THE NEO-ARAMAIC DIALECT OF ALQOSH

BY

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PREFACE

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text. The research presented here is based on fieldwork that I have undertaken myself with native speakers of the Alqoshi dialect.

The text of the dissertation does not exceed the word limit for the Faculty of Oriental Studies, excluding the extension of 10000 words granted by the Degree Committee.

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Eleanor J. Coghill

SUMMARY

THE NEO-ARAMAIC DIALECT OF ALQOSH

This dissertation is a description of the grammar of a dialect of Neo-Aramaic spoken in the small northern Iraqi town of Alqosh. Neo-Aramaic is a term applied to the surviving dialects of Aramaic, a Semitic language spoken in the Near East. The dialect of Alqosh belongs to the branch of North-eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA), the largest and most varied branch of Neo-Aramaic. The speakers of this dialect are part of a Christian minority belonging to the Chaldean Catholic Church.

The data for this description has been acquired through fieldwork with native speakers in London, Baghdad and Detroit. The main sources have been (1) oral texts (such as stories and descriptions) elicited from the speakers, and (2) specific grammatical or lexical questions designed to complete paradigms or cast light on the meanings and functions of particular forms.

This dissertation comprises an introduction and chapters on phonology and morphology, with remarks also on syntax as well as historical and comparative issues. Also included are oral texts, transcribed from recordings made of native speakers.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations

abbrev.	abbreviated (of names)
affect.	affectionate (of names)
ANA	Alqosh Neo-Aramaic
Arab.	Arabic*
Aram.	Aramaic
Ard.	Aradhin
attrib.	attributive
BTA	Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic
C	consonant
Ch.	Christian
cpl.	common (gender) plural
cs.	common (gender) singular
dim.	diminutive
emph.	emphatic
Eng.	English
f.	feminine
fpl.	feminine plural
fs.	feminine singular
I.A.	Iraqi Arabic*
indep.	independent
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
J.	Jewish
K.	Kurdish (Kurmanji dialect)
lit.	literally

m.	masculine
mpl.	masculine plural
ms.	masculine singular
NENA	'North-eastern Neo-Aramaic'
P.	Persian
Pa.	Pael (*paᶜᶜēl*)
Pe.	Peal (*pᵊᶜal*)
pejor.	pejorative
per.	person
Perf.	Perfect
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
Qar.	Christian Qaraqosh dialect of NENA
Q.A.	Qəltu Arabic (spoken in northern Iraq, southern Turkey and north-eastern Syria)*
sg.	singular
Sh.	Shaphel (*šapᶜēl*)
Syr.	Syriac
T.	Turkish
trad.	traditional
unv.	unvoiced
voi.	voiced
v	vowel

*N.B. the form of Arabic that has most influenced ANA is Qəltu Arabic (Q.A.). There is however little lexical material for this kind of Arabic. As much vocabulary is shared with the better-documented dialect of Muslim Baghdadi, dictionaries of that dialect have been used when it has not been possible to find the word in Qəltu material. In such cases the Arabic word cited is labelled I.A. (Iraqi Arabic), to indicate that, though only attested in Baghdadi Arabic material, it is not necessarily restricted to that dialect.

Loanwords from Arabic are marked simply as Arab. (Arabic) unless the word or its particular form or meaning is only found in the dialects, in which case it is marked as I.A. or Q.A accordingly. Examples: *ḥanafiya* 'tap' (Arab.), *qubbe* 'room' (Q.A.).

Symbols

§	chapter
<	derived from
>	developed into
√	verbal root
~	phonetically conditioned variant (e.g. *bed-* ~ *bet-*)
≁	variant not phonetically conditioned (e.g. *daʾwa* ≁ *dāwa*)[1]
→	go to
**abc*	reconstructed or ungrammatical form
ˈ	intonation group boundary
…	significant pause or hesitation. Marked in particular when it explains the surrounding text, e.g. *ʾu xóθed-* … *d-áð-b˙θa* 'And under this house' (A:13). The hesitation explains why the particle *//d//* is repeated. Likewise when the sentence takes an unexpected turn.
abc (?)	uncertain, used if the informant cannot identify the word.
[abc]	phonetic rendering using the International Phonetic Alphabet
/abc/	phonemic rendering (with some exceptions, cf. §1.6)
[*abc*]	semi-phonetic transcription (broader than the normal phonemic transcription, for instance showing all emphasis whether phonemic or not, or showing assimilations not indicated in the transcription, cf. Notes on Transcription, pxxi)
//abc//	morphological rendering (where it is not desirable to specify a particular allomorph, for instance *//-Ta//* = *-ta, -θa* or *-ṭa*, depending on context)
[*abc*]	in a text or translation, a comment or interruption by a different informant
(abc)	in a translation, extra word(s) needed to give a clear translation but not in the original (only used where the additions are significant)
{abc}	alternative translation (used in particular for the English when the original is retained in the translation)

[1] The variants may be conditioned by other factors, such as speed of speech (making elision more common) or identity of the speaker.

NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION

Details of the transcription system used for ANA are outlined in the chapters, especially the phonological chapters §1-4. Some other transcription methods are also sometimes used, both for ANA and for other dialects and languages.

(i) Semi-phonetic transcription

Sometimes it is necessary to show detail that phonological transcription omits but not to show a mass of irrelevant phonetic details. Semi-phonetic transcription is therefore used, indicated by italics in square brackets. Semi-phonetic transcription shows all emphasis on consonants, whether phonemic or not, e.g. [*ḅeṣḷa*] *beṣla* 'onion' (A). It also shows all assimilation, e.g. [*ġzāya*] *xzāya* 'to see', and final-devoicing, e.g. [*mjāwep*] *mjāweb* 'answer!' With respect to vowels, it indicates all length, even discourse-lengthening, e.g. [*balqoš*] *b-alquš*ˡ 'in Alqosh' ('o' is always long). It does not show elided vowels, e.g. [*qṭēlqāleḥ*] *qṭèle qāleḥ* 'his voice stopped'.

(ii) Transcription of other NENA dialects

Examples from other dialects will be transcribed as in the source. Occasionally in brackets the semi-phonetic transcription (see above) will be given in order to allow comparison with ANA. In this vowels and consonants will be written as in ANA, for instance Mangesh *ṭ̶ṭ̶ma* 'taste' as [*ṭema*] and Qaraqosh *ṭəʾma* 'taste' as [*ṭeʾma*]. Length will be shown for *a*, *e* and *u*, e.g. Qaraqosh *tama* [*tāma*] 'there'.

(iii) Kurmanji transcription

Various transcription methods are in use for Kurmanji. To harmonize references from various dictionaries, all are converted into a single transcription. This is the one used by Joyce Blau in *Le Kurde de ʿAmādiya et de Djabal Sindjār* (1975) except that emphatics are

marked with a dot below, as in ANA, rather than a line underneath (which is used in Rizgar's dictionary (1993) for unaspirated consonants). The points where this system differs from some others are as follows:

Aspirated consonants are so indicated with an apostrophe after the letter, e.g. *kʾ*.

/ʕ/ is written with ʿ, not by underlining the *e* that follows it.

The trilled rhotic is indicated by *r̲* to distinguish it from the tap *r*.

Short [ɪ] is distinguished from [iː] thus: *i – î*.

Short [æ] is distinguished from [ɑː] thus: *e – a*.

Note also that:

ç is ANA *č*.

c is ANA *j*.

ş is ANA *š*.

j is ANA *ž*.

h̲ is ANA *ḥ*.

x̲ is ANA *ġ*.

ê is ANA *ē*.

û is ANA *ū*.

o is long, like ANA *o*.

Other letters are pronounced more or less as in ANA.

(iv) Arabic transcription

Classical Arabic is transcribed according to the usual conventions. Baghdadi Arabic is transcribed as it is in the dictionaries (e.g. Woodhead and Beene 1967) except that vowel-length is shown with a macron, not doubling of the letter, and the pharyngeals are written as ʿ and *ḥ*, not with the Arabic letter. Qəltu Arabic is transcribed as it is in the source it is taken from (e.g. Jastrow 1978).

Arabic words in the texts are more of a problem, as in some cases they are true loans integrated into ANA and in other cases they are examples of code-switching. When they are considered to be the latter, they are marked with $^{A}\ldots{}^{A}$. The dividing line between the two is however difficult to define with any certainty.

Arabic words thought to be true loans are written with the normal ANA system, e.g. *qemma* 'summit' (Arab. *qimma*). Cases of probable code-switching are transcribed as they sound in the text rather than as they are written in Classical Arabic, e.g. ^{A}*ptidāʾīya*^{A} (Classical Arab. *ibtidāʾīya*) 'elementary'. The transcription system in such cases is a little different to that used for ANA: length is always marked and *i* in a closed syllable is pronounced as ANA */e/*.

(v) English transcription

Code-switching to English in the texts is marked with ^{E}…^{E}. Normal English spelling is used.

INTRODUCTION

I *The Neo-Aramaic Background*

The dialect described here is a North-eastern Neo-Aramaic dialect spoken in the town of Alqosh in northern Iraq. Neo-Aramaic is a term used for the surviving dialects of Aramaic spoken in the Near East. The ancient division of Aramaic into Western and Eastern branches is still preserved, but the vast majority of modern dialects belong to the Eastern branch. North-eastern Neo-Aramaic is by far the largest subgroup of this and is spoken in the border areas of Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria. These are areas where the majority of inhabitants are Kurds, but Aramaic-speaking Christians form a significant minority. In the recent past there were also Aramaic-speaking Jewish communities, but most left during the 1950s for Israel.

All Neo-Aramaic languages and dialects are under threat. Some, especially those only spoken in exile, are very endangered and in some cases the last remaining speakers have died in recent times. Those dialects which are still spoken in situ are likely to last longer, but they too are being eroded, whether by emigration or by the adoption of the majority languages of the region. Very few speakers are literate in their language, although some literary varieties exist. The vast majority are educated in the official languages of their countries. In the case of Iraq, this is Arabic. The young people also come into contact with majority ethnic groups when they go to work and live in the cities and this inevitably affects their language. Political upheavals have also taken their toll: many villages were destroyed in the 1980s during the war between the government and the Kurds, and people moved to other areas of Iraq or abroad.

Despite the bleak picture, there is still great linguistic diversity within North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic and a great deal that can be documented. Dialects may be quite different in villages which are only a few miles away. There are also linguistic divisions based on communal lines. In some towns, the dialects spoken by Jews and Christians

were so different as to make mutual comprehension difficult. In order to preserve this diversity, grammatical descriptions tend to be rigorous in distinguishing the dialects of different villages and towns.

II *Alqosh*

The town of Alqosh is situated in the far north of Iraq, around thirty miles north of Mosul. It lies at the point where the plain of Mosul touches the mountains of the North. The inhabitants of Alqosh are Christians belonging to the Chaldean Church which was formed through the uniting of some communities belonging to the Church of the East with the Roman Catholic Church. The Chaldeans live mostly in the area around Alqosh: the Mosul Plain and the mountains to the north and the east. Alqosh itself is an importance religious centre for the Chaldeans. Only two miles away is the historic monastery of Rabban Hormizd which was once one of the patriarchal residences of the Church of the East. This has since moved, first to Mosul, then Baghdad, but Alqosh remains the seat of a bishopric.

The current population of Alqosh is around 5000 but there are many Alqoshis living outside the village, in Mosul, Baghdad and countries abroad, especially the United States and Britain. Alqosh is a market town used by the surrounding villages, which are populated by various ethnic groups including other Chaldeans, Assyrians and Yazidi Kurds, known as *dasnāye*. The main occupations in Alqosh are agriculture and animal husbandry. The crops grown include wheat, barley, chickpeas, lentils, beans, cucumbers, gourds, melons and figs. There are also many vineyards for the production of wine. Sheep and goats are kept for their milk, meat and wool. In earlier times traditional trades were practised, such as weaving and dying cloth.

Alqosh is set at the foot of a mountain, known as *ṭūred-ʾálquš* (‘Alqosh Mountain’). There is no river but springs supply the village with sufficient water. There are many natural landmarks in the vicinity, including *kāfa smoqa* (≁ *kahfa smoqa* ‘The Red Cave’), *gupped-naṭópa* (‘The Cave of Dripping’), *gupped-mā́ya* (‘The Cave of Water’), *guppet-saṭā́na* (‘The Cave of the Devil’), *guppa mguregma* (‘The Thundering Cave’ (?)) and *šwi˙ed-ganā́we* (‘The Bed of the Thieves’).

The village itself is divided into quarters, called *maḥallat* (sg. *maḥalle*). Each has a name:

maḥalled-bi-qā́ša (‘The Quarter of the House of the Priest’)
maḥalled-bisḗna (originally *bi-sēma* ‘of the Place of Silver’)
maḥallet-taḥtā́ni (‘The Quarter Below’)
maḥallet-xipárta (‘The Quarter of the Digging’)
maḥalled-bi-zā́ġla (‘The Quarter of the Layabout’)[1] or *mem-zā́ġla*

Alqosh is the location of many religious sites.[2] Most famous is the monastery of Rabban Hormizd (*dɛṛed-ṛabban-hórmez*). There is another monastery called *dɛṛed-pˈólta* (‘Monastery of the Virgin’) but often known as *dɛṛa xtāya* (‘The Lower Monastery’) due to its lower position.

There are three churches in Alqosh: *ʾēted-mar-giwárges* (‘Church of St. George’), *ʾēted-mar-míxa* (‘Church of Mar Mikha’) and *ʾēted-mar-qárdax* (‘Church of Mar Qardāġ’). In addition there are many shrines commemorating religious figures, known as *texrone*. These are *mar-zaddíqa*, *mar-yosep*, *mart-šmūni*, *mar-yuḥannan* and *mar-sahdona*.

There is also a tomb believed to that of the Prophet Nahum, which used to be a place of pilgrimage for Jews.

III *Relationship with the Church*

The early history of Alqosh is obscure. The derivation of the name itself is uncertain and there have been various suggestions. One local tradition is that it was named after a Jew deported there by the Assyrians, called Alqōn. Another suggestion is that it derives from El qušti ‘God is my bow’. Alqosh is said to be the birthplace of the biblical prophet Nahum ‘the Elqoshite’[3] and Jews used to come to visit the tomb there that is believed to be his. Alqosh also appears in the story of the saint Mar Mikha who is said to have

[1] *zaġla* or *zaġal* has this meaning in ANA. In Maclean (1901) the verb *zġl* has the meaning ‘to cheat, deceive’, which is the meaning in the source language Iraqi Arabic.
[2] These are described in Fiey (1965: 395-400).
[3] Cf. Nahum 1:1.

founded a school in the town. Alqosh emerges into the light of history in the seventh century AD when close to the town a monastery was founded by the Persian saint Rabban Hormizd.[4]

Alqosh gained significance through its proximity to the monastery of Rabban Hormizd. The patriarchate of the Church of the East took up residence in this monastery in the aftermath of the devastating invasions of the Mongol ruler Timur Leng in the late fourteenth century. Permanent residence began in the reign of Shimun VI (1504-1538) and remained there, with occasional interruptions, until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.[5] In 1807 it became the home of a Chaldean Catholic monastic order.

The monastery also saw the earliest significant inroads of the Catholic church into the Church of the East. Around the middle of the 15th century the patriarchal succession became restricted to the family of the then patriarch (henceforth known as Abouna or Bar Mama) and from then on the office passed from uncle to nephew. But in 1551 there was a dispute over the patriarch and a rival was put forward named Yuḥannan Sulaqa, an abbot of Rabban Hormizd and a native of Alqosh. He was sent by his supporters to Rome where in 1553 he was consecrated as 'Patriarch of the Chaldeans'.

Roman Catholicism nevertheless had not yet established a firm hold on the region. A century and a half later Sulaqa's descendants renounced Catholicism. In the meantime another uniat patriarch in Diarbakir had been consecrated. This line ended in 1828 and ten years later a member of the Abouna family who had converted was consecrated patriarch by Rome, but only on condition that the succession would not remain in his family. It was only in 1844 that the Chaldean Catholics were recognized by the Ottoman government as a separate *millet* or religious group.[6]

[4] The above information comes from Fiey (1965: 387-389 and, for Nahum, 396-400).

[5] Murre-van den Berg (1999b).

[6] Information on the history of Alqosh's relations with the Church is taken from Murre-van den Berg (1999a: 33-5), Murre-van den Berg (1999b), Fiey (1965: 390-1), and Joseph (2000: 55-8).

IV *Alqosh Neo-Aramaic (ANA)*

The dialect of Alqosh is closest to other Christian (particularly Chaldean) dialects of the surrounding area: the Mosul Plain and the mountainous region to the north. The first descriptions of these in the late 19th century and early 20th century rarely distinguished between the dialects of the various Chaldean villages but rather treated them as a single dialect. Guidi (1883), Sachau (1895) and Rhétoré (1912) called it Fellīḥi, after the Arabic term for peasant or farmer, the main occupation of the Chaldeans.[7] Maclean, in his grammar (1895) and dictionary (1901) of the Christian NENA dialects, covered the dialects of the Mosul Plain as one dialect which he termed the Alqosh Dialect.

More recent descriptions distinguish between the dialects of the various villages and towns and have revealed far more variation than had been recognized by the early Neo-Aramaicists. The dialects of this group for which there is a description (article or book) are as follows: Aradhin (Krotkoff 1982), Mangesh (1974, 1990, 1993), Telkepe (texts only, Sabar 1978, 1993), Telesqof (the verbal system, Rubba 1993), Zakho (Hoberman 1993, Mole (M.Phil. thesis) 2000) and, most recently, Qaraqosh (Khan 2002).

Alqosh Neo-Aramaic (ANA) is unusual among the NENA dialects in having a literary tradition. Because of the importance of Alqosh in the Chaldean Church, it was for centuries a centre of literary activity. It is here that the earliest Christian Neo-Aramaic literature was written as far back as the 16th century.[8] The literary dialect therefore shows a particular resemblance to the dialect of Alqosh itself, but it would be dangerous to rely on these literary texts alone for information on the dialect. Literary languages are rarely exact imitations of the vernacular. They tend to draw upon several dialects, as well as earlier literary languages (in this case Syriac). Moreover the system of orthography can often obscure the actual pronunciation of the language. It should also be noted that these texts reflect an earlier stage of the dialect. Research on the modern vernacular can therefore reveal some of the developments that have occurred in the language over the last few centuries.

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[7] Texts of 'Fellīḥi' were also published in Socin (1882).

[8] Some of this literature can be found in Poizat (1990, 1993) and Mengozzi (2000a,b).

ANA, like other NENA dialects, has been greatly influenced by other regional languages, in particular Kurdish and Arabic but also Turkish and Persian. This is particularly evident in the vocabulary, as will be shown in Chapter Seven. These languages are also of course divided into dialects and it can be seen that the influence is greatest from the dialects spoken in the area around Alqosh. In the case of Kurdish these are dialects of Kurmanji. In the case of Arabic they are the Qəltu dialects, which are spoken across northern Iraq and the bordering areas of Turkey and Syria.

The main lexical sources used in this thesis for Kurmanji are as follows: the dictionary by Rizgar (1993) and the glossaries in Blau (1975) and Wurzel (1997). The main lexical sources for Iraqi Arabic are the Muslim Baghdadi dictionaries Woodhead and Beene (1967) and Clarity, Stowasser and Wolfe (1964), the glossary of two Jewish Qəltu dialects in Jastrow (1990b), and various other works on Qəltu dialects by Jastrow (1978, 1979 and 1981).

IV *Methodology*

Working with endangered languages often involves constraints on methodology, for instance when it is not possible to gather data from a large pool of people or to work with the language in its homeland. This is the case with ANA, as it has not yet been possible to conduct fieldwork in Alqosh itself and it has therefore been necessary to track down speakers abroad. There is nevertheless good reason to be assured that the informants used in this study are reliable speakers of the Alqosh dialect (see below).

Two methods of gaining grammatical information have been used. One is to record the informant speaking on a topic. Such recordings are referred to as ‘texts’. They are not as natural as recordings of spontaneous discourse, but those are harder to obtain among speakers in exile. Monologues also have some advantages, as they are usually clearer. In spontaneous conversations speakers tend to interrupt and talk over each other which can make transcribing a whole text difficult.

The topics suggested to the informant focus on aspects of traditional life which would be associated with ANA, rather than the parts of their life which they associate with Arabic or English. Texts about school or the army would probably involve a great

deal of Arabic borrowing, as it is Arabic that is used in these situations. Such texts are valid as part of a description of the language of the younger generation, showing the increasing influence of Arabic on the language, but when the emphasis is on recording an endangered language, it becomes a priority to preserve older patterns of speech.

The other method of eliciting information is by asking grammatical questions of the form, 'How do you say …?' This has the disadvantage of being self-conscious and lacking in context. There is some risk that the speaker will make conscious decisions about what is grammatically 'right', rather than simply thinking of what he would say. The advantages of this method are that it can be used very efficiently to complete paradigms (which it is rarely possible to complete from texts alone) and to confirm deductions made on the basis of textual material. It is also necessary to use it with rare forms or constructions that would seldom occur in the texts. The risks can be minimized by assessing the usefulness of the speaker for grammatical questions and being aware when he or she is confused or making a value judgement.

The grammatical descriptions included here are based on the speech of Alqoshis living in London, Baghdad, Detroit and Alqosh itself. Naturally with exiles there is a risk that their language has become contaminated by the other languages they use or the other NENA dialects they come into contact with. Nevertheless there is such a strong similarity between the idiolects of the different speakers, that it seems very likely that they are all still speaking more or less the same, Alqoshi, dialect. Fortunately there was also the opportunity to work, at a late stage in the investigation, with a speaker still residing in Alqosh (Informant F).

The main informants from whom the data in this study has been drawn are listed below with some relevant information. Most ages given are approximate.

Informant A

Informant A is the main informant used for grammatical or lexical questions. In addition, many texts were obtained from him. He is a man in his thirties living in London, who left Alqosh in 1991. He speaks Arabic and English fluently and also speaks some Kurmanji and Greek. Informant A lived until recently with his brother and is in frequent contact with others from Alqosh. He is furthermore conscious of the differences between his dialect and others and is able to indicate them. Texts made of other Alqoshis living in Baghdad have confirmed that his dialect is typically Alqoshi.

Informant B and C

Informants B and C, also educated men in their early 30's, left Alqosh in the early 'nineties and at the time of the recordings in 1999-2000 had been living in London for a few years.

Informant D

Informant D is an educated man in his late sixties living in Baghdad since he left Alqosh as a young man. Quotations in this work that are marked '(D)' are from his collection of Alqoshi proverbs which he kindly read out to the author.

Informant E

Informant E is a man in his fifties living in Detroit. After leaving Alqosh as a young man he trained for two or three years to be a priest then left and entered the military where he remained for three years. Immediately afterwards he came to America and settled there.

Informant F

Informant F is the mother of A, a woman in her mid-fifties. She still lives in Alqosh and recordings of her speech were made during a visit to London.

Informant G

Informant G is a woman in her fifties living with her family in Detroit.

CHAPTER ONE

CONSONANTS

1.1 *Phoneme inventory*

Stops /Affricates									
	Unvoiced	*p*	*t*		*č*	*k*	*q*		*ʾ*
	Voiced	*b*	*d*		*j*	*g*			
	Emph. unv.	*p̣**	*ṭ*		*č̣*				
	Emph. voi.		*ḍ**						
Fricatives									
	Unvoiced		*f*	*θ*	*s*	*š*	*x*		*ḥ*	*h*
	Voiced		*v*	*ð*	*z*	*ž**	*ġ*			
	Emph. unv.				*ṣ*					
	Emph. voi.			*ð̣*	*ẓ*					
Nasal		*m*		*n*						
	Emphatic	*ṃ***								
Lateral approximant				*l*						
	Emphatic			*ḷ***						
Tap / trill				*r*						
	Emphatic			*ṛ*						
Approximant		*w*				*y*			*ʿ*[1]	

* These sounds are of marginal phonemic status (only phonemic in a few loanwords at most).

** These sounds are of uncertain phonemic status.

[1] This sound (the Arabic *ʿayn*) is conventionally described as a fricative, the voiced counterpart of */ḥ/*, but is now thought to be more accurately described as an approximant (cf. §1.4.2.6).

1.2 *General issues*

The phonology of ANA has undergone quite significant change from that of earlier dialects of Aramaic. Phonetic developments have occurred, for instance the shift of */ḥ/* to */x/*, and phonemic distinctions have been gained and lost. In addition, the large numbers of loanwords from Kurdish, Arabic and other languages have introduced new phonemes, such as */j/* and */č/*, or reintroduced ones that had been virtually lost, such as */ḥ/*.

One of the more obvious changes from earlier Aramaic is the breakdown of the *begāḏkepāṯ* system in which members of a set of phonemes, */b/*, */g/*, */d/*, */k/*, */p/* and */t/*, each had two allophones: plosive and fricative. After vowels the consonant was realized as a fricative, except when geminated. In all other cases a plosive was found, with some exceptions. This system has been altered by two processes. In the case of */p/* the fricative allophone has been lost and the plosive allophone generalized to all contexts.[2] In the case of */b/*, */g/*, */d/*, */k/* and */t/*, the two realizations have been preserved but have been phonemicized. Thus we find the stop [t] after a vowel in *šˑta* 'year' and the fricative [θ] at the beginning of a word in *θēla* 'she came', showing that the two sounds are no longer in complementary distribution. This phonemicization has come about through various phonetic processes. In most cases it involves the loss of a consonant such that a fricative allophone occurs in a position previously reserved for a plosive, or vice versa. For instance *θēla* 'she came' derives from **ʾ̯ṯēla*, *šˑta* 'year' from **šatta* (<**šanta*), *wiša* 'dry' from **iḇiša*. In verbs the old distribution has been further obscured by the generalization of one reflex to all forms of the verb, regardless of context. There are still many traces of the *begāḏkepāṯ* distribution, but it is no longer the rule.

1.3 *Phonemic status*

The phonemic status of the sounds listed above is most cases established by the existence of minimal pairs, such as *tēla* 'fox' and *θēla* 'she came'. Such pairs show that a given phonetic distinction can be used to express a distinction in meaning. The distinction is therefore phonemic. There are some problems however with the use of minimal pairs.

[2] But some secondary fricativization occurs with */p/* (cf. §1.4.2.1).

Firstly they are not always available. Phonemic distinctions *may* be used as the only marker of distinction between two words, but whether this actually occurs is due to chance. Sometimes there are no minimal pairs attested for contrasts which seem well established in the language, for instance between */d/* and */t/*. Secondly, a single minimal pair only shows a two-way distinction: in the example above, between a voiceless dental stop, *t*, and a voiceless dental fricative, *θ*. This minimal pair cannot prove, for instance, that [t] is not in an allophonic relationship with its voiced counterpart [d]. This would have to be established with another minimal pair. Listing minimal pairs for every possible combination of consonants is, however, unfeasible and unnecessary, as phonemic status can be established beyond reasonable doubt by more targeted research. Knowledge of common tendencies of phonetic behaviour, the particular phonetic behaviour of the language and the phonologies of earlier and contemporary relatives can direct one to check contrasts that might be doubtful and avoid unnecessary investigation into pairs of consonants that are very unlikely not to be contrasted.

From a cross-linguistic perspective, the sounds that are most likely to be allophones of each other are those that are identical but for one or two characteristics (e.g. voicing, aspiration etc.), or are articulated in close proximity to each other. Sounds that share few if any characteristics are least likely, for example the voiced bilabial stop [b] and the voiceless alveolar affricate [tʃ]. Allophones are occasionally phonetically quite different from each other, like the [ʔ] allophone of */t/* in the London English pronunciation of *water*, but such examples are rare and, in the case of Aramaic, would probably be known from historical evidence. Therefore we concentrate on presenting phonemic contrasts between consonants that share most of their values, in most cases all but one, as in the following two pairs:

t-θ voiceless dental ***stop*** and voiceless dental ***fricative***

t-d ***voiceless*** dental stop and ***voiced*** dental stop

Knowledge of general traits in the phonetic behaviour of ANA can also help focus investigation. For instance in ANA the distinction between voiced and voiceless is

frequently neutralized, so it is necessary to establish these contrasts, where they do exist. The same applies to the emphatic - non-emphatic and nasal - non-nasal distinctions.

The phonologies of earlier dialects can also be of help. Because at an earlier stage the fricative and plosive realizations of *begāḏkepāṯ* consonants were in complementary distribution, it is particularly worthwhile to seek phonemic contrasts between the ANA reflexes of these, e.g. between [d] and [ð] and [k] and [x], in order to establish whether this contrast has become phonemicized or not. It is also helpful to compare the phonology of related contemporary dialects. For instance it is worthwhile establishing phonemic contrasts between the dental and alveolar fricatives [θ] and [s], as in some dialects the distinction has been blurred or lost.[3]

With this targeted method, many phonemic distinctions do not need to be confirmed. Sometimes, however, a phonemic distinction does need to be established but there is no minimal pair available. In such cases phonemic contrast can be shown by examining the distribution of the sounds. If they are not in a complementary distribution with each other, then they may be considered to be separate phonemes. This can be established beyond reasonable doubt by targeting certain conditioning factors. For instance the factors found to condition voicing are the voicing of the following consonant (§1.5.1) and whether the consonant occurs at the end of a word (when it is voiceless). If both the voiceless and voiced counterparts of a pair can both be found in positions not conditioned in these ways, then they may be considered to be separate phonemes, even if no minimal pair exists. For instance both */t/* and */d/* may be found in contexts where they are not affected by the conditioning factors mentioned above, e.g. *tekθa* 'drawstring' and *dukθa* 'place'. They may therefore be considered as separate phonemes. Initial, pre-vocalic position is the position in which there is likely to be the least amount of influence from surrounding sounds. Therefore if both sounds are regularly found in this position, they may be considered to be in phonemic contrast.[4]

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[3] As in Jewish Zakho (cf. §1.3.2). Also, in the dialect of Jilu, */q/* is articulated as far forward as */k/* before */i/* or */ɪ/*, though */q/* is still distinguished by its lack of aspiration (Fox 1997: 8). Historic */q/* is also articulated as unaspirated [k] in the dialect of Urmi (Odisho 1988: 25).

[4] This test does not apply to emphasis distinctions as emphasis can spread (by assimilation) between consonants which are separated by a vowel.

Even when a minimal pair may be found, this is not necessarily proof of a well-established phonemic contrast. In fact there are varying degrees of phonemicity. If a sound is only phonemic in a handful of loanwords, even if it occurs as an allophone in many other words, the sound may be considered as *marginally* phonemic. For instance *ž*, common as an allophonic variant of */š/*, is only attested as a phoneme in a few Kurdish loans. Likewise *ḍ* can be explained by conditioning in all but one case, the loanword *ʾoḍa* 'room'. There are other phonemes that are rare but are found as phonemes in at least one native word, such as */v/* and */ẓ/*. It could be argued that these are also marginal but for the purposes of transcription (cf. §1.6) they will not be treated as such.

There are also two sounds (*/ṃ/* and */ḷ/*) that are of uncertain phonemic status because they are found in ambiguous contexts (cf. §1.3.7).

Some phonemes have been introduced from loanwords but are comparatively common because so many loanwords have been adopted. This is the case with */f/*, */j/* and */č/*. In the case of */ʿ/*, */ḥ/* and */ġ/* the impact of the loanwords has been reinforced by the occurrence of these phonemes in a few words of native stock,[5] as well as their presence in the liturgical language, Syriac.

Even phonemic contrasts which are well established may be neutralized in certain environments. Most common is the loss of voicing contrast due to assimilation to a following consonant. Also prevalent is emphatic spread which neutralizes the emphatic - non-emphatic contrast. These types of assimilation will be dealt with in §1.5 below. In this section, for the purpose of establishing contrasts, only the basic allophone of each phoneme will be given. For instance, */b/* is defined as a voiced bilabial stop, even though in certain contexts it may be voiceless.

[5] */ḥ/* and */ġ/* have even developed in native forms where they were not found in earlier Aramaic (cf. §1.3.5-6).

1.3.1 Labials: *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, *w*, *m*

The fricative allophone of earlier Aramaic **/p/* has been merged with the stop allophone, so */p/* is found in all contexts, e.g. *poxa* 'air' and *ʾilʿpa* 'to learn'. The voiceless labio-dental fricative */f/* is, however, found in loanwords, especially from Arabic, e.g. *fyʿta* 'to pass' and *faqira* 'poor', but also possibly from Kurdish. Minimal pairs for the fricative - plosive contrast are as follows:

p-f	*pēṛa* 'fruit'	*fēṛa* 'she flew'
	kēpeḥ 'his stone'	*kēfeḥ* 'his well-being'

The fricative allophone of earlier Aramaic **/b/* is realized as the labio-velar approximant [w]. In ANA it is in phonemic contrast with the stop */b/*:

b-w	*biša* 'evil'	*wiša* 'dry'
	kemzʿbenne 'he sold it'	*kemzʿwenne* 'he buys it'

The stop */b/* is also in phonemic contrast with the voiced labio-dental fricative */v/* which is only attested in five words, four of which are Kurdish: *šivʿna* 'shepherd', *gavʿna* 'cowherd', *dargavʿ́n* 'doorkeeper' and *pēlʿve* 'shoes'.[6] This phoneme is too rare for a minimal pair to be available, but both sounds are attested after vowels:

v-b	*gavʿna* 'cowherd'	*mzʿbone* 'to sell'

The only occurrence of */v/* in a native Aramaic word is in *ševla* 'ear of grain'. The Syriac cognate is *šebbəlʿ* (or perhaps *šeblʿ*).[7] It is not clear why the ANA reflex is not *šebla*.

A phonemic voicing contrast is established for the bilabial stops in several minimal pairs, including the following:

p-b	*pʿre* 'money'	*bʿre* 'sides'
	plʿʾa 'to divide'	*blʿʾa* 'to swallow'

[6] Note that in the dialect of Qaraqosh, */v/* is not a phoneme and *šivʿna* is adapted to native phonology as *šibana* (Khan 2002: glossary). This may reflect a lesser influence from Kurdish on the Qaraqosh dialect (cf. Khan 2002: 9-10).

[7] In Syriac, gemination before a *shwa* might be lost and the *shwa* elided (cf. Nöldeke 1904: §22B).

There is no minimal pair available for the contrast */v/-/f/* but as they usually have different origins (Kurdish and Arabic respectively) they are unlikely to be allophones. A near-minimal pair is as follows:

v-f	*ševla* 'ear of grain'	*lefla* 'she wrapped'

The nasal bilabial stop */m/* contrasts phonemically with */b/* in the following minimal pair:

b-m	*bˇra* 'side'	*mˇra* 'master'

It also contrasts with the other nasal phoneme */n/*:

m-n	*mēra* 'she said'	*nēra* 'river'

1.3.2 Dentals, alveolars and post-alveolars: *t*, *d*, *θ*, *ð*, *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *n*, *r*, *l*

The fricative allophone of earlier Aramaic **/t/* has been preserved in ANA, unlike some other NENA dialects,[8] and phonemicized, as in the following minimal pairs:

t-θ	*tēla* 'fox'	*θēla* 'she came'
	šˇta 'year'	*šˇθa* 'fever'

The fricative allophone of earlier Aramaic **/d/* has also been preserved, for instance in *ʾiða* 'arm' (Syriac *ʾiḏˇ*) and *ʾwˇða* 'to do' (Syriac *ʿᵊḇˇḏa*). There are no minimal pairs with the stop, but it can be shown that the two realizations are no longer in complementary distribution, as *d* occurs after a vowel, e.g. *hˇdax* 'thus', and *ð* after a consonant, e.g. *kraqði* 'they dance'. The two must therefore be classed as separate phonemes.

Phonemic contrast in voicing is found for both stops and fricatives. In some cases there is no minimal pair, but even in these cases both sounds are found before vowels (or consonants that do not cause voicing assimilation). This is demonstrated by the following pairs:

[8] For example, historical **t̲* has merged with the stop in the Christian dialect of Zakho (Hoberman 1993: 116, Mole 2002: 8).

t-d	*tora* ‘bull’	*doṛa* ‘turn’ (in game)
	tekθa ‘cord’	*dukθa* ‘place’
θ-ð	*ʾeθwa* ‘there was’	*ʾeðwa* ‘lot’
	ʾiθ˙ya ‘to come’	*ʾið˙ʾa* ‘to know’
s-z	*sanda* ‘pot’	*zanda* ‘upper arm’
	sy˙da ‘to lock’	*zy˙da* ‘to increase’

The voiced post-alveolar fricative *ž* (IPA [ʒ]) is usually an allophone of */š/*, but it occurs as a distinct phoneme in a few Kurdish loanwords: *dežmen* ‘enemy’ (also *dežmenūθa* ‘enmity’) and *pžmn* Q. ‘to regret’ (also *pežmanūθa* ‘regret’). It can thus be considered a marginal phoneme.

The nasal dental stop */n/* is distinguished from */d/* in the following pair:

n-d	*n˙peq* ‘let him go out’	*d˙beq* ‘let it (m.) stick together’

Various phonetic changes are attested among certain Jewish NENA dialects. One is the realization of the historic interdentals **/t̲/* and **/d̲/* as */s/* and */z/* respectively, found in the Jewish Zakho dialect.[9] In Alqosh the interdentals are clearly preserved and phonemically distinct from */s/* and */z/*:

θ-s	*kiθe* ‘he comes’	*kise* ‘bags’
ð-z	*boða* ‘she’ll make’	*goza* ‘walnut’ (near-minimal pair)

In the Jewish dialect of Arbel, original dental fricatives **/t̲/* and **/d̲/* are both realized as [l].[10] Again, the fricative-lateral distinction is clearly preserved and phonemic in ANA:

θ-l	*šekθa* ‘testicle’	*šekla* ‘appearance’
ð-l	*d-oða* ‘that she may do’	*dola* ‘bucket and rope’

[9] Sabar (2002: 5).
[10] Khan (1999: 29).

The two liquids, the lateral approximant */l/* and (often lateral) flap */r/*, are contrasted in the following pairs:

l-r	*bˈla* ‘mind’	*bˈra* ‘side’
	blēla ‘she was tried’	*brēla* ‘it (f.) happened’
	m-ile ‘what is it (m.)?’	*mire* ‘said’ (pl. stative participle)

The post-alveolar fricative */š/* (IPA [ʃ]) is contrasted with the alveolar fricative */s/* in the following pairs:

s-š	*nišan* ‘sign’	*nisan* ‘April’
	šrˈqa ‘to suck’	*srˈqa* ‘to comb’
	mḥašoye ‘to stuff’	*mḥasoye* ‘to absolve’

1.3.3 Affricates: *č*, *j*

These phonemes are almost only ever attested in loanwords, mostly from Kurdish and Arabic, but they are well-established in the language. The following are some examples:

/č/	*/j/*
čˈrek ‘quarter’ (K.)	*jēš* ‘army’ (Arab.)
čˈy ‘tea’ (K.)	*jrˈḥa* ‘to be injured’ (Arab.)
ču- ‘any’ (K.)	*mjawobe* ‘to answer’ (Arab.)
čanta ‘bag’ (K.)	*msajole* ‘to record’ (Arab.)
čyˈka ‘to pierce’ (I.A.)	*julle* ‘clothes’ (K.)
čyˈqa ‘to tear’ (I.A.)	*jwanqa* ‘youth’ (K.)

There are a few attested instances of */č/* occuring in Aramaic words as a result of the merging of */t/* and */š/*. The adverbs *ʾačat* ‘this year’ and *kučat* ‘every year’ are derived from **ʾát-šat* (<**ʾáθ-šat*) and **kút-šat* (<**kúd-šat*) respectively. The word *čēri* in *čēri qamˈya* ‘October’ and *čēri de-trēʾ* ‘November’ is cognate with Qaraqosh *tášri*. In ANA, the first two consonants have merged to */č/*.

In Christian Urmi the affricate */č/* is an allophone of */k/* found in non-emphatic environments.[11] In ANA both sounds are found in non-emphatic environments and there is a minimal pair available to confirm the contrast:

č-k	*čakka* 'instrument'	*kakka* 'daddy', 'grandad'

1.3.4 Palatal: *y*

The only palatal consonant is the approximant */y/*. This is distinguished from the labio-velar approximant */w/*:

y-w	*ʾ˙ya* 'that one (f.)'	*ʾ˙wa* 'that one (m.)'
	syʾ˙a 'fence'	*swʾ˙a* 'to be full'

1.3.5 Velars and uvulars: *k*, *g*, *x*, *ġ*, *ḥ*, *q*

The velar stop and fricative are in phonemic contrast with each other:

k-x	*kora* 'blind'	*xora* 'friend'
	brika 'kneeling'	*brixa* 'blessed'

ANA */x/* is derived from the fricative allophone of earlier **/k/*, as in *brixa* (Syr. *brīk̲˙*) 'blessed', or from original */ḥ/*, as in *xwʾ˙ra* (Syr. *ḥewʾ˙rʾ˙*) 'white'. The breakdown of the complementary distribution of [k] and [x] has been aided by the change of **/ḥ/* to */x/* as well as the introduction of loanwords such as *šappuk* (K.) 'trad. jacket'.

The voiced counterparts [g] and [ġ] are also in phonemic contrast with each other:

g-ġ	*gmira* 'tanned'	*ġmira* 'unconscious'

ANA */ġ/* in most cases is not derived from the Aramaic fricative allophone *ḡ*, which is realized as */ʾ/* in ANA, e.g. *plʾ˙a* 'to divide' (Syriac *plḡ*, cf. also §1.3.6). Original

[11] In this dialect *č* is the allophone of *k* found in 'palatal' (non-emphatic) words, although *č* is also a phoneme in its own right as it occurs in a few 'labial' (i.e. emphatic) words (cf. Hetzron 1969: 113). Cf. also Odisho (1988: 25).

Aramaic *ḡ* is preserved in *paġra* ‘body’ and the verb *sġ˙ða* ‘to bow down’ but these are in fact loans from the liturgical language Syriac and have specialized religious meanings.[12]

Many cases of the voiced velar fricative have arisen through voicing assimilation of */x/*. It occurs, for instance, in forms of the verb *xzy* I ‘to see’ where the */x/* is adjacent to the voiced consonant */z/*, e.g. [ɣ]*z˙ya* ‘to see’ (compare *kx˙ze* ‘he sees’). In such cases it is normally non-phonemic, but there is one case where the sound has become phonemicized: *ġẓd* I ‘to reap’. Originally **xṣd* (<**ḥṣd*), voicing has spread by assimilation from the final radical to the middle radical, then to the initial radical. The difference between this verb and *xzy* I is that [*ġ*] is the realization in all forms of the verb, even when it is not followed by a voiced consonant, e.g. *gġ˙ẓed* ‘he reaps’.

This consonant is most commonly found, however, in loanwords, especially from Arabic, e.g. *ġl˙ba* ‘to win’ and *mġayore* ‘to change’.

Phonemic contrast can also be established for voicing, for both the stops and the fricatives:

k-g	*kora* ‘blind’	*gora* ‘man’
x-ġ	*ʾ˙xa* ‘here’	*ʾ˙ġa* ‘agha’

The uvular stop */q/* is preserved in ANA.[13] Its phonemic independence from the velars */k/*, */g/*, */x/* and */ġ/* is established in the following minimal pairs:

q-k	*ql˙ya* ‘to fry’	*kl˙ya* ‘to stand’
	čy˙qa ‘to tear’	*čy˙ka* ‘to pierce’
q-g	*q˙re* ‘may he read’	*g˙re* ‘roof’
q-x	*sr˙qa* ‘to comb’	*sr˙xa* ‘to be out of control’
q-ġ	*qliba* ‘upside down (ms.)’	*ġliba* ‘winner’

[12] Cf. Tsereteli (1990: 35-42) for a discussion of cases in Neo-Aramaic dialects where the voiced velar fricative has been preserved.

[13] See n. 3.

1.3.6 Laryngeals and pharyngeals: ʾ, ʿ, *h*, *ḥ*

The laryngeal stop /ʔ/ is a reflex not only of earlier */ʔ/ but also original */ʞ/ and in some cases */ḡ/, e.g. *ʾēta* 'church' (Syr. *ʿiðṯ*), *ʾrṯqa* 'to run' (Syr. *ʿrq*), *syṯʾa* 'fence' (Syr. *syṯḡṯ*), *plṯʾa* 'to share' (Syr. *plḡ*), *rʾṯša* 'to wake up' (Syr. *rḡš*).

The pharyngeal /ʞ/, however, survives in a few Aramaic words, usually words with religious significance, as a result of the influence of Syriac, e.g. *ʾišuʿ* 'Jesus', *ʿmṯða* 'to baptize', *ʿalma* 'world', *ʿewṛṯya* 'Hebrew', *ʿlṯya* 'upper' (Syr. *ʿelṯyṯ* 'exalted', 'upper'), *ʿeddṯna* 'time'. There are a few words where Syriac influence is not the cause, but rather the influence of a /q/ or emphatic in the word, e.g. *ʿaqerwa* 'scorpion', *ʿamūqa* 'deep' and *ʿuṭma* 'thigh'. This is not a consistent rule, for instance /ʞ/ is lost in *ʾaqubra* 'mouse' (Syr. *ʿuqbᵊrṯ*).[14]

Most commonly /ʞ/ is found in Arabic loanwords. Some examples are: *ʿamma* 'uncle', *ʿaqṯṛa* 'farmland', *ʿyṯša* 'to live' and *jmṯʿa* 'to gather together'. In some other Arabic loanwords /ʞ/ has been weakened to a /ʔ/, e.g. *daʾwa* 'wedding' (Arab. *daʿwa*). In *šama* (∝ *šamʾa* < Arab. *šamʿa*) 'wax' it may be elided altogether.

A minimal pair exists for the two sounds:

ʾ-ʿ	*ʾaqlux* 'your leg'	*ʿaqlux* 'your mind'

The laryngeal stop is also phonemically distinct from the uvular stop /q/:

ʾ-q	*ʾalpa* 'thousand'	*qalpa* 'peel'

The laryngeal fricative is contrasted with the stop in the near-minimal pair *hṯwe* 'let him be' and *ʾṯwa* 'that one (m.)'. Both occur regularly in initial position, but /h/ alternates with /ʔ/ in *hilṯna* ∝ *ʾilṯna* 'tree' and both may be elided word-initially, following a word ending in a consonant, thus obscuring the distinction.

[14] This tendency is attested more commonly in Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 41-2) where the /ʞ/ is retained not only in *ʿaqərwa* and *ʿamoqa* (ANA *ʿamūqa*) but also in *ʿaqubra* 'mouse' (ANA *ʾaqubra*), *ʿatiqa* 'old' (ANA *ʾatiqa*), *ṭʿn* I 'to lift' (ANA *ṭʾn*) and *ṭʿl* II 'to play' (ANA *ṭʾl* II).

As mentioned above, original **/ḥ/* is usually realized as a velar fricative */x/* in ANA. Some cases of the original pharyngeal */ḥ/* do survive: in religious words, e.g. *mšiḥa* 'Christ', *maðepḥa* 'altar' and *ḥaṭṭ˙ya* 'sinner', and in the vicinity of */q/*, e.g. *raḥūqa* 'far'.[15] This sound has also emerged as an innovation in the 3sg. pronominal suffixes, *-eḥ* and *-aḥ*, which were originally **-eh* and **-ah*. As will be discussed in §5.2, the cause of this change may have been a need to distinguish clearly between these suffixes and the noun inflections *-a* (sg.) and *-e* (pl.).

The phonemic distinction between */ḥ/* and */x/* is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

ḥ-x	*bεθaḥ* 'her house'	*bεθax* 'your (fs.) house'
	ḥ˙li 'my condition'	*x˙li* 'my maternal uncle'
	ḥenne 'he relented'	*xenne* 'others'

There is also a minimal pair for */h/* and */ḥ/*:

h-ḥ	*mšabohe* 'to liken'	*mšaboḥe* 'to praise'

1.3.7 Emphatics: *ṭ, ḍ, ð̣, ṣ, ẓ, ṛ, č̣, ṗ, (ṃ), (ḷ)*

ANA has inherited the two emphatic consonants of Syriac, */ṭ/* and */ṣ/*, distinguished from their non-emphatic counterparts in the following minimal pairs:

t-ṭ	*p-š˙ta* 'in the year'	*pš˙ṭa* 'to extend (one's arm)'
s-ṣ	*sw˙ʾa* 'to be satisfied'	*ṣw˙ʾa* 'to paint'

ANA's stock of emphatics has been much enlarged by two mutually reinforcing processes: borrowing and emphatic spread. The latter is a phenomenon in which consonants in the environment of emphatics themselves become emphatic, e.g. *beṣla*

[15] Also perhaps *qyḥ* 'touch', of uncertain derivation. It seems to be related in some way to *qyθ* 'to hit' (Syr. *qtt* 'to remain fixed, stuck'); Maclean (1901: 277, 268), gives the two as synonyms. The voiceless pharyngeal fricative is preserved under similar conditions in the dialect of Qaraqosh. Cf. Khan (2002: 40-1).

[*ḇeṣla*][16] ‘onion’ (A). The original emphatic in such cases may be called the ‘primary emphatic’, in this case */ṣ/*. Similar to this is the emphaticization that occurs among certain combinations of consonants that were not historically emphatic, as in *pesṛa* [*peṣṛa*] ‘meat’ (A) (compare Syr. *besr˙*). Emphatic spread is a feature common in NENA, as also in dialects of Arabic. Although some patterns of emphatic spread are shared, the extent and nature of the feature varies from dialect to dialect. In the Jewish dialects of Iranian Azerbaijan, for instance, emphasis spreads throughout the entire word and vocabulary can be divided into ‘plain’ (non-emphatic) and ‘flat’ (emphatic) words.[17] In ANA emphasis often affects only part of the word, e.g. *pxalṣetta* [*pxaḷṣetta*] ‘you’ll (m.) finish it (f.)’ (A), although some words may be pronounced entirely emphatic, e.g. *maṛiṛa* [*ṃaṛiṛa*] (≁ *maṛira* [*ṃaṛira*]) ‘bitter’ (A) and *beṣla* [*ḇeṣla*] ‘onion’ (A). The patterns of emphatic spread in ANA will be discussed in more detail in §1.5.6 below.

Emphatic spread does not only produce the historic emphatics of Syriac, *ṭ* and *ṣ*, or even those of the classical Semitic languages, such as *ḍ*, *ð* and *ẓ*, but also *ṛ*, *ḷ*, *ṃ*, *ḇ*, *p̣*, *ṇ*, *c̣*, *θ̣* and *f̣* . Emphatic spread is by its nature conditioned and therefore non-phonemic, but some of these sounds have become phonemicized. For instance there are several minimal pairs available for the */r/-/ṛ/* contrast:

r-ṛ	*m˙ra*	‘master’	*m˙ṛa*	‘shovel‘
	bēra	‘well’	*bēṛa*	‘light’
	xy˙ra	‘to look’	*xy˙ṛa*	‘cucumber’
	mira	‘said (ms.)’	*miṛa*	‘prince’
	ʾamra	‘let her say’	*ʾamṛa*	‘wool’
	bar˙ya	‘happening’	*baṛ˙ya*	‘outer’

Phonemicization has occurred as a result of different, sometimes complementary factors. An important one is the adoption of loanwords. One phoneme found in many Arabic loanwords is */ð/*, e.g. *maḥðore* ‘to prepare’, *qð˙ya* ‘to spend’ and *ḥaðði* ‘my luck’. The

[16] Transcription between square brackets […] in italics is semi-phonetic transcription. Cf. Notes On Transcription (xxi) for details.

[17] Garbell (1965a: 33-4).

stop */ḍ/* is rare; it is presumably merged with */ð̣/* in the Arabic dialects from which the loanwords come.[18] In fact the only unconditioned occurrence of it is in the loanword *ʾoḍa* 'room', where the Arabic has a */ḍ/* that has not merged into */ð̣/*.[19] It can thus be considered a marginal phoneme.

Another factor in the adoption of new phonemes has been analogy. This is behind the establishment of */ẓ/* as a phoneme in a native Aramaic verb: *ġẓd* 'to reap'. Originally a voiced allophone of */ṣ/* occurring before voiced consonants, as in *gġa*[*ẓ*]*di* 'they reap', it spread to forms of the verb even where voicing assimilation could not be active, e.g. *gġ˙ẓed* 'he reaps'.

Another factor may be the historic presence of an **/ʿ/* which has since been lost. This appears to be behind the emphasis in *ʾamṛa* 'wool' (Syr. *ʿamr˙*) which is not found in *ʾamra* 'let her say' (Syr. *ʾ˙mᵊr˙*).[20] It is also behind the emphatic rhotics in the verbs *ṛʾy* 'to graze' (Syr. *rʿy*) and *ṛʾl* 'to shake' (Syr. *rʿl*).

A particularly rare emphatic phoneme found in ANA is the affricate */č̣/*. This is attested in only two lexemes: *č̣hy* 'to hide' and *č̣ym* 'to close'. One of these forms part of a minimal pair:

č-č̣ *čh˙ya* 'to become tired' *č̣h˙ya* 'to hide'

The occurrence of */č̣/* can be explained in both cases. The verb *č̣ym* is cognate with Syriac *ṭmm* 'to stop up, close'. The regular reflex in ANA would be **ṭym*, but */ṭ/* has evolved into */č̣/* as a result of contact with the palatal */y/*. The verb *č̣hy* 'to hide (intr.)' has a

[18] Cf. Jastrow (1978: 34) for the merger of *ḍ* and *ð̣* in Arabic dialects and their common reflexes in various dialects. In some dialects the common reflex is */ḍ/*, in others it is */ð̣/*. The latter is found in some Qəltu dialects such as Mardin and Dēr iz-Zor.

[19] Perhaps because it is a loanword from Turkish (*oda*) rather than an original Arabic lexeme. Cf. Jastrow (1981: 4) for an occurrence of *ʾōḍa* in the Qəltu Arabic dialect of Mardin, in which */ð̣/* is the reflex of original Arabic **/ḍ/* and **/ð̣/* (cf. previous note).

The form *ʾoḍa* is closest to that found in Qəltu Arabic: compare Baghdadi *ʾōda*, Damascene *ʾūḍa*, K. *oda* (dialect of the Jabal Sinjar, Blau 1975: 244). This form may have been borrowed (perhaps even directly to NENA) from a form of Turkish which had emphasis: the Ottoman Turkish has a *ṭ* (Ò¢ËA).

[20] In the dialect of Qaraqosh some cases of */ṭ/* are derived from a */t/* which has been pharyngealized by contact with */ʿ/* (Khan 2002: 43). This is also the case with ANA *ṭʾl* II 'to play' (Syr. *tʿl* Pa., Qar. *ṭʿl* II).

slightly different origin revealed by the cognate Class II[21] verb *ṭšy* II 'to hide (tr.)'. In the Class I verb, */ṭ/* and */š/* have coalesced to */č̣/* [*ṭš*]. The infinitive was therefore **č̣˙ya*. Because this has only two radicals, another was introduced. The consonant */h/* was perhaps chosen by analogy with a verb of similar form, *čh˙ya* 'to be tired'.[22]

This phoneme is quite rare cross-dialectally. It is not attested, for instance, in the dialects of Qaraqosh and Mangesh. It is however reasonably well attested in Aradhin[23] and is also found in the dialect of Jilu.[24] It also occurs in the Assyrian Koine, though only as part of whole-word emphasis.[25]

An even rarer phoneme is */p̣/* which only has phonemic status in one loanword: *p̣˙yes* 'Autumn' (K. *payîz*) and thus should be considered marginal.

The phonemic statuses of [*ṃ*] and [*ḷ*] are less certain and marginal at best. These are all common as allophones of */m/* and */l/* in cases of emphatic spread. The word *ṃ˙ma* 'Mummy' cannot be explained in this way but is perhaps a special case, being child language. In *ḷap̣pa* 'handful' (K. *lep*) the emphatic lateral could be explained by emphatic spread from an emphatic */p̣/*, which is established as a phoneme. But the phonemic status of */p̣/* is itself so marginal that the emphatic spread might have easily occurred in the opposite direction. In fact, as the word is foreign, it cannot be assumed that it is following normal ANA rules at all.[26]

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[21] Verbal 'classes' are equivalent to Syriac conjugations (Peal, Pael etc.) (§6.1).

[22] See Krotkoff (1982: 14) for a discussion of the derivation of *č* and *č̣* in the Aradhin dialect. He cites *č̣lp* 'to split', from Syr. *ṣlp*, and *č̣yᵓ* 'to be smooth', from the Syr. *šʸʸ*. Also see Mutzafi (2000: 302-3) for a discussion of the emergence of *č̣* in the dialect of Maha Khtaya d-Baz.

[23] Krotkoff (1982: glossary) lists fifteen lexemes beginning with this consonant.

[24] Fox (1997: 13). Also see the glossary.

[25] Odisho (1988: 49-50).

[26] It is interesting to note that the source word in Kurdish is not emphatic. This case is reminiscent of the practice in Arabic of pronouncing some consonants in non-Semitic loanwords as emphatic, e.g. *ṭ˙wula* 'table' (Italian *tavola*), *ṣ˙la* 'hall' (Italian *sala*) and *ṭum˙ṭa* 'tomato'.

1.4 *Phonetic realization*

The phonetic realization of consonants is greatly complicated when assimilation is taken into account. Because a great deal of assimilation is not indicated in the transcription, a writing of one phoneme may actually represent the sound of another. For instance, the *b* in *bš˙la* 'to boil' is realized as [p], a separate phoneme in ANA. For the sake of simplicity such realizations will not be covered in this section. Instead this issue will be dealt with separately in §1.5.

1.4.1 General issues

Before going on to describe the phonetic realizations of each consonant phoneme, it is worth outlining some of the issues which affect consonants generally.

1.4.1.1 Aspiration

In ANA stops, whether voiced, voiceless, emphatic or non-emphatic, are all unaspirated. This is also the situation found in the dialect of Mangesh, but not in all NENA dialects.[27] In some dialects aspiration exists as a conditioned variant, while in others it is in phonemic contrast with non-aspiration, as it is in the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish.[28]

1.4.1.2 Fricativization

As mentioned, in earlier Aramaic certain consonants were pronounced as fricatives in post-vocalic position. A similar phenomenon occurs in the modern dialect, though it is much less widespread or consistent. Thus in intervocalic position */b/*, */p/* and */d/* are sometimes pronounced as fricatives, e.g. *b˙ `bi* [bæːβi] 'my father' (A:115).[29] It is also

[27] Sara (1974: 35). In the dialect of Qaraqosh voiceless stops are pronounced with slight aspiration in most environments (Khan 2002: 27).

[28] For a discussion of aspiration in NENA dialects see Tosco (2002: 737-754). For an outline of the phonology of two Kurmanji dialects with an aspirated-unaspirated distinction, cf. Blau (1975: 21-32).

[29] Intervocalic or postvocalic fricativization is attested in other languages such as Spanish and is explained as a kind of assimilation. Fricatives are closer to vowels than stops are, as they allow some air-flow.

attested with the emphatic allophone of */b/*: *ṛ˙*[β^{ς}]*a* ‘big’ (A). Fricativization is also found in other dialects such as Qaraqosh (*/b/* and */d/*) and Arbel (*/b/*, */p/* and */q/*).[30]

1.4.1.3 Devoicing

Voiced phonemes occurring in final position are normally devoiced, e.g. *mj˙web!* [mdʒæːup] ‘answer!’ (A) and *qapaġ* [qɑpɐx] ‘lid’ (A). In some cases the devoicing has become phonemicized, that is, it is still found even in non-final position. This is the case with *ṗ˙yes* ‘Autumn’ (Kurmanji *payiz*).

ṗ˙́ye[s]-*ile* ‘it is Autumn’ (A)

This example may be compared with the following showing non-phonemic voicing:

mj˙we[p]	‘answer!’	*mjawo*[b]*e* ‘to answer’, *mjuwe*[b]*li* ‘I answered’ (A)
bġ˙ẓe[t^{ς}]	‘he’ll reap’	*ġẓ˙*[d]*a* ‘to reap’, *ġẓe*[d]*lɛ* ‘they reaped’ (A)
qapa[x]	‘lid’	*qapa*[ɣ]*ed-destiθa* ‘saucepan lid’ (A)
baġda[t]	‘Baghdad’	*baġda*[d]-*ila* ‘it is Baghdad’ (A)

The loanword *mēz* [*mēs*] ‘table’ (K. *mêz*) seems to be in a state of flux, as the [*z*] is sometimes restored and sometime not. It will therefore be considered as having two variants: *mēz* and *mēs*.

mḗz-ile ≁ *mḗs-ile* ‘it is a table’ (A)

In the case of *yapra*[x] ‘dolma’ the final consonant is not restored but the original voicing is still preserved in the plural form:

yapra[x]*ed-yemmi* ‘my mother’s dolma’ (A)
yapr˙[ɣ]*e* ‘dolmas’ (A)

[30] Khan (2002: 26; 1999: 17-18, 25-26).

1.4.1.4 Gemination

Doubled consonants are distinguished from single consonants by a longer duration before release, as in Arabic and Italian:

keba [kʏbæ] 'she wants' (A) *lebba* [lʏbːæ] 'heart' (A)

This duration is sometimes shorter in unstressed syllables, e.g. *dekkanéy* [dɐ̯k.ænɛ̯́i] 'their shops' and *bassemta* [bɔs.ɐ̯mt̪æ] 'nice (f.)'.

1.4.2 Phonetic realization of consonant phonemes

1.4.2.1 Labials: *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, *w*, *m*

/p/ is usually realized as an voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop, [p]. Between vowels, */p/* may be pronounced as a bilabial fricative [ɸ], e.g. *bil˙ʹ*[ɸ]*a* 'learning' (B).

/b/ is usually realized as a voiced bilabial stop, [b]. Like */p/* it may be fricativized in intervocalic position, e.g. *tettɛ̀-ša*[β]*āθa* 'two weeks' (A:31) and *lɛ̀*[β]*i* (A:228) ≁ *lɛ̀*[b]*i* (A:227) 'I can't'. This fricativization also occurs over word-boundaries, e.g. *xá-šiv˙na* [β]*ix˙ʹla* 'a shepherd eating' (A:161).

/f/ is realized as an voiceless labio-dental fricative, [f].

/v/ is realized as a voiced labio-dental fricative, [v].

/w/ is realized as a labio-velar approximant, [w].

/m/ is realized as a bilabial nasal stop, [m].

1.4.2.2 Dentals, alveolars, post-alveolars: *t*, *d*, *θ*, *ð*, *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *n*, *l*, *r*

/t/ is realized as a voiceless unaspirated dental stop, [t̪].

/d/ is usually realized as a voiced dental stop, [d̪]. In intervocalic position a fricative allophone [ð] is occasionally found, e.g. *yarìxɛ-le hˑdax* [æːðɐx] 'thus' (A:40) and *mšˑdeɻ* [mʃæːðɵɻˤ] 'send!' (A).

/θ/ is realized as an voiceless interdental fricative, [θ].

/ð/ is realized as a voiced interdental fricative, [ð].

/s/ is realized as an voiceless alveolar fricative, [s].

/z/ is realized as a voiced alveolar fricative, [z].

/š/ is realized as an voiceless post-alveolar fricative, [ʃ]. It is articulated with some lip-rounding.

/ž/ is realized as a voiced post-alveolar fricative, [ʒ].

/n/ is usually realized as a dental nasal, [n̪], e.g. [n̪]*ēra* 'river' (A). It frequently assimilates, however, to the articulatory position of a following consonant. Before a bilabial it is therefore often realized as [m], e.g. *wo*[m] *bixˑla* 'I'm eating' (A), *kébe*[m] *paθèxti* 'I want my piece of bread' (A:166); before velars as [ŋ], e.g. *da*[ŋ]*k* 'mill-stone' (A) and *kébe*[ŋ] *kètwi* 'I want my splinter' (A:157).

/l/ is realized as a voiced dental[31] lateral approximant [l̪].

/r/ is realized, in most positions, as a moderately retroflex, often lateral,[32] alveolar flap, [ɹ] ~ [ɽ].[33] The lateral realization is similar in sound to the retroflexed lateral flap in

[31] Or possibly alveolar.

[32] I.e. there is airflow either side of the tongue and the sound has an 'l'-quality.

[33] These symbols represent the alveolar lateral flap (there is no way of marking this as retroflex) and the retroflex alveolar flap respectively. Thanks are due to H. Mutzafi for first identifying the Alqosh */r/* as

Pashto.[34] Sometimes there is no contact between the tongue and the roof of the mouth and the */r/* is realized as a retroflex alveolar approximant [ɻ]. Very occasionally */r/* is realized as a trill with two taps. The presence of */r/* affects its environment: preceding vowels are 'rhoticized', that is they take on some of the acoustic properties of a rhotic. This is similar to the situation in American English where vowels preceding an *r* have a rhotic quality.[35] According to Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 216) this is one of the cross-linguistic tendencies of the rhotic family. Examples: *ṭūra* [tˢuːɻæ] 'mountain' (A), *p-tanū́ra* [ɘptænúːɻæ] 'into the oven' (A:44), *ʾamra* [ʔæmɻæ] 'let her say' (A), and *beqr˙ya* [bɤqɻæ.ᵉɐ.] 'crying out' (A:104), *dlá-ʾ˙wer* [dlæʔæːwɘɻ] 'so that it doesn't open' (A), *mira* [miːɻæ] 'said (ms.)'.

Word-finally (which is always post-vocalic), */r/* is often realized as a short trill and often devoiced, e.g. *ʾ˙mer* [ʔæːmɐ̯r]'let him say' (A) and *ṣèr* [sɤ̀r̥] 'ice' (A:191). Sometimes the trill is relaxed into or replaced by an alveolar fricative, [ɹ̝].

1.4.2.3 Affricates: *č*, *j*

/č/ is realized as a voiceless post-alveolar affricate [tʃ]. It is articulated with some lip-rounding.

/j/ is usually realized as a voiced post-alveolar affricate [dʒ], articulated with some lip-rounding.

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retroflex and to P. Ladefoged and F. Nolan for their parts in identifying the sound. Any mistakes are the responsibility of the author.

[34]Mackenzie (1990: 134-5). It is interesting to note that Informant A mentioned the *l*-like sound of */r/* unprompted. For more information on lateral flaps and taps and where they are attested, see Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 210-1).

Note that Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 230-2) make a distinction (based on Ladefoged 1968) between the terms 'tap' and 'flap' which have often been used interchangeably. According to them 'flaps are most typically made by retracting the tongue tip behind the alveolar ridge and moving it forward so that it strikes the ridge in passing. Taps are most typically made by a direct movement of the tongue tip to a contact location in the dental alveolar region.' An example of an (alveolar) flap is the American allophone of */t/* and */d/* in words such as *city*, *latter* and *ladder*. An example of a (dental) tap is the Spanish *r* in intervocalic position, as in *caro* 'expensive'.

[35] See Ladefoged (1996: 313).

1.4.2.4 Palatal: *y*

/y/ is in most cases realized as a voiced palatal approximant [j]. Between two open vowels, it is not usually as close as an approximant, but rather a high vowel such as [e], e.g. *beštāya-u* [bəʃt̪æèɛu] ‘drinking and’ (A:169).

1.4.2.5 Velars and uvulars: *k*, *g*, *x*, *ḥ*, *q*

/k/ is pronounced as an voiceless unaspirated velar stop, [k], articulated slightly further forward than the British English */k/*. If */k/* precedes */t/* or */p/*, it may be pronounced with a double articulation, that is the */k/* is released at the same time as the following consonant, e.g. *kpaθxen* [k͡pɔθxən] ‘I open’ (B).

/g/ is realized as a voiced velar stop, [g], e.g. *gūre* [gʉːɪə] ‘men’ (A). If */g/* precedes */d/* or */b/*, it may be pronounced with double articulation, e.g. *gd˙latta?* [g͡dæːlɛttæ.] ‘can you see it (f.)?’ (A) and *gbasqila* [g͡bɔsqiːlɔ] ‘they sow it (f.)’ (B).

/x/ is articulated between between the velar and uvular positions. The furthest forward is around the position of the English *k* in card, not as far forward as the English *k* in keen; the furthest back is nearly but not quite as far back as uvular [χ].

/q/ is realized as an voiceless uvular stop [q], though not quite as far back as the classical Arabic */q/*.

1.4.2.6 Laryngeals and pharyngeals: *ʾ*, *h*, *ʿ*, *ḥ*

/ʾ/ is realized prototypically as a glottal stop, [ʔ], but in practice, there is not always full closure. Instead the phoneme is often realized as creaky voice (laryngealization), e.g. *gdaʾren* [gdaa̰ren] ‘I (m.) return’ (A) or occasionally not pronounced at all, e.g. *šaʾuθta* [ʃæʊθ̪tæ] ‘yellow’ (A). This is not uncommon cross-linguistically. According to Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 75), ‘In the great majority of languages we have heard, glottal stops are apt to fall short of complete closure, especially in intervocalic positions.

In place of a true stop, a very compressed form of creaky voice or some less extreme form of stiff phonation may be superimposed on the vocalic stream.'[36]

/h/ is realized as an voiceless laryngeal fricative [h].

The laryngeals are often elided before or after a consonant (*ʾC/hC* or *Cʾ/Ch*). If before the consonant, then any preceding short vowel is lengthened. There is free variation in many cases. See §1.7.3 for details.

Word-initial laryngeals are sometimes elided when they are followed by a vowel and preceded by a morpheme or word ending in a consonant (*C ʾV/C hV*), e.g. *b-àlquš* 'in Alqosh' (A:79), *kēpe ʾeθwˑlɛ* [kèːpəθwʌːlɛ̯ː] 'they had stones' (A),[37] *yarìxɛ-le hˑdax* […læːðɐx] '… thus' (A:40), *ṛabban-àrmez* (<*ṛabban harmez*) 'Rabban Hormizd' (B:6).

At the end of a word */ʔ/* is normally only pronounced in pause. When it is immediately followed by another word (and hence by a consonant), the */ʔ/* is normally elided, e.g. *xˑˊ pˑxˑˊ bemxˑ̀ya* [xʌ́ːpxʌ́ːbɔmxæ̀.ᵉɜ] 'throwing one by one' (A), *de-trḗ lèθ-u* [dɪtɾéːlèːθuː] 'the second (day) there was nothing' (A:137).

/ʕ/ and */ḥ/*: These phonemes are the *ʿayn* and *ḥˑˀ* of Arabic, conventionally described as voiced and voiceless pharyngeal fricatives. In fact these definitions have been challenged (see Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 168-9) for a summary of research). It is suggested that these sounds are approximants rather than fricatives. Ladefoged and Maddieson suggest that there is in fact 'audible local turbulance' in *ḥˑˀ* but seldom in *ʿayn*.[38] This is also the case with the sounds in ANA.[39] They also suggest that the Arabic sounds are

[36] Cf., for example, the data given by Ladefoged and Maddieson for Lebanese Arabic, showing the creaky voice realization of the glottal stop phoneme.

[37] The final */e/* of *kēpe* is elided too (cf. §3.3.3).

[38] The Handbook of the International Phonetic Association (2000) supports this analysis on p20: 'Although it is traditional to pair Hebrew and Arabic [ħ], [ʕ] as fricatives, the voiced sound [ʕ] is usually perceived as an approximant.' But in the section on Arabic, by R. Thelwall and M.A. Sa'adeddin (p52-3), the Arabic sound is identified as a Retracted Tongue Root (emphatic) glottal stop [ʔˁ].

[39] Note also that they exhibit different behaviour: consonants will assimilate in voicing before */ḥ/* but not */ʕ/* (cf. §1.5.1). This is unlike the behaviour of true voiceless-voiced pairs such as */p/* and */b/* and */t/* and */d/*, which all trigger voicing assimilation.

typically made in the epiglottal region, noting however the conclusions of Boff Dkhissi (1983) that 'the movement of the epiglottis is not independent from that of the root of the tongue; rather the two elements work together in forming the constriction.' More appropriate IPA symbols for these sounds might therefore be [ʢ] and [ʜ], which represent epiglottal fricatives (there are no symbols for epiglottal or pharyngeal approximants). But as the exact articulation of the Neo-Aramaic sounds has not been measured, the conventional symbols for the Arabic sounds, [ʕ] and [ħ], will be used.

The */ʾ/* of ANA, though similar to the Arabic sound, usually sounds weaker and occasionally is hardly distinct from */ʔ/*.[40]

1.4.2.7 Emphatics: *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ð̣*, *ṣ*, *ẓ*, *ṛ*, *č̣*, *p̣*, *(m̩)*, *(l̩)* etc.

Emphatic consonants are distinguished from their non-emphatic counterparts mainly by the feature of pharyngealization, but they are more lightly pharyngealized than in the usual pronunciation of Classical Arabic. They may also be distinguished by a slight degree of lip-rounding. Surrounding vowels are affected by emphatic consonants, being backed, lowered and sometimes rounded, especially at the onset. Examples: *ṭ˙leḥ* [tˤʌːleħ] 'to him' (A:162), *ʾamṛa* [ʔʌmˤrˤʌ] 'wool' (A) and *ṭεra* [tˤɞːɹæ] 'bird' (A).

1.5 *Assimilation*

Consonant assimilation, where a consonant takes on one or more of the features of an adjacent consonant, is very common in ANA. There are several varieties: voicing, nasal, fricative, place of articulation and emphatic spread. These are often found in combination. This sometimes results in complete assimilation, where a consonant takes on all the characteristics of the neighbouring consonant, e.g. *rešeš-š˙́ta* (<*rēšed-* + *š˙ta*) 'New Year' (A).

Some forms of assimilation are morphologically conditioned. For instance the L-set suffix assimilates completely to a preceding */t/* or */n/* in present base forms, e.g.

[40] In the dialect of Qaraqosh */ʾ/* is often realised as a glottal stop (Khan 2002: 42).

kpaθxètta (<*kpaθxet* + *-la*) ‘you (ms.) open it (f.)’. Assimilation does not however occur when the L-set suffix is attached to the past base, e.g. *fetla* (<*fet-* + *-la*) ‘she passed’.

Rules of assimilation also apply across word-boundaries, e.g. *n˙ʹše dìyeḥ* [*n˙ʹžd*ìyeḥ] ‘his people’ (B:41) and *w-íθen de-ṣl˙ˋwa* [*wíθeṇḍeṣl˙ˋwa*] ‘and there is (the game) of *Ṣl˙wa* {Crossing}.’ (A:71).

Assimilation is a problem for transcription as it complicates the phonological system of the language by neutralizing phonemic contrasts in certain contexts. It is not desirable to show in the texts all the assimilation that occurs. Some is marked in the transcription and some is not. The rules followed for this are described in §1.6 below.

1.5.1 Voicing assimilation

Voicing is the most consistent type of assimilation.[41] When two consonants are adjacent, the first one assimilates in voicing to the second, as in the example given above where the root consonant *b* of *bš˙la* ‘to boil’ is realized as a voiceless [p]. The only consonants that do not cause or suffer assimilation are the laryngeals */ʔ/*, */h/*, the pharyngeal approximant */ʕ/* and the ‘sonorants’, that is, the nasals */m/* and */n/*, the liquids */l/* and */r/* and the semivowels */y/* and */w/*, as well as any emphatic counterparts of these. Examples: *km˙ṭe* ‘it ripens’ (A) (not *gm˙ṭe*), *tw˙ra* ‘to break’ (A) (not *dw˙ra*), *rk˙wa* ‘to ride’ (A) (not *ɟk˙wa*).

The following are some examples of voicing assimilation:

xz˙ya [*ġz˙ya*] ‘to see’ (A)
ʿmaðta [*ʿmaθta*] ‘baptism’ (A)
sedta [*setta*] ‘closed (fs.)’ (A)
kyaqði [*kyaɢði*] ‘they burn’ (A)
xūred + *xeθna* [*xūretxèθna*] ‘friends of the groom’ (B)
ʾrūted + *ḥešša* [*ʾrūtetḥèšša*] ‘Good Friday’ (lit. ‘Friday of Sadness’) (B:25)

[41] Voicing assimilation is common in NENA dialects; it is attested for example in Mangesh (Sara 1974: 35, 41) and Aradhin (1982: 14). In some dialects it is not consistently applied; see for example Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 28-9).

ˀ˙ˊyet gòrɛ-wet-u [*ˀ˙ˊyedgòrɛwetu*] ‘you are a man’ (A:208)

gy˙ˊnux bassèmta [*gy˙ˊnuġbassèmta*] ‘thank you’ (A)

1.5.2 Nasal assimilation

Nasal assimilation occurs when a nasal (*/m/* or */n/*) is preceded by */b/* or */d/*. There are therefore four possible combinations: *b-m*, *b-n*, *d-m* and *d-n*. Before */m/*, */b/* is almost always nasalized:

mmáḥkex (< *b-* + *maḥkex*) ‘we’ll speak’ (B:38)

mmaḥkóye (< *b-* + *maḥkoye*) ‘talking’ (A:21)

[*m*]-*madrassa* (< *b-* + *madrassa*) ‘at school’ (A)

The verbal prefix *//b-//* is also often nasalized before */n/*:

mn˙peq (< *b-* + *n˙peq*) ‘he’ll go out’ (A)

mn˙pel (< *b-* + *n˙pel*) he’ll fall’ (A)

/b/ is not usually nasalized before */n/* in other contexts:

bn˙ya (not *mn˙ya*) ‘to build’ (A)

bn˙̀θa (not *mn˙θa*) ‘girls’ (B)

b-nə̀ra (not *m-nēra*) ‘in the river’ (A)

Nasalization occurs sporadically with */d/* before */n/*:

kún-naqla (< *kud-* + *naqla*) ‘every time’ (A)

n-nobèlla (< *d-* + *nobella*) ‘that he may lead it’ (A)

It is also attested with *d-m*:

kud [*kun*] *máḥkɛw˙lan* ‘when they spoke to us’ (A:48)

Nasal assimilation is not attested in the opposite direction; that is, nasality is not lost before a non-nasal consonant. For instance, the */m/* in *m-bˉra* 'from the side' (A) is not realized as [b] and the */n/* in *sanda* 'pot' (A) is not realized as [d].

1.5.3 Assimilation to a fricative

Occasionally a stop assimilates to a following fricative. This occurs when the two are found at the same or nearest point of articulation. The types attested are as follows:

(i) *k* to *x*

là-xxašxen (<*kxašxen*) 'I am not suited' (A:215)
ma de-xxášwex (<*kxašwex*) 'What we think' (A:150)

(ii) *g* to *ġ*

mán ġġˉ̀leb (<*gġˉleb*) 'whoever wins' (A)

(iii) *p* to *f*

ffaṭri (<*pfaṭri*) 'they'll fly' (A)

(iv) *t* to *θ*

θ-θḗle[l] (<*t-θēle*) 'who came' (B:5)

1.5.4 Assimilation of */l/* to */r/* and */d/*

The preposition */l/* regularly assimilates to a following rhotic:

r-ràqqa 'on to thin-bread' (D)
r-rēšèy 'on top of them' (A:68)
ṛ-ṛāze xarā̀ya 'to the Last Mass' (A:120)

Similar to this is the assimilation to */d/* of *wel* 'until':

weddˉ́ (<*wel dˉ*) 'until now' (B:4)
wél [*wéd*] *de-ġẓèdlɛ* 'Until they harvested' (A:141)

1.5.5 Assimilation of the place of articulation

Occasionally a consonant assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant. This form of assimilation only occurs in certain cases. One case is */n/* before the voiceless bilabial */p/* (*/n/* before */b/* is not attested). This occurs with forms of the verbs *npl* 'to fall' and *npq* 'to go out':

[*m*]*pélta* 'fallen (f.)' (C:1) (compare *bedn˙pel* 'he will fall' (A))
ma[*m*]*pòle* 'bringing down' (D) (compare *manepla* 'she'll bring down' (A))
[*m*]*péqle* 'he left' (D:5) (compare *mn˙peq* 'he'll leave' (A))

It also occurs over word boundaries:

kében [*kébem*] *paθèxti* 'I want my piece of bread' (A:166)

This type of assimilation also occurs to the *//k-//* verbal prefix before */q/*:

lá-qq˙leb (< *lá-k-* + *q˙leb*) 'it (m.) does not turn' (D)

Assimilation of the place of articulation also occurs in combination with other kinds of assimilation (cf. §1.5.7).

1.5.6 Emphatic spread

Emphatic spread is strictly speaking the spread of emphasis from a primary emphatic (i.e. one that was historically emphatic) to surrounding consonants. This is found in words such as *pl˙ṭa* [*p̣l˙ṭa*] (Syr. *plṭ*) 'to go out'. There is also non-original emphasis, where there was no emphasis historically but where the occurrence or combination of certain consonants has tended to lead to the appearance of emphasis. For example combinations of labials and */r/* frequently become emphatic, e.g. *maṛiṛa* [*ṃaṛiṛa*] 'bitter' (Syr. *marrīr˙*) and *baṛ˙ya* [*ḅaṛ˙ya*] 'outer' (Syr. *barr˙y˙*). Non-original emphatics can trigger emphatic spread just like original emphatics. Non-original emphasis is less predictable than emphatic spread, although some tendencies can be observed.

Not all consonants may be pronounced with emphasis. The emphatic phonemes are *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ð̣*, *ṣ*, *ẓ*, *ṛ*, *č̣* and *p̣*. In addition there are emphatic sounds that occur as allophones: [*ṃ*], [*ḷ*], [*ḅ*], [*n̠*], [*f̣*] and [*θ̣*]. Of these the first two have uncertain phonemic status.

The patterns of emphatic spread that are found in ANA are described below. In the examples the primary (historic) emphatics are marked in bold.

(i) Emphasis consistently spreads to an immediately adjacent consonant if that consonant may be emphatic. This assimilation occurs both backwards and forwards:

Backwards assimilation	**Forwards assimilation**
[*ṃ*]***ṭ̇*** *ya* 'to ripen' (A)	*xamu**ṣ**ṭa* (**xamūṣ-Ta*) 'sour (f.)' (A)
[*ḅ*]*et**ṣ**afnen* 'I will be pensive' (A)	*be**ṣ***[*ḷ*]*a* 'onion' (A)
pxa[*ḷ*]***ṣ****etta* 'you'll finish it (f.)' (A)	*me**ṭ***[*ṛ*]*a* 'rain' (A)

(ii) Emphasis also spreads to neighbouring consonants when they are separated by a vowel. Backwards spread is the type most consistently found, but forwards spread is also common. Emphasis may only spread over one syllable or it may spread further, e.g. [*ṃ*]*á*[*p̣ḷ*]*e**ṭ***[*ḷ*]*e* 'take (sg.) it (m.) out!'

Backwards assimilation	**Forwards assimilation**
[*ṃ*]*á**ṣ**ēθu* 'listen (pl.)!' (A)	*pqa**ṭ**èṭṭe* 'you will cut it (m.) off' (A:207)[42]
[*p̣ḷ*]***ṭ****iwa* 'came out' (A:65)	*qṭa*[*ḷḷ*]*e* 'kill him!' (A)
[*p̣ḷ*]*è**ṭ**ṭa* 'gone out (f.)' (A:128)	***ṣ****ó*[*ṃ*]*a* (B)
[*ḅ*]*e**ṣ**la* 'onion' (A)	***ṭ****e*[*ṃ*]*èy* 'their taste' (B)
[*ṃ*]*e**ṭ**ra* 'rain' (A)	***ṭ****ūṛa* (≁ ***ṭ****ūra*) 'mountain' (A)
[*n̠*] ˙***ṭ****oṛa* 'guard' (A)	
k[*ṃ*] ˙***ṭ****e* 'he reaches' (A)	
k[*f̣*] ˙***ṭ****eṛ* 'he breakfasts'(A)	
[*ḷ*] ˙́-***ṭ̇*** *we* 'not good (pl.)' (B)	

[42] But compare *betxal**ṣ**ette* 'you (m.) will finish it (m.)' (A) and *pxal**ṣ**etta* 'you'll (m.) finish it (f.)' (A).

The distribution of non-original emphasis is less predictable. In most cases, there is a rhotic present, but there are many words with rhotics that are not emphatic. In some cases there was historically an */ʕ/* that has been lost (cf. §1.3.7).

[*ḇeḏṛa*] ‘threshing floor’ (A)

[*p̱eṣṛa*] ‘meat’ (A)

[*ʾaθṛa*] ‘land’ (A)

[*xaṃṛa*] ‘wine’ (A)

[*qoṛa*] ‘grave’ (A)

[*ṛ˙ḇa*] ‘big’ (A)

[*šaṛḇa*] ‘water-cooling pot’ (A)

[*ṯl˙θa*] ‘three (m.)’ (A)

[*ṯeḷḷaθ̱*] ‘three (f.)’ (A)

[*ṣloni*] ‘swallow’ (A)

[*ʾaṃṛa*] ‘wool’ (A) (Syr. *ʿamr˙*)

[*ṯaṛa*] ‘door’ (A) (Syr. *taʿr˙*)

1.5.7 Combinations of assimilatory processes

Where more than one assimilatory force is active, they will have a combined effect on the consonant. The morpheme *//d//*, whether in its genitival (§10.2.1), relativizing (§10.4.1) or complementizing (§10.4.3) functions, assimilates consistently in voicing and emphasis to a following consonant, according to the rules outlined above, e.g. *l-qemmeṭ-ṭūra* (<*l-qemmed-* + *ṭūra*) ‘summit of the mountain’ (C:1). Additionally it may assimilate fully to a following sibilant (alveolar/post-alveolar fricative) or dental fricative. Such complete assimilation is optional but may occur in all the various functions of the morpheme:

/s/ *maqlobe**s**-sékθa* ‘Turning of the nail’ (a game) (A)

/š/ *rēše**š**-š˙ʹta* ‘New Year’ (lit. ‘Head of the Year’) (A)
*čakke**š**-šaðāʹya* ‘instrument for teasing cotton’ (A)
***š**-š˙ʹtex* ‘that we may drink’ (A:192)

/z/ *méšḥe**z**-zèθe-u* ‘olive-oil’ (A:101)
***z**-z˙ʹla* ‘that she may go’ (A:122)

/ṣ/ *risáqte**ṣ**-ṣalóye* ‘rosary beads’ (lit. ‘beads of praying’) (A:147)

/θ/ ***θ**-θḗle* (<*t-θēle*) ‘who came’ (B:5)

There are no examples for */ð/* or */ž/* because they are not attested word-initially.

A similar type of assimilation is found with the particle *beš* ‘more’. This may assimilate fully to */s/* and */z/* (other cases are not attested).

*bé**z**-zora* (≁ *bé*[*ž*]*-zora*) ‘younger’ (A)

*bé**s**-s˙wa* (≁ *béš-s˙wa*) ‘older’ (A)

Assimilation to */z/* is also attested with *ʾaθ-* ‘this’, *lappeš* ‘no longer’ and *kud* ‘when’:

ʾaz-zaḥme ‘this trouble’ (A)

l˙ʹpe[*z*][43] *zònet* ‘You can no longer buy (G)

ku[*z*] *záw˙le* ‘When he went’ (G)

Completely assimilated consonants are sometimes lost entirely. This occurs frequently with the *//b-//* verbal prefixes (§6.8.3, §6.8.9) before labials, e.g. *manepla* (≁ *mmanepla*) ‘she’ll bring down’ (A). When *//b//* precedes the sequence */mC/* in Class II verbs, it is always elided, e.g. *wóle mzabóne* ‘he is buying’ (A). When it precedes other labials which are in a consonant cluster, i.e. */bC/*, */pC/* or */fC/*, it may either be realized as */be-/* or elided:

kʹ˙we bn˙ˋya ‘he is counting’ (A); *kpéši bebn˙ˋya* ‘they start counting’ (A)

péšle pl˙ˋxa (A) ≁ *péšle bepl˙ˋxa* (A) ‘he began working’

péšle [*p*]*x˙ˋya* (A:175) ≁ *péšle be*[*p*]*x˙ˋya* (A:157) ‘he began to cry’

péšle fy˙ˋṛa (A:160) ≁ *péšle befy˙ˋṛa* (A:168) ‘he is flying’

Likewise *//d//*, in contexts where it may be fully assimilated, is sometimes elided altogether. For instance, *rēšeš-šʹ˙ta* ‘New Year’ (A) may be pronounced as [*rēšeššʹ˙ta*],

[43] The pronunciation heard. But A rejects *l˙peš* or *lapeš*, only accepting *lappeš*.

kében š-šaqlen ‘I want to take’ (A:209) as [*kebenšaqlen*], *qémen zz˙`li* ‘Let me rise to go’ (A) as [*qémenz˙`li*] and *kében z-z˙`li* ‘I want to go’ (A:199) as [*kébenz˙`li*].

1.6 *Questions of transcription*

1.6.1 Showing assimilation

Assimilation blurs the distinctions of what is and is not phonemic. In a phonemic transcription this creates a problem. When assimilation takes place, do we represent the assimilated consonant more phonetically or as an *archiphoneme*, leaving the reader to apply the assimilation rules? In the first method we would write [*rēšešš˙´ta*] ‘New Year’ as *rēšeš-š˙´ta*, in the second, *rēšed-š˙´ta* (or *rēšeD-š˙´ta*). In fact there are various factors that must be considered and to apply one method to the exclusion of the other would create more problems than it solves. The problem is therefore where to draw the line. From a linguistic point of view it is mostly arbitrary, so the main issue is what is most suitable for the function the transcription serves.

The purpose of the transcription here is to provide a faithful and efficient representation of speech. A transcription that hides assimilation reveals the underlying morphology more clearly but is more removed from actual utterance; for instance the suffix *-ed* might represent any one of the following: [*ed*], [*et*], [*eṭ*], [*es*], [*eṣ*], [*ez*], [*eš*], if not others. To write *-ed* would help the reader, by acknowledging that these are all only surface manifestations of the same morpheme. But this help is not required for a hearer to understand, so there is no reason why it should be necessary for a reader. Furthermore a more phonetic transcription makes certain phonetic processes such as elision more easy to understand. For instance, if we write the verbal prefix ***//b//*** as *m* before another ***/m/***, e.g. *mmanepla* ‘she’ll bring down’, we can see why this prefix is so easily elided (i.e. *manepla*). Likewise if we can see that ***//d//*** is often fully assimilated to a following ***/š/***, as in *rešeš-š˙´ta*, its elision in other cases (i.e. [*rēšeš˙´ta*]) is more understandable than if we wrote it as *rēšed-š˙´ta* in all cases.

An issue that is particularly relevant to the transcription of speech is variation. Natural speech tends to show more variation than literary or standard languages. Where there is a great deal of variation, a more morphological transcription can simplify and

make the meaning clearer to the eye, but is less helpful in representing the true condition of a natural spoken language. The reader is also unable to ascertain the relative commonness of the variants which might suggest whether or not a change is in process.

Because of these factors, the transcription used here to represent ANA tends to show assimilation. The exceptions to this principle are as follows:

(i) **Non-phonemes**

Assimilation that results in consonants without phonemic status, such as [*n̩*], is not shown. This also applies to the marginal phonemes (*d̩, ž, p̩*) and uncertain phonemes (*m̩*, *l̩*). So, for example, *qṯa*[*ll̩*]*e* 'kill him!' (A) is written as *qṭalle*, though *pqaṭè*[*tṭ*]*e* 'you will cut it (m.) off' (A:207) is written as *pqaṯèṭṭe*.

(ii) **Root consonants**

In derived forms, for instance all verbal forms and feminines of nouns, root consonants are shown without assimilation. This is only done when cognate forms without the assimilation can show what the basic phoneme is. For instance *kale*[*p*]*θa* 'bitch' is written as *kalebθa* because the plural is *kale*[*b*]*y˙θa* but *qale*[*p*]*θa* 'flake of dandruff' is written as *qalepθa* because it is a derivative of *qalpa* 'peel'. Likewise [*p*]*x˙ya* 'to weep' is written as *bx˙ya* because the underlying consonant is revealed as */b/* in forms such as *lá-b˙xet* 'don't weep!' The same rule applies even to loanwords which strictly speaking do not conform to the Semitic triradical system, e.g. *pēla*[*f*]*ta* 'shoe' written as *pēlavta* because of the plural *pēl˙ve*. Other examples are below:

[*ġ*]*z˙ya* 'to see', written as *xz˙ya* (compare *kx˙ze* 'he sees')
[*k*]*x˙ka* 'to laugh', written as *gx˙ka* (compare *gg˙xek* 'he laughs')
[*m*]*pelle* 'he fell', written as *npelle* (compare *bedn˙pel* 'he will fall')
ʿ*ma*[*θ*]*ta* 'baptism', written as ʿ*maðta* (compare ʿ*m˙ða* 'to baptize')
ge[*t*]*ša* 'accident', written as *gedša* (cognate with *gdešle* 'it happened')
ša[*p*]*θa* 'week', written as *šabθa* (pl. *šab˙θa*)
ṛa[p]*θa* 'big (fs.)', written as *ṛabθa* (ms. *ṛ˙ba*)

Assimilation of the root is however marked where it is a type of assimilation that is restricted in its application, such as the assimilation of a rhotic to */t/* in the feminine adjectives *qaṛetta* 'cold' (m. *qaṛiṛa*) and *maṛetta* 'bitter' (m. *maṛiṛa* ≁ *maṛira*). This is because this assimilation is not universal (compare *ʾaterta* 'rich (f.)' and *xerta* 'other (f.)') and hence the phonetic realization would not be predictable from transcription as '*qaṛerta*' and '*maṛerta*'.[44]

Assimilation is also marked where there are no contemporary cognate forms, such as in *pθolta* 'virgin', ultimately from *bθolta* (compare Syr. *bʾṯūlṯ*). Assimilation is likewise marked where cognate forms are not related in a regular way, such as *ġða-* 'one (f.)' (Syr. *ḥḏ*) and *xa-* 'one (m.)' (Syr. *ḥaḏ*). In some cases a historical assimilation has become the basic form and has spread to all forms based on the root. This has happened in the case of the verbal roots *txr* 'to remember' (Syr. *dkr*) and *ġẓd* (Syr. *ḥṣd*) 'to reap' and partially in the case of *čhy* (≁ *jhy*) 'to become tired'. Another example is *gupta* 'cheese'. This is cognate with Syr. *gḇett* ≁ *gḇent*, so the */p/* is clearly in origin a */b/* that has been devoiced, but it has been reanalysed, as shown by the plural form *gupyˈθa*. The singular is therefore also written with a '*p*'.

It should be noted that grammatical morphemes are treated differently to root consonants: all phonemic assimilation is shown.[45] Hence the feminine of *xamūṣa* 'sour' is written as *xamuṣṭa* rather than '*xamuṣta*'. The verbal prefixes are written as pronounced, as can be seen with *//k-//* in the following examples: *kpˈθex* 'he opens', *gbˈšel* 'he boils' and *qqˈre* 'he reads'. The *//d//* morpheme is written as *d*, *t*, *s*, *ṣ*, *š* etc.., e.g. *s-sɛdi* 'that they may close'. The *//b-//* morphemes are written as *b*, *p*, or *m*. The only exception is *//b//* before a noun, where it is written as *b-* to distinguish it from the preposition *m-*:

b-madrassa [*mmadrassa*] 'at school'
m-madrassa [*mmadrassa*] 'from school'

[44] Dissimilation of the two rhotics may also be playing a role here, but as there are no other examples or counterexamples from which to derive a rule, it is best to treat these as exceptions.
[45] Excepting the phonemes that are marginal such as */ḍ/*.

The same aid is not necessary for the *b*-infinitive construction (e.g. *mmaploxe* 'using'), as the preposition *m-* rarely occurs before an infinitive and would in any case be distinguished by the hyphen (*m-maploxe* 'from using').

(iii) **Emphatic spread**

Emphatic spread, other than to grammatical morphemes, is not indicated in order to minimize the number of diacritics marks. Only the primary emphatic is written. Thus, for instance, [*ḇeṣḷa*] 'onion' (Syr. *beṣl˙*) is written as *beṣla*. The spread of the emphasis is not entirely predictable, not least because of the degree of variation that is found. Nevertheless the distribution of secondary emphasis is not phonemic and so there is no vital need to represent it.

Emphatic spread in verbal roots is shown when the consonants are fully phonemic and the emphasis is found in all forms of the verb, e.g. *nṭṛ* 'to guard' (*n˙ṭ̀ḛ̀ṛux* 'may he protect you' (A), *nṭḗw˙ṛe* 'he guarded' (A), *naṭoṛa* 'guard' (A) etc.).

Where there is non-original emphasis, in most cases there is a rhotic present. To keep diacritic marks to a minimum, it is therefore most efficient to mark the rhotic as emphatic and let the reader apply the rules of emphatic spread. Thus [*ḇeḍṛa*] 'threshing floor' is written as *bedṛa* and [*xaṃṛa*] 'wine' as *xamṛa*. There are a few exceptional cases which must be considered. Rhotics are also not present in [*ṭḷ˙θa*] and [*ṭeḷḷaθ*] 'three' (m. and f. respectively), but as *ṭ* is a full phoneme and not *ḷ*, we will only mark the *ṭ* as emphatic. Likewise for [*ṣḷoni*] 'swallow' (Syr. *sᵊnūniṯ˙*), to be written as *ṣloni*. We also find */b/* being realized as an emphatic in the vicinity of */ġ/* but as emphatic *ḇ* is not a phoneme, this will not be marked.

(iv) **Sandhi**

Assimilation over word boundaries (sandhi) will *not* be shown. Thus *ʾ˙ʹye*[*d*] *gòrɛ-wet-u* 'You are a (real) man' (A:208) will be written as *ʾ˙ʹyet gòrɛ-wet-u*, *ku*[*z*] *záw˙le* 'When he went' (G) as *kud záw˙le* and *kébe*[*m*] *paθèxti* 'I want my piece of bread' (A:166) as *kében paθèxti*. Where a morpheme is dependent (cannot stand alone), it is not considered as a separate word for this purpose, e.g. *béz-zora* (<*beš* + *zora*) 'younger', *ʾáð-baxta*

(<*ʾaθ* + *baxta*) ‘this woman’, *kút-šabθa* (<*kud* + *šabθa*) ‘every week’. But where the morpheme can also stand alone, it will be treated as a separate word, e.g. *ʾeššét-bēdekyāθa* [*ʾeššéd-bēdekyāθa*] ‘six female sparrows’.

1.6.2 Showing elision

Elisions that take place within a word or a word group (indicated by a hyphen) will be shown, e.g. *dāwa* (<*daʾwa*) ‘wedding party’, *b-alquš* (<*b-* + *ʾalquš*) ‘in Alqosh’ and *hilāned-armóta* (<*hilāned-* + *ʾarmota*) ‘pomegranate tree’.

Elision of */ʔ/* over word or word-group boundaries will not be shown. This covers initial and final */ʔ/*. Thus [*xa̋pxa̋bemxāya*] ‘throwing one by one’ (A) is written as *xa̋ʾ p-xa̋ʾ bemxa̋̀ya*, [*detre̋̀lèθū*] ‘the second there was nothing’ (A:137) as *de-tre̋ʾ lèθ-u* and [*ke̋̀peθwālɛ*] ‘they had stones’ (A) as *ke̋̀pe ʾeθwālɛ*.

1.7 *Historical development*

Some issues of historical development have been covered in the relevant sections, for instance the shift from *ḥ* to *x*. The development of the *begāḏkepāṯ* consonants has also been briefly covered in §1.2 but will be dealt with in more detail below.

1.7.1 Development of the *begāḏkepāṯ* consonants

As described above, the *begāḏkepāṯ* consonants are those consonants of earlier Aramaic that had both stop and fricative allophones. These consonants were */b/*, */g/*, */d/*, */k/*, */p/* and */t/*. In post-vocalic position, these consonants were realized as a fricative, except when geminated. In all other cases a plosive was found.[46]

For all these consonants except for **/p/* the two-way distinction has been preserved in ANA. In two cases the fricative allophone has undergone further development. The bilabial fricative *b̲* has become a labio-velar approximant[47] and the voiced velar fricative *ḡ* has become a glottal stop:

[46] There were a few exceptions to these rules.

[47] This development probably occurred quite early. According to Nöldeke (1904: §27) ‘The East-Syrians have, from remote times, pronounced ܒ quite like ܐ;’.

Stop	**Fricative**
$b \rightarrow b$	$\underline{b} \rightarrow w$
$g \rightarrow g$	$\bar{g} \rightarrow ʾ$
$d \rightarrow d$	$\underline{d} \rightarrow ð$
$k \rightarrow k$	$\underline{k} \rightarrow x$
$p \rightarrow p$	$\bar{p} \rightarrow p$

The different realizations have in ANA become phonemicized, i.e. they are now no longer in complementary distribution. This change in distribution was the result of several phonetic developments in the language, listed below:

1.7.1.1 Consonantal change and gemination loss

In some cases consonant elision (described in §1.7.3) has left a soft consonant in word-initial (i.e. not post-vocalic) position, e.g. **ʾ$\underline{b}$i$\underline{d}$-le* > *weðle* 'he made'. In other cases a consonant that was realized as a stop because it was geminated has lost the gemination and yet is still a stop (cf. §1.7.2), e.g. **dukkʾ$\underline{t}$ā* > *dukθa* 'place'.

In some cases the monophthongization of **e$\underline{b}$*, **a$\underline{b}$* and **o$\underline{b}$* to */ū/* and */o/* has left the *//-Ta//* suffix in post-vocalic position:

**qarri$\underline{b}$tā* → **qare$\underline{b}$ta* → **qarewta* → *qarūta* 'near (f.)'

Elision of */ʔ/* has also sometimes left *//-Ta//* in post-vocalic position:

Earlier stage	**ANA**	
**sweʾta* →	*swēta*	'satisfied (fs.)'

1.7.1.2 Dissimilation in nouns

There are sporadic cases of an original **d̲* or **t̲* being realized as a stop in the neighbourhood of another dental fricative, e.g. **ʾid̲āt̲a* > *ʾidāθa* 'hands' and **bi-sad̲it̲a*[48] > *spadiθa* 'cushion'. The same process can be seen in the dialect of Qaraqosh.[49]

1.7.1.3 Analogy in verbal roots

In verbal forms the allophonic distribution of *begād̲kepāt̲* consonants has broken down under the influence of analogy. For any given verbal root the realizations of the radicals, whether stop or fricative, have been fixed for all forms within a single class. Thus we have the */ð/* (<**d̲*) of *yqð* 'to burn' occurring in both post-vocalic and post-consonantal positions e.g. *kyāqeð* 'he burns' and *kyaqði* 'they burn'.

1.7.2 Loss of gemination

Another phonetic development that has occurred in many words of Aramaic origin is loss of original gemination. The effect of this varies according to the context.

1.7.2.1 In stressed syllables

In stressed syllables, after *a* or *u*, gemination has been lost and the vowel lengthened in compensation. This has occurred in words that were of the form **CaCCā* or **CuCCā*:

Syr.	**ANA**	
qaššā	*qāša*	'priest'
rabbā	*ṛāba*	'big'
mayyā	*māye*	'water'
dukkā	*dūka*	'place'
guddā	*gūda*	'wall'

[48] Cf. §7.9.5.

[49] Cf. Khan (2002: 36-7).

It also occurred with the Pael present base:

Syr.	**ANA**	
mzabbēn	*mzāben*	‘let him sell’

Gemination was retained in *šmayya* ‘sky, heaven’ (Syr. *šmayyā*) and *ṛabban* ‘monk’ (Syr. *rabban* ‘our master’) perhaps because words used in the church are often preserved in an archaic form.

Gemination was not lost when preceded by an */e/* (*CeCCā*). The gemination was preserved and the vowel left short:

Syr.	**ANA**	
ʾemmā	*yemma*	‘mother’
lebbā	*lebba*	‘heart’

Gemination is also preserved where it derives from the merging of L-set suffixes to a preceding consonant:

kpaθxan + le	*kpaθxanne*	‘I (f.) open it (m.)’
kpaθxat + le	*kpaθxatte*	‘you (f.) open it (m.)’

1.7.2.2 In pretonic syllables

In pretonic syllables, after */a/* or */u/*, gemination has been lost but the vowel has been left short.

Syr.	**ANA**	
šappīrā	*šapira*	‘beautiful’
xammūṣā	*xamūṣa*	‘sour’
barrāyā	*baṛāya*	‘outer’
rabbūθa	*ṛabūθa*	‘old-age’
burrāḵā	*burāxa*	‘blessing’

This has also occurred in certain Class II verbal forms: the infinitive, the past base, and the feminine stative participle:

Earlier stage	**ANA**	
**mzabbone*	*mzabone*	'to sell'
**mzubbenni*	*mzubenni*	'I sold'
**mzubbanta*	*mzubanta*	'sold (f.)'

There are a few exceptions to this rule: *dukkāne* 'places' (sg. *dūka*, Syr. *dukkā*), *bassima* 'nice' (Syr. *bassīmā*) , *gabbāra* 'champion' (Syr. *gabbārā*).

1.7.2.3 In *verba tertiae /r/*

In forms of *verba tertiae /r/* or */ṛ/*, the rhotic merges with L-set suffixes. Originally this resulted in gemination, as is still found in other dialects, but in ANA the gemination has been lost and any preceding short vowel is lengthened in compensation, e.g. **twerre* > *twēre* 'he broke'.[50] See §6.3.5 and §6.18.1.1 for details.

1.7.3 Elision of consonants

1.7.3.1 Loss of */ʾ/*, */h/* and */y/* before a consonant

In nouns the laryngeals have usually been elided after **/e/* and the vowel lengthened in compensation, e.g. *dēwa* 'gold' (**dehḇa*). This process had already occurred in Syriac to */ʾ/*, although the elided consonant was still written, e.g. Syr. *bē(ʾ)rā* (ܒܐܪܐ), cognate with ANA *bēra* 'well'. In some cases the elided **/ʾ/* goes back to an earlier **/ʿ/*. See §7.3.1.2(7) for more discussion and examples. After */a/* the laryngeal may be elided or preserved:

dāwa ≁ *daʾwa*	(Arab. *daʿwa*)	'wedding party'
qāwa ≁ *qahwa*	(Arab. *qahwa*)	'coffee'
sādona ≁ *sahdona*	(<*sahdona*)	'(the saint) Sahdona'.

[50] A Chaldean dialect that retains gemination is Aradhin, e.g. *gwirre* 'he married' (1982: 127).

In verb forms elision of the laryngeals is sometimes morphologically conditioned. Compare *šmēli* (<**šmeʾ-li*) 'I heard' and *beʾya* 'wanted (ms.)', and *šmola* (*šmoʾ* + *la*) 'hear it (f.)!' and *mṭoʾla* 'having played (ms.)'. Sometimes it is optional, e.g. *gdaʾṛi* ≁ *gdāṛi* 'they return'.

Initial */ʾ/* and */y/* have been lost in certain forms of some *verba primae /ʾ/* and *verba primae /y/*, in both Classes I and III. See the relevant sections in chapter 6 for details.

1.7.3.2 Elision of */ʾ/*, */h/* and */y/* after a consonant

The laryngeals */ʾ/* and */h/* are also frequently elided *after* a consonant. Such forms exist alongside the more archaic forms which preserve the laryngeal, but the elided forms seem to be more common. When elision takes place, ANA preserves the short vowel despite the opening of the syllable.

There are a number of nouns where elision usually occurs, e.g. *ʾarʾa* ≁ *ʾara* (<**ʾarʿa*) 'earth' and *ṭemʾa* ≁ *ṭema* (<**ṭemʿa*) 'taste'. In all cases the */ʾ/* derives from an original ʿ or *ḡ*. See §7.3.1.3 (11) for more examples.

In verb forms both the laryngeals may be elided following a consonant, sometimes optionally, and sometimes obligatorily:

kšamʾa ≁ *kšama*	'she hears'
*zedu (<*zedʾu)*	'be afraid (pl.)!'
kʾarqi ≁ *karqi*	'they run'
čhēle ≁ *čēle*	'he became tired'
kāwe (<**k-* + *hāwe*)	'he is'

However */ʾ/* is not elided in forms of *bʾy* 'to want':

bʾāya	'to want'

In *verbae mediae /y/*, the */y/* has been elided in the present and imperative bases, e.g. *masem* (<**masyem*) 'put (sg.)!'

CHAPTER TWO

VOWELS

2.1 *Phoneme inventory*

There are nine vowel phonemes, six of them long and three short. The distinction between long and short is only phonemic in certain environments, as will be discussed below. The phonemes */o/*, */ɛ/*, and */i/* are usually realised as long but not marked as such in order to minimize the number of diacritics.

/i/ /ē/ /ɛ/ /ā/ /o/ /ū/

/e/ /a/ /u/

2.2 *Phonology of vowel quality*

The following tables contain minimal pairs showing phonemic distinctions, firstly among the long vowels and then among the short vowels. The question of phonemic length is dealt with in §2.3.

2.2.1 Long vowels

The following table follows the order given above, pairing each vowel in turn with the remaining vowels.

i-ē	*ʾiða*	‘hand’	*ʾēða*	‘festival’
i-ɛ	*xzila*	‘see (ms.) her!’	*xzɛla*	‘see (fs.) her!’
	pišen	‘there remains’	*pɛšen*	‘let me (m.) remain’
i-ā	*zila*	‘gone (ms.)’	*zāla*	‘let her go’
i-o	*xzila*	‘see (ms.) her!’	*xzola*	‘see (pl.) her!’
i-˙	*riša*	‘awake (ms.)’	*r˙ša*	‘shoulder’

ē-ɛ	*xzēla*	‘she saw’	*xzɛla*	‘see (fs.) her!’
	wēwa	‘he was’	*wɛwa*	‘they were’
ē-ā	*wēwa*	‘he was’	*wāwa*	she was’
ē-o	*xzēla*	‘she saw’	*xzola*	‘see (pl.) her!’
ē-ˑ	*nēra*	‘river’	*nˑra*	‘fire’
ɛ-ā	*wɛwa*	‘they were’	*wāwa*	‘she was’
	ʾɛna	‘eye’	*ʾāna*	‘I’
ɛ-o	*xzɛla*	‘see (fs.) her!’	*xzola*	‘see (pl.) her!’
ɛ-ˑ	*ṭɛra*	‘bird’	*ṭˑra*	‘mountain’
ā-o	*yāma*	‘sea’	*yoma*	‘day’
	tāma	‘there’	*toma*	‘Thomas’
ā-ˑ	*tāma*	‘there’	*tˑma*	‘garlic’
o-ˑ	*xori*	‘my friend’	*xˑri*	‘my friends’
	toma	‘Thomas’	*tˑma*	‘garlic’
	málpo-la ‘she is a teacher’		*málpˑla* ‘teach her!’	

2.2.2 Short vowels

e-a	*yerxa*	‘length’	*yarxa*	‘month’
	wenwa	‘I (m.) was’	*wanwa*	‘I (f.) was’
	ʾerba	‘sheep’	*ʾarba*	‘four’
e-u	*xerta*	‘another (f.)’	*xurta*	(type of tree)
	jelle	‘he searched’	*julle*	‘clothes’
	dekkāneḥ	‘his shop’	*dukkāneḥ*	‘his places’
a-u	*ʾarxa*	‘guest’	*ʾurxa*	‘road’
	maḥkɛθa	‘speech’	*muḥkɛθa*	‘spoken (fs.)’
	malapta	‘teaching (fs.)’	*mulapta*	‘taught (fs.)’

2.3 *Phonology of vowel length*

Distinction of vowel length in ANA is phonemic but only in certain environments. In many other cases length is predictable. Most notable is the rule that long vowels, except for */o/*, */ɛ/* and a few exceptional cases of */ā/*, do not normally occur in closed syllables. The distribution of short and long vowels is also limited by historical accident. Because of this complexity there are only three minimal pairs available for vowel length, and only for *a-ā*

a-ā	*mara*	'illness'	*māra*	'master'
	daṛa	'step'	*dāṛa*	'century'
	qaṭa	'let her cut'	*qāṭa*	'tomcat'

Nevertheless the other distinctions, */e/-/ē/* and */u/-/˙/*, can also be said to be phonemic. In certain types of open syllables both the long and the short vowels may occur, being restricted only by historical or morphological factors, not phonetic ones. Therefore minimal pairs contrasting length are theoretically possible within the phonological system of ANA. The following are near-minimal pairs showing unconditioned length distinction:

e-ē	*keba*	'she wants'	*kēpa*	'stone'
u-˙	*dušu*	'trample (pl.)!'	*d˙ša*	'honey'
	puqa	'frog'	*š˙qa*	'market'

2.3.1 Distribution of vowel length

As stated, length is not contrastive in every position. The rules for the distribution of long and short vowels are conditional on three factors:

i. whether the syllable is ***non-final*** or ***final***
ii. whether the syllable is ***open*** or ***closed***
iii. where the syllable is in relation to the ***stress*** (which is usually penultimate)

Although length is non-phonemic in some environments, it will nevertheless be marked in all environments in order that the transcription system may show simple one-to-one correspondances between symbol and sound.[1]

Final syllables behave in a markedly different manner to other syllables. Firstly non-final syllables will be discussed, and then final syllables.

2.3.1.1 Non-final syllables

2.3.1.1.1 *Closed syllables (-CvCC-)*

In non-final closed syllables only short vowels (*/a/*, */e/*, */u/*) are regularly found, with the exception of */o/* and */ɛ/*, though those also tend to contract to */a/* (§2.3.2.1). Other long vowels are only rarely found: in the loanword *r**ā**dyu* 'radio' and as a variant of */aʾa/* in *ṭ**ā**lta* (*∾ ṭaʾalta*) 'game'.

2.3.1.1.2 *Open syllables (-CvC-)*

There is a tendency for open syllables to have long vowels. There is however a significant number of cases where short vowels are found in open syllables, and so short and long vowels must be distinguished.

The precise distribution of long and short vowels is discussed below. The rules for non-final open syllables vary according to their position relative to the stress: (i) tonic or preceding the tonic or (ii) post-tonic:

(i) **Tonic or preceding syllables may have long or short vowels.**

(a) *Tonic (-CV́Cv-)*

The vast majority of these syllables have a long vowel, but a few have a short vowel. All vowels are therefore attested in this position. Short vowels occur in the plural

[1] An alternative would be to leave length unmarked when predictable, for instance write [kθu:] 'write (ms.)!' as *kθu* because only long vowels are found in final open stressed syllables. Or, given that there is a general tendency towards short vowels in closed syllables and long vowels in open, to mark only those vowels which violate this. This would result in [a] being transcribed as *a* or *ă*, depending on the context, and [a:] being transcribed as *a* or, rarely, *ā*. Transcription involves a conflict between reflecting the phonemic system in the most faithful manner and creating a system that is easy for the reader to interpret. I have tended towards the latter and preferred one-to-one correspondances.

imperatives of *verba mediae /y/* and */w/*, e.g. *q**u**mu* ‘get up!’ (√*qym*) and *z**u**nu* ‘buy!’ (√*zwn*).[2] These short vowels seem to be contractions from original long vowels which are still found in other dialects (e.g. Aradhin *qu:mu* ‘stand!’, *dwu:qu* ‘seize!’ and Tkhuma *q˙mu* ‘stand up!’, *š(w)oqu* ‘leave!’).[3] Other short vowels are usually explained by the historical loss of a consonant which has opened a previously closed syllable (cf. §2.5.6.3). A few are found in loanwords, e.g. *t**u**tun* ‘tobacco’ and *tan**a**ga* ‘tin’ (cf. §2.5.6.6).

The following examples show cases of all the vowels in this position and near-minimal pairs between short and long vowels of the same or similar quality:

e-i	*ṭ**é**ma*	‘taste’	*ṭ**í**ma*	‘value’
	*ʾ**é**tu*	‘sit (pl.)!’	*ʾ**í**tu*	‘sit (sg.)!’
e-ē	*k**é**ba*	‘she wants’	*k**ḗ**pa*	‘stone’
e-ɛ	*k**é**ba*	‘she want’	*k**ɛ́**ba*	‘let her bow’
a-ā	*m**á**ra*	‘illness’	*m**ā́**ra*	‘master’
a-ɛ	*q**á**ṭa*	‘let her cut’	*qɛ́ṭa*	‘summer’
u-˙	*d**ú**šu*	‘trample!’	*d**ū́**ša*	‘honey’
u-o	*p**ú**qa*	‘frog’	*p**ó**xa*	‘air’

(b) *Pretonic*

All long vowels occur in this position. Long */ā/* is not common in this position except in verbs, as in other forms pretonic shortening occurs (§2.3.2.2.2.i). It is however found as an exception in the active participle form *CāCoCa* (e.g. *nāṭoṛa* ‘guard’) and loanwords such as *kālekke* ‘crocheted shoes’. Long */˙/* is restricted to verbs, again because of pretonic shortening. Of the short vowels, */a/* and */u/* are common but */e/* is rare.

[2] The *initiae /ʔ/* verb *ʾmr*, ‘to say’, has the same form in ANA (*muru* ‘say!’), perhaps by analogy with *verba mediae /y/* and */w/*.

[3] Cf. Krotkoff (1982: 29) and Jacobi (1973: 109-110).

Long vowels			**Short vowels**		
/i/	*b-**i**dā́θa*	‘in the hands’	*/e/*	*b**e**dā́mer*	‘he will say’
/ē/	*k**ē**bā́ye*	(a type of dish)		*k**e**bénna*	‘I want her’
	*b**ē**rā́θa*	‘wells’		*mmaš**e**mā́li*	‘she’ll make me hear’
/ɛ/	*xɛṭā́wa*	‘she used to sew’			
/ā/	*p**ā**θéxwa*	‘he used to open’	*/a/*	*p**a**θéxta*	‘piece of pitta bread’
	*n**ā**ṭóṛa*	‘guard’			
	*k**ā**lékke*	‘crocheted shoes’		*k**a**θā́wa*	‘writer’
/o/	*ˀ**o**ðíwa*	‘they used to make’	*/u/*	*p**u**qā́θa*	‘frogs’
/ˈ/	*k**ū**ðíla*	‘they make it’		*g**u**dā́ne*	‘walls’

(c) *Propretonic and pro-propretonic*

All three short vowels are found in propretonic and pro-propretonic position, but not all the long vowels. Of the long vowels, only */ē/*, */i/*, */o/* and */ɛ/* are found. Where */ā/* and */ˈ/* might be expected from the morphology, their short equivalents */a/* and */u/* are normally found, e.g. *g**a**rawāθa* ‘roofs’ from *g**ā**re* ‘roof’. This is because of pretonic vowel shortening which affects any syllables prior to the tonic (cf. §2.3.2.2.2.i). Pretonic vowel shortening does not affect verbs, which is why long vowels can be found in immediately pretonic syllables e.g. *p**ā**θéxwa* ‘he used to open’ and *k**ū**ðíla* ‘they make it’. But there are no possible cases where the */ā/* or */ˈ/* of a verb can be pushed into propretonic or pro-propretonic position, as additional suffixes do not change the stress. There are however some cases of propretonic */ā/*. As mentioned above, active participles, like *nāṭoṛa* ‘guard’, are unaffected by pretonic shortening. When a stressed suffix such as *-éy* (‘their’) shifts the initial syllable into propretonic position, one might expect the long */ā/* still to be preserved (i.e. *nāṭoṛéy*). In fact a long vowel in that position is only pronounced mid-long and sometimes the realization is in fact short: *n**ā**ṭoṛéy* ≁ *n**a**ṭoṛéy* ‘their guards’.

Long vowels are also occasionally found in this position when pretonic shortening is not applied, but not usually in the speech of Informant A (cf. §2.3.2.2.2.i).

Long vowels			**Short vowels**		
/i/	*ʾ**i**xalā́ne*	‘foods’	*/a/*	*g**a**rawā́θa*	‘roofs’
/ē/	*š**ē**rawā́θa*	‘vigils’		*x**a**weḏrā́neḥ*	‘around him’
/ɛ/	*b**ɛ**θawā́́θa*	‘houses’	*/e/*	*b**e**dāmḗra*	‘he will tell her’
/o/	*x**o**rawā́́θa*	‘friends’	*/u/*	*g**u**daníθa*	‘little wall’

Most, if not all, cases of pro-propretonic syllables involve one of the two stressed suffixes *-éy* ‘their’ and *-óxun* ‘your (pl.)’ which have the effect of making any propretonic syllable pro-propretonic:

Long vowels			**Short vowels**		
/i/	*ʾ**i**xalanéy*	‘their foods’	*/a/*	*g**a**rawaθéy*	‘their roofs’
/ē/	*š**ē**rawaθéy*	‘their vigils’		*x**a**weḏranéy*	‘around them’
/ɛ/	*b**ɛ**θawaθéy*	‘their houses’	*/e/*	*b**e**dāmḗra*	‘he will tell her’
/o/	*x**o**rawaθéy*	‘their friends’	*/u/*	*g**u**daniθéy*	‘their little wall’

(ii) **Post-tonic syllables (that are non-final) may have long or short vowels.**

Post tonic non-final syllables only occur in a restricted set of circumstances: imperatives and some forms with L-set suffixes. They are also found in stress groups, especially forms with the enclitic copula. If the syllable is open, the length of the vowel depends on morphological factors.

A long */ē/* is found in this position in plural imperatives of Class III *verba mediae /y/* and */ʾ/*, e.g. *másēmu* ‘put (pl.)!’ and *mádēṛu* ‘return (pl., tr.)!’ The */ē/* is derived from **/ey/* or **/eʾ/*.

Long vowels are also found before L-set suffixes:

/ē/	*m-ā́w**ē**li*	‘what may it (m.) be for me?’
/ɛ/	*máḥk**ɛ**la*	‘speak (fs.) it (f.)!’
/ā/	*pθéxw**ā**le*	‘he had opened’
	*m-óy**ā**li*	‘what may it (f.) be for me?’
	*mɛ́k**ā**li*	‘from where for me?’
/ˊ/	*péθx**ū**le*	‘open (pl.) it!’

A short */e/* is found in the following verb-form:

/e/ *máše**e**m˙la* ‘make (pl.) her hear!’

This is the plural imperative of a Class III *verbum tertiae /ʔ/* and is derived from *máše**m***ʾ˙*la*, the */ʔ/* having been elided.

The word *ʾāláha* ‘God’ sometimes takes the stress on its first syllable, perhaps because the pretonic syllable is short: *ʾā́laha*. In such cases the short */a/* is therefore in post-tonic position.

Short vowels are also found in this position in stress groups where the stress is on the first element. Such cases include words attached to the copula:

díyax	‘yours (fs.)	→	*díy**a**x-ile*	‘it is yours (fs.)’
díyux	‘yours (ms.)	→	*díy**u**x-ile*	‘it is yours (ms.)’
bɛ́θeḥ	‘his house’	→	*bɛ́θ**e**ḥ-ile*	‘it is his house’
nísan	‘April’	→	*nís**a**n-ile*	‘it is April’
m-álquš	‘from Alqosh’	→	*m-álq**u**š-ile*	‘he is from Alqosh’
p̱ā́yes	‘Autumn’	→	*p̱ā́y**e**s-ile*	‘it is Autumn’

The same applies when the object markers *-ile*, *-ila* and *-ilɛ* (§6.18) are suffixed to verbs:

kšātótun	‘you (pl.) drink’	→	*kšātót**u**n-ile*	‘you (pl.) drink it (m.)’
byāwénnux	‘I’ll give you (m.)’	→	*byāwénn**u**x-ile*	‘I’ll give you (m.) it (m.)’

Likewise in some other stress groups where stress falls on the first component:

*xá-ṯ**a**ra* ‘a door’

*lá-m**a**šēlet* ‘don’t take a long time’

2.3.1.2 *Final syllables*

Final syllables naturally cannot precede the stress. Moreover in post-tonic position degree of distance from the stress (post-tonic, post-post-tonic or post-post-post-tonic, e.g.

pθéxwāloxun) is not a factor. The only relevant fact therefore is whether the syllable is stressed (tonic) or unstressed.

As in the case of non-final syllables, length is also affected by whether the syllable is opened or closed.

2.3.1.2.1 *Closed syllables (-CvC)*

(i) **Stressed syllables usually have long vowels but may have short vowels.**

For most ANA words stress lies on the penultimate syllable. There are however some bi- or trisyllabic words, mostly of foreign origin, which are stressed on their final syllable, e.g. *zangín* 'rich'. There are also many words with only one syllable, e.g. *pθóx* 'open!'. Unless such a word is a particle (see §2.3.1.2.1.ii), it normally takes stress and can be grouped with final-stress words. Words with final stress are found in many different categories including imperatives, pseudo-verbs, question words, adverbs, numbers, pronouns, adjectives and a few foreign nouns. Unlike other closed syllables final-stressed syllables are almost always, but not exclusively, long. Examples are *pθóx* 'open!', *ʾilóp* 'learn', *ʾíθ* 'there is', *qā́y* 'why?', *dḗx* 'how?', *ltḗx* 'below', *xā́ʾ* 'one (m.)', *xðā́ʾ* 'one (f.)', *tettḗʾ* 'two (f.)', *ʾā́w* 'he', *dū́n* 'lowly', *jawā́b* 'answer', *mḗs* 'table' and *dū́k* 'knitting needles'. Exceptions include *láʾ* 'no' and the loanword *ṣér* 'ice'.

(ii) **Unstressed syllables have short vowels.**

The contrast between the long and short vowels *e-ē*, *a-ā* and *u-ˑ* is not phonemic in this position. The short vowel is the unmarked realisation (given, for example, in citation forms), but it may be lengthened in some discourse contexts (§2.3.2.3). Examples include *bɛ́θeḥ* 'his house', *ʾā́yet* 'you (ms.)', *hā́wan* 'mortar', *ʾā́ḍar* 'March', *pθéxlax* 'you (fs.) opened', *pθéxwālan* 'we opened', *ʾáxtun* 'you (pl.)', *pθéxwāloxun* 'you (pl.) opened'. Unstressed particles of the form *CvC* might also be said to belong to this category, e.g. *wel* 'until', *qam* 'before' and *kud* 'when' (§4.2.3).

2.3.1.2.2 *Open syllables (-Cv)*

(i) **Stressed syllables apparently only have long vowels.**

There are too few final open syllables that are stressed to formulate firm rules, but only long vowels are attested, e.g. ***sí!*** 'go (ms.)!', ***ˀí!*** (expression of frustration), ***ˀé*** 'yes', ***sɛ́!*** 'go (fs.)!', ***mā́?*** 'what?', ***hā́!*** 'hey!', ***wó!*** 'O!', ***só!*** 'go (pl.)!', ***kθū́*** 'write (sg.)!' and ***ˀū́!*** (expression of complaint).

(ii) **Unstressed syllables have short vowels or /i/, /o/ or /ɛ/ only.**

As with closed syllables, the contrast between the sets of long and short vowels *e-ē*, *a-ā* and *u-˙* is not phonemic in this position. The short vowel is the usual realisation but it may be lengthened in some discourse contexts (§2.3.2.3). Examples include *g˙́**re*** 'men', *bɛ́θ**a*** 'house' and *kyā́t**u*** 'he sits'. The other long vowels */i/*, */o/* and */ɛ/* do however occur in this position, e.g. *pθéxl**i*** 'I opened', *háyy**o*** 'come! (pl.)' and *pθéxl**ɛ*** 'they came'. Unstressed particles of the form *Cv* might also be said to belong to this category, e.g. ***ta*** 'for' and ***go*** 'in' (§4.2.3).

2.3.2 Allophonic relationships between short and long vowels

As shown above, in certain contexts length distinctions for *a-ā*, *e-ē* and *u-˙* are non-phonemic, i.e. only one length is found. In such cases length is conditioned by the environment and long and short vowels may be viewed as being allophones of the same archi-phoneme. These allophonic relationships are clearly seen when synchronic processes are applied which lengthen or shorten a vowel. For instance when the feminine inflection is added to the infinitive *pθ**ā́**xa* 'to open', the syllable is closed and the vowel shortened as a result: *pθ**á**xta* 'opening'. Likewise when a suffix is added to *kxā́z**e*** 'he sees', the vowel */e/* becomes stressed and non-final, causing it to lengthen: *kxāz**ḗ**la* 'he sees her'.

The allophonic relationships between short and long vowels are not restricted to those of the same quality (*e* and *ē*, *a* and *ā*, *u* and *˙*). The other long vowels *i*, *o* and *ɛ* are also in allophonic relationships with short vowels. For instance the feminine of *pθ**í**xa*

'open (ms.)' is *pθéxta* and the feminine of *zóra* 'small' is *zárta*. We will also show that in some cases a final short *u* in an open or closed syllable is cognate with *o*.

The precise nature of the relationships between the short and long vowels is best described through the processes that exhibit them: *syllable closure*, *lengthening and shortening due to changes in stress position*, and *discourse lengthening*. Finally in §2.3.2.4 the special case of final unstressed *u* and *uC* will be considered.

2.3.2.1 Syllable Closure

There are many cases where the addition of a morphological suffix results in the closure of an open syllable. In such cases, where the vowel was initially long, it is usually shortened. For instance the feminine of the adjective *ṛāba* 'big' takes *-θa* as an ending (in place of *-a*), creating a closed syllable and short vowel: *ṛabθa*. If the long vowel is *i*, then the contracted vowel is *e*. For each long vowel, there is a short vowel equivalent.

Two vowels which are sometimes resistant to shortening are *o* and *ɛ*. When they do shorten, it is normally to *a*.[4] Both are in most cases reflexes of original diphthongs, **aw* and **ay*, but *o* is sometimes original, as in imperative forms such as *pθox!* 'open!' (Syr. *pṯōḥ*). Shortening to *a* occurs to both historical **/aw/* and historical **/ō/*.

There are only two examples of syllable closure for */ē/*. One is *telkēpe* 'Telkepe' - *telkepnāya* 'man of Telkepe'. The other is less expected: *meskēna* 'poor (ms.)' - *meskyanta* 'poor (fs.)'.

The relationship between the long vowels and their equivalents in closed syllables is represented in the following table:

Long	*ā*	*i*	*u*	*ē*	*o*	*ɛ*
Short	*a*	*e*	*u*	*(e,ya)*	*a ≺ o*	*a ≺ ɛ*

[4] Contraction of */o/* to */a/* in a closed syllable also occurs regularly in the dialect of Tɨsqoopa (Rubba 1993: 278; 284). It is also attested in feminine infinitives of Classes II and III in the dialects of Mangesh and Aradhin, e.g. Mangesh *mpaloṭɨ* 'to expel', *mpalaṭta* 'a single expulsion' (Sara 1974: 75) and Aradhin *mxawo:re* 'to associate', *mxawarta* 'an association' (Krotkoff 1982: 24-5) . It is not clear whether it occurs in other cases in these dialects. Contraction of */o/* to */a/* is also attested in the Central Aramaic dialect of Ṭuroyo (Jastrow 1993: 239).

Below are examples of syllable closure. Most cases involve one of the following suffixes: the feminine suffix (*//-Ta//*), the plural endings *-wāθa* and *-yāθa*, or verbal affixes.

ā → *a*	*pθ**ā**xa* 'to open (m.)'	*pθ**a**xta* 'opening (fs.)'
	*ṛ**ā**ba* 'big (ms.)'	*ṛ**a**bθa* 'big (fs.)'
	*m**ā**θa* 'village'	*m**a**θwāθa* 'villages'
	*kp**ā**θex* 'he opens'	*kp**a**θxa* 'she opens'
i → *e*	*yar**i**xa* 'long (ms.)'	*yar**e**xta* 'long (fs.)'
	*pθ**i**xāli* 'I opened it (f.)'	*pθ**e**xli* 'I opened'
	*ʾ**i**θ* 'there is'	*ʾ**e**θwa* 'there was'
˙ → *u*	*ʿam**ū**qa* 'deep (ms.)'	*ʿam**u**qta* 'deep (fs.)'
	*taraʿ**ū**ze* 'white cucumbers'	*taraʿ**u**zta* 'white cucumber'
	*ʾr**ū**ta* 'Friday'	*ʾr**u**tyāθa* 'Fridays'
	*s**ū**sa* 'horse'	*s**u**sta* 'mare'
ē → *e*	*telk**ē**pe* 'Telkepe'	*telk**e**pnāya* 'man of Telkepe'
o → *a*	*sm**o**qa* 'red (ms.)'	*sm**a**qta* ≁ *sm**o**qta* 'red (fs.)'
	*pθ**o**x* 'open!'	*pθ**a**xle* ≁ *pθ**o**xle* 'open it (m.)!'
ɛ → *a*	*km**ɛ**θe* 'he brings'	*km**a**θya* ≁ *km**ɛ**θya* 'she brings'
	*l**ɛ**θ* 'there is not'	*l**a**θwa* 'there was not'

There are three cases where original*/*ō*/ is replaced by */u/*:[5]

[5] Like */˙/*. There are other dialects where it is the rule for */˙/* and */o/* to coalesce in closed non-final syllables. This is the case in Jewish Amadiya (Hoberman 1989: 152-3), where both become */ʉ/* (lower, centralised [u]) and in Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: 13-4), where they become */õ/* ([o] ≁ [ʊ]). In other dialects the distinction is preserved, e.g. Qaraqosh *bah˙ra* (ms.), *bahurta* (fs.) 'bright' and *ʿamoqa* (ms.), *ʿamoqta* (fs.) 'deep' (Khan 2002: 216).

o → *u*	*ʾax**o**na* ‘brother’	*ʾax**u**nwāθa* ‘brothers’
	ʾɛna ‘spring’ + dim. *-**o**na*	*ʾɛn**u**nta* ‘little spring’
	*tesq**o**pa* ‘Telesqof’	*tesq**u**pnāya* ‘of Telesqof’

The following may be another example:

*ʾalq**ó**š*	*ʾalq**u**šnāya*

The form *ʾalquš* is in fact more common, but *ʾalqóš* is found in other dialects and seems to be the older form. See §2.3.2.2.2.ii for more discussion.

2.3.2.2 Lengthening and shortening due to changes in stress position or word structure

2.3.2.2.1 *Lengthening*

As stated, final unstressed vowels are normally short, except for */i/*, */o/* and */ɛ/*. If a synchronic process is applied that makes such a vowel either stressed or post-tonic non-final, while keeping the syllable open, the vowel is lengthened.

(i) **Syllable becomes stressed open:**

There are two ways in which this occurs:

(a) *Through suffixation*

When a suffix is added, a final syllable becomes non-final. If the resulting syllable is also open and stressed, a short vowel (*e, a, u*) is lengthened to *ē, ā* or ˙ respectively. The affixes involved are some plural endings (added to words ending in a consonant), pronominal suffixes, and the L-set object suffixes or verbal affix *//-wA//* (added to a vowel). The following are some examples:

e → *ē*	*kxāźe* + *-la*	*kxāzḗla*	‘he sees her’
	kxāźe + *-wa*	*kxāzḗwa*	‘he used to see’
a → *ā*	*kárwan* + *-at*	*karwā́nat*	‘caravans’
	sárdab + *-e*	*sardā́be*	‘cellars’

	*ṛábba**a**n* + *-e*	*ṛabba**ā́**ne*	‘monks’
	*bána**a**s* + *-i*	*bana**ā́**si*	‘my fault’
	*bína**a**θ* + *-an*	*bina**ā́**θan*	‘between us’
	*kárwa**a**n* + *-an*	*karwa**ā́**nan*	‘our caravan’
	*kpáθxa**a*** + *le*	*kpaθxa**ā́**le*	‘she opens it (m.)’
	*kpáθxa**a*** + *wa*	*kpaθxa**ā́**wa*	‘she used to open’
u → *ū*	*gárgu**u**r* + *-eḥ*	*garg**ū́**reḥ*	‘his burghul wheat’
	*bárqu**u**l* + *-i*	*barq**ū́**li*	‘opposite me’
	*kkā́θu**u*** + *-le*	*kkāθ**ū́**le*	‘he writes it (m.)’
	*kkā́θu**u*** + *-wa*	*kkāθ**ū́**wa*	‘he used to write’

(b) *In vocatives*

When a person is called, usually in conjunction with the vocative particle *wo* (§10.5), the name of the person[6] takes the stress on the second syllable, if the word is bisyllabic (§4.2.5.1). The final vowel is accordingly lengthened. Thus *a* is lengthened to *ā* and *e* to *ē*. It is interesting to note, however, that *u* is not lengthened to *ū*, but to *o*, e.g. *sótu* ‘old woman’, *wó sotò!* ‘O Old Woman!’ The implications of this will be discussed in §2.3.2.4.ii. The following are some examples:

*kálb**a***	‘dog’	*wó kalb**ā***	‘O Dog!’
*máqqa**a**ṣ*	‘scissors’	*wó maqq**ā̀**ṣ!*	‘O Scissors!’
sotu	‘old woman’	*wó sot**ò**!*	‘O Old Woman!’
šābu	(a name)	*wó šāb**ò**!*	‘O Shabu!’
šwāwe	‘neighbours’	*wó šwāw**ḕ**!*	‘O Neighbours!’
mátte	‘Matthew’	*wó matt**ḕ**!*	‘O Matthew!’

[6] Or a noun used as a name, e.g. *kalbā̀* ‘Dog’ (A:228) and other examples in ‘The Story of the Two Goats’ (pp. 345-349).

Sometimes the */o/* is even diphthongized to */aw/*, perhaps in order to make the call louder and clearer when calling across a long distance. There is also the tendency to cut off the sound abruptly with a glottal stop:

*šāb**u***	(<*xošā́ba*)	*wó šāb**àw**!*	'O Shabu!'
*míx**u***	'Mikey'	*wó mix**òˀ**!*	'O Mikey!'
*ḥann**u***	'Johnny'	*wó ḥann**awˀ**!*	'O Johnny!'
*ḥánn**e***	(<*ḥanā́n*)	*wó ḥann**ə̀ˀ**!*	'O Hanne!'
*mátt**e***	'Matthew'	*wó matt**ə̀ˀ**!*	'O Matthew!'

(c) *In numerals*

Numerals between 2 and 10 usually take promoted stress (§4.3.2.2 (3)) and the stressed vowel is often lengthened (§9.1.1), e.g. *xamšā́-x˙re* 'five friends' (A).

(ii) **Syllable becomes post-tonic non-final open:**

In §2.3.2.2.1.i.a it was shown how suffixation may create a stressed open syllable in which a vowel will be lengthened. In some cases a suffix may have a different effect: that of making a final syllable post-tonic non-final, e.g. *máple**x*** 'use!', *máple**xla*** 'use it (f.)!' The suffix that has this effect is the L-set, but only in the situations where it does not affect the stress: after *//-wA//*, after imperatives and in a few other cases. If the resulting syllable is also open, then the vowel will be lengthened:

e → *ē*	*m-ā́w**e*** + *lan*	*m-ā́w**ē**lan*	'what (good) may it (m.) be for us?'
a → *ā*	*pāθéxw**a*** + *le*	*pāθéxw**ā**le*	'he used to open it (m.)'
	*mék**a*** + *-li*	*mék**ā**li*	'from where for me?'
	*m-óy**a*** + *li*	*m-óy**ā**li*	'what (good) may it (f.) be for me?'
u → ˙	*péθx**u*** + *-le*	*péθx**ū**le*	'open (pl.) it (m.)!'
	*máxr**u*** + *le*	*máxr**ū**le*	'ruin (sg.) it (m.)!'

This rule does not apply when the affix is the copula or another word as part of a stress group (§4.3.2):

*díy**a**x-ile*, not **díy**ā**x-ile*	'it (m.) is yours (fs.)'
*xá-ṭ**a**ra*, not **xá-ṭ**ā**ra*	'a door'
*kšātót**u**n-ile*, not **kšātót**ū**n-ile*	'you (pl.) drink it (m.)'

2.3.2.2.2 *Shortening*

Shortening due to changes in stress position is the reverse of the process described above. There are two types: pretonic shortening and post-tonic shortening:

(i) **Open stressed syllable becomes pretonic (pretonic shortening)**

This occurs through the addition to a noun or particle of an affix which promotes the stress. Any long */ā/* or */ˑ/* in an open syllable that loses the stress (becoming pretonic, propretonic or pro-propretonic) will normally be shortened, e.g. *yā́ma* 'sea', *yamā́θa* 'seas'.[7] The affixes that have this effect must of course be ones that take stress and do not close the previous syllable. They are the 2pl. and 3pl. pronominal suffixes *-óxun* and *-éy*, the abstract suffix *-ˑ́θa* and the plural suffixes: *-ā́ne*, *-ā́θa* and *-awā́θa*.

ā → *a*	*ʾix**ā́**la*	'food'	*ʾix**a**léy*	'their food'
	*xāṛ**ā́**ya*	'last'	*xaṛ**a**yˑ́θa*	'end'
	*y**ā́**ma*	'sea'	*y**a**māθa*	'seas'
	*b**ā́**ra*	'side'	*b**a**rā́ne*	'sides'
	*ʾix**ā́**la*	'food'	*ʾix**a**lā́ne*	'foods'
	*daṛm**ā́**na*	'medicine'	*daṛm**a**nā́ne*	'medicines'
	*g**ā́**ra*	'roof'	*g**a**rawā́θa*	'roofs'
	*b**ā́**ba*	'father'	*b**a**bawā́θa*	'fathers'
	*ṭ**ā́**leḥ*	'to him'	*ṭ**a**léy*	'to them'

[7] Pretonic shortening is also attested in other dialects. Cf. for instance Tkhuma $^{+}t^{\cdot}ra$ 'mountain', pl. $^{+}$*turāne* (Jacobi 1973: 69).

˙ → *u*	*šū́la*	‘job’	*šulέy*	‘their jobs’
	ṭū́ra	‘mountain’	*ṭurāne*	‘mountains’
	gū́da	‘wall’	*gudāne*	‘walls’
	sū́sa	‘horse’	*susawāθa*	‘horses’

Pretonic shortening also occurs when stress is promoted for other reasons, as with numbers:

ṭlā́θa	‘three’	*ṭlaθá-kēpe*	‘three stones’
tmā́neˀ	‘eight’	*tmanḗ-mðināθa*	‘eight towns’

Pretonic shortening might be expected in present base verb forms, when an affix pushes the */ā/* of the base into pretonic position. In fact the length is preserved in such cases:

pā́θex	‘let him open’	*pāθéxwa*	‘he used to open’
kpā́θex	‘he opens’	*kpāθéxla*	‘he opens it (f.)’
ˀā́mer	‘let him say’	*ˀāmérwa*	‘he used to say’
kxā́zε	‘they see’	*kxāzéla*	‘they see her’

It is also preserved in cases of vocative stress shift:

šā́bu	(<*xošāba*)	*wó šābò!*	‘O Shabu!’
šwā́we	‘neighbours’	*wó šwāwè!*	‘O Neighbours!’

Pretonic shortening can therefore be said to be morphologically conditioned. It is also not entirely consistent. Pretonic shortening almost always occurs in the speech of Informant A, but in the speech of B it sometimes does not occur:

bāba	‘father’	*bābawā́θa*	‘fathers’ (B:2)
šūla	‘job’	*šūlā̀ne-u*	‘jobs’ (B:2)

It has not yet been established how consistent pretonic shortening is in the speech of other informants, but it is certainly attested:

*ʾy**ā**la*	‘child’	*ʾy**a**léy*	‘their child’ (F)
*š**ū**qa*	‘market’	*p-š**u**qā́ne*	‘in the markets’ (D)

(ii) **Closed stressed final syllable becomes post-tonic (post-tonic shortening)**

Final closed syllables that are stressed are usually long, as mentioned in §2.3.1.2.1.i. Ones that are unstressed are short. If for any reason stress is retracted, making a stressed syllable unstressed, the vowel is shortened. As a synchronic process this is in fact rare. As a historical process it is very common (cf. §2.5.4).

This process occurs synchronically with the imperative of *ylp* ‘to learn’: *ʾilóp*. While other *verba primae /y/* take stress on the initial *ʾi* (e.g. *ʾísuq* ‘climb!’), this verb is usually stressed on the second syllable. The stress may be retracted however before an object such as *ʾāði* ‘this’. In such a case, the vowel is reduced from [*o*] to a short [*u*]:

*ʾil**ó**p!* ‘learn’ *ʾíl**u**p ʾā̀ði* ‘learn this!’

The same process seems to have occurred with the proper noun *ʾalquš*. The variant *ʾalqóš* which is also found in other dialects may be the older form as *ʾalquš* is more easily derivable from *ʾalqóš* through common processes: the historic stress shift to the penultimate and contraction of */o/* to */u/* in a final unstressed syllable.[8]

This process also occurs with the adverb *dēx* ‘how’. When it is combined with *baθer* ‘after’ in a stress group, *baθer* takes the stress and *dēx* is shortened to *dex*: *baθér-dex* ‘afterwards’. If both are stressed, then *dēx* has its normal length: *báθer dḗx*.

Vowel reduction occurs less often in nominals (nouns or adjectives), when forming the second part of a stress group. One case is attested:

béš-dun m-qamὲθa ‘more lowly than before’

However there are also two counter-examples:

ʾáð-d˙k ‘this spindle’

ʾáθ-mēs ‘this table’

[8] Maclean gives *ʾalqôsh* as the form found in the Mosul Plain (1901: 13). In Aradhin it is *alqoš* (Krotkoff 1982: 118). It it not given for Qaraqosh but the gentilic is *ʾalqošnaya* (Khan 2002: 184).

2.3.2.3 Discourse lengthening

As shown in §2.3.1.2.1.ii and §2.3.1.2.2.ii, length is non-phonemic in unstressed word-final syllables. These may be open, as in *pθexl**a*** 'she opened', or closed, as in *bεθ**a**x* 'your (fs.) house'. In these contexts the short vowels normally occur. In open syllables *i*, *o* and *ε* also occur. The following are some examples:

	Closed syllables		**Open syllables**	
a	*pθéxl**a**x*	'you (fs.) opened'	*pθéxl**a***	'she opened'
e	*kpáθx**e**x*	'we open'	*pθéxl**e***	'he opened'
u	*pθéxl**u**x*	'you (ms.) opened'	*háyy**u***	'come (sg.)!'
i	-		*pθéxl**i***	'I opened'
o	-		*háyy**o***	'come (pl.)!'
ε	-		*pθéxl**ε***	'they opened'

The 'long vowels' */i/*, */o/* and */ε/*, like all long vowels in unstressed syllables, are also usually pronounced only half-long. Final */ε/* even alternates in some forms with final */a/*, e.g. *pθexlε ≁ pθexla* 'they opened'. However final */i/* and */o/* always retain the vowel quality which marks them as distinct from the 'short' vowels */e/*, */a/* and */u/*.

In unmarked contexts, as shown above, vowels in final unstressed syllables are short (or, in the case of */i/*, */o/* and */ε/*, phonetically shorter). In certain discourse contexts, however, such vowels may be lengthened, for instance to link one intonation group to another. This is usually accompanied by non-falling (i.e. rising or level) intonation but can be accompanied by a fall to mid-pitch when marking the topic of a sentence (cf. §4.4). Lengthening combined with rising intonation also often occurs in the final word of a question, e.g. *m-ile?*, 'What is it', pronounced [*milē*]. Vowels in final unstressed syllables should not therefore be considered as truly *phonemically* short. Instead *a*, *e*, and *u* are archi-phonemes whose phonetic length is conditioned by discourse factors. It would be more phonemically valid to write them as distinct from phonemic */a/* and */ā/* etc., for instance with a capital letter (e.g. */A/*), but this would make the transcription cumbersome. The short realization is the citation form and so that is the one that will be

given in the transcription. Discourse lengthening will not be indicated as the precise realisation is not vital to understanding meaning.

In discourse lengthening final *a* is realised as [*ā*] and *e* as [*ē*] or occasionally as [ɔ:]. Final [*u*] is realised not as [˙] but as [*o*]. The following are some examples of discourse lengthening:

/aC/	*mšudērax?*	= *mšudēr*[*ā*]*x?*	'Have you sent?'
	*ʾellaḥ,*ˈ	= *ʾell*[*ā*]*ḥ*	'about it (f.)' (B:2)
/eC/	*bεθeḥ,*ˈ	= *bεθ*[*ē*]*ḥ*	'his house,'
	*ʾen ʾēðet,*ˈ	= *ʾen ʾēð*[*ē*]*t*	'if you (ms.) know,'
/uC/	*b-alquš*ˈ	= *b-alq*[*o*]*š*	'in Alqosh'
	*ʾiðēlux,*ˈ	= *ʾiðēl*[*o*]*x*	'you (ms.) knew,'
/a/	*raqiqa,*ˈ	= *raqiq*[*ā*]	'fine'
/e/	*raqiqe,*ˈ	= *raqiq*[*ē*]	'fine (pl.)'
/u/	*naxpu,*ˈ	= *naxp*[*o*]	'shy'
	*ʾen kāθu,*ˈ	= *ʾen kāθ*[*o*]	'if he writes,'

The 'long' vowels */i/*, */o/* and */ε/* also undergo lengthening but this has no phonological implications.

A similar kind of lengthening, combined with stress, occurs with particles that are normally short and unstressed, such as *wel* 'until' and *kul* 'all of'. When the speaker wishes to emphasize the particle for dramatic effect, the vowel may be greatly lengthened:

w[*é::*]*l … de-kxalṣílε kùllε.*ˈ	'right until they finish all of them.' (A:75)
m-k[*ò::*]*l-nāšed-mā́θa.*ˈ	'from *all* the people of the town.' (A:221)

2.3.2.4 Notes on the phonology of final unstressed */uC/* and */u/*

In final syllables, both open and closed, there is a phonological and historical relationship between */u/* and */o/*.

(i) **Closed syllables**

In unstressed closed syllables (_́ *vC*) there is no contrast between the two vowels: only *u* is found. There is however synchronic and diachronic evidence showing that in some cases *u* is underlyingly */o/*. One example already mentioned is *ʾálquš* (<*ʾalqóš*) 'Alqosh', though the earlier form is still found (cf. §2.3.2.2.2.ii). Also mentioned in 2.3.2.2.2.ii is *ʾílup*, a variant of *ʾilóp* found when the stress is retracted. With other *verba primae /y/* (§6.11.6), such as *ysq* 'to climb', the form with retracted stress, *ʾísuq*, has entirely displaced the *ʾiCóC* form, and so it should be viewed as a historical change (cf. §2.5.4). The same is true of the *verbum primae /ʔ/* Type 2, *ʾixul* 'eat!', which has an identical form, perhaps by analogy with *verba primae /y/*.

Historically the *verba primae /y/* form can be explained as a result of regular changes from the strong pattern $C_1C_2\bar{o}C_3$. Initial */y/* was realised as *ʾi*,[9] as in other forms such as *ʾisāqa* (<**ysāqa*) 'to climb'. This caused the word to be analysed as having *two* syllables, rather than one: **ʾisóq*. As stress is normally penultimate, in most cases the stress shifted back on to the first syllable */ʔi/*. The vowel in the final syllable was accordingly shortened to [*u*], e.g. *ʾísuq!* 'climb!' and *ʾíṣuṛ!* 'tie!' This change was not applied in every case, however, and final-stress forms still exist for *ylp* 'to learn', *yðʾ* 'to know' and *ypy* 'to bake'.

The same shift of stress on to an epenthetic has happened to one strong verb, *šql* 'to take': *ʾéšqul* (<**šqol*) (§6.15.6). It is not clear what the motivation was in this case.

Further evidence for this explanation is found in the behaviour of the second syllable when it is closed by an L-set object suffix. The vowel in the second syllable may be replaced by an */a/*, e.g. *ʾíxalla* 'eat it (f.)!' (A:227). This is clearly the regular behaviour of the */o/* phoneme, not */u/* (§2.3.2.1).[10]

[9] Except in those verbs where it is elided.

[10] But *ʾíxulla* is also possible, suggesting that the [*u*] may now also be analysed as */u/*. Cf. also *ʾéšqulla* 'take (sg.) it (f.)!'

(ii) **Open syllables**

Final unstressed *u* in nominals, e.g. *náxpu* 'shy', is also in a phonological relationship with *o*. When stress is shifted on to the final syllable, as in vocatives, the *u* is replaced by *o*, e.g. *wó šābò!* 'O Shabu!' (§2.3.2.2.1.i.b).

Further evidence is found in the behavour of the vowel in combination with the copula. When the copula is added, the */i/* of the copula is deleted and the final */u/* lengthened not to */ˑ/* but to */o/*. This applies not only to words with the diminutive suffix *-u* but also to any nouns ending in *u*, such as the place name *zāxu* 'Zakho' and the loanword *rādyu* 'radio':

náxpu	'shy (fs.)'	*náxpo-la*	'she is shy'
málpu	'female teacher'	*málpo-la*	'she is a teacher'
mapélxu	'female employer'	*mapélxo-la*	'she is an employer'
m-zā́xu	'from Zakho'	*m-zā́xo-le*	'It (m.) is from Zakho'
rā́dyu	'radio'	*rā́dyo-la*	'it is a radio'

In other dialects these words sometimes have final */o/* in the form without the copula.[11] Taking all these factors into account, it seems that in ANA this final */u/* is derived from historical **/o/* and the */o/* before the copula is a restoration of the original vowel.

Discourse lengthening also causes lengthening to [*o*], but this occurs to all final */u/* vowels, even those in verb forms that do not derive from **/o/*.

[11] In Aradhin, for instance, *-o* is the suffix used on pet names, e.g. *ša:bo* (=ANA *šābu*) (Krotkoff 1982: 115-6). The pronounciation of 'Zakho' is likewise *za:xo* 'Zakho', as is the case in the Christian dialect of the town itself (Hoberman 1993: 122 and Mole 2000: 78). The word *rādyu* is of course a loanword. The forms of this word in possible source languages have final */o/*, e.g. Kurmanji *radyo* and I.A. *rādyo*.

2.4 *Phonetic realisation*

Each vowel phoneme in ANA has a wide range of realizations, depending on a number of factors, including stress, adjacent consonants, position in the word and discourse context.

2.4.1 General issues

Before going on to describe the phonetic realizations of each vowel phoneme, there are some issues which affect vowels generally.

2.4.1.1 Phonetic realization of length

Vowel length is relative and in fast speech long vowels may be pronounced as short as short vowels are in slower speech, e.g. *mā-mendi* [*mámendi*] 'whatever' (A:203). Furthermore long vowels in unstressed syllables are normally a little shorter than those in stressed syllables.

2.4.1.2 Elision of */e/*

This vowel is very prone to elision in unstressed open syllables following a vowel, most commonly at the end of a word, e.g. *qṭ̀ele qāleḥ* [*qṭ̀élqāleḥ*] 'his voice stopped' (A:112). To aid comprehension the vowel is nevertheless written in the transcription. See §3.3.3 for details.

2.4.1.3 Devoicing of final vowels

Before a pause final vowels are often devoiced, as voicing stops in anticipation of the break in speech. Examples: *barā̀ni.*ˈ [bɔɾæːn̥̩] 'my ram' (A:174) and *beʾrā̀qa;*ˈ [bɔʂ̬Jæːqɣ̬] 'running' (A).

2.4.1.4 Effect of the consonantal environment on vowel quality

Vowel quality is greatly affected by the consonantal environment, as the tongue and lip position of surrounding consonants affects the positions of the vowels. Emphatic

consonants and */q/* tend to cause retraction and lowering as do */x/* and */w/* to a lesser degree, while the palatal */y/* may raise the vowel a little.

Consonants that involve some lip-rounding may cause slight rounding in certain neighbouring vowels. Such consonants include the labials */m/*, */b/* and the dental-labial */f/* as well as the post-alveolar fricative */š/* and affricates */č/* and */j/*.

Rhotics */r/* and */ṛ/* impose a rhotic colouring (rhoticization) on a preceding vowel, e.g. *m*[ɐ̯ː]*ra* 'she said' (A) and *ṭ*[uˠ]*rāne* 'mountains' (A) (cf. §1.4.2.2.).

2.4.2 Phonetic realization of the vowels

2.4.2.1 */i/*

After front consonants or */ʔ/* this is usually realized as a high front vowel, e.g. ˀ[iː]*be* 'it has' (A:23) and *m*[iː]*xa* 'Mixa' (A). After emphatic consonants or */q/* there is a retracted and lowered glide into the vowel, e.g. *ṣ*[ˡi̘ː]*pe* 'in a line' (B) and *q*[ˡi̘ː]*ma* 'standing' (A). When stressed the vowel is usually long [iː], e.g. *m*[i̘ː]*le* 'what is he' (A:110), ˀ[i̘ː]*man* 'when' (A:74). In an unstressed syllable it is usually shorter; either short or half-long, e.g. *h*[i]*lā́ned-ˀarmòne* 'pomegranate trees' (A:194), *šˇ*[i]*vàna* 'shepherd' (A:167) and *be-mð*[i]*nàθa* 'in the towns' (A:24). Sometimes in unstressed position it is centralised to [ɪ] e.g. ˀ[ɪ]*xā́la* 'food' (A:165) and *b*[ɪ]*nāθέy* 'between them' (A). In non-final post-tonic position it may be long or shortened, e.g. *dḗx*-[iː]*le* 'how it is' (A:117) and *dè̄x*-[i]*wet?* 'how are you (m.)?' (A). In a final unstressed syllable it is short, e.g. *māθ*[i] (A), unless it undergoes discourse lengthening.

2.4.2.2 */ē/*

In stressed open position */ē/* is usually realized as [eː]. In pretonic position, it is usually mid-long, e.g. *b*[e.]*dika* 'sparrow' (A) or occasionally as short as */e/*, e.g. ˀ[e̯]*tāθa* 'churches' (B:9). In unstressed post-tonic non-final positions it is long, e.g *swā́ˀed-bè̄ˀ*[eː]-*lε* 'painting of eggs' (B:27).

After emphatic consonants and */q/* there is a centralised glide on to */ē/*, e.g. *bed-maṣ*[ᵊeː]*θi* 'they will listen' (A). Before */r/*, */ē/* is rhoticized, e.g. *m*[ɐ̯ː]*ra* 'she said' (A:228).

2.4.2.3 */ɛ/*

This vowel is usually long, close to the quality of IPA [ɛ] but slightly higher, e.g. *ʾ*[ɛ̝ː]*we* 'cloud' (A) and *b-b*[ɛ̝ː]*θa* (A:116). Following emphatic consonants the on-glide or the whole vowel is more open and back, e.g. *ṭ*[ɞ̞ˤː]*ra* 'bird' (A). In a final open unstressed syllable it is usually realised with the same quality but mid-long or short, unless it undergoes discourse lengthening. The ending *-ɛ* on a word is usually part of a 3pl. morpheme, e.g. *kxāzɛ* 'they see', *dɛ́x-ilɛ* 'how are they?', *šqellɛ* 'they took' and *kullɛ* 'all of them'. In fast speech the copula *-ilɛ* and pronominal suffix *-lɛ* are frequently reduced to *-ila* and *-la* respectively, so that they are identical to the feminine singular form, e.g. *ʾu kabírē-la* 'they are many' (B:8) (cf. §6.17.1 and §6.3). It is usually clear from the context which is meant.

2.4.2.4 */ā/*

When stressed, this phoneme is usually pronounced at a height between open and mid-open. After most consonants it is realised as a (usually slightly centralized) front vowel [æː], e.g. *k*[æ̀ː]*lu* 'bride' (A:176), *bar*[æ̀ː]*ni* 'my ram' (A:174) and *w*[æː]*rina* (a female name) (A). After emphatics or */q/* it is usually pronounced as a back [ʌː], e.g. *q*[ʌː]*leḥ* 'his voice' (A:112), *ṭ*[ʌː]*leḥ* 'to him' (A:162) and *xw*[ʌ́ː]*na* 'low round table' (A:36). After */w/* or */x/* it may be retracted to a central vowel [ɐː], e.g. *w*[ɐː]*ða* 'to do' (A) and *x*[ɐː]*la* 'maternal uncle' (A).

In pretonic position */ā/* is mostly mid-long in duration, e.g. *pxz*[ɐ.]*zénnoxu* 'I'll (m.) see you (pl.) (A). It is also shorter before the semi-vowels */y/* and */w/* and the laryngeals */ʔ/* and */h/*, e.g. *x*[æː]*yeḥ* 'his life' (A:222), *kθ*[a.]*wa* 'book', *mar-ġìra-w*[ɑ]*wa* 'she was an active woman' (A:116), *ṣw*[ɐ.]*ʾa* 'to paint' (A) and *šb*[æ.]*ha* 'to resemble' (A). In a few cases before */h/* the shortening has become fixed (cf. §2.5.6.4).

A similar contraction occurs in the dialect of Aradhin. There the */a:/* of the Class I infinitive and active participle is regularly shortened to */a/* before */ʔ/*, e.g. *šmaʾa* 'to hear'.[12]

[12] Krotkoff (1982:10).

2.4.2.5 */o/*

This is at the same height as IPA [oː] but usually further forward, being closer to the rounded highish-schwa [ɵː], e.g. *f*[ɵ̀ː]*t* ‘pass!’ (A:229) and *s*[ɵː]*t*[ɵ̀ː] ‘Old Woman!’ (A:155). In pretonic position or in a closed syllable it is pronounced mid-long or short, e.g. *ʾ*[ɵ.]*ðiwā* ‘they used to make’ (A:28), *mz*[ɵ.]*bna* ‘sold (m.)’ (A) and *k*[ɵ]*mta* ‘black (f.)’ (A). After emphatics, */q/*, */x/* or */w/*, it is pronounced further back and lower, closer to [ɔː], e.g. *qāṭ*[ɔː]*la* ‘murderer’ (A), *ṣ*[ɔ̀ː]*ma* ‘the Fast’ (A:28), *p-q*[ɔ́ː]*qa* ‘pot’ (A:67), *x*[ɔ́ː]*la* ‘rope’ (A:229) and *w*[ɔː]*lɛ* ‘they are’ (A). In a final open unstressed syllable it is usually realised with the same quality but mid-long or short, unless it undergoes discourse lengthening.

2.4.2.6 */ū/*

This phoneme is pronounced as a long high back vowel [uː], e.g. *g*[uː]*da* ‘wall’ (A). In a pretonic syllable it is usually mid-long, e.g. *k*[u.]*ðíla* ‘they make it (f.)’ (B).

2.4.2.7 */e/*

After front consonants or */ʔ/* this is realised as a high-mid vowel, either central [ɘ] or halfway between front and central, [e̞] (close in sound to [ɪ]), e.g., *z*[é̞]*lle* ‘he went’(A:155) and *t*[e̞]*ttē̂* ‘two (f.)’ (A) and *màzz*[ɘ] ‘snacks’ (A:169). After */y/* it may be raised and fronted to [i], e.g. *y*[í]*mm*[e̞]d-*bā̀bi* ‘my father’s mother’ (A:115). After emphatic consonants or */q/ /e/* is retracted and sometimes a little lowered to approximately [ɤ], e.g. *šq*[ɤ́]*lle* ‘he took’ (A:160). After emphatics the vowel may also be a little rounded, though not as much as */o/*: [mˁɤ̟]*ṭya* ‘ripe’ (A), [pˁlˁɤ̟́]*ṭla* ‘she went out’ (A:119) and [bˁɤ̟̀]*ġðāðe* ‘together’ (A:164).

Before a labial (*/b/*, */p/*, */f/*, */m/*) */e/* is often rounded, e.g. *péšl*[ɸ̞ p]*xā̀ya* ‘he started crying’ (A:175), *m-k*[ɸ̞̀]*pneḥ* ‘from his hunger’ (A:196), *b*[ɸ̞]*fyā̀ṛa* ‘flying’ (A:155) and *k*[ɸ̞]*māmḕran* ‘he said to us’ (A:109). It is also rounded *after* the post-alveolar consonants (*/č/*, */š/* and */j/*) and sometimes after */w/*, e.g. *č*[ɸ̞́]*kle* ‘it got stuck’ (A:154), *š*[ɸ̞́]*kled-ó-nāša* ‘the appearance of that man’ (A:206) *j*[ɸ̞]*hya* ‘tired’ and *ʾɛw*[ɸ̞] ‘clouds’ (A). It appears that labials do not usually cause rounding when they precede */e/* and post-

alveolars do not systematically cause it when they follow */e/*, e.g. *p*[e̲]*šle* 'he started' (A:160) and *b*[e̲]*jyā̀la* 'searching' (A:140).

Rounding is also caused by the presence of */r/*, which has this effect whether it precedes or follows */e/*, e.g. *r*[ø]*zza* 'rice' (A) and ʾ[ø̀]*rya-u* 'caught and' (A:76).

When */e/* undergoes discourse lengthening, it has the same realisations as */ē/*.

2.4.2.8 */a/*

In stressed closed syllables between two front, non-emphatic consonants */a/* is usually articulated at open-mid height, between a (slightly centralized) front vowel [ɛ] as in *m*[ɛ]*sta* 'yoghurt' (A:162) and *p-p*[ɛ]*lga* 'in the middle' (A:36) and a central vowel [ɜ], e.g. *h*[ɜ]*lli* (A:159) and *l*[ɜ]*θwa* (A:154). Sometimes it is pronounced lower as a (slightly centralized) [æ], e.g. ʾ[æ]*mra* 'let her say' (A). After emphatic consonants or */q/* it is usually backed to [ʌ], e.g. *ṭ*[ʌ]*bāqe* 'layers' (A) and *q*[ʌ]*lle* 'storks' (A:141).

When */a/* undergoes discourse lengthening, it has the same realisations as */ā/*.

2.4.2.9 */u/*

This phoneme is realised as a short high vowel [u], e.g. *p*[u]*qa* 'frog' (A) and *č*[ú]-*mendi* 'nothing' (A:171). Sometimes it is slightly lowered and fronted as [ʊ], e.g. *g*[ʊ]*pted-ʾérwe* 'cheese' (A:57).

When */u/* undergoes discourse lengthening, it has the same realisations as */ˊ/*.

2.5 *Historical development of vowel phonology*

The following are some of the processes that are behind the ANA system of vowel phonology.

2.5.1 Contraction of long vowels in syllables that became closed

Long vowels are only very rarely found in closed syllables. The contraction of long vowels in closed syllables is a synchronic process, occuring when an affix causes an open

syllable to become closed (cf. §2.3.2.1). But it may also be viewed historically as a development from earlier Aramaic when long vowels were allowed in closed syllables:

Syr.	**ANA**	
*p**ā**ṯ̲ḥā*	*p**a**θxa*	'let her open'
*pθ**ī**ḥ**t**ā*	*pθ**e**xta*	'opened (fs.)'

2.5.2 Monophthongization

In ANA original diphthongs have been monophthongized in closed syllables with few exceptions. Thus */aw/* is realised as */o/*, */ay/* as */ɛ/* and */ew/* as */ˊ/* or */u/*. The new monophthongs */o/* and */ˊ/* (or */u/*) are identical to original */o/* and */ˊ/* (or */u/*), but */ɛ/* is a new vowel, distinct from */ē/*. Monopthongization has occurred in many other NENA dialects, though not all.[13] In some cases the */w/* of the historic diphthong is actually derived ultimately from soft *ḇ. Sometimes there was an intermediate stage where a long vowel was shortened, e.g. */āw/ > */aw/*, and */īw/ > */ew/*.

Syr.	**ANA**	
*b**ay**ṯ̲ā*	*bɛθa*	'house'
*q**ā**ymīn*	*qɛmi*	'let them rise'
*y**aw**mā*	*yoma*	'day'
*g**aḇ**rā*	*gora*	'man'
*l**āḇ**šīn*	*loši*	'let them dress'
*kāṯ̲**ēḇ***	*kāθ**u***	'let him write'
*kṯ̲**īḇ*** + *lī*	*kθ**ū**li*	'I wrote'

[13] Of the more closely related dialects, monophthongization is found in Mangesh and Qaraqosh (Sara 1974: 50, Khan 2002: 54). Judging from the texts and examples given, it has also occurred in Telesqof (Rubba 1993: 277-8) and Telkepe (Sabar 1978: 412-3). In all these dialects */ay/* has merged with */ē/*. Further north in Ch. Zakho the diphthongs are preserved (cf. Hoberman 1993: 117; Mole 2000: 16-7). In another northern dialect, Aradhin, **ay* has been monophthongized to a distinct */ɛ/*, as in ANA, while **aw* has been preserved (cf. Krotkoff 1982: 8).

Diphthongs may be preserved in Syriac words borrowed into the language or in loanwords from another language:

*sur**ay**tʿθa*	'Christianity' (Syr. *suryāyʿṯā*)
*ʿ**ew**ṛāya*	'Hebrew' (Syr. *ʿeḇrāyā*)
*ṭ**aw**le*	'backgammon' (Arab.)

All cases of */ɛ/* derive from the diphthong **/ay/* but some cases of */o/* or */ʿ/* are original monophthongs, e.g. *brona* (Syr. *brōnā*) 'son' and *xamʿṣa* (Syr. *ḥammʿṣā*) 'sour'.

2.5.3 Origin of */ē/*

This vowel in most cases derives from original **/ey/*, **/eˀ/* or **/eh/*, the vowel having been lengthened to compensate for the loss of the consonant. The shift from **/eˀ/* to */ē/* had already occurred in ancient times (cf. §1.7.3.1).

Earlier stage	**ANA**	
**beˀrā*	*bēra*	'well'
**šehrā*	*šēra*	'vigil'
**xzey-li*	*xzēli*	'I saw'

2.5.4 Vowel shortening in final unstressed syllables

Vowels in final syllables that were long in Syriac are normally short in ANA. This applies to both open and closed syllables:

Syr.	**ANA**	
šemšā	*šemša*	'sun'
pāṯḥā	*paθxa*	'may she open'
ḥeṭṭē	*xeṭṭe*	'wheat'
xāzē	*xāze*	'may he see'
pāṯēḥ	*pāθex*	'may he open'
nīsān	*nisan*	'April'
ˀīlʿl	*ˀilul*	'September'

tām˙z	*tāmuz*	‘July’
ʾišōʿ	*ʾišuʿ*	‘Jesus’
paṭrāws	*paṭrus*	‘Peter’

The noun ending *-u* probably underwent vowel shortening from **/o/*, which is still found in some other dialects such as Aradhin. As demonstrated in §2.3.2.4.ii, it is probable that */o/* is the earlier form.[14]

Aradhin	**ANA**	
šābo	*šābu*	(a name)
za:xo	*zāxu*	‘Zakho’
ʾidyo	*ʾedyu*	‘today’

The questions remains of why */o/* is preserved in *hayyo!* ‘come (pl.)!’ and *verba tertiae /y/* plural imperatives such as *maḥko!* ‘speak (pl.)!’ A clue may lie in the cognates of these found in some dialects with final */aw/*, e.g. Ch. Zakho *hayyaw* ‘come (pl.)!’. A form *maḥkaw* is not given but would be expected based on the Class I form *xzaw* ‘see (pl.)!’[15] Maclean (1895) in fact gives, among others, the form *ʾhayyāw* ‘come (pl.)!’ (ܗܰܝ̈ܳܐ) and, for *verba tertiae /y/* Classes I and II, *glāw* ‘reveal (pl.)!’ and *mṭāšāw* ‘hide (pl.)!’.[16]

If */o/* in these cases is actually derived from original **/aw/*, then this might explain why it has been preserved in ANA and not replaced by */u/*, as happened with original **/o/*.

[14] There is not a great deal of data available for other NENA dialects in this matter but enough to see that there is more variation in some other dialects. For instance in Mangesh (Sara 1974) there is *zaxu* ‘Zakho’ (p89), *ʾɨdyu* ‘today’ (p87) and the pet-names *baḥḥu* (p39) and *jajju* (p41), yet there is also the pet-name *katto*. The fact remains that ANA has a consistent system.

[15] Hoberman (1993: 119-20).

[16] See pages 120, 100 and 102 respectively. In some dialects there is apparently less consistency. The form *heyyaw* ‘come (pl.)!’ is found in Tɨsqoopa, yet for *verba tertiae /y/*, *o* is given, e.g. *nšoo* ‘forget (pl.)!’, not *nšaw* (Rubba 1993: 285). Sachau (1895: 52-3) likewise gives *hájjau* ‘come (pl.)!’ but *dro* ‘put (pl.)!’, but in this case it may be because he was using informants from a variety of places.

Shortening has also occurred where stress has been retracted from a final syllable. This has happened in the cases of the imperatives of *šql* I 'to take' and some *verba primae /y/* and */ʾ/*, where the form has become bisyllabic with initial stress (§2.3.2.4.i):

The same shortening has occurred where a morpheme has been moved into unstressed position:

**lā + pī́š*	→	*láppeš*	'no longer'
**na + palā́x*	→	*náppalax*	'lazy'
**beš + ṭā́b̲*	→ *béš-ṭaw* →	*béš-ṭo*	'better'
**baθer + dḗx*	→	*baθér-dex*	'afterwards'
**kud + yṓm*	→	*kúd-yum*	'every day'

Some loanwords have also undergone stress retraction and consequent vowel shortening:

Source language	**ANA**	
Arab. *nīšā́n*/K.*nîšán*	*níšan*	'mark of engagement'
Arab. *ḥaywā́n*/K. *ḥeywán*	*ḥɛ́wan*	'animal'
Arab. *sirdā́b*/K. *serdáb*	*sárdab*	'ground-floor storage area'

Stress retraction is also responsible for the form of the loan-plural *-at*, derived from Arabic *-ā́t*, e.g. *karwā́nat* 'caravans'.

2.5.5 Contraction of vowels in words that have became particles

There are two cases where a vowel has become contracted in a word that has become a (normally) unstressed particle:

Syr.	**ANA**	
rēš	*reš*	'on top of'
bāθar	*baθer*	'after'

2.5.6 Reasons for the emergence of short vowels in open syllables

In Classical Syriac short vowels were normally only found in closed syllables. In ANA they are also common in open syllables. There are several processes that have brought about this change.

2.5.6.1 Pretonic shortening

As shown above (§2.3.2.2.2), long vowels in nouns and prepositions become short when they are moved into pretonic position. This may also be viewed as a historical change:

Earlier stage	**ANA**	
**bārāne*	*barāne*	'sides'
**šˉqāne*	*šuqāne*	'markets'

2.5.6.2 Loss of gemination in unstressed syllables

In unstressed syllables loss of gemination does not cause compensatory lengthening. Therefore many short vowels in open unstressed syllables are the result of gemination loss.

Earlier stage	**ANA**	
**šappīra*	*šapira*	'beautiful'
**mzubbanta*	*mzubanta*	'sold (fs.)'

2.5.6.3 Elision of a consonant

In fluent speech */ʾ/* and */h/* are usually elided following the sequence vowel-consonant (*vCʾ*, *vCh*). The result of this is that a closed syllable becomes open but the short vowel is preserved, e.g. **ʾarʾa* > *ʾara* 'earth'. Discussion and further examples can be found in §1.7.3.2.

Usually the loss of */ʾ/* or */h/ before* a consonant causes compensatory lengthening, as in **beʾta* > *bēta* 'egg'. But in the infinitives of Class III *tertiae /ʾ/* or */y/* verbs such lengthening has not taken place, e.g. **maʾθoye* > *maθoye* 'to bring'. Alternatively the

vowel may have been lengthened in compensation but then shortened under the rule of pretonic shortening.

2.5.6.4 Contraction of */ā/* before */h/* or */ʾ/*

Before */h/*, */ā/* has a tendency to contract (§2.4.2.4). In some cases the long vowel is no longer found:

Syr.	**ANA**
gāhā (< P.)	*gaha*
ʾalā́hā	*ʾālaha*
lā	*laʾ*

2.5.6.5 Rearrangement of syllabic structure

As will be described in Chapter 3, the syllabic structure of many words has been changed in order to avoid consonant clusters. Thus if we add the feminine suffix *//-Ta//* to *kalba* 'dog', we have not *kalbθa* but *kalébθa*. The cluster is broken up with the epenthetic vowel *e*, with the result that the short */a/* in is now found in an open syllable. This also appears to be a historic change from original **kalbʾ̲ta*, where the epenthetic was inserted after the second consonant of the cluster. See §3.2.3 for a discussion and more examples.

The formation of stress groups has also produced short vowels in open syllables. See 2.3.1.1.2.ii for examples.

2.5.6.6 Loanwords

Words from other languages are not always adapted to native phonology. The following loans preserve short vowels in contexts where ANA usually avoids them:

*čal**á**bi*	'good-looking'
*dežm**é**ne*	'enemies'
*t**ú**tun*	'tobacco'
*ṣ**é**r*	'ice'

CHAPTER THREE

SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

3.1 *Introduction*

There are two systems of syllable structure, one which is word-internal and one which concerns the boundaries of words in speech. As they differ in some particulars, they will be described separately.

3.2 *Word-internal structure*

3.2.1 Syllable types

Syllables may be of the following types:

Cv	e.g. ***si*** 'go!', ***go****.ra* 'man'
CCv	e.g. ***xzi*** 'see!', ***pli****.ma* 'bent'
CvC	e.g. ***mor*** 'speak!', ***bax.****ta* 'woman'
CCvC	e.g. ***pθox*** 'open!', ***smaq****.ta* 'red (fs.)'

In a non-final closed syllable long vowels are not usually allowed, with the exception of */o/* and */ɛ/*.[1] With a few exceptions consonant clusters of three or more consonants in succession are also not allowed. The attested exceptions are *xerṭmāne* 'chickpeas', *meskyanta* 'poor woman', the place-name *bendwāya* and the gentilic *sarsenknāya* 'man from Sarsenk'. These are tolerated perhaps because in each case one of the consonants is a sonorant[2] or semi-vowel which are easier to pronounce in combination with other consonants.

[1] Cf. §2.3.1.1.1.

[2] A sonorant is one of the following: */l/*, */r/*, */m/*, */n/*.

3.2.2 Initial clusters

ANA allows initial clusters of two consonants but after a pause they are often realized with an epenthetic vowel of the same quality as */e/*. In most cases the epenthetic appears in initial position:

ᵉp-palga	'in the middle
ᵉxzēle	'he saw'
ᵉ˙ðāˀ	'one'
ᵉpqāreṭlux	'he'll bite you'
ᵉšðāya	'to tease'
ᵉṛˀāya	'to graze'
ᵉnˀesle	'he bit'

Occasionally the epenthetic occurs between the two consonants:

kᵉmānēlɛ	'he counts them'
bᵉnāˀeslux	'they'll bite you'
bᵉ˙azḍi	'they'll reap'

Sometimes there is no epenthetic, apparently because the combination can be pronounced easily without one. This happens more often when the second consonant is a liquid or fricative but also with other combinations such as */sm/*.

plima	'bent'
trēˀ	'two'
grosa	'big'
brona	'son'
pθexle	'he opened'
kθɛθa	'hen'
bšāla	'to boil'
mzobna	'sold'
smoqe	'red'

3.2.3 Rearrangement of syllabic structure in synchronic and diachronic perspective

Consonant clusters of more than two adjacent consonants are not usually allowed in ANA. Where historically one was found, an epenthetic vowel (always [*e*]) is added in order to avoid it. For instance the feminine of *kalba* 'dog' is *kalebθa* 'bitch'. The underlying structure is **kalbθa* so theoretically an epenthetic could be inserted either after the second consonant (**kalbeθa*) or after the first (*kalebθa*) to break up the cluster. The former is the solution originally used in Syriac (*kalb^{e}t̲ā́*).[3] It was also the solution used in the ancestor of ANA, to judge by the fricative realization of the */t/* which indicates that it was at some point preceded by a vowel. In ANA, however, as stress is penultimate, the first solution would result in an [*e*] in an open syllable (**kalbéθa*), something which is usually only found where a post-consonantal glottal stop has been elided (§2.5.6.3). The second solution (*kalébθa*) results instead in a short */a/* in a pretonic syllable, something which is very common in ANA. This therefore is the form found in ANA.

The addition of verbal suffixes is another cause of syllabic rearrangement. For instance the present base of Class III verbs is *maplex* (Syr. *maplēḥ*). With a suffix, the stem becomes *mapelx-*, e.g. *mapelxa*, rather than **mapléxa*, thus avoiding a stressed short */e/*. Again in Syriac the epenthetic was put after the second consonant: *maplᵊḥā́*. The same rearrangement occurs with the Class III past base *muplex-/mupelx-* (cf. §6.3.3).

The same process seems to have occurred with *ʾaqubra* 'mouse' (Syr. *ʿuqbᵊrā*), with some additional vocalic change.[4]

Although the original system in Syriac was to insert the epenthetic after the second consonant of a three-consonant cluster, the practice of inserting it after the first, as in ANA, did occur in Syriac poetic pronunciation, according to Nöldeke (1904: §52A-B) and the vowel used was in fact */e/* (cognate with ANA */e/*). For instance *deḥlt̲ā* 'fear'

[3] Cf. Nöldeke (1904: §23C).

[4] Compare *ʿaqerwa* 'scorpion' which had already undergone syllabic rearrangement in Syriac, in which it was pronounced as *ʿeqarb̲ā* (*ʿqarb̲ā* in eastern pronunciation) (Nöldeke 1904: §52C). That this was not the original structure is shown by the fricative pronounciation of the */b/*, indicating that it was originally **ʿaqrᵊb̲ā*.

might be vocalized as *deḥelṯā*. That this structure was not the original is shown by the fricative pronunciation of the **/t/* indicating that the original pronunciation was *deḥlʾṯā*.[5]

The same epenthetic insertion occurs after verbal prefixes. When a prefix such as *bed-* 'will' or *šud-* 'should' is attached to a verb that begins in a cluster of two consonants, e.g. *mzāben* 'may he sell', an epenthetic vowel is inserted: *bedemzāben* 'he will sell'. Likewise the prefixes *b-*, *l-*, *m-* and *d-* take an epenthetic vowel before a consonant cluster, e.g. *b-* + *štāya* → *beštāya* 'drinking', *l-* + *məðita* → *le-məðita* 'to the town'

When the prefix *b-* is joined to an infinitive beginning in a labial, rather than an epenthetic being inserted between the two, the prefix may be elided altogether. e.g. *b-* + *mzabone* → *mzabone* 'buying' and *b-* + *plāxa* → *plāxa* 'working'. See §6.8.9 for details.

3.3 *Word-boundaries*

In fluent speech word boundaries are not marked by gaps. Instead the words are pronounced as a continuous stream, at least between intonation group boundaries. Vowels and consonants therefore combine across the word boundaries, forming syllables. Such syllables follow less restrictive rules to those described above for word-internal syllables. These rules apply not only to syntactically independent words but also word groups linked by a hyphen (-).

3.3.1 Initial clusters of two consonants

If two consonants are immediately preceded by a word ending in a consonant, an epenthetic [*e*] is inserted to avoid a consonant cluster, but this is not written:

ʾáθ-ᵉkθāwa [*ʾaθekθāwa*] 'this book' (B)
kudᵉbrə́wāle 'when it happened' (A:95)
hə̀daxᵉbrə́le 'it happened like that' (A:106)
ʾemmed-ᵉštèθa 'with the drink' (A:171)
hə́daxᵉmmanšóyeḥ 'distracting him in this way' (A:99)

[5] Nöldeke (1904: §23C).

Epenthetics were also found in this position in Syriac poetic pronunciation. An example is *ʾīṯ lhōn* 'there is to them', pronounced with three syllables as *ʾīṯelhōn*.[6]

Occasionally an epenthetic is not used, as in *ṣéppeṭ-ṭlā̀θa* (not *ṣépped-^{e}ṭlā̀θa*) 'third grade' (B). Here the */d/* of the genitive suffix *-ed* has assimilated to the initial */ṭ/* of the cluster, something which occurs regularly when the second word begins with *Cv*, but which is not expected when it begins with a cluster. The reason it is allowed in this case may be that */l/*, being a sonorant, can be pronounced fairly easily in a consonant cluster.

If two consonants are preceded by a word ending in a vowel, then no epenthetic is needed. Instead the vowel combines with the consonants to form a syllable:

ta z-zā́lɛ [***ta*****z**zālɛ] 'so that they might go' (A:131)
kémmadḗṛa l-šòpaḥ [*keṃṃaḍē**ṛal**šopaḥ*] 'he put it back into its place' (A:102)
tū́ma p-pàlgaḥ [*tūm**ap**palgaḥ*] 'garlic in the middle of it' (A:66)
ʾu qqārɛ [*ʾu**q**qārɛ*] 'and they call out' (A)
lo p-sànde [***lop**sande*] 'or in pots' (A:17)

3.3.2 Long vowels in closed syllables

Long vowels are preserved in closed syllables across word boundaries:

méndi t-kèbet [*mend**i**tkebet*] 'whatever you want' (A:201)
ʾāni b-yumā́θa [*ʾān**i**byumāθa*] 'These things were on the days' (A:6)
mā̀ kpalxet? [*m**ā**kpalxet*] 'What do you do for a living?' (A)

3.3.3 Elision of */e/* in final syllables

Though always written, final */e/* is normally elided, unless:

(a) it is immediately followed by an intonation group boundary or pause *or*
(b) its elision would cause a cluster of three consonants. In practice this means that it is elided in the sequence */vCe Cv/* but not in the sequences */vCCe Cv/* or */vCe CCv/*.

[6] Cf. Nöldeke (1904: §52A).

Examples of (a)

*là-wellēbe,*ˈ [*lawellēbe*]'he couldn't cope' (A:112)

*kemʾāmȅre.*ˈ [*kemʾāmēre*] 'spoke to him!' (D:4)

Examples of (b)

šqélle qurbā́na [*šqellequrbāna*] 'he has taken communion' (B)

*kémmaqléble l-xā̀ṣeḥ.*ˈ [*kemmaqleblelxāṣēḥ*] 'He turned him over on to his back.' (A:107)

péšle mmanšóyeḥ [*pešlemmanšoyeḥ*] 'He started to distract him' (A:108)

Elision of final */e/* often results in long vowels in closed syllables, as described in §3.3.2:

ḥεwā̀ne d-eθwālε [*ḥεwāndeθwālε*] 'the animals which they had' (A:14)

qṭȅle qāleḥ [*qṭēlqāleḥ*] 'his voice stopped' (A:112)

ṣípe kúllan [*ṣipkullan*] 'in a line, all of us' (B)

kúl-nāše bénxāθa [*kulnāžbenxāθa*] 'all the people going down' (A:140)

Elision occurs almost without exception before the enclitic conjunction *-u* 'and':[7]

bnóne-u bnā̀θa [*bnonubnāθa*] 'boys and girls' (B)

xerṭmā̀ne-u [*xerṭmānu*] 'chickpeas and' (A:101)

mā́ye-u mèlxa [*māyumelxa*] 'water and salt' (A:68)

Elision of final */e/* occurs also in the dialect of Qaraqosh.[8]

The */e/* of the genitive suffix *-ed* is also sometimes elided to avoid a short */e/* in an open syllable. Sometimes this also results in long vowels in closed syllables or consonant clusters. This indicates that *-ed* does not observe the word-internal rules of syllable structure and therefore should not be considered a fully integrated part of the word:

p-qard-àθ-meskēna (<*p-qared-* …) 'to the lot of this poor man' (A:189)

yomd-ᵉṭlāθa (<*yomed-* …) 'the third day' (A)

[7] Alternatively the replacement of */e-u/* with */u/* could be seen as the monophthongization of the sequence */ew/* to */ū/* and reduction, as an unstressed final vowel, to */u/*.

[8] Khan (2002: 49-50). Note that ANA */e/* is transcribed as */ə/* in Qaraqosh.

gēbd-é˙ ðāðe-u (<*gēbed-* …) ‘*chez* each other’ (B:20)

Elision of the */e/* in *-ed* does not, however, occur in every case where it occurs in an open syllable:

mɛ́ked-aqlā̀θeḥ ‘by his legs’ (A:109)

CHAPTER FOUR

STRESS AND INTONATION

4.1 *Introduction*

In Alqosh Neo-Aramaic, words are most commonly stressed on their penultimate syllable.[1] There are two possible causes behind other stress patterns. One is that the word belongs to one of the categories of regular exceptions. These include single words which do not normally have penultimate stress, as well as groups of words which may only have a single stress between them (stress groups). In section §4.2 word stress will be discussed; in §4.3, the stress patterns of stress groups will be described. The other reason that penultimate stress may not be found is that stress position is relatively fluid in natural speech. Stress position in most cases (though not all)[2] is not phonological and can be altered for discourse reasons. The rules outlined in this chapter describe the normal stress patterns which are the most common and which an informant gives when a word or phrase is elicited in isolation.

At a higher level words are grouped into intonation groups which are marked by intonational boundaries. Within each intonation group there is one main stress. In addition there may be other lesser stresses. These stresses have functions in the discourse (§4.4).

Intonation is a feature that affects the meaning in various ways, by structuring the discourse and by distinguishing between certain types of utterance such as statements, commands and questions. It is not however marked in the texts, as the same role is

[1] This matches the situation in most if not all other Christian NENA dialects. Stress is final in many Jewish dialects, including those of Azerbaijan (Garbell 1965a: 34-5), Arbel (Khan 1999: 70), Koy Sanjaq and Halabja (Fox 1994: 156), but not those of the North-western Group (Sabar 2002: 36). Fox (1994: 156) and Garbell (1965b: 170) suggest that this is due to Kurdish or Turkish influence.

[2] Cf. subjunctive - imperative pairs such as *mzābénna* 'let him sell it (f.)' and *mzā́benna* 'sell (sg.) it (f.)!'

fulfilled by punctuation and the extra diacritics would overload the transcription. The main intonational patterns are described in §4.4.

4.2 *Word stress*

4.2.1 Nominals

Most nouns and adjectives (nominals) of Aramaic origin, and some loanwords, end in a vowel, usually *-a*, *//-Ta//* or *-e*. Nominals are all normally stressed on the penultimate syllable:

bɛ́ːa	‘house’
bā́te	‘houses’
xayā́ṭa	‘tailor’
šivā́na	‘shepherd’
gā́re	‘roof’

Some nominals end instead with a consonant. This group includes many loanwords but also Aramaic words which have preserved the old absolute state, such as many proper nouns. Some final-consonant nominals have final stress and others have penultimate stress. If stress is final, there is usually a long vowel in the final syllable; if stress is penultimate, there is a short vowel. With single-syllable nominals penultimate stress is of course impossible.

nísan	‘April’
ṭábbax	‘August’
ʾálquš	‘Alqosh’
ṗā́yes	‘Autumn’
rábban	‘monk’
bánas	‘fault’
hā́wan	‘mortar’
kāsɛ̄́t	‘cassette’
bahā́r	‘Spring’

dargavā́n	‘gatekeeper’
mḗs	‘table’
xā́m	‘linen’

Words with non-enclitic suffixes, such as pronominal or plural suffixes, also have penultimate stress. If the suffix adds one or more syllables to the word, then the stress position will change accordingly.

yárxe	‘months’ (<*yárxa* ‘month’)
bɛ́˙i	‘my house’ (<*bɛ́˙a* ‘house’)
bɛ˙óxun	‘your (pl.) house’
bɛ˙awā́˙a	‘houses’
banā́si	‘my fault’ (<*bánas* ‘fault’)
ṛabbā́ne	‘monks’ (<*rábban* ‘monk’)

Most of the words for days of the week, e.g. *xamšóšāba* ‘Thursday’, are compounds in origin and will be discussed with stress groups (§4.3.2.2(2)).

4.2.2 Pronouns

Independent pronouns may take stress. In non-compounds this is usually penultimate.

ʾā́na	‘I’
ʾā́wa	‘that’ (m.)
ʾā́ði	‘this’
ʾéma	‘which?’

The reciprocal pronoun, *ʾégðāðe* ‘each other’, has initial stress, despite the fact that the initial vowel is epenthetic in origin, the Syriac cognate being *ḥðāðē*.

4.2.3 Particles

Prepositions and most conjunctions are usually unstressed. If they are of more than one syllable, there may be a slight stress.

ta bàxteḥ 'to his wife' (A:184)
go ʾèta 'in the church' (B:23)
kud brə̄́wāle ḥā̀de˙ˈ 'when an accident happened' (A:95)
ta z-zā́lɛ jɛ̀li-llaḥˈ 'to go and search for her' (A:131)
bá˙er-ma š-šalqìla,ˈ 'after they boiled it,' (A:62)

Adverbs usually take stress. Like nouns they mostly have penultimate stress but can have other stress patterns:

Penultimate stress

ʾā́xa	'here'
gawā́ye	'inside'
ʾɛ́ka	'where?'
ʾíman	'when?'
kabíra	'very'
ʾédyu	'today'

Other stress patterns

bā́rēli	'northwards'
bártaxti	'southwards'
baʿdə́n	'then' (Arab.)
b-éġðāðe	'together'

4.2.4 Verbs and pseudo-verbs

Verbs, except for imperatives, most commonly take stress on the penultimate syllable:

kšáqli	'they take'
kében	'I want'

kemréxle	‘they call it’
naxθíwa	‘they used to go down’
kemxāzéxlɛ	‘we saw them’
zélle	‘he went’
šetyā́li	‘I drank it (f.)’

If verbal suffixes are added, penultimate stress still applies, as in some of the examples above. The only exception is verbs with the past suffix *//-wA//* followed by the L-set suffix. While the addition of either of these suffixes usually causes the stress to be promoted, *//-wA//* itself never takes stress. So in any verb which ends in *//-wA//* then an L-set suffix, the stress will not be penultimate:

ʾoðíwāla	‘they used to make it (f.)’
zélwāli	‘I had gone’

The same applies to pseudo-verbs with the *//-wA//* suffix:

ʾéθwāli	‘I had’
ʾéθwābi	‘I couldn’t’

Imperatives follow different rules to other verbs. Most Class I singular imperatives are of the single-syllable *CCoC* form which takes stress. Imperatives with two or more syllables are normally stressed on the *first* syllable, whether this is penultimate or not. These are mostly Class II and III verbs and plural forms of Class I:

pθóx	‘open (sg.)!’
péθxu	‘open (pl.)!’
máplex	‘use (sg.)!’
mápelxu	‘use (pl.)!’

Unlike with other verb forms this rule is not affected by the presence of L-set suffixes marking the object:

máplexle ‘use (sg.) it (m.)!’
málūšūle ‘dress (pl.) him!’

In some cases the stress pattern is the only thing distinguishing an imperative from a third masculine singular subjunctive form, which would have penultimate stress:

máplexle ‘use (sg.) it (m.)!’
mapléxle ‘may he use it (m.)’

The only attested exception to the initial-stress rule is *ʾilóp* ‘learn (sg.)!’ from *ylp* ‘to learn’. The initial syllable is derived from */y/* which has been syllabicized as */ʾi/*. Other verbs of the same type, however, have their stress on the initial syllable:

ʾíxul ‘eat!’
ʾísuq ‘climb!’

There are two other cases where L-set suffixes do not affect the stress. These are both constructions involving interrogatives, which normally take stress. The first case is the construction *mɛ́kāli* ‘where could I get …?’ (lit. ‘from where for me?’) (§6.24). The second is the construction *ta m-ā́wēli?* (§6.20.2).

The object suffix series *-ile* (§6.18, §6.18.3) does not affect the stress of the verb, e.g. *byāwéllaḥ-ile* ‘he’ll give him to her’.

Negated verbs usually take the stress on the negator *la-* (§6.9). The only verbal prefix that takes the stress is *dí-* (§6.8.5), e.g. *dínaxθen* ‘I’m just going down’.

4.2.5 Retraction and promotion of stress

4.2.5.1 Stress promotion with vocatives

Names normally have penultimate or final stress, as mentioned above. When a name is called out, however, the stress is usually on the final syllable.[3] This is often in conjunction with the vocative particle *wo* ‘O!’, ‘hey!’ (§10.5). The stressed syllable is

[3] The same stress promotion occurs in Qaraqosh with vocatives, e.g. *katù.*ˡ ‘Katu!’ (Khan 2002: 472).

usually lengthened and may even be diphthongized (see §2.3.2.2.1.i.b). The final stress rule is applied to any word called out in lieu of a name.

wó ḥabbə̀!	'O Habbe!' (A)
wó dēwā̀!	'O Wolf!' (A:227)
wó maqqā̀ṣ!	'O Scissors!' (A)
xaltí!	'(maternal) Auntie!' (A)
ʾamtí!	'(paternal) Auntie!' (A)

4.2.5.2 Stress retraction in verbs

As stated above, the singular imperative of *ylp* 'to learn' has initial stress. This stress is retracted however if followed by *ʾāði*: *ʾílup ʾāði*, presumably because *ʾāði* has a light initial stress and final stress on the verb would lead to two consecutive stressed syllables.

Stress is also sometimes retracted in other verb forms where penultimate stress is the norm. This is especially common with the *Qaṭlenwa* forms of *ʾmr* 'to say', used frequently in narrative. It may be that such words are in fact unstressed but that the long vowel causes the initial syllable to seem prominent.

ʾā́merwa	'He said,' (A:157)
ʾámrāwa	'She said, (A:155)

4.3 *Stress groups*

Words are frequently combined in stress groups composed of two or more components, in which one of the components has the sole stress. These stress groups can be divided into two groups: those which stress the first component and those which stress the last. The 'rules' described below are not applied in all cases as stress may be altered to give prominence to a particular word. They can however be said to represent the norm.

4.3.1 Stress on last component (stress group with final stress)

When words are combined in a genitive relationship marked on the first word by the suffix *-ed* or one of its allomorphs (§10.2.1), the second word often takes the only stress:[4]

lires-sə̀ma 'a silver lira' (lit. 'lira of silver') (A:219)
ʾaqlāθeš-šamā̀še 'the feet of the deacons' (B:25)
l-sepθeṭ-ṭū̀ra 'on the foot of the mountain' (C:1)
gēbet-xayā̀ṭa 'to the tailor' (A:84)

The same is true of some compounds:

mar-dekkā́na 'shopkeeper' (A) (§7.9.1)
hēdi-hḗdi 'slowly' (A)

Epenthetic vowels such as those after prefixes are not stressed:

me-l-tḗx 'from below' (A)

The stress may be on the first word if it has prominence in the sentence:

b-bénget-palgedyum 'at high noon' (A)

4.3.2 Stress on first component (stress group with initial stress)

In other stress-groups it is the first component which takes the stress. In some cases it has normal (i.e. penultimate) word stress. In other cases the stress is promoted on to the final syllable.

4.3.2.1 Unchanged stress on first component

Stress groups of this type are very common and involve many different components. They will be dealt with mainly in the chapters in which they occur, but some of the many examples will be outlined here. Examples where the first component is monosyllabic are

[4] Sometimes the first word has a lesser stress, e.g. *yémmed-bā̀bi* 'my father's mother' (A:115), *dáqneš-šivā̀na* 'the shepherd's beard' (A:229).

mostly included here but in fact the formal distinction between 'unchanged' or 'promoted' is neutralized in such cases.

This pattern of stress is sometimes conditioned by the first component, and sometimes by the second. In some cases, especially with the copula, the stress is doubly conditioned.

The following are the types of combination that take this stress pattern:

(1) The enclitic copula (§6.17) as second component

ràndɛ-wen 'I'm fine.' (A)
bròneḥ-wēwa 'he was his son' (D:9)
dɛ̀x-iwet? 'How are you?' (A)
ġðā̀ʾ-ila 'it is one' (A:8)

(2) Enclitic *-ll-* or *-mm-* (§10.2.1, §10.2.2)

qèmla-lleḥ 'she challenged him' (A:182)
wolɛ šmìʾe-lleḥ 'they have heard about it' (B:12)
dā́rɛwa xmíra-mmeḥ-u 'they put yeast with it' (A:32)
mmaḥkòye-mmeḥ 'speaking with him' (A:99)

(3) Enclitic *-u* (§10.4.2)

tū́ma-u 'garlic and' (A:111)

(4) Deictic pronoun as first component (§5.3)
The far-deixis 3pl. pronoun has unchanged stress. The other pronouns are monosyllabic:

w-ánɛ-yumāθa 'those days' (A:123)
ʾáθ-tanūra 'this oven' (A:29)
ʾɛ́-ʾara 'that field' (A:134)

(5) Interrogative pronoun as first component (§5.4)

Most of these pronouns are monosyllabic.

*màn ibe?*ˡ ‘Who is able to?’ (A)

*mə̀ ʾoðen?*ˡ ‘What should I do?’ (A:163)

*mə̀-ranga kebet,*ˡ ‘what colour do you prefer?’ (A:204)

*ʾèma-mendi kébet?*ˡ ‘What thing do you want?’ (A)

*kmá-karme?*ˡ ‘How many vineyards?’ (A)

(6) Adjectives that precede the noun

The only examples attested are *ʾáwwal-* (Arab.) and *xós-* (K.) (§8.3(20)), the second of course being monosyllabic.

(7) *báθer-mennaḥ* ‘afterwards’ and *qám-mennaḥ* ‘beforehand’ (§10.3.4(1)).

(8) *bə́rēli* ‘north’ and *bártaxti* ‘south’ (§7.9.3)

These two are each composed of two components with stress on the first (*bar/bār* ‘side’). They are only written as one word because the components are not productive.

(9) Some particles, adverbs and noun-modifiers

This category is almost only composed of monosyllabic elements. It includes both negators *la-* (with verbs) and *lā-* (with other words), and the following particles: *dla-* (§10.4.4), *har-, ham-, bas-, beš-, ču-, kud-, kul-, flān-, xátrē-* (m.), *xáttē-* (f.) (cf. §10.6-7).

lá-kpɛšet ‘you will not become’ (D:5)

lá-kēðex ‘We don’t know’ (A:128)

lá-rɛsiwālɛ ‘they did not sprinkle them’ (A:54)

lá-kmɛθetwāli ‘you would not have brought me’(D:17)

*lə̀-ʾenše,*ˡ ‘not women’ (A)

béš-ʾatira ‘richer’ (A:221)

čù-mendi ‘nothing’ (A:113)

This pattern of stress is very common in NENA, especially with the enclitic copula, deictic pronouns, the negator and other particles. There is however considerable variation between the dialects in its precise distribution.[5]

4.3.2.2 Promoted stress on first component

The two types of combination that take this stress pattern are as follows:

(1) Certain idioms

There are a number of idioms with this stress pattern:

parčá-xenna	'another piece'
yarxá-xenna	'next month'
šapθá-xerta	'next week'
pāθá-xerta	'the other side'
yarxá-u palgeḥ	'a month and a half'
šabθá-u palgaḥ	'a week and a half'
palgú-bšāla, *palgú-bšila*	'half-cooked'
palgéd-yum	'middle of the day'
baθér-dex	'then'
qeṣṣá-qeṣṣa	'slowly', 'little by little'
zelpé-zelpe	'in slices'
rangé-range	'multi-coloured'
šeklé-šekle	'of different types'

Sometimes *hēdi-hḗdi* 'slowly' is also stressed in this manner: *hēdí-hēdi*.

The idiom *gā́-xerta* 'again' perhaps belongs to this group, given its similarity to the first three examples, though with only a monosyllabic first component it cannot be allocated with certainty.

[5] Cf., for instance, Aradhin (Krotkoff 1982: 17), Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 68-72), Ch. Zakho (Hoberman 1993: 117, Mole 2000: 19), Bēṣpən (Sinha 2000: 64), Särdä:rïd (Younansardaroud 2001: 68-9).

(2) Certain numerals before nouns

The numerals 2-10 (except 10 (f.) *ʾessar*) and the tens (20, 30, 40 etc.) also have promoted stress in their attached form (§9.1.1). The number 1/indefinite article is monosyllabic.

ṭlaθā́-ʾalpe 'three thousand' (B:1)
ʾarbì-yome 'forty days' (D)
xà-xmāra 'one donkey' (A:15)

With numerals involving both units and tens, the units, which come first, take promoted stress:

ʾarbó-esri 'twenty-four'
tešʾó-ʾešti 'sixty-nine'

Except for Sunday the days of the weeks which have numeric components (Monday-Thursday), take stress on the final syllable of the numeral (§7.9.6).

ṭlaθóšāba 'Tuesday'
xamšóšāba 'Thursday'

This pattern of stress is attested in other NENA dialects in the same or similar cases, in particular with numerals modifying nouns.[6] In ANA and cross-dialectally it seems to be used with combinations of words that are particularly common.

[6] In the dialect of Aradhin (Krotkoff 1982: 16-7) this stress pattern is found with distributive reduplication, e.g. *šiklé-šikle* 'in different ways', and in numerals modifying nouns. It is also found in noun-adjective combinations, e.g. *sa:má-ra:ba* 'a large part', *gawrá-qama:ya* 'the first man' and some other expressions. In Jewish Zakho it is found with distributive reduplication, e.g. *šıklé-šıkle* 'all kinds of shapes and colours' (Sabar 2002: 56). In Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 69, 226) and the Assyrian Koine (Odisho 1988: 84, 6) it is found in numerals modifying nouns and in the names of the days of the week. In Tkhuma (Jacobi 1973: 35-36), it is found in numerals and in the expressions $^{+}$ʾ*īdā̀* $^{+}$*gṓra* 'Easter' and $^{+}$ʾ*īdā̀* $^{+}$*sṓra* 'Christmas'. (The stress marks have been changed to the system used here.) In Bēṣpən (Sinha 2000: 64-5) it is found in numerals and deictic pronouns. In Särdä:rïd (Younansardaroud 2001: 69) it is found in ^{v}*ï:dá:-*^{v}*sü:rä* 'Christmas' and ^{v}*ï:dá:-*^{m}*gu:ra* 'Easter' and in genitival annexation, e.g. ^{v}*bä:bíd* ^{v}*brä:tä* 'the girl's father'.

4.3.3 Groups of more than two components

These occur where one (or more) of the components of a stress group is itself a stress group. In these groups there is often an additional lesser stress, so that it is not strictly a stress-group, but the main stress in such cases can still be predicted in the same way as the sole stress in cases where there is only one. For this reason groups with two stresses will also be considered below.

In the first two cases below it does not matter whether the subordinate stress group is the first or final component of the higher stress group. In some cases the words could be grouped in more than one way, e.g. *m-kùl-nāšed-mā́θa* 'ALL the people of the village' (A:221) (*m-kúl-* + *nāšed-mā́θa* or *m-kúl-nāšed-* + *māθa*).

(1) **Stress group with final stress as component of another group with final stress**
The main stress will be on the final component:

ʾēð́ed-lebbed-ìšuʿ 'the Festival of the Heart of Jesus' (*ʾēðed-* + *lebbed-íšuʿ*) (A)

(2) **Stress group with initial stress as component of another group with initial stress**
The main stress will be on the first component of the chain:

lā́-xoš-nāša 'not a nice person' (*lā́-* + *xóš-nāša*) (A)
là-har-b-āði 'not only with this one' (*lā́-* + *hár-b-āði*) (A)
bèš-bassemtɛ-la-u 'it is nicer' (A:57)

(3) **Stress group with initial stress as final component in group with final stress**
The main stress will be on the penultimate component:

p-qard-àθ-meskēna 'the lot of this poor man' (*p-qáred-* + *ʾáθ-meskēna*) (A:189)
ṣómet-xamšì-yome 'the fast of fifty days' (*ṣómed-* + *xamší-yome*) (B:28)
šā́ted-tešʾò-tešʾi ''99' (lit. 'the year of ninety-nine') (A)

(4) **Stress group with initial stress as first component in group with final stress**

The main stress will either be on the initial or on the final component:

m-kùl-nāšed-mā́θa 'ALL the people of the village' (A:221)

*ʾarbò-ʾesri-šénne.*ˈ 'twenty-four years' (B)

dlá-berāšed-yèmmi 'Without my mother's knowledge' (A:120)

ʾó-ṛābet-kùllɛ 'the biggest of all' (A)

4.4 *Intonation groups*

Speech is divided into intonation groups, marked by intonational boundaries (…ˈ…). These usually match syntactic boundaries, such as the ends of phrases or sentences. In each intonation group there is one main stress called the nucleus, marked with a grave accent (̀). In addition there may be one or more lesser stresses, marked with an acute accent (́). The nucleus is most often the final stress, but sometimes one or more lesser stresses follow. The nucleus is often used to mark the prominence of a word in the discourse, as in the examples below.[7] The first, a proverb, means that we are affected by events far away from where we are. The words *bɛθed-bàbbux* 'house of your Babbe' are stressed because this is the part of the sentence which is surprising. These words could be translated as 'even the house of your Babbe' to make this explicit in the English. The second sentence could alternatively be translated as 'It was my mother who cut my hair.'

*mennāṛet-ḥálab npèlla*ˈ *ʾu* ***bɛθed-bàbbux*** *xrūle.*ˈ 'The minaret of Aleppo has fallen and the house of your Babbe is ruined.' (A)

yèmmi *kemgarā́li.*ˈ '*My mother* cut my hair.' (A)

Intonation concerns the rise and fall of pitch through the intonation group. The main types of intonation pattern found on nuclei will be discussed below (the patterns on other stresses will not be discussed here). The intonation contours occur from the nucleus to the end of the intonation group or the next stress.

[7] This function is described for the related dialect of Qaraqosh in Khan (2002: 396-461).

(1) **Fall to mid-pitch accompanied by lengthening of the final syllable (↘_)**

This is often found marking the topic of a sentence. It is also used to mark incompleteness in the same way as (4).

> *gùpta:*↘_ˈ *šalqìwāla;*ˈ 'Cheese: they boiled it;' (A:63)
>
> *šwā́wi tòma,*↘_ˈ *ġðà-gāθa,*ˈ *kud brḗwāle ḥà̄deθ*ˈ *p-kòstar*ˈ 'My neighbour Toma, once, when an accident happened in a *Coaster*[8] …' (A:95)
>
> *ʾeθwa mennéy s-sèsqe,*↘_ˈ *mennéy d-ʿḕruq,*↘_ˈ *d-gèrsa*↘_ˈ 'there was among them sheep's-tail-fat-bread, among them *ʿēruq*[9]-bread, cracked-wheat-bread.' (A:35)

(2) **Fall to mid-pitch without lengthening (↘)**

This is often found with commands. It is also sometimes found with questions which involve a question word.

> *là-mtaʿedyat-élli!*↘ˈ 'Don't annoy me!' (A)
> *màlpūla!*↘ˈ 'Teach (pl.) her!' (A)
> *ʾíman pxazyànnux?*↘ˈ 'When will I see you?' (A)
> *qāy, mà̄-weðli?*↘ˈ 'Why? What have I done?' (A)
> *kmà-karme?*↘ˈ 'How many vineyards?' (A)

(3) **Fall to low pitch (↓)**

This is found marking a major juncture in the text, such as the end of a topic or section of a story, or the end of a list or sequence of events.

> *ʾā́y go qèṭa damrex.*ˈ *ʾāni b-yumā́θa t-āwɛ*[10] *bassìme.*↓ˈ *men dàrta*ˈ … 'That was in the summer, I'd say.[11] These things were on the days which were fine. // [new topic] Off the courtyard there were …' (A:6-7)

[8] A type of minibus.

[9] A type of yellow powdered spice, perhaps turmeric.

[10] The subjunctive is used here rather than *t-kāwɛ bassime*. It is perhaps because the fine weather is hypothetical.

[11] Literally: we'd say.

*lánnahu zuyā̀ḥa ʾíθen-u*ˈ *manšoqeṭ-ṣúrted- … d-lébbed-ìšuʿ.*↓ˈ (121) *plétla m-ṛāze qamā̀ya, soti,*ˈ ‘because there was a procession and kissing of the picture of the Heart of Jesus. [returning to the topic after diverstion:] She left the First Mass, my grandmother, … (A:120-1)

*kúllɛ bikarwā̀θa-u*ˈ *torā̀θa-u*ˈ *sardā̀be-u*ˈ *… ʾà̄ni.*↓ˈ ‘all *bikāres* and cows and cellars and so on.’ [end of text] (A:27)

(4) **Rising or level pitch usually with lengthening of the final syllable (↗_)**

This indicates incompleteness, showing that a clause is followed by another that is linked in meaning, such as in a chain of events or a list of items. It is also used to link subordinate clauses to their main clause. It is very often accompanied by lengthening of the final syllable. A rising pitch is also found with questions, sometimes with a very slight fall at the very end:

kúllɛ bikarwā̀θa-u↗_ˈ *torā̀θa-u*↗_ˈ *sardā̀be-u*↗ˈ *… ʾà̄ni.*↓ˈ ‘all *bikāres* and cows and cellars and so on.’ (A:27)

qṭḗle xammèš-armone,↗ˈ *kémdārēlɛ p-čànteḥ*↗ˈ *- b-zawwā̀deḥ-u*↗ˈ *kémdārēla l-rū́ša-u zèlle.*↓ˈ He picked five pomegranates, he put them in his bag, in his provisions bag and he put it on to (his) shoulder and went. (A:211)

méndi t-kèbet↗ˈ *byāwènnux-ile.*↓ˈ ‘Whatever you want, I will give it you.’ (A:208)

šetyā́lux qàhwux?↗ ‘Have you drunk your coffee?’ (B)

gdālàtta?↗_ˈ ‘Can you see it (f.)?’ (A)

hā́ θḕlax?↗_ˈ ‘Well, have you come?’ (A)

ʾéka bdámxex dàha?↗_ˈ ‘Where will we sleep now?’ (A)

CHAPTER FIVE

PRONOUNS

5.1 *Independent personal pronouns*

The independent pronouns distinguish between singular and plural and, in the singular, masculine and feminine, except in the 1st person where *ʾāna* serves for common gender. The only variant attested in these forms is *ʾaxtu* for *ʾaxtun* 'you (pl.)'.

As verbs take pronominal inflection, the independent personal pronouns are reserved for emphatic use, e.g. *ʾā́yet màn-iwet-u* 'You, who are you?' (A:198).

3rd per.	ms.	*ʾāw*
	fs.	*ʾāy*
	pl.	*ʾāni*
2nd per.	ms.	*ʾāyet*
	fs.	*ʾāyat*
	pl.	*ʾaxtu(n)*
1st per.	sg.	*ʾāna*
	pl.	*ʾaxni*

In speaking to very important people such as a minister, bishop or patriarch, one uses the second person plural, e.g. *dḗx-iwotun* 'How are you?'. Such a form is restricted to people of very elevated status and not used more generally to express respect as in French or German.

The third person singular forms occur in some other NENA dialects as *ʾāhu* and *ʾāhi*.[1] Hoberman (1990: 84-5) suggests that these are the Proto-NENA forms from which

[1] For instance Qaraqosh (2002: 75) and Christian Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: 22).

all others, including *ʾāw* and *ʾāy*, are derived. Nöldeke (1868: 75) and Sachau (1895: 7) suggest that these forms are derived from **hāhˉ* and **hāhī* respectively. Hoberman suggests however that these forms were derived from Old Aramaic *hˉ* and *hī* through the addition of initial *ʾa*, by analogy with the 1st and 2nd person forms.[2]

The third person plural form *ʾāni* is extremely common in NENA and Hoberman (1990: 85) lists it as one of the Proto-NENA forms.

For the 2nd person singular, Hoberman (1990: 83) suggests that in Proto-NENA there was a common gender form *ʾat* (a form still found in some dialects) and that the gender distinction arose through analogy with the verbal A-set suffixes, *-et* (ms.) and *-at* (fs.).[3] Other dialects with medial */y/* are the Christian dialects of Mangesh, Aradhin, Barṭɨlle, Senaya and some of the Cudi dialects.[4]

The plural form *ʾaxtu(n)* is the most common 2pl. form in NENA and is therefore listed by Hoberman as the Proto-NENA form.[5]

The first person pronouns are identical in virtually all the NENA dialects (Hoberman 1988: 561 and 1990: 82). In some, *ʾaxnan* or *ʾatxan*[6] is found; these do not occur in ANA.

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[2] (Hoberman 1990: 85-6). Cf. also Khan (2000: 75). One piece of evidence for the former theory is the variant *hāw* for the demonstrative *ʾāw* (ANA *ʾāwa* or *ʾo-*) found in 17th century texts in the Mosul Plain dialect. As there is a tendency for initial */h/* to be elided (cf. *hādax* ∼ *ʾādax* 'thus'), *hāw* may be the more original form. However */h/* is not attested in these texts with the 3rd person personal pronouns *ʾāhu* and *ʾāhi*. Nor is it attested with the feminine *ʾay* (Mengozzi 2002a: 209,177,179).

[3] His justification is as follows: 'Gender-differentiating forms are found in all the dialects of Iraq, but not in Iran, while the common-gender *at* is geographically widespread. Therefore the gender-differentiating forms are an innovation of Iraqi NENA'. In fact the area of the gender-differentiating forms extends just over the Iraqi borders to the Cudi region of Turkey and the city of Senandaj in Iran (Senaya dialect) but this does not affect the validity of the argument. As for the medial */h/*, */ʔ/* or */y/* found, Hoberman suggests that it is a hiatus-breaking glide. Khan (2002: 75) suggests that the medial */h/* of Qaraqosh *ʾáhət* and *ʾáhat* developed by analogy with the 3rd person singular forms *ʾáhu* (m.) and *ʾáhi* (f.). Both factors may have been at work.

[4] Sara (1974: 63), Krotkoff (1982: 19), Hoberman (1990: 83), Panoussi (1990: 111) and Sinha (2000: 69).

[5] Hoberman (1990: 83).

[6] *ʾatxan* is found alongside *ʾaxnan* in the Jewish dialect of Arbel (Khan 1999: 81).

5.2 *Pronominal suffixes on nouns and particles*

3rd per.	ms.	*-eḥ*
	fs.	*-aḥ*
	pl.	*-éy*
2nd per.	ms.	*-ux*
	fs.	*-ax*
	pl.	*-óxu(n)*
1st per.	sg.	*-i*
	pl.	*-an*

This set of suffixes is found on nouns and prepositions. On nouns it indicates a genitive relationship (equivalent to *//d//* + noun). The suffix is added to the stem of the noun, replacing any final */a/* or */e/*, e.g. *bɛθeḥ*, 'his house' (from *bɛθa* 'house' + *-eḥ* 'his). There is no difference in form between the suffixes added to singular and plural nouns.[7] This can lead to ambiguity with some nouns which form their plural with *-e* without changing the stem. For instance *šwāwi* may mean 'my neighbour' or 'my neighbours', depending on whether *-i* has been affixed to the singular form *šwāwa* or the plural form *šwāwe*. There is no ambiguity where the stem of the plural is different, as with *xori* 'my friend' (<*xora* 'friend') and *xʿri* 'my friends' (<*xʿre* 'friends').

Prepositions usually have a special stem for attaching to the suffix, e.g. *menn-* for *m-* 'from' and *ṭāl-* for *ta* 'to' (cf. §10.2.1-2).

The pronominal suffixes do not take stress, except for 2pl. *-óxu(n)* and 3pl. *-éy*. When an unstressed pronominal suffix is added to a word ending in *-a* or *-e*, the word is not lengthened as it simply replaces the ending, and so there is no change in stress, e.g. *bέθa* 'house', *bέθi* 'my house'. When an unstressed suffix is added to a form ending in an unstressed closed syllable, e.g. *bánas* 'fault', a syllable is added to the word, and so the final syllable of the noun is now the penultimate syllable and as such takes the stress. This results in the lengthening of the stressed vowel (§2.3.2.2.1.i).

[7] Compare the more archaic system in the Christian dialect of Qaraqosh, where there is a special set of suffixes used with plurals ending in *-ə* (equivalent to ANA *-e*) (Khan 2002: 76-77).

bánas	'fault'	*banā́si*	'my fault'
kárwan	'caravan'	*karwā́nan*	'our caravan'
gárgur	'burghul'	*garg˙ ́reḥ*	'his burghul'
bárqul	'opposite'	*barq˙ ́li*	'opposite me'

When the suffix is stressed (2pl. or 3pl.), any long */ā/* or */˙/* moved to pre-stress position is usually shortened (§2.3.2.2.2.i).

gyāna	'self'	*gyanóxun*	'yourselves'
ṭāl-	'for'	*ṭalέy*	'for him'

Any short */a/* or */u/* remains short:

banas	'fault'	*banasóxun*	'your (pl.) fault'

The following table shows the suffixes as attached to nouns and prepostions:

		With noun		**With particle**	
3rd per.	ms.	*bεθeḥ*	'his house'	*ṭāleḥ*	'for him'
	fs.	*bεθaḥ*	'her house'	*ṭālaḥ*	'for her'
	pl.	*bεθέy*	'their house'	*ṭalέy*	'for them'
2nd per.	ms.	*bεθux*	etc.	*ṭālux*	etc.
	fs.	*bεθax*		*ṭālax*	
	pl.	*bεθóxun*		*ṭalóxun*	
1st per.	c.	*bεθi*		*ṭāli*	
	pl.	*bεθan*		*ṭālan*	

The 3rd person singular suffixes are of particular interest because original **/h/* has become a pharyngeal */ḥ/*. This feature was recorded for the dialect of Alqosh in Rhétoré's grammar of the dialects of the Mosul Plain.[8] Forms with */ḥ/* are also found in Qaraqosh,

[8] Rhétoré (1912: 55, n. 2). Maclean used the term Alqosh to refer to the dialects of the Mosul Plain in general, but this is not the case with Rhétoré.

Mangesh, Telesqof, Christian Zakho and Hassane,[9] though not in the closely related dialects of Aradhin and Telkepe (see below).

Hoberman (1988: 563) sees this innovation as a means of distinguishing the possessive nominal suffix and the L-set suffix but wonders why such a distinction should have been thought necessary. In fact, in the case of ANA at least, the distinction required was probably between the possessive suffixes and the singular/plural noun inflections *-a* and *-e*. In many dialects the original */h/* of the possessive suffixes *-eh* and *-ah* has been lost, as in the L-set suffixes *-le* and *-la*.[10] Elided forms *-e* and *-a* exist side by side with *-eh* and *-ah* in some dialects,[11] while in others the forms with */h/* have been lost altogether.[12] In such cases there is potentially no distinction between 'neighbour' (*šwāwa*) and 'her neighbour' (*šwāwa*). Likewise there could be confusion between 'neighbours' (*šwāwe*) and 'his neighbour' (*šwāwe*). The strengthening of */h/* to a more audible pharyngeal is one way of ensuring the distinction is preserved. It may be that in other dialects other mechanisms are found of avoiding ambiguity. In Aradhin, for instance, the possessive pronouns are in most cases expressed with independent forms (the *di:y-* set).[13] This may be one such mechanism. In ANA and Qaraqosh,[14] which have *-eḥ* and *-aḥ*, the independent forms are much less common than the suffixes.[15]

The 3rd person plural suffix *-ɛ́y* is probably derived from the form *-ayhin* still found in related dialects. The **/ay/* has been monophthongized and the */h/* and */n/*

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[9] Cf. respectively Khan (2002: 76), Sara (1974: 64), Rubba (1993: 280), Hoberman (1993: 118) but not in Mole (2000: 25), and Jastrow (1997a: 277-8).

[10] Hoberman (1988: 563) gives *-eh* and *-ah* as the Proto-NENA 3sg. pronominal suffixes. These forms are still found in Barṭille (op. cit.).

[11] In the closely related Jewish dialects of Amadiya, Zakho and Nerwa, */h/* is not usually heard, 'but when attached to the copula it may be retained, i.e. *brōneh-īle* "he is his son".' (Sabar 1976: xxxvi). In the Christian dialect of Aradhin the 3fs. suffix has both variants, though the 3ms. form is *-e* only. Guidi (1883: 299) also gave both variants in his study of the Mosul Plain ('Felliḥi') dialects.

[12] These are the dialects of Tkhuma (Jacobi: 76), Senaya (Panoussi 1990: 111, 3cs. *-e*) and Telkepe. For Telkepe, cf. the following examples (line nos. are given) *bābe* 'his father' (6), *yımme* 'his mother' (7) and *gēba* 'to her' (8) in Sabar (1993: 291) and the examples *xāle* 'his maternal uncle' (1), *šımme* 'his name' (8), *bgāwe* 'in it' (9) (Sabar 1978: 412).

[13] Krotkoff (1982: 20).

[14] Personal communication from G. Khan.

[15] Cf. Khan (2002: 271) for the conditions under which the independent pronoun tends to be used.

elided.[16] This derivation is supported by the stress on the */ɛ/* which suggests that it was originally pretonic.

The 2nd person singular forms are almost identical across the NENA dialects.[17] The second plural form *-oxu(n)* (or *-awxu(n)*) is common in NENA, but in some other dialects *-ɛxu* or *-exu(n)* is found, apparently derived from **-ayxu(n)*.[18]

The 1st person forms are identical across the dialects except that a few dialects have an additional form *-eni*, which in some expresses the exclusive 1st person plural, that is, 'I and one or more third persons (excluding the person addressed).'[19]

5.3 *Deictic pronouns*

The independent deictic pronouns distinguish between near and far deixis. For near deixis, the only other distinction is between singular and plural. For far deixis there is also a gender distinction in the singular.

There are in addition attached forms used to modify nouns.

	Near deixis		**Far deixis**	
	Indep.	**Attach.**	**Indep.**	**Attach.**
sg.	*ʾāði* ≍ *ʾāy*	*ʾaθ-* ≍ *ʾay-*	ms. *ʾāwa*	*ʾo-*
			fs. *ʾāya*	*ʾɛ-*
pl.	*ʾāni*	*ʾan-*	pl. *ʾānɛ*	*ʾanɛ-*

[16] Rhétoré (1912: 56), writing of the dialects of the Mosul Plain, gives *-ayhen* ≍ *-ayhi* ≍ *-ay*. Maclean (1895: 18), writing of the same dialects, gives *-ayhi*. In Christian Zakho (Hoberman 1993: 118) the form is *-áy(ḥin)*. In Aradhin (Krotkoff 1982: 20) the */ay/* has been monophthongized, as in ANA: *-ɛ:hin*.

[17] Cf. the table in Hoberman (1988: 562).

[18] Hoberman (1988: 571), elaborating on an idea of Nöldeke's (1868: 79-80), suggests that *-ayxun* is the more original and that the change to *-awxun* is by analogy with the 2ms. suffix *-ox*.

[19] This is attested in both Christian and Jewish dialects: in the Jewish Iraqi dialects of Amadiya (Hoberman 1989: 195), Zakho (Polotsky 1961: 19), and the Nerwa Texts (Sabar 1976: xxxv) (cf. also Hoberman 1988: 562); in the literary Christian dialect of Urmi (Polotsky 1961: 19-20, Murre-van den Berg 1999a: 193); and in the Christian dialects of Mar Yaqo (author's own data), Hassane (Jastrow 1997: 277) and the dialects of the Barwar region (personal communication from G. Khan). In the dialects of literary Urmi and Mar Yaqo it has the exclusive meaning, while in Zakho the two forms appear to be free variants (Polotsky 1961: 19, n. 4). In the Barwar dialects the choice is influenced by other factors. There is no published information on whether there is a distinction in the other dialects listed.

The attached forms precede the noun modified, forming a stress group. The pronoun usually takes the stress (§4.3.2.1(3)), e.g. *ʾáθ-tanūra* ‘this oven’ (A:29), *ó-wazira* ‘that mayor’ (D:9), *ʾέ-ʾara* ‘that field’ (A:134), *ʾán-nāṭoṛe* ‘these guards’ (A:73), *ʾànε-ʾarmone* ‘those pomegranates’ (A:220). The singular near-deixis pronoun *ʾaθ-* assimilates regularly in voicing to the following consonant, e.g. *ʾáð-baxta*, unless the noun begins with a consonant cluster (and hence an epenthetic vowel). It also assimilates sometimes to */z/*, e.g. *ʾáz-zemmorta* ‘this song’ and *ʾaz-zaḥme* ‘this trouble’ (A). In the speech of B., *ʾað-* is sometimes the basic (unassimilated) from (see below). The alternative singular near-deixis pronoun *ʾay-* is unusual in that the rule of */ay/ > /ε/* is disregarded. The reason may be a need to disambiguate the cs. near-deixis pronoun from the fs. far-deixis pronoun *ʾε-*.

As well as indicating something physically near or far, the deictic pronouns are used to mean ‘this’ or ‘that’ in the sense of ‘the afore-mentioned’, e.g. *ʾó-wazira* ‘that minister’ (D:9), referring to a person already mentioned in the text. Near deixis is also used for this function, e.g. *ʾáy-meskēna* ‘this poor man’ (A:205).

The deictic pronouns may also be used as definite articles, especially with comparatives:

hár b-ʾέ-qatta ṛábθa ‘just with the big(ger) stick’ (A)

*b-ε-ṛábθa mmā́xet l-az-zàrta.*ˈ ‘with the bigger one you’ll throw at the small one’ (A)

ʾo-ṛā́ba ‘the big(ger) one’ (A)

ʾo-ṛābet-kúllε ‘the biggest of all’ (A)

The near-deixis pronoun *ʾāy* is often used at the end of a description to define what it was about before beginning a new topic. In such cases no copula is used.

… *ā́y taxrà̀θa.*ˈ ‘That’s *taxrà̀ a*.’ (A:35)

… *ʾā́y lèxma.*ˈ ‘That’s bread.’ (A:55)

… *ʾā́y go qèṭa d-amrex.*ˈ ‘That was in the summer,’ (A:6)

… *ʾā́y lʾèl.*ˈ ‘This is upstairs.’ (A:9)

The deictic pronouns have a variety of origins. The near-deixis plural pronoun *ʾāni* 'these' is identical to the 3pl. personal pronoun. The attached form *ʾan-* is apparently a contraction of it. The far-deixis attached pronouns appear to be contracted forms of the 3s. personal pronouns (*ʾo* < **ʾaw* < **ʾāw* and *ʾɛ* < **ʾay* < **ʾāy*).[20] The independent forms are probably derived from the the personal pronouns plus an extra deictic particle (*ʾāwa* < **ʾāw-hā* and *ʾāya* < **ʾāy-hā*) (Khan 2002: 82). The plural far deixis pronoun (*ʾānɛ*, attached *ʾanɛ-*) must be derived from *ʾānay*, following the rule */ɛ/* < **/ay/* (§2.5.2).[21] This in turn may be derived from *ʾannay*, according to the rule **/áCCv/* > */āCv/* (§1.7.2.1), as a geminate */n/* is found in many closely related dialects.[22]

The origin of the singular near-deixis pronoun *ʾāði* is less clear. There is evidence that *ʾāði* may originally have been a purely feminine form. Khan (2002: 81) discusses similar forms in the dialect of Qaraqosh, where *ʾáḏi* [*ʾāði*] is the feminine and a separate form *ʾáḏa* [*ʾāða*] is used for the masculine. The form *ʾāḏi* is also fs. in 17th century Christian literary texts of the Mosul Plain.[23] But these texts do not have *ʾāḏa* as the masculine equivalent, only *ʾad* (≁ *ʾād* ≁ *ʾāḏ*), which in ANA serves as the attached form.[24] There is also evidence that earlier forms may have had initial */h/*. In Qaraqosh the forms are sometimes pronounced *haḏa* and *haḏi*. According to Khan, 'It is not clear

[20] The relationship is clear when one looks at other NENA dialects. There are dialects where uncontracted forms are used as attached deictic pronouns, e.g. *ʾaw=* 'that' (Mole 2000: 25-6); there are also dialects where contracted forms are used as personal pronouns, e.g. *ʾo* 'he, this' in Mangesh (Sara 1974: 63). In some dialects the personal pronoun and attached deictic pronoun are the same, e.g. Arbel *ʾo*, 'he', *ʾó-* 'that' (Khan 1999: 81, 85).

[21] Guidi (1883: 298) and Sachau (1895: 7) recorded variants of the 3pl. *personal* pronouns with a diphthong (*ánei* (3pl) and *ā́nhai* ≁ *ā́nai* (3fpl (sic)) respectively) for the dialects of the Mosul Plain (Guidi does not give separate deictic pronouns, Sachau gives *ā́nē* for the far-deixis plural). In most dialects **/ay/* is realized as */e/* and so this is the vowel found on the 3pl. pronoun, e.g. Mangesh *ʾanne* 'they, these' (Sara 1974: 64). In Aradhin (Krotkoff 1982: 20), where **/ay/* > */ɛ/*, the form is *ʾannɛ* 'these'. In Christian Zakho, where a diphthong is normally preserved as */ey/*, the form is *ʾanná* 'these' (Mole 2000: 25, but not Hoberman 1993: 118, who has *ʾanníː*). Apparently the */y/* has simply been elided. Note that in some of these dialects (Mangesh, Ch. Zakho (Mole), Aradhin) the cognate of ANA *ʾānɛ* is near-deixis while the cognate of ANA *ʾāni* is far-deixis: the reverse of their meanings in ANA.

[22] See the examples in the preceding footnote. The same rule is however also found in these dialects: for instance all three have [*qāša*] for Syr. *qaššā*. In the case of the pronoun, therefore, the rule seems to be blocked.

[23] Mengozzi (2002a: 177).

[24] Mengozzi (2002a: 176). The different writings may actually represent the same pronunciation ([*ʾað*]?).

whether this is a conservative pronunciation of original forms with initial *ha-* or whether it is the result of influence from Arabic, which has demonstratives of a similar form.'[25] In fact forms with initial */h/* are already found in the 17th century Christian texts: *hād* 'that' and *hādē* 'this (cs.), though there is only one occurrence of each in the texts.[26]

For the etymology, Khan goes on to suggest that the masculine may be derived from two deictic elements: **hā-ḏā* and that the final */i/* of the feminine 'may have developed by analogy with the independent 3fs. pronoun *ʾahi*.'

An alternative theory is that all three forms are borrowed from the colloquial Arabic pronouns of very similar form: I.A. *hāða* (ms.), *hāði* (fs.).[27] It is common in ANA for initial */h/* to be elided (cf. *hādax* ≁ *ʾādax* 'thus', *hilāna* ≁ *ʾilāna* 'tree'). According to this hypothesis, the feminine form would have been extended to both genders in some dialects, including ANA. An argument against Arabic origin is the early attestation of these forms. Direct Arabic influence tends to date to more recent times. In the 17th century there should have been only quite limited influence. Another argument against is the occurrence of these forms (in fossilized form) in areas even further away from Arabic settlement, such as Urmia and the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.[28]

Foreign origin could also be attributed to the other near-deixis pronoun *ʾāy* 'this'. In Mesopotamian Arabic *hāy* is an alternative to *hāði*.[29] In Damascus Arabic the cognate form *hayy* also functions as a presentative particle, serving for *both* genders, e.g. *hayy ʾktābak* 'Here's your book (ms.)'.[30] This could be a parallel for an extension of Neo-Aramaic *ʾāy* to both genders. A foreign origin might provide an alternative explanation for why *ʾay-* is not monophthongized to *ʾɛ-*: loans often follow different phonological

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[25] Khan (2002: 81).

[26] Mengozzi (2002a: 209). The entry for *hād* refers one to *ʾad*, though *ʾad* is near-deixis.

[27] These forms are widespread: cf. the Qəltu dialects *hāða, (h)āda* etc. (ms.), *hāy*, *(h)ādi* etc. (fs.) (Jastrow 1978: 109), Baghdadi Arabic *hāða* (ms.), *hāði* ≁ *hāy* (fs.) (Woodhead and Beene 1967: 476), Damascus Arabic *hāda* (ms.), *hādi* (fs.) (Cowell 1964: 552). The Classical forms are *hāðā* (ms.) and *hāðihi* (fs.).

[28] E.g. Ṭuroyo *ʾádyawma* 'today'. Cf. Jastrow (1990a: 101-2) and Khan (1999: 85).

[29] Cf. the Qəltu Arabic (Dēr izZōr dialect) *hāy/hāye* (Jastrow 1978: 109) and Baghdadi Arabic *hāy* (Woodhead and Beene 1967: 476). ANA *ʾāy* may originally have had an initial */h/*. In fact *hāy* is given as a variant of *ʾāy* in Rhétoré (1912: 53), though this may have been silent, as it is in Maclean's spelling (1895: 21).

[30] Cowell (1964: 564).

rules to native forms. There is nevertheless good evidence for an Aramaic etymology in BTA *hāʾē* (y)h) 'this', which is also of common gender.[31] It may be that the near-deixis forms are native in origin but reinforced or influenced by similar (and perhaps cognate) forms in Arabic.

The attached demonstratives are both apparently contracted forms of the independent pronouns: *ʾaθ-* (< **ʾað-* < **ʾāði*) and *ʾay-* (< **ʾāy*). The dental fricative of earlier **ʾað-* assimilated in voice to unvoiced consonants. In most cases the unvoiced form has become the basic (unassimilated) form, e.g. *ʾáθ-yarxa* 'this month', *ʾáθ-ᵉkθāwa* 'this book'. Informant B, however, occasionally uses *ʾað-* as a free variant, e.g. *ʾáð-yarxa*, *ʾáð-ᵉkθāwa*, showing that the earlier form lingers on.

5.4 *Interrogative pronouns*

man (≁ māni)	'who?' (human)
mā (≁ maha)	'what?' (non-human), (with adjective) 'how (beautiful, good etc.)!'
ʾɛma	'which (one)?' (sg./pl.)
mā́qada ≁ māqad ≁ māqa ≁ mā́-qadra	'how much?', 'how many'
kma-	'how many?'

There are two possible uses for interrogative pronouns. They may behave as independent pronouns or they may be used to modify a noun (and in some cases an adjective). While *man ≁ māni* is only used independently, the others may be used in either capacity. These pronouns usually form a stress group with the following word, whether noun or verb, the interrogative taking the stress. When the word is functioning as a modifier of a noun or adjective, the two words will be marked with a hyphen.

Independent

mán ibe?	'Who is able to?' (A)
mà̀ ʾoðen?[1]	'What should I do?' (A:163)
go mà̀ zāli?[1]	'with what am I to go?' (A:184)

[31] Sokoloff (2002: 358-9). *ʾay* is also found with the same meaning (near-deixis cs. pronoun) in Jewish Azerbaijani as an archaic form (Garbell 1965a: 58).

*mā̀ kemmɛθēlux …?*ˡ ‘what brought you …?’ (A:198)

*ʾéma mennèy?*ˡ ‘Which one of them?’ (A)

*mā́-qadrɛ-le yèrxeḥ?*ˡ ‘How long is it (m.)?’ (lit. ‘How much is its length?’) (A)

*kmá kebet?*ˡ ‘How many do you want?’ (A)

Modifier

*mā̀-ranga kebet,*ˡ ‘what colour do you prefer?’ (A:204)

ʾèma-mendi kébet? ‘What thing do you want?’ (B)

*kmá-karme?*ˡ ‘How many vineyards?’ (A)

*mā́-qadra raḥ ̀qa?*ˡ ‘How far?’ (A)

*mā́ bassìmɛ-le-u*ˡ ‘how nice it is’ (B)

The non-human interrogative pronoun ‘what?’ is normally of the form *mā*. The form *maha* is cited as the more correct form but does not occur in any of the texts. Before the copula, *mā* is replaced by *m-*:

mā + -ile → *m-ile?* ‘What is it?’

mā + -iwet → *m-iwet?* ‘What are you?’

This allomorph is also found in combination with the *verbum primae /ʔ/ ʾwð* ‘to do’ and *verbum primae /h/ hwy* ‘to be’. The initial laryngeal is elided.

mā + ʾoðen → *m-oðen?* ‘What should I do?’

ta mā + hāwēli → *ta m-ā́wēli* ‘What is it to me?’ (cf. §6.20.2)

The human interrogative pronoun ‘who?’ is normally of the form *man*. Again, another form, *māni*, is cited as the correct form but does not occur in any of the texts.

The quantifier pronoun *mā́qada* has four variants, as listed above. The second element is derived from the Classical Arabic word *qadr* ‘quantity’ or its Iraqi dialectal form *qad.*[32]

[32] Cf. Mosul Arabic *halqad* ≁ *halqaddu* ‘so much’ (Jastrow 1979: 44) and Baghdadi Arabic *halgadd* ‘so much’ and *šgadd* ‘how much, how many’.

5.5 *Independent possessive pronouns*

A series of independent possessive pronouns is formed by combining *diy-* with the pronominal suffixes:

3rd per.	ms.	*diyeḥ*
	fs.	*diyaḥ*
	pl.	*diyɛ́y*
2nd per.	ms.	*diyux*
	fs.	*diyax*
	pl.	*diyóxu(n)*
1st per.	sg.	*diyi*
	pl.	*diyan*

The independent possessive pronouns follow the noun and are used as a less common alternative to the simple suffix, e.g. *ṭaṛa dìyaḥ* (A:12) ∾ *ṭaṛaḥ* 'its (f.) door' (A). They are obligatory when the noun is omitted, as when the possessive pronoun is a predicate, e.g. *dìyux-ile* 'It is yours' (A).

5.6 *Reflexive pronouns*

The reflexive pronouns are composed of the noun *gyāna* 'soul' and pronominal suffixes:

3rd per.	ms.	*gyāneḥ*
	fs.	*gyānaḥ*
	pl.	*gyanɛ́y*
2nd per.	ms.	*gyānux*
	fs.	*gyānax*
	pl.	*gyanóxu(n)*
1st per.	sg.	*gyāni*
	pl.	*gyānan*

The reflexive pronouns can be used as a reflexive objects as in *ta mā̀ mučhēlux gyānux?*ˡ ‘Why have you exerted yourself?’ (A) They may also be combined with a preposition:

*wéðli ʾáθ- … qáhwa be-gyā̀ni.*ˡ ‘I made this … coffee by myself.’ (B)
*dri bā́la le-gyā̀nux.*ˡ ‘Take care of yourself.’ (C)
*wolɛ mparsóne ta gyanèy.*ˡ ‘they are splitting open of their own accord.’ (A:194)
*láθwālɛ ṭālyā́θa de-gyanèy,*ˡ ‘they didn’t have their own games,’ (A)

Second person reflexive pronouns are used in some phrases with a special polite sense:

*básma gyā̀nux.*ˡ ‘Thank you’ (lit. ‘May yourself be happy’) (A)
*dɛ́x-ila gyā̀nux?*ˡ ‘How are you?’ (lit. ‘How is yourself?’) (A)
*p-šɛ́na gyā̀nux.*ˡ ‘In peace yourself’ (reply to *p-šèna θēlux.*ˡ ‘In peace you have come’) (A)

5.7 *Reciprocal pronouns*

There are two ways of expressing reciprocality (‘each other’) in ANA:

xā-xénna	‘one another’ (< *xāʾ xenna*)
ʾégðāðe	‘each other’

Examples

*kmaᶜɛ́nex xā-xènna.*ˡ ‘We help one another’ (B)
*mšāréxwa benšā́qa xā-xènna-u …*ˡ ‘We began to kiss one another’ (A)
*kšáqli ʾègðāðe,*ˡ ‘they accept each other’ (B)
mᶜédex b-ègðāðe ‘we’ll wish each other (a happy festival)’ (A)

Both reciprocal pronouns may be combined with prepositions:

*beṭlā́ba xā́ʾ ta xénna xā́ye yarìxe*ˡ ‘wishing each other a long life’ (A)
*dabqíwāla l-ègðāðe*ˡ ‘they stuck it together’ (A:66)
*kúllɛ júlle x-ègðāðe.*ˡ ‘all the clothes alike.’ (lit. ‘like each other’) (C)
*júlle, kúllɛ nàfsed-gðāðe.*ˡ ‘The clothes, all of them were the same as each other.’ (A)
*našwā́θa kízi-u kìθɛ gēbd-égðāðe-u*ˡ the people go and come *chez* each other (A:20)

The combination *b-égðāðe* has the special meaning of 'together' (§10.3.5):

*d-áxlex b-èġðāðe.*ˈ 'so that we may eat together.' (A:164)

5.8 *Indefinite pronouns*

The indefinite pronouns are mostly compounds formed from two elements, a modifier (cf. §10.7) and a noun. The modifiers are *xa-* 'a', *ču-* 'any', *kul-*, *kud-* 'every' and *flān-* 'such-and-such'. The nouns are *mendi* 'thing', *nāša* 'person and *xāʾ* 'one'.

xá-mendi	'something'
xá-nāša	'someone'
čú-mendi	'anything', 'nothing'
čú-nāša	'anyone', 'no-one'
kúl-mendi[33]	'everything'
kúd-nāša	'everyone'
kút-xaʾ	'everyone'
flā́n-mendi	'such-and-such a thing'

Other indefinite pronouns are as follows:

xāʾ (m.), *ġðāʾ* (f.)	'someone'
flanāya	'such-and-such a person'
xakma mennéy	'some of them'
qeṣṣa	'a few', 'some' (construed as plural), 'little', 'not much'

Certain particles attached to pronominal suffixes may serve as pronouns:

mennéy	'some of them' (lit. 'from them') (§10.2.1)
kullɛ	'all of them' (§10.7(1))
terwaθnɛ ≍ *terwɛ* ≍ *trāwɛ*	'both of them' (§10.7(2))

[33] This may be based on the Arabic *kullši* 'everything' (I.A.), as *kul-* in ANA normally means 'all', and *kud-* 'every'.

Some of these pronouns also serve as noun-modifiers (cf. §10.7), e.g. *ʾeθwa xā́ʾ mraqā́net-pēlā̀ve.*ˈ 'There was a certain cobbler.' (A:180), *xákma bahaṛā̀t* 'some *bahaṛāt*' (A:32).

5.9 *Pronouns in combination with the relativizer //d//*

Various pronouns may be combined with the relativizer particle *//d//* (§10.4.1):

(i) The demonstratives *ʾo* and *ʾan*:

ʾo d- 'he who'

ʾan d- 'they who'

Examples

*ʾo de-knāʾésle xˇ̀we,*ˈ 'he who a snake bites' (D)

*ʾó dla-ʾāxel tˇ̀ma,*ˈ 'He who does not eat garlic' (D)

*ʾan d-ílɛ beʾrā̀qa;*ˈ 'those that are running' (A:73)

(ii) The interrogative pronouns:

ma d- (<**mā* + *d-*) 'whatever'

ʾɛmed- (*ʾɛma* + *-ed*) 'whichever', 'whoever'

māqa d- 'however many', 'however much'

Examples

*má d-eθwa p-jèbeḥ.*ˈ 'what was in his pocket'

*ʾɛ́mez-zàwāle,*ˈ 'whoever went,' (A:125)

*ʾɛ́md-kāréle qamā̀ya,*ˈ 'whoever they catch first,' (A)

mā́qa d-jelli ʾu-xḍ̀ēri 'However much I have searched and roamed,' (D)

The two elements are sometimes separated, as when the pronoun precedes a noun, e.g. *kmá-ʾarmone t-kèbet*ˈ 'However many pomegranates you want,' (A:210) and *mā́-mendi d-amrètte* 'Whatever you may say,' (A:203).

CHAPTER SIX

VERBS

6.1 *Verbal classes*

As in earlier Aramaic and other Semitic languages, ANA verbs are based on triliteral roots. Most verbs fall into one of three conjugation classes. Class I, which is the basic class, is the descendent of the earlier Aramaic Peal (*p^{e}ᶜal*) conjugation. Classes II and III are derived forms, descended from Pael (*paᶜᶜēl*) and Aphel (*ʾapᶜēl*) conjugations respectively. Where a root exists in Class I and a derived class, the derived class usually has a causative or similar meaning with respect to the Pael meaning, e.g. *npl* I 'to fall' and *npl* III 'to bring down'. Many derived verbs, however, have no Class I counterpart.

For each verb there are five bases on which all the verb forms are based:

Class I *pθx* 'to open'

Present base	*pāθex*
Past base	*pθex-*[1]
Stative participle	*pθixa*
Imperative	*pθox*
Infinitive	*pθāxa*

Class II *ḥlq* 'to throw'

Present base	*mḥāleq*
Past base	*mḥuleq- ≍ ḥuleq-*
Stative participle	*mḥolqa ≍ mḥalqa*
Imperative	*mḥāleq*
Infinitive	*mḥaloqe ≍ ḥaloqe*

[1] This is derived from *pθix*. In a closed syllable, */i/* is reduced to */e/* (§2.3.2.1). With pronominal suffixes (fs. *-ā-* and pl. *-i-*) which preserved an open syllable, *pθix* is still found (cf. §6.3.1).

Class III *plx* 'to use'

Present base	*maplex*
Past base	*muplex-*
Stative participle	*mupelxa*
Imperative	*maplex*
Infinitive	*maploxe*

In addition to the three triliteral classes there is a class of quadriliterals, that is roots of four consonants. These conjugate with vowel patterns similar to those of the derived classes.

Quadriliteral *šxlp* 'to change'

Present base	*mšaxlep*
Past base	*mšuxlep- ≁ šuxlep-*
Stative participle	*mšuxelpa*
Imperative	*mšaxlep ≁ šaxlep*
Infinitive	*mšaxlope ≁ šaxlope*

Of the above bases, the present, past and imperative bases are inflected for person and used as verb forms themselves. The stative participle and infinitive, as nominal forms, usually require auxiliary verbs such as the copula to lend them verbal force.

6.2 *Inflection of the present base (Qaṭlen)*

The subject is marked by a set of suffixes, termed the A-set suffixes. The 3ms. form consists of the present base without any A-set suffixes. The different classes have different present bases:

Class I	*qāṭel*
Class II	*mqāṭel*
Class III	*maqṭel*

With A-set suffixes a slightly modified form of the base is used:

Class I	*qaṭl-*
Class II	*mqaṭl-*
Class III	*maqeṭl-*

The A-set suffixes are as follows:

3rd per.	ms.	—
	fs.	*-a*
	pl.	*-i*
2nd per.	ms.	*-et*
	fs.	*-at*
	pl.	*-ˈtun* ≁ *-ˈtu*
1st per.	ms.	*-en*
	fs.	*-an*
	pl.	*-ex*

The inflected present base takes affixes to express different tenses and aspects (see §6.8). Unprefixed, as the *Qaṭlen* form, it has various modal functions. The present base may also take object suffixes (see §6.18.1.1, §6.18.2.1).

6.2.1 Class I verbs

***pθx* I 'to open'**

3rd per.	ms.	*pāθex*
	fs.	*paθxa*
	pl.	*paθxi*
2nd per.	ms.	*paθxet*
	fs.	*paθxat*
	pl.	*paθxˈtun* ≁ *paθxˈtu*
1st per.	ms.	*paθxen*
	fs.	*paθxan*
	pl.	*paθxex*

6.2.2 Class II verbs

***ḥlq* II 'to throw'**

3rd per.	ms.	*mḥāleq*
	fs.	*mḥalqa*
	pl.	*mḥalqi*
2nd per.	ms.	*mḥalqet*
	fs.	*mḥalqat*
	pl.	*mḥalq˙tun ≁ mḥalq˙tu*
1st per.	ms.	*mḥalqen*
	fs.	*mḥalqan*
	pl.	*mḥalqex*

6.2.3 Class III verbs

***plx* III 'to use'**

3rd per.	ms.	*maplex*
	fs.	*mapelxa*
	pl.	*mapelxi*
2nd per.	ms.	*mapelxet*
	fs.	*mapelxat*
	pl.	*mapelx˙tun ≁ mapelx˙tu*
1st per.	ms.	*mapelxen*
	fs.	*mapelxan*
	pl.	*mapelxex*

6.2.4 Quadriliteral verbs

***šxlp* Q. 'to change'**

3rd per.	ms.	*mšaxlep*
	fs.	*mšaxelpa*
	pl.	*mšaxelpi*
2nd per.	ms.	*mšaxelpet*
	fs.	*mšaxelpat*
	pl.	*mšaxelp˙tun* ≁ *mšaxelp˙tu*
1st per.	ms.	*mšaxelpen*
	fs.	*mšaxelpan*
	pl.	*mšaxelpex*

6.3 *Inflection of the past base (Qṭelli)*

The past base takes a series of pronominal suffixes referred to here as the L-set suffixes.[2] These indicate the subject and derive from a combination of the preposition *l-* with pronominal suffixes.[3] They are unstressed, even if this places the word-stress before the penultimate syllable, e.g. *pθéxloxun* 'you (pl.) opened'. This suffix series is also the one used with the present base to express the object (cf. §6.18.1.1, §6.18.2.1). The inflected past base, *Qṭelli*, is used as a past perfective, particularly common in narration.

[2] This is the term used by Hoberman (1988, 1989 etc.).

[3] See §5.2 for the derivation of the pronominal suffixes. The L-set suffixes differ in two particulars. They have lost the original */h/* in the 3s. suffixes (*-le* < **-leh*, *-la* < **-lah*) rather than strengthened it to a */ḥ/* as happened in the pronominal suffixes (*-eḥ*, *-aḥ*). The 3pl. form *-lɛ* is based on a contraction of the pronominal suffix *-éy*, probably caused by the retraction of stress on to the base.

3rd per.	ms.	*-le*
	fs.	*-la*
	pl.	*-lɛ* (in fast speech occasionally *-la*, cf. §2.4.2.3)
2nd per.	ms.	*-lux*
	fs.	*-lax*
	pl.	*-loxun* ≁ *-loxu*
1st per.	ms.	*-li*
	pl.	*-lan*

6.3.1 Class I verbs

***pθx* I 'to open'**

3rd per.	ms.	*pθexle*
	fs.	*pθexla*
	pl.	*pθexlɛ* (≁ *pθexla*)
2nd per.	ms.	*pθexlux*
	fs.	*pθexlax*
	pl.	*pθéxloxun* ≁ *pθéxloxu*
1st per.	sg.	*pθexli*
	pl.	*pθexlan*

A third person feminine or plural object can be indicated by internal inflection, using the A-set suffixes: fs. *-ā-* and pl. *-i-* (§6.18.1.3, §6.18.2.3). The base used is then *pθix-*, e.g. *pθixāli* 'I opened it (f.)', *pθixili* 'I opened them'.

6.3.2 Class II verbs

The initial */m/* of this paradigm is very often lost, e.g *ḥuléqlɛ ʾèðwe* 'they cast lots' (A:189).

***ḥlq* II 'to throw'**

3rd per.	ms.	*(m)ḥuleqle*
	fs.	*(m)ḥuleqla*
	pl.	*(m)ḥuleqlɛ* (≁ *(m)ḥuleqla*)
2nd per.	ms.	*(m)ḥuleqlux*
	fs.	*(m)ḥuleqlax*
	pl.	*(m)ḥuleqloxun* ≁ *(m)ḥuleqloxu*
1st per.	sg.	*(m)ḥuleqli*
	pl.	*(m)ḥuleqlan*

With object infixes the past base is *mḥulq-*, e.g. *mḥulqāli* 'I threw it (f.)' and *mḥulqili* 'I threw them'.

6.3.3 Class III verbs

***plx* III 'to use'**

3rd per.	ms.	*muplexle*
	fs.	*muplexla*
	pl.	*muplexlɛ* (≁ *muplexla*)
2nd per.	ms.	*muplexlux*
	fs.	*muplexlax*
	pl.	*mupléxloxun* ≁ *mupléxloxu*
1st per.	sg.	*muplexli*
	pl.	*muplexlan*

With object infixes the past base is *mupelx-*, e.g. *mupelxāli* 'I used it (f.)', *mupelxili* 'I used them'. This could be seen as a conditioned variant of *muplex-*. According to syllabic rules (§3.2.3), *muplex-* would be avoided before a vowel because of the resulting short */e/* in an open syllable (**muplexāli*), while *mupelx-* would be impossible before a consonant because of the consonant cluster (**mupelxli*).

6.3.4 Quadriliteral verbs

Initial */m/* is often lost in Quadriliteral verbs just as in Class II verbs.

***šxlp* Q. 'to change'**

3rd per.	ms.	*(m)šuxleple*
	fs.	*(m)šuxlepla*
	pl.	*(m)šuxleplɛ ~ (m)šuxlepla*
2nd per.	ms.	*(m)šuxleplux*
	fs.	*(m)šuxleplax*
	pl.	*(m)šuxléploxun ~ (m)šuxléploxu*
1st per.	sg.	*(m)šuxlepli*
	pl.	*(m)šuxleplan*

With object infixes the past base is *(m)šuxelp-*: *(m)šuxelpāli* 'I changed it (f.)', *(m)šuxelpili* 'I changed them'.

6.3.5 Phonetic changes caused by the addition of L-set suffixes

L-set suffixes assimilate to the final */n/* of a root, e.g. *zwenni* (< **zwen* + *li*) 'I bought' and *mzubenni* (< **mzuben* + *li*) 'I sold'. They likewise assimilate to a final rhotic (*/r/* or */ṛ/*). Originally this resulted in a geminate rhotic (e.g. **gwerri* 'I married') but in ANA gemination has been lost and the previous vowel lengthened in compensation (§1.7.2.3), e.g. *gwēri* 'I married', *fṭēṛe* 'he flew' (< **fṭeṛṛe*) and *mdubēṛi* 'I managed' (< **mdubeṛṛi*).

6.4 *Inflection of the imperative*

The imperative is used to express commands in the second person. The base is inflected for singular and plural. *Verba tertiae /y/* in all classes also distinguish between masculine and feminine singular (cf. §6.11.8 etc.). Imperatives may take L-set suffixes to express an object (cf. §6.18.1.2, §6.18.2.2).

Class I	sg.	*pθox*
	pl.	*peθxu*
Class II	sg.	*mḥāleq*
	pl.	*mḥalqu*
Class III	sg.	*maplex*
	pl.	*mápelxu*
Quadriliterals	sg.	*(m)šaxlep*
	pl.	*(m)šáxelpu*

6.5 *Inflection of the infinitive*

The infinitive has both verbal and nominal properties. It is used in verbal constructions involving auxiliary verbs such as the copula (cf. §6.27.1.1) but cannot function as a verb by itself. The feminine infinitive takes the feminine *//-Ta//* inflection (*-ta* or *-θa*, cf. §6.8.11) in place of final */a/* or */e/*. This form has more nominal properties and is used for individual instances of the activity denoted by the verb. As such, it may occur in the plural, e.g. *tettḗ-ˀizalyāθa* 'three trips (lit. goings)'.

Class I	m.	*pθāxa*	
	fs.	*pθaxta*	fpl. *pθaxyāθa*

Class II	m. *(m)ḥaloqe*	
	fs. *ḥalaqta*[4]	fpl. *ḥalaqyāθa*
Class III	m. *maploxe*	
	fs. *maplaxta*	fpl. *maplaxyāθa*
Quadriliterals	m. *(m)šaxlope*	
	fs. *šaxlapta*	fpl. *šaxlapyāθa*

The infinitive may take suffixes to indicate the object. It takes genitive suffixes like a noun rather than L-set suffixes like a verb (§6.18.4).

The initial */m/* on the Class II and Quadriliteral infinitives is often elided.

6.6 *Inflection of the stative participle*

This form may have passive or active resultative meaning, depending on the context, e.g. *xila* 'eaten', 'having eaten'. With intransitives it can only have the latter meaning, e.g. *tiwa* 'sitting' and *ʾeθya* '(having) come'. To cover both functions it will be termed a 'stative participle'. This form is used as an adjective, or as an element in a periphrastic verbal form.

Class I	ms. *pθixa*	
	fs. *pθexta*	
	pl. *pθixe*	
Class II	ms. *mḥolqa* ≁ *mḥalqa*	
	fs. *mḥulaqta*	
	pl. *mḥolqe*	

[4] All cases of the feminine Class II infinitive found so far lack the *m-* suffix. According to Informant A, *mzabanta* (rather than *zabanta*) is actually unacceptable.

Cf. also the tendency of */o/* to be reduced to */a/* in a closed syllable (§2.3.2.1).

Class III	ms.	*mupelxa*
	fs.	*muplaxta*
	pl.	*mupelxe*
Quadriliterals	ms.	*(m)šuxelpa*
	fs.	*(m)šuxlapta*
	pl.	*(m)šuxelpe*

The stative participle may take suffixes to indicate the object. Like the infinitive it takes genitive suffixes, reflecting its nominal character (§6.18.4).

6.7 *Inflection of the active participle*

Various forms of different historical origins are used as verbal adjectives with active meaning, or nouns of agent. The individual forms are dealt with in Chapter 7, but as they have the same function and exhibit similar inflections, they will be presented here as a paradigm.

Class I	*paθāxa ≁ pāθoxa*	‘opener’
Class II	*mḥalqāna*	‘thrower’
Class III	*mapelxāna*	‘employer’
Quadriliterals	*mšaxelpāna*	‘changer’

All the above forms take *-e* for their plural. The following are some examples: *naṭāṛa ≁ nāṭoṛa* ‘guard’, *mzabnāna* ‘seller’ and *mačehyāna* ‘tired’.

The first Class I form is derived, through loss of gemination, from the earlier Aramaic **CaCCāCa* form. The other is derived from earlier Aramaic **CāCoCa*. Both forms were used as nouns of agent or for occupations in earlier Aramaic dialects such as Syriac.

The Class II, Class III and Quadriliteral forms are composed of two elements. The first is the present base, derived from the old Aramaic active participle. The second is the *-āna* ending. The base is modified for suffixes as in *Qaṭlen* forms (see §6.2):

mḥalqāna	<	*mḥalq-* + *-āna*
mapelxāna	<	*mapelx-* + *-āna*
mšaxelpāna	<	*mšaxelp-* + *-āna*

This dual system is found in other related dialects: Qaraqosh (2002: 87,182-3), Aradhin (1982:25) and Telesqof (1993:283-4).

There are two main ways of deriving feminine participles. Any of the forms may be made feminine by replacing the final */a/* with the feminine suffix *//-Ta//* (§6.8.11):

Class I	*paθaxta* ≁ *pāθoxta*	'opener'
Class II	*mḥalqanta*	'thrower'
Class III	*mapelxanta*	'employer'
Quadriliterals	*mšaxelpanta*	'changer'

Class I and II forms are also found with *-iθa* instead of *//-Ta//*. The following are some examples: *kaθota* (<**kaθawta*) 'writer', *gāðolta* 'knitter', *mṣalyanta* ≁ *mṣalyaniθa* 'prayerful' and *masemqanta* ≁ *masemqaniθa* 'reddish'.

The other method for making feminines, which is more commonly found, is to affix a suffix *-u* to the present base. This occurs not only with Class II and III verbs, but even with Class I (i.e. *-u* is attached to *paθx-*, not *paθāx-* or *pāθox-*).

Class I	*paθxu*	'opener'
Class II	*mḥalqu*	'thrower'
Class III	*mapelxu*	'employer'
Quadriliterals	*mšaxelpu*	'changer'

The following are some examples: *gaðlu* 'knitter', *mṣalyu* 'prayerful' and *mačehyu* 'tiring'.

The *-u* suffix used here is the same suffix as the diminutive marker used with pet names and other nouns (§7.8.5). With participles, however, it behaves as a feminine marker. This method of marking feminine participles is not as yet recorded in other

dialects, the usual markers being *//-Ta//* or *-iθa* alone.[5] See §7.8.5 for a full discussion of the *-u* suffix.

Active participles function as both nouns and adjectives, depending partly on the meaning of the verb. They are frequently used as *nomina professionalis*, e.g. *nāṭoṛa* 'guard' but are also used for regular activities not related to an actual profession, e.g. *kaθwu* 'given to writing', or for a state, e.g. *naxpu* 'shy' and *masemqāna* 'reddish'.

The plural of the *//-Ta//* forms (*-yāθa*) is used for *-u* forms as well, e.g. *gaðlu* 'knitter', pl. *gaðalyāθa*.

The active participle will not be listed in the sections on weak and irregular verbs (§6.11-15) as it is predictable from the information given: *qaṭāla* and *qāṭola* form are apparently regular for all verbs and the other participles are formed from the present base as it occurs before feminine suffixes (*paθx-*, *mzabn-*, *mapelx-*, *yapy-*, *maḥeky-* etc.).[6] The following are some examples, with present bases marked in bold:

zadāʾa 'fearer' (*zdʾ*)
xayāṭa 'tailor' (*xyṭ*)
ʾawāða 'maker' (*ʾwð*)
kaθāwa 'writer' (*kθw*)
yawāla 'giver' (*ywl*)
xɛṭu 'dressmaker' (*xyṭ*, compare *k-**xɛṭ-**a* she sews)
***mzabn**āna* (ms.), ***mzabn**u* (fs.) 'seller' (compare *ke-**mzabn**-a* 'she sells')
***mṣaly**āna* (ms.), ***mṣaly**u* (fs.) 'prayerful' (compare *ke-**mṣaly**-a* 'she prays')
***mapelx**āna* (ms.), ***mapelx**u* (fs.) 'employer' (compare *k-**mapelx**-a* 'she uses')
***mačehy**āna* (ms.), ***mačehy**u* (fs.) 'tiring' (compare *k-**mačehy-**a* 'she is tiring')
***malp**āna* (ms.), ***malp**anta* (fs.) 'teacher' (compare *k-**malp**-a* 'she teaches')

[5] For instance, in Aradhin *//-Ta//* is used (Krotkoff 1982:25), while *-iθa* is found in Qaraqosh (2002:182).
[6] In *verba tertiae /y/*, the final */y/* radical is merged with masculine or plural inflections. The form of the base used before feminine suffixes, which is identical to that of strong verbs, is the one used before the participle endings.

6.8 *Particles attached to verbal forms*

Particles are attached to verbal forms as prefixes and suffixes to modify the meaning in many ways. Some are specific to one base only, such as the array of suffixes found with the present base. Others such as *//-wA//* and *//-Ta//* are found with more than one base.

The present base may occur without a prefix, in which case it expresses a command, exhortation or deontic modality, e.g. *pāθex* 'let him open', *paθxex* 'let us open', *mà ʾoðen?* 'What should I do?' (A:163). In the 2nd person, with the negator *lá-*, it is used for the negative imperative, e.g. *lá-paθxet* 'Do not open!' The unprefixed present base is also used as a verbal complement, usually with the complementizer *d-* (§10.4.3).

Other tenses and aspects are expressed by means of six prefixes, *k-*, *bed-*, *b-*, *kem-*, *dí-* and *šud-*. These prefixes assimilate in a regular manner to the following consonant. Added to *pāθex*, they are: *kpāθex* 'he opens', *betpāθex* 'he will open', *ppāθex* 'he'll open', *kempāθexle* 'he opened it', *dípāθex* 'he's about to open' and *šutpāθex* 'he should open'. The complementizer *d-* is also listed here as it may express deontic modality in limited cases.

Prefixes are also used with the imperative (*dé-*) and infinitive (*b-*): *dé-pθox* 'open!' and *wole bepθāxa* ''he is opening'.

Prefixes and suffixes follow the normal rules and tendencies of assimilation (§1.5). They also follow the rules of syllable structure, so that when the addition of an affix causes a consonant cluster, an epenthetic vowel is usually inserted to break it up, e.g. *kemzāben* 'he buys' (<*k-* + *mzāben*).

Another common feature is loss of */ʾ/* after a prefix ending in a consonant (cf. §1.7.3.2). This is a common but not consistent occurrence, e.g. *bāxel* ≁ *bʾāxel* 'he'll eat' and *kemāmēran* ≁ *kemʾāmēran* 'he said to us'.

The particles are listed below with descriptions of their functions and explanations of their different allomorphs. In this work they will usually be written in double slanted brackets, e.g. *//k-//* and *//-Ta//*, to show that it is the morpheme that is referred to and not one of its allomorphs. Thus *//k-//* represents *k-*, *g-*, *q-* etc. and *//-Ta//* represents *-ta* and *-θa*.

6.8.1 *k-*

This prefix is used with the present base to express an indicative imperfective present. Before voiced consonants it is realized as *g-*, e.g. *gdaʾṛa* 'it (f.) goes back'. Before */q/*, it is realized as *q-*, e.g. *lá-qqāleb* 'it (m.) does not turn'. It also occasionally assimilates to */x/* or */ġ/*, e.g. *xxašwen* 'we think' and *ġġāleb* 'he wins'. Before a Class II or Quadriliteral verb *ke-* is found, e.g. *kemzāben* 'he buys'. Before some *verba primae /ʔ/* (§6.11.1) it merges with the initial root, resulting in */ki/*, e.g. *kimer* 'he says' (√ʾ*mr*).

6.8.2 *bed-*

This prefix is used with the present base to express a future tense. Before an unvoiced consonant it is realized as *bet-*. It also assimilates to emphatics, e.g. *beṭṭāleb* 'he will ask for'. It may moreover assimilate to */z/*, e.g. *bezzāli* (≁ *bedzāli*) 'I will go'. With *verba primae /ʔ/*, the */ʔ/* may be elided and the prefix contracted to *bd-*, e.g. *bedʾāmer* ≁ *bedāmer* ≁ *bdāmer* 'he will say'. With *hwy* 'to be', the */h/* may be elided and the suffix devoiced, e.g. *ptāwe* 'he will be' (§6.15.5).

Before a consonant cluster an epenthetic vowel is inserted, e.g. *bedemzāben* (<**bed-mzāben*) 'he will sell'.

6.8.3 *b-*

This prefix is also used to express the future. Before an unvoiced consonant, it is realized as *p-*, e.g. *ppāθex* 'he'll open'. It assimilates fully to initial */m/*, e.g. *mmāxe* 'he'll hit' and *mmaplex* 'he'll use'. Before a Class II or Quadriliteral verb the resulting geminate */mm/* is reduced to avoid a consonant cluster, e.g. *mzāben* 'he'll sell' (< **mmzāben* < **bmzāben*). The form **bemzāben*, using an epenthetic to break up the cluster, is not found. Elision even occurs occasionally before the */ma/* of Class II verbs, e.g. *mašemannux* (≁ *mmašemannux*) 'I'll (f.) let you (ms.) hear'. Where *b-* is elided, the form is identical to the unprefixed subjunctive form: *mzāben* 'let him sell' or 'he'll sell'.

This prefix may also assimlate to */f/*, e.g. *ffaṭṛi* 'they'll breakfast', *ffɛṛa* 'she'll fly away'. Before */n/* it may be nasalized, e.g. *mnāpel* (≁ *bnāpel*) 'he'll fall', *mnāxeθ* 'he'll go down', *mnāpeq* 'he'll go out'.

6.8.4 *kem-*

This prefix is used with the present base to produce a past perfective tense equivalent to *Qṭelli* but which, unlike *Qṭelli*, can take a full range of object suffixes, i.e. the L-set suffixes. It is in fact never found without an object suffix. It does not undergo assimilation but before a Class II or Quadriliteral verb a consonant cluster is avoided by the elision of one */m/*, e.g. *kemzābenne* (< **kem* + *mzāben* + *-le*) 'he sold it'. Such cases can therefore be confused with the present tense form *kemzābenne* (< **k-* + *mzāben* + *-le*) 'he sells it', but the context will usually identify which is meant. Confusion could also occur with Class I verbs of the same root. For instance *kemṭāpēla* has three possible meanings, depending on whether it is identified as *ṭpy* I 'to catch up with' or *ṭpy* II 'to stick': 'he caught up with her' (< **kem-* + *ṭāpe* + *-la*) or 'he stuck it (f.)' (< **kem-* + *mṭāpe* + *-la*) or 'he sticks it' (< **ke-* + *mṭāpe* + *-la*) . But in practice there are very few verbs where this could occur.

6.8.5 *dí-*

This prefix is used for the immediate future, e.g. *dízāli xazyan ʾé-ʾara xtèθa*[l] 'I'm just going to see that lower field' (A:134). Before Class II and Quadriliteral verbs, it is realized as *de-*, e.g. *démšāren* 'I am about to start'. See §6.8.8 for a possible derivation.

6.8.6 *šud-*

This prefix is used to express deontic modality and so is similar in function to the unprefixed *Qaṭlen* form, but is used less as a command and more as advice. Examples are *šudhāwe* 'he should be, *šudʾāxelle* 'he should eat it'.

6.8.7 *d-*

The basic function of this particle is as a complementizer (§10.4.3) but it is also used as a modal particle with the verb 'to be' *hwy*, e.g. *t-āwet* 'may you (ms.) be'. There seems to be little difference in meaning from the unprefixed *Qaṭlen* form, i.e. *hāwet* 'may you (ms.) be', but the form with *d-* is probably more common.

6.8.8 *de-* + imperative

This is the only particle attested with the imperative. It is used to make a command more emphatic. Examples are *demέθɛla* 'bring it (f.)!', *dehállila* 'give it (f.)!' It is possible that this particle is derived from Kurdish *di* [dɪ] 'right away', right off, at once, immediately'.[7] There is also a particle in Qəltu Arabic of similar form and function (*dē* or *də-*).[8] Alternatively it may be derived from *d-* (§6.8.7) and used with the imperative by analogy with its deontic use in *t-āwet* 'may you be'.

This prefix is also found in Qaraqosh (*də-*) and the Nerwa Texts (*dɪ*) with the same function.[9]

6.8.9 *b-* + infinitive

The preposition *b-* is affixed to the infinitive in various verbal constructions involving auxiliary verbs (§6.27.1). This prefix is realized as *be-* before two consonants, e.g. *beštāya* 'drinking'. It is assimilated to the */m/* of an infinitive beginning in */mV/*, e.g. *mmaploxe* (<**b-maploxe*) 'using' and *mmāra* (<**b-māra*)'saying'. Before initial */mC/* in Class II and quadriliteral verbs it is elided altogether, e.g. *mzabone* (<**bmzabone*). Before */mC/* in Class I verbs elision is optional, e.g. *wola kā́si mrā̀ʾa* ≁ *wola kā́si bemrā̀ʾa* 'my stomach is hurting' (A). This is even the case when the [*m*] is an underlying */n/* as in the verbs *npl* 'to fall' and *npq* 'to go out', e.g. *wóle npà̀la* [*wólempà̀la*] ≁ *wóle benpà̀la* [*wólempà̀la*]. Elision is also optional before other labials immediately preceding consonants (§1.5.7), e.g. *fyāṛa* ≁ *befyāṛa* 'flying', *plāxa* ≁ *beplāxa* 'opening'.

Note that the initial */m/* of Class II and quadriliteral infinitives which is otherwise frequently elided, e.g. *ṭaʾole* 'to play', is rarely elided in the *b-* + infinitive construction, so that *wole mṭaʾole* and not *wole p-ṭaʾole* is normally found.

When *b-* is affixed to an infinitive with initial */ʾi/*, e.g. *ʾixāla* 'to eat' and *ʾilāpa* 'to learn', the */ʾ/* is elided: *bixāla* 'eating', *bilāpa* 'learning'.

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[7] Rizgar (1993: 66). Alternatively (or in addition) this could be the derivation of *dí-* (§6.8.5), which also has a sense of immediacy.

[8] It is also found in all three Baghdadi dialects (Muslim, Jewish, Christian). Cf. Jastrow (1978: 310-311).

[9] Cf. Khan (2002: 350) and Sabar (1976: XL) respectively. In the Nerwa Texts it is also used with the 3rd and 1st persons, e.g. *dɪ dāz-ax* 'Let us go!'.

6.8.10 *-wA*

This particle is found with both the present and past bases. It is placed after any A-set suffix and before any L-set suffix, e.g. *paθxenwa* 'I used to open', *pθéxwāli* 'I opened'. At the end of a word it is realized as *-wa*. Before an L-set suffix the allomorph *-wā* is found for phonological reasons (§2.3.2.2.1.ii).

This particle does not take stress and so if it is in penultimate position, stress is retracted to the last permitted syllable, e.g. *paθxénwāle* 'I used to open it (m.)' and *pθéxwāli* 'I opened'.

The basic function of *//-wA//* is to shift the time reference back. The unprefixed form *paθxenwa* serves as the past equivalent of both indicative *kpaθxen* and subjunctive *paθxen*. It therefore functions both as a past imperfective and a past subjunctive: 'I used to open' and 'I might open'.[10] As the latter it takes *d-* as a complentizer: *t-paθxenwa* 'that I might open'.

With the past base this particle shifts the time reference to a remoter past, e.g. *pθéxwāli* 'I opened (remote past)'. The same function is found with the object conjugation *kempaθxénwāle* 'I opened it (remote past)'. Combined with the future prefixes *bed-* and *b-*, *//-wA//* produces a form used in the apodosis of a past or counterfactual condition: *betpaθxenwa* 'I would have opened'. Forms with *//-wA//* are listed below with their counterparts without *//-wA//* for comparison.

kpaθxen	'I open'	*paθxenwa*	'I used to open'
t-paθxen	'that I may open'	*t-paθxenwa*	'that I might open'
betpaθxen	'I will open'	*betpaθxenwa*	'I would have opened'
pθexli	'I opened'	*pθéxwāli*	'I opened (a long time ago)'
kempaθxenne	'I opened it'	*kempaθxénwāle*	'I opened it (m.) (" ")'

[10] In other dialects such as Qaraqosh (2002:100) the indicative function is marked with *k-*: *k-patxə́nwa* 'I used to open'.

The paradigms of the present and past bases are as follows:

Present base

3rd per.	ms.	*pāθexwa*
	fs.	*paθxāwa*
	pl.	*paθxiwa*
2nd per.	ms.	*paθxetwa*
	fs.	*paθxatwa*
	pl.	*paθx˙ˊtunwa* ~ *paθx˙ˊt˙wa*
1st per.	ms.	*paθxenwa*
	fs.	*paθxanwa*
	pl.	*paθxexwa*

Past base

3rd per.	ms.	*pθéxwālε*
	fs.	*pθéxwāla*
	pl.	*pθéxwālε* (~ *pθéxwāla*)
2nd per.	ms.	*pθéxwālux*
	fs.	*pθéxwālax*
	pl.	*pθéxwāloxun* ~ *pθéxwāloxu*
1st per.	sg.	*pθéxwāli*
	pl.	*pθéxwālan*

An interesting feature is attested for *verba tertiae /r/* or */ṛ/*. The rhotic is treated as equivalent to the */l/* of the L-set suffix, so that one finds *spēra* 'she waited' and *spḗwāra* 'she waited (a long time ago)', rather than the expected **spérwāla*. This is presumably by analogy with the syllabic pattern of *verba tertiae /y/*, e.g. *xzēla* 'she saw' – *xzḗwāla* 'she saw (a long time ago)'. Because there is no */l/* in *spēra*, */r/* is analysed as one of its allomorphs. The examples elicited are: *spḗwāra* 'she waited', *mḗwāri* 'I said', *dʾḗwāṛa* 'she returned (intr.)' *mudḗwāṛa* 'she returned (tr.)' and *ḥḗwāṛa* 'she was confused'.

6.8.11 Feminine nominal inflection *-Ta*

The feminine inflectional marker *//-Ta//* (*-ta* ~ *-θa*) is found on the verbal nominals: infinitive, active participle and stative participle. It causes various regular phonetic changes to the base such as voicing assimilation, e.g. *qlebta* [*qlepta*] 'upside down'. The choice of allomorph (*-ta* or *-θa*) is decided by phonetic rules which are derived from the earlier Aramaic *beḡaḏkepāṯ* rules. Historically the plosive was found after consonants and the fricative after vowels, including *schwa*. In the modern dialect this is slightly modified. The plosive *-ta* is found after consonants but also the vowels */ā/*, */ē/*, */˙/* and */o/*. The fricative *-θa* is found after */i/* and */ɛ/*.[11] Examples are given below:

_-ta_ allomorph

/Cta/ *pθaxta* 'opening' (fs. infinitive)
šweqta 'abandoned' (fs. stative participle)
malpanta 'female teacher' (fs. active participle)

/āta/ is only found in the fs. infinitive of *verba tertiae /ʔ/*:
šmāta 'hearing' (≁ *šmaʾta* < **šmāʾ-ta*)
raqāta 'patching' (<**mraqaʾta* < **mraqoʾta*)

/ēta/ is only found in the fs. stative participle of *verba tertiae /ʔ/* I:
swēta 'satisfied' (< **sweʾta* < **swiʾ-ta*)
mrēta 'ill' (< **mreʾta* < **mriʾ-ta*)

/˙ta/ is only found in the fs. stative participle of *verba tertiae /w/* I:
kθ˙ta 'written' (< **kθewta* < **kθiw-ta*)
t˙ta 'sitting' (< **tewta* < **tiw-ta*)

/ota/ is found in fs. infinitives and participles of *verba tertiae /w/*:
ʾitota 'sitting' (< **ʾitawta* < **ʾitāw-ta*, fs. infinitive)
kaθota 'authoress' (< **kaθawta* < **kaθāw-ta*, fs. active participle)
maxrota 'making destroy' (< **maxrowta*, fs. infinitive *xrw* III)

[11] Note that these rules are only followed consistently with forms that are derived from a basic masculine form (as in adjectives and verbal nominals). Many feminine nouns which have no masculine equivalent do not follow the same rules due to historical changes (cf. §7.7).

muxrota ‘made to destroy’ (< **muxrawta*, fs. stative participle *xrw* III)

-*θa* allomorph

/iθa/ is only found in the fs. stative participles of *verba tertiae /y/*:

kliθa ‘standing’ (< **kleyt̲a* < **kliy-t̲a*)

xziθa ‘seen’ (< **xzeyt̲a* < *xziy-t̲a*)

/εθa/ is only found in fs. infinitives and stative participles of *verba tertiae /y/* III:

xzεθa ‘seeing’ (<**xzayt̲a* <**xzāy-t̲a*, fs. infinitive)

mšurεθa ‘begun’ (<**mšurayt̲a* < **mšurāy-t̲a*, fs. stative participle)

maḥkεθa ‘speech’ (< **maḥkayt̲a* < **maḥkoy-t̲a*, fs. infinitive)

muḥkεθa ‘spoken’ (< **muḥkayt̲a*, fs. stative participle)

The historical development of these vowels before *//-Ta//* is therefore as follows:

-āta < **aʾta* (<**āʾta* or **oʾta*)

-ēta < **eʾta* (<**iʾta*)

-˙ta < **ewta* (< **iwta*)

-ota < **awta* (< **āwta*)

-iθa < **eyt̲a* (< **iyt̲a*)

-εθa < **ayt̲a* (< **āyt̲a* or **oyt̲a*)

It appears that in these forms earlier **/ʔ/* and **/w/* were regarded as consonants, hence the occurrence of the plosive allomorph, while original **/y/* was treated as a vowel, hence the occurrence of the fricative allomorph. The reason that **/w/* was treated as a consonant may be that in *verba tertiae /w/* (and adjectives ending in */w/*) it was a consonant: **/b̲/*. None of the verbs in this category have original **/w/* (cf. §6.28.2.1). This could explain the difference in behaviour between the words listed above and nouns with vowels not

derived from consonants, such as *moθa* ‘death’ (<*mawṯā), *ṣloθa* ‘prayer’ (Syr. *ṣlōṯā*) and the abstract ending -ˈ*θa* in words such as *peṣxˈθa* ‘happiness’.[12]

6.9 *Negation*

Verbs are negated with the negator particle *la-*. The prefix usually takes the stress, e.g. *lá-kxašwen* ‘I don’t think so’, *lá-ktaxrenna* ‘I don’t remember it (f.)’ and *lá-šmēle* ‘he did not heed’ (D:4). In verbal forms involving the copula, the negative copula is used.

6.10 *Notes on weak verbs*

Radicals */ʔ/*, */y/* and */w/* often behave as weak consonants, i.e. they merge with vowels or are elided altogether. When there are two weak consonants, sometimes one will behave as a strong consonant.

The laryngeal fricative */h/* is weak in a couple of cases in initial or medial position. *Verba tertiae /h/* appear not to exist. Arabic *šbh* ‘to resemble’ is converted to a *verbum tertiae /ʔ/* (*šbʾ* I).

It should be noted that there is some variation found, from speaker to speaker and also within the speech of individual speakers. This is especially the case with elision of */ʔ/* and contraction of */o/* and */ɛ/* in closed syllables. Even where variants are not given or are actively rejected by one speaker, they may yet be attested in the speech of others.

6.11 *Weak verbs in Class I*

6.11.1 Verba primae */ʔ/*

Verbs with initial */ʔ/* fall into two groups, Type 1 and Type 2, according to the behaviour of the initial */ʔ/*. There are five attested verbs in each category, some of them doubly weak or irregular:

Type 1

ʾrq ‘to run’, *ʾšp* ‘to weed’, *ʾzl* ‘to spin’, *ʾry* (§6.11.9) and *ʾwr* (§6.11.14)

[12] But note that in Syriac the */w/* or */y/* of a diphthong acted as a consonant in causing the following consonant to be a plosive, so the Syriac cognate of *moθa* is *mawtā*. It may be that the ancestor of ANA had different rules, or that *moθa* has a fricative by analogy with words such as *ṣloθa* (Syr. *ṣloṯā*).

Type 2

ʾxl ‘to eat’, *ʾmr* ‘to say’, *ʾθy* ‘to come’ (§6.11.9), *ʾwð* ‘to do’ (§6.11.14),
ʾzl ‘to go’ (§6.15.1)

Most present base forms are the same for both types, e.g. *ʾāreq* ‘let him run’ (Type 1) and *ʾāxel* ‘let him eat’ (Type 2). After prefixes, the initial aleph is usually but not always elided, e.g. *barqi* ≁ *bʾarqi* ‘they’ll run away’, *bāmer* ≁ *bʾāmer* ‘he’ll say’, *kemāmēran* ≁ *kemʾāmēran* ‘he said to us’.

When the *k-* prefix is added, the two types are clearly distinguished. Type 1 verbs behave regularly, optionally eliding the */ʾ/*, e.g. *kʾarqi* ≁ *karqi* ‘they run’. With Type 2 verbs the prefix merges with the base to produce a special stem: kiC_2eC_3, e.g. *kixel* ‘he eats’, *kimer* ‘he says’. Before A-set suffixes, the stem is keC_2C_3-, e.g. *kexla* ‘she eats’ and *kemr˙tun* ‘you (pl.) say’.

In past base forms and the stative participle, Type 1 verbs (except *ʾwr*, cf. §6.11.14) retain the initial */ʾ/*, e.g. *ʾreqli* ‘I ran’. Stative participle: *ʾriqa* (ms.), *ʾreqta* (fs.), *ʾriqe* (pl.) ‘having run’. Type 2 verbs elide the */ʾ/*, e.g. *xelli* ‘I ate’, *mēri* ‘I said’. Stative participle: *xila* (ms.), *xelta* (fs.), *xile* (pl.) ‘eaten’.

Type 1 imperatives are as for strong verbs, e.g. *ʾroq* ‘run!’ (sg.) and *ʾerqu* ‘run!’ (pl.). Type 1 infinitives are also as for strong verbs: *ʾrāqa*. After *//b-//* the */ʾ/* may be elided, e.g. *beʾrāqa* ≁ *berāqa* ‘running’.

Type 2 imperatives and infinitives vary. The verb *ʾxl* ‘to eat’ takes */ʾi/* as its initial syllable in both, like *verba primae /y/*: *ʾíxul* ‘eat!’ (pl. *ʾexlu*) (cf. §2.3.2.4.i), *ʾixāla* ‘to eat’ (f. *ʾixalta*, fpl. *-yāθa*). The verbs *ʾθy* ‘to come’ and *ʾzl* ‘to go’ behave like *ʾxl* with respect to their infinitives; their imperatives are irregular. The verb *ʾmr* ‘to say’ elides the */ʾ/* altogether in the imperative: *mor* (sg.), *muru* (pl.). Elision is however optional in the infinitive: the initial radical may alternatively be realized as */ʾi/*: *māra* ≁ *ʾimāra*. The verb *ʾwð* ‘to do’ behaves like *ʾmr* with respect to its infinitive; the imperative behaves differently because of the weak middle radical.

The different behaviour of the two types of *verba primae /ʾ/* is explained by their origin, as reflected in Syriac. The initial radical in Type 1 verbs is derived from original

*/ʿ/, while in Type 2 verbs it is derived from original */ʾ/. Original */ʿ/ has simply developed to /ʾ/, while */ʾ/ has been preserved in some forms and changed to /y/ (realized as initial *ʾi*) or elided in others. The one exception to this rule is the Type 2 verb *ʾwð* 'to do' which is derived from *ʿb̲d̲*.

Type 1 (< *ʿ*CC*)	**Type 2 (< *ʾ*CC*)**
ʾrq 'to run' (Syr. *ʿrq*)	*ʾxl* 'to eat' (Syr. *ʾk̲l*)
ʾry 'to hold' (Syr. *ʿry*)	*ʾmr* 'to say' (Syr. *ʾmr*)
ʾwr 'to enter' (Syr. *ʿb̲r*)	*ʾθy* 'to come' (Syr. *ʾt̲y*)
ʾzl 'to spin (yarn)' (Syr. *ʿzl*)	*ʾzl* 'to go' (Syr. *ʾzl*)
ʾšp 'to weed' (Syr. *ʿšp* 'to clean grain')	

6.11.2 Verba primae */h/*

Verbs of this type, e.g. *hjm* 'to attack', are conjugated as strong verbs, with no elision of the */h/*.

6.11.3 Verba mediae */ʾ/*

Examples of this type are *rʾš* 'to wake up' and *dʾṛ* 'to return'. In slower or more careful speech the */ʾ/* of these verbs acts as a strong root consonant, e.g. *krāʾeš* 'he wakes up', *kraʾšen* 'I (m.) wake up', *rʾešli* 'I woke up', *rʾiša* 'awake' (ms.), *rʾoš* 'wake up!', *rʾāša* 'to wake up'. This is the case for all forms but the plural imperative where it is always elided, e.g. *rušu* 'wake up!'. In faster speech the */ʾ/* is very often elided in other forms, e.g. *dēṛe* 'he returned', *rešta* 'awake', *doṛ* 'return!', *roš* 'wake up!' and *dlá-berāšed-yèmmi* 'Without my mother's knowledge' (A:120). In present base forms a preceding */a/* is lengthened in compensation, e.g. *bdāṛan* (≁ *bdaʾṛan*) 'I (f.) will return'.

6.11.4 Verba mediae */h/*

Verbs of this type, e.g. *nhb* 'to loot' and *bhr* 'to become bright', are conjugated as strong verbs, with no elision of the */h/*.

6.11.5 Verba tertiae */ʔ/*

An example of this type is *šmʾ* ‘to hear’. The present base is *šāmeʾ*, e.g. *kšāmeʾ* ‘he hears’. Before A-set suffixes, this is *šamʾ*-, or with */ʔ/* elided *šam*-, e.g. *kšamʾa* ≁ *kšama* ‘she hears’. The latter is the more common form. With suffixes, final */eʾ/* is replaced by */ē/* (cf. §6.18.1.1), e.g. *kemšāmēla* ‘he heard her’ and *šāmēwa* ‘he used to hear’.

According to the same rule (**/eʾ/>/ē/*) the past base is *šmē*- rather than *šmeʾ*-, e.g. *šmēli* ‘I heard’. This form is therefore identical to that of *verba tertiae /y/*, e.g. *xzēli* ‘I saw’. With A-set infixes the base is *šmiʾ*-, e.g. *šmiʾāli* ‘I heard it (f.)’and *šmiʾili* ‘I heard them’. Stative participle: *šmiʾa* (ms.), *šmēta* (fs.) and *šmiʾe* (pl.) ‘heard’.

The singular imperative is as for strong verbs, e.g. *šmoʾ* ‘hear!’. The */ʔ/* is elided in the plural imperative: *šemu* ‘hear!’. Infinitive: *šmāʾa* (m.), *šmaʾta* ≁ *šmāta* (f.s.).

6.11.6 Verba primae */y/*

A verb of this type is *ylp* ‘to learn’. The present base of verbs in this group is formed as for strong verbs, e.g. *kyālep* ‘he learns’ and *kyalpa* ‘she learns’. In other forms, the initial radical is either given syllabic status as */ʔi/* or elided.

In past base forms and stative participles *verba primae /y/* fall into two groups. The verb *ylp* is an example of Type 1 and *ysq* ‘to climb’ is an example of Type 2. Type 1 verbs give the initial radical syllabic status as */ʔi/* so that the past base is *ʾilep*-, e.g. *ʾilepli* ‘I learned’. With A-set infixes the base is *yelp*- ≁ *ʾelp*-, e.g. *yelpāle* ≁ *ʾelpāle* ‘he learned it (f.)’ and *yelpile* ‘he learned them’. Stative participle: *ʾilipa* (ms.), *ʾilepta* (fs.), *ʾilipe* (pl.) ‘learnt’. Type 2 verbs elide the initial */y/*, so that the past base is *seq*-, e.g. *seqli* ‘I climbed’. Stative participle: *siqa* (ms.), *seqta* (fs.), *siqe* (pl.) ‘having climbed’.

The following verbs are attested in the two categories:

Type 1

ylp ‘to learn’, *ylð* ‘to give birth (of animals)’, *ypy* ‘to bake’ (§6.11.12),
yðʾ ‘to know’ (§6.15.3)

Type 2

ysq ‘to climb’, *yṣṛ* ‘to tie’, *yqð* ‘to burn’, *ytw* ‘to sit’ (§6.11.19),

ywš ‘to dry’ (§6.11.15), *ywl* ‘to give’ (§6.15.4)

Verba primae /y/ also behave according to type in the imperative, though not with complete predictability. Three of the four Type 1 verbs retain the initial radical as */ʾi/*. The imperative of the other (*ylð*) has not been elicited as it is unlikely to occur. The three attested also tend to take the stress on the second syllable: *ʾilóp* ‘learn!’, *ʾipí* ‘bake’ and *ʾiðóʾ* ‘know!’. Initial stress does nevertheless occur. For *yðʾ* Informant B gave *ʾíðuʾ* instead of *ʾiðóʾ*; and *ʾilóp* has its stress retracted before a verbal complement, e.g. *ʾílup ʾāy* ‘learn this!’ The regular plural imperative is *ʾelpu* ‘learn (pl.)!’, again showing the overlap between *verba primae /ʾ/* and */y/*.

Verbs of Type 2 form their imperatives either as *ʾíC₂uC₃*, with initial stress, or as *C₂oC₃*, with elision of */y/*. The plurals are *ʾeC₂C₃u* ∾ *yeC₂uC₃u* and *C₂uC₃u* respectively. Some verbs have both forms as free variants. The attested forms are as follows:

Type 2

ysq	‘Climb!’	*ʾísuq* (sg.), *ʾesqu* (pl.)
yṣṛ	‘Tie!’	*ʾíṣuṛ* (sg.), *ʾeṣṛu* ∾ *yeṣṛu* (pl.)
yqð	‘Burn!’	*qoð* (sg.), *quðu* (pl.) ∾ *ʾíquð* (sg.), *yeqðu* (pl.)
ytw	‘Sit!’	*ʾitu* (sg.), *ʾetwu* ∾ *ʾetu* (pl.)
ywš	‘Dry!’	*woš* (sg.), *wušu* (pl.)
ywl	‘Give!’	(irregular)

The infinitive is the same for all verbs: *ʾilāpa* (m.), *ʾilapta* (fs., pl. *-yāθa*).

6.11.7 Verba mediae */y/*

Verbs of this type are *pyš* ‘to become’, ‘to remain’ and *qyṣ* ‘to cut’. The present base is *pāyeš*, e.g. *kpāyeš* ‘he becomes’. Before A-set suffixes the base is *pɛš-* (<**payš-*), e.g. *kpɛša* ‘she becomes’, *kpɛši* ‘they become’. In the past base and stative participles the */y/* of the root is elided. The past base is *peš-*, e.g. *pešle* ‘he became’. Before A-set infixes it is *C₁iC₃-*, e.g. *qiṣāli* ‘I cut it (f.)’, *qiṣili* ‘I cut them’. Stative participle: *piša* (ms.), *pešta* (fs.), *piše* (pl.) ‘remaining’.

The */y/* is also elided in the imperative: *pošˇ* (sg.) and *pušu* (pl.) ‘rise!’. One verb, *qym* ‘to rise’, has an irregular singular imperative in which the final */m/* is elided: *qu* (sg.) ‘rise!’ (but pl. *qumu*).

Infinitive: *pyāša* (m.), *pyašta* (fs., pl. *-yāθa*).

6.11.8 Verba tertiae */y/*

A verb of this type is *xzy* ‘to see’. The present base paradigm differs in several respects to that of strong verbs. Feminine forms take a strong stem *xazy-* with regular A-set suffixes. In masuline and plural forms the stem is *xāz-*, e.g. *kxāze* ‘he sees’. The merger, in these cases, of the final */y/* with the A-set suffixes has resulted in three special inflections: 3ms. *-e* , 3pl. *-ɛ* and 2pl. *-otu(n)*:

3rd per.	ms.	*xāze*
	fs.	*xazya*
	pl.	*xāzɛ*
2nd per.	ms.	*xāzet*
	fs.	*xazyat*
	pl.	*xāzotu(n)*
1st per.	ms.	*xāzen*
	fs.	*xazyan*
	pl.	*xāzex*

The past base is *xzē-* for all persons, e.g. *xzēlan* ‘we saw’. It combines with a 3fs. A-set infix to form the stem *xezyā-*, e.g. *xezyāli* ‘I saw her’. With a 3pl. infix the stem is *xzɛ-* ∾ *xezyɛ-*, e.g. *xzɛli* ∾ *xezyɛli* ‘I saw them’. Stative participle: *xezya* (ms.), *xziθa* (fs.), *xezye* (pl.) ‘drunk’.

Verba tertiae /y/ of all Classes are unique (excepting *ʾzl* ‘to go’) in having a gender distinction in the singular imperative: *xzi* (ms.), *xzɛ* (fs.), *xzo* (pl.) ‘see!’. Infinitive: *xzāya* (m.), *xzɛθa* (fs., pl. *xzayāθa*).

6.11.9 Verba primae /ʔ/, tertiae /y/

The two attested verbs that fall into this category cover both types of *verba primae /ʔ/*. Both behave as *verba tertiae /y/*, with two forms of the base and special suffixes. The Type 1 example is *ʾry* 'to catch, hold'. The present base is *ʾār-* with masculine/plural inflection and *ʾary-* with feminine inflection. Examples: *kʾāren ≁ kāren* 'I catch', *lá-ʾāret* 'don't hold', *kemārexlɛ* 'we caught them', *kemʾaryāla* 'it (f.) caught her'. The past base is *ʾrē*, e.g. *ʾrēli* 'I caught'. It combines with a 3fs. A-set infix to form the stem *ʾeryā-*, e.g. *ʾeryāli* 'I caught her'. With a 3pl. infix the stem is *ʾrɛ-*, e.g. *ʾrɛli* 'I caught them'. Stative participle: *ʾerya* (ms.), *ʾriθa* (fs.), *ʾerye* (pl.) 'caught'. Imperative: *ʾri* (ms.), *ʾrɛ* (fs.), *ʾro* (pl.) 'catch!'. Infinitive: *ʾrāya* (m.).

The Type 2 verb is *ʾθy* 'to come'. The present base is *ʾāθ-* with masculine/plural inflection and *ʾaθy-* with feminine inflection, e.g. *d-ʾāθe ≁ d-āθe* 'so that he may come', *bʾaθya ≁ baθya* 'she'll come'. With the *k-* prefix, the stems are *kiθ-* and *keθy-* respectively, e.g. *kiθe* 'he comes, *keθya* 'she comes', *kiθotu* 'you (pl.) come'. The past base is *θē-*, e.g. *θēlux* 'you (ms.) came'. Stative participle: *ʾeθya* (ms.), *θiθa* (fs.) and *ʾeθye* (pl.) 'having come'. This verb has suppletive forms for the imperative: *hayyu* (sg.) and *hayyo* (pl.) 'come!'. Before an adverb *hay* (sg.) is also found, e.g. *hay l-āxa* 'come here', *hay ṭāli* 'come to my side'. No gender distinction is made for the imperative, unlike other *verba tertiae /y/*. Infinitive: *ʾiθāya* (m.), *ʾiθɛθa* (fs., pl. *ʾiθayāθa*).

6.11.10 Verba mediae /ʔ/, tertiae /y/

The only attested regular verb of this category is *ṛʾy* 'to graze'. This behaves as a regular *tertiae /y/* verb. Examples of forms include *kṛāʾɛ* 'they graze', *kṛaʾya* 'it (f.) grazes', *ṛʾēlɛ* 'they grazed', *ṛʾāya* 'to graze'.

Another verb of this category, *bʾy* 'to want', is irregular (c.f. §6.15.2).

6.11.11 Verba mediae /h/, tertiae /y/

Verbs of this type behave as other *verba tertiae /y/*, except that the */h/* is frequently elided after a consonant. A verb of this type is *čhy* 'to try', 'to tire'. The present base is *čāh-* with masculine/plural inflection and *čahy-* with feminine inflection, e.g. *kčāhɛ* 'they try',

kčahyan ‘I (f.) try’. The past base is *čhē- ≁ čē-*, e.g. *čhēle ≁ čēle* ‘he tried’. Stative participle: *čehya* (ms.), *čhiθa ≁ čiθa* (fs.), *čehye* (pl.) ‘tired’. Imperative: *čhi ≁ či* (ms.), *čhɛ ≁ čɛ* (fs.), *čho ≁ čo* (pl.) ‘try!’. Infinitive: *čhāya* (m.).

6.11.12 Verba primae */y/*, tertiae */y/*

The only attested verb in this category is *ypy* ‘to bake’. This verb follows the rules of *verba primae /y/* (Type 1) and *verba tertiae /y/*. The present base is *yāp-* with masculine/plural inflection, *yapy-* with feminine inflection, e.g. *byāpɛ* ‘they’ll bake’, *kyapya* ‘she bakes’. The past base is *ʾipē-*, e.g. *ʾipēla* ‘she baked’. Stative participle: *yepya* (ms.), *ʾipiθa* (fs.), *yepye* (pl.) ‘baked’. Imperative: *ʾipí* (ms.), *ʾipɛ́* (fs.), *ʾipó* (pl.). Infinitive: *ʾipāya* (m.), *ʾipɛθa* (fs.).

6.11.13 Verba mediae */w/*

Examples of this category are *lwš* ‘to wear’, *zwn* ‘to buy’ and *twr* ‘to break’. The present base is *lāweš*, before A-set suffixes *loš-* (<**lawš-*), e.g. *klāweš* ‘he wears’, *klošen* ‘I wear’. Unlike in *verba mediae /y/*, the medial consonant is preserved in the past base *lweš-*, e.g. *lwešlɛ* ‘they wore’, *zwenni* ‘I bought’, *twēri* ‘I broke’. With A-set infixes the base is *zwin-*, e.g. *zwināli* ‘I bought it (f.), *zwinili* ‘I bought them’. Stative participle: *lwiša* (ms.), *lwešta* (fs.), *lwiše* (pl.) ‘clothed’. The singular imperative may be as for strong verbs: *lwoš* ‘dress!’ or as for *verba mediae /y/*: *loš*. The plural imperative is as for *verba mediae /y/*: *lušu*. Infinitive: *lwāša* (m.)

6.11.14 Verba primae */ʾ/*, mediae */w/*

There are two examples of this type attested: *ʾwr* ‘to enter’ and *ʾwð* ‘to do’. These verbs have the features of both *verba primae /ʾ/* and *verba mediae /w/*. As *verba primae /ʾ/*, they divide into Type 1 and Type 2. The example of Type 1 (like *ʾrq*) is *ʾwr* ‘to enter’. After prefixes the */ʾ/* is normally elided, e.g. *kāwer* ‘he enters’, *kori* ‘they enter’. Unlike other verbs of Type 1, *ʾwr* usually loses its initial */ʾ/* in the past base and stative participle. The past base is *wēr-* (*≁ ʾwēr-*), e.g. *wēre ≁ ʾwēre* ‘he entered’. Stative participle: *wira* (ms.),

werta (fs.), *wire* (pl.) ‘having entered’. The singular imperative is formed like other *verba mediae /w/*, but the */ʔ/* may be elided: *ʾwor ≍ wor* (sg.), *ʾuru* (pl.) ‘enter!’.

The example of Type 2 (like *ʾxl*) is *ʾwð* ‘to do’. The present base is *ʾāweð*, before A-set suffixes *ʾoð-*. After prefixes the aleph is elided, e.g. *d-oðāwa* ‘that she might do’. With the *k-* prefix, the 3ms. is *kiweð* ‘he does’. Before A-set suffixes the stem is *kˑð-* (<**kewð-*), e.g. *kˑða* ‘she does’, *kˑði* ‘they do’, *kˑðet* ‘you do’. In the past base, the */ʔ/* is elided: *weð-*, e.g. *weðli* ‘I did’. Stative participle: *wiða* (ms.), *weðta* (fs.), *wiðe* (pl.) ‘done’. Imperative: *ʾwoð ≍ ʾoð* (sg.), *ʾuðu* (pl.) ‘do!’. The infinitive is *wāða*, like Type 2 verb *māra* (*ʾmr*), rather than the *ʾiCāCa* form found with other Type 2 verbs. A form with the */ʔ/* preserved, *ʾwāða*, is also given by Informant A, though not found in the texts. For the *b*-infinitive form *bwāða* the variant *byāða* is attested in the speech of Informant C.

6.11.15 Verba primae */y/*, mediae */w/*

The only attested example of this type is *ywš* ‘to dry (intr.)’. The present base is *yāweš*, with A-set suffixes *yoš-*, e.g. *byāweš* ‘it (m.) will dry’, *kyoša* ‘it (fs.) dries’, *ta d-yoši* ‘so that they may dry’. In past base forms and stative participles this verb belongs to the second type of *verba primae /y/*, i.e. the */y/* is elided, e.g. *wešlɛ* ‘they dried’. Stative participle: *wiša* (ms.), *wešta* (fs.), *wiše* (pl.) ‘dried’, ‘dry’. Imperative: *woš* (sg.), *wušu* (pl.) ‘dry!’ Infinitive: *ʾiwāša* (m.)

6.11.16 Verba mediae */w/*, tertiae */ʔ/*

A verb of this category is *swʾ* ‘to be full, satisfied’. The present base is *sāweʾ*, before A-set suffixes *soʾ-* (< **sawʾ*), e.g. *ksāweʾ* ‘he is full’, *soʾat* ‘may you (fs.) be satisfied’. The past base is *swē-*, e.g. *swēli* ‘I became full’. Stative participle: *swiʾa* (ms.), *swēta* (fs.) and *swiʾe* (pl.) ‘satisfied’. The singular imperative is *soʾ*. The plural is *suʾu*, as for *verba mediae /w/* (compare *zwn*: *zunu*), rather than **suwu* as would be expected for a *verbum tertiae /ʔ/* (compare *šmʾ*: *šemu*). Infinitive: *swāʾa* (m.)

6.11.17 Verba mediae */w/*, tertiae */y/*

A verb of this type is *rwy* ‘to grow up’. This verb follows the rules of both *verba mediae /w/* and *tertiae /y/*. The present base is *rāw-* with masculine/plural inflection, *roy-* (<**rawy-*) with feminine inflection, e.g. *krāwe* ‘he grows up’, *kroya* ‘she grows up’. The past base is *rwē-*, e.g. *rwēle* ‘he grew up’. Imperative: *rwi* (ms.), *rwɛ* (fs.), *rwo* (pl.) ‘grow up!’. Stative participle: *rˑya* (ms.), *rwiθa* (fs.), *rˑye* (pl.) ‘grown up’. Infinitive: *rwāya* (m.).

The other verb of this type is *hwy* ‘to be’ which is irregular (§6.15.5).

6.11.18 Verba tertiae */w/*

These verbs conjugate mostly as strong verbs except for the rule that */*ew/* in a closed syllable is replaced by */ˑ/* (or */u/* in a final unstressed syllable). The present base is *rāku* (<**rākew*), *rakw-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *krakwa* ‘she rides’, *krakwˑtun* ‘you (pl.) ride’. The past base is *rkˑ-* (< **rkew-*), e.g. *rkˑla* ‘she rode’. Stative participle: *rkiwa* (ms.), *rkˑta* (fs.), *rkiwe* (pl.) ‘ridden’.

These verbs have a special imperative: *rkˑ* ‘ride!’ (rather than **rkow*). The plural is as for strong verbs: *rekwu*. Infinitive: *rkāwa* (m.), *rkota* (fs., pl. *rkoyāθa*).

6.11.19Verba primae */y/*, tertiae */w/*

The only attested verb of this type is *ytw* ‘to sit’. The present base is *yātu*, *yatw-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kyātu* ‘he sits’ and *byatwi* ‘they’ll sit’. This verb belongs to the second type of *verba primae /y/*, i.e. it elides the */y/* in the past base and stative participle. The past base is therefore *tˑ-*, e.g. *tˑli* ‘I sat’. Stative participle: *tiwa* (ms.), *tˑta* (fs.), *tiwe* (pl.) ‘sitting’. Imperative: *ʾitu* (sg.), *ʾetwu ∾ ʾetu* (pl.) ‘sit!’. Infinitive: *ʾitāwa* (m.), *ʾitota* (fs., pl. *ʾitoyāθa*).

6.12 *Weak verbs in Class II*

6.12.1 Verba mediae /ʔ/

A verb of this type is *ṭʔl* II ‘to play’. The present base is *mṭāʾel*, *mṭaʾl-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kemṭāʾel* ‘he plays’, *kemṭaʾli* ‘they play’. Forms with /ʔ/ elided were not acceptable to Informant A, but *kemṭāli* is attested. It may be that it is an allegro form only acceptable in flowing speech, not as a citation form. The past base is *(m)ṭuʾel-*, e.g. *(m)ṭuʾellɛ* ‘the played’. Stative participle: *mṭoʾla* (ms.), *mṭuʾalta* (fs.), *mṭoʾle* (pl.) ‘played’. Imperative: *mṭāʾel* (sg.), *mṭaʾlu* (pl.) ‘play!’. Infinitive: *(m)ṭaʾole* (m.), *ṭaʾalta* (fs., pl. -*yāθa*).

6.12.2 Verba mediae /h/

Verbs of this type, e.g. *šhr* II ‘to stay awake’, are conjugated as strong verbs, with no elision of the /h/. Examples: *mšahriwa* ‘they used to stay awake’, *mšuhēra* ‘she stayed awake’.

6.12.3 Verba tertiae /ʔ/

There are two examples of this type: *rqʾ* II ‘to patch’ and *qṭʾ* II ‘to chop up’. Most forms elicited are the same for both. The present base is *mraqqeʾ*, *mraqq-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *mraqqeʾ* ‘he’ll patch’, *kemraqqāle* ‘she patched. The past base is *mruqqē-*, e.g. *mruqqēla* ‘she patched’. Stative participle: *mroqqa* (ms.), *mruqqɛθa* (fs.), but *mquṭaʾta* ‘chopped up (fs.)’, *mroqqe* (pl.) ‘patched’. Imperative: *mraqqi* (ms.), *mraqqɛ* (fs.), *mraqqu* (pl.) ‘patch!’. Infinitive: *(m)raqqoʾe* (m.), *raqāta* ~ *raqqaʾta* (fs.).

The paradigm of *verba tertiae* /ʔ/ Class II is very inconsistent. Only a couple of forms conjugate as one would expect from normal phonological rules: *raqāta* (<**mraqaʾta* <**mraqoʾta*) and *mquṭaʾta*. The others conjugate according to other types, *mediae geminatae* (*rqq* II, cf. §6.12.9) and the hypothetical quadriliterals *mediae geminatae*, *quartae* /ʔ/ or /y/ (*rqqʾ* Q. or *rqqy* Q.). The forms can be attributed to these types as follows:

Present base	*mraqqeˀ*	*rqqˀ* Q.
Present base before A-set	*mraqq-*	*rqq* II
Past base	*mruqqē-*	*rqqˀ* or *rqqy* Q.
Stative participle (ms., pl.)	*mroqqa* (ms.)	*rqq* II
Stative participle (fs.)	*mruqqɛθa*	*rqqy* Q.
Singular imperatives	*mraqqi*, *mraqqɛ*	*rqqy* Q.
Plural imperative	*mraqqu*	*rqq* II
Infinitive (m.)	*mraqqoˀe*	*rqqˀ* Q.
Variant infinitive (fs.)	*raqqaˀta*	*rqqˀ* Q.

6.12.4 Verba primae */y/*

The only attested example of this type is *yqṛ* II ‘to respect’. This is conjugated as a strong verb.

6.12.5 Verba mediae */y/*

An example of this type is the Arabic loan *ʿyd* II‘to celebrate’. The present base is *mʿāyed-*, *mʿɛd-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kemʿāyed* ‘he celebrates’, *kemʿɛdi* ‘they celebrate’. The past base is *(m)ʿuyed-*, e.g. *mʿuyedlan* ‘we celebrated’. Stative participle: *mʿɛda* (ms.), *mʿuyadta* (fs.), *mʿɛde* (pl.) ‘having celebrated’. Imperative: *mʿāyed* (sg.), *mʿɛdu* (pl.) ‘celebrate!’. Infinitive: *(m)ʿayode* (m.), *ʿayadta* (fs., pl. *-yāθa*).

6.12.6 Verba tertiae */y/*

An example of this type is *šry* II ‘to begin’. The present base behaves as for Class I *verba tertiae /y/*: the present base has two forms: *mšār-* with masculine/plural inflection and *mšary-* with feminine inflection. The masculine/plural base take the special inflections used with Class I. Examples are *kemšāre* ‘he begins’, *kemšārɛ* ‘they begin’, *mšārexwa* ‘we used to begin’ and *bedemšaryan* ‘I (f.) will begin’. The past base is *(m)šurē-*, e.g. *mšurēli* ≁ *šurēli* ‘I began’. Stative participle: *mšorya* (ms.), *mšurɛθa* (fs.), *mšorye* (pl.) ‘begun’. As for Class I verbs, imperatives are distinguished for gender in the singular: *mšāri* (ms.), *mšārɛ* (fs.), *mšāro* (pl.) ‘begin!’. Infinitive: *(m)šaroye* (m.).

6.12.7 Verba mediae */w/*

The only examples of this type are loanwords. Most *verba mediae /w/* of Aramaic origin are derived from *verba mediae /b/*. The modern */w/* is a reflex of the fricative allophone *b̲*, e.g. *zwāna* < **zʾb̲āna* 'to buy'. In Class II forms the medial radical was originally geminate and hence realized as the plosive allophone. Class II forms have preserved this plosive realization, e.g. *mzabone* (< **mzabbōne*) 'to sell'.

A verb of this type is *jwb* II 'to answer' from Arabic *jwb* (Form II, IV) 'to answer'. The present base is *mjāweb*, *mjob-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *mā́-mjāweb?* 'what should he answer?' and *de-mjobette* 'that you (ms.) may answer it (m.)'. The past base is *(m)juweb-*, e.g. *mjuweblɛ* ≁ *juweblɛ* 'they answered'. Stative participle: *mjoba* (ms.), *mjuwabta* (fs.), *mjobe* (pl.) 'anwered'. Imperative: *mjāweb* (sg.), *mjobu* (pl.) 'answer!'. Infinitive: *(m)jawobe* (m.), *jawabta* (fs., pl. *-yāθa*).

Another example of this type is *swq* II 'to shop'.

6.12.8 Verba mediae */w/*, tertiae */ʾ/*

The only attested example of this type is *zwʾ* II 'to pass over'. The present base is *mzāweʾ*, *mzoʾ-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kemzāweʾ* 'he passes over', *kemzoʾile* 'they pass over it (m.)'. The past base is *(m)zuwē-* (<**mzuweʾ-*), e.g. *mzuwēli* 'I passed over'. Stative participle: *mzoʾa* (ms.), *mzuwaʾta* (fs.), *mzoʾe* (pl.) 'passed over'. Imperative: *mzāweʾ* (sg.), *mzoʾu* (pl.) 'pass over!'. Infinitive: *(m)zawoʾe* (m.), *zawaʾta* (f., pl. *zawaʾyāθa*).

6.12.9 Verba mediae geminatae

There are two attested examples of this type: *xll* II 'to wash' and *lkk* II 'to seal'. The present base is *mlakkek*, *mlakk-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *bedemlakkenne* 'I will seal it', *kemlakkek* 'he seals', *mlakkekwa* 'he used to seal'. The past base is *mlukkek-*, *mlukk-* before A-set infixes, e.g. *mlukkekle* 'I sealed' and *mlukkāli* 'I sealed it (f.)'. Stative participle: *mlokka* ≁ *mlakka* (ms.), *mlukkakta* (fs.), *mlokke* ≁ *mlakke* (pl) 'sealed'. Imperative: *mlakkek* (sg.), *mlakku* (pl.) 'seal!'. Infinitive: *(m)lakkoke* (m.).

6.13 *Weak verbs in Class III*

6.13.1 Verba primae */ʔ/*

As in Class I these verbs can be divided into Type 1 and 2. An example of Type 1 is *ʾrq* III ‘to kidnap’. The present base is *maʾreq*, *maʾerq-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *mmaʾerqíle* ‘they’ll kidnap him’. The past base is *muʾreq-*, e.g. *muʾreqwāle* ‘he kidnapped’. Stative participle: *muʾerqa* (ms.), *muʾraqta* (fs.), *muʾerqe* (pl.) ‘kidnapped’. Imperative: *maʾreq* ~ *māreq* (sg.), *máʾerqu* (pl.) ‘kidnap!’ Infinitive: *maʾroqe* (m.).

Another verb of this type is the *verbum mediae /w/ ʾwr* III ‘to make enter’ (§6.13.11).

There are two examples of Type 2: *ʾxl* III ‘to feed’ and the *verbum tertiae /y/ ʾθy* III ‘to bring’ (§6.13.7). They differ in their present bases and imperatives but because there are only two attested it is not possible definitely to identify one as regular and one as irregular.

The verb *ʾxl* III conjugates like *verba primae /y/*. The present base is *moxel*, *maxl-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kmoxel* ‘he feeds’, *kmoxellɛ* ‘he feeds them’, *kmaxla* ‘she feeds’ and *kmaxli* ‘they feed’. The past base is *muxel-*, e.g. *muxelle* ‘he fed’. Stative participle: *moxla* (ms.), *muxalta* (fs.), *moxle* (pl.) ‘fed’. Imperative: *moxel* (sg.), *maxlu* (pl.) ‘feed!’. Infinitive: *maxole* (m.), *maxalta* (fs.).

6.13.2 Verba mediae */ʔ/*

The */ʔ/* is usually elided after a consonant but may be preserved (indicated where attested). When elided, the forms are identical to those of *verba mediae /y/* III. An example is *dʾx* III ‘to put out, extinguish’. The present base is *madex* ~ *madʾex*, *madēx* ~ *madʾēx-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *mmadexle* ‘let him put it (m.) out’, *madēxéxle* ‘let us put it (m.) out’. The past base is *mudex-* ~ *mudʾex-*, e.g. *mudexli* ‘I put out’. The base is *mudēx-* ~ *mudʾēx-* before A-set infixes, e.g. *mudēxili* ‘I put them out’. Stative participle: *mudēxa* (ms.), *mudaxta* ~ *mudʾaxta* (fs.), *mudēxe* ~ *mudʾēxe* (pl.) ‘put out’. Imperative: *madex* (sg.), *mádēxu* (pl.) ‘put out!’. Infinitive *madoxe* ~ *madʾoxe* (m.).

Another example of *verba mediae /ʔ/* III is *dʾṛ* III ‘to return (tr.)’.

6.13.3 Verba tertiae */ʔ/*

As with classes I and II the */ʔ/* in these verbs is frequently elided. A verb of this type is *šmʾ* III ‘to let hear’. The present base is *mašmeʾ*, before A-set suffixes *mašemʾ- ≁ mašem-*. This may also be further contracted to *mašm-*, though not with feminine inflection, perhaps be analogy with *verba tertiae /y/*. Examples: *mašemʾennux ≁ mmašemennux ≁ mmašmennux* ‘I’ll (m.) let you (ms.) hear’, *mmašmēla* ‘he’ll let her hear’. The past base is *mušmē-*, e.g. *mušmēli* ‘I let hear’. Stative participle: *mušemʾa* (ms.), *mušmaʾta* (fs.), *mušemʾe* (pl.) ‘made to hear’. Imperative: *mašmeʾ* (sg.), *mašemʾu ≁ mašemu* (pl.) ‘let hear!’. Infinitive: *mašmoʾe* (m.), *mašmaʾta* (fs.).

Another verb of this type is *xmʾ* III ‘to leaven’.

6.13.4 Verba primae */y/*

A verb of this type is *ylp* III ‘to teach’. The present base is *molep-*, *malp-* (<**molp-*) before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kmolep* ‘he teaches’, *kemmalpili* ‘they taught me’. The past base is *mulep-*, *mulp-* before A-set infixes, e.g. *muleple* ‘he taught’, *mulpāle* ‘he taught her’. Stative participle: *muyelpa ≁ molpa* (ms.), *mulapta* (fs.) and *muyelpe ≁ molpe* (pl.) ‘taught’. For *ysq* III ‘to bring up’ and *yqð* III ‘to make burn’, the ms. and pl. stative participles are all of the *moC₂C₃a* form: *mosqa*, *mosqe* and *moqða*, *moqðe* respectively. Imperative: *molep* (sg.) and *malpu* (pl., <**molpu*) ‘teach!’. Infinitive: *malope* (m.), *malapta* (fs.).

Another verb of this category is the weak verb *ytw* III ‘to set down’ (§6.13.16).

6.13.5 Verba mediae */y/*

A verb of this type is *fyt* III ‘to pass (time)’, ‘make pass’. The present base is *mafet-*, *mafēt-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kmafet zona* ‘he passes time’, *mafētexwa zona* ‘we used to pass time’. The past base is *mufet-*, e.g. *mufetli* ‘I made pass’. With A-set infixes the base is *mufēt-*, e.g. *mufētāli* ‘I made it (f.) pass’, *mufētili* ‘I made them pass’. Stative participle: *mufēta* (ms.), *mufatta* (fs.), *mufēte* (pl.) ‘passed’. Imperative: *mafet* (sg.), *máfētu* (pl.) ‘make pass!’. Infinitive: *mafote* (m.), *mafatta* (fs.).

6.13.6 Verba tertiae */y/*

A verb of this type is *ḥky* III ‘to speak’. As a *verbum tertiae /y/* its present base has two forms: *maḥk-* with masculine/plural inflection and *maḥeky-* with feminine inflection. The endings are as for Class I and II *tertiae /y/* verbs, e.g. *kmaḥke* ‘he speaks’, *kmaḥekya* ‘she speaks’, *kmaḥkɛ* ‘they speak’, *kmaḥken* ‘I (m.) speak’, *kmaḥkotun* ‘you (pl.) speak’. The past base is *muḥkē-*, *muḥeky-* with A-set suffixes, e.g. *muḥkēli* ‘I spoke’, *muḥekyāli* ‘I spoke it’. Stative participle: *muḥekya* (ms.), *muḥkɛθa* (fs.), *muḥekye* (pl.) ‘spoken’. Imperative: *maḥki* (ms.), *maḥkɛ* (fs.), *maḥko* (pl.) ‘speak!’. Infinitive: *maḥkoye* (m.), *maḥkɛθa* (f., pl. *maḥkayāθa*).

6.13.7 Verba primae */ʾ/*, tertiae */y/*

The only attested example of this type is *ʾθy* III ‘to bring’ which is a Type 2 *verbum primae /ʾ/* III but behaves differently in the present base and singular imperative to the other Type 2 verb *ʾxl* III (§6.13.1), taking initial */mɛ/* rather than */mo/*. The present base is *mɛθ-* with masculine/plural inflections and *mɛθy-* ∾ *maθy-* with feminine inflection, e.g. *kmɛθe* ‘he brings’, *kmɛθɛ* ‘they bring’, *kmaθya* ‘she brings’. The past base is *muθē-*, e.g. *muθēle* ‘he brought’. Stative participle: *moθya* (m.), *muθɛθa* (f.) and *moθye* (pl.) ‘brought’. The imperative has a different stem (*moθ-*) for the plural: *mɛθi* (m.), *mɛθɛ* (f.), *moθo* (pl.) ‘bring!’. Infinitive: *maθoye* (m.).

6.13.8 Verba mediae */ʾ/*, tertiae */y/*

The only attested example of this type is *ṛʾy* III ‘to graze (tr.)’, e.g. sheep. The present base is *maṛʾ-* with masculine/plural inflection and *maṛeʾy-* with feminine inflection, e.g. *mmaṛʾen* ‘I’ll (m.) graze (tr.)’, *mmaṛʾotun* ‘you’ll (pl.) graze (tr.)’, *mmaṛeʾyat* ‘you’ll (f.) graze (tr.)’. The past base is *muṛʾē-*, e.g. *muṛʾēli* ‘I grazed (tr.)’. Imperative: *maṛʾi* (ms.), *maṛʾɛ* (fs.), *maṛʾo* (pl.) ‘graze (tr.)!’. Infinitive: *maṛʾoye* (m.), *maṛɛθa* (fs.).

6.13.9 Verba mediae */h/*, tertiae */y/*

Verbs of this type often elide the */h/*. An example is *lhy* III 'to light'. The present base is *malh- ≍ mal-* with masculine/plural inflection and *malehy-* with feminine inflection, e.g. *malhɛwālɛ* 'they used to light them', *malexwa* 'we used to light', *mmalehya* 'she'll light'. The past base is *mulhē- ≍ mulē-*, e.g. *mulhēlux ≍ mulēlux* 'you (ms.) lighted'. Stative participle: *mulehya* (ms.), *mulhɛθa* (fs.), *mulehye* (pl.) 'lit'. Imperative: *malhi ≍ mali* (ms.), *malhɛ ≍ malɛ* (fs.), *malho ≍ malo* (pl.) 'light!'. Infinitive: *malhoye ≍ maloye*.

Another example of this type is *čhy* III 'to tire (tr.)'.

6.13.10 Verba mediae */w/*

A verb of this type is *lwš* III 'to dress (tr.)'. The present base is *malweš*, *mal˙š-* (<**malewš-*) before A-set suffixes, e.g. *mal˙šiwalan* 'they used to dress us' and *mal˙šennax* 'I (m.) will dress you (ms.)'. The past base is *mulweš-*, e.g. *mulwešla* 'she dressed (tr.)'. Stative participle: *mul˙ša* (ms.), *mulwašta* (fs.), *mul˙še* (pl.) 'dressed'. Imperative: *malweš* (sg.) and *mál˙šu* (pl.) 'dress!'. Infinitive: *malwoše* (m.).

6.13.11 Verba primae */ʔ/*, mediae */w/*

An example of this category is *ʾwr* III 'to make go in', 'to spend (time)'. It belongs to Type 1 of *verba primae /ʔ/*. The present base is *maʾwer*, *maʾ˙r-* (*≍ mor-* in fast speech) before A-set suffixes, e.g. *bedmaʾwēra* 'he will make it (f.) go in', *mmaʾ˙ren zona* 'I'll spend time', *maʾ˙rexwa zona* 'we used to spend time', *d- … morā́wa ʾíðaḥ* 'that she might make her hand enter' (A:44). The past base is *muʾwer-*, e.g. *muʾwēri* (<**muʾwer-li*) 'I made go in'. Stative participle: *muʾ˙ra* (ms.), *muʾwarta* (fs.), *muʾ˙re* (pl.) 'made to go in'. Imperative: *maʾwer* (sg.), *máʾ˙ru* (pl.) 'make go in!'. Infinitive: *maʾwore* (m.).

The Class I verb *ʾwr* has another Class III counterpart, but this has developed into a *verbum mediae /y/*: *byr* III. It has a slightly different meaning: 'to make go through'. Presumably *byr* III was originally **ʾbr* then, by metathesis, **bʾr*. The *verba mediae /ʔ/* paradigm is identical, when the */ʔ/* is elided, to that of *verba mediae /y/*. This fact allowed the reanalysis of **bʾr* as *byr*.

The same reanalysis has occurred in the case of *wyš* III ≁ *byš* III (<**ywš* III), cf. §6.13.12 below.

6.13.12 Verba primae */y/*, mediae */w/*

There are no attested verbs of this type. The Class I verb of this type, *ywš* 'to dry (intr.)', has a Class III counterpart but through metathesis this is now *wyš* III ≁ *byš* III 'to dry (tr.)'.

6.13.13 Verba mediae */w/*, tertiae */ʔ/*

A verb of this type is *swʾ* III 'to make (a person) full, satisfied'. The present base is *maswe*ʾ, *mas˙ʾ-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *bedmaswēli* 'he will make me full', *mmas˙ʾālɛ* 'she'll make them full'. The past base is *muswē-*, *mus˙ʾ-* before A-set infixes, e.g. *muswēli* 'I made full', *mus˙ʾili* 'I made them full'. Stative participle: *mus˙ʾa* (ms.), *muswēta* (fs.), *mus˙ʾe* (pl.) 'made full'. Imperative: *máswe*ʾ (sg.), *más˙ʾu* (pl.) 'make full!' Infinitive: *maswoʾe* (m.).

6.13.14 Verba mediae */w/*, tertiae */y/*

A verb of this type is *hwy* III 'to give birth'. The present base is *mah˙y-* before A-set suffixes (3ms. **mahwe* presumably does not occur), e.g. *mmah˙ya* 'she'll give birth'. The past base is *muhwē-*, e.g. *muhwēla* 'she gave birth'. Stative participle: *muhwɛθa* (fs.) 'having given birth'.[13] Infinitive: *mahwoye* (m.).

6.13.15 Verba tertiae */w/*

A verb of this type is *xrw* III 'to make destroy'. The present base is *maxru*, *maxerw-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *mmaxru* 'he'll make destroy', *mmaxerwen* 'I'll make destroy'. The past base is *muxr˙-*, *muxerw-* before A-set infixes, e.g. *muxr˙li* 'I made destroy', *muxerwili* 'I made them destroy'. Stative participle: *muxerwa* (ms.), *muxrota*

[13] 'Born' is expressed by *hwy*: *h˙ya*, *hwiθa*, *h˙ye* (§6.15.5).

(<*muxrawta*) (fs.), *muxerwe* (pl.) ‘made to destroy’. Imperative: *maxru* (sg.), *máxerwu* (pl.) ‘make destroy!’ Infinitive: *maxrowe* (m).

6.13.16 Verba primae */y/*, tertiae */w/*

A verb of this type is *ytw* III ‘to put down’. The present base is *motu*, *matw-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kmot˙le* ‘he puts it (m.) down’, *bedmatwenne* ‘I (m.) will put it (m.) down’. The past base is *mut˙-*, e.g. *mut˙li* ‘I put down’. Stative participle: *matwa* (<*motwa*) (ms.), *mutota* (fs.), *matwe* (pl.) ‘put down’. Imperative: *motu* (sg.), *matwu* (pl.) ‘put down!’. Infinitive: *matowe* (m.).

6.14 *Weak quadriliteral verbs*

6.14.1 Verba secundae */y/*

The only attested example in this category is *hymn* Q. ‘to believe’. The present base is *mhɛmen-*, *mhayemn-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kemhɛmen* ‘he believes’, *kemhayemnen* ‘I (m.) believe’, *kemhayemna* ‘she believes’. The past base is *(m)huymen-*, e.g. *mhuymenni* ‘I believed’. Stative participle: *mhuyemna* (ms.), *mhuymanta* (fs.), *mhuyemne* (pl.) ‘believed’. Imperative: *mhɛmen* ≁ *mɛmen* (sg.), *(m)háyemnu* ≁ *mhamnu* (pl.) ‘believe!’. Infinitive: *(m)hɛmone* (m.), *hɛmanta* (fs.).

6.14.2 Verba secundae */w/*

The one attested verb in this category is *nwbl* Q. ‘to guide, lead’, ‘to take’. The initial */m/* is almost always elided. The present base is *nobel*, *nabl-* (<*nobl-*) before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kemnobelli* ‘he guided me’, *nablíwāle* ‘they used to take’ (A:84). The past base is *nubel-*, e.g. *nubelle* ‘he guided’. Imperative: *nobel* (sg.), *nablu* (pl.) ‘guide!’, e.g. *nóbelli* ‘guide me!’. Infinitive: *mnabole* ‘to guide’.

6.14.3 Verba quartae */y/*

There are several verbs in this category. One is *šršy* Q. 'to let down'. This behaves like other verbs with final */y/*. The forms of the present base are *mšarš-* before masculine/plural inflections and *mšarešy-* before feminine inflections, e.g. *kemšaršɛle* 'they let him down', *kemšarešyatte* 'you (fs.) let him down'. The past base is *(m)šuršē-*, e.g. *(m)šuršēli* 'I let down'. Stative participle: *mšurešya* (ms.), *mšuršɛθa* (fs.), *mšurešye* (pl.) 'let down'. Imperative: *šarši* (ms.), *šaršɛ* (fs.), *šaršo* (pl.) 'let down!' . Infinitive: *(m)šaršoye* (m.).

Other verbs in this category are *xrðy* Q. 'to tangle' and *tˁdy* Q. 'to harrass'.

6.14.4 Verba secundae */w/*, quartae */y/*

There is one attested verb of this type, *čwčy* Q. 'to chirp', and only one attested form: the infinitive *(m)čočoye* (<**mčawčoye*) (m.).

6.15 *Irregular verbs*

Some of the weak verbs listed above, such as *qym* 'to rise' and *ʾθy* 'to come', have irregular imperatives but are otherwise regular. A number of verbs are irregular in other parts of the paradigm.

6.15.1 *ʾzl* I 'to go'

This verb is particularly irregular in its present base forms. As a Type 2 *verbum primae /ʔ/* it combines with *//k-//* to produce the form *kizil* (compare *kixel* 'he eats'). But before A-set suffixes, the stem is *kiz-*, not **kezl-*, e.g. *kiza* 'she goes', *kizi* 'they go', *kizex* 'we go'. Furthermore the unprefixed set (**ʾāzel*, **ʾazla*, **ʾazli* etc.) is not used in this dialect. Instead its functions are fulfilled by a special form based on the stem *zā-* and L-set suffixes, e.g. *zāli* 'let me go'. This form is apparently unique to this verb. It bears a resemblance to the infinitive *ʾizāla*, but the */l/*, rather than behaving as a root consonant, behaves as part of the L-set suffix. The paradigm is as follows:

3rd per.	ms.	*zāle*	‘may he go’
	fs.	*zāla*	‘may she go’
	pl.	*zālɛ*	‘may they go’
2nd per.	ms.	*zālux*	etc.
	fs.	*zālax*	
	pl.	*záloxun*	
1st per.	ms.	*zāli*	
	pl.	*zālan*	

This form is used as the base for all prefixes except *k*-, e.g. *bedzāle ≁ bzāle* ‘he will go’, *kebɛ d-zālɛ* ‘they want to go’, *dízāli* ‘I’m just going’. It can also take *//-wA//* as an infix, e.g. *zawālan* ‘we used to go’ (instead of **ʾazlexwa*).

Past base forms are regular for Type 2 *verba primae /ʔ/*: *zella* ‘she went’ (compare *xella* ‘she ate’), *zélwālan* ‘we went’.

Another form unique to this verb is *zilen*, where the past base takes A-set rather than L-set suffixes. This may be used as an independent verb, e.g. *zílen l-bàġdad* ‘I’m going to Baghdad’. It is also used as an auxiliary verb with the subjunctive, marking future meaning, e.g. *zílen ʾàmren* ‘I’m going to say’. It is most commonly found in the 1st person singular: *zilen* (ms.) and *zilan* (fs.), but according to Informant A the 1st person plural *zilex* can also be found, e.g. *zílex ʾàmrex* ‘we’re going to say’.

Contracted forms *zin* (= *zilen* or *zilan*) and *zix* (= *zilex*) are more common in fluent speech, e.g. *zin l-bàġdad* ‘I’m going to Baghdad’, *zín ʾamrènnux* ‘I’m going to tell you’, *zín zà̀li* ‘I’m going to go’.

2nd person forms are not used, but the fossilized 3ms. form *zil* may be used in place of the 1st person forms in the auxiliary function, e.g. *zil ʾamren* ‘I’m (m.) going to say’, *zil ʾamran* ‘I’m (f.) going to say’, *zil ʾamrex* ‘we’re going to say’.

The full paradigm is as follows:

1st per.	ms.	*zilen ≁ zin ≁ zil*
	fs.	*zilan ≁ zin ≁ zil*
	pl.	*zilex ≁ zix ≁ zil*

Stative participle: *zila* (ms.), *zelta* (fs.), *zile* (pl.) 'gone'. There is gender distinction in the imperative, which is irregular: *si* (ms.), *sɛ* (fs.) and *so* (pl.) 'go!'. Infinitive: *ʾizāla* (m.), *ʾizalta* (fs., pl. *-yāθa*).

6.15.2 *bʾy* I 'to want'

This verb conjugates as a normal *verbum tertiae /y/* in most cases, e.g. *baʾyat* 'you (f.) may want', *kembāʾenna* 'I wanted her', *bāʾexwa* 'we used to want', *bedbāʾe* 'he will want'. The */ʾ/* may be elided before a consonant, e.g. *ʾen bāyat* 'if you (fs.) want'. The only irregularity is found with the *k-* prefix which combines with the present base to form the stem *kebʾ-*, or, with the */ʾ/* elided, *keb-*, e.g. *kebʾe ≁ kebe* 'he wants, *kebʾa ≁ keba* 'she wants, *kebɛ* 'they want', *kebʾen ≁ keben* 'I (m.) want', *kebotun* 'you (pl.) want'. The elided forms are far more common. After the negative particle *la-* the */e/* is elided and the */k/* assimilates in voice to the */b/*, e.g. *lá-gbe* (<**lá-kebe*) 'he wants', *lá-gben* (<**lá-keben*) 'I (m.) want'.

Other forms are regular. The past base is *bʾē-*, e.g. *bʾēlan* 'we wanted', *bʾēwālɛ* 'they wanted'. Stative participle: *beʾya* (ms.), *bʾiθa* (fs.), *beʾye* (pl.) 'wanted'. Infinitive: *bʾāya* (m.).

6.15.3 *yðʾ* I 'to know'

The present base is *yāðeʾ*, *ʾēð-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kyaðeʾ* 'he knows, *kebe d-yāðeʾ* 'he wants to know', *ʾēðāwa* 'she used to know'. After prefixes, the */ʾ/* may or may not be elided, e.g. *kēða* 'she knows', *keben d-ēðen* 'I want to know', *bedʾēðen* 'I will know', *ta d-ʾēðen* 'so that I may know', *kemʾēðila ≁ kemēðila* 'they recognized her'.

The past base is regular for Type 1 *verba primae /y/* and *verba tertiae /ʾ/*, e.g. *lá-ʾiðēli* 'I didn't know'. Stative participle: *ʾiðiʾa* (ms.), *ʾiðēta* (fs.), *ʾiðiʾe* (pl.) 'known'.

Imperative: *ʾiðóʾ ≁ ʾíðuʾ* (sg.), *ʾiðˈʾu ≁ ʾeðu* (pl.) ‘know!’. Infinitive: *ʾiðāʾa* (m.), *ʾiðaʾta* (fs., pl.-*yāθa*).

6.15.4 *ywl* I ‘to give’

The present base is *yāwel*, *yāw-* before A-set suffixes, e.g. *kyāwel* ‘he gives’, *kyāwa* ‘she gives’, *kyāwˈtun* ‘you (pl.) give’. In this it resembles *ʾzl* which also elides the final */l/* radical before inflections. This verb is a Type 2 *verbum primae /y/*, taking the past base *wel-*, e.g. *welli* ‘I gave’, *wella* ‘she gave’. Forms with A-set infixes are *wilāli* ‘I gave it (f.)’, *wilili* ‘I gave them’. Stative participle: *wila* (ms.), *welta* (fs.), *wile* (pl.) ‘given’. The imperative is irregular: *hal* (sg.), *hallu* (pl.) ‘give!’. Infinitive: *ʾiwāla* (m.).

6.15.5 *hwy* I ‘to be’, ‘to be born’

The only irregularities in this verb are the elision of initial */h/* in some circumstances and adaptation of some verbal prefixes.

This verb has two meanings, according to context, and in some cases morphology. They are ‘to be’ and ‘to be born’. In the second meaning, *hwy* I conjugates entirely regularly, but as it shares many forms with *hwy* I ‘to be’, the two will be treated together. Some forms are probably only normally used with one of the meanings. For instance the imperative is unlikely to be used with ‘to be born’.

This verb conjugates as a *verbum mediae /w/*, *tertiae /y/*, e.g. *hāwe* ‘let him be’, *hoya* (<**hawya*) ‘let her be’, *hāwɛwa* ‘they used to be’. When verbal prefixes are added, the */h/* may be elided. This is the form usually found when the meaning ‘to be’ is intended, e.g. *koya* (<**k* + *hoya*) ‘she is’. When the */h/* is elided, the prefix is devoiced, e.g. *t-āwe* (<**d* + *hāwe*) ‘that he may be’. The future prefix *//bed-//* may be contracted and devoiced to *pt-*, e.g. *ptāwet* ‘you’ll (ms.) be’. When the verb has the meaning of ‘to be born’, the */h/* is never elided, e.g. *bedhāwe* ‘he will be born’, *šudhāwe* ‘let him be born’. But the unelided forms are also said to be used for ‘to be’, although such cases have only occurred in elicited data.

Note that the form with the *//d-//* prefix (§6.8.7) may be used in a similar way to the unprefixed form, i.e. to express a wish, e.g. *t-āwet pṣixa ≁ hāwet pṣixa* ‘may you be

happy'. The *//d-//* form appears to be the more common. This use is apparently unique to *hwy* I 'to be'.

The past base of *hwy* I is *hwē-*, e.g. *hwēli* 'I was born'. Past base forms are only used with the meaning 'to be born', as the past copula fulfils the same functions for 'to be'. Stative participle: *hˉya* (ms.), *hwiθa* (fs.), *hˉye* (pl.) 'born'. Imperative: *(h)wi* (ms.), *(h)wɛ* (fs.), *(h)wo* (pl.) 'be!', e.g. *wi pṣixa* 'be (ms.) happy!', *hwɛ pṣexta* 'be (fs.) happy!'. Infinitive: *hwāya* (m.), *hwɛθa* (fs., pl. *hwayāθa*).

6.15.6 *šql* I 'to take': imperative

This verb, though it has no weak consonants and is otherwise regular, has irregular imperative forms *ʾéšqul* (with L-set suffix, *ʾéšqulla* 'take her!') and *ʾéšqulu* (pl.) 'take!'. The singular is apparently derived from regular **šqol*. The initial epenthetic has been analysed as an independent syllable; as the penultimate syllable it has then taken the stress and the */o/* in the final syllable is accordingly reduced to */u/* (§2.3.2.4.i). This is the same process that has occurred with some *verba primae /ʔ/* and */y/*. It is not attested with any other strong verbs. The plural is presumably formed by analogy with the singular.

6.16 *Unadapted Arabic verbs*

Some 8th Form and 10th Form Arabic verbs are not fully adapted into ANA. Examples from texts and elicitations from Informant A and B have revealed some variability, suggesting that speakers are allowed flexibility in how they adapt such verbs.

The 8th Form verbs attested are Arab. *ixtalafa* 'to be different', *iḥtafala* 'to celebrate' and *ittafaqa* 'to meet'.[14] Examples are as follows: *kmextelef* 'he is different' (A), *kmextelfa* 'she is different' (A), *mmettafqex* 'we'll meet up' (A), *kmaḥtàfli* 'they celebrate' (B:35), *kmaḥtaflex* 'we celebrate' (B).

The structures of these forms do not resemble any native classes, therefore there is no obvious vowel pattern that can be applied. In fact the vowel pattern is influenced by the vowel pattern in Iraqi Arabic, both Baghdadi and Qəltu dialects. The Arabic form it

[14] The last example has been borrowed twice. It is also borrowed as a Class I verb *tfq* 'to meet', with */t/* analysed as its initial consonant (§6.28.3.2).

reflects is the Imperfect (Classical Arabic *yaqtulu*). The Arabic dialect of Mardin, as described in Jastrow (1978) will be given as typical of many Qəltu dialects. The */ə/* phoneme is similar to ANA */e/*.

The 3ms. present base *meCteCeC* reflects the Mardin form *yəftə́həm* 'he understands'.[15]

The present base used with A-set suffixes varies. The first variant, *meCteCC-* reflects the Mardin vowel pattern before inflections, e.g. *yəftə́hm˝n* 'they understand'. The second variant, *meCtaCC-* may reflect other Qəltu dialects (e.g. Diyarbakır *yəftáham*, Dēr iz-Zōr *yiftáhim* 'he understands'.)[16] Alternatively it may reflect the influence of Baghdadi Arabic, where */ə/* is replaced by */a/* before suffixes, e.g. *yiftihim* 'he understands', *yiftahm˙n* 'they understand'. Another explanation could be that it is an adaptation to the vowel pattern of ANA Class I and II present bases (*paθx-* and *mḥalq-* respectively). This may be the main factor, given that it is apparently behind the same adaptation in 10th Form verbs (see below). The third variant *maCtaCC-* appears to be a partial adaptation to ANA, adapting the *me-* prefix to the ANA *ma-* prefix found on Class III present bases.

An example of a 10th Form verb is Arab. *istaʿmala* 'to use'. Examples of it in ANA are *kmestaʿmel* 'he uses', *kmestaʿmella* 'he uses her', *kmestaʿamlex* 'we use'. The 3ms. base *mestaCCeC* reflects Mardin *yəstafrəġ* 'he vomits'.[17] The */a/* in the final syllable of the base before A-set suffixes, *mestaCaCC-*, may reflect an adaptation to the pattern of Class I and II present bases (*paθx-*, *mḥalq-*). It does not reflect the suffixed base of the Arabic (Mardin *yəstafrəġ˙n* 'they vomit').

6.17 *Copula*

The copula functions as a verb but does not conjugate according to the rules above and thus may be termed a pseudo-verb. It occurs in several different forms.

[15] Jastrow (1978: 191).
[16] Both from Jastrow (1978: 193).
[17] Jastrow (1978: 228).

6.17.1 Present copula

The present copula is enclitic. The stem of the present copula is the element *ʾi-*. The third person forms take suffixes identical to the L-set (*-le, -la, -lɛ*). The other persons take a different series consisting of an element */w/* and the inflections on *verba tertiae /y/* (§6.11.8): *-en*, *-an*, *-ex*, *-et*, *-at*, *-otu(n)*.

3rd per.	ms.	*-ile*	‘he is’
	fs.	*-ila*	‘she is’
	pl.	*-ilɛ* (in fast speech occasionally *-ila*)	‘they are’
2nd per.	ms.	*-iwet*	etc.
	fs.	*-iwat*	
	pl.	*-(i)wotun* ≍ *-(i)wotu*	
1st per.	ms.	*-iwen*	
	fs.	*-iwan*	
	pl.	*-iwex*	

The predicate takes the stress:

3rd per.	ms.	*dɛ́x-ile*	‘how is he?’
	fs.	*dɛ́x-ila*	‘how is she?’
	pl.	*dɛ́x-ilɛ*	‘how are they?’
2nd per.	ms.	*dɛ́x-iwet*	etc.
	fs.	*dɛ́x-iwat*	
	pl.	*dɛ́x-(i)wotun* ≍ *dɛ́x-(i)wotu*	
1st per.	ms.	*dɛ́x-iwen*	
	fs.	*dɛ́x-iwan*	
	pl.	*dɛ́x-iwex*	

When the predicate ends in a vowel, it merges with the initial */i/* of the copula, for instance, the final */a/* of *ʾāxa* ‘here’ merges with */i/* to produce */ɛ/*:

3rd per.	ms.	*ʾāx́ɛ-le*	‘he is here’
	fs.	*ʾāx́ɛ-la*	‘she is here’
	pl.	*ʾāx́ɛ-lɛ*	etc.
2nd per.	ms.	*ʾāx́ɛ-wet*	
	fs.	*ʾāx́ɛ-wat*	
	pl.	*ʾāx́ɛ-wotun* ~ *ʾāx́ɛ-wotu*	
1st per.	ms.	*ʾāx́ɛ-iwen*	
	fs.	*ʾāx́ɛ-iwan*	
	pl.	*ʾāx́ɛ-iwex*	

A final */e/* vowel merges with */i/* to produce */ē/*, e.g. *šapirē-lɛ* (< *šapire* + *-ilɛ*) ‘they are beautiful’ (A) and *randē-la* (< *rande* + *-ila*) ‘she is fine’ (A). If the final vowel is */i/*, then one */i/* is elided, e.g. *bɛ̀θi-le* (< *bɛθi* + *-ile*) ‘it is my house’ (A). A final */u/* is lengthened to */o/* and the */i/* elided, e.g. *ʾā́ði rā̀dyo-la* ‘this is a radio’ (A), *nàxpo-la* ‘she is shy’ (A).

In fast speech the copula itself may be contracted, e.g. *pṣíxɛ-n* (A) for *pṣíxɛ-wen* ‘I (m.) am happy’ and *m-ìt bwāða?* (A) for *m-ìwet bwāða?* ‘What are you doing?’

6.17.2 Past copula

The past copula may occur independently or as an enclitic. The past tense reference is marked by the suffix *-wa*. The stem consists of the same series derived from */w/* and *tertiae /y/* inflections that occurs as a suffix in the present copula. In the past copula however it is found throughout the paradigm, i.e. including the 3rd person inflections *-e*, *-a* and *-ɛ*.[18]

3rd per.	ms.	*wēwa*	‘he was’
	fs.	*wāwa*	‘she was’
	pl.	*wɛwa*	‘they were’

[18] Lengthened in stressed open syllables (§2.3.2.2.1.i): *wēwa* = */w/* + */ē/* + *-wA* (compare *xāz-ē-wa* ‘he used to see’) and *wāwa* = */w/* + */ā/* + *-wA* (compare *xazy-ā-wa* ‘she used to see’).

2nd per.	ms.	*wetwa*	etc.
	fs.	*watwa*	
	pl.	*wótunwa*	
1st per.	ms.	*wenwa*	
	fs.	*wanwa*	
	pl.	*wexwa*	

6.17.3 Deictic copula

The deictic copula is an independent form placed before the predicate. It may express a contingent, i.e. temporary, state, e.g. *won nasà̗x* 'I'm ill' (A). As such it is is the form of the copula normally used with the infinitive as part of the present continuous construction (§6.27.1.1). It may also be used for a new or newly-discovered state, even one that will be permanent, and is frequently used in vivid narration, often with the particle *ʾella* (§10.6), e.g. *zélle le-stà̗ðeḥ*,ˈ *ʾélla wole mìθa*.ˈ 'He went to his master … He was dead!' (A).

The deictic copula is common across the NENA dialects, though it takes varying forms. In ANA a form is used which has the stem *wo-*. The endings are identical to those attached to *ʾi-* in the present copula. They may likewise be contracted: to *-t* (2ms./fs.), *-n* (1ms./fs.) and *-x* (1pl.), thus eliminating gender distinctions in the 1st and 2nd persons.

3rd per.	ms.	*wole*	'he is'
	fs.	*wola*	'she is'
	pl.	*wolɛ*	'they are'
2nd per.	ms.	*wowet* ≁ *wot*	etc.
	fs.	*wowat* ≁ *wot*	
	pl.	*wotu(n)*	
1st per.	ms.	*wowen* ≁ *won*	
	fs.	*wowan* ≁ *won*	
	pl.	*wowex* ≁ *wox*	

One informant, B, uses a different stem, *wē-*, though with the same inflections, e.g. *wēle* 'he is', *wēwet ≁ wēt* 'you (ms.) are'.

6.17.4 Negation of the copula

All negative copulas are independent forms placed before the predicate. The negative present copula has the stem *lɛ-* in place of *ʾi-*. This is formed from the merging of the negator *la* with the element *ʾi-*. In fast speech the endings may be contracted as in the present and deictic copulas. This series is used as the negative equivalent of the deictic copula as well as the present copula.

Negative present copula

3rd per.	ms.	*lɛle*	'he is not'
	fs.	*lɛla*	'she is not'
	pl.	*lɛlɛ*	'they are not'
2nd per.	ms.	*lɛwet ≁ lɛt*	etc.
	fs.	*lɛwat ≁ lɛt*	
	pl.	*léwotu(n) ≁ lɛtu*	
1st per.	ms.	*lɛwen ≁ lɛn*	
	fs.	*lɛwan ≁ lɛn*	
	pl.	*lɛwex ≁ lɛx*	

Negative past copula

3rd per.	ms.	*lá-wēwa*	'he was not'
	fs.	*lá-wāwa*	'she was not'
	pl.	*lá-wɛwa*	'they were not'
2nd per.	ms.	*lá-wetwa*	etc.
	fs.	*lá-watwa*	
	pl.	*lá-wotunwa*	
1st per.	ms.	*lá-wenwa*	
	fs.	*lá-wanwa*	
	pl.	*lá-wexwa*	

6.18 *Pronominal objects*

Pronominal objects are expressed in several different ways in ANA depending on the precise verb form, whether the object is direct or indirect and whether there is more than one object expressed. In addition to the L- and A-set suffixes, there are two additional affix series used to express objects in certain contexts. The *-ile* series is identical to the present copula but apparently only found in the third person. Like the copula it neither affects the stress of the word it is attached to nor causes vowels in syllables that are opened to lengthen, e.g. *kšātótun-ile* 'you drink it' and *byāwélleḥ-ile* 'he'll give it to him'.

3rd per.	ms.	*-ile*
	fs.	*-ila*
	pl.	*-ilɛ*

The *-leḥ-* series consists of the pronominal suffixes (§5.2) preceded by an element */l/*, e.g. 3ms. *-leḥ,-* 3fs. *-laḥ-* etc. It thus resembles the L-set suffixes but is not identical to them. The full paradigm is listed below in §6.18.3.

In addition to these, indirect objects may be expressed in some cases by prepositions attached to pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ṭāleḥ* 'to him'.

6.18.1 Direct objects

6.18.1.1 Direct objects on present base forms

Verbs formed from the present base take L-set suffixes to express the object. These follow the A-set suffixes:

***k*-base-A-L**

k-paθx-ex-lɛ → *kpaθxexlɛ* 'we open them'

k-paθx-i-lɛ → *kpaθxilɛ* 'they open them'

k-paθx-i-lux → *kpaθxilux* 'they open you (ms.)'

k-paθx-en-la → *kpaθxenna* 'I (m.) open it (f.)'

Here, as with *Qṭelli* forms, the */l/* of the L-set suffixes assimilates to an adjacent */n/* or rhotic in the base, e.g. *gzāwenne* (<**g-zāwen* + *-le*) 'he buys it (m.)', *kemāmēran* (<**kem-ʾāmerran* <**kem-ʾāmer* + *-lan*) 'he said to us', *nāṭēṛax* (<**nāṭeṛṛax* < **nāṭeṛ* + *-lax*) 'may he guard you (fs.)'. The L-set suffix also assimilates to the */n/* or */t/* of the 1st and 2nd person singular A-set suffixes, e.g. *kpaθxenna* 'I (m.) open it (f.)' and *kpaθxattɛ* 'you (fs.) open them'. The L-set suffixes do not assimilate to a */t/* in the base, e.g. *kmafetla* 'he makes it (f.) pass'. The same applies to *Qṭelli* forms, e.g. *fetla* 'it (f.) passed'.

The addition of another syllable to the end of the word causes the stress to shift on to the A-set suffix, e.g. *kpaθxéxle* 'we open it (m.)', *ʾāxélle* 'let him eat it'. The only exception is the 2pl. form *kpāθx˙ ́tunle* 'you (pl.) open', where the stress is already on the A-set suffix and is not altered. The L-set suffixes are not stressed, not even the bisyllabic 2pl. suffix *-loxun*, e.g. *pxāzéxloxun* 'we'll see you (pl.)'.

When the addition of a syllable results in a stressed open syllable any */a/*, */e/* or */u/* in this syllable will lengthen according to phonological rules (§2.3.2.2.1.i), e.g. *kpaθxā́le* (<*kpaθxa* + *-le*) 'she opens it', *kxāzēla* (<*kxāze* + *-le*) 'he sees her', *kemgān˙ le* (<*kemgānu* + *-le*) 'he burgled it (m.).

Another phonetic change that occurs is the replacement of */eʾ/* with */ē/* immediately before an L-set suffix. This occurs with *verba tertiae /ʾ/*, e.g. *kemšāmēla* (*kemšāmeʾ* + *-la*) 'he heard her'.

The 2pl. A-set suffix behaves differently to other suffixes. It does not allow assimilation of the final */n/* to the L-set suffix (**pxāzótunne* 'you (pl.) see him'). Instead it takes the unassimilated L-set suffix, e.g. *pxāzótunle*, or the suffix is added to the *-˙ tu* ending, the final */u/* being lengthened accordingly, i.e. *pxāzót˙ le*. The stress of the verb is not altered. Alternatively it takes the *-ile* series: *pxāzótun-ile*. According to Informant A this is only available for 3rd person objects. The word stress is not altered by the addition of any of these object suffixes.

The paradigm of the present base with object suffixes is listed below, keeping the object constant.

3rd per. ms.	*kpāθexle*	'he opens it (m.)'
fs.	*kpaθxāle*	'she opens it (m.)'

	pl.	*kpaθxile* ‘they open it (m.)’
2nd per.	ms.	*kpaθxette* ‘you (ms.) open it (m.)’
	fs.	*kpaθxatte* ‘you (fs.) open it (m.)’
	pl.	*kpaθx˙́tunle ≁ kpaθx˙́tule ≁ kpaθx˙́tun-ile* ‘you (pl.) open it’
1st per.	ms.	*kpaθxenne* ‘I (m.) open it (m.)’
	fs.	*kpaθxanne* ‘I (f.) open it (m.)’
	pl.	*kpaθxexle* ‘we open it (m.)’

The paradigm of *pxāzotun* ‘you (pl.) see’ with object suffixes is as follows:

3rd per.	ms.	*pxāzótunle ≁ pxāzót˙le ≁ pxāzótun-ile*
	fs.	*pxāzótunla ≁ pxāzót˙la ≁ pxāzótun-ila*
	pl.	*pxāzótunlɛ ≁ pxāzót˙lɛ ≁ pxāzótun-ilɛ*
1st per.	sg.	*pxāzótunli ≁ pxāzót˙li*
	pl.	*pxāzótun-lan ≁ pxāzót˙-lan*

6.18.1.2 Direct objects on imperatives

Imperatives also take L-set suffixes to mark the direct object, e.g. *pθoxle* ‘open it (m.)!’ The same assimilatory processes occur as with the present base, i.e. assimilation of the */l/* to a preceding */n/* or rhotic, e.g. *zwonne* (<*zwon* + *-le*) ‘buy it (m.)!’, *xore* (<*xor* + *-le*) ‘look at it (m.)!’. In the case of a rhotic, any preceding */e/* is lengthened, e.g. *mbā́qēre* (<*mbā́qer* + *-le*) ‘ask him!’. A preceding */u/* is lengthened to */o/*, e.g. *ʾíṣoṛe* (<*ʾíṣuṛ* + *-le*).

If the imperative ends in a vowel it is lengthened before an L-set suffix, according to phonological rules (§2.3.2.2.1.ii). In practice this only occurs with */u/*, e.g. *péθx˙le* (<*peθxu* + *-le*) ‘open (pl.) it (m.)!’, *kθ˙le* (<*kθu* + *-le*) ‘write it (m.)!’.

As with present base forms, a final */ʾ/* is elided before an L-set suffix, e.g. *máswēle* (<**maswe*ʾ + *-le*) ‘make him full!’, *šmola* (<**šmo*ʾ + *-la*) ‘hear it (f.)!’.

In many cases an L-set suffix closes a syllable. If the vowel is */o/* this is very often contracted to */a/*, e.g. *pθaxle* (*≁ pθoxle*) ‘open it (m.)!’, *zwanne* (*≁ zwonne*) ‘buy it (m.)!’, *qaṣle* (√*qyṣ*) ‘cut it (m.) off!’. An */u/*, as in *ʾíxul* ‘eat!’, may also be realized as an

/a/: *ʾíxalla* ‘eat it (f.)!’, as the */u/* is derived from **/o/* (§2.3.2.4.i). But it may also be preserved: *ʾíxulla*.

L-set suffixes do not alter the stress pattern of imperatives. In most cases this means that the stress is on the first syllable, however many syllables there are, e.g. *péθx˙le* ‘open (pl.) it (m.)’, *máplexla* ‘use (sg.) it (f.)!’, *mápelx˙la* ‘use (pl.) it (f.)!’, *mzā́benna* ‘sell (sg.) it (f.)!’, *mzábn˙la* ‘sell (pl.) it (f.)!’, *šáršɛle* ‘let (fs.) it (m.) down!’. In the case of *mzā́benna*, this forms a minimal pair with the 3ms. subjunctive form *mzābénna* ‘let him sell it (f.)’, where the only formal distinction is in the stress position. Such minimal pairs exist for many other Class II, III and Quadriliteral verbs, e.g. *máplexla* ‘use (sg.) it (f.)!’ and *mapléxla* ‘may he use it (f.)’.

Final stress in imperatives (which is rare) is also unchanged. The only cases of this are some *verba primae /y/*, e.g. *ʾilóple* ‘learn it (m.)!’, *ʾipɛ́le* ‘bake it (m.)!’

6.18.1.3 Direct objects on past base forms

Past base forms can take A-set infixes to express a 3fs. or 3pl. object.[19] The order of suffixes (base-A-L) is the same as for present base forms:

pθixāli	‘I opened it (f.)
pθixili	‘I opened them’

More commonly the present base affixed by *kem-* is used to express an object in the past perfective (§6.8.4). This has the same function as *Qṭelli* but with the ability to express the full range of objects, e.g. *kemxāzēla* ‘he saw her’, *kemxāzēlux* ‘he saw you (ms.)’, *kemxāzénnoxun* ‘I (m.) saw you (pl.)’.

6.18.2 Indirect objects

Indirect pronominal objects may be marked in one of two ways: on the verb or with prepositions attached to pronominal suffixes. Indirect objects on the verb are

[19] In other dialects, such as the Jewish dialect of Amadiya, *Qṭelli* can take the full range of A-set suffixes to mark an object (Hoberman 1989: 36, 40).

morphologically identical to direct objects, except when two objects are marked on the verb, in which case an additional set is used (cf. §6.18.3).

6.18.2.1 Indirect objects on present base forms

L-set suffixes are used with present base forms to express an indirect object with certain verbs. The verbs this is attested for include the following: *ʾmr* I 'to say (to)', *ywl* I 'to give (to)', *ʾθy* III 'to bring (to)', *ḥky* III 'to speak (to)', *šdr* II 'to send (to)', *bqr* II 'to ask (for)', *ʾwð* I 'to do (for)', *bʾy* I 'to want (for)' and *dry* I 'to put (for)'. The semantic roles it encodes are those of recipient and beneficiary. The following are some examples: *kemāmȅ̀re* 'he said to him' (A:208), *byāwéxlux xéθna-u kȁ̀lu!* 'We'll give you the bride and groom!' (A:176), *n-méθēlan mȁ̀ye* 'that he might bring us water' (A:188), *ʾarmóne t-kemšadrètti* 'The pomegranates that he sent me' (A), *dārɛ́wālan b-jánṭa díyan ʾixȁ̀la* 'they put food for us in our bags' (C). The syntax determines whether a direct or indirect object is intended, as the form is the same for both. The paradigm for *ywl* 'to give', keeping the subject constant (3ms.), is as follows:

3rd per.	ms.	*byāwelle*	'he'll give to him'
	fs.	*byāwella*	'he'll give to her'
	pl.	*byāwellɛ*	'he'll give to them'
2nd per.	ms.	*byāwellux*	'he'll give to you'
	fs.	*byāwellax*	etc.
	pl.	*byāwélloxu(n)*	
1st per.	sg.	*byāwelli*	
	pl.	*byāwellan*	

As with the direct object paradigm, the 2pl. form bonds with the L-set suffix in three different ways. Again the *-ile* series is only available for 3rd person objects.

3rd per.	ms.	*byāw˙ ́tunle ≁ byāw˙ ́t˙ le ≁ byāw˙ ́tun-ile*
	fs.	*byāw˙ ́tunla ≁ byāw˙ ́t˙ la ≁ byāw˙ ́tun-ila*
	pl.	*byāw˙ ́tunlɛ ≁ byāw˙ ́t˙ lɛ ≁ byāw˙ ́tun-ilɛ*

6.18.2.2 Indirect objects on imperatives

Indirect objects are marked on the imperative in exactly the same way as direct objects, i.e. with L-set suffixes, e.g. *halli* (<*hal* + *-li*) 'give to me!', *halle* 'give to him!', *hálle* 'give (pl.) to him!', *mbā́qēri* 'ask for me!'.

6.18.2.3 Indirect objects on past base forms

Indirect objects on past base forms are marked in the same way as direct objects, i.e. by A-set infixes or on the suppletive form with *kem-*. An example of the two alternatives is below:

wilā́li xà-mendi (<**wil-ā-li*)	'I gave her something'
kemyāwénna xà-mendi (<**kem-yāwen-la*)	'I gave her something'

The use of A-set suffixes to mark an indirect object is of particular interest. It is not strange to use L-set suffixes, given that *l-* was a dative marker even before it was used to mark direct objects. But the A-set suffixes in the *Qṭelli* construction historically marked the patient – first the subject of a passive, then by reanalysis the *direct* object of a transitive verb. This use with dative objects must therefore be an innovation, presumably by analogy with other forms where direct and indirect objects are marked in the same way.

This use is common in NENA dialects. Maclean (1895: 139) gives as an example of an infixed indirect object ܡܒܘܩܪܠܝ (*mbuqrāli*) 'I asked (of) her', from *bqr* II 'to ask'. Another example is found in the first verse of a Christian love song (possibly of Zakho or Dohuk) published by Sabar (1996: 87-8):

xızyāli ula xızyāli 'I saw her, I saw her not'
xa nīšanqa hīwāli 'I gave her a (betrothal) ring'

In *xızyāli* 'I saw her' and *hīwāli*[20] 'I gave her' we find the 3fs. A-set suffix representing first a direct object then an indirect object.

6.18.2.4 Prepositional indirect objects

Indirect pronominal objects may also be expressed with independent or enclitic elements formed from prepositions and pronominal suffixes. The two main prepositions used to mark indirect objects are *ṭāl-* and *ʾell-*, equivalent respectively to *ta* and *l-* which mark indirect nominal objects. Both *ṭāl-* and *ʾell-* take the normal pronominal suffixes (cf. §5.2), e.g. *mšadránnux ṭā̀leḥ* ≁ *mšadránnux ʾèlleḥ* 'I'll (f.) send you (ms.) to him' (A). An enclitic form of *ʾell-* is also used: *-ll-* (§10.2.1), e.g. *qèmla-lleḥ* 'his wife challenged him' (A:182).

Many verbs that take L-set (and A-set) suffixes to express indirect objects also take *ʾell-* or *ṭāl-* in the same roles in certain contexts. For instance *ṭāl-* is used to mark the hearer with the verb *ʾmr* I 'to say' in narrative *qaṭlenwa* forms, e.g. *ʾā́merwa ṭāleḥ* 'he said to him' (A:209); compare *kemʾāmēreḥ* 'he said to him'.

These prepositional objects are obligatory in some cases where there are two objects, as will be described below (§6.18.3).

Many verbs cannot take L-set suffixes to express their indirect objects, or they take prepositional objects to denote a different kind of object than the one denoted by the L-set. A larger number of prepositions is used which express a wide range of semantic roles, e.g. *menn-* (lit. 'from') and *gāw-* (lit. 'in'). These prepositions are also used with nouns (as *m-*, *b-* ≁ *go* respectively).

ṭàlben ***ménnux*** *xà-mendi.*ˡ 'let me (m.) ask something **of you**' (A)
mā́ brēle ***bgā̀waḥ***ˡ 'What happened **to her**?' (A)
mā́ brēle ***mènnux****?*ˡ 'What's been happening **in your life**?' (more general) (A)
ʾu kmáḥkɛ bābawā́θa ***ʾèllaḥ***ˡ 'the fathers talk **about it**' (B:2)

[20] Equivalent to ANA *wilāli*. The form without the infix would presumably be something like *hiwli*, which is the form found in the dialect of Aradhin: see Krotkoff (1982: 156, in the glossary under *ya:wa*).

6.18.3 Combinations of pronominal suffixes on present base forms and imperative

When there are two pronominal objects, one direct and the other indirect, both can be marked on the verb, *if* the direct object is 3rd person. In such cases, the direct object is marked with the *-ile* series set (*-ile* 'him', *-ila* 'her', *-ilɛ* 'them').[21]

The indirect object is marked by the *-leḥ-* series consisting of the element */l/* attached to pronominal suffixes. This series is also found in some other dialects such as Qaraqosh and Telesqof.[22]

3rd per.	ms.	*-leḥ-*
	fs.	*-laḥ-*
	pl.	*-lɛy-*
2nd per.	ms.	*-lux-*
	fs.	*-lax-*
	pl.	*-loxun-*
1st per.	ms.	*-li-*
	pl.	*-lan-*

An example is *nšɛ̄́li d-amrènnax-ila* 'I forgot to tell you it (f.)' (A).

The */i/* of the suffix merges with the */i/* of a 1sg. indirect infix, e.g. *kemmɛθyā́li-le* 'she brought it (m.) to me' (A). Below is the paradigm for *byāwel* 'he'll give', keeping the direct object constant:

byāwélleḥ-ile	'he'll give it (m.) to him'
byāwéllaḥ-ile	'he'll give it (m.) to her'
byāwéllɛy-ile	'he'll give it (m.) to them'
byāwéllux-ile	'he'll give it (m.) to you (ms.)'
byāwéllax-ile	'he'll give it (m.) to you (fs.)'
byāwélloxun-ile	'he'll give it (m.) to you (pl.)'

[21] There is a close parallel to this construction in some Qəltu Arabic dialects. In the Q.A. of Anatolia and Bəḥzāni the enclitic copula is used to mark the direct object on a verb when there are two pronominal objects. As in ANA only 3rd person direct objects may be expressed in this way (Jastrow 1978: 296-8).

[22] Cf. Khan (2002: 142-4) and Rubba (1993: 279-80) respectively.

byāwélli-le	‘he’ll give it (m.) to me’
byāwéllan-ile	‘he’ll give it (m.) to us’

Varying the direct object:

byāwélleḥ-ile	‘he’ll give it (m.) to him’
byāwélleḥ-ila	‘he’ll give it (f.) to him’
byāwélleḥ-ilɛ	‘he’ll give them to him’

When the direct object is 1st or 2nd person, it is marked on the verb with the L-set suffix while the indirect object is expressed by means of *ṭāl-* or *ʾell-*. The paradigm is given below, keeping the indirect object constant:

byāwellux ṭāleḥ	‘he’ll give you (ms.) to him’
byāwellax ṭāleḥ	‘he’ll give you (fs.) to him’
byāwélloxun ṭāleḥ	‘he’ll give you (pl.) to him’
byāwelli ṭāleḥ	‘he’ll give me to him’
byāwellan ṭāleḥ	‘he’ll give us to him’

Varying the direct and indirect objects:

byāwellux ṭālaḥ	‘he’ll give you (ms.) to her’
byāwellux ṭalɛ́y	‘he’ll give you (ms.) to them’
byāwellux ṭāli	‘he’ll give you (ms.) to me’
byāwelli ṭālux	‘he’ll give me to you (ms.)’

The same system is used with imperatives. Examples with *hal* ‘give (sg.)!’ are given below:

hálleḥ-ile	‘give it (m.) to him!’
hálleḥ-ila	‘give it (f.) to him!’
hállaḥ-ile	‘give it (m.) to her!’
hálli-la	‘give it (f.) to me!’

hall˙ li-le ‘give (pl.) it (m.) to me

With 1st person direct object (2nd person would be ungrammatical):

halli ṭāleḥ ‘give me to him!’
mšā́dēri l-gēbeḥ ‘send me to him!’

6.18.4 Object marking on the infinitive and stative participle

Objects are marked on the infinitive and stative participle by means of the pronominal suffixes. The following are some examples:

*wéxwa bespā̀r**aḥ*** ‘We were waiting for it (f.)’ (A)
*m-qám mašxón**eḥ*** ‘before heating it’ (A:29)
*hā́dax mmanšóy**eḥ*** ‘distracting him’ (A:99)
*nˀís**aḥ**-ile x˙`we?*[l] ‘Has a snake bitten her?’ (A:153)
*mán-ile muyèlp**ux**?*[l] ‘Who has taught her?’ (A)

Indirect objects may also be marked in this way:

*wón bimā̀r**ux*** ‘I am telling you’ (A)

*wìl**ux**-ile xà-mendi* ‘He has given you (ms.) something’ (A)

6.19 *The B-set series*

Some verbal and pseudo-verbal forms involve a set of suffixes identical to the L-set suffixes, except that they are based on the preposition *b-* ‘in’, rather than *l-* ‘to’. A verb that takes this set is *bry* ‘to happen’ (*b-* ‘to’), e.g. *dlá-kun bā́rēba xà-mendi* ‘so that nothing would happen to her’ (A:131).

The full set is as follows:

3rd per.	ms.	*-be*
	fs.	*-ba*
	pl.	*-bɛ*
2nd per.	ms.	*-bux*
	fs.	*-bax*
	pl.	*-boxun ≁ -boxu*
1st per.	ms.	*-bi*
	pl.	*-ban*

6.20 *ʾiθ(en) and forms based on ʾiθ(en)*

6.20.1 *ʾiθen* (*≁ ʾiθ*) and *lɛθ ≁ lɛθen*

Like other NENA dialects, ANA uses the particle *ʾiθ ≁ ʾiθen* as an uninflected predicator of existence: 'there is' or 'there are'. The extended form *ʾiθen* appears to be more common. Examples: *ʾiθen xá-mendi kemrex ʾaryòθa* 'there is something we call a 'thorn-bush' (A: 150), *gbā́re d-iθen xá-nāša mìθa tāma* 'perhaps there is a dead person there' (A:144).

Both variants have negative equivalents: *lɛθ* and *lɛθen* 'there isn't any', 'there aren't any', e.g. *báθer ʾḗða lèθ kullɛ́če.*[1] 'After the festival there are no date-pastries.' (D).

The past equivalents of both positive and negative forms take *//-wA//*: *ʾeθwa* 'there was', 'there were' and *laθwa* 'there wasn't any', 'there weren't any'. Example: *ʾeθwa nāše kabire* 'there were many people'.

Forms of the verb *hwy* 'to be' can be combined with *ʾiθ*. A general present is formed from *kāwe*: *kāwēθ ≁ kāwēθen* 'there is (in general)'. Informant B has an */i/* instead of the */ē/*: *kāwíθ ≁ kāwiθen*. The imperfective past is *hāweθwa* 'there were (in general, or every time)'. An extended form is also attested: *hāwḗθenwa* 'there were' (A:17).

6.20.2 *ʾetti* and related forms

These forms take L-set suffixes to express the predicate of possession, e.g. *ʾetti* (<**ʾiθ* + *-li*) 'I have'. The L-set suffix has assimilated to the */θ/* of the stem, and the resulting combination is realized as */tt/*.[23] The present paradigms are as follows:

3rd per.	ms.	*ʾette*	'he has'	*latte*	'he does not have'
	fs.	*ʾetta*	'she has'	*latta*	'she does not have'
	pl.	*ʾettɛ*	etc.	*lattɛ*	etc.
2nd per.	ms.	*ʾettux*		*lattux*	
	fs.	*ʾettax*		*lattax*	
	pl.	*ʾettoxu(n)*		*láttoxu(n)*	
1st per.	ms.	*ʾetti*		*latti*	
	pl.	*ʾettan*		*lattan*	

The past paradigm has *//-wA//* infixed. Stress is always on the first syllable.

3rd per.	ms.	*ʾéθwāle*	'he had'	*láθwāle*	'he did not have'
	fs.	*ʾéθwāla*	'she had'	*láθwāla*	'she did not have'
	pl.	*ʾéθwālɛ*	etc.	*láθwālɛ*	etc.
2nd per.	ms.	*ʾéθwālux*		*láθwālux*	
	fs.	*ʾéθwālax*		*láθwālax*	
	pl.	*ʾéθwāloxu(n)*		*láθwāloxu(n)*	
1st per.	ms.	*ʾéθwāli*		*láθwāli*	
	pl.	*ʾéθwālan*		*láθwālan*	

[23] In some other dialects, the */l/* is unassimilated but the dental has become a stop, in accordance with a tendency of dentals to be realized as stops before */l/*, e.g. Qaraqosh *ʾətli* 'I have', *gadla* (<**gaðla*) 'tress of hair' (Khan 2002: 36-7). It may be that the ANA form was *ʾetli* at an earlier stage and that the L-set suffix then assimilated to the stop, as it does to the */t/* in the 2nd person A-set suffixes, e.g. *kpaθxetta* 'you (ms.) open it (f.)'.

Like the copula, *ʾetti* has no special future form. Instead the L-set suffixes are attached to one of the future forms of *hwy* 'to be', e.g. *ptāwēli* ~ *bedhāwēli* 'I will have', *bhāwēli* 'I'll have' and *lá-khāwēli* 'I will not have'. The full paradigm of *ptāwēli* is as follows:

3rd per.	ms.	*ptāwēle*	'he'll be able to'	*lá-khāwēle*	'he won't be able to'
	fs.	*ptāwēla*	she'll be able to'	*lá-khāwēla*	'she won't be able to'
	pl.	*ptāwēlɛ*	etc.	*lá-khāwēlɛ*	etc.
2nd per.	ms.	*ptāwēlux*		*lá-khāwēlux*	
	fs.	*ptāwēlax*		*lá-khāwēlax*	
	pl.	*ptāwḗloxu(n)*		*lá-khāwēloxu(n)*	
1st per.	ms.	*ptāwēli*		*lá-khāwēli*	
	pl.	*ptāwēlan*		*lá-khāwēlan*	

L-set suffixes can be added to other forms of *hwy* to express varying shades of tense and aspect, e.g. general present *kāwḗlɛ kùčat*. 'they have it every year' (A).

An idiom using the subjunctive form is *ta m-ā́wēli?* 'What is it to me?', literally 'for what may it be for me?' When something feminine is being commented on, the construction is *ta m-óyāli?*

6.20.3 *ʾibi* and related forms

B-set suffixes can be added to *ʾiθ* to create a form functioning as the verb 'to be able'. The */θ/* of *ʾiθ* is elided directly before the B-set suffix, e.g. *ʾibi* 'I can'. The negative form is *lɛbi* 'I cannot', from **la-ʾibi*.

This form also has a more literal meaning of 'there is/are in (me, you, it etc.)' which is still used, e.g. *ʾu ʾálquš ʾiba tettḗ-ʾētā̀θa* 'And Alqosh has two churches' (B:9), literally 'Alqosh, there are in it two churches', *d-ibe ṛabbā́ne beʿyā́ša baʿad gā̀weḥ*.[1] 'which has monks still living in it' (B:14), literally 'which there are in it monks still living in it'.

3rd per.	ms.	*ʾibe*	‘he can’	*lɛbe*	‘he can’t’
	fs.	*ʾiba*	‘she can’	*lɛba*	‘she can’t’
	pl.	*ʾibɛ*	etc.	*lɛbɛ*	etc.
2nd per.	ms.	*ʾibux*		*lɛbux*	
	fs.	*ʾibax*		*lɛbax*	
	pl.	*ʾiboxu(n)*		*lɛboxu(n)*	
1st per.	ms.	*ʾibi*		*lɛbi*	
	pl.	*ʾiban*		*lɛban*	

As with *ʾetti*, the past forms take *//-wA//* as an infix. In these forms */θ/* is not elided:

3rd per.	ms.	*ʾéθwābe*	‘he could’	*láθwābe*	‘he could not’
	fs.	*ʾéθwāba*	‘she could’	*láθwāba*	‘she could not’
	pl.	*ʾéθwābɛ*	etc.	*láθwābɛ*	etc.
2nd per.	ms.	*ʾéθwābux*		*láθwābux*	
	fs.	*ʾéθwābax*		*láθwābax*	
	pl.	*ʾéθwāboxu(n)*		*láθwāboxu(n)*	
1st per.	ms.	*ʾéθwābi*		*láθwābi*	
	pl.	*ʾéθwāban*		*láθwāban*	

There is another special set used for the contingent past. See §6.21 below.

As with the predicate of possession, the B-set suffixes can be attached to forms of the verb *hwy* ‘to be’, e.g. *kāwēbe* ‘there is (in general) in it’ (A).

6.21 *wellēli and wellēbi*

The particle *wellē-* is attached to L-set suffixes and B-set suffixes to express a variety of meanings. In careful speech A pronounces it as *hwellē-*, e.g. *lá-hwellēbi* ‘I wasn’t able’, as it is derived from the verb *welle* ‘he gave’ (<**hwelle*). This is one of the only two cases attested where object L-set suffixes may be added to a *qṭelle* form. Cf. *péšlēli* (§6.23) below for the other case.

Attached to L-set suffixes it could be translated as 'he had', 'she had' etc., but is used in very limited contexts. It may be used in expressions such as *wellḗli xà-brona*ˡ 'I had a son' or 'I've had a son' (A), in the sense of 'A son was/has been born to me'. It is not inflected for the gender of the child: *wellḗli ġðà-brāta*ˡ 'I have had a daughter' (A). This form may also be used to express (passive) acquisition, e.g. *wellḗli pə̀re* 'I got some money'. There is still the sense that the thing acquired is *given*, not actively acquired.

Negated, the form expresses non-acquisition or non-possession. Examples: *lá-wellēli bròna*ˡ 'I haven't had a son', *lá-wellḗli pə̀re*ˡ 'I didn't get any money' (A), *lá-wellēli bὲθa*ˡ 'I didn't get a house' (A). The full paradigm is below:

3rd per.	ms.	*wellēle*	'he had'	*lá-wellēle*	'he did not get'
	fs.	*wellēla*	'she had'	*lá-wellēla*	'she did not get'
	pl.	*wellēlɛ*	'they had'	*lá-wellēlɛ*	'they did not get'
2nd per.	ms.	*wellēlux*	etc.	*lá-wellēlux*	etc.
	fs.	*wellēlax*		*lá-wellēlax*	
	pl.	*wellḗloxu(n)*		*lá-wellēloxu*	
1st per.	ms.	*wellēli*		*lá-wellēli*	
	pl.	*wellēlan*		*lá-wellēlan*	

Sometimes the form is stressed on the initial syllable, e.g. *wéllēli* 'I got'.

The form with the B-set suffixes expresses contingent ability. Its mostly found in the negative, with the negator *lá-*[24], expressing contingent inability, e.g. *lá-wellēbi* 'I couldn't (at that time)'. As such it is distinct from unmarked *láθwābi* 'I couldn't (in general)'. Examples: *me-zdóθeḥ góra lá-wellēbe z-zə́le mmet-kàrwan.*ˡ; 'Out of fear, the man could not go with the caravan.' (A:212), *là-wellēbe,*ˡ 'He couldn't cope' (A:112). The paradigm is below:

[24] According to A *wellēbi* is possible, but when *wellḗbi d-zàwāli*ˡ 'I was able to go' was suggested, he commented that it did not make sense as if one could have gone, one would have.

3rd per.	ms.	*wellēbe*	‘he was able’	*lá-wellēbe*	‘he was not able’
	fs.	*wellēba*	‘she was able’	*lá-wellēba*	‘she was not able’
	pl.	*wellēbɛ*	‘they was able’	*lá-wellēbɛ*	‘they was not able’
2nd per.	ms.	*wellēbux*	etc.	*lá-wellēbux*	etc.
	fs.	*wellēbax*		*lá-wellēbax*	
	pl.	*wellḗboxu(n)*		*lá-wellēboxu*	
1st per.	ms.	*wellēbi*		*lá-wellēbi*	
	pl.	*wellēban*		*lá-wellēban*	

6.22 *pišen (≁ piš) and pišénwa*

This pseudo-verb is uninflected and only used in the 3rd person, meaning ‘there remains’. The extended form *pišen* is more common, according to A. Examples: *píš xá-mendi xènna* ‘There is one more thing’ (A), *mā́-qadra pìš?*ˈ ‘How long is left’ (A), *mā́-qadra pìšen*ˈ *ta d-mā̀ṭe?*ˈ ‘How long is left until he arrives?’ (A).

In the past the form is *pišénwa*, e.g. *pišénwa trḕ-šope,*ˈ *lá-wellēbi z-zàwāli.*ˈ ‘There were two steps left (to take), but I couldn’t go.’ (A).

The negated particle is realized as *lappeš*, with gemination. This is used not as a pseudo-verb but as an adverb meaning ‘no longer’ (§10.3.4).

These particles are derived from the earlier Aramaic absolute **qṭil* form of *pyš* I ‘to remain’ which would have meant ‘he/ it (m.) has remained’ (§6.28.1).

6.23 *péšlēli and láppešlēli*

Related to *pišen* is the form *péšlēli*. This is the *qṭelle* form of *pyš* I ‘to remain’ with indirect object L-set suffixes. It literally means ‘there has remained to me’ but can be translated as ‘I have … left’. Examples: *péšlēli xà-mendi.*ˈ ‘I have one thing left’, *péšlēli trḕ-yumāθa* ‘I have two days left’.

The negative form is *láppešlēli* ‘I don’t have left’, e.g. *láppešlēli méndi bimā̀ra.* ‘I have nothing left to say.’

6.24 *mɛ́kāli*

L-set suffixes can be attached to the interrogative adverb *mɛka* 'whence?', e.g. *mɛ́kāli?* The meaning is something like 'where could I get …?', literally 'from where for me?' An example is *mɛ̀kāli pāre?* 'Where could I get the money?' (A:184).

3rd per.	ms.	*mɛ́kāle*	'Where could he get …?'
	fs.	*mɛ́kāla*	'Where could she get …?'
	pl.	*mɛ́kālɛ*	etc.
2nd per.	ms.	*mɛ́kālux*	
	fs.	*mɛ́kālax*	
	pl.	*mɛ́kāloxun*	
1st per.	ms.	*mɛ́kāli*	
	pl.	*mɛ́kālan*	

6.25 *garak and lāzem*

These uninflected particles are combined with *d-* + subjunctive to express 'must', 'have to', e.g. *lā́zem n-náxθet tóret ṣèr*ˈ 'You must go down and break the ice' (A:192), and the alternative *gárak d-nàxθet*ˈ *tórıt ṣèr.*ˈ (A).

Both words are loanwords, *garak* from Kurdish, *lāzem* from Arabic.

6.26 *bassi*

Another pseudo-verbal form is *bassi* 'it is enough for me', 'I have had enough'. It is formed from the Arabic loanword *bas* 'enough!' and the pronominal suffixes (*-eḥ*, *-aḥ* etc.).

3rd per.	ms.	*basseḥ*	'he has had enough'
	fs.	*bassaḥ*	'she has had enough'
	pl.	*bassɛ́y*	'etc'
2nd per.	ms.	*bassux*	
	fs.	*bassax*	

pl. *bássoxu(n)*

1st per. ms. *bassi*

pl. *bassan*

6.27 *The analytical verb forms*

6.27.1 Infinitive with auxiliary verbs

6.27.1.1 With the verb 'to be'

The infinitive, with the *b-* prefix (§6.8.9), may be combined with forms of the copula or verb *hwy* I 'to be' to produce continous aspect in various tenses. In the present it is the deictic copula that is almost always used, e.g. *wolɛ bizā́la mtajòre* 'They are going trading' (A:183), *wón bimā̀rux* 'I am telling you' (A). The present copula is however common with the relative particle *d-*, e.g. *ʾan d-ílɛ beʾrā̀qa* 'those that are running' (A:73). It is otherwise attested rarely, e.g. *bešmā̀ʾɛ-wat?* 'Are you hearing me?' (B).

For other tenses the appropriate form of the copula or *hwy* I is used, e.g. *wéxwa bespā̀raḥ* 'We were waiting for it (f.)' (A), *m-qam yumā́θa mbašòle hāwɛwa ʾénše* 'days before, the women would be cooking' (A).

6.27.1.2 With other auxiliary verbs

The infinitive may be combined with *pyš* ('become', 'remain') to express inception of an activity. Examples: *péšle bebxā̀ya* 'He started crying' (A:157), *péšle mmanšòyeḥ* 'He started distracting him' (A:102). The verb *šry* II 'to begin' may also be used with this function, e.g. *mšurḗlan bizā́la* 'we began going' (B).

6.27.2 Stative participle with auxiliary verbs

6.27.2.1 With the verb 'to be'

The stative participle can combine with different forms of the copula or verb *hwy* 'to be' to express stative or perfect meaning in different tenses. In the present both the present and the deictic copula are used, e.g. *ʾilèptɛwan* 'I have learnt' (A), *ʾu dáha wole spìqa*

'now it is empty' (B:13), *wola plèṭṭa* 'She's gone out'(A:128), *š-lèn swēta* 'I'm not full yet.' (A:226). Examples of other tense/aspects: *ʾā́y faqírd-wēwa zíla mmet-kàrwan*ˡ 'this poor person who had gone with the caravan' (A:189), *xámša ʾéšta kāwɛ ʾrìqe* 'five or six have run away (general present perfect)' (A:72), *dlá-hāwe ʾèrya-u* 'who hasn't been caught' (A:76).

The stative participle used with the the verb 'to be' may have active or passive meaning. With an intransitive verb the meaning cannot of course be passive. Examples: *wola plèṭṭa* 'She's gone out'(A:128), *wolɛ šmìʾe-lleḥ* 'they have heard about it' (B:12).

With a transitive verb the meaning is usually passive, unless an object is present. The object may be nominal or pronominal (marked by pronominal suffixes on the participle). If the meaning is passive, then the agent may be marked with the preposition *l-*. Some examples are as follows:

Without object

ʾáθ-mendi muḥèkyɛ-le 'This thing has been spoken' (A)

mòlpēlɛ 'They have been taught' (A)

dlá-hāwe ʾèrya-u 'who hasn't been caught' (A:76)

nʾéstɛ-wan l-kàlba 'I have been bitten by a dog' (A)

With object

won ʾérya xà-mendi 'I have caught something' (A)

*nʾísaḥ-ile xū̃we?*ˡ 'Was she bitten by a snake?'[25] (A:153)

*mán-ile muyèlpux?*ˡ 'Who has taught her?' (A)

There are occasional examples of active meaning without an object, when a transitive verb has only an implied object:

*ʾella ʿarjū́ne wola xèlta-u*ˡ *déṛta l-bèθa!*ˡ 'but lo and behold! He had eaten and returned home!' (A:238)

[25] Literally: Has a snake bitten her?

6.27.2.2 With other auxiliary verbs

The verb *pyš* (become', 'remain') is used with the stative participle to express a more dynamic passive, though it is not necessarily translated differently in English: *ʾó de- … kpāyeš xézya qamə̀ya* 'The one who gets seen first' (in a game, A), *máθle kpɛ̀ši míre bgo ʾàlquš* 'Proverbs that are said in Alqosh' (Pr1), *péšle mzòbna* 'It has been sold' (A).

6.28 *Notes on historical development*

6.28.1 The past base with A-set suffixes

The past base with L-set suffixes is an integral part of the NENA verbal system as the *Qṭelli* form. The past base itself derives from the old Aramaic passive participle in the absolute (indefinite) state, **qṭil*. Historically this could also take inflections and enclitic pronouns, just like the active participle (modern present base). In some NENA dialects this construction has survived as the past base with A-set suffixes (*qṭil*, *qṭila*, *qṭili*, *qṭilet* etc.).

Some NENA dialects use this construction to express a passive. This is attested, among others, in J. Amadiya, Mangesh and the Ashiret dialects, e.g. J. Amadiya *ptixi* 'they were opened'.[26] In other dialects it is used, with intransitives, to express an active perfect, as in Hertevin and Jewish Azerbaijani, e.g. Hertevin *dmiḥa* 'she has fallen asleep'.[27]

In ANA this *Qṭilen* construction only survives in archaic idioms or fossilized forms. An example of the latter is the expression *bríxet l-ālàha* 'God bless you' (lit. 'You are blessed by God') (A). The feminine has *bríxat*. These can be analysed as *Qṭilen* forms of a verb *brx* I 'be blessed'.[28] Other archaic survivals are *drē*, the 3ms. *Qṭilen* form of *dry* 'to put', and *qṭēʾ* (3ms. *qṭʾ*), found in the following proverbs and nursery rhymes:

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[26] Cf. respectively Hoberman (1989: 36), Sara (1974: 72) and Maclean (1895: 86).

[27] Jastrow (1988: 48) and Garbell (1965: 69-70). In Hertevin it may also be used with transitive verbs to express the passive perfect. In the NENA dialect of Kerend and other Jewish dialects of Iranian Kurdistan, it is used for the intransitive *preterite*, intransitive *qṭilli* forms not being permitted in this dialect (Hopkins 1989: 426-8).

[28] Though *brx* is only found in Class I in this form and the stative participle.

*dánwet-kálba dr̄ ʾarbì-yome*ˈ … *p-qànya,*ˈ

'The dog's tail has been put on a splint for forty days' (D)

xá-xmārā́ qṭēʾ púqāné 'A donkey whose nose has been cut off' (A)

*dr̄ gargū́reḥ r-ràqqa.*ˈ 'He has put his burghul on bread.' (D)

In the first two examples the form is passive perfect, in the third it is apparently an active perfect with an object, mirroring the syntax of the stative participle + copula (§6.27.2.1).

A form of *Qṭilen* which still survives in the living language is *zilen*, formed from the verb *ʾzl* I 'to go'. As shown in §6.15.1, *zilen* can be used as an independent verb or as a verbal auxiliary and is inflected in the 1st person only. The fossilized 3ms. form *zil* may be used in the auxiliary function as an alternative to the inflected forms.

Two fully fossilized 3ms. *Qṭilen* forms are *piš* (extended form *pišen*) 'there remains', derived from *pyš* I 'to remain' and the negative *lappeš* (<**lá-piš*), used as an adverb meaning 'no longer' (§6.22, §10.3.4(5)). Neither can take inflections, but *pišen* can take the *//-wA//* suffix: *pišénwa* 'there remained'.

6.28.2 Development of the verbal root

6.28.2.1 Development of *verba mediae /w/*

Most *verba mediae /w/* of Syriac occur as *verba mediae /y/* in ANA, e.g. *ṣym* I 'to fast' (Syr. *ṣwm*), *myθ* I 'to die' (Syr. *mwθ*), *xyr* I 'to look' (Syr. *xwr*), *lwš* I 'to knead' (Syr. *lwš*) and *dyš* I 'to trample' (Syr. *dwš*). The exceptions are those Syriac *verba mediae /w/* which treated the */w/* as a strong radical, or verbs that are in Classes II or III in ANA, even when the Syriac cognate did not exist in the same Class. Examples are *šwr* I 'to jump', (Syr. *šwr* Pa., Perf. *šwar*), *hwy* I (Syr. *hwy* Pe., Perf. *hwā*), *xwy* III 'to show' (Syr. *ḥwy* Pa.), and *zwʾ* II 'to pass over' (Syr. *zwʿ* Pe. to be in motion, Aph. 'to set in motion').

For most other ANA *verba mediae /w/*, the */w/* is a reflex of original */*b̲*/, e.g. *ʾwð* I 'do' (Syr. *ʿb̲ð* Pe.), *šwq* I 'leave' (Syr. *šb̲q* Pe.), and *ʾwr* I 'enter' (Syr. *ʿb̲r* Pe.).

When Arabic *verba mediae /w/* are adopted into ANA, they usually become *verba mediae /y/* e.g. ANA *fyt* I 'to pass' (Arab. *fwt*), *ʿyn* III 'to help' (Arab. *ʿwn* III, IV), and

ʿ*yq* III ‘to tighten’ (Arab. ʿ*wq* I, II, III). An exception is the Class II verb *jwb* ‘to answer’, from Arab. *jwb* IV.

6.28.2.2 Development of geminated roots

Verbs with a geminate root (where the last two radicals are the same) are not found in Class I. Geminate verbs in Syriac occur as *verba mediae /y/* in ANA:

dyq I ‘to grind’ (Syr. *dqq* Pe.)
ḥyn I ‘to relent’ (Syr. *ḥnn* Pe.)
qyṛ I ‘to become cold’ (Syr. *qrr* Pe.)
ryq I ‘to spit’ (Syr. *rqq* Pe.)
xym I ‘to become hot’ (Syr. *ḥmm* Pe.)

The same rule operates on Arabic verbs borrowed into ANA. Geminate verbs are converted into *verba mediae /y/*, e.g. *syd* ‘to close’ (Arab. *sdd*), *lyf* ‘to wind’ (Arab. *lff*), *fyṛ* ‘to fly’ (Arab. *frr* ‘to flee’).

Even in Syriac the present participle of a Peal geminate verb was identical to the present participle of middle-weak verbs (compare *bāʾēz* (√*bzz*) ‘plundering’ with *qāʾēm* (√*qwm*) ‘rising’). This could be the reason that geminate verbs were reanalysed as middle-weak. In the Pael conjugation geminated verbs behaved like strong verbs and were quite distinct in form from middle-weak verbs. This is the reason a geminated root has survived in the Class II (=Pael) verb *xll* II ‘to wash’ (Syr. *ḥll* Pa.).

6.28.2.3 Development of final-weak verbs

There are no Syriac *verba tertiae /w/*. There are also none in ANA that reflect original */w/*, but there are a number which reflect original */b̲/*, e.g. *kθw* ‘to write’ (Syr. *kt̲b̲*), *rkw* ‘to ride’ (Syr. *rkb̲*), *xšw* ‘to think’ (Syr. *ḥšb̲*). Arabic final-weak verbs are borrowed as *verba tertiae /y/* in ANA regardless of whether they are *tertiae /y/* or */w/* in Classical Arabic, e.g. ʿ*by* II ‘to fill’ (Arab. ʿ*bw* II) and *ḥšy* II ‘to stuff’ (Arab. *ḥšw* II). Rather than

mirroring the adaptation of Aramaic verbs, this probably only reflects the situation in Qəltu Arabic where the two final-weak classes have merged.[29]

6.28.2.4 Development of /ʾ/ and /ʿ/ in verbal roots

In verbal roots /ʾ/ is often derived from original Aramaic */ʿ/, e.g. *ʾrq* (<*ʿ*rq*) 'to run', *ʾwð* (<*ʿ*b̲d̲*) 'to do', *ṛʾl* (<**r*ʿ*l*) 'to shake', *dʾx* III (<**d*ʿ*k̲*) 'to light'. Arabic /ʿ/ does not undergo this development, e.g. *ʿyd* II 'to celebrate' and *ʿdl* I 'to straighten'.[30]

6.28.3 Development of the conjugation classes

6.28.3.1 Development of the functions

The historic functions of the Aramaic derived classes Pael (=Class II) and Aphel (=Class III) were to derive a transitive or causative from a Peal (=Class I). We find a similar situation in ANA, but some changes have occurred. As in earlier Aramaic, Class I verbs may be intransitive or transitive, e.g. *ʾθy* 'to come' and *mxy* 'to hit'. Class III is the the one most commonly used in ANA to derive transitive or causative meaning from Class I verbs, though a few Class III verbs have no synchronic Class I equivalent. Class II is used with a causative or transitivizing function in far fewer cases. The following are a selection.

bšl I 'to cook (intr.)'	II 'to cook (tr.)'
ṭpy I 'to stick (intr.)'	II 'to stick (tr.)'
zwn I 'to buy'	*zbn* II 'to sell'
ṣpy I 'to be filtered'	II 'to filter'

While there are no attested intransitive verbs in Class III, there are many in Class II. A large proportion of these are Arabic, as will be discussed below.

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[29] Cf. Jastrow (1978: 161-3), for example Mardin Q.A. *bana*, *yəbni* (Arab. *banā*, *yabnī*) 'to build' and *daʿa*, *yədʿi* (Arab. *daʿā*, *yadʿū*) 'to call'.

[30] In Qaraqosh this adaptation sometimes occurs, e.g. *ʾyd* II 'to celebrate a festival', *ʾdl* II 'to become straight', but *ʿyṭ* I, II 'to shout' (Khan 2002:132-3).

6.28.3.2 Adaptation of Arabic verbs

Arabic has a verb derivation system much richer than that of ANA, with ten common 'forms' (equivalent to ANA classes). Classes I, II and III are cognate with Arabic forms I (*faʿala*), II (*faʿʿala*) and IV (*ʾafʿala*) respectively. Arabic verbs of one of the three cognate forms (I, II and IV) are often borrowed into the equivalent ANA class, e.g. *drs* I 'to study' (<Arab. *drs* I), *ġlb* I 'to win' (<Arab. *ġlb* I), *fṭr* I 'to have breakfast' (<Arab. *fṭr* I), *sjl* II 'to register' (<Arab. *sjl* II), *syb* II 'to leave alone' (<Arab. *syb* II) and *dbṛ* II 'to manage' (<Arab. *dbr* II). But some are modified, for example *ḥky* III 'to speak' (<Arab. *ḥky* I), *ḥḍr* III 'to prepare' (<Arab. II) and *jmʿ* III 'to gather (tr.)' (<Arab. II). The latter two may have been changed because in ANA Class III is more commonly used for derivatives of Class I verbs.

Arabic verbs of non-cognate forms may either be adapted to one of the ANA classes or occur in an only partially adapted form. The Arabic 3rd form verb *ndy* III 'to proclaim' is borrowed into ANA as a Class II verb (*ndy* II). The Arabic 5th form verb *fqd* V (*tafaqqada*) 'to check' is borrowed as a Class I (*fqd* I).[31] Most Arabic verbs of the 5th form (*tafaʿʿala*) occur as Class II verbs in ANA, for example *ʿšy* II 'to dine' (<Arab. *ʿšy* V), *byn* II 'to appear' (<Arab. *byn* V), *frj* II 'to watch' (<Arab. *frj* V) and *ḥrk* II 'to move (intr.) (<Arab. *ḥrk* V). In each of these cases this has occurred in spite of the existence of the same root in the Arabic 2nd form, which is equivalent to the ANA Class II, e.g. *ḥarraka* 'to move (tr.)'. Because 5th form verbs are usually intransitive (being the reflexive or passive of the 2nd form), a group of intransitive Class II verbs has thus been created.

Two Arabic 8th form verbs (*iftaʿala*) have been adapted in a different way. In both cases the infixed */t/* of the derivation has merged with the initial radical */w/* in the Arabic verb itself: *ittafaqa* (*wfq* VIII) 'to agree, to happen accidentally' and *ittakaʾa* (*wkʾ* VIII) 'to lean'. Both verbs have been borrowed into ANA as Class I verbs with */t/* as the initial radical: *tfq* I 'to meet' and *tky* I 'to lean'.

Other 8th form verbs as well as verbs of the 10th form are borrowed into ANA in an only partially adapted way. This has been described in §6.16.

[31] The Arabic 1st form of *fqd* has a different meaning: 'to lose'.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NOUNS

7.1 Introduction

The noun vocabulary in ANA is drawn mainly from native Aramaic stock but there are many loanwords in common use, derived mostly from Kurdish (Kurmanji dialect)[1] and Arabic, but also from Turkish, Persian and, more recently, French and English, e.g. *māser* 'nun' (Fr. ma soeur) and *kēk* 'cake' (Eng. cake). Classical Syriac is also a source of borrowings, as the language of the church. Such loans are often distinguishable from true Neo-Aramaic words by their conservative phonology or morphology.

The Kurdish influence has been greatest as Kurds are the majority ethnic group in the area. Kurdish loans are found in all spheres of life, among others household items, animals, professions and parts of the body. Certain sets of words are mixed Aramaic-Kurdish. For instance, of the seasons, summer and winter are of Aramaic origin, while spring and autumn are Kurdish.

Native Aramaic forms generally have the inflectional suffix -a in the singular. Feminine nouns usually take the //-Ta// suffix (-ta or -*θa*, §6.8.11). These suffixes are reflexes of the old Aramaic markers of the 'emphatic' (or definite) state. The Aramaic 'absolute' (or indefinite) state, which was unmarked, has survived only in titles (§7.9), proper nouns (§7.10), compound words (§7.9) and some fossilized adverbs like *kučat* (<*kut-*šat*) 'every year' (§10.3.4(3)). Plurality is marked by a number of suffixes, the most common being masculine -e and feminine -*yāθa* (§7.11).

Loanwords have undergone varying degrees of adaptation to the native morphology. Many loanwords have been adapted through the affixation of -a or //-Ta//,

[1] Where Kurdish is mentioned, the Kurmanji dialect is intended. The main dictionary used is Rizgar (1993) but the glossaries in Soane (1913) and Wurzel (1997) are also used.

but others have retained more or less their original form. Many loanwords have also adopted Aramaic plurals while others take a special loan-plural.

Among the Kurdish loans, many are adapted in both ways. For instance barxa ‘lamb’ is adapted from Kurdish berx, taking both the Aramaic singular inflection -a and plural inflection -e. Likewise ranga ‘colour’ (pl. range) from Kurdish reng, and *šivāna* ‘shepherd’ (pl. *šivāne*) from Kurdish *şivan*. Sometimes the -a inflection is not added, e.g. *mēs* ‘table’, *nišan* ‘sign’ and *dūk* ‘spindle. Such cases may still take an Aramaic plural, e.g. *dežmen* ‘enemy’, pl. *dežmene* (K. dijmin). The degree of adaptation may also vary from dialect to dialect. In Aradhin, for instance, the word for ‘sign’ is *ni:ša:na*, taking the -a inflection.[2] The feminine inflection is also frequently added to Kurdish loans, e.g. *šappukta* ‘traditional jacket’ (K. *şapik* m.), and *dargušt*a ‘cradle’ (K. dergû*ş* f.).

The picture with Arabic is more complex. Arabic words have been borrowed through two main routes: (1) directly or (2) indirectly through Kurdish. The indirect route was more common in the past as Kurds, not Arabs, live in the immediate vicinity of Alqosh. An indirect loan is often identifiable when the word underwent a change in Kurdish which is reflected in the ANA lexeme. Direct Arabic borrowing has probably become more common now as transport and communication have become easier. Many Chaldeans have emigrated to Arab parts of Iraq, to Mosul and Baghdad, and contacts with family still in Alqosh will have encouraged Arabic influence. In modern times, the growth of mass education has increased the influence of Arabic yet further, as it is the language of schooling for Chaldean children. Chaldeans living abroad continue to have contact with Arabic as they often mix with the wider Iraqi and Arab expatriate communites.

As a source for loans, Arabic cannot be treated as a single entity, given the extreme diglossia present in Iraq as in other Arab countries. Many Arabic words are borrowed from the vernacular language, as is often clear from the form or meaning. Arabic words in general are adapted less than Kurdish words, perhaps because most have been absorbed into the language more recently. Those ending in a consonant (usually of

[2] Krotkoff (1982: 140).

masculine gender) do not usually take the -a ending, e.g. *hāwan* ‘mortar’, *ʿamal* ‘thing’ and *xām* ‘linen’.

Arabic feminines are borrowed with the *tā marbūṭa*. This is the Arabic feminine inflection, equivalent in function to the //-Ta// inflection in Neo-Aramaic. In Classical Arabic the *tā marbūṭa* takes the form -a(t); in many vernacular Iraqi dialects, the vowel is raised to -e, except after emphatic and back consonants.[3] Hence we find some Iraqi loanwords ending in -e, e.g. qubbe ‘room’, *ʿelbe* ‘measuring container’ and dunye ‘world’, but others in -a, e.g. *ṭabāqa* ‘layer’, *sāʿa* ‘hour’, daʾwa ‘party’, ruxṣa ‘permission and *šurṭa* ‘police’.

Even non-Arabic feminine nouns are sometimes given the -e ending, e.g. *kučeke* ‘room’ (K. kuçik ‘cavity’,‘room’) and *šarre* ‘battle’ (K. *şe*r̲).[4] Some adjectives of Arabic or Kurdish origin also take it to mark their feminine (see §8.3(17)). This may show an unawareness of the precise origins of many loanwords. Many of these foreign feminines with -e behave as Aramaic words, taking the Aramaic feminine plural ending *-āθa*.

Some feminine Arabic words are borrowed with the Classical Arabic -a form of the *tā marbūṭa* where the vernacular would have -e, e.g. *ḥafla* ‘party’ and wazna (a unit of volume). This may indicate a more recent borrowing based on the Classical Arabic learned at school or used in the media.

Some borrowings from Arabic are even less adapted than those mentioned above. Speakers may use unadapted Arabic plurals such as *-āt* and *-īn*, e.g. *kāsētā́t* ‘cassettes’ and *fallāḥī́n* ‘farmers’. This is perhaps more frequent among speakers who use Arabic on a regular basis and may reflect code-switching rather than truly integrated loans.

Very often words have been borrowed into several or all of the regional languages. For instance variants of *ʾoḍa* ‘room’ occur in Turkish (oda, the ultimate source), Arabic (Q.A. *ʾoḍa*), Kurdish (ode) and Persian (otaq). In such cases it can be difficult to ascertain which is the immediate source of the loan. The situation is made more difficult by the paucity of information on the spoken dialects of these languages which are often more likely to be the source of the loan than the standard language. This

[3] O. Jastrow (1982: 140).

[4] Strangely both these have masculine gender in Kurmanji (Rizgar 1993: 114, 176).

may account for some of the apparent differences in form, or occasionally gender, between an ANA word and its source in Kurmanji or Arabic.

Nevertheless there are often clues as to which language is the immediate source. Sometimes the precise form, gender or meaning point to one language in particular. For example q*alāma* f. 'pen' is probably from Kurdish, although the ultimate source is Arabic, as qalam is m. in Arabic but qelem can be f. in Kurdish. Where there is uncertainty, all the languages which could be the source will be listed, with the exception that if one of the possible sources is Kurdish or Arabic, then Persian or Turkish will not usually be listed, as these are far less likely to be the source than the former two. Where a word is found in both Iraqi Arabic and Classical Arabic, it will be marked with 'Arab.' Where it is only found in the vernacular or the form is distinctly Iraqi, it will be marked with 'I.A.'[5]

Where sources are indicated, native lexemes are marked with 'Aram.' for Aramaic. In this category are included loanwords borrowed in antiquity, for instance ones found in Syriac, e.g. gaha 'time' (Syr. *gāhā*, < P.). Where the derivation is indicated, Syriac cognates are often cited. This is because it is the best-known old Aramaic dialect and reasonably close to the ancestor of the NENA dialects.

7.2 Gender of nouns

ANA, like Semitic languages in general, has two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine. As there is no neuter gender, these two categories are used for inanimates as well as animates. Most feminine nouns are marked with the inflection //-Ta//, but a significant minority are without this marking. These include some Aramaic nouns belonging to certain categories as well as some loanwords. Feminine nouns without //-Ta// are listed below:

1) Female humans and animals

   All female humans and animals attested are of feminine gender, regardless of their marking, e.g. baxta 'woman', yemma 'mother', k*ā*lu 'bride' and *ʾwāna* 'ewe'.

[5] Cf. Abbreviations and Symbols.

2) Feminine loanwords

Most loanwords retain the gender that they have in the source language. This includes many words ending in the Arabic *tā marbūṭ*a (-a or -e), e.g. qahwa f. 'coffee', naqla f. 'time', wazna f. (a unit of weight), *ṭ*ab*ā*qa f. 'layer', *ʿādde* f. 'custom' and qubbe f. 'room' (cf. §7.4 for more examples with -e). It also includes feminine Kurdish words, both those that are unadapted, e.g. karwan f. (K. karvan f.) and those that have adopted the Aramaic -a inflection, e.g. *dašta* f. 'plain' (K. *deşt* f.), dekk*ā*na f. 'shop' (K. dikʾan f.), *qalāma* f. 'pen' (K. qelem), *čāra* f. 'solution' (K. *çāre* f.), and *pošiya* f. 'turban' (K. *poşî* f.).[6] Some loanwords, however, apparently do not retain the gender of the source language. When the gender is changed, it is often by analogy with other words. For instance masta 'yoghurt' (K. mast), is feminine in ANA, though masculine in Kurdish, perhaps because the //-Ta// ending is coincidentally identical to the feminine marker.[7] And daqiqa m. 'minute' which is feminine in both Arabic and Kurdish may have been made masculine in ANA because of the absence of a feminine marker.

Similarly some originally feminine words may have been given masculine gender by analogy with words of the same semantic group. Thus Kurdish loanwords p*ā*yes 'Autumn' and bah*ā*r 'Spring' are masculine in ANA like the two Aramaic seasons, even though they are feminine in Kurdish.

In some cases there is no obvious reason for the change in gender, as in *šorba* f. 'water jug' (K. *şorb* m. 'liquid'), and *mēs* 'table' m. (Kurdish *mēz* f.). This may perhaps reflect a diversity of gender among the Kurdish dialects themselves.

Words of Aramaic origin with feminine gender but without the //-Ta// inflection are relatively few. In common with other Semitic languages, they tend to fall into certain semantic groups, 3-7 below:

[6] Note that in the cases of karwan, *dekkāna* and *qalāma*, the feminine gender is evidence for Kurdish rather than Arabic origin, as these words are masculine in Arabic.

[7] This word is also feminine in the related Chaldean dialect of Aradhin (Krotkoff 1982: 135).

3) Town or village names

ʾalquš ‘Alqosh’

zāxu ‘Zakho’

baġdad ‘Baghdad’

4) Natural phenomena

šemša ‘sun’

yāma ‘sea’

šmayya ‘sky’

ʿeddāna ‘time’

5) Circumscribed spaces

ʾara ‘field’

dūka ‘place’

bēra ‘well’

qora ‘grave’

gūba ‘loom’

ʾurxa ‘way’, ‘road’

bedra ‘threshing floor’

The words *kāwe* ‘(traditional) window’and *gāre ≍ gāra* ‘roof’, also feminine in Syriac, perhaps also come into this category.

6) Smaller animals

Large domestic animals like *xmāra* ‘donkey’, tora ‘bull’ and *sūsa* ‘horse’ are always masculine, unless they are actually females. For smaller animals, especially wild ones, the sex is of less importance and so grammatical gender is less likely to indicate the actual sex of the animal, and is instead fairly arbitrary. The increased incidence of feminine gender in small animals is linked to the association of feminine with

diminutives (cf. §7.7). Some small animals are marked with //-Ta//, e.g. nunta ‘fish’. Some of those that are not are listed below:

ʾezza ‘goat’

ʾarnūwa ‘rabbit’

ʿaqerwa ‘scorpion’

7) Parts of the body

As in other Semitic languages, body parts that come in pairs tend to be feminine.

ʾiða ‘arm’

ʾaqla ‘leg’

ʾɛna ‘eye’

berka ‘knee’

ʿuṭma ‘thigh’

The collective word for cattle, buqra (Syr. baqra ‘herd’) does not appear to fit into any of the categories above.

There is some variation among the NENA dialects as to what is included in these groups. For instance meṭra ‘rain’ is masculine in Alqosh but feminine in the related Chaldean dialect of Christian Zakho.[8] Likewise the modern dialects, including ANA, frequently diverge from the gender found in Syriac. Maclean (1895:35) lists such words in his general overview of the dialects. The ANA data in many cases concurs with his data (which is not specific to one dialect):

		ANA, Macl.	**Syriac**
g*ū*ba	‘ditch’	f.	m.
ʿeddāna	‘time’	f.	m.
bedra	‘threshing floor’	f.	m. (ʾe*d̲rā*)
qora	‘grave’	f.	m.
nūra	‘fire’	m.	f.
*ṭɛr*a	‘bird’	m.	f.

[8] K. Mole (2000: 55).

In other cases ANA shares the gender with Syriac, while Maclean's dialects have a different gender:

		ANA	**Macl**	**Syr.**
meṭra	'rain'	m.	f.	m.
ʾɛwa	'cloud'	m.	f.	m.
lɛle	'night'	m.	f.	m.
bēra	'well'	f.	m.	f.
buqra	'cattle'	f.	m.	f.

7.3 Morphology of nouns ending in -a

Words in this class are derived both from Aramaic and foreign stock.

7.3.1 Bisyllabic patterns

7.3.1.1 CvCCa

1) CaCCa

This pattern is very common, found with words of Aramaic, Kurdish and Arabic origin. A few alternate with CoCCa, e.g. zarna ≁ zorna 'reed pipe'. These are listed under CoCCa. Geminated words of this form are rare, as original gemination has been lost and the vowel lengthened to compensate (see §1.7.2.1), as for instance in *qāša* 'priest' (Syr. *qaššā*). An exception is gabba 'political wing' (Syr. *gabbā*). Loanwords are also excepted, e.g. ʿamma 'uncle' (Arab.) and garra 'circuit' (K.).

Words of Aramaic origin

ʾalpa	'thousand'
yarxa	'month'
karma	'vineyard'
xamra	'wine'
ʿalma	'people'
kalba	'dog'
ʾamra	'wool'

ʾaqla ‘leg’

Loanwords

barxa ‘lamb’ (K.)
parča ‘piece’ (K.)
darga ‘front doorway’ (K.)
ranga ‘colour’ (K.)
masta ‘yoghurt’ (K.)
qahwa ‘coffee’ (Arab.)
ʿamma ‘uncle’ (Arab.)
garra ‘circuit’ (K.)
kaffa ‘hand’ (Arab.)

2) CeCCa

This pattern is also common. There are many cases where Syriac had CaCCa but ANA and other NENA dialects have CeCCa, e.g. kepna ‘hunger’ (Syr. *kapnā*), setwa ‘winter’ (Syr. *satwā*) and *ḥešša* ‘suffering’ (Syr. *ḥaššā*). Some words of this pattern are verbal nouns referring to an action or state, e.g. qeṭla ‘killing’ (√*qṭl*), kepna ‘hunger’ (√*kpn*), gexka ‘laughter’ (√*gxk*), xemma ‘heat’ (√*xym* < *xmm), ge*dša* ‘accident’ (√*gdš*), yerxa ‘length’ (√*yrx*), yeqra ‘weight’ (√*yq*r), yerqa ‘green’ (√*yrq*). Three verba tertiae /y/ verbal nouns have a final /w/ instead of the /y/: *peθwa* ‘width’ (√*pθy*), jehwa ‘tiredness’ (√jhy), nehwa ‘sighing’ (√*nhy*)[9] There are a couple of words with cognate verbal roots that have concrete referents: gersa ‘cracked wheat’ (√*grs* ‘to crush’) and *šexr*a ‘charcoal’ (√*šxr* II ‘cover in charcoal’).

Two words of this form are derived from original **CCā*: *šemma* ‘name’ (Syr. *šmā*), demma ‘blood’ (Syr. *dmā*). Presumably an epenthetic vowel was first inserted between the two consonants (C^{e}*Cā*) and then the consonant doubled to match the short vowel.

[9] The last two also occur with elided /h/ as *jēwa* and *nēwa* (cf. (7)).

Words of Aramaic origin

kepna	‘hunger’
setwa	‘winter’
meṭra	‘rain’
lexma	‘bread’
gersa	‘cracked wheat’
šemša	‘sun’
sekka	‘ploughshare’
ḥešša	‘suffering’
xegga	‘traditional dance’
lebba	‘heart’
demma	‘blood’
šemma	‘name’

Loanwords

jerða	‘rat’ (Arab. *jirðān*)

3) CuCCa

This pattern is much less common than CaCCa and CeCCa and is found mostly with words with labial, emphatic or back consonants. In other NENA dialects they sometimes occur with /e/, e.g. *beqrā* and ʿeṭma.[10] Since the phonetic value of /e/ in labial, back or emphatic environments is close to /u/, it may be that in these cases the proto-NENA form was CeCCa and that in ANA /e/ was replaced by /u/ under the influence of such consonants. Like CeCCa forms, most words of this pattern are cognate with Syriac words of *CaCCā* pattern, e.g. Syr. *gamlā* ‘camel’, ʿap*rā* ‘soil’ and ʿa*ṭmā* ‘thigh’.

Few geminated words have an original */u/, as original gemination after */u/ has been lost and the vowel lengthened in compensation (see §1.7.2.1). Cases of

[10] Maclean (1895: 44-5).

gemination are all loanwords or original *CeCCa forms, such as guppa ‘cave’.[11] The example *ḥ*ubba ‘love’ could be from original *ḥ*ebba (cf. Maclean xibâ ≁ xübâ)[12] or a borrowing from Syriac (*ḥubbā*).

Words of Aramaic origin

ʾurxa	‘way’
gumla	‘camel’
ʾupra	‘soil’
buqra	‘cows’
ʿuṯma	‘thigh’
guppa	‘cave’

Loanwords

ruxṣa	‘permission’ (Arab.)
*šurṭ*a	‘police’ (Arab.)
julla	‘piece of cloth’ (K.)

4) CoCCa ≁ CaCCa

As the phoneme /o/ tends to alternate with /a/ in closed syllables, words of this form may have two forms. The only attested examples are loanwords from Kurdish.

*šo*rba ≁ *šar*ba ‘water-cooling pot’ (K.)
zorna ≁ zarna ‘reed pipe’ (K.)
jonqa ‘young man’ (K.)

7.3.1.2 CvCa

5) C*ā*Ca

Many words of this pattern are derived from an earlier geminated form, e.g. *kāka* ‘tooth’ (Syr. *kakkā*), *qāša* ‘priest’ (Syr. *qaššā*) and *yāma* ‘sea’ (Syr. *yammā*). In some cases assimilation of two different consonants has taken place, e.g *yāla* (Syr. yal*ḏā*)

[11] Maclean’s dictionary (1901), which does not usually indicate gemination, gives gipâ [gɪp(p)ɑː] (transliterated from the Syriac script).
[12] Maclean (1901: 90).

and *kāsa* ‘stomach’ (Syr. *karsā*). A few are derived from original *CāCa*, e.g. *qāla* ‘voice’ (Syr. *qālā*) and *māra* ‘master’ (Syr. *mārā*). There are also a few adjectives of form *CāCa* (§8.2(1)).

Words of Aramaic origin

qāša	‘priest’
yāla	‘child’
sāwa	‘old man’
kāka	‘tooth’
yāma	‘sea’
qāla	‘voice’
māra	‘master’

Loanwords

šāla	‘trad. trousers’ (K.)
bāla	‘mind’ (K., Arab.)
sāʿa	‘hour’ (Arab.)

6) *CɛCa*

Words of this pattern are usually derived from earlier Aramaic **CayCā*, e.g. *ʾɛwa* ‘cloud’ (Syr. ʿay*ḇā*) and *bɛθa* ‘house’ (Syr. bay*ṯā*). Other dialects such as Zakho still preserve the original diphthong.[13]

Words of Aramaic origin

ʾɛwa	‘cloud’
qɛsa	‘wood’
qɛṭa	‘summer’
bɛθa	‘house’
zɛθa	‘oil’
ṭɛra	‘bird’
ʾɛna	‘eye’

[13] Mole (2000: 16) and Hoberman (1993: 117).

Loanwords

jɛba ‘pocket’ (Arab.)

7) *CēCa*

Most words of this form derive from earlier **CēCa*, as found in the eastern pronunciation of Syriac, e.g. *pēr*a ‘fruit’ (Syr. *pēra*). Many such words originally had a medial aleph as can be seen in the Syriac spelling, but this was already silent in Syriac. One word, *tēla* ‘fox’, is derived ultimately from *CeʿCa, presumably via *CeʾCa. Other *CēCa* words are derived from *CehCa, e.g. *dēwa* (<*dehwa) ‘gold’, *bēr*a (<*behra) ‘light’, *nēra* (<*nehra) ‘river’, *jēwa* (≁jehwa) ‘tiredness’, *nēwa* (≁nehwa) ‘sighing’. Many of these words are cognate with Syriac Caʿ*Cā* or *CahCā* (e.g. Syr. taʿ*lā* ‘fox’, dah*ḇā* ‘gold’, *bahrā* ‘dawn’, *nahrā* ‘river’), but in NENA dialects where the laryngeal is preserved, an /e/ (or its equivalent in the dialect) seems generally to be found, e.g. Qaraqosh təʾla ‘fox’, dəhwa ‘gold’, bəhra ‘brightness’[14] and Ch. Zakho dehwa ‘gold’.[15]

Words of Aramaic origin

ʾēða	‘festival’
rēša	‘head’
kēpa	‘stone’
dēwa	‘wolf’
sēma	‘silver’
*pēr*a	‘fruit’
bēra	‘well’
tēla	‘fox’
dēwa	‘gold’
šēra	‘vigil’
nēra	‘river’

[14] Khan (2002: 159). Qaraqosh /ə/ is pronounced like and cognate with ANA /e/. Note however that ‘river’ is nahra.

[15] Mole (2000: 53).

čēwa ‘tiredness’

nēwa ‘sighing’

Loanwords

fēka ‘fruit’ (Arab.)

8) CiCa

Nouns of this pattern are rare. Those attested are the following:

Words of Aramaic origin

rixa ‘smell’

ʾiða ‘arm’

mixa ‘Michael’

*ṭ*ima ‘value’

kisa ‘bag’

Loanwords

dika ‘cockerel’ (K., Arab.)

nita ‘plan’ (Arab.)

lira ‘lira’ (Arab., etc.)

mira ‘prince’ (Arab.)

Words of uncertain origin

piqa ‘back of the thigh’

9) CoCa

Only a few words of this pattern have an original monophthong, e.g. goya ‘ball’ (Syr. *gūyā*) and qoqa ‘ceramic pot’ (Syr. *qūqā*). Others are derived from **CawCā*, e.g. poxa ‘air’ (Syr. *pawxā*). Some of these are in turn derived from original *Ca*b̲Cā*, e.g. gora ‘man’ (Syr. ga*b̲rā*) and xola ‘rope’ (Syr. xa*b̲lā*) under the rule that historic */*b̲*/ is realised as /w/ (§1.7.1).

Words of Aramaic origin

yoma	‘day’
poxa	‘air’
zona	‘time’
gora	‘man’
xola	‘rope’
qoqa	‘ceramic pot’
goya	‘ball’

Loanwords

ʾoḍa	‘room’ (Arab., K.)

10) *CūCa*

Words of this pattern are mostly derived from earlier Aramaic **CūCa*, e.g. *nūra* (Syr. *nūrā*) or CuCCa (though loss of gemination and compensatory lengthening, cf. §1.7.2.1), e.g. *dūka* (Syr. *dukkā*). Another derivation is from *Ce*b̲Cā*, e.g. *dūša* ‘honey’ (Syr. de*b̲šā*) and *Ce*p̄Cā*, e.g. *rūša* ‘shoulder’ (Syr. ra*p̄šā*).[16]

Words of Aramaic origin

nūra	‘fire’
rūša	‘shoulder’
ṭūra	‘mountain’
kūša	‘knitting needles’
dūka	‘place’
gūba	‘loom’
šūqa	‘market’

Loanwords

šūla	‘work’ (K.)

[16] Or perhaps the original form was also Ce*b̲Cā* and the /p/ found in Syriac is the result of devoicing. Cf. Krotkoff (1985: 126-7) for a discussion of this word.

7.3.1.3 CvCa

As short vowels in stressed open syllables are unusual in ANA, nouns of this pattern are rare. The few that exist are almost all of type CaCa. There is only one attested word each of the patterns CeCa and CuCa.

11) CaCa

Most of these words are derived from earlier *CaCʾa (and, in most cases, ultimately from *CaCʿa or *CaC̲ga), e.g. qara (Syr. qarʾā), ʾara (Syr. ʾarʿā) and dara (Syr. darga). The CaCʾa form is still a possible variant in some cases.

Words of Aramaic origin

ʾara	'land'
ṭara	'door'
zara ~ zarʾa	'crop'
qara	'gourd', 'head'
mara ~ marʾa	'illness', 'pain'
dara	'step'
gaha (~ gā)	'time' (Syr. *gāhā*, < P.)

Loanwords

šama	'candle' (Arab. *šamʿa*)
jala	'burghul-wheat bread' (Qar. jalʾa) (?)

12) CeCa

ṭema	'taste' (<*ṭemʾa < *ṭemʿa, cf. Syr. ṭaʿmā)

13) CuCa

puqa	'frog'

The cognate form of this word in Qaraqosh is pəqʿa, so the short vowel in ANA may have resulted from the loss of original /ʿ/ or /ʾ/.[17]

[17] Though there is a similar form in Kurdish: beq f. 'frog'.

7.3.1.4 CCvCa

There are no attested examples of this pattern.

7.3.1.5 CCvCa

14) *CCāCa, ʾiCāCa* (f. CCaCta, ʾiCaCta)

This group includes the large class of Class I infinitives (§6.5). These sometimes have concrete as well as abstract meanings. There are also a few adjectives with this pattern (§8.2(2)).

gwāra	‘marriage’
ʾitāwa	‘sitting’, ‘sitting room’
ʾixāla	‘eating’, ‘food’
kθāwa	‘writing’, ‘book’
ʿmāða	‘baptism’
ṭlāba	‘requesting’, ‘betrothal’

A small number of words of *CCāCa* form have only concrete meanings. These are of both Aramaic and foreign origin:

Words of Aramaic origin

šlāma	‘peace’
šwāwa	‘neighbour’
xmāra	‘donkey’
gðāða	‘thread’
*syāʾ*a	‘fence’
ktāna	‘cotton’

Loanwords

xwāna	‘small round table’ (K.)
*xyār*a	‘cucumber’ (Arab.)
*mxāṭ*a	‘needle’ (Arab. mixya*ṭ*)

(?) *ʾyāla* ‘boy’ (Arab.) [18]

15) CCiCa

Most words of this pattern are essentially verbal adjectives serving as nouns (cf. §8.2 (3)), e.g. *ġliba* ‘winner’ from *ġlb* I ‘to win’, but *ḥ*lija ‘cotton’ is a loan from Arabic *ḥalīj* ‘ginned cotton’.

*mšiḥ*a ‘Christ’ (Aram.)
xmira ‘leaven’ (Aram.)
ġliba ‘winner’ (*ġlb* I ‘to win’)
*ḥ*lija ‘cotton’ (Arab.)

16) CCoCa

The only examples of this form are glola ‘ball’ (cf. Syr. g*līlā* ‘round’) and brona ‘son’. Historically brona is derived from *bar ‘son’ and the diminutive ending -ona (see §7.8.2).

17) *CCūCa*

stūna ‘tree-trunk’ (Aram. < Iranian)

7.3.1.6 CCvCCa

Nouns of this pattern are very rare and have a variety of origins. Those attested are listed below.

18) CCaCCa

Both examples have a geminated third radical. The first example, *šmayya* ‘sky’, is cognate with Syriac *šmayyā*. Under normal historical phonological rules, gemination following /a/ in a stressed syllable should be lost and the vowel lengthened in

[18] Commonly found in NENA as *yāla*, this word has been believed to be derived from ya*l̰dā* but Mutzafi (2000b: 240) and Sabar (2002: 16), following a suggestion of Nöldeke’s, propose a derivation from Arabic *ʿiyāl* ‘family dependents’, which would explain the initial /ʾ/.

compensation (§1.7.2.1). It may be that the gemination has been preserved under the influence of the Syriac of the Church, as the word also means ‘Heaven’.

šmayya	‘sky’ (Aram.)
kyalla	‘target stone’ (K. kêl)

19) Other patterns

The following are the only attested examples of their patterns.

CCeCCa	prezla	‘iron’ (Aram.)
CCuCCa	*mxuška*	‘morning’ (<*m-*xuška* ‘from the darkness’)
CCoCCa	jwanqa	‘young man’ (K.)

7.3.2 Trisyllabic patterns

7.3.2.1 CvCvCa

20) *CaCāCa*

This is one of the forms of the Class I active participle (§6.7) and therefore nouns of this pattern are derived from verbs, e.g. *xayāṭ*a ‘tailor’, from xy*ṭ* I ‘to sew’. Like the cognate Syriac form *CaCCāCā,* they usually function as nomina professionalis, covering people or things that regularly or professionally engage in an activity. The feminine of *CaCāCa* is CaCaCTa (48), e.g. xaya*ṭṭ*a ‘dressmaker’, or more often CaCCu (§7.8.5), e.g. gaðlu ‘knitter’.

šaðāya	‘wool-teaser’
*xayāṭ*a	‘tailor’
zar*āʾ*a	‘planter’
na*ṭār*a	‘guard’
gan*āwa*	‘thief’
kaθāwa	‘writer’
nagāra	‘carpenter’

Not all words of this pattern are nomina professionalis. Those of other types are mainly loanwords:

Words of Aramaic origin

sa*ṭāna*	'devil'
ʾamāna	'container'[19]
dab*āš*a	'bee'

Loanwords

*ʿaqār*a	'farmland', 'estate' (Arab.)
barāna	'ram' (K.)
ʿašāya	'dinner' (Arab.)
qabāya	'(trad.) robe' (Arab.)
qalāma	'pen' (K.)
qa*ṣāla*	'straw' (Arab.)
*ṭamāṭ*a	'tomato'

21) CaCiCa

Most words of this pattern are adjectives serving as nouns (see §8.2(8)) or loanwords from Arabic.

qariwa	'relative' (Aram.)
tanina	'dragon' (Aram.)
wazira	'mayor' (Arab.)
faqira	'poor man' (Arab.)
makina	'machine' (K., Arab.)

22) *CāCoCa*

Nouns of this pattern are a form of the Class I active participle (§6.7) and, as such, perform the same function as nouns of the *CaCāCa* pattern (20). For some verbs, both

[19] Maclean (1901: 152) gives it as a variant of *māna* (Syr. *mā(ʾ)nā* 'vessel').

forms are attested, e.g. *nāṭ*ora ≁ na*ṭār*a ‘guard’ and *qāṭ*ola ≁ qa*ṭāla* ‘killer’. The feminine is *CāCoCTa* (50).

pāθoxa	‘opener’
*nāṭ*ora	‘guard’
*qāṭ*ola	‘killer’

23) CaCoCa

Nouns of this pattern are not well attested and have no clear connection to each other in meaning. The feminine of the form is CaCoCTa ≁ CaCaCTa (51, 48).

garoma	‘rolling pin’ (Aram.)
jawoða	‘pruning instrument’ (?)
ʾalola	‘street’ (Aram.)
raʾola	‘valley’ (Aram.)
laʾoma	‘one side of the jaws’ (Aram.?)[20]
qapoxa	‘blow on the head’ (Aram.)

Also belonging to this group are the feminines *paθarta* ≁ *paθorta* ‘basket’ (Aram.) (48, 51) and pa*ṭ*axta (pl. pa*ṭ*oxe) ‘cow-pat’ (48).

The word for brother, ʾaxona, could be included in this category from the point of view of its form. Although -ona is in origin a diminutive suffix, ʾaxona is now the neutral word for ‘brother’.

In other dialects there is no formal distinction between the above nouns and nouns of the *CāCoCa* pattern. Compare, for instance, Qar. garoma ‘rolling-pin’ with Qar. na*ṭ*ora ‘guard’.[21] In fact CaCoCa is the form we would expect to be derived from Syr. *CāCōCā*, given the rule of pretonic shortening (§2.3.2.2.2.i) which is applied to all other forms except verbs, but for some reason the rule was blocked in that case. It may be that *CāCoCa* and CaCoCa are both derived from earlier **CāCoCa*. This

[20] This must somehow be related to Qar. laʾosa ‘jaw’ (Khan 2002: 165), also Macl. lâʿôsā ‘jaw’ (1901: 150), which are both cognate with Syr. lʿs ‘to chew’ (Qar. lʾs).

[21] Khan (2002: 165).

explanation is supported by those words with Syriac cognates. For instance raʾola is cognate with Syriac *rāḡōlā* 'narrow valley of a rivulet', paṯaxta (pl. paṯoxe) with Syriac *pātōḥā* and *paθorta* with Syriac *pāθūrā* 'table', 'tray'.[22] The words ʾalola and qapoxa have cognate verbs in Syriac and could have had the original meaning of 'enterer' (Syr. *ʿālōlā*) and 'one who beats on the head' (Syr. *qāpōḥā*). These meanings might later have developed into 'street' and 'blow on the head'.

A divergence into two forms could be explained by semantic differences. Some nouns of the form **CāCoCa* did not have the usual nomina professionalis function (perhaps because of a development of the meaning). For this reason they might have been treated as a separate group and the block on the pretonic shortening rule (§2.3.2.2.2.i) not applied to them.

24) *CiCāCa* (see also *ʾiCāCa* under *CCāCa*)

Nouns of this pattern are of both Aramaic and foreign origin.

lišāna	'language' (Aram.)
ʾilāna ≁ hilāna	'tree' (Aram.)
gihāna	'Hell' (Aram.)
šibāqa	'sash' (Aram.)
šivāna	'shepherd' (K.)

25) *CuCāCa*

Words of this form all have a cognate stem II verb, with the exception of the loanword *dulāba* which is a loanword.

bu*rāxa*	'wedding'
bušāla	'cooked food'
buqāra	'question'
kur*āxa*	'shroud cloth'
dub*ā*ra	'discipline'

[22] Nöldeke (1904: §107).

dulāba ‘cupboard’ (K./Arab.)

26) *CuCɛCa*

quṭɛpa ‘bunch (of grapes)’

There are two cases of this form which is cognate with the Syriac diminutive form *C(u)CayCā*,[23] and the Arabic form CuCayC. This word may be Aramaic in origin as the root is qṭp, as in Syriac (√qṭp ‘to pluck (esp. grapes)’) and not qṭf, as in Arabic. If it were borrowed early, however, Arabic /f/ might have been borrowed as /p/. In Syriac the /u/ in such forms was mostly lost.

The same form, but in the plural, is found in *kubɛbe* ‘kubbas’[24]; the singular for this is kubabta.

27) Other patterns

Words of the following patterns are rare and mostly of non-Aramaic origin. One exception is *ʾālaha* ‘God’. This may take penultimate or initial stress: *ʾāláha* ∾ *ʾálaha*. It is cognate with Syriac *ʾalāhā*. The first vowel has been lengthened for a reason that is not clear, while the second vowel has been shortened under the influence of the following /h/, as in gaha (§2.5.6.4).

CaCaCa	tanaga	‘bucket’ (K., Arab.)
CaCēCa	la*ḥēfa*	‘bedcover’ (K., Arab.)
CaCūCa	*tanūra*	‘oven’ (K., Arab.)
CāCaCa	*ʾālaha*	‘God’ (Aram.)
CāCāCa	*gāvāna*	‘cowherd’ (K.)
CāCūCa	*bāšūka*	(type of bird) (K.?)
CɛCāCa	*čɛxāna*	‘café’ (K.)
CēCāCa	*kēbāya*	‘stuffed lamb’s stomach’
	qēnāya	‘goldsmith’ (K.)

[23] See Nöldeke (1904: §112) for a few examples.

[24] Balls of cracked wheat and mince.

C*ē*CiCa	*bēdikā*	‘sparrow’ (K.)
CiCoCa	zizo*ṭ*a	‘bandage’
	*ʾiṣ*ora	‘binding’ (Aram.)
CoCiCa	*qošina*	type of bird
	domina	‘dominoes’

7.3.2.2 CvCCvCa

28) Quadriliteral

Quadriliteral words of this pattern are of both Aramaic and foreign origin:

CaCCāCa	dar*māna*	‘medicine’ (K.)
	malxāwa	‘winnowing fork’ (∽ *melxāwa*)
	karxāna	‘team’ (I.A., K.)
	mal*ʾāxa*	‘angel’ (Aram.)
	ma*ṭrāḥ*a	‘mattress’ (Arab.)
	*maqlāʿ*a	‘weeding instrument (?)’ (Arab.)
CaCCiCa	talmiða	‘pupil’ (Aram.)
	zanzira	‘starling’ (Arab.?)[25]
	marziwa	‘gutter (on roof)’
CaCCūCa	*ʾarnūwa*	‘rabbit’ (Aram.)
CeCCāCa	*bestāna*	‘garden’ (Arab., K.)
	jez*ḍ*āna	‘purse’ (Arab.)
	melxāwa	‘winnowing fork’
CeCCēCa	*meskēna*	‘poor person’ (Aram.)
	per*ṭ*ēna	‘flea’
CeCCiCa	begwina	‘eyebrow’(Aram.)
CuCCāCa	*ʾurbāla*	‘sieve’ (Aram.)

[25] Cf. Arab. *zurzūr* ‘starliing’

29) Middle-geminated

Middle-geminated forms are rare as original gemination after /a/ in a pretonic syllable has mostly been lost. Nevertheless a few words have retained the gemination, in some cases perhaps because of the influence of Syriac as the liturgical language. This is most likely with religious words such as *ḥaṭṭā*ya ‘sinner’ and *qaddiša* ‘saint’.

CaCCāCa	*gabbāra*	‘champion’ (Aram.)
	ḥaṭṭāya	‘sinner’ (Aram.)
	harrāna	type of large lizard
	*ʾakkār*a	‘farmer’ (Aram.)
	dallāla	‘guide’ (Arab. *dallāl*)
	šammāma	type of melon
CaCCiCa	*qaddiša*	‘saint’ (Aram.)
	xa*ṣṣ*ina	‘type of pickaxe (?)’ (Aram. < Arab.)[26]
CaCCoCa	*kappoθa*	‘sandwich’ (filling rolled in pitta bread) (Aram.?)[27]
	paqqota	‘boiled wheat berries’
CaCCūCa	*dabbūr*a	a type of building tool
	ʿallūča	‘chewing gum’ (I.A.)
CeCCāCa	*dekkāna*	‘shop’ (K./ Arab.)
	*mennār*a	‘minaret’(Arab.)
CeCCoCa	*ḥeššoya*	(a type of stuffing) (Arab. *ḥšw*)
	debbora	‘wasp’ (cf. Syr. *debbōrā*)
	šexxora	‘piece of charcoal’
	geððoða	‘hedgehog’

The last example listed is probably derived from *gðoða, the form found in Qaraqosh, as original gemination would have left a plosive /d/ rather than fricative /ð/. In Qaraqosh an epenthetic is sometimes pronounced between the first two

[26] This word is found in Syriac, meaning ‘a small axe’ but is ultimately of Arabic origin (Payne-Smith 1902: 154).

[27] Cf. Syr. kp*ṯ* ‘to boll, form into a pod or seed-vessel.

consonants. This may be what happened in ANA. The gemination would have been added because /e/ is not usually found in open syllables. The same seems to have occurred with xemmarta (Syriac *ḥmūrtā*) (64).

7.3.2.3 CvCvCCa

30) Quadriliteral (CaCeCCa and CaCuCCa)

Words of this pattern are quite rare and almost exclusively Aramaic words of the CaCeCCa pattern. The /e/ in this form is an epenthetic vowel, inserted to break up a consonant cluster (cf. §3.2.3). The Syriac cognates of these words in some cases had no epenthetic vowel or one in a different place, e.g. Syr. kawk^{ə}*ḇā* for ANA kawexwa.

gayegra	‘threshing sledge’ (Aram.)
ʿaqerwa	‘scorpion’ (Aram.)
kaweðna	‘mule’ (Aram.)
kawexwa	‘star’ (Aram.)

Two words of this pattern are derived verbal forms. They are formed from the Class III present base/participle stem (maCeCC) with -a inflection, rather than the standard participle ending -*āna* (see §7.8.3).

maserqa	‘comb’ (srq III ‘to make comb’)
maðep*ḥ*a	‘altar’, ‘shrine’ (Syr. ma*ḏ*b*ḥā*, db*ḥ* ‘to sacrifice’)

One example of the CaCuCCa pattern is attested:

ʾaqubra	‘mouse’ (Aram.)

31) Final-geminated

There is only one example of this form:

baqella	‘bean’ (Arab.)

This may be a back-formation from baqelle ‘beans’, which derives from Q.A. *bāqəlle* (Classical Arab. *bāqillāʾ*), also plural.[28] Similar in form is the plural *kālekke* ‘crocheted shoes’ (sg. *kālekθa*) and the final -e form qarekke ‘turtle’ (§7.4).

7.3.2.4 CvCCvCCa

There are only two examples, both of the CaCCaCCa pattern:

madrassa	‘school’ (Arab.)
pannarga	a game (?)

7.3.2.5 CCvCCvCa

There are only two examples of this pattern:

marqoza	‘narcissus’ (Syr. *narqāws*)
dardūma	(of uncertain meaning)[29]

7.3.3 Quadrisyllabic patterns

There are few examples attested:

jammadāna	‘man’s turban’ (K)
xastaxāna	‘hospital’ (I.A., T.)[30]

7.3.4 Nouns ending in -iya

Many words ending in -iya are derived from Kurdish words ending in -î, e.g. *pošiya* ‘head-dress’ from Kurdish *poşî*, *taššiya* ‘spindle’ from Kurdish *teşî* and galiya ‘ravine’ from Kurdish gelî. The -iya ending is produced by the addition of the Aramaic inflection -a. Most are feminine in gender. There are also some Arabic words ending in -iya borrowed without adaptation, e.g. *ḥ*anafiya ‘(water) tap’ (Arab. *ḥanafīya*).

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[28] Jastrow (1990b: 323), citing the Qəltu dialect of ʿAqra.

[29] Only found in the expression *dardūmeḥ mšurešya* ‘he is looking downcast’, lit. ‘his ? is let down’.

[30] This word is a compound in Turkish: hastahane < hasta ‘sick’ + hane ‘house’.

dodiya f.	‘cradle’
goniya f.	‘sack’ (I.A.)
pošiya f.	‘turban’ (K.)
taššiya f.	‘spindle’ (K.)
nēriya f.	a type of red goat (K. ‘billy-goat’)
tabliya f.	‘tunic’ (I.A.)
ta*ḥ*tiya f.	‘felt cloth’
šamziya m.	‘water-melon’ (K.)
galiya f.	‘ravine’ (K.)
*ṣ*iniya f.	‘big round metal tray’ (K., Arab.)
*ṭ*abaqiya f.	‘wicker tray’ (Arab.?)
*ša*ʿriya	‘vermicelli’ (Arab.)
*ḥ*anafiya	‘tap’ (Arab.)

7.4 Nouns ending in -e

Some of these nouns are pluralia tantum. They are construed as plural but have no singular form. All those attested are of Aramaic origin.

māye	‘water’ (Aram.)
xāye	‘life’
xe*ṭṭ*e	‘wheat’
semðe	‘hulled wheat’
*ṣār*e	‘barley’
šešme	‘sesame’
doʾe	‘yoghurt mixed with water’[31]
xaweð*rāne*	‘environs’

Other nouns ending in -e are construed as singular. Most of these are of foreign origin and feminine gender. Indeed in these cases, as stated above, the ending -e is derived from

[31] A loanword from Kurdish, Persian or Arabic, but found even in Syriac.

the feminine ending of Qəltu Arabic, but in some cases it had been added to non-Arabic loanwords. The few words of Aramaic origin that end in -e are of both genders.

This category also includes all Stem II and III infinitives (§6.5), e.g. mzabone 'selling' and malope 'teaching', but these are masculine and have no plural.

Words of Aramaic origin

kāwe f.	'trad. window' (Syr. kawwa f.)
gāre f.	'roof' (Syr. *ʾegārā* m.)
xūwe m.	'snake'
lɛle m.	'night'
r*āze* m.	'mass' (Syr. *ʾrāzē*, pl. of *ʾrāzā* 'sacrament, the Holy Eucharist')
bar*āye*	'outside' (also an adverb, see §10.3.1)
gawāye	'outside' (also an adverb, see §10.3.1)

Arabic loanwords

dunye f.	'world', 'weather'
zawwāde f.	'provisions bag'
qubbe f.	'room' (Q.A.)
yamne f.	'right hand'
ʿelbe f.	'measuring of volume (bushel?)'
ʿ*āde* f.	'custom'
ʿadde f.	'plough'[32]
ba*ṭāle* f.	'idleness'
ma*ḥ*alle f.	'town-quarter'
qūwe f.	'power' (i.e. electricity)
mazze f.	'snacks' (taken with drink)
za*ḥ*me f.	'trouble'
čappe f.	'left hand' (K. *čep*, Q.A. *čappé*)

[32] In Arabic (including I.A.) it is used of the harness.

Kurdish/ Persian loanwords

šarre f.	'fight' (K. *şer*)
kučeke f.	room' (K. kuçik)
*š*ebbakiye	'window' (K. *şibake*)

Four words with the Aramaic derivational prefix bi- (cf. §7.9.5) end in -e:

bikāre m.	'ground-floor room for animals'
bisukre f.	'hole in the wall for hiding valuables'
burmāše f.	'evening'
bi-yalde f.	'Christmas'

Uncertain origin

qarekke f.	'turtle' (note Syr. *raqqā* ≁ *reqqā*, Arab. raqq 'turtle)
gale f.	'ice-hockey'
ʾennole	'thingummy-ing' (pseudo-infinitive)
kesxūre	a game similar to 'Hide and Seek'
kēbāye	a dish consisting of a stuffed sheep's stomach
pursange	'weight-lifting' (K.?)

7.5 Nouns ending in -u

In most cases, an ending in -u is the diminutive suffix (see §7.8.5). Two exceptions are the place name z*ā*xu 'Zakho' and the loanword r*ā*dyu 'radio'.

7.6 Nouns ending in -i

Only a few words are attested, of different origins: mendi 'thing' (Aram.) *ṣ*loni 'swallow' (Aram.)[33] and the loanwords ʿarabi 'Arabic' (Arab.), ʿaji 'child' (I.A.), kursi 'chair' (Arab.), skamli 'chair' (I.A.), titi 'lark (?)' (K.) and *melyonči* 'millionare' (K.?).

[33] Cf. Syr. *snūniθa*.

7.7 Nouns with feminine //-Ta// inflection

The feminine ending takes two forms: one with a plosive /t/ and the other with a fricative */θ/* (§6.8.11). In earlier Aramaic the choice was conditioned by the preceding sound; if a vowel (including schwa), *-θa* occurred, if a consonant, //-Ta// was used. In ANA, the same rules do not apply, because various sound changes in the language have obscured the original pattern. For instance, we find *šāta* 'year', rather than *šāθa*, because at an earlier stage the /t/ was geminate and therefore plosive (**šatta* < **šanta*). We also find *-θa* after a consonant in words such *dukθa* 'place' because at an earlier stage there was gemination and hence an epenthetic schwa to break up the consonant cluster.

Some short feminine words with the marker //-Ta// appear to have a bi- or mono-consonantal root, e.g. *ʾēta* 'church' and *māθa* 'village'. Such nouns sometimes adopt the t or *θ* as an extra radical and take the plural on top of this, e.g. *ʾēta* 'church' (Syr. ʿi̲dtā), pl. *ʾētāθa* (Syr. ʿi̲dāṯā), kesta 'small bag' (cf. Syr. *kīsā*), pl. *kestāθa*. This process was already underway in Syriac. For the Syriac word ʿru̲ḇtā 'Friday', the /t/ might or might not be treated as part of the root, both *ʿrūḇāθa* and ʿru̲ḇtāθa being found. In ANA the /t/ is always treated as part of the root: *ʾrutyāθa*.

There is also a series of words of the form *Cāθa*, which take *-wāθa* after the */θ/*, e.g. *māθa* 'village', pl. *maθwāθa* (§7.11.4.2). Another one of the same form, *nāθa* 'ear', takes *-yāθa* (*naθyāθa*, §7.11.6).

The same phenomenon is found in other dialects with some different words:

Mangesh[34]	beta 'egg'	*betaθa* (compare ANA *bēʾ*e)
Tkhuma[35]	jalta 'girl'	*jaltā̲*te

This development has only occurred to words of the pattern (C)CvTa, perhaps as phonetic padding. Whether the singular ending should still be analysed as //-Ta// is debatable. Morphologically the t behaves as part of the root, yet it is also still a marker of feminine gender. These words will therefore be listed in this section.

[34] Sara (1974: 56).

[35] Jacobi (1973: 201) lists other examples as well.

In many words, the //-Ta// suffix has a particular semantic function. Frequently it marks the female counterpart of a human or animal noun. We find such pairs as *sāwa* ‘old man’ and sota (*sawta) ‘old woman’; likewise *kaθāwa* ‘writer’ and *kaθota* ‘woman writer’. For animals there are pairs like kalba ‘dog’ and *kalebθa* ‘bitch’ and *xmāra* ‘donkey’ and xmarta ‘female donkey’.

The //-Ta// ending is also used with inanimates to denote the individual item of something which is usually viewed en masse or collectively. In such cases, the plural used is -e which is usually found with masculine nouns. The use of a feminine form to denote the nomen unitatis of a collective is paralleled in Arabic in such pairs as *šajar* ‘trees’ and *šajara(t)* ‘tree’. However, in ANA, unlike in Arabic, the collective is plural in morphology and grammatical agreement.

This type is found very frequently with fruits and other foods consisting of small parts, such as *xabušta* ‘apple’ (pl. *xabūše*) and *bēta* ‘egg’ (pl. *bēᵓe*). It also occurs with words for footwear, such as *pēlavta* ‘shoe’ (pl. *pēlāve*) and *kālekθa* ‘crocheted shoe’ (pl. *kālekke*). Shoes of course usually occur as a pair. All attested examples are listed in §7.11.1(3).

A similar individualizing function is found with the infinitive. The masculine infinitive represents the action or state seen as a whole or in general. The feminine represents an individual occurrence, e.g. ᵓizalta ‘journey’ (m. ᵓiz*āla* ‘going’) and fṭarta ‘breakfast’ (m. fṭ*āra* ‘breakfasting’).

Similar to this is the diminutive function which //-Ta// often performs. We see this most clearly when there is a masculine-feminine pair, such as magla ‘sickle’ and *magelθa* ‘small sickle’. Some further examples are below:

dūka	‘place’	*dukθa*	‘spot’ (small place)
garna	‘trough’	*garenθa*	‘small trough’
zarna	‘reed pipe’	*zarenθa*	‘little reed pipe’
talma	‘water jug’	*talemθa*	‘little water jug’
garoma	‘rolling pin’	garamta	‘thin rolling pin’
ᵓalola	‘street’	ᵓalalta	‘alley’
qanya	‘cane’, ‘pen’	*qaniθa*	‘little cane’, ‘pen’

Even when there is no masculine counterpart for comparison, the feminine is often preferred for small items, e.g. xemmarta ‘bead’ and gumbalta ‘ball’. In some cases the noun without the //-Ta// is also feminine, e.g. garna (f. ‘trough’) and *garenθa* (f. ‘small trough’). In such cases it is clearly the form itself which has diminutive force rather than the feminine gender. Alternatively the gender alone may express the diminutive without any formal difference. This is the case with mella (m.) ‘hill’. If it is construed as feminine with no change in form, then the meaning is ‘hillock’ (‘little hill’).

The //-Ta// ending is frequently applied to loanwords as well, for instance *dargušta* ‘cradle’, from Kurdish *dergūş*. The use of the feminine inflection as a diminutive marker is common in other NENA dialects. See Sara (1990: 50-52) for a discussion.

7.7.1 CvCTa

32) CaCTa

šabθa	‘week’
xamθa	‘unmarried woman’
qarθa	‘cold’
xar*θa*	‘end’
darta	‘courtyard’
čanta	‘bag’
ʾamta	‘paternal aunt’

33) CeCTa

sekθa	‘ploughshare’
sepθa	‘lip’
šenθa	‘sleep’
tekθa	‘draw-string’
bešta	‘evil’

34) CoCTa (≁ CaCTa)

porta	≁ parta	‘bran’
qopta	≁ qapta	‘owl’
qoqta		‘small ceramic pot’

35) CuCTa

dukθa	‘place’
gupta	‘cheese’
xurta	‘poplar (?)’
*ṣ*urta	‘picture’
nunta	‘fish’
susta	‘mare’

7.7.2 CvTa

36) C*ā*Ta

māθa	‘village’
xāθa	‘sister’
pāθa	‘face’
nāθa	‘ear’
gāθa	‘time’
šāta	‘year’

37) C*ē*Ta

bēta	‘egg’
ʾēta	‘church’

38) CoTa

sota	‘old woman’

39) *CūTa*

tūθa ‘mulberry’

7.7.3 CCvCTa

40) CCaCTa

Nouns of this pattern are feminines of *CCāCa* forms (14) or variants of CCoCTa (42).

fṭarta ‘breakfast’ (m. fṭāra, √*f*ṭr)

ʿmaðta ‘baptism’ (m. ʿ*māða*, √ʿmð)

qyamta ‘resurrection’ (m. *qyāma*, √*qym*)

xmarta ‘she-ass’ (m. *xmāra*)

qrašta ‘ceiling’ (≁ *qrošta*)

41) CCeCTa

lwešta ‘clothes’

ʾrešta ‘vermicelli-type pasta’

42) CCoCTa (≁ CCaCTa)

pθolta ‘virgin’

qrošta ≁ *qrašta* ‘ceiling’

7.7.4 CCvTa

Many of these forms are essentially CCvCTa forms with a weak or elided final consonant, e.g. *xzεθa* (<**xzayθa*).

43) *CCāTa*

xmāθa ‘mother-in-law’

brāta ‘girl’

44) *CCεTa*

Nouns of this pattern are mostly feminine infinitives of verba tertiae /y/ (§6.11.8).

xzεθa	‘seeing’ (√*xzy*)
hwεθa	‘birth’ (√*hwy*)
kθεθa	‘chicken’

45) CCiTa

šwiθa	‘bed’
briθa	‘the world’
mðita	‘town’

46) CCoTa, ʾiCoTa

Most nouns of this pattern are feminine infinitives of verba tertiae /w/ (§6.11.18), but *zdoθa* ‘fear’ is cognate with a tertiae /ʾ/ verb (√zdʾ), while *ṣloθa* is an old word found in Syriac, cognate with the ANA verb *ṣ*ly II ‘to pray’.

rkota	‘riding’ (√*rkw*)
ʾitota	‘sitting’, ‘small party’ (√*ytw*)
zdoθa	‘fear’
ṣloθa	‘prayer’
šwota	‘female neighbour’ (m. *šwāwa*)

47) *CCūTa*

ʾrūta	‘Friday’

7.7.5 CvCvCTa

Many words of this pattern are loanwords which have taken the feminine marker, but others are native Aramaic forms.

48) CaCaCTa

As /a/ in a closed syllable may be historically */a/ or */o/, words of this form may be derived from masculine forms *CaCāCa* (20) or CaCoCa (22). Hence we find female professionals such as xaya*ṭṭ*a ‘dressmaker’ (m. *xayāṭ*a) as well as diminutive forms such as ʾalalta ‘alley’ (m. ʾalola). The pair garasta and ʾaqalta do not have a

masculine cognate, but the forms in Aradhin – gar*u*sta and ʾaqulta[36] – suggest that these may have been derived from garosta and ʾaqolta respectively and therefore are based on the CaCoCa form.

Others nouns of this pattern are feminine infinitives of Class II verbs. In addition there are some other words which have a different masculine basis or none at all.

xaya*ṭṭ*a	‘dressmaker’ (m. *xayāṭ*a)
ʾalalta	‘alley’ (m. ʾalola)
paθarta	‘basket’ (∾ *paθorta*)
garasta	‘quern’ (<*garosta?)
ʾaqalta	‘trap’ (<*ʾaqolta?)
pa*ṭ*axta	‘cow-pat’ (pl. pa*ṭ*oxe)
*ṭ*aʾalta	‘game’ (√*ṭ*ʾl II)
baqarta	‘question’ (√*bqr* II)
dašanta	‘beginning’ (√*dšn* II)
baraxta	‘blessing’ (√*brx* II)
farašta	‘pebble’ (m. *farša* ‘marble’)
naʿalta	‘house-sandal’ (pl. naʿ*āle*, Syr. naʿ*lā* ‘horsehoe’ or I.A. naʿal ‘sandal’)
paqarta	‘neck’
qadamta	‘early morning’

49) CaCeCTa

Many words of this pattern are based on CaCCa forms. To prevent the consonant cluster that CaCCTa would present, an epenthetic vowel, /e/, is inserted between the second and third radicals, as in *kalebθa* ‘bitch’, from kalba ‘dog. When the word takes the plural -*āθa*, the epenthetic is omitted in the plural, e.g. *ṭ*awerta ‘cow’, pl. *torāθa* (<*tawra). The f. suffix that is attached is -*θa*, unless it follows /r/, in which case it is -ta. This may indicate that historically the epenthetic vowel was inserted just before the feminine ending, i.e. *kalb^{e}*θa* (cf. §3.2.3). That /r/ is followed by -ta

[36] Krotkoff (1982: 118, 126).

would then be due to a liquid not requiring an epenthetic vowel. A form such as *magelθa* suggests that the same did not apply to the other liquid /l/, or that there was some inconsistency.

kalebθa	'bitch' (m. kalba)
tawerta	'cow' (m. tora)
ṭarepθa	'leaf' (m. *ṭ*arpa)
magelθa	'little sickle' (m. magla)
šarexθa	'female calf' (m. *šarxa*)
garenθa	'little trough' (m. garna)
qalepθa	'flake of dandruff' (m. qalpa)

Other words are nomina unitatis for the plural form CaCiCe.

bašelta	'musk melon' (pl. *bašile*)
yabešta	'raisin' (pl. *yabiše*)

The following have no attested masculine cognate, though the plurals of the first two (*paθxāθa*, *taxrāθa*) suggest a CaCCa basis.

paθexta	(type of pitta)
taxerta	(type of pitta)
ḥaxemθa	'moral (of the story)'
ma*ṭ*emta	'spoon'
maxelta	'sieve' (<*manxelta)

Two examples, *ṣaḥ*etta 'health' and qa*ṣ*etta 'story', are are adapted loanwords from Arabic (§7.7.10).

50) *CāCoCTa*

This is the feminine of the *CāCoCa* form (22).

pāθoxta	'female opener' (m. *pāθoxa*)

51) CaCoCTa

This is the feminine of the CaCoCa form (23).

raʾolta	‘little valley’ (m. raʾola)
ʾalolta	‘alley’ (m. ʾalola)
paθorta	‘basket’ (no m. attested)

52) *CɛCoCTa ≁ CɛCaCTa*

The only example of this pattern appears to be a feminine infinitive of ʾxl III:

mɛxolta ≁ mɛxalta ‘feed’

This is irregular as the standard masculine infinitive is maxole and thus maxolta ≁ maxalta would be the expected form. The difference is that in *mɛxalta*, the initial radical is realized as a /y/ (and monopthongized with the preceding /a/ (mayxolta > *mɛxolta*), while in the standard infinitive the initial radical is elided (maxalta ‘feeding’).

53) CuCaCTa

Nouns of this pattern may be feminines of the *CuCāCa* form (25). The second example listed here is the nomen unitatis of a *CuCɛCe* form, the */ɛ/* being reduced to /a/ in a closed syllable.

buraxta	‘wedding’, ‘blessing’ (m. *burāxa*)
kubabta	‘kubba’ (type of meatball) (pl. *kubɛbe*)

54) Other patterns

CaCuCTa	*xabušta*	‘apple’ (pl. *xabūše*)
	*ḥ*anunta	‘little pitta made with left-over dough’
CāCeCTa	*ʿāṣ*erta	‘evening’
	kālekθa	‘crocheted shoe’ (pl. *kālekke*)
CeCeCTa	meletta	‘religious community’ (cf. §7.7.10)
CēCaCTa	*pēlavta*	‘shoe’ (pl. *pēlāve*)

CēCeCTa	*bēdekta*	‘female sparrow’ (m. *bēdika*)
CiCaCTa ≁ CiCoCTa		
	risaqta ≁ risoqta	‘chain of beads’
CiCeCTa	*šišelta*	‘chain’
	qimetta	‘respect’ (cf. §7.7.10)
CiCuCTa	*šišukθa*	‘glass jar’
CoCeCTa	koðenta	‘female mule’ (m. kaweðna)
CuCeCTa	*kučekθa*	‘little room’ (m. *kučeke*)
	durekθa	‘ballad’

7.7.6 CvCvTa

Many of these forms are essentially CvCvCTa forms with a weak or elided final consonant, e.g. *tanɛθa* (<**tanayθa*) and *ṣubēta* (<**ṣubeʾta*).

55) *CaCɛT*a

qalɛθa	‘cell’
tanɛθa	‘word’

56) *CaCēTa*

ṣanēta	‘craft’

57) CaCiTa

qaniθa	‘little reed’
daliθa	‘vine’
šaqiθa	‘drain’

58) CaCoTa

balota	‘throat’
ka*θota*	‘woman-writer’

59) *CaCūTa*

qarūta	‘female relative’
qa*ṭūθa*	‘little cat’

60) *CeCēTa*

xelēta	‘gift’

61) *CoCɛTa*

ṭolēθa	‘worm’ (cf. §7.11.1.3)

62) *CuCēTa*

ṣubēta	‘finger’

7.7.7 CvCCvCTa

Many words of CvCCvCTa form are loanwords which have taken the //-Ta// suffix.

63) CaCCaCTa

Some of the words of the form maCCaCta are feminine infinitives of Class III, e.g. maplaxta ‘use’ (m. maploxe), or of a quadriliteral e.g. *šaxlapta* (*šxlp*).

ma*ḥ*ðarta	‘preparation’ (√*ḥ*ðr III)
*š*axlapta	‘change’ (√*šxlp* Q.)
madrasta	‘little school’ (m. madrassa)
maqqa*ṣṭ*a	‘little scissors’ (m. maqqa*ṣ*)
šakkalta	‘sandal’ (pl. *šakkāle*)

64) CeCCaCTa

Some nouns of this pattern are derived from the CeCCoCTa pattern (59) and thus are feminines of the CeCCoCa form. In some cases the CeCCoCTa form still exists as a variant.

nessarta	‘saw’ (≁ nessorta)

zemmarta	‘song’ (≁ zemmorta)	
qeššamta	‘chaff’	
*ḫ*ebbanta	‘water-filtering receptacle’	
xemmarta	‘bead’	
*čemmaṣṭ*a	‘something tiny’	

65) CeCCoCTa (≁ CeCCaCTa)

This is the feminine of the CeCCoCa form

nessorta ≁ nessarta	‘saw’ (cf. Syr. nsr ‘to saw’)
zemmorta ≁ zemmarta	‘song’
bellorta	‘crystal’, ‘tube’

66) Other patterns

CaCCeCTa	maʿwelta	a type of agricultural tool
	ṭapšekθa	‘large flat pebble’
	xarjetta	(≁ xorjetta) ‘saddle-bag’ (cf. §7.7.10)
CaCCuCTa	xar*pušta*	‘dung-beetle’ (?)
	dargušta	‘cradle’ (K.)
	darpulta	‘bottom part of garment’
	šappukta	‘trad. jacket’ (K.)
CeCCeCTa	dembekta	‘small drum’ (K.)
CoCCeCTa	xorjetta	‘saddle-bag’ (cf. §7.7.10)
CuCCaCTa	gumbalta	‘ball’

7.7.8 CvCCvTa

67) *CaCCāTa*

The one example of this pattern is apparently a feminine infinitive of a Class III tertiae /ʾ/ verb, where /o/ has been reduced to /a/ in a closed syllable.

mazr*āta*	‘plant’ (<*mazroʾta)

68) *CaCCɛTa*

The following example is a feminine infinitive of a Class III tertiae /y/ verb:

maḥkɛθa ‘speech’ (<*maḥkoyθa)

69) CaCCoTa

The first example below is a feminine infinitive of a Class III tertiae /ʾ/ verb, where /o/ has been preserved (compare the variant in (67)).

mazrota ‘plant’ (<*mazroʾta)

ʾarmota ‘pomegranate’

ʾa*ryoθa* ‘thistle’

70) Other patterns

CeCCēTa	*mezzēta*	‘individual hair’
CuCCɛTa	*ḥukkɛθa*	‘story’

7.7.9 Other patterns

71) CvCCCvCTa

This pattern is rare because consonant clusters are usually avoided by the insertion of epenthetic vowels. The preservation of a consonant cluster may have been allowed in the following words because one of the consonants in each case is a liquid or semivowel (/r/ and /y/ respectively).

xer*ṭ*manta ‘chickpea’

meskyanta ‘poor woman’

72) CvCvCvCTa

There is only one example of this pattern:

taraʿuzta ‘white cucumber’

This word takes the form *ṭaʾ*ru:za in Aradhin, so one or the other of the forms must have been undergone metathesis.

7.7.10 Nouns ending in -etta

A number of Arabic words are borrowed with the /t/ of the *tā marbūṭa* preserved in the ending -etta:

ṣaḥetta	'health' (Arab. *ṣaḥḥa(t)*)
qaṣetta	'story' (Arab. qiṣṣa(t))
melletta ≁ meletta	'religious community' (Arab. mella(t))
qimetta	'respect' (Arab. qima(t))
xorjetta ≁ xarjetta	'saddlebag', 'stock (of seller)' (Arab.)[37]

Two plurals are attested: qa*ṣetyāθa* and *melletyāθa*. In these forms one of the /t/s is preserved, while the second is replaced by -y*āθa*. This suggests that the /t/ of the *tā marbūṭa* is regarded as part of the root, while the second is part of the Aramaic ending //-Ta//. One possible reason for the retention of the *tā marbūṭa* in these words could be that they were borrowed via Kurdish rather than directly. In Kurdish, such Arabic words are borrowed with the *tā marbūṭa* realized as a /t/, e.g. qîmet 'price' (Arab. qima(t)) and saʿet 'hour' (Arab. *sāʿa(t)*). These borrowings could therefore be seen as Kurdish words whose morphology has been adapted (by the addition of //-Ta//) to match their gender. The fact that they are treated differently to other Kurdish feminines, which are not adapted in this way, would indicate however that feminine words ending in -et may have been treated as a special group.

An alternative reason is suggested by data from the related dialect of Qaraqosh.[38] In this dialect the word cognate with qaṣetta is q*əṣṣa* in its unaffixed form, similar to Arabic qiṣṣa. When Qaraqosh q*əṣṣa* is suffixed, it takes the form q*əṣṣə*tt-, e.g. q*əṣṣə*tta*ḥ* 'her story'. This mirrors (and perhaps copies) what happens in vernacular Arabic, where the *tā marbūṭa* is only realized as a /t/ when a suffix is added. More specifically it resembles the Qəltu Arabic of Mosul, where the feminine morpheme takes the stress, e.g.

[37] The Arabic is xurj. Maclean (1901: 95) says of the cognate Ashiret word khûrjâ that the singular denotes not one bag but a pair. As the Arabic plural is xiraja(t), this might explain the presence of the *tā marbūṭa* in the ANA form. The /o/ vowel may have been acquired by analogy with the singular. This word is also attested in Persian (xorjin 'saddle-bag') and in Kurdish with a slightly different meaning: xurcik 'bundle'.

[38] Cf. Khan (2002: 204-6) for a discussion.

baṣalə□*tak* ‘your onion’ (unprefixed: báṣali).[39] The /t/ may have been geminated in NENA to avoid a short vowel in an open syllable. This evidence suggests a direct loan from Arabic rather than Kurdish. It is unlikely that the same stem, qaṣett- could have a different origin in each dialect. Therefore it seems likely that ANA qaṣetta is also a direct loan from Arabic. In Alqosh the unsuffixed noun qaṣetta may be a back formation from the suffixed form. Qaraqosh may retain the more original system because of the greater influence that Arabic exerts on that dialect.

The *tā marbūṭa* is similarly preserved in nita ‘plan’ (Arab. niyya(t)), but no Aramaic //-Ta// is added, so the word is effectively an unmarked feminine. As such it takes the plural ending -*āθa*: *nitāθa* (see §7.11.5.1).

7.8 Derivational suffixes

There are a number of suffixes which modify the meaning of nouns. Some, like -u and -*ūθa* are quite productive, while others, like -ona, appear no longer to be very productive, if at all.

7.8.1 -*iθa*

This suffix has similar functions to //-Ta//, though with different frequencies. It is occasionally used for females, though //-Ta// is far more common in this function. In a similar role it is found with -*āna* adjectives as an alternative to -u and //-Ta// (see §8.2(15)).

r*abbaniθa*	‘nun’ (m. rabban)
sa*ṭaniθa*	‘female devil’ (m. sa*ṭāna*)
malpaniθa	‘woman teacher’ (m. *malpāna*)

Far more frequent though is the diminutive function of -*iθa*. This tends to denote a small thing or animal:

guppiθa	‘little cave’ (m. guppa ‘cave’)

[39] Cf. Khan (2002: 206), citing Jastrow (1983: 105).

gariθa	‘little roof’ (m. *gāra ~ gāre* ‘roof’)
xuwiθa	‘female or small snake’ (m. *xūwe* ‘snake’)
gudaniθa	‘little wall’ (m. *gūda* ‘wall’ or pl. *gudāne* ‘walls’)

The word *destiθa* ‘saucepan’ also belongs to this group. The base noun is not attested in ANA but both the base noun and the diminutive are attested in Qaraqosh: d*ə*sta ‘large cooking pot’, d*ə*sti̱a ‘small cooking pot’.

Like //-Ta//, *-iθa* is sometimes used simply to denote nomina unitatis:

ʾenwiθa	‘grape’ (pl. ʾenwe ‘grapes’)
xe̱ṭ̱*iθa*	‘grain of wheat’ (pl. xe̱ṭ̱e ‘wheat’)
gerwiθa	‘sock’ (pl. gerwe ‘socks’)

The *-iθa* suffix therefore has both the individualizing and diminutive functions of //-Ta//. However the diminutive function is more common and where there is a pair of words, one ending in //-Ta//, the other in *-iθa*, *-iθa* is the diminutive, e.g. xer*ṭ*manta ‘chickpea’ and xer*ṭmaniθa* ‘chickpealet’.

7.8.2 -ona i.

This ending is diminutive in origin, though some words have lost this meaning. For instance brona and ʾaxona are now the unmarked words for ‘son’ and ‘brother’. Words with this suffix have masculine gender.

ʾaxona	‘brother’	(Syr. ʾa*ḥḥā* ‘brother’, dim. ʾa*ḥḥōnā*)
brona	‘son’	(Syr. *brā* ‘son’, dim. *brōnā*)
tēlona	‘little fox’	(< *tēla* ‘fox’)
kalbona	‘little dog’	(< kalba ‘dog’)
karmona	‘little vineyard’	(< karma ‘vineyard’)

There is one form with the feminine marker added : *ʾɛnunta* ‘little spring’.

This suffix is related to the diminutive suffix -ona ≁ *-ūna* (f. *-ūne*) added to certain adjectives with a loan inflection (§8.3(17)).

7.8.3 *-āna* (f. -u ≁ -anta ≁ *-aniθa*) i.

The *-āna* ending serves as two suffixes. One is the same ending used with adjectives and active participles of Class II and III verbs (§6.7). As most participles function as nouns, they will be listed here. These words function as nomina professionalis:

mzabnāna	'seller'
malpāna	'teacher'
mraqqāna	'patcher'
mašelxāna	'mugger'
mapelxāna	'employer', 'job-agent'

One example has developed from the presumed original form *maqelbāna* (qlb III 'to turn over'): it has undergone metathesis of the second and third radicals and the /e/ vowel has become /u/, perhaps under the influence of the back consonant /q/ or labial /b/.

maqublāna	'instrument for turning the fuel in the oven'

Another example appears to be based on an adjective:

karrāna	'a type of bird that is deaf' (karra 'deaf')

7.8.4 *-āna* ii., -ona ii.

The other *-āna* suffix is found with words of no particular semantic group but most possess a cognate verb and some of them are formed on the pattern CeCC-*āna* or CuCC-*āna*:

menyāna	'number' (√*mny*)
qenyāna	'domestic animal' (√*qny*)
kurhāna	'illness' (√krh, also √*krhn*)
xaweð*rāna*	'surrounding' (√*xð*r)

qurbāna ‘communion’ (Syr. √*qrb*, *qurbānā*)

ṭopāna ‘deluge’ (√*ṭ*yp, Syr. √*ṭ*wp, *ṭōpānā*)

quprāna ‘leafy cover put over the courtyard’

qaqwāna ‘partridge (?)’ (Syr. qaq*ḇ*ānā ‘partridge’ < Gk. κακκάβη)

šekwāna ‘ant’ (Syr. *še*k̲*bā* ‘louse’)[40]

xemyāna ‘father-in-law’ (Syr. *xmā*, *xemyāna* ‘father-in-law’)

There is also a word only found in the plural (§7.4):

xaweð*rāne* pl. ‘environs’ (√*xð*r ‘to go round’)

The word *ʾwāna* ‘ewe’ is also historically part of this group, deriving from ʾerba (pl. ʾerwe) ‘sheep’, with the loss of */r/.[41]

This suffix is cognate with Syriac *-āna* ≁ -ona which is distinct from adjectival *-āna* and diminutive -ona.[42] There are three examples in ANA with -ona, all with cognate verbs and formed on the pattern CeCC-ona:

texrona ‘commemoration’ (√*txr* ‘to remember’, Syr. *duxrānā*)

pelxona ‘workmanship’ (√*plx* ‘to work’)

perʾona ‘thing exchanged’ (√*prʾ* ‘exchange’)

7.8.5 Pet names and the -u and -e suffixes

In ANA, as in other dialects, there is a very widespread use of hypocoristic or pet-names. There is no consistent rule for how these names are formed but it usually involves simplification into a bisyllabic name of CvCv or CvCCv form. For most names, the final vowel will be /a/, e.g. *ḥ*anna (for yu*ḥ*anna ‘John’). However, close friends or family may substitute the -a with a type of diminutive suffix -u, e.g. *ḥ*annu. This is the more affectionate or familiar form. The difference is similar to the difference in English

[40] Or *še*k̲*ḇ*a? The Syriac for ‘ant’ is *šušmāna* but the two words are linked in some way as *šu*k̲*bē* ≁ *šu*k̲*bānē* and *šušmānē* both refer to a type of rash.

[41] Cf. Khan (2002: 183) where he suggests that the ending was added to compensate for this loss.

[42] Cf. Nöldeke (1904: §128).

between Tom and Tommy (for Thomas), or Mike and Mickie (for Michael). The first form is so common however that it may also be used in more formal contexts, as in the names of saints, e.g. mar-mixa ‘Saint Michael’ (lit. ‘Saint Mike’). The -u suffix is almost only ever used with masculine names. With feminine names a separate suffix -e is used.

Below are the shortened and affectionate names that have been attested or elicited:

Full name	**Abbrev.**	**Affectionate**
mixāyel	mixa	mixu
daniyel ≁ daniye		dannu
xošā́ba	*šāba*	*šābu*
yu*ḥ*anna	*ḥ*anna	*ḥ*annu
gelyāna		gellu
*ʾ*elyas		*ʾ*ellu
pa*ṭ*rus		pattu
*ḥ*abíb		*ḥ*abu
jamíl		jamu

There is one feminine name attested taking this suffix:

*ṣ*abi*ḥ*a	*ṣ*abu

For other feminine names there is no formal distinction between abbreviated and affectionate, the -e suffix covering both. All such names are feminine except for matte ‘Mathew’, where -e is part of the original name.

Full name	**Abbrev./Affectionate**
ḥanā́n	*ḥ*anne
*ḥ*abiba	*ḥ*abe
ḥabūba	*ḥ*abe
jamila	jame
barbāra	babbe
wardiya	wadde

warina	*wāru*
katrina	kette

A list of names and pet names in the related dialect of Aradhin is given in Krotkoff (1982: 115-6).

The forms suffixed with -u or -e also have a vocative function. As vocatives they take final stress (§4.2.5.1). The final /u/ is therefore lengthened to /o/ (§2.3.2.2.1.i.b). The name is usually accompanied by the vocative particle wo. To someone named *mixāyel*, the caller would cry wó mixò! 'Hey Mixo!' To a woman named *ḥanắn*, he would cry wó *ḥannè*! 'Oh Hanan!' Sometimes, the /o/ is even diphthongized, e.g. wó mixàw! The cry may also be cut off by a glottal stop, eg. wó *ḥ*annawˀ! 'O Johnny!' See §2.3.2.2.1.i.b. for a list of examples.

It should be noted that, according to Informant A, these suffixes are not usually used with family names (yemma 'mother', ʿamma 'paternal uncle', xalta 'maternal aunt' etc.), except by speakers living in Baghdad who are influenced by Arabic.[43] Instead the unsuffixed form is used with a name, e.g. *ʿámma flàn*! 'Uncle So-and-so!' Alternatively the 1sg. personal suffix is used and the stress is promoted, e.g. ˀamtí! 'Auntie!' (lit. 'My aunt!'). The -u suffix may be used with *bāba* 'father' in the expression *ˀáx bābò!* 'Oh father!', in limited circumstances, for instance at his funeral.

The -u suffix is also found with a number of nouns. For instance sotu means 'little old woman' contrasted with the neutral term sota 'old woman' and *qāṭ*u means 'female cat', contrasted with *qāṭ*a 'cat'. These can also be used as vocatives, e.g. wó sotò! 'O Old Woman!' (A:155) and *wó qāṭ*ò!ˈ 'O Cat!'. In one case the form with -u has become clearly unmarked, with no significant nuance of familiarity: *kālu* 'bride'. It should be noted that these cases are feminine.

Another function of the -u suffix is in fact as a feminine marker. In this function it is attached to a stem to form the feminine active participle, counterpart to the *CaCāCa*, *mCaCCāna* and *maCeCCāna* forms (cf. §6.7). As such it denotes feminine nomina professionalis (or in some cases adjectives). Although the forms suffixed with -u are

[43] Cf. Baghdadi Arabic ʿammu 'uncle!' and *xāl*u '(maternal) uncle!' (from Woodhead and Beene 1967).

usually the more common or standard feminine forms, they may retain some diminutive nuance. For instance malpanta is preferred to malpu for 'woman teacher' as it is more respectful.

The following are some examples:

*xɛṭ*u	'dressmaker'
yapyu	'baker-woman'
gaðlu	'knitter-woman'
zarʾu	'planter-woman'
šaðyu	'wool-teaser'
naxpu	'shy person'
mahūyu	'child-bearer' (bearer of many children)

The odd combination of functions described above has an explanation. The -u and -e endings are apparently borrowed from Kurmanji *-ō* (m.) and *-ē* (f.).[44] The former is in fact a form found with other NENA dialects. In ANA it has undergone the shift of /o/>/u/ in unstressed final syllables (§2.3.2.4). The behaviour of the suffixes in Kurmanji and ANA is also similar: in both languages they are used with diminutive and vocative function and in both the stress is shifted forward in the vocative.

Originally -u was probably restricted to masculines, as in Kurmanji. But in ANA (as in other NENA dialects) it has spread to feminines as well.[45] The use as a feminine marker for participles seems to be an ANA innovation as it is not attested in other NENA dialects. The probable reason for this development is the close semantic and formal link between diminutives and feminines in NENA. We see this in the feminine/diminutive marker //-Ta//. We also see it in the diminutive *-ūn-* suffix (§8.3(17)) which, probably for cultural reasons, is almost only used with females. What may have happened is that -u

[44] The source for the Kurmanji suffixes is Mackenzie (1961: 156). It should however be noted that -o was already found on hypocoristic names in Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic (Levias 1900: 227). If -u does have an Aramaic origin, it may still have been reinforced and influenced by the Kurdish suffix.

[45] Cf., for example, Qaraqosh qipu 'brooding hen' (Khan 2002: 185, 741).

first became unmarked for gender, displacing -e in some areas.[46] Then because diminutives are used more often of females, it became associated with them. Finally it became reanalysed as a feminine marker of participles.

When the -u suffix is followed by a copula, it is realized as /o/ and the /i/ of the copula is elided, e.g. náxpo-la ‘she is shy’ (§2.3.2.4.ii).

7.8.6 *-ūθa*

This ending is found mostly on abstract nouns. Abstract nouns of this form are perhaps most frequently found with the preposition b-, with adverbial meaning, e.g. p-xaray*ūθa θēl*e ‘he came late’.

Most nouns ending in *-ūθa* are derived from an adjective or human noun. In some cases *-ūθa* is simply added to the base form.

Abstract form		**Base form**	
xamim*ūθa*	‘heat	xamima	‘hot’
qarir*ūθa*	‘coldness’	qarira	‘cold’
qalilūθa	‘quickness’	cf. Syr. *qallīlā*	‘quick’ (ANA *qalūla*)
rab*ūθa*	‘old age’	r*ā*ba	‘old’
zorūθa	‘childhood’	zora	‘young’
xar*ayūθa*	‘end’	xar*ā*ya	‘last’
payaxūθa	‘coolness’	*payāxa*	‘cool’
nexray*ūθa*	‘abroad’	nexr*ā*ya	‘stranger’
malkūθa	‘kingdom’	malka	‘king’
dežmenūθa	‘enmity’	*dežmen* (K.)	‘enemy’

In other cases, the word is formed from the root of the base, on the pattern CeCC*ūθa*:

pe*ṣxūθa*	‘happiness’	p*ṣ*ixa	‘happy’
qešyūθa	‘harshness’	qe*šya*	‘harsh’
besm*ūθa*	‘niceness’	bassima	‘nice’

[46] In Qaraqosh (2002: 185) and Aradhin (1982: 116) it has spread within a different area, being found with several female names.

In yet other cases there is no base word existing in ANA.

sēbūθa	'old age'	Syr. *saybūθa*
haymānūθa	'faith'	Syr. haym*ā*n*ūθā* (ANA √*hymn* Q.)
xurtūθa	'difficulty'	K. xurt 'strong'
pežmanūθa	'regret'	K. *poşm*an[47] 'regretful'
fallāḥūθa	'agriculture'	Arab. *fallāḥ* 'peasant'
tijarūθa ≁ *ʾettijarūθa*	'trade'	Arab. *tijāra* or *ʾittijār* 'trade'

In some words, a -t- is inserted before the suffix:

suraytūθa	'Christianity'	*surāya*	'Surath-speaking Christian'[48]
*mšiḥaytūθ*a	'Christianity'	*mšiḥāya*	'Christian'

One case, qa*ṭūθa* 'little cat', should be analysed as *qāṭ*u + //-Ta// rather than *qāṭ*a with the abstract ending.

7.8.7 *-āya* (mpl. *-āye*, f. *-εθa*, fpl. *-ayāθa*)

This is a gentilic suffix, indicating nationality or ethnic origin. Gentilics may behave as either nouns or adjectives and this ending is also used with some non-gentilic adjectives (see §8.2(13)).

qurðāya	'Kurd'
qurðεθa	'Kurdish woman'
kalðāya	'Chaldean'
ʿar*abāya*	'Arab'
terkāya	'Turk'
huðāya	'Jew'
badwεθa	'Bedouin woman'
ʿir*aqāya*	'Iraqi'

[47] Rizgar (1993: 334). Or perhaps some dialectal form closer to *pežman*.
[48] Literally 'Syrianism', 'Syrian' respectively.

ʾenglizāya	‘Englishman’
faransāya	‘Frenchman’
nexrāya	‘stranger’
hendwāya	‘Indian’
ʿewrāya	‘Hebrew’ (Syr. *ʿebrāyā*)
nexrāya	‘stranger’

In the new generation, kaldan*ā*ya, from Arab. kald*ā*n ‘Chaldeans’, is becoming more widespread as an alternative to kal*ð̄ā*ya.

This suffix also occurs with some non-gentilic nouns:

flanāya	‘so and so’
ḥwišāya	‘hermit’

7.8.8 *-nāya* (mpl. *-nāye*, f. *-nεθa*, fpl. *-nayāθa*)

This suffix is mostly used to identify which town a person is from.

ʾalqušnāya	‘man from Alqosh’
ʾalqušnεθa	‘woman from Alqosh’
tesqupn*ā*ya	‘man from Tesqopa’
tesqupnεθa	‘woman from Tesqopa’
zāxunāya	‘man from Zakho’
telkepnāya	‘man from Tel Kepe’
*ġdε*dn*ā*ya	‘man from Baġdede-Qaraqosh’
mange*š*n*ā*ya	‘man from Mangesh’
sarsenkn*ā*ya	‘man from Sarsenk’
*baġdadnā*ya	‘Baghdadi’

There is some overlap between *-āya* and *-nāya*. For instance *-ā*ya may sometimes be used instead of -n*ā*ya, e.g. bare*ṭlā*ya ‘man from Bareṭle’, *ġdεdā*ya ‘man from Baġdede-Qaraqosh’ and *ʾeneškā*ya ‘man from ʾEneške’. We also find *-nāya* being used with ethnic

rather than town affiliations, e.g. *baznāya* ‘man from (the tribe/region of) Baz’ and *dasnāya* ‘Yazidi’.

7.9 Compounds

Most compounds are derived from the old Aramaic construct, i.e. a genitive construction without the use of the genitive suffix -ed-. This indicates that they have old origins, as genitive constructions in ANA always use -ed-. The first element of the compound is without -a inflection because historically it was not in the emphatic state.

7.9.1 mar-

There are two elements mar- with different functions and historical origins. One, derived from an old construct state of *māra* ‘master’ or ‘lord’ (although the Syriac construct was *mārē*), indicates the possessor of something, whether a property or a quality. The other, derived from *mār(ī)* (Syr.) ‘my lord’, prefixes the names of ecclesiastics and saints. Examples of the former are as follows:

mar-ʾérwe	‘sheep-owner’	lit. ‘master of sheep’
mar-dekkā́na	‘shopkeeper’	lit. ‘master of shop’
mar-pā́re	‘a moneyed person’	lit. ‘master of money’
mar-siyā́ra	‘car-owner’	lit. ‘master of car’
mar-*ġíra*	‘active person’	lit. ‘master of zealousness’
mar-pā́θa kómta	‘guilty-faced person’	lit. ‘master of black face’

In some expressions, this mar- can be replaced with suffixed *māred-*, e.g. *māret-sayārat* ‘owner of cars’. The plural of both mar- and *māred-* is formed with the suffixed plural of *māra*: *marwāθed-*, e.g. *marwāθed-dekkān*e ‘shopkeepers’ and *marwāθet-sayāra* ‘car-owners’.

Examples of the title mar- are below:

m*ar-behnā́m*	‘Saint Behnam’
mar-giwárges	‘Saint George’

7.9.2 bar-

Other compounds are formed on bar-, the old absolute form of **brā* 'son'. This structure is no longer productive.

barnāša	'human'	lit. 'son of man'
barzara	'seed'	lit. 'son of crop'

The first example forms the plural on the first element: *bnēnāše*. The second forms it on the second element: barzare.

7.9.3 Points of the compass

The four points of the compass divide into two groups. North and south are both based on bar (K.) 'direction': [49]

bā́rēli	'north'	lit. 'direction above me'
bártaxti	'south'	lit. 'direction below me'

East and west are based on the movement of the sun:[50]

ʾisaqyoma	'east'	lit. 'rising of the day'
gnēyoma	'west'	lit. 'setting of the day'

7.9.4 zaqar-

There is only one compound based on this element:

zaqarqoda	'spider'

This appears to be derived from the old absolute form of *zaqāra* 'weaver' and *qawḏa 'chain', meaning 'chain-weaver'. A close cognate is found in the dialect of Tkhuma:

[49] Cf. §10.3.1, n. 2 for a discussion of bar.

[50] Informant A also gave maðenxa 'east' and *ṃ*aʿerwa 'west' as archaic variants used until a few decades ago. Other expressions for 'north' are l-*ṭūra*, literally 'to the mountains' and l-ʾ*ēl* 'above'. This is because Alqosh is situated by mountains to the north and a plain to the south.

zaqra-*gōde* ‘Spinne’, ‘Netzweberin’.[51] Despite its origins as a compound, this word takes the plural ending on the final element: zaqarqode ‘spiders’.

7.9.5 bi-

This prefix is principally used with family names and festivals. It is derived from earlier Aramaic *bēt-* ‘house of’, which is the form still found in some other dialects, such as Txūma where Christmas is *bēṭ*-yalda.[52] The contracted form was also found in earlier Aramaic dialects, e.g. Mandaic bi-mandi ‘mandi-house’.

bi-xande	(a family name)
bi-yalde	‘Christmas’
bi-denxa	‘Epiphany’
bi-malka	‘royal family’
bi-ʿammi	‘the family of my paternal uncle’
bi-*xalawāθi*	‘the families of my maternal uncles’

The gentilic form *bēbaṭnāya* ‘(man) of Baṭnāya’ may be another case. The bi-/*bē*- prefix may have been used because it would have been awkward to attach the more usual gentilic marker -*āya* to a word already ending in -*āya*.

This prefix is also found with other semantic groups, especially words for places. It is not productive in this capacity and in some cases has undergone phonetic changes:

bisukre	‘hole in the wall for hiding valuables’
bikāre	‘ground-floor room for domestic animals’[53]

[51] Jacobi (1973: 186).

[52] Jacobi (1973: 184).

[53] The second element of *bikāre* may be from Kurdish ker ‘donkey’, the -e being the Aramaic plural, hence ‘house of donkeys’. Maclean (1901: 31) gives bi-*xārē* ‘stable’ for the Mosul Plain dialects; this would presumably be derived from the Persian cognate xar.

Before two consonants bi- it is realized as be-, as in bedra ‘threshing floor’, *burmāše* (<*be-*ramāše*).[54]

The words *spadiθa* ‘cushion’ and *bēða* ‘sleeves’ were also originally of this form, from *bi-*sadiθa* (?)[55] and **bē-ʾiḏa* respectively.

7.9.6 Days of the week

All the days of the week except Friday and Saturday are compounds derived from a number + **ḇ*- ‘in’ + *šāba*.[56] The **ḇ*- was realized in earlier ANA as /w/ but has since merged with the preceding vowel. The element *šāba* may be the old absolute form of *šabθa* (Syr. *šabbā*). As numbers followed by a clitic, these words are stressed on the final syllable before *šā*ba (§4.3.2.2 (2)). The first, *xošā́ba*, is an exception.

xošā́ba	‘Sunday’
trū́šāba	‘Monday’
ṭlaθóšāba	‘Tuesday’
ʾarbóšāba	‘Wednesday’
xamšóšāba	‘Thursday’

The other two days, *ʾrūta* ‘Friday’ and *šapθa* ‘Saturday’, are not compound words.

7.9.7 Borrowed compounds

There is only one attested example of a borrowed compound. It should still be analysed as a compound, as the plural is formed on the first word of the pair (see §7.11.7).

dāda-čoġ	‘owl’ (P.?)

[54] Cf. Qaraqosh b*ərmāšə* (Khan 2002: 210).

[55] Cf. Khan (2002: 210, n.13) for a discussion of the cognates of this form.

[56] The Syriac is, for example, xa*ḏ* b^{e}*šabbā*.

7.9.8 Genitive compounds

A genitive relationship between two nouns is expressed by means of the genitive morpheme //d// (§10.2.1). Usually this takes the form of the suffix -ed- which is attached to the first noun, the possessee. This suffix assimilates in voicing to the following consonant, e.g. *rūtet-ḥešša* ‘Good Friday’.

Some pairs of words are so commonly bound together in the genitive construction that they should be viewed semantically as one word, e.g. *rēšeš-šāta* ‘New Year’. Such expressions include two animal names used by children.

rēšeš-šāta	‘New Year’	lit. ‘head of the year’
ma*ṭemyāθed-huðāye*	‘tadpoles’	lit. ‘spoons of Jews’
qarāṣeš-šekyāθa	‘spiders’	lit. ‘pinchers of testicles’

7.10 Nouns ending in a consonant

Most words ending in a consonant are loanwords which have not been adapted to Aramaic. The exceptions are almost exclusively proper names. These may be personal names such as pa*ṭ*rus ‘Peter’ or place names such as *ʾalqoš* ‘Alqosh’. In earlier Aramaic, such nouns occurred in the absolute state, i.e. without the -a ending. The same is true of month names, of which most end in a consonant. All month names are masculine.

k*ānun qamāya*	‘December’
nisan	‘April’
ʾiyar	‘May’
*ṭ*abbax	‘August’
ʾilul	‘September’

Loanwords ending in a consonant are mostly from Arabic and Kurdish:

p*āyes*	‘Autumn’ (K.)
mēs	‘table’ (K.)
ʿamal	‘thing’ (Arab.)
banas	‘fault’ (K.)

hāwan	‘mortar’ (Arab.)
beskít	‘biscuit’ (Eng.)
bagat	‘bucket’ (Eng.)
dargavắn	‘gatekeeper’ (K.)

7.11 Plural formation

Plural formation in ANA is relatively complex. Plurality is marked by suffixes, of which there are seven used. There is a degree of variability, partly from speaker to speaker but also within the speech of a single speaker. Although there are no absolute rules as to which suffix may be used with which noun, there are nevertheless clear tendencies based on various attributes of the noun. These attributes fall into four categories: **gender**, **animacy**, **form** and **origin**. In addition many nouns have two plurals with differing functions. In such cases one is usually a collective plural and the other countable.

Plurals can be loosely divided by gender. The main masculine plurality markers are:

1) -e
2) *-āne*
3) *-āCe* (reduplication of final radical, e.g. *parča - parčāče*)
4) *-(a)wāθa*

The main feminine plurality markers are:

1) *-yāθa*
2) *-āθa*
3) -at

All the ‘masculine’ endings, apart from *-āCe*, are also found with some feminine nouns, but the feminine endings are not found with masculine nouns, with the one exception of yoma ‘day’ (m., pl. *yumāθa*).

The feminine plural -at is a loan plural, adapted from the Arabic feminine plural *-āt*. Sometimes Arabic words are also borrowed in their original plural forms, without any adaptation, e.g. *holắt* 'halls' and *fallāḥ*ín 'farmers'. This is sometimes an indication that such a word is an example of code-switching, or a slip into Arabic, rather than a true loan integrated into the language.

Apart from gender, the attributes influencing the choice of plural are as follows:

place in animacy hierarchy (human, animal or inanimate)
form (morphological or phonetic shape)
origin (Aramaic or foreign)

In the animacy hierarchy humans are at the top and inanimates (objects or concepts) are at the bottom. Between these two extremes are found animals. But even these can be subdivided between domestic animals, which are usually distinguished as to gender, and wild animals which are usually not. Even lower are small wild animals which are often grouped with inanimates:

humans
domestic animals
large wild animals
small wild animals
inanimates

While -e, *-yāθa*, *-āθa* and *-(a)wāθa* are found at both extremes of animacy, *-āne*, *-āC_3*e and -at are associated with nouns at the bottom end of the animacy hierarchy.

The most common morphological factor is the //-Ta// suffix. The majority of nouns with this suffix take *-yāθa* as their plural (and *-yāθa* is not found with any other types of nouns.)

nunta 'fish'	*nunyāθa*
susta 'mare'	*susyāθa*
zemmarta 'song'	*zemmaryāθa*

The limited number of exceptions take *-āθa* or -e. In contrast the plural feminine nouns lacking the //-Ta// suffix more often take *-āθa* or -at.

ʾaqla f. ‘foot’	*ʾaqlāθa*
šarre f. ‘fight’	*šarrāθa*

There is also a tendency for plurals to be used with words of a particular shape. The following are other morphological factors that influence the choice of plural:

(i) All the words attested that take *-āθa* are bisyllabic.

(ii) All the words taking -at are trisyllabic or long (except for karwan which lacks the -a suffix).

(iii) All the words which take *-āC_3*e are bisyllabic and most of them end in -pa, e.g. guppa ‘cave’, *guppāpe*.

(iv) Most of the attested words taking *-āne* end in *-āCa* or *-ūCa*.

The final factor in choice of plural is origin: whether the word is native Aramaic or a loanword. Masculine loanwords take native plurals such as -e and *-āne*. Feminine loanwords mostly mostly take one of three plurals: the loan plural -at and the native plurals *-āθa* and -e. According to the morphological tendency mentioned above, *-āθa* is found with disyllabic words, while -at is almost entirely restricted to trisyllabic or longer words. The other plural -e is a little less common. It is found with both morphological groups and sometimes nouns with this plural also take one of the others.

With some nouns, especially inanimates that are usually viewed collectively, there are two available plurals, one of which is -e. In such cases, -e is usually preferred when the noun is treated as countable (see §7.11.2-3). In two cases, however, the two plurals have quite different meanings.

nāša	‘person’	*nāše*	‘people’	*našwāθa*	‘relatives’
baxta	‘woman’, ‘wife’	*ʾenše*	‘women’	*baxtāθa*	‘wives’

In the case of *ʾɛna* ‘eye’, ‘spring’, there is some overlap but generally -e is used for ‘eyes’ and *-āθa* for ‘springs’.[57]

These types of twin plurals are more common in Mangesh, where there is a whole series of such words, e.g. baabɨ ‘fathers’ and *baabawaaθa* ‘forefathers’, but in ANA they seem to be limited to these two examples.[58]

7.11.1 -e

The majority of ANA words take this plural. They include words from across the animacy hierarchy and from both native and foreign stock. Some simply take the suffix, while others use a modified stem. The majority are masculine. This suffix is also used as a counted plural with some words that take *-āne* or *-āCe* as a collective plural. But -e is also the plural used with a set of feminines normally viewed collectively.

7.11.1.1 -a to -e without internal change

Humans		
sāwa	*sāwe*	‘old men’ (Aram.)
šwāwa	*šwāwe*	‘neighbours’ (Aram.)
šivāna	*šivāne*	‘shepherds’ (K.)
*nāṭ*ora	*nāṭ*ore	‘guards’ (Aram.)
dežmen	*dežmene*	‘enemies’ (K.)
Animals		
dēwa	*dēwe*	‘wolves’ (Aram.)
šarxa	*šarxe*	‘calves’ (Aram.)
jerða	jerðe	‘rats’ (Arab.)
deðwa	deðwe	‘flies’ (Aram.)
Inanimates		
yarxa	yarxe	‘months’ (Aram.)

[57] The same distinction in the plural is made in Syriac (Nöldeke 1904: §82).
[58] S. Sara (1990: 49). In ANA *babawāθa* serves for both meanings.

kēpa	*kēpe*	‘stones’ (Aram.)
ʾilāna ≁ hilāna	*ʾilāne ≁ hilāne*	‘trees’ (Aram.)
ranga	range	‘colours’ (K.)
kāka	*kāke*	‘teeth’ (Aram.)

There some cases of unmarked feminines taking -e for their plurals. Those attested are as follows:

garna	garne	‘troughs’ (Aram.)
ʾɛna	*ʾɛne*	‘eyes’ (Aram.)
nuqwa	nuqwe ≁ *-āθa*	‘females’ (Aram.)
yona	yone ≁ *-āθa*	‘pigeons’ (Aram.)
ʾarnūwa	*ʾarnūwe*	‘rabbits’ (Aram.)
ʿaqerwa	ʿaqerwe	‘scorpions’ (Aram.)
xar*ār*a	xar*ār*e	‘large sack’ (T.)
brina	brine ≁ *-āθa*	‘wounds’ (K.)
*xyār*a	*xyār*e	‘cucumbers’ (Arab.)
zarna	zarne	‘reed pipe’ (K.)
ṭabāqa	*ṭabāqe*	‘layers’ (Arab.)
*sāʿ*a	*sāʿ*e	‘hours’ (Arab.)
*ṣ*iniya	*ṣ*iniye	‘metal trays’ (K., Arab.)
jammadāna	*jammadāne*	‘man’s turban’ (K)
qalāma	*qalāme* ≁ -at	‘pen’ (K.)
*ṭ*abaqiya	*ṭ*abaqiye	‘wicker tray’ (Arab.?)
taššiya	*ṭaššiye* ≁ -at	‘spindles’ (K.)
pošiya	*pošiye* ≁ -at	‘turbans’ (K.)
tabliya	tabliye ≁ -at	‘tunic’ (I.A.)

7.11.1.2 -a to -e with internal change

Some nouns of the CoCa pattern change the vowel to */ū/* in the plural. This is attested in other related dialects such as that of Aradhin.[59]

gora	*gūre*	'men'
xora	*xūre*	'friends'

In five attested cases, there is a consonantal change:

ʾerba	ʾerwe	'sheep'
kalba	kalwe	'dogs'
dēwa	deʾwe	'wolves'
bɛθa	*bāte*	'houses'
yaprax	*yaprāġe*	'dolmas' (cf. §1.4.1.3)

Some nouns that end in a consonant take -e as their plural marker. In the change in stress, a final short vowel becomes lengthened (§2.3.2.2.1.i.a).[60]

rabban	r*abbāne*	'monks'
sardab	*sardābe*	'cellars'
čangal	*čangāle*	'forks'
ḥɛwan	*ḥɛwāne*	'animals'
qapaġ	*qapāġe*	'lids'
yaprax	*yaprāġe*	'dolmas'

In the following example a consonant is geminated in compensation:

kemkem	kemkemme	'geckos'

[59] See Aradhin gawra (pl. gu:re) in Krotkoff (1982: 126).

[60] The same lengthening occurs in Aradhin (Krotkoff 1982: 41).

7.11.1.3 //-Ta// to -e

Although -e is more often used for masculine nouns ending in -a, a few feminine nouns ending in //-Ta// use it to mark their plural. As discussed in §7.7, these nouns denote things which are usually viewed collectively, such as fruit and foods consisting of small parts, e.g. *yabešta* 'raisin' (pl. *yabiše*). The plural with -e is used for both the collective and counted plurals and despite its form takes feminine numbers, e.g. *xammé*š*-*ʾarmone 'five pomegranates'. The following lists include all the words attested of this type:

yabešta	*yabiše*	'raisins'
ʾarmota	ʾarmone	'pomegranates'
bašelta	*bašile*	'musk melons'
xabušta	*xabūše*	'apples'
taraʿuzta	taraʿ*ūze*	'white cucumbers'
xerṭmanta	xerṭ*māne*	'chickpeas'
*bē*ta	*bē*ʾe	'eggs'
kubabta	*kubɛbe*	'kubbas'
xemmarta	xemre ≁ *-yāθa*	'beads'
pēlavta	*pēlāve*	'shoes'
kālekθa	*kālekke*	'crocheted shoes'
šakkalta	*šakkāle*	'sandals'
naʿalta	naʿ*āle*	'house-sandals'
ṭolēθa	*ṭ*awelʾe	'worms'[61]
paṭaxta	paṭoxe	'cow-pats'

Another member of this group is not so clearly linked to the others: *šāta* 'year' with its irregular plural *šenne*.

Also belonging to this group are three words ending in the feminine marker *-iθa*:

ʾenwiθa	ʾenwe	'grapes'
xeṭṭiθa	xeṭṭe	'wheat'

[61] From the plural, one might expect the singular to be *ṭolēta* (<*ṭawleʾta) 'worm', but cf. Aradhin *tlawlē*t̲a (Krotkoff l985: 127), Qar. *ṭ*olaʾt̲a (Khan 2002:747) and J. Zakho *ṭōle*ʾt̲a (Sabar 2002: 44).

gerwiθa	gerwe	‘socks’

A group such as this exists in other dialects such as Aradhin and Qaraqosh and is also found in Syriac.[62] According to Maclean (1895: 52-4), *-yāθa* could be used for the unit plural as distinct from the collective plural -e. The *-yāθa* plural may be used in ANA with some of this set (in particular footwear and fruit) but only with a slight diminutive or derogatory sense.

7.11.2 *-āne*

Many, if not all, words with this plural may also take -e as their counted plural. This means that where the word is preceded by a numeral, the -e form is used. Where this is attested, it is marked in brackets. Words which take this plural are mainly masculine and almost entirely inanimate. The four attested feminines are *dūka* ‘place’, *dekkāna* ‘shop’, *bestāna* ‘garden’ and jez*ḍ*āna ‘purse’. The two attested animate exceptions are *xmāra* ‘donkey’ and gora ‘man’. In both cases the use of *-āne* seems to be linked to a lack of respect: donkeys are animals that are traditionally accorded little respect and *gorāne* is a pejorative alternative to unmarked *gūre* ‘men’. Respect also plays a role in other cases: xa*ṣ*āne ‘backs’ is preferred for the backs of animals, while *xāṣ*e is preferred for human backs.

Most but not all of the nouns taking this plural are of Aramaic origin. The following lists include all the words attested with this plural:

šemma m.	*šemmāne*	‘names’ (Aram.)
warza m.	*warzāne (*-e)	‘vegetable fields’ (K.)
gulpa m.	*gulpāne (*-e)	‘wings’ (Aram.)
karma m.	*karmāne* (-e)	‘vineyards’ (Aram.)
dekkāna f.	*dekkanāne*	‘shops’ (K.)

[62] Krotkoff (1982: 42), Khan (2002: 178-9, 191) and Nöldeke (1904: §81).

Most words taking this plural end in *-āCa* or *-ūCa*. Any */ā/* or */ū/* vowel that becomes pretonic through the addition of *-āne* undergoes shortening, (§2.3.2.2.2.i).

ʾixāla m.	*ʾixalāne*	‘foods’ (Aram.)
bāra m.	*barāne (*-e)	‘directions’ (K.)
xmāra m.	*xmarāne*	‘donkeys’ (Aram.)
kθāwa m.	*kθawāne*	‘books’ (Aram.)
dar*māna* m.	dar*manāne (*-e)	‘medicines’ (K.)
ṭūra m.	*ṭurāne*	‘mountains’ (Aram.)
rūša m.	*rušāne*	‘shoulders’ (Aram.)
gūda m.	*gudāne (*-e)	‘walls’ (Aram.)
šūla m.	*šulāne (*-e)	‘jobs’ (K., Arab., T.)
šūqa m.	*šuqāne* (-e)	‘markets’ (Aram.)
*xāṣ*a m.	xa*ṣāne*	‘backs (of animals)’ (-e of humans) (Aram.)
gora m.	*gorāne*	‘men (pejor.)’ (-e ‘men (unmarked)’) (Aram.)
bestāna f.	*bestanāne*	‘gardens’ (Arab., ?)
jez*ḍāna* f.	jez*ḍanāne*	‘purses’ (K., Arab.)

The /o/ in -ona is also shortened to /a/ in the plural of karmona ‘little vineyard’:

karmona m.	*karmanāne*	‘little vineyards’ (Aram.)

The following words have irregular plurals:

mendi m.	*mendāne*	‘things’ (Aram.)
	≁ mendiyāne	
dūka f.	*dukkāne*	‘places’ (Aram.)

7.11.3 *-āCe* (reduplication of final radical, e.g. *parča-parčāče*)

This type of plural is attested in several other dialects, including Aradhin, Qaraqosh, Tkhuma, J. Zakho, Mangesh and Arbel.[63] The words it is attached to vary from dialect to dialect but cross-dialectally it seems to be restricted to inanimates, especially small body parts, or small animals. It seems to be used with greater frequency with words ending in /pa/. The following are all the words attested with this plural in ANA:

parča	*parčāče*	'pieces' (K.)
šopa	*šopāpe*	'footprints' (Aram.)
xūwe	*xuwāwe*	'snakes' (Aram.)
guppa	*guppāpe*	'caves' (Aram.)
telpa	*telpāpe*	'eyelids' (Aram.)
*ṣ*eppa	*ṣeppāpe*	'classes' (Arab.)
mella	*mellāle*	'hills' (?)
fe*ṣṣ*a	fe*ṣṣāṣ*e	'segments' (Arab.)
ševla	*ševlāle*	'ears of grain' (Aram.)
zeq*ṭ*a	zeq*ṭāṭ*e	uncertain meaning and gender[64] (Aram.)

7.11.4 *-(a)wāθa*

Despite the resemblance of this ending to the feminine suffixes *-āθa* and *-yāθa*, most of the nouns which form their plural on this pattern are masculine. The majority end in -a in the singular, but a few end in -e.

The two forms, *-wāθa* and *-awāθa* have the same origin. The /a/ in *-awāθa* seems to be an epenthetic vowel. It is used where historically *-wāθa* would have created a consonant cluster, i.e. after /CC/, e.g. *bεθawāθa* (<*bayt̲[a]*wā*t̲a) 'houses', *šērawāθa* (<**šehr*[a]*wā*t̲a) 'vigils' and *ṭarawāθa* (<*tarʿ[a]*wā*t̲a) 'doors'. The plural *-wāθa* is found

[63] Cf. Krotkoff (1982: 42), Khan (2002: 201-2), Jacobi (1973: 201), Sabar (2002: 44), Sara (1974: 56) and Khan (1999: 166). The last two dialects have only one example attested each. Also see Maclean (1895: 39, 47-8) and Rhétoré (1912: 33).

[64] Cf. Maclean (1901: 88) m., pl. -e 'spike', 'point'.

where no consonant cluster would be produced, i.e. after /vC/, e.g. *našwāθa* ‘people’ (sg. *nāša*, Syr. (*ʾ*)*nāšā*). A preceding long vowel is shortened.

There are exceptions to the rule, e.g. *susawāθa* ‘horses’ (sg. *sūsa*, Syr. *sūsa*) and *garawāθa* ‘roofs’ (Syr. sg. *ʾeggārā*).

Most but not all the words with these plurals are of Aramaic origin.

7.11.4.1 *-awāθa*

Words that take this ending tend to undergo propretonic reduction of */ā/* and */ū/*, e.g. *bāba* ‘father’, pl. *babawāθa* and *sūsa* ‘horse’, pl. *susawāθa* ‘horses’.

Masculine nouns

bɛθa	*bɛθawāθa ≁ bāte*	‘houses’ (Aram.)
*ṭ*ara	*ṭ*ar*awāθa*	‘doors’ (Aram.)
*dɛr*a	*dɛrawāθa ≁ dɛr*e	‘monasteries’ (Aram.)
dara	dar*awāθa*	‘steps’ (Aram.)
šēra	*šērawāθa*	‘vigils’ (Aram.)
xora	*xorawāθa ≁ xūre*	‘friends’ (Aram.)
lɛle	*lɛlawāθa*	‘nights’ (Aram.)
ʿamma	*ʿammawāθa*	‘paternal uncles’ (Arab.)
xāla	*xalawāθa*	‘maternal uncles’ (Aram., Arab.)
bāba	*babawāθa*	‘fathers’ (K., Arab.)
bāra	*barawāθa ≁ barāne*	‘directions’ (K.)
sūsa	*susawāθa*	‘horses’ (Aram.)
ʾēða	*ʾēðawāθa*	‘festivals’(Aram.)

Feminine nouns

gāre ≁ gāra	*garawāθa*	‘roofs’ (Aram.)

7.11.4.2 *-wāθa*

Three of the feminine nouns taking this suffix treat the feminine marker as a radical: *xāθa* ‘sister’, *māθa* ‘village’ and *pāθa* ‘face’.

Masculine nouns

nāša	*našwāθa*	‘relatives’ (Aram.)
bikāre	*bikarwāθa*	‘stables’ (Aram.+ K.)
ʾaxona	*ʾaxunwāθa*	‘brothers’ (Aram.)
šivāna	*šivanwāθa* ~ -e	‘shepherds’ (K.)

Feminine nouns

burmāše	*burmašwāθa*	‘evenings’ (Aram.)
sepθa	*sepwāθa*	‘lips’ (Aram.)
xāθa	*xaθwāθa*	‘sisters’ (Aram.)
māθa	*maθwāθa*	‘villages’ (Aram.)
pāθa	*paθwāθa*	‘faces’ (Aram.)

7.11.5 *-āθa*

This plural is reserved entirely for feminine nouns, with the one exception of yoma m. ‘day’ (pl. *yumāθa*). Most bisyllabic feminine words without //-Ta// take this plural, e.g. ʾaqla ‘foot’ (pl. *ʾaqlāθa*) and *šarre* ‘fight’ (pl. *šarrāθa*), but words with //-Ta// also form a significant part of the group. Included among these are those plurals which appear to end in *-(a)wāθa* or *-yāθa* but where the /w/ or /y/ is part of the root and not the plural marker, e.g. *ṣlawāθa* ‘prayers’ (sg. *ṣloθa* <*ṣlawθa*).

The rule of pretonic reduction is applied with this plural, e.g. *yāma* ‘sea’, pl. *yamāθa*.

7.11.5.1 Singular without //-Ta//

This group includes words of both Aramaic and foreign origin. The following include all those attested:

yemma	*yemmāθa*	‘mothers’ (Aram.)
ʾaqla	*ʾaqlāθa*	‘feet’ (Aram.)
ʾɛna	*ʾɛnāθa*	‘springs’ (Aram.)
bedra	bedr*āθa*	‘threshing floors’ (Aram.)

ʾara	*ʾarāθa*	‘fields’ (Aram.)
ʾurxa	*ʾurxāθa*	‘roads’ (Aram.)
bēra	*bērāθa*	‘wells’ (Aram.)
kāwe	*kawāθa*	‘windows’ (Aram.)
yāma	*yamāθa*	‘seas’ (Aram.)
qatta	*qattāθa*	‘sticks’ (Aram.)
šemša	*šemšāθa*	‘suns’ (Aram.)
ʾwāna	*ʾwanāθa*	‘ewes’ (Aram.)
ʿuṯma	ʿuṯmāθa	‘thighs’ (Aram.)
berka	*berkāθa*	‘knees’ (Aram.)
nuqwa	*nuqwāθa* ≁ -e	‘females’ (Aram.)
skina	*skināθa*	‘knives’ (Aram.)
xabra	xabr*āθa*	‘lakes’ (Aram.?)[65]
puqa	*puqāθa*	‘frogs’ (Aram./K., cf. §7.3.1.3(13))
baxta	*baxtāθa*	‘wives’ (K.?)[66]
ʾoḍa	ʾoḍāθa	‘rooms’ (K., A., T.)
dašta	*daštāθa*	‘plains’ (K.)
šarre	*šarrāθa*	‘fights’ (K.)
nita	*nitāθa*	‘plans’ (Arab.)
qubbe	*qubbāθa*	‘rooms’ (Q.A.)
ʿulbe	*ʿulbāθa*	‘units of volume’ (poss. bushels) (Arab.)[67]
kyalla	*kyallāθa*	‘target stones’ (K.)
yamne	*yamnāθa*[68]	‘right hands’ (Arab.)[69]
čappe	*čappāθa* ≁ *čappēyāθa*	‘left hands’ (K.)

[65] Perhaps cognate with Syriac *ḥabbārā* m. ‘deep pit’, though this would not explain the gender.

[66] There are different opinions on the derivation of this word. The two suggestions are: Syr. *bā*k̲e*ṯ*ta ‘weaver-woman’ (cf. English ‘spinster’) and K., P. baxt ‘luck’, ‘good fortune’ (as a euphemism). Note that in Anatolian Arabic and Ṭuroyo baxt also means ‘honour’, which is commonly linked to women in the Middle East. Cf. Krotkoff (1985: 131-2, 135) for a discussion of the evidence.

[67] Borrowed already into Syriac, but the retention of the /ʿ/ suggests this may be a more recent loan, or at least one influenced by recent contact with Arabic.

[68] ≁ yamme, pl. *yammāθa*.

[69] The root is also Aramaic but the form Arabic.

ʿadde	*ʿaddāθa*	‘ploughs’ (Arab.)
ʾenta	*ʾentāθa*	‘porous pot used to filter and cool water’ (?)
brina	*brināθa* ≁ -e	‘wounds’ (K.)
mella	*mellāθa*	‘hillocks’ (?)
wazna	*waznāθa*	‘waznas’ (a unit of weight)[70] (I.A.)
xwāna	*xwanāθa*	‘small, low, circular table’ (Arab.)

The noun yoma ‘day’ resembles gora and xora in taking a /u/ in the plural:

yoma (m.)	*yumāθa* ≁ -e	‘days’ (Aram.)

In contrast yona, ‘pigeon’, forms its plural without the vowel change.

yona (Aram.)	*yonāθa* ≁ -e	‘pigeons’ (Aram.)

The words for hand and sleeve undergo a consonantal change in their plural forms due to dissimilation (§1.7.1.2):

ʾiða	*ʾidāθa*	‘hands’ (Aram.)
bēða	*bēdāθa*	‘sleeves’ (Aram.)

In two cases the feminine marker has been analysed as a radical:

ʾēta	*ʾētāθa*	‘churches’ (Aram.)
kesta	*kestāθa* ≁ *-yāθa*	‘small bags’ (Aram., Arab.)

7.11.5.2 Singular with //-Ta//

Only a minority of words ending in //-Ta// take this plural, most of them taking *-yāθa* instead. Those that do simply replace //-Ta// with *-āθa*, with no lengthening of the vowel, despite the opening of the syllable.

[70] Used in Iraq. Roughly equal to about 100kg.

xamθa	*xamāθa*	‘unmarried women’
šabθa	*šabāθa*	‘weeks’
darta	*darāθa*[71]	‘courtyards’
ṣubēta	*ṣubaθa*	‘fingers’

Many original features of these words which have been lost in the singular through processes such as syllable closure are preserved in the plural. For instance, original */ay/ or */aw/ in a closed syllable in the singular is realized as */ɛ/* or /o/. But in the plural, the syllable has not been closed, so /ay/ and /aw/ are preserved.

kθɛθa	*kθayāθa*	‘chickens’
ṣloθa	*ṣlawāθa*	‘prayers’
tanɛθa	*tanayāθa*	‘words’

Words of the form CaCeCTa are often derived from a historic or hypothetical masculine word of form CaCCa. The epenthetic /e/, used to break up the consonantal cluster in CaC^{e}Cta, is not needed before the plural suffix *-āθa*.

taxerta	*taxrāθa*	‘small thick pitta’
paθexta	*paθxāθa*	‘large thin pitta’
ṭarepθa	*ṭarpāθa*	‘leaves’ (Syr. *ṭarpā*)

In the plural of tawerta the resulting combination of */aw/ before a consonant is realized as /o/:

tawerta	*torāθa*	‘cows’ (m. tora < *tawra)

An epenthetic vowel is also lost from *ʾiseqθa* ‘ring’, and in the resulting closed syllable /i/ is contracted to /e/:

ʾiseqθa	ʾesq*āθa*	‘rings’

[71] ≁ *daryāθa*.

In the plural of *qaniθa* ‘little reed’, derived from **qaneyθa*, the consonantal value of /y/ is restored:

qaniθa	*qanyāθa*	‘little reeds’

In the plural of mðita ≁ *mðiθa* ‘city’, an original */n/ is preserved (cf. Syr. *mði(n)tā*):

mθita ≁*mðiθa*	mð*ināθa*	‘cities’

7.11.6 *-yāθa*

This suffix is the most common plural suffix for feminine nouns ending in //-Ta//. Most of these are formed from the base of a masculine noun, though some do not have a surviving masculine equivalent. This plural is thus used for the females of humans and animals, e.g. xmarta ‘female donkey’ (pl. *xmaryāθa*) from *xmāra* ‘male donkey’. It is also used for inanimates taking the feminine suffix in its diminutive function, e.g. magelta ‘little sickle’ (pl. *magelyāθa*) from magla ‘sickle’. It is not usually used with nomina unitatis such as *xabušta*, as such nouns take -e, as described above (§7.11.1.3). It is however used with feminine infinitives, i.e. those used for an individual event, e.g. ʾizaly*āθa* ‘journeys’ (sg. ʾizalta).

Humans

sota	s*oyāθa*	‘old women’
šwota	*šwoyāθa*	‘female neighbours’
xorθa	*xoryāθa*	‘female friends’

Animals

susta	*susyāθa*	‘mares’
koðenta	*koðenyāθa*	‘female mules’
kalebθa	*kalebyāθa*	‘bitches’
xmarta	*xmaryāθa*	‘female donkeys’
šarexθa	*šarexyāθa*	‘female calves’
nunta	*nunyāθa*	‘fish’

Inanimate

kučekθa	*kučekyāθa*	‘little rooms’
magelθa	*magelyāθa*	‘little sickles’
ʾalalta	*ʾalalyāθa*	‘alleys’
garenθa	*garenyāθa*	‘little troughs’
gumbalta	*gumbalyāθa*	‘balls’
zemmarta	*zemmaryāθa*	‘songs’
xemmarta	*xemmaryāθa*	‘beads’
maṭemta	ma*ṭemyāθa*	‘spoons’
gupta	*gupyāθa*	‘cheeses’
ʿāṣerta	*ʿāṣeryāθa*	‘evenings’
qadamta	*qadamyāθa*	‘early mornings’
ʾitota	*ʾitoyāθa*	‘sittings’
čappe	*čappēyāθa* ≁ *čappāθa*	‘left hands’

When the singular suffix is *-iθa*, *-yāθa* is probably the only possible plural. Such cases could however also be analysed as *-āθa* plurals, the /y/ being a realization of the /i/ in *-iθa*.

r*abbaniθa*	r*abbanyāθa*	‘nuns’
gariθa	*garyāθa*	‘little roof’
gudaniθa	*gudanyāθa*	‘little wall’

The word for ‘ear’, *nāθa*, is unusual in that the feminine morpheme *-θa* acts like part of the root in the plural. In this it resembles the set described in §7.11.4.2.

nāθa	*naθyāθa*	‘ears’

7.11.7 Irregular plurals

Some irregular plurals have already been mentioned in sections above. Two particularly irregular plurals are the following, taking -e and *-āθa* respectively:

brona	bnone	‘sons’
brāta	*bnāθa*	‘daughters’

The word ʾemma ‘hundred’ takes the unique plural ending *-āye*: *ʾemmāye* ‘hundreds’. This is the collective plural. With numbers ʾemma takes -e, e.g. *trḗ-*ʾemme ‘two hundred’.

Another irregular plural is the borrowed compound *dāda-čoġ* ‘owl’ (P.?). This takes an Aramaic plural, -e, but on the first word of the pair:

dāda-čoġ	*dāde-čóġ*	‘owls’

7.11.8 Loan plurals

7.11.8.1 -at

The only fully integrated loan plural is -at. This is adapted from the Arabic feminine plural suffix *-āt*, but it is not used only with Arabic loanwords, but also with Kurdish words. Informant A reports that it is more widely used in Baghdad or by the younger generation due to the influence of Arabic. According to him, it is sometimes even used with the Aramaic words *ʾarnūwa* ‘rabbit’ and ʿaqerwa ‘scorpion’. All examples are feminine and all except karwan are trisyllabic or longer. The rule of pretonic reduction applies with this plural: karwan ‘caravan’, pl. *karwānat*.

karwan	*karwānat*	‘caravans’ (K.)
kučeke	*kučekat*	‘rooms’ (K.)
ʾanāna	*ʾanānat*	‘rainshower’
makina	makinat	‘machines’ (K., A.)
xaṣṣina	xaṣṣinat	‘type of pickaxe (?)’
karxāna	*karxānat*	‘team’ (I.A.)
melxāwa	*melxāwat*	‘winnowing fork’
qalāma	*qalāmat*	‘pen’ (K.)
dodiya	dodiyat	‘cradles’
goniya	goniyat	‘sacks’ (I.A.)
šebbakiye	*šebbakiyat*	‘windows’ (K.)

ma*ḥ*alle	ma*ḥ*allat	‘town-quarters’ (Arab., K.)
bisukre	bisukrat	‘holes in the wall for hiding valuables’ (Aram.)
taššiya	*taššiyat* ≁ -e	‘spindles’ (K.)
pošiya	*pošiyat* ≁ -e	‘turban’ (K.)
tabliya	tabliyat ≁ -e	‘tunic’ (I.A.)

7.11.8.2 Unadapted loan plurals

Arabic words are sometimes used with their original plural forms, unadapted in any way. In some cases such words may not be true borrowings into the language but code-switching on the part of speakers who speak Arabic often. Examples include the Arabic strong plurals *-āt* and *-īn*, as well as broken plurals, where the internal structure of the word is changed.

holā́t	‘halls’	*fallāḥī́n*	‘farmers’
bahārā́t	‘spices’	*ʿazā́yim*	‘parties’
salyuwā́t	‘silos’	*barāmī́l*	‘barrels’
kāsētā́t	‘cassettes’	*ʿajāya*	‘children’
kundarā́t	‘shoes’		

CHAPTER EIGHT

ADJECTIVES

8.1 *Introduction*

Adjectives in ANA may function as attributes, modifying a noun, or as predicates, usually with the copula or verb to be. When used attributively, they are placed after the noun, except for a minority of borrowed adjectives. In both cases they are usually inflected for gender and number. In native Aramaic words the inflection is three-way: masculine singular, feminine singular and common plural.

As in other Semitic languages, such as Arabic, adjectives may frequently serve as nouns. For instance *meskēna* may mean 'poor' or 'poor man'. Other adjectives that frequently serve as nouns are *sāwa* 'old' or 'old man, grandfather', and *ʿarjūne* 'crippled (f.)' or 'female cripple'. The adjective-noun distinction is to some extent expressed morphologically: adjectives have only a common plural, with no masculine/feminine distinction, but feminine adjectives used as nouns take *-yāθa* in the plural:

ADJ.	mpl.	*gūre sāwe*	'old men'
	fpl.	*ʾenše sāwe*	'old women'
NOUN	mpl.	*sāwe*	'old men'
	fpl.	*soyāθa*	'old women'

Because of the difficulty of drawing a line between nouns and adjectives, there is some overlap between this chapter and Chapter 7. Words with both functions will usually be considered primarily as adjectives, but those which more commonly serve as nouns are discussed in Chapter 7.

There is a similar overlap between adjectives and verbs to be found in stative participles, as these are a type of verbal adjective. Only stative participles with more

typically adjectival meanings will be listed here, e.g. *pṣixa* 'happy' (√*pṣx*) and *čehya* 'tired' (√*čhy*), as stative participles are fully treated in Chapter 6.

ANA uses adjectives of both Aramaic and foreign origin. Of the loaned adjectives some have been adapted to Aramaic patterns of inflection, e.g. *faqira* 'poor' (<Arab. *faqīr*), f. *faqerta*, pl. *faqire*. Others have retained more or less their original form, such as *čalabi* 'good-looking' (K. *çelebî*). Some of these are wholly uninflected, such as *čalabi* and *tambal* 'lazy', while a number of them inflect according to a different pattern (cf. §8.3 (17)).

8.2 *Adjectives of Aramaic form*

Adjectives of Aramaic form are inflected according to number and gender. As mentioned above, there are three forms: masculine singular, feminine singular and common plural. Like most masculine nouns masculine adjectives take the -a ending. For plural adjectives the inflection is *-e*. For feminine adjectives the ending is *//-Ta//*. The choice between allophones *-ta* or *-θa* is determined by the rules given in §6.8.11, with the addition that *-θa* is found where it follows historical gemination (and therefore a *schwa*, cf. §7.7), e.g. *ṛabθa* 'big (f.)' (<**rabbᵊṯā*).

In addition to these endings, there may be internal changes in the word. The addition of *//-Ta//*, for instance, often closes a syllable and so shortens the vowel. This morpheme is also involved in assimilatory processes, as in *ṛabθa* [*ṛapθa*] 'big' (m. *ṛāba*), where it causes voicing assimilation, and *xamuṣṭa* 'sour' (m. *xamūṣa*) where it assimilates to a preceding emphatic. Assimilation is shown in *//-Ta//*, as a grammatical morpheme, but not in root letters (cf. §1.6.ii).

The following are the adjectival patterns attested in ANA:

1) *CāCa, CaCta, CāCe*

The first of this group, *ṛāba* 'big', derives from **rabbā*. The gemination has been lost and the vowel lengthened in compensation. Similarly *xāθa* 'new' derives from **ḥa(ḏ)ṯā*.

ṛāba	*ṛabθa*	*ṛābe*	'big'
xāθa	*xaθta*	*xāθe*	'new'

Where the final radical is */w/*, **/aw/* is monophthongized to */o/*:

ṭāwa	*ṭota*	*ṭāwe*	‘good’

2) *CCāCa, CCaCta, CCāCe*

xwāra	*xwarta*	*xwāre*	‘white’

Where the final radical is */y/*, the feminine has */ɛ/* in accordance with the rule: **/ay/>/ɛ/*.

xtāya	*xtɛθa*	*xtāye*	‘low’
ʿlāya	*ʿlɛθa*	*ʿlāye*	‘high’

3) *CCiCa, CCeCta, CCiCe*

Adjectives of this pattern are usually stative participles (§6.6); they are passive for transitive verbs such as *šwq* ‘to abandon’ (*šwiqa* ‘abandoned’) and active for intransitive verbs such as *pṣx* ‘to be happy’ (*pṣixa* ‘happy’).

priša	*prešta*	*priše*	‘separate’, ‘special’
xlima	*xlemta*	*xlime*	‘thick’

Other adjectives of this pattern: *pšiṭa* ‘simple’, *šʾiθa* ‘jaundiced’, *bṭixa* ‘flat’, *bsima* ‘happy’, *rxiša* ‘common’ and *kpina* ‘hungry’.

Where the final radical is */ʔ/*, **/eʾ/* is realized as */ē/*:

mriʾa	*mrēta*	*mriʾe*	‘ill’

4) *CiCa, CeCta, CiCe*

Adjectives of this pattern are usually stative participles based on weak roots. Most examples are based on *mediae /y/* roots (§6.11.7), e.g. *myθ*, 'to die', but they can also be stative participles of some *primae /ʾ/* and *primae /y/* roots (§6.11.1, §6.11.6), e.g. *xila* (√*ʾxl*) 'eaten', *wiša* (√*ywš*) 'dry'. Furthermore the stative participles of *mediae /ʾ/* roots (§6.11.3) show free variation between *CCiCa* and *CiCa*, as */ʾ/* may or may not be elided, e.g. *rʾiša* ≁ *riša* (√*rʾš*) 'conscious'.

miθa	*meθta*	*miθe*	'dead' (√*myθ*)
sida	*sedta*	*side*	'closed' (√*syd*)
wiša	*wešta*	*wiše*	'dry' (√*ywš*)

5) *CeCya, CCiθa, CeCye*

Adjectives of this form are stative participles based on a *tertiae /y/* root (§6.11.8):

melya	*mliθa*	*melye*	'full' (√*mly*)
meṭya	*mṭiθa*	*meṭye*	'ripe' (√*mṭy*)
čehya	*čhiθa*	*čehye*	'tired' (√*čhy*)

Where the final radical is */w/*, **/ew/* is monophthongized to */ū/*:

qūya	*qwiθa*	*qūye*	'strong'

6) *CCoCa, CCoCta ≁ CCaCta, CCoCe*

Adjectives of this type show some variation in the feminine, because */o/* in a closed syllable is often but not always realized as */a/*:

smoqa	*smoqta ≁ smaqta*	*smoqe*	'red'
zroqa	*zroqta ≁ zraqta*	*zroqe*	'blue'
grosa	*grosa ≁ grasta*	*grose*	'tough'

Where the final radical is */y/*, the resulting **/ay/* is monophthongized to */ɛ/*:

ʿloya	*ʿlɛθa*	*ʿloye*	'high'

xtoya	*xtɛθa*	*xtoye*	‘low’

7) *CoCa, CoCTa ≁ CaCta, CoCe*

The same */o/ ≁ /a/* variation is seen in adjectives of this type:

zora	*zorta ≁ zarta*	*zore*	‘small’
koma	*komta ≁ kamta*	*kome*	‘black’

Another adjective of this type is *kora* ‘blind’ (K. *kor*).

8) *CaCiCa, CaCeCta, CaCiCe*

Adjectives of the *CaCiCa* pattern frequently derive from earlier Aramaic **CaCCiCa* through loss of gemination (§1.7.2.2).

šapira	*šaperta*	*šapire*	‘beautiful’
ʾatiqa	*ʾateqta*	*ʾatiqe*	‘old’
ʾatira	*ʾaterta*	*ʾatire*	‘rich’
xamima	*xamemta*	*xamime*	‘hot’

Other adjectives of this type include *yarixa* ’long’, ‘tall’, *damima* ‘bloody’ and *šaxina* ‘warm’. Some are adapted foreign loans, such as the Arabic adjectives *faqira* ‘poor’ (f. *faqerta*, pl. *faqire*), *ʿaziza* ‘dear’, *daqiqa* ‘small’ and *naqiða* ‘thin’.

When the medial radical is */w/*, **/ew/* is monophthongized to */ū/*:

qariwa	*qarūta*	*qariwe*	‘near’

Adjectives of this type with a rhotic as their second and third radical assimilate fully to the */t/* of the feminine suffix. There are two examples attestd:

qaṛiṛa	*qaṛetta*	*qaṛiṛe*	‘cold’
maṛiṛa	*maṛetta*	*maṛiṛe*	‘bitter’

9) *CaCCiCa, CaCCeCta, CaCCiCe*

Adjectives of this pattern have retained the earlier Aramaic gemination:

bassima	*bassemta*	*bassime*	'nice' (Syr. *bassīmā*)
kaššira	*kaššerta*	*kaššire*	'hardworking' (Syr. *kaššīrā*)

10) *CaCūCa, CaCuCta, CaCūCe*

These adjectives derive from the earlier Aramaic forms *CaCCūCā* and *CaCCōCā*, although most of the following roots did not occur in Syriac in this form.[1]

xamūṣa	*xamuṣṭa*	*xamūṣe*	'sour' (Syr. *ḥammūṣā*)
ʿamūqa	*ʿamuqta*	*ʿamūqe*	'deep'
xašūka	*xašukta*	*xašūke*	'dark' (Syr. *ḥeššōk̲ā*)
šaʾūθa	*šaʾuθta*	*šaʾūθe*	'yellow'

Other adjectives of this pattern: *yarūqa* 'green', *bahūra* 'bright' (Syr. *bahhūrā*), *raḥūqa* 'far', *payūxa* (Syr. *payyūḥā*) 'cool', *yaqūra* 'heavy' (Syr. *yaqqūrā*) and *naxūpa* 'shy'.

Where the final radical is */y/*, the resulting **/uy/* is monophthongized to */i/*:

ḥalūya	*ḥaliθa*	*ḥalūye*	'sweet'

11) *CaCoCa, CaCoCta ≁ CaCaCta, CaCoCe*

ʿadola	*ʿadolta ≁ ʿadalta*	*ʿadole*	'straight'

12) *CaCāCa*, *CaCCu*, *CaCāCe*

This is the Class I active participle (§6.7). With some verbs it may have adjectival meaning, e.g. *zadāʾa* 'fearful' and *naxpu* 'shy'.

zadāʾa	*zadʾu ≁ zadaʾta*	*zadāʾe*	'afraid'

[1] Some, such as √*ʿmq* (Syr. *ʿammīqā*), occurred in the *CaCCīCā* form instead.

13) *-aya, -εθa, -āye*

This derivational ending is found attached to stems of various types:

qamāya	*qamεθa*	*qamāye*	'first' (*qam-* before', *qāma* forwards)
xaṛāya	*xaṛεθa*	*xaṛāye*	'last' (*xarθa* 'end')
jendāya	*jendεθa*	*jendāye*	'good-quality' (I.A., K.)[2]

Others of this type include:

rēšāya	'top-quality'	(*rēša* 'head', also Syr. *rēšāyā* 'chief', 'best')
palgāya	'medium'	(*palga* 'middle')
baṛāya	'outer'	(Syr. *barrāyā*, from *barrā* 'the open country')
gawāya	'inner'	(Syr. *gawwāyā*, from *gawwa* 'inner part')

They also include gentilic labels such as *kalðāya* 'Chaldean', listed as nouns in §7.8.7.

14) *-nāya, -nεθa, -nāye*

Words of this form usually refer to the town of origin, e.g. *ʾalqušnāya* 'Alqoshi', and function as nouns as well. A list is given in §7.8.8.

15) *-āna*

Many adjectives of this type are formed from nouns, for instance *xeškāna* from *xeška* 'darkness', *lebbāna* 'brave' (*lebba* 'heart'), *xemmāna* 'hot' (*xemma* 'heat'), *šeklāna* 'good-looking' (*šekla* 'appearance'), *šaθāna* 'feverish' (*šˊ θa* 'fever'), *šenθˊ na* 'sleepy' (*šenθa* 'sleep'), *xεlāna* 'strong' (*xεla* 'strength') and *peθwāna* 'broad' (*peθwa* 'width').[3] One example is a loanword: *yakkāna* 'only (child)' (P., T.). The feminine form takes the *-anta* ending or *-aniθa*, e.g. *lebbaniθa* 'brave' and *xemmaniθa* 'hot'. The plural takes *-āne*.

xuškāna	*xuškanta*	*xuškāne*	'dark'

[2] According to Maclean. This word was not found by the author in dictionaries of these languages.

[3] Similar forms are found in Qaraqosh (2002: 218). This adjectival suffix is also common in Syriac (Nöldeke 1904: §129).

Others adjectives ending in *-āna* are active participles of verbs of Classes II and III (see also §6.7). For these, the usual feminine form ends in *-u*, although an ending in *-anta* or *-aniθa* is also possible.

mṣalyāna	*mṣalyu*	*mṣalyāne*	'given to prayer'
mačehyāna	*mačehyu*	*mačehyāne*	'tiring'

The Class III participle form is used in a set of adjectives describing colour. These are not the basic colour words, but correspond to the English colour adjectives ending in *-ish*, e.g. 'greenish', 'reddish' etc. They are formed from the root consonants of the basic adjective, e.g. *masemqāna* 'reddish' from *smoqa* 'red'.[4] This set takes *-anta* or *-aniθa* for the feminine, e.g. *masemqanta* ≁ *masemqaniθa* 'reddish'.

masemqāna	'reddish' (<*smoqa*)
mazerqāna	'blueish' (<*zarqa* or *zroqa*)
mayerqāna	'greenish' (<*yarūqa*)

Where the middle radical is weak, a long vowel results:

makēmāna	'blackish' (<*koma*, √*kym*)
maxurāna	'whitish' (<*xwāra*)

Unusually, the sequence */eʾ/* is preserved and not realized as */ē/* as it is in most cases:

mašeʾθāna	'yellowish' (<*šaʾūθa*)

16) Irregular adjectives

There are also some adjectives which are formed irregularly:

xenna	*xerta*	*xenne*	'other'
meskēna	*meskyanta*	*meskēne*	'poor'

[4] The same forms with the same meaning are found in Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 219). In Aradhin the same function is performed by the suffix *-na:ya* (Krotkoff 1982: 45).

8.3 *Unadapted loans*

Many adjectives borrowed from other languages such as Kurdish or Arabic do not obey the native Aramaic rules of inflection. The following are the three types of behaviour that these adjectives exhibit.

17) Loan inflection: *-a*, *-e*, *-e*

Some loanwords inflect for number and gender but with a different pattern in which the feminine suffix is *-e*, like the plural, rather than *//-Ta//*. These words are borrowed from Kurdish or Arabic and most refer to colours or human characteristics, especially physical traits. This inflection pattern is also found in other dialects and with the same semantic types.[5] The examples in the Qaraqosh dialect are all Arabic loans and all but one are of the Arabic type *aCCaC*, f. *CaCCāʾ* which is also found with bodily defects and colours. The ANA feminine marker *-e* is derived from the form *CaCCḗ* which is the reflex of *CaCCāʾ* found in some Qəltu dialects.[6]

This inflectional pattern appears to have been applied to the Kurdish loanwords by analogy, as they belong to the same semantic groups. This analogical extension could have occurred in NENA independently, but it should be noted that even in the Qəltu Arabic dialects this inflectional pattern is applied to loanwords of the same semantic groups, e.g. Daragözü *šīn* (ms.), *šīnḗ* (fs.) 'green', *sāġ* (ms.), *sāġḗ* (fs.) 'whole', Āzəx *lāl* (ms.), *lālḗ* (fs.) 'dumb', *karr* (ms.), *karrḗ* (fs.) 'deaf', Qarṭmīn *baššḗ* (fs.) 'with a white spot on the forehead' (of horses), *čappḗ* (fs.) 'left'.[7] It may therefore be that NENA adopted the Kurdish words via Arabic, where they had already been adapted to the Arabic morphology.

[5] See the examples from Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 219) and Aradhin (Krotkoff 1982: 45) as well as those in Rhétoré (1912: 43-4) and Maclean (1895: 58).
[6] Cf. Jastrow (1978: 76).
[7] Jastrow (1978: 75-6).

The attested examples of this inflection are listed below with the ultimate source-language given, as far as can be ascertained. It should be noted that a word may be borrowed back into the source language from which it came.

m.	**f./pl.**	
randa	*rande*	'good' (K.)
karra	*karre*	'deaf' (K.)
šella	*šelle*	'lame' (K.)
balaka	*balake*	'grey (?)' (K *belek* <Arab. *ablaq,* f. *balqā*)[8]
kačala	*kačale*	'bald' (K.)
baṛša	*baṛše*	'albino' (Arab?)[9]
ʿaṛja	*ʿaṛje*	'lame' (Arab.)
režbara	*režbare*	'hardworking' (?)
zarqa	*zarqe*	'blue' (Arab.)

Some of the adjectives describing physical traits may take a feminine diminutive suffix *-ūne*, e.g. *ʿarjūne* 'crippled' (f.) and *baṛšūne* 'albino' (f.). This is a combination of a diminutive suffix *-ūn-* with the loan feminine inflection *-e*. This suffix is cognate with the nominal diminutive suffix *-ona* (§7.8.2).[10] When asked, Informant A agreed that a masculine ending *-ūna* could also be used with adjectives of this type, e.g. *ʿarjūna* 'crippled' (m.) and that a *-ona* (f. *-one*) variant was also found. In a later session A asserted that *-ona* was used for masculine and *-ūne* for feminine and that *-one* and *-ūna* should not be used. His mother (Informant F), however, rejected *-ona* and *-one* in favour of *-ūna* (m.) and *-ūne* (f.). There is therefore some variety in the distribution of these forms. In any case, these endings are rarely used with males.

These adjectives, with and without diminutive suffix, behave both as nouns and adjectives.

[8] The Kurdish and Arabic words both mean piebald, i.e. black and white.

[9] Arab. *ʾabraṣ* ≁ *ʾabras* 'albino', 'leprous'.

[10] *-ūna* is attested with nouns in the dialect of Tkhuma, e.g. *jalūna* 'kleiner Junge' *sawūna* 'altes Männchen' (Jacobi 1973: 184).

18) Uninflected adjectives

Uninflected adjectives have one form for masculine, feminine and plural. All those attested are of entirely non-Aramaic origin, except *náppalax* 'lazy' which is derived from Kurdish *na* 'not' and Aramaic **palāx* 'worker'.

m./f./pl.	
tambal	'lazy' (K.)
čalabi	'good-looking' (K.)
tari	'fresh' (K.)
nassā́x ~ nasā́x	'unwell' (K.)
náppalax	'lazy (K + Aram.)

19) Adjectives only inflected for plural

There is only one example attested of this, a loanword. Three examples are given for the Aradhin dialect, all of them loanwords.[11]

m.	**pl.**	
brendar	*brendāre*	'injured' (K.)

20) Adjectives placed before the noun

Two loan adjectives are put before the noun and are uninflected: Kurdish *xoš* 'good', attested in *xóš-nāša* 'good man', *xóš-zwanta* 'bargain', *xóš-malpu* 'good teacher' and *xóš-šula* 'good work', and Arabic *ʾawwal*, found in *ʾáwwal-ga* 'the first time' (equivalent to Aramaic *gā qamɛθa*) and *ʾáwwal-mendi* 'firstly' (lit. 'the first thing').[12] From a syntactic point of view, these adjectives behave like non-adjectival modifiers (§10.7).

[11] Krotkoff (1982: 44). Rhétoré (1912: 44) also lists four examples, again all loanwords. According to Rhétoré words with this inflection pattern can also be uninflected.

[12] The Arabic element *ʾāxer* in *ʾā́xer-mendi* is also of this type, but is not yet attested in the speech of native Alqoshis. Informant B says he would not use it.

21) *zaṛṛa* (m.) *zaṛṛe* (f./pl.)

This word, meaning 'huge', 'enormous', is difficult to fit into any of the existing categories of adjective, noun etc., although its meaning is typically adjectival. Like some of the loan adjectives above, it precedes the noun modified. In the few examples collected, *zaṛṛa* occurs with the indefinite article or *xakma* 'some'. The article agrees with the noun while *zaṛṛa* has a two-way inflection: *-a* before a singular noun (m. or f.) and *-e* before a plural.

xá-zaṛṛa gòra 'a huge man' (A)

ġðá-zaṛṛa ʾarmòta 'a huge pomegranate' (A)

xákma záṛṛe ʾarmòne,[1] 'some huge pomegranates' (A:194)

A two-way inflection is characteristic of nouns, but agreement is characteristic of adjectives and if it were a noun it is strange that the article should agree with the modified noun and not *zaṛṛa* which immediately follows it.

This construction may occur with *mendi* 'thing': *xá-zaṛṛa mèndi* 'something huge'. If the referent is known and feminine, the form is *ġðá-zaṛṛa mèndi*, despite the fact that *mendi* is normally masculine. Cf. *ʿamal* 'thing' (§10.7(15)) for similarly flexible gender.

The hybrid nature of *zaṛṛa*'s behaviour is probably explained by its history. It is listed in Maclean's dictionary (1901: 89) with the meaning 'gigantic' for the dialects of the Mosul Plain. Maclean also indicates that the feminine is identical in form to the masculine. The meaning 'gigantic', however, is only one of several listed for this form. The first meaning listed is 'a very little', 'a jot', derived from Arab. *ðarra* of the same meaning. Another meaning, 'small', found in the Ashiret dialects, is clearly derived from the first meaning but has developed adjectival meaning, though again the feminine is identical to the masculine. It is possible that the ANA meaning, though precisely opposite, may be related as both express extremes of size. If *zaṛṛa* is in origin a noun that has developed an adjectival function, that could also explain the strange syntax of the form.

8.4 *Reduplicated expressions*

Some adjectives are formed from a repeated noun. The two words form a stress group with stress on the last syllable of the first word (cf. §4.3.2.2). In ANA these forms express multiplicity, variety or repetition. Some serve as adverbs (§10.3.5). The same forms or forms like them are attested in several other dialects.[13] Krotkoff (1982: 49) calls the same phenomenon in Aradhin 'distributive reduplication'.

zelpé-zelpe	'in slices'
rangé-range	'multi-coloured'
šeklé-šekle	'of different types'

There are also similar constructions in Kurmanji: *rengareng* 'multicoloured', 'colourful', *pʾerçe-pʾerçe* 'in pieces' (compare Aradhin *parčé-parče* 'into many pieces'[14]).

8.5 *Comparatives and superlatives*

The comparative may be expressed with the particle *beš-* (§10.6). This forms a stress group with the adjective, e.g. *béš-ṛāba* 'bigger' and *béš-ʾatira* 'richer'. The comparative of *ṭāwa* 'good' has a special contracted form: *béš-ṭoʾ* ~ *béš-ṭo* 'better'. The preposition *m-* 'than' (§10.2.1) marks the thing to which something is compared, e.g. *béš-ʾatira m-kùl- … nāšed-mā́θa.*ˈ 'richer than all the people of the town' (A:221), *ʾan d-béš-raḥūqe ménnaḥ p-kabìra* 'those much further away from it' (C:7).

Sometimes the comparative is expressed simply by the adjective and a deictic pronoun, e.g. *ʾo-ṛā́ba* 'the bigger one'. Such cases may also be translated in English without an explicit comparative marker, i.e. 'the big one', but the English phrase also implies comparative meaning. Other examples are as follows:

hár b-ʾέ-qatta ṛábθa 'just with the big(ger) stick' (A)

*b-ε-ṛábθa mmā́xet l-az-zàrta.*ˈ 'with the big(ger) one you'll throw at the small one' (A)

[13] Cf. for instance the dialect of Aradhin: *šiklé-šikle* 'in different ways', *rangé-range* 'in different colours', *parčé-parče* 'into many pieces' and *tarzé-tarze* 'various kinds' (Krotkoff 1982: 49-50).
[14] Krotkoff (1982: 49).

The superlative can be expressed by putting the adjective in a genitive relationship with *kullɛ* ‘all’, e.g. *ṛā́bet-kùllɛ ≁ ʾó-ṛābet-kùllɛ* (A) ‘the biggest of all’ or simply ‘the biggest’, *xzēli ʾaxóna ṛābet-kùllɛ* ‘I saw the oldest brother’ (A).

8.6 *Negation of adjectives*

If an adjective is negated directly, rather than through a verb, it takes the negative particle *lā-* (§10.6). This precedes the adjective, taking the stress, e.g. *šū́le lā̀-ṭāwe* ‘things (that are) not good’ (B).

CHAPTER NINE

NUMERALS

9.1 *Cardinals*

When cardinals occur with a noun, the number is preposed. Most commonly the number forms a stress group with the following noun, the number taking the stress, e.g. *trḗ-ʾalole* 'two streets' (A).

9.1.1 Numerals 1-10

Numbers 1-10 are inflected for gender. If they stand independently, they take normal penultimate stress, with the exception of *tettḗʾ* ('two (f.)') which usually takes final stress. When modifying a noun, the numeral takes the stress, promoted on to its final syllable (§4.3.2.2). This affects the structure of the numeral. Any penultimate long vowel is affected by pretonic shortening, e.g. *ṭlāˑa* → *ṭlaˑá-* 'three'. A final */a/* may optionally be lengthened, e.g. *ṭlaˑā́-bāre* 'three sides' (A), *xamšā́-xūre* 'five friends' (A). The forms for 'one', however, are always short: *xá-* (m.), *ġðá* (f.). Any final */ʔ/* is elided and a preceding */e/* lengthened, e.g. *ʾarbḗ-mðināˑa* 'four towns' (A).

	Independent forms		**Attached forms**	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
1	*xāʾ*	*ġðāʾ*	*xá-*	*ġðá-*
2	*trēʾ*	*tettḗʾ*	*trḗ-*	*tettḗ-*
3	*ṭlāˑa*	*ṭellaˑ*	*ṭlaˑá-*	*ṭelláˑ-*
4	*ʾarba*	*ʾarbeʾ*	*ʾarbá-*	*ʾarbḗ-*
5	*xamša*	*xammeš*	*xamšá-*	*xammḗš-*
6	*ʾešta*	*ʾeššet*	*ʾeštá-*	*ʾeššét-*
7	*šoʾa*	*ʾešwaʾ*	*šoʾá-*	*ʾešwá-*

8	*tmanya*	*tmāneˀ*	*tmanyá-*	*tmanḗ-*
9	*tešˀa*	*tešša*ˀ	*tešˀá-*	*teššá-*
10	*ˀesṛa*	*ˀessar*	*ˀesṛá-*	*ˀessár-*

Examples

xá-yoma ‘One day’ (A:119)

ġðá-tawerta ‘one cow’ (A:15)

tettḗ-mðināθā ‘two towns’ (A)

ṭlaθá-parče ‘three pieces’ (A)

ˀarbā́-yarxe ‘four months’ (A:137)

xammèš-armone ‘five pomegranates’ (A:211)

teššà-šenne ‘nine years’ (B)

ˀessàr-mðināθa ‘ten towns’ (A)

9.1.2 Numerals 11-19

Numbers 11-19 are not inflected for gender. They all end in *-sar*, derived from *ˀessar* ‘ten (f.). The attached forms are identical to the independent forms in form. The stress may be final but varies.

11	*xadēsar*
12	*trēsar*
13	*teltāsar*
14	*ˀarbāsar*
15	*xamšāsar*
16	*ˀeštāsar*
17	*ˀešwāsar*
18	*tmanēsar*
19	*ˀetšāsar*

Examples

trēsàr-gūre ‘twelve men’ (B)

trḗsar-ʾènše ‘twelve women’ (A)

xadḕsar-šenne ‘eleven years’ (A)

9.1.3 Tens

All forms end in *-i*, except for *tmāna* ‘eighty’. The final syllable takes the stress in the attached form, e.g. *ʾarbì-yome* ‘forty days’ (D), *xamší-kubɛbe* ‘fifty *kubbas*’ (B). These forms are uninflected.

	Independent	**Attached**
20	*ʾesri*	*ʾesrí-*
30	*ṭlɛ́θi*	*ṭlaθí-*
40	*ʾarbi*	*ʾarbí-*
50	*xamši*	*xamší-*
60	*ʾešti*	*ʾeští-*
70	*šoʾi*	*šoʾí-*
80	*tmɛ́na*	*tmaná-*
90	*tešʾi*	*tešʾí-*

9.1.4 Hundreds

One hundred is *ʾemma*. There are two ways of forming the series of hundreds. One is to treat *ʾemma* as any masculine noun and form its plural, e.g. *ṭlaθɛ́́-ʾemme* ‘three hundred’ (lit. ‘three hundreds’). The other has *ʾemma* in the singular preceded by a feminine number, e.g. *ṭelláθ-ʾemma* ‘three hundred’. The only number for which the latter method is not allowed is two hundred (*trḗ-ʾemme* only). These forms are not inflected to agree with the gender of the noun.

In both forms the initial */ʔe/* of *ʾemma* may be elided, e.g. *ʾeštámme* ‘six hundred’.

Examples

200	*trḗ-ʾemme*
300	*ṭlaθá-ʾemme*
300	*ṭelláθ-emma*
400	*arbḗ-ʾemma*
500	*xammḗš-emma*
700	*šoʾámme*
300 men	*ṭlaθá-ʾemme gūre*
900 men	*tešší-ʾemma gū̀re*

The collective (undefined) plural of hundred is *ʾemmāye* ‘hundreds’ (§7.11.7).

9.1.5 Thousands

Thousands are formed on the plural of *ʾalpa* (m.) ‘thousand’, and never on the singular. These forms are uninflected.

Examples

1000	*ʾalpa*
2000	*trḗ-ʾalpe*
10 000	*ʾesṛā́-ʾalpe*
100 000	*ʾemmā́-alpe*

A million is expressed with the loanword *melyṓn*.

9.1.6 Combinations of numerals

Combinations of tens and units are ordered with the unit first, e.g. *trḗʾ-u-ʾesri* ‘twenty-two’ (lit. ‘two and twenty’). When this number ends in */a/*, this combines with conjunction *-u* ‘and’, and is monophthongized to */o/*, e.g. *xó-ʾesri* ‘twenty-one’, from **xa-u ʾesri* ‘one and twenty’. In deliberate speech, however, the diphthong may be preserved. Stress is placed on the final syllable of the unit, therefore in most cases it is on */o/*, e.g. *šoʾó-ʾesri* ‘twenty-seven’.

These forms are not inflected.

Examples

21 *xó-ʾesri*

22 *trḗʾ-u-ʾesri*

23 *ṭlāθó-ʾesri*

24 *ʾarbó-ʾesri*

25 *xamšó-ʾesri*

26 *ʾeštó-ʾesri*

27 *šoʾó-ʾesri*

28 *tmanyó-ʾesri*

29 *tešʾó-ʾesri*

31 *xó-ṭlāθi*

68 *tmanyó-ʾešti*

69 *tešʾò-ʾešti* 'sixty-nine'

86 *ʾeštó-tmāna*

24 years *ʾarbò-ʾesri-šénne* (A)

31 years *xó-ṭlāθi-šènne* (A)

''99' *šā́ted-tešʾò-tešʾi* (lit. 'the year of ninety-nine') (A)

In combinations with hundreds or thousands the numbers are ordered from largest to smallest, except for tens which come after the unit as shown above:

150 years *ʾémma-u xamšì-šenne* (A)

121 years *ʾémma-u xò-ʾesri šenne* (A)

The year1999 *šāted-ʾálpa-u tešší-ʾemma-u téšʾa-u tèšʾi* (A)

If there are units but no tens, the unit number agrees in gender with the noun:

102 years *ʾémma-u tettḕ-šenne* (A)

103 years *ʾémma-u ṭellàθ-šenne* (A)

If the unit is ‘one’, then the noun is in the singular:

101 years *ʾémma-u ġðà-šāta* (A)
1001 years *ʾálpa-u ġðà-šāta* (A)

9.2 *Ordinals*

The first ordinal is an adjective and as such agrees with the noun in gender and number, e.g. *gā́ qaméθa* ‘the first time’ (B).

‘first’ *qamāya* (m.), *qamεθa* (f.), *qamāye* (pl.)

All other ordinals are genitive constructions formed either with the genitive suffix *-ed* or its prefixed counterpart *d-* (§10.2.1). Although the number is in a genitive rather than an adjectival relationship with the noun, any number up to ten will inflect to agree with the noun:

‘the second day’ *yomd-trḗʾ* (A)
‘the third day’ *yomd-ṭlā́θa* (A)
‘the second going’ *ʾizaltet-tettḗʾ* (A)

The first element of the compound may be a pronoun, e.g. *ʾεt-xámmeš* ‘the fifth one (f.)’ (A). The form with *d-* is used when the ordinal is separated from the noun or pronoun it modifies, e.g. *yóma qamā́ya lèθ-uˈ de-trḗʾ lèθ-uˈ* ‘The first day there was nothing, the second there was nothing’ (A:137), *twḗre t-tèttḗʾ,ˈ* ‘He broke the second one.’ (A:219).

The genitive construction is also used with combinations of numerals. If there are units but no tens, then the unit will agree in gender with the noun. This construction is mostly found with year dates, e.g. *šāted-trḗ-ʾalpe-u ṭèllaθ* ‘the year 2003’ (A) and *p-šā́ted-trè-u-šoʾi-wāwa.ˈ* ‘It was in ’72.’ (A:138).

9.3 *Fractions*

Expressions for fractions come in a variety of forms. The only native Aramaic word is *palga* ‘a half’. For ‘a quarter’ the Kurdish loan *čārek* is used. For other fractions such as a

third, an expression of the type *xá-sāma me-ṭlā̀θa*, literally ‘one piece from three’ (B), or simply *xā́ʾ me-ṭlā̀θa* (A) ‘one from three’ is used.

For expressions like ‘a month and a half’ ANA has *yarxá-u palgeḥ*, literally ‘a month and its half’, and *šabθá-u palgaḥ*, literally ‘a week and its half’.

9.4 *Frequency*

When an element of a stress group, *gā* is shortened to *ga*:

‘once’	*ġðá-ga* ≁ *ġðá-gāθa*
‘twice’	*tettḗ-ga* ≁ *tettḗ-gāθa*
‘three times’	*ṭelláθ-ga*
‘six times’	*ʾeššét-ga*

9.5 *Counting individuals*

The number *xāʾ* ‘one’ may be used to denote individuals for the purposes of counting, in the same way that ‘persons’ or ‘souls’ are sometimes used in English, e.g. *ʾeθwāban x-eštá-ʾemme xā̀ʾ* ‘We had about 600 individuals’ (A).

9.6 *Telling the time*

The time is given in ANA by saying *sāʿa* ‘hour’ then the number. The number is feminine to agree with *sāʿa*. Alternatively *sāʿa* may be omitted.

Examples

sā́ʿa tèššaʾ ‘nine o’clock’ (A)

ʾèššet mxúška ‘six o’clock in the morning’ (A)

9.7 *Approximations*

If the speaker is not certain of the exact number, two consecutive numbers may be given together as alternatives, without a conjunction. In English, the equivalents would be ‘one or two’, ‘three or four’ etc. The former is contracted to *xatrē-* (m.), *xattē-* (f.) and is also used more vaguely to mean ‘a couple’ or ‘a few’ (cf. §10.7(6)).

‘one or two lambs’ *xatrē-bàrxe* (A:15)

‘seven or eight years’ *ʾešwā́-tmā́nē-šènne* (B)

The number *xāʾ* or *xa-* can also be used to mark approximations, with the meaning ‘about’ or ‘some’, e.g. *xā́ʾ ʾárba-xamša gàrre.*ˈ ‘about four or five loops.’ (A:90), *xá-xamšā́ser ʾesri fèlse.* ‘some fifteen, twenty fils.’ (A:148)

Another method is to use the preposition *x-* ‘like’, ‘about’, e.g. *ʾeθwāban x-eštá-ʾemme xā̀ʾ* ‘We had about 600 individuals’ (A).

CHAPTER TEN

PARTICLES AND ADVERBS

10.1 *Introduction*

This chapter treats parts of speech that are not covered by the categories of pronoun, noun, adjective or verb. The items included here have many different functions but there are connections between them that justify including them in one chapter. The main categories are: *prepositions*, *adverbs*, *conjunctions*, *interjections* and *non-adjectival modifiers of nouns*.

10.2 *Prepositions*

Prepositions always precede the noun they govern. Some are prefixes, e.g. *b-* 'in' as in *b-bɛθa* 'in the house'. Others are separate words, e.g. *qam* 'before' as in *qam bābeḥ* 'before his father', though these usually lack independent stress. Most prepositions may also be used with pronouns. They have a special form which takes the pronominal suffixes, e.g. *menn-* for *m-* 'from', as in *menneḥ* 'from him'.

There is some dialectal variety in the exact forms that the prepositions take, and some of this variety is also idiolectal, so that more than one variant may be used by Alqoshis, e.g. *qam* ~ *qammed-* 'before'.

Prepositions may sometimes be combined, e.g. *m-baθer yàrxa* 'after a month' (A:113) (= *baθer yàrxa*). This may even happen with two suffixes, e.g. *ʿ-b-álquš* 'as in Alqosh' (A).

Prepositions have a wide variety of meanings mainly covering location, direction and time. Some have both spatial and temporal meanings.

10.2.1 Prefixes and the genitive particle *//d//*

These prepositions consist of a single consonant which is prefixed to the noun. The form used with pronominal suffixes, given in the second column, is longer. In the case of *menn-*, it is the older, uncontracted form; in the case of *gāw-* it is borrowed from another preposition with the same meaning.

l-	*ˀell- ≍ -ll-**	'to', 'on to','about', 'by' (agent of passive, §6.27.2.1)
b-	*gāw-* (cf. *go*)	'in', 'at' (spatial and temporal), 'on', 'against'
m-	*menn-*	'from', 'than'
x-	*xwġθ-*	'like'

* *ˀell-* often forms a stress group with the preceding word, in which case the two are linked by a hyphen. In such cases *ˀell-* usually has no stress and the stress on the preceding word is unaltered. The */ˀ/* of *-ˀell-* is usually elided and if the preceding word ends in a vowel then the */e/* is elided too, e.g. *jèli-llaḥ* 'search for her' (A:131) and *qèmla-lleḥ* 'she challenged him' (A:182).

The genitive particle *//d//* 'of' may also be included here:

d-	*diy-* (§5.5)	'of'

This particle is used to annex one noun to another in a genitive construction. In the prefix form given above, *d-*, it is attached to the second noun of the phrase, the nomen rectum, e.g. *ˀilā́na d-armòta* 'pomegranate tree' (lit. 'tree of pomegranate') (A).

The more common allomorph of *//d//* is the suffix *-ed*, which is attached to the first noun in the phrase, the nomen regens, e.g. *ˀilā́ned-ˀarmòta* 'pomegranate tree' (A) and *gupted-ˀérwe* 'sheep's cheese' (A:57). This morpheme replaces any final */a/* or */e/*.

The prefixed form *d-* sometimes occurs in the same contexts, but mostly it occurs when the two nouns are separated by another word or in deliberate or hesitant speech, either instead of *-ed* or in addition to it:

hoyāwa dàrta' d-itā̀wa;' there was the courtyard, for sitting.(A:5)

ˀḗðed- … d-lébbed-ìšoˁ' the festival of the ɥeart of ɲesuseˌ (A:119)

ˀḗða-wēwa d-lebbed-íšu 'it was the festival, that of the Heart of Jesus' (A:119)

It also occurs when the nomen rectum occurs independently of the nomen regens:

*ʾāy d-gūrē-la.*ˈ ‘That’s (a game) for (lit. ‘of’) men’ (A)
*trēʾ rēšeḥ … de-prèzla kāwɛ,*ˈ ‘Two on it … are of iron,’ (A)

The genitive particle can sometimes be analysed equally as a suffix or prefix. When the head is a noun ending in */a/*, a suffix replaces the */a/*, while a prefix leaves it in place. The two are therefore distinguishable. Compare for instance *yemmed-bā́bi* and *yemma d-bā́bi* ‘the mother of my father’. But where the suffix is realized only as a */d/* (or assimilated variant), leaving the ending in place, the two are indistinguishable unless there is a pause between the two nouns. The suffix is realized as a */d/* when the word ends in a vowel other than */a/*:

mendit-qèsɛ-le OR *mendi t-qèsɛ-le* ‘something wooden’ (lit. ‘a thing of wood’) (A)
mā́yet-xu tūna OR *mā́ye t-xu tūna* ‘Water under the straw’ (lit. ‘water of under the straw’) (Pr:43)
m-nāšed-jḗš ≁ *m-nāše d-jēš* ‘from the men of the army’ (A:145)

In such cases the suffixed form will be the preferred analysis, as it is generally more common.

The forms of the prepositions given above are only the basic ones. All prefixes obey the rules of consonant assimilation, that is they regularly assimilate in voicing and emphasis (§1.5.1, §1.5.6), e.g. *p-pàlga* ‘in the middle’ (A:36), ˙*-dedda* ‘like soot’ (A) and [*ṃ-ṛāze*] ‘from the mass’ (A:119). The *l-* prefix normally assimilates fully to a following rhotic, e.g. *ṛ-ṛāze* ‘to the mass’ (A:120). The genitive particle *//d//*, whether a prefix or suffix, may undergo various types of assimilation. As well as the obligatory voicing and emphatic assimilation, it may optionally assimilate to sibilants */s/*, */z/* and */š/* (§1.5.7), e.g. *ʾaqlāθet-šamā̀še* (B) ≁ *ʾaqlāθeš-šamā̀še* (B:25) ‘the feet of the deacons’, *l-qemmeṭ-ṭūṛa* ‘at the summit of a mountain’ (C). Assimilation is written when phonemic, according to the rules in §1.6. The one exception is the full assimilation of *b-* to a nasal bilabial, such that it is identical to the *m-* prefix, e.g. [*m*]*-madrassa* ‘in the school’ or ‘from the school’.

In this case the assimilation is not shown, so [*m*]-*madrassa* 'in the school' is written as *b-madrassa* (§1.6.ii).

All the prefixes take the epenthetic vowel */e/* before a consonant cluster (§3.2.3), e.g. *le-mðita* 'to the town' and *be-šlāma* 'in peace'. The only exception to this rule occurs with infinitives where the first consonant of the consonant cluster is a bilabial. In such cases it may be elided altogether, e.g. *wole pθāxa* 'he is opening' (cf. §6.8.9).[1]

The attested allomorphs of the prefixed prepositions that are transcribed are listed below. They involve full assimilation (i.e. realized the same as the following sound), unless otherwise indicated:

l- *r-*, *ṛ-*

b- *p-* before unvoiced

x- *ˇ-* before voiced

d- *t-* before unvoiced, *ṭ-* before unvoiced emphatic, optionally *s-, z-, š-, ṣ-, ḍ-*

10.2.2 Independent and annexing prepositions

Independent prepositions consist of one or more syllables. Though more independent than the prefixes, which must be attached to a word, independent prepositions do not take independent stress. Annexing prepositions are those which end in the genitive suffix *-ed-*, e.g. *gēbed-* '*chez*'. To some extent they reflect the origin of many prepositions in nouns. For instance *gēbed-* is cognate with Syriac *gebb* 'side'. But the genitive suffix is also found with prepositions which were prepositions in Syriac and not nouns, e.g. *ʾemmed-* (Syr. *ʿam*). In such cases it appears to have spread by analogy. ANA shows some variation in its use, e.g. *xu ≁ xoθed-* 'under'. The genitive particle assimilates regularly to the following word (see §1.5.7).

Both independent and annexing prepositions may take prefixed prepositions, e.g. *l-gēbi* 'to me', 'to my house'. Sometimes there is little or no change in meaning, e.g. *qam* and *m-qam* which both mean 'before'.

[1] There are no examples as yet to show whether this also occurs with nouns.

Most independent or annexing prepositions can be combined with pronominal suffixes, but like the prefixed prepositions, they have a special stem for this purpose. In some cases there is only a slight change in the stem, *rēš-eḥ* 'on him' for *reš* 'on'. In other cases, the suffixed stem shows bigger differences, e.g. *ṭāl-eḥ* 'for him' for *ta* 'for' and *xoθ-eḥ* 'under him' for *xu* 'under'.

ta	*ṭāl-*	'to', 'for' (humans and non-humans)
go ≁ bgo	*gāw- ≁ bgāw-*	'in'
reš	*rēš-*	'on (top of)'
men (d-)	*menn-* (cf. *m-*)	'from' (less common alternative to *m-*)
(m-)baθer	*baθṛ-*	'after', 'behind'
barqul	*barqūl-*	'opposite'
binaθ	*bināθ-*	'between'
gēbed-	*gēb-*	'*chez*'
qam ≁ qammed-	*qām-*	'before' (spatial & temporal)
hel ≁ wel	-	'until', 'up to'
ṣob	-	'towards', 'near'
baḥás	-	'about'
m-badal	*m-badl-*	'instead of'
xu ≁ xoθed-	*xoθ-*	'under'
*ʾemmed- ≁ mmed-**	*ʾemm- ≁ -mm-**	'with'
ʾelled-	(see *l-*)	'to' (rare alternative to *l-*)
dex d-	-	'like'
˙-dɛged-	-	'like'
xaweḏrāned-	*xaweḏrān-*	'in the vicinity of'

* *ʾemm-* behaves like *ʾell-* in §10.2.1), often forming a stress group with the preceding word in exactly the same manner, usually with elision of */ʔe/*, e.g. *dā́rɛwa xmíra-mmeḥ-u* 'they put yeast with it and' (A:32) and *péšle mmaḥkòye-mmeḥ* 'He started speaking with him' (A:99). The initial */ʔe/* of *ʾemmed-* is also elided following a word ending in a vowel, but as this form is attached to the following noun it will not be marked as attached to the preceding noun as well. Examples: *ʿaṛabā́ye mmet-qurðā́ye* 'Arabs with Kurds' (A:124) and *plétle mmet-kàrwan* 'he set off with the caravan' (A:186).

The particle *dla* ‘without’, formed from *d-* ‘of’ and *la* ‘not’, forms a stress group with the following noun, normally with the stress on *dla*, e.g. *dlà-lexma* ‘without bread’ (A:162).

10.3 *Adverbs and adverbial expressions*

Adverbs modify verbs and adjectives and may be simple or complex in their structure. Many take prefixed prepositions, e.g. *me-ltə̀x* ‘below’ (lit. ‘from below’) (A:93). Some phrases also commonly serve the same function as adverbs, in which case they are referred to as adverbial expressions.

Adverbs and adverbial expressions fall into several main groups, listed below. They are: *spatial adverbs*, *interrogative adverbs*, *adverbs of degree and quantity* and *temporal adverbs.*

10.3.1 Spatial adverbs

Positions

ʾāxa	‘here’
tāma	‘there’
lʾēl	‘above’, ‘up(wards)’
ltēx	‘below’, ‘down(wards)’
(l-)gawā́ye	‘inside’
baṛāye	‘outside’
m-áð-bar m-ó-bar[2]	‘from both directions’ (lit. ‘from this direction, from that direction’)

Directions

m-āxa	‘from here’
men d-āxa	‘from here’
l-āxa	‘hither’

[2] The word *bar* is a Kurdish loan (*ber* ‘direction’) and is also found as an element in the directions *bā́rēli* ‘North’ and *bártaxti* ‘South’ (§7.9.3). It has also been borrowed as a separate word with Aramaic inflection: *bāra*, pl. *-e*.

m-tāma	‘from there’
l-tāma	‘thither’
ta čappe	‘to the left’
ta yamne	‘to the right’
ta qāma ≍ l-qāma	‘forward’
barqū́lux	‘straight ahead’, e.g. *sí barqū̀lux* ‘Go straight ahead.’
lʾēl	‘up’
ltēx	‘down’

10.3.2 Interrogative adverbs

*ʾɛka**	‘where?’, ‘whither’
*mɛka**	‘whence?’
ʾiman	‘when?’
dēx	‘how?’
qāy	‘why?’
go mā́- ≍ b-mā́-	‘with what?’
b-mā́-	‘with what?’
ta mā́ ≍ l-mā́-	‘why?’ (lit. ‘for what’)
b-émoma	‘on which day?’ (<**b-ɛma-yoma*)
mā́qada ≍ māqad ≍ māqa ≍ mā́-qadra	‘how much’, ‘how long’ (also used as a pronoun (§5.4) and modifier (§10.7(12))

*When the copula is attached to *ʾɛka*, a reduced stem *kɛ-* is often used, e.g. *kɛ-la* (≍ *ʾékɛ-la*) ‘where is she?’, *kɛ-wen* (≍ *ʾékɛ-wen*) ‘where am I (m.)?’. The L-set suffixes may be attached to *mɛka* as enclitics, e.g. *mɛ́kāli* (cf. §6.24).

10.3.3 Adverbs of degree and quantity

These adverbs modify adjectives or verbs. They are placed before an adjective, e.g. *kabíra ʾatèqtɛ-la*[l] ‘it is very old’.

kabira	‘very’; (modifying verb)‘a lot’ (Arab. *kabīr* ‘big’)
kulleš	‘very’ (I.A.)
be-ˈðá-ga	‘extremely’
xá-qeṣṣa ≁ *xaqṣa*	‘a little’
p-kabira	‘very’

The adverb *kabira* is also used with verbs to mean ‘very much’, e.g. *zdḗli kabìra.*ˈ ‘I was very afraid’ (lit. ‘I feared greatly’) (A) and *kabíra pṣéxli* ‘I am very happy’ (lit. ‘I became happy very much’) (PP:41). A similar use is found with *mā́qada* (≁ *māqad* ≁ *māqa* ≁ *mā́-qadra*) ‘how much!’, ‘so much’, e.g. *mā́-qad mjuréble de-mdābḗre b-dubā̀ṛe ṭāwe!*ˈ ‘How hard he tried to bring him up in good practices!’ (D:2), which could also be translated as ‘He tried so hard …’ The adverb *p-kabira* is used to modify comparative adjectives, e.g. *ʾan d-béš-raḥūqe ménnaḥ p-kabìra* ‘those much further away from it’ (C:7).

10.3.4 Temporal adverbs

This is the largest category of adverbs.

1) Relative time

daha ≁ *dā*	‘now’, ‘just (now)’
qám-mennaḥ	‘beforehand’
báθer-mennaḥ	‘afterwards’
baθér-dex	‘then’, ‘afterwards’, ‘soon’
baθer xá-bɛna	‘after a while’
qamɛθa	‘previously’, ‘in the past’
baʿdḗn	‘then’, ‘afterwards’

2) Time relative to today

Many of the following expressions are contractions and some also preserve the old Aramaic Absolute form of the noun, without the *-a* ending. Idioms involving ‘year’ and

‘day’ are especially prone to this. For instance, the *yu* in *ʾedyu* ‘today’ is from *yom*, the absolute form of *yoma* ‘day’. Likewise, *ʾačat* ‘this year’ is from *ʾaθ-* plus *šat*, the absolute form of *šāta* ‘year’. Another contraction is *ʾomaxenna* is from *ʾó-yoma xènna* (lit. ‘the other day’).

Some expressions involve verbs attached by the relative particle, e.g. *šapθet-fetla* ‘last week’ (lit. ‘the week that passed’).

ʾedyu	‘today’
temmal	‘yesterday’
ṣapṛa	‘tomorrow’
ʾomaxenna	‘the day before yesterday’, ‘the day after tomorrow’
šapθet-fétla	‘last week’
yarxet-fétla	‘last month’
šetqeʾ	‘last year’
ʾáθ-šapθa	‘this week’
ʾáθ-yarxa	‘this month’
ʾačat	‘this year’

There are three ways of expressing ‘next’ as in ‘next week’. One is a stress group with *xenna* (f. *xerta*), e.g. *šapθá-xerta* ‘next week’ (lit. ‘other week’), *yarxá-xenna* ‘next month’. The other two are with verbs, e.g. *šapθed-áθya* ‘next week’ (lit. ‘week to come’) and *šapθet-qalbex* (lit. ‘week we turn over’).

For ‘next year’ Informant A gave *šētá-xerta*, which is from another dialect (*šāta* being the ANA word for year) but is used in Alqosh.

For expressions like ‘a week today’, the idiom *tmanya x-* ‘eight like …’ is used. This is because a week later is eight days including the point of reference:

tmanya x-ʾedyu	‘a week today’
tmanya x-temmal	‘a week yesterday’
tmanya x-ṣapṛa	‘a week tomorrow’

3) Frequency

čú-ga ≍ čú-gāθa	‘never’
gāga	‘sometimes’
har	‘always’ (see also below)
kún-naqla	‘always’ (<**kúd-naqla*)
ʾákθar-mendi	‘mostly’
ʾákθar-ši	‘mostly’ (Arab.)
kudyum	‘every day’
kučat	‘every year’
kút-šapθa	‘every week’

4) Times of day

mxuška	‘in the morning’
p-palgédyum ≍ p-palged-yóma	‘at midday’
baθer palgédyum	‘in the afternoon’
b-ʿāṣerta	‘in the late afternoon or early evening’
b-burmāše	‘in the (late) evening’
b-lɛle	‘at night’

5) Miscellaneous

ʾɛga	‘then’
ʾé-naqla	‘then’
xá-yoma	‘one day’
heš ≍ š-	‘still’
heš ≍ š- + NEG	‘not yet’
lappeš	‘no longer’ (cf. §6.22)
wel daha ≍ weddā́ ≍ hel daha	‘still’
baʿad	‘still’ (I.A.)
m-iman	‘for ages’ (i.e. ‘since a long time ago’, = Arab. *min zamān*)
ˈðá-gāθa ≍ ˈðá-ga	‘once’

gā́-xerta	‘once again’
xá-yoma	‘one day’
p-xarθa	‘finally’, ‘recently’
b-é-xarθa	‘finally’
p-xaṛayūθa	‘at the end’
ʾáwwal-mendi	‘firstly’
gā qamɛθa	‘for the first time’
ʾella	‘otherwise’ (<*ʾ*en la*, cf. also §10.4.4)
NEG + *ʾella*	‘only’, e.g. *láθwālɛ ʾélla ˙ðā́ʾ taḥtìya présta.*ˈ ‘they only had a felt cloth spread out.’ (A:19)

For expressions involving *gaha* ≍ *gā* ‘time’ (e.g. ‘three times’, ‘the first time’ etc.), cf. §9.4.

10.3.5 Adverbs of manner

Most adverbs are formed from *b-* ≍ *go* with a noun or verbal noun. In many cases it is with an abstract noun ending in *-ūθa*, but other nouns may be used.

p-xurtūθa	‘with difficulty’
p-qešyūθa	‘harshly’
go besmūθa	‘nicely’
b-áθ-ḥāl	‘in this way’

A few adverbs of manner are not formed on this pattern:

hādax (≍ *ʾādax*)	‘thus’
b-é˙ðāðe	‘together’ (for *ʾé˙ðāðe* cf. §5.7)

There are some expressions that involve reduplication:

hēdi-hḗdi	‘slowly’ (I.A.)
qeṣṣá-qeṣṣa	‘little by little’, ‘slowly’

The stress pattern of the latter is discussed in §4.3.2.2. The former may also take this stress pattern: *hēdí-hēdi*. Other expressions with the same stress pattern have adjectival meaning (cf. §8.4).

10.4 *Conjunctions*

Conjunctions link individual words or clauses. They may join two independent clauses or link a subordinate clause to a main clause. Many are derived from Arabic or Kurdish.

10.4.1 The relative particle

The relative particle *//d//* 'who, which' does not inflect for gender, animacy or number. In form it is identical to the genitive and complementizer particles (§10.2.1, §10.4.3). The most common allomorph is a prefix *d-*. Before a single consonant it usually assimilates in the same way as the genitive and complementizer particles.[3] Before a consonant cluster it takes the form *de-*. This is also occasionally found before a single consonant.

The suffix is usually attached to verbs or pseudo-verbs but may be attached to other parts of speech. The role of the referent of the head noun in the relative clause may be as the subject or it may be as the direct, indirect or prepositional object. The referent is resumed, whether in a verbal inflection or on a preposition.

d-ile kélya 'who is standing' (B)
de-kšáqli 'who take' (B:60)
t-kèbet 'which you want' (A:201)
θ-θḗle 'who came' (B:5)
de-kūðíle kùl-nāše 'which all people do' (B)
d-béš-nā́še kēðíle 'which the most people know of' (A)

[3] I.e. obligatorily in voicing and emphasis. Optional full assimilation is attested in the case of */θ/* (see examples).

As with the genitive there is also a suffixed form *-ed* attached to the head noun. This also assimilates regularly:[4]

šabθet-fétla 'last week' (lit. 'the week which passed')
ʾilāned-lá-kyāwel pə̀ṛe 'The tree that yields no fruit (Pr:10)
pāyéšwa … ránget-kebèwa 'it became the colour that they wanted' (A)

The relative particle, like the genitive particle, may often be analysed equally as a suffix or prefix. This ambiguity occurs when the head ends in a vowel other than */a/*. It also happens after *ma* 'what', which does not elide the */a/*.

méndi t-kèbet OR *méndit-kèbet* 'whatever you want' (A:201)
ʾo d-ʾétte OR *ʾod-ʾétte* 'He who has' (Pr:12)
ma de-ktáxren OR *mad-ktaxren* 'what I remember' (A:223)

In such cases the prefixed form will be preferred.

10.4.2 Conjunctions co-ordinating words and independent clauses

The most common co-ordinator is *ʾu* 'and'. This is often suffixed to the previous word, leaving the stress unchanged (§4.3.2.1(3)), e.g. *šéna-u šlā̀ma* 'peace and security' (A:2), *mā́ye-u mèlxa* 'water and salt' (A:68), *tū́ma-u bèṣle* 'garlic and onions' (A:111).

When affixed to a word ending in */e/*, the */e/* is usually deleted because of the rule that */ew/ → /ū/ ≁ /u/*, e.g. *xmìʾe-u* [*xmiʾu*] 'leavened and' (A:34), *sardā̀be-u* [*sardābu*] 'cellars and' (A:27), *fə́ṛe-u fə̀ṛe-u* [*fēṛufēṛu*] 'he flew and flew' (A:161). A final */u/* is also deleted, e.g. *kā́lu-u xéθna* [*kāluxeθna*] 'the bride and groom' (B). The deleted vowel is nevertheless written, as can be seen in the examples above. When affixed to a word ending in */a/*, the resulting */aw/* is often monophthongized to */o/* (§2.5.2), but again this is not indicated in the transcription, e.g. *lēred-dé́wa-u sè̀ma* [*lēreddēwosēma*] (A:220). Before a word beginning in a laryngeal (*/ʔ/* or */h/*), the laryngeal is sometimes elided and

[4] Also fully to */z/* in *ʾémez-zàwāle* 'whoever went' (A:125).

the *ʾu* realized as *w-*, e.g. *w-ā́yet* (< *ʾu ʾāyet*) ‘and you’ (A:183), *w-en* (*ʾu ʾen*) ‘and if’ (A:39), *w-ám* (< *ʾu* + *ham*) ‘and also’ (B:27).

The conjugation *fa* is used as in Arabic, mostly introducing a clause elaborating on what has just been said.

ʾu ≍ *-u (~ w-)*	‘and’
fa	‘so’, ‘for’, ‘you see’

There are three words used to indicate alternatives and they are used in a similar manner:

ʾaw	‘or’ (Aram./Arab.)
yan	‘or’ (K.)
lo	‘or’ (I.A.)

The latter two of these are borrowed. The particle *ʾaw* ‘or’ is found in Syriac, but according to the rules it should be realized in ANA as *ʾo* (cf. §2.5.2). The diphthong may have been preserved to prevent confusion with the deictic pronoun *ʾo-* or under the influence of Arabic *ʾaw* ‘or’. Alternatively original Aramaic *ʾaw* was lost and this is simply a borrowing of the Arabic word.

Also borrowed from (colloquial) Arabic:

bas	‘but’

Some particles may be repeated with a special meaning:

yan … yan	‘either …or’
lo … lo	‘either … or’
lā- … ʾu lā-	‘neither … nor …’ (cf. §10.6)
ham-… ʾu ham	‘both … and’ (cf. §10.6)

10.4.3 Complementizers

The particle *d-* introduces a verbal complement in the *Qaṭlen* form after verbs such as *bʾy* 'to want', *šwq* 'to allow', *qbl* 'to accept, allow' and *yðʾ* 'to know how to' as well as pseudo-verbs such as *ʾib-* 'to be able' (§6.20.3).

> *kében d-máḥken l-ēðawā̀θa.*ˈ 'I'd like to speak about the festivals.' (A)
> *šwóqlan t-xā́zexlux gā̀-xerta.*ˈ 'Let us see you again.' (PP:27)
> *yémmi là-qablāwa d-oðā́wa ʾan-šū́le -*ˈ 'my mother did not agree to her doing these things –' (A:119)
> *lá-kyāðe d-máḥke sū̀raθ.*ˈ 'He doesn't know how to speak Surath.' (A)
> *ʾíbe xāʾ t-pā́šeṭ-u šā̀qel*ˈ 'One can reach out and take …' (C:19)

This particle may also introduce a factual complement, usually a verb or pseudo-verb in the indicative.

> *šmḕle*ˈ *d-ile bróneḥ b-ɛ-mðìta.*ˈ 'he heard that his son was in that town.' (D:7)
> *pṣéxli t-kemʾēðènnux.*ˈ 'I am happy that I got to know you.' (PP:39)
> *ránda d-muθḗlux*[5] *ʾánɛ-xammé́š-armóne* '(it is) good that you brought those five pomegranates,' (A:217)

In this function the complementizer is often optional and frequently omitted:

> *kxášwen ʾétte bèθa.*ˈ 'I think he has a house' (A)

An Arabic complementizer, *ʾennu*, is also attested:

> *našwā́θa kút-xaʾ kāwɛ pṣìxe*ˈ *ʾénnu yālɛ́y šqélle qurbā́na gā́ qamèθa.*ˈ 'the relatives, every one, are happy that their child has taken communion for the first time.' (B:58)

[5] In the original, which was spoken quite fast, the *d-* was inaudible or possible realized as an */n/*. Repeated later, the *d-* was consistently pronounced.

10.4.4 Conjunctions introducing an adverbial clause

Many conjunctions used to introduce adverbial clauses involve the complementizer *//d//*, whether as part of the conjunction itself or attached to the following verb. Some are based on a preposition, e.g. *m-qammed* 'before', from *(m-)qam* 'before', and *ta d-* 'so that', from *ta* 'for'. An interrogative adverb *ʾiman* 'when' is used as the basis in *ʾiman d-* 'whenever'.

kud	'when'
ʾiman d-	'when', 'whenever'
ʾen	'if'
ʾen la- ≁ ʾella	'if … not', 'unless'
dān (< *dā ʾen*)	'now if'
(m-)qammed-	'before'
(m-)qamma d-	'before'
báθer-ma d-	'after'
ḥásab-ma	'depending on what' (Arab.)
ʿ̇εr m-	'apart from' (Arab.)
dex d-	'as'
hel d- ≁ wel d-[6]	'until'
ta d-	'so that'
ta xāter d-	'in order that' (Arab. *xāṭir*)
dla- (normally *dlá-*)	'lest', 'without …-ing'
dlá-kun	'lest'

The causal conjunction, borrowed from Arabic, has various forms. The first two given below are colloquial forms. The third is the classical Arabic form. In all the forms the */i/* and the */ʔ/* of the source words are elided.

lan (I.A. *liʾan*) *≁ lannu*[7] *≁ lánnahu* 'because' (Classical Arab. *liʾannahu*)

[6] This may be pronounced as [*wed*] *d-*, due to assimilation.

10.5 *Interjections*

There are a number of interjections, all of them monosyllabic:

ʾo	'oh!'
hā	'hey!'
wo	'O', 'hey!' (calling to someone)
yā	'O' (addressing someone) (Arab.)
ʾi	(expression of impatience)
wāya	'Woe!', e.g. *wā̀ya ʾellux!* 'Woe to you!'

When *wo* is used with a name, then the name is stressed on its final syllable (§4.2.5.1).

10.6 *Miscellaneous particles*

The particles in this section do not fit into a particular group. Some express the attitude of the speaker to the situation described.

ʾāxer	'in the end', 'after all' (Arab.)
hár-dex t-āwe	'anyway', 'in any case' (lit. 'just as it may be')
ʾella	'lo and behold!' (used with the deictic copula)

The following particles are usually attached to a word in a stress group, the particle taking the stress, e.g. *hám-āna* 'I too'. They may be attached to verbs, nominals and other parts of speech.

har-	'just'
ham-	'also'
bas-	'only', 'just', 'instead' (with noun or verbs, also see conjunctions)

[7] This is derived from *liʾan* with the 3ms. pronominal suffix (*liʾannu*). This is not the form found in Baghdadi Arabic (which is *liʾanna*) but is similar to the form found in Syrian Arabic and is probably borrowed from a northern Mesopotamian dialect of Arabic as would be expected.

The negator *lā-* is found with nouns, adjectives and adverbs. It usually forms a stress group, with *lā-* taking the stress:

*lā̀-ʾenše,*ˈ 'not women' (A)
lā́-xoš-nāša 'not a nice person' (A)
šū́le lā̀-ṭāwe 'things (that are) not good' (B)
lā̀-har-b-āði 'not only with this one' (A)

The particle *la-* negates verbs (cf. §6.9).

The comparative particle *beš-* (*~bez-~bes-*) is found mostly with adjectives (§8.5) but also with other parts of speech. It also normally takes the stress in a stress group:

*béš-ʾatira m-kùl-… nāšed-mā́θa.*ˈ 'richer than ALL the people of the village. ' (A:221)

d-béš-nā́še kēðíle 'which the most people know of' (A)

*b-áθ-oḍa béš-iθen tàxte*ˈ *men d-é-ʾoḍa xèrta* 'In this room there are more seats than in the other room' (A)

With *kabira* 'many' and *qeṣṣa* 'few', it has special meanings:

béš-kabira 'more
béš-qeṣṣa 'less'

The above are used for uncountable nouns or to modify verbs. For plural nouns the following are used:

béš-kabire 'more'
béš-qeṣṣe 'less'

These terms can be used independently or as modifiers of nouns.

10.7 *Quantifiers and other non-adjectival modifiers of nouns and pronouns*

This group covers modifiers of nouns and pronouns that are not covered in the chapter on Adjectives (§8). Prototypical adjectives are noun-modifiers that express quality, post-pose the noun and are inflected for number and gender. Most modifiers listed here have none of these properties: they mostly express quantity, precede the noun and are uninflected. There are some words which fall between these two extremes, having properties of both. These are listed here or in §8 according to their meaning. Thus uninflected *xoš-* 'good' as in *xóš-nāša* 'good person' is listed in §8.

Some of the pronouns described in §5 may also serve as modifiers of nouns. These include the attached deictic pronouns (§5.3), as well as the interrogatives *mā-* 'what', *ʾɛma* 'which', *kma-* 'how many' and *mā́-qadra* 'how many, how much' (§5.4). They will only be listed here where they have an additional meaning restricted to their modifying function. Numerals are also noun-modifiers but are treated separately in §9.

Some uninflected modifiers are commonly attached to the words *nāša* 'person' and *mendi* 'thing' to form indefinite pronouns (§5.8), e.g. *xá-nāša* 'someone' and *čú-mendi* 'anything', 'nothing'.

Uninflected modifiers are divided into two groups. Some form a stress group with the noun. The modifier usually takes the stress but the noun may take the stress if it is being emphasized in some way. Others modifiers are independent words, in some cases nouns themselves. The modifiers are listed here with notes on their use below.

Attached

(1) *kul-* (*kull-*)	'all'
(2) *terwaθn-* ≁ *terw-* ≁ *trāw-*	'both of'
(3) *kud-*	'every'
(4) *ču-*	'any', 'no'
(5) *flān-*	'such and such'
(6) *xatrē-*(m.), *xattē-*(f.)	'one or two', 'a couple of'
(7) *kma-*	'many'

This group also includes the indefinite article which, unlike the others, is inflected for gender:

(8) *xa-* (m.), *ˈða-* (f.) ‘a’, ‘one’

Independent

(9) *xāʾ* (m.), *ˈðāʾ* (f.) ‘a certain’

(10) *xá-qeṣṣa* ≁ *xaqṣa* ‘a little’, ‘a few’

(11) *xakma* ‘some’

(12) *mā́qada* ≁ *māqad* ≁ *māqa* ≁ *mā́-qadra* ‘so many’, ‘so much’

(13) *ˈðá-dunye* ‘masses of’ (lit. ‘a world of’)

(14) *kabire* ‘many’

(15) *xá-/ˈðá-ʿamal* ‘a sort of’ (often pejorative)

Notes on use

The following all precede the noun, unless otherwise indicated.

(1) *kul-*: This may be used with nouns or pronominal suffixes. A special stem *kull-* is found with suffixes, e.g. *kulleḥ* ‘all of it’ and *kullɛ* (<**kullέy*) ‘all of them’. It may be used with singular or plural nouns, e.g. *go kùl-ʿerāq* ‘in all of Iraq’ (B:59), *p-kùl-dukkāne* ‘in all the places’ (A:22). It may also take suffixes agreeing with the gender and number of the noun, e.g. *kúllaḥ šā́ta* ‘all (of the) year’ (B), *kúllɛ xā̀yeḥ* ‘all his life’ (A:222).

(2) *terwaθn-* ≁ *terw-* ≁ *trāw-*: All three variants are attested or elicited. It is not clear whether they are free variants or there is some distinction between them. They are not attached directly to nouns, only to plural pronominal suffixes.

terwaθnɛ ‘both of them’

terwɛ ‘both of them’

trāwɛ ‘both of them’

These forms may modify a noun, e.g. *trā̀wɛ ʾyā́li* ≁ *tèrwɛ ʾyā́li* ‘both of the boys’ (A).

(3) *kud-*: This is only used with singular nouns. It assimilates regularly, also sporadically to */n/*, e.g. *kún-naqla* ‘always’ (lit. ‘every time’) (A). It normally takes the stress.

(4) *ču-*: This normally takes the stress. It is attested in the following expressions:

čú-mendi	‘anything’, ‘nothing’
čú-nāša	‘anyone’, ‘no-one’
čú-dukθa	‘anywhere’, ‘nowhere’
čú-ga ≁ čú-gāθa	‘never’

It is mostly found with a negative verb, e.g. *lá-kūðennux čù-mendi* ‘I won’t do anything to you’ (A:108), but has negative force even on its own, e.g. *beš-ṭóˀ m-čù-mendi* ‘better than nothing’ (A). In this it resembles French *rien* ‘anything’, ‘nothing’.

(5) *flān-*: This is attested with only two words, *mendi* ‘thing’ and *yoma* ‘day’:

flā́n-mendi	‘such-and-such a thing’
flā́n-yoma	‘such-and-such a day’

(6) *xatrē-*(m.), *xattē-* (f.): These are derived respectively from *xa-* + *trē-* (m.) and ˙*ða-* + *tettē-* (f.) ‘one (or) two’ (cf. §9.7). They sometimes take the main stress. Examples: *xatrē-bàrxe-u*ˡ ‘one or two lambs’ (A:15), *xàtrē-yumāθa*ˡ ‘one or two days,’ (A:145), *xàttē-ˀarmóne-u*ˡ ‘a couple of pomegranates’ (A:209).

(7) *kma-*: This is used with plural nouns, e.g. *kmà-šenne* ‘many years’ (A). It normally takes the stress.

(8) *xa-* (m.), ˙*ða-* (f.): The indefinite article is a common modifier, although many indefinite nouns are unmarked. It is also used as the numeral ‘one’ (§9.1.1). It normally takes the stress. Examples: *xá-kappoθa* ‘a sandwich’ (A:121), *xá-šivāna* ‘a shepherd’ (A:161), *xá-yāla* ‘a young man’ (B:40), ˙*ðá-ṭapšèkθa* ‘a flat-stone’ (A:70), *le-*˙*ðà-mðita* ‘to a town’ (D:7).

(9) *xāʾ* (m.), *ˑðāʾ* (f.): This is the independent form of the indefinite article/numeral 'one'. Before a noun it means 'a certain' and may be used to introduce a new character who is going to be of importance in the narrative, e.g. *ʾeθwa xāʾ mraqā́net-pēlā̀ve.*[1] 'There was a certain cobbler.' (A:180). It is also used with numbers to indicate an approximation (§9.7).

(10) *xá-qeṣṣa* ≍ *xaqṣa*: The second form is a contraction of the first. The noun *qeṣṣa* 'few' is from Turkish.[8] Example: *xá-qeṣṣa šḗkar* 'a little sugar' (A).

(11) *xakma*: This is derived from *xa-* 'one' + *kma* '(how) many'. Examples: *xákma bahāṛā̀t* 'some *bahaṛāt*' (A:32), *xákma fèlse*[1] 'some fils' (A:148).

(12) *mā́qada* ≍ *māqad* ≍ *māqa* ≍ *mā́-qadra*: This is used with both singular and plural nouns. *mā́-qadra … šarrā̀θa* 'so many battles' (A:124), *mā́-qadra qàmxa* 'so much flour' (A), *mā́-qadra mā̀ye* 'so much water (pl.)'.

(13) *ˑðá-dunye*: This precedes the noun. It is used of very large amounts, e.g. *ˑðà-dunye mā́ye* 'masses of water' (A).

(14) *kabire*: In form this is the plural of *kabira* 'very' (Arab. *kabīr* 'big'). It may precede or postpose the noun, e.g. *kabíre ʾalqušnā́ye* 'many Alqoshis' (A:95), *nā́še kabíre* 'Many people' (B:32).

(15) *xá-/ˑðá-ʿamal*:[9] Like *zaṛṛa* 'enormous' (§8.3(21)) this is combined with an indefinite article that agrees with the gender of the noun modified, e.g. *xá-ʿamal ḥèzza* 'a sort of notch' (A), *ˑðá-ʿamal bàxta* 'some sort of woman' (A), *xá-ʿamal mèndi* 'some sort of thing' (A). This modifier is derived from Arabic *ʿamal* 'work'.

[8] The modern Turkish form is *kısa*, but in Ottoman Turkish it was written with the letter *qāf*: Éu³ (*qyṣa*).
[9] This word is recorded by Maclean (1901: 241) for the dialects of the Mosul plain with the meaning 'a kind, sort', e.g. *xa ʿâmâl jerðâ* 'a sort of rat'.

TEXTS

INFORMANT A

TRADITIONAL HOUSES

(1) *bεθawā˙θa b-ʾàlquš,ˈ bεθawā˙θa ʾatìqe,ˈ ʾan d-ílε ʾatìqe:ˈ* (2) *bèθa,ˈ kēðūtun … lá-wāwa šέna-u šlà̄ma.*[1]ˈ *zdòθa-wāwa.ˈ ʾéθwa hjà̄ma,ˈ ʾeθwa nhāba-u slà̄ba.*[2]ˈ (3) *bεθawā˙θa kúllε ʾoðíwālε ʿlòye.ˈ yaʿni … dāẏer-ma-dāyered-bέθa hāwēwa ʿlòya -ˈ kabìra ʿloya.ˈ*

(4) *ʾu dàrga,ˈ ṭáṛed-baṛāẏe, dàrga,ˈ d-ʾamrìwale,ˈ hāwēwa xlíma t-qèsa.ˈ* (5) *ʾu kud paθxétwa ʾáθ-ṭaṛa ʾorètwa,ˈ hoyāwa dàrtaˈ d-itā̀wa;ˈ yatwíwa ʾaxlìwa.ˈ* (6) *ʾāẏ go qèṭa d-amrex.ˈ ʾāni b-yumā˙θa t-āwε*[3] *bassìme.ˈ*

(7) *men dàrtaˈ ʾéθwa … ʾamríwalε ʾoḍáθa yan kučèkat.ˈ* (8) *kučéke ġðā̀ʾ-ila, yaʿni,ˈ ʾòḍa.ˈ* (9) *ʾu ʾeθwālε ġðāʾ … kučéke lo tèttēʾ.ˈ ʾāẏ lʾè̄l.ˈ* (10) *r-rēšéy ʾeθwa gā̀re.ˈ p-qéṭa damxìwaˈ lo dārεwa dábṛεy, xèṭṭe,ˈ ṣā̀re,ˈ mà d-eθwālε;*[4]ˈ *dāréwāla l-garawā̀θa.ˈ* (11) *ʾāy … daṛawāθa yasqíwalε ta gāṛe men … dàrta.ˈ* (12) *ʾu ṭaṛawāθed-oḍāθa … hā̀wεwa yaʿniˈ … kud-ʾóḍa-u ṭaṛa dìyaḥ.ˈ*

(13) *ʾu xóθed- … d-áð-bεθa hāwēwa … ʾamríwale bikā̀re.ˈ* (14) *ʾāði dāréwa kθayaθèyˈ lo ḥεwā̀ne d-eθwālε,ˈ qenyā̀ne;ˈ xmā̀ra-wēwa,*[5] *tawèrta hoyāẇa,ˈ bàrxe.ˈ* (15) *ʾo d-éθwāle … méndi qèṣṣa yaʿni:ˈ ġðāʾ tettē-torā̀θa-uˈ ṭèllaθ,ˈ lo xámša ʾeštā̀-barxe*[6]*;ˈ*

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[1] Corrected from: *lá-wāwa dúnye … ʾamā̀n.ˈ láθwa …* 'Life was not … security. There was no …'

[2] The Arabic derivations *nahb* and *salb* often occur together in this way: *nahbun wa salbun* 'looting and pillaging'.

[3] The subjunctive is used here rather than *t-kāwε bassime*. It is perhaps because the fine weather is hypothetical.

[4] Corrected from: *mā̀-ʾeθwālε.*

[5] Or *hāwēwa.*

[6] Corrected from: *xámši ʾeštì-barxe.*

INFORMANT A

TRADITIONAL HOUSES

(1) Houses in Alqosh, the old houses, those which are old: (2) A house, you know … there wasn't peace and security. There was fear. There was raiding, there was looting and pillaging. (3) The houses, all of them, they made high. I mean, all around the house it was high, very high.

(4) And the *darga* {front door}, the outside door, the *darga*, as they called it, it was of thick wood.[1] (5) And when you opened the door and went through, there was the courtyard, for sitting; they used to sit and eat. (6) That was in the summer, I'd say.[2] These things were on the days which were fine.

(7) Off the courtyard there were … (what) were called *ʾoḍāθa* {rooms} or *kučekat* {rooms}. (8) *Kučeke* {room} is one, I mean, an *ʾoḍa* {room}. (9) And they had one … room or two. This is upstairs. (10) On top of them there was a roof. In summer they used to sleep (there) or put their provisions: wheat, barley, whatever they had; they put them on the roofs. (11) This … staircase they ascended to the roof from the courtyard. (12) And room doors … there were, I mean … Every room and its door.

(13) And under this house, there was … (what) was called a *bikare* {stable}. (14) This was where they put[3] their chickens or the animals which they had, livestock; there was a donkey, there was a cow, lambs. (15) He who had few, I mean two cows or three, or five or six lambs; there was one donkey, one cow or two, or one or two lambs, and chickens. (16) All of them went down into the *sardab* {cellar}, which we call *bikare*; *sardab* is in Arabic.[4] We call it *bikare*. (17) And there, in the *bikāre* there were

[1] Literally: thick of wood.

[2] Literally: we'd say.

[3] Literally: This they put…

[4] In fact they appear to have different uses. A *sardab* (Arab. *sirdāb*) is a cellar used for storing foods, while a *bikāre* is a ground floor space used for keeping animals.

xà-xmāra hāwēẇa, ġðá-tawerta tettēʾ' ló xatrē-bàrxe-u' kθayā̀θa.' (16) *kúllɛ naxθíwa l-sàrdab,' de-kemrexle bikā̀re;' sardab b-ᶜarabi-la.' kemréxle bikā̀re.'* (17) *ʾu tāṁa … b-bikāṙe hāwē˙θenwa*[7] *dàbṛe: xéṭṭe dārɛ́wālɛ go* [A]*barāmī̀l*[A8] *hāwɛ́wa' lo p-sànde;'* (18) *dārɛwa gùpta-u' ṭárped- … mawēšíwa ṭárped- … d-ʾènwiθa,*[9]*' yaprā̀ġe,' ʾu tūṁa-u bèṣle …' ʾāṅɛ d-dāṙɛwalɛ ltḕx.' go bikā̀re.'*

(19) *ʾu ʾoḍā˙θa hāwɛwa pšìṭe;' láθwālɛ … (ʾella) ġðāʾ taḥtíya … prèsta.' ʾāẏ go sétwa parsìwāla,' lánnahu qàrθa.'* (20) *ʾu kāwēθen*[10] *mànqal,' d-mašxṑne.*[11] *ʾu … ʾā̀y.' ʾeθwa maṭrāḥe-u laḥēfe ṣípe ta dmā̀xa.'* (21) *ʾāẏ mmaḥkóye l-álquš ʾatèqta,' yumāθa qamāẏe ʾatìqe.' t-qámmed- … raxšíwa ta qā̀ma d-amrex.'*

(22) *ʾu dáha bāṫed-àlquš' … yáᶜni mṭuwḕṛɛ;' péšlɛ ġ-bāṫe dex d-ílɛ p-kùl-dukkāne,' b-báġdad-u mòṣel-u …'* (23) *bèθa ʾu …' ʾíbe bestāṅa,* [A]*ḥadī̀qa*[A]*-u'* [A]*màtxal*[A]*-u' m-āy (?) bdòret-u (?)*[12]*,* [A]*hoḷā̀t*[A]*-u' ʾibe ʾitāẇa-u* [A]*steqbāl*[A]*-u* [A]*ṭaᶜā̀m*[A]*; dex d-an-šūle.'* (24) *ʾu kuðilɛ trḕ-qāṭe-u …' mennéy ṭlā̀θa-u …' yáᶜni bɛθawā̀θa,' men d-ā̀ni.' d-ílɛ be-mðinā̀θa, d-amrex.'*

(25) *bas ʾāṅi t-qaméθa, xá-mendi xènna-wɛwa.'* (26) *yumāθed- … yaᶜni qamāẏe,*[13]*' qam … ʾálpa-u tešš̈ā-ʾemma-u ʾèšti-u,' ʾálpa-u tešš̈ā-ʾemma-u … d-amrex-u ʾèšti,' ʾáne-yumāθa: ʾā̀dax-wɛwa,' bāṫed- … b-àlquš.'* (27) *dex de-wenwa mmā̀ra:' kúllɛ bikarwā̀θa-u' torā̀θa-u' sardā̀be-u' … ʾā̀ni.'*

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[7] Corrected from: *hāwēθen.* Or could be corrected to *kāwēθen* 'there are'.

[8] In retrospect A gives *ḥuqqe* as more correct.

[9] Should be *ṭarped-daliθa* 'vineleaves', not *ṭarped-ʾenwiθa* 'grapeleaves'.

[10] Corrected by A from *hāwēθen*.

[11] Corrected from *mašxone*, without *d-*.

[12] This phrase is unclear even to the speaker but this is a possible interpretation.

[13] Should be *yumāθa qamāye*.

provisions: wheat they put in – [A]barrels[A], they were, or in pots. (18) They put cheese and leaves of – they dried grape leaves, stuffed vine-leaves, and garlic and onions … those they put below. In the *bikāre.*

(19) And the houses were simple; they only had a … felt cloth … spread out. This they spread out in winter, because it was cold. (20) And there is a brazier, for heating. And … so on. There were mattresses and bedcovers stacked up for sleeping. (21) This is talking about the old Alqosh, the former, old days. From before[5] they 'progressed', as we say.

(22) And now the houses of Alqosh, I mean, they developed; they became like houses as they are in all the places, in Baghdad and Mosul: (23) A house … and it has a garden, a [A]garden[A] and an [A]entrance[A] – from this you enter[6] – and [A]halls[A] and it has a [A]reception room[A] and a [A]dining room[A]; things like these. (24) And they make two floors and some of them three … I mean, houses, such as these. The ones which are in the towns, we would say.

(25) But the ones of before, they were something different. In, I mean, the old days, before nineteen sixty, nineteen – I'd say[7] – sixty, those days, they were like this, the houses in Alqosh. (27) As I was saying, all *bikāres* and cows and cellars and so on.

[5] Literally: of before.
[6] Uncertain.
[7] Literally: we'd say.

(28) *ʾoðiwa léxma b-ʾàlquš.*ˈ (29) *qaméθa ʾéθwālɛ tanūra.*ˈ *ʾáθ-tanūra mašexnìwale ʾu …*ˈ *m-qám mašxóneḥ maḥeḏṛiwa lèša.*ˈ (30) *léša m-ìle?*ˈ (31) *kšáqli qàmxa,*ˈ *xétṭe - kúllɛ zaṛāʾe-wɛwa,*ˈ *ʾéθwālɛ xètṭe -*ˈ *ṭaxníwālɛ, ʾoðíwalɛ qàmxa.*ˈ (32) *qámxa lɛšíwale b-mā̀ye-u*ˈ *dārɛwa xmíra-mmeḥ-u mèlxa-u …*ˈ *ʾu bahāṛā̀t,*ˈ *xákma bahāṛā̀t kemrexlɛ.* (33) *bás-kámta lā … lā-bahāṛāt déx t-kēðila b-ʿàṛabi d-amrex.*ˈ *kámta dārèwa.*ˈ

(34) *ʾoðíwa trēʾ ṭlaθa-šekled-lèxma,*ˈ *mennɛy léxma raqìqa*ˈ *ʾu mennéy paθxā̀θa*ˈ *ʾu mennéy, ʾen maxemíwāle ránda,*ˈ *ʾamriwalɛ xmìʾe-u*ˈ *ʾóðiwa taxrā̀θa.* (35) *ʾu taxrā̈θa* [A]*ʾaškā̀l*[A]*-ilɛ …*ˈ *šèkle hādax:*ˈ *ʾāði d-gùpta;*ˈ *ʾeθwa mennéy s-sèsqe,*ˈ *mennéy d-ʿḕruq,*ˈ *d-gèrsa*ˈ *… ʾāẏ taxrā̀θa.*ˈ

(36) *kúd lɛšìwālɛ,*ˈ *dārɛwa xwāṅa p-pàlga.*ˈ (37) *lɛšiwa-u*ˈ *mqaṭṭíwāle lèša,*ˈ (38) *ʾen wɛwa taxrā̈θa-u paθxā̀θa,*ˈ *báz-garòma*ˈ *- gàrmiwālɛ.*ˈ (39) *w-en hāwēwa ráqqa d-lèxma*ˈ *- ráqqa … yaʿni ʾāni raqìqe*ˈ *- māxéwālɛ b-gḕṛa.*ˈ (40) *gēṛa qésa yarìxɛ-le hādax;*ˈ *naqìða.*ˈ

(41) *ʾu léxma raqíqa mṭāpéwāle go mànzaq.*ˈ (42) *go mánzaq dlà-čāyeq*ˈ *dārɛle b-ìða,*ˈ *lánnahu ṛā̀be kāẇɛ.*ˈ (43) *ʾu ʾāṅi taxrā̈θa-u paθxā̈θa hàr-b-iða;*ˈ *ménnɛy b-mànzaq,*ˈ *ménnɛy b-ìða mṭāpéwālɛ.*ˈ (44) *klíθa l-bàxtɛ-la: ʾen ʾeθwāba d- … morāẇa ʾíðaḥ p-tanūṛa dla … dlà-manzaqta.*ˈ

(28) They used to make bread in Alqosh. (29) Before, they used to have an oven. This oven they heated and before heating it they prepared *lɛša* {dough}. (30) *Lɛša*, what is it? (31) They take flour, wheat – all of them were farmers, they had wheat – they milled it, they made it into flour. (32) The flour they kneaded with water, and they put yeast with it and salt and *bahāṛāt* {spices}[8], some *bahāṛāt* (as) we call them. (33) Just *kamta*[9], not *bahāṛāt* as they know them in Arabic, I'd say.[10] They added *kamta*.

(34) They made two or three types of bread, among them 'fine bread' and among them *paθxāθa* {large thin pitta breads} and among them, if they leavened it well, (what) they called 'leavened'; and they made *taxrāθa* {small thick pitta breads}. (35) And *taxrāθa* come in [A]different kinds[A11] … kinds like this: cheese-bread[12]; there was among them sheep's-tail-fat-bread, among them *ʿēruq*[13]-bread, cracked-wheat-bread … That's *taxrāθa*.

(36) When they kneaded them, they put a *xwāna* {low round table} in the middle. (37) They kneaded and pinched off the dough. (38) If they were *taxrāθa* and *paθxāθa*, just a rolling-pin – they rolled them out. (39) And if it was a *raqqa* {thin piece} of bread – a *raqqa*, that is, the thin ones – they rolled it[14] with a *gēṛa* {fine rolling pin}. (40) A *gēṛa* is a long piece of wood like this; thin.

(41) And the fine bread they stuck (inside the oven) with the oven-cushion.[ı] (42) With the oven-cushion so that it doesn't tear, so that they may hold it with the hand, because they are large. (43) And these, *taxrāθa* and *paθxāθa,* are just with the hand; some of them with an oven-cushion, some of them they stuck them with the hand. (44) It depends on the woman: if she could put her hand into the oven without an oven-cushion.

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[8] According to Jastrow (1979: 64), *bahārāt* in the Mosul dialect of Arabic refers to a specific 'Gewürzmischung' (spice(/herb?)-mix).

[9] Literally: black (f.).

[10] Literally: we'd say.

[11] Literally: are kinds.

[12] Literally: this one of cheese.

[13] A type of yellow powdered spice, perhaps turmeric.

[14] Literally: hit it.

(45) *mṭāpέwālε p-tanūṙa hāwēwa … mulèhya*ˈ *- malhεwa ló qέsa lo bàrta.*ˈ (46) *bárta ʾāni …* [B: *paṭòxe.*ˈ] *paṭòxe yaʿni …*ˈ *torā̀θa.*ˈ (47) *ʾāẏ wēwa šarèy, meskēṅe;*ˈ *làθwālε.*ˈ

(48) *ʾāẏ lèxma ʾu …*ˈ *léxma mapelṭìwāle,*ˈ *xá-qeṣṣa rakìxa.*ˈ (49) *kúd pāleṭwa, šaxína, taʾpìwāle;*ˈ *tettḕ-gāθa*ˈ *lánnahu mḍàwwar-wēwa*ˈ (50) *taʾpíwa ġðá-gāθa ʾaw tettḕʾ;*ˈ *pāyešwa xá-mendi* [A]*mθàllaθ.*[A1] (51) *baθér-dex yāwéšwa, pāẏešwa -*ˈ *ʾāṙēwa qàlwa hādax.*ˈ (52) *ṭamšíwāle b-mā̀ye-u*ˈ *dāṙεwale p-sàlla*ˈ *lo b- … paθàrta*ˈ *lo ṭabaqìya ʾamriwāla tāṁa-u*ˈ *gðílaḥ m-qaṣā̀le.*ˈ (53) *mkāsέwāle xa-bèna-u*ˈ *rākexwa pāẏešwa x-pàsta.*ˈ (54) *ʾu taxrāθa-u paθxāθa lá-rεsiwālε b-mā̀ye.*ˈ (55) *ʾāẏ lèxma.*ˈ

(56) *dāṙex l-gùpta,*ˈ *dēẋ ʾoðíwāla gùpta.*ˈ (57) *ʾāθēẇa mzabnā̀na-u*ˈ *lo ʾāṅi d-éθwalε ʾèrwe-u*ˈ *torā̀θa-u …*ˈ *gupted-ʾérwe bèš-bassemtε-la-u*ˈ *bèš-rxešta.*ˈ (58) *ʾoðíwāla gùpta; hoyāẇa xā̀m dex d-ámrex:*ˈ *xā̀m.*ˈ *lá-wāwa wéðta … šlèqta.* (59) *zonéxwāla gùpta-u*ˈ *mεθéxwāla l-bèθa;* (60) *ʾoðéxwāla … qεṣéxwāla zelpè-zelpe;*ˈ *maṛeθxéxwāla*[14] *b-mā̀ye,*ˈ *xà-qeṣṣa.*ˈ (61) *kpéša x- … x-ʿallŭ̀ča,*ˈ *x-lastìk,*ˈ *hāḋax pšèrta.*ˈ (62) *mennéy d-bás-ʾoðiwāla d- … m-mèlxa:*ˈ *ʾāni … báθer-ma š-šalqìla,*ˈ *ʾoðíwāla fèṣṣe …* [interruption]

(63) *gùpta:*ˈ *šalqìwāla;*ˈ *ʾoðíwāla … ménnaḥ p-tŭ̀ma,*ˈ *ménnaḥ bás-b-mèlxa*ˈ *- lá-dārεwa tŭ̀ma gāwaḥ.*ˈ (64) *tūṁa tàri, yaʿni,*ˈ *lā-ṫūma men d-āni fèṣṣe.*ˈ [B: *yarŭ̀qe.*ˈ] *yarŭ̀qe d-amrex,*ˈ *ʾḕ.*ˈ (65) *baθér-dex šaqlìwāla,*ˈ *daʿkíwāla b-ìða*ˈ *mṣaneṣlíwālε mā̀yaḥ.*ˈ *ʿaṣrìwāla,*ˈ *māẏaḥ palṭìwa.*ˈ (66) *dārέwa tūṁa p-pàlgaḥ,*ˈ *ʾu dabqíwāla l-èġðāðe*ˈ *- wola x-kubàbta.*ˈ (67) *dārέwāla b-mèlxa;*ˈ *dārέwāla p-qóqa lo p-sànda.*ˈ (68) *ʾu dārέwa māẏe* [interruption] *māẏe-u mèlxa,*ˈ *r-rēšèy*ˈ *ʾìman t-qεṛāẇa.*ˈ (69) *dārεwa māẏe-u mélxa r-*

[14] Should be *šalqexwāla*, as *ṛθx* III ‘to boil’ is used only of water, while *šlq* I is used of boiling things in the water.

(45) They stuck them inside an oven which had been lit – they lit either wood or sheep-dung. (46) Sheep-dung, these … [B: Cow dung.] cow-dung, I mean … Cows. (47) This was their fuel, the poor; they didn't have (anything else).

(48) That's bread … The bread they brought out, a little soft. (49) When it came out, hot, they folded it, twice because it was circular. (50) They folded once or twice; it became something [A]triangular.[A] (51) Afterwards it dried and became – took a shape, like this. (52) They dipped it in water and put it in a basket or in a *paθarta*-basket or a *ṭabaqiya* {wicker tray}, (as) they called it there, woven from straws. (53) They covered it for a while and it softened and became like cloth. (54) *Taxrāūa* and *paūxāūa* they did not sprinkle with water. (55) That's bread.

(56) Let us return to cheese, how they made the cheese. (57) There used to come a seller or those who had sheep and cows … Sheep's cheese is nicer and more common. (58) They made the cheese; it was unprocessed, as we say: 'unprocessed'. It was not made … boiled. (59) We bought the cheese and took it home; (60) we made it … we cut it into slices; we boiled it in water, a little. (61) It becomes like … like chewing gum,[15] like elastic, melted like that. (62) (There were) some who just made it with salt. These … after they boiled it, they made it into segments. [interruption]

(63) Cheese: they boiled it; they made some of it[16] with garlic and some of it just with salt – they didn't put garlic in it. (64) Fresh garlic, I mean, not garlic from these cloves. [B: Green.] Green, as we say,[17] yes. (65) After that they took it, they pressed it by hand, they made its water drip out. They squeezed it, its water came out. (66) They put garlic in the middle of it, and they stuck it together – it's like a *kubba*.[18] (67) They put it in salt; they put it in a small pot or a big pot. (68) And they put bri- [interruption] brine,[19]

[15] *ʿallūča*: a type of sweet similar to chewing gum.
[16] Literally: They made it, some of it …
[17] Literally: we'd say.
[18] A *kubabta* (pl. *kubɛbe*) is a type of meatball made from minced meat and bulgar wheat, known in Arabic as *kubba*.
[19] Literally: water and salt.

rēšèy-u (70) *dārɛwa ġðá-ṭapšèkθa,ˈ párčed- …* [B: *faràšta.ˈ*] *faràšta ʾamriwāla,ˈ t-*[A]*ḥáṣu*[A15] *… bṭèxta,ˈ ta t-pāẏeš yùqra r-rēšaḥ,ˈ wél n-naxθa̰wa,ˈ xu māẏe-u mèlxa-uˈ ʾu ʾàxliwa.ˈ*

THE GAME OF ṢLĀWA (EXTRACT)

(71) *ʾāẏ t-kesxṵ̄re,ˈ w-íθen de-ṣlā̰wa.* (72) *trēʾ ṭlā̰θa kāwɛ …ˈ kāẇɛ … ʾāṅi … d-amréxlɛ nāṭòṛe.ˈ nāṭòṛe kāwɛ.ˈ ʾu … xámša ʾéšta kāwɛ ʾrìqe.ˈ* (73) *ʾán-nāṭoṛe kʾàrqi,ˈ trēʾ kárqi baθer … ʾan d-ílɛ beʾrā̰qa;ˈ kʾārèlɛ.ˈ* (74) *ʾíman t-qéḥlɛ gawèy,ˈ kʾārélɛ, kmɛθélɛ l-gṵ̄da,ˈ kṣalwìle.ˈ kpā̈θ̊x ʾidā̈θ̊ḥ l-gṵ̄daˈ ʾu kṣalwìle-u.ˈ kāwe nāṭòṛa gēbeḥ.ˈ* (75) *wél … de-kxalṣílɛ kùllɛ.ˈ* (76) *bas ʾen θēle xāʾ dlá-hāwe ʾèrya-uˈ θēle qèḥle,ˈ* [B: *kemxālèṣla.ˈ*] *θēle-u kemxālèṣla,ˈ qéḥle b-idāθèy,ˈ w-àn-ṣliwe,ˈ kúllɛ kárqi gā̰-xerta.ˈ* (77) *dáha nāṭòṛe gā̰-xerta:ˈ bárqi baθer kúllɛ ta d-ʾārélɛ wél … ʾā̰xer,ˈ wél xarā̰ya.ˈ* (78) *ʾo- … bróna xarāẏed-ʾārèle,ˈ ʾāẇa ppāẏeš … ʾé-naqla ppéši ʾāṅi ġlìbe.ˈ*

CLOTHES

(79) *dēẋ ʾoðíwa … d-amrex … šāla-u šáppuk b-àlquš:ˈ* (80) *qɛṣíwa … ʾámṛed-ʾèrwe;ˈ garíwālɛ ʾèrwe*[16]*;ˈ* (81) *ʾoðíwālɛ ʾézla go dṵ̄k:ˈ maxeḍríwāle ʾoðíwālɛ gðā̰ðe gðāðe;ˈ* (82) *dāréwālɛ go … gṵ̄baˈ - kemréxle gṵ̄ba,ˈ ʾāẏ … de-zqā̰ra;* (83) *ʾu zaqríwāle ʾoðíwāle …* [B: [A]*qmā̰š.*[A]] [A]*qmā̰š*[A] *d-amrex.ˈ b-ʿáṛabi kemréxle* [A]*qmā̰š.*[A]ˈ

[15] I.A. *ḥaṣu* (Standard Arab. *ḥaṣwa*).

[16] Later corrected. *grʾ* is only used of humans. *qɛṣíwa ʾámṛed-ʾèrwe* is the correct idiom here.

on top of them, when it cooled down. (69) They put brine on top of them (70) and they put a flat-stone, a piece of … [A pebble.[20]] a pebble they called it, of [A]pebble,[A] flat, to be a weight on top of it, until it would go down, under the brine … And they ate.

THE GAME OF ṢLAWA (EXTRACT)

(71) This is (the game) of *Kesxūre*, and there is (the game) of *Ṣlāwa* {Crossing}. (72) Two or three are … are those that we call 'guards'. They are guards. And five or six have run away. (73) These guards run – two run after ... those that are running; they catch them. (74) When they touch them, they catch them, they bring them to the wall, they 'cross'[21] him. He opens his arms to the wall and they 'cross' him. There is a guard with him. (75) Right until they finish off all of them. (76) But if someone comes who hasn't been caught and he comes and touches [B: He frees them.] he comes and frees them, touches their arms, while they are crossed, all of them run again. (77) Now the guards once again: they will run after all of them to catch them, right until the [A]last one[A], until the last one. (78) The last boy that they catch, he will become … then these will become the winners.

CLOTHES

(79) How they used to make, we would say, (traditional) trousers and jacket[22] in Alqosh. (80) They cut the wool of sheep; they shaved the sheep; (81) they made them[23] into yarn with a spindle: they made it spin, they made them all threads;[24] (82) they put them in a loom – they call it a 'loom', that thing for weaving; (83) and they wove it, they made it into … [B: Cloth.] [A]cloth[A], we would say. In Arabic we call it [A]cloth.[A]

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[20] That is, a hard stone such as marble. A softer stone would give off dust.

[21] I.e. stretch his arms out horizontally so that he is in the shape of a cross.

[22] The traditional costume of Alqosh. The *šāla* is the baggy trousers common in several eastern cultures, *širwāl* in Arabic and *šalvār* in Persian. The *šappuk* or *šappukta* is from Kurd. *şapik̲*.

[23] Should no doubt be 'it', referring to the wool, rather than the sheep.

[24] Literally: threads threads.

(84) *baθèr-dex*ˈ *nablíwāle gēbet-xayā̀ṭa;* (85) *qā̀yeṣwa-u*ˈ *ʾā̀weðwāle,*ˈ *xāẏeṭwāle pàšma,*ˈ *ʾāẏ de-klošíle yaʿni ta ltḕx*ˈ *- pàšma kemríle, ʾu r-rēšaḥ šappùkta.*ˈ (86) *lošiwa šàqta xu šappúkta*ˈ *ʾu gā-gāθa lošiwa sùxma*ˈ *ʾen wāẇa qàrθa;*ˈ (87) *ʾu jammadāṅat mεθéwālε m-baṛā̀ye,*ˈ *lá-ʾoðiwālε b-àlquš.*ˈ (88) *dārεwa tettḕ-jammadānat-u …*ˈ *baθér-dex yaṣṛíwa šibā̀qa ʾamríwāle:*ˈ (89) *xá-qmāš yarìxa kāwe,*ˈ *kyaṣṛíle l-xaṣèy.*ˈ (90) *kmaxéḍ̣rile xátrē-gàrre,*ˈ *xāʸ ʾárba-xamša gàrre.*ˈ (91) *ʾu ʾā̀y-wāwa lwested-ʾalquš.*ˈ

(92) *ʾu ʾoðíwa kālèkke,*ˈ *hám d-àqla;*ˈ *hám-āni … m-ʾèzla ʾoðíwālε;*ˈ (93) *zaqríwālε zqā̀ra;*ˈ *dārεwa xá-parčed-gélda me-ltḕx.*ˈ *ʾāṅi ʾamréxwālε kālèkke.* (94) *ʾu gérwe hàm-… zqāra zaqríwālε.*ˈ *kúllε b-ìða.*ˈ *ʾénše yatwìwa …*ˈ *go … kū̀ša.*ˈ *go kūša zaqrìwālε*ˈ *- ʾoðíwālε gèrwe.*ˈ

A TRADITIONAL DOCTOR[17]

(95) *šwāẇi tòma,*ˈ *ġðà-gāθa,*ˈ *kud brēẇāle ḥā̀deθ*ˈ *p-kòstar*ˈ *- kabíre ʾalqušnāẏe … jrèḥwālε-u*ˈ *mennéy zèlwālε -*ˈ (96) *ʾéθwā̀lan …*ˈ *šwāẇi tòma*ˈ *berd*-PǸ.ˈ (97) *wēwa rūšeḥ … twìra,*ˈ *ʾu ʾàqleḥ,*ˈ *ʾu …* ˈ *šišeltet-xāṣeḥ wāwa … twèrta.*ˈ (98) *láθwābe de-mḥā̀rekwa …*ˈ

(99) *θēle jamíl bi*-PǸˈ *kemxāzḕle.*ˈ *péšle mmaḥkòye-mmeḥ,*ˈ *hāḋax mmanšóyeḥ m-màreḥ-u …*ˈ (100) *báθer xá-bεna mmáḥðoṛe wàṣle-u …*ˈ *bedrāẏa … daṛmā̀na*ˈ *kimēṙe šamarū̀n.*ˈ (101) *là-kēðen*ˈ *mā gdāre gā̀weḥ:*ˈ *bḕʾe-u*ˈ *xerṭmā̀ne-u …*ˈ *là-kēðen-u … méšḥez-zèθe-u.*ˈ (102) *péšle mmanšòyeḥ,*ˈ *mmaḥkòye-mmeḥ-u*ˈ *grišāle ʾíðeḥ,*ˈ *kémmadēṙa l-šòpaḥ.*ˈ (103) *rūšeḥ wēwa flìša:*ˈ *kémgārèšle*ˈ *kémmadēṙa l-šópaḥ.*ˈ

[17] Names have been changed.

(84) Then they would take it to the tailor; (85) he cut and made them, he sewed it into a *pašma* {traditional trousers}[25], that which they wear, I mean, underneath – *pašma* it's called, and over it a (traditional) jacket. (86) They used to wear a shirt under the jacket and sometimes they wore a waistcoat, if it was cold. (87) And the turbans they brought from outside. They did not make them in Alqosh. (88) They put two turbans and … then they tied a – *šibāqa* {sash} they call it. (89) It is a long piece of cloth. They tie it at the back.[26] (90) They make it go round one or two loops, about four or five loops. (91) These were the clothes of Alqosh.

(92) And they made *kālekke* {knitted shoes}, also for feet; These were also made from yarn.[27] (93) They made them by weaving; they put a piece of leather below. These we called *kalekke*. (94) And socks were also woven. All by hand. The women used to sit …With knitting needles.[28] With knitting needles they wove them – they made the socks.

A TRADITIONAL DOCTOR[29]

(95) My neighbour Toma, once, when an accident happened in a *Coaster*[30] – many Alqoshis got injured and some of them passed away – (96) For us there was our neighbour Toma *berd*-PN. (97) His shoulder was broken, and his leg, and his backbone was broken. (98) He couldn't move.

(99) Jamil *bi*-PN came and saw him. He started speaking with him, distracting him in this way from his pain, (100) after a while preparing dressings and applying … medicine which he calls *šamarūn.* (101) I don't know what he puts in it: eggs and chickpeas and – I don't know … And olive-oil. (102) He started distracting him, speaking with him and he pulled his arm and put it back into its place. (103) His shoulder was dislocated: he pulled it and put it back in its place.

[25] Another name for *šāla*.
[26] Literally: their back.
[27] Literally: they made them
[28] *zqr* covers knitting as well as weaving.
[29] Names have been changed.
[30] A type of minibus.

(104) *báθer xà-bɛna*ˈ *ʾāw péšle mʿayòṭe, meskēna*,ˈ *péšle beqrə̀ya:*ˈ *hə̀war-u*ˈ *bebxə̀ya-u*ˈ *mə̀ bāweð?*ˈ (105) *bas rūša dēṛe l-šópeḥ,*ˈ *nèxle.*ˈ (106) *ʾu ʾàqleḥ,*ˈ *ʾáqleḥ ham nàfsen-mendi,*ˈ *hə̀dax brēle,*ˈ *gə̀-xerta:*ˈ *kémmanšēle b-maḥkèθa-u …*ˈ *ʾu grišāle ʾáqleḥ,*ˈ *kémmadēṛa l-šòpaḥ.*ˈ (107) *kémmaqléble l-xə̀ṣeḥ.*ˈ (108) *péšle mmanšóyeḥ m-maḥkèθa-u*ˈ *ʾāmerwa:*ˈ *bás diparxènnuxile*ˈ *n-marekxènne.*ˈ *lá-kūðennux čù-mendi ʾedyu.*ˈ (109) *ʾu kemāmə̀ran,*ˈ *kemāšə̀ran,*ˈ *ʾāmerwa:*ˈ *trē*ʾ *t-hāwɛ gròse*ˈ *d-ʾārèle,*ˈ *xāʾ mɛked-idə̀θeḥ*ˈ *(ʾu xāʾ) méked-aqlə̀θeḥ*ˈ *dla-qə̀leq.*ˈ (110) *jmèʿlan-elleḥ,*ˈ *péšlan hādax mfaròje m-ile -*ˈ *xāzex m-íle bwāða*ˈ *ta-dlá … jə̀fel*ˈ *tòma.*ˈ (111) *kemārèxlɛ ʾaqlāˈθḥ-u*ˈ *… (wexwa) bexyāṙa w-āẋa-u tə̀ma*ˈ *ʾrēle garòma b-iðeḥ,*ˈ *péšle bizāla-u biθə̀ya l-xāṣeḥ.*ˈ (112) *ʾāẇ péšle mʿayòṭe.*ˈ *baθer xá-bɛna qṭə̀le qāleḥ*ˈ *- là-wellēbe,*ˈ *ġmə̀re yāla.*ˈ (113) *báθer trə̀-yumāθa*ˈ *xə̀ṣa láθwābe čù-mendi,*ˈ *ʾu ʾìðeḥ,*ˈ *báθer yàrxa*ˈ *nèxwāla-u*ˈ *ʾàqleḥ,*ˈ *pešle berxāšà-llaḥ*ˈ *m-baθer yàrxa*ˈ *yarxà-u palgeḥ.*ˈ (114) *ʾu nèxwāle tóma.*ˈ

THE DEATH OF A'S GRANDMOTHER

(115) *ʾālāˈmḥāsēla sòti.*ˈ *qaṣèttaḥ:*ˈ *dēẋ mèθla,*ˈ *sòti,*ˈ *yémmed-bə̀bi.*ˈ (116) *yémmed-bə̀bi-wāwa.*ˈ *ġðá-baxta mar-ġìra-wāwa.*ˈ *lá-kalyāwa b-bèθa.*ˈ (117) *bás-bālaḥ … ló z-zāla maθya mə̀ye,*ˈ *naqla māẏe m-bērə̀θa;*ˈ *ló zāla náxθa l- … ʾarə̀θa*ˈ *t-xázya … záṛa diyan də̀x-ile;*ˈ *le-ʾšə̀pa,*ˈ *le-dyāšet-ʿaqùbra.*ˈ (118) *yaʿni ʾāẏ lá-kalyāwa gyə̀naḥ.*ˈ

(119) *xá-yoma … go ʾēðed- … d-lébbed-ìšuʿ*ˈ *- ʾēða-wēwa d-lebbed-ìšuʿ*ˈ *go ʾàlquš -*ˈ *zélla šmēla ṛāże qamə̀ya*ˈ *ʾu pléṭla m-ṛə̀ze*ˈ *- yémmi là-qablāwa d-oðāẇa ʾan-šūle -*ˈ *bas*

(104) After a while that one started crying out, the poor thing, he began calling out, 'Help!' and weeping. What could he do? (105) But the shoulder returned to its place and got better. (106) And his leg … his leg likewise,[31] it happened like that, another time: he distracted him with talk and pulled his leg and returned it to its place. (107) He turned him over on to his back. (108) He started to distract him with talk. He said, 'I'm just going to massage it for you to soften it. I won't do anything to you today.' (109) And he said to us, he indicated to us, he said two who should be well-built should hold him, one by his arms (and one) by his legs,[32] so that he wouldn't move. (110) We gathered towards him. We started watching, like this, what he was – to see what he was doing so that Toma would not be startled. (111) We held his feet and … (we were) looking here and there. He held a rolling-pin in his hand and began going backwards and forth on his back. (112) That one started crying out. After a while his voice stopped[33] – he couldn't cope, he lost consciousness, the lad. (113) After two days, his back had nothing wrong with it,[34] and his arm, after a month it healed, and his leg, he started walking on it a month, a month and a half later. (114) And he recovered, did Toma.

THE DEATH OF A'S GRANDMOTHER

(115) God absolve my grandmother. Her story: how she died, my grandmother, my father's mother. (116) She was my father's mother. She was an active women. She didn't stay at home. (117) Her attention (was) just … to go and fetch water, to transport water from the wells; or to go down to the fields to see how our crop was; to weed, to trample mice.[35] (118) I mean, this one, she was always busy.

(119) One day, during the Festival of the Heart of Jesus – it was the festival of the Heart of Jesus in Alqosh – she went and listened to the First Mass and left the mass – my

[31] Literally: also the same thing.
[32] Literally: one from the place of the arms (and one) from the place of the legs.
[33] Literally: cut out.
[34] Literally: The back, there was in it nothing.
[35] Literally: for weeding, for trampling of mouse.

m-ìle?' (120) *dlá-berāšed-yèmmi*' *zélla šmēla ṛāze qamə̀ya.*' *lan sóti ʾēðə̀wa*' *yemmi dízāla ṛ-ṛāze xarə̀ya,*' *lánnahu zuyə̀ḥa ʾíθen-u*' *manšoqeṭ-ṣúrted-* ˙ *d-lébbed-ìšuʿ.*' (□□□) *plétla m-ṛāze qamə̀ya, soti,*' *θēla, xélla xá-kappoθa go bèθa:*' *fṭə̀ṛa.*' (122) *wélla bālaḥ ta ʾarə̀θa*' *z-zāla xázya záṛa də̀x-ile.*' (123) *w-ánɛ-yumāθa là-wɛwa rande.*' (124) *ʾeθwa mā-qadra … šarrə̀θa bebrāẏa-wɛwa.*' *ʾémmet-qùrðāye.*' *yaʿni … ʿaṛabāẏe mmet-qurðāẏe wɛwa p-šarrə̀θa.*' (125) *fa čú-nāša láθwābe d-nāxéθwa l-ʾarə̀θa*' *yaʿni … ʾémez-zàwāle,*' *dúnye lá-wāwa bassèmta.*' *gbāṙe d-āθēẇa l-qèṭla.*' (126) *fa báxta sòta-wāwa.*' *ʾə̄y lá-mtaxemlāẇa b-an-šə̀le.*' (127) *qémla zélla l-ʾarə̀θa,*' *ʾāẏ-u tettə̀-šwoyāθa.*'

(128) *dēṛa yemmi m-ʾə̀ta;*' *mbuqēṙa kə̀-la sotóxun?*' *mēṙan wola plèṭṭa.*' *lá-kēðex ʾékɛ-la zèlta.*' (129) *mbuqēṙa me-šwə̀we*' *ʾamríwa: zéllɛ ʾāẏ-u … ʾu ʾánɛ-tettē-šwoyə̀θa.*' *zéllɛ le-fqāda xèṭṭe.*' (130) *b-ánɛ-yumāθa kòme*' *- lá-wɛwa yumā˙θa bassíme dex d-mə̀ri.*' (131) *qémla yèmmi*' *zélla mšudēṛa baθer bə̀bi*' *ta z-zālɛ jèli-llaḥ*' *dlá-kun bāṙēba xà-mendi.*'

(132) *fa … tettē-˙šwoyā˙θa b-ʿāṣérta də̀ṛɛ.*' *ʾu sòti la-də̀ṛa.*' (133) *péšlan mbaqóre mennèy,*' *ʾèka pešla?*' *mērɛ ʾáxni zéllan l-ʾarə̀θa,*' *kemxāzéxlɛ-u də̀ṛan.*' (134) *ʾu ʾāẏ mēra dízāli xazyan ʾé-ʾara xtèθa*' *- lan tettə̀-ʾarāθa ʾeθwālan -*' (135) *mēra zā(li) xazyan ʾè-ʾara xtɛθa*' *də̀x-ila-u*' *bdə̄ṛan.*' (136) *zélla-u la-də̀ṛa.*' (137) *yóma qamāẏa lèθ-u*' *de-trēʾ lèθ-u*' *hādax hél … ʾeštā˙-yarxe mušèlla*' *- ʾarbā˙-yarxe ʾeštā˙-yarxe: lèn betxara.*' (138) *zòra-wenwa. p-šāṯed-trə̀ʾ-u-šoʾi-wāwa.*'

mother did not agree to her doing these things – but what's the truth of it?[36] (120) Without my mother's knowledge[37] she went and listened to the First Mass. Because my grandmother knew my mother was going to the Last Mass, because there was a procession and kissing of the picture of the Heart of Jesus. (121) She left the First Mass, my grandmother, she came and ate a sandwich in the house: she had breakfast. (122) She turned her attention to the fields, to go and see how the crop was. (123) Now those days were not good. (124) There were so many battles happening. With the Kurds. That is, Arabs with Kurds were (engaged in) in battles. (125) So no-one could go down to the fields. That is, whoever went, things were not good.[38] Perhaps he would be killed. (126) You see she was an old woman. She did not think about these matters. (127) She got up and went to the fields, she and two neighbours.

(128) My mother returned from church; she asked, 'Where's your grandmother?' We said, 'She's gone out. We don't know where she's gone.' (129) She asked the neighbours. They said, 'She and those two neighbours[39] went off. They went to check the wheat.' (130) In those black days – they were not good days, as I said. (131) My mother got up. She went and sent for my father for them to go and search for her so that nothing would happen to her.

(132) So … the two neighbours returned in the evening. But my grandmother did not return. (133) We started to ask them, 'Where has she got to?' They said, 'We went (to) the lands, we saw them and came back. (134) But she said, 'I'm just going to see the lower field' – for we had two fields – (135) She said, 'I'll go and see how that that lower field is and I'll come back.' (136) She went but didn't return. (137) The first day there was nothing,[40] the second there was nothing and likewise until she was six months late – four months, six months: I don't remember. (138) I was young. It was in '72.

[36] Literally: But what is it?
[37] Literally: awareness.
[38] Literally: the world was not good.
[39] The word specifies female neighbours.
[40] Literally: there is nothing.

(139) *baθér-dēx,ˈ báθer … kemrénnax … báθer ʾarbā̱-yarxe lo ʾeštā̀-yarxe,ˈ xzēlan nā̀še-wɛwa.* (140) *péšla kúl-nāše bénxāθa bejyā̀la;ˈ lá-kemxāzèla.ˈ* (141) *wél de-ġẓèdlɛ nāše-uˈ xlèṣlɛ;ˈ xzēẇālɛ go šmáyya qálle befyā̀ṛa.* (142) *xā̱-wēwa bexyāṙa go … durbìn kemrèxleˈ* (143) *péšle bexyā̀ra;ˈ xzēle qálle benxāθa l-ġðà-dūka.ˈ* (144) *mēre: gbāṙe d-iθen xá-nāša mìθa tāma lo …ˈ lan lá-gbāre d-jámʿi qálle hā̀dax.ˈ*

(145) *baθer xàtrē-yumāθaˈ šqéllɛ d-amrex ʿ rùxṣaˈ m-šùrṭa-uˈ ʾu m-nāšed-jēš d-wɛwa tā̀ma, ʿáskar d-wēwa tā̀ma.ˈ* (146) *mērɛ zālan xāżex bè-dūkaˈ lannu ʾettan ġðà-baxtaˈ wola msukárta ʾāy kmà-yarxe.ˈ* (147) *qémlɛ zèllɛ;ˈ kemxāzèla,ˈ kemʾēðìlaˈ bas gàrma-wāwa péšta;ˈ bás kemʾēðíla m- … ʾeθwāla risáqteṣ-ṣalóye b-ìða.ˈ* (148) *ʾu… ʾu jezḍā̀naḥ:ˈ ʾeθwāba xákma fèlseˈ - xá-xamšāṡer ʾesri fèlse.ˈ kemēðíla d-ila ʾāẏ sòti.ˈ* (149) *ʾu kemšaqlìla-uˈ kemmɛθɛ́la l-bèθa.ˈ*

(150) *faqérta hā̀dax-wāwa:ˈ ma de-xxášwex wāwa ʿṣíθa bgo ʾaryòθaˈ - ʾiθen xá-mendi kemrex ʾaryòθa.ˈ* (151) *nāšed-k- … lèbe d-rāxeš,ˈ kʿāṣe b-jùlleḥ.ˈ lá-kē(ðen) ʾaryòθɛ-leˈ lo xá-mendi xènnɛ-le.ˈ* (152) *kʿā̀ṣe,ˈ lèbe d-rāxešˈ w-āy báxta sòta-wāwa.ˈ* (153) *fa kemʾaryā̀la-u …ˈ ʾu npèlla.ˈ nʾísaḥ-ile xū̀we?ˈ ʾālā̀ kyāðe m-íla.ˈ ʾālā̀ mḥāsēla.ˈ*

(139) Afterwards, after – I'd say – four months or six months, we saw … there were people (140) All the people started going down and searching. They didn't find her. (141) Until the people harvested and had finished. They saw in the sky storks flying. (142) Someone was looking with … 'binoculars', they're called. (143) He started looking and saw vultures descending to a certain place. (144) He said, perhaps there is a dead person there or.. Because it does not happen that[41] storks gather like this.

(145) After one or two days, they got, as we say… 'permission' from the police and from the men of the army who were there, the military who were there. (146) They said, 'Let's go and look in that place because we have a woman who has been lost for such-and-such many months.' (147) They got up and went; they saw her and recognized her. Only bone was left. They only knew her from … She had rosary beads in (her) hand. (148) And her purse: it had some fils – some fifteen, twenty fils. (So) they knew that this was my grandmother. (149) They took her and brought her home.

(150) The poor thing was like that. What we think is that she was caught in a thorn-bush – there is something we call a 'thorn-bush'. (151) A person who … he can't walk, he is caught[42] by his clothes. I don't know – it is a thorn-bush or it is something else. (152) He gets caught, he can't walk, and this was an old woman. (153) So it caught her and … she fell. Was she bitten by a snake?[43] God knows what it was. God absolve her soul.

[41] Literally: It does not happen that.
[42] Or: stuck.
[43] Literally: Has a snake bitten her?

(154) *ʾéθwa-u laθwa xà-bēdika.*ˈ *čékle ketwa b-àqleḥ.*ˈ (155) *zélle befyā̀ṛa,*ˈ *xzēle ġðà-sota.*ˈ *ʾāmerwa: wó sotò!*ˈ *màpleṭle ketwi!*ˈ *ʾámrāwa: hàyyu.*ˈ (156) *kemmapelṭā̀le ketweḥ,*ˈ *kemḥalqā̀le p-tanūra.*ˈ (157) *péšle bebxā̀ya.*ˈ *ʾāṁerwa: ʾū kében kètwi!* (158) *ʾamrāwa: là-bāxet,*ˈ *byāwánnux ġðà-paθexta.*ˈ (159) *ʾāṁerwa: hàlli.*ˈ (160) *šqélle paθèxta-u*ˈ *péšle fyā̀ṛa.*ˈ

(161) *fḕṛe-u fḕṛe-u*ˈ *xzēle xá-šivāna bixāla màsta,*ˈ *ʾu láθwāle lèxma.*ˈ (162) *ʾā̀merwa ṭāleḥ:*ˈ *wó šivā̀na!*ˈ *qāỳ-iwet bixāla másta dlà-lexma?*ˈ (163) *ʾāṁerwa: m-òðen?*ˈ *làtti.*ˈ *mā̀ ʾoðen?*ˈ (164) *ʾāṁerwa: ʾā̀na byāwánnux paθéxta*ˈ *d-áxlex b-èġðāðe.*ˈ *ʾāṁerwa: hàyyu.*ˈ (165) *péšlɛ bixā̀la*ˈ *b-èġðāðe,*ˈ *xléṣla paθexta,*ˈ *xléṣlɛ ʾixā̀la.*ˈ (166) *ʾāṁerwa: ʾāṅa kében paθèxti.*ˈ *péšle bebxā̀ya,*ˈ *ʾāṅa ʾèlla yāwetti paθéxti*. (167) *ʾāṁerwa šivā̀na:*ˈ *là-bāxet*ˈ *byāwénnux xà-barāna.*ˈ

(168) *šqélle barā̀na-u*ˈ *ʾu péšle befyā̀ṛa*ˈ *fyā̀ṛa,*ˈ *xzēle ġðà-dāwa.*ˈ (169) *xzēle nā̀še*ˈ *wolɛ tíwe beštā̀ya-u*[18]ˈ *láttɛ màzze.*ˈ (170) *ʾāṁerwa ṭalèy:*ˈ *yā̀ nā̀še,*ˈ *qāỳ-iwotu beštāỳa dlà-mazze?*ˈ (171) *ʾamriwa: m-òðex?*ˈ *láttan čú-mendi d-áxlex ʾemmed-štèθa.*ˈ (172) *ʾāmerwa: ʾāṅa byāwénnoxu barā̀na.*ˈ (173) *kemyāwèllɛ barāṅa-u*ˈ *kemnaxrìle-u*ˈ *péšlɛ bixā̀la*ˈ

[18] Or *tíwe-u beštā̀ya-u* (unclear).

THE STORY OF THE SPARROW WITH THE SPLINTER IN HIS FOOT

(154) Once upon a time,[44] there was a sparrow. A splinter got stuck in his foot. (155) He went flying, he saw an old woman. He said 'O Old Woman! Take out my splinter! She said, 'Come!' (156) She took out his splinter, she threw it into the oven. (157) He started crying. He said, 'Oh I want my splinter!'. (158) She said, 'Don't cry! I'll give you a piece of bread.'[45] (159) He said, 'Give it to me'.[46] (160) He took the piece of bread and started flying.

(161) He flew on and on[47] and saw a shepherd eating yoghurt without having any bread.[48] (162) He said to him, 'O shepherd, why are you eating yoghurt without bread?' (163) He said 'What should I do? I haven't got any. What should I do?' (164) He said, 'I'll give you a piece of bread so that we may eat together.' He said, 'Come'. (165) They started eating together. The piece of bread was finished, they finished eating. (166) He said, 'I want my piece of bread!' He started crying: 'You must give me my piece of bread. (167) The shepherd said, 'Don't cry. I'll give you a ram.'

(168) He took the ram and started flying and flying. He saw a wedding party. (169) He saw people sitting drinking[49] and without having any snacks.[50] (170) He said to them, 'O people! Why are you drinking without snacks? (171) They said, 'What should we do? We don't have anything to eat with the drink.' (172) He said, 'I'll give you a ram. (173) He gave them the ram and they slaughtered it and they started eating with the drink.

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[44] Literally: There was and there wasn't – the standard fairy tale opening, similar to Arabic *kān yā mā kān* 'there was or there wasn't'. The ANA may be contracted from *ʾeθwa ʾaw laθwa* 'there was or there wasn't'. Garbell (1965b: 175), discussing the J. Azerbaijani form *ítwa lítwa*, gives similar formulas in Kurdish (*häbu näbu*) and Turkish (*(bir) vármı̇š (bir) jóxmuš*). Cf. also *ʾıt̲wa lat̲wa* in Jewish North-western Aramaic (Sabar 2002: 62).

[45] Actually a type of pitta bread, i.e. round and flat.

[46] Literally: Give me!

[47] Literally: He flew and flew.

[48] Literally: he saw a shepherd eating yoghurt, he didn't have bread.

[49] Or: sitting and drinking.

[50] *mazze* are small dishes of food, like Greek *mezze*.

ʾemmed-štèθa. (174) *xléṣla štā̀ya,*ˈ *ʾāṁerwa: ʾū ̈ʾāṅa kebénni barā̀ni.*ˈ (175) *péšle bxā̀ya*ˈ *ʾélla-yāwotunli barā̀ni!*ˈ (176) *ʾámriwa ṭā̀leḥ*ˈ *là-bāxet,*ˈ *byāwéxlux xéθna-u kā̀lu!* (177) *šqélle xéθna-u kā̀lu,*ˈ *péšle befyāṛa-u bezmā̀ra:*ˈ

(178) *ṭámḅal ṭámḅal ṭámḅaltā*[19]

kétwa wélli p-pā ̈θ̈xtā-̈u

(179) *pā ̈θ̈xtá bgo bāṙānā-̈u*

bāṙāná p-xeθná-u kāló

ṭí ṭí ṭámḅaltā!

THE STORY OF THE COBBLER

(180) *ʾeθwa xāʾ ̈mraqāṅet-pēlā̀ve.*[20]ˈ (181) *ʾāẇ-u bàxteḥ …*ˈ *be-ġðà-ga faqíre-wɛwa,*ˈ *láθwālɛ p-ḥalèy.*ˈ (182) *xá-yoma báxteḥ qèmla-lleḥ.*ˈ (183) *mēra qāẏ lɛt x-kùl-nāše?*ˈ *sì!*ˈ *wolɛ bizāla mtajòre*ˈ *ʾu mmaθoye pā̀re*ˈ *w-āẏet hár wot tìwa.*ˈ (184) *ʾāṁerwa ta bàxteḥ:*ˈ *báxta ʾāna go mā̀ zāli?*ˈ *mèkāli pāre?*ˈ (185) *ʾamrāwa: sì!*ˈ *hár-dex t-āwe sì!*ˈ

(186) *xá-yoma pléṭle mmet-kàrwan,*ˈ *bizā̀la.*ˈ (187) *ṣhè̀lɛ,*ˈ *kebélɛ mā̀ye*ˈ - *ʾúrxa yarèxta-wāwa* -ˈ (188) *xzēlɛ bè̀ra,*ˈ *ʾamriwa: mḥálqex ʾèðwe*ˈ *ta xāṫer ta d- … xāżex mán mnāẋeθ l-bè̀ra*ˈ *n-méθēlan mā̀ye.*ˈ (189) *ḥuléqlɛ ʾèðwe,*ˈ *npélla p-qard-àθ-meskēna,*ˈ *ʾāẏ faqírd-wēwa zíla mmet-kàrwan*ˈ (190) - *ʾāẇ làθwāle pāre-u …*ˈ *pqéðlɛ ʾèlleḥ,*ˈ *kemmanexθìle.*ˈ (191) *kémšaršɛ́le b-bè̀ra.*ˈ *ʿamúqta xašùkta.*ˈ *xzēlɛ ṣèr.* (192) *mēṙɛ lāżem n-náxθet tóret ṣèr*ˈ - *lan qàrθa-wāwa*ˈ - *torétte ṣèr*ˈ *ta xāṫer š-šāṫex mā̀ye.*ˈ

[19] These five lines are chanted with four beats per line. Short vowels taking the stress are lengthened.

[20] A corrected himself at the time from *kundar(āt)* 'shoes' (Arab.).

(174) They finished drinking.[51] He said, 'Oh I want my ram back'.[52] (175) He started crying: 'You must give me my ram!'[53] (176) They said to him, 'Don't cry. We'll give you the bride and groom!' (177) He took the bride and groom, he started flying and singing:

(178) *ṭamḅal ṭamḅal ṭamḅalta!*
I exchanged a splinter for a piece of bread
(179) And a piece of bread for a ram
And a ram for a bride and groom
ṭi ṭi ṭamḅalta![54]

THE STORY OF THE COBBLER

(180) There was a certain cobbler.[55] (181) He and his wife were extremely poor and were without means.[56] (182) One day, his wife challenged him. (183) She said, 'Why aren't you like all the (other) people? Go! They are going trading and bringing money and you are just sitting.' (184) He said to his wife, 'Wife, with what am I to go? Where could I get the money?'[57] (185) She said, 'Go! Go anyway.'

(186) One day, he set off with the caravan, travelling. (187) They got thirsty, they want the water – the road was long. (188) They found a well. They said, 'Let's cast lots in order to see who will climb down the well to bring us water. (189) They cast lots. It fell to the lot of this poor man,[58] this poor person who had gone with the caravan, (190) – he didn't have any money … they picked him, they made him go down. (191) They let

[51] And eating as well presumably.
[52] Literally: I want for me my ram.
[53] Literally: If you don't give me.
[54] The untranslated words in this chant are nonsense words like 'fee fie fo fum' in Jack and the Beanstalk.
[55] Literally: patcher of shoes.
[56] Literally: they did not have in their condition.
[57] Literally: From where to me the money?
[58] Literally: It fell on the head of this poor man.

(193) *nxéθle, xzēle ġðá-kāwe kòmta.*ˈ (194) *wēṙe b-ʾè-kāwe,*ˈ *xzēle ʾella wólɛ hilāṅed-ʾarmòne,*ˈ *xákma záṛṛe ʾarmòne,*ˈ *wolɛ mparsóne ta gyanèy.*ˈ (195) *smóqe mnaznòze.*ˈ (196) *wēẇa kpìna,*ˈ *míθa m-kèpneḥ.*ˈ (197) *θēle ta t-qā̀ṭeʾ,*ˈ *xzēle xá-nāša kóma … yarìxa.*ˈ *gròsa,*ˈ *ġ-déged-ile* [A]*jìnn*[A].ˈ (198) *ʾāṁerwa ṭā̀leḥ:*ˈ *ʾāẏet màn-iwet-u*ˈ *mā̀ kemmɛθēlux ʾāẋa?*ˈ (199) *ʾāṁerwa: ʾā̀dax-iwen:*ˈ *nāša faqìra-u …*ˈ *plétli p-kàrwan*ˈ *- báxti mēra plòṭ-u*ˈ *kében z-zā̀li …*ˈ *méθen xakma pā̀re.*ˈ

(200) *kembāqè̀re,*ˈ *baqrénnux xà-buqāra.*ˈ (201) *ʾen ʾiðè̀lux*ˈ *de-mjobètte,*ˈ *byāwénnux méndi t-kèbet,*ˈ *méndi d-íle b-bā̀lux byāwénnux-ile-u*ˈ (202) *w-élla-ʾiðè̀lux,*ˈ *pqaṭènne qárux,*ˈ *mšadṛénnux parčā̀če,*ˈ *bgaršílux xūṙux parčā̀ce.*ˈ (203) *xè̀re, ʾāmerwa:*ˈ *látti čā̀ra.*ˈ *mā-̇mendi d-amrètte ʾāwa ptā̀we.*ˈ (204) *ʾāmerwa: ʾāẏet mā̀-ranga kebet,*ˈ *kóma lo xwā̀ra?*ˈ (205) *ʾáy-meskēna mā̀-mjāweb ránga?*ˈ (206) *xè̀re,*ˈ *ʾélla wola kāẇe kòmta-u*ˈ *šékled-ó-nāša kòma x-šexṛa.*ˈ (207) *ʾi, ʾāṁerwa: dāṅ ʾamrennux: xwā̀ra keben,*ˈ *pqaṭèṭṭe qári.*ˈ *bás-bamrénnux kòma.*ˈ

(208) *kemāmè̀re,*ˈ *ʾāṁerwa: ʾāẏet gòrɛ-wet-u*ˈ *ʾāẗax gabbāṙa lɛn xèzya-u*ˈ *méndi t-kèbet*ˈ *byāwènnux-ile.*ˈ (209) *ʾāṁerwa ṭāleḥ: mā̀?*ˈ *bás-won kpìna.*ˈ *kében š-šaqlen xàttē-ʾarmóne-u*ˈ *z-zā̀li.*ˈ (210) *ʾāmerwa: kmá-ʾarmone t-kèbet*ˈ *qṭóʾ-u sì!*ˈ

(211) *qṭēle xammèš-armone,*ˈ *kémdārēlɛ p-čànteḥ*ˈ *- b-zawwā̀deḥ-u*ˈ *kémdārēla l-rūša-u*[21] *zèlle.*ˈ *twēṙe ṣér-u sèqle*ˈ *štēlɛ mā̀ye.*ˈ (212) *me-zdóθeḥ góra lá-wellēbe z-zāle*

[21] Corrected by A from *b-rūša-u.* Normally *l-* would be assimilated to an */r/* (§1.5.4). In his explanation A was pronouncing it as */l/* only in order to make it clear.

him down into the well. (It was) deep (and) dark. He found ice. (192) They said, 'You must go down and break the ice – for it was cold – break the ice so that we may drink some water.'

(193) He went down, he saw a black hole. (194) He entered through that hole and lo and behold he saw there were some pomegranate trees! – some enormous pomegranates which were splitting open of their own accord.[59] (195) Red and flushed. (196) He was hungry, dying from hunger.[60] (197) He came to pick, saw a person, BLACK and TALL! Big as if he were a [A]genie.[A] (198) He said to him, 'You, who are you and what brought you here?' (199) He said, 'I am thus: a poor man, I set off in the caravan – my wife told me to set out[61] and I want to go and bring (back) some money.'

(200) He asked him, 'Let me ask you a question. (201) If you know how to answer it, I will give you whatever you want – whatever you think of,[62] I'll give it to you. (202) And if you don't know, I will cut off your head, I will send you (back in) pieces, your friends will pull you (out in) pieces. (203) He considered, he said, 'I've got no alternative. Whatever you may say, that will be.' (204) He said, 'You, what colour do you prefer, black or white?' (205) This poor man, what colour should he answer? (206) He looked: lo and behold the window was black and the appearance of that man as black as charcoal! (207) 'Oh', he said, 'Now if I tell you I prefer *white*, you will cut off my head. I will just tell you black.'

(208) He said to him, he said, 'You are a (real) man[63] and such a hero I have not seen (before). Whatever you want, I will give it you.' (209) He said to him, 'What? I'm just hungry. I want to take a couple of pomegranates and go.' (210) He said, 'However many pomegranates you want, pick (them) and go.'

(211) He picked five pomegranates, he put them in his bag, in his provisions bag and he put it on to (his) shoulder and went. He broke the ice and climbed up and they

[59] Literally: … pomegranates, they are splitting open of their own accord.
[60] Literally: dead from hunger.
[61] Literally: my wife said 'set out!'
[62] Literally: whatever is in your mind.
[63] *gora* can have this connotation of manly, virile.

*mmet-kàrwan.*ˈ *qémle dɛ̀ṛe.*ˈ (213) *dɛ̄ṛe l-dekkā̀neḥˈ de-mrāqeˀ kundarā̀t-u*ˈ *ˀāmerwa: ˀáθ-zdóθa là-gben d-axlénna.*ˈ (214) *dɛ̀ṛe,*ˈ *zélle gēbed-bàxteḥ,*ˈ *ˀāṁerwa: báxta hàyyu.*ˈ (215) *háyyu … ˀāṅa górux là-xxašxen ta ˀan-šūled-*ˈ *… zāli l-karwā̀nat-u*ˈ *méθen pā̀re-u …*ˈ (216) *ˀāṅa šūli ˀā̀ði:*ˈ *mraqqāṅet-pēlā̀ve-u*ˈ *ppɛ́šen kúl- … xāẏi mraqót-pēlā̀ve.*[22]ˈ

(217) *ˀámrāwa ṭā̀leḥ,*ˈ *yáḷḷa ránda d-muθēlux*[23] *ˀánɛ-xamméš-armóne ˀā̀xer.*ˈ *m-íman*[24] *lɛ́x xile ˀarmòne.*ˈ (218) *qémle twēṛe ġðà-ˀarmota.*[25]ˈ *plétla lired-dɛ̀wa.*ˈ (219) *ġðá-ˀarmota twɛ̀re,*ˈ *plétla lired-dɛ̀wa.*ˈ *twēṛe t-tèttɛ̄ˀ,*ˈ *plétla lires-sɛ̀ma.*ˈ (220) *ˀu twēṛe xerted-dɛ̀wa-u*ˈ *kùllɛ*ˈ *plétlɛ lired-dēẇa-u sɛ̀ma*ˈ *- ˀànɛ-ˀarmone.*ˈ (221) *péšle ˀó- … mraqāṅet-pēlāv̀e … béš-ˀatira m-kùl-nāšed-māθa.*ˈ (222) *bnēle qàṣra-u*ˈ *xēle ˀāw-u bàxteḥ,*ˈ *ˀu kúllɛ xā̀yeḥ …*ˈ *péšwālɛ kúlle-*[26] *yaʿni kabíra ˀatìre-u …*ˈ (223) *ˀāẏ ma de-ktáxren m-àθ-qaṣétta.*ˈ

(The end of this story was later corrected by A. The cobbler in fact sent the pomegranates back to his wife, to her surprise. When the cobbler returned he saw that his house had become a big palace and his wife explained to him how she had broken open the pomegranates and liras of silver and gold had come out.)

[22] <*mraqoˀet-pēlāve*. The */e/* is elided and hence the */ˀ/* too (compare **qṭoˀla* > *qṭola* ‘pluck it (f.)!’)

[23] In the original, which was spoken quite fast, the *d-* was inaudible or possible realised as an */n/*. Repeated later, the *d-* was consistently pronounced.

[24] The final */n/* has assimilated to the following */l/*: [*mimallɛx*]. The same occurred when this phrase was repeated on a later occasion.

[25] Originally *ˀarmona*, but corrected by A.

[26] Was going to say *kulleš* ‘very’ (Arab.).

drank the water. (212) Out of fear, the man could not go with the caravan. He got up and returned. (213) He returned to his shop, to repair shoes and said, 'I don't want to be afraid.'[64] (214) He returned, he went to his wife, he said, 'Wife, come! (215) Come! I, your husband, I am not suited to these things: to go[65] to the caravans and bring money.' (216) *My* work is this: a shoe-repairer and all my life I will remain shoe-repairing.'[66]

(217) She said to him, 'Come on, (it is) good that you brought those five pomegranates, after all. We haven't eaten pomegranates for a long time.' (218) He broke open[67] a pomegranate. Out came a gold lira. (219) He broke open one pomegranate. Out came a gold lira.[68] He broke the second one. Out came a silver lira. (220) And he broke open another one of gold and all of them, there came out gold and silver liras – those pomegranates. (221) That shoe-repairer became richer than ALL the people of the village. (222) He built a palace and lived, he and his wife, and all his life they remained very rich and … (223) This is what I remember from this story.

[64] Literally: This fear I don't want to eat.

[65] Literally: that I may go.

[66] This sentence would make more sense as the following: *My* work is this: shoe-repairing and all my life I will remain a shoe-repairer.

[67] The verb *qym* I sometimes occurs with other verbs, bearing no meaning of its own but adding a nuance to the meaning of the other verb. This idiom is similar to the English 'he went and ...'. It is attested in other dialects such as Jewish Arbel (Khan 1999: 378), where it marks 'the onset of a new turn of events' or 'an action that is the climax of a section of discourse'. It is also found in Christian Aradhin (Krotkoff 1982: 56) where it said to 'carry an inchoative connotation.'

[68] A has repeated himself.

THE STORY OF THE TWO GOATS

(The section between the asterixes was added later. In the first telling the final character who agreed to the request was the mouse, not the cat.)

(224) *qaṣétta t*[27]*-ʿarjūṅed-dāḍa l-bèθa.*ˈ

(225) *ʾéθwa-u láθwa … ġðá-ezza ʿarjū̃ne.*ˈ *zélla baṛā̃ye,*[28] *ʾāẏ-u xàrθaḥ.*ˈ *xélla xarθaḥ qàm-mennaḥ;*ˈ *mēra: dāḍex l-bèθa.*ˈ

(226) *mēṙa: š-lèn swēta.*ˈ

*mēra: zín ʾamren ta … dēẇa d-āθe ʾāxèllax!*ˈ

*mḕra: sɛ́!*ˈ

WOLF

(227) *zélla l-dḕwa;*ˈ *mēra: wó dēwā̀! hay ʾíxalla ʿarjū̃ne,*ˈ *ʿarjūṅe ta d-dāḍa l-bèθa.*ˈ

*ʾāṁerwa: lèbi.*ˈ

*ʾāmrāwa: zín ʾamren ta kálba d-āθe … nā̀ʾeslux.*ˈ

*ʾāṁerwa: sì!*ˈ

DOG

(228) *zélla mēṙa ta kàlba:*ˈ *wó kalbā̀!*ˈ

*háyyu mxíle dḕwa,*ˈ

*dēẇa d-māẋe ʿarjū̃ne,*ˈ

*ʿarjūṅe d-dāḍa l-bèθa.*ˈ

*mēṙe: lèbi.*ˈ

*ʾāmrāwa: zín ʾamren ta šivā̀na*ˈ *d-āθe qāṭèllux.*ˈ

*ʾāṁerwa: sì!*ˈ

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[27] There is a slight hesitation which may explain why the relativizer particle is devoiced as normally happens only word-finally.

[28] Corrected from *baṛāya* ‘outer’.

THE STORY OF THE TWO GOATS[69]

(224) The story of the crippled goat: so that he would go home.[70]

(225) Once upon a time[71] … there was a crippled goat. It went outside (the village), it and its friend. Its friend finished eating before it and said, 'Let's return home!'

(226) (The cripple) said 'I'm not full yet.'

(The other one) said, 'I'm going to tell the wolf to come to eat you!'

(The cripple) said, 'Go away.'

(227) (The other one) went to the wolf; it said, 'O Wolf, come, eat the cripple so that the cripple may return home.'

(The wolf) said, 'I can't.'

(The goat) said, 'I'm going to tell the dog to come … to bite you.'

(The wolf) said, 'Go away!'

(228) (The goat) went and said to the dog, 'O Dog!'

'Come and beat the wolf,
so that the wolf may beat the cripple,
so that the cripple may return home.'

(The dog) said, 'I can't.'

(The goat) said, 'I'm going to tell the shepherd to come to kill you.'

(The dog) said, 'Go away!'

[69] This story bears a resemblance to the story (in Aramaic) told to children in the Ashkenazi tradition at Passover, called *Ḥad Gadya* 'The Goat'. Although the storyline is different, the structure in which one character harms another which harms another, with cumulative repetitions (reminiscent of the British children's story 'The House that Jack built') is the same. Several of the characters are also shared by both stories. It is possible that this story has been transmitted via Neo-Aramaic-speaking Jews.

[70] The syntax of this is a little uncertain.

[71] Cf. n. 44.

and so on until ….

CAT

*(229) *zélla gēbed- … qāṭu.ˈ mēra: wó qāṭò!*ˈ

*ʾāmrāwa: mā̀?*ˈ

*ʾamrāwa: hàyyu,*ˈ

*ʾíxulle ʾaqùbra,*ˈ

*ʾaqúbra t-qāṙeṭle xòla,*ˈ

*xóla … xāṅeqle gùmla,*ˈ

*gúmla šāṭe mā̀ye,*ˈ

*māẏe madēẋile nūṙet-ḥadā̀da,*ˈ

*ḥadāḋa tāẇer màqqaṣ,*ˈ

*máqqaṣ qāẏeṣ dáqneš-šivā̀na,*ˈ

*šivāṅa māẋe kàlba,*ˈ

*kálba māẋe dḕwa,*ˈ

*dēẇa māẋe ʿarjū̃ne,*ˈ

*dāṙa l-bèθa.*ˈ

*ʾámrāwa qāṭu: myā̀w!*ˈ *ʾāṅa kpènta.*ˈ

*ʾamrāwa: fòt!*ˈ

(230) *zélla l-ʾaqùbra.*ˈ *ʾāmerwa ʾaqùbra: lā̀ lā lā!*ˈ *zín qaṭénne xòla.*ˈ*

(231) *zélle ʾaqúbra t-qārétle xòla.*ˈ *ʾāṁerwa xòla:*ˈ *lā̀ lā lā!*ˈ *zín xanqénne gùmla.*ˈ

(232) *zélle xóla t-xāṅeq gùmla.*ˈ *ʾāmerwa: lā̀ lā!*ˈ *zín šāténnɛ mā̀ye.*ˈ

[And so on until ….]

(229) It went to the cat and said, ‘O Cat!’
(The cat) said ‘What?’
He said,

‘Come and eat the mouse,
so that the mouse may nibble the rope,
so that the rope may hang the camel,
so that the camel may drink the water,
so that the water may put out the blacksmith’s fire,
so that the blacksmith may break the scissors,
so that the scissors may cut off the shepherd’s beard,
so that the shepherd may beat the dog,
so that the dog may beat the wolf,
so that the wolf may beat the cripple,
so that the cripple may return home.’

The cat said, ‘Miaow! I’m hungry!’
It said, ’Go on!’

(230) It went to the mouse. The mouse said, ‘No no no! I’m going to cut the rope!’*
(231) The mouse went to nibble the rope. The rope said, ‘No no no! I’m going to hang the camel!’
(232) The rope went to strangle the camel. He said, ‘No no! I’m going to drink the water!’

(233) *zélle l-mā̀ye.*ˈ *ʾāmríwa mā̀ye:*ˈ *lā̀ lā lā!*ˈ *zín madēxéxle nūret-ḥadā̀da.*ˈ

(234) *zélle l-ḥadā̀da.*ˈ *ʾāmerwa: lā̀ lā lā!*ˈ *zín torénne màqqaṣ.*ˈ

(235) *màqqaṣ ʾāmerwa:*ˈ *lā̀ laʾ!*ˈ *zín qɛṣénne daqneš-šivā̀na.*ˈ

(236) *ʾāṁerwa šivā̀na:*ˈ *lā lā!*ˈ *zín māxénne kàlba.*ˈ

(237) *kàlba ʾāmerwa:*ˈ *lā̀!*ˈ *zín nāsénne dḕwa.*ˈ

(238) *dēẇa zélle l-ʿarjū̀ne*ˈ - *ʾella ʿarjūṅe wola xèlta-u*ˈ *déṛta l-bèθa!*ˈ

INFORMANT B

Notes on language

(i) The distinction between */a/* and */e/* is sometimes unclear.

(ii) Lengthened final */e/* is pronounced as a central vowel [ɘː].

(iii) Consonantal emphasis is particularly weak and */q/* is further forward than in A's speech.

(iv) *ða-* is found for the feminine indefinite article *ġða-*.

(v) Pretonic shortening does not occur consistently, e.g. *bābawāθa* 'fathers' (B:2) for *babawāθa*.

ALQOSH

(1) *ʾalqóš … ða-māθa ʾatèqta,*ˈ *kabíra ʾatèqtɛ-la*ˈ *b-zòna*ˈ *yaʿni … gdáʾṛa l- … trē˝ ṭlaθā-ʾalpe … šènne*ˈ *b-zòna,*ˈ *qam mšíḥa be-trē-ʾalpe šènne* [E]*probably.*[Eˈ] (2) *ʾu kmáḥkɛ bābawāθa ʾèllaḥ*ˈ *ʾu māq̇adda ʾeθwāba … šūlā̀ne-u*ˈ *dēx̣ ʿɛšìwa gāwaḥ*ˈ *ʾu dēx̣ wēra mšiḥaytū̀θa;* (3) *ʾu māq̇ada θēlɛ qaddìše-u …*ˈ *xaweḏrā̀naḥ*ˈ *ʾu ʿèšlɛ*ˈ *ʾu bnēlɛ madrassāθa-u dèṛe-u*ˈ *ʾu ʿéšlɛ xaweḏrā̀naḥ.* (4) *weddā ̈kxāżex kabíre texróne diyèy:*ˈ *x- dèṛe*ˈ *ʾu mazā̀ṛe*ˈ

(233) (The camel) went to the water. The water said, 'No no no! I'm going to put out the blacksmith's fire!'

(234) (The water) went to the blacksmith. He said, 'No no no! I'm going to break the scissors!'

(235) The scissors said, 'No no! I'm going to cut off the shepherd's beard!'

(236) The shepherd said, 'No no! I'm going to beat the dog!'

(237) The dog said, 'No! I'm going to bite the wolf!'

(238) The wolf went to the cripple – but lo and behold! He had eaten and returned home!

INFORMANT B

ALQOSH

(1) Alqosh is an old town, very old … in time. I mean, it goes back[72] to two or three thousand years in time, two thousand years before Christ [E]probably.[E] (2) And … the fathers talk about it[73] and how much it had … in the way of jobs, how they lived there and how Christianity came;[74] (3) and how many saints came… around it and lived and built schools and monasteries and lived around it. (4) We still see many of their

[72] A corrects to 'I'll go back'.

[73] I.e. one generation to the next.

[74] Literally: entered.

*diyèy*ˈ *d-ilɛ pìše,*ˈ *xaweḏrāṅed- … ʾàlquš.*ˈ (5) *ktáxrex mar-mìxa*ˈ *ʾó-malpāṅa qamā̀ya θ-θēle*ˈ *ʾu tū̀le*ˈ *go ʾalqòš-u*ˈ *pθexle ʾáwwal-madràssa*[29] *mmalópe*[30] *nāše dìyaḥ,*ˈ *nāšd-alqòš.*ˈ *ʾu bnēle ʾè̀ta.*ˈ (6) *ʾu … ktáxrex ṛabban-àrmez*ˈ *θ-θēle baθer ṭlaθa-dā̀ṛe-u*ˈ *bnēle déṛa go ṭū̀ra,*ˈ *d-ile qarìwa.*ˈ (7) *ʾu ktáxrex mar-qàrdax*ˈ *de-θēle b-áθ-xarayū̀θa.*ˈ *ham … péšle teθkār*[31] *dìyeḥ tāṁa.*ˈ (8) *ʾu ktáxrex mar-yuḥànnan,*ˈ *mar-sādòna,*ˈ *mart-šmòni,*ˈ *ʾu mar-šèmʿun*ˈ *ʾu kabírē-la qaddíše xaweḏrā̀naḥ.*ˈ

(9) *ʾu ʾálquš ʾiba tettē-ʾè̀tā̀θa,*ˈ *ṛā̀be:*ˈ *ʾēt̆ed-mar-giwàrges*[32]ˈ *ṛàbθa, d-ila …*ˈ - *ʾu ʾēt̆ed-mar-mìxa*ˈ *d-ila qarūta ʾèllaḥ,*ˈ *b-álquš ʾatèqta.*ˈ (10) *dáha, b-án-šenne xarā̀ye,*ˈ *weðlɛ ʾēt̆ed-mar-qàrdaġ,*ˈ *ham ltè̀x.*ˈ (11) *ʾu ʾíθen ʾēt̆ed- … mar-yòsep*ˈ *d-ila ham p-pàlga,*ˈ *maðèpḥɛ-la-u ʾè̀tɛ-la*ˈ (12) *ʾu … ʾu ʾā̀y-ile.*ˈ *ʾíθ kabíre texrawā̀θa*[33]ˈ *ʾu ġér me-trē-dèṛe*ˈ *d-iθen qaríwed-àlquš:*ˈ *déṛed-ṛabban-òrmez,*ˈ *d-ile p-ṭū̀ra*ˈ *t-kúl-nāše kēðìle-u*ˈ *wolɛ šmìʾe-lleḥ.*ˈ (13) *ʾu dáha wole spìqa*ˈ … [A]*maʿa-l-ʾásaf*[A] *d-ile spìqa,*ˈ *šwìqa.*ˈ (14) *ʾu déṛed-pθòlta*ˈ *dɛṛa xtā̀ya t-qqārèle,*[34]ˈ *d-ile qaríwa l-alqòš*ˈ *ʾu d-ile … dáha mélyɛ-le*ˈ *d-ibe ṛabbāṅe beʿyāša baʿad gā̀weḥ.*ˈ

FESTIVALS

(15) *ʾu mmáḥkex l- … ʾēðed-bi-yàlde*ˈ *go ʾàlquš*ˈ *texrónd-hwɛθd-mšìḥa, kuðéxle kùčat.*ˈ (16) *ʾu māq̇ada nāše kmaḥéḏri ṭā̀leḥ*ˈ *ʾu kpàṣxi gāweḥ.*[35]ˈ (17) *ʾu kūði kullèče,*ˈ *qam ʾè̀ða-u*ˈ

[29] Corrected by A from *madràsta* which would mean 'little school' and is not appropriate here.
[30] It would be better syntax to say here: *ʾu muleple* 'and he taught' or *ʾu mšurēle mmalope* 'and he began to teach'.
[31] Arabic *teðkār* 'memorial' (= ANA *texrona*).
[32] Corrected by A from *garges*.
[33] (Arab. *teθkār* + ANA *-wāθa*): Not accepted by by A who corrected to *texrone*.
[34] *de-qqārél̆e* would be more normal here.
[35] Corrected by A from *kpaṣxi ṭāleḥ* which would mean 'they are happy for him'.

memorials: a monastery and shrines[75] which are remaining, around Alqosh. (5) We commemorate Mar Mixa {Michael}, the first teacher who came and settled in Alqosh, and opened the first school, teaching its people, the people of Alqosh. And he built a church. (6) And we commemorate Rabban Hormizd. He came three centuries later and built a monastery on the mountain which is nearby. (7) And we commemorate Mar Qardax who came at the end. Also … there has remained a memorial of him there. (8) And we commemorate Mar Yuḥannan {John}, Mar Sahdona, Mart Šmoni and Mar Šemʿun {Simon} and there are many saints around it.

(9) And Alqosh has two churches – big ones: the big church of Mar Giwarges {George}, which is … and the church of Mar Mixa {Michael}which is close to it, in old Alqosh. (10) Now, in these last years, they made the church of Mar Qardax, also down below. (11) And there is the church of Mar Yosep {Joseph} which is also in the centre; it is a shrine and church. (12) And that's it. There are many memorials, quite apart from the two monasteries which there are near Alqosh: the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, which is on the mountain, which all the people know and have heard about. (13) And now it is empty … which is unfortunately empty, abandoned. (14) And the monastery of the Virgin, which they call the Lower Monastery, which is close to Alqosh and which is … now is full, which has monks still living in it.

FESTIVALS

(15) And we'll speak about the festival of Christmas in Alqosh, the commemoration of the birth of Christ which we do every year.[76] (16) And so many people prepare for it and celebrate it. (17) And they make date-pastries, before the festival, and they prepare for

[75] From the Arabic word *mazār* 'place which one visits; shrine, sanctuary'.
[76] Literally: … birth of Christ. We do it every year.

*kmaḥéḏri ta ʾèḏa*ˈ (18) *ʾu b-yómed-ʾèḏa*ˈ *kízi l-ʾèta*ˈ *p-qadàmta.*ˈ *ʾu gdàʾṛi,*ˈ *kúllɛ nāše kāwɛ pṣìxe-u*ˈ *kemᶜédi bèġḏāðe.*ˈ (19) *ʾu kmaḥéḏri ʾixalā̀ne*ˈ *ta ʾáθ- … munā̀saba,*ˈ *ʾaθ-texròna d-ile …*ˈ *kmaḥéḏri - ʾákθar-ši kūði kēbāyā̀t*ˈ *ʾaw hám-kemrile* [A]*pā̀ča.*[A]ˈ (20) *ʾu našwā̈θa kízi-u kìθɛ gēbd-éġḏāðe-u*ˈ *ʾu ᶜayóde-u peṣxū̀θa.*ˈ

(21) *ʾu báθer-mennaḥ kiθe ʾēðed- … rēš-šā̀ta;*ˈ *ham … ʾēða ʾèryɛ-le.*ˈ (22) *ʾu báθer-mennaḥ kiθe ʾēðed-bi-dènxa,*ˈ *de-ᶜmáðted-mā̀ran.*[36]ˈ (23) *ham ʾēða ṛā̀bɛle-u;*ˈ *kemqádši nāše ʾṛāże ṛāba go ʾèta*ˈ *ʾu kul-nāše kìzi,*ˈ *kḥàḏri*ˈ *… l-ʾēðed-bi-dènxa.*ˈ

(24) *ʾu ktáxrex ʾēða … ʾēða ṛā̀ba,*ˈ *ʾēðd-qyàmta,*ˈ *qyámted-mā̀ran*ˈ *d-ile ðá-munāsaba ṛàbθa ham …*ˈ *de-kḥaḏríla nā̀še,*ˈ *ʾu kāréla kùtšat.*ˈ

(25) *ʾu qám-mennaḥ kāwe ḥéššed-mā̀ran,*ˈ *ʾu ʾrūtet-ḥèšša,*ˈ *ʾu xamšošābet-péṣḥa qàm-mennaḥ;*ˈ *dēx kūðìla-u*ˈ *xallóle ʾaqlāθeš-šamā̀še.*ˈ (26) *kūðíla go ʾèta*ˈ *ʾan-téxrone kùtšat,*ˈ *ʾu māġada nāše kxāzéla xá-mendi ṛā̀ba-u*ˈ *kìzi gāwaḥ,*ˈ *kemšàrki gāwaḥ.*ˈ

(27) *ʾu munāsabā̀t t-kūðílɛ nā̀še …*ˈ *ṣwāʾed-bè̀ʾē-lɛ,*ˈ *kēðexle kúl-nāše,*ˈ *d-ile ᶜāde p-kúl-ᶜalma kūðìla*ˈ *bas xá-mendi-le pìša*ˈ *w-ám*[37] *kūði kullèče-u ham …*ˈ (28) *qám-mennaḥ kāwe ṣòma,*ˈ *ṣómet-xamšì-yome*ˈ *kāẇɛ ṣíme nā̀še*ˈ *l-pèsṛa*ˈ (29) *ʾu baᶜdēṅ … qqāṙu ʾèḏa*ˈ *kfáṭṛi-u kūði … kóri go ʾè̀ḏa-u*ˈ *kemᶜèdi b-eġḏāðe-u.*[38]ˈ *ʾu peṣxū̀θa.*ˈ

(30) *ʾu bàθer-mennaḥ*ˈ *b-àlquš …*ˈ *kíθe ʾaᶜdād … šēṛawā̀θa*ˈ *ʾu texróned- … dɛṛawā̀θa*ˈ *d-íθen xaweḏrāṅd-àlquš.*ˈ (31) *ʾu bèš-muhum*ˈ *ʾu béš … nāše t-kēðìle*ˈ *dɛṛed-*

[36] Corrected by B from: *de-hwéθed-mā̀ran.*
[37] = *ʾu ham.*
[38] Corrected by A to *kemᶜédi ʾèġḏāðe*.

the festival. (18) And on the day of the festival they go to church in the early morning. And they return; all the people are happy and they celebrate together. (19) And they prepare foods for this occasion, this commemoration which is – they prepare – most of all they make *kēbāye*[77] or they also call it ^{A}*p̣āča*^{A}. (20) And the people go and come to each other's houses[78] and (there is) celebrating and joy.

(21) And … after that comes the festival of New Year; it is also a holiday. (22) And then comes the festival of Epiphany, of the baptism of our Lord.[79] (23) It too is a big festival; the people celebrate a great mass in the church and all the people go, attend … the festival of Epiphany.

(24) And we commemorate the festival… the Great Festival,[80] the festival of the Resurrection, the Resurrection of Our Lord, which is a great occasion, also … which the people attend and they have off (?)[81] every year.

(25) And before that is the Passion of Our Lord, and Good Friday, and Maundy Thursday before it; how they do it and washing the feet of the deacons. (26) They do them in the church, these commemorations, every year, and so many people see them as something important and they go in it, participate in it.

(27) And the occasions that the people do …. are the painting of the eggs – we know it, all the people – which is a custom they do in the whole world, but it is something remaining. And they also make date-pastries and also … (28) Beforehand is the Fast, the fast of fifty days: people are fasting, from meat. (29) And later, the festival approaches, they break their fast and make … they enter the church and celebrate together.[82] And (there is) happiness.

(30) And after that, in Alqosh comes a number of vigils and commemorations, monasteries which there are in the vicinity of Alqosh. (31) And the most important and

[77] A dish consisting of a sheep's stomach stuffed with rice, minced meat and herbs. In the text it is given an Arabic plural suffix.
[78] Literally: go and come *chez* each other.
[79] Corrected from: of the birth of our Lord.
[80] I.e. Easter.
[81] I.e. as a holiday (uncertain).
[82] Corrected by A to 'they congratulate each other (i.e. wish each other a happy Easter)'.

*ṛábban-hàrmez,*ˈ *d-ile báθer tettȅ̀-šabāθa;*ˈ *men ʾēða ṛȁba.* (32) *kíθɛ nāše kabíre gjàmʿi, l-dɛ́ṛa ʿlȁya*ˈ *ʾu dɛ́ṛa xtȁya-u*ˈ *xaweḍranèy.*ˈ (33) *ʾu gjámʿi p-peṣxūȁθa*[39]ˈ *ta texróned- … ṛábban-àrmez.*ˈ (34) *ʾu kíθɛ m-kul- … kúl-dukkāṅed- … d-ʿerāq̇ gjámʿi,*ˈ *m-báġdad-u m-mòṣel,*ˈ *kúl-xaweḍrȁ̃ne.*ˈ (35) *kíθɛ kmaḥtàfli*ˈ *go texróned- … šēṙa … d-ṛábbān-àrmez.*ˈ

(36) *ʾu qám-mennaḥ be-ġðá-šapθa kāwíθen šēṛed-mar-ʾòraha*ˈ *go baṭnȁ̃ya*ˈ *ʾu šēṛed- … mar-ʿodìšu*ˈ *go … qarwāẅed-alqòš,*ˈ *go jarāḥìya*ˈ *ʾaw neṣṣērìya.*ˈ (37) *ʾu báθer-mennaḥ kiθe šēṛed- … mar-giwàrges,*ˈ *go mòṣel,*ˈ *ʾu šēṛed- … mar-danìye-u,*ˈ *ʾu kabìrē-lɛ texrawāθa*[40].ˈ

BAPTISM

(38) *ʾu dáha mmáḥkex le-ʿmȁ̃ða*ˈ *d-yāla de-gbȁ̃re,*ˈ *ʾaw yāle d-khȁ̃wɛ:*ˈ *ma t-kēðex lá-kšoqilɛ kabìra,*ˈ *xátrē- … yàrxe-u*ˈ *ʾaw bèš-qeṣṣa ʾaw*ˈ *béš-kabìra.*ˈ (39) *ʾu kšáqlile yȁ̃la*ˈ *bābeḥ-u yèmmeḥ,*ˈ *ʾu našwȁ̃θa-u*ˈ *qarìwe diyèy.*ˈ *ʾu kízi l-ʾȅ̀ta*ˈ *ʾu kmaʿeməìle.*ˈ (40) *kāwíθ xa-yāla … ṭìneḥ kemríle*ˈ *ʾaw qaríwa ʾaw qarūȁ̃ta.*ˈ (41) *kízi kemqadmíle l-maðèpḥa,*ˈ *ʾu kmaʿméðle qȁ̃ša,*ˈ *ʾu kšāq̇el*[41] [A]*ʾimȁ̃n*[A] *díyan,*ˈ *suraytūȁ̃θa,*ˈ *haymānūθa diyan s-suraytūȁ̃θa,*ˈ *x- … bābawȁ̃θeḥ*ˈ *ʾu nāše dìyeḥ,*ˈ *x-kùllɛ.*ˈ (42) *ʾu gdàʾṛi-u*ˈ *ham kūði peṣxūθa b-bèθa*ˈ *dā ʿméðlɛ yalèy.*ˈ *ʾu kūði ʾitòta*ˈ *ʾu peṣxūȁ̃θa.*ˈ *ʾu … hȁ̃dax.*ˈ

[39] Corrected by A from: *p-pṣixūθa*.
[40] Cf. n. 33. Corrected by A to *texrone*.
[41] Corrected by A from *kpāẏeš … š-šāq̇el*.

the most … people that know it: the monastery of Rabban Hormizd which is two weeks afterwards, after the Great Festival. (32) Many people come, gather, at the Higher Monastery and the Lower Monastery and around them. (33) And they gather in celebration for the commemoration of Rabban Hormizd. (34) And they come from all the places of Iraq, they gather, from Baghdad and Mosul, all the surroundings. (35) They come and celebrate in the commemoration, the vigil of Rabban Hormizd.

(36) And a week before, there is the vigil of Mar Oraha {Abraham}, in Baṭnāya. And the vigil of Mar ʿOdišu near Alqosh, in Jarāḥiya or Neṣṣēriya.[83] (37) And next comes the vigil of Mar Giwarges {George}, in Mosul, and the vigil of Mar Daniye {Daniel}, and there are many commemorations.

BAPTISM

(38) And now we'll speak about the baptism of a child which is born,[84] or children which are born:[85] as we know they don't leave them too long, one or two months more or less.[86] (39) They take the child, the father and mother, and their family and close ones. And they go to the church and baptize him. (40) There is a young man 'carrying him', they say, either a godfather or godmother. (41) They go and present him at the altar and he is baptized by the priest. And he receives our [A]faith[A], Christianity, our religion, Christianity, like his forefathers and his people, like everyone. (42) And they go back and they also make a celebration in the house, now their children have been baptized. And they make a party and a celebration. And … it's like that.

[83] According to A it is in fact in Neṣṣēriya.
[84] Verb *bry*.
[85] Verb *hwy*.
[86] Literally: either less or more.

INFORMANT C

Notes on language

(i) The 1pl. A-set suffix is *-ux*, so that 'we open' would be *kpaθxux*, not *kpaθxex*, as the other informants would say.

(ii) C uses *mex* 'like' instead of *x-*.

AROUND ALQOSH

(1) *ʾálquš wola npélta l-sepθeṭ-ṭūṙa*[42] *ṭūṙa … ʿlòya*ˈ *ṭūṙa ʿlòya*ˈ *m-bāṙa ʿlāya dìyaḥ.*ˈ (2) *ʾu ṭlaθá-barāne xénne dìyaḥ*ˈ *kpéši kúllɛ … - bedṛā̀θa lā?*ˈ [*bedṛā̀θa.*ˈ] *bedṛā̀θa ʾē,*ˈ *pθìxe.*ˈ (3) *bedṛā̈θa kúllɛ mazṛoyā̀θa,*ˈ *mélye mazṛoyā̀θa*[43] *lā?*ˈ *ʾḕ.*ˈ (4) *w-íθen maθwā̀θa* [interruption] *ʾē,̇ ʾarā̈θa zṛìʾe,*ˈ *ʾḕ.*ˈ (5) *ʾu ʾíθen maθwā̀θa*ˈ *qaríwe l-ʾàlquš,*ˈ *ʾan de-kembèni:* (6) *ʾíθen bibā̀nu,*ˈ *ʾu šaṛafìya,*ˈ *ʾu bozā̀ye,*ˈ *ʾu bendwā̀ya,*ˈ *ʾu badrìya*ˈ *… ʾē.*ˈ (7) *ʾo d-yāṡeq lʾḕl yaʿni,*ˈ *xáqṣa l-ṭūṙa bdāʾèllɛ,*ˈ *ʾan d-béš-raḥūqe ménnaḥ p-kabìra;*[44]ˈ *mex mòṣel-u*ˈ *ʾu* [A]*sàdd*[A]ˈ *ʾḕ.*ˈ (8) *ʾu ltēx̣ m-álquš p-xàqṣa*ˈ *kíθɛ xákma mellā̀le,*ˈ *qarwāwet-šaṛafìya.*ˈ *ʾē.*ˈ [*lànde.*ˈ] (9) *ʾu lànde ʾu …*ˈ [*ṛaʾòle.*ˈ] *ʾḕ …*ˈ [?[45]] *ṛaʾóle-u …lèθen.*ˈ *ʾéket-šaṛafìya*ˈ *ʾu ʾā̀ni.*ˈ *ṛaʾóle-u ḥā̀le.*ˈ

[42] Corrected by A from *l-qemmeṭ-ṭūṙa.*

[43] Both instances of *mazṛoyāθa* corrected by A from sg. *mazṛota*.

[44] Corrected by A from *kabire* which does not seem to fit the syntax.

[45] Unclear.

INFORMANT C

AROUND ALQOSH

(1) Alqosh is set on the foot[87] of a mountain, a high mountain, a high mountain to the north of it. (2) And its three other sides are all … uncultivated lands, no? [Uncultivated lands.] Uncultivated lands, yes, open (lands). (3) The uncultivated lands (are) all … plants, aren't they. Yeah. (4) And there are villages [interruption], yeah, cultivated fields, yeah. (5) And there are villages close to Alqosh, those which are visible: (6) There is Bibānu and Šaṛafiya and Bozāye and Bendwāya and Badriya. Yeah. (7) and whoever climbs above, I mean, a little up the mountain, will be able to see them, those much further away from it; like Mosul and the [A]dam.[A] Yeah (8) And a little south of Alqosh come some hills, near Šaṛafiya. Yeah. [Lande.]. (9) And Lande and [valleys]. Yeah … [(?)] Valleys and … there aren't! By Šaṛafiya and so on: valleys and such like.

[87] Corrected by A from 'summit'.

INFORMANT D

THE STORY OF THE BAD SON

(1) *ġða-ḥukkèθa*ˈ *men ʾàlquš*ˈ *ʾíba ḥaxemθa*ˈ *mmaḥkēla ṭalóxu ʾaxonòxu*ˈ *saʿíd šāmə̀ya.*ˈ (2) *ʾéθwa xà-bāba*ˈ *ʾu ʾéθwāle xa-bróna ʿazìza.*ˈ *māq̇ad mjuréble de-mdābēṛe b-dubə̀ṛe ṭāwe!*ˈ (3) *bròna*ˈ … *lá-wēwa déx de-bʾēle bə̀beḥ.*ˈ *rxéšle b-ʾurxāˈθa plìme.*ˈ (4) *māq̇ad kemnāṣèḥle.*ˈ *ʾu kemʾāmə̀re.*ˈ *lá-šmēle qāled-bābeḥ.* (5) *ʾu p-xàrθa,*ˈ *npéqle m-bèθeḥ,*ˈ *ʾrèqle,*ˈ *ʾu bābeḥ bimāra ṭə̀leḥ:*ˈ *bròni,*ˈ *lá-kpɛšet nə̀ša.*ˈ

(6) *ʾu zèlle*ˈ … *l*[46]*-ʾáθṛa raḥū̀qa,*ˈ *ʾu fétle zòna,*ˈ *ʾu yémma bimāṛa ta bə̀ba:*ˈ *xzi māˈ brēle me-bròn̈ux!*ˈ (7) *ʾu bə̀ba*ˈ *ḥènne lebbeḥ,*ˈ *ʾu qèmle*ˈ *bejyāla l-bròneḥ*ˈ *wél de-mṭēle le-ġðà-məðita*ˈ *ʾu šmə̀le*ˈ *d-ile bróneḥ b-ɛ-məðìta.*ˈ

(8) *ʾan de-wɛ́wa* … [A]*hurrāṡ*[A] *b-ʾɛ́-məðita kemʾə̀rèle.*ˈ *mán-iwet ʾə̀yet?*ˈ *kud-ile nexrə̀ya.*ˈ (9) *ʾu zéllɛ mēṛɛ ta* … *wazìra.*ˈ *ʾu ʾó-wazira bròneḥ-wēwa.*ˈ (10) *mēṛɛ ṭə̀leḥ:*ˈ *ʾiθ xāʾ nexrə̀ya;*ˈ *hə̀dax-ile,*ˈ *hāḋax-ile šèmmeḥ*ˈ *w-āḋax-ile*[47] *šèkleḥ.*ˈ (11) *ʾāṁerwa: só mòθole*ˈ *p-qešyū̀θa,*ˈ *ʾu p-qapòxe,*ˈ *ʾu bgo* … *ṛpə̀sa,*[48]ˈ … *ʾu b-ʾɛ́na maṛètta.*ˈ (12) *zèllɛ,*ˈ *kemqāréle bə̀ba-u*ˈ *kemmɛθɛ́le qam bròneḥ-u*[49]ˈ *ʾāẇ mrìʾa*ˈ *ʾu jèhya*ˈ *ʾu mʿàðba.*ˈ (13) *kud qèmle,*ˈ *kemxāzēle bróneḥ,*ˈ *kemyāðə̀le.*ˈ (14) *mə̀re:*ˈ *hə̄*ˈ *kemʾēðètti!*ˈ *mēre ʾə̀,*ˈ *kemʾēðènnux.*ˈ (15) *mēre: hāˈbə̀bi!*ˈ *là-ʾamretwa ṭāli:*ˈ *lá-kpɛšet nə̀ša?*ˈ *xzi m-ìwen daha!*ˈ *dáha wazíra ṛə̀bɛ-wen.*ˈ (16) *mēre: bròni*ˈ *ʾāna lá-mēri lá-kpɛšet wazìra.*ˈ *mēri: lá-kpɛšet nə̀ša.*ˈ (17) *w-én hāwetwa nə̀ša,*ˈ *lá-kmɛθetwāli b-aθ-ḥə̀l de-kemmɛθɛ́li*ˈ *p-qapòxe-u*ˈ *jʿə̀fa*ˈ *ʾu p-ṣurta maṛetta.*ˈ *šùkran.*ˈ

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[46] Originally *b-* but corrected by A to *l-*.

[47] = *ʾu hāḋax-ile*.

[48] According to A, *b-ṛapse* 'with kicks' would be better in the context.

[49] Originally *bābeḥ* 'his father' but corrected by A.

INFORMANT D

THE STORY OF THE BAD SON

(1) A story from Alqosh which has a moral, which will be told to you by Saʿīd Šāmāya. (2) There was a father and he had an only son. How hard he tried to bring him up in good discipline![88] (3) (But) his son was not as his father wished. He followed[89] crooked ways. (4) How often he advised him and spoke to him! (But) he did not heed his father.[90] (5) Finally he left his home, ran away, his father telling him, 'Son, you will never be a human being {somebody}'.[91]

(6) He went to a far-away place. Time passed and his mother (was) saying to the father, 'Find out what became of your son!' (7) The father relented[92] and he started to search for his son, until he reached a town and heard that his son was in that town.

(8) Those who were [A]guards[A] in that town apprehended him (asking him), 'Who are you?'- as he was a stranger. (9) And they went and told the mayor. Now, that mayor was his son! (10) They said to him, 'There is someone, a stranger. He's like this and such and such is his name and he looks like this.[93] (11) He said, 'Go and bring him with cruelty[94] and blows[95] and kicking, and without mercy.'[96] (12) They went, they called the father and brought him before his son, in pain, tired and tortured. (13) When he rose, he saw his son and recognized him. (14) (The son) said, 'Well, do you recognize me?' He said, 'Yes, I recognize you'. (15) He said, 'Well, father! Didn't you used to say to me, 'You will never be somebody {a human being}'. 'See what I am now. Now I am a great mayor'. (16) He said, 'Son, I did not say you would not be a mayor. I said you would never be a human being {somebody}. (17) If you had been a human being {somebody}, you would not have brought me in this way that you brought me, with blows and pushing and scowling'. [A]Thank you[A].

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[88] *dubāṛe* is in fact plural. 'Good practices' might be another translation.

[89] Literally: walked in.

[90] Literally: hear his father's voice.

[91] Literally: you will not become … The moral of this story is based on the double meaning of *nāša*: 'somebody' (i.e. somebody important) and 'human' (i.e. humane).

[92] Literally: The father, his heart relented.

[93] Literally: Thus is his appearance.

[94] Literally: harshness.

[95] *qapoxe* are blows to the back and sides of the head (not the face).

[96] Literally: with a bitter eye.

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