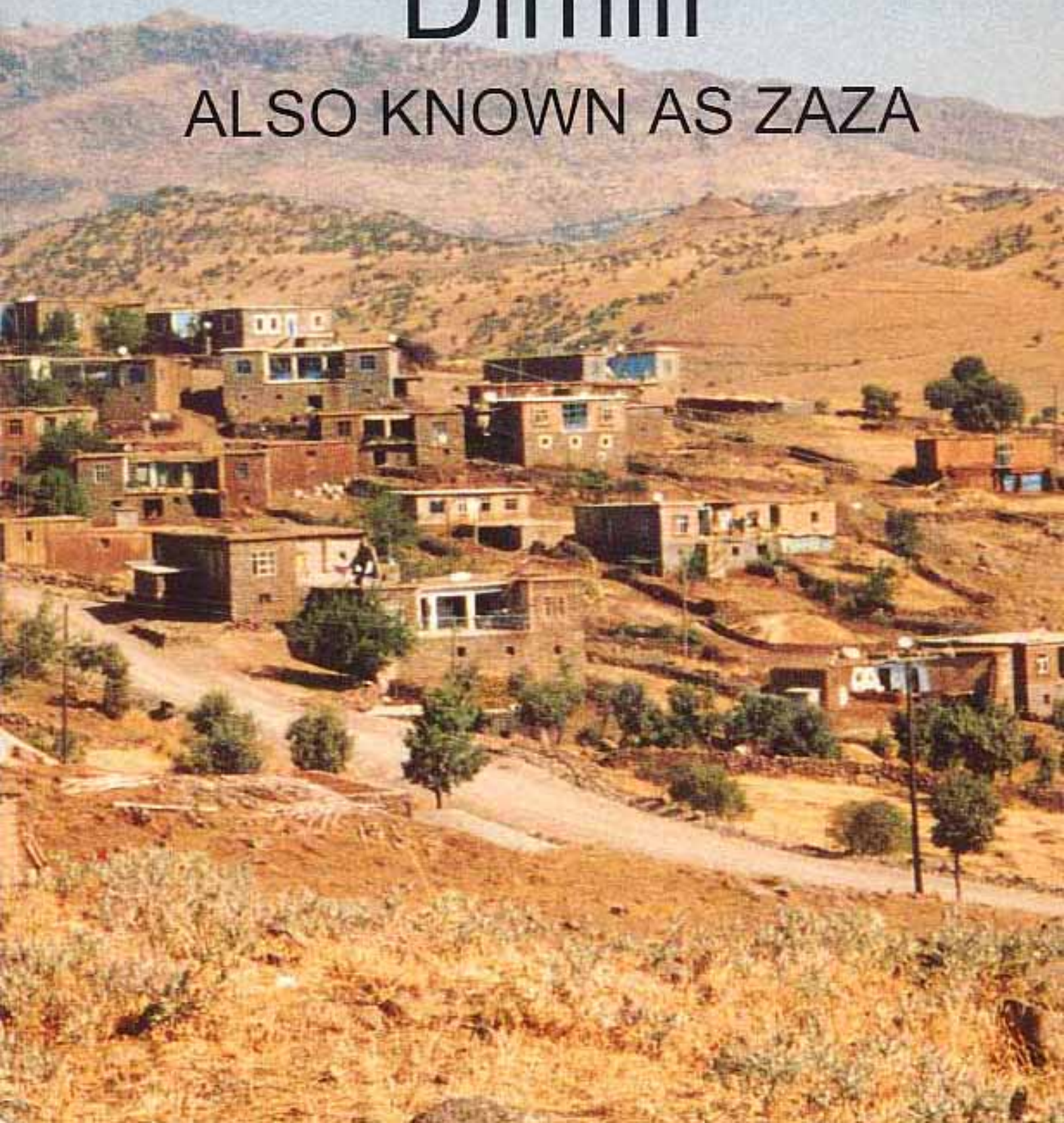


Terry Lynn Todd

A GRAMMAR OF Dimili

ALSO KNOWN AS ZAZA



Please note that the page numbering in this electronic version (2008)
is different from the page numbering in the printed version of 2002.

Terry Lynn Todd

A GRAMMAR OF
Dimili
ALSO KNOWN AS ZAZA

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Preface to the electronic publication (2008)

For technical reasons, the page numbering in this electronic version differs slightly from that found in the printed second edition (2002).

Moreover, this electronic version includes four new footnotes (a, b, g and h), which we think the reader will find helpful. The new footnotes are clearly labeled as such.

No changes other than these have been made to the printed second edition (2002).

Brigitte Werner (editor)
Giessen, Germany
January 2008

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Preface to the Second Edition

Dr. Terry Lynn Todd published the first edition of this grammar seventeen years ago as his PhD dissertation. The goal of this second edition is to make his research more accessible.

Dr. Ludwig Paul published the most recent Dimili grammar in German in 1998 (see Appendix E). Todd's older grammar in English, however, is still of great interest due to its concise and clear presentation of the material.

With the full cooperation and permission from Dr. Todd, we have made a few changes and additions to the first edition of *A Grammar of Dimili* to make this second edition more user-friendly and accessible to the linguist and non-linguist alike.

This edition, shows the orthographic form (in pointed brackets) with all examples and glosses (e.g., <çay> 'tea'). We also made a few changes to the orthographic symbols (see Appendix B, footnotes e-h). Throughout this edition, we have used the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) rather than the American Phonetic Alphabet (APA) used by Dr. Todd.

We have added two appendices as supplementary references: Appendix E – Bibliography of Additional Literature, Appendix F – The Dimili Alphabet. In addition, the reader will find extra footnotes (a-d) in Chapter 2: Morphology; footnote (i) in the Dimili-English Glossary, and also a more detailed Table of Contents.

We thank Dr. Todd for his willingness to make his research more accessible to others and for his permission to publish this second edition.

We recognize that a Turkish translation of this grammar would be more beneficial to Dimili speakers. It is, nevertheless, our hope that this edition will find its way into the libraries of universities in Europe and Turkey and that it will cultivate a deep interest among the Dimili people in the written form of their language.

Eberhard Werner
Germany, August 2002

Verqise matbaa dıdın

No kıtab kısta Dr. Terry Toddi ra verdê 17 serra qandê teziya toxtoreyê xo nûsneyayo. O zuwanê Dımili Almanya dı mısı. Wastena ma aya kı nê kıtabi ewro hırg merdım bıšo bıwano. İnstitûdiya ma zuwandê İndo-Awrupay sero gırweyena. Dımili ji, zuwano kı miyabeyndê zuwandê zıme û rojakewtenda İrani dı estê, ina miyan ra vıjyayo. Bılûcki, Kırdasi, Gorani û zuwandê Dımili/Zazakiya pêra bol nezdiyê. Hırg zuwan xo mıyan dı kemi niyo, tamamo.

No kıtabê gırameriyo kı Dr. Terry Todd'i nuşto (englızki, 1985), kıtabê gırameriyo kı Dr. Ludwig Paul'i nuşto (alamanki, 1998), zey eya muhimo.

Dr. Terry Todd fonemik (veng-zanayi), morfoloji (qıse-zanayi) û syntaksi (vıraşten-zanayi) sero bol gırweyayo. Ey xeyle rêzê kısa dayê xo desta. Meseli û istanikiyê kı kıtabdê xo dı nûştê, ey pêro zanayen ra arêdayê pê ser. Ortografî (duzana nûşten) **qalın** û kelasingana <...> piya nûsneyê (mesela <çay>). Ju kısa seni veng vejena se miyabeyndê nê dı çixızandê yampêşan dı /.../ wendoxi ra aysena

(mesela /tʃaj/). Ortografiyê Dr. Todd'i teneyê herfê cı kısta ma ra vırneyayê (bewnê perrê 123/124, dipnotlar: e-h). Dr. Todd'i ma rê destur da.

Çıyo kı dıma yeno ma nayo pa: dipnotlar a-i, perrê 48, 49, 56, 81, 123/24 û 137; Appendixi E û F.

No ca dı ma wazem mınedariya xo qandê gırdey û izandê Todd'i biyam ver. Ma anci mınedare êyê kı, ey na têgeyrayen û geuyrayen pêrin rê akerda.

Ma wazem no kitab ûniversitandê Awrupa û Tırkiya reso. Wa bol Zazay nê kitabdê gırameri ra na'hf bıvınê û ney açarnê Tırki. Çendık zuwandê Zazakiya wenden û nûšten berz bo, 'hend do fa'm bıbo kı no çend muhimo.

Sılameteya Homay şımaya piya bo.
İbo, Almanya, 2002.

İkinci basmanın önsözüdür

Bu kitap Dr. Terry Todd tarafından 17 yıl önce, doktora tezi diye yazılmıştır. O, Zaza dilini Almanya'da öğrendi. Dileğimizdir ki bu kitabı bizim zamanımızda herkes rahatlıkla okuyabilsin. Bizim derneğimiz Hint-Avrupa dil ailesine dahil olan diller üzerinde çalışma yapmaktadır. Dımili, kuzeybatı-Iran diller grubunun bir dildir. Balucca, Kurmanci ve Guranca, Dımili (Zazaca)'ya çok yakın akrabadırlar. Her dil kendi içinde kusursuz ve tamdır.

Dr. Todd'un kaleme aldığı (İngilizce, 1985) bu dilbilgisi kitabı, Dr. Ludwig Paul'un kaleme aldığı (Almanca, 1998) dilbilgisi kitabı gibi önemlidir.

Dr. Todd fonemik (ses bilimi), morfoloji (söz bilimi) ve sentaks (cümle dizimi) üzerine çok çalışmalar yapmıştır. Bu kitabında kullandığı örneklerin ve hikayelerin hepsini Zazalar'dan derlemiştir. Örnek cümleler ve kelimeler Zazaca yazılışı kalın ve köşeli parantez şeklinde <...> yazılmıştır. Örneğin <çay> böyle yazılmaktadır. Bir sözcüğün çıkardığı ses (fonemik) iki eğik çizgi arasında /.../ belirtilmektedir, örneğin /tʃaj/.

Dr. Todd'un 1985 'te yazdığı kitabında kullandığı alfabeyi biz hoşgörüşüne sığınarak bazı değişiklikler yaptık. Bakınız sayfa 123/124, dipnotlar e-h. Bazı dipnotlar tarafımızdan eklenmiştir. Dipnotlar s. 48, 49, 56, 81, 123/24 ve 137. E ve F-ekleri de tarafımızdan eklenmiştir. Bundan başka Todd'un çalışmasının asıl biçimi hiç değiştirilmedi.

Sayın Dr. Todd bu pahabiçilmez çok değerli eserini, okuyucuların hizmetine sunmamıza müsaade ettiği için kendisine teşekkürlerimizi borç biliriz.

Bizim dileğimiz şu ki, bu kitap Avrupa'da ve Türkiye'de bir çok üniversitede kullanılır. Temenimiz de şuki, bu kitap en kısa zamanda türkçeye çevrili gerçekleşir ve daha çok okuyucuya ulaşır.

Diliyoruz ki, Zaza dilinde okuma ve yazma daha da gelişir ve yayılır.

Saygılarımızla,
İbo, Almanya, 2002.

Terry Lynn Todd

A GRAMMAR OF
Dimili
ALSO KNOWN AS ZAZA

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Near Eastern Studies: Languages and Literatures)
in The University of Michigan
1985

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Without the patient help of “A” and many other Kurdish friends, without the critical and helpful suggestions of my committee, without the enthusiastic and consistent support of my wife, Lynn, and without the grace of God Almighty, this work would never have been accomplished.

Many improvements in this work have come at the suggestion of Professor Gernot Windfuhr, the Iranist on the committee, who also taught a helpful seminar on Iranian dialectology in 1982, and modern Persian. Special thanks is also due Professor Richard Rhodes who selflessly gave of his time and expertise in linguistics and editing. I am likewise indebted to Professor Ernest McCarus not only for the many suggestions and the constructive criticism regarding the content of this study, but also for his patient instruction in Kurdish during four years of class work at the University of Michigan and for chairing the committee which involved a good deal of correspondence during the research abroad.

PREFACE

Dimili is an Iranian language, part of the Indo-Iranian subgroup of Indo-European. It is spoken in central eastern Turkey by perhaps as many as one million people. The Turks and Kirmanji Kurdish speakers around them call the language *Zaza* which has pejorative connotations (Mann-Hadank, 1932:1). The most important analysis of the language is based on fieldwork done in the first few years of this century by Otto Mann whose notes were edited and published posthumously by Karl Hadank (Mann-Hadank, 1932).

Prior to Hadank, Peter Lerch (1857:49-87) had published some forty pages of Dimili texts along with some Kirmanji texts but no grammar was attempted and his translations are not believed to be accurate. A few years later Friedrich Müller attempted an analysis of Dimili based on Lerch's texts but achieved little more than a comparison of some Dimili words with cognates, mostly in New Persian. In 1862 W. Strecker and O. Blau published less than 100 words reportedly from the vicinity of Quziljan in the mountainous *Dersim* area of central eastern Turkey. Blau concluded that it was a dialect very similar to the one which Lerch had recorded. Albert von Le Coq (1903) published two volumes of texts from the *Cermuk/Kosa* area near Siverek, Turkey, volumes which unfortunately were not available for the present research. Again no grammatical sketch was attempted.

Mann's fieldwork and Hadank's careful analysis of Mann's notes have long been recognized as extremely valuable and scholarly works. Of particular significance are the historical, cultural, and folkloristic contributions, the detailed comparisons of vocabulary with other Iranian and non-Iranian languages and the treatment of syntax which far surpassed that of most grammars of that era. Their work was also remarkable for the careful separation of various dialects of Dimili; the greatest description was of the dialect spoken in Siverek accompanied by 35 pages of texts, individual sentences and their translations. But a contrastive sketch of the dialect of *Kor* was included as well as 10 pages of vocabulary of the *Bijaq* dialect, 25 pages of analysis and vocabulary of the *Chabakhchur* (Bingöl) dialect and 16 pages of analysis, vocabulary and texts of the *Kighi* dialect.

To the credit of Mann and Hadank, the present research confirms that their work is remarkably trustworthy and insightful. Their research attests virtually all of the forms found in the present corpus plus a

few which do not occur in the present corpus. Their interpretation of those forms is occasionally inadequate but that is primarily due to the linguistic time period in which the description was done.

Their research was done early in the development of modern linguistics and since that time linguistic research in the Dimili speaking area has not been encouraged. Our experience with grammars written in that era has made us cautious about taking them as accurate and definitive. Wherever possible modern linguists have sought to do new fieldwork to substantiate the older grammars, to extend our understanding of the languages described and to describe them in terms that reflect more recent insights into linguistics in general.

For Dimili that effort has been hindered by the fact that their area has been under martial law almost continuously since the 1920's and serious linguistic research has not been permitted (MacKenzie, 1960: xvii). Windfuhr (1976) compiled from Mann-Hadank the more important details that can be drawn from that work and sketched a *Mini-Grammar of Zaza* that consists of a brief historical survey of the scholarship and a sixteen page structuralist abstract. The mini-grammar unfortunately remains unpublished but it was graciously made available for this research.

Mann concluded (Mann-Hadank, 1932:19) that Dimili is not a Kurdish dialect and Hadank concluded (1932:4) that the name Dimili is most likely a metathesis of *Daylemi*, i.e. the language reflects that of the Daylamites who came from an area called Daylam on the south coast of the Caspian and who were often distinguished from the Kurds in medieval references. Dimili speakers today consider themselves to be Kurds and resent scholarly conclusions which indicate that their language is not Kurdish. Speakers of Dimili are Kurds psychologically, socially, culturally, economically, and politically. It is quite possible, especially since the term Kurd has always been ill-defined (MacKenzie, 1961b:69), that speakers of Dimili should be identified as Kurds today.

The language, however, is distinct from Kurdish dialects. MacKenzie (1961 b) attempted to define Kurdish by citing elements that were common to all Kurdish dialects that distinguished them from other Iranian dialects. Referring to the fact that historic /-ʃm/ <-**şm**> and /-xm/ <-**xm**> have become /-v/ or /-w/ in Kurdish and the retention of /tʃ-/ <**ç**-> in the stem of the verb 'go', he says, "In short, apart from this /tʃ-/ <**ç**-> and the treatment of /-ʃm/ <-**şm**> and /-xm/ <-**xm**>, I can find no feature which is both common to all the dialects of Kurdish and unmatched outside them." (1961 b:72) Those features are not shared by Dimili. Tedesco (1921:199) based on Lerch's texts classified Dimili as a central dialect. Kurdish he classified as north-western (1921:198). See also Windfuhr's comments (Azami and Windfuhr, 1972:13) and distribution maps (Azami and Windfuhr, 1972:198-99) regarding the development of /*fr-/ into /hr-/ and the present indicative based on the old present participle in /-ənd/ which Dimili shares with other dialects.

The research for the present study was conducted between 1983 and 1985 in the Federal Republic of Germany. It describes the speech of a man in his early twenties who comes from a village approximately 45 kilometers north of Siverek. This young man will be referred to as "A" for the purposes of his privacy and security. Among his immediate kin are leading figures in the *Qirwar* tribe.

Though contact was established with some 20 speakers of Dimili, and something was learned from each of them, the description is limited to the speech of "A" for the following reasons. 1. He was acknowledged by all of his fellows as being the best Dimili speaker among them. 2. He was friendly and had plenty of time on his hands. 3. As the study progressed it became clear that no two speakers spoke Dimili exactly the same since they represented as many different villages as there were speakers.

4. As the study progressed it became apparent that he used markedly fewer Turkish loan words than most of his fellows and stubbornly clung to irregularities even when peers pressured him to go along with regularities of other sub-dialects.

It is probably to the last point above that we should ascribe A's prestige among his fellows as the best speaker and not to eloquence or outspokenness. In fact, A is rather shy and, especially with a tape recorder in front of him, rarely utters a monologue of more than a minute or two. In the beginning I attributed his reluctance in front of the microphone to concern for his personal security, he having come from a place where his own language is under attack and not being entirely sure of the foreigner's motives. Late in the study, however, A was still very cautious with the tape recorder and expressed concern that he would say something "wrong" and the recorder would document his error. This attitude is not unusual among Kurds and is traceable to their awareness of their own educational shortcomings. When confronted with dialectal and idiolectal differences in their speech they do not have a textbook answer to who is right and who is wrong. Thus "right" and "wrong" is usually decided by the personal prestige of the various speakers involved.

The initial contact language was Kirmanji Kurdish which most Dimili speakers know to some degree. After three weeks, however, all elicitation was monolingual in Dimili. The corpus consists of some 350 pages of materials transcribed directly by the researcher and approximately ten hours of tape recorded materials.

Within this work reference is occasionally made to contrasts between A's speech and that of some of his closer friends whose shopping town back home is Cermik. The actual villages in some cases are less than ten kilometers from A's village but the topography and sociology of the region is such that people from A's village "belong" to Siverek and the others to Cermik. See map below.

Frequent reference is made to the Mann-Hadank grammar (Mann-Hadank, 1932) since this is the first opportunity to verify or falsify that early description. The present research confirms their findings unless specifically noted otherwise.

Chapter One is a systematic analysis of the phonology of Dimili. Chapter Two presents word structure and inflection. In Chapter Three phrase, clause and sentence structure are discussed. Three appendices provide illustrative verb data, Dimili texts with English translation, and a Dimili – English glossary.

Fig. 1 MAP OF EASTERN TURKEY

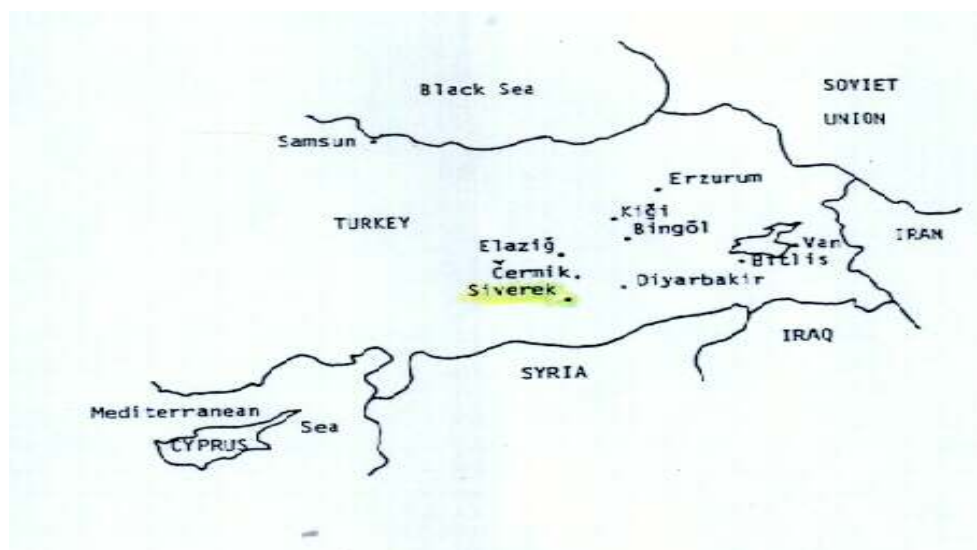


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List of Abbreviations

1sg	first-person singular	iv	intransitive verb
2p	second person	LAB	labial
3f	third-person feminine	lit.	literally
3m	third-person masculine	LOC	locative
a	feminine gender	masc, m	masculine gender
A	the native speaker	MOD	modifier
ABS	absolute	mpn	masculine proper name
ADJ, aj	adjective	n.	noun
ADV, av	adverb	neg.	negative
AG	agent	NP	noun phrase
ALV	alveolar	num	number
ALV-PAL	alveo-palatal	O	direct object
Arab.	Arabic	o	masculine gender
aux.	auxiliary	o/a	variable gender
C	consonant	obl, OBL	oblique case
caus.	causative	P	patient
CON	concord	pass.	passive
conj.	conjunction	per.	person
DEN	dental	PHAR	pharyngeal, pharyngealized
DEP.EZ	dependent ezafe	pl	plural
DES.EZ	descriptive ezafe	pn	pronoun
dir, DIR	direct case	pr, pres.	present
ERG	ergative	prep.	preposition
esp.	especially	pret.	preterite
exc.	exclamation	prog.	progressive
exist.	existence	S	subject
EZ	ezafe	s.o.	someone
fem, f	feminine gender	s.th.	something
fpn	feminine proper name	sg	singular
Fr.	French	Si	subject of intransitive verb
FRIC.	fricative	St	subject of transitive verb
G	goal, glide	sub.	subjunctive
GEN.EZ	genitive ezafe	subjunct.	subjunctive
GLOT	glottal	tv	transitive verb
I.O.	indirect object	UVUL	uvular
imper.	imperative	V	vowel
imperf.	imperfect	VEL	velar
indic.	indicative	VD	voiced
interr	interrogative	VL	voiceless

CHAPTER ONE

PHONOLOGY

1.1 Phonemes

One characteristic of grammars written before the development of the phoneme concept is their unreliability with regard to the sound system. That is certainly true of the Mann-Hadank wherein the over-differentiation of vowels and the under-differentiation of consonants detracted from the value of that important early study. The present research puts the sound system on solid footing.

There are thirty-eight segmental phonemes in this dialect of Dimili. Of those, thirty are consonants and eight are vowels. Stress is also phonemic.

1.1.1 Consonant Phonemes

Hadank (1932:47) lists twenty-seven consonants for Dimili and all but one of those (/nâ/) correspond to phonemes presented in this study. His /ñ/ is in fact an allophone [ŋ] of /n/ <n>. Four other consonant phonemes, however, are not reflected by the transcription in Mann-Hadank: trilled /r/ <rr>, velarized /l/ <'l>, pharyngealized /s^ʕ/ <'s> and pharyngealized /t^ʕ/ <'t>.

Of the thirty consonant phonemes in Dimili, three /s^ʕ/ <'s>, /ʕ/ <'>, and /t^ʕ/ <'t>, are quite infrequent and are probably due to Arabic influence. Of those, the /t^ʕ/ <'t> and the /ʕ/ <'> occur only in Arabic borrowings while the /s^ʕ/ <'s> may occur in native vocabulary as well as in Arabic borrowings. The voiceless pharyngeal fricative /h/ <'h> could possibly be from Arabic but it occurs frequently in native vocabulary as well. See Table 1.01. (The vowel phonemes are presented later in Table 1.02.)

In Table 1.01 labial (LAB) represents bilabial in /p/ <p>, /b/ and /m/ <m>, labio-dental in /f/ <f> and /v/ <v> and labio-velar in /w/ <w>. The column marked dental, alveolar (DEN, ALV) includes dental stops and fricatives and alveolar liquids.

TABLE 1.01 THE CONSONANT PHONEMES

	LAB	DEN, ALV	ALV- PAL	VEL	UVUL	GLOT	PHAR
VL STOPS	p	t	tʃ	k	q		
VD STOPS	b	d	dʒ	g			
VL FRIC.	f	s	ʃ	x		h	ħ
VD FRIC.	v	z	ʒ	ɣ			ʕ
PHAR. STOP		tʕ					
PHAR. FRIC.		sʕ					
NASALS	m	n					
LATERALS		ɬ					
FLAP		ɾ					
TRILL		r					
SEMI-VOWELS	w		j				

ALV	Alveolar
ALV-PAL	Alveolar – Palatal
DEN	Dental
FRIC	Fricative
GLOT	Glottal
LAB	Labial
PHAR	Pharyngeal
VEL	Velar
VD	Voiced
VL	Voiceless
UVUL	Uvular

1.1.1.1 Stops

The two alveopalatal stops in the phonemic system are technically affricates. They and all other stops are unaspirated. The series of voiceless stops may be distinguished from the voiced stops by the following examples:

/p/ <ᵑ> vs. /b/ <ᵑ̣>

1. /pe/	<ᵑê>	‘each other’
2. /be/	<ᵑ̣ê>	‘come!’
3. /pos'tə/	<ᵑoste>	‘shoe’
4. /bos'tan/	<ᵑostan>	‘garden’
5. /iʃ'piʒ/	<ᵑɪpɪʒ>	‘louse’
6. /kos'bəs/	<ᵑosbes>	‘wild goat’

/t/ <ᵐ> vs. /d/ <ᵐ̣>

7. /to/	<ᵐo>	‘you’ (OBL)
8. /do/	<ᵐ̣o>	‘buttermilk’
9. /ti/	<ᵐi>	‘you’ (DIR)
10. /di'di/	<ᵐidi>	‘two’
11. /'koti/	<ᵐoti>	‘where?’
12. /a'dir/	<ᵐdir>	‘fire’
13. /sərt/	<ᵐert>	‘hard’
14. /sərd/	<ᵐerd>	‘cold’

/tʃ/ <ç> vs. /dʒ/ <ç̣>

15. /tʃim/	<çim>	‘eye’
16. /dʒi/	<ç̣i>	‘him, her, it’
17. /tʃaj/	<çaj>	‘tea’
18. /dʒa/	<ç̣a>	‘bed, place’
19. /tʃoʃ'mej/	<çəʃmêy>	‘around’
20. /dʒor/	<ç̣or>	‘up’

/k/ <ᵑ> vs. /g/ <ᵑ̣>

21. /kaj/	<ᵑay>	‘game’
22. /ga/	<ᵑ̣a>	‘bull’
23. /kəs/	<ᵑes>	‘someone’
24. /gəndʒ/	<ᵑəndʒ>	‘young’
25. /fək/	<ᵑek>	‘mouth’
26. /wər'dəg/	<ᵑerdeg>	‘duck’

There is no voiced counterpart to /q/ <ᵑ̣> and glottal stop is not distinctive in Dimili.

1.1.1.1.1 Voiceless Stops

The /t/ <t> is dental as opposed to the alveolar /t/ <t> in English. The position of the /k/ <k> does not fluctuate much in position on the velum and /q/ <q> is consistently far back on the velum even when juxtaposed to a high front vowel.

The symbol /tʰ/ <'t> represents a voiceless pharyngealized dental stop of Arabic origin. It occurs mostly, if not exclusively, in Arabic loanwords but it contrasts with /t/ <t> as seen in these examples:

/tʰ/ <'t> vs. /t/ <t>

27. /tʰəjr/	< 'teyr >	'bird of prey'
28. /təj/	< tey >	'in it'
29. /tʰewq/	< 'tewq >	'baking plate'
30. /tek/	< tek >	'single'

The other voiceless stops may be distinguished from one another by the following examples:

/t/ <t> vs. /tʃ/ <ç>

31. /tim/	< tim >	'always'
32. /tʃim/	< çim >	'eye'
33. /'koti/	< koti >	'where?'
34. /'tʃitʃi/	< çitçi >	'what?'
35. /ku'tik/	< kutik >	'dog'
36. /ko'tʃik/	< koçık >	'spoon'

/tʃ/ <ç> vs. /k/ <k>

37. /tʃaj/	< çay >	'tea'
38. /kaj/	< kay >	'game'
39. /tʃi/	< çi >	'thing'
40. /ke/	< kê >	'who'

/k/ <k> vs. /q/ <q>

41. /kaj/	< kay >	'game'
42. /qa'zay/	< qazağ >	'weater'
43. /ku/	< kû >	'squash'
44. /qut/	< qut >	'chicken feed'
45. /dik/	< dik >	'rooster'
46. /liq/	< liq >	'bird dropping'
47. /fək/	< fek >	'mouth'
48. /bəq/	< beq >	'frog'

1.1.1.1.2 Voiced Stops

The /d/ <**d**>, like its voiceless counterpart, is dental rather than alveolar. The voiced stops may be distinguished from one another by the following examples:

/d/ <**d**> vs. /dʒ/ <**c**>

49. /dəw/	< dew >	‘village’
50. /dʒəw/	< cew >	‘barley’
51. /dɑˈpɪr/	< dapɪr >	‘grandmother’
52. /dʒɑ/	< ca >	‘bed, place’
53. /dɪˈdɪ/	< dɪdɪ >	‘two’
54. /dʒɪ/	< cɪ >	‘his, her, their’

/dʒ/ <**c**> vs. /g/ <**g**>

55. /dʒɑ/	< ca >	‘bed, place’
56. /gɑ/	< ga >	‘bull’
57. /dʒəw/	< cew >	‘barley’
58. /gəw/	< gew >	‘sheepfold’
59. /ɑnˈdʒəno/	< anceno >	‘he pulls’
60. /ənˈgɪft/	< engɪft >	‘finger’

1.1.1.2 Fricatives

The fricatives articulated in labio-dental, alveolar, and alveo-palatal positions do not differ significantly from their English counterparts. The glottal fricative /h/ <**h**> also is quite similar to the English counterpart. The velar fricatives /x/ <**x**> and /ɣ/ <**ǰ**> have no counterparts in English, nor do the pharyngeal fricatives /ħ/ <**ḥ**> and /ʕ/ <**ʕ**>.

The voiceless fricatives may be distinguished from the voiced by the following examples:

/f/ <**f**> vs. /v/ <**v**>

61. /fək/	< fek >	‘mouth’
62. /vəŋg/	< veng >	‘voice; empty’
63. /fɪʃˈqɪ/	< fɪʃqɪ >	‘manure’
64. /vɑʃ/	< vaʃ >	‘hay’
65. /saf/	< saf >	‘agreeable’
66. /gɪˈlav/	< glav >	‘shepherd’s garment’

/s/ <**s**> vs. /z/ <**z**>

67. /sur/	< sûr >	‘red’
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68. /zɔr/	< zor >	‘difficult’
69. /m ¹ asəno/	< maseno >	‘it swells’
70. /vira ¹ zəno/	< vrazeno >	‘he makes’
71. /des/	< dês >	‘wall’
72. /qon ¹ dez/	< qondêz >	‘ladle’

/ʃ/ <š> vs. /ʒ/ <j>

73. /ʃəw/	< şew >	‘night’
74. /ʒəw/	< jew >	‘one’
75. /vaʃ/	< vaş >	‘hay’
76. /vaʒ/	< vaj >	‘speak!’
77. / ¹ niʃi/	< nişı >	‘mount!’
78. / ¹ vaʒe/	< vajê >	‘speak!’ (said to more than one)

The voiceless velar fricative /x/ <**x**> contrasts with its voiced counterpart /ɣ/ <**ğ**> in most positions but /ɣ/ <**ğ**> does not occur in word-initial position.

/x/ <x> vs. /ɣ/ <ğ>

79. /xə ¹ xiz/	< xerxız >	‘thief’
80. /wə ¹ ɣan/	< werğan >	‘blanket’
81. /bix/	< bıx >	‘steam’
82. /xaɣ/	< xağ >	‘raw’
83. / ¹ məxori/	< mexori >	‘don’t snore!’
84. / ¹ aɣu/	< ağü >	‘poison’

The voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ <**ʕ**> is also distinguished from /h/ <**h**> and /x/ <**x**>:

85. /ʕadiz ¹ ja/	< ʕadızya >	‘tired’
86. /həʃ/	< heş >	‘bear’
86. /xal/	< xal >	‘uncle’ (maternal)

1.1.1.2.1 Voiceless Fricatives

The voiceless fricatives can be distinguished from one another in the following examples:

/s/ <s> vs. /ʃ/ <ş>

88. /sa/	< sa >	‘apple’
89. /ʃa ¹ mik/	< şamık >	‘tomato’
90. /səw ¹ da/	< sewda >	‘desire’
91. / ¹ ʃəwra/	< şewra >	‘morning, morrow’
92. /bəs/	< bes >	‘enough’

93. /wəʃ/ <weʃ> ‘pleasant’

/x/ <x> vs. /h/ <h>

94. /xɑl/ <xal> ‘uncle (maternal)’
 95. /hɑˈlɛti/ <haleti> ‘plow’
 96. /xint/ <xint> ‘crazy’
 97. /hi/ <hi> ‘wet’
 98. /xəwx/ <xewx> ‘peach’
 99. /həlˈqɑ/ <helqa> ‘chain’ (cf. Arabic /ˈħalqa/)

The symbol /s^ʕ/ <ʕs> represents a voiceless, pharyngealized alveolar sibilant that is quite rare but is clearly distinguished from both /s/ <s> and /ʃ/ <ʃ> in words that cannot be traced to Arabic.

/s^ʕ/ <ʕs> vs. /s/ <s> vs. /ʃ/ <ʃ>

100. /s^ʕi/ <ʕsi> ‘stone’
 101. /sir/ <sir> ‘garlic’
 102. /ʃi/ <ʃi> ‘(she) left’
 103. /ˈpiso/ <piso> ‘it is bad’
 104. /iˈs^ʕot/ <iʕot> ‘sweet pepper’

It also occurs in an occasional Arabic borrowing, e.g.

105. /s^ʕəjd/ <ʕeyd> ‘hunter’

The symbol /ħ/ <ʕh> represents a voiceless pharyngeal fricative that is in contrast with the glottal fricative /h/ <h>. They are approximately equal in statistical frequency and the /ħ/ <ʕh> is certainly not restricted to Arabic borrowings.

/ħ/ <ʕh> vs /h/ <h>

106. /hər/ <her> ‘donkey’
 107. /ħer/ <ʕhêr> ‘soil’
 108. /həwn/ <hewn> ‘dream’
 109. /ħəwt/ <ʕhewt> ‘seven’
 110. /həˈrɛm/ <herem> ‘thread (cotton)’
 111. /ħəˈrɑm/ <ʕheram> ‘polluted (ritually)’ (from Arabic)

The pharyngealized /ħ/ <ʕh> also contrasts with the voiceless velar fricative /x/ <x>.

/ħ/ <ʕh> vs /x/ <x>

112. /ħəwt/ <ʕhewt> ‘seven’

113. /xəwx/	< xewx >	‘peach’
114. /həʃ/	< ’heş >	‘bear’
115. /xas/	< xas >	‘artichoke’

/h/ <’h> is substituted for a postvocalic /^h/ <’> in words borrowed from Arabic such as the following.

116. /sa ^h at/	< sa’hat >	‘hour, clock’ (cf. Arab. /saa ^h at/)
117. / ^h ba ^h de/	< ba’hdê >	‘after’ (cf. Arab. /ba ^h da/)

1.1.1.2.2 Voiced Fricatives

The voiced fricatives can be distinguished from one another by the following examples:

/z/ <**z**> vs. /ʒ/ <**j**>

118. /zəwn ^h dʒi/	< zewncı >	‘even’ (numbers)
119. /ʒəw/	< jew >	‘one’
120. /duz/	< dûz >	‘level’
121. /tuʒ/	< tûj >	‘sharp’
122. /xoz/	< xoz >	‘pig’
123. /roʒ/	< roj >	‘day; sun’

The symbol /^h/ <’> is here used for a faint voiced pharyngeal fricative that contrasts in the following words.^{<1>}

124. / ^h adiz ^h jəno/	< ’adizyeno >	‘he becomes tired’
125. /a ^h dır/	< adır >	‘fire’
126. / ^h ərd/	< ’erd >	‘earth’
127. /ə ^h r ^h dıʃ/	< erdiş >	‘beard’
128. / ^h aro ^h məgûni/	< ’arro megûni >	‘don’t fall!’
129. /ar ^h wef/	< arwêş >	‘rabbit’

Of these three examples with /^h/ <’> Hadank (1932:48) traces the first to Arabic /^haadziz/ ‘weak, feeble.’ The second is Arabic and the last results from the combination of Arabic /^hərd/ ‘earth’ and the Dimili postposition /-ro/ <**ro**>. The resulting word is used exclusively in expressions regarding an animate being falling to the ground.

1.1.1.3 Liquids

Of the remaining consonant phonemes five /n/ <**n**>, /l/ <**l**>, /l/ <**’l**>, /r/ <**r**>, and /r/ <**rr**>, are alveolar and are distinguished from one another by the following examples:

/n/ <**n**> vs. /l/ <**l**> vs. /r/ <**rr**>

130. /na/	< na >	‘this’ (fem.)
-----------	---------------	---------------

- | | | |
|------------|----------------|---------|
| 131. /la/ | < la > | 'river' |
| 132. /raǰ/ | < raǰ > | 'road' |

/n/ < n > vs. /l/ < l > vs. /r/ < r >
--

- | | | |
|------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 133. /ban/ | < ban > | 'house' |
| 134. /xal/ | < xal > | 'uncle' (maternal) |
| 135. /mar/ | < mar > | 'snake' |

/r/ < r > vs. /r/ < rr >
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- | | | |
|--------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 136. /sə'rə/ | < sere > | 'head' |
| 137. /sə'rə/ | < serre > | 'year' |
| 138. /'biro/ | < biro > | 'he will come' |
| 139. /'biro/ | < birro > | 'day after tomorrow' |
| 140. /hər/ | < her > | 'donkey' |
| 141. /hər/ | < 'hêrr > | 'soil' |

The symbol /r/ <'r> represents a heavily velarized or "dark" /r/ <l> that occurs relatively infrequently but is in contrast with /r/ <l> which, itself, cannot be described as "clear" except by comparison to /r/ <'r>. <2>

/l/ < l > vs. /l/ < 'l >
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- | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 142. /ləj'ləg/ | < leyleg > | 'stork' |
| 143. /ləj'min/ | < 'leymin > | 'dirty' |
| 144. /liŋg/ | < liŋg > | 'foot' |
| 145. /'liŋdʒi/ | < 'liŋci > | 'mud' |
| 146. /kiɫm/ | < kiɫm > | 'short' |
| 147. /tʃiɫm/ | < ç'iɫm > | 'mucous' |
| 148. /dis'mal/ | < dɪsmal > | 'handkerchief' |
| 149. /taɫ/ | < taɫ > | 'bitter' |

1.1.1.4 Semivowels

The labiovelar semivowel /w/ <w> is frequent in prevocalic, postvocalic and intervocalic positions. It contrasts with the /v/ <v> as shown in the following examples:

/w/ < w > vs. /v/ < v >

- | | | |
|---------------|------------------|---------|
| 150. /'wini/ | < wini > | 'thus' |
| 151. /'vini/ | < vini > | 'lost' |
| 152. /wər'di/ | < werdi > | 'small' |

153. /vərg/	< verg >	‘wolf’
154. /zəw/	< jew >	‘one’
155. /rəv/	< rev >	(grape juice product)
156. /aw/	< aw >	‘water’
157. /gi ¹ lav/	< gilav >	(shepherd’s garment)

The alveopalatal semivowel /j/ <y> contrasts with the voiced alveopalatal fricative as seen in the following examples:

/j/ <y> vs. /ʒ/ <j>

158. / ¹ jəno/	< yeno >	‘he comes’
159. /zəw/	< jew >	‘one’
160. / ¹ ojo/	< oyo >	‘he’
161. / ¹ rɔʒo/	< rojo >	‘it is the sun’
162. /tʃaj/	< çay >	‘tea’
163. /laʒ/	< laj >	‘boy’

1.1.2 Variants of the Consonants

1.1.2.1 Variants of the Stops

The voiceless stops /p/ <p>, /t/ <t>, /k/ <k>, and /q/ <q> are unaspirated in all environments. The /tʃ/ <ç> and /dʒ/ <c> are alveopalatal affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] respectively. The voiced stops /d/ <d> and /g/ <g> are voiced in all environments but /b/ is devoiced in one restricted environment, i.e. when the subjunctive prefix is added to a stem beginning in /p/ <p>.

Fricativization of /b/ and /dʒ/ <c>

The /b/ is in contrast with the labiodental voiced fricative /v/ <v>, but is replaced by /v/ <v> in postvocalic position within the word. That is,

/b/ → /v/ / V__

164. / ¹ bəno/	< beno >	‘perhaps’
165. / ¹ nevəno/	< nēbeno >	‘perhaps not’
166. /bir ¹ nəno/	< birrnenno >	‘(he) cuts’
167. / ¹ məviri ⁿⁱ /	< mēbirrni >	‘don’t cut!’

Similarly, intervocalic /v/ <v> in some words corresponds to intervocalic /b/ in the dialect of Dimili speakers from Cermik:

168. /zə ¹ vəʃ/	< zeveş >	‘watermelon’ (as said by A)
169. /zə ¹ bəʃ/	< zebeş >	‘watermelon’ (as said in Cermik)

/v/ <v> also replaces postvocalic /b/ in borrowed words:

170. /xə'riv/	< xeriv >	'stranger' (Arab. /ɣariib/)
171. /mæk'təv/	< mektəv >	'school' (Arab. /maktab/)
172. /ʔərə'va/	< ' ereva >	'car' (Arab. /ʔara'ba/)

Also affected by a fricativization rule is the affricate /dʒ/ <c>.^{<3>} Like the /b/ it is replaced by a voiced fricative phoneme, in this case, /ʒ/ <j>, i.e.

/dʒ/ → /ʒ/ / V__

173. /o 'dʒa/	< o ca >	'that place'
174. /əw'ʒa/	< ewja >	'there'

The other two voiced stops, /d/ <d> and /g/ <g>, on the other hand, can occur in postvocalic position without being fricativized.^{<4>}

175. /di'di/	< didi >	'two'
176. /dəd/	< ded >	'(paternal) uncle'
177. /qə'dəh/	< qede'h >	'drinking glass'
178. /sərd/	< serd >	'cold'
179. /wər'dəg/	< werdeg >	'duck'
180. /vərg/	< verg >	'wolf'
181. /fi'rigi/	< firigi >	'(green) almonds'
182. /bigir'wejo/	< bigirwêyo >	'He will work.'

Devoicing of /b/

In one circumstance /b/ assimilates to its voiceless counterpart /p/ <p>. When the imperative prefix /bi-/ <bi-> is applied to a verb stem that begins with /p/ <p>, the imperative prefix also begins with /p/ <p>.

183. /pa'wəno/	< paweno >	'He waits.'
184. /'pipawi/	< bipawi >	'Wait!'
185. /pə'rəna/	< perrena >	'She flies.'
186. /'pipəri/	< biperrı >	'Fly!'

That this is not a general devoicing rule is clear from the fact that the same prefix does not devoice when applied to a verb stem that begins with one of the other voiceless stops.

187. /tər'səno/		< terseno >	'He fears. He is afraid'
188. /'bitərsi/	['bitərsı]	< bitərsı >	'Be afraid!'

1.1.2.2 Variants of the Continuants

Velarization of /n/ <n>

The alveolar nasal /n/ <n> becomes a velar nasal [ŋ] when followed by the voiced velar stop /g/ <g>.

/n/ → [ŋ] / __g

189. /'liŋgi/	['liŋgi]	< lingi >	'feet'
190. /'vəŋgi/	['vəŋgi]	< vengi >	'voices'

Portmanteau of /n/ <n> + /g/ <g>

When a word ends in the sequence /ng/ <ng> the /n/ <n> becomes velar [ŋ] and the /g/ <g> is not pronounced. A suffix added to such a word causes the /g/ <g> to be pronounced.

/ng/ → [ŋ] / __ #

191. /liŋg/	[liŋ]	< ling >	'foot'
192. /vəŋg/	[vəŋ]	< veng >	'empty'
193. /siŋg/	[siŋ]	< sing >	'mushroom'
194. /'siŋgi/	['siŋgi]	< singi >	'mushrooms'

Portmanteau of V + /n/ <n>

Word-final /n/ <n> following /a/ <a> or /ə/ <e> is manifested only by nasalization of the vowel. The sequence /an#/ <an >, which is quite frequent, and the sequence /ən#/ <en >, which is relatively infrequent, are realized as [ã] and [ẽ] respectively.

195. /dɪn'dan/	[dɪn'daã]	< dɪndan >	'tooth'
196. /bos'tan/	[bos'taã]	< bostan >	'garden'
197. /go'vən/	[go'vẽ]	< goven >	'dance'
198. /ru'wən/	[ru'wẽ]	< rūwen >	'oil'

The portmanteau does not occur if the /n/ <n> is not word final.^{<5>}

199. /gəndʒ/	[gəndʒ]	< genc >	'young'
200. /pən'dʒas/	[pən'dʒas]	< pancas >	'fifty'
201. /kən'diʃ/	[kən'diʃ]	< kendiʃ >	'hoeing'
202. /ʒən'dəs/	[ʒən'dəs]	< jandes >	'eleven'

Nor does portmanteau occur in a sequence of /n/ <n> plus another vowel. See morphophonemic word-final /n/ <n>, below. The portmanteau is not interrupted by an intervening /j/ <y> and can extend across /j/ <y> even into a prior syllable.

203. /tʰəjn/	[tʰãj]	< 'tayn >	'little' (amount)
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204. /^sadiz'jajan/ [^sadiz'jājā] < **'adizyayan** > ' (I am) tired'

Morphophonemic Word-Final /n/ <n>

A word that ends in morphophonemic /n/ <n> after the other six vowels will manifest the /n/ <n> only when followed by a suffix. Otherwise the /n/ <n> is dropped and the preceding vowel is not nasalized.^{<6>}

205. /pren/	[pre]	< prên >	'dress'
206. /'prene aj/	['prene aj]	< prênê ay >	'her dress'
207. /ʃen/	[ʃe]	< ʃên >	'tender'
208. /no goʃt 'ʃeno/	[no goʃt 'ʃeno]	< no goʃt ʃêno >	'This meat is tender.'
209. /dun/	[du]	< dûn >	'smoke'
210. /duno pis/	[duno pis]	< dûno pis >	'bad smoke'
211. /dæsto bin/	[dæsto bi]	< desto bin >	'the other hand'
212. /dæsto 'bino/	[dæsto 'bino]	< desto bino >	'It is the other hand.'

1.1.3 Vowel Phonemes

Hadank himself (1932:51) comments on some of the inconsistencies in Mann's transcription upon which that volume is based. The over differentiation of vowels was extreme; fourteen symbols were used (Mann-Hadank, 1932:46) whereas the present study reveals only eight vowel phonemes. The eight vowels of this dialect of Dimili are the following:

/i/ <**i**>, /e/ <**ê**>, /a/ <**a**>, /ə/ <**e**>, /i/ <**ɪ**>, /u/ <**û**>, /u/ <**u**>, and /o/ <**o**>.

Five of the vowels are tense vowels and form a symmetrical system of two front vowels, two back rounded vowels and a low central unrounded vowel. The remaining three vowels are lax central vowels one of which is rounded. The lax vowels form a second "layer" of symmetry. In Table 1.02 the tense vowels are shown in boldface type.

TABLE 1.02: THE VOWEL PHONEMES

	FRONT		CENTRAL		BACK
	unrounded		rounded		
HIGH	i		ɪ	u	u
MID	e		ə		o
LOW			a		

1.1.3.1 Front Vowel Phonemes

The two front vowels are contrasted in the following examples.

/i/ < i > vs. /e/ < ê >

213. /pi/ < **pi** > 'father'

214. /pe/	< pê >	‘each other’
215. / ^h biro/	< birro >	‘day-after-tomorrow’
216. / ^h pero/	< pêro >	‘all’
217. /ne/	< nê >	‘no’
218. / ^h nine/	< ninê >	‘(they) aren’t coming’

The following examples contrast the phonemes /i/ <**i**> and /i/ <**ɪ**>.

/i/ <**i**> vs. /i/ <**ɪ**>

219. /mi/	< mi >	‘sheep’
220. /min/	< min >	‘I’ (OBL)
221. /min di/	< min di >	‘I saw’
222. /di ^h di/	< diɪ >	‘two’
223. /vist/	< vist >	‘twenty’
224. /vist/	< vɪst >	‘lit’ (cigarette)

The following examples contrast the phonemes /e/ <**ê**> and /ə/ <**e**>.

/e/ <**ê**> vs. /ə/ <**e**>

225. /e/	< ê >	‘they’ (DIR)
226. /ə/	< e >	‘yes’
227. /des/	< dês >	‘wall’
228. /dəs/	< des >	‘ten’
229. /e ^h rug/	< êrûg >	‘plum’
230. /ə ^h rdiʃ/	< erdiʃ >	‘beard’

1.1.3.2 Central Vowel Phonemes

The following examples contrast the phonemes /ə/ <**e**> and /a/ <**a**>.

/ə/ <**e**> vs. /a/ <**a**>

231. /ləʒ/	< lej >	‘war’
232. /laʒ/	< laj >	‘son’
233. /sə/	< se >	‘hundred’
234. /sa/	< sa >	‘apple’
235. /əz/	< ez >	‘I’ (DIR)
236. /a ^h dir/	< adir >	‘fire’
237. / ^h məʃti/	< məʃtɪ >	‘tomorrow’
238. /mast/	< mast >	‘yogurt’

The following examples contrast the vowels /ə/ <e> and /i/ <ı>.

/ə/ <e> vs. /i/ <ı>

239.	/pər/	<per>	'leaf'
240.	/pır/	<pir>	'full'
241.	/dəst/	<dest>	'hand'
242.	/diʃ'min/	<dışmın>	'enemy'
243.	/əz/	<ez>	'I' (DIR)
244.	/iʃ'piz/	<ışpıj>	'louse'
245.	/wəʃ/	<weş>	'pleasant'
246.	/wiʃk/	<wişk>	'dry'

The following examples distinguish the phonemes /i/ <ı> and /u/ <u>.

/i/ <ı> vs. /u/ <u>

247.	/gıl/	<gıl>	'branch'
248.	/göl/	<gul>	'rose'
249.	/ki'lor/	<kılor>	'(small round) bread'
250.	/ku'tʃə/	<kuçe>	'street'
251.	/fiʃ'qi/	<fişqı>	'(horse) manure'
252.	/piʃ'kul/	<pişkıl>	'(goat) dropping'

1.1.3.3 Back Rounded Vowel Phonemes

The tense vowel /u/ <û> is relatively infrequent in unstressed position and the lax central vowel /u/ <u> is relatively infrequent in stressed position. Nevertheless, they do contrast in stressed and unstressed positions.

/u/ <û> vs. /u/ <u>

253.	/a'lu/	<alû>	'saliva'
254.	/a'yü/	<ağü>	'poison'
255.	/nun'dʒik/	<nûncık>	'fist'
256.	/ku'tik/	<kutık>	'dog'

The following examples contrast the phonemes /u/ <û>, /u/ <u>, and /o/ <o>.

/u/ <u> vs. /u/ <û> vs. /o/ <o>

257.	/du/	<dû>	'smoke'
258.	/do/	<do>	'buttermilk'
259.	/ku/	<kû>	'squash'

260. /xu/	< xu >	‘self’
261. /ko/	< ko >	‘mountain’
262. /por/	< porr >	‘hair’ (of head, coll.)
263. /'purti/	< purti >	‘feather’
264. /nuʃ ^h tə/	< nūšte >	‘talisman’

1.1.3.4 Diphthongs

Six diphthongs result from the sequence of a vowel and a following semivowel: /oj/ <**oy**>, /uj/ <**uy**>, /aj/ <**ay**>, /aw/ <**aw**>, /əj/ <**ey**> and /əw/ <**ew**>. They too must be distinguished from one another and from simple vowels.

The diphthongs /oj/ <**oy**> and /uj/ <**uy**> may be distinguished from one another by the following examples.

/oj/ <**oy**> vs. /uj/ <**uy**>

265. /koj/	< koy >	‘mountains’
266. /a'yuj/	< ağuy >	‘poisons’

The diphthong /əj/ <**ey**> is distinguished from the front vowel /e/ <**ê**> in the following examples.

/əj/ <**ey**> vs. /e/ <**ê**>

267. /əj/	< ey >	‘he’ (OBL)
268. /e/	< ê >	‘they’ (DIR)
269. /pəj/	< pey >	‘behind’
270. /pe/	< pê >	‘together’

The diphthong /əw/ <**ew**> is distinguished from the back vowel /o/ <**o**> in the following examples.

/əw/ <**ew**> vs. /o/ <**o**>

271. /dəw/	< dew >	‘village’
272. /do/	< do >	‘buttermilk’
273. /nəw/	< new >	‘nine’
274. /no/	< no >	‘this’

The following examples distinguish /əw/ <**ew**> from /aw/ <**aw**>.

/əw/ <**ew**> vs. /aw/ <**aw**>

275. /bəw/	< bew >	‘look!’
276. /baw/	< baw >	‘father’ (vocative)
277. /nəw/	< new >	‘nine’
278. /tʃi'naw/	< çınaw >	‘dressed’

The following examples distinguish /əj/ <ey> from /aj/ <ay>.

/əj/ <ey> vs. /aj/ <ay>

279. /əj/	<ey>	'he' (erg)
280. /aj/	<ay>	'she' (erg)
281. /pəj/	<pey>	'behind'
282. /paj/	<pay>	'on foot'

1.1.4 Variants of the Vowels

The most general modification of the vowels is faucalization and lowering that affects any vowel that follows /s^ʃ/ <'s>, /t^ʃ/ <'t>, /h/ <'h>, /ʎ/ <'> and /ʎ/ <'l>. More specific variants of the vowels are described in this section.

1.1.4.1 Variants of Front Vowels

/i/ <i> is a high close front unrounded tense vowel [i]. It is slightly lowered to high-open position and not shortened when adjacent to the postvelar stop /q/ <q>, i.e.

/i/ → [ɪ] / __q , q__

283. /liq/	[lɪq]	<liq>	'bird dropping'
284. /dik/	[dɪk]	<dɪk>	'rooster'
285. /qɪ'rəno/	[qɪ'rəno]	<qirreno>	'he screams'
286. /ki'lo/	[kɪ'lo]	<kilo>	'kilogram'

In postvocalic position /i/ <i> is realized as the semivowel /j/ <y>, i.e.

/i/ → /j/ / V__

For example, the plural morpheme /-i/ <-i> is realized as /-j/ <-y> on nouns which have a singular form ending in a vowel.

287. /ko/	<ko>	'mountain'	→	/koj/	<koy>	'mountains'
288. /dʒa/	<ca>	'bed'	→	/dʒaj/	<caj>	'beds'

When /i/ <i> (or /e/ <ê>) is added to /u/ <û>, however, the semivowel /w/ <w> is inserted between the two.

289. /lu/	<lû>	'fox'	→	/luwi/	<lûwi>	'foxes'
290. /tu/	<tû>	'mulberry'	+	/- ^l eri/	<-êrɪ>	'tree'
			→	/tu ^l weri/	<tûwêrɪ>	'mulberry tree'

Also the sequence /i-i/ <i-i> which becomes /i-j/ <i-y> is further reduced to a simple /i/ <i>, i.e.

/i-i/ → /ij/ → /i/

Thus this sequence of rules gives a noun the singular of which ends in /i/ <i> a homophonous plural.

291.	/ˈkɑrdi/	<kardi>	‘knife’	→	/ˈkɑrdi/	<kardi>	‘knives’
292.	/ˈtʃəfi/	<çefi>	‘scarf’	→	/ˈtʃəfi/	<çefi>	‘scarves’

The /i/ <i> that results from these two rules is no longer than the uncompounded form.

/e/ <ê> is a slightly lowered mid close front unrounded tense vowel [e]. It is not as high and close as are the German and French /e/ and has no offglide as does the nearest English approximation. In closed syllables it becomes slightly lower and more open.

/e/ → [ɛ] / __C .

(where “.” represents a syllable boundary.)

293.	/pe/	[pe]	<pê>	‘each other’
294.	/pet/	[pɛt]	<pêt>	‘fast’
295.	/ne/	[ne]	<nê>	‘these’
296.	/des/	[dɛs]	<dês>	‘wall’

1.1.4.2 Variants of Back Rounded Vowels

/u/ <û> is a high close back rounded tense vowel [u]. It is slightly shorter when unstressed but not as short as /u/ <u> with which it contrasts.

297.	/putʃ/	[putʃ]	<pûç>	‘rotten’ (wood)
298.	/puˈtʃik/	[puˈtʃik]	<pûçik>	‘sock’
299.	/tu/	[tu]	<tû>	‘mulberry’
300.	/tuˈweri/	[tuˈweri]	<tûwêrɪ>	‘mulberry tree’

/o/ <o> is a mid close back rounded tense vowel [o] and has no offglide. It is realized as the semivowel /w/ <w> when unstressed following /ə/ <e> or /a/ <a>.

For example, the third-person singular masculine copula is /o/ <o> but when it follows a word that ends in /ə/ <e> or /a/ <a> it is replaced by /w/ <w>.^{<7>}

/o/ → /w/ / ˈV ____ [+ central] [- high]

301.	/ʃadizˈja/	<ʻadizya>	‘tired’
302.	/ʃadizˈjaw/	<ʻadizyaw>	‘(he) is tired’
303.	/tʃərˈmə/	<çərme>	‘leather’
304.	/tʃərˈməw/	<çərmew>	‘(it) is leather’

1.1.4.3 Variants of Central Vowels

The symbol /ʊ/ <u> represents a high close central rounded lax vowel [ʊ]. It is much more frequent in unstressed syllables but occurs in stressed syllables as well. It has no significant variants other than the faucalization and lowering mentioned at the beginning of this section as being common to all vowels.

305. /kʊnd/	[kʊnd]	< kund >	‘owl’
306. /kʊ'tik/	[kʊ'tik]	< kutik >	‘dog’
307. /a'γʊ/	[a'γʊ]	< ağʊ >	‘poison’
308. /mʊ'səno/	[mʊ'səno]	< museno >	‘(he) learns’

/i/ <i> is a high close central unrounded short vowel. In unstressed position it becomes so short that its existence in a given word is often difficult to establish.

309. /dʒit/	[dʒit]	< cit >	‘pair’
310. /gɪ'rot/	[grot] ~ [gɪ'rot]	< grot >	‘closed’
311. /zi'rɑr/	[zrɑr] ~ [zi'rɑr]	< zırrɑr >	‘loss’

Even when /i/ <i> is clearly established in the past stem of a verb, for example, the vowel is often missing in the gerund formed from that stem due to a shift in stress.

312. /rɑ'mit/	< ramit >	‘drove’
313. /ram'tiʃ/	< ramtıʃ >	‘driving’
314. /ʃi'kit/	< şıkit >	‘broke’
315. /ʃik'tiʃ/	< şıktıʃ >	‘breaking’

When unstressed in word-final position also, the [i] <i> is often not clearly pronounced though it makes the difference between masculine and feminine agreement in a pair such as these:

316. /əj bi'rɑj xʊ kiʃt/	< ey bıray xʊ kıʃt >	‘He killed his own brother.’
317. /əj wɑj xʊ 'kiʃti/	< ey way xʊ kıʃtı >	‘He killed his own sister.’

All nouns which end in unstressed /i/ <i> are feminine in gender though most feminine nouns do not end so.

318. /sa'jeri/	< sayêri >	‘apple tree’
319. /ban'dʒani/	< bancanı >	‘eggplant’
320. /qəj'lani/	< qeylanı >	‘pipe’

In a word like /qəj'lani/ <**qeylanı**> ‘pipe’, the existence of the final unstressed vowel is most noticeable in that it prevents the /n/ <n> from being realized as nasalization of the vowel /a/ <a>.

321. /qəj'lani/	[qəj'lan] ~ [qəj'lani]	< qeylanı >	‘pipe’
322. /bos'tan/	[bos'tɑ̃]	< bostan >	‘garden’

When /i/ <ɪ> is stressed in word-final position, it is always slightly nasalized, i.e.

$$\boxed{/i/ \rightarrow [ī] / ^{(C(C))} _ \#} \quad (\text{where } \# \text{ represents a word boundary.})$$

This comes as no surprise for a word like /min/ [mĩ] <min> ‘I’ (erg), which has a latent final /n/ <n> that appears only when the word is followed by a vowel such as the copula in the following example.

323. /e mino/ <ē mino> ‘That is mine.’

But the nasalization occurs anytime the /i/ <ɪ> is stressed in word-final position and where no latent /n/ <n> exists.

324. /ti/	[tĩ]	<tu>	‘you’ (DIR)
325. /di’di/	[di’dĩ]	<didi>	‘two’
326. /da’ri/	[da’rĩ]	<dari>	‘medicine’

This is not the same as the portmanteau of /n/ <n> after /a/ <a> and /ə/ <e> since adding a vowel suffix does not result in the manifestation of an /n/ <n>. Instead, /j/ <y> is inserted between the two vowels and the /j/ <y> causes /i/ <ɪ> to be replaced by /i/ <ɪ>, i.e.:

$$\boxed{/i/ + V \rightarrow /ij/ V \rightarrow /i/ V}$$

327. /ti/ <tu>	‘you’	+ /-e/ <-ē> (copula)	→ /tije/ <tiyē>	‘you are’
328. /da’ri/ <dari>	‘medicine’	+ /-o/ <-o>	→ /da’rijo/ <dariyo>	‘it is medicine’

When /i/ <ɪ> precedes a glide (/j/ <y> or /w/ <w>) it assimilates to high front position /i/ <ɪ> or to high back rounded position /u/ <û> ^{<8>} depending on whether the glide is front or back in position, i.e.

$$\boxed{\begin{array}{ll} /i/ \rightarrow V & / _ G \\ [+ \text{high}] & [\alpha \text{ back}] \\ [\alpha \text{ back}] & \end{array}}$$

For example, the subjunctive prefix /bi-/ <bi> becomes /bu-/ <bû> when applied to verb stems beginning with /w/ <w>. The examples below show that prefix in its imperative function.

329. /ro’ʃəno/	<roʃeno>	‘he sells’	→ /bi-roʃi/	<bi-roʃi>	‘sell!’
330. /wa’nəno/	<waneno>	‘he reads’	→ /bu-wani/	<bû-wani>	‘read!’
331. /wa’zəno/	<wazeno>	‘he wants’	→ /bu-wazi/	<bû-wazi>	‘want!’

Similarly, when the same prefix is added to /j/ <y>, the vowel /i/ <ɪ> is replaced by /i/ <ɪ>:

332. /’ano/	<ano>	‘he brings’	→ /’bija/	<biya>	‘bring!’
333. /’jəno/	<yeno>	‘he comes’	→ /’biro/	<biro>	‘that he come’

One other allophone of /i/ <i> occurs. /i/ <i> is fronted and lowered to [ɪ] when it follows the alveopalatal semivowel /j/ <y> and is followed by the alveopalatal sibilant /ʃ/ <ʃ>, i.e.

/i/ → [ɪ] / j _ ʃ

This happens frequently when the gerundial suffix /-iʃ/ <-iʃ> is applied to a past stem ending in a vowel.

334. past stem /rot-/ <rot-> + /-ʃ/ <-ʃ> → /ro'tiʃ/ <rotiʃ> 'selling'
cf.
335. past stem /amə-/ <ame-> + /-iʃ/ <-iʃ> → /amjajʃ/ [amjajʃ] <amyayiʃ> 'coming'

The same fronted allophone occurs when /i/ <i> is followed by the sequence /ng/ [ŋ(g)] <ng> such as in the following words.

336. /siŋ/ [siŋ] <siŋ> 'chest'
337. /liŋ/ [liŋ] <liŋ> 'leg'

/ə/ <e> is a mid open central unrounded tense vowel [ə]. It is fronted before or after the semivowel /j/ <y> and after /g/ <g> so that in those positions it is difficult to distinguish it from /e/ <ê>. Native speakers, however, insist that /e/ <ê> does not occur before /j/ <y> and are consistent in their decisions about /ə/ <e> vs. /e/ <ê> in the other positions.

338. /ma'sə/ <mase> 'table'
→ /ma'səj/ [ma'sej] <masey> 'tables'
339. /'jəno/ ['jəno] <yeno> '(he) comes'
340. /'gəno/ ['gəno] <geno> '(he) closes'

Before /r/ <rr> and even more so before /r/ <r> the schwa /ə/ <e> is lowered so that it is difficult to distinguish it from /a/ <a>. In the same position, however, /a/ <a> is also lower than its norm and farther back, preserving the contrast.

341. /pə'rəno/ [pə'rəno] <perreno> '(he) bites'
342. /pə'rəj/ [pə'rej] <perey> 'money'

/a/ <a> is a low central unrounded tense vowel [a]. A word final /a/ <a> is in some sense "weaker" in a polysyllabic word than in a monosyllable. That is, it is replaced by /ə/ <e> when certain suffixes are applied, but the replacement only occurs in polysyllabic words. Stress is not a factor in the distinction. For example, the pluralizing suffix /-i/ <-i> obtains the following results:

343. /sa/ <sa> 'apple' → /saj/ <saj> 'apples'
344. /ga/ <ga> 'bull' → /gaj/ <gay> 'bulls'
345. /man'ga/ <manga> 'cow' → /man'gəj/ <mangey> 'cows'
346. /kəj'na/ <keyna> 'girl' → /kəj'nəj/ <keyney> 'girls'

The difference is not gender, since /sa/ <sa> 'apple' is feminine and /ga/ <ga> 'bull' is, of course, masculine.

Likewise, the feminine Oblique case ending /-əɾ/ <-er> impinges upon word final /a/ <a> only in polysyllabic words. A monosyllable like /sa/ <sa> ‘apple’ receives the case ending only with the insertion of /j/ <y> which preserves the vowel /a/ <a>.

347. /kəj'na/	<keyna>	→	/kəj'nəɾ/	<keyner>	‘girl’ (OBL)
348. /man'ga/	<manga>	→	/man'gəɾ/	<manger>	‘cow’ (OBL)
349. /sa/	<sa>	→	/sa'jəɾ/	<sayer>	‘apple’ (OBL)

Ablaut (vowel change) of Central Vowels

When the past stem of a verb ends in vowel it is usually one of the three unrounded central vowels. When the feminine marker /-i/ <-i> is added to the past stem the stem vowel is subject to ablaut (vowel changing): /i/ <i> → /i/ <î> and /ə/ <e> or /a/ <a> → /e/ <ê>.

350. /bɪ'ɾaj mɪn ʃi/ brother-of me went	<biray mɪn ʃi>	‘My brother went.’
351. /wəj mɪn ʃi/ sister-of me went	<way mɪn ʃi>	‘My sister went.’
352. /bɪ'ɾaj mɪn a'mə/ brother-of me came	<biray mɪn amə>	‘My brother came.’
353. /wəj mɪn a'me/ sister-of me came	<way mɪn amê>	‘My sister came.’
354. /mɪ' dik-e da to/ I rooster-a gave you	<mɪ dikê da to>	‘I gave you a rooster.’
355. /mɪ 'kərg-e de to/ I hen-a gave you	<mɪ kergê dê to>	‘I gave you a hen.’

This fronting is due to the insertion of the semivowel /j/ <y> between the stem vowel and the feminine suffix /i/ <i>.

356. /ʃi/	<ʃi>	+	/-i/ <-i>	→	/*ʃi-j-i/	<*ʃi-y-i>	→	/ʃi/	<ʃi>
357. /a'mə/	<amə>	+	/-i/ <-i>	→	/*a'mə-j-i/	<*amə-y-i>	→	/a'me/	<amê>
358. /da/	<da>	+	/-i/ <-i>	→	/*da-j-i/	<*da-y-i>	→	/de/	<dê>

An adjective that ends in one of the central vowels undergoes the same changes when the feminine marker /-i/ <-i> is added:

359. /'lɑʒo wəɾ'di/	<lajo werdi>	‘boy–small’
360. /kəj'nəj wəɾ'di/	<keynay werdi>	‘girl–small’
361. /bə'rano si'pə/	<berano sipe>	‘ram–white’
362. /'miʒa si'pe/	<miya sipê>	‘ewe–white’

The suffixes involved on both the verbs and the adjectives are historically the same. Insertion of /j/ <y> is a regular means of suffixing vowels to vowels, but in other places it does not result in ablaut (vowel change).

363. /sa/ <sa> + /a/ <a> → /saja/ <saya> ‘apple’ (“ezafe” linking morpheme)
 364. /sa/ <sa> + /ər/ <er> → /sajər/ <sayer> ‘apple’ (OBL case)
 365. /o/ <o> + /o/ <o> → /'ojo/ <oyo> ‘he is’

1.2 Canonical Syllable Structure

Though the transcription on which Mann-Hadank is based was adequate for the study of syllable structure, that topic was not treated by Hadank. Both open and closed syllables are common in Dimili, as evidenced by the following examples.

Open Syllables: CV

366. /no/ <no> ‘this’ (masc. DIR)
 367. /na/ <na> ‘this’ (fem. DIR)
 368. /ti/ <ti> ‘you’ (sg. DIR)
 369. /ma/ <ma> ‘we’ (DIR)
 370. /ne/ <nê> ‘no’

Closed Syllables: CVC

371. /bol/ <bol> ‘very’
 372. /dar/ <dar> ‘tree’
 373. /wəʃ/ <weʃ> ‘nice, pleasant’
 374. /fək/ <fek> ‘mouth’

Both open and closed syllables may begin with a vowel.

Open Syllables: V

375. /o/ <o> ‘that’ (masc. DIR)
 376. /a/ <a> ‘that’ (fem. DIR)
 377. /ə/ <e> ‘yes’
 378. /e/ <ê> ‘they’ (DIR)
 379. /a-dir/ <a-dir> ‘fire’

Closed Syllables: VC

380. /əz/ <ez> ‘I’ (DIR)

381. /əj/	< ey >	‘him’ (OBL)
382. /ɑj/	< ay >	‘her’ (OBL)
383. /əɾ-dʒan/	< er-can >	‘inexpensive’
384. /əm-baz/	< em-baz >	‘friend’

Syllables frequently occur closed by a cluster of two consonants. Again, they may begin with a consonant or without.

Final Cluster: **VCC, CVCC**

385. /əʃt/	< eʃt >	‘threw’	VCC
386. /ɑrd/	< ard >	‘brought’	VCC
387. /dəst/	< dest >	‘hand’	CVCC
388. /wiʃk/	< wiʃk >	‘dry’	CVCC
389. /vəwr/	< vewr >	‘snow’	CVCC
390. /tirʃ/	< tirʃ >	‘sour’	CVCC
391. /hɛrs/	< hɛrs >	‘angry’	CVCC
392. /bɛrz/	< berz >	‘high’	CVCC
393. /dɛrg/	< derg >	‘long’	CVCC
394. /gɛrm/	< germ >	‘hot’	CVCC
395. /tʃilk/	< çilk >	‘drop of liquid’	CVCC
396. /tʃilm/	< çilm >	‘mucous’	CVCC

Syllables that begin with a consonant cluster are not frequent, but certainly do occur. Some of these words are obviously borrowed, such as:

397. /tren/	< trɛn >	‘train’
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But native clusters also occur.^a The phonemes that can occur second in an initial cluster are predominantly liquids and semivowels and they are preceded by voiceless stops. <9>

Initial Clusters: **CCV, CCVC**

398. /pja/	< pya >	‘together’	CCV
399. /klit/	< klit >	‘key’	CCVC
400. /pren/	< prɛn >	‘dress’	CCVC
401. /qwət-li/	< qwət-li >	‘strong’	CCVC-CV

Less common is a fricative followed by a liquid or a semivowel.

^a Comment from the editor of the electronic version (2008): Following Paul (1998a:§20), I would suggest a different interpretation of the initial consonant clusters and consider them to contain the latent vowels /i/ or /u/. I would instead divide words such as examples 398-403 into two syllables: /pɪˈja/, /kɪˈlit/, /pɪrɛn/, /qʊˈwət/, and so on. Todd was also aware of these vowels, and in the next paragraph, he notes a "strong native reaction" against the spelling I have suggested here. From my experience, I have seen that today's authors are mostly aware of the latent vowels and write these syllables out in full. However, in spoken language, the short form is preferred.

402. /zwa/	< zwa >	‘dry’	CCV
403. /xɾav/	< xrav >	‘bad’	CCVC

We have then eight canonical patterns for syllable structure: **V, VC, VCC, CV, CVC, CVCC, CCV** and **CCVC**.

The word /psing/ <**psing**> ‘cat’ is particularly problematic since we have no other example of a CCVCC pattern and since a stop followed by a sibilant is not a typical word-initial cluster. Such clusters need more evidence to substantiate them. At the very least we would need an unambiguous pattern for a CCVCC syllable. In the absence of such evidence it would seem natural to interpret the word as having an unstressed and therefore disappearing vowel /i/ <**ɪ**> between the first two consonants. However, there is strong native reaction against this shape, /*pɪ¹sing/ < ***pis**ing >. ^{<10>}

The syllable-final clusters are more frequent and their composition is less restricted than syllable-initial clusters. The final slot can be occupied by a nasal or a stop, and the preceding slot can be filled by a lateral, a nasal or a voiceless fricative. Restrictions are that the voiced stops only follow voiced consonants and one nasal cannot follow another.

The voiced stops do not frequently occur word final, but when preceded by /r/ <**r**> or /n/ <**n**> they are not so rare in word-final position. As mentioned earlier, /b/ <**b**> never occurs in this position.

404. /dærg/	< dærg >	‘long’
405. /kærg/	< kærg >	‘hen’
406. /ard/	< ard >	‘brought’
407. /særd/	< særd >	‘cold’
408. /liŋg/	< liŋg >	‘leg’
409. /tʃænd/	< çænd >	‘how many?’

Though only voiceless stops can follow voiceless fricatives and sibilants, both voiced and voiceless stops can follow /r/ and /n/.

410. /xint/	< xint >	‘crazy’
411. /tʃænd/	< çænd >	‘how many?’
412. /sært/	< sært >	‘hard, argumentative’
413. /særd/	< særd >	‘cold’

A most unusual cluster occurs in the following word wherein a nasal is followed by a heterorganic fricative:

414. /nimz/	< nimz >	‘low’
-------------	-----------------	-------

Syllable Combinations in Words

The following examples illustrate the most common phonological word shapes for two syllable words in this dialect of Dimili.

415. V-CV	/a ¹ lu/	< alû >	‘saliva’,	/i ¹ ni/	< inî >	‘spring’
416. V-CVC	/a ¹ dir/	< adir >	‘fire’,	/e ¹ gan/	< êgan >	‘nephew’

417.	VC-CV	/əsto/	< esto >	‘exists’ ,	/ɑʃmi/	< aşmi >	‘moon’
418.	VC-CVC	/əm'baz/	< embaz >	‘friend’ ,	/iʃ'piz/	< ışpij >	‘louse’
		/ərdʒan/	< ercan >	‘cheap’ ,	/ar'wes/	< arwês >	‘rabbit’
		/ən'gur/	< engûr >	‘grape’			
419.	VC-CVCC	/ən'gɨʃt/	< engışt >	‘finger’			
420.	VC-CCV	/is'tri/	< ıstri >	‘horn’			
421.	CV-CV	/ʃi'ma/	< şima >	‘you (pl.)’ ,	/'koti/	< koti >	‘where?’
		/hi're/	< hirê >	‘three’			
422.	CV-CVC	/ku'tik/	< kutik >	‘dog’ ,	/hi'res/	< hirês >	‘thirteen’
423.	CV-CVCC	/dʒa'merd/	< camêrd >	‘man’ ,	/tə'piʃt/	< tepişt >	‘caught’
424.	CVC-CV	/məʃti/	< meştı >	‘tomorrow’	/ʃəwra/	< şewra >	‘morning’
		/ʃor'ba/	< şorba >	‘soup’			
425.	CVC-CVC	/diʃ'min/	< dışmın >	‘enemy’ ,	/ləj'læg/	< leyleg >	‘stork’
		/wər'dæg/	< werdeg >	‘duck’			
426.	CVC-CVCC	/kər'kindʒ/	< kerkınc >	‘crayfish’			
427.	CCV-CV	/'klito/	< klito >	‘it is locked’			
428.	CCVC-CV	/plox'na/	< ploxna >	‘squeezed’			

Polysyllabic words do not begin with a syllable that ends in two consonants: VCC or CVCC except in cases of compound words such as /hərg'ʃəw/ <**hergşew**> ‘each night’. When at the juncture of two syllables a single consonant is encountered, it is the initial consonant of the second syllable. When two consonants are there encountered, the boundary of the syllables lies between the two.

When three consonants are encountered and the word is not a compound, the boundary lies between the first and the second.

Words of More Than Two Syllables

Three syllable and, mostly with conjugated verbs, four syllable words occur in Dimili but are composed of the above syllable types in patterns that do not differ substantially from the combinations encountered in words of two syllables.

429.	/ala'wit/	< alawıt >	‘kneaded’	V-CV-CVC
430.	/mıri'tʃik/	< mıriçık >	‘bird’	CV-CV-CVC
431.	/ista'nık/	< ıstanık >	‘story’	VC-CV-CVC
432.	/vəriʃ'nənan/	< verişnenan >	‘I split’	CV-CVC-CV-CVC

1.3 Stress

Though stress is marked on the Dimili throughout Mann-Hadank, stress per se was not discussed. No subsequent study of stress was done, perhaps because of the difficulty of ascertaining the reliability of the stress markings in Mann-Hadank. It is now clear that the marking of stress in Mann-Hadank is quite reliable. It is also clear that though stress is largely predictable, it is not completely predictable. Therefore in strictly phonological terms it is phonemic. ^{<11>}

However there are subclasses of words where stress is in some measure predictable based on morphology and/or semantics. For example, the stress on a noun most frequently falls on the last syllable.

433.	/is-ta- ¹ rə/	<is-ta-re>	‘star’
434.	/mi-ri- ¹ tʃik/	<mi-ri-çık>	‘bird’
435.	/tʃa- ¹ kutʃ/	<ça-kûç>	‘hammer’
436.	/hu- ¹ wə/	<hû-we>	‘shovel’
437.	/pos- ¹ tal/	<pos-tal>	‘shoe’

But a subclass of nouns (feminine nouns of two or three syllables ending in /i/ <i> or /i/ <i>) is stressed on the penultimate syllable.

438.	/aʃ-mi/	<aş-mi>	‘moon’
439.	/pür-ti/	<pur-ti>	‘feather’
440.	/zin-dʒi/	<zın-ci>	‘nose’
441.	/kar-di/	<kar-di>	‘knife’
442.	/zə-ri/	<ze-rrı>	‘heart’
443.	/qəj ¹ lani/	<qeylanı>	‘pipe’
444.	/ban ¹ dʒani/	<bancanı>	‘eggplant’
445.	/ha ¹ ləti/	<’haleti>	‘plow’

There are also masculine and feminine nouns that end in stressed /i/ <i> and masculine nouns that end in stressed /i/ <i>. Thus it appears that at one time stress may have been predictable until some feminine suffixes interfered with the pattern.

446.	/tʃəfi/	<çefi>	‘scarf’
447.	/ʃami/	<şami>	‘supper’
448.	/lu ¹ li/	<lûli>	‘flute’ (fem)
449.	/dʒə ¹ ni/	<ceni>	‘woman’ (fem)
450.	/az ¹ mi/	<azmi>	‘sky’ (masc)
451.	/i ¹ ni/	<ını>	‘spring’ (masc)
452.	/kelin ¹ ti/	<kêlintı>	‘scythe’ (masc)

Suffixation does not affect the placement of stress unless the suffix itself carries an inherent stress. Thus a noun that is stressed on the last syllable will be stressed on the same syllable even when a suffix renders that syllable the penultimate rather than the ultimate.

453.	/tʃa ¹ kutʃ/	<çakûç>	‘hammer’
454.	/tʃa ¹ kutʃi/	<çakûçi>	‘hammers’

A stressed suffix, on the other hand, will replace the normal stress on a noun. For example, the definite plural Olique case ending /-¹an/ <-an> is always stressed.

455.	/tʃaku ¹ tʃan/	<çakûçan>	‘the hammers’ (OBL)
456.	/əngi ¹ tan/	<engıştan>	‘the fingers’ (OBL)
457.	/dər ¹ dan/	<derdan>	‘the problems’ (OBL)

Stress is also contrastive in adjectives and adverbs.

Adjectives

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|------------|
| 458. /wər'di/ | < wər di > | 'small' |
| 459. /'maki/ | < maki > | 'feminine' |

Adverbs

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 460. /'bi-ro/ | < bi -rro > | 'day-after-tomorrow' |
| 461. /bin-'tə-ro/ | < bin-te -rro > | 'second day after tomorrow' |
| 462. /vi-'zər/ | < vi -zêr > | 'yesterday' |
| 463. /'fi-na/ | < fi -na > | 'again' |
| 464. /he-'di/ | < hê -di > | 'slowly' |

Verbal stress is predictable. It falls on the last syllable of stem unless a prefix such as the subjunctive prefix /bi-/ <**bi**->, or a negative prefix supercedes this pattern. The following examples show the placement of stress on various verb forms based on the past stem /virɑʃt-/ <**virɑʃt**-> 'made'.

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 465. /ej vi'raʃt/ | < êy virɑʃt > | 'He made it.' |
| 466. /ej vi'raʃto/ | < êy virɑʃto > | 'He has made it.' |
| 467. /ej vi'raʃt vi/ | < êy virɑʃt vi > | 'He had made it.' |
| 468. /ej vi'raʃte/ | < êy virɑʃtê > | 'He was making it.' |

The following examples show the placement of stress on present verb stems.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| 469. /o virɑ'zən-o/ | < o virɑzen-o > | 'He makes it.' | (stem: /viraz-/ < viraz ->) |
| 470. /əzan mu'sən-an/ | < ezan mûsen-an > | 'I am learning.' | (stem: /mus-/ < mûs ->) |

When the subjunctive prefix /bi-/ <**bi**-> occurs it is always stressed whether it is used in the subjunctive sense, in the future tense, or in the imperative.

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 471. /o zano 'bīramo./ | < o zano bīramo > | 'He knows how to drive.' |
| 472. /o do 'bīramo./ | < o do bīramo > | 'He will drive.' |
| 473. /'bīrami!/ | < bīrami > | 'Drive!' |

Verbs that do not accept the subjunctive prefix are still affected by the stress change associated with it in contexts that demand subjunctive or imperative forms.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| 474. /o neʃəno 'ravəro/ | < o nêʃeno ravêro > | 'He can't pass.' |
| 475. /o do 'ravəro/ | < o do ravêro > | 'He will pass.' |
| 476. /'ravəri!/ | < ravêri > | 'Pass!' |

Negative prefixes also supercede the stem-final stress pattern, both the negative prefix /ne-/ <**nê**-> and the injunctive prefix /mə-/ <**me**->.

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 477. /o 'nezano./ | < o nêzano > | 'He doesn't know.' |
| 478. /'mərami!/ | < merami > | 'Don't drive!' |

Endnotes to Chapter One

1. The pharyngeal is so light that I didn't detect it until the native speaker asked whether I had ever noticed that the words "fire" and "tired" did not begin the same. He then pronounced both words with the above distinction. Though the difference is slight, it is quite important as his psychological distinction cannot be based on any accustomed spelling. The dialect is not normally written and when it is written, no such distinction is made. Nor is any similar distinction made in writing Turkish or German, the languages in which the individual is literate. He does not consider all words with /ʕ/ <'> to be of foreign origin.

2. There is apparently a negative semantic component associated with this particular phoneme:

/tɑʎ/	<ta'l>	'bitter'
/tʃiʎm/	<ç'i'lm>	'mucous'
/ləjm/	<'ləym>	'pus'
/ləj'min/	<'ləymɪn>	'filthy'
/ʎir/	<'ʎir>	'rat'
/'ʎindʒi/	<'ʎinci>	'mud'

3. Counter-examples exist that clearly come from outside influence such as occupational titles that have Turkish /-dʒi/ <-ci>: /qələ'dʒi/ <qelaci> 'blacksmith'; /bojə'dʒi/ <boyeci> 'shoeshine boy'. Another counter-example is /hɑdʒhɑdʒik/ <hachacik> 'swallow' where the second /dʒ/ <c> is intervocalic but is not fricativized. The name is based upon the Arabic /ħɑɑdʒdʒ/ 'pilgrim' due to the bird's migratory habits. Perhaps that identification plays a part in the resistance to the phonological rule. A counter example that is closer to home is the name of a neighboring tribe, /bi'dʒɑx/ <Bicax>.

4. On one occasion and only one, I clearly heard my friend fricativize the /d/ <d> in intervocalic position. The word was /odə/ <ode> 'room' from Turkish /oda/ <oda>, and the speech was informal in style. The resulting allophone of /d/ <d> was a voiced dental fricative made with the blade of the tongue on the back of the upper teeth [ð].

/no oðə oðəjendo wəʃo/
 [no oðə oðəjendo wəʃo]
 <no ode oðeyêndo weʃo>
 'This room is a nice room.'

5. The word /panʒ/ <panj> 'five' is an exception to this rule: [pãʒ] . The word /pan'dʒes/ <pancês> 'fifteen' is not exceptional: [pan'dʒes].

6. It could be that nasalization is in the process of becoming phonemic for this particular dialect of Dimili. There is a class of nouns ending in unstressed /i/ <i> all of which are feminine. The unstressed /i/ <i>, however, is rarely pronounced except in careful isolation for me, a foreigner trying to learn the language. In words such as /qəj'lanɪ/ <qeylanɪ> 'pipe' and /ban'dʒanɪ/ <bancanɪ> 'eggplant' when the ending is dropped it has a lingering effect in that the words are pronounced with a word-final [an] and not [ã]. As such they provide a step toward contrast with words such as /bos'tan/ <bostan> 'garden' and /din'dan/ <dɪndan> 'tooth' which end in phonemic /an/ <an> and are pronounced [ã].

/qeɟˈlanɪ/	[qeɟˈlan] ~ [qeɟˈlanɪ]	< qêylanı >	‘pipe’
/banˈdʒanɪ/	[banˈdʒan] ~ [banˈdʒanɪ]	< bancanı >	‘eggplant’
/bosˈtan/	[bosˈtā]	< bostan >	‘garden’
/dɪnˈdan/	[dɪnˈdā]	< dından >	‘tooth’

The man whose dialect this represents objects to representing the nasalization with a word final /n/ <n>. He is quite aware that the nasalized /a/ is different than plain /a/ and points out that it makes the important difference between the third person singular feminine and first person singular in the verb conjugation.

/ʃɪna/	[ʃɪna]	< şına >	‘She goes.’
/ʃɪnan/	[ʃɪnā]	< şınan >	‘I go.’

Nevertheless, he pronounces such words as /banˈdʒanɪ/ <**bancanı**> so often without the final vowel that he must conceive of the shorter form as an alternate phonemic shape /banˈdʒan/ <**bancan**> and thus in contrast with such words as /bosˈtan/ <**bostan**>.

He would prefer a diacritic over the nasalized vowel at least in verb inflections. Nouns ending in /n/ <n> are frequently followed by vowel suffixes, thus making it apparent to him that an /n/ <n> in the orthography is justified.

Hadank (1932:107 f.) records first-person singular inflection as /-an/ <**-an**> and says nothing about the /n/ <n> being dropped or modified. He also cites verbs from Lerch (on p. 113) and Le Coq (on p. 112) with no /n/ <n> on the first-person singular inflection.

Friends of A’s from a village only 10 kilometers from his in Turkey, but whose market town is Cermik rather than Siverek, have been available for comparison. They too drop the final vowel of words like /banˈdʒanɪ/ <**bancanı**> but they pronounce all word-final /n/’s, <n>’s even in words such as /bosˈtan/ <**bostan**>.

7. In recent literature in Dimili native authors write the copula as a separate word and preserve the identity of the morpheme by keeping the /o/ <o> shape. For example, in the poem “Welat Welat” by Seyid Qaji (*Hevi* 1:1983, p. 91-92) much of the rhyme scheme is based on the third-person copula /o/ <o> which is written as a separate word throughout the poem.

Such are matters of practical orthography and do not necessarily conflict with the above analysis. There is no evidence from either phonology or morphology that would force us to interpret the copula as a separate word. In fact, the above modification of /o/ <o> to /w/ <w> is less likely to have an effect across a word boundary than with in a single word.

Further evidence that the copula is a suffix and not a separate word is the fact that the latent /n/ <n> is pronounced when followed by the copula but not when followed by a separate word beginning with a vowel.

/eˈmɪno/	[eˈmɪno]	< ê mɪno >	‘That is mine.’
/mɪn ant/	[mɪ̃ ant]	< mɪn ant >	‘I pulled.’

8. One would expect the lax /i/ <ɪ> to be modified to the lax /ʊ/ <u> rather than the tense /u/ <û>. Perhaps in unstressed position it would do so, but the examples discovered to date involve the stressed subjunctive prefix.
9. I have frequently recorded what I consider to be initial clusters with voiced stops such as /bra/ <bra> ‘brother’ and /grot/ <grot> ‘closed’. Native speakers, however, insist that there is a short vowel /i/ <ɪ> in between. It is likely that they are reacting to the voicing of the stop which continues throughout the cluster.
10. In Sorani Kurdish there exists a related word /pʃilə/ ‘cat’, that causes similar problems with Sorani canonical syllable patterns which allow *no* initial clusters. Wahby and Edmonds, in their dictionary (p.110) and Joyce Blau in her *Manuel de Kurde* (p. 254) resolve the problem by inserting the short high central vowel between the two consonants but native speakers have used that word (in personal discussions with me) to argue that initial consonant clusters do exist in Sorani. It is likely that this is an echoic word based on the call for cats. Sorani speakers call a cat with a rapid repetition of /pʃi, pʃi, pʃi/ <pṣi, pṣi, pṣi>, while Dimili speakers use /psi, psi, psi/ <psi, psi, psi>.
11. Stress, however, does not carry a very significant burden in the distinction of lexical items from one another and would probably not be of great value if represented in the practical alphabet.

CHAPTER TWO

MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Nouns

Nouns are inflected for case, number, specificity, and *ezafe*. In addition they have gender. The cases are *direct*, *oblique*, *locative*, and *vocative*. The genders are *masculine* and *feminine*. And the specificities are *specific*, *nonspecific*, and *indefinite*. *Ezafe*, which is the traditional Persian term for the nominal linking morpheme, is phonologically bound to the noun but functions syntactically at the phrase level. Not all possible combinations of the above categories are reflected in distinct affixes. On the one hand some categories are unmarked in the presence of others and on the other hand two or more inflectional categories are often expressed in a single portmanteau morpheme.

2.1.1 Gender

All nouns are either masculine or feminine. Most nouns have inherent gender. However, some nominal roots have variable gender, i.e. they may function as either masculine or feminine nouns.

On most nominal roots gender is not overtly marked, but is apparent from agreement with verbs and adjectives and in the *ezafe* morphemes. Hadank (1932:63-64) reported optional gender markers. In fact they turn out to be subject clitics that mark progressive action (section 3.2.2.1). The gender of some nouns is observable from their phonemic shapes. Nouns which end in unstressed /i/ <i> or /i/ <i> are always feminine in gender and those which end in stressed /ə/ <e> or /i/ <i> are always masculine. But when a noun ends in stressed /i/ <i> or in a consonant its gender cannot be determined from its phonemic shape.

The grammatical gender of animate nouns reflects the biological sex of the referent as in Table 2.01.

TABLE 2.01 GENDER OF ANIMATE NOUNS

<u>masculine</u>			<u>feminine</u>		
‘man’	/dʒɑˈmerd/	< camêrd >	‘woman’	/dʒəˈni/	< ceni >
‘boy’	/laʒ/	< laj >	‘girl’	/kəjˈna/	< keyna >
‘bull’	/ga/	< ga >	‘cow’	/manˈga/	< manga >
‘Simko’	/simˈko/ (mpn)	< Simko >	‘Berivan’	/ˈberivan/ (fpn)	< Bêrivan >
‘husband’	/mərˈdə/	< merde >	‘sister’	/wa/	< wa >

Nouns denoting professions, occupations and societal roles have variable gender depending on the sex of the referent. One kinship term also has variable gender. Variable gender is also used for many animals, especially non-domestic animals.

TABLE 2.02 VARIABLE GENDER NOUNS

	<u>masculine</u>		<u>feminine</u>		
'animal dealer'	/dʒam'baz/	< cambaz >	/dʒam'baz/	< cambaz >	
'magician'	/ser'baz/	< sêrbaz >	/ser'baz/	< sêrbaz >	
'farmer'	/dʒi'ter/	< çitêr >	/dʒi'ter/	< çitêr >	
'neighbor'	/əmîr'jan/	< emıryan >	/əmîr'jan/	< emıryan >	
'maternal uncle'	/xal/	< xal >	'maternal aunt'	/xal/	< xal >
'lion'	/ʃer/	< şêr >	'lioness'	/ʃer/	< şêr >
'snake'	/mar/	< mar >		/mar/	< mar >
'rabbit'	/ar'wef/	< arwêş >		/ar'wef/	< arwêş >

The biological sex of animals, especially of domestic animals, is distinguished by words that often show no historic relationship to one another. One of each pair of words is normally used as the generic term. Again, gender is unmarked.

TABLE 2.03 ANIMAL SEXES AND GENDER

	<u>masculine</u>		<u>feminine</u>		<u>generic</u>	
'goat'	/kəl/	< kel >	/'biz/	< bız >	f	
'horse'	/bər'gır/	< bergır >	/is'it'or/	< ı'stor >	f	
'dog'	/ku'tik/	< kûtık >	/dəl/	< del >	m	
'wolf'	/vərg/	< verg >	/dəl'vərg/	< delverg >	m	
'rooster'	/dik/	< dik >	'hen'	/kərg/	< kerg >	f
'ram'	/bə'ran/	< beran >	'ewe'	/mi/	< mi >	f
'partridge'	/zə'rəʒ/	< zerej >		/ma'ri/	< mari >	m

Inanimate nouns have invariable grammatical gender.

TABLE 2.04 GENDER OF INANIMATE NOUNS

	<u>masculine</u>		<u>feminine</u>		
'mattress'	/do'ʃəg/	< doşeg >	'ash'	/wəl/	< wel >
'ear'	/goʃ/	< goş >	'beard'	/ər'diʃ/	< erdiş >
'book'	/pir'tok/	< pirtok >	'foot'	/ling/	< ling >
'door'	/kəj'vər/	< keyver >	'grape'	/ən'gur/	< engûr >
'hand'	/dəst/	< dest >	'moon'	/aʃmi/	< aşmi >
'eye'	/tʃim/	< çım >	'feather'	/purti/	< pûrti >
'key'	/klit/	< klit >	'knife'	/kardi/	< kardi >
'knee'	/sa'qə/	< saqe >	'nose'	/zindʒi/	< zinci >
'bone'	/is'it'ə/	< ı'ste >	'apple tree'	/sa'jeri/	< sayêri >
'face'	/ri/	< rı >	'pipe'	/qəj'lani/	< qeylani >
'feces'	/gi/	< gi >	'flute'	/lu'li/	< lûli >

Homophones exist that are distinguished by gender.

1. /la/	< la >	[masculine]	'thread'
2. /la/	< la >	[feminine]	'river'
3. /qol/	< qol >	[masculine]	'arm'
4. /qol/	< qol >	[feminine]	'shirt'
5. /nan/	< nan >	[masculine]	'bread', (generic) 'food'
6. /nan/	< nan >	[feminine]	'a loaf of bread'
7. /dar/	< darr >	[masculine]	'trees', (generic) 'woods'
8. /dar/	< darr >	[feminine]	'tree'

2.1.2 Number

Nouns are unmarked for the singular and marked with the unstressed suffix /-i/ <-i> in the plural.

9. /roʒ/	< roj >	'day'	/roʒ-i/	< roj-i >	'days'
10. /pir'tok/	< pirtok >	'book'	/pir'tok-i/	< pirtok-i >	'books'

The plural morpheme is required in a noun phrase that contains a numeral higher than one.

11. /panʒ 'roʒ-i/	< panj roj-i >	'five days'
12. /panʒ pir'tok-i/	< panj pirtok-i >	'five books'

For morphophonemic variations of the plural morpheme when applied to nouns that end in vowels, see section 1.4, Variants of the Vowels.

The unmarked noun also serves as the generic.

13. /dʒam'baz	hər	heri'nəno,	biz	heri'nəno,	man'ga	heri'nəno/
< cambaz	her	hêrineno,	biz	hêrineno,	manga	hêrineno >
dealer	donkey	buys,	goat	buys,	cow	buys
'An animal dealer buys donkeys, goats, and cattle.'						

2.1.3 Case and Specificity

Dimili has two primary formal cases which perform a variety of syntactic and semantic functions, (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:54). The morphologically unmarked case is *direct*. The morphologically marked case is *oblique*. In addition there are two cases which are occasionally distinguished in some nouns, *locative* and *vocative*. Oblique forms are only distinguished from direct forms when the noun is specific.

The following inflections denote nouns in the Oblique (OBL) case that are specific in reference.

TABLE 2.05 CASE INFLECTIONS FOR NOUNS THAT ARE SPECIFIC

	masculine	feminine	plural
DIRECT	∅	∅	-i <-i>
OBLIQUE	-i <-i>	(- ^l ər <-er>)	- ^l an <-an>
LOCATIVE	∅	-i <-i>	∅

The feminine inflection for Oblique specific nouns is in parenthesis because it is more often than not omitted. That is, the meaning of the following two examples is identical but the one without the case ending of the feminine noun is the form normally used by A. <1>

14. /əzan wə'zənan ne bər'gɪr-i u na is^st^sor 'biherinan/
 <ezan wazenan nê bergir-i û na i'stor bihêrinan>
 I(DIR) want this stallion(OBL) and this mare(OBL) buy
 'I want to buy this stallion and this mare.'
15. /əzan wə'zənan ne bər'gɪr-i u na is^st^so^r-ər 'biherinan/
 <ezan wazenan nê bergir-i û na i'stor-er bihêrinan>
 I(DIR) want this stallion(OBL) and this mare(OBL) buy
 'I want to buy this stallion and this mare.'

Feminine proper nouns, however, never take the case ending in the Oblique case.

16. /beriv'an əz 'dijan/
 <Bêrivan ez diyan>
 Berivan(OBL) me(DIR) saw
 'Berivan saw me.'
17. /ʃi'ma nɑ'rin silas'nəne?/
 <şima Narin silasnenê >
 you(pl) Narin know (acquaintance)
 'Do you know Narin?'

The following examples illustrate the masculine singular Oblique case ending for definite nouns. Note that the masculine proper names Cheleng and Simko are marked for case.

18. O, nonpast /ʃi'ma 'ʃəne tʃə'ləŋ-i 'bivine /
 <şima şenê Çeleng-i bivinê >
 you(DIR) can Cheleng(OBL) see
 'Are you(pl) able to see Cheleng?'
19. St, past /sim'ko-j 'min-re ard/
 <Simko-y min-rê ard>
 Simko(OBL) me-to brought
 'Simko brought it to me.'

Locative Case

There is a remnant of a third case that occurs only on feminine nouns when they are specific and the goal of motion. The case marker is the unstressed suffix /i/ <ɪ>.

20. /ma-je ʃine soj'ræg-i/ (/soj'ræg/ <soyreg> is feminine)
 <ma-yê ʃinê Soyreg-ɪ>
 we-imperf. go Siverek-LOC
 'We are going to Siverek.'
21. /ma-je ʃine 'səmbul/ (/səmbul/ <sembûl> is masculine)
 <ma-yê ʃinê Sembûl>
 we-imperf. going Istanbul
 'We are going to Istanbul.'
22. /zəw tırku əw zəw dımi'li pja ʃine suki/
 <jew Tırkû ew jew Dımili pya ʃinê sūkı>
 one Turk and one Dimili together go city-LOC
 'A Turk and a Dimili are going to the city together.'
23. /o sukra vidz'jənə ʃino 'dəw-i/
 <o sūkra vicyeno, ʃino dəw-ɪ>
 he city-from comes-out, goes village-LOC
 'He comes out of the city and goes to the village.'

With nonspecific reference, the suffix is not used.

24. /o-jo ʃino suk/
 <o-yo ʃino sūk>
 he-prog. goes city
 'He is going to town.'

Vocative Case

Two kinship terms have completely different forms for vocative use:

	DIR	OBL	Vocative
25. 'father'	/pi/ <pi>	/pet/ <pêr>	/baw/ <baw>
26. 'mother'	/ma/ <ma>	/mar/ <mar>	/daj/ <daj>

While the Direct and Oblique case forms of the above parental terms are cognates with Persian /pe'dər/ 'father' and /ma'dər/ 'mother', the vocative forms are cognate with the normal Sorani and Kirmanji words.

	'father'	'mother'
27. Kirmanji	/bav/ <bav>	/de/ <dê>
28. Sorani	/baw/ <baw>	/daj/ <daj>

Only three other special vocative forms appear in the corpus; all are masculine and all end in unstressed /o/ <o>.

29. /'dədə/ <dədə> 'uncle!'
 30. /'kalo/ <kalo> 'old fellow!'

31. /'kəko/ <**keko**> 'older brother!'

/l'dədo/ <**dedo**> is obviously derived from /dəd/ <**ded**> '(paternal) uncle' but the use of the vocative has been extended to addressing strangers respectfully. Likewise, /'kalo/ <**kalo**> is derived from /kal/ <**kal**> 'greybeard' and is used for addressing old men. /'kəko/ <**keko**> is primarily used for addressing one's older brother but the use is extended to other male relatives and close friends. It certainly cannot be derived from /kək/ <**kek**> which means 'flea'!

Personal names are made vocative simply by stressing the first syllable.

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| <u>masculine</u> | | <u>feminine</u> | |
| 32. /tʃə'ləŋ ʃi/ | /tʃələŋ .bəwni/ | 33. /bə'dəw ʃi/ | /bədəw be/ |
| < Çeleng şı > | < Çeleng, bəwni > | < Bedew şı > | < Bedew, bê > |
| 'Cheleng went.' | 'Cheleng, look!' | 'Bedew went.' | 'Bedew, come!' |

Oblique Case of Special Kinship Terms

Some kinship terms are exceptional in that they form the Oblique case from the Direct by adding /-r/ <-r> regardless of gender (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:59, Windfuhr, 1976:10). There is also an occasional vowel change associated with this case marking such as seen below in the words "father" and "daughter."

The kinship terms involved and their case forms are shown below. Since kinship terms are peculiar in that they are usually expressed as someone's father, someone's sister, etc., the words are almost always found in an ezafe construction unless they are used as vocatives.

TABLE 2.06 SPECIAL KINSHIP TERMS

	DIR	OBL	OBL. PL.
mother	/ma/ < ma >	/mar/ < mar >	/ma'ran/ < maran >
father	/pi/ < pi >	/per/ < pêr >	/pe'ran/ < pêran >
sister	/wa/ < wa >	/war/ < war >	/wa'ran/ < waran >
brother	/bi'ra/ < bıra >	/bi'rar/ < bırar >	/bıra'ran/ < bırran >
daughter	/kəj'na/ < keyna >	/kəj'nər/ < keyner >	/kəjnə'ran/ < keyneran >
wife	/dʒə'ni/ < ceni >	/dʒə'ner/ < cenêr >	/dʒəne'ran/ < cenêran >

Other kinship terms exist which do not exhibit this exceptional case formation.

TABLE 2.07 ORDINARY KINSHIP TERMS

	DIR	OBL
son	/laʒ/ < laʒ >	/laʒi/ < laʒi >
uncle (maternal)	/xal/ < xal >	/xali/ < xali >
brother-in-law	/za'ma/ < zama >	/za'maj/ < zamaj >
cousin	/xal'za/ < xalza >	/xal'zaj/ < xalzaj >

Table 2.08 presents a summary of the case inflections for nouns that are specific including those for special kinship terms.

TABLE 2.08 SUMMARY OF CASE INFLECTIONS

	MASCULINE	FEMININE	PLURAL
DIRECT	∅	∅	-i <-i>
OBLIQUE	-i <-i>	(- ^l ər <-er>)	- ^l an <-an>
KINSHIP OBL.	-r <-r>	-r <-r>	- ^l ran <-ran>
LOCATIVE	∅	-i <-i>	∅

Specificity

Nouns do not take the Oblique case markers when the reference is indefinite and nonspecific.

34. /ti bər'gir rɑ'məne is^st^or rɑ'məne/
 <**ti bergir ramenê, i^sstor ramenê**>
 you(DIR) stallion(OBL) ride mare(OBL) ride
 'Do you ride a stallion or a mare?'

35. /dʒi^lter xas ro'nano/
 <**ci^têr xas ronano**>
 farmer(DIR) artichokes(OBL) plants
 'A farmer plants artichokes.'

But the case endings are required with definite reference. Hadank (1932:65) listed a definite suffix /-e/ <-ê> that is unattested in this dialect.

36. /^ləzan bər'gir-i rɑ'mənan/
 <**əzan bergir-i ramenān**>
 I(DIR) stallion(OBL) ride
 'I am riding the stallion.' (there being only one)

The following examples illustrate the plural inflection for Oblique nouns that are specific.

37. /kur^ld-an ^lwini ^lnediyo/
 <**Kûrd-an wini nêdiyo**>
 Kurds(OBL) thus not-seen-have
 'The Kurds haven't seen any such thing.'
38. /e ^lʃije tîr^lk-an mjan/
 <**ê ʃiyê türk-an myan**>
 they (DIR) went Turks(OBL) among
 'They went among the Turks.'
39. /^ləzan ne man^lg-an ^lbivirnan/
 <**əzan nê mang-an bivirnan**>
 I(DIR) these cows(OBL) butcher
 'I will butcher these cows.'

40. /ma bərgi'r-an rɑ'məne is^ʕt^ʕo'r-an rɑ'məne/
 <ma bergir-an ramenê r'stor-an ramenê>
 we(DIR) stallions(OBL) ride, mares(OBL) ride
 'Shall we ride the stallions or the mares?' (there being only two of each and two of us)

In the above example it is noteworthy that the OBL-plural-specific suffix is applied to both /is^ʕt^ʕo'r/ <r'stor> 'mare' which is feminine and /bərgi'r/ <bergir> 'stallion' which is masculine. Singular feminine nouns, even when definite, are often unmarked in the Oblique case as was mentioned earlier.

When a plural noun is in a context that requires Oblique case, but is not specific, it is marked with unstressed /-i/ <-i> for plurality but the case is not expressed.

41. /o wɑ'zəno is^ʕt^ʕori 'biherino/
 <o wazeno r'stori biherino>
 he(DIR) wants horse-s buy
 'He wants to buy horses.'
42. /ma zə'rəʒ-i 'gəne/
 <ma zerej-i genê>
 we(dir) partridge-s get
 'We get partridges.'

The following two examples contrast the /-i/ <-i> plural marker in the Oblique case with the Oblique plural inflection for specific or definite reference. On the basis of such sentences we cannot say that we have two plural markers, /-i/ <-i> for Direct case and /-an/ <-an> for Oblique. Rather, we must conclude that /-i/ <-i> is the simple plural suffix while /-an/ <-an> is a portmanteau of Oblique case and plural. Hadank (1932:60) treats /-an/ <-an> as a plural portmanteau morpheme as in this analysis.

43. /o do di man'gə-j 'bivirno/
 <o do di mange-y bivirno>
 he will 2 cows(OBL) butcher
 'He will butcher two cows.'
44. /o do di man'g-an 'bivirno/
 <o do di mang-an bivirno>
 he will 2 cows(OBL) butcher
 'He will butcher the two cows.'

The pattern of use of direct and oblique case forms can be summarized in terms of their specificity and syntactic functions as in Table 2.09.

TABLE 2.09 CASE FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

Functions:	NOM	ACC	ABS	ERG	POSTP
NONSPECIFIC	dir	dir	dir	dir	
SPECIFIC	dir	obl	dir	obl	obl

The syntactic functions referred to here will be fully discussed in section 3.2.

Specific But Not Necessarily Definite

Between the notions of definite and indefinite lies the very useful concept of specific but indefinite as in the English, ‘There was a certain man.’ That is, while all definite references are specific, not all indefinite references are nonspecific. Specific means that the referent is known to the speaker but assumed unknown to the addressee.

That the concept of specific-but-indefinite is grammatically significant has already been established for Persian (Windfuhr, 1979:37) and for Turkish (Lewis, 1967:37). It is also significant for Dimili.

For example, the word /kəs/ <**kes**> means ‘someone’ as subject of a positive clause or ‘no one’ as subject of a negative clause. As such it is clearly indefinite.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----------------|-----|---------------------|---------------|
| 45. | /kəs | ɑ'mə-w/ | 46. | /kəs | 'nino/ |
| | < kes | ame-w > | | < kes | nino > |
| | one | came-is | | one | not-comes |
| | ‘Someone has come.’ | | | ‘No one is coming.’ | |

It is also indefinite in its frequent use as a pronoun comparable to the German “man” and English “one.” ‘Man kann das nicht essen.’ ‘One cannot eat this.’

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 47. | /kəs | bol | i's'ot | 'burosə | pi'zə-j | 'kəs-i | tə'wəno/ |
| | < kes | bol | i'sot | būrose | pize-y | kes-i | teweno > |
| | one(DIR) | lots | pepper | eat-if | stomach-EZ | one(OBL) | hurts |
| | ‘If one eats a lot of hot peppers his stomach hurts.’ | | | | | | |

The word /kəs/ <**kes**> occurs in both the Direct and in the Oblique case in the above example. In the Oblique case it accepts the case ending /-i/ <**-i**> that does not normally occur on indefinite nouns. In fact, /kəs/ <**kes**> always receives the case marker /-i/ <**-i**> when in the Oblique case.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| 48. | /'kəs-i | ma | 'ne-di-jo/ |
| | < kes-i | ma | nê-di-yo > |
| | one-(OBL) | us | not-see-is |
| | ‘No one has seen us.’ | | |

Therefore /kəs/ <**kes**> is specific though indefinite and the Oblique case endings occur on specific-indefinite referents as well as on definite referents.

The use of Oblique case endings with specific-indefinite reference is further substantiated by the occurrence of the singular Oblique case ending on the interrogative pronoun /kam/ <**kam**> ‘who, which’ that can certainly not be construed to be definite.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----|---------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| 49. | /kam | ɑ'mə-w/ | 50. | /'kam-i | əz | 'dijan/ |
| | < kam | ame-w > | | < kam-i | ez | diyan > |
| | who(DIR) | came-is | | who(OBL) | me(DIR) | saw |
| | ‘Who has come? Which one has come?’ | | | ‘Who saw me? Which one saw me?’ | | |

Though the identity of the person is unknown to the speaker in the above examples, the interrogative pronoun is specific and requests specific information.

2.1.4 Indefinite Suffix

Nouns may take an unstressed suffix /-e/ <-ê> (or /-en/ <-ên> before other suffixes) if they are indefinite. At times the suffix is accompanied by the number one (/zəw/ <jew> (m) or /zu/ <jû> (f)). At other times the number ‘one’ acts as an indefinite article with no accompanying suffix (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:71).

51. /ma do 'roʒ-e 'to-re 'viraze/
 <ma do roj-ê to-rê virazê>
 we(DIR) will day-a you-for make
 ‘We will make it for you one day.’
52. /'wəxt-e zəw za'lim-e bəno/
 <wext-ê jew zahm-ê beno>
 time-a one overlord-a is-being
 ‘One time there was an overlord.’
53. /zəw 'tirku əw zəw dimi'li pja 'ʃine 'suk-i/
 <jew Tirkû ew jew Dimili pya şinê sük-ı >
 one Turk and one Dimili together go city-LOC
 ‘A Turk and a Dimili are going to the city together.’

Hadank (1932:66) records /-en/ <-ên> for the indefinite suffix in Siverek and /-e/ <-ê> in Zaza of Kor. The current findings show word-final /n/ <n> being lost generally (see section 1.1.2.2). This morphophonemic pattern accounts for the allomorphy of /-e/ <-ê> word-finally and /-en/ <-ên> before ezafe. The fact that the indefinite suffix is now /-e/ <-ê> word-finally probably explains the loss of the definite suffix /-e/ <-ê> Hadank (1932:65) recorded (cf. section 2.1.3 above).

54. /na tʃaj 'tʃaj-en-da 'wəʃ-a/
 <na çay çay-ên-da weş-a>
 this tea tea-a-EZ good-is
 ‘This tea is a good tea.’
55. /o mərdim mərdim-en-do 'rind-o/
 <o merdım merdım-ên-do rınd-o>
 this man man-a-EZ good-is
 ‘This man is a good man.’

Not recorded by Hadank is the fact that the non-final form of the indefinite suffix can have plural reference.

56. /ne 'qətʃi 'qətʃ-en-de a'qil-i/
 <nê qeçi qeç-ên-dê aqıl-i>
 these kids kids-some-EZ clever-are
 ‘These children are (some) clever children!’

2.1.5 Ezafe Morphemes

The term “ezafe” refers to linking morphemes that are phonologically bound to the noun but which perform a syntactic function in relating that noun to a following modifier. In Dimili the ezafe morphemes distinguish gender and number of the noun to which they are bound and are of three types: descriptive, genitive, and subordinated. Hadank (1932:71-74) says ezafe is used for linking both substantives and adjectives to nouns, he notes the gender distinctions and describes ezafe morphemes as originating from relative pronouns but he does not precisely describe which forms are used for which functions. The descriptive ezafe links a noun with a following adjective. The genitive ezafe links a noun

with a following noun or pronoun in a genitive relationship. Subordinated ezafe refers to special forms used for either a descriptive or a genitive ezafe when the entire phrase is subordinated by some external structure.

TABLE 2.10 EZAFE MORPHEMES

	DESCRIPTIVE	GENITIVE	SUBORDINATED
MASCULINE			
cons. stem	-o <-o> ^b	-e <-ê>	-de <-dê>
vowel stem	-jo <-yo> ^{<2>}	-j <-y>	-de <-dê>
FEMININE			
cons. stem	-a <-a>	-a <-a>	-da <-da>
vowel stem	-ja <-ya>	-j(a) <-y(a)>	-da <-da>
PLURAL			
cons. stem	-e <-ê>	-e <-ê>	-de <-dê>
vowel stem	-j <-y>	-j <-y>	-de <-dê>

The feminine genitive ezafe with a vowel stem is obligatorily reduced to /-j/ <-y> when used with /ma/ <ma> ‘mother’ and /wa/ <wa> ‘sister’. It is optionally reduced to /-j/ <-y> on polysyllabic nouns. Elsewhere it remains /ja/ <ya>. When the masculine genitive ezafe is applied to /pi/ <pi> ‘father’ it becomes /-j/ <-y> and then coalesces with the vowel /i/ <i> so that no change is perceived.^{<3>}

These suffixes replace the plural /-i/ <-i> and the masculine Oblique /-i/ <-i> but follow the other case inflections. The following examples are intended only to display the inflection of the noun. The syntactic functions of ezafe are presented in Chapter Three.

Descriptive Ezafe — Consonant Stem

57. /zə'rəʒ/ < **zerej** > ‘partridge’ /zə'rəʒ-o gird/ < **zerej-o gird** > ‘large partridge’
 58. /tʃaj/ < **çay** > ‘tea’ /tʃaj-a 'gərmı/ < **çay-a germı** > ‘hot tea’
 59. /gıl/ < **gıl** > ‘branch’ /gıl-e 'dərɡi/ < **gıl-ê dergi** > ‘long branches’

Descriptive Ezafe — Vowel Stem

60. /bi'vo/ < **bıvo** > ‘glue’ /bi'vo-jo rınd/ < **bıvo-yo rınd** > ‘good glue’
 61. /sa/ < **sa** > ‘apple’ /sa-ja wəʃi/ < **sa-ya weşı** > ‘good apple’
 62. /tu/ < **tû** > ‘mulberry’ /tu-je ʃirini/ < **tû-yê şirni** > ‘sweet mulberries’

Genitive Ezafe — Consonant Stem

63. /ban/ < **ban** > ‘house’ /'ban-e ma/ < **ban-ê ma** > ‘our house’
 64. /der/ < **dêr** > ‘song’ /'der-a to/ < **dêr-a to** > ‘your song’
 65. /qol/ < **qol** > ‘arm’ /'qol-e aj/ < **qol-ê ay** > ‘her arms’

^b Comment from the editor of the electronic version (2008): The ezafe morphemes have further differentiation not described by Todd. If a masculine descriptive ezafe is applied to a noun phrase in the allative case (goal of motion), the allomorph /-do/ is used. If a masculine descriptive ezafe is applied to a noun phrase which serves as a specific object, the allomorph /-e/ is used (see Paul, 1998a:§51).

Genitive Ezafe — Vowel Stem

66.	/is ^s t ^s ə/	< i'ste >	'bone'	/is ^s t ^s ə-jəj/	< i'ste-y ey >	'his bone'
67.	/pi/	< pi >	'father'	/pimin/	< pi min >	'my father'
68.	/sa/	< sa >	'apple'	/sa-jamin/	< sa-ya min >	'my apple'
69.	/so ^v va/	< sova >	'stove'	/so ^v va-jma/	< sova-y ma >	'our stove'
70.	/sa/	< sa >	'apple'	/sa-jmin/	< sa-y min >	'my apples'
71.	/bi ^r ra-r/	< bira-r >				'brother' (OBL)
72.	/bi ^r rar-de min-ra/	< bīrar-dê min-ra >				'from my brother'
73.	/ʔərə ^v va/	< 'ereva >				'car'
74.	/ʔərə ^v va-da min-ra/	< 'ereva-da min-ra >				'from my car'
75.	/əmba ^z -an/	< embaz-an >				'friends' (OBL)
76.	/əmba ^z -an-de min-ra/	< embaz-an-dê min-ra >				'from my friends'

2.2 Pronouns

Pronouns are of five basic types: deictic, systematic personal, anaphoric, extra-systemic, and interrogative. In addition to these five pronoun types is the suffix /k/ <**k**> which functions as a relative pronoun.

The categories of inflection for pronouns are person, number, gender, case and for the deictic pronouns and third-person personal pronouns with which they overlap, near and far deixis.

2.2.1 Deictic Pronouns

Besides near and far deixis, deictic pronouns distinguish the two major cases: Direct and Oblique, two genders: masculine and feminine, and two numbers: singular and plural.

Table 2.11 presents the full paradigm of deictic pronouns (cf. Hadank, 1932:69).

TABLE 2.11 DEICTIC PRONOUNS

		NEAR	FAR
MASCULINE	DIR	no < no >	o < o >
	OBL	nəj < ney > (dʒi < ci >)	əj < ey > (dʒi < ci >)
FEMININE	DIR	na < na >	a < a >
	OBL	naj < nay > (dʒi < ci >)	aj < ay > (dʒi < ci >)
PLURAL	DIR	ne < nê >	e < ê >
	OBL	ninan < ninan > (dʒi < ci >)	inan < inan > (dʒi < ci >)

The generic anaphoric pronoun /dʒi/ <ɔ> that is common to all Oblique case deictic pronouns regardless of number or gender is used when the pronoun refers to a party whose identity is already established. This will be treated and exemplified in section 2.2.3.

77. /no 'jəno/
 <no yeno>
 this-m comes
 'This one comes.'
78. /ɑ 'neʃina/
 <a nêʃina>
 that-f not-goes
 'That one does not go.'
79. /tʃə'ləŋ do nɑj 'bivirno/
 <Çeleng do nay bivirno>
 Cheleng will this-f butcher
 'Cheleng will butcher this one.'
80. /no i'nan 'dʒikəno/
 <no inan cikenə>
 this-f those(OBL) cuts-off
 'This one cuts those off.'

2.2.2 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns in Dimili distinguish three persons (first-, second- and third-person), two numbers (singular and plural), and two cases (Direct and Oblique) (cf. Hadank, 1932:66). The third-person personal pronouns overlap with the deictic system. The third-person pronouns included in Table 2.12 below are identical with the deictic pronouns. Thus, the third-person personal pronouns distinguish near and far deixis and, in the singular, distinguish two genders (masculine and feminine). Unlike Kirmanji which distinguishes gender only in the Oblique case third-person singular pronouns, Dimili distinguishes gender for third-person singular in both the Direct and the Oblique cases.^{<4>}

TABLE 2.12 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	DIR	OBL	DIR	OBL
1st per.	əz <ez>	min <min>	ma <ma>	
2nd per.	ti <ti>	to <to>	ʃi'ma <ʃima>	
3rd per.				
masc. near	no <no>	nɑj <ney> (dʒi <ɔ>)	ne <nê>	ni'nan <ninan> (dʒi <ɔ>)
far	o <o>	əj <ey> (dʒi <ɔ>)	e <ê>	i'nan <inan> (dʒi <ɔ>)
fem. near	na <na>	nɑj <nay> (dʒi <ɔ>)	ne <nê>	ni'nan <ninan> (dʒi <ɔ>)
far	ɑ <a>	ɑj <ay> (dʒi <ɔ>)	e <ê>	i'nan <inan> (dʒi <ɔ>)

From the table it is clear that case is not distinguished in the plural pronouns of first- or second-person.^{<5>} The charts in Hadank (1932:66-67) reflect the same lack of formal case distinction. The examples below show those pronouns in contexts that require both Oblique and Direct cases, but the pronouns have only one form each.

81. /ma 'ʃije wə'lat/
<**ma** **ʃiyê** **welat**>
we(DIR) went country
'We went back to the homeland.'
82. /dɪ'ler ma vi'nəno/
<**Dilêr** **ma** **vineno**>
Diler us(OBL) sees
'Diler sees us.'
83. /ʃi'ma 'ʃine dɪ'hədi hət/
<**ʃima** **ʃinê** **A'hmedi het**>
you(DIR) go Ahmed 'chez'
'Are you going to Ahmed's?'
84. /za'ra ʃi'ma silas'nəna/
<**Zara** **ʃima** **silasnena**>
Zara you(OBL) knows (acquaintance)
'Zara knows you (pl).'

The second-person plural pronoun /ʃi'ma/ <**ʃima**>, as in Persian, is often used as a more polite way of addressing one person.

The other personal pronouns distinguish between Direct and Oblique cases. The function of the cases is as described previously for nouns. Since pronouns are always definite (and specific) the Oblique case forms are always used where one expects them on syntactic grounds. Examples below show direct case pronouns.

85. /əz 'ʃijan kə'jə/
<**əz** **ʃijan** **keye**>
I (DIR) went home
'I went home.' (Si)
86. /o za'ra vi'nəno/
<**o** **Zara** **vineno**>
he(DIR) Zara sees
'He sees Zara.' (St)
87. /ti 'ʃine kə'jə/
<**ti** **ʃinê** **keye**>
you(DIR) go home
'You go home.' (Si) (habitual action)
88. /no 'kərg-e bir'nəno/
<**no** **kərg-ê** **birrneno**>
he(DIR) hen-a butchers
'He butchers a hen.' (St)
89. /e 'jəne tja/
<**ê** **yənê** **tja**>
they(DIR) come here
'They come here.' (Si)

The examples below show oblique case pronouns.

90. /a'zado mɪn vi'nəno/
<**Azado** **mɪn** **vineno**>
Azad(DIR) me(OBL) sees
'Azad sees me.'
91. /sim'ko to silas'nəno/
<**Simko** **to** **silasneno**>
Simko(DIR) you(OBL) knows(acquaintance)
'Simko knows you.'
92. /tʃə'ləŋ wə'zəno əj 'bikiʃo/
<**Çeleng** **wəzəno** **əj bikiʃo**>
Cheleng(DIR) wants her(OBL) he-kill
'Cheleng wants to kill her.'
93. /sim'ko do i'nən 'nekiʃo/
<**Simko** **do inən** **nêkiʃo**>
Simko will them not-kill
'Simko will not kill them.'
94. /ne mɪn vi'nəne/
<**nê** **mɪn** **vinenê**>
they(DIR) me(OBL) see
'They see me.'

One function of the near versus far deixis distinction may be the marking of same logical subject versus new logical subject in narrative material. That is, when two third-person referents are alike in number

and gender, they can be kept distinct by using near deixis when the logical subject of one clause is also the logical subject of the following clause but using far deixis when the logical subject of the second clause is the other referent.

For example, in Text 2, “The Frog,” in Appendix B the narrator uses the near deictic pronoun /no/ <no> to refer to the man in the first pronominal reference to him. But when he switches back to the man after the clause in which the frog is logical subject, he uses the far deictic pronoun /o/ <o> of the man.

Likewise in paragraph 2 of Text 4 “The Mufti and Cadi” are referred to by near deixis three times in succession. But after the old man spoke to them the next reference to them is by means of far deixis.

There are also seeming counter-examples such as the first paragraph of Text 6 that may be due to other factors involved in setting the scene in a narrative. More research needs to be done on this topic.

2.2.3 Anaphoric Pronouns

There are two anaphoric pronouns: the generic anaphoric Oblique case pronoun /dʒi/ <ci> and the reflexive pronoun /xu/ <xu>. Both are uninflected. Hadank (1932:67-68) listed various forms of the generic anaphoric pronoun which are unattested in this dialect.

2.2.3.1 The Generic Anaphoric Pronoun

The generic Oblique case pronoun /dʒi/ <ci> that is common to the third-person personal pronouns and deictic pronouns regardless of gender or number, unlike the others such as /əj/ <ey>, /əj/ <ay>, and /i'nan/ <inan>, cannot appear as logical subject of a clause. The function of /dʒi/ <ci> is to refer back to a previous third-person referent (noun or pronoun) whose number and gender is already established.

Mann (1932:67-68) found numerous forms /dʒoi/ <coy>, /dʒəi/ <cey>, /dʒe/ <çê> in addition to /dʒi/ <ci> and described their various pronominal functions and noted that there is no “Nominativ” i.e. direct case form. In the present research /dʒi/ <ci> is the only attested form used for personal reference. However, the conjunctive expression /'qande dʒoj/ <qandê coy> ‘because of that’ and the conjunction /dʒora/ <cora> ‘therefore’ apparently incorporate forms of these pronouns that are no longer used of persons.

When only one third-person referent is relevant in a particular context, /dʒi/ <ci> is the Oblique case pronoun that will be used (except as logical subject). The Oblique case pronouns that distinguish gender, number, and nearness (nəj <nay>, əj <ay>, inan <inan>, nəj <ney>, etc.) are used if more than one third-person referent occurs in order to distinguish them from one another.

95. /a'li vi'zer a'mə min hət ʔarə'va-j dʒi bol wəʃ bi/
 <Ali vizêr ame min het. 'areva-y ci bol weş bi>
 Ali yest. came me 'chez'. car(DIR) him(OBL) very nice existed
 'Ali came to visit me yesterday. He had a really nice car.'

96. /dʒə'ni zi 'biro sə 'əzan tʃaj 'bijaran dʒi vər/
 <ceni zi biro se, ezan çay biyaran ci ver>
 woman too come if, I tea bring her(OBL) before
 'If a woman comes too, I will bring her tea.'

2.2.3.2 The Reflexive Pronoun

There is also an invariable reflexive pronoun /xu/ <xu> which must be distinguished from the pronoun /dʒi/ <ci>.⁶ The reflexive pronoun, like /dʒi/ <ci>, is never used for subject and refers back to a previously established referent. However, the reflexive pronoun is not restricted to third person and the generic pronoun /dʒi/ <ci> does not have reflexive reference.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|-------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 97. /'əzən 'lɑʒ-de
<ezan laj-dê
I(DIR) son(OBL)
'I will tell my son.' | 'xu-re
xu-rê
own(OBL)-to
tell | 'vɑʒan/
vajan | 98. /'fək-e xu
<fek-ê xu
mouth-EZ own(OBL)
'Open your mouth.' | 'aki/
akı
open |
|--|---|-------------------------|--|-----------------------------|

The reflexive pronoun always refers back to the subject of the same clause, including the implied subject of an imperative as seen in the latter example above. In such a sentence /to/ <to> cannot be substituted for /xu/ <xu>; the reflexive pronoun is obligatory.

- | | | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| 99. /zə'rəʒ tʃi'man-e
<zerej çıman-ê
partridge eyes(OBL)
'The partridge closes its eyes.' | xu
xu
own
closes | 'gəno/
geno | 100. /lu 'fək-e xu
<lû fek-ê xu
fox mouth own
'The fox opens its mouth.' | 'akəna/
akəna
opens |
|--|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---|----------------------------------|

Though it cannot occur as subject of a clause, the reflexive pronoun occurs in contexts that demand either the DIR or OBL case but without any change of form.

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| 101. /ɑj xu
<ay xu
she(OBL) self(DIR)
'She saw herself.' | di/
di
saw | 102. /o 'xu-re
<o xu-rê
he(DIR) self(OBL)-to
'He says to himself ...' | 'vano/
vano
says |
|---|-------------------------|--|-------------------------------|

The generic anaphoric pronoun, on the other hand, can refer to a referent that was established in a previous sentence even if it was not the subject of that clause.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|--------------------|---|--|
| 103. /əz 'ʃijən
<ez ʃıyan
I went
'I went to visit Ahmed. His uncle was there, too.' | ah'mædi hæ
A'hmedi het.
Ahmed(OBL) chez. | hət
het. | 'dæd-e dʒi
ded-ê ci
uncle him(OBL) | zi əw'ʒɑ vi/
zi ewja vı
too there was |
|--|---|--------------------|---|--|

2.2.4 Extrasystemic Pronouns

A few pronouns exist which may be remnants of an earlier system in that they overlap somewhat with the current pronoun system and in some cases have restricted usage.

1.) /təj/ <tey> is a pronoun that A identifies as a contraction of or substitute for /dʒi di/ <ci di> with the meaning of “in it” or “with him” as shown in the following examples. By itself /di/ <di> means “in”.

- | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 104. /o 'lɑʒ-e xu təj
<o laj-ê xu tey
he son-EZ own with-him
'He took his son with him.' | bærd/
berd
took | 105. /o 'lɑʒ-e xu dʒi di
<o laj-ê xu ci di
he son-EZ own him with
'He took his son with him.' | bærd/
berd
took |
|---|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|

According to A the above two sentences are equal in every way, but the first of the two is the one he first used. He gave the second one as an explanation of the first. Also he has often used sentences like

106. /ʃə'kær təj 'əsto/
 <ʃeker tey esto>
 sugar in-it exists
 'There is sugar in it.'

But I have not heard him use /dʒi di/ <ci di> in that context.

In conjunction with a few verbs, two extrasystemic personal pronouns occur. Both are third-person singular, do not distinguish gender and both begin with /p/ <p>. It is likely that both consist of an otherwise unattested pronoun /*pi/ <*pɪ> plus a postposition.^{<7>}

2.) /pi'ro/ <piro> is used in conjunction with the verb 'give' in expressions that mean 'hit' or 'kick' and with the verb 'be' in an expression that means 'reach for' or 'take hold of'.

107. /o 'bəno pi'ro qirindʒ'lə 'kəwno a dəst/
 <o beno piro qırıncle kewno a dest>
 he being it-to frog falls to hand
 'He reaches for it and catches a frog.'

108. /əj dəst da pi'ro/
 <ey dest da piro>
 he hand gave it-to
 'He hit it.'

cf.

109. /əj dəst da 'dʒi-re/
 <ey dest da ci-rê>
 he hand gave him-to
 'He shook his hand.'

110. /əj pəj de pi'ro/
 <ey pay dê piro>
 he foot gave him-to
 'He kicked him.'

When the object of such verbs is a noun or a pronoun other than third-person singular, it receives just the postposition /-ro/ <-ro>.

111. /əj dəst da tʃə'ləŋ-i-ro/
 <ey dest da Çeleng-i-ro>
 he hand gave Cheleng(OBL)-to
 'He hit Cheleng.'

112. /əj dəst da min-ro/
 <ey dest da min-ro>
 he hand gave me-to
 'He hit me.'

3.) The other extrasystemic pronoun is /pa/ <pa> which occurs as locational GOAL of the verb /na'jiʃ/ <nayış> 'put, place'.

113. /min dəst na pa/
 <min dest na pa>
 I(OBL) hand put it-on
 'I rested my hand on it.'

114. /e na'mə 'nane pa 'kurdistan/
 <ê name nanê pa Kurdistan>
 they name put her-on Kurdistan
 'They name her Kurdistan.'

It is possible that the reciprocal pronoun /pe/ <pe> has its origin in the same base.^{<8>} This pronoun is distinct from the postposition /pja/ <pya> ‘together’ though Mann-Hadank (1932:68) demonstrate a reciprocal pronoun /pia/ <pia>.

115. /di təmə'fili a'me pe/
 <di təməfili amê pê>
 2 vehicles came together (reciprocal)
 ‘Two vehicles crashed (into) each other.’

116. /di təmə'fili a'me pja/
 <di təməfili amê pya>
 2 vehicles came together
 ‘Two vehicles came together (in convoy).’

2.2.5 Interrogatives

A number of interrogative pronouns and adverbs exist in Dimili, only one of which is inflected (cf. Hadank, 1932:70). As mentioned earlier in conjunction with the topic of specificity. The interrogative pronoun /kam/ <kam> ‘who’ or ‘which’ is marked in the OBL case as if it were a masculine noun. The others do not vary with case.

TABLE 2.13 INTERROGATIVES

‘where’	/koti/	<koti>
‘when’	/kin'ga/	<kɪŋga>
‘who’	/ke/ (oblique)	<kê>
‘who; which’	/kam/	<kam>
‘how many’	/tʃənd/	<çənd>
‘how’	/se'nin/	<sênin>
‘what’	/'tʃitʃi/	<çitçi>
‘when’	/kəj/	<key> ^c
‘what’ [with masc. copula]	/tʃitʃ/	<çitç>
‘why’ [what for]	/'tʃitʃire/	<çitçi rê>
‘what’ [in conjunction with “say” or “do”]	/'sə-/	<se->

The examples below illustrate those interrogatives whose use may not be clear from the chart above.

117. /'ojo 'sə-kəno/
 <oyo se-keno>
 he(DIR) what-does
 ‘What is he doing?’

119. /o 'tʃitʃ-o/
 <o çitç-o>
 that-m what-is
 ‘What is that?’

118. /i'nan-re ʃi'ma 'sə-vane/
 <inan-rê şima se-vanê>
 those-to you(pl) what-say
 ‘What do you call those?’

120. /a 'tʃitʃi-ja/
 <a çitçi-ya>
 that-f what-is
 ‘What is that?’

^c Editor's remark (2nd edition): We have found <çi waxt>, <çi m'hal> instead of <key>; also <qandê çitçi> for ‘why’ [because of what].

121. /kəs ni'nan se'nin vira'zəno/
 <kes ninan sênin vırazeno>
 one these how makes
 'How does one make these?'
122. /ʃi'ma se'nin-e/
 <şıma sênin-ê>
 you(pl) how-are
 'How are you?'

The two words for “when” seem to be used interchangeably but not the two words for “who.” /ke/ <kê> is used only in the Oblique case and is distinct in meaning from /'kami/ <kami> in the OBL case. /ke/ <kê> is more open ended “who,” while /'kami/ <kami> is used to ask “which of these” when the speaker is already certain that one of them is the answer to his question. For direct case only /kam/ <kam> is used, whether to mean ‘who’ or ‘which’.

123. /ke bi'ra-j min kiʃt/
 <kê bira-y mın kişt>
 who brother-EZ me killed
 'Who (on earth) killed my brother?'
124. /'kami bi'ra-j min kiʃt/
 <kami bira-y mın kişt>
 who brother-EZ me killed
 'Which one killed my brother?'
125. /ʔəm'baz-e to kam-o/
 <'embaz-ê to kam-o>
 friend-EZ you who-is
 'Who is your friend?'

2.2.6 The Relative Pronoun

In Dimili there is only one relative pronoun and it consists of a suffix /-k/ <-k>. It is not inflected and its use will be treated in Chapter Three. Hadank (1932:71, 98) recorded this form with a following vowel /ki/ <ki>. Such a form is unattested in this dialect.^d

2.3 Adjectives

There are three types of adjectives: descriptive adjectives, deictic adjectives and numerals. The descriptive adjective is inflected only for gender and number to agree with the noun it modifies. The deictic adjective is inflected for case and deixis in addition to gender and number. The numerals are not inflected.

2.3.1 Descriptive Adjectives

The descriptive adjective agrees in number and gender with the head noun of the NP which it modifies (cf. Hadank 1932:74). The inflections are shown in Table 2.14.

^d Editor's remark (2nd edition): We have found both, the isolated form /ki/ and the suffix /-k/.

TABLE 2.14 ADJECTIVAL INFLECTIONS

	Singular	Plural
masculine	Ø	-i <-i>
feminine	-i <-i>	

Examples of the adjectival concordance on consonant-final stems follow.

126. /'vərg-o gird/
 <verg-o gird>
 wolf-EZ large
 'large wolf'
127. /dəl'vərg-a 'gird-i/
 <delverg-a gird-i>
 she-wolf-EZ large-fem.
 'large she-wolf'
128. /'vərg-e 'gird-i/
 <verg-ê gird-i>
 wolf-EZ large-pl.
 'large wolves'

The above concordance is often obscured by syntactic functors such as those shown below which express progressive sub-aspect (Aktionsart) and which will be treated in section 3.2.2.1.

129. /'vərg-o 'gird-o 'jəno/
 <verg-o gird-o yeno>
 wolf-EZ big-prog. comes
 'The big wolf is coming.'
130. /dəl'vərg-a 'gird-a 'jəna/
 <delverg-a gird-a yena>
 she-wolf-EZ big-prog. comes
 'The big she-wolf is coming.'

Adjectives that end in the central vowels /i/ <i> and /ə/ <e> undergo morphophonemic changes when the concordance morphemes are applied to them. An adjective that ends in /i/ <i> when in agreement with a masculine noun, ends in /i/ <i> when in agreement with a feminine or a plural noun.

131. /'vərg-o wər'di/
 <verg-o werdi>
 wolf-EZ small
 'small wolf'
132. /dəl 'vərg-a wər'di/
 <del verg-a werdi>
 she-wolf-EZ small-f.
 'small she-wolf'
133. /'vərg-e wər'di/
 <verg-ê werdi>
 wolf-EZ small-pl
 'small wolves'

The rule for the change in the plural /i/ <i> + /i/ <i> → /i/ <i> is a general rule in Dimili and is amply demonstrated by the application of the plural /i/ <i> to nouns ending in /i/ <i> as shown in section 1.4 Variants of the Vowels. To arrive at /i/ <i> by combining /i/ <i> and /i/ <i> as in the case of the feminine agreement above, we must posit an intermediate stage where the two central vowels were separated by epenthetic /j/ <y> : /*wər'di-j-i/ <*werdi-y-i>.

Similarly, the adjectives that end in /ə/ <e> when in agreement with masculine nouns end in /e/ <ê> when in agreement with feminine and plural nouns. An epenthetic /j/ <y> explains the feminine agreement: /*si'pə-j-i/ <*sipe-y-i> → /si'pe/ <sipê>.

134. /vərg-o si'pə/
 <verg-o sipe>
 wolf-EZ white
 'white wolf'
135. /vərg-a si'pe/
 <verg-a sipê>
 she-wolf-EZ white
 'white she-wolf'

One would expect that the plural morpheme /-i/ <-i> on a noun and the plural agreement inflection /-i/ <-i> on an adjective would appear the same on similar stems. Due to grammaticalization (Kenstowicz and Kisseberth, 1977:74) of the above elision rule, however, they do not appear the same on stems ending in the vowel /ə/ <e>.

136. /vərg-e si'pe/
 <verg-ê sipê>
 wolf-plEZ white
 'white wolves'
 cf.
137. /sɑ'qə/ <saqe> 'knee' → /sɑ'qə-j/ <saqey> 'knees'
138. /pi'zə/ <pize> 'stomach' → /pi'zə-j/ <pizey> 'stomachs'

2.3.2 Deictic Adjectives

Deictic adjectives always precede a noun and though they have the same basis as the deictic pronouns, they present a much reduced system. In the plural, the only distinction maintained is near versus far; case is distinguished on the accompanying noun, but not on the plural deictic adjective. The case distinction is also lost for the feminine singular. The oblique masculine singular adjectives are homophonous with the universal plural forms, but the corresponding deictic *pronouns* are distinguished by the difference between /e/ <ê> and /əj/ <ey>.

Table 2.15 presents the deictic adjectives. Though the deictic pronouns distinguish twelve separate forms, the deictic adjectives present only six.

TABLE 2.15 DEICTIC ADJECTIVES

		NEAR	FAR
MASCULINE	Direct	no <no>	o <o>
	Oblique	ne <nê>	e <ê>
FEMININE	DIR & OBL	na <na>	a <a>
PLURAL	DIR & OBL	ne <nê>	e <ê>

The following examples contrast some of the deictic adjectives with the corresponding deictic pronouns.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>139. /na kəj'nə-r tʃaj 'ardi/
 <na keyne-r çay ardi>
 this girl(OBL) tea brought
 'This girl brought the tea.'</p> | <p>142. /nəj pir'tok-e həri'na/
 <ney pirtok-ê herina>
 this(OBL,m) book-a bought
 'This one bought a book.'</p> |
| <p>140. /nəj tʃaj 'ardi/
 <nay çay ardi>
 this(OBL,f) tea brought
 'This one brought the tea.'</p> | <p>143. /ne mərd'man pir'tok-i həri'naj/
 <nê merdman pirtok-i herinay>
 these people(OBL) book-s bought
 'These people bought books.'</p> |
| <p>141. /ne mərd'im-i pir'tok-e həri'na/
 <nê merdim-i pirtok-ê herina>
 this person(OBL,m) book-a bought
 'This person bought a book.'</p> | <p>144. /ni'nən pir'tok-i həri'naj/
 <ninan pirtok-i herinay>
 these(OBL) book-s bought
 'These ones bought books.'</p> |

2.3.3 Numerals

2.3.3.1 Cardinal Numerals

The numerals “three” /hire/ <hirê> and “ten” /dəs/ <des> have received attention in the past for their archaic phonemic shapes (Hadank, 1932:24). Hadank (1932:76-79) was lacking many of the numerals for Siverek though he included extensive comparative tables of numerals from other dialects.

The number one distinguishes gender: /zəw/ <jew> for masculine and /zu/ <jû> for feminine. Hadank (1932:75) comments on the two forms but does not relate them to gender distinction. The number two /di'di/ <didi> drops one syllable when followed by a noun. And the numbers 11 through 19 have alternate forms compounded with an element of “ten” either preposed or postposed. The /u/ <û> means ‘and’ in combinations such as /dəsu' zəw/ <desûjew> ‘eleven (ten-and-one)’ and /vistupanz/ <vist û panj> ‘twenty-five’.

TABLE 2.16 CARDINAL NUMERALS

1 /zəw/, /zu/	<jew>, <jû>	11 /zəndəs/, /dəsu'zəw/	<jandes>, <desûjew>
2 /di'di/, /di/	<didi>, <di>	12 /du'wes/, /dəsudi'di/	<dûwês>, <desûdidi>
3 /hi're/	<hirê>	13 /hi'res/, /dəsuhire/	<hirês>, <desûhirê>
4 /tʃə'har/	<çe'har>	14 /tʃa'res/, /dəsutʃə'har/	<çarrês>, <desûçe'har>
5 /panz/	<panj>	15 /pan'dzəs/, /dəsupanz/	<pancês>, <desûpanj>
6 /ʃəʃ/	<şeş>	16 /ʃi'jes/, /dəsu'ʃəʃ/	<şiyês>, <desûşeş>
7 /həwt/	<'hewt>	17 /həw'tes/, /dəsu'həwt/	<'hewtês>, <desû'hewt>
8 /həʃt/	<'heşt>	18 /həʃ'tes/, /dəsu'həʃt/	<'heştês>, <desû'heşt>
9 /nəw/	<new>	19 /nə'wes/, /dəsu'nəw/	<newês>, <desûnew>
10 /dəs/	<des>	0 /tʃi'nijo/	<çiniyo>
20 /vist/	<vist>	100 /sə/	<se>
30 /hi'ris/	<hiris>	1000 /hə'zar/	<'hazar>
40 /tʃəw'rəs/	<çewres>	1,000,000 /mil'jon/	<milyon>

50 /pan'dʒas/	< pancas >	21 /vist u ʒəw/	< vist û jew >
60 /ʃəʃ'ti/	< şesti >	25 /vist u panʒ/	< vist û panj >
70 /həw'taj/	< 'hewtay >	129 /sə u vist u nəw/	< se û vist û new >
80 /həʃ'taj/	< 'heştay >	200 /di səj/	< dı sey >
90 /nə'waj/	< neway >	210 /di səj u dəs/	< dı sey û des >
		2000 /di hə'zari/	< dı 'hazari >
		2010 /di hə'zar u dəs/	< dı 'hazar û des >

Noteworthy is the pluralization of the numbers 100 /sə/ <se> and 1000 /hazar/ <'hazar> when more than a single hundred or thousand is designated. The plural marker is used on 'thousand' only when the number is a multiple of a thousand while the plural marker is used on 'hundred' in all combinations above 199. See Table 2.16 above.

2.3.3.2 Ordinal Numerals

Another similarity between numbers and nouns in Dimili is the way in which the ordinal numbers are derived. The ordinal numbers are formed from the cardinal numbers by applying the same suffix /^l-in/ <-in> that is used to form an adjective from a noun. See section 2.6.4. An exception to this rule is /sif'tə/ <**sifte**> 'first' probably from Arabic /istiftaah/ 'inauguration'.

TABLE 2.17 ORDINAL NUMERALS

/sif'tə/	< sifte >	'first'	/ʃəʃ'in/	< şşın >	'sixth'
/di'din/	< dıdın >	'second'	/həw'tin/	< 'hewtın >	'seventh'
/hire'jin/	< hirêyın >	'third'	/həʃ'tin/	< 'heştın >	'eighth'
/tʃə'ha 'rin/	< çı'harın >	'fourth'	/nə'win/	< newın >	'ninth'
/pan'dzin/	< pancın >	'fifth'	/də'sin/	< desın >	'tenth'

2.4 Verbs

There are relatively few verb roots in Dimili; Hadank records less than eighty including complex roots, which employ preverbals (1932:107-146). The present research reveals only about 150. More probably exist but the great majority of verbal expressions are handled with compound verbs (see section 2.6.2). Transitive verbal compounds are most often based on /kər'diʃ/ <**kerdış**> 'make, do,' intransitives on /bija'jiʃ/ <**biyayış**> 'be,' for example, /tʃap kər'diʃ/ <**çap kerdış**> 'print', /hərsi kər'diʃ/ <'hersi kerdış> 'cry, produce tears', /dərg bija'jiʃ/ <**derg biyayış**> 'lie down.'

The Dimili verb is inflected for tense, aspect, mood, and person, number, and gender. Not all possible combinations of these categories are reflected morphologically. Dimili also lacks an infinitive. The gerund serves as the citation form. Table 2.18 outlines the system of verbal inflection, including the fact that Dimili shows both simple and periphrastic conjugation. The periphrastic inflections involve either a subject clitic or the verb /bija'jiʃ/ <**biyayış**> 'be'.

TABLE 2.18 INFLECTIONAL FORMS OF VERBS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

FORM	FUNCTION
Indicative inflections	
simple inflection	
present tense	habitual action; generic; narration
preterite tense	completed events
periphrastic inflection	
present progressive	ongoing action
perfect	resultant states
past perfect	remote past
nonfinite forms	
imperfect (past)	ongoing action in past time
gerund	names the action or state
Subjunctive inflections	
simple inflection	
subjunctive	subordinated
perfect subjunctive	condition (protasis)
periphrastic inflection	
future	prediction
past predictive	contrafactual
Imperative inflections	
simple inflection	
imperative	command
prohibitive	prohibition

Table 2.19 shows the inflectional categories of each verb form.

TABLE 2.19 PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER INFLECTION

	Number	Person	Gender
Present Tense	+	+	+
Preterite	+	+	+
Subjunctive	+	+	-
Imperative	+	-	-
Prohibitive	+	-	-
Past Imperfect	-	-	-
Gerund	-	-	-

In Dimili there are three stems for any given verb. All the inflectional forms of a verb are based on one or the other of these three stems. The stems will be referred to here as the *present* stem, the *subjunctive* stem and the *past* stem. In section 2.4.4 the patterns relating the three basic stems to one root are presented.

TABLE 2.20 DISTRIBUTION OF STEM FORMS

	STEM
Present Tense	PRESENT
Preterite	PAST
Subjunctive	SUBJUNCTIVE
Imperative	SUBJUNCTIVE
Prohibitive	SUBJUNCTIVE
Past Imperfect	PAST
Gerund	PAST

2.4.1 Simple Inflections

In this section we will present the simple inflections from Table 2.18: present tense, preterite tense, subjunctive mood, the imperative and the prohibitive.

2.4.1.1 Present Tense

The present tense is formed by adding to the present stem the appropriate personal endings. The present stem always ends in /n/ <n> (see section 2.4.4). Table 2.21 gives the personal endings used in conjugating the present inflection. The person-number-gender inflections are unstressed; the final syllable of the present stem is stressed. Hadank's first-person plural inflection /-imə/ <-ime> (1932:87-88) is unattested in this dialect though speakers from Cermik use that form.

TABLE 2.21 PRESENT PERSONAL ENDINGS

1st per.		-a/-an	<-a/-an>
2nd per.	masc.	-e	<-ê>
	fem.	-a	<-a>
3rd per.	masc.	-o	<-o>
	fem.	-a	<-a>
all plurals		-e	<-ê>

A complete paradigm using the stem of the verb 'mow' /tʃin-/ <çin-> is given in Table 2.22.

TABLE 2.22 PARADIGM OF PRESENT TENSE

1st per.		tʃi'nən-an	<çinen-an>
2nd per.	masc.	tʃi'nən-e	<çinen-ê>
	fem.	tʃi'nən-a	<çinen-a>
3rd per.	masc.	tʃi'nən-o	<çinen-o>
	fem.	tʃi'nən-a	<çinen-a>
all plurals		tʃi'nən-e	<çinen-ê>

Negation of the present tense is achieved by adding the stressed negative prefix /^hne-/ <nê-> before the stem (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:84) The stress on the negative prefix supplants the stress that otherwise occurs on the present indicative suffix. Elision with some stems that begin with vowels or with the semivowel /j/ <y> can cause some irregularity.

145. /^hne-vəʃ-ən-o/ <nê-veʃ-en-o> '(it) doesn't burn'
 146. /^hne-mir-ən-an/ <nê-mir-en-an> '(I) am not dying'
 147. /^hn-i-n-a/ <n-i-n-a> '(she) doesn't come' (present stem /j-/ <y->)
 148. /^hnij-as-ən-o/ <nij-as-en-o> '(he) doesn't appear' (subjunctive stem /as-/ <as->)

The present tense is used primarily for description and narration. The use of a series of subject clitics specifies progressive sub-aspect, the verb forms remaining identical. The subject clitics are discussed in section 3.2.2 but an illustration is provided below.

149. /bi'ra-j min 'ʃino kar/
 <bira-y min ʃino kar>
 brother-EZ me goes work
 'My brother goes to work.'
150. /bi'ra-j 'min-o 'ʃino kar/
 <bira-y mino ʃino kar>
 brother-EZ me-prog. goes work
 'My brother is going to work.'

Present Tense Copula

The verb 'be' is manifested as an unstressed copula that is usually suffixed to the adjective or NP that serves as complement. The copula distinguishes person, number and gender as follows:

TABLE 2.23 COPULA SUFFIXES

1st person		-an	<-an>
2nd per.	masc.	-e	<-ê>
	fem.	-a	<-a>
3rd per.	masc.	-o	<-o>
	fem.	-a	<-a>
all plurals		-i	<-i> ^e

^e Editor's remark (2nd edition): We have found /e / <ê> instead of -i <-i> for the plural copula suffix.

151. /nan 'gərm-o/
<**nan germ-o**>
bread warm-is
'The bread is warm.'
152. /der-a to 'hona 'bol-a/
<**dêr-a to hona bol-a**>
song-EZ you so much-is
'Is your song that long?'
153. /ʃəm'ʃer-e min gu'nin-o/
<**şemsêr-ê min gunn-o**>
sword-EZ me bloody-is
'My sword is bloody.'
154. /ne saɟ 'sur-i/
<**nê say sûr-i**>
these apples red-are
'These apples are red.'

When negated, the copula is attached to a stressed negative stem /^hnij-/ <**niy-**> and the plural forms all change from /-i/ <**-i**> to /-e/ <**-ê**>.

155. /əz tɪrk 'nij-an/
<**ez Tırk niy-an**>
I Turk not-am
'I am not a Turk.'
156. /ma 'tɪrki 'nij-e/
<**ma Tırki niy-ê**>
we Turks not-are
'We are not Turks.'

The word /^hbəno/ <**beno**> (and its related forms /^hbəna/ <**bena**> and /^hbəne/ <**benê**>)^{<9>} is apparently a form of the verb “be” that includes the present indicative suffix /-^hən/ <**-en**>. Hadank records similar forms separate from the copula (1932:110). Such forms can often be translated as “happen to be” and often occur in the beginning of a story to help set the scene. It is better translated as “become” when the complement follows the word /^hbəno/ <**beno**>.

157. /^hwəxte zəw za'lim-e bəno/
<**wextê jew zalım-ê beno**>
once one overlord-a be
'Once there happened to be an overlord.'
158. /wəxt zimis'tan 'bəno/
<**wext zımıstan beno**>
time winter be
'The time happened to be winter.'
159. /o mər'dım 'bəno ne'wəʃ/
<**o merdım beno nêweş**>
that man be ill
'That man becomes ill.'
160. /^hdəw-a dʒi 'sukra 'duri 'bəna/
<**dew-a cı sūkra dūri bena**>
village-EZ him city-from far be
'His village happened to be far from the city.'
161. /ʃə'kər-e dʒi t^həjn 'bəno/
<**şeker-ê cı 'tayn beno**>
sugar-EZ him little be
'He had little sugar.'

“Verb of Existence”

To express the existence of someone or something the appropriate inflectional suffix is attached to the stem /əst-/ <**est-**> without the intervention of the present indicative suffix /-^hən/ <**-en**>. This verb is distinct from the copula.

162. /əw'zɑ dʒɑ'merd 'əst-o-k.../
<**ewja camêrd est-o-k...**>
there man exist-s--who
'There is a man there who...'
163. /əz zi 'əst-an/
<**ez zi est-an**>
I too exist
'I also exist.' or 'There is me, too.'

The full paradigm is given in Table 2.24.

TABLE 2.24 “VERB OF EXISTENCE”

1st per.		/ ^h əst-an/	< est-an >
2nd per.	masc.	/ ^h əst-e/	< est-ê >
	fem.	/ ^h əst-a/	< est-a >
3rd per.	masc.	/ ^h əst-o/	< est-o >
	fem.	/ ^h əst-a/	< est-a >
all plurals		/ ^h əst-e/	< est-ê >

The most frequent use of this verb is in combination with a genitive ezafe phrase in order to express possession. No verb ‘have’ exists.

164. /tʰi^hvɪŋ-a sim^hko-j ^həsta/
 <**tɪvɪŋ-a Simko-y esta**>
 rifle-EZ Simko(OBL) exists
 ‘Simko has a rifle.’

166. /pir^htok-e i^hnan ^həsto/
 <**pirtok-ê inan esto**>
 book-EZ them exists
 ‘They have a book.’

165. /^hqəɟʃ-e ma zi ^həste/
 <**qəɟʃ-ê ma zi estê**>
 children-EZ us too exist
 ‘We have children, too.’

The negation of existence does not use the /əst-/ <**est-**> stem. In present tense the copula is suffixed to /tʃi^hni-/ <**çini-**> for negation of existence. The /tʃi^h-/ <**çi-**> prefix is identified as being of Armenian origin by Hadank (1932:107) and is presented as an alternate form for negating the copula. The present research indicates that the prefix /tʃi^h-/ <**çi-**> is used in negating the “Verb of Existence” but not in negating the copula.

167. /tʃa kəs tʃi^hnijo/
 <**tya kes çiniyo**>
 here one not-exists
 ‘No one is here.’
 or ‘There is no one here.’

168. /^hpsɪŋ-a i^hnan tʃi^hnija/
 <**psɪŋ-a inan çiniya**>
 cat-EZ them not-exists
 ‘They have no cat.’

2.4.1.2 Preterite Tense

The preterite tense is based on the past stem and includes inflection for person, number, and gender.

The last syllable of the past stem bears the stress throughout the conjugation.

Table 2.25 gives the affixes used in conjugating the preterite tense. Again Hadank (1932:92) records a first-person plural form /-imə/ <**-ime**> that is unattested in this dialect.

TABLE 2.25 PRETERITE PERSONAL ENDINGS

1st per.		-an	< -an >
2nd per.	masc.	-e	< -ê >
	fem.	-a	< -a >
3rd per.	masc.	-∅	
	fem.	-i	< -i >
all plurals		-i	< -i >

A complete paradigm using the stem of the verb 'pull' /ant-/ <ant-> is given in Table 2.26.

TABLE 2.26 PARADIGM OF PRETERITE TENSE

1st per.		'ant-an	< ant-an >
2nd per.	masc.	'ant-e	< ant-ê >
	fem.	'ant-a	< ant-a >
3rd per.	masc.	'ant-∅	< ant >
	fem.	'ant-i	< ant-i >
all plurals		'ant-i	< ant-i >

The personal endings that are applied to the past stem in order to build the preterite tense are identical to those applied in present conjugation to the present stem in first- and second-person singular. The third-person forms and the plurals, however, are identical with adjectival inflection. It is well known that the past stem originates in the Old Iranian perfect participle in /-ta'/.

TABLE 2.27 PRESENT AND PRETERITE PERSONAL ENDINGS

		present	past
1st per.		-an < -an >	-an < -an >
2nd per.	masc.	-e < -ê >	-e < -ê >
	fem.	-a < -a >	-a < -a >
3rd per.	masc.	-o < -o >	-∅
	fem.	-a < -a >	-i < -i >
all plurals		-e < -ê >	-i < -i >

As before, the verb agrees with the nominal constituent that is in the Direct case. With intransitive verbs it is the agent, but with transitive verbs it is the patient that is in the Direct case. And it is these elements with which the past tense verb agrees in inflection. The following examples illustrate past inflectional agreement.

169. /əj tʃaj gi'rot-i/
 <ey çay girot-ı>
 he(OBL) tea(DIR) got(3f) ["tea" is feminine in gender]
 'He got (some) tea.'
170. /o vi'zer a'mə/
 <o vizer ame>
 he(DIR) yest. came(3m)
 'He came yesterday.'
171. /əj əz 'di-jan/
 <ey ez di-yan>
 he(OBL) me(DIR) saw(1sg)
 'He saw me.'

The full paradigm is as follows.

TABLE 2.28 PRETERITE TENSE TRANSITIVE PARADIGM: NEGATIVE

/di'ler-i əz 'nekiʃt-an/	<Dilêr-i ez nêkiʃt-an>	'Diler didn't kill me.'
/di'ler-i ti 'nekiʃt-e/	<Dilêr-i ti nêkiʃt-ê>	'Diler didn't kill you.'
/di'ler-i ti 'nekiʃt-a/	<Dilêr-i ti nêkiʃt-a>	'Diler didn't kill you(fem).'
/di'ler-i o 'nekiʃt/	<Dilêr-i o nêkiʃt>	'Diler didn't kill him.'
/di'ler-i a 'nekiʃt-i/	<Dilêr-i a nêkiʃt-ı>	'Diler didn't kill her.'
/di'ler-i ma 'nekiʃt-i/	<Dilêr-i ma nêkiʃt-i>	'Diler didn't kill us.'
/di'ler-i ʃima 'nekiʃt-i/	<Dilêr-i ʃima nêkiʃt-i>	'Diler didn't kill you(pl).'
/di'ler-i inan 'nekiʃt-i/	<Dilêr-i inan nêkiʃt-i>	'Diler didn't kill them.'

TABLE 2.29 PRETERITE TENSE INTRANSITIVE PARADIGM: NEGATIVE

/əz 'nemərd-an/	<ez nêmerd-an>	'I didn't die.'
/ti 'nemərd-e/	<ti nêmerd-ê>	'You didn't die.'
/ti 'nemərd-a/	<ti nêmerd-a>	'You (fem) didn't die.'
/o 'nemərd/	<o nêmerd>	'He didn't die.'
/a 'nemərd-i/	<a nêmerd-ı>	'She didn't die.'
/ma 'nemərd-i/	<ma nêmerd-i>	'We didn't die.'
/ʃima 'nemərd-i/	<ʃima nêmerd-i>	'You (pl) didn't die.'
/inan 'nemərd-i/	<inan nêmerd-i>	'They didn't die.'

Preterite Tense of the Copula

The preterite tense forms of the copula are given in Table 2.30 below.

TABLE 2.30 COPULA: PRETERITE TENSE

1st per.		vijan	< viyan >
2nd per.	masc.	vi	< vi >
	fem.	vija	< viya >
3rd per.	masc.	vi	< vi >
	fem.	vi	< vi >
all plurals		vi	< vi >

“Verb of Existence: Preterite Tense”

The preterite tense of the “Verb of Existence” is built on a stem /b-/ <**b-**> that is distinct from the preterite of the copula built on the stem /v-/ <**v-**>.

TABLE 2.31 “VERB OF EXISTENCE : PRETERITE TENSE”

1st per.		bijan	< biyan >
2nd per.	masc.	bi	< bi >
	fem.	bija	< biya >
3rd per.	masc.	bi	< bi >
	fem.	bi	< bi >
all plurals		bi	< bi >

172. /kəj'na-j əj bi 'laʒ-e dʒi zi bi/
 <**keyna-y ey bi, laj-ê cı zi bı**>
 girl-EZ him was, son-EZ him too was
 ‘He had a daughter and a son.’

The following example contrasts the copula and the “Verb of Existence” in the preterite tense.

173. /ʒəw mər'dim əw'ʒa bi: bi'raʒ mɪn vi/
 <**jew merdım ewja bı: bıray mın vı**>
 one person there existed: brother-EZ me was
 ‘There was one person there; it was my brother.’

For negation of the “Verb of Existence” in past tense the past copula is suffixed to /tʃi'ne-/ <çmê->.

174. /ʒərə'vaj dʒi tʃi'nevi/
 <'erevay ci çmêvi>
 car-EZ him not-exist-past
 ‘He had no car.’

2.4.1.3 Subjunctive Mood

The subjunctive mood is based on the subjunctive stem and includes both personal endings and the subjunctive prefix /bi-/ <bi-> (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:84).

The subjunctive personal endings are the same as those of the present tense except that the gender distinction is lost, the feminine forms being deleted (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:88). Table 2.32 gives the affixes used in conjugating the subjunctive inflection.

TABLE 2.32 SUBJUNCTIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

1st per.	-an	<-an>
2nd per.	-e	<-ê>
3rd per.	-o	<-o>
all plurals	-e	<-ê>

A complete paradigm using the stem of the verb ‘mow’ /tʃin-/ <çin-> is given in Table 2.33.

TABLE 2.33 PARADIGM OF SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

1st per.	¹ bi-tʃin-an	<bi-çin-an>
2nd per.	¹ bi-tʃin-e	<bi-çin-ê>
3rd per.	¹ bi-tʃin-o	<bi-çin-o>
all plurals	¹ bi-tʃin-e	<bi-çin-ê>

The subjunctive forms of the verb are used not only within dependent clauses but also in forming a future tense. The comparison below illustrates that the verbal forms themselves are identical though the future involves a series of subject clitics. The subject clitics, which are distinct from those involved in present progressive tense, are presented in section 3.2.2.2.

175. /o do nan 'buro/
 <o do nan būro>
 he will meal eat
 ‘He will eat (a meal).’

176. /o wə'zəno nan 'buro/
 <o wazeno nan būro>
 he wants meal eat
 ‘He wants to eat (a meal).’

The subjunctive prefix does not occur on every verb stem. When it does occur it is stressed, when it does not occur the first syllable of the stem is stressed. The use of the subjunctive prefix /bi-/ <bi-> is partially predictable. In complex verbs, for example, the preverbal replaces the subjunctive prefix.

<u>present tense</u>		<u>subjunctive</u>		
177. /'dano/	< dano >	/'bido/	< bido >	'give'
178. /vər'dano/	< verdano >	/'vərdo/	< verdo >	'grow' (hair, beard)
179. /'kəwno/	< kewno >	/'bikəwo/	< bikewo >	'fall'
180. /rɑ'kəwno/	< rakewno >	/'rəkəwo/	< rakewo >	'sleep'

Also, verbs which have polysyllabic subjunctive stems do not receive the subjunctive prefix.

<u>present tense</u>		<u>subjunctive</u>		
181. /bəstə'rəno/	< bestereo >	/'bəstəro/	< bestero >	'wipe'
182. /təpə'fəno/	< təpəfəno >	/'təpəfo/	< təpəfo >	'catch'
183. /vində'rəno/	< vindereno >	/'vindəro/	< vindero >	'stop'
184. /omo'rəno/	< omoreno >	/'omoro/	< omoro >	'count'
185. /vira'zəno/	< virazeno >	/'virazo/	< virazo >	'produce'

Most other verbs do receive the subjunctive prefix but there are at least four exceptions as shown below paired with regular verbs that are phonologically similar.

<u>present tense</u>		<u>subjunctive</u>		
186. /və'fəno/	< vefeno >	/'bivəfo/	< bivefo >	'burn' (iv)
187. /'vano/	< vano >	/'vaʒo/	< vajo >	'say'
188. /ro'fəno/	< rofeno >	/'birofo/	< birofo >	'sell'
189. /rə'səno/	< reseno >	/'rəso/	< reso >	'arrive'
190. /kə'nəno/	< keneno >	/'bikəno/	< bikeno >	'cultivate, hoe'
191. /gʊ'nəno /	< guneno >	/'gʊno/	< guno >	'fall'
192. /tə'fəno/	< tafeno >	/'bitəfo/	< bitəfo >	'shave'
193. /ni'fəno/	< nifeno >	/'niʒo/	< nifo >	'mount'

The subjunctive prefix is subject to morphophonemic changes in some environments. When applied to a verb stem beginning in /p/ <p> the /b/ of the prefix assimilates to /p/ <p>.

<u>present tense</u>		<u>subjunctive</u>		
194. /pə'rəno/	< perreno >	/'pipəro/	< piperro >	'fly'
195. /plox'nəno/	< ploxneno >	/'piploxno/	< piploxno >	'squeeze'
196. /pəw'zəno/	< pewjeno >	/'pipəwʒo/	< pipewjo >	'cook'

When applied to a stem beginning with /w/ <w>, the subjunctive prefix partially coalesces with the stem so that /bu-/ <bû-> results from /bi-w-/ <bi-w->.

<u>present tense</u>		<u>subjunctive</u>		
197. /wiri'nəno/	< wirineno >	/'burino/	< bûrino >	'bathe'
198. /'wəno/	< weno >	/'buro/	< bûro >	'eat'
199. /wa'zəno/	< wazeno >	/'buwazo/	< bûwazo >	'want'
200. /wa'nəno/	< waneno >	/'buwano/	< bûwano >	'read'

Exceptional in this regard is the verb 'look'.

<u>present tense</u>		<u>subjunctive</u>		
201. /win'jəno/	< winyeno >	/'bəwno/	< bewno >	'look'

When the subjunctive prefix is applied to a stem beginning in /a/ <a> the vowel of the prefix is lost to elision.

<u>present tense</u>		<u>subjunctive</u>		
202. /an'dzəno/	< anceno >	/'bandzə/	< banco >	'pull'
203. /a'səno/	< aseno >	/'basə/	< baso >	'appear'

An exception to this rule is the verb 'bring' which inserts an epenthetic /j/ <y> which affects the vowel of the prefix.

<u>present tense</u>		<u>subjunctive</u>		
/'ano /	< ano >	/'bijaro/	< biyaro >	'bring'

Other verbs that have /bi-/ <bi-> instead of /bi-/ <bi-> as subjunctive prefix include one the present stem of which is /j-/ <y-> and one which is irregular in replacing a /g-/ <g-> stem with /j-/ <y->.

<u>present tense</u>		<u>subjunctive</u>		
/'jəno/	< yeno >	/'biro/	< biro >	'come'
/'gəno /	< geno >	/'bijəro/	< biyero >	'get'

Subjunctive of the Copula

The subjunctive of the copula does not involve the subjunctive prefix. This is the only form attested.

204. /o wa'zəno	pi'lot	vo/		
< o wazeno	pilot	vo >		
he wants	pilot	be		
'He wants to be a pilot.'				

Subjunctive of the “Verb of Existence”

The subjunctive of the “Verb of Existence” is distinct from that of the copula in that it takes the subjunctive prefix while the copula does not. The prefix, of course, renders the stem /b-/ intervocalic in which position /b/ is replaced by /v/ <v>.

205. /wəxte to 'bivo-sə be ma hət/
 <wəxtê to bivo-se bê ma het>
 time-EZ you exist-if come us 'chez'
 'If you have time, come to our place.'

2.4.1.4 Perfect Subjunctive

The corpus contains only a single example of the perfect subjunctive. It occurs in the protasis of a contrafactual sentence as follows.

206. /mîn ban-e bîvinaj-sə mîn do kîre kərd-e/
 <mîn ban-ê bîvinay-se, mîn do kîrê kerd-ê>
 I house-a had-found-if, I will rent did-imperf.
 'If I had found a house, I would have rented it.'

The perfect subjunctive is distinguished by two features: 1. the subjunctive stem is enclosed between the subjunctive prefix /bi-/ <bî-> and a suffix /-əj/ <-ay>, and 2. this is the only form based on a nonpast stem which requires the logical subject to be in the oblique case. The subject of a transitive verb referring to past time *is* normally in the oblique case, but the stem is normally the past stem.

2.4.1.5 Imperative and Prohibitive

The imperative consists of the subjunctive stem (including the subjunctive prefix /bi-/ <bî-> if it is used in the subjunctive) and an inflectional suffix distinguishing the number of persons *addressed* as either singular /-i/ <-i> or plural /-e/ <-ê>. That suffix replaces the subjunctive inflectional suffix.

The stress always falls on the first syllable of the imperative just as in the subjunctive mood.

<u>singular imperative</u>			<u>plural imperative</u>		
207. /'bi-ʃim-i/	< bî-ʃim-i >	'drink!'	/'bi-ʃim-e/	< bîʃim-ê >	
208. /'bu-wan-i/	< bû-wan-i >	'read!'	/'buwan-e/	< bûwan-ê >	
209. /'təpeʃ-i/	< tepêʃ-i >	'catch!'	/'təpeʃ-e/	< tepêʃ-ê >	
210. /'omor-i/	< omor-i >	'count!'	/'omor-e/	< omor-ê >	

A verb which loses root-final /r/ <r> in forming the present indicative (see section 2.4.4.2) also loses it in the singular imperative but retains it in the plural imperative.

<u>singular</u>		<u>plural</u>		<u>subjunctive</u>	
211. /be/	< bê >	'come!'	/'bere/	< bêrê >	/'biro/ < biro >
212. /bi/	< bi >	'get!'	/'bijəre/	< biyerê >	/'bijəro/ < biyero >

213.	/ʃo/ < ¹⁰ >	< ʃo >	‘go!’	/ʃire/	< ʃirê >	/ʃiro/	< ʃiro >
214.	/ʋindi/	< vindi >	‘stop!’	/ʋindare/	< vinderê >	/ʋindəro/	< vindero >
215.	/ʋija/	< biya >	‘bring!’	/ʋijare/	< biyarê >	/ʋijaro/	< biyaro >

Most irregular in this regard is the verb ‘eat’ in which the /r/ <r> is lost in the singular prohibitive but not in the singular imperative. (The subjunctive stem is /wir-/ <**wir**-> which coalesces with the subjunctive prefix /bi-/ <**bi**-> to form /bur/ <**bûr**->.)

<u>singular</u>			<u>plural</u>		
216.	/bur/	< bûr >	‘eat!’	/bure/	< bûrê >
217.	/ʋəwi/	< mewi >	‘don’t eat!’	/ʋəwire/	< mewirê >
218.	/ʋəno/	< weno >	‘(he) eats’		

The two verbs which lose stem-final consonants other than /r/ <r> when forming the present tense retain those consonants in all forms of the imperative and prohibitive.

<u>singular</u>			<u>plural</u>		
219.	/ʋizani/	< bizani >	‘know (it)!’	/ʋizane/	< bizanê >
220.	/ʋəzani/	< mezani >	‘don’t know (it)!’	/ʋəzane/	< mezanê >
221.	/zano/	< zano >	‘he knows (it)’		
222.	/ʋaɔ(i)/	< vaj(i) >	‘say (it)!’	/ʋaɔe/	< vajê >
223.	/ʋəvəɔ(i)/	< mevaj(i) >	‘don’t say (it)!’	/ʋəvəɔe/	< mevajê >
224.	/vano/	< vano >	‘he says’		

When the imperative consists of a single syllable the singular ending is not usually added although the plural ending is.

<u>singular imperative</u>			<u>plural imperative</u>		
225.	/roʃ(i)/	< roʃ(i) >	‘sit down!’	/roʃ-e/	< roʃ-ê >
226.	/bur(i)/	< bûr(i) >	‘eat!’	/bur-e/	< bûr-ê >
227.	/vəɔ(i)/	< vaj(i) >	‘tell!’	/vəɔ-e/	< vaj-ê >

The prohibitive or negative form of the imperative, is formed by replacing the subjunctive prefix, if present, with the prohibitive prefix /mə-/ <**me**->, which is always stressed.

<u>singular prohibitive</u>			<u>plural prohibitive</u>		
228.	/mə-ʃim-i/	< me-ʃim-i >	‘don’t drink!’	/mə-ʃim-e/	< me-ʃim-ê >
229.	/mə-vəɔ(-i)/	< me-vaj(-i) >	‘don’t tell!’	/mə-vəɔ-e/	< me-vaj-ê >
230.	/mə-təpeʃ-i/	< me-tepêʃ-i >	‘don’t catch!’	/mə-təpeʃ-e/	< me-tepêʃ-ê >
231.	/mə-roʃ/	< me-roʃ >	‘don’t sit!’	/mə-roʃ-e/	< me-roʃ-ê >

Imperative of the Copula

The examples below illustrate the copula in imperative and subjunctive forms. The subjunctive prefix is not employed.

232. /ti hiʃ vi/
 <**ti hiʃ vi**>
 you silent be
 ‘You be quiet!’

233. /ʃi'ma 'hiʃ-i ve/
 <**ʃima hiʃ-i vê**>
 you(pl) silent-pl be
 ‘You be quiet!’

2.4.2 Nonfinite Forms

2.4.2.1 Imperfect

The imperfect is formed by combining the past stem and the enclitic /-e/ <-ê> irrespective of person, gender and number (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:92). It functions to express past continuous, iterative and habitual action. As with other tenses built on the past stem, the agent of a transitive verb is in the oblique case and the direct object or patient is in the direct case even though agreement doesn't show on the verb.

This tense is used for describing events that used to happen on a regular basis but no longer do (past habitual) as well as setting the scene for past action by telling what a participant was doing at that time.

234. /a əw'ʒa ro'niʃt-e/
 <**a ewja romʃt-ê**>
 she(DIR) there lived
 ‘She used to live there.’

235. /əz əw'ʒa ro'niʃt-e/
 <**ez ewja romʃt-ê**>
 I(DIR) there lived
 ‘I used to live there.’

236. /əj bol xərxi'zəj 'kərd-e/
 <**ey bol xerxizey kerd-ê**>
 he much thievery did
 ‘He used to do a lot of thievery.’

237. /'əju əw dʒə'ner-da 'dʒi-ja ʃəw rə'kəwt-e/
 <**eyû ew cenêr-da ci-ya ʃew rakewt-ê**>
 he and wife-EZ his-with night slept
 ‘He and his wife were sleeping at night.’

238. /'pe-r-e mɪn 'wini 'vat-e/
 <**pê-r-ê mun wini vat-ê**>
 dad(OBL)-EZ me thus said
 ‘My father used to say that.’

239. /'ma-r-a mɪn dʒi'ya'rə ʃi'mit-e/
 <**ma-r-a mun cigare ʃimit-ê**>
 mom(OBL)-EZ me cigarette smoked
 ‘My mother used to smoke cigarettes.’

2.4.2.2 The Gerund

Past stems which end in a consonant require only the addition of the stressed gerundial suffix /-iʃ/ <-iʃ>. Note that when /i/ <i> would occur in the pretonic syllable it is lost.

240.	/ramit-/	<ramit->	‘drove’	/ram'tiʃ/	<ramtiʃ>	‘driving’
241.	/wərd-/	<werd->	‘ate’	/wər'diʃ/	<werdiʃ>	‘eating’
242.	/ʃimīt-/	<ʃimīt->	‘drank’	/ʃim'tiʃ/	<ʃimtiʃ>	‘drinking’
243.	/waʃt-/	<waʃt->	‘wanted’	/waʃ'tiʃ/	<waʃtiʃ>	‘wanting’

When the past stem ends in a high non-back^{<11>} vowel (/i/ <i> or /i/ <i>) the gerundial suffix becomes /-ja'jiʃ/ <-yayıʃ> and the application of it to the stem obscures the distinction between stem-final /i/ <i> and /i/ <i>.

244.	/ʃi-/	<ʃi->	‘went’	/ʃija'jiʃ/	<ʃiyayıʃ>	‘going’
245.	/di-/	<di->	‘saw’	/dija'jiʃ/	<diyayıʃ>	‘seeing’

Past stems that end in other vowels receive only /-jiʃ/ <-yıʃ> as the gerundial suffix.

246.	/rəsa-/	<resa->	‘arrived’	/rəsə'jiʃ/	<resayıʃ>	‘arriving’
247.	/təwa-/	<tewa->	‘hurt’	/təwə'jiʃ/	<tewayıʃ>	‘hurting’
248.	/da-/	<da->	‘gave’	/də'jiʃ/	<dayıʃ>	‘giving’

One verb that ends in /ə/ <e> is exceptional in that the gerundial suffix becomes /-ja'jiʃ/ <-yayıʃ>.

249.	/amə-/	<ame->	‘came’	/amja'jiʃ/	<amyayıʃ>	‘coming’
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One verb, ‘say’ has a preterite form that normally ends in /a/ <a> but adds to that a /t/ <t> if any suffix is to be applied.

250.	/va-/	<va->	‘said’
251.	/vat-iʃ/	<vat-iʃ>	‘saying’
252.	/vat-e/	<vat-ê>	‘was saying’

The gerund is employed when a nominal form of the verb is required. It is a statistically infrequent form in A’s speech.

253. /pi'lot bija'jiʃ bol 'zor-o/
 <pilot biyayıʃ bol zor-o>
 pilot becoming very hard-is
 ‘It is very difficult to become a pilot.’
254. /dʒiya'rə ʃim'tiʃ rind 'nijo/
 <ciğare ʃimtiʃ rind niyo>
 cigarette smoking good isn’t
 ‘Cigarette smoking is not good.’

2.4.3 Periphrastic Inflections

The periphrastic inflection presented by Hadank (1932:92) is unattested in this dialect as is the participial ending /-oy/ <-oġ> that it is based on. The other periphrastic inflections are attested.

2.4.3.1 Perfect

The perfect tense is formed by adding the copula to the past stem. Since the copula endings for first- and second-persons singular and the plurals are identical with the personal endings of the preterite, there is a distinction between the preterite and the present perfect only in the third-person singular, masculine and feminine. Hadank (1932:92) states that the perfect exists but his only example is first-person singular and thus is homophonous with present tense. As in all tenses based on the past stem, the agreement is with the agent of an intransitive verb but with the patient of a transitive verb.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>255. /bə'dəw 'səmbul 'di-jo/
 <Bedew Sembûl di-yo>
 Bedew (fpn) Istanbul (masc) saw-is (masc)
 'Bedew has seen Istanbul.'</p> | <p>257. /a 'ʃi-ja tʃər'muġ-i/
 <a ʃi-ya Çermûġ-i>
 she went-is Cermik-LOC
 'She has gone to Cermik.' (and still is there)</p> |
| <p>256. /min zi 'səmbul 'di-jo/
 <min zi Sembûl di-yo>
 I too Istanbul saw-is
 'I have seen Istanbul, too.'</p> | |

The following examples contrast the preterite and the perfect:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>258. /ma zu xə'zal 'kiʃt-i/
 <ma jû xezal kiʃt-i>
 we one deer killed-fem.
 'We killed one deer.'</p> | <p>259. /ma zu xə'zal 'kiʃt-a/
 <ma jû xezal kiʃt-a>
 we one deer killed-is(fem)
 'We have killed one deer.'</p> |
|---|---|

The preterite describes a completed event, but the perfect asserts that a situation now exists with respect to prior occurrence of an event.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>260. /to 'goʃt-e mi'jær 'wərd/
 <to goʃt-ê miyer werd>
 you meat-EZ sheep ate
 'You ate mutton.' (I saw you.)</p> | <p>261. /to 'goʃt-e mi'jær 'wərd-o/
 <to goʃt-ê miyer werd-o>
 you meat-EZ sheep ate-is
 'You have eaten mutton.'
 (You are a mutton eater.)</p> |
|---|---|

2.4.3.2 Past Perfect

The past perfect tense is like the present perfect except that the past tense form of the copula is used (cf. Hadank's "Plusquamperfekt", 1932:92).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>262. /əh'mædi 'səmbul di vi/
 <A'hmedi Sembûl di vi>
 Ahmed(OBL) Istanbul saw was
 'Ahmed had (already) seen Istanbul.'</p> | <p>263. /əh'mædi ʔərə'va həri'naj vi/
 <A'hmedi 'ereva herinay vi>
 Ahmed(OBL) car bought was
 'Ahmed had (already) bought the car.'</p> |
|---|---|

2.4.3.3 Periphrastic Inflections: Subject Clitics

Three periphrastic tenses are formed from verb forms already described by means of clitics added to the subjects. One set of subject clitics is combined with present indicative verbs to form a present progressive. Another set of subject clitics is combined with the subjunctive to form the future tense and with the imperfect to form the past predictive. See section 3.2.2 for these syntactic structures.

2.4.4 Stem Analysis

Here we treat Dimili verbs as having three stems, a subjunctive stem, a present stem and a past stem. This is similar to the position that Mann (1932:86) took. Hadank, however, argued that our ‘subjunctive stem’ should be called *Aoriststamm* (1932:86). The last vowel of the stem is always stressed unless a stressed prefix interferes with this basic pattern. In this section we will discuss the morphological relationships among these stems.

2.4.4.1 Subjunctive Stem

The subjunctive stem is the simplest of the three stems as it consists of the verb root with no suffix.

<u>subj. stem</u>		<u>subjunctive</u>		
264. /vaʒ-/	< vaj- >	/ ^l vaʒ-o/	< vaj-o >	‘that he say’
265. /kəʀ-/	< ker- >	/ ^l bikəʀ-o/	< biker-o >	‘that he do’
266. /waz-/	< waz- >	/ ^l buwaz-o/	< bûwaz-o >	‘that he want’

2.4.4.2 Present Stem

The following examples demonstrate the addition of the present indicative suffix /-ən/ <-en> to various verb roots to form the present stem (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:86). When the root ends in a vowel or semivowel the present indicative suffix is /-n/ <-n>.

267. /a ^l s-ən-/	< as-en- >	‘appear’
268. /kə ^l n-ən-/	< ken-en- >	‘hoe’
269. / ^l da-n-/	< da-n- >	‘give’
270. /ra ^l kəw-n-/	< rakew-n- >	‘sleep’
271. / ^l ʃi-n-/	< ʃi-n- >	‘go’

A few verbs have a root ending in /r/ <r> and an /r/ <r> in the past stem but lose the /r/ <r> in forming the present stem with /-ən/ <-en> (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:87) and in the singular imperative (see section 2.4.1.5).

<u>root</u>		<u>present tense</u>		
272. /kəʀ-/	< ker- >	/ ^l kən-o/	< ken-o >	‘make, do’
273. /ar-/	< ar- >	/ ^l an-o/	< an-o >	‘bring’
274. /bəʀ-/	< ber- >	/ ^l bən-o/	< ben-o >	‘carry’

275. /wir-/	<wir->	/wən-o/	<wen-o>	'eat'
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There are also verbs that are apparently suppletive in that the subjunctive stems end in /r/ <r> but the past stems have no /r/ <r>. These also lose the /r/ <r> in the present stem (and in the singular imperative).

<u>subjunctive</u>		<u>present tense</u>		
276. /ʃir-o/	<ʃir-o>	/ʃin-o/	<ʃin-o>	'go'
277. /bir-o/	<bir-o>	/jən-o/	<yen-o>	'come'

On the other hand there are several verbs which have roots ending in /r/ <r> but which retain the /r/ <r> in the present stem (and all other forms).

<u>subjunctive</u>		<u>present tense</u>		
278. /raver-o/	<ravêr-o>	/rave'rən-o/	<ravêren-o>	'pass by'
279. /bimir-o/	<bimir-o>	/mi'rən-o/	<miren-o>	'die'
280. /bəstər-o/	<bester-o>	/bəstə'rən-o/	<besteren-o>	'wipe'
281. /omor-o/	<omor-o>	/omɔ'rən-o/	<omoren-o>	'count'
282. /bivar-o/	<bivar-o>	/va'rən-o/	<varen-o>	'rain'

Similarly, there is only one verb with a root ending in /n/ <n> which loses that consonant in forming the present indicative (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:87).

<u>root</u>		<u>present tense</u>		<u>underlying form</u>		
283. /zan-/	<zan->	/zan-o/	<zan-o>	/*za'nəno/	<*zaneno>	'know'

Most roots ending in /n/ <n>, however, are regular in forming the present stem.

<u>root</u>		<u>present tense</u>		
284. /tʃin-/	<çin->	/tʃi'nən-o/	<çinen-o>	'mow'
285. /gun-/	<gun->	/gɔ'nən-o/	<gunen-o>	'fall'
286. /hərin-/	<herin->	/həri'nən-o/	<herinen-o>	'buy'
287. /vin-/	<vin->	/vi'nən-o/	<vinen-o>	'see'

Also one verb exists which has a root ending in /ʒ/ <j> but loses that consonant in forming the present stem. It is balanced by at least one verb that does not lose final /ʒ/ <j> from the subjunctive stem.

<u>root</u>		<u>present tense</u>		<u>underlying form</u>		
288. /vaʒ-/	<vaj->	/van-o/	<van-o>	/*va'ʒən-o/	<*vajen-o>	'say'
289. /pəwʒ-/	<pewj->	/pəw'ʒən-o/	<pewjen-o>			'cook'

Hadank (1932:87) lists four verbs with stems in /n/ <n> that lose /n/ <n> in the present /ʌnan/ <anan> 'I bring', /danan/ <danan> 'I give', /wə'tanan/ <wetanan> 'I can', and /ʌzanan/ <zananan> 'I know'. It

turns out that /^lanən/ <**anan**> in fact has a subjunctive stem in /r/ <**r**>, /^ldanən/ <**danan**> has a vowel final subjunctive stem and /wə^ltanən/ <**wetanən**> is unattested in this dialect.

2.4.4.3 Past Stem

In Dimili only a few verbs have suppletive relations among the stems. Some are shown below.

<u>present stem</u>		<u>past stem</u>		
290. /vinən-/ < ¹² >	< vinen- >	/di-/	< di- >	‘see’
291. /tʃə ^l kən-/ < ¹³ >	< çeken- >	/əʃt-/	< eʃt- >	‘throw’
292. /jən-/	< yen- >	/a ^l mə-/	< ame- >	‘come’
293. /vaz ^l dan-/	< vazdan- >	/vəʃt-/	< veʃt- >	‘run’

The past stem consists of the verb root and a suffix in the same rank as the present indicative suffix /-ən/ <**en**> that is part of the present stem, i.e. it occurs between the root and the personal inflections. There are, however, two forms /-t/ <**t**> and /-a/ <**a**> that the participial suffix may take and each verb must be classified as to whether it takes /-t/ <**t**> (T-verb) or /-a/ <**a**> (A-verb) as its suffix in forming the past stem.

<u>root</u>	<u>past stem</u>			
T-verbs				
294. /niʃ-/	< niş- >	/niʃ-t-/	< nişt- >	‘mount’
295. /kəw-/	< kew- >	/kəw-t-/	< kewt- >	‘fall’
296. /taʃ-/	< taş- >	/taʃ-t-/	< taşt- >	‘shave’
A-verbs				
297. /tʃin-/	< çin- >	/tʃin-a-/	< çin-a- >	‘mow’
298. /mas-/	< mas- >	/mas-a-/	< mas-a- >	‘rub’
299. /vəʃ-/	< veş- >	/vəʃ-a-/	< veş-a- >	‘burn’

Most roots ending in /r/ <**r**> are T-verbs with the /t/ <**t**> becoming voiced following the /r/ <**r**>. At least one root ending in /r/ <**r**>, though, is an A-verb.

<u>root</u>	<u>past stem</u>			
T-verbs				
300. /vinder-/	< vinder- >	/vinder-d-/	< vinder-d- >	‘stop’
301. /raver-/	< ravêr- >	/raver-d-/	< ravêr-d- >	‘pass by’
302. /omor-/	< omor- >	/omor-d-/	< omor-d- >	‘count’
303. /kər-/	< ker- >	/kər-d-/	< ker-d- >	‘make, do’
304. /ar-/	< ar- >	/ar-d-/	< ar-d- >	‘bring’

A-verb

305.	/var-/	<var->	/var-a-/	<var-a->	'rain'
------	--------	--------	----------	----------	--------

Most subjunctive stems ending in /n/ <n> are A-verbs. At least one, however, is a T-verb with the /t/ <t> becoming voiced in that environment.

rootpast stem**A-verbs**

306.	/gun-/	<gun->	/gʊn-a-/	<gun-a->	'fall'
307.	/hərin-/	<herin->	/hərin-a-/	<herin-a->	'buy'
308.	/giren-/	<gîrên->	/gîrên-a-/	<gîrên-a->	'boil'
309.	/birn-/	<birrn->	/birn-a-/	<birrn-a->	'cut'

T-verb

310.	/wan-/	<wan->	/wən-d-/	<wen-d->	'read'
------	--------	--------	----------	----------	--------

When the subjunctive stem ends in /m/ <m> the verb will be a T-verb. Since /mt/ <mt> is an impermissible cluster within the syllable, an epenthetic /i/ <i> is inserted in forms that would otherwise have such a cluster.

rootpast stem

311.	/nam-/	<nam->	/nam-i-t-/	<nam-i-t->	'bend'
312.	/ram-/	<ram->	/ram-i-t-/	<ram-i-t->	'drive'
313.	/ʃim-/	<ʃim->	/ʃim-i-t-/	<ʃim-i-t->	'drink'

Other clusters may be reduced when the root accepts the /-t/ <-t>.

rootpast stem

314.	/andʒ-/	<anc->	/an-t-/	<ant->	'pull'
315.	/pəwʒ-/	<pewj->	/pəw-t-/	<pewt->	'cook'
316.	/roʃ-/	<roʃ->	/ro-t-/	<rot->	'sell'

Assimilation in voicing also occurs, sometimes in combination with cluster reduction.

rootpast stem

317.	/waz-/	<waz->	/wɑʃ-t-/	<waʃ-t->	'want'
318.	/viraz-/	<viraz->	/virɑʃ-t-/	<virɑʃ-t->	'make'
319.	/wərz-/	<werz->	/wər-i-ʃ-t-/	<wer-i-ʃ-t->	'get up'

Occasional unpredictable ablaut (vowel change) is associated with the suffix /-t/ <-t>.

<u>root</u>		<u>past stem</u>		
320. /təpef-/	< tepeş- >	/təpiʃ-t-/	< tepiş-t- >	'catch'
321. /wən-/	< wan- >	/wən-d-/	< wen-d- >	'read'

2.4.4.5 Summary Charts of Verb System

Table 2.34 presents the aspectual system of non-periphrastic verbs.

TABLE 2.34 BASIC ASPECTUAL SYSTEM

IMPERFECTIVE	UNMARKED	PERFECTIVE
Present /ra'məno/ < rameno >		Perfect /ra'mito/ < ramito >
	Preterite /ra'mit/ < ramit >	
Imperfect /ra'mite/ < ramitê >		Past Perfect /ra'mitvi/ < ramit vi >

Imperfective aspect is signalled by the present indicative marker /-ən/ <-en> and the imperfect marker /-e/ <-ê>, whereas the perfect and past perfect are marked by the appropriate form of 'be'. The preterite, which is semantically perfective, is morphologically unmarked and may replace an imperfective form as in /a'mə/ <**ame**> 'he came' used for someone who is still on the way.

Table 2.35 aligns the various personal endings in one place for purposes of comparison.

TABLE 2.35 SUMMARY OF PERSONAL ENDINGS

	Pres.	Sub.	Imper.	Pret.	Copula	Exist.	Copula pret.	Exist. pret.
1 sg.	-an <-an>	-an <-an>	-∅	-an <-an>	-an <-an>	əstan < estan >	vijan < viyan >	bijan < biyan >
2.sg.m	-e <-ê>			-e <-ê>	-e <-ê>	əste < estê >	vi < vi >	bi < bi >
		-e <-ê>	-i <-i>					
f.	-a <-a>			-a <-a>	-a <-a>	əsta < esta >	vija < viya >	bija < biya >
3.sg.m	-o <-o>			-∅	-o <-o>	əsto < esto >	vi < vi >	bi < bi >
		-o <-o>	-∅					
f.	-a <-a>			-i <-i>	-a <-a>	əsta < esta >	vi < vi >	bi < bi >
pl.	-e <-ê>	-e <-ê>	-e <-ê>	-i <-i>	-i <-i>	əste < estê >	vi < vi >	bi < bi >

2.4.5 Verb Stem Modifications

The roots of some verbs can receive morphemes before the present indicative suffix that render it either passive or causative in meaning. All such passive or causative verbs are A-verbs when it comes to forming past tenses. The placement of the old participial /a/ <a> is further support for saying that the participial is a suffix of the same rank as the present indicative suffix /-ʔən/ <-en>.

2.4.5.1 The Passive Morpheme

Though passive voice is not frequently used, some transitive verbs can be passivized by adding the passive morpheme /-j/ <-y> to the verb root. The morpheme precedes the suffix /-ʔən/ <-en> that is added to form the present stem. Person-number-gender inflection then follows as in an active verb, giving a present passive (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:93).

322. /viraʔz-ʔən-o/ < **viraz-en-o** > ‘he makes’
 323. /viraz-ʔj-ʔən-o/ < **viraz-y-en-o** > ‘it is made’
 324. /viraz-ʔj-ʔən-e/ < **viraz-y-en-ê** > ‘they are made’
325. /tja xaʔli viraz-ʔj-ʔən-e/
 <**tya xali** **viraz-y-en-ê**>
 here carpets make-pass.-indic.-pl.
 ‘Carpets are made here’.

The past tenses of a passivized verb are formed by adding the /a/ <a> suffix to the modified stem. That is, all passivized verbs are A-verbs even if their active forms are T-verbs:

326. /viraz-ʔj-a/ (past stem of active verb: /viʔraʔt/ <**virast**>)
 <**viraz-y-a**>
 make-pass.-past
 ‘was made’
327. /di xaʔli viraz-ʔj- a-j/
 <**di xali** **viraz-y-a-y**>
 2 carpets make-pass.-past-pl.
 ‘Two carpets were made.’

The passive imperfect is formed by the addition of the suffix /-e/ <-ê> to the modified past stem:

328. /tja ʔvəri xaʔli viraz-ʔj-a-j-e/
 <**tya veri** **xali** **viraz-y-a-y-ê**>
 here before carpets make-pass.-past-pl-imperf.
 ‘Earlier carpets were being produced here.’

The verb “eat” is worthy of note when passivized in that it demonstrates that the passive form can carry the notion ‘possible’ or ‘potential’, but in other contexts it has no such connotation.

329. /e saʔ ʔne-wir-j-ʔən-e/
 <**ê saʔ** **nê-wir-y-en-ê**>
 those apples not-eat-pass.-indic-pl
 ‘Those apples are not edible.’
330. /a sa wir-ʔj-a-ja/
 <**a sa** **wir-y-a-ya**>
 that apple eat-pass.-past-fem
 ‘That apple was eaten.’

There apparently is no way of including the agent of the action with a passive verb. This is not unusual since one major use of a passive construction is to avoid asserting the agent.

The passive morpheme is occasionally used to make intransitive verbs from nouns.

331. /ɑ'riq/ <ariq> 'sweat' (noun)

/ɑriq-^lj-ən-ən/
<ariq-y-en-an>
sweat-pass.-indic.-I
'(I) sweat.'

332. /ɑriq-^lj-a-jan/
<ariq-y-a-yan>
sweat-pass.-past-I
'(I) sweated.'

Another effect of the passive is to make an intransitive verb from a transitive. For example the verb /ʃik'tiʃ/ <ʃiktʃ> 'break' is a transitive verb from which an intransitive 'break' /ʃikja'jiʃ/ <ʃikyayış> is derived. The singular imperative of such a verb turns the /j/ <y> into /i/ <i>.

333. /biʃiki/ /məʃiki/
<bışiki> <meşiki>
break! don't break! (spoken to inanimate object)

2.4.5.2 The Causative Morpheme

Some intransitive verbs can be made transitive or causative by the addition to the verb root of the suffix /-n/ <-n>. Hadank (1932:94) alludes to causative /-n/ <-n> in Dimili of Kor but did not have attestation of it in the Siverek dialect. This suffix is of the same rank as the passive /-j/ <-y> and precedes the present indicative suffix /-ən/ <-en>.

334. /vəʃ-ən-o/ <veş-en-o> '(it) burns'
335. /vəʃ-^ln-ən-o/ <veş-n-en-o> '(he) burns (it)'
336. /pə'r-ən-o/ <perr-en-o> '(he) flies'
337. /pə-r-^ln-ən-o/ <perr-n-en-o> '(he) flies (it)' [an airplane]
or: '(he) shoos (it) away' [a bird]

The verbs thus made causative take the /-ɑ/ <-a> participial suffix following the causative suffix in order to form the past tenses.

338. /əj miri'tʃiki pər-^ln-a-j/ 339. /ma 'ban-e əj 'ne-vəʃ-n-a/
<ey mriçiki perr-n-a-y> <ma ban-ê ey nê-veş-n-a>
he(OBL) birds(DIR) flew-caus.-past-pl we(OBL) house-EZ him not-burn-caus.-past
'He shoosed the birds away.'

'We didn't burn his house.'

The finite forms of the transitive verb 'break' /ʃik'tiʃ/ <ʃiktʃ> include the causative /n/ <n> in nonpast tenses despite the fact that the past stem and forms based on it lack the causative /n/ <n>. It is apparent

that the causative /n/ <n> began to be used in “break” after the development of the “passivized” intransitive “break” /ʃikjdʲiʃ/ <şıkyaııŝ> to distinguish the intransitive and the transitive or “causative” verbs from one another.

2.5 Particles

Particles are those words which cannot be inflected. In Dimili they include adverbs, post-positions, prepositions, interjections, and conjunctions.

2.5.1 Adverbs

Examples of adverbs are given in the Table 2.36 below (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:83).

TABLE 2.36 ADVERBS

‘always’	/tim/	< tim >
‘sometimes’	/dʒudʒuʻfin/	< cûcûfin >
‘fast’	/pet/	< pêt >
‘slowly’	/heʻdi/	< hêdi >
‘very’	/bol/	< bol >
‘seldom’	/tʻaj̄n/	< ʻtayn >
‘early’	/rəw/	< rew >
‘late’	/bəʻrəj/	< berey >
‘more’	/da, daʻha/	< da, daha >

2.5.2 Postpositions

Post-positions are of two kinds, those that subordinate the NP or pronoun before them to the oblique case and those that do not (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:54-60; 80-82). Examples of the former are more numerous than of the latter.

TABLE 2.37 POSTPOSITIONS THAT SUBORDINATE

‘between, among’	/mjan/	< myan >
‘Fr. “chez”, Ger. “bei” ’	/hət/	< het >
‘under’	/bin/	< bin >
‘on’	/ʻsəro/	< sero >
‘beside’	/kɨʃt/	< kıŝt >
‘inside’	/zəʻrə/	< zere >

'in front of'	/vər/	< ver >
'behind'	/pəj/	< pey >
'from'	/-ra/	< -ra >
'to'	/-re/	< -rê >
'to' (limited)	/-ro/	< -ro >
'with (accompaniment)'	/-(j)a/	< -(y)a >

A few examples of the use of postpositions follow:

340. /e ʃi tɪr'k-an mjan/
 < **ê ʃi Tırk-an myan** >
 they went Turks(OBL) among
 'They went among the Turks.'
341. /qə'ləm-a tʃan'ti 'səro/
 < **qelem-a çanti sero** >
 pen-is bag on
 'The pen is lying on the bag.'
342. /mɪn u 'mar-da 'xu-ja ʃi gəm/
 < **mɪn û mar-da xu-ya ʃi gem** >
 I(OBL) & mother(OBL)-EZ own-with went woods
 'My mother and I went to the woods.'

Note in the last example above that both participants in the compound NP are subordinated to the postposition. Either of the participants alone would be in the Direct case.^{<14>}

343. /əz 'ʃijan gəm/ /ma-j mɪn ʃi gəm/
 < **ez ʃiyan gem** > < **ma-y mɪn ʃi gem** >
 I(DIR) went woods mother-EZ me went woods
 'I went to the woods.' 'My mother went to the woods.'

The same postposition often occurs with a preposition /pəj/ <**pey**>. The object of both the preposition /pəj/ <**pey**> and the postposition /-(j)a/ <**-(y)a**> occurs between the two and expresses the instrument or means by which something is accomplished.

344. /to pəj 'dəst-a 'viraʃt/ 345. /a pəj piʃqilət-a a'me/
 < **to pey dəst-a viraʃt** > < **a pey piʃqilət-a amê** >
 you with hand made she with bicycle came
 'Did you make it by hand?' 'She came by bicycle.'

The ablative postposition /ra/ <**ra**> also occurs in a number of idiomatic expressions where there is no ablative meaning.

346. /əz to ra bol həs 'kənan/
 < **ez to ra bol 'hes kenan** >
 I(DIR) you(OBL) from much like
 'I like you very much.'
347. /o mɪn ra a'sa/
 < **o mɪn ra asa** >
 he(DIR) me(OBL) from appeared
 'He was visible to me.' = 'I saw him.'

348. /e-je win'jəne ma ra/
 <ê-yê wnyenê ma ra>
 they-prog. look us from
 'They are looking at us.'
349. /'əz-an iʃ'liɡ 'danan xu ra/
 <ez-an iʃliɡ danan xu ra>
 I-prog. shirt give self from
 'I am putting the shirt on.'

The examples below demonstrate postpositions that do not subordinate the preceding NP or pronoun.

TABLE 2.38 POSTPOSITIONS THAT DO NOT SUBORDINATE

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>'in, with' /di/ <di>
 'also, too' /zi/ <zi>
 'another' /na/ <na></p> | <p>350. /qə'ləm-a tʃan'tə di/
 <qelem-a çante di>
 pen-is bag in
 'The pen is inside the bag'</p> <p>351. /bi'ra-j dʒi zi əw'ʒa xəft'jəno/
 <bira-y ci zi ewja xeftjeno>
 brother-EZ him too there works
 'His brother works there, too.'</p> | <p>352. /ma roʒ na 'ʃire dʒi hət/
 <ma roj na ʃirê ci het>
 we day other go him "chez"
 'We will go see him some other day.'</p> <p>353. /'ma-di sa'hat tʃi'nija/
 <ma-di sa'hat çiniya>
 us-with watch not-exists
 'We have no watch with us.'</p> |
|---|---|---|

The post-position /di/ <di> 'in' is often used in conjunction with two other post-positions, /mjan/ <myan> 'in, among' or /zə'rə/ <zere> 'inside'.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>354. /o-jo tʃant-i zə'rə di/
 <o-yo çant-i zere di>
 he-is bag(OBL) inside in
 'It is inside the bag.'</p> | <p>355. /kə'sa aw mjan di gəj'rəna/
 <kesa aw myan di geyrena>
 turtle water in in wanders
 'A turtle goes around in the water.'</p> |
|---|--|

2.5.3 Prepositions

One preposition /pəj/ <pey> was already mentioned that only occurs in conjunction with the postposition /-a/ <-a> to express 'by means of'. Only a few other prepositions are used in Dimili. Also used are /be/ <bê> 'without' and /'qande/ <qandê> 'for' (benefactive) or 'because of.' Both of these prepositions subordinate their objects to oblique case.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>356. /be to ma do ne'ʃire/
 <bê to ma do nêʃirê>
 without you we will not-go
 'We won't go without you.'</p> | <p>357. /qande to ma ʃi/
 <qandê to ma ʃi>
 for you we went
 'We went because of you.'</p> |
|---|--|

Another preposition /a/ <a> occurs in a few expressions where its meaning is similar to English 'to'.

358. /qirindʒ'lə 'kəwno a dəst/
 <qırıncle kewno a dest>
 frog falls to hand
 'He (accidentally) catches a frog.'

With the verb “give”, however, it distinguishes between giving temporarily to a person and giving permanently (change of ownership).

- | | |
|---|---|
| 359. /ne pir'tok-i 'bidi min/
<nê pirtok-i bîdî mîm>
this book(OBL) give me
‘Give me this book!’ (to keep) | 360. /e pir'tok-i 'bidi a min/
<ê pirtok-i bîdî a mîm>
this book(OBL) give to me
‘Hand me that book (for a minute).’ |
|---|---|

Windfuhr (1976:10) extracted from Mann-Hadank several examples of a preposition /bə/ <be> that combines with various postpositions for various meanings. He connected that preposition with the /p-/ <p-> forms discussed here under extrasystemic pronouns. The corpus for the current study contains no examples of that preposition.

2.5.4 Conjunctions

The following conjunctions occur in Dimili but are not frequently used. Paratactic relationships between clauses are frequent. See section 3.3 for a discussion of sentence level syntax.

TABLE 2.39 CONJUNCTIONS

361. /u/	<û>	‘and’
362. /-u əw/	<-û ew>	‘and’
363. /ja/	<ya>	‘or’
364. /həm həm /	<hem...hem... >	‘both...and...’
365. /wa/	<wa>	‘so that; thus’
366. /'dʒora/	<cora>	‘therefore’
367. /'ajra/	<ayra>	‘therefore’

The conjunctions /u/ <û> and /-uəw/ <-û ew> are identical in meaning. The shorter form is the only one heard in informal speech though A believes the /-uəw/ <-û ew> to be correct. The final two conjunctions in Table 2.39 above both include the ablative suffix /-ra/ <-ra> and literally mean ‘from that’ or ‘as to that’. /həm/ <hem> is a correlative conjunction that is used in pairs to mean “both...and...”. It is usually accompanied by the postposition /zi/ <zi> ‘also, too’.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 368. /həm kə'səj zi 'əste
<hem kesey zi estê,
both turtles too exist,
‘There are both turtles and frogs.’ | həm qirindʒ'ləj zi 'əste/
hem qırıncley zi estê>
both frogs too exist |
|---|--|

2.5.5 Interjections

Two interjections of mild surprise occur in the corpus. /wəj/ <wəy> with rising intonation is a fairly frequent response to unexpected information. /oj/ <oy> was used only a couple of times in response to unexpected actions, e.g. when the antenna fell off of a portable radio.

2.6 Word Class Derivation

2.6.1. Complex Verbs

Complex verbs exist which are comprised of a verb that also exists independently and a prefix that does not exist as an independent word and to which a discrete meaning cannot always be assigned. Hadank (1932:94) lists only three preverbals. Windfuhr (1976:6) was able to discover six preverbals in the Mann-Hadank data and assign discrete meanings to them.

369.	/ro-/ <ro->	+	/niʃ'tiʃ/ <nıʃtıʃ> 'mount'	→	/roniʃ'tiʃ/ <ronıʃtıʃ> 'sit, dwell'
370.	/a-/ <a->	+	/niʃ'tiʃ/ <nıʃtıʃ> 'mount'	→	/aniʃ'tiʃ/ <anıʃtıʃ> 'land' (plane, bird)
371.	/dʒi-/ <ci->	+	/kər'diʃ/ <kerdıʃ> 'do, make'	→	/dʒikər'diʃ/ <cıkerdıʃ> 'cut off'
372.	/tʃə-/ <çe->	+	/kər'diʃ/ <kerdıʃ> 'do, make'	→	/tʃəkər'diʃ/ <çekerdıʃ> 'throw'
373.	/ro-/ <ro->	+	/na'djiʃ/ <nayıʃ> 'set, place' (/na'djiʃ/ <nayıʃ> alone is seldom used.)	→	/rona'djiʃ/ <ronayıʃ> 'put, place, plant'
374.	/vər-/ <ver->	+	/da'djiʃ/ <dayıʃ> 'give'	→	/vərda'djiʃ/ <verdayıʃ> 'grow' (a beard, hair)
375.	/vəra-/ <vera->	+	/da'djiʃ/ <dayıʃ> 'give'	→	/vərada'djiʃ/ <veradayıʃ> 'release, let go'

The two elements of the complex verb are closely bound in that even the negation prefixes do not separate the two.

376.	/min	'pore	xu	'nedʒikərd/	377.	/miri'tʃik	nijaniʃt/
	<mn	porrê	xu	nêcikerd>		<mriçik	niyanıʃt>
	I	hair-EZ	own	not-cut off		bird	not-landed
		'I didn't cut my hair.'				'The bird didn't land.'	

378. /tja 'məroʃ/
 <**tya meroʃ**>
 here don't-sit
 'Don't sit here.'

Such verbs do not accept the subjunctive prefix, but not all verbs which do not accept the subjunctive prefix are complex. For example /va'tiʃ/ <**vatiʃ**> 'say' does not accept the subjunctive prefix but is not a complex verb.

2.6.2 Compound Verbs

Distinct from complex verbs are verbs that are comprised of two independent words. The second component of these compound verbs is most often /kər'diʃ/ <**kerdiʃ**> 'make, do'.

379. /ja'zi/ <**yazi**> + /kər'diʃ/ <**kerdiʃ**> → /jazi kər'diʃ/ <**yazi kerdiʃ**>
 'writing' 'do, make' 'write'
380. /paj/ <**pay**> + /da'jiʃ/ <**dayiʃ**> → /paj da'jiʃ/ <**pay dayiʃ**>
 'foot' 'give' 'kick'
381. /pak/ <**pak**> + /kər'diʃ/ <**kerdiʃ**> → /pak kər'diʃ/ <**pak kerdiʃ**>
 'clean'(aj) 'do, make' 'clean'(tv)

The negative prefixes are affixed to the second element thus coming between the two elements that make up the verb. In the subjunctive the preverbal element of the compound verb replaces the subjunctive prefix.

382. /aj ma'sə pak 'nekərd/
 <**ay mase pak nêkerd**>
 she table clean not-made
 'She did not clear off the table.'
384. /mək'tuv ja'zi ki/
 <**mektûv yazi ki**>
 letter write
 'Write the letter!'
383. /paj 'mədi pi'ro/
 <**pay medi piro**>
 foot don't-give him-on
 'Don't kick him!'
385. /o 'newəzəno mək'tuv ja'zi kəro/
 <**o nêwazeno mektûv yazi kero**>
 he not-wants letter write
 'He doesn't want to write the letter.'

2.6.3 Abstract Noun from Adjective

An abstract noun can be formed by adding the stressed suffix /-^ləj/ <**-ey**> to an adjective. This process is no longer productive.

- | <u>adjective</u> | | | <u>noun</u> | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 386. /gəndz/ | < genc > | 'young' | /gən'dʒəj/ | < gencey > | 'youth (state)' |
| 387. /piʀ/ | < pir > | 'old' | /pi'rəj/ | < pirey > | 'old age' |
| 388. /pil/ < ¹⁵ > | < pil > | 'honored' | | | |

2.6.4 Adjective from Noun

The stressed suffix /-^lin/ <**-in**> can be used to transform a noun into an adjective.

<u>noun</u>			<u>adjective</u>			
389.	/sol/	< sol >	'salt'	/so ^l lin/	< solin >	'salty'
390.	/ru ^l wən/	< rūwen >	'oil'	/ruwə ^l nin/	< rūwennin >	'oily'
391.	/wəl/	< wel >	'dust'	/wə ^l lin/	< welin >	'dusty'

It is possible that this is the same morpheme as is used to derive an ordinal number from the corresponding cardinal number.

392.	/di ^l di/	< didi >	'two'	/di ^l din/	< didin >	'second'
393.	/ʃəʃ/	< şeş >	'six'	/ʃə ^l ʃin/	< şeşin >	'sixth'
394.	/dəs/	< des >	'ten'	/də ^l sin/	< desin >	'tenth'

2.6.5 Noun from Noun

The stressed suffix /-^liʒ/ <**-ij**> added to nouns of place denotes origin or relationship.

<u>place name</u>			<u>inhabitant</u>			
395.	/soj ^l rəg/	< Soyreg >	'Siverek'	/soj ^l rəgiz/	< Soyregij >	
396.	/dijarebə ^l kir/	< Diyarêbekır >	'Diyarbakır'	/dijarebə ^l kıriz/	< Diyarêbekırıj >	
397.	/dəw/	< dew >	'village'	/də ^l wiz/	< dewij >	'villager'
398.	/qır ^l war/	< Qırwar >	(a tribe)	/qır ^l wariz/	< Qırwarıj >	(member of it)

The suffix is also used for inhabitants of Africa or the United States, but not for most nationalities.

<u>place name</u>			<u>inhabitant</u>		
399.	/a ^l meriqa/	< Amêriqa >	'America'	/ameriqa ^l niz/	< Amêriqanij >
400.	/ ^l afriqa/	< Afriqa >	'Africa'	/afriqa ^l jiʒ/	< Afriqayij >
401.	/al ^l manja/	< Almanya >	'Germany'	/al ^l man/	< Alman >
402.	/fi ^l ransa/	< Fıransa >	'France'	/fran ^l siz/	< Fransız >
403.	/hingis ^l tan/	< Hingistan >	'India'	/hin ^l di/	< Hindi >
				or /hingista ^l niz/	< Hingistanij >

A stressed /-i/ <-i>^f can be added to some names of nationalities to designate the language they speak.

<u>people</u>			<u>language</u>		
/al'man/	< Alman >		/alma'ni/	< Almani >	'German'
/fran'siz/	< Fransız >		/fransi'zi/	< Fransızı >	'French'
/ʕə'rəv/	< 'Erev >		/ʕərə'vi/	< 'Erevi >	'Arabic'
/farz/	< Farz >		/far'zi/	< Farzi >	'Persian'
/tirk/	< Türk >		/tir'ki/	< Tırki >	'Turkish'

But compare:

/kurd/	< Kurd >		/kirda'si/	< Kırdasi >	'Kurmanji'
--------	-----------------	--	------------	--------------------	------------

2.6.6 Adverbial from Noun

The plural suffix /-i/ <-i> added to a noun designating one of the four seasons denotes “in that season.”

404.	/am'nan/	< amnan >	'summer'	/am'nani/	< amnani >	'in summer'
405.	/zimis'tan/	< zımistan >	'winter'	/zimis'tani/	< zımistani >	'in winter'
406.	/pa'jiz/	< payız >	'autumn'	/pa'jizi/	< payızı >	'in autumn'
407.	/wə'sar/	< wesar >	'spring'	/wə'sari/	< wesari >	'in spring'

It is likely that this is the plural suffix, the plural of a noun of time being used as an adverb of time. Cf. Sorani Kurdish /bəhar-an/ 'springs' or 'in the spring'. However, in Dimili its use is restricted to seasons; it cannot be applied to 'day', 'morning', 'evening', etc. as it can be in Sorani.

2.6.7 Diminutive

A number of nouns accept a diminutive suffix that has the form /-ək/ <-ek> or /-ɨk/ <-ɨk> (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:62). The suffix bears the stress.

408.	/laʒ/	< laʒ >	'boy'	/la'ʒək/	< laʒek >	'little boy'
409.	/qətʃ/	< qeç >	'child'	/qə'tʃək/	< qeçek >	'baby'
410.	/kəj'na/	< keyna >	'girl'	/kəj'nək/	< keynek >	'little girl'
411.	/ləp/	< lep >	'palm (hand)'	/lə'pik/	< lepik >	'glove'
412.	/qır/	< qırr >	'throat'	/qı'rɨk/	< qırrɨk >	'throat'
413.	/pır/	< pir >	'old'	/pi'rɨk/	< pirɨk >	'grandmother'

Some words that clearly include the diminutive suffix no longer have a form that occurs without the suffix.

414.	/pi'tik/	< pıtık >	'(female) doll, infant'
415.	/pe'lək/	< pêlek >	'(small) cloth bag'

^f Editor's note (2nd edition): We have also found the language designator suffix /-ki/ <-ki>.

416. /pu'tʃik/ < **pûçik** > 'sock'
 417. /nun'dʒik/ < **nûncik** > 'fist'

At least one word that is accepted as being Dimili consists of the diminutive suffix added to a word that is rejected as being Kirmanji:

418. /po'zik/ < **pozik** > 'bridle' cf. Kirmanji /poz/ 'snout'

2.6.8 Reduplication

An occasional animal name consists of a reduplicated stem plus the diminutive suffix.

419. /ʃəwʃə'wik/ < **şewşewik** > 'bat' cf. /ʃəw/ < **şew** > 'night'
 420. /xalxal'lok/ < **xalxalok** > 'ladybug' cf. Arab. /xal/ 'beauty spot'
 421. /ħadʒħa'dʒik/ < **'hac'hacik** > 'swallow' cf. Arab. /ħaadʒdʒ/ 'pilgrim'

Endnotes to Chapter Two

1. A Dimili speaking friend of A's who comes from the Cermik area uses the feminine OBL case ending much more consistently than A does and even uses it on some feminine proper names which A never does.
2. After a non-high central vowel the /-o/ <-o> suffix becomes /-w/ <-w>.
3. At least one Dimili friend from Cermik says /^hpi-je min/ <pi-yê mun> 'my father'. That form is rejected by A as unnatural.
4. There are in Dimili clitics which are used in conjunction with present indicative tense in order to emphasize progressive aspect. In those clitics gender is also distinguished in second-person singular (/ti-ja/ <ti-ya> feminine vs. /ti-je/ <ti-yê> masculine) but the second-person pronouns themselves do not distinguish gender in either OBL or DIR case. For progressive construction see section 3.2.2.1.
5. It seems more than likely that a trace of the Oblique plural case ending /-an/ <-an> can be seen in the plural Oblique case pronouns; in particular the third-person plural Oblique pronoun /i'nan/ [i'nã] <inan>. If this is a remnant of an earlier regularity it is not difficult to imagine an earlier [*mã(j)ã] becoming [*mã] and then the current /ma/ <ma> which is homophonous with the Direct case of the same pronoun. Similarly an earlier [*jĩmã(j)ã] could have become [*jĩmã] and finally the current /jĩma/ <şima>.
6. Hadank (1932:21) established that Kirmanji /xw-/ <xw-> corresponds to Dimili /w-/ <w->. Therefore it is probable that this pronoun is back-borrowed.
7. Cf. MacKenzie, (1966:54-55) for a similar feature in Hawrami.
8. Sorani Kurdish abbreviates /bə-jək/ 'to one' as /pek/ or /pe/ in the meaning of together. Also Windfuhr (1976:10) takes others of these extra-systemic pronouns to be contractions with a prefix /bə/. In this corpus the prefix /bə/ does not occur in that form.
9. The word /^hbəno/ <bəno> from /bija^hjif/ <biyayış> 'be' can in various contexts mean the following:
 - 'perhaps'
 - 'happens to be'
 - 'becomes'
 - 'runs, operates, works (machine)'

A homophonous form /^hbəno/ <bəno> 'carries' also occurs but it is from /bər^hdif/ <berdiş> 'carry'.
10. The vowel /o/ <o> in this imperative is enigmatic. The vowel of the stem is /i/ <i>.
11. I have not come upon a past stem that ends in a back vowel, nor with the mid front vowel /e/ <ê>; only in /i/ <i>, /i/ <i>, /a/ <a>, or /ə/ <e>.

12. The suppletion of this stem is shared with at least Persian, Kirmanji Kurdish, and Sorani Kurdish among Iranian languages.

13. In some instances A has used a form of /tʃək-/ <**çek**-> with a past stem /tʃəkərd-/ <**çekerd**-> that was not due to suppletion but he usually uses the /əʃt-/ <**eşt**-> form as an alternate past stem of /tʃək-/ <**çek**->. In some contexts the two alternate past stems are not synonymous.

/əj tɪvɪŋ tʃəkərd/ < **ey tɪvɪŋ çekerd** > ‘He threw the rifle.’
 /əj tɪvɪŋ əʃt/ < **ey tɪvɪŋ eşt** > ‘He fired the rifle.’

14. A Dimili friend from Cernik insists that the postposition would only affect the second half of the compound subject. That is, he says,

/əz u marda xuja ʃi/
 <**ez û marda xuya ʃi**>
 I(DIR) & mom-EZ own-pp went
 ‘My mother and I went.’

15. Given the traditional bond between age and honor in the region, it is likely that /pil/ <**pil**> ‘honored’ and /pir/ <**pir**> ‘old’ developed from the same source and that /pir/ <**pir**> was back borrowed from Kirmanji to refer to age independent of honor. For example a seven-year-old boy can refer to his nine-year-old brother and say,

/bi¹ra-j min min ra da pil o/
 <**bira-y min min ra da pil o**>
 brother-EZ me me than more honored is
 ‘My brother is more honored than I.’

That of course also means the brother is older but he would by no means call his brother /pir/ <**pir**> ‘old.’

The word “thumb” is also comprised of a compound with /pil/ <**pil**> and means most important finger. The opposite of /pil/ <**pil**> is not /gəndz/ <**genc**> ‘young’ but /qiz/ <**qij**> ‘less important’ and that word is compounded to describe the little finger.

/əŋɪʃta 'pil/ < **engışta pil** > ‘important finger = thumb’
 /əŋɪʃta 'qiz/ < **engışta qij** > ‘lesser finger = little finger’

CHAPTER THREE

SYNTAX

This chapter deals with the structure of phrases, clauses, and sentences.

3.1 Noun Phrase Structure

The noun phrase (NP) consists of a noun as “head” plus modifiers linked by a liason morphemes called “ezafe” (EZ) in traditional Iranian linguistics. The modifiers that are joined by ezafe are adjectives, nouns, pronouns, or other NPs. Other modifiers such as numerals and deictic adjectives are added without benefit of ezafe.

3.1.1 Ezafe and the Noun Phrase

The ezafe morphemes are basically vowels, which display variations for gender, number, and embedding. The ezafe morphemes were presented in section 2.1.5. Corresponding to the three morphemic variants of the ezafe are three kinds of ezafe phrases: descriptive ezafe, genitive ezafe and dependent or subordinated ezafe. The different kinds are distinguished by different ezafe morphemes. Hadank (1932:71-74) merely listed the various ezafe morphemes and divided them into masculine and feminine but failed to distinguish among their functions.

3.1.1.1 Descriptive Ezafe Phrases

The descriptive ezafe phrase consists of a noun head plus a following adjective linked by an ezafe vowel appropriate to the gender and number of the noun. The construction is: HEAD-EZ MOD-CON where CON represents concord of gender and number between the head and the modifier. Table 3.01 presents the ezafe morphemes for descriptive ezafe phrases.

TABLE 3.01 DESCRIPTIVE EZAFE

	Singular	Plural
masculine	/o/ (/-jo/) <-o> (<-yo>)	/e/ (/-j/) <-ê> (<-y>)
feminine	/a/ (/-ja/) <-a> (<-ya>)	

The forms in the parenthesis occur when the noun head ends in a vowel. See Chapter One, Phonology, for rules for morpheme alternants.

Examples of descriptive ezafe phrases follow.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. /pir¹tok-o rind/
 <pirtok-o rind>
 book-EZ good
 ‘good book’</p> | <p>4. /suk-a ¹gird-i/
 <sûk-a gird-i>
 city-EZ large-fem.
 ‘large city’</p> |
| <p>2. /lad₃-o gænd₃/
 <lac-o genc>
 son-EZ young
 ‘young son’</p> | <p>5. /pir¹tok-e ¹gird-i/
 <pirtok-ê gird-i>
 book-EZ big-pl
 ‘big books’</p> |
| <p>3. /top-a wər¹d-i/
 <top-a werd-i>
 ball-EZ small-fem.
 ‘small ball’</p> | <p>6. /sa-j wəf-i/
 <sa-y weş-i>
 apple-EZ good-pl
 ‘good apples’</p> |

Note in the feminine and plural examples that agreement or concord is marked on the adjective as described in Chapter Two, Morphology. The gender agreement morpheme on adjectives in masculine examples is Ø. The plural morpheme that would otherwise be on the noun in example 5 is supplanted by the ezafe vowel.

The head may be modified by an adjective string in which case each adjective is linked by the ezafe vowel; only on the final adjective is the gender agreement apparent.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>7. /pir¹tok-o sur-o wər¹di/
 <pirtok-o sûr-o wirdi>
 book-EZ red-EZ small
 ‘small red book’</p> | <p>8. /ʕərəva-ja kiho-ja kihan-i/
 <’ereva-ya ki’ho-ya ki’han-i>
 car-EZ green-EZ old-fem.
 ‘old green car’</p> |
|---|--|

3.1.1.2 Genitive Ezafe Phrases

Genitive ezafe occurs when one noun is in genitive relation to another noun or to a pronoun.^{<1>} The construction is: HEAD-EZ MOD(OBL) as the noun or pronoun that modifies the head is always in the oblique case. The ezafe morphemes are not identical with those for descriptive ezafe.

TABLE 3.02 GENITIVE EZAFE

	Singular	Plural
masculine	/-e/ (/-j/)	< -ê > (< -y >)
		/-e/(/-j/) < -ê > (< -y >)
feminine	/-a/ (/-ja/, /-j/)	< -a > (< -ya > , < -y >)

The forms with /j/ <y> are applied to words with a final vowel and the feminine /-j/ <-y> to multisyllabic feminine words with a final vowel and to the two feminine kinship terms /ma/ <ma> ‘mother’ and /wa/ <wa> ‘sister’. Examples of genitive ezafe phrases follow.

9. /dəst-e min/
 <dest-ê min>
 hand-EZ me(OBL) (/dəst/ <dest> is masculine)
 'my hand'
10. /pi'zə-j min/
 <pize-y min>
 stomach-EZ me(OBL) (/pi'zə/ <pize> is masculine)
 'my stomach'
11. /liŋ-a min/
 <liŋ-a min>
 foot-EZ me(OBL) (/liŋ/ <liŋ> is feminine)
 'my foot'
12. /sa-ja tʃələŋ-i/
 <say-a çeləŋ-i>
 apple-EZ Cheləŋ(OBL) (/sa/ <sa> is feminine)
 'Cheləŋ's apple'
13. /ma-j to/
 <ma-y to>
 mother-EZ you
 'your mother'
14. /ʔərə'va-j ʃima/
 <'ereva-y ʃima>
 car-EZ you(pl)
 'your car'
15. /liŋ-e min/
 <liŋ-ê min>
 feet-EZ me(OBL)
 'my feet'
16. /sa-j ma/
 <sa-y ma>
 apples-EZ us
 'our apples'

Again, the plural ezafe replaces the pluralizing morpheme on the HEAD.

The genitive ezafe construction can express the following genitive relations.

possession:

17. /'ban-e min/ <ban-ê min> 'my house'
 18. /ʔərə'va-j to/ <'ereva-y to> 'your car'

body part:

19. /'dəst-e aj/ <dest-ê ay> 'her hand'
 20. /'liŋ-a min/ <liŋ-a min> 'my foot'

kinship:

21. /'qətʃ-e i'nan/ <qeç-ê inan> 'their child'
 22. /'dəd-e dʒi/ <ded-ê cı > 'his uncle'

3.1.1.3 Dependent Ezafe Phrases

When a genitive ezafe phrase itself serves as modifier in a larger genitive ezafe construction, the ezafe morpheme of the embedded phrase becomes /de/ <dê> for masculine or plural and /da/ <da> for feminine. Hadank (1932:71-74) called this doubled and strengthened ezafe but did not correctly classify his examples with respect to this phenomenon.

[HEAD-EZ [HEAD-de MOD]] or [HEAD-EZ [HEAD-da MOD]]

Table 3.03 presents the subordinated genitive ezafe forms that occur within the internal, that is the embedded, phrase.

TABLE 3.03 DEPENDENT EZAFE

	Singular	Plural
masculine	/de/ <dê>	/de/ <dê>
feminine	/da/ <da>	

Examples of genitive ezafe that are subordinated by embedding follow.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>23. /kutik-e əmirjan-de ma/
 <kûtik-ê emryan-dê ma>
 dog-EZ neighbor(OBL)-EZ us
 ‘our neighbor’s dog’</p> | <p>25. /kutik-e əmbaz-an-de əj/
 <kûtik-ê embaz-an-dê ey>
 dogs-EZ friends(OBL)-EZ him
 ‘his friends’ dogs’</p> |
| <p>24. /ma-j ma-r-da əj/
 <ma-y ma-r-da ay>
 mom-EZ mom(OBL)-EZ her
 ‘her mother’s mother’</p> | |

The head of the embedded phrase is required by context to be in the OBL case. The OBL case masculine singular suffix /-i/ <-i> (see section 2.1.2) is replaced by the ezafe /de/ <dê> but the OBL case plural suffix /-an/ <-an> (see section 2.1.3) is not replaced.

The term “dependent” ezafe is used because this ezafe is not limited to embedding. The same ezafe morphemes occur when a genitive ezafe phrase is subordinated by a post-position.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>26. /əmbaz-de xwi-re/
 <embaz-dê xwi-rê>
 friend-EZ own-to
 ‘to his friend’</p> | <p>27. /ma-r-da to ra/
 <ma-r-da to ra>
 mom(OBL)-EZ you from
 ‘from your mother’</p> |
|--|---|

An ezafe phrase that includes an embedded ezafe can itself be subordinated to a post-position or be embedded. In those circumstances both ezafe morphemes will begin with /d/ <d>.

28. /ma aw gene qəstəl-de bɪrər-de to ra/
 <ma aw gənê qəstəl-dê bɪrər-dê to ra>
 we water get spring-EZ brother-EZ you from
 ‘We get water from your brother's spring.’
29. /wa-j mar-da mar-da min/
 <wa-y mar-da mar-da min>
 sister-EZ mom-EZ mom-EZ me
 ‘my (maternal) grandmother's sister’

When a noun phrase includes both descriptive and genitive ezafe, the construction differs depending on whether the adjective modifies the head or the modifier. When the adjective modifies the head of the ezafe phrase, it modifies the entire phrase and is attached to the phrase by means of the appropriate descriptive ezafe morpheme.

[[HEAD-GEN.EZ MOD] -DES.EZ ADJ]

30. /dəst-e min-o tʃəp/
 <dest-ê mn-o çep>
 hand-EZ me-EZ left
 ‘my left hand’
31. /lɪŋ-a min-a tʃəp/
 <lɪŋ-a mn-a çep>
 foot-EZ me-EZ left
 ‘my left foot’
32. /pos'tal-e min-e gird-i/
 <postal-ê mn-ê gird-i>
 shoe-EZ me-EZ large-pl
 ‘my large shoes’

When, however, the adjective modifies the modifier in a genitive ezafe, it is attached to that modifier and the two of them form an embedded ezafe phrase with the appropriate dependent ezafe morpheme as liaison between them. Thus in dependent ezafe there is no distinction between descriptive and genitive.

[HEAD-GEN.EZ [HEAD-DEP.EZ ADJ]]

33. /ɑ'qil-e mər'dim-de pil-i/
 <aqıl-ê merdım-dê pil-i>
 wisdom-EZ people-EZ older-pl
 ‘the wisdom of older people’
34. /'boj-a vɪ'lik-da 'sur-i/
 <boy-a vɪlık-da sūr-ı>
 smell-EZ flower-EZ red-fem.
 ‘the fragrance of the red flower’

Note below that the adjective can even display concord of OBL case plural suffix.

35. /'boj-a vil'k-an-de sur-an/
 <boy-a vɪk-an-dê sūr-an>
 smell-EZ flowers(OBL)-EZ red-pl
 ‘the fragrance of the red flowers’

A noun to which the indefinite article /-en/ <-ên> is affixed always takes the dependent ezafe forms. Windfuhr (1976:12-14) describes our “dependent ezafe” together with this indefinite ezafe as “indirect ezafe” in an attempt to suggest a common function for /d/ <d> in dependent ezafe and the function here with the indefinite article.

36. /na tʃaj 'tʃaj-en-da 'wəʃ-a/
 <na çay çay-ên-da weş-a>
 this tea tea-a-EZ good-is
 'This tea is good (tea).'
37. /o i'sʔot i'sʔot-en-do 'tun-o/
 <o i'sot i'sot-ên-do tûn-o>
 that pepper pepper-a-EZ hot-is
 'That pepper is a hot one.'
38. /ne 'qətʃi 'qətʃ-en-de a'qil-i/
 <nê qeçi qeç-ên-dê aqıl-i>
 these kids kid-indef.-EZ clever-are
 'These children are clever.'

3.1.2 Intensifier in the Noun Phrase

An intensifier in a noun phrase is generally conceived to intensify the adjective. It is worthy of note, therefore, that in Dimili the intensifier occurs before the head noun and the adjective after the head noun. This lends support to the notion that the intensifier modifies the entire phrase and not just the adjective.

39. /bol zu'wan-o zor/
 <bol zuwan-o zor>
 very language-EZ difficult
 'very difficult language'
40. /bol dʒi'ni-ja wər'di/
 <bol cni-ya werdi>
 very woman-EZ small
 'very small woman'

3.1.3 Numerals in the Noun Phrase

A cardinal numeral in the noun phrase precedes the head noun and if greater than one causes the plural morpheme to be suffixed to the head noun.

41. /ʒəw laʒ/ <jew laj> 'one son' /di laʒi/ <di laji> 'two sons'
42. /ʒu kəjna/ <jû keyna> 'one daughter' /di kəjnəj/ <di keyney> 'two daughters'
43. /ʒu top/ <jû top> 'one ball' /di topi/ <di topi> 'two balls'
44. /sə/ <se> 'one hundred' /di səj/ <di sey> 'two hundred'
45. /hire tope wər'di/ <hirê topê werdi> 'three small balls'

3.1.4 Deixis and the Noun Phrase

The deictic adjectives in their various forms as described in Chapter Two always precede all other elements in a noun phrase. Thus in a noun phrase that includes deixis, numeral, noun and adjective they will occur in that order.

46. /e di pir'tok-e 'sur-i/
 <ê di pirtok-ê sûr-i>
 those 2 book-EZ red-pl
 'those two red books'
47. /ne hi're sa-j wər'd-i/
 <nê hirê sa-y werd-i>
 these 3 apple-EZ small-pl
 'these three small apples'

3.1.5 Phrase Level Functions of Oblique Case

As mentioned above, the oblique case has other uses that are not dependent on tense. One such use is when NPs or pronouns are subordinated to post-positions with dative or ablative force (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:55, 58).

48. /be ma maħ'mud-i-re 'vaʒe/
 <**bê ma Ma'hmûd-i-rê vajê**>
 come we Mahmud(OBL)-to tell
 'Let's tell Mahmud.'
49. /a'li 'min-re ard/
 <**Ali min-rê ard**>
 Ali me(OBL)- to brought
 'Ali brought it to me.'
50. /o do ʃit 'bijəro a'zad-i-ra/
 <**o do ʃit biyero Azad-i-ra**>
 he will milk get Azad(OBL)-from
 'He will get milk from Azad.'
51. /aħ'məd-o min - ra ingl'i'zi mu'səno/
 <**A'hmed-o min-ra İnglizi mûseno**>
 Ahmed-prog. me(OBL)-from English learns
 'Ahmed is learning English from me.'

The following examples serve to further substantiate the earlier claim that the first- and second-person plural pronouns do not differ in form with regard to case (section 2.2.2). That is true for any of the functions of the cases mentioned.

52. /əj 'wini 'ma-re va/
 <**ey wni ma-rê va**>
 he(OBL) thus us(OBL)-to said
 'He told us that.' (postposition)
53. /əz ʃi'ma ra 'gənan/
 <**ez ʃima ra genan**>
 I(DIR) you(OBL) from get
 'I get it from you (pl).' (postposition)

A number of other post-positions exist having various meanings but which have the same effect on the formal cases. See section 2.5.2.

Another major use of the oblique case is in a genitive relation between two nouns or a noun and a pronoun (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:55). The genitive ezafe is discussed above in section 3.1.1.2 and exemplified again below:

54. /ʕərə'va-j maħ'mud-i ʃik'jaja/
 <**'ereva-y Ma'hmûd-i ʃikyaya**>
 car-EZ Mahmud(OBL) broken-is
 'Mahmud's car has broken down.'
56. /'ban-e ma ki'hano/
 <**ban-ê ma ki'hano**>
 house us(OBL) old-is
 'Our house is old.'
55. /'qətʃ-e ʃi'ma-je 'koti/
 <**qeq-ê ʃima-yê koti**>
 kids you(OBL)-are where
 'Where are your (pl) children?'

In these functions which are not tense-dependent the feminine oblique ending is no longer optional for common nouns. It is still not applied to feminine proper names, however.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>57. /'goʃt-e bɪz-¹ər 'mɪn-re wəʃ-o/
 <goʃt-ê bɪz-er mɪn-rê weʃ-o>
 meat-EZ goat(OBL) me-to good-is
 'I like goat meat.'</p> | <p>59. /'tʃɪm-e luw-¹ər bərq'jəne/
 <çɪm-ê lûw-er berqyenê>
 eyes-EZ fox(OBL) glow
 'The eyes of the fox glow.'</p> |
| <p>58. /o luw-¹ər-re 'vano.../
 <o lûw-er-rê vano...>
 he fox(OBL)-to says
 'He says to the fox...'</p> | <p>60. /bɪ¹ra-j berɪ¹van əw'ʒa o/
 <bir-a-y Bêrivan ewja o>
 bro.-EZ Berivan there is
 'Berivan's brother is there.'</p> |

3.1.6 Comparative and Superlative Expressions

A native post-position and an adverb borrowed from Turkish combine to form the comparative expression in Dimili. The post-position is /ra/ <ra> which is used elsewhere with ablative force and the Turkish adverb is /da'ha/ <daha> 'more' which in Dimili is more often shortened to /da/ <da> and can be used independently to mean simply "more".

61. /əz da 'newənan/
 <ez da nêwenan>
 I more not-eat
 'I will not eat more.'

In stating a comparison, the referent that is exceeded is marked by the ablative post-position and the adjective is preceded by /da/ <da>.

62. /sa mi¹ro-ra 'da wəʃ-a/
 <sa miro-ra da weʃ-a>
 apple pear-than more good-is
 'The apple is better than the pear.'

The order of the two NPs can be reversed as below, but the preferred order is as shown above.

63. /'kardi-ra li¹lik 'da vɑj-o/
 <kardi-ra lihk da vay-o>
 knife-than mirror more expensive-is
 'The mirror is more expensive than the knife.'

Comparative phrases cannot be used as simple modifiers. There is no way to say directly "a larger car." One must use a relative clause: "A car that is larger."

64. /ʕərə¹va-k 'da gɪrd-a/
 <'ereva-k da gird-a>
 car-that more large-is
 'a larger car'

This means that /daha/ <daha> is limited to modifying predicative adjectives and other adverbs. The superlative is like the comparative except that the item in question is compared to all things of its class or in a specific area. In the former, the class is reduced to the word "all" with the /-ra/ <-ra> attached to

it. In the latter, the location is given and the comparison is implied without even adding the comparative /da/ <da> to the adjective. Thus the superlative is implicit rather than explicit in the grammar.

65. /o pe'rin-ra da wəʃ kaj 'kəno/
 <o pêm-ra da weş kay keno>
 he all-than more good game does
 'He plays better than all of them.'

66. /'tirkija-di 'səmbul 'gird-o/
 <Tırkiya-dı Sembûl gird-o>
 Turkey-in Istanbul big-is
 'Istanbul is the biggest (city) in Turkey.'

3.2 Clause Structure

3.2.1 Case in Clause Structure

The primary issue in the clause level syntax of Dimili relates to the distribution of case.

The two primary cases of Dimili function in the nonpast tenses much like nominative and accusative but function differently in the past tenses. Dimili is a split ergative language and in the past tenses the same morphological cases function as “absolute” and “ergative” cases respectively. The term “ergative” normally designates a marked case that distinguishes subject of transitive clauses (St) on the one hand, from direct objects (O) and subjects of intransitive clauses (Si) on the other. The term “absolute” is then used for the unmarked case which is common to O and Si. “Subject” in this paper is defined as “logical subject” regardless of verbal agreement.

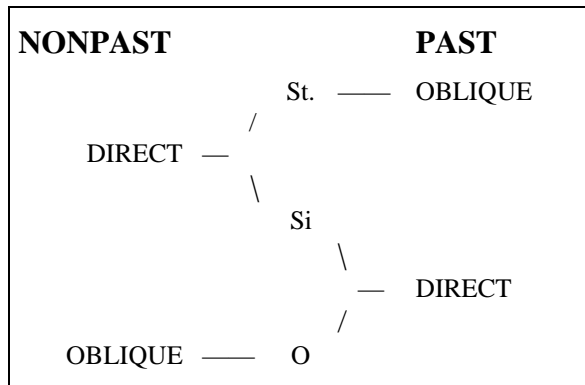
Those terms cannot be used for the formal cases in Dimili because in nonpast tenses, the unmarked case is used for Si and St but O is expressed in the marked case. Therefore in this study reference to “direct” and “oblique” will, unless otherwise stated, mean the two respective grammatical cases that are clearly distinguished in Dimili grammar. The “marked” oblique case is only marked if the particular referent is specific.

In addition to the direct and oblique cases, there is a remnant of a locative case that only marks the goal of a verb of motion if the goal is feminine in gender and specific, and a remnant of vocative case.

Thus, the four formal cases of Dimili are direct, oblique, locative, and vocative. Other case names such as genitive, dative, ablative, etc., unless otherwise stated, refer to the underlying relationships that always involve one or more of the formal cases in Dimili.

The visual representation in Diagram 3.1 may be helpful in relating the case names and the functions.

DIAGRAM 3.1



The oblique case is likewise used for NPs and pronouns that are subordinated by post-positions or in ezafe constructions. That is, it takes the place of cases which would be labeled genitive, dative, etc., if they existed independently in Dimili. Such uses of the oblique case, which are not tense-dependent, are treated above in section 3.1.5.

Examples below show direct case pronouns.

67. /əz 'ʃijan kə'jə/
 <ez **ʃiyan** **keye**>
 I(DIR) went home
 'I went home.' (Si)

70. /no 'kərg-e bir'nəno/
 <no **kərg-ê** **birneno**>
 he(DIR) hen-a butchers
 'He butchers a hen.' (St)

68. /o za'ra vi'nəno/
 <o **Zara** **vineno**>
 he(DIR) Zara sees
 'He sees Zara.' (St)

71. /e 'jəne tja/
 <ê **yenê** **tya**>
 they(DIR) come here
 'They come here.' (Si)

69. /ti 'ʃine kə'jə/
 <ti **ʃinê** **keye**>
 you(DIR) go home
 'You go home.' (Si) (habitual action)

The examples below show oblique case pronouns.

72. /a'zado min vi'nəno/
 <Azado **min** **vineno**>
 Azad(DIR) me(OBL) sees
 'Azad sees me.'

73. /sim'ko to silas'nəno/
 <Simko **to** **silasneno**>
 Simko(DIR) you(OBL) knows (acquaintance)
 'Simko knows you.'

74. /tʃə'ləng wa'zəno aj 'bikiʃo/
 <Çeleng **wazeno** **ay** **bikiʃo**>
 Cheleng(DIR) wants her(OBL) he-kill
 'Cheleng wants to kill her.'

75. /sim'ko do i'nan 'nekışo/
 <**Simko do inan nêkışo**>
 Simko will them not-kill
 'Simko will not kill them.'

76. /ne min vi'nəne/
 <**nê mın vinenê**>
 they(DIR) me(OBL) see
 'They see me.'

The oblique case pronouns are exemplified below as St in past tenses while the direct case pronouns are shown as Si and O.

77. /əz 'şijan aħ'mədi hət/
 <**ez şıyan A'hmedi het**>
 I(DIR) went Ahmed 'chez'
 'I went to Ahmed's (place).'

80. /a'zad-i o 'dijo/
 <**Azad-i o diyo**>
 Azad him(DIR) saw is
 'Azad has seen him.'

78. /tʃə'ləŋ-i əz 'dijan/
 <**Çeleng-i ez diyan**>
 Cheleng(OBL) me(DIR) saw
 'Cheleng saw me.'

81. /mın a'zad 'dijo/
 <**mın Azad diyo**>
 I(OBL) Azad(DIR) saw is
 'I have seen Azad.'

79. /ti 'şije 'kurdistan/
 <**tı şiyê Kûrdistan**>
 you(DIR) went Kurdistan
 'You went to Kurdistan.'

82. /ni'nan di'ler kişt/
 <**ninan Dîlêr kışt**>
 they(OBL) Diler(DIR) killed
 'They killed Diler.'

The following examples display the reversal of the functions St and O with the change in tenses.

83. /əz to vi'nənan/
 <**ez to vinenan**>
 I(DIR) you(OBL) see
 'I see you.'

85. /ti min vi'nəne/
 <**tı mın vinenê**>
 you(DIR) me(OBL) see
 'You see me.'

84. /to əz 'dijan/
 <**to ez diyan**>
 you(OBL) me(DIR) saw
 'You saw me.'

86. /mın ti di/
 <**mın tı di**>
 I(OBL) you(DIR) saw
 'I saw you.'

3.2.2 Periphrastic Verb Structures

3.2.2.1 Present Progressive

A syntactic construction differentiates between present tense on the one hand and present tense with progressive aspect on the other. Native speakers describe the latter as being used for describing actions that are known to be taking place at the time of speaking, "you see him doing it." This way of describing it may reflect the Turkophone environment since Turkish distinguishes between reported and witnessed events. But this syntactic construct signifies the progressive aspect of the action being

“witnessed” and cannot be used with stative verbs such as “know” which do not normally distinguish between perfective and progressive aspects.

The construction consists of a clitic that is added to the subject of the verb while the verb itself remains unchanged, a present indicative verb. The clitic agrees with the subject in person, number and gender. Hadank (1932:63) believed these clitics to be optional gender markers, missing the aspect distinction between simple present and present progressive. He also mistook them for pronominal and deictic suffixes (1932:66,69-70). In these subject clitics the gender distinction has been extended to the second-person singular though the pronouns themselves make no such distinction.^{<2>}

TABLE 3.04 SUBJECT CLITICS FOR PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

1 st per.		/-an/ (/-jan/)	< -an > (< -yan >)
2 nd per.	masc.	/-e/ (/-je/)	< -ê > (< -yê >)
	fem.	/-a/ (/-ja/)	< -a > (< -ya >)
3 rd per.	masc.	/-o/ (/-jo/)	< -o > (< -yo >)
	fem.	/-a/ (/-ja/)	< -a > (< -ya >)
all plurals		/-e/ (/-je/)	< -ê > (< -yê >)

The clitics appear to be the copula suffixes, being identical with them in the singular. The plurals being /-e/ <-ê> instead of /-i/ <-i> is not conclusive evidence that these are not the copula endings. The plural copula endings become /-e/ <-ê> when attached to negative /ni-/ <ni- >.

As the following examples show, these clitics are applied to both pronominal and nominal subjects.

87. /bɪˈrɑj mɑhˈmud-i-jo ˈjɑno/
 <biray Ma’hmūd-i-yo yeno>
 brother-of Mahmud (OBL)-prog. comes
 ‘Mahmud’s brother is coming.’ (I can see him.)
88. /berɪˈvɑn-a ˈgɔʃt-e bɪˈzɑr ˈwɑnɑ/
 <Bêrivan-a gɔʃt-ê bizer wena>
 Berivan-prog. meat-EZ goat eats
 ‘Berivan is eating goat meat.’ (right now)
89. /ˈo-jo ˈʃɑmi vɪrɑˈzɑno/
 <o-yo ʃami vɪrɑzeno>
 he-prog. supper makes
 ‘He is cooking supper.’ (and cannot come to the phone)
90. /ˈti-je ʔɑrɑˈvɑ rɑˈmɑn-e/
 <ti-yê ʔereva ramen-ê >
 you-prog. car drive-2p.sg.
 ‘You (masc.) are driving the car.’

91. /'ti-ja ʒərə'va rɑ'mən-e/ ^g
 <**ti-ya** **'ereva** **ramen-ê**>
 you-prog. car drive-2p.sg.
 'You (fem.) are driving the car.'

The simple present tense is common as a narrative tense for events in actual past time, in the future, and to describe habitual or assumed actions and events. The progressive sub-aspect is used to describe what someone is doing while the speaker looks on.

3.2.2.2 Future Tense

The future tense also employs a clitic on the subject. The verb is in subjunctive (suj) form and the clitics are not so varied as are the ones for progressive aspect. The clitic consists of /-do/ <**-do**> for most persons and numbers. The one exception is first-person singular where the clitic reverts to the /-an/ <**-an**> of the present continuous (which is also homophonous with the first-person singular copula).^{<3>} The fact that in first-person singular the clitics are identical for progressive aspect and future tense account for Hadank's confusion (1932:85) as to whether /do/ <**do**> indicated future or not. All four of his counter examples are instances of present indicative tense with progressive aspect.

The clitic /-do/ <**-do**> may well be a remnant of an earlier verb in that it subordinates the following verb to the subjunctive form which has reduced specificity (loss of gender distinction).

TABLE 3.05 SUBJECT CLITICS IN FUTURE TENSE

1st per. singular	-an< -an >
all others	-do< -do >

The examples below illustrate the future tense.

92. /'əz-an 'bir-an/
 <**ez-an** **bir-an**>
 I-fut. come(suj)-I
 'I will come.'
93. /'ma-do 'ʃir-e/
 <**ma-do** **ʃir-ê**>
 we-fut. go(suj)-pl
 'We will go.'
94. /'ti-do tja 'ʃami 'bur-e/
 <**ti-do** **tya** **ʃami** **bûr-ê**>
 you-fut. here supper eat(suj)-2p.sg
 'You will eat supper here.'
95. /əm'baz-e 'min-do 'ʃir-o/
 <**embaz-ê** **mîn-do** **ʃir-o**>
 friend-EZ me-fut. go(suj)-3p.sg.
 'My friend will go.'
96. /'o-do rəw 'bîrəs-o kə'jə/
 <**o-do** **rew** **bîrəs-o** **keye**>
 he-fut. early arrive-3p.sg. home
 'He will arrive home early.'
97. /'əz-an ne pir'toki rəw 'buwan-an/
 <**ez-an** **nê** **pirtoki** **rew** **bûwan-an**>
 I-fut. this book soon read-I
 'I will soon read this book.'

^g Comment from the editor of the electronic version (2008): This should read: /rɑ'mən-a/. See table 2.21 (Present Tense).

Further evidence to the effect that the clitic /-do/ <-do> was formerly a verb comes from word order with a verb like /niʃ'tiʃ/ <**mʃtʃ**> “mount.” In present tense and past tense this verb behaves as if the animal being mounted is a goal of motion (G) and the word order is then SVG as is usual for such a sentence. But in the future tense the clitic occurs between the subject and the goal while the subjunctive verb occurs last.

98. /o niʃəno is^{si}t^oori/
 <**o** **mʃeno** **rʃstori**>
 S V G
 ‘He mounts the mare.’

99. /o niʃt is^{si}t^oori/
 <**o** **mʃt** **rʃstori**>
 S V G
 ‘He mounted the mare.’

100. /o-do is^{si}t^oori niʃo/
 <**o-do** **rʃstori** **mʃo**>
 S-fut. G V(suj)
 ‘He will mount the mare.’

3.2.2.3 Past Predictive

The same subject clitic /-do/ <-do> that combines with the subjunctive to form a future tense also combines with the imperfect to form the past predictive.

101. /min do no ban 'kire 'kərde/
 <**mn do** **no ban** **kirê kerdê**>
 I(OBL) will this house rent was-doing
 ‘I would have rented this house.’

3.2.2.4 Other “Modal Auxiliaries”

If we take /do/ <**do**> to be a modal auxiliary, there are four other words that perform similar functions, but each one behaves differently syntactically. They all can be analyzed as nominalized clauses embedded as subjects or objects.

A verb /waʃ'tiʃ/ <**waʃtʃ**> exists to express “want” and it has a full range of predictable derivative forms.

102. /əj waʃt əz zi 'ʃiran/
 <**ey waʃt** **ez zi** **ʃiran**>
 he wanted I too go(suj)
 ‘He wanted me to go, too.’

103. /o wa'zəno əz zi 'ʃiran/
 <**o wazeno** **ez zi** **ʃiran**>
 he wants I too go(suj)
 ‘He wants me to go, too.’

104. /o do 'buwazo əz zi 'fıran/
 <o do bûwazo ez zi şıran>
 he will want I too go(suj)
 'He will want me to go, too.'

To express “would like” or a more polite version of “want” an adjective /qa'jil/ <**qayil**> which has no independent use, is inflected with the copula.

105. /əz qa'jil-an ti zi 'fıre/
 <ez qayil-an ti zi şırê>
 I pleased(?) -am you too go(suj)
 'I would like for you to go, too.'

To express “should” the word /gə'rək/ <**gerek**> which means ‘must’ in Turkish precedes even the subject of the clause and is not inflected. The verb, however, is in the subjunctive as if following a modal auxiliary.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>106. /gə'rək əz zi 'fıran/
 <gerek ez zi şıran>
 should I too go(suj)
 'I should go, too.'</p> | <p>107. /gə'rək ma zi 'fıran/
 <gerek ma zi şıran>
 should we too go(suj)
 'We should go, too.'</p> |
|---|---|

Paired with the past imperfect, /gə'rək/ <**gerek**> expresses “should have”.

108. /gə'rək o 'neşije/
 <gerek o nêşiyê>
 should he not-was-going
 'He should not have gone.'

The more emphatic “must” is expressed by paraphrase with the adjective /la'zim/ <**lazım**> “necessary” borrowed from Arabic. It is not inflected like /qa'jil/ <**qayil**> but always takes the third-person singular masculine copula and precedes the subject of the main clause.

109. /la'zim-o ma zi 'fıre/
 <lazım-o ma zi şırê>
 necessary-is we too go(suj)
 'We, too, must go.'

3.2.3 Word Order in the Clause

3.2.3.1 Equative Clause

As mentioned in Chapter Two where the copula was introduced, in an equative clause the copula or verb “be” is usually last.

110. /bol pə'rəj 'dʒi-re la'zim-i/
 <bol perey cı-rê lazım-i>
 much money(pl) him-to necessary-are
 'He needs a lot of money.'

111. /na iʃ'liŋ qo'rə-j 'min-a/
 <**na iʃliŋ** **qorê-y** **min-a**>
 this shirt size-EZ me-is
 'This shirt is my size.'
112. /wəxt zimis'tan 'bəno/
 <**wəxt zimistan** **beno**>
 time winter being
 'It happens to be winter.'

But in the meaning of “become” the same verb occurs between the subject and the complement expressing a change of state.

113. /o mər'dim 'bəno ne'wəʃ/
 <**o merdim** **beno** **nêweş**>
 that fellow becomes ill
 'That fellow becomes ill.'
114. /'laʒ-e to 'biyo gird/
 <**laʒ-ê to** **biyo gird**>
 son-EZ you became big
 'Your son has grown up.'

A locative expression occurs after the copula or “Verb of Existence”.

115. /qə'ləm-a tʃan'tə di/
 <**qelem-a** **cante di**>
 pencil-is bag in
 'The pencil is in the bag.'
116. /'qəʃ-e 'to-je 'koti di/
 <**qəç-ê** **to-yê** **koti di**>
 children-EZ you-are where at
 'Where are your children?'
117. /ʒəw xər'xiz-e bi 'dəw-da ma di/
 <**jew xerxiz-ê** **bi** **dew-da** **ma di**>
 one thief-a existed village-EZ us in
 'There was a thief in our village.'

3.2.3.2 Verbal Clause

The basic order of the constituent elements of the verbal clause is:

SUBJECT	TIME-ADV	OBJECT	I.O. /-re/ <-rê>	MANNER-ADV	VERB	GOAL
---------	----------	--------	------------------	------------	------	------

“Goal” is locative after a verb of motion or it can encode an indirect object without the post-position /-re/ <-rê>. “I.O. /-re/ <-rê>” symbolizes the indirect object with the post-position.

Subject, Object, Verb (SOV) is the typical order for Dimili as seen in the following examples in various tenses:

118. /a'li ko'li ro'ʃəno/
 <**Ali** **koli** **roşeno**>
 S O V
 'Ali sells wood.'

119. /ali ʔərə'vɑj xu rot/
 <Ali 'erevay xu rot>
 S O V
 'Ali sold his car.'
120. /ali do 'bɑne xu 'biroʃo/
 <Ali do banê xu biroʃo>
 S O V
 'Ali will sell his house.'

The same order pertains when one or both of the nominal elements are reduced to pronouns.

121. /əz sim'koj silas'nanan/
 <əz Simkoy silasnanan>
 S O V
 'I know Simko.'
122. /min ti di/
 <min ti di>
 S O V
 'I saw you.'
123. /o do min 'bikiʃo/
 <o do min bikiʃo>
 S O V
 'He will kill me.'

The order O S V is possible for emphasis on the object as in answer to a question, for example.

124. /ar'weʃ-e ʃi'ma-w 'koti di / /o ma wərd/
 <arwêʃ-ê ʃima-w koti di > <o ma werd>
 rabbit-EZ you-is where at O S V
 'Where is your rabbit?' 'We ate it.' or 'It, we ate.'

With verbs of motion the place which is the goal of the motion (G) normally occurs after the verb.

125. /'maje 'ʃine kə'jə/
 <mayê ʃinê keye>
 S V G
 'We are going home.'
126. /pi min ʃi suk/
 <pi min ʃi sūk>
 S V G
 'My father went to town.'
127. /o do 'biro ma hət/
 <o do biro ma het>
 S V G
 'He will come to (visit) us.'

Adverbs that describe the action or event will precede the verbs as part of the verb phrase. Adverbs of time, however, normally occur immediately following the subject, i.e. in second position.

128. /'ojo xɑ'li he'di vɪrɑ'zəno/
 <**oyo xali hêdi vɪrazeno**>
 S O adv-man. V
 'He is slowly making the carpet.'

129. /'ojo ni'ka xɑ'li vɪrɑ'zəno/
 <**oyo nka xali vɪrazeno**>
 S adv-time O V
 'He is making the carpet now.'

The indirect object (IO) is usually marked with a postposition /-re/ <**-rê**> that requires Oblique case. Thus marked it occurs before the verb.

130. /ɑ do mək'tuve 'to-re 'bɪrɪʃo/
 <**a do mektûvê to-rê bɪrɪʃo**>
 S O IO V
 'She will send you that letter.'

131. /ma na iʃ'liɡ to-'re həri'ne/
 <**ma na iʃliɡ to-rê herinê**>
 S O IO V
 'We bought this shirt for you.'

The relative positions of the O and IO can also be reversed.

132. /o 'dʒi-re tʃɑj vɪrɑ'zəno/
 <**o ɟi-rê çay vɪrazeno**>
 S IO O V
 'He prepares tea for him.'

The indirect object also appears after the verb in the GOAL slot and without the post-position. This may be limited to pronominal indirect objects.

133. /ɑ do e pɪr'toki 'bɪmusno to/
 <**a do ê pirtoki bɪmûsno to**>
 S O V IO
 'She will show you that picture.'

134. /ti t'ɑjn aw 'dane dʒi/
 <**ti tɑjn aw danê ɟi**>
 S O V IO
 'You give them a little water.'

135. /e pɪr'toki 'bɪdi min/
 <**ê pirtoki bɪdi mɪn**>
 O V IO
 'Give me that book.'

It is clear from the example below that the format is not dependent on the particular verb since both formats can occur with the verb "give".

136. /əz pə'rəj 'danan to 'min-re pɪr'toki 'bɪdi/
 <ez perye danan to, min-rê pirtoki bɪdi>
 S O V IO, IO O V
 'I give you the money, (you) give me the book.'

A locative phrase may be inserted before or after the verb.

137. /dʒə'matʰ o'də-di ro'ʃəno/
 <cema't ode-dɪ roʃeno>
 S LOC V
 'The crowd sits down in the room.'

138. /o nan 'wəno ini 'səro/
 <o nan weno ini sero>
 S O V LOC
 'He eats lunch above the spring.'

3.2.3.3 Topic and Comment

It is also possible in Dimili to topicalize a referent by placing it first in the sentence without a morphological connection to the clause while another referent is subject. This seems to serve as an alternative to using a relative clause.

139. /ʒəw kə'jə dʒəni-jen-da dʒi bi/
 <jew keye ceni-yên-da cɪ bi>
 one home woman-a-DEP.EZ it existed
 'There was a home where a woman was.'

3.3 Sentence Level Syntax

3.3.1 Dependent Clauses

3.3.1.1 Conditional Sentences

Hadank (1932:99f.) distinguishes between real conditions, potential conditions and contrafactual (Irrealis) conditions. Though the forms are somewhat different in the present data due to fuer conjunctions, the distinctions are still valid. Real conditions have the verb of the protasis in the present indicative followed by the Turkish conditional enclitic /-sə/ <-se>.

140. /ti bol əw dəne-sə wəʃ niʒo/
 <tɪ bol əw danê-se, weʃ niyo>
 you much water give-if, good isn't
 'If you give them a lot of water it isn't good.'

Potential conditions are marked in the protasis by the subjunctive verb form and the same clause-final conditional clitic as used for real conditions.

141. /wəxt-e dʒi 'bivo-sə o do 'biro/
 <**wəxt-ê cı bivo-se o do biro**>
 time-EZ him exist-if, he will come
 'If he has time he will come.'
142. /kəs tə'qa akəro-sə va jəno/
 <**kes teqa akero-se, va yeno**>
 one window open-if, wind comes
 'If one opens the window, wind comes in.'
143. /o ʃiro wəlat-sə fına nino almanija/
 <**o ʃiro wəlat-se fına nino Almaniya**>
 he goes country-if, again not-come Germany
 'If he goes home he won't come back to Germany.'
144. /əz ʃan di bə'rəj 'ʃiran ke'jə-sə 'dʒi-re wəʃ 'nijo/
 <**ez ʃan di berey ʃiran kêye-se cı-rê weş niyo**>
 I evening in late go home-if, her-to good isn't
 'If I go home late in the evening she doesn't like it.'
145. /ti pə'rəj 'bidi dʒi-sə o do 'biro/
 <**ti perey bidi cı-se o do biro**>
 you money give him-if, he will come
 'If you give him the money, he will come.'

3.3.1.2 Irrealis or Contrafactual

To express a contrafactual condition in present time the verb of the protasis is put in preterite tense and takes the clitic /-sə/ <-se> while the apodosis is in future tense. Though Hadank (1932:101) cites examples of /'əgət/ <**eger**> 'if', it is not attested in the present research.

146. /ʕərə'va-j mɪn bi-sə əz-an 'ʃiran/
 <'ereva-y **mɪn bi-se, ez-an ʃiran**>
 car-EZ me existed-if, I-will go
 'If I had a car I would go.'
147. /pə'rə-j mɪn bi-sə əz-an 'tʃəkəran panka/
 <**pere-y mɪn bi-se, ez-an çekəran panka**>
 money-EZ me existed-if, I-will throw bank
 'If I had some money I would put it in the bank.'

When the contrafactual condition is referred to in past time, the verb of the protasis is in the perfect subjunctive and that of the apodosis is in the past predictive. The protasis is again marked with the clitic /-sə/ <-se>.

148. /mɪn 'ban-e 'bivinqj-sə mɪn do 'kire 'kərd-e/
 <**mɪn ban-ê bivinqj-se mɪn do kırê kərd-ê**>
 I house-a find-if, I will rent was-doing
 'If I had found a house, I would have rented it.'

Hadank (1932:93) does not attest the use of /sə/ <se> in present conditionals. He also distinguishes a separate potential construction (1932:100-101), a distinction which our data does not attest.

3.3.1.3 Time Margins

A time margin can be added to a clause much in the same way that the conditional sentence is formed. The time clause is dependent, preposed and may even be closed with the conditional clitic /-sə/ <-se>. The time margin almost invariably begins with the word “when” /'wəxtək/ <wextek> which is composed of “that time which” /wəxtə-k/ <wexta-k> (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:97 and relative clauses, section 3.3.1.4 below).

149. /'wəxtək əz wər'di vijən mar-a mɪn dʒi'ya'rə ʃi'mite/
 <wextək ez werdi viyan mar-a mɪn ci'gare ʃimite>
 when I small was, mother-EZ me smoked
 ‘When I was small, my mother used to smoke.’

150. /'wəxtək o 'biro ma do pja 'bure/
 <wextək o biro ma do pya bûrê>
 when he comes, we will together eat
 ‘When he comes, we will eat together.’

The conditional clitic is most likely to occur with the time clause when the speaker goes back over some earlier recorded samples of his own speech and finds time clauses without the clitic. In other words, A tends not to use /-sə/ <-se> on a time clause but feels that he “ought to.” Hadank does not attest the use of /-sə/ <-se> (1932:97).

151. /'wəxtək bi 'girdi-sə ti aw bol t'ajɲ 'dane dʒi/
 <wextək bi girdi-se ti aw bol 'tayɲ danê ci>
 when be large-(if), you water very little give them
 ‘When they have become large you give them a little water.’

3.3.1.4 Relative Clauses

The relative pronoun is /-k/ <-k> (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:98). It is suffixed to the distant deictic pronoun (section 2.2.1)^h, which in turn is cliticized to the head of the relative clause.

152. /o dʒa'merd-o-k pi dʒi 'mərdo 'nino/
 <o camêrd-o-k pi ci merdo nino>
 that man-masc-who father his died not-comes
 ‘The man whose father died is not coming.’

153. /e dʒa'merd-i-k 'nijaməj 'dʒana wərd/
 <ê camêrd-i-k niyamey cana werd>
 those men-pl-who not-came place-other ate
 ‘Those who didn’t come ate somewhere else.’

^h Comment from the editor of the electronic version (2008): The suffix attached to the head of a relative clause should be interpreted as the descriptive ezafe rather than as a pronoun (my interpretation follows Paul 1998a:§175).

154. /a dʒə'ne-k 'wəxtə dʒi tʃi'nevi ni'ka 'fina jəna/
 <a cenê-k wextê cı çimêvi nıka fina yena>
 that woman who time her none-was again comes
 'The woman who had no time comes again.'

The relative clause is relatively infrequent in A's speech and he is more comfortable with a substitute like the following in which intonation and juncture make it clear that it is one sentence and not two. The first clause involves topicalization as a substitute for a relative clause.

155. /a dʒə'ni 'wəxt-e dʒi tʃi'nevi nika a do 'fina 'biro/
 <a ceni wext-ê cı çimêvi nıka a do fina biro>
 that woman time-EZ her wasn't now she will again come
 'That woman who had no time will now come again.'

A relative clause is, however, the normal way to express such a time frame as "next week" or "last month."

156. /həf'tə-w-k 'jəno o 'ʃan di ɡirwi'jəno/
 <'hefte-w-k yeno o ʃan dı ɡirwiyeno>
 week-that comes he evening in works
 'Next week he works evenings.'
157. /məng-a-k ra'verda əj dʒiɣa'rə 'neʃimɪt/
 <meng-a-k ravêrda ey cıɣare nêʃimɪt>
 month-that passed he cigarette not-smoked
 'Last month he didn't smoke.'

3.3.1.5 Purpose Clauses

A purpose clause follows the main clause and is connected by the conjunction /wa/ <wa>'so that' which Hadank (1932:84) records as introducing wishes and suggestions.

158. /pəndʒə'ra 'aki wa va 'jəno/
 <pencera akı wa va yeno>
 window open so air comes
 'Open the window so that air comes in.'

3.3.2 Conjoined Independent Clauses

Coordinate clauses are paratactic with few exceptions, shared elements being excluded in the second clause. The specific relationship between the clauses is generally not overtly expressed but depends on the context (cf. Mann-Hadank, 1932:95).

159. /be ma 'ʃire suk/ + /be ma nan 'bure/ → 160. /be ma 'ʃire suk di nan 'bure/
 <bê ma ʃırê sūk> <bê ma nan bûrê> <bê ma ʃırê sūk dı nan bûrê>
 come we go city come we bread eat come we go city in bread eat
 'Let's go and eat supper in town.'

If it is the verb, however, that is common to the various clauses it is repeated in every clause.

161. /dʒam'baz də'war heri'nəno is't^oor heri'nəno man'ga heri'nəno biz heri'nəno hə'mi tʃi heri'nəno./
 <**cambaz dewar hêrineno, ɾ'stor hêrineno, manga hêrineno, biz hêrineno, 'hemi ci hêrineno.**>
 dealer animal buys, horse buys, cow buys, goat buys, every thing buys.
 'An animal dealer buys animals, horses, cows, goats, and everything.'

A coordinate relation can be emphasized by preceding both of the activities with /həm/ <**hem**> ^{<4>} as shown below.

162. /ma həm qah'wə ʃi'məne həm tʃaj ʃi'məne/
 <**ma hem qahwe şimenê hem çay şimenê**>
 we both coffee drink and tea drink
 'We drink both coffee and tea.'

Disjunctive clauses are likewise paratactic marked by rising intonation at the end of the first clause while the second clause is optionally introduced by /ja/ <**ya**> 'or'.

163. /ma tə'vəra ro'ʃəne zə'rə-di ro'ʃəne/
 <**ma tevera roşenê, zerre-di roşenê**>
 we outside sit, inside sit
 'Shall we sit outside or in?'

An antithetical conjunction does not seem to exist in this dialect of Dimili. A's friends occasionally use /əma/ <**ema**> from Turkish /ama/ to mean "but" at the beginning of a sentence. But he never uses it and in the middle of a two clause sentence none of them seem to feel the need of an antithetical conjunction. Antithesis is one of the functions of the clitic /-zi/ <**-zi**> 'too, as to' but not the only one.

164. /əz 'ʃijan aħ'mədi hət o zi ke'jə di nevi/
 <**ez şıyan A'hmedi het, o zi kêye dı nêvi**>
 I went Ahmed 'chez', he too home at wasn't
 'I went to see Ahmed but he wasn't home.'
165. /əz 'ʃijan aħ'mədi hət a'li zi ʃi kar/
 <**ez şıyan A'hmedi het, Ali zi şı kar**>
 I went Ahmed 'chez', Ali too went work
 'I went to see Ahmed and Ali went to work.'
166. /o ʃi aħ'mədiħət 'lɑz-e dʒi zi təj vi/
 <**o şı A'hmedi het. Laj-ê cı zi tey vı**>
 he went Ahmed 'chez'. son-EZ him too with was
 'He went to see Ahmed. His son was with him, too.'
167. /o ʃi aħ'mədi hət 'lɑz-e xu zi təj bərd/
 <**o şı A'hmedi het. Laj-ê xu zi tey berd**>
 he went Ahmed 'chez'. son-EZ own too with took
 'He went to see Ahmed. He took his son with him, also.'

Incidentally, the final two examples above offer a good contrast in the use of /xu/ <**xu**> versus /dʒi/ <**ci**>. In both examples the "son" is the son of "o" not of "Ahmed". But when the son is the subject of the follow-up sentence, as in the former example, /dʒi/ <**ci**> is used to refer back to the father. In the latter example the subject of the follow-up sentence is "o", though not explicitly repeated there. Thus /xu/ <**xu**> "own" is appropriate.

Endnotes to Chapter Three

1. This is parallel to the distinction MacKenzie (1966:17) makes between “epithetic” and “genitive” *ezafe* in Hawrami. The masculine *ezafe* morphemes, however, are apparently reversed between the two languages.

	genitive	descriptive
Dimili	e (j) <ê> (<y>)	o <o>
Hawrami	u (w) <û> (<w>)	i (j) <i> (<y>)

2. As A speaks it, Dimili displays no gender in the first-person whether in the pronoun itself or in the clitics attached to them in forming present continuous or future tenses. Some friends of A’s whose market town is Cermug distinguish between masculine /-o/ <-o> and feminine /-a/ <-a> clitics for progressive sub-aspect and at least one of them puts pressure on A to do the same. A, however, firmly resists that pressure insisting that where he comes from no one talks that way. The friend’s argument is based on the fact that gender is one of the characteristics that distinguishes Dimili from Turkish and that the opposition of /o/ <o> to /a/ <a> is pervasive. That argumentation supports the view that where the distinction is made, it is a recent acquisition based on analogy to third-person gender distinction. The second-person gender distinction which *is* made in A’s speech is probably a recent analogy to third-person gender as well. Cf. Mann-Hadank (1932:66) where a feminine /əza/ <eza> is opposed to /əz/ <ez>.
3. A’s friends from the Cermug area do use /-do/ <-do> with /əz/ <ez> though the combination tends to result in a contraction /ədo/ <edo> or /əzo/ <ezo> similar to what Hadank records on p. 85.
4. This word can be translated in some cases as “all”, sometimes as “both” and sometimes a sequence of two occurrences is best translated “both... and...”. However, the most common word meaning “all” is /pero/ <pêro> and the most common word for “both” is /wərna/ <werna>.

Appendix A

Illustrative Verb Data

These data are illustrative rather than exhaustive and are ordered according to the final consonant of the verb root. Other verbs occur throughout the glossary (Appendix C).

Format:

English (iv) = intransitive verb
 (tv) = transitive verb
 s.c. = stem consonant

[s.c.]	pres. indic.	subj.	imper.	prohib.	pl.imp.	pl.prohib.	past stem	gerund
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Roots in /r/ <r> that coalesce in the present stem:

	‘do; make’ (tv)							
[r]	'kəno < kəno >	'bikəro < bikero >	'bik < bik >	'mək < mək >	'bikəre < bikerê >	'məkəre < mekerê >	'kərd < kərd >	kər'diʃ < kərdiʃ >
	‘open’ (tv) (includes preverbal /a-/ <a->)							
[r]	a'kəno < akəno >	'akəro < akero >	'aki < aki >	'maki < maki >	'akəre < akerê >	'makəre < makerê >	a'kərd < akerd >	akər'diʃ < akerdiʃ >
	‘throw’ (tv) (includes preverbal /tʃə-/ <çe>)							
[r]	tʃə'kəno < çekəno >	'tʃəkəro < çekero >	'tʃək < çək >	'mətʃək < məçək >	'tʃəkəre < çekerê >	'mətʃəkəre < məçekerê >	tʃə'kərd ('əʃt) < çekerd > (<eʃt >)	tʃəkər'diʃ ('əʃ'tiʃ) < çekerdʃ > (<eʃtʃ >)
	‘bring’ (tv)							
[r]	'ano < ano >	'bijaro < biyarō >	'bija < biya >	'meja < mêya >	'bijare < biyarê >	'mejare < mêyarê >	'ard < ard >	ar'diʃ < ardiʃ >
	‘stop’ (iv)							
[r]	vin'dəno < vindeno >	'vindəro < vindero >	'vindi < vindi >	'məvindi < mevindi >	'vindəre < vinderê >	'məvindəre < mevinderê >	vin'dərd < vinderd >	'vindər'diʃ < vinderdiʃ >

	‘eat’ (tv)							
[r]	'wəno <weno>	'buro <bûro>	'bur <bûr>	'məwi <mewi>	'bure <bûrê>	'məwîre <mewîrê>	'wərd <werd>	wər'diʃ <werdiʃ>
	‘carry’ (tv)							
[r]	'bəno <beno>	'bijəro <biyero>	'bi <bi>	'məj <mey>	'bijəre <biyerê>	'məjəre <meyerê>	'bərd <berd>	bər'diʃ <berdiʃ>

Apparently suppletive forms that lose root-final /r/ <r>:

	‘get’ (tv)							
	'gəno <geno>	'bijəro <biyero>	'bi <bi>	'məj <mey>	'bijəre <biyerê>	'məjəre <meyerê>	gi'rot <girot>	giro'tiʃ <girotiʃ>
	‘go’ (iv)							
	'ʃino <ʃino>	'ʃiro <ʃiro>	'ʃo <ʃo>	'məʃo <meʃo>	'ʃire <ʃirê>	'məʃire <meʃirê>	'ʃi <ʃi>	ʃija'jiʃ <ʃiyayiʃ>
	‘come’ (iv)							
	'jəno <yeno>	'biro <biro>	'be <bê>	'me <mê>	'bere <bêrê>	'mere <mêrê>	ɑ'mə <ame>	ɑmjɑjiʃ <amyayiʃ>

Roots in /r/ <r> that do not coalesce in the present stem:

	‘wipe’ (tv)							
[r]	bəstə'rəno <besterenə>	'bəstəro <bestero>	'bəstəri <besteri>	'məbəstəri <mebesteri>	'bəstəre <besterê>	'məbəstəre <mebesterê>	bəs'tərd <besterd>	bəstər'diʃ <besterdʃiʃ>
	‘die’ (iv)							
[r]	mɪ'rəno <murenə>	'bimiro <bimiro>	'bimiri <bimiri>	'məmiri <memiri>	'bimire <bimurê>	'məmire <memirê>	'mərd <merd>	mər'diʃ <merdiʃ>

	‘count’ (tv)							
[r]	omo'rəno	'omoro	'omori	'mamori	'omore	'mamore	o'mord	omor'diʃ
	<omoreno>	<omoro>	<omori>	<mamori>	<omorê>	<mamorê>	<omord>	<omordış>
	‘pass by’ (iv) (includes preverbal /ra-/ <ra->)							
[r]	rave'rəno	'ravero	'rəveri	'məravəri	'ravere	'məravere	ra'verd	raver'diʃ
	<ravêreno>	<ravêro>	<revêri>	<meravêri>	<ravêrê>	<meravêrê>	<ravêrd>	<ravêrdış>
	‘rain fall’ [precipitation] (iv)							
[r]	va'rəno	'bivaro	'bivari	'məvari	—	—	va'ra	vara'jiʃ
	<vareno>	<bivaro>	<bivari>	<mevari>			<vara>	<varayıʃ>

Verb with root-final /n/ <n> that coalesces in present stem:

	‘know’ (tv)							
[n]	'zano	'bizano	'bizani	'məzani	'bizane	'məzane	za'na	zana'jiʃ
	<zano>	<bizano>	<bizani>	<mezani>	<bizanê>	<mezanê>	<zana>	<zanaayıʃ>

Verbs with root-final /n/ <n> that do not coalesce:

	‘mow’ (tv)							
[n]	tʃi'nəno	'bitʃino	'bitʃini	'mətʃini	'bitʃine	'mətʃine	tʃi'na	tʃina'jiʃ
	<çineno>	<bıçino>	<bıçini>	<meçini>	<bıçinê>	<meçinê>	<çina>	<çinayıʃ>
	‘fall’ [animate] (iv)							
[n]	gʊ'nəno	'guno	'guni	'məguni	'gone	'məgone	gʊ'na	gʊna'jiʃ
	<guneno>	<guno>	<guni>	<meguni>	<gunê>	<megunê>	<guna>	<gunayıʃ>
	‘buy’ (tv)							
[n]	həri'nəno	'bihərino	'bihəriɲi	'məhəriɲi	'bihərine	'məhərine	həri'na	hərina'jiʃ
	<herineno>	<bıherino>	<bıherini>	<meherini>	<bıherinê>	<meherinê>	<herina>	<herinayıʃ>

	‘see’ (tv)							
[n]	vi'nəno <vineno>	'bivino <bivino>	'bivini <bivini>	'məvini <mevini>	'bimine <bivinê>	'məvine <mevinê>	'di <di>	dija'jiʃ <diyayış>
	‘bathe; wash’ [s.th. animate] (tv)							
[n]	wiri'nəno <wirineno>	'burino <bûrino>	'burini <bûrini>	'məburini <mebûrini>	'burine <bûrinê>	'məburine <mebûrinê>	wiri'na <wirina>	wirina'jiʃ <wirinayış>
	‘read; recite’ (tv)							
[n]	wə'nəno <waneno>	'buwano <bûwano>	'buwani <bûwani>	'məwani <mewani>	'buwane <bûwanê>	'məwane <mewanê>	'wənd <wend>	wən'diʃ <wendış>

Verbs in causative /n/ <n>:

	‘cut; butcher’ (tv)							
[n]	bir'nəno <birrreno>	'bivirno <bivirrno>	'bivirni <bivirrni>	'məvirni <mevirrni>	'bivirne <bivirrê>	'məvirne <mevirrê>	bir'na <birrna>	birna'jiʃ <birrnayış>
	‘tear’ (tv)							
[n]	dər'nəno <derrreno>	'bidərno <biderrno>	'bidərni <biderrni>	'mədərni <mederrni>	'bidərne <biderrê>	'mədərne <mederrê>	dər'na <derrna>	dərna'jiʃ <derrnayış>
	‘boil’ (tv)							
[n]	gire'nəno <girênenno>	'bigreno <bigrêno>	'bigreni <bigrêni>	'məgreni <meigrêni>	'bigrene <bigrêni>	'məgrene <meigrêni>	gire'na <girêna>	girena'jiʃ <girênayış>
	‘show; teach’ (tv)							
[n]	mūs'nəno <musneno>	'bimūsno <bimusno>	'bimūsni <bimusni>	'məmūsni <memusni>	'bimūsne <bimusnê>	'məmūsne <memusnê>	m□s'na <musna>	'm□sna'jiʃ <musnayış>
	‘fly, pilot; shoo’ [birds] (tv)							
[n]	pər'nəno <perrreno>	'pipərno <piperrno>	'pipərni <piperrni>	'məpərni <meperrni>	'pipərne <piperrê>	'məpərne <meperrê>	pər'na <perrna>	pərna'jiʃ <perrnayış>

	‘pour; shed; spill’ (tv)							
[n]	riʃ'nəno <riʃneno>	'biriʃno <biriʃno>	'biriʃni <biriʃni>	'məriʃni <məriʃni>	'biriʃne <biriʃnê>	məriʃne <məriʃnê>	riʃ'na <riʃna>	riʃna'jiʃ <riʃnayiʃ>
	‘break’ (tv)							
[n]	ʃik'nəno <ʃikneno>	'biʃikno <biʃikno>	'biʃikni <biʃikni>	'məʃikni <məʃikni>	'biʃikne <biʃiknê>	'məʃikne <məʃiknê>	ʃi'kit <ʃikit>	ʃik'tiʃ <ʃiktiʃ>
	‘change; exchange’ (tv)							
[n]	vir'nəno <virneno>	'bivirno <bivirno>	'bivirni <bivirni>	'məvirni <məvirni>	'bivirne <bivirnê>	'məvirne <məvirnê>	vir'na <virna>	virna'jiʃ <virnayiʃ>
	‘split’ (tv) (includes preverbal /vəriʃ-/ <veriʃ->)							
[n]	vəriʃ'nəno <verriʃnəno>	'vəriʃno <verriʃno>	'vəriʃni <verriʃni>	'məvəriʃni <məverriʃni>	'vəriʃne <verriʃnê>	'məvəriʃne <məverriʃnê>	vəriʃ'na <verriʃna>	vəriʃna'jiʃ <verriʃnayiʃ>
	‘burn’ (tv)							
[n]	vəʃ'nəno <veʃneno>	'bivəʃno <biveʃno>	'bivəʃni <biveʃni>	'məvəʃni <məveʃni>	'bivəʃne <biveʃnê>	'məvəʃne <məveʃnê>	vəʃ'na <veʃna>	vəʃna'jiʃ <veʃnayiʃ>

Verb root ending in /ʒ/ <j> that coalesces:

	‘say’ (tv)							
[ʒ]	'vano <vano>	'vaʒo <vajō>	'vaʒ(i) <vaj(i)>	'məvaʒ(i) <məvaj(i)>	'vaʒe <vajê>	'məvaʒe <məvajê>	'va <va>	va'tiʃ <vatʃ>

Verb root ending in /ʒ/ <j> that does not coalesce:

	‘cook’ (tv)							
[ʒ]	pəw'ʒəno <pewjeno>	'pipəwʒo <pipewjō>	'pipəwʒi <pipewji >	'məpəwʒi <mepewji>	'pipəwʒe <pipewjê>	'məpəwʒe <mepewjê>	'pəwt <pewt>	pəw'tiʃ <pewtiʃ>

Verb roots ending in vowels:

	'put, place; plant' (tv) (includes preverbal /ro-/ <ro->)							
[V]	ro'nano <ronano>	'rono <rono>	'roni <rom>	'məroni <meroni>	'rone <ronê>	'mərone <meronê>	ro'na <rona>	rona'jiʃ <ronayış>
	'give' (tv)							
[V]	'dano <dano>	'bido <bido>	'bidi <bidi>	'mədi <medi>	'bide <bide>	'məde <medê>	'da <da>	da'jiʃ <dayış>
	'tie' (tv) (includes preverbal /gire-/ <girê->)							
[V]	gire'dano <girêdano>	'giredo <girêdo>	'giredi <girêdi>	'məgredi <megrêdi>	'giredo <girêdê>	'məgfrede <megrêdê>	gire'da <girêda>	gireda'jiʃ <girêdayış>
	'lift, pick up' (tv) (may include preverbal /həwar-/ <hewar->)							
[V]	həwar'dano <hewardano>	'həwardo <hewardo>	'həwardi <hewardi>	'məhəwardi <mehewardi>	'həwardo <hewardê>	'məhəwardo <mehewardê>	hə'ward <heward>	həwar'diʃ <hewardış>
	'stir; mix' (tv) (includes preverbal /tev-/ <têv->)							
[V]	tev'dano <têvdano>	'tevdo <têvdo>	'tevdi <têvdi>	'mətevdi <metêvdi>	'tevde <têvdê>	'mətevde <metêvdê>	tev'da <têvda>	tevda'jiʃ <têvdayış>
	'grow' [beard; hair] (tv) (includes preverbal /vər-/ <ver->)							
[V]	vər'dano <verdano>	'vərdo <verdo>	'vərđi <verdi>	'məvərđi <meverdi>	'vərde <verdê>	'məvərde <meverdê>	vər'da <verda>	vərda'jiʃ <verdayış>
	'run' (iv) (may include preverbal /vaz-/ <vaz->)							
[V]	vaz'dano <vazdano>	'vazdo <vazdo>	'vazdi <vazdi>	'məvazdi <mevazdi>	'vazde <vazdê>	'məvazde <mevazdê>	vəʃt <vešt>	vəʃ'tiʃ <veštış>
	'twist; spin' (tv) (includes preverbal /ta-/ <ta->)							
[V]	ta'dəno <tadeno>	'bitado <bitado>	'bitadi <bitadi>	'mətadi <metadi>	'bitade <bitadê>	'mətade <metadê>	ta'da <tada>	tada'jiʃ <tadayış>

Roots ending in various consonants:

	‘pull; suck; soak up’ (tv)							
[dʒ]	an'dʒəno <anceno>	'bandʒo <banco>	'bandʒi <banci>	'mandʒi <manci>	'bandʒe <bancê>	'mandʒe <mancê>	'ant <ant>	an'tiʃ <antiʃ>
	‘bend’ (tv)							
[m]	na'məno <nameno>	'bɪnamo <binamo>	'bɪnami <binami>	'mənami <menami>	'bɪname <binamê>	'məname <menamê>	na'mit <namit>	nam'tiʃ <namtiʃ>
	‘drive’ (tv)							
[m]	ra'məno <rameno>	'bɪramo <bıramo>	'bɪrami <bıramı>	'mərəmi <merami>	'bɪrame <bıramê>	'mərəme <meramê>	ra'mit <ramit>	ram'tiʃ <ramtiʃ>
	‘drink; smoke’ (tv)							
[m]	ʃi'məno <ʃimeno>	'biʃimo <bıʃımo>	'biʃimi <bıʃımi>	'məʃimi <meʃımi>	'biʃime <bıʃımê>	'məʃime <meʃımê>	ʃi'mit <ʃımit>	ʃim'tiʃ <ʃımtiʃ>
	‘sow’ (tv)							
[r]	ka'rəno <karreno>	'bɪkaro <bıkarro>	'bɪkari <bıkarrı>	'məkari <mekarrı>	'bɪkare <bıkarrê>	'məkare <mekarrê>	ka'rit <karrit>	karı'tiʃ <karritıʃ>
	‘fly’ (iv)							
[r]	pə'rəno <perreno>	'pɪpəro <pıperro>	'pɪpəri <pıperrı>	'məpəri <meperrı>	'pɪpəre <pıperre>	'məpəre <meperre>	pə'ra <perra>	pəra'jiʃ <perrayıʃ>
	‘snore’ (iv)							
[r]	xo'rəno <xorreno>	'bɪxoro <bıxorro>	'bɪxori <bıxorrı>	'məxori <mexorrı>	'bɪxore <bıxorre>	'məxore <mexorre>	xo'ra <xorra>	xora'jiʃ <xorrayıʃ>
	‘appear; be visible’ (iv)							
[s]	a'səno <aseno>	'baso <baso>	'basi <bası>	'masi <ması>	'base <basê>	'mase <masê>	a'sə <ase>	asa'jiʃ <asayıʃ>
	‘rub’ (tv)							
[s]	mə'səno <maseno>	'bɪmaso <binmaso>	'bɪmasi <binması>	'məmasi <meması>	'bɪmase <binmasê>	'məmase <memasê>	mə'sa <masa>	masa'jiʃ <masayıʃ>

	‘learn; get used to’ (iv)							
[s]	mu'səno <mu'səno>	'bimuso <bimuso>	'bimusi <bimusi>	'məmüsi <məməsi>	'bimuse <bimuse>	'məmuse <məməse>	mu'sa <mu'sa>	musa'jiʃ <musa'jiʃ>
	‘dry up’ (iv)							
[s]	pəj'səno <pəysəno>	'pipəjsə <pipəysə>	'pipəjsi <pipəysi>	'məpəjsi <məpəysi>	'pipəjse <pipəyse>	'məpəjse <məpəyse>	pəj'sa <pəysa>	pəjsa'jiʃ <pəysa'jiʃ>
	‘arrive; reach’ [destination] (iv)							
[s]	rə'səno <resəno>	'rəso <reso>	'rəsi <resi>	'mərəsi <məresi>	'rəse <resə>	'mərəse <mərese>	rə'sa <resa>	rəsə'jiʃ <resə'jiʃ>
	‘fear, be afraid’ (iv)							
[s]	tər'səno <tersəno>	'bitərso <biterso>	'bitərsi <bitersi>	'mətərsi <mətersi>	'bitərse <biterse>	'mətərse <mətersə>	tər'sa <tersa>	tərsa'jiʃ <tersa'jiʃ>
	‘can; be able’ (tv)							
[ʃ]	'ʃəno <ʃəno>	—	—	—	—	—	'ʃa <ʃa>	—
	‘mount’ (iv)							
[ʃ]	ni'ʃəno <niʃəno>	'niʃo <niʃo>	'niʃi <niʃi>	'məniʃi <məniʃi>	'niʃe <niʃe>	'məniʃe <məniʃe>	'niʃt <niʃt>	niʃ'tiʃ <niʃ'tiʃ>
	‘sell’ (tv)							
[ʃ]	ro'ʃəno <roʃəno>	'biroʃo <biroʃo>	'biroʃi <biroʃi>	'məroʃi <məroʃi>	'biroʃe <biroʃe>	'məroʃe <məroʃe>	'rot <rot>	ro'tiʃ <rotiʃ>
	‘sit’ (iv) (includes preverbal /ro-/ <ro->)							
[ʃ]	ro'ʃəno <roʃəno>	'roʃo <roʃo>	'roʃ <roʃ>	'məroʃ <məroʃ>	'roʃe <roʃe>	'məroʃe <məroʃe>	ro'niʃt <roniʃt>	roniʃ'tiʃ <roniʃ'tiʃ>
	‘catch’ (tv)							
[ʃ]	təpe'ʃəno <tepəʃəno>	'təpeʃo <tepəʃo>	'təpeʃi <tepəʃi>	'mətəpeʃi <mətepəʃi>	'təpeʃe <tepəʃe>	'mətəpeʃe <mətepəʃe>	tə'piʃt <tepiʃt>	təpiʃ'tiʃ <tepiʃ'tiʃ>

	‘shave’ (tv)							
[ʃ]	ta'ʃəno <taʃeno>	'bitaʃo <bitaʃo>	'bitaʃi <bitaʃi>	'mətaʃi <metaʃi>	'bitaʃe <bitaʃê>	'mətaʃe <metaʃê>	'taʃt <taʃt>	taʃ'tiʃ <taʃtiʃ>
	‘burn’ (iv)							
[ʃ]	və'ʃəno <veʃeno>	'bivəʃo <biveʃo>	'bivəʃi <biveʃi>	'məvəʃi <meveʃi>	'bivəʃe <biveʃê>	'məvəʃe <meveʃê>	və'ʃa <veʃa>	vəʃa'jiʃ <veʃayiʃ>
	‘swish’ (iv)							
[ʃ]	xo'ʃəno <xoʃeno>	'bixəʃo <bixəʃo>	'bixəʃi <bixəʃi>	'məxoʃi <mexoʃi>	'bixəʃe <bixəʃê>	'məxoʃe <mexoʃê>	xo'ʃa <xoʃa>	xoʃa'jiʃ <xoʃayiʃ>
	‘fall; drop’ [inanimate object] (iv)							
[w]	'kəwno <kewno>	'bikəwo <bikewo>	'bikəw <bikew>	'məkəw <mekew>	'bikəwe <bikewê>	'məkəwe <mekewê>	'kəwt <kewt>	kəw'tiʃ <kewtiʃ>
	‘rise’ [sun, moon] (iv) (includes preverbal /a-/ <a->)							
[w]	ɑ'kəwno <akewno>	'akəwo <akewo>	'akəw <akew>	'makəw <makew>	'akəwe <akewê>	'makəwe <makewê>	ɑ'kəwt <akewt>	akəw'tiʃ <akewtiʃ>
	‘sleep’ (iv) (includes preverbal /ra-/ <ra->)							
[w]	ra'kəwno <rakewno>	'rakəwo <rakewo>	'rakəw <rakew>	'mərakəw <merakew>	'rakəwe <rakewê>	'mərakəwe <merakewê>	ra'kəwt <rakewt>	rakəw'tiʃ <rakewtiʃ>
	‘sprout’ (iv)							
[w]	ru'wəno <rûweno>	'biruwo <birûwo>	'biruwi <birûwi>	'məruwi <merûwi>	'biruwe <birûwê>	'məruwe <merûwê>	ru'wa <rûwa>	ruwa'jiʃ <rûwayiʃ>
	‘hurt’ (iv)							
[w]	tə'wəno <teweno>	'bitəwo <bitewo>	'bitəw <bitew>	'mətəw <metew>	'bitəwe <bitewê>	'mətəwe <metewê>	tə'wa <tewa>	təwa'jiʃ <tewayiʃ>
	‘hear’ (iv)							
[j]	həs'jəno <'hesyeno>	'bihəsjo <bi'hesyo>	'bihəsi <bi'hesi>	'məhəsi <me'hesi>	'bihəsje <bi'hesyê>	'məhəsje <me'hesyê>	həs'ja <'hesya>	həsja'jiʃ <'hesyayiʃ>
	‘boil’ (iv)							

[j]	gire'jəno <gîrêyeno>	'bigrejo <bîgrêyo>	'bigreji <bîgrêyi>	'məgreji <megrêyi>	'bigreje <bîgrêyê>	'məgreje <megrêyê>	gire'ja <gîrêya>	gireja'jiʃ <gîrêyayış>
	'work' (iv)							
[j]	gîrwî'jəno <gîrwiyəno>	'bigîrwîrwəjo <bîgîrweyo>	'bigîrwe <bîgîrwê>	'məgîrwe <megîrwê>	—	—	gîrwî'ja <gîrwiya>	gîrwîja'jiʃ <gîrwiyayış>
	'spill, overflow' (iv)							
[j]	rîʃ'jəno <rîşyeno>	'bîrîʃjo <bîrîşyo>	'bîrîʃi <bîrîşi>	'mərîʃi <merîşi>	'bîrîʃje <bîrîşyê>	'mərîʃje <merîşyê>	rîʃ'ja <rîşya>	rîʃja'jiʃ <rîşyayış>
	'escape; be dislocated' (iv)							
[j]	rə'jəno <reyeno>	'bîrəjo <bîreyo>	'bîrəji <bîreyi>	'mərəji <merəyi>	'bîrəje <bîreyê>	'mərəje <merəyê>	rə'ja <reya>	rəja'jiʃ <reyayış>
	'break; be broken' (iv)							
[j]	ʃîk'jəno <şîkyeno>	'bîʃîkjo <bîşîkyo>	'bîʃîki <bîşîki>	'məʃîki <meşîki>	'bîʃîkje <bîşîkyê>	'məʃîkje <meşîkyê>	ʃîk'ja <şîkya>	ʃîkja'jiʃ <şîkyayış>
	'look at' (iv)							
[j]	wîn'jəno <wînyen>	'bəwniyo <bewniyo>	'bəw(ni) <bew(ni)>	'məw(ni) <mew(n)>	'bəwne <bewnê>	'məwne <mewnê>	wîn'ja <wînya>	wînja'jiʃ <wînyayış>
	'work' (iv)							
[j]	xəf'tjəno <xeftyəno>	'bixəftjo <bixeftyo>	'bixəfti <bixefti>	'məxəfti <mexefti>	'bixəftje <bixeftyê>	'məxəftje <mexeftyê>	xəf'tja <xeftya>	xəf'tja'jiʃ <xeftyayış>
	'make; produce' (tv)							
[z]	vîra'zəno <virazeno>	'vîrazo <virazo>	'vîrazi <virazi>	'məvîrazi <mevîrazi>	'vîraze <virazê>	'məvîraze <mevîrazê>	vî'raʃt <virāşt>	vîraʃ'tiʃ <virāştış>
	'get up' (iv) (includes preverbal /wər-/ <wer->)							
[z]	wər'zəno <werzeno>	'wərzo <werzo>	'wərzi <werzi>	'məwərzi <mewərzi>	'wərze <werzê>	'məwərze <mewərzê>	wə'riʃt <werişt>	wəriʃ'tiʃ <weriştış>
	'want' (tv)							
[z]	wə'zəno <wazeno>	'buwazo <bûwazo>	'buwazi <bûwazi>	'məwazi <mewazi>	'buwaze <bûwazê>	'məwaze <mewazê>	'waʃt <waşt>	waʃ'tiʃ <waştış>

Appendix B

Texts and Translations

In the Dimili texts that follow and in the glossary, the alphabet used is the popular alphabet rather than a technical phonetic one. The reasons for using the popular alphabet here are two: that the native speaker may benefit from the texts and glossaries and so that the linguist may acquaint himself with how the speakers themselves are writing Dimili.

The popular alphabet is very similar to the Latin-based alphabet used for Turkish for the past fifty years and is as follows:

a, b, c, ç, d, e, ê, f, g, h, ı, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, ş, t, u, û, v, w, x, y, z

The correspondences that may not be self evident are given below.

c = voiced alveopalatal affricate
ç = voiceless alveopalatal affricate
e = mid central unrounded vowel [schwa]
ê = mid front vowel
ı = high central unrounded lax vowel ⁱ
i = high front vowel ^j
j = voiced alveopalatal fricative
q = voiceless postvelar stop
ş = voiceless alveopalatal fricative
u = high central rounded lax vowel
û = high close back rounded long vowel

The trilled /r/ is represented by /rr/ <rr> except in word-initial position where the flap /r/ does not occur. Elsewhere the single /r/ represents the flap /r/ <r>. The voiced pharyngeal is symbolized by /ʕ/ <'> which is ignored for purposes of alphabetizing in the glossary, i.e. the word is alphabetized by the vowel that follows the pharyngeal.

To the popular alphabet I have added the following symbols to distinguish phonemes that are not otherwise represented ^k.

'h = voiceless pharyngeal fricative
's = voiceless alveolar pharyngealized fricative
't = voiceless alveolar pharyngealized stop
'l = velarized lateral
ğ = voiced velar fricative

Capitalizing some of the letters with diacritics proved problematic on the present equipment. Below are the appropriate correspondences between lower case and capital letters that might not be immediately obvious.

ⁱ Editor's remark (2nd edition): Todd used the symbol *i* for the high central unrounded lax vowel.

^j Editor's remark (2nd edition): Todd used the symbol *î* for the high front vowel.

^k Editor's remark (2nd edition): Todd used the following symbols:

ĥ = voiceless pharyngeal fricative
ṡ = voiceless alveolar pharyngealized fricative
ṭ = voiceless alveolar pharyngealized stop
ḷ = velarized lateral
ğ̣ = voiced velar fricative

Ê = ê
 Î = î
 Ĥ = 'h'¹
 Û = û

Due to popular custom a very few concessions have been made to the traditional spelling of some words borrowed from Arabic. For example the double <ll> in the words <Ella> 'God' and <millêt> 'people' and the rather than <v> in <'Erebi> 'Arabic'. These do not reflect any change in pronunciation. That is, the double <ll> is pronounced exactly as a single <l> and "A" does pronounce "Arabic" as [ʃerevi].

In the English translations of the texts parentheses (...) identify words that do not occur in the Dimili original or that are alternate translations. Square brackets [...] contain literal renderings to assist the reader in examining the Dimili text.

TEXT 1:	Bê Ma Pê Weyerê	<i>Let's Carry Each Other</i>
TEXT 2:	Qırıncle	<i>The Frog</i>
TEXT 3:	Kırtleme	<i>Tea with Hard Sugar</i>
TEXT 4:	Mıfti ew Qadi	<i>The Mufti and the Cadi</i>
TEXT 5:	Nemrut	<i>Nimrod</i>
TEXT 6:	Zalım	<i>The Overlord</i>
TEXT 7:	Lû ew Zerejiya	<i>The Fox and the Partridge</i>
TEXT 8:	Şamiki	<i>Tomatoes</i>
TEXT 9:	Arwêşı	<i>The Rabbits</i>
TEXT 10:	Mar Perrayış	<i>Snake Bite</i>
TEXT 11:	Şıt	<i>Milk</i>
TEXT 12:	Mırıçık	<i>The Bird</i>
TEXT 13:	Nan Sêni Pewjenê	<i>How You Bake Bread</i>
TEXT 14:	Şıma Nan Wenê, Nêwenê	<i>Will you eat or not?</i>
TEXT 15:	Hewn dı	<i>In The Dream</i>
TEXT 16:	Xerxız	<i>The Thief</i>
TEXT 17:	Merdimo Har	<i>The Arrogant Man</i>

TEXT 1: Bê Ma Pê Weyerê!

1. Jew Tırku ew jew Dımılı pya şınê sũkı, sũk cı ra bol dûri bena. Dımılı Tırki rê vano, "Bê ma pê weyerê." Tırk vano, "Ma sêni pê weyerê?" Vano, "Sa'hata ma çınıya." Vano, "Ma nêzanê, panj deqey ez to weyeran, panj deqey tı mı weyerê. Ma dı sa'hat çınıya". Dımılı vano, "Ma jew tırkiyê vajê, dêrê vajê, tırkiyê dêrê vajê." Dımılı Tırki rê va, "Tı bê mı nışı."

2. Tırk nışeno cı, dêra cı rew qedyena. "Seviyorum meviyorum," rew qedyena. Dımılı nışeno cı, vano, "Lêlêlê way, lêlêlê way." Bol berey ramena. Tırk vano, "Dêra to hona bola?" O vano, "Hona bola. Na lêlêya, hewna loloyo dıma."

¹ Editor's remark (2nd edition): Todd used the letters Ĥ = ĥ

TEXT 1: Let's Carry Each Other!

1. A Turk and a Dimili are going to the city together; the city is far from them. The Dimili says to the Turk, "Come, let's carry each other." The Turk says, "How shall we carry each other?" He says, "We have no watch." He says, "We don't know (when) I carry you five minutes (and) you carry me five minutes. We have no watch with us." The Dimili says, "We will sing a Turkish song, (then) sing a Dimili song, sing a Turkish (and then) a Dimili song." <I> (to measure the time) The Dimili says to the Turk, "Come, you get on me."

2. The Turk mounts and his song soon ends. "Seviyorum meviyorum," (and it) soon ends. The Dimili mounts him and sings, "Lelele way, lelele way..." He rides for a long time. The Turk says, "Is your song that long?" He says, "It's that long. This is (just) the 'lele'; the 'lolo' is yet to follow."

TEXT 2: Qırıncle

Jew Dımılı rojê şino sūkê. Şino firrûn vera ravêreno, wınyeno nan germo. Vano, "Ez nanênda gêrm biyeran." Geno. Şino ca o k1 goşt roşeno; ê cay vera ravêreno, 'tayn goşt geno. Keno nani myan, sūkra vijêno, şino dewı. Şino ini sero, roşeno, vano, "Ez xurê nan bûran." Nan weno ini sero, goştê cı nani myanra kewno, kewno aw myan. No destê xu beno pırro, beno pırro qırıncle kewno a dest. Keno nani myan, qırıncle vano, "Çızvız, çızvız." O vano, "Ez çızvız nêzanan, mı parey xu cırê dayo."

TEXT 2: The Frog

One day a Dimili goes to a certain city. He goes and passes in front of a bakery and looks at the warm bread. He says, "I will get some warm bread." He gets it. He goes to a place that sells meat, he passes in front of that place and gets a bit of meat. He puts it into the bread, leaves the city and goes to(ward) the village. He goes to the head of a spring, sits down and says, "I will eat lunch by myself." He is eating at the head of the spring and his meat falls from inside the bread; (it) falls into the water. He reaches his hand to catch (it), he reaches and by chance catches a frog. He puts it into the bread and the frog says, "Chizviz, chizviz." He says, "I don't know any 'chizviz', I have already given him my money."

TEXT 3: Kırtleme <2>

Jew Dımılı jew meymanê cı şino, şino kêy cı. O cırê çay virazeno, ano cı ver. Dewa cı sūk ra bol dûri bena, şekerê cı 'tayn beno. No xu het vano, "Ma şan dı zi wenê, ma şewra zi fina wenê." Meymanê cı zi jew qultê çay şımeno, jew şeker weno. Wêrê kêyi damış nêveno. Vano, "şeker do bıqediyoy, şewrayrê nêmano." Meymanirê vano, "Tı çı wını kenê?" O vano, "No kırtlemeyo." O vano, "No kırtleme niyo, no zırtlemeyo."

TEXT 3: Tea with Hard Sugar <2>

There is a Dimili to whom a guest goes, goes to his house. He prepares tea for him and brings it before him. His village happens to be far from the city and his sugar happens to be in short supply. He says to himself, "We will eat both in the evening and again in the morning." His guest, though, eats a lump of sugar with every swallow of tea. The owner of the home can't bear it. He says (to himself), "The sugar will run out. None will remain for tomorrow." He says to the guest, "Why are you doing this?" He says, "This is 'kirtleme'." He says, "This isn't 'kirtleme', it's 'zirtleme'!" <3>

TEXT 4: Mifti ew Qadi

[Na mesel rašta; zûr niya. Namey dew zi 'Bav'o.]

1. Dewda Bavi dı jew mifti ew jew qadi beno. İnan bol zûri kerdê. İnan vatê: "Ma se kî vanê se zey maya bikerê." Milletı winyena, nêyê ze kî vanê wîni niyo. Nê vanê, "Şewra yağır do bıvaro." Beno şewra yağır nêvareno. Millet kes goş inan nênano. Ê winyenê milletı myan dı, cırê rı nêmeno. Ê xu bı xu pêra vanê, "May se kî vanê se milleta goş ma nênano." Bol şino 'tayn şino milletı ninan dewra kena tever.

2. Nê şinê Soyregı. Nê winyenê Soyreg dı; kesi nêsilasnenê ew karê barê çiniyo. Nê vanê, "Ma se kerê?" Jew kalê inanrê vano, "Adna dı kar esto." Ê vanê, "Ma şırê," ew şinê.

3. Şinê Adna. Bol şino 'tayn şino welat kewno ninan viri. Nê xu bı xu pêra vanê, "Ma sêni ew çırriya şırê welat?" Qadi mifti rê vano, "Say sûri Kurdistan dı çiniyê. Bê ma barê say biyerê ew şırê." Mifti vano, "Beno. No aqılê to kewt mı sera." Nê peydı yenê.

4. Yenê dew, nê milletrê vanê, "Ma 'af kerê. Ma fina zûri nêkenê." Millet vana, "Beno." Nê vanê no qor ma se kî vajê se, Ella zey maya keno. Milletı vana, "Beno, şıma no qor zûri bikerê se, ma do şıma kele kerê." Nê vanê, "Nê, nê, ma no qor zûri nêkenê." Millet rê vanê, "Emşo şan dı pêro bêrê pê ser. Ma do veyndê Ellay, Ella do zey maya bikero."

5. Beno şan millet arêvyena pê ser. Cema't ode dı roşeno. Qadi qısey keno, mifti qısey keno. Hergjew çiyê vano. Ê verêcoy jew merdımê vinenê, perey danê cı, vanê, "Ma wexta kî millet rê qısey kenê se, tı şo bani ser." O vano, "Wa vo."

6. Nê qısey kenê, veyndanê Ellay, millet rê vanê, "Jû deqa çımanê xu biyerê." Mifti vano, "Şımayê çıçı wazenê Ellay ra?" Qadi pêta qırreno, vano, "May say wazenê, say sûri wazenê Ellay ra." Ew o merdımı kî inan tembê kerd vı, o lojın ra sayê kî inan ardi bi se, inan lojın ra veradano cêr. Ê millet rê vanê, "Çımanê xu akerê." Millet çımanê xu akena kî çı akero, ode biyo pırrê say ew say sûr i. Millet wexta inan 'af kena.

TEXT 4: The Mufti and the Cadi

[This story is true, not fictitious. And the name of the village is "Bav."]

1. In the village of Bav there happens to be a mufti and a cadi. They used to lie a lot. They used to say, "You do whatever we tell you to do." The people observe that it is not as they (the leaders) say. They say, "Tomorrow it will rain." Perhaps the next day [lit. in the morning] it doesn't rain. None of the people listen to them. They observe that they no longer have any face among the people. They say to each

other, “What shall we do? The people don’t listen to us.” After a while the people put them out of the village.

2. They go to Siverek. They look (around) in Siverek; they don’t know anyone (and) there are no jobs (available). They say, “What shall we do?” A greybeard tells them, “There is work in Adana.” They say, “Let’s go,” and they go.

3. They go to Adana. After a while the homeland comes to mind. They say to each other, “How and by what means will we go back home?” The *cadi* says to the *mufti*, “There are no red apples in Kurdistan (like these). Come, let’s take a load of apples and go.” The *mufti* says, “Okay. This cleverness of yours occurs to me.” They come back.

4. They come to the village. They say to the people, “Forgive us. We won’t lie again.” The people say, “Maybe.” They say, “This time whatever we say, God will do what we (request).” The people say, “Maybe, (but) if you lie this time we will cut your throats.” They say, “No, no, we won’t lie this time.” They tell the people, “Tonight in the evening all of you come together (and) we will call on God. God will do what we (request).”

5. It becomes evening (and) the people gather together. The crowd sits in the room. The *cadi* speaks (and) the *mufti* speaks. They each say something. Before this they find one person (and) give him money (and) say, “When we are speaking to the people you go up on the roof.” He says, “So be it.”

6. They speak (and) they call upon God. They say to the people, “Close your eyes for a minute.” The *mufti* says, “What do you want from God?” The *cadi* quickly shouts (and) says, “We want apples. We want red apples from God.” And that person whom they had sent pours the apples that they had brought; (he) pours them down the chimney hole. They say to the people, “Open your eyes.” The people open their eyes to what? The room has become full of apples and the apples are red. The people then forgive them.

TEXT 5: Nemrut

1. Nemruti da’hway Ellay kerdê. Vatê, “Ez Ellayan.” Nemruti va, “Ella çiniyo.” Va, “Ella esto se, ezan şiran ey bıkşan.” Nemrut nişeno i’storda xu, şemşêrê xu girêdano, millet rê vano, “Ella esto se, ezan şiran ey bıkşan.”

2. Nemrut i’storda xurê vano, “A dyar kew!” Wexta kî i’storda xurê vano, “A dyar kew,” se, lingê i’storda çiyê verini benê kılmi, lingê peyini benê dergi. Ella zey ciya keno. No şino azmi, şemşêrê xu şaneno. Winyeno şemşêrê cî bî guniya.

3. Yeno cêr, millet rê vano, “Mî Ella kışt.” Milletî vana, “Tiyê zûri kenê.” O şemşêrê xu musneno milletî, vano, “Ez zûri nêkenan. Ez zûri kenan se, bewniyê, şemşêrê mî gunino.” Millet winyena kî raşt, şemşêrê cî biyo guniya.

TEXT 5: Nimrod

1. Nimrod used to blaspheme God. He used to say, “I am God.” Nimrod thought [lit. said] “There is no God. If there is a God I will go (and) kill him.” Nimrod mounts his horse, straps on his sword (and) says to the people, “If God, exists, I will go (and) kill him.”

2. Nimrod says to his horse, “Ascend!” When he says “Ascend,” to his horse, the forelegs of the horse become short and the hind legs become long [the better to climb]. God does as he (requests). [i.e. God enables the blasphemer to ascend]. He goes to the sky (and) brandishes his sword. He looks (and) the sword was bloodied.

3. He comes down (and) says to the people, “I killed God.” The people say, “You are lying.” He shows his sword to the people (and) says, “I am not lying. If I am lying, look! My sword is bloody.” The people observe that it is true; his sword had been bloodied.

TEXT 6: Zalim

1. Wextê jew zalimê beno, Ellay nêsılasneno. O merdım beno nêweş. Wext zımıstan beno, yağır zi vareno. O merdım xızmkarandê xurê vano, “Zerriya mına şına masey. Şırê mırê masey biyarê.” Nê xızmkarê cı şaş benê k1, no çiledê zımıstani dı axadê xurê masey kotira peyda bıkerê.

2. Ê vıjyenê tever k1 'hewş biyo pırrê aw. Wınyenê k1 maseyêno a aw myan dı. Nê me'ht manenê. Nê masi genê ew benê cor.

3. Kışta bin dı feqarey a dew pêro rayda Ellay sero i. Nê xu het vanê k1, “Mayê herwext nımazê xu kenê ew tım kêyandê ma dı 'teva çınıyo. Ew no merdımo zalım nımaz nêkeno, zerriya cı şı masey, Ellay maseyê cı ard 'hewş.”

4. Nê dewiji şınê pêxemberdê ê zamani rê, na mesel vanê. Pêxember Ellay ra pers keno, vano, “Nê dewiji herwext torê duway kenê, nê tım veyşan i. O zalım to nêsılasneno, zerriya ey şı mase, to mase ard 'hewşdê cı.” Ella vano, “O merdım tek jew masey cı mı het mend v1, mı o da cı. 'Heqê cı mı sero nêmend. 'Heqê ê feqiran mı sero hewna esto.”

TEXT 6: The Overlord

1. Once there was an overlord; he doesn't know God. That fellow becomes ill. The time happens to be winter (and) it is raining. The fellow says to his servants, “My heart craves [lit. goes to] fish. Go bring me some fish.” These servants of his are disturbed that here in the middle of winter ^{<4>} they should find their agha fish from somewhere.

2. They come outside (and) the corral has become full of water. They observe that there is a single fish in the water. They are astonished. They take the fish and carry it (back) up.

3. On the other hand [lit. side] the poor people of that village are on the road of God. They say to themselves, “We are always doing our prayers and there is never anything in our homes. And this overlord doesn't pray (and) he craved fish (and) God brought his fish to (his) corral!”

4. *These villagers go (and) tell this story to the prophet of that time. The prophet inquires of God (and) says, “These villagers always pray to you (and) they are always hungry. That overlord doesn’t know you (but) he craved fish (and) you brought fish to his corral.” God says, “Just one fish remained here for that fellow, (and) I gave it to him. He has no more claim upon me. [lit. his right upon me doesn’t remain] The poor ones still have a right (to ask).”*

TEXT 7: Lû ew Zerejiya

Lû rojê gema bol veyşan bena. Bol geyrena, 'teva nêvîna. Şîna cay, wînyena zerejê vijay 'sîyer ser oyo waneno. Vana, “Bîra zerej,” vana, “Tî vijay 'sîyer ser, tîyê wanenê,” vana. “Rojo dano to çîman ro, çîmê to tewenê.” Vana, “Çîmanê xu biye buwanê da weşo.” O çîmanê xu geno, lû zereji tepêşena. Zerej vano, “Way lû, fekê xu akî.” A fekê xu akena, zerej perreno.

TEXT 7: The Fox and the Partridge

One day a fox happens to be very hungry in the woods. She wanders a lot (but) finds nothing. She goes to a place (and) looks (and) a partridge comes out on the rock; he is singing [lit. reciting]. She says, “Brother partridge,” she says, “You come out on the rock; you are singing,” she says. “The sun is hitting your eyes, your eyes hurt.” She says, “Close your eyes (and) sing, that is better.” He closes his eyes (and) the fox catches the partridge. The partridge says, “Sister fox, open your mouth.” She opens her mouth (and) the partridge flies (away).

TEXT 8: Şamki Tî Wextak Kenê Newke Ronêse

1. Tî şamki newke ronânê se, hewna wextak newke ronânê se tî 'hefte dî, finê dî finî aw kenê cî. Bol gêrm beno se, tî dî rojan myan ra finê aw kenê cî. Bol gêrm nêveno se tî 'hefte dî finê aw kenê cî. Yanê tî wînyenê 'erdê cî. Tî wînyenê 'herrda cî. 'Herra cî biya wîşk se, aya aw wazena se, tî aw kenê cî. Bol nê, yanê bol 'tayn. Tî bol aw cî dê se, bol aw zi rînd niya.

2. Yanê tî wextak aw danê cî, zek tî aw danê qeçeki se, tî vanê, “Pîzey cî nêtewew.” Qeçek nêzano; tî aw danê cî se, bol weno se, pîzey cî teweno, maseno. Şamkî zi wîniya. Bol cî nêdê yanê zey qeçeki tî do 'tayn aw cî dê.

3. Wextak hewna vîl nêkewta se, bena gîrdî, ê gîlê ciyê kî tîki benê, tî inan bol 'tayn sera cîkenê ... tenekê. Ê kî koşandê ciyo benê yanî çewt benê, tî inan pêro cî ra cîkenê.

4. Wextak bi gîrdî se, kewna vîlî se, tî aw bol 'tayn danê cî. Dî 'heftey ra finê. Yanê tî wînyenê gorey 'herrda cî, yanê 'tayn. Wextak werdi bena, 'herra cî bol bena wîşk tî 'heftey, dî 'hefte dî finê aw danê cî. Bi gîrdî se, yanê wextak kena kî şamki biyero se, vîndî wa bol teyşanî vo. Bi bol teyşan se, tî wexta aw danê cî a da bena rîndî.

5. Tım teyšan vo se, rew şamıki gena. Tı bol aw cı dê se wexta o kı kewna vılı bol bena gırdı. Bena gırdı, zey şamkandê toya. Şamıki nêyena. Wexta gilê cı boli benê. Torê şamıki lazımı, to va; torê gılı lazımı niyê.

TEXT 8: Tomatoes When You First Plant Them

1. When you newly plant them, when you have just newly planted them, you give them water once or twice a week. If it becomes very warm you give them water once every two days. If it doesn't become very warm you give them water once a week. That is, you look at their soil. You look at their earth. If the earth has become dry, if it wants water, you put some water on it. Not much, that is, very little. If you give it a lot of water, lots of water is also not good.

2. When you give it water, it's like giving [lit. you give] water to a baby. You say, "Lest his stomach ache." A baby doesn't know. If you give him water and he drinks [lit. eats] a lot, his stomach hurts (and) swells. The tomato, too, is like that. You don't give it much, that is, it is like a baby. You give it a little bit of water.

3. When it still has not begun to blossom, it is becoming large, those branches of it that are straight, you cut their ends off a very little bit, some of them. Those that are in the corners of it [between vertical stalk and horizontal branch] (and) thus become crooked, you cut all of them off of it. For the tomato [plant] to become strong, you cut all of those off of it.

4. When it has become large (and) begun to blossom, you give it very little water. Once in two weeks. That is, you look at the condition of its soil, that is a little. If it becomes (too) little, the soil becomes dry, you give it water once a week or once in two weeks. When it becomes large, that is, when it begins to set tomatoes, stop, so that it will be very thirsty. If it becomes very thirsty, (and) you then give it water that will be better.

5. If it is always thirsty it will set tomatoes soon(er). If you give it a lot of water, then it begins to bloom and becomes very large. It becomes large like your tomatoes. They don't set fruit. Then their branches become many. You need tomatoes, you said. You don't need branches.

TEXT 9: Arwêşi

Arwêşi rojê yenê pê ser, vanê, "Ma bol tersnoki. Ma 'hemeçı ra tersenê." Vanê, "Hadırê ma şırê xu çekerê Ro." Nê yenê pê ser, vanê, "Wa vo. Ma şırê." Nê şınê Roy ver, wınyenê. Kesey xu verê inan çekenê Ro. Nê vanê, "Ê kı mara tersenê zi hewna estê! Hadırê ma peydı ageyrê," ew ageyrenê.

TEXT 9: The Rabbits

The rabbits come together one day (and) say, "We are really fraidycats; we are afraid of everything." They say, "Come, let's throw ourselves in the Euphrates [in despair]." They come together (and) say, "So be it. Let's go." They go up to [lit. before] the Euphrates (and) look. Some turtles throw themselves

into the water before them (the rabbits). They (the rabbits) say, "There are still those who fear us, too! Come, let's go [lit. wander] back!" and they go.

TEXT 10: Mar Perrayış

1. Ma het veri mari merdîmi perrayê se, veri doxtori çinê vi, merdîmê zanayêy vi. Mar wexte kî newke pîperray merdîmi se, inan o aġuy cî antê. Inan zanay sêni beno. Inan şit kerdê xu fek ew o aġu antê.
2. Dewra dûri biyay se, panj sa'hati ravêrdê se, o aġu gan ra biyê vîla. Wexta o aġu bantê zi se, tey kar nêkerdê.
3. Kalîkê mî zi zanay. Mar dewda ma dî kê perrayê se, amey kalîkdê mî het. Kalîkê mî şiyê o aġu antê.
4. Jewna merdîm bî, ey daha zanay. No rojê gema beno. Mar perreno jeweri cî het. No wînyeno, şit çîniyo. No vano, "Ez se keran?" No vano, "Ez herûnda şiti dî aw xu fek keran," ew keno.
5. No aġuy anceno ba'hdo goştê dîndanandê ey pêro rîşyeno. Yanê aġu bêşit niyanceno. Dari aġuy şito. Nîka nê, veri! Nîka doxtori estê.

TEXT 10: Snake Bite

1. *At our place (or back home) earlier when a snake would bite a person, earlier there were no doctors (but) there were knowledgeable people. When a snake had recently bitten someone, they would suck its poison (out). They knew how it works. They would put milk in their (own) mouths and would suck that poison (out).*
 2. *If it was far from the village, (and) if five hours passed, the poison would spread throughout the body. Then if (they) sucked that poison, they didn't benefit from it.*
 3. *My grandfather also knew (this technique). If a snake bit anyone in our village, they came to my grandfather. My grandfather would go (and) suck (out) that poison.*
 4. *There was another fellow; he knew more. One day he happened to be in the wilderness. A snake bites one (who was) with him. He looks; there is no milk. He says, "What shall I do?" He says, "I will in place of milk put water in my mouth," and (he) does.*
 5. *He sucks the poison (and) afterward his gums [lit. flesh of his teeth] wastes away. That is, poison isn't sucked out without milk. The antidote [lit. medicine] for poison is milk. Not now, earlier! Now there are doctors.*
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TEXT 11: Şıt

1. Ez werdi viyan se, dewda ma dı jew lajeki ağu werd. Sa werdı bi ağu pa vı, pizey cı teway. Mı viri yeno kı millet şıt daya cı. Ey şıt şımitê se fina veritê se, şıtê cı biyê zey mastiya. Mı vatê, “No sêni wını beno?” Ba’hdo pizey cı biyê weş.

2. Yanê, sifte bol biya zey mastiya. İnan tım da cı, tım ey verit;. Ba’hdo şıt bı doxrı yanê şıt nêviyê zey mastiya; ‘tayn biyê zey mastiya. Wexta da inan va, “Beso da. Teva nêveno. Nêmıreno.”

TEXT 11: Milk

1. *When I was small, a baby in our village ate (some) poison. He had eaten an apple (and) poison was on it; his stomach hurt. I remember [lit. it comes to my mind] that the people gave him milk. When he drank the milk and vomited (it) back up, his milk had become like yogurt. I used to say, “How does it become thus?” Afterward his stomach became well.*

2. *That is, at first it (milk) became very much like yogurt. They kept giving it (milk) to him (and) he kept vomiting. Later the milk became right, that is it didn’t become like yogurt, (only) a little bit like yogurt. Then they said, “It’s enough. Nothing will happen. He won’t die.”*

TEXT 12: Mırıçık

1. Rojê ‘tayn ‘seydwani şınê ‘seyd. Bol geyrenê ‘tayn geyrenê, şınê cayêndo dûri. Wınyenê gemênda bêkesa. Wınyenê ne merdımı ne zi ‘teyr û tûr, ‘teva çiniyo.

2. Wınyenê jû mırıçıkı vıjyaya darênda wışkı ser; aya wanena. Nê xu bı xu pê ra vanê, “Bêre ma na mırıçkerı tepêşê,” ew nê a mırıçkerı tepêşenê. Benê kêye; cırê qefesê vırazenê ew kenê qefes.

3. Nê qut danê mırıçkerı; mırıçıkı nêwena. Nê çıçı kı danê cı a nêwena ew nêwanena. Cıra veng nêvijeno. Nê wınyenê a do bıvro. Nê vanê, “Ma nay berê fina cadê cı dı veradê.”

4. Nê benê ewja, veradanê. Mırıçıkı perrena, şına darda wışkı sero. A nişena ew wanena. Kêfê mırıçkerı beno weş.

5. Ayra vanê: “Mırıçıkı rê qefeso altûni vıraşto, mırıçkerı qebul nêkerdo”. Tım vato welatê mı kes koti kı Ellay bıdêyo se, kesi rê ewja weşo.

TEXT 12: The Bird

1. *One day some hunters go hunting. They wander a lot, they wander a little, (and) go to a distant place. They notice that it is an uninhabited wilderness. They look (and) there is neither man nor beast [lit. birds], nothing there.*

2. *They look (and) one bird comes out on top of a dry (dead) tree; (and) she sings. They say to one another, “Come, let’s catch this bird,” and they catch that bird. They carry it home (and) make a cage for it and put it in the cage.*

3. *They give food to the bird; the bird doesn't eat. Whatever they give her, she doesn't eat and doesn't sing. Not a sound comes out of her. They observe (that) she will die. They say, "We will carry her (and) release her again in her place."*

4. *They carry her there (and) release (her). The bird flies and goes to the top of the dry tree. She lands and sings. The bird becomes happy.*

5. *Therefore they say, "(They) made a cage of gold for the bird (but) the bird didn't accept it." In my country it was said, "Wherever a person is born, he likes it there."*

TEXT 13: Nan Sêni Pewjenê

1. Ma hetî ardi ⁵ kenê jew legenê, aw de kenê dî, ew pey desta têvdanê. Tenekê ardan awa xu ant se alawenê. Alawenê beno mir. 'Tayn bol alawenê û pêra niyaviyo. 'Tayn alawê se, nanê cî rînd nêveno; pêro avyeno. Bol alawê se û beno zey lastikiya pê verra nêdano.

2. Mir alawî se, pey adîrgan dî adîr wekenê. 'Tewq nani adîrgani ser ew nan pewjenê. Ê mirî gud gud cîra cîkenê. Weyna sero pey tira nanê akenê. Sifte werdî bena, ba'hdî bena gîrdî.

3. Nanê çekenê 'tewq ser. Nan kîştênda cî peyşê se, dimdanê kîştî bîni pey şîşîya. Şîşîya nanê dimdanê, dimdanê o koşê no koşê. Nan pey şîşîya sera hewardanê, jûna çekenê ser.

TEXT 13: How You Bake Bread

1. *Back home you put flour in a bowl (and) put water in it and stir it with the hand. When it has soaked up some of the water you knead (it). You knead it (and it) becomes dough. You knead it fairly much and it won't come apart. If you knead it (too) little its bread won't be good; it will come apart. If you knead it a lot it becomes like rubber, it doesn't come apart.*

2. *When the dough is kneaded, you build a fire in the fireplace. (You put) the bread-plate on the fireplace and bake bread. You cut that dough off ball after ball. The rolling-board is so big [gesture 2 ft.]. You roll out [lit. open up] a bread on the board with a roller. At first small, then it becomes large.*

3. *You throw a bread on the baking plate. When the bread is cooked on one side, you turn (it to) the other side with a spatula. You turn the bread with a spatula, turn (it) that side (and) this side. You lift the bread off with the spatula (and) throw another one on.*

TEXT 14: Şîma Nan Wenê, Nêwenê

Ma het nêvanê, "Tî veyşanê, veyşan niyê?" Meymanê cî biro se, nan cîrê anê. Anê cî ver çendok werd. Dewda mara nezdî jû dewê bi, ma sûk ra amêyê se ma şîyê a dew. Jew keye cenîyênda cî bi. Ay vatê,

“Şıma nan wenê, nêwenê?” Ma vatê, “Ma nêwenê.” Ma şermayay, ma vatê, “Ma nêwenê.” Mara mı zi va, “Şıma şınê ewja se, vajê, ‘Ez nan wenan,’ ” vatê. A fina torê nêvana, “Tı nan wenê, nêwenê?”

TEXT 14: Will you eat or not?

Back home you don't say, "Are you hungry or not?" If their guest comes they bring him food. They bring something to eat before him. Near our village was a village. When we came from the city we would go to that village. There was a woman at one home. She would say, "Will you eat (a meal) or not?" We would say, "We won't eat." We were embarrassed (and) would say, "We won't eat." My mother, though, used to say, "When you go there, say, 'I will eat,' ” she said. Then again [or "on the other hand"], she (my mother) won't ask you, "Will you eat or not?"

TEXT 15: Hewn dı

Mı hewn dı tı di, tı wini cayno amê. No çına tora nêvı, çına o da weş tora. To erdişa xu taşt vi. To va, “Hallo,” ez wınya tora. Mı tı nêsilasnay. Ez zi huway, va, “Teri erdişa xu tašta.” Va, “Ayra torê telefon bikeran, 'To tašta, nêtašta?’ ” Fına va, “Hewno. Raşt niyo.”

TEXT 15: In The Dream

I saw you in a dream; you came to someplace like this. You didn't have on these clothes; you had on better clothes. You had shaved your beard. You said, "Hello," and I looked at you. I didn't recognize you. I laughed (and) said, "Terry has shaved his beard." I said, "Therefore I will phone you (and ask), 'Have you shaved or not?' ” Again I said, "It is a dream. It isn't true."

TEXT 16: Xerxız

1. Jew xerxızê bı dewda ma dı. Bol xerxızey kerdê. Hergşew xerxızey nêkerdê se, hewnê cı niyameyê. Şewê cema't yeno pê ser. O xerxız zi ewja beno. Cema't eyra pers keno, vano, “Tı çıçırê xerxızey kenê?” Hergjew qisey keno.

2. Apê mı zi eyrê vano, “Emşo xerxızey mekı,” vano, “Ez bızê danan to. Meşo, xerxızey mekı.” Vano, “Nê,” vano, “bıza to tı bıdê mı, mirê goştê cı şırın niyo; goştê cı mirê ta'lo. Ez bitrawan se, mirê goştê cı şırın beno.”

TEXT 16: The Thief

1. There was a thief in our village. He did a lot of thievery. If he didn't steal something every night, he couldn't sleep. [lit. his sleep didn't come] One night the crowd comes together. That thief is there, too. The crowd asks him (and) says, "Why do you do thievery?" Everyone is talking.

2. *My uncle also says to him, "Tonight don't do any thievery," he says, "I will give you a goat. Don't go (and) do thievery." He says, "No," he says, "If you give me your goat its meat won't be sweet to me; its meat will be bitter. If I steal it, it's meat will be sweet to me."*

TEXT 17: Merdımo Har

1. Jew merdıme welatê ma dı bol har beno ew bol cesûr beno. No vano, "Şew ez rakewan se," vano, "mırıçık çıwi bıkeru se," vano, "ez 'hasyenana xu."
2. Jewna bı, bol xerxızey kerdê. No zi vano, "Ezan şew biran tıvingera to tora bitrawan." O vano, "Tı birê se, tı nêşenê tıvingera mı mıra bitrawê." Vano, "Mı nêşa se, wa torê qetlê mı 'helal vo." O vano, "Wa vo."
3. No zi hirê mengi maneno. O xu vira keno, nêzano odo biro. Tım ey paweno ba'hdê hirê mengana. O zi bol berey şıno ba'hdê hirê mengana.
4. No şıno, eyu ew cenêrda ciya şew rakewtê. Aşmi zi asayê, 'tayn roşno zi. No şıno destê cenêrda cı tepêşeno. Ey tım vera wını keno cı. O tım vano, ceniya ciya. Ceniya cı zi vana, merdey ciyo.
5. Beno tıvinger ro. Tıving zi inan xu ortede ronaya. Beno tıvinger ro. Tıvinger geno; ew şıno. Ba'hdê eyrê weseyneno, vano, "Tıvinga toya tya! Bê, berı!"

TEXT 17: The Arrogant Man

1. *A certain man in our country is very arrogant and very proud. He says, "When I sleep at night," he says, "if a bird cheeps," he says, "I wake up."*
 2. *There was another fellow, (who) did a lot of thievery. He says, "I will come at night and steal your rifle from you." He (arrogant) says, "If you come, you won't be able to steal my gun from me." He (thief) says, "If I can't, you are guiltless whatever you do to me." He (arrogant) says, "So be it."*
 3. *And he (thief) waits [lit. remains] three months. He (arrogant) forgets; he doesn't know that he (thief) will come. He keeps waiting for him past three months. He then goes very late, after three months.*
 4. *He goes (and) he (arrogant) and his wife were sleeping at night. The moon appeared (and) it shines a little bit. He goes (and) catches the hand of his (the arrogant man's) wife. He keeps doing this to him [stroking him with his own wife's hand]. He (the man) keeps thinking [lit. saying] that it is his wife. The woman, on the other hand, keeps thinking [lit. saying] that it is her husband.*
 5. *He lays hold of the rifle. The rifle lay between them. He lays hold of the rifle. He takes the rifle and goes. Later he shows it to him (and) says, "Here is your rifle! Come get it!"*
-

Endnotes to Texts

1. The normal Dimili word for “song” <dêr> here represents a Dimili song while “Turkish” <Tırki> here represents a Turkish song.
2. <kirtleme> is an accepted practice of holding a piece of hard sugar in the mouth and drinking a glass or several glasses of tea over that lump.
3. <zirtleme> is word play based on the word <zirtık> meaning “buck, kick.”
4. Literally “in the forty of winter.” This is a Kirmanji expression [note <çıl> instead of <çewres> for 40] that reflects a legend to the effect that the worst of winter weather comes during a 40 day period. The legend is unknown to “A” and the expression simply means “the dead of winter” to him.
5. The word used here for “flour” <ardi> is plural in Dimili.

Appendix C

Dimili – English Glossary

For an explanation of the alphabet used in this glossary see the introductory comments to Appendix B: Texts and Translations.

Capital letters are used to begin proper nouns. The stressed syllable is indicated by boldface type.^m Dimili nouns in the glossary are marked for gender as either masculine (o), or feminine (a). When the noun is designated (o/a) its gender is variable depending on the sex of the particular referent.

Grammatical information on other words is marked on the English side of the entry. That is preferable both to coining metalinguistic terms in Dimili and to mixing English and Dimili grammatical information on the Dimili side of the entries. Exceptions are cases where a verb is transitive in one language and intransitive in the other. It is necessary to know whether a Dimili verb is transitive in order to properly inflect it.

Verbs are entered in the gerund form since that is the preferred citation form among native speakers who, incidentally, refer to the gerund as the ‘root’ <**kok**> of the word. The items in parenthesis after a verb entry are given to aid in generating forms that cannot otherwise be derived. Those items will always include the imperative followed by an exclamation mark (!) except in cases where the imperative is extremely unlikely due to semantics. When the injunctive is not predictable from the imperative, it will follow the imperative and also end in an exclamation mark. In a few cases the third-person singular masculine present indicative is given either in place of the imperative or as the last item in parenthesis. It is identifiable in that it always ends in the sequence <**no**>. When the form of the past stem is not immediately obvious from the gerund, it is given as the first item in the parenthesis followed by a comma. Other forms that occur in the parenthesis will be identified.

Sample Entries:

pawtış (pawıt, pıpawı!)

gerund (past stem, imperative!)

amyayış (ame, bê! mêm! (subjunct. biro) yeno)

gerund (past stem, imper.! injunc.! (subjunctive) pres.)

^m Editor's remark (2nd edition): For technical reasons the stressed syllables are not shown here in boldface type.

Dimili - English Glossar

A a

a (DIR)	she, her, it (far) (pn)
a	that (fem) (aj)
adır (o)	fire
adırgan (o)	fireplace
adırge (o)	cigarette lighter
Adna (mpn)	Adana
'af kerdış	forgive (tv)
Afqanıj (o/a)	Afghan citizen
Afriqa	Africa
Afriqayıj (o/a)	African (person)
ageyrayış	wander back (iv)
akerdış (akı! akeno)	open; roll out (flat bread) (tv)
akewtış	rise (sun, moon) (iv)
(akew! akewno)	
alawtış	knead (tv)
(balawı! malawı!)	
Alman	German (citizen)
Almani	German (language)
Almanya	Germany
altûn (o)	gold
alû (a)	saliva, spittle
amin (o)	starter (for making yogurt)
amnan (o)	summer
amyayış (ame, bê!	come (iv)
mê!	
(subjunct. biro)	
yeno)	
anıştış (banış!	land (bird, airplane, etc.) (iv)
manış! anışeno)	
antış (bancı!	pull; suck; soak up (tv)
mancı! anceno)	
ap (o)	uncle (paternal)
aqıl	clever (aj)
aqıl (o)	cleverness; senses (consciousness)
aqılê (kesi) şiyayış	faint (iv)
aratılık (o)	light (electric)
ardış (bıya! mêya!	bring (tv)
(subjunct. bıyaro)	
ano)	
ardı (pl)	flour
arêkerdış	collect, gather (tv)
arêviyayış (pê ser)	assemble (iv)
arıq (o)	condensation, sweat
arıqyayış (arıqyeno)	sweat (iv)
xu marıqını!	Don't make yourself sweat!
arriş (o)	flour (supply)
arwêş (o)	rabbit
asayış (asa, bası!	appear [to s.o.], be visible
ması! aseno)	[to s.o.] (iv)
[kesi ra]	
asın (o)	iron
asnaw	swimming
asnaw kerdış	swim (iv)
aşle kerdış	graft (trees) (tv)
aşmi (a)	moon
atkerdış	bequeath, leave [s.th. to s.o. in
	one's will] (tv)
aviyayış	come apart (iv)
(avi! mavı! aviyeno)	
aw (a)	water

aw rişnayış	urinate (euphemism) (iv)
ağa (o)	agha
axlaq (o)	character
ağu (o)	poison
ay (OBL)	her, she, it (far) (pn)
ayam (o)	weather
ayra (conj)	therefore
ayre (o)	mill
'azeb (o)	widower
'azeb mendış	become a widower
azmi (a)	sky, heavens

B b

ba'hdê	after (prep)
ba'hdêcoy	subsequently (av)
ba'hdo	later (av)
bakal (o)	grandfather, grandpa
balû (a)	chestnut
baluwêri (a)	chestnut tree
ban (o)	house, building
bancanı (a)	eggplant
bant (o)	cassette
baqırr (o)	copper
baqla (a)	pea
bar (o)	load, burden
bar kerdış (tv)	move away (household) (iv)
Baran (mpn)	Baran
bare (o)	nostril
barı / bari	thin (aj)
başna (a)	pillow
bavet (o)	sort, kind, type
bavetna	different (aj)
baw	father, grandfather (vocative)
bawer kerdış	believe (tv)
bazı (o)	forearm; shin
bazın (o)	bracelet
bedel	beautiful (of a woman) (aj)
bejn (a)	body (only for height references)
belek	colorful, spotted, speckled (aj)
beno (av)	maybe, perhaps
beno nêveno	maybe, maybe not
beq (o)	frog
beran (o)	ram
berbanık (a)	apron
berbat	dirty (aj)
berdış (bi! mê! beno)	take (tv)
berey	late (av); late (aj)
bergir (o)	stallion
bermayış	cry, weep (iv)
(bermı! bermeno)	
berqyayış (berqyeno)	glow (in the dark)
berz	high (aj)
berza (a)	seed
bes	enough (aj)
besterdış (besteri!)	wipe (tv)
beşila (a)	melon (white)
bewran (a)	dove, pigeon
bê	without (prep)

bê [see: amyayış]	come! [sg. imperative]	cı kwatış	push (tv)
bêkes	uninhabited (aj)	(kwa cı, cı ku!	
bêri (a)	milkmaid, milker (girl)	cı meku! kuwena cı)	
Bêz (fjn)	Bez	cı niştış	mount (horse, etc.) (iv)
Bıçax (mpn)	Bijach tribe	(cı nişı! nişeno cı)	
bılboy (a)	smell of scorching cotton clothing	cın (o/a)	evil spirit
bın (o)	base	cınawır (o)	carnivore
bın	underneath (prep)	cınêr (OBL)	woman, wife
binê qede'h	saucer	cınêt (o)	heaven, paradise
bıra (o)	brother	cıt (o)	pair or team (of oxen)
bırakeyna (a)	niece [brother's daughter]	cîtêr (o/a)	farmer
bırar (OBL)	brother	cığare (o)	cigarette
bıraza (o)	nephew [brother's son]	cor	up, upward (av)
bırnayış	cut (tv)	cora	therefore (conj)
(bıyrırmı! bıyrınen)			
bırûsık (a)	lightning	Ç ç	
bıvo (o)	glue (sap of apricot tree)	çadır (a)	tent
bıx (o)	steam	çaket (o)	jacket
bızêk (o/a)	kid (goat)	çakûç (o)	hammer
bız (a)	goat, nanny goat	çal (a)	hole (in ground)
bin	the other one	çante (o)	bag
bintero	second day after tomorrow	çaput (o)	cloth; rag
birro (av)	day-after-tomorrow	çaqmaq (o)	cigarette lighter
biyayış (vı! beno, -o)	be	çar (a)	brush (piled up to burn)
biyayış (vı! beno)	become	çarşeme (o)	Wednesday
biyayış (vı! beno)	work, function (iv)	çarrês (num)	fourteen
Sovay ma bena.	Our stove works.	çarşı (o)	downtown, shopping- district
biyayış (çi)-ro	take hold of (s.th.)	çay (a)	tea
boçık (a)	tail	çayır (o)	grass
bol	very (av)	çefi (a)	scarf, shawl
bol	many, much (aj)	çekerdış (çek! çekeno)	throw (tv)
bol şıno 'tayn şıno	after a while	Çeleng (mpn)	Cheleng
bol ... 'tayn ...	after doing ... for a while	çeleng	handsome (aj)
bostan (o)	garden	çend	how many, however many
boxşı (o)	saw	çerçi (o/a)	peddler
boğum (o)	log	çerez kerdış (tv)	snack (iv)
boy (a)	smell	çerme (o)	leather
boyağ (o)	paint	çetin	hard, difficult (aj)
boyağ kerdış	paint (tv)	çewres	forty (num)
boye (o)	polish (shoe)	çewt kerdış	bend; crook (finger, etc) (tv)
boyeci (o)	shoeshine boy	çewt	bent, crooked (aj)
boye kerdış (boye kıl!)	polish [shoes] (tv)	çiçi, çı	what (interrog)
		çičirê	why (interrog)
C c		çı'har (num)	four
ca (o)	bed; place	çije (o)	nipple
cahnım (o)	hell	çiledê zımıstani	dead of winter
cam (o)	glass, window pane	çılk (a)	drop (of liquid)
cambaz (o/a)	livestock dealer	çı'lm (o)	mucus
camerd (o)	man	çım (o)	eye
camêrd (o)	man	çım'hal	when (interrog)
cemat (o)	congregation, crowd	çına (o)	clothes
cemdiya	frozen (aj)	çına (o)	clothing
cemdyayış	freeze (iv)	çiniyo	zero (num)
(cemdyeno)		çırp (a)	plaster
cemed (o)	ice	çırr (o)	waterfall, rapids
cenayış (bıcentı!)	play (musical instrument)	çırnanık (a)	gutterpipe (on house)
ceni (a)	woman, wife	çırriya	how, by what means (interrog)
cenıya viya	widow	çıt (o)	pair (gloves, socks, etc.)
cesûr	proud (aj)	çi (o)	thing
cew (o)	barley	çınayış (çına, bıçını!)	mow (tv)
ceyran (o)	electricity	çit (a)	scarf
cêr	down, downward (av)	çıwi kerdış	chirp (iv)
cı (OBL)	him, her, it, them	çokolata (o)	chocolate
cıkerdış	cut off (tv)	çoşmey	around (prep)
		çıwe (o)	cane, walking-stick

D d

dahri (a)	tool for splitting wood, (all iron, slight sickle shape)	dije (o)	hedgehog
da'hwa kerdış	blaspheme (tv)	Dilêr (mpn)	Diler
dalpa (a)	drop (drip)	Dilgeş (mpn)	Dilgesh
damiş biyayış (iv)	bear (tv)	dıma	behind, after (av)
dapir (a)	grandmother, grandma	dından (o)	tooth
dar (a)	tree	dırbet (a)	injury, wound
darı (o)	medicine	dırbetın	injured, wounded (aj)
dawtış	plaster (tv)	dırır	two-faced (aj)
(dawıt, bıdawı!)		dırınayış (bıdırır!)	tear (tv)
day	mother (vocative)	dısmal (a)	handkerchief
dayış (da, bıdı! dano)	give (tv)	dışeme (o)	Monday
ded (o)	uncle (paternal)	dışmın (o/a)	enemy
dedkeyna (a)	cousin (daughter of paternal uncle)	dışmış biyayış	think about s.th., ponder
dedo	uncle (paternal, vocative)	dıtış (bıdoşı! doşeno)	milk (tv)
dekerdiş	put in (tv)	dik (o)	rooster, cock
del (a)	bitch, female dog	dimdayış	turn over, flip (tv)
Delal (fpn)	Delal	(dimdı! dimdano)	
delverg (a)	female wolf	din (o)	religion
dembelek (a)	drum (small, played with fingers)	dinc	virile, strong and fast (aj)
dendık (a)	seed (edible)	dirê	few, a
deqa (a)	minute (time)	dirê < dıhirê	noon
derd (o)	problem	diyayış	see; find (tv)
dere (o)	stream	(di, bıvım!, vineno)	
derece (o)	degree [of temperature]	do (o)	buttermilk
derg	long, tall (aj)	dol (a)	lake, pond
derg biyayış	lie down (iv)	dolab (o)	refrigerator
Ezan benan derg.	I am lying down.	dor (a)	cistern (large clay waterjar)
derrıskyayış	slide, slip, skid (iv)	dorı (o)	jug (for water)
(mederrıski!		doşeg (o)	mattress
derrıskyeno)		doşi (a)	shoulder
derwıtış	sweep (tv)	duman (o)	smog
(bıderwı! derweno)		duway kerdış (tv)	pray (iv)
derğel (a)	stripe	duwês	twelve (num)
derğelın	striped (esp. animals) (aj)	dû(n) (o)	smoke [small amount]
derya (o)	sea	dûri	far, distant (aj)
derzını (a)	needle	dûz	flat, level, smooth (aj)
des	ten (num)		
dest (o)	hand	E e	
dest dayış (kesi rê)	shake hands	e	yes
dest dayış (kesi ro)	hit (with the hand) (tv)	ecente (o/a)	car dealer
desuçe'har	fourteen (num)	Ella (mpn)	God
desudıdı, desudı	twelve (num)	Ella dayış	be born
desuhirê	thirteen (num)	'em (a)	aunt (paternal)
desu'heşt	eighteen (num)	embaz (o/a)	friend
desu'hewt	seventeen (num)	embazey (a)	friendship
desujew	eleven (num)	'emele (o/a)	worker, laborer
desunew	nineteen (num)	'emkeyna (a)	cousin (daughter of paternal aunt)
desupanj	fifteen (num)	emser	this year
desuşeş	sixteen (num)	emşo	tonight (av)
deştıni kerdış	sew, tailor (tv)	'emza (o)	cousin (son of paternal aunt)
deştış (bıderzı!)	sew (tv)	engışt (a)	finger
deve (o/a)	camel	engışta pil	thumb
devança (a)	pistol	engışta qıj	little finger
dew (a)	village	engıştane (o)	ring [for finger]
dewar (o)	livestock	engur (a)	grape
dewij (o/a)	villager	ercan	cheap, inexpensive (aj)
dewlemend	rich (aj)	'erd (o)	soil, dirt, earth
deza (o)	cousin (son of paternal uncle)	'ereva (a)	car, automobile
dêr (a)	song	erdiş (a)	beard
dês (o)	wall	'Ereb (o/a)	Arab
dıdı, dı	two (num)	'Erebi (a)	Arabic
dıdın	second (aj)	erx (a)	canal (irrigation)
dıfını	twice (av)	esto, esta, estê	exists (iv)
dıhirê	noon	çi kesi esto	One has something.
		eşir (a)	tribe
		eştış (çek! çekeno)	throw (tv)

eştiş [pey tvinga] (çek! çekeno)	shoot (tv)
ew	and (conj)
ewja	there (av)
ewna	like that
ewna	thus (pn)
ewro	today (av)
ey (OBL)	he, him, it (far) (pn)
'eyni	same (aj)
ez (DIR)	I, me (pn)

Ê ê

ê (DIR)	they, them (far) (pn)
ê	those (aj)
êgan (a)	niece [sister's daughter]
êgan (o)	nephew [sister's son]
êleg (a)	suit
êre	afternoon prayer time, midafternoon
êrûg (a)	plum
êrûgêri (a)	plum tree

F f

Farzi (a)	Persian (language)
fasula (a)	bean
favırqe (o)	factory
fek (o)	mouth; blade [of knife, etc.]
feqarey [cp. Arabic pl /fuqaraa/	peasants
feqir (o/a)	peasant
feqir	poor; humble (very nice) (aj)
fer	odd, uneven (as in numbers)(aj)
Fêrida (fÿpn)	Ferida
fin (a)	time [occurrence]
fina	again (av); another time
findıq (a)	peanut
finê	once (av), one time
fireng (a)	tomato
firig (o)	almond (in the shell and green)
firigêri (a)	almond tree
firrûn (a)	bakery
firrûnci (o/a)	baker
fıstıq (a)	pistachio, peanut
fıstıqêri (a)	pistachio tree
fıfıstıqêra zûray	grafted pistachio tree
fişqı (o)	manure (horse)
fil (o)	elephant
fiyet (o)	price
Fransız (o/a)	Frenchman
Fransızı (a)	French (language)

G g

ga (o)	bull, ox
gam (a)	step, stride
gamna	soon, in a few minutes [lit. in another stride]
gan (o)	body; soul
Ganê mi teweno.	My body aches.
gem (o)	bit [of bridle]
gem (a)	country (undeveloped area)
genc	young (aj)
gencêy (a)	youth [state]
germ	warm, hot (aj)

gew (a)	corral, livestock pen (away from home)
geyrayış	wander (iv)
(bıgeyn! geyreno)	
geyrayış	seek (tv), look for (s.th.)
(bıgeyn! geyreno) (iv)	
gıdı	skinny, thin (animate) (aj)
gıl (o)	branch
gılav (a)	shepherd's garment
gılıya çımi	eyeball
gilyaz (a)	cherry
gilyazêri (a)	cherry tree
gıran	heavy (aj)
gırd	big, large (aj)
gırêdayış (gırêda, gırêdı! gırêdano)	tie (tv)
gıreynayış	boil (tv)
(bıgreym! gıreyneno)	
gıreyayış	boil (iv)
(bıgreyi! gıreyeno)	
gırotış	get; close (tv)
(bi! mey! (subjunct. biyero) geno)	
gırwıyayış	work (iv)
(bıgırwê! gırwıyeno)	
gi (o)	feces
golım (o)	thigh
gore (o)	condition (soil, etc.); size (clothing)
goş (o)	ear
goş nayış	obey (tv), pay attention
goşt (o)	meat, flesh
goştarey kerdış (tv)	listen (to s.th.) (iv)
goştê dırdanan	gums
goz (a)	walnut
Gulbehar (fÿpn)	Gulbehar
gulêri (a)	rosebush
gulılık (a)	yolk
gum (a)	cheek
gum biyayış	sink (iv)
gum kerdış	sink (tv)
guni (a)	blood
guwan (o)	udder
gûd (a)	wad, ball, meatball; cottonball (after seed is removed)
gûda vewrı	snowball
gül (a)	rose

H h

ha gıdı ha!	giddyup [to horse, ox, etc.], sic 'em! [to a dog in a chase], Sure, tell me more! [sarcastically to one telling an unbelievable story]
hadê! (pl. hadırê!)	come let's ...
[limited forms]	
hak (o)	egg
har	proud; rabid (aj)
helbest (a)	poem
helqa (a)	chain
heq (o)	right (legal or moral)
her (o/a)	donkey
herem (o)	thread (cotton)
hergiew	each one
hergroj	each day
hergşew	each night

herinayış (biherin!)	buy (tv)	'heywan (o/a)	animal
herûn (a)	place, stead	'hezâr	thousand (num)
herwext	always (av)	'hêrs	angry, serious (aj)
het	at, to (one's place, Fr.: 'chez'); with (one; accompaniment)	'hir (o)	hill (loose gravel on which children play)
hewardayış (heward, hewardî! hewardano)	lift, pick up (tv)	'hul (a)	turkey
hewn (o)	sleep; dream	I 1	
hewn (-ê kesi)	get sleepy; fall asleep	istanik (a)	story
amyayış		istare (o)	star
hewna	still (av)	istre (o)	horn
hewna	yet	i'ste (o)	bone
		i'stor (a)	horse, mare
hewr (o)	cloud	işkij (a)	raisin
hewr gurrayış (hewr gurreno)	thunder (iv)	işpij (a)	louse
		işpijn	lousy (aj)
hêdi	slowly (av)	İ i	
hış	quiet (aj)		
Hîndî (o/a)	Indian citizen	inan (OBL)	they, them (far) (pn)
hing (a)	bee	ine (o)	Friday
hingemin (o)	honey	İnglîzi	English (language)
Hingistan (o)	India	inî (o)	spring (water (undeveloped))
Hingistanîj (o/a)	Indian citizen	irbîq (o)	ewer, pitcher
hi	wet (aj)	iskeme (o)	chair
hirê	three (num)	i'sot (o)	pepper [hot or green]
hirês	thirteen (num)	işlîg (a)	shirt
hirin	third (aj)		
hîris	thirty (num)	J j	
hoşt!	hush! [said to barking dog, not people]	jandes	eleven (num)
honik	cool (aj)	jew (masc.)	one (num)
huwayış	laugh (iv)	jew	someone (pn)
(bîhuw! huweno)		jewna (fem)	another (aj)
huwe (o)	shovel	jû (fem.)	one (num)
		jûfin	once (av), one time
'H 'h		jûjûfin	sometimes (av)
'hac'hacik (a)	swallow [bird]	jûna (masc)	another (aj)
'haleti (a)	plow		
'hefte (o)	week	K k	
'helal	legal (aj)	kakıl (o)	walnut meat
'helaşani	afternoon	kalık (o)	ancestor; grandfather, grandpa
'helaşewray	midmorning, forenoon	kam	which, who (interrog)
'heliyayış	melt (iv)	kamcin	which of them
(bî'heli! 'heliyeno)		kapok (o)	kneebone of sheep or goat; game of luck played with that bone
'hemeçi	everything	kar (o)	work; job; profit, benefit
'henday gird	this large (with gesture)	kardi (a)	knife
'herf (a)	letter (of alphabet)	karrıtış (bıkarrı!)	sow (tv)
'herr (a)	soil, dirt, earth	kavırr (o/a)	lamb
'herr çekerdış	dig (tv)	kağıt (o)	paper; lira (or other currency such as dollar, mark, etc.)
'heram	polluted [ritually], taboo (aj)		
'hers (a)	tear (from eye)	kek (a)	flea
'herşi kerdış	cry, weep (iv); (one's) eyes water	keko	older brother; sir (vocative)
'hesyayış	hear (tv)	kel (o)	goat; billy goat
(bî'hasyi) (tv)		kele (o)	corner
'heş (a)	bear	kele (o)	skull
'heşt	eight (num)	kele kerdış	behead (tv), cut (one's) throat
'heştay	eighty (num)	kelek (a)	boat
'heştês	eighteen (num)	kelmêş (a)	horsefly
'hevîk (a)	matchlock rifle	kelp (o)	tusk, canine tooth
'hewş (o)	corral	keman (o)	violin
'hewt	seven (num)	kendal (o)	claypit
'hewtay	seventy (num)	kendir (o)	rope
'hewtês	seventeen (num)		
'heyf (o)	revenge		
'heyf girotış	get revenge		

kendiş	cultivate (soil), hoe (tv)	koz (o)	live coal
(bikeni! keneno)		kurnı (a)	water trough
kerdiş (bıkı! keno)	do, make (tv)	kuçe (o)	street
kerdiş + "place"	put into (s.th.) (tv)	kuflet (o)	family
keremkı	please [lit. do me a favor]	kulek (a)	hip
kerğ (a)	chicken, hen	kund (o)	owl
kerkinc (a)	crab, crawdad, crayfish	kuşat kerdış	have fun
kerkût (a)	box of matches	kutık (o)	dog
kerm (a)	worm [larva]	kû (a)	pumpkin, squash
kerr	deaf (aj)	kût	paralyzed (aj)
kerre (o)	mountain (stony)	kûvi (o/a)	wild animal
kerreyin	steep (aj)	kwatış	tap, knock (iv); crush, pound (tv)
kerwayin (a)	circumcision	(kwa, bıkû! kûweno)	
kerwayin kerdış	circumcise (tv)	[see also: cı kwatış]	
kes	one, someone, anyone (pn)		
kes [with neg. verb]	no one, nobody (pn)		
kesa (a)	turtle	L I	
kesaya beji	land turtle	la (a)	river
kesaya awi	water turtle	la (o)	thread
kewtış	fall, drop (inanimate)(iv)	laj (o)	boy, son
(bikewı! kewno)		lajek (o)	boy, small
key	when (interrog)	lastık (o)	rubber
keye (o)	apartment	lawayış (bılawı!)	bark (iv)
keye (o)	home	lazım	necessary (aj)
keyna (a)	girl, daughter	legen (a)	bowl (large)
keynek (a)	small girl	lej (o)	war, fight
keyner (OBL)	girl, daughter	lej kerdış	fight (tv)
keyver (o)	door	lem (a)	plant (garden plant)
kezev (a)	liver	lengri (a)	tray, platter
kezev(-a kesi) veşayış	suffer (iv)	lep (o)	handful
kê	who (interrog).	lepik (o)	glove
kêf (o)	mood	lerzayış (bilerzi!)	shiver, tremble (iv)
kêlını (o)	scythe	lew (o)	lip
kı'han	old (inanimate) (aj)	lewe (o)	cliff
kı'ho	green (aj)	leyleg (a)	stork
kılaw (a)	cap (in center of turban)	lê (n) (o)	pan, pot
kılm	short (aj)	ling (a)	leg, foot
kılör (a)	short round bread	lif (o)	sponge
kınga (interrog)	when	lilık (o)	mirror
kırdasi (a)	Kirmanji	lojin (a)	chimney
kırtleme (o)	tea with hard sugar	lolık (o)	earthworm
kışt (a)	side; page (one side of a piece of paper)	lori kerdış	sing a lullaby
kıştış (bıkışo)	kill (tv)	luwayış (luwa, bılu! luweno)	move (iv)
kışyayış	be killed	lû (a)	fox
kilo (o)	kilogram	lûli (a)	flute
klit	locked (aj)		
klit (o)	key	'L 'l	
ko (o)	mountain	'leyın (o)	filth (on clothes, hands, etc.)
koç kerdış	move away (iv)	'leyın	dirty (aj)
koçer (o/a)	nomad	'lıncın	muddy (aj)
koçık (a)	spoon	'lıncı (a)	mud
kok (o)	root	'lır (a)	rat
kol	dull, blunt (aj)		
kole (o/a)	slave		
koleyın (a)	slavery	M m	
kolı (o)	wood, stick, faggot (firewood)	ma	we, us (pn)
koli (pl)	wood (pieces), firewood [lit. faggots]	ma (a)	mother
komır (o)	charcoal	ma'hna (a)	meaning
kon döz (o)	ladle, dipper	mak (a)	button
kosbes (a)	goat ; wild goat	maki	female, feminine [grammatical gender] (aj)
koşe (o)	corner; side (of street or of s.th. flat)	manga (a)	cow
koti	where (interrog)	manker (a)	female donkey
koz (o)	blind [hunting]	mar (OBL)	mother

mar (o)	snake	musayış	learn (tv), become accustomed to (s.th.), get used to (s.th.)
maro beji, maro awi	land snake, water snake	(bımusı!) (iv)	
mari (a)	female partridge	musnayış (bımusnı!)	teach; show (tv)
marmase (o)	eel	mû (a)	hair [single strand]; goathair
masayış	swell (iv)	mündi (a)	sash (man's clothing)
(subjunct. bımaso)		myan	among, between; inside, into (prep)
mase (o)	fish	myane (o)	back (anatomy)
mase (o)	table		
mast (o)	yogurt		
mağ (a)	beam		
mazêr (a)	chestnut tree (small leaves, bitter fruit)	N n	
mazı (o)	chestnut, bitter (used to stop bleeding)	na (DIR)	she, her, it (near) (pn)
mazo't (o)	diesel fuel	na	this (fem) (aj)
me'ht mendış	amazed, be	naŋki (a)	dish, plate (small)
mektuv (a)	letter	na'hne (o)	peppermint (leaves)
melek (o/a)	angel	nalbend (o)	blacksmith
mendiş (bımanı!)	remain, stay (iv)	nale (o)	horseshoe
meng (a)	month	name (a)	letter (mail)
mercû (a)	lentil	name (o)	name
merde (o)	husband	namtış	bend (tv)
merdiş	die (iv)	(namıt, bınamı!)	
(bımrı! mıreno)		nan (o)	bread (general); food; groceries
merdı́m (o/a)	person, man	nan (a)	loaf of bread
merdı́mê kesi (o/a)	one's relative	nan werdı́ş	eat (a meal)
merdı́mi (pl)	people	nano (o)	freeloader
merdwani (a)	ladder, stairs, steps	Narin (fpn)	Nareen
merre (o)	mouse	nay (OBL)	she, her, it (near) (pn)
merşe (o)	mosquito	nayış	put, set; lay [hand] (tv)
mesel (a)	story	(na, nı! menı! nano)	
mesele	for example	ne	no
meşk (a)	churn (goat skin)	ne ... ne ...	neither ... nor ...
meştı	tomorrow (av)	nefes (o)	breath
metin	tight; strong (rope, etc.) (aj)	nengwı (o)	finger nail
mew (a)	grapevine	neqra (a)	drum (large, played with drumstick)
mewêrı (a)	grapevine	neqûr (a)	beak, bill (of a bird)
meyman (o/a)	guest	nerı	male (aj)
meymûn (o)	monkey	neri	masculine [grammatical gender] (aj)
meywe (o)	fruit	nerm (aj)	soft; agreeable [person]
mezel (o)	grave	nerre'hat	impolite, disobedient (aj)
mês (a)	fly	nerrınd	dangerous (aj)
mêşe (o)	forest, woods	new	nine (num)
mêşte (o)	money (old word)	neway	ninety (num)
Na ı'stor çend	'How much is that horse?'	newe	new (aj)
mêşteya?		newês	nineteen (num)
mifti (o)	mufti	newke	recently, newly, just (av)
mij (o)	fog	nexş (o)	embroidery
mıl (o)	neck (back of)	nexşi kerdış	embroider (tv)
mıla (o/a)	teacher	ney (OBL)	he, him, it (near) (pn)
millet (a)	people, the	nezdı / nezdi	near (someplace)
mılyon	million (num)	(filan ca ra)	
mı(n) (OBL)	I, me (pn)	nê (DIR)	they, them (near) (pn)
mırıçık (a)	bird (small)	nê	these (aj)
mırd	full (from eating) (aj)	nê (OBL)	this (masc) (aj)
mırd	sated (aj)	nêşeno [lim. forms,	
mıro (a)	pear	past stem: şa]	cannot, not be able
mırwêrı (a)	pear tree	nêweş	ill, sick (aj)
mışmış (a)	apricot	nı'ha (a)	garbanzo bean
mışmışêrı (a)	apricot tree	nıka	now (av)
mı (a)	sheep	nımaz kerdış (tv)	pray (iv)
mir (o)	dough	nımz	low (aj)
miraz (o)	yeast	nıştış	[see: cı nıştış]
mizi kerdış	urinate (babies and animals) (iv)	ninan (OBL)	they, them (near) (pn)
moncle (o)	ant	no (DIR)	he, him, it (near) (pn)
montorr (o)	motor	no (DIR)	this (masc) (aj)
		nûncık (a)	fist

nûncık dayış (kesi ro)	punch, slug (tv)	peysayış (peysa,	dry up (spring) (iv)
nûşte (o)	talisman (written prayer folded up	pipeysi! peyseno)	
	and worn to ward of evil spirits)	peyşayış (peyşa,	roast (iv)
nûştış (bınusı!)	write (tv)	pipeyşı, peyşeno)	
O o		pê	each other
o (DIR)	he, him, it (far) (pn)	pê amyayış	collide (iv)
o (DIR)	that (masc) (aj)	pê mendış	resemble each other (tv)
omid (o)	hope	pêlek (o)	bag (small)
omordış (omorı!	count (tv)	pêra nezdi	near each other
mamorı! omoreno)		pêro	all (aj)
orte (o)	middle	pêro	everybody, everyone (pn)
ortedı	between, in	pêt	fast; hard (av)
ortey (cı)	between (them)	pêğember (o)	prophet
oy!	oh! [in surprise]	pırpılık (a)	butterfly
		pırr	full (aj)
		pırr kerdış	fill (tv)
		pısqılêt (a)	bicycle, bike
		pıstın (o)	breast
		pışkul (a)	dropping (goat)
		pıtık (a)	baby, infant; doll (female)
		pıx!	boo! (exc)
		pi (o)	father
		pil	greater (in honor, age); elder [re- respect] (aj)
			reed (of woodwind)
		pipık (a)	pickup [truck]
		piqav (a)	old, aged (animate) (aj)
		pir	old-age
		pirey (a)	grandmother, grandma
		pirik (a)	book
		pirtok (o)	bad [amoral] (av)
		pis	stomach, belly
		pize (o)	squeeze (tv)
		ploxnayış	
		(piploxnı! ploxneno)	
		po	set up [in checkers, ready to jump the opponent]
			Make your move, I'm all set up.
		Bilû, ezan po!	hair [collective of hair on head]
		porr (o)	shoe
		postal (o)	skin; hide
		poste (o)	bridle
		pozık (o)	dress
		prên (o)	take hold of (s.th.)
		pro biyayış	tomcat
		psing (o)	cat
		psingı (a)	feather; hair [collective of arm hair, etc]
		purti (a)	rotten [of wood]
			sock
		pûç (aj)	straw, wild hay
		pûçık (o)	peel, peeling; bark [of tree]
		pûş (o)	accompany (tv); come with (s.o.)
		pûrr (o)	sleep together
		pya amyayış (iv)	live together
		pya kewtış	onion
		pya mendış	
		pyaz (o)	
		Q q	
		qadi (o)	cadi
		qahwe (o)	coffee
		qa'hriyayış	angry, become
		(bıqa'hri! qa'hriyeno)	
		qalaz (o)	jug
		qalazê ameriqa	canteen
		qalem (a)	pen, pencil
		qalın	thick; low [voice] (aj)
		qaloçi (a)	sickle

qandê	for (prep)	rakewtış	sleep (iv)
qarmış biyayış	be disturbed (about s.th.)	(rakew! rakewno)	
qat kerdış	fold (tv)	ramtış	drive; ride (horse, bicycle) (tv)
qatır (o/a)	mule	(ramıt, bırramı!)	
qazağ (a)	sweater	raşanayış	swing (tv)
qazaği (a)	kerosene	(raşanı! raşaneno)	
qebul kerdış	accept (tv)	raşt	right; correct; straight; true (aj)
qeç (o)	child	ravêrdış (ravêrı!)	pass by (iv)
qeçek (o)	baby	ray (a)	path, road, way
qede'h (a)	glass [drinking]	re'hat	easy; comfortable (aj)
qedinayış (bıqedinı!)	finish (tv)	remayış (bırrımı!)	flee, run away (iv)
qediya	gone, exhausted (supply) (aj)	reng (a)	color
qediyayış	end (iv); run out (supply),	reng kerdış	dye (tv)
(bıqedi! qediyeno)	be exhausted (supply)	repi (a)	tapping noise
qefes (o)	cage (bird)	resayış	arrive (iv)
qelaci (o)	blacksmith; goalie (soccer)	(resa (ca), (ca) resı!)	
qelaw	fat; healthy (aj)	rese (o)	rope (goathair)
qelay kerdış (tv)	work metal (iv)	resım (o)	picture
qelem (a)	pen, pencil	rev (o)	grape juice product
qertıkê desti	wrist	rew	early; soon (av)
qertıkê pay	ankle	rewin	ancient (aj)
qestel (o)	spring (water; developed)	rewt (a)	rafter
qet	never (av); not at all; nothing at all	reyayış	escape; be dislocated
qewm (o)	tribe (small)	(bırrıy! reyeneno)	
qeylamı (a)	pipe (tobacco)	rez (o)	vineyard
qeza kerdış	crash (in a car, etc.) (iv)	-rê	to (prep)
qezenc kerdış	win (game, war) (tv)	rês (o)	yarn (wool)
qij	lesser (in honor, age)	rêx (a)	manure (cow)
qijık (o)	magpie	Rêzan (mpn)	Rezan
qılaynayış (bıqılaynı!)	uproot (tv)	rı (o)	face; cover (of book, pillow)
qılayneno)		rı mendış [kesi rê]	have face
qılor	round (aj)	rı nêmendış [kesi rê]	lose face, be humiliated
qırınclê (o)	frog	rım (a)	spear
qırm (o)	match	rınd	good (aj)
qırr (a)	throat	rışnayış (bırrışnı!)	pour; spill; shed; tear down, raze [house, etc.] (tv)
qırrık (a)	throat	rıştış (bırrışı!)	send (letter, etc.) (tv)
Qırwar (fpn)	Qırwar tribe	rışyayış (rışya,	spill (iv); be poured; be shed; be
Qırwarıj (o/a)	member of the Qırwar tribe	bırrışı! rışyeno) (iv)	torn down, be razed; waste away
qıse (o)	word	rız (o)	rice
qısey kerdış (tv)	speak, talk, converse (iv)	ri başna	pillowcase
qımağ (o)	cream	Ro (o)	Euphrates
qımet (o)	value	roj (o)	day; sun
qırrayış	scream, cry out (iv)	rojakewten	east
(bıqırrı! qırreno)		rojawan	west
qol (a)	shirt	rojê Allaydayış	birthday
qol (o)	arm; sleeve	rojna	another day, some other time
qolık (a)	shirt	ronayış	set, put, place, lay; plant, set out
qolık (o)	drumstick (for playing the <i>neqra</i>)	(rona, ronı! ronano)	(tv)
qoq (o)	spire (of stone in a plain)	ronıştış (roş! roşeno)	sit, sit down; live (dwell) (iv)
qor (o)	time [occurrence]	roşın	bright (aj)
qorr	hollow (aj)	roşni (a)	ray (of light)
qul (a)	hole (in cloth, etc.)	rotış (bırrroşı! roşeno)	sell (tv)
qulbiya	south (direction)	ruwayış	sprout (iv)
qulp (o)	handle; doorknob	(ruwa, bırruwı!)	
qult (o)	swallow	ruwen (o)	oil, grease
qulti kerdış	swallow (tv)	ruwenın	oily, greasy (aj)
qut (o)	birdseed, chicken feed	ruweno keke	butter
quti (a)	box		
qutiya sol	saltshaker		
quwet (o)	strength		
qwetli	strong (aj)		
		S S	
R r		sa (a)	apple
-ra	from (prep)	sabûn (o)	soap
-ra	than	saf	generous (aj)
		sa'hat (a)	clock, watch; hour
		sa'l (a)	palm (of hand)
		sa'l (a)	gravel; rocky level place

saqe (o)	knee; elbow [of pipe]	şaş	walleyed (aj)
sarpay (a)	head-and-feet of goat or sheep, served as a specialty	şaş kerdış (tv)	goof (iv); make a mistake
sağlem	safe (aj)	şavlêr (a)	chestnut tree, young (from which thatch is cut)
sayêrî (a)	appletree	şeker (o)	sugar
se	hundred (num)	şeme (o)	Saturday
se	what (with “say” and “do”) (interrog); whatever (pn)	şemşêr (o)	sword
se	if	şenik	light [not heavy]; easy; weak [tea] (aj)
sefre (o)	eating cloth	şeno [limited forms, past stem şa] (tv)	can (aux. verb), be able
sel (a)	basket	şermayış (bışermî! şermayeno)	be embarrassed, be ashamed
ser (o)	end (of long object); top	şermî (o)	shame
serd	cold (aj)	şeş	six (num)
serd (o)	cold [disease]	şeşti	sixty (num)
serdar (o/a)	head [leader in small group]	şew (a)	night
serdarê keyî	head of the house	şewşewîk (a)	bat [animal]
sere (o)	head	şewra (o)	morning
serok (o/a)	president, leader	şewra	tomorrow [lit. morning] (av)
serri (o)	year	şên	tender [meat]; easy-going [person] (aj)
serrna	next year	şêr (o/a)	lion / lioness
sersey (a)	shade, shadow	şikîl (o)	picture
sert	hard [not soft]; argumentative (aj)	şikîş (şikî, bışiknî! şikneno)	break (tv)
serweşin	greetings	şikya	broken (aj)
sêrbaz (o/a)	magician	şikyayış (şikya, bışiki! şikyeno)	break (iv)
sêşeme (o)	Tuesday	şılwalî (pl)	long underwear
sifte	first (av)	şîma (pn)	you (plural)
sifteyîn	first (aj)	şîmtîş (şîmit, bîşîmî!)	drink; smoke (tv)
siftî	first (aj)	şîno yeno	wobble, shake
sîhan (a)	plate (large)	şîrwalî (pl)	[lit. goes, comes] (iv)
sîhud (o)	luck	şît (o)	pants
sîl (o)	manure [cow, dried]	şîtîş (bîşu! şuweno)	milk
sîlasnayîş (bîsîlasnî!)	know (s.o.), be acquainted with (s.o.)	şîn (o)	wash (tv)
Sîlo < Suleyman (mpn)	Suleiman	şîn kerdîş (tv)	scale [balance type]
sîmaq (o)	sumac	şîrîn	mourn
sîmer (o)	chaff	Şîrîn (fpn)	sweet (aj)
Sîmko (mpn)	Simko	şîşî (a)	Sheerin
sînet (o)	foreskin	şîyayîş	spatula
sîng (a)	mushroom	(şî, şo! (pl. şîrê!; subjunct. şîro) şîno)	go (iv)
sîpe / sîpê	white (aj)	şîyês	sixteen (num)
sîst	loose (aj)	şmundi (a)	rope (thin, goathair)
sîm (o)	silver	şorba (a)	soup
sîne (o)	chest	şûj (o)	fault, blame
sînor (o)	border	şûşa (a)	bottle
sîtil (o)	bucket, pail	şwane (o/a)	shepherd
solîğê	for a little bit (of time), for a moment		
sova (a)	stove		
Soyreg	Siverek		
spas	thank you		
sûk (a)	city, large town		
sya	black (aj)		

’S ’s

’seyd şîyayîş	hunting, go
’seydwan (o/a)	hunter
’sî (a)	stone, rock

Ş ş

şa [past stem, limited forms; pr. indic. şeno]	can (aux. verb), be able
şamîk (a)	tomato
şamî (a)	dinner, supper, hot meal
şamkêrî (a)	tomato plant
şan (o)	evening
şanayîş (bîşanî!)	shake, brandish; rock (tv)

T t

tadayîş (bitadî!)	twist, spin (tv)
tajî (o)	hound (hunting) [male]
tajî (a)	hound (hunting) [female]
ta’l	bitter (aj)
tamsal	mild (flavor) (aj)
tari / tari	dark (aj)
tarr (o)	spinach
tas (a)	bowl (small)
taştîş (bitaşî!)	shave (tv)
tava (o)	skillet, pan
taxîm (o)	cigarette-holder
taxîm (o)	boundary (property line)
tek	single one
teker (a)	tire

telefon (o)	Telefone	'teyr û tur	birds (in general)
telefon kerdış (kesi rê)	call, phone (tv)		
telî (o)	thorn	Û û	
temafil (a)	automobile, vehicle		
tembê kerdış	send (person, etc) (tv)	û	and (conj)
tene (o)	wheat		
tenekê	bit (small amount)		
tenık	flat (aj)	V v	
tenya	only, alone (av)		
tepiştış (tepêş!)	catch (tv)	va (o)	air; wind
teqa (a)	puncture; window [small];	vam (a)	almond
terk kerdış	give up (a habit) (tv)	varayış (vara, bıvarı!)	rain (iv)
tersanayış (bıtersanı!)	scare, frighten (tv)	Yağıro vareno.	It is raining.
tersayış (bıtersı!) (iv)	fear (tv), be afraid	vaş (o)	grass; hay
tersnok (o/a)	fraidycat, sissy	va(t)ış	say (tv)
terzı (o/a)	tailor	(va, vatê, vaj! vano)	
teşt (o)	tank (for watering animals)	vatiş (o)	word; saying
tever	outside	vay	expensive (aj)
tewayış (tewa, bitewı! teweno)	hurt, ache (iv)	ve'lg (o)	thatch (from beech? tree, covered with mud)
text (o)	board	veng	empty (aj)
textilo (o)	typewriter	veng (o)	voice
tey	in it	ver	before (prep); in front of
teyşan	thirsty (aj)	veradayış (verada, veradı! veradano)	release, let go (tv)
têvdayış (têvdı! têvdano)	stir (tv)	veraroj	south side [lit. before the sun]
tı (DIR)	you [sg] (pn)	verdayış (verda, verdı! verdano)	grow [a beard, one's hair] (tv)
tım	always, continually (av)	verêcoy	previously (av)
tırawtış (tırawıt, bıtrawı! tıraweno)	steal (tv)	verg (o)	wolf
tırş	sour, tart (aj)	veri	earlier, formerly (av)
tıtûn (o)	tobacco	verin	front [wheel, etc.], fore- [leg, etc.]
tıving (a)	rifle	verin	old (inanimate) (aj)
tıving çekerdiş	shoot (tv)	verişyayış (bıverişi!)	split (iv)
tık	straight [s.th. small] (aj)	verişnayış (bıverişnı!)	split (tv)
tır (a)	rolling pin	veşa	burned (aj)
tırkman (a)	bow (archery)	veşayış (veşa, bıveşi!)	burn (iv)
to (OBL)	you [sg] (pn)	veşnayış (veşna, bıveşnı!)	burn (tv)
toraq (o)	curds, cottage cheese	veştış (vazdı! vazdano)	run (iv)
torg (a)	hail	vewr (a)	snow
torg varayış	hail (iv)	vewr varayış	snow (iv)
Torg varena.	It is hailing.	Vewr varena.	It is snowing.
torzin (o)	ax, axe	veyndayış (veyndı! veyndano)	call (tv)
toğum (o)	seed (for sowing)	veyşan	hungry (aj)
toz (o)	dust	veyve (o)	wedding
tozle (o)	sleet	veyve kerdış	celebrate (at a wedding)
tozle varayış	sleet (iv)	vıjyayış (bıvıji! vıjyeno)	come out (iv)
Tozle vareno.	It is sleeting.	vıl (a)	blossom, flower
trên (a)	train	vıl kerdış	bloom, blossom (iv)
tû (a)	mulberry	vıla	scattered (aj)
tûj	sharp (point) (aj)	vıla biyayış	scatter, disperse (iv)
tûn	hot (spicy) (aj)	vıla kerdış	scatter, spread out (tv)
tûnc (o)	brass	vıleynayış (bıvıleynı!)	rub, massage (tv)
tûnık (a)	pocket	vılık (a)	flower, blossom (small)
tût (o)	baby, infant; doll (male)	vilkêri (a)	rosebush
tûwêri (a)	mulberry tree	vındarnayış (vındarnı! vındarneno)	stop (tv)
tya	here	vınderdış (vındı! vındero)	stop; stand (iv)
		vındeno)	
'T 't		vıneyayış (vıneyeno)	nod (with sleepiness) (iv)
'tamar (a)	vein	vını (biyayış)	lost, (become)
'tayn	a little bit, a small amount		
'tayn	some		
'teva (o)	nothing		
'tewq (a)	baking iron (convex, for flat bread)		
'teyare (o)	airplane, plane		
'teyr (o)	eagle, bird of prey		

vini kerdış	lose (object, game, war, etc.) (tv)
(xu) vırar kerdış	cradle (tv)
vıraştış (vırazı!)	make, produce (tv)
vırıtış	vomit, throw up (tv)
(bıvırêji! vırêjeno)	
vırnayış (bıvırnı!)	change (tv)
pê vırnayış	exchange, trade
vırıran	naked; undressed (aj)
vırıyayış	change, be different
vıstış a cı	light (ignite) (tv)
(a cı fi! fyeno a cı)	
vıstrû (a)	mother-in-law
vıstewre (o)	father-in-law; brother-in-
law (wife's brother)	
vıstewran (pl)	in-laws
vızêr	yesterday (av)
vir (o)	mind; memory
vıra şıyayış	forget [lit. s.th. slips the mind]
viri amyayış (iv)	remember, recall (tv)
vıst	twenty (num)
viya (a)	widow
viya mendış	widowed, be

W w

wa	so that
wa (a)	sister
waştış (buwazı!)	want (tv)
war (OBL)	sister
war	down, downward (av)
wari kerdış	raise (livestock, children) (tv)
warway	barefoot (aj)
wegrotış	carry (tv)
(weyerı! weyeno)	
wel (a)	ash
welat (o)	hometown
welin	sooty (aj)
wendış (buwanı!)	read; recite (tv)
wendış (buwanı!)	sing (birds only) (iv)
werdeg (a)	duck
werdı / werdi	little, small (aj)
werdış	eat (tv)
(bûr! mewı! weno)	
wıryayış	eaten, be
werıştış (werzı!)	move (iv)
werğan (o)	blanket
wesar (o)	rein(s), leadrope
wesar (o)	spring (season)
weseynayış	send (person) (tv)
(buweseynı!)	
wêş	nice, pleasant, good (aj)
wext (o)	time (hours)
wexta	then (at that time) (av)
wextek [wexte kı]	when (past) (pn)
weyna (a)	dough-board (for rolling out bread)
wêr < wihêr (o/a)	owner
wihêr (o/a)	owner
wını	so, thus (pn)
wınyayış (iv)	look (iv); observe (tv)
(bew! bewni! mewı! mewni! wınyeno)	
wırınayış	scratch (tv)
(wırına, burını! mewrını! wırıneno)	
wıryayış (wıryeno)	be eaten; be edible; itch (iv)
wışk	dry, hard; dead (plants) (aj)

X x

xac (o)	cross
xal (a)	aunt (maternal)
xal (o)	uncle (maternal)
xali (a)	carpet
xalkeyna (a)	cousin (daughter of maternal aunt or uncle)
	uncle (maternal)
xalo [vocative]	ladybug
xalxalok (a)	cousin (son of maternal aunt or uncle)
xalza (o)	boot [antique leather snowboots]
	scale (spring type)
xamıki (pl)	artichoke
xapan (a)	cute (aj)
xas (o)	boil (food) (tv)
xasek	
xaşeynayış	raw (or partially cooked); green (fruit, i.e. not ripe) (aj)
(bıxaşeynı!)	
xağ	coal (dead)
	work (iv)
xazıl (o)	
xeftayış	wheat
(bıxeffı! xeftyeno)	dagger
xele (o)	stranger
xençeri (a)	thief
xeriv (o/a)	thievery
xerxız (o/a)	peach
xerxızey (a)	peach tree
xewx (a)	cucumber
xewxêri (a)	deer, antelope, gazelle
xeyar (o)	bad (moral) (aj)
xezal (a)	servant
xırav	crazy (aj)
xızmkar (o/a)	deep (aj)
xint	snore (iv)
xorı / xori	
xorrayış	swish (water, wind, snake) (iv)
(xorra, bıxorrı!)	
xoşayış (xoşa, bıxoşı!)	pig
xoz (o/a)	own, one's
xu	self (pn)
xu	wake up (iv)
xu 'hasayış	cradle (tv)
xu vırar kerdış	forget (tv)
xu vıra kerdış	put on (clothing) (tv)
xura dayış	

Y y

ya	or [seldom used] (conj)
yanê	that is (i.e.)
yanış	wrong (aj); wrongly (av)
yasağ	forbidden, illegal (aj)
yavaş (aj)	low
yağır (o)	rain
yağır varayış	rain (iv)
Yağırro vareno.	It is raining.
yazı kerdış	write (tv)
yekşeme (o)	Sunday

Z z

zahf	very (av)
zahf	many, much (aj)
za'ım (o/a)	overlord
zama (o)	brother-in-law (sister's husband)
zaman (o)	time, age, era

zanaye	knowledgeable (aj)
zanayış	know (tv)
(zana, bızanı! zano)	
Zara (fɸn)	Zara
zari (pl)	dice
zar (a)	di
ze`hmet	difficult, hard (aj)
zek	as when
zengen (o)	hoe
zengin	rich (aj)
zengu (o)	stirrup
zerd	yellow (aj)
zerej (o)	partridge
zerre	inside
zerri (a)	heart
zerriya (kesi) şına (cı)	crave (tv)
zeveş (a)	watermelon
zewjyayış	marry (iv), get married
(bızewji! zewjyeno)	
zewnc (a)	pair
zewncı	even (not odd, in numbers) (aj)
zey (kesi) -ya	as (one says), like (one says)
zey pya	the same
zêr (o)	gold
zımıstan (o)	winter
zıncar (o)	rust
zınci (a)	nose
zırar (o)	loss
zırrna (a)	reed instrument
zırtıki çekerdış	buck, act up, frolic (iv), feel one's oats
zi	also, too (av)
zin (o)	saddle
zomp (o)	sledge-hammer
zor	difficult, hard (aj)
Zozan (fɸn)	Zozan
zurayış (bızurri!)	howl (iv)
zuwan (o)	tongue, language
zuwan kerdış	lick (tv)
zûr (o)	lie
zûr	false (aj)
zûray	grafted (tree) (aj)
zûri kerdış (tv)	lie (iv)
zwa	dry (aj)

Appendix D

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Appendix E
A bibliography of additional literature relevant
to the study of Dimili and/or northern Zaza language and culture
(prepared by the editor of the second edition)

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Appendix F

The Dimili Alphabet

with IPA equivalents, example words and their translation in English and Turkish
(prepared by the editor of the second edition)

letter	IPA	Dimili	English	Türkçe
'	[ʔ]	'ereba	car	araba
A a	[a]	aw	water	su
B b	[b]	bız	goat	keçi
C c	[dʒ]	cıtêr	farmer	çiftçi
Ç ç	[tʃ]	çit	kerchief	başörtüsü
D d	[d]	dest	hand	el
E e	[ə]	engur	grape	üzüm
Ê ê	[e]	êlkane	boar	erkek domuz
F f	[f]	fek	mouth	ağız
G g	[g]	ga	ox	öküz
Ğ ğ	[ɣ]	ğele	wheat	buğday
H h	[h]	her	donkey	eşek
'H 'h	[ħ]	'heme	all	hepsi
I ı	[i]	ışkɨj	raisin	kuru üzüm
İ i	[i]	i'sot	pepper	biber
J j	[ʒ]	jew	one	bir
K k	[k]	ko	mountain	dağ
L l	[l]	ling	foot	ayak
'L 'l	[ɫ]	'leym	mud	kir
M m	[m]	manga	cow	inek
N n	[n]	nan	bread	ekmek
O o	[o]	omid	hope	ümit
P p	[p]	pûçık	sock	çorap
Q q	[q]	qatır	mule	katır
R r	[r]	rı	face	yüz
	[r̥]	her	donkey	eşek
S s	[s]	sa	apple	elma
Ş ş	[ʃ]	şêr	lion	aslan
'S 's	[s̺]	'si	stone	taş
T t	[t]	tira nani	rolling-pin	oklava
'T 't	[t̺]	'teyr	eagle	kuş (genel)
U u	[u]	kutık	dog	köpek

Ū ū	[u]	nŭncık	fist	yumruk
V v	[v]	verg	wolf	kurt
W w	[w]	werway	barefoot	yalınayak
X x	[x]	xağ	raw	çiğ
Y y	[j]	yağır	rain	yağmur
Z z	[z]	zerej	partridge	keklik