts things out, and there is the mullah, and there is a butcher, a butcher, he is the head of the quarter, the street. All know that she is dead' The king says 'So, what do you want from him? After she has died, she has died. Look they are all bearing testimony.' The king called all of them there. He said 'Yes, she is dead.' They say to the lad, to the merchant 'So, (if) your wife is dead, she is dead. What do you want from him?'

(21) Here, the bald man is hearing all these things. The girl is in his house. Well, he sees what the pilgrim is doing. He sees how the country is being run. He sees how the king holds a court. He sees all these things. He hears all of them. He goes (on his way), very sad on account of the fact that there is nothing in the land that you can rely on.<sup>12</sup> (22) He goes and says to the woman, and says, he says 'I am very sorry, my sister'. He is going and saying to the wife. He says 'I very much regret my sister, your husband has come back but they have said that you have died and the king has accepted it. The pilgrim and everybody has accepted that you have died'. The woman weeps and says 'Oh please, take me to my husband.' He says 'My sister, how can I take you to your husband? Everybody knows that you are dead. If they now know that you are living with me, they will kill you, me and your husband so that their word does not turn out to be a lie. But wait, let me see what I can do.' (23) He waits and thinks a lot. Night and day he does not sleep. In the end he calls the other bald men. He

<sup>9</sup> Literally: is obliged.

<sup>10</sup> Literally: May I be your substitute.

<sup>11</sup> Literally: Sacrifice, may I be your substitute.

<sup>12</sup> Literally: make account on.

+bəkrayèla! kássat da-+hájil 'u-+tájər, báxtu hakúyol katé. 'ánnə cùllə märəna áxnan p-+hayyərràxlux, caçálə mára p-+hayyərràxlux. (24) mu-òdax, mu-le-òdax? mára kúmun +tálax +tálta. caçála váyələ málca caçála, o-caçálət bràta mýyyolə váyələ málca, šópot málca. xá mən-caçálə vádulə vazzər. xá vádulə +tájər. xá vádulə ... +kazì. xá vádulə +mälla. xá vádulə +kássab. xá vádul bràta. xá vádulə ... +tájər! kat-ílə báxtu tláktə. 'ánnə cùllə šəmmənə mat-tuyéla vadèla. šámmət vazzíru-da mattúyulə 'Alla-Várdi +Xán! cúnçət vazzírət málca 'aslì 'ílə 'Alla-Várdi +Xán. málca-da málca-lə. (25) 'ádi 'ánnə +távuləna tálta! kat-mù-jári ódi. +bəddáyona 'adi-cùllə 'a-+tálta mù-ila. šəmmənə=da cùllə mattuyéla. ká ... caçálə märələ vímun hásyar! xzímun málca cút xa-+dána cút-cma xa-+dána cút trè-yarxəl cút +tlá-yarxə xàl ci-+pálət, c-ázəl +xdàra, sàxbər! jássək +al-+àtru kat-+xàdər! mən-vazzíru. PbəlāxaráP bitáyəna caçálə, 'ína 'ax-jasùsa, jaşsúkəna, bitáyəna ká caçála +júral märəna kat! à-sabtal málca +póllan yúma, +póllan +dána, +póllan +sà'at! +plàtələl +al-dà 'úrxa. mára +ràba +spáy. cullóxun lípotun darsòxun? mára hì. cùllə=da +bəddáyəna mu-òdi, cùllə. (26) 'ánnə kat-málca bərràxşələ, 'ánnə=da bərràxşəna. +támə 'átvə xa-dána bëta, 'ína xrıva lé-oya násə jávu xayyıva. bəxzáyət +al-vàddar! ju-çòl!, ju-+biyàbar! 'áttən bətvátə tlíxa. 'ánnə caçálə cùllə bərràxşəna +támə, bətyàvəna. bəspárəna kat-málca 'atə. 'átlə +támə mádra tré caçálə jasusùyta vádəna! kat-málca 'em-+dana 'ádi 'áklu mattíla +al-jára. (27) málca 'aslì mən-vazzíru bəxzáyəna m-ràkkəl ju-+dávva bëta tlíxa! 'áttən +šrayàta bəlláyəna. málca märələ mánələ bəxxá ju-+davvó bëta? +ávva tlíxa! háč-məndi lət-jávu. 'ázax xázax mù-ilə. bərràxşəna! +máyəna +àllu. 'ánnə láxxa cùllə jané +hùdróna. 'áti xá càvə, +ùllul. málca bitáyələl 'áklu mattúyolə hal-+támə kat-jássək, 'ánnə +sharıyəna. (28) caçála 'aslì málca-lə. ka-xa-vazzíru! šámmu müttuyələl 'Alla-Vardi-+Xán. 'u-'a-vazzírət kat-ílə cəs-málca! šómmu=da 'Alla-Vardi-+Xán-ilə. caçála xa-b-xá-ja mórrəl 'Alla-Vardi-+Xán, 'Alla-Vardi-+Xán! mórrə PbáleP +kùrbən! 'ávən +xlàpux! ó vazzər=ət +ùllul! +byayəva tanıva! málca púmmu dvàklə. mórrə lá-vud kàla! bétu +shiyə! +byáyət +katlılan láxxa? xzí

calls all the other bald men. He tells them the story of, the story of the pilgrim and the merchant and his wife. They all say 'We shall help you.' The bald men say 'We shall help you. (24) What on earth shall we do?'<sup>13</sup> He says 'Get up let's play a game.' The bald man becomes a king. The bald man, the bald man who has brought the girl becomes a king, in place of the (real) king. He makes one of the bald men a vizier. He makes one a merchant. He makes one a judge. He makes one a mullah. He makes one a butcher. He makes one a girl. He makes one a merchant whose wife is lost. He fixes all their names. He makes the name of his vizier Allah-Vardi-Khan, because the vizier of the original king is Allah-Vardi-Khan. The king is (called) king. (25) Now they play the game, according to what they have to do. They now all know what this game is, since he fixes all their names. He says to the bald men 'Be aware, take note that the king every once in a while, every so often, once every two or three months, goes out and tours around, to visit and look at his land, to tour with his vizier.' Eventually the bald men come—they look around like spies—they come to the head bald man and say 'This week the king, on such-and-such a day, at such-and-such a time, at such-and-such an hour, is going out on this journey.'<sup>14</sup> He says 'Very good. Have you all learnt your lesson?' They say 'Yes.' They all know what to do, all of them. (26) When the king sets off, they also set off. There was a house there, but it was a ruin, in which people could not live. You see (such ruins) outside, in the desert, in the wilderness there are houses that have collapsed. The bald men all go there and sit down. They wait for the king to come. He (the head of the gang) has there two bald men who act as spies (to see) at what time the king puts his foot on the roof. (27) The real king with his vizier see from afar that in that ruined house there are lanterns burning. The king says 'Who is living in that house over there, the one that is collapsed? There is nothing in it. Let's go and see what it is.' They go and reach it. These (bald men) here have all prepared themselves. These ones here all have prepared themselves. There is a window above. The king comes and places his foot there in order to look, and they begin. (28) The person who is really a bald man<sup>15</sup> is the king. He gives his vizier the name Allah-Vardi-Khan. The name of the vizier who is with the king is also Allah-Vardi-Khan. The bald man all of a sudden says 'Allah-Vardi-Khan, Allah-Vardi-Khan!' He said 'Yes, I am at your service.'<sup>16</sup> The (real) vizier above wanted to speak but the king held his mouth. He said 'Don't make a sound!'

<sup>13</sup> Literally: What shall we do? What shall we not do?

<sup>14</sup> Literally: road.

<sup>15</sup> Literally: the real bald man.

<sup>16</sup> Literally: Sacrifice, may I be your substitute.

'á müt masáləla?| májar 'áttən málca xína ju-da-+átrət díyyi 'ána lēn-+bəddà?| jássək mù-ilə váyal mú ķavvùmələ.| (29) 'ánnə m-+táma jaššùkənəl 'ína 'ánnə cíllə +bəddáyəna málca +'üllul-ilə! cačála ķač-ilə málca,| +bəddàyət xína pràšlux mü-ila masála,| cačála 'aslí 'o-+júra víyyələ málca 'adíyya,| bədráyələ kálə ķa-  
xá mən-cačáləl 'ilə vazzər| bədráyələ káləl 'Alla-Vardi-+Xān! 'Alla-Vardi-+Xān!  
cačála bitáyələ ķatúl ķamàytu máral hí 'ávən +xlàpuxl mù +byáyət?| márrə  
bətxárət| xa-ķəssat 'átvəl xa-+tákər 'átvəl| báxtul múttova cəs-+hàji.| xá-'axča  
məndi 'átvəl| tílun cəslı.| mórrun báxtu məttəla,| 'ína 'ána málca,| málcat da-  
+'átra! cmá xmàrənva!| cmá xmàrənva!| là +buķérri ķat-á báxtal b-müt móta  
máttəla,| dàxi máttəla.| 'ána +byáyən 'á-ķəssat táza patxənna.| 'ána +báyyən  
+yàttən.| (30) mára híl 'ávən +xlàpuxl xá-'axča-məndi 'átvəl,| 'ína māral Pbále<sup>P</sup>  
+ķürban| 'íva.| cačála +šadúrələl mára xúš| +bár +tákər.| xá mən-cačálə 'ilə +tákər.|  
+díluxl kámpta mərri.| cíllə +táməna.| xá cačála máyyulə šámmu +tákər.| mára  
brún| +màxlili.| 'ána +rába +rəpyùta vádlı| 'át xá-'axčał ķválta 'átvəluxl mən-  
+hàji| ķat-báxtux lítən,| məttəla.| +rába +màxlili| +pàxəlli,| 'ána +byáyən 'adíyya  
śarənna masála.| mùdiva kássat?| (31) +tákər| módrə haķíyələ ķa-málca.| mára  
xúš tuy +támma.| +dílux mújjur huķýələ xína ķat-báxtu məttəla.| +tákər mat-  
tìyulə +támma| cačálə.| māral +šádrun +bar +màlla.| +hàji,| +màlla,| +kássab|  
cíllə mayél +támma.| māral +hàji,| +tákər báxtu múttova cəslux.| mùjjur mótlə?|  
mórrə 'ávən +xlàpuxl mótlə.| díva +xiláləl mótlə.| mórrə xuš-+támma.| bitáyələ  
+màlla| māral +màlla| 'át +dílux báxta móttəla?| híl 'ávən +xlàpuxl dàx la-+díli!|  
'ána xzili| jàni +fúmron.| b-müt móta mótlə?| mórrə pálla mən-jàrəl 'áltəx mótlə.|  
mórrə 'át=da xuš-+támma.| (32) bitáyələ +kássab| +'áv=zə māral híl 'ávən +xlàpuxl  
'ána xzili mótlə,| 'ína 'ána xzili| pálla ju-hàvuzl xnəkla| 'o-xína| +málla mórləl

Damn it!<sup>17</sup> Do you want them to kill us here? Look, what is happening? But is there another king in this country of mine whom I do not know? What is going on, what is happening?" (29) They look from there, but they all know that the king is above. The bald man who is the king—you know, you understand what the story is, the elder bald man has now become the king—shouts to one of his bald men who is the vizier, he shouts 'Allah-Vardi-Khan! Allah-Vardi-Khan!' The bald man comes to him, to meet him, and says 'Yes, at your service,<sup>18</sup> what do you want?' He said 'Do you remember there was a story, there was a merchant? He had placed his wife with a pilgrim. There was something like this. They came to me. They said that his wife died, but I the king, the king of this country, what an ass I was! What an ass I was! I did not ask with what (type of) death she died, how she died. I want to open this case afresh. I want to know'. (30) He says 'Yes, sir,<sup>19</sup> there was such a thing—but rather he said<sup>20</sup> 'Yes, my lord, there was.'<sup>21</sup> The bald man sends (a messenger) saying 'Go and fetch<sup>22</sup> the merchant'. One of the bald men is the merchant. You have understood, I told you previously. They are all there. They bring a bald man who is named as the merchant.<sup>23</sup> He (the king) says 'My son, forgive me, I acted weakly. You had a complaint against the pilgrim that your wife was missing, that she had died. Forgive me, pardon me. I now want to resolve the matter. What was the story?' (31) The merchant tells this again to the king. He says 'Go and sit over there.' You know how he told it, that his wife had died. The bald man puts the merchant over there. He says 'Send for the mullah.' The pilgrim, the mullah, the butcher, he brings them all there. He says 'Pilgrim, the merchant placed his wife with you. How did she die?' He said 'My lord,<sup>24</sup> she died. A wolf ate her, she died.' He said 'Go and sit over there.' The mullah comes. He (the bald man) says 'Mullah, do you know that the woman is dead?' 'Yes, my lord,<sup>25</sup> of course I know! I saw it. I have buried her myself.' 'By what kind of death did she die?' He said 'She fell from the roof and died at the bottom.' He said 'You also go over there.' (32) The butcher comes. He also says 'Yes, my lord,<sup>26</sup> I saw that she died, but I saw that she fell into the

<sup>17</sup> Literally: May his house be sealed!

<sup>18</sup> Literally: May I be your substitute.

<sup>19</sup> Literally: May I be your substitute.

<sup>20</sup> I.e. his actual words were.

<sup>21</sup> Literally: Yes, sacrifice, there was.

<sup>22</sup> Literally: Go after.

<sup>23</sup> Literally: His name is merchant.

<sup>24</sup> Literally: May I be your substitute.

<sup>25</sup> Literally: May I be your substitute.

<sup>26</sup> Literally: May I be your substitute.

mára 'át mú?| màra| 'ána xzili| ƙat-á-baxta +ràba| xamxàmta 'átvala.| +rába xamxàmta ƙam-‘avila,| mòtla.| 'ánnə cùllə mattuyél +tàmma| màra 'áxtun túmun +tàmma.| (33) màra láxxa 'áttən xá-dana náša xína| búš +spáy-ilə ƙat-yavállan +xàbra.| +'ávun-da 'ílə rífət +hàji.| mémun làxxa rýa.| mémunlə làxxa rýa.| xá mən-cačálə=da rýəva.| rýa bitàyələl màra| PbáleP +kùrbən,| 'ávən +xlàpux,| mù +byàyəvət?| màral tunílux, tunílux.| là tunílux,| jàldux| p-şalxànnəl malónna tìyna.| malónna tìyna.| jári tanótla duzùta.| (34) +bəddáyat ƙəssàttət| báxtət +tajər| mən-+hàji?| mórrə híl 'ávən +xlàpux| +bəddàyon.| mórrə mù víla?| mórra 'ávən +xlàpux,| +hàji ƙáti mórrəl láblən +kaṭlənnə.| 'ína málca cùllə +bəšmayèla 'ánnə.| 'ánnə cùllə +ṭalànnəna.| màra| +hàji ƙáti mórrəl +byáyəva 'avádva xèla +állo| ju-+hàmmam.| 'ána +rxátlı xèshlı 'u-+hàji ƙáti mórrəl ƙat-á-baxta| xràvta báxtəla.| šámmi maxrəvvàlə| ju-nášə šámmi t-ázəl razzałłàla.| jári láblət +kaṭlətlə.| (35) 'ána 'ido +sirèlì ƙat-láblən 'a-báxta +kaṭlənnə.| lublali ju-mèsha,| 'ína +úxča báxta bxila| +úxča nuníla biyyi| +úxča 'idə-’ákli nšíkəla| lóbbi kòdlə duzúta káto.| là +kìtláli.| švíkàli.| làxxal màra 'a-báxta xètala?| màra lèn +bəddá.| 'aláha ráxma 'ávəd +állo ƙat-lá-’avi díva +xílo| sab-’ána švíkáli +táma ju-xèšca.| (36) màra 'á=da máttunlə +tàmma.| mattúna +tàma.| màra +bəddáyatun mù-ila?| màra là.| màra 'áttən láxxa xa-cačálə,| šópot jánu-zəl müttələ xa-cačálə xína| jánu vídolə málca,| màra 'o-cačálə làxxal 'á cačáləl 'átlə +xàbra mən-da-báxta.| xúšun +bar-cačálə.| xácmá mən-dan-cačálə=da bərràxşəna.| xá cačálə xína-da màyuna ƙamàytu.| màra| +júrət cačálət 'átnə.| +báyyən +bákən mánñux xa-+xàbra.| 'átlux +xàbra 'átnəl mən-da-báxta tlàktəl 'ó mətta,| báxtət +hàji| món +tajər?| (37) màra híl 'ávən +xlàpux| 'ána 'átlı +xàbra.| báxta xètala.| 'ána mùčxon.| 'ádi ju-bèti bəxxáyəla.| ka-cačálə márənəl ƙáti xòb| škúl xuš-mèla e-báxta.| xá mən-cačálə=da vídulə báxtət +tajər.| bərràxşələ màyá xá dána báxta mulvíšona 'ax-báxta.| màyolə.| har-ju-+várto +táma,| 'ó cačálə xína ƙat-íva +tajər vídu,| +tùlona +ṭálta,| bəkyáməl

pool and drowned.' The other one, the mullah, says—he (the bald man) says 'What do you (have to say)?' He says 'I saw that the woman had a great fever. She had a great fever and died.' He puts them all over there and says 'You sit over there.' (33) He says 'There is here another man, who is better (qualified) to give us a report. He is the servant of the pilgrim. Bring the servant here. Bring the servant here'. One of the bald men was the servant. The servant comes and says 'Yes, my lord, at your service,<sup>27</sup> what do you want?' He says '(If) you say (the truth), you say (the truth). (If) you do not say the truth, I shall flay your skin and fill it with straw. I shall fill it with straw. You have to tell the truth.' (34) Do you know the story of the wife of the merchant with the pilgrim?' He says 'Yes, my lord,<sup>28</sup> I know it.' He said 'What was it?' He said 'My lord,<sup>29</sup> the pilgrim said to me that I should take her and kill her.' The king hears all of them. They are all actors. He says 'The pilgrim said to me—he wanted to rape her<sup>30</sup> in the bathroom. I ran and went there and the pilgrim said to me that this woman is a bad woman. "She will ruin my (good) name, my (good) name among the people will be lost and she will ridicule me. You must take her and kill her." (35) I tied her hands to take the woman and kill her. I took her into the forest, but the woman wept so much, she pleaded with me so much, she kissed my hands and feet so much, that, in truth, I felt sorry for her.<sup>31</sup> I did not kill her. I left her.' Here he says 'Is this woman alive?' He says 'I do not know. God have mercy on her that wolves have not eaten her, since I left her there in the dark.' (36) He says 'Put him also over there.' They put him there. He says 'Do you know what?' They say 'No.' He says 'There is here a bald man—in the place of himself he has put another bald man, he has made himself the king—he says 'The bald man here, this bald man has a report about this woman. Go and look for the bald man.' Some of the bald men go off. They bring another bald man before him. He says 'You are the elder of the bald men. I want to ask you something. Do you have any news of the woman who has disappeared or died, the woman of the pilgrim, (taken) from the merchant?' (37) He says 'Yes, my lord,<sup>32</sup> I have news. The woman is alive. I have found her. Now she is living in my house.' They say to the bald man 'Good, go and bring the woman.' He has made one of the bald men the wife of the merchant. They go and bring a woman, they have dressed her like a woman. They bring her. Just as she enters there, the other bald man

<sup>27</sup> Literally: Sacrifice, may I be your substitute.

<sup>28</sup> Literally: May I be your substitute.

<sup>29</sup> Literally: May I be your substitute.

<sup>30</sup> Literally: make force on her.

<sup>31</sup> Literally: My heart burnt for her.

<sup>32</sup> Literally: May I be your substitute.

màra! 'áy +havár! ay-+kátm̥a b-riši! 'áha báxtila. dúla xèta! lélā mètta. 'á 'icəva? báxya báxpákəna +uydàle. (38) ka-báxta márələ! 'áha +jòrax-lə? mára híl 'óyan +xlápux! 'óyan +nàdrux! málcət málca! 'áha +jòril. mára xòb. 'áxtun xpúkun +uydalə. máttunla ju-xá-dana +arabàna! 'et-suysavátəl ablúnla bétəl. 'ánnə bərràxshəna bétəl 'ína +táməna. 'ánnə xinə-dal díkun cíllə +sùrunlun! +sùrunlun! cpùšunlun! málral +sùrunlun! dúshunlun jú +dùssak! máttunlun +támə. 'ána lé-+bayyən xá-axča móndi ju-+átrət díyyi 'ávə. 'ána lévən +bəddá ka-mùdi 'ána 'ó-yuma žgišənva! lénva taxmúna +spáy +ràhat. 'áha xá-axča +šíla +fúra 'ávə víyya ju-da-+átrət díyyi, 'ána là-+yat̥ən? xòb, 'ádi xúsun b-ślama.

(39) málcət +ullul! ka-vazzíru márəl kúl +yàrməx! 'ázax! m-kám=ət ka-díyyan=da cápsi jú +dùssak! dešílan ju-+dùssak! 'idan +asríla +kaṭlán. kú bétu +šíya! ka-vazzíru márələ xa-jáššək mü kavvímə ju-+átrət díyyan! 'ánnə níxa níxa +bəsláyəna bərràxshəna. cačála +bəddáyələ kat-málca xòšlə. cačála +bəd-dáyələ málca xòšlə, 'inal +bəddáyələ móriša jáldəl málca p-+šádər +báru. (40) jané +házər vídona! cíllə cačálə. málca mórišajáldə bəkyàmələ, cíl-lelə šíma lélə dmíxa. lélə dmíxa! mən-+narahatìuytu. +sadúrələ polisəl +surṭìyyə márəna! +bár! cačálə. 'icət 'áttən cačálə! bədvaké mayéna. mayéna +támə. ka-cačálə márələ +e-ṭáltət +bərašə +ṭulálux! +ṭulálux, +ṭulálux. là +ṭulálux, bət-yárvən dástur! kat-+kaṭlínux! maxílə ríšux b-sépa. +jállad 'átvə +támə. mərrəl ríšux maxílə. (41) cačála ka-málca márra! málca t-ávət basíma! lélə b-dá hasanútya. 'ána šártə mánñux máttən. b-šárt t-odónna 'a-+šíla. mára mü-ila šártux? mára ka-tré +sa'áttə malcútux hálla kat. tré +sa'áttəl malcútux hálla kat. málca bəkyàmələ júllu šaluxéləl yavél katu. cíllə cačálə bəlvəšəna, vazzər, vəccəl, hásabdár, cíllə bəlvəšəna, +táməna. mára mánñux +byàyəna! +jár dárət! +maxbárrət ka-cíllə +átra 'áta. tánimun kat-málca +byáyələ xá +dívən +rába +júrta 'ávəd! cíllə fári 'ávi +támə. (42) yávələ +xábra! cíllə nášə +bajmáyəna bitàyəna. cíllə +vára jaššukəna, 'ína málca vél tíva +támma, 'ína xa-málca xátələ. mára 'íman 'á málca vílə 'áxnan +xábra látlan? +sadúrələ +bár +tákər! aslī, +bár +kázi, +bár +kássab, +bár +mälla, +bár riya, cíllə mayélə. +sadúrələ +bar +tákər, +bar

whom he had made the merchant—they have played the game (well)—gets up and says ‘Oh alas! Oh ash be on my head! This is my wife. She is alive, she is not dead. Where was she?’ Weeping, they embraced one another. (38) He says to the woman ‘Is this your husband?’ She says ‘May I be your substitute! My I be your offering! King of kings! This is my husband.’ He says ‘Good. You embrace one another. Put her in a carriage of horses and take her home.’ They go home, but they are there.<sup>33</sup> ‘Seize the others and tie them up! Tie them up! Round them up.’ He says ‘Tie them up! Throw them into prison! Put them there. I do not want such a thing to be in my land. I do not know why I was confused that day and I was not thinking clearly.<sup>34</sup> Has such a mighty matter as this taken place in this land of mine and I do not know about it? Good, now go in peace.’

(39) The king above says to his vizier ‘Get up, let’s go, before they bundle us into prison, kick us into prison, bind our hands and kill us. Get up—may his house be sealed!’ He says to his vizier ‘Just look what is happening in our land! They slowly come down and go on their way. The bald man knows that the king has gone. The bald man knows that the king has gone. The bald man knows that the king has gone, but he knows that early in the morning the king will send for him. (40) All the bald men have prepared themselves. The king gets up early in the morning, during the whole night he has not slept. He has not slept due to his being upset. He sends policemen, we say ‘policemen,’ after the bald man. Wherever there are bald men they seize them and bring them in. They bring them there. He says to the bald man ‘The game that you played last night—if you played it, you played it.<sup>35</sup> If you did not play it, I shall issue a decree to kill you, to strike off your head with a sword.’ There was an executioner there. He said ‘He will strike off your head.’ (41) The bald man said to the king ‘King, be well, it is not this easy.<sup>36</sup> I shall set conditions with you. I shall do this on one condition.’ He said ‘What is your condition?’ He says ‘Give me your kingdom for two hours. Give me your kingdom for two hours.’ The king gets up, takes off his clothes and gives them to him. All the bald men put them on, the vizier, the deputy, the accountant, they all put them on and they are there. He says ‘They want you to make an announcement, to tell all the land to come. Say that the king wants to hold a large court and everybody must be there’. (42) He makes an announcement, all the people gather and come. They all enter and look (and see) that the king is sitting there, but he is a new king. They say ‘When did this man become king (while) we had no word of it?’ He sends for the

33 I.e. the actors remain in the place of the play.

34 Literally: well calm.

35 I.e. if it was only a game, that is fine.

36 Literally: with this easiness.

+hàjil 'ína 'an-'asliyya,| +baré ƙat-'ati.| 'ádi +hàjilə,| +tàjər-ilə,| +màllələ,| +kàssab-ilə,| cùllə ƙat-yúvvə sadìuyta| +jummé'l +tàma,| muyyé'l +tàma.| (43) muyyé'l +tàma.| 耶-+dān xzilun,| +hàjil| +šurílun 'áklu bərjàda,| +págru bərjàda| lābbu p̄kīlə,| caçála ƙát víyyə'l 'adíyya málca humzàmlə mòrrəl +bəddáyətun jūda-+átra mù ƙavvùmələ?| 'ána lé-+bayən lòmal màyayən| +'al-málca 'aslì,| 'ína xá-'axča ƙòssat vítəla,| xà-'axča| mòndi vílə láxxa| ƙat-xá +tàjər| báxtu mayyíla máttə cəs-+hàjì,| +hàjì +xárta ƙá'm +al-jànol| +xárta yávvəl ƙa-riju'l lábəl +kaṭàlla,| ríja ràxma vídal +állo,| lèlə +ké'lō,| 'á-mòndi ƙabùlutun?| cút-xa b-xá ƙála mòrrə lā,| (44) mòrrəl ƙa-yàla mòrrəl 'átən 'átvəlux ƙválta mən-+hàjì?| mòrrə hí +kùrbən| dák-ət márri ƙàtux,| málca ƙ-ávət basıma,| 'ána bərràxşənva +'al-Màccal| 'u-báxti muyyàlì muttálí cás +hàjìl sábab +rába mhùmnəval ci-+bayyàñvalə,| +xòriva,| +bəddáyənva ƙat-xišələ Màccal xišle +hàjìl víyə'l 'áx xá-dána xáliſal| 'áx xa-dána 'abùna,| patriyàrcal látla xá +x̄ítia +xàlṭa,| báxti muttálí cásłu,| (45) 'ína 'ána tíli šaklànvala mòrrə mòttəla,| tíli cəs-málca,| málca mòrrəl xób móttəla mòttəla,| mù +báyyət mən-xa-mítə?| 'u-cùllə sádu yuvvällun sadùta ƙat-mòttəla,| málca +hàjì +kríla,| mòrrəl +byáyən +bàkṛən| bùt| báxtot +tàjər| dàx vítəla?| +hàjì +šurílə bàxya| 'ína 'aslì +šuríl bàxya mòrrə ƙat-bàxtu| díva +xilàlə,| mòrrə mòttunla +tàmma,| (46) muttílun +tàmma| har-dák-ət márri ƙàmtal| 'u-tílə +kàssab,| tílə +màlla,| tílə +kàzi,| cùllə tìlun,| xá-mànnne mòrrə ƙát díva +xilàlə,| xá-mànnne mòrrə pállea ju-hàvuz,| xá-mànnne mòrrə xumxámla mòtlə,| xá-mànnne pállea mən-jàrə mótla,| 'ánnə cùlləl mòrrəl túmun +tàmmal| 'áni tálun +tàmma,| (47) ƙa-dé-baxta mìrəval mòrrə 'én +śudárri +bàrax| lā +zádyat,| 'átyat,| ƙa-dan-caçálət jànu'l málca márələ ƙát tré-+tla dánə-da +surṭiyə'l 'áti mənnóxun ƙat-lá p̄-ùrxa +kaṭlila,| 'ánnə bərràxşənəl báxta bəškálo màyona,| (48) yála +tàjər| har-bəxzáyolə báxtu,| +hàvar vádalə,| mxáyələ ju-rišu,| 'áy 'ávən +xlápux,| 'á báxtila,| bás márəva mòttəla,| 'ína +bar-našiyta| cùllə jaššùkəla,| cùlləl +narahát bàxya,| báxta-da +bərxáṭəla cəs-+jòro| bəxpàkula,| 'áy +havàr| 'á +jòrilə,| mára 'àxtun| ... 'á báxtux-la?| hì,| báxta,| 'á

real merchant, the judge, the butcher, the mullah, the servant. They bring them all. He sends for the merchant, pilgrim, but the real ones, (he sends) for them to come. Now there is the pilgrim, the merchant, the mullah, the butcher—he gathered there all who had given testimony and brought them there. (43) He brought them there. When they saw (what was happening), the legs of the pilgrim began to tremble and his body (began) to tremble. His heart burst (with fear). The bald man who had now become the king spoke and said 'You know what is happening in this land? I do not want to adduce blame against the real king, but a certain event has taken place, a certain thing has happened here, whereby a merchant brings his wife and places her with a pilgrim, the pilgrim then assaults her,<sup>37</sup> then gives her to his servant to take away and kill. The servant has mercy on her and does not kill her. Do you accept this?' Everybody with one voice said 'No!' (44) He said, he said to the fellow (the merchant) 'Did you have a complaint concerning the pilgrim?' Yes, my lord,<sup>38</sup> as I said to you, king be well, I was going to Mecca and I brought my wife and placed her with the pilgrim, because he was very pious, I loved him, he was my friend. I knew that he had gone to Mecca, he had gone on the pilgrimage, he had become like a caliph, like a bishop, like a patriarch, he had no sin or mistake. I placed my wife with him. (45) But when I came to fetch her, he said that she was dead. I came to the king and the king said "Now, if she has died, she has died. What do you want from a dead person?" All his witnesses gave their testimony that she had died.' The king called the pilgrim. He said 'I want to ask about the wife of the merchant, how has it come about?' The pilgrim—the real one—began to weep, he began to weep, he said that a wolf ate his<sup>39</sup> wife. He said 'Put him over there.' (46) They put him there, just as I said before, and the butcher came, the mullah came, the judge came, they all came. One of them said 'A wolf has eaten her.' One of them said 'She fell into a pool.' One of them said 'She got a fever and died.' One of them (said) 'She fell from the roof and died.' (To) all of these he said 'Sit over there.' They sat over there. (47) He had said to the woman, he said 'If I send for you, do not fear, you should come.' The king says to his own bald men 'Two or three policemen should come with you so that they do not kill her on the way.' They go and bring the woman. (48) The lad, the merchant, as soon as he sees his wife, he yells. He beats his head. 'Oh, my lord,<sup>40</sup> this is my wife, but he had said that she was dead.' Now, the crowd are all watching, all being moved and weeping. The woman runs to her husband and embraces him

37 Literally: rises against her soul.

38 Literally: sacrifice.

39 I.e. the merchant's.

40 Literally: May I be your substitute.

<sup>†</sup>jòrax-lə?| hì,| 'á +<sup>†</sup>jòrilə. bəxpákəna +<sup>†</sup>iydalə. mára 'ànnəl máttimunlun ju-xá lilànkał 'ət-susavátəl +mám̄timunlun bëta. | 'ánnə bərràxšəna. | (49) bitáyələ +hàji,| +màlla,| 'u-+kàssab| 'ú +kazi. | 'ánnə cíllə mayèlə mára 'ánnə díkunlun cílləl | 'idə-aklé +sùrunlun. | +maxléta láxxa. | 'ánnə cíllə +<sup>†</sup>əmza vádlun| +hàjil +<sup>†</sup>əmza vódlə| hì,| 'ána +<sup>†</sup>əmza vádəvən| díva +xilálə| 'u-+kàssab| +<sup>†</sup>əmza vádələ| kát hìl 'a-báxta pólla ju-hàvuz,| mätla. | 'ú +o-málla xína mára| kát| 'ána xzili| 'á báxtal mén-järe pólla. | 'ína cílləl +<sup>†</sup>əmza vádəna,| +<sup>†</sup>əmza bəškáləna mənnəl kámata. | +<sup>†</sup>əmzé bəškálula,| 'idaté +bəsyarélə. mára 'ánnə làblunlun,| máttunlun ju-+dùssak| kahál motè,| ka-hál-ət mèti. | (50) bəkyámələ +al-`áklu. | ka-málca mára 'ávət basíma +ràbał kát 'a-pórsat yuvválux kátı| 'ánnə jùllux| 'ína 'é-+dān +báyyat 'ódət xamndil vúdlə 'ax-nàšə. | 'ánnə jùlluxl 'ánnəl ... malcùytux| +áxla rišux| 'ána lèn +byáyo xína. | málca bəkyámələ +al-`áklu. | cačala| +bəzdàyələ,| bəxšáva kat-`adíyya rišu maxila. | mòrra lá là,| 'átnəl mən-cačálux xínał p̄t-avítun| ju-därbár-ət diyyi,| därbár +yánə betúytət malcùyta. | 'át t-ávət šópat vazziri. | 'ánnə p̄t-ávi jú vàccəl vazzər. | +rába bəxdàyəvən| kat-xá-axča məndil 'ána mučóxli ju-məllat. | 'ávət +rába basíma bəxpákəla. | 'ánnə cíllə bədyasélə vadélə jú betúytət malcùyta. | basíma +rába kat-+šmílux. |

## A2 Women are Stronger than Men (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) 'átvə xa-dana-málca. | 'átvə xa-dana-málca| 'u-yuvválla +xàbrał | ka-vàzzər. | mòrrəl 'ána lè-+bayyən| hác xa-+šrà| 'ýya ju-màta,| ju-mdita. | +báyyən +pàłtən,| +báyyən +pàłtən| xázzən +'átri mù-ilə,| xázzən +'átri mù-ilə. | (2) vázzər +plàtələ +jár bədráyələ,| +jár. | 'é-+danta telefónəl melefónə lètva. | 'átxa +jár bədráyələ. | hamzúmələ mára kát hác xá +šrà| lâ-layya ju-bətvátə. | málca +byayələ +pàłət| +xàdər| cút +šrà tapəl 'ət-jaríma. | (3) +xábra yàvələl b-léləl vázzər mən-málca +plàtənəl b-ricávə bərràxshəna +bəxdàrənəl xázzə mù-ət| mü lèttən. | (4) bəxzáyələ mən-ròkkał 'ína xá-dana +šrà véla bəllàyəl ju-xa-bëta. | mára vázzər| 'ána kátux

'Oh joy! This is my husband!' They embrace one another. He says 'Put these in a horse-drawn carriage and take them home.' They go off. (49) The pilgrim comes, the mullah, the butcher and the judge. They bring them all and he says 'Seize them all and tie their hands and feet.' Pardon (I forgot to say) here: They all signed. The pilgrim signed, yes, (he says) 'I sign (and certify) that a wolf ate her.' The butcher signs that 'yes, the woman fell into the pool and died.' The mullah says 'I saw the woman fall from the roof.' They all sign. They take a signature from them, previously. They take their signatures and bind their hands. He says 'Take them and put them in jail until their death, until they die.' (50) He gets up onto his feet. He says to the king 'Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity, here are your clothes, but when you want to do something, do it properly.<sup>41</sup> Here are your clothes, and your kingdom is your responsibility.<sup>42</sup> I do not want it anymore.' The king gets onto his feet. The bald man is afraid and thinks that now he will strike off his head. He said 'No, no, you together with your other bald men will be in my court, court, that is the royal household. You will be in place of my vizier. They will be in (place of) the deputy and vizier. I am very pleased that I have found such a thing in the nation. Many thanks.' He embraces him. He insists on making them (members of) the royal household. Many thanks for listening.

## A2 Women are Stronger than Men (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) There was once a king. There was once a king. He gave an order to the vizier. He said 'I do not want any lantern to be in the village, in the town. I want to go out, I want to go out and see how my land is, see how my land is.' (2) The vizier goes out and makes an announcement, an announcement. At that time there were no telephones or the like. So, he makes an announcement. He speaks saying 'No lantern should be lit in the houses. The king wants to go out and tour around. If anybody lights a lantern, there will be a fine.' (3) He gives an order and at night the vizier and the king go out, they go with horsemen, touring around, so he (the king) could see what is happening.<sup>43</sup> (4) He sees from afar a lantern burning in a house. He (the king) says 'Vizier, I told you, what is that lantern burning there?' He said 'King, be well, I have said (what you ordered me to say)

<sup>41</sup> Literally: Do it like people.

<sup>42</sup> Literally: May your kingdom eat your head.

<sup>43</sup> Literally: what is and what is not.

mìrənva! 'a-mú-ila +šrá bəllá tàmma?! márrə málca 'ávət basıma, 'ána mìrən! 'íta  
 'ána lén-+bədda 'áyya mù-ila! bálcət lèna +šámyə! 'ázax xázax. (5) bərráxšələ  
 +várəl +táməl jaššúkələ 'ína xá-dana báxtal mán təryəssər 'úrzə! hamzùməna,  
 tanùyəna, jəxcəna, +bixáləna, bəštəyəna. (6) +baķürəna, mára +maxlətal  
 'áxnan tílan ju-dá +'átra! ķaribàyəvax! léx +bəddá hăč məndi. xzílan 'áxči xa-  
 +šrá ləxxa bəlláyəla. +báyyax +yáttax 'áxnan 'icəvax, 'ica c-+amsax xázzax  
 xá-ja māčxaxən. 'áxči xá-+šra bəlláyəla. (7) +xárta +baķürəna, bətyávəna  
 +táməl +čay bəstá +šúlə, +baķürəna kát +jór dá-baxta 'icəla. mára +jór dá-  
 baxta xáslə ķaribùtya. mára bas-'ánnə mú-iná láxxa, 'ánnə 'úrzə +šúlə? mára  
 'ánnə +xuyravátuna. (8) málca +rába +naràhat vágələ. ķa-vázzər mārələl ķu-  
 +yárməx. +yárməx, yána 'ázax. bəkyáməna bitáyəna. ķa-vázzər mārələ, málca  
 ķa-vázzər mārələl mátti +alámat +al-dá-beta. ķédamta jáldə 'ána +byáyən 'a-  
 báxta xazənna. mátti +alámat. (9) vázər mattúyələ 'alàmat, nišánka. ķédamta  
 bərráxshəl vázər +bar-da-báxta. jaššúkələ 'ína cílla 'o-+xiyávand! 'ó nišánkələ.  
 'ína lélə +bəddá 'ómneva. (10) bitáyələ ķa-málca mārələ málca muyyálux? mára  
 ləl málca ț-ávət basıma. 'ána xáshli ķédamta xzíll! 'ína cílla 'o-+xiyávand!  
 'ó nišánkət 'ána müttun! +áv-da vēl-+támə. lá-+dili 'om-bétələ. (11) málca  
 +rába +naràhat vágələ. mára vázər 'ána p̄t-ázən ķa-xa-yárxə. hál +dérən 'atən  
 cōc nàkva la-šókət. cócət nàkva cílla dòkət, ķamta báxtət díyyi, +xárta báxtət  
 díyyux, tavəryáta, +ķatunyáta, càlbə, cíl-məndit 'ettə nàkva p-šaklátta m-pát  
 +'árra. (12) vázər māra málca ț-ávət basımal 'a-dáx +šúlə? 'a-dáx c-+ámsən  
 'ana-'a-+šula 'odánnə? mára 'ána kák mārən, 'en-lə, kdálux maxənna. 'áxči  
 ju-+átrət díyyi 'áha məndi 'ávəl 'ána lè ķablónna. (13) málca bərráxshələ. ķa-xa-  
 yárxa bərráxshələ. dástur yávəl ķa-vázər kát ... 'a-+šúla 'avədlə. bitáyəl 'a-vázər  
 +rába +naràhat, lá +bixálə lá bəštəya. (14) 'a-vázər 'etválə xa-dána bába.  
 bábat dáha 'íva vázər ķa-bábat málca ķamta. 'ína +úxča sivəva müttuva ju-  
 xá ... +ķerṭálal! ju-ctána! kát lə-+ajjəzva +páguru. +rába sivəva 'ína 'íva vazzirət  
 bábat málca. (15) mára brùni! mú-'ot +xábra? ķám xá-'axča +naràhat=ivət? lét  
 +bixálə, lét bəštəya, áslan dút šuxləppa. 'á mù-ilə výyya? (16) mára +ráppi  
 bábi! lə +báķər! lə +báķər. bərráxshəl bitáyələ p̄bəlāxará! mára 'áx brùni! 'ána-da  
 bábu=xən. 'a-cúl dax-ț-øyə! 'ána xáčča bùš-zoda mānnux! xiyyən. tənili! bálcət  
 +hayyərrənnux. (17) mára bábi! mən-álahə ləla +fšíta, mānnux müt +fšítlə?  
 'átxa víla kóssat. málca-da yúvvəl dástur! ķat-cíllə panánnun! báxtət jáni-zə,

and so I do not know what that is. Perhaps they have not heard. Let us go and see.' (5) He goes and enters there. He sees a woman with twelve men. They are speaking, telling stories, laughing, eating, drinking. (6) They ask saying 'Pardon, we have (just) come to this land. We are foreigners. We do not know anything. We saw only one lantern burning here. We want to know where we are, where we can find (somewhere to stay). Only one lantern is burning.' (7) Then they ask—they sit and drink tea and so forth—they ask where the husband of the woman is. They say 'The husband of this woman has gone to foreign lands.' They say 'But what are these here, these men and so forth?' They say 'These are his friends.' (8) The king becomes very upset. He says to the vizier 'Let's get up and be off,' that is 'Let's go.' They get up and come back. He says to the vizier, the king says to the vizier 'Put a sign on this house. Early tomorrow morning I want to see this woman. Put a sign (on it).' (9) The vizier puts a sign (on it). In the morning the vizier goes looking for the woman. He looks and sees that the whole street is (marked with) the same sign, but he does not know which one it (i.e. the house of the woman) was. (10) He comes to the king. The king says 'Have you brought her?' He says 'No, king, be well. I went in the morning and saw that the same sign that I had placed was in the entire street. I did not know which was the house.' (11) The king becomes very upset. He says 'Vizier, I shall go away for a month. Before I return and come back, do not leave female kind<sup>44</sup> (alive). Seize all female kind, first my wife, then your wife, cows, cats, dogs, whatever has female kind you must take away from the face of the earth.' (12) The vizier says 'King, be well, what kind of task is that?! How can I perform this task?!' (The king responds) 'I am telling you, if not, I shall cut off your head. I will not permit this thing (i.e. womankind) to exist in my country!' (13) The king goes away. He goes away for a month. He gives a command to the vizier to perform this task. The vizier comes back (home) very upset, he does not eat or drink. (14) This vizier had a father. His father was formerly vizier to the father of the king. But he was so aged that they had placed him in a basket, in cotton, so that his body is not harmed. He was very old, but he used to be the vizier to the father of the king. (15) He says 'My son, what news is there? Why are you so upset? You are not eating, you are not drinking, you have completely changed. What has happened?' (16) He says 'Drop it, father, do not ask, do not ask.' He goes and comes back, and in the end (his father) says 'But my son, I am your father. Whatever the case may be, I have lived a little more than you. Tell me, perhaps I can help you.' (17) He says 'Father, it is not hidden from God, how can it be hidden from you? This is what has happened. The king has given a

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44 Literally: stump, stock of female.

bax-màlca=da| cùllə nà̄kvə mən-pá̄t +'àrra šaklán̄nun.| (18) mára brùni| hàl dé-  
 +dantal| +ràba +dán̄la.| 'é-+dān málca tìlə| káti tán̄i +dànul| +əsrá yumánə m-  
 kám +dána kay-táni.| (19) bitáyəla +dànał ̄kat-málca +báyyə 'àtə| mára bábi| 'ádi  
 +dán tètula.| mu-+bàyyət| +katđalli?| ríši paròmla?| (20) màra| 'átən +xábra hal-  
 ka-cúllə +'atral| ̄kat-cúllə nà̄kvəl| 'ō=t- 'ótlə júllə šapírə šakđllun| 'ō=t-làtlə=dal zàvən,  
 tavoryàtu zabánnun,| cut-'àtlə| zabánnəl šákəl 'áxči júllə šapírəl +pàlət ̄kam-  
 málca.| (21) 'áy bábi| 'ávən +xlàpuxl 'a-mút +šùlələ?| málca ju-+mtéti riš-díyyi  
 maxílə.| márrə 'átən 'a-+šúla vùdləl lá-'avilux +šúla.| (22) bitáyəna| +jár bádráyəla  
 vázzer| ̄kat-cúllə baxtátə lóši lvášta šapírta.| +dánət málca=da ̄karbúnəla.| 'adíyya  
 'ánnə nà̄kvəl cùllə +házər vágəna| mən-yál-súra nà̄kvə hál +jùra.| +pláṭəna ̄kam-  
 málca.| (23) málca màra| 'o-bét-bábux +šayyànnəl 'a-mù vídələ?| lá 'adíyya ̄ka-  
 díyyi-da +káṭəl?| 'á dúlə cùllə nà̄kvə xumyél 'ùrzə +kṭiléla.| 'ána mírənva ̄kátu  
 baxtátə +katđllun| 'á dúl 'ùrzə +kṭiléla 'u-'ádi ju-+mtéti kày=da p-+káṭəl| 'a-mút  
 +káṭma dáryəl b-ríšu.| (24) bitáyəla mára vázzer| 'a-mút +šúla vídəvət?| màra|  
 málca t-ávət basíma.| 'ána 'átlı xa-bába.| +rába b-šònnəla| viyəva| vázzer ̄ka-  
 bāb-díyyux.| +'ávun +tlibəl mónnux 'áxči| +əsrá dakíkə mónnux hámzəm.| 'íta  
 'e-+dān-máxət rišət cùllə mxílə.| (25) márrə xuš-méla cásli| báškáləna bíyya b-  
 dó sàləl bábat ... vázzer| labúluna cás-málca| mára mì-+tìlux tánət káti?| mórə  
 málca t-ávət basíma| 'ána 'ína vazzírat bábat díyyux| vazzírat bábat díyyux-ína|  
 sépi maxónvala +al-cipal +čambərrànvala| 'ána 'átxa násənva| 'íta 'údyu yúma  
 'ana-sívən| 'átlı trè +xábra kátuñ tánən| 'íta +xàrtal kámtat cùllə riš-díyyi mxílə|  
 (26) mára +rába +spayl hámzəm!| mára 'ána| ju-béti tìvənva| 'e-+dántat 'ína  
 jvànkə| +tarri mxílun| +tarri mxílun| +tuğtäklən| 'u-+plàṭli| 'áxči +šmíli mára  
 ta-jàldəl| 'átlı PəhtiyâjP +állux| +bàyyən| +máṭət +'älli.| (27) hál=at xášli +bàru|  
 mára tulàkla| +dárri tili| 'ó-yuma xína mèdra 'ó-məndi vílə| +tuğtäklə +tarra|  
 mára hál kómlı mádra| tóvli +al-súysı| júlli lvišéli| xàšla| (28) yúmat +tla màra|  
 'ána júlli lvišéli| tóvli +al-súysa +házər| sépi=da p-ídi| 'e-+dána +ràba críbənva|  
 mórri 'ádi bət-+katđlənna| sábab| 'à-sepət díyyi| 'ícət maxónvala c-odónvala trè|

command that I should eradicate everybody, even my own wife, also the wife of the king, that I should remove from the face of the earth all females.' (18) He says 'My son, there is a lot of time until then. When the king has comes back, tell me when, tell me ten days beforehand.' (19) The time comes when the king intends to come home. He says 'Father, now is the time of his coming home. Do you want him to kill me, to cut off my head?' (20) He says 'Give an order to all the land that all women—whatever has fine clothes should take them, whoever does not have any should buy them, should sell his cows, should sell everything he has, and take fine clothes and come out before the king.' (21) 'Oh father, with respect,<sup>45</sup> what kind of task is that? When the king arrives he will cut off my head.' He said 'Do that task and you will have no problem.' (22) They come and the vizier makes an announcement that all women should wear fine clothing. The time of the (return of the) king is getting close. Now the women are all ready, from young girls to older women. They go out before the king. (23) The king says 'I shall blot out the house of your father. What has he (the vizier) done? Will he now not kill also me? He has preserved all the women and killed the men. I had said to him that he should kill the women, but he has killed the men. Now, when I arrive, he will kill me also. What a shameful thing he has done!'<sup>46</sup> (24) He comes and says 'Vizier, what have you done?' He says 'King, be well, I have a father. He is very aged. He was vizier to your father. He has requested to speak with you just for ten minutes. Then cut off everybody's head, if you want to do so.' (25) He said 'Go and bring him to me.' They take the father of the vizier together with that basket, they take him to the king. He says 'What have you to tell me?' He says 'King, be well, I was the vizier of your father. I was the vizier of your father. I used to strike my sword on a stone and split it. I was such a man and now today I have become old. I have a couple of things to tell you. Then cut off my head before all others.' (26) He says 'Very well, speak!' He says 'I was sitting in my house, when I was young, and somebody banged on my door. Somebody banged on my door, somebody knocked, and I went out. I only heard somebody saying "Come quickly, I need you (to do something for me). I want you to come to me." (27) Before I got to him, he disappeared. I returned home. The next day the same thing happened. He knocked on the door. By the time I got up and sat on my horse and put on my clothes, he went. (28) On the third day I put on my clothes, sat ready on the horse, my sword in my hand. At that time I was very angry and said "Now I shall kill him," since wherever I struck my sword I cut (the victim) in two. I had no fear of anybody.'

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45 Literally: May I be your substitute.

46 Literally: What ash has he put on his head!

látvali +zdúta mən-háč náša.| mára tívənva +hazər +bar +tárра.| (29) +káč ju-vàttal +tárра ptákli +bar-dáha.| mára ́ha bərrəxšəl ́ána +báru| 'ax-tənna mára,| +amsánva +matənvalə.| mára sépi frəšli,| ptálla ̄ka-díyyi mərrəl léla +dán p'suxl. P| tá +bári.| (30) bərrəxšəx| xášli mára xína +págri rjədləl mára xášli +mžili xút xa-+tùyra.| káti mərrəl ́át clí láxxa xut-+tùyra.| ́n kál-jáxca +šmílux| xùš.| xína látli p'əhtiyájP +állux.| ́n kál-báxya +šmílux,| clí.| (31) mára málca t-ávət basíma,| ́na clíli +táma.| ́á sáklə mən-səmmálta| səmmálta +bəddáyət mü-ila?| səmmálta| hè,| səmmálta.| sáklə +úllul +al-+tùyra.| mára xzíli kálat báxya tilə| spárri clíli.| (32) mára xzíli +slílə tilə távlə +al-sütysəl káma kam-díyyi +mžilan xa-dúcta| káti mərrəl ́átən ̄ka-díyyi bət-+kátlət.| mára ́man škəlləl júllu šulxələl xzíli nákvala.| (33) málca t-ávət basíma,| mára cíllə +págri rjədləl| cíllə +págri rjədləl| nákval škálta ríšət +jóro.| +haramíyya,| +haramíyya lübluva +jórol| +báyyiva +kátlivaləl káti +bətləbəva còmac ́azánva +úllul ́na ́na dərranç +mžili.| ríšət +jóro ju-xpákova.| (34) káti mərrəl járə +kátlət káti| māttət láxxa ju-+kóra cəs-+jóri| +tamrətləl| ita ́ázət.| (35) mára mərri ́na lə-+msən ̄a-+šúla ̄odónna.| lə-+msən ̄a-+šúla ̄odónna.| mára málca t-ávət basíma,| sépa muttília ̄atxa| jáno məxyála +állu.| kól škälla mánni káti +tamrənnna.| sépa muttília ̄atxa| +jóra škälla ju-+sádro| jáno +ruppála +al-sépal| u-pròkla.| (36) ́na +tumrəlì| e-báxta.| u-sépi mxíli b- cíllə xéli +táma,| kól yuvválli káto| káti nákval mən-úrza buš-xeləntəla.| adíyya ́na ̄a-+xábri kák taníyur| adíyya cèpux-lai| ádi nákva pármətlə| úrza parmətlə mü +bayyət ̄ódət.| (37) kámələ málca| nshákla ju-+kássu| márra ́na +púxlən cílla məndi.| +bəttánən məntux| káti ́a-məndi káy tunílux.| basíma +rába káti ́atən-da +šəmyálux.

### A3 Axiqar (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) ́tva| +dán-p'kádimiP| mára ́tva látval ́tva xá-dana málca| Sanxiro,| mál- cət +aturəyəval| u-+Axiqar| xaccíma márunka,| xaccíma +yán lípa.| 'ax-díyyux professor-ivət| +áv=da +rába lípəva,| +rába.| cíllə dínyə +yatłávaləl| (2) u-+Axiqar| cás bábat| málca=zə plixəva.| cəs-bábu=da víðəva vazziriyta,| vazzər.

I was sitting ready behind the door. (29) When there was a knock, I opened the door after him. He went off and I was behind him (as fast) as smoke, and I could have reached him. I drew my sword and he turned round to me and said "It is not a time for joking. Come after me." (30) We go. I went.' He says 'My body trembled. I went and arrived under a mountain. He said to me "You stay here under the mountain. If you hear the sound of laughter, go. I do not have need of you. If you hear the sound of weeping, wait.'" (31) He says 'King, be well, I waited there. He went up by a ladder—you know what a ladder is?—yes a ladder. He went up into the mountain.' He says 'I saw that the sound of weeping came, I waited.' (32) He says 'I saw that he came down and sat on the horse in front of me. We arrived at a place. He said to me "You will kill me."' He says 'When he took off his clothes, I saw that it was a woman.' (33) 'King, be well,' he says 'all my body trembled. All my body trembled. She was holding<sup>47</sup> the head of her husband. Brigands had taken her husband and wanted to kill him. She had been seeking me in order to go and help him. But I arrived late. (34) The head of her husband was in her arms. She said "You must kill me and put me here in the grave with my husband, bury me, then go."' (35) He says 'I said "I cannot do this task. I cannot do this task."' He says 'King, be well, she put the sword like this and thrust herself upon it. She made me promise that I would bury her. She took the sword like this, she held her husband to her breast and threw herself onto the sword, and met her end. (36) I buried the woman. I struck my sword with all my might there and made a promise to her (to make known) that a woman is stronger than a man. Now I am telling you this. Now it is up to you if you want to slaughter women or slaughter men,<sup>48</sup> whatever you want to do.' (37) The king got up and kissed him on his forehead. He said 'I have forgiven everything. I am grateful to you that you have told me this.' Thank you for listening to this.

### A3 Axiqar (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) In times of old, there was, the story goes, there was there was not, there was a king, Sanxiro the king of the Assyrians, and Axiqar, the wise man, as they called him, the wise man, that is learned man. Just as you are a professor, he also was very learned. All the world knew him. (2) Axiqar had worked also with the father of the king. With his father he had held the office of vizier, (he was)

<sup>47</sup> Literally: She had taken.

<sup>48</sup> Literally: Slaughter the woman, slaughter the man.

'ína yálə lètvalə. | +Axíkar yálə lètvalə. | 'òtvaləl 'əští-danə baxtàtə. | 'əští baxtàtə 'òtvalə. | +rábə kàsrəl kàsrəl bætvátə +rábə šapírə, | 'ína yálə lètvalə. |

(3) xà-yuma! +krílə +rábə mən-dánnə násə lípə, | Prammäl-dàrəP, | PjādujárəP| 'u-+rábə násə +kríləl kát xá-məndi 'òdil +palačiyyl +pála ptàxəval kátu kát 'áha yálə 'avílə. | lá-vílə xa-+xábra mənnè. | (4) +bár hàdal +bár=ət +xábra lá-vílə mən-dánnə, | +bár háda +dàrrəl cəs-'aláhət jànu. | +dárrə cəs-'aláhəl mòrrə kátul ya-'aláha, | +xlápū vílī, | hálli xa-brùna. | (5) 'aláha +jùvvab yuvvállə kátul mòrrəl lè-'avilux brúna, | sábab kàmtal xáslux cás násət kát p-ida plíxənəl lá cəs-'aláha. | xóslux cəs-násə xínəl kat-'áni lá-+msíva kátux 'odíva. | 'át lè-'avilux brúna. | (6) brúnət xàtux, | Nàtan, | šómmu Nàtan-íva, | vúdlə ka-jánux brúna. | máləplə. | xàmilə. | ka-jánux vúdlə brúna. | +'avun p̄t-ávə ka-sebúytuxl e-+dān-sòvlux, | t-ávə brúna kátux. | e-+dān-màtlux, | +'áynux p̄-+čámla. |

(7) 'áha bitàyələl ka-Nàtanl brún-xátu, | vádu brún-jànū. | malúpulə +rábə məndyànləl kat-jú malciyta, | bétət PdarbárP malciyta 'áva, | lá ju-+alulànləl láxxa +táməl malúpulə kát ju-betúytət málca +'áməs! xàyya, | pálx, | jávəj, | +'áxəl, | šátə, | cút-məndi 'ávəd. | 'áxči ju-bət-malciyta lá +al-vàddar. | malúpulə. | +rábə məndyánləl malúpulə kátu. | (8) 'a-yálə jarvùssəl. | +rábə məndi yávəl kátu, | lvəsyàtə šapírə, | +mixulyàtə šapírə. | +rábə məndyánləl kátu tanuyələ. | malúpulə kátu, | ka-brúna, | +rábə nasyáttə yávələ. | (9) xácma mən-nasyáttə masálan márələ brúnəl lá-'ávət +rábə saxína. | lá-'ávət +rábə +káyra. | brúnī, | lá jáxcət bí ... násət +dòstux=inal sábab múmcən 'áni kémeli, | 'áni jarvàssi! +xàrtal jáxci biyyux. | lá +'áxlət! láxma +hàram. | +axlátla láxma dùz, | +spày. | (10) +rábə mən-dánnə məndyánləl malúpuləl lá 'ávət mən-xa-bàxta kát ... +jóro mítələ, | là jorátlə, | sábab! 'íman=ət ... cú-+danta p̄t-óya mára +jóri +jóri. | (11) lá-'ázət +bár +šùp̄ra. | +šúp̄ra lè-pas kátux. | lá-'ázət +bár +rábə davàltə. | ví xa-násə lípa. | ví xa-násə macìxa. | +'árra! cmá=t 'óya macàxta buš-mìyya c-ázi jávo. | 'ína +'arra- 'óya kvitál míyya ju-dreté míyya c-ázi. | ví 'áx +'árra. | (12) ví 'áx tuyta. | lá-vi 'áx +šàda. | +šàda! kàmtal ci-yávva +tárpa! +xárta ci-yavvála +tùnto. | 'ína 'át ví 'áx tuyta. | ví 'ax-tuyta! kámta cílla +tùnta ci-yavvála ka-násə, | +xárta +tárpa. | (13) ví macìxa. | ví xubbàna. | ví jaxùca. | ví +spày násə. | 'ánnə məndyànləl +rábə, | +rábəl kátu tanuyèlə. | bálcət +arpàmma, | xamšàmma! 'átxa məndyánləl malúpulə. |

vizier. But he had no children. Axiqar had no children. He had sixty wives. He had sixty wives. He had many palaces, palaces, very beautiful houses, but he had no children.

(3) One day he summoned many learned men, such as geomancers, magicians. He summoned many people to do something, fortune-tellers were reading fortunes to him, in order for him to have a child. No word (of a child) was forthcoming from them. (4) Afterwards, after no word was forthcoming from them, he appealed to his god. He appealed to his god. He appealed to God. He said to him 'Oh God, I implore you,<sup>49</sup> give me a son.' (5) God gave him an answer. He said 'You will not have a son, because formerly you went to people who were made by hand (i.e. idols), not to God. You went to other people, who could not do this for you. You will not have a son. (6) Make the son of your sister—Natan, his name was Natan—your own son. Teach him. Take care of him. Make him your own son. He will be for your old age when you have become old, he will be a son for you. When you die, he will close your eyes.'

(7) He goes to Natan, the son of his sister, and makes him his son. He teaches him many things, so that he can be in the royal court, not in the streets, and so forth. He teaches him so he can live, work, move, eat, drink and do everything in the household of the king, only in the house of the king, not outside. He teaches him. He teaches many things. (8) The boy grows up. He gives him many things: beautiful clothes, fine food. He tells him many things. He teaches him. He gives his son many pieces of advice. (9) Some of this advice, for example, was that he said 'My son, do not be too hot and do not be too cold. My son, do not laugh at people who are your friends, because they may grow up and later laugh at you. Do not eat forbidden food. Eat proper, good food.' (10) He teaches him many of these things. 'Do not be with a woman whose husband has died, do not marry her, because she will always be saying "my husband, my husband". (11) Do not go after beauty. Beauty will not last for you. Do not go after great wealth. Be a learned man. Be a soft man. The softer the ground is, the more water sinks into it. But if the ground is hard, when water is poured out, it flows away. Be like the ground. (12) Be like a mulberry. Do not be like an almond. An almond tree first produces leaves and then produces its fruit. But you be like the mulberry. Be like the mulberry. First it gives all the fruit to people and afterwards (produces) leaves. (13) Be soft. Be loving. Be merry. Be a good man.' He tells him many of these things. He teaches him perhaps four hundred, five hundred such things.

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49 Literally: I have become his guarantor.

(14) xà-yuma|—xáčča macriyyànnə|—xà-yuma| málca márəl ƙa-+Axíkar| +Axíkar,| át +rába dívət sìva.| ՚tlux xa-nàšal mattátłə šòpu?| sábab láttən xanáša 'ax-díyyux,| lóbbu +bøtlába +al-xá-naša 'ax-díyyu 'ávə.| (15) +Axíkar málra ƙa-málca| málca ƙ-ávət basıma,| Nátan brùni| 'ána tuybèrrun,| jurvàssuvən,| mülpun,| 'áxči ƙa-dáha mánđi.| 'áxči ƙa-ávə ju-ídət díyyux| ƙa-malcıtya.| (16) málra +rábə +spáy,| mèla| xá-yuma +Axíkar bøskálul brùnu,| víyyəla xa-jvànka,| +màtya,| labílu cós +Noxadnásər.| +Noxadnásər málca ƙa-dáha ... cùl-məndi tanùyəl bæxzàyələ hé +spày-ilə| ƙat-jú malcıtya ƙ-ávə vazzər kátu.| 'áha máttuyul +támə.| +Axíkar børráxşəl bëta.

(17) 'a-Nátan| 'ával xa-'axùna.| +Axíkar| xùbba maxzíva ƙa-dá 'axúna.| xá 'axúna xína 'et-'ávaləl 'annə-tré yála sùrəna,| ƙa-xá-mənne xùbba maxzùyət,| 'o-xína +naràhat vayyəla.| 'íman-ət +Axíkar xùbba muxzíl ƙa-do-'axúna sùra,| Nátan brúnu ƙat-jurvàssuva jú ... malcıtyəval +naràhat výla,| buxxàllə.| (18) 'u-məndi-da| +Axíkar| yuvvállə ƙa-da-yàla.| ƙa-dáha yávi zìyəl yávi bëta,| sábab Nátan| 'íva jú ... bétət málca.| Nátan +rába +naràhat výla| kát +Axíkar muttúla +tapàvut,| muttúla +tapàvut| bøl-da-brùna| bøl-+dàvvə.

(19) mù vádlə?| xa-ctàva ctávələ mən-púmmət +Axíkar| ƙa-málca Məssər,| ƙat-'ána +Axíkar| ku-tálux Nònvəl har-'átxa la-+pláša b-yavvónna kàtux.| +báyyən xazànnux.| 'ína +Axíkar +xábra lòtlə.| (20) Nátan 'á-məndi vádulə,| 'o-brùnu.| ƙa-málca bøctávələl málca ƙ-ávət basıma| +póllan yùma,| +póllan +tarəx| málca Məssər,| fúr'un| hámlea ƙ-ávəd +állux,| hámlea,| +pláša.| kòšun muyyéla| ƙat-'áta +pálaš mánñux.| (21) 'a-ctával trè-samələ| xa-ƙa-fúr'un +šadúrələ m-púmmət +Axíkar.| xà| ƙa-málca +šadúrələ| ƙat-málca ƙ-ávət basıma| fúr'un +báyyə +pálaš mánñux.| ƙa-fúr'un márələl ku-tálux| +póllan-dúcta xazànnux| kát ... yavvónna +'átra ƙa-díyyux| là +pláša.| (22) 'a-ctáva Nátan yávulə ƙá ... +Noxadnásər,| málca.| 'íta,| m-+bár-hada,| Nátan ƙa-málca márələl bæxzáyət mu-vádələ bábi b-rišux?| 'ádi cmá šònnəl cáslux +xilələ,| šòtyələ!| ju-bétux jurvàssələ| 'ína 'adíyya velə-víyya +xàyən +állux.| (23) +xàyən +plítələ +állux| +báyyə mamxílx b-ó ... fúr'un málca.| 'en-lét hammúnə,| ku-ta-mònñi 'ázax +póllan dùcta.| (24) ƙá ... +Axíkar| m-púmmət málca bøctávəl +Axíkar,| m-púmmət málca bøctávəl ctáva| ƙa-+Axíkar| ƙa-+Axíkar| fúr'un| hámlea vádəl +állan.| kòšun 'átlə.| +jámmila e-kóšun buš-xelànta| ƙat-xazzánna kam-fúr'un.| (25) +Axíkar lélə +bøddáya.| +jam-

(14) One day—I shall shorten it a little—one day the king says to Axiqar ‘Axiqar, you have become very old. Have you somebody you can put in your place, because there is nobody like you?’ His heart was seeking somebody who would be like him. (15) Axiqar says to the king ‘Oh king, be well, I have raised Natan, my son, I have brought him up, I have taught him only for this purpose, only so that he would be in your service,<sup>50</sup> for your royal court.’ (16) He says ‘Very well.’ One day Axiqar takes his son, when he has become a mature young man, he takes him to Nebuchadnezzar. King Nebuchadnezzar tells him everything, he sees that he is suitable to be a minister for him in the royal court. He appoints him there. Axiqar goes home.

(17) Natan had a brother. Axiqar showed love to this brother, the other brother that he had. When these two were children, he showed love to one and the other becomes discontented. When Axiqar shows love to that younger brother, his son Natan whom he had brought up and was (now) in the royal court became discontented. He became jealous. (18) Axiqar made an arrangement for this child<sup>51</sup> that they would give him money, give him a house, because Natan was in the household of the king. Natan became very discontented that Axiqar made a distinction, made a distinction between this son and himself.

(19) What did he do? He wrote a letter on behalf of Axiqar to the king of Egypt saying ‘I, Axiqar—come to Nineveh and I shall give it to you without a battle. I want to see you.’ But Axiqar has no word of this. (20) Natan, his son, does this. He writes to the king ‘King, be well, on such-and-such a day, such-and-such a date, the king of Egypt, Pharaoh, will make an attack on you, an attack, a war. He has brought the army in order to come to fight with you.’ (21) The letter is in two parts. He sends one to Pharaoh on behalf of Axiqar and one he sends to the king saying ‘King, be well, Pharaoh wants to fight with you.’ He says to Pharaoh ‘Come, I shall see you at a certain place, in order to give the land to you, without a fight.’ (22) Natan gives this letter to king Nebuchadnezzar. Then, afterwards, Natan says to the king ‘Do you see what my father is doing against you? For how many years has he eaten and drunk in your presence! He has grown up in your house but now he has become treacherous to you. (23) He has turned out to be treacherous to you. He wants to cause you to be smitten by Pharaoh. If you do not believe, come with me, let’s go to such-and-such a place.’ (24) To Axiqar he writes a letter on behalf of the king. He writes a letter to Axiqar ‘To Axiqar, Pharaoh is making an attack against us. He has an army. Muster a stronger army so that I can see it (stand) before Pharaoh.’ (25) Axiqar does not

<sup>50</sup> Literally: in your hands.

<sup>51</sup> Literally: He gave something to this child.

múyyol cùllə kòšun! 'íman-ət 'a-ctáva kabùlulə, +jammúyyol kòšun. 'a-yba-xína-da fur'un bitáyələ. ̄ka-màlca márələ! 'adíyya hammùnət? fúr'un dílə tílə láxxa hámbla váda! 'u-+Axíkar=da kòšun +jumméla. (26) málca +naràhat vayələ. ̄ka-Nátan márələ! kát ... mélə còslı mára lâl lètlux +shúla býyu. hálla p-ídət diyyi! 'ána ci-+yáttən! mu-pé-ódən b-rišu. xzí hâl axùna, brùna. málca ̄ka-Nátan márələ! kát ... mélə xázzən ... ̄ka-mù-ila 'átxa vída. (27) +Axíkar máyuna cəs-málca. málca kátu márələ! +Axíkar! 'ána mut-xərbayúta kátu xvidənval ká-átnən á-+shúla vódlux b-riši? kóšun +jummévat +al-jáni, fúr'un m-á-yba xína bitáyələ +al-jáni? +átra +báyyət yavvátla 'ázəl? (28) +Axíkar lišánu bədvákələ. +naràhat vayələ, lišánu bədvákələ, lélə +bašúra hámzəm. (interruption)

(29) +mtílan +al-dé-ducta kát málca márələ kátu! kát ... +Axíkar! 'áha mút +shúla vódlux káti? 'ána mû vídən ̄ka-díyyux ká-áha 'átxa vódlux. b-şánnə vífyət ju-béti. (30) 'ína +Axíkar +úxča +narahát vayələ! ká-áha 'átxa vódlux. p-šíəla +uldíyya. lišánu bədvákələ lélə +másə hámzəm. cmá-t ... +byáyələ 'átxa hámzəm lélə +bašúra. (31) yávulə +al-ídət xa-náša mára lâblun! +Axíkar! +ktíllunla. lâblun +ktíllunla. máyuna ká-áha 'átxa vódlux. +xábra yávələ ̄ka-báxtu. šómmət báxtu munşitun, xa-şòmma-ətla. ̄ka-báxtu +xábra yávələ ká-áha bitáyən bétə. +mhádr +xa+rámša! stéta. cùl-məndi. (32) báxta +bəddáyələ mû-ila kóssat. mára +rába honàntəva, +râba. +bəddáyələ kóssat mû-ila. bitáyəna bétə +maxúləla maštýəla. (33) o-+ktíllu=dal xíndá vayələ bəstáya! kátu mára, 'átlə şòmma! bas-şòmma +úxča munşitun, o-+ktíllu 'átlə şòmma, máralə kátu +Axíkar ka-+dâv márələ, márələ 'ána jná lâtlı. lâ +ktílli. (34) xá +dâna! bâbət díyyux=zəl +bayyíva +ktíllival! 'ína 'ána lâ +ktílli. málca +pşəmlə! +pşəmlə! kátu ka-mùl +ktíllun! 'ína 'ána lénva +ktíllu. lubállyi yuvvállyi ̄ka-málca. málca +rába xdilə. ̄kam-yavvälli pašcàšə, +anàma. 'ána lâtlı jná, lâ +ktílli. (35) mára bás mû ódən? málca mórrə ríšux lablánna +tâma. mórrə xa-náša 'áttən ju+düssak! bədmáyələ +álli. 'ùl cùllə-da 'an-sarbâzə t-íva mónnu! cùllə šátyəna +rìyəna. 'ánnə hâc-xa-mənne lénə +bəddáya. +ávun +ktíllu-lâbəlla. (36) bəskálulə, o-náša +bəktálulə. lablulə ̄ka-málca ká-+Axíkar 'ána +ktílli. ká-+Axíkar kám +târra, ̄kam+târrət bétəl +bəkkárəna xa-+çâla, tré mâtərə +tlá mâtərə 'ámku 'ámku. +Axíkar mattúyuna +tâma! xa-+bázza bəsvákəna ká-+ktíllu. mattúyuna miyya, lâxma! cùl-məndi mattúyəna kátu. (37) o-ríšət do-náša lablulə ká +Nuxadnásar ká-ána +Axíkar +ktílli yávulə kátu. 'a-Nátan! brùnu! málca ̄ka-Nátan brúnu márələ! xùs! škúlla +págṛət bâbux! +Axíkar +tâmərrə. Nátan

know. He musters all the army when he receives this letter. He musters the army. On the other side Pharaoh approaches. He (Natan) says to the king 'Now do you believe? Pharaoh has come here to make an attack and Axiqar has mustered the army.' (26) The king becomes unhappy. He says to Natan 'Bring him to me.' He says 'No, you have no business with him. Give him into my hands. I know what I shall do to him.' 'But, brother, son'—the king says to Natan—'bring him so that I can see why he has done this.' (27) They bring Axiqar into the presence of the king. The king says to him 'Axiqar, what evil had I done to you that you did this against me? You have gathered the army against me. Pharaoh is approaching from the other side against me. You want to let the country be ruined?' (28) Axiqar is tongue-tied. He is embarrassed and tongue-tied, he is unable to talk. [interruption]

(29) We reached the place where the king says to him 'Axiqar, what have you done to me? What have I done to you that you have done this? You have been in my house for years.' (30) But Axiqar becomes so embarrassed that he has nothing to say, he has been insulted. He kept quiet. He is unable to talk. However much he wants to talk, he cannot do so. (31) He (the king) gives him to a man and says 'Take Axiqar and kill him. Take him and kill him.' They bring him to kill him. He sends word to his wife—I have forgotten the name of his wife, she has a name. He sends word to his wife (saying) 'I am coming home. Prepare dinner and drink, everything.' (32) The wife knows what is happening. It is said that she was very clever. She knows what is happening. They come home and she offers food and drink. (33) (As) the executioner is drinking, he (Axiqar) says to him—he has a name but I have forgotten the name, the executioner has a name—he says to him, Axiqar says to him, he says 'I am not guilty. Do not kill me. (34) Once they wanted to kill your father, but I did not kill him. The king became sad, he became sad (and wondered) why they killed him, but I had not killed him. I took him away and gave him to the king. The king was very glad. He gave me gifts, rewards. I am not guilty, do not kill me.' (35) He (the executioner) says 'But what should I do? The king said that I should take your head to him there.' He said 'There is a man in prison who resembles me.' All the soldiers who were with him are all drunk and inebriated. None of them knows about it. 'Kill him and take him (to the king).' (36) He takes that man and kills him. He takes him to the king (saying) 'I have killed Axiqar.' For Axiqar outside ... outside his house they dig a hole, two metres, three metres deep. They put Axiqar there. They leave a hole so that his breathing would not be cut off. They put there water, bread, they put there everything for him. (37) He takes the head of the man to Nebuchadnezzar (saying) 'I have killed Axiqar' and gives it to him. Natan, his son—the king says to Natan his son 'Go and take the body of your father, Axiqar, and bury him.' Natan comes but does nothing

bitàyələ| hák-məndi lélə váda ķa-bábu.| har-átxa čamčümula.| (38) bitáyələ ju-béétat bábu,| +bixálalə,| bæštäyələ,| bæzmärələ,| børkádələ,| bæsvärələ,| 'u-+byáyələ mən-de-yämμu| ķat-īla xumitul báxtət +Axíkar| 'áva mánno 'áx +fjöra.| 'ína +Axíkar mórran bæxzäyələ,| cíllə +karavásu,| rijavátu,| cíllə +byáyələ màxə,| mxayélə,| +ajjuzèlə,| +bəddáyat mu-märən?! +ajjúzə +rábə ķaté,| (39) átxa +vára bərràxshələ,| xa-yùmal füür'unl xa-ctáva bæctåvələ ķa-+Nuxadnásər| märələ,| +bəddáyat ķát +Axíkar mätłə,| +bár +Axíkar myätələ,| +für'un bæctåvələ xa-ctáva ķá ... +Nuxadnásər| märələ ķát ... 'ána +byáyən mən-násux lípəl mən-jú +átrət díyyux| +árpa xamšá məndyáná ķaté| +jùvvab 'ódi| +jùvvab yavvili,| Pmo'ammàP| Pmo'ammàP| lén-+bədda xá ... xa-mändiləl xa-+cätərləl ʂarılə ķaté,| (40) 'en-şrìlun násət díyyux ķa-díyyi,| tláy šønnəl móñ PdarāmàdP-ətl +'átri| PdarāmádP +yána ... mändi ķát 'áta mən-+átri| mən-+xəttələl móñ ... dàval mən-síma,| mən-cül-mändi| 'ána yávvən ķatux tláy šønnə,| 'át tláy šønnə,| mändit +'átri ķat-bitáyələ mändi mən-cul-dücta| ķa-tláy šønnəl yavvánna ķatux,| +dílux mujjùrra?! (41) yána +paláttat mändi| mən-jáv-+átrət díyyi| tláy šønne 'ána ķatux b-yavvánna,| +yána mən-+xəttələl,| mən-+yánnəna,| mən-+xamrələl mən-dávələ,| mən-símələl mən-kənyànnəna,| mən-jammaşyátəna,| mən-cül-mändi,| PdarāmàdP| 'áyyəla +yána,| +páltən mən-ju-'átri cül-mändi davólta +páltən,| ķa-tláy šønne 'ána b-yavvánna ķax,| 'en-lá| 'átən xárjət| tlay-šønnə díyyi| 'át jári yavvátlə,|

(42) +Nuxadnásər málca| +bækryáylə +rábə náše lípəl vazzírə,| vaccílə,| cul-násəl| PrämalldärəP| cíl-našə +bækryáylə ķát ... 'á Pmo'ammàP| +jùvvab yavválla| 'á +xábra,| 'á mändi| +jùvvab yavválla ķa-für'un,| (43) cút-ilə bitáya märəl 'ávax +xlápux málca| 'áxnan le-+yáttax,| mäýar Nátan +yáttə,| Nátan furváslə fu-ídət +Axíkar,| ķa-Nátan +bækryána| Nátan märəl 'ána lén +bəddáya,| 'ána lá-+msən 'ánnə +juvvábə yavvánnum,| (44) +bətlábələ móñ +Nuxadnásər| füür'un,| ķát xadana-béta| zarázlə fu-+háva,| füür'un +bətlábələ xa ... móñ +Nuxadnásər| ķát ... xa-dána bëta| tundálla fu-+hával 'ú +rába məndyánə xínə,| 'én +msilun| 'odíla násət díyyux,| 'ána cíllə xárjət tláy šønnəl b-yavvánna ķatux| 'át-+átri,| 'en-lá,| 'átən xárjət tláy šønnəl jára +maddərrátlə ķati,| (45) hé| náša lót| ķat-á-mändi 'avədla,| +Nuxadnásər| fu-dé-+dana bæxyələ,| mxáyələ fu-rišu,| märəl 'ó| +Axíkar!| 'ó várdat bëti!| 'átətva,| fu-cíllə 'ánnə +xabráne ci-yavvátvələ +jùvvab,| 'á mú vádlı b-riš-jáni?| lá +bakùra,| lá hamzùma,| lá tanúya xá-mändi,| ķa-díyyux +mułkəlli,| 'átən 'ítva +maxdərránət +átri,| (46) báxyələ +rábə,| bráçələ +al-bərcàcul mára yá 'álaha,| xá-ja xíta-zə +Axíkar xazònvalə,| tapákva bityi,| 'áxči pàti ķetáva fu-pàtu,| báss-iva,| 'átxa märələ,| +rába hamzúmələ 'átxa məndyánə,| (47) 'o-+ķatùla| šámmu +bəddáyunva,| munšíli,| +rába čátun šømma 'ótlə,| mərrəl málca t-ávət basíma,| +báyyən xá-mändi tanónnu,| mára mù-ilə?| tání!| bitáyələ 'o-+ķatùla,| 'o-riju,| rijət málca,| +ķatùla,| (48) mára ķatu ķat' málca t-ávət basíma,| 'ána ci-+báyyən| +x̄títi tanònna,| modònna ķatux,| 'o-násət ķat ... +al-málçət jànul

to his father. He just throws him down. (38) He comes to the house of his father, he eats, he drinks, he sings, he dances, he leaps around. He wants to be with his mother, who has nurtured him, the wife of Axiqar, as a husband. But Axiqar, as we said, sees (everything). He (Natan) wants to beat all the housekeepers and servants. He beats them and harasses them. You know what I am saying. He harasses them a lot. (39) Time passes in this way. One day Pharaoh writes a letter to Nebuchadnezzar and says—he knows that Axiqar died—after Axiqar dies, Pharaoh writes a letter to Nebuchadnezzar saying ‘I want your learned men from your land, to give me a response to four or five things, to solve for me a puzzle, a puzzle, I don’t know, a thing, a problem. (40) If your people solve it for me, I shall give you thirty years of the income of my land—income, that is what comes from my land, wheat, gold, silver, everything, thirty years, I shall give you the produce of my land from every place for thirty years.’ (41) Do you understand? That is ‘I shall give you the produce from my land for thirty years.’ That is, wheat, grapes, wine, gold, silver, cattle, buffaloes, everything. This is what ‘income’ is. ‘I shall bring everything out of my land, I shall bring out wealth, and give it to you for thirty years. If not, you must give me my expenditure for thirty years.’

(42) King Nebuchadnezzar summons many learned people, viziers, stewards, every kind of people, magicians, he summons every kind of people in order to give him a response concerning the puzzle, to give a response to Pharaoh regarding this matter. (43) Everybody who comes says ‘With respect, king, we do not know, perhaps Natan knows, Natan was brought up by Axiqar.’ They summon Natan. Natan says ‘I do not know. I cannot give you the answers.’ (44) Pharaoh asks Nebuchadnezzar to construct a house in the air. Pharaoh asks Nebuchadnezzar for ... a house suspended in the air, and many other things. ‘If your men can do this, I shall give to you all the expenditure of my land for thirty years. If not, you must return to me the expenditure of thirty years.’ (45) Indeed, there is nobody who can do this. At that moment Nebuchadnezzar weeps. He beats his head, saying ‘Oh Axiqar! Oh flower of my house! If you could come, you could respond to all these requests. Oh what have I done to myself? Without asking, speaking or saying anything, I had you killed. You were the administrator of my land.’ (46) He wept bitterly. He knelt down on his knees and says ‘Oh God, if only I could see Axiqar even just once again, if only he could meet me again. If only my face could touch his face, that would be enough.’ He says this, he constantly speaks in such a way. (47) The executioner—I used to know his name but have forgotten, he has a very difficult name—said ‘King, be well, I want to tell you something.’ He says ‘What is it? Speak!’ The executioner comes, the servant, the servant of the king, the executioner. (48) He says to him ‘King, be well, I want to tell my sin, to confess it to you. A man who does treachery

PxăyūnàtP 'ávəd,| +xəł̥ta 'ávəd| +al-'alàha-zə vádələl +xəł̥ta.| fárk lèla váda,| +al-málca yan-+al-'alàha.| 'ána +xəł̥ta vídən.| 'ən-šúk mən-da-+xəł̥ti,| xá-məndi xína xázat bìyi,| +ktülli.| 'ína 'áha mándi 'ána +báyyən tanánnna kátux.| (49) mára mù-ilə?| hámzəm!| mára +Axíkar xàyələ.| 'ána lèn +ktílu.| málca lišánu bədvàkələ diylə márət?| hámzəm! hámzəm! mára hè.| málca t-ávət basıma,| 'ána +Axíkar lèn +ktílu.| (50) 'icəla?| mórra xàyələ +pəllan dúctələ.| 'ána +túmrın ksam-+tárrət bëtu,| 'ína xàyələ.| 'íta +báyyət +kałłətlə=da,| +ktülla.| mára dáx +kałłənnə?| 'ən-ávə xàya,| pályət malcùyti b-yavvánna kátux.| 'áxči +Axíkar páti ksam ju-pátu.| (51) málca bitáyələ jú dé hànna,| müt-inə tanùyə?| ksam-málca bətyávəna jávo?| máyulə +tāma.| bəxzàyələ +Axíkar 'ína +tāma.| +palúčulə 'ína +Axíkar dáknu +rixə,| ránju +rúppu zàrda víyya,| cícu cíllə xrívə.| (52) bəxpàkuləl mára 'áy +Axíkar!| 'ay-xàyyi! jánivət 'átən!| 'ána mú tíla b-riši?| ksam-mú pósli +uldìyya! b-Nátan brùnux?| lá +buķárri mánnu xàyánnux +dàna.| 'ávən +xlàpu,| +pàxəlli.| (53) +palúčulə +Axíkar,| bədráyulə 'a-bétət malcùytu! +al-+Axíkar.| mára 'átlı Pəhtiyäj!+allux.| bəspárən +ullux,| yànəl +byáyən xazənnux.| +Axíkar māra hálli +dàna.| yávələ +dána ksam-+Axíkar ksam-arpí yumàna.| 'arpí yumàna,| māra +xùl,| štì,| xùp.| xáčča tá +al-jànux| ku-tálux cáslı! 'ána +báyyən hamzómman mònnyux.

(54) 'áha 'arpí yumàna! +bar-dáha bərráxşələ cəs-málca.| +bətlábələ +paxálta mánnu.| mára 'áy bétət díyyivət.| 'áy malcùytat díyyivət.| 'áy xàyyət díyyivət.| müt tánən?| müt +amsan 'ódan ksam-átlə +paxlətlə?| mára mánšila! cul-víyya viyyələ.| mārrə mára Nátan brùnux 'á-məndi vádlə.| mára +bəddàyən.| (55) māra fur'un málca xá-xča māndi +šúdran-ilə.| +árpa xamšá məndyána mánni +flibələ.| 'ən-vidélan,| vidélan,| tláy şənnət! PdarāmadP=ət +átrət díyyi! jára yavvánna ksam ... fur'un,| 'ən-là +msili.| 'ən-+msili,| +'av bət-yavvälla ksam.| (56) +Axíkar mārələ! là táxmən.| 'áxči hálli 'arpí yumána +dàna.| 'ána b-zarzənnun.| müt-inə?| mára xá-mənne 'ila ksam 'ána jári xá-dana ... bétəl zárzən ksam-fur'un! ju-hàva,| 'ávə cátla ju-+hàva.| xá-xina 'áttən! ksam mən-siləl jəddələ záraz.| +rába 'átxa məndyána.| (57) +Axíkar ksam-málca mārələl hálli +dàna,| lá-avilux +shula.| +xábra yávələ ksam-bàxtu,| mərri,| báxtu +rába honàntəva,| ksam-báxtu +xábra yávələl ksam-áyya málpani ... tré +zayət +nàşra,| bajrálun,| jarvəssálun,| malpálun.| 'áxči malpálun ksam ... hällun! lúgnə,| lúgnə +yánə carpùyčə,| lúgnə,| +tına,| miyya,| hällun,| jáldə hällun,| là-climun!| (58) 'u-yála súrə=da mattúyəna ju-xa-+kərtəla,| 'ánnə +nàşra! bəškələna massukéna ju-+hàva.| cíllə 'ánnə bəlyápəna.| cíl-məndi ... výyələ dùz.| +bár-arpí yumàna,| +Axíkar ksam-málca mārələl ku-ta-xzi.| (59) bitáyələ bəxzáyələ +tāma,| bəxzáyələ 'á +kərtəla sáklə +ullul,| 'u-+tāma véna

against his own king, who commits a fault, he commits the fault also against God. There is no difference, against the king or against God. I have committed a fault. If apart from this fault of mine, you find something else against me, kill me. But I want to tell you this thing.' (49) He says 'What is it? Speak!' He says 'Axiqar is alive. I have not killed him.' The king is tongue-tied 'Are you telling lies? Speak! Speak! Speak!' He says 'Yes, oh king, be well, I have not killed Axiqar.' (50) 'Where is he?' He said 'He is alive in such-and-such a place. I have buried him outside his house, but he is alive. So, if you want to kill him, kill him.' He says 'Why should I kill him? If he is alive, I shall give you half of my kingdom. Only let my face touch the face of Axiqar.' (51) The king sits down in the thing, what do they say, that kings sit in? They bring him there. He sees that Axiqar is there. He brings him out (and sees that) Axiqar's beard is long, he has lost his colour, he has become yellow and all his teeth are ruined. (52) He embraces him and says 'Oh Axiqar! Oh my life! You are my soul! What has come upon me? Why was I treated treacherously by Natan your son? I did not ask you anything, I did not give you time. Please, forgive me.' (53) He takes Axiqar out (of the hole) and makes his royal house available for Axiqar. He says 'I need you (for a certain task). I am waiting for you, that is I want to see you (to talk to you about it).' Axiqar says 'Give me time.' He gives the time to Axiqar, for forty days. He says 'For forty days eat, drink, wash. Return to yourself a bit, then come to me. I want to talk to you.'

(54) After forty days he goes to the king. He (the king) asks forgiveness from him. He says 'You are my home. You are my kingdom. You are my life. What should I say? What can I do so that you will forgive me?' He says 'Forget it! What has been has been.' He said 'Natan your son has done this.' He said 'I know.' (55) He says 'Pharaoh the king has sent us such-and-such a task. He has demanded of me four or five things. If we do them, we do them (and that's fine). If we do not do them, I have to give thirty years income of my land to Pharaoh, if I cannot (do them). If I can, he will give it to me.' (56) Axiqar says 'Do not think about it. Only give me forty days. I'll deal with them. What are they?' He says 'One of them is that I must erect a house for Pharaoh in the air, which stands in the air.' There is another one which requires him to make threads of sand. Many such things. (57) Axiqar says to Pharaoh 'Give me time, do not worry.' He sends word to his wife—I have said that his wife was very clever—he sends word to his wife asking her to teach two young eagles, to nurture them, raise them and teach them, teach them thus 'Give bricks, mud, water, give, quickly give, do not stop!' (58) They also put young children in a basket and the eagles pick them up and take them up into the air. They learn all these things. Everything is done correctly. After forty days Axiqar says to the king 'Come and see.' (59) He comes and sees there, he sees that the basket has gone upwards, and there

bədráya ƙàləl hállun cipál hállun lùgnə,| ʼánnə +kašiyə,| carpùyčə,| ʼu-+t̄ina,| mìyya,| kám cèlyətun?| hàllun! málca pyásələ har-átxa mātal lišánu bədvàkələ,| (60) mára ʼávənva +xlàpux +Axíkar,| +xábra yávələ ƙa-für'un ƙat-násət díyyi bitàyəna,| bəškálələ +Axíkar býya bí ... rijavàtu +köšun,| bərràxşəna,| (61) fúr'un ká +Axíkar,| zúrzəva xa-Ehotèl[E] şaríva jàvo,| ká +Axíkar,| kámtət cílla mārələl mārələ kát ʼen-ána ʼávən +sàra,| násət xut-ídət díyyi müdi vâyəna?| mára ʼát +sàrəvət,| +bárət lèlə yávəvət ʼáni-da palàxux-na,| (62) māral bəlvásələ xálvəstəl +al-jànu zàrdəl māral á +al-mú madmùyivət?| mára madmùyuxvən +alxa-şəmşəl yavvántət +bàra,| ʼa-sápar xíta bəlvásələ ... xáčha júlla xína,| mára ʼánnə ... ránjət +xvàra,| mára ʼánnə +al-mú madmuyévət?| mára madmuyévən +al-càxvəl ʼávi ju-šmáyya +balbùsə,| (63) +baķúrələ mónnu +rába məndyàna,| +xárta mārələl mammánnux b-momítəl māral mārət díyyux +al-mú bədmàyələ,| +al-mu madmùyut?| mārux ƙa,+Axíkar māral mārət díyyux +al-mú bədmàyələ,| +al-mu madmùyut?| (64) māral ƙú +al-àkluxl mārət díyyi lèlə xşíxa,| ƙat-ána ʼátxa hamzámmən bázuz,| ʼát ƙu-+al-àklux clí,| ʼána hamzámmən bázuz,| é,+dana hamzúmələ bázət mārət jànu=zəl ʼát ... Nènəvə,| +Nuxadnàsər,| mārələ ƙat-+àvun ʼen-tána ƙa-şómsha clí,| bət-càlya,| ʼen-tána +múṭra +ri,| bət-+ràyya,| ʼen-tána dínyə clí bət-càlyani,| (65) +rába məndyána taniyələ bázət málcu,| mārələ mammúyux-vən b-ríšət dó māruxl tánílì mānivət,| mārələ ʼat-mānivət ƙat-málca +şúdrux-lə?| (66) mára ʼána xa-mən-dan-şəcvánə,| xa-mən-dan-şəcvánəvən xut-ʼáklət málca,| tíyyən cəslux,| +rába məndyána hamzúməna m-+uydàla,| mārələ nášə xína látvəl kát ƙa-díyyux xa-şəcvána +şúdrələ cəs-xa-málçət Mèssər,| (67) +xárta mammúyulə momítəl mára tání mānivət?| mammúyuxvən momítə b-ríšət dó māruxl tánílì ʼat-mānivət?| mára ʼána ʼivən +Axíkar,| é,+dān ƙílə šámmu +bəsmáyu +Axíkar,| fúr'un brázələ šöpu,| +bəddáyələ cíl-məndi zrəzla,| cíl-məndi +spàyvilo,| (68) mára +áx bas-+şəmyənval ƙa-díyyux +ktəllun,| mórrə həl xa-násət ʼaláha lá basmáləl xa-móndi ʼávə lè-ʼavə,| ʼen-xa-məndit ... ʼaláha basmálə,| c-àvə,| (69) ʼína ʼaláha bsáməl ƙa-díyyi +xumíləl sábab brúni +Nátan +xáyən +plátlə +álli ƙa-díyyi +bílun +kàtli,| ʼína ʼaláha la-švàkla,| ƙat-ʼatónva lâxxa,| +júvvab díyyux yavvánvalə,| (70) mára xób xúš dmúx ju-Ehotèl[E]ux,| ƙúdmə ʼatət,| ƙúdmə bitáyələ mədrə,| mára mu-+byáyət?| mára +báyyən xa-dána Psāxtumàn[P] ʼóya ju-+hàva,| māral xób tání ƙa-násuxl t̄ina,| +kašiyə,| carpùyčə,| mìyya,| cílla

they are crying out ‘Give stones, give bricks, those tiles, bricks, mud and water. Why are you stopping? Give!’ The king is astonished. His tongue-tied. (60) He says ‘I am in your debt,<sup>52</sup> Axiqar.’ He sends word to Pharaoh (saying) ‘My people are coming.’ Axiqar takes an army together with his servants and they march. (61) Pharaoh has prepared a hotel for Axiqar in order for him to lodge there. He says first of all to Axiqar ‘If I were the moon, what would the people under my command be?’ He says ‘You are the moon and you give the light of the night. They are your workers.’ (62) He says—he puts on a yellow garment—he says ‘What do you compare me to?’ He says ‘I compare you to the sun, the giver of light.’ The next time he wears other clothes. He says—these are white in colour—he says ‘What do you compare these to?’ He says ‘I compare them to stars that shine in the sky.’ (63) He asks him many things. Then he says ‘I pledge you with an oath saying “your master—what does he resemble? Your master.”’ He says to Axiqar ‘What does your master resemble? What do you compare him to?’ (64) He says ‘Listen,<sup>53</sup> my master does not need me to speak about him like this. Listen,<sup>54</sup> I’ll speak about him.’ Then he speaks about his master, of Nineveh, Nebuchadnezzar. He says ‘If he says to the sun “stop”, it will stop. If he says “rain”, it will rain. If he says “Stop world”, it will stop.’ (65) He says many things about his king. He says ‘I pledge you with an oath on the head of your master, tell me who you are.’ He says ‘Who are you whom the king has sent?’ (66) He says ‘I am one of the ants, one of the ants under the foot of the king. I have come to you.’ They speak together about many things. He says ‘Were there no other people that he sent you, an ant, to a king of Egypt?’ (67) Then he pledges him with an oath, he says ‘Tell me, who are you? I pledge you with an oath on the head of your master. Tell me. Who are you?’ He says ‘I am Axiqar.’ When he hears his name Axiqar, Pharaoh dries up on the spot. He knows that he has arranged everything, that everything has turned out well. (68) He says ‘But I had heard that they killed you.’ He said ‘Yes, a man—if it does not please God that something comes about, it does not come about. If something pleases God, it will be.’ (69) It pleased God to protect me, since Natan my son turned out to be treacherous to me and they wanted to kill me, but God did not permit this, so that I could come here and give you your answer.’ (70) He says ‘Good, go and sleep in your hotel and come tomorrow.’ The next day he comes again. He says ‘What do you want?’ He says ‘I want a building that is in the air.’ He says ‘Fine. Tell your people to prepare mud, tiles, bricks, water, everything. I shall

<sup>52</sup> Literally: Would that I were your substitute.

<sup>53</sup> Literally: Stand on your feet (i.e. stop and listen).

<sup>54</sup> Literally: Stand on your feet, stop.

'odílun +hàzər. | 'ána ƙúdmə t-átən| ƙa-díyyux bánən béta +'ullul. | (71) cúlla  
 násət dúnəs=da +jmítəla ƙat-áha béta bət-bánə +'ullul fu-+hàva. | +xábra yàvələ|  
 ƙa-dánnə ... ƙa-+nàšrəl málələ ƙát ... yávvi láxma yál-súrə=da fu-dé-+kérṭàla. |  
 bəsyákəna +'ullul. | bəsyákəna +'ullul, | hál cma-+dána 'atxa-+ 'ullul bəsyákəna|  
 bálcatl 'alpá mótrə +'ullul-inə. | (72) mən-+támə +šaríyəna bədra-kálə 'ánnə  
 yál-súrəl ƙat-hállun cípə, | hállun mìyya, | hállun +tına. | +Axíkar=da bəškálələ  
 mən-+sarbázul ƙa-dánnə-mxàyələ. | mára ƙa-mù-itun cónya? | hállun +tına! | hál-  
 lun mìyyal hállun cípə. | mára mújjur yávvax 'áxnan?! mújjur yávvax +támma  
 'áxnan +tına, | cípə, | mìyya? | mújjur yávvax? | mára ba-mújjur 'átnə +byáyət  
 +támma béta zárzən ƙátxəl 'en-'átnə lé-+bašrət yávvat cípə, | mìyya. | +bəsláyəna  
 bitáyəna. | mára xús fú ... EhotèlEux. | ƙúdmə +báyyən xazànnux. | (73) ƙúdmə  
 mádrə bitáyələl mára 'ána +byáyən xa-dána +xòləl +xòləl 'atxa +xlımələ, | +xòləl  
 +zakṛtli, | +zakṛtli b-síla. | taxmùnələl, | taxmùnələl mu-'ávəd, | mu-lá-avəd. | mat-  
 túyələ xa-dána panjára cátəl 'u-šamašúyta šémşələl bitáyəla mən-+támə ci-  
 +karíla šamašúyta. | šamašúyta mxáyəla +támə. | +ávva síla bədráyəla. | (74) síla  
 bədráyələ mən-+támə +bázzəl +bázzəl +ávva síla 'átxa partùlələ. | mára  
 táníl násux +zakṛtla. | 'ána jəddáləl +házər vidévən, | partùlə +al-+uydálə. | tány  
 násux +zakṛtla. | cmá-t +byáyəna lénə +bašürəl bərróxşələ EhotèlE | mára ƙúdmə  
 xazànnux. | (75) ƙúdmə bitáyələl málələ ƙátu xa-mándi +báyyən tánət ƙáti ƙat-  
 háč náša lá-avə +šámyu fu-dúnəl 'áxci ... tázə 'ávə. | +Axíkar bitáyəla jú ...  
 EhotèlE u. | taxmùnələl mu-ávəd, | mu-lá-avəd. | (76) bəctávələ fu-ctávəl ƙat-átnə  
 fur'un denánət ƙá ... málca díuz-ila? | mára +byáyələ dénuš šakàllələ mánnuš. |  
 +šámyutun 'áha mändi? | mára lá lèx +šámyu. | mára 'átnə denánət ƙá ... +Nux-  
 adnásər málca ƙá ... málca Nànvəl mára lá. | mára bas-áha mändi tázələl  
 'átnə ... +bəšmàyovət. | (77) mádrə +támə-da +bəkrámələl, | 'ína xáččə bùš şapárta  
 márolə, | +bəddáyəvət? | +xárta bitáyələ ... mádrə fu-EhotèlE u. | mára si-dmùx. | (78)  
 ƙa-kédamta bitáyələl ƙá ... +Axíkar málələl ƙa-mùdīl suysavátət diyyòxun! jávət  
 Nànvəl hurhàmlun? | susyátət diyyan láxxal murxàshlun! +yánə yále munpàllun. |  
 +Axíkar +pláṭa bərróxşələl ƙa-dan-násət mánnuš mára xá-dana +kátu dùkun. |  
 (79) +kátu bədvàkona. | ƙa-dáha +kátu +úxča mxáyələ, | +úxča mxáyələ fu-  
 +xiyávand! +ajjúzolə, | chartedurəla. | +bəddáyət +kátu mújjur chartedurəla? | wà! wà!  
 chartedurəla. | bitáyəna násə ƙa-málca ƙa-fur'un málənəl ƙát ... +Axíkar vélə jéxcə  
 bìyyan. | dvíkələ xa-+kátu fu-+xiyávand, | mxáya. | (80) +sadúrələ +báru. | bitáyələ  
 +várələ. | mára 'a-+kátu +héyyan káx mú várələ? | mú várələ ƙa-díyyux ƙat-xá-  
 xča mxáyot? | mára 'áha márət jnáyəla. | mū-ila jnáyo? | (81) málca ƙáti  
 'íva xá +karúvval ƙát +úxča šápíra ƙála 'átvələ. | 'e-+dánət zamárvə, | 'ána  
 +sammónva. | +yattónva málca 'átlə +súla mánni, | c-azónva cáslu. | 'ína 'á +kátu-  
 tət diyyux! m-áxxa ƙóməla, | xášla 'ád-lelə ƙdálə +kçitula, | titəla. | bas-járəc 'ána  
 maxónna 'áha. | (82) fúr'un mára ƙá ... +Axíkar! 'á mū márət? šuddónnət?

come tomorrow and build a house above.' (71) Everybody is gathered (saying) that 'He will build a house above in the air' He gives the word to the eagles and says that they should put food and the children into the basket. They go up, until (when) they go up for some time, they are perhaps 1,000 metres above (the ground). (72) From there the children begin to shout 'Give stones, give water, give clay.' Axiqar takes (things) from his soldiers and beats them. He says 'Why have you stopped? Give clay, give water, give stones.' They say 'How can we give? How can we give here clay, stones, water? How can we give? How can we give here clay, stones, water? How can we give?' 'How do you want me to build here a house for you if you cannot give stones and water?' They go down and they come (to him). He says 'Go to your hotel. Tomorrow I want to see you.' (73) The next day he comes again and says 'I want a rope, a rope that is this thick. (I want you) to weave for me a rope, weave it for me with sand.' He thinks and thinks (wondering) what he should do. He makes a casement, a window, and a sun-ray, the sun, what they call a sun-ray comes from there. The sun-ray strikes there. He sprinkles sand. (74) He sprinkles sand there in holes. He twists the sand like this. He says 'Tell your people to weave it. I have prepared its threads, twisting (them) together. Tell your people to weave it.' However much they wanted to, they could not. He goes to the hotel. He says 'Tomorrow I shall see you.' (75) The next day he comes and says to him 'I want you to tell me something that nobody in the world has heard but is new.' Axiqar goes back to his hotel and thinks what he could do. (76) He writes in a book 'You, Pharaoh, are in debt to the king. Is that true?' He says 'He wants to collect your debt from you. Have you heard this?' He says 'No, I have not heard.' He says 'You are in debt to king Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Nineveh.' He says 'No.' He says 'But this is new. You are hearing it (now).' (77) Again also in that he wins, but he tells it rather more elegantly, do you understand? Then he returns to his hotel. He (Pharaoh) says 'Go and sleep.' (78) He comes the next day. He says to Axiqar 'Why did your horses in Nineveh neigh? Our horses here aborted, that is they aborted their young.' Axiqar goes out. He says to the people with him 'Take a cat.' (79) They take the cat. He beats the cat hard and harries it in the street, and it whines. Do you know how a cat whines? People come to the king, they say to Pharaoh 'Axiqar is laughing at us. He has caught a cat in the street and is beating it.' (80) He sends for him. He comes and enters. He says 'What has this cat, this animal, done to you? What has it done to you that you beat it so much?' He said 'This is a criminal.' 'What is its crime?' (81) He says 'This king was a rooster to me, who had such a beautiful voice. When he sang, I used to listen. I knew that the king had work for me. I used to go to him. But this cat of yours, he got up from here and went this night and has snapped his neck, then has come back. So I must beat it.' (82) Pharaoh says to Axiqar 'What are you saying? Have you gone

+tuþþònnat?| mü-ivøt?| 'á mújjurra xášla +kàtu| býyøt ... +arþámma xamšámma  
 cilomátrø 'úrxa,| xášla +tåma| xa-lèlø| kðáløt +karúvvøt díyyux +kçilal 'u-tila,  
 +dárra tila?| (83) mórrø bas-øn-xamšámma 'østámma cilomætrønà| ba-mújjurra  
 susavátøt mårøt díyyi +tåma hehehé hurhømlun,| susavátøt díyyux laxedal  
 murxæslun?| fúr'un +dilo| +jùvvab yuvvällø kàtu.| +jùvvab +øvvøva| yuvvällø  
 kàtu.| (84) mórrø xúš 'aláha +barøxlux| kat-xá-axča høna| karkápta kàtux 'aláha  
 yùvvøla| muyyíla kàtu +rába dàva,| sima,| jùlla,| cùllø yuvvélø kàtu.| 'u-tlái šønnat  
 PdarðmàdP-at| +øtra| cùllø yuvvélø ka-+Axíkar,| muttíla +al-susavátøl| +shudárra  
 ká ... málca Nønva.| (85) +xábra yuvvällø kàt ... bitáyøla ... +Axíkar.| +plátlun  
 kamàytu.| málca +plætlø kamàytu.| xurdíla b-kðálø.| nødøkla| +rába xdíla biyyu| kat-  
 cùl-màndit +bàyyøt b-yavvønnux.| (86) mórrø 'ána hác-màndi le-+bàyyøn| cùllø  
 mándi 'øtlí| cùl-màndi 'øtlí| 'ánnø=za tlái šønnat| PdarðmàdP-at| ... mæn-+øtrøt  
 fúr'un Mèssør| müyyøn kàtux| 'u-'ánnø jùlla,| 'a-dàva,| 'a-màndi,| cùllø kàtux-na.|  
 (87) mórrø mü+baayøt 'ána kàx yavvøn?| mórrø hác mánndi mánnu|x lén +byaya.  
 'axçíl Nátan brùni,| Nátan brúni hálø +al-idi.| e-dársøt yuvvønva kàtu kàmta  
 lélø lípo bæxshávøn +spøy.| hálø +al-idi.| 'ána yavvønnø xa-dárs xità.| (88) mára  
 škúlla 'a-Nátan| p-ídux,| cùlløt +bàyyøt 'ódat b-ríšu vùd| hác-náša le-hàmzøm.|  
 Nátan bæxzáyøla kæt-bábu xàyøla,| lóbbu þkàyøla| +bæzdàyøla bæxzáyøla xàya.|  
 hè.| bæskálula Nátan,| màyulø bëta.| (89) 'ána mändyánat kæt-kámta miréva kàtu|  
 kæt-+spøy-vi,| xubbànø-vi,| jaxcàna-vi| 'øtxa-vi,| 'øtxa furvøssuva +ræbal zíyøzø  
 xúrjøva +øllu.| +rába mülpøva,| +biyyuva| 'ax-xa-bába xa-brùna,| 'á-sapar kàtu  
 mòrrø (90) kæt-'ána kæ-díyyux mulðøpli| 'ávøt +spøy,| vílux káti xèrba.| 'ána kàtux  
 vódlø nàša,| 'átøn kæ-díyyi dušdøslux.| 'ána kæ-díyyux muttíli ju-bët-malcìuya,|  
 'átøn kæ-díyyi muttílux ju-+ørra.| (91) 'ána kæ-díyyux +mumtíli +al-zùyzøl +ál  
 PmokkámàtP| +yánø +al-xa-+dàrga,| +dàrga| kæt-'átøt bët-malcìuya,| 'ína 'átøn  
 kæ-díyyi muttílux +al-xa-+dàrga ... +køtla,| motàna.| yómmøt díyyux kæ-díyyux  
 tuybørra| 'ína 'át +bílux mánno 'avvøta 'ax-xa-+jøra.| ríjavátø cùllø mæxyèlux.|  
 (92) +rába +rába mändyánø mårula.| +yánø dárkul do-màndit kámta túnnyuval  
 mårula.| Nátan mårøla kàtu| kæt-'ávøn +xlàpux.| 'átøn raxmànøt.| 'át xubbànøt.  
 'át výyøt bæba káti.| mædra har-ó-baba vi-kæti.| (93) mára là xína.| 'o-bába xàšla.  
 'ádi xa-bába xína týyøla kæt-'át 'ax-brúnuvøt.| bæl-díyyi| bæl-díyyux| 'aláha t-ávød  
 +dívan,| +dívan.| +bæddáyøt +dívan mü-ila?| (94) bædvákulu Nátan, +bæsyàrøla.  
 b-xæžbùyna| yávulø laxedal 'u-mìyya.| +tlá yumána léla vøya,| Nátan| bæzyàrøla,  
 bæzyàrøla,| bæzyàrøla,| bùm!| þkàyøla| myàtøla Nátan.| 'áyya-da +Axíkar-ila.

mad? Have you gone crazy? What are you? How is it that the cat went there on a journey of four hundred or five hundred kilometres in one night, snapped off the neck of your rooster and came back, returned and came back?' (83) He said 'But if (the distance) is five hundred or six hundred kilometres, how is it that the horses of my master neighed there and your horses here aborted?' Pharaoh understood. He (Axiqar) gave him the (necessary) answer. The answer was that. He gave (the answer) to him. (84) He said 'Go, God bless you, for God has given you such an intelligence and such a mind.' He brought to him large amounts of gold, silver, clothes and gave everything to him. He gave to Axiqar the income of the land for thirty years, he loaded it on horses and sent it to the king in Nineveh. (85) They gave word that Axiqar was coming. They came out to meet him. The king came out to meet him. He hugged him round his neck. He kissed him. He was very pleased with him (saying) 'I shall give you everything you want.' (86) He said 'I do not want anything. I have everything. I have everything. I have brought you the income of the land of Pharaoh of Egypt for thirty years. These clothes, this gold, this thing (i.e. silver), everything is for you.' (87) He said 'Whatever you want I shall give you.' 'I do not want anything from you, but hand over my son Natan into my hands. I don't think he has learnt well the lesson that I gave him some time ago. Hand him over into my hands. I shall give him another lesson.' (88) He says 'Take this Natan into your hands. Do whatever you like to him. Nobody will speak.' Natan sees that his father is alive and his heart splits (with fear). He is afraid, he sees he is alive. Yes. He takes Natan and brings him home. (89) The things that he had previously told him 'Be good, be loving, be merry, be like this'—he had brought him up like this and spent a lot of money on him—he had taught him a lot, he had loved him, as a father (loves) a son—this time he said to him (90) 'I taught you to be good, but you were bad to me. I made you a man, but you trampled on me. I put you in the royal household, but you put me in the ground. (91) I brought you into money, into a position, that is a (high) rank, a rank whereby you came into the royal household, but you put me in the rank of execution, of death. Your mother brought you up, but you wanted to be with her like a husband. You beat all the servants.' (92) He says many, many things to him. That is, he says to him (that he did) the opposite of what he had said to him previously. Natan says to him 'Please, you are merciful, you are loving, you have been a father to me. Be the same father to me again.' (93) He says 'Not again. That father has gone. Now another father has come, whose son you are like. God will hold a court (and judge) between me and you.' A court. Do you know what a court is? (94) He seizes Natan and binds him. He gives him bread and water in rations. Hardly had three days past, when Natan begins to swell, he swells, he swells boom! He explodes. Natan dies. That is (the story) of Axiqar.

**A4 Is there a Man with No Worries? (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar  
+Baba-čanja, N)**

(1) *xa-yùma! xa-nàša! mèrrə! ána járəc ‘ázən! jàvət! cíllə dùnyə! +xàdrən! +távvən!*  
*máčxən ķat-xa-nàša! +᷑ax! látłə! ‘áhhhh,! ‘átxa,! +᷑ax tanáxva,! +᷑ax látłə! +yàna!*  
*látłə xóšša! látłə taxmánta,! +bəddáyət mu-màrən?! ķa-dáyya ci-táni +᷑ax! +᷑ax*  
*váy ‘átxa,! +᷑ax váy ‘átxa,! +᷑ax váy dàrdə,! +᷑ax váy +màrrə,! +᷑ax váy lén-+bədda*  
*mùdi.! mórrə ‘ána járə ‘ázena! xa-náša mačxánnə ķat-lá-‘avilə ju-da-dùnyə.*  
*+távvən +bar xa-náša ķat-+᷑ax! lát-‘avila!, xášša lát-‘avila!, taxmánta lát-‘avila.* (2)  
*‘áha nàša! bəkyàmələ! čarùxə,! čarùxə +bəddáyət mù-inə?! čarùxə! čarùxə! ‘ax-*  
*dàhəna,! ‘ax-dàha,! ‘ína m-áxxa m-áxxa m-áxxa m-áxxa ‘áttən jəddàlə!. ķamta*  
*nášə ci-loštva ‘anna-čarùxə! látva +sólə! ci-taníva čarùxə ķaté!. čarùxə maxí-*  
*valun p-᷑aklū! xèšlə! škəllə! zvàda mónnu!, zvàda +yánə! lásma!, miyya!, càdə!,*  
*cècə! ‘átxa məndyána!. škəllə! xèšlə! xèšlə! yúma ju-xa-mdítə!, yúma ju-xa-cùča,*  
*cùča!, +alùla!, +bəxdàra!. ‘a-mdítə prəkla!, ‘e-mdítə xíta, ‘e-mdítə xíta prəkla!,*  
*‘e-xíta hár vilə-+bəxdàra!. b-yàrxə!, b-šánnə vílə +bəxdára ķat-máčəx xa-nàša!, xa-*  
*nàkva! ķat! xóšša lát-‘avila!, +narahatútya lát-‘avila!, ‘óya xdítə!, tánya ‘ána xdítən!*  
*hác-xóšša látli!. (3) bərráxsha bərràxşə! +dánət tétu ķarbàntu! xzílə lát! xína hác-*  
*məndi lélə mačúxa!. +bílə +dárva atíva! xzílə xa-dána! duccána! +mağàzya!,*  
*‘ína +rábə +jùrtəla!. bərráxşə! +táməl +várələ +támə!. jašsúkələ ‘inal mārət!*  
*‘at-dá duccána! xá laxúyma jvánka şapıra!, ‘ína har-jèxcə!, he-he-hè!, jèxcəla!,*  
*jèxcəla!. nášə bərràxşəna! móndi bəzvànəna!, b-dá-’idu zùyza bəškála!, b-dé-’idu*  
*zùyza bəškála! ‘ú jèxcə! jánu laxúyma! ‘ú palàxə! ju-duccána!. (4) mèrrə! ‘áha*  
*jári ‘ávəl ‘o-nášət ‘ána +byàyun! ķat-lá-‘avilə +᷑ax!, ķat-lá-‘avilə xášša!, lát-‘avila*  
*taxmánta!, ‘áha jánu xá-‘axča laxúyma!, xá-‘axča zùyza!, ‘á duccána +jùrtə!,*  
*palàxə xut-’idu!. bas-‘áha látłə xášša!. p-sáprən xázzən mu-pty-‘óya!. (5) ‘ánnə nášə!*  
*mən-kédamta hal-+berášə vílun +várə +pláṭa móndi bəzvána!. ‘ína +ávva har-*  
*vilə-tíva +támə!. bərráxşəna bitáyəna ķatú! mára c-+ámsax +hayyərràxlux?! mü*  
*+byàyəvət?! mára lát! här-‘məndi!. bitáyəna +sá’at xámša +bár-+cavutra ķat-dòri!*  
*mārət duccána!, ‘ó laxúyma jvánka!, bərráxşə! ķatú mārələ! ķat! xùni! xùni! +yáno*  
*‘axùni!, xùni! mən-kédamta ‘at-tívat lásxa!, cpína +sìyya!. här-‘məndi lét zvína.*

**A4 Is there a Man with No Worries? (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar  
+Baba-čanja, N)**

(1) One day a man said ‘I must go and travel throughout the whole world to seek and find whether a man has no “ah!”’ ‘Ah!’ like that, we say ‘ah!', who has no ‘ah!’, that is he has no sorrow, he has no worry. Do you know what I am saying? They call this ‘ah!’, ‘Oh dear,’ ‘Oh dear,’ ‘Oh my pains,’ ‘Oh my illnesses,’ ‘Oh dear,’ I don't know what. He said ‘I must go and find a man in the world who does not have this. I shall look for a man who does not have “ah!,” who does not have sorrow, who does not have worry.’ (2) This man gets up and (puts on his) boots—čaruxə [woven boots], do you know what they are, čaruxə [boots]. čaruxə are like this, like this, but here, here, here and here there are laces. Previously people used to wear these čaruxə, there were no shoes. They used to call them čaruxə [woven boots]. He put his boots on his feet and went off. He took supplies with him, supplies, that is bread, water, pastries, cakes, such things as that. He took them and went off. He went one day wandering in a town, one day in a street—street, street. This town finished, another town, another town finished, another one, he was wandering constantly. He was wandering for months, for years, in order to find a man, a woman, who did not have sorrow, who did not have distress, who was happy, who says ‘I am happy, I have no sorrow.’ (3) He goes and goes, but when he comes and approaches, he saw that no, he does not find anything. (When) he wanted to go back, he saw a shop, a store, very big. He goes there and enters there. He looks (and sees) that the owner of the shop is a comely handsome youth, he is always laughing, ‘he-he-he’, laughing and laughing. People go there and buy something, he takes money with this hand and takes money with that hand, he laughs, he himself is handsome, and there are workers in the shop. (4) He said ‘This must be the man I want, who does not have “ah!,” who does not have sorrow, does not have worry, he himself being so handsome, (having) so much money, this big shop, workers under his authority.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, he does not have sorrow. I shall wait to see what happens.’ (5) The people, from morning until night, were going in and out, and making purchases. But he was just sitting there. They come to him and say ‘Can we help you? What do you want?’ He says ‘No, nothing.’ They come at five o'clock in the afternoon in order to close. The owner of the shop, the handsome youth, goes and says to him ‘My bro, my bro’—that is my brother—‘My bro, you have been sitting here from the morning, hungry and thirsty. You have not bought anything. We now want to close. What do you want? What is

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55 Literally: hand.

'áxnan 'ádi +báyyax dòrax. | 'át mù +byayəvət?| +márrət díyyux mù=ilə?| (6) mára  
 hác-məndi 'axùni. | 'ən-+báyyat dòrət, | 'ána p̄t-àzən. | mára là, | xér 'ótlux xá ...  
 niyyat! mùdila! lâxxəvət?| mən-ķedamta lâxxəvət. | márrə hâmmən mən-'alâha!  
 léla +t̄sita, | mənnux! mù +t̄sánnə?| kóssat 'àyyəla. | 'ánnə cmáyárxał +t̄avvùyən!  
 mdinâtə, | +atravàtə bərráxşən! kât! máčxən +bar xa-nâšal +'âx! lâtlə, | xâssha lâtlə.  
 'údu tpáklı b-díyyux. | bəxzáyux-vən laxùyma. | bəxzáyux-vən! b-dâ-'idux! b-dè-  
 'idux! zìuyzə bəškala. | 'u-bəxzáyux-vən palâxə 'ótlux. | jáxcət harhùrəvət! áslan  
 lēt-+bəddá 'a-dúnyə m-ica titəla. | 'ána tuxmânni! 'átən 'ámma ka-'ámma! 'átən 'ò-  
 našət. | (7) márrə +ahâl 'adlyyal 'ad-leləl 'átən p̄t-ávət kây 'árxa. | mára là! 'ávən  
 +xlâpux! lá lá là! +mâxlili. | 'ána mânši mü humzâmli! | mára lá là. | 'át b-yâttət  
 lâxxa cəsli. | cmá-t +báyyə kâml yâvələl dâstur! ka-palâxu! kat-lâ-šukun 'ázəl.  
 'ad-lelə mára 'árxivət. | kùdmə 'icət 'ázət xùš. | (8) 'á bəkyâməle! bətyâva mattýul  
 ju-+mašina, | bərrâxşəla. | +mâyəna kəm-+tarra. | bəxzáyəla cûlla +tarra dâva,  
 rîjavâta, | +karavâšə, | cûlla ju-bètu! riša maccúpə kâtu. | mórrə 'ána dâx kâlat vâdli,  
 kâlat +yâna +xâlta! vâdli! kât humzâmli mân-dâ nâša. | 'á +báyyə kâ-di +kâtlə. | (9)  
 +báyyə 'árək, | bədvâkula. | mára lá lá là. | 'ad-léla 'árxivət! mäjər lêt +t̄avvùyə +bár  
 dâ-məndi?| xób 'ád-lelə 'árxivət! kât xâzzat. | rišux là +mamriyyânnə, | bətyâvəna,  
 +xa-+rámša +bixâləna, | bərrâxşol +hâmmam vâdlo, | bitâyəla! bəškâlələ! čarùxu!  
 kât-'árək, | yâla bədvâkuləl mára là! tûy! | (10) bətyâvəna. | bitâyəla!, | jánu ka-jánu  
 bəxyəla. | mára ya-'álaha, | +hâyyərri! 'ána 'a-mút kâlat-ivâ vâdli?| 'á mút +xâlta  
 vâdli?| 'á kâm humzâmli? | 'ád-lela 'á p-parâkli, | p̄t-+kâtləlli. | 'átlə nâkša b-rîši.  
 b-álaha +bérašə +xa-+rámša +bixâla prâkəna, | bərrâxşəna kât-dâmxı. | labúlula  
 mânnu ju-+otax. | mára 'áy +kâtma b-rîši! | 'á mú +báyyə 'ávəd b-rîši?| mára 'áyya  
 +karavâttət díyyux-ilə! 'á-da +karavâttət díyyila. | túrvəntan dámjax fu-xá-+otax  
 'ad-léla. | mâdrə bəcyâpəla! šákəl +sólə 'árək! +áynu l-á-yba l-ò-yba. | mára là, | tûy.  
 (11) bətyâvəla. | xá-+sa'at +vârəla. | jú dè-+otax! 'átvəl panjâra. | párdə bəfrâšolə,  
 mára mù bəxzáyət +tâmma?| jaššûkələl mára mù bəxzáyən?| bəxzáyən véla xa-  
 yâla! mən-xa-bâxta +tâmma! šulxâya, | véna +tâmma. | 'ita 'at-ka-díyyi-+kâryat|

your illness?' (6) He says 'Nothing, my brother. If you want to close, I shall go.' He says 'No, well you have a reason to be here, what is it? You have been here since the morning.' He said 'Believe me, it is not hidden from God, why should I hide it from you? The story is this. For several months I have been searching, going to towns and lands, in order to find a man who has no "ah!," has no sorrow. Today I met you. I see that you are handsome. I see that you take money with this hand and with that hand. I see that you have workers. You are laughing and giggling. You do not know at all where the world has come from.<sup>56</sup> I thought that you are definitely<sup>57</sup> that man.' (7) He said 'Ah, now, tonight, you shall be a guest of mine.' He says 'No, please,<sup>58</sup> no, no, no. Forgive me. Forget what I said!' He says 'No, no. You shall stay here with me.' However much he wants to get up (and go), he (the shopkeeper) gives an instruction to his workers (saying) 'Do not allow him to go.' He says 'Tonight you are my guest. Tomorrow go wherever you want to go.' (8) He gets up, he sits and puts him (his guest) in a car, and he goes off. They arrive before the door. He sees that the whole door is gold, servants and housekeepers in his house are all bowing their heads to him. He said 'What a mistake I have made. A mistake, that is I have made a mistake by speaking with this man. He wants to kill me.' (9) He wants to flee, but he (the shopkeeper) seizes him. He says 'No, no, no. Tonight you are my guest. Are you not looking for this thing? Well, tonight you are my guest so you can see.' In short,<sup>59</sup> they sit down, they eat dinner, he goes and has a shower, he comes and takes his boots to flee, but the lad seizes him and says 'No, sit.' (10) They sit. He comes and weeps to himself. He says 'Oh God, help me! What mistake was this that I made? What mistake did I make? Why did I speak? Tonight he will finish me off, he will kill me. He has a plan against me.' Indeed,<sup>60</sup> in the evening they eat dinner and finish, then go in order to sleep. He takes him with him into a room. He says 'Oh woe,<sup>61</sup> what does he want to do to me?' He says 'That is your bed and this is my bed. Both of us will sleep in one room tonight.' (11) Again he bends down to take his shoes and flee, his eyes (looking) this way and that way. He (the shopkeeper) says 'No, sit down.' He sits down. An hour goes by. In the room there was a window. He draws the curtain and says 'What do you see over there?' He looks and says 'What do I see? I see that there is a lad together with a woman over there (both) naked. They are over there. So you have invited me

56 I.e. you do not have a care in the world.

57 Literally: one hundred percent.

58 Literally: May I be your substitute.

59 Literally: I shall not cause your head to be in pain.

60 Literally: by God.

61 Literally: Ash on my head!

'ànnə xazzánnun?| mára là.| (12) 'àna jù| duccàni 'ína| dax-ət-'údyu káti xxilux  
 ju-duccána,| 'u-xàdyal +psìxa.| 'áyya báxtila.| 'ána jári +janjàrron.|  
 +janjàrron| +yànəl +màrra káblən,| 'ùl xàzzən báxti| jári cút +beràšəl xa-nàša|  
 yavvánnə zùyzəl 'átə cás báxti| káti-báxti mən-béta là +pál̄ta.| ci-+bayyánnna +rába  
 báxti.| 'ína 'ána xà-yuma| 'ína ju-duccàna,| 'ax-díyyux káti-káti télux xxilux,| tíla  
 xa-náša káti mòrrəl káti ta-jáldəl 'u-báxtux mòtla.| (13) 'ána hár e-+dànal +tàma|  
 cmá sìdàñənva! cmá xmàrənva! cmá xmàrənva! là tíli bëta| 'ú +maxlèta,| +rába  
 +maxlèta| 'o-məndiyáni pràmlı| +ruppíli ju-+xiyàvand| káti xina-'úrza là-'avən.|  
 pràmlı,| +ruppíli ju-+xiyàvand| káti-xina| báxta xítə šöp-báxti là máyyən.| tíli bëta,  
 cílla dàmmàna| jvíla ju-dàmma.| (14) tíli bëta,| +m̄lili bëta.| 'òttəfákən| 'ò-yuma|  
 báxti +tárra ptáxla káti.| hammáša rijavày káy +tárra patxívala.| 'ò-yuma| báxti  
 +tárra ptáxla.| 'áy +havàr,| 'áy +kè̄ma| 'áha mòrrun káy 'át mòttət 'a-mút +šulələ?|  
 mòrra| méti cmá-t 'átlux lòtlux.| métə.| 'ána kám métan?| mára +áx 'ána 'àtxa  
 víðən b-ríš-jáni,| +yánə 'ána xína lèn 'úrza.| (15) mòrra káti mudi lét 'úrza?| 'ána  
 +báyyan 'úrza.| mən-dò-yuma| l-à-jiba| 'ána mára jári cul-+dánta xà| 'úrza 'áy  
 +bayyála mayyánnə káto| kám-+áynət díyyi| 'á-+šula 'odàlə| čuncət| 'ána +xliçən.|  
 'áy +havàr| mòrra| cílla dàrdi| dàrdina,| 'ò náša mòrra,| cílla dàrdi| dàrdina.| cílla  
 dàrdi dàrdina,| 'ína dàrdət díyyux| +xvárə zàrdəna.| 'ána xina-lè-pešən láxxa.| (16)  
 bək̄yàmələ| cílla júllu čenjárru bəškalələ,| +plátələ mən-béta.| mára xína láttən xanáša  
 ju-da-dùnyəl +áx là-'avilə.| 'íman xa-náša káti tánə 'ána 'àtxən| 'ána 'àtxən,  
 'áha ci-tanyànnə káte.|

## A5 Women Do Things Best (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xà-yuma| xà-dana| +màlla,| xa-+màlla 'ótvə.| ju-màta| tívəva nàšəl +rába  
 hamzùməva m-+uydálo.| xá mən-do xína hamzùməva| 'úrza.| 'ánnə məššəlmàna|  
 'úrza c-ávi b-nosé,| nək̄va c-ávi b-nosè. 'ánnə 'úrza vílun màra| 'ó-məndit báxtal  
 nək̄va| 'odàlə| həč-nàša| cällə| cutàna| le-'odílə.| cällə| 'ánnə xá-'axča xelàna.|  
 cutàna| 'án=ət +'arrə ci-parmíla| cùtan.| +bəddàyot?| h̄l lè 'odílə.| nək̄va buš-

to see *them*? He says 'No.' (12) 'I was in my shop just as today you saw me in the shop, happy and merry. This is my wife. This is my wife. I must suffer, suffer, that is have pain, and see my wife—every evening I must give a man money to come to my wife so that my wife does not go out of the house. I love my wife a lot. One day I was in the shop, like you who came and saw me, so a man came and said to me "Come quickly, your wife is dead." (13) At that very moment there—how mad I was! What an ass I was! I did not return home, but, pardon, I beg your pardon, I cut off my thing and threw it into the street so I would no longer be a man. I cut it off and threw it into the street, so that I would not bring another wife in place of my wife. I came home, all bloody, covered in blood. (14) I came home, I arrived home. By chance that day my wife opened the door for me. Always the servants used to open the door for me. On that day my wife opened the door. Oh woe! Oh how terrible,<sup>62</sup> they said to me that you had died, what is the matter?' She said 'May all you have and do not have die.'<sup>63</sup> May they die. Why should *I* die? He says 'Ah! I have done this against myself, that is I am no longer a man.' (15) She said to me 'What do you mean you are no longer a man? I want a man.' He says 'From that day onwards, every time she wants a man, I must bring him to her and she must do this before my eyes, because I have made a mistake.' 'Oh woe' he said 'All my sorrows are my sorrows', that man said. 'All my sorrows are my sorrows. All my sorrows are my sorrows, but your sorrows are white and yellow.'<sup>64</sup> 'I shall not stay here anymore.' (16) He gets up and takes all his clothes and belongings<sup>65</sup> and goes out of the house. He says 'Well, there is not a man in this world who does not have "ah!"' When somebody says 'I am like this, I am like that',<sup>66</sup> I tell them this (anecdote).

#### A5      Women Do Things Best (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day, there was a mullah, a mullah. In the village people were sitting talking a lot together. One was talking with the other, men. Those Muslims—the men are by themselves and the women are by themselves. The men were saying 'What a woman—a female—can do, no man, buffaloes or ploughs can do.' Buffaloes are so strong. Ploughs—those things that cleave the ground, plough. Do you understand? Yes, they cannot do it. 'A female is stronger than

62 Literally: Oh ash (be on my head).

63 I.e. may all your family die.

64 I.e. your sorrows pale in comparison.

65 Literally: his clothes his rags.

66 I.e. I am suffering.

xelántəla m-cùl-məndi! +é-dān +bayya-’óda xà-məndi! (2) ‘a-+màlla! ju-béta  
 +xìla,| šàtya,| +hàmmam vída,| +xàsu príxa,| +ràba! +biyyuna,| +biyyuna, màral ‘á  
 mut-+xàbrələ?| báxta ’ila Pzayifé. P| Pzayifé P ci-+kári ̄ka-báxtal +yána +basùrtəla.  
 báxta mùdila kátl xà-məndi ’óda ̄ka-náša?| mára là! ’ó-məndit báxta ’odálə! náša  
 lè-’avədlə! (3) ‘á +màlla! hónu yávulə b-dan-+mállə xìnə,| nášə xìnə! bitáyələ  
 bëta! bëkyátal b-báxtu.| mára ’àtən! xa-báxtal mù-+amsat káti ’ódat?| mára hòč-  
 məndi! mù p̄t-odànnux?| mára ̄kat-màrəna! ‘á-məndit báxta ’odálə! hác-naša  
 lè-’avədlə,| cállo cutánə lè-’odilə! ’ita ‘át mùdivat?| jánax mùdivat?| káy mù-p̄t-  
 odat?| másalan ’ən-+báyyat ’ódat! mu-p̄t-òdat?| (4) mára náša,| ’óyan +xlápux,  
 hónux lá-hallə b-hòn-nášə! ’áxnan ’átlan xayúyta šap̄òrta.| +byáyəna xayúyta  
 parpəssila.| ‘át kám hónux yúvvut b-hòn-nášə?| là! ̄ku-vúd xázzən mu-+báyyat  
 ’ódat! ̄kù! vùd! mù-+báyyat ’ódat?| +šarùyələ! mxàyo! +bambùčo! ̄kú vúd xázzən  
 mu-p̄t-òdat! màral ‘álaħa +màlla hónu yúvvulə m-ida! mára cmá-t ’átlax  
 lètlax! honé yavvīla m-ida! ‘ána kám yavvánnə hóni m-ida?| ̄kù! +báyyən xázzən  
 mù-p̄t-òdat! mára +báyyat?| har-’átxa +báyyat?| mára hì! +báyyən xázzən  
 mù-+báyyat ’ódat! (5) +màlla c-azálva ptàna ’avádva,| ptàna,| ju-dòštal ju-xàkla!  
 ptàna ’avádva bí ... tré-danə tòrə! ‘áyya báxta xàšla! mən-+bázar zvònna! tré-  
 danə nùyna +rába +jùrə! +xvàrə! lublèla,| muttéla ju-’úpral +tàma! ‘é-duca ̄kat-  
 +màlla! ptàna t-avádva! (6) +màlla móriša bərrəxšələ! xa-xá-jarja bərrəxšələ!  
 járjət d-tré,| járjət +t̄lāl járjət +’árpa!,| xa-b-xá bəxzáyəla òy! nùyna dúna +plátlun!  
 +rába bəxdàyəla biyyé! baškalèlə! ’upré tammužələ! mattúyal +’al-màrza! báxta  
 labúləla +cavútra! kátu! +’al-xàkla! sábab baxtay! ci-bašlva lèxmal +cavútra  
 ci-lablíva ̄ka-urzán t-ína pəlxána +’al-vàddar! ‘átvala yala-súra! yala-súra-da  
 +’enávalə +’al-+xàsə! lablavalə! jári šakláva b-dá-’ido b-dè-’ido! u-yála súra +’al-  
 +xàsə! labláva lèxmal ̄ka-+jòro,| ̄ka-nášə! (7) líbəlla lèxma +tàma! +màlla mərrəl  
 +bəddàyət mū-ila?| mərrə lə! mərrə tré-danə nùyna,| ptàna vadónval tre-nùyna  
 +plátlun ju-’úpra! ‘ánnəna ‘an-nùyna! b-lablàtlun,| b-+xallàtlun! tamməzàtlun! ‘ú  
 bašlätłun! ̄kalyattun! ‘ána +bërašə t-áton t-+axlənnun.

anything, when she wants to do something.' (2) The mullah having eaten in (his) house, having had a drink, having had a shower, having scrubbed his back—they loved him very much—says 'What is this talk? A woman is weak. They call women weak, that is she is inferior. What is a woman that she can do something for a man?'<sup>67</sup> They say 'No, what a woman can do a man cannot do.' (3) The mullah takes notice of the other mullahs, the other people. He comes home and confronts<sup>68</sup> his wife, saying 'You, a woman, what could you do for me?' She says 'Nothing, what shall I do for you?' He says 'They say that what a woman can do no man can do, nor can buffaloes or ploughs do it. So, what are you? What are you? What will you do for me? For example, if you want to do it, what would you do?' (4) She says 'Man, with respect,<sup>69</sup> do not take any notice of the opinion of people. We have a beautiful life. They want to destroy our life. Why have you taken notice of the opinion of people?' 'No, come on,'<sup>70</sup> let me see what you want to do. Come on, what do you want to do?' He starts to beat her and shake her. 'Come on, let me see what you will do.' She says 'God, the mullah has lost his mind.' He says 'Let all your family'<sup>71</sup> lose their mind! Why should I lose my mind? Come on, I want to see what you will do.' She says 'Do you want this? Do you really want this?' He says 'Yes, I want to see what you want to do.' (5) The mullah used to go and plough, plough, in the countryside, in the field, he would plough, with two oxen. The woman went and bought from the market two very large, white fish. She took them and put them in the ground, there, in the place where the mullah would plough. (6) The mullah goes in the morning, he (ploughs and) goes one furrow, the second furrow, the third furrow, the fourth furrow, suddenly he sees—oh!—fish have come out! He is very happy with them. He takes them, cleans the soil off them and puts them aside. The wife brings him lunch, to him, to the field. (This is) because women would cook food and take lunch to the men who were working outside. (If) she had a child, she would also carry the child on her back and take him (with her). She had to take (things) with this hand and that hand, and with the child on her back she would take food to her husband, to the people. (7) She brought bread there. The mullah said 'Do you know what?' She said 'No.' He said 'Two fish—I was ploughing and two fish came out of the soil. These are the fish. You should take them, wash them, clean them, and cook and fry them. I shall come in the evening to eat them.'

67 I.e. How can a woman do anything for a man.

68 Literally: touches.

69 Literally: May I be your substitute.

70 Literally: rise do.

71 Literally: whatever you have and do not have.

(8) *bəškaléla nùyna, jàxcəla.* | *bitáyələ +bérašə +málla šuršıyya, jiyya.* | *cúllə-yuma síma víyəl +bət̄ráya ptána +bár kənyàna.* | *+hámmam vādələl bitáyələ kat-yátəv ləxma +'áxəl.* *bəxzáyələ* 'ína xá +tásə, | +tásə +fúrtal +dàvvə, | +dàvvəl másta ci-+tarpila| c-odíla +xálva, | +karíla +dàvvə, | mólxa jávo mìyya. | +dàvvəna-annə. | muttılıla xá +tásə +fúrtal +dàvvə kátu! 'u-làxma. | (9) xáčča mən-+dávvə štiləl mórrə báslə! 'an-núyna dàx vəttét? mórrə müt núyna? mórrə núyna! núyna. | mórrə müt-núyna? | 'át xú-létvə xíša núyna dokətva? | xíšətva ptána váda! fùl xákla. | núyna! ju-nàrəna. | mórrə báxta 'ávən +xlápax, | 'ána 'udyul kédamtal ptána vádənva! tré núyna +fúrəl dvíkévən yuvvén kátaxl kat-át bašlátłəl kalyatłəl 'ána 'átən +axlənnun. | mórrə b-aláha 'á +málla hónu yùvvulə m-ída. | (10) kámłə ka-dabáxta kat-máxə. | 'a-báxta kámłə bərrákə ju-nàšəl jú matal 'ay +havár čarçúra. | cíllə 'úrzə baxtáy +plátlun! cíllə +yatlıva ka-+uydálə-xina. | mü-ılə? mü-ılə? | mórrə +málla shuddənnələl. | shuddənnələl. | 'ay +málla 'ávən +xlápux, | mü-ılə výyya? | kám ka-da-báxtux mxàyət? | 'ayya +bər-cálba! | +bər-cálba! | 'ayya +bər-cálba! | 'ána múyyən káto núyna. | mára núyna m-íca? | mára müt núyna +málla? | báxta márələl +'ávval káti márəl 'ána núyna múyyən mən-xákla, | kálilun! káti kalyán-nun kátu +axəllun. | 'ána-da lətli núyna! +'ávva-da kíməl ka-diyi-mxàyə. | (11) cíllə 'an-+xuyravátul márəna yá 'aláha! | 'aláha ràxəm +al-+málla! 'á dúlə shuddənnə. | o-+málla! 'át shuddənnux! hónux yùvvut m-ída. | ju-xákla, | ju-'úpral núyna ci-lé-oya! | 'ay +havár mxáyələ ju-rişul mára 'ay +havár m-ídat báxtal dùz marétnuna. | (12) +plátləl bərrákələl bərrəxşələl. | bərrəxşələl xa-taxána, | taxána, | +xàttəl kámxa| c-avədlun! 'érxa 'átlə, | 'érxa. | bərrəxşələl mxáyəl +tárra. | báxtu +tárra ptáxula. | báxtu-da +bəddàyələ. | 'ó máral 'ána lè-+orən! b-é-ducta t-ıla báxtal 'ána lè-+orən. | máral ku-ta-+vùr. | +várrux +várrux, | là +várrux, | har-'ádi +hàvar dáryan kat-át-tíyətva +al-jáni. | +bəddàyət-xina? | xèla 'ávəd +'álli. | (13) +'ávva mágbur pyášələ. | +várəl javayl bëta. | 'ílə +xorət +jòro. | taxána mən-'érxa bitáyələ. | bəxpákəna +uydalə. | 'ay b-şëna! | b-şëna! 'á dax-mənnux! tuy! +rába xdíli kám-xazzənnux! 'u-+bixàla, | bəstəyəna. | 'ùl taxána xəşlə 'ídu +shúlə +xálləl. | (14) e-báxtət taxána mórra ká +málla +bérašəl 'ána dúcti daryànnəl ləxxal dúctət

(8) She takes the fish and laughs. The mullah comes back in the evening, exhausted and tired. The entire day he has been driving the plough behind animals. He has a shower and come to sit to eat (his) food. He sees that there is a bowl, a big bowl of yoghurt water—yoghurt water, they would beat yoghurt, they make it into milk, they call it yoghurt water, (they put) salt in it and water. This is yoghurt milk. She put out for him a large bowl of yoghurt together with bread. (9) He drank a little of the yoghurt water and said 'But how have you done the fish?' She said 'What fish?' He said 'The fish, the fish.' She said 'What fish? Surely you had not gone to catch fish, you had gone to plough in the field. Fish are in the river.' He said 'Wife, please,<sup>72</sup> this morning (when) I was ploughing, I caught two fish and gave them so that you would cook and fry them and I would come to eat them.' 'By God, this mullah has lost his mind.' (10) He got up to beat the woman. The woman got up and ran to the people in the village. 'Oh help' she shouts. All the men and women came out. They all knew one another, you see. 'What is it? What is it?' She said 'The mullah has gone mad. He has gone mad.' 'Hey, mullah, excuse me,<sup>73</sup> what has happened? Why are you beating this wife of yours? That son of a dog! That son of a dog! That son of a dog!' 'I brought fish to her and she says "Fish from where?"' They say 'What fish mullah?' The woman says 'He says to me "I brought fish from the field, fry them!" so that I fry them for him to eat. But I do not have fish. He then set about beating me.' (11) All those friends of his say 'Oh God! God have mercy on the mullah, he has gone mad.' 'Oh mullah, you have gone mad. You have lost your mind. It is not possible at all for a fish to be in the field, in the soil!' 'Oh woe!' He hits his head. He says 'Oh woe (for what I have suffered) from the hand of a woman. You were speaking the truth.' (12) He goes out running and going (on his way). He goes to a miller—a miller, he makes wheat and flour, he has a watermill, a watermill. He goes and knocks on the door. His wife opens the door. His wife knows (the situation). He says 'I shall not enter. I shall not enter a place in which there is a woman.' She says 'Come in. (If) you enter, you enter. (If) you do not enter, I shall right now cry for help (saying) that you came upon me—you know, (she means) in order to rape me.' (13) He is obliged (to do so) and enters the house. He is the friend of her husband. The miller comes back from the watermill. They embrace one another 'Oh hello, hello, what a surprise to see you!<sup>74</sup> Sit down. I am very happy to see you.' They eat and drink. The miller went to wash his hands and so forth. (14) The wife of the miller said to the mullah 'In the

72 Literally: May I be your substitute.

73 Literally: May I be your substitute.

74 Literally: How from you!

+jóri daryánnna +tàmma. | dúctat diyyux=da daryánnna +támma. | b-’ákli ƙat-vòdli, | kèmət! ’átat cèsli! ’ən-là, | չarçərran. | taxána b-kàm! bət-+kaṭòllux. | tányan ƙat-kímətva ’al-jàni. | (15) +málla ’úxča +narahàt-ilə| māra mən-jú +çàlə pálly ju-kùnya, | pállyju-xa-núyra xìna. | ’á müt-+kəṭma tīlə b-ríši? | ƙàm xayúyi purpəssáli? | xóšca vàyələ| bədmàxəna| báxta níxa ’áklo +pašùṭula| ƙat-+málla kàm. | +málla ju-kyàmtul dúcto šaxlùpolo. | dúcto šaxlùpolo +jòro pyášələ +’al-jú-’idət +màlla. | (16) taxána bəxzáyələ ƙat-’áha kímələ +’al-jànu. | +maxlèta, | +rába +maxlèta, | bədvàkula. | չurçórrə màral tápi +šràl tápi +šràl xàšcəl tápi +šràl xázzən ’a-+bərcálba ƙàm kímələ +’al-ján-díyyi. | báxta márəla ’ána munšíli tanyáñvalux! +šrà lòtlan. | +núyta lòtlan. | hällə p-ídat diyyi! ’át xúš mən-cəs-švávə me-+šrà. | taxána bərráxələ m-cəs-švávə máyyə +šrà. | báxta| ƙátu māra xúš-dmùx. | (17) bərráxələ mən-’òltəx! mən-ju-pàja| máyəla xa-šàrxa. | máyula +’ullul’ bədvàkula. | +šrà ju-tapetu| bəxzáyələ ’ína ’àrxal dmìxələ +màlla. | taxána lòbbu pôkáyələ. | màral ’áy +havàr| là-’avə +šàmya ’áha. | (18) mərral ’á šàrxa| +’úxča ḥ-ílə +byàyux| lipəl +’állux. | týyal bəlcàxux=ilə| bəlcàxux=ilə| ’át xstívat +’àvva kímal +’al-jánu. | màral xúš-máttıl şöpul ’ána bərráxən har-’adìyya| lè-+bayyena, | bənxápən| ƙat-’a-’árxe t diyyi! | ƙàm! ’ána ’átxa ’ávən xshíva bázu, | bálcət ’ávə +šàmya. | ’ána bərràxən! ’át ci-+yáttat mújjur daryátlə ’al-’úrxa. | (19) taxána bərràxələ. | ’áha makkùmula| māra| ƙùl xúš tání ƙa-báxtux ƙat-ƙàlat vádli. | +màxlili. | +pàxəlli. | là +díli. | là +pôrmíli, | ’ádi mayyálun nùynəl mattálun ƙamàytux. | bərràxələ. | ƙa-báxta māra| +maxlèta! | là +díli, | ’ána xshàvli, | ƙàt! báxta mùdila. | mārra híl ’áxtun bəxshávətun báxta hàč-məndila. | ’ína| báxta ƙa-jàno! nàšəla, | hòna ’ésla, | +pàrmèta ’ésla. | māra +maxlèta bətlábən. | māra ’ádi túy dùctux! ’ána nùynux mayyànnə. | nùynə ƙulita, | mayyítá muttítá ƙamàytu, | +bixàla.

evening I shall lay my (sleeping) place here and the place of my husband over there. I shall lay also your place over there. When I kick (you), get up and come to me. If not, I shall scream and the miller will get up and kill you. I shall say that you mounted me.<sup>75</sup> (15) The mullah was very distressed and says 'I have fallen from a pit into a well, I have fallen into another fire. What has come upon me?<sup>76</sup> Why have I ruined my life?' It becomes dark and they go to sleep. The woman slowly stretches out her leg (indicating) that the mullah should get up. When the mullah gets up, she changes her place. She changes her place and her husband ends up in the hands of the mullah. (16) The miller sees that he has mounted him<sup>77</sup>—excuse me, excuse me—and seizes him. He screams and says 'Light a lamp! Light a lamp! It is dark. Light a lamp so that I can see why this son of a dog has mounted me.' The woman says 'I forgot to tell you, we do not have a lamp. We do not have oil. Give him into my hands and you go and bring a lamp from the neighbours.' The miller goes and brings a lamp from the neighbours. The woman says to him 'Go and sleep.' (17) She goes and brings a calf from below, from the stable. She brings it upstairs and grips it. When he lights the lamp, he sees that the guest is asleep, the mullah. The heart of the miller bursts (with fear). He says 'Oh woe, I hope he has not heard.' (18) She said 'This calf desires you so much that he is used to you and it came to lick you, to lick you, but you thought that *he* mounted you.' He says 'Go and put it back in its place. I am going now, I do not want (anything). I am ashamed that this guest of mine will get up when I have thought such a thing about him, perhaps he has heard. I am going, you know how to put him on the road.'<sup>78</sup> (19) The miller goes off. She gets him up saying 'Get up, go and tell your wife "I made a mistake. Forgive me, pardon me. I did not know. I did not understand," then she will bring the fish and place them in front of you.' He goes and say to the wife 'Forgive me. I don't think I knew what a woman is.' She said 'Yes, you think that a woman is nothing. But a woman is a human being in her own right, she has a mind and she has understanding.' He says 'I beg forgiveness.' She says 'Now sit in your place.' Afterwards she fries the fish and brings them and puts them before him, he eats (them).

75 I.e. raped me.

76 Literally: what ash has come upon my head.

77 I.e. to rape him.

78 I.e. get rid of him.

## A6 The Dead Rise and Return (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) *xa-bàxta* 'á*tva*.| *tálma* +*bəddáyət mù-ilə?* *mìyya* *dári* *jávu*.| *tálma*,| 'á*tvələ* *káttə* +*xòla*.| *mattíval* +*al-*+*rušané baxtátə*,| *c-azíva* *mən-šakítə* *mìyya* *jaršíva* | *kà* štèta.| 'á*yya* *tálma* +*łónna* +*al-xàso*,| *xášla* +*al-šakítə*,| *mìyya* *máyya*.| (2) *p-ùrxət* *šakítə* *šamàša*,| *káto* 'á*txa* *vádlə*,| 'á*txa* *vádlə*,| +*'ayna* +*káslə*.| *hìl* 'á*txa* *vádlə* *káto*.| 'ó*yuma* *xína* *xášla*,| 'ína *kaša* | 'á*txa* *vádlə*.| 'a-báxta +*rába* +*narahàt* *váyəla*.| *yúmat* +*tlà* *xzila* 'abùna! +*júral* +*'ayna* *káslə* *káto* *sábab* +*rába* *šapərtəva*.| (3) *bitáyəla* *ka*-+*jóro* *márəla*,| *mára* *kat*-'á*txəla* *kássat*.| 'á*na* *xáshli* *mìyya* *màyyanl* *šamáša* +*'ayna* *məxyánnəl* 'u-*káša* +*'ayna* *məxyánnəl* 'u-*'abùna* +*'ayna* *məxyánnəl*.| 'á*ha* *mút* *màtəla*?| 'á*mút* +*'atrələ*?| 'á*na* +*narahàt=ivan*.| +*jóro* *márəla* | *là*,| *là*,| +*naraháh* *là-vi*.| *hállun* +*dàna* | 'á*ti* *bèta*.| *mára* *dáx* *c-óya* | 'á*na* *mayyánnun* *bèta*?| *mára* 'á*t* *mélun* *bèta* | *là-avilax* +*šúla*.| (4) *ka-šamàša* *táni* +*sáat* 'á*šta* | 'á*ta*.| *jáldəl* *dárrany* *là-ato*.| +*sáat* 'á*šta* | 'á*ta* | 'á*va* *ju-bèta*.| *ka-káša* *táni* +*sáat* 'á*šta* *pàljə*.| *ka-abùna* *táni* +*sáat* +*šávva*.| *hállun* +*dàna*.| *mən-dáyya* *zóda* *là* *yávvat* +*dana*.| *ka-šamàša* *táni* *kat*-+*sáat* 'á*šta* | 'á*na* *bət*-+*hádran* | 'á*ta*.| (5) *mára* +*rába* +*spáy*.| *bərrəxşəla*.| *šamáša* +*'ayna* *bəkyásola*.| *mára* *xòb*,| +*rába* +*spáy*,| +*bayyàtli*?| *mára* *myàtən* *kátax*.| *mára* *xób* *b-+sáat* 'á*šta* | 'á*ta*.| *béti* +*pòllan* *dúctəla*.| *šamáša* *bitáyəla* *kat-hár* *xàrdə* *b-łdálo*,| *našəkla*,| *mára* *lá* *lá*,| *lá-malyəz*! | *kàm* *malyúzat*?| 'á*na* | *bušəltən*,| *bunitən*,| *mìz* *sukáltən* *kátxə* | *kat*-+*áxlax* *xáčxa* *šàtax*.| 'íta | +*xàrtal* | *xina*-'á*na* *diyyux-van* | +*jóri* *lèla* *láxxa*.| (6) 'á*nnə* *bətyàvəna*,| +*bixàləna*.| *šamáša* *xədyəla*.| *xa-b-xá-ja* +*sa'áttət* 'á*šta* | *pàljə* *váyəla*,| *káša* *mxáyəl* +*al-tárra*.| *mára* 'ay-+*kátmə* *b-riši* | +*jóri* *tílə*.| *mù-odən*?| *mù-odən*?| +*jóro=zə* *mìrəval* *mattátlu* *ju-búšk* +*nùyṭa*.| *bùška*,| 'á*nnə* *bùška* +*bəddáyət* *búška* *mù-ilə*?| *bùškəl* *kat*-+*nùyṭa-javé* | +*júra*.| *márrə* *mattátlu* +*táma*.| *màrra* | *látli* *xa-dúca*,| *látli* *xa-dúca* +*kátmə* *b-riši* | 'á*di* *p* +*kážəllux* | *kú-výr* *ju-bùška*.| +*várəl* *ju-bùška*.| (7) *káša* *bitáyəla*.| *káša* *bùš-xərba*,| *bitáyəla* *ká* ... *mára* *lá* *lá* | 'á*na* 'á-+*sípра* *kàx* *váttun*.| *yàtvax* | +*áxlax*,| *šàtax* | +*xàrtal* *xob*-'á*na* | 'á*ta*-*ivax* | *xá-naša* *litən*.| +*bəddáyət* +*jóri*-*da* *xíšələ* *káribùyta*.| *mára* +*rába* +*spáy*.| *bətyàvəna*,| +*bixàləna*,| *bəstàvəna*.| *váyəla* +*sáat* +*šávva*.| (8) +*sáat* +*šávva* *váyəla*.| +*tárra* *mxáyəna*,| 'abùna *bitáyəla*.| *mára* 'ay-+*kátmə* *b-riši* | +*jóri* *tílə* | 'á*na*

### A6      The Dead Rise and Return (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) There was once a woman. A pitcher—you know what a pitcher is? They put water in it. A pitcher has a handle of rope. Women would put it on their shoulders and go to draw water from the stream for drinking. She put a pitcher on her back and went to the stream to fetch water. (2) On the way to the stream a deacon did this to her, did this, he winked, yes, he did this to her. On the next day she went and a priest did the same. The woman becomes very uncomfortable. On the third day she saw that a large bishop winked at her, because she was very beautiful. (3) She comes to her husband and says, she says ‘The story is like this. I went to fetch water and a deacon winked at me, a priest winked at me and a bishop winked at me. What kind of village is this? What kind of land is it? I am uncomfortable.’ Her husband says ‘No, no. Do not be uncomfortable. Give them an appointment to come to the house.’ She says ‘How is it possible for me to bring them home?’ He says ‘Bring them home and you will not have any trouble.’ (4) Tell the deacon to come at six o’clock, early, not to come late. At six o’clock he should come and be in the house. Tell the priest half past six. Tell the bishop seven o’clock. Give them a time (to come). Do not give them more time. Tell the deacon ‘At six o’clock I shall be ready for you to come.’ (5) She says ‘Very good.’ She goes. The deacon winks at her. She says ‘Well, very good. Do you want me?’ He says ‘I am dying for you.’ She says ‘Good, come at six o’clock. My house is in such-and-such a place.’ The deacon comes (and makes to) embrace her neck and kiss her, but she says ‘No, no, do not rush! Why are you in a hurry? I have cooked, I have prepared (food), I have decorated the table for you so we can eat and drink a little. Then afterwards I am yours. My husband is not here.’ (6) They sit and eat. The deacon is happy. Suddenly it is half past six and the priest knocks on the door. She says ‘Oh woe!<sup>79</sup> My husband has come.’ ‘What should I do? What should I do?’ Her husband had said ‘Put them in an oil barrel, a barrel.’ Barrels, do you know what a barrel is? Barrels, in which there is oil and they are large. He said ‘Put him there.’ She said ‘I have no place (to put you). I have no place, oh woe! Now he will kill you. Get into a barrel.’ He gets into a barrel. (7) The priest comes. The priest is worse (than the deacon), comes (and makes) to ... she says ‘No, no. I have laid this meal for you. Let us sit, eat and drink, then, well, it is (just) you and me, there is nobody. You know my husband has gone abroad.’ He says ‘Very good.’ They sit, eat and drink. It becomes seven o’clock. (8) It becomes seven o’clock. There is a knock at the

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79 Literally: Ash on my head.

lènva-+bədda p̄t-atíva.| +'avva-da mattúyula +tàma.| 'abúna +vàrəl.| 'abúna mən-dàni buš-xárba.| ƙa-+dàvva máral| xáč̄a sp̄ur| xáč̄a vùd| +hála la-hamzùməl| +tárra mxàyuna.| +tárra ju-mxèta,| mára +kéjtma b-riši,| +jóri +vàrrəl.| 'ádi p̄-+kaṭàllux.| (9) mù-'odən?!| mù-'odən?!| 'ána 'abúna!| +abúyri t̄-aza!| cíllə nášə +bəddàyina.| mára ƙu-+vúrju-dó bùška.| +vàrəlju-bùška,| bəxzáyələ 'ína šamáša +tàma,| ƙáša +tàma.| +tárra mattùyuna.| +jóro +vàrəl,| +jóro +vàrələl +'áyna vádul,| mára làxxəna?| mára hì.| (10) +rába ƙuya hamzùmələ mən-báxtul| kat-áni +šàmmi.| mára báxtal +bəddáyət mú-ila masàla?| mára là.| mára +nùyṭa| +rába +rābal vùyyələl +t̄ima.| 'ána 'ád-lelə jári dámxən,| yátvən +'al-do-búškət +nùyṭa| +kat-lá-'ati janvílə,| bətyávələ +'al-dó búškət +nùyṭa| xob-cúllə myàtəna.| 'abúna myàtələ,| ƙáša myàtələ,| šamáša myàtələ,| 'ádi 'ánnə mù-'odi?!| +t̄úlvunte mítəna| +tama ju-bùška.| (11) mára| +kárax nàšə| 'áti mítan +tamrīlun,| bəxyəna| +bək̄tálona janèl| ƙat̄l nanùnti mótlə,| masàlan,| savùni mótlə,| mattùyuna| 'átxa +yarixal ju-sandùyku,| násə bitàyəna| kat-láblı +tamrīla,| mårəna| xzil| 'áha mítət díyyan ci-káam,| ci-'áta,| máttimunla +rába 'áltəx,| tré mårəvəl mítə ci-mattitunla| vúdunla +tl̄a mårə,| +yúxsa 'a-mítə p̄t-áta| mårə,| (12) labúluna +'avva nàšə| mattùyuna ju-tré mårə,| 'úpra bədráyəna b-rišu| +tamùruna,| bitàyəna zùyza šákli,| bəxzáyəna 'ína| 'o-ƙáša múttuna +támma,| mårəl 'áxnan ƙatóxun mårəran| 'áha b-dár t̄-áta,| dílə làxxa,| (13) bəškálu labúluna mårə,| mattùyuna ju-+arpà mårə,| +bək̄kárəna,| +bək̄kárəna,| mattùyuna ju-+arpà mårə,| maccùsuna,| bitàyəna ƙát zìlyza šákli,| bəxzáyəna 'áet-d-+tl̄a-da +támala,| mårət mítə +rába +naràhat výyələl mårə 'ána ƙatóxun mårri| xá-ja mårri,| 'áxtun 'áxci tíyyətun +bár zùyza,| 'ána ƙatóxun mårri| ƙat-mítət díyyan ci-kémi c-áti,| dílə tílə,| +t̄umrutun| díl mårə tílə,| (14) 'ánnə taxmùnəna| mù-'odil mu-là-'odil xina-là +tamrīla,| 'áha lablīlə maskílə +rába +al-xa-+t̄uyra,| +al-xa-+t̄uyra +rába +rámə,| mən-+tàma +rappílə 'áltəx,| lé-+bayyi +tamrīlə,| labúluna 'ánnəl| ka-dá masúkəna +al-t̄uyra|

door.<sup>80</sup> The bishop comes. She says 'Oh woe, my husband has come. I did not know he would come back.' She puts also him there. The bishop enters. The bishop is worse than the others. She says to him 'Wait a little, make a little (wait).' Before he could speak,<sup>81</sup> there is a knock at the door. When there is a knock on the door, she says 'Oh woe! My husband has entered. Now he will kill you.' (9) 'What should I do?! What should I do?! I am a bishop, my reputation will be lost! Everybody knows me.' She says 'Come on, get into this barrel.' He gets into the barrel and sees that the deacon and priest are there. They put on the lid. Her husband enters. Her husband enters and gestures with his eye. He says 'Are there here?' She says 'Yes.' (10) He speaks very loudly with his wife so that they can hear. He says 'Wife, do you know what the story is?' She says 'No.' He says 'Oil has become very very expensive. Tonight I must sleep sitting on the barrel of oil so that people do not come and steal it.' He sits on the barrel of oil. Well, they all die. The bishop dies. The priest dies. The deacon dies. Now what could they do? The three of them are dead, there in the barrel. (11) He says 'Let's call people to come to bury our dead.' They weep. They lament in anguish<sup>82</sup> (saying), for example, 'my grandmother has died,' 'my grandfather has died.' They weep. They put him long like this, like this in his coffin. People come to take him away and bury him. They say 'Look, this dead of ours rises and comes back. Put him very deep (in the grave). (If) it is two metres that you normally place the dead body, make it three metres, otherwise this dead man will come back again.' (12) They take that man and put him two metres deep. They put earth on him and bury him. They come back to take (their) money. They see that they have laid out the priest there. They say 'We told you that he would come back. Here he is here.' (13) They take him off again and put him four metres deep. They dig and dig and put him four metres deep. They cover him and come back to take (their) money. They see that the third one is there. The relative<sup>83</sup> of the dead man becomes very upset and says 'I told you, I told you once (and for all). You have come only for money. I told you that our dead rise and come back. Look he has come back.' (14) They ponder what on earth they could do<sup>84</sup> so that they do not have to bury him anymore. They would take him away and take him high up a mountain, onto a very high mountain. From there they would throw him down. They do not want to bury him. They take him away and take him up a mountain, which was very high. They take

<sup>80</sup> Literally: They knock at the door.

<sup>81</sup> Literally: He is not yet speaking.

<sup>82</sup> Literally: They kill themselves.

<sup>83</sup> Literally: owner.

<sup>84</sup> Literally: what they could do, what they could not do.

+úxča ràmələ. masùkuna, masùkuna, masùkuna. +úxča šuršyyəna. mən-táma +byáyəna +rappílə ðltəx. (15) xá mən-məssəlmànəl dást +námaz bəšká-ləva +táma. ídu áklu +xalluléva xut-+túyra ju-miyya. +bəddáyat dást +námaz mü-ila-xina? idé +xálli, áklé +xálli, bəsməllà, bəsməllà váda. +táma ídu áklu +xalluléva ju-miyya, bəxzáyələ dúlə xa-móndi bitá b-rišu. bəkyáma bərrákələ. bəkyáma bərrákələ. ánnə māra lè-+bayyaxla. +áxli rišè. zuyzè-dal janè-dal áxnan lè-+bayyax, ázax. +hála +ávval +al-árra la-kyáta, vél-bərrákə. lè-+bayyaxla. o-násha kámłə bərrákə. bəxzáyələ mánди bitáya b-rišu, bərrákə. ánnə xšəvlun mitələ. mára +hála +ávva la-kyáta +al-árra, véla bəkyáma rəkłə, xášlə. áxnan lè-+bayyaxlun, lá zuyzè +bayyáxlun lá-da mité +tamràxlun. bəšvákəna, bərrákəxəna.

### A7 A Pound of Flesh (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) kámta štva xa-dána náša xášlə cəs-+háji škállə-mənnu zùyza. mərrəl +háji, pəhtəyäj P átlı pəhtəyäj Pl sníkən +al-alpá +dinárə zùyza. é-+danət prəkli máyyən b-yavvənnun, šítə cmá=t +báyyət nūzul Pbahre Pl b-yavvənnna kátxu. márrə ləl ána lén +hyáya Pbahre Pl +áxci +byáyəvən xá məskəl məskəl +rába súral xá məskəl +báyyən pármən món +tizux. (2) +ávva náša +ávva yála xšəvləl +háji pəsxı P vádələ. márrə Fokèy E l áha bəškálələ zùyza, alpá +dinárə bərrákəxələl xarujələl +rába bəknayələ biyyé sábab ídat +háji +rába +spayı víla kátu. bitáyələl zùyza mattúyələ +al-míz mərələl +myúkra +háji ánnə zùyuzux. ávət basíma +rába. +rába ķnili biyyé cmá=t +báyyət Pbahre P škùl. (3) mára ləl ána ó-məndit mírun +ávun-ilə. mára müdi? mára ána xá-məskəl mən-žstux pármən. mára dák c-óya?! mára ána mırən, pəkarərdəd P +sírəx. +ðmza vídat kət-átən +rəzi-vət ána xá-məskəl mən-+tizux pármən. dák c-óya?! +xulásəl á bitáyələ +háji máyələ scənta. mára šáləx tumbənux. (4) +ávva bəxzáyələ ləl léla Ejöke E bərrákələ. bərrákələ, bərrákələ. bəxzáyələ xá-dana xmáral ína véla ju-+tına, tına, +tmırələ. mərət xmáral bitáyələl məra doğənnuxl xmári

him up and up and up. They are so exhausted. From there they want to throw him down. (15) A Muslim was performing ablutions there. He was washing his hands and feet under the mountain with water. Do you know what ablution is? They wash their hands, they wash their legs, saying *bismillāh, bisimillāh*. He was washing his hands and feet there and sees that something is coming on top of him. He gets up and flees. He gets up and flees. ‘We do not want this. Let them rot.<sup>85</sup> We do not want either their money or they themselves, let’s go.’ Before he (the dead man) touches the ground, he (the Muslim) flees. ‘We do not want him.’ That man got up and flees. He sees something coming on him and flees. They think that he is a dead man. They say ‘Before he touches the ground, look he is rising.’ He fled and went on his way. ‘We do not want them. We do not want their money nor shall we bury their dead.’ They leave (the scene) and go on their way.

#### A7      A Pound of Flesh (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) Long ago there was a man who went to a pilgrim and took money from him. He said ‘Pilgrim, I have a need, a need, I need, one thousand dinars of money. When I have finished (with them), I shall give them back to you and give you as much interest has you want per year.’ He said ‘No, I do not want interest. I only want one gram, a gram, (something) very small, I want to cut one gram from your buttocks.’ (2) The man, the lad, thought that the pilgrim was joking. He said ‘OK.’ He takes money, one thousand dinars, and goes and spends them. He makes a big profit with them, because the loan<sup>86</sup> of the pilgrim turned out to be profitable for him. He comes and puts money on the table and says ‘Mr pilgrim, here is your money. Many thanks. I made a good profit with it. Take whatever interest you want.’ (3) He says ‘No. I want what I have said.’<sup>87</sup> He said ‘What?’ He said ‘I shall cut one gram from your buttocks.’ He says ‘How can this be?!’ He says ‘I have said, we have made a bond. You have signed that you are happy for me to cut a gram from your buttocks.’ ‘How can it be?!’ In the end the pilgrim comes and brings a knife. He says ‘Take off your trousers.’ (4) He sees that no, it is not a joke, and flees. He flees and flees. He sees a donkey in the mud, buried in the mud. The owner of the donkey comes and says ‘I shall arrest you. Get my donkey out. If not, the one who is coming (after you) will reach you. Help me, get my

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85 Literally: let them (= money) eat their head.

86 Literally: hand.

87 Literally: What I have said is that.

+pàlətləl̩ ən-là +avva-t̩-lə bitá +mañilux. | +hàyyørril̩ xmári +pàlət̩. | (5) áha bitáyələ kat-xmára +palətləl̩ túþrøt xmára pyásəl p̩-idu. | børràkələ, børràkələ márət xmára=da +bàru. | márət xmára=da +bàra! børráka børràkəl̩. | børráxšələ mən-bèta! bøsyákəl̩ +üllul̩ +tlá tabákəl̩ mən-+táməl̩ jànu 'ánnə bitáyøna +bàru! kat-párm̩i mən-+t̩izul̩ +bùsra, | +hàji, | márət xmára. | (6) á bøxzáyələ l̩l̩ díuna tilun. | jànu +rappùyolə. | mən-+tlá tabákə jànu +rappùyolə. | ju-+rappeta 'átvə +táməxa-nàša! müttøva! kam-šømša, kam-šømša damáxva. | +møryøva, | müttuvə +táməl̩ ju-dàrta. | +ávva mən-+támə +ruppílə jànu! ju-císat +dàvva, | +ávva-da mòtlə. | dí márət +dàvva=da +bàru! | (7) +báru +báru +báru +børxàta, | +rxàtlə ... ju-+xiyàvand. | xà-dana! sàrhanj̩ Pjàndär<sup>P</sup> mən-bàxtu, | u-áyya +yaķùrtal̩ véla børràxšal̩ ju-+marøsxàna. | +ávva kátlə bìyyol̩ u-yála pølla. | 'ùl̩ +ávva kátu dvøkłəl̩ Pjàndär<sup>P</sup> kátu dvøkłəl̩. | 'ádi labùluna cás mujtàyyød. | labùluna cás-mujtàyyød. | dàryuna káma kamèl̩ kat-là-’arék. | adíyya +hàjilə, | márət xmàrələ, | márət motànələl̩ u-áha sárhanj̩ +fùrləl̩. | 'ánnə +’arþunte! 'ánnə dvìkuna, | labùluna. | (8) labùluna áha kámtal̩ +tárra bøptàxuləl̩ kát +'ávər cás-mujtàyyød. | +tárra ju-ptàxtu! bøxzáyələ mujtàyyød mən-xa-bàxtələ. | mára clímun clímun! mujtàyyød vélə +slúta +salùtyø. | +tárra +bøçyàmulə. | mujtàyyød pràkələ. | báxta børràxšələ m-do-+tárra xìna. | mujtàyyød púmmu mšáya u-+plàtəl̩. | (9) mára mániva mórrə kat-mujtàyyød +slúta +salùtyølə? | mórrəl̩ +kùrbən 'ánənva. | yála mára +kùrbən 'ánənva. | mára E'okèy<sup>E</sup> témun +vúrunjavày. | +várənajavày! bøtyàvəna. | mára xob-mù-ila masála? | (10) kámtat cùlla +hàji máralə, | máral̩ måjar 'ána xèrba víðəl̩ ka-dá-naša yúvvən 'alpá +dináre zùyzə? | mìrən kátu! lén-+byal̩ Pbahrè, <sup>P</sup> lén-+bya nùzul̩, | 'áxči xá-dana más̩kal mən-+t̩izux pàrmən. | áha lèlə bøsváka. | mára xób +rába xèrbələ 'a-+súla. | (11) ka-rijavàtə, | mujtàyyød +rába rijavàyəna ju-bétu, | mára mèmun scánta u-maséta. | ka-dó yála máral̩ šáləx tumbánux! jáldəl̩ tumbánə šalùxələl̩ scánta yávola ká ... haji! mára áha scànta. | +ávva +t̩izət yàlal̩ prùm! 'én mən-mòskal̩ 'óya +ràbal̩ mən-+østux parmónna. | 'óya xáččəl̩ mən-+østux parmónna. | 'áxči xá mòskal̩. | (12) máral̩ mujjùrra 'ódønnə 'ána 'a-+súla? | müjjur parmónna? | xu-lén maséta! mórrəl̩ bás +bør-càlba! 'átən mu-+bàyyøt mən-da-náša? | +bàyyøt! xá-ja 'óstu šaklátla ka-xa-mòskal? | mätti! xamšammà +dináre láxxa. | +ávva +hàji børràxšələ. | (13) bitáyələ márət xmára. | mára 'átən múdi? | mára +kùrbən, | àvən +xlápu! xmári ju-+t̩inəval̩ ka-dá-naša

donkey out.' (5) He comes to take the donkey out, the tail of the donkey stays in his hand. He runs and runs, with the owner of the donkey behind him. With the owner of the donkey behind, he runs and runs. He goes through a house and goes up three floors from there, he himself, and they are coming after him to cut meat from his buttocks, the pilgrim and the owner of the donkey. (6) He sees that no (he cannot stay there), they have come. He throws himself, from three floors up he throws himself. When he threw himself, there was there a man, he had been laid in the sun, to sleep in the sun. He was ill. They had put him there in the courtyard. He threw himself onto the stomach of the other and he (the latter) died. Now also the master of this man was (chasing) after him! (7) He runs after him, after him, after him, he ran in the street. A colonel, a guard, with his wife—she was pregnant and was going to the hospital. He knocked into her and the child came out. He seized him. The guard seized him. Now they take him to a jurist. They take him to a jurist. They have put him in front of them so that he does not run away. Now there is the pilgrim, there is the owner of the donkey, there is the master of the dead man, and there is this great colonel. The four of them have seized him and take him. (8) They take him and he opens the door first to go into the presence of the jurist. When he opens the door, he sees that the jurist is with a woman. He says 'Wait, wait, the jurist is saying a prayer.' He closes the door. The jurist finishes. The woman goes from the other door. The jurist wipes his mouth and comes out. (9) He said 'Who said that the jurist is saying a prayer?' He said 'Sir, it was me.' The lad said 'Sir, it was me.' He said 'OK, come in.' They come in and sit down. He (the jurist) says 'So, what is the story?' (10) First of all the pilgrim says, he says 'Have I done wrong to have given this man one thousand dinars of money? I said to him "I do not want interest, I do not want interest, I only (want) to cut a gram from your buttocks." He does not allow this.' He (the jurist) said 'Well, this is a very bad situation.' (11) He says to the servants—there are many servants in the jurist's house—'Bring a knife and scales.' He says to the lad 'Take off your trousers.' He quickly takes his trousers off. He (the jurist) gives the knife to the pilgrim and says 'This is the knife. Those are the buttocks of the lad. Cut! If it is more than a gram, I shall cut it from your buttocks. (If) it is less, I shall cut it from your buttocks. Only a gram.' (12) He says 'How can I do this? How can I cut it? I am not a pair of scales!' He said 'But you son of a dog, what do you want from this man? Do you want to take (all) his buttocks at once for one gram? Put down five hundred dinars here.' The pilgrim goes. (13) The owner of the donkey comes. He says 'What (happened to) you?' He says 'Sir, with respect,<sup>88</sup> my donkey was in the

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88 Literally: May I be your sacrifice.

màrri! +hàyyärri! xmári +päl̄ənnə.! 'áha tìlə! škàllə! šláflə túprət xmàri,| xmári pásłə d-la-túprə. mára 'á +rába cátùn-la. (14) mujtáyyəd mèrrə! 'áha +ràbal xárba +šùla vídələ 'áha. xmárux pásłə d-la-túprə. mórrə ka-ríjavày! +päl̄tun! xmárə ju-dàrta. muštáyyəd 'átlə +rába rijavàtə. +púlətlun xmárə ju-dàrta,| kamárat xmára mèrrə! šlùj túprə. +'ávva +shurla túprə bənčàla,| xmára jum jum! mxílun ju-cisu,| pállə +al-'arrə. mórrə lèn +bašúra. mórrə bás mu-+bàyyət?| bálcət 'átən! túprət xmára diyyux! har-mən-kámta +kétyəva. mátti xamšammà +dinára. (15) bitáyəla ka-már-motàna! mára 'átən mudi? mára 'a-+kúrban! 'ávən +xlápux,| 'axúni +mòryəval duktùiyra yuvvàllun! dàstur! kat-'ána mattónna xut-juyda! šàmsha šákəl. 'á +kétmə b-rišu! mən-tabákət +tlá! jánu +ruppála ju-cisət 'axùni! 'axúni mòtla. (16) mára xòbi 'á-xina +kétlə ka-+kétləla. +súrun 'ídət dá +bər-cálba. máttimul xu-juyda! sùk! bétət díyyi lèlə +tlá tabákə! 'íla trè tabákə. +ráppi jánux +kùlla. 'áha xá bəsyákələ xá jašsúkələ 'óltəx. lá là-+amsən. mára bas-`áxtun! mü-ituva vída b-riš-dá náša! b-riš-dá bàd-baxt! kat-mən-tabákət +tlá jánu čumčəmmóna! 'óltəx? +hála 'átat hamzùməl bálcət 'axúnuх har-mən-kámta mítəva +táma. xamšammà +dinára. (17) bitáyəla +al-jánət sàrhanj. mára xób 'át mudi? mára 'ávən +xlápux! 'ánnə +šavvá-şənnəjvìrənəva! yál-súrə lətvali. +úxča xóšli +al-umrāna. +úxča xóšli +al-duktùiyra. +úxča xóšli +al-+darmanàna. 'áha +ávva purpólli b-`álaha báxti +yaķürta víla. adıyya! 'íva +šavvá daķikə! kat-lablónvala +al-+marəsxàna! aviva yál-súrə. 'á +kétmə-b-rišu! mxílə b-cisət báxti! báxti yálo víla ju-+xiyàvand. (18) māra! jári báxtux yavvátla ka-+dàvva. báxtux yavvátla kàtu,| yála súra mattílə ju-cisəl 'áha b-+əççá yárxa! +əççá daķikə! máyyə yavvälla kàtux. mára 'ána həc-+dánta 'a-+šúla lè-odənnəl báxti yavvónna kàtu. dák c-óya 'ána báxti yavvónna kàtu? mára xób bas-mátti xamšammà +túyman +tàmma! xamšàmma. xamšàmma-da +ávva mattúyəla. 'ánnə cílla bərrəxşəna.

(19) mára 'áxcı tànili. tànili! 'ána +ajjùbən býyux. 'á +mardùta,| +mardútət lišàna! m-ica lípot? +báyyən +yàttən! 'á +mardùta! 'át mórrux! mujtáyyəd +slùta +salýyəla. m-ica lípot 'a-+mardùtux? mórrə mən-avahàti. mən-bábi yàmmi! lípon 'á +mardùta. mórrə škúl 'ánnə 'alpə +dinára ka-diyyux,| 'ánnə tré-`alpə +dinára ka-diyyi. jáldə m-axxa-xúš! mən-kám-at 'ána +xiyáli saxləppənnə!

mud and I said to this man “Help me get my donkey out.” He came and pulled off the tail of my donkey and my donkey remained without a tail.’ He (the jurist) says ‘This is very difficult.’ (14) The jurist said ‘He has done a very bad thing. Your donkey has remained without a tail.’ He said to the servants ‘Bring out donkeys into the courtyard.’ The jurist has many servants. They brought donkeys out into the courtyard and he says to the owner of the donkey ‘Pull off a tail.’ He began to pull at a tail and the donkey went ‘hee haw’ and they hit him in the stomach, and he fell onto the ground. He said ‘I cannot (do it).’ He (the jurist) said ‘But what do you want? Perhaps the tail of your donkey was already cut. Put down five hundred dinars.’ (15) (The jurist) comes and says to the owner of the dead man, he says to him ‘What (happened to) you?’ He says ‘Sir, with respect, my brother was ill and the doctors gave instruction that I should put him under a wall to take some sun. This accursed man<sup>89</sup> threw himself from the third floor onto the stomach of my brother, and my brother died.’ (16) He says ‘Well, this is a killing for a killing. Tie the hands of this son of a dog. Put him under a wall. Go up. My house is not three floors high, it is two floors high. Throw yourself and kill him.’ He goes up and has a look down. ‘No, I cannot.’ He says ‘But what would you have done to this man, to this unfortunate man, because he hurled himself down from the third floor? Before you came to talk (to him), perhaps your brother had already died there before. Five hundred dinars.’ (17) He comes to the colonel. He says ‘Well, what (happened to) you?’ He says ‘With respect, I was married for these seven years, but I did not have children. I went so much to churches, I went so much to doctors, I had recourse so much to medicines, this one, that one, I implored God, and my wife became pregnant. Now it was seven minutes for me to take her to the hospital for my son to be born. This accursed man hit my wife’s stomach and my wife’s baby was born in the street.’ (18) He says ‘You must give your wife to him. Give your wife to him for him to put the baby in her stomach and in nine months and nine minutes he will bring her and give her to you.’ He says ‘I shall never do this, give my wife to him. How can I give my wife to him?’ He says ‘Well, put down there five hundred *tumans*, five hundred.’ He also puts down five hundred. They all go.

(19) He says ‘Just tell me, tell me, I am fascinated by you. Where did you learn this skill, this skill of language. I want to know this skill—you said the jurist is saying a prayer, where did you learn this skill?’ He said ‘From my parents. I have learnt this skill from my father and mother.’ He said ‘Here, these thousand dinars are for you, these two thousand dinars are for me. Go from here quickly before I change my mind.’

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89 Literally: This ash be on his head.

## A8 The Loan of a Cooking Pot (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +málla +Nasràdən| bərràxšələ| bəškálələ +kusárta déna mən-  
švàvu.| mārələl hálli xá-dana +kusártal +báyyən bášlən jávo bušála.| +kusárta  
+fúrta lətli.| bəškálolə màyolə +kusártal bušála bašulələ,| labùlolə,| yávolə  
mòdrəl kàl švàva.| ’ína tré +kusaryay-súrəl mattúyəl jávo.| (2) švàval mārələl  
’áha tré +kusaryátəl kàm muyyévat?| mārrəl +kusártət diyyux| dòlla| tré xína  
mònno.| yávolə kàtul ávət basıma,| bitàyələ.| (3) é-šabta xítal +málla +Nasrádən  
bərráxsh mèdra.| mārələl +maxlèta, xa-+kusárta buš-+fúrta +byáyəvən.| +málla  
+Nasràdən| +’áynu pálteva +al-xa-+kusártət švàva.| nàkša jrišəval +bayyíva  
’ay mayyívala| kà-del +kusártu yuvvàləl tré-xinə-da súrə mònno.| xášlə mòrrəl  
+byáyən xa-+kusárta +fúrta,| kát ’átlí ’árxe| bášlən|xùrrac jávo.| (4) yávolə e-  
+kusárta buš-šápárta +fúrtal ká +málla +Nasràdən.| +málla +Nasràdən màyoləl  
mattúyolə bëta.| šváva bəxzàyələl xá-yuma,| tré-yumə,| xá-šabta,| tré-šabay,| xá-  
yarxa,| tré-yarxe| +kusárta lítən.| ba-dàx víla ’a-+kusárta?| mù víla +kusárta?|  
(5) bərráxshələ +al-+tárrət +málla,| mára +málla t-ávət basıma| +kusárta miyy-  
ovat átən| cmá-+dana kàm ’adíyya,| +bayyònna.| mùt +kusárta?| mórrə +kusárta  
’at-muyyálux m-cásłan kàt-bašlótvə xùrrac jávo.| ’á! mórrə,| +kusárta,| +kusárta  
màtla.| mórrə ba-dàx c-óya mótlə?!| mórrə bas-dàx c-óya +kusárta yàdla?!

## A9 Much Ado About Nothing (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +málla Nasràdən| bərràxshələl +’ál +bàzar,| mdita.| ká-bàxtu mārələl  
mú +báyyat mayyònna?| báxta mārələl hàč,| hàč,| hàč| +yána hàč-məndi,| hàč  
márona,| hàč| +yána hàč-məndi.| +málla +Nasràdən| har-víla mən-+tárrət bëta  
+plàtal víla māra| hàč,| hàč,| hàč,| kàt-là manšívala.| (2) xášlə +m̄t̄lə +al-  
xa-dücta,| xzíl xa-nára +rába +fúral ’ína nášə dúna bədvákə nùyna.| +šmížəna  
jdila,| nùyna dvákəna.| ’ína +málla m-cás-dánnə bərràxshələl mára hàč,| hàč,|  
hàč,| hàč,| ’ánnə yálə| +rába cribəva.| šurşiyəva,| +síyyəva.| tílun +al-ján +málləl  
mxàyu,| +bənpásu.| (3) mórrəl ká-mù mårət hàč?| mən-kédamta áxnan ’a-jdíla  
+šmížux| záhmat bəfrásəx kát nùyna dókax,| ’átmårət hóč hàč.| mórrə bas-mù  
tánən?| mórrə táni Azirilärdàn| xirdalardànAz,| súrəl +fúrəl súrəl +fúrəl +yána  
nùyna súrə dükun,| +fúrə dokítun| +rába.| (4) +málla xşávlə báxtu +tlóbtəla súrə  
+fúrəl +šuríl bərràxshəl víla māra| Azirilärdàn| xirdalardànAz,| súrəl +fúrəl súrəl  
+fúrəl ju-dà-+dana| bəxzàyələl ’ína xá-dana motàna| +palùtuna,| labùluna,|  
+tamrila.| +ávvə-da vélə bəzmàra,| mārələl súrəl +fúrəl súrəl +fúrəl | ’ánnə bəxyəna|

### A8      The Loan of a Cooking Pot (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day mullah Nasradin goes and takes a cooking pot as a loan from his neighbour. He says 'Give me a pot, I want to cook stew in it. I do not have a big pot.' He takes the pot and brings it back, cooks stew, takes it and gives it back to the neighbour, but he puts two pots in it. (2) The neighbour says 'This is two pots, why have you brought them?' He said 'Your pot has given birth, to two others.' He gives this to him 'Thank you' and comes back. (3) The next week mullah Nasradin goes again. He say 'Excuse me, I want a bigger pot.' The eye of mullah Nasradin had fallen on one of the pots of the neighbour. He had made a plan, since he wanted to bring back that one. For that (reason) he gave his pot as well as two others with it. He went and said 'I want a bigger pot to cook food in—I have guests.' (4) He gives the biggest and most beautiful pot to mullah Nasradin. Mullah Nasradin brings it back and puts it in the house. The neighbour sees that one day, two days, one week, two weeks, one month, two months (pass) but there is no pot. 'But what has become of the pot? What has become of the pot?' (5) He goes to the door of the mullah and says 'Mullah, if you please, I want a pot that you took some time ago.' 'What pot?' He said 'A pot that you took from me to use to cook food in.' He said 'Ah, the pot, the pot has died.' He said 'How could it have died?!' He said 'How could a pot give birth?!"

### A9      Much Ado About Nothing (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day mullah Nasradin goes to the market, the town. He says to his wife 'What do you want me to bring you?' The wife says '*həč, həč, həč*' meaning 'nothing' they say *həč*, that is 'nothing.' Mullah Nasradin immediately he began to go out of the door of the house, started to say '*həč, həč, həč, həč*' so that he would not forget it. (2) He went and arrived at a place and saw a very large river and people catching fish. They have broken the ice and are fishing. They have broken the ice and are catching fish. The mullah passes by them saying '*həč, həč, həč, həč*' and these lads are angry. They are tired and thirsty. They confronted the mullah, beating and shaking him. (3) One said 'Why are you saying *həč*? Since the morning we have broken this ice and are struggling to catch fish and you say *həč, həč*?' He said 'But what should I say?' He said 'Say: *irilärdän xərdalardan*, small, big, small, big. That is: catch small fish, catch large ones, lots of them.' (4) The mullah thought that his wife had asked for small and big. He began to go (on his way) and started to say '*irilärdän xərdalardan*, small, big, small, big.' This time he sees a dead man whom people were taking out to bury, but he is singing and saying 'small, big, small, big.' They are weeping and

*mxáyəna ju-rišè.| +ávva yála mítələ| +ávva=da vélə mára sùrə,| +jùrə.| 'ánnə nášə mār-mítəl bitáyəna ka-dàhal +bənpásəna,| +bənpásəna,| +úxča mxàyuna.| (5) mára ba-mù tánən?| mára tání| Azmusulmàndər| álla rahmàt alasín, Az| +yànəl məssəlmànələl 'alàha manáxlə.| məssəlmànələl 'alàha manáxlə.| 'áha +šurílə bədra-ķála məssəlmànəl 'alàha manáxlə.| bás taxmùnəval báxtu +tlóbtəla məssəlmànəl 'alàha manáxlə.| (6) bərràxşəl,| xa-dárya bərràxşəl,| bərràxsha bəxzáyələ 'ína xá-dana càlba| vélə mítəl 'u-dvíkəna mən-äklu| jarjùšuna| labúluna ķat-+rappilə ju-xal jùlyba| +tamrila.| 'á-da vél māra| Azmusulmàndər| álla rahmàt alasín, Az| məssəlmànəl 'alàha manáxləl bəzmàrəl,| +ávva tilə| +úxča mxìlun,| +úxča mxìlun,| cùllə vádlun dàmma.| márra dàx mārat ķa-càlba| məssəlmànəl 'alàha manáxlə?| ķa-dá +rába còtac yuvvállun.| (7) kàmləl +málla léva +bašür javàjva.| léva +bašür javàjva.| víla māra| mòdrə ķa-càlba| kát mòtlə,| mòrrəl Azmusulmàndər| álla rahmàt alasín, Az| tání mádrə hàč,| ķa-cálba márra hàč,| 'á mádrə póllə +al-de-hàč,| tilə nixa| hàč,| hàč,| hàč,| hàč,| (8) xa-b-xá-ja +úxča šuršíyyəval mən-šakital 'áttən 'átxa súra šakíyyàta ju-+xiyavánda,| +bil šavàrvəl hóč munšíyyàla,| xáslə bëta| 'ína cùllə jvíla ju-dàmma,| ķa-báxtu mòrrəl 'áttən lè-+bayyat,| lè-+bayyat,| lè-+bayyat hóč mändi,| 'ína 'é-+dān +bàyyat cotácát dúnuya jári +axlònna| +áv=da lè mačxónna,| (9) báxtu mòrral 'áttən xmàrət,| lét +bəddà,| 'ána mu-ódan?| 'ána märri hàč,| +yána hàč-mändi,| 'át kímət ķa-jánu xá-mändi zùrzət| cótac +xìlət,| fnay-dìyyi mü-ila?*

## A10 A Visit from Harun ar-Rashid (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xà-yuma| +Hárūn 'ar-Rašíd| kàmləl +bəxdára ju-mdítəl ķat-xázə nášə,| mú 'áttən| mú lèttən,| dàxi bəxxáyəna,| xáslə +bəxdára +bəxdára +ràbal 'ína xas-sálat +xùrmə,| múttə +al-+riyšu,| sála +jùra,| +bəxdàrəva,| bəxzáyəva +àvva,| bəxzáyəva +àvva,| bəxzáyəva 'áha,| cùllə bəxzayèva,| (2) +bár +dán +bèrašəva,| tilə,| kát 'ázəl bëtu,| xzíl xa-duccàna| +tárra ptixa,| +várrə javày| 'ína 'áha náša

beating their heads, (since) the lad is dead but he is saying ‘small, big, small, big.’ The people who are the family of the dead person come and shake and shake him, they beat him soundly. (5) He says ‘But what shall I say?’ They say ‘Say *musulmandør, alla rahmat alasin.*’ That means: He is a Muslim, may God grant him rest. He is a Muslim, God grant him rest. He started shouting ‘He is a Muslim, may God grant him rest,’ but he was thinking that his wife had asked for ‘He is a Muslim, may God grant him rest.’ (6) He goes, he goes a long way, he goes and sees a dog which is dead and some people have taken hold of its leg and were dragging it and taking it to throw it into a pit to bury it, but he is saying ‘*musulmandør, alla rahmat alasin,* he is a Muslim, may God grant him rest.’ He came and they beat him soundly, beat him thoroughly and made him all bloody. (One of them) said ‘How can you possibly say to a dog “He is a Muslim, may God grant him rest?”’ They gave him a sound beating. (7) He got up. The mullah could not move. He could not move. He starting saying again to the dog who had died, he said ‘*musulmandør, alla rahmat alasin.*’ (They say) ‘Say nothing (*hač*) again.’ To the dog he said *hač*. He went back to that (word) *hač*. He came along slowly (saying) *hač, hač, hač, hač.* (8) Suddenly he was very tired. He wanted to jump over a stream—there were small streams in the streets. He forgot (the word) *hač*. He returned home all covered in blood. He said to his wife ‘(When) you do not want, you do not want, you do not want anything, but when you want (something) I have to suffer the beating of the world, but I still do not find it.’ (9) His wife said ‘You are an ass. Do you not know (what I meant), what can I do? I said *hač*, that means “nothing”. You have made problems<sup>90</sup> for yourself and have suffered beating. It is not my fault.’<sup>91</sup>

#### A10      A Visit from Harun ar-Rashid (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day Harun ar-Rashid set off to go around the town to see the people, (to see) what their situation is<sup>92</sup> and how they are living. He went off walking around, walking around a lot, having put a basket of dates on his shoulder, a big basket. He wandered around and saw that one, saw that one, saw this one, he saw everybody. (2) After evening came, he went back to go to his home and saw a shop with the door open. He went inside (and saw) a certain<sup>93</sup> man who was

90 Literally: a thing.

91 Literally: What is my fault?

92 Literally: what there is, what there is not.

93 Literally: this.

+rába 'átxa +pšima,| +naràhat.| mórrə ķa-mù 'átxa +xóri?| ķàm 'átxa +pšímət?| mórrə 'àh| 'átən +basúra 'átvälux tílux?| tílux láxxa ķat-xa-dàrs yávvət?| mù p̄t-ódət ķáti?| (3) mórrə hàl bálcət +huuyárri ķatux-xina.| 'ína +'ávun lèlə-+bədda 'áha +Hárūn ar-Rašíd-ilə.| +Hárūn ar-Rašíd| +yánə +fūr cílla mdīta.| mórrə là,| lá-'avilux +šúla b-diyyi.| 'ána +narahatíytət jáni ķa-jáni bássa.| mórrə là +huuyárri ķatux,| 'á P'sábád<sup>P</sup> +xùrməl b-yavvánna ķatux.| 'a-táni xázən mù-ila.| (4) +rába ķátlə bìyyu.| +bár=t +rába ķátlə bìyyu| 'o-yàla,| mār duccàna,| mórrəl mən-aláha lèla +tšítələ| mónnux mùt +tšítələ?| lè-+tšásən mónnux.| 'átxa tíla b-ríši.| +tlá janáyət tílun cäslíl yuvvállun +tlammà-dane dávə,| yuvvállun ķáti.| 'ána +šúli 'àhələl mən-nášə šákłən zùyzəl ķa-nášə yávvən zùyzə,| mən-nášə šákłən dàvəl ķa-nášə yávvən dàvə.| P'tujjárát<sup>P</sup> vádən b-dà-məndi.| (5) bas-ánnə +tlá-našə tílun cäslíl ķáti yuvvállun +tlammà dàvə.| mórrun xàmilun ķáti.| 'ána-da xumyéli.| 'ánnə +'ámza vádlunl ķatl hác-naša hák lètlə| 'áta šákəllun.| +'ámza vádlun,| xàšlun.| (6) +'ámza vádlun xàšlun,| mára xáčča lá-+vərra xzíli xá-mənne +dárrə tīlə.| xá mən-+xóra +dárrə tīlə.| ķáti mórrəl ķát +maxlèta| 'áxnan bəxšávəx| xáčča yúvvəx ķatux dávə.| lénə +tlámma,| 'ína trèmma.| mára mórril lá lèla múmcun.| lá mórrə,| 'áxnan 'ádi hamzùməxva m-+uydála +xuyraváy.| xá-mənne mórrəl xzì,| xzì,| +ávva húšu lètva b-ríšu,| 'ána yuvválli trèmma,| xshívol +tlámməna.| tá-me banənnun.| (7) mára 'ána yuvválli banílun +ávun.| +'áv bnayèva,| fu-de-+dánta +tárра mxílun.| xášli +tárра pátxan xzíli 'an-tre-+xuravay-xína tíla.| mórril hàl mù +bayyítun?| mórrunl tīlanl xázax tānax ķatux| ķat-+xóran tīlə +várrə javayl| lá yavvátla zùyzə ķátu,| dàvə.| mórril 'o-véla bnayè.| (8) tīlan +várran xázax ķa-mú bnayèləl 'ína lèttən.| lá dàvə 'áttən,| lá 'o-náša 'áttən,| škíla mən-panjára,| ríka.| 'ánnə trèl mórrun ķatil ķát 'ána jári 'ánnə +tlámma dàvə yavvánnun.| 'ádi m-ica yavvánnun?!| mūjjur yavvánnun?!| +bár=t lubléla jnívélə,| mūjjur yavvánnun?!| (9) +Hárūn Rašíd<sup>E</sup> mórləl ķátlə kúdmə mára jříšina +al-Pdādgāh<sup>P</sup>| Pdādgāh<sup>P</sup> 'íla Ecourt.<sup>E</sup>| mára kúdmə ķáti jříšəna| +al-Ecourt<sup>E</sup>,| jári 'ázən kúdmə Ecourt.<sup>E</sup>| 'en-lá b-daríli +dússak.| mórrə yávət +támə| 'ána-da p-xazónnux +támə.| ķédamta

very sad and upset. He said ‘Why (are you) like this, my friend? Why are you so sad?’ He said ‘Ah, did you not have anything better to do than to come?’<sup>94</sup> Have you come to give me a lesson? What will you do for me?’ (3) He said ‘Ah, well perhaps I might help you.’ He does not know that he is Harun ar-Rashid. Harun ar-Rashid, that is the head of all the town. He said ‘No, do not bother about me. My own trouble is enough for me.’ He said ‘No, (if) I do not help you, I shall give this basket of dates to you. Tell me so I can see what the matter is.’ (4) He pressed<sup>95</sup> him a lot. After he had pressed him a lot, the lad, the owner of the shop, said ‘It is not hidden from God, why should it be hidden from you? I shall not hide things from you. This is what happened to me. Three people who came to me gave me three hundred gold coins. They gave to me. My job is this, to take money from people, to give money to people, to take gold from people, to give gold to people. I do business in this. (5) But these three people came to me and gave three hundred gold coins. They said “Look after them for me.” So I looked after them. They signed (an agreement) that nobody has a right to come to take these gold coins. “The three of us must come together. There is nobody who should come to take them.” They signed and went. (6) They signed and went.’ He said ‘Not long passed and I saw that one of them came back. One of the friends came back. He said to me “Excuse me, we think we have given you too few gold coins, not three hundred, but two hundred.” I said “No, it is not possible.” “No” he said “We friends were just now talking together. One of them said: Look, look, this one’s mind was not composed,<sup>96</sup> I gave two hundred and he thought they were three hundred. Come, bring them so I can count them.”’ (7) He said ‘I gave them for him to count. (When) he was counting them, at that time there was a knock at the door. I went to open the door and saw that those two other friends had come. I said ‘Ah, what do you want?’ They said ‘We have come to check<sup>97</sup> and tell you that (if) our friend has come and entered, do not give him the money, the gold coins.’ I said ‘He is counting them!’ (8) We went in to see why he was counting them, but he was not there. Neither were the gold coins there, nor was the man there. He had taken them through the window and run off. The two said to me that I must give them the three hundred gold coins. Now where can I give them?! How can I give them?! After he has taken and stolen them, how can I give them?!’ (9) He says to Harun ar-Rashid ‘Tomorrow they have summoned me to court’—the word dādgāh means court. He says ‘They have summoned me to court, I have

94 Literally: Did you have little (to do) that you came?

95 Literally: He touched.

96 Literally: This one—his mind was not in his head.

97 Literally: see.

bərráxšələ 'a-náša +al-Ecoùrt, E| fríšuna +al-Ecoùrt, E| bəxzáyələ 'inə| 'a-+Hárun 'ar-Rašid| vélə tıval 'ilə +kazi.| (10) mən-+bár-hada 'ánnə tré-danə nášə +vərrun tılun| márət dàvəl +vərrun tılun javəy.| 'u-+kazí márrə katəl xòb,| 'áxtun| 'átlloxun kvałta| mən-dá náša.| müttətun +tlámma dávə cəslu| +'əmza vídətun| kat-lá yávvəl ķa-həč-náša| +túlvun toxun m-+ùydalə 'avítun,| +túlvun toxun m-+uydalə muttətun,| +túlvun toxun=da m-+ùydalə šaklítunlə| mórrun hìl dütz-ila.| mórrə Eokèy, E| xúšun mémunlə 'o-+xoròxun| davóxun +házər-na| témun škùlunlə.| (11) mórrun lèx-+bəddə 'icələ.| mórrə là,| 'áxtun +yaqtítun 'icələ.| +'əmza vídətun láxxa| kat +túlvun toxun m-+ùydalə jári šaklítunlə| símun máčxun mémunlə,| 'ána b-yavvánnun +tlámma davóxun.| (12) 'ánnə bədrayéł ju-+düssak| ķa-do-yala| muràxxas vádələl bərráxšələ +al-duccànu| 'ùl jánu +bəslàyələl mán ju-+òtax| mán dúcət +kazi.| +bəslàyələ kat-'azəl cíllə nášə riša maccúpəna,| riša maccúpəna átxa.| 'o-yála māral +ávva māniva?| mórrun +Hárun 'ar-Rašid-iləl +bàvam.| +'ávva +jür-cíllə Bágdad-ləl| dàx lét +dýyyu?| 'e-+danta +dílə kat-Hárun 'ar-Rašid tyáva ju-duccànu.

### A11 The Cat's Dinner (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +málla +Nasrádən müyyəvəl xàl +bátmanl +bùsra.| +bátman 'ila| líšän-tùrcət +bátman,| +yána tré +tlá cilóyə,| +arþà cilóyə,| +bùsra müyyəvə béta.| ķa-báxtu mórrəl kat| +xàyəš vádən| 'á +bùsra| 'odátlə +tuyátə,| +berášə başlätələ,| 'ána t-avili-'árxa.| +málla bərráxšəl +bár pəlxànu.| (2) báxta,| báxtət +málla,| bəkyáməla jáldə jáldə,| başlulul +bùsra,| bəkràyələ +xavəryátə,| +bixluna.| +berášə bitáyələ +málla,| mára bas-cèle +bùsra?| buşltut yan-là?| mára là,| 'ána hál ķámlı mánķal tapyànvala| 'áyya +kátu| +xáltula cíllə +bùsra.| (3) +málla máyələ masëta.| máyələl māra| méla +kátu láxxa,| 'ána taklənna.| máyol +kátu bətkálolə,| bəxzáyələ là,| +kátu bùš +basúrtla,| 'áyya 'en-'óya +arþà-ciloyə,| xamşá-ciloyə +bùsra 'óya +xáltu,| jári 'ádi +əsrə ciloyə.| (4) ķa-báxtu bəkyáməla mxáyələ +al-mòto.| mára 'átən daʃülət ķa-díyi.| +bùsra jánax +xáltuvat,| +kátu 'en-'óyava +xáltu,| 'ádi vítəva yàccə,| +trəsta.

to go tomorrow to the court. If not, they will put me in jail.' He said 'You be there and I shall see you there.' In the morning that man goes to the court, they have summoned him to court. He sees that Harun ar-Rashid is sitting there. He is the judge. (10) Afterwards those two people came in, the owners of the gold coins came in. The judge said to them 'Well, you have a complaint concerning this man. You have deposited three hundred gold coins with him and have signed (an agreement) that he would not give (them) to anybody, that the three of you must be present. The three of you deposited them together and the three of you will take it (the deposit).' They said 'Yes, that is true.' He said 'OK, go and bring that friend of yours, your money is ready, come and take it.' (11) They said 'We do not know where he is.' He said 'No, you know where he is. You signed (an agreement) here that the three of you must take it together. Go and find him and bring him, then I'll give (you) the three hundred gold coins.' (12) They put them in jail. They grant the lad permission to leave and he goes to his shop. He himself descends from the room, from the place of the judge. He descends in order to go, while all the people lower their heads, they lower their heads like this. The lad says 'Who was that?' They said 'It is Harun ar-Rashid, my dear. He is the greatest man in the whole of Baghdad. How did you not know him?' Then he knew that it was Harun ar-Rashid who had been sitting in his shop.

#### A11      The Cat's Dinner (Yulia Davudi, <sup>†</sup>Hassar <sup>†</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day mullah Nasradin had brought a *batman* of meat. A *batman* is Turkish, it means two or three kilos, four kilos. He had brought meat home. He said to his wife 'I would like you to make this meat into kebabs. Cook it in the evening, I shall have guests.' The mullah goes about his business. (2) The wife, the wife of the mullah, quickly cooks the meat, invites her friends and they eat it. In the evening the mullah comes and says 'But where is the meat? Have you cooked it or not?' She says 'No, before I could light the grill, that cat ate all the meat.' (3) The mullah brings scales. He brings them and says 'Bring the cat here, I shall weigh it.' He brings the cat and weighs it. He says that no, the cat is less. If she is four kilos and has eaten five kilos of meat, she must now be ten kilos. (4) He gets up and gives his wife a thorough beating.<sup>98</sup> He says 'You are lying to me. You have eaten the meat yourself. If the cat had eaten, she would now be huge, fat.'

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98      Literally: beats to her death.

**A12** Ice for Dinner (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma módrə +málla Nasrádən màyələl +jýar mán ƿculliyè, ƿl cəlliyyatəl  
 'áxnan tanáxla,| cəlliyyay.|màyələl bëta.| báxtu vâyəla tóvta +al-hàvuz,| mânə  
 +xállulə.|| +kátu +vártəla tóvta +támə jaššukə.|| ƙa-bàxta márələ|| kàt|| báxta,||  
 'ána mûyyəvən xá +tórba jdíla|| ƙa-+bérašə bašlátla,|| tammozatla,|| ƙarkəzzatla.||  
 (2) +málla bərràxşələ.|| báxta márələ 'ah!|| +kátmə b-rišux|| mən-jíb t-ázəl +bùsra  
 máyyə,|| xišələ mûyyəl ƙa-díyyi|| jíjär,|| ƿkulvèl dəl-u-ƙulvè.|| bərràxşələ 'a-+bar-  
 +šúlo.|| +kátu-da bərràxşələ|| cílla +bixáləla prákəla.|| (3) +bérašə +málla bitàyələ  
 màra 'ána mûyyəvən ƿdəl-u-ƙulvè ƿka-díyyax.|| dàx vílun?|| mára 'át káti mórrux  
 kát jdíla mûyyət.|| mórrə ƿahmaķ|| nàdān!|| 'ána 'átxa mərri|| ƙat-+kátu là  
 +šammáva,|| là +pármíyyáva +axlálavalə!||

**A13** Am I dead? (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-ja xína módrə +málla +Nasràdən bərràxşələ|| ƙa-báxtu márələ|| kàt|| 'ən-'ána  
 mətlı,|| +págri mù p̄t-ávə?|| mára mù p̄t-ávə +págryux?|| 'àxči|| t-ávə +kàyra|| háč-  
 məndi lè-+yat̄at bíyyu.|| t-ávət +káyra 'ax-jdila.|| (2) +málla +Nasràdən bərràxşələ  
 +al-mèša|| ƙesə máya|| ƙa-sàtvə tálja.|| pí-paljət úrxa +jammúyəl ƙesə|| bəxzáyalə  
 'ína 'áha 'idátu +káyra vílun jdíla.|| xabùləla.|| mórrə 'ahà|| bas-'ána dūn-myàta|| ƙat-  
 báxti mórra|| +págri c-ávə +káyra.|| 'ána dūn-myàta.|| (3) níxa +ráxlə +al-tálja.||  
 +ráxlə 'al-tálja|| m-á-yba xína dívə tílun.|| tílun|| xmàru|| cílla vâdlun +káttı +káttı,||  
 +šurílun +bixálù.|| +málla +Nasràdən mórrəl xùšun|| vímun +xlápət dá jàni|| ƙat-  
 lévən xáya.|| 'ən-'avánva xáya|| +bəddáyən mu-p̄t-ódənva b-rišòxun-xina.||

**A14** A Thousand Dinars (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yumal +málla +Nasràdən tívəvajuf-bëta|| +slùta +salíyəva|| ƙa-alàha,|| mára  
 b-`álaha|| hälli|| `alpà +dinárə zúyzə,|| `alpà +dinárə.|| 'áxči lâ-`aví|| +əççàmmo||  
 'əççí +əççä.|| `alpà +dinárə +byáyəvən mónnux.|| 'átxa +slùta +salíyəva.|| +slùta  
 +salíyəva cùt-yum.|| (2) 'átvälə xá-dana švàva,|| yála jíl-íva,|| yàla,|| 'əsrí-şənnə

**A12 Ice for Dinner (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)**

(1) One day again mullah Nasradin brings liver with kidneys, we call it *jərjiyatə, jərjiyay*. He brings it home. His wife is sitting by the pool washing dishes. A cat has come in and is sitting there looking. He says to his wife ‘Wife, I have brought a bag of ice for you to cook, clean and prepare for the evening.’ (2) The mullah goes off. The woman says ‘Ah! Curse him!<sup>99</sup> Instead of going to bring meat, he has gone and brought me liver, kidney, heart and kidney.’ She goes about her work. The cat goes and eats it all and finishes it off. (3) In the evening the mullah comes back. He says ‘I had brought heart and kidney to you. What has become of them?’ She says ‘You said to me that you have brought ice.’ He said ‘Fool! Idiot! I said this so that the cat would not hear, so that it would not understand and eat it!’

**A13 Am I dead? (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)**

(1) Again, mullah Nasradin goes and says to his wife ‘If I die, what would happen to my body?’ She says ‘What would happen to your body? It would only be cold. You will know nothing about it. You will be cold like ice.’ (2) Mullah Nasradin goes to the forest to fetch wood for the winter, (in) the snow. In the middle of the way as he gathers wood he sees that his hands have become cold (as) ice. He becomes cold. He said ‘Oh, but I am dying, because my wife said a body is cold (when dead). I am dying.’ (3) Slowly he lay down on the snow. He lay down on the snow and from the other side wolves came. They came and tore his donkey to pieces, and began to eat it. Mullah Nasradin said ‘Go and be the substitutes of this soul of mine because I am not alive. If I were alive, I know what I would do to you.’

**A14 A Thousand Dinars (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)**

(1) One day mullah Nasradin was sitting at home and saying a prayer to God, saying ‘God, give me a thousand dinars of money, a thousand dinars. Only do not let it be nine hundred and ninety-nine. I want one thousand dinars from you.’ He said a prayer thus. He prayed every day. (2) He had a neighbour. He was

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99 Literally: Ash be on his head!

'àtxa.| +biləl mattìva| ríša b-ríša mən-+màlla.| +'ávva márra kémən 'ana-+jarbònna  
 'áha.| 'à-yala-dal| +rába ci-+bayyíva zùyzə|. +biləl kàt| +ajjézva ka-+màlla.|  
 bərráxselə bëta.| mattúyələ +əççàmמו| 'áççí +əççà-danə +dinárə ju-xá +tòrba,  
 cèsta.| +əççàmמו| 'áççíl +əççàl +dinárə mattúyəl ju-+tòrba 'u-yavèla| +sadurèləl  
 mən-+bəzzət buxàri.| mən-+tàma| +sadurèləl bitàyəna.| (3) +màlla vâyəva +slùta  
 +salùya| xziləl +tòrba tila| ba-+ávva škilàləl| +'ávva yála +bíl 'áxci +jàrəb ka-  
 +màllal čun-+màlla mårəval 'en-vilun| +əççàmמו| 'áççí +'áççà,| lè-+bayyənnun,  
 lè šaklənnun.| 'ána dün-mónnux màra,| ka-díyyux mårən| 'áxci 'alpá-+dinarə| xá-  
 +dinar óya +basùrta,| lè-+bayyənnun.| 'á yála| +bíl xázə düz mårəl +màlla,| yan-  
 là.| (4) +tòrba +puštàləl +əççàmmino| 'áççí +əççàl +dinárə múttəva jàvo.| +tòrba  
 ptixàləl xzilə 'ína xa-+dinar +basùra.| o-násət +'ullul jaššukəl xázə mù p̄t-ávəd  
 +màlla.| jaššukələl mårəl xòb,| +rába +spáy.| mù p̄t-ávəd| 'á-sapar| p-xamánnun  
 cəsləl 'ánnə zùyzəl hál-t o-+dinar xína +šadràtləl| (5) 'á bəškalələl 'ánnə zùyzə  
 +ṭaṣuyèləl ju-sandiyka.| +'ávva náša mən-jàrəl +bəslayələl +bərxáṭəl cəs-+màlla.  
 mårəl +màlla,| e-+tórbət kát 'ádi kátxux +šudràli| 'átən mürətva +əççàmmino| 'áççí  
 +'áççà,| 'ána múttən +əççàmmino| 'áççí +'áççà.| 'át kòl vídat mən-+alàha| 'áxci 'alpá,  
 'alpá +dinárə.| bas-'ánnə +əççàmmino| 'áççí +'áççà 'ána muttən| kàt| Pəmtəhàn P  
 'odárnva kátxux,| +jarbònvalux.| 'at-díyyina| hällun.| (6) mórra Pbòro P bába,| 'aláha  
 kátxux yávvəl mən-xá-ducta xíta.| mü týyət láxxa 'át but-zùyzə?| müt zùyzəl müt  
 məndi?| mórra 'ávnən +xlàpux har-+adíyya 'ána +tòrba +šudràli kátxux.| 'at-díyyina,  
 hällun! le-yávvənnə.| (7) dí +šurílun +plàša-zəl| čarçùra| mórra b-lablánnux +ál  
 E.coùrtE| cəs-+kəzəl| mórra p̄t-átən cəs-+kəzəl| tílə kət-labəlvalə| mórra 'ána lá-  
 +amsən yátvən 'átxa 'átxa 'átena.| +màlla max-díyyi| 'átəl +pyàda?| 'ána jári 'avíli-  
 xa-xmàrtal yátvən 'állo 'átən.| (8) 'áha náša yála +bərxáṭəl máyəl xa-xmártal  
 kátu| kət-yátu.| māra lá 'ána +báyyən júlla šapíra| +màlla mårəl +báyyən  
 júlla šapíra lòšən| kət-yátvən +állo.| müjjur 'átən 'átxa cəs-+kəzə?| bərráxselə 'a-  
 yála| e-dásta bús šapírtal máyəl ka-+màlla.| malvùšolə| máttuyəl +al-xmàrtal  
 bərráxselə cəs kəzəl| (9) +várəna cəs-kəzəl mårəna kàt| +kəzəl| kóssat 'átxəla.  
 'á-naša +màlla cút-+danta +salùya| +slùta kət-'ána +báyyən 'alpá +dinárə,  
 'alpá +dinárə món 'alàha.| 'én +əççàmmino| 'áççí +'áççà 'ávi,| lè kəblənnun.| 'ána  
 mü vədli?| mårri +jarbònna 'áha.| (10) +adíyya món 'úrxət buxàri| +šudràli kátu|

a young lad, a lad, twenty years old or so. He wanted to outsmart the mullah.<sup>100</sup> He said 'I shall test him.' This lad also likes money a lot. He wanted to annoy the mullah. He puts nine hundred and ninety-nine dinars in a bag, a bag. He puts nine hundred and ninety-nine dinars in a bag and gives them and sends them through a hole<sup>101</sup> of a fireplace. He sends them from there and they arrive. (3) (While) the mullah was praying, he saw the bag arrive. Then he took it. The lad wanted only to test the mullah, because the mullah was saying 'If they are nine hundred and ninety-nine, I do not want them, I shall not take them. I am telling this to you, I say to you, only one thousand dinars. (If) one dinar is missing, I do not want them.' The lad wanted to see whether the mullah was speaking the truth or not. (4) He offered (to him) the bag, in which he had put nine hundred and ninety-nine dinars. He opened the bag and saw that one dinar was missing. The man who is above is watching to see what the mullah will do. He looks at them and says 'Well, very good, it does not matter. This once I shall keep this money with me until you send the other dinar.' (5) He takes the coins and hides them in a box. That man comes down from the roof and runs to the mullah. He says 'Mullah, the bag that I sent you now—you had said nine hundred and ninety-nine and I put (in it) nine hundred and ninety-nine. You have made a promise to God (that you would accept) only a thousand, a thousand dinars. But I have put these nine hundred and ninety-nine (in the bag) in order to give you a test, to test you. They are mine. Give them (to me).' (6) He said 'Go away, mate, God will give you from another place. Why have you come here about money? What money? What thing?' He said 'With respect, just now I have sent you the bag. They are mine. Give them (to me)!' 'I will not give them.' (7) Now they started fighting and shouting. He said 'I shall take you to court, to the judge.' He said 'I shall come to the judge.' He came so he would take him. He said 'I cannot sit like this—come like this. Can a mullah like me come on foot? I must have a jenny for me to sit on and come (to the judge).' (8) The young man runs and brings a jenny for him so that he can sit (on it). He says 'No, I want fine clothes.' The mullah says 'I want to wear fine clothes and sit on it. How can I come like this to the judge?' The lad brings the most beautiful suit to the mullah. He dresses him in it and puts him on the donkey. They go to the judge. (9) They come into the presence of the judge and say 'Judge, the story is like this. This man, the mullah, was all the time praying (saying) "I want a thousand dinars, a thousand dinars from God. If they are nine hundred and ninety-nine, I shall not accept them." What did I do? I said "I shall test him." (10) Now by way

<sup>100</sup> Literally: put head by head with the mullah.

<sup>101</sup> I.e. the chimney.

'ína 'a-mára là,| mára 'et-dìyyina| mára lé yavvènnun.| ƙa-+màlla mára| dùz márəl 'áha?! márəl là.| xá-'axča móndi lèlə výyya.| mérərə 'en-'adíyya +bağrətla,| tánət 'ánnə júllət +málla m-ica,| p-tánəl 'et-dìyyina.| +dílux mù víla?! tánət júllət +málla m-ica,| p-tánə 'et-dìyyina.| (n) xòb,| 'o-yála màra| 'et-dìyyina!| mára xzìlux?| xzìlux ƙazí?! mórərə 'en-'ázət +rába pàta yavvátlə,| 'u-p-tánəl xmàra-da díyyila.| mórərə xmàra-da 'et-díyyila!| mórərə xzìlux| lá mórri?! lá mórri ƙa-dìyyux?| xmára 'et-+dàvvəla.| júllə 'et-+dàvvəna.| zúlyzə 'et-+dàvvəna.| bas-'ána mù-'ətli?| hàč-məndi?! (12) +'ávva yála +rába +narahàt výyələ.| bitáyələ ƙat-máxə ƙa-+málla| 'u-+kázi lélə bəšvákal +sadúrəl polisə,| +şurṭəl doķila 'a-yála.| 'a-yála bədváķuna,| bədráyuna fu-+dússakə.| +kazíl bəškálələ xá-dana +dinar| mən-fu-jíbul yávəl ƙa-+málla.| (13) màra ʂkúl 'a-xá +dinar ƙa-dìyyux.| 'ávət basimal ƙat| 'átxa nàšəl xriwəl mən-fu-mdítəl mačuxé! mayé! ƙati.| +málla mára 'ávət basíma 'alàhal ƙat-jálđa dénuł yuvvállux,| +dinar yuvvállux.

### A15 Kindness to a Donkey (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +málla| +muṭṭánnəva +rába +rába ƙèsəl +al-+xásət xmàra.| 'átxa,| +muṭṭánnəva +al-xmára ƙèsə +rába.| bás xzílə xmára lélə +bašúrə 'ázəl 'ùrxa.| ƙəmləl clílə +al-'áklu.| mórərə 'átən +naràhat-ivət?! šurşyyət?! spūr| 'ána xáčča mən-+yúkrux šákłən.| kyáma bəcláyəl +al-'áklu.| (2) nášə xuyravátət +málla|màra| +málla ƙám bas-lét bətyáva +al-xmàra?! ƙat-hám xmàra 'ava-+rāhat! ham-'átən.| mára 'ána lén +úxcə bi-+ənsaf| ƙat| +rába xórbə náša 'ávən.| +byáyən ƙa-xmári +hayyərrən| ƙat| buš-+rāhat 'ázəl.|

### A16 The Stupid Carpenter (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) mən-+málla +bağrənəl màra| mən-jánux! 'áhmaƙ náša xəzyət?! ƙa-+málla márəna,| mára mən-šúk mən-jánux! 'áttən náša mádrə 'áhmaƙ náša 'ávə,| xəzyət?! mən-+málla +bağrənəl màra| xəzyət 'áttən| mən-šúk-jánux 'ávə xa-náša xína 'áhmaƙ?! 'át 'áhmaƙ-ivət| 'ína mən-jánux buš-'áhmaƙ xəzyət?! (2) +málla màra|

of the fireplace I sent it to him but he says "No." He says "They are mine." He says "I shall not give them (to you)." He (the judge) says to the mullah 'Is this man speaking the truth?' He says 'No. Such a thing has not happened.' He said 'If you ask him now and say "Where are the clothes of the mullah from?" he will say "They are mine."—You understand what happened?—(If) you say "Where are the clothes of the mullah from?", he will say "They are mine."' (11) Well, the fellow says 'They are mine!' 'Do you see, do you see judge?!" He said 'If you go and indulge him further,<sup>102</sup> he will say "Also the donkey is mine."' He said 'The donkey is mine!' He said 'You see, did not I say? Did I not tell you? The donkey is his. The clothes are his. The money is his. But what do I have, nothing?' (12) The lad becomes very upset. He gets up in order to hit the mullah. The judge does not allow this and sends police to arrest the lad. They arrest the lad and put him in prison. The judge takes a dinar from his pocket to give to the mullah. (13) He says 'Take this one dinar for yourself. I am grateful that you find such bad people in the town.' The mullah says 'Thank you God for paying your debt so quickly, for giving a dinar.'

#### A15      Kindness to a Donkey (Yulia Davudi, <sup>†</sup>Hassar <sup>†</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day the mullah had loaded a lot of pieces of wood on the back of a donkey. Like this, he had loaded on a donkey many pieces of wood. But he saw that the donkey could not go along the road. He got up and stood on his feet and said 'Are you uncomfortable? Are you tired? Wait I shall take some of your load.' He gets up and stands on his feet. (2) The people who were friends of the mullah say 'Mullah, why are you not sitting on the donkey, so that both the donkey will be comfortable and also you?' He says 'I am not so unjust that I become a bad man. I want to help my donkey to go more comfortably.'

#### A16      The Stupid Carpenter (Yulia Davudi, <sup>†</sup>Hassar <sup>†</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) People ask the mullah saying 'Have you seen a man more stupid than yourself?' They say to the mullah, saying 'Apart from yourself, is there a person who is a yet more stupid man?' They ask the mullah saying 'Have you seen apart from yourself another stupid man? You are stupid, but have you seen a more stupid person than you?' (2) The mullah said 'Yes, I have.' He says 'I brought

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<sup>102</sup> Literally: Give him face.

hil xàzyən. mára ƙa-xá-dana +nàjjar| muyyílì làxxal| ju-bèti| ƙat-+tàrra| zarázva  
kàti.| 'u-bás +santimátra lèva mýyya| mènnu.| bás xóšla b-’idàtu| škállə cyúla|  
cyúla| b-’idàtu| har-’ò-jurra-da.| (3) kámłə ’idátu ptixəl| bərràxša| ƙat| cyúla là  
manšívalə. ƙat-íva bərráxša ’àtxa ’àtxa léva jašsùkəl xášla pólla ju-kùnya.| básl  
šáns ’stvaləl kùnya| lèva +rába mýyya mólyा.| xàççəva. nášə tílun ƙa-dò-naša|  
+pal̄tìva mən-+tàmma.| mòrrun| ’idux hàlla| ƙat-+pal̄tàxlux.| márrə là-+amsən  
’idi yavvànna.| 'ən-’idi yavvànna,| cyùlət| ƙ-ívən cílu +tàrra manšənnə.| +’áv mónni  
bùš xmárləl.

### A17 A Close Shave (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma xóšla +málla ƙat-còsu +makrásvalə| cès| +makrəttān-còsa.| 'o-náša  
+makrəttān-cósə škállə cósət +málla +makrùtu| ’ina cíllə jèldu-da škállə.| +xárta  
xzíla +màlla ríšu cíllə dəmmàna.| +šurílə mattúuya| ctàna| +allè| ctàna| mattúuya  
+allè.| +málləjuššóklaju-nòra| ’ina pályət ríšu| výyəl ctàna.| (2) ƙa-dò-naša mórre|  
là,| là,| xína bàssa| bássa,| là-vud.| 'o-jíbi xína jàni| ƙ-ázən ƙ-odónne +’ámra| b-  
+zarránnə +’ámra.| ’atən| ctàna vídut| ’ána ƙ-ázən +’ámra b-+zárrən jávu.| 'á-jibu  
’at-+zrílux ctàna| ’á-jibu xína ’ána jàni b-+zarránnə +’ámra.|

### A18 A Sweater to Pay Off a Debt (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xà-yuma| +málla denànəva,| denánəva ƙa-xa-náša.| 'áha náša| xá-yuma tílə  
kam-+tàrra.| +málla m-rókka xzíla bitàyələl| +tàrra +çòmləl| +’allu.| mòrrə,| 'ən-  
tiləl| +málla ƙa-bàxtu mòrrəl tányat ƙat-+málla lèlə láxxa.| (2) xóšla báxta +tàrra  
patxàləl mòrrəl ƙat-+málla ƙáy denànələl| +byáyən zùyzə šákłən mónnu.| márra  
+málla lèlə béta| ’ina ƙáti mìrələl| ’ána cályan kam-+tàrra| cmá-t’áttən ’ánnə ’érba  
ƙat-bərràxshəna| +məsté ƙat-pólla +al-+’arrəl| šákłənnəl +jammànnə,| 'odánnə  
jøddáləl 'u-+zakrännə svètarl| 'u-zabnànnəl ƙat-máyyan zuyzət-díyyux yavvànna.|  
+maxlèta| ƙat| denànəxva ’ina ’ána +jarùbən| ƙat| yavvànna dénu|x.| 'o-náša  
bərràxshələl.

a carpenter here, into my house, in order for him to make a door for me. But he had not brought a tape measure with him. Nevertheless he went and took the measurement with his hands, the measurement, with his hands, the same method (as a tape measure). (3) He got up and went with his hands open so that he would not forget the measurement. Because he was going like this and was not looking, he went and fell into a well. But he had luck, the well was not full of much water. There was little of it there. People came to get that man out from there. They said "Give (us) your hand so we can take you out." He said "I cannot give my hand. If I give my hand, I shall forget the measurement, which I made for the door." He is more foolish than me.'

#### A17     A Close Shave (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day the mullah went to have his hair cut at the barber's. That man, the barber, took the hair of the mullah to cut it, but he took also all of his skin. Then the mullah saw that his head was all covered in blood. He (the barber) began to put cotton on them (the injuries), put cotton on them. The mullah looked in the mirror and (saw) that half his head had become cotton. (2) He said to the man 'No, no, enough. Don't do it. I shall make this other side of me wool, I shall sow it with wool. You have made it cotton, I shall go and sow wool in it. On this side you have sown cotton, on this other side I shall myself sew wool.'

#### A18     A Sweater to Pay Off a Debt (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day the mullah was in debt, he was in debt to a man. This man one day came to the door. The mullah saw him coming from a distance and closed the door against him. He said 'If he comes,' the mullah said to his wife 'say that the mullah is not here.' (2) The wife went to open the door. He (the creditor) said 'The mullah is in debt. I want to take money from him.' She said 'The mullah is not at home, but he said to me that I should stand in front of the door and that I should take the hair that has fallen on the ground of as many sheep that pass by, gather it together, make it into threads and knit it into a sweater, then sell it in order to bring in your money to give it to you. I apologize that we are in debt, but I shall try to pay your debt.' The man goes away.

### A19 No Bread Today (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma báxtat +málla mārəla| ká-+joro| márəla kát xúš xáčča lágma mélan.| čun-’ána blájtən b-bašūla,| xúš xáčča lágma táza mèlan.| (2) +málla bərráxšəla kat-lágma máyyə. bəxzáyələ ’ína ... sàpa! sápət nášə cùlyələ! əmmà-janə zódəla.| mórrə ’ána hál ... ’ázən +májtən +támma! lágma párák. hál nóbət díyyi-da +májtən xína xòšca vágylə. tuxmánna tuxmánna mú ’avəd. xáslə kamày! púçpəčlə mən-xà-manne! átxa níxa púçpəčlə. (3) mórrə kát ... +bəddáyat kát ... ’o-náša xíšəva +háj. Abdul-Hassán xíšəva +háj? mən-+háj tìyyələ! əziyərət! xíšəva Màcca, +háj. tìyyələ! ’ádi lágma véla +pallúyə ka-cul-nášə hár-’atxa +xurrày. lét +šəmya? mórrə lə lén +šəmya. mórrə ’ána-da ’adı-+smili! +báyyən ’ázən +támə. (4) ’ánnə nášə xínəl xa-ka-do-xína mərrun! cíllə xàšlun. cíllə xàšlun! pəšlə ’áxči +málla. xáslə kamáy kat-lágma šákələ. tré-dán lágma ... škàllə. mórrə kát ... xamší +dinàra. mórrə pàh! ’áti xína mü-ivət? +pállan náša véla +pállan dúcta yávələ ... lágma +xurrày. mən-+háj tìyyələ. ’átnən lágxa yávat tré-danə lágma b-xá-’axča +tímə! (5) mórrə xób xuš-škúl mən-+támə. ’ána-da ’ádi t-ázən p-šákłən mən-+támə ’ən-+’áv yávələ. +bərxáta bərráxšəl +támə jašsúkələ ’ína ... náše +támə cùlyənəl ’an-nášə kat-mən-ju-sáp! xáslun +táməl véna +táməl +’al-’jān-+málla! kat-maxılə. mórrə ’á-naša +hála lélə týya mán ... +háj! mən-Màcca. ’a-m-íca ka-dýyan tunílux kát lágma-da prákłə. pásłan d-la-lágma. +málla bərrákələ bərráxšəl bëta! lágma-da lélə +bašúrə závən.

### A20 An Orphan Duckling (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma! +málla +Nasràdən! léva mabyúnə. nášə! +rába bitáyəva bərràxšəva! márəva +málla dàx-vilux? ’íca xóslux +málla +Nasràdən? tílun +tárru mxílun +tuğtaklun! mərrun! +málla +Nasràdən, +rába +narahat-ivax. ’icəvət? lét mabyúnə. (2) mórrəl bəxzáyətun! ’a-’òrdac? móttəla yámmu. ’áha +zàyələ. ’ína xa-dána jəddála, jəddála dárya b-’ákłət da-’òrdac, múttol +’al-hàvuz. labùlolə!

**A19      No Bread Today (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)**

(1) One day the wife of the mullah says to her husband, she says 'Go and bring some bread. Since I am busy with cooking, go and bring some fresh bread.' (2) The mullah goes to bring bread. He sees a queue, people are standing in a queue, which consists of more than one hundred people.<sup>103</sup> He said 'Before I go and arrive there, the bread will run out. Before my turn arrives, it will be dark.' He thought and thought what he should do. He went forward and whispered to one of them, he whispered softly like this. (3) He said 'Do know that that man has gone on the pilgrimage, Abdul-Hassan has gone on the pilgrimage? He has come back from the pilgrimage, the pilgrimage, and went to Mecca, the pilgrimage. He has come back and now [he?] is distributing bread to everybody completely free. Have you not heard?' He said 'No, I have not heard.' He said 'I also have just now heard. I want to go there.' (4) The other people told (this) to each other and all went. They all went and only the mullah remained. He went forward to take bread. He took two loaves of bread. He (the seller) said 'Fifty dinars.' He said 'Oh, who (do you think) you are? Such-and-such a person in such-and-such a place is giving bread away free. He has come back from the pilgrimage. You here are selling two loaves of bread for such a price!' (5) He said 'Fine, go and take from there. I also shall now go and take from there, if he is giving it away.' He runs and goes there. He looks and sees people standing there. The people who were in the queue and went there come up against the mullah in order beat him. One said 'This man has not yet returned from the pilgrimage, from Mecca. Why did you say that the bread was finished? We are now left without bread.' The mullah runs and goes home, and cannot buy bread.

**A20      An Orphan Duckling (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)**

(1) One day mullah Nasradin did not show up. People were coming and going a lot and saying 'What has become of you, mullah? Where have you gone mullah Nasradin?' They came and knocked on his door and said 'Mullah Nasradin, we are very worried. Where are you? You do not make an appearance.' (2) He said 'Do you see this duck? Its mother is dead. This is a duckling' (They see) that he has put a string on the leg of the duck and put it in the pool. He pulls it back and forth, back and forth.<sup>104</sup> They say 'What are you doing?' He says 'I am afraid it

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<sup>103</sup> Literally: A queue of people is standing, it is more than one hundred people.

<sup>104</sup> Literally: He takes it, he brings it, he takes it, he brings it.

màyolə| labùlolə| màyolə.| màra| mú vàdət?| màra| +bəzdáyən xàñka| čúncət sùrələ,| yámmo mòttəla.| malípon sxéta| kat-lá méta xàñka.|

### A21 Mistaken Identity (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +málla ... +bəxdárəva ju-+xiyàvand.| xa-náša +rába ... +júra| Hérkùl,| Hérkùl| tilə| xá-mušta ķa-+málla mxilə.| +málla npòllə| ķámlə +al-’áklu.| ’o-Hérkùl tilə ķat-xa-xína maxívalə| xxílə ləl +xəłta máxyulə.| lélə ’o-náša ķát ... +báyyə maxívalə.| ’á xa-náša xínələ.| (2) mára +maxlèta| ’ávən +xlápux,| +maxlèta.| ’ána ləl +dili.| xšávli ... ’ò-našətva.| márrə ləl mut-+maxlèta?| t-ázən lablánux ķá ... cəs-+ķazi| labúlulə cəs-+ķazi.| +ķazi mārlələ| xób xá-mušta-da mxilələ| mən jibū.| mára ləl ’ána lé maxánnə müšta.| mára bas-xáčxa zúyzə hal-ķátu.| (3) mára zúyzə ju-jíbi litən.| xámila ləxxal | ’ána t-ázən zúyzə màyyən| yavvánnun ķátu| ķa-jarima.| +málla bəspárəl,| bəspárəl | ’á-náša lət +hála.| +málla bəkyàməl| xá-dana müšta ķa-+ķazí mxáyələ.| mára ’á-da mən-ji'bət +dàvun| kat-kày máxyələ| ’ána ķàx mxíli.| zúyzə muyyèlə,| ’át škúl.| ’ána lèn +byayé.|

### A22 Trickster (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xà-yuma| xa-náša| +rába lípəval| márrə ķati| hác náša lé-+aməs +’aldə.| hác náša ju-dúnyə látten ķat-ká-diyyi +’aldə.| +málla +Nasràdən| mára ’icət ’ávə ’a-náša| ’ána b-+aldànnə.| bitáyəna cós-+ķazi.| é-+danta látva ... málca| látva ... polisə| ’iva +ķazi| ’áxči cíllə +šulána ju-’ídət +ķaziva.| (2) bərráxşələ cəs-+ķazi,| mára ’ána ķáx b-+’aldən.| mára müjjur b-+aldàtlı?| mára hí ’ána b-+aldànnux| ’ína b-śart,| šart mátti.| ’alpá +dinárə mattúyələ cəs-+ķazi.| mára ’alpà +dinárə| ’ən-’ána ķáx +uldılı,| ’ánnə ’alpá +dinárə ķatina.| ’ən-lá ķam-+aldànnux,| ’ət-díyyux-na.| +’əmza vádəna.| +málla ķa-dó náša mārələ| ’átən túy ləxxa,| ’ána bərràxşən| ķát ’átən +aldànnux.| ’ána bərràxşən| +dérən ’átən ķat-+aldànnux.| (3) +ķazi| bətyával támə,| bəspárə +al-dá-naša ķat ’átəl ķa-+málla,| ķat-’átəl +’aldılı.| xá +sá’at lət.| tré +sa’áttə lət.| +flá +sa’áttə lət.| xamšá +sa’áttə lət.| +ķazí ķa-+háji mārələ| ķát ’ána bəxşəvən| +málla +muķrəmmələ| ’ána +ķrimən.| (4) +háji mārələ|

may drown because it is small and its mother had died. I am teaching it to swim so that it does not drown and die.'

#### A21 Mistaken Identity (Yulia Davudi, <sup>†</sup>Hassar <sup>†</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day the mullah was wandering around in the street. A very large man, a Hercules, a Hercules came and gave the mullah a punch. The mullah fell. He got up onto his legs. The Hercules came to punch him again, but saw, no, he had hit him by mistake. He is not the man that he wants to hit. This was another man. (2) He says 'Forgive, please, forgive me. I did not know. I thought you were that (other) man.' He said 'No, what forgiveness? I shall go and take you to the judge.' He takes him to the judge. The judge says 'Well, give him a punch for the one he gave you.'<sup>105</sup> He said 'No, I shall not punch him.' He says (to the Hercules) 'But give him some money.' (3) He says 'There is no money in my pocket. Keep him here and I shall go to bring money to give to him for the fine.' The mullah waits and waits, but the man is still not there. The mullah gets up and punches the judge. He says 'There, instead of him, who has hit me, I have hit you. (If) he brings the money, you take it. I do not want it.'

#### A22 Trickster (Yulia Davudi, <sup>†</sup>Hassar <sup>†</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day a man, who was very learned, said 'Nobody can trick me. There is nobody in the world who could trick me.' Mullah Nasradin says 'Wherever this man is, I shall trick him.' He comes to the judge. At that time there was no king, there was no police, but there was a judge. All matters were in the hand of the judge. (2) He goes to the judge and says 'I shall trick you.' He says 'How will you trick me?' He says 'Yes, I shall trick you.' 'But on condition (of a deposit), put down a deposit.' He puts down one thousand dinars with the judge. He says 'The thousand dinars—if I trick you, these thousand dinars are mine. If I do not trick you, they are yours.' They sign. The mullah says to that man 'You sit here and I shall go and come back to trick you. I shall go and return to trick you.' (3) The judge sits there, waiting for the man to come back, for the mullah to come back and trick him. (After) one hour, he is not there. (After) two hours, he is not there. (After) three hours, he is not there. (After) five hours, he is not there. The judge says to the pilgrim 'I think the mullah has lost and I have won.' (4)

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<sup>105</sup> Literally: instead of him.

là| +maxlèta| 'át +xàltət| +'àv kríməla.| 'ánnə +arpá +sa'attə ka-díyyux muttí-val láxxal қat-+aldilux| 'áyya +aldetəla.| 'áyya ka-díyyux +uldíla.| 'ánnə +arpá-+sa'attə, xamšá-+sa'attə 'at-tívat láxxa bəspára +àllul| +'àyun +kríməla.| bəškaléla 'alpá +dinàrə,| yavélə ka+malla.|

### A23 Problems Lighting a Fire (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +malla +Nasràdən| +rába vágələ cpìna.| márələ қat-cùt-yum| báxti +bəšyárəla nýyra.| 'à-sapar| 'ána jáni +báyyən nýyra +sérən| 'u-báslən xá +kusárta қa-jáni.| báxtu +pləttəva.| bitáyəla қat-cmá=t +báyyə nýyra tāpəl nýyra lélə bətpə.| mára hà| 'ádi +dili kám lēt-bətpə.| čúncət hammáša báxti citapyávalux nýyra.| 'ádi 'ána tapúyux-vən| lēt kabúlo.| (2) bərrəxşəl bəlvásəl júllət báxta.| +yaláxta bədráyəl b-rišu,| jánu vádol báxta.| bitáyəla nýyra tapúyəla.| šəpəsçə mxayolə| nýyra bətpəyəla.| nýyra bətpəyəla,| báxtət +malla bitáyəla.| māral +malla,| óyan +xlápux| mù vídət?! kám 'átxa jánum vido?| vido jánum báxta!| (3) mārrə lá hámzəm 'átxa! nýyra b-+yáttə,| b-+çəmmə.| lèva bətpáya.| 'ána jáni vido báxtal xshávlə қat-'at-ítva.| 'on-+yattíva módra 'ána,| lè tapíva.| nýyra xshávlə 'at-ítva tpíla.| ju-dá-+danta xa-pjaraqqép mən-nýyra +plətəla,| bərrəxşəla bətpá +al-págrət +malla.| +malla bəkyadəla.| +malla bəkyadəla,| māral xzílxax mu-vádlax b-riši.| káti +muddilax,| nýyra xóšu là tíla,| xáčxa píšəva xáyyi šakəlvalə.|

### A24 The Angel of Death (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma| +malla +máryəva| +rába xərba.| +rába xərba +máryəva,| bitáyəva қat-mátvə.| қa-báxtu márələ| Payäl-ján,| Payäl-ján| +yána +báxti +xlíta,| Payäl-ján,| lišän-+fársət.| mára қu-xùš| cíllə 'an-júllax şapírə lüslun| +mátcəc mxı,| 'ú ... jáanax şáprənna.| қu-tá túy xut-riši| 'ána myátən.| (2) mára қa-mú-it 'átxa māra| қat-náše +masxárri biyyi?| táni masálən| +pəllán-cas ... +jóro myátəl| 'ína véla xásta jáno šuprəntola.| +báyyət nášə jáxci biyyi?| 'a-müt +xábrələ?| (3) mára là|

The pilgrim says 'No, pardon me, you are wrong. *He* has won. He has put you here these four hours in order to trick you. This is a trick. He has tricked you. For these four hours, five hours, you have sat here waiting for him. *He* has won.' They take the thousand dinars and give them to the mullah.

#### A23 Problems Lighting a Fire (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day mullah Nasradin is very hungry. He says 'Every day my wife kindles the fire, this time, I myself want to kindle the fire and cook a pot (of food) for myself' His wife had gone out. He comes but however much he wants to light the fire, the fire does not light. He says 'Now I know why you do not light. (It is) because *my wife* used to light you, fire. Now *I* am lighting you and you do not accept it.' (2) He goes and puts on the clothes of a woman. He puts a scarf on his head and makes himself into (the image of) a woman. He comes and lights the fire. He strikes matches and the fire lights. The fire lights and the wife of the mullah comes back. She says 'Mullah, with respect,<sup>106</sup> what are you doing? Why have you made yourself like this? You have made yourself look like a woman!' (3) He said 'Do not speak like that. The fire will know and will go out. It was not lighting. I made myself into (the image of) a woman and it thought that it was you. If it knew (it was) me again, it would not light. The fire thought it was you and kindled.' At that moment a spark comes out of the fire and sticks to the body of the mullah. The mullah burns. The mullah burns and said 'You see what you have done to me! You have made known who I am and the fire was not pleased. It almost took my life.'

#### A24 The Angel of Death (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day the mullah was very badly ill. He was very badly ill. He was approaching death. He says to his wife 'Dear wife, dear wife,' that means 'sweet wife,' 'dear wife [ayāl-jān]' is Persian. He says 'Go and put on all your beautiful clothes, put on lipstick, and make yourself beautiful. Come and sit by me, I am dying.' (2) She says 'Why are you saying this, so that people will despise me? They will say, for example, so-and-so's husband is dying but she has gone and beautified herself. Do you want people to laugh at me? What is this all about?'<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Literally: May I be your substitute.

<sup>107</sup> Literally: What word is this?

<sup>P</sup>àyāl ján<sup>P</sup>! xàyyi!<sup>!</sup> ána 'átxa màrən| ƙat-’oyat šap̄òrta| kát é-+dantət <sup>P</sup>əsrā<sup>’il</sup><sup>P</sup> malàxa tílə,| jáni šak̄òlla! xázə ƙa-dìyyax +rába šap̄òrtət| ƙa-dìyyax lábəl mən-jib-díyyi.|

### A25 Stomach Trouble (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +málla! bëta tívəva! léva xíša pølxàna.| báxtu tìla,| mórra ƙat-ka-mú-ivət píša bëta! lèt xíša pølxána?<sup>!</sup> císu +mráyəva,| ’ú ... ’átvələ pláxtət àkla.| ’áxnan tánax pláxtət àkla ’átvələ.| císu pølxánəva.| mórra ’an-cmá šónnə ’ána plíxən| císi +xəltəla.| ’údyu císi xuš-pàlxa,| ’ána +’áxlən.|

### A26 A Lost Donkey (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +málla +Nasrádən bərráxšələjú ... +bàzar| xmáru talùkulə.| xmára bətlàkəl lət-xmàra.| bədráyələ ƙàləl ’ay-+havàr!<sup>!</sup> xmári tlíkələ.| cut-mačòxlə| xá-dana +dínar b-yavvànnə.| xmára bətlàkəl bərràxshələ.| +málla=da màra| <sup>P</sup>xōdá šúcr<sup>P</sup>| <sup>P</sup>xōdá šúcr<sup>P</sup>| təžbúxta +al-’alàha| təžbúxta +al-’alàha.| <sup>P</sup>xōdá šúcr<sup>P</sup> +yána ... +xkíra šámmət ’alàha| +xkíra šámmət ’alàha| təžbúxta +al-’alàha.| (2) nášə màra ƙa-múdi xmáru xtlíkələ,| ’ína ’á təžbúxta massúkət +al-’alàha?<sup>!</sup> mára təžbúxta massúkən ƙat-jáni lènva +al-xmára.| ’ən-’ávənva jáni=da +al-xmàra,| káy=da b-lablíva.|

### A27 A Lost Ring (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +málla +Nasrádən ... ’isàktu talùkolə| ju-bëta.| +ṭavvúyələ +bàro,| lélə mačùxo.| +pláṭələ ju-dàrta,| ju-dárta +tàmma| +ṭavvúyəl +bar-’isàktə.| báxtu mórlələ| +málla| ’àtən| ’isàktux| ju-bëta tulkòt.| ká-mu xíšət ju-dàrta +ṭavvúyə +báro?<sup>!</sup> mára báxta bëta xòscələ.| jári +pálṭən ju-dárta +bàrəl,| +ṭavvúyən +báro.|

(3) He says 'No, my dear wife, my life, I am saying this so that you will be beautiful, so that when Isrāyīl the angel comes<sup>108</sup> to take my soul, he will see that you are very beautiful and will take you instead of me.'

#### A25 Stomach Trouble (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day the mullah was sitting at home, he had not gone to work. His wife came and said 'Why have you remained in the house and not gone to work?' His stomach was aching and he had 'working of the leg' (i.e. diarrhoea). We say he had 'working of the leg.' His stomach was working. He said 'For so many years have *I* worked and my stomach has eaten. Today let my stomach work and let *me* eat.'

#### A26 A Lost Donkey (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day the mullah is walking in the market and he loses his donkey. His donkey disappears. There is no donkey. He shouts 'Oh woe! My donkey has disappeared. I shall give a dinar to whoever finds it.' The donkey disappears and he goes along. The mullah says 'Thanks be to God, thanks be to God, praise be to God, praise be to God—thanks be to God [xōdā šucr],' that is may the name of God be glorified, may the name of God be glorified, praise be to God. (2) The people say 'Why is it that your donkey has disappeared but you send up praise to God?' He says 'I send up praise that I myself was not on the donkey. If I myself had been on the donkey, they would have taken me also.'

#### A27 A Lost Ring (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day mullah Nasradin loses his ring in the house. He looks for it but does not find it. He goes out into the yard, in the yard and there looks for the ring. His wife says 'Mullah, you lost your ring in the house. Why have you gone to look for it in the yard?' He says 'Wife, it is dark in the house. I must go out into the yard (where) it is light and look for it.'

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<sup>108</sup> Presumably Isrāfīl the angel of death is intended.

### A28 The Purchase of a Donkey (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +màlla! xmáru mètlə. | xóšlə +bàzər! kat-závən xmàra. | +jummílə zùyza, | xášla! zvánnə xá-dana xmàra. | nàšəl +rába jinàvəl xzílun xmárət +màlla, | télun +bara +bàrul ƙát ... šaklìlə xmára. | xá mənnəl xá mən-yàla! škóllə šíšəltəl dəryálə b-ƙdàlūl xóšlə +bára +bar-+màlla, mən-jibət-xmàra. | ɔ-xína +xòrul škóllə xmàra, | lubóllə +bàzər! ƙa-zabànnə. | (2) +málla ... ՚áha ... +bára +báru bərrəxšəl +młáyələ bëta. | ptálələl jašsúkə ՚ína nàša. | Pastaxfurallà, | astaxfurallàP vádələ. | Pastaxfurallà, | astaxfurdlà, P| +yànəl ՚ó ՚alàha! ՚ó ՚alàha! ՚áha mù-ila?| mù-ila víta?| ՚ána xmàra zvínən! ՚a-dúlə víla nàša! | màra! m-ica télux?| ՚ávən +xlápux!| müjjurra víla? ՚ána xmàra zvínən! ՚atən nàša! | mù-vila? | (3) mèrrəl ՚ána! +rába xárbovva ƙa-yòmmi. | yámmi ƙáti +lòfla, | ՚ána víli xmàra. | ju-+dán víli xmàra! ƙáti zubònnun. | ju-dá-+danta ՚at káy tíyyət zvínət. | mən-kuddiúrtət ՚alàha, | ՚ána módrə dúvən +dárri víli nàša. | (4) +málla +Nasrádən màrələl ՚ávən +xlápux! lá-+bili ƙa-dìyyux! ku-šuk-si! | ՚ína dókət náta +al-yámmux +há! ՚ávət +spày ƙa-yámmux +há. | lá macrəbbátla módrə +leṭàlux. | mára là! ՚ávən +xlápux! xína lé-’odən ՚a-+šùla. | (5) bitáyələ cas-do-+xóru xína! t-ílə xmárət +málla zùbnu! +ávva +bára +bar-nàša xóšla, | xmára lubòllun. | xóšla +tàma! zúyza +pulliyélen. | (6) +málla +al-ķédamta bərráxshələ ƙat-xmàra závən. | bəxzáyəl ՚o-xmárət ƙúdmə zvínəva! ՚ína +támələ. | bərráxshələ ju-nátu pāçpùçələl màrələl módrə víyyət xárba ƙa-yòmmux, | +xdírət xmàra?

### A29 Lost Money (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +malla +Nasrádən! ju-+tùyra! balbiyəva. | balbiyəva! +bəkkàrəva. | ƙat-nášə télun márrun ƙàtu! mú vádət ləxxa?| márrə hàmmən! ՚ána zúyza +túmrən ləxxa. | ՚ádi cmá-t +tavvúyən +baré lít. | márrə májar létva múttə nišanƙəl ƙat-mačxòtvalun?| márrə ՚é-+danət ՚ána zúyza muttılı ləxxa! ՚íva xá-dana +’ayva clítəva +’ullul m-rišan. | ՚ína ՚adíyya litən! e-+’ayva-da xəstələl lén-+bədda ՚icəna zúyza.

**A28     The Purchase of a Donkey (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)**

(1) One day the donkey of the mullah died. He went to the market to buy a donkey. He gathered together money and went and bought a donkey. Thieving men saw the donkey of the mullah and came behind him to take the donkey. One of them, a kind of lad, took the chain, put it on his neck and went behind the mullah, instead of the donkey. The other one, his friend, took the donkey, took it to the market to sell it. (2) The mullah with him going behind him arrives home. He turns round, looks and (sees) a man. He shouts 'God help me! God help me! God help me! God help me!', that is 'Oh God! Oh God! What is this? What has happened? I bought a donkey. It has become a man!' He says 'Where have you come from? If you please,<sup>109</sup> how has this happened? I bought a donkey, you are a man! What has happened?' (3) He said 'I was very wicked to my mother. My mother cursed me and I became a donkey. When I became a donkey, they sold me. At that moment, you came and bought me. By the decree of God I have again returned and become a man.' (4) Mullah Nasradin says 'If you please, I did not want you, go away! But pay attention to your mother heh, be good to your mother heh. Do not make her angry so that she curses you again.' He says 'No, Sir, I shall not do this again.' (5) He comes back to his other friend, who has sold the donkey of the mullah—he went behind the man and took away the donkey. He went there and they divided the money. (6) The next day the mullah goes to buy a donkey. He sees that the donkey which he had bought yesterday is there. He goes and whispers in its ear, saying 'Have you again been wicked to your mother and become a donkey?'

**A29     Lost Money (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)**

(1) One day mullah Nasradin was searching in the mountains. He was searching and getting cold. When people came and said to him 'What are you doing here?' He said 'Believe me, I have buried coins here. Now, however much I search for them, they are not here (to be found).' He (= one of them) said 'Didn't you put down a sign so you could find it?' He said 'When I put the money here, there was a cloud, which was standing over our head. But now it is not here, the cloud has gone and I do not know where the money is.'

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109 Literally: May I be your substitute.

### A30 The Wife's Condition (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +málla +Nasràdən| báxtu mára ƙàtu| 'en-lá muyyìlux| 'ásri +dinàrə,| ju-dá béta là +orət.| lá +òrət.| bərráxşələ +màlla.| cma-᷑-ilə l-ó-yba l-ó-yba bərràxşələ ƙat-pàləx| 'ásri +dinàrə màyəl báxtu yavvála 'urxa,| lèlə máya,| lèl máya.| (2) bərráxşələ bətyávəl ju-xá-dana xaràba,| xaràba| 'iləl bətváy tlíxəl lət-hàč-məndi,| +támə bətyávələ,| bəxzáyələ xá-dana ... nášal mən-dánnə +hajíyyə +majíyyə bitáyələ +palúğəl xácmə məndyána mən-ju-kuğìyyu.| (3) zarúzələ Xàva| mára Xàva| 'átən brilax| 'u-mánnax +plótłun nášə,| +xárta xabúysha +xəllax| ƙacúllə drílx dardùsar,| mxáyəl ju-rişo| parpùsələ màdra,| màdra zarúzəl xá-məndi xína,| xa-xíta mára 'átən ... ƙa-díyyax ... brilun| ƙat-'úrxa dùz 'azátvala,| 'ína xášlax +xáttə +xíləlx| zyàna vádlax,| ƙa-dáy=da +bək̄tálələ,| mxáyələ parpùsələ,| (4) bitáyəl zarúzəl xá-dana ... mən-dánnə +hajíyyəl ƙát 'átən +rába +spáy našàtval 'ína +xàrtux| vádlux xárba +şulànəl +xàrtux| vádlux xárba +şulànəl tíl ƙát parpàsvalə +málla չurçárrə,| +málla չurçárrəl mərrəl lá lá +ktílləl lá +ktílləl čúncət 'á ƙáy denànəva,| denànəva,| lá +ktílləl clí 'ána şaklənnun mónnu,| +xárta +ktílləl,| (5) +ávva +hájì xzílə ƙat-xa-náša xína +támə tívəva,| չurçárrə +zdíləl 'áy bərràka,| cíllə móndi ʃvòkla,| rókla xášlə,| rókla xášlə,| 'a-+málla bəkyámal jaşşúkəl ju-císu| xázə mániva +ávva náša,| müdiva,| 'ánnə məndyána zaruzéva vadéva jánu ƙa-jánu,| jaşşúkələl 'ína xamşammá +dinàrə ju-císu,| (6) bəškalələl +bərxáṭa cəs-bàxtu,| mára báxtal +tárra ptùxlələl mára 'átlux 'ásri +dinàrə?| mára +tárra ptùxlələl mən-jíb 'ásri +dinàrə xamşammá +dinàrə 'átlı,| ƙássat ƙáto márəl ƙat-mù-vila,| 'é-+danta märələl 'adlíyya +bəddáyən ƙat-'aláha ƙa-díyyan lé-şavək cpìnə,|

### A31 A Donkey Knows Best (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-yuma +málla bərráxşələ cəs-xa-náša,| 'o-náša| bəxzáyələ ƙát +málla| b-dàvəl +fàvələlə,| 'átxa +távulələ biyyè,| 'o-náša bitáyələl mára +màllələ,| xmàrələl mut-+yáttə dàva mü-ilə,| sìma mu-ilə,| bərrənč mü-ilə,| li-+yat̄tə,| ƙémən 'ázən şákłən mənnu-'an-dávə,| (2) mára +málla,| 'ánnə +tlá dáne dávə 'en-ƙáti yavvàtla,| 'ána 'əmmə +dinàrə ƙax-zúyza b-yàvvən,| mən-xmàral +bağúrələl mára 'en-'átən +tlá jàhəl hurhàmlax,| 'ána b-+yáttən ƙat-'át dùz mārat,| la +ávva,| (3) xmára +tlá jáhə harhùmələ,| +bəddárəl ƙa-dó-naša märələl xmàral b-xmarìyтуl +bəddáyələl dàva müdilə,| bərrənč müdilə,| 'ína 'átən| b-dáyya ƙerkóptux xmárta lét +bəddá

### A30 The Wife's Condition (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day the wife of mullah Nasradin says to him 'If you do not bring back twenty dinars, you will not enter this house. You will not enter.' The mullah goes off. However much he goes this way and that in order to work to bring in twenty dinars and for his wife to allow him in, he does not bring it in, he does not bring it in. (2) He goes and sits in a ruin—a ruin is (a place with) dilapidated houses, there is nothing there—he sits there. He sees a man coming, one of those pilgrims and the like. He takes out various things from his box. (3) He makes (an image of) Eve, he says 'Eve, you were born and from you people issued. Afterwards you ate an apple and gave everybody a headache.' He strikes her head and destroys her again. Again he makes something else, another woman, he says 'You were created to go on the straight path, but you went and ate the wheat and did damage.' He kills also her. He hits her and destroys her. (4) He comes and makes one of those pilgrims (saying) 'You were a very good man, but afterwards you did bad things.' He came to destroy it, but the mullah screamed. The mullah screamed saying 'No, do not kill him, do not kill him, because he was in debt to me. He was in debt to me, do not kill him. Wait, I shall take it (the money) from him, afterwards kill him.' (5) The pilgrim saw that another man was sitting there. He shouted in fear 'Ah!' and fled. He left everything. He fled. He fled. The mullah gets up and looks in his purse to see who this man was, what he was. He made these things by himself. He looks and (sees) five hundred dinars in his purse. (6) He takes them and runs to his wife. He says 'Wife, open the door!' She says 'Do you have twenty dinars?' He says 'Open the door. Instead of twenty dinars I have five hundred dinars.' He tells her the story of what happened. Then she says 'Now I know that God will not leave us hungry.'

### A31 A Donkey Knows Best (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day the mullah goes to the home of a certain man. The man sees that the mullah is playing with gold coins, playing with them like this. The man comes and says 'He is a mullah, he is an ass. He does not know what gold is, what silver is, what rice is. He does not know. I shall go and take from him the gold coins.' (2) He says 'Mullah, if you give me those three gold coins, I shall give you one hundred dinars of money.' He asks the donkey saying 'If you bray three times, I shall know that you are speaking the truth, not him.' (3) The donkey brays three times. He returns to the man and says 'The donkey in its asinine state knows what gold is and what rice is. But don't you with your asinine skull know what

*mú-ina ՚annə?| ՚áha dàvələ| ՚an-díyyux bàrrənč-na.| ՚át +báyyət dàva mən-՚idi  
šaklətə.| ՚ina si-+bákər mən-xmàrti.| xmàrti ՚a-díyyux málpa.|*

### A32 When Shall I Die? (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) *xá-yuma +malla +Nasrádən vágələ tíva +al-ķesa.| xá mən-nášə +várəva,| mórrə  
+málla| ՚átən ՚o-ķesa pràmut,| bət-nápłət.| mórrə <sup>P</sup>bóro<sup>P</sup> bába| ՚átən-da| +šúla  
látlux| tíyyət b-díyyi ՚ítət.| šúk si-+bar-+šúlux.| ՚ána +šúl-jánila| náplən náplən.| (2)  
+hála| ՚o-náša léva xíša xá +əsrá +pasulyày,| +málla bitáyələ drúm +al-+ârra.|  
bəkyámələ +bərxátlə +báru.| māral +maxléta,| ՚átən +dílux ՚ána bət-náplənva  
m-+al-՚ilána.| bas-tánili xázən ՚ána ՚íman bət-métən.| ՚o-náša xzílə ՚at-á +málla  
hónu xáčča ... +basùrlələ mórrə ՚atul +maxléta,| mədrə,| +rába +maxléta.| mórrə  
՚at-՚íman xmártux +tlájáhə +arṭàla,| ՚ó-yuma mètət.| ՚ó-yumət xmártux +tlájáhə  
+arṭàla,| ՚ó-yuma mètət.| (3) +málla müttəva ... +ṭána| +yakúyra +al-xmàrti.|  
+ṭána| móndi +rába müttəva +al-xmàrtal u-xmàrtal +báyyaya ՚askáva +ullul.  
u-bas-pòxa +plátlə mənnó.| ՚tər,| +riṭàla.| +málla mórrə ՚áha,| ՚ána dún ՚arbúna  
՚a-myàta.| (4) xáčča-da sòkla| xa-xíta.| ՚ánu mudməxxálə +al-+ârra.| mórrə  
xína +dán mótila.| ՚e-t-d-+tlá| +málla mótlə| nášə,| xuyravátu| xáslun tílun  
mərrun| ՚a mÙ-vadət? ՚a-mú-ivət +támma?| mórrə xob-՚ána mítən.| lá bəxzáyətun  
՚at-mítən! lá mórrun ՚at-xáya! hamzùməvət.| bəsvákuna +táməl māral xmàrlə,|  
léla +pərmùyə.|*

### A33 I Have Died (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) *xá-yuma +málla,| +málla +Nasrádən,| bitáyələ mən-՚ürxa.| xmàral zənčəllìjə  
+rappiyələ| ՚u-+mállal bənpála mən-xmàra.| pyásəl +támə,| lél bəkyáma.| móra  
՚ána xina-՚ádi mótlı.| ՚ina háč náša láttən ՚at-áti ՚at mókkəm mən-da-+ârra.|  
xá-naša litən| táxmən but-díyyi.| móra kémən +raxṭən ՚ázən ՚a-báxti tānən.|  
(2) bəkyámələ mən-+táməl +bərxátlə bitáyəl ՚a-báxtu mórləl báxta,| +kət̄ma  
b-rişol +jórax mítələ,| +xabra látlux?| ՚ica mítələ?| +pəllan dúcta.| ՚u-ta-anax,  
maxzənna ՚icələ,| +támələ,| móta,| xá-naša lá-tilə ՚a-kəllə,| ՚a-báxtu maxzúyol*

they are? This is gold but those of yours are rice. You want to take the gold from my hand. But go and ask my jenny. My jenny will teach you.'

### A32 When Shall I Die? (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day mullah Nasradin is sitting on a branch of wood. A person was entering and said 'Mullah, you are cutting that wood, you will fall.' He said 'Go away, mate, it is not your business to come and harass me. Leave me alone and go about your own business. This is my business. If I fall, I fall.' (2) Before the man had gone a (distance) of ten steps, the mullah falls<sup>110</sup> bump—on the ground. He gets up and runs after him. He says 'Excuse me; you knew that I would fall from the tree. But tell me so that I know when I shall die.' The man saw that the mullah's brain was rather lacking. He said to him—excuse me, excuse me—he said 'When your jenny farts three times, on that day you will die. On the day that your jenny farts three times, on that day you will die.' (3) The mullah had put a heavy load on the jenny. He had put a load, many things, on the jenny and the jenny wanted to climb upwards, and then wind came out of her, brrr, she farted. The mullah said 'That is it, I am approaching death.' (4) She went up a little more (and farted) another (fart). He lay himself down on the ground. He said 'Well, it is the time of my death.' At the third (fart), the mullah died. Some people, his friends, came and said 'Oh, what are you doing? Why are you there?' He said 'Well, I am dead. Surely you see that I am dead!' 'No' they said 'You are alive! You are speaking.' They leave him there and say 'He is an ass, he does not understand.'

### A33 I Have Died (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) One day the mullah, mullah Nasradin, comes along the road. The donkey kicks out and the mullah falls from the donkey. He remains there and does not get up. He says 'I have now died, but there is nobody to come and get me up from the ground. There is nobody to think about me.' He says 'I shall get up and run and tell my wife.' (2) He gets up from there, runs and comes and says to his wife 'Wife, oh woe,<sup>111</sup> your husband has died. Have you not had news?' 'Where has he died?' 'In such-and-such a place. Come yourself, I'll show where he is.' (3)

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<sup>110</sup> Literally: comes.

<sup>111</sup> Literally: Ash be on her head.

dúcta *kat-mítələ*. (3) mádrə +málla bərráxəl +bəryáxəl +tāma. báxta bitáyəla bəxyəla, čarçurəla. márəla *kat*-+málla həc-náša látłə. +malla +jóri mítələ. mára m-íca +dílxax +jórax mítələ? mára jánu xá-’axča xa-šíma məscina! tílə káti tunilə *kat-mítələ*, hác-naša látłə ’ázəl šákəl +tamərrə.

### A34 The Fisherman and the Princess (Nancy George, Babari, S)

(1) xá yálə! bábu myátələ. xá yámma sòta vágula. ’á márəla kátu! ádiyya xína +júra výyət. c-+ámsət ’ázət pálxət. ’á yálə bərráxələ pəlxánələ hál +berəšə. xá díuctal +matrúsəna bátə, lén +bəddà, xáčča +šulànə ’átxa. mára yəmmi! ’ána ’á +šúla lè-+amsən ’odnənnə. +báyyən ka-jáni pálxən. mára mù +báyyət ’ódət? mára +báyyən ’ázən nùyna máyyən, nùyna zábnnən. nùyna dòkən. kédamta ’ázən nùyna dókən, máyyən zabnənnun. (2) ’á bərráxələ nùyna bədvákələ. máyəla ju-mdítə zabunələ, láxxa +támma +šúla ’átxa. níxa níxlə +xártal bərráxələ xa-díuctal bəxzáyələ, xáčča +bəxdárələ, bəxzáyələ xá +amárat +rába +júrta +rámta +šúla. baķürələ ’áha mù-ilə láxxa. mára ’áha bétət málcələ. ’á jánu taxmúnələ, mára dákila ’ána láblən láxxa jú bēt-málca ’ánnə zabnənnun? búš xá móndi zòda b-yávvi káti. ó yúma xína bərráxələ nùyna šapírə +júrə bədvákələ máyəla. +támma bədráyələ kála kát ’ána, ’é-+dana móndi zábnniva ju-+alúla jári kála dáriva, ’áxnan nùyna zabúnəx. (3) bərráxələ kám do-+tarra. bəcláyələ márələ kát ’ána nùyna ’ótli ka-zabùna. xátəna. táza mən-míyya dvíkən. +rába šapírəna, basíməna, ’átxa. +tarra ptáxula xa-palàxta, +karávaš. ptáxələ, +várəla javáy, máral xá yáləl nùyna zabúnələ. brät-málca márəl +krílə ’átə javáy mélun. nùyna bəxzayəla. bəxzáyələ ’á yálə +rába šapírələ. mára cüt-yum ka-díyyan nùyna máyyə. cüt-yum! nùyna labúlələ ka-dánnə. (4) ’a-bráta márəla ka-’axúnəl tání ka-bábi ’ána ’á yálə mağgùbun. bábi bálcət yavválli ka-dáha. ’áha márələ ka-bábu bábi xáti ka-dá yálə +byáyələ kat-nùyna zabúnələ. xób mára xázzax müjjuryállə. +bəkráyuna xá yúma bëta. hamzùməna mónnu mù vádət? +shúlux mù-ilə? ’áha mára ’á nùyna ci-dókən, ci-láblən zabnənnun. (5) mára ’áxnan b-yávwax zùyzə kátxəl ’átən sél xá dəccàna mátti. ’íta dík palàxəl ’ázi nùyna dòki, máyyi fu-dəccàna, násə ’áti mən-+támə zonilun. xína lá xúš ju-+alulánə zábnnun ’ánnə. mára ’ávitun basiməl ká-mu lă. ’áha +rába +tyántət mónta vádələ. +’ávva yálə +bəddáyələ ’ína ’áyya bráta kátu +byáyələ. ’á +rába bərráxəa bitáyələ +shúla. (6) málca yávələ kátu zùyzə. ’é bráta zùyzə yávələ kátu mára xúš ka-jánu! xa-bëta +mátrəs! +júra ’átxa máx da-bétət bábi. bərráxələ +matrúsələ xá bëta +shúla. yámmu-da xa-báxta sòtəla. +’ávun-da mattúyələ

The mullah goes and lies down again there. The wife comes, weeps and shouts. She says 'The mullah has nobody. The mullah my husband has died.' He says 'From where have you learnt that your husband has died?' She says 'He himself, such a poor wretch, came and told me that he has died and that he has nobody to go and take him and bury him.'

#### A34 The Fisherman and the Princess (Nancy George, Babari, S)

(1) A boy—his father dies. He has an old mother. She says to him 'Now you have grown up. You can go and work.' The lad goes and works until evening, in a place where they build houses, I don't know, jobs like that. He says 'Mother, I cannot do this job. I want to work for myself.' She says 'What do you want to do?' He says 'I want to go and bring fish, sell fish. (I want) to catch fish. In the morning (I want) to go to catch fish and bring them back and sell them.' (2) He goes and catches fish. He brings them to the town and sells them, and the like. Gradually, later, he goes to a place and sees, he wanders around a little, he sees a building that is very big and high, and so forth. He asks 'What is this here?' They say 'This is the house of the king.' He thinks to himself and says 'How about I take them here into the house of the king and sell them? They will give me something more (for them).' The next day he goes and catches beautiful big fish and brings them. There he cries 'T—at that time when people sold something in the street they had to cry out—'We are selling fish.' (3) He goes to the door. He stands and says 'I have fish for sale. They are fresh. I have just caught them from the water. They are very nice and tasty,' and so forth. A worker, a servant, opens the door. She opens and goes inside, saying 'A lad is selling fish.' The daughter of the king says 'Invite him to come inside and bring them.' She sees the fish. She sees that he is a very handsome lad. She says 'Let him bring us fish every day.' He brings fish to them every day. (4) The girl says to her brother 'Tell my father that I love this lad. Perhaps my father will give me to him.' He says to his father 'Father, my sister loves the lad who sells fish.' 'Well,' he says 'Let's see what kind of boy he is.' They invite him home one day. They speak with him 'What do you do? What is your work?' He says 'Well, I catch fish and take them to sell them.' (5) He says 'We shall give you money. Go and open a shop. Then employ workers to go to catch fish, then bring them to the shop, so that people will buy them from there. Do not go any more to sell them in the streets.' He says 'Many thanks. Why not?' He expresses his great gratitude. The lad knows that the girl loves him. He comes and goes a lot, and so forth. (6) The king gives him money. The girl gives him money and says 'Go and build yourself a house, big like this, like the house of my father.' He goes and builds a house, and so

jávu +šúla. | 'a-yála náša cíllə mára 'a-yála mút xá-'axča muntìyyəla +šúla 'átxa. | dəccanàna=da vídələl +arpá xamšá dəccanána cíllə +táma müttəla. | hám nùyna zabúnəla, | hám +bùsra zabúnəla, | hám níxa níxa 'á bəznísu jáns bədvákəla. | +bár háda 'á bráta=da hamzúməla mənnu, | hamzúməna, | màra! 'ána +byàyən kádýyax. | jánu märəla. | 'ánnə +byàyəna +uydálə. | málca brátu yávəla ká-dáha. | bəfvárəna, | +xlıylə, | maráca m-áxxa +al-+támma, | labulələ ju-dó bëta, | bëtu. | (7) +hála háč-məndi lá və, | bəsvárəla b-rišo! kát našəkla. | 'áyya-da mára kátu! 'áha léla tabákət nùyna +al-ríšux 'icət ... cíu-məndit +báyyat 'òdət. | 'áha brátət xá P-sultán=ila. | mù mårət 'átən? | 'ána fvırən ká-dýyax. | 'át báxtət díyyivat. | hí +ámma léla 'átxa 'átən kémət 'átxa 'òdət. | mårəla xòb! bás 'ána mánnañ lè dókən. | 'átən brät-málçət, | 'ána zabnánət nùyna. | bá 'ána mánnañ lè dókən xína. | 'áha bərrəşxəla. | (8) bərrəşxəla. | +plátələ mən-béta bərrəşxəla. | 'á bráta pyášəla b-nòšo. | bitáyəla ká-bábo märəl kát 'átxa vília. | bábo märələl 'átən jnàyax vítəla. | ká-mù 'átxa mórtət? | mára 'ína 'ána p̄t-ázan mačxánnə. | 'á bráta bərrəşxəla +bəxdárəla ju-dá mdıta! kät 'áha mačxálə, | léla mačúxu. | 'ína 'áha lèlə hamzúmə xína. | cíu-məndit mónnu +bačkúrəna lèlə hamzúmə. | mára 'ána +lálən. | 'áha bətyávəla ju-jámi! bərrəşxəla b-jámi! +óra +al-dá jíbat +átra. | (9) 'áha bərrəşxəla, | xá dúcta +bəsláyəla! kát 'óya xá Ehotél. | bərrəşxəla fú do-Ehotél | kát +xa+ramša +áxla. | màyəna nùyna káto. | 'áyən nùyna +bixáləla! mára +rába basámta nùynəla. | mára 'ánnəl xa-yála láxxa ci-davákəlun başəllun. | 'ína 'a-yála +lálələ. | 'áha bəxzàyəla ká-dáha. | mára 'áha lèlə +lála. | (10) 'áni mårəna lâ! 'áha 'ánnə cmá šónna láxxa pəlxànəla, | 'á tré +tlá šónna pəlxànəla láxxa, | 'a-yála +lálələ. | mára lá lèlə +lála. | mára mårj dókax mánnañ +al-xá-'axča dávə. | 'áha +lálələ. | mára kátu hàmzəm! | mårj dvíkəna +al-xá-'axča dávə. | +ávva mára lá 'ána +lálən, | lè hamzómmən. | +xárta! dávə prákəna. | mára +ál jamíyyi 'ána ... | b-jámi titəla, | +al-de-jamíyyi 'ána mårj bədvákən! kát 'a-yála +lála lèlə. | (11) mádrə mára kátu hàmzəm! jámi p-šaklila! mára lâ! 'ána +lálən, | lá-+amsən hamzəmmən. | +xárta märəl 'ána +al-riši! kavvùlən! 'ón 'á lâ humzáməl ríšət-diyyi prùmulə. | 'ánnə=da +bəkráyəna xá məndi! léna +bəddáya 'á brátət málçəla. | +byàyəna ... xá mīr-+kázzab bitáyəla kát ríšət-daha parəmlə. | mára ríši +byàyəna parmlə. | b-hamzəmmət yán lâ? | kála lèlə váda. | +ávva bəškálələ 'o-sépa p̄-idu! mára 'áha lèlə ... mändi ... siníyyat nùynə lèlə 'áha. | 'áha ríšət brát-málçəla. | lá-+amsət parmlətta. | 'é-+dān hamzúməla xína! 'áha cíllə 'an-məndyánət +mučkəmməva! yavèna kátu! mattúyula ju-jámi! màyula

forth. His mother is an old woman. He puts her in it, and so forth. Everybody says how much the lad has been successful, and so forth. He has opened shops, four or five shops, and has established them all there. He sells fish and he also sells meat. Gradually his business takes hold well. Afterwards, the girl speaks with him, they speak. He says 'I love you.' He says it himself. They love each other. The king gives his daughter to him. They get married, a wedding, a big occasion, from here to there. He takes her into the house, his house. (7) Before anything else,<sup>112</sup> he jumps on her to kiss her. But she says to him 'This is not a plate of fish on your head where ... you can do whatever you like. This is the daughter of a ruler.' 'What are you saying? I am married to you. You are my wife.' 'Yes, but it is not proper for you to behave like this.' He says 'Fine, but I shall not stick with you. You are the daughter of a king, but I am a seller of fish. I shall not stick with you any longer.' He goes away. (8) He goes away. He leaves the house and goes away. The girl remains by herself. She comes to her father and says that such-and-such has happened. Her father says 'You were at fault. Why did you say this?' She says 'I shall go and find him.' The girl goes and looks around the town to find him, but she does not find him. But he does not talk any longer. Whatever they ask him he does not speak. He says 'I am mute.' She sits in a boat; she goes in a boat to cross to the other side of the land. (9) She goes and alights at a place where there is a hotel. She goes to the hotel in order to eat dinner. They bring her a fish. She eats the fish and says 'It is a very tasty fish.' They say 'A lad here catches them and cooks them. But this lad is mute.' She sees him and says 'He is not mute.' (10) They say 'No, he has been working for several years, he has been working here for two or three years, the lad is mute.' She says 'No, he is not mute.' They say 'We shall make a bet with you on such-and-such an amount of gold coins. He is mute.' She says to him 'Speak! They have made a bet on such-and-such an amount of gold coins.' He says 'No, I am mute, I shall not speak.' Then the gold coins run out. She says 'On my boat—she has come by boat—on my boat I bet that this lad is not mute.' (11) She says again to him 'Speak! They will take the boat.' He says 'No, I am mute, I cannot speak.' Then she says 'I promise on my head, if he does not talk, cut off my head.' They call a thing ... They do not know that she is the daughter of the king. They want ... an executioner comes to cut off her head. She says 'They want to cut off my head. Will you speak or not?' He does not make a sound. (But then) he takes the sword (of the executioner) in his hand and says 'This is not ... she is not a tray of fish. This is the head of the daughter of the king. You cannot cut it off.' When he speaks again, they give him all the things he had lost. She puts him

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112 Literally: not yet anything happening.

bitáyəna xīna.| (12) 'è-+dana mārələ| 'àna| doķánət nūynəvən.| 'átən brāt-xa-màlcəvət.| 'áyya c-+àmsax 'áxnan?| 'é-+dana +maxlēta bətlábəla mānnu| māra là xína| 'átən=da xátnət mālcəvət.| xína bərrəšxəna,| +šariýəna b-xayyutè|

### A35 The Wife who Learns How to Work

#### *Version 1: Nancy George (Babari, S)*

(1) xá-yuma mádra xá yàlə bábu myátələ| xá yámma vàyula| xína látvalə 'axúna xàta| māra yòmmi| bábi қa-díyyi mùlpələ| 'ána mujjúrra 'ánnə tòrə lablánun,| +'árra +akrila,| mú 'odíla +šúlə 'àtxa| 'áha 'ána c-+ámsən pàlxən.| yámmu-da māral +bəzdáyən là +'ámsət,| xá māndi 'óyal 'ánnə tòrə máxi císux +párčila| māra là +nijáran là-vi| pít-òdən. (2) 'áha bərrəšxələl pəlxənələl níxa níxa jarvúsələ| 'ayála +júra vâyələ| xà-yumal yámmu māral sàtva vâyələ| māra brùni| hác-məndi lətlan қa-+xàla| zúyzə=da lətlan| dákila xá mən-dánnə tòrəl parmaxlə,| bašláxlə 'odáxlə kàlyə?| 'e-+dána sàtva ci-parmíva kənyàna,| +búsra ci-bašlívələju-màšxa,| ci-mattíváləjú 'átxa kàdàla +júrə| sàtva mən-dáni c-+axlíva| māra yòmmi| 'ána è-+dana| b-xà tóra lá-'amsən pálxən.| māra 'aláha +raxmànələ| māra 'ájar 'aláha lá +rxəmlə,| mú jári 'òdax 'áxnan?| 'ána b-xá tóra là-'amsən pálxən.| қa-díyyax b-+yásrən dápnət dá tòra| 'átən=da man-jíbət +dávun jári pálxat.| māra pálxan| xób māra tóra pàrmax.| (3) tóra prámuna| jóns +tuyáta +bixáləna bašùləna| švavé xəzmané=da +bəkrayèna,| bašùləna +bixáləna| vâyəla bi-nisàna| xína +dánət pəlxənələ| māral yòmmi| 'adíyyal tóra +bəsyàrun| +al-+šúla jári 'átən=da 'átyat.| māra xína 'ána mārtən jári 'odànnə| +bəsyárolə +al-dàhal pəlxənələ| 'é-+dana b-+dárət +Šāh +Abbàs| +rába ci-+xadárva ju-mdítal xazíva mú 'òtl| mú lət| b-süysa ci-+xadárva,| b-xáčča júllə 'atíkəl қat-lə yattívalə| (4) bəxzàyələl ju-'úrxa +vàrələ,| bəxzáyələ xá ... yála jíl| 'ína xa-báxta sòtal xa-tóra +siréla cəs-+ìydaləl 'áha pəlxənələ| +bəsláyələ māral brùni| 'áha müt +šúlələ 'á báxta sóta?| +'ávva haķiyələ қátu| māra masála 'àtxəla| 'áha ... қuvvəltəva 'átxa 'odával 'ána-da mārri +ál +xábrax қuvvəltət| jári 'odàtlə 'a-+šúla| mórrə là| 'áha lèla +spáy,

in the boat and brings him back, and they come back. (12) Then he says 'I am a fisherman. You are the daughter of a king. Can we (make this work)?' Then she asks for forgiveness from him and says 'No more, you are also the son-in-law of the king.' So they go off and begin their life (together).

### A35 The Wife who Learns How to Work

#### *Version 1: Nancy George (Babari, S)*

(1) One day, again a lad—his father dies. He has a mother. He did not have a brother and sister. He says 'Mother, my father has taught me how to take the oxen to plough the field, and what they do to it and so forth. So I can work.' But his mother says 'I am afraid that you will not be able and something will happen, and these oxen will strike and rip your stomach.' He says 'No, don't worry. I shall do it.' (2) He goes and works. He gradually grows. The boy becomes an adult. One day his mother says—it is winter—she says 'My son, we have nothing to eat. How about we slaughter one of those oxen, and cook it and make *kalya*?'<sup>113</sup> At that time in winter they used to slaughter cattle, cook the meat in oil and put it in big jars like this. In winter they would eat this. He says 'Mother, I then shall not be able to work with one ox.' She says 'God is merciful.' He says 'If God is not merciful, what should we do? I cannot work with one ox. I shall tie you by the side of this ox and you must work in place of the other one.' She says 'I shall work.' 'Well,' he said 'We shall slaughter the ox.' (3) They slaughter the ox. They cook and eat good grilled meat. They invite their neighbours and their relatives, they cook and eat. Spring comes. It is the time of work. He says 'Mother, I am now tying up the ox. You also must come to work.' She said 'I have said I must do it.' He ties her onto it and works (in the field). At that time, during the reign of Shah Abbas, he often used to travel around the town to see what was happening.<sup>114</sup> He would travel around on a horse, in some old clothes, so that people would not recognize him. (4) He sees, passes on the road and sees that a young man has tied together an old woman and an ox and he is working. He dismounts and says 'My son, what is this business with this old woman?' He tells him and says 'This is the story. She had promised to do this and I said 'You have given your word'<sup>115</sup> and you must do this job.' He said 'No, this is not good, this situation.' He gives some gold coins to him and says 'Go and buy an

<sup>113</sup> preserved roasted meat.

<sup>114</sup> Literally: what there is what there is not.

<sup>115</sup> Literally: You have promised by your word.

'a-+šúla.| xáčča dávə yávələ ķátu mára 'ázət xa-tóra zònət̄ màyyət̄.| 'a-báxta  
 xína là mapləxxátt̄a.| xób pús b-šeṇa,| 'ávət̄ basıma,| bərrə́xələ.| (5) +bár háda 'á  
 taxmùnələl̄ málca 'átvələ xa-bràt̄a| hác mändi lè-odava.| c-+axláva ci-damxàva.|  
 hác +šúla lè-odava.| málca mòrrə 'á yála honána yàlələ.| 'ána bəxšávən brátan  
 yavváxla ķa-dàha.| 'áha 'a-bráta mayyíla +'al-ùrxa.| mádrə bərrə́xələl̄ xá-yuma  
 mára 'átən +hála lèt̄ fvíra?| mára là.| mára 'ána xa-bràta 'átl̄i.| +spày brátəl̄a.|  
 'áyya b-yavvánna ķátux.| +xlúyla-da 'ána jàni p̄t̄-odánnə ķáto.| +'ávva mára 'ána  
 lətl̄i xá-axča zúyzəl̄ ķat'-ána +ámsən jörən.| mára 'ána b-+hayyərrənnux.| +xlúyla  
 p̄t̄-odánnə,| cílla-mändi 'ána p̄t̄-odən.| bráti yavvánna ķátux.| mára +rába +spày.|  
 'á bəškála labùlolə,| bráta bəxzàyola.| mára mú xína +spày=la.| (6) bəjvàroləl̄  
 +xlúyla vàdəna.| bəškálolə màyolə,| hác-mändi lətl̄lun 'ánnəfū-béta.| mára  
 yàmmi! 'áha! bráta 'ána miyyon! fvíron.| 'adíyya! 'á 'án xa-+šúla vədla,| yáv-  
 vat ķátu xá mändi +axla.| 'án là vədla,| lá yávvat hác mändi ķáto +'áxlal̄ hál̄  
 'ána 'átən.| mára májjət dák c-óya 'á +šúla 'odánnə?| mára là 'ána märri 'átxəla  
 'átxəla.| +xábrət̄ díyyi 'áhələ.| 'á mára +rába +spày.| (7) 'áha bərrə́xələl̄ mádrə  
 pəlxànəl̄.| xína málca yúvvələ ķátu zúyzəl̄ +šúlu +spày=lə xína.| xíšələ +'al-dášta  
 pəlxànəl̄,| bitàyələ.| +baķúrələ yàmmi! 'á bráta xá +šúla vəttəla yan-lá?| márra  
 dùz tanyánnux| dməxtəla hal-+adíyya.| hác-mändi lèla vóttə.| mårələ ķáto! hál-ət̄  
 lá pàlxat̄| hác-mändi là-+amsat̄ +'áxlat̄ 'át ju-da-béta.| 'ánnə mattúyəna xúrrac  
 +bixáləna| ķa-dáyən lèna yáva.| 'áha bədmáxəla cpənta.| 'ó-yuma xína bitàyələl̄  
 māra! yàmmi,| 'á bráta plàxtəla yan-lá?| mára híl̄ 'ána tanúyra +šórtənva 'ánnə  
 xáčča kèsə +ruppila fu-tanúyra.| mòrrə xáčča láxma mé yàvvax ķa-dá.| xa-p̄órça  
 xúrrac dáryəna ķáto| xa-p̄órça-da láxma,| 'áxči 'á p̄t̄-+axlátla,| là zóda. (8) níxa  
 níxa 'á bəlyàpəla.| +šúlət̄ bëta vádəla.| cílla mändi vàdəla.| xína vítəla m-áxxa  
 +'al-+támma! 'á málca mára ķa-báxtu| 'áxnan 'é brátan yuvválan xəšləl̄ +xábra  
 là vilálan mónnə.| xa-yúma 'ázax xázzax 'áha dàxila.| 'é mádrə yámma bábət̄  
 bráta bitàyəna| b-xáčča júllə 'atiķəl̄ t-lá +yálli 'ánnə málcələ 'áha.| 'ánnə=da +rába  
 xədyəna| +xábra yúvvəna ķaté ķát yámma bábət̄ dá bráta bitàyəna xazzila.| (9)  
 'ánnə xa-dárya labúləna pašcàšə ķáto,| +šúlə labúləna.| 'ánnə=da +húdrəna ķaté  
 +xa-+rámša| ķat-màtti.| xáčča +xoravátu=da +ķeryélə tíyyəna tívənal̄ +xa-+rámša  
 +bixáləna.| ķát +'áxlil̄ 'e-bráta bitàyəla brät-málca ķa-bábo mára bábil̄ 'áha  
 xašültəla,| 'áx dàha,| 'áha túyma xšüllə.| drítola +támma.| 'átxa jári 'òdət̄ 'á túyma

ox and bring it back. Do not make this woman work anymore.' 'Well, goodbye and thank you.' He goes off. (5) After that he thinks. The king had a daughter who did nothing. She ate and slept. She did not work. The king said 'This lad is a clever lad. I think we shall give our daughter to him. He will bring the girl to her senses.'<sup>116</sup> He goes and says one day 'Are you not yet married?' He says 'No.' He says 'I have a daughter. I shall give her to you. I shall arrange the wedding for her.' He says 'I do not have so much money that I can get married.' He says 'I shall help you. I shall arrange the wedding, I shall do everything. I shall give my daughter to you.' He says 'Very good.' He takes and brings her. He sees her. He says 'Well, she is good.' (6) He marries her and they hold a wedding. He takes her and brings her back. He brings her back, but they have nothing in the house. He says 'Mother, I have brought this girl and married her. Now, if she does a job, give her something to eat. If she does not do it, do not give her anything to eat until I come back.' She says 'Really, how can I do this?' He says 'No, I have said that it is like this. This is my command.' She says 'Very good.' (7) He again goes to work. The king has given him money and his work is good. He has gone to the field to work and comes back. He asks 'Mother, has this girl done a job or not?' She said 'I'll tell you the truth, she has slept until now. She has not done anything.' He says to her 'So long as you do not work, you cannot eat anything in the house.' They lay food and eat, but do not give to her. She goes to sleep hungry. The next day he comes back and says 'Mother, has the girl worked or not?' She says 'Yes, I had lit the oven and she threw a few of these logs into the oven.' He said 'Bring a little bread for us to give to her.' (When) they have laid for her a tiny amount<sup>117</sup> of food and a tiny piece of bread, (he said) 'You will eat only this, no more.' (8) Gradually she learns. She does the housework. She does everything. After some time,<sup>118</sup> the king says to his wife 'We gave away that daughter of ours and she went away, but we have not had word from her. One day let's go and see how she is.' So, the mother and father of the girl come in some old clothes so they do not know that he is the king. They are very pleased. They have given them the news that the mother and father of the girl are coming to see her. (9) They bring a load of gifts for her, and take things. They have prepared for them dinner, so they can serve it (to them). He has also invited some of his friends and they have come and are sitting eating dinner. In order that they (the parents) can eat, the girl, the daughter of the king, comes to her father and says 'Father, this is a pestle, like this one<sup>119</sup> pound this garlic.' She has put it out there. 'You must

<sup>116</sup> Literally: to the road.

<sup>117</sup> Literally: a crumb.

<sup>118</sup> Literally: It has become from here to there.

<sup>119</sup> The speaker points to an object in front of her.

xašlátla. mára bába! 'á mút +šùlələ 'ána-odən?! mára jári 'odàtlə 'áha. +čára lát. ka-yómmo=da máyəla cmá +lavásə láxma barùyzə. mára 'ánnə=da xáčxa míyya +máryəs +allé! máccasluñ kát ràcxil' 'ánnə +xa-+rámša +'áxlax. (10) mára ka-mú 'áxnan 'á +šúla ódax? mára 'áha lélə ò béta. láxxa xá náša lá páləx! lè-+aməs +'áxəl. +yúxsə xúrrac lè yárvi ƙatóxun +axlítun. málca +ávva bəxšáluləl báxtu-da láxma marcùxula. mattíyəna +xa-+rámša +bixáləna. málca mára ka-do-yàla! básmə jánux! 'áxnan cmá šánnə lá +máslan 'áha malpàxvala. 'áha dúla cíllə 'á béta šapíra! cíllə mändi +spày. 'áha +rába xàdyal xá-axča zúyza +palùtələl yávələ dàvə ƙátu. mára cí-mändit +báyyət ódət vùd.

### *Version 2: Yulia Davudi (+ Hassar + Baba-canja, N)*

(11) xá-yuma xa-bráta! mən-madrásəl bálcət t-avívala 'áštassár šánnəl bərráxşəna +ṭalbila! ka-brunè. bába yámmət bráta mārəna! kát hác mändi lélə +bəddá, hác mändi, lá bašlələ, lá júlla msàyəla, lá xyàpta, lá mséta, lá cnàšta. hác mändi lélə +bəddá brátan. müjjur mafvərràxla? māra! brúnar +byàyols! 'áxnan-da +byáyox. 'ax-xa-bráta b-xamàxla. 'áxtun hällunla! lè-aviloxun +šúla. (12) Pbəl'axarè<sup>P</sup> cíl-+danta bərráxşəna bitàyəna, bərráxşəna bitàyəna, ƙabúlona kat-braté yavvila. mára cí-mändit 'oyàni! b-kdálət diyyòxun. 'áxnan mārəx! břatan hác-mändi-lélə +bəddá. +hála brāt-madrásəla. 'áxci +bəddáyəla +kréta ctìtyta. (13) labúlona bëta. xá-yuma bəxzàyəla! 'ína díuna ƙimə, +xíla, šátyə, 'áyya pásṭəla cpəntə. yúmət d-tré hàda, yúmət d-+tlá hàda. hal-t-íla bəkyàma! 'ína 'ánnə cíllə +xíla šátyə. +joro márəl ƙàto, yàla, māra! ƙam-átxa rányax zurdànnələ? māra! cpəntən. dàx cpəntət? xá-xča mändi ju-bëta! mára 'ána cpəntən. 'ána lén lápta b-nóši +àxlan, hál bəkyámən-da ƙat-+àxlan, cíllə vâyəna +xíla. láxma lát ƙay. (14) yàla márəl, +joro, māra! ƙédamta ƙat-bəkyámət, ƙú xáčxa dàkkə, dàkkə drí ju-tanùyra, 'ánnə dáyķə máyķə kát mən-+paṭùxa, mən-càmrəl ci-tanílun dàkkə. dàkkə drí ju-tanùyra! 'ádi t-+áxlat +ṭamta. +dán +cavútra vâyəla! ƙu-xáčxa cnùš, ƙárkəz, t-+áxlat cavàtra. +bërašə ƙat-vâyəla, xáčxa mánə +xàlləl t-+áxlat +xa-+rámša. láxxa ju-da-béta cíl-xa

do like this to pound the garlic.' He said 'What kind of job is this for me to do?!" She says 'You must do this. There is no way out.' For her mother she brings a few dry flat-breads. She says 'Sprinkle some water over these and cover them so that they become soft, so that we can eat them for dinner.' (10) They said 'Why should we do this work?' She says 'This is not the same house (as I grew up in). Here if a man does not work, he will not be able to eat. (You must work) otherwise they will not give you food to eat.' The king pounds that (garlic) and his wife softens the bread. They lay dinner and eat. The king says to the young man 'Well done! Well done! We have not managed for many years to teach her. Now look at all this, this beautiful house, everything very good.' He (the king) is very happy and takes out a lot of money and gives gold coins to him. He says 'Do whatever you want to do.'

***Version 2: Yulia Davudi (+ Hassar + Baba-canja, N)***

(11) One day (some people) go and ask for the hand of a school-girl, perhaps sixteen years old, for their son. The mother and father of the girl say 'She knows nothing, nothing, she does not cook, she does not wash clothes, (she does not know anything about) bathing, washing laundry, sweeping. Our daughter knows nothing. How can we give her in marriage?' They say 'Our son wants her and we also want her. We shall look after her like a daughter. Give her (to us) and you need not worry.' (12) In the end, they (the parents of the suitor) go back and forth, back and forth, and they (the parents of the girl) agree to give their daughter (in marriage). They say 'Whatever happens is your responsibility.'<sup>120</sup> We say that our daughter knows nothing. She is still a school-girl. She only knows reading and writing.' (13) They take her home. One day she sees that they have got up, eaten and drunk, but she has remained hungry. The second day the same, the third day the same. By the time she gets up (she sees) that they have all eaten and drunk. Her husband, the young man, says to her 'Why has your colour become so pale?' She says 'I am hungry.' 'Why are you hungry? There are so many things in the house!' She says 'I am hungry. I am not used to eating by myself, but before I get up to eat everybody has eaten. There is no food for me.' (14) The young man, her husband, says 'When you get up in tomorrow morning, go and put some little pellets of dung (*dəkkā*) in the oven—those small pieces of dung, of droppings, are called *dəkkā*. Put pellets of dung in the oven, then you shall eat breakfast. When lunchtime comes, go and sweep, clear up, and you shall eat lunch. When evening comes, wash some dishes, and you shall eat dinner. Here in this house everybody must work. When you do not work, you

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120 Literally: is on your neck.

náša jári pàlx. | +é-+dān lá pàlxat, lè +áxlat. | (15) bráta móriša jáldə bəkyàməla. | xáčxa dákka bədráyəla ju-tanúyra. | bəxzàyəla | +tám̄ta yuvvóllun káto. | ó-yuma xína bəkyáməla móriša jáldə. | mən-kam=t 'áni kékmi bəkyáma bəxyàpəla | 'u-miyya pyášəna káto. | kám̄ta miyya lè pešva káto. | +cavútra bəkyàməla, | tammùzəla, | bəcnàša, | karķuzəla. | 'u-+xa-+rám̄ša | mána čámčə +xállulla. | 'a-bráta níxa níxa lópla +al-dánnə kət-jarə-pálxa mənnəl cílla pəlxànəl 'áy-da pàlx. | 'áyya +xəlla, | štīla, | +rába +rahət víla. | (16) 'arþí yumáne +várəna. | báxta | ka-+jöro márəla | ku-ázáx xázzax 'e-brátan mù-vila b-ríšo. | ku-ázáx xázzax 'e-brátan mù-tila b-ríšo. | 'ánnə 'arþí yumáne xáštəla. | bálcət məttəla, | pəštəla, | +k̄ilona. | léx +bəddá mú-tila b-ríšo, | 'ázax. | (17) bərráxşəna ju-béta +várəna. | har-ju-béta ju-+vartè, | bráta máyəla xáčha tuyma, | mattúyəla kam-bábol kam-yəmmo. | mára škùlun | +ávva kàlpulla. | 'ən-là, | lè-+axlitun láxma, | lé yarvíloxun láxma. | kàlpulla! | kàlpulla! | plúxun! | 'ánnə xa-ka-do-xína māral 'a-xítá mùlpona. | 'a-xítá mùlpona. | cút la-pàlx | lé +'axəl.

### A36 A Cure for a Husband's Madness (Nancy George, Babari, S)

(1) xá yàla | yámmu myàtəla | 'ína +rába šapíra yála výyəla. | yámmu myàtəla, | bábu pyášəla. | 'ú yàla | bábu márəla 'ána jári málpən kátx | 'átən +ámsət pàlxət. | xá náša lótlux 'átən. | labúlula mənnu | cílla dúcta +šùlə | maplùxula. | pəlxànəla, | hár 'ánnəl +súlət +zrùta, | +árra +bəkkàrona, | +xáttə bədrayəna, | jarvùsəna, | +bəxzadèna, | mán dànnə məndyána. (2) xá-yuma jarvùsəla. | bába-da myátəla. | 'á yàla | xáčxa švàvə 'étlə. | xá bráta 'étlun šámmo Suríyya. | 'ánnə ka-dá yála xáčxa +hayyùrəna. | cút +dána xá-məndi báshli màyyi kátu. | mára kátu | 'átən léša +tárəslə | ta-làxxal 'ána bašlánna ju-tanúyra kátx. | +hayyùrəna ka-da-yála, | b-nòšulə, | švàvəla. | (3) xá-yuma | ka-Suríyya bəxzàyəla. | māral Suríyya | +bəddàyət | 'ána +rába b-nòšəvənən. | +báyyən jörən. | mí bəxšàvat? | xá bráta mən-dánnə +xavəryátax +šùlə káti màxziyyat? | pàh! | mára dáx lótlux xàtər | 'átxa +xlúyla p̄t-ódax kátx. | P̄xolāsè<sup>pl</sup> | 'átən táni xá bráta | 'ána matpək̄kánna biyyux | mən-dánnə +xavəryáti. | mára tanənnax. | (4) +xárta mádrə bəxzàyula. | bəxzáyəna +uydalə. | švàvəna ju-xa-+alúla. | māral mù víla? | masálət jvárux mù víla? | mārrə bába 'ána tuxmənni | 'áxtun ka-díyyi +rába +huyyàrrətun. | +spáy švàvətun. | 'án 'àt

do not eat.' (15) The girl gets up early in the morning. She puts some pellets of dung in the oven. She sees that they gave her breakfast. The next day she gets up early. Before they get up, she gets up and she washes herself and water is left for her. Previously water was not left for her. At lunchtime, she gets up, she cleans, she sweeps, she clears up. At dinnertime she washes the dishes and spoons. The girl gradually learnt about the jobs that she had to do with them, all the jobs that she also had to do. She ate, she drank and became very content. (16) Forty days pass. The wife says to her husband 'Let's go and see what has become of that daughter of ours. Let's go and see what has happened to that daughter of ours. She went away forty days ago. Perhaps she has died, or is alive, or they have killed her. We do not know what has happened to her. Let's go.' (17) They go and enter the house. As soon as they enter the house, the girl brings some garlic and puts it in front of her father and mother. She says 'Take this and peel it. If not, you will not eat any food. They will not give you food. Peel it! Peel it!' They say to one another 'They have taught her.'<sup>121</sup> They have taught her. Whoever does not work does not eat.'

### A36 A Cure for a Husband's Madness (Nancy George, Babari, S)

(1) A boy—his mother dies, but he has become a very handsome boy. His mother dies, his father remains alive. The father of this boy says 'I must teach you so you can work. You do not have anybody.' He takes him with him to every place, and so forth, and makes him work. He works (doing) farming jobs, they plough the land, they plant wheat and they grow and they harvest it—such things as these. (2) One day he grows up. Also his father dies. This boy has some neighbours. They have a daughter whose name is Suriyya. They help this boy a little—every time they cook something, they bring it to him. They say 'Make the dough, come here and I shall bake it in the oven for you'—they help this boy. He is alone, he is a neighbour. (3) One day he sees Suriyya. He says 'Suriyya, you know that I am very lonely. I want to marry. What do you think? Can you find for me a girl from among your friends?' 'Oh,' she says 'with pleasure. We shall arrange such a wedding for you. In short, you tell me which girl and I shall introduce her to you, from among my friends.' He said 'I shall tell you.' (4) Afterwards she sees him again. They see each other. They are neighbours in a road. She says 'What has happened? What has happened with regard to your marriage?' He said 'Well I have thought, you have helped me a lot. You are good

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<sup>121</sup> Literally: this other one (i.e. the person not addressed).

₁ka-díyyi jórat,| ́ána +rába p-xàdən.| ́áyya màra| lèn +bəddá.| màra là| tāni  
 káti| jorátli yán là?| màra ́ána là+amsan táyan ₁ka-díyyux.| ́át jári ́átət  
 xá-yuma bëta| mən-yəmmi hamzámmət,| mən-bàbi hamzámmət. xázzan ́ani  
 mù p-táni.| ́ána là+amsan táyan ₁ka-díyyux| hí yan-lá.| màra +rába +spày p̄t-  
 àtən. (5) xá-yuma bərrəsxələ| +hàl dàxivət?| ́Illyələ šómmul| ́Illyya dàxivət?  
 cépux dák mənnux?| màra hàmmən| týyən mənnòxun| hamzàmmən| xázzən  
 b-₁kablitunli| xa-ríja ́ávən ₁katòxun.| màra| là| ́átən| dàx ríja p̄t-ávət?!| ́átən  
 jànuç jáns +šúla ́átlux.| béta xayyùyta ́átlux.| mút ríja! màra ₁kablunli ́ávən ríja  
 ₁katòxun.| bá ́ánnə nášə mātal pyášənəl ́á mù-ila masála.| ́ina +p̄armúyəna ₁kát  
 masála mù-ila.| màra ́ána brátət diyyóxun mağgùbon.| ́ána-da b-nòšəvənən| həč-  
 náša lətli.| +báyyən jorənnə.| ́án-da màra| +rába +spày. ́axnan=da xáčča mən-  
 nášan jári hamzàmməx,| mən-xəzmànan +šúla.| b-yavvàxlux +xábra.| yúmət  
 xošíba ́átət ləxxa,| tanàxlux. (6) yúmət xošíba bərrəsxələ.| ́ánnə cùllə naše  
 +jumména týyəna +tàmma.| +rázi vâyəna bráta yarvíla ₁kátu.| +xulásə +xliyəla  
 vádənəl bərrəsxəna.| ́á yála +rába +spày| ₁ka-dá bráta +rába +byàyalə,| ́úyya  
 bráta=da.| ́áha mən-+šúla bitàyələ| mýya màyələ| ́ida pátu +xallàlla,| ́áklu  
 +xallàllun,| xá xúrrac +házər=ila.| ́áhal ci-dávək nùynə máyyə béta.| ́é +dána  
 ́átxa məndyána c-+áxliva.| màyələ| ́á| xá dána ᴱbàbyᴱ vayéls| xa-brùna.| ́a-  
 yála bəxzàyələ| ́á Suríyya xína máx ₁kámta lèla ₁ka-dáha.| ́á har-véla ́o-yála  
 škóltu ju-xpâkol xína but+jóra +rába lèla taxmúna.| ́á=da bəcràbələ b-dá-  
 məndi.| ́a-+šúla lèt váttu.| +ávva ₁ká-mu lèt váttu?| mən-dáni məndyána. (7)  
 ́áha múyyələ nùynəl mírələ ́ánnə +bérašə bašlàtlun,| ₁kúdmə ́ánnə bašlàtlun,  
 ́ána muyyè.| ₁kédámta bəkyàmələl ́áha bašulèla.| ́áha bəškála čamcüməls| ́ánnə  
 mút nùynəna bušəltət?| ́ánnə lè-avi +xála.| mxayələ ₁káto.| +ajjúzola.| ́á ₁kála  
 lèla váda.| ́o-yúma xína mádrə bərrəsxələ,| tmánya dána nùynə múyyən.| ́ánnəl  
 bašlàtlun.| ́átxa bašlàtlun| ́odátlun lén-+bəddə +tuyàtə múdi.| ́á=da bəškáləla  
 tré-dána ju-miyya bašuléla mattuyéla +tàmma.| tré dánəl tuyàtə vadéla.| tré  
 dánə ju-môšxa ₁kaluyèla.| tré dánə=da bəšva₁kéla nàya.| màra mən-nàfəstanl  
 mərrə ́ána jáni bašlənnun| ́ána táyan dùna xína.| (8) ₁kámta ́án=ət ju-miyya  
 bušəltéla mayéla yavèla ₁kátu.| čamcüməls,| màra ́ánnəl nùynə=da ju-miyya ci-  
 bašlìlun| ́ánnə lèna basíməl| ₁ká-mu lét ́ánnə +tuyàtə vətté?| mayéla màra|  
 ́ánnə=da +tuyàtə vətté.| ́áni=da +bixàla| màra ́ánnə dùna ₁kídəna.| ́oyátva

neighbours. If you marry me, I shall be very happy.' She says 'I do not know.' He says 'No, tell me, will you marry me or not?' She says 'I cannot tell you. You must come one day to the house and speak with my mother, speak with my father. Let me see what they say. I cannot tell you yes or no.' He says 'Very well, I shall come.' (5) One day he goes (to their home). 'Ah, how are you?'—His name is Iliyya—'Iliyya, how are you? How are things with you?' He says 'To be honest,<sup>122</sup> I have come to speak with you to see whether you will accept me to be a servant for you.' They say 'No, how can you be a servant! You yourself have a good job. You have a house and livelihood. What do you mean "servant!"' He says 'Accept me to be a servant for you.' The people are perplexed as to what the story is. But then they understand what the story is. He says 'I love your daughter. I am on my own. I have nobody. I want to marry her.' They say 'Very well. We must talk a little with our family and relatives and so forth. We shall let you know. Come here on Sunday and we shall tell you.' (6) On Sunday he goes. They have gathered all their family and they have come there. They agree that they can give the girl to him. In short, they hold a wedding and go. The young man is very good to the girl and loves her a lot, and the girl (loves him) too. When he comes back from work, she brings water for him to wash his hands and face and to wash his feet, and some food is ready. He catches fish and brings them home. At that time they used to eat such things. He brings them and, oh, they have a baby, a son. The young man notices that Suriyya is not (behaving) towards him as before. She is constantly carrying the child in her bosom and is no longer caring<sup>123</sup> much for the husband. He becomes angry about this (saying) 'You have not done this job. Why have you not done that?' things such as this. (7) He has brought fish and has said 'In the evening cook these and tomorrow cook these, I have brought them.' In the morning she gets up and cooks them. He takes them and throws them away 'What fish are these that you have cooked?! They are inedible.' He beats her and hurts her. She does not complain. The next day he again goes (and says) 'I have brought eight fish. Cook them. Cook them like this, make them, I don't know what, grilled kebabs.' She takes two of them and cooks them in water and puts them aside. She grills two of them. She fries two in oil. She leaves two raw. She says '(If) suddenly he says "I myself shall cook them," I shall say "Well here they are."' (8) First she brings those that she has cooked in water and gives them to him. He throws them away. He says 'Fish that one cooks in water are not tasty. Why have you not grilled them?' She brings them and says 'I have grilled these.' He eats them and says 'These are burnt! You

<sup>122</sup> Literally: believe (imperative).

<sup>123</sup> Literally: thinking.

ju-mòšxa ķulité. | 'án xínə mayèla| mára 'ánnə ju-mòšxa ķulitéñ. | +xúl mən-dànnə. |  
 'á 'aslán ķa-mú 'ánnə bušlèlax 'átən? | 'ána jáni b-bašlènvalun, | 'át lét +bašúrə  
 bašlat. | márra 'ánnə-da nàyəna. | +báyyət jánux bašlètlun, | ķu-šķúl bašəllun. | (9)  
 māra! 'át +báyyət bašlètlun, | šķúl bašəllun. | ķá-mu clítət xá-'axča +bár ķdálí? |  
 'á +xúlla, | +'ávva +xúlla. | +'ávva lèla, | +'ávvələ. | bálcət 'ána lè +báyyənva nūyñə  
 +axlónva. | bás mù +báyyət +áxlət? | ju-dá +dána 'a-yála súra xáčxa +táma šəxta  
 vádəla. | 'áha-da xá sála maxpíyəla +'állu. | mára +hála xázzax 'á mən-+jóri +hála  
 hamzùməx. | +xárta 'áni p-tamməzzànnun. | mára bálcət 'ána +bayyənva 'éxra  
 +axlónva. | māral +'á +rába +spáy. | 'ánnə-da! ʂkúl +xúl. | 'é +dána bəkyàməl ķa-  
 dáha ... +rába mxàyolə xáčxa pyásəla +ķatjälla. | (10) 'áha mára ķatul 'átxa là  
 vúd. | 'áxnanjvìrəx. | xá-dana-da brùna 'átlan. | mádrə yál-súrə p̄t-avìlan. | 'át +rába  
 +spáy nášətva hal-+adíyya. | 'adíyya mū vítəla ķat-+átxa vádət? | cí-məndit 'át tánət  
 'ána p̄t-òdan. | 'ína honàna ví, | +yùxsə là xásvət 'ádi 'ána ķála lén vádal cí-  
 məndit vádət. | xá yúma b-daryànnux! ķát cúlla +álma 'áta tānə! 'á náša šidànəla. |  
 p-šaddənnànnux. | 'át ķa-díyyi p-šaddənnat? mxáyolə mādrəl mára xà-ilə xób. |  
 ķála lè-+ódan 'ána. | +xulásə 'áha +várəla +beràšəl mārələ ķáto 'ána bərrášxən  
 dàmxən! +rába šuršíyyən! xa-mándi-da látva 'ána +axlónva. | ķá-mu látva? xá-  
 'axča nūyñə 'ána bušłli. | márrux là! lèt +bašúrə hác móndi 'ódat. | (11) kēdamta  
 'ána p̄t-àzən! +al-+šüla. | 'átən +támta ķáti máyyat +támə. | 'ána ju-dášta p̄t-+áxlən  
 +támta. | mára +al-+ayni. | 'íca bət-pálxət? | +támə 'é +dána! látva nómur +ál  
 bətvátəl +ál mulcàna mattíva. | nišánka nómur FáddressE látva. | ci-tanıva cár-  
 mət bába! masálan mən-babé xa-cármə pišələl +'ávun-ilə. | yá cármat nanùnta! yá  
 cármat +bár márzət nàra, | cármat dápñət lén-+bəddə 'íca! 'átxa šəmma ci-yàvvi. |  
 mára 'é +árrət márzət nàra! 'ána bərrášxən 'áyən cùtan 'ódnna, | pálxən +támə. |  
 mára mu-p̄t-àvə, | kēdamta 'ána máyyan +támta ķátux. | (12) kēdamta bəkyàməla!  
 bəxzáyəla 'áha jáns dmíxəl +təlyəla. | hí nūyñə-da mūyyələl márra 'ánnə nūyñə lá  
 bašlètlun! 'ána jáni p̄t-átnə bašlènnun. | hì, | +rába +spáy. | +bérašə nūyñə mūyyələ.  
 'áyya šķälla nūyñə, | muttéla ju-xá ķalta. | kēdamta móriša xášla 'é dúcta. | šķälla  
 xá-məndi +ķirála. | tré-danə nūyñə làxxa muttília, | tré-danə +támma +támma  
 'átxa. | 'úpra dríla 'allə! lá mubyànnun. | 'á xášla +šüla. | kēdamta! 'áyən-za ķamla.  
 támta +házər vidàla. | jájəc, +çárra müttilla jàva, | jəllálə purziyyəla šapárta,

should have fried them in oil.' She brings the others saying 'I have fried these in oil. Eat some of these.' 'Oh, why did you cook them at all? I myself would have cooked them. You are not able to cook.' She said 'These are raw. If you want yourself to cook them, here take them and cook them.' (9) She says 'If you want to cook them, take them and cook them.' 'Why are you nagging me so much?<sup>124</sup> Eat this! Eat that! It is not this, it is that. Maybe I did not want to eat fish.' 'Then what do you want to eat?' At this time the baby defecates a little. She covers it with a basket. She says 'Well, now I am still speaking with my husband. I shall clean this later.' He says 'Perhaps I wanted to eat shit.' She says 'Oh, very well. Here it is, take and eat.' At that point he gets up and beats her soundly and almost kills her. (10) She says to him 'Do not do this. We are married. We have a son. We shall have children again. You were a very good man until now. What has happened now that you are doing this? Whatever you say I shall do. But be sensible. Otherwise do not think that I will not speak out whatever you do. One day I shall show you up such that everybody comes and says "This man is mad." I will drive you mad.' 'You will drive me mad?' He beats her again. She says 'Well, it is all the same.<sup>125</sup> I shall keep quiet.' In short, when evening comes, he says to her 'I am going to sleep. I am very tired and moreover there was nothing to eat.' 'Why was there not? I cooked you so many fish, but you said "No, you are unable to do anything."' (11) 'In the morning I shall go to work. Bring breakfast to me there. I shall eat breakfast in the field.' She says 'With pleasure. Where will you work?' There at that time there were no numbers that they put on houses or properties, there was no sign, numbers, address. They would say 'father's vineyard,' for example (when) a vineyard has remained from their father, it (its name) is that, or grandmother's vineyard, or the vineyard behind the bank of the river, the vineyard by the side of I do not know where. They would give names in this way. He says 'The field by the river bank, I am going to plough it and work there.' She says 'No problem.<sup>126</sup> In the morning I shall bring breakfast to you.' (12) In the morning she gets up and sees that he is sound asleep, in a slumber. Oh yes, he brought fish. He said 'Do not cook these fish, I myself will come and cook them.' 'Yes, very good.' In the evening he brought the fish. She took the fish and put them in a basket. Early in the morning she went to that place. She took something and dug (the place). She put two fish here, two there and there, like that. She put soil on them and they could not be seen. He went to work. In the morning she got up and prepared the breakfast. She put *jajøc*

<sup>124</sup> Literally: Why are you standing so much behind my neck?

<sup>125</sup> Literally: It is one.

<sup>126</sup> Literally: What will it be?

muttéla ju-xá +yaləxta. | xóšla +támə márra dún +ksamta tuyyítən kàtux| yátvax  
 m-+úydalə +àxlax. | +xállun prèkłun. | (13) mórrə +bəddáyət mù-iləl | 'ána | é-dān | á  
 dúcta cùtan mxáyonva| cmá nùynə +plátlun m-áxxa. | 'áslan 'ána ju-xáyyi lénva  
 xázya nùynə mən-+àrra +pál̄ti. | 'áyya māral ka-mù? | kám lét xàzya? | 'ána bābi  
 'aláha munyóxxət bābi | e-+dánət lén-+bəddə savúni | e-+dánət c-azálva ptána  
 c-avàdva, | nùynə ju-+àrra ci-+pál̄tiva, | ci-mayyíva bëta. | mäjjət märət? | mára  
 hìl hám̄mən māral | 'ína 'ána lénva +shámya xá-axča məndi, | lén-xàzya. | xób lèt  
 xázya, | 'ána xzítən. | (14) mórrəl škúl 'ánnə nùynəl lábel bášəllun. | bašlāttun hal  
 'ána 'átən. | ba-át mórrux 'ána jàni b-básłən. | xób 'údyu bášəllun jánax. | +rába  
 +spày. | škálla 'ánnə nùynəl škálla lublèla | ruppéla ju-šakíta | xášlun 'áni. | 'ádi +jóra  
 tilə. | mórrə cëna 'an-núyna? müt nùynə? | 'án-t 'ána mən-ju-+àrra +pul̄ténva. | 'ém  
 +àrra? | +árrət märzət nàra. | 'ína 'át mórrax | é-+dān sél bitáyəla | 'ánnə nùynə  
 sùrəl sél mayèla míyya mayéna +al-márza. | 'íta 'ánnə bərrášxəna ju-'úpral ju-  
 +tínə jarvùsəna, | vâyəna nùynə. | 'át jánax mórrax | 'an-núyna 'adíyya jürvàssəva  
 'ána tuyyéli. | mára xá-axča məndi 'ána lén mórtəl lén-da xzítə nùynə. | xá-  
 axča mόndi ləttən. | 'á mxáyol. | bəsyákəla +al-járəl +hàvar vádəla. | mára témun. |  
 +jóri shuddànnələ. | (15) násə švávə +bajmàyəna, | mən-máta bitáyəna. | māral ka-  
 mú mxáyot 'á bráta? | mū +byàyət mórnno? | māral 'átxa víla. | 'ána xášli ptána  
 'odánvala. | +árra +bár märzət nàra xa-+àrra 'átlı. | 'áyən ptána vàdonva, | mən-  
 ju-+àrra +plátlun cmá-danə +əsrá-danə nùynə. | 'ána tuyyéli bëta | märri ka-  
 dá kátkúdmə bašlātlun. | 'áha mórra 'áha mára lèla bušalté. | 'áni násə mórrun  
 mən-ju-+àrra nùynə +plítəna? | hì. | mórrun m-ju-+àrra nùynə lè +pál̄ti. | 'átən ...  
 hónux mən-ýda yùvvut. | lâ! | 'áyya jáno mórra savúni-da | é-+dān 'azálva +àrra  
 xapərvələ, | nùynə ci-+pál̄tiva m-jávo. | mórra 'ána lén mórtə. | 'ána lén mórtə. | (16)  
 'át mórrax | lâ 'ána lén mórtə. | bəxzáyətun shuddànnələ. | 'ánnə dvəkłun | 'ída 'áklu  
 +sirèlun. | ju-béta c-ávə stüyna. | bétət sátvə kátk tanuyrələ, | láxxa xá késa xá-axča  
 +xlíma 'átxa ci-mattilə | kátk 'ánnə késə lâ nápli, | jári 'ávə. | +sórrun ka-dáha +al-  
 stüyna. | mórrun m-áxxa lâjójət. | kédamta b-lablálxux +al-+umra 'átən. | xá-dana  
 +nòdrəl pármax +táma. | 'átən | b-básmt. | 'ána lén shuddánna. | jáno har-'átxa  
 mórtəla káti. | mórra mù-pé-avə. | ka-dánnə xínə-da násə mórrun | kúdmə cullóxun

and butter in it, she chopped the herbs beautifully and put them in a kerchief. She went there and said 'Here I have brought the breakfast for you. Let's sit and eat together.' They ate and finished. (13) He said 'Do you know what, when I was ploughing this place, some fish came out from here. I had never in my life seen fish come out of the ground.' She says 'Why? Why have you not seen this? My father, my father, God grant him rest, when—I don't know—my grandfather, when he used to go and plough, fish used to come out of the ground and he would bring them home.' 'Are you serious?' She says 'Yes, believe me.' He says 'But I had not heard of such a thing, I have not seen it.' 'Well (if) you have not seen it, I have seen it.' (14) He said 'Take these fish, take them and cook them. You should cook them before I come back.' 'But you said "I myself shall cook them."' 'Well, today you cook them.' 'Very well.' She took the fish, she took them and threw them into the stream and they went away. Now the husband came back. He said 'Where are the fish?' 'What fish?' 'The ones I had taken out of the field.' 'Which field?' 'The field by the bank of the river. But you said that when there is a flood, the flood brings the small fish, the water brings them to the bank. Then they go into the soil, they grow up in the mud and become fish. You said yourself. The fish had now grown up and I brought them.' 'I have not said such a thing. Nor have I seen fish. Such a thing does not exist.' He beats her. She goes onto the roof and shouts 'Help!' She says 'Come. My husband has gone mad.' (15) People, neighbours gather, they come from the village. They say 'Why are you beating this girl? What do you want from her?' He says 'This is what happened. I went to plough. I have a field behind the bank of the river, I was ploughing it, out of the ground came some ten fish. I brought them home and said to her to cook them tomorrow. She said, she says that she has not cooked them.' The people said 'Did fish come out of the ground?' 'Yes.' They said 'Fish do not come out of the ground. You have lost your mind.' 'No. She herself said "When my grandfather used to go to dig the field, fish used to come out of it."' She said 'I did not say this. I did not say this.' (16) 'You said it.' 'No, I have not said it. You can see he has gone mad.' They seized him and tied his hands. In a house there is a pillar. The winter house, where the oven is, they place there<sup>127</sup> a piece of wood, thick like this, so that (other) pieces of wood do not fall and the roof holds. They tied him to the pillar. They said 'Do not move from here. In the morning we shall take you to church. We shall slaughter an offering there and you will be healed.' 'I have not gone mad. She herself has said this to me.' He said 'So be it.'<sup>128</sup> They said to the other people 'Tomorrow all of you come.'

<sup>127</sup> Literally: here.

<sup>128</sup> Literally: What will it be?

'atìtun| +pulátlun xá dána ... šàrxa.| márrun 'áyya rásmat díyyan 'ila.| ci-lábli xá dána ... konyána ci-parmílə kam-+tárrat +ùmra.| dòvxa c-odílə.| márrun 'áyya p̄t-odàxla.| 'átən=da xa-léla jári dámxət ju-do-+ùmra,| b-bàsmat.| (17) 'ánnə nášə burbázlun xàšlun.| márra xzílux mú mòrri?| hónux +jammílə b-rišux| 'átən 'ánnə +šulánə là vuúdlun.| 'ána| 'á yála súra 'átən| ju-dá béta jári xàyyax| b-xùbba.| lá 'átxa +šulánə ódət.| bæxzàyat| 'ida 'áklu +síra| kédamta-da b-kémi b-lablílux xá-lelə=da jú ... +ùmra,| jári ju-dó xóšca b-nòšux dámxət 'átən,| čún 'át ... šómmət šidanútya muttítən +ällux.| mòrri kátux| +al-xá yúma b-daryánnux kát 'átən šaddànnat.| márrə 'ána xína kàlat vídən.| 'ána xína šuxlápən.| nunílə purpàllə býyol| 'áxči 'ida-'ákli šrìlun| 'ána xína mən-dánnə +šulánə lètli.| 'ána hár 'ó násət kàmtavən.| márra +rába +spày.| 'áklu šàryèla,| 'idátu šàryèla,| dmàxlə.| kédamta 'ánnə nášə tilun.| márra hàmmən,| 'ád-lelə 'ána hal-kedámta tóvli +slúta +sulili.| +fóri dúla bsíma.| honàna výyəla.

### A37 The Bald Child and the Monsters (Yosəp bet Yosəp, Zumallan, N)

(1) 'átvə lètva| xá yàla 'átvəl +másta +al-ríšu +rába lètva.| ci-+karívalə cačalùna| +rába=zə naxiùpəva| +rába=zə +zadiùyəva.| háč mən-béta léva +pláta +al-vàddar.| (2) xá-yuma bábu yámmu xína ... bæxzáyəna bruné jarvùsələ,| +bæzdàyələ,| harlé +báyyə +pálət +al-vàddar.| +yánə 'ázəl +al-dàšta| +távəl mən-+xavəryátu +xoravátu.| +rába=zə jərdéyə ci-mággábva,| jərdéyə yán céce| məndyánat kát yámmu 'é-+dána bašlava.| (3) xá-yuma yàmmal mən-+jòro,| mən-bàba| m-+údalə taxmùnəna| múdi 'ódi 'á yàla| mavvəddílə kát +pálət +al-vàddar.| márlə bàba,| márlə bášəllə céce,| xrùzlun,| +yánə 'an-jərdéyə xrùzlun +ál ju-dàrtə 'átxa,| +xárta xa-tre-+tlá dánə=zə +ál váddar mən-dàrtəl kát 'áhal bát ... +àxəl mənné| +xárta p̄t-ázəl,| bət-+pálət +al-vàddar.| (4) yómma mára háda vàdəla,| 'á dána dána mán dánna +bixalèlə.| 'áni céce +bixalèlə| +tárrat dàrtə=zə šváktula ptíxa.| bæxzáyələ +tárrat dàrtə=zə 'éttən.| cut-+dána 'áklu mattiyolə| xáčča jašukələ.| +bæzdáyələ +várələ javày.| 'ína màdrəl sódu bitayələ| vélə céca +támma piša.| (5) b-cúl 'ùrxal xá-dana jáldə jáldə bəjnàvulə,| +várələ javày.| +xárta 'o-xína|

They took out a calf. They said 'This is our custom. One takes a head of cattle and slaughters it before the door of the church. They make it a sacrifice.' They said 'We shall do this. You must sleep one night in the church and you will be cured.' (17) The people dispersed and went away. She said 'You see what I said? Come to your senses.<sup>129</sup> Do not do these things. I, the small child and you must live in this house with love. Do not do such things. You see how your hands and legs are tied. Moreover tomorrow they will take you and (to spend) a night in the church ... you must sleep alone in the darkness because I have placed on you the reputation of being a madman. I said to you that I shall bring you to a day in which you go mad.' He said 'Well I have made a mistake. I have now changed.' He begged and pleaded with her 'Just release my hands and feet. I have finished with this behaviour.<sup>130</sup> I am the man of former times.' She said 'Very good.' She released his feet, she released his hands and he slept. In the morning the people came. She said 'Believe me, this night I sat until the morning and prayed. My husband has been cured. He has come to his senses.'

### A37     The Bald Child and the Monsters (Yosəp bet Yosəp, Zumallan, N)

(1) Once up on a time, there was a lad who did not have much hair on his head. They used to call him Baldy. He was very shy and very timid. He never used to go outside of the house. (2) One day, his father and mother notice that their son is growing up, but he is afraid and does not at all want to go outside, that is go into the field and play with friends.<sup>131</sup> He very much used to like round loaves, round loaves or cakes, things that his mother used to cook at that time. (3) One day, the mother together with her husband, with the father, think together as to what they could do to make him go outside. The father says, he says 'Bake him cakes, lay them out together, that is lay out the round loaves in a line in the courtyard like this, then two or three outside of the courtyard, which he will eat, then will go along and go outside.' (4) The mother does just that. He eats them one by one. He eats the cakes. She has left the door of the courtyard open. He sees that there are some at the courtyard door. Every so often he places his foot (outside of the gate) and looks (outside). He is afraid and comes back inside. But again he is tempted,<sup>132</sup> (he sees) there is still a cake remaining there. (5) By any means (he can) he quickly snatches one, and comes back inside. Then he

<sup>129</sup> Literally: Gather your mind in your head.

<sup>130</sup> Literally: I no longer have any of these things.

<sup>131</sup> Literally: girl-friends and boy-friends.

<sup>132</sup> Literally: his feeling comes.

bəjnàvula. | ju-dó +xàraya| yámma vítela +túshito jàno| +bár +tarra, | +tárra  
 +bəxlásula. | +ávun čarčùrələl tíla +tala t̄-+axálli! | díva p̄t̄ +axálli. | mára là| lé  
 šókan +òrət. | xína furvàssələl ádi yála furvàssəl. | vìyyələl +tmànəssár 'aččasár  
 šònnañal e-+dánət kát ... á-+šula vágula yómma b-rišu. | (6) márələ bás ádi  
 kát ... lét bəšváka +òrən| é +čap̄pálta| mán de-scànti| +ráppilun l-á-pát füyda|  
 kát áni +bári b-dé +čap̄pálta xá ... 'én +tálə tíla +al-jáni bət-maxànnəl yán  
 b-scànta. | ánnə +rappuyéla kátul 'áha xína bəškálolə scàntul 'u-e-+čap̄pálta|  
 bərràxshələl bərràxshələl xa-dúcta +rába šaršiyələl míyyət +áyna| bəxzáyələ xá  
 +áyna. | 'ita| bəstáyələ xáčča mən-de-+áyna. | dápnət de-+áyna bədmàxəl sáb  
 +rába šuršiyəval +bətláyəl. | (7) +támə átva +šavvá dèvə. | šavvá 'axunvátəva.  
 'anil šábta xá-cal xá-mənne c-atíva, | ju-xa-mzída +júrtal míyya ci-málvá mən-  
 de-+áyna| labálva ká ... ka-štetè. | +yánə e-mzida ci-xazyáva ka ... cíllə xa-šábta  
 diyyəl. xá mən- 'axunvátə tíyyəla míyya lábəl xa-b-xá bəxzáyələ márzət +áyna xá  
 ... xa-náša dúla dmíxa. | (8) +há +maxlèta| mán kám-+dána t̄-iva ... t̄-iva skída  
 márzət da-+áyna| +bəkyárələl b-de-scántu +bəkyárəl dé +čap̄pálta| xácmə ...  
 məndyàna +bəkyárələl ká sòdu| kát +dánu talàkla| +bəkyárəl kát mára šómmət  
 díyi 'íla +pállan ... +pállan cás, | +yánə šámmu +bəkyárəl b-xá +čap̄pálta 'ána  
 ... 'arþí dánə dévə +másən +kaþlənnun. | b-xá mxéztat dá +čap̄pálta| 'áyya výyələ  
 ctívə +támə. | 'ita 'ax-šér-ila 'áyən. | vìyyələl šuršiyə +t̄elya, | 'ay-zə vítela dàpmu.  
 (9) 'á-deva 'íman bitáyələ kat-xázzə 'á-naša mùdiləl +báyyə +axàlləl yán b-  
 labálla +axunvátu m-+íydalə t̄-+axlila. | +áynu bəkyáta| +ál de-ctàvta, | xa-b-  
 xá bəxzáyələl á māra| b-xá +čap̄pálta 'á 'arþí dánə dévə bət-+káþəl. | bás 'áxnan  
 'ívax +šavvá +yánə həc-məndivax ka-dá. | (10) níxa b-níxa +marrùšuləl mára  
 yá +bar-náša| 'ána parpùləvən b-díyyux| ka-díyyan là +káþəl. | 'áxnan +šavvá  
 'axunvátəvax. | láxxa cum-+báyyət b-yavvàlxux. | 'át-zə ta-ví 'axúnat tmànya ka-  
 díyyan. | halbáttá 'á e-+dán +bərràshəl kámta bəxjálələl 'ína 'íman bəxzáyələ  
 'a-déva dúlə parpùləl káþəl +káþəlləl mára mú p̄t̄-ávə, | 'ána lè +káþlónnoxun  
 sáb +bəddáyələ kát é ctávta +káþryolə. | (11) 'ita hakùyələl mára 'áxnan +šavvá  
 'axunvátəvax. | mən-dá +áyna c-átax| míyya ci-šákłax| 'a-mzída ci-málvax| ka-  
 xá šábtət díyyan. | mára kú 'ázax bëta. | bás 'ázax lábəlli betòxun| xína 'axunvátux  
 màxzilun ka-díyyi. | 'á-mzída mláyoləl 'a-déva +bət̄ánola +al-+xásu. | túrvənte m-  
 +údalə bərràxshəna bëta, | bərràxshəna cás dèvə. | (12) 'é-+dán +várəna jú dé jəppitə  
 +yánə é P̄gárP̄ ju-+t̄ura| 'án xínə cílləl cicé maxrupéna dévəl kát dúlə 'axú-  
 nan muyyílə xá +séda t̄-+axlásiləl mára là 'axunvátı, | là. | 'á-ilə xá +bar-náša.

snatches the other one. By the last one, the mother had hidden herself behind the door and she shuts the door. He screams 'A fox has come to eat me! A wolf will eat me!' She says 'No! I will not allow you to enter.' Well, he has grown up, the lad has now grown up. He has become eighteen, nineteen years old, when the mother does this to him. (6) He says 'Now that you do not allow me to enter, at least throw that staff of mine together with the knife of mine to this side of the wall, so that those coming after me ... if a fox comes after me I shall hit it with this staff or with the knife.' She throws these to him. He takes his knife and the staff of his and goes on his way. He goes along and at a certain place becomes very tired. He sees a spring of water, a spring. So he drinks a little from that spring. He falls asleep at the side of that spring, because he was very tired, and he sleeps. (7) There were there seven monsters. They were seven brothers. Once a week one of them would come and fill up a big waterskin with water from that spring, and would take it for them to drink. That is, that waterskin would suffice them for a whole week.<sup>133</sup> One of the brothers has come to take some water, all of a sudden he sees that there is a man asleep by the side of the spring. (8) O sorry, beforehand when he was bored by the spring he carves, he carves with his knife, with his staff, he carves some things for his amusement to pass the time. He carves saying 'My name is so-and-so ... such-and-such a person,' that is he carves his name 'With one staff I can kill forty monsters, with one blow of this staff.' He had written that there. It was a like a poem. He had become tired and fallen asleep, and that was beside him. (9) When this monster comes to see what man this is, he wants to eat him or to take him so his brothers would eat him together. His eye falls on that writing and suddenly sees that this man says that with one staff he would kill forty monsters. 'But we are (only) seven, so we are nothing (compared) to him.' (10) He gently wakes him saying 'O human, I beg you not to kill us. We are seven brothers. Here we will grant you whatever you wish. You come and be the eighth brother for us.' Of course when he wakes he is startled at first, but when he sees the monster begging him not to kill him, he says 'What does it matter? I will not kill you,' because he knows that he has read that writing. (11) Then he tells him saying 'We are seven brothers. We come and take water from this spring. We fill this waterskin for us for one week.' He says 'Get up, let us go home.' 'Then let us go, take me to your home, show your brothers to me.' The monster fills the waterskin and lifts it onto his back. The two of them go home, they go to the monsters. (12) When they enter the cave, that is the cave, in the mountain, all the other monsters are sharpening their teeth thinking that 'our brother has brought a prey for us to

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133 Literally: a whole week of theirs.

'áxnan jári +rába +mya᷑kràxlə. | 'ána míttyøvən xá 'axúnət tmánya ƙa-jànan|  
 'án macərbàxlə +áv hár parpàslan| hár +dardàƙlan| b-xá +čap̄páltu +masə  
 máxə 'arpí dánə dèvə. | (13) cullana'itl 'áni-zə cúlla hammùnəna| pyàšələ cəslé|  
 xà-šabtal trè šabáy +tlà šabáy. | dévə ƙa-jané bərràxşəna| +sèda vádəna,| á  
 švíkuna bëta. | +xárta bəxzàyəna| xácma jáha bəxzáya bitàyəna| 'ína núyra lót  
 +šíral ƙésə láttən másalan ƙát ... jári 'é-+danət sátvə tìyyələ| táljələ| cíl dúyca  
 kàrtəla,| ƙésə lètlun| jári 'é-+dana 'ázi ƙésə máyyi. | (14) mára 'át 'e-+dán b-  
 nòsxux-ivət| ƙát jánux-zə lè sákdət másalan xúš ƙésə mélan| móñ dáyya mèša,  
 véla méša kùrba,| 'ázət xácma ƙésə mayyátlən,| ƙát 'e-+dán bitàyəvax mən-+sèdal  
 'áxnan +másax jáldə 'a-+sédan bašlàxlə| m-+ùdalə +áxlaxlə| yán 'e-+dánət lèx  
 bëta,| xíša +bar-+sèda,| 'átən míyyan pràkəna| 'ázət xá xáčča míyya mayyátlən.  
 mára +rába +spáy! | +yánə b-nobánə +báyyi 'áha-zə 'áx t-ən-pàlxə. | (15) xá-  
 yuma 'e-mzída bəškálolə bərràxşəla +al-+áyna,| ƙát míyya malíla. | mláyoləl  
 'ína 'íman bəjràsholə 'ay bəjràshəla ƙátlə sáb lèlə +msáya jarəšla,| látlə xèla.  
 taxmúnələ mú 'àvədəl 'áni míyya +bətlàbəna| 'ádi jári míyya lábol ƙaté. | míyya  
 sapùkoləl sáb lèlə +msáya jarəšla,| +ya᷑kùrtəla. | sapùkolə,| mláyoləl pòxa. | mláy-  
 olə pòxa| +bəttánolə +ál-+rùyşul bitàyələ bëta. | dévə-zə +sìyyəna| á màrələl lā!  
 'ána +hála šuršiyən| jári ƙámta 'ána šàton. | 'axúna +jùrələ-zə ƙaté! +yánə  
 'axúnət tmánya víduna. | (16) +púzət pòxa xáčča ptàxulə| 'é-+hàval pòxo cílla  
 bəspàkələ. | 'ánnə bəxzáyəna cílla mzida šàtyála. | á mára 'áyya ci-xazyáva ƙa-  
 díyyan ... ƙa-xá šàbtal 'ína 'áha| dílə xà-ja,| hár xà-ja šàtyála| b-xá bìna. | bás  
 'áha t-+axəllan. | labbé pķayəna. | hár 'é-+dánəl +šadúrəna xa-xína xáčča 'ázəl  
 míyya mayyilun,| mára mu-pter-àvə,| 'át tìy| mánnyəx. | (17) xá-yuma xína-zə ƙésə  
 xíšəva mayyíval mórrə hállulli +xòləl t-ázən ƙésə máyyən. | yuvvállun xáčča  
 +xóla ƙátlə mórrun ƙa-mú-inə +rába?| mórrəl lā-aviloxun +šíula. | (18) xzílun  
 +rába murkàllə. | xáslun +al-ùrxul mórrun| xázax ... ƙa-mù 'á xá-xča murkàllə.  
 xáslun xzílun +xóla +sírləl móñ xa-ƙésəl bərràxşələ cílla marzanánət mèša|  
 'átxa,| véla hár +xóla +bəsyàral bərràxsha. | +jánam 'áxnan,| 'át ƙa-mù xá-xča  
 murkàllux?| 'á mút +šílux-ilə?| mórrə ƙá-mu cíl-yum 'átax ƙésə máyyax?| 'ána  
 +báyyən cílla 'a-méša xá-ja hár +tenónna +al-+xàsi,| mayyónna +tama. | 'é-+dán

eat.' He says 'No my brothers, no. This is a human. We should show him great respect. I have brought an eighth brother for us. If we upset him, he will totally destroy us, he will totally shatter us. He can strike forty monsters with just his one staff.' (13) All in all, they all believe this and he stays with them for one week, two weeks, three weeks. The monsters go and hunt for themselves, having left him at home. Then they notice that sometimes they come back but no fire is lit, there are no logs of wood ... they must, when winter has come, there is snow and everywhere is cold, and there are no logs of wood, they must then go and bring logs of wood. (14) They say 'When you are alone, so that you also do not become bored, go, for example, and bring logs from that forest—the forest is over there nearby. You should go and bring us some logs so that when we come back from hunting, we can quickly cook our prey and eat together, or when we are not at home, having gone out to hunt, and our water is running out, you should go and bring us some water.' He says 'Very well.' That is they want him to work as it were in turns. (15) One day he takes that waterskin and goes to the spring in order to fill it with water. He fills it but when he pulls it, *it* pulls him, because he is not able to pull it, he has no strength. He thinks what he could do. They are asking for water, he must now take water for them. He empties the water because he is not able to pull it, it is heavy. He empties it and fills it with wind. He fills it with wind, lifts it onto his shoulder, and he returns home. The monsters are thirsty. He says 'No! I am still tired, I must drink first.' He is indeed the eldest brother in relation to them, that is they have made him the eighth brother. (16) He opens the mouth (of the bag of) wind a little, and that air, its wind, all empties out. They see that he has drunk the whole waterskin. They say 'That used to be sufficient for one week for us, for a week, but he has drunk it all at once, with just one breath. Surely he will eat us.' They are terrified.<sup>134</sup> They then send another one to go and get some water for them. They say 'Don't worry. You sit down and rest.' (17) On another day he had gone to bring logs, he said 'Give me ropes I will go and bring logs.' They gave some ropes to him. They said 'Why (do you want) so many?' He said 'Don't worry.' (18) They noticed that he took a long time. They went along his path and said 'Let us see why has he has taken so long.' They went and saw that he has tied the rope to a branch<sup>135</sup> and is going all around the forest. He keeps on tying the ropes like this as he goes. 'Oh dear, why have you delayed so much, what are you up to?' He said 'Why should we come every day and bring logs. I want to carry all this forest on my back and bring it there in one go. Whenever we want to use some of it, we

<sup>134</sup> Literally: Their hearts burst.

<sup>135</sup> Literally: a piece of wood.

+bílan maplàxxax| móanno maplàxxax.| 'áni márrun 'átxa lè-'oya| 'át hár 'ída là drí,| hár lè +báyyax ̄ka-díyyan pálxət.| tá šákłax làblax| késə jànan +jámmox.| (19) cùl dàxi| xzílun 'átxa lè-'oya| tílun mórrun| vádlun EmeetingE m-+událə| kát 'áha xá-yuma xa-+càtra t-ávə ̄ka-díyyan.| témun +kałłaxlə.| 'e-+dán 'ayya EmeetingE váduva,| 'áha mán ... xá dúcta xítə,| léva +bøddá kát 'á +rišələ.| lélə +tòlya,| +bøšmayèlə hemøzmané.| mút +pásla +kałłaxlə?| xá maráfla +fùra 'átlan,| +mardøxxáxlə mìyyal +mardøxxax mìyya jávul mìyya +børdàxa dárax +állu| 'e-+dán t-ílə tòlya.| mårəna +raba +spáy.| (20) +mardúxəna mìyyal +házər vadèna,| 'e-+dán t-ílə tòlya. +'ávun jánu +tùšyolə| šópu švíkələ xá ... xá kësa| xá-mëndi xína müttələ| 'ánnəl yán júllə +šúlə müttələ 'átxa vidèlə| 'áx t-ən-dmìxələ| 'ánnə mìyya +maxduréna +állu| 'u- børrákəna.| jané +tašùyona har-lèna mabyúna.| (21) +bár ... xà-+sa'at,| trè +sa'atta,| bitáyəna ̄kat-xázzi 'ádi šlikələ| bšilələ| bøxzáyəna là,| dúlə +'áynu praxəl +hála táza +børràša.| 'aybó 'á dúlə lélə mítal müdyux-iva?| mórrə +rába +tòtli,| xømməva| bøxzáyəna xá-xča mìyya +børdàxa dáryəna 'á +hála mára díun +tòtli,| 'yánə 'ax-t-án 'ánnə mìyya mán +tàta tìyyəna.| (22) xá-yuma xína xá EdecisiónE vádəna| mára xa-cípa +fùra bøt-+rappax +állu.| módrə jánu tašùyola,| mó-n-dò cípa-za prákələ| bøxzáyəna 'átxa lè-'oya.| 'átvəlun +raba dàvə| t-áva +júmma mó... škilé móñ ducána xínə| mayéna yavéna kàtu.| mårəna| båsmalux| 'átnəl xína xúš ju-násət jànuš.| 'ánnə dávə +šúlə cíllə škùl,| xùš.| 'áxnan,| 'áxnan là-+amsax mónnux xáyyax.| +bøzdàyax| yávuna dàvə,| bødráyuna +al-ùrxə,| bitáyəla bét bábu yàmmu.| módrə mén-šmàyaya pällun| +tlá xabùyšə.| xá ̄ka-dó cačalùna,| xá ̄ka-bàba yuvvállə,| xá ̄ka-yòmma yuvvállə| 'ita ̄ka-díyyan là pásłun xína móñ dán xabúyšə.|

### A38 The Wise Young Daughter (Yosəp bet Yosəp, Zumallan, N)

(1) 'átvə lètvəl xá nàša 'átvəl 'átvəl tré bnùna.| 'á-naša +dánət mótu| tílə cílla mëndíyyu +pullíla.| mëndíyyu buš-+rába yuvvállə ̄ka-brúna +fùra.| ̄ka-do-brúna súra 'áxči yuvvállə xa-sústa 'u-yuvvállə xá xákłla| xa-dúcta súrta kát xákłla 'átvələ,| kát +masíva +zarríva.| (2) +várrun šónna.| 'á 'axúna +júra kát 'átlə xačlánə +raba| bitáyəla +bøtlábələ mén-axúnu +hayyàrtal| ̄kat-ázəl +hàyyər kátu| ̄ka-+xzàtta|

can use it.' They said 'It doesn't work like that. Don't you touch anything. We no longer want you to work for us. Come, let us carry logs and gather them by ourselves.' (19) Anyway, they realized that it does not work like this. They came back and said—they held a meeting together—'This one would be a problem for us one day. Come, let us kill him.' When they were holding this meeting, he (the bald man) he hears their words from another place—they did not know that he is awake and he is not asleep. 'How should we kill him? We have a huge cauldron. We should make it boil with water, we should boil water in it, and pour boiling water on him when he is asleep.' They say 'Very well.' (20) They boil water. They prepare it when he is asleep. He has hidden himself and has left a piece of wood in his place, (or) he has put something else, he has placed clothes or the like, and arranged them as if he is asleep. The others pour the water out over on him and run away. They hide and do not show themselves at all. (21) After an hour or two, they come to see if he has been boiled and cooked by now, but they see that no, he is rubbing his eyes and is just now waking up. Alas, he is not yet dead. 'What was wrong with you?' He said 'I sweated a lot. It was hot.' They see that they have poured so much boiling water, while this one just says 'I have sweated,' as if this water has come from sweat. (22) On another day they make a decision, saying that we will throw a huge rock on him. He again hides and he is saved from that rock also. They realize that it would not work like this. They had a lot of gold coins, which they had gathered from ..., they had taken from other places. They bring them and give them to him. They say 'Please go now to your own folk. Take all this gold and go. We cannot live with you. We are afraid.' They give him the gold coins, they set him on the road and he comes home to the house of his father and mother. Again<sup>136</sup> three apples fell from heaven. He (the story-teller) gave one to that bald man, one to the father, he gave another one to the mother. So then none remains for us of those apples.

### A38    The Wise Young Daughter (Yosəp bet Yosəp, Zumallan, N)

(1) There was, there was not, there was a man, who had two sons. This man, at the time of his death, came and divided all is property. He gave most of his property to the eldest son. To the younger son he gave only a mare and gave a field, a small place that had a field, so he could farm. (2) The years passed. The eldest brother who has many fields comes and asks his brother

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136 I.e. again as in other stories.

ƙa-ʃrástət məndi, ƙa-cúl xá móndi maplúxəva. +hám ƙa-axúnū maplúxəva  
 +hám ƙa-bàxtət 'axúnu. 'á 'axúna=zə 'étvəla xa-bráta súrta, +šavvá šənnə.  
 (3) sústət da-'axúna súra 'ótlə +zàya ju-císo. ju-xá mən-dán lelavátət kát ...  
 móndi ƙ-ína jríšə b-sústət 'axúna ... +yánə 'axúna +tlíbolə sústul mudyánnəla  
 ƙat-ázəl jarəslə məndíyyu, víyyəna šuršíyyə dmíxə +ál +tlanita. b-kédamta  
 +yánə cílla yúma +várələl sústa=zə lèla pláxa. xína lèla bitáyələ, bədmàxəna.  
 kédamta ƙat-bəkyàməna 'ína sústa 'u-+zàyo, +zàyo dàltola. 'íman dáltona +zàya  
 jurjóštola xút +arabána. +arabána 'íla 'et-'axúna +júra. (4) 'axúna súra cílla  
 ƙ-ílə plíxal +rábə šuršíyyələ, dmíxələl ƙa-'axúnu +júra +hayyúrələ. 'axúna +júra  
 mən-bétəl 'íman +bərrášələ mən-šànta, bitáyələl bəxzáyələ 'axúna súra +hála  
 vél +təlyə. 'ína bəxzáyələ xút +arabána 'éttən xa-dána +zayət báryət ... báryət  
 súsa= +yánə xa-+zayət súsa. ƙa-'axúnu súra bitáyəl +marrúšəl mára kú 'axúnə  
 +'arabáni véla xa-súsa dálta, xa-+zàya dálta. 'axúna súra +bərrášələl +há sústi  
 dàlləl xádyə xádyə bərràxşəl. mára làl 'o-+zayə díyyiləl +arabánət díyyi dáltona.  
 +durásə vayələ bilé. bərráxsəna cas-dayyàna. (5) dáyyana mən-+bár +bəsmáyələ  
 ƙat-kəssáttət dánnə mūdila, +bəddáyələ ƙat-lé-+aməs parəşlun. +ávva 'axúna  
 +júrələl véla bušayútət móndi, +yánə sáma zódə móndi +ávva véla škílu. 'axúna  
 súra kátu +rábə móndi lèla +mótya 'áxci xa-sústa 'u-xa-+arrə. 'ánnə m-+údalə  
 bət-+dárši 'én 'ána kémən ... dyànta ȍdən súsa yavvánnəl +zayə yavvánnə ƙá  
 ... 'axúna súra ƙat +bəddáyən=zə 'ét sústələ. 'axúna +júra +múmcun +xárta  
 +ajjəz ƙa-'axúnu súra. (6) bás b-yávvən xá-cma šártə ƙaté! 'ánnə šártə 'ázi! máyyi  
 javvəbbiləl +al-dó-yuma xína, ƙat 'óya b-ürxətəl +rábəl cín 'óya, cín +yánə +rábə  
 maséta 'óya +rábə dùz, dyànti 'óya dùz. (7) mārələl ƙa-ķúdmə p̄t-atítun cəsli.  
 'ánnə šártə jári patxítunlun, +yánə +pallitunlun ... mačxitunlun. mūdilə 'o-móndi  
 búš xelána ju-dúnyə? mūdilə 'o-móndi búš +tavànal ju-dúnyə? 'u-mūdilə 'o-  
 móndi búš racixa ju-dúnyə? 'ánnə +tlá məndyànəl +báyyən atítun kédamta ƙa-  
 díyyi tanítunlun. 'é-+dana 'ána p-tanənnoxun cút mučxələl +zayə 'et-+dàvun-ilə.  
 (8) 'axúna +júra bitáyələ cəs-bàxtu mārələl dayyána 'átxa mārrə. mára mù  
 p̄t-ávə, 'ána 'étlə láxxa švóta 'ádi 'ánnə ƙa-díyyux ... 'ánnə +cátrə p-šaryàlun.  
 máyonə švóta +bəkràyona ƙat ... dayyána mīrələ mūdile 'o-móndi búš xelána

for help, to go to help him for harvesting, for transporting things. He employed him for everything. He employed both his brother and the wife of his brother. This brother, moreover, had a small daughter, seven years old. (3) The mare of this younger brother has a foal<sup>137</sup> in her womb.<sup>138</sup> One night, when they had transported things with the mare of the brother—that is the brother had requested the mare, had borrowed it so he could go and transport his goods—they have become tired and are asleep in the shade. In the morning ... That is the whole day passes and the mare does not work. Night comes and they sleep. When they get up in the morning (they see) the mare and her foal, she has given birth to her foal. When she has given birth to her foal, she has dragged it under the cart. The cart is the eldest brother's. (4) The younger brother, due to all he has worked, is very tired and asleep. He is helping his older brother. The elder brother, when he wakes from sleep, comes from home and sees that his younger brother is still asleep. He sees that under the cart there is a young animal, the offspring of a horse, that is a horse's foal. He comes and wakes his younger brother and says 'Get up my brother, my cart has given birth to a horse, has given birth to a foal.' The younger brother wakes up 'Oh, my horse has given birth!' He very joyfully goes (to see). He (the elder brother) says 'No, the foal is mine. My cart has given birth to it.' An argument starts between them. They go to a judge. (5) After the judge hears what their story is, he realizes that cannot decide between them. That one is the elder brother and he has taken the majority of the property, that is most of the property. Not much property has reached the younger brother, only a mare and a field. (He thinks to himself) 'They will argue together if I make a judgement to give the horse, give the foal, to the younger brother, although I know it is (the foal) of the mare. The elder brother may later hurt the younger brother. (6) But I shall set some riddles for them (requiring) that they go and bring the answer to these riddles by the next day, so that it is by very just means, just, that is so that the scales would be correct, my judgement would be correct.' (7) He says 'Come to me by tomorrow. You must solve some riddles, that is discern them ... find (the answer to) them. What is the strongest thing in the world? What is the fastest thing in the world? What is the softest thing in the world? I want you to come tomorrow and tell me these three things. Then I shall tell you. Whoever finds them out, the foal is his.' (8) The elder brother comes to his wife and says 'The judge has said such-and-such.' She says 'No problem. I have a neighbour here. She will now solve these problems for you.' They invite and bring the neighbour (saying) 'The

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<sup>137</sup> Literally: young animal.

<sup>138</sup> Literally: stomach.

*ju-dùnyə?| clíla mèrra| +jóri 'ílə +ràba xelána.| +jórət diyyi| 'ílə +ràba xelána| hác-naša lé-+aməs bìyyu.| +rába +sulánə +jùrə c-ávəd.| (9) 'ú màrələl mūdilə 'o-mándi bùš +tavána?| mára súysət +jóri| súysət +jóri +'úxča +tavána c-ázəl júlla lé +matyálə| pòxa lé +mátiłə| màrələl mūdilə 'o-mándi bùš racìxa ju-dùnyə| mára 'áxnan 'átlan spadiyyatəl móñ párrat tèrəna.| +ràba racìxəna| lén bæxšáva xá móndi ju-dùnyəl 'ávə bùš racíxa mən-spadiyyatəl díyyan.|*

(10) 'axúna súra-zə bitáyəle bétəl +pšiməl kát +záyu dúna b-xéla bæškàlu m-ídu| 'ádi dayyána dùləl yúvva šártə ķaté| +yána yúvvəl +càtrə ķaté| kat-šarílun| mày p-šarílun ķatú?| jánu +ràba yulpána látla| báxtu məscəntələ| látla švàvə| +naràhat=ilə +ràba| béta 'átxa +pšimə tívələ| brátu súrča kát +šavvá šànnova| bábi| dàdil ká-mu m-dá-ybu m-dò-ybu| kám 'átxa +pšimət?| mārələ bràti| xá+záya 'átvalan| ķat-ána +bayyònva| xàdyənva kát| 'át țalàtya býyul 'ína véna +báyyi šaķlilə m-ídan| 'u-dayyána 'annì šártə muttél| kat-múdilə 'o-mándi bùš xelána ju-dùnyə?| (11) mórra bábi ka-mùl ka-mú +naràhat=ivət?| míyya 'ánnə 'ína 'o-mándi bùš xelána| kam-míyya hác-mándi lè-+aməs cálə| xa-b-xá xzílə kát brátu súrča +šavvá šónna dúla xá-cma heməzmána dùz tanúyə| mórrə bràti| kúrba +al-hònələl bas-múdilə 'o-mándi bùš +tavána ju-dùnyə?| mórra taxmántət +bar-náša| 'át 'é-+dān másalan márət šómša| 'albál taxmántux +mṭayələ +al-šómša| 'é-+dān márət Amèrica| taxmántux +mṭayələ +al-Amèrica| +yána 'íla +ràba +ràba jáldə| bæxzáyələ 'áy-zə dúz=ila| mārələ múdilə 'o-mándi buš-racìxa ju-dùnyə?| mára bábil 'ídat jánu +bar-náša| 'ída| cmá=t 'óya ... racàxta| spaditux| 'át módrə 'ídux mattúyot xút| ... xut-rišux| 'é-+dān bədmàxət| 'ídux mattúyot| bás 'áyya 'íla bùš racáxta| (12) kédamta bəkyàməna| cíl-xa bərráxšəna cəs-dayyána| cíl-xa tanúyul +juvvábəl| dayyána 'é-+dān bæxzáyələ 'áxuna súra b-dánnə +juvvábə bitáyələ| mārələl 'ánnə 'át jánux lèt mučxé| táni xàzzən| mānilə ka-díyyux tunyé| 'on-là tanátlı| +záya b-yavvánnə ka-+dàvva| ka-díyyux=zə +kàtlən| 'átvala húcmət +ktálta| (13) mára dayyána +júral xa-bráta 'átlı šavvá šónna| ka-díyyi là +ktúl| 'áy tunyéla 'ána látli xa-náša| +juvvábət dàyən 'áni mayén ka-díyyux| mórrə +hà! bás 'ádi 'é brátux jári 'átya cəslı| kúdmə kédamta| +bayyánnə 'átya cəslı| +hám 'óya šulxetàl sáb +šavvá šónnona| +hám 'óya lvàšta| +hám 'óya ricóta| rcóvta +ál xa-màndi| +hám 'óya +ál àklo| +yána 'é-+dān bitáyəl| +hám xazzánna 'úrxa bitáyəl| 'ína +hám xazzánna 'óya tóvta +ál xa-màndi| +hám 'óya šulxetàl +hám 'óya lvàšta| 'u-ka-díyyi xá dána pàšcaš máyya| ķat 'é

judge has said: What is the strongest thing in the world?" She paused and said 'My husband is very strong. My husband is very strong, nobody can beat him. He does many great things.' (9) He says 'What is the fastest thing?' She says 'the horse of my husband. The horse of my husband goes so fast that a bullet cannot catch it, the wind cannot catch it.' He says 'What is the softest thing in the world?' She says 'We have pillows that are made of birds' feathers. They are very soft. I don't think there is anything in the world softer than our pillows.' (10) The younger brother comes home sad that they are taking his foal from him by force. Now the judge has given them riddles, that is he has given them problems to solve. Who will solve them for him? He himself does not have much learning. His wife is poor. He does not have neighbours. He is very stressed and sits at home upset. His young daughter who was seven years old (says) 'Father, daddy, why are you so deeply<sup>139</sup> sad?' He says 'My daughter, we had a foal, which I had wanted, I would have been happy for you to play with, but they want to take it from us and the judge has presented those riddles (asking) what is the strongest thing in the world?' (11) She said 'Father, why are you so upset? Water is the strongest thing. Nothing can stand before water.' Suddenly he realized that his young daughter of seven years is saying true words. He said 'This is plausible, but what is the fastest thing in the world?' She said 'The thought of a man. When you say, for example, "sun," immediately your thought goes to the sun. When you say "America," your thought goes to America. That is, it is very very fast.' He realizes that this also is true. He says 'What is the softest thing in the world?' She says 'Father, a hand of man himself, a hand. However soft your pillow is, if you put your hand under ... under your head, when you sleep you put your hand, then this is softer.' (12) In the morning they get up. Each one goes to the judge. Each one gives his answer. When the judge sees that the younger brother produces these answers, he says 'You have not found these out yourself. Tell me so I can see who told these to you. If you do not tell me, I shall give the foal to him and will kill you.' He had the (prerogative of the) death sentence. (13) He says 'Great judge, I have a seven-year-old daughter. Do not kill me. *She* told them, I have nobody. I am bringing her answers to you.' He said 'Ah! Well, now that daughter of yours must come to me. Tomorrow morning I want her to come to me. She must be both naked—because she is seven years old—and also must be dressed. She must both be mounted, riding on something, and also must be on her feet. That is, when she comes, I should both see her coming (on foot) on the road and I should also see her sitting on something. She should both be naked and also must be dressed. She should bring me a gift

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139 Literally: on this side and on that side.

pášcaš +al-’ídi là +mátya. | yavvála kàti, | ’ína ’ána là +amsən dokánna. | ’ádi vílun bús xèrba ’ánnə EE! (14) bitáyələ +naráhat. | ƙa-brátu màral xzílax mu-vádlax b-rišan?| ’át ’átxa mórrax, | ’átxa mórrax, | ’ádi dayyána +hála bùs vélə críba. | +báyya ƙa-díyyi=za +káṭəl. | ƙúdmə ƙa-díyyax=za labúlələ. | jári ’át ’átxa b-dà ’úrxə ’ázat cáslu. | ’ítə ’ən-là, | ƙa-díyyax=za p-ƙáṭəl, | +záya=za p-ʂakóllə, | ƙa-díyyi=za p-ƙáṭəl. | mórra bábil háč +naráhat là-’avət. | (15) xús dúkli xá càrvəšl u-dúkli xá +téra súra, | xá yòna, | xá ƙékyàna. | xína bába bæxzàyələ ’ádi +vírəlju-nàral jíllu tàryəna bərráxşələ bədvákələ xá càrvəšl bədvákəl xá +téra. | +al-dó-yuma xína kèdamta ... +há +xárta márələ xá ječita=za méli. | mán švávə +šúla ječita škúlli. | (16) máyolə xá ječita, | máyol xa-+téra ’u-máyol xa-càrvəšl. | ’áha júllo šaluxèla. | xá járdət nùynəl bədráyələ +’állo. | bətyávələ +al-ječital ’áklo +bəmtáyəna +al-+’árra. | càrvəš bədvákələ xut-xáčo téra=za bədvákələ b-’ido. | xína +al-ječita tåvtəla. | +ham-’úrxə bərráxşələl +ham-ječita bərráxşələl +hám šulxètələl +hám járdələ +’állo, | +hám lvèštəla. | xut-xáčo ’íla càrvəšl b-xá-’ido=za ’íla ... téra. | (17) dayyána +díyyələ kátl ’ó nášət kátl ’ánnə +juvvábə juvvabbélə ’íla honàna, | bás ’ánnə=za bət-mačəxlun. | +yánə ’ádi bəspárləl kátl-’ádi ’ón tília, | p̄t-’átya b-dán +juvvábə kátl +’áv bəspárləl. | bæxzáyələ m-ràxkəl b-durbína bæxzáyələ véla m-róxkə xa-màndi bitá. | cálba ’átvəla, | cálba +séda +rappuyéla +al-’áyya tília, | p̄t-+karmàla kássatl ’u-+báyya +jaròbla. | +bəddáyələ kátl +cátrət cálba=za p-ʂaryálə ’áyya. | (18) cálba +bərxátnəna +al-jánət dá móndi súra t-’íla bitál ječita ’u-xá +tlanítə. | é-+dān cálba ƙarbùnəna, | ’áha càrvəš +rappiyola. | càrvəš bərrákəla, | cálba bərráxşəna +bàrol ’u-’áyən býya b-ječita +rába +ràhat bitáyələ. | dayyána bəkyámələ ƙamàyto, | mára básmajánax bráti! mü muyyitivat? | (19) +téra +báyya yavvála kátlul ’ído ptáxola kátl řakólla, | téra práxələ. | xína é-+dana dayyána máral básmajánax. | +záyət súsa yávolə ká ’axúna súra ’u-yávələ +rába ... davəltə, | zùyza, | dàva, | xaklànəl ká ’axúna súra=za ’ávə máx ’axúna +fúra, | ’avílə məndi. | ’áyya ’íla é məttəlta. | ’ítə ju-dátxa +dána mən-’áyya bənpáləna +tlà xabúšə, | xá xabúša ka-de-bràta, | xá xabúša ƙa-díyyux kátl +šmìlux, | xá xabúša=za ƙa-díyyi.

such that the gift cannot reach me. She should give it to me, but I should not be able hold it.' Now these puzzles have got worse! (14) He comes back stressed. He says to his daughter 'Do you see what you have done to us?! You said this, you said this, now the judge is yet more angry. He also wants to kill me and tomorrow he is going to fetch you. You have to go to him in this way. So, if not, he will both kill you and also take the foal, and also kill me.' She said 'Father, do not be worried at all.' (15) Go and catch me a rabbit and catch me a small bird, a pigeon, a partridge. So the father sees (what she is saying) and has now gone into a river and his clothes are wet. He goes and catches her a rabbit. He catches a bird. The next day in the morning—ah, then she says 'Fetch me a goat. Get me a goat from the neighbours or wherever.' (16) He brings her a goat, he brings her a bird and he brings her a rabbit. She takes off her clothes. She puts a fishing net over her. She sits on the goat and her feet reach the ground. She holds the rabbit under her armpit and holds the bird in her hand. So, she is sitting on a goat. She is walking on the road and the goat is also walking. She is naked and also a net is on her, she is also dressed. Under her armpit there is a rabbit and in one of her hands there is a bird. (17) The judge has realized that the person who had answered those questions is smart, and so would solve these too. So now he waits (knowing) that if she comes, she would come with the answers he is expecting. He sees from afar, he sees with binoculars that she or something is coming. He had dogs, he releases his hunting dogs against her, because he knows that if she comes, she would win the case and he wants to test her. He knows that she will solve also the problem of the dogs. (18) The dogs run to attack the little thing that is coming, a goat and a shadow. When the dogs approach, she releases the rabbit. The rabbit runs away, the dogs run after it, and she together with the goat comes very calmly. The judge rises before her 'Well done, my girl! What have you brought me?' (19) She wants to give him the bird, she opens her hand for him to take it, but the bird flies away. Again this time the judge says 'Well done!' He gives the foal of the horse to the younger brother and gives him a lot of wealth, money, gold, fields so that the younger brother would be like the older brother and would have property. This is the story. Then (as happens) at such a time as this, three apples fall from the sky, one apple for the girl, one apple for you who have listened, and one apple for me.

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(1) 'átvə lətva| 'átvə lətva| 'átvə xa-málca.| 'áha málca 'átvələ +tlá bnùna.| šámmət do-brínu súra 'íva +Àšur.| 'áha málca| 'átvələ xa-báxča +rāba šápórta,| jávo 'átvələ xa-'ilánət xabùšə.| šítə xà-dana xabúša ci-ťánnva.| cul-nášət m-dó xabùša| 'ó xabúša +axəlvələ,| 'ən-'avíva sàva,| ci-havíva jíl,| ci-+dárva mádrə +al-xayyútət 'ulaymùta,| jilüta.| (2) 'a-málca| sòvla| sòvla| 'ax-mòrri,| 'átvələ +tlá-bnunə,| ká-dó brínu +fúra mèrrəl brùni,| xuš,| 'ó xabúša +nțurrəl hal=t-+màtəl kat-ána +axlənnə,| 'ávən jíl.| 'o-brínu| hammáša c-atíva-da xá +hèyvan,| mən-+háva c-atíva,| 'o-xabúša c-+axəlvələ,| c-azəlva,| lé-šavəkva pàyəšva.| 'o-brínu +fúra xàšla,| b-léla=da c-atíva,| brínu +fúra xàšla +dánət +mtéttət xabúša,| muttīla rišu +tlílə.| 'o-+héyvan tilə,| xabúša +xàllə,| xàšla.| (3) xabúša +xàllə,| xàšla.| 'ó brínu| kámlə tília betá +rāba +pšima.| ka-bábu huķílə,| márrə kát| xób 'ána +tlílə.| tìyyələ| 'o-+héyvan b-léla,| xabúša +xílulə| 'u-xišla.| xa-šítə +vàrra.| m-+bar xa-šítəl +sudárrə 'o-brínu=t d-trè.| 'o-brínu=t d-tré xàšla +'avun=zəl b-léla| e-+dánət xabúša +mṭilə| muttīla rišu.| halbáttə 'ána xáčča macrìyən| +'à,| +yarəxtəla.| 'áha=zə +bətláyələ,| bitáyələ 'o-+héyvan,| xabúša +bixálulə| 'u-bərròxchələ.| (4) e-šítət m-+báro| kát| xabúša| mèdrəl +tínəva xá-dana xabúša,| brínu súra márlələ bábi,| +Àšur,| márlələ bábi| 'ána 'ázən.| márlələ| 'ína 'axunvátux +júrə mánnux| mu-vàdlun?| 'át mu-þt-ódat?| 'át kám- 'ázət?| márrə bábi| šúk 'ázən 'ána-da xína.| márrə xuš.| jíra kášta 'átvələ,| jíru káštu škilela,| xàšla,| xabúša +danət +mtétu vila,| 'áha tília ká-t+talíva,| +súppu primálə,| málxa drílə +állo.| málxa drílə,| 'áha +čubíla.| +naráhat vílə +šílə,| xína,| là +tlílə.| (5) b-léla,| páljət léləl juššákłə xa-+héyvan +rāba +fúra címa tília,| kat-yátəv +al-dó xabúša,| +axällə 'ázəl,| b-jíra kášta mxílə,| mxílə,| 'ína +héyvan là npálla.| 'ína dámmu +šaršürə,| +šaršürəl xàšla,| xàšla,| 'áha kédamta tília,| xabúša=da müyyuva ka-bábu.| ka-bábu yuvvällə.| ka-'axunvátu=da mèrrəl 'o-+héyvan 'ána mäxyuvən.| (6) mórrun 'ica máxyuvət?| márrə hámman mäxyuvən.| tílun,| fu-báxča juššákłun.| dámma 'átxa 'áttən +šuršərrələ,| xišəl xa-dárya.| 'íta lišān-túrcət 'áha ci-tanilə A<sup>z</sup>áz gétti,| úz gétti,| dərə-təpətə díuz getti, A<sup>z</sup>l.| +mṭilun| +al-xa-kùnya,| xa-cípa +rāba +fúra +álly,| +al-xa-kùnya,| dámma +táma xína +bəsláyəva ju-kùnya,| prákəva +táma.| xína +bəddáyəva kátju-da-kùnya +sályələ ... 'o-+héyvan.| (7) xa-cípa +rāba +fúra 'átvə +álly,| 'o-cípa bəškáluna.| +sadúrəna mávəna +xólə=da +rāba +yarıxa.| 'ó 'axúna +fúra märləl ká-díyyi +šádrun.| 'ína rišé 'átxa +pašútuna ju-kùnya,|

**A39     The Adventures of Ashur (Yonan Petrus, Mushawa, N)**

(1) There was, there was not, there was a king. This king had three sons. The name of the youngest son was Ashur. The king had a very beautiful garden, in which there was an apple tree. It used to bear one single apple a year. Whoever ate that apple, from that apple, if he was old, he became young. He would return again to the life of his youth, youth. (2) The king became old. He became old. As I said, he had three sons. To the older son he said 'My son, go and guard that apple until it ripens so that I can eat it and become young.' That son of his—an animal would always come, it would come from the air, eat the apple and go away; it would not allow it to remain. That older son of his went—(the animal) used to come at night—his elder son went—it used to come at night—his elder son went at the time that the apple became ripe, he lay down his head and slept. The animal came, ate the apple and went away. (3) It ate the apple and went away. His son got up and went back home, very sad. He told his father, he said 'Well I went to sleep. That animal came at night, it ate the apple and went away.' A year passed. After a year he sent his second son. His second son went. He also at night, at the time that the apple matured, put down his head—I am shortening (the story) slightly, it is long. He also goes to sleep, the animal comes, it eats the apple and goes away. (4) The year after, when an apple, it had again borne an apple, his youngest son says 'Father,' Ashur says 'Father, *I* would like to go.' He says 'But what did your older brothers achieve? What will *you* achieve? Why should *you* go?' He said 'May I, let me also go.' He said 'Go.' He had a bow and arrow. He took his bow and arrow and went off. He went. When it became the time of the ripening of the apple and he felt like sleeping, he cut his finger and put salt on it. He put salt on it and it smarted. He was uncomfortable and did not sleep. (5) At night, at midnight, he looked (and saw) a very large black animal come to sit on the apple, eat it and go, and he shot it with the bow and arrow. He shot it, though the animal did not fall, but, with its blood dripping and dripping, it went away. He came back in the morning, bringing back the apple for his father. He gave it to his father. He said to his brothers. I have shot that animal. (6) They said 'Where have you shot him?' He said 'Believe me I have shot him.' They came and looked in the garden. There is a lot of blood that has dripped like this and gone away. Then in Turkish they narrate 'They went a little. They went a long way. They went straight over vale and hill' and arrived at a well, over which there was a very large stone, over a well. The blood was flowing there into the well and stopped there. So they knew that the animal had descended into the well. (7) There was a very large stone over it. They take away the stone. They send for and bring very long ropes. The elder brother says 'Send *me* (down there).' But they stretch their heads like this into the well and heat

*mən-ju-ķúnya šxùnta +plátəla. | +rába šaxìnəva ķúnya. | ɔ-brúna +júra màrələ |*  
*é-+dān +sudárroxun ka-díyyi ՚òltəx, | har-márri kádli bšəlli, | +pál̄tunl̄. | lá-šoķitun*  
*՚ána péšən +támə. | (8) ՚áha +šadúruna. | xáččə +bəslayələ mára kádli bshəlli,*  
*+palūtuna. | ՚o-xína-da +šadúruna, | ՚o=t-d-trè. | +av=zə bərràxšələ, | kádli bshəlli,*  
*+’av=zə +palūtuna. | ՚o=t-d-+tl̄lə, | mārələ cmá-t tánən kádli bshəlli, | lá +palūtunl̄.*  
*har-+šádrunli ՚òltəx. | +Ášur| +šadúruna. | bərràxšələ, | bərràxšələ, | +mṭáyələ +al-*  
*՚áštət ķúnya +rába kášya. | (9) sépu=zə vágəla b-dápnu| sépu bəškálolə | ՚átxa bəd-*  
*vakólə ķam, | ķam ķat-lá| ríšu ķáx-duca +šùlə. | sépa ՚átxa dvákola, | býya b-*  
*sépa ՚átxa, | +bára-+bar sépa bərràxšələ. | +mṭáyələ xa-dúcal +bəzràčələ, | véla xa-*  
*júyda +mṭáyələ, | ՚ax-júyda. | b-sépu +šúlə +bəzràčələ, | xa-+kólay +bára bəxzáyələ,*  
*+tárra bəxzáyələ. | +tárra ptàxul, | +várəl. | (10) +várəl, | bəxzáyələ ՚ína xa-bàxčələl*  
*+’úxčə ūap̄ərtə, | +rózə l-à-pato, | ՚u-l-è-pato, | ՚urxátə ju-da-báxčal mən-dà-jiba,*  
*mən-dò-jiba. | ՚ína xá ՚úrxə bərràxšələ +al-xá PápärtmánP +rába +júrta ūap̄ərtə. |*  
*՚áha bərràxšələ. | bərràxšələ +mṭáyələ +al-+tárət ... e-PápärtmánP, | ptàxulə. |*  
*+várələl bəxzáyələ ՚ína xá-dana húri pàrl̄ xá'a báxtal +raba ūap̄ərtəl tòvtəla. |*  
*՚ína xá-dana dèv, | mən-dánnə dèvə, | ríšu muttúlə +al-bärco, | xa-yácca dèv. |*  
*(11) ՚áha bərràxšələ ķamáy, | é-baxta mārələ ķatul ՚óyan +xlápux ՚axúnī, | lá-*  
*cli làxxal ՚a-ádi bət-ķám bət-+axḍllux. | jáldə m-icət týyəvət +dūr. | mārələl lá, |*  
*՚ána týyən fān-+dàvun šaklánna, | ՚ána týyən +’avun +kaṭlánna. | +xulásə ՚áha*  
*+bazbüzuləl b-sépu, | bəndáyələ, | dèv vágəla xína, | bəndáyələ jašùkələl ՚öl mārələ*  
*՚á cícil cícil +mráyəval ՚ádi tílux ՚ána p̄t-+axlānnux, | cícil bət-básəm. | mārələ híl*  
*՚ána týyən fānux šaklánna. | (12) ՚áha bəkyàmələl mārələl xèlux máxzi. | ՚á da-*  
*yàla ՚ka-+Ášur mára xèlux máxzi | +Ášur mārələl ՚ána hammáša yávən pársat*  
*՚á dəžmənni, | dəžmənni ՚ámta xélu maxzílə, | +xárta ՚ána xéli maxzónna. | ՚á*  
*dəžmánnu bitayələ, | bəškálələ mən-dánnə cípat ՚òrxəl ju-matvàtə ՚átvə ՚é-+dana*  
*՚òrxə ... +xáttə +šúlə ci-taxnívalun biyyé ՚ka-ķamxa ՚ána xá-náša +axlívə, | xùr-*  
*rac +axlívə. | (13) ՚áha bəkyàmələl tré dánə +bəsyàrəl xá-mənne b-dá ՚álpu,*  
*xá-mənne b-+dàvva ՚álpu. | partuléla ju-+háva ՚átxa, | mxayələ, | +rappuvvélə*  
*+állu ՚at-páyəš b-+aralləgjé. | bəndáyələ ju-+háva +Ášur, | +bəslayələ ՚òltəx. |*  
*mārələl há +bar-náša +hála xáyəvət? | mārələ hí xáyəvən. | týyən ՚ána láxxa*  
*fānux šaklánna. | mārələ Pxeylim-xòbP, | ՚átm mxí zárbus. | ՚áha sépu +marùmul,*  
*xá-dana mxáyəl díz | m-áxxa b-+arallájjé! ríšu! vágulə tré sàmə. | ՚áha! m ...*  
*hál ՚òltəx +bəslayələ sépu. | (14) mārələl ՚á +bar-nášal ՚á sépux cmá basiməva. |*

comes out of the well. The well was very hot. The elder brother says 'When you send me down, as soon as I say "I am burning, I am cooking", take me out. Do not let me stay there.' (8) They send him down. He descends a little and says 'I am burning, I am cooking, take me out.' They send the other down, the second one. He goes (and says) 'I am burning, I am cooking,' and they take him out. The third one says 'However much I say "I am burning, I am cooking" do not take me out,' send me further down. They send Ashur down. He goes and goes and hits the bottom of the well very hard. (9) His sword is by his side. He takes his sword and holds it like this in front, in front so that his head does not bang somewhere. He holds his sword like this and goes along with his sword like that, after his sword. He reaches a place and scratches and look, he reaches a wall, (something) like a wall. He scratches with his sword and so forth, he sees a slight light and he sees a door. He opens the door and enters. (10) He goes in and sees that there is a garden, which is so beautiful, with roses on this side and that side, with paths in the garden, from this side and that side. A path goes to a very beautiful apartment. He goes there. He goes and arrives at the door of the apartment and opens it. He goes in and sees that a nymph, a very beautiful woman, is sitting there. But a monster, one of those monsters, has put his head on her knee, a huge monster. (11) He goes forward and the woman say to him 'Please,<sup>140</sup> my brother, do not stand here. He will right now get up and eat you. Quickly return to wherever you have come from.' He says 'No, I have come to take his life. I have come to kill him.' In short he pierces him with his sword, he jumps. He is a monster. He jumps and looks, he says 'Oh, this tooth of mine, my tooth was aching. Now that you have come I shall eat you and my tooth will heal.' He said 'Yes, I have come to take your life.' (12) He gets up and says 'Show your strength.' To the lad, to Ashur he says 'Show your strength.' Ashur says 'I always give the opportunity to my enemy, for my enemy first to show his strength, then I show my strength.' His enemy comes and takes one of these millstones—at that time in the villages there were watermills, in which they used to grind wheat and so forth for flour, for people to eat, to eat food. (13) He gets up and ties two of them, one on this eyelash of his, one of them on that eyelash of his. He swings them round like this in the air, he strikes them, he throws them at him in order for him to be between them. Ashur jumps in the air and comes down. He says 'Ah, man, are you still alive?' He says 'Yes, I am alive. I have come here to take your life.' He says 'Very well, you strike your blow.' He raises his sword, he strikes a straight blow from here in the middle of his head and slices it into two parts. His sword descends from ??? to the bottom. (14) He says 'Ah, human, how good your sword

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140 Literally: May I be your substitute.

xá-xta mxì. | 'án xá-xta maxìva, | +'áv bát-xayyìva. | mårələ là| xá lè máxən. | xáčxa  
 rkùdl mən-+bar rkèdlux, | tilux| xá-xta bát-máxən. | 'áha hár +báyyə ràkəd, | pálju  
 npálələ l-à-jiba! pálju l-ò-yba. | myàtələ. | ķa-dánnə=da ci-hákónvalun ķa-yál súri. |  
 'ánnə cúlla ci-tayònvalun 'ána. | 'áha! bənpálələ, | myàtələ. | myàtələ, | 'é húri pàri!  
 'é báxta šapòrta! mårəla ķatul xína bássa. | škùl, | 'ázax. | 'ína m-áxxa l-ò-jiba=zəl  
 'áttən tré dévə xìnə=da. | tré xatvátət diyyi škiléna. | mən-diyyi=da buš-šapírəna. |  
 davóltə=da +raba 'átlun. | mára lá p̄t-ázən! 'áni=da jári +máțən +al-dáni=da. | (15)  
 bərràxshələl 'o-xína=da +bəktáluləl 'ō=t-d-+tlà=da +bəktálula. | xína lé +báyyən +rába  
 +maryəxxònna, | +ha cílla 'ánnə məndiyé +súlə +jammùyunal bitáyəna +al-  
 do-kùnya! kát 'áha +sàlyəva xína. | bədráyəl ķála ķa-axunvátu! mára +xóloxun  
 +šàdərrun! +šadúruna +xòla. | ķámeta +šadúrolə 'é=t mófyəva +'állø ķamta. | 'áy  
 'é +jùrtəva ju-bnáta. | ķa-do-axunu +júra mára 'áxuni! +xólux +šàdərrə! +xólu  
 +šadúruləl mára 'áxuni! 'áha ķa-diyyux. | (16) 'áy +marùmoləl bəxzáyələ +rába  
 šapòrta! xá húri pàri +súlə. | bəxdáyələ +rába xína! lélə bəxsháva 'án=t mən-+bár  
 dáy bitáyəna! búš šapírəna mən-dáyən. | mändi +súlə=da +šadúruləl ķa-axün-  
 trè=da mårələl 'áxuni! +xólux +šàdər. | +'áv=zə +šadúruləl 'é húri pàri xíta=da  
 +šadúroləl 'é=t-d-+tlà mára +šàdrun. | +šadúruna, | bəsyàkəla. | 'áha bəxzáyəna  
 +bába 'ú +rába šapòrtəla. | 'áha mən-dan xína +rába šapòrtəla. | bəcrábəna! mára  
 ķa-mú ķa-díyyan 'é šapòrta lélə yúvvo, | xúmyolə ķa-jànū? | (17) 'áy massùkona.  
 +xóla +šadúruna ķat-+av-yásək, | bəxzáyəna +'áv=iləl +xóla +bəktàyuna! npálələ  
 +al-'áštət kùnya! npálələ +al-'áštət kùnya 'áha. | +xulásal bərràxshələl b-+xòla! b-dé  
 sépu mádrə fu-xéšca! balbíyələ +súlə láxxa +támma. | 'úrxə bəptàxəla. | bərràxshələ  
 +vàrələ. | xína 'áha fu-čòl bənpálələ. | bənpálələ fu-čòl +súlə +m̄táyələ xa-dùca, |  
 +m̄táyələ xa-dùca! 'inal xá 'áx màta! vâyələl mlítə nášə, | 'inal cílla bəxyəna,  
 nášə bəxyəna. | (18) +bakúrələ ķa-mú bəxyətən? | xa-bráta ķatul mårələl láxxa  
 'áxnan 'átlan xá-dana tanína. | xá tanína 'áttən ... ķám nára ci-davàklə. | ham-  
 máša míyyət nára cílla ci-śatılun! ķa-díyyan míyya lè +máti. | 'áxnan jári 'ázax!  
 cí +dánət +ávun nára bədvàkuləl xá tré yála súra +ráppax +al-márzət nára!  
 +'ávun ci-+pálət kát 'áni +axállun! 'íta míyya m-+xútu c-+óri c-ati, | 'áxnan míyya  
 šàtax! 'adíyya +ávva dvíkəl. | 'átxəla. | (19) 'ícələ 'ó tanína? | mára +fóllan dùtya.  
 'áha bəkyàmələl sépu +súlu bəškalələl bərràxshələl bərràxshələ +al-ján do-tanína.  
 mårələl 'e-bráta mårələl 'át! jánax ta-túy +táməl ķa-de-bráta ķat 'ánnə məndyána  
 ķatuyèla. | 'át túy +táməl 'ána=da cálən dəpnax. | 'áy mattúyona +táməl  
 xúvvə mən-+támə plàtələ. | ķat-bitáyələ ķa-dáha +'áxəl, | 'áha bəmxáyələl b-sépa!  
 mən-púmmu m-áxxal xíuvvəl +bəktáluləl. | (20) xíuvvə +bəktáluləl bəškáləl +al-dé

is. Strike again.' If he were to strike again, he would live. He says 'No, I shall not strike at once. Dance a little. After you have danced and come back, I shall strike again.' As soon as he wants to dance, one half of him falls on one side and the other on the other side. He dies—I used to tell these (stories) to my children, I used to tell them all of them. He falls down and dies. He dies, the nymph, the beautiful woman, says 'That is enough, no more. Come, let us go. But from here to the other side there are two other monsters. They have taken my two sisters. They are more beautiful even than me. They have also great riches.' He says 'No, I shall go, I must rescue them too.' (15) He goes and kills the other one and he kills also the third one. I do not want to prolong it (the story) too much—now they all gather up their belongings and so forth and come to the well where he had descended. He calls his brothers saying 'Send your rope!' They send him a rope. First he sends the one whom he had reached first. She was the eldest among the girls. He says to his elder brother 'Brother, send your rope!' He sends his rope saying 'Brother, this is for you.' (16) He raises her up and sees she is very beautiful, a nymph. He is very happy, but does not realise that those that are coming after her are more beautiful than her. He sends his belongings and says to the second brother 'Brother, send your rope.' He sends them and sends the other nymph. As for the third, he says 'Send (the rope).' They send it and she ascends. They see that indeed she is very beautiful. She is more beautiful than the others. They become angry saying 'Why has he not given us the most beautiful one and kept her for himself?' (17) They bring her up. They send down the rope for him to come up. They see it is him, they cut the rope and he falls to the bottom of the well. He falls to the bottom of the well. In short, he goes and searches with the rope and with his sword again in the dark, here and there. A way opens up. He goes and enters it. He ends up in a desert. He ends up in a desert and reaches a place, he reaches a place (and sees) something that is like a village, full of people, and everybody is weeping, the people are weeping. (18) He asks 'Why are you weeping?' A girl says to him 'We have here a dragon. There is a dragon that blocks access to the river. It always drinks all the water of the river and the water does not reach us. Every time it blocks the river, we must go and throw one or two children onto the river bank. He comes out to eat them then the water flows and comes from beneath him and we drink the water. Now he has blocked it. It is like that.' (19) 'Where is that dragon?' She says 'In such-and-such a place.' He gets up, takes his sword and so forth and goes. He goes against the dragon. He says (to) that girl, he says 'You yourself come and sit there'—(he says) to the girl who is telling him these things—'You sit there and I shall stand beside you.' They put her there. The snake comes out of there. When he comes to eat her, he strikes the snake with the sword, from its mouth, from here and kills it. (20) He kills the snake and takes the girl. He cuts it up for

bráta. | xína xá šábta 'áha +katkútułə ju-nàra| xá šábta vágylə dàmma bərráxša ju-náral +úxçet vágylə +júral 'á xùvvə. | xùvvə m-+bár +bəktálulə,| bitáyəna xína mìyya. | m-+bár k̄tılulə +káttə +káttə vágulə mìyya bitáyəna labùluna. | 'ánnə násəl bəstáyəna mìyya,| bəxxayəna. | (21) bitáyələ. | +xàrtal módrə mårələ 'àna mən-xadúnyə xítə týyən. | móñ dúnnyət +'üllul týyən. | mårəna cù-məndit +bàyyət,| bne-dé màta,| cù-məndit +bàyyət 'áxnan kátux t-òdax. | módrə hámmanl 'ána lén peşánət lâxxa. | 'áxči xá +ba'úta 'átlı mənnòxunl 'ón 'áttən xá 'úrxa +masitunl ķa-díyyi +maddərritun +ál de-dúnnyət +'üllul. | 'ánnə mårəna lâxxa 'áxnan 'á móndi là-+amsax 'odáxlə. | 'ína 'áttən lâxxa xá +simákur. | mára xá +simákur 'áttən lâxxa. | 'é +simákurl cút šítə ci-yádla cmá dánə biyya. | +báyya +pálta +zàyał xá xùvvə c-áta 'en-+záyo býyo c-+axəllun. | 'é +simákur=da 'ádi=da xína véla +šurítə bəsyával mən-xâssəl mən-+narahatıtyo. | +rába +narahat c-óya. | lélə +msá xá +zárra=da jarvəssa. | (22) módrə Pxèli xúbP| lablúnli cás dé +simákur xáz-zən mù-ila. | bərráxshəl +tâma. | 'áha bədmáxəl xút kánnət +simákur. | +simákur bəxshávələl 'áhələ 'ó +janàvarl yán 'ó hənnəl +bar-násət kát bitáyələ 'ánnə býyo +bəšmaçələ,| +bixalèle. | +báyya b-júlpə +márma kát maxyàlə. | módrəl lá lá lá mxí. | 'ána týyən parkənnax. | +xulàsal 'áha lélə mxáyu. | lélə mxàyu. | 'áha bəclàyələl móral týyən 'ána ķa-díyyax párkən! kát 'át 'a-śita 'avílax +zàya. | (23) xáčxa bətyávələ xút de-kənnol jašsúkələ 'ína bitáyələ módrə xá-dana xùvvə +rába +yaríxal +júra,| 'átxa +báyyə 'ázəl m-+ál 'ilána yásək +šúla +ál kánnət +simákur,| kát módrəl býyo +axəllun. | mxáyələ,| xùvvə +bəktálulə. | xùvvə +bəktálulə 'áha +simákurl +zàyo,| vágylə +zàya,| mən-býyo +plátəna +zàya. | jarvüsəna. | bəxdáyələ +rába módrələl mū +bàyyət 'adíyya? | 'ána kát mən-+bár cmá šánnəl kát vítəvan +čallúšə kát 'avíli +zàya,| lén +msítə 'avíli +zàya. | 'ádi múdit +bàyyət 'ána kátux t-òdan. | módrələ 'áxči 'ána +báyyən +pálten +al-dé dúnnyət +'üllul. | (24) 'áha bəclàyələl taxmùnələl móral 'ána dún +rába səvtal 'ína módrə xùb +čalləssax. | módrəl 'ína ķa-váttət da-+šúla járəc 'átnən 'ázət +šavvá dànəl m-áxxa +al-de-dúnnyət diyyoxunl +šavvá manzılə 'ó. | cút mónzəl jári xáčxa cá lax manyòxxaxl +al-de-xita,| +al-de-xita,| hal-+mátxax +al-de-dúnnyət diyyoxun. | 'ína járəc 'átnən ķa-dánnə +šavvá manzılə ķat-'áxnan hal-+mátxax +al-cúl mónzəl 'ána xá-dana 'érba yávvət 'ódıla parmlıla bašlıla ķalılıla jóns,| xá +lína +júra=da +xámra xá jápñət=da lâxma. | (25) cù-+dán mórrı +rappił 'át kámta +ráppat lâxma,| +xàrtal +ráppat xá-dana 'érba ķat-kùlyotunl +rappəttə. | mən-+bár dáy=da xəšlał mórrı +ráppatl xá +lína +xámra dárət ju-+xərxərri. | p-xallənnan 'ána bət-yáskan. | 'áha +šúla vágulə. | bərráxshəl ķa-dan-násət móta tanùyələl módrə 'átxa,| PjarayánP 'átxələl lubálloxun ķa-díyyi cəs=dé +simákur,| 'é +simákur=da 'adíyya +zàyo 'átlə. | vídən xa-+šúla 'átlə +zàya. | va-+báyya +páltał +al-de-dúnnyət +bàral 'ína 'ánnə məndyána +tłabətəla. | (26) mórrun xâssə la vúd 'áxnan 'ánnə məndyána ķatux cùlla b-+hadràxlun. | 'albál 'ánnə məndyána ķatu +hudrèlun. | xəšlał lublélun cás +simákur. | mórrə 'ána +házər. | mórra +rába +spáy. | mé tanápə +šúlał 'ánnə cùlla

a week. For a week blood is flowing in the river, so big is the snake. After he kills the snake, water flows again. After he has killed it and chopped it into pieces, water flows and carries it away. The people drink water and live. (21) He comes back. Afterwards he says 'I have come from another world. I have come from the world above.' They say 'Whatever you want'—the inhabitants of the village (say)—'whatever you want, we shall do for you.' He says 'Believe me, I do not intend to stay here. I have only one wish (to ask) from you (namely) that there is a way that you can return me to the world above.' They say 'We cannot do this thing here. But there is here a *+simaxur* bird.' They say 'There is a *+simaxur* bird here. The *+simaxur* every year lays some eggs. It wants to produce young, but a snake comes and eats its young, its eggs. The *+simaxur* bird has now begun to age from its sorrow and distress. It gets very distressed. It is not able to raise a single offspring.' (22) He says 'Very well, take me to the *+simaxur* bird for me to see what it is.' He goes there. He sleeps under the nest of the *+simaxur* bird. The *+simaxur* bird thinks he is the monster, or the thing, the man who is coming to break and eat her eggs. It wants to raise its wing to strike him. He says 'No, no, do not strike. I have come to rescue you.' In short, it does not strike him. It does not strike him. He stands and says 'I have come to rescue you so that this year you will have young.' (23) He sits for a little under her nest and sees that a snake is coming, very long and big, and it wants to move from off the trees and go up to the nest of the *+simaxur* bird to eat her eggs again. He strikes and kills the snake. He kills the snake. The *+simaxur* bird has young, young issue from her eggs. They grow up. It is very happy and says 'What do you want now? I, who after so many years have been trying to have young, have not been able to have young. Now I shall do for you whatever you want.' He says 'I only want to go out into the world above.' (24) It stops and thinks, then says 'I have grown very old, but still we shall try.' It says 'But to do this task you must go seven (stages)—from here to your world there are seven stages. At each stage we have to stop and rest a little, (going) to the next, to the next, until we reach your world. But before we reach these seven stages, each stage, I (suggest) you give a sheep for them to prepare, slaughter, cook and fry well, a large jar of wine and a kneading tray of bread. (25) Whenever I say "Throw," you must first throw the bread, then throw a sheep, which you have fried, throw it. After that goes and I say "Throw," pour a jar of wine into my throat. I shall gain strength and go up.' He does this task. He goes and tells the people of the village. He says 'It is like this, the course (of events) is like this. You took me to the *+simaxur* bird. The *+simaxur* now has its young. I have done something and she has young. And she wants to take me out to the world of light, but has asked me for these things.' (26) They said 'Do not worry. We shall prepare all these things for you.' They immediately prepared these things. He went and they took them to the *+simaxur*. He said 'I am ready.'

+súrun +al-+xàsi. | jánux-da tú b-+aralləjgè. | 'áha| cíl cíl mánzəl kát +mṭayəva| mårəva +rappi| mən-cút-mønne xà-dana. | 'áha +rappiyə. | +xulásə bəsyákəva| hál mṭila +al-dé ... puláṭla +al-+bàra. | (27) puláṭla +al-dúnyət +bàra| 'áha tilə| xàšləl +mṭila +ál bétət bàbu. | +al-bétət bàbu +mṭila| jušókla 'ína bétət bàbu| cílla purpàssələ. | hác xá náša ju-bétu| lót pyàša. | 'áxci +várrə ju-xá ķunjīta| mučóxlə xá mən-axunvátu. | xá mən-axunvátu mučəxləl mårra céna 'én-xinə?| mårre| 'é xàti| 'átvəlan xá-dana xàta. | 'át bətxárət?| ci-+karívala-da +áxla mdítət bàbo. | 'é xàti| mårre cílla +xəltèla. | cílla bne-dà mdítə,| nášo,| ķonyàno,| susavàto,| +janavàro,| cílla +xəltèla. | 'áxci 'ána píšən. | 'ána-da c-ávən bərràkəl m-kám 'ido. | har-átya ləxxal c-ázən +támma mən-+támma. | c-ávən m-dà dúca +al-dé dúca| bərrákə mən-ķamày. | mårre 'icəla?| mårre 'ána cálən cəsluxl mårre 'ádi t-átya| +níjáran lá ví,| 'ádi t-átya. | (28) 'áy bitáyəla. | 'áha-da b-süysə váyələ týya xína| süysu váyələ máxyu ju-pája. | cut-+dána bitáyəla cəslu mårələl 'áxuni,| süysuxl +tlə-aklə 'átvələl 'é-+dān tilux?| xá-akləl váyələ +xəltə. | +xárta bərrəxşələl bitáyəla mára véna trè 'áklu píšəl 'é=t-d-+tlə-da +bixálola,| 'é=t-+ärpa-da +bixálola. | +bəddáyəla xína 'ádi süysu t-+axlələl t-átya +al-jánu. | bəkyámələl bərrákələl. | bərrákələl mən-mdítə +plàtələl,| bərrákələl. | bərrəxşələl,| bərrəxşələ +ràba. | 'áha| cáslu váyula xá ... xá +jánta +júrtəl 'áti +majrayátəl xá +jánta +júrtə 'áti məlxə,| 'áha +bərxáṭələl 'áha +bərxáṭələl +bàru. | bitáyəla kát +matyáləl mìxə +rappuvvél. | xáčča 'a-ju-'áklo +bəttəsəna. | 'á xáčča +naràhat váyəla. | 'á xáčča bərráxşələ ķamày| 'ína +bərxáṭələl +bàru. | +bərxáṭələl +báru mədra. | 'áha| +majrayày +rappuvvél. | +majrayátə +rappuvvéləl cílla čóla váyəna +majrayày. | 'áklo cílla parzùvvəna| 'ína mádrə +bərxáṭələl +báru. | məlxu +rappuvvəla,| váyəla yámət məlxə. | +várəla ju-yáməl 'áklo +čalbùvvəna,| +naràhat váyəla +rába +súla. | 'ína mádrə mán dáy-da +plàtələl,| +bərxáṭələl +bàru. | +bərxáṭələl +bàru,| 'áha| bəsyákələl +al-xá 'ilána ju-mëša. | bəsyákələl +ál 'ilána,| 'áha bitáyəla. | +bàru ķat-yáska +kaṭláləl,| +axlələl xína,| mán +úllul mxáyələ b-sèpa| mən-ju-rišo. | +xulásəl +bəktálolə. | (30) +bəsláyələl 'áltəx| císo +pràṭol. | jašúkələl 'ína xá +tuvvùltələl jú císo. | 'á +tuvvùltələl cílla 'ánnə məndyána +bixálələl +úxča +júrtələ. | 'áy-da +bəktáloləl +bəktáloləl. | váyəla xína +rába ráxķa m-cás 'axùnu| m-cás bàbu xína. | xá dúca bəxzáyələ 'ína xá-dana bétəl +al-xá ķunjīta. | vélə bərrəxsha. | bərróxşəl +al-dò bétə. | jašúkələl ju-do-bétə 'ína xá báxta ... sòtəla| lá +ràba,| 'ína xá sóta távtəla

It said 'Very good. Bring ropes and so forth, tie them all onto my back. You sit among them.' At every stage that they reached, it said 'Throw one of each of them.' He throws them. In short, it ascends until it reached ... it brought him into the light. (27) It brought him into the world of light. He went back and reached the house of his father. He reached the house of his father and looked (and saw) that the house of his father was completely broken up. There was nobody remaining in the house. But he went to a corner and found one of his brothers. He found one of his brothers and said 'Where are the others?' He said 'That sister of mine,' he said 'We had a sister, do you remember? They used to call her "the eater of the town of her father." That sister of mine,' he said 'has eaten them all. All the inhabitants of this town, its people, its cattle, its horses, its monsters, she has eaten them all. Only I am left. I am constantly running away from her clutches.<sup>141</sup> As soon as she comes here, I go there, from there. I am running away from her from this place to that place.' He said 'Where is she?' He said 'I shall stand with you.' He said 'She will come now, do not worry, she will now come.' (28) She comes. He has come on a horse and has put his horse in the stable. She comes to him, each time, and says 'Brother, did your horse have three legs when you came?' She has eaten one of its legs. Then she goes and comes back saying 'Two of its legs are left.' She eats also the third one, she eats also the fourth one. He knows that now she will eat his horse and attack him. He gets up and flees. He flees. He leaves the town and flees. He goes a long way. He has with him a big bag of razors, a big bag of salt and a big bag of nails. (29) He runs and she runs after him. She comes close to reaching him and he throws down the nails. Some stick into her feet. She is rather uncomfortable. He goes forward a little, but she runs after him. She runs after him again. He throws down the razors. He throws down the razors and all the fields become (covered with) razors. They slice up all her feet, but she again runs after him. He throws down the salt, and it turns into a sea of salt. She enters the sea, her feet sting and she becomes uncomfortable. But again she also comes out of that and runs after him. She runs after him and he climbs up a tree in the forest. He climbs up a tree and she comes. Just as she climbs after him to kill him, to eat him, he strikes with his sword from above onto her head. In short, he kills her. (30) He comes down and rips open her stomach. He looks (and sees) that there is a worm in her stomach. It is this worm that is eating all these things, it is so huge. He kills that also. He kills it. He is very far from his brother's home, from his father's home. In one place he sees a house on a corner. He goes. He goes to the house. He looks in the house (and sees) that there is woman who is old,

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141 Literally: her hand.

+táma ju-dò béta.| mára brùni| 'áy ƙam-tílux ju-da-béta?| 'ádi,| çúra xambáša  
 t-átə t-+axòllux.| çúra xambáša +jòrolə xína.| +'áv=da xa-dèv-ilə.| çúra xam-  
 báša t-átə t-+axòllux.| (31) p̄t-átə t-+axòllux.| mára lâ| 'ána p-tánən brùnuvən.|  
 márra lá +bàba| p̄t-+axòllux| +'áv li-+yàttə 'átxa móndi.| márra mu-p̄t-àvə.| 'ána  
 tánən brùnuvən.| Pbəl'áxaraP b-zarzáxlə 'á mòndi.| 'áha +bérašə çúra xambáša  
 bitáyələ hó hó hó hó| 'áha vâyələ xišəl| 'árba +marrùvəvə.| 'árba vâyulə.| +rába  
 'árbu +šúlu máyələ mavvúrələ ju-hònnna.| bitáyələ hár +tárra ptàxul| +várəl  
 javày ƙa-báxtu màrələl báxtal ríxət +bar-nàša bitáyələ.| márləla ƙa-mú létva  
 +bəddá 'áxnan brùna 'átlan?| márləla lâ| 'ána brúna lòtvali.| márləla dàx| 'átvalan  
 brúna.| márləla 'ən-'ána 'átvani brùna,| +rába +spáy.| 'ádi b-yáskən +al-jára|  
 b-+jérən b-ríšu.| m-+al-jára b-+jérən b-ríšu.| 'ən-lá pšərrəl brùnilə.| 'ən-pšərrə,  
 lélə brúni.| bəsyákələ +bəjyàrələ.| lélə pšára.| bitáyələ márləla brùnilə| +rába  
 bəxdàyələ.| (32) 'ádi brúnu bitáyələ ƙatú márlələ +pápal 'átnən xùbl| 'adíyya  
 xína 'ána brunùx-vən| 'átnən-da bábabvət.| 'átxa-nàša sàvəvət.| çùrəva-da,| çúra,  
 çúra xambáša xína.| 'ána müjjurral 'ána 'árba?| xá-átxa +naràhat=vət.| 'ádi  
 tálki=dal| 'átxu-li-+yàttət.| 'ána t-ázən +marrànnun.| márləla +râba +spáy| t-ázət  
 +marràttun.| 'ína +avvó +túyra 'áttən +tammòhal l-à-jiba| xáčča +rámələ=dal  
 +rába-da 'ilànə 'áttən +'állul +al-+dàvva +túyra lá-'azət.| +támma 'áttən xà-  
 dana| šáddə bolòlo.| 'ayən| +áynət díyyi çùrə vəttéla.| +táma lâ-'azət.| 'áy +rába  
 +janàvar hònnələl +mazdiyyánta.| (33) mára bás +rába +spáy| lè-'ázən.| 'áha  
 bərràxşələl +marruvvələ,| cmá yumána 'árba +marruvvələ,| +madduréla bitáyələ.  
 +xárta mārlələ +bába xá 'ázən yáskən +al-+dàvva +túyra| xázzən +támma mù-  
 'at +bába,| mù márləla.| bərráxşələ +al-+túyra +m̄tayələ.| vâyələ 'árbu +šúlu  
 +marruvvè +táməl vâyələ tìva.| mən-+bár xáčča nàjəstan| jašúkələ xá báxta  
 cóso bulmàlla,| 'é šáddə bolòlolə xína,| cóso bulmàlla +savánta dúla tìla.| (34)  
 'é brùni| b-šéna tíyyət +al-dá +túyrat díyyan.| 'á +túyra ƙa-díyyux| lén-+bəddə  
 müdi.| mārlələ b-šénət 'avìlax| yòmma| cépax dàxila?| +rába şapòrtət,| +rába  
 laxùmtat.| +janàvar vâyələ xína,| 'ína +áv +bəxkàrolə| kát xázə mú t-òda.| bitáyələ  
 bətyávəla dàpnu.| ríšo mattúvvula +al-bàrcu,| bədmàxəla.| mattúvvula ríšo +al-  
 dàpnu| m-+bár xáčča| 'átvələ čaríxa.| čaríxa +bəddàyat mü-inə xína?| čaríxa  
 'átvələ.| níxa níxa jašúkələ 'ína 'á čaríxu dúla šaluxè| kát +šárya +bixàlu.| hár  
 bí dé sépət kát 'átvələ mxáyələ ju-rišo.| 'á xáčča jažžünəla.| 'áhal +bərràšəla.

(though) not very (old), an old woman is sitting there in the house. She says 'My son, why have you come to this house? Now the blind giant will come and eat you.' The blind giant is her husband. He is a monster. 'The blind giant will come and eat you. (31) He will come and eat you.' He says 'No, I shall say that I am his son.' She said 'No, alas, he will eat you. He does not know such a thing.' He says 'It does not matter. I shall say I am his son. In the end we shall fix this thing.' The blind giant comes back in the evening, 'ho, ho, ho, ho.' He has gone to graze sheep. He has sheep. He brings back his many sheep and so forth and puts them in the thing. He comes. As soon as he opens the door and comes inside, he says to his wife 'Wife there is a smell of a human.' She says 'Why, did you not know that we have a son?' He says 'No, I did not have a son.' She says 'But yes, we did have a son.' He says 'If I had a son, very good. Now I shall go up upon the roof and urinate on him. I shall urinate upon him from the roof. If he does not melt, he is my son. If he melts, he is not my son.' He goes up and urinates. He does not melt. He comes back and says 'He is my son.' He is very happy. (32) Now his son comes to him and says 'Daddy, well I am your son and you are my father. You are an old man.' He was also blind, blind, the blind monster. 'How do you deal with these sheep? You are so stressed. Even if they get lost now, you would indeed not know. *I shall go and graze them.*' He says 'Very good, you go and graze them. But there is that mountain over there, on this side, it is rather high, and many trees are on it—do not go to that mountain. There is a demon monster. She blinded my eyes. Do not go there. She is a very ... monster, frightening.' (33) He says 'Very well, I shall not go (there).' He goes and grazes them, for a few days he grazes the sheep, then brings them back and comes back. Then he says 'Well, let me go and climb onto that mountain and see what on earth there is there, and what she says.' He goes and arrives at the mountain. He is grazing his sheep there and is sitting. After a while, suddenly he notices that a woman with tangled hair, the demon monster, her hair tangled, ugly, has come. (34) 'Heh, my son, welcome<sup>142</sup> to this mountain of ours. This mountain is yours,' and I don't know what. He says 'Thank you, ma'am.<sup>143</sup> How are you? You are very beautiful, you are very comely.' She is a monster, but he praises her in order to see what she would do. She comes and sits by his side. She puts her head on his knee and goes to sleep. She puts her head on his side. After a while—he had sandals. You know what 'sandals' are? He had sandals. He notices that she is gradually taking his sandals off in order to begin to eat him. With the same sword that he had he strikes on her head and she becomes rather faint. She wakes up. She wakes

<sup>142</sup> Literally: You have come in peace.

<sup>143</sup> Literally: With the peace that may it be for you, mother.

+bərràšəla,| mårəla +tálax +kùymar.| 'ón 'át ķa-díyyi +krámlux,| cmá 'érba 'átlux| páljət dání 'ána 'érba b-yavvànnux.| 'ón 'ána +krómli,| páljət 'rbux b-yavvátla ķa-díyyi.| mára +ràba +spáy.| (35) 'ánnə +tavúləna +kùymar! 'ha +bəkráməla.| +bəkráməla páljət 'rbux.| xšú 'ámma dànə 'átvale| xamši dánə +bəkráməla.| +bəxvaṭéla ju-'rbul +bəslayəla| bitáyəla +mṭayəla.| kám bëta| cúra xambáša +plàṭəla| cúra xambáša +plàṭəla mårəla 'rbri xažbənnənnun| xu-lét +mubsərra mənné.| 'ha mårəla 'á díyyi,| 'á díyyi,| 'á la-díyyi.| paljëna xína.| 'á díyyi,| 'á díyyi,| 'á la-díyyi.| 'á díyyi,| 'á díyyi,| 'á la-díyyi.| jašúkəl xamši dánəl zòdəna ju-'rbu.| (36) mårəla lén míra ķa-díyyux| +'al-do+ tūyra là yáskət?| ķa-mú siķət?| 'áyən ... 'ánnə +óyna +paluṭəla,| +xárta cùra t-odálux,| t-+axlālux.| mårəla là bábi| xína lè-'azən.| mədrəl 'ó-yuma xína mádrə +bətràyəla bərráxəl +tāma.| mədrə mårəla| +'al-xamši dánəl mádrə +tálax.| +tavúləna,| 'áni-da +bəkráməla.| 'ádi xa-'ax-'rbul 'rbə +kriméla mən-dà xína.| +bérašə bitáyəla| cùra xambáša mədrəl mårəla xažbənnun| mårəla 'á díyyi,| 'á la-díyyi.| 'á díyyi,| 'á la-díyyi.| 'á díyyi,| 'á la-díyyi.| xína 'ax-+uydaləna xína.| (37) 'ádi mádra brùni nonùwən býyux,| parpùlən býyux| +xṭitux-la| là-xuš! 'átxa t-ōda.| mádrə bərráxəla bərráxəla 'ó-yuma xína.| mårəla mədrəl xá-'ax páljət 'rbux| +tálax.| +yána 'ámma dánə xína xína.| 'ha +tavúləla,| mádrə +bəkráməla| +bérašə bitáyəla| cùra xambáša xažbunəla,| mårəla 'á díyyi,| 'á la-díyyi,| 'á la-díyyi,| 'á la-díyyi,| 'á la-díyyi,| +yána tré Pbarābàr<sup>P</sup> +kriméla xína.| mårəla là-xuš brúni!| là-xuš!| 'ó-yuma xína bərráxəla bərráxəla mårəla 'á sápar jári 'ána| +'áynat bábi mən-dáyya šákłənnun.| (38) bərráxəla| +mṭayəla +tāma,| mánno +tavúləla,| +bəkráməla.| 'ha bərrákəla,| bərrákəla,| +bərxáṭəl +báro,| +bərxáṭəl +báro,| 'ha +mṭayəla,| +bəktálolə,| +bəktálolə 'ína béto bəxzàyulə,| bərráxəla jašúkəl 'ína +tlá dánə bnátə 'átlə 'áx jàno,| cíllə šóddə balòlona +shúlə xína.| là| +maxlèta,| lélə +bəktálolə| +tlá bnátə bəxzayəla| 'ánnəl mårəla bnátax bət-+kaṭlənnun,| 'ón +'áynat bábi lá yavváttun.| +túlvunte bnátax bət-+kaṭlənnun| 'ón +'áynat bábi lá yavváttun.| (39) mårəla +'áynat bábux| 'ána lén xzité,| bábux dajúlələ 'áha lénə cásli +bába| +'áynat bábux,| mårəla là,| cəslax-na,| jári tányat,| mårəla là,| cósli lénə,| mårəla xzil| 'ánnə +túlvunte 'ánnə bnátax bət-mattánnun ju-+týyánəl p-šalķánnun

up and she says 'Let's gamble. If you win against me, however many sheep you have, I shall give you half as many sheep. If I win, you will give me half of your sheep.' He says 'Very well.' (35) They gamble and he wins. He wins half his sheep. Consider he had one hundred, he wins fifty. He mixes them with his sheep and goes down. He comes back and arrives. The blind giant comes out in front of the house. The blind giant comes out and says 'Let me count my sheep lest you have lost any of them.'<sup>144</sup> He says 'This one is mine, this one is mine, this one is not mine.' Well, half of them. 'This one is mine, this one is mine, this one is not mine. This one is mine, this one is mine, this one is not mine.' He notices that there are fifty extra among the sheep. (36) He says 'Have I not told you not to go up to that mountain? Why have you gone up there? She comes up with these games, but in the end she will make you blind and she will eat you.' He says 'All right,'<sup>145</sup> father, I shall not go again.' Again, the next day he again drives (the sheep) and goes there. Again she says 'Let us play for fifty.' They play and he wins also those. Now he has won from her as many sheep as (the original number of) his sheep. In the evening he comes back. The blind giant again says 'I shall count them.' He says 'This is mine, this is not mine. This is mine, this is not mine. This is mine, this is not mine.' They are equivalent (in number). (37) 'Now, again, my son, I beg you, I implore you, It is a shame for you (to be in danger), do not go there, she will do this (to you).' He goes again. He goes the next day. She says again 'Let us play for half of your sheep,' that is a hundred more. He plays and again wins them. In the evening he comes back. The blind giant counts them and says 'This is mine, this is not mine, this is not mine. This is mine, this is not mine, this is not mine.' That is he has won them twofold. He says 'Do not go my son! Do not go!' The next day he goes. He goes and says 'This time I shall take my father's eyes from her.' (38) He goes, he arrives there, plays with her and wins. She flees. She flees and he runs after her. He runs after her, he catches her and kills her. He goes and notices that she has three daughters like herself. They are all demon monsters. No, excuse me, he does not kill her. He sees her three daughters. He says 'I shall kill these daughters of yours if you do not give me the eyes of my father. I shall kill the three daughters of yours if you do not give me the eyes of my father.' (39) She says 'I have not seen the eyes of your father. Your father is lying. Your father's eyes are not with me.' He says 'No, they are with you. You must speak.' She says 'No, they are not with me.' He says 'Look, I shall put these three daughters of yours in cauldrons and

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<sup>144</sup> Literally: diminished from them.

<sup>145</sup> Literally: no.

ju-míyya šaxìna. | cèpax-la. | át là tání! bnàto +bøddáyøna! 'icøna 'én-+áynøt  
 dø góra xambàša. | 'á jáno lèla +bøddá. | muyyítala yuvvøltéla ķa-dànnø. | 'annø  
 lubléna mutténa ju-hønna. | (40) 'ita 'áha! màyøl! lèla bøyyavé xína! +áynu  
 lèna bøyyavé! màyølø míyya +mardùxøla. | xá mèn-dànnø mattúvvølø ju-míyya. |  
 'áha! +dáta-da muttúvvølø ju-pùmmo. | 'áha xína bøslàkøla! +dáta-da vâyøla ju-  
 pùmmo, | 'annø xína màralø 'áxnan-da +dáta +báyyax. | mára 'áxtun-da túyun  
 +támma. | 'áni-da mattúvvølø, | +túlvunte šaluxèla, | 'áni bašulèla. | 'ádi màrøla! 'átøn  
 jári tányat ķa-díyyi! +áynøt bábi 'icøna. | 'áha màrøla! +áynøt bábu x véna +føllan  
 dúca. | +áynøt bábu màyøla bøyyavéla ķàtu. | ķa-jáno-da +bøkøløla. | +bøskøløla,  
 +bøslayøla, | bitàyøla. | ķa-bábu màrøla! bábi tá lèxxa. | bábu bitàyøla. | kúrba  
 bitàyøla. | +áynu mattuvvølø xá 'átxa mxayøla +allø! +áynu +várøna šopè. | bábu  
 bøxzayøla. | màrøla brùni! 'ávøt +rába basíma. | 'át mårøl prøklux. | 'ádi jári +dérøn  
 'axùni! 'axùni-da parkønnø. | 'áy +havàrl! (41) børráxøla +ál 'axùnu, | +møtayøla! cás  
 'axùnu! 'ína 'én 'axunvátu xína-da mçixøna. | bitàyøna! mårøna 'áha! 'áha kát 'é  
 bràta! kát šapòrta mû-ila kát hønnø mân-jú hønna +pùløova! kát ķa-jànuya! 'ína  
 vâdøna +xliyøla kát xá mân-dáni javørra. | +møtayøla! mårøla xùbø børràxøla. | hár  
 kùrba +møtayøla! 'axunvátu +bøddayuna. | vayèla-da! yála málcøna! xína ķòshun  
 vayéla. | mára ķa-košunø! npúlun +bàru! +'ávva +ktúlunø. | +'ávva døzmønnan-la.  
 (42) 'áha bønpáløna +bàru. | 'áha børráxøla cás xá zàrjar! ju-xá bétøt xá zàrjar  
 +várølø! +várøla +tåma, | hákøyat cùlla kátu tanùvvølø kát mù-la Pjarayán<sup>P</sup> kát  
 'ána brùn-málcøvan! 'ánnø 'axunvátina. | 'ánnø 'átxøla. | 'áyya bráta-da kát +báyyi  
 jorìla! +tlábtøt díyyila. | mû 'ödax?| mårøla 'ána cút yùmø! cút +beràšølø b-xá sùysø  
 bøt-+pálønø. | xá rány sùysølø cút +beràšø bøt-+pálønø. | cùlla mân-dánnø košuyñu!  
 'án-t bitàyøna kát ķa-díyyi másalan +kàtlølø! xá samé bøt-+kàtlønnø. | bøt-'ärkønø bøt-  
 +pálønø m-mdíta b-lèla. | bøt-+dérøn cùslux! pt-ätønø. | b-lèla 'áxči +jammaxø! jøzø  
 máyyøt +rába jøzø, | +šamøtax, | kát tání zárjar hár pølxànøla xína. | +taktøkkax,  
 +taktøkkax! kát 'áni zárjar pølxànølø. | 'áxnan jøzø t-+áxlax b-lèla. | kut-lèla 'áha  
 +šúla vâdulø. | léløt tlà! +xulàsa! +xdørtøt xá-dana 'axúnu bødvàkølo! mårøla! xùbø!  
 'áxtun +bøddayøtun 'ána +føllan cás-vøn. | lé +báyyøn ķa-díyyóxun +kàtlønø. | kám  
 'á +šúla vâdutun?| +xulásø 'ánnø 'é bráta ķátu bøyyavøna. | +xliyøla vâdøla! +šavvà  
 yumánnø, | +šavvà lelaváta!

boil them in hot water. It is up to you.' Well,<sup>146</sup> her daughters know where the eyes of the blind giant are. She herself does not know. She has brought them and given them to them. They have taken them and put them in a thing. (40) Then he brings—she does not give them, they do not give his eyes. He brings water and boils it. He puts one of them in the water. He puts gum in her mouth. (While) she is boiling and gum is in her mouth, the others say 'We too want gum.' He says 'You too sit there.' He puts them (there), he strips the three of them and cooks them. 'Now,' he says 'you must tell me where the eyes of my father are.' She says 'The eyes of your father are in such-and-such a place.' She brings the eyes of his father and gives them to him. He kills her also. He takes them, goes down and comes back (home). He says to his father 'Father, come here.' His father comes. His father comes near him. He puts his eyes (into their sockets), gives them a knock, and his eyes go into their place. His father sees. He says 'My son, thank you very much.' He says 'You have finished.' 'I now have to return to save my brother also.' 'Oh woe!' (41) He goes to his brother. He reaches his brother but the other brothers are present. They come and say 'This (is the one) who took the girl who was beautiful out of the thing—what is it?—who was (intended) for himself' They are making a wedding in order for one of them to marry her. He arrives and says 'Oh well' and goes. As soon as he gets close, his brothers recognize him. They are the sons of the king and have an army. They say to their army 'Follow him and kill him! He is our enemy.' (42) They follow him. He goes to a goldsmith. He enters a goldsmith's house. He enters there and tells him the whole story saying what had happened saying 'I am the son of a king. These are my brothers. (The story of) them is like this. That girl that they want to marry is my betrothed.' 'What should we do?' He says 'Every day and every evening I shall go out with a different horse. I shall go out with a different colour horse. I shall kill a part of the troops, who are coming to kill me. I shall flee and leave the town at night. I shall return to you and come back. But at night we should gather walnuts, you should bring many walnuts and we should break them, so that they will say that the goldsmith is working. We shall bang and bang so that they (would say) that the goldsmith is working. We shall eat walnuts at night.' He does this every night. In short on the third night he holds the shirt front of one of his brothers and says 'Well, you know that I am so-and-so. I do not want to kill you. Why are you doing this?' In the end, they give the girl to him. He holds a wedding for seven days and seven nights.

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146 Literally: Do not say.

## A40 A Dragon in the Well (Frederic Ayyubkhan, <sup>†</sup>Spurğān, N)

(1) 'átva lòtval ju-mátat +Spùrgān| xá-dana nás̄a ƙat-pəlxànəva.| +báyyəva báxta javárvə.| +ṭavvùyələ +ṭavvùyələlə xa-báxta bəfvráləl šámmo +Màhəva.| (2) ՚á +Màhəl +úxča ƙa-da-nás̄a +ajjùzəla| lá pəlxànəla,| +tarṭüməla,| háttá cípə +rap-púyəla b-ríš da-nás̄a.| 'íman bitáyələ bëta,| xùrrac léla yávu.| +xulás̄a ՚á hár-xina bəskádələ,| mən-xáyyu skidələ.| (3) xá-yuma pályət léla ƙa-+Máhə +marrùšələ mára +Màhəl xá-dana ... marjanítələl ju-xá-dana ƙún̄ya vélal +júrtal +úxča +júrtələl ƙát ... bəxšávən ƙa-díyyax xòšax ՚átya mónnō.| ta-xzilə mÙ-iləl mára ՚ázax.| (4) bərràxşələl xa+xòləl +bəsyárələ +al-dá +Màhəl +sára +báru +rap-púyələ ju-de-ķúnyal máx marjanítal +rába +júrta mabyúnəla.| xá+xóla +ál da-+Máhə +bəsyárələl +šadúrolə ju-dé ƙún̄ya ƙát 'é ... marjaníta +palṭála.| (5) +Máhə bərráxşələ hal-+ältəx +mṭayála.| māra ՚ídx ƙòtlə?| mára hìl +xóla +rappùyulə.| xá-dana cípa +júra-zə mattúyələ +al-dé +bòzza.| +Máhe bəšvákələ +tàma.| bərráxşəl xa-nafas<sup>P</sup> +ràhat mən-xayyútu bəjrás̄ələ.| xína māra mánši básət báxta xína.| (6) cmá-šənnə +vàrəla.| cmá-šənnə +vòrtələl xá-dana +còbanl vélə ՚árba| +marrúya +tàma.| díz bətyávələ cás do-cípal cás do-cípat ƙat-e-+Máhə ju-do-+bòzzələ.| (7) ՚átxa ƙat-bətyávələ,| cípa dílə bəjvája.| xáčča xarbùsula.| xab-xá-ja xá-dana tanína mən-do-+bózza bəkyámələ +úllul,| bəsyákələ +úllul 'ú cípa ՚ábal mattúyulə şöpu.| (8) mára ՚ávət basıma.| ƙa-díyyi xàyyi purkélux ՚átən.| mǎjar mú vitələ?| māra xá cmá-šənnə m-kám-adi xa-báxta +puštálun mən-+tàma,| šámmo +Màhəva.| xá +rába +muxáltələl bìyyi| ƙát lét +bəddá xína.| ՚ádi cíum +báyyət ju-da-dúnyə ՚ána ƙa-díyyux yàrvən,| ƙát xàyyi purkélux.| (9) mára lén-+bədda mu-tánən mu-+báyyən.| mára ՚ána +bəddáyən mú t-ódən kátux.| xá-dana bràtələl ju-dé +átra xita.| bràt-màlcələl | t-ázən xárdən marzanánət de-bràta.| cút tílə t-+axlənnə,| maķdànnə.| (10) 'ína 'íman ՚at tílux,| jáni parkənnə,| +'ázad t-odənnəl ƙát bráta yavvília ƙa-díyyuxl ՚ávət brün-málca.| (11) mára +rába +spáy.| hár ՚á-+şula váduləl bərràxşələl +xardúyələ +al-de-bràta.| ƙóshun bərráxşələ mən-+atravày xína,| xelánə nás̄a bərràxşənə,| léna +bašúrə ƙa-dá tanína majvəjji.| (12) ՚a-+còban níxa níxa ՚úrxə bərràxşələl,| +mṭayála +al-dé mdítəl bərráxşələl ƙa-málca márələl ՚ána brátux parkənnə.| mára ՚ón bráti purkélux,| ՚ána málcən,| malciyti ƙa-díyyux yavvánna.| (13) mára +rába +spáy.| ՚á +còban bəsyákələ,| tanína hár +áynu bəkyátələ +ál dá +còbanl bráta +rappùyolə.| ƙa-+còban-zə márələl,| mára ՚ón xá-ja xita| ՚ána xà-ja ՚a-+şúla kátux t-odənnə,| ՚éin ՚at xá-ja xáyyi purkèt.| 'ína ՚ón xá-ja xita tílux xa-mdítə xítəl ՚á +şúla +báyyət nás̄a xína parkəttun,| t-+axlənnux.| lá-+atət +bár-díyyi| +bár-díyyi lá-+atət| fákət xà-ja ՚átət.| mára +rába +spáy.| +còban ՚á bráta +rappùyoləl bərràxşələl málca ƙa-da-+còbanl malciyta yávoləl bərün málca váyələl.

**A40      A Dragon in the Well (Frederic Ayyubkhan, <sup>†</sup>Spurgān, N)**

(1) Once in the village of <sup>†</sup>Spurgān there was a man who used to work hard. He wanted to marry. He searches and searches and marries a woman whose name is Mahə. (2) This Mahə annoys this man so much. She does not work, she moans, she even throws stones at the man. When he comes home, she does not give him food. In the end he gets fed up, he is fed up with his life. (3) One day in the middle of the night he wakes Mahə and says 'Mahə, there is a pearl, it is in a well, big, it is so big, which I think you would like. Come and see what it is.' She says 'Let's go.' (4) He goes and ties a rope to Mahə. The moon is casting its light in the well and appears like a huge pearl. He ties a rope to Mahə and sends her into the well in order for her to take out the pearl. (5) Mahə goes until she reaches the bottom. He says 'Has your hand touched (it)?' She says 'Yes.' He throws down the rope. He puts a large stone on the hole. He leaves Mahə there. He goes and breathes a sigh of relief concerning his life. He says 'Forget about the wife from now on.' (6) Several years go by. Several years have gone by and a shepherd is grazing sheep there. He sits exactly by that stone, by the stone of the hole where Mahə is. (7) As he is sitting in this way, the stone moves. He pushes it a little. Suddenly a dragon rises upwards from the hole. It goes upwards (into the air) and immediately puts the stone back into its place. (8) He says 'Thank you. You have saved my life for me.' 'What has happened?' He says 'Several years ago they sent from there a woman whose name was Mahə. She has made me so fed up, that you cannot understand. Now I'll give you anything you want in this world, since you have saved my life.' (9) He says 'I do not know what to say, what I want.' He says 'I know what I shall do for you. There is a girl in another land. She is the daughter of a king. I shall go and wrap myself around that girl. I shall eat and burn anybody who comes. (10) But when you come, I shall release myself and free her, so that they will give the girl to you and you will become the son of the king.' (11) He says 'Very good.' He does this very thing. He goes and wraps himself around the girl. An army marches (there) from other countries, strong men go (there), but they cannot remove the dragon. (12) The shepherd slowly walks along the road. He reaches that town. He goes and says to the king 'I shall save your daughter.' He says 'If you save my daughter, I am a king, I shall give you my kingdom.' (13) He says 'Very good.' The shepherd goes up. As soon as the dragon notices the shepherd, he releases the girl. He says to the shepherd, he says 'If once more—I shall do this for you only once, since you saved my life once. But if you come once more to another town on similar business and want to save other people, I shall eat you. Do not come after me. Do not come after me. Come only once.' (14) He says 'Very good.' The shepherd releases the girl. He goes and the king gives the kingdom to the shepherd. He becomes the son of the king.

(15) málca vágələ. cma-šànnə mádrə +várəla. cma-šánnə +várəla, +xábra máyəna ka-da-málca kát ... málca, ávət basıma. ju-de-mdítə xita=zəl ő tanínət kát ... brátux xurdíyyəval xíšələ xa-bráta xíta xurdíyyələ. +hayyárta +báyyax.

(16) málca màral báh xátna díyyil xá +pahlúvvan násələ, +šadránnə +táməl kát brátux parðkla. mára +rábə +spáy. (17) bitáyələ ka-da-xátnu märələl kásat märəlo. märələ kát xúš ju-de-mdítə xíta. xá tanína vélə +ál xa-brát-málca xíta purtəllələ. párəkla. ána mónnux +bətləbən! čún áni +rába dóst=ina. kúrba mdítəla mən-díyyan. mára +rábə +spáy. (18) +čóban 'úrxa bərráxšələ. bərráxšələ b-cmá racávə. bərráxšəna +táməl +al-de-mdítə +mṭáyəna. bərrəxšələ bəsyákələ o-dúctət kát tanína bráta xurdíyyələ. (19) tanína hár +áyno +al-da-+čóban +bəmṭáyələ bráta +rappiùyolə, bitáyələ kát ka-+čóban +'áxəl. partúlələ marzanánət +čóban. (20) +čóban tanína cl̩l clí ána tánən mən-kam-+axlátti tanónnox. át xáyyi purkət! ka-díyyi málca vídət. ána šidána lén ká-átnən ka-díyyux mändi ... 'et-áti +axlátti. (21) bás mára ka-mù tílux? ána lén míra kátxux kát! xá-ja ána kátxux átxa t-odən! ját tré t-+axlənnux? mára hi! +bəddáyən át mırət! ána ána tíyyən ka-díyyux párkən. (22) mára mút ka-díyyi párkət? màral +šòmyən! o-cípa bətxárat? mára hi! mára xa-náša xína vélə xurbəssu! +Máhe ju-'úrxa! véla bitáya ka-+al-jánət díyyux. +čóban har-á +táməl tanína e-bráta +rappiùyolə xína bərráxšələ.

#### A41 A Painting of the King Of Iran (Frederic Ayyubkhan, +Spúrgān, N)

(1) 'átvə lətva! xá ... yála +róba jíl! šámmu 'Ilíyyəva. á hákyat dúz-ila. savùniva. šámmət savúni 'Ilíyyəva. +róba jíl-íva. mən-kám +plás-ķámeta! yála jíl ju-'Úrmi, +Spúrgān, lèna +šúla mačúxa. jámi vayála. +dóstə vágələ, bitáya bətyávəna ju-jámi. bitáyəna, b-šánnə, b-yárxəl bəfrášələ, bitáyəna 'Amérīca, dúz ju-Chicágo. +mṭáyəna Chicágo. (2) +táməl +sarúyələ pəlxána 'u-+bəkráya. xatlıy şánnə, bálcı 'ásri xámsha şánnə, tláy şánnə +várəla, á yála jíl +bəkráyələ šámmu 'Ilíyyəva, 'Ilíyya Daniyyəl! ka-bábu zúyzə +šadúrələ. món Chicágo pəlxána! māra b-xá-dana bítə ci-xayyánva. lé +axlənva zúyzə ci-+jammónva ka-bábi! +šadránvəl ju-+átra, ci-taníva, ka-'Úrmi ci-taníva +'átra. zúyzə

(15) He becomes the king. Again several years pass by. Several years pass by and they bring word to the king saying ‘King, may you be well. In another town the dragon that wrapped himself around your daughter has gone and wrapped himself around another girl. We need help.’ (16) The king says ‘Well, my son-in-law is a champion of a man. I shall send him there in order to save your daughter.’ He says ‘Very good.’ (17) He comes and says to his son-in-law, he tells the story. He says ‘Go to the other town. A dragon has wrapped himself around another daughter of a king. Save her. I am asking you because they are very good friends of mine. It is a town that is close to us.’ He says ‘Very good.’ (18) The shepherd sets off on the road. He goes with several horsemen. They go there. They arrive at the town. He goes and ascends to the place where the dragon has wrapped himself around the girl. (19) As soon as the dragon notices the shepherd, he releases the girl and comes to eat the shepherd. He twists himself around the shepherd. (20) The shepherd (says) ‘Dragon, stop, stop so that I can speak before you eat me, so that I can speak to you. You have saved my life, you have made me king. I am not mad enough to come to you, and so forth, for you to eat me.’ (21) ‘But’ he says ‘why have you come? Did I not tell you that I shall to do this for you only once and the second time I would eat you?’ He says ‘Yes, I know you have said so, but I have come to save you.’ (22) He says ‘What do you mean “save me”?’ He says ‘I have heard—do you remember that stone?’ He says ‘Yes.’ He says ‘Another man has pushed it back. Mahə is on the way, she is coming for you.’ While the shepherd was standing there, the dragon releases the girl and goes away.

#### A41      A Painting of the King Of Iran (Frederic Ayyubkhan, <sup>†</sup>Spurğān, N)

(1) There was once a very young lad whose name was Elijah. This is a true story. He was my grandfather. My grandfather’s name was Elijah. He was very young. Before the First World War young lads in Urmī and <sup>†</sup>Spurğān do not find work. There is a ship. He has friends. They come and board<sup>147</sup> the ship. They come, years, months go by, they come to America, directly to Chicago. They arrive in Chicago. (2) There he begins to work and study. Some thirty years, perhaps twenty-five years, thirty years go by. This young lad studies, his name was Elijah, Elijah Daniel. He sends money to his father. He is working from Chicago. He says ‘I used to live on one single egg. I did not eat. I used to collect money to send to my father in the homeland.’ He used to

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147 Literally: sit in.

*ci-+šadàrvə.* (3) *xa-’sri xámša šánnə +várəna.* +*bəddáyələ ķat-+báyyə jàvər.* mára lé fórən läxxa. *ju-dé +’átra=zə,* +*yáno +Spúrgān ju-’Úrmil xa-brátəva* šámmo *Helínəva.* +*róba šap̄ərta vítəla* | ‘e-+*dān-jáno ... nanùnti vágəla.* | ‘a-*bráta +róba šap̄ərta víta,* | ‘a-’Ilíyya b-surútu +*bìyyolə.* (4) *mádrə bátyávələ ju-jámi,* | +*bəddárələ +’al-+Spúrgān.* mára ‘e-+*dān-kát +bəddaróxva kálat +tópa +bəsmáyəxva.* | +*plásət kámēta +šúryəva.* | *kál +tòp +bəsmáyəva.* | *bitáyələ l-à-yba,* *bitáyələ +mṭáyələ ’Úrmil.* | *bábi +júra xa-náša +róba ... bábi +júra Ilíyya Danìyyəl xa-náša +róba +rámə,* | +*áynu miləva.* (5) *xá-dana súysa +xvára bəzvánələ.* | *júllət +xlíylət nanúnti=zə zvinəva* mán Chicágə. | *júllət +xlíylə zvinəva,* | *júllət cálū zvinəva.* | *bitáyələ ju-’Úrmil,* | *bərráxshələ ķat-nanúnti xazzila.* (6) *nanúnti +róba elčíyyə ’atvála,* | +*róba elčíyyə.* | *savýni +róba šapíra laxùyməva.* | *jibátu mǎlyəva mən-dánnə* <sup>E</sup>pencil<sup>E</sup>ə +*xodcárə davanàyəl mǎsalan* | *tanùyəl +’asrá-danə +xodcárə ’atválə,* | *xa-dána-da +sá’at mən-dan-+sa’áttə ’amricáyə +júra.* | *ju-da jíbu vítəla.* | *nanúnti har-savùni bəxzáyula,* | *mən-dánnə +xodcárə,* | *mən-de-+sá’at xóšo bitáyələ.* | *ka-savúni úslan léla bəxzá kát xóšo ’átya.* | (7) *bəjvárəna.* | *bəjvárəna +’uydalə,* | *yúmat* <sup>E</sup>Chrístmas<sup>E</sup>=la. | *xá šábta +várəla,* | ‘á sáparl *ķala-kóxa bitáyələ páljət lélə.* | *yúmat* <sup>E</sup>Chrístmas<sup>E</sup> | +*hávar mxáyəna,* | *’aromnàyə vágəna,* | +*bərxáta,* | ’Ilíyyal *ku-rùk* | mára mù vítəla? | mára véna +*bəktálən.* | *slába vágəla.* | +*bəktálən-na.* | (8) *Ilíyya bitáyələ nanúnti Helína ķat-xá-šabta jvírəna* | +*al-súysa mattùyolə.* | *mára tré yárxa,* | *yá +tlá yárxa,* | *ju-táljəl* | *vágəna úrxə bərráxšələ hál +Hayàstan,* | *’Armanəs-+tán +mṭáyəna* | +*Hayàstan +mṭáyəna.* | *xá mən-dán mavát +Hayàstan +mṭáyəna.* | (9) *mára ju-da-úrxət ķat-bərráxshəxva ju-da-taljəl +róba násə yāl-súrə mattùyəva,* | ‘áxnan +*hayyuréxva.* | *yāl-súrə bəškalèxval* čún léva +*bašúrə yāl-súrə lablivalun,* | *yá +róba soyáta-’atva bənpáləval +hayyúrəxva ķa-dáni labləxva.* | (10) <sup>E</sup>Anyway<sup>E</sup> +*mṭáyəna +’ál +Hayàstan,* | *ju-xa-mátət ’Armanəs-+tan-la,* | +*táma pyásəna tré-šənnə.* | ‘ína +*šúla xàččələl +róba +šúla xàččələl +táma.* | *savúni mən-nanunti bitáyəna* fú Leningràd, | *paytáxtət +táma +Rùsyə* čún savúni ‘onpliz +*bəddáyələ,* | +*táma=zə məndila,* | *carxanánət* <sup>P</sup>consersázì<sup>P</sup>. | (11) *xá carxána mattúyəna* | *savúni vádəna +júrət dé carxána,* | <sup>P</sup>foreman, <sup>P</sup> | čún nákšə +*bašúrələ +kára.* | +*táma=zə mantùyələ savúni.* | *duccanánət +xálta stéta ptáxəl +táma ju-+Rùsyə.* | *xób vazyatté +spay vágəla.* | *hár vazyatté +spay vayələ,* | <sup>P</sup>revolùtion<sup>P</sup> | *vágəla*

call Urmi the homeland. He used to send money. (3) Some twenty-five years go by. He knows that he wants to get married. He says 'I shall not get married here.' In that land, meaning <sup>+</sup>Spurğān in Urmi, there was a girl whose name was Helen. She was very beautiful for her time ... she becomes my grandmother. This girl was very beautiful. Elijah had fallen in love with her in his childhood. (4) He boards the ship again and returns to <sup>+</sup>Spurğān. He says 'When we were returning we heard the sound of cannons.' The First World War had started. He heard the sound of cannons. He comes here,<sup>148</sup> he comes and arrives in Urmi. My grandfather was a very ... man, my grandfather Elijah Daniel was a very tall man with blue eyes. (5) He buys a white horse. He had bought the wedding dress of my grandmother from Chicago. He had bought the wedding dress, he had bought the bridal dress. He comes to Urmi. He goes to see my grandmother. (6) My grandmother had many suitors, many suitors. My grandfather was very handsome and good-looking. His pockets were full of golden automatic pencils, for example, say he had ten automatic (pencils) and a watch too, one of those large American watches. It was in his pocket. As soon as my grandmother sees my grandfather, she is attracted by these automatic (pencils) and this watch. She does not see my grandfather and become attracted (to him by his appearance alone). (7) They get married. They get married to one another. (Now) it is Christmas day. A week goes by. Then the sound of yelling comes in the middle of the night. On Christmas day they scream, they are Armenians, they run (and say) 'Elijah, get up and flee!' He says 'What has happened?' They say 'They are killing us. There is looting. They are killing us.' (8) Elijah comes. He puts my grandmother Helen on a horse, after they have been married for only a week. The story goes that they journey for two months, or three months in the snow until they arrive in Armenia, Armenia, they arrive in Armenia. They arrive in one of the villages of Armenia. (9) They say 'On the journey that we made in the snow many people put down their children and we helped them. We took the children, because they did not manage to carry their children, or there were many elderly women who fell and we helped and carried them.' (10) Anyway they arrive in Armenia, it is in a village of Armenia and stay there for two years. But work is scarce, work is very scarce there. My grandfather goes together with my grandmother to Leningrad the capital there, of Russia. Because my grandfather knew English, and there is something, a workshop of concert artists. (11) They establish a workshop and they make my grandfather the man in charge of the workshop, a foreman, because he is able to read designs. Also there my grandfather is successful. He opens food and drink shops there in Russia. Well, their situation improves. Just

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<sup>148</sup> Literally: to this side.

*ju-+Rùsyà.* +yánə <sup>P</sup>comunəsti<sup>P</sup> vágøla. (12) šámmət savúni *ju-E*list<sup>E</sup>et kámētət dánna šəmmànələ. savúni mù vágølə? cíllə məndyánu zabunèlə +mùblə 'átvəlun. +karavàttə 'átvəlun, +mašínət +xyùča 'átvəlun. cíllə +bzayèlə. cíllə məndyánə kát zvinélə dàva vidélo. mapşurèlə. (13) *ju-dán* +mùblə kattátət sandalyyə! jú ... +mašínət +xyùča mláyulə dàvəl màra bərráxshəx Yùrup. +bəxlàtənə bitáyəna +Iran. +Iran léla Yùrup. mán dá jibət <sup>P</sup>daryá-ye Xazár<sup>P</sup> bətyávəna *ju-jámi* mán dá-jibət yáməl mán nanúnti bitáyəna. (14) +árpa yál-súrə=zə vayéla ýe +dántal yál-súrə xína +júra víyyəna. *ju-+Rùsyà* víyyəna +kòryə. b-jámi bitáyəna l-á-ybət +Iran. mádrə bərrákəna mən-+táma lá +kátlıvalun, +yánə már züiyəna 'ánnə. bitáyəna *ju-l-á-yba*, +Iran, *ju-+Iran-zə* +Sultanàbad. suráyə +róba, suráyə mən-árəmnáyə +róba *ju-Sultanàbad*, 'Úrmî, Cərmànşar, +Hamàdan burbəzzəlun. (15) ýe +dánta málcət +Iran 'íva Réza +Šâh, málca +róba sammàna málcəva. +róba sammánəva. 'ánnə b-şánnə pyásəna +táma máx yàxsər, suráyə 'arəmnáyə b-yàxsər čún 'ánnə +iranáyə bəxsávəna 'ánnə <sup>E</sup>communist<sup>E</sup>=ina. katé <sup>E</sup>communist<sup>E</sup> +šíla lèva yavé, cíllə=zə +kòryánəva. +kòryəva, 'ína +šíla lèva yavé. (16) 'ánnə məndán zúyzə kət-muyyəvələ xarùjəva. mən-dán zúyzə xarùjəva. <sup>E</sup>Ànyway, <sup>E</sup>bábi kát +rábi Daryavuš-vàl bitáyəla. mü vágølə? šáclət dó málca bəjrásula. šáclət Réza +Šâh kát +al-xá-dana tanína vélə còlya, ka-xá tanína vélə +bəktàla. +yánə tanína dəzmánnət +'atrələ +manáyu. +manáyat bábi 'ahəva. +bəktálələ 'o-Réza +Šâh vá dázmən bəktálula. (17) +róba +júrtə +táblo vítəla. bí pástal, <sup>E</sup>pénçil<sup>E</sup> cíuma fríslə. həc-náša lélə +bayyára 'a-sácla ka-málca, kat-Réza +Šâh-ilə, maxzilə, čún +bəzdáyəna xóšu la-'átya ka+nákkaš=zə +kátlə. bitáyəna ka-brùn-malca, kát <sup>P</sup>vali-ahd<sup>P</sup>-ilə, Mahámad Réza +Šâh, kat-brùnmálcələ, ka-+dàvun maxzúyəna. mən-taríjt +dóstət bábal +róba 'at-koşunáyə +dóstə 'átvələ. xá-dana mən-dáni=zə 'Alám-íva. (18) šácla bəskálələ ka-do-Mahámad Réza +Šâh kat-brùn-malca <sup>P</sup>vali-ahd<sup>P</sup>-ilə maxzúyula. +róba xóšu bitáyəla. +róba xóšu bitáyəla. bábi=zə bəxzàyulə mára mü +báyyət? bábi xa-+nákkaš=va. ýe-+danta kát márən *ju-+Iran* másala +nákkaš <sup>P</sup>arzéš<sup>P</sup> lətvələ <sup>E</sup>ártist<sup>E</sup> <sup>P</sup>arzéš<sup>P</sup> lətvələ *ju-+Iran* +róba=zə məscinəva már-zúyzə lèva. (19) c-+áməsəva táníva xa-bèta hálli. zúyzə hálli. +róba məndyánə c-+áməsəva

as their situation improves, the revolution occurs in Russia, that is communism comes. (12) My grandfather's name is on the first list of the names (of the proscribed). What does my grandfather do? He sells all of his things. They had furniture. They had beds. They had a sewing machine. He breaks everything up.<sup>149</sup> He melts down everything that he has bought and which is coated with gold. (13) He fills the furniture, the arms of chairs, the sewing machine with gold. He says 'We are going to Europe.' But they make a mistake and go to Iran. Iran is not Europe. From the shore of the Caspian sea they board a ship, from the sea shore, and he comes together with my grandmother. (14) They had four children at that time. The children had grown up, they had studied in Russia. They go in a ship to Iran. Again they flee so that they (in Russia) do not kill them, that is (because) they are wealthy. They come to Iran, in Iran to Sultan-Abad. They scattered many Assyrians and Armenians in Sultan-Abad, Urmia, Kermanshah and Hamadan. (15) At that time the king of Iran was Reza Shah. The king was a very malicious king.<sup>150</sup> He was very malicious. They stay there for years like prisoners, Assyrians and Armenians were in captivity, because the Iranians think that they are communists. (They call) them communists. They did not give them work, although all of them were educated. But they did not give them work. (16) They spent the money that they had brought. They spent the money. Anyway, my father, who was Rabi Darius, comes. What does he do? He draws a picture of that king, a picture of Reza Shah, who (in the picture) is standing on a dragon, is killing a dragon. The meaning is that the dragon is the enemy of the country. This was my father's meaning. Reza Shah is killing, he is killing the enemy. (17) It was a very large picture. He drew it in pastel, with black pencil. Nobody dares to show this picture to the king, who is Reza Shah, because they are afraid that he would kill the painter if he does not like it. They come to the king's son, who is heir to the throne, Mohammad Reza Shah, who is the king's son and show it to him, by the way of the friends of the father—he had many military friends. One of them was Alam. (18) He takes the picture and shows it to Mohammad Reza Shah, who is the king's son, the heir to the throne. He likes it very much. He likes it very much. He meets<sup>151</sup> my father. He says 'What do you want?' My father was a painter. At the time that I am talking about in Iran a painter was not valued; an artist was not valued in Iran. He was very poor and had no money. (19) He could have said 'Give me a house. Give me money.' He could have asked for many things from the king, because he was

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<sup>149</sup> Literally: He pierces everything.

<sup>150</sup> Literally: poisonous.

<sup>151</sup> Literally: sees.

+táləbva mən-málca| čún sníkəva.| 'ína čún Eàrtist<sup>E=va</sup>| ķa-məlláttət jànu výyələ taxmúna| ķa-məlláttət +'aturáyə taxmùnələ| ķa-dan-násə ķat-yáxsər-na bəxzayéval| ķat! ... mü 'vdən,| mü là-'odən?| (20) ķa-málca mára málca hávət basıma| hákyat àhəla| ķat 'áxnan mán dūr| násət díyyan mən-do-+átrət +Rúsya ķat-tíyyəna l-a-ybàl yáxsər-na láxxa.| +'iranáyəna 'ína yáxsər-na.| lá +šùla yavéna,| lá ... é-+dān +báyyi másalan ázi +Téhran jári Epassport<sup>E</sup> 'ávilun,| +ámza ódi Epassport<sup>E</sup>| ázi +Téhran mádrə másalan ķa-+tlà yárxa| +déri mádrə +al-+átrał másalan +Spùrgjān-la| yá 'Urmi-la| +déri +baraya.| (21) málca lèva mára +bəddáyə| hár è +dánta| ķa-dó 'Alám| vazzírat Pdarbàr<sup>P</sup> xá varála ķa bəctàvələ| pécat mxàyula.| mán +táməl məlláttət 'arəmnáyə mən-suráyə +ázad vágəna,| ķat máx +'iranáyə kabuléna.| bərráxşəna +shulənə maçúxəna,| xína,| +ázad! bərráxsha bitáyəna fu-dá +árra.| 'á xá mən-dán hákyáttəva| ķat xína +bíli tanànnna.|

#### A42 The Adventures of Two Brothers (Manya Givoyev, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) 'ána xákyánnux məttàltə| xá məttàltə b-xákyan.| +ràba +bəddáyən| +ràba.| p-xakyánnux məttàltə.| (2) 'àtva| látva| mən-aláha +júra háč-məndi látva| xá málca| xá malàcta.| 'á málca malácta yála látvalun.| yála látvalun.| 'á tálun +jóra báxta jané ķa-jané taxmùna.| mərrə +jóra ķa-báxta málələ| 'ay báxtal 'á davóltan 'áxnan ķa-mán| šokàxxa?| bá mü 'vdáxən 'áxnan? mára.| 'á davóltan xá yála látlan.| móriša ķíməna| +táməta +bixáləna.| móriša ķíməna +táməta +bixáləna| lásma.| xá-xta jušòklun| tílə xá +tárra ptàxlə| xá mánnu +várrə +ràma +ráma jvánka.| (3) mərrə| +bəddáyətun mü 'itən?| +púlətlə m-ju-jìbu xá xabùysha| smùkəl| 'átxa mən-pi-pálju +ktílə| pálju yuvvállə ķa-málca| pálju ķa-malàcta.| mərrə þt-avíloxun tré bnùnə| šəmmané mattítuna| xá-mənne +Álmas| xá-mənne +Báhar,| +Álmas ķa-diyyoxun| +Báhar ķa-diyyi.| +tmanəssár šánnəyála vñl| þ-átən lablənnə| clílun ju-pát| +uydalə +jóra báxta 'átxa pucðrrun.| mərrun| bá mü 'odax?| látlan.| Armgóne<sup>Arm</sup> xá yála pás ķa-diyyan| xá brùna.| (4) 'áha xəšlə| 'ánnə yálə,| málcałə xína,| malàcta,| xa-+mağréta +mukriyyélun.| xá şapírəl mən-xá

in need. But because he was an artist, he was thinking about his own people, he was thinking about the Assyrian people. Concerning the people who are prisoners he was considering 'What should I do? What should I not do?' (20) He says to the king 'King, may you be well. The story is this. We, who have come from afar, our people who have come here from the land of Russia are prisoners here. They are Iranians but they are prisoners. They do not give them jobs ... for example when they want to go to Tehran they must have a passport, they have their passport stamped and they go to Tehran, then, for example, after three months they return again to their country, be it <sup>+</sup>Spurğān or Urmi, they come back.' (21) The king said he had no knowledge of this.<sup>152</sup> At that very moment he writes a document for that Alam, the minister of the royal court, he seals it. It is on account of this<sup>153</sup> that the Armenian and the Assyrian people become free, that they accept them as Iranians. They go and find jobs, and from then on they travel freely in the land. This was one of the stories that I wanted to tell.

#### A42     The Adventures of Two Brothers (Manya Givoyev, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) I shall tell you a story. I shall tell you a story. I know many. I shall tell you a story. (2) There was, there was not, there was nothing greater than God, (there was) a king and a queen. This king and queen did not have children. They did not have children. Well, the husband and wife sat thinking to themselves. The husband said to the wife 'Wife, to whom shall we leave this wealth of ours? Well, what should we do?', he says, '(We have) this wealth of ours but we have no child.' Having risen in the early morning, they eat breakfast. Having risen in the early morning, they eat breakfast, bread. Then they looked, a door opened and a very tall youth came and entered through it. (3) He said 'Do you know what there is (in my pocket)?' He took out of his pocket a red apple. He cut it down the middle in this way. He gave a half of it to the king and a half of it to the queen. He said 'You will have two sons. Name one of them <sup>+</sup>Almas and one of them <sup>+</sup>Bahar. <sup>+</sup>Almas is for you and <sup>+</sup>Bahar is for me. When the boy becomes eighteen years old, I shall come to take him.' The husband and wife stood looking at one another. They said 'What should we do? We do not have (any option). At least one child will remain for us, one son.' (4) He went away. As for the children—well he was a king and she a queen—they gave them a good education. They were so

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<sup>152</sup> Literally: The king did not say he knew.

<sup>153</sup> Literally: from there.

xabúyša vìyyəna, | laxúymə mən-dá +tárra lè-+ori, | šácla šócla laxíymə jvànķə. |  
 tilun vílun +xamsàr sónna, | 'á +jóra báxta tuxmànnun. | márrə +maŕrəmmàxxə|  
 ḥ-átə b-labàllə +Báhar, | ḥ-átə 'á náša b-labàllə. | +maŕrəmmàxxə. | márrə témun  
 tûyun! hár náxob b-ríšan 'átxa titəla. | márrə mu-þt-óya, | 'ána þt-ázən +Báhar  
 márrə. | (5) tílə vila, | +tmanəssár šònna vílun. | jušáklun +tárra ptàxlə. | móriša  
 hánəz ķedàmtal +tárra ptàxlə, | +vàrrə 'á náša. | ma-þ-ílə +râma! | márrə +Báhar|  
 'at-díyyi-vət. | márrə +al-+ayni, | 'ána þt-ázən. | cálýən +házər=vən. | 'axúna +'Álmas  
 márrə, | márrə lá xmùl. | 'ána xá-dana ázən +bázar! 'átən. | xášla škállə xá Rbukéti<sup>R</sup>  
 'átxa várda. | tuyyélə muttélə. | +Báhar xášla. | +Báhar! xóšla tuyyélə, | muttélə ju-  
 R<sup>R</sup>akòška<sup>R</sup>. | márrə 'áxun! ķa-+'Álmas márrəl hár xzílxux 'ánnə várda +čmàžlun!  
 'átət +bári, | mačxàtti. | márrə +spáy. | (6) škállə 'á yála lubàllə. | 'á yála jvánķa  
 pállə ķamáy! 'á yála +báru! šapíra, | bərrəşša-zə mən-axùnu! mən-bábu! yèmmu.  
 vádlun xášlun. | xášlun xášlun +rába xášlun! xáčha xášlun +m̄t̄lun +al-xá řákita.  
 jušáklun xá náša sáva tívələ +al-dápnət řákita, | dáknu +xvàra. | (7) +Báhar  
 márrə šláma-+allux +màmuni. | márrə b-séna +al-+ayni tílūx! +Báhar brùni. | vây  
 márrə +màmu! 'át m-íca +yáttət 'ána +Báhar šòmmi? | márrə ctóvtəla. | ju-+oràytal  
 kát 'átən 'á 'úrxə ḥ-azàttə. | xína! márrə +ávva lèlə jvánķə! +ávva huydàyałə.  
 dèv-ilə, | dèv. | +ávva labúlux-lə +axòllux. | mára 'ána ķa-díyyux tanùvvən,  
 b-labàllux, | b-labàllux. | náta dük! | (8) ju-xá dàna! +bár +šavvá +tuyrànəl xá yácca  
 hánnəla. | mèšəla. | +támə 'át xá yácca Rzdánya<sup>R</sup> 'arpi +otájəna. | tláy +'áčha ķdíla  
 b-yávvəl +al-+idux. | patxàttun. | 'át-+árpi tání šuršiyən. | ķdíla hálla ķatū. | ķdíla  
 hálla ķatū. | hár ķdíla yuvvällux ķatū, | +tárra ju-ptàxtal +áv +tárra ju-ptàxtal xá  
 +rápsa ju-+xásu màxət! 'ázəl nápəl xa-yácca +kazánča míyya +bərdàxa. | +ávun  
 ka-díyyux b-+ráppə +támə ḥ-+axòllux. | dèv-ilə. | 'át hâda vúd. | ķa-+dàv +ráppi  
 ju-míyya +bərdàxa. | (9) vây márrə +màmuni! 'ávət basımal +al-dá násyat ķa-  
 díyyi yuvvàlux. | 'áha xášlun, | xášlun xášlun xášlun, | +rába xášlun! xáčha xášlun!  
 +m̄t̄lun! vây +bár +šavvá +tuyrànə xá-dana mèšəl pi-pályu xa-yácca ... +júrtə  
 ... Rzdànyəla<sup>R</sup> 'átxa ... béta +júrəla. | ķdíla +pultélə huydàyał yuvvélə ... +al-+idət  
 da-yála, | +al-+idət +Báhar. | márrə ptùxlun 'ánnə +tarrán. | ptixélə, | ptixélə, | +al-  
 tláy +'áčha +m̄t̄lə! +al-dət-+árpi! márrə 'ána xína šuršiyən. | 'a-yála-da Rzdaròviy<sup>R</sup>  
 šapíra +râma! hár +tárra +áv ju-ptàxtul xá-dana b-+rápsa mxíla ju-+xásu! xášla  
 pállə baķbaķbaķ! ju-míyya +bərdàxa. | bšàllə. | (10) 'áha clíla 'átxa pucàrrə, | 'átxa  
 pucàrrə. | jušáklə. | márrə xáčha +órən ju-dan-+otájəl xázən ju-dan-+otájə mù  
 'ítən. | +várrə xa-+otájəl mlitəla dáva. | e-+otájəl xíta hâvuz-la, | 'ína cíllə škáltəla

beautiful, from a single apple, handsome (youths like this) would not come through this door (here), youths who were a picture of handsomeness. They became fifteen years old and the husband and wife thought. He (the husband) said 'Let us inform him that he will come and take +Bahar, this man will come and take him. Let us inform him.' He said 'Come and sit down. Such misfortune has come upon us.' He said. +Bahar said 'Not a problem, I shall go.' (5) He eventually turned eighteen. They saw that the door opened. In the morning when it was still early the door opened and the man came in. How tall he is! He said '+Bahar, you are mine.' He said 'As you please. I shall come. I am standing ready.' 'Brother' +Almas said, he said 'No, wait. I shall just go to the market and come back.' He went and bought a bouquet of flowers like this. He brought them and put them down. +Bahar went. +Bahar went and brought them and put them in the window. He said to Almas 'As soon as you have seen these flowers wither, come after me and find me.' He said 'Good.' (6) He took the boy away. The young man went first and the boy behind him, going away from his brother, from his father, his mother. They said goodbye and went away. They went and went, they went a lot, they went little, they arrived at a stream. They observed an old man sitting by the side of the stream, with a white beard. (7) +Bahar said 'Greetings to you, my uncle.' He said 'You are very welcome, +Bahar, my son.' 'Oh' he said 'Uncle, how do you know that my name is +Bahar?' He said 'It is written in the Torah that you will go on this journey. Well' he (the old man) said 'That person is not a lad, he is a Jew. He is a demon, a demon. He is taking you to eat you.' He says 'I say to you, he will take you away, he will take you away. Take heed!' (8) In a place beyond seven mountains there is a huge thing, a forest. There is a huge building there in which there are forty rooms. He will hand you thirty-nine keys. You should open them. At the fortieth say "I am tired." Give the key to him. Give the key to him. As soon as you have given him the key, when the door opens, when he opens the door, give him a kick on his back, so that he goes and falls into a huge pan of boiling water. He would throw you there and eat you. He is a demon. Do this. Throw him into boiling water.' (9) 'Oh, uncle, thank you for this advice that you have given me.' So, they went, they went, they went, they went, they went a lot, they went a little, beyond seven mountains they arrived at a forest, in the middle of which was a huge, a large building, like a big house. The Jew took out the keys and handed them to the boy, to +Bahar. He said 'Open these doors.' He opened them, he opened them, he reached thirty-nine, at the fortieth he said 'Well I am tired.' When that healthy, tall and handsome youth opened the door, he (the boy) gave him a kick on his back and he fell into boiling water, bubble-bubble. He cooked. (10) He (the boy) stood and stared, he stared like this. He looked. He said 'I'll go into these rooms a little and to see what there is in the rooms.' He entered one room. It was full of gold. In another room

b-míyyat dàva.| 'áha xášla +várra jávo| sxilə,| 'átxa sxilə +spáy.| jánu cmá šápírəva|  
 búš +raba šapíra víla.| xášla škàlləl xá-dana 'átxa max-xiúrjun| məlyálá dàva.| (n)  
 xášla l-ó-yba xína +'ótaág ptixàləl xáčča susavày=na| xá mən-do-xína šapíra.| xa-  
 sùysa| 'á xa-jàns súysa,| práxələ m-fu-+hàva.| škàlləl,| távlə +al-sùysa.| 'ánnə=da  
 muttélə xúrjun +al+xásu.| +bəryáma bitáyələ la-bèta-axči.| tília +raba,| tília  
 xáčča,| tília +raba,| tília 'úrxa +yarəxtəva +rába.| (12) 'áhal +mṭilə módrə +al-  
 xá-dana max-bèta.| +šrà bəlláyələ,| xášla +várra jávo.| 'áyya ci-tanúla +čayxàna.|  
 cút bitáyəna 'urxavày +bajmáyəna +táma +čay bəstáyəna.| +várra pásłə +támə.|  
 móriša kámłə tília,| tília tília,| +raba tília xáčča tília,| tília +mṭilə +al-xá məndita.|  
 (13) tília +mṭilə +al-xá məndita.| jušəkłəl xašcùnəla,| jušəkłəl xá-dana béta súra  
 'ítən.| márra xa-+òrən| 'ad-lelə pésən láxxal 'árxa,| móriša b-kémən t-ázən.| xášla  
 +várra xa-sòta.| mərrəl 'ay xáltu| 'ad-lelə xámili cəslax.| móriša b-kémən t-ázən.|  
 márra 'ay brún| 'ána +várən| қaṭunti +pláṭəla,| қaṭunti +várələl 'ána +pláṭən.|  
 'ax-dúca lótli.| (14) clílə pucárrə +al-dá sòta,| xurjúnu muttálə,| tré 'ídə 'átxa  
 mlílə dàvəl yuvvállə қato.| 'óy +'úxča xdíla,| +'úxča xdíla,| márra tá 'ána +xlápuxl  
 'ána +nàdrux.| tá cíllə dúci қátux +hàlal 'óya,| pásłə cəslə b-léla,| di-xína 'á yála  
 lítələl móriša jáldə bəkyámələ Rfiz-zaryàdķaR 'ávəd.| jušəkłəl RpròtvitR 'átxal xá-  
 dana RzdányaR +júrtəla.| (15) +tlá-danə bnáta ju-+bálkun còlyzna,| márrə 'ay  
 xáltu,| 'ay nánal xa-tá láxxa,| 'ánnə māni-na?| márra bnátət málcəna,| +'áhal  
 clíləl tuxmənnəl 'é bráta súrta 'á yála +biyyála,| +biyyála,| mərrəl b-ayyé hávuz  
 la-kám +tárral 'ázən sàxən?| mərrəl mù tanyána?| xášla sxilə xut-ris-jánu| +várra  
 sxilə,| 'ánnə bnátə hárra hərrəl jóxcəna bìyyu,| tília,| (16) mərrəl 'ay yəmmi,| 'ay  
 nánal 'ay xáltu xa-xúš қá +davvó málca táníl xa-rýja +byàyələ,| 'ázən ... rijáyta  
 'ódən қaté,| 'ita 'a-yála šəclələ,| bássəla tanùvvəla,| ka-bax-málca,| bax-málca mára  
 xuš-'àta,| 'ótlan +kázə,| xuš-'ázəl lábəl +marrilun,| (17) 'á b-+yalsúy +kázə móriša  
 bədrayéla қamul bássələ +marruvvələ,| beràšə,| xamšá-danə +kázəl қdalé 'átxa  
 partululə,| xámša xámša bədrayéla +al-+rušanànu,| bitáyələ,| mavvələ,| (18) 'áha  
 mərrəl 'ay nánal 'ánnəl 'átxa vùdlun| basımə bašállun,| 'átxa míyya xáčča| қát

is a pool, but it was all plated with gold. He went into it and swam, he swam, he had a good swim and became more handsome than he was before. He went and took something like a carpet bag and filled it with gold. (11) He went over to the other side, he opened the room and there were some horses, each more beautiful than the other. One horse, a beautiful horse, flies in the air. He took it and he mounted the horse. He put these (pieces of gold) in his bag on his back. He ascends and he comes directly to a house. He went a lot, he went a little, he went a lot, the way was very long. (12) He came to something like a house. A lantern is burning. He went inside. They call this a 'tea-house.' All those who travel on the roads gather there and drink tea. He entered and stayed there. In the morning he got up and went off.<sup>154</sup> He came, he came, he came a lot, he came a little, he came and reached a town. (13) He came and reached a town. He looked (and saw) that it is getting dark. He sees that there is a small house. He said 'Let me enter. Tonight I shall stay here as a guest. In the morning I shall get up and go.' He went and an old woman came in. He said 'Oh auntie, let me stay with you tonight. In the morning I shall get up and go.' She said 'My son, I come in and my cat goes out. My cat comes in and I go out, because I have no room.' (14) He stood and looked at this old woman. He put down his bag. He filled two hands with gold and gave them to her. Oh, she was so pleased, she was so pleased. She said 'Come—may I be your substitute, may I be your vowed offering. Come, all my place is free for you.' He stayed the night at her home. Now, the boy used to get up early in the morning and do physical exercise. He looked and opposite (he saw) that there was a big building. (15) Three girls are standing on the balcony. He said 'Hey auntie, hey grannie, come here. Who are those (girls) there?' She said 'They are the daughters of the king.' He stood and thought. The boy fell in love with the youngest girl. He fell in love with her. He said 'Can I go and swim in that pool outside the house?' She said 'What can I say?' He went and swam of his own accord, he went in and swam. Those girls laughed at him out loud. He came back. (16) He said 'Hey mother, hey grannie, hey auntie, please go to that king and see whether he wants a servant, so I can go and do service for them.' Now, this boy is a picture (of beauty). She goes and tells the king's wife. The king's wife says 'Let him come. We have geese. Let him go and take them to feed.' (17) With a struggle he puts the geese out in front of him in the morning and goes and lets them feed. In the evening he twists the neck of five geese like this, he puts them on his shoulders, five by five, and comes back. He brings them. (18) He said 'Hey grannie, do these, cook them nicely, like this with a little water, so that we can eat.' 'May the house of your

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154 Literally: He came.

+’àxlax. | bēt-bábux lá xàrba | mù vídat? | mára málca mù p̄t-ávəd b-ríšan? | mára ’át kála là-vud. | hi. | +al-dó-yuma xína mèdrəl xàšləl mádra tuyyılə. | là mórra, | ’átxa lè-’oya. | mórrəl ’áy xàltu | ’ána láxxa +rába lè péšən. | xúš tání ƙa-málca | ’ayyé brátu súrṭa ’elčiyüyta | xzí b-yavválla ƙa-díyyi. | xášla túnila, | mórrə là ’ána ƙa-rija b-yávvən bráta? | ’ána lè yávvən kátu. | (19) sámm dáryalə mən-dá brátal humzámələ | šémmo=da! ’á brátal Šácar +Nùš +Xánəm-lə. | Šácar Nùš +xánəm. | +mòrrəl ’ána ƙa-díyyax +byàyən. | +bàyyat ƙa-díyyi, | tálax. | cəs-dá sóta xáyyax. | lè +báyyat, | cèp janáx-la. | nú +rába +p̄armiyána yàla, | +kəryána yàlələ. | mórra ’ána p̄t-átyan | cəs-sóta. | ’á ríšo cùpal tíla cəs-sóta. | bābol ’ica škilot? | ’ica múttot? | +mrıla. | pállə ju-jul-màxə. | pállə ju-jul-máxə mən-xàssu. | yàmmola, | yàmmol lélə | +bəddá mu-’öda. | mxáyəla ju-ríšo. | +màryəla. | cmá +duxtórə tuyyılun +al-damálca, | xína mü tánət | là vódlun málca lélə +spáy váya. | (20) mára bá mù lábbux +bətlábələ? | báxtu māral mü lábbux +bətlábələ? | mára ’ána hác móndi lén +byá. | +byàyən | +xálvət ’áryal ju-júdat ’áryal ƙa-málca +màrya. | ’áhal ’an-bnátu-da jvìrə. | tré xətnavày ’ítlə, | ’áha-da +tlà. | māral ’áni +bəddàyat mü ’ítən? | xətnavátu +bəkrayèləl māral xúsun ƙa-díyyi +xálvət ’áryal ju-júdat ’áryal ƙa-málca +màrya mémun. | là mayyítun, | ƙdalóxun maxònna. | (21) ’álaха tálax talmidux | ’ánnə xətnavày pyášəna mātal mu-’ödi. | ’ánnə bətyávəna +al-susavày, | bərrəssəna. | ’á Šácar +Nùš +Xánəm, | brátu súrṭa, | +tlábtət +Bàhar, | bássəla mārələl ’ay yámmi, | tání ƙa-jáju, | kámta ƙa-bába ci-taníva jáju, | tání ƙa-jáju | +Bàhar-da xuš-’ázəl. | marànìl ’áha +rázi t-àva? | mára xúš tání. | bássəla tanùvvəla. | mára xá-dana +katərta ’ótlan +táma, | móñ súysa ’áxči xáčxa cùptəla. | hállea ƙátu ƙa-do-júdy, | xuš-’azəlni. | (22) bitáyəla ’á +katərta. | ’átxa bədvákələ b-rišol +rapùvvula. | ’á +katərta yávona kátu. | hm māral o-bábax | ’ána lxiñan ’adíyya +al-de-+katərta yátvən? | ’á +várəla ju-pàja. | o-súysat kat-múyyulə mənnu, | ö=t-máran kat-m-fu-+hàva práxələ, | ’áhal bətyávəla +àllu. | xáčxa júllə bəlvàšələ. | xáčxa júllə bəlvàšələ ƙat-súysu m-fu-+hàva práxələ. | bərrəssəla bərrəssəla, | +ràba bərrəssəla, | xáčxa bərrəssəla. | jušòklələ xa-sáva módrə tívələl hár o-sáva ƙam-šakita. | (23) yála mára ’álaха xér avádləl šlámá-+allux +mámu. | mára b-šéna +al-+’ayni | +Báhar brùni. | mára +áxər ’ica

father not be destroyed, what have you done?' She says 'What will the king do to us?' He says 'Don't say anything.' Yes, on the next day, he went and again he brought back (geese). 'No' she said 'That will not do.' He said 'Auntie, I shall not remain here long. Go and tell the king in the capacity of a matchmaker and see whether he will give that young daughter of his to me.' She went and said this. He said 'No, would I give a daughter to a servant? I will not give (a daughter) to him.' (19) He made an agreement with the girl and spoke with her. The name of the girl is Šacar Nūš +Xanəm.<sup>155</sup> Šacar +Nūš +Xanəm. He said 'I love you. If you love me, come. We shall live with that old woman. If you do not want, it is up to you.' He was an intelligent and educated boy. She said 'I shall come to the home of the old woman.' With a bowed head she came to the home of the old woman. Her father (said) 'Where have you taken her? Where have you put her?' He became ill. He became bedridden. He became bedridden out of his grief. As for her mother, she does not know what to do. She beats her head. He is ill. However many doctors they brought for the king and whatever they did,<sup>156</sup> the king does not get better. (20) They said 'Then what does your heart desire?' His wife said 'What does your heart desire?' He said 'I do not want anything. (But) I want the milk of a lion, in a churn-bag of a lion, for a sick king.' His (other) daughters are married. He has two sons-in-law, and this (boy made) three. He said 'Do you know whether these exist?' He calls his sons-in-law and says 'Go and bring for me the milk of a lion, in a churn-bag of a lion for a sick king. If you do not bring them, I shall cut off your heads.' (21) May God destroy your disciples. The sons-in-law are perplexed as to what to do. They mount horses and go. Šacar +Nūš +Xanəm, his youngest daughter, the wife of +Bahar, goes and says 'Mother, tell Jaju (Dad)—formerly they called a father Jaju—tell Jaju "Let +Bahar go also." She says 'Will he agree?' She says 'Go and tell him.' She goes and tells him. He says 'We have a female mule there, but it is a little lower than a horse. Give it to him, to that filthy man, and let him go.' (22) The mule comes. He holds its head like this and she throws him. They give the mule to him. 'Hm' he says 'That father of yours! Is it appropriate for me to sit on that mule?' He enters the stable. He sits on the horse that he brought with him, the one that I say flies in the air. He puts on some clothes. He puts on some clothes when the horse flies in the air. He goes and goes. He goes a lot and goes a little. He looks (and sees) again an old man sitting, the same old man before the stream. (23) The boy says 'May God bless this (meeting), greetings to you, uncle.' He says 'And greetings to you, +Bahar, my son.' He says 'But where are you going

<sup>155</sup> The name means 'Lady pleasant as sugar.'

<sup>156</sup> Literally: What could you say they did not do.

báššət 'ánnə 'urxaváy?! 'át +bəddáyət 'íca báššət?! mára mù-odən?! xəmyáni málcelə. | 'átxa túnyələ. | járə 'ázən +xálvət 'áryal ju-júydət 'áryal | ka-málca +mórya mayyìna. | mára xa-dákka xmùl! 'ána xaķənnux. | (24) t-ázət t-ázət! +ràba p-ázət, | xàčča p-ázət t-ázət +úxča ròkkal méša +júrtəla! jávo dmóxtəla 'áryal +sádro zirələ. | +bárra +bárrola. | lélé +myasa jöja. | t-ázət! xá zíla p-káttət +yaríxa. | 'ítə 'átxa názuc ríšu t-odáttə. | jánuks lá maxzəttə, | parpəssálux. | 'átxa mən-rókkə p-cálət. | níxa +paşkəttəl 'o-+sádro parəttə. | nəzla dvíkələ. | +bazzəttəl +'áv cílla t-átə támməz +táməl +'áx! tánya munyàxli. | (25) kála là-odət! 'áy tányal māni-vət?! 'éns-ivət! jéns-ivət!, | kála vúd. | 'át kála là-odət! +tlá-ja b-dárya kála. | kála là-odət. | tányal bí momátat kámeta, | bí momát kámeta! 'ida +'állux lè dáryan. | 'áha +tlá-ja 'átxa várəla. | +'áxər mára bí mumátt kámeta! 'ida +'állux lè dáryan, | mára mù tanánnax! +hál nágəl! tíyən +bár +xálvət 'áryal | ka-júydət 'áryal | ka-málca +mòrya. | vág màra! 'álaha la-tálax bét-bábux, | 'ótli látli xá brùna. | vélə ju-kónna dmíxa. | (26) b-láblət +bár +šavvá +tuyrànəl háda jáldu +palğəttəl kálu là +šammánnə. | kálu +smili, | +smili, | xut-xà-cici mattánnux. | +ávva +bárbar. | háda rókkə b-labləttəl kálu là +šammánnəl +yúxsə mattánnux xút xá cici. | 'áha bəškálulə mattávvula! ju-xpáku! +al-síysa xàšla. | xàšla xàšla! +bár +šavvá +šavvá +tuyrànəl. | háda +palútulə 'o-joldu. | málvulə káto. | +baxlárələl 'o-+spáy +xálva ju-júyda. | an-'ákłay! e-šáxta máxta-da ju-'ákłay +bəsyarələ. | màra! 'ýat basəmta. | ka-árya bitáyələ. | bətyávələ +al-síysu bitáyələ. | (27) bitáyələ bitáyələ bitáyələ jašúkala módra hár 'e +čayxána. | 'ícat +čay bəštáyəna. | b-léləl pyášələ +táməl. | 'ína jašúkələl 'ánnə yáysu, | 'én xatvátat de-báxtu lá. | 'áni-da tíyəna +táməl +čay bəštáyəl 'ína léna mačúxa, | +xálva lénə mačúxa lábli ka-xəmyané. | +ávva mára ka-bút mù tíyyət?! +ávva mára ka-bút mù tíyyət?! ka-bút mù tíyyət?! +ávva háda lvišələl lénə +bəddáyul maranlı 'áxnan tíyəx +bár +xálvət 'áryal | ka-málca +mòrya, | lèx mačúxa. | 'áha bəcləyələ, | mára 'ána 'ótli. | 'ána zabúnən. | mára bi-mù zabúnət?! mára xá-dana 'átxa +abəst! 'átxa +júrtələ, | kámta výyyəna. | b-dáy 'ána b-yavvónnoxun +xálva. | (28) 'áni jašúkəna ju-pátət +'uydaləl mára 'áyya buš-jáns-la čóm kám-málca kdàlan maxílə, | +rázi vâyəna. | 'á +palútələ 'én 'ákłay,

on these roads? Do you know where you are going?" He says 'What should I do? My father-in-law is the king. He has said thus: I must go and bring the milk of a lion, in a churn-bag of a lion, for a sick king.' He says 'Wait a minute, I'll tell you. (24) You must go, go, you must go a lot, you must go a little, you must go so far and there is forest. In it a lioness is reclining, the chest of which is swollen. It is roaring. It cannot walk. You should go and cut a long cane. Then make its end fine like this. Do not show yourself. She will pull you apart. You should stand at a distance like this. Slowly extend it and burst her chest. It is blocked with pus. When you pierce it, it will all come out cleanly there. She will say "Oh, I am relieved". (25) Do not make a noise. She will say "Who are you? Whether you are bad or good, make a sound." Do not make a sound. She will cry out three times. Do not make a sound. She will say "By the oaths of old, by the oaths of old, I shall not lay a hand on you." She does this three times. In the end she says 'By the oaths of old, I shall not lay a hand on you,' and he says 'What should I say to you. This is the report of the situation. I have come looking for the milk of a lion, for a churn-bag of a lion, for a sick king.' 'Alas' she said 'May God not seal your father's home, all I have is one son. There he is asleep in the den. (26) You must take it beyond seven mountains and flay off his skin in such a way that I do not hear his cry. If I hear it, if I hear it, I shall put you under one of my teeth. He will roar. You should take him far enough away that I do not hear his cry, otherwise I shall put you under one of my teeth.' He takes him and puts him on his bosom and went off on his horse. He went and went, beyond seven, seven mountains. He flays off his skin in that way. He brings it to her. She gives milk, the good milk into the churn-bag. He ties up the legs, and the dirt and so forth with the legs. He says 'Thank you.' He comes to the lion. He sits on his horse and comes. (27) He comes, and comes and comes, he looks (and sees) again the same tea-house, where they drink tea, and he stays the night there. He looks (and sees) the husbands of his wife's sisters, his wife's sisters, no? They have come there and drink tea, but they do not find, they do not find milk for their father-in-law. One says 'Why have you come?' The other says 'Why have you come? Why have you come?' He is dressed in such a way that they do not recognize him. They say 'We have come looking for the milk of a lion for a sick king, but we do not find it.' He (the boy) stands up and says 'I have it. I am selling it.' They say 'for what are you selling it?' He says 'A large silver coin.' They (such coins) used to exist in the old days. 'For this shall I give you milk.' (28) They look at each other in the face and say 'This is much better than that<sup>157</sup> the king beheads us.' They agree. He takes out the feet and the bad milk. He gives

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157 Literally: before.

‘ó la-+spáy +xàlva. | ‘áni yavélə ƙatè. | ‘á bətyàvələ +al-síysu bətyàvələ. | bitàyələ mára xúš +hála +maxlìlə xázax mù p̄f-ávə málca. | ‘ánnə bitáyəna +maxùluna. | málca bùš p̄s vâyələ ƙát but-háda jóns +xálva lèlə. | màral ƙa-bàxtu máral xaxúš xa-xzìl bábax! ‘ó búsłəna bí pòrda pòrdət màta řil-+xálva ci-taníla. | b-pórda búsłəna +mùxluna. | bùš p̄s výyələ. | marànìl xúš xzí bábax dàxila. | bərréssəla jašùkələ. | bábo bús p̄s výyələ. | (29) bitáyəla màral +Bahàr, | bábi bús p̄s výyələ. | mára ƙú +kazánča máttila mən-da-+xálva jóns! mátti bášəl xà +kazánča. | mat-túvvəla bašùləla mára ƙámta mān-sòta mlílo. | +júrtə báxtəla. | máno mlàyola káto! mára škùl! ‘áx ƙámta ci-tanílun háda b-úpra mánə jadušyày, | jadušyày, | ‘átxa mánə ‘átvə. | mlí lábəlla ƙa-do-bàbax. | bəškáləla labùləla. | hár mən-+tárrajju-+várta, | ‘átxa labùləla bábo ríxu bəškáləl, | bəkyáməl bətyàvələ. | ríxu ‘uxča basíməl. | ‘áha +bixáləla. | marànìl +bəddàyət mu-‘á?| marànìl. | xína mən-‘údyu yúma ‘áha xètnilə. | mélə bétal ƙa-bàxtu mára. | bəškáləna labùluna bëta. | labùluna bëtal ƙarékzzi ƙat-+xliyəla ‘ódi. | (30) nú ‘á yála +kəryána yàla, | honána yàla, | šapíra yàla, | móriša bəkyámələ, | jàldə, ju-dártə vádəla Rfiz-zaryàdkəR| dártə b-RmàyķaR ‘átxa. | jašùkələ xá-xta tíla xá-dana +jéyran. | mxíla m-xut-xàču, | xàšla. | mərrəl ‘ána xàšli. | ta-+bàri. | +jéyran mərrəl ‘ána xàšli, ta-+bàri. | xàšla. | náša mərrəl ‘ána xá xázzən ‘áyya mù +jéyran. | xína ƙa-bàxtu lèlə túnya. | xàšla +bàro. | xàšla xàšla b-+rába xàčxa. | +rába xàšla, | +vòrra, ju-xá-dana ... ‘átxa súra max-bétal ci-taníla +kallàyča. | (31) +vòrra. | muttíla RgrafínkəR-ət ‘áraķ, | xá-dana +ústol. | víla bràta. | +jéyran víla bràta. | RgrafínkəR muttíla +al-ústol. | tré +sticàna muttíla. | márra šátax ‘áraķ. | ‘áha štīla. | ‘áy mán ... ‘átxa bəstàyələ. | bədráyula, ju-+sàdrul tapùxula. | yála +murvíla, | +pulátlə xa-ƙàmči. | yála mxíla m-ju-+xàsu, | vódlə cipa, | +ruppila. | yála víla cipa. |

(32) +xábra yávvax mən-+Àlmas. | bášša bitàyələ ju-RakúšķaR pacùrələ. | jušákələlə várda +čmàčlun. | ‘òl màral ƙa-bábu yàmmu ‘axúni mára mū-ila tpókta bìyyu? | ‘ána bətyávən sítysal ‘ána xàšli. | sèpu-dal +júrtə mattúvvələ ‘átxa +al-dàpnu. | +rába bitáyələ, | xàčxa bitáyələ, | +rába bitáyələ, | xàčxa bitáyələ. | ‘álahá mára ́cet sítysi clílə, | ‘ána +tàma, | ‘ána +tàma. | jušákələ xér. | b-lèlə víla. | tíla +m̄ílə ju-mdita. | +buķərrə, | +buķərrə. | mārrun +hana-láxxa ‘á bēt-màlcələ. | mānilə? | mán lélə? | RúžeR +dílə ƙát ... ‘áha xíyyələ ‘axùnu +táma. | ‘ánnə=da ‘axunvày|

them to them. He mounts, he mounts on his horse. He comes back and says 'Let them now feed him and let's see what will happen to the king.' They come and feed him. The king becomes worse because it is not good milk. He says to his wife 'Go and see (how) your father (is)'—what they have cooked with grains, grains of the village. They call it pudding. They have cooked it with grains and fed him, but he has become worse. He says 'Go and see how your father is.' She goes and looks. Her father has become worse. (29) She comes and says '+Bahar, my father has got worse.' He says 'Put on a cooking pot with this good milk. Put on a pot to cook.' She puts it on and cooks. He says 'Fill the old lady's plate first. She is an old woman.' She fills her plate for her and says 'Eat!'<sup>158</sup> In the old days they used to call such earthenware vessels bowls, bowls. There were vessels like that. 'Fill it and take it to that father of yours.' She fills it and takes it. As soon as she enters the door, she takes it, her father smells it and he sits up. Its smell is so good. He eats. He says 'Do you know what?' he says. 'Well, from today he is my son-in-law. Bring him to the house.' He says to his wife. They fetch him and bring him to the house. They bring him to the house in order for them to prepare to hold a wedding. (30) Well, this lad is an educated lad, a smart lad, a handsome lad. He gets up early and does physical exercises in the courtyard in a vest like this. He looks and sees that again a gazelle has come. It knocked him on his armpit and moved away. It said 'I am going, come after me.' The gazelle said 'I am going, come after me.' He went (after it). The man said 'Let me see what gazelle that is.' Well, he has not told his wife. He went after it. He went, he went, much, a little. It went a long way and entered into something small like a house, which they call a hut. (31) It entered. It put out a carafe of arak and a table. It became a girl. The gazelle became a girl. She put the carafe on the table. She laid two glasses. She said 'Let's drink arak.' He drank. He drinks its. She puts it in front of him and pours it. She got the lad drunk. She took out a whip. She struck the lad across his back and made him into stone and threw him aside. The lad became stone.

(32) Let us now talk about +Almas. He comes<sup>159</sup> and looks in the window. He saw that the flowers had withered. 'Oh' he says to his father and mother, he says 'What has happened to my brother? I am mounting a horse, I am going.' He puts a large sword like this on his side. He comes a lot, he comes a little. He comes a lot, he comes a little. 'By God' he says 'Wherever my horse stops I (shall stop) there, I (shall stop) there.' He looked and all was well. It became night. He came and reached a town. He asked, he asked. They said 'Here you are, this

<sup>158</sup> Literally: take.

<sup>159</sup> Literally: goes and comes.

lèna práša m-+úydalə|. +Bàhar| Rúže<sup>R</sup> xzìlux| +Álmas| lét +bøddá +Bàhar-lə  
 +yúxsa +Álmas-lə|. (33) áha bitáyələ +tàma, màral ríšu cúpa +várələ|. Rúže<sup>R</sup>  
 +pàrmùvvələ| 'axúnu lítən|. lá-da màral 'axùniləl mániləl mán lélə|. bitáyələ 'áha|  
 mattùvvəla làxma, bøt-lábbø +tlíbola|. Šácar Núš +Xánəm| láxma mattùvvəla|.  
 lá kàla vádəl|. lá +kòxa vádəl|. á sépu +palùłtola|. dúca šavùvvəla|. xà-duca  
 bødmáxəna, bøt-lábbø +jòro|. mattùvvola +aràllág, +aràllág mattùvvola|. +xàsu  
 vádulə la-dàyl bødmáxələ|. bødmáxələ, móriša bøkyàmələ|. ju-dárta báššələ Rfiz-  
 zaryádlka<sup>R</sup> 'ávəd|. (34) +jéyran tila|. +jéyran tila, márra 'ána xàshli, ta+bári.  
 'áha xàshləl +báro +báro|. márra 'é tát 'axún-díyyi 'áha +al-dá-yuma drítula|.  
 xáshləl +báro +báro|. hánəz ju-béta súra +muvvørra| muttília 'arač|. 'áha márra šti.|  
 lèla bøstáyu| bødráyula tapùxula|. ka-díyax mårən šti,| sámm døryàlax|. kámči  
 škilàlə|. kámči škilàlə, márra 'axúni makkəmlə|. lè,| 'ádi p̄t-odánnax cipa|. Rúže<sup>R</sup>  
 vítəla bráta|. Rúže<sup>R</sup> +dila|. +áh xáčča jáldə jáldə xaķúvvon, +špáy lèn xaķúvvo|.  
 márra t-odánnax cipa|. kámči mxilə, 'axúnu kàmlə|. 'axúnu kàmlə|. 'axúnu kàmlə  
 mårre 'àxuni|. márra +ján|. márra 'àxuni|. márra kàm +murrəssənnux?| háda  
 šónta +xlitəva| basəmta|. márra hí +rába šónta +xlitəva jøns-iva|. á +jéyran|  
 škilálun mənnè|. bráta +úxča šap̄òrtəlal xína lé-'oya tanùvvə,| 'á bráta|. (35) tré  
 susaváy bitáyəna b-ürxa|. tílun tílum| á +Álmas xaķúvvələ mut-Rfúrma<sup>R</sup> týyələ  
 béta dmìxələ|. +ahàl mára báxti lèla +dítə|. xína +bar-nàša| xína| 'átxa jav-  
 labbøl 'átxa taxmùnələl mára á xíshlə beténi dmìxələ +há|. susaváy cálýəna  
 +sìyyəna|. yáccə kùnyələ|. mára 'ámnən +sála?| +Álmas mára 'ána b-+sàlən,  
 'átxa palacànəna|. yávvən mìyyal súysə maštilun|. 'áha +bøslayələl mìyya yávəla  
 katè|. +Báhar ka-+xóla +bøktayula, yála pøšləl +Álmas ju-kùnya|. bitáyələ bëta|  
 susaváy,| é +jéyran bøskàlolə, bitáyələ bëta|. (36) bitáyələ bëta| báxtu bøt-lábbø  
 +jòro|. lèla +bøddá|. xína +jòrola,| 'ádmo +jòro lèla práša|. bitáyələ màral bá,  
 mù-ila víta láxxa?| mára hòč móndi, mì-ila víta?| bá nášə léna tìyyə,| léna dmìxə?|  
 mára 'átitvəl bá kám sèpux muttálux +aràllág?| bá kám +xàsux vødlux la-díyyi?|

is the house of the king.' Who is he? Who is he not? He just then realized that his brother had lived there. These brothers could not be distinguished from one another. When you see <sup>+</sup>Bahar or <sup>+</sup>Amas, you do not know whether it is <sup>+</sup>Bahar or <sup>+</sup>Almas. (33) He comes there. He enters with a bowed head. He understands that his brother is not there. He does not, however, say 'He is my brother' or who he (himself) is.<sup>160</sup> She comes and serves food. She thinks he is her husband. Šacar Nūš <sup>+</sup>Xanəm serves food. He does not say a word. He does not utter a sound. He takes out his sword. She lays the bed. They sleep in the same place, since she thinks he is her husband. He puts it (the sword) in between, he puts it in between. He turns his back on her and goes to sleep. He sleeps and gets up in the morning. He goes into the yard and does physical exercises. (34) The gazelle came. The gazelle came and said 'I am going, follow me.' He followed after her. He said 'No matter what, this (gazelle) has brought my brother to light.'<sup>161</sup> He followed her. When she had brought him into the small house, she served arak. He says 'Drink.' She does not drink. She pours it and throws it away. 'I say to you drink.' 'You have poured the poison.' He took the whip. He took the whip and said 'Revive my brother. If not, then I shall make you into stone right now.' She has already become a girl. He already knew.—Oh, I am telling it very quickly, I am not telling it well.—He said 'I shall make you into stone.' He struck the whip and his brother rose up. He brother rose up. His brother rose up and he said 'My brother.' He said 'Yes, my dear.' He said 'My brother.' He said 'Why have you woken me up? It was such a sweet and pleasant sleep.' He said 'Yes, it was a very sweet and good sleep.' They took the gazelle with them. It is such a beautiful girl, beyond any description, this girl. (35) The two horses go along on the road. They went, they went. <sup>+</sup>Almas tells how he has come to the house and slept. The other says 'My wife did not know.' But he is a human being and thinks to himself 'He has come to our house and slept, oh.' The horses stop, they are thirsty. It is a huge well. They say 'Which of us should go down?' <sup>+</sup>Almas says 'I shall go down. There are stairs. I shall fetch water and you make the horses drink.' He goes down and he gives the water to them. <sup>+</sup>Bahar cuts the rope, the lad <sup>+</sup>Almas was left in the well. He comes home with the horses. He takes the gazelle and comes home. (36) He comes home. His wife thinks he is her husband. She does not know. Well, he is her husband. She cannot distinguish her brother-in-law and her husband. He comes and says 'What has happened here?' She says 'Nothing.' 'What has happened? Have not people come and slept?' She says 'You were here, but why did you put your

160 Literally: who he is, who he is not.

161 Literally: to this day.

'átxa xaķúvvəla ķàtu| mu-táhar=va 'ó 'ádm̥o dmíxələ +tàma.| +súp̥pu +bəkràṭolə.| mára 'ána namàrd-ivən.| 'axūn-dìyyəl|R značetR tåmməz-lə.| tázə +bərxàṭolə +al-dò ķúnya.| (37) màral 'àxun!| +Àlm̥as!| mára +jān| +ruppili +xóla| +plüt!| +plàṭla.| muyyila tilun.| supilun bábu yómmu mən-+tàma,| tilun.| +šavvá yumána láxxa vádlun +xlùyla.| +šavvá yumán-da vódlun lab-babè| lab-bábu lubàllun.| +šavvá yumána +xlùyla vódlun la-bí bràta|R a patómR +šavvá yumán-da vódlun la-bí yála.| ķát RúžeR hám ē +tlábtu lublálə,| Šácar Núš +Xánəm,| hám-da Šácar Núš +Xánəm ķa-+Bàhar.| ē +jéyran-da lublálun ķa-hónna,| 'áy-da bràtəva,| lublálun ķa-+Àlm̥as.| +šavvá yumán-da +tàma vódlun +xlùyla.| ci-tanila 'átxa| mən-+áta +bàba:| +šavvá xabùyšə pállun.| xá-mənne RpérviyR ķa-diyyux| xá-mənne ķa-+Maryāna|xá-mənne ķa-Édi,| xá-mənne ķa-dìyyi.| 'átxa ci-tanilun.

#### A43 The Adventures of a Princess (Manya Givoyev, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) xakyánnux ... xìna.| 'átva látva xá málca,| xá málca,| xá dána hónna ... malàcta mádra.| 'átvalun xà-dana bráta.| cu-šita| c-azíva +yàylağ| +yáylağ mü-ila?| ķenyána ci-lablívalun dax-+tùyra| +kèṭa.| hál 'atíva +ambàra| cílla hónna vidèna,| slibèna,| davé lublèna.| bráta +rába 'átxa ... hónna va 'átxa,| ķùčcar brátəva.| braté ķùčcar=va.| märra 'ay +páp̥a,| xùš.| 'axnóxun xùšun,| 'ána pésan bëta.| ķàmu bráti?| märrə,| +xṭítax=la.| 'át mü-tahar b-xamyáttun 'ánnə +ambàra| xá-'atxa dàvə?| mára 'ána b-xamyánnun.| (2) 'ánnə xèšlun| ķómla b-lèla,| júlla 'átxa lvàšla| 'ánnə RspartivniR +shùla.| simálta muttálala| clíla +al-xa-màrza.| jušákla,| ju-+ambar=la.| jušákla mən-+úllul +ruppilun simálta.| tilun| arp̥i dána +harambásə.| arp̥i 'ánnə finàvəna.| 'ámnət tilə,| b-sépa ķdálū mxila.| 'ámnət tilə-za ķdálū mxila.| tláy +áčça məxyélə| +al-dət-arp̥i| +kássu jrədla| xa-rəkla,| 'ó +jurè.| 'ó +juré rəkla.| víla 'átxa 'átxa,| durbánnə xàšla.| hé xàšla.| bábo dáni tilun +bár tre-yàrxə| cílla dáva +házər.| 'átxa mən-+kássat brátu nšəkla| básmá jánax bráti ķat-'átxa xumítət.| märra +páp̥a,| dàžmən 'átlı 'ána.| dàžmən.| mü-ila?| märra +hál nágəl 'átxa.| 'ó +harámbaš +júra durbánnə xàšla.| märrə là +zádyat.| 'ána rijaváti +rəbəna| mattánnun mənnax.| (3) 'áha' cí +dána 'ánnə rijaváy báššəna +al-hávuz| miyya.| 'átxa taləmyáy 'átlun| báššəna miyya máyyi.| 'á təflito| 'áha

sword in between? Why did you turn your back on me?' She tells him how her brother-in-law had slept there. He bites his finger. He says 'I am inhuman. My brother is innocent.' He immediately runs. He immediately runs to the well. (37) He says '+Almas!' He says 'Yes, my dear.' 'I have thrown down a rope, come out!' He came out. He brought him back and they came back. They sent for his father and mother from there, they came. They held a wedding for seven days. They held it for seven days also at their father's house. They took him to his father's house. They held it for seven days at the girl's home. Then they held it for seven days at the lad's home. He also took his wife, Šacar Nūš +Xanəm, also Šacar Nūš +Xanəm for +Bahar. They took also the gazelle for so-and-so—she was a girl. They took her for +Almas. They held a wedding there for seven days. They tell it like this, from the time of our forefathers: seven apples have fallen, one of them, the first, for you, one of them for +Maryana, one of them for Eddy, one of them for me. They say this to them.

#### A43 The Adventures of a Princess (Manya Givoyev, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) I shall tell you another one. There was once a king. A king and a queen again. They had a daughter. Every year they would go to the summer pasture. What is the summer pasture? They took the cattle to (a place) like a mountain, in summer. By the time they returned, their store rooms had all been ..., had been plundered, their gold had been taken. The daughter was very ... she was a tough girl. Their daughter was tough. She said 'Oh, daddy, go. You all go. I shall stay at home.' 'Why, my daughter? I feel sorry for you. How will you protect these storerooms with so much gold?' She says 'I shall protect them.' (2) They went. She got up in the night. She dressed like this, in sports clothes or the like. She placed the ladder and stood on one side. She looked. She is in the storeroom. She saw that they threw a ladder from above. Forty master thieves came. There are forty of those thieves. Whoever came, she beheaded him with her sword. Whoever came she beheaded. She beheaded thirty-nine, the fortieth she scratched on his forehead. One escaped—that leader of theirs. That leader of theirs escaped. He was like this, he was wounded and went away. Yes, he went away. Her father and the family came back after two months and all the gold is still there. He kissed the forehead of his daughter 'Thank you, my daughter, for protecting (our property).' She said 'Daddy, I have an enemy.' 'What is it?' She said 'The situation is as follows. The thief leader was injured and went away.' He said 'Do not be afraid. My servants are numerous and I shall station them with you.' (3) She—all the time the servants are going to the pool, the water. They have jars, they go to fetch water. Her shoe—the thief leader is searching for her.

harám-baš +júra +ṭavvúvvələ +bàro.| +masyùdələ| 'ica dávək labəlla.| 'á təflito  
 dàvəla.| bənpála ju-hènna,| de-hàvuz,| 'á márəla dí m-òdan?| xu-lá-+msan  
 palṭànnə,| 'an-rijaváy=da léna +myasa +palṭila.| bitáyəla bëta.| mú málca lòtlə.  
 tázə bəlvàšəla.| bitáyəla +harámbaš jašùkələ| 'ína mú təflito| mára 'ét lót 'á  
 bitáyəla làxxa.| +támə +masyùdə.| +al-dó-yuma xína bərràšəla.| bədvákələ mat-  
 túvvola +al-sùysa| labùlolə.| cmá=t čarčúrəna 'ánnə rjajváy bnátə +šùlə,| lèla vá,  
 lublàlə.| (4) lublálə lublálə lublálə| +al-+sádrət +ṭuyra muskálə.| +siràlə.| cùllə  
 b-+xòlə| 'átxa +siràlə.| mən-+tuṭṭúrto 'idáto hal-kärkápto +sìrolə.| müttolə +al-  
 +sádrət +ṭuyra 'átxa.| marán̄i pùš láxxa.| 'á +búsrx dána dána b-šaklánna b-  
 hènna,| názuc zíla,| zíla 'íta kësa| názuc.| dáx xá-txa janáy +kṭəltét,| 'át dámmət  
 cùllə dəžmənnax šaklánna.| 'u-+sìrolə.| 'áha,| 'áha mèrral| 'ála ha víli +xlàpux|  
 pàrəkli!| +nàdrux 'ýan!| 'átxa jambúlə, jambúlə, jambúlə,| m-+sádrət  
 +ṭuyral níxa candùrəl npàla.| +támə=dal| 'ùrxələl| 'azána 'atyàna vâyəna.| +càr-  
 van bitáyəla ci-taníla +càrvan| dáx 'ánnə b-xurjé +šùlə,| cùllə xišənəl maxlúpəna  
 b-dáva +šùlə 'átxa,| +càrvan.| +bəddàyot +càrvan?| 'én xá-txa júmlə +šùlə| kát  
 bitáyəna báššəna hònna vâdəna,| Rbìznes|R.| (5) 'áha| jašùkələ| +támə=da hònna|  
 brún-málca| +juré brún-málca| jašùkələ yàlə| +'ámma jášək hònnałani|  
 RšóṭkaR xá mòndi| 'ábal bəškàlələ| mára 'ýar mòndila,| ka-díyyòxun.| 'ýar jòns  
 mòndila,| ka-díyyila,| 'á brún-málca.| bəškàlona,| mattúvvona ju-xùrjun| 'u-sé  
 bəjràšona| labùlona.| è +dána| 'á +harámbaš bitáyəla| 'á hònna| +harámbaš|  
 bitáyəla jašùkələ lítən.| bitáyəla b-síysi kàm +càrvan +bəkṭáyola.| mára láxxa  
 mòndi lèlə píla?| lètun škílə?| maráni hánna b-RaftamàtR bəcrákəna.| mára šúk  
 sìl rišux bálsax.| +bəzdàyəl bərràkələ.| (6) 'áha bitáyəla bëta,| ptàxulə| 'ína mú  
 xá +'ònsan=la.| xá šapérta bràtəla.| jáno Rùže|R hál +tmanəssàr šánnə,| 'esri  
 šánnə,| cóso +yarıxa,| laxùmta,| šécla.| maráni ... 'átən bràt-mànivat?| mən-  
 mònivat?| +bakürolə.| +áv=da brún-málca| mən-mònivat?| mára +hál nàgəl|  
 b-ríši 'átxa titəla.| mára 'ána ka-díyyax jòrən.| mára +áx mù jórət ka-díyyi?| 'ána  
 dámmət díyyi b-šaklìlə mára.| 'ána 'átxi dàžmən.| nú 'ána ka-díyyax xàmən.| 'át  
 +šùlət díyyax lèlə.| 'ána hàda bëta +maṭrássən| Rtryox-attàš|R kam-xà +tárra

He is watching where he could capture her. Her shoe is made of gold. It falls in the ... the pool. She says 'Well, what should I do? Surely I cannot take it out and the servants also cannot take it out.' She comes home. Well, the king is not there. She dresses again. The thief looks and sees what, her shoe. He says 'Come what may, she will come there.' He lies in ambush there. The next day she goes. He seizes her, puts her on a horse and takes her away. However much she screams and the servants and the girls and so forth, it does not help, he took her away. (4) He took her away, he took her away, he took her away, he took her up the mountain slope. He tied her up. He tied her all up with a rope like this. He tied her up from her nails, her hands, until the crown of her head. He placed her on the mountain slope. He says 'Stay here. I shall take off your flesh piece by piece with a ... a fine reed, a reed, well a fine piece of wood. Just as you have killed so many people, I shall avenge the blood of all of your enemies.' He tied her up. She said 'God, I implore you,<sup>162</sup> save me! I beg you.'<sup>163</sup> She tumbles, tumbles, tumbles from the mountain slope, slowly rolls and falls down. There is a road there, on which there are wayfarers. A caravan comes. They call it a caravan, like those who go with their pack-saddles (of goods) and exchange them all for gold and so forth, caravan. Do you know what a caravan is? Something with camels and so forth, which come and go and do ... business. (5) He looks—there ... it is the son of the king, their leader is the son of the king. The lad looks, but look it is a ..., something. He takes her immediately and says 'If it is a (bad) thing, it is for you. If it is a good thing, it is for me'—this son of a king. They take her and put her in a pack-saddle, and off they go,<sup>164</sup> they carry her off. They take her away. At that time the thief leader comes, the ... thief comes and looks but she is not there. He comes with his horse and cuts in front of the caravan. He says 'Did anything fall? Have you taken anything?' They say ... they surround him with automatic weapons. They say 'Go away or we will crush your head.' He is afraid and flees. (6) He comes to the house and opens it and what (does he see?) it is a human being. It is a beautiful girl, no more than eighteen years old, twenty years old, with long hair, fair, a picture (of beauty). He says 'Whose daughter are you? Whose are you?' He asks her. He is the son of the king. 'Whose are you?' She says 'This is the situation. Such-and-such has happened to me.' He said 'I shall marry you.' She says 'But why will you marry me? They want to have my blood.' She says. 'I have an enemy.' 'Well, I shall protect you. Do not worry about it. I shall build a house with three storeys. I shall put a lion in front of one gate

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162 Literally: I have become your substitute.

163 Literally: May I become your devotional offering.

164 Literally: Off you go!

máttən +'áslan| ksam-xà +tárra +káplan.| +šəmyèt 'ánnə| +'áslan +káplan?| 'át hác páccər là-odat.| (7) bitáyələ bətváy +tarùsələl xína Rceresçür<sup>R</sup>| Rtryox-attas,<sup>R</sup>| ksam-xà +tárra mattúvvələ palàcan| +'áslan| ksam-xá-mənne +káplan.| 'á bássələ pəlxàna.| bássələ pəlxàna +cavutránə bitáyələ bëta.| 'á báxtu pyásəla +yaķurtal b-yàla.| xá +cavútra təvtəla,| xína +tlibolə| 'átxa ríšu hánna pràxula,| 'átxa hánna balbùvvula| +təlyələ| mağjùbulə| byàyula| xáyyo purkələ.| (8) 'é-+dana jašùkələ| +tárra ptəxlə,| +várə ... 'á +haràmbaš.| mára ká lax lá-atə,| +plùt!| +yúxsa ka-díyyax-da +kátlən| ka-+jörax-da +kátlən.| +plùt maráni.| níxa +tlíbo ríšu mattúvvula +al-märza,| +al-mutàcca.| mára 'át xúš ksamayl kat-+tlíbi ka-díyyux lá xázza.| +'áv-zə +pàrmùvvələ| 'u-xá ķenyána müyyulə +ktílulə| pálju +rúppulə ksam-+áslan| pálju ksam-+káplan| kat-sikələ.| mára xúš ksamayl mára yá' 'álaha| yá +màryal 'ána mú yála 'át 'ána +'ázad t-óyan| ka-díyyux 'ávə +duxràna.| ka-díyyi párək mən-dá dàžmən.| hár palàcan| 'áha 'áklu mattúvvvoləl xà +rápsa mxáyula,| bássələ jaljúlə jaljúləl ka-+áslan +káplan màra pàrpəssunlə!| 'átxa bədvàkəna parpùsuna.| (9) bitáyələ ka-+tlíbo márlələ marələnīl kùylux! mára šánta +xilitələ lét mára dàžmən Rúže<sup>R</sup> 'átxa tiləl 'átxa-da vila.| bá ka-díyyi ķám lá tunìlax?| mára 'ána jàni ka-díyyux lá tunili.| bá lét-mára 'ána cu-m-yála b-màyyan| +duxràna tunítun ka-'álaha?| mára jöns vóttst.| bitáyələ xa-bráta vàyola,| šacla mən-jáno buš šapárta.| (10) +xamsár šánnə vàyəla 'á bráta| xakùvvəla yómmo.| mára xà-ila| 'áha +duxràna tunítun mára 'álaha víli +xlàpul bráti mára,| +háil nágəl b-ríši 'átxa titəla,| 'átxa titəla +hála bábi yàmmi-da lén xzité.| ka-díyyax tunítən +duxràna.| lén +bəddá mú-tahar 'á +duxràna 'álaha p-ķabəl,| mū-tahar p-óya.| mára 'ána xdítən| yàmmi<sup>R</sup> lišbə<sup>R</sup> 'át 'óyat jöns.| mū p-óditun| +'áv +šüldiyòxun-lə| yómmo bərrássələ,| lén +bəddá +al-+bázar,| 'ica +plàtəla,| bábo +al-pəlxàna.| jašúkələ xa-sáva tilə +várə,| +tárra ptəxlə,| +tárra ptəxlə,| mārdàkna náša.| (11) márrə šlåma +allax bráti márra b-séna +al-+ayni.| márra 'ána týyən +bárax.| márra 'ána xdítən| yàmmi ka-díyyi tunítəla| adiyya buš-+spáy ka-díyyi lásəl.| 'átxa pacùroləl mára +bəddáyət mū 'itən?| Rúže<sup>R</sup> +duxràna kbəllə.| xazzànnax mən-púmmax várda Rbulkèt<sup>R</sup> tápxi| +ròz| šapírə +xvárə,| smúkə jùrrə júrrə.| 'ína +susyáto-da cút +susito 'átxa àza| cílla dàvə +xarxári.

and a tiger in front of another gate.'—Have you heard of these?—'Do not have a thought (about it).' (7) He comes and builds a house, huge, three storeys, before one door he puts a lion on the steps, before the other a tiger. He goes to work. He goes to work and comes back at lunchtime. His wife becomes pregnant with a child. One lunchtime she sits, well he is her husband, she strokes his hair, she rubs it like this and he falls asleep. She likes him, she loves him. He has saved her life. (8) Then she sees the door open and the leader of thieves enters. He says 'Don't make a sound. Come out! Otherwise I will kill you and I will kill your husband. Come out,' he says. Slowly she puts her husband's head aside, on the pillow. She says 'You go in front, so that my husband does not see you.' He is smart. He has brought an ox and slaughtered it. He has thrown half of it before the lion and half before the tiger, so that he has been able to come up. She says 'Go in front of me.' She says 'Oh God! Oh Lord! Whatever child I may have, if I am freed, it will be an offering to you. Save me from this enemy.' Just as he puts his foot on the steps, she gives him a kick and he rolls down. She says to the lion and tiger 'Pull him apart!' They seize him and pull him apart. (9) She comes to her husband, she says, she says 'Get up!' He says 'Sleep is sweet. You don't say that the enemy has already come and such-and-such has happened? But why did you not tell me?' She says 'I did not tell you myself.' 'But are you not saying "Whatever child I bear, I have promised it to God as an offering?"' He says 'You have done well.' It happens that she has a daughter, a picture (of beauty), more beautiful than herself. (10) When the girl becomes fifteen, her mother tells (the story). She says 'It is inevitable,<sup>165</sup> I have promised this offering.' She says 'I have become a substitute for God, my daughter. Such-and-such a situation has come upon me, this is what has happened. I have not yet seen my father and mother. I have promised you as an offering. I do not know how God will accept this offering, how it will be.' She says 'I am happy, mother, provided that you are well. Whatever you do, that is your business.' Her mother goes out. I do not know where she goes, perhaps to the market and her father (goes out) to work. She sees that an old man came in and opened the door. He opened the door, (he was) a bearded man. (11) He said 'Greetings to you, my daughter.' She said 'You are welcome.' He said 'I have come for you.' She said 'I am happy. My mother has told me. Now it is best for you to take me.' He looks at her like this. He says 'Do you know what?' He has already accepted the offering. 'I would like to see you with bunches of flowers pouring from your mouth, roses, beautiful white ones, red ones, different types.' As for her plaits, each plait that she had, when she walked, gold coins fell down from all of her hair. Whenever you comb it, gold

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165 Literally: It is one.

hár sarkàttə,| dàvə tápxi.| 'á xàšlə! xàšlə sáva.| sáva xàšlə! yámmo tīla.| (12)  
 yámmo tīla| +úxča xdítəla bràta| +rxáta| +rxáta| +bərxátəla ķam-yòmmo.| jàxcəla.|  
 'ánnə <sup>R</sup>bukétx|R| +ròzəl mən-pùmmo| +plátxəna.| yámmo bəcláyəla xa-b-xà.| já-t-ila  
 húšo 'áza.| bráti 'á mù-ilə?| +màma mára| hìl munšíli| xa-+píra tání ķa-yámmax  
 šákla| +kàtla,| +duxrána kbəllə,| +palliyya.| mára +màma| 'át xàšlax,| sáva nàša  
 tīla.| 'átxa tuniləl hí 'ána bitáyəl| +áv ķa-dìyyi| 'átxa juvvábla.| tání ķa-yámmax  
 šákla xá-dana| +píra| +palliyya,| +duxrána kbəllə,| xazzánna x-púmmax várda  
 +róza tápxi| m-+susyátax=da dàvə hár| +xarxárri.| yámmo hár| 'átxa pyášela  
 mātal.| bábo bitáyəla.| 'áluhal| 'á mút davàltəla?| 'á mút| +oyən=la?| bráta buš  
 šuprónτəla,| šäcla.| (13) bráta víla mádra| +əççassàr šánnə.| yála| +xábra yáv-  
 vax mən-málcət Čín mà-Čín,| yála.| 'ánnə məttəlyay| sávə nàšə hukyéna.| 'ána  
 cílla| +šmitén| +al-tanùyra.| brátənva| 'átxa súrča,| bətxarèn.| 'á bábu māra,  
 málcət Čín mà-Čín,| brùna| tág brùna| 'átləl māra brúni majvərrənnux| ríšan  
 +'áyan| +jàmmi,| xàdax,| navəjjə| 'avílan.| māra bábil| 'ána bráta dárəc mačxánnna.  
 'ána xazzénnna,| +bayyənnna.| vázzər xuš-'áta mənni| 'ázax| +tàvvax| 'icət ju-dəm-  
 mändit sítysi| clílə,| ķam-dəm-+tárra,| 'ána t-+óranju-do-bèta.| māra| +spáy| vázzər  
 +šadúrula mənnu.| (14) vázzər bitáyəla mən-dá yála.| +bəxdárəna,| +bəxdárəna,  
 +bəxdárəna,| +rába məndiyyay| +bəxdárəna.| ju-xá-mdita| +várəna,| sýysa bəclá  
 ķam xa-+tárra,| hánəz ķam-+tárrat dá bráta.| māra lé-'azən hác dúca.| 'ána ķolilə.  
 +támə ríjavay| 'ítən.| māra xa-xúšun ķa-+ágyayóxun tánímun.| kabúlə p-ķabli  
 'árxa?| māra| +al-+'áyan| b-šéna| 'áti.| 'árxa| 'árxa| 'aláhələ,| +tarránan ptixəna.  
 xuš-'áta| +ür.| bitáyəna| +várəna.| bráta| +várəla| bəxzayéla jàxcəla.| <sup>R</sup>bukétx|R| várda  
 bətpáxəna.| 'átxa bərrəssəla| zánya zònjl dàvə bətpáxəna m-+susyáto.| ká vázzər  
 hánna várda,| 'áklu dašdúšola,| māra| mùčxoł hác lál| 'ána hác dúca lé-'azən.| xá  
 šábta pyášəla| +támə.| (15) māra hác dúca lè-'azən| xá šábta pyášəla| +támə.| māra  
 +há'l nágəl ķa-bábo yámmo| +maþrùməla| māra| 'ána tíyən bəfvára.| bratóxun  
 xóši titəla| 'ána-da brún-málcən.| 'ána-da lén tlíka yála| +rázitən bábi yóm̄mi  
 sápən| 'atini?| bəcláyəna pacúrəna,| yála| šapíra,| +rámə,| šäcla,| honàna,| brún-  
 málca.| māra sápi xuš-'áti bábx yòmmux.| (16) bitáyəna| +šavvá yumánəla bábo  
 várəna| +xlíyla,| +šavvá lelavay.| 'a-sápar lablíla lab-yála,| +támə| +xlíyla| 'ödi.  
 mán t-ázəl mən-bráta?| +ántət bráta| +sadúrona| 'áxči,| +ántət bráta,| mən-bráto.  
 +ántət bráta| mù tanyánnna?| càdə pyáyəla| +sádda b-məlxə,| +sádda b-málxa

coins poured down. He left. The old man left. The old man left and her mother returned. (12) Her mother comes. The girl is so happy, she runs, runs up to her mother. She is laughing. Those bunches of roses are coming out of her mouth. Her mother suddenly stops. She almost loses her mind. 'My daughter, what is that?' 'Mother,' she said. Yes, I forgot, (the old man said) 'Tell your mother to take a lamb and slaughter it, and the offering will be accepted, share it out.' She says 'Mother, when you went, an old man came. He said this. Yes (I said) "I am coming" and he replied thus. "Say to your mother that she should take a lamb and share it out, then the offering will be accepted. I want to see roses flowing from your mouth and gold coins falling from your plaits.'" Her mother is astonished. Her father comes. 'By God, what treasure is this? What game is this? The girl has become more beautiful, a picture (of beauty).'

(13) The girl turned nineteen years old. Let us talk about a young man (who was the son) of the king of China, or thereabouts, a young man. The old folk told these stories. I heard them all (whilst sitting) on the oven. I was a young girl like this. I remember them. His father says—the king of China or thereabouts had a single son—he says 'My son, I want to marry you off, so that our thoughts and vision be comforted, so we can rejoice and have grandchildren.' He says 'Father, I must find a girl. I will find her and love her. Let the vizier come with me and we will go and search, wherever, at whatever thing my horse stops, before whatever door, I shall enter into that house.' He says 'Fine.' He sends the vizier with him. (14) The vizier comes with the young man. They search, they search, they search, they go around many towns. They enter one town and the horse stops at one door, well in front of the door of the girl. He says 'I shall not go anywhere (else). It is my promise.' There are servants there. He says 'Go and speak to your master. Do they accept guests?' They say 'By all means, you are welcome. A guest is the guest of God. Our doors are open. Come in.' They go in. The girl comes in. She sees them and laughs. A bunch of flowers pours out. She goes along, tinkle tinkle, gold pours from her plaits. He does such-and-such to the vizier, he steps on his foot. He says 'We have found her. I shall not go anywhere else.' He stays there one week. (15) He says 'I shall not go anywhere else.' He remains there a week. He says, explaining the situation to her father and mother, he says 'I have come to marry. I have become fond of your daughter. I am the son of a king. I am not a lost child. Are you pleased for me to send for my father and mother to come?' They stand and look. The young man is handsome, tall, a picture (of beauty), clever, the son of a king. They say 'Give word that your father and mother should come.' (16) They come and her father's family hold a wedding for seven days and seven nights. Then they wanted to take her to the home of the young man and celebrate the wedding there also. Who will go with the girl? They send only the aunt of the

pyàyəla| áx xóšo lèla bitá| kát 'áyya 'avvó yála joràlə,| brāt-'axùno,| +byáyəla brāt-jáno +šadrála.| +byáyəla riš-da-bráta +axlálə,| +sáddə b-màlxal càdə pyáyəla.|  
 (17) mattúvvona| +šadúrona| 'áyya mattúvvona ju-+faytun| yála ju-xa-+faytun  
 xítə.| kóšun-la xína.| ríša lòtla| pérkùyna látla.| bərràsshəna.| cəs-cálu mán b-yátəv?| 'ántol mən-brátl 'ántol xá-xta ó +taryána,| +faytun +taryána.| +tlá janáy  
 +baràt tívəna.| bərràsshəna,| bərràsshəna,| bərràsshəna.| +rába bərràsshəna| b-lélo  
 výyəla.| níxunta mára +'ántu cpòntən.| mára +hàna| càda yavvánna|x.| yávola  
 càdəl mára kám 'átxa +sör-inə?| mára yòmmax pitéla| 'ána m-òdan?| +bixáləla|  
 mára +'ántu +sitən.| mára xá +'áynax +palàtlə.| 'ánnə míyya yavéna b-+'áyna.|  
 xa-+áyno +palùçola.| yávola lèla +myásə,| bráta bəkyàdəla.| bəkáləla,| mat-  
 tívvolə ju-jíbo.| +'ántu výy bəkyàdən.| +'ántu kàdli.| +'ántu kàdli.| mára é  
 +'áynax xítə-da +palàtlə.| é +'áyno xítə-da mattúvvola ju-jíbo.| výyəla çürəl níx-  
 unta b-lélo bəkáləla júllət dàhal šaluxèla,| malvušéla +al-bràtl xá +rápsa  
 mən-hánna,| +faytun,| +rappùvvola ju-šakíta.| bràtl e-Rbułkéč várda-da mat-  
 tívvolə kám-bràtl.| 'áxcí cálū labùlola.| +purmìlux ka-díyyi?| lublálun,| lublálun,  
 lublálun,| lublálun.| (18) +xábra yávvax mən-dá bràtl kózzi kózzi ju-dá šakíta.|  
 xá nášal +cásəbl 'átlə 'está bnátə çuriyyə.| c-àtlə cút-yum móriša +táma késa  
 +jámməl lábəl zàbən| ka-bnátu lábəl +mixùltə,| lòxma.| jašùkələl xá-manne  
 har-kálu bitáyələ.| 'á 'á 'á ... mára mù-ila?| mù-ila víta ka-díyyax?| mára  
 mánivət?| mára 'átxa násəvən.| mára +màmuvət de-urzèt lòbəlli,| mónni xèr  
 b-xázət.| bráti kám 'átxa?| mára +'áyni 'átxa +pultèna.| bráti 'átlı 'està-danə  
 çuriyyə.| ka-díyyax=da láblən +šàvva.| 'ána mú-tahar xámənnoxun?| +màmu  
 máral +hála xzí xut-riši cmá dàvə 'ítən.| 'ána ka-díyyux xèr b-yávvan.| 'ána  
 ka-díyyux +rába mağgəbbən.| 'átxa 'ánnə Rbułkéč-várda har-láblət zabnàttun.|  
 'ánnə dàvə zabnàttun.| bnàtux=da b-xamáttun.| yála mára Rdeystvítyelna|R  
 šákłən lablònna.| (19) škìlálə lubláləl lublálə,| lublálə,| mattúvvola bétəl mára  
 xúš +ál +bàzar| 'ánnə várda zàbən| škúl hóč Rkarzìnlka|R| jòxcəla.| várda  
 bəfrásələl +al-+bázar zabùnə,| cóso yúma +tlá-ja bəsrákula,| dáva zabùnə.|  
 mára +mamùl 'ána tavákka várda mònnux| 'ánnə várda lòbəllun| kám +tàrrət  
 +póllan brún málca.| +táma zàbənnun| +'áynət díyyi| èl +'anti +puləttéla,  
 cèsłola.| èn-+'áyni bálcət mayyáttun.| +'ámmən 'á brún-málca| 'áha lùblonal har-

girl, the aunt of the girl, together with her daughter. What can I say about the aunt of the girl? She bakes cakes. She bakes them with roots and salt, roots and salt, because she is not pleased that this (girl) will marry that young man, the daughter of her brother. She wants to send her own daughter. She wants to get rid of this girl. She bakes cakes with roots and salt. (17) They send her off, they put her in a carriage and the young men in another carriage. Well, it is an army. It has no beginning and no end. They go off. Who will sit with the bride?—her aunt, together with the daughter of her aunt, and the driver, the carriage-driver. Three people are sitting at the back. They go along, they go along, they go along. They go along a lot and night falls. She says very quietly 'Auntie, I am hungry.' She says 'Here you are, I shall give you a cake.' She gives her cakes. She says 'Why are they so salty?' She says 'Your mother baked them. What can I do?' She eats and says 'Auntie, I am thirsty.' She says 'Take out one of your eyes. They give water for eyes.' She takes out one of her eyes and gives it to her. She cannot (tolerate it), the girl is burning. She takes it and puts it in her pocket. 'Auntie, oh I am burning. Auntie I am burning, I am burning.' She says 'Take out your other eye.' She puts the other eye in her pocket. She becomes blind. Slowly, at night, she takes her clothes, she strips them off and puts them on her daughter. With a kick she throws her from ... the carriage into the stream. She puts the bunch of flowers in the lap of her daughter. They take only the (new) bride. Do you understand me? They took her away, they took her away, they took her away, they took her away. (18) Let us talk about the girl, who was sobbing in the stream. There is a poor man, who has six blind daughters. He comes every day in the morning to gather wood, to take away to sell, in order to take food to his daughters, bread. He looks (and sees) that there is somebody making a sound 'Ah, ah, ah.' He says 'What is it? What has happened to you?' She says 'Who are you?' He says 'I am a man like this.' She says 'You are an uncle, well you are a man, take me away, you will see good from me.' 'My daughter, why (are you) like this?' She says 'They took my eyes out like this.' 'My daughter, I have six blind daughters. If I take you, it would be seven. How can I provide for you?' 'Uncle' she says 'Just look how much gold I have under my head. I shall bring you good. I will love you very much. You can take these bunches of flowers and sell them. You can sell this gold. I will be able to provide for your daughters.' The man says 'Indeed, I should take her away (with me).' (19) He took her away (with him). He took her away, he took her away. He puts her in the house. She says 'Go to the market and sell these flowers. Take any basket.' She laughs. He takes flowers to the market to sell. She combs her hair three times a day and he sells the gold. She says 'Uncle, I beg you, take these flowers to the door of so-and-so the son of the king. Sell them there. It is that aunt of mine who has taken my eye out. It is with her. Perhaps you will be able to bring back those eyes of

pacùrol| lèla bëdmá +al-de-bràta.| 'ánnə várda=da +č̄mič̄na.| (20) jašùkələ| nú  
 b-lábbu lèla.| mára 'á müt +šúlələ?| píšəl matal 'á brün-málca| šámmu ránju lèla  
 ptáxa.| 'áha bëškàlol| mláyol R̄karzínkaR várda| báššəl bæcláyələ kám R̄akùškətR|  
 dàni.| mára lišánat +hošára| Azjúllen sàtiram,| júllen sàtiram. Az| mára Aznèyenen  
 dérsinAz| mára AzyüzinnènAz| bi-+ayna AzyüzinnènAz| lišān-+hošára lèt +bëddá-  
 'átən?| lè yáttət?| mára zabúnən várda| bi-mù zabúnət?| mára 'ána zabúnən  
 bí +ayna.| 'áh mára| 'áyən dívə +janavàrə +xílona.| 'áy x-lèla +ság.| mára 'ána  
 'átli +ayna| 'ána 'átli 'ayna.| adíyya b-yavvànnux.| +palúčolə xa-+ayna yàvolə|  
 xá R̄karzínkaR bëškàlolə.| (21) mára R̄karzínkiR hällal várda bëškàləla.| R̄buķé|R  
 maxlùpolə mattúvvolə kám bràto| kát +tlíbo 'átə +bayyila.| 'áhal bitáyələ| 'á  
 +ayna màvolə| mára ba-jánux básmə,| bábi mára,| 'át bábət ka-díyyi.| +bár xá  
 šábta| adíyya +č̄mič̄na.| škúl xá R̄karzínkaR=da| lábəlla 'e-+ayna xítə mela.|  
 bərràsšələ| mádrə bæcláyələ kám-R̄akùškaR| Azjúllen sàtiram,| júllen sàtiram. Az|  
 mára Aznèyenen dérsinAz| bi-mù yavévat?| várda zabúnən.| bi-mù yavé?| mára  
 AzyüzinnènAz| b-+ayna.| 'e +ayna xítə-da bëškàlolə| bitáyələ.| 'áha dmàxtəla|  
 taxmùnəla| mu-tár 'ánnə +ayna mattálun.| 'átxa| b-lèla lèla bëdmáxa.| jašùkələ|  
 +tlá dánə yonày tílun.| (22) hày bráta| maràni| 'átən +aynat +čáplə ju-+rásəla,  
 +rásətə ju-+čápləla.| lá +xàl̄at!| dùz mattáttun| kát čás lè-oyat.| 'áhal bëškàləla|  
 mattuvvèla| +ayno mattuvvèla.| xá šácla bráta vàyəla.| xá bráta vàyəla| honànta,  
 +p̄armiyýanta.| mára| +bëddáyət mü 'ítən mára| ka-sáva maràni| xína là clí|  
 drí +šavvá| R̄attážə|R bëtvày.| 'ájar yúma +tlá-ca hánna vàdəla| ríšo bësràkula|  
 +əsrà-ja jóxcəla| 'ómma-ja jóxcəla,| 'á frúš +al-+bázər.| +šavvá R̄attážə|R bëtvày  
 bëdráyəla| rijavày| R̄povárR xalíyya mán +últux +al-+ùllul.| cùllə| cùllə 'ánnə  
 čamčo dávəna.| +ùxčal cùllə malcaváy píšəna matal| 'á sáva mù vódlə.| 'á m-icə  
 'á daválta?| mára +bëddáyət mü 'ítən?| +bëddáyət mü 'ítən?| mára mù?| mára  
 cùllə malcaváy b-+karáttun 'árxa| cmá=t 'ót malcavày.| +áx bábo yòmmo=da  
 málcəna,| mü.| cmá=t 'ót malcaváy cùllə b-+karáttun 'árxa.| 'áyya +byáyəla +tlíbo  
 xazzála,| +karáttun 'árxa.| mára +al-+ayni bráti.| (23) 'áhal xáčča rijavày 'ótla,  
 xá malvášta mulvəštèla.| 'éni bnáto xá malvášta mulvəštèla.| 'éni R̄povárR xá  
 malvášta mulvəštèla.| +kázəna,| pərpírəna| 'éni yonàyəna| cùllə parpúrəna ju-  
 daràtu| šécla darátu vidéna.| +šavvá R̄attážə|R cùllə ju-várda čučájə.| cùllə  
 bitáyəna malcavày| xáčča +zòl-ilə| látla pərkùyna,| ka-cùllə 'árxa kablílun.| 'áha

mine.' But this son of the king, they have taken her and he is looking at her, but she does not resemble that (other) girl. Also the flowers have withered. (20) He looks, well she is not the one he liked. He says 'What is going on?' The son of the king was dumbfounded. His colour is not brightening even a little. He (the poor man) takes the basket and fills it with flowers, and goes and stands before their window. He says in the language of the Muslims 'I am selling flowers. I am selling flowers.' She says 'For what?' He says 'For eyes. For eyes. For eyes.' Don't you know the language of the Muslims? Don't you know? He says 'I am selling flowers. What are you selling them for. He says I am selling for eyes.' 'Ah' She says 'The wolves and beasts have eaten her. She is surely not still alive.' She says 'I have eyes, I have an eye. I shall give it to you now.' She takes out an eye and gives it to him and she takes a basket (of flowers). (21) She says 'Give me my basket.' She takes the flowers. She changes the bunch of flowers and puts it in front of her daughter, so that her husband would come and love her. He (poor man) comes back. He brings back the eye. She says 'Well done, father,' she says, 'You are a father to me.' After a week (she says) 'They (the flowers) are now withered. Take another basket, take it and bring back the other eye.' He goes off and again stands under the window. 'I am selling flowers. I am selling flowers.' She says 'What for? What are you selling them for?' 'I am selling flowers. What are you selling them for?' He says 'For eyes. For eyes.' He takes the other eye and comes back. She is lying down and thinking how she can put the eyes back. So, she does not sleep at night. She looks (and sees) that three pigeons have come. (22) 'Hey, girl' they say 'The left eye is in the right and the right is in the left. Don't make a mistake. Put them in correctly so you will not be squint-eyed.' She takes them and puts them in, she puts her eyes in. She becomes a girl, the picture of beauty. She is an intelligent, smart girl. She says 'Do you know what?' She says to the old man 'Do not (go and) stand there again. Build houses of seven storeys.' If she combs her head three times a day, she laughs ten times, she laughs a hundred times, he could take it to the market. She builds houses of seven storeys, with servants, cooks, carpets, from bottom to top. All of her spoons were golden. All the kings were astounded as to what this old man had done. From where was this wealth? She says 'Do you know what? Do you know what?' He says 'What?' She says 'Invite all the kings, as many kings as there are.' Well, her father and mother are royalty. 'Invite as many kings as there are.' She wants to see her husband. 'Invite them.' He says 'Of course, my daughter.' (23) She has some servants and she has dressed them up in impressive clothing. She has dressed up her maid-servants in impressive clothing. She has dressed up the cooks in impressive clothing. There are geese, there are butterflies, there are those doves—they are all fluttering around in the courtyards. They have made the courtyards a picture of beauty, seven storeys, all with flowers and blossoms.

cúlla tívəna. | 'áha šapárta bəlvàšəla. | síní bəškáləla p̄-ido. | Rfrùk̄t̄ R 'áxči márəla. | (24) 'é-+dān síní bəškáləla p̄-ido, | 'é-+dān lèla +váral +t̄lībo=da +táma tívəla, | 'é-+dān léla +vára, | jàxcəla, | 'ánnə Rbuk̄éti R várdał 'átxa parpùrə, | bətpàxa. | +t̄lībo húšu bəššəla m-áxxa +al-+tammò bənpáləla. | hì. | yòmmo, | xàto, | yòmmu, | yòmmat bráta, | bábət bráta, | savùna-da tíyəla. | yómmat yòmmo, | cùlla tíyyəna. | cùlla tífyyəna +jèmyəna. | cùlla +ajibýtya +šùla víyyəla +táma. | hué bitáyəla b-rišé. | märani mü-ila? | mü-ila? | Azhàl ná-dirAz +'àntu 'á +šùla vátta. | +'àntu. | xína mù mára? | drímula +bár susavày. | yámma bràta +bəsyaréna bədrayéna +bár susavày, | +bár +šavvà +t̄uyrànə. | bitáyəna mära lablàxxa. | mära sáva mära 'ána lè yavvánna. | 'ána dàx b-yavvánna? | mära bá mü-'odax? | m-áxxa hál bëtux | cùlla b-Rfayt̄ón R b-lablət, | +xlùyla p̄t̄-ódət. | +šavvà yumánəl táza +šavvà lelaváy | 'átən p̄t̄-ódət +xlùyla +táma. | táza p̄t̄-ódət +xlùyla b-lablàtta. | +šavvà yumánəl +šavvà lelaváy | +xlùyla vádələ táza. | +m̄lūn +al-mándit labbè. | mädrə xabúyšə +kúxə +kúxə np̄llun. | ka-+Maryàna, | ka-dìyyux, | ka-Èdo, | ka-cùllan.

#### A44 Two Wicked Daughters-in-law (Manya Givoyev, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) 'átra lətval xá dána yámma xá brùna 'átvala. | mära 'á brùno! c-azálva Rna-primér R c-azálva hònna Rbiznes R šakálva móndi +sùləl c-ázəl b-dáva ci-maxləpva. | xá yárxa lè-'ativə béta. | mära 'ay yámml jánax jóns xamyáttal 'ána bərràsshən xá yárxa lè-'átən. | mära bruni +bəddàyat mu-'ítən? | cùlla fvìrəna. | cùlla 'átlun navájjə mattúvvəna +al-bərcacè. | 'átən-da mära fùrl càlu 'avíli. | +sebàrtəla. | navájjə p̄t̄-avíli. | hìl b-xázyan xína b-xàdyan. | t̄-átat càlpət béta 'ítən. | (2) mära yámmi +bəzdàyən. | ka-mù brúni? | mära +bəzdàyən jóns là xamyálax. | mära là-+zdi. | kám xu-lèla +janávar xu-lè +axlálı. | hìl 'áha yámmyi xuķítola. | +màmət díyyi xuķítola. | 'áhal bəššəla bəfvàrəla. | mävələ xá dána šapárta báxta.

All the kings come. There is a bit of a queue, without an end, for them to receive all the guests. They are all seated. She dresses beautifully. She takes a tray in her hand. She only says 'Fruit.' (24) When she takes a tray in her hand, as soon as she enters, her husband is also sitting there, just as she enters, she laughs and the bunches of flowers come pouring out in a twirl. Her husband loses his consciousness. He falls headlong from here to there. Yes, her mother, her sister, his mother, the mother of the girl, the father of the girl, also the grandfather has come, the mother of her mother, everybody has come. Everybody has come and gathered. Everybody (says that) an amazing thing happened there. They regain their equanimity. They say 'What is happening? What is happening?'<sup>166</sup> What is going on?' 'Auntie has done this thing, auntie.' Well, what do they say? 'Put them behind horses.' They tie up the mother and daughter and put them behind horses (and they gallop away) beyond seven mountains. They come and say 'We will take her.' The old man says 'I will not give her. How can I give her.' They say 'Well, what should we do?' 'From here until your house, you will take everybody by carriage and hold a wedding. You will hold a wedding there again for seven days and seven nights. You will hold a wedding again, you will take her.' He holds a wedding again for seven days and seven nights. They found their heart's desire.

Again apples have fallen in piles, for +Maryana, for you, for Edo, for all of us.

#### A44 Two Wicked Daughters-in-law (Manya Givoyev, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) There was once upon a time a mother, who had a son. They say this son of hers used to go, for example, he used to go for business. He would take things and exchange them for gold. He would not come back home for a month. He says 'Oh mother, take good care of yourself, I am going away and shall not come back for a month.' She says 'My son, do you know what? Everybody is married. Everybody has grandchildren whom they put on their knees. You also' she says 'Get married so I can have a daughter-in-law. It would be companionship. I would have grandchildren. Yes, I would see them and be happy. You would come back and there would be a family at home.' (2) He says 'Mother, I am afraid.' 'Why my son?' He says 'I am afraid that she would not look after you well.' She says 'Do not be afraid. Why, she is surely not a beast, she would surely not eat me.'—Yes, my mother told this (story). My uncle told it.—He goes and gets married. He brings back a beautiful wife. He settles her with her (the mother).

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166 Literally: What is it?

mattúvvola cèslo! mára yámmi jéns xamyáttá! hàl bi-yòmmi,| 'álaha d-là-'avəd,| xá-məndi tpèkla,| p-+kaṭkət̄t̄nnax,| b-+rappənnax,| mára híl bá mù-tar!| 'ána yámmux jéns b-xamyánna! (3) 'áha bəškálələ hənnu! mù-tar tanyána?| +carvánu xèšla,| xášla RbıznesR vádal xá yárxa lè-'atə,| 'áha bərrəššələ,| 'áha xá šabta xamùvvola,| +bár xá šabta māvələl xá dánal sàla +júra,| mláyəla bìyyə,| mattúvvola +al-bìyyə,| mára dárəc 'átan +zàya +pálṭat,| 'á báxta pyášəla mātal,| (4) cút +'ásra yumánə xàl +palúṭola xá capárta mártə yàvola,| 'á báxta pyášəla 'átxa,| láxma-da léla yàvo,| 'ánnə švávə lèna bəxzáyo,| hàč-məndi,| 'á mù-ila?| bitáyələl xàl xá +tlá +árpa yumánə pyášəla,| małkùmola,| bəxyàpolə,| msàyola,| malvùšola,| mattúvvola +tàmma,| (5) bitáyələ mārələl +màma?| mára 'á mù-ila?| 'á yámmi +xánəm yəmmi! kàm 'átxa vítəla?| bá lá-'avətva māra!| +mrítəva,| pníli Rskóraya pòmašR máva,| pníli duxtòrə mával 'átxa +mrítəva,| mən-švávə +bakúrələ māral RštōtaR māral xá mändi 'itən,| 'á yámmi mù-ila tpákta bìyyo?| mára hár lèx xázyo,| lèx xázyo,| yámmi māral mù-ila víta ka-dífyax?| táni xàzzən?| mára hàč mändi,| dák hàč mändi! bá xá-b-xa yámmi kàm 'átxa vítət?| láxxa xá mändi bəškáləl +'úxča mxayola,| mxayola,| xakùvvəla 'átxa vátən,| vátət?| +kaṭkùṭol,| mattúvvvol ju-mèša,| labúl +rappiùvvvol,| yámmi māral bás hónna lè-odat,| ka-díyyi jvára lítən,| b-+kaṭlilax 'ánnə,| 'áha xá šítə,| tré šánnəl tlá šánnəl māral brúni lèn +myásə,| 'áyya 'átxəva,| bá e-xítə 'átxa xu-lè-oya,| júr xína,| 'áyya lèva +spáy,| e-xítə jéns p̄t-óya,| mày yámmi māral +bəzdàyən mánna,| áxar,| 'ána +bəzdáyən,| (6) bitáyələ bəfvarəla,| mára xzí xá mənné +kuṭkət̄ton,| 'álaha d-là-'avəd,| mšíxa lè-catəv +al-yámmi xá lácca xzili,| parzənnax,| vây! ba-'átxa +šúla ci-tàn,| 'áha škállə mādrə +carvánu xèšla,| xášla,| 'áha jašúkəla! 'á càlu! ju-+tárra týyəna mèymun zonána,| mèymun zonána,| (7) māranl mán zabúnələ mèymun?| mára 'ána 'átli,| xmáto zabúnola b-mèymun,| b-šóp mèymun,| šámmat 'álaha,| yávola mára xùs! ka-díyyi lét +lázəm,| labùlona,| lublùlunl 'á nàšal bitáyələl bí +carvànu,| yárxa tòmlə,| bitáyələ,| jašúkəla ju-xá māta +'úxča +álma +jèmyəl +'úxča +álma +jèmyəl,| yála māral 'á mút +kaṭla?| xá-'ázən xàzzən,| +avvó náša=da +rába 'átxa +yaṭṭùvvva

He says 'Take good care of my mother. If anything happens to my mother, God forbid, I shall cut you to pieces, I shall throw you out.' She says 'Well, of course! I shall take good care of your mother.' (3) He takes his ..., how shall I say? His caravan set off. He went to carry out his business and would not return for a month. He goes off and she looks after her for a week. After a week she brings a large basket. She fills it with eggs and puts her (the mother) on the eggs. She says 'You must produce chickens.' The woman is dumbfounded. (4) Every ten days she brings out some crockery and so forth and gives it to her. The woman becomes (thin) like this. She is not even giving her food. The neighbours do not see her, nothing. What is the matter? She comes when some three or four days remain (before the son's return) and gets her up, washes her, launders her (clothes), dresses her, and puts her there. (5) He comes back and says 'Mother' he says 'What is the matter? This mother of mine, the lady my mother, why has she become like this?' 'Well, if only you had not asked! She was ill. I was exhausted bringing ambulances. I was exhausted bringing doctors, she was so ill.' He asks the neighbours saying 'Something' he says 'There is something (wrong). What has happened to this mother of mine?' They say 'We have not seen her at all.' 'Mother' he says 'What has happened to you? Tell me so I can know.'<sup>167</sup> She says 'Nothing.' 'What do you mean "nothing"?' But why have you suddenly become like this?' Here he takes hold of something and beats her so much, he beats her and she speaks 'This is what I have done.' 'You have done this?' He cuts her to pieces and puts her in the forest. He takes her and throws her away. 'Mother' he says 'Do not ... There is no marriage. It is not for me. They will kill you.' After one year, two years, three years she says 'My son, I cannot (go on like this). That (wife) was like that, but another one will surely not be the same. Marry again. She was not good, another will be good.' 'Oh, mother' he says 'but I am afraid for you, I am afraid.' (6) He comes and marries. He says 'Look, I have cut one to pieces. May God forbend, may he Messiah not decree, but if I see a mark on my mother, I will tear you apart.' Well, they say such things. He again took his caravan and went away. He went away. She, the bride, sees that monkey-buyers have come to the door, monkey-buyers. (7) They say 'Who is selling a monkey?' She says 'I have one.' She sells her mother-in-law as a monkey, instead of a monkey. Oh dear,<sup>168</sup> she gives her and says 'Go, I have no need of you.' They take her away. They took her away and the man returns with his caravan. The month has come to an end and he comes back. He sees in a village a great many people gathered

<sup>167</sup> Literally: so that I can see.

<sup>168</sup> Literally: (in) the name of God.

náša,| +*parmiyyàna*.| báššələ zabùnələ,| vàdələ,| +*parmétu* +*fùrta*,| xázzən mù-ila.| (8) yála mára jašúkələlə xá dána báxtal +*úxča* +*bjørtəla=da*,| 'ína hár bæzmàrəla.| mxáyona b-+*kàmči* bæzmàrəla.| zìlyzə +*jammúvvəna*.| <sup>R</sup>bìznes<sup>R</sup>=la xína.| zìlyzə +*jammúvvəla*.| +*álma* mxáyona.| 'á bæzmàrəla,| náta bædvàkələ.| mára módrə lišán +*hošärəla* màral <sup>Az</sup>qabaxčàn arvát| ... altímma jüjè čixadím.<sup>Az</sup>| màral <sup>Az</sup>yumurtá qoydí jüjè čixadím,| sóra arvát meymùn éledí.<sup>Az</sup>| (9) mèymun vëttíla mára.| 'é-t-kámta màral bíyyə muttíla xìti,| mára +*zàyə=zə* +*pálčat*.| 'é xítal mára tìla mèymun vidánnna,| zubnànnna.| hár bæzmàrəla! 'áha bæcláyəla +*táma=zə* märal kóra mènni,| yómmat díyyi kámta 'átxa váttala b-rišo.| 'á xítal c-óya méymun zubèntolal yómmi vëttola?| mára lìl 'ánnə <sup>R</sup>móžeč bít.<sup>R</sup>| (10) mára b-xá dakíka xàmimunla máral 'á +*zurnòxun* xa-clímun.| yómmu ju-+*kàssol* 'átvə +*šamma*,| 'átxa +*šamma*.| bæškálələ cóso +*tamma* jašúkələlə +*šámmat* yòmmula.| +'ahà.| mára 'á meymunóxun 'ána b-zonànnna.| mára mú yávvən b-dá meymunóxun?| yómmu cálū váttola mèymun.| mú yávvən b-dá mèymun?| (11) marànl xá 'áx +*yúkro* dàva| ju-masèta mattáxla.| mattúvvona ju-masèta bøtkàla.| xá 'áx yúkro dávə yàvələ,| yómmu bæškàlol.| màvolə,| labúlələ +*hàmmam*.| xyàpona.| mèsyona,| támmez júllə mulvášsol laxùmta.| mávol +*tašùvvol* yómmu.| (12) bitáyalə +vàrələl mára cèla yómmi?| mára yòmmux! bët-bábux là-xarba! švávə tání.| yómmux +*úxča* +*mríla* +*mríla*,| mètla.| lubálton +*čumàrton*.| mù-odan? märal lá-+*mäslí* xamyànvala.| bæcláyəla 'átxa pacùrəla.| 'én 'ána 'ázən yámmi mayyənnà,| bá 'át mú b-tànyat?| bët-bábux là-xarba! baxt-'ávə rìsux!| cèla yámmux?| mèttala yómmux.| cíllə véna švávə xúš tání.| níxa yómmu bæškàlol,| màvolə.| mattúvvol,| märal jáš yómmi dùla.| 'áha yèmmi bæxzàyot?| bràzələl lá kála vàdələl lá=da vày.| 'ay-da +*kačkùčol*,| máyolə ju-mëša,| labúlo +*rappùvvo*.| ka-yómmu märal ka-díyyi fvára lèt! hál 'át lá mètat,| +*čamrènnax*.| ka-díyyax +*čamrənəl* +xárta 'ána jörən! 'ána lipən! yárxa xá-ja 'ázən 'ána hònnavən,| <sup>R</sup>bìznes<sup>R</sup> vàdələ,| lâbulə mändi +*šùlə*,| zabùnəl,| dáva +*šùlə* maxlùpələ.| <sup>Arm</sup>uréməs<sup>Arm</sup> cálū +*bækčàlolə* 'ána mÙ?| 'áyya 'átxa-da.| yèmmu xumyàlə,| lá fvàrrə.| navèffə lá xzílə.| sùrṭa xuķyáli 'áyya ka-díyyux.|

together, a great many people gathered together. The young man says 'What game is this? Let me go and see.' That man was a very knowledgeable and astute man. He travels and sells, he carries out (business), with great knowledge. 'Let me see what it is.' (8) The young man sees a woman who has become very skinny, but she is nevertheless singing. They hit her with a whip and she sings. They collect money. Well, it is business. They collect money. The people hit her. She sings and he listens. She says, again in the Muslim language, she says: 'The first time the woman ... under myself I produced a chick.' She says 'She put an egg, I produced a chick. Afterwards the woman made me a monkey.' (9) She has made me a monkey. The first woman' she says 'put eggs under me and says "Produce chicks." The other one came and made me into a monkey and sold me.' She goes on singing and he stands there and says 'Oh dear me, the first one did such-and-such to my mother. Is it possible that the other has made my mother into a monkey and sold her?' He says 'Such things are not possible.' (10) He says 'Hold your flute for a minute, stop.' His mother had a mole on her forehead, a mole like this. He moves aside her hair and sees that the mole of his mother is there. He says 'I shall buy this monkey of yours.' He says 'What should I give for this monkey of yours?' The daughter-in-law has turned his mother into a monkey. 'What should I give for this monkey?' (11) They say 'Gold in accordance with her weight. Let us put her onto the scales.' They put her on the scales and weigh her. He pays gold in accordance with her weight and takes his mother. He brings her back and takes her to the bathroom. They wash her. Having laundered her (clothes) and dressed her in clean clothes, she is beautiful. He brings his mother and hides her. (12) He comes and enters. He says 'Where is my mother?' She says 'Your mother—may your father's house not be ruined—the neighbours will tell you, your mother became so ill, became so ill and died. I have taken her away and buried her. What should I do? I was not able to keep her (alive).' He stands and looks like this. 'If I were to go and bring my mother, what would you say?' 'May your father's house not be sealed! May you have good fortune! Where is your mother? Your mother is dead. All the neighbours are there, let them tell.' Slowly he takes his mother and brings her. He sits her down and says 'Look, here is my mother. Do you see this mother of mine?' She dries up. She does not utter a sound or an 'alas.' He cuts her too into pieces and brings her to the woods. He takes her and throws her away. He says to his mother 'Marriage is not for me until you die and I bury you. I shall bury you and then I shall get married. I have the custom of going away once a month.' He carries out business, he takes things and sells them, exchanges them for gold and so forth. So, he kills the daughter-in-law. What can I do? The story is like this. He looked after his mother. He did not get married. He did not see any grandchildren. I have told you this in a short version.

## A45 A Dutiful Son (Manya Givoyev, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) ՚átvə lótva xá +júra xá bàxta.| ՚átvəlun +tlá bnùnə| +tlá bnùnə ՚átvəlun.| ՚áha bitáyəla ՚á báxta +mràyəla.| báxta +mràyəla vày| +jóro màral ՚ána ՚ánnə yálə mù-tar b-xámən?| báxta lublálə Rbalnìtsa, R| xá yárxa pòšla| muyyálə bëta.| muyyálə bëta,| l-+məslə xamívala.| báxta xína mätla,| súpyalə bi-dùco.| (2) yàlu,| ՚á nás-a-da honánəva,| ՚ka-brúnu súra mòrrəl caçáləva,| caçála +bøddayət mü-ilə?| cósa látvalə,| ՚ka-brúnu mòrrəl át +zàd bášlət,| jùllə másat,| darày cánşət,| ctayày b-yárvət,| +kaṭunyày b-yávvət,| suysavày,| Rvòbshem R| ՚átn b-xazzáy bëtəvət.| ՚én tré bnúnu jànu bássəna pølxànəna.| háda cílla Rparyádaķ R ju-betè.| (3) ՚áha msàyəla,| bašùlələ,| banùvvələ,| ՚arkùzələ,| ՚ánnə bássəna,| bába,| tré yálə,| tré ՚axunvày.| ՚á súra caçála bëtələ,| bába tílə,| plàxlun,| plàxlun,| bába tílə +mrilə.| bába tílə +mrilə,| lubállun mádra Rbalnìtsa, R| muyyılun,| bába| Rvuzh R| márrə témun| vasyátti vàdon ՚katóxun.| (4) ՚ána b-mètən,| ՚inal +tlá yumànə| +tlá bnùnitun,| cút lèlələ xá marnóxun t-atítun +álli +karàvul,| atítun +al-bat +kùyri| +karàvul calítun,| bál māra| bá p̄t-àtax| bá lè-’atax?| ՚á lubállun +tumàrrun,| ՚á súra caçála +ràba ՚átxal +yatłùvva yála,| ՚kála lòt,| ՚kálta lòt,| mårələ ՚axunvày| bába mù mórrə?| bába là mórrəl atítun +karàvul calítun,| mán p̄t-àzəl?| ՚axúna +júra márrə ՚ána,| ՚ád-lelə ՚ána p̄t-ázən,| (5) xéšlələ muttīlə rišu rákka m-àxxal +al-bat +kùyra,| muttīlə rišu,| dmèxla,| +xárra +xárru hàl móriša,| tílə béta móriša,| ՚axúna màrrəl ó súra caçála ՚áxuni mù xzílx?| márrə hác mándi lén xàzya,| ó lélə xína ՚ó=t +aràlləj ՚axúnal bássələ +karàvul bæcláyəl,| márrə ՚áxún| móriša tílə mù xzílx?| márrə hác mándi,| dí màrrəl ՚á-spar ՚ád-lelə nóbət diyyila,| ՚ána p̄t-ázən,| ՚axúna súra,| (6) xéšlələ ՚axúna súra ՚á +súppū súrta primálə,| +sirálələ kùya,| lélə +myásá dàməx,| xà +dána| lélələ jušəkłələ ՚ína mùl xá póxa tílə,| xàl xà-dana| ՚átxa +savánta póxa +hàva,| xà-dana| +tlá-danə +məsyáy +ruppilə,| +tlá-danələ +məsyáy +ruppéləl márrə škùl,| ՚kála tílə,| škùl lâbəl +tâšilun| ՚ka-xá náša sórrux lâ tânilo,| ՚ánnə ՚ka-díyyux| +lázəm-na,| ՚ánnə ՚ka-díyyux +lázəm-na,| ՚ka-xá náša lâ-tani,| lâbəl +tâšilun,| (7) tílə Arm sus-u-pùs, Arm| ՚kòmləl ՚ánnə +məsyáy muyyéləl

### A45     A Dutiful Son (Manya Givoyev, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) Once upon a time there was a husband and wife. They had three sons. They had three sons. The wife becomes ill. The wife becomes ill ‘Oh’ the husband says ‘How can I look after these children?’ He took the woman to hospital. He stayed there and he brought her home. He brought her home, but he was not able to save her. The woman died and he put her in her grave.<sup>169</sup> (2) As for his children, this man was clever, he said to his youngest son—he was bald, do you know what ‘bald’ is? He has no hair—he said to his son ‘You will cook the food, wash the clothes, sweep the yards, feed the chickens, feed the cats, the horses. In short, you are the overseer of the house.’ As for his two (other) sons, they go to work. Thus all is in order in their house. (3) He launders, cooks, does maintenance,<sup>170</sup> tidies up, whereas they go off, the father and the two boys, the two brothers. The young bald child is at home. They worked and worked, and it happened that the father became ill. It happened that the father became ill. They took him to the hospital and they brought him back. The father already said ‘Come, I am making a will for you. (4) I shall die, but for three days, you are three sons, every night one of you will come to guard over me. You will come to my grave and stand guard.’ They say ‘Well, we shall come. (Why) would we not come?’ They took him and buried him. The young bald man was a very clever lad. There is no sound or utterance. He says ‘Brothers, what did father say? Did not father say that you should go and stand guard. Who will go?’ The elder son said ‘Tonight I shall go.’ (5) He went and lay down his head—far be it from here—upon the grave. He put down his head and slept, snoring until morning. He came to the house in the morning. ‘Brother’ said the young bald lad, ‘Brother, what did you see?’ He said ‘I have not seen anything.’ The next night the middle brother goes and stands guard. He says ‘My brother,’ when he came back in the morning ‘What did you see?’ He said ‘Nothing.’ ‘Well’ he said ‘this time, tonight it is my turn. I shall go,’ the young brother (said). (6) The young brother went off. He cut his little finger and tied it up tightly, and so cannot sleep. At some time in the night he sees that a wind has come, a very bad wind, and it threw down three hairs. It threw down the three hairs and said ‘Take them,’ a voice came, ‘Take them away and hide them. Do not tell your secret to anybody. You will need these. You will need these. These are important for you. Do not tell anybody. Take them and hide them.’ (7) He came back very quietly. He brought the hairs and put them all in the stable, on a beam. He put

<sup>169</sup> Literally: her place.

<sup>170</sup> Literally: builds.

cúllə məxyèlə,| muyyèlə| jú pàja,| ju-+karita.| muttèlə,| +tušyèlə.| xà šábta,| trè šabáy,| tílun 'axunváy mòrrun| bá 'át mù xázeyət?| cačála mòrrəl hác móndi.| xà šábta,| trè šabáy,| xà yárxa,| trè yárxa| jušákłə| +'ämman| Rabyavlyèniye<sup>R</sup> mù-ilal máxyəna cás hənnal| jú kòntrum| kát +pállan málca bitáyəna +'allu| mán malcúyta xítá bitáyəna| tlá bnáta 'átlə,| bitáyəna| +pálši bnátu lablilun.| 'ó 'axúna +júra tíləl mòrrə la-'aváxva xelànə,| 'áxnan 'azàxva,| maxàxva,| +katlaxva,| 'odàxva,| 'é malcúyta pešáva ka-díyyan.| (8) +'ah mòrrəl bá mù 'odax?| látlan xèla| cačála māral látlan xèla,| lè-'azax.| mòrrə dé 'é-+dánta 'átən cačála púš bétal 'áxnan t-ázax.| trè 'axunváy kòmlun| susavaté +hudrélun.| móriša jáldə laxmè +xàllun,| b-susaváy tòvluñ,| xàšlun.| 'ahal kòmlə,| +muryàslə cnàšla,| +zádu bušàlləl jáldə jáldə cúllə +šulu vádlə,| +várra ju-pàja,| +slútū +sulyàləl mòrrəl yá +márya xaltána bába mù mòrrəl bába bálcət xá móndi tûnyələ.| xà másta frisálə,| škilálə,| tré švíkélə,| (9) mòrrə yá 'álah.| šəppóška mxílə +'allo| jušákłə xá súysa tíləl hrámma hràmmu cùmta,| sépu cùmta,| +lábbas cùmta,| cusítu cùmta,| súysa càlyəl +'ágay mü +bàyyət?| dûnyə talxənnal yá šokènna?| mòrrəl brät-málca dázmən bitáyəl mákəl brät-málca 'e-+fúrta labulona.| mòrrə 'adíyya +büssahat| tûy.| m-fu-+háva súysa pràxla,| +'allo,| xà-dana +sumúrkus tanila,| cùmta,| pràxla,| jašúkłə mən-+últux 'axunvátu 'inəl +táppa +tappé b-súysa,| mára xáčxa cùp.| (10) bacyápələ,| cút-mənne xà kámči tapuvvélə,| kát hâda mírəval ka-díyyi-da láblun| mírəva 'át tûy cačála,| 'át hác dúca lè-'azət.| xàšlə sépu-da fúbbaz cùmta sépa cùmta,| xàšləl cùllə purzíyyèlə,| +várrəl xá-ja ju-bët-málca,| mxilə,| +çuxčækələ,| brät-málca 'e-+fúrta škilálə,| muyyàlə,| muttálə ju-pàja,| pàrdajrášla,| mòrrə kálax là-'atəl 'ánja kálax tílə,| səppàtax parmánnun.| xášlə xá mána +zád drílə,| muttílə kámō,| xá mána míyya muttílə kámō,| kálax là-'atəl,| parmánnax,| lá lá,| lá lè-'odan,| tílə tòvluñ,| (11) 'axunvátu tílun +bërašəl +šíyyə,| šuršíyyə,| lišané dvíčka,| 'axunváti mù vədlóxun?| 'á bët-bábux lá xərbəl xá jvánka tìyyəval cùllə purzíyyèləl bráta +fúrta lublálə,| +'á mòrrəl tìtyun,| tìtyun,| laxmóxun +xùlun,| 'aláha +raxmànəl,| +al-móriša bəkyàməna,| módrə +táppa +tappé bësshəna,| +xállun laxmèl 'ánnə tré 'axunváy,| Armgóna<sup>Arm</sup> 'ázax mára 'é-t-+aràlləj máyyax,| mòrrə xùš,| ka-díyyi lè lablítun?| lá lá lá,| bétux là-xərbəl cačála 'át 'icá 'átət?| cíllu +šulu vədləl xàšləl 'é +mástət +aràlləj frisálə,| +slútū +sulyàləl jáns b-+kàyda,| 'aláhu txərrəl šəppóška mxílə,| +másta škilálə,| šəppóška mxílə,| xá súysa tílə smùkəl +lábbas smùkta,| sépa smùkta,| +lábbas smùkta,| cusítu smùkta,| súysa smùkta,| +'ágay mü +bàyyət?| p-parpəssənnun cùllə,| mòrrə brát +aràlləj

them there and hid them. After a week, two weeks, the brothers came and said 'Well, what have you seen?' The bald lad said 'Nothing.' A week (went by), two weeks, a month, two months, he looked, but (look) what is the announcement, which they have put up in ... the centre saying 'People are coming against a certain king, they are coming from another kingdom, he has two daughters, they are coming to take his daughters.' The elder brother came and said 'If only we were strong, we would go and strike them and kill them, and ensure that the kingdom remains ours.' (8) 'Oh,' he said 'Well what should we do?' 'We do not have the strength' the bald lad said 'We do not have the strength, we shall not go.' He said 'Well then you, Baldy, stay at home. We shall go.' The two brothers got up and prepared their horses. Early in the morning they ate their food, they sat on their horses and went off. He got up and sprinkled, swept, cooked food and did all his work very quickly. He went into the stable and he prayed his prayer saying 'Oh mighty Lord. What did father say? Perhaps father has said something.' He pulled out a hair. He took it and left the two others. (9) He said 'Oh God.' He lit a match. He saw a horse come, neighing, black, with a black sword, black apparel and a black cover. The horse stood. 'My master, what do you want? Should I destroy the world or save it?' He said 'An enemy is coming to attack a princess. They are taking away the elder princess.' It said 'Now, right now, mount.' The horse flew through the air. He flies on it, they call it a sumur bird, a black one. He sees from above his brothers galloping on a horse. He says 'Go down a little.' (10) He goes down. He whips each one, because he had said 'Take me too,' but they had said 'You stay, Baldy. You are not going anywhere.' He went, with his sword and shield, black sword, he went and cut them all to pieces. He entered at once into the house of the king. He attacked and battered them, and took the elder princess. He brought her back and put her in the stable. He drew the curtain. He said 'Do not make a sound. If you make a sound, I shall cut your lips.' He went and served out a plate of food and placed it before her. He placed a bowl of water before her. 'Do not make a sound, I'll cut you up.' 'No, no, no, I shall not.' He sat down. (11) His brothers came in the evening, exhausted, tired, their tongues sticking (with thirst). 'My brothers, what did you do?' 'Oh, may your father's house not be sealed, a youth came, cut them all to pieces and took away the elder daughter.' He said 'Sit down, sit down. Eat your food. God is merciful.' In the morning they get up. They again go galloping off. They eat their food, the two brothers. They say 'At least let us go and bring the middle girl.' He said 'God. Will you not take me?' 'No, no. May your house not be destroyed, Baldy, where would you go?' He did all his work then went and pulled out the middle hair. He prayed his prayer, as it is proper. He remembered God, lit a match and took out the hair. He lit a match and a red horse came, with red apparel, a red sword, red apparel, a red hat, a red horse. 'My Lord, what do you

báššax dážmən maxàxlə́l šákłax màyyax. | (12) é-+dān lā́ vùuú m-ju-+háva ’áx  
R samalyòt<sup>R</sup> é-+dān lā́ mxílə́l xəšlə́l cíllə́ +kučkəttələ́,| purziyyèlə́,| škilálə́ brát  
+aràlləg̊,| tīlə́. | ’axunvátu táza bášša +mṭayəna. | cút-mənné xà́ kámči-da tupyèlə́  
màrrə́ ’ánnə fnayèla. | ’ánnə léna náta bədvàčka. | +al-bába náta lá dyàčlun. | tīlə́.  
tivələ́,| mórrə́ ’á-da xá́t +aràlləg̊ ķato mórrə́ xzí túy cós xàtax. | ká lax tīlə́,| səppà-  
tax parmánnun. | cpàntat?| +hána ’á mána +zàd̊l ’ánnə=da miyya. | +xùl. | kalóxun  
lā-’atə́. | pàrda frázlə́. | ’á-da ’atxa. | (13) è +dáná tīlun ’axunvátu. | tīlun ’axunvátu,  
módrə +šiyya,| šuršiyə,| ’atxá vayl mára cačála dáx +spáy tivət̊ lá túy túy,| túy  
túy. | ka-díyyux lèla +lázem. | ’aha mórrə́ dmúxun ’aláha +raxmànələ,| ’aláha  
+raxmànələ. | ’ánnə hár taxmùnəna máral +spáy mára ’áha-ja báššaxl bráta súrča  
Arm góna<sup>Arm</sup> ka-díyyux mayyáxxa,| cačála. | mára xùšun! | (14) ’á kámla,| módrə  
+zádu bušəllə,| ctayáy yuvvèlə,| cíllə bétu cnášla ķurkəzla,| xəšlə. | é-+dān lā +várrə  
ju-pája,| é-+dān lā é +másta škilálə,| é-+dan lā məxyálə šəppəškə,| xá súysa  
+xvára tīlə,| xá +lábbas +xvárta,| xá sépa +xvárta,| mán +ṭuppúrtu +al-ķerképtu  
bíyya bi-súysu cíllə +xvárta,| xànjal,| ’á=da dàpnu. | mxílə́ m-ju-+háva,| pùuuu,|  
xəšlə. | xəšlə,| cíllə məxyélə,| +čuxčəxxələ. | (15) bráta súrča škilálə. | sèpu švíkál  
+táma. | məxyálə ju-juýda,| švíkàl,| švíkàl,| bráta muyyál,| mórrə túy cós xatvátax.  
hamzám̊ta səppátax parmánnun. | kalóxun lā-’atə́. | cpínatun +xùlun. | láxma +šúlo  
yuvvèlə,| tīlə. | háda lábbu +ràhat-ilə cačála,| háda jöns-ilə. | jánu ķa-jánu hárra  
hàrrula. | tīlun. | +xasé +šmiṭa,| paté cùmta. | tīlun tòvlun. | mára ķa-díyyux=da lá  
+máslan bráta mayyáxxa. | R vsyò<sup>R</sup> pràkla xína,| ’áxnən pásłan ’atxa. | dáx p̄t̊-ávax.  
mára ’aláha +raxmànələ. | dmúxun,| dmúxun. | xá-cma yumán +vərra,| é +dána  
R abyavlyéniye<sup>R</sup> módrə mxílun. | (16) cút bnāt-málca lublélə,| málca,| cút bnāt-  
málca,| mára bnáti lublélə,| xúš ’áta sépa šakjällal bëti,| malcùyti,| cíllə kátu.  
cíllə bëti,| malcùyti=zəl ... cíllə kátu. | cí-mət ’átlə lätłə. | é +dána báššələ,| mårələ  
’áxun,| bitáyələ ’axúna +fúra mára +ṭvé +al-dő=t ’áha vïdələ. | +ṭvè +állu. | ju-  
cíllə xáyyu lā ... xəšša ’ávəd. | (17) mára ’ón azən bnāt-málca mayyənnún,| mü  
p-tanitùn?| baxtávar rišan mára m-ica bnāt-málca?| nixúnta bósšəl +túllunte  
m-+úydala mavélə. | mára témun xzímun. | ’ánnə mán muyyélə?| bá mårən bába  
mü mórrə?| bába lá mórrə calítun +karávul?| xəšloxun muttíloxun rišoxun  
dməxloxun. | bá +karávul mü-tar c-ávə?| xu-lé-azəl dáməx. | +karávul dárəc càla

want? I will destroy them all.' He said 'We are going to attack the enemy, take a [the] middle daughter and bring her back.' (12) When he set off into the air like an aeroplane, when he struck and went and cut them all to pieces, he chopped them to pieces, he took the middle daughter and came back. His brothers are only just arriving. He whipped each one of them with a whip. He said 'It is their fault. They do not pay attention. They did not pay attention to father.' He came back. He sat down and said, he said to the middle sister 'Look, sit next to your sister. If you make a noise, I shall cut your lips. Are you hungry? Here is a plate of food and here is water, eat. You two do not make a sound.' He drew the curtain. So that was that. (13) Then his brothers came back. His brothers came back, exhausted and tired, like this 'Oh' they said 'Baldy, it is good you are sitting. No, sit, sit, sit, sit. You are not needed.' He said 'Sleep, God is merciful, God is merciful.' They think and say 'Fine,' they say 'At least we shall bring back the youngest daughter to you, Baldy.' He said 'Go!' (14) He got up and again cooked the food, gave (food) to the chickens, he swept and put in order all his house and went off. When he entered the stable, when he took the hair, when he lit the match, a white horse came, with white apparel, a white sword, everything on the horse was white from his toenails to his skull, a dagger too on its side. He set off into the air, puuu, he went off. He attacked them all and battered them. (15) He took the youngest daughter. He left his sword there. He put it into the wall and left it. He left it and brought the girl back. He said 'Sit next to your sisters. One word and I'll cut your lips. Do not make a sound. If you are hungry, eat.' He gave them food and so forth and went back. The bald lad is so content, he feels good. He giggles to himself. They came back, their backs broken (with fatigue), their faces black. They came back and sat down. They said 'We could not bring any girl back to you. Enough! It is all over, we are in such a state. What will become of us?' He said 'God is merciful. Sleep, sleep.' Several days passed. Then they put up an announcement. (16) 'Whoever took the daughters of the king, the king, whoever took the daughters of the king'—he said—'my daughters, let him come and take the sword, then my house, my kingdom is all his. All my house and kingdom, it is all his'—whatever he has. Then he goes, he says 'My brother,' the elder brother comes and says 'How fortunate for him who has done this. How fortunate for him. In his whole life he will not experience sorrow.' (17) He says 'If I go and fetch the daughters of the king, what would you say?' 'How fortunate we would be!' they say 'From where (will you fetch) the daughters of the king?' He slowly goes and brings the three of them together. He says 'Come and see.' 'Who has brought them?' 'Well, I say what did father say? Did not father say that you should stand guard? You went, put your head down and slept. Well, how should a watchman behave? Surely he should not go and sleep! A guard should

+*al-R*þost*R-u* *xázzə* mü ’ðt *mú lət*.| *ci-máttə* *rıšu*,| *ci-+ṭallə?* *bəxzəyətunl* +*súppi*  
*jaškun*,| +*ktitəla*,| +*súppi* *lətlı*.| (18) ’á *sápar* +*tlá* *’axunváy bərráššəna* +*támə*  
*cás málca*.| *cúllə* *daválta* *yárvona* *ķatè*.| *xá-mənne* *vàzzər* *vádula*.| *xá-mənne*  
*vàccəl* *vádula*.| *bnatəl* *janèl* *jóns* *cúl* *daválta* *ķatè*,| +*al-R*þost*R* *cúllə* *mattuvvəna*.|  
*xayyèl* *jóns* *xáyyə* *bəxxáyəna*.| *maſvurəna*,| +*xluylè*,| *šare*.| *jóns* *xáyyə* *bəxxáyəna*.|  
’ani’ *’aláha yávvəllun* *’aláha-da* *ka-díyyan* *yávvəl basimùtya*.| *ka-díyyux=da* *’aláha*  
*yávvəl basimùtya*.

#### A46 The Little Prince and the Snake (Nadia Aloverdova, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) *vàyələ*,| *lél* *váya* *xá dána* *málca* *vàyələ*.| *yá málca* *vàyula* *xá brùna*.| *brúnu*  
*b-surýtu* +*róba* *baxyàna* *vàyələ*.| *léna* +*myásə* *ķalu* +*kat̥tilə*.| +*róba* *rijaváy*  
*xamúvvələ* *ķám brùnu* +*’amma* *háč xá rýa* *lél* +*myásə* +*kat̥tilə* *ķalu*.| *xá-yuma*  
+iára *jáv* *bétot* *yála* *súra* *’ica* *ķát dmixələ* *jašúkəna* +*al-jarjúšta* *xúvvə* *tívələ*|  
*rıšu* *labúlə* *mávulə* *yála* *súra* *bíyu* +*ṭavùlə*.| (2) *bitáyəna* *ka-málca* *mára*  
*málca* *’átxa* *màndi* *xázyəx*.| *mù-ila* *vítə?* *bá xá xúvvə* *tívələ* +*al-jarjúštət* *brùnu*.|  
+iárxat̥ələ,| *bitáyələ* *jašúkələ* *ka-brùnu* *lél* +*nísa*.| *mára* *’ányət* *yá xùvvə* *xál*  
+iadíyya *ka-brúni* *lél* +*nísa*,| *urámja* *pášni* *dáx* +*xòra* *ķatu*,| *ķalu* *kat̥tilə*.| *yá xúvvə*  
*bəxxáyələ* *ju-dá* +*paláṭət* *málca*.| *mən-brúnu* *m-+úydalə* *jarvùsəna*.| *brúnu* *vàyələ*  
+iáštə *šónna*.| (3) *xá-yuma* *mən-xúvvə* +*ṭavàltə* *jašúkələ* +*al-júyda* *xá dána* *sépa*.|  
+i *vàyələ* *čumbólta* *sépa*,| *sépət* *málca*.| *bəškálələ*.| *bí dé* *sépa* *vàyələ* *bí*  
*xúvvə* +*ṭavùlə*,| *mújjar* *vàyələ* *mən-ṭúpru* *mxàyələ*,| *ṭúpru* +*bəkt̥ayələ*.| *xúvvə*  
*bəxzáyələ* +*al-ṭúpru* *mán dé* +*márrət* +*ṭúpru* *bəškáləl* *xá-dana* ... +*bənnásulə*.|  
*yá yála=zəl* *bəzyàrlələ*,| *zampùrələ*,| *bənpálələ* *jáv* *b-+arálləj=at* +*palàṭa*.| (4)  
+iárxat̥əna *cúllə* *bitáyəna* *jašúkəna*.| *xúvvə* *litən*.| *ṭúpru* *pišələ*.| *málca* *mára*  
<sup>Arm</sup>uréməs<sup>Arm</sup> *brùni* *ṭúpru* +*ķəçyulə* +*’áv-da* *ka-+dáv* +*nísələ*.| +*várəna* *šónna*.|  
*mára* *yála* *brúni* *mítələ*.| *lípəxva* +*al-dó* *xúvvə*.| *b-šöp-brúni* *máyyən* *xamònna*.|  
<sup>Arm</sup>gōne<sup>Arm</sup> *taxrónna* *brúni* *bí dàyya*.| *xá-yuma* *bətpákələ* *bí xá dána* *xúvvə*  
*ṭúpru* +*ķəçya*.| *karbúnələ* *mára* *’át* *ka-díyyi* +*bəddàyət?* *xúvvə* *mára* *hè*.| *mára*  
*dí tá* +*dúr* +*barày*,| *cúm* *vítəla* *manšíyyàxxa*.| *’ána* *ka-díyyux* *dáx* *brúna* *xamìna*.

stand at his post and see what is happening.<sup>171</sup> Does he put down his head and sleep? Do you see, look, my finger is cut off, I do not have my finger.' (18) Then the three brothers go there, to the king. They give them all great wealth. He makes one vizier. He makes one the overseer. The daughters themselves (give) them all wealth and install them in posts. They live a good life. They marry them (to the daughters) and their marriage celebrations (take place). May God give them and may God give us good fortune. May God give you also good fortune.

#### A46    The Little Prince and the Snake (Nadia Aloverdova, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) Once upon a time there was a king. The king has a son. His son when he was young used to cry a lot. They cannot stop him making a noise. He keeps many servants to look after his son,<sup>172</sup> but none of the servants could stop him making a noise. One day they go into the house where the child is lying and see that a snake is sitting on the cradle, he is moving its head back and forth, the child is playing with it. (2) They come to the king and say 'King, we have seen something. 'What has happened?' 'Well, a snake is sitting on the cradle of your son.' He runs and comes to see his son, but (the snake) has not bitten (him). If this snake has not bitten my son up until now, let him be like a friend for him, he will stop him making a noise. The snake lives in the palace of the king. He grows up together with his son. His son becomes six years old. (3) One day, whilst he was playing with the snake, he sees a sword on the wall. On the wall a sword is hanging, the sword of the king. He takes it. While he is playing with the sword with the snake, it happens that he strikes part of his tail. The snake looks at his tail. On account of the pain of his tail, he takes a ... he bites him. The child swells up, staggers and falls down in the middle of the palace. (4) They all run and come to look. The snake is not there. Its tail is left behind. The king says 'So, my son has cut off its tail and it has bitten him.' Years go by. He says 'The child, my son, has died. We were used to that snake. I shall bring him and look after him in the place of my son. At least I shall remember my son in this way.' One day he meets a snake, the tail of which has been cut off. He approaches and says 'Do you know me?' The snake says 'Yes.' He says 'Well follow me back. Let us forget everything that has happened. I shall look after

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<sup>171</sup> Literally: what there is, what there is not.

<sup>172</sup> Literally: before his son.

*ju-bēt-díyyi tá b-jarvəssənnux. mára lá málca. ána jáškən tùpri lítən. át-da jáškəx +bàrux! kát brùnux lítən. át ka-díyyi! pisùtya p̄t-ódət, ána-da ka-díyyux. búš +spáy-la át ka-jànu xúš! ána-da ka-jàni.*

### A47 The Snake's Dilemma (Arsen Mikhaylov, Arzni, Armenia)

(1) xá 'urxáči, +bar-náša, vágələ 'ürxa bərráxša. ú mən-dópnət mēša +várτu pacúrəl kət-núra bəlláyələ 'u-méša bəkyàdəl. 'u-pacúrəl xa-'ilána +ráməl +állu čríxəl xúvva mən-núra ríkəl xúvva, mən-núra mən-+últux ríkəl, purtáləl l-ilána, l-rišu cálýəl. 'ilána-da mən-xútu bəkyàdəl. (2) 'u-zúltu +pašútulə, p̄-ídu vágəl késa, p̄-íd +bar-náša. +pašútə l-ó-xúvva māral ta-+slíl parkənnux. xúvva bi-késa +bəsláyəl mən-ídat +bar-náša 'u-carmúxəl b-kdáləl. carmúxələ l-kdáləl mára ádi bət-+nesənnux. mára ka-but-mú +byayət +nesəttī? lá ána kátux purəkli mó... kyàda? mən-núrya purəkli kátux. +bar-náša mārəl ka-xúvva. (3) mára ka-díyyan mìrənəl 'áxnan +bəddáyax! ána-da xúvva +bəddáyən kát +bar-náša mən-cúllə xárba məndilə. 'icət xzilux +táməl járəc +nesəttə. +bar-náša +rába xárba 'u-p̄s! ju-da-brita. 'itar! +bar-náša māral yála +xlápu xávən, +áxər átxa lélə +káydət dünəyə. +áxər ána ka-díyyux xáyyux purkéli mən-núrya. (4) á +rába nomúyəl bí xúvva kat-lá +násł. mára +spáy! 'ən-lélt hammúnə +álli, xúvva mára, tá-+bákərax xa-mən-+tlá ... násł, mən-xá-náša, tré-násł +bákərax yá násə, yá məndi býyan! tápək! +hayvána, t-ávəd cú-məndit 'ávəd. +bákərax! xázzax +hálal ... 'ət-méjjət ána +xəltəvənəl yán! +trüsəvən kátk-+byáyən kátxuk +nésən, ka-+bar-náša. mára 'ázax. átxa curmáxxa l-kdálət +bar-náša xúvva 'ürxa bərráxšəna. (5) bətpəkəna bí ... xá tòra. mára šláma-+allux 'áxuni tòra hənnə bədrəyələ. šláma xúvva. áyya muyyóna dák=t xúvva mən-tóra +bakúrəl. mára á +bar-náša +byáyən +nesənnə. mù mārət? +nesənnə yán là +nesənnə? maskəttənnə, xína? +nesənnə mātni. mára prúk! jáldə +núsłə, cmá=t lélə b-ríšux xá məndi tuxmənnə. cmá=t c-+ámsət jáldə +núsłə 'a-násł! (6) mára ka-mú +áxər? +bar-náša mára. tóra ka-but-mú átxa tanúyət +áxər? ka-but-mú +násł? ána púrkun mən! ... núra! ka-da-xúvva, púrkun kat-lá-akədva. mārən xúš b-'ürxux, +ávva +byáyələ +násli. māral but-hádax 'axtóxun +rába p̄s. +bar-náša +rába p̄s-məndilə. +bar-náša mən-móriša hal-+bérəšə, m-+bára +barránta ka-díyyi hal-yúma jnéta xášcal +bətráyən 'upra, maplüxilə. xá vádra miyya yávil, xa-þərçə miyya yávil, xa-þərçə-dəl láxma yávila +bixálən. ká-da-da 'axtóxun +bar-náša járəc lá xáyyə mára, járəc +násni. har-icə c-+amsət +núsłə.

you like my son. Come to my house and I shall bring you up.' It says 'No, King. I shall see that my tail is not there. You too, if we look behind you (we shall see) that your son is no more. You will do me harm, and I to you. It is better for you to go your way and I mine.'

#### A47     The Snake's Dilemma (Arsen Mikhaylov, Arzni, Armenia)

(1) A wayfarer, a man, is walking along the road. Having entered a forest, he notices that a fire is blazing and the forest is burning. He notices a high tree on which a snake had encircled itself. The snake has escaped from the fire. It has escaped from below, wound itself around the tree, and remained on its top. The tree is burning from below. (2) He stretches out his stick. In his hand there is a wooden stick, in the hand of the man. He stretches to the snake and says 'Come, come down, I'll rescue you.' The snake comes down on the stick from the arm of the man and encircles his neck. It encircles his neck and says 'Now I shall bite you.' He says 'Why do you want to bite me? Did I not rescue you from the conflagration? I have rescued you from the fire,' says the man to the snake. (3) It says 'They have said to us, we know, and I as a snake know, that man is the worst thing of all. Wherever you see him, you must bite him. Man is a very evil and bad creature in this world, in this creation.' Then the man says 'My boy, may I be your substitute, but this is not the custom of the world. After all, I saved your life from the fire.' (4) He pleads with the snake not to bite him. It says 'Fine, if you do not believe me' the snake says 'Come let us ask one of three people, three ... people, one person, two people, let us ask, either people or whatever meets us, an animal, whatever he may do. Let us ask and see if it is still the case that I am truly wrong, or am I right to want to bite you,' (i.e. bite) the man. He says 'Let's go.' With the snake wrapped around the man's neck, they set off on the road. (5) They meet an ox. It says 'Greetings, my brother ox.' The snake offers greetings. They have transmitted it (the story telling) of how the snake asks the ox. It says 'I want to bite this man. What do you say? Should I bite him or not bite him? Should I paralyse him? If I bite him, he will die.' He says 'Finish (the job), bite him quickly, while he has not thought of doing something against you. As quickly as you can, bite the man!' (6) He says 'But why?' The man says. 'Ox, but why are you saying this? Why should it bite me? I have saved it from the fire, the snake, I have saved it so that it would not burn. I say: "Go on your way." It wants to bite me.' It says 'Because you are very evil. A human is a very evil thing. A human being makes me work until the evening, from first light until the setting of the sun, in the dark and I plough the earth. He gives me a bucket of water. He gives me a little water. He gives me also a little food and I eat. For this reason

pisùta 'úd ƙàtu.| xívvva +nùslə mára.| (7) xívvva ƙa-+bar-náša màral +šmìlux  
 'axúnìl mu-márra àl tòra?! 'ádi b-+nesànnux.| mára +xlàpux 'ávən| xà-mønne-da  
 +bák̄rax 'íta.| mára +bák̄rax.| bitàyəna,| xàč̄xa bitàyəna,| +ràba bítayəna| b-ùrxa.|  
 bøtpák̄əna b-xa-+áynət mìyya.| +áynət mìyya bøtpák̄əna bìyyo.| (8) màral šlámá-  
 +allax xáti +áyna.| xívvva šlámá bødrayəl +ál| +áyna.| mára b-šèna 'áxuni  
 xívvva.| 'a-mùt +súlulə?| 'a m-ica bitá?| mára 'á +bar-náša +byáyən +nesànnə.  
 mù mårət?! dúz=ivən yan-là?| mára jáldə +nùslə.| cmá ƙ-lla jáldəl prùk.| lá-šuk  
 pàšni.| (9) mára ƙa-but-mù?| 'a-+bar-náša màral +áxər ƙa-mù?| 'ána ƙa-díyyax  
 mù-ín vída-'ana?| ƙal +áyna mára.| mára mágønxa pràttæ,| mágønxa pràttæ,  
 ƙedàmta,| +hala hác-xa +hayvàna,| hác-xa| mánđi léljvìja,| +bar-náša bitàyəl| pátu  
 'ídu +xallulé'l jàv +áyna,| +aynət mìyya.| 'ùl mìyya bëstàyəl mára.| pràktu-dal  
 børrák̄əl fu-mìyyal 'u-børràssəl.| ƙà-da mára| 'át móndit pyáša lèt| ƙa-+dávva  
 jáldə +nùs.| xíš måtni +'ávva náša,| là shúkłə +ság.| (10) mára +šmìlux?| xívvva  
 mára ƙa-+bar-náša,| +šmìlux 'áxuni mu-márra?! 'ádi b-+nesànnux| ƙat-mètət.  
 mára +xlàpux 'ávən,| xá xá-náša-da +bák̄rax 'itar,| +nùslı jáldəl jahànnam| xína  
 'ádi +bar 'átxa 'átxa | 'et-d-łlá-da +bák̄ræxxəl 'íta +nùslı.| mára +spáy  
 'ázax.| (n) 'úrxa børràssəna mòdra.| 'átxa bi-'úrxa bitàyəna| xá-xa-ja jašúk̄əna  
 mán-dò ríša| xá +tálə.| +rxáta +rxáta bitàyəl børrák̄əl.| mára 'áxuni +tálə,| xa-  
 clí clí! xívvva ƙál bødrayələ.| mára mù +byayət mónni?| mára clí ƙa-dá +bar-  
 náša +byayən +nèsən.| mù mårət?! +nesànnə +yúxsə là?| mára 'ána bølyàzən|  
 jáldə +nùslə,| jáldə xíš måtni-+avva.| lá šokátlə +ság.| (12) màra| 'a-+bar-náša  
 mára ƙàm?| 'íta 'a-+táləl +tálə biša vâyələ| là xàč̄xa.| +táləl ptáləl ƙa-da-xívvva  
 màral 'ína mù-ila vita?| ƙám +bønnàsut?! m-ica dvíkut +'ávva mìyyut?!| màra.|  
 dák 'àtxa sámm dàryut,| b-ƙdálù curmàxxət?! mára 'áxuni,| nùyra píləva,| méša  
 bøkyàdəva.| 'ána-da bøkyàdənva,| čríxənva l-ilàna.| 'a-+bar-náša| zúltu muttálə,|  
 késu muttìlə,| ƙa-díyyi puròkłə.| 'ádi curmáxxən b-ƙdálùl +byayən +nesànnə.|  
 (13) mára 'áxuni,| jáldə +nùslə,| cma-ł-lla jáldə,| cmá-t lèlə b-rišux xá-møndi  
 vída.| 'ína dax-dúz? máral 'átən +aldìyit 'átən.| +tálə ƙa-xívvva mårəl.| 'ána  
 lèn hammúnəl núra 'ávə píla bi-ilàna.| 'átən mén-'ilána +ámsət +sálət bi-kësa  
 +al-ƙdálət +dávva náša.| mára xívvva,| mára dák lèt-hammúna?| 'ána c-+ámsən  
 mén-'ilána +sálən bi-kësa +al-ídət +bar-náša.| mára lèn hammúna 'áxuni,| (14)  
 dax-dúz! dìylə dafjúlət!| 'ána bølyàzən mára.| malyùzən,| børràssən.| +bári píləna  
 nàš| ƙat-kaṭlìli.| 'ána børrák̄ən.| 'ína lèn hammúna 'átxa +shúla 'ávət vída,| 'at-  
 +ámsət mén-kësa mén-'ilána +sálət l-ídət +bar-náša.| mára 'íjar lèt hammúna,|  
 c-+ámsən xáč̄xa maxzànnna ƙa-díyyux,| xívvva mårəl ƙa-+tálə.| mára d-+slì!

you, a human being, must not live.' It says 'He must be bitten. Bite him wherever you can. Do evil to him. Snake, bite him' it says. (7) The snake says to the man 'Did you hear, my brother, what this ox said? Now I shall bite you.' He says 'May I be your substitute. Let us ask another one.' It says 'Let us ask.' They go. They go a little, they go a lot along the road. They meet a spring of water. They meet a spring of water. (8) It says 'Greetings to you, my sister spring.' The snake greets the spring. It says 'Welcome my brother snake. What is the matter? Where are you coming from?' It says 'I want to bite this man. What do you say? Am I right or not?' It says 'Bite him quickly. Finish (the job) as quickly as possible. Do not let him live.' (9) He says 'Why?' The man says 'But why? What have I done to you?'—he says to the spring. It says 'At dawn, at dawn, early in the morning, when no animal, nothing has moved, the human comes and washes his face and hands in the spring, the spring of water, and he drinks the water' it says. 'When he has finished, he spits in the water and goes away. Therefore' it says 'You are not something worthy of living. Bite him quickly. Let that man die, do not leave him alive.' (10) It says 'Did you hear?' the snake says to the man 'Did you hear my brother what it said? Now I shall bite you so that you die.' He says 'May I be your substitute. Let us ask another person, then bite me quickly, the hell with it, so be it after that. Let us ask a third then bite me.' It says 'Fine, let us go.' (11) They go along the road again. They come along the road and suddenly see on one side a fox. It runs and runs, it flees. It (the snake) says 'My brother fox, stop, stop!' the snake shouts. It says 'What do you want from me?' It says 'Wait. I want to bite this person. What do you say? Should I bite him or not?' It says 'I am in a hurry. Bite him quickly and let him die quickly. Do not leave him alive.' (12) The man says 'Why?' Well, the fox is not a little wicked. The fox turns to the snake and says 'But what has happened? Why are you biting him? Where did you catch him and bring him from? How have you put poison in him and encircled his neck?' It says 'My brother, fire had broken out and the forest was burning. I also was burning and I had climbed up a tree. This man put out his staff, put out his stick and saved me. Now I have encircled his neck and I want to bite him.' (13) It says 'My brother, bite him quickly, as quickly as possible, before he does something against you. But how can it be true?' it says 'You are tricking me,' the fox says to the snake. 'I do not believe that fire broke out in the tree and that you could come down by the stick onto the neck of that man.' The snake says 'What do you mean you do not believe (me)? I can come down from a tree by a stick onto the hand of a man.' (14) It (the fox) says 'How can that be true! You are telling lies. I am in a hurry' it says 'I am in a hurry. I am going. People are coming after me to kill me. I am fleeing. But I do not believe that you have done this thing, that you are able to go down from a tree by a stick onto the hand of a man.' It (the snake) says 'If you do not believe, I can quickly show you,' the

xázzən +hála c-+àmsət| 'a-+šúla 'odàttə. | xázzən 'ita tanánnux| +núslə yan-là.| (15) 'a-xúvva +bəsláyələ,| 'áxči čárəx +al-'ilàna. | +tála ķa-+bar-náša màra| Pbúr<sup>p</sup> la-+spáy náša| jáldə b-ríšu blùslə! ríšət xúvva blùslə. | cmá-t +sólyəl m-ķdálux l-+àrra| ríšu blùslə. | +másət +kałłatla. | kàm švíkut?| (16) 'á +bar-náša 'àlbal| mxáyəl xùvva,| +maskùtul. | mára 'àxuni,| +váy 'ávənva xláp dtyux,| ķa-+tálə márel,| 'át m-icə brílux +al-dá dúca?| m-icə tpáklux bíyyan?| mút +spayúta ódən ķa-díyyux| ķat-párķən m-xut-dàl +spáy +shúl-díyyux ķat-vàdlux ķa-díyyi?| puráklux ķa-díyyi mən-mòta. | xúvva +bənnásiva,| 'ána ķátu +spayúta vídənva. | (17) mára hác xa-+spayúta +lázəm lèla. | +bári píləna| +sayàdəl bi-susavàtə, bi-+tazìyyə, bi-calbanàn. | +byáyəna dóki xànkili. | véna bità! | 'ánnə tré 'urxaváy 'átxa ptáləna| màra. | 'ána jáni +tašənna láxxa xut-hənna. | 'ánnə mánnux +bàkri,| clí-át b-da-'ürxa,| máxzzi xíúš 'àzı. | mára +al-+àyni,| +al-+àyni,| ba-á mára +spayútəla. | +al-járət +àyni 'a-+šúla ódənna ķa-díyyux. | (18) d-mára 'ána +bəsláyən +támma| jáni +tašənna. | 'átnə har-tilun,| tání 'átxa xàšlə. | mára +al-+àyni. | 'á +bəsláyəl +várəl ju-de-+čəkkùrta,| ju-de-+čál. | jánu +tašúyol +tálə. | mən-dó-yba bitáyəna susavày| +allé +sayàdəl bi-tùp,| bi-calbanán 'an-+tazìyyə. | mára šlāma-+allux 'áxuni +bar-náša. | b-şəna. | màra láxxa la-xzílxux xa-+tálə bərràķəva?| lá +dílxux bi-dəm-'úrxə xàšlə?| (19) +avun járəc taníva bi-dà-urxal xóšlə 'a-+tálə. | +bar-náša màra| dül-láxxa jánu +tùšyo. | díl +últux jánu +tùšyo. | dbíšəna 'an-cálbə b-ríšu bədvàķuna,| bəxnàķuna,| +palùtuna,| màyuna. | xina-jà,| zambəllilə,| +axlilə. | 'a-+tálə ķa-+bar-náša mára. | yála 'áxuni. | ķa-but-múdi +áxər ķa-díyyi 'átxa vədlux?| lá 'ána ķa-díyyux xàyyux purkéli?| mára 'áxuni,| +paxlätte,| +ámma xasyàttila 'átxa. | 'ána lípən,| ju-dàmmilə járəc zabnàñvalux. | 'áyya-da məttáltət +tálə 'u-+bar-náša| ķat-+šəmyox móñ 'avahàtan! bába sàvan. |

(20) 'ítal +bayyən tåñən! 'átxa +bar-náša| zabúnəl ķa-+tálə,| +tálə 'ó-t mən-cúllə bìšələ| ķat| +spáy +bəddáyəl müjjur 'ázəl. | 'ína +bar-náša ķát váyəl +tálə

snake says to the fox. It (the fox) says 'Come down! Let me see whether you can still do that. When I see, then I shall tell you whether to bite him or not.' (15) The snake comes down and is about to climb on a tree. The fox says to the man 'Go, you bad man, quickly stamp on his head! Stamp on the head of the snake. While he has come down from your neck onto the ground, stamp on his head. You can kill him. Why have you let him (go)?' (16) The man at once strikes the snake and paralyzes it. He says 'My brother, oh may I be your substitute,' he says to the fox 'How<sup>173</sup> did it happen that you came to this place? How did it come about that you met us? What good deed can I do for you so I can return<sup>174</sup> the favour that you have done to me? You saved me from death. The snake was about to bite me, (although) I had done it a good deed.' (17) It says 'A good deed is not necessary. Hunters are chasing me with horses, with greyhounds, with dogs. They want to catch me and strangle me. Look they are coming! These two roads are bending like this,' it says 'I shall hide myself here under ... If they ask you, stand on this road and show them (the road) and let them go (on it).' He says 'Of course,<sup>175</sup> of course. Well, this is a good deed. Of course<sup>176</sup> I shall do this for you.' (18) Then he says 'I shall go down there and hide myself. As soon as they come, tell them that it (the fox) has gone.' He says 'Of course.' It goes down and enters the hollow, the hole. The fox hides itself. From the other side horses come, on which there are hunters with guns, with the greyhound dogs. They say 'Greetings, my fellow man!' 'Greetings!' They say 'Have you seen a fox running away around here? Do you know which way it went?' (19) He should have said 'The fox went this way.' But the man says 'It has hidden itself over there. It has hidden itself under there.' The dogs attach themselves to his head and seize him, they strangle him and bring him out. They then tear him apart and eat him. The fox says to the man 'My brother, why did you do this to me? Did I not save your life for you?' He says 'My brother, forgive me, but this is my nature. I am accustomed to it, it is in my blood, I had to betray you.'<sup>177</sup> This is the story of the fox and the man, which I have heard from our forebears, our father and grandfather.

(20) So, I want to say that the man betrays the fox in this way, the fox, which is the most wicked of all (animals), which knows well how to go about things. The man, whose life the fox had saved, the life of the man, the man betrays

<sup>173</sup> Literally: from where?

<sup>174</sup> Literally: finish from under.

<sup>175</sup> Literally: on my eyes.

<sup>176</sup> Literally: on my eyelids.

<sup>177</sup> Literally: sell you.

xáyyu purķè,| xáyyat +bar-nàša,| +bar-náša ķa-dó +tála zabùnələ.| +maķtúlul b-dan-càlbə,| b-dán +avčìyya,| +sayàdə.|| lén +bøddál cmá +túsa muyyítəla +al+bar-náša jàna.|| ánnə +tála,| +áynət miyya,| xùvva,| 'u-tòra.|| ánnə cùllə +tùsəna +túsa muyyéñ-anə but-ķíla +al+paślat xáyyat +bar-náša.|| ķát ju-mátxat xáyyu +bar-náša! cmá +másni! 'avəd! +spày +šulán! 'u-cmá xàrba +šulán! jav+bar-náša jánu 'åttən.||(21) 'u-mən-dáyyən m+iydäl-da! ána lè+-amsən! 'ádi paškónna óxa +xábrət ķat! +šómyun módrə módn 'avahàti! m-bábi sávi ķát ju-dá məttálta hùkyuna.|| é+dán prákta ķat! calbanàn! 'u-an+-avčìyyə! +šarúyəna +bixàla ka-do+ +tála parpùsu,| +čambùruna,| +tála ka+bar-náša mára! é 'àxuni! 'et-májjət-da +bar-náša +xalvanàya,| +mísələ.|| 'ádi +manáya +davvó +xalvanàya +myásta mù-ilə 'ána lén +bøddáya! +xálva +bøddáyat mu-ilə?! +xálvət yòmma.|| 'ita! +tála ķa! +bar-náša mára! 'ay 'àxuni! ķa-dýyi zubònnux 'åtən.|| 'et-májjət-da tanúyəva ķat+bar-náša! +xalvanàya +mísəl,| mónnu hásyar járcəc 'åvəd.|| 'åtxa c+amsən 'åtxa paškónna,| 'ína +manáyu but-ķíla! ķ-øyə! ju-xa pušákə xína +amsítun bíyyu tapķitun.||

#### A48 The Wise Brother (Arsen Mikhaylov, Arzni, Armenia)

(1) masálo 'ila hàda! dá məttálta! dák ķ-i 'ána šámyon mòn nanùnti,| mən-yàmmi! mən-sàvan.|| +manáyu 'ila bäs! tré +parsùpə! tré 'axunvàta.|| xá-mənne vâyala +rába +brixa! 'ül! +parmìyyàna náša,| honàna náša vâyələ.|| 'o-xína vâyəl xáčxa búš <sup>Armagresiv, Arm</sup> 'ína hónu xáčxa +basúra vâyələ.|| +basúra tanéta lél xà-txa! 'u-baxxúləl bí 'axunu.|| baxxúləl bí hónət dó 'axún-jànu,| sábab but-dàha=da,| ķat- 'o 'axunu,| jánu vâyəl +avun málca! 'et-xa-malcúta,| 'ína +bøddáyələ ķát 'axúnu mónnu búš honánələ,| búš +parmìyyánələ,| búš +msayəl! taxmántu +mazmàtla ju-nášə.|| 'u+ +másəl +buķàrə šára! <sup>Arm</sup> problèm<sup>Arm</sup> šára +fùrə.||(2) ķa-but-háda ķa-'axúnu +tarúsəl háda móndi b-rišu! hàdax! maxzúyul ju-de-malcútət jànu! dák 'axúnu 'ilə šidàna,| xá +múxlə! hónu +rùppu,| hónu +rùppu náša,| 'u-cúllə nášə dáyya malcútət dò! málca! ķa-'axúnət málca! bəsnàyələ.|| mára 'á šidànələ.|| cílla xína +bar-málca mórrəl 'axúni šidànələ.|| cílla jár b-xá ķála čarçérri,| járcəc cílla čarçérri ķát 'axúnət málca! hónu +rùppula,| šidànələ.||(3) 'ína vazzírət málca,| 'o-vázzər ķamàya,| +bøddáyəl ķát 'axúnət málca mónilə,| cmá honána nášəl,| 'a Dahlún Dewànda.|| xá-yuma kédamta jàldə! málca bíyya bi-vazziru,| +nazziru,| bi+ +tazìyyu,| b-calbanànu,| +plátəna +al+ +sèda,| +plátəna mən +darvázət malcùta.||

the fox. He causes it to be killed by the dogs, by the hunters, the hunters. I do not know how many examples have been adduced about mankind. These, the fox, the spring, the snake, the ox, these are all examples, I adduced examples about the way of life of mankind, whereby in the course of the life of a man, he does as many good deeds as he can and (I show) how many bad deeds there are in man himself. (21) I cannot now explain everything together relating to this tale which, as I say, I heard from my forebears, my father and grandfather, that which they related in this story. In the end, when the dogs and the hunters begin to eat, tear apart the fox, tear it to pieces, the fox says to the man 'Hey, my brother, it is true that man is a mammal, he has sucked (milk).' Now I do not know what the significance is of this mammal and sucking. You know what milk is? The milk of a mother. So, the fox says to the man 'Oh, my brother, you have betrayed me.' They spoke the truth—that man is a mammal that has sucked (milk) and one has to be cautious of him. That is how I can explain it, but you could find another explanation of its meaning.

#### A48    The Wise Brother (Arsen Mikhaylov, Arzni, Armenia)

(1) The story of this tale is thus, as I have heard it from my grandmother, my mother and my grandfather. It is about two people, two brothers. One of them is very lovable,<sup>178</sup> an intelligent man, a clever man. The other is a little more aggressive and he is a little less clever—'less' means 'not much'—and he is jealous of his brother. He is jealous of the intelligence of his own brother, also because his brother—he himself is a king of a kingdom, but he knows that his brother is cleverer than him, more intelligent, more able to establish his thought among the people. He is able to answer<sup>179</sup> questions and solve big problems. (2) Because of this he does something against his brother, in that he presents his brother in his kingdom as if he were mad, a tiresome fool, a man who has lost his mind, and all the people of the kingdom of the king hate the brother of the king. They say 'He is mad.' All after the king said 'My brother is mad.' All have to shout in one voice, all have to shout that the brother of the king has lost his mind, he is mad. (3) But the vizier of the king, the first vizier, knows who the brother of the king really is, how intelligent a man he is, this Dahlun Dewanda (as he was called). One day early in the morning the king, together with his vizier, his overseer, his greyhound, his dogs, goes out hunting,

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<sup>178</sup> Literally: blessed.

<sup>179</sup> Literally: solve.

(4) *m-mdítə*   +*dān* +*plàtəna*,|   l vazzírət málca bəxzàyəl| +  mman|   xúnət málca tìvəl| *b-dé*   dámta jàldəl +*dān* +*bára* +*barrànta* tìvəl   am-+*darvàzət* m  nditəl| *u-+túrsəl* +*tlá* +*júrə*   ux  n bi-+*k  tma*.|   nnə c  ll   b  rr  ss  na x  na m-+*uyd  l*,| susav  tət m  lcal bi-*calban  n* b  rr  ss  na,|   -v  zz  r   am  y  l +*b  dd  r  l* +*bar  y*.| mára *Dahlùn Dew  nd  l*   na +*b  dd  y  n*   at-  x  n m  lcal ju-  nn     ux  n-d  yyux   tt  n +*man  l*   nnə   am +*t  rs  v  t*   nnə   ux  n?| +*manay  * m  -i  va?| *b-d  *   d  d  m  ta j  ld  l   nnə   ux  n vid  v  t l-  rx  t d  yyan|   xnan +*pl  tx* +*al-+s  da*.| (5)   l *Dahlùn Dew  nd  l*   x  n m  lcal   a-*v  zz  r* máral c  t   ux     tl  l +*tl  ma*.| c  t   ux   +*d  k  r* *xa-d  va*.| tá *h  ll  * tan  nnal +*man  y* da-  ux   m  -i  la.||   -v  zz  r +*pal  t  l  * +*tl  * *d  n-d  v  l* y  vv  l   l do-  x  n m  lcal máral t  nila| +*manay  t*   ux  n.|| máral   -k  x  t +*k  tma*   v  ni *b-ri  -d  * n  s  t   at-+*x  s  u* +*b  sy  r  l* *b-malc  ta*,| *b-h  c  ma*,| *hiv  yu matt  yul* +*al-h  c  ma*,| +*x  s  u* +*b  sy  r  l* *b-h  c  ma*.||   -k  x  t d-+*tl  *   v  ni *b-ri  -d  * n  s  t   at-n  s  t   j  nu b  srav  l  ,| *xazm  n  *   j  nu,| *bn   m  ll  t  t*   j  nu,| *b  srav  l  * n  s  -j  nu,| *b  snay  l  *   l +*hayy  r  l*   a-n  s  t b  xta| *u-ka-+naxr  y*.|   nnə +*tl  *   ux  n.| (7)   +*b  tr  y  l* b  ty  v  l vázz  r +*al-s  sa*,| b  rr  ss  l +*b  r* m  lcal,| +*m  t  y  l*,| +*s  da* b  rr  ss  l.||   -v  zz  r bit  y  l +*b  r  s* b  ta +*r  ba taxm  n  l* +*al-d  nn  * +*tl  * n  k  z  l   at-tanuy  l   at|   -Dahlùn Dew  nd  l.|| máral   -x  zz  t m  jjur  l   n  sa m  jj  t tanuy  l   hon  na n  s  t.||   nn   +*sh  l  n*   r  c   +*j  rbi*.|   txa l  -o  ya.|| (8) *u-+s  ar  y  l* p  lx  na taxm  n  l +*al-da m  jjur  l* +*jar  blun*   nn  l +*tl  * n  k  z  t d  l   x  n m  lca   at tuny  l   at.|| *ju-x  yy  t* m  jj  t   nn   v  y  n  l y  n l  ?|   l m  n-  k  meta bit  y  l x  y  ma b-*l  l  *,| *xa-tr  * +*  st  c  n*-*da* m  n-d  yl   b  st  y  l  ,| +*x  mra*,| bit  y  l máral b  xta,| +*pl  t*,| +*pl  t*|   a-b  xtu máral.|| +*m  rr  sol b  xtu*.|| mára   y  lax,| pr  k.|| m  -i  l   v  ta?| mára.||   y   n  sa,|   am|   txa xa-tah  r-v  t?| máral   l n  sa +*k  til  n*.|| n  sa +*k  til  n*,| v  n curm  xxu *ju-d  nn  * j  ll  .|| l  n-+*b  dd  a* m     d  nn  .|| x   móndi   r  c     d  ax.|| m  lca +*d  l  *,| *maxn  k  li*.|| (9) +*al-+m  ydan*   e-+*d  nta* +*jammuy  va*,|   ambul  va,| b  xn  k  va,|   -t-n  sa +*b  kt  l  *,| bí   an  n d  -+*d  na*.|| máral j  ld  xa m  ndi   r  c     d  ax.||   ta máral   y   n  sa m  -od  ax?| b  xtu mára.||   r  c   x  d  cta +*  s  ax* n  s la-x  zzi.|| máral x  pr  ax +*tamr  xxa* xa-d  cal   at-n  s lá x  zzi.|| máral   ta|   y   b  xta,|   ca +*tamr  xxa?* t  ni.|| (10) mára *ju-p  ja*.| me-+*mor  xxa*,

goes out of the royal city gates. (4) When they go out of the city, the vizier of the king sees that the brother of the king is sitting, early that morning, when dawn was breaking, sitting in front of the city gates, and that he has made three large piles of ash. They all go off together, the horses of the king, they go off with dogs, but the first vizier goes back. He says 'Dahlun Dewanda, I know, brother of the king, that in those piles of yours there is a meaning. Why have you made these piles? What was the meaning of them? You have made these piles early this morning in our way, as we have gone out to hunt.' (5) Dahlun Dewanda, the brother of the king, says to the vizier 'Every pile has a value. Every pile is worth a gold coin. Come, give (this) to me and I shall tell you what the meaning of this pile is.' The vizier takes out three gold coins and gives them to the brother of the king. He says 'Tell me the meaning of the piles.' (6) He says 'May this pile of ash be on the head of the man who relies on the king,<sup>180</sup> on the government, who puts his hope in the government, relies on the government. May this second pile be on the head of the man who tells his secrets to a wife, to his wife. May the third pile be upon the head of the man who disowns his own family, his own relatives, those of his community, rejects his own people, hates them and helps the family of the wife and strangers. These are the three piles.' (7) He rides off, the vizier rides off on his horse. He goes after the king. He arrives and goes out to the hunt. The vizier comes home in the evening and thinks a lot on the three points that Dahlun Dewanda told him. He says 'Let me see whether this man is telling the truth about them. He is an intelligent man. These things have to be tested. This cannot be.' (8) He begins to work and thinks how he could test the three points that the son of the king told him. 'Do these exist in real life, or not?' First he comes back one day, at night he pretends to drink one or two glasses of wine and says 'Wife, come out, come out,' he says to his wife. He wakes his wife. He says 'Get up, straight away.'<sup>181</sup> 'What has happened?', she says. 'Man, why are you like this?' He says 'Get up, I have killed somebody. I have killed somebody. Look I have wrapped him in these cloths. I do not know what to do. We must do something. If the kings knew about it, he would hang me.' (9) At that time they used to collect people in the square, hang them and throttle them, whoever killed a person, by the law of that time. He says 'We must do something quickly.' Then she says 'Oh, man, what should we do?' His wife says. 'We must bury him somewhere so people do not see.' She says 'We should dig and bury him somewhere, so that people do not see.' He says 'Oh, wife, where should we bury him? Tell me.' (10) She says 'In the stable. Bring him and we'll take him in there,

<sup>180</sup> Literally: kingdom.

<sup>181</sup> Literally: Get up. Finish.

+ṭamràxxə +'ávva! ju-pajéni ḳat-náš là xázzi müjjurra bəxpárəx. | māra| d-prùk,| jáldə kù. | +jóra báxta bəkyàməna! 'álbal! +laṭàṭka bəškálana,| xá-dana +mìyra,| cùlluny. | +bəkkàrəna,| +ṭamúruna ju-pàyal táhar tåmməz,| xa-nàša lél +bəddá. | bədmàxəna. | (11) +al-dó-yuma xína! 'á vazzər! jáns bəštayəl mádra,| jánu šōp-+ravàya mattúyolə. | dák 'áxči +rìtyələ,| bitáyəl bëta,| +šarítayəl ḳa-báxta mxàya,| ḳa-báxtət jánu. | mxàyol,| māra! 'átən +spáy báxta lét 'át. | 'a-báxta māra! 'ádi maxziyyànnna ḳa-díyux 'ána. | 'ádi maxziyyánnna 'ána. | dúz ṭ-ázan ḳedámta cəs-málca! tányan 'átən mù vídət,| nàša +kṭilət,| +ḳatłán-nàš,| týyət ḳa-díyi-da mxàyat. | 'áha mxàyol,| xína mattúyul ríšu dmàxəl. | (12) 'á ḳedámta jáldə! báxtu +mṭayəla dúz cəs-málca. | māra! málca ṭ-ávət basıma,| 'átən lét +bəddá vazzíru mút nàšəl. | vazzíru nàša +kṭilələ. | vazzíru nàšal +ḳatłánət nàšəl. | 'átən xamúyut dax-vazzər. | +bérāš=da týyəl ḳa-díyi-da máxyələ. | māxyil,| +byáyəva +ḳatłálval. | +'ávva járc maxnəkkàtta,| là šokáttə. | (13) málca xína +bára +burrənnəl,| xína xášla càslu. | +hála tré +saháttə lélá váya +vàrta,| mən-vazzíru lél hamzùma-da malca,| +bəkráyəl +jamáhat +al+ +màydan! mattúyul māra! jári maxnəkkni vázzər. | vázzər nàša +kṭiləl. | (14) xína vázzər bədvàḳa! bëta bitáyələ! xína! ḳóšun málca. | bədvàḳuna,| labúluna +al+ +màydan,| +bəsyárunga +al-dó stòlba,| ḳat-jári xankùl,| xítu ḳòrsha bədráyona! ḳat! maḳdılə! m-òdil? | 'íta 'é-+dān váyəna +síru +al-dó stòlba,| ḳat-jár čambəllilə! 'u-maḳdılə,| 'áha 'átxa pacùrələ,| 'a-vázzər jánu,| pacùrəl +al-málca,| málca jánu,| ḳat-m-+úydäl plíxəna,| nàš-d-trèla. | lél +bakúra ḳátu! mút nàša +kṭilət? | 'íca +kṭilət? | ḳa-but-mù +kṭilət? | müjjurra +kṭilət? | mára d-prùk. | (15) 'íta pacùrələ! cùllə 'ánnə ḳat-jánu muttéla +al-+darǵa +əllàya,| xəzmān-bàxtu,| +naxràya! xá-mənne +xòla máyələ. | 'o-xína +sàbun máyələ. | 'o-xína ḳòrsha máyələ. | 'o-xína mára d-prùk,| málca ṭ-ávət basıma,| prùk! 'á xankáxxə pàṛkax,| 'ína ḳàm! +maryùxot? | +rába ḳàm +maryùxot. | jáldə xankáxxə pàṛkax. | (16) 'íta 'a-vázzər pacùrəl! 'ína 'an-xəzmān-jánu ḳat-srivèlə! ḳat-lél ḳaté +huyyàrra,| hóč +dàna,| xa-+əsrá janàyl 'átxa +al-màrza! xá 'ánnə tívəna báxyəna ḳatū,| ḳat-+ávun ju-xáyyu šláma-da lél dárya +allè,| 'é-dān výyəl +al-vazzirùta,| 'é-+dān +al-+rùmta výyəl. | 'ádi ḳat-+ávva bəxnàḳuna! xa-'ánnə +əsrá janàyl,| +xamsár janàyl xəzmān-jánu! 'ánnə báxyəna +állu. | (17) 'ánnə xínə ḳat-muttél +al-+dárǵa +əllàya! cùllə prùk! málca ṭ-ávət basıma. | māra!

we'll bury him in our stable, so people do not see us digging.' She says 'Quickly, get up.' The husband and wife get up, straight away take a shovel, a spade and a pickaxe. They dig and bury him in the stable very neatly, and nobody knows. They go to bed. (11) The next day the vizier drinks heartily again and pretends to be somebody who is drunk. When he is as if drunk, he comes home and begins to beat the wife, his own wife. He beats her and says 'You are not a good wife.' The wife says 'Now I'll show you. Now I'll show you. In the morning I shall go straight to the king and tell him what you have done, that you have killed a man, that you are a murderer and you have come and beaten me also.' He beats her, then puts his head down and sleeps. (12) Early next morning his wife goes straight to the king. She says 'King, be well, you do not know what kind of man your<sup>182</sup> vizier is. Your vizier has killed a man. Your vizier is the murderer of a man. You have kept him as a vizier. Last night he came and beat me too. He beat me and wanted to kill me. You must hang him, do not spare him.' (13) As soon as it became light, she went to the king. Two hours have not passed, the king does not speak with his vizier, he summons a crowd to the square. He brings them there and says 'The vizier must be hanged. The vizier has killed a man.' (14) Then they seize the vizier. The army of the king comes to the house. They seize him and take him to the square, and tie him to the post where they must hang him, under which they put firewood in order to burn him. What will they do to him? Then, when they have bound him to the post, where they must hang him and burn him, he looks, the vizier himself, he looks at the king, the king himself—they have worked together, he is the second (in command). He does not ask him 'Which man have you killed? Where have you killed him? Why have you killed him? How have you killed him?' They say 'Finish the job.' (15) Then he looks at all those whom he has put in positions of high rank, the relatives of his wife and foreigners. One of them brings a rope. Another brings soap. Another brings firewood. Another says 'Finish the job, king, may you be well, finish the job, let's hang him and finish. Why are you taking so long? You are taking a very long time. Let's hang him quickly and finish.' (16) Then the vizier looks and sees his own relatives, whom he has disowned, whom he has not helped, ever, some ten people like this on the edge (of the crowd), he was surprised to see that they are sitting and weeping for him, people whom he has not greeted in his life, when he was in his position of vizier, when he was in a high position. Now that they are throttling him, these ten people or so, fifteen people, his relatives, they are weeping for him. (17) The others whom he has put in high positions all say 'Finish the job, king, may you be well.' They say 'Finish the job quickly, let's

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182 Literally: his.

prúk jáldəl maxnəkàxxəl 'á xankákx pàrkax. | 'a-+bär-cálba 'átxa 'átxa xína nás  
+ktílələ. | ka-dé báxtu-da mòxyəla. | prùkun! (18) 'íta 'á jašükəl xína málca kála  
lél váda. | vazzər! jašükəl xína 'ádi b-xankìlə. | +byáyəna núra-da tapilə xut-  
'áklu. | mára málca t-ávət basíma, | xa-+ijáza hál xàl +xábra tanànnux xína  
'ána vazzirux-vən! lá kát! +dránux +ràstvən, | 'o-náš d-trèvən? hár lá bakúra  
bæxnákivət, | hác móndi lá bakúra? | +xábrət +xáraya lét-yávu ka-dìyyi? | har-'átxa  
bæxnákivət! lá hác móndi tanùya. | málra +ijáza hál xá-móndi tânən xína. | (19)  
mára táníl xàl +xábra táníl, | +dán prákłtola. | málral xá +bákər mén-dánnə násə, |  
'ána +byáyən 'ánnə +al-da-+máydan +jùmyəna, | +jamáhat +àlmə, | +bákri! ká-  
mán +ktílən 'ána, | u-+kałláná mánila, | 'o! kat-+ktílən mánila, | 'u-ka-but-mùdi  
+ktílən. | xa-kám lét +bakúra? | +bákər mén-dá báxti. | málral tání báxta. | kám  
+ktílən? | 'ána mút +yatłan móndi +ktílət? | málra d-xa-xzímun mójjət násə +ktílən  
yán là. | ka-báxtu málra mít násə +ktíləl? | 'ica +ktíləl? | málra vél ju-pajéni-da  
+túmrux. | 'ána mén-+dàvva +túmrux! 'o-násə. | (20) +śadúral kòšun! málra jálda  
xùšun. | m-ju-páyal báxtu-da ménne! +palútuna móyuna. | ju-júlla curmàxxa  
+al-de-+máydan mattùyuna. | málra d-śri, | ptùxun! xázzən mánila 'a-násə, | kám  
+ktílət. | (21) ptàxuna! 'ína pacúrəna xa-píra, | 'órbə, | +bəryan vída šapíral ju-  
+laváša curmàxxa, | šapíra. | 'é-+dán ptàxuna, | réxu šapíra basíma bitàyəl. | 'a-  
málca 'átxa pacúrələl málral 'a-mít masáləva, | lá +purmili. | 'á mít mònđival kát  
'átxa vila. | 'á kám vïdut, | 'átxa +šùla? | (22) málra málca t-ávət basíma, | 'ána +šmíli  
+al-dó 'axùnux, | Dahlùn Dewánda. | +rába honána +šùla tunyíləl kát! 'an-kuxànl  
kat-'a-kúxa 'áv b-ríš-dó násət! +xásə +yásər bi-malcùta. | 'ána +xási +sírunva bi-  
dùyyux! kát 'át bət-'avátvə ka-dìyyi! +xásə, | p-+hayyərràtvəl! 'é-+dán ju-dúca 'óktal  
'ávənva npila. | 'átən kámmtət cíulla ka-dìyyi zubànlux! dák málca? | 'ána lá kat-násət  
d-trènva ju-dá malcúta? | 'át lá +buķárrux-da ka-mán! +ktílən 'ána. | bæxnákivət  
lá +bakúra. | (23) 'ó kúxət d-tré! kat-márrə 'avíni b-ríš-dó násə kát! síru haķilən  
ka-báxti. | 'ána ka-báxti dùyłə dùylənva, | mírənva násə +ktílən. | 'ána násə lènva  
+ktíla. | píral +bəryan vídunva. | +tuyáy vïdunva, | +bùslə jávu mólyənva, | bi-+laváša  
mùttunva. | báxti har-kámmtət cíulla +uldìyyənna. | zubnànnna báxti. tíla kam-cíulla  
zubnànnna 'at-da muxnəkkànnux. | (24) 'u-'ó kúxət d-+tlə! kat-'avíni b-ríš-dó násət

hang him. Let's hang him and finish. This son of a dog'—and so forth—'he has killed people. He has also beaten his wife. Finish the job!' (18) He sees that the king does not utter a sound. The vizier sees that now they will hang him. They want to light the fire under his legs. He says 'King, may you be well, permit me to say something. I am your vizier. Am I not your right arm, the second man (in command)? Are you hanging without asking (questions), without asking anything? Are you not allowing me a final word? You are hanging me like this, without saying anything.' He says 'Give me permission to say something.' (19) He says 'Speak, say one word. It is time to end the matter.' He says 'Ask these people, I want these people who have gathered in this square, this crowd of people, to ask whom I have killed, who is the killer, who is the one whom I have killed, why have I killed him? Go on, why do you not ask? Ask my wife.' He says 'Tell me wife, why have I killed him?' 'How should I know whom you have killed?' He says 'Just check whether I have truly killed a man or not.' He (the king) says to his wife 'Which man has he killed? Where has he killed him?' She says 'We have buried him in our stable. I have buried the man together with him.' (20) He sends an army. He says 'Go quickly. They take him (the putative murdered man) out from the stable, while his wife is with him, and bring him back. Wrapped in a cloth, they put him in the square.' He says 'Untie it, open it so I can see who this person is, why you have killed him.' (21) They open it. They see a lamb, a sheep, made into a nice roast dish, wrapped in bread, very pleasing. When they open it, it makes a lovely, pleasant smell. The king sees this and says 'What has happened? I do not understand. What is this that has happened? Why have you done this, this thing?' (22) He says 'King, may you be well, I listened to your brother, Dahlun Dewanda. He told me a very clever thing, saying "The piles—may this pile be upon the head of the man who puts his trust in the king." I put my trust in you, that you would support me, that you would help me, when I fell into a tight spot. But you were the first to abandon<sup>183</sup> me, how could you, king? Was I not the second man in command in this kingdom? You did not even ask whom I killed? You were going to hang me without asking. (23) The second pile was the one concerning that which he said "May it be on the head of the man who tells his secrets to his wife." I told lies to my wife and said that I have killed a man. I had not killed a man. I had grilled a lamb, I had made it into a roast, filled it with onions and put it in bread. My wife tricked me in the presence of everybody before everybody else tricked me. My wife betrayed me. She came and tricked me before everybody anybody else betrayed me. You too would have hanged me. (24) The third pile, concerning which he said "May it be

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183 Literally: sell.

xəzmàn jánul bné-t 'ùmtat jánul +rappilun,| +naxráy davəklun.| 'a-ķúxa-da 'ána pacúrən xa-'ánnə xəzmàn! 'an-+càsəb! ķat hác+dána 'ida +'allé lén+mumtìyya,| véna 'ánnə +tàmma.| xa-'ánnə +xamsàr janáy,| 'asri janáy| +'álli báxyəna.| (25) 'ánnə cúlla ķat-muttén +al-+dárja +əllaya| +bixàla,| báxtayəna,| cèp vádəna,| 'ánnə cúlla +byayəna xanķili jàldə,| mən-cúlla kámta +byayəna xanķili.| 'u-'áxun díyyux mən-cúlla honána násəlju-dá malciýta.| málca t-ávət basıma,| mən-'údyu mára xína| 'ána càslux| dax-vázzər lè pálxən.| púš b-ślama 'átən.| 'ána šváķli xəsli| m-ju-dá malciúta.|

(26) +plátəl bərrəssəl m-fu-dá malciýtal 'u-bətlákəl.| báxtu=da bəsvákəl.| 'ávázzər| bəsələla.| xá šítə +várəla.| +al-śítət d-tré bərza vágəljav| ...ju-dó+'átra,| ju-dé malciúta.| málca lél +bəddá mújjur 'ávəd.| +jamáhat cpəntəla,| cəpna bənpáləl jávo.| lél +bəddá mújjur 'ávəd| +jamáhat xamila.| mújjur ódax mára mən-dá Armpróblem<sup>Arm</sup> +páltxax,| ju-dá 'eskūta +páltxax?| (27) ķa-'axúnə +bəkráyəla.| 'axúnə +bəddáyəl ķat xişələ| 'o-vázzər.| ķa-'axúnə +bəddáyəl honána násəl mára 'áxuna táníl xa-mándi ódax.| 'o-vázzər jári mačxàxxə| cmá-t +tavvúyən +báru lén mačxúxu.| +'ávun=va cúlla 'a-+átrət díyil tajbúru.| 'ádi vázzər xişəl,| hóna lél písə.| cúlla Armpróblem<sup>Arm</sup> bitáyəna +bar-+ùydäl.| mújjur ódax 'a-+śúla xamàxxə,| p-ùrxə láblax?| mújjur mačxónna 'ána 'o-vázzər,| nónən býyu +paxàltə mómnə +tálbən,| ķat-'atíni +baráy?| (28) mára +bəddáyət mú vúd?| +krílun cùlləl 'ánnəl Rspetsyalist<sup>R</sup>| ju-mənditux| ju-+átrux,| 'ánnəl damurçiyəna,| +xeṭān-+sòləna,| 'ánnə ķat+nakkašcárəna,| Rspetsyalist<sup>R</sup>| cúlla +krílun,| cút-mənne xá-dana píra hállun,| 'érba.| 'u-hál ķaté 'átxa taxmánta tání! xá yárxa ķatóxun +dána yávvən.| 'a-píra| bətķálun| +al-masëta.| 'asri cilóyəl píra.| +bar xa-yárxa mayyítun díz 'asri cilóyəl 'avíni +al-dúca càlyə,| lá zádnı,| lá +basərni.| lá vílə +al-dúcu còlyal cullóxun rišóxun maxánnə bi-+bálta.| +kaṭlənnoxun.| (29) 'àl vázzər| vágələ xísha cəs-xá-dana damürçil pálxàna,| dax-šàjərd,| ķat-xàyyə,| jánul +túšyo +támə,| pálxàna.| 'u-'é-+dān bitáyəl +támə,| jašúkəl 'o-šéfu bítäyələ xína,| píra p-ídu máyul bétəl māral málca yúrvan-lə 'átxa xàl +buķára,| Armpróblem<sup>Arm</sup> 'átlan,| ķat-'á píra xa-yárxa 'áxnan mújjurra xamáxxə| ķat mən-'asri cilóyə lá zádnı,| lá +basərni?| (30) māral 'át hállə ķa-díyyi,| 'ána b-xamànnə.| +šúl-díyyux lélə.

on the head of a man who rejects his relatives, people of his own community, and takes on foreigners." As for this pile, I see that some of my relatives, poor people, to whom I have never offered a helping hand, they were there. These fifteen people, twenty people, wept for me. (25) All those whom I had put into a lofty position, who eat, drink and enjoy life, they all want to hang me quickly, in the presence of everybody else they want to hang me. Your brother is a more intelligent man than anybody else in this kingdom. King, may you be well, from today' he says 'I shall not work with you as a vizier. Farewell. I am leaving and going away from this kingdom.'

(26) He leaves and goes away from the kingdom. He disappears. He leaves his wife. The vizier goes. A year goes by. In the second year a drought afflicts that land, that kingdom. The king does not know what to do. The people are hungry, famine afflicts them. He does not know what to do to look after the people. 'What should we do' he says 'to get out of this problem, to get out of this difficulty?' (27) He calls his brother. His brother knows that the vizier has gone away. He says to his brother—he knows he is a clever man—'Brother, tell me something that we can do. We must find the vizier. However much I search for him, I do not find him. He used to administer all this land. Now the vizier has gone away, no brains are left. All the problems come one after the other. What should we do to cope with this matter and go about dealing with it? How can I find the vizier to plead with him and beg forgiveness from him, so that he will come back?' (28) He says 'Do you know what you should do? Call all the craftsmen in your city, in your country, those who are blacksmiths, who are shoemakers, craftsmen. Summon them all and give each one a lamb, a sheep. Give them the following challenge:<sup>184</sup> I give you a period of one month. I am weighing this lamb on the scales. The lamb is twenty kilos. After a month you should bring it back here weighing exactly twenty kilos,<sup>185</sup> no more and no less. If it is not this weight,<sup>186</sup> I shall behead you all with an axe, I shall kill you.' (29) The vizier has gone to work with a blacksmith, like an apprentice, in order to live, hiding himself away there, working. When he comes there, he sees his boss coming, with a lamb in his hands, bringing it home saying 'The king has given us a challenge,<sup>187</sup> we have a problem, for how can we keep the lamb for a month without it becoming more or less than twenty kilos?' (30) He said 'Give it to me. I shall look after it. It is not your problem,' the vizier says. During the period of

<sup>184</sup> Literally: thought.

<sup>185</sup> Literally: standing in the place twenty kilos.

<sup>186</sup> Literally: It does not stand on its place.

<sup>187</sup> Literally: question.

vàzzər márələ. | 'u-ju-mátxət xà yárxa| +maxìlul,| maštýul 'a-píra. | cut-+bérāš b-dèl šullúxtət díva bəlvásəl +állu,| bi-púm díva,| +várəl jánū,| +mazdúyul,| m-+bar-+xálta,| štèta xína,| +dán dmàxtu. | 'u-m-+bár xà yárxa| é-+dán mattýul +al-masèta,| xà vágələ. | (31) 'ita ķa-dó damúrči màral c-+ámsət +spáy +arxàyən| 'ázət,| +ráhat 'ázət cəs-málca. | 'á 'əsrí cilóya,| lá zída,| lá +bsırəl. | màral hèl 'á mújjur 'átxa xùmyut?| mára xùmyun. | málca cílla bətkalél 'ánnə. | 'əmmá janáy vágəna pírə lúbla,| cílla xá-mənne vágəl zída,| xá-mənne +bsıra. | jašúkəna xá-dana| píšəl 'əsrí cilóya,| xà píra. | (32) 'á ķa-damúrči màral 'á 'ət-mán-lə?| mára 'ət-damúrči 'áha,| 'òl prəzla +taptəppána| damúrči +bəddáyət là mú-ilə?| mára 'áxuni 'á mújjurra xùmyut?| màral 'áha xùmyun,| dax-dúz 'ána lén xùmyu,| šafərdi xùmyul. | xa-bèta 'ətlíl paláxa šafərd,| +'avun xùmyul. | 'ána lén +bəddá mújjur xùmyul,| 'átxa pišəl. | (33) jáldə mára xúšun mémunla. | +šadúrəl kòšun 'álbəl polís màyula. | màyula jašúkəna +'ámman 'ó vazzírula. | màral +paxálta +bətlábən mánnu xína. | málca ķátu tanúyəl. | tá plúx. | mədrəl +'al-dúcux,| 'ána +xəltə vífýən. | (34) màral 'ána mánnu xína lè pálxən,| málca t-ávat basıma. | 'ón p-sazjərrət 'axúnux 'avní málca,| 'ána 'avən mádrə vazzíru,| bət-pálxən. | 'ón lè sazjərrət,| mádrə púš b-şəna,| 'ána xəšli. | màral yávon 'á malcùta,| cílla ju-<sup>Arm</sup>pròblem<sup>Arm</sup> vágəla,| +rába <sup>Arm</sup>pròblem<sup>Arm</sup> vágəla malcùta| ka-mú clítə?| 'u-dəžmənnə vágol. | mən-márza 'ájar máxi +'allo,| parpəssíla malcùta. | mára yávon ķa-'axùni 'á-malcúta| 'u-ķa-dìyyux,| 'u-'ána bərrəssən. | xá-'axci là-'azət,| tá tûy. | tá tûy làxxa. | (35) 'áyya-da xá +manáy jáno 'átlə xína 'a-mattálta. | xína 'ádi lí yáttən| 'ákro m-icəl 'á mattálta,| 'ína +bəddáyən kàt| 'aváhan 'á mattálta hùkyona. |

#### A49 The Man who Wanted to Complain to God (Sophia Danielova, Arzni, Armenia)

(1) 'átvə látva xá nàša! 'ó +arpá yál sùr 'átvala. | cí-dax vädəva,| lè'va +myásə riša xamıva. | mára ķémən ķa-'ázən ķa-+márya 'aláha xaltána šəccayat 'ódən. | hè. | 'á 'ázən šəccayat 'ódən, márrə. | xàčça bərrássələ,| +ràba bərrássələ. | +ata-+bàba| mırəna 'icət yúma bəjnáyələ,| +tàma púš,| lá xùš. | móriša b-kémət,| t-ázət. | (2) bərrássələ,| jašúkələ xá dána nàša! jáns jüllə 'átlə,| +ruppələ ríšət +karàvat. | +támma látma pyágəna. | hár màral +havár,| 'álaha,| mətli. | cpìnən,

a month he feeds the lamb and gives it drink. Every evening he wears the skin of a wolf, he comes in with the mouth of a wolf and frightens it, after eating and drinking at the time it slept. After a month, when he puts it on the scales, it is the same. (31) Then he says to the blacksmith 'You can go safely, you can go at ease to the king. This is twenty kilos, no more, no less.' He says 'Oh, how have you managed to keep it like this?' He says 'I have kept it so.' The king weighs them all. One hundred people have taken a sheep, among all of them, some have increased (in weight) and some have diminished. They see that one lamb has remained twenty kilos. (32) He says to the blacksmith 'Whose is this?' They say 'It belongs to the blacksmith, the hammerer of iron, blacksmith'—you know don't you what it is?—He says 'My brother, how have you kept it?' He says 'I have kept it, but to be accurate I have not kept it, my apprentice has kept it. I have an apprentice worker at home. He has kept it. I do not know how he has kept it, but it has remained like this.' (33) He says 'Quick, go and bring him.' He sends an army and at once the police bring him. They bring him and they see that he is his vizier. He says 'I beg forgiveness of you,' the king says to him. 'Go and work again in your place, I have been in error.' (34) He says 'I shall not work with you again, king, may you be well. If you agree that your brother should be king and that I should be his vizier, I shall work. If you do not agree, then farewell again, I am going.' He says 'I give you this kingdom. The kingdom is all full of problems, many problems. Why is it still so? It has enemies. If they attack the kingdom across the border, they will destroy it.' He says 'I give this kingdom to my brother and to you and I am going away.' 'Don't go. Come and sit down. Come and sit down here.' (35) This story has its own meaning. I do not know what the origin of this story is, but I know that our forebears told this story.

#### A49    The Man who Wanted to Complain to God (Sophia Danielova, Arzni, Armenia)

(1) Once upon a time there was a man who had four children. Whatever he did, he was not able to make ends meet.<sup>188</sup> He says 'I shall set off to go and make a complaint to the Lord God Almighty. Yes, I shall go and complain,' he said. He goes a little, he goes a lot. The ancestors have said 'Where the sun sets, stay there, do not go further. You should get up in the morning and go.' (2) He goes and sees a man. He has fine clothes. He threw them onto a bed. They are baking bread there. He keeps saying 'Help, God, I am dying. I am hungry. I am finished.'

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188 Literally: preserve his head.

pnili. | +ámma +bøzdáyəl laxedma | 'ídu maxíla +al-láxma +áxəl. | mán dán pøerçáçə  
 +jammyə +bixálələ. | márrə 'á náša 'atxa +márra víyyulə, | m-àxxa. | márrə 'áxuni  
 'ica børrássət? | márrə børrássən ķa-'aláha šøccayat 'ódən. | lén +myásá xàyyən. |  
 (3) xàčča børrássələ, | +raba børrássələ, | +mṭayələ cás xà 'ilana. | +ávun vâyəla  
 'ilánat pørdësa. | cut-yáł súr lél vâyə, | jabùyələ mónnu +bixálə, | vâyulə yáł súra. |  
 cút-da vâyəla +mørya, | mən-dó xabúša jabùyulə, | +bixálələ, | +màrru, | børrássəl,  
 parpùsəl. | mən-'aláha 'ita. | 'á sápar mən-+táma børrássələ. | (4) +ámma 'á 'ilana  
 xá dána +állu lè pásval +ámma +tìnəl píləl +al-+árra, | xá dána xabúša  
 m-+állu lél npála. | mónnu ķala +plátələ, | màral hà +bar-náša, | 'icət børrássə?  
 'ána børrássən ķa-'aláha šøccayat vâda. | bås-diyyi-da háki. | bås-diyyi-da háki.  
 cmá šónna c-atíva jabíva! xá dána +álli lè pásva. | 'adíyya 'ána dún +mumrølla,  
 +márya víyyən xína. | (5) 'á sápar mən-+táma xàčča børrássələ, | +raba børrássələ,  
 bøtpákələ bi-xá dána díva. | díva. | +ámma cùllə jármul m-+állu +plíčəna. | dmìxələ.  
 mən-'aláha 'ita | ķala bitáyəla, | hamzùmələ díva, | màral +bar-náša, | 'icət børrássə?  
 márrə ķa-'aláha šøccayat vâda. | bås-diyyi-da tání ķa-'aláha. | (6) mən-+táma  
 +pláta børrássələ. | xàčča-da børrássələ. | l-ò-yba børrássələ | jašúkəl xá dána yàla,  
 +úxča ſapírələ. | hál láxxu pišələ ju-cipa. | bøxyələ, | +sosùyəla | 'álaha, | +márya, | yá  
 škùlli yá škùlli mètən, | yán 'átxa lá +janjörrən párəkli. | 'ica børrássət? | cəs-'aláha.  
 bås diyyi-da hákət. | (7) 'áha børrássələ. | +márya 'aláha xaltána mən-+táma  
 talmídu +sadùrulə mírələ kátu mú p-tánət ķa-dá náša. | talmídu +sadùrulə.  
 bitáyəl, | màral 'ána 'aláhəvən. | mù mårət? | 'átxa lén +myásá xàyyən 'átxa. | màrrə  
 'átnən m-áxxa p̄t-ázət. | xá-dana +ķusárta dáva | xít dōl xabúš pørdësal +táma  
 'áttən. | jnàvta vítələ | mumrølla 'o-xabúša. | 'átnən 'áy +palžàtta | b-láblət xáyyət  
 diyyu. | (8) ķa-dó náša ķat-fu-cipələ | tánət +ávun hal-dínyə 'oya nuxàmal +av  
 járc pásju-cipa. | ju-páť bába yòmmal +raba kímələ. | háda kímələ ju-páť bába  
 yòmmal xína lé-'oya tanùtyə. | +áv 'átxa pásni. | (9) m-àxxa p̄t-ázət márrəl ķa  
 dó nášət ķát júllu šulxələ, | laxedma lél +myásá 'ídu +pašótlə, | laxedma. | +ávun +šūl  
 +sañānələ, | xá dána čapúla là +yáttən | màxət móñ ju-púmmu, | 'o-+lám +sañána  
 móñ ju-púmmu +pálət. | kám júllu b-lávəšlun, | laxedma p̄t-+áxəl. | párək 'o-náša. | (10)  
 bitáyəl +mṭayələ cəs-díva. | màral +hála dáva bøškaləl, | +palutəl, | mattuyéł lab-  
 dò nášəl mára 'ázən ķa-díva +júvvab láblən. | 'áy +babam | kám ķa-díva +júvvab  
 láblət? | +av dívələ. | cíl xa-náša hónu +táyyar lélə. | (n) 'á sápar mən-+táma

But he is afraid to lay his hand on the bread to eat it. He gathers the crumbs and eats. He says 'This man has such an illness (far be it from here).' He (the ill man) said 'My brother, where are you going?' He said 'I am going to make a complaint to God. I cannot live.' (3) He goes a little, he goes a lot and arrives at a tree. It is a tree of paradise. Whoever does not have children picks (fruit) from it and eats, then he has children. Also whoever is ill, he picks from the apple tree and eats, then his illness goes away and is eliminated—it is from God. Then he goes from there. (4) But not one (apple) was remaining on the tree. He lifted it up and it fell on the ground, but not one apple falls from it. A voice comes from it saying 'Hey, man, where are you going?' 'I am going to complain to God.' 'Tell about me also. Tell about me also. For so many years people came and picked (fruit) and not one remained. Now I have become bitter, I have become bitter.' (5) Then from there he goes a little, he goes a lot and meets a wolf, a wolf, but all of his bones are sticking out. He is asleep. Then a voice comes from God and the wolf speaks, saying 'Man, where are you going?' He said 'To God in order to complain to him.' 'Tell God also about me.' (6) He sets off from there. He goes a little. He goes to one side and sees a boy, who is so beautiful. He is (stuck) in a stone up to here on him. He is weeping. He is begging 'Lord God, either take me, take me to die, or save me so I do not suffer torment like this. Where are you going?' 'To God' 'Tell him also about me.' (7) He goes off. Lord God Almighty sends his disciple from there and told him what he<sup>189</sup> should say to this man. He sends his disciple. He comes and says 'I am God. What do you say?' 'I cannot live like this.' 'You should go from here. Under the apple-tree of paradise there is a pot of gold. There has been a theft and the apple-tree has become bitter. You should take it out and take away its life.' (8) To the man who is in the stone you should say that until the world reaches Judgement Day he must stay in the stone. He has very much disrespected<sup>190</sup> his father and mother. He has disrespected his father and mother in such a way that it cannot be spoken about. He will remain like that. (9) You will go from here,' he said 'to the man who has stripped off his clothes and is unable to stretch out his hand to bread. This is the work of the devil. Give him a slap, I don't know what, on his mouth, the accursed devil will come out of his mouth. He will get up and put on his clothes, he will eat bread. That man will be saved.' (10) He comes and reaches the wolf. Then he takes the gold coins, he takes them out and places them by the man. He says 'I am going to give an answer to the wolf.' 'Oh, my dear, why will you give an answer to the wolf? He is a wolf.' 'The mind of every man is not perfect.' (11) Then he comes

<sup>189</sup> Literally: you.

<sup>190</sup> Literally: stood in the face of.

bitàyələ| cəs-dıva.| màra| 'axuni| mú márrə +márya 'aláha xaltána ķa-dıyyi?| màra| ta-xáčča ķürba.| lén +bəsmáya.| xína máral| xlápux c-ávən| mú mırələ?| màra| ta-ķürba,| lén +bəsmà.| bərrássələ ķürba,| 'ídu +rappúyol mən-ju-cisu.| +márya 'aláha xaltána mırələ| 'átən t-ázət| ķa-dıva p-tanət| xà-dana| 'áxmaķ náša p-tápək +al-'ídux.| t-+axləttə,| p-kémət +'av t-ódət.| (12) mən-cópnū lél +myásə ķám| mən-+támə.| 'á sápar 'à náša| c-àtə.| tunıla ķátu,| 'á xóslə ķa-dıva tanıyə| tà ķürba,| tà ķürba.| 'ídu +ruppálə mən-cisu| +priştələ.| 'ó náša +xəllə.| mərrəl mənnux=da 'áxmaķ náša látva.| +rást titəva +al-'ídux,| švíķa xiša| béta nafarux xúmyu.| ba-ķa-dıva +júvvab ci-máyyi?| cisu tupxálə| kátu +xəllə.| 'an-dávə=da pəşlun ķa-dó násət| kát+lám +saṭàna mən-ju-púmmu +plátlə.| 'áha 'átxa masàla.| 'á xà.|

### A50 The Giant One-Eyed Demon (Sophia Danielova, Arzni, Armenia)

(1) 'á sápar màra| 'átvə látva mən-'alàha| hác mándi +júra látva.| xá-dana +púlad dèv| ju-xá-dana +zàǵa.| 'átlə xamşámma dánə 'órbə.| +uxča xelána vâyələ.| màyələ| 'ó čó čó čó čó 'árba bədráyələ ju-+zàǵa,| 'ó cípa +'áv xarbùsula| kat-'árba là +pálți.| cmá=t 'áttən ju-dàl +mazrəl +casíbə +cusibəl 'órbə bəškáləl bét-jánu,| +bəxvàtələ mayələ.| 'áha màra,| mayələ.| (2) mārrə xá dàna bràta +plátlələ| vây 'órbı lublélun,| lublélun.| lublél +púlad dèv.| bəškálol bràta| 'ídət xéla máyol bədyàšolə| ju-dó +zàǵa.| ju-dó +zàǵa bətyàvələ.| dàknul plàyula.| hamzùməla mánnu.| màyələ,| mattùyələ,| +bixálələ.| póstəla +támə.| (3) mārrə xá dána +spáy yàla| hóna b-+júra súra lélələ mārrəl 'ána| t-átn ķa-dıyyax párkən.| mərrəl +'ávun +tlá dán bnùn 'átlə,| +túllunte mítəna.| ķátu mārrun.| +'ávun| è-+danət| búxçət dó brúnu +júra| 'áha labùlolə,| 'áha bərrássəl ķat-paròkla.| +'ámma ķátu mırəna| xzil| 'át mən-+id-+dàv lé parkótta.| (4) ķúčča mxáyulə +al-+'árra| jéldət ķúčča bəlvàšulə,| zìja bədráyələ b-ķúčča.| jašúkələ 'órbə jəns| +mavuréł ķat-+támə náša

from there to the wolf. It says 'My brother, what did the Lord God Almighty say regarding me?' He says 'Come a little closer, I do not hear.' He then says 'I am your substitute, what has he said?' He says 'Come closer, I do not hear.' It goes closer. He releases his hand from his stomach. 'The Lord God Almighty has said "You should go and say to the wolf: a stupid man will meet you. You should eat him. You should get up and do that."' (12) On account of his hunger he is unable to rise from there. Then the man comes. He said to him, he went to the wolf and says 'Come closer, come closer.' He released his hand from his stomach and he (the wolf) tore it open. He ate the man. He said 'There was never a man more stupid than you. Good fortune had come into your hands. You should have left well alone and gone home to look after your family. But does one bring an answer to a wolf?' He attacked his belly and ate him. The gold coins remained for the man from whose mouth the accursed devil came out. This is a story. This is one.

#### A50     The Giant One-Eyed Demon (Sophia Danielova, Arzni, Armenia)

(1) Now, the story goes: there was once upon a time, there was nothing greater than God, there was a great demon in a cave. He has five hundred sheep. He is so strong. He brings the sheep, o čo čo čo čo čo, and puts them in the cave. He pushes a stone (over the entrance) so that the sheep do not escape. He takes to his home as many sheep as there are in this land of wretched paupers, brings them and mixes them together. The story goes he brings them back. (2) He said 'A girl is going out.' (She says) 'Oh, they have taken the sheep, they have taken them. The great demon has taken the sheep.' He takes the girl. He brings the girl forcefully and squeezes her into the cave. She sits in the cave. She delouses his beard. She speaks with him. He brings (food), he puts it down and eats. She remained there. (3) A fine young man, who was not lacking brains, said, he said 'I shall come and save you.' He said 'He (the demon) had three sons. The three of them have died.' They said to him 'After he takes the knapsack of his elder son, he could go to save her.' But they said to him 'Look, you will not save her from his hand.' He strikes a ram on the ground. He puts on the skin of the ram and puts a bell on the ram.<sup>191</sup> (4) He (the demon) keeps a close eye on the sheep and brings them in (to the cave) so that people cannot enter. He has brought the young girl,<sup>192</sup> he has kidnapped her and brought her. (Saying)

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<sup>191</sup> I.e. on himself dressed up as a ram.

<sup>192</sup> Literally: daughter-in-law of people.

là-+’avər.| müyyolə cal-nàš| jníva müyyol.| hú-ču +mavùrolə.| mən-+tàma| ý-  
 +dantal| +várələ làxxa.| ba-kátu mìrəna| +’ávva ... dèv,| +tlá dànsəl nàša| yácca  
 dèv-ül.| (5) bitáyələl màra| ’of| réx +bar-náša bitáyələ m-àxxa.| mára mū  
 +dílux réx +bar-nàšələl mára hé réx +bar-nàšəl.| jánu +tùšyol| ju-jóldət kùčxa.|  
 màra| ’ita m-ídi xu-lé párkət ’átən.| b-lélə bəkyámələ,| ý-+danət +’áv ká-’orbita|  
 muttúyolə nùyral báshi +àxli,| b-lél bəkyáməl ’aha| Armšámpur<sup>Arm</sup> mašxùnuləl  
 bədyášul ju-+’aynu,| ju-+’aynu,| ’áxci ká- +pálət mən-+tàma| ’a-bráta=da cálū  
 labàlla.| (6) mən-dé ’e +dánta| márrə m-ídi lè párkət xáyya.| ’e-+dān tīlə| ká-  
 cípa xurbàslə,| dàna,| dàna| ’érbu +pultílə,| +’av zíja ... b-ķdálulə,| kùččəl-da xína.|  
 +’ávva b-ķdálət kúčču dárýal zíja,| hé kám-cúllə bitáyələ +pláṭələ,| ’á=t kúčča +dàv,  
 +xárta dák t-áta ’á, jánul kámta dárýal,| ’á sápar mən-+tàma| kám-cúllə +pláṭələ.  
 márrə bá| béti muxròvlux.| +plíčəl,| m-ídi lè párkət,| xáyya-’alaha.| (7) ’an-+tlá  
 dástət jùlləl ’é cálū ’et-+dàvun,| ’et-yálu,| yuvvéla ka-dó nàša| ’ó=t tílə parùko,|  
 parùko,| márra kám-cúlləl ’e-dásta +júrtə mattàttal t-ázət b-rékət,| b-yátəv +al-  
 dáy báxa, báxa| hal-+dár mattíla bëta,| mádrə t-áta +matílux.| (8) mòrral ’á  
 sápar mattàttal ’e-dástət dó brúnul t-+aràlləg,| ’ádi báxa, báxa,| +’állo +rába b-  
 árkəl,| t-áta,| mòrra,| xáčča mázyəd t-óya ká-’at-mən-+’ara=zə +’ávər,| mən-+’ara=zə  
 +’ávər,| mən-+tàma| ’é dástət +’állo bátyávələ jóns bòxyəle,| +bəddára bitáyələ,|  
 mádrə +tàma| cəs-dé bráta.| (9) ’á sápar mən-+tàma| mòrral ’et-dó brúnū súra  
 mattáttun jùllu,| +al-dá +rába báxa| ká-’at mən-+’ara=zə +’orət ’ázət ká-ka-díyyi  
 párkət,| làblat| ká-le-+aməs xína l-é-pät +’ara=zə +’ávər,| ’é +dánat ’an-jùlləl dó  
 súra mattuyéla kámul xa-báxya báxyələ,| xína lá-+amsan tàyyan,| ’é +dánta ’á  
 bəškálolə ’é bráta,| mən-+’ara=zə +várələ,| +’av=da npáləl ju-+’ara,| bəxnàkəl bən-  
 pálə bəxnàkəl,| +jamáhat mən-’ídət dàl +púlad dév ká- prákəl.

### A51 The Cow and The Poor Girl (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)

(1) ’é tavárta zàrdəl ’et-xá bráta +cásəb=va,| ’ita ’ávala ’áyən yámma ’üja,| hár  
 +várta| +bár dé tavárta zàrdəl +várta| +bárə,| jánó +mumrítova,| ’é yámma  
 ’üja| ká-dé +jóro mərtəva| ’á +báyyat| lè-+bayyat| ’á tavárta zárdə prúmla,| ’ána

'hu-ču' he brings her in. Then he enters here (into the cave). But they said to him (the young man) 'He is a demon, a huge demon the size of three men.' Three sons (of his) have died. (5) He (the demon) comes and says 'Oh, there is a smell of a man here.' She says 'How do you know it is the smell of a man?' He says 'Yes, it is the smell of a man.' He (the young man) has hidden himself in the skin of a ram. He (the demon) says 'You will indeed not escape from my hands.' He gets up at night. When he puts a ewe on the fire for them to cook and eat, he gets up at night, he heats a skewer, and presses it into his eye, so that he can escape from there and take the girl bride away. (6) Then he (the demon) said 'You will not escape from my hands.' When he came and pushed the stone aside, he let out his sheep, one by one. He (the young man) had a bell on his neck, well he was (dressed up like) a ram. He has placed a bell on the neck of his ram. The one that is his ram comes and goes out before all the others, then when he (the young man) comes, he put himself first. Then he goes out from there before all the others. He (the demon) says 'You have ruined my house.' He has gone out. 'You will not escape from my hands, as God lives.' (7) The bride gave three sets of clothes of his (the demon), of his children, to that man, who came to rescue her, rescue her. She said 'First of all lay out the big set of clothes, and you should go and flee. He will sit and weep and weep over that, until he comes back and puts it in the house, then he will come again and reach you.' (8) She said 'Then lay out the set of clothes of his middle son. Then he will weep and weep, and tarry a long time over it. He will come back,' she said 'he will increase (the gap) a little so that he can pass in between, pass in between.' From there, the set of clothes over which he sits and weeps, he returns and comes back again there to the girl. (9) 'Then after that,' she said 'Lay out the clothes of his youngest son. He will weep a lot over that, so that you can go in between and save me and take me away, so that he cannot go through to the other side of the gap anymore.' When she lays out the clothes of the young son before him, he wept bitterly, more than I can tell. Then he (the young man) takes the girl, he comes through the gap. He (the demon) falls in the gap, he is strangled. He falls and is strangled, with the result that the community is saved from the hands of the great demon.

#### A51      The Cow and The Poor Girl (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)

(1) The yellow cow belonged to a poor girl. Now, she had a stepmother. She was going after that yellow cow, went after it. She (the stepmother) pretended to be ill. The stepmother said to her husband 'Whether you want to or not, slaughter this yellow cow so that I will be cured.' What could he do? 'Yes, I shall eat

bàsman. | mū 'avòdva? | hìl +búsra t-+àxlan, | basmàna. | +báram léva +byáya +árra  
náša parómvala 'áyya tavárta. | cù júr t-íva primálə. | primálə. | +xàrtal 'é tavárta  
zàrdəl tunítəva ƙa-dé çòççəl yán 'ón parmàlìl 'én jármo +jammátte +rappátte  
ju-xa +çàləl +tasyátte 'áni. | ƙa-díyyax +lázəm t-avini. | (2) hí-da xìna 'é tavárta  
primáləl +xilàle. | 'é çòççəl +jumméla 'én járməl +ruppéla ju-+çàləl. | +xárta tíla  
+dána mū jùra, | xá málcal brún-málcal +tavvúyəva +bàr-ət l cálul cálul yán  
javárva bràta. | 'íta +xdárra +xdárra 'íta tíla ƙa-dá bráta xzílə +rədyálə. | +rədyálə,  
'é báxta xíta-dal yámmo 'ùja 'árvala tré bnáta xína 'áyən-dal tré xá xína. | hí dàl  
+bár-t tíləl cép vádlel +súpra ptòxle. | (3) 'ícat 'ánnə +jurànəl +juránə +álma xášle  
+táma, | 'íta +xlíyla t-í xášle, | 'é yámma 'ùja, | škálla 'ánnə +xòttəl hám-da  
+rəzzə, | hám-da mìl 'átxa dəryéla +al-+árra, | buzbəkkéla dəryéla ƙám dé brító  
'ùja. | mòrra hál-t 'átyan 'ánnə cùl dána dána +jammátte b-nošè, | +árra b-nòšu,  
+árra b-nòšu. | lá hádax xína 'ón tílì ci-ó yúmax b-yavvənna. | 'áyən-da +hàyvan  
tavrila, | víla báxya, | +bárra +bárro báxya. | 'ána mújurrá +jammánne? | 'ánnə mù  
'odána? | (4) +xárta +əkbálol +úxča t-íva raxmánta +úxča t-íva jíl 'é çòççəl tíla  
hònnəl yonáy yonáy tílel cùl +jmílel mòrra là-+zdi. | là-+zdi. | mòrre 'áti sílx lùš  
sákəl bákəl sílx jùl ... +ál xálta štèta ju-+šára sílx. | 'áxnan 'ánnə b-+jammáxle.  
'íta hí Rkák rázR 'átxa vádla, | txòrra, | txòrral 'é tavárta zàrdəl t-i mòrra 'én jármo  
+rappíle +táma. | hì? | xášla t-i-ptixéla 'áni, | jušákla tíla +pltàtləl xá súysa smùkəl  
+páyṭun tíla, | sodánta +páyṭun sukáltá bukàltá tíla. | tòvla +al-dé +páyṭun, | xášla.  
(5) xášla. | 'adíyya 'e-yámma 'ùja t-í xzíla ƙa-déxa brító hám-da 'ánnə xatváto  
'ùja mòrre 'áha 'é hànnəla, | britèn. | mòrra là 'áyən m-íca 'átxa jùllo? | m-íca jùl-  
lət dàyən? | mára 'áha véla tóvtəla bétal 'áyən xáttə +ánjağ +jammálə. | hí +spày.  
xášla +vàrra. | (6) cílla +xdirèla, | +xdirèləl ó brún-málcal cəs-háč náša là rkádlə,  
xášla rkádlə cəs-dé bràta, | cəs-dé +cásəb xášla. | cəs-dáyən xášla rkádlə. | RíR 'ka-  
dáyən +rdílə. | xá-ca. | 'á-spar d-tré-cal +al-dó yúmat d-tré-cal 'á-spar tíla xázzə  
cùmá súysa tíla módra ju-+páyṭun. | (7) +xárta tíləl yúmat tlá-da tíləl xá súysa  
+xvárəl +páyṭun +xvárta sodánta tíla. | škálla +tríla xášla. | xášla módra 'áyən 'é  
çòççəl 'é +cásəb. | hár 'áni 'é yámmo 'ùja 'én xatváto hár mòral 'á 'áyən-la? | mára  
là. | 'áyən-la? | là. | +xárta R'uzéR +bayyívá yán kemíva azíval 'á bráta ròkla. | plàtlə,

the flesh and shall be cured.' But that man did not want to slaughter the cow. One way or another, however, he slaughtered it. He slaughtered it. Now, the yellow cow had said to the girl that if she slaughters me, you should gather the bones and put them in a pit, hide them. You will need them (one day). (2) Well then, they slaughtered the cow and ate it. The girl gathered the bones and threw them in a pit. Later, a time came, one way or another, in which a king, the son of a king, was searching for a bride, a bride, in order to marry a girl. Now, he searched and searched, then he came, saw this girl and he liked her. He liked her, but the other woman, her stepmother, had two other daughters, herself and two others. Now, after he came, they made merry, they held a feast. (3) Where the nobles, the noble people went, the wedding, now when they went to the wedding, the stepmother took grains of wheat and rice and I don't know what, and threw them on the ground, she scattered them, threw them before her stepdaughter. She said 'Before I come back, you must pick up each one of these by itself, this one by itself, that one by itself. If (you have not done) thus when I come back, I shall indeed give you hell.'<sup>193</sup> She, the poor creature, sat down and started crying, wailing and crying. 'How shall I gather them? What can I do about these?' (4) Then came her good fortune, so caring was she, so good was that girl, that ... came, doves came, they all gathered and said 'Do not fear, do not fear.' They said 'You go and dress, make yourself beautiful and go to the feasting, go to the party. We shall gather these.' So, she did exactly that. She remembered, she remembered that the yellow cow said they should throw its bones there, yes? She went and when she opened them up, she saw that a red horse came out, a carriage came, a fine carriage which had been made beautiful came. She sat in the carriage and went off. (5) She went off. Now, when the stepmother saw that stepdaughter of hers, and also her stepsisters (saw her), they said 'This is ..., our daughter.' She said 'No, where (could) she (get) such clothes from? Where (could) her clothes (have come) from?' She says 'She is sitting at home. She could hardly manage to gather up the wheat.' Oh, fine. She went in. (6) The son of the king went around everybody. He did not dance with anybody, but he went and danced with that girl, he went to that poor girl. He went and danced with her. He liked her. (This was) once. The second time, on the day of the second time, on that occasion he came and sees that a black horse has come, again together with a carriage. (7) Then the third day came and a white horse came, a fine white carriage came. It (the horse) took (her) and rode off. That girl, that poor girl. Her stepmother and her sisters kept saying 'Is this her?' She says 'No.' 'Is this her?' 'No.' Then they already wanted to get up

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193 Literally: your (dooms)day.

rò̄kla,| xà̄sla.| (8) hìl +plà̄tla| mudà̄vla| +plà̄tla.| +úxča t̄-íva malyúzə| á +saválto šlèxla,| pólla +al-+pallacànəl +al-+pallacànə xína.| 'áyən +tríla xà̄sla.| 'ó brùn-málca t̄-í pòlla +báro,| +plà̄tla +báro tilə,| 'é +saválta škilàlə.| 'é +saválta škilàlə,| xà̄sla +rxà̄tla,| +rxà̄tla +báro.| là mučxálə xína.| 'áyən próxla xà̄sla,| pròkla.| hìl +xárta +xárta +dàna tila,| cíl dànyəl cíl maváy +xdirèl 'ó brùn-málca,| mòrrəl 'á +saválta ka-cút 'óya| 'ána 'áyən jorànnə.| xína +ròba maváy +xdárrə,| +ròba mdíyyày +xdárrə,| ka-háč náša là víla.| (9) b-+xártət +xárta +xártət +xártəl xà̄sla cəs-dé +cásəb,| +tàma xà̄sləl 'én tré xatváy 'ýja 'òtvala 'áyən.| 'áni-da hár t̄-i-xélə| vádo b-xéla yán| lošávala 'é +saválta,| là víla,| ka-dé xítá là víla,| +xárta 'én švávə márre| céla 'é čòčxə?| céla 'é xatóxun 'ýja?| mémunla,| xína 'áyən +háyyan +vártəva ju-xá +čòla.| (10) ju-xá +cólə +vártəval čullùxta,| xína cút-jur t̄-íva,| švávə +pulṭàle,| pulṭàle,| xà̄sla,| mulvəsshále,| 'é +saválta Rkák-raz<sup>R</sup> víla ka-dàyən,| ka-dé +cásəb víla xína,| 'áha ka-díyyax víla,| 'áyən-da +pulṭàle 'é +saválta xítá-da muxziyyála,| márra 'áha díyyila.| (11) 'ó brùn-málca škilàlə mutyəvválə +al-sítysat jànu'l ju- +páyṭunat jànu'l lublálə bétə,| bétə lubláləl cəs-bábuyàmmul,| xína +šavvá yumànəl +šavvá lelavày| výyələ +xlúyla +šàra,| 'átxa,| pròkla məttəlta.

## A52 A Frog Wants a Husband (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)

(1) 'átvə látva xa-pòkkə,| e-þókkə ka-jvàrəval cút-yum cút-yum saklàva,| baklàval c-oyáva bərrássə ndáya ndàya,| yán mačxáva xá +jòra ka-jàno,| +xárta t̄-íva xà̄yuma| xá-yuma pòkkəl sukállea bukállea +plà̄tla xà̄sla +xdàra,| tpákla xá +bukràci býyo,| mórrə 'áy pòkkə +bòci 'ica bərrássət?| 'ána bərrássən rkáda rkáda,| švári švári bərrássən jára máčxan +jóra joràna,| 'íta mìrəval tá mònni'l 'ána b-joránnax| 'a-+bukràci mìrəva,| 'íta mìrəval 'én carbitən,| bi-mù b-maxátti?| mìrəva bi-dá kési maxànnax! hó,| 'áy dàyl mu-júra bi-dá kési 'u-+kátmə b-rìšux!| súyla b-rìšux!| mórtəva lè joránnux 'ána,| xà̄sla pòkkə,| (2) xà̄sla,| +al-dó-yuma xína mòdrəl +plà̄tla,| víla mòdrə pòkkə ndáya ndàya bərrássə,| xá 'árbàci býyo 'á-sparl 'árbàci tpákla býyo,| +xárta 'árbáci-da +buķərrəl mórrə 'ica bərrássət pòkkə +bòci?| 'átxa sukállea bukállet,| mórtəla bərrássən jvári jvári,| švári švári járat 'ána mačxán xá +tlíba ka-jàni joràna,| hí +spàyl 'íta mórrə 'ána b-joránnax,| pòkkə +bòci,| 'íta mórtəva kátu 'én joràtti,| 'árbàci bi-mù maxátti?| bi-mú maxànnax?| mórrə bi-dá kési maxànnax,| dí sì!| +kátmə b-rìšux! mórtəval 'ána lé joránnux,| (3) pòkkə

and go. The girl fled. She went out, fled, went away. (8) Yes, she went out. She managed to leave. She was in such a great hurry, that her shoe came off and fell on the stairs, on the stairs. She drove off. When the son of the king went after her, went out after her, he came and took the shoe. He took the shoe, went off and ran after her. But he did not find her. She flew away and disappeared. Yes. Then some time later, the son of the king searched the whole world, all the villages, and he said 'I shall marry whoever this shoe fits.' He went around many villages. He went around many towns. It fitted nobody. (9) At the very end he went to that poor girl. He went there. She had those two stepsisters. They—when (one) tried to force the shoe on, it did not fit. It did not fit the other. Then the neighbours said 'Where is the girl? Where is your stepsister? Bring her.' Now she, poor creature, had gone into a hut. (10) She had gone into a hut, into a cabin, but one way or another, the neighbours brought her out. They brought her out, she went and they dressed her. The shoe fitted her exactly, it fitted the poor girl. 'It fits you.' She took out the other shoe and showed it. She said 'This is mine.' (11) The son of the king took her, mounted her on his horse, in his carriage and took her home. He took her home to his father and mother. Then there was a wedding party for seven days and seven nights. This is it, the story has ended.

#### A52 A Frog Wants a Husband (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)

(1) Once upon a time there was a frog. The frog was ready for marriage. Every day she used to dress herself beautifully and used to go leaping, leaping, in order to find herself a husband. Then, when one day the frog dressed up beautifully and went out wandering about, a cattle-herder met her. He said 'Hey, sister frog, where are you going?' 'I am going, dancing and leaping, I am going in order to find a husband to marry.' Then he said 'Come with me, I shall marry you,' the cattle-herder said. The she said 'If you get angry, what would you beat me with?' He said 'I would beat you with this stick, OK?' 'Oh dear, what do you mean with this stick! Ashes be on your head! Manure be on your head!' She said 'I shall not marry you.' The frog went off. (2) She went off. The next day she again went out. The frog again went leaping. This time a shepherd, a shepherd met her. Then the shepherd asked, he said 'Where are you going sister frog? You are dressed so beautifully.' She said 'I am going in order to get married, leaping, leaping. I must find myself a husband to marry.' 'Oh good' he then said 'I shall marry you, sister frog.' Then she said to him 'If you marry me, shepherd, what would you hit me with?' 'What would I hit you with?' He said 'I would hit you with this stick of mine.' 'Go away! Ash be on your head,' she said 'I shall not marry you.'

màdrə xáštəva. xáštəva màdrə xína! yúmət +tlá pókkə mádrə +plàtlə. xášla màdrəl jú ndáya ndáya. xášla pókkə +bòci! tfókla xá dántal +akùbra býyo. 'akùbra mèrral pókkə +bòci! 'ica bərrássət? mèrtəla! bərrássən ka-švári švári ka-jvári fvári. jára jorán máčxan xa-dánta +tlíba ka-jáni jorán. hì mórral 'ita 'ána b-joránnax. 'ita mórra 'ón joràtti. bi-mù maxótti? mórtəva pòkkəl 'á tùpřil b-maxánnə ju-kámxa. hí b-+šešánnə ju-+xásax. hìl mèrtəval joránnux! ka-jáni dún mučáxta +tlíba. b-joránnux. (4) hìl tíla 'á pókkə +bòca! hám-da 'ó +akùbra fvárre +uydala. vádle +xlítyla. xá zmára. xá ròkda. xá švára pókkə hám-da +akùbra fvárre. fvárre +uydala. hì. +várra +dàna! 'ánnə pókkə hám-da 'akùbra viyyéla yál-sùr. yál-sùr. 'ita xá-yuma! +xlíylat brún-málcəva. 'adíyya riš-šíta-da bitáyəla. 'adíyya hác mändi látte. pókkə hám-da +akùbra mù 'átle? ka-dánnə yál-súra mù jára bášli? mù báni? mù +maxlile? (5) +xárta mírəva lá-+zdi báxta. átanl túy bëta. vélə +xlíylat brún-málcəla. 'ána pít-ázən xáčča xáčča dákta mákta b-+jammina mayyina. ka-dánnə yál-súra pít-òdax! xá zakúška<sup>R</sup> ka-yál-súra. riš-šíta pít-oráxla. hí=da xášla. 'akùbra xášla. xášla 'á 'akùbra. +támala +xálla. štíla. +rvíla. +kátmá b-rišet +akùbra tíla! pósłə dmáxla +támala. 'á pòkkə=dal +áyno +al-'úrxəla clítala +al-dá +akùbra. lát +akùbra. +tavvìyəla láxxa. +tavvìyəla +támma. +bakúrəla mən-dá. +bakúrəla mən-dávva! lát +akùbra. léna xázyu hác náša. (6) áza xázza jáška! +akùbra 'ína vélju-+xlíylat brún-málca! hí=da +xártal +akùbra škàlla cút-jur t-íva myyila bëta. +xárta 'át tá kú 'akùbra. 'á t-íva bitáya bëta. +ravàyəva 'akùbra. pókkə t-íva mayu. pólə fu-'áklət càlla!\* 'á pókkə pólə fu-'áklət càlla. pólə fu-+tīna! 'uháda pólə +támala. cmá=t vädəla. cmá=t vädəla. lèla +myásal 'á pòkkəl +palṭàni. (7) +xárta +akùbra vädəla kàtol tá méla 'ída jaršənna. 'áyən māral sí sí mónnux +čártən. +ávun hár mārəl tá mé láxxa 'ída jaršənna. pókkə +bòci. 'áyən māra sí sí mónnux +čártən. +čártət=da +čártət. mxílə xá +rapsa=dal hár xá-ca=da búš muğmərrálə fu-de-+árra. švákla. 'o-+akùbra tíla. tíla cəs-yàlu. é pókkə švíkála fu-dé 'áklət càlla. hìl 'átxa prókla 'á məttəlta.

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\* In the original recording of the story the speaker used the word *camra* 'animal droppings' here, but subsequently corrected this to *calla*.

(3) The frog went off again. She went off again and on the third day again went out. She again went leaping, leaping. Sister frog went off and a mouse met her. The mouse said 'Sister frog, where are you going?' She said 'I am going leaping, leaping, in order to marry. I must marry, find myself a husband to marry.' 'Yes,' it said 'then I shall marry you.' Then she said 'If you marry me, what would you beat me with?' It said 'Frog, I would put this tail of mine in flour and shake it on your back.' 'Yes,' she said 'I shall marry you! I have found a husband, I shall marry you.' (4) Yes, sister frog came together with the mouse and they got married. They held a wedding, with singing, dancing, leaping, the frog and the mouse got married. They got married. Yes, time passed and the frog and the mouse had children. (They had) children, then one day it was the wedding of the son of the king. Now, New Year is approaching. Now they have nothing. What do the frog and the mouse have? What should they cook for those children? What (food) can they prepare? What can they feed them? (5) Then he said 'Don't be afraid, wife. You sit at home. It is now the wedding of the king. I shall go and gather a few little pieces and so forth and bring them back. We shall make a snack for the children and spend New Year (like that).' Yes, he went off, the mouse went off, the mouse went off. There he ate, he drank and got drunk. The accursed mouse came, stayed and went to sleep there. The frog has her eye on the road and is waiting for the mouse, but there is no sign of the mouse. She searches here, she searches there. She asks this one and asks that one, but there is no sign of the mouse. Nobody has seen him. (6) Then she goes and looks, she sees that the mouse is at the wedding of the son of the king. Then she takes the mouse and in one way or another she brought him home. Then (she said) 'Come on, get up mouse.' When he was going home, the mouse was drunk, when the frog was bringing him back, she fell into the hoof print of a buffalo, the frog fell into the hoof print of a buffalo. She fell in the mud, she fell like that there. However much she struggles, however much she struggles, the frog is unable to get out. (7) Then the mouse says to her 'Come give me your hand so I can pull it.' She says 'Go away, I am upset with you.' He keeps saying 'Come, give me your hand here and I shall pull it, sister frog.' She says 'Go away, I am upset with you.' 'If you are upset, then stay upset.' He gave a kick and buried her more in the ground. He left (the scene). The mouse came back. He came back to his children. He left the frog in the hoof print of a buffalo. Yes, the story has ended like that.

### A53 The Bird and the Fox (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)

(1) ՚átvə látva xá səppərtə. | hí səppərtəl ՚átvəla +zàya. | váttava xá dánta Ge búa Ge ka-jáno bëta. | ՚en-+zàya, | bìyyə muttília, | +zàya bríle. | cùt-yuml cùt-yuml cùt šita, | cùt-yum, | cùt-yum, | ՚é səppərtəl ՚en +zàyo! c-ativəl xá mándi c-+axàlvale, | c-azàlvale. | c-atyàval ՚é məscón̄ta səppárta jáškava lót ՚ánnə +zàya ju-da bëto. | (2) mádra +al-dé šítə xítə mádrə ՚átxa bìyyə muttília, | mádrə +zàya viyyàle. | mádrə tīla, | mādrəl +xàllə, | jàškəl ՚en +zàyo lát, | +xilèla. | +vàl mü-ivə +jánam! ՚áha mü +bixalèlə? | mádrə šítət +tləl mádrə ՚á səppárta muttília bìyyə, | mádrə viyyála +zàya. | +xàrtal hár +byáyəva ՚en +zàyo! ՚átiva +axàlvale. | lá tání +tálə viyyəla. | +tálə lípəl bi-dàni. | bitáyəl ՚en bìyyət dén +zàyət dé səppárta +háyvan +bixalèl. | (3) +xárta xá +sedáči bərràsshəva, | bərràsshəva +bar +sèdu xína. | jašákni ՚ina! ՚á +tálə bəsyákələ +al-ılàna. | bəsyákələ +al-ılàna, | ՚íta ՚ó +sedáči! +sádlə ՚ka-dá +tálə. | mérro xá xázzən mü vàdələ. | jásək ՚ína ՚ánnə +zàyəl síra sirè, | +vásta +vəstəl +hayvána bəxyəna, | ՚arçùrəna. | (4) ՚kalé +šmíla ՚á +sedáči! xášla jásək ՚ína ՚áni ՚án +axàlle, | šákəl ՚á túpi dárə bìyyəl ՚ka-dá +táləl munpəlla, | mxíla +ktəllə. | +ktəllə ՚ka-dá +tálə. | +xárta tīla ՚é yàmma! ՚u-՚é jásəka yan-՚én +zàyo tí pùrtəcle ՚exa šítə xína. | (5) ՚átxa +razúyta viyyála mən-dá! +sedáči! +róba ՚átxa duáy yuvvólla ՚kàtu. | xádila +psəxla ՚á səppərtə. | škálla ՚en +zàyo! muttéla +al-xàso. | +təryéla prəxla. | xášla ju-xá malcúyta xítə. | xína +xdárto, | munyáxla mən-dá +tálə. | bá! ՚átxa. | víla prékla ՚á məttálta ՚átxa. | hánna clí tanyànnux. | párta +támə, | ՚kámxa làxxa. | +márran tušnákan +támə, | xúbba xədyúyta làxxa. | ՚átxa prékla ՚á məttálta.

### A54 The Old Man and the Fish (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)

(1) ՚átvə lətva! ՚átvə xá náša sàva. | ՚átvəl xá čullùxta! ՚átvəla xá brùna! hám-da jánu báxtu ՚u-hám-da ՚o-brúnu bəxxáyəva ju-dé čullùxta. | xá +čola ՚átvəl bëta sùra. | ՚íta ՚ó náša sáva c-azálva hammáša +al-yàma. | ci-davákva nùyna. | bí hàda! rišé ci-xamívalə, | c-+axlíva xá tíca làxma. | hí-da dí xà-ca xášla. | trè-ca xášla. | +xárta xá-yuma víla mü júra víla, | ՚áláha rxəmlə +ällu. | (2) tīlə dváklə xá nùyna smùkta. | nùyna smùkta ba-dvíkələ, | +xárta ՚é nùyna! xá b-xá hamzámta pälla

**A53 The Bird and the Fox (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)**

(1) Once upon a time there was a bird. Yes, the bird had young. She had made a nest, a home for herself. The young—she laid eggs and young were born. Every day, every year, every day something used to come and eat the young of the bird and go away. The poor bird would come back and see that the young were not in her home. (2) Again the next year she again laid eggs and she had young again. She came back again, again it ate (the young). She sees that the young are not there, it ate them. Oh dear, what was it? What was it that was eating them? Again in the third year the bird laid eggs and had young again. Then it still wanted to come and eat those young of hers. What do you know, it was a fox.<sup>194</sup> The fox is used to (eating) them. He comes and eats the eggs of the young of bird, poor creature. (3) Then a hunter was going after his prey. He sees that the fox is going up the tree. It is going up the tree, then the hunter hunted the fox. He said 'Let me see what he is doing.' He saw that the young are yelling and whining, the poor creatures are crying and screaming. (4) The hunter heard their voice. He went to look whether it is eating them. He takes the rifle and shoots it. He brought down the fox. He shot him and killed him. He killed the fox. Then the mother returned and sees that her young have survived that year. (5) She was so pleased with this hunter and offered him her warmest gratitude.<sup>195</sup> The bird was happy and joyful. She took her young and put them on her back. She drove them (onto her back) and flew off. She went to another kingdom. So, it turned out that she was relieved of the fox. Well, that is it. The story finished like that. But wait I'll tell you. Chaff there, wheat here. Our illness and suffering there, love and joy here. The story ends like that.

**A54 The Old Man and the Fish (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)**

(1) Once upon a time there was an old man. He had a hut. He had a son. He and his wife and also his son used to live in that hut. They had a cabin, a small house. Now, the old man always used to go to the sea. He used to catch fish. In this way he sustained them and they used to eat some food. Now, he went off once. He went off the second time. Then one day it happened, it happened in some way, God had mercy on him. (2) He came and he caught the red fish, then it suddenly started to speak, it started speaking a language. It said 'May I

<sup>194</sup> Literally: Do not say.

<sup>195</sup> Literally: She offered him many prayers.

bìyyo! lišána víla hamzùma. | +xárta mèrra! 'óyan +xlàpux! 'óyan +nádrux ̄ka-do  
 náša sàva mórra, | lá lâbølli. | šukli. | 'ána! 'ón müjjura +xláslla +'ällux, | tálux! +tlúb  
 mènni! cùm +tálbøt! 'ána! b-yavvànnux, | t-odànnux. | (3) hí=da 'á náša +xjtó tila! 'é  
 nýyna škállø +ruppálø ju-yàma! xàšla. | xàšla, | +xárta xášla ̄ka-báxtu hukilø. | mórra  
 'áy 'átxa 'átxa +šulova. | 'á báxtu cròbla, | víla +sàra! víla bëndà, | víla bëtyàva, | 'áy  
 ká-mu +ruppálux? | +kótna b-rišux! súyla b-rišux, | ̄ka-mú +ruppálux? | mìyyo! |  
 mírøva xína +ruppálø. | xína m-íca 'ána 'ázøn máčxøn mayyønna? | +xárta mára  
 mórra ̄ka-dìyyi! 'átxa, | 'é +dánta mórra sì. | di-sì! 'ón 'átxa tunítux-la, | sí  
 xá mändi b-yavválux. | (4) xàšla 'á náša sàval módrø +támøl! 'íçat 'é nýyna t-í  
 dvikàlø. | xàšla +támøl. | hí! tuníla ̄kátol nýyna, | hây nýyna smúktal tálax. | 'ána 'é  
 xá hamzàmta mónnax. | mórra mú +byàyøt? | tání náša, | sàva náša, | jís náša,  
 mú +byàyøt? | (5) mírøva 'átxa 'átxa vâdøla b-ríši báxti, | mèn-béta +rappùyila,  
 +plàšøla. | +báyøt lè-+bøt, | 'á bëti súral vûdlø +jùra. | hí! mórtøva lè-+zdi. | sìlux  
 bëta. | bëtux RuzéR yàcca p̄t-avini. | mójjøt-da 'á náša xàšla, | jásøk 'ó bëtu súra  
 vîyyøva xá yácca máx båtøt màlcø vîyyøva. | (6) hí=da dí +spày. | +xárta 'á báxtu  
 bi-dò bëta-da +rázi léva víta. | mórtøva bâl 'ána mán dâ-da yácca bëta +bàyyan.  
 mán dâ-da yácca bëta +bàyyan, | jís dàrtø +bàyyan, | 'ilànø, | vârdø, | čucàja 'óya  
 mlíta. | vây mây 'á náša pôšla módrø +côr, | +pašima, | mú 'òdøn 'ána? | m-íca 'ázøn?  
 RuzéR bønxápøla 'o-náša yàn! cút-yum cút-yum 'ázøl ̄ka-da nýyna, | ̄ka-dá nýyna  
 cút +dána záhmat járøs +'állo! yàn! 'ána mú-jurra 'ázøn módrø +tálbøn mónnø?  
 (7) xína cút-jur t-ila! 'á náša sáva xàšla. | xàšla, | módrø +kríla ̄ka-dé nýyna. | 'é nýyna  
 tila. | mórra báxti! xína móatlju-ido, | hár 'átxa! +bætlâbøla, | +rázi léla bi-dò bëta,  
 módrø +byáyøla mèn-+dávva-da yácca bëta. | hí +spày! lè-+zdi móra, | sìlux. | 'áti  
 sìlux bëta. | hál t-ázøt bëta, | RuzéR 'o-bëtux! +'ásra háda bëta t-ávø yàcca. | (8) hí  
 xàšla, | 'á náša sáva jásøk! 'ána mójjøt=da! 'ó bëta xà=val +'ásra háda bëta yàcca.  
 nýyna vâttøva ̄kátu. | hí xdila, | +psàxlø! e-báxtu. | +karavàša dvókla. | xá sakúla  
 baķúla bí +paytùn +bæxdáral xá cu-maràca vâda. | +xárta módrø, | módrø +rázi  
 léla víta bí dây! 'ána +byáyøn +'ávva! 'ána +byáyøn 'átxa. | 'á náša xína móatl xàšla  
 ju-ido. | xína cù-jur t-ival xàšla. | tlà-ca-da mórrø! t-ázøn b-+jarbønna. | (9) xàšla  
 mórrø! 'átxa 'átxa báxti mórlø. | mórtøva sì lè-+zdi. | sìlux. | cùl mändi p̄t-oyàni.  
 +xárta 'á náša sáva xàšla! jašøkni yán 'é! bëtu máx màlcø xàšla. | hár 'é cullúxta  
 tfókla bìyyu, | 'é +côla súrta! tfókla bìyyu, | e-báxtu +támøl tâvta ju-dé +côla. | 'áy  
 mórrø! 'átxa +byáyøtva? | xùb bæxzáyøvat +rázi là vîlax bí dén Rðvarøtsi. | 'ádi  
 módrø túyju-dá +côla súrta. | (10) pôšle! 'én sáva sóta bìyya bí do-yála súra. | módrø

be your substitute. May I be your offering,' it said to the old man, 'Do not take me. Leave me. If you are in any difficulties, come and make a request from me. Whatever you ask, I shall give you, I shall do it for you.' (3) Yes, the man felt sorry for it. He took the fish and threw it into the sea and it went off. It went off. Then he went and told his wife. He said 'This was the story about it.' His wife became angry. She starting cursing, she started jumping up and sitting down. 'Oh, why did you throw it away? Ash be on your head, manure be on your head, why did you throw it away? You should have brought it!' He said 'Well I threw it away.' 'Where can I go and find it and bring it back?' Then he says 'It said to me such-and-such.' 'Then,' she said 'Go, go. If it told you that, it will give you something.' (4) The old man went off again to there where he caught the fish. He went there. Yes, he said to it 'Fish, oh red fish, come here. I have something to say to you.' It said 'What do you want? Tell me, man, old man, good man, what do you want?' (5) He said 'This is what my wife is doing to me. She is throwing me out of the house. She is arguing. If you want or not, make this small house of mine big.' Yes. It said 'Do not fear. Go home. Your house will be huge.' Indeed the man went off and sees that his small house had become huge, it had become like the house of kings. (6) Yes, that was very good. But then his wife became discontented with that house. She said 'Well, I want a house bigger than this one. I want a house bigger than this one. I want a nice garden, full of trees, flowers and blossoms.' Oh dear, the man became again upset and sad 'What should I do? Where I should I go?' The man is already ashamed to go every day to the fish, to trouble the fish every time (and he said) 'How can I go and again make a request from it?' (7) Well, one way or another, the old man went. He went and called the fish. The fish came. He said 'I am again dying at the hands of my wife. She keeps making demands, she is not satisfied with the house. She again wants a bigger house.' 'Yes, fine. Do not be afraid,' it says 'Go, you go home. By the time you get home, your house will be already ten times bigger.' (8) Yes, the old man went and looks and indeed the house had been one (size) and the house (was now) ten times bigger (than this). The fish had done it for him. Yes, his wife was happy and joyful. She took on maidservants. She dressed beautifully and went around in a carriage, making quite a hullabaloo. Then again, again she became dissatisfied with that. 'I want that, I want this.' The man again was dying in her hands. Again, in one way or another he went. For the third time he said 'I shall go and test it.' (9) He went and said 'My wife says such-and-such.' It said 'Don't be afraid. Go. Everything will be fulfilled.' Then the old man went and sees that his house that was like (that of) a king had gone. Only that hut appeared to him, that small cabin, appeared to him, with his wife sitting there in the hut. 'Oh' he said 'Is this what you wanted? Well, you see, you were not satisfied with those palaces. Now sit again in this small hut' (10) The old man and woman

háda pósle *ju-de-+čòla!* vília háda +cásəb bəxxáya. | 'o-sáva módrə hár háda c-azálva máx kámta nùynə ci-davòkva, | c-ativə rišé xamúyəva bi-dén nùynə. | 'átxa +várre ̄én xayyèl 'átxa c-+oríva ̄én +jóra bàxta. | 'átxal xína mú-jurra ci-tàni?| pártə +tàma, | kámxa làxxa. | +márran tušnákan +tàma, | xúbban xədyúytan làxxal ka-diyyan, | ka-diyyoxun ka-diyyan. |

### A55 Two Birds Fall in Love (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)

(1) 'átvə látva sàprə xína! ķubbúxtət sáprə c-avíva! dák d-máx +'álma c-avíva sáprə=da xína! hamzùmə, | tanùya. | 'átvə +casibə=dəl xáčča márət davəltə 'átvə. | 'íta jú dén tré sàprəl 'átvə +plàša, | hár babé yəmmé c-avíva +plàša. | hár! c-avíva plàša! jís lèva m-+ùydalə. | hár t-avíva +číra, | 'ánnə nášə yàccə. | (2) +xárta 'áni! xá 'ó málca! 'átvələ xa-brùna! 'o-xína 'átvələ brítə. | +bár=t ̄én brité hám-da bruné t-i-jurvòsle, | vília yàccə 'é bráta, | vília yàccə xàmta, | 'ó bruné vília yàccə jvánka, | +xárta +dána tila, | 'ánnə tpókłe p-+ùydalə. | 'ó yála hám-da 'é bráta +bíle +ùydalə. | +bíle +ùydalə, | +xàrtal +bár=t babé yəmmé t-i-+dile! yán 'ánnə +byáyəna +ùydalə, | 'ánnə dážmən=va +al-+ùydalə mūl 'ánnə tré 'ojaxəl hí +rázi là vília. | (3) +rázi lèva, | mārəl mujjúrra 'áxnan dážmən=vax, | mən-šónna +dòra, | mən-+áta +bàba. | 'átnən lè jórat ka-+dàvun. | +ávun=da mārəl brít +dávun lé +moránnə bétəl mujjúrra?| hár vília +plàša vàda xína, | 'ánnə yála bráta +byáyəna +ùydalə. | mujjúrra! hác náša lé-+aməs +šámmə +al-kalè. | háda +byáyəva, | háda +byáyəva. | 'ó yála brún-málca mòrrəl 'én 'átnən là-oyat báxtət diyyi! 'ána b-+kačlənnə jáni. | 'áyən=da mārəl 'ána=da b-+kačlənnə jáni m-+bár diyyux! 'én 'áxnan xá ka-do-xína lá joràxən. | (4) há 'á'a mú 'ódi 'adíyya?| 'á hemázman xášla +m̄íla +al-nátət dēn-babé yəmmé! mòrre! 'átxa 'átxa tanùyəna. | míra t-i-+spày. | 'átxa tanùyəna. | xína cú-jur t-ila, | suzjòrre. | +xlùyla yùmu! tunile. | mórre 'átxa 'átxa yùma, | 'átxa 'átxa b-yàrxa, | 'átxa 'átxa yàrxa! t-odáxlə +xlùyla. | (5) 'íta tilə! +dánət +xlùyla, | +xlùyla vódle. | láxxa +tàmma! +xlùyla vília. | ju-dá +xlùyla vátta, | tá kú 'á càlu, | ka-dáy 'átvələ dážmənnáyta 'ó xína! bábu +dàvun. | dážmən

remained with the child. They again ended up in that hut and he began to live poorly. The old man again in the same way as before went to catch fish, and he came back and sustained them with those fish. Their life went by like that. This is how that husband and wife spent (their life). So, what do they say? Chaff there, flour here. Our illness and suffering there, our love and joy here for us, for you and for us.

#### A55 Two Birds Fall in Love (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)

(1) Once upon a time there were some birds, there was a flock of birds. Just like people the birds also used to speak and talk. There were poor ones, there were some rich ones. Now, between two birds there was a fight, their father and mother used to be always fighting. They were always fighting. They were not good together. They were always indignant with each other, those big people. (2) Now, one of them, a king, had a son, and another had a daughter. After their daughter and son grew up, the girl became big, she became a young woman, and their son became a big young man, then the time came when they met. The boy and the girl fell in love with each other. They fell in love with each other, then, when their father and mother knew that they loved each other—they were mutual enemies, those two clans—yes, they were not pleased. (3) They were not pleased, they say 'How (can it be), we are enemies for many generations, from the time of our forebears. You will not marry him.' He says 'I shall not bring his daughter into the house.' What could they do? They continued to fight, but that boy and girl loved each other, in such a way that nobody was aware of them.<sup>196</sup> They loved each other like that, they loved each like that. The boy, the son of the king, said 'If you do not become my wife, I shall kill myself.' She says 'I also will kill myself after you, if we do not marry each other.' (4) Well, what should they do now? This talk reached the ear of their father and mother. They said 'This is what they are saying.' They said 'Fine. This is what they are saying.' In one way or another they made peace. They set the date for the wedding. They said 'On such-and-such a day, on such-and-such (a date) in the month, such-and-such a month, we shall hold the wedding.' (5) Then the time of the wedding came and they held the wedding. In short<sup>197</sup> the wedding took place. When the wedding was being held 'Come, get up bride,' for the other one, his father, felt animosity towards her. Because he felt animosity,

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<sup>196</sup> Literally: hear their voice.

<sup>197</sup> Literally: here and there.

*t-i-’òtvalə,| márrə ’á càlu| lá járət ’oyàni| báx brùni.| jnìvunla,| làblunla.| (6)  
 hì-dal ’á càlu xàtna| t-ína labùlə| bi-rèkda,| bi-švàra,| bi-dávla jàrmun,| tá kú ’á  
 càlu janvila.| ’á càlu jnivàle.| rèkla,| prèkla,| xèsla.| ’áy xá cul-maràca víla,| xa-  
 +tóp +topxàna víle bëdráya,| susaváy +marxiùtəl mù váda.| +bërxáta +bár dàl  
 jinàva| ’á càlu mân jnivála?| ’áy càlu jnivále.| càlu jnivále.| mân jnivále?| lá táni  
 dæzmánnat do-bàbat| dó xàtna.| (7) ’áni cù-jur t-íva xína| lâxxa vâdle,| +tâmma  
 mxíle,| +plâšə víle| mù víle?| cù-jur t-ila,| ’á càlu pürçaccâle.| pürçaccâle tuyyâle  
 mèdra,| ’ó xâtna tuyyâla.| xína ’ó bábat dó xâtna mü pít-avòdva?| háč mändi R'užéR  
 lá +mæslə ’avòdva.| ķa-bábu yàmmu márrəl ’ána +byáyon ’á càlu.| ’áha bâxtila.  
 +bayyítun +bayyítun.| lâ=da,| ’ána b-šókən t-àzən.| (8) xá ’óxa brúna sòjul ’òtvala.  
 ’áy bâba yàmmat +dâvun xína| lâ švâkle| lâ brûni| mára.| háč dûca lê šokáxlux.| ’ica  
 pít-azítən?| mü ’òdax xína?| cùm t-ila,| júrra mèla.| tuyyâla.| ’én +xnamíyyə=da  
 suzjârre +úydala.| bâba yàmmat càlu,| bâba yàmmat xâtna suzjârre.| +xárta víla  
 +xliùyla| švàra| +šavvà yumánə,| +šavvà lelaváy.| xâsla| +ráxlə +xliùyla.| hí suzjârre  
 ’áni=da.| víle jís +xâlyə m-+uydâla.|*

### A56 Star-Crossed Lovers (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)

(1) ’òtva lâtval xá málca.| ’ó málca ’òtvala xá brùna.| hí ’ó brùnu| +róba xóšu  
 c-atyàval +sèda +xdárta.| tâvləl ’ó brûn-málca +al-sùysa| škòlləl +karavášu-da  
 mònnu| xâsle +al-+sèda.| t-íva xâsle +al-+sèda,| jáški +al-xá ’ilâna| tâvtala xá  
 šapjârta máx +šrá bâlláya brâta.| ’áyən brít +casibə vîtəva.| (2) +xárta è brâta|  
 t-íva tâvta +al-’ilâna| +róba +râdyâlə ’á brûn-málca.| +râdyâlə,| +xârtal xâsla,  
 tlâkla xâsla è çâččə.| +xârtal lâl mârrə ķáto mârrəl tâlax,| jorènnax.| mârtəval  
 lâl ’átən| brûn málcəvət,| ’ána brûn +casibəvan.| ’ána mü-jurra jóran ķa-dìyyux?  
 mârtəva lâ,| lâ.| (3) ’áyən t-íva brítət +casibə,| +dâvun brûn-málca,| léva bësvâkəl  
 cəs-+dâvun.| yàmmu bâbu +rázi lâ víle bí dâyən.| mârre ’átən Ge-didâri Ge-vət,| ’áyya

he said 'This bride must not be the wife of my son. Kidnap her! Take her away!' (6) Yes, when the bride and groom continued with the dance, with the jig and with the drum and accordion 'Come, get up bride,' they kidnapped her. They kidnapped the bride. She went away, she disappeared, she went off. There was a great commotion, cannons were fired, horses were made to gallop, doing whatever. They ran after the kidnapper. 'Who has kidnapped the bride? Oh they have kidnapped the bride! They have kidnapped the bride. Who has kidnapped her?' What do you know, it was the enemy (accomplice) of the father of the groom. (7) In one way or another, they did such-and-such here, they struck there, fights broke out, and the like.<sup>198</sup> In one way or another, they rescued the bride. They rescued her and brought her back again. The groom brought her back. So what could the father of the groom do? He could do nothing. He said to his father and mother 'I love this bride. This is my wife. If you want it, fine. If not, I shall leave (everything) and go.' (8) They only had that single beloved son. Well his mother and father did not allow it. They say 'No, my son. We shall not let you (go) anywhere. Where will you go? What should we do? Whoever she is,<sup>199</sup> marry her and bring her.' He brought her. The in-laws made peace with one another. The father and mother of the bride, father and mother of groom made peace. Then the wedding was held with leaping, seven days and seven nights. The wedding went on for a long time. Yes, they made peace. They became pleasant and sweet with each other.

#### A56 Star-Crossed Lovers (Maryam Gwirgis, Canda, Georgia)

(1) Once upon a time there was a king. That king had a son. Yes, that son of his very much liked to go hunting. The son of the king sat on a horse, took servants with him and went off hunting. When they had gone hunting, they saw sitting on a tree a beautiful girl shining like a lantern. She was the daughter of poor folk. (2) Then the son of the king took a great fancy to the girl, who was sitting on the tree. He took a fancy to her, then she went off, the girl disappeared. Then 'No' he said to her, he said 'Come, I shall marry you.' 'No, you are the king's son and I am the child<sup>200</sup> of paupers. How can I marry you?' She said 'No, no.' (3) Since she was the daughter of paupers and he was the son of a king, they did not allow her near him. His father and mother were not pleased with her. They

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<sup>198</sup> Literally: what happened?

<sup>199</sup> Literally: whatever she is.

<sup>200</sup> Literally: son.

+càsəb=la.| +xárta pállə +mrilə brūn-málca.| pállə +mrilə mórrə tāni| é çáččəx xuš  
 'atyāni,| é t-íñ 'ána +byáyo,| 'ána +spáy t-avīna.| xášle één +karavàšu,| +sudrèlə|  
 cás de-çáččə| é +càsəb t-íva.| (4) 'áy xína tīla,| tīla| víla mán dà-ybu| mán dò-  
 ybu,| makýumu,| mattiyu,| madmúxu,| +därmanáno maštúya kátu.| Ge máynts<sup>Ge</sup>  
 +'ávun hár +màryəval pállə ju-jul-màxə.|| cú-jur t-íva,| +xártət +xártal| ó brūn-  
 málca| mán-xàššu,| mán-dàrdū,| mán Rnèrv<sup>R</sup>u| yàn| bábu yámmu +rázi là víle|  
 bí dèl bráta +càsəb,| pállə 'á brūn-málca| mätla,| mätla,| é çáččə=da t-í +'ávun  
 t-i-mätla,| 'áyən-da jáno +ktilàla.| škálla +därmåna| jáno +ktilàla.| RíR tárve m-  
 +úydalə muttèle| ó brūn-málca| hám-da é càlu| tūmréle m-+uydalə.|| (5) 'íta  
 +xárta märre| m-áxxa l-ò-yba| xína 'átxa kálatte lè-avi,| bráta| yàla| +báyyi  
 +'uydalə| 'úsa lè +báyyini,| +cásəb=na 'úsa 'ón| mårət davəltəna| 'úsa brūn-málca|  
 'ánnə| hác náša b-+arallágjé là +vúrun,| RíR šúku jóri +uydalə| xádi bí +uydalə.  
 mán dé-ja lá-yba xína Ruzé|R 'átxa| +shulánə xína léva váya,| lá bába| lá yámmal hác  
 náša léva +bəxváṭa xína ju-+shùlat| bráta hám-da yàla,| (6) 'áni bəšva| káeva 'átxa  
 joríva +uydalə xína,| Ruzé|R 'áyya támba víla káte| támba víla ju-dé mätə,| +xárta  
 'áyən cùllə| ju-cùllə mdíyyay| xášla yàn| yán bráta yála t-ína +byáya +uydalə| 'áni  
 járat hámmaša| 'ávi cəs-+uydalə| jóri ka-+uydalə.

said 'You are rich but she is poor.' Then the son of the king fell ill. He fell ill and he said 'Tell that girl to come, the one I love, then I will get better.' His servants went off, he sent them to the girl, the one who was poor. (4) Well, she came, she came. She was on this side of him, on that side of him, raising him up, putting him down, settling him to sleep, administering medicines for him. Nevertheless he was still ill and bed-ridden. Anyhow, in the end, the son of the king died from his grief, from his being upset that his father and his mother were not pleased with the poor girl. He died and also the girl, when he died, killed herself. She took poison and killed herself. They placed the two of them together, they buried the son of the king and the bride together. (5) Then they said 'From now on such mistakes will not be made. If a girl and a boy love each other, or do not love each other, whether they are poor or rich, or the son of a king, nobody must come between them. They must let them marry each other and be happy together.' From then onwards these things did not happen again. No father, no mother, nobody interfered again in the affairs of a girl and boy. (6) They let them get married. So this was a lesson for them, it was a lesson for that village. Then it went out to all the towns that a girl and boy who love each other must always be together and marry each other.

# History and Culture

## B1 The Assyrians of Urmi (Yosəp bet Yosəp, Zumallan, N)

(1) mārəna<sup>l</sup> Táklat<sup>l</sup> +Palásar<sup>l</sup> muyyílə násəl muttílə ju-’Úrmi.<sup>l</sup> b-+dánət kát<sup>l</sup> +’iranàyə bitáyəna<sup>l</sup> é cmayútət<sup>l</sup> +’aturáyə har-+táma pyàšəla,<sup>l</sup> e-+dánət Kúrəš bitáyələ<sup>l</sup> e-+dánət àni bitáyəna<sup>l</sup> +várəna šánnə lélə váyan<sup>l</sup> +xábra mənné.<sup>l</sup> (2) ýádi ’átax<sup>l</sup> b-+dánət mšíxayúta<sup>l</sup> márəna mǵusáyə tílun tpáklun b-mšíxa<sup>l</sup> márəna tré-mənne ’íva mən-’Úrmi<sup>l</sup> xá-mənne ’íva mən-+Máraǵa<sup>l</sup> e-+dana ’átvə +’aturáyə +táməl<sup>l</sup> u-márəna ’áni ’íva +’aturáyə<sup>l</sup> bás mabyúnəla kát<sup>l</sup> ju-’Úrmi<sup>l</sup> +hála +dánət mšíxa<sup>l</sup> ’átvə +’aturáyə pyàša<sup>l</sup> (3) +xártə bitáyəvax<sup>l</sup> b-+dánət mšíxayúta<sup>l</sup> ká-íla jarvúsə<sup>l</sup> +Már Túmal<sup>l</sup> ’íman bitáyələ +al-’Úrhey<sup>l</sup> mən-+táma bitáyələ +al-’Úrmi<sup>l</sup> bitáyələ +al-+Mùšava<sup>l</sup> bitáyələ ju-yámət ’Úrmi<sup>l</sup> ci-+kárila šólxət yamátə<sup>l</sup> +Már Túmal<sup>l</sup> ’ón tíyyələ +al-’Úrmi<sup>l</sup> lí +yárvəl<sup>l</sup> ’atíval<sup>l</sup> ká zarduštəyə +macrázva<sup>l</sup> díz-íla mšíxa márrə xúšun +mácrəzzun<sup>l</sup> ’inal<sup>l</sup> ’ón +’aturáyə lá-’avívə ju-’Úrmi<sup>l</sup> ’áxči ’avíva +’iranàyə<sup>l</sup> járc<sup>l</sup> +áv ’atíval<sup>l</sup> +avórva jú ... zarduštəyə +macrázva but-mšíxa<sup>l</sup> bás bəxzáyəx<sup>l</sup> +rába bitáyələ ’Úrmi<sup>l</sup> u-cíllə násə kabúluna b-šéna<sup>l</sup> bás ’an-t kúbluna b-šéna<sup>l</sup> ’íva +’aturáyə<sup>l</sup> bás ’áyyal maxzúyəla kát<sup>l</sup> ’átvə +’aturáyə b-+dánət mšíxa<sup>l</sup> ju-+’íran<sup>l</sup> ju-’Úrmi<sup>l</sup> sab-+Már Túmal<sup>l</sup> bné ’Úrhey<sup>l</sup> ’at-mabyúnə ’átvəlun<sup>l</sup> +xábra mən-dan-+’aturáyə<sup>l</sup> kát<sup>l</sup> kátu márəna<sup>l</sup> xúš ju-’Úrmi<sup>l</sup> ’átlan násə<sup>l</sup> lá-+zdi<sup>l</sup> xúš ju-dáni<sup>l</sup> +mácrəz<sup>l</sup> (4) u-’án +’aturáyət ’Úrmi<sup>l</sup> +’úmrət +Mát<sup>l</sup> +Máryam<sup>l</sup> ju-’Úrmi<sup>l</sup> ’íva xá dána ... dúctət zjáttət zarduštəyə<sup>l</sup> bəškálona vádona +’úmra<sup>l</sup> ’íla xá mən-dan-+’umránə ’atíkət mšíxayúta<sup>l</sup> ká-mú<sup>l</sup> +’úmra<sup>l</sup> +matrúsəna<sup>l</sup> +táma<sup>l</sup>? ká-mú<sup>l</sup> léna<sup>l</sup> +matrúsə<sup>l</sup> ju-xá ... mátət +Supürğan<sup>l</sup> yán ju-xa-mátə?<sup>l</sup> mən-sábab<sup>l</sup> ’átvəlun xá taxmánta<sup>l</sup> kát<sup>l</sup> é dúctət +’úmra<sup>l</sup> jári ’óya +rába táməz<sup>l</sup> b-šánnət šánnə xá +tála lá-’avə xíša šóxta vída +’állo<sup>l</sup> xá kənyána lá-’avə mítə +táməl<sup>l</sup> kát<sup>l</sup> +’úmra mátti<sup>l</sup> sáb bēt-’alàhələ<sup>l</sup> (5) bút dàyya<sup>l</sup> tíyyəna mìrəna<sup>l</sup> bás ’ánnə zarduštəyə<sup>l</sup> kát<sup>l</sup> ýá béta ci-zaǵdívələ<sup>l</sup> mən-kám díyyan<sup>l</sup> +dórət mən-kám díyyan<sup>l</sup> bálcət xamshámma ’əstammá šánnə<sup>l</sup> láxxa ’á ... dúcta<sup>l</sup> ’áttən<sup>l</sup> ká-zjáttət<sup>l</sup> ’at-zarduštəyə<sup>l</sup> ýádi zarduštəyə<sup>l</sup> dúna +rúppə xíšə m-áxxa<sup>l</sup> ’áha<sup>l</sup> +bəddáyəx<sup>l</sup> bùš táməz-ila mən-dan-ducána xína<sup>l</sup> bas-+’úmran mattáxlə láxxa<sup>l</sup> díz<sup>l</sup> +al-dè dúcta<sup>l</sup> zjáttət<sup>l</sup> zarduštəyə<sup>l</sup> +’úmrət +Mát<sup>l</sup> +Maryam<sup>l</sup> o-kámaya<sup>l</sup> ju-+’íran<sup>l</sup> kat-pyàšələ<sup>l</sup> bánya

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(1) They say that Tiglath Pileser brought people and settled them in Urmi. At the time that the Persians come, that group of Assyrians is still remaining, at the time that Cyrus comes, at that time they come. Years pass and we do not have any information about them. (2) Now let us come to the time of Christianity. They say that the Magi came and met Christ. They say that two of them were from Urmi. One of them was from Maraga. At that time there were Assyrians there and they say that they were Assyrians. It seems that there were still Assyrians remaining in Urmi at the time of Christ. (3) Then we come to the time when Christianity is growing. St. Thomas, when he comes to Edessa, from there he comes to Urmi. He comes to <sup>+</sup>Mušava. He comes to the lake of Urmi. They call it the ‘swarm of the seas.<sup>1</sup> If St. Thomas came to Urmi, he would not have dared to come to preach to the Zoroastrians. It is true that Christ said ‘Go and preach,’ but if there were not Assyrians in Urmi and there were only Iranians, he would have had to come and enter among the Zoroastrians to preach about Christ. But we see that he comes to Urmi and everybody welcomes him. Now those who welcomed him were Assyrians. This shows that there were Assyrians at the time of Christ in Iran, in Urmi. This is because St. Thomas—the people of Edessa, who seemed to have knowledge about the Assyrians and say to him ‘Go to Urmi, we have people (there). Do not fear. Go and preach among them.’ (4) The Assyrians of Urmi—the church of St. Mary in Urmi was a place of worship of the Zoroastrians and they take it and make it into a church. It is one of the oldest churches of Christianity. Why do they build a church there? Why do they not build one in a ... in the village of <sup>+</sup>Spurğān or in a village? Because they had a belief that the place of the church had to be clean, that for many years a fox should not have left its filth on it or that cattle must not have died there, so they could establish a church, because it is the house of God. (5) So, they came and said ‘The Zoroastrians who used to worship (in) this house before us, in the age before us—perhaps for five hundred, six hundred years there was a place for the worship of the Zoroastrians. Now the Zoroastrians have abandoned it and gone from here. We know that this is cleaner than other places, so let us establish our church here.’ Right on that place of worship of the Zoroastrians, the church of St. Mary—the first to be built in Iran was the church of St. Mary, in

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. all the seas flow into it.

'íva 'o-+úmrət +Mát +Màryam| kát 'áttən jàvu| bət-+kuravátə +ràba 'atíkə.| bás 'áyya=zə xá +sabəttúta výyəla kát| fu-'Úrmi 'átvə nášə b-+dánət mšixayùta.|

(6) bitáyəx 'alpá-šənnə l-á-yba xīna.| bəxzáyəx ju-+Supürğan| ju-xácma mən-matváta 'áttən| 'álpo 'əmmà-šənnə cípət bət-+kuravátə.| 'u-ju-xácma +umrána bəxzáyəx cípa +bəddàyuna,| +bəddáyəna kət-áha b-+pállan +dána píšələ zùrza.| bás ju-'álpo 'əmmà-šənnəl mən-+bár mšixa| 'alpá +əççammà-šənnə mən-+bár mšixa| bəxzáyəx 'áttən nišānkət ... ju-'Úrmi kət-+átvəl mšixayəl +aturáya.| (7) vādəna mšixáya,| mən-zarduštáyə=zə +maddürəna.| 'ína bəxzáyəx +al-dan-+umrána nišánkət ctávtət +aturáya.| léla ctávtət zarduštáya pahlavi.| bás 'án 'íla 'at-+aturáya bás +aturáya ctívola,| ctávtət 'atákta.| bás bəxzáyəx cullana'ít| 'á +aturáya výyəla ju-'Úrmi hál +dánət| EÓttoman Émpire.<sup>E</sup>| (8) EÓttoman Émpire<sup>E</sup> xína xèla výyəla +al-'Úrmi 'u-bərráxşəla hal-+Məsrən.| cílla bəşkàlolə +hacümola.| bitáyəla léla bəsváka 'ánnə +xsiruyatəl hamzám̄mi lišánət jané,| mátti šəmmánət jané.| bušayútət yakubáya šəmmánət turcàya 'átlun.| bušayútət yakubáya| lá šváklun hamzám̄máva lišána +aturáya yán o +lázət tānax suryöyo.| humzómlun b-türçət.| 'úp ju-+Íran kə-+aturáya| là šváklun.| šəmmà-nəval matvaté šəmmané cílla šuxləplən.| (9) lišána +rába la-+msilun hamzám̄máva.| ju-+xlulanə| là-+msilun| b-lišánət janan,| b-lišána +aturáya zamría.| bušayútət zmaryátət m-+xlulánə vílun b-türçət.| bás 'á +cár bitáyəla.| +zlúmya búš +rába výyəla b-+dánət EÓttoman Émpire.<sup>E</sup>| xá +dána +zlúmya ká +aturáya výyəla jú ... sámət EPérsia<sup>E</sup> b-+dánət malcavátət kámətal +Šápur tré| 'u-xáçxa-da là-yba.| +xárta +zlúmya cəlyəla.| sáb ju-+dánət +Hárun 'ar-Rasíd| 'ú-brúnu kát 'íva mán ... xá mən-baxtátu 'íva mán +Íran.| 'áxnan jú ... béta malcáyat +Harúnə,| 'ánnə +xulafáyə,| haccimə výyan-ilə,| nášə lìpə výyan-ilə.| +yánə 'átvələn xa-+yəssúra +rába kürba.| (10) b-+dánət +Šapúrə výyəla +zlúmya,| xá-xta b-+dánət EÓttoman Émpire<sup>E</sup> výyəla +zlúmya.| 'ína ju-dé pi-pàlyə,| +šavvámma tmanyám̄ma +əççammà šənnə,| výyəvax +rába +ràhat ju-+Íran xíyyə,| xíyyəvax +am-zarduštáyəl 'ína 'ax-mšixàya,| 'ína lá har-zarduštáyəl xína tilə +Íran víla məsşəlməntə,| xíyyəvax +rába +spày.

(11) bitáyəla +pláša kámaya kát +šariyəla,| +aturáyat 'Úrmi +bəzdàyəna.| EGermany<sup>E</sup> mən-Túrciyə 'íva xá kát +byàyəval là şokával 'amricáyə +fransáyə +urusnáyə xèla šákliva.| búš +rába +bílun xéla muttílun +al-málçət +Íran,| +Rezà-+Şah,| kát +Íran=zə 'oyáva mənné xàl kə-mù?| kát| lá şokíva +urusnáyə 'amricáyə +táma 'avíva +bəxdàra.| (12) 'ánnə=zə +dilun,| mən-kám +dána titlun

which there are very ancient graves. This also is a proof that there were people in Urmi at the time of (the rise of) Christianity.

(6) We come (to the period) a thousand years later. We see that in <sup>+</sup>Spurğān, in some of the villages, there are tombstones one thousand one hundred years old. In some churches we see that they know the stone, they know that it was erected at such-and-such a time. So one thousand and one hundred years after Christ, a thousand or nine hundred years after Christ we see that there is an indication that there were Assyrian Christians in Urmi. (7) They make (people) Christians, they convert them from (being) Zoroastrians. But we see on those churches a sign of the script of the Assyrians. It is not the script of the Zoroastrians, Pahlavi. So, if it is that of the Assyrians, then an Assyrian wrote it, an ancient script. So we see in general that the Assyrian was in Urmi down to the time of the Ottoman Empire. (8) The Ottoman Empire gains control over Urmi and extends as far as Egypt. It takes possession of everything and takes control of it. It comes and does not allow the minorities to speak their own language or give their own names (to their children). The majority of Jacobites have Turkish names. They did not allow the majority of Jacobites to speak the Assyrian language, or the dialect we call *suryoyo*. They spoke in Turkish. Also in Iran they did not allow the Assyrians (to use their language). With regard to names, they changed the names of all their villages. (9) They could not speak in their language much. In their weddings they could not sing in their own language, in the Assyrian language. The majority of the wedding songs were in Turkish. So, this has a (great) effect (on their lives). The oppression (of the Assyrians) took place mostly at the time of the Ottoman Empire. During a certain period there was oppression of the Assyrians in the region of Persia, at the time of the early kings, Shapur the Second and a little later. Then the oppression stopped, because in the time of Harun al-Rashid and his son who was from ... one of his wives was from Iran. In the royal household of Harunids, the caliphs, we had doctors, we had learned men. That is, we had a very close relationship. (10) At the time of the Shapur dynasty there was oppression and again at the time of the Ottoman Empire there was oppression. But in that interval, for seven hundred, eight hundred, nine hundred years, we lived very peacefully in Iran. We lived with the Zoroastrians, but as Christians, but not always Zoroastrians. Iran became Muslim. We lived very well.

(11) When the First World War begins, the Assyrians of Urmi are afraid. Germany was allied with Turkey for it wanted to prevent the Americans, the French and the Russians gaining power. They put great pressure on the king of Iran, Reza-shah, in order that Iran also would become allied with them. Why? So that they would not allow the Russians and the Americans to manoeuvre there. (12) They knew, they came previously and saw that Iran was the place from

xzílun! +Íran 'íla 'e-ductat kát jàræc! lá mən-+tåma +hayyárta +mátya ká-  
 +Rúsyä. tílun 'albál 'ida muttílun +al-+Íran! škilálun. +Íran=zə 'íla 'e-dúctat  
 'é jéšra kát +hayyárta +báyyi +mám̄ti ká +Rúsyä. (13) 'íta 'é +dánəva tílun!  
 +huyyórrun ká-+aturáya kát +pálši. +aturáya=zə dæzmænné vílun +râbal sábab  
 'íva mšíxáyəl 'u-marzanáné cílla 'íva mæššəlmànəl. 'íman=t +Rúsyä +dárra!  
 'íman 'ənylæznáyá májbur vílun kát! mórrun 'áxnan práklan mən-dá dúc-  
 tæt +Íran! xina-lætlan +šúla, 'adíyya 'ázax, mórrun 'ázax! Túrciyä 'ádi kát  
 +mułkräm̄la, cílla 'an-dáštæt Nónva +šúla 'íva p-íd-Túrciyä, mórrun 'ázax 'é  
 dúcta tammæzzáxlá, lá šókax 'ánnəl +aširáttæ kémi ka-jané, +aširáttæ 'arabáya.  
 (14) ju-dè +dana! 'úmtæt díyyan švíkálun b-nòšo. májbur víla 'úmtæt díyyan=zə!  
 +rxátlæ +bar-ənylæznáyəl 'u-xæšlæl +al-+Hamâdan. +tåma xá samé pòšlun, xá  
 sáma=zə ju-'urxæl +Carmânsäh pòšlun. 'u-átvæ 'ənylæznáyá mænné kæt-mórrun  
 b-lablaxlóxun +al-+Baķuba. 'u-xá sáma +júra=zə +várrun ju-+Baķuba. (15)  
 ju-dá 'urxæl xá mænyána +júrat +aturáya pòšlæl xiša mən-+ára. 'e-+dánæt  
 +mætyáyna ju-+Irák=zəl +durâša vâdænal mən+báræt +katkútæna xá sáma mən-  
 +aturáyat Haccâræl lè +báyyi +čaçcé yavvílun. xá sáma mən-+aturáyat Hac-  
 câræ vílun món ... +Fáysal +yáno mən-+Irák! mən-dó húcma xâtæt +Irák! tâanax  
 šlæmlun +állu. (16) +aturáyat +Íran pòšlun b-nošé. +aturáyat +Íran mórrun  
 b-+dérax. 'íman=t +dârrun! tílun 'Úrmi! +šurílun mædræ níxa níxa +mammùra.  
 tílun 'Úrmi +mummærrâlun! hál +danátæt kát ... +urusnáyä, xína víyyäna  
 Eçommunist, tílun! xa-+dána=da kurbábæt +plášat trè, +várrun ju-+Íran.  
 +tåma xà ... jvüja vîlæ tâanax 'ét smûkæ, 'ét +urusnáyä. (17) +álmæt 'Úrmi, kát  
 'íva búš +rába turcâya, 'áni mórrun bás Túrciyâl 'áha sámæt +Azarbâyjan,  
 b-šaklæxlæ mən-+Íran. bâlcæt=zəl cílla +Íran šaklæxlæ. +bílun +pálšival +áam  
 málcæt +Íran. májbur vílun +aturáya kát +ammé bæxxâyæva har-ju-dáštæt 'Úrmi  
 vílun +ámma +ammè. (18) 'íman 'á-mændi=zæ lá muntílæ m-sâbab! 'amricâya  
 +huyyórrun ká-málcæt +Íran, +urusnáyæ=zæ là +huyyórrun ká-dán turcâyat  
 'Úrmi, mædræ +aturáya pòšlun xít +zlùmyæ. ká-mù? m-sâbab mæššəlmànæl búš  
 jané +muddiyâlun! mórrun 'áxnan hîl víyyæxva mən-+urusnáyä, 'ína xlîtxæxva.  
 'albál šuxlæplun! vílun m-málca xà. +aturáya=pášlæ +zlîma. 'íta níxa b-níxa xína  
 mən-'Úrmi +šurílun +plâta, sâbab xelé +bsærræ. (19) +aturáya=zæ máyælæ 'áxcí  
 trè bnúna! xína lá +súrilun màyæl 'ðæta, +šâvvæl tmânya kát +hayyærívalun ju-  
 +accarùta, ju-+zrùta. mæššəlmâna bævâræva +tlá +arþâ baxtátæ, xa-b-xâl ju-  
 mætxæt +əsrâ šánnæl mæššəlmâna bæzyâdæva. bás +aturáya là +msílæ, ju-dâ, bí  
 mænyânu! zâdval 'u-pâšva ju-'Úrmi +naþârvæla 'Úrmi. májbur víla +palâþval  
 sâb lâtva ju-'Úrmi +sulâna. +plátlæ mən-+tåma. níxa b-níxa, báxta pòšla

which help must not reach Russia. They came and immediately seized Iran and captured it. Iran was the place of the bridge by which they wanted to convey help to Russia. (13) So, it was at that time that they came and they helped the Assyrians fight. But the enemies of the Assyrians were numerous, because they were Christians, and around them all the people were Muslim. When Russia retreated, when the English were obliged to say 'We have finished with this place, we have no business (here), now let's go,' they said 'Let's go, now that Turkey has lost'—All the plain of Nineveh etc. was in the hands of the Turks—they said 'Let's go and clean up that place. We shall not allow the tribes to revolt on their own, the Arab tribes.' (14) At that time they left our nation alone. Our nation was obliged to follow the English and it went to Hamadan. Some of them remained there. Some on the way remained at Kermanshah. There were English with them who said 'We shall take you to Baquba,' and a large proportion of them entered Baquba. (15) On this journey a large number of the Assyrians perished (before reaching their destination). When they arrive in Iraq they have an argument. After they disperse, a number of the Assyrians of Hakkari do not want to hand over their weapons. Some of the Assyrians of Hakkari were with (i.e. felt allegiance to) Faisal, that is with Iraq, with the new government of Iraq, let's say they submitted to it. (16) The Assyrians of Iran remained by themselves. The Assyrians of Iran said 'We shall return.' When they returned, they came to Urmi and began slowly to rebuild it. They came and rebuilt Urmi, until the time when the Russians, who had become communist, came, sometime around the Second World War, and entered Iran. There was a movement there, let's say of the Reds, of the Russians. (17) The population of Urmi, which was mainly Turkish, said '(It belongs to) Turkey. We shall take this part of Azerbaijan from Iran. Perhaps we shall take all of Iran.' They wanted to fight with the king of Iran. The Assyrians, who were living with them in the plain of Urmi, were forced to ally with them. (18) When this also did not succeed, because the Americans helped the king of Iran and the Russians did not help the Turks of Urmi, the Assyrians again became subject to oppressions. Why? Because the Muslims portrayed themselves better and said 'Yes, we were with the Russians, but we were mistaken.' They immediately changed sides and became allied with the king. The Assyrian was oppressed. So, slowly they (the Assyrians) began to leave Urmi, because their strength diminished. (19) An Assyrian only has two children. They started not to have six, seven, eight to help them with farming, with cultivation. A Muslim used to marry three or four wives, and suddenly in a period of ten years, (the family of) a Muslim used to increase. But the Assyrians could not increase in number in this way and remain in Urmi, and keep (residence in) Urmi. They were forced to leave, because there were no jobs in Urmi. They left there. Gradually the wife was

*b-nòšo, məššəlmána=zə marzanána +rābəna. | +jóra +šuríla +nijàran vá. | ká-báxta ctòvlə tálax ju-mdítə. | mən-+bár hárda hál tálax cásli ju-Cermánša yán tálax ju-+Abadán yán tálax ju-+Térən. | níxa 'á móllat hár cúlla níxa níxa xèšla. | xá +al-do-xína juššəklun xèšlun. | ýyyəva kát +plàtlun, | +aturáya +plàtlun mən-Úrmi.*

(20) *'adíyya| kámata, | clí 'Úrmi paškònna| kát +yáttax dùcto dáxila. | 'Úrmi +pallúyəla +al-+tlá sáma. | xá sáma 'ila 'á-ybət +Súlduz. | yána 'ila tàyməna +ma'ərváya | 'at-yámta, | yámtat 'Úrmi. | xá-manne 'ila jáno 'Úrmi. | e-xíta 'ila +járbiyya| madanxéta tánax yán mādənxa +járbiyyéta kát výyəla Salàmas. | xá mənyánat náša jú Salàmas xíla, | Salàmas Javílan, | xá mənyánat nášəl xíla ju- 'Úrmi. | xá mənyánat náša xíla ju-+Súlduz. | (21) ka-mù? | m-sábab naravátat məndánnə +turána t-íva +bəsláyəla +várəva ju-yámtat 'Úrmi, | +álmət diyyan, m-sábab 'íva +accárə marzanánat dánnə naravátə matvátə muttilun 'u-xílun +támə. | 'átvə naravátə mən-dá-ybət +Súlduz. | mən-dánnə +turánat +Mahàbad +bəsláyəva ju-yámta. | 'átvə naravátə mán +turánat Túrcíyya +bəsláyəna ju-yámta. | 'áttən naravátat kát mən-+turánat xáčča pésa +'Urál, | 'án-ət Jílu, | +bəsláyəva ju-yámta kát 'íva 'ó sámət Salàmas. | (22) ju-dáštət 'Úrmi 'áxči 'átvələn b-+dánat kát ... +dánat +plàša, | 'álpo +əččámmo +tmanəssar, | 'áxnan 'átvələn šávvi tré matvátə +aturáya. | mən-kám +dána víyyan-ila bùš matvátə +rába, | 'áxči 'áni-xína víyyəna surjənnə, | týyəna m-sábab məššəlmanúta marzanané zàttəla, | 'áni +zàdyəna týyəna ju-matvátə +fùra xíyyəna. | yána víyyəna matvátə súra súra marzanána +rāba. | bálcət 'áttən jùl ... ju-dánnə +xaričə matvátə 'Úrmi +máyəna +al-ámmo tláy, | 'ámmo 'arpi matvátə. | 'ína ju-'álpo +əččámma 'u-+tmanəssar pyášəna šávvi tré matvátə. | (23) ci-xayyíva 'áxči +al-+accarùta. | 'u-sámət +járbiyya ká-bəxxáyəva ju-+turánəl ci-xayyíva b-+árbə. | 'úp kənyána +rába látvalun sáb ju-túra kənyána +rába lélə +msá xáyyi. | bušayuté 'átvələn 'árbə, | cát mən-dánnə 'árbə b-+xalívə, | mən-+ámrət 'árbə b-zabnívə, | +cárra júpta 'átxa məndyána bət-xayyíva. | 'ína sámət kát 'íva ju-dáštəl 'átvələn kənyána, | 'átvələn +zrùta. | bùš +rabəl 'átvələn carmánə, | carmánat +ánvə, | carmánat xabùšə. | b-+kéčəl tónaxl ànnəl +tunyátə bùš kámata kát 'íva +má 'íva məšməšə. | məšməšə mabrəzzívalun, | b-zabnívəlun, | sáb məšmášə hasanáy mabrùzona. | (24) b-+xárta mən-dánnəl xabùšə, | +camùtrə, | 'én +lázəm 'oyáva, | 'én 'avíva sníkə, | b-zabnívə. | 'én lá, | b-xamívalun ká-jané. | 'áni-zə ci-mabrəzzívalun kát ká-sətvə peštva, | +kákə ci-+karívalun, | +kákə. | yána, | +kátkəttívalə +xabùšə, | mabrəzzívala kám-šəmša, | b-xamívala ká-sətva. | 'ádi 'átvələn +ánvə. | +ánvə p̄t-odíva cəšmùšə, | p̄t-odíva sàvza, | t-odíva nipùxta, | t-odíva +xámra | 'u-p̄t-odíva tlúvvə mədrə ká-sətva. | tlúvvə 'átvələn, | yána +ánvə b-xamívalun ju-xàl ... +háva xáčča +karíra nimána. | hál sátvə bət-peštva. | lá nimána 'ína barúza hál sátvə bət-peštva.*

left alone and the Muslims in the surrounding area were many. The husband began to become worried. He wrote to the wife 'Come to the town.' Afterwards (this situation developed) until (they said) 'Come to Kermanshah' or 'Come to Abadan' or 'Come to Tehran.' Gradually the community all left. They looked at each other and left. This is why they left, why the Assyrians left Urmi.

(20) Now, first, let me describe Urmi, so we know what the place is like. Urmi is divided into three parts. One part is this side of Sulduz, that is south-west of the lake, the lake of Urmi. One of them is Urmi itself. The other is the eastern north side, let's say, or the north-eastern, which is Salamas. A number of people lived in Salamas, Salamas and Gavilan, and a number lived in Urmi. A number of people lived in Sulduz. (21) Why? Because the rivers that descended from the mountains and entered the lake of Urmi—our people, since they were farmers, established villages around these rivers and lived there. There were rivers on this side of Sulduz. They came down from the mountains of Mahabad into the lake. There were rivers from the mountains of Turkey which descended into the lake. There are rivers from the mountains almost of the Ural range, those of Jilu, which descended into the lake, in the region of Salamas. (22) On the plain of Urmi at the time of the war, in 1918, we only had seventy-two Assyrian villages. Before we had more villages, but these had become small and (the Assyrians) came—because Islam increased around them, they were afraid, and came and lived in large villages. That is, there were many very small villages around, perhaps on the maps the villages of Urmi amount to one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty villages. But in 1918 seventy-two villages remained. (23) They subsisted only on farming. In the northern region, where they lived in the mountains, they made a livelihood from sheep. They did not have many cattle, since cattle cannot live easily. Most of them had sheep and lived by milking the sheep and selling the wool of the sheep, butter, cheese and such things. But the group who were on the plain had cattle and had crops. Most of them had orchards, vineyards and apple orchards. In summer, we may say that the fruit that ripened first was apricots. They would dry the apricots and sell them, because one can easily dry an apricot. (24) After these (apricots), they would sell apples and pears, if it was necessary, if they needed to. If not, they kept them for themselves. They dried these also so they would keep for their winter—they called them <sup>+</sup>kaxə. They would cut up the apple, dry it in the sun and keep it for the winter. Now, they had grapes. They used to make grapes into raisins, they made them into blanched grapes, they made them into syrup, they made them into wine and they made hanging preserved grapes, again for winter. They had hanging grapes—that is they would conserve them in air that was slightly cool and moist. They would keep until winter. Not moist but dry, and they would keep until winter. They passed their life

xayyuté b-dà mán̄di +mavúrova. (25) sənjiyyəva, jòzəva, cəsmišəva, 'ànnə=zə b-xamíva. búš +raba yánə pulxané 'íva ju-+kèṭa. xamšà-yarxə, 'əštà-yarxə ju-+kèṭa bət-+zarrıva mən-+cərtòpa, mən-+bùslə, mən-sàlka. cül xá-mándi ... 'ət-snìkəva, +lázəm=iva +jammívalə қa-sàtva. 'úp қa-kənyàna! +jammíva jòlla, +jam-míva tūyna, mən-dán +xáttət +xazdivalun. +katkəttivalun, +xáttə қa-janè, tuyne қa-kənyàna. (26) +áv 'ila tūyna šámmu. +áv xamívalə mən-jállea m-+uydalə bət-maxívaləjú ... ju-mulavàta. b-+naṭrivalə қa-sàtva kat-yavvívá қa-kənyàna. sábab kənyána +jarbíva xamívalun hál xamšà yárxa! bálcət=zə 'əstá yárxa ju-dàšta, 'íta 'ánnə 'əstá-yarxə xínə bət-pešíva ju-pája! kát 'avívalun +mixùlta қaté.

(27) +álma +aturáya ju-'Úrmı! mən-kám +pláša! +raba šónna 'albáttə mən-kám +pláša, bí 'álpo tmanyámmo tláy! cíllə 'íva +ítət mǎdənxa. yánə cíllə 'íva xà +úmrə. 'íva +ùmrət, +ítət mǎdənxa. mən-álpo tmanyámmo tláy xà, tláy trèl Pérkins! ó məsshinər kámaya bitáyələ níxa b-níxal məsshinéra xínə bitáyəna. bəxzáyəna қát 'áttən +crəstyàna +támə, mšíxàya +támə. mattúyəna madrásə қa-dánnə mšíxàya. 'u-níxa b-níxal +álmat díyyan +bəkráyələ ju-dan-madrásə, mantúyələ, hál-t +xárta o-+pláša kámaya vàyələ қa-dán madrásə parpùsəna. (28) 'ánnə məsshinéra mən-ducána prišə bitáyəna. mən-+Frànsa bitáyəna, mən-ÈnglandE bitáyəna, mən-ÈAmèricaE bitáyəna, mən +Rùsiyya bitáyəna, mán +Itàlyya bitáyəna, mən-ÈRòme. cül xá қanyànu +macrúzələlə bí dèl ... taxmántat jánu +bàyyələ mən-dánnə mšíxáya қanə қa-jané. (29) +táməl xà pràšta víla ju-+álma šotapúta +aturətəl kát! mən-snìkúta jíba xáslun +al-+idáta prišə, yànəl +umrána vílun prišə mən-+událə. ju-dàl +dána! 'ətval +durásha bílat ÈcommúniyE 'ət-+aturáya xá mən-do-xínə. +durašé búš-+raba +jarúbəva bíl 'úrxət ctòvta 'odívalun. 'íta +árpa xamšà mǵalyátə. yánə mǵálta +pláṭəva ju-dáštət 'Úrmi. +tyèta 'íta. 'atvàtə 'íta. 'íta vílun +bədràša, ju-dánnə mǵalyaté vílun mən-+údala +bədràša. búš +raba! 'ánnəl +durašé! fròslun! yánə tíla snèta víla ból +událə. lá +šurílun maǵjúbə +událə. 'ýən bálcət xá sábab víla ó xélət +aturáya-xina +bsòrrə. (30) 'ýá víla xà mən dan-sábábat kát! marzanànət diyyé! 'an-məsshəlmànəl xínə +šurílun bəxzá қat-á móllat zàbbun-ilə, léla +rába xelànta. қámta ci-+zadíva mánno! 'ína 'ádi xínə +šurílun là +bəzdá mánno. ju-zvánta zabànta=zəl +raba +cár muttíla қaté. xá sámət məsshəlmànəl 'én 'íva mən-ķatulikàya xá, búš-+raba mánđit қatulikàya bəzvánəva. xá sáma mən-məsshəlmànəl kát 'íva mən-amricàya xá! búš-+raba mən-umránət 'ivanjalàyəl yán 'an-nášət kát 'íva mən-prəsbətràyəl mən-'ivanjalàyəl sàbza bəzvánəva, +xáttə bəzvánəva, cül-xa mánđi bəzvánəva. 'á sáma 'àxči! léla bədvákə mán dòl mánđit +buķərrux. +paxlátli +raba. 'áxči +bíli 'ýaya +maddənvala 'áx! ... búš-+raba +cár

in this way. (25) There were jujube fruits, walnuts, raisins. They preserved these. Their work was mainly in the summer. For five months, six months in the summer they would cultivate potatoes, onions, beetroot. Everything that they needed, that was necessary, they would gather for winter. Also for their cattle they would gather grass, they would gather hay, from the wheat that they harvested. They cut them up and (kept) the wheat for themselves and its hay for the cattle. (26) That is called 'hay'. They preserved it and together with grass they put it in barns. They kept it for winter to give to the cattle. Because they tried to keep the cattle for five months, perhaps six months, on the plain, then the other six months they would stay in the stable, so they would have food for them.

(27) The Assyrian people in Urmi before the war, indeed many years before the war, in 1830, were all Church of the East. That is they were all one church. They were the church of, the Church of the East. (Starting) from 1831 or 32, Perkins, the first missionary, comes and gradually other missionaries come. They see that there are Christians there, Christians there. They establish schools for these Christians. Gradually our people (start) to study in the schools and they are successful, until later when the First World War takes place, they abolish the schools. (28) The missionaries come from different places. They come from France, they come from England, they come from America, they come from Russia, they come from Italy, from Rome. Each one preaches to his flock, wishing to gain for themselves some of these Christians with his own particular beliefs. (29) There a division took place in the people, in the Assyrian community, who according to need went over to different churches, that is the churches became different from one another. At that time there was an argument within the Assyrian community, between one another. They attempted to conduct their argument mainly through writing. There were four or five magazines. A magazine was published in the plain of Urmi. There was printing. There were fonts. So they argued, they argued with each other in those magazines. The more their argument continued, hatred developed among one another. They began not to like one another. Perhaps this was a cause for the fact that the strength of the Assyrians diminished. (30) This was one of the reasons that the Muslims around them began to see that this community was weak, was not very strong. Before they would fear it, but now they began not to fear it. They had an influence on them in commerce. If some of the Muslims were allied to the Catholics, they purchased mainly the goods of the Catholics. A group of Muslims who were allied with the Americans, they bought vegetables, they bought wheat, they bought everything mainly from the evangelical churches, or the people who were from among the Presbyterians or Evangelicals. But this section does not relate to what you asked. I beg your pardon. But I wanted to

*muttīla kát xína ó +yəssùrət| xuyàda| +yəssùrət| kát m-+ùdalə palxíva| +kt̪ila.*  
*xayyuté +šuríla níxa níxa bəxràva.*

(31) *ju-mdítəl b-+dánət kát məsshinèrə ’átvəl násət díyyan kát ’átvəlun yulpàna*  
*xáčča| +rába mənné bitáyəva l-EAmèricaE +bəkráyəva| +bədyàrəva,| haccimə*  
*váyəva,| +spày-íva.| yánə ķa-dó mótxa zùyžəl ... sunķané +palútuva b-dó yulpanè.*  
*’átvəlan +madrašyàta.| ju-dan-+madrašyàta| +rabíyyət yán +rabíyyatət ’átvə*  
*ci-+maķriva.| (32) jú šúkəl yánə tánax ’ón duccána ’oyáva ķa-xá zabànta,*  
*zvánta zabàntal búš-+raba +párča ci-zabnívə,| +aturáyət díyyan,| yán +xyùča*  
*c-odívə.| ju-dánnə +šulánət prəzla| +rába lénə víyyəl| ’átvə násət kát b-+tarsíva*  
*taníyərəl yán +tarsíva marjalyàta,| hajáttə ķa-bašálta| ’áni búš rába məsshəlmànə*  
*þt̪-odívəlun.| (33) +’álmat díyyanl násət díyyanl búš-+raba víyyənl yán víyyəna*  
*darzíyyə,| +xayyàtə,| +xyùča vídnə,| yán víyyəna +rabíyyə,| yán víyyəna +párča*  
*zabúnə.| xá mənyána +rába súra víyyan-ilə kát zúbnələ ķesə,| zúbnələ sàbzə.*  
*’áni hamzúmən ’áxči ’án-t mdítə.| ’u-xá mənyána-zə +rába súra víyyələ| kát*  
*víyyələl víyyəna zabúnə júpta,| +čày,| kànd.| duccána víyyélə,| xá duccána súrča,|*  
*’á +šúla vídnə,| +rába xáčča násə víyyan-ilə kát-’avílun Frèstaurant, E| yánə dúc-*  
*tət +maxálta.| +rába xáčča násə víyyan-ilə kát ’avílun dúctət mašréta,| yánə*  
*Ehotèls, E| lèlə víyyan +rába,| sáb é +dána ju-’Úrmi lòtva lótvə násə uzíva pešíva*  
*xá lélə,| trè lelavátə kát ’oyáva xá dícta.| (34) ’átvə xácma duccánə ci-+karívalun*  
*+musáfər +xàna| ’áyən ’íva ’áxči xá dúctət kát ķa-xácma +sa’attəl é +’atnàbəl yán*  
*þt̪-atyáva é Ebuś E| yán þt̪-atyáva pešáva| +al-+bár xácma +sa’attə t-azàva,| yán*  
*+al-dó-yumu xína þt̪-azáva.| ó násə bət-pášva ju-dé +musáfər +xàna.| yán mən-*  
*kám Ebuses E kát ’atíva ’átvə yalàñkə,| ’átvə +arabànəl ká but-dáyya lòtva +rába*  
*Ehotèl E-ə,| ju-dánnə +musáfər +xánə +túrsəva| +otágə +rába +júra,| cíllə násəl*  
*jaškàtva| šavvì janátə dmíxəna ju-xa-+’ótağ,| +jóra,| báxta,| sàva,| sòta.| (35) ’íta*  
*ka-but-dáyyal násət díyyanl là muğgəbbálunl kát ’avívalun +musáfər +xàna| sàb|*  
*là +rədyálunl ó +pásla láxma ķnèta,| búš +rába vílun jùl +párča zabántal yán*  
*xáčča ’átvəlan ju-+šulánət dàva,| búš-+raba huydáya ’íva ju-+šulánət dàva,| ’u-’íva*  
*+rabíyyə,| ’u xácma mənné ’átvəlun duccanànəl yán darzíyyə,| laxmē b-dà móndi*  
*bəknáyuva,| ó +’álmat ju-mdítə,| +’álmat matvátə ’áy ķəssáttu prəštəla.*

(36) *mdítət ’Úrmi lélə +rába +júrtə,| ’án hamzúməvax bás| dè +dánəl yánə*  
*’atíkəl an-sánnət ķamta| mdítət ’Úrmi lélə +júrtə,| ’án +báyyət b-’ákla ’ázət mən-*  
*xá-jibo +al-dó-jibo xína| bálcət +másət jùl ju-’əsrì daķíkəl páljət +sá’at +máłət*  
*+al-dó-jibo xína,| ’ím zúlət doķátlə ju-’Úrmi,| mdítət ’Úrmi,| (37) ’ína +aturáyət*  
*díyyanl búš-+raba víyyəna jùl ju-+járbiyyət ’Úrmi| ’u-xá sáma súra víyyəna jùl*  
*+láp ó-jibət mădənxələ kát bərráxşəla la-matvátəl yánə o-sámət kát| ’e-’úrxəl e-*  
*+jádat kát bərráxşəla la-matvátət ...| trè naravátə ’ína +al-jibət mădənxət mdítət*

make this known, because it mainly had the effect that the bond of unity, the bond of working together was broken. Their life gradually began to deteriorate.

(31) In the town, in the period that there were missionaries, many of our people who had some education used to go to America to study. They would return and become doctors, they were well-off. That is during that period they were making money, their livelihood through their education. We had schools. In those schools male teachers and female teachers that were there used to teach. (32) In the market, let's say, if there was a shop for selling, buying and selling, they would mainly sell textiles, our Assyrians, or would make sewn work. There were not many in jobs involving iron. There were people who made ovens, cooking pots, tools for cooking, but these (jobs) were done by Muslims. (33) Our community, our people were mainly either tailors, tailors, doing tailoring, or were teachers, or sold textiles. We had a very small number who sold wood or sold vegetables. I am talking about only those of the town. There was also a very small number who sold cheese, tea, sugar. They had a shop, a small shop, and they used to do this job. We had very few people who had a restaurant, that is a place for serving food. We had very few people who had a lodging place, that is hotels. We did not have many since at that time in Urmî there were not many people who went and stayed for a night or two nights, for there to be a need for there to be a place (to stay). (34) There were a few places they called a travellers' lodge. This was a place where for a few hours a car or a bus would come, it would come and remain until after a few hours it would leave, or until it left the next day. A person would stay in the travellers' lodge. Before buses came out, there were carriages, there were coaches. On account of this there were not many hotels. In these travellers' lodges they built very large rooms. You would see everybody (together, as many as) seventy people asleep in one room, husband, wife, an old man, an old woman. (35) For this reason our people did not want to have a travellers' lodge because they did not like this way of earning a living. They were mainly in (the trade) of selling textiles, or we had a few in the gold business. Mostly (it was) the Jews (who) were in the gold business. They (the Assyrians) were teachers, some of them had shops, or (they were) tailors. They earned their living in this way, (that is) the people in the town. The account of the people of the villages is different.

(36) The town of Urmî is not very big. If we are talking about that time, that is in earlier years, the town of Urmî is not big. If you want to go by foot from one side of it to the other side, perhaps you could reach the other side in twenty minutes or half an hour, whatever route you take in Urmî, the town of the Urmî. (37) Our Assyrians were mainly in the northern part of Urmî, and a small number were right on the east side, which leads to the villages, that is the part, the way, the road that leads to the villages. Two rivers are on the

'Úrmi.| +al-dán naraváta 'áttən +raba matváta.| (38) é 'úrxət bərráxšəva l-á-jibət mǎdənxa| l-á-jibət Tòrəz| 'u-l-á-jibət dàn matvátəl xá sámət násə=zə +aturáya 'átvəlan +tāma,| sáb búš kúrbəva +al-dán +musáfər +xánət 'ána hamzúmən basə.| sáb +musáfər +xánə +tāma kúrbəval bí yelənka| yán bí +arabàna| yán bí Ebùses,| t-atíva kúrba +tāma.| 'ita xəzmané=zə +al-dàn jibána škīləva batváta.| (39) 'ína 'o-sáma xína 'íval búš +rába +al+ +járbiyyət mdítət 'Úrmi bəxxáya.| 'ayən 'íva búš şapərtəl yánə dúctət mårət davəltəva.| 'an-násət búš +əllayət 'Úrmi| +tāma ci-xayyíva.| +xárta 'ó sáma xína kát mårən hamzúmənən basé mǎdənxa| níxa b-níxa +áv=zə prəkla| yánə cílla cváčlun +al-sámət +járbiyya| bušayútət +aturáya xá dúcta ci-xayyíva.| (40) batvatəl hár 'áx cílla batvátət kát| ... ju-'Úrmi +šurílun +matrúsə bí ləbnəl yánə cárpəč bəlta| batvaté 'íva b-cárpəč bəlta| daraté 'íva +júrə| 'átvəlun +hàmmam.| 'é +dána +hála 'ánnə +hammámət yurupnáya lèva tíyya| +hàmmam 'átvəlun máx| məsshəlmənə,| 'ína sábəbab +aturáya mən-məsshinérə lípəva beté 'íva búš şapíra mən-batvátət ... mən-batvátət məsshəlmənə,| 'átvəlun xa+hàmmam +rába şapərtəl +al-dò ríšət dárta múttova| 'úp 'ón 'íva máx dát xínə,| məsshəlmənə,| 'ína 'íva +rába búš şapərtəl mən-sábəbab lípəva dax-márri,| lípəva mən-məsshinérə,| (41) búš batvaté şapírəva| 'átvəlun +otágət dmaxyàta| 'átvəlun buxaríyyə ka-sətva,| tré buxaríyyə,| 'ón beté +júrəva tré buxaríyya| késə b-+jammíva| 'átvəlun +ámbar,| xá +ámbar ka-késə,| késə mən-máta bət-mayyívalun| tlívva mən-máta bət-mayyíva| sab-ju-máta cílla 'ánnə násət bəxxáyəva| ju-mdítəl yán ju-máta| 'átvəlun carmənə| yán 'átvəlun xəzmənə,| jòzə,| cəsmišə,| +xərṭmənə,| cíl xá-məndi bət-mayyíva ju-mdítə,| 'u-bət-xayyíva| +rába +əllayə,| lvəstə c-oyáva +rába şapərtə,| yalé ju-madrásə kát 'íva +bəkrá c-avíva +rába zərracəl yánəl 'an-kàmaya| tānax| ká-ðmma| 'óčči tmànya| 'óčči xàmša| jú dó cyúla kàmaya| 'íva +aturáya| ju-mdítə,|

## B2 Village Life (Yonan Petrus, +Mušava, N)

(1) +tlábloxun but-+zrùta katóxun xácmə məndyánə tánən| mən-+Mùšáva,| 'ína| 'áha mánđit 'ána +báyyən tanənnəl bədvákələ mən-cílla matvátət díyyan| kat-| 'átvəlan ju-dáštat 'Úrmi,| jú dáštat Salàmas. (2) 'áxnan jú ... dáštat 'Úrmi Salàmas +al-+uydálə 'átvəlan 'ámmo tláy +tlá matvátə,| matvátəl 'áxči t-| +aturáyəva| 'ita 'átvəlan xácmə ... +xvítə mən-+arəmnáyə| cílla 'ána səmmanə 'átlı,| hí,| láxxa 'átlı səmmanə,| (3) 'ita ju-dánnə matvátə| +zrùta| cílla 'áx

east side of the town of Urmi. On those rivers there are many villages. (38) The road that leads to the east side, towards Tabriz and towards those villages—we had some Assyrian people there, because they were closer to the travellers' lodges that I am talking about, because a travellers' lodge was close there and they (the villagers) would come close by there with a carriage, with a coach or with buses. So their relatives bought houses in those areas. (39) But the other group was living mainly on the northern side of the town of Urmi. This was more beautiful, that is it was the area of rich people. The upper class people of Urmi used to live there. Later, the other group, about whom I am talking, in the east, gradually stopped (living there), that is they moved to the northern area. The majority of Assyrians used to live in one place. (40) Their houses, like all the houses in Urmi, began to be built with bricks, that is baked brick. The houses were (built) with baked brick. Their courtyards were big. They had a bathroom. At that time the European type of bathrooms had not yet come (to Urmi). They had a bathroom like (that of) the Muslims. But since the Assyrians had learnt from the missionaries, their houses were more beautiful than the houses of the Muslims. They had a very beautiful bathroom, which they put on the other side of the courtyard. Although it was like that of the others, the Muslims, it was much more beautiful, since they had learnt, as I said, they had learnt from the missionaries. (41) Their houses were more beautiful. They had bedrooms. They had stoves for winter, two stoves, if their house was big, two stoves. They would gather wood. They had a storeroom, a storeroom for wood. They would bring wood from the village. They would bring hanging preserved grapes from the village. (This was) because in the village—all the people who lived in the town, either had orchards in the village or had relatives there. They brought to the town walnuts, raisins, chickpeas, everything. They used to live as high-class people. Their clothing was very beautiful. Their children who were studying in the schools were very intelligent, that is the Assyrians in the town were the foremost (members of the population), let's say ninety-eight or ninety-five out of a hundred, the first level.

## B2      Village Life (Yonan Petrus, <sup>+</sup>Mušava, N)

(1) You have asked me to tell you a few things about agriculture with regard to <sup>+</sup>Mušava, but what I want to say holds for all our villages that are in the plain of Urmi and the plain of Salamas. (2) We, in the plain of Urmi and Salamas, we had altogether a hundred and thirty-three villages, villages that were only (those) of Assyrians. We had some that were mixed with Armenians. I have all their names, yes I have their names here. (3) Now, in these villages agriculture was

+’iydaləva. léva prəšta. ju-matváta ’ətvalan! cíl bëta! ’ət-cíl máta! ’ətvala xa-  
+kóttet cárma! kát ju-cármul +’ánvə,| +’ánvət +xàlal ’ítá mən- +’ánvə=zəl cəsmišə=zə  
dokvá! sábza=zə. xayyuté mən-+tàmməva. sábza daríva lablívala +’al-mdítal  
ci-zabnívala! u-móndit +lázəm=va káte! ci-šákłíval mayyívalə. (4) ’ína xína mən-  
carmána,| nipùxta ci-bašlíva. +’ánvə mayyívalun ju-čarázəl +maččívalun,| šíra!  
’ítá ju-+tiyànə daríva. xuté mallíva nùyral nipùxta bašlíva. cəsmišə mabrəzzíva  
’áy maxzúyəla ká-díyi ká-tánən cəsmišə. +’ál varazánə daríva cəsmišə ká-  
sàtva. ’áni xurrájət sàtvəva. tlùvvə,| tlùvvə ci-+tarsíva. +’ánvə har-hàda! tázal  
čambəllívalun! jú ... čuxyátəl cíuxta c-avívalun ju-xàšca. ci-čambəllívalun! ká-  
sàtva. ci-yatvíva marzánət tanùyral mən-dánnə tlùvvə ci-mayyíval ci-+maslíval  
’árxa darívalun c-+axlíva. (5) +xámra +társva! +rába rišáya +xámra ju-+línə.  
’áha ju-cíllə matvátəva,| léva ’áxči ju-mátət díyyan. ju-cíllə matvátət dáshtət  
’Ürmil ’a-mändi-’ətva. ’ətvalan matvátə xáčča súrəl ’ətvalan matvátə +júrəl  
’ína cíllə ’á-mändi. (6) ’á-sapar ’ətvalun! +arrátəl šúk mən-carmána. ’ína ’á-  
mändi-da tanànnə. ju-carmána ci-társva +čoláta bí ... késəl +arpá +háčə ’átxa  
ci-mattíval čardák! čardák! ’ítá b-yùmal bnàtəl ci-yatvíva ju-+čolátəl kájt-jinávə  
la-’avíva! +’al-carmána +šúlə. +xadərvánan məssálmána! məssálmána=zə ...  
hóč-xa mənné lótvəlun carmána. lá carmána ’ətvalun! lá baxčánət yéməš. cíllə  
’ət-díyyan! +aturáya ’u-’arəmnày=da. ’ətva xácmə matvátət ’arəmnàyəl ju-dáshtət  
’Ürmil. (7) ’ítá b-yùmal bnàtəl ci-yatvíva. +bağvànə c-avíva! kájt jinávə +šúlə  
la-’atíva. tèrə=da c-atíva kájt-+’ánvə +’axlívalun! ci-maprəxxívalun! b-léla=da  
jvánkə c-azíva. ’ána jàni=zəl jú xá šíta +’ám jvánkə m-+uydálə ’á-+šula vìdux.  
jinávə c-atíva dokkàxvalun +šúlə. (8) ’ítá sábza ci-lablívala ’áx mərri! +’al-  
mdítal ci-zabníva. +rába məndyána,| šácar! yàn! xácmə məndyána kájt ju-  
matvátə lètval ci-zoníva,| mayyíva kájt-+lázəm c-avíva,| +párčəl jùlləl ’átxa  
məndyàna. hár dé-+dana c-avívalun +káttatət +arrátəl ju-+arrátə +zarríva

all the same. It was not different. In villages that belonged to us, every house of every village had a section of a vineyard, vineyard and in his (the householder's) vineyard there are grapes, grapes for eating, and so from the grapes they used to produce raisins, and (there were) vegetables. Their livelihood was from there. They used to lay out the vegetables and take them to the town and sell them, then they would buy what they needed, and bring it back. (4) Also from the (produce of) the vineyards they would cook molasses. They used to bring the grapes in water-jugs, they used to press them and then they used to pour the must into cauldrons. They used to light a fire beneath them and cook molasses. They used to dry raisins—she is pointing to me so that I mention raisins. They used to lay out raisins on the slopes (of the rooftops) for the winter. These were food for winter. They used to make preserved grape-clusters, preserved grape-clusters. They used to hang up grapes, exactly as they were fresh (from the vineyards) in cellars—they used to have a cellar—in the dark. They used to hang them up for winter. They used to sit around an oven and used to bring some of those preserved grape-clusters. They used to take them down and serve them to guests and they would eat them. (5) They used to make wine, very good quality wine in jars. This was in all the villages, not just in our village. In all the villages of the plain of Urmi this was the custom.<sup>2</sup> We had some small villages, we had large villages but they all had this custom. (6) Now, other than vineyards they had fields, but (first) I'll say one other thing,<sup>3</sup> in the vineyards they used to make huts with wood, they used to place four supports like this, a hut, huts, so during the day girls used to sit in the huts so that there would not be any thieves (breaking) into the vineyards and so forth. Around us were Muslims. None of the Muslims had any vineyards. They had no vineyards or fruit orchards. They all belonged to us, the Assyrians and also the Armenians. There were few Armenian villages in the plain of Urmi. (7) So during the day girls would sit (there), they used to be vineyard-keepers so that thieves and so forth would not come. Birds too used to come to eat the grapes and they used to drive them away<sup>4</sup> and at night the lads used to go. I myself together with the lads did this task one year. Thieves used to come and we used to catch them and so forth. (8) Now, they used to take the vegetables, as I said, to the town and sell them. They used to buy many things, sugar or things that did not exist in the villages, and bring (them) for they were necessary, textiles and clothing, such things. At the same time they used to have fields. In the fields they used to farm wheat, they

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: There was this thing.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: this thing also.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: cause them to fly.

+xàttəl +zarríva +sàrə. | +xàttə +sárə b-+dána b-+kéta ci-+xazdivalun. | ju-matvátə  
 'átvə jarjárəl 'ánnə ci-lablívalun ju-+budráta, | b-jarjárəl b-kənyànl yán tòrəl  
 yán xmàrəl 'ánnə jaršíva +xàttə ci-+palṭivalunl mən-ju-búlat +xàttə. | (9) ci-  
 +palṭivalunl lablívalun 'érxa- 'átvə. | ju-'érxa ci-taxnívalunl c-odívalun kàmxa kàt-  
 mayyíva ju-bàtəl lágma yapíva. | ju-matvátə 'átvə tanúrəl tanúrə +rába 'átxa  
 'ámku! javé lágma ci-yapíva. | 'ita ci-maplaxxíva táxta ... +doràna mán màzrak!  
 'ó-t lágma ci-mattívala +állu! 'ita b-+dávun ci-maxívala ju-tanílyra. | ci-pás̄va  
 xá +árpa xamšá dakíkəl jóns ci-bašèlva. | (10) +rába šapíra lágma hác áx do-  
 lágmat matvátə=da! P'aslán<sup>P</sup> hác-ductal 'ánnə lágxa b-ánnə ducána lè-mačxət  
 mən-do-lágma +rába šapíra. | +rába məndyána. | hil mən-kənyàna. | kənyàna=zə  
 c-avívalun. | màsta 'i-dokíval +càrra 'i-dokíval +xàlva, | cùl xa-mándi c-avívalun  
 mán kənyàna=zə. 'ita ju-dán +arrátəl šúk mən-+xàttəl šaptíyyə, bašiləl +júrə +fúrə  
 mən-dánnə yemíshəl +zarríva. | (11) ci-+zarríva 'ánnə=zə yán xa-sáma 'ən-+rába  
 'áviva ci-zabnívala xa-zúzya +al-'ída ci-mayyíva 'an-xínə c-+axlívalun. +rába yálə  
 jíləl bnáta jíləl c-azíva ju-dánnə +bustanàna +šúləl bəzmàra, tanúvvə, bərkàda.  
 'ita cíllə bátə=zə c-avívalun, | cíll bëta káttət +'árra-da c-avívaləl carmàna=zə  
 c-avívalə.

(12) 'ita dáshtət 'Úrmi xína! +rába šapírtəva. | 'ána! xa-ctàva 'stli! tré məššən-  
 néret 'amricàya! 'án čám kamáya məššənnéra kát tilun! ju-dáshtət 'Úrmi! xá-mənne  
 'íva šámmu Míster Smíth, | 'o-xína 'íva Dwíght, | 'ánnə tré +parsúpə tilun, | 'é-+dán  
 tilun, | 'é-+dana 'urxáta=zə 'ásfalt lèva víyya. | 'urxáta P'susèPval 'ásfalt léva víyya! 'ita  
 látva +mašinə=zə kát b-+mašinə nášə 'azíva 'atíva. | b-susaváy b-cavádnə b-xmàrə  
 c-azíva. | (13) 'ánnə b-susavaté 'é-+dán +mílun +ál +láp karkáptət +túryra 'íva xá  
 ... +támə 'átvalan xá E-passE! +rába +rámta! ci-+karívala kúčíyyə. | jadúfjet kúčíyyə  
 ci-+karívala. | 'é-+dán +mílun táməl mən-+támə m-+al-susavaté +slílun! jušáklun  
 +al-dáshtət 'Úrmi! mən-+támə dáshtət 'Úrmi! ci-mabyənnáva +rába šapírtəl 'ita  
 dápñət dé dáshtə=da! 'átlan xa-yáməl yámət 'Úrmi ci-+karíla, | yámət mòlxə. | (14)  
 'áyən xəzyálun! ju-ctavé bəctávəna! 'o-ctávu kátbòardE-ət diyyé!  
 ju-Bòston, | lágxa ju-E'Amèrica, E! mårəna 'áxnan! ju-+rába +atravátət dínyə  
 +xdírvax! +rába dásyàta xázyəvax! +rába ducána xíšəvax! albàtta b-násə=zə kátpíkəna,  
 b-+parsúpəl 'ánnə məndyána=da taníyəna, | mára dáshtəl b-dá +súp̄ra  
 'áxnan lèx xázyəl hác dúca lát dáshtə b-dá šúp̄ra. | xá jíbo! cíllə +tuyrànəna!  
 'adíyya b-+arállağ-ət +kéta! cíllə +tuyrànəl +ulluylé 'é-karkáptət +túryra tálja  
 +maxvúrələl 'áltəx! dáshtə cíllə kántəla. | +rába šapírtəl l-á-jiba xítə mabyúnəla

used to farm barley. They used to harvest wheat and barley at (harvest) time in summer. In the villages there were threshing-machines. They used to take these to the threshing floors, and on the threshing-machines—they used to pull these with cattle, or oxen or asses—they used to extract the wheat from the ears of wheat. (9) They used to extract it (the wheat) and take it to a watermill, which was (in the village). In the watermill they used to grind it and make it into flour, in order to take home and bake bread. In the villages there were ovens, many ovens, deep like this, in which they used to bake bread. So they used to use a board, a rolling pin together with a dough-cushion, on which they used to put the bread, then on this they used to place it in the oven. It stayed there for four or five minutes, and baked well. (10) (It was) very fine bread. Nothing like the bread of the villages—nowhere in these places (here) will you find such fine bread. There are many things. Yes, with regard to cattle, they used to have also cattle. They used to produce yoghurt, they used to produce butter, milk, they used to have everything from the cattle. Now, in those fields other than wheat, they used to cultivate watermelons, muskmelons, different types of these fruits. (11) They used to cultivate these or if a proportion (of them) were surplus, they used to sell (them) and earn a bit of money, the others they used to eat. Many young boys and young girls used to go to these orchards and so forth, singing, telling tales and dancing. So all homes used to have (these), every house used to have a piece of land, and used to have vineyards.

(12) Now the plain of Urmi was very beautiful. I have a book (of) two American missionaries, the very first missionaries who came to the plain of Urmi. The name of one of them was Mr. Smith and the other one was Dwight. These two gentlemen came. When they came, at that time the roads had not (yet) been laid with asphalt the roads were surfaced (with sand), they had not (yet) been laid with asphalt. So there were no cars, so that people could come and go in cars, they used to travel by horses, mules and donkeys. (13) When these men arrived with their horses to the very top of the mountain, there we had a very high pass which they used to call Kučiyyə, they used to call it the Kučiyyə pass. When they arrived there, they dismounted from their horses and looked at the plain of Urmi. From there the plain of Urmi looked very beautiful. Next to the plain we have a sea. They call it the lake of Urmi, the sea of salt. (14) They saw it and write in their book, the book that they wrote to their board in Boston here in America, they say 'We have travelled to many countries of the world, we have seen many plains, we have gone to many places'—of course they speak about the people they have met, the people, such things—they say 'We have not seen a plain of such beauty. Nowhere is there a plain of such beauty. On one side of it it is all mountains, now in the middle of summer all the mountains, upon (each one of) them the mountain peak is white with snow. Below the whole plain is

*xa-hónna ... +àbi' mòlta! éyàma. | 'áxnan +rába bøt-xàdax! 'ányavvítun ká-díyyan| pòrsat +ijázayavvítunlan! hár pešax làxxal mašxòddax! ju-dá dùcta. | børráxšøna 'albáttá bøtfákøna b-cmá 'apøskúpa kat-vàyan-løl +árþa xamšá 'apøskúpa. | (15) ju-matvátá +súlø +bøxdàrøna biyyé bøtpàkøna ctáva 'atíkø=zø kat-víyyan-løl børráxšøna cùlla bøxzayèna. | matxùrøna 'ica xíšøna, | Còsøl yán ducána xína kát tpíkøna b-+már +Avràm, | +már Yòsøp, | +mar 'Ilìyya, | +már Yuxànnan, | +árþádanø 'apøskúpa 'áyya +dána 'átvalan. | b-dánnø kát bøtpàkøna muýfurra b-xùbbø | kabuléna b-dó xubbè. | ju-ctavé ctìvøna. | 'ita. | dáštøt 'Úrmi! 'ána bøxshávøn xá mán ... lélé kát 'áxnan jánan vîyyøvax! jávo jurvøssøvax, | +rába +psàmøvax! kát m-ída yùvvo. | (16) dáštøt 'Úrmi xá +dána vítøla cullana'ít vítøla 'at-+aturay. | háč mæššølmána +súlø-da léna vîyyøl 'áxci é-+dán Pñadér-ŠáhP, | xá mæn-málcøt +íran tìløl xá násøva +rába ... +rába fanatíkàya! +rába zóda mæn-+lázøm! mán +crøsyána xóšu le-'at�ával +aturayøt díyyan bøškølèval mæn-dáštøt 'Úrmi labuléva la-dó-rišøt +átral +Köçan, | Mæsad, | la-dán jibànøl mæn-+táma máyøva +afšarìyyøl 'ánnø 'áxnan +karáxlun adíyya-da +hošàrlø ka-cùlla dámø +parsúpø kát ju-dé dáštøt 'Úrmi ci-xáyyi! kát mæššølmænøna ci-+kárax +hošàrlø +hošàrlø yán PafšarìnP. | (17) +ávun Pñadér-ŠáhP Pafšàrlø 'íva-da šómmu! +ávun šakálvalun mayyìvalun +támøl +aturayøt díyyan šakálva +mabsørvølun mæn-+támøl. | 'áxnan xá-+dana dáštøt 'Úrmi cùlla 'aslánø yáma ... é yàma +támøl šámømo 'ílø yámøt 'Úrmi 'Úrmìyya jåno, | 'Úrmìyya, | yánø díuctøt miyyøl kànnøt miyyøl +mabbùvvøt miyyøl 'á +xàbra! +xàbra! +aturayølø 'at-díyyan-la. | 'Úrmìyya.*

(18) (GK: bøtvátø dàxiva?) bøtvátøl sáma zòdal ... ju-matvátø 'átvalan bátø prišøl clítøva +al-nàšøl müjjurra másalan cmá 'á-íva +cásøb yán dolàtman. | 'átvalan bátøt tré +tlá tabákø=zø b-cárpač smùktøl cárpač këttøl muékøttøl 'átvalan bátøl 'ína cullana'ít sáma zódøt bátøt mætøl ci-+tarsívalun mán ... ci-+paltíva +al-váddar mæn-mætøl cimànø 'átvalan. | ci-+kattíva címøl 'áxnan ci-tanàxlun xína, | ci-+kattíva címøl 'én címø b-+tìna ci-mayyíval mattíva +ál +uydáløl 'átxa maskívalø fùyda! bëta +tarsíva biyyé. | 'íta xína +ulluylé=da cùlla c-avíva kësø, | pardùvvø, | +karyátø. | stùyna ci-mattíva. (19) xút dán +karyátøl kát 'en-béta +fùra 'avíval jàrul sòtva tálja +ràba ci-+rayyíva. | +ràba tálja ci-+rayyíva. | sòtval 'ána bøtxárvøn jàni! sùrøvønval bábi=da sàvøval ci-yasékøva mæn-bábi m-+úydala cùt-yum! tálja! jàri +rappáxvalø m-+al-jàrø, | cùl yùma, | cùl yùma. | +úxcha tálja ci-+rayyíva. | 'adil xína 'áx kámøta léløl jàrø, | 'áx mèrri xína, | jàrø ... kësa ci-mattíva +xlima 'átxa! mæn-dà fùyda +al-dò fùyda. | 'én béta 'ávø +fùra! xá-dana stùyna=da xút ci-maxíva mæn-+árrøl hál +tàmma! kát là taláxva. | 'íta cmá dánø mæn-+dávun 'átxa ci-mattíva. | +xàrtøl 'átvø kësa súra 'átxa ci-parmìvalun!

green. On the other side something blue is seen, that is the sea. We would be very happy if you gave us the opportunity, if you gave us permission to stay right here, and preach in this place.' They, of course, go to meet some bishops that we had, four or five bishops. (15) They go around the villages and so forth and meet them. They also go and see all the old books that we had. They mention where they have gone, Kose, or other places where they have met Mar Abraham, Mar Joseph, Mar Elijah and Mar John—we had four bishops at that time. They have written in their book how they meet them, how warmly they receive them with love. So the plain of Urmi, I think it is one (of the most beautiful places). This is not because we ourselves were born and grew up in it. We are very sorry that we have now lost it. (16) The plain of Urmi was at one time completely Assyrian. There were no Muslims there. But at the time when Nadershah, one of the kings of Iran came—he was a very, very fanatic person, he hated the Christians more than was necessary—he took our Assyrians from the plain of Urmi and deported them to the far end of the country, Kochan, Mashhad, to those parts. From there he brought *afšars*, whom we now call <sup>+</sup>*hošarə*—we call all those people that live in the plain of Urmi who are Muslims <sup>+</sup>*hošarə*, <sup>+</sup>*hošarə* means *afšari*. (17) The last name of Nadershah was also *Afšar*. He took them and brought them there. He took away our Assyrians and reduced (their numbers) there. At one time the whole of the plain of Urmi in fact (was Assyrian). The lake there, its name is the lake of Urmi. Urmiyya itself, Urmiyya means the place of water, the nest of water, the source of water. This word Urmiyya is an Assyrian word. It belongs to our (language).

(18) The majority of the houses ... in the villages we had various houses, it depended on the people, for example, how poor he was or how rich. We had houses of two, three storeys with red brick, burnt, baked brick. We had houses—generally, the majority of the houses of a village they used to make them from ... They used to go outside the village, (where) we had sods of earth. They used to cut what we called sods, they used to cut sods. They used to bring back the sods with mud and place them on top of each other and in this way they used to build up the wall. They used to build a house with them. Now, on top of them everything was wood. They used to lay laths and beams. (19) They used to lay pillars beneath the beams, if the roof of the house was big. In winter a lot of snow used to fall. A lot of snow used to fall in winter. I myself remember, I was young and my father was old, I used to go up together with my father and every day we had to throw off the snow from the roof, every day, every day, so much snow used to fall. Now it is not like before. The roofs—as I said, the roof, they used to place a piece of wood, thick like this, from this wall to that wall. If the house was big, they used to place also a pillar underneath (coming up) from the ground up to there, so that it would not collapse. So they used to place a few

+*kałkət̪t̪ivalun*,| *ka-dáni* +*karíva pardùvvə*.| *hèl* *ka-dáni* +*karíva pardùvvə*.| *o-késa* +*yaríxa* +*karívalə* +*karítə*.| (20) *ka-dáni* +*karíva pardùvvə*.| *'an-késə ci-mattívalun* *'átxa šávyəl* *yán* Eparallel,| *lišán* 'ɔnjləz,| *'átxa m-+úydalə* *'ázi* *'átxa*,| +*ál dáni* *ci-mattíva pardùvvə*,| *mən-dá-riša*.| +*ál dán pardùvvə=da* *ci-mattíva* +*pavánət* *'ilànəl brıza*,| *čarpùvvə ci-tanáxvalun* 'àxnan.|| *ci-mattíva* +*al-dáni* *yán=zə hasırəl* *ci-mattíva*. (21) *'ita* +*al-dáni daríva* +*tína*,| *tína lá* +*rába miyyàna*.| *tína ci-daríva* *dašdəššívalə*.| +*xárta=zə ci-+maçrivalə*.| *m-+bár* +*áv brəzvalə*,| *xá júra xína* +*tína* +*tarəsva*,| *túyna-da* *daríva jávu* *túyna-da* *daríva jávu*,| *dašdəššívalə* *'átxa jóns* +*mamṭivalə*.| (22) *maskívalə* +*al-járal* +*maçrivalə* *járu bìyyu*,| +*kèṭa c-odívalə* *'a-* +*šùla*,| *kát barəzva*.| *mən-+bár brəzvalə*,| *xína míyya* 'é-+*dān* +*múṭra tálja* +*šúla* +*rayíva ju-béta lè* +*salíva*.|

### B3 Agriculture and Village Life (Natan Khoshaba, Zumallan, N)

(1) +*rəzza* +*árru ci-maštivala*.| +*xárta b-ptána* +*tarívala*,| *'azáva* 'atyàva,| *ja-míyya*,| *hár ja-míyyal* *kat-cüllə* 'áx *hàlam* 'avíval 'á *'úprət dàha*.| (2) *'ital* +*bár=t* *jís* +*ṭrəplun*,| +*árra* +*tripálun*,| *sodánta víla*,| +*xárta*,| *'átvala* *šətlə* *šəmmu*,| *dúla* *kát māra* *čáltuc*.| *načliva*,| *mən-dúca xíta mayyíva*,| *satlıvala*,| *har-ja-de-+árra* *kát* +*ṭəryona*,| *čún* 'áy *vítala racəxtal* +*hám miyyàntəla*,| +*hám* +*ṭinàntəla*.| *har-* +*šətlaja-mattéta bətpàyələ*.| +*dàyət?* +*ávva* *'átxa* *ána xázyən*.| *'ita* *bálcət kəsmáttə* *xínə=da* *víyyənəl* *'inal* *'átxa* *xázyən* *kat-+zəryuna*.| (3) *kámta* *árru* +*ṭəryona* *sodánta* *kát muštíyyona ja-míyyal* *plíxəna ptànəl* *xíšə* *tiyyəna*.| *'adíyya* +*ṭraktùrə* *bərráxsha* *bitàyəna*.| +*bəṭrápuna* 'á *'úprət dàl* *jís* +*bəxvàṭələ*.| +*xárta*,| *máyəna* *šatłuluna*.| (4) +*ávva* *c-odívalə* *cárdə*,| +*júrə* *cárdə*.| *c-avívalə* *marzəbbànəl* *kát* 'é- +*dān malílə* *míyya*,| *cíl* *dúca* *míyya* *là-+aví* *jári* Ptagribàn<sup>P</sup> 'é-+*dān* *maštùvvuna* 'əsrí +*santíme* *míyya* 'ávi *jávu* 'ax-*jòl*.| (5) *'ita*,| *c-avívalə* *košànə*.| *'ax-judanànə* *ci-maxívala*.| *cárdə* +*júrta* *c-oyáva*,| *tànaxl* 'alpə *mátrə*,| *tré-'*alpə *mátrə*.| *'inal* *marzəbbáno* *dvìkə* *kat-mályá* *míyya*.| *čún* +*rába* *mağgúbələ* *míyya*.| *mláyona* 'áy *míyya* *xà-xča*.| *míyya-xína* *là-+amsi* *'ázi* *l-á-yba* *l-ò-yba* *judanànə* *ci-maxíva* *tánaxl* *košànə* *jaršíva* *marzəbbànəl*.

(6) +*rózza* +*maṭīva*.| +*bár=t* +*mṭivalə*,| *bí majósta* +*xazdīvalə*.| +*xazdīva*,| *dástə* *dástə* *ci-mattíva*.| *'ita* +*xárta* 'á *t+dána c-+asríva* *dástə* *dástəl* *'ax-dàrza* *c-odívalə*.

pillars<sup>5</sup> thus. Then there was a small stick. They used to cut them up. They used to chop them into small pieces. They called those laths. Yes they called those laths. They called the long piece of wood a beam. (20) They called those laths. They used to lay those sticks equal (i.e. parallel) like this, so that they fitted together like this. On those they put laths, from this side. On the laths they put dry branches of trees, which we used to call twigs, or they used to place on them (i.e. the laths) straw-mats. (21) Then on those they would pour mud, mud that was not very watery. They used to pour the mud and stamp on it. Then they used to smooth it. After it had dried, another type of mud used to be made. They used to put straw in it. They used to put straw in it, they used to stamp it very well and prepare it well. (22) They used to take it up to the roof and smear the roof with it. They used to do this in summer so that it would dry. After it dried, when it rained or snowed and so forth, water would not come down into the house.

### B3 Agriculture and Village Life (Natan Khoshaba, Zumallan, N)

(1) Rice—they used to water the ground. Then they used to drive a plough through it, so that it goes back and forth, in the water, always in the water, so that all its soil was like slush. (2) Then, after they mixed it well, they mixed the ground and it became good (for planting), it (the rice) had a seedling, which they call a rice-stalk. They used to uproot it, bring it from another place and plant it, in the field that they had ploughed, because it has become soft, both watery and muddy. The seedling takes root as soon as it is planted. You understand? This, I have seen it done like this. Well, perhaps there were other parts (to the process), but I have seen them plant it like this. (3) Formerly they ploughed, watered it well and worked it with ploughs, going back and forth. Now tractors go back and forth. They beat the soil like this ... and it is mixed well. Then they bring (the seedlings) and they plant it out. (4) They used to make this into plots, big plots. It used to have edges so that when they filled it with water, water would not be everywhere. When they fill it, there must be about twenty centimetres of water in it, like a pond. (5) Now, it used to have ditches. They used to make for it (the plot) something like walls. A plot was big, let's say one thousand metres, two thousand metres, but its sides were blocked so it would fill with water, because it (the rice) likes a lot of water. They fill it this much with water. The water cannot flow this way and that way. They used to build walls, let's say, and surround it with ditches. (6) The rice used to ripen. After it ripened, they used to harvest it with a sickle. They would harvest and place (it on the

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5 Literally: a few of that.

šaķlīva,| maxíva +al-+arabàna,| lablīval ja-+budrātə| xašlīvalə.|| +dàyət?| xašlīvalə kat-+áv tapàxval hìl ķat-tapàxva.|| íta-xina +táma tamməzzìvalə,| +darìvalə,| šaķlīva,| lablīvalə bëta.|| (7) túynət +rèzza,| hí +'ávun=da ci-mapləxxívalə ka-kənyànəl +dàyət?| xína +'ávun xšiluna tpixələl ójèllu| ka-kənyáno c-+áməs túynu 'ávə.||

(8) +àrral críva c-odáxvalal 'é-+dān +bayyàxval +spà +xáttə mayyáva.|| xá šítā madməxxàxvala.|| +tlá-ja +taràxvala b-ptàna| damxàva xa-šítā.|| šít-trèl t-odáxvala| košànəl b-jaršàxval jàvo.|| +bár +təryàlan,| muštiyyàlan.|| kàm maštēta,| +bár +zàryuxl košànə b-jaršàxval kat-mýya là bazbákki,| +'ámsa lablālun 'á táxta ka-jàno| 'áyya ka-jàno.|| íta jàv dánna táxta +yəssúra ci-maxàxval| kat-mýya là nápli xá dúca.|| 'á +yəssúra c-avíva xáčxa càrya| kat-mýya +rappívalun +aràlləg,| 'á báva cílla šatyáva 'á táxta.|| (9) íta 'átxa tláy 'arpì dánə c-avíva +bar-+výdalə.|| ína xá-dana kóša 'ánnə míyya mən-+ùllul cílləl ci-labèlvalun cút táxta ka-jàno.|| paràxva,| ci-naplíva| ja-dá táxta šatyàva| doķàxvala,| daráxva ja-de-xita.|| hìl cílla 'átxa maštàxvala.|| (10) hìl xína-áha c-avívalan +dána tréja maštàxvala míyya.|| +muñráta +rábä 'avíva,| hæc-lè maštàxvala 'áy,| čún 'en-maštàxvala +rábäl 'i-damxàva.|| +xárta +xazdàxvala| dástə dástə +xazdàxva bí ... mayòsta.|| dástə dástə dàrzə c-odáxvala.|| +bár dárzə vidàlan,| jøddišə ci-maxàxva,| +jam máxvala kúxa kúxa.|| +xárta bíjardúyna 'ótvəlan| bíjardúyna tóra ci-maxàxva +allèl jaršàxva mayyáxva ja-+budrātə,| 'átxa dòri.|| hám ... maxàxva čambàra,| káto ci-tanàxva.|| (11) +xárta mən-dàha| xá-xa dárza ci-+rappàxva.|| xá késa +yásràxva +al-dó +aràlləg| kát +yáttáxva +aràlləg dá +árra 'icəla.|| íta xá-xa dárza daràxva| 'ákla 'i-daràxva tanàxva.|| bazbækkàxvaləl +xàrtal jánnjar ci-mattàxva b-tòrəl +yásràxva,| +xadríva hál 'áha| 'odívala túyna.|| +xáttə xína-tapxìva.|| +xárta 'ánnə šaràxvalun| +jam máxvala t-odáxvala xàyyan.|| cílla 'á cùlašl b-dà +pósłal xà-yarxa| jásķət 'əsrì yumánə,| 'arpì yumánəl 'é-+dana 'átxa 'á cílla taxnàxvala hal-túyna t-odáxval +jam máxva.|| +xàrtal yaskàxva,| póxa 'avíva,| +daràxvala túyna nòšu 'azálva,| +xáttə naplíva l-à-yba.|| (12) íta b-+jam máxvalun kúxa.|| 'ət-jànan 'avíva,| ci-mayyàxvalun.|| ína 'ət-+àrbab 'avíva,| jári 'atíva dàj maxívala| 'áha,| kát là šáklax mónnəl hál 'án +dān-+dána 'avílə| 'áta +pallila.||

ground) in handfuls. Then, at times they would tie the various handfuls. They made it like a sheaf (of corn). They took them and placed them on a wagon, took it and ground it on the threshing floors. You understand? They ground it so it would pour, yes so it would pour. Then they cleaned it there, they threshed it, and took it home. (7) The hay of the rice, yes, they use this too for cattle. You understand? Well, (when) they have pounded it and its plant (i.e. its grain) has poured out, its hay can be (used) for cattle.

(8) We would leave the ground fallow when we wanted it to produce good wheat. We would let it rest for a year. We would plough it three times and it would rest for a year. In the second year we would dig ditches in it. After we had ploughed it, we watered it. Before watering it, after we had sown it, we would build ditches, so that the water would not disperse and each basin in turn could absorb it. Now, in these basins we would make a connection so that the water would not fall in one place. This connection was rather short, so that it would distribute water in between and the whole section, the basin, would be watered. (9) So, some thirty or forty (basins) would be (laid) one after the other, but one ditch would bring all the water, each basin (taking water) in turn. We would make an opening and the water would run into the basin and it would be watered. We closed it and poured (the water) into another. Yes, we irrigated it all in this way. (10) Yes, at times we would irrigate it twice with water. If the rains were abundant, we would not irrigate it at all, for if we watered it a lot, it would be flattened. Then we would harvest it bunch by bunch with a sickle. We would make bunches of it into sheaves. After we made it into sheaves, we made it into stacks and gathered it into heaps. Then with carts, which we had, with carts—we used to attach oxen to them—we would transport (the produce) and bring it to the threshing floors and they would thresh it. They placed it in a ring, as they called it. (11) Then we would throw one sheaf at a time. We used to bind a stick to the middle, so we would know where the middle of the ground (of the threshing floor) was. Then we would throw one sheaf at a time, we said we threw a 'leg.' We used to scatter it, then we attached a threshing-machine to oxen, we tied it, and they walked around until they made it into hay. Its wheat grain would pour out. Then we would release them and we would gather it and make it into a pile. You would see all the straw in this way for a month, twenty days, forty days, we called it this ('straw') at that time until we made it into hay and gathered it together. Then we would go up, if there was wind, and winnowed it, the hay would go its own way, and the corn seed would fall to the side. (12) Then we gathered it into a heap. We would bring home what belonged to us. But as for what belonged to a landlord, he had to come and place a mark on it, so that we do not take from it until, when he has time to come, he divides it.

(13) càrma-dal har-àtxa. | +zarrivalə. | c-avívalə mən-jòpta. | parníva mən-dò  
cárma. | mayyíva +nasvívala. | c-oyávala čəllàlə, | ci-yavvàva. | +xárta jári 'avíva  
bavàtə. | šatlívala 'áy=da| Ptağribàn<sup>P</sup> jav-bàva. | xà šítə, | trè šánnəl taybərrivala,  
+xárta +ànvə ci-yavvávalun. | +ànvəl hí 'ánnə +ànvəl zòda 'avíva, | è+<sup>d</sup>antal  
jabíval sàvza c-odívalun. | varàzan 'átvonal. | ci.+maçráxvala varázlan | 'ita bí kalyà-  
+daš, | kalyà.+daš è+<sup>d</sup>ana 'átvonal. | míyyat +dáv c-odívalun. | +mardəxxivalun  
ja-dó kalyà.+dašəl 'én +ànvəl deštva +palğivalun. | +xárta b-şaṭxivalun. | 'áni 'áx  
šalķival ķat-jáldə barzini. | +al-varázan shaṭxivalun. | 'ita báki +šulànə=dal +xámra  
ci-mayyíva daríval cásñiš c-odíval nipúxta 'i-bašlival mən-déñ +ànvə. | tlùvvə c-  
odíva. +rába məndiyyàna| +əstifáda c-odíva mənné.

(14) kalyá.+dašə xa-jòlla 'átvə. | 'o-jólla ci-maķdivalə. | +bár kàdvaləl c-avíva  
'ax-cípal cùma. | ci-mayyíva mánnu +šamłiva xašliva. | ja-zámbul ci-mattivalə  
ja-míyya, | hál pašərvə. | +bár pšárvəl +'ávun, | ja+<sup>k</sup>azánča b-daríva. | xitol  
dé +<sup>k</sup>azánča| +serivalə 'ánnə míyya +radxíva. | zámbul +ànvə malàxvalun  
+tamšáxvalun ja-déñ míyya. | labláxva shaṭxàxvalun | cún 'áni u+<sup>àvun</sup> c-  
avádvalun rànja| zàrda. | hì, | jáldə=da šalķival ja-déñ míyya jáldə 'i-barziva.  
c-oyáva sàbzə. | hì, | 'áyya mən-kalyà.+dašə. | (15) tlùvvə +kanunè mayyàxva  
paršáxvalun 'én-šapíro. | tlùvvə xá-cma yumána 'ax-şaṭxàxvalun +al-varázan.  
xáčxa 'ax+<sup>č</sup>amçíva. | +xárta ci+<sup>y</sup>asrivalun. | bíl è+dána| 'átvonal tñanaxl +póssa  
+šùləl +xárta jøddàla b-jøddála tandøllivalun | ja-čuxyàtə. | pešival sátva mənné  
c+axliva. | cásñišəva mabrəzzivalun, | c+axliva. | (16) +xámražva xína +áv-da  
+xámra +spày. | shaṭxivalə 'én míyyu mən-jávu 'azíva. | +xárta +marçivalə darí-  
vala ja-ķadàla. | xá-cma yumána pàšval +xárta púmmu ci+<sup>m</sup>açrivalə. | hál 'á-  
m+dān +bayyíva šatíva c-atíva patxivaləl b+<sup>t</sup>ásə šaķlival šatíva. | (17) xína 'ánnə  
màrri| +ànvəl jabivalun, | xáčxa shaṭxivalun, | +xárta +marçivalun. | míyyat dàni  
jís 'o-púlluš +rappíva mayyíva 'átvonal +línə +jùrə. | ci-malívalun ja-déñ +línə.  
cmá yumána pàšva, | +xárta pummé ci+<sup>m</sup>açrivalə. | pàšva ķa-sòtva ķatl +màtəl  
'á pátxi šati mánnu. | bí +tásə šaķliva, | ja-vádrə malíva, | mayyíva mattíva ja-pí-  
palgət màjləs. | 'ita ci+<sup>m</sup>axdàrriva bí +tásə. | 'át b-šatàtva, | 'o-xína b-šatíva 'átxa  
l-á-jiba. | mən-dó +xámra +əstifáda c-odíva.

(13) A vineyard also was just like this. They used to plant it. It used to have a vine. They used to cut from this vine. They used to bring and plant it. It had roots, which it developed. Then there had to be basins. They used to plant it (the vine) almost in a basin. They looked after it for one year, two years, then it yielded grapes. Grapes, yes, if there were surplus grapes, then they would gather them and make them into blanched grapes. We had a platform. We used to smear the platform with potash. We had potash at that time. They used to make it into a concoction. They would boil the grapes in the potash (concoction). They would press down the grapes and take them out. Then they would spread them out. They would almost cook them by boiling, so they would dry quickly. They spread them out on the platform. As for the remaining tasks, they produced wine, they made raisins, they cooked molasses from the grapes. They made preserved hanging grapes. They made a lot of use out of them.

(14) Potash—there was a plant. They used to burn that plant. After it had burned, it was like a black stone. They brought some of it, broke it up and pounded it. They put it in a metal basket in water, until it dissolved. After it had dissolved, they poured it into a pan. Under the pan they lit a fire and the water boiled. We filled the metal basket with the grapes, we plunged them in the boiling water. We took them out and spread them out, for it would colour them, yellow. Yes, they used to be blanched rapidly and they quickly dried after being in that water. They became blanched grapes. Yes, this is what pertains to potash. (15) As for preserved hanging grapes, their method (of preparation was that) we brought (grapes) and separated the good ones. We spread out the preserved grapes for a few days on the platform. They would wither slightly. Then we would tie them up with—at that time we had what we call a reed, then a string, we hung them with a string in basements. They were preserved and in winter they ate them. There were raisins, which they had dried and then ate. (16) As for wine, that too was a good quality wine. They spread it (the grape must) out in order for its water to reduce. Then they squashed it and put it into pots. It remained thus for a few days then they sealed its (the pot's) mouth, until whenever they wanted to drink, they would come and open it, they would take it in a cup and drink it. (17) Well, as I said, they would pick the grapes, they would spread them out, then they would press them. They would thoroughly extract the grape pulp and bring the juice—we had large jars. We filled the jars with it. It used to remain (like that) for a few days, then we sealed their mouth. It remained until winter, when it matured, they opened it and drank from it. They took it with a cup and filled buckets with it, which they brought in and placed in the middle of a gathering (of people) and handed it around in a cup. You would drink and pass it on to another person on one side, who would drink in turn. They drew benefit from the wine.

(18) +xàttə +jammuvvéna kùxa| čún 'ánnə 'at-+ärbab=ina| dàj mxayéna| kát 'ən-ída kàtla,| 'á dàj xàrəv| kát tánə 'á náša jnìvelə.|| 'íta b-léla b-yúma +karàvul c-aváxva kátul| kát 'a-dáj 'ída là kéta| čún +ärbab| t-atíva taníva 'át jnìvət mán| ... mən-dánnə +xàttə.|| 'íta dàj ci-maxivalə| hál de-+dán kät-atiáva +pallívalun.|| +əsrà yumána,| 'əsríyumána +dána 'oyáva,| t-atíva +pallívalun.|| páljə +'av šakálvə páljə 'áxnan mayyáxvalə.|| (19) 'ína dàj ci-maxivalə.|| 'ína +xàttət jànan 'avíva,| +arránət jànan,| dàj lè maxáxva.|| +jammáxvalun kùxa,| +bérašə b-lablàxvalun.|| 'én 'at-+ärbab 'avíva,| 'ám-+dán xóšu tìvala,| t-atíva +pallívalun.|| 'íta dàj maxivalun| 'ánnə cùllə| kát 'ída kòtla,| màhlum 'odání| kát 'áti mən-dánnə jnìvət.|| 'átvələ xá náša| +bérašə 'atíva maxivalun| c-azàlva.|| mòriša,| c-atiáva,| cùllə +xadàrvalun| xázzə 'ám dàj xrivalə.|| 'ən-'ávə xriáva,| taníval 'áti jnìvət 'ád-lela mən-dáha.||

(20) xína cút cárma ka-jànū cút cárma ka-jànū.|| 'ána mār-cárməvən,| zarzánva xa-dána +čòla.|| 'íta 'avánva mār-zùyza,| xá +čóla banánvala b-cárpač.|| t-odánvala bëta ka-jáni.|| 'íta lètli,| lèn mār-zúyza,| b-kèsəl xa-dána +čòla b-zarzánva.|| b-yaskánva yatvánva +àllo.|| 'á cárma xamənvalə.|| mən-rákka 'icat jináva +vàrvələ| xazzànvalə.|| tanánva 'áy +póllan cás 'á məndýyi kám bəjnávut?! hál de-+dánət 'ánnə +'ánnə +małtva,| jabáxva kát mayyáxvalun bëta,| c-aváxva +támə.|| b-léla 'i-damxàxva b-yúma ... ci-yatváxva.|| e-+dána riša ci-maxáxva,| 'ína b-léla 'ax-jám damxáxva kamè,| +al-de-+čòla| 'i-damxáxva hal-mòriša| kät-là lablívalun 'en-carmánan +'ánnan.||

(21) ja-+budràtəl| 'e-ja| póxa +rába xàčča c-avíva.|| 'ádi| 'ánnə +xàttə cùllə| b-jànjar| vídəx tuyna.|| máxyəx xàyyan.|| 'íta bəspárəx póxa 'atini| kát +daràxlun.|| póxa lèla bitáya.|| 'íta 'é-+dán bitáyələ,| xína 'ádi 'icə t-ívax +bərxàtəx| bəsyáka +al-dá xáyyan +darùvvəx.|| (22) 'íta| 'adíyya| 'álahə munyáxxət +màma Ázəz| Yulíyya,| hənnal şámmət +xanım,| Läyya,| máyəla +cavùtra.|| 'áha +darùvvələl| 'íta rákka m-àxxəl +tvalètu bitáyələ.|| märələl 'á +xàltal xréta là yávva,| +rába +spày-iva.|| lèl +bəddá| cavùtra +'áxəl| yan-'ázəl +al-dò-rišəl yán póxa +dàrə,| čún póxa cút +dána lè 'áta.|| 'íta +rába hár lè manšáxla,| kùya,| 'íta +budràtə +rába nàsəna| 'á +xábra tanùvvula.||

(18) They gather the wheat into a heap, because they mark what belongs to the landlord with a stamp, so that if somebody<sup>6</sup> touches it, this seal mark is broken and he can tell that this person has stolen it. So, we guarded it day and night so that nobody would touch the mark, for the landlord would come and say that you have stolen some of the wheat. So they put a mark on it until the time that he came to divide it. In ten or twenty days, when the time came, he would come and divide it. He took half and we brought back half. (19) So we used to put a mark on it. But if it was our wheat, from our lands, we did not put a mark on it. We gathered it into a heap and took it home in the evening. If it belonged to the landlord, whenever he wished, he would come and divide it. So, they put a mark on it, so that if somebody touched it, it would indicate that you have stolen some of it. He had a man who would come in the evening and mark it and go away. In the morning he would come back and go around all of them (i.e. the piles of wheat) and see whether any seal mark had been broken. If one were broken, he would say 'You stole from this last night.'

(20) Now, every vineyard stood by itself, every vineyard stood by itself. (Let's say) I am the owner of a vineyard, I would build a booth. Now, if I were wealthy, I would build a booth with bricks, I would make it into a house for myself. But, if I do not have (money) and am not rich, I would make a booth of wood. I would go up and sit on it. I would guard the vineyard. I would see from afar where a thief had entered. I would say 'Hey, so-and-so, why are you stealing this property of mine?' Until the time the grapes ripen and we picked them and brought them home, we were there. We slept at night and sat in the day, during which time we would snooze, but at night on the whole we slept in front of them (the grapes), we slept on the booth until morning so people did not loot our vineyards and grapes.

(21) In the threshing floors, at that time, there was very little wind. Now we have made all the wheat and hay by the threshing machine. We have put them in a heap. So we are waiting for the wind to come, so we can winnow them. The wind does not come. So, when it comes, wherever we are, we run and go up onto the heap and winnow. (22) Now, Uncle Aziz, may God grant him rest, Julia, I mean, the name of his wife, Layya, brings lunch. He is winnowing, then—pardon me<sup>7</sup>—he needs to go to the toilet. He says 'This food would have been very good if it did not make you defecate.' He does not know whether to eat lunch, or go aside (to the toilet), or winnow in the wind, for the wind does not always blow. We shall never forget it, he says this aloud, while there were many people on the threshing floors.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: a hand.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: (Let it be) distant from here.

- (23) *tùttun* +*bər*-+*zárrro* +*rába dàykələ*.| +*ràba dáykələ*.| 'ita| 'áha| 'adìyya| +*zarràxla*| c-ódax *bàval* +*tarsàxla* 'átxa +*rámta* 'oyáni.| *mašvàxla*,| +*taptəppàxla*.| 'ó +*bər*-+*zárra* 'i-daráxlə +*tàma* *bazbəkkàxla*.| +*xárta pàn dárax* +'állo.| +*xàrtal* yúma| *tré jál ci-maštàxla* 'áha.| *ja-susàpan* míyya +*maryássax* +'állo.| 'arpí *yumànəl* míyya *ci-yavvàxla*.| 'á c-óya 'sòtla.| 'arpí *yumána* míyya *ci-dárax* +'állo| kát 'á +*yàrma* 'sòtla.| (24) +*xarta* +*árrat* *tùttun* *losàna* t-oyáni.| *cùllə*| *b*-+*tòxmak*| +*katkəttàxla* 'óya *dàkta*.| +*árra* 'ádi xà +*əktàrəla* *tré* +*əktàrəla*.| *cúllə* *b-nàplə*| +*katkəttàxla*.| +*xárta* *cùllə* +*cardùvar* *járšax*.| *bavátə* súrə súrə t-odáxla.| xòb.| (25) +*xàrtal* t-ázax m-dén-cárdə b-nàčlax| *màyyax*| +*al-dánnə* *bavátə* *cúllə* *šatlàxla*.| *cúllə* *šatlàxla*.| +*tlá* míyyə b-yavvàxla.| +*xàrtal* xá-cma +dána 'áha b-šokàxla,| *jáno dokàla*.| +*xárta* *maštàxla*| *vàr mattáxla*.| *vàr mattáxla*.| 'ita 'á víla xá-xča +*rámta*.| 'ón +*əddə* 'avíla| *ci*-+*edàxla*.| *hi*| +*edàxla*.| (26) *tilan* *tùttun* víla xá kòmil| +*tarpo* *yuvvàlla*.| +*tarpo* *jáškax* +mátyəna mən-'*ältəx*.| mən-'*ältix* c-ávax *cúl* +dána +*tlá* +*tarpo* *fabùvva*.| *móriša jáldə* c-ázax,| *ja-xámma* l-avini.| é-+dán xèmma 'oyáni,| lè-óya,| *šansàlla*,| l-+amsax *jabáxla*.| *ína móriša jáldə*,| yúma lá zràka,| c-ázax *fabáxən* *má lax ja*-+*kərtàlə*,| +*énax* +*al*-+*xàsan* mayyàxən| bèta.| (27) *b-yàtvil* 'ánnəl +*tarpa* +*tarpa* *b*-+*xmàṭa* +*morila*.| 'á *tùttun* cút +*tarpa* *ka-jánu* *b*-+*xmàṭa* +*morila*.| *m*-+*xmàṭa* *b-daríla* +*al*-*ʃoddàla*,| *jaršíla* +*al*-*ʃeddàla*.| 'átlan *xarràjəl* +*tùrsax* míxə máxyəx 'á-yba ò-yba.| 'á *fəddála* *tre-màtrəla*.| xá rísu *maķkəttàxla* l-ò-yba| xá rísu l-à-yba.| *mályəla* *tùttun*.| *xarràjə* *malàxla*,| *mattáxla* *kam-yúma*.| 'áha bət-bàrza.| (28) +*bár brəzla*,| +*jammàxən* *dasti* dástə *máyyax* *maxàxla* +*ámbar*.| +*bár mäxyálan* +*ámbar*,| *bət-péša* čerìyyə,| sátvə *tilə*.| *xína* +*šùla* mən-dášta +*jùmmox*,| *prəktəla*.| t-àtax| mən-+*ámbar* +*kérax* xá dúca +čáləl *macsàxla* kát| *tandəlláxla* +*tàma*,| 'áha *nammənnal* cún *barùztəla*.| (29) +*tàma* *ja-dé* +*čáləl* *ja*-+*árra* +*kìrox*,| *tandəlláxla* +*tàma* *cúllə* 'áha| xá lélə pèša.| +*xárta* *b-ràcxə*,| *máyyàxla*,| *daráxla* bèta.| *fəddála* *sapkàxla*| dána dána 'at-pársàxla| *smúkta* +*al*-xà-yba| é xróvta +*al*-xà-yba,| zàrda +*al*-xà-yba.| *cúllə* *dasti* dástə t-odáxla.| +*dàyat?*| (30) +*bár dástə* dástə *b-xarzàxla* +*tàmma*.| +*xárta* 'átlan *sandùka*,| 'áha *cùllə* 'ánnə dástə *mattáxlu* *ja-dá sandùka*| 'átxa.| +*xárta* 'á

(23) Tobacco—its seed is very small. It is very small. So now (if) we plant it, we make a mound of a basin, we make it high like this. We flatten it, we beat it down. We put the seed there, we scatter it. Then we put fine animal droppings on it. Then, twice a day we water it. We sprinkle water on it with a watering-pot. We give it water for forty days. It becomes a shoot. We pour water onto it for forty days so that it will grow as a shoot. (24) Then, the ground of tobacco turns into lumps, so we break it all up with a mallet, so it will be fine. The ground is a hectare or two hectares. It all falls apart and we break it up. Then we dig it with a spade and chain.<sup>8</sup> We turn it into very small basins. OK? (25) Then we go and uproot (the tobacco) from the plots and bring it and plant it all in the basins. We plant them all. We give it three lots of water. Then we leave it for a certain time, so that it will take root. Then we water it, we hoe it. We hoe it. Now it has grown this high. If it has weeds, we weed it, yes, we weed it. (26) We have come (to the point) where the tobacco has become my height and it has sprouted leaves. We see that its leaves have ripened from the bottom. Each time we pick three leaves from the bottom of it. We go early in the morning, when it is not hot. When it is hot, it is not possible, it would droop and we cannot pick it. But early in the morning, when the sun has not risen, we go and pick, and fill pannier baskets, which we place on our back and bring home. (27) They sit and pass a needle through it,<sup>9</sup> leaf by leaf. They pass a needle through the tobacco, each leaf separately. With a needle they put it on a string. They thread it on a string. We have wooden frames, which we made and put nails on one side and the other side. The string is two metres long. We attach one end of it to this side and one end to the other side. It is full of tobacco. We fill the frames with tobacco, put it in the sun and it would dry. (28) After it has dried, we gather it in bundles and bring it and put in a storeroom. After we have put it in the storeroom, it would stay there in autumn, and the winter came. Now the job of gathering it from the field is complete. We come and dig in the storeroom a hole in a certain place and cover it in order to hang it there and to become moist, because it was dry. (29) There, in that hole, which we have dug in the ground, we hang it, and it all remains there for a night. Then it becomes soft and we bring it and put it in the house. We take off the string, one by one, in order to separate it, the red on one side, what is spoiled on another side, yellow on another side. We make it all into bundles. You understand? (30) After we thread it together in bundles. Then we have a box. We put all the bundles in the box. Then, this

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<sup>8</sup> A *+carduvar* is a digging instrument consisting of a spade held by one man and connected to a chain or rope, which is pulled by another man (§ 15.2.8.).

<sup>9</sup> Literally: They cause it to be passed through by a needle.

*sandùķa| jvàla 'átlə 'átxa.| ja-dá jvála cùllə́ sáktəla ja-dá sandùķa.| manjána b-+xalsàxla| á sandúķa b-+yásràxla| jvàla.| túttun péša ja-jvàla.| 'ítal cùllə 'á túttun b-dá +pásla +tárpa +tárpa máxyox b-+xmàṭa| müyyox mubrèzzox| +xárta +tárpa +tárpa bət-parşaxla| t-odáxla dàsta| maxáxla ja-dá sandùķa.| mən-sandùķa +xárta b-labláxla mdita| b-zabnàxla.| túttun xà-xča +šúla 'átlə| taryəssàr yárxa +šúla 'átlə xá-dana túttun.| +šúlo dàykələ| +rába +ajjəzzànələ|*

(31) *+heyvána c-avívalan| cút náša +tlá +arþa.| 'átvalan pàja.| 'átvulan| dúcət +xàltal 'átxa +tursèxva láxxa c-+asràxva| m-+támma xúrrac daràxva| c-+axlíval yónja týyna.| 'ítal sátvə le +paltíva| kárta c-oyáva| hár ci-peštvaja-pàja| yúma tlá-+dana xuté tamməzzàxvala| +xálta yavvàxvala| b-vádra mayyáxva maštàxvalun| 'ítal 'átvulan kənyànət| 'árra| másdalan tòrə tanáxval| kát ptàna t-ódax biyyé| 'átvulan kənyànət +xlàva| +xálva ci-+xalvìvalun| šítə xá-ja yadlìva| 'ítal +xálvət dànnəl mapləxxàxvala| mǎšxa c-odíva| +xálva šatíva| +cárra ci-+paltíva məndò| +xálva| +tlá +arþa məndityána| zarzíva mən-dén tavəryày| xayyútət +bar-náša é-+dana ja-mavày| bí kənyànəva| lətva xá-məndi| +xálva c-odíva +xalvìva| +cárra +paltíva| mǎšxa c-odíva| kát +kusartè bašlìvala| +kèṭa| +háva šxənvala| c-azíva| móriša c-azíva| +beráša xína c-atíva ja-pàja| kát +xalvìvalun|*

(32) *bətvàtəl 'átvulan 'é-+dana bətvàtəl +fùrə 'átvulan| cùllə́ cùlpət| xamšà-rišə| 'áštà-rišəl cùllə ja-xà béta ci-damxáxva| tanùyra 'átvulan| tanùyra 'átxa| 'ánnə kənyànəl 'é šəxté ci-mabrèzzàxvala| c-oyáva cámra| sàtvə 'áy +seràxvala| ja-dá tanùyra| 'ítal b-móriša +serívala| 'á cùlla 'áni| +páṭúxə cámra c-avíva kátmə +táma šaxína| hál do-móriša xína 'á tanùyra| c-avíva šaxína| +jammáxva 'átxa marzəbbànu| xá-dana jánnə jarsháxva +al-'aklàtan| c-ativàxva| (33) 'ítal kárta c-oyával +rába xelànta| tálma| mìyya c-avívalan| ja-dánnə tálma| c-aváxva mutté ja-béta| 'átxa xrizè| móriša kemáxva jáškax mujdàllə| 'áxnan +támma dmìxəx| 'ánnə láxxa jdila| tálma mujdàllə| 'átxa kárta c-oyáva| látvalan +rába šxùnta| 'áxči 'ó tanùyra| b-yùma| b-+dáv šaxnàxva| b-lélə=da t-óráxva xít xlépa| damxáxva| kárta +rába c-oyáva| ja-batvàtəl mərril mìyya mattáxvalun +támma| móriša kemáxva jáškax mujdàlləna| 'áxnan láxxa dmìxəx| mìyya +támma mujdàlləna| 'átxa kárta c-oyáva| (34) 'átvulan xá dána šakìyya| c-atyáva mán māta| 'ítal 'áyya ci-majdàllava +rába| 'álahə mánəx motánux bəbi cul-máta c-atyáva +támma malyáva mìyya| 'ítal cíl dúc ci-majdàlva jdila| +šaməṭvala| 'ó-yuma bət-malìval b-lélə xína mujdàllələ| xína b-+šaməṭva| xá +dánta 'á jdila*

box has a sack like this. In this sack it is all stacked in this box. We compress it with a press and tie the box, the sack. The tobacco remains in the sack. So all this tobacco—we have put it through a needle in this way, leaf by leaf, we have brought it and dried it. Then we separate it leaf by leaf and make a bundle. We put it into the box. We then take it from the box to the town and sell it. Tobacco involves this amount of work. One (crop of) tobacco involves twelve months of work. The task is fiddly and very taxing.

(31) We used to have animals, each person three or four. We had a stable. They had an eating place, which we made for them thus. We tied (them) up here and put food there. They ate clover and hay. So, they did not go out in winter. It was cold. They stayed in the stable all the time. We cleaned under them three times a day. We gave them food. We used to bring (water) in a bucket and give it to them to drink. Then, we had cattle (to work) the land, what we called oxen, with which we ploughed. We had dairy cattle. We milked them. They gave birth once a year. Now, we would use their milk. They used to make clarified butter. They drank milk. They produced butter from the milk. They made three or four things from the cows. A man's livelihood at that time in the villages was by cattle. There was nothing else. They acquired milk by milking, they produced butter, they produced clarified butter, which they cooked in their cooking pot. In summer, when the weather became warm, they (the cows) used to go out, they went out in the morning, and in the evening they used to come back to the stable so that (people) would milk them.

(32) As for houses, at that time we had big houses. The whole family, five people, six people—we all slept in one house. We had an oven, an oven like this. We dried the excrement of the cattle and it became dried blocks of dung. In the winter we burnt it in the oven. So, in the morning we kindled it and all the dung blocks and dung cakes became warm. The oven remained warm until the next day. We used to gather around it, pull a quilt rug over our legs and sit there. (33) So, the cold was very intense. Jugs—we had water in these jugs. We placed them in the house. We lined them up like this. In the morning we got up and saw that they were frozen. We have slept here and they are ice here, the jars have frozen. Such was the cold. We did not have much heat apart from the oven. During the day we warmed up with this and at night we would go under a quilt and sleep. The cold was very intense. In the houses, I have said, we placed water there, and in the morning we got up and saw that it has frozen. We have slept here and the water has frozen there. This is how cold it was. (34) We had a stream that came from the village. Now, this used to freeze a lot. My father—may God grant rest to your deceased and to him—the whole village came there and filled (jars) with water, now every place that froze he would break. During the day they would fill (jars) and at night it froze.

xà-xča p̄t-avíva tálma lè +mařtiva +al-míyya. bí +xóla ci-+pařivalun, malíva  
 'ita jaršivalun, cùn! cút yúm jdíla xá-xča muždállələl b-+šamřáxval, kúdmə  
 xína muždállələl. ý +xlimíytu xá-xča jdíla c-oyáva. (35) xayyúta +rába +ajjəz-  
 zánta xayyútəva. látva +xálta. xà +dántal +xáttə látva. +rába +basírəva. +xalté  
 láxmat +sárəva, dàxnəva. +xárta +xárta násə xášlun +Rùsyā +šúla myuyílun  
 zùyza +šúla. škállun +arrànəl xáttə +zrílun. dé dé dé dè, tilun, xína, +xáttə  
 zòdlun. +álma +šuríla +xáttə xína +sárə lə +xállə, tanàxən, dóxna lə +xállə. hár  
 +xáttə +xállə. (36) dí nixà níxal +álma kənyánə zvánnə dé. +xləvələl +xalvè +xállə,  
 məšxè +xállə. +dáyət? 'ánnə cùlla +xárta +xárta, 'ína 'en-šənnəl +rába 'áxnan  
 kat-súrəxval mánnan kám-+dana atyánat +Rùsyal +urusnáyə tílun +Íran, +rába  
 +casəbbuytəva, +rába. 'ét násə láxma lè máčxi +axlíva. 'ánnə məššəlmənəl 'átxa  
 kúrbət māt-díyyəl 'áxnan čaríyxə, jéldət kənyánə c-odívala čaríyxə +sóla. 'ita  
 c-avíva +pričə, +rappívalun +al-+kátmə. +kátmə sapkíva, 'átxalan +kúxal 'átxa  
 +kátmət tanútyra sapkívala +táma. 'én čaríyxəl b-léla c-atíval mačxívalun t-azíva  
 marcaxxívalun +xallívalun 'áni t-+axlívalun. 'átxa cárna 'íva.

(37) ja-máta bětəval 'átxavaln čimàna, čimàna 'átxavaln. bí +mèral parmíva  
 čiməl 'áx +páslət cárpač. dokíva +tínal číma mattíva, tína mattíva, xína číma  
 mattíva, tína. 'áttən háda banívalun. 'áttən cùlla bí +tína ci-banívalun. tína  
 'átxa ci-+mamřivaləl +kúya 'avíva. ci-maxíva 'átxa bənnávra, b-yasķíva hál  
 +karyátə +tlá mátra. (38) +xárta 'átxa késəl parmáxval mayyáxva daráxva 'átxa.  
 +karyáy ci-tanáxvalun. 'ita látva xá móndi +allé, ci-rappáxva pardívvva. +ál  
 pardívvəl zíla daráxva. zíla 'átxa, +rábəna. +xazdáxva, mayyáxva daráxva ká-  
 'ípra lə-'avíva. +xártal +maléta daráxva +taptappáxvalə. +xárta +mačràxvalə.  
 Pmaxsúsp 'ípra 'i-mačxáxva, mačxáxva 'ípra, míyya daráxva dašdəššákvalə.  
 'á +tína c-odáxvala kúya. +maléta tanáxvala. maskáxvala vádra vâdra +ál  
 +rùyšan. (39) +támal daráxvala kát zíla dàryuxl +al-dó zíla kát lá nápəl  
 'áltəx. xamívaləl 'én-pardívvəl 'én +karyátə, lá kámta +karyátə daráxva,  
 +xárta pardívvə daráxva, +xárta zíla daráxva, +xárta 'é +maléta b-daráxva.  
 dašdəššákvala ci-+mamřáxvala 'átxa +spáy 'áx c-oyáva 'ax-+dáta kát +spáy  
 tápya. +xárta kát barázva 'á sápar +mačriyyánəl dočáxval týyna +xočáxva  
 jávu. jís +mamřáxvalə, +mačràxva. 'ó týyna lè šavókval 'á +tína pákkińi.  
 c-avíva 'átxa dvíku. jáv +mačriyyána týyna ci-+xočáxva, +mačràxvalə. (40) xá-

So, he broke it. Once the ice was such that the jugs did not reach the water. They let them down by ropes, filled them, and pulled them in, because every day the ice had frozen so much, we used to break it, but the next day it was frozen again. The thickness of the ice was so great. (35) It was a very difficult life. There was no food. Once there was no wheat. It was very scarce. Their food was bread made from barley or millet. Much later people went to Russia and the like and brought back money and so forth. They acquired land and sowed wheat. Gradually they progressed and wheat increased. People began (eating) wheat and did not eat barley, we may say, they did not eat millet. They only ate wheat. (36) Gradually people bought cattle. They milked them and consumed their milk, they ate their clarified butter. You understand? All these things were much later, but the years when we were very young, before our time (during the time of) those (Assyrians) who came from Russian, when the Russians came to Iran, there was great poverty, very great. There were people who did not find bread to eat. There were Muslims there near our village, we (used to have) sandals, they would make sandals from the skin of cattle, shoes. Now, when they were torn, they used to throw them onto the ash. They used to empty out the ash. We had a heap. They emptied the ash of the oven there. At night they came and found the sandals, they went and softened them and washed them, then they ate them. There was such hunger.

(37) In the village, as for what concerns the house, we had blocks of turf. With a spade we cut the turf in the form of a brick. They took some mud, they placed a turf, then placed mud, again they placed a turf, then mud. There were some who built like that. There were some who built them all with mud. They would process the mud so that it would be hard. They laid a foundation thus and would go up (with building) as far as the beams, three metres. (38) Then there were logs of wood, which we cut, brought and laid like this. We called them 'beams.' Now, there was nothing on top of them and we laid down laths. On the laths we put rushes. There were many rushes. We harvested and brought them, then laid them so that there would not be any soil. Then we put a layer of mud and pressed it down. Then we smeared it on it. We found a special soil, we found soil, we poured water (on it) and stamped it down. We made the mud hard. We called it *+maleta* (layer of mud). We took it up bucket by bucket on our shoulders. (39) We laid it there, where we have laid the rushes, onto the rushes, so it does not drop down. Those laths, those beams would hold it, but first we laid beams and then we laid laths, than we laid rushes, then we laid that layer of mud. We trod it down and processed it well so that it became like chewing gum, so that it would stick well. Then after it dried, at that point we applied mortar, in which we mixed straw. We processed it well and spread it. The straw did not allow the mud to crack. It used to hold it together. In the mortar we would mix

*dana tanúyra +ák̥rāxva. mən-mdíta zonàxva, mayyàxva, mattàxvalə. údyu móriša +seràxva hál kúdmə +mòriša. bí šxúntət +dávun +jammàxva xá dàna marzəbbánu xa-júlla jaršáxva +al-ák̥látan kat-šxúnta yavválva. kátan xayyúta ’átxəva. (41) é +dána lètvalan tré tabàkə, mäjár +otàgə +matrəssáxvalun tré tabákə xuté ’avíva másalan +ambàrə ’odáxva. +dàyət? xúto +’ambər c-odáxva məndil +jammàxva, cəsmišə, jòzə. túttun ’avívalan, +al-dēn-+karyáy túttun ci-maxàxva xarzàxvala, péšava +tàma. béta-da xà-dana c-ávə. jás̥kət +əsrà ríšəl taryəssàr ríšə ja-xà béta i-damxáxva, cíllə ’átxa šaváxva. kárta-da +ràba c-oyáva, ’ina xína lipəxva +al-dó +hávət de-+dànta.*

#### B4 Hunting (Natan Khoshaba, Zumallan, N)

(1) *kupšína mòriša, yúma lá zràka, c-azàxva kát xína kupšína kála mála lèla +bəsmáya mòriša jàldə, t-azàxva +tòr ’átxalan +tòr. +al-dó +arallígu kattàtə ’átxalo. +al-dó +arallígu ’átxa xá-dana kësa, ’átxa ci-mattàxvalə. +bár muttivalan ’átxalan xàl kësa ’átxa máxyuxval xá ’átxal +síráxva m-áxxa mən-camàran. xá-dana +càdra jříšxva +állu týyəva ’átxa. týyəva ’átxa. kupšína xazzivalan, lè ’aráz̥va. (2) ’íta ó +tor mattàxvalə +tammó kamày +’ávva ci-madmivalan +al-càllal +al-kənyàna. mən-+dáv +tòr kát ’átxa c-odàxval ci-taníva másalan kənyàna. šakläráxva ’ùpral b-+rappáxva +állu. nixà níxa t-azálva xazzíva ’íca ’áttan xá dúca +’ávər jáno +tašila. bəxzáyələ ó +tór kamàyələ bəxzávələ cètvələ. +várələ ja-+tòr. ’ádi +árpa xàmšəna dásta +várəna ja-+tòr. ja-+tòr +várəna, +bərxàtəxəl ó késət kamáyat kát müttux manpùlux ’ánnə pyášəna xút +tòr. (3) xít +tór pyášəna. láxxa ’átlan xá dána +tòrba, +síráx. ptàxux xá-xa mən-xút +tòr bədvákəx p-ídan mattúyəx ja-dáha. bədvákéx p-ídan. ’ádi xàmšəna, ’áštəna, bədvákəx mattúyəx láxxa, púmmo +bəsyárux. xína +šarúvvəx bədvákə b-dó +pàsla. xáčča xína +barrúnəlal yàn kála málə vâyəla, jáno +tašùvvola. ’ína móriša jàldəl yúma lá zràka c-ázax, véla +bixàla. kála málə lèla +bəsmáya. véla +bərráya, dastì dástə. ’ína xáčča +vòrra xína kála b-+šàmya, t-áza jáno b-xáp̥ya, là-+amsax mačxáxla. áyya mən-kupšína.*

straw and we spread it. (40) We used to dig an oven. We (also) bought one in the city, brought it (to the village) and installed it. We stoked it from today in the morning, until tomorrow morning. We gathered together in its heat, around it we pulled a cloth over our legs, so that it would provide warmth. For us life was like this. (41) At that time we did not have two floors, unless we had them built as rooms on two floors and we would make the lower ones into, for example, storerooms. You understand? Underneath we would make a storeroom and gather things, raisins and walnuts. If we had tobacco, we would put tobacco on the beams, we strung it out, and it remained there. The house was a single unit. You would see we used to sleep ten people or twelve people in one house, all of us bedding down like that. The cold was very intense, but we were used to the weather of that season.

#### B4      Hunting (Natan Khoshaba, Zumallan, N)

(1) Quails, in the morning, before sunrise, we used to go, when the quail does not hear any sort of sound, we used to go, we had a net, a net. On this, in the middle of it, it had handles. On this in the middle of it there was a stick, which we used to attach like this. After we had attached it, we had a stick, which we had attached, and one that we had tied here from our belt. We had drawn over it a tent, coming across like this, coming across like this. If the quail saw us, it would not flee. (2) So we use to put the net there in front, and it made us resemble a buffalo, cattle. Therefore, when we made the net like this, it would think that it was, for example, cattle. We took soil and threw it on it. It (the quail) would slowly go and see where there was a place to enter to hide itself. It sees the net, which is in front, and thinks it is a thorn bush. It enters into the net. Now there are four or five, a group enters the net. They enter the net, we run and knock down the stick that we have put in front, and they remain in the net. (3) They stay in the net, which we have tied. We open it. We catch one at a time from under the net and place them in this (bag) with our hands. We catch them with our hands. Now, they are five or six, we catch them and put them here, and tie its mouth. We begin again to catch them in this way. When it gets a little lighter, or when there are sounds, it hides itself. But early in the morning, we go before sunrise, and (we find) it eating. It does not hear a sound. It is grazing in groups. But after a while, it would hear sound, and it would go and hide,<sup>10</sup> and we cannot find it. That is what there is to say about quails.

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10 Literally: crouch.

(4) +heyvánə xínə xína,| 'ánnə cərvíšə. | cərvíšə c-avíva è +dána. | c-azíva b-tùp. | cərvíšət dmóxta xazzívala,| véla dmàxtal jáf críva,| jáf càrma. | +'aynèl xazzívala. | dmàxtəla. | b-tùp ci-maxívala. | 'ína +xàrtal 'ánnə yálə jílə,| tuþpánjə +spày +plátlun,| ci-makkəmmívala,| ci-+raxtáva,| ci-maxivalà. | 'ína é+dán 'áxnan kát sùrəxval babavátan,| látva vasíla +ràba,| bí +bárut bí +çarpàrəl túp maltívala. | 'íta látvalun +ràba,| màjbur-íval +xadríva 'íca dmàxtəla maxívala,| čún 'ən-kəmvala,| bálcət! 'arkával túp +rappívala,| tìp! xína látten,| tré +tìlə dánəl +arþà dánə,| zóda látlun. | 'ína +xárta kát! pušánjə plátlun,| 'ánnə yálə jíləl makkəmmívala | ci-+raxtáva ci-maxívala. | +dàyət?!

(5) 'ína kámta,| c-oyáva dmàxta,| babavátan sùrəxval látva +úxča vasila. | tré-danə +flá-danə +çarpàrəl +bárut zarzíva,| xazzíva 'íca dmàxtəla kát! maxíla lá 'arkáni. | bálcət! kòmla,| túp +ruppílə lá kótlə +állo. | túpu þt-áza hadára. | 'ína! +xárta pušánjə zàdlun,| yálə xína lèva taxmúnə,| mattíuvvə köşa-lüyla tanáxən,| tré dánə,| 'áyya lá maxyála,| 'áyya xítá fùm maxívala. | 'ína kámta látva. | +bárut daríva +çarpàrəl b-súmba 'átxa xašlívala.

(6) [GK: 'átvə xzùyrrə?] lá,| é +dána 'áxnan! já mât-díyyan látva. | xzúyrrə c-azíva +al-+turàna. | 'ánnə násə kát 'átvulen túp,| xelànta túp,| t-azíva turàna,| maxíva xzùyra. | xà-danal tré-danə xzúyra ci-mayyíva. | 'ína cílla lá,| +rába xàčča násə. | 'adíyya xína násə +ràbəna bərrássəna. | (7) 'íta,| c-áziva ordàjə. | míyya +ràbəva. | 'átvə +'aynàtə,| míyya ci-+palþívala saxína. | kémíva,| c-azíva bí 'ánnə,| xá hálka c-odíva 'átxa b-jdàla. | síta maxívala láxxa. | 'á hálka b-jdàla! 'átxa t-atyáva láxxa hálka xà-xča. | láxxa daríva +xàttə. | 'ordac t-atyával b-léla +bərràyəla. | +þúzo maxyávalə,| ja-'átxa +marámta 'á jdàla! 'átxa hálka napálva b-ķdàlo. | lá +amsava parxáva. | láxxa-da sítəla. | +dàyət?!

(8) móriša jáldə þt-azíva. | jáškət +tìlə +'ärþa npiləna b-šakl líva mayyívalun. | 'ordájə +rappíva. | 'áxnan súra dmíxəl jáškət bábi +tìlə +'ärþa +rúppələ,| +sóna,| 'ordac. | c-avíva šapírə +tìrsə. | +'ávva +sédət 'ordájə-da 'átxəva. | dokívalə. | 'át +dána b-tùp ci-maxíva,| 'ína! ja-dánnə +šarítə búš spày-íva. | látvalun xá xàrj. | mən-+mástət sùysəl tìþrul zarzíva. | +šarítə ci-tanívalun. | (9) m-áxxa xá-dana síta maxíva,| b-+yasríva b-sítä láxxa,| t-atiáva 'áha xá-xča +yaríxa! láxxa! xá-xča hálka t-odívalə. | 'á dùcta! +xáttə daríva.

(4) As for other animals, (we had) these rabbits. There used to be rabbits at that time. They used to go with a shotgun. They used to see a rabbit that was asleep, (see) that it was asleep in a fallow field or in a vineyard. They used to see their eyes. It is asleep. They shot it with a shotgun. But later the young folk (had) good guns, which came out (later). They would wake it up, it ran and they shot it. But when we were young, our fathers—there were not many means available—used to fill the gun with gunpowder, with cartridges. Now they did not have many and so they had to look for where it was asleep and shoot it, because, if it had got up, it would possibly run away, they would shoot the gun, but there is no more (cartridges) in the gun, they had no more than two, three or four. But later when bullets came out, the young lads would wake it up, it would run and they would shoot it. You understand? (5) But in the old days, it used to be asleep, our fathers, when we were young, did not have so many means. They made two or three cartridges of gunpowder. They saw where it was asleep, so they could shoot before it ran away. It was possible that if it got up and they shot the gun, it would not hit it. The gun would go off in vain. But afterwards, bullets became more abundant and the young lads were not concerned, they would load what we call a double-barrelled rifle, with two (barrels), if one did not hit it, the other one, boom, would hit it. But this did not exist before. They used to load gunpowder cartridges. They knocked it down with a ramrod.

(6) [GK: Were there pigs?] No, at that time, there were not any in our village. There were pigs in the mountains. Those people who had a shotgun, a powerful shotgun, would go to the mountains and shoot pigs. They would shoot one or two pigs—but not everybody, only a very few people. Now, however, there are many people who go. (7) Now, they used to go (to hunt) ducks. There was a lot of water. There were springs, from which warm water would flow. They used to set off with these—they would make a ring with string like this. They would stick in a peg here. This ring of string would come to here like this, a ring this size. Here they would scatter wheat. The duck would come at night to graze. It sticks in its beak and when it raises the string, the ring would fall on its neck. It could not fly away. The peg is here. You understand? (8) Early in the morning they would go out. You see that three or four are caught, and they take them and bring them back. They would throw down the ducks. We small children were asleep, and you would see that my father had thrown down three or four, a drake, a duck. They were fine fat ones. The hunting of ducks was like this. They used to catch them. At times they shot them with a gun, but it was better with those snares. They did not involve any expense. They made them from the hair of a horse, (from its) tail. We called them ‘snares.’ (9) They inserted a peg from this end, they used to tie it to a peg, it would come to here so long and they used to make a ring this size. In this place they scattered wheat. When it put its

*ja-+púzo 'átxa mxéta rišo ja-+marámta,| 'áha b-+xalàsva 'a-hálka.| +xalàsva,| 'órdac pešáva +táma.| móriša p̄t-azíva t̄-avíva +árpa xámša +'sra,| cmá dánə +šaričə múttəna +táma.| 'áyya-da 'et-ordàjəva.*

(10) [GK: sàprə?] sàprəl c-+oríva ja-mulavàtə,| túyna.| 'átvalan cavàtə,| málux túyna ķa-sàtvəl bitáyəla +táma ja-dén ... túynə,| +hám šaxìnələ,| +hám +xàt̄tə +báyya +áxla.| 'ádi 'ómma,| trèmmal +vírəna ja-dàl mìla tánax.| 'átlə càvə.| 'átvalan +tòr.| +tór patxàxvalə.| 'áha b-+répa c-atyáva +palt̄ava.| +tór-da 'átxa +xalsàxvalə,| tlày,| 'arpi-danə,| xamši-danəl pešíva ja-+tòr.| +páltxava xá-xa rišé hónna ... nacláxval +rappáxva +támma.| tamməzzàxvalun,| +shúrva c-odáxvalun,| c-+axlàxva.| kùyə c-avíva.| 'ital 'et nášə xašlivalun,| c-odívalun cáptəl býya bí jarmè.| cáptə 'átxa c-oyáva,| +rába kvíta basəmta.| sàprə.| 'áyya-da 'et-sàprə.| bá +rába dvíkən 'ána b-sàprə.

(11) +tére xína,| mèrril 'áttən tûp 'átválun,| nášə tûp c-azíval maxíva +tére.| kumriyyə 'átvə,| +yahùyə 'átvə,| ja-dóšta yonày 'átvə,| ci-maxíva 'en-tûp 'átválun.| ci-maxíva,| ci-mayíva,| bašliva,| c-+axlíva,| 'átvalan tré janàyəl e-+dana tûp 'átválun.| xá ja-+tláyárəxət sàtvə,| kárta +ràbəva,| +tlammá-danə cərvíšə màyxəva.| +tlammá dánə cərvíšə màyxəva.| jəldé xùmyuva.| mubràzzuva.| xà-dana +at̄tar tánax duccàndar ja-mdítal šómmu Mixàyəl 'átvalan.| ci-lablíva ķa-+dàv xá zúzyza ci-yavvivalun,| zavànvalun,| é-+dana lèn-+bəddə,| c-odívalun ķa-+palt̄iyəna,| ķa-kdàlə,| jəldē ūapírəval ūaxinə,| zavánvalun +avun,| +áv ci-yavválvalun ķa-huydàya,| huydáya zonivalun,| +xeñíva +palt̄iyəna,| +al-ķdalé c-avíva mən-de-jóldət cərvəš,| +məstàna c-áviva,| +dàyət?| 'ital 'ánnə məndyána 'átvə ja-máta,| xàzyax.

(12) nùynəl c-azàxval bí +tòr,| nùynə,| nára m-áxxa bitàyələ,| nára m-áxxa bitàyələ,| 'á dúcal bumbàst-ila,| tánax,| míyya +bəddára +al-làxxa,| bumbàst-ila,| +dàyət?| t̄-atàxva,| +tòr 'átvalan,| níxa t̄-oràxva 'á dokàxvala,| bí +tòr,| +tlà-danə,| +arpa-danə +tòrə nášəl t̄-oràxva +tòr 'átxa dokàxvala,| mat-táxva ja-míyya,| xá-mənnan t̄-azáxva mən-dò-ybal b-ķesa cašcəsshàxva,| t̄-atyáva maxyáva +al-aklātan ketàva,| +tòr +marmàxval +rappáxvalə +támma,| nùynə 'átxa dokáxva,| b-čáñyal là,| b-+tòr dokáxva e-+dánta,| (13) ja-nárət díyan 'átvə tré júrrə nùynə,| xá-dana nùyna +xvàrta tanáxvala,| xá-dana mårət

beak in and raised its head, this would tighten the ring. It would tighten, and the duck would remain there. In the morning they would go and there would be four, five or ten, however many snares they had laid there. This is what there is to say about ducks.

(10) [GK: Sparrows?] Sparrows used to come into the barns, the hay. We had windows (in the barn), we have filled it (the barn) with hay for winter. It (the sparrow) comes there into the stacks of hay, both because it is warm and also because it wants to eat wheat. Now, a hundred, two hundred, have come into the barn, let's say. It has a window. We had a net. We opened the net. It (the sparrow) would come in a flock and go out. We tightened the net like this. Thirty, forty, fifty remained in the net. We took them out one at a time, and pulled off their heads, then put them aside. We would clean them, made them into a stew and eat them. They used to be tough. So, there were people who crushed them and made them into meatballs together with their bones. A meatball was like this, very substantial and tasty. Sparrows. That is what there is to say about sparrows. I have caught many sparrows.

(11) As for other birds, I have said there were some who had a gun, these people would go and shoot birds with a shotgun. There were doves, there were Jehu birds. In the fields there were pigeons. They shot them if they had a gun. They shot them, brought them back, cooked them and ate them. We had two people at that time who had a shotgun. One of them in the three months of winter, when it was very cold, had shot three hundred rabbits. He had shot three hundred rabbits. He had kept their skin and dried it. We had a pedlar, let's say a shopkeeper, in the town, whose name was Mixayøl. They used to take them (the rabbit skins) to him and he gave them money for them. He used to buy them. Then, I don't know, they used to make them into overcoats, into collars. Their skins were beautiful and warm. He would buy them. He would bring them to Jews. The Jews would buy them. They would sew overcoats, on the collars of which there was this rabbit skin. It was furry. You understand? So, there were such things in the village. We have seen them.

(12) As for fish, we used to go out with a net (to catch) fish. Fish. The river is coming from here. The river is coming from here and this place is a dead end, let's say. The water comes back to here, it is a dead end. You understand? We would come, we had a net. We slowly entered (the water) and caught it (the fish) with a net. With three or four nets and people we would enter (the water) and catch it with a net, which we put in the water. One of us would go and drive the fish from the other side with a stick. It would come and hit our legs. It would know (them). We raised the net and threw it there. We caught fish like that. Not with a hook, we fished with a net at that time. (13) In our river there were two types of fish. One type of fish we used to call white fish. One we used to call

*sumbulàlə tanáxvala,| márət sumbulàlə čún ’átvala.| ’ita xá-+pəslət nýyna +xvàrta ’átvalan.| ’áy +rábə basàmtəva c-oyáva,| dòkax.| ja-dó nárət díyyan ’ánnə ’átvə. hí. | ’ína ducána jùrrə júrrə mən-nýyna ’átvə | ’ína ’ó nárət díyyan tré júrrə nýynə ’átvə. | ci-dokàxva. | sótva dokàxva,| +kéṭa=zə dokàxva,| c-+axlásxva nýynə. | mayyáxval mən-dánnə súrəl nýynə dokàxval +ràba. | mən-dášta xá dána +čalúvva parmàxval mən-mešavàtə. | +čalúvva ’átxa ’átxa +čalúvvəna,| ’ánnə súrə. | savùni| ’á +čalúvva mattívalə ja-tanùyra,| cút +pàva. | tré dánə maxìva. | ’á +čalúvva xá mátra +rámələ. | cíllə ’átxa +pavàna +pavána ’átlə. | tandálvalun bí dàni mattívalə ja-tanùyra. | ’áni b-samkíva ’ax-+halàla. | (14) móriša| kát tanúyra +šírələ,| +bár priķələl cízə pòštəla. | mattíval cílləl ̄kalívalun. | +’al-dó +čalúvva cílləl bašlīva,| bət-+palèṭvalun. | ’ital darívalə +tāmmal taníva +xùlun. | ’én +júrə ’átxa +čalàpvalun. | ci-malívalun +búslə,| +nána ’eryána,| +búybar smùkta. | javé malívalə,| b-jdála +yasàrvalun. | ci-+rappívalun +’al-’áštət tanùyra. | còz ’átvə. | ’áni bašlīva. | +maxdárva ’á páta ’átxa nýynə +júrə. | javé ’átxa malívalə cíllə +búybar,| +badəmjànə,| +búslə +šúla. | +yasárvvalun b-jdála. | mattívalun ja-tanùyra,| ’al-dó +kóṭma bašlīva. | ’ita +cerṭòpəl cíllə ’átxa tré c-avádvalun,| +šayyívalun +’al-dó márzət tanùyra. | ’átxa malívalə. | samkíva ’ax-+halàla. | paléṭva xà-xčál mágma mattíva +tāmma. | +cerṭópə +xùlun. | mamlóxxàxva,| c-+axlásxva. | +ràba basímo c-avíva. | +cabàb c-áviva. |*

## B5 Weddings and Festivals (Natan Khoshaba, Zumallan, N)

(1) *ja-màta* ’è +dána| ’áxnan ci-+maṭáxva šánnan ̄ka-jvàra| ’ita| látvalan hačuyta| ’áxnan| ̄ka-dé bràta| ’azáxva tanàxval +báyyax foráxlax. | bába yómma Ptasmím<sup>P</sup> dokíval ’ám bràtal +ṭalbivala kátan. | kála là-+msáxva ’odáxva. | taníva +pállan bràta| +báyyax mayyáxla kátu. | lé-+aməsva taníva là. | ’áni +rázi ’avíva,| ’azíva +ṭalbivala. | b-azíva šačlivala. | +xárta ’áxnan m-+ùydala| xá tré-ja c-+amsáxva hamzəmmàxva,| ’áy=da +rábə +basúrta. | +dàyət?| (2) ’ita| +xlúyla c-odíva. | t-azíva másalan| +ṭalbivala xína,| +ṭlibona| širànnəx vídena. | t-azíva b-dávla +zùrma| ’áha mən-maváy mayyivala| bl +’arabàna,| yalànkə. | t-azíva,| mayyivala. | +xlúyla

the (fish) with a moustache, because it had a moustache. So, we had a type of white fish. This was very tasty and we used to catch them. Our river had two types of fish. We used to catch them. We caught fish in winter, we caught them in summer, and we ate them. We brought back the small fish, which we caught, many. We cut down a thorn bush in the field or the woods—a thorn bush, the thorn bushes which are like this, the small ones. My grandfather used to put the thorn bush into the oven, each branch. He used to put in two of them. The thorn bush was one metre high. In all it has many branches. He would hang them on those and put it in the oven. They became red like a tulip. (14) In the morning, when the oven is lit, after it has finished, its embers remain. He would place all (the fish) and grill them. They would all cook on that thorn bush and he would take them out. Then he would serve them and say 'Eat!' He would split the big ones like this. He would fill them with onions, mint, basil, red pepper. He would stuff them and tie them up with a string. He put them on the bottom of the oven. There were embers. They used to cook. He turned big fish over. He stuffed them all with pepper, aubergine, onions and the like. He tied them with a string. He put them in the oven. They cooked on the ash. Now, potatoes, he used to slice them all in two and stick them in the other side of the oven. He filled it (the oven) like this. They became red like a tulip. He used to take out a tray this big and place it there: 'Eat the potatoes!' We would salt them and eat them. They were very tasty. They were (like) a kebab.

### B5 Weddings and Festivals (Natan Khoshaba, Zumallan, N)

(1) In the village, at that time, when we used to reach the age of marrying,<sup>11</sup> we did not have the right to go and say to the girl 'We want to marry you.' The father and mother made a decision as to which girl they would request in marriage for us. We would not be able to make any protest. They would say 'We want to bring for you such-and-such a girl.' He (the young man) would not have been able to say 'No.' If they were satisfied, they would go and ask for her hand in marriage. They would go and take her. Then we could talk to one another, one or two times, but that was very rare. You understand? (2) So, they held the wedding. They would go, for example, to seek her hand, and when they have asked for her hand, they would have held a betrothal party. They would go with drum and pipe. They brought her (the bride) from the villages in coaches, carriages. They would go and bring him (the groom). They would hold the wedding in a

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11 Literally: We reached our years for marrying.

p̄t-odíva béta +rába +jùra. | davá̄kva másalan trəmmà janáy, | 'əmmà janáy, | +jùra. | (3) 'átvə +kulínət kámxa, | +kulínə +jùrəl sandúkə tánax. | 'áxnan yálə súrəl yaskákva yattáxva +al-+kulínə. | yaskákva yattáxva +'al-dén +kulínə kat-mályəna kámxa. | 'ádi 'əsrì janaváy, | tlày janaváy, | yálə súrə yaskákva 'atxá. | 'ánnə tívəna láxxal +úxča kálə, | nášə, | baxtátə, | cùllə. | +táməl t̄-avíva xá dána 'él-+ağasəl xá mən-bác. | 'ita xa-náša +bayyíva marķàdvaləl kámthal mən-bác mən-'él-+ağasəl +bayyíva +ijázal +póllan-casjrúslə kámaya, | jaršíva. | (4) 'ána másalan bác-ivən̄ ká-díyyux tanánya 'él-+ağasəl +póllan yálə jrúslə kámaya ràkəd. | mayyívalə ja-májłas, | rakədva. | +dàyət? rakədva. | 'ita, | 'ámne nášə +bayyíva 'én tré janáy | 'ó +xlùyla +júrət dó +xlùyla 'áni c-avíva. | cím 'áni taníva 'én-nášə náta doķíva +al-+dávun, | +al-dén tré janáy. | ci-paršívalun̄ tré janáy kat-á +xlùyla 'axnòxun̄ 'ámne +bayyítun mazmərritun̄ 'ámne +báyyəl ràkəd, | 'áni jári 'odívalə 'ó +šúla. | 'ita xayyúta mərril +rābal +yaķurtəval zúzya +basùrəva. | (5) 'ita 'adíyyal +xlùyla t̄-odíva. | +jóra báxtal +rába +basùrə cəs-+úydalə damxíva. | dúca lòtvalun. | šánnə xáretal +xaraya. | xína xáččajurvəslən̄ xá +ótaj súrta +taršíval xa-tré-yarxəl +tláy-yarxəl 'én-t táza xátna cáləl ci-damxíva +támə. | +xárta xína ja-dá cálpatl | 'əsrì janáy, | +xamsásar̄ janáy ja-dá béta dmíxəna. | xayyúta +rābal +baráyəva +xálta +rába +basùrtəva. | 'ita 'ánnə məndýána 'íva, | xəzyèx. | +dàyət?

(6) 'idà-+jura, | +tlá yumánə 'idà-+jura 'átvalan. | 'é-+dana yúmat kámeta xošiba, | c-azáxva +slùta, | +ùmra. | káša 'átvalan +slùta c-avádva. | 'ita +bár +cavútra | 'ánnəl dà máta | 'ánnə 'ax-sakáləl +xadríva 'ámnət nášə 'átlə fəddášta motána +jammíva p̄t-azíva ja-bēt-+dávun. | 'ídu barxívaləl ríša basámta b-yavvi-vàla. | yúmat kámeta hál +cavútra ja-+ùmra c-avíva. | +bár +cavútra 'ánnə nášə +jùrəl 'átvə ja-dé máta motána t̄-azíva ríša basámta. | 'ádi +'əsrì janáy, | +xamsásar̄ janáy +xadríva, | 'icət xá náša kát 'é šítal nášu munyòxxələ, | mítələ, | +xadríva ríša basámta. | (7) yúmat tré t̄-azíva xá 'ídət do-xína barxíva. | 'ita xína doķíva b-járja. | máta t̄-oyáva tlày batváy, | 'arp̄i batváy. | 'udyul bēt-diyyùx-vət,

very big house. It would hold, for example, two hundred people, one hundred people, big. (3) There were storage bins of flour, large bins, boxes let's say. We young children used to climb up and sit on the bins. We used to climb up and sit on those bins, which were full of flour. Now, we children would climb up like this, twenty or thirty people. They (the others) are sitting here, (there is) so much noise, men, women, everybody. There was one man who was the master of ceremonies and one was the wedding organizer. Now, if a person wanted to make somebody dance, first he needed permission from the wedding organizer and the master of ceremonies (who would say) 'Take so-and-so to the front (onto the dance floor)', and they would take him. (4) If I, for example, am the wedding organizer, I would say to you 'Master of ceremonies, take such-and-such a young man to dance at the front.' They would take him into the gathering and he would dance. You understand? He would dance. So, whoever these two individuals wanted (to dance), they were the leaders of the wedding. Whatever they said, the people would obey them, these two individuals. They would elect them, the two individuals, (saying) 'At this wedding you make sing whoever you wish, who should dance,' they must do this job. So, life, as I have said, was very hard and money was scarce. (5) So now, they held the wedding. The husband and wife seldom slept together. They did not have enough space. In recent years, after we had grown a little,<sup>12</sup> they made a little room, and for one or two months, three months, the newlyweds<sup>13</sup> would sleep there. Then (they would sleep) again among the family, where twenty people, fifteen people were asleep in the house. Life was very backward. Food was very scarce. So, these things were (like this). We saw them. Do you understand?

(6) Easter, we held Easter for three days. At that time, on the first day, Sunday, we went to pray, at the church. We had a priest and he held the service. Then, after lunch, those that were like the dignitaries of the villages would go round, whoever has had an accident or somebody deceased, they would gather and go to his house. They would wish him a happy Easter and offer him their condolences. The first day until lunchtime they used to be in church. After lunch if there were people who had died, the senior people would go and offer their condolences. Now, ten people, fifteen people would go around, wherever there was somebody who had a family member who had passed away, died, they visited to offer their condolences. (7) On the second day, they would go and wish one another a happy Easter. Now, they kept to a sequence. The village was thirty or forty houses. Today you are in your own home, (then) in the house

<sup>12</sup> I.e. when the speaker was older.

<sup>13</sup> Literally: those who are recently groom and bride.

*bēt-do-xīna, jáškət +əsrà yumáñə, +xamsàr yumáñəl c-ávi ́idavày bariúxa. ́ita ́áxnan yálə jíləl +al-dèn l sulyátət kát kənyàñəl é šəxté +rúppo, +tuptəptəla, ́ay +janìman c-azáxval +árra +bəzzàzə +ṭaláxva. xà šábta mən-dà xošíba +al-dó xošiba xīna +ṭaláxval +ṭávulə cùt-yum. ́ita ́átvə dàvla dávla ci-maxíva +janìman c-azáxva. yálə jíləl á +šulan=va xà šábta. yumánət ́idət +jurà-ída +tlá yumáñə, ́ina xá šábta ́áxnan hár c-avívalan +ṭálta +bár +cavutràñə. c-azáxva móriša palxàxva +bár +cavutràñə c-atáxva. +táma +jammàxva +ṭaláxva +árra +bəzzàzə, +janìman, xá-mənne ... +janìman zamárvə šapíra ́ánnə cùllə b-raķdīva rīš-xəffa b-lablíva. ́ida +rába sodàna c-odáxvalə. xədyúyta ́átvalan.*

(8) *́ita-xīna +xàmral i-+jammíva bətvàta. ́átvalan zamára +spày. bēta +jurà mattíva ó zamára b-zamàrva, +súpra müttəna. +kulínə ́tlən, +línə ́tlən +júra. vádra malívalə mattívalə b-+arálləg +xàmra. malíva +tásə +jurta malíval kák b-yavvíva ́át b-šatátvala ka-+dárva b-yavvíva. ́átxa ḫ-atyáva +tásə +matyáva +támma parkàva. jáškət +šavvə vádra, tmanyà vádrə +xámra šatíva. +xámra +pòrya c-avívalun. zamrīva, šatíva, ḫ-+axlíva, zamrīva hál +sáat xá tre b-lèla. ́ánnə məndiyyàñəl ́átvə ja-maváta.*

(9) *dála dàlpə, ́ayən sòtva c-oyáva. sòtva c-oyáva, kurbábət +ðsvat c-avíva. ́átvala xá yùma. ó yùma yálə súra i-+xàdri yasķíva jaravàta dála dàlpə c-odívala. xá-dana +kàvvəl +yasrīva mən-cávə +paštīvalə mən-cávə ja-béta +paštīvala. ́ita ́atən mū ́átlux, cəsmišə ́átlux, šərnīyyə ́átlux darátvajəl +dàvun ́áni jaršivala. cùllə máta +xadrívala. ́ita +xàrtə ́átvəl +bár prəkvalun jáškət nùyra b-+seríva +al-jaravátə. +xàmra b-šatíva, b-zamrīva, ́atən +əsrá janáy +al-dà járəna, +əsra +al-dó járəna. á +šúla-da sòtva c-odívaləl yálə jílə ́ánnə +júra. ́ánnə súrəl mərril b-dó +kàvvəl b-+xadríva jaravày, mən-dé cávə +paštīva, cəsmišə yavvívalun, jòzə yavvívalun, tlùvvə ci-yavvívalun. cù-mət ́átvəlun ja+dav b-yavvíva kátu, jaróšvalə mən-dá járə +al-dó járə xīna, ́átxa cul-jaraváy +xadàrva, +tlá +arþá yálə súrə.*

(10) *yúmət calù-sulaķa c-avívalan. arþí yumáñə +bár ́ida calù-sulaķa c-avíva. cálū sulàķa, xá dàna cálū zarzàxva, ax-+pásłət cálū, +tlá +arþà janátəl á cálū tré janày xá náša davòķval xátna +bárə, ́áxnan-da +bára +barəl ḫ-azàxva. bétət diyyuxl bétət +dàvva, b-+jammàxva. biyyə ci-yavvíválan adíyya*

of somebody else. You see they used to convey festival blessings for ten days, for fifteen days. Now, we young children used to go and dance the *+janiman* dance and play 'holes in the ground' on the heaps where they had thrown cattle dung, which was stamped down. We played games every day for a week, from this Sunday until the next Sunday. Now, there was a drum, they played the drum, we went to dance *+janiman*. This was what we young children did for a week. The days of Easter were three days, but we had games in the afternoon for one week. In the morning we went to work and in the afternoons we came back. We gathered there and played 'holes in the ground,' *+janiman*, one of them would sing *+janiman* beautifully, and everybody would dance and lead a jig in a circle. We had a very enjoyable festival. We had merriment.

(8) Now, as for wine, they used to gather in houses. We had good singers. They used to set up a large house and the singer would sing, (after) they have laid the spread of food. We have flour boxes. We have a large wine jar. They would fill a bucket and place the wine in the middle. They would fill a large bowl and they would give it to you, you would drink it and they would give it to him. In this way the bowl would come back, and arrive there (where it started) emptied. You would see that they used to drink seven buckets, eight buckets of wine. They used to have plenty of wine. They sang, they drank, they ate, they sang, until one or two o'clock at night. There were such things in the villages.

(9) *Dala dalpa*, this took place in the winter. It took place in the winter. It was around February. It had an (appointed) day. On that day the children used to go around and climb on the rooftops and play *Dala dalpa*. They would tie a bowl and let it in through a roof-window, they let it in through a roof-window. Now, whatever you had, whether you had raisins, or you had sweets, you would put in this (bowl) and they would pull it up. They would go round the whole village. Then afterwards, after they finished, you would see how they would light a fire on the rooftops. They would drink wine and sing. You (would see how) ten people are on this roof and ten people are on that roof. They do this in the winter, the older youngsters. The young ones, as I have said, went around the rooftops with that bowl, they let it in through the roof-window, people gave them raisins, they gave them walnuts, they gave them preserved hanging grapes. Whatever they had they would give to him in that (bowl) and he would pull it up, from this roof to that roof, going round all the roofs like this, three or four children.

(10) We had the day of (the festival of) the Bride of the Ascension. Forty days after Easter was the Bride of the Ascension. The Bride of the Ascension, we would dress up a bride, in the form of a bride, three or four people, the bride, two people, a person, the groom, followed her. We followed behind them. We gathered in your house, in his house. They used to give us eggs. Now, they

bíyyə b-yavvıvalan,| móšxa b-yavvıvalan.| (1) 'íta b-+jammàxva.| bár prèkla| cùllə máta +xdiràvalan,| t-azáxva ja-čolavátt carmànəl mən-máta váddar c-+oráxva carmànəl lablásxva +tàma,| +tàva,| +šùlə,| +ojàxta +šeráxva,| +spíra baślásxva.| cút xá dástət jànu,| másalan xamšà janáy ja-dà +čóla,| xámša ja-dò +čóla,| jáškax +'árpa xamšà +čolavátt.| tívəx javèl baślásxva,| c-+axlásxval 'en-bíyyə kat-+jumméx mən-máta,| 'é cálú vìdux| +xdírəx béta bétəl cùllə,| 'íta +tàma zamrìva,| 'atválun| sodánə zmaryátə,| +dàyət?| 'ánnə məndiyánə 'é-ja 'òtva,| 'áyya calù-sulaķəva.

## B6 Events in 1946 on the Urmi Plain (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) 'ána hamzúməvan bázət| šítət 'árpi 'òšta,| ju-mátət +Hàssar,| +Babà-čanja,| 'áttən mátət +Hàssar-ilafùl +Sèra,| 'áylà,| 'ína +Hassar +Babà-čanja b-+arallájgət matvàtə xínəla,| Čamaciyə,| +'Áda,| +Mùšava,| Karajàlu,| 'ánnə cùllə +táməla| b-è-ducta,| (2) 'íta 'ána 'ivan| +'áčča šənnə 'atváli 'ùl tílun nàšəl məsshəlmànəl 'u-yuvvállun tuþþánja ka-máta,| mən-+bár,| xa-əsrıl yumánə tílun tuþþánja škilélun,| 'áx-t 'ána bətxárən kam-+aynila,| 'u-bábi léva +bəddá kat-tuþþánja +jammyéna,| 'áxči +m̄lilun b-rişul 'u-tuþþánju škilálun,| tuþþánju škilálun| 'ùl +tapànča| 'atváləl súrča +tapànča,| škilálun 'ay-da mánnu,| 'u-+pulàtłun| váddar lubàllun| ju-dé mátət +Babà-čanja,| sábabl mən-kam-+dána bábi ka-bné +Babá-čanja məsshəlmánə xùmyəva,| léva švíka kurdáyə ... +zùllum 'odíva,| +zùlüməya 'odíva šakliva məndiyé,| bəxshávəva +xuyravátuna,| (3) 'ína hár b-dé +dána məsshəlmànəl +xáyən +plátłun +'àllu,| lubàllun| 'u-cùllə məndiyət díyyan škálun,| sàtvəva,| tázə čiriyəva,| cùllə məndi škálun,| 'áxči xzùyət díyyan dəryélun ju-tanùyra,| bakíyya məndiyán,| cùllə lubàllun,| xá-yarxa výyəna məndi bəjráša mən-mátət +Hàssar,| (4) +xárta,| ju-mátət məsshəlmànəxva,| +támə bábi pulàtłun| +al-tàrra,| ka-yòmmi mórrun| xuš-mé trəmmá +tuymána zùyza,| +jórax lè +kaþlásxla,| 'u-yòmmi xòšla,| ju-mátət +hošára məsshəlmànəl lè-'amsava maçxáva xa-náša trəmmá +tuymána yavvàlvə,| +šudrálun| xòšla,| 'ána škálit| 'axúni xáti mənnə,| mən-+bárabar bábi xòšli| ju-tàlfə,| yámssi tila| 'u-bábi mórrə katé| +bəddáyən +kaþlítunli,| +ktúlunli jáldə kat-là +bayyən xazzənnòxun,| +tlásbla

used to give us eggs, they used to give us clarified butter. (1) Then we gathered together. After she finished and we had gone around the whole village, we used to go to the huts of the vineyards. We went into the vineyards outside the town. We brought there a frying pan and the like. We lit a hearth fire and cooked an omelette, each in his own group, for example five people in this hut, five in that hut. You would see four or five huts. We sat in them, cooked and ate the eggs that we had gathered from the village. We had made the bride and gone all around from house to house. Then they used to sing there. They had good songs. Do you understand? There were such things at that time. This is what I have to tell about the Bride of the Ascension.

**B6      Events in 1946 on the Urmi Plain (Yulia Davudi, <sup>†</sup>Hassar  
+Baba-čanja, N)**

(1) I am speaking about the year forty-six in the village of <sup>†</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja. There is a village that is (called) <sup>†</sup>Hassar in the area of Serə, not that one, but <sup>†</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja is in the area of other villages, Čamacıyya, <sup>†</sup>Ada, <sup>†</sup>Mušava, Қarajaluy, all of these (villages) are there in that place. (2) Now, I was nine years old. Muslims came and gave guns to the village. After twenty days they came back and took the weapons, I remember as if it is before my eyes. My father did not know that they were gathering up the guns, but they came upon him and took his gun. They took his gun. He had a pistol, a small pistol, they also took that from him. They took him out, they took him away to the village of <sup>†</sup>Baba-čanja, because my father had previously looked after the inhabitants of <sup>†</sup>Baba-čanja. He had not allowed the Kurds to oppress them, oppress them and rob them. He thought they were his friends. (3) But at that time the Muslims turned out to be treacherous against him. They took him away and took all of our property. It was winter. Autumn had recently finished.<sup>14</sup> They took everything, but they put our pigs into the oven. They took all the rest of our property. For one month they removed things from the village of <sup>†</sup>Hassar. (4) Then we were in the village of the Muslims. There they took my father outside. They said to my mother 'Go and bring two hundred *tumans* of money, and we shall not kill your husband.' My mother went off into the village of the Muslims, but she could not find anybody who would give her two hundred *tumans*. They sent her away and she went. I took my brother and sister from them and I followed my father

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14 Literally: It was recently autumn.

+pà̄prus| yuvvállun xa-dána +pà̄prus.| frišálə.| márrə 'ádi mxìmunli.| lé-+bayyən xazzənnòxun.| sâbab +xuyravàtuva cílla| cílla 'ət-màtəva|, 'ət-matvàtə|, 'svàvəva cílla.| (5) márrə mxìmunli| 'e-+dána yòmmi tíla.| +shuríla čarčùrəl mxáya ju-ríšo| lá +kçúlunlə +jòri.| yála súrə súrə 'átlı.| 'u-+ruppéla yála súrə kamaytèl 'u-b-+rapsa| mxílunju-císət| xáti tre-šànnəl 'u-axúni +arpà̄sánnəl mâtłun.| 'u-ka-bâbîl mxílun m-àxxu| npàllə.| 'u-távlun +àl suysavàtəl xàslun.| bás 'áxnan pôslan +tâma|, mxáya ju-ríšanl 'u-škála dàmma| +bæššáya ju-ríšanl yómmi čarčùrəl 'áxnan|, 'ína bábi +hàla| nàpas bæškáləva.| (6) har-b-dé-+danta xá-dana sùysə tíla.| sùysə tíla|, yómmi +rxótlə jáno +ruppálal mârral +kçúlun ka-díyyi-da| +kçúlunli.| 'é-+danta 'ó-naša jánu +ruppálal 'èltex| lá švàkłəl sùysəl ka-yómmi +maròčval dàšva| bas-+slíləl nášə xínə mæššəlmànə mórrunl ķu-ta-+vúr +čay ští| +'ávva márra|, +rába +maxléta|, +suvvàrrəl márrə lè-+bayyen +čayóxun šatánnəl| 'áha cálpat lá švíko b-dá jùrra| lè-+bayyən +čay diyyòxun| 'u-škállə ka-díyyanl muttlílə ju-xá díucta| 'átxa xáčča muccàsta|, 'e-dúcta ķat-šáxtə móxtat kənyàna ci-xamílun|, +tâma ka-díyyan muttlílə| ka-díyyan muttlílə +tâma| 'u-bâbîl škállun lubâllun| märzət šakíta| muttlílun +tâma| xáčča 'úpra drílun +àllu| (7) +bár tre-yumànəl tilunl ķa-yómmi mórrunl tílun mórrunl ķa-yómmi| ķat-+jòraxl véna 'úpra škílu| kárjə véna +bixàlu| véna +bixàlu| bás xa-náša mæššəlmànəl xíšəva| cícət dàva| škíləva m-pùmmul švíkuva jòlya| bâs| kárjə bitáyəva +axlívalə| +xárta| nášə +rába cul-jané +tùšyoval ķat-lá +ķatlívalun| bás +xalùvvi| 'axúnat +màmi| 'u-+jòrat xàlti| tilunl bábi škállunl muttlílun ju-xa-+arabàna| +arabána 'ila| lilàñka|, +arabàna| muttlílun jàvo| lubláxlun ju-de-mátət bi-savùni| Karajàlu| +tâma bábi +tumárrunju-+úmra +tâma| 'u-pôšlanju-bétət bi-savùni| 'áyya hal-+tâma bætxàronl ķat-mú vila| (8) +bár háda xína juyvàslan| ķati muttólun ju-bétət +rabbanyàta| 'ána pôšli tré-šànnəf ju-bét-+rabbanyàta| 'axúni muttlílun ju-bét- mæsyòyal 'ət-ķàšə| ķat-+karáxva +tâma| +xárta módrə +dærrun +al-màta| nášət máta +dærrun cílla +al-màta| 'ína cílla 'áxči vido| ... tònna jàvo| 'u-kənyàna jàvo| cílla tummæzzàlun| ķurkæzzàlun| +bar-hádax xína škállun cílla mòndi| 'u-mulcàna| carmànəl baxçàna| diyyanl cílla škíləva| 'ína m-ķam-+dâna| cílla +zrùtət-da díyyanl +zrùtəva| (9) bi-bábi yámmya tíyyəva m-+Rùsya| müyyəva +rába mòndi mænné| +râbal züyza| cílla móndi müyyəva m-+Rùsya| 'ína cílla škæl-lublèlun| +xárta yámmya pôšla 'armælta| là b-+jóra| +jòrat xàlti| +ķeryála

in the snow. My mother came back and my father said to them 'I know you will kill me. Kill me quickly, because I do not want to see you.' He asked for a cigarette and they gave him a cigarette. He smoked it. He said 'Now shoot me. I do not want to see you.' Because they were all his friends, all from the village, from the villages, they were all neighbours. (5) He said 'Shoot me!' Then my mother came back. She started screaming and beating her head 'Don't kill my husband. I have young children.' She threw the children in front of them. They kicked in the stomach my two-year-old sister and my four-year-old brother, and they died. They struck my father here and he fell. They mounted horses and went away. Then we stayed there, beating our head, taking blood and smearing it on our head, my mother screaming, we ..., but my father was still breathing. (6) Just at that moment a horse came. A horse came and my mother ran and threw herself down and said 'Kill also me. Kill me.' Then that man threw himself down and did not let the horse crush, trample my mother. Then other Muslims dismounted and said (to him) 'Come and drink tea.' He said—excuse me—he swore. He said 'I do not want to drink your tea. I cannot leave this family in this way! I do not want your tea.' He took us and put us in a place, covered slightly like this, the place where they keep the filth and the like of cattle. He put us there. He put us there. They took my father away to the bank of the stream. They laid him there and put some earth over him. (7) After two days they came and said to my mother, they came and said to my mother 'Your husband—they have removed the earth and crows are eating him, they are eating him.' A Muslim had gone and taken gold teeth from his mouth and left him exposed. Crows were coming and eating him. Then people all hid themselves so that they would not kill them. But my uncle, the brother of my mother, and the husband of my aunt came and took my father and put him in a carriage. A carriage is a coach, a carriage. They put him in it and they took us to the village of the family of my grandfather, Karajaluy. There, they buried my father in the church there and we remained in the house of the family of my grandfather. I remember what happened up to then. (8) After that we grew up. They put me in a convent. I remained for two years in a convent. They put my brother in a house of (French Catholic) missionaries, of priests. (This was) in order for us to stay there. Then they returned again to the village. The people of the village all returned to the village. But it was all made ... there was smoke in it, there were cattle in it. They cleaned it all and put it in order. After that they took everything, our properties, vineyards, gardens, they took them all. But beforehand all our cultivable land was cultivated. (9) The family of my father and mother had come from Russia. They had brought many things with them, a lot of money. They had brought everything from Russia. But they took everything. Then my mother became a widow, without a husband. The husband of my aunt invited her to Tehran, and

+*al*-+Téhran.| *u-bábo yámmo* +*kəryálun* +Téhran.| *katé lubállun* +*al*-Téhran.| *xur-*  
*ána fvárri* *ķàl* +Bèhnam,| +jórla.| *fvárri* *ka*-+dàvvun,| *ka-xəmyáni* +rábi Šàvul.

### B7 Village Life (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) [GK: +šárax *b*-+mèta.] +mèta 'íva| *ju-màta*.| *ci-daráxva* *jávo*| *màsta* | *u-*  
*pùmmo* | *ci*-+*yasráxvala* *bí cìsat* | *kənyàna*,| *c-aváxva* *zúrzo* *šapòrta*,| *ci*-+*karáxvala*  
+*kràmta*.| +*kràmta* | *ci-mattáxvala* +*al-púmmat* +mèta,| *daráxva* *másta* *jávo* | *u-*  
*yasráxvala*.| +*ullul* | *átvala* *xá-dana* +*bázza* *kat-póxa* +*palòtva*.| *másta* *daràx-*  
*vala*,| *míyya* *daráxval* *jávo*,| +*šaráxva* +*myàya*.| *mayyàxvala*.| *lablàxvala*,| *mayyàx-*  
*vala*.| *átva* *xúto* *sàrjal* *bí* *ķesa* | *átxa*,| +*ältíxo* *cùpa*,| +*ullúylo* +*ràma* | *kat*-+mèta  
*'azáva* | *ältex*,| +*ullul*.| *u-xá* *bàxta* | *yán xà* | *úrza* *yatòvva* | *kat*-+*mayyàvala*.|  
*mattíva* *xúto* *júlla* | *u-c-ávə* +*myàyo* | *e*-+mèta.| *bálcət* *xá* *páljət* +*sáat* *jaršával*  
*hál-t* | *o*-+*cárra* | *atíva*.| *é-jət* *ci-patxàxvala*,| *xazzàxval* +*báyya* *míyya*,| *le*-+*báyya*  
*míyya*.| *bálcət* *hájat*-+*ət* *daráxva* *míyya* *jávo*.| *íta* +*xàrtal* *púmmo* *patxàxvala*,|  
*sapkáxvala* *jùl* *mánə* +*jùrə*,| +*ķazànča*.| (2) +*ķazànča*-+*zə* *bitáyəla* *mən-pràzla*  
*cùmta*.| *ci-mattáxvala* +*al-tanùyra*,| *jávo* *mašxənnáxva* *míyya*.| *e*-+*ķazànča*|  
*'án-t* +mèta *sapkáxva* *ju-dáyən*.| *u-cúllə* | *o*-+*cárro* *šakláxva* *mən-pàta*.| *pešíva*  
+*dàvva*.| +*dàvva*-=da *c-odáxvalun* *jáji*.| *jáji* *daráxva* *ju-dé* ... +*ķazànča*.| *daráxva*  
*ju*-+*ķazànča*.| *daráxva* *xáčča* *málxa* *jávo*.| *mattáxval* +*al-da-tanùyra*,| *kat-*  
*márri* *tanùyra* +*seráxvala* *xà-meter* | *əsrí* +*santíyyə* +*yúrxuva*,| *amkùytyuva*,|  
*'u-bálcət* | *xá-meter*-da *pàtvuval* *buš*-+*rábə*.| +*seráxvalə* *mattáxva* +*al*-+*dàvun*.|  
*šalàķva*.| *daráxva* *ju-càsta*.| *c-avíva* *jáji*.| (3) | *á* *jájìl* | *kat-míyyu* *c-avíva* *xìšə*,|  
+iartá *c-ódax* | *àx* ... *júpta* *c-avíva*.| *átvalan* *jéllàlə* | *ķáto*.| *ci-daráxvalun* *əryàna*.|  
*átvalan* +*bùslə*,| +*cárra*,| *c-odáxva* *ju-dánnə*,| *ju-dá* *jájìl* | *ka*-+*ṭamta*.| +*cárra*,|  
*jáji*,| *júpta*,| +*ùl* | *jíral* | *mən-pàt*-+*xàlva* | *šakláxvalə* | *jíra*.| *móriša* *jáldəl* | *m-kám*  
+*xálva* *mašxənnáxvalə* | *mən-pátu* *šakláxva* | *jíra*.| *é*-+*dán* +*xàlva* *mašxənnáxvalə*,|  
*ci*-+*akòšva*,| *pátu* *c-oyàval* | *kurrùšta*.| *ci*-+*karáxvala* *kurrùšta*.| +*xálva* *xáčča* *pàšval*  
*šaxina*,| *lá* +*rábə* *šaxina*,| *daráxva* *xa-čámča* *barxəssáxvalə* | *kat*-+*ó* +*xálva* *avíva*  
*màsta* | *ju-ķadàlə*.| *átvalan* | *ķadàlə*,| *ķadàlət* *śira* *tanáxvalə*,| *ax-muxzíli* | *ka-díyyux*  
*e*-+*ķusàrta*,| *śira* | *ķat* | *là* *jarášva* *míyya* +*al-jànu*.| *átva* | *ka-dàlə*.| *o*-+*xálva* *daráxva*

her father and mother invited her to Tehran. They took them to Tehran. Now,<sup>15</sup> I married Behnam, my husband. I married him and (joined the family of) my father-in-law Rabi Šavul.

### B7      Village Life (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) [GK: Let's start with the churn.] The churn was in the village. We put in it yoghurt and tied its mouth with the stomach of cattle. We had made it attractive. We used to call it a <sup>+</sup>*kramta* ('stopper'). We put the stopper on the mouth of the churn. We put yoghurt in it and tied it. At the top there was a hole so that air could come out. We put in yoghurt, we put water in it, and we began to churn. We brought it (forward). We pushed it away and we brought it forward to and fro. Under it there was a stand,<sup>16</sup> made of wood, low at the bottom and high at the top, so the churn would go down and up. A woman or a man would sit in order to churn it. He would put a cloth under it and kept churning the churn. Perhaps it took half an hour until the butter was produced. When we opened it, we saw whether it needed water, or did not need water. Perhaps it was necessary to put water into it. So, then we opened its mouth and we emptied it into big vessels, a saucepan. (2) A saucepan (<sup>+</sup>*kazanča*) is made of metal (and is) black. We put it on the oven and we heated water in it. We emptied the contents of the churn into the saucepan. We took off all of its butter from the surface. The buttermilk remained. We made the buttermilk into *jajəc*. We put the *jajəc* into the saucepan. We put it in the saucepan. We put a little salt in it. We put it on the oven, as I said, the oven, and we lit it, its length, its depth was one metre twenty centimetres, and perhaps its width was also a metre, or more. We would light it and put it on this. It would boil. We put it in a bag and it became *jajəc*. (3) This *jajəc*, when its water has evaporated, we make like ... it becomes cheese. We had herbs for it. We put in basil. We had onions, butter, which we put in them, in the *jajəc*, for breakfast. Butter, *jajəc*, cheese, cream (*jira*), we took the cream (*jira*) from the top of the milk. Early in the morning, before we warmed the milk, we took the cream from the top if it. When we heated the milk and it cooled, the top of it became a skin, we called it *kurrušta* (skin). The milk would become slightly warm, not very warm. We put in a spoon and stirred it, so that the milk would become yoghurt, in pots. We had pots (*kadalə*), we called them enamel pots, like the saucepan I showed you,

<sup>15</sup> Literally: Look!

<sup>16</sup> Literally: saddle.

ju-dàni<sup>l</sup> c-avíva màsta.<sup>l</sup> 'ita<sup>l</sup> +kámtat díyyan mən-dànniva.<sup>l</sup> (4) 'ávala ctayátə.<sup>l</sup>  
 ci-yadlíva bìyyə.<sup>l</sup> +karùvva.<sup>l</sup> +karùvva.<sup>l</sup> 'ávalan xa<sup>+</sup>karùvva<sup>l</sup> ka-ctayátə.<sup>l</sup> làxxa,<sup>l</sup>  
 ctayátət làxxa<sup>l</sup> véna máya bìyyə là b-+karùvva.<sup>l</sup> 'ávalan +karùvva<sup>l</sup> katé.<sup>l</sup>  
 ci-+karíva,<sup>l</sup> 'u-ci-taybárvvalun ctayátə.<sup>l</sup> 'ávalan +rába bìyyə.<sup>l</sup> 'an-bìyyə<sup>l</sup> látvalan  
 +yàxčal ju-máta,<sup>l</sup> ci-mattáxvalun ju-mèlx.<sup>l</sup> +mèta,<sup>l</sup> 'ávalan +meyátə=ze<sup>l</sup> 'úp  
 mèlx ci-mattáxva javé.<sup>l</sup> +rába məndi mattáxva ju-dàni,<sup>l</sup> 'ax-kadàlə,<sup>l</sup> 'áx  
 +xámra,<sup>l</sup> ci-mattáxva ju-dàni.<sup>l</sup> 'ita<sup>l</sup> 'ánnə bìyyə mattáxvalun ju-mèlx,<sup>l</sup> sab-  
 cmá péšiva ju-mèlx<sup>l</sup> lè xarvíva bìyyə.<sup>l</sup> bálcət xa-šítal c-+amsátvə xamátvələ ju-  
 mèlx, mèlxət yáma,<sup>l</sup> 'ávalan yáma cáslan ju-'Úrmi.<sup>l</sup> 'ávalan yáma, mèlx  
 'ávala,<sup>l</sup> +xvártal 'átxa +júrta.<sup>l</sup> 'átxa b-dáy xamáxvalə.<sup>l</sup> (5) 'u-+búsra-za,<sup>l</sup> 'é-+dān  
 'atíva nàšə,<sup>l</sup> +búsra parómva ju-máta.<sup>l</sup> látvalan duccanàna.<sup>l</sup> +búsra kat-paròmva,<sup>l</sup>  
 šakláxva +rába,<sup>l</sup> 'u-kalàxvalə +búsra.<sup>l</sup> kalàxvalə,<sup>l</sup> +mardáxxàxva,<sup>l</sup> bašélva,<sup>l</sup>  
 daráxva mésxa +'állu,<sup>l</sup> málxa +'állu,<sup>l</sup> daráxva ju-kadàlə.<sup>l</sup> 'íman +bayyáxva xá-  
 məndi bašlákva,<sup>l</sup> mən-dó<sup>l</sup> kály,<sup>l</sup> shámmu kályəva,<sup>l</sup> ci-+akràxva,<sup>l</sup> +paljàxva,<sup>l</sup> mat-  
 tákva ju-+kusártal u-bašlákva.<sup>l</sup> bašlákva yàxni,<sup>l</sup> ci-+karíla yàxni,<sup>l</sup> +šúrva.<sup>l</sup> yàxni  
 márona,<sup>l</sup> mən-+búsra,<sup>l</sup> +kérjòpə,<sup>l</sup> +xarjóna,<sup>l</sup> daráxva jávo,<sup>l</sup> 'u-+badəmjànə.<sup>l</sup>  
 'ánnə cúllə c-atíva mənl<sup>l</sup> +zrútət jánan,<sup>l</sup> mən-máta,<sup>l</sup> 'áxči +búsra c-atíva vàddar.<sup>l</sup>  
 (6) xá-xa-ja mən-xa-konyànan parmáxva,<sup>l</sup> xá-xa-ja ctayáy parmáxvalun.<sup>l</sup> 'ita<sup>l</sup>  
 +búsra xa-+kusártal b-kály.<sup>l</sup> +yánə kály-da c-atíva 'átxa.<sup>l</sup> cúllə məndi xamáx-  
 valə.<sup>l</sup> 'ína sàtval<sup>l</sup> cíl-məndi mattáxva vàddar ju-tály.<sup>l</sup> 'ána bábi<sup>l</sup> xzìyrlə ci-  
 paròmvalun,<sup>l</sup> tandálvalun vàddar.<sup>l</sup> tandálvalun,<sup>l</sup> 'u-c-azálva cut-kedàmta,<sup>l</sup> mənné  
 paròmval mayyíval +smàla,<sup>l</sup> +xvísá zarázva,<sup>l</sup> +xvísá, b-làxma.<sup>l</sup> (7) 'ita<sup>l</sup> 'ávalan  
 +kulína ci-tanáxvalə.<sup>l</sup> +kulína 'ávala 'átxa b-dá júrra +yaríxa,<sup>l</sup> 'ína +'úllul-íva,<sup>l</sup>  
 +ráməval tré mətrə.<sup>l</sup> xá<sup>l</sup> jíbul xá kútiyyul +kulína<sup>l</sup> 'íva ka-kàmxa.<sup>l</sup> mən-+últəx  
 jarshávala<sup>l</sup> kámxa c-atíva +palàtva.<sup>l</sup> 'ína mən-+úllul darátvə jávo.<sup>l</sup> xá +'áyna  
 'íva ka-+xàttə.<sup>l</sup> +dalápčal márona.<sup>l</sup> +dalápča 'ílə 'á +tárra kat-ptàxut<sup>l</sup> làxma<sup>l</sup>  
 mattáxva.<sup>l</sup> (8) láxma jánan yapàxvalə +lavášə +rába šapírə.<sup>l</sup> 'ávalan lèsal  
 jánan lešáxvalo.<sup>l</sup> miyyəva,<sup>l</sup> kámxa,<sup>l</sup> 'u-bálcət xáčča b-+xálva c-odàxval tanáx-  
 valə +paṭírə.<sup>l</sup> 'ína lá b-+xálva ci-+karáxvalə làxma,<sup>l</sup> +laváša.<sup>l</sup> daráxvalə miyya<sup>l</sup>  
 'úl kámxa,<sup>l</sup> mèlx,<sup>l</sup> +bùlču.<sup>l</sup> +bùlču 'íla<sup>l</sup> E'yéast,<sup>E</sup> 'ína +bùlču 'áxnan jánan ci-  
 xammàxvala<sup>l</sup> mən-dá kámxa,<sup>l</sup> mən-dá lèsal ka-dó léša xína.<sup>l</sup> (9) 'ú xá cùnda,<sup>l</sup>

enamel, which did not absorb water. There were pots. We put the milk in these and it would become yoghurt. So our breakfast consisted of these. (4) We had chickens. They laid eggs. A rooster. A rooster. We had a rooster for the chickens. Here, the chickens here produce eggs without a rooster. We had a rooster for them. It used to crow and looked after the chickens. We had a lot of eggs. We did not have a refrigerator in the village, we put them in salt. Churning pot, we had churning pots, we put salt also in those. We put many things in them, like pots, such as wine, which we put in them. So, we put the eggs in salt, because so long as they remain in salt the eggs would not go off. You could perhaps keep it in salt for one year, in sea salt, we had a sea by us in Urmī. We had a sea, it had salt, white, big like this. So we kept it in that. (5) As for meat, when people came, meat would be slaughtered. We did not have shops. When meat was slaughtered, we took a lot and we fried the meat. We fried it, we boiled it and it cooked, we put clarified butter on it, salt on it, and put it in pots. When we wanted to cook anything, we dug out some of the cooked meat fat, its name was *kalya*, we took it out, we put it in a saucepan and we cooked. We cooked stew, they call it *yaxni* (stew), soup. They call it *yaxni*, which is made of meat, potatoes, chickpeas, which we used to put in it, aubergines. All these came from our own crops, from the village, only meat came from outside. (6) From time to time we slaughtered one of our cattle, from time to time we slaughtered our chickens. So meat (was cooked in) a saucepan with meat fat. The meat fat was produced thus. We preserved everything. In winter we put everything outside in the snow. My father used to slaughter pigs and hang them outside. He used to hang them and go every morning and cut from them and bring back pig fat, he made <sup>+xvisa</sup> (bread fried in fat), <sup>+xvisa</sup>, with bread. (7) Then we had what we call a <sup>+kulina</sup> (storage box). A <sup>+kulina</sup> (storage box) was this type,<sup>17</sup> long, but it (extended) upwards, it was two metres high. One of its sides, one of its compartments, of the storage box, was for flour. You would pull it from below and flour would come out, but you would put it in from the top. One side was for wheat. (There is a) pantry (<sup>+dalapča</sup>), as they call it. A pantry is the door that you open where we used to put bread. (8) We used to bake our own bread, very fine flat breads (<sup>+lavaša</sup>). We had dough, we used to knead ourselves. They were made with water, flour, and perhaps we made some with milk, which we would call <sup>+patirə</sup>. But (when made) without milk we called it bread, flat bread (<sup>+lavaša</sup>). We put in it water, flour, salt, <sup>+bulču</sup> (leavening dough). <sup>+bulču</sup> is (like) yeast, but we fermented it ourselves, from the flour, from one dough to another dough. (9) We buried a ball of dough, a ball of dough in flour and

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17 The informant points to a box in the kitchen.

*xa-cúnda lèša, ci-+ṭamráxa ju-ķàmxal ķa-hál da-sápar xítal +av +táma c-avíva +pəspəssa, +màtya. íta íman +báyyax ķàmxal ՚odáxva, mádrə lèša ՚odáxva, +’avunl ķàmxal ci-maxáxvalə +al-màrza. ína +rába +fúral +tìyanl ՚átvalan +tìyan. +xùmsa c-avíva ju-mìyya! c-odáxvalə lèša. +xoṭàxvalə c-odáxva lèša. lèša bálcət tré +sa’attə c-avíva hal-+maṭìva, yasáška +’ullul lèša, kám +maṭìva. mən-+bár-hada dárax cùndə. tanúyra-da +šeràxvalə. (10) tanúyrat díyyan mìjjur +šárva? ՚átvalan càrmal u-ʃòpta, +’anvə. cíllə +maķrəṭṭivalun, +jam-màxvalun, +yasráxvalun dàrzə, mayyáxva mattáxlun ju-+’ambər ķa-sàtva. u-kənyàna! íman-t, +maxlèta, šàxta ՚odíval e-šáxta ՚establə cíllə tamməzzàxvala, mattáxvala ju-+kərtəla. +’al-+xàsan labláxvala +rappáxvala +’al-vàddar. u-daśdəšsàxvala, c-avíva ՚átxa ķvita, ’ax-+’arra. (11) +xárta ՚urzəl parmívala b-+mìra. parmívala ՚urzəl +rába +fúra, m-áxxa hal-+tamma, ՚átxa +fúra. ՚átxa +fúra, càmrə. ķa-dánnə ci-tánax càmrə. ’ánnəl ՚urzə ci-parmívala a-sùlla, šámmo sùltəva. +akrívala ՚átxa, parmívala ՚átxa c-odívala ķatl ՚ámmə +oráva xutə, barzìva. íman brəzvalun, ci-+moráxvalun javay! ķa-sàtva, kàl tanúyra. ’ùl ՚átvəl ՚áxtət kənyàna, mádrə +maxlèta, +palṭàxvala dūcta xítal, daráxva mìyya jávo. c-odáxva ’axl +ṭina. +mamṭìyyàxvala b-’àkləl ՚inə, u-ci-yapàxvala b-’idən. ՚átxa +yarıxa, šámmət dàni-dal càmrəl +páṭùxə. ’áyya-da +páṭùxval +fúra, ína ’ánnə xáčča buš-nàzuc-iva. (12) ķa-’axúni tanyàna ci-jabàxval késə, +ṭalašyátə. +ṭalašyátə ’inal ’ilànə, bəškáləvət kàlpu. +ṭalašyátə tanáxvala. ’ánnə daráxvala b-dánnə càmrə, b-dánnə bí jàptal késəl b-dá +páṭùxta, +páṭùxəl ’ú tapáxvala o-tanúyra. tanúyra ՚átvəl +’ánta +yarəxta. +’ánta m-xút +’arrəl b-tanúyra mattíyəna. xa-+’ánta mattíyəna. xa-ķésa +x líma mattíyəna, bnàyuna. +xárta +bar-brázəl, késa +palütuna. láxxa tanúyrləl, láxxa +’ántəla, ’et-dokətləl nùyra pás şapıra. ína táza +bəšyàrut, ’áyya, jári şaxləpləl ķatl +hàva +’ávər jávət tanúyra, nùyra ķat làyyə. ķa-dáyən ci-táni +’ánta, +’ántət tanúyra. ՚átvalan júlla zurzəxval ՚at-dešáxva +’al-do-+bəzzə. ՚at là +jammíva tanúyra. ’inal ýe-+dān táza tapàxvala, jári şaklaxvala. ՚átvalan tandürta, tanúyra súra! ķa-cùt-yum, másalan bašlaxva jávo.*

(13) u-’átvalan bétəl tanáxva +’otagj ՚árxə, bétət sàtva. áha bétət sàtva tanúyra ’ávə jávu. ’inal +’otágət ՚árxəl ՚átvalan buxàri. buxàri, késə mattáxva jávo. u-+páṭùxə mattáxva jávo, càmrə mattáxva jávo. +’allo ci-bašlaxva. ՚átvalan p̄līṭa. á p̄līṭa lišánət +’urusnàyəla. Pmutmayən-ivən, cùncət bábi

until the next time it would be there hissing and ready. So when we wanted to use flour, again to make dough, we put the flour on the side. But we had a very big vat, a vat. The leaven was in water, we made it into dough, we mixed it, we made it into dough. It took perhaps two hours before the dough matured, before the dough rose, before it matured. After that we lay out balls of dough. We would light the oven. (10) How was our oven kindled? We had a vineyard, a vine, grapes. They would cut them all down, we would gather them, tie them into bundles, and bring them back to the storeroom for winter. The cattle—excuse me—when they made their filth, we would clean away the filth in the stables and put it in a basket. We took it on our back and threw it down outside. We stamped it down, it was hard as the ground. (11) Then men would cut it with a spade. Men would cut it very big, from here to there, as big as that. Dung cakes (*camrə*) as big as that. We call these *camrə* (dung cakes). These—men would cut the dung heap (*sulta*), its name is *sulta*. They dug it like this, cut it and made it like this, so that the sun would enter under them, so that they would dry. When they had dried, we brought them inside for the winter, for the oven. (11) Excuse me again—we took out the filth of cattle to another place and put water in it. We made something like mud, we processed it with our legs into mud and kneaded it with our hands, long like this. The name of these is dung cakes, *+paṭuxə*. These were large dung cakes, but the others were a little thinner. (12) I say to my brother,<sup>18</sup> we used to gather wood, bark strips (*+ṭalašyata*). Bark strips are (from) a tree, you take its bark, we called them *+ṭalašyata*. We put these in the dung cakes, and with the wood of the vine, with the long dung cake (*+paṭuxta*), long dung cakes, we lit the oven. The oven had a long airhole. They put the airhole in the oven under the ground. They make an airhole. They place a thick piece of wood and they build (the oven). Then, after it (the structure of the oven) dries, they take out the wood. Here is the oven and here is the airhole, which you close for the fire to remain good. But when you are newly kindling it, you have to adjust it, so the air enters the oven and so the fire burns. They call this an airhole, the airhole of the oven. We had a cloth which we had prepared for us to stuff into the hole so that the oven did not take in (air). But when we were newly kindling it, we had to take it away. We had a *tandurta*, a small oven, for us to cook in every day.

(13) We had a house, we said 'room (for) guests,' winter house. The winter house had the oven in it. In the guest room we had a stove. We put wood in the stove. We put long dung cakes in it. We put small dung cakes in it. We cooked on it. We had a hot plate. This (word) hot plate (*pliṭa*) is Russian, I am sure, because

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18 I.e. the interviewee is saying this to the interviewer.

*dày tuyyéva.* | *p̄l̄iṭa* | *mattīva*, | *b-dáy-da bašlīva.* | (14) *ka-axùni táyan*, | *'átvalan cardíyya.* | *cardíyya* +*yana* +*zrùtət* | *jøllàlə*, | *'eryàna*, | +*badəmjàna*, | +*buybàra*, | *P-espənàj*,<sup>P</sup> +*raba məndiyánə*, | *sòlkə*, | *calàma.* | *ánnə cúlla* +*zaráxvalun fu-dé dártət jànan.* | *jári ka-sàtva*, | *jári bašlákva biyyè.* | +*raba məndiyánə*, | *jøllàlə*. | *jøllálan* 'ival caràvuz, | *jafári mórox*, | *jafári lišánət* +*farsət* 'ila. | +*tòlə*, | +*càbar.* | *ánnə cúlla c-avívalan.* | +*katkøttàxvalə* c-odáxva *dòlma.* | +*rázza mattáxva* *jàvu*, | +*bùsra*, | c-odáxvalun *dòlma.* | *dòlma* c-odáxva b-dé *calàma*, | *b-məndiyánə xìna.* | +*yánə xayyúta* átxa +*raba šapòrtəva.* | (15) *'ánnəl* *'eryàna*, | +*buybàra*, | +*badəmjàna* dolkáxvalun +*turšíyya.* | *ánnə* +*línə maláxvalun* +*turšíyya.* | 'u| +*ánvəl* *kat-'átvalan càrma*, | +*ánvəl mayyáxva* +*marçàxvalun.* | *mən-dán mìyyəl* 'odáxva *nipùxta.* | *nipùxta bašlákva*, | +*raba šapòrta.* | *átxa ránju* +*xvàrəva*, | *'ax-*+*càrra.* | *daráxvala* 'upra, | *'átvalan xa-'upra*, | *mən-javilan mayyívala.* | *'upra mən-*+*árra ci-*+*akràxvala*, | *daráxvala* *ju-dánnə mìyyət* +*ánvəl kat-kédamta* *kemàtva*, | *darátva* 'upra. | (16) 'u-nášə yaskíva *ju-*çàraz. | *šámmo* çàraz-iza. | *átxa* +*türsova.* | *'átvala* +*bèzza.* | *átxa* +*ánvəl* *míyya* +*salíva* *mən-de-*çàraz *ju-*+*tíyan.* | *ášaklátvala* *b-vàdrəl* *darátvala* *ju-dé* +*mèta*, | *ju-do-*upra. | *'ita barxəsshätvala.* | *ánnə* *míyyət* +*ánvəl* *mən-dó* 'upra ci-+*xoṭíva* p̄-+*uydalə*. | 'u-jùbbuc +*paltáva* +*al-vàddar.* | *kédamta* *kemàtva*, | *járcəl* móriša *jàldəl* *šaklátvala.* | *cúlla* 'o-+*ṭina*, | e-šàxta c-óya +*pláṭta* +*al-pàta.* | *bás* 'an-míyyət +*ánvə* *xazzàtvala* *míyyət* *štèta*, | +*sàpyə.* | *jári* +*sapàtvala.* | *'o-*+*ṭinal* *ci-daráxvala* *ju-xa-jvàla.* | *mádrə* *míyyu* +*salíva.* | +*áv-dábašlákvala.* | *ína* *míyyu* +*salíva* +*ávun nòšu.* | *ína* 'an-míyyət +*ánvə* +*raba* +*sàpyə* *šapírəl* c-odáxvala *nipùxta.* | *mən-dán mìyyət* +*ánvə* c-odáxva +*xàmra.* | *mən-dán mìyyət* +*ánvəl* 'odáxva +*xàla*, | +*xàla*, | *daráxva* +*al-dán* +*turšíyya.* | +*turšíyya* +*raba* *basimə* c-avíva.

(17) *ka-axúnì tayàna* +*sàbun* *márri* 'á-sapar *kàtux* +*sábun* *jànan* c-odáxvala. | *daráxva* +*sóda* *b-jàrmə.* | 'é-+*dān* +*sóda* +*rappúyət* +*al-jàrməl* +*al-màndil* *cúlla* *mapšúrəl* *vádul* 'ax-míyya. | *mattótlə* +*al-taníyra* *bašlàtlə*, | *darátlə* +*al-pàtmíyya*, | +*pálət* 'ax-tàrba. | *tàrba*, | *mášxa* *darátva* +*al-pàt-míyya* pàš. | *'ita* *parmàxvala* | *átxa* +*júrə* +*sàllə* *tanáxvala* | +*sàllə* *ka-*+*sàbun.* | *mattáxva* +*al-*+*ullul* *cúlla* *baràzva.* | *bàs* *šaklákva* *mən-dó* +*sàllə*. | *bálcət* *ka-*+*əsrà* *šánnəl* *áxnan* c-avívalan +*sàbun.* | *ci-masáxva* *jùllə* *bíyyu.* | (18) 'u-míyya mayyáxva *mən-šakìta.* | *làtvalan* mìyya<sup>P</sup> plulecaši<sup>P</sup> *làtvalan.* | *jári* 'ázax *mən-šakìta* mayyáxvala. | *bálcət* *xàl*

my father's family brought them. They laid a hot plate and cooked on that. (14) I say to my brother, we had vegetable garden plots (*cardiyə*).<sup>19</sup> Plots, that is for the cultivation of herbs, basil, aubergines, peppers, spinach, many things, beetroot, cabbage. We cultivated all of these in our own vegetable garden. They were needed for winter, when we needed to cook with them. Many things, herbs. Our herbs were parsley, we call it *jafari*, (the word) *jafari* is Persian, coriander, leek. We had all of these. We used to make *dolma*. We chopped it finely, we put rice in it, meat and we made *dolma*. We made *dolma* with cabbage and other things. So life was very good. (15) We preserved as pickles the basil, peppers, aubergines. We filled jars with pickles. As for the grapes that we had in the vineyard, we brought back the grapes and crushed them. From their juice we made grape molasses. We cooked grape molasses, very well. Its colour was white like butter. We added soil, we had a (special type) of soil, which they brought from Gawilan. We would dig the soil from the ground and put it in the grape juice, for that you would get up in the morning and add the soil. (16) People would climb up the grape-press. Its name was *čaraz*. They made it like this. It had a hole. When they did like this, the grape juice flowed down from the grape-press into a cauldron. You would take this in buckets and put it in the pot, with the soil. Then you stirred it and they mixed the grape juice together with the soil. Scum would come out (of the juice). In the morning you would get up, you had to take it off early in the morning. All the mud and dirt had come out onto the surface. You would see, however, that the grape juice was juice fit for drinking, pure. You had to strain it. We would put the mud in a sack. Its juice would flow down again. We cooked this, but its juice flowed by itself. That grape juice was very pure and fine. We used to make grape molasses (like that). From that grape juice we used to make wine. From that grape juice we used to make vinegar, vinegar, which we put on the pickles. The pickles were very tasty.

(17) I say to my brother, soap, I have said to you now, we used to make our own soap. We would put soda on bones. When you put soda on bones, on something, it melts it all and makes it like water. You put it on the oven and cook it. You put it on the surface of water and it comes out like fat, fat, oil, which you put on the surface of water and it stays. Then we would cut it into big blocks, as we called them, blocks of soap. We laid it up so that it would all dry. But we would take blocks from it. We had soap for perhaps ten years. We used to wash clothes with it. (18) We brought water from a stream. We did not have water from pipes. We had to go and bring it from the stream. The stream was perhaps five hundred

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19 These generally had wooden sides.

xamšammà mátrəl ròkkəva šakítə. c-atyáva mən-jam-mavàtə, mən-mátət dìyyan, c-atyáva mən Xanišan' átxa mən Karajàlu, +Babàjan, c-+oráva mən-mátət dìyyan, átxa c-azáva 'áltəx +Spùrgān, Xanišan, Yanjija, cílla 'é šakítəva. šakítə +bəddáyat mù-ila-xina? nàra, ína 'á xa-+kàt̄ta mən-nàrələ. bitáyələ ka-matvàtəl kət-nàšəl maštīla +zruté biyè. (19) másalan 'át +bayyátvə xákłux maštàtvala, 'u-càrmux maštàtvala, 'u-bəstàna, +zarráxva bəstàna, maštàtvalun mən-dé šakítə. át šaklətva, átxa lablətva, 'ána šaklanval 'átxa mayyánva. nášə xinəl cílla šaklívə maštíva mən-dé šakítə. šakítət +Spùrgān ci-+karívala, sábab 'á šakítə c-azáva +al-+Spùrgān. ita 'átvə nüynəjávo. (20) xinəl 'átvəlan bəstàna +zarráxva. 'á-sapar kátx mərri, bəstána +zarráxva. šəptíyyə jávu=va, +rába šapírə šəptíyyə flùlə. 'u-xa +bər-+zàrra 'átvəlan, +bər-+zarrət +shàddu. +bər-+zarrət 'átxa +xvárəva cùma ci-+karívalə +shàddu. flùləva. 'átvəlan +yarıxa 'átvə 'at-+karívalun xònə. xònə, xá-tar 'ánnə šəptíyyə +yarıxa, +karáx-valun xònə. 'átvəlan bašlə, átxa bašlə, kámta cəndürəva, súrṭa. ci-mattáxvala xut-+àrral ju-ùpra, 'upra daráxval +állo. jaškətva véna +plítə cílla, +plítəl vityəna bašlə. ka-dánnə tání bašlə. átxa cəndúra mattátla xut-ùpra, +pàlṭa mən-xut-ùpra. jabətvalal t-óya bašlə. 'u-şallákə, ranjé ķina, 'ax-dá +yarəxta, +rába +xlita šallák ci-tanívala. 'u-+xyàrə, cəndürə, 'ánnə-da mən-bəstànəl mən-bəstànə c-atíva.

## B8 Weddings (Yulia Davudi, +Hassar +Baba-čanja, N)

(1) xá-dana yàla! xa-bràtal ci-+bayyíva +uydàləl xazzíva +uydàləl mən-kámta bába yəmma! jári másalan taníval bnátət +pállən-cas +spày-inə, másalan bnátət Géoffrey +rába +spày-inə, Géoffrey +rába +spay-nàšələ, báxtu +spàyəla. 'ubrátət dánnə mayyáxla ķa-brúnən. 'ánnə bába yəmma ci-tanívalə ķa-brunè, bruné=da xazzíva bràtal c-azálval xazzívala. c-azíva +ṭalbívala. (2) +ṭalabúyta c-azíva bába yəmma. yàla ķa-bráta ci-taníval bábi yəmmi b-+şadrənnun +ṭalabúyta 'ati +ṭalbilaxl mən-bábbox yəmmax. 'ən-yavvılx, 'ána b-jorənnax. bərráxşəna ṭalabúyta. bərráxşəna ju-xa-béta +várəna! šláma b-şəna! dàxitun? pákduñ tūmun! pákduñ tūmun! (3) bətyàvəna. máyəna +čày. mú b-şatitun? mára lé-šatax həč-məndi, le-+áxlax həč-məndi hál+ba'útan ķatóxun là tanáxla. +ba'utóxun mù-ila? axnán tìyyəvax, brúnən +vírləl mən-kám +tarròxunl xázyl

metres away. It came from a group of villages, from our villages, it came from Xanišan, also from Karajalu, <sup>+</sup>Babajan, it entered our village, then it went down to <sup>+</sup>Spurğān, Xanišan, Yanjija. It was all the same stream. You know what a stream is? A river, but this is a part (flowing) from a river. It comes to villages so that people can irrigate their crops with it. (19) For example, if you wanted to irrigate your field, or irrigate your vineyard, or your kitchen garden—we used to cultivate a kitchen garden—you would irrigate them from that stream. You would take (water), take it (for your land), I would take it and bring it (to my land). Other people would all take from this stream and irrigate (their land). It is called the stream of <sup>+</sup>Spurğān, because this stream goes to <sup>+</sup>Spurğān. There were fish in it. (20) We used to cultivate a kitchen garden, as I have just said, we cultivated a kitchen garden. There were watermelons in it, very fine round watermelons. We had a seed, the <sup>+</sup>şaddu seed. It was a white and black seed, which was called <sup>+</sup>şaddu. It was round. We had long ones, which were what were called *xonə*. One type of long watermelon we called *xonə*. We had musk melons (*başılı*), first these were a small green musk melon (*cəndura*). We used to put them under the ground in the soil, we put soil over it. You would see that (when) they all came out they have become musk melons (*başılı*). They call these *başılı*. You put the green musk melon (*cəndura*) under the soil and it comes out from under the soil. You pick it and it is a musk melon (*basılı*). Also large musk melons (*şallakə*), green in colour, long like this, very sweet, called *şallak*. Cucumbers, green musk melons, these came from the kitchen gardens.

## B8      Weddings (Yulia Davudi, <sup>+</sup>Hassar <sup>+</sup>Baba-čanja, N)

(1) A boy and a girl would fall in love with one another and see one another. Beforehand, however, the father and mother would say, for example, ‘The daughters of so-and-so are good,’ for example ‘the daughters of Geoffrey are very good, Geoffrey is a very fine man. His wife is good.’ So we would bring their daughter for our son. The father and mother would tell this to their son and their son would see the girl, would go to see the girl. They would go and ask for her hand. (2) The father and mother would go to make the marriage request. The boy would say to the girl ‘I shall send my father and mother to make a marriage request, to come and ask for your hand from your father and mother. If they (agree to) give you away, I shall marry you.’ They go to make the marriage request. They go and enter a house: ‘Hello! Greetings! How are you? Please sit down! Please sit down!’ (3) They sit down. They bring tea. ‘What will you drink?’ They say ‘We shall not drink anything and we shall not eat anything until we tell you our request.’ ‘What is your request?’ ‘We have come (because)

*xa-vàrda.* | 'o-vàrda *ju-baxčòxun-lə.* | +*byáyəvax jabàxlə labláxlə ju-baxč-janàn.* | (4) 'íta 'ànnəl díl *váyəna +rəzi.* | *mára xób 'áxnan 'stlan nàšəl jári +karàxlun.* | 'u-bàbal 'u-yòmma| +'amtal +xàlu| cíllə 'ánnə +*bəkrayèna* +támə *ju-bèta* *kat-mənné +bákri.* | *bitáyəna* +*bakúrəna mən-bàba,* | *bába sapúyol b-yòmma.* | *mára yómma jurvàstola* | *jári 'ána +bákren mən-yòmmo* *sábab yòmmo jurvástola.* | *yómmo* *mára* | *'ána +rázivan* | *'ána t-odánnə* *xá dástət* *vàrdəl mattánna* +al- +sádrət yàla. | (5) 'ína 'áni-da +*bəddáyəna* *yála mánilə.* | +*bəddáyəna* *yála mánilə* | +*bəddáyəna* *brún-mánilə* *bəxdáyəna* *kat-braté yavvila.* | +*xárta* +*bakúrəna* *mən-* +'amtət *yála,* | *mára +a-'amtola,* | 'stla *haķùta* | *kat-'*ý-da +yàttə. | +'ámtət yávola | *ka-'*jòro, | *ka-mamùno,* | *ka-'*axùno, | *ka-'*xalìvvø. | cíllə dástə 'átxa *váyəna* tòva. | +é-dān +*ṭalabùyta* *váyəla,* | cíllə +*bəkrayèna* *naše.* | +*xábra* *yávəna* *katēl* | 'íta 'ánnə *mən-cíllə* +*bakúrəna,* | cíllə +*rəzi* *váyəna.* | *čáppə mxáyəna* *kat-'*ṭalabùyta vila. | (6) *bar-xá*-+*dana* *bərráxšəna* *širònnax,* | *širònnax,* | *bráta* *vádəla* *širònnax,* | *širònnax* 'at-brátəla. | *vádəna* *širònnax,* | +*mixùlta,* | *laxma,* | +*čay,* | *štèta,* | cíllə *yávəla.* | *bráta* +*bəkráyəla* *nášə* *ka-'*širònnax | *ju-bèto.* | +*bixáləna,* | *bəstáyəna,* | *bərkàdána,* | *bəšvárəna.* | (7) *širònnax*-*da* *prákəla,* | *mattúyəna* +*danət* +*xlúyla*, | +*xlúyla* *váyəla* 'at-yàla. | *xá-cma* +*dána* +*bətlábəna* *mónnu* +*xlúyla* +*júra* 'ávəd, | *xá-cma* *mónnu* +*bətlábəna* +*xlúyla* *súra* 'ávəd. | +*bətlábəna* +*júra,* | +*xlúyla* +*júra,* | +*xlúyla* +*júra* +*yána* *nášə* +*rəba* čedi. | +*xlúyla* *súra* +*yána* másalan *xá tláy* 'arpijanáy čedi, | 'átxa. | (8) *bitáyəla* +*dān-*+*xlúyla.* | *ju-matvátə* | *kənyána* práməna. | *kənyána* 'íman pàrmil móriša jàldəl dávla +zíurna ci-maxíla jaravátə *kat-nášə* +šàmmi, | këmi. | *ka-*+dávva ci-táni sar-+subày, | sar-+subày mxáyəla dávla | +al-jaravátə cíllə máta bəkyàməla. | (9) *labúləna* *kənyána* *kat-parmila.* | +álma cíllə +*bajmàyəla,* | dvíkəna 'ida 'idal kənyána prámuna, | +*šarúyəna* *bərkáda* *bəšvárə.* | *kənyána* bašúluna. | +*xárta* | *bəcyádəna* nášə, | cíllə *bitáyəna* *ka-*+*xlúyla,* | *mən-matvátə* kùrba. | 'en-ju-màtələ, | *mən-matvátə* kùrba | cíllə nášə +*bəddáyəna* *xá* *ka-*do-xína, | *bitáyəna* +*xlúyla.* | *kənyána,* | *xa-*+*júra* *kənyána* práməna bašúləna +rəzza, | +*turšìyyə,* | +*xàmra,* | 'arak, | cíllə mattúyəna +*bixálə,* | *bəstə,* | *bərkáda,* | *bəšvárə,* | +*šavvá* *yumánə,* | +*šavvá* *lelavátə* *váyəna* +*xlúyla* *vádəna,* | *dávla* +zíurna, | +*šavvá* *yumánəl* +*šavvá* *lelavátə* c-odíva +*xlúyla* | *ka-yalé.* | (10) 'íta nášə *bitáyəna* +támə | 'u-+*sabàxta* *yávəna.* | +*sabaxtəl* zíyzəval +yàna | 'ommá +*tuymànə,* | +*tuymànəva* |

our son has entered your door and seen a flower. That flower is in your garden. We want to pick it and bring it to our garden.' (4) Then they eventually agree. They say 'Good, we have relatives, whom we have to summon (to consult).' They summon the father, mother, paternal aunt, maternal uncle, everybody, there to the house in order to consult them. They come and they ask the father. The father defers to the mother. He says 'The mother has brought her up. I must ask her mother, because her mother has brought her up.' Her mother says 'I agree. I shall make her a bunch of flowers which I shall put on the chest of the boy.' (5) But they know who the boy is. They know whose son he is. They are pleased to give their daughter (to him). Then they ask the paternal aunt of the boy and she says 'This is her aunt, she has a right to know also.' Her paternal aunt gives the floor to her husband, to her aunt, to her brother, to her maternal uncle. The whole group is thus sitting down. When the betrothal takes place, they invite everybody. They give them the news, then they ask everybody and they all agree. They applaud since the betrothal has taken place. (6) After a while they go to a betrothal party, betrothal party, the girl holds a betrothal party, the betrothal party is (the responsibility) of the girl. They hold a betrothal party, food, bread, tea, drink, they serve everything. The girl invites people to the betrothal party to her house. They eat, they drink, they dance, they jig. (7) The betrothal party finishes and they fix the time of the wedding—the wedding is (the responsibility) of the boy. Sometimes they request him to make a big wedding. Sometimes they request him to make a small wedding. If they request a big one, a big wedding, a big wedding means that they invite many people. A small wedding means that they invite, for example, thirty or forty people or so. (8) The time of the wedding arrives. In the villages they slaughter cattle. When they slaughter cattle early in the morning, they play drum and pipe music on the roofs so that people hear and get up. They call this (music) *sar-<sup>+</sup>subay*,<sup>20</sup> *sar-<sup>+</sup>subay*, they play the drum on the roofs and the whole village gets up. (9) They take cattle to slaughter. All the people gather. They slaughter the cattle and holding hands they begin to dance and jig. They cook the cattle. Then they invite people and they all come to the wedding from the villages nearby. If it is in a village, everybody knows each other and they come to the wedding from the villages nearby. They slaughter a large head of cattle, they cook rice, they serve pickles, wine, arak, everything and they eat, drink, dance, jig. They hold the wedding for seven days and seven nights, with drum and pipe, seven days and seven nights they would hold the wedding for their son. (10) Then people come there and give wedding gifts. Their wedding gift was money, that is a

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20 < Pers. sahar sabāh 'early morning'.

yàn| trəmmà +tuymána.| léva +dinar.| +dinar l-à-ybələ.| +tuymána ķa-+Iran.| trəmmà +tuymána,| əmmà +tuymána,| +flammà +tuymána ci-yavviva +sabáxta ķa-yàla,| ķa-+hayyàrtu.| (ii) xób 'ánnə nášə xína cút-xa c-azíva.| +'ávva-da c-azálval ju-bēt-bàbul ju-bēt-yàmmu cát +palátyva +šaríva pəlxàna| ju-carmàna| ju-mulcàna.| 'ína mən-bábu yàmmu ci-xayyíva.| cálufári 'oyáva +tábba +al- bábu yàmmu.|

### B9 Games (Alice bet-Yosəp, Zumallan, N)

(1) 'ána| +báyyan tånyan| šómmamat xácmá +tālyátəl b-surútan kát +fúləx ju-mavátəl| šómmaté 'átxa bitáyəna. (2) 'e-kámēta tayánnəl mutxərrálux ķay| bánoša| bánoša c-avíva tré dástə,| yála bnátə,| +xvìtə ci-+taláxva hammáša,| kát xá dástə là-yba bət-cáyla| xá dástəl xácmá mátra 'átxa ... +arránə bət-cáli m-+uydáləl| 'íta xá-mənne +pálta| 'óya ríšət dástəl é kámētət dástəl| bət-tanyála 'ájárja| bánoša| bandən dóša.| 'albáttä türçət +xvítəna| ju-heməzmànan| bánoša| bandən šóša| mónnan mənnoxun mày péša?| 'íta xá mən-dánnə b-+ráxət| xá mən-dáni| 'ína bət-paršílun mày +báyyə +ráxət| ķa-+tūsa,| 'á-jiba 'án xelána 'ó xelána parşíləl zábbun mən-dó-yba ķat-ázəl mayyila.| (3) 'íta 'áha b-+ráxət| pít-ázəl parəmلا 'ídət dáni,| 'ánnə 'ída 'ída dvíkəna| jári +ráxət 'ázəl máxa mən-+arallágjət 'ídə.| 'íta 'e-+dán +kattila 'ídəl 'ámnət +báyyə mən-dáni b-šákəl mayyila,| 'ánnə b-zèdi,| bənyánat dánnə b-zàyəd| 'áyya 'íva xá'a mən-+tālyátan| hál-t 'é-jet 'áni párki| 'e-dástəl 'íta vâyəla +krámta| ból dà-jiba| mán dò-jiba +krámla.|

(4) 'e-xíta 'íva ... <sup>Az</sup>tábyul dásən, <sup>Az</sup>mádrə türçət-ilə šómma, <sup>Az</sup>tábyul dásən, <sup>Az</sup>cút-xa +xóru parášvaləl yán +xavərta,| 'ótvalan yála bnátə mérri xvìtə,| b-dokíva

hundred *tumans*—there were *tumans*—or two hundred *tumans*. There were not dinars. The dinar was used elsewhere,<sup>21</sup> the *tuman* (was the currency) for Iran. They gave a wedding gift of two hundred *tumans*, one hundred *tumans*, three hundred *tumans* to the boy, to help him. (11) Well, everybody then goes away. He also goes (to live) in the house of his father, the house of his mother, while beginning to go out to work in the vineyards and estates, but he lived with his father and mother. The bride had to obey his father and mother.

### B9 Games (Alice bet-Yosəp, Zumallan, N)

(1) I want to tell the names of some of the games that we played during our childhood in the villages. Their names are as follows. (2) I shall talk about the first one—you have reminded me of it—, *banoša*. (In the game) *banoša* there were two teams—boys and girls, we used always to play mixed—one team of which stands to this side and one team—they stood several metres of ground from one another. Then one (girl) from among them comes out, who is the head of the team, the leader of the team. She says this line ‘the rosebud will drop from me’.<sup>22</sup> Of course Turkish has become mixed into our speech. ‘The rosebud will drop from me’,<sup>23</sup> who will remain from us and from you? Then one would run from among these ones and one from those. They would select who should run. For example on this side the strong ones would select the strongest one to go and fetch the weaker one from the other side. (3) Then this one would run and go and cut through the hands of the others—they have held their hands together. He must run and go and strike in between their hands. Then when he breaks through their hands,<sup>24</sup> he takes and brings back whomsoever he wants from among them, and they would increase, their number would increase. This was one of our games. When they, that team, finish,<sup>25</sup> there is a victory by<sup>26</sup> this side—it has beaten the other side.

(4) Another one was *tabyuldašən*, again the name is Turkish, *tabyuldašən*. Everyone would choose his male friend or female friend, as I said we had boys and girls mixed together. They would hold hands but only one pair. They would

<sup>21</sup> Literally: on this side (i.e. in Iraq).

<sup>22</sup> This can be interpreted as a slightly altered version of the Azeri sentence: bənovşə bəndən düşə (Elisabetta Ragagnin, personal communication).

<sup>23</sup> Apparently a rhyming variant of the previous Azeri sentence.

<sup>24</sup> Literally: their hand.

<sup>25</sup> I.e. they run out of members.

<sup>26</sup> Literally: between.

'ida 'ida xà zója 'áxči. | bət-+raxtíva +bár cúllə dan-xìnəl 'ína 'áni +'ázad +bərxátəna, | 'ánnə 'áxči 'ida 'ida dvíkəna, | kát dám +xórət d-dvàklunl ci-maxíva ju-+xásu, | là +rába ķúya, | 'ína ci-maxívaləl 'átxa hál-t +xóru maṭíva | Erelèase<sup>E</sup> 'avádvaləl yán ķa-+ṭūsal paròkvalə mən-mxétał 'áyya xà júrrəva. |

(5) 'àtvalanl dála dàlpəl b-+dánət EOctòber, | kát láxxa vádəna ... Etríck ór tréat, | +táma 'áxnan c-odàxvala. | mabyúnə xína 'at-díyyanl 'at-+aturayəla 'áyya, | mən-sábəbəl ... čiriyavátəva, | cúllə +hásəl +vórtəva jú ... batvátə, | čuxyátə məlyəval mən-cəsmišə, | jòzə, | +šáda, | cúllə məndi. | 'íta, | 'áxnan yálə bnáta súrəyál-súrəl c-azàxva, | +al-+jaraváyəva 'e-+ṭálta, | món járə ci-+paštáxva +xòla, | +sírəxva xá Ebàsket<sup>E</sup>, | sálta ķálta, | b-dé +xòla. | mən-cávə ci-+paštàxvala. | násət béta cúllə tívənal +xadərvánət tanùyra. | sàtvələl xína ķárta +šurítəla tanùyra. | 'íta 'áni 'é sótət béta b-ķemáva b-yavváva, | mattáva ju-de-sálta 'ón cíu-məndit 'àtva sənjìyyəva, | cəsmišəva, | jòzəva, | bət-máttə ju-sálta, | 'áxnan jaršàxlə. | cúllə 'e-máta háda b-+xadràxvala, | jára b-żàrə. | léxva hár 'áxnan, | dasýátə +rába prišə prišəva. | ķa-+ṭúsa dástat díyyan 'áštá janáyə p̄t-avàxval 'e-dásta xíta +əsrá janáyə 'átxa. | cúllə yál-súrət máta 'o-leləl blíjəxva b-dà. | ju-čiriyavátə c-oyáva. | 'íta lén +bəddátl tláy xà b-EÓctober<sup>E</sup>-ival 'áx dànnə váduna | 'áyya lén +bəddáyo | 'ánnə c-ódi tríck or tréat ci-+jámmi məndi. |

(6) xá +ṭálta xíta 'àtvalanl Pke<sup>P</sup> +zákra +bəzzàzəva. | cúllan ci-dokáxva 'ida 'ida. | módrə ḥ-+avárva xá-mənne jú pi-pàlja, | kát cút +bayyíva b-+ķaríva +bárə, | +áv b-+ráxət mən-dánnə +bəzzázə 'átxa p̄t-+avərl hál davəkla, | 'o-ḥ-īlə prišu +bárə +bərxátəl, | hál davəkla. | 'íta nóbə ci-+maṭíva ķa-cúllə. | ķa-xácma mənné lé +maṭíva. | 'áyya +zákra +bəzzàzəva šámmo. |

(7) xá xíta 'àtvalanl +rába +rába damyántəva +al-dá Ebàseball<sup>E</sup> ḥ-amricàyə | 'ənjləznáyə | ḥ-ína +ṭávlo, | +al-Ebàseball. | 'áxnan ci-tanàxvala | +yàzan, | +yàzanl ci-tanàxvala, | kát tré sàmə vágəna, | jùttal +rappiyol xá-mənne | 'o-xína b-ķesa mxàyola. | 'e-żət mxàyola ròxkal 'á-t láxxa còlyələl +bərxátələl 'ánnə čənnátə, | čən-náyə müttəna | +rába damyánta +al-Ebàseball<sup>E</sup>-iva. | 'áyya-żə bəxšàvən | 'atyánət mən-Bàgdad | 'àtvalanl mən-'ənjləznáyə lìpova, | ķa-díyyan mùlpova | pásətəva mən-dé-ja, | 'ána bəxshávən. |

(then) run after all the others, but they were running freely, only these ones are holding hands, who would beat the back of any friend that they caught, not very hard, but they used to hit him like this until his friend would arrive and release him, or, I mean,<sup>27</sup> he would rescue him from being hit. This was one type (of game).

(5) We had *dala dalpe* in October—here when they do ‘trick or treat,’ we used to do (it) there. It seems that this was ours, of the Assyrians—because (when) it was autumn, all the harvest was gathered into the houses, the storerooms were all full of raisins, walnuts, almonds, everything. So we boys and girls, the children, used to go—this game was on the roofs—from the roof we used to pass down a rope. We had tied a basket, a small basket, a small basket with a handle, onto that rope. We used to pass it through the window. The people of the house would all have been sitting around the oven. Well, it is winter and the cold has started, the oven (is lit). So they—the elderly woman of the house would get up, she would give and place in that basket whatever there was. These were jujube fruits, raisins, walnuts. She would place (them) in the small basket, and we would pull it (the rope). We would go around the entire village, roof by roof. It was not just us, there were many different groups. For example our group would have been six people, another group ten individuals, like this. All we children of the village that night were busy with this. It used to take place in autumn. Well I do not know whether it was the thirty-first of October, as they (here) do it, this I do not know. These (children here) do ‘trick or treat’ and gather things.

(6) There was another game which was Weaver of Holes. We would all hold hands. Again one of them would enter into the middle, who would call out to whomsoever he wanted. He would run and would go in through these holes until he catches him, the one whom he has selected to run after, until he catches him. Then everyone would have a turn.<sup>28</sup> Some would not have a turn. The name of this was Weaver of Holes.

(7) We had another one which was very similar to baseball, which the Americans and the English play, to baseball. We used to call it *+yazan* ('circle'), *+yazan* we called it, in which there are two sides, one of them throws the ball and the other one hits it with a stick. When he hits it far, the one who is standing here, he would run. They have placed bases, bases. It was very similar to baseball. This one—I think those coming from Baghdad, whom we had (in Urmi), had learned it from the English and they had taught it to us, and it had remained since then, I think so.

<sup>27</sup> Literally: for example.

<sup>28</sup> Literally: The turn would come to everybody.

(8) 'á̄tvalan šák̄ka pàlla| kát xá pállea súr̄eva 'á̄txa| késa kàrya,| xá késa +yaríxa p̄-idan dok̄àxvala.| +'ávun b-+rappàxvaləl kùya maxáxvaləl b-dó késa,| b-késa +jùra bət-maxáxva +al-késa sùra.| cmá-t ráxka 'azàlva| b-+pasulyátə ci-banàxvalun.| 'á̄xnan xà-axča +pasulyáy vádlan,| ó xína p̄t-atíva| ó xína har-á̄txa.| 'íta 'án +pasulyátəl cmá 'á̄xnan bùš +rába ráxka mòxyux| 'á̄xnan +karmànəx.| bás b-dà +pásla.

(9) dácca dàcci,| +'ál tanìyra xína,| lá-+amsaxva +pal̄tàxva| tálja +rába diševa,| 'urxátə dvík̄aval yán xína járəc bëta +taláxva| +čára lètvalan.| cálpat-za tòvtəla cíllə,| kát mablaffivalan| mülp̄an=ival xá-mənne b-càpva| dák=t tivəna +al-tanìyra.| 'an-xínə máxi +al-+xàsu.| ci-tanìva| dácca dáccat +tāna| 'allágé +mardána,| xabúysha +làla bánda,| məsmássha xùda cánda| 'idət māni xut-bánda?| 'ádi 'idátan cíllə mattúyax 'á̄txa,| hi,| 'á̄txa mattúyax.| 'é=t cípələ jári +yáttə 'idət may-la 'é-t xùta.| 'íta 'e-+dán-lá-+dilə,| mádrə hár bət-páyəš +tāma,| mádrə máxi ju-+xàsu| hal-dé-jøt +yáttə 'e-'idət tòvtəla kàmta,| 'ánnə 'ídə xína cíllə xrízəna +'allo,| 'ot-mànila.| 'áyya xá +pàsləva.

(10) 'énnə 'á̄tvalan| kát +fullàyəl +dánət +fullàtəva| yálə +rába ci-+talívala 'á +tálta.| c-odíva xa +bázza súra xut-jùyda| 'íta +fullátə 'á̄txa ci-+rappíva.| cmá b-nápłi ju-čónna,| cmá b-nápłi +al-+xadərvànəl 'áxci 'án-t ju-čónna banìvalun,| 'áni +krimévalun.| 'íta p̄t-áta 'o-xína,| 'íta 'o-xína,| +fullátə 'á̄txa b-+rappíva ju-čónna.

(11) +darvázə +darvázəl 'ádi,| 'á̄txa| tré yála bnáta bədvákəna 'ída 'ída| 'an-xínə +várəna mən-xút 'idè,| dí 'o-xína +bàru,| har-á̄txa p̄t-ázi m-xut-'idè,| +pál̄ti +tammò.| cíllə 'ánnə +darvázə dvík̄əna.| ka-+túsa hal-'idux Yósəp,| 'á̄txa dvík̄əx,| cíllan.| 'ádi +əsrà zófə,| ka-+túsa 'á̄txa dvík̄əx.| 'átnən mən-+xavártux m-àxxa| p̄t-+orítun calítun +al-prák̄ta.| dí 'o-xína p̄t-+àvər,| dí 'o-xína p̄t-+àvər.| ju-dá 'urxal kám 'urxé ci-+yasrlə,| nájəstan 'ádi 'ána Yósəp 'ídan dvík̄ux| bitáyət 'á̄t mən-+xavártux +òrət.| ci-+yáttax 'á̄t +spáy zamàrət,| ka-+túsa,| 'á maccùpux| léx

(8) We had *šakka palla* which consisted of a small stick like this, a short piece of wood, and we held a long piece of wood in our hands. We would throw it and strike it hard with the piece of wood, we would strike the small piece of wood with the big piece of wood. We would count how far it went with steps. We made so many steps, then the other one would come, and the other one (did) just the same. So we would be the winners when we hit it the furthest (as shown by) the (measurement by) steps. (We played) just in this way.

(9) *Dæcca dæcci*—(this was played in the winter) on the oven, (when) we were not able to go out, a lot of snow had settled and the roads were blocked, so we had to play at home, we had no choice. The whole family would sit—they had taught us (this game) to keep us busy. One of them would bend down as they were sitting on the oven. The others would bang on his back. They would say: 'Stamp, stamp of a weight, their hands<sup>29</sup> are manly, red<sup>30</sup> apple knot, apricot under the trunk,<sup>31</sup> whose hand is under the knot?' Now we we all put our hands like this, yes, we put them like this. The one who is bending down must know whose hand is the one that is below. Then when he does not know, he would again stay there, they would again bang on his back, until he knows whose is the hand that is put down first, on top of which all the other hands are criss-crossed. This was one type (of game).

(10) We had 'base' which was at the time of fruit kernels. The boys used to play this game a lot. They used to make a small hole beneath a wall then they would throw kernels like this. Some would fall into the base, some would fall around (the base). They would count only those in the base. These they have won for themselves. Then another one would come, then another one. They would throw kernels into the base like this.

(11) 'Gate gate'—now it was like this, two boys and girls hold hands, the others pass under their hands, and quickly another (couple) after them, and likewise they pass under their hands, and come out over there. They have all made<sup>32</sup> gates. For example, give me your hand Joseph. We all have held (hands) like this. Now, for example, ten couples, we have held hands. You and your girlfriend would go under here and stand at the end. Then the other one would pass under, then the other one would pass under. In this way they block their passage. Suddenly, now Joseph and I have held our hands, you are coming together with your girlfriend to pass. We know, for example, you are a good singer. We lower this (gate) and do not let you pass. They say 'What is his fine?

<sup>29</sup> The word is apparently based on Azer. *əl* 'hand'.

<sup>30</sup> *+lala* seems to be an abbreviation of *+halala* 'tulip'.

<sup>31</sup> *xuda canda* are artificial forms made up for the rhyme.

<sup>32</sup> Literally: held.

bəšváka +'örət. mára +rússu mù-ilə?| mú jári 'àvəd| kát šókax +'óri 'ázi. mára xa-zmàrta. | 'íta ci-zamərvə. | 'ádi mən-da-zòfəl xá-mənne jári zámərl kát +'àvər m-áxxa. | zmàrrə, | prèklə. | 'áha bulyànan-ivə. | 'íta tá +vur-xùš. | (12) 'áha 'átvə 'úp ju-márət šánnə nášə ci-+ṭalivalə, | lá +ràba b-šónnə, | 'ína 'ánnə fvìrə, | mára yàlə. | masálan 'avahátan 'ána bətxárən +ṭulona 'áha. | 'íta ... 'o-+šúp̄ro 'áhəva| ju-'idavàtə ci-+ṭalivalə, | 'ídá-+jura 'idá-sura cásłan +ràba| ci-dokáxvalə b-kášya| +yánə +ràba xelána. | xá šábta ci-jaróšva bálcət, | cút 'ida| 'ída súra-da, | 'ída +júra-da. | 'ádi mavátəl léna +rába ráxka m-+uydálə. | vítəla +dànəl mən-dà máta +'al-dè b-+darvàza xíšəna, | hár zmára zmàra. | xíšəna 'íta tìyyəna| mádrə +bérašə +dírəna. | 'á +ṭáltañ 'íva.

## B10 Village Life (Alice bet-Yosəp, Zumallan, N)

(1) sátvə karbúnələ bí čiriyayavátəl <sup>E</sup>Octòber. | ka-+ṭúsa, | bá ḫúsa b-<sup>E</sup>Octóber <sup>E</sup>cúllə móndi +mavùruna, | píca, | +ṭúnta. | 'íta 'ánnə +'ànvəval cúllə ci-+zakrívelun b-xá +xòləl tandəllívalun ju-čúxta. | 'átvəlan čuxyáto 'ax-+ambàrə. | cəsmišə 'átvəlan, | cmá jùrrə cəsmišə. | 'ánnə jarúysə +'ànvə 'átxa, | jabùšta ci-+karàxvalə. | xá sáma hár +'al-+kunṭópa ci-peštva brizə. | lén-+bəddəl kám 'átxəva, | búš šapírə vágəva. | hár b-+kunṭópa bət-mattətva ju-mánux 'íta b-jabótvalə hár b-+kunṭópa. | lè sardívalun 'átxa xína mən-+uydalə. | (2) cəsmišəva, | sənjiyəva yemíšanl 'ú +camútrə 'u-sparàjləva +rába. | ci-+zakrívelunl mádrə b-+xóla ci-tandəllívalun. | ci-peštva ka-tré-yarxəl xáčxa péša +ṭlə yárxa 'átxa| ci-peštva ju-dé +'àmbar. | 'ánnə +hasílan-ivə kát 'átvə. | nipúxta ci-bašlákvala. | xína +marçáxvalun +'ànvə. | mádrə +badəmjánə ci-bašlákvalunl +muràbba ci-+tarsáxva. | 'á <sup>E</sup>sýrop <sup>E</sup> kát márən nipúxtat 'Úrmil 'áyya búšlox bí +'ànvəl +mričə. | murábbə ci-bašlákva +ràba | 'ánnə mən-yemíšə, | sparàjlə, | məšmàsshə, | xòxa. | 'ánnə murabbə ci-bašlákvala. | xína bí šácar bašúloxva. | yemíšə bədráyəxva ju-šácarl xáčxa ... vágəva 'áx dùyšəl 'ú miyyé búš kúya vágəval bəškaléxva. | 'ánnə +murábbə +ràba búšləx. | +ràba bətxárən b-nipúxta búšlux 'a-mändi. | šácar lè mapləxxívə +ràba. | (3) +turšiyəva| ci-dokáxvalunl jurri júrrə. | +xviṭə +ràba ci-dokáxva. | xá +pásla +buybárə ci-malàxvalunl 'áxči| ci-maláxvalun fəllàla. | +búybar jávol ṭ-íla spíkəl mlàyuxva. | xabíyşət +'arrə 'átvəlan. | +xabíyşət +'arrəl 'ádi ju-dárta 'áxnan 'átlən 'iləno. | +bár xáččəl 'ón +'áv +palṭàxləl xútu véna <sup>E</sup>artichoke <sup>E</sup> 'áttən. | 'áxnan ci-tanáxvalə xabíyşət +'arrəl šómmu 'íva xabíyşət +'arrəl 'ína jári 'ávə +kərṭòpət +'arrə, | xá mändi 'átxa. | 'áni-da ju-+turšiyə. | (4) kályā +bùsral 'íta kályā +ràba

What must he do for us to allow them to pass and go?' They say 'A song.' So he would sing. Now one of this couple must sing in order to pass from here. He sang and finished. This was our amusement. 'So come, pass through and go!' (12) There were also old people who played this, not very old, but those who were married with children. For example, I remember our parents played this. Now, its beauty was this, they used to play it at festivals. We used to observe Easter and Christmas in our community very strictly, that is very seriously. It used to last maybe a week, both Christmas and Easter. Now the villages are not very far from each other. There was a time when they would go from this village to that in the 'gate' game, singing all the time. They would go and then come back, again in the evening they would return. This was our game.

#### B10 Village Life (Alice bet-Yosəp, Zumallan, N)

(1) Winter approaches in autumn, October. For example in October they bring everything in, fruit, fruit. Now as for the grapes, they used to thread them all on a rope and hang them in a basement. We had basements like storerooms. We had raisins, several types of raisins. The big grapes, like this, we used to call *jabušta*. Some of them would become dry while still in a bunch (on the vine). I do not know why it was so, they were nicer (like that). You would put it on your plate while in a bunch, so you would pick it while still in a bunch. They would not pull them apart. (2) Our fruits included raisins, jujube fruits, and there were many pears and quinces. They would likewise thread them on ropes and hang them up. They used to last for two months, almost three months, like that, they remained in the storeroom. These things were the produce that we had. We used to cook grape molasses. We crushed the grapes. We cooked tomatoes and made a preserve. The syrup that I am talking about, the molasses of Urmi, we cooked with crushed grapes. We cooked many preserves, from fruits, quinces, apricots, peaches. We cooked preserves from them. We cooked it with sugar. We put fruits into the sugar and they became like honey. When their liquid became thicker, we would take them (off the heat). We cooked many of these preserves. I remember we often cooked this with grape molasses. We did not use sugar much. (3) There were pickles. We made various different types. We made many mixed. In one type we filled peppers, we filled them with herbs. We filled the middle of the pepper, which was empty. We had Jerusalem artichokes. Jerusalem artichokes—we have its plant in the garden. A little later, if we take it out, under it there are artichokes. We called it 'earth apples,' its name was 'earth apple,' but it should be 'earth potato,' something like that. These too (are put) in pickles. (4) Fried meat and meat, now fried meat was very well known. This

mšāmhəva.| 'á +šùla| *ju-cúllə* bátə 'ðtva.| +yánə cíl béta jári ķályə 'avádva ķa-jánu| cùncət| sàtvələl tálfa cíl dúcta davèkvala.| 'ánnə +ķatłánət kənyánə lè- 'ativa +rábə,| 'áxči c-avívalan 'áxnan| mən-ráxka ci-mayyívə xà-našəl ķanyána ci- ķatłalə *ju-màta*,| hár 'ó-yuma ci-+pàlli| +yánə ci-zonívala cílla.| cílla ci-+xabrìva kátl l-ò-rišət mátəl ķanyána príməna,| 'ita +'álma c-azálva ci-zavònva.| 'ita 'áyya xáčča c-oyáva bí sàtva.| 'ita bás mù 'ódi?| cílla nášə 'ótlun *ju-pajanèl* +heyvána ķanyána jánə 'ótlun,| maxsúsan xá šárxa másalan| ci-+rašmívaləl mən-nisánə ci-+rašmívaləl ķat-+ 'ávvəl ķályə p̄t-odáxlə 'a-šíta.| 'ita búš +rábə ci-+nařívalə,| +mařrəssival,| +maxlívalə,| *ju-čiriyəyəl* +'ávva bət-parmívalə.| (5) *parmívala* +búsrū cílla p̄-ķalívalo *ju-màšxa* *ju-ķadàla*.| +táma-da lótvalan +yaxčálə.| 'áxči xína bí čiriyavày,| kárta bənpáləlal cílla 'ánnə čuxyátan +káyra c-avíva.| kályøva,| mástøva,| 'ánnə +turšíyyan-íva,| júptəla kátl xína júpta=za| *ju-*+čágjət EJùne, E| *ju-yárxa* EJùne E| júpta jári 'odàxvala| čún é +dána výøələ +rábə +xálvət 'érba.| 'áyya b-+xálvət 'érba c-odíla.| mádrə ci-mayyívə ci-zabnivalun.| 'áxnan jánan lèx vídəl júpta.| 'áxči jári zonàxvala,| +tamráxvala jùl ķadaháta,| *ju-*árral ķat-pešáva ķa-sàtva.| 'áyya ci-tanáxvala júpta +tumðrta.| 'adíyya=zə láxxa 'ótlan.| mút vítəla| 'ádi làxxa| véx cíllan vàdo.| hí júpta.| +rábə 'ótvalan júpta *ju-sàtva*.| cílla 'arxuyátarl júptəva,| +turšíyyøva,| 'áruk +xámrvøva,| 'ánnøva xína| *ju-*xluyláno +šúla cílla.| (6) ķesə hí.| ci-+jammáxvalun ķesə.| ci-+ķatķetłáxvalun,| 'ánnə cílla ci-taybərráxvalun kál buxári,| +p̄aňúxtəva.| mādrəl ci-+jammáxvala mən-dàšta.| càmrəva.| cíl nášəl kútyúm +palútəva 'ánnə šáxtat +heyvànū mattíyəl bədrayèva xá dúcta.| *ju-cílla* +kéta é-ducta biváøla +tuptápta b-ķvítə.| 'ita *ju-čiriyaváya* ci-parmívala| 'átxa 'átxa carpíčə carpíčə.| *parmívala*,| xarzívala,| barzàva.| 'áni=zə bət-+morívalun *ju-mulavàtə*,| dúcta 'ótvalan muccòsta.| bí dáni ci-+šeráxva.| +šeráxva taníyra| bí dán càmrə.| xína cílla béta šaxína ci-xamívala bí dàni,| b-dán càmrəl b-ķesə.| (7) +xáttə +danéva +čagéva ci-+xalləllàxvalun čiriyavày,| cút 'ótləl jánu +záryøəl mən-+xáttət jánu.| 'ína jári +xallíva taybərráva cílla b-čiriyavày.| čiriyavày +šulánə +rábəva 'et-máta.| 'ó-t látłə +xáttəl ci-zoníva,| +rábə +xáttə,| másalan| 'éštá-danə 'átxa jválə b-zoníva,| +rábə.| 'ita 'án +xáttəl cílla jári *ju-xà-yumal* yán tré yùmə,| bət-+xallívalun,| b-šařxívalun,| barzíval b-tamməzzívalun cípə 'ón lättnəjavé,| +házər,| malívalun *ju-jválə* mādrə +tàmma.| (8) 'íta cút cmá xá +báyyi 'ázi táxni +al-'érxa| ķat-'odíla ķamxa.| xá mən-dán jválə +rámə b-lablívala,| taxnívala,| ķamxa t-atyáva.| 'áyya ķa-léša| ķat-'avívalun hám-maša ķamxa.| ķamxa 'ica xamílyuva?| *ju-cvàra*,| *ju-*+ķulina,| +xáttə *ju-cvàra*,

was found in all houses. That is, every family had to make for itself fried meat, because it was winter and snow used to cut off every place. The slaughterers of cattle did not come much, but we had one, we would bring a man from afar who would slaughter the cattle in the village and they used to divide it, that is everybody used to buy it. Everybody used to become aware that at one side of the village cattle had been slaughtered, then people would go and buy. Now, that happened rarely in winter. So, what should they do? Everybody had in their stables their animals and cattle, in particular a calf, which they would mark, they used to mark already in spring that we would make that one into fried meat this year. So they took greater care of it, they fattened it, fed it and in autumn they slaughtered it. (5) They slaughtered it and fried all its meat in oil (and put it) in pots. There we did not have refrigerators. But in autumn, the cold comes and all the storerooms are cold. There was fried meat, there was yoghurt, there were pickles, there was cheese. We had to make cheese in the season of June, in the month of June, since at that time there is a lot of sheep's milk. They make it with sheep's milk. They would, likewise, bring it and sell it. We (our family) ourselves did not make cheese. Rather we had to buy it and bury it in pots in the ground so that it kept until winter. We called this 'buried cheese.' We have it even now. What was (there in the village), now here we all make it. Yes, cheese. We had a lot of cheese in the winter. All of our feasts involved cheese, pickles, arak, wine. These were at weddings etc. (6) Logs of wood, yes. We used to gather the logs of wood, chop them up and arrange them all for the stove. There was the long dung cake, again we would gather it from the field. There was the small dung cake. Everybody every day would go out and put the filth that his animal had made in a particular place. Throughout the summer this place has been trodden down making it hard. Then in autumn they cut it into blocks. They would cut it, arrange it, and it would dry. They would then bring them into barns. We had a covered place (in which we put them). With these we lit (fires). We lit the oven with these dung cakes. They kept the whole house warm with them, with the dung cakes, with the logs of wood. (7) As for wheat, it was its time, it was its season, we used to wash it in autumn, whoever had sown their own wheat. They had to wash and sort it all in autumn. In autumn jobs in the village were numerous. Whoever did not have wheat would buy it, (they would buy) a lot of wheat, for example, they would buy six sacks like this, a lot. Then it was necessary (to process) all of the wheat in one or two days, they washed it, they spread it out, they dried it, they cleaned it of stones in case there were any in it. (When it was) ready, they fill sacks with it (and) again (place them) there. (8) So, every once in a while they need to go to grind (the wheat) on the water-mill to make it into flour. They would take one of those tall sacks, grind it and it would come back as flour. This was for dough, so they would always have flour.

kámxa ju-+kulina. | 'ánnə 'íva xà-cma| Ebóx<sup>E</sup>-ə b-ķesa +túrsəva| b-táxtə +jùra,| šemmané 'ína àtxa 'íva. | +xáttə é +dántət mən-jánjar| mayéna mən-+bùdratə| kát xína jánjar vída +plítəna| +xáttə +rábəna| 'áni t-áti ju-cvàra. | cvára 'íva páljət dá Egáràge. | bí Ebóx<sup>E</sup>-ə +tursóva,| bí tàxta,| xá Ebóx<sup>E</sup> +jùrta. | 'átvala +tarràna| júrrə jùrrə. | 'átxa +marmíva tàxtal xá +bòzza| b-+śarłtva +xáttəl mán do-+bòzza. | 'íta| táxta +maslívala| b-davràva,| +tárro b-davròva. | 'áyya +ràmtəva mán,| +ràmta máx +davvó +tarra| xà-txa +rámtəva. | mánnañ yálə súra +rába +ràmtəva. | 'íta| 'áyya c-oyáva mlíta xáttə. | (9) xa-xíta 'átvə mlíta kámxa. | xína kámxa ci-odívalə| b-čiriyavátə ci-taxnívalə +al-ərxìyyə. | xá-cma jähəl 'ánnə taxnána c-atíval čún 'ərxavátə lètva +ràbal ķa-+túsa ju-māt-díyyan 'átvə +tlá +árpa mavátə xínə lètva. | 'ánnə cúlle bitáyəna ju-de-ərxət māt-díyyan taxníva. | (10) tìyñəva| +xáltət +heyvánə mádre ci-+morívalə sàtva,| čiriyavátə +mavùruna| +ambàrə mxáyuna. | cílla sàtva 'átlan túyna yònja. | yònja=zə ci-+zarríva. | cíl béta 'átvəla yònja. | ci-+zarríva +xazdívala| odívala jùttəl +morívala ju-+ambárə ķa-kənyàna. | 'áyya=zə +mixùltət +heyvánəva. | (n) +kásłal +rába ķalátə ci-+zaķràxva,| 'áxnan bnátə +shúlat díyan-íva,| mən-káttət +xáttə. | káttət +xáttə +yarəxtəla. | 'áyən b-šaklákxvala,| marcəxxákxvala ju-míyya. | é +dánət murcəxxálən lè +śamtáxina. | b-dáyən ci-+zaķràxva ķalátə. | 'úrzə 'ína ci-+zaķrīva. | 'úrzə ci-+zaķrīva àtxa| ķálta| 'áyya zárda méləl +júra +ķerłála ķa-+ànva frášta| ķa| +hásəl cəsmíše bariyəzə| àtxa| 'ína +júra,| +ràma 'átxa. | 'úrzə ci-+zaķrīvalun 'ánnə. | xá +pásla 'ilàna 'átvə šámmu tìyra ci-+karívalə,| tìyra. | 'án tìyrvə 'átxa. | +ķerłála ci-+zaķrīva.

(12) [GK: pétət làxma?] hìl pétət làxma=zəl 'átvə xá-cma m-yapyanyày. | xína ci-lešíva ķurba ķa-trè yárxa| ķa-tlá yùmal 'óšti yumàna| +yánəl 'átxa làxma ci-pàyyi. | xà-yuma ci-payyívalə. | mádra +bar-tré yárxa| mádra b-sanķíva. | xína míyyəva m-kámxa,| b-lešívalə xá yùma| 'ína jári daríva xmíra| jávu kát xammíva. | xmíra-da müjjur vádut?| 'údyu 'ána xmíra škálton mən-švèta. | ci-xamívalə mən-ídə +al-ídə. | lé šokíva paròķva. | +áv lè manšíva| lá jári baxtátə manšíva. | xá cúnda jári xàmi. | 'ádi mən-švèta muyítula| jári yàvvəl xá ķa-švèta,| xá ķa-jáno xàmya. | 'íta bí 'átxa hár hàmmaša| xá cúnda 'átvə. | ju-kámxa-da +tamrívalə,| ju-dèl +kulina. | 'íta +ávun marcùxuna +berášəl ju-dó kámxa šímal +bəxvàtuna|

Where did they keep the flour?—in a storage bin, in a storage box, wheat in a storage bin and flour in a storage box. These were boxes that they had made with large planks. These were their names. When they bring the wheat from the threshing machine, from the threshing floors, when it has been processed by the threshing machine and extracted (from the heads of wheat), the wheat is abundant and it goes into the storage bin. The storage bin was half (the size) of this garage. They made it of boxes, with a plank, a big box. It had different types of doors. They raised a plank, a hole, and the wheat flowed down from the hole. Then they would drop the plank and it would close, its door would close. It was higher than ... high like that door, high like that. It was much higher than us children. So, this was full of wheat. (9) There was another, which was full of flour. Now, they made flour, they used to grind it in the autumn on watermills. The millers would come only occasionally, because there were not many watermills, for example there was one in our village, but in three or four other villages there was not any. They all come to mill on the watermill of our village. (10) As for hay, again they would bring in the food of the animals in winter, they brought it in during the autumn and put it in the storerooms. During the whole winter we have hay and clover. They used to cultivate clover. Every house had clover. They sowed it, harvested it, made it into balls and brought it into the storerooms for the cattle. This was the food of the animals. (11) Straw—we would weave many baskets from the stems of wheat—it was the job of us girls. The stem of wheat is long. They would take it and soften it in water. When we have softened it, it would not break any more. With this we wove baskets. The men, in fact, used to weave. The men used to weave a basket like this—bring me that yellow one—, large pannier baskets for transporting grapes, for the produce of dried raisins, like this, but big, high like this. It was the men who used to weave these. There was a type of tree called osier, osier. The twigs of the osier were like this. They used to weave pannier baskets.

(12) [GK: baking of bread?] Yes, (there was) also baking of bread. There were baking women. They used to prepare dough for (a supply of bread for) almost two months, for thirty days, sixty days, they used to bake like that. They baked in one day. After two months they would again be in need (of bread). Now it was water with flour, they would knead for one day, but they had to put leaven into it so that it would be leavened. How do you do the leavening? Today I have taken leaven from a neighbour. They preserved it from hand to hand. They did not let it finish. They would not forget it, the women were not supposed to forget. They had to keep a ball of dough. Now, if she has brought it from a neighbour, she had to give one to the neighbour and keep one for herself. So in this way there was always one dough ball. They used to bury it in the flour, in the flour storage box. Then they soften it in the evening in all that flour and mix it with water and

bí míyya 'u-ķàmxa. | móriša bə̄kyáməna bəxzáyəna 'àtxa! +rìməla!, xə̄myəla!. | (13)  
 'ita xína kámta cùndə p̄t-odìval cmà=t! nášə=zə +rába 'avíva ká dá pyétat láxma  
 +hayyàrta 'avíva! bús jàldə ci-parkíva. | 'ína payyánta xà-ivə! xá-xta +darrən-  
 nànta c-oyáva. | 'ána yàmmi! bax-+xalúyi ci-payyáva ķa-diyyan, | ķa-cùllə cálpat, |  
 xəzmàna!. | yómmat díyyi-da ci-+darrənnàva. | (14) tåxta! xína táxta +júrtəva  
 jùltal xá-'atxa +rámota. | +doràna 'átvəl kát 'ádi=zə 'àtlan 'áxnan, | 'u-mázrak=da.  
 'é báxta kát pyayəla láxma! bədráyula +al-de-mázrak! +bəssháyula ju-tanúyra.  
 tanúyra-da šaxína vayəla. | [GK:cmájúrrə làxma 'átvə?] cmájúrrə 'èt?| xá +laváša  
 'átvəlan! xa-xta jordéya. | júrrəjúrrə látvalan. | jordéyəva! cí-xina 'é +dántət prákta  
 prákta! cmá dànəl cùndəl 'áxči xàčxa patxívalun! xá-'atxa jùləl! 'ína +xlimə.  
 sávə mən-dáni ci-+bayyíva savùnəl kát b-+xálva c-+axlívalə. | +pačirəl módrə  
 c-odáxval šúk mən-càdəva. | látvalun jával lé mattáxva mərtùixa javé. | +'avun-zəl  
 hár 'átxa xá cùndəval patxáxvalə. | 'ína càdəl jári javé 'ávə mərtùixa. | mərtùixa  
 ci-mattáxva ju-càda. |

(15) [GK: mástə?] hà! másta cí-xina 'átxa. | +syáštət +méta 'íva ju-šábta trè-ja.  
 +xálva mašxùnuva. | +xálva jané +bəxlàvuvəl +beràšə. | cùllə ci-mašxənnàxvalə  
 móriša. | daráxvalə ju-ķadalyàtə. | +tlá yúma xína mástəla +házər. | 'íta ci-zedíva  
 'án ķadalyàtə. | 'é masálst Yütam-la. | ci-zedíva ķadalyàtəl 'íta cu-šábta trè-ja! 'é  
 +dánə yán šábta +tlá-ja. | šábta trè-ja. | (16) +mètal 'áy clítəla cmá mástə t-avílan. |  
 hì. | 'itar! +tlá ķadalyáyl +arþà ķadalyáyl darívalun ju-xá-dana +méta +fjürtəva.  
 'áyən b-+šešàvala! yàmma. | b-+šešàvala! +úxča b-+šešàvala! hál de-+dánət o-  
 +cárro calíva +al-pàtal +dàvvə. | +cárra b-šaķlàvala, | pešána +dàvvəva. | 'án +dávvə  
 b-daryávalun ju-càsta. | +masyəppàvalun! xá yúma šíma p̄t-oyával +t̄p̄ +t̄p̄ váda  
 'e-càsta. | pešána 'íva kàttəg. | pešána 'íva kàttəg! pešána mən-dàn! ... 'é-+dän  
 +bəsyápəva 'án +dàvvə. | +dávvə míyyé zóda bərràxshəva, | pyášəva kàttəg. | jáji  
 váduva. | šalùkuva, | jájəc +tarùsəva. | xína kòtpəva, | 'áni ci-+rappíva. | ci-xepíva  
 biyyé 'átxa cosè. | 'áx Eshampòo c-avíva ķaté! 'an-míyyət kàttəg. | hí kàtpə. |

(17) msétət júlla xína 'átvəl šábta xà-jəva. | mašxənníva míyya. | 'áx láxxa látval  
 'áxnan har-cút +dána míyya pátxax šír. | +táma jári máyyət mən-šaķita míyya.  
 béta ci-mašxənnàxvalun! +al-tanúyra, | +al-ojàxta, | bí kèsət! ... nítyra +bəsyàra.

flour. In the morning they get up and see that it has risen, it has been leavened. (13) So, first they would make dough balls. The more people there were for this baking of bread, the more help there was, the quicker they would finish. But the baker woman was one person and another was the one who rolled (the dough). I, my mother, and the wife of my maternal uncle used to bake for us, for the whole family, the relatives. My mother used to be the roller (of the dough). (14) A (rolling) board, it was a large round board, this high. There is a rolling pin, which we also have now, and also a baking cushion. The woman who was baking bread would put it on the baking cushion and stick it onto the oven. The oven is hot. [GK: How many types of bread were there?] How many types are there? One (of the types that) we had (was) a flat bread, another was a loaf. We did not have so many types. As for loaves, when the dough was coming to an end, they opened up a few dough balls just a little, like this round, but thick. The old folk used to like it, the elderly, who used to eat it with milk. Other than cakes, we also made unleavened bread. They had nothing in them, we did not put cake-filling in them. It was a dough-ball like this, which we used to open. But cakes had to have cake-filling in them, we put cake-filling in cakes.

(15) [GK: yoghurt?] Ah yes, yoghurt was indeed like this. Shaking the churn pot took place twice a week. They would boil the milk. They would milk the milk themselves in the evening. We used to warm it all in the morning. We put it into pots. Three days later it is yoghurt ready (to eat). Now, the (filled) pots would be left over sometimes, this is the story of Yutam, pots were left over, that is twice a week, occasionally three times a week, twice a week. (16) As for the churn pot, that depends on how much yoghurt we have. Yes, now we would put (the contents of) three pots, four pots into one large churn pot. Mother used to shake it. She used to shake, shake it so much until its butter stood on the top (of) the buttermilk. She would take the butter and what remained was buttermilk. She put the buttermilk in a bag. She filtered it, for a whole day the bag went drip, drip. What remained was buttermilk cheese. What remained was buttermilk cheese, the remains of the (buttermilk) ... when she filtered the buttermilk. When the surplus water of the buttermilk goes away, buttermilk cheese remains. They make jajəc. They boil it and make jajəc. As for the waste liquid, they used to throw it away. They used to wash their hair in it, it was like shampoo for them, the water of the buttermilk cheese, yes the waste liquid.

(17) There was the washing of clothes, it was once a week. They would heat the water. There were not (facilities) like here, where we always have water by opening the tap. There you had to fetch water from the stream. We heated it at home on the oven, on the hearth, kindling the fire with the wood of ... Then,

'ita| p̄-ida cíllə ci-masívalun| yəmmàtə.| labláxva +al-šákita| ci-parpiyyàxvalun,| ci-parpiyyàxvalun bí mìyya.| 'ita mayyáxva b-šatxàxvalun. 'òtvalan| tanápə +sírə| b-šatxàxvalun.

(18) 'ína čiriyyavátə 'òtvalan| +maxvártət batvátə.| baxtátə janè ci-+maxváriva.| c-azàxva| 'òtvalan xá +tùyra| maxsùsival| +xvàra,| ci-+palátya mónnu 'o-+tína +xvàra.| +xoràna,| šómmu ci-tanáxval| +è-+dana +xorána,| hár 'adìyya-za +xorànələ,| +maxvártət bætvátə.| bæt-mayyìva.| xá dárya 'ürzə ci-mayyìvalə,| 'íta 'ánnə baxtày| +'áyun ci-mejìval| fu-mìyya.| +rába ci-+tarsíva vâdra.| 'íta b-šák líva canušyátə dàykə 'òtvalan.| 'áni-da mən-dàšta ci-mayyàxvalun.| b-šák líva b-dán canušyáy dàykə,| yəmmátə c-asķíva +al-simálta| +maxvərríva fuydànəl 'ùl cílla.| 'áyya p̄t-oyáva čiriyyaváy mən-kám 'idavátə,| 'ida,| ka-'ída jári 'avíva bætvátə +xvàrəl párda màsyə.| (19) +kuràna=da +zakríva,| hì.| 'átxa 'òtvalan bìl bí pátvət dá mìz,| +tlá 'ákla,| cílla +xadərvánət fuydànəl kát là sandáxva b-fýyda +káyra vâyəva.| 'òtvalan ci-+zakràxva,| ci-+zakrìvalun| ci-masnàddívalun bí fùyda| kát sándax b-dàni.| 'ánnə +kurànəva.| 'ína hasírə 'òtvalan bí jáyan ci-+zakràxvala.| 'ayən| 'áx dá pròsta másalan| kat-šavìva.| cílla +otágə c-avíva mólyə hasírə.| +bár háda tílun +xalíyyə,| prasyà,| +allé šuvílan.| 'ína b-+šuráya +al-hasírə tívəna,| hasírə ci-+zakríva.

(20) [GK: dák mašxənníva bætvátə?] hí märri b-kësa,| b-càmrə. cút kedámta járcəc +serivalə tanúrya.| 'íta +'áyun bæt-malívalə| +rába ci-+serival ci-+tamrìvalun xut-+kátmə b-mòriša,| mán +bár=t prákla tònnna.| ci-+tamrìvalun xut-+kátmə,| 'íta 'à +dána,| +bár +cavùtra,| xáčča ci-+paltíva mən-kátmət kát| šxùnta +paltáva.| +kusaryáy=da cílla xrízəna +tàma| 'òltəx| mìyya +rába xrízəna 'òltəx.| mìyya hammáša tálməl c-avívalun kát +bərdáxa +házər ju-tanúrya.

(21) [GK: +kèta?] +kèta [GK: +kéta 'íca ci-damxítunva?] +al-jaravátə,| sáma zóda +al-jaravátə.| 'ánnə šánnət xína 'àxnan víyyəx| +otágə=da 'íva,| 'átva tré tabákə cílla +tùrsəva,| 'ína b-kámtət kámta-da hár +al-jaravày dmíxəna +kéṭa.| cut-+berášə bísəmmálta b-yaskíva +al-jára.| 'ítajul-máxə +táma ci-macsàxvalun.| módrə móriša b-kemàxva.| +al-bálila 'ána,| cút +berášə jári 'o járə +maryəssàxvaləl kát| pàyxə 'avíva.| bæt+maryəssàxvalə,| jul-máxə patxàxvalun,| +hála +tlá +arþá +sa'áttə mən-kám kat-yáskax| dàmxax.| 'ánnə 'ína jári 'odàxvalun.| xá tré +tlá yárxa| 'an-jul-máxə +táma ci-pešíval +al-jára.| +xárta ci-maslàxvalun.

(22) +xluylánə xína hár 'áx lâxxa,| cílla cálpat ci-+jammáva +hayyərríva.| +talabúta 'áttən kámta.| bərróxşəna cmá janátəl +mašmúyəna ká bí bràta.

the mothers washed them (the clothes) all by hand. We took them to the stream and rinsed them, we rinsed them with water. Then we brought them back and hung them out. We had clothes lines which we tied and we hung them (the clothes) out.

(18) Now in the autumn we had (the custom of) whitewashing houses. The women used to whitewash by themselves. We used to go, we had a white mountain, which was special, from it came the white mud, whitener, we called it 'whitener' at that time, still now it (is known as) whitener, the whitewashing of houses. They brought it, the men would bring a lot, then the women would soften it into a paste in water. They made many buckets. Then they took fine brooms, which we had. These too we brought from the fields. They would take hold of these fine brooms and the mothers would go up on ladders and whitewash walls, and everything. This took place in the autumn before the festivals, the festival (of Christmas), for the festival the houses had to be white and the curtains laundered. (19) We used to weave wall-carpets (<sup>+</sup>*kurana*), yes. We had ones like this with the width of this table, three feet, all around the walls, so that we did not lean on a wall that was cold. We had (such as these), which we used to weave, we used to weave them and attach them to the wall, so that we could lean on them. These were wall-carpets. We had mats, which we wove with *jayan* grass. This was like this rug, which they used to lay. All the rooms were full of mats. Later came carpets and rugs, on which we laid our bedding, but originally we sat on mats, we would weave mats.

(20) [GK: How did they heat houses?] Yes, I have said, with logs of wood, with dung cakes. Every morning they had to light the oven. They would fill it, stoke it a lot and bury them under the ashes in the morning, after the smoke has finished. They buried them under the ash, then, at this time (as we speak), in the afternoon, they would take out some ash, so the heat would come out. The cooking pots are all lined up there, below, many (pots of) water were lined up below. We always had water in pots (*talma*), which boiled ready in the oven.

(21) [GK: The summer?] The summer [GK: In summer where did you sleep?] on the roofs, mostly on the roofs. During the years that we were (in the village), there were rooms, there were two floors that were built, but long ago they slept on roofs during the summer. Every evening they went up to the roof by a ladder. They would spread out bedding there. In the morning we would get up again. I remember we had to sprinkle the roof every evening so that it would be cool. We would sprinkle it and open up the bedding, already three or four hours before we went up to sleep. We had to do these things. The bedding would stay there on the roof for two or three months, then we brought it down.

(22) Weddings were just like here, the whole family would gather together to help. First there is the marriage request. Several people would go and present

'áni màrəna| hì,| tèmun,| hamzàmmmax.| cmá janátə bərráxšəna +bətlàbona.| xá nišànka mattúyəna,| xàl súrṭa 'isàkta| yá xá móndi súral b-ķdálo dàrlı ķát 'áyya xína| xá náša xína lè-azəl bút dé bràta,| 'ánnə +tlibálun,| 'áx +bəršàmona.| bár háda-zə širànnəx 'áttən.| bí yámmət bràta,| bábət bràtal širánnəx jári 'ödi,| čedi nášə xəzmàna.|| ci-+màxli,| ci-màšti,| céca šərnìyyəla| 'ö-yuma masálan.| +bár širənnəx-da +xlùyla bitáyəla| nášət yála b-+şári b-+xlùyla| +xlùyla c-avíva| trè yúma,| +tlà yúma,| +'arþà yúma,| +xlùyla +júra,| bí +sabàxta,| +'arþá yúma +xluylánə c-avíva| davlačýya c-atíva,| dávla maxyàna| lè 'avívalan ju-máta.| mən-mavátə xínə c-atíva.| 'ína 'árxa,| mən-cúllə mavày 'árxa c-atíva.| (23) 'íta 'árxa c-avíva +ràba,| c-avíva trəmmà janáy.| 'át +dána +xlùylal +'arþammà janáy.| 'ánnə +'arþammá janàyl cílla 'ánnə bné māta| jári +pallìvalun,| +pallàxvalun,| +'ösla p̄t-ázi ju-dò béta,| +şàrvva ju-dò béta,| tmánya ju-dò béta.| 'átvə xəzmàna ju-dán 'árxa.| 'átvə lətvə xəzmána,| hár 'àtxa,| 'àxçil +'aturàyəva.| jári madməxxàx-valun b-lelavátə hál-t +xlùyla paràķva,| čún là-+amsi dámxi ju-bēt-+xlùyla.| 'áyya-da rízət +xlùylava.| (24) b-+suráya 'íla| xá lélə mən-ķám +xlùyla xənnə 'áttən,| mxáyəna +al-'idè,| +bəjmáyəna ju-bétət càlu,| xónna +tarùsunal labúluna láb yála.| 'ádi 'ó-yuma xína| ķenyàna| ci-parmìva,| +házər 'ávi,| tré ķenyána bálcət bət-pàrmil +házər vâyəna ķa-+xlùyla.| 'ína davlačýya har-ju-mátəna,| şóda hár 'áttən| róķda zmára 'ánnə hár mxáyəna.| 'íta 'ó-yoma ķamaya bərráxšəna càlu máyona.| 'é-+dān muyyálun càlu mən-xá máta xíta ķa-+túsa tánax màyox.| (25) yúma ķamaya +bajmáyəna,| xəzmána ķúrba +bajmáyəna| yúmat tré lélət xənnə.| yúmat +tlá xína càlu bitáyəla| càlu ju-této| cíl janvivalal ķamta| ci-janvivala švàvel 'áyya 'átvə xà ... xá rízəva mán ... +xàrtal yán ci-mašrivala tánax.| 'ádi 'é-+dān càlu mən-máta xíta màyona| xá mən-xəzmàna| yán šváva bət-mašrivala| 'áni ķamta p̄t-+oráva bēt-dàni,| tânaxl +tozèl 'ída paté b-+xalliva.| 'áy xá 'arxúyta +júrta 'átvə,| jári yavvíva ķato| mušrìyyona.| 'íta bí xəmyàna p̄t-azíva| módra mayyivala m-dó béta +palğivala b-dávla +zùrnal lablivala ju-bët| jnùna,| bétət xàtna.| xá beta +júra c-avíva muryazzal +táma +xlùyla p̄t-avíva.| (26) 'ó-lélə +sabàxta b-+jammíva,| +sabáxta 'íva| cílla nášə ci-yavvíva xá pàšcaš| bí

the marriage request to the family of the girl. They say 'Yes, come, let's talk.' Several people go and ask for her hand in marriage. They give a betrothal gift, a small ring, or they place something small on her neck, so that another man would not go and (ask) for the girl, (showing that) they have requested her hand, as it were marking her. After that there is the betrothal party. The family of the mother of the girl, the father of the girl, must hold the betrothal party and invite people, relatives. They serve food, serve drinks. There are cakes and sweets on that day, for example. After the betrothal party comes the wedding. The family of the boy initiates the wedding. The wedding lasts two days, three days, four days, a large wedding, with the presentation of wedding gifts, such weddings lasted four days. Drummers would come. We did not have drum-players in the village. They used to come from other villages. As for guests, guests came from all the villages. (23) So, many guests came. There were two hundred people. At times a wedding (had) four hundred people. All the villagers had to divide these four hundred people (among themselves). We used to divide them (among ourselves), ten would go to one house, seven in another house, eight in another house. There were relatives among the guests. There may or may not be relatives, it was like that, but they were Assyrians. We had to put them up for the night until the wedding finished, because they could not sleep in the house of the wedding. This was the organization of the wedding. (24) At the beginning, a night before the wedding there is the henna ceremony, which they put on their hands. They gather in the house of the bride, they make the henna and take it to the house of the boy. Now, the next day they used to slaughter a head of cattle, if they were available, perhaps they would slaughter two heads of cattle that were ready for the wedding. The drummers are constantly in the village, there is constant jollity, dancing, singing, they are constantly playing. Then, on the first day (of the wedding) they go and bring the bride. When they have brought the bride—let's say we bring her for example from another village. (25) The first day they gather, the close relatives gather (and make plans): the second day the henna night, the third day the bride comes. When the bride came, they used to steal her, first, the neighbours used to steal her, this was a custom ... then they would offer her hospitality. Now, when they bring the bride from another village, one of the relatives or neighbours offered her hospitality. First she entered their house, let's say, they would wash away the dust from their hands and face. There was a big feast, which they had to offer her, they offered her hospitality. Then the family of the father-in-law would go and bring her from that house, bring her out with drum and pipe music, and take her to the house of the bridal chamber, in the house of the groom. They would have organized a large house and there the wedding would take place. (26) On that night they gathered for the wedding-gift ceremony. The

*zuzanayıt| kà nášət +xlùyla.| 'áx másalan ƙat-'áxnan=da yùvvəx| ó náša yùvvəla  
 ka-cúllə dé máta 'é-+dān +xlùyla vidənəl| 'ádi 'ani=da nobèləl| jári yávvi zùyzał xá  
 mändi zùyzał| ká dá +xlùylət brúnət dá náša ƙat| xarújələ +ràba ƙa-dá +xlùyla.|  
 hár 'áx láxxa 'adìyya-da ó +şúla 'óttən.|*

### B11 St. Zayya's Cake Dough (Victor Orshan, Zumallan, N)

(1) *şlàma +allóxun.| 'ána šámmi 'ílə Váktur 'Ùršan| 'ána 'at-mát-Zumàllan-ivən.*  
*Zumàllan| xá mən-matvátət +maştáxət 'Ùrmila| npáltałə kúrbət +Názlu-+čay.*  
 (2) *hàkyat bitáyələ +al-xá-dana mən-+adáttət 'áxnan 'átlanju-mátət Zumàllan|  
 b-şámmət mərtúxət +Márezə| mərtúxət +Márezə 'átxa +şarúyələ ƙat| xá +dána  
 jùl 'Ùrmil 'é-+dān bēt-dýyan-ıva| 'áxnan mən-+'amti| mən-xá cálpat xita,*  
*b-şámmət Yú'av +Muràdxan| šámmət +xanımul +Xlítəl ci-xayyàxva| 'áha +myu-  
 kòrtal lè-'avivala brúna| +tləbla| mən-+Mar-+Zàyya| ƙat-'avíla xá brùna| 'íta  
 'á brúna| tílə víla| šámmu muttíla 'Odíšu| (3) 'íta +al-dá niyyat| +şurílun  
 'ánnə +tlə bətvátə| cút šítəl ci-+jammıva| bəl-janəl ƙàmxa| məšxa| ci-zarzíva  
 mərtúxa| ci-+pallıvala bəl-janəl| +xárta 'á +xábra pásłə prısa| ju-bné mätən| ƙat-  
 +şmílun 'a-masála 'átxa vâyəla| 'á +şúla +şurílə níxa níxa jarvüsə| (4) b-dá  
 táhar víla ƙat| +şurílun man-jíbat +tlə bətvátə| +şurílun cùlla| bətvátət mätəl  
 +hayyúra +al-dá nəsbat| xá yúma +rşəmlun| ƙat ƙa-dá yúmal ci-+hadrıva|  
 ci-azíva +al-mátət Zumàllan| c-avíva zvína m-ќám +dána +ràba ƙàmxa,  
 məšxa| 'ùl +mixçulta-zə ci-lablıva| xá sáma jəllələ, lâxma, ƙa-dán nášət c-atiiva|  
 (5) +şuráya| 'á +şúla 'áxči 'íva xá +ádat ƙa-bnē mätən| ci-+jammıva| xá-yuma  
 mən-mòrişəl hál +dánət fnétət yúmal 'á +şúla c-odıvalə| ci-tapkíva p-+iydalə,  
 ci-hamzəmmíva m-+iydaləl ci| ... xá yúmal ci-+morıvalə m-+iydaləl b-+xálta  
 'u-štëta| b-dá mərtúxa| xá txàra c-avíva| (6) 'ína 'á masála bùş jürvásla| +şuríla  
 bəşkála şópa| ju-cúlla 'Ùrmi| 'é-+danət 'á-yuma 'atıva| sábab mätət díyyan 'átvala  
 +budrátə, ci|mána +ràba| nášə-da PmaxsusánP ƙat 'ánnə šánnə +xáraya ju-  
 +Íran víla xá kuyáma +əslamàya| 'íta lótvalun ducánət +palçıva| lótvalun  
 ducánət 'azíva ƙa-mabsàmta 'u-+şúla| b-dá +mahàna| 'é-+dān 'á-yuma 'atıva  
 ci-+jammıva b-álpə nášə bálcət| ju-dá yúma ju-+maştaxət| mätət Zumàllan|*

wedding-gift ceremony was where everybody gave a gift, in the form of money, to the holders of the wedding. Just as we, for example, have given or that man has given to all the village when they have held a wedding, now it is their turn and they must give money, some money for the wedding of the son of that man, who spends a lot on the wedding. This practice also exists now.

### B11      St. Zayya's Cake Dough (Victor Orshan, Zumallan, N)

(1) Greetings to you. My name is Victor Urshan. I am from the village of Zumallan. Zumallan is one of the villages on the plain of Urmi. It is situated near the Nazlu river. (2) The story is about one of the customs that we have in the village of Zumallan by the name of (the festival of) the cake dough of St. Zayya.<sup>33</sup> (The festival of) the cake dough of St. Zayya began when a ... when our family was living in Urmi together with my paternal aunt, with another family, by the name of Yuav Muradkhan, the name of whose wife was Xlita. This lady could not have a child. She requested St. Zayya (to allow) her to have a son. Then this son was born and she named him Odishu. (3) Then for this purpose (of celebrating this event) these three houses began every year to gather among themselves flour, oil, (from which) they made cake dough and divided it among themselves. Later this news was spread among the inhabitants of our village, who heard that this was taking place, and the event began gradually to grow. (4) In this way it happened that instead of just three families, all the families of the village began to help in this connection. They designated a day for which they would prepare and on which they would go to the village of Zumallan. They would have bought beforehand a lot of flour, oil. They also took food, some herbs and bread for those people who came. (5) In the beginning this event was a custom only for the inhabitants of our village. They used to gather for one day and hold this event from morning until the time of the setting of the sun. They met one another, they talked with one another. They would spend a day with each other eating and drinking. With this (festival of) cake dough a memorial took place. (6) But this initiative grew bigger. It began to take place in the whole of Urmi. When this day came, because our village had many threshing floors and lawns, and the people, especially since in recent years an Islamic revolution took place in Iran, did not have places to go out to, did not have places to go to for enjoyment and so forth, for this reason when this day came, the people gathered in the open space of the village of Zumallan and the inhabitants of Zumallan

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33 Marezə is a shortened form of Mar.+Zayya.

bne-Zumàllan| c-avíva.| (7) sábab ýá +šúla +rába *jurvàssəva*| šuttàslun| xá +sítal cmá janátə tajbərrànəl kát m-kám +dána| xá trè-yumə| tlà-yuməl c-azíva ká-zvàntət móndi| +masàlla| +xàltə| štèta| +hadaryátə +šùlə c-odíva| ò-yuma| ýá +šúla cùllə c-odívalə ju-màta| (8) ju-máta 'ztva tré +umrànəl xá-mànnē b-šómmət +Màr-Aprəm| xá-mànnē b-šómmət +Màt-+Maryam| ju-dàrtət| +úmrət +Màt-+Maryam| móriša +xaníma c-avíva +jòmyə| ci-maxívalə ýá mərtúxa| kát c-avíval b-+tiyàna bálcət| c-óya tanùya| +bár-t ýá mərtúxa maxívalə| c-odívalə ýáx cínda sùrəl ci-carmàxxívalə ju-làxma| bálcət ká-hál xamshammá janáy c-óya tanúya| 'ánnə ci-+hadrívalə ýá móndi| (9) 'ita| sábab násə bəzyàdəva| xína masála búš *jurvàsla*| módn dé-t 'áxcíl 'avílun +mixùltal ká-+cavíutra| làxma| jəllàlə| yá mən-+hàlva| 'st +dána ci-maxíva +hàlva| (10) +xárta 'ína +šurílun| bəzvána +bùsra-za| ci-bašlívalə| 'áx tahárət +duxrána ci-+hadrlə| sábab móllat +ràbəva| ýá +šúla c-odívalə| hál 'údyu yúma=za| c-óya tanùya| ýá +šúla ju-mátət Zumàllan| ju-+maštákət 'Úrmi| pyášəla vïda| (11) 'ita| b-šànnət| kuyáma kát kòmlə| násət módtət Zumàllan| +šurílun +mašaxáṭta bitáya +al-+átrət 'Amèrcə| +jmílun ju-koluníyət California| làxxa-za| sábab bətvàtət bne-mátət Zumàllan zàdlun| tuxmánnun +al-dá yúma| sábab +bəddáyəva xá yúma 'áttənju-Zumàllan ci-+jammìlə| mórrun| búš +spáyəla 'áxnan-za| ýá +šúla làxxal| 'odàxlə| (12) +al-dá násbat làxxa-za šuttàslun xá +sítal xvášta mən-cmà janátəl mən-mdinátət Los Àngeles| Sàñ José| 'u-Tùrlock| sábab násət díyyanju-+túllunte m-dánnə mdinátə ci-xayyìva| 'áha +šúla +šúrla mən-mdítət Lós Àngeles| šítə kámetəl bəxšàvən| ju-šítat 'álpə +dəççámmo 'áçci xàl 'vyáva ýá +šúla +šuríla| xá-šíta c-avíva ju-Sàñ José| xá-šíta ju-Tùrlock| xá-šíta ju| Lós Àngeles| (13) ká-cmà šánnəl| ýá +šúla 'átxa píšəla šuxləppal 'údyu yúma=za| módrə násəl| ýá +marásomP c-odila| ci-+jámmi módrə mən-+rýtya +bérašə +al-+hadártət +duxràna| búš zóda mən-mərtúxa| 'áx=t mórril sábab násə 'árxə 'atyánə +ràba vâyəna| léna vâya +áxcí xá yúma +mavúra b-+xáltət mərtúxa| bút dàhal muzyəddálun mäsälal *jurvàssàlun*| (14) 'u-'údyu yúma píšəla +díyya xàl mən-+adàttət bne-mátən Zumàllan| b-jaššákətət +al-dá +šúla| 'úp matvátə xìnə=za| +šurílun +adáttət janè 'átvəlun| 'áx +šaravátət kát ci-dokívalun| 'áx +dètət díyyi| módtət +Miyšava cút šítə ci-+jámma| módtət +Ádal ci-dòkəl ... marásomP=ət 'áni janè 'átvəlun| 'ita ýá hákyat 'íla xá cəryúta| mən-mátət Zumàllan| +al-mərtúxa| +Màrezəl kàt| pyášəla tunítə b-yád Váktur 'Úršan| mən-mátət Zumàllan| 'ávitun basimə|

were perhaps in their thousands there. (7) Because this initiative had grown a lot, they established a committee, with a number of organizers, who one, two or three days previously would go to buy things, goods, food, drink and make preparations and so forth. On that day they would all hold this event in the village. (8) In the village there were two churches, one of them by the name of St. Ephrem and the one of them by the name of St. Mary. In the courtyard of the church of St. Mary in the morning the ladies would have gathered. They used to put together the cake dough that was there in cauldrons, perhaps one could say. After they put the cake dough together, they would make something like small balls of dough and roll them in bread. One could say that they prepared this for up to five hundred people. (9) Then, because the people were increasing and the event grew bigger than their just having food for lunch (consisting of) bread, herbs or sweetmeats—there were times that they used to make sweetmeats. (10) Later they started to buy meat and cook it, they prepared it like the type (of meat cooked for) votive offerings, because the people were many. They used to do this. It may be said that to this very day this is being done in the village of Zumallan on the plain of Urmi. (11) Then, in the years when the revolution occurred, the people of the village of Zumallan began to immigrate to America. They gathered in the colony of California. Also here, because the families of the inhabitants of Zumallan increased, they thought about this day, because they knew that there is a day in Zumallan that they jointly hold. They said 'It is better that we also do that here.' (12) In this regard they also here established a committee, composed of several people, from the towns of Los Angeles, San Jose and Turlock, because our people live in these three towns. This began from the town of Los Angeles. I think the first year that it began was in 1991. One year it was in San Jose, one year in Turlock and one year in Los Angeles. (13) For several years the event changed (place), and to this day people hold this festival. They gather starting on Friday evening to prepare the (meat for the) votive offering, more than cake dough, as I said, because guests and visitors are many. They do not spend the day only eating cake dough. For that reason they increased the event and made it bigger. (14) Nowadays it is known as one of the customs of the inhabitants of our village, Zamallan. By looking at this, also other villages began, as they had their own customs, such as festivals of saints that they used to hold. As far as I know, the village of <sup>+</sup>Mušava gathers every year. The village of <sup>+</sup>Ada holds traditions that they used to have. So this story is a brief account concerning the village of Zumallan about the cake dough of St. Zayya, which is being told by Victor Orshan from the village of Zumallan. Thank you.

## B12 Molasses (Victor Orshan, Zumallan, N)

(1) mádrə ju-māt-Zumàllan| 'átvala| +'álma káat-'átbla carmàna. | cut-+álma 'átbla  
 xà-taxta, | ya-trè-taxta, | ya-xá-tanap carmàna. | 'íta b-+dánət +kèṭa| +'álma  
 c-azálva carmàna| +'ánvə ci-+jammìvalun. | (2) 'ánnə +'ánvəl ci-peštva +jummiyyə|  
 b-+kərṭàla. | ci-mayyívalun +al-+xasè. | ju-bətvàta| cút béta c-óya tanúyə 'átbla  
 xa-čáraz. | 'ánnə +'ánvə jári jaršívalun b-+xasé móñ cárma hál ju-čáraz. | ju-  
 čáraz 'ánnə +'ánvəl cí .... +marçivalun| kat-miyè +palṭílun. | +bár +mráchtət 'ánnə  
 +'ánvə, | 'ánnə miyyət ... +'ánvə ci-darívalun ju-xácma ... +tağàrət ci-+káraxlun|  
 'ánnə +tağàrəl c-avíva +kíra +'árral mutté ju-+árra hál paljè. | (3) +bár 'ánnə  
 miyyət +'ánvə ci-darívalun ju-+tağàrəl 'átbla xá ... móñ 'úpra, | c-azíva mən-  
 xácma +rumyáta támmerz, | ci-mačxivala, | b-šámmət +xorána. | ci-mayyívala  
 xáčxa mənné ci-+xoṭívalun ju-dánnə miyyət +'ánvə. | b-léləl +oráva +al-mòrišəl é-  
 +dán 'atíva 'ánnə miyyət +'ánvə káat c-avíva xviṭəl 'áx miyya +ṭinànəl ka-móriša  
 c-avíva 'ax-ət-úmri +sápyə 'ax-zíja. | (4) 'íta mən-dánnə miyyət +'ánvə +sápyəl  
 ci-šaklíva xáčxa| ci-darívalun ju-+tiyan. | xáčxa +xvárət bíta ci-+ṭarpíva ci-maxíva  
 javé. | 'á +tiyan ci-mattívala +al-+ojáxta. | +ojáxta b-sónna kàmaya, | 'áx bətxàrən,  
 kësə ci-mattíva +állo. | 'ína šónna +xàrayəl káat +'álma 'átbla zìlyza| c-+amsíva  
 zoníva +nùyṭa. | b-+núyṭa buš-zóda +ojaxyáta zùrzəva. | har-ð-+šula c-odívala,  
 'ína búš hasanày, | búš támmerz. | (5) 'á ... miyyət +'ánvə ci-+mardəxxivalun| xa-  
 pàlŷət +sá'at, | bálcət 'árpi xamša dakíka, | clítəla +al-+furiýtat +tiyan. | +xárta  
 'ánnəl ci-+paltáva nipùxta. | 'á nipùxta c-avíva ránjo cùma. | ci-+jammìvala| ju-  
 kàdàla. | b-yumàna| jári 'áviva 'á nipùxta késa ci-mattíva jàvo, | ci-+ṭarpívala.  
 b-+ṭràptət| nipùxta| ránjo mən-ránjət cùmal ci-+xavərvəl c-avíva +xvàra. | (6) 'íta  
 ci-kašyával c-oyáva taķíban 'áx +càrra, | 'ína ránjo xáčxa smuknàya. | cúl betùyta,  
 c-óya tanúyə, | 'a-+šula ... c-odívala, | bašáltət nipùxta. | b-+kèṭa 'á +šula c-odívala  
 káat ka-cúlla mótxət sátvə 'ánnə 'ávílun nipùxta. | (7) 'u-hàjat| +buķára bitáyələ +al-  
 šámmət nipùxta. | 'áxnan xa-šámmələl har-+šàmyuvax| 'ína léx +rába +suxsiyyə  
 +'állu| mut-+manay 'átlə. | b-xá-taharl bitáyələl b-+xábrət Pna-poxtèP. | +yána bál-  
 cət xá ... +farsáya ... 'áviva xàzyə mírəna mó vàdətun? | mírəna bašüləx| xázyəla  
 xá-məndi bálcət mírəla 'áha Pna-poxtèP-la| +yána lèla bšólta. | 'á +xábra b-mátxət

## B12 Molasses (Victor Orshan, Zumallan, N)

(1) Again in the village of Zumallan there were people who had orchards. Each family had a plot or two plots or a *tanap*<sup>34</sup> of orchards. Now, in the summer the people used to go to the orchards and gather grapes. (2) These grapes used to be gathered in pannier-baskets. They used to bring them on their backs to the houses. One may say that each family used to have a wine-press. They had to carry these grapes on their backs from the vineyard up to the winepress. In the wine-press they used to crush the grapes in order to extract their juice. After crushing the grapes—they used to pour the juice of the grapes into what we used to call ‘bins.’ These bins—they used to have dug up the ground and placed them in the ground up to their middle. (3) After they poured the grape juice into the bins, there was (a kind of) soil, they used to go to some clean hills and find it, (it is known) by the name of *+xorana* ('whitener'). They used to bring it and mix a little of it with the grape juice. At night and as morning broke, when they came, the grape juice, which was mixed like muddy water, by the morning was, as they say, clear as a bell. (4) Then from this pure grape juice they used to take a little and pour it into a cauldron. They used to beat a little egg-white and throw it in it. They used to place this cauldron on the hearth. In the early years, according to what I remember, they used to put wood on the hearth, but in recent years, because the people had money and could purchase oil, they had mostly made oil hearths. They used to perform the same task, but more easily and cleanly. (5) They used to boil the grape juice for half an hour, or perhaps forty-five minutes, depending on the size of the cauldron. Then the juice would come out as grape molasses. The colour of the molasses was black. They used to collect it in pots. For days they had to place a stick in this molasses. They used to beat it. Through the beating of the molasses its colour used to change from the colour black and it used to become white. (6) Then it thickened and became almost like butter, but its colour was slightly reddish. One may say that every family used to do this thing, the cooking of molasses. They used to do this thing in summer so that they would have molasses for the entire period of winter. (7) The topic, the question arises regarding the (origin of the) name *nipuxta* ('molasses'). We have always heard it as being a single name, but we have not researched it much as to what its meaning is. According to one group (of people) it originates in the (Persian) word *na-poxte*. That is maybe a Persian had seen and said 'What are you doing?' Then they said 'We are cooking' he saw something and perhaps said 'This is *na-poxte*', that is 'it is not cooked.' This word, in the course of the

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34 256 square *dra'a* (one *dra'a* = 39 inches).

šànnəl̥ +xdírləl̥ škíləl̥ šámmət nipùxta. (8) xá-sama xína-da +álma ’áttən kat-ci-táni mən-jíbət nipùxta<sup>P</sup> méye poxtè<sup>P</sup> sábab<sup>P</sup> b-líšanət +fársət har-mádra +manáyət +xámra yávəla. har-nipùxta-zə mən-míyyət +’ánvə pyášəla škólta, l̥albáttə lá +xdíra +’al-+xámra, mírəna<sup>P</sup> méye poxtè<sup>P</sup> mádra har-b-mátxət šánnəl̥ ’á +xàbra +xdírləl̥ víyyələ nipùxta<sup>P</sup> ’áx-ət +bəddáyəx kat-’údyu. (9) ’án +adáttə, c-óya tanúya, ju-matvátət ’Úrmil̥ c-odívalun ka-bašáltət nipùxta<sup>P</sup> ’údyu yúma-zə láxxa ju-Amérīca<sup>P</sup> ju-mdítət Túrlock, háttə láxxa ju-mdítət Los-Àngeles<sup>P</sup> ’áxnanjánan-zə mádra ’o-+šúla c-odáxlə. +yánə c-ázax ci-zónax +’ánvəl ci-+marçàxlun ci-bašlàxlun har-b-dé səstímət ju-màta c-odáxvala. ’á-+šúla láxxa-zə c-odáxlə ’íta ’áha-zə xá mən-+adáttət bne-’Úrmila<sup>P</sup> kat-ju-mátxət šánnə vñdonal̥ ’údyu yúma-zə +nñírona.

### B13 Vineyards (Victor Orshan, Zumallan, N)

(1) xá dánət bne-mátət Zumàllan<sup>P</sup> c-odíva +accariyta<sup>P</sup> ci-+zarríva<sup>P</sup> ya-’átvəlun baxčána carmàna. ’ína ka-maštétət dánnə baxčána carmànəl̥ màjbur-íva<sup>P</sup> +’albíva mìyya<sup>P</sup> mən-šakìyyátə +fúra. (2) ’íta +arbábət dēn-mavátəl̥ jári azíva xazzívaləl̥ ’átvələ xá násəl̥ məšta’lana +al-dá +šúla kát ci-+karívala +míra. jári ka-+’árbab cmayútət xá zúyza yavvívalun<sup>P</sup> ’íta ’ó násət +accárət +dàna yívvuva<sup>P</sup> ju-+fóllan yúmal̥ ya-+fóllan šábta<sup>P</sup> jári mən-kám-+dana<sup>P</sup> ’avíva zúyzu +purriyyé. ’íta c-azálva ’o-+míra ci-xazzívaləl̥ ci-taníva ’ána zúyza yuvvén<sup>P</sup> ka-+’árbab, ’údyu nóbət diyyila. (3) ’íta mən-+táməl bárət mìyya ci-patxívala. ’á mìyya bálcət c-óya taníyəl̥ xá cilomàtr, zóda +basúra, ’ánnə mýya ci-mayyívalun b-shákita<sup>P</sup> hál dé dúcət +mamqívalun<sup>P</sup> +al-do-cármət +báyyi maštíləl̥ yá +al-dé +mazráyət +báyyi maštíla. (4) ’íta +al dá-hajat ’et-+dána<sup>P</sup> c-avíva +plášə<sup>P</sup> xazzótva xá +accára<sup>P</sup> xíšələ ka-mayétət mìyya<sup>P</sup> ’ína +plíšələ mən-+míral̥ u-’adíyya jnáyət mág vítəla lèla máhləm. bədmáyəla +míral̥ m-xá xína bùš zóda zúyza škíləl̥, é-+danət ka-+fóllán-cas jári yavválvala<sup>P</sup> yúvvola<sup>P</sup> ka-xá xíta. (5) ’átxa +plášə +šúla c-avíva<sup>P</sup> ’áha-zə xá txárəl̥ kát ’ána bətxárən<sup>P</sup> bálcət xamší šánnə kám ’ádi<sup>P</sup> ju-mátət Zumàllan<sup>P</sup> ’ána ’á +šúla xàzyun<sup>P</sup> u-+shàmyun.

years, changed and assumed the form *nipuxta*. (8) There is another group of people who instead of *nipuxta* say *meye poxte*, because *me* in Persian has the meaning of wine. Molasses too is produced from grape juice, but of course it has not turned into wine. Thus they said *meye napoxte* ('uncooked wine') and again with the passage of the years this word has turned into *nipuxta*, as we know it today. (9) They used to practice these traditions, one may say, in the villages of Urmi for cooking molasses. Until now too, we still practice this tradition here in America, in the city of Turlock, even here in the city of Los Angeles. That is we go and buy grapes, we crush them and cook them, just like the system that we used to practice in the village. We practice it here too. So this too is one of the traditions of the Urmi people that they have practiced for a period of many years and they have preserved it to this very day.

### B13      Vineyards (Victor Orshan, Zumallan, N)

(1) At a time when the inhabitants of the village of Zumallan used practice agriculture, they used to cultivate (the land) or they used to have kitchen gardens and vineyards. Now in order to irrigate these kitchen gardens and vineyards it was necessary for them to ask for water from large irrigation channels. (2) So, they had to go and see the landlord of those villages. He had a man who was responsible for this matter who was called the foreman. They had to give the landlord a certain sum of money. Now the man or the farmer to whom he had given (a deadline) on such-and-such a day or such-and-such a week had to have paid his money beforehand. So he used to go and see that foreman and say 'I have paid the money to the landlord. Today it is my turn.' (3) Then, from there they would open the sluice gate of the water. The water—perhaps it may be said that they brought the water more or less a kilometre by irrigation channel and brought it up to that place, to the vineyard that they wanted to irrigate or to the cultivated land that they wanted to irrigate. (4) Now, for this reason at times there were fights. You would see a farmer who has gone to bring water but he has argued with the foreman but now whose fault it was is not known. It seems the foreman has taken more money from another when he should have granted it (the water right) to so-and-so and he has given it for another (field). (5) So there were fights and so forth. This is a memory I have, maybe fifty years ago in the village of Zumallan I saw this and heard it.

### B14 Village Life (Jacob Petrus, Gulpashan, S)

(1) cùllə bətvátət màta,| ju-mavàtə,| cut-bèta| 'átvələ xá tanùyra,| tanùyra| kát ... zòda jávul lāxma ci-páyyi,| yán +küsàrta ci-bášli jàvo,| +küsàrta.| +küsàrta mattila,| +küsártət 'úpra,| b-úpra +küsaryátə 'átvələn.| mattívalun fú ... tanùyra.| +rába +tamàna,| basímə c-avívə xurrájət tanùyra.| (2) +xàrtal| é-+dana b-yúma tanùyra c-odívalə ķa-làxma pyèta,| 'íta +berašvánə-dəl ķat-'ärxə 'atíva| ju-dó bét tanùyra| mattívalun xá-dana mìz| 'átxa mátti +al-pàtət tanùyra,| yan-là,| xá-dana +'àdyal dári| násə 'aklatè p-čambällívalun ju-dó tanùyra,| cùllə šaxìnə.| xína lèva +lázəm buxàri tápi,| 'up-bétət tanùyra| +rába šaxìnə c-ávə| 'aklux=da ... ju-tanùyra| +rába basàmta c-oyáva,| 'íta b-yatviva 'adíyya| 'árxa tìyux=ilə,| b-yátu +támə,| b-yattíva haķíva| zamrival t-+axlíva b-śatíva,| +rába sodànta c-oyáva,| (3) +xárta tílun ... 'ánnə buxaríyya +plàtlun,| buxári 'et-ķesa,| ju-màtal buxaríyya 'et-ķesa c-ávi,| 'adíyya xína ķamta ... bárķa ju-maváy látva,| 'adíyya bárķa tìyvəla xína,| cùllə móndi 'áttən 'ína ķamta +rába sodántəva,| ķamta cùllə móndi ... EnàturalE-íva| cùllə móndi,| 'ína-xina 'adíyya kát ... +atmabéla zàdlun,| xásta téta zàdlun,| tanùyra| xina-látlan,| ju-mavày-da xáčča 'áttən,| (4) 'ánnə +lavášə-da ķat-'átxa c-ávi 'adíyya-xina léna výyə-xina b-tanùyra,| 'áttən 'et-tanùyra,| 'áni biš +tíməna,| lāxma 'átlan ... b-tanùyra ķat ci-zábni láxmət tanùyra,| +rába basíma c-ávə,| vá +tamàna c-ávə m-dó ķat bí ... +nùyṭal b-+jazùyl váguna,| 'ína 'ó=t tanùyra xá-móndi xína,| +rába +tamàna,| +rába basíma,|

(5) ju-matvátəl kát ... 'et-ķamta-xina tánən,| 'adíyya maváy-da max-mdítə výyəna 'adíyya,| 'ína ķamta fuydàna| b-čarpíčət 'úprəva,| čarpíčə là bšílə,| čarpíčə p̄t-odívalun,| ķam-šámša bət-barzıva,| 'áni fuyda bət-baníva mənné,| fuyda 'átxa bət-baníva,| (6) +ullúylu-da ķesa p̄t-ávə| ķesa maxíva,| darıva,| láxxa-da 'ánnə ķesəna,| 'ína ķesət díyyan flùləna,| 'átxa ķesa,| 'ilána ķat-pràmunəl ķesəl c-odílun 'átxa,| ci-darılun,| 'íta +al-dàni pardúvvə ci-dári +allé,| pardúvvə ķesə názuc-inəl +al-dànnə ci-yátvı,| 'ánnə ķesə 'átxa 'ína,| 'ánnə +xlıməl 'átxa| +arallággət dànnəl 'átxa pardúvvə ci-dári kát ... +al-dáyya-da ... +tına,| 'ánnə ķesəna,| +xlımə ķesə,| 'átxa čüp| ķürba +al-+uydálə t-ávi-xina,| ķürba +al-+uydálə,| 'ásrı tláy +sántəm prıšə m-+uydáləl 'átxa cùllə p̄t-odílun,| 'íta +al-dànnə,| pardúvvə bət-màxi,| pardúvvə 'ína tàxtə 'átxa,| léna +xlımə-xina,| táxtə +názuc,| b-yátvi +al-dánnə 'átxa pardúvvə,| (7) 'íta +al-dàni ci-tàanax 'áxnanl b-lişān-díyyan +sùvvaḡ ci-táni,| +sùvvaḡ,| +tına,| +tına b-dokílə móndi ... tìyna,| tìyna mù-ilə?| +xəttəl +xáttə

### B14 Village Life (Jacob Petrus, Gulpashan, S)

(1) All the houses of the village, in the villages, every house had an oven, an oven in which they mostly baked bread, or they cooked in a pot, a pot. They put a pot (in the oven), a pot of clay, we had pots of clay. They would put them in the oven. The foods of the oven were very tasty. (2) Now, during the day they used the oven for baking bread, then in the evenings, when guests arrived, in that oven house they laid for them a table, they lay it thus on the top of the oven, or if not, they laid out a blanket and the people would dangle their legs in the oven, all (keeping) warm. There was no need to light a stove. So the oven house was very warm, with your feet in the oven, it was very pleasant. So, they would sit. If a guest has come to (visit) you, he sits there. They sit, tell stories, sing, eat and drink. It was very pleasant. (3) Then came, then the stoves came out, a stove for (burning) wood. In the village the stoves were for (burning) wood. Now, in the old days there was no electricity in the villages. Now electricity has come. There is everything, but in the old days it was very pleasant, in the old days everything was natural, everything. But now that cars have increased (in number), travelling<sup>35</sup> has increased, we do not have ovens. But in the villages there are a few. (4) The flat breads that we have nowadays have not been made in an oven. We have (also those) that are made in the oven. They are more expensive. We have bread made in the oven, which they sell, oven bread. It is very delicious, and it is more tasty than the one they make with oil or diesel fuel. But the one of the oven is something different, very tasty, very delicious.

(5) In the villages—I'll talk about (the villages) of the old days. Now the villages have become like the town. But in the old days the walls were of clay bricks, unbaked bricks. They would make bricks and they would dry in the sun. They would build walls from them. They would build a wall like that. (6) Above it there was wood, they put wood. Here they are wood, but our wooden beams were round, wood like this. When they cut the tree, they make the wooden beams like this. Then on these they put laths. Laths are thin strips of wood. They sit on the (beams). The beams, the thick beams, between these they put laths, and on that mud. These are wooden beams, thick wooden beams. Like this, thud, they are (put) near to each other, near to each other, twenty or thirty centimetres apart from each other, they make them all like this. So on these they laid laths, laths, planks like this that are not thick, thin planks. The laths sit on those (beams). (7) Then on these—we say in our language ‘mortar,’ ‘mortar,’ this is mud, they bind the mud with straw. What is straw? Wheat, when they make

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35 Literally: going and coming.

'e-+dān-vadēna,| tammuzēna| 'o-cuylašé ƙat-pyāšələ.| 'ánnə +xəttə,| javé +xəttəna| 'an-xinəl cùylaš vâyələ,| kát ƙa-ƙənyàna-da ci-yávvi c-+axlīlə 'áni.| max-ʃəlla c-áva ƙa-sàtva.| (8) 'íta +'ávun| ci-+xoṭilə máx Econcrète E-ṭ-ávəl 'o-túyna c-áva ci-+xávət ju-+ṭina.| xína| 'o-+ṭina 'e-+dān-brázələ,| jári lè pákka.| 'o-ṭúyna ... +bəxváṭəl ju-+ṭina,| +'ávun vâyələ Fbéton armē<sup>F</sup> xína lè pákka.| (9) 'íta +al-járə +'ávun darilə,| vília 'a-járə xína míyya-da lè-'azi.| 'ína 'adíyya xína +al-dán jaravày=dal 'adíyya EcèmèntE vâdonal vâ EinsulàtionE vâdona 'átxa 'adíyya.| 'áxnan 'átxalan báxča ju-màta,| +čolan,| 'ax-béta ... ju-càrma.| +čolan 'átxava.| cíllə fuydánə b-čarpíčət 'úprəval va-járə=da 'átxava,| kèsəl vâ 'íta ... b-+ṭina +'ullüylu.| 'átxava.

(10) [GK: ju-+Tyarə 'átxa xá-mändi ƙat-mapləxxíva +al-jaravàtə,| ci-+karíla mandürta. 'átxa mändi ju-'Urmi?] hé dùz-iləl 'áttən +al-jaraváy +'áv ci-mattilə.| xá-xa-ja ƙat-járəl míyya bitáyəna bədləpəna,| c-àti,| məlxə ci-dári +al-járə,| məlxə barùzta-xína,| ci-barbəzzı +àllu.| 'íta mändi max-dáyən ci-+maxdárri +al-járə,| ci-+taptəppálə.| +taptəppálə-xína,| míyya lè-'ati 'áltəx.| 'átxa vâyəla,| cípa jílula.| məlxə darívəl 'íta b-dà cípa,| +yaķıyra cípa| +maxdərríva +al-járə,| kát ... là-daləp járə.| kíuya vâyəla.| (11) 'ádi 'áyən ju-mdita-da 'áttən.| 'ánnə xácmə batvátə kát ... 'et-kámta 'ánnə bətvátə pišəna,| har-'átxa nášə c-odilən 'adíyya.| 'íta nášə ƙat-+cásab-inə,| lətlun.| bətvaté ... 'árzan bətvátəna.| 'átxa c-ódi xá-xa-ja.| (12) ju-bətvátət màtal tyávtət béta prəštəla.| +rába +júrta dárta c-avílun batvátət màta.| xa-jíba c-avíla| +àmbar c-avíla.| bétət tanùyra c-avíla.| bét ... başalta c-avíla.| Ptwalé t mwalé<sup>P</sup> lè-'oya javáy,| +al-vàddar c-óya.| ƙa-bétət ƙənyàna 'átlun másalan pàja.| pàja c-avílun.| bétəl clítəla müffur béta 'ávə.| bétəl 'áxnan 'átxalan bëta,| 'et-bétət bábi 'ána bətxárən ju-màta,| 'á-yba bétələ,| 'ína bétət ƙənyána +al-dó-jiba xìnət bétəva.| (13) müla 'átxalan| ƙat-'áni yònja 'átxalə ka-ƙənyàna +shúla.| +támə ṭ-odíva| bétə priša| +al-dà-yba| +al-dò-yba.| 'ína bétət nanúnti,| nanúnti +al-dò-jibəva.| 'áy bətxárən bétə.| +'ullüylu tyávtəval xítu 'íva pàja.| xítu pàjəva.| 'íta bétə šaxína c-avíva,| pàja čúncət ƙənyána 'áltəx šaxínə c-ávi.| +ullul=da ƙat-bétələ| šaxínə c-avíva +ávun.| 'ína priša,| +rába şapíra bétəva.| 'é-+dān pàja| 'úrxu| ƙənyána ṭ-áativa 'u-ṭ-+oríva mən-+támma| ju-dárta +palṭíva p̄ṭ-azíva këdamta,| 'ína +'ullüylu| +rába şapíra bétəva.

wheat, (when they) clean it, it is their straw husks that remain. In this wheat are wheat grains, the rest is straw, which they give to the cattle and they eat it. It is like grass for the winter. (8) So, they mix it, it is like concrete, this straw is mixed with mud. Now, when the mud dries, it should not crack. It becomes (like) reinforced concrete, it does not crack. (9) So, they put it on the roof and water does not flow through the roof. But now they put cement on the roofs and they put insulation now. We had a kitchen garden in the village, our booth, like a house in the vineyard. Our booth was like that. All the walls were of mud bricks and its roof was like that, logs of wood, and its top of mud, like that.

(10) [GK: In Tyare there was something that they used on the roofs, which they call *mandurta*. Was there such a thing in Urmi?] Yes, that is right. There are some people who put that on the roof. Sometimes when water leaks through the roof they come and put salt on the roof, they scatter dry salt on it. Then they roll something like that on the roof and it compresses it. It compresses it and the water does not flow down. It is like that, a round stone. They scatter salt, then with this stone, heavy stone, they roll on the roof, so the roof does not leak. It is hard. (11) Now this is also found in the town. Some old houses that have remained, people do the same thing now. Well, people who are poor do not have it. Their houses are cheap houses. They sometimes do so. (12) In the houses of the village the living in the house is different. The houses of the village have a very big courtyard. On one side there, it has a storeroom. It has an oven house. It has a cooking house. Toilets and the like are not inside, it is outside. For the house of the cattle they have, for example, a stable. They have a stable. As for the house, it depends what kind of house it is. The house, we had a house, of the family of my father in the village, I remember on this side was the house but the house of the cattle was on the other side of the house. (13) We had a barn, which had clover for the cattle and the like. There they would make a different house on one side and on the other side. The house of my grandmother, my grandmother was on that side. I remember her house. Above was the living area and underneath it was the stable. Underneath it was the stable. So the house was warm, because the cattle below in the stable were warm. Above, which was the house, was warm. But it was different. It was a very beautiful house. When the cattle would come and go on the path from the stable from there, they would go out into the courtyard and go off in the morning, but above it was a very beautiful house.

## B15 Village Life (Nadia Aloverdova, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) +aturáyat diyyan! kámta kát bəxxàyəva láxxal 'átvalan +bùkra! xamúvva tavəryáy 'ərbìyyəl móriša básshəva +bùkral +bérāš bitàyəva. tavəryáta +bəxlavèva. b-de-+xálval bədráyəva ka-janél júpta. júpta-dal +rába sámo bəsháko ka-sátval kát +dán=t sátva móndi +xálva lèl váya, b-dé júpta p-ùrxa básshəna. sávi júptat mòlxal 'átlan júpta +tumörta. (2) mür 'á mújjur +tarúsox júpta? tavárta +bəxlàvot. šaxánta šaxànta, bədráyət jávo RpèpsinR. +máya ci-tanáxvala, +máya. kámta +máya +tarúsuvəl b-+máyat 'ərbita. b-dáyya +máya +tarúsava. b-dé marrúvvəxva ... júpta jav-júpta adíyya bədráyəx RpèpsinR ju-šaxánta šaxánta +xálva bədráyəx RpèpsinR. váyəla ritəl dák +çárra hənnal +al-másta bədmáyəla. (3) +bəktàyot! kat-míyyo +pàlti. b-+masipána +masyupèx, +bəxlásəx, míyya +plátəna. +xárta bədráyəx +allé mòlxal kat-kavini. mən-+bár dàyən! bədvákəx míyya mòlxal míyya málxa bədvákəx b-bítal bítət ctéta. jár xáda 'oyáni kát bítal máx çáppəç! útxa mabyənnáni +al-pàtal kát lá +sòr 'oyáni lá-da pàxta 'oyáni júpta kat-lá xárva. ý mumláxta júpta bədráyəx ju-míyya mòlxal. áńja +báyyax 'áxnan! ka-sátval xamàxxa, +tumörta júpta. (4) áxnan b-+xálva başúlx jájoc. +xálva +marduxux, +dàvvə +mardúxət. +xálva-dal +bəktàyəla. málxa bədráyət javə. én +dàvvə, tanax +dàvvə +bəktàyəna. áni-da +masyupèx! áni váyəna dákə. +bəxvaṭéx mən-júpta. þatþútox júpta mən-dá jájoc +bəxvàtox. mən-+turána mávəx ... +sàtra. +kéta jabúvvox yá +sàtra mabrúzox. brózta +sátra +bəxvátox ju-jájoc! ju-júpta. +bəxlásovax cílla jú կupšita. (5) կupšonta bí ... +tina c-odila, makkùdona. býyo +tamúrona tanáxən. ayyá cílla +bəxláso ju-da-kupšanta, +al-páto mattúvvat júlla +xvàral +bázza +bazzəl márəx +márla. kámta baxtáyət díyyan brişè ci-+seríva. kəkkàsta c-odíva, +márla RbintR xínal kat-ídé bəsyarèna. məndó +kàtjal +árpa tákə vàdət mattúvvot +al-júpta. +ávva mattúvvəna +ámra lá məsya. kat-sáxtu là-azəlni! ý júlla xamùvvula. (6) mən-+bár dày! b-xajúlla xítə +bəsyarət. +maxdúrot +al-púmmo. ju-xá dúca bədráyət +kùtma. +kùtma-da! késə kát makkudét, o-+kùtma bədráyət xá-dana կùxa. yá կupšonta +maxdúrot ju-+kùtma! kát míyyo cílla +sépi. +ámra míyya bəfrášəla. én míyya cílla 'átxa mən-ju-júpta bəfrášəl básshəna ju-+kùtma. xáda maccúsot կupšonta páljo jár 'oyáni b-+kùtma mcəstal kát +háva là-+avərni. sátvə bəptaxot. én +ámra +šúla +palučet. júpta +tumörta +rába basəmta b-dàyən +jamáhat p-ùrxa básshəla. (7) pyáyəna +lavásə. láxmat díyyan +lavásəl. jutaniyra ci-payyàxxə. +róba janáy léna +myása lavásə pàyyini. jərdéyə c-odíva. +hálam sávi mən-jərdéyəl 'átvalan bí +màšə c-odívalun! mü-inə mára? +jälləl pyáyəva +jälləl. javé bədráyəva +bùsləl +mášə smùkə. +al-taniyra

**B15      Village Life (Nadia Aloverdova, Guylasar, Armenia)**

(1) Our Assyrians who were living here before, we had cattle, they kept cattle and sheep. In the morning the herd went out and came back in the evening. They milked the cows. With this milk they produced cheese for themselves. They leave a large proportion of the cheese for winter, because in the time of winter there is nothing to eat, they make do with the cheese. Apart from salted cheese we have buried cheese. (2) Say 'How do we make this cheese?' You milk the cow, while (the milk is) warm you put pepsin into it. We call it rennet, rennet. In the old days they used to make rennet with the intestine of a sheep. They made rennet with that. We used to set cheese with that. Now we put pepsin in cheese, in very warm milk we put pepsin. It sets, like butter, it resembles yoghurt. (3) You separate it so that its water comes out. We strain it with a strainer. We squeeze it and the water comes out. Then we put salt on it, so it becomes hard. After that we take salt water, we take salt water with an egg, the egg of a chicken. It must be thus, so that the egg appears on the surface like a kopeck, so that it is not over-salted nor insipid, so that the cheese does not go bad. We put the salted cheese in salt water. If we want to keep it for the winter (we made) buried cheese. (4) With milk we cooked jajəc. We boil the milk. You boil yoghurt buttermilk. The milk curdles. You put salt in it. The buttermilk, let's say the buttermilk curdles. We strain it and it becomes fine. We mix it with cheese. We break up the cheese and mix it with this jajəc. We bring thyme from the mountains. We gather this thyme in the summer and dry it. We mix the dry thyme in the jajəc, in the cheese. We squeeze it all into a pot. (5) They make the pot with clay and fire it. They bury it (the cheese) in it, we say. Squeezing it all in this pot, you put a white cloth on its top containing holes, we say gauze. In the old days our women used to tie it on their head. They used to make it into a headscarf, gauze, a bandage with which they bind their hands. From that piece you make four folds and put it on the cheese. (On this) they put unwashed wool. The cloth prevents dirt from going in. (6) After that, you tie it with another cloth. You turn it upside down. You put ash in a certain place. The ash, when you burn wood, you put the ash in a pile. You invert the pot in the ash so that all its water drains. The wool draws the water. It draws all the water in this way from the cheese and it goes into the ash. You cover the pot thus so that half of it is covered in the ash so that air does not enter. In winter you open it. You take off the wool and so forth. Buried cheese, very tasty—with this the community subsists. (7) They bake flat bread. Our bread is flat bread. We bake it in the oven. Many people are not able to bake flat bread. They used to make loaves. Still other than loaves we used to have what they made with beans. What do they call them? *+jalla*. They bake *+jalla*. In these they put onions, red beans. They put them on the

*ci-maxivalun.* +róba basiməva. ádi átxajílət díyyan cíllə munšiyèna. nanúntət díyyi c-odáva harisa! ju-kupšənta. ci-mattávala ju-núyra, ju-tanùyra! bí nýyra ci-macsàvala. (8) kúpšánta átvala átxa kərrəškəl maccùsoval bí tñal bëšyàpova! kát míyyo +radxìval lá tapxìva. xér! bæxzayat! harisa b-ctèta vágduna! bí pòrda vágduna. pòrda nàyal +bætràpuna! o-kálpu +palùtuna. +xàttə! +xàttə mxáyəna! kalpé +plátələl vágela pòrda nàya. lèx bašúla! bašúla +ávun pòrdələ. +ámman ó nàya, bædráya ju-kupšənta mən-+búsrt ctèta, +katkútət bædráya jàvo. míyya bædráyat! púmmo maccùsus! mattúvvot ju-tanùyra. bšálələl vágela átxa +kàša. átxa kùya vágela xína. átxa bëškálət b-čamča, bëškálot átxa! +bæryáxəla. ka-dáyya márəna harisa. +rába basàmtəla. (9) +xárta! mádrə ju-kupšənta bašúləxva! +másə smùkəl bædráyəxva míyya b-rišé. máni-t átvala jòzə, jòzə +mráxəva bædráyəva jàvo. xá tíca-da mëšxa, mádrə páto maccùsova b-+tìna, bëšyàpova, mattúvva ju-núyra. bí nýyra maccùsona. hár +bærdàxəla! hánna ptàxəla xína! +bæddáyəxva kát bšiləva. +palužèxva, mšayèxva palužèxva man-jávo. (10) +xárta vágəxva +gabàma. +kárra bëškáləx! jávu tammùzux. mláyəna jávu +rèzza, diysha, ányət +byáyəna bí +xlita 'odní, cæsmùšəl mat-túvvəna jàvo. púmmo maccùsuna! mádrə bí nýyra maccùsona. bšálələl cíllə bæfrásəla jàvo vágela púllu. (11) áttən púllu har-átxa +bixálona bí mëšxa! áttən +xálva bædráyəna b-rišo, +bixáləna. é +kárra kát pràmona! sámə sàməla. +al-de-sáma pálja vágela +rèzzal +bixálət, +róba basàmtəla. ka-dáyya márəx +gabàma. lén +bæddá 'adíyya 'axtóxun vágədatun! lètun vágəl lén +bæddá. xína júrrə məndiyànəl tanáxən +dòlmət +tárpa vágəx! 'et-+ànvə, +tárpat +ànvə. +tárpat +ànvəl carmúxəx +dòlma! calàmə=da 'ítən! +tárpa=da 'ítən. ju-+tárpa šabbət bædráyəna! +ámma ju-caláma cíllə +kazánča=da ci-+xočilun! én jøllələl júrrə júrrə jøllələl bædráyəna. +ámman ju-dáyya xá šabbət bædráyəna mən-+tòləl mändi xína lèna bædráya!

## B16 The Assyrians of Armenia (Nadia Aloverdova, Guylasar, Armenia)

(1) napárət málac Tùma! mən-+Irən! mən-máta Yanjájja! šít 'álpo tmanyàmmo! 'ésri tmànya! bərrákəna mən-+hošarùytal +tmanəssár bátəl +várəna! ju 'úprət 'Armànəs-+tan. bəsyákəna ju-+tuyràna! máróna jöł, jöł 'Asòr. +táma kát! tré šónna pyàšəna! jašúkəna ju-dá mëša, +róba dæbbàba, dívə, +tálə! +súlə vágəna. har! ánnə tavəryatəl +súləl +bixalèna. (2) mára 'áxnan lípəx! díz ducta xéta. ju-+tuyràna lèx xíyyə. ánnə mešaváy kálé bitàyal lèx +myásá damxàxən. 'ànnə!

oven. They were very tasty. Now our young people have forgotten all these. My grandmother used to make *harisa* (meat with crushed boiled wheat) in a pot. She put it in the fire, in the oven. She used to cover it with fire. (8) The pot had a lid like this, which covered it. They smeared it with mud so that the water, when it boiled, would not spill. Well, you see they make *harisa* with chicken and they make it with grain, with husks. They pound the raw grain and they take off its husk. Wheat, they beat wheat, its skin comes off and it becomes raw grain. We do not cook it, what we cook is the grain, but as for the raw grain, you put in some chicken meat, you chop it up and put it in it. You put in water, you cover its mouth and put it in the oven. It cooks and it becomes like porridge. It becomes thick like that. You take it in a spoon; when you take it, it stretches out like this. They call this *harisa*. It is very tasty. (9) Again in the pot we used to cook red beans. As for red beans, we used to put water on them. Whoever had walnuts would crush walnuts and put them in it. A little oil, again they cover its top with soil and smear it, then put it on the fire. They cover it with fire. As soon as it boils, the thing opens and we know that it is cooked, we took them out, we scraped them out of it (the pot). (10) Then we made *+gabama*. We take a pumpkin and we clear out its inside. They fill it with rice, honey, if they want to make it with something sweet, they put raisins in it. They cover its top and again cover it (and put it) on the fire. It cooks. It draws everything inside it and becomes pulp. (11) There are some who eat the pulp with oil, there are some who put milk on it and eat it. When they cut the pumpkin, and it is in layers, in the middle part there is rice, you eat it, it is very tasty. We call this *+gabama*. I do not know whether you now do it or do not do it, I do not know. Well, various things, let us say we make *dolma* of vine leaves, vine leaves. We roll vine leaves into a *dolma*, there are also cabbage (leaves) as well as vine leaves. They put dill in the vine leaves, but in cabbage *dolma* they mix all the herbs into the pot, they put in various types of herbs. But in that one (*dolma* of vine leaves) they put a sprig of dill together with coriander, they do not put in anything else.

#### B16      The Assyrians of Armenia (Nadia Aloverdova, Guylasar, Armenia)

- (1) The family of Malik Tuma flees from Iran, from the village of Yanjöjja, in the year 1828 from the Afshar dynasty. Eighteen families enter the territory of Armenia. They go up into the mountains (to a place) they call 'pool,' 'the pool of Ashur.' There, where they stay for two years, they look in the forest (and see that) there are many bears, wolves, foxes, and so forth. They are constantly eating their cows and so forth. (2) They said 'We are used to living in a flat place. We have not lived in the mountains. Sounds come from these forests and we cannot

dəbbəbərə,| +šūlə,| 'aryə 'áttən.| cúllə +'állan pisùyta vátəna.| kékmax +sálax +'ùltux.| 'ázax.| +mğilan +al-+átrət díyyan| péšax +támə.| lá,| xázzax mú vátəx.| (3) mən-+támə +bəddárəna +tmanəssár bátə.| bitáyəna +mğáyəna cès| šákital| +'Ázad.| láxxa šákita 'ítən| šámmo +'Azàd-ləl| +'Azád +'Avàn márəna.| ArmuréməsArm| 'əştá yàrxəl malàjyəl kàl| +urusnà| +támə xùmyəna.| koşúnat +urusnáy vítəla ju-+'íran| bába sávət díyyan káte jùškəna.| (4) +xàrtəl kátl +díyyəna| kát bába sávət díyyan +bəddárəna bóšsəna +'íran,| +kéryèna| mırəna témun láxxal xá dána mática 'ítən,| púšun xímən.| 'ánya xošóxun t-àtya,| peşitun.| bába sávət-díyyan bátyávəna susavayèl bitáyəna láxxa +mğáyəna.| (5) láxxa vátəla xá dána +kálla.| kámta +hošárə mən-'arəmnáy ci-+pálšival 'ítar +kálla +túrsəva.| dəpnátat +kálla bitáyəna,| jašúkəna dúz dütəla,| míyya basıma| pyášəna láxxa.| mára láxxa jóns-ila.| dápnot +kálla +hošárə láxxa vátəla jör,| jórət +hošárə láxxa-da fu-dá Rtséntr-R-ət díyyan,| 'íçət 'adíyyal 'ánnə RmagazínR +šùlə 'ítən,| lə?| +támə výyəna jörət +hošárə.| (6) bat-+kúraváyəna,| 'áxnan márəx jör.| +támma 'áni lénə +mummáddə.| 'áxnan bat-+kúraváyə märəx| məlláttat díyyan +mammùdəna| +crəsyàñəvax.| +'ámmən +hošárüyta léla +mammáddə máx dē-t-díyyan| 'áy ka-dáni márəna jör| bat-kúraváy lénə mára.| (7) 'ánnəl +aturáya kát bitáyəna láxxa| dápnot +kálla bətváy +tarúsəna.| níxa níxal +'úmra +tarúsəna.| mənné vátəna müyyəl +'úmral +Már +Kuryákus.| +Már +Kuryákus vílə jánu +arþá šánnəl bábu +kétiluna| kát hammanüyta výyələl ju-+jamàhat| tanùvva xína| ka-bábu +kétiləna| ka-báxtu mırəna| 'ánya 'át-da b-úrxət +jórax t-azàtən,| brúnux kám +'áynax +kátláxxə.| +Olıta vítəla| yámmət +Már +Kuryákus.| (8) +Már +Kuryákus mırələl yámmi| c-óya 'átən tarcáttá yá 'úrxa,| +'ámmən 'én bábət-díyyi yá 'úrxa dvíkolə,| 'ána +bəddàyən| bábət díyyil honána náša výyələl 'úrxa dúz dvíkolə,| 'ána pít-ázən bí 'úrxət bábi.| bəškáləna ka-yála súral xarbúsuna m-+al-pallacàna.| candúrə candúrələ bitáyələl bənpálələ ríšu +bəçlápułə.| yómμu bitáyəla māra| 'ánya +arþá šánnə yála súrlı +purmíyyələ xáyyə mü-inəl| 'ána müyyəl +déran +barayı mən-hammanüyta.| ka-dáy-da +állu +bəktáləna.| (9) 'adíyya 'áxnan yúmat +Már +Kuryákus| móñ brétət yómμu,| móñ yómμa bretə výyələl bíl 'íyyul| 'óri tmànya b-yárxa,| 'áxnan ó yúma cút +dána vátəx 'áryal +šára| yá +Már +Kuryákus-ləl yá +'úmra.| bába sávət díyyan mənné müyyuna| láxxa xá dána súral +'úmra +túrsəna.| šxúmtu muyyàlan,| láxxa +túrásłan.| yá yáccə vátəlan.| +'ávun súrəva| müyyona láxxal yáccə +'úmra +túrásłan.| +'áv-da 'ítən,| ka-+dáv-da jašúkən 'adíyya.| (10) 'ítar láxxa pyàšəna.| m-áxxal +várələl šánnə šabàyl RvóbshemR šít álpo tmányámmo tlàyl taxmúnəna kát +'úmra jarvəssilə.| šít álpo tmányámmo 'arþil +tarúsuna yá +'úmra.| vátəx +nəstərnáyəl 'áxnan +aturáyəl móñ Yanjájja atyànə.| vátəx +nəstərnáyəl kát láxxa RúžəR +kánùnə bəxlápəna,| 'arəmnáy hammanüytət janè 'ótlun,| +'urusnáy hammanüytət janè 'ótlun,| kát bòšsəx| kabùloł RpravaslàvyaR móñ +'urusnà|

sleep. There are those bears and so forth, lions. All these are annoying us. Let's get up and go down (the mountain). Let's go. If we reach our country, we shall stay there. If not, let's see what we shall do.' (3) From there eighteen families return and arrive near to the stream of <sup>+</sup>Azād. There is a stream there, its name is <sup>+</sup>Azād, they say <sup>+</sup>Azād <sup>+</sup>Avān. Now, for six months the headmen looked after the Russians. The army of the Russians was in Iran and our forefathers looked after them. (4) Then, when they knew that our forefathers were returning and going to Iran, they called them and said 'Come here. There is a village (here), stay and live (in it). If you are happy, stay.' Our forefathers mount their horses and come and arrive here. (5) Here there is a fortress. Previously the Afshars used to fight with the Armenians, so they had built a fortress. They come to the environs of the fortress and see that it is a flat area, with good water, and they stay here. They say 'Here it is good.' Next to the fortress, the Afshars had a tomb, the tomb of the Afshars is here, in this centre of ours, where now there are the shops and so forth, no? There were the tombs of the Afshars. (6) They are tombs, we say 'tomb' (*fōr*). There they are not baptized. We say cemetery (for us), because our people are baptized, we are Christians. But the Afshar community does not baptize like that of ours, so for them they say 'grave' (*fōr*). They do not say 'cemetery.' (7) The Assyrians who come here, next to the fortress, build houses. Gradually they build a church. They had brought a church with them, St. Quryaqus. St. Quryaqus was himself four years old when they killed his father, because the faith had come into the community and he was preaching. They killed his father. They said to his wife 'If you go in the way of your husband, we shall kill your son before your eyes.' Julietta was the mother of St. Quryaqus. (8) St. Quryaqus said 'Mother, you may abandon this path, but if my father stuck to this path, I know that my father was a wise man and held to the right path. I shall go on the path of my father.' They take the child and throw him down from the stairs. He rolls and rolls, falls and splits his head open. His mother comes and says 'If my four year old child has understood what life is, how can I revert from faith?' They kill also her on top of him. (9) Now we on the day of St. Quryaqus, on which he was given birth by his mother, in Iyyul, the 28th of the month, we every time hold a festival on that day, it is the festival of this St. Quryaqus, this church. Our forefathers brought it with them and here made a small church. They brought its sanctuary stone and we built it here. We made it huge. It was small. They brought it here and we built a huge church. That exists, I am looking at it now. (10) Then they stay here, years and weeks pass, in short in the year 1830 they think about enlarging the church. In the year 1840 they build this church. We are Nestorians, we Assyrians coming from Yanjējja. We are Nestorians, when here the laws change, the Armenians have their own faith, the Russians have their own faith, with the result that we go and accept

‘áxnan vágəx <sup>R</sup>pravaslávni<sup>R</sup> mán +nəstərnáyə bəxlápəx +’al- <sup>R</sup>pravaslávni<sup>R</sup> hammananuytèni. | šít ’álpo tmanyámmol +tmáni xámša! ‘áxnan! +’aturáyat díyyan! kabúlona yá hammanuyta. | yá +’umra! mən-+nəstərnáyə bəxlápəla +’al- <sup>R</sup>pravaslávya<sup>R</sup> (n) +várəna +róba +dàna! vágəna +ròba! kásəl suráya. | Yəprəm vágəla. | ’Isó vágəla. | Mixáyəl vágəla. | kásə +Sàndu vágəla. | +róba ‘átxa kásə výyan-lə. | m-cul-prákta vágəla kásə Mixáyəl. | ka-dáha ArmàksorArm vádəna, | Sàbbər +şadúruna. | <sup>R</sup>représya<sup>R</sup> vágəla šít tláy +šávva. | ləxxa! suráyat díyyan! šít tláy +šávva! +róba! pənyélun. | +xár šít ’arþí xà! kát +dávi víla! +róba pnílun. | (12) mən-+bár dà! +róba ArmàksorArm vidélun. | dák tanàxən! <sup>R</sup>pallkónik<sup>R</sup>-at díyyan, | +rábi +Barkaraxán! bí Čín +ráma násə výyyəla. | dvíkuna. | mìrəna! ‘atən! ArmuréməsArm mən-Bárya m-+ùydala! +bíyyətun <sup>R</sup>perevarot<sup>R</sup> ‘odítun. | xá dána ‘arəmná honàna výyyəla! márrə yálə! xáyəla-álaha b-+şadrílx Sàbbər. | tá diylə dáfəl. | mára ‘ána müjja dáfələn? | tání ‘áxnan +jámyáxval bí suráyəl ka-díyyi +byáyəna málca mattíni ‘ázax +al-+’átrət díyyan. | ‘át b-dáyya parkitən. | ‘átxa-da vádəla! +Barkaraxán. | (13) mára ‘áxnan +jámyáxva +táməl xamzùməxval bí suráyat jànan, | +’aturáyəl ka-díyyi próšlun málca! mərrun! témun ‘ázax +dérex +al-’átrət díyyan! +táməl pít-òət málca. | yá násə ‘átxa prákəl +ság pyášəl. | bitáyəla bétəl yál-síru <sup>R</sup>úže<sup>R</sup> jürvəssəl +’ámma túrvənte šudənnəna. | hám brùnul hám bràtu. | +róba +janjúryá násəl ka-suráyat díyyan! pís lélé výyya, | cíllə máta-da kátu bətxárəla. | (14) bába sávət díyyan láxxa pòsle! xátxa xile. | +xárto Stálən <sup>R</sup>prikás<sup>R</sup> +pulátlə! šít-xámši trèl mərra! mán! ’icət bəxxáyəl! o-lišána jár +yatlılə. | ‘áxnan <sup>R</sup>úže<sup>R</sup> kát <sup>R</sup>pravaslávya<sup>R</sup> kùbloxva! ‘átxa=da lišánət +’urusnáyə láplan, | +Rùsyə, | +kréta ctávta lišánət +’urusnáyə. | madrásət suráyə dvərrə. | ptixálun lišánət +’urusnáyə. | láxxa dák pyášəxva ju-+Hayəstan! xá dárs vádəx ‘et-’arəmnáyəl ‘én xína lišánət +’urusnáyə. | cút xá +’aturáya +byáyəla lišán jànu! ‘adíyya. | ‘ànŷət! +’aturáyat díyyan lá-’avini kərzəala, | nüyna, | +fëra, | óini xá hùcma. | taxmánnini bí xá móndi! cút-xa básət jànu taxmúnəla. |

### B17 Village Life (Merab Badalov, Canda, Georgia)

(1) +tálta! surùytan! +tálaxva +badùšəva šámma ... | c-amráxlə +badùša. | +badùša muxróppa kèsələ. | tına c-odáxva +sùvvağ! yánət ó +badùša +tásva. | xá m-dēn-tíva mxáyu +mattüsul! ó xína yár manpəlva ka-+dávun. | ‘én munpəlvalux, | +bəkràmutva. | díyyux=va. | +xárta ‘é xítə mxayòxva. | +tlájanày! +’arþəl ci-+taláxva +badùšə. | ci-+kármaxva késə ka-pišə, | labláxva sátvə bétə. | yál-sùrəxva xína. |

orthodoxy from the Russians, we become orthodox and change our faith from (being) Nestorians to being orthodox. In the year 1885 our Assyrians accept this faith. This church is changed from (that of) the Nestorians to orthodoxy.

(11) Much time passes, there are many Assyrian priests. There is Ephrem, there is Iso, there is Mixayəl, there is Father Sandu. We had many such priests. The last of all is Father Mixayəl. They exile him and send him to Siberia. The repression takes place in the year thirty-seven. Here in the year thirty-seven they annihilated many of our Assyrians. Then in the year forty-one when there was the war, many were annihilated. (12) After that they exiled many. What should we say, they arrested our colonel, Rabi +Barkaraxān, who was a high-ranking person in China. They said 'You together with Bərya wanted to make a revolt.' There was an intelligent Armenian, the lad said 'As God lives, man, they will send you to Siberia. Come and tell lies.' He says 'How can I lie?' 'Say that we met with Assyrians and they want to make me king, so that we go to our country. You will be saved with this.' +Barkaraxān does this. (13) He says 'We had gathered there and were talking with our Assyrians, and the Assyrians selected me as king. They said "Come, let's go and return to our country. There you will be king." That man was saved in this way and survived. He comes home. His children have already grown up, but both of them, both his son and his daughter, have gone mad. That man suffers a lot and he has not been bad for our Assyrians, the whole village remembers him. (14) Our forefathers stayed here and live like this. In the end Stalin issued an order in the year fifty-two, saying 'Whosoever, wherever he lives, should know that language.' We, since we had accepted orthodoxy, we accordingly learnt the Russian language, (the language of) Russia, reading and writing in the Russian language. The school for Assyrians closed. They opened it as (the school for) the Russian language. Since we are staying here in Armenia, we do one lesson of Armenian, the others are in Russian. Every Assyrian wants his own language. Now, if our Assyrians were not a crab, fish, bird, they would be a government. They think of one thing, each thinks about himself.

### B17      Village Life (Merab Badalov, Canda, Georgia)

(1) As for a game, in our childhood we used to play what was called *+baduša*. We used to call it *+baduša*. *+Baduša* is a sharpened stick. We used to make mud into mortar so that the *+baduša* would stick in. One of those who were hitting it would stick it in, the other had to make it fall. If you made it fall, you won it. It was yours. Then we would hit another one. Three or four of us would play *+baduša*. We used to win sticks for keeps and take them home in the winter. We

(2) *ci-+ṭaláxva mádrə tásma.* *tásma ci-mattàxvalə* *átxa!* *ódaxva xá +yázan,*  
*+yázan.* *+ṭlá janáy javày=na!* *+ṭlá ju-+tarróna.* *járət é tásma móñ dé +yázan*  
*jannəvvàtta.* *’én fnívávalu xá tásma!* *+xárta b-dáyən mxàyət!* *marrùkət!* *jar-e-*  
*xíta jannəvváttta.* (3) *’á-spar’áyən-da bəjnàvot!* *+xárta e-d-ṭlá bəjnávot.* *’á-spar!*  
*’an-ṭ-ína javày!* *é tásma járət šaklila p-ídux!* *yánət +kármət!* *yá xá, jár +kármət!* *yá*  
*’o-xína.* *’én škilàvəle,* *’á-spar’áni +várəva ju-+yázan!* *’ánnə +plátəva ju-+tarrə!*

(4) *b-lelavày!* *’ána bətxárən c-azáxva láb savúni nanùnti!* *’áni c-avívale máccə,*  
*máccə +ròba c-avívale,* *+árrət beté ’íprəva,* *c-avívá dóryə +támə +kùxəl c-aváxva*  
*tívə máccə práxa,* *cíllə navéjət savùni!* *calàtu!* *c-aváxva tívə máccə práxa,* *məttə-*  
*lyày ci-hákìva* *’an-sàvə kátan!* *’áxnan c-aváxva máccə práxa,* *+al-+harè vádəxva*  
*xína.* (5) *sátva ci-payyíva +lavàšə!* *+ál tanùyra,* *hál átxa +dàna!* *cíllə yúma* *šíma*  
*ci-payyíva,* *ju-méša ci-xarzívalə,* *+’sra +’sra dàna!* *ci-labláxvale +ál mdita,*  
*yémmi ci-lablávale +al-mdítal* *ci-zabnàvale!* *yán zonáva móñ +xálta!* *hám-da*  
*ci-zonáva kámxa!* *mayyáva yánət +al-dó-yuma* *xína módrə payyíva,* *b-dàyya*  
*bəxxáyəxva!*

(6) [GK: ’átvə ’érxa?!] *’érxa ’átvalan láxxa,* *’érxa ’adíyya šópo pyàšələ!* *’ína*  
*jáno lèttən,* *+xáṭṭə máccə ci-labláxva ci-taxnàxva,* *hí ... ’áxnan R<sup>3</sup>úže<sup>R</sup>! jís*  
*bətxárəox* *e-’érxa xína,* *’erxáyyət mìyyəva!* *mən-+úllul bitáyəva šaklìya,* *’átvala*  
*šíva,* *šíva ’átvala lišān-díyyan,* *bí táxtə +túrsəva* *šíva,* *’áltəx ’átvə +tòpal* *’an-míyya*  
*bətpáxəva +al-de-+tòpa,* *’áyən partùləva,* *bí farúma +úllul ’átvala cipa,* *trè cípə!*  
*xá-dana!* *càlyələ!* *’ó=t +úllul partùləva!* *’án míyya maplùxuva.* (7) *R<sup>4</sup>R bədráyəva*  
*jávo +xáṭṭə ju-xá ... +av* *mú-iva* *šəmmu +ávva hánna?* *+túrsəva* *bí táxtə,* *’ícat*  
*ci-daráxvale* *’án +xáṭṭə!* *késa müttəva,* *’o-késəl* *’o-cípa* *kát* *’o-késə t-íva* *maplùxə!*  
*’ú hánna?* *+xáṭṭə bəjvájəva!* *yán tapxíva,* *bí xá +’árra* *járət tapxíva,* *ci-maclíval*  
*bí ... +al-+káydu cmá +lázəm-la,* *+róba* *’én ’áti!* *jarùsa* *váyəva kámxa.* (8) *’é-*  
*dān t-íva* *maclíyu* *’erxáčil* *bí +xòləva +ávun!* *vàdəva,* *partùluva,* *maclíyuva +al-*  
*šòpu,* *R<sup>4</sup>R +xárta jašúkuva* *kámxa p-ídu!* *’en-jís kámxa* *bitáyəva,* *jári* *šaxína-da*  
*lá-’ativa,* *jári jarùsa-da lá-’ativa,* *R<sup>4</sup>R bətxànūva!* *xá R<sup>4</sup>myešók<sup>R</sup> bədráyəva +úllul*  
*ju-dó tòxta!* *xá R<sup>4</sup>myešók<sup>R</sup> kámxa +bəsláyəva* *mən-cipa.* (9) *+xárta* *máyuva* *béta*  
*+bənxàluva,* *’ó jarùsa* *váduva +bùlču,* *+bùlču ci-+yáṭṭət mü-ila?* *+bùlču kámxa?*

were young children. (2) We also used to play 'belt.' We used to place the belt like this in order to make a circle, a circle. Three people are inside and three are outside. You must steal the belt from the circle. If you steal a belt, then you beat with this and drive (the others) away and you must steal another one. (3) Now you steal also that. Then you steal the third one. Now, those who are inside must take the belt from your hand in order to win, either one must win or the other. If they took it, then they go into the circle and the others go outside.

(4) At night, I remember, we used to go to the house of my grandfather and grandmother. They used to have maize. They had a lot of maize. The floor of their house was earth. They had laid there a pile and we used to sit hulling the maize. All of the grandchildren of my grandfather, his daughters-in-law, we used to sit hulling the maize. The old men used to tell us stories while we were hulling the maize. We were helping them. (5) In winter they baked flat breads on (the walls of) the oven. Until a time such as this they baked all day long. They laid them out in the wood, in tens, and we took them to the town. My mother took them to the town and sold them, or she used to buy some food, and also used to buy flour and bring it back so that they could bake again the next day. By this we lived.

(6) [GK: Was there a watermill?] We had a watermill here. The place of the watermill remains, but it itself is not there. We would take wheat and maize and grind them. Yes, we remember that watermill well. It was a mill (operated by) water. A stream came from above. It had a trough (for carrying water) (*śiva*). It had (what we call) a trough (*śiva*) in our language. The trough was made of planks. Underneath there was a wheel. The water would pour on the wheel and it would turn. On an axle on top it had a stone, two stones, one was stationary, the one on top turned. Water made it work. (7) They used to put wheat in it in a ... What was the name of that thing? It was made of planks, where we used to pour the wheat they placed a stick. That stick, that stone when the stick that it was operating, the thing of the wheat, was moving, or (the wheat) had to pour down as one.<sup>36</sup> They used to stop it according to its measure as much as was necessary. If a lot came, the flour was coarse. (8) When the miller stopped it, he would do this with a rope. He turned it and stopped it in its place. Then he checked the flour with his hand (to see) whether the flour was flowing well. It must not come out hot nor must it come out coarse. (As) he ground it, he poured out a sack above in the plank, and a sack of flour flowed down from the stone. (9) Then they would bring it home and sieve it. They would make the coarse flour into mash. Do you know what mash is? They used to make

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36 I.e. in a regulated way.

màccə=da| kámxa| +xàttə=da c-odíva +bùlču.| ó jarúsa| c-odívalə +bùlču.| bašlí-valə ju-míyya +bərdàxa|RÍR daríval mòšxa,| mòšxa| yá=da +xàlva.| ó dàyku| +ávun ci-payyíval lákxma.| ci-lešiva.| xmíra 'átvalan kámta.| 'adíyya RdròžžiR-na| 'adíyya RxīmiyaR vádəna jávu.| (10) kámta 'átvalan xmíra.| ó xmíra mán ... béta +al-béta ci-+ṭalbívalə:| hálla xmírax mònnti payyàna.| kúdmə mayyànnə.| xmíra,| lésha +xmísa| yánat ka-do-xína=da maxmíval lén-+bəddá lípət 'átən xmíra?| ci-lešival ci-macsívalə léša| yánat xamíva.| ṭ-íva bəxmàyal +xárta bədráyəva cùndəl pyáyəva +lavàšə,| fərdèyəl ju-tanùyra.| sàtval 'àyyəva pəlxánət ... búš baxtày ci-payyíval 'é-+danət 'úrzə látvale pəlxána,| hi?| 'é +dána baxtày ci-payyíva kámxa.| ci-lablàxva,| ci-zabnàxva,| ci-šaklàxva| +xálta ci-mayyíva ka-yāl-sùrə.

(11) [GK: dáxiva +xzàtta?] xzí +al-dá +xzáttə 'áxnan lèx +mátyə.| 'áxnan lèx +mátyə| šánnat díyyan xàččəna.| 'átxa| xəzyən| +šəmyən| yánat ci-+xazdīval c-odíva bùləl ci-mayyíva bëta.| 'átvale siýsal yá kənyàna| +bəsyárəva +jamás̥ta ju-dé hànna.| partúlova yánat 'án +xàttə +palṭívalə.| 'áyya 'áxnan lèx +mátyə.| +dórət díyyan lèva Rúžə.R| 'àni| +ávun xá +dóra xìnəva.| +ávun kám díyyar| babavátət díyyan,| sávuni hám=da bábi| ju-do-+dóra 'àniwa.| (12) +bùdra| 'áxnan 'al-+búdra lèx +mátyə.| 'áxnan mṭilan| 'átvə Rkolektiv|R|Rkolektiv|R| ... | ṭ-í +muràle| cùlla ... ci-+jammáva +táma ju-dé Rkolektiv|R| +'álma ci-mapləxxíval +xárta ci-yavvívələ,| mən-dó pəlxànu| ci-yavvívələ xácmə mešəjəl yánat sátva +mavərvala xína.|

(13) 'án=t 'átvale cármat +'ánvəl cármat +'ánvəl jáva jávu c-odíva +màšəl jaf-dán zulàlu.| 'úpra 'é-ja xàččəva| ka-+álma lèva yáva +'úpra +ròba.| 'upránat díyyan xàččəva.| hádax vàdəva| yánat +'ánvə=da 'avívale| +màš=da 'avívale| cmá ṭ-íva 'úpra mlàya.| búš c-odáxva +màš kámta.| c-odíva calàma,| +xyàra,| sàlka| ó móndi ṭ-íla ká sótva +lázəm| ka-janè.| +kurtòpa.| +kurtópə xú lišān-diyyan=la,| hi?|

(14) mən-jópta vádəxva +xámra.| jópta +'ánvəna.| +xámra müjjurra vaduxvà?| 'átvalan| čàraz +turástəva.| sávuni 'átvälə čàraz +turástəva.| 'áltəx múttəva tàxtə|

both the flour of wheat and also the flour of maize into mash. The coarse flour they made into mash. They cooked it in boiling water and they put oil in it, oil or milk. The fine flour they would bake into bread. They kneaded it. We used to have (natural) leaven. Now they put yeast or a chemical in it. (10) Formerly we used to have leaven. We used to ask for the leaven from house to house: 'Give your leaven (for me to take) with me for me to bake. I shall bring it back tomorrow.' Leaven, sour dough, so that it would leaven the other one. I do not know whether you have learnt (about) leaven? They would knead and cover the dough in order for it to leaven. When it leavened, they would then lay out balls of dough and bake flat breads, loaves, in the oven. In winter this was the work of ... mainly women would bake, when men did not have work, right? At that time the women would bake (with the) flour and we would take it and sell it. We would buy (things), and bring back food for the children.

(11) [GK: How was the harvest?] Look, we did not witness the harvest.<sup>37</sup> We did not witness it, since we are too young.<sup>38</sup> I have seen thus, I have heard that they used to harvest, they used make (the produce) into ears of wheat and bring them home. They had a horse or a head of cattle. They used to tie a buffalo to that thing. It would turn it in order to extract the wheat. We have not witnessed that. It was not (in) our time. That was a different age. It was before our (time), (in the time of) our fathers, my grandfather and also my father, it was in *their* time. (12) Threshing floor—we did not witness the threshing floor. (When) we arrived, there was a collective farm. When they introduced the collective, they all used to gather there in the collective, they gave work to the people, then they gave them, for their work, they gave them some bags (of produce) in order to pass the winter.

(13) Those who had a vineyard of grapes, vineyard of grapes, in various places within it they used to cultivate beans in its strips. Land at that time was scarce and they did not give much land to people. Our lands were few. They farmed so they would have grapes and would have beans, as much as the land would suffice. We used to cultivate mostly beans in the old days. They would cultivate cabbage, cucumbers, beetroot, what was necessary for winter, for themselves, potatoes.

(14) From the vine we would make wine. (On) a vine there are grapes. How did we make wine? We had a grape-press that was made (for the purpose). My grandfather had a grape-press that was made (for the purpose). Underneath he

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37 Literally: We did not arrive at the harvest.

38 Literally: Our years are few.

*mən-+íydalə ròkkə,| +bəzzàzə 'étvale zulálə.| 'án +ánvə ci-daráxvale +tàma| c-asķàxval 'áklan xupyày.| (15) yäl-súrə ci-masķivalan +tlá +arpájanày| c-aváxva +mràča.| RjR 'áltəx 'étvala| 'átxa| súra| +bòzza,| mən-+táma 'ó +xámra bitàyəva jú +kazànča.| bəškàluval bədráyuva ju-bòška| ju-+lina.| RiR +xárta +'ávun t-íva +bəxmàsa,| bəkváya 'alkkolət +xámru| 'á-spar púmmu +mačrùyuva.| mattùyəva xá cipa| +mačrùyuva bí jáj bí 'úpra zàrda,| RiR +tašúya ká sàtva.| +bár hàda.| +lina ptàxuval tammùzuval +palùtuval ka-štéta +xámra.*

(16) *ci-xamíval xzùyra ka-sàtva.| 'étvale kənyàna.| c-odíva kàlyा.| +'ávva kàlyा| 'o-dìyyan-ləl t-suràyəla,| +búsret kənyána +jùra,| tavərtə.| +'ávun ci-kàlivəla| ci-daríva 'állu màšxa.| ci-mattíval +'ávun=da ka-sàtva.| pyásələ +ròba +dána,| lélə bəxràva,| t-íla kùlyal ju-màšxa.| +'ávun c-avívalə +kərķòpəl c-avívalə ... sàtva ci-+moràxval níxa níxa mû.*

(17) *'áraķ,| 'áraķ vaduxva mán dó ... 'ó t-íva pyásá mən-+xámra,| 'ó piulluš.| mən-+dávun +palútəxva 'áraķ.| 'átlan +kazánčet 'áraķ.| adìyya-da| lèt muxzìiyú?| +kazánčet 'áraķ 'áttən| ka-'áraķ +paláṭta +kazànča 'áttən.| 'ó 'áraķ bədráyuna ju-bòška| pyásələ ká ... hál-t +rádxu càlə.| (18) 'é-+dān t-íla +bərdàxa| lè +pálət 'áraķ.| jári +rádxu càlə.| +bár clétat +rādxu bədráyuna ju-de-+kazànča.| 'átlə 'áyən cséta,| macùsona.| u-cséta 'átlə +bòzza.| hìl mən-dó +bózza mattùyuna ju-träbla| ju-xòda.| +táma mìyyəna.| 'á hálma t-íla +bərdàxa| 'ó hálma bərrášsələ ju-dó +träbla| ju-míyya bəkkàšələ 'ó hálma.| hívàyələ +naťupyày.| hí mən-dó +träbla +bəsláyəna +naťupyày| jú +bòṭul.| +tašuyévax xína ká +xartè.*

(19) *+méta ci-+mayyávala báxta.| kámta +xálva +mardùxuva.| bədráyəva +xàmsa xá čámcəl màsta jávu.| pyásəva ka-dó móriša xína| 'ú +bèrašəl t-íva pyásá ka-móriša vâyəva màsta.| 'é másta bədráyova ju-+mèta.| púmmo +bəsyárova bìl ... púmmat dé +méta +bəsyàruva|RjR xúto mattùyəva muttácca| muttácca jùltəla| 'átxa +yarəxta.| xít +mèta,| xít ciso mattùyuya.| (20) 'é +méta 'átxa labúlo màyova,| +marúmo maccúpova| hál-t ... hál-t 'atyàval 'é másta vâyəva +càrra.| 'o +càrra bəškàluva b-nòsu,| 'íta +'ávun pyásəva +dàvvə.| b-+dávvə ci-bašláxva bušàla.| bušála +šàmyət hí?| bušàla.| bušála c-odíla bí sòlka,| bí +tòlə,| càraz.| 'áyya hónnət suràyəla,| +xáltət suràyəla.| zóda hác-naša lélə +bəddáyo 'àyya.| 'á bušála hác-naša lélə bəddáyo.| (21) 'o +càrra-dal ci-mapşərríval,| c-odíval màšxa,| ci-mattíval ju-bancyày.| búš cíllə +hazərrúyta c-odívala ka-sàtva,| yánət sàtva càtun=va xéta.| 'áni járat šákliva ka-janèl ka-+xartè.| +méta 'átxəva.| +méta adìyya-da 'átlan 'áxnan pyásəla,| 'ína xína 'áxnan lèx maplúxo.*

had placed planks, distant from one another, holes which had strips. We placed the grapes there and we went up barefoot. (15) They used to take us children up, three or four people, and we would squash (the grapes). Underneath it had a small hole, from where the wine came into a pan. They would take it and put it in a barrel, into an earthen jar. Then, when it was becoming sour, and the alcohol of the wine is becoming strong, then they sealed its mouth. They put on a stone and sealed it with gypsum, with yellow earth, and stored it away for winter. After that they opened the jar, cleaned it and took out the wine for drinking.

(16) They used to keep a pig for winter. They had cattle. They made fried meat. This fried meat is ours, of the Assyrians, the meat of a large head of cattle, a cow. They fried it. They put oil on it. They put also this aside for winter. It keeps for a long time without going off, because it is fried in oil. It had (with it) potatoes, it had ... we passed the winter slowly.

(17) Arak, we used to make arak from what remained of the wine, the grape must. From this we used to extract arak. We had a pan for arak. We still have it. Have you not shown him? [addressing another man] There is a pan for arak. There is a pan for the production of arak. They put the arak in a barrel. It stays until its boiling stops. (18) When it is boiling, it does not produce arak. Its boiling must stop. After its boiling stops, they put it in the pan. This has a lid and they cover it. The lid has a hole. Yes, through this hole they put it into a pipe, into a trough. There is water. The steam that is boiling, the steam goes into the pipe. The steam cools in the water. Yes, it turns into drops. Yes, from the pipe drops flow down into a bottle. We store them (the bottles of arak) for their later use.

(19) The churn was churned by a woman. First they boil the milk. They put in a spoonful of sour starter, yoghurt, in it. It remains until the next morning, it remained from the evening until morning, it becomes yoghurt. They put the yoghurt in the churn. They tie its mouth with ... they tie the mouth of the churn and under it they put a bolster. A bolster is round, long like this. They placed it under the churn, under its stomach. (20) They push the churn back and forth, up and down, until it comes, the yoghurt becomes butter. They take off the butter by itself, then what remained was buttermilk. With buttermilk we used to cook stew. You have heard about stew? Stew. They make stew with beetroot, with coriander, celery. This is an Assyrian thing, it is an Assyrian dish. Nobody else knows it. Nobody else knows this stew. (21) They used to melt the butter, make it clarified butter and put it in jars. They made all possible preparation for the winter, because life in winter was difficult. They had to buy for themselves and for their future needs. The churn was like that. Even now we still have a churn, but we do not use it anymore.

(22) [GK: 'átlloxun tanùyra?] tanúyra 'átlan. | 'ána kúdmə jáni pyàyənva, | 'ána pyáyənva +lavàšə. | 'ávətva p̄t-ávətva xəzya hí? | kúdmə pili 'ána jáni, | 'ána báxta. | báxta +darrùnəval bí +doràna. | +doràna | 'átxa késa flùləla. | +dorànałə šómmu lišán=t suràya hí. | 'áttən tàxta. | +al-dé táxta mattúyəna cùndal bí +dorána +darrùnuna. | +xárta bədráyuna +ál +dranànè. | (23) maptiùyuna, | maptiùyuna. | 'átlan mázrak. | 'átxa mázrak 'átlan. | +al-dé mázrak šavùyut. | mázrak 'átlə xúto +bəzza. | 'átxa bədvákot hí bí dé mázrak! ó +laváša mxáyut ju-tanùyra. | ju-xá dakíka bšáləla, | bəsmàkəl, | +házər vayəla, | názuc! +lavášət suràya. | t-íx +lavášə pyàyal xá 'àsri, | tláy dànəl +xárta pyáyəna +bár lavàšəl jərdəyə, | jərdəta. | (24) jərdéta 'átlə mazrákət jáno! 'é=t jərdéta flùltəla, | súrətə mazrák-la | 'áni jərdéyə mxayéna jáv tanùyra. | macùsuna. | 'áni xáčča +róba járat bášli, | hál=t lá sámki. | RíR +xárta +paluňéva ká xá šábta, | kámta, | kámta ó +álma 'atíka ci-payyíva ká xá yárxa. | ci-daríva ci-mabrəzzıval. | RíR +xárta ci-mattıval yánət sátya cùl-yum lá payyíva. | (25) +xárta ci-+palğtva 'o-láxma brızal ci-nammənnıval, | jú rùšnuc nimána carməxxıval yánət racàxva. | hí mən+dávun c-+axlıva. | adíyya pyáyəna cút šábta xá-ja. | 'ána kúdmə pili kúdmə pili ka-xá ... ka-xá šábta mlàyani ka-cíllə 'ójax +bixàla. | +ávun basımələ. | 'á lágma zvínal +táma látla 'et-həc-məndi. | b-kèsə +bəşyárux tanùyra, | b-kèsə, | hí b-kèsə. | (26) tanùyra +túrsələ b-'úpra zàrda, | kúlyalə. | múttələ hádax yánət cálət maxàttə. | kámta tanùyran ju-+árrəva. | baxtáya ci-yatvíva +ál ... +ál +árra, | +ál júllal ita ci-maxıvala. | 'ína +xárta ó tanùyra mattúyuya +al-pàtal xáčča +ùllul yánət +al-áklux cálət pàyyət. | +al-ákłé clàyəna háda pyàyəna.

(27) [GK: 'átvə +xačtura?] hí kámta 'átvale +xačtura. | ci-mattıvale ci-xašlıvale júlləl bí dó kèsəl yán p̄-idè 'an-júllə +júrət dmàxal t-ína malàpə. | 'áni x-lá-+amsi, | p̄-idé lèva +myasa masívale. | 'átxa vadèva, | matruyèva mattuyéva b-+kúłma. | 'ána bətxárən b-+kúłma ci-masívale. | +kúłma ci-+yáttət? | ó +kúłma t-ílə ju-tanùyra | t-ína kèsəl b-da-+kúłma, | +bənxáləva, | b-dó +kúłmal kámta +sabun látva. | b-+kúłma júllə ci-masívale. | +xárta +várrə +sàbun mən-dó +sabúnət ... 'átxa | +fúra +sàbun! 'et-+urusnàyəl švákle +sàbun! xá júrra. | (28) 'á-spar plátle sàyna. | kámta sáynət kèsəval b-táxta +tarúsəva sàyna. | sáyna ci-yáttət mü-ila? jáv cù-məndi t-ína msáya. | +xárta +plátle 'et-prəzla-RužeR. | +bár dán=t késa RúžəR plátle 'et-prəzla. | ci-lešíva lèša-da! ju-sáynət kèsə 'átvalan! jòpnəva šámmu. | šámmu

(22) [GK: Do you have ovens?] We have an oven. I myself was baking yesterday, I was baking flat breads. If you had been (here), you would have seen, yes. Yesterday I myself baked, I and my wife. My wife was rolling with the rolling pin. A rolling pin is a round stick like this. Its name is *+dorana* in the Assyrian language, yes. There is a board. On the board they put a dough ball. They roll it with a rolling pin. Then they put it on their arms. (23) They spread it out, spread it out. We have a baking cushion. We have a baking cushion like this. You lay it on the baking cushion. The baking cushion has a hole under it. You hold it like this. Yes, with the baking cushion you put the flat bread in the oven. It bakes in one minute. It becomes brown and is ready, fine Assyrian flat bread. When we bake flat bread, (we bake) twenty or thirty of them, then, after flat breads, they bake loaves, a loaf. (24) A loaf has its own baking cushion. The one of a loaf is round. It is a small baking cushion. They put the loaves in the oven. They cover them. They must bake quite a lot, until they are brown. Then they take them out of it. For one week—formerly the old folk used to bake for one month. They laid them out to dry them. Then they put them aside, so that they would not have to bake every day in the winter. (25) Later they would take out the dried bread and moisten it. They rolled it in a damp towel so it would become soft. Yes, they used to eat some of that. Now they bake once every week. Yesterday I baked for one ... for it to be sufficient for us for one week, for all the family to eat. It is tasty. The bought bread does not have, has no taste of anything. We light the oven with wood, with wood, yes with wood. (26) An oven is made of yellow clay, which is fired. It is placed like this so that you can stand and put (bread) in it. Formerly our oven was in the ground. The women used to sit on the ground, on a cloth, then they put it (the bread) in it. But later they put the oven on the surface, slightly above, so that you could stand on your feet and bake. They stand on their feet and bake in this way.

(27) [GK: Was there a washing-beater?] Yes, formerly they had a washing-beater. They would put the clothes and pummel them with that stick, or with their hands, the big clothing of bedding, that is sheets. How can they? They could not wash them by hand. They did them like this. They wet them and covered them with ash. I remember that they washed them with ash. You know 'ash'? The ash that is in the oven—when there is wood, with that ash, they sieved it, with that ash. In the old days there was no soap. They used to wash clothes with ash. Later soap came, soap like this, big soap, of the Russians, they left soap, a certain type. (28) Then tubs came out. Formerly they were wooden tubs, tubs were made of planks. Do you know what a tub is? (They put) in it whatever they wash. Then iron ones came out. After the wooden ones, iron ones came out. They also kneaded dough in a wooden tub that we had, called a

jèpnələ| 'íca t-íva lésha bəlyàša,| lámxa lésha t-íva bəlyàšu| jápnət kèsəva,| šámmu jèpnəva.| 'adíyya mánələ,| 'adíyya mánələ| 'at-pràzla,| 'at-RalumìnR.| hì,| 'áyən jèpnəva šámmu.| 'at-lésha jàpna ci-+karívala.

(29) [GK: šákìyyày 'átvəloxun?] šákìyyày 'átvəlan?| hì.| xá šákìyya lāxxəva| ju-da-+alúla súra 'átxa,| dúla 'adíyya=da šákìyya vèla,| véla xa-šákìyya,| xá-xta xáčča l-ò-yba,| 'án šákìyyáy háda vídəva,| mən-+úllul c-atyáva šákítə +jùrtə,| +xárta +pallúyəva +ál +alulàn,| 'é-dān t-íva míyya +ròba,| mlàyəva,| 'é +dána xítə| bí nobàna,| údyu nóbət dìyyilə,| +xárta nóbət +dàvvələ,| mánilə nòbu| +ávun ci-mástíva,| šákìyya ci-šokáxvala ju-bàxčəl ju-bavày,| bavày c-odáxva,| hí báva,| (30) báva mù-ila?| báva ... hádax +tarúsoxva,| marzanáno +marúməxva 'úpra,| jávo +bəzräyət| +bùsla,| báva 'avíla marzanàns| yánət míyya t-ít-bəšvaké jávo| m-l-á-yba xína là tápxi,| 'é báva šàtya,| 'átxa cíllə c-aváxva vídə bí bavàyl báxča,| 'átxa bavátət +másəl bavátət +xyàrə,| bavátət +bùsla,| týymal cút-xa bávu b-nòšuva,| šámmət dáyən bávəl,| báva mújjurra tanànnuxl 'átxa vádoxva| +yarəxnèta| láxxa vádəxva tira,| tira,| tira lét +bədda 'átnən,| tira 'átxa t-ít 'úpra +marùmu| 'átxa hì?| hì,| 'átxa bí tíral bavày prášva m-+ùydalə,| 'átxa bí tirána bavày,| hì,| (31) hí ju-de-báva míyya bəšvakétvə t-íva bərrášsa +al-prákto +m̄tāya,| bədvàkotva| 'á-spar bəšvakétvə l-ó-yba xína| ju-dó ... báva xína bərráxshəva,| xá +tlá +arþá +saháttə c-aváxva maštíyo báxča,| cíllə ci-maštíyyàxvala,| 'á-spar míyya ci-šokáxvale,| c-azálva 'o-xina,| švàva,| xázman,| švávan| ci-maštíva,| 'an-t-íva-RužeR mən-+bár díyan ka-maštíya,| 'adíyya šákìyyáy lättnən,| pràkłe,| tlàxle,| háč-naša lélə vadè,| lätlan míyya,| 'adíyya maštíyax mən-kùnya,| m-kùnya maštíyax b-bérka,| mótor,| +násus,| cíllə bí RšlàngR maštíyəx,| [GK: mən-'ícəna bitáya míyyət štèta?] míyyət štèta kùnya 'átlan,| kùnya 'átlan,| hám=da 'ót mənné 'ótle miyya,| xú xzìlux,| t-ína bitáyal jú ... 'áni=da míyyət štètəna,| t-ína +bəzyè,| +pláṭəna janè,|

(32) (GK: dák-iva bətvátə ju-Cánda kàmta?) táza 'at-ína tìyyəl 'ána xácmə betanàna,| bətxarèn,| betanánət 'úprəva,| bí 'áləz +túrsəva,| càrpəč,| jané +tarú-səva bí 'úpra,| bí týyna,| týyna ci-+yàttət hì?| týyna,| jóllea barùyza| ci-+xoṭívalə bí do-+tína| c-odíva carpičə,| ci-mabrézzívale +al-yùma,| b-dáni bnáyəva bëta.

kneading trough. It was called a kneading trough, where they knead dough, bread dough that they kneaded. It was a trough of wood, it was called a kneading trough. Now it is a basin, it is a basin of iron, of aluminium. Yes, its name was kneading trough. (A basin) of dough was called a kneading trough.

(29) [GK: Did you have irrigation channels?] Did we have irrigation channels? Yes. There was a channel here in this small street like this. There is the channel. There is a channel. Another is a little over there. Those channels were made like that. A big channel used to come from high up, then it split into the streets. When the water was abundant, it was sufficient. Another time—by turns. Today it is my turn. Then it is his turn. Whoever's turn it is, he would irrigate. They used to release the channel into kitchen gardens and orchard basins. We made orchard basins (*bavay*), yes a basin (*bava*). (30) What is an orchard basin (*bava*)? We made a basin like this. Around it we would raise the earth. In it you would cultivate onions. A basin has sides, so that the water that you release into it does not spill from the other side, but the basin drinks it. In this way we used to make everything with basins, (in) a kitchen garden. There were basins of beans, basins of cucumbers, basins of onions, garlic, every basin by itself. The name of this is 'basin' (*bava*). Basin, what should I tell you? We used to make it like this, longish, and here we would make a basin-bank, basin-bank. You do not know what a basin-bank is. A basin-bank, like this when you raise the soil, like this, yes? Yes, in this way the basins are separated from one another. In this way the basins (are made) by banks, yes. (31) Yes, in that basin you would release the water, which would go and reach its end, and it would hold it. Then you would release it on the other side and it would flow into the other basin. We would irrigate the kitchen garden for three or four hours. We irrigated it all. Then we released the water, and another person would come, a neighbour, a relative, our neighbour, and would irrigate, those whose turn it was after us to irrigate. Now there are no irrigation channels. They have finished. They have collapsed. Nobody takes care of them. We have no water. Now we irrigate from a well. We irrigate from a well by electricity, a motor, pump, we irrigate everything with a hose. [GK: Where does drinking water come from?] Drinking water—we have a well. We have a well. There are also some who have water. You must have seen those (from) which (water) comes (taps), in these also there is drinking water, which have holes and flow by themselves.

(32) [GK: How were houses in Canda in the old days?] When they had just arrived, some of the houses, I remember them, were houses of mud. They were made of mud brick, brick. They themselves used to build with mud, with straw. You know what straw is, yes? Straw, dry grass, they mixed it with the mud and made bricks. They dried them in the sun. With these they used to build a house.

xá ... b-xá dàna,| +arþá fuydanànəl xá bëta.| c-odívalə ... +karávat +fúrtal kaarúllente m-+ùydalə damxíva,| båba,| yømma,| yålə,| ’ál déxa +karávatl damxíva cílla +tåma.|

(33) saccunyà c-odíva,| saccùnta,| sàccun,| ’áyən=da bnítəla| pátvo xá mótra| ka-dmàxa,| ka-dmàxa,| xína ̄=t kàmta,| é=jøt kàmta,| ’àna ... ju-dá +dórət díyan ’átxa lòtva ’ína,| bálma ci-daríva xuté,| bálma,| bálma,| ’íman +xáltə t-ílø pyåša| o-bálma,| o-jélla hí barùyza,| +al-+dàvun ci-damxíva,| ’áyya-Ruže<sup>R</sup>,| ’áyya +ròba kámtna hí,| (34) saccunyà,| sáccun mù-ila?| dápñat fúyda bnàyøna bí do-’ùpral yá bí dan-carpíçet ’ùpra bnàyøva xà mótra,| xáčxa +basúra| fúyda dápñat fúyda módra fúyda bnàyøva ’áxchí cùpa| ka-dmàxtət +állu,| ka-+xáltət +állu,| é=jøt tìle,| lòtva tàxta,| lòtvale hác móndi,| t-í ’et-táza +alméni tíle láxxa lòtvale hác móndi,| ju-fuybanànə ci-xayyíva,| fúyba| páljøt béta ju-’ùprøva,| pálju mücsøva bí ’ùpra ’átxa,| ’átxa,| fúyba,| Rzñàcet,| pálju ju-’ùpra,| pálju +al-pát-duca,| ’áltæx,| yánat šaxènta oyáva,| +karyà,| ci-mattíva kësø,| ci-daríva zíla,| zíla,| dárza b-zíla| ci-+yasriva dárza,| ci-daríva +állu ... ’ùpral yánat šaxína ’avíva,| ’átxa flùla váduval +xárta mən-dan-dárzət zíla ci-xarzíva +állu| yánat míya jávu là +salíva,| +salíva +al-màrza,| c-oyáva é-+dän t-íva +mútra xelánta bitáya,| bødlàpøva,| bøtràyøva,| (36) [GK: fáro?] hí jaravày-da ’òtva,| fára ’ú-Ruže<sup>R</sup> fáro dùz-ilø,| +ávun dùz-ilø,| [GK: ’òtva dalùpø?] dalúpa vàyøva hí yánat t-lá-’avíva mən-+’ulll ... fandørríva ’állu móndi,| [GK: ci-jarpívalə tálja?] tálja ci-jarpíval hí,| tálja c-àva,| jarpívala,| +mútra x-là-+amsi jarpívala,| +mútra t-íva bitáya xelánta,| lè-+amsi jarpívala,| é-+dana c-atíva dalupyày,| (37) tálja c-asķíva,| canšívala,| tammezzívala,| bøcnášøva m-+ál fáro| yánat lá +salyàva,| ’àna tré betanànə pyášøva ju-suriyítət diyyi| ’ána xøzyèn ’áni,| [GK: b-mú bøcnášøva?] b-mù bøcnášøvá?| bí canùšta,| canúšta ci-+tarsíva bí ... ’òttən fólla +támma ’icøna bat-+kuravày,| fólløt canùšta ’òttən,| hám=da canúšta ’òttən bøkyámøla ju-baxčanàn,| canušyáy ci-+tarsívale +házər| yánat ’avívale kaar-sàtva,| (38) ’áy ’adíyya +bár xá yàrxø,| Ruže<sup>R</sup>-+dán canúšta t-atyàni,| fári canùšta,| ’adíyya=da +bøsyáráx canùšta| ká dárta cnàšta canúštət jánan bëta,| [GK: ’òtva panjára?] ’òtva panjára,| ’òtva càva,| ’án betanànət ’àløz,| panjára m-ica?| é-ja šúyøsa lòtva,| ’ón xá náša ’avíval xá šùyøsa,| càva ’òtva,| càva ci-+karívala,|

(39) ’òtva hádax +dána ’at-kønyànəl tavòrtal hám=da +álma m-+ùydalə ci-xayyíva,| tavòrtal=da sàtva ci-+morívala jav-bëta,| é-+danət +bayyáva +jyàrtal ’ó

One, in a single one ... four walls, one house. They made for it a large bed, for them all to sleep together, father, mother, children. They all slept in that same bed.

(33) They made platforms. A platform (*saccunta*), a platform (*saccun*). It is built a metre in width for sleeping, for sleeping, (it belonged to) the old times, the old times. This was not, however, in our time. They put hay under them, hay, hay. When wheat remains, hay, the dried grass, they slept on this. This was a long time ago, yes. (34) Platforms, what is a platform? They build on the side of the wall, with that mud, or they build with those mud bricks, a metre, a little less, a wall, next to the wall, they build another wall, but a low one for sleeping on, for eating on. When they came, there was no wooden bed, they had nothing. When our people first came here, they had nothing. They lived in pits, pit, half of the house was in the earth. Half of it was covered with earth, like this, pit. (35) Pit, that means, half of it was in the earth, half of it on the surface, underneath, so that it would be warm. As for beams, they laid wooden logs. They laid reeds, bunches of reeds, they tied bunches. They put earth on this, so it would be warm. They made it round like this, then they lined up some of those bunches of reeds on it, so that the water would not flow down into it, but would flow down on the edge. It used to happen that when heavy rain fell, it leaked and became wet. (36) [GK: The roof?] Yes, there were also roofs. (In the singular one says) *jara* and *jara* is also correct. That is correct. [GK: Was there leaking?] There was leaking, yes, so that it would not come from above, they would roll something on it. [GK: Did they shovel the snow?] Yes, they shovelled the snow. When there was snow, they used to shovel it. They are not, however, able to shovel rain. When rain fell heavily, they were not able to shovel it and then it used to leak. (37) The snow—they used to go up, sweep it and clean it off. They swept it from the roof so that it would not flow down. Two (old) houses remained in my childhood, I have seen them. [GK: With what did they sweep?] With what did they sweep?—with a broom. They used to make a broom with ... there is a grass there where the graves are. There is a broom plant. There is also a broom plant that grows in kitchen gardens. They made the brooms, ready, so they would have them in winter. (38) Now after a month, already the time of the broom will come. We must (tie) a broom. Now too we are tying a broom to sweep the yard, our own broom at home. [GK: Were there windows?] There was a window. There was an unglazed window, in the houses of mud bricks. Where would they have windows from? At that time there was no glass. Maybe one person had glass. There were unglazed windows. They called it unglazed window (*cava*).

(39) There was such a time when cattle, a cow, and also people lived together. They brought the cow into the house in the winter. When it wanted to urinate,

<sup>†</sup>jórət bëta| ci-+parmìva bìyyo| ci-šakálva màna,| ci-daváķya xùto| yánət rìxa là-aviva.| ju-<sup>†</sup>fyárto daváķvalo ķamo,| +jeráva.| +paláķya tapàxval.| (40) [GK: cílla +heyvána ju-bètəva?] cílla là tavàrta,| bìyya b-+zàyo,| tavàrta,| ctèta lèva +lázəm ju-bëta.| xzùyra léva +lázəm ju-bëta.| láxxa hádax kárta lèla ju-Júrjəs-+tan| yánət xablivá.| xzùyra lè xábəl.| xzùyra ju-+tárра ci-páš.| [GK: šómmat bétət xzùyra mùdila?] kánnət xzùyra| kánnət xzùyra-da c-odívala dák=t ... ju-+arral| ju-+árra jùyba c-odíva.| ju-júyba xzùyra +táma c-+avárvə sòtva.| +árra šaxàntəla.| ci-+kerívala átxa +árra.| ci-macsívalo,| daríva +állu 'úpral yánət o-xzùyra-da saxína 'avíva.| +x̄ituva xína.| (41) ctayáy 'átvale nínə.| nínət ctayáy ci-+karívala| 'icə t-ína ctayáy| 'icə t-ína +bəryàpa,| nínə +bəkráyona.| hí bétət ctayáy nínələ šámmo,| nínə.| átxa| kèsə ci-mattíval yasķíva +al-dán kèsə +yarpíva.| +úllul macúsoval yánət +múṭra b-rišé là-'atyava.| ķa-bíyyə ci-mattíva 'erbàla,| 'erbàla 'atókta ci-mattíva jávo tūynal yánət 'é ctéta ju-dé 'erbàla mattáva bíyyə.| ci-maxpívala-da 'é-+danət 'an-bíyyo t-íva +bajmá zòda| t-íla ķapkùpə ctéta,| ķapkùpəl bíyyə t-íla mattíyə +ròbal ķapkùpəla.| (42) +xárta +palútəla +zàya.| ju-dé 'erbàla| +al-dó jølla.| ci-maxpívala +al-dan-bíyyəl 'esrí xá bítə ci-mattíva xùto.| átxəva.| lén-+bəddə ķa-mùl.| 'adíyya-da átxa vátəna,| 'esrí xá bítə,| hì,| RÍR ci-maxpívala,| ci-+palčáva +záyə sùrəl hì,| ctéta,| +xárta 'an-+záyə jarvúsəna yánət xa-+xárta 'avíle.| 'an-sàval práməva.| 'an-jíləl jarvúsəva vágəva ctayáy.| 'áy kánnət ctayáy šámmu nínəva.|

(43) [GK: šámmat bétət dabášə mùdila?] ci-+karáxlə kánnət dabášə.| 'áni 'átle kánnət jané,| kutíyyət jané.| 'átlə +bəzza 'áyən.| 'áni +pláķəna +várəna +xálta vátəna ķa-jané.| jané| +tarúsəna +xálta mən-dá 'ilána,| mən-pòčxa,| 'á xá xixàccələ.| 'á 'ilána šámmu xixàccələ,| xixàcca.| xixàcca.| mən-dá bəškáləna mən-cílla +róba dùysha.| +xárta 'adíyya,| 'adíyya +dánət +paláķət dùyshəl| yárət 'ána xazzən| ju-dánnə yumána jári +pálčən| dùysha.| xáččə +palútət ķa-jànux| xáččə bəšvákət ķa-dànì,| yánət 'áni-da sótva xú léna +myásə +xálta māčxi.| mən dé +xálta dànìl 'áxnan bəškáləx| páljə ķa-díyyan,| páljə ķa-dabášə.|

(44) 'áttən xelàpa.| 'áttən xixàcca.| 'áttən +camùtra,| xabùysha,| tūyta,| tūyta xu-lišān-díyyan-la.| jøza,| pəndàkkəa.| +tambùyra,| tambúrta 'áttən.| 'áttən +filàsta 'áttən.| balbalùkta 'áttən.| ķa-díyyux tánən xína mù 'áttən?| +karalùc.|

(45) (GK várda?) várda,| lišánət jánan šámmu| xá 'áxči ci-+yaččánnə várda| smùķa,| várda +xvàra,| várda zàrda.| átxa b-šəmmanè,| RÚZƏR šəmmánət díyyan

the head of the house would know about it, he would take a bowl and hold it beneath it, so there would not be a smell. As it urinated, he would hold it before it and it would urinate. He would then take it out and pour it away. (40) [GK: Were all the animals in the house?] Not all, (only) the cow, together with its young, the cow. A chicken did not have to be in the house. A pig did not have to be in the house. Here in Georgia it is not so cold that they got cold. A pig does not get cold. A pig stays outside. [GK: What is the name of the house of pigs?—the nest of a pig. They used to make the pig's nest like ... in the ground, they made a pit in the ground. A pig spends the winter there in a pit. The ground is warm. They would dig the ground like this. They would cover it and put earth on it, so the pig would be warm, poor creature. (41) Chickens had a coop. They called it a chicken coop (*ninə*), where there are chickens, where they roost, they call it a coop. Yes, the house of chickens is called a coop, coop. They used to lay pieces of wood like this. They used to go up on those pieces of wood and roost. They covered the top so that rain would not come onto them. They used to put a sieve for the eggs, an old sieve, in which they put straw, so that the hen would lay eggs in the sieve. They would make it brood when an excess of its eggs accumulated and when the chicken was clucking, clucking, when it lays a lot of eggs it clucks. (42) Then it produces chicks in that sieve on the grass. They make her brood on the eggs. They put twenty-one eggs under her. It was like that. I do not know why. Now also they do this, twenty-one eggs. Yes. They make her brood (on them) and she produces small chicks, yes, the chicken. Then the chicks grow, so they would have (chickens) in the future. They slaughter the older ones. The younger ones grow and become chickens. The name of the chickens' nest is coop (*ninə*).

(43) [GK: What is the name of the house of bees?] They called it a bees' nest. They have their own nest, their own box. This has a hole. They go out and come in, making food for themselves. They make food themselves from this tree, from the blossom, this is a hawthorn tree, a hawthorn, a hawthorn. They take most of the honey from this. Well, now, now is the time for the production of honey. I must see, in these days I must produce honey. You produce some for yourself and you leave some for them, because also they indeed in winter cannot find food. From that food of theirs we take half of it for us and half of it for the bees.

(44) There is a willow tree. There is a hawthorn tree. There is a pear tree, apple tree, mulberry tree—‘mulberry’ (*tutya*) is surely our language—walnut tree, hazelnut tree, plum trees, this is the plum tree. There is the sweet cherry tree. There is the dark cherry tree. What else can I tell you?—black sour plum.

(45) [GK: Flowers?] Flower—in our language I only know the one name ‘flower’ (*varda*)—red, white flower, yellow flower. Thus (they are called) by

*lèna +allé. c-óya 'ət-dìyyan| 'áxnan lèx +bəddáya. c-óya 'ət-dìyyan-na. 'áttən zapràn.*

(46) *ka-sàtva| c-odáxva ka-kənyànəl c-odáxən 'adíyya-da, jølla +bəxzádəx, mabruzux, vadux jdíša. +bəxzádəx pučéčə. pučéčə lén +bəddá lišān-dìyyan-lə. màccə. máccə t-ína bràza, +tára +palùtut. 'an-máccat +bəxzadèt vadéti dárza.*

*RíR sàtva| xá dárza pučéčə +maxuléx xá xpáka-da jølla bədráyəx ju-pàja.*

(47) *móriša ci-kémáx xuté ci-tammazzilə. ci-+xalvile. darile +xálta. ci-+morile, miyya ci-maštíle 'é-+dán t-íla kárta. 'é-+dán t-íla xáčča saxinùtyta, +plátəna ju-+tárra, bəstáyəna miyya, +maxuléna, mayèna, +mavuréna mádrə ju-pàja. dràyəna, 'átle 'uraváy šəmmé 'uraváy-lə. b-táxta +túrsəna 'uraváy. u-jølla ju-uraváy bədráyuna yánət lá bazbəkkílə xít'aklé, ka-sàtva jølla, hám=da pučéčə. pučéčəl 'ánnə máccə príma t-ína, máccə bríza t-ína, o-+əkré t-ílə bràza, +ávun šámmu pučéčəla. +ávun vadux dárza. hám jølla +bəxzádux bí jalándi ju-čòl. máyux bëta, mattúyux jdíša. RíR sàtva mən-+dávun baškáləna +maxuléna.*

(48) [GK: módi c-odítuva ka-sàtva?] kályá ci-kaštiva. +kərtópə ci-+tashiva, jané +kərtópə. calàma. turšíyya ci-dokíva. turšíyya xu-+bəddáyət hí? turšíyyət +biybar, 'et-calàma, 'et-+badəmjàn. +màšə c-avívale. xá tré mešójə +màšə. kátux tānən xzúyra ci-parmíva. ci-mattívalə ju-míyya məlxal yánət lá xárəvva. +pal̄tiva, ci-+xalltiva, c-odíva +dòlma. +tárpa ci-dokíva, +tárpat jøpta. +tárpat jøpta, áyya dòlma +tárpat súrayala. dòlmət +tárpa b-+kàttag. b-tùyma. 'adíyya-da cùllə 'ánnə vadéx 'áxnan. 'adíyya-da c-odàxle. (49) harísa ci-bašliva, harísa. šəmyəttə harísa? harísa +xàttə ci-bašlívale. javé c-ódi +bùsra. búš +káza c-odíva jáv harísa kámpta. 'adíyya b-ctéta váguna. xína kámxt màccə c-avívale, +bùlču c-odíva. níxa níxa sàtva ci-+morivalə xína.]

(50) [GK: 'átva tálja?] 'é-jət surúyti +ròba c-atíva tálja. 'ána bətxárən t-ína súra, ju-dàrtal nanúnti ptáxəva bí laþat̄ka. 'átxa 'úrxə. xá mótra ... mən-mátra zòda c-áviva +ràma. 'é-+dana +hásəl-da bitáyəvají. 'adíyya baruzùyətə. +hásəl lèla bitá. 'é-ja o-tálja t-i-c-atíval +ávun mlàyəva ká ... do-mòndi, ka-'ilànə, ká ... yéməš mlàyəva. 'adíyya tálja láxxa +basùra bitáyəla. búš kárta vágala. majdálta +robəla. (51) 'úrxay +ròba pís=va. 'úrxay bí +arabànə, bí cällə bí xèla c-áziva m-áxxa mən-ju-da-+alúla. +tammò 'ána l-ó-yba bəxxàyən,

their names, our names are not (given) to them. It is possible (that there are names) of ours, but we do not know. It is possible (there are names) of ours. There is saffron.

(46) For winter we used to make for the cattle, we make also now, we harvest grass, we dry it and make a stack. We harvest stalks of maize (*pučeča*). I do not know if *pučeča* is our language. Maize, when maize dries, you take off the head of maize. You make the maize that you harvest into a bundle. We arrange these bundles on top of each other, so that the rain does not flow down into them, so that they do not rot. In winter we feed them a bundle of maize stalks and we put an armful of grass in the stable. (47) In the morning we get up and they clean under them. They milk them. They put food down for them. They bring them in and give them water to drink when it is cold. When there is some warmth, they go outside, they drink water. They feed them. They bring them back, and put them again in the stable. They put—they have mangers, their name is ‘mangers.’ Mangers are made of a plank. They put grass in the mangers, so they do not scatter it under their feet, for winter grass, also maize stalks. Maize stalks, when the maize plants are cut, when the maize plants are dry, when their root dries, this is called ‘maize stalk’ (*pučeča*). We make this into bundles. We also harvest grass with a scythe in the countryside. We bring it home and put in a heap, and in winter we take some of this and feed them.

(48) [GK: What did you used to do for winter?] We fried preserved fried meat (*kalya*). They stored potatoes, potatoes by themselves, cabbages. They made pickles. You know what pickles are, right?—pickles of chilli, of cabbage, of tomatoes. They had beans, two or three bags of beans. I tell you they used to slaughter a pig. They used to put it in salt water so that it would not rot. They took it out, they washed it, and made *dolma*, they preserved leaves, leaves of the vine. Vine leaves—this *dolma* is an Assyrian leaf, *dolma* consisting of leaves with white cheese, with garlic. We make them now also. (49) They used to cook *harisa*, *harisa*. Have you heard of *harisa*? *Harisa*—they used to cook wheat. They put meat in it. Formerly they more often put goose in *harisa*. Now they make it with chicken. Well, they used to have maize flour and they used to make mash. They slowly passed the winter.

(50) [GK: Was there snow?] In the time of my childhood there was a lot of snow. I remember when I was young my grandmother used to open up a path in the courtyard with a shovel. It was a metre or more than a metre high. At that time good produce was available. Now there is drought, and produce is not available. When the snow came, it filled the trees, the fruit. Now less snow comes. It is colder. The freeze is intense. (51) The roads were very bad. The roads—they used to go with effort with carts, with buffaloes from here,

+támma 'ávta šákìyya. | +arabána ci-+ṭamràva, | +arabána +bøddàyat hí?| tré +topày 'ásla. | b-késa jávo jamðšta c-+asríva. | +arabána ci-+ṭamràval bøtxárən 'ána surùytíl +arabánat ci-+ṭamrìval c-áviva +bøsyára tré nírø javé, | tré nírø Rznàchet<sup>R</sup> xá xu-+sórtøla jàvo, | lélø xélo +mṭál 'é xítá-da ci-mazyøddívala +'állo yánat +palñívala 'áyya +arabàna. | (52) níra bí késa +ṭúrsøva, | bøtyáva +al-kdàlat jemášta. | mən-xúta +bøsyárova bí +xòløl yánat jaršávala 'áyya +arabàna. | +arabána 'ávvala tré pàllø +bøkráyøva, | pàllø. | bí tré pàllø 'átxa +ṭurðstøva. | pàllø. | pàllø. | tré kèsana pàllø. | +al-dan-pàllø máxyøva tàxtø, | 'áyøn ká ... mändi mat-tétøt +'állo. | kamáy 'icə-ṭ-íva 'an-pàllø +táma 'ávta xá-xta níra +ṭúrsøval yánat 'o-níra +al-kdáløt jemášta mattívalø | RíR b-+xòlø b-+yasríval, | yánat b-kdálo xéla mxayøla b-+rušanáno bøjràšøla. | 'ína ḥ-íva lèva xélo +mṭýa bí dán pàllø 'et-dáy +arabána xítá c-+asríva xá jemášta xítál kamáy bí +xòløl yánat 'áyøn-da +al-+hári 'odával jaršávala. | (53) 'ána 'áyya bøtxárøn. | hí bøtxárøn | kám xá xamšì šánnø, | kám xamšì šánnø. | kám +tarrèniva 'é dúcta ḥ-íva ... 'é pís dúcta kám +tarrèniva. | +táma +ròba +tína c-áviva. | +xárta níxa níxa|muyùle, | dríle mən-dán cípøl +šùlø, | vidâle.

(54) [GK: dák mašxønníva bøtvátø?] táza hál-t +oríva pèčøl 'ávta nýyra +arálløg=at bëta. | beté xá +'otagj-val xá bëtøva. | lá mårøn +al-xá kùnjíyya c-áviva køyñàna, | +heyvàn. | +al-de-bár xína 'átvale xa-+karávat ká ... janè, | ka-dmàxa. | +arálløg 'átvale nýyrøt +arálløg ci-+karívalø. | +'úllul 'ávta xá +bøzza| švíkøva càva. | càva švíkøva jú lámpa +'úllul. | yánat 'o-tánnø +palàtøva. | (55) RíR nýyra ci-+seríva +arálløg=at bëta. | nýyra +bøsyàrøva, | b-dó nuyra bøsxánøva. | +küsárta čumbáløva +ál nýyra. | víðøva hánna bí màptul +sártøva +kazánča. | +kusarté bašúlova +támø +al-dó nýyra. | +xárta 'et-txúrtøt díyyi 'ána 'áyya lòtva Rúže<sup>R</sup>. | 'ávta Rúže<sup>R</sup> ... pèč, | pèč bí prázla +ṭurðsta. | 'adíyya-da 'áxnan pèčø müttøx. | hí pèčø mattíuyøx b-késa bøsxánøx. | 'adíyya xácma dúle +jáz 'áttøn bí +jáz bøsxánøx. | (56) [GK: 'ica baxtátø ci-bašlíva?] +al-do nýyra. | +kazánčøt mís 'átvale. | baxúšta 'et-kèsøval 'ína xá +kazánča 'átvale. | cílla mändi b-dàyøn bašlíva. | 'ó=t 'átvale trè, | +tlà, | 'áni xáčøja jøns bøxxáyøva. | hì, | +kazánčøt mís +bøkráyøva. | mís hám-da hánna m-+uydalø +xvútøva Ralumin<sup>R</sup>. | mən-dan-+kazánčø 'áttøn pyáša. | 'á t xácma mənné ḥ-avile pyáša| ju-Rpatvàl, R | atikø ḥ-avile, | 'ína 'áni 'ádi xína lèna maplúxø. | hì, | ju-dé +kazánčøt mís | čumbálta +al-nýyra ci-bašlíva. | (GK: ju-darta?) kéta ju-dártal sátvø +ál do-nýyrøt +arálløg. | sátvø ju-bëtal 'o-nýyra bølláyøl yánat

from this street. Over there, I live over there, there was a channel there. There a cart used to sink (and get stuck)—you know a ‘cart,’ right? It has two wheels. They tie a buffalo to it with wood. A cart would get stuck, I remember in my childhood, the carts that used to get stuck, they tied two yokes to them, two yokes, that is, one that was tied to it was not sufficiently strong and they added another, in order to pull the cart out. (52) A yoke was made of wood, sitting on the neck of a buffalo. They would tie it (the buffalo) from underneath with ropes so that it could pull the cart. The cart had two shafts, as they call them, shafts. It was made with these shafts—shaft, shaft. A shaft consists of two pieces of wood. On these shafts they fixed planks, this was for the placing of something on it. In front, where the shafts were there was again a yoke, which they made, so that they could place the yoke on the neck of the buffalo, and they tied it with ropes, with the result that it applies force with its neck and pulls with its shoulders. But when it happened that it did not have the strength, with the shafts of another cart they tied another buffalo at the front with ropes so that this also would help to pull it. (53) I remember that. Yes, I remember that, fifty years ago, fifty years ago. The place that was before our door. The worst place was before our door. There was a lot of mud there. Later, gradually, they brought and laid some stones and so forth and they fixed it.

(54) [GK: How did they heat houses?] Before the time when stoves came in, there was a fire in the middle of the house. Their house was one room, it was one room. Indeed I am saying, in one corner there were cattle, animals. On the other side they had a bed for themselves, for sleeping. In the middle they had what they called a central fire. Above there was a hole, a window light was left (open). A window light was left in the ceiling above so that the smoke could escape. (55) They used to light the fire in the middle of the house. They lit the fire and they warmed themselves with that fire. The cooking pot was hung over the fire. They made something with wire, on which the pan was tied. They cooked in their pot there, on the fire. Later, as I remember, this was not there anymore, there was a stove, a stove made of iron. Now also we have installed stoves. Yes, we have installed stoves, we warm ourselves with wood. Now some have gas, we warm ourselves with gas. (56) [GK: Where did the women cook?] On the fire. They had a copper pan. The stirring spoon was wood, but they had a pan. They cooked everything in that. Anybody who had two or three—they used to live rather well. Yes, they called it a copper pan. Copper and something were also mixed together, aluminium. Those pans are still in use. There are some who still have some in the basement, who have old ones, but they do not use them anymore. Yes, in that copper pan, suspended on the fire, they used to cook. [GK: in the yard?]—In the summer in the yard, in the winter on the central fire. In the winter the fire burned in the house to give warmth. Also their pot was

šaxinùyta yávvəl. | hám +kusarté=da čumbáləva +'ál ... màptul| bašúlə ju-dàyən. |  
RÍR cíllə bədráyəva ju-xa-màna| +bixáləva p̄-idè. | ýyya lélə +róba dàrran| kám xá  
šávvi +tmáni šánnə 'àtxəva. |

suspended on a wire, and they cook with this. They put everything in one vessel and ate with their hands. This was not very long ago, something like seventy or eighty years ago.